Jane Dammen McAuliffe

Encyclopaedia of the Qur'ān

Index Volume

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Encyclopaedia of the Qur'ān

VOLUME ONE

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Jane Dammen McAuliffe, *General Editor*

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PREFACE

For more than a billion Muslims around the globe, the Qurʾān reproduces God's very own words. To hear its verses chanted, to see its words written large on mosque walls, to touch the pages of its inscribed text creates a sense of sacred presence in Muslim minds and hearts. For countless generations, Muslim families have greeted a newborn baby by whispering words from the Qurʾān in the infant's ear. For centuries, small children have begun their formal education with the Qurʾān. Seated around the teacher, they have learned to form the letters of the Arabic alphabet and to repeat the words and phrases from which their own recitation of the Qurʾān will develop. In a religious culture that extols learning, those individuals who acquire an advanced knowledge of the Qurʾān are accorded profound respect. People who commit all of the text to memory are treated with reverence. In fact, reverence marks most Muslim interaction with the Qurʾān, whether that be in silent prayer, public proclamation or serious study.

A description of the Qurʾān

For those with little previous exposure to the Qurʾān it may be helpful simply to describe this book. In the library of world scriptures, the Qurʾān stands as one of the shorter entries. When a textual tradition like the Buddhist canon of Pali, Sanskrit and Chinese scriptures is compared to the Qurʾān, the size differences are significant. Even the Hebrew Bible or the Christian canon of Old and New Testaments comprise much larger collections. In contrast, the Qurʾān is a fairly compact text of 114 sections. These sections or chapters, virtually all of which begin with the introductory formula "In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate," are called *sūras*. The sūras, in turn, are composed of verses or, in Arabic, *āyāt (*sing. *āya)*. Individual sūras can contain just a few verses or a few hundred. This variation in length is noteworthy because the Qurʾān uses length as an organizing principle. The canonical text is arranged by roughly descending order of sūra length. In other words, the longer sūras appear earlier in the text, the very shortest ones toward the end.

The contents of the Qurʾān are varied and not easily categorized. Nor are they ordered in a manner that systematic modern minds might prefer. You will not, for example, find separate sūras devoted to theological pronouncements, to rules for social and personal behavior, to prayers and liturgical specifications, to narratives about past prophets, to warnings about the last judgment and descriptions of heaven and hell or to polemical challenges directed toward

those with other beliefs. You will, however, find all of these themes, as well as others, woven through the various sūras of the qurʾānic text. In fact, the thematic complexity of the Qurʾān has spawned a genre of Islamic literature that seeks to extract and to categorize. Some of these works attempt a comprehensive classification of qurʾānic material under numerous headings and subheadings while others concentrate upon a particular topic. In Muslim bookstores, therefore, one finds books such as "What the Qurʾān says about women" or "What the Qurʾān says about a just society."

Just as there is thematic variation within the Qurʾān, there is also stylistic diversity. While the Qurʾān contains relatively little sustained narrative of the sort to which readers of the Hebrew Bible or Christian New Testament would be accustomed — the twelfth sūra being the principal exception — the language of the Qurʾān is frequently strong and dramatic. Vivid imagery and evocative similes abound. Oaths and dialogues combine with divine direct address, whether to the prophet Muḥammad, to those who believe his message or to those who reject it. Terse, elliptical language alternates with more prolonged, prosaic passages. Prayers and prophecy intermix with the proscriptions and prescriptions that must guide human action.

The full force of this rhetorical diversity, however, may not be available to those who read the Qurʾān in translation. It is an article of Muslim faith and belief that the Qurʾān is the Qurʾān only in Arabic. When translated it ceases to be "God's very own words" and becomes simply an interpretation of the Arabic original. For this reason, whenever Muslims recite the Qurʾān in ritual prayer or other liturgical formats, they always recite it in Arabic. Nevertheless, there are numerous translations of the Qurʾān in most of the major languages of the world, including English.

The study of the Qurʾān

The long tradition of scholarship that the Qurʾān has generated provides another indication of the reverence that surrounds this text. Although the history of the text's pronouncement and transmission, as well as the relation of this history to that of its earliest phases of interpretation, remain matters of scholarly controversy, there is no doubt that questions about the text itself and reflections upon its meaning were a part of the qurʾānic environment from its inception. Not unexpectedly, matters of language took precedence, and the first efforts at interpretation or exegesis involved providing synonyms and explanations for unfamiliar words. As would be the case with a recited text, variant vocalizations appeared and the increasing number and variety of these eventually prompted steps toward regularization. Not all earlier listeners were equally prepared to understand the sometimes elliptical nature of qurʾānic discourse. Individual phrases required exegetical interpolation as did narrative passages of a more allusive nature.

Other questions quickly arose: When, and in what circumstances, were certain verses revealed? Who or what is intended by an ambiguous term or phrase? To whom or to what does a particular pronoun refer? Who is being addressed by a specific passage and to whom should it apply: to all believers, present and future, or to a restricted set of individuals? Is the intended sense metaphorical or should the verse be understood literally? Are all parts of the Qurʾān equally comprehensible or are some parts more inherently obscure or problematic? Are there connections between verses, either within a sūra or across various parts of the Qurʾān? Can a passage elsewhere in the text help to explain the one under present examination? Are there levels or layers of meaning in the text and are these accessible only to individuals with special intellectual or spiritual training?

Clearly what motivated this multiplicity of interpretive inquiries was more than a scholarly interest in the scripture. Those with a thorough or intimate knowledge of the text were pressed to provide answers to crucial questions about individual and group behavior. The words of the Qurʾān, understood as coming directly from God, guided social and religious practices within the nascent Muslim community, so an adequate comprehension of the text was seen as essential to its correct application. But even the outlines of this early history remain a matter of scholarly controversy. The question of "Islamic origins," understood to include the first two centuries of this new religious movement, is the most contentious topic within the field of Islamic studies. Scholars, both Muslim and non-Muslim, debate over matters of chronology, geography and source reliability. Assertions and counter-assertions about the Qurʾān stand at the center of these contentions.

A brief sketch of the earliest stages of both the promulgation and interpretation of the Qurʾān can only allude to these debates, rather than engage them directly. Many scholars feel that the initial stages of both promulgation and interpretation of the Qurʾān were oral. And they were connected. In the midst of reciting a portion of the text, the reciter might stop to provide synonyms for terms unfamiliar to his audience. He might also make associations between one part of the Qurʾān and another or offer short explanatory glosses for passages that seemed allusive and elliptical. Storytelling was another activity of the first generations and apparently qurʾānic recitation was frequently supplemented with associated narratives that drew upon a common store of biblical, hagiographical and legendary material.

Seeking the connection between this oral-performative period and its written conveyance, asking whether it was simultaneous or subsequent, raises all of the historiographical concerns just mentioned. Much of the traditional scholarship about this era is drawn from sources that postdate it by several generations. The paucity of extant textual and epigraphic material that can be incontestably ascribed to much of the first Islamic century exacerbates the situation. What some scholars see as an exciting era of rapid religio-political change that has been adequately and reliably described by later Muslim historians, other scholars view as a period of intense sectarian strife whose chronological and geographical specifics can only be dimly glimpsed. And there are a range of scholarly perspectives that lie between these two extremes.

By the late ninth century, however, Muslim understanding of the Qurʾān had reached a stage of doctrinal and exegetical stabilization and the tendency in academic study of the Qurʾān has been to view this as a pivotal moment. Theological debates about the nature of the Qurʾān, about whether it was "created" or "uncreated," had been sustained and surmounted. Generations of qurʾānic interpretation, both oral and written, had produced a massive accumulation of exegetical data, an accumulation captured in the key work that defines this moment. "The compendium of explanations for the interpretation of the verses of the Qurʾān" *(Ǧāmiʿ al-bayān ʿan taʾwīl āy al-Qurʾān)* was composed by the Baghdādī scholar Abū Jaʿfar b. Jarīr al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923) and its most widely-available edition — it is still being reprinted — runs to thirty volumes. Al-Ṭabarī's commentary on the Qurʾān represents itself as the summation of all previous exegetical activity. From the vantage point of this commentary and similar works that followed it, later Muslim scholarship on the Qurʾān looks back to the first centuries of its history and tracks this history in a generational schema.

Within this schema, the prophet Muḥammad himself assumes pride of place as the Qurʾān's first interpreter. After his death, this primacy is passed to his closest followers, whom Islamic history calls his Companions. Among the most prominent names of this exegetical generation are: Ibn ʿAbbās, Ibn Masʿūd, Ubayy b. Kaʿb and the fourth caliph, ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib. Qurʾānic

interpretation attributed to this period is also associated with the Prophet's youngest widow, ʿĀ'isha. The next generation, that of the Followers according to traditional Muslim terminology, includes names like Mujāhid b. Jabr, ʿIkrima, Saʿīd b. Jubayr, al-Ḍaḥḥāk, Qatāda b. Diʿāma and ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭalḥa. Later sources list all of these figures as students of Ibn ʿAbbās, a Companion whom the tradition has honored as being "the Ocean" of exegetical knowledge.

Between these very early names and the compendium work of al-Ṭabarī other important figures entered the landscape of qurʿānic interpretation: al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (d. 110/728), Muqātil b. Sulaymān (d. 150/767), Sufyān al-Thawrī (d. 161/778), Sufyān b. ʿUyayna (d. 196/811), ʿAbd al-Razzāq (d. 211/827), Sahl al-Tustarī (d. 238/896) and Hūd b. Muḥakkim (d. ca. 290/903). During the last several decades printed editions have appeared whose attribution to these, and other, early scholars raises all the questions of redaction history and authorial retrojection that continue to preoccupy the study of Islamic origins. Nevertheless, continuing source-critical work on this period should provide both greater security in the accuracy of attribution and a more refined understanding of the lines of exegetical influence.

While al-Ṭabarī's commentary remains a fundamental source, the library of qurʾānic interpretation grew steadily in the centuries following its early tenth-century appearance. Both Muslim and non-Muslim surveys of exegetical history tend to classify these works by doctrinal or ideological orientation. Without attempting to be exhaustive I will group some of the major names in this fashion to help orient readers of this encyclopaedia who are less familiar with the field of qurʾānic studies. Most closely associated with the approach of al-Ṭabarī are: Abū l-Layth al-Samarqandī (d. 375/985), Abū Isḥāq al-Thaʿlabī (d. 427/1035), al-Baghawī (d. 516/1122), Ibn ʿAṭiyya (d. 541/1147), Ibn al-Jawzī (d. 597/1200), Ibn Kathīr (d. 774/1373) and al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505).

A more fluid categorization is that which identifies certain forms of interpretation as being less concerned with conveying the exegetical *dicta* of the earliest Islamic centuries and more interested in expressing particular theological or philosophical orientations. Muslim exegetical history records a more mixed reception to this kind of interpretation. While the works of interpreters such as al-Qāḍī ʿAbd al-Jabbār (d. 415/1025), al-Zamakhsharī (d. 538/1144) and Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 606/1210) have been questioned or condemned, those of Ibn Ḥabīb al-Nīsābūrī (d. 406/1015), al-Bayḍāwī (d. ca. 700/1301), al-Nasafī (d. 710/1310) and al-Khāzin al-Baghdādī (d. 742/1341) have received a generally favorable response.

Lists of the most famous Shīʿī commentators usually include al-ʿAyyāshī (d. ca. 320/932), al-Qummī (fl. mid 4th/10th), al-Ṭūsī (d. 460/1067) and al-Ṭabarsī (d. 548/1153). While these works do not represent an exegetical tradition that is completely divorced from that of Sunnī commentary, they do mark their distinctiveness through reference to certain early authorities, such as Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq (d. 148/765) and other Shīʿī imāms, and through attention to particular topics and modes of interpretation. Shīʿī Islam is, of course, no more monolithic than its Sunnī counterpart and there are important groups within Shīʿism, such as the Ismāʿīlīs and the Zaydīs, who cherish a lineage of commentators within their own intellectual communities.

A far more diverse form of qurʾānic commentary is that associated with "mystical" Islam or Ṣūfism. A very early figure in this tradition, Sahl al-Tustarī, has already been mentioned. Other important Ṣūfī commentaries are those of al-Sulamī (d. 412/1021), al-Qushayrī (d. 465/1072) and Rūzbihān al-Baqlī (d. 606/1209), as well as that published under the name of Ibn al-ʿArabī (d. 638/1240) but actually the work of a successor. Ṣūfī commentary is less likely to attempt comprehensive exegetical coverage of the qurʾānic text than the other works that have been mentioned. Often it records the spiritual insights and mystical illuminations that a

particular word or phrase of the Qurʾān has generated, either in the author's mind or in the minds of those whose thoughts he seeks to convey.

The selective nature of Ṣūfī commentary finds its counterpart in another exegetical genre that also focuses chiefly upon only certain parts of the qurʾānic text. Legal commentaries on the Qurʾān concern themselves primarily with those verses that have behavioral implications, that mandate or prohibit various kinds of human activity. The principal works in this category are those of al-Jaṣṣāṣ (d. 370/981), Ilkiyā al-Harrāsī (d. 504/1110), Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. al-ʿArabī (d. 543/1148) and al-Qurṭubī (d. 671/1272). Mention of the two last-named scholars on this list allows me to note the geographic and linguistic spread of qurʾānic exegesis.

Both Ibn al-ʿArabī and al-Qurṭubī are from Andalusia, an area of the medieval Muslim world that produced a rich intellectual heritage. They wrote in Arabic, as did all of the commentators whose names have been mentioned thus far. But important exegetical work on the Qurʾān has certainly not been limited to Arabic. Persian and Turkish contributions are complemented by those in the languages of south and southeast Asia and of sub-Saharan Africa. Especially in more recent centuries the linguistic spread of this interpretive tradition has become more pronounced. While the twentieth century witnessed the publication of major commentaries in Arabic, such as those of Muḥammad ʿAbduh and Rashīd Riḍā, of Sayyid Quṭb, of al-Ṭabāṭabāʿī — a Persian who wrote in Arabic — of Bint al-Shāṭiʾ and of Muḥammad Mutawallī al-Shaʿrāwī, it also welcomed Urdu contributions by Abū l-Aʿlā al-Mawdūdī and Amīn Aḥsan Iṣlāḥī, as well as a thirty-volume work by Hamka (Haji Abdul Malik Karim Amrullah) in Bahasa Indonesian.

Southeast Asia, which is home to about one quarter of the world's Muslim population, has witnessed a contemporary resurgence of all forms of qurʾānic studies. Recitation of the Qurʾān, for instance, takes the form of local, regional and national competitions for both men and women, with qurʾānic quiz shows as a popular part of these events. While quiz shows may be a decidedly modern way to display expertise in qurʾānic studies, the desire for comprehensive attention to all aspects of the text and its conveyance has a very long history within Islamic intellectual life. Although sequential commentary on the Qurʾān constitutes an important part of that history and is a major element of what Muslims like to call the "qurʾānic sciences," it is by no means the only element.

Recitation itself has evolved into an elaborate set of disciplines that must be mastered in order to insure the accurate and euphonious reproduction of the text. Students wishing to develop this skill, whether native speakers of Arabic or not, spend years learning how to pronounce every phonological element perfectly, how to pace the recitation properly and to pause where required or suggested, how to render particular combinations of letters and to elongate, with some syllables, the sound production for a precise duration. Along with assimilating the rules of recitation, students also begin to memorize the Qurʾān and many eventually can recite all 114 sūras from memory, as have generations of their predecessors.

At advanced levels, recitation of the Qurʾān includes the acquisition of a thorough knowledge of the various "readings" of the Qurʾān. These represent yet another realm of the qurʾānic sciences and one with very ancient roots. According to traditional accounts of the Qurʾān's textual canonization, an acceptable range of variability eventually emerged and was ratified by the scholarly community. While most printed texts of the Qurʾān that are in circulation today draw upon only one of these textual traditions, others remain alive and are sustained by varying numbers of adherents.

As the qurʾānic text continued to attract scrutiny from successive generations of scholars,

other categories within the broad range of the qurʾānic sciences became more standardized and generated their own subgenres of scholarly literature. Attempts to provide historical contextualization for specific qurʾānic passages created the "occasions of revelation" literature, exemplified in a noted work by al-Wāḥidī (d. 468/1076). The belief that the Qurʾān contained elements of its own abrogation, that some verses nullified the prescriptive force of others, gave rise to an extensive interpretive and cataloguing effort that found expression in the works of scholars like al-Zuhrī (d. 124/742), al-Naḥḥās (d. 338/949), Hibat Allāh b. Salāma (d. 410/1020) and Ibn al-ʿAtāʾiqī (d. ca. 790/1020).

Lexical examination led to yet further forms of categorization: qurʾānic vocabulary deemed "difficult" or "unusual" by virtue of its derivation or dialectical connection was collected in works by Ibn Qutayba (d. 276/889), al-Sijistānī (d. 330/942) and al-Rāghib al-Isbahānī (d. 502/1108). Words with multiple meanings and words that function as synonyms are also treated by Ibn Qutayba as well as by al-Damaghānī (d. 478/1085) and Ibn al-Jawzī. The more vexing problem of semantic ambiguity prompted additional works of classification and textual cross-referencing. Taken as a whole this exacting lexical scrutiny demonstrates a profound and reverential engagement with the text, a reverence that is also evident in the rhetorical engrossment that characterizes the developed qurʾānic sciences.

From a very early period it has been a point of Muslim doctrine that the religious and rhetorical power of the Qurʾān could never be replicated: the Qurʾān, in the belief of Muslims, is inimitable. Traditional literary criticism of the text concentrates upon elaborating the grounds for this doctrinal declaration. As developed by classical scholars such as al-Rummānī (d. 386/996), al-Khaṭṭābī (d. 388/998), al-Bāqillānī (d. 403/1013) and al-Jurjānī (d. 470/1078), these grounds are both substantive and stylistic. Muslims hold the Qurʾān to be the ratifying miracle of Muḥammad's prophethood because it contains information about the past and the future and about God's relations with the world that no human being could attain unaided. The Muslim belief that Muḥammad was illiterate adds additional force to this sense of suprahuman origin and content. But beyond such matters of content lies the emphasis upon the aesthetic effectiveness of the Qurʾān. Careful and painstaking analysis of the text isolated relevant examples of genre forms and literary figures; it scrutinized patterns of rhyme and assonance; it catalogued specific instances of word choice and arrangement. This scrutiny and analysis intermingled with praise of the Qurʾān's overpowering eloquence. In fact, much of the intricate dissection of the qurʾānic text to be found in works on the "sciences of the Qurʾān" could be viewed as an effort to explain the effect of qurʾānic recitation upon the believer. The rhetorical experience finds written manifestation in the extraordinarily detailed classifications produced by scholars such as al-Zarkashī (d. 794/1392) and al-Suyūṭī. Surveying the eighty chapters of al-Suyūṭī's monumental synthesis of the qurʾānic sciences gives one a good sense of textual scholarship as an act of abiding reverential attention.

Scholarship on the Qurʾān was also produced by non-Muslims. Just as Muslim authors have attended to the scriptural heritage of other religions, particularly Judaism and Christianity, non-Muslim scholars have interested themselves in the Qurʾān. Of course, much of this interest was fostered by polemical concerns, a "know the enemy" mentality that became particularly acute during periods of military hostility and intense economic competition. Even from a very early period, verses or passages from the Qurʾān were used by non-Muslims, in the time-honored tradition of religious polemic, in an attempt to discredit its status as divine revelation and to demonstrate internal inconsistencies. Even without direct quotation, polemical arguments against the Qurʾān became a commonplace of medieval Jewish and Christian religious

discourse. Such noted figures as John of Damascus (d. 749) al-Qirqisānī (mid 10th cent.), Maimonides (d. 1204) and Thomas Aquinas (d. 1274) may be mentioned in this regard.

The later medieval period, however, brought a new approach, one associated with the renowned Abbot of Cluny, Peter the Venerable (d. 1156). While certainly not divorced from polemical motives, Peter's initiative broadened the active translation movement that was producing Latin versions of important Arabic scientific and medical works to include the Qurʾān and other works of a religious nature. To do this, Peter assembled a team of translators including the Englishman Robert of Ketton (fl. 1136-57) who is credited with creating the first full translation of the Qurʾān into any Western language. Despite criticisms of its accuracy and arrangement, Robert's rendering remained the standard Latin version of the Qurʾān for several centuries.

It was soon joined, however, by that of Mark of Toledo (fl. 1193-1216) and recent scholarship has demonstrated that both of these translators did not restrict themselves to the qurʾānic text alone but clearly had access to a number of major commentaries, either directly or through a scholarly Muslim informant, and made skillful use of them. Much later translation also followed this procedure, including that of the eighteenth-century English Orientalist George Sale and his compatriot, the twentieth-century convert, Mohammed Marmaduke Pickthall.

Robert of Ketton's translation, via its Italian rendering by Andrea Arrivabene published in 1547, influenced the first German and then Dutch translations. Extant manuscripts of Hebrew translations of the Qurʾān, such as that of Yaʿaqov b. Israel ha-Levi which too appeared in Venice in 1547, apparently draw upon this same lineage. During this same period French versions were also being produced and in 1698 Ludovico Marraci published another Latin translation that soon saw replication in various European languages. George Sale's 1734 combined publication of both a translation of the Qurʾān and a "Preliminary Discourse" that drew upon earlier prolegomena served as the principle English-language primer on Islam for more than a century.

Translation is, of course, not the only form of non-Muslim qurʾānic studies that the medieval and early modern Europe generated. Access to the Qurʾān via such translations provoked responses from Jewish and Christian authors. The interests of both polemic and apologetic were served by a closer knowledge of the qurʾānic text, prompting scholars such as Ricoldo da Montecroce (d. 1320) and Nicholas of Cusa (d. 1464) to pen refutations. Reference to the Qurʾān and the citation of specific passages can be found in many works of Jewish and Christian scholarship from these periods. Fragments of transcriptions of the Qurʾān into Hebrew characters, including some from the Genizah materials, provide additional indication of non-Muslim study of the text. Then, of course, there has been the post-Enlightenment emergence of "oriental" studies as a distinct academic discipline. Much of what is to be found in the *Encyclopaedia of the Qurʾān* builds upon the work begun in those academic centers that undertook the "scientific" study of non-Western cultures and religions.

Even before this, faculties devoted to such studies had been founded in places like Leiden (1593), Rome (1627) and Oxford (1638). Later they opened at other major European universities and, eventually, at certain North American ones, as well. Arabic and other Islamic languages, such as Persian and Turkish, were a primary focus of instruction because language competency was the indispensable prerequisite to the study of texts and other historical sources. In this regard the emerging discipline of Islamic studies modeled itself upon classical studies as these had developed during the Renaissance and after. Philology, understood as the study of a culture through the lens of the texts that it produced, became the dominant methodology.

Because the Qurʾān was recognized as central to the identity and historical development of Islam, close attention was given to it, and qurʾānic studies emerged as a major subfield within the study of Islam.

In its development, non-Muslim (or "Western") qurʾānic studies was profoundly influenced by its sibling discipline of biblical studies. Eighteenth- and nineteenth-century biblical criticism, at least that part of it which had migrated from a rabbinic or monastic setting to a university one, bracketed belief in the divine character of the Jewish and Christian scriptures. The Renaissance willingness to apply principles of literary and historical criticism to ancient Greek and Latin texts was adopted for another ancient text, the Bible. Taking a rationalist perspective, some scholars sought to reconcile biblical teaching with the mandates of reason while others concentrated upon the contradictions between the Bible and the canons of scientific orthodoxy. Contextual investigations multiplied as scholars probed the cultural and historical background of the biblical texts and pursued the literary heritage out of which these grew, as well as the redactional process which created their final form.

As scholars schooled in Semitic philology and conversant with the historical-critical study of the Hebrew Bible and the New Testament turned their attention to another ancient text, the Qurʾān, they brought with them this same disregard of dogmatic assumptions as irrelevant to the tasks of scholarship. The Qurʾān, like the Bible, was subjected to textual and philological analysis and in the second half of the nineteenth century some of the seminal works that still guide the field today were written. The names of Gustav Weil, Theodor Nöldeke, Abraham Geiger and Hartwig Hirschfeld were soon joined by their twentieth-century counterparts, such as Ignaz Goldziher, Gotthelf Bergsträsse, Otto Pretzl, Richard Bell, Arthur Jeffery and Rudi Paret. From a related perspective, some of these scholars and others approached the Qurʾān as the most reliable source for reconstruction of the life of Muḥammad and the history of the early Muslim community.

New factors in the study of the Qurʾān

As this very brief sketch indicates, the history of Muslim and non-Muslim study of the Qurʾān could be characterized as two parallel conversations. Ordinarily these conversations proceeded in relative isolation from each other except for those times when polemical salvos were exchanged. The long trajectory of Muslim study and interpretation of the Qurʾān has been a largely self-contained exercise. Similarly, the more recently established field of qurʾānic studies within European and American institutes of higher education has certainly drawn upon the centuries-long results of Muslim scholarship but has rarely established sustained, collaborative conversation with contemporary scholars of the qurʾānic sciences.

But the "two solitudes" of Muslim and non-Muslim qurʾānic studies are beginning to break open, at least on some occasions and within some contexts. Increasingly, international conferences devoted to the academic study of the Qurʾān attract scholars from both groups. Journals that were formally quite segregated now show a greater diversity of authors' names and institutional identifications. Opportunities to lecture at universities in the Muslim world are being offered to non-Muslim scholars and the reverse of such invitations bring scholars from these universities to European and North American institutions.

Perhaps the most significant point of confluence, however, is graduate training and the production of new generations of doctoral degrees in the field of qurʾānic studies. Increasingly, students pursuing graduate work in qurʾānic studies, as well as other subfields of Islamic studies, in major universities in Europe, the United States, Canada and elsewhere are coming

from immigrant Muslim families. Many of these are second or third generation products of post-colonial patterns of Muslim migration to Great Britain, France, Germany and North America. Consequently, most of these students enter graduate programs with an educational background and a set of academic assumptions that are indistinguishable from those of their non-Muslim peers. The present mix of academic publication in the field already reflects this dynamic and future productivity will surely manifest its amplification.

The vastly increased rate of scholarly exchange facilitated by electronic communication, including the Internet, further accelerates the opportunities for scholarly interaction within the field of qurʾānic studies. And it enhances another form of availability that will surely affect the future of the field. It is worth noting that, until quite recently, the Qurʾān as a written text was available to a relatively small proportion of Muslims worldwide. Most Muslims for most of Islam's long history have experienced the Qurʾān orally. Literacy rates in pre-modern populations generally were far lower than they are today. In the last century, particularly with the withdrawal of colonial domination in the Muslim world and the subsequent development of systems of public education, there has been great change in mass literacy. The nineteenth- and twentieth-century growth in book production has created the concomitant phenomenon of textual accessibility.

Vast print runs, often subsidized by governmental agencies of religious affairs, have made the Qurʾān available to large segments of the Muslim population worldwide. Multiple translations into virtually all of the world's languages have brought qurʾānic teaching directly to the individual without the necessary mediation of a religious scholar. Although translations do not have the same status as the Arabic text, they have allowed many more Muslims to become students of qurʾānic meaning than was ever possible before. One area where such changes in literacy and textual accessibility are proving transformative is that of Muslim women. Currently Muslim women are achieving secondary and post-secondary degrees in far greater numbers than in any previous generation. And these educated women are reading the Qurʾān. Within its pages they are finding resources for religious and social renewal and they are forging forms of leadership with which to effect these changes.

Easily-available printed versions are but one aspect of the contemporary textual accessibility of the Qurʾān. Television and radio broadcasts of qurʾānic recitation are frequent. Audio cassette or CD ROM recordings of the most famous reciters can be purchased in any town with a substantial Muslim population, whether in the Middle East, Asia or North America. And, of course, the Qurʾān is on the Internet. Thousands of web sites offer the Arabic text, translations into European, Asian and African languages, synchronized recitation of all or part of the text and countless pages of introduction, explanation and commentary. Some versions are searchable, whether by keyword, word segment or chapter and verse number. In fact, some of the editorial accuracy checking for the qurʾānic citations in this encyclopaedia was done with a searchable, web-based text.

Creating the EQ

Planning for the *Encyclopaedia of the Qurʾān (EQ)* began in 1993 when I met in Leiden with a senior Brill editor, Peri Bearman, to explore the possibility of initiating such a project. Very quickly, four superb scholars, Wadad Kadi, Claude Gilliot, William Graham and Andrew Rippin, agreed to join the editorial team. Both the desire to take stock of the field of qurʾānic studies at the turn of the century and an interest in seeing this field flourish in the new millennium prompted our initial conversations. From its inception, then, the *EQ* has gazed both

backwards and forwards and this dual visioning has shaped the structuring of this encyclopaedia. As the associate editors and I proceeded with the planning, we were determined to create a reference work that would capture this century's best achievements in qurʾānic studies. But we also wanted the *EQ* to stimulate even more extensive scholarship on the Qurʾān in the decades to come. In the service of this dual ambition, it was decided to expand the expected alphabetical format of an encyclopaedia to include a series of longer, more comprehensive articles. The associate editors and I envisioned these as synoptic statements of the present state of reflection and research on major topics within the purview of qurʾānic studies. The combination of encyclopaedia entries, of varying length, and of essay-length overviews of major research areas within the field of qurʾānic studies seemed to us the best way both to honor the accomplishments of the last century and to foster the achievements of this one.

But as important as this retrospective and prospective vision was to the creation of the *EQ,* yet more important was the desire to make the world of qurʾānic studies accessible to a very broad range of academic scholars and educated readers. The various fields of literary studies have produced countless dictionaries, encyclopaedias, commentaries and concordances dedicated to the study of particular periods, areas, authors and works. Similarly, religious literature, especially the Bible, has been the subject of hundreds of such works, with new ones being produced at an ever-increasing rate. This scholarly abundance stands in stark contrast to the situation in qurʾānic studies. The number of reference works for the Qurʾān that are accessible in European languages remains quite small; much of the available information is partial and incomplete or hidden in difficult-to-secure sources.

Of course, scholars who can command classical Arabic can avail themselves of thousands of works on the Qurʾān, including concordances, dictionaries and commentaries, but those without this linguistic access have very little. For example, the last English dictionary of qurʾānic Arabic was published in 1873 and the only widely-available English concordance is keyed to a translation of the Qurʾān that used a nineteenth-century numbering system for the verses now rarely encountered in printed versions. English-speaking scholars from fields other than Islamic studies, therefore, are poorly served when they attempt to learn anything about the Qurʾān, either for their own research purposes or to introduce it to their students. It is with this need in mind that the associate editors and I made the decision to use English-language entry-words for this encyclopaedia. Our colleagues in the field of Islamic studies will appreciate that this was neither an easy nor an uncontroversial decision. The *Encyclopaedia of Islam (EI),* which has long been the most widely-used general reference work in the field, employs transliterated Arabic entry-words or lemmata and this has come to be regarded as the scholarly norm. Such a system allows a precision that is lost with the move to English-language lemmata. To take but one example: There is no exact Arabic equivalent for the word "prayer." *Ṣalāt* refers to the ritual worship that observant Muslims perform five times a day, while *duʿāʾ* connotes less formalized, intercessory prayer. *Dhikr* is the term used for a very broad range of Ṣūfī practices and both classical and contemporary Arabic contain other relevant vocabulary items, as well. The *EI* has articles on each of these three but nothing under the single entry-word, "Prayer." Consequently the non-Arabist scholar or student who wants to know something about this more general topic has a difficult time using the *EI* but will not encounter such hurdles with the *EQ*.

Yet another, much-debated decision was that concerning the scope of this encyclopaedia. The Qurʾān, as a major piece of world literature, and as the primary scripture of a world-wide religious tradition, has generated a huge exegetical corpus. As I have already noted, multi-

volume commentaries on the Qurʾān have been produced by virtually every generation of Muslim scholars and, while most of these are written in Arabic, the languages of other Islamic populations are well represented. The continuing popularity of this genre, in both its classical and its contemporary productions, is manifest through sustained publication and sales. The works of major classical commentators like al-Ṭabarī, al-Zamakhsharī, Ibn Kathīr and al-Suyūṭī can be found on the shelves of any good-sized bookstore in the Muslim world, alongside such contemporary standards as the commentaries of al-Mawdūdī, Sayyid Quṭb and al-Ṭabāṭabāʾī.

Consequently, the question had to be considered: Should this be an encyclopaedia of the Qurʾān or should it be an encyclopaedia of the Qurʾān and its interpretation? There is, of course, no clear division between these two categories. Virtually every article in this encyclopaedia draws, directly or indirectly, upon the corpus of qurʾānic exegesis. Nevertheless, project containment demanded that the focus of concentration remain the Qurʾān itself. Therefore, readers of the *EQ* will not find a separate article on al-Ṭabarī or Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, but they will find frequent reference to the works of these commentators and the *EQ*'s cumulative index will allow users to track these references through all of its volumes. This, too, was a tough editorial choice and one that I hope can be reconsidered if this encyclopaedia eventually generates a second, expanded edition.

Along with the desire to create a reference work that would be accessible to scholars and students from a broad range of humanistic and social scientific disciplines, the associate editors and I shared a desire to include rigorous, academic scholarship on the Qurʾān, scholarship that grows from a plurality of perspectives and presuppositions. The key words in the preceding sentence are "rigorous" and "academic." There is, as I have just recounted, no single academic tradition of qurʾānic scholarship. Centuries of Muslim scholarship on the Qurʾān constitutes a time line that overlaps with that of generations of Western scholarship on the text. And neither of these categories, inexact as they are, represents a single, monolithic approach or a unique, overriding methodology. Both between and within the worlds of Muslim and Western qurʾānic scholarship one finds vigorous and contentious debate. Increasingly these worlds overlap, both geographically and intellectually. With the rapid growth of Muslim populations in Europe, North America and other parts of the world, the rough polarity of "Muslim" and "Western" becomes ever more blurred. The internationalization of scholarship and of academic life accelerates this trend. As mentioned above, Muslim and non-Muslim scholars interact freely at conferences on the Qurʾān, whether these be in Leiden or Lahore. Academic journals are much less self-segregated than they were a generation ago and the number of Muslim scholars who have taken advanced degrees in Euro-American institutions in some field of Islamic studies has increased exponentially. Scholarly perspective can no longer be neatly pinned to religious identification and good scholarship is flourishing in this richly plural environment. The editors of the *EQ* have striven to capture that plurality within the pages of this encyclopaedia, wanting this work to represent the widest possible range of rigorous, academic scholarship on the Qurʾān.

Using the EQ

Entries in the *Encyclopaedia of the Qurʾān* appear in the customary alphabetical order but are of two kinds. By far the majority are articles of varying lengths that treat important figures, concepts, places, values, actions and events to be found within the text of the Qurʾān or which have an important relationship with the text. For example, the entry on "Abraham" deals with

a figure found in the text while that on "African Literature" discusses a literary relationship. The second category of articles that have been commissioned for the *EQ* are essay-length treatments of important topics within the field of qurʾānic studies. Again to take examples from the first volume, I would point to the entries "Art and Architecture" and "Chronology and the Qurʾān." Here scholars were asked to let their writing reflect the past and present "state of the question" on these significant topics.

As noted above, the decision to use English-language lemmata in the *EQ* has both advantages and disadvantages. While it makes the work much more widely accessible to scholars in cognate fields, it does not afford Arabists and Islamicists the familiar starting point of transliterated terminology. To solve this, a very thorough indexing of both English words and transliterated Arabic terminology is planned for the *EQ*'s final volume. Within the body of the encyclopaedia, however, readers will find extensive use of transliteration, both in identification of the lemmata and in the articles themselves, so that specialists in this field can have the precision that is important to them.

Of course, in planning the list of entries the decision about what constitutes an English word could never be entirely straightforward. In general, our editorial policy has been guided by current English usage as reflected in contemporary dictionaries and works of general reference. Where an Arabic proper name has a clear English cognate, that has been used. Where it does not, the Arabic form has been retained. Relevant examples would be "Adam and Eve" as opposed to "Dhū l-Kifl."

Because the *EQ* has been created both to present scholarly understanding of the Qurʾān and to promote it, all authors have been urged to provide relevant and representative bibliography for their articles. Readers will find these a helpful entry into further study of a particular topic. In addition, in-text citation of both primary and secondary literature should assist scholars in the field of Islamic studies as they develop more detailed studies of the topics treated in this work. Citations of the Qurʾān are given by chapter (sūra) number, followed by verse (āya) number, e.g. Q 30:46. This represents a departure from the more common Muslim practice of identifying sūras by name rather than number — the previous example would thus be Sūrat al-Rūm, 46 — but it makes it much easier for those unfamiliar with sūra titles to find a passage in a translated text of the Qurʾān. The verse numbering itself follows the now-standard 1924 Cairo edition. Most of the English versions of the Qurʾān that are commonly available follow this numbering. The one significant exception is the translation of A.J. Arberry which follows the verse numbering of Gustav Flugel's edition (1834), a numbering that can have a negative or positive variance of several verses from the Cairo edition.

Although every effort has been made to assure accuracy of qurʾānic citation in the articles of the *EQ*, no particular translation was mandated by the project's style sheet. Authors were free to use available translations or to make their own translations of the passages quoted in their entries. Similarly, there was no way to insure absolute standardization of reference to primary sources in classical Arabic, such as ḥadīth collections or commentaries on the Qurʾān. While the *EQ* style sheet, its "Instructions for Authors," listed preferred editions of many such works, these were not always the ones available in the university or private libraries of individual authors. Although I wish it had been possible to standardize all such references, the editorial time required would have postponed the publication of the *EQ* considerably.

At the risk of repeating myself, I would like to underscore that the *Encyclopaedia of the Qurʾān* is an inaugural effort. It is a first attempt to create a substantial work of reference in a field that has relatively few such resources. From its inception as a scholarly project, the editors of the *EQ*

knew that they could never claim consummate thoroughness for this first edition. Many readers and reviewers will have additional subjects and themes to suggest and both the editors and the publisher welcome these proposals. If the *EQ* serves the purpose intended by those who have shepherded it to publication, there will eventually be another, expanded edition enhanced by the suggestions.

A concluding comment on controversy

As a concluding remark, I will broach a topic that may seem odd coming from the pen of a general editor. (But perhaps it is but another form of the "situated scholarship" that has become so prevalent in the last two decades.) That topic is this project's potential for controversy. Many times since undertaking the responsibility of the *EQ* I have been asked by journalists, colleagues and acquaintances whether I feel uneasy or at risk with such an involvement. My answer is always "no" and it is usually accompanied by some expression of regret that the frequent misrepresentation of Muslim sensibilities could even prompt such a question. Yet the study of a text that millions of people hold sacred is a sensitive task. Some Muslims feel strongly that no non-Muslim should even touch the Qurʾān, to say nothing of reading and commenting upon it. Yet most Muslims do not feel this way. While there are those who choose to ignore non-Muslim scholarship on the Qurʾān as irrelevant or inherently flawed and misinformed, others welcome the contributions that non-Muslim scholars have made to this field.

Conversely, there are non-Muslim scholars who have attempted to write about the Qurʾān in a manner that is not immediately offensive to the theological sensibilities of Muslims. Others have operated with the assumption that such considerations have no place in the realm of academic discourse. Personalities differ, ideological orientations differ and scholarly practices differ on both sides of the dividing line. I have deliberately embraced a plurality of method and perspective within the pages of the *EQ*, but I have done so conscious of the fact that not all scholars, whether non-Muslim or Muslim, agree with this approach. There are Muslim colleagues who have preferred not to participate out of fear that association with the *EQ* would compromise their scholarly integrity. There are non-Muslim colleagues who have demurred for exactly the same reason. Nevertheless, these are very much the exceptions. Most scholars who were invited to contribute accepted with enthusiasm and alacrity, pleased to see the appearance of a reference work that would foster continued development within the field of qurʾānic studies. It is my sincere hope, and that of the associate editors, that the *EQ* will do precisely that.

Jane Dammen McAuliffe
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ABBREVIATIONS

AI = Annales islamologiques
AIUON = Annali dell' Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli
AO = Acta orientalia
AO-H = Acta orientalia (Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae)
Arabica = Arabica. Revue d'études arabes
ARW = Archiv für Religionswissenschaft
AUU = Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis
BASOR = Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research
BEO = Bulletin d'études orientales de l'Institut Français de Damas
BGA = Bibliotheca geographorum arabicorum
BIFAO = Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire
BO = Bibliotheca orientalis
BSA = Budapest studies in Arabic
BSOAS = Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies
Der Islam = Der Islam. Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Kultur des islamischen Orients
EI¹ = Encyclopaedia of Islam, 1st ed., Leiden 1913-38
EI² = Encyclopaedia of Islam, new ed., Leiden 1954-
ER = Encyclopedia of religion, ed. M. Eliade, New York 1986
ERE = Encyclopaedia of religions and ethics
GMS = Gibb memorial series
HO = Handbuch der Orientalistik
IA = Islâm ansiklopedisi
IBLA = Revue de l'Institut des Belles Lettres Arabes, Tunis
IC = Islamic culture
IJMES = International journal of Middle East studies
IOS = Israel oriental studies
IQ = The Islamic quarterly
Iran = Iran. Journal of the British Institute of Persian Studies
JA = Journal asiatique
JAL = Journal of Arabic literature
JAOS = Journal of the American Oriental Society
JE = Jewish encyclopaedia
JESHO = Journal of the economic and social history of the Orient
JIS = Journal of Islamic studies
JNES = Journal of Near Eastern studies
JRAS = Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society
JSAI = Jerusalem studies in Arabic and Islam
JSS = Journal of Semitic studies
MFOB = Mélanges de la Faculté Orientale de l'Université St. Joseph de Beyrouth
MIDEO = Mélanges de l'Institut Dominicain d'études orientales du Caire
MO = Le monde oriental
MSOS = Mitteilungen des Seminars für orientalische Sprachen, westasiatische Studien
Muséon = Le Muséon. Revue des études orientales
MW = The Muslim world
OC = Oriens christianus

OLZ = Orientalistische Literaturzeitung
Orientalia = Orientalia. Commentarii periodici Pontificii Instituti Biblici
Qanṭara = al-Qanṭara. Revista de estudios arabes
QSA = Quaderni de studi arabi
RCEA = Répertoire chronologique d'épigraphie arabe
REI = Revue des études islamiques
REJ = Revue des études juives
REMMM = Revue du monde musulman et de la Méditerranée
RHR = Revue de l'histoire des religions
RIMA = Revue du l'Institut des Manuscrits Arabes
RMM = Revue du monde musulman
RO = Rocznik Orientalistyczny
ROC = Revue de l'orient chrétien
RSO = Rivista degli studi orientali
SIr = Studia iranica
SI = Studia islamica
WI = Die Welt des Islams
WKAS = Wörterbuch der klassischen arabischen Sprache
WO = Welt des Orients
WZKM = Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes
ZAL = Zeitschrift für arabische Linguistik
ZDMG = Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft
ZGAIW = Zeitschrift für Geschichte der arabisch-islamischen Wissenschaften
ZS = Zeitschrift für Semitistik

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A

Aaron

The brother and companion of Moses (q.v.). Aaron (Hārūn b. ʿImrān) is mentioned by name twenty times in the Qurʾān. He is given prophetic status alongside Moses, having received the criterion (q.v.) of revelation (*furqān,* Q 21:48-9; cf. 19:53; 7:122; 23:45; 37:114-20; and 20:70 and 26:48, containing the phrase, "We believe in the Lord of Moses and Aaron"; see REVELATION AND INSPIRATION), and is listed with a number of other prophets (Q 4:163; 6:84). Moses asked God to make Aaron his partner *(wazīr)* in his affairs when he was commanded to go before Pharaoh (q.v.; Q 25:35; cf. 10:75; 20:29-36; 26:13; 28:35). Moses also asked God to let Aaron be his spokesman because he was so eloquent (Q 28:34-5). The form of the name "Hārūn" is also known from early Arabic poetry and entered Arabic from Hebrew, likely via Syriac (see FOREIGN VOCABULARY).

A focus of attention regarding Aaron in the Qurʾān is the worship of the calf of gold (q.v.). The incident is mentioned twice. In the first account (Q 7:148-57), the story is told as in Exodus 32, with the anger of Moses toward Aaron quite apparent even though his role was just that of an onlooker. In the second version, (Q 20:83-98) a Samaritan (see SAMARITANS) is presented as the tempter of Israel (q.v.). He urged the people to throw their ornaments in the fire and he made the calf that was worshipped by the people, despite Aaron's advising them not to do so. Again, Moses' anger toward Aaron is apparent. Thus, it may be said that the Qurʾān agrees with the Jewish biblical commentary *(midrash)* in reducing the blame upon Aaron, although that innocence is not connected, as it is in Jewish commentary, to Aaron's status as high priest, an idea not mentioned in the Qurʾān (see IDOLATRY AND IDOLATERS).

Later Islamic tradition has paid a good deal of attention to the death of Aaron. When Aaron died, the people accused Moses of having murdered him, but angels (q.v.) appeared — or other divine interventions took place — in order to alleviate their suspicions. According to Muslim legend, a similar accusation was lodged against Joshua in the death of Moses.

An issue related to Aaron which has proven to be subject to dispute since the early days of Islam is Q 19:28, in which Mary (q.v.), the mother of Jesus (q.v.), is called "the sister of Aaron" (see also Q 3:35, "a woman of ʿImrān (q.v.)" and 66:12, "Mary,

the daughter of ʿImrān, who guarded her chastity"). In Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ, K. al-Adab,* for example, there is a ḥadīth from al-Mughīra b. Shuʿba (d. 50/670) which indicates that the polemical nature of the charge of "errors" in the Qurʾān existed from the earliest period of Muslim-Christian relations.

Al-Mughīra said, "When I came to Najrān (q.v.), the Christians asked me, 'You read, "O sister of Aaron," in the Qurʾān, whereas Moses was born much before Jesus.' When I came back to the messenger of God, I asked him about that, whereupon he said, 'People used to give [to their children] the names of the messengers and [other] pious persons who had gone before them.' "

According to the biblical story, Aaron did have a sister called Miriam (who watched over the baby Moses in the bulrushes according to Exodus 2:4-7; see Exodus 15:20-1 for her name), but she was not, of course, the same as Mary, the mother of Jesus, and the Muslim tradition has never taken that to be the case. Al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923), for example, in speaking of Mary, says that people reacted to her presentation of the baby Jesus by saying, "Sister of Aaron, your father was not a wicked man and your mother was not unchaste. So what is your case, sister of Aaron?" This al-Ṭabarī explains as follows: "[Mary] was descended from Aaron, the brother of Moses, so that this expression is the equivalent of saying, 'O brother of such-and-such tribe'; i.e. it indicates a familial relationship [but not necessarily the exact one indicated]" (*Taʾrīkh,* i, 734; M. Perlmann (trans.), *History,* iv, 120). Other exegetes suggest that the Aaron referred to here is an otherwise unknown brother of Mary, the mother of Jesus, and of Elizabeth, the mother of John the Baptist (q.v.), who were related through their father ʿImrān b. Matthān (see Bayḍāwī, *Anwār,* ad Q 3:30-1). See also PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD.

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ʿAbd see SERVANT; SLAVES AND SLAVERY

Ablution see CLEANLINESS AND ABLUTION

Abortion

The premature expulsion of a fetus. Classical Muslim jurists applied a number of terms to abortion, including *ijhāḍ, isqāṭ, ṭarḥ, ilqāʾ* and *imlāṣ*. The Qurʾān makes no reference to abortion as the term is commonly understood, although it upholds the sanctity of human life in general (e.g. Q 5:32) and forbids the killing of children (Q 17:31) and female infants (Q 81:8-9) in particular (see CHILDREN; INFANTICIDE; MURDER). The restrictive view of abortion commonly held by jurists was based on the

general qurʾānic interdiction of unlawfully taking human life.

The qurʾānic descriptions of the development of the human embryo (see BIOLOGY AS THE CREATION AND STAGES OF LIFE) led scholars to differentiate between an initial soulless and unformed biological entity and the human being into which it developed: "We created man from an extraction of clay (q.v.), then we set him as a drop *(nuṭfa)* [of sperm] in a safe lodging. Then we created from the drop a clot of blood (*ʿalaqa,* see BLOOD AND BLOOD CLOT); then we created from the clot a small piece of tissue *(muḍgha),* subsequently creating from the tissue bones and covering the bones in flesh; and then we produced it as another creature" (Q 23:12-14). With the exception of the reference to creation from "an extraction of clay," which was believed to apply only to the special case of the first man, Adam, this passage was held to represent the normal development of the human fetus. Some scholars interpreted "and then we produced it as another creature" as indicating that the infant was given a soul some time after conception (Qurṭubī, *Jāmiʿ,* xii, 5-14; Rāzī, *Tafsīr,* xxiii, 84-7; Ṭabarsī, *Majmaʿ,* vii, 101; Ṭabāṭabāʾī, *Mīzān,* xv, 20-4). Well-known ḥadīth, recorded in both Sunnī and Shīʿī collections, provided further justification for this view. Some of these set the duration of the first three stages of the fetus, namely drop, clot and tissue, at forty days each. After the completion of this cycle, God dispatched an angel to breathe the soul *(rūḥ)* into the fetus at which point its fate on earth and in the hereafter was ordained (Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ, K. al-Qadar;* Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ, K. al-Qadar;* al-Ḥurr al-ʿĀmilī, *Wasāʾil, K. al-Diyāt,* no. 35652).

For this reason, all Muslim jurists forbade abortion after the fetus had been in the womb for 120 days, although the legal schools and individual scholars differed over the permissibility of abortion before this point (Qurṭubī, *Jāmiʿ,* xii, 8; Nawawī, *Sharḥ,* xvi, 191). The majority of the members of the Mālikī law school prohibited abortion at any time on the basis that once conception took place the fetus was destined for animation. Some individual Mālikīs and the majority of the adherents of the other legal schools did allow abortions, but they disagreed over whether the period of permissibility extended forty, eighty or 120 days after conception. These thresholds determined whether a person who caused a woman to miscarry or a woman who caused herself to abort, either deliberately or through negligence, was liable for the full compensation stipulated for the killing of a human being (*diya kāmila,* see BLOOD MONEY) or a lesser penalty. In practice, the status of the expelled fetus was determined by examining its apparent state of development, i.e. whether it was "formed" or "unformed," a distinction having its roots in the other qurʾānic account of fetal development (Q 22:5).

The justification for an abortion most commonly cited in the classical legal literature was the threat posed to a nursing infant by the cessation of the flow of its mother's milk due to another pregnancy. In the case of a pregnancy which threatened the mother's life, a majority of jurists gave priority to preserving the life of the fetus, if it was believed that it had already acquired a soul (Ibn ʿĀbidīn, *Ḥāshiya,* i, 602; vi, 591; al-Ghazālī, *Iḥyāʾ,* ii, 53; Ibn Rajab, *Jāmiʿ al-ʿulūm,* 46). More recently, some thinkers have come to advocate saving the mother's life in such cases. Rape and incest have also been recognized as suitable justifications for abortion. See also BIRTH CONTROL.

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Abraha

The Christian ruler of a south Arabian kingdom founded by the Abyssinians (see ABYSSINIA), whose name is traditionally associated with the interpretation of Q 105, where there is a description of God smiting the People of the Elephant (q.v.). Although he is not mentioned in the qurʾānic text, his name is regularly given in the commentary literature. Epigraphic evidence, the writings of the Byzantine military historian Procopius as well as ecclesiastical sources provide independent historical attestation for this figure, but his association with the sūra is limited to Muslim sources, especially historical and exegetical texts.

The standard account of the Islamic Abraha may be found in the early pages of Ibn Isḥāq's *Sīra,* the most commonly cited biography of the Prophet. It is repeated or summarized in many subsequent commentaries (cf. Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* xxx, 299-303; Ṭūsī, *Tibyān,* x, 409-11; Rāzī, *Tafsīr,* xxxii, 96). Read as an extended commentary on Q 105, the story forms part of a larger account of Yemeni history in the generations immediately preceding the birth of Muḥammad (see SĪRA AND THE QURʾĀN). Its earliest segment is clearly framed as the annunciation of "an apostle who will bring truth and justice among men of religion and virtue" (Ibn Isḥāq-Guillaume, 6). As his portion of the story unfolds, Abraha is presented as seizing power of the Abyssinian-controlled territory in the Yemen (q.v.) by a coup and then cleverly defusing the sworn revenge of the Abyssinian ruler, the Negus *(al-Najāshī).* To mollify him further, Abraha builds a magnificent church in Sanʿāʾ and then pledges to divert Arab pilgrimages to this new sanctuary. Angered by a Meccan of the tribe of the Banū Kināna who defiles the church — by defecating in it, according to some exegetes (cf. Rāzī, *Tafsīr,* xxxii, 96; Qurṭubī, *Jāmiʿ,* xx, 188) — to prevent its use as a pilgrimage site, Abraha, in turn, vows revenge on the Meccan sanctuary and marches toward the Kaʿba (q.v.) at the head of a vast army. Abraha's defeat involves miraculous animals, including an Abyssinian battle elephant that kneels before the Kaʿba and refuses to fight and flocks of birds who rain stones down upon his assembled troops. Variants of this narrative abound, some offering as an additional explanation for Abraha's advance upon Mecca the destruction of a Christian church in Abyssinia by a cooking fire carelessly abandoned by some Arab traders (Muqātil, *Tafsīr,* iv, 847; Qummī, *Tafsīr,* ii, 442-3; Ibn al-Jawzī, *Zād,* ix, 232; Qurṭubī, *Jāmiʿ,* xx, 192-5).

Abraha's advance upon Mecca acquired additional importance in the Muslim sources as a point of chronological calculation for the birth of Muḥammad. Dates in pre-Islamic Meccan history were reckoned from the Year of the Elephant *(ʿām al-fīl)*

and the key dates in the life of the Prophet were coordinated with this year. Although Abraha's invasion and Muḥammad's birth are often dated to a year equivalent to 570 C.E., the commentators record no unanimity on this matter. Qurṭubī (*Jāmiʿ,* xx, 194) is representative in presenting sources that equate the Year of the Elephant with that of Muḥammad's birth as well as those that place Abraha's attack 23 or 40 years earlier. Western scholars have also long questioned the accuracy and historical reliability of these chronologies. Those of previous generations, such as T. Nöldeke, H. Lammens and R. Blachère, pointed out the inconsistencies within the early Arabic sources and the contradictions between them and evidence from extra-Islamic traditions. More recent work, such as that of L. Conrad and U. Rubin, has investigated the symbolic and topological significance of the dates and periodization of Muḥammad's career in traditional biographies. See also PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QURʾĀN.

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Abraham

Some two hundred and forty-five verses in twenty-five sūras of the Qurʾān make reference to Abraham (Ibrāhīm), the progenitor of the nation of Israel (q.v.). Among biblical figures, only Moses (q.v.) receives more attention and in the Qurʾān Abraham and Moses are the sole prophets explicitly identified as bearers of scriptures (Q 53:36-7; 87:18-9; see BOOK; SCRIPTURE AND THE QURʾĀN). Although the Islamic Abraham shares many characteristics with the figure in the Bible and later Jewish exegetical literature, the Qurʾān especially emphasizes his role as a precursor of Muḥammad and the establisher of the pilgrimage rites in Mecca (see PILGRIMAGE).

Abraham in the Qurʾān

The references to Abraham in the Qurʾān take a number of different forms and appear in a wide variety of contexts. Several descriptive appellations are applied to him. He is deemed "very truthful" (*ṣiddīq,* Q 19:41) and "kind and gracious" (*ḥalīm,* Q 9:114; 11:75). He is one who "paid his debt in full" (*alladhī waffā,* Q 53:37). His qurʾānic appellation as [God's] friend *(khalīl)* in Q 4:125 formed the basis of his honorific title "Friend of God" *(khalīl Allāh)* in the Islamic tradition. (The city of Hebron, traditionally regarded as the site of his grave, takes its Arabic name *"al-Khalīl"* from this honorific). Abraham is also called *"ḥanīf"* (q.v.), usually translated as "upright" or "pure of faith," in eight places (Q 2:135; 3:67, 95; 4:125; 6:79, 161; 16:120, 123). The term appears elsewhere only twice, in both cases referring to Muḥammad (Q 10:105; 30:30), and in the first of these he is called "*ḥanīf* and not a polytheist," a phrase also several times applied to Abraham. It is to be assumed that Muḥammad's connection to this respected figure served to enhance his religious authority

and prestige among those Arabs familiar with the Bible. The depiction of Abraham as *ḥanīf,* frequently in association with the phrase "religion of Abraham" (*millat Ibrāhīm,* Q 2:130, 135; 3:95; 4:125; 6:161; 12:38; 16:123; 22:78), has suggested to Muslim believers and Western scholars alike that an indigenous Abrahamic monotheism may have existed in Arabia prior to Muḥammad's mission.

Many Abrahamic references in the Qurʾān parallel biblical material. Abraham leaves his father and people and encounters God in a new land where he will raise his family (Q 19:48-9; 21:71; 29:26; 37:83-101; cf. *Gen* 12:1-5). He establishes a sacred shrine, the House of God (Q 2:125-7; cf. *Gen* 12:6-8, 13:18). He mildly challenges God and is then told to cut open or divide birds (Q 2:260; cf. *Gen* 15:1-10). He is associated with a covenant (q.v.) with God (Q 2:124-5; 33:7; cf. *Gen* 17:1-14). He is visited by divine messengers who announce the forthcoming birth of a son to him and his wife, and who then proceed to destroy the people of Lot (q.v.; Q 11:69-76; 15:51-9; 29:31; 51:24-30; cf. *Gen* 18:1-20). He argues with God over the fate of the people of Lot (Q 11:74-6; cf. *Gen* 18:20-33). He takes his son and attempts to offer him as a sacrifice, but is released from the task by God (Q 37:99-111; cf. *Gen* 22:1-19). He is God's friend (Q 4:126; cf. *Is* 41:8; *2 Ch* 20:7).

Two of these parallels find expression in sustained narrative form. The visit of the divine messengers is mentioned in four qurʾānic loci, a repetition which attests to its importance. The messengers — or a guest — come to Abraham and he hospitably offers them a calf to eat. Yet Abraham fears these strangers because, according to Q 11:70, they eat nothing. In some earlier Jewish interpretive literature, the messengers also do not eat — despite the statement in *Gen* 18:8 that they did — because angels (q.v.) were believed neither to eat nor to have any other human bodily functions (*TB Ḥagigah* 16a; *Targum Yerushalmi, Gen* 18:8; *Genesis Rabba* 48:14). The post-biblical Jewish motif of these guests not eating Abraham's food was retained in the qurʾānic version, but the Jewish explanation for this was not. The qurʾānic Abraham therefore interprets their refusal to eat as a sign of hostility, causing him to fear for his safety until he is assured by them that they have come to announce the happy news of a future son (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* xiv, 70-1). His unnamed wife laughs (*ḍaḥikat,* Q 11:71) or strikes her head in unbelief (Q 51:29), but since the Hebrew play on words between laugh *(ṣaḥoq)* and Isaac (Yiṣḥāq, see ISAAC) is not retained in Arabic, Muslim commentators offer a series of alternative explanations for her behavior (Firestone, *Journeys,* 52-9).

Many motifs in the qurʾānic account (Q 37:99-111) and Islamic exegesis of Abraham's attempted sacrifice of his son *(dhabīḥ)* find parallels in Jewish tradition (Firestone, *Journeys,* 105-34), although in the Qurʾān the son knows beforehand of his father's intention and actually encourages him to perform the deed. Of greatest interest to the Muslim commentators was the identity of the son, who is not named in the Qurʾān. Some identified him, as the Bible does, as Isaac, Abraham's son by his wife Sarah; although others wished to cast the progenitor of the Arabs, Ishmael (q.v.), his son by Sarah's handmaiden Hagar, in this central role. Muslim interpreters read the explicit reference to Isaac in Q 37:112 in ways that support Ishmael as well as Isaac as the intended sacrifice.

The most oft-repeated Abrahamic narrative in the Qurʾān, the story of his smashing the pagan idols (Q 6:74-84; 19:41-50; 21:51-73; 26:69-86; 29:16-27; 37:83-98; 43:26-7; 60:4), has no biblical parallel, but is well known in Jewish exegetical literature (e.g. *Genesis Rabba* 38:13; *TB Pesaḥim* 118a,

ʿEruvin 53a; *PRE* 26). The various qurʾānic versions tend to emphasize different issues for which parallels can be found in Jewish sources. In Q 6:74, Abraham calls his father by the name Āzar (q.v.). Q 6:75-9 describes Abraham's discovery of monotheism through logical reflection and the empirical observation of nature, a story of great antiquity (Ginzberg, *Legends,* v, 210, n. 16). Despite his father's hostility towards him (Q 19:46), Abraham prays that he be forgiven for his sin of worshipping idols (Q 9:113-4; 14:41; 19:47; 26:86; 60:4). This aspect of the legend may have held particular poignancy for Muḥammad, who, according to tradition, wished to do the same for his idolatrous ancestors (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* xiii, 40-53). Abraham destroys his father's idols and those of his compatriots (Q 21:57-8; 37:93; see IDOLATRY AND IDOLATERS). For this he is sentenced to be burnt alive, but God rescues him (Q 21:68-9; 29:24; 37:97-8). He also endures further trials in which he prevails (Q 2:124; 37:106; cf. *Avot* 5:3, with details provided in the *midrash* and elsewhere).

One series of Abrahamic references in the Qurʾān finds no parallel in either the Bible or later Jewish traditions. These associate Abraham, and often Ishmael, with the building of the Kaʿba (q.v.), with Arabian cultic practice and with terminology of Islamic religious conceptions. Abraham and Ishmael raise up the foundations of the House and entreat God to keep them and their descendants forever a "nation in submission to You" and to show them the proper pilgrimage rituals (*manāsik,* Q 2:127-8). Elsewhere, Abraham prays for the safety of the territory around the Kaʿba and prays for those of his descendants whom he settled in Mecca to engage in regular prayers and remain secure (Q 14:35-7). God settles Abraham at the House or makes the area habitable and enjoins him (or, perhaps, Muḥammad) to announce officially the pilgrimage to Mecca (Q 22:26-7). Abraham and Ishmael are ordered to render the Kaʿba pure for the proper monotheistic pilgrimage ritual of circumambulation and for kneeling and prostration there in prayer (Q 2:125). The famous place of prayer, the Place of Abraham (q.v.; Q 2:125; 3:96-7), is situated near the Kaʿba.

For Jews Abraham's special covenantal relationship with God established him as the authenticator and founder of Judaism. It was natural that when Christianity established itself as related to but independent of Judaism, Christians appropriated the figure of Abraham as a means of legitimating their religion (*Rom* 4:9-25; 9:7-9; *Ga* 4:21-31). Similarly, Abraham's role in the Qurʾān includes a related but more polemical aspect as he appears as neither a Jew nor a Christian but as a *ḥanīf muslim* (Q 3:65-70; cf. 2:140). Like the New Testament citations, the Qurʾān stipulates that the divine covenant established with Abraham does not automatically include all of his progeny (Q 2:124; 4:54-5; 37:113; 57:26). Inasmuch as the religion of Muḥammad is the religion of Abraham (Q 22:78), those Jews who reject Muḥammad and the religion he brings are, in fact, rejecting their own religion. The Jews further deny the religious sanctity of Mecca, despite Abraham's intimate association with it (Q 3:95-8).

It is worth noting that the inconsistent qurʾānic references to Abraham's descendants have been an issue of some interest to Western scholars. Abraham is told by God's messengers that he will be the father of an unnamed son in Q 15:53; 37:101; 51:28. In Q 37:112 the son is named Isaac. A number of verses list Isaac and Isaac's son Jacob (q.v.) together as if they were both sons of Abraham (Q 6:84; 11:71; 19:49; 21:72; 29:27). In a series of quite different passages, Ishmael is listed as if he had no

familial connection to Abraham (Q 6:86; 19:54-5; 21:85; 38:48). The idiomatic phrase, "Abraham, Isaac and Jacob," is employed in two passages (Q 12:38; 38:45; cf. Q 2:132), while in yet another idiom, "Abraham, Ishmael, Isaac, Jacob and the tribes," is used (Q 2:136, 140; 3:84; 4:163). Already in the nineteenth century C.S. Hurgronje *(Het Mekkaansche Feest)* theorized that this material reflects some confusion over the exact relationship between Abraham and his descendants, claiming that these verses date from the Meccan period of revelations, i.e. before Muḥammad came into regular contact with Jews or Christians. The verses that reproduce the biblical genealogy were held to date from Muḥammad's days in Medina, when he apparently had ongoing contact with the local Jewish community.

The narrative Abraham cycle

Reports from the genres of ḥadīth, prophetic biography, qurʾānic exegesis and universal histories expand the spare qurʾānic material on Abraham. Linked together, this interpretive literature forms a full narrative cycle in three parts. The first takes place in Mesopotamia, the land of Abraham's birth; the second in the vicinity of Jerusalem (q.v.) and the third in Mecca (q.v.) and its environs. These three lands represent a hierarchy of sanctity culminating with the most sacred place and its holy sites. All of this material can properly be considered scriptural exegesis, although some of it indirectly interprets biblical scripture in addition to the Qurʾān by supplementing the qurʾānic revelation with material deriving from a biblicist milieu ("biblicist" referring to Jewish or Christian, whether "orthodox" or syncretistic in practice and belief). Given the great variety in the literature, only a representative account can be given here.

Part one begins with the astrological portents of Abraham's impending birth in Mesopotamia, often associated with Kūthā in southern Iraq. Nimrod (q.v.) is the king and he attempts to prevent the birth of his nemesis through a variety of stratagems, all of which fail. Abraham's infancy and youth are marked by miraculous signs (q.v.) and events. While still a boy, he determines through his natural intelligence and perspicacity that neither idols nor even the sun or moon could possibly be divine (Q 6:75-9). Soon after, he argues against the idolatry of his father and his people and a variety of traditions weave together one or more of the qurʾānic renderings of Abraham destroying his father's idols. In some versions of the story, Abraham destroys the idols of king Nimrod as well. Consequently, he is to be burned alive but instead is miraculously saved from the flames. The extra-qurʾānic sources add many details. Nimrod, for instance, dies when God causes a gnat to fly through his nose into his head and torture him to death. Meanwhile, Abraham marries Sarah who is sometimes described as the daughter of the king of Haran (thus explaining the Hebrew meaning of *sārāh*, "princess").

While traveling, Abraham encounters a tyrant, king or pharaoh who becomes enamored of Sarah's stunning beauty. Asked about her, Abraham informs him that she is his sister and she is taken from him. The tyrant reaches for her when they are in his chambers, but his hand, or entire body, is miraculously stricken, sometimes repeatedly as he continually attempts to touch her. He returns her to Abraham, along with Hagar, who according to some accounts had been given to him as compensation. Hagar later gives birth to Ishmael, but the references to Ishmael's birth are inconsistent and do not seem to reflect a coherent narrative tradition. Abraham settles in Sabaʿ near Jerusalem where he digs a well (see WELL AND SPRINGS) and estab-

lishes a place of prayer. The people in the area wrong him, so he moves away and the well immediately dries up. After this the people pursue him to beg forgiveness. Abraham gives them seven goats and tells them that when they are brought to the well it will provide water, thus providing a narrative explanation for the etiology of the name of the place Beer-Sheba (*biʾr sabaʿ* or "well of the seven [goats]").

After these events, the scene is transferred to Mecca. Sarah's jealousy toward Hagar after the birth of Ishmael forces Abraham to separate the two women. He personally brings Hagar and Ishmael to Mecca, where he places them in the shade of a thorn tree and entrusts them to God's mercy. Afterwards he returns to his family in Syria/Palestine. With no water in Mecca, Hagar cannot provide for her infant son, who begins to show signs of distress. She leaves him and desperately searches for water by running between the nearby hills of al-Ṣafā (q.v.) and al-Marwa (q.v.), an action that sets the precedent for the "running ritual" *(saʿy)* of the pilgrimage. When all hope seems lost, they are rescued by an angel, sometimes identified as Gabriel, who scratches the ground to bring forth water from what would become the famous Zamzam spring in Mecca. Abraham does not neglect his son in Mecca, but comes to see him three times, although Ishmael is away during the first two visits. On his first attempt to see his son, Abraham encounters Ishmael's inhospitable and unfriendly wife. He gives her a coded message to pass on to his son to the effect that she is not acceptable. Ishmael dutifully divorces her and remarries. On Abraham's second visit he finds a hospitable and respectful wife. With another coded message, he lets his son know he approves of her. During this visit, according to some accounts, Abraham stands on a rock which would become known as the Place of Abraham, leaving his footprint. On his third visit, Abraham finds Ishmael at home and together, in response to God's command, they build the Kaʿba. Abraham then calls all humanity to perform the pilgrimage to God's House.

In a distinctly different version of the Meccan sequence attributed to the Prophet's son-in-law and the eventual caliph ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib (q.v.; d. 40/661), Abraham travels to Mecca with Hagar and Ishmael in response to God's command to establish the Kaʿba. They are guided by a supernatural being called the "sechina" (q.v.) or by a magic cloud that leads them to the exact location for the structure. In some accounts, Abraham and Ishmael discover the ancient foundations of a Kaʿba originally established for Adam which God had removed so as to prevent its desecration by the great Noachian flood. In a series of traditions without any consistent attribution or sequence of events, Abraham makes the first paradigmatic pilgrimage.

The qurʾānic rendering of Abraham's attempted sacrifice of his son is embellished considerably in the exegetical literature. Its relative placement within the full Abraham cycle varies in the different versions, as does the scene of the action, in some accounts occurring in Syria and in others in Arabia. In some renderings of the legend, Abraham and his family are confronted by Satan or a devil (q.v.), occasionally in the form of an old man. He attempts to convince them through appeals to logic and mercy to refrain from carrying out God's command. In some versions, Satan appears to Abraham at the location of various ritual stops of the Meccan pilgrimage and Abraham finally drives him away by casting stones at him near the three stone pillars (sing. *jamra*) where to this day stones are thrown as part of the pilgrimage.

Abraham's son — whose identity is contested by the qurʾānic commentators — is informed that he will be sacrificed. In a touching response, he asks his father to tie him tightly so that he will not squirm, to draw back his clothes so they will not be soiled by his blood and to return his shirt to his mother so as to offer her comfort. Abraham kisses his son and they soak the ground with their tears. Abraham actually draws the knife across his son's throat, but discovers that it will not cut because it has miraculously reversed in his hand to its dull side. Or he finds that an impenetrable sheet of copper has suddenly formed around his son's neck. In some versions, Abraham tries repeatedly to fulfill the divine command, but is thwarted each time by these miracles. He finally redeems his son by sacrificing a ram, sometimes identified as the very one that was successfully offered to God in sacrifice by Abel (see CAIN AND ABEL) and kept in heaven for this purpose.

The Muslim exegetes of the first two Islamic centuries differed about which of his sons Abraham was commanded to sacrifice. They approached the question in different ways and no consensus prevailed. The historian al-Masʿūdī (d. 345/956) succinctly stated the geographical argument: "If the sacrifice occurred in the Hejaz, it was Ishmael, because Isaac never entered the Hejaz. If the sacrifice took place in Syria [i.e. Jerusalem], then it was Isaac because Ishmael did not enter Syria after he was taken from there" (*Murūj,* i, 58). Nevertheless, some Shīʿī commentators claimed that Abraham attempted to sacrifice Isaac in Mecca while on the pilgrimage. Muslim thinkers, like their Jewish and Christian counterparts, came to believe that Abraham's willingness and that of his son to undergo the sacrifice brought blessings on them and their descendants. If Isaac were the intended victim, the merit would naturally accrue to his progeny, the Jews or Christians; if Ishmael, then to the Arabs. Those arguing in favor of Ishmael suggest that Isaac is an interpolation of the Jews and Christians: "[The People of the Book (q.v.)] forced this understanding because Isaac is their father while Ishmael is the father of the Arabs" (Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr,* ad Q 37:101). A quantitative study of the early exegetical literature suggests that most qurʾānic exegetes until about the middle of the second/ninth century, regarded Isaac as the intended victim, but later the choice of Ishmael gained favor and this has prevailed until the present day (R. Firestone, Abraham's son). See also PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD.

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Abrogation

A prominent concept in the fields of qurʾānic commentary and Islamic law which allowed the harmonization of apparent contradictions in legal rulings. Despite the voluminous literature Muslims have produced on this topic over the centuries, Western scholars have historically evinced little interest in analyzing the details of "abrogation." Although aware of these details, T. Nöldeke and F. Schwally, for example, failed to probe adequately the significant distinction made in applying theories of abrogation to the Qurʾān. To understand this application, it is important to distinguish the difference between the Qurʾān as a source and the Qurʾān as a text, the difference being the verses removed from the text, the substance of which remains a probative source for doctrine (J. Burton, *Collection,* 233). On the question of the relation between the Qurʾān and sunna (q.v.) — the customary practice of the Prophet Muḥammad as documented in the ḥadīth — inadequate information betrayed I. Goldziher (*Muhammedanische Studien,* ii, 20) into inadvertently misrepresenting the importance of the stance adopted by the classical jurist al-Shāfiʿī (d. 204/820). More recently, J. Schacht's concentration on "contradiction" *(ikhtilāf)* as an acknowledged category in the ḥadīth and sunna as well as his speculation on the origin and nature of ḥadīth led him to minimize the role of the Qurʾān, its interpretation and its perceived relation to the sunna as factors important to the evolution of jurisprudence (*Origins,* 95-7).

Classical Islamic jurisprudence recognizes two primary sources of legal rulings: the Qurʾān and the sunna. In addition, two secondary post-prophetic sources were acknowledged: analogy *(qiyās)* derived from one or other of the primary sources, and the consensus of qualified legal experts *(ijmāʿ)*. Abrogation is applicable to neither of the subsidiary sources, but only to the documents on which they are based. Since abrogation is solely the prerogative of the lawgiver, it may be argued that it must be indicated before the death of the Prophet who mediated the laws supplied in the Qurʾān and sunna.

"The cancellation of a legal enactment" is an inadequate translation of the Arabic term *naskh* which includes, when applied to the Qurʾān, reference to "omission," although it more commonly signifies "substitution." Abrogation may be external to Islam or internal. On its appearance, Christianity deemed itself to have replaced Judaism, while with its revelation, Islam saw itself as dislodging both of its predecessors as an expression of the divine will (al-Ghazālī, *al-Mustaṣfā,* i, 111). For each of the historical revelations, there was a preordained duration (Q 13:38), although Islam, intended to be the last of the series, will endure until judgment day (Q 33:40). Like Christ, Muḥammad came to confirm the Torah (q.v.) and also to declare lawful some of what had been previously declared unlawful (Q 2:286; 3:50). For example, the Prophet was instructed to declare the food of Muslims lawful to the Jews (Q 5:5). Indeed, some elements of Jewish law had been intended as punishment, imposed on account of their wrongdoing (Q 4:160; 6:146).

To Muslim scholars, the abrogation of

Judaism and Christianity by Islam was obvious, although internal abrogation remained less so. The latter had to be vigorously defended by appeal to the analogy of external abrogation, to verses in the Qurʾān and by reference to alleged instances of abrogation. For example, the Companion Salama b. al-Akwaʿ (d. 74/693) is reported to have said, "When 'and those who can shall feed one of the poor (Q 2:184)' was revealed, those who chose to break their fast [during the month of Ramaḍān, q.v.] fed the poor until the verse was abrogated by 'Whoever is present during the month shall fast (Q 2:185)'" (Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ, K. al-Ṣiyām*). In another instance, when a man inquired about the night prayer, the Prophet's widow ʿĀʾisha (q.v.) asked him, "Do you not recite Q 73? The Prophet and his Companions (see COMPANIONS OF THE PROPHETS) observed the night prayer for a whole year during which God retained in Heaven the closing of the sūra, revealing the alleviation only twelve months later, whereupon the night prayer became optional from being obligatory" (Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*). In these two instances of alleged abrogation, it is claimed that one regulation was withdrawn and replaced with a later one, although the replaced verses remained in the text.

Q 2:180 requires Muslims to make testamentary provision for their parents and other close kin, while another passage (Q 4:11-12) stipulates the shares in an estate which must pass automatically to a Muslim's heirs (see INHERITANCE). In deference to the legal principle that no one may benefit twice from a single estate, parents and other close family members now lost the right to the benefit stipulated in Q 2:180. Widows, being named in Q 4:12, lost the maintenance and accommodation for twelve months granted in Q 2:240 (see MAINTENANCE AND UPKEEP). For some classical jurists, one verse of the Qurʾān here abrogated another. Others argue that the provisions of Q 2:180 and Q 4:11-12 were by no means irreconcilable, but that the exclusion of parents and widows from their dual entitlement had been settled by the Prophet's announcement, "There shall be no testament in favor of an heir." Here the Prophet's practice was seen as abrogating the Qurʾān.

The words and actions of the Prophet came to be regarded by many as a second source of Islamic regulation which, like the Qurʾān, was subject to the same process of change (al-Ḥāzimī, *Iʿtibār,* 23). For example, Muḥammad announced, "I prohibited the visiting of graves, but now you may visit them. I had prohibited storing the meat of your sacrifices for more than three nights, but now you may store it as long as you see fit. I had prohibited the keeping of liquor in anything but skin containers, but now you may use any type of container, so long as you drink no intoxicant" (Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ, K. al-Janāʾiz*).

The qurʾānic passages concerning the change of the direction of prayer (*qibla,* q.v.) leave unclear which type of abrogation has taken place (Q 2:142-50). Some scholars argued that the change of direction indicated was a case of external abrogation. They held that the Prophet was bound by God's command to the Jews to face Jerusalem when praying, until this was abrogated by the qurʾānic verse. Others, interpreting the words "We appointed the direction of prayer which you formerly faced" (Q 2:143) as a reference to turning to Jerusalem, saw the change as internal abrogation, with one qurʾānic ruling abrogating the other (al-Naḥḥās, *al-Nāsikh,* 15). Noting the silence of the Qurʾān on the earlier direction of prayer, some other scholars presumed that praying toward Jerusalem had been introduced by the Prophet and later changed by the Qurʾān.

Al-Shāfiʿī's theory of abrogation

The Prophet's mission extended over twenty years. There was therefore nothing surprising in the idea that his instructions to his community should show signs of development. Little resistance was expressed to the notion that one of the Prophet's practices could abrogate another. Indeed, for scholars who undertook the derivation of the law from its sources in the Qurʾān and sunna, the simplest means of disposing of an opponent's view was the blunt assertion that, although it had been correct at one time, it has since been abrogated. It was the need to regularize appeals to the sources and especially to the principle of abrogation that led the scholar al-Shāfiʿī (d. 204/820) to compose his *Contradictory ḥadīth (Ikhtilāf al-ḥadīth)* and *Treatise [on Jurisprudence] (al-Risāla),* the earliest surviving statements on jurisprudential method.

A key feature of al-Shāfiʿī's work is the emphasis on redefining the term "sunna" to restrict it to the words and actions reported from the Prophet alone. Others had interpreted the term in the older, broader sense to include the practice of other authorities, in addition to the Prophet. Al-Shāfiʿī sought to convince them that God had singled out the Prophet as alone qualified to pronounce on the law. He amassed from the Qurʾān evidence that God insisted on unquestioning obedience to his Prophet (e.g. Q 4:13, 65). Appealing to a series of verses linking Muḥammad's commands and prohibitions to the divine will, and culminating in a verse which identified Muḥammad's will with the divine will (Q 4:80), al-Shāfiʿī succeeded in recovering the unique prophet-figure central to and partner in the processes of divine revelation.

Those who denied the sunna any role in the construction of the law did so on the basis that the Qurʾān contains everything that is needed and that many reports about the Prophet's behavior were forged. Al-Shāfiʿī sought to convince these scholars that it was the Qurʾān itself that enjoined appeal to the prophetic sunna (*al-Risāla,* 79-105). The result was not merely his assertion that the Qurʾān required adherence to the sunna of the Prophet, but also the elevation of the sunna to the status of another form of revelation (*Umm,* vii, 271), elucidating, supplementing and never contradicting the Qurʾān. Only a verse of the Qurʾān could abrogate another verse of the Qurʾān and these verses could only abrogate other qurʾānic verses. By the same token, a prescriptive practice of the Prophet could only be abrogated by his adoption of another practice. Contrary to the practice of earlier generations of scholars who were willing to believe that their doctrines abrogated those of their foes without any evidence to support the claim, al-Shāfiʿī asserted that the ḥadīth documenting every actual instance of abrogation have survived. Therefore, one had to show that one sunna followed the other chronologically in order to determine which was abrogated. Although al-Shāfiʿī defined "abrogation" as "to abandon" (*taraka, al-Risāla,* 122), he added that no ruling is abrogated without a replacement ruling being promulgated in its stead, as had occurred in the case of the change of the direction of prayer (*al-Risāla,* 106-13). Thus, for him, "abrogation" actually meant "substitution."

Abrogation and divine knowledge

To some minds, the idea that one verse from the Qurʾān abrogated another suggested that divine will changes and divine knowledge develops and this was held to contravene basic theological tenets. Those who allowed that some verses of the Qurʾān abrogated others, responded that no Muslim ever objected to the notion that Islam had abrogated Christianity and

Judaism. External abrogation of this type was an acknowledged reality, one to which the Qurʾān referred and consequently one that could be accepted. If God adapts his regulations to the different circumstances prevailing in different ages, as is apparent in the alteration of laws revealed to the different prophets, he may equally adapt regulations appropriate to the initial stages of one revelation to meet the changes wrought in the course of the revelation (al-Ghazālī, *al-Mustaṣfā,* i, 111). Moreover, there was historical evidence of this having happened. For example, the Muslims at Mecca were bidden to be patient under the verbal and physical assaults of their enemies. When the Muslim community emigrated to Medina, they were ordered to answer violence with violence. The weakness of Meccan Islam was replaced by the numerical and economic strength of Medinan Islam. Given these changed conditions, patient forbearance could be replaced by defiant retaliation (Q 2:191, 216; 20:130; 30:60; 73:10).

Muslim theologians maintained that divine will is sovereign and limited by no power in the universe. God may command or forbid whatever he wants. In the same way, divine knowledge is infinite and instantaneous. From all eternity, God has known what he proposed to command, when he would command it, the precise duration intended for each command and the exact moment when he proposed to countermand it. There is perfect harmony between divine will and divine knowledge. Perfect will does not alter and perfect knowledge does not develop. In the case of fasting during the month of Ramaḍān, the earlier option of fasting was subsequently made obligatory. In the case of the night prayer, an obligation was reduced to an option. In the case of the change in the direction of prayer, the Muslims were required to face Mecca after having been required to turn to Jerusalem. In each instance, the earlier ruling was viewed to be proper for its time and the later abrogation was also viewed to be proper in its time (al-Shāfiʿī, *al-Risāla,* 117-37).

Human circumstances, however, do change and human knowledge does develop. When humans command one another and subsequently become aware of unforeseen consequences, they are obliged to withdraw a command. Their lack of perfect foresight often obliges them to have second thoughts (*badāʾ,* Qurṭubī, *Jāmiʿ,* ii, 64), which according to classical Sunnī theology, may never by posited of the divine being.

When abrogation occurs people may perceive a change, but this is only a change from the human perspective. God sends his prophets with his commands and the true believer is the one who obeys (Q 4:65). Muslims should emulate the ideal attitude adopted by Abraham and his son, when both of them with full knowledge — in the Islamic tradition — were willing to proceed with the sacrifice.

The qurʾānic evidence

The claim that abrogation, understood as the cancellation of a legal ordinance, was solidly rooted in the revelation was connected with the appropriation of the qurʾānic root *n-s-kh* as a technical term. The root occurs in no fewer than four verses which the classical exegetes treated as circumstantially unrelated contexts to be interpreted independently. That prevented scholars from agreeing on an unequivocal etymology and definition of *"naskh"* and led to the consequent emergence of a host of irreconcilable theories of abrogation. Q 7:154 *(nuskha)* and Q 45:29 *(nastansikhu),* the first referring to tablets *(alwāḥ)* and the second to a book *(kitāb),* united with the everyday usage, *"nasakha l-kitāb"* (copied a book), to produce the concept of "duplication." The essence of this understanding is

a plurality of texts. This secular usage was said to be a synonym for *"naqala l-kitāb"* (transcribed the book) which, however, bears the added sense of "removal" hence "transfer" or "replace," as in the phrase *nasakhat al-shams al-zill,* "the sunlight replaced the shadow" (an etymology that is rejected by some, see Qurṭubī, *Jāmiʿ,* ii, 61). "God abrogates *(yansakhu)* whatever Satan brings forth" (Q 22:52) could yield only the sense of "suppression." This paralleled the secular usage *"nasakhat al-rīḥ al-āthār"* (The wind obliterated the traces [of an encampment, etc.]; cf. Qurṭubī, *Jāmiʿ,* ii, 61; al-Ghazālī, *al-Mustaṣfā,* i, 107). In this usage, abrogation as "removal" carries the connotation of "withdrawal."

"We will make you recite so you will not forget except what God wills" (Q 87:6-7) and "We do not abrogate *(nansakh)* a verse or cause it to be forgotten without bringing a better one or one like it" (Q 2:106) introduced the idea that God might cause his Prophet to forget materials not intended to appear in the final form of the text (J. Burton, *Collection,* 64). This interpretation could be reinforced by reference to "We substitute *(baddalnā)* one verse in the place of another" (Q 16:101). The concept of "omission" was added to the growing list of meanings assigned to abrogation (Qurṭubī, *Jāmiʿ,* ii, 62). According to one report, one night two men wished to incorporate into their prayer a verse which they had learned and had already used, but they found that they could not recall a syllable. The next day they reported this to the Prophet, who replied that the passage had been withdrawn overnight and they should put it out of their minds (Qurṭubī, *Jāmiʿ,* ii, 63). In another report, the Companion Ibn Masʿūd decided to recite in his prayers one night a verse he had been taught, had memorized and had written into his own copy of the revelations. Failing to recall a syllable of it, he checked his notes only to find the page blank. He reported this to the Prophet who told him that that passage had been withdrawn overnight (Nöldeke, *GQ,* i, 47, ii, 44).

Irrecoverable forgetting was thus formalized as "withdrawal," a more satisfactory explanation for the disappearance of revealed material. Although the majority of scholars viewed forgetting as one of the mechanisms of abrogation affecting the Qurʾān, there were those who strove to keep it separate from abrogation. According to one report, the Prophet omitted a verse in a prayer and asked one of his Companions why he had failed to prompt him. The Companion replied that he thought the verse had been withdrawn. "It was not withdrawn," declared the Prophet, "I merely forgot it" (Saḥnūn, *al-Mudawwana al-kubrā,* i, 107).

Theological objections to the interpretation

Still some scholars had difficulty in accepting the mechanism of abrogation as worthy of God. Some went so far as to provide variant readings for the references to abrogation in the holy text (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* ii, 478). One particular difficulty was "We do not abrogate a verse or cause it to be forgotten without bringing a better one or one like it" (Q 2:106). Some objected that no part of the holy text could be said to be superior to another so "without bringing a better one" could not be a reference to the Qurʾān. The same consideration applies to the Prophet's sunna abrogating the Qurʾān since no ḥadīth could be thought superior or even similar to a divine verse. The proponents of abrogation claimed that God was not referring to the text of the Qurʾān, but to the rulings conveyed by the text (al-Ghazālī, *al-Mustaṣfā,* i, 125; cf. Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* ii, 471-2). While in terms of beauty, no qurʾānic verse can be considered superior to another and certainly no ḥadīth is more beautiful than a verse from the

Qurʾān, the legal content of one verse — or even of a ḥadīth — could be considered superior to the ruling contained in another verse. Less easy to explain was the reason that in these cases God did not suppress the abrogated texts to avoid confusion (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* ii, 472).

Variant readings

That the notion of portions of the holy text being forgotten was repugnant to some is shown in two procedures adopted to avoid that interpretation. As an exegetical alternative, a number of different readings (see READINGS OF THE QURʾĀN) were proposed for the troublesome passages. In the passage "We do not abrogate a verse or cause it to be forgotten *(nunsihā)* without supplying a similar or better one" (Q 2:106) attention focused on the word which the majority of scholars read as *nunsi* (cause to forget). This reading was supported by "You will not forget *(tansā),* except what God wills" (Q 87:6-7). Also suggested were "You are caused to forget" *(tunsa)* which is to be preferred to "You forget" (*tansa,* Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* ii, 474-5). Both of the problems, Muḥammad forgetting on his own and God making him forget, could be circumvented by reading *nansaʾ,* "We defer" (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* ii, 476-8). Q 2:106 would then be mentioning two revelatory processes, *naskh* and deferment. The deferment of *naskh,* in the sense of "copying," could mean "the deferring of revelation from the heavenly original (see PRESERVED TABLET) to its earthly representation in the Qurʾān," said to have occurred in the case of the night prayer which the revelation of Q 73:6 changed from obligatory to optional (al-Shāfiʿī, *al-Risāla,* 108). Or it could mean deferring the removal of a passage from the Qurʾān, by leaving the passage in the text despite suppression of the ruling it contained (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* ii, 478). Generally, the sense of the verb *nasaʾa* (to defer) is held to be temporal, although it has also been said to have a physical connotation, "driving away," as men drive strange animals away from the cistern intended for their own beasts (Zamakhsharī, *Kashshāf,* ad Q 2:106; cf. Ṭūsī, *Tibyān,* i, 395). Transferred to the qurʾānic context, verses might be driven away from a text, even from human memory. Men may be caused to forget. In support of this interpretation, reports were cited which claimed that certain sūras were originally longer than they are in the present-day text of the Qurʾān. Even verses which had allegedly been revealed and failed to find a place in the final text — such as the Ibn Ādam and Biʾr Maʿūna verses (see J. Burton, *Sources,* 49-53) — were cited, supposedly from the few Companions who had not quite forgotten them (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* ii, 479-80). Through another approach it is not even necessary to resort to variant readings because the Arabic word for "to forget" *(nasiya)* could be construed to mean "to remove something" or its opposite, "to leave something where it is" (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* ii, 476). This could mean that the verses were in the heavenly original, but not revealed, or the verses were left in the text of the Qurʾān and were neither repealed nor removed. Once replacement is ascertained to have occurred, it is immaterial whether the wording of an abandoned ruling is expunged or whether it is left to stand in the Qurʾān. The passages whose rulings have been replaced become inoperative or effectively removed (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* ii, 472).

Abrogation and the law

Legal scholars appealed to the principle of abrogation continually to resolve the apparent contradictions between the legal practice of the various regions of the Islamic world and between all of these and their putative sources in the revelation. "Forgetting" and "omission" were of no

interest to the legal scholars who concentrated on "substitution" derived from "We substitute one verse in the place of another" (Q 16:101) and imposed by them on "We do not abrogate a verse or cause it to be forgotten without bringing a better one or one like it" (Q 2:106). The difficulties which beset the exegetes and theologians were of little concern to legal scholars, who declared that "abrogation" *(naskh)* was a technical term with a meaning now clear to all (al-Jaṣṣāṣ, *Aḥkām,* ad Q 2:106). Most cited "We substitute one verse in the place of another" (Q 16:101) as evidence that abrogation in the form of "substitution" had occurred, an interpretation already mentioned by the oldest exegetes (e.g. al-Farrāʾ, *Maʿānī,* i, 64-5). In fact, abrogation as substitution became the theater of the liveliest development of the theories of abrogation.

The third type of abrogation

To the jurisprudent's interpretation of abrogation as "the replacement of the ruling but not of the text in which it appears" and to the exegete's "the withdrawal of both the ruling and its wording," a third type was added. Q 5:89 mentions "a fast of three days" as one way to atone for breaking an oath. The Companion Ibn Masʿūd (d. ca. 33/653) was said to have preserved in his personal notes the original reading of "a fast of three *consecutive* days." His anomalous reading was still referred to in the time of the legal expert Abū Ḥanīfa (d. ca. 150/767). Although the word "consecutive" was not found in the text of the Qurʾān that was in general use, the ruling was adopted into Ḥanafī doctrine (al-Sarakhsī, *Uṣūl,* ii, 81). This exemplifies the third type of abrogation in which the text, but not the ruling, of a qurʾānic revelation was cancelled.

Q 4:15-16 introduces a penalty for illicit sexual behavior (see ADULTERY AND FORNICATION). Both partners are to be punished with unspecified violence and the female held under house arrest for life or "until God makes a way for them." The promised way was thought to have been provided in Q 24:2, which imposed a penalty of one hundred lashes for male and female fornicators. Nevertheless, a Companion reported that the Prophet had announced, "Take it from me! Take it from me! God has now made the way for women. Virgin with virgin, one hundred lashes and banishment for twelve months. Non-virgin with non-virgin, one hundred lashes and death by stoning" (al-Shāfiʿī, *al-Risāla,* 129). Reports from other Companions show the Prophet extending the dual penalties to males while a number state that he stoned some offenders without flogging them (Mālik, *al-Muwaṭṭaʾ, Ḥudūd, Ḥadd al-zinā*). On the basis of this material, some concluded that this was a case of the Prophet's practice abrogating the Qurʾān.

The vast majority of scholars, however, regarded the imposition of stoning as the penalty for adultery as an instance of a verse from the holy text being eliminated, although the ruling it contained remained in effect. The Medinan scholar Mālik b. Anas (d. 179/795), for instance, had heard that the penalty of stoning had originated in "the book of God," which in this case he understood to be the Torah. He reported that the Prophet had consulted the rabbis and the stoning ruling was indeed found in the Torah. With explicit reference to "the book of God," Muḥammad imposed the ruling. Other scholars interpreted the term "the book of God" as a reference to the Qurʾān and were puzzled that they could not find such a ruling within its pages. The Prophet's second successor ʿUmar (r. 12/634-22/644) gravely urged the Muslims not to overlook "the stoning verse" which, he maintained, had been revealed to Muḥammad, taught by him to his Companions and recited in his company in the ritual

prayers: "The mature male and female, stone them outright." ʿUmar insisted that the Prophet, his immediate successor Abū Bakr (r. 11/632-13/634) and he himself had put this ruling into practice and claimed that fear of being accused of adding to the holy text was the only reason that he did not actually write the "verse" in the Qurʾān. Countless scholars in succeeding centuries have stated with assurance that a verse with the same or similar wording had once stood in the qurʾānic text. From this, they concluded that a verse could be removed from the Qurʾān without this vitiating the validity of the ruling it contained (al-Ghazālī, *al-Mustaṣfā,* ii, 124).

Al-Shāfiʿī did not analyze these materials from the standpoint of those who saw here the abrogation of the Qurʾān by the sunna, a claim which he at all times studiously avoided. Rather he preferred to review the case on the basis of his theory of exclusion *(takhṣīṣ)*. By imposing on slave women half the penalty of the free, Q 4:25 excluded slaves from the full brunt of Q 24:2 — which ordered a flogging of one hundred lashes for male and female adulterers — and from the stoning penalty, since death has no definable half. Therefore certain classes of free Muslims may also be exempt from some of the penalties. The Prophet's practice indicated that married offenders were not covered by Q 24:2 or, if they had originally been covered by that provision, they were subsequently excluded. Their penalty was to be stoning. The sunna of stoning had replaced the earlier sunna of flogging and stoning. In his analysis, al-Shāfiʿī maintained that the Prophet's words, "God has now made a way for women," showed that the qurʾānic ruling "confine [the women] in their home until they die or until God makes a way for them" (Q 4:15) had been abrogated (J. Burton, *Sources,* 143-56). He asserted that the Prophet had dispensed with flogging those who were to be stoned, although earlier he had applied both penalties. Because flogging was undeniably a qurʾānic ruling, some have mistakenly assumed that al-Shāfiʿī believed that stoning was a qurʾānic ruling as well.

Al-Shāfiʿī did acknowledge a third type of abrogation in his discussion of a different question, that of the withdrawal of a qurʾānic verse while the ruling it contained remained in effect. Q 4:23 lists the women whom a Muslim male is forbidden to marry, including his wet-nurse and any female to whom she has given suck. Scholars disputed the number of times a child had to be suckled by a woman to establish this ban to marriage. For Mālik, a single suckling in infancy sufficed to create a barrier to marriage (Mālik, *al-Muwaṭṭaʾ, al-Raḍāʿa, Raḍāʿat al-ṣaghīr*). For others even a single drop of breast-milk initiated the ban. Al-Shāfiʿī fastened on one report in which the Prophet's widow ʿĀʾisha was said to have claimed that a verse imposing ten suckling sessions had been revealed to the Prophet and it was replaced by a second verse reducing the number of sessions to five, which was also subsequently lost. Earlier Mālik had curtly dismissed this report *(al-Muwaṭṭaʾ, al-Raḍāʿ, al-Raḍāʿa baʿd al-kibar),* but al-Shāfiʿī made it central to his conclusions. He accepted this as the one undoubted instance of the withdrawal of a qurʾānic verse while the ruling it expressed remained valid (*Ikhtilāf al-ḥadīth,* vii, 208 margin; see also J. Burton, *Sources,* 156-8).

Conclusion

It is clear that the theory of abrogation developed its own internal dynamic. Al-Shāfiʿī's theory that the abrogating verses of the Qurʾān had once existed was not accepted by all of his contemporaries, but it later gained widespread support. Mālikīs and Ḥanafīs had no general need of this principle while Shāfiʿīs had no need what-

ever to posit that the sunna abrogated the Qurʾān or vice-versa. One nevertheless finds Mālikī and Ḥanafī scholars claiming that three forms of abrogation are documented (al-Sarakhsī, *Uṣūl,* ii, 81; Qurṭubī, *Jāmiʿ,* ii, 66), just as one also finds Shāfiʿīs adducing occurrences of the sunna abrogating the Qurʾān and the reverse which, they claimed, their eponym had overlooked (al-Ghazālī, *al-Mustaṣfā,* i, 124). See also TRADITIONAL DISCIPLINES OF QURʾĀNIC STUDY.

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Abstinence

In the Qurʾān abstinence in the sense of "restraint in or refraining from the indulgence of human appetites and impulses" is connected with words deriving from four different Arabic roots, namely *ʾ-l-w, ʿ-ṣ-m, ʿ-f-f* and *h-j-r.*

The paradigmatic event for the qurʾānic notion of abstinence is Q 74:2-5, which recounts one of the early examples of Muḥammad's experience of coming close to God as the revelation descends on him. God commands, "Arise and warn, your Lord magnify, your robes purify, and defilement flee *(fa-hjur).*" Drawing close to God requires abandoning or fleeing from all that might inhibit the human response to the divine initiative. This interpretation of an experience in the life of Muḥammad is supported by a later qurʾānic reference — following the chronology of T. Nöldeke (see CHRONOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN) — to an event in the story of Joseph (q.v.). Potiphar's wife admits that she tried to seduce Joseph, saying, "Yes, I attempted to seduce him, but he abstained *(fa-staʿṣama)*" (Q 12:32).

Humans are continually in need of rejecting or fleeing from anything that interferes with the on-going movement of the spirit in response to God. For instance, Q 4:6 states, "If any man be rich, let him be abstinent *(fal-yastaʿfif),*" in reference to the use of the property of orphans (q.v.) by their guardians, who are enjoined to abstain from misusing their power to exploit their vulnerable charges.

Abstinence also means refraining from illicit sexual activity, as in Q 24:33: "And let those who find not the means to marry be abstinent *(wal-yastaʿfif)* till God enriches them of his bounty." On the other hand, marriage entails responsibilities. Q 2:226 forbids a man to carry out an oath of sexual abstinence *(īlāʾ)* from his wife for longer than four months: "For those who swear to abstain *(yuʾlūna)* from their women, a wait of four months." After that, he must break his oath or she is divorced. See also FASTING.

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Abū Bakr

A prosperous merchant in Mecca who was an early convert to Islam (see Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh,* ed. M.J. de Goeje et al., i, 1165-6) and the first caliph of the community. Abū Bakr (d. 13/634) is often thought to be referred to in the Qurʾān, for example, in Q 39:33, where he is considered to be the one who "confirms the truth" of Muḥammad's message.

See also COMPANIONS OF THE PROPHET.

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Abū Lahab

An individual named once in the Qurʾān at Q 111:1. The name literally means "father of the flame," that is of hell. "Abū Lahab" was the nickname of an uncle of Muḥammad by the name of ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib who was a major opponent of the Prophet. See also OPPOSITION TO MUḤAMMAD.

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Abū Ṭālib

see FAMILY OF THE PROPHET

Abyssinia

Abyssinia *(al-Ḥabash* or *al-Ḥabasha)* does not appear in the Qurʾān, although the Christian Abyssinian state of Axum exerted a powerful influence on Arabia in the sixth century. Separated from the Yemen by only the narrow Bab al-Mandab Strait, Abyssinia controlled southern Arabia for some time and Christianity spread in the region. One sūra is ordinarily interpreted to allude to an Abyssinian military incursion that reached Mecca and it is said that some of the early Meccan converts to Islam took refuge in Abyssinia. Ethiopic languages influenced the dialects of southern Arabia and words of Ethiopian-derivation are found in the Qurʾān (see FOREIGN VOCABULARY). According to the exegete and historian al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923), the Meccan tribe of Quraysh (q.v.) traded in Abyssinia.

Sūra 105 (Sūrat al-Fīl) mentions God's destruction of the People of the Elephant (q.v.). According to the classical commentators, this is a reference to an Abyssinian incursion from the Yemen to Mecca in 570 C.E., which, some reports claim, was the year Muḥammad was born. Islamic references to this military campaign are largely folkloristic and find no corroboration from south Arabian inscriptions or other sources. The expedition made an impression on the local population because of the use of one or more elephants in the campaign. Abraha (q.v.), who was said to have been the leader of the expedition, was known to the Byzantine historian Procopius as a former slave who had seized control of the Abyssinian forces in the Yemen.

According to some Islamic sources, a group of Muḥammad's followers left Mecca for Abyssinia around the year 615. The authority on the life of the Prophet, Ibn Isḥāq (ca. 85/704-150/767), names eighty-three adult male participants and claims that this first emigration (*hijra,* see EMIGRATION) in Islam occurred as a result of pagan Meccan persecution, although other possible reasons have also been sug-

gested (Watt, *Muhammad at Mecca,* 113-6). The ruler of Abyssinia, the Negus *(al-Najāshī),* is said to have granted them refuge, despite the fact that the pagan Meccans sent representatives who tried to convince him to deny them protection. In recognition of this, Muḥammad mourned the Negus at his death and led public prayers in his honor.

In the Arabic genealogical tradition, the Abyssinians — along with the Egyptians, Sudanese and most other black African peoples — descended from Ham, the son of Noah (q.v.). The scholar Ibn Hishām (d. 218/834) in his *Kitāb al-Tījān* (p. 55), an early work on south Arabian history, claims that the south Arabian descendant of Shem, Ḥaḍramawt b. Qaḥṭān, inherited Abyssinia, creating by this claim a connection which draws attention to the close geographical and cultural ties between southern Arabia and Abyssinia. According to one tradition, the biblical Esau married the daughter of an Abyssinian king and eventually came to rule his kingdom (Kisāʾī, *Qiṣaṣ,* 154). In light of the Jewish association of Esau with Christianity, this explained the Christian presence in Abyssinia. See also PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QURʾĀN.

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Accident

see GOD AND HIS ATTRIBUTES; EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL

ʿĀd

An ancient tribe to whom the prophet Hūd (q.v.; Q 7:65; 11:50; cf. 46:21) was sent. They are mentioned twenty-four times in the Qurʾān.

The ʿĀd are described as a powerful tribe which existed after the people of Noah (q.v.; Q 7:69). They were mighty and proud of their strength (Q 41:15; cf. 26:128-9) as well as very tall of stature (Q 7:69). The prophet Hūd was sent to the ʿĀd, but his preaching was largely unsuccessful (Q 7:70-1; 11:53-4; 46:22). Other messengers were also sent to the ʿĀd, but they too were rejected (Q 26:123). Hūd tried to convince his people to invoke God's intervention after a period of drought (Q 11:52) and God punished them. The ʿĀd were devastated by a violent wind (Q 41:16; 46:24; 51:41; 54:19; 69:6; see AIR AND WIND), "the chastisement of a dreadful day" (Q 26:135), which blasted for a week (Q 69:7) and left only their dwelling-places standing (Q 46:25). Only those who believed Hūd were saved (Q 7:72; 11:58; 26:139). Some other references are unclear. It is said that God caused the death of the "first ʿĀd" (Q 53:50). The ʿĀd were summoned to faith in a place called al-Aḥqāf (Q 46:21). Another verse connects the ʿĀd with the mysterious Iram Dhāt al-ʿImād (Q 89:6-7; see IRAM). In other verses the ʿĀd are briefly mentioned with Noah (q.v.), the Thamūd (q.v.) and others (Q 9:70; 14:9; 22:42; 29:38; 38:12; 40:31; 50:13).

Frequent references in pre-Islamic poetry show that legends about the tribe of ʿĀd were well known among Arabs before the time of the Prophet (Horovitz, *KU,* 126-7) and the qurʾānic versions of these stories apparently belong to this cycle of genuinely Arabian traditions. Qurʾānic exegesis and works on the early prophets created a complete and coherent narrative of the vicissitudes of the ʿĀd, adding many remarkable details (see PUNISHMENT

stories). According to differing interpretations, Iram was either the name of a place associated with the ʿĀd or the name of the most representative subtribe of the ʿĀd. The ʿĀd were originally a nation of ten or thirteen subtribes and one of the first Arab tribes. Al-Aḥqāf, which literally means "the sand dunes," was identified as a place called al-Shiḥr, located between Oman and Hadramawt. An utterance attributed to Muḥammad specifies that the wind which killed the ʿĀdites was a western one. The ʿĀd were giants between ten and five hundred cubits in height and on one occasion they sent a delegation to Mecca to ask for rain. Stories are told about the tribe's legendary eponym ʿĀd and his powerful sons Shaddād and Shadīd. According to some reports, the sage Luqmān (q.v.) belonged to the ʿĀd. The surviving ʿĀdites sought refuge in Mecca according to some stories while others place them in the mythical towns of Jābalqā and Jābarsā.

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Adam and Eve

Adam is the first human being *(bashar)* and the father of humankind in the Pentateuch and the Qurʾān. "Adam" (Ādam) as an individual person occurs eighteen times in the Qurʾān. In addition, the phrase "the sons of Adam" *(banū Ādam)* in the sense of "humankind" is attested seven times. The qurʾānic commentators derive the name "Ādam" from *adīm al-arḍ* (ʿAbd al-Razzāq, *Tafsīr,* i, 43; ii, 20; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt,* i, 26; Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* i, 214-5) or from *adamat al-arḍ* (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* i, 208), because he was created from "the surface of the earth." The name of Adam's wife Eve, in the Islamic tradition "Ḥawwāʾ," is not qurʾānic, although she figures in the Qurʾān as Adam's counterpart and complement. "Ḥawwāʾ" is said to be derived from *ḥayy,* because she is the mother of everything "living" (Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt,* i, 39-40) or because she was created from something "living" (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* i, 229). The qurʾānic material on Adam and Eve addresses a number of basic topics.

The announcement of the creation of man

Q 2:30 reports the announcement of the creation of man: "And when your lord said to the angels (q.v.), 'I am about to place a vice-regent (*khalīfa,* see CALIPH) on earth,' they said, 'Will you place thereon one who will work corruption (q.v.) there and shed blood, while we proclaim your praise and call you holy?' He said, 'I know what you do not know.' " Like the Talmudic explanation of Genesis 1:26 (Speyer, *Erzählungen,* 52-3; C. Schöck, *Adam,* 97; cf. Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* xiv, 31; Rāzī, *Tafsīr,* ii, 154), God's announcement (*innī jāʿil,* Q 2:30; *innī khāliq,* Q 15:28; 38:71) is given before the council of angels (*al-malaʾ al-aʿlā,* Q 38:69), who argue against the creation of man (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* xxiii, 183-4). The commentaries on the

Qurʾān discuss the meaning of *"khalīfa,"* his identity and the identity of "the one who will work corruption there and shed blood." The term *"khalīfa"* denotes a person who takes the place of someone else and most commentators agree that it refers to Adam. This raised the question of whom Adam replaced on earth. Early commentary assumes that Adam was the successor of the angels or jinn (q.v.) who dwelled on earth before him and who were replaced because they became corrupt and shed blood. The famous early religious scholar al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (d. 110/728) identified the *"khalīfa"* as the offspring of Adam who succeed their father, generation after generation. Others take Adam for the *khalīfa* of God on earth in exercising judgment with justice (*al-ḥukm bi-l-ʿadl,* cf. Q 38:26). The commentators attribute the corruption and bloodshed (q.v.) to those descendants of Adam who do not follow the law of God (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* i, 199-201). There is general agreement that Adam was not the one causing corruption and shedding blood. This interpretation reflects the understanding of Adam as the first prophet and messenger, because these actions were deemed to be a great sin *(kabīra)* and thus inappropriate for a prophet (see IMPECCABILITY AND INFALLIBILITY). Modern commentators tend not to accept the early ḥadīth reporting that a rational species *(al-ṣinf al-ʿāqil)* resided on the earth before mankind (e.g. Rashīd Riḍā, *Manār,* i, 258). Some combine this view with their refutation of Darwin's theory of the evolution of man (ʿA.W. al-Najjār, *Qaṣaṣ,* 31; see also M.J. Kister, Legends, 84-100; id., Ādam, 115-32; C. Schöck, *Adam,* 97-102).

Learning all of the names

The announcement of the creation of man (Q 2:30) is followed by the verses "And [God] taught Adam the names, all of them *(al-asmāʾ kullahā)*. Then he presented them to the angels, and said, 'Tell me the names of these, if you speak the truth!' They said, 'Glory be to you! We know only what you have taught us.…' He said, 'Adam, tell them their names!' When he had told them their names, [God] said, 'Did I not tell you that I know the hidden things of the heavens and the earth?' " (Q 2:31-2). The Qurʾān does not mention how God taught Adam all the names nor does it refer explicitly to what God presented to the angels. Early commentaries on these verses presuppose that God showed Adam all the things while teaching him their names. In this case, "the names, all of them" means "the name of everything" *(kullu shayʾ)* for which the commentators give examples such as "man, animal, earth, plain, sea, mountain, donkey." Already al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī and his pupil Qatāda (d. ca. 116/734) understand God's teaching as a demonstration of the connection between names and things, the signifier and signified (cf. Rashīd Riḍā, *Manār,* i, 262). They add the deictic "this is" *(hādhā/hādhihi),* explaining that God said, "This is a sea. This is a mountain," etc. (ʿAbd al-Razzāq, *Tafsīr,* i, 42-3; Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* i, 216). Adam's knowledge of "all the names" was later interpreted as a general knowledge of all languages and through man's gift of language it was understood as a knowledge of the entire animate and inanimate world. Q 2:31 provided the starting point for the traditional Muslim discussion of the origin of language (cf. Speyer, *Erzählungen,* 51-4; Kister, in Rippen, *Approaches,* 107-9; id., in *IOS* (1993, 14of.; Schöck, *Adam,* 79f., 87).

The prostration of the angels before Adam

God's teaching of "the names" is followed by the qurʾānic verse: "And when We said to the angels, 'Bow down before Adam!' they bowed down, except Iblīs (q.v.). He

refused and behaved proudly. He was one of the unbelievers" (Q 2:34; cf. 7:11-2; 15:29-33; 17:61; 18:50; 20:116; 38:72-6). The early commentators discussed the reason Iblīs refused, reasoning that the bowing was primarily intended as an act of obedience to God and secondarily as a display of respect for Adam (see BOWING AND PROSTRATION). In other words, the angels bowed down before Adam out of deference to Adam and obedience to God, not in worship of Adam (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* i, 227; see ADORATION). Later scholars examined the question of whether Adam's knowledge *(ʿilm)* was cause for the prostration of the angels and whether it was the reason for Adam's superiority to the angels (Rāzī, *Tafsīr,* ii, 212-4). They also debate whether Adam's knowledge, when demonstrated to the angels, might be understood as a miracle (*muʿjiza,* e.g. Rāzī, *Tafsīr,* ii, 163-5, 169).

The creation of Adam

The Qurʾān mentions several materials from which Adam was created, i.e. earth or dust (*turāb,* Q 3:59), clay (*ṭīn,* Q 7:12; see CLAY), and sticky clay or mud *(ṭīn lāzib)*. More specifically, it is described as "clay from fetid foul mud" *(ṣalṣāl min ḥamaʾ masnūn)* and "clay like earthenware," i.e. baked or dry clay *(ṣalṣāl ka-l-fakhkhār)*. These terms are commonly interpreted as describing the different states of a single material. Commentators insist that Adam's clay *(ṣalṣāl)* was not baked, but was dried *(ṭīn yābis/turāb yābis)* without the use of fire, for Q 15:26-7 and Q 55:14-5 report that the jinn, unlike man, were created from fire. Narrative commentary and prophetic ḥadīth specify the places from which the earth was taken and provide various etiological explanations. According to some commentators, different kinds of dust were taken from the four corners of the earth so that the offspring of Adam would vary in color and quality. Others held that the dust was taken from different regions of the world, so that every part of Adam's body corresponded to an area. Others speculated that Adam's clay was taken from the seven earths (cf. Q 65:12) or the four elements so that his body combines the four temperaments. One view held that the material for creating his body was taken from the entire universe so that he became the microcosm *(al-ʿālam al-aṣghar)* corresponding to the macrocosm.

God himself formed the material of which Adam is made and breathed his spirit (q.v.; see also AIR AND WIND) into him (Q 15:29; 38:72). God says, "I created [Adam] with my own hands" (Q 38:75). In some commentaries God acts as a potter. He left the clay until it became good *(khammara)* and then kneaded *(ʿajana)* it. The question of the proper interpretation of God's "hand" or "hands" held a central place in the debates over corporealism *(tajsīm)* and anthropomorphism (*tashbīh,* Speyer, *Erzählungen,* 43-6; M.J. Kister, Legends, 100-5; id., Ādam, 135-7; C. Schöck, *Adam,* 67-8, 74-8, 82-6; J. van Ess, *TG,* iv, 399-400; Gimaret, Dieu à l'image de l'homme, 190-8).

The creation of Eve

The Qurʾān speaks of the creation of the second human being with the words: "People!… Your lord who created you from a single person and created from him his wife *(zawjahā)*" (Q 4:1). This "single person" *(nafs wāḥida)* is interpreted as Adam and "his wife" as Eve (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* iv, 224). The early commentators report that she was created from the lowest of Adam's ribs *(quṣayrā)* — which is sometimes also understood as the shortest rib *(al-ḍilʿ al-aqṣar)* — or from a rib on his left side. This was done while he was sleeping with the aim "that he might dwell with her" (Q 7:189). The Qurʾān does not report

when she was created, although some ḥadīth recount that she was created while Adam was dwelling in the garden of paradise (q.v.), where he had roamed alone (Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt,* i, 39; Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* iv, 224-5). According to other reports, she was created before Adam entered the garden (q.v.; Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* i, 229-30). After describing the creation of Eve, Q 7:189 continues: "Then, when he covered her, she became pregnant with a light burden." The Qurʾān is not clear about where this happened, but most of the commentators situate Eve's pregnancy after their fall from paradise (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* ix, 145).

The sojourn in paradise, the offense against God's command and the descent to earth

God commanded Adam and Eve to enjoy paradise with only a single restriction: "Adam, dwell you and your wife in the garden *(al-janna)* and eat freely of it wherever you desire, but do not go near this tree, lest you become wrong-doers!" (Q 2:35; cf. 7:19). This was a contract God made with Adam (*ʿahidnā ilā Ādam,* Q 20:115). Most commentators interpret the forbidden tree as an ear of grain *(sunbula),* wheat *(burr, ḥinṭa),* a vine *(karma, shajarat al-ʿinab, shajarat al-khamr)* or a fig tree (*tīna,* Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* i, 231-3). Other explanations mention trees with delicious and fragrant fruits. It is also called the "tree of knowledge *(ʿilm)*" or "tree of eternity *(khuld)*" (Q 20:120). The angels eat its fruit because they are immortal (ʿAbd al-Razzāq, *Tafsīr,* ii, 226; cf. Q 7:20).

Upon Satan's prompting, Adam and Eve ate from the forbidden tree (Q 7:20-2; 20:121) and descended from the garden to the earth (Q 2:36; 7:24-5; 20:123). The early commentators do not question that Adam sinned, although his sin was viewed as predetermined (J. van Ess, *Zwischen Ḥadīṯ und Theologie,* 161-8). The later commentaries, influenced by the dogma of the prophetic impeccability *(ʿiṣma),* emphasize that Adam and Eve were made to "slip" by Satan (*azallahumā,* Q 2:36) and Adam forgot (*nasiya,* Q 20:115); or they characterize the disobedience (q.v.) as an error in judgment *(khaṭaʾ fī l-ijtihād)* since Adam had assumed a single tree *(shakhṣ)* to be forbidden rather than the species *(nawʿ).* He did not eat from the particular tree God showed him, but from another one of the same species. Tradition reports that from paradise Adam was made to descend to India and Eve to Jeddah. They re-united in ʿArafāt (q.v.) near Mecca (q.v.; Speyer, *Erzählungen,* 61-73; M.J. Kister, Ādam, 146-55; C. Schöck, *Adam,* 89-96, 106-32, 185). See FALL OF MAN.

God's forgiveness and guidance

After his "slip," "Adam received words *(kalimāt)* from his Lord and He forgave him *(tāba ʿalayhi)*.... We [viz. God] said, 'Get down from [the garden of paradise], all together! If guidance comes to you from me, whoever follows my guidance will experience no fear and will suffer no sorrow.'" (Q 2:37-8). Most commentators explain the "words" which "Adam received" as his speech: "Our Lord, we have wronged ourselves. If you do not forgive us and have mercy on us, we shall surely be among the lost" (Q 7:23). The key element of these verses is God's forgiveness of man and man's repentance. Together with God's "guidance" (*hudā,* cf. Q 20:122) and repentance *(tauba),* they will lead to man's return to paradise (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* i, 242-5). For Muslim orthodoxy, repentance became the first step toward a religious life (al-Ghazālī, *Iḥyāʾ,* iv, 2-4).

The election of Adam

Muslims consider Adam a prophet, although this is not explicitely stated in the Qurʾān. God elected *(iṣṭafā)* Adam as he did the prophets and prophetic families, e.g. Noah (q.v.); Abraham (q.v.) and his

family; the family of the father of Moses (q.v.), ʿImrān (q.v.); Isaac (q.v.); Jacob (q.v.); and Moses. The earliest testimony for Adam's status as a prophet is a ḥadīth narrated by Abū Dharr al-Ghifārī (d. 32/653), in which he asks Muḥammad who was the first prophet and he replies Adam. Q 20:122 reports that God "chose" *(ijtabā)* Adam, when he forgave him and guided him after his disobedience. Sunnī theology reconciled Adam's sin with the dogma of prophetic impeccability by arguing that his vocation began *after* his sin and his descent from paradise and thus he did not sin as a prophet.

The covenant

Prior to creation, "Your lord took from the backs of the children of Adam their offspring and made them testify against themselves. [God said,] 'Am I not your lord?' They said, 'Yes, we bear witness [to this]'" (Q 7:172). Early commentators interpreted this verse as a covenant (*mīthāq,* see COVENANT) between God and humankind, which committed men to monotheism. Although the Qurʾān states that the offspring were taken from "the children of Adam," most early scholars interpreted this to mean that God took from Adam's loins all of his progeny until the day of resurrection (e.g. ʿAbd al-Razzāq, *Tafsīr,* ii, 242). Although not all of the religious schools within Islam accepted this interpretation, the idea of the innate monotheistic nature of man (*fiṭra,* Q 30:30) was derived from this verse (cf. Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* xix, 40-1; Rashīd Riḍā, *Manār,* ix, 386-8; R. Gramlich, Der Urvertrag, 205-30).

The two sons of Adam

The Qurʾān reports the story of the two sons of Adam, one of whom murders the other because his sacrifice was not accepted while his brother's was (Q 5:27-32; see CAIN AND ABEL). In commentary the brothers are identified as Cain (Qābīl) and Abel (Hābīl). In the Islamic tradition, Cain is the prototypical murderer and the two brothers are seen as exemplars of good and evil (M.J. Kister, Ādam, 145-6; W. Bork-Qaysieh, *Kain und Abel,* 19-21). See also PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD.

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Adoption see CHILDREN; FAMILY

Adoration

The acts and attitudes of praise and honor accorded to God. The standard English renderings of the Qurʾān typically use "adoration" and its cognates to translate *sajada* (to prostrate oneself; see BOWING AND PROSTRATION), the quintessential Islamic ritual of adoration (see PRAYER). There is, however, a great deal more to adoration

than a physical gesture. A variety of qurʾānic terms vividly communicate the sense of "adoration" as a response to the divine being, including various forms of the roots *ḥ-m-d* (praise), *s-b-ḥ* (glorify), *m-j-d* (exalt) and *ʿ-ẓ-m* (magnify). Certain verses combine two or more of these terms (especially the first two, e.g. Q 2:30; 20:130; 39:75) to intensify the meaning, sometimes explicitly associating praise and glorification of God with prostration (Q 15:98; 32:15; 50:39-40). One widely-used Arabic-language concordance glosses the word *ḥamd* in Q 15:98 with all of the above-mentioned roots, adding *thanāʾ* (lauding), which is not used in the Qurʾān, but found in the ḥadīth, "I cannot adore you adequately" (Haykal, *Muʿjam,* i, 309).

More attitude than action, adoration encompasses various aspects of the orientation of creation toward the creator. All created things naturally adore God (Q 13:13: "the thunder adores by praising him"), but human beings need constant reminders. Adoration is thus an integral part of *islām* (surrender, see ISLAM), representing its more spiritually advanced and active aspect.

The exclamation *subḥāna llāh* (Praise be to God!) is a widely-used expression of admiration. *Subḥāna* and its cognate *tasbīḥ* are from a root associated with "swimming" or "floating," which is applied metaphorically to the heavenly bodies (e.g. Q 21:33; 79:3). It is often linked in the Qurʾān with *ḥamd* (Dāmaghānī, *Wujūh,* i, 446-7; Mir, *Dictionary,* 84), which is in turn related to one of the divine names (see GOD AND HIS ATTRIBUTES), *al-Ḥamīd* (Worthy of Adoration), and typically paired with other names such as *al-ʿAzīz* (Mighty) and *al-Ghanī* (All-Sufficient). Many commentators (e.g. Ṭabarī, *Commentary,* i, 61-3; A. Rippin, Tafsīr Ibn ʿAbbās, 79, 81) gloss the word "adoration" *(ḥamd)* in the phrase with which the first sūra begins, *al-ḥamdu li-llāh* "Adoration belongs to God," as "thanks" (Dāmaghānī, *Wujūh,* i, 263-4; Mir, *Dictionary,* 86), underscoring an understanding of adoration as the natural response of all creation to the source of all blessings.

Mystical exegesis often draws out more personal implications of adoration, emphasizing, for example, that bridging the infinite gap between the adorer and the one being adored implies annihilation of the one adoring (Nwyia, *Exégèse,* 284-5). Shīʿī commentators (see SHĪʿISM AND THE QURʾĀN), many of whom also have been mystically inclined, sometimes attached a significance to each of the letters of a word. For example, the imam Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq (ca. 80/699-148/765) identified the root letters of *ḥamd (ḥ-m-d)* with divine unity *(waḥdaniyya),* kingdom *(mulk)* and divine immutability *(daymūmiyya),* respectively (Nwyia, *Exégèse,* 166). Ayatollah Khomeini (1902-1989), commenting on the meaning of *ḥamd,* emphasizes the impossibility of directing adoration to any other than God, for all that is not God lacks truly adorable qualities. Picking up a theme important in some medieval mystical exegesis such as that of al-Qūnawī (d. 673/1274, *Iʿjāz,* 271-5), Khomeini explores the metaphysical intricacies of adoration.

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Adultery and Fornication

The qurʾānic word *zinā* (elsewhere more commonly *zināʾ*) means sexual intercourse outside the institutions of marriage and concubinage. Q 17:32 characterizes this behavior as a *fāḥisha,* i.e. an obscene act of transgression against God from which a Muslim should refrain (cf. Q 25:68). These transgressions together with their specified punishment are called *ḥudūd* (sing. *ḥadd,* lit. limit, boundary; see BOUNDARIES AND PRECEPTS) and also include associating others with God and homicide. The Ḥanafite jurist al-Jaṣṣāṣ (d. 370/981) explains that adultery and fornication are transgressions because of the social chaos they create. The patrilineal descent of the offspring of such unions is unidentified. Thus, his right to inherit from the father is denied and he cannot know his patrilineal *maḥārim,* i.e. the relatives with whom sexual intercourse is considered incest (*Aḥkām,* iii, 200; see FAMILY; INHERITANCE). It is God who guides people to avoid this sin, as in the story of Joseph (q.v.), where God's intervention saved him from giving in to Potiphar's wife (Q 12:24). Prayers also help people to refrain from committing such acts (Q 29:45).

Q 4:15 commands that women who commit an obscene act of transgression — understood here to be either adultery or fornication — witnessed by four witnesses, be confined in their home until death or until "God makes a way for them." Q 4:16 orders that both participants be lightly punished, but if they repent and reform, they are to be left alone. Most interpreters maintain that these two verses were later abrogated (see ABROGATION) by Q 24:2 (e.g. Jaṣṣāṣ, *Aḥkām* ii, 105-6), which stipulates that the punishment for adultery and fornication, if witnessed by four competent men (Q 24:4), is one hundred lashes. (On the other hand, some who did not acknowledge the existence of abrogation in the Qurʾān believed that Q 4:15-16 refer to homosexuality.) The flogging is to be administered in public and the spectators are warned against misplaced compassion. Q 34:3 stipulates that these individuals will be allowed to marry only those who have committed similar wrongs and polytheists. The punishment of an adulterous or fornicating slave is half of that of a free woman (Q 4:25). A divorced wife guilty of proven adultery may be turned out of her home during the three months during which she would otherwise be entitled to remain there (*ʿidda,* Q 65:1; see MAINTENANCE AND UPKEEP; WAITING PERIOD). The Qurʾān does not specify the marital status of the culprits eligible for flogging, but the jurists and interpreters (e.g. Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* xviii, 46-8) understood it to refer exclusively to non-*muḥsan* individuals — essentially adults who have never experienced sexual intercourse within a legitimate relationship. The practice of stoning (q.v.) *muḥsan* adulterers and fornicators is stipulated in the prophetic ḥadīth, but not in the Qurʾān. Schacht (Zināʾ, 1227-8) doubted that the Prophet ever ordered this punishment.

The qurʾānic teachings and the prophetic ḥadīth make it practically impossible to prove adultery. In the first place, in practice it would be difficult to procure the testimony of four men who witnessed the act of penetration. Furthermore, inquiry into the matter and questioning the culprits is forbidden because prying into people's concealed actions is unlawful. The word of a husband who accuses his spouse of adultery, but lacks the corroborating witnesses, is acceptable, provided that he swears four times that he is telling the truth. In the fifth oath (q.v.) he invokes God's curse on himself if he is lying (see CURSE). The wife

averts the punishment if she swears to her innocence four times, followed by a solemn oath that her husband is telling a lie and invokes God's wrath (see ANGER) on herself if her husband is telling the truth (Q 24:6-10). This procedure is called *liʿān,* related to *laʿna,* "to curse." The person who voluntarily confesses adultery must repeat his confession four times and even then it may later be withdrawn. Persistent admission of sin and demand for punishment indicate a desire for atonement for the sin committed. Repentance exonerates the culprit from punishment. Inasmuch as adultery and fornication constitute serious offences, Q 24:4 prescribes eighty lashes for those who accuse women of adultery without the necessary proof and forbids that their testimony ever again be accepted. Some commentators believed that this revelation was occasioned by a false accusation lodged against ʿĀʾisha (q.v.), one of the Prophet's wives (see WIVES OF THE PROPHET).

It should be noted that qurʾānic teaching emphasizes that Muslims should refrain from abominable thoughts and desires (Q 6:151). However, if major sins are avoided, an adulterous thought *(lamam)* is not punishable (Q 53:32). The Prophet explained that these are the look in the eye, the desire within the heart and the verbal expressions which constitute the preliminaries for sexual intercourse. These are forgiven if they remain unacted upon (Bukhārī, book on social etiquette, see adultery of the senses: 5865).

The social development of Islamic teaching

It is a tradition of the Prophet that if adultery is discovered, the punishment is atonement for the sin committed. If it is divinely concealed, it is then left for God to punish the culprit or forgive him. This, together with the qurʾānic verses Q 24:10-18 (Quṭb, *Ẓilāl,* iv, 2494-505), which forbid slander are adapted to the social conditions and values of Muslim societies in various areas. In the coastal area of Tunisia, for instance, the concept of concealment is interwoven with the values of the power and wealth of a woman's agnates (father, sons, father's brothers and their sons). The wealth of the rich enables them to seclude their women and control their behavior. Furthermore, their influence and material power intimidate other men and deter them from approaching their women and also enable them to conceal any offences committed by their women. Such privileges are denied poorer men, who, together with their erring women, suffer social degradation which they consider "destined by God" *(maktūb)*. However, the punishment ordained by Islamic law is not inflicted (Abu-Zahra, *Social structure*).

In Egypt sexual offences committed by women also disgrace their agnates for it makes them appear unable to defend their honor or control their women. In the countryside adulterous women are drowned in the Nile. In Cairo people say, "If you disgrace yourselves, hide it" *(idhā bulītum fa-statirū)*. They may also say, "God commanded concealment." Both sayings are based on ḥadīth and the interpretation of Q 24:19. The principle that repentance exonerates one from punishment is also followed by authorities in the local mosques (Abu-Zahra, *Pure and powerful,* 197-9). The Azhar Fatāwā Committee *(Lajnat al-fatāwā)* also follows this Islamic teaching. In the case of a girl who contracted gonorrhea through adultery, the Committee was asked whether it would be lawful for her to conceal the illness from her fiancé. A judgment was issued that it would be a crime to do so (al-Ahrām, *Taqrīr,* 53).

In 1995, the Muftī of Egypt declared that it is necessary to integrate the qurʾānic *ḥudūd,* including those for adultery, in the

state penal code, on condition that they are carried out with meticulous observance of the traditional Islamic safeguards (al-Ahrām, *Taqrīr,* 78). This recommendation, however, has not been implemented. See also LAW AND THE QUR'ĀN; SIN, MAJOR AND MINOR.

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African Americans

Historical information about individuals like Job ben Solomon (ca. 1700-73), Abd al-Rahman Ibrahima (1762-1829) and Omar ibn Said (ca. 1770-1864) demonstrates that some of the Africans brought to America as slaves were not only Muslim but well-versed in the Qur'ān as well. For example, the first-named, born Ayuba Suleiman Ibrahima Diallo, came from a family of religious leaders in Futa in present-day Senegal. After he was manumitted and taken to England, he wrote several copies of the Qur'ān from memory. These men, however, were exceptional. Enslavement eventually stripped nearly all Muslim Africans of their language, culture and religion.

Only considerably later did African Americans seek to reclaim their Islamic heritage. The foundation of the Moorish Science Temple in 1913 by Noble Drew Ali represents one of the first attempts. According to Drew Ali, true emancipation would come to African Americans through knowledge of their Moorish heritage and the return to their religion, Islam. Each racial group had its own religion. For Europeans it was Christianity and for Moors it was Islam. Although couched in Islamic phraseology, many of the practices and insignia of the Temple seem to have been derived from The Ancient Egyptian Arabic Order of Nobles of the Shrine (also known as the Black Shriners). This movement had adopted its practices and insignia from The Ancient Arabic Order of Nobles of the Mystic Shrine (originally a whites-only organization in the United States) which had acquired its "Islamic" elements through its Scottish Rite Mason founders. They claimed an initiation from a Grand Shaykh of Mecca, honors from the Ottoman Sultan Selim III, a charter from the Bavarian Illuminati and links with the Bektashi Sufi Order.

The pseudo-Islamic nature of the Moorish Science Temple is particularly evident in the sixty-four-page *The Holy Koran of the Moorish Science Temple of America,* also known as the *Circle Seven Koran*. About half of this *Koran* is taken from an earlier text which purports to provide an account of Jesus' adolescence and early adulthood in India. Another major section, entitled "Holy Instructions from the Prophet," is an adaptation of the Rosicrucian or Masonic *Unto Thee I Grant* (or *The Economy of Life* and *Infinite Wisdom*). Drew Ali's personal contribution consisted of replacing the word "God" with "Allāh" and removing the description of Jesus as blond and blue-eyed. Nothing in the *Circle Seven Koran* comes from the Qur'ān. Muḥammad, in fact, is mentioned only twice and then only as the fulfiller of the works of Jesus (Wilson, *Sacred Drift,* 19-26). Therefore the *Circle Seven Koran*'s significance to Islam lies mainly in the implicit challenge to the uniqueness and finality

of the Qurʾān that the use of the title "Koran" represents.

The Nation of Islam represents another attempt to rediscover a Muslim heritage for African-Americans. Its founder, Wali Fard Muhammad (ca. 1877-1934?), is reported to have taught directly from an Arabic Qurʾān and to have consecrated it as the movement's primary scripture. When Fard Muhammad disappeared in 1934, his disciple Elijah Muhammad (1897-1975) became the movement's leader for the next four decades. Fundamental doctrines of the Nation of Islam included the belief that God had appeared in the person of Fard Muhammad; that Elijah Muhammad was his messenger; that the "devil" Christian white race was created by a renegade black scientist six thousand years ago; and that, although it had been prophesied that the white race would enslave the black race, the battle of Armageddon that would destroy the white race was imminent. Although these teachings appear to be unqurʾānic to most Muslims, Elijah Muhammad found qurʾānic support for them. For example, he interpreted qurʾānic passages about God, his messenger, Satan and the last day as references to Fard Muhammad, himself, the white race and contemporary America, respectively. His exegesis therefore consisted largely of reading the Qurʾān as a prophecy about peoples and events in the United States. This put him in conflict with the classical exegetical tradition, which relies heavily on lexical and grammatical explanations and particularly on the historicization of the Qurʾān through reference to the occasions of revelation (q.v.), abrogation (q.v.) and so forth. Elijah Muhammad's framework is not that provided by the biography of Muammad (see SĪRA AND THE QURʾĀN), but by the doctrines of Fard Muhammad. It is noteworthy that Elijah Muhammad relied much more on the Christian Bible than the Qurʾān, even though he felt that the former was a "poison" book full of "slave teachings." The Qurʾān, in his mind, was a perfectly pure book of guidance, truth and wisdom. Therefore, he encouraged all African Americans to buy it and read it. Despite his heretical views, he is primarily responsible for introducing African Americans to the Qurʾān.

After his death in 1975, Elijah Muhammad was succeeded by his son Wallace D. Muhammad — now known as Warith Deen Muhammad — who led the movement in the direction of more traditional Islamic beliefs and practices and changed its name to "The World Community of al-Islam in the West" and later to "The American Muslim Mission." Louis Farrakhan (b. 1933), unhappy with these changes, reconstituted the Nation of Islam in 1977 under the original teachings of Fard Muhammad and Elijah Muhammad. In both present-day movements, the Qurʾān is the main scripture. Although the Moorish Science Temple, the Nation of Islam and the American Muslim Mission have been the most prominent African American Muslim movements, there are at least fifteen other groups of this type, each possessing its own understanding of the Qurʾān.

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African Literature

As is the case elsewhere in the world, the memorization of the Qurʾān, or at least a portion of it, is the starting point for a Muslim child's education in sub-Saharan Africa. For those whose education continues beyond this point, the Qurʾān plays a relatively small role in their studies. Nevertheless, the language of the Qurʾān remains the stylistic point of reference for everything they subsequently write in the Arabic language, especially among the majority for whom Arabic itself is not the mother tongue. Thus, in the seventeenth-century chronicle of Timbuktu, *Taʾrīkh al-sūdān* (ed. O. Houdas, Paris 1898) of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Saʿdī, we find a large number of phrases which were either taken from the Qurʾān or inspired by it, e.g. *fī ḍalālin mubīn* (Q 3:164 et passim), *fataḥa lahu fatḥan mubīnan* (cf. Q 48:1), *al-fasād fī l-arḍ* (Q 11:116; cf. 2:205; 5:32), *al-taʿāwun ʿalā l-birr* (cf. Q 5:2), *yaqūlūna mā lā yafʿalūna* (Q 26:226), *lā tasmaʿū illā qīlan salāman* (cf. Q 56:25-6), *zulman wa-ʿudwānan* (cf. Q 4:30). Qurʾānic echoes are a marked feature of the prose writing of West African religious scholars *(ʿulamāʾ)* in particular, regardless of the topic they are treating.

Despite its mention in the study curricula of some scholars, qurʾānic exegesis *(tafsīr)* does not seem to have occupied a major place in African teaching traditions and few scholars wrote works in this field. An examination of the catalogs of public manuscript collections shows that *Tafsīr al-Jalālayn* of Jalāl al-Dīn al-Maḥallī (d. 864/1459) and Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505) was, as in many parts of the Muslim world, the most popular commentary in West Africa. In fact, it is found in almost every collection. Al-Suyūṭī communicated with a number of West African scholars and his writings are still greatly admired in the region. Together with the prominent Malikite legal work, the *Muwaṭṭaʾ* by Mālik (d. 179/795), and a book on the miraculous nature of the Prophet, *Kitāb al-Shifāʾ* by al-Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ (d. 544/1149), this commentary forms the triad of fundamental texts for aspiring scholars of the clans of the Dyula. Other commentaries one finds in West African libraries are *Lubāb al-taʾwīl* of al-Khāzin (d. 741/1340), *Anwār al-tanzīl* of al-Bayḍāwī (d. ca. 700/1301) and *Maʿālim al-tanzīl* of al-Baghawī (d. 516/1122). Less commonly found are *al-Tashīl li-ʿulūm al-tanzīl* of Ibn Juzayy al-Kalbī (d. 741/1340), *Madārik al-tanzīl* of al-Nasafī (d. 710/1310), *al-Jawāhir al-ḥisān* of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Thaʿālibī (d. 875/1471) and *al-Sirāj al-munīr* of al-Shirbīnī (d. 977/1576).

Local writing of qurʾānic commentaries is less common, except for brief treatises on specific verses or short sūras. The earliest complete commentary by an author from sub-Saharan Africa is that of the Mauritanian Muḥammad b. al-Mukhtār al-Daymānī, known as al-Walī al-Yadālī (d. 1168/1753), whose *al-Dhahab al-ibrīz* is a Ṣūfī exegesis (see ṢŪFISM AND THE QURʾĀN) which seems to be little known outside its land of origin. Much better known is *Ḍiyāʾ al-taʾwīl fī maʿānī al-tanzīl* (Cairo 1961) of ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad Fodiye (d. 1245/1829; see J. Hunwick (ed.), *Arabic literature,* ii, ch. 2, and esp. p. 93), brother of the celebrated Fulani warrior for the faith *(mujāhid)* and state founder ʿUthmān b. Muḥammad Fodiye. Copies of this commentary have been found in libraries in the Ivory Coast, Mali, Senegal, Mauritania and Morocco. The original work is in two volumes and its author later produced a one-volume abridgement, appropriately enti-

tled *That which suffices for the weaklings of the Sudan (Kifāyat ḍuʿafāʾ al-Sūdān)*. The same author also wrote a versified introduction to the traditional disciplines of qurʾānic study (see EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN), entitled *al-Miftāḥ lil-tafsīr,* based on two works by al-Suyūṭī, *al-Nuqāya* and *al-Itqān fī ʿulūm l-Qurʾān*. More recently from the same region, the former chief judge *(qāḍī)* of Northern Nigeria, Abū Bakr Gumi (d. 1992) wrote a simple commentary partially based on that of al-Bayḍāwī, entitled *Radd al-adhhān ilā maʿānī l-Qurʾān* (Beirut 1399/1979). Abū Bakr Gumi also published a Hausa translation of the Qurʾān (Beirut 1399/1979; see TRANSLATION OF THE QURʾĀN). A voluminous commentary entitled *Aḍwāʾ al-bayān fī īḍāḥ al-Qurʾān bi-l-Qurʾān* by the Mauritanian scholar Muḥammad al-Amīn b. Muḥammad al-Mukhtār al-Jakanī al-Shinqīṭī has also been published in ten volumes (Beirut n.d.).

If formal written exegesis in Arabic has not been such a widely practiced art, oral and hence unrecorded commentary in both Arabic and African languages has been more common. Nevertheless, to date little study of this form of exegesis has been done. However, a project of the Research Centre on Islamic History, Art and Culture in Istanbul — an organ of the Organisation of the Islamic Conference — aims to establish a library of recordings of the oral exegesis in the various African languages. At a more modest level, the practice of writing glosses in African languages seems to have some historical depth. An example of glossing in Kanembu, a language of Bornu, dating from ca. 1700, has been published by A.D.H. Bivar. At least one large written commentary exists in an African language. The manuscript collection of the Institut Fondamental d'Afrique Noire Cheikh Anta Diop has a work in Wolof by Mouhammadou Dème which runs 2,161 pages (see *Islam et Sociétés au Sud du Sahara,* vii [1994], 178, item 203). In the 1960s the Sudanese scholar, critic and poet ʿAbdallāh al-Ṭayyib undertook a bold experiment, offering on the radio a nightly commentary in colloquial Sudanese Arabic during the month of Ramaḍān (q.v.), which was an immediate success.

West African and Mauritanian scholars have also written works which deal with the Qurʾān in other ways. There is a literature on the "virtues of the Qurʾān" *(faḍāʾil al-Qurʾān)* and the virtues of particular sūras (see POPULAR AND TALISMANIC USES OF THE QURʾĀN). Asmāʾ bt. ʿUthmān b. Fodiye (d. 1280/1864), for example, wrote an Arabic treatise on the healing properties of certain sūras (see J. Hunwick [ed.], *Arabic literature,* ii, 164) and there is a poem in Fulfulde (also translated into Hausa) which consists in large part of the names of the various sūras to be recited to bring blessing (J. Hunwick [ed.], *Arabic literature,* ii, 168). The acrostic was a form of verse writing which found favor in West Africa. Although acrostics have been composed, for example, on the names of Shaykh Aḥmad al-Tijānī or Shaykh Ibrāhīm Niasse (and even on the names of the astronauts who landed on the moon in 1969), one of the more frequent choices is the first letters of one or more verses of the Qurʾān (see, for example, J. Hunwick (ed.), *Arabic literature,* ii, 348, 398). Additionally, there are a small number of works on the readings of the Qurʾān (q.v.) and on the orthography of the Qurʾān (q.v.). One example of the latter is Aḥmad Mālik Ḥammād al-Fūtīʿs *Miftāḥ al-amān fī rasm al-Qurʾān* (Dakar 1395/1975).

Africa has produced one true philosopher of the Qurʾān, who takes an approach to the text which has been considered by most Muslims to be errant if not heretical. Maḥmūd Muḥammad Ṭāhā was, in fact, hanged in the Sudan for apostasy in 1985. Born in 1909 (or 1911) in Rufa, he was

graduated from Gordon Memorial College in Khartoum with a degree in Engineering in 1936. In 1948, after two years in jail for leading an anti-government demonstration, he spent a further three years in religious retreat *(khalwa)* in his home town, praying, fasting and meditating. This retreat was the breeding ground for the ideas expressed in his book *The second message of Islam* (*al-Risāla al-thāniya min al-Islām,* Khartoum 1967). While denying he had received a revelation as such, he did claim that human beings can receive an "enlightened understanding" of God's word directly from God. The Republicans, a political party which he had founded in 1945, was now transformed into a religious grouping known as the Republican Brothers.

According to Ṭāhā, society has gone through three stages: an initial stage in which people were Muslims in the simple sense of professing Islam; a second stage in which people have been believers *(muʾminūn)* practicing the Holy Law (*sharīʿa,* see LAW AND THE QURʾĀN); and a more advanced stage in which people are Muslims in the higher sense, submitters to God who practice a prophetic lifestyle. The guidance for this more advanced stage was revealed to Muḥammad in Mecca as a spiritual message for the moral uplift of humanity. But it was "abrogated" (see ABROGATION) in the sense of being "postponed" by the message of the Medinan period which was necessitated by the exigencies of the time (see CHRONOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN). This interpretation of abrogation is premised on the adoption of an alternative reading of Q 2:106. The standard text reads: "Whatever message we abrogate or cause to be forgotten *(aw nunsihā),* We produce one better than it or equal to it." Ṭāhā adopted the reading *aw nansaʾhā* (see Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* i, 477), i.e. "or postpone," arguing that the "one better than it" is the Medinan message that was closer to the understanding of the people at the time of the Prophet. The original message that was"postponed" would only be reinstated when people were sufficiently advanced materially and intellectually to appreciate it.

During the second half of the Prophet's mission and thereafter up till the present-day, Muslims have continued to live in the "believer" stage, enacting the social teachings of the Medinan revelation which was revealed in accordance with the understanding of the people of the Prophet's day. But now after 1400 years, Ṭāhā claimed, Muslims have reached a stage of material and intellectual advancement that makes it possible for the third more advanced stage, that of the true Muslim, to come into being. We are now far from Muḥammad's epoch — which in Ṭāhā's view was not a perfect epoch because its manners and conceptions were very close to those of the Age of Ignorance (q.v.), the period prior to the qurʾānic revelation — hence we need to reinterpret the Holy Law. This law is perfect in its ability to assimilate and develop the capabilities of individuals and society and guide human life up the ladder of continuous development.

This daring interpretation of a single verse was the basis for a complete revaluation of the nature of the qurʾānic message. The legislative verses of the Medinan portions of the Qurʾān could now be regarded as being secondary to the original message of Mecca and no more than concessions to the social realities of the Prophet's day. In Ṭāhā's view, these verses have now outlived their usefulness and Muslims in the fifteenth/twentieth century should look to the Meccan verses of the Qurʾān and formulate new laws in accordance with the moral and ethical precepts found in them. Hence he could proclaim that *jihād* (q.v.), slavery (see SLAVES AND SLAVERY), poly-

gamy, divorce (see MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE) and the seclusion of women (see VEIL; WOMEN AND THE QUR'ĀN) are not the original precepts of Islam, but have been sanctioned simply because the early Muslims did not have the tools to build a social order based on the Meccan revelations. In a similar vein, he held that complete equality between men and women was an original precept of Islam, as were democracy, socialism, the eradication of social classes and even the social equality of non-Muslims in a Muslim state.

Ṭāhā's theory of a first and second message was a bold way of trying to establish a qur'ānic basis for genuine social and political reform. It must be viewed, however, within the context of present-day Sudanese society, where women are largely secluded and discriminated against, a long-drawn-out civil war rages over the status of the non-Muslim southerners, and there is constant pressure to "islamize" the law, i.e. to establish the traditional Holy Law. Ultimately, it was Ṭāhā's political and social views (especially as expressed in a 1984 pamphlet), rather than his theology, that turned the government of General Numeiri against him and his small band of Republican Brothers. His engagement with the Qur'ān, however, is symptomatic of the need felt by many modernist Muslims to find a way around the impasse formed by the doctrine of the undifferentiated eternal validity of the entire text.

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Afterlife

see RESURRECTION; PARADISE; HELL; FIRE

Afternoon

The time between noon and evening. The Qur'ān refers frequently to various times of the day, but does not explicitly mention the afternoon. In most cases this segment of the day appears simply in the context of instructions for Muḥammad's followers involving the Islamic rituals that were being established during his lifetime.

Several passages that address Muḥammad's situation in Mecca before his emigration to Medina command him to perform a ritual prayer (see PRAYER) twice daily: "at the two ends of the day" (Q 11:114), "at evening and at dawn" (Q 40:55), etc. (Welch, Muḥammad's understanding, 21-2). A third daily prayer, most likely instituted in Medina (Watt and Welch, *Der Koran,* 264-71), is mentioned in Q 2:238: "Remember the prayers, and [also] the middle prayer *(al-ṣalāt al-wusṭā),* and stand reverently before God." This ritual was probably performed in the "middle" of the day, specifically in the

early afternoon, thus being a precursor to "the noon prayer" (*ṣalāt al-ẓuhr,* Paret, *Kommentar,* 50-1). When, sometime after Muḥammad's death, the performance of the prayer ritual came to be required five times daily, Qurʾān commentators interpreted Q 2:238 as referring to the "middle" of the five, the *ṣalāt al-ʿaṣr*. Many ḥadīth in al-Bukhārī *(Ṣaḥīḥ, K. Mawāqīt al-ṣalāt),* Muslim *(Ṣaḥīḥ, K. al-Ṣalāt)* and the other major collections show that the times when the daily prayers were performed as well as their names were not set during Muḥammad's lifetime.

The term *ʿaṣr* occurs in the Qurʾān only once, in the oath *wa-l-ʿaṣr* in Q 103:1 (see OATHS). This oath form *wa-…* ("[I swear] by…") occurs at the beginning of eighteen sūras, half involving times of the day or celestial bodies: "the dawn" (*al-fajr,* Q 89:1), "the forenoon" (*al-ḍuḥā,* Q 93:1), "the night" (*al-layl,* Q 92:1), "the star" (*al-najm,* Q 53:1), "the sun" (*al-shams,* Q 91:1), etc. The basic meaning of *ʿaṣr* is "epoch" or "era" in the sense of passing time. The Shāfiʿite commentator al-Bayḍāwī (d. ca. 700/1300) in his commentary (*Tafsīr*, ii, 670) and Jalāl al-Dīn al-Maḥallī (d. 864/1459) and al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505) in theirs (*Jalālayn,* 810) summarize well the views of most classical commentators, saying *ʿaṣr* in Q 103:1 could refer to time (*al-dahr,* see TIME), the late afternoon, the *ṣalāt al-ʿaṣr,* the era of the prophets or the era of Muḥammad. Variant readings of this sūra (see READINGS OF THE QURʾĀN) provided by the Companions Ibn Masʿūd (d. 32/652) and ʿAlī (d. 40/660, see ʿALĪ B. ABĪ ṬĀLIB) add verses ending with *al-dahr* (Jeffery, *Materials,* 111, 192), supporting the preference of many modern Muslim scholars for interpreting *ʿaṣr* in Q 103:1 simply as "time" (see Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Awḍaḥ,* 761; Nadwī, *Qāmūs,* 418). The translation "afternoon" preferred by R. Bell, A.J. Arberry, R. Paret and other Europeans appears to derive from the association of this verse with *ṣalāt al-ʿaṣr*. M. Pickthall possibly best translates *ʿaṣr* in Q 103:1 as "the declining day" (Bell, 676; Paret, *Kommentar,* 521).

Unlike the Jewish Sabbath and the Christian Sunday, the Islamic weekly congregational service on Friday afternoon was set to occur during a busy day of commerce, as is seen in the Qurʾān's only explicit reference to it: "Believers, when the call is given for worship on the Day of Assembly, hasten to God's service and stop bar-gaining.… Then when the worship is finished, disperse and seek God's bounty" (Q 62:9-10). The Islamic weekly service appears to have been established to coincide with the Friday market day held by the Jewish clans in Medina before the beginning of their Sabbath at sundown (Goitein, Origin, 185; Watt and Welch, *Der Islam,* 296-7). See also DAY, TIMES OF.

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Age

see BIOLOGY AS THE CREATION AND STAGES OF LIFE

Age of Ignorance

This phrase is a common translation of the Arabic word *jāhiliyya* used by Muslims to refer to the historical period in west-central Arabia covering the centuries immediately prior to the mission of Muḥammad, a period characterized by ignorance of the divine truth. To the original audience of the Qurʾān, however, it almost certainly referred primarily to the moral condition of those individuals and their society which led them to oppose the mission of the Prophet (see OPPOSITION TO MUḤAMMAD) and only secondarily, if at all, to a defined historical epoch. It is also possible that the word was a kind of collective plural of "ignorant person" *(jāhil),* as has been asserted by F. Rosenthal (*Knowledge triumphant,* 33-4). As to the nature of this moral condition, I. Goldziher and T. Izutsu have argued that the primary meaning of the root, *j-h-l,* from which *jāhiliyya* is derived, is not "ignorance" but "barbarism," especially the tendency to go to extremes of behavior. According to this view the original antonym was not *ʿilm* (knowledge) but *ḥilm* (moral reasonableness, self-control). I. Goldziher (*MS,* 201-8) has adduced considerable evidence for this from pre-Islamic Arabic poetry, while T. Izutsu (*Concepts,* 28-35) has examined key passages from the Qurʾān and the biography of the Prophet (see SĪRA AND THE QURʾĀN). The word *jāhiliyya* is often translated "pagandom" or "heathendom" and it may be argued that its effective antonym is *islām* (q.v.), as it certainly is for many later writers (see IGNORANCE).

The texts of the four passages where the word *jāhiliyya* occurs in the Qurʾān tend to bear these prints out, though not conclusively. The contrast between *jāhiliyya* and *ḥilm* seems particularly clear in Q 48:26: "When the unbelievers stirred up fierce arrogance in their hearts, the fierce arrogance of *jāhiliyya (ḥamiyyat al-jāhiliyya),* God sent down his tranquility upon the messenger and the believers and imposed on them the command of self-restraint *(taqwā)*." T. Izutsu (*Concepts,* 31) interprets "the fierce arrogance of the *jāhiliyya*" as "the staunch pride so characteristic of the old pagan Arabs, the spirit of stubborn resistance against all that shows the slightest sign of injuring their sense of honor and destroying the traditional way of life." Q 3:154 speaks of "a band anxious for themselves, wrongly suspicious of God with a suspicion *(zann)* of the *jāhiliyya*." Here *jāhiliyya* may mean ignorance, but a lack of trust in God would seem more specific. Q 5:50 reads, "Do they seek a *jāhiliyya* judgment *(ḥukm jāhilī)?*" i.e. a judgment by pagan rather than divine standards. Here *islām* would seem the likely antonym. Finally, Q 33:33 admonishes the wives of the Prophet: "Stay in your homes and do not make a display of yourselves in the manner of the first [or old] *jāhiliyya (al-jāhiliyya al-ūlā)*." Only here does it seem plausible, though not necessary, to interpret *"jāhiliyya"* as an epoch.

These passages illustrate some but not all of the contrasts between the beliefs and values represented by *jāhiliyya* and those of the Qurʾān. The key difference is the attitude toward God. The Qurʾān insists that only God is to be obeyed and worshipped. The pagan Arabs did recognize God as creator of the world and as a kind of remote figure to be approached in certain crisis situations (Q 29:65), but they also recognized other deities closer at hand, such as the three Meccan deities, al-Lāt, al-ʿUzza and Manāt, who were thought to intercede with God (Q 53:19-20; see SATANIC VERSES). The Qurʾān calls this the association of other beings with God *(shirk),* and treats it as the worst of sins, the one thing God will not forgive (Q 4:48; see BELIEF

AND UNBELIEF). While the Qurʾān inculcates an attitude of submission to God and dependence on him, the pagan Arabs were marked by a spirit of independence and self-sufficiency in relation both to God and to other deities, seeing themselves as subject only to a rather impersonal fate (q.v.). The ways of their ancestors had more authority than the commands of God. While the Qurʾān preaches universal values (Q 49:13), their highest loyalty was to the tribe and to tribal solidarity *(ʿaṣabiyya)* as illustrated by the words of the poet Durayd: "I am of Ghaziyya: if she be in error, then I will err; and if Ghaziyya be guided right, I go right with her" (R.A. Nicholson, *Literary history,* 83). Whereas the key motive for ethical action in the Qurʾān is the hope of reward and fear of punishment in the future life (see REWARD AND PUNISHMENT), for the pagan Arab there was no future life: "There is nothing but our present life. We die and we live. Nothing but time destroys us!" (Q 45:24). W.M. Watt has called these attitudes "tribal humanism" (*Muhammad at Mecca,* 24-5).

The Qurʾān, however, by no means rejects all the values of the pagan Arabs. At many points the concern is rather to redirect and moderate them. Nobility comes not from having noble ancestors whose deeds one emulates, but from deeds of piety as defined by God (Q 49:13). The loyalty, courage and fortitude that once served the tribe in battle and elsewhere are now meant to serve God and the Muslim community *(umma)*. Honor is a value, but not the sort of honor that leads to unending vendettas. The Qurʾān permits limited retribution, but encourages forgiveness (Q 2:178; 17:33). Generosity and hospitality are values, but not to the extent of Ḥātim of Tayy, who gained fame by giving away all his father's camels (R.A. Nicholson, *Literary history,* 85-6). The Qurʾān says, "Be neither miserly nor prodigal" (Q 17:29).

At other points, pagan values and practices are more completely rejected. The hard-drinking and womanizing admired by the pre-Islamic poets are rejected in favor of bans on alcohol (Q 5:90; see INTOXICANTS; GAMBLING) and on adultery (Q 17:32; see ADULTERY AND FORNICATION). In place of the class stratification of the *jāhiliyya* the Qurʾān supports human equality and encourages concern for the poor (Q 49:13; 80:1-16). In relations between the sexes, the Qurʾān seems, at least in some cases, to have limited women's freedom, as Q 33:33 suggests. On the other hand, it also appears to have given women greater security and greater recognition of their status as humans, as suggested by the ban on female infanticide (Q 16:58-9; see INFANTICIDE).

While the word *"jāhiliyya"* in the Qurʾān refers primarily to the moral condition of the pagan Arabs, it came later to refer primarily to the epoch in which they lived. The reasons for this are not hard to imagine. What was a living force when the first Muslims confronted their pagan neighbors became in time a matter of history, the characteristics of a past age. Thus in the ḥadīth collection of al-Bukhārī, *jāhiliyya* is almost always a past epoch. For example, we read "The tribe of the Quraysh (q.v.) used to fast on the day of Ashūrāʾ in the *jāhiliyya,*" and "The best people in the *jāhiliyya* are the best in Islam, if they have understanding" (*Saḥīḥ,* iii, 65; iv, 461). The exact period of historical time covered by the term *"jāhiliyya"* was a matter of discussion among the early Muslims, as is reflected in the commentaries on Q 33:33. These suggest various time spans for the "first *jāhiliyya,*" such as the time between Adam (see ADAM AND EVE) and Noah (q.v.) or that between Idrīs (q.v.) and Noah, or the time when Abraham (q.v.) was born, with the implicit "later *jāhiliyya*" being the time between Jesus (q.v.) and Muḥammad.

Some also suggest that the first *jāhiliyya* was "the *jāhiliyya* of unbelief" *(jāhiliyyat al-kufr)* before Islam and the other is "the *jāhiliyya* of iniquity" *(jāhiliyyat al-fusūq)* after the coming of Islam. They illustrate this with a ḥadīth in which Muḥammad says to one of his followers, "Within you is *jāhiliyya,*" and when asked whether he meant the *jāhiliyya* of unbelief or the *jāhiliyya* of Islam (i.e. of iniquity), he said the *jāhiliyya* of unbelief (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr;* Zamakhsharī, *Kashshāf;* Bayḍāwī, *Anwār;* Qurṭubī, *Jāmi;* Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr* ad Q 33:33.).

As these last examples illustrate, there has always been an awareness that *jāhiliyya* is not simply a past epoch but that the qualities that characterize *jāhiliyya* have continued to be present even after the coming of Islam. This also appears quite forcefully in the Shīʿī ḥadīth, "Whosoever of my community dies and does not have an imām (q.v.) from among them, has died the death of the *jāhiliyya*" (M. Momen, *Shiʿi Islam,* 158). Indeed, the early centuries of Islamic history may be interpreted as a struggle between the older *jāhiliyya* culture and the newer Islamic culture (e.g. A. Amīn, *Fajr,* 78-83) and some have seen *jāhiliyya* present in much later times. Ibn Taymiyya (d. 728/1328) wrote of "a *jāhiliyya* in a restricted sense" in reference to the pre-Islamic customs persisting among the Muslims of his time (M. Memon, *Ibn Taimiya's struggle,* 146). In recent centuries, the idea of a contemporary *jāhiliyya* has regained currency in some circles. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, the twelfth/eighteenth-century Arabian reformer who began the Wahhābī movement, and his followers perceived their fellow Muslims, either throughout the world or in the Arabian peninsula, as living in a *jāhiliyya* (E. Peskes, *Muhammad b. ʿAbdalwahhab*) because of their adoption of practices and beliefs lacking scriptural support.

More recently reformers such as Muḥammad ʿAbduh (d. 1905) and Muḥammad Rashīd Riḍā (d. 1935), in their qurʾānic commentary entitled *al-Manār* (vi, 422), have compared the conservatism, injustice, superstition and secular tendencies found in their society with comparable aspects of the pre-Islamic *jāhiliyya* criticized by the Qurʾān. For example, their commentary on Q 5:50 (listed as Q 5:53 in the verse-numbering of *al-Manār*) identifies the "*jāhiliyya* judgment" as the favoring of the strong over the weak and argues that some geographical Muslims in this age are "more corrupt in their religion and morals than those concerning whom these verses were revealed." The idea of *jāhiliyya* as a contemporary reality has been more forcefully asserted, however, by the twentieth-century revivalists, Abū l-ʿAlāʾ Mawdūdī (d. 1979) in India and Pakistan and Sayyid Quṭb in Egypt. Mawdūdī (*Meaning of the Qurʾān,* x, 106) defined *"jāhiliyya"* as any conduct which goes against Islamic culture, morality and the Islamic way of thinking and behaving. He found it in both the West and the communist world. Sayyid Quṭb took a similar position but went further. In his best known book, *Maʿālim fī l-ṭarīq (Milestones on the way),* he said that a *jāhilī* society is any society that does not serve God by following his guidance in all areas of its life. Such societies serve human beings instead of God and thus are inevitably unjust, inhumane and backward. Only an Islamic society can be truly "civilized." In his view, contemporary *jāhiliyya* is at least as bad as that of Muḥammad's time. He further asserted that not only Western and communist societies were *jāhilī* at present but also all of the so-called Muslim societies. This idea, along with his apparent belief that the nature of *jāhilī* societies is such that they cannot be replaced without violence, led to his execution by the Egyptian government in 1966 and has inspired many militants since his death.

Although relatively few Muslims would take things this far, the idea of *jāhiliyya* as a contemporary moral and social reality seems to be quite widespread today. In this current usage the term refers not so much to the distinctive failings of the old pagan Arabs as to those of modern societies, such as materialism and secular ideologies. The notion of *jāhiliyya* has thus been effectively updated. See also IDOLATRY AND IDOLATERS; IDOLS AND IMAGES.

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Agriculture and Vegetation

The production of crops and plants in general. Agriculture and vegetation figure prominently in the Qurʾān, reflecting their significance in the environment in which the text was revealed. The Arabic root *f-l-ḥ* carries the basic meaning of "cleaving" or "splitting." When applied to the land, it carries the sense of "furrowing," "tilling" or "plowing." *"Filāḥa,"* therefore, is the art of plowing and cultivating and is the term used in the general sense of "agriculture" in the titles of medieval Arabic treatises on agronomy. The qurʾānic references to this root, however, all derive from the form *"aflaḥa,"* carrying the meaning "to prosper" and "to be in a fortunate, happy state." Other roots denoting cultivation in the Qurʾān are *z-r-ʿ* and *ḥ-r-th,* appearing together in Q 56:63-4. The verb *athāra,* "to till," occurs in Q 30:9. The most general term for "vegetation" is *nabāt,* which is found in Q 18:45 and 71:17. Edward Lane renders *nabāt* "whatever God causes to grow, vegetate or germinate, in the earth" (Lane, viii, 2754).

Agriculture and vegetation in the Qurʾān

There are frequent direct and indirect references to the general concepts of agriculture and vegetation in the Qurʾān, despite the mention in Q 14:37 of Abraham (q.v.) having settled his son Ishmael (q.v.), the traditional "father of the Arabs," in "an uncultivated valley" beside the sacred house of the Kaʿba (q.v.), and possible references to famine (q.v.). With regard to the latter, it is impossible to determine the degree of need Mecca and the surrounding areas experienced in seasonal or cyclical shortages of food. Although shortages were likely as much a part of the rhythm of daily life there as was the case in many other regions of the Middle East, the Qurʾān suggests less severe austerity. The storage of grain in anticipation of lean times, as exemplified in the story of Joseph (q.v., Q 12:47), was well known. Widely-grown hulled grains, such as emmer, spelt and barley could be stored in the spikelet stage, their hard outer glumes protecting them against insects and pests. Moreover, recent ethno-archaeological evidence sug-

gests that storage decision-making in the ancient Mediterranean occurred at the level of the household or farm unit — rather than the community — amid a complex trade-off between environmental, political and economic factors (Forbes and Foxhall, Ethnoarchaeology and storage, 69-86); storage strategies, therefore, should be considered as part of the overall economic picture of sixth and seventh century Arabia. Grain was produced for animal as well as human consumption (Q 32:27). One verse (Q 6:136) mentions the practice of setting aside a portion of the cattle and seed produce *(ḥarth)* for God, which may be a reference to storage.

There were other crops as well, like date palms (q.v.), pomegranates, olives and grapes (Q 6:99, 141; 13:4; 16:11) and one qurʾānic passage (Q 18:32) depicts two gardens (sing. *janna*) of grape vines surrounded by palm trees with cultivated fields between them. Nouns referring to planted areas include *janna* (pl. *jannāt*) as already noted (also Q 6:99, 141; 17:91), not all of its very frequent occurrences being in reference to a heavenly paradise (see PARADISE; GARDEN). In one of these, however, the expression "gardens under which rivers flow" (Q 2:25) may conceivably be an allusion to the underground irrigation systems well-known in Arabia at the time. One of the signs of the divine economy was the revival of "dead land" with gardens of dates and vines watered from flowing springs, giving forth fruit *(thamar)* to feed humankind (Q 36:33-5). Luxuriant gardens *(ḥadāʾiq)* are also mentioned (Q 27:60; 80:30). Natural meadows (*rawḍa,* pl. *rawḍāt,* Q 30:15; 42:22) are noted as rewards in the afterlife while pastures *(marʿā)* were created on earth so that flocks may feed (Q 79:31; 87:4). One qurʾānic simile compares the self-inflicted harm in this life that is the consequence of improper behavior to a destructive glacial wind laying low the crops (*ḥarth,* Q 3:117; see also 3:14; 10:24). Similar to this is the moving parable of the owners of a garden or orchard who on discovering their possessions destroyed overnight (*kal-ṣarīm,* as though all the fruit had been severed from the trees) acknowledged their transgression against God (Q 68:17-33). The threat to or actual loss of what is precious yet familiar, as described in these passages, underlines the fine balance between sufficiency and want in Arabian material life. A passage promising cultivated fields in a future life (*ḥarth al-ākhira,* Q 42:20) has a similar import. In a long description of paradise, there is the single occurrence of a word, meaning "two well-watered and intensely green gardens" (*mudhāmmatān,* Q 55:64). This term was less commonly applied to cultivated gardens in this world, but the comparative intention of the expression would have been obvious to the Prophet's audience.

A notable aspect of the Qurʾān is the number of terms related to the date palm, possibly the single most important food crop throughout the pre-modern Middle East. A range of other words, often appearing only once, refers to vegetation in the broadest sense, dry or fresh, including leaves or stalks of corn (*ʿasf,* Q 55:12), trefoil or clover (*qaḍb,* Q 80:28), acacia (*ṭalḥ,* Q 56:29), a bunch of grapes (*quṭūf,* sing. *qiṭf,* Q 69:23), stubble (*hashīm,* Q 18:45; 54:31), plant stalk (*shaʾ,* Q 48:29), a handful of green or dry grass or husks (*ḍighth,* Q 38:44; pl. *aḍghāth,* Q 12:44; 21:5), gardens with thickly planted trees (*jannāt alfāf,* Q 78:16), leaves (*waraq,* Q 7:22; 20:121; *waraqa,* Q 6:59). *Ayka,* the word for "woods" or "thicket," occurring in the phrase "the people of the thicket" (q.v.; Q 15:78; 26:176; 38:13; 50:14), is said to refer to the people of Midian (q.v.). Two words *(sidr, ʾathl)* designate plants growing in hell. *Ḍarīʿ* (Q 88:6), a plant with large thorns which no animal would approach —

known to the people of the Hejaz in its dry form — is described as the sole nourishment of the inhabitants of the nether world. The tree of al-Zaqqūm (Q 37:62; 44:43; 56:52), the fruit of which was like the head of devils, is described as the fare of sinners and was evidently known in Arabia for its bitter taste.

Many of these terms and others to be noted now are used in contexts demonstrating the all-powerful nature of God. For example, the word *ḥaṣīd* (Q 10:24) is used in the sense of "stubble" to describe the formerly fertile fields destroyed by God to punish the owners' presumption that they had control. In Q 56:65 (also 57:20) the word *ḥuṭām,* "dried straw," describes what God could do to fields in a similar instance. Plants, including fruit *(fākiha),* herbage *(abb)* and seeds *(ḥabb),* exemplify the benefits of God's creation (Q 80:24-32). A person who expends his property for the sake of God is likened to a seed producing seven ears of corn *(sanābil,* sing. *sunbul)* each of which contains one hundred seeds (Q 2:261). Another passage describes how God revives "bare land" (*al-arḍ al-juruz,* Q 32:27) to produce cereals *(zarʿ).*

Several words and expressions referring to water, a necessity of life, should be mentioned. For water as rain, there are the terms *ghayth* (Q 31:34; 42:28; 57:20), *wābil* (Q 2:265, which also contains the word for dew, *ṭall*), and *wadq* (Q 24:43; 30:48). "The impregnating winds" (*al-riyāḥ lawāqiḥ,* Q 15:22) are so called because they are cloud-bearing winds which cause rain to fall. Underground water comes from springs (*yanbūʿ,* Q 17:90, pl. *yanābīʿ,* 39:21; *ʿayn,* 88:12, dual *ʿaynān,* 55:50, pl. *ʿuyūn,* 26:57) and appears in the phrase "water running underground" (*māʾuhā ghawran,* Q 18:41; cf. 67:30). By far the most common word is simply "water" *(māʾ)* employed in the frequent expression "[God] sent down water from the sky" *(anzala min al-samāʾ māʾ).* This expression occurs twenty-six times and in another nine instances the word "water" appears in a similar context. The following verse may be considered the key passage which captures both this expression and a number of the plant terms already noted:

God is the one who sent down water from the sky and with it we brought forth all manner of plants *(nabāt)* and foliage *(khaḍir)* from which we bring forth clustered seed *(ḥabb);* and from the flowering date palm *(al-nakhl min ṭalʿihā)* [come] accessible clusters of the fruit *(qinwān).* [We also brought forth] gardens *(jannāt)* planted with grapes *(aʿnāb),* olives *(zaytūn)* and pomegranates *(rummān),* in many similar and distinct varieties. When they blossom, look to the fruit *(thamar)* when they bear fruit and ripen. These are surely signs for people who believe (Q 6:99).

Drawing upon what has been already said, it is possible to correct an image which has been present in Western scholarship at least since C.C. Torrey submitted his doctoral dissertation, *The commercial-theological terms in the Koran* (published in Leiden in 1892), to the University of Strasburg at the end of the last century. In this brief work, Torrey asserted that, while in the Hebrew Bible and the New Testament commercial-theological terms are found only "as occasional figures of speech," in the Qurʾān they are not used to adorn certain facts, but rather are "terms regularly employed to state the bare and blunt facts themselves" (p. 7). These qurʾānic "facts" then produce a theology governed by the predominating "business atmosphere" (sic, p. 3) of the Qurʾān: "The mutual relations between God and man are of a strictly commercial nature. Allāh is the ideal merchant… Life is a business for gain and loss. He who does

good or evil work ("earns" good or evil), receives his pay for it, even in this life. Some debts are forgiven, for Allāh is not a hard creditor…." (p. 48). The commercial background of the rise of Islam has been treated in the established biographies of the Prophet Muhammad by W.M. Watt and M. Rodinson and examined closely in the more recent rebuttal of Watt's argument by P. Crone in her *Meccan trade* (Princeton 1987). Whatever the actual complex of forces at work in the historical background of the Qurʾān, the text offers a dominant motif quite distinct from Torrey's "commercial theology." This motif, while addressed to actual human experience is at once rich in theological meaning and goes to the core of the qurʾānic message. The theological import of passages like the one cited above is that the life cycles of the natural world, of plants and animals, are governed by the divine gift of water which an equally dependent humankind should acknowledge with appropriate expressions of gratitude (Q 34:15). On the other hand, the secular significance of the numerous references to agriculture, vegetation and animal husbandry in the Qurʾān will be better understood as our knowledge of these subjects related to central Arabia in the early centuries of the common era is enriched. We turn now briefly to the background against which the qurʾānic text may be set.

The origins of agriculture

In the generations following the Prophet's death, Islam became the newly-established religion in the very lands where, as is now almost universally accepted, the origins of agriculture had begun several millennia earlier. The food-producing revolution of the post-Pleistocene era (from about 9,000 B.C.E.) occurred in the great arc of hills stretching from Palestine and western Jordan, through southeastern Turkey, northern Iraq and thence down through western Iran. The revolution was decisive for the subsequent emergence of urban civilization for "with the domestication of plants and animals… vast new dimensions for cultural evolution suddenly became possible" (Braidwood, The agricultural revolution, 71). The earlier hunting-gathering way of life slowly yielded to the development of settled villages, although this did not immediately entail the adoption of agriculture or the total abandonment of former ways of food collection. Sedentation, however, did lead to an increase in population, which caused an increased demand for food. This could not be met through hunting and gathering in a village and its immediate environs. At this time, the implements for reaping the grains of wild grasses, grinding stones for their preparation for cooking and storage facilities already existed. With the use of stored grain to raise cereal crops, the area given over to cultivated plants gradually increased and the time devoted to the older methods of food gathering decreased (Reed, *Origins,* 543-67, 941-4). The rise of towns and cities in the arid and semi-arid region of the Middle East was accompanied — in places, perhaps, preceded — by the emergence of new techniques for marshalling the water resources, of both river and rain, for more intensive and extensive cultivation of food crops. Irrigation took different forms in different areas, including the flood and natural flow methods of irrigation; the use of manual hydraulic devices *(shādūf, sāqiya)* and waterwheels *(nāʿūra, dūlāb)* and the construction of surface and underground water channels of Iran *(qanat, kārīz)* and the systems in Arabia *(ghayl, falaj)*. It is known that all of these hydraulic machines had long been in use before the rise of Islam, although the questions of their origin and diffusion have yet to be resolved.

Archeological knowledge of Arabia has

grown more slowly than that of the thoroughly-explored regions of Iraq, Egypt and Iran. The ancient hydrological systems of Arabia have only recently begun to be investigated. Nevertheless, it is now clear that early settled life differed considerably from the stereotype of the nomad and the desert tent-dweller. The Yemen, long regarded as the center of trade, possessed an agricultural system almost entirely dependent upon irrigation. Although there is only a single possible reference to the artificial control of water in the Qurʾān (Q 34:16, which may refer to the Mārib Dam, the remains of which lie approximately 135 km. east of Sanʿa; see AL-ʿARIM), it is evident that sophisticated systems for the catchment, storage and distribution of water existed from early times in other areas of the peninsula, suggesting that Arabia should also be considered a "hydrological society," like Iraq and Egypt, where settlement was dependent upon hydraulic constructions. "One of the most characteristic settlement patterns throughout Arabia is the concentration of the main built-up area on a rocky outcrop surrounded by a cultivated flood plain" (Costa, Notes on traditional hydraulics, 264). See ARCHAEOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN.

Commentary on selected passages

The prophetic ḥadīth, the qurʾānic commentaries and similar works assign secular and religious significance to many of the words and phrases noted above in the first section. Al-Bukhārī (d. 256/870), for example, in the section of his ḥadīth collection concerned with qurʾānic exegesis provides a lexicographical explanation for three terms in Q 55:12, *ʿaṣf, rayḥān* and *ḥabb*. He says *ʿaṣf* is the stem of cereal plants which have been cut before reaching full maturity and *rayḥān* is the residual product after the *ḥabb* (seed) has been extracted for consumption. Al-Bukhārī also adds other definitions from mainly unnamed sources which do not always prove helpful. Certain authors, he says, claim that the *ʿaṣf* is the consumable part of the cereal, another says it is the leaf of the plant and yet another that it is the straw. Further in the same sūra, Q 55:68 reads, "Therein are fruit *(fākiha),* date palms *(nakhl)* and pomegranates *(rummān)*." Al-Bukhārī comments that the odd overlapping of "fruit" and "pomegranates" can be explained by reference to Q 2:238, which reads "observe the prayers and the middle prayer," the repetition of "prayer" being added for emphasis.The nearly-contemporary exegesis of al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923) is much more extensive than that of al-Bukhārī. In dealing with the vocabulary of the plant kingdom, his approach is also lexicographical, citing ḥadīth as evidence in his own exposition. However, glossing the passage cited above (Q 6:99), beginning, "God is the one who sent down water from the sky," al-Ṭabarī writes, "With the water we sent down from the heavens, we produced nourishment for cattle, beasts, birds and wild animals and sustenance and food for human beings" (*Tafsīr,* vii, 292). He concludes that creation contains "proofs, a demonstration and an illustration" for "those who affirm the unity of God and rate him as all-powerful" (*Tafsīr,* vii, 296).

The eighth/fourteenth century commentator Ibn Kathīr (d. 774/1372) adds nothing of substance to al-Ṭabarī's discussion of this particular passage. He is, however, more expansive than al-Ṭābarī in his commentary on Q 2:21-2, where the divine gift of rain which brings forth fruits *(thamarāt)* as sustenance for humankind is also mentioned. God's unity, divine power and blessings, both manifest and hidden, are all expressed here and the meaning of the phrase "[Your Lord] is the one who made the earth a place of repose for you and the heavens a protecting edifice" (Q 2:22) is explained by reference to other qurʾānic pas-

sages (e.g. Q 21:32; 40:64). What particularly interests Ibn Kathīr in the passage is the command, "Do not set up rivals *(andād)* to God," for which he adduces a number of references in the ḥadīth collections supporting the prohibition. A man once said to the Prophet, "What God has willed, and what you have willed." The Prophet reproached him, saying, "Have you set me up as a rival to God? Say, 'What God wills,' and nothing else." Associating peers or rivals with God is pure polytheism (*shirk*, see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF). A tradition from Ibn ʿAbbās describes "polytheism" as undetectable "as an ant crawling over a black rock in the dead of night." Ibn Kathīr's exegesis stresses, on the one hand, the absolute singularity of God, a point Jews, Christians and even Muslims tended to forget in practice, despite the common acknowledgement in their scripture of one, sole divine being. On the other hand, using an earthy analogy that "droppings (in the desert) indicate the presence of a camel," Ibn Kathīr stresses how the divine existence and unity are mirrored in the multiplicity of God's creation (q.v.), that is the "signs (q.v.)," including the heavens, the earth and all that comes forth from them such as the life-giving rain which supports the plant kingdom upon which the existence of the humans and animals depends. It should be noted that, differences in presentation aside, al-Ṭabarī's commentary on Q 6:99 and that of Ibn Kathīr on Q 2:21 are in essential agreement in their view of the nature of God as demonstrated in creation.

Scriptural insistence, therefore, on observing God's signs in the natural world as proof of his existence, unity, power and beneficence, was seconded by the commentators who further affirmed the need to use the mind in pursuit of the truth. Al-Bayḍāwī (d. 685/1282), for example, commenting on Q 2:164, which concerns God's signs for people with understanding, adds that this verse provides instruction as well as a "stimulus for the pursuit of research and study." Developing John Burton's schema of the three broad sources of exegesis — tradition, reason and intuition — which illuminate the meaning of the qurʾānic text, a further indirect and pragmatic method of exegesis was the investigation of the "signs" which serve to confirm the truth of the text. In the early centuries of Islam, this stimulated an impulse toward the collection and dissemination of information on plants in general and agriculture in particular. This concern, traced in the following sections, is reflected in a rich agronomic literature and in the medieval "green revolution" which fostered the study and diffusion of new plants westward across the Islamic domains.

Ibn Waḥshiyya and al-Filāḥa al-Nabaṭiyya

During the vigorous translation movement of the early ʿAbbāsid period (late eighth to late tenth century C.E.), there was evident interest in agronomic, and indeed botanical, works. Among the ancient geoponic works known to the Arabs was one by Apollonius of Tyana (not Anatolius of Berytos as once thought), which was translated under the title *Kitāb al-Filāḥa* in 179/795. The *Georgica* of Cassianus Bassus was translated first into Pahlavi and then into Arabic in 212/827 as *al-Filāḥa al-Rūmiyya*. The most outstanding of these treatises, however, was *al-Filāḥa al-Nabaṭiyya,* "Nabatean [i.e. Syriac] Agriculture," attributed to Abū Bakr b. Waḥshiyya. The author — whose identity has been disputed — claims that he translated it from the "ancient Syriac," the Aramean dialect of the Kasdān community of Iraq, in 291/903 and then dictated the translation to a disciple in 318/930. If for no other reason, the work is remarkable for its sheer size, the author

saying that the original ran to around fifteen hundred folios. The work appears to have been compiled in a milieu where Alexandrian Hellenism and gnosticism still survived and where neither Judaism nor Christianity had much influence, suggesting an era prior to the fifth century C.E. While the work reflects Hippocratic medical principles and certain aspects of Dioscorides' *Materia medica,* it may also represent a tradition independent of the latter. Furthermore, it seems to have no connection with the Arabic botanical writing which had already appeared prior to Ibn Waḥshiyya's translation. Indeed, it presents a far more varied range of plant life than that found in Akkadian sources: more than 360 plants, with special attention given to the olive tree, the vine and the date palm, indicating their essential place in the agricultural activities of the region. In comparison with known Greek geoponic works, *al-Filāḥa al-Nabaṭiyya* is more developed, dealing with matters both practical and theoretical. In short it represents a kind of "philosophy" of humankind's relationship with the soil. The text's editor Toufic Fahd has argued that *al-Filāḥa al-Nabaṭiyya* presents a picture of the state of knowledge of agriculture, botany and the rural and domestic economy in Iraq at the end of the Hellenistic era (Matériaux pour l'histoire, 276-379).

The opening chapters of *al-Filāḥa al-Nabaṭiyya* are dedicated to the olive tree, its benefits, the places where it best grows and the properties of its various components such as the leaves, roots, the oil and pits of the fruit. At one point the text says that "concerning all these matters, some [information] came to us by experience *(tajriba)* and some by revelation *(waḥy)* from the gods to our forefathers… some by inspiration *(ilhām)* to us and to the idols who in turn instructed us… all of which we put to the test and thus were able to judge the soundness of the best practice… for which we are grateful to [the gods]" (i, 49). The contrast with the monotheistic spirit of the Qurʾān is evident. It is similar, however, to the response of gratitude found in the qurʾānic verse, "Vegetation comes forth from good earth with the permission of its Lord, while from bad land it comes forth with difficulty; thus do we expound the signs to a people who are grateful" (Q 7:58). Indeed, the pagan Nabatean text translated well into the monotheistic Islamic context as it provided a rich catalog of the gifts of the divine economy. Inserted in a lengthy and largely theoretical discourse on how to manage an agricultural estate — complemented by a discussion of the principles of procreation and generation — is an agricultural calendar which lists the activities occurring each month of the year (i, 218-41). This is the earliest example of the genre in Arabic and may be compared with later works from al-Andalus and the Yemen.

As stated above, detailed attention is given to the olive tree, the vine and the date palm, the first and last of the trio forming the opening and closing sections of the work. The three plants are also grouped together in two qurʾānic passages, Q 16:11 and 80:28-9, signaling the importance of the triad. Apart from this, the bulk of the work is devoted to a wide range of other edible plants, the names for many of which the translator was obliged to leave in transliteration as he could find no Arabic equivalents.

Following the section on the olive, cereals are the next group of plants treated. Wheat and barley are discussed at greatest length, as both had played a major role in the Mesopotamian diet for several millennia. Rice and sorghum *(dhura)* are also noted among many other grains. Various

aspects of cereal culture are discussed: the appropriate location for growing; the season and atmospheric conditions required for a good crop; the procedures for harvesting, threshing, winnowing and storing the grain and the means of testing whether the grain is beginning to deteriorate.

In sum, the spirit of *al-Filāḥa al-Nabaṭiyya* may be expressed in words not so distant from the qur'ānic passages cited earlier, save for the absence of the single divine agent:

> Agriculture is a source of plant life whose nutritional benefits are the very foundation of [human] life… Plants have also medicinal value, dispelling pains, ailments and illnesses… Furthermore, our clothes which conceal our nakedness and protect our bodies from the dangers of heat and cold also come from [cultivated] plants (i, 702).

Later agronomic works: Egypt, Yemen, Syria

No surviving agronomic work matches the encyclopedic breadth and detail of *al-Filāḥa al-Nabaṭiyya*. The manual of Ibn Mammātī (d. 606/1209), *Kītāb Qawānīn al-dawāwīn,* contains information on the farming practices in his native Egypt. In the beginning of the eighth/fourteenth century, the Egyptian Jamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-Waṭwāṭ (d. 718/1318) produced another work on agriculture, in which he frequently cites Ibn Waḥshiyya. Later in the same century, the Yemeni Rasūlid sultans al-Malik al-Ashraf ʿUmar (d. 696/1296) and al-Malik al-Afḍal al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAlī (d. 778/1376) wrote agricultural treatises. To al-Ashraf's brother al-Malik al-Mu'ayyad Dāwūd is attributed another book on agriculture now lost. These almanacs provide a basis for reconstructing the agricultural activities throughout the year. In the almanac of al-Malik al-Ashraf, it is clear that the dominant crop in the Yemen was sorghum, some twenty-two different varieties of which — distinguished chiefly by color — are listed. Indeed, the common term for sorghum was simply "food" *(ṭaʿām)*. There is evidence of Ibn Waḥshiyya's influence on this Yemeni "school," although its nature and degree have yet to be determined precisely. Although there is the eighth/fourteenth-century *Miftāḥ al-raḥā li-ahl al-filāḥa* (ed. M. Ṣāliḥiyya) by an unknown author, likely a Syrian, it is in the far west of the Islamic domains, in al-Andalus, that the tradition of agronomic writing continued with vigor and novel contributions of its own.

The agricultural revolution and the Andalusian "school" of agronomy

In the first half of the fourth/tenth century, Dioscorides' *Materia medica* became known in al-Andalus, stimulating an interest in botany and pharmacology, which were allied to the development of agronomy. The so-called *Calendar of Cordoba* of Arīb b. Saʿīd (d. 370/980) contains data on arboriculture and horticulture, reflecting local knowledge and custom. Arīb may have also written a treatise on agriculture and, if this is correct, it would have been the first of its kind in al-Andalus. From the end of the fourth/tenth century, an agronomic treatise of unknown authorship has survived entitled *Kītāb fī tartīb awqāt al-ghirāsa wa-l-maghrūsāt* (ed. A. Lopez) with contents similar to those of the *Calendar,* complementing that work with an important section on the cultivation of ornamental plants.

These activities were undoubtedly fostered by another factor, which A. Watson in 1983 called "the agricultural revolution" in his important and controversial book *Agricultural innovation in the early Islamic world*.

At the heart of this revolution was the diffusion of new crops westward from India and Persia through the Arab lands to the Iberian peninsula during the early centuries of Islamic expansion and consolidation. Watson examines in detail sixteen food crops and one fiber crop as part of this process of diffusion. In most cases, diffusion meant the acclimatization of plants native to a humid tropical environment to a Mediterranean climate. Diffusion was accompanied by changes in farming practices. The development of summer crops and more intensive and extensive land exploitation were made possible by a combination of the use of more varied types of soil, the more widespread application of a different kind of manure, improvements in irrigation and changes in landholding size and fallow practices. Watson's critics have challenged certain of his conclusions, while confirming others. The overall impression remains that during the first Islamic centuries there was indeed a greatly renewed interest in agriculture, including horticulture and arboriculture, with a corresponding rise in food production, which made possible the rise of new urban cultures throughout the Middle East. In al-Andalus, a concomitant development was the appearance of experimental botanical gardens, generally founded by rulers, where new plants were grown and old varieties improved. A more precise picture of the process and scope of this "green revolution" will be gained only when a thorough study of the agronomic treatises is closely integrated with an examination of works of the botanical, medical (especially dietetic) and culinary traditions.

By the fifth/eleventh century, *al-Filāḥa al-Nabaṭiyya* was not only known in al-Andalus, but was a factor in the emergence of what Garcia Sanchez has called the "Andalusian school of agronomy," which continued uninterrupted into the seventh/thirteenth century. Andalusian agronomic writing culminated in the works of several individuals in different cities spanning the fifth/eleventh century to the seventh/thirteenth. First are the Toledans Ibn Wāfid (d. 466/1074) and Ibn Baṣṣāl (d. 499/1105), the latter's treatise being based upon his personal experience. Ibn al-Ḥajjāj of Seville wrote his work in 466/1074. The work of the Granadan botanist al-Ṭighnarī (fl. fifth/eleventh-sixth/twelfth century) has yet to appear in a printed edition. A contemporary of al-Ṭighnarī and a personal acquaintance of Ibn Baṣṣāl, Abū l-Khayr of Seville, also made a significant contribution. The great successor and synthesizer of this "school" was the Sevillian Ibn al-ʿAwwām, who lived between 512/1118 and 663/1265. He left the most extensive of all the Andalusian works, *Kitāb al-Filāḥa*. Its contents, covering agriculture and animal husbandry, are selected from eastern and Andalusian texts, supplemented by the author's own experimental practice. Finally, the cycle ends with Ibn Luyūn (d. 750/1349) of Almeria, who wrote a lengthy poem *(urjūza)* on agronomy. The sources employed by these Andalusian scholars, the relationship between the authors and the precise nature of the influence of the classical geoponic tradition have been subject to much recent investigation and debate. Compared with certain classical works translated into Arabic — such as the one sometimes attributed to Anatolius of Berytos — the Andalusian texts appear far more developed and sophisticated. They frequently exhibit both a theoretical and practical outlook and project the authors' collective conviction that agriculture was "the basis of subsistence for men and animals… [allowing for] the preservation of life and the sustaining of the spirit" (al-Ṭighnarī) and that it was "a well-founded science, a divine gift and a great recompense" (Abū l-Khayr).

Conclusion

In the works of qurʾānic commentary, the significance of the plant kingdom within the natural world is explained as an aspect of the Creator's unique, all-powerful, beneficent nature. In their broadest sense, the "signs" of creation are the keys to the comprehension of the divine reality. The works dedicated to agriculture are by extension the exploration of the signs themselves, the types of land, plants, climatic conditions and the like, a proper understanding of which could maximize for human society the benefit of the divine gifts. The relationship between these two literatures is suggested by the stimulus to learning of the "green revolution" in the early Islamic centuries which gave scope for the practical examination of plants and agricultural techniques documented in the agronomic texts. Taken together in this way, the works of the commentators and agronomists are complementary and illustrate that the proposition that God's creatures are both determined and yet free (see FREEDOM AND PREDESTINATION) is only an apparent contradiction in the thought of medieval scholars such as al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111). That is, humankind is determined by the divine nature's creative act, but free to explore and exploit the natural world for its own greater benefit. See also FOOD AND DRINKS.

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Ahl al-Bayt

see FAMILY OF THE PROPHET; PEOPLE OF THE HOUSE

Aḥmad

see MUḤAMMAD

Aḥmadiyya

The Aḥmadiyya Movement in Islam (Urdu *Jamāʿat-i Aḥmadiyya*) is a modern messianic movement. It was founded in 1889 in the Indian province of the Punjab by Mirzā Ghulām Aḥmad (1835-1908) and has become exceedingly controversial within contemporary Muslim circles. Claiming for its founder messianic and prophetic status of a certain kind, the Aḥmadī Movement aroused fierce opposition from the Muslim mainstream and was accused of rejecting the dogma that Muḥammad was the last prophet. Under British rule, the controversy was merely a doctrinal dispute between individuals or voluntary organizations, but when the movement's headquarters and many Aḥmadīs moved in 1947 to the professedly Islamic state of Pakistan, the issue was transformed into a major constitutional problem and the Muslim mainstream demanded the formal exclusion of the Aḥmadīs from the Muslim fold. This was attained in 1974, when the Pakistani parliament adopted a constitutional amendment declaring the Aḥmadīs to be non-Muslims.

Despite the impression which may be gained from anti-Aḥmadī polemical literature, the Aḥmadīs passionately attest that the Qurʾān is a heavenly book of unsurpassable beauty and unquestionable validity which will never be superseded (see INIMITABILITY). They initiated the translation of the Qurʾān into numerous languages and maintain that it is the only scripture (see SCRIPTURE AND THE QURʾĀN) which has suffered no interpolation or corruption (q.v.). Their profound veneration of the Qurʾān has led them to re-interpret the idea of abrogation (q.v.). They claim that whenever abrogation is mentioned in the Qurʾān, it denotes the abrogation of all other religions by Islam rather than the abrogation of early qurʾānic verses by later ones. This implies that all qurʾānic verses have the same validity, a position which undermines the exegetical principle according to which injunctions included in later verses cancel those included in earlier ones. Consequently, they deal in an alternative manner with inconsistencies in the Qurʾān. Instead of following injunctions set forth in "abrogating" verses, they maintain that where there are contradictory statements about a certain issue, one should abide by the verses revealed in circumstances more similar to one's own.

Ghulām Aḥmad used this exegetical method in his reinterpretation of the mandated holy struggle, *jihād* (q.v.). According to his exposition, the verses commanding military struggle were revealed when nascent Islam was in danger of destruction by force. In Ghulām Aḥmad's times, Islam was no longer in danger of military attack, but suffered from defamation by Christian missionaries. Military struggle is therefore unnecessary and Muslims should respond by verbal struggle: they should refute the defamatory statements of their opponents and propagate Islam by preaching.

Two qurʾānic verses are central to Aḥmadī theology. "Jesus, I cause you to die and raise you to myself" (Q 3:55) is taken to mean that Jesus' ascension took place after his death. Coupled with the qurʾānic denial of the crucifixion in Q 4:157, the verses are interpreted to mean that Jesus died a natural death and, contrary to numerous ḥadīths, there will be no second coming. Q 33:40 which describes Muḥammad as "the seal of the prophets" (*khātam al-nabiyyīn,* see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD) is not understood as meaning that he was the last prophet, but that he was "the owner of the seal" without whose confirmation no other prophet may be accepted. The dogma asserting the finality of Muḥammad's prophethood refers, according to the Aḥmadiyya, only to legislative prophets who bring a divinely revealed book of law. Non-legislative prophets like Ghulām Aḥmad whom God sends to revive the law promulgated in the Qurʾān can appear in a Muslim community even after the completion of Muḥammad's mission. A similar idea can be found in the works of the famous Ṣūfī Ibn al-ʿArabī (d. 638/1240) and Ghulām Aḥmad's prophetology may have been inspired by his thought. See also ṢŪFISM AND THE QURʾĀN.

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Air and Wind

The gases which surround the earth and the motion within these gases. Air is mentioned only twice in the Qurʾān, once as *jaww* and once as *hawāʾ.* The general word for wind, *rīḥ* and its plural *riyāḥ,* occurs more than thirty times. It is supplemented by a number of terms with significantly fewer attestations denoting specific types of wind.

Air

Of the attestations of air, one is literal, Q 16:79: "Have you not reflected on the birds set in the air *(jaww)* of the firmament, none holds them there other than God. In that, indeed, is a sign for those who believe," referring to the region between heaven and earth where the birds have their place. The other is metaphorical, Q 14:43: "Their hearts are air *(hawāʾ),*" where it is used to emphasize the terror felt by the wicked on judgment day that renders their minds insubstantial and incapable of thought.

Wind

Wind, like the other phenomena of nature, is a sign *(āya)* of God (see SIGNS). It can be either beneficent or destructive. The qurʾānic references to wind give an account of the diverse forms in which it may occur: in the relief it brings from drought by bearing clouds laden with rain to the

pastoral steppes and agricultural centers, in blinding sandstorms, in torrential rain and in its benefits and dangers to shipping. Yet however varied and unpredictable it may appear to humankind, wind in the Qurʾān is never arbitrary. It and all its concomitants — whether for good or ill — are in the hands of God and occur as a direct act of his will, whether to reward or punish.

The grammatical structures in which wind occurs and the contexts in which it has a role illustrate this. On most occasions wind is the direct object of God's action: he/we send(s) it (*arsala, yursilūna, arsalnā* [passim]). He uses it to drive (*yuzjī,* Q 17:66; 24:43) clouds and ships (q.v.) and may grant control of it to whomever he wishes. On three occasions it is mentioned that God put it at the disposal of Solomon (q.v.; Q 21:81; 34:12; 38:36). It moves according to God's direction (*taṣrīf al-riyāḥ,* Q 2:164; 45:5). He may still it (*yuskin,* Q 42:33), if he wishes. Only on four occasions is it the subject of a verb: it blows (*tahwī,* Q 22:31), it comes (*jāʾat,* Q 10:22), it blows violently (*ishtaddat,* Q 14:18), it scatters (*tadhrū,* Q 18:45). Thus its role in qurʾānic discourse, in direct speech, narrative, parables, metaphors and oaths alike, is clearly defined as a part of nature under God's command.

Rīḥ may at times express meanings beyond those common in everyday usage of the word "wind" in English. On two occasions it occurs with an extended meaning as in the exclamation of Jacob (q.v.), "I sense the fragrance *(rīḥ)* of Joseph (q.v.)" (Q 12:94), and, "Do not quarrel one with another lest you lose heart and your spirit *(rīḥ)* [i.e. zeal] depart" (Q 8:46). *Rūḥ,* derived from the same root, sometimes expresses a specialized significance of breath considered as air in motion, i.e. the breath of life and spirit. Thus Adam (see ADAM AND EVE) is brought to life by the divine breath God blows into him (Q 15:29; 32:9; 38:72; 66:12) and Jesus (q.v.) is created by the breath or spirit God breathes into Mary (q.v.; Q 19:17; 21:91). In its other attestations, the meanings *rūḥ* bears are conceptually distinct from the English word "wind" and do not fall within the scope of this entry (see SPIRIT).

In addition to *rīḥ* there are a number of words in the Qurʾān indicating winds of various kinds: *ʿāṣif* (Q 10:22) or *ʿāṣifa* (Q 21:81), "a violent wind"; *ḥāṣib* (Q 54:34), "a sandstorm"; *qāṣif* (Q 17:69), "a violent gale"; and *rukhāʾ* (Q 38:36), "a gentle breeze." Moreover, there are a number of words which qualify it adjectivally: *ṣarṣar* (Q 41:16; 54:19; 69:6), meaning "searing cold," if the root is associated with *ṣirr* (Q 3:117), or "terrible clamor," if associated with *ṣarra* (Q 51:29); *ʿātiya* (Q 69:6), "violent"; and *ʿaqīm* (Q 51:41), "stifling." On one occasion the verb *tanaffasa* (Q 81:18), "to breathe," is used to designate the tremulous stirring of the air before dawn.

As a divine gift

Wind is a gift of God and an integral part of the interlocking complex of blessings (see BLESSING) he bestows on humankind by which he reveals himself as Lord and Benefactor. Above all, it is a bearer of God's mercy. Its role is epitomized in Q 7:57: "It is he who sends the winds as dispersers/heralds *(nashran* [or *nushuran* or *nushran*]*/bush*[*u*]*ran)* of his mercy until when they bear clouds heavy with rain, We guide them to a land dead [in drought]. By them do we send down water, and by them do we bring forth fruits of every kind. Just so do we bring forth the dead. On this then should you reflect." Attention should be drawn to the alternative readings of "dispersers" and "heralds" (see READINGS OF THE QURʾĀN). Modern commentators, like Rashīd Riḍā (1865-1935), prefer "heralds." This is now widely regarded as canonical thanks to the prominent status of the

"Egyptian" edition of the Qurʾān and tacitly accepted as such by most translators. Al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923), however, states explicitly his dislike of this recitation, preferring "dispersers" *(nashran* or *nushuran)*. He says that the Bedouin use *"nashr"* (or its alleged dialectal variant *nushr*) for "the nice, soft, diminishing winds which spawn clouds." He accepts the same recitation in Q 25:48 and 27:63 (*Tafsīr,* viii, 209). In this he is followed by al-Zamakhsharī (d. 538/1144), al-Rāzī (d. 606/1209), al-Bayḍāwī (d. ca. 700/1301) and others for whom the verse is a *locus classicus* for excursuses on wind in the divine economy. For these exegetes, the winds are "dispersers" of God's mercy (q.v.). They gloss "mercy" as "rain." It is by the rain that God revives the dead earth, just as he will raise the dead on judgment day. It is not a coincidence that the word *"nashr"* also refers to the raising of the dead at the resurrection (q.v.). It must be noted, however, that in a similar context (Q 30:46) the winds are described as "heralds" *(mubashshirāt),* without any recorded variant recitation.

In addressing Q 7:57, al-Rāzī (*Tafsīr,* vii, 143-51) presents a number of excursuses which establish a frame of reference for discussion of wind in the Qurʾān. He quotes Ibn ʿUmar (d. 73/693) to the effect that there are eight terms for wind in the Qurʾān, four of them designating winds sent as punishment — *qāṣif,* "violent gale"; *ʿāṣif,* "violent wind"; *ṣarṣar,* "searingly cold"; and *ʿaqīm,* "stifling" — and four as tokens of mercy — *nāshirāt,* "restoring to life"; *mubashshirāt,* "heralding"; *mursalāt,* "sweeping in succession"; and *dhāriyāt,* "raising dust."

The exegetical tradition highlights various aspects of the character and function of the wind in the Qurʾān, which can be enumerated as follows: 1. It fecundates the clouds: "We send the fecund wind. We send water down from the sky and give it to you to drink. It is not you who store it" (Q 15:22). 2. God shows his power by directing it: "The alternation of night and day, the water God sends down from the sky by which he revives the earth after its death and the directing of the winds are signs for a people who understand" (Q 45:5). 3. It brings rain: "It is God who sends the winds, stirs up the clouds and extends them in the sky as he wills and sunders them. You see the rain pour down from within them. He makes it fall on whichever of his servants he wills" (Q 30:48). 4. It is one of the signs of the resurrection: "It is God who sends the winds and stirs up the clouds. We drive [the clouds] to a dead land, and by them we revive the earth after its death. Like this is the resurrection…." (Q 35:9). 5. It drives ships across the sea: "We have honored mankind and carried them on the land and sea" (Q 17:70).

Such images occur throughout the Qurʾān and a majestic array of God's signs is given in Q 2:164. They include creation (q.v.) itself, the alternation of night and day, the ships moving swiftly through the sea, the rain reviving the dead earth, the clouds poised between heaven and earth and the winds that bear them. Yet no matter how many blessings the wind is instrumental in bringing, there are many who do not believe (see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF). Q 30:51 states that, even if God were to send a wind to turn the greenery of the earth yellow, they still would not believe.

God's control over the wind

As stated above, God grants power over the wind to whomever he chooses. As a reward for Solomon's faithfulness, God gave him the wind to carry him wherever he wished: "[We disposed] the wind to Solomon, a violent one *(ʿāṣifa)*. It moved swiftly at his command to the land on which we had laid our blessing" (Q 21:81). In Q 38:36 we are told how it moved at

Solomon's command as "a gentle breeze" *(rukhāʾ)* and in Q 34:12 how it could carry him a month's journey, every morning and evening. On the other hand, God may withhold it to indicate his displeasure, as in Q 42:32-3: "Among his signs are the ships on the sea like mountains. If he wishes, he stills the wind so the ships rest motionless on its surface. In this are signs for all who are steadfast and grateful."

Wind as a warning

Wind is not always a blessing. The Qurʾān warns: "Can you be sure that he who is in the heaven will not send upon you a sandstorm *(ḥāṣib)?*" (Q 67:17). In Q 17:66-70 sailors are threatened with punishing winds:

> It is your Lord who [by the wind] drives onward *(yujzī)* ships at sea for you, that you may seek of his bounty. He is merciful to you. Whenever harm threatens you at sea, apart from [God] whomever you call upon will be lost. Yet when [God] brings you safely to shore, you turn away. Man is ungrateful. Can you be sure that when you are ashore he will not make a part of the land swallow you up, or send upon you a sandstorm *(ḥāṣib)?* Then you will find none to protect you. Can you be sure that [while you are still at sea] he will not put you in peril yet again, and send upon you a violent gale *(qāṣif)* of wind and drown you because of your ingratitude. Then you will not find for yourselves any support against Us for it.

Similar ideas are developed in Q 10:22, which tells how sailors when in peril from a tempest pray desperately, but once safe on land revert to their evil ways. See also WARNING.

Wind as punishment

Q 33:9 records that a cold wind led to the disintegration of the army of the pagan Meccans who besieged Medina in the Battle of Uḥud (q.v.). Muḥammad and the Muslims are reminded: "When armies came upon you, we sent against them a wind, and armies you did not see." The people of Lot (q.v.) were destroyed by a sandstorm *(ḥāṣib,* Q 54:34) and the people of ʿĀd (q.v.) were annihilated by a searing cold wind *(ṣarṣar),* when they rejected their prophet Hūd (q.v.): "We sent upon them a searing cold wind on a doom-laden day" (Q 41:16; see also 54:19; 69:6). In Q 51:41 this wind is described as stifling *(ʿaqīm)* and in Q 69:6 is a vivid account of its destructive power. It obliterated the community utterly, leaving only the remnants of their dwellings. See also PUNISHMENT STORIES.

In parables

Wind is a component in a number of similes (q.v.) and parables often introduced by expressions such as *mathal* and *ka-annamā,* putting to didactic effect everyday experiences with wind. In Q 3:117 the effort the wicked expend in the life of this world "is like a wind *(rīḥ)* which is biting cold *(ṣirr)* which strikes the tillage of a people who harm themselves and destroys it." In Q 14:18 all the efforts of those who disbelieve are dismissed as nothing more than "ash (see ASHES) blown violently by the wind on a stormy day." Q 18:45 reiterates the point: "[The life of this world] becomes chaff and the wind scatters it." In Q 22:31 the wicked are warned that someone who disbelieves in God is like a person falling from a great height, caught by the wind, "and blown to a remote place."

In oaths

A striking feature of the Qurʾān are the oaths sworn by natural phenomena including the wind to draw attention to and heighten the impact of its message (see OATHS). Of particular beauty is Q 81:18 de-

claring that the qurʾānic revelations are indeed brought to the Prophet by Gabriel (q.v.): "I swear… by the dawn when it draws its breath *(tanaffasa)*."

The clusters of oaths opening sūras 51 and 77 are of special interest. All the topics of asseveration are suggestive of power and inevitability, like the coming of the judgment day, which they foreshadow. They have particular strength because, as al-Ṭabarī suggests, their meaning is multilayered, which heightens the role of the wind to create a breathtaking impact. Thus in Q 51:1 *dhāriyāt* means "winds raising the dust," but in other contexts can mean "women giving birth." *Ḥāmilāt* in Q 51:2 has the meaning of "winds bearing rain clouds," but it can also mean "pregnant women." *Jāriyāt* in Q 51:3 may be understood, perhaps simultaneously, as "swiftly-moving winds," "ships cutting through the sea" and "stars following their course." Likewise in Q 77:1 *mursalāt* may be "successive surges of wind," as well as "the continuing revelation of the pericopes of the Qurʾān to Muḥammad." *Nāshirāt* in Q 77:3 may be "winds dispersing the rain of God's mercy" (cf. Q 7:57) or "spreaders of the news of the qurʾānic revelation." Wind is inseparable from the layers of meaning discoverable within these words. As each cluster of oaths creates images of "well-arranged and continuous movement" so the wind, as a component of these images, is associated with the coming and violence of judgment day. The sublime pun on *nashr* (dispersing/resurrection) and its derivatives highlights the inevitability and drama of this event.

Conclusion

Wind is part of the great array of signs and gifts that demonstrates God's power and benevolence. It belongs to the regenerative cycle of events that fills the earth with plants that sustain life. It also enables human beings to trade and interact with each other across the earth and is highlighted as one of the signs of the resurrection. In the cosmological sense, air and wind lie between the heavens and the earth. To humankind, wind may be terrifying and uncontrollable. Like all else in nature control over it is in God's hands. It is a symbol of the helplessness of humankind and the power of God. Everything said about it relates directly to human experience and as everything else in nature the Qurʾān presents it in all its diversity as a teacher of ultimate truths to humankind. See also NATURAL WORLD AND THE QURʾĀN.

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ʿĀʾisha bint Abī Bakr

The woman thought by the majority of Muslims to be the Prophet Muḥammad's favorite wife. Although ʿĀʾisha bint Abī Bakr (d. 58/678) is never explicitly named in the Qurʾān, she was consistently defined with reference to the sacred text in the formation of her historical and symbolic standing in Islamic history. Through ʿĀʾisha, Muslim scholars, who historically were almost exclusively men, struggled with questions central to the formation of communal identity and gender roles. Her

persona focused debate and determined the nuances of the Islamic identity in its formative phase. These intertextual exchanges, particularly in the early and classical periods of Islamic history, allowed scholars to establish for Muslim women the parameters of their social behavior, political participation and the feminine models endorsed for them as ideals. In this process, ʿĀʾisha acted as a prism for the focus and refraction of shared and sharply divided Islamic interpretations. At the heart of these significant debates — prompted by her actions as an historically attested figure — was the Qurʾān, the verses of which would be used both to defend and criticize her.

Three pivotal themes invoked important sacred precedents in ʿĀʾisha's depiction: her vindication from adultery (see ADULTERY AND FORNICATION); her participation in the first civil war; and the attempt to idealize her as an exemplary female in relation to Mary (q.v.), the mother of Jesus (q.v.). ʿĀʾisha's role as the wife of the Prophet Muḥammad conferred upon her and her co-wives an exalted status, but also a heightened visibility in the realm of sacred praxis and symbol. These additional responsibilities were outlined in the Qurʾān, which implicitly defined ʿĀʾisha as one of the mothers of the believers: "The wives of [Muḥammad]are the mothers of [the believers]" (Q 33:6), a unique female élite unlike other women (Q 33:32). Special conditions applied exclusively to the wives of the Prophet, including the injunction in Q 33:53 that they stay behind a screen or curtain (*min warāʾi ḥijāb;* see VEIL). All women, including the Prophet's wives, were instructed to wear cloaks (Q 33:59), cover their bosoms and comport themselves with modesty in public (Q 24:31). Yet the Qurʾān makes explicit that the wives of the Prophet were also held to a higher moral standard than other women since the punishment and reward for their acts in this life would be doubled in the hereafter (Q 33:30-1; see REWARD AND PUNISHMENT). In Q 33:33 the wives of the Prophet are specifically enjoined to stay in their houses, a restriction that was ultimately interpreted by religious scholars to include all Muslim women. This verse of the Qurʾān was applied to ʿĀʾisha in her one foray into politics in 11/632, the year after the Prophet's death, and was ultimately extended to all Muslim women over time in order to insure their seclusion from male spheres of public activity.

The accusation of adultery

Sectarian division within the classical Islamic world is nowhere more evident than in the interpretation of the Qurʾān regarding the accusation of adultery made against ʿĀʾisha in 5/627. The most direct linkage of ʿĀʾisha with the Qurʾān, found in Q 24:11-20, does not refer to her directly by name or to the accusation of adultery made against her, historically referred to by Sunnī Muslims as the account of the lie or slander *(ifk)*. Rather, the revelation explicitly concerns the dire punishments for those who spread slander without the four male witnesses required by Q 24:13.

The affair of the lie was celebrated as an example of ʿĀʾisha's divine vindication from the charge of adultery. According to the earliest written Muslim accounts, ʿĀʾisha accompanied the Prophet on a raid against a tribe called the Banū l-Muṣṭaliq. During a rest stop on the journey home, she found that she had lost her necklace and left the encampment to retrieve it. It was assumed by the other members of the party that she had remained seated in her covered litter. So they lifted the howdah on to the back of her camel and left with it. Stranded and alone in the desert, she was eventually found by a young Muslim named Ṣafwān b. al-Muʿaṭṭal al-Sulamī

who returned her safely to the Prophet's camp. The enemies of the Prophet claimed that in fact ʿĀʾisha had betrayed her husband with her rescuer before they rejoined the rest of the party, although there were no witnesses to this (Ibn Isḥāq-Guillaume, 493-9). This account — first recorded in written form one hundred and fifty to two hundred years after the events described — represents the narrative frame for the explication of Q 24:11-20, which the majority of Muslims regard as supporting ʿĀʾisha's exoneration from the charge of adultery.

The famed Sunnī exegete al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923) declared in his qurʾānic commentary on these verses that the people of Islam as a religious community were unanimous on ʿĀʾisha's vindication (*Tafsīr,* xviii, 96). Even as he wrote these unqualified words about this position in his exegesis, he surely knew that Shīʿī commentators, like his fourth/tenth-century contemporary al-Qummī (fl. fourth/tenth century), explicated the same verses quite differently. Al-Qummī stated that they referred not to ʿĀʾisha but to when the Prophet's Egyptian concubine Maryam was slandered, an incident which the author dates to five years later (*Tafsīr,* ii, 99; cf. Majlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār,* xxii, 153-5; M.M. Bar-Asher, *Scripture,* 42-3). These contradictory interpretations reflect both the emergence of contested religio-political identities and the importance of interpretation in recreating the Islamic past. The same revelation might, through sectarian explication, render two quite different readings. The Sunnī majority supported and defended ʿĀʾisha not just as the Prophet's favorite wife but as the daughter of Abū Bakr (q.v.; r. 11/632-13/634), one of the Prophet's closest friends and his successor as head of the Islamic community. Conversely, Shīʿī Muslims rejected and reviled ʿĀʾisha as an enemy of their political and spiritual leader, ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib (q.v.; r. 35/656-40/661), in a discourse consistent with their own vision of past events. Indeed, Shīʿī interpretation of these qurʾānic verses opened the way for their designation of ʿĀʾisha as an adulteress, in sharp contrast to the majority Sunnī Muslim vindication and ultimate praise of her chastity.

The sectarian differences between the Sunnīs and Shīʿīs emerged through contested interpretations of the Qurʾān and captured contradictory visions of a shared past as refracted through female as well as male historical figures (see SHĪʿISM AND THE QURʾĀN). The dual interpretations work, in part, because ʿĀʾisha is not explicitly named in the Qurʾān in the verses in question and the name of Maryam, the Copt, is also not present in the sacred text. In interpretation, the commentators attempted to clarify to whom these verses refer and in interpretation there remained latitude for contradictory human readings of the divine revelation and its gendered import. Historicizing such internal debates undermined Islam's claim, articulated by Muslim scholars, to be a monolithic and static truth. Their divisive, co-existent religious interpretations may assume an exclusive right to clarify an eternal and timeless Islam, but these same assertions of exclusivity are undermined by their attachment to a time-bound, very human struggle for definitional control over a shared faith and its political applications. Such fissures, once found, suggest the possibility that the history of an ostensibly religious discourse may reveal precedents for a multiplicity of present-day ideological interpretations of Islam by Muslim women as well as men.

The anthropologist Erika Friedl more recently recorded the voice of one Shīʿī woman from an Iranian mountain village who tells a story of the charge of adultery made against one of the Prophet's wives. Although ʿĀʾisha is not named and the rescuer of the early Arabic account, Ṣafwān b. al-Muʿaṭṭal al-Sulamī, is replaced with

an anonymous caravansary owner, the details of this accusation reveal an alternative sectarian reading which eliminates the very existence of the Sunnī heroine and the centrality of divine revelation. Instead, this probably illiterate female Shīʿī interpreter proposes a distinctly human and logical outcome of the tale, which emphasizes the power of rumor and the ever-present threat of divorce in the lives of women, whose chastity (q.v.) is the object of communal gossip.

Although E. Friedl's anthropological work is exemplary, in this instance the broader implications of the modern female narrative remain subsumed within the ethnography. By privileging the voice of her Shīʿī source, the anthropologist did not make the critical contextual connections that characterize this modern interpretation as the distinctive outcome of a contested, exclusively male, classical Sunnī and Shīʿī sacred commentary. The ahistorical presentation suggests an implicit timelessness which undermines the source's gendered distinction in the history of religion. It is not simply an Iranian folktale told to a foreign anthropologist, but rather a modern oral interpretation of the Qurʾān expressed by a Shīʿī Muslim female in a clearly demarcated continuum of Islamic interpretation of the sacred.

The battle of the camel

The battle of the camel in 36/656 was the first military conflict in the first Islamic civil war (Ṭabarī, *History,* xvi, 122-3). Both the Qurʾān and the ḥadīth recording the words and actions of the Prophet were used by authors who, hundreds of years after the bloody conflict, were still trying to make sense of the event. All histories, whether Sunnī or Shīʿī accounts, had to consider the central presence of ʿĀʾisha bint Abī Bakr in this conflict. Her opposition to ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib and his partisans *(shīʿa)* was personal, political and ultimately military. Her forces, led by her two allies, were defeated by ʿAlī in his successful bid to defend his position as the fourth leader of the Muslim community after Muḥammad's death.

The central presence of a woman in the struggle for political succession did not escape censure by either the Sunnī or Shīʿī Muslim community. Indeed, although both communities would read this event differently in retrospect, both shared common tactics in their condemnation of ʿĀʾisha. The Sunnī and Shīʿī sources alike utilized the same qurʾānic verses and ḥadīth to buttress their criticism. The verse central to their shared arguments is found in Q 33:33. Specifically directed to the Prophet's wives in the plural, the verse enjoins them: "Stay in your houses." There are no extant written sources contemporary with the first civil war, but ʿĀʾisha is reminded in a later biography that had she stayed at home the carnage of the battle of the camel might not have occurred. Ibn Saʿd (d. 230/845), an early Sunnī biographer, records that, when ʿĀʾisha recited these verses of the Qurʾān years after the event, she wept until she soaked her veil with tears (*Ṭabaqāt,* viii, 81). The Shīʿī chronicler al-Masʿūdī (d. 354/956) allows ʿAlī, his Shīʿī hero and the victor, to reproach ʿĀʾisha directly by reminding her that the Prophet had once revealed that she should stay in her house, a reference to Q 33:33 (*Murūj,* iv, 102-19, nos. 1628-57, esp. no. 1644). Actually, the Qurʾān emphasizes that all of the Prophet's wives should stay, using a plural verb, in their houses, which also appears as a plural, but al-Masʿūdī is not troubled by the grammatical exactitude of the sacred verse. Later Shīʿī sources utilize this same verse of the Qurʾān even more pointedly to condemn ʿĀʾisha's political motives (M.M. Bar-Asher, *Scripture,* 40-1).

Her symbolic presence at the first battle

of the civil war struck a negative universal point of accord between Sunnī and Shīʿī Muslim authors. Through ʿĀʾisha's example, all Muslim women were warned not to leave home or involve themselves in political matters. Traditional lessons derived from the first civil war and the example of the Prophet's wife ʿĀʾisha proved a memorable warning against the future participation of any Muslim woman in politics. Male religious authorities could not have attached such a potent precedent to ʿĀʾisha's actions without their shared citation of the Qurʾān.

The definition of Islamic female ideals

Mary, the mother of the Jesus, whom Muslims regard as a prophet, is the only explicitly named female figure in the Qurʾān. She is highly praised in Q 3:42 as chosen, pure and preferred above all other women of creation. In Q 66:11-2, Mary and the wife of Pharaoh (q.v.), named Āsiya in the Islamic tradition, represent behavioral exemplars for all Muslim believers. Mary's chastity and obedience (q.v.) are particularly extolled in the Qurʾān. In the ḥadīth and qurʾānic exegesis, ʿĀʾisha was often associated with Mary, but never with the latter's divine selection, obedience and chastity. Indeed, references to her tended to underscore the particularly vexed aspects of her historical persona especially those attached to the accusation of adultery and the first civil war. Although ultimately exonerated according to the Sunnī interpretation of the affair of the lie, ʿĀʾisha's chastity remained a point of sectarian confrontation. In this critical controversy over female sexuality, ʿĀʾisha's comparison to Mary implied the accusation of sexual impropriety also lodged in the Qurʾān against the mother of Jesus in Q 19:27-8. Such a parallel established a negative precedent for the idealization of ʿĀʾisha. Her perceived disobedience in the first civil war also allowed scholars to condemn her behavior with reference to the verse Q 33:33, as they were cited in both Sunnī and Shīʿī spheres. Such a political precedent definitively excluded ʿĀʾisha as a potential Muslim female ideal of the obedience extolled in the qurʾānic Mary. Finally, ʿĀʾisha alone would be compared to the most negative female figures in the Qurʾān, the wives of the prophets Lot (q.v.) and Noah (q.v.), who are characterized in Q 66:10 as examples for unbelievers. Their refusal to obey their husbands became a Shīʿī criticism directed at ʿĀʾisha, their disobedient equivalent in her refusal to follow the instructions of Q 33:33.

Ultimately, examining ʿĀʾisha's legacy, unlike that of the women chosen as the most exalted of the first Muslim community, reveals that her depiction consistently aroused conflicting responses within the Muslim community. In Sunnī support or Shīʿī criticism, the qurʾānic precedents of both positive and negative female figures were applied to ʿĀʾisha alone. Although praised by Sunnīs, ʿĀʾisha defied categorization as absolutely positive or negative in the Muslim search for her meaning. The interpretation of her active, controversial life revealed that the process of idealization in Islamic history would never admit her into the realm of perfection. Thus, while Islamic tradition asserted that there were no perfect women except Mary and the wife of Pharaoh in Q 3:42, these two in qurʾānic exegesis would ultimately be joined by the Prophet's first wife, Khadīja (q.v.) bint Khuwaylid (d. 619 C.E.) and their daughter Fāṭima (q.v.; d. 11/632). The consistently positive, unchallenged portrayals of these women established, through direct parallels to the qurʾānic Mary, their centrality as Islamic female models. Both Khadīja and Fāṭima represented an idealized vision of the feminine on which both Sunnī and Shīʿī Muslims ultimately agreed.

As further idealized within Shīʿī texts,

Fāṭima finally transcended the precedent of Mary in the Qurʾān and challenged the Sunnī majority to defend ʿĀʾisha, not as an ideal female figure, but as one whose reputation was diminished by contrast. The impact of the dichotomy depicted between ʿĀʾisha and Fāṭima ultimately raises questions about the reaction of Muslim women to male interpretations of the Qurʾān. Until recently, the reaction of Muslim women to these male constructed ideal females has been missing from the written record. Although it has been argued that real Shīʿī women cannot hope to emulate Fāṭima's sacred transcendence of her own sexuality in the matters of propriety and motherhood, it is no more certain that the precedent of ʿĀʾisha's persona will finally yield a more practical legacy for Sunnī women. Although ʿĀʾisha bint Abī Bakr remains a model for the Sunnī majority especially with regard to her intelligence and prodigious memory in the transmission of the reports about the life of her husband, her biography remains securely attached to the qurʾānic precedent. The control of such sacred interpretations will continue to pose a challenge for those Muslims, whether male or female, who attempt to define ʿĀʾisha's persona as a positive force in the present. See also WIVES OF THE PROPHET; WOMEN AND THE QURʾĀN.

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Ākhira see RESURRECTION; PARADISE; HELL; ESCHATOLOGY

Al-ʿAbbās see FAMILY OF THE PROPHET

ʿĀlamīn see WORLD

Al-ʿArim

The most popular interpretation was that *ʿarim (*sing. *ʿarima)* were dam-like structures designed to hold back flood waters. The words occurs only once in the Qurʾān: "They turned away [from God], so we sent upon them the flood of the dams *(sayl al-ʿarim)* and gave them, instead of their two gardens, two which produced bitter fruit, and tamarisks and a few lote trees" (Q 34:16). Citing other Muslim sources, al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923) describes the construction of the dams and their destruction after the people of Sheba (Sabā, see SHEBA), who had enjoyed the easiest existence on earth, rejected the thirteen prophets sent to them. According to one account, the

Queen of Sheba, identified in the Islamic tradition as Bilqīs (q.v.), originally built the dams to ensure the fair apportioning of water among her subjects, who had constantly feuded over water rights. Ironically, the mighty structures were brought down by a mouse *(fa'ra)* or large rat *(juradh)*. Soothsayers had predicted that the dams would be destroyed by a mouse, so the Shebans stationed cats all over them. When God decreed the destruction of this sinful people, he sent a ferocious mouse — or a large rat — which overpowered one of the cats and penetrated the dam, unbeknownst to the Shebans. When the floods came, the weakened dam was swept away along with the homes and property of the Shebans (*Tafsīr,* xxii, 78-83).

However, there were other interpretations (see, for example, Yāqūt, *Buldān,* iv, 110). According to some, *sayl al-ʿarim* means "a violent flood," while others held that *al-ʿarim* was the name of the valley containing the flood waters. Still others believed that it was the name of the great rat which gnawed through the dam. The famous ḥadīth-collector al-Bukhārī (d. 256/870) put forth an interesting theory. He argued that *ʿarim* was "red water" which was used on the gardens of the Shebans. To punish them, God caused this water to drain so far into the earth that the roots of the plants could no longer reach it. Consequently, the once fertile gardens withered and died. See also ARCHAEOLOGY AND THE QUR'ĀN; PUNISHMENT STORIES.

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ʿAlawīs

see SHĪʿISM AND THE QUR'ĀN

Alcohol

see INTOXICANTS

Alexander

The Macedonian conqueror who lived from 356 until 323 B.C.E. Traditional and modern scholars have identified the figure the Qur'ān refers to as the Possessor of the Two Horns (Dhū l-Qarnayn, Q 18:83, 86, 94) as Alexander the Great (al-Iskandar in Arabic). His "two horns" may be the east and the west, suggesting breadth of his dominion. Anomalously, some early scholars saw the epithet as reference to a pre-Islamic monarch of south Arabia or Persia. The famous mystic Ibn al-ʿArabī (d. 638/1240) interpreted the figure allegorically, identifying the "Possessor of the Two Horns" as the "heart" ruling the "earth" of the body through the "east" and "west" of its palpitations.

Alexander is the best known qur'ānic figure not actually named in the scripture. In the Islamic tradition, his major roles are those of sovereign, seeker, sage, prophet and "perfect person." By constructing an iron wall to contain Gog and Magog (q.v., Q 18:93-9), Alexander joins the company of both David (q.v.), who could melt iron, and Solomon (q.v.), the only other "Muslim" to rule the globe and who built his temple with the help of the jinn (q.v.). In addition, Alexander defended the world against apocalyptic chaos (cf. Q 21:96-7).

Alexander shares his mysterious notoriety with al-Khaḍir (see KHAḌIR/KHIḌR), whom tradition identifies as Moses' unnamed guide on his search for the confluence of the two seas (Q 18:60-82). Firdawsī's (d. 411/1020) *Shāhnāme* names al-Khaḍir as Alexander's guide in his quest for the fountain (or spring) of life in the Land of Darkness. In

fact, Alexander's relationship to al-Khaḍir (also rendered Khiḍr) is strikingly similar to that of Moses to his unnamed guide in sūra 18. Alexander did not reach the fountain, because he became distracted, just as Moses failed in his quest because he asked too many questions. Alexander's other guides in lore are the sage Luqmān (q.v.) and the prophet Elijah (q.v.). The legend that Aristotle tutored Alexander in dream-interpretation further enhanced his status as sage, a theme fully developed in Niẓāmī's (d. early seventh/thirteenth century) Persian romance *Iskandarnāme*.

Alexander's place in the narratives (q.v.) on the prophets *(qiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ)* is significant. In commenting on Q 18:83, al-Thaʿlabī (d. 427/1035) allots more space to the "Possessor of the Two Horns" than he accords to at least five other prophets. He says that most authorities identify him as Alexander, who, it is said, descended from Abraham (q.v.) on his father's side. Restating the views recorded by many exegetes, al-Thaʿlabī observes that Alexander was called the "Possessor of the Two Horns" either because he ruled both Greece and Persia; or because, when the prophet summoned his people to belief in one God, they struck one side of his head and then the other in defiance; or because he had two attractive locks of hair that people called horns. Citing a report in which Muḥammad does not know whether the "Possessor of the Two Horns" was actually a prophet, al-Thaʿlabī notes that scholars disagree, some arguing that he was a prophet (*nabī,* see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD) but not a messenger (*rasūl,* see MESSENGER). Al-Kisāʾī (fl. 597/1200) mentions the "Possessor of the Two Horns" only in Jacob's (q.v.) prophecy of a great future king, not identified as Alexander. Alexander reaches the pinnacle of mystical and cosmic apotheosis as the "perfect person" *(al-insān al-kāmil)* in his legendary journey to Mount Qāf, which recalls Muḥammad's ascension (q.v.) into heaven. Confronting his mortality, Alexander gains wisdom enough to spread God's word and become a model of spiritual perfection.

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ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib

The cousin of the Prophet Muḥammad and husband of his daughter Fāṭima. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib (d. 40/661) was among the first to embrace Islam and was renowned for his loyalty to the Prophet and his courageous role in a number of the military expeditions in the defense of the early Muslim community. Also known for his piety, his profound knowledge of the Qurʾān and the sunna (the exemplary practice of the Prophet; see SUNNA), he figures prominently in several esoteric traditions in Islam including Ṣūfism (see ṢŪFISM AND THE QURʾĀN).

Shīʿī Muslims — originally "the partisans of ʿAlī" (*shīʿat ʿAlī,* see SHĪʿA) — citing texts

from the Qurʾān and the ḥadīth, maintain that on the Prophet's death the temporal and spiritual leadership of the Muslim community should have devolved to ʿAlī, but instead was usurped by other close Companions of the Prophet (q.v.). According to Shīʿī doctrine, ʿAlī as the divinely-designated imām (q.v.) also bore the responsibility for preserving the divine message of the Qurʾān after its revelation. Upon his passing, his direct descendants inherited the imamate, although few of them were able to exercise the powers of their position due to persecution by the rival Sunnī rulers as well as the Sunnī religious establishment.

Early Shīʿī tradition claims that ʿAlī had in his possession an authentic version of the Qurʾān which was rejected by his political opponents among the powerful Meccan tribe of the Quraysh (q.v.). Instead the vulgate commissioned by his rival, the caliph ʿUthmān (q.v.), and purged of the verses naming ʿAlī and the other members of the Prophet's family as the leaders of the community became canonical (see COLLECTION OF THE QURʾĀN). According to the lore of the Twelver (or Imāmī) Shīʿites, the succeeding imāms secretly passed down ʿAlī's copy of the Qurʾān, the contents of which will be revealed to the world by the messianic twelfth imām. Shīʿī views on the nature of ʿAlī's Qurʾān were gradually modified from the fourth/tenth century onwards, when the majority of Shīʿī scholars came to accept the accuracy of the official ʿUthmānic vulgate, disputing only the order of the chapters and verses. ʿAlī's Qurʾān, they believed, while not containing any additional revealed texts, presented the chapters and the verses in the original order of their revelation and held as well his personal notes. This original arrangement and ʿAlī's notes were what subsequent imāms passed on.

Nevertheless, ʿAlī in his capacity as the imām, was held to possess a special knowledge of the inner meaning of the Qurʾān and hence was in a position to engage in hermeneutic interpretation *(taʾwīl)* of the text (see EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL). This divinely endowed knowledge which ʿAlī transmitted to his descendants provided the Shīʿī Imāms with insight into the esoteric aspect *(bāṭin)* of the revelation, thus enabling him to guide the faithful to a truer and more comprehensive understanding of God's guidance to humanity. The Shīʿī imām in the role of the supreme interpreter of God's revelation is often referred to as the "speaking Qurʾān *(al-Qurʾān al-nāṭiq)*, while the text itself is called "the silent leader" *(al-imām al-ṣāmit)*. See also FAMILY OF THE PROPHET; SHĪʿISM AND THE QURʾĀN.

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Alif Lām Mīm see LETTERS AND MYSTERIOUS LETTERS

Alif Lām Rā see LETTERS AND MYSTERIOUS LETTERS

Allāh see GOD AND HIS ATTRIBUTES

Al-Lāt see IDOLS AND IMAGES

Allegiance see OATHS; PLEDGE

Allegory see LANGUAGE AND STYLE OF THE QURʾĀN

Alliances see CONTRACTS AND ALLIANCES

Almsgiving

Charitable gifts to relieve the poor. In common with the teachings of most other faiths and more particularly the biblical traditions, the Qurʾān repeatedly emphasizes the moral value of giving. While the term "almsgiving" may suggest a somewhat simple and unfocused act of charity directed at the poor and needy, the Qurʾān articulates through a variety of terms, especially *ṣadaqa* and *zakāt,* a very textured and multivalent conception of giving which draws upon the ideals of compassion, social justice, sharing and strengthening the community. As this act aims at being both a social corrective and a spiritual benefit, it reflects the ethical and spiritual values which are associated with wealth, property, resources and voluntary effort in personal as well as communal contexts. It is in this broader sense that Muslims understand almsgiving and apply it in their daily life.

The perspective of the Qurʾān on sharing wealth and individual resources through acts of giving is rooted in specific essential ideals: 1. the absence of a dichotomy between spiritual and material endeavors in human life, i.e. acts sanctioned as a part of faith are also linked to the daily conditions of life in this world; 2. the nature, purpose and function of the Muslim community as "the best of communities created to do good and to struggle against evil" (Q 3:110); 3. the trusteeship of wealth and property and hence accountability for the way in which they are expended. These ethical perspectives in the Qurʾān, among others, established the basis for what came to be understood as an Islamic form of giving and its moral significance. As the Muslim philosopher Fazlur Rahman (1919-1988) observed in addressing the key ethical concepts of the Qurʾān, "Islam aims necessarily (and not just peripherally or indirectly) at the creation of a world order wherein the imperatives and principles will be embodied in such a way that the "earth shall be reformed" (Some key ethical concepts of the Qurʾān, 182-3). In an essay exploring the use of the qurʾānic term *ḥaqq,* "real" or "true," Clifford Geertz remarks that one finds the identification of the right with the real at all levels of Islamic practice (*Local knowledge,* 189). Other Western scholars of Islamic civilization, including Marshall Hodgson, have made the same point.

Inasmuch as true sovereignty, according to the Qurʾān, belongs only to God, the Prophet, his successors, the members of the community and even the state acted as the instruments by which these ideals were to be translated into practice. Individuals within that society, whom God endowed with a capacity to acknowledge and respond to him were seen as trustees through whom the moral and spiritual vision of the Qurʾān was fulfilled in personal and communal life. They were thus accountable for the way in which they used their resources and their wealth, and they earned religious merit by expending them in a socially beneficial way. While recognizing that individuals were endowed with different abilities, resources and property, the Qurʾān emphasizes the ideal of social solidarity and enjoins justice and generosity (Q 16:90). In particular, it holds up as truly virtuous those who spend their resources to assist others (Q 57:18) and condemns the hoarders of wealth (Q 3:180).

The specific notions of setting aside a portion of one's wealth for others or of recognizing the necessity and value of giving are articulated in the Qurʾān through a number of terms that are often used interchangeably. The most significant of these are *ṣadaqa* and *zakāt.* There are a number

of other terms that signify "giving" in the Qurʾān. Forms of the verb *nafaqa* (expend) occur primarily with the sense of expending one's wealth to please God (e.g. Q 2:265). *Khayr* (charity) is another qurʾānic term which describes beneficent and voluntary acts of giving. Individuals are also urged to offer God "a beautiful loan" *(qarḍ ḥasan),* the benefit of which will be multiplied many times over by God's bounty (Q 2:245). Since God is deemed to be the ultimate giver, such offerings are interpreted merely as acts of returning to him what is ultimately his.

Ṣadaqa

While the word *ṣadaqa* and its various forms came to be interpreted in later Muslim religious and legal texts to connote the restricted notion of voluntary — rather than obligatory — giving, *ṣadaqa* and *zakāt* are used interchangeably in a broader sense in the Qurʾān. In the Arabic lexicographical literature, the root *ṣ-d-q* sustains numerous meanings associated with ideas of righteousness and truth. Elsewhere in the Qurʾān, related words, such as *al-ṣiddīq* (truthful, Q 12:46), which is used to describe the prophet Joseph (q.v.), or *ṣadīq* (trusted friend, Q 24:61), reflect this notion of moral excellence. Modern critical scholarship has suggested that the word *ṣadaqa* is linked etymologically to the Hebrew *sᵉdāḳā* (almsgiving), leading some experts to conclude that it is a loanword (see FOREIGN VOCABULARY).

The application of the term in its various contexts in the Qurʾān develops some of the key themes of the ideal of giving. Q 9:104-5 links God's acceptance of repentance (see REPENTANCE AND PENANCE) with *ṣadaqa,* thus suggesting its value for the expiation of sins. This is further emphasized by the joining of fasting (q.v.) with *ṣadaqa* (Q 2:196), as ways of fulfilling the obligations of a pilgrimage (*ḥajj,* see PILGRIMAGE) not completed because of illness or other reasons. Giving also benefits the givers spiritually as part of their quest to seek the "face of God" (q.v.; Q 2:272). Such a quest is pursued out of love for God (Q 76:8) and may be public or private (Q 2:274). According to the Qurʾān, those who give because they seek the face of God will be truly fulfilled (Q 30:39). An interesting use of *ṣadaqa* occurs in what has come to be called in the exegetical literature *(tafsīr),* the "verse of the audience" (*āyat al-najwā,* Q 58:12), which enjoins the offering of alms before an audience with the Prophet. This suggests that giving alms was viewed as both a way to expiate past sins and display respect, as well as a gesture of recognition of the values embodied by the Prophet, whose own acts of generosity were looked upon as a model for the rest of the followers of Islam.

According to the Qurʾān, words of kindness and compassion are better than *ṣadaqa* coupled with insult (Q 2:263). The donation of alms need not be a gift of material value. It can also consist of voluntary effort (Q 9:79) or merely a kind word (Q 2:263). It is better to offer alms discreetly to those in need rather than for the purpose of public acknowledgement (Q 2:271). The Qurʾān is critical of those who give in order to appear generous or who compromise the value of the act by ostentatious public behavior that serves only to render a normally charitable act purely self-serving (Q 2:264).

It is clear from Q 58:12 that the Qurʾān envisaged a broad framework both for those who might benefit from the more formalized practice that was evolving in the early Muslim community and for the fiscal support of the community's needy. Almsgiving served to benefit the early Muslims who had migrated from Mecca with the Prophet (see EMIGRANTS AND HELPERS). It was also used to encourage others to join

the Muslim community and to support the Muslims in the conflict against Mecca. Q 9:60 specifies the types of recipients who ought to benefit from it: those afflicted by poverty; those in need and incapable of assisting themselves; those who act, sometimes in a voluntary capacity, as stewards and custodians to ensure the collection and appropriate expenditure of funds; those whose hearts need to become favorably inclined towards Islam; captives who need to be ransomed; debtors; travelers; and finally those active for the sake of God. All of these categories came to be strictly defined in later legal and exegetical literature. Q 2:273 suggests that the broader uses of *ṣadaqa* were not only to assist the poor but also others who during this period of transition were not visibly in need and who nonetheless either required assistance to enhance their livelihood or needed to be directed towards new occupations and economic opportunities. While one aspect of almsgiving in the Qurʾān was clearly projected towards charitable acts for the poor and the needy, the practice also encompassed the wider goal of applying the donations to improve the general condition and economic well-being of other recipients and constituencies in the growing community *(umma)*.

Zakāt

The word *zakāt* is etymologically linked to *zakā* (to be pure). The Qurʾān joins explicitly the word *zakāt* to other primary acts of belief: "Piety does not consist of merely turning your face to the east or to the west. Rather, the pious person is someone who believes in God, the last day, the angels, the book and the prophets and who out of his love gives his property to his relatives, orphans, the needy, travelers, supplicants and slaves; and who performs the required prayers and pays the *zakāt*" (Q 2:177).

The verb *zakā* suggests the idea of growth to emphasize that the giving of one's resources is simultaneously an act which entails the cleansing of oneself and one's property and, through sharing, an enhancement of the capacity of others. More specifically, this kind of giving is considered in the Qurʾān to be analogous to a fertile garden whose yield is increased by abundant rain (Q 2:265). It is this multiple connotation of *zakāt* that is reflected in subsequent interpretations and in the institutionalization of the principle in Muslim thought and practice. The centrality of *zakāt* is underscored by the many times it is coupled with the commandment of ritual worship. Right religion is summed up as serving God, sincere obedience (q.v.), virtue (q.v.), worship (q.v.) and paying the *zakāt* (Q 98:5). Abraham (q.v.) and the other prophets, including Jesus (q.v.), enjoined their followers to pay the *zakāt* (Q 19:31; 21:73).

Since one purpose of ritual action in religion in general is to establish and display communal solidarity, the performance of the duty of paying the *zakāt* acted as a visible symbol of individual commitment to the religious and social values of the growing Muslim community. This significance was further stressed by the incorporation of this duty as part of the observance of the two major Muslim holidays established by the Prophet, the Festival of Fast Breaking *(ʿĪd al-Fiṭr)* marking the end of Ramaḍān (q.v.) and the Festival of the Sacrifice *(ʿĪd al-Aḍḥā)*, when Muslims celebrate the culmination of the pilgrimage. The acts of giving "purify" the individual's wealth just as the fasting and the pilgrimage purify the individual. (See FESTIVALS AND COMMEMORATIVE DAYS.)

The institutionalization of qurʾānic values

The Prophet's own behavior was perceived as exemplary in the matter of almsgiving and his generous and selfless behavior was a model to be emulated. Reports about the

Prophet's almsgiving counteracted the excessive dogmatism about religious practice that was to emerge later. For instance, *ṣadaqa* in some reports means every good deed, even removing an obstacle from the road and planting a tree. Some of the Prophet's statements emphasize that a poor man's small offering is more meritorious than a rich person's donation of a large sum.

The fact that the Prophet eventually organized the collection and distribution of alms suggests that the process was being cast into specific institutional forms even in his day. According to the Qurʾān, some of the Bedouin groups which had converted to Islam remonstrated about the paying of the obligatory alms tax (Q 9:54-9). Al-Bukhārī (d. 256/870), the compiler of the most respected collection of Sunnī prophetic ḥadīth, cites a report in which the Prophet sends a representative to the Yemen to invite the local tribes to convert to Islam and pay the alms tax. Upon Muḥammad's death, his close Companion Abū Bakr (q.v.; r. 11/632-13/63-4) assumed the leadership of the nascent community and a number of tribes refused to pay the alms tax because they felt that the death of the Prophet absolved them from the obligations contracted with him (see APOSTASY). Their actions were perceived as a rebellion against the new authority in Medina which suppressed the revolts and reimposed the payment of the alms tax. Abū Bakr clearly regarded the payment of the alms tax to be obligatory and its imposition necessary in order to honor the Prophet's practice and sustain the well-being of the community. Shīʿite sources attributed to ʿAlī and the early imāms, also emphasize the need to entrust *zakāt* to the rightful authorities since they held the custodial authority to disburse them appropriately.

As the community expanded, through conversion and conquest, Muslim rulers and scholars looked to these values of community maintenance for guidance. Though the world of Islam was to encompass in time considerable geographical and cultural diversity, a common pattern of thought developed and was articulated in theological and legal forms, translating such principles into social practice. The Muslim community was not perceived as a merely religious community in the strictest sense of the word, but also a political, moral and social order (see COMMUNITY AND SOCIETY IN THE QURʾĀN). It provided the context in which Muslim thinkers could develop formalized approaches to all spheres of human life, including the institutionalization of the procedures for the collection and distribution of what was offered as alms.

The juristic literature produced by succeeding generations of scholars further formalized the collection and disbursement of the alms tax. Writers attempted to justify the prevailing custom by linking it retrospectively to the practice of the Prophet and other early authorities. In these juristic elaborations, the distinction of *zakāt* as an obligatory contribution and *ṣadaqa* as supererogation finally solidifies. The obligatory alms tax was to be paid to the treasury *(bayt al-māl),* an institution which was developed more fully under the early caliphs.

Nevertheless, legal scholars attempted to elaborate and codify norms and statutes that gave concrete form to the qurʾānic prescriptions associated with almsgiving and their distribution. The work of the Ḥanafī jurist Abū Yūsuf (d. 192/808) on taxes, *Kitāb al-Kharāj,* which was written during the reign of the ʿAbbasid caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd (r. 170/786-193/809), is an instructive example of the collaboration between jurists and rulers to appropriate and extend such practices as almsgiving as part of the fiscal working of the state. A jurist such as al-Shāfiʿī (d. 204/820) was able

to systematize and rationalize prevailing practice in his work. Generally, such works built upon the references to *zakāt* and *ṣadaqa* in the Qurʾān, detailing the payments based on the ownership of property, possessions and money, including income generated from farming. They prescribed when an amount was to be paid and to whom, as well as what minimum amounts were due in each category. It is interesting to note that the obligatory alms tax was also extended to include underground resources, such as minerals and treasure troves. The pattern that emerges in these juristic works illustrates clearly that the earlier practices of almsgiving were now developing into a more formalized obligation presented as a religious duty. It is important to note that many of the sources that exemplify the evolution of these practices continued to emphasize the moral agency of the act, linking its obligatory character to religious merit and reward. Moreover, they often identified *ṣadaqa* and *zakāt* as a means of seeking God's pleasure and the reward of the afterlife (see REWARD AND PUNISHMENT).

In distinguishing between *zakāt* and *ṣadaqa,* jurists pointed out that *zakāt* had specific limits and usages attached to it while *ṣadaqa* was unlimited. The Shīʿī imām Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq (d. 148/765) is said to have emphasized that *ṣadaqa* spent in the "way of God (see PATH OF WAY [OF GOD])" included a variety of good works and thus provided a broader context for the charitable use of collected funds. Moreover, there were no constraints in terms of recipients, which could include mosques, individuals in distress or needy individuals who were not impoverished. Jurists often cite the qurʾānic narrative of Joseph (q.v.) where his brothers, unaware of his true identity, ask him to help their family temporarily in distress (Q 12:88).

Developments in legal theory also reflect the way different groups in Islam interpreted almsgiving. Shīʿite sources, citing ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib (q.v.) and the other early imāms (q.v.), also emphasize the need to pay the alms tax to the rightful authorities. Among the Shīʿīs, alms were to be entrusted to the imām or those designated by him and disbursed in accordance with qurʾānic values. Among Shīʿī groups such as the Twelvers, who believe that the imām is in a state of physical absence from the world *(ghayba),* alms are to be given to those considered his trusted worldly representatives. Their role is to ensure that alms reach the appropriate recipients. The Ismāʿīlīs interpret almsgiving as both a formal act and a significant spiritual deed whereby individuals employ their resources, talents and knowledge to assist the imām, the legatee of the Prophet, and the community at large.

The Ṣūfīs emphasize the mystical connotation of almsgiving. In certain circles, individuals were known to distribute their entire possessions as alms. Some groups sanctioned the acceptance of alms as a gift emanating directly from God. Other Ṣūfī groups practiced almsgiving both among themselves and throughout the general community. Most Sunnī jurists, fearing that an unjust ruler or authority might abuse such dues, recommend that individuals give the obligatory alms directly to the intended recipients. In some cases they even suggest that if individuals are constrained to give the alms to authorities whom they regard with suspicion, they should distribute the alms a second time directly.

This turn towards systematization and formalization did not preclude acts of voluntary almsgiving outside of what was deemed obligatory. Based again on qurʾānic precedents and prophetic practice, almsgiving was also translated into endowments created in perpetuity. The juristic tradition specified in most instances the

ways such gifts were to be regulated. One narrative recounts how the Prophet wished to purchase land from a group for the building of a mosque. Rather than agreeing to sell the land, they gave it to the Prophet for "the sake of God." These charitable trusts were used to endow mosques, schools, hospitals, water fountains and other useful public structures and they have played an important role throughout Islamic history. Notable Muslims, descendants of the Prophet and many women played noteworthy roles in generating such philanthropic works. These acts were not restricted to benefiting Muslims alone. The Prophet himself specified that non-Muslims could also be beneficiaries of charity and encouraged non-Muslims to establish charitable foundations for the benefit of their own coreligionists.

The qurʾānic obligations were elaborated and articulated parallel to other taxes imposed. Ibn Khaldūn (d. 808/1406) argues in his *Muqaddima* that in the early history of Islam only those dues stipulated by the law *(sharīʿa),* such as the alms tax, were levied and these, though they were assessed at a low rate, yielded large sums. In his view, however, as dynasties grew and the state's economy became more complex, additional burdens in the form of taxes were imposed beyond the limits of equity. These non-qurʾānic taxes penalized enterprise and made people lose hope, thus generating less revenue and causing the economy to shrink. Simplistic as this may sound to modern ears, Ibn Khaldūn's account does underscore the fact that the qurʾānic taxes, which possessed a spiritual and moral dimension, were eventually supplanted by heavier, secular taxes that undermined the spirit.

Modern almsgiving

As modern Muslim nation-states sought to address questions of identity and development, almsgiving afforded them the opportunity to rethink the relevance of charitable practices. A majority of Muslims live in areas of the world which are considered to be less-developed. Hence, issues of social justice and the equitable distribution of resources figure prominently in discussions of the present-day significance of the qurʾānic injunctions. Some Muslim theorists have advocated the re-introduction of the obligatory alms tax as one element of a general tax policy to add the moral aspect of almsgiving to a modern economic policy.

In recent times, some Muslim states have adopted specific policies to incorporate the payment of the obligatory alms tax into their fiscal framework rather than leave it as a private and personal, voluntary contribution. Sudan and Pakistan are two examples. In Pakistan an alms tax fund was created in 1979 and distributed through a centralized agency for a variety of causes, including feeding the poor and providing scholarships for needy students. However, various Muslim groups, including the Shīʿīs, have objected to these practices on the basis that it is detrimental to traditional almsgiving and to the diversity of practice among Muslims. Many of the more wealthy Muslim countries practice a form of almsgiving by providing assistance to poorer Muslim countries and Islamic causes.

It is, however, within the framework of voluntary giving that the most innovative and sustainable adaptations of the qurʾānic spirit of almsgiving have occurred. Many Muslims, individually or as a community, have developed extensive networks to translate the Qurʾān's philanthropic values into active vehicles of assistance to a wide variety of constituencies. In some cases, these efforts have taken the form of voluntary associations and charitable organizations to help the poor and the needy in many parts of the world. Historical insight

into the way the qurʾānic ideals of almsgiving strengthened communities and ameliorated inequities might still serve to aid Muslims to move beyond mere rhetoric in their search for continuity. See also GIFT AND GIVING.

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Alphabet

see ARABIC SCRIPT; LETTERS AND MYSTERIOUS LETTERS

Altar

see IDOLS AND IMAGES

Ambiguous

A concept in qurʾānic exegesis which bears upon the controversial issue of the amount of interpretive license which may be taken in commenting on God's word. The root *sh-b-h* is attested several times in the Qurʾān. In reference to the Qurʾān or its verses, the active participle *mutashābih (*or *mutashābihāt)* appears twice with the sense of "ambiguous" or "similar."

Q 3:7 states that the Qurʾān consists partly of *muḥkam* verses and partly of *mutashābih:* "It is he who sent down upon you the book (q.v.), wherein are verses clear *(āyāt muḥkamāt)* that are the essence of the book *(umm al-kitāb),* and others ambiguous *(mutashābihāt)*." Numerous commentators, while examining Q 3:7, mention two other verses which seem to contradict it. They are Q 39:23, which states that all the verses of the Qurʾān are *mutashābih:* "God has sent down the fairest discourse as a book consimilar *(kitāban mutashābihan)*" and Q 11:1 in which all the verses of the Qurʾān are characterized as clear: "A book whose verses are set clear *(uḥkimat āyātuhu)*." Al-Zarkashī (d. 794/1392), on the authority of the commentator Ibn Ḥabīb al-Nīsābūrī (d. 406/1015), argues that these passages present three different statements on the nature of the Qurʾān: the Qurʾān as clear *(muḥkam),* as ambiguous *(mutashābih)* and as a combination of the two. He characterizes the verse that supports the idea of the compound nature, a Qurʾān made up of clear verses and ambiguous ones (Q 3:7), as the "correct" one (*ṣaḥīḥ, Burhān,* ii, 68; cf. Suyūṭī, *Itqān,* iii, 30).

The relation between the two components of the Qurʾān is governed by the meaning ascribed to the word *mutashābih,* for which the exegetical literature offers a variety of definitions. The meaning of "similar" is used to document the miracu-

lous nature of the Qurʾān. On the other hand, the term interpreted as "ambiguous" has wider implications and bears upon three central qurʾānic issues: 1. The juridical validity of the Qurʾān, where the ambiguous verses are contrasted with the clear ones. 2. The question of the validity of interpreting the Qurʾān, where the ambiguous verses are used to argue the cases for and against interpretation. 3. The inimitability (q.v.) of the Qurʾān *(iʿjāz al-Qurʾān)*.

Similar verses

Similarity between verses may manifest itself either in the wording *(lafẓ)* or in the meaning *(maʿnā)* of the verse. Accordingly, *mutashābihāt* are sometimes defined as verses in which the same words are used to mean different things (Ibn Qutayba, *Taʾwīl,* 74; Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* iii, 114, 116) or else as verses that use different words to express a similar sense (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* iii, 115-6; see L. Kinberg, Muḥkamāt, 145). In a widely-repeated definition, wording and meaning appear together and the similar verses are presented as those that "resemble one another in rightness and truth *(al-ḥaqq wa-l-ṣidq),* i.e. meaning, and in beauty *(al-ḥusn),* i.e. wording" (Baghawī, *Maʿālim,* i, 426). Naturally, the resemblance of verses can occur only in cases of repetition. This explains why repetition is presented as one of the characteristic features of the *mutashābih* verses. The correlation between the repetition of the *mutashābih* verses and their resemblance is treated in one of the definitions adduced by al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923) where *mutashābih* verses are those in which the words resemble one another when repeated in other qurʾānic chapters (*Tafsīr,* iii, 116).

Similar verses and the inimitability of the Qurʾān

Each of the definitions dealing with the resemblance and the repetition of the *mutashābih* verses touches upon the inimitability of the Qurʾān. The relation between the inimitability (q.v.) of the Qurʾān and the *mutashābih* verses can be understood through the dichotomy of wording and meaning mentioned above. In his commentary on "It is he who sent down upon you the book, wherein are verses clear that are the essence of the book, and others ambiguous" (Q 3:7), Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 606/1210) combines the verse under discussion with two verses already mentioned, Q 11:1 and Q 39:23, as well as "If [the Qurʾān] had been from other than God, surely they would have found in it much inconsistency" (Q 4:82; see DIFFICULT PASSAGES). Based on the four verses, he concludes that the *mutashābih* verses are those which repeat, resemble and confirm each other, and they prove the miraculous nature of the text. There are no contradictions in the Qurʾān. Rather, its verses confirm and reinforce one another. Simultaneously, the Qurʾān is also defined as consisting of *muḥkam* verses, namely, verses written in an inimitable way. Thus these two features, i.e. noncontradictory confirmed messages and an inimitable style of language which cannot be produced by mortals, attest to the divine source of the Qurʾān (Rāzī, *Tafsīr,* vii, 180).

Ibn al-Jawzī (d. 597/1200) offers a different explanation for the correlation between the inimitabilty of the Qurʾān and the *mutashābih* verses. Trying to find a reason for the existence of the *mutashābih* verses in the Qurʾān, he argues that stylistically the *muḥkam* and the *mutashābih* verses represent the two major forms of expression used in the Arabic language, the concise *(mūjaz)* and the allusive *(majāz)*. God has included both styles in the Qurʾān to challenge mortals to choose either style should they attempt to produce a Qurʾān similar to that brought by Muḥammad. However, no one

can ever meet this challenge and the Qurʾān therefore, with its two styles, the *muḥkam* and *mutashābih,* will forever remain inimitable (*Zād,* i, 350-1; cf. Ibn Qutayba, *Taʾwīl,* 86).

Mutashābih *meaning "ambiguous"*

A common way to treat the terms *muḥkam* and *mutashābih* is to contrast the clarity of the first with the ambiguity of the other. As was mentioned, this contrast bears upon some of the most prominent qurʾānic issues: the abrogating and abrogated verses (*al-nāsikh wa-l-mansūkh,* see ABROGATION), the authority to interpret the Qurʾān and the inimitability of the Qurʾān.

Ambiguous verses and the abrogating and abrogated verses

Among the definitions that contrast the *muḥkam* with the *mutashābih,* there is to be found the presentation of the *muḥkam* verses as abrogating ones *(nāsikhāt)* and the *mutashābih* as abrogated ones *(mansūkhāt)*. A widely-cited definition represents the *muḥkam* as the abrogating verses, the verses that clarify what is allowed *(ḥalāl),* the verses that clarify what is prohibited *(ḥarām),* the verses that define the punishments (*ḥudūd,* see BOUNDARIES AND PRECEPTS) for various offenses, the verses that define the duties *(farāʾiḍ)* and the verses that one should believe in and put into practice. Conversely, the *mutashābih* verses are the abrogated ones, the verses that cannot be understood without changing their word order *(muqaddamuhu wa-muʾakhkharuhu),* the parables *(amthāl),* the oaths (q.v.; *aqsām*) and the verses in which one should believe, but not put into practice (Ibn ʿAbbās, *Tafsīr,* 124; Abū ʿUbayd, *Nāsikh,* 4; Ibn Abī Ḥātim, *Tafsīr,* ii, 592-3; Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* iii, 115; Baghawī, *Maʿālim,* i, 426; Ibn ʿAṭiyya, *Muḥarrar,* i, 400; Qurṭubī, *Jāmiʿ,* iv, 10; Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr,* i, 345; Suyūṭī, *Durr,* ii, 5; Shawkānī, *Tafsīr,* i, 314). The *muḥkam* are presented here as the verses that deal with essential matters whereas the *mutashābih* verses are held to deal with secondary matters. This is the way to understand the comparison made in the qurʾānic text itself. Q 3:7 defines the *muḥkam* verses as "the essence of the book" and the *mutashābih* as the rest.

Another way to examine the juridical value of the terms is to consider them as two kinds of divine commandments (q.v.). In this case, the *muḥkam* verses contain the commands that are universal and never change, whereas the *mutashābih* verses contain the commands that are limited and do change. The *muḥkam* contain the basic commandments, shared by all religions, such as obeying God and avoiding injustice. The *mutashābih* verses, on the other hand, contain the practical aspects of these commandments and may vary from one religion to another, e.g. the number of required prayers and the regulations concerning almsgiving and marriage (Rāzī, *Tafsīr,* vii, 183; cf. Māwardī, *Nukat,* i, 380). In this interpretation, the distinction between abrogating and abrogated verses becomes meaningless because the chronological element is replaced by a question of universality. This means that the *muḥkam* verses are defined as those that are universal to all of the revealed religions and the *mutashābih* verses are those that contain what distinguishes Islam from the other revealed religions.

Ambiguous verses and the authority to interpret the Qurʾān

Several commentators recognize three kinds of *mutashābih* verses: those that cannot be understood, those that can be examined and understood by everyone and those that only "the experts" *(al-rāsikhūn fī l-ʿilm)* can comprehend (e.g. Fīrūzābādī, *Baṣāʾir,* iii, 296). The *muḥkam* are defined as clear verses that require nothing to be un-

derstood whereas the comprehension of the *mutashābih* requires explanation (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* iii, 116-7; ʿAbd al-Jabbār, *Mutashābih,* i, 13; Māwardī, *Nukat,* i, 369; Baghawī, *Maʿālim,* i, 428; Ibn ʿAṭiyya, *Muḥarrar,* i, 401; Rāzī, *Tafsīr,* vii, 184; Qurṭubī, *Jāmiʿ,* iv, 9; Suyūṭī, *Itqān,* iii, 3; Shawkānī, *Tafsīr,* i, 314). A different set of definitions represents the *muḥkam* as verses that contain or permit only one interpretation whereas the *mutashābih* are those that may be interpreted in more than one way (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* iii, 115-6; al-Jaṣṣāṣ, *Aḥkām,* ii, 281; Māwardī, *Nukat,* i, 369; Wāḥidī, *Wasīṭ,* i, 413-4; Baghawī, *Maʿālim,* i, 427; Ṭabarsī, *Majmaʿ,* ii, 15; Qurṭubī, *Jāmiʿ,* iv, 10; Suyūṭī, *Itqān,* iii, 4; Shawkānī *Tafsīr,* i, 314). While there is no room to doubt the instructions supplied by the *muḥkamāt,* the ambiguity of the *mutashābih* verses may create a situation in which the believers become confused, not knowing which direction to choose. They may then tendentiously interpret these verses in favor of their own personal interests.

This raises the question as to whether any exegetical effort should be made to eliminate the vagueness of the *mutashābih* verses and two contradictory attitudes developed. Some scholars claimed that the *mutashābih* verses are meant to remain ambiguous and any attempt to interpret them might lead the believers astray. Only God knows their true meaning and this is the way it should stay. Others maintained that the *mutashābih* are meant to be illuminated. Not only does God know the meaning of these verses, but the scholars of the Qurʾān also know it. Their duty is to supply the interpretation of them and this may vary among the different scholars since the *mutashābih* verses may be interpreted in a variety of ways. These two opposing views on the validity of interpreting the *mutashābih* verses parallel those on the interpretation of the Qurʾān as a whole.

Ambiguous verses as those that should not be interpreted

The basic argument against the interpretation of the *mutashābih* is that knowledge of these verses is limited to God (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* iii, 116; Māwardī, *Nukat,* i, 369; Ibn ʿAṭiyya, *Muḥarrar,* i, 401; Qurṭubī, *Jāmiʿ,* iv, 9; Abū Ḥayyān, *Baḥr,* ii, 381; Ālūsī, *Rūḥ,* ii, 82). As such, they concern matters about which no mortal has clear knowledge. To show that the essence of the *mutashābihāt* cannot be grasped by human beings, several topics defined as *mutashābih* are mentioned: resurrection day (Māwardī, *Nukat,* i, 369; Baghawī, *Maʿālim,* i, 427; Rāzī, *Tafsīr,* vii, 184; Qurṭubī, *Jāmiʿ,* iv, 10; Abū Ḥayyān, *Baḥr,* ii, 381; Zarkashī, *Burhān,* ii, 70), the appearance of the Antichrist *(al-Dajjāl)* before the end of days, the return of Christ (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* iii, 116) and the prophesied day the sun will rise in the west (Māwardī, *Nukat,* i, 369; Baghawī, *Maʿālim,* i, 427; Abū Ḥayyān, *Baḥr,* ii, 381), among others (see ANTICHRIST, APOCALYPSE, RESURRECTION; LAST JUDGMENT).

A different argument contends that the *mutashābih* are those verses whose meaning can be easily distorted (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* iii, 116; Ibn ʿAṭiyya, *Muḥarrar,* i, 401; Qurṭubī, *Jāmiʿ,* iv, 9; Suyūṭī, *Durr,* ii, 5; Shawkānī, *Tafsīr,* i, 314). This should be understood in light of the second part of the key verse "As for those in whose hearts is swerving, they follow the ambiguous part, desiring dissension and desiring its interpretation" (Q 3:7). The commentators who correlate the *mutashābih* and dissension (q.v.) adduce a number of qurʾānic verses in support of their position. One such example is presented by al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505) on the authority of Saʿīd b. Jubayr (d. 95/714): To justify their ideas, the early sect of the Khārijīs (q.v.) employed "Whoever fails to judge according to what God has sent down is a wrongdoer" (Q 5:47) and "Then the unbelievers ascribe equals to their

Lord" (Q 6:1) to support their controversial doctrines. When the Khārijīs faced the injustice of a leader, they read these two verses together and, by assuming correlation between the two, they set forth the following argument: He who does not judge according to the principles of justice is an unbeliever. An unbeliever is a polytheist *(mushrik)* who ascribes equals to God. Thus a leader who acts in this manner can be deemed a polytheist (*Durr,* ii, 5). The technique used here joins two verses that were not necessarily meant to be combined and draws conclusions from this juxtaposition. By so doing, the Khārijīs were able to prove that their teachings — such as espousing that a caliph should be deprived of his position for acting improperly — are anchored in the Qurʾān and thus fully authorized.

Another example of the correlation between the *mutashābih* verses and dissension deals with the controversial issue of free will versus predestination (see FREEDOM AND PREDESTINATION). The rivals are the rationalist Muʿtazilīs (q.v.) and the conservative Sunnīs. Both sides refer to the same verse, Q 18:29 which states "Say, 'The truth is from your Lord.' So whoever wishes, let him believe and whoever wishes, let him disbelieve." The Muʿtazilīs define the verse as *muḥkam,* i.e. the kind of verse that should be followed since it favors the argument for free will. The Sunnīs, who do not accept the idea of free will, define this verse as *mutashābih,* i.e. the kind of verse that should not be followed. Q 76:30 presents the opposite view: "You cannot will [anything] unless God wills it." The Muʿtazilīs define this verse as *mutashābih* since it contradicts their view, but the Sunnīs define it as *muḥkam* because it favors the idea of predestination. By shifting the terms, it became possible to endorse or refute an idea according to one's needs (Rāzī, *Tafsīr,* vii, 182; Abū Ḥayyān, *Baḥr,* ii, 382). The same method was applied to other verses on topics such as the disagreements between the proponents of determinism (Jabriyya) and the proponents of indeterminism (Qadariyya), or the issue of whether believers will see God in the afterlife (Rāzī, *Tafsīr,* vii, 185; Abū Ḥayyān, *Baḥr,* ii, 382; cf. L. Kinberg, Muḥkamāt, 159).

The correlation between the *mutashābih* verses and dissension was also mentioned in the discussion of the reasons for the existence of the *mutashābih* in the Qurʾān: God revealed them to test the people. Those who do not follow the *mutashābih* will be rewarded as true believers, while those who follow them will go astray (Ibn al-Jawzī, *Zād,* i, 353). The same idea is mentioned along with the fact that the *mutashābih* can be easily distorted. Although established and profoundly elaborated, the negative approach to the interpretation of the *mutashābih* was not the only one adduced in the exegetical literature. No less detailed were the arguments favoring their interpretation (see EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN; CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL).

Ambiguous verses as those that may be interpreted

The perception of the *mutashābih* as ambiguous verses was used to argue, as shown above, against their interpretation. The same perception, however, is also used to support and encourage their interpretation. Although contradictory, the two approaches had a common starting point: Ambiguous verses are dangerous in the sense that a wrong interpretation might mislead the believer. With this idea in mind, some scholars recommended avoiding any examination of these verses whereas others encouraged the interpretation of them, but prescribed caution with regard to the steps that need to be taken in this process. One precaution is to check the *mutashābih* against the *muḥkam*. This is expressed in a set of definitions which oppose

the *muḥkam* and the *mutashābih* regarding the dependence of the latter. The *muḥkam* are defined as independent verses that need no explanation (Māwardī, *Nukat,* i, 369; Ibn al-Jawzī, *Zād,* i, 350; Abū Ḥayyān, *Baḥr,* ii, 381) nor reference to other verses to be understood (al-Naḥḥās, *I'rāb,* i, 355; Qurṭubī, *Jāmi',* iv, 11; Shawkānī, *Tafsīr,* i, 314). Conversely, the *mutashābih* are dependent verses that cannot be understood without consulting or comparing them to other verses (Baghawī, *Ma'ālim,* i, 427; Zarkashī, *Burhān,* ii, 68). The *mutashābih*'s dependence on the *muḥkam* derives from the clarity of the latter and the ambiguity of the former. The *muḥkam,* by interpreting the *mutashābih,* clears away any misunderstanding that might mislead the believer (Rāzī, *Tafsīr,* vii, 185). It thus can happen that when a believer consults a *muḥkam* to understand an ambiguous *mutashābih,* he finds his way to the true faith (Rāzī, *Tafsīr,* vii, 185; Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr,* i, 345). When a *mutashābih* is not interpreted in accordance with a *muḥkam,* those who rely on it will go astray (al-Jaṣṣāṣ, *Aḥkām,* ii, 281). In light of this argument, the *muḥkam* are regarded as "the essence of the book" (*umm al-kitāb,* Q 3:7) or "a source to which other verses are referred for interpretation" (Suyūṭī, *Itqān,* iii, 9).

Thus the ambiguity of the *mutashābih* verses creates the need to scrutinize them. Had the Qur'ān consisted only of *muḥkam* verses, there would have been no need for the science of the interpretation of the Qur'ān to develop (Rāzī, *Tafsīr,* vii, 185-6). Had every verse been clear to everyone, the difference in people's abilities would not come to the fore. The learned *('ālim)* and the ignorant *(jāhil)* would have been equal and intellectual endeavor would cease (Ibn Qutayba, *Ta'wīl,* 86; cf. Rāzī, *Tafsīr,* vii, 185). Behind this perception is the notion that the *mutashābih* are verses that make people think when they try to identify them and use their own judgment in interpreting them. Consequently, it can be said that they are presented as verses that stimulate people and put them on their guard. It seems that the *mutashābih* are perceived as the conscience of the believer and indicate the level of his religious knowledge. Due to their ambiguity, dealing with them requires a high degree of religious discernment. The more profound the person, the better his decisions and thus the more pleasant his condition in the next world. This issue is thoroughly discussed in the commentaries with regard to the status of "the experts in knowledge" *(rāsikhūn fī l-'ilm)* mentioned in Q 3:7.

Ambiguous verses and the inimitability of the Qur'ān

As indicated above, the features of the *mutashābih* as "similar verses" are held to supply proof of the miraculous nature of the Qur'ān. Additional evidence of this was found in the features of the *mutashābih* in the sense of "ambiguous verses." This derives from two opposing attitudes toward the interpretation of these verses, opposition to interpreting the *mutashābih* and support for their interpretation.

Almost every commentator identifies the "mysterious letters" (*fawātiḥ* — or *awā'il al-suwar,* see LETTERS AND MYSTERIOUS LETTERS) of the Qur'ān as *mutashābih* (e.g. Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* iii, 116-7). These are the letters that occur at the beginning of certain sūras and whose meaning is unclear. The significance of the mysterious letters, as well as the other *mutashābih* verses, is considered a divine secret known only to God himself. Both should be regarded as parts of the book that God has prevented his people from understanding. Their concealed meaning points to the divine source of the Qur'ān and thus attests to its miraculous nature ('Abd al-Jabbār, *Mutashābih,* i, 17).

The ambiguity of the *mutashābih* verses enables believers to interpret them in more than one way. This means that the Qurʾān accommodates more than one approach to a given issue and that different trends in Islam are likely to find their ideas reflected in the Qurʾān (ʿAbd al-Jabbār, *Mutashābih,* i, 26, 28. See also L. Kinberg, Muḥkamāt, 158, 168). This allows the holy text to serve as a source of answers and solutions to any problem at any time and represents one of the central aspects of the miraculous nature of the Qurʾān.

In examining the different attitudes toward the interpretation of the Qurʾān, H. Birkeland (*Opposition,* 9) states that the opposition to qurʾānic exegesis was never comprehensive and was aimed at the usage of human reasoning *(raʾy)*. The validity of *tafsīr bi-l-ʿilm,* i.e. exegesis based on ḥadīth (the records of the pronouncements and actions of the prophet Muḥammad, see ḤADĪTH AND THE QURʾĀN) was, in H. Birkeland's view, never disputed. Support for this theory can be found in the way the term *mutashābih* is treated in the exegetical literature as well as in its relation to the term *muḥkam*. The prohibition of interpreting the *mutashābih* verses may be understood as a reflection of the opposition to the use of human reason. At the same time, allowing the interpretation of these verses seems to be conditional upon the usage of ḥadīth as a means of interpretation. Indeed, Muslim scholars have traditionally not regarded the employment of ḥadīth to illuminate a qurʾānic verse as interpretation, but rather as a means of confirming the message included in the verse. Consequently, a verse in harmony with a reliable ḥadīth may be relied upon as a source of guidance. Such a verse would be defined as *muḥkam*. The *mutashābih,* on the other hand, can never be regarded as authoritative. Both the need of various streams in Islam to have their distinctive ideas anchored in the Qurʾān and the injunction to follow only the *muḥkam* verses may explain the variance in the identity of the verses which different groups view as *muḥkam* and *mutashābih*. As shown above, a verse defined by one scholar as *mutashābih* may be characterized as *muḥkam* by another. The flexible way in which the two terms were used enabled the commentators to adapt a verse to their needs by defining it as *muḥkam*. In so doing they were actually using their own independent reasoning presented as ḥadīth. See also TRADITIONAL DISCIPLINES OF QURʾĀNIC STUDY.

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Amulets

Ornaments worn as charms against evil and sickness. Muslims have used amulets *(ruqā,* sing. *ruqya)* most often to cure spiritual or psychological conditions, including madness, spirit possession and the evil eye.

The Qurʾān may be recited in the form of a spell *(duʿāʾ)* or worn in written form *(ṭilasm)* on the person or placed in the home. Among the Indonesian Gayo, spells, called *doa,* include the use of qurʾānic verses in Arabic for healing and other purposes accompanied by supplementary words in Gayo and visualizations (J.R. Bowen, *Muslims through discourse,* 77-105; J. Flueckiger, Vision, 271). Others employ a practice known as "erasure" *(maḥw),* whereby select verses, or the whole Qurʾān, are written out and water is poured over the paper. The water is then drunk (Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya, *Ṭibb,* 124; J. Robson, Magical uses, 40; A.O. El-Tom, Drinking the Koran, 414-8; J. Flueckiger, Vision, 258). Another way to tap the power of the Qurʾān has been to recite verses over water and to apply the water as an external wash (*nushra,* al-Suyūṭī, *Ṭibb,* 172; D. Owusu-Ansah, *Talismanic tradition,* 107-11). Other procedures include reciting the *muʿawwidhatān,* the last two sūras of the Qurʾān, and other verses and names of God, together with magical gestures such as spitting into the hands, blowing to the four winds and stroking the face or other parts of the body (Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya, *Ṭibb,* 11, 121-4, 139, 145-6; C. Padwick, *Muslim devotions*, 84-91, 104-7; J.C. Bürgel, Feather, 34-5). Ḥadīth mention written uses of the Qurʾān for healing, including talismans to be attached to clothing or animals or placed in the home (Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya, *Ṭibb,* 172-3; ʿAbdallāh and al-Ḥusayn b. Bisṭām, *Ṭibb,* 125; J. Robson, Magical uses, 42; C. Padwick, *Muslim devotions,* 87; J. Campo, *Other side,* 104-5). Amulets bearing qurʾānic verses, numbers and geometric symbols, such as magical squares, were often carried or worn on the person (E. Westermarck, *Ritual and belief,* 144-6; A.O. Owusu-Ansah, *Talismanic tradition,* 96-100 and appendix; J. Robson, Magical uses, 35-7; J. Flueckiger, Vision, 251-7; V. Hoffman, *Sufism,* 154-5).

The essential qurʾānic justification for the use of the Qurʾān in amulets to transmit the divine blessing *(baraka)* of the text is its God-given characterization as "a healing and a mercy" (*shifāʾun wa-raḥmatun,* Q 17:82; D. Owusu-Ansah, *Talismanic tradition,* 122). The words of the Prophet Muḥammad as recorded in the ḥadīth have also been used as support for the practice. In its chapter on medicine *(Kitāb al-Ṭibb),* the famous collection that is the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī (d. 256/870) contains a number of ḥadīth on the proper use of amulets bearing verses from the Qurʾān. Those who employed amulets could cite a range of positive juristic opinions which argue that amulet use cannot be an act of unbelief *(kufr),* if the process brings benefit and the contents of the amulet are from the Qurʾān (D. Owusu-Ansah, *Talismanic tradition,* 25-40). Nevertheless, the use of amulets was surrounded by continual legal debate.

Medieval sources for the making of qurʾānic amulets drew on the books of magical healing, such as the so-called "books tested by experience" *(mujarrabāt)*

of Aḥmad al-Dayrabī and Abū ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Sanūsī (d. 892/1486) and the magical texts like the *Sun of knowledge (Shams al-maʿārif)* by al-Bunī (d. 622/1225), *Strung pearls on the special properties of the Qurʾān (al-Durr al-naẓīm fī khawāṣṣ al-Qurʾān al-ʿaẓīm)* by al-Yāfiʿī (d. 768/1367), and *The brightest lights and the secret treasures (Shumūs al-anwār wa-kunūz al-asrār)* by Ibn al-Ḥājj al-Ṭilimsānī (d. 737/1336). These works were complemented by the various ḥadīth collections and the medical corpus devoted to "prophetic medicine" *(al-ṭibb al-nabawī),* the medical practices ascribed to the Prophet. Some notable works on prophetic medicine include Sunnī works by Abū Nuʿaym al-Iṣbahānī (d. 430/1038), al-Dhahabī (d. 748/1348), Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya (d. 751/1350), and al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505). There is as well a Shīʿī text known as the *Medicine of the imāms (Ṭibb al-aʾimma)* by ʿAbdallāh b. Bisṭām and his brother al-Ḥusayn (fl. 300/913) which collects the reports of the medical practices of the Shīʿī imāms (see IMĀM; SHĪʿISM AND THE QURʾĀN).

This higher literature on religious healing generated a large body of popular literature on folk religious healing in the form of chapbooks for amulet usage, usually bearing the title "a collection of cures" *(majmaʿ al-adwiya),* in manuscript form and later in print. Among these are *The gleanings of safety in medicine (Luqaṭ al-amān fī ʾl-ṭibb)* by Ibn al-Jawzī (d. 597/1200) and *The benefits of medicine made easy (Kītāb Tashīl al-manāfiʿ fī l-ṭibb)* by Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Azraq (d. 815/1412). This testifies to the widespread popularity of employing amulets (F. Rahman, *Health and medicine,* 41-58). Such practical manuals become the guide for local handwritten copies used by adepts, e.g. the *umbatri* of the Sudanese Berti (A.O. El-Tom, Drinking the Koran, 416; see also D. Owusu-Ansah, *Talismanic tradition,* 44-91). Special editions of the Qurʾān were even published with marginal notation on the methods of divination and the apposite verses for magical spells or talismans. The talismanic manuals traditionally categorize the verses into various classes, e.g. verses for protection *(āyāt al-ḥifẓ),* for healing *(āyāt al-shifāʾ),* for victory *(futūḥ al-Qurʾān)*. These verses, the divine names of God *(al-asmāʾ al-ḥusnā)* and qurʾānic formulae such as the *basmala* ("In the name of God, the merciful and compassionate," see BASMALA) and the repetition of the formulae of taking refuge *(istaʿādha)* became the *materia medica* of the makers of amulets (K. Opitz, *Medizin im Koran;* J. Robson, Magical uses; B.A. Donaldson, Koran as magic; C. Padwick, *Muslim devotions;* A.O. El-Tom, Drinking the Koran).

The belief in and use of qurʾānic amulets continues as living practice within the framework of Islamic religious healing and is documented in anthropological studies throughout the contemporary Muslim world, particularly in the Middle East (C. Padwick, *Muslim devotions,* pp. xi-xiv, 289-97; P. Antes, Medicine, 187-91), Africa (A.O. El-Tom, Drinking the Koran), south Asia (J. Flueckiger, The vision), and southeast Asia (J.R. Bowen, *Muslims through discourse*). Men and women still have recourse to qurʾānic amulets and other forms of religious healing, often for the sake of children. The amulets are carried on the person and placed in the home, vehicle and place of business. The male practitioner is more likely to be able to consult the amulet chapbooks and texts on "Prophetic medicine" or to be trained by someone expert in the use of amulets, e.g. a local Ṣūfī adept or a religiously learned person in the urban neighborhood or rural village (A.O. El-Tom, Drinking the Koran, 415-7). Women, especially older women, can also occupy a

visible position in public ritual as charismatic healers and as spirit mediums and by employing the techniques of dream interpretation, divining and other folk religious healing techniques, such as amulets (J. Flueckiger, The vision, 261-80). Contemporary religious healers operate as alternatives or complements to the practitioners of western medicine, in both Muslim countries and among the emigrant Muslim communities in the West (P. Antes, Medicine, 181-91). The widespread production and use of qurʾānic healing images highlight the strong creative interaction of authoritative sources, the Qurʾān and ḥadīth, and actual belief and practice in medieval and modern Islam.

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Analogy

see LANGUAGE AND STYLE OF THE QURʾĀN; EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL

Anatomy

References to the structure of the human body in the Qurʾān. The Qurʾān mentions body parts many times, but these are spread throughout the text and particular terms do not always convey the same meaning in different contexts. In some sections of the Qurʾān human anatomy is treated as a functional element, but most qurʾānic references to the human body are employed in metaphors (see METAPHOR) aimed at encouraging the pursuit of an ethical and pious life. Anatomy and body parts in the Qurʾān are cited in conjunction with the faith of believers to ensure that there is a complete understanding of the harmony between the workings of the body and the message of the Qurʾān. In the Qurʾān, human anatomy can be divided into two spheres. The first consists of the various physical elements, such as the flesh, fluids, eyes, ears, head, heart and backside. The second includes anatomical experience, such as speaking, weeping, eating, fasting, listening and dying, and what the body experiences in the light of religious faith.

While the Qurʾān does not have many references to the specific Arabic word for the human body, *jism,* one instance of its occurrence is when a prophet says to the Children of Israel (q.v.), "God chose [Saul, q.v.] above you and increased him vastly in

knowledge and body *(jism)*" (Q 2:247). The Qurʾān mentions the body to support the validity of the Prophet Muḥammad's mission as well as that of the previous prophets, despite their lack of supernatural qualities. Q 21:8 affirms the ordinary humanity of prophets: "We did not endow them with a body *(jasad)* that could dispense with food and they were not immortal" as a defense against those who claimed that to be a messenger of God an individual should possess extraordinary human qualities. Q 23:12-13 explains that the original composition of the body is from organic and inorganic substances: "We create man out of the essence of clay (q.v.) and then made a drop of sperm in firm keeping."

Human flesh *(laḥm)* is referred to both literally and metaphorically in the Qurʾān. Q 23:14 describes the way that flesh protects the bones in the body: "Then we clothed the bones in flesh *(laḥm)*." The Qurʾān also characterizes activities such as gossiping, spreading rumors and second guessing one another as eating the flesh of an individual. Q 49:12 states, "Would any of you like to eat the flesh *(laḥm)* of his dead brother?" which Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 606/1210) interprets as cautioning the believers to be conscious of their conversations with one another. Al-Rāzī also felt this passage was urging believers to preserve their dignity by not involving themselves in rumors (*Tafsīr,* ad loc.).

The Arabic word for backside *(dubur,* pl. *adbār)* is commonly applied in the Qurʾān to describe the times when unbelievers turn away from God's message, e.g. "When you invoke your Lord — and him alone — in the Qurʾān, they turn their backs *(adbār),* fleeing" (Q 17:46) and "Those who turn their backs *(adbār)* in apostasy after the way of guidance was made clear to them are tempted by Satan" (q.v.; Q 47:25). Here, turning the backside symbolizes rejecting truth and being led astray (q.v.). The expression also may refer to cowardice and a lack of faithfulness: "If they do help them, they will turn their backs" (*adbār,* Q 59:12). Other examples of the word include, "How will it be when the angels draw out their soul, striking their face and their backs *(adbār)?*" (Q 47:27).

Additional qurʾānic references to turning the backside are not meant for unbelievers but are specifically directed at the believers who were preparing themselves to fight in a battle. Q 8:15-16 states, "When you meet those who disbelieve, never turn your backsides *(adbār)* to them. Whoever on that day turns his backside *(dubur)* on them — except as a battle maneuver or to join another unit — will have earned the wrath of God." The combat theme is continued in passages such as "If the unbelievers had fought you, they would have turned their backsides *(adbār)*" (Q 48:22) and "If you fight them, they will turn their backsides *(adbār)* to you" (Q 3:111).

The references to blood in the Qurʾān range from the blood on the shirt of Joseph (q.v.) to the blood of useless animal sacrifices (see ANIMAL LIFE; SACRIFICE). "They brought his shirt with false blood *(dam)* on it" (Q 12:18) occurs in the situation where brothers of Joseph go to their father to explain his disappearance. The Qurʾān emphasizes that wasting blood, either in animal offerings or physical self-sacrificing, is not acceptable and does not bring one closer to God. In passages such as "Their flesh *(luḥūm)* and blood *(dimāʾ)* will never reach God, but your reverence will reach him" (Q 22:37), the Qurʾān wants to make clear that blood is a precious element in the human body and should not be wasted out of negligence.

Blood and a blood clot (see BLOOD AND BLOOD CLOT) also figure as important features in human creation (see BIOLOGY AS THE CREATION AND STAGES OF LIFE), e.g. "[Your lord] created man from a blood-

clot *(ʿalaq)*" (Q 96:2), "Then we created a clot *(ʿalaqa)* from the drop" (Q 23:14), "Then from a sperm-drop, then from a blood clot *(ʿalaqa)*" (Q 40:67; 22:5) and "Then he was a blood clot *(ʿalaqa)*" (Q 75:38). Al-Rāzī's commentary stresses both the divine origin of human life and the inconsequential material of this genesis (*Tafsīr,* ad loc.).

Blood as a source of impurity finds expression when the Qurʾān instructs male believers not to have intercourse when their spouses are menstruating *(ḥāʾiḍ)* or about to menstruate (see MENSTRUATION; PURITY AND IMPURITY). For example, Q 2:222 states, "They will question you concerning the monthly cycle *(maḥīḍ)*. Withdraw from women during the monthly cycle and do not approach them until they become ritually clean."

References to the eye and eyesight express not only physical vision but also spiritual enlightenment. "Did we not make two eyes *(ʿaynayn)* for him" (Q 90:8) is an affirmation that human beings were created with the faculty of sight. "You will see their eyes *(aʿyun)* overflow with tears" (Q 5:83) refers to an experience of spiritual sight. In various other verses, the Qurʾān asserts that eyes are meant both to see and understand, as in Q 16:78: "He appointed for you hearing and sight *(abṣār)*."

Negative references to eyes and sight sustain this usage as a metaphor for those who are unable to distinguish right from wrong. Q 6:46 warns, "If God seizes your hearing and sight *(abṣār)*." Q 7:179, "They have eyes *(aʿyun),* but do not see with them," expresses the strong disapproval of those whose eyes have been sealed. The possibility of divine retribution occurs in Q 36:66: "We would have obliterated their eyes *(aʿyun),*" while Q 3:13: "In that is a lesson for men possessed of eyes *(abṣār),*" continues the theme of spiritual insight. Yet the limits of this metaphor are indicated in verses such as "It is not the eyes *(abṣār)* that are blind" (Q 22:46).

Literal and metaphoric usages also characterize the qurʾānic references to the head. Prior to performing the pilgrimage (q.v.), male pilgrims shave their head immediately before they don the customary garb. The prescriptive force of "You shall enter the holy mosque *(al-masjid al-ḥarām),* if God wills, in security, your heads *(ruʾūs)* shaved" (Q 48:27) conveys this instruction. Additional reference to the ritual treatment of the head may be found in verses like "Wipe your heads *(ruʾūs)* and your feet" (Q 5:6), which underscores the importance of purifying the body before praying or even entering a sacred space like a mosque. "Do not shave your heads *(ruʾūs)* until the offering reaches the place of sacrifice" (Q 2:196) gives the pilgrim permission to shave his head at the conclusion of the pilgrimage. Metaphorical allusions to the head or to raising it occur in connection with the sinner who is incapable of understanding the message the Prophet brought because of his arrogance (q.v.). Al-Zamakhsharī (d. 538/1144) understood, "We have put shackles up to their chins, so that their heads are forced up" (Q 36:8) as an allegory for the deliberate refusal of the truth (*Kashshāf,* ad loc.). For him, the rejection of the truth results in total chaos in the afterworld, as in "[They will be] running in confusion with their heads *(ruʾūs)* raised" (Q 14:43). In the verses that have been interpreted both literally and metaphorically, the Qurʾān speaks about sinners whose heads will suffer from their punishment (see REWARDS AND PUNISHMENT), as in "Boiling water will be poured on their heads *(ruʾūs)*" (Q 22:19). More particularly, the forehead is specified in "On the day they will be heated in the fire of hell (q.v.) and their forehead *(jibāh),* sides and back will be burnt" (Q 9:35) to warn those who mispend their wealth.

Reference to the heart (*qalb,* pl. *qulūb,* see HEART) functions repeatedly as a mark of distinction between believers and unbelievers (see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF). "God has not assigned to any man two hearts *(qalbayn)* within his breast" (Q 33:4) indicates the individual's free choice to believe or disbelieve. Heart terminology also captures images of divine immanence, as in "God knows what is in your hearts *(qulūb)*" (Q 33:51) and "Know that God stands between a man and his heart *(qalb)*" (Q 8:24). In passages like "There is no fault in you, if you make mistakes, but only in what your hearts *(qulūb)* did purposely" (Q 33:5), the heart operates as a metaphor for the will. In others like "Those, in whose hearts he has inscribed faith and whom he has strengthened with a spirit from him *(bi-rūḥin minhu)*" (Q 58:22), the heart represents the imaged reception of divine guidance. For al-Zamakhsharī, the phrase "with a spirit from him" meant both illumination from the divine and the ways one becomes spiritually strengthened from that inspiration (*Kashshāf,* ad loc.). For him, the heart is integrally linked to being faithful as well as to remembering God, as in, "Those who believe, their hearts *(qulūb)* being at rest in remembrance of God" (Q 13:28).

As an explanation for unbelief, the Qurʾān frequently uses the metaphor of the "sealed heart." For example one finds, "thus God seals the hearts *(qulūb)* of the unbelievers" (Q 7:101), "God set a seal on their hearts *(qulūb)* and hearing" (Q 2:7) and many similar phrases (e.g. Q 6:46; 9:87, 93; 10:74; 16:108; 30:59; 40:35; 42:24; 45:43; 47:16; 63:3). Other similar images include Q 6:25: "We laid veils upon their hearts *(qulūb),* but they failed to understand it," and Q 3:167: "Saying with their mouths that which never was in their hearts *(qulūb),*" both of which depict hearts that were affected by the misguided actions performed by unbelievers (Zamakhsharī, *Kashshāf,* ad loc.).

Mentions of the mouth often focus on its ethical misuse. Sins of hatred and hypocrisy are cited in "Hatred has already shown itself from their mouths *(afwāh)*" (Q 3:118), "Such men say, 'We believe,' with their mouths *(afwāh)*" (Q 5:41) and "Saying with their mouths *(afwāh)* something which never was in their heart" (Q 3:167). Additional misuses of the mouth are indicated in verses such as "You were speaking with your mouths *(afwāh)* regarding something of which you have no knowledge" (Q 24:15) and "They desire to extinguish the light of God with their mouths *(afwāh)*" (Q 9:32; 61:8). Less usual than references to the mouth are specific reference to the lips, as in "Have we not given him two eyes, and a tongue and two lips *(shafatayn)?*" (Q 90:8-9).

From another angle, qurʾānic injunctions target the speaking voice, both in regard to its potential for misuse and in regard to the necessity for propriety and control. In describing the qualities of the unbelievers, Q 47:30 mentions the way they are evasive and convoluted in their speech, when it states, "You shall certainly recognize them by their faulty speech *(laḥn al-qawl).*" To counteract these unacceptable forms of speech, the Qurʾān instructs the believers in their tone and in the times when they should reduce their speech. Examples are "Be modest in you gait and lower your voice *(ṣawt)*" (Q 31:19) and "Believers raise not your voice *(aṣwāt)* above the voice *(ṣawt)* of the Prophet" (Q 49:2-3). Q 49:3 even refers to lowering one's voice in the presence of the Prophet "Those who lower their voices *(aṣwāt)* in the presence of God's messenger."

References to the tongue *(lisān,* pl. *alsina)* center on its use for speaking the truth and following the way of God, as in the previously mentioned "Have we not given him two eyes, a tongue *(lisān)* and two lips"

(Q 90:8-9) and "We appointed unto them a high tongue of truthfulness" (Q 19:50). "Move not your tongue *(lisān)* with it to hasten it" (Q 75:16) urges the believers to recite the revelation carefully and thoughtfully. The tongue also appeals to God for forgiveness and repents for its sins, as in "Appoint me a tongue of truthfulness among the others" (Q 26:84).

By extension, the word "tongue" *(lisān)* is used to refer to language and human speech. Several passages proclaim that the Qurʾān was revealed in the Arabic language, for example "In a clear Arabic tongue *(bi-lisānin ʿarabiyyin mubīnin)*" (Q 26:195), "We have made it easy in your tongue" (Q 44:58) and "This is a book confirming in the Arabic tongue" (Q 46:12). Another instance of this usage is "We never sent a messenger who did not speak the tongue *(lisān)* of his people so that he may explain to them" (Q 14:4).

As with other parts of the body, the misuse of the tongue receives attention in the qurʾānic text. Q 4:46 speaks of the Jews "twisting their tongues *(alsina)* and slandering religion." While "Their tongues *(alsina)* describe falsehood" (Q 16:62) and the previously cited "They say with their tongues *(alsina)* something which is not in their hearts" (Q 48:11) provide further reference to this, verses like "Do not utter the lies your tongues *(alsina)* make up: 'This is lawful and that is forbidden,' in order to attribute your own lying inventions to God" (Q 16:116) connect with those that have an eschatological significance, such as, "The day when their tongues *(alsina)*, their hands and their feet shall testify against them" (Q 24:24).

Many qurʾānic passages forge a particular connection between the function of hearing and the reception of revelation. The verb "to hear" *(samiʿa)* corresponds to the active process of learning from what was heard. "He appointed for you hearing *(samʿ)*, sight and a heart" (Q 16:78) connects hearing to seeing and feeling, and "So that they may have hearts to understand and ears to hear with" (Q 22:46) confirms the linkage with comprehension of the revelation. Some verses point to the believers' continuity with previous communities who heard the revelation, as in "You will hear from those who were given the book before you" (Q 3:186). As with eyes and eyesight, the ears and the function of hearing are used to convey conceptions of God's intimacy with his creation and the probative signs he provides for them. Examples include, "Surely I will be with you, hearing *(asmaʿu)* and seeing" (Q 20:46) and "In that are signs for a people who listen *(yasmaʿūna)*" (Q 10:67).

By the same token, the unbelievers are chastised for their refusals to hear or to let their ears comprehend. Q 2:93 states, "They said, 'We hear *(samiʿnā)* and we disobey' " and Q 41:4 claims, "Most of them have turned away and do not hear *(lā yasmaʿūna)*." Additional instances are, "They have ears *(ādhān)*, but they hear not with them *(lā yasmaʿūna bihā)*" (Q 7:179), "If you call them to the guidance, they do not hear *(lā yasmaʿū)*" (Q 7:198), "But the deaf do not hear *(lā yasmaʿu)* the call when they are warned" (Q 21:45) and "When they hear *(samiʿū)* the reminder and say, 'Surely he is possessed' " (Q 68:51). The image of "sealing" and of possible divine intervention also finds a place in the qurʾānic references to ears and hearing, as with "God set a seal on their hearts and on their hearing" (*khatama ʾllāhu ʿalā qulūbihim wa-ʿalā samʿi-him*, Q 2:7) and "Had God willed, he would have taken away their hearing and sight *(ladhahaba bi-samʿihim wa-abṣārihim)*" (Q 2:20).

Both the generative organs of the human body and its other sexually provocative parts are ordinarily referred to indirectly in qurʾānic allusions to modesty. The preservation of modesty is mandated in "The

believers have prospered… who guard their private parts *(furūj)*" (Q 23:1-5). Q 33:35 announces forgiveness and rewards for "men and women who guard their private parts *(furūj),*" while Q 4:34 praises "women who guard the intimacy *(ghayb)* which God has guarded." References such as "Those who guard their private parts *(furūj)*" (Q 70:29) have been understood to mean wearing clothing that does not reveal the body and restricting one's sexual desires to one's lawful mate. Similarly, mention of nudity (q.v.) in the Qurʾān has been understood both figuratively and spiritually. Q 20:118 refers to the initial condition of Adam and Eve (q.v.): "There you will have no hunger and not be naked *(lā taʿrā),*" while Q 20:121 "Then they ate from [the tree] and thereupon became conscious of their private parts *(sawʾāt)* and began to hide themselves with leaves" records one consequence of their fall from grace and innocence (see FALL OF MAN). In the verses concerning social and sexual legislation, the Qurʾān speaks of the circumstances under which the body may be partially or completely unclothed. Q 24:58, for example, specifies, "Before the prayer of the daybreak, when you lay aside your garments from the heat of the middle of the day and after the prayer of nightfall: the three occasions on which your nakedness *(ʿawrāt)* is likely to be bared.

Qamar-ul Huda

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Ancestors see KINSHIP AND FAMILY

Angel

Heavenly messenger. Like its Hebrew *(malʾak)* and Greek *(angelos)* counterparts, the Arabic term *malak* (pl. *malāʾika*) means "messenger." The Qurʾān uses the term about ninety times, with some angels designated by name, Gabriel (Jibrīl, see GABRIEL) and Michael (Mikāʾīl, Q 2:97-8; see MICHAEL) and others only by function, e.g. reciters, glorifiers, dividers, guardians, ascenders, warners, recorders. Reflection about the role of angels — as described in the Qurʾān and elaborated in ḥadīth and commentary — constitutes a fundamental aspect of Muslim theological contemplation and spirituality.

Historical sources of discussion on the role of the angel

Belief in angels as a tenet of Islamic faith, as well as the theological and philosophical

discussions that emerged in the Islamic world as to the nature and function of angels, must be understood within the larger context of three issues: 1) the qurʾānic worldview which affirms many elements of the monotheistic faiths of Judaism and Christianity including the concepts of the one transcendent God, revelation (q.v.), prophets (see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD), angels, an end time and divine justice (see APOCALYPSE; LAST JUDGMENT); 2) the intellectual and cultural flowering that began under ʿAbbāsid rule in the second/eighth century which put Islamic scholars in contact with past and current intellectual traditions including those of Greek, Iranian and Indian origin and 3) the development and reciprocal influence of emerging discourses within the Islamic world particularly between philosophy *(falsafa)* and theology (*kalām,* see S.H. Nasr, *al-Ḥikma,* 139-43). Thus, for example, the most important of Muslim philosophers, Avicenna (Ibn Sīnā, d. 428/1037), integrated Aristotelian and neo-Platonic views on knowledge and experience into a fundamentally Islamic monotheistic revelatory worldview. In his treatment of angels, Avicenna shows how the angelic hierarchy affirmed in Muslim faith corresponds to the gradation of intelligences discerned by the philosophers, providing a philosophical grounding for the canonical imagery and function of angels and a religious grounding for the ontological and cosmological theories of the philosophers. Avicenna's work in turn was read, critiqued and incorporated in the work of subsequent scholars and popular wisdom teachers, from al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111) to Ibn al-ʿArabī (d. 638/1240). The most striking use of angelic imagery in Islamic philosophy and mysticism was that of Shihāb al-Dīn al-Suhrawardī (d. 578/1191), founder of Illuminationism *(ishrāq),* which is a form of mysticism deriving from Neoplatonism and the divine wisdom *(al-ḥikma al-ilāhiyya)* school of thought in Islam, which integrated qurʾānic, Platonic, Zoroastrian (with its vivid angelology), and Hermetic elements into a view of the universe the reality of which consists wholly of gradations of light (q.v.) with God as pure "Light of lights" (based on Q 24:35, the Light Verse), source of all existents and all knowledge — the inner reality of a thing being its "angel." See G. Webb, *The human-angelic relation* for a summary of the intellectual currents important in the development of commentary and interpretation of angels in the Qurʾān.

Qurʾānic thematic sources on the angels

The role of the angel in classical Islamic thought may be understood by looking at three major themes of the Qurʾān: creation (q.v.), revelation, and eschatology (q.v.) — and the elaboration thereof in ḥadīth — the sayings and stories attributed to Muḥammad — and commentary. The nature and function of angels is clearly meant to be understood in relation to the nature and function of other orders of reality, especially the divine and the human orders. Creation stories point to the theme of the relation between human beings and angels in terms of their differing natures and functions as well as to the theme of a pre-existent covenant (q.v.) between humankind and God. Qurʾānic materials on the "descent" *(tanzīl)* of the revelation to the Prophet Muḥammad and the "ascent" (*miʿrāj,* see ASCENSION) of the Prophet become sources of reflection on the nature of prophecy and revelatory knowledge including the role of angels therein. Qurʾānic eschatological materials reveal the intermediary function of the angels, that is, the carrying out of the divine consequences of human accountability, but they also become sources in Islamic spirituality for psycho-spiritual interpretations of the tomb and the end time ("the hour," *al-sāʿa,* or

"the resurrection," *al-qiyāma,* see RESURRECTION).

Angels and the creation accounts

The qurʾānic accounts of creation provide models for the distinct nature of the human and angelic species, as well as for the distinction of types of knowledge in the human and angel. God asks the angels and Adam to name things; the angels could not and Adam could (Q 2:31-3). Muslim commentators interpret this qurʾānic statement as a demonstration of a human capacity which the angels lacked, that of creative knowledge, the knowledge of the nature of things. By virtue of his knowledge of the names, Adam became master over created things. Some commentators see the story as implying that God had taught Adam all of the divine names reflected in creation; therefore the human being stands in the unique ontological position of — potentially — being a mirror of the totality of the names and qualities of God, which became a prominent theme in Ṣūfī (Islamic mystical; see ṢŪFISM AND THE QURʾĀN) thought (see al-Rūmī, *Mathnawī,* i, 1234; Ibn al-ʿArabī, *The bezels of wisdom,* ch. 1). The story is also seen as an affirmation of man's vicegerency. God creates Adam as his vicegerent (*khalīfa,* see CALIPH) on earth (Q 2:30) and ordered the angels to prostrate before him (Q 2:34; see ADORATION; BOWING AND PROSTRATION); hence the view that the human being *(insān)* is superior to angels. The angels plead with God, "Why will you [create one] who will create mischief therein and shed blood while we celebrate thy praises?" to which God responds, "I know what you do not know." A traditional reading of the narrative is humankind's superiority over the angels because, whereas the angels' nature is to worship God in perfect obedience (q.v.), human beings suffer moral choice, the struggle between good and evil, the tendency toward forgetfulness and heedlessness. Furthermore, man was burdened with the trust (*amāna,* Q 33:72) which heaven and earth refused to undertake — the trust being interpreted variously as responsibility, free will or love. Only Satan does not prostrate himself before Adam; but as Satan in other accounts is described as "of the jinn" (q.v.) those who are made of fire, not clay (q.v.) as Adam or light as the angels (see ADAM AND EVE). Satan (Shayṭān) is less identified with the "fallen angel" and more with the force that strengthens the tendencies toward evil and forgetfulness in man which function in tension with the human qualities of goodness and knowledge of the real (see DEVIL; ANTICHRIST).

The primordial time envisioned in the creation narratives, where "we were the companion of angels" as the mystic al-Rūmī (d. 672/1273) describes it in his *Kullīyāt-i Shams yā Diwān-i kabīr* becomes, particularly among Ṣūfī commentators, a source of reflection and of longing for that original time of unity between man and God, when human beings "knew their Lord." Commentators on the primordial experience in which the souls of all future humans are "pulled from the loins of Adam" and testify to God's sovereignty (Q 7:172), see these verses as describing an on-going possibility of such "intimate colloquy" *(munājāt)* between man and God. Al-Tustarī (d. 283/896) identifies the idea of (spiritual) genesis with the cognizing and re-cognizing of divine lordship. He describes the act of remembrance in prayer *(dhikr)* as the re-actualization of God's presence in his innermost being, comparing this state of recollection to the constant celestial celebration of God's commemoration *(tasbīḥ)* on the part of the angels, holding that this celebration is their mode of being, their very sustenance *(rizq)*. Just as the angel's very life *(ḥayāt)* is by virtue of the commemoration of God, so

prayer is the vital part of man's spiritual life, the provision for the spiritual self *(nafs al-rūḥ)*.

Angels and the revelatory experience

The role of angels is a prominent feature in the qurʾānic theme of the revelatory event itself and the prophetic function, for it is in passages dealing with the revelation of the Qurʾān that we see the close relationship between the holy spirit *(rūḥ al-qudus)* and angels (Q 16:102). "Spirit" (q.v.) is the agency of revelation "that came upon the Prophet's heart," and the spirit and the angels appear together in several sūras (Q 70:4; 97:4; 16:2). As F. Rahman points out (*Major themes,* 97), the figure of Gabriel in the Qurʾān, who is mentioned as having brought down the Qurʾān, is never given the appellation of "angel" and is always differentiated from "the angels" as if to signify a different rank or even species, a supra-angelic function. The qurʾānic identification of Gabriel with the "bringing down" *(nazzalahu)* of the very word of God (Q 2:97), along with ḥadīth, in which Gabriel is spoken of as an angel, albeit with a special function and rank, contributed to the theological, philosophical and mystical theories which identified these concepts with each other (Holy Spirit = Angel = Gabriel). Note, for example, the "annunciation of Mary (q.v.)" passages in Q 3:42-8 and Q 19:17. In the former, the angels are messengers announcing to Mary that "God has chosen you and purified you and chosen you above women of all nations." In the latter, the messenger is singular and has the appearance of a man: "Then we sent to her our spirit (*rūḥanā*, though some translations, e.g. A. Yūsuf ʿAlī, render the phrase "our angel") and he appeared before her as a man." Other related passages, e.g. "We breathed into her of our spirit" (Q 21:91) and "Into whose body we breathed of our spirit (Q 66:12)" engender a close association between the concepts of spirit, angel and Gabriel. Rahman argues therefore that strictly speaking the Qurʾān seems to make a distinction between the angels and the agent of revelation sent to Muḥammad. Yet the spirit and angels are not wholly different, "the spirit" being the highest form of angelic nature and closest to God (e.g. Q 81:19-21).

There is also a close connection between the qurʾānic "command" *(amr),* spirit and angels. "The command" in the qurʾānic phrase, "The spirit is by the command of my lord" (Q 17:85), is identified with the Preserved Tablet (*al-lawḥ al-maḥfūẓ,* see PRESERVED TABLET), the source of all books — in fact, all reality — including the Qurʾān (Q 85:22). It is from thence that the spirit is brought by the angels to the heart of the Prophet and, as the source of all books, ranks "higher" than the angels. These images and associations become food for speculative thought on the nature of "logos," the generation of the cosmos and such cosmogonic metaphysical conceptions as the world of archetypal realities *(ʿālam al-mithāl)*. A common feature of both early and late speculation in Islamic thought — in consonance with numerous qurʾānic passages (e.g. Q 2:97; 97:4) — is that the spirit exists as a power, faculty or agency which descends from "above" *(nazzalahu),* clearly emphasizing the dependency and origin of human knowledge — particularly prophetic and visionary — in God. This power, or faculty, of spirit/Gabriel is described as being located in the Prophet's heart and Islamic mystical exegesis as early as the third/ninth century develops the notion of the heart (*qalb,* see HEART) as the seat of spiritual vision and intuitive cognition.

Related to the conception of the descent of revelation on the Prophet's heart — and closely related to the development of

eschatological notions, are commentaries and literature about the qurʾānic reference to God sending Muḥammad on a night journey *(asrā bi-ʿabdihi)* in Q 17:1, in which the Prophet travels from "the sacred mosque to the farthest mosque," from Mecca to Jerusalem (q.v.; see also AQṢĀ MOSQUE) in the usual interpretation and then in a vertical journey to the divine throne ("in order that we might show him some of our signs"). By the third/ninth century many of these narratives of the ascension *(miʿrāj)* had come into the form of ḥadīth, many of which are attributed to Ibn ʿAbbās, a contemporary of Muḥammad, but are more likely the work of the second/eighth-century Egyptian Ibn Wahb (d. 197/813) which in varying versions and degrees of detail describe the awakening of the Prophet by Gabriel followed by the preparation of Muḥammad for his ascent by two angels' washing his breast and filling it with faith and wisdom. Gabriel — in some versions accompanied by the angel Michael — then leads Muḥammad on a night journey from Mecca to Jerusalem, then through the heavens of the Ptolemaic universe to the gates of paradise and finally to the throne of God (q.v.). Muḥammad's journey always includes the vision of hell and the appropriate punishment experienced by sinners who have committed various kinds of evils as well as a vision of the paradisiacal garden (see REWARD AND PUNISHMENT; PARADISE; HELL; GARDEN). The paradisiacal scene contains the traditional image of the lotus tree of the boundary (Q 53:14) beyond which no human or angel may pass. There is a hierarchy of angels with varying functions, an allusion to Q 25:25, which implies descending ranks of angels and Q 35:1 whose discussion of the varying number of wings possessed by angels is usually interpreted as their functions, duties or errands. The angels of the heavenly spheres — the association made explicit by Avicenna — down through the sixth sphere are the guardians of the throne and singers of praise. Gabriel ranks above the guardians of the throne. Angels in the highest sphere under the throne are the cherubim whose light is so strong that no angel in the lower spheres may raise its eyes lest it be blinded. Gabriel, the guide of Muḥammad, acts as interpreter of the visions to which the Prophet is witness. Descriptions of the garden are based on the qurʾānic imagery of the fount of abundance (*kawthar,* Q 108:1) and of peace (Q 14:23). Angels in these traditions, which have been traced to the second/eighth-century Persian Maysara b. ʿAbd Rabbihi appear sometimes in human form, sometimes as huge and monstrous beings, always radiating dazzling light. At each stage of the journey, Muḥammad experiences fear of being blinded by the brilliant spectacle and Gabriel in many versions intercedes with God so that Muḥammad is granted new vision that allows him to look at the light that had heretofore blinded him. Gabriel furthermore acts as advisor and comforter. Although Gabriel acts as interpreter of the visions for the duration of the ascent, Muḥammad is left by the angel to accomplish the last stage alone.

The ascension *(miʿrāj)* literature developed alongside and fused with Muslim eschatological literature. What the angel reveals to Muḥammad in his journey becomes the prototype of the experience of the soul upon physical death and the angel functions both as part of the hierarchy of being and as revealer and interpreter of that hierarchy. Abū Yazīd al-Biṣṭāmī (d. 261/874), who first formulated the Islamic notion of annihilation of the self in God *(fanāʾ),* appears also to have been the first to describe the inner transformative experience of the pious Muslim in terms of the ascension of the Prophet which there-

after becomes the prototype of the various stages and stations of the experience of the Ṣūfī in his experience of attaining the presence of God. Inasmuch as the qurʾānic verses on the nocturnal ascent (Q 17:1), Muḥammad's ecstatic vision of the two bows (Q 53:1-18) and the descent of the Qurʾān (Q 2:97) all became associated in tradition with an angelic event, the specific relation of the angel to the role of the Prophet — and angelic knowledge to human knowledge — becomes a source of speculation. In L. Massignon's remarks on the "two bows verse" he states, "In Surah 53, the culminating point of ecstasy is clearly marked by the sentence of verses 8-9: 'Then he went out, then he returned, near; it was a distance of two bow shots or a little closer (*thumma danā fa-tadallā; fakāna qāba qawsayni aw adnā, The passion of al-Hallaj,* trans. H. Mason, iii, 295-6). He points out that opinions have differed as to the subject of the sentence: some commentaries consider Gabriel as the one who draws near to Muḥammad who in turn sees him (e.g. Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya); some say it is God who draws near to Muḥammad (al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī); some suggest Muḥammad as subject (Ibn ʿAbbās and al-Ḥallāj); others suggest two successive subjects, Muḥammad and Gabriel (Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī); finally, others say it is a simultaneous mutual coming together of God and Muḥammad. However, in all cases Muḥammad's experience is seen as an ecstatic vision of "divine nature by man's spiritual nature, through the instrumentality of an illuminated angelic nature" (L. Massignon, *The passion of al-Hallāj,* iii, 298).

Angels in eschatological literature

Parallel to the development of the literature on Muḥammad's ascension are the traditions which discuss and interpret the process of death and the day of resurrection — eschatological themes — that is, themes referring to the "end time." Murata (Angels) and Smith and Haddad *(Islamic understanding)* detail the qurʾānic and subsequent interpretive traditions regarding angels in Islamic eschatology. Angels function in qurʾānic end-time — the cataclysmic end of the created order — sources in a number of ways. They usher in the day of resurrection: "The day when they see the angels. No good tidings that day for the sinners" (Q 25:22). "The day when the heavens and the clouds are split asunder and the angels are sent down in a great descent" (Q 25:25). They are gatherers of souls: "The angel of death, who has been charged with you, will gather you; then to your Lord you will be returned" (Q 32:11; cf. 6:93). They guard over hell: "Believers, guard yourselves and your families against a fire whose fuel is men and stones, and over which are harsh, terrible angels" (Q 66:6). They shall enter the eternal abode with those human souls who have shown devotion: "The angels shall enter unto them from every gate" (Q 13:23). The "Mālik" (Q 43:77) who rules over hell is traditionally thought to be an angel. Ḥadīth materials and traditional commentators give names to other angels whose functions are described in the Qurʾān: ʿIzrāʾīl is the angel of death that appears to the person at the cessation of life and Isrāfīl is the angel charged with the blowing of the trumpet at the arrival of "the hour" (*al-sāʿa,* Q 39:68; 69:13). Though not mentioned in the Qurʾān or early ḥadith, the angel Riḍwān became an accepted figure in Arabic literature from the time of al-Maʿarrī onwards, perhaps in relation to the word (*riḍwān,* Q 9:21) indicating God's favor, or sanction.

There are a number of manuals and teaching stories describing end-time events which became particularly important in popular piety with regard to issues of

death: al-Ghazālī's *al-Durra al-fākhira* (fifth/eleventh century), Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya's *Kitāb al-Rūḥ* (an authoritative eighth/fourteenth century text on the life of the spirit after death), al-Suyūṭī's *Bushra al-kaʾīb bi-liqāʾ al-ḥabīb* (ninth/fifteenth century), the anonymous *Kitāb Aḥwāl al-qiyāma* (ed. M. Wolff; most likely an adaptation of al-Qāḍī's work, probably fifth/eleventh century, *Daqāʾiq al-akhbār fī dhikr al-janna wa-l-nār*). Contemporary manuals on death reflect these traditions, such as *To die before death* by the twentieth-century Sri Lankan Ṣūfī Shaykh, Bawa Muhaiyaddeen. It is clear that the theologians *(mutakallimūn)* and the Ṣūfī commentators were for the most part not interested — when it came to death themes — in determining a given sequence of events, but rather were concerned with using these traditions to illustrate specific points about the nature of God, the human being and ethics. Qurʾānic discussions on death and resurrection are aspects of the theme of the nature of divine justice; the symmetry of the heavens is a symmetry — a perfection — of justice and accountability for one's deeds. There is ultimately no evasion from acknowledging the shape that one's faith *(dīn)* and piety *(taqwā)* has taken during one's life. The *Durra* and the *Kitāb Aḥwāl* develop the theme of the death visit of the recording angels, Nakīr and Munkar, who in some narratives allow the deceased a glimpse of the gates of Eden; who question the deceased on their recitation of the Qurʾān, prayers and right conduct; who remove the soul from the body with ease, shock or pain depending on the quality of faithfulness in life, the latter, an extension of Q 79:1-5, "By the angels who tear out (the souls of the wicked)… by those who gently draw out (the souls of the blessed)…." The descriptions of the fate of the soul after death parallel the ascension imagery, the overarching theme being the soul's immediate tasting of the fruits of its religious duties as it ascends on a journey with Gabriel or the angels, sometimes mentioned as two or four, acting as guides through the successive heavens.

Al-Ghazālī's *Durra* describes the cosmological stages of the journey of the faithful soul through the seven levels of the heavens, through oceans of fire, light, darkness, water, ice and hail, the length of which is a thousand years and, finally, through the covering affixed to the throne of mercy. The fate of the impious soul is described as an attempted journey by the soul in the company of the angel Daqyāʾīl, but he is thwarted in his attempt to lead the soul to the throne. The gates of heaven do not open up to the pair and Daqyāʾīl flings the soul back into the body — even as the corpse is being washed. Thus, the traditions of the soul's peace or suffering at death as well as the discussions of the symmetry of the cosmological heavens as abodes for various categories of saints and sinners support qurʾānic and theological themes of divine justice and the variety of human responses to the call of faith. Al-Ghazālī also utilizes the figure of the angel Rūmān who visits each newly deceased person even prior to the questioning of Nakīr and Munkar and asks the deceased to write down the good and evil deeds he has done. The dead person protests that he or she has no pen, ink, or paper; Rūmān — or in some traditions, simply Munkar and Nakīr — orders the deceased to substitute his own finger, saliva and shroud. The tradition concludes with the deceased sealing the record and hanging it onto his neck until the day of resurrection, an allusion to Q 17:13, "We have fastened the fate of every man on his neck."

Little is said in the Qurʾān about the state between death and resurrection, the time of angelic visitation and instruction immediately after death. The term partition (*bar-*

zakh, q.v.) in the Qurʾān (Q 23:100) simply refers to the inability of the departed to return to earth — to do or to undo how one has lived his or her faith. The partition or barrier comes to denote, however, the time between death and resurrection and the place or abode wherein the waiting occurs. The imagery of the partition in death and resurrection literature is a further affirmation of the qurʾānic themes of divine justice and human accountability. Moreover, the traditions regarding the barrier emphasize the themes of conscious awareness of the configuration of the life of faith or lived religion *(dīn)* during one's earthly existence *(al-dunyā)* and the angel — mirroring the role of Gabriel in Muḥammad's ascension — as constant companion, guide and cognitive intermediary in the death process. These traditions regarding the barrier echo qurʾānic end-time themes, focusing on that moment: "When the great cataclysm comes, that day when man will recall what he had been striving for" (Q 79:34-5), "the hour" when every human being will be shaken into a unique and unprecedented self-awareness of his deeds in which "We have lifted your veil so your sight today is keen" (Q 50:22). The eschatological themes of the transparency of the heart as an ultimate aim of the human being and the questioning of the soul "immediately" after death by the angels and by the guards of the gates of hell (Q 39:71-4) — also identified with angels — signify key theological themes in Islam: while God is utterly transcendent, it is through the divine mercy and illumination that self-understanding takes place and this justice mandates that the human being experiences/knows the motivations and consequences of his deeds.

The mystical schools of thought in Islam in particular interpreted the qurʾānic day of resurrection *(yawm al-qiyāma),* "the day when the earth shall be transmuted into something else" (Q 14:48), when "we shall create you in [forms] you do not know" (Q 56:61) as referring not only to the end of the world and one's physical existence but also to an interior state of transformation *in this life*. The annihilation of all things at the end time, is seen as a spiritual state of having overcome the struggle in the human heart against the lower self *(nafs),* the world *(dunyā)* and Satan — a "dying before death." As Böwering describes in *The mystical vision of experience in classical Islam* (149-58), this experience is one of reintegration into the lasting presence of the one God in which one is granted the encounter with God *(liqāʾ al-ḥaqq),* the abiding in the divine truth *(al-baqāʾ maʿa al-ḥaqq)* and the visual perception of God *(al-nazar ilā l-ḥaqq)*. The heart *(qalb)* becomes in mystical literature the seat of knowledge "through God's knowledge" and the angel becomes identified as the purifier of the heart, the spiritual cleansing of which is seen as a prerequisite for clear understanding of God, self and the world. Furthermore, the qurʾānic "expansion" of Muḥammad's breast: "Did we not expand your breast?" (Q 94:1) is read as a widening or opening of Muḥammad to the infusion of divine gifts and is described as being initiated "through the light of the prophetic mission" *(nūr al-risāla)* and through the "light of Islam" *(nūr al-islām)*. Thus, links are made in early Islamic mystical literature (e.g. Tustarī, *Tafsīr,* 123, in Böwering, *Mystical vision*) between the heart of Muḥammad — the essence or living reality of Muḥammad, which receives its pristine light from the divine substance, the light of prophecy — and the symbol of the angel as the agent of the initial expansion of Muḥammad's breast and, by extension, the expansion (the opening and receptivity) of "whomsoever God desires to guide" to spiritual realities. The early Islamic mystics

speak of the peak of mystical experience as a prefiguring of the final day of resurrection in which all humankind will be exposed before God in order to account for their deeds as well as a prefiguring of that final annihilation of the created order (Q 28:88; 55:26-7). In the eschatological traditions, Isrāfīl (who is not named in the Qurʾān) is the angel who sounds the trumpet signaling the arrival of the hour, as stated above, and who reads from the Preserved Tablet (q.v.; *al-lawḥ al-maḥfūẓ*), the account of human creatures' deeds and motivations. In many traditions there is a second blast signaling the final cataclysm at which time all created order must lose itself, even the angels and archangels. We see, then, in classical mystical literature the development of the notion of the unveiling *(kashf),* that is, the revealing of one's most secret motivations to oneself by the agency of the angel of God through the light of God himself and the notion of the ultimate goal and end of individual existence as the annihilation of the self *(nafs),* the realization that all perishes but the "face of God" (Q 55:26-7).

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Anger

A manifestation of God's opprobrium mentioned numerous times in the Qurʾān in the context of his censure of unbelievers, detractors of Muḥammad and those guilty of moral and material crimes and general wrongdoing. It is furthermore an

emotion attributed to believers, Muḥammad's enemies and prophets, for instance Moses (q.v.) and Jonah (q.v.).

God's anger, paired occasionally with his curse (q.v.; Q 4:93; 5:60; 24:9; 48:6), symbolizes his negative opinion of certain human behavior. Among past nations, the pre-Islamic prophet Hūd (q.v.) informed the people of ʿĀd (q.v.) of God's anger against them (Q 7:71), while the People of the Book (q.v.) incurred God's anger by mistreating messengers sent to them (Q 3:112). Jews (see JEWS AND JUDAISM) in particular are chastised for disobeying their prophets' monotheistic injunctions (Q 2:61; 7:152; 20:86).

Polytheists, hypocrites and those who swear to falsehood knowingly are among those who provoke God's wrath (Q 48:6; 58:14; see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF; HYPOCRITES AND HYPOCRISY). Their lasting abode is a blazing fire that wants to consume them in its fury (Q 25:12). Jews and other People of the Book also continue to incur God's wrath by aligning themselves with the unbelievers (Q 5:59-60) and by "denying the revelation which God has sent down" (Q 2:90). See also OPPOSITION TO MUḤAMMAD.

Aside from the specifically named groups, those who are religiously and morally misdirected in a general sense are also subject to God's anger (Q 1:7; 3:162; 20:81; 47:28; 60:13). In addition, God's wrath falls on those miscreants who spread discontent among the believers by attempting to dissuade them from their faith (Q 42:16). The same fate is reserved for a believer who relinquishes his faith, unless under compulsion or torture (Q 16:106), for someone who murders a believer (Q 4:93) and for a believer who turns away from a righteous battle (Q 8:16). A woman accused of adultery by her husband may, in the absence of any evidence in support of the adultery such as other witnesses, refute the charge by professing her innocence and swearing that God's wrath be upon her if her accuser is telling the truth (Q 24:9). See also APOSTASY; MURDER; ADULTERY AND FORNICATION.

With respect to anger as a human emotion, the Qurʾān mentions Moses' outburst against his people for being led astray in worshipping a calf of gold (q.v.) during his absence (Q 7:150, 154; 20:86). The prophet Jonah was angry at God in a moment of unjustified frustration, but eventually realized his error and was saved (Q 21:87-8). When the time of fighting against those who oppose Muḥammad is over, the Qurʾān states that God improves the believers' hearts by removing their anger against their enemies and making them merciful (Q 9:15). Suppression of anger is generally deemed a praiseworthy quality (Q 3:134; 42:37). In contrast to the merciful believers, the unbelievers (Q 22:15; 33:25; 48:29), the hypocrites (Q 3:119) and those who criticize Muḥammad out of greed (Q 9:58) are said to be seething in anger because of his success and God's protection of him. See also PUNISHMENT STORIES.

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Animal Life

The references to fauna in the Qurʾān. There are more than two hundred passages in the Qurʾān dealing with animals and six sūras bear the names of animals as titles (Q 2 The Cow [Sūrat al-Baqara]; Q 6 The Herding Animals [Sūrat al-Anʿām]; Q 16 The Bee [Sūrat al-Naḥl]; Q 27 The Ant [Sūrat al-Naml]; Q 29 The Spider [Sūrat al-ʿAnkabūt]; Q 105 The Elephant

[Sūrat al-Fīl]). Nevertheless, animal life is not a predominant theme in the Qurʾān.

Animal species

The common Arabic word for "animal" *ḥayawān* (lit. life) occurs only once in the Qurʾān (Q 29:64) and actually does not refer to an animal, but rather to life in the next world. Arabic authors of the Middle Ages commonly classified animals into four basic categories on the basis of their habitat. They separated animals living on dry land from those living in the air, those living in dust and those living in water. We find no evidence of this classification in the Qurʾān, which only distinguishes between animals which creep on their belly, animals which walk on two legs and animals with four legs. Yet some other distinctions are also found, e.g. animals similar to men are of greater importance than others. Likewise, some kinds of animals, such as fish, are discussed less.

The qurʾānic term for animal in general and the land animal in particular is *dābba* with 18 occurrences (pl. *dawābb*), although this word is not typically used in this sense in medieval Arabic works on zoology. The most frequently-occurring animal name in the Qurʾān is *anʿām,* "gregarious or herding animals" (thirty-two occurrences) and there are three occurrences of its synonym *bahīmat al-anʿām,* referring to livestock and large domestic animals. The singular form *naʿam* only occurs once. The animals which live in herds include domestic animals as well as those driven to pasture, which represent the wealth of men. Q 6:143-4 identifies them as sheep, goats, camels — more precisely dromedaries — and cattle. There is also a certain number of specific references to each of these species. General terms for camel (q.v.) such as *ibil* (twice), *jamal/jimāla* (twice) and *nāqa* (seven times) occur alongside more specific terms. *ʿIshār* (a she-camel ten months with young), *ḍāmir* (the lean one, meaning a riding camel), *rikāb* (a generic term for "riding animal," which in the Qurʾānic passage [Q 59:6] is clearly not referring to a horse but to a camel), *budn* (sacrificial camels) and *hīm* (camels crazed with thirst) occur only once. In addition, there are two terms which probably also mean "camel," *ḥamūla* and *farsh* (Q 6:142), but the exact meaning and scope of these words was disputed. *Ḥamūla* was obviously connected with the root *ḥ-m-l,* bearing the basic sense of "to carry." Thus, according to the interpretation preferred by the famous exegete al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923) and most others who have commented on this passage, *ḥamūla* are mature camels capable of carrying a load while *farsh* are camels too young to support any weight. Some commentators have speculated that *ḥamūla* are camels and cows while *farsh* are sheep or that *ḥamūla* are camels and cows while *farsh* are everything else. Others reasoned that *ḥamūla* are camels, horses, asses and other animals and *farsh* are sheep (*Tafsīr,* viii, 62-4). There are nineteen occurrences of terms for "cattle" and "cow" (*baqar/baqara/baqarāt,* and *ʿijl* for calf), eight occurrences of terms for "sheep" (*ḍaʾn, ghanam* and *naʿja/niʿāj,* "female sheep"), but only one occurrence of *maʿz* (goat).

The word *khayl* for "horse" occurs five times in the Qurʾān and we find once the word *muʿallaqa* used metaphorically for a "disregarded woman" (Q 4:129), a term with the original sense of a mare which is no longer ridden. The title and the first verse of sūras 79 (Those that Draw *[al-nāziʿāt]*) and 100 (The Runners *[al-ʿādiyāt]*) are probably further references to horses. The titles of sūras 37 (Those who Dress the Ranks *[al-ṣāffāt]*), 51 (Those that Scatter *[al-dhāriyāt]*) and 77 (Those that are Sent *[al-mursalāt]*) may also refer to them as well. We also find words denoting asses (*ḥimār/ḥumur/ḥamīr,* four occurrences) and

mules (*bighāl,* a single occurrence). "Swine" *(khinzīr/khanāzīr)* and "dog" (*kalb,* see DOG) each occur five times in the Qurʾān.

Wild animals are also mentioned. We find four references to "quarry" *(ṣayd),* i.e. an animal being hunted, and three references to "wolf" *(dhiʾb)*. Furthermore, there is one occurrence of a general term for "beast of prey" *(sabuʿ),* one occurrence of "lion" (*qaswara,* a word for "lion" that is otherwise rarely encountered), three occurrences of "apes" *(qirada)* and one occurrence of "elephant" *(fīl)*.

With regard to flying animals or birds, there are twenty-four occurrences of the general terms *ṭayr* and *ṭāʾir* (*ṭayr* is also used for "omen"). A term of particular interest is *jawāriḥ* which in qurʾānic usage means "hunting animals," while later Arabic authors use this term exclusively for "birds of prey." There are only a few references to specific species of birds. We find one mention of "quail" *(salwā),* one of "hoopoe" *(hudhud)* and two of "raven" *(ghurāb)*. Furthermore, mention is made of flocks of birds called *abābīl,* although the exact meaning of this word remains unclear. According to some commentators, there was a verse in the Qurʾān referring to the three pre-Islamic goddesses al-Lāt, al-ʿUzzā and Manāt, who were described as "cranes" (*gharānīq,* the qurʾānic usage of this word is connected to Q 53:19-20). However, it should be noted the question of whether this verse ever existed has been hotly debated (see SATANIC VERSES).

Although the Arabic language has a great number of words for reptiles and crawling and flying insects, very few of them are to be found in the Qurʾān. Only "snake" *(thuʿbān, ḥayya),* "ant" (*naml/namla,* also *dharra,* "ant" being only one of several possible meanings of the last), "fly" *(dhubāb),* "gnat" *(baʿūḍa),* "lice" *(qummal),* "locusts" *(jarād),* "moths" (*farāsh,* also used for "butterflies"), "bees" *(naḥl),* "spider" *(ʿankabūt)* and "termite" (*dābbat al-arḍ,* with *arḍ* understood to be "wood" and not "earth" in this usage. This term is not to be confused with the *dābba min al-arḍ* — beast coming from the earth — of the Apocalypse, q.v.). We find *ḥūt/ḥītān* used for "fish" in general in the Qurʾān and there is one special fish (*nūn,* a whale?) which swallowed Jonah. Frogs *(ḍafādiʿ)* are also mentioned. Several passages also make reference to body parts of animals, such as wings, claws and trunks, as well as to products from animals, such as eggs, feathers, fat, milk, meat and skin, and even musk, pearls and coral.

The creation of animals and their destiny

God cares for all his creatures and provides for them (Q 11:6; 29:60; see CREATION). The Qurʾān asserts that God is the creator of every living creature (Q 2:29). The beasts which God has dispersed in the heavens and the earth are given special mention in the Qurʾān as divine signs (Q 2:164; 31:10; 42:29; 45:4; cf. also Q 25:49). God created animals *(dābba)* from water (Q 24:45), just as he created every living thing (*shayʾ ḥayy,* Q 21:30). No further remarks about the origin of life are found in the Qurʾān. God created pairs of every living thing (Q 43:12 and 51:49 refer to couples and hence to the different species of living beings), which should be interpreted as a reference to males and females. Q 53:45 definitely makes a distinction between the two sexes. Herd animals close to man are explicitly emphasized (Q 16:5; 36:71). Four of the animals usually driven to pasture — sheep, goats, camels and cattle (Q 6:143-4; 39:6) — were said to have been created in pairs. Gregarious animals are of great importance. When Satan wanted to lead humankind astray, he planned to cut the ears of camels with the intention of changing an animal which God had created (Q 4:119). Furthermore, God instructed Noah (q.v.) to take two examples of all the animal species

onto his ark to save them from drowning (Q 23:27). Just like men, animals *(dābba)* and birds form communities (*umam,* Q 6:38, a reference to groups of animals of the same species living together), which will be assembled before God (Q 42:29). The following passages seem to indicate that animals will be resurrected, although this is never explicitly stated.

God subjected his whole creation (q.v.), including animals, to men (Q 22:65; 45:13) and also provided men with cattle (Q 26:133). Therefore animals must have been created in order to serve men, especially the domestic animals and those driven to pasture. Q 16:5-8 refers to these two main uses for animals, to carry loads and to warm and feed men. Furthermore, horses, mules, asses and camels are to be ridden (Q 6:142; 22:27; 36:72; 40:79-80). Men regard horses as desirable property (Q 3:14), but they are only appurtenances of the life of this world and should not be esteemed too highly. There are also passages in the Qurʾān referring to animal products like pure milk from the belly of animals (Q 16:66; 23:21; 36:73), skins (Q 16:80) and the healing power of honey (Q 16:69). All of these benefits exemplify God's concern for humanity. Animals are of still further use for men as adornments. Q 16:8 refers explicitly to horses, mules and asses in this regard. Q 35:12, in an apparent reference to pearls, speaks of the wearing of adornments coming from the depths of the sea (Q 22:23; 35:33). Coral (q.v.) in particular is described as pleasing to look at (Q 55:58; 56:23; 76:19). Q 16:6 describes the pleasure one has in looking at cattle when they are brought home or driven out to pasture. Thus it seems to have also been God's intention to create animals for the aesthetic enjoyment of man.

Naturally, all of the animals are at God's disposal: "There is not a beast but he takes it by the forelock" (Q 11:56). God sends down rain to revive dead land and slake the thirst of his creation (Q 25:48-9; cf. 10:24; see AGRICULTURE AND VEGETATION). By his order, flocks are led to pasture (Q 20:54). The bee is following God's command when it makes its home in the mountains, trees and manmade structures and eats from the various fruits (Q 16:68-9). Animals benefit man in many ways and stand as proof of God's benevolence toward man, who, according to the Islamic viewpoint, stands in the center of creation and dominates the universe, having precedence over all other creatures (cf. Q 17:70). Even animal products coming out of the sea, such as pearls and corals, represent God's mercy (Q 55:22).

Animals in Islamic law

The Qurʾān includes many regulations for the use of animals and animal products, as well as for hunting. The quintessence of these regulations is that animals are a benefit to humankind, either as food or as sacrifices. Man is allowed to kill animals to keep himself alive. He may eat animals on condition that they are lawful *(ḥalāl)* and that they fall into the category of "good things" (*ṭayyibāt,* cf. Q 2:172; 7:157; 23:51). Furthermore, they must be slaughtered in accordance with the law, although the Qurʾān itself offers no information regarding the technical details of this operation (see CONSECRATION OF ANIMALS).

The Qurʾān provides the basic outline of Islamic dietary law, emphasizing the unlawful over the lawful foods. A number of verses (Q 2:173; 5:3, 145; 16:115; cf. 6:118-9, 121; 22:34) prohibit the consumption of carcasses, blood, and pork as well as any other meat over which any name other than God's has been invoked. The Qurʾān explicitly mentions what is unlawful while everything else is assumed to be lawful and permitted (cf. Q 5:1; 6:119) and even the forbidden foods are permitted in emergencies

(Q 2:173; 6:119; 16:115). The only foods explicitly characterized as lawful in the Qurʾān are animals taken from fresh or salt water (Q 16:14; 35:12). The consumption of poultry and veal are mentioned in contexts that indicate that they specifically are not forbidden. Poultry will be the food of the blessed in paradise (Q 56:21) and Abraham (q.v.) fed the flesh of a calf to his angelic guests (Q 11:69). Dishes eaten by Jews and Christians are also permitted to Muslims except for those which are specifically forbidden (q.v.), such as pork.

Islamic dietary restrictions are portrayed as a relaxation of both the customs observed by the pagan Arabs (Q 6:138) and the Jewish dietary law (Q 6:146, 4:160), which is described as prohibiting the eating of animals having claws and certain kinds of fat from cattle and small livestock. The Jewish prohibitions had already been partially abrogated by Jesus (q.v.; Q 3:50; see ABROGATION).

Q 22:36 refers to sacrificial camels *(budn)* as signs *(shaʿāʾir)* of God (see SIGNS). The sacrificial animals *(hady)* mentioned in Q 5:2 and 5:97 should probably be identified as camels and sheep. The Qurʾān prohibits the bloodless sacrifices or consecrations practiced in pre-Islamic times in which animals were set free and allowed to go wherever their impulses led them (Q 5:103). These animals are privileged creatures that were neither milked nor ridden. According to the most common interpretation of the relevant Arabic terms, the animals which could serve as a bloodless consecration in the past were a she-camel which has borne five young ones, the last one being male *(baḥīra);* a she-camel subject to the owner's vow *(sāʾiba);* the only male descendant of a goat which had also given birth to three female kids *(waṣīla);* a camel having offspring old enough to be ridden; or a stallion which has sired ten foals *(ḥāmī)*.

As for hunting, animals living within the sacred precincts (q.v.) around Mecca are taboo (Q 5:1). The prescription declares that the hunting of land animals within this area is forbidden, while aquatic animals remain lawful (Q 5:95). According to the Qurʾān, this prohibition is nothing less than a test God is imposing on man (Q 5:1, 94-6). It is interesting to note that all of the qurʾānic references to punishment and compensations having to do with animals concern the pilgrimage (q.v.) to the Kaʿba (q.v.) in Mecca (5:94-5).

The qurʾānic dietary regulations are neither completely nor systematically presented. The rules concerning slaughtering and hunting are also not very detailed. This situation may be a reflection of a debate or dialogue over dietary regulations occurring between the Muslims and the Jews of Medina (q.v.; see also JEWS AND JUDAISM), since the rules offered by the Qurʾān appear to be answers to particular questions raised in that environment and do not constitute a full-fledged dietary code. Thus, many vital questions awaited the attention of later scholars for answers. In order to elaborate and systematize the isolated qurʾānic injunctions, the experts in Islamic law turned to the practice of the Prophet as documented in the ḥadīth. Initially, the passages concerning animals in the ḥadīth received little attention, but when the jurists tried to draw up a complete dietary code, emphasis was also placed on what the Prophet himself had said about animals. It was then that the relevant and appropriate passages became of interest and hence of real importance.

Animals as signs of God's omnipotence and warnings of punishment

Animals were created because of God's benevolence and goodwill toward humankind. Moreover, their existence is proof of God's omnipotence and wisdom. He is the one who has the power to create life and to

destroy it (cf. Q 3:27). The Qur'ān particularly emphasizes the marvelous flight of birds which are kept in the air by God (Q 16:79; 67:19). There are also tales about the events of the past which illustrate God's omnipotence and in which animals figure. Manna and quails were sent down to the Children of Israel (q.v.; Q 2:57; 7:160; 20:80). The dog of the Seven Sleepers is mentioned (Q 18:18; see MEN OF THE CAVE). There is also a similar story of a man who was brought back to life after one hundred years and instructed to look at his ass, among other things, so that he could appreciate how much time had passed (Q 2:259). God brought to life four dead birds before the eyes of Abraham (q.v.; Q 2:260). There has been only one living being who on one special occasion God permitted to create life and this was Jesus. He created figures like birds from clay and then breathed upon them, bringing them to life (Q 3:49; 5:110). Therefore, Jesus is privileged. Although not a part of the New Testament, in the apocrypha we do find a story about the young Jesus creating twelve sparrows from clay on the Sabbath.

Here, one may see a relation between animals which are signs of God's omnipotence and those which are symbols representing warnings and admonitions. Animals are frequently cited when humankind is commanded to fear God's punishment. God may let the animals needed by men perish in order to call them to account for their misdeeds (Q 16:61; 35:45; during the events of the Apocalypse (q.v.), even camels ten months with young will be untended, cf. Q 81:4). On the other hand, animals are powerful signs to convert the infidels and make them observe God's commands. In this connection, the unbeliever is instructed to examine a camel to realize God's greatness (Q 88:17) and we are warned that sinners "will not enter the Garden until a camel passes through the eye of a needle" (Q 7:40; cf. *Matt* 19:24, *Mark* 10:25, and also *Luke* 18:25, not referring to sinners but to the rich).

As for the warnings, the Qur'ān cites instances in history in which animals play different roles (see also PUNISHMENT STORIES; WARNING). The people of Thamūd (q.v.) were punished after they hamstrung a she-camel the prophet Ṣāliḥ (q.v.) had brought forth to demonstrate the power of God (Q 7:73-9). In this case, an animal led to God's intervention. There are many different occasions when God used animals as instruments to guide men toward the good or the bad. God sent plagues of locusts, lice and frogs to punish the sinful Egyptians who thought themselves mighty (Q 7:133). God also dispatched the raven which showed Cain how to hide the corpse of his brother Abel (Q 5:31; see CAIN AND ABEL). As a punishment for impiety, God transformed human beings into swine and apes for worshipping evil (Q 5:60) and some Jews were transformed into detestable apes as punishment for breaking the Sabbath (Q 2:65; 7:166). In reference to more recent times, Q 105 describes the military expedition of the Abyssinian general Abraha (q.v.) to Mecca (ca. 570 C.E.) on which occasion the Abyssinians were accompanied by at least one elephant. In their raid against the Meccans, the Muslims had horses at their disposal (Q 8:60). Flocks of birds attacked and destroyed the army of the people of the elephant (Q 105:3-4; see also ABYSSINIA). In another passage speaking of the successes of the early Muslims, God reminds them that he alone is responsible: "You spurred neither horse nor camel" (Q 59:6). Even Satan musters horses (Q 17:64).

Many of the animals found in the Bible are also mentioned in the Qur'ān to show God's authority, omnipotence and wisdom. The staff of Moses (q.v.) was turned into a snake as a divine sign. (The serpent is

called *thuʿbān* in Q 7:107; 26:32, but *ḥayya* in Q 20:20. Minor differences in the versions of the story itself are neglected in this article.) Solomon (q.v.) understands the speech of an ant advising caution to his fellows (Q 27:18.) The jinn (q.v.) learned that Solomon had died when a termite *(dābbat al-arḍ)* ate away the staff his body had been leaning on (Q 34:14). A fish (a whale?, *ḥūt,* Q 21:87-8; 37:142-5; 68:48-9; *nūn,* Q 21:87-8) swallowed Jonah (q.v.) and then cast him in the desert.

In the Qurʾān, we find further references to legendary events dealing with animals. There are references to the cow being sacrificed by the Israelites by order of Moses (Q 2:67-71). The intended breakfast of Moses on his journey with the wise man to reach the junction of the two seas is a fish (Q 18:61-3; see KHAḌIR/KHIḌR). Birds are gathered as troops by Solomon, in addition to men and jinn (Q 27:17-20, followed by the story of the hoopoe). Birds are seen in a dream which Joseph (q.v.) interprets (Q 12:36, 41). The dog of the Seven Sleepers is mentioned four times but is never named (Q 18:18, 22). David (q.v.) and Solomon ruled in a case in which the sheep of one shepherd wandered into the field of someone else (Q 21:78). David also settled a dispute between two brothers over the ownership of another sheep (Q 38:23-4). In the narrative on Joseph, his brothers play on their father's fear that Joseph would be eaten by a wolf by claiming that a wolf had killed him (Q 12:13-7).

Nevertheless, God grants grace and possesses unlimited compassion, e.g. toward the Israelites who have taken as a god the golden calf (Q 2:521-4, 92-3; 7:148, 152; 20:88; see CALF OF GOLD). Humankind should not forget about the goodness of God. They should turn to him, praise him, adore and worship him and confess their dependence on him (see ADORATION; BOWING AND PROSTRATION; WORSHIP). This is the reason that the Qurʾān offers a number of arguments derived from history and from nature (Q 2:116, everything is submissive to God; 17:44; 24:41; 43:12; 59:24; 61:1; 62:1; 64:1, everyone in the heavens and on earth gives glory to God). The animals (every *dābba,* Q 16:49; 22:18) worship God by prostrating themselves, including the birds, which do so while flying (Q 24:41). The birds as well as mountains sing his praises (Q 34:10; cf. 38:19).

Animals as symbols and objects of comparisons

In certain cases, we find animals referred to in analogies. The flames of hell throw out sparks as large as castles the color of "yellow camels" (*jimāla ṣufr,* Q 77:32-3). The word *dharra* means a "tiny particle," an "atom," a "grain" or an "ant." God does not do an ant's weight of wrong (Q 4:40). Something as tiny as an ant does not escape God's attention (Q 10:61). Those who have done an ant's weight of good or evil (q.v.) will see it on the day of judgment (Q 99:7-8; see LAST JUDGMENT). Other small insects are symbols of the insignificant and trivial. The idols (see IDOLS AND IMAGES) people had formerly worshipped cannot create even a "fly" (*dhubāb,* Q 22:73). God "does not disdain to coin a simile (q.v.) from a gnat" (*baʿūḍa,* Q 2:26).

As for the comparison of men with animals or the metaphorical use of animals in the Qurʾān, it is worth noting that negativity and deprecation predominate. It is chiefly the sinners and infidels who are compared to animals. Those who have disbelieved and those who do not want to believe (Q 8:55) and the metaphorically deaf and dumb who do not understand (Q 8:22) are the worst of beasts *(dawābb)*. In hell, the infidels will drink boiling water the way a camel crazy with thirst *(hīm)* drinks (Q 56:55). Unbelievers are more misguided and heedless than cattle *(anʿām)* and are even further astray than cattle (Q 7:179;

25:44). They even eat as cattle do, oblivious to anything else (Q 47:12). The Jews, who do not understand or adhere to the laws of the Torah (q.v.), are like an ass carrying books (Q 62:5). On the day of judgment, sinners will be like startled asses fleeing from a mighty lion (*qaswara,* Q 74:50-1). Those who choose for themselves benefactors other than God are to be likened to the spider (q.v.) because it chooses for itself the frailest of houses (Q 29:41). An unflattering comparison with animals also occurs in Q 2:171: "A simile of those who disbelieved is like someone calling to goats, something which hears nothing but a calling and a shouting [without comprehension]." In Q 7:176, one of the infidels is compared to a dog that lolls out its tongue "whether you attack him… or leave him alone." If anyone associates anything with God, it is as if he fell down from heaven and the birds snatched him away or the wind swept him to a remote place (Q 22:31). Furthermore, on the day of judgment, men will come forth from the tombs as if "they were locusts scattered abroad" (Q 54:7) and people will be "like moths scattered" (Q 101:4). Those who disbelieve and behave arrogantly will not enter the garden until "a camel passes through the eye of a needle" (Q 7:40).

The zoological elements of the Qurʾān

Very little zoological information is found in the Qurʾān. Zoological realities based on actual observation are not offered in the Qurʾān. The Qurʾān does not describe animals in any depth and only very few passages refer to animal behavior. Remarkably, where we do find zoological accounts is mainly in reference to insects. The spider chooses the frailest of houses (Q 29:41). God commanded the bee, in the sūra named after the insect: "Take as houses the mountains, the trees and the arbors men erect. Then eat all of the fruits" (Q 16:68-9). These verses show awareness of the natural environment spiders and bees inhabit. The mention of the termite *(dābbat al-arḍ)* gnawing Solomon's staff displays knowledge of its eating habits (Q 34:14). Locusts are described as "scattered abroad" (Q 54:7).

The qurʾānic descriptions of animal behavior are very basic and for the most part are confined to commonly-known matters. The Qurʾān also draws upon popular pseudo-zoological lore, e.g. some animals are able to talk. Three animals speak in the presence of Solomon, who understands their language (Q 27:16, 18, 22-6). As was mentioned above, Solomon understood the words of an ant advising the other ants to avoid being stepped on (Q 27:18). Solomon was said to know the speech of birds as well (Q 27:22-6). In fact, it is a hoopoe — an exotic looking bird indigenous to most of the old world — who informs Solomon about the Queen of Sheba, her magnificent trappings and her heathen ways (Q 27:22-6; see also SHEBA; BILQĪS). The bird then bore a letter from Solomon to the Queen. This story was a favorite of the commentators and was considerably elaborated in later literature. The fourth animal able to speak is the beast of the Apocalypse (*dābba min al-arḍ,* "the beast coming out of earth," Q 27:82) which has not yet spoken, but eventually will. There is no information in the Qurʾān about what this beast will look like or what it will do. Nevertheless, later commentators, basing their accounts on the prophetic ḥadīth, are able to provide a fairly detailed description of it. Apart from the beast of the Apocalypse (q.v.) and the aforementioned birds *(abābīl)* which destroyed the army of the People of the Elephant (q.v.), no other mythical and theriomorphic beings are mentioned in the Qurʾān. While the Qurʾān does not personify animals, in a very few instances animals appear as primary actors. The most

notable exceptions are King Solomon's hoopoe (Q 22:28), Cain's raven (Q 5:31) and the flocks of birds which stymied the People of the Elephant (Q 105:3) and Solomon's ant and termite. However, these animals always act to benefit men and none actually possesses any individuality. Consequently, we cannot say that the Qurʾān offers much information about animal behavior.

The Qurʾān, like Arabic zoological literature of later centuries, contains no reflections on animals for their own sake or in connection to purely zoological aims. Animals are only examined in respect to humankind. The description of animals in classical Arabic literature centers on a few important points. Only one of these is treated in the Qurʾān and these are the practical components of the legal regulations. The Qurʾān clearly did not provide a framework for the zoological research of later authors. This fact is indeed striking, since the Qurʾān contrasts with pre-Islamic poetry which is full of descriptions of the appearance and behavior of a great number of wild and domestic animals.

Conclusion

Neither animals nor animal life are a principal theme in the Qurʾān. Though there are six sūras named after identifiable animals, animals are not described in any depth. They stand as signs of God's omnipotence and sometimes play a role in his attempts to warn sinful peoples. The Qurʾān, like later Islamic writing on animals, deals with them in relation to man and not their life in their natural surroundings. Animals were created to serve humankind. Nevertheless, the Qurʾān does not provide much information on how people should treat animals. Observation of animals in their natural surroundings is not a qurʾānic topic. If it had been, it may have led to the development of scientific zoology. There are certain passages in the Qurʾān which would make us expect far-reaching reflections on animals. But even in these passages, many details remain unexamined or not described. Reflections on folk and animal lore are lacking as well. Also, the few animals who are mentioned in more than a few passages in the Qurʾān are neither really informative nor detailed. Furthermore, the presentation of animals sometimes seems inconsistent. For instance, cattle adore the Lord, but when mentioned in analogies their description is negative. Apart from the power of speaking, animals are not personified and they never bear personal names. Animals have no individual existence in the Qurʾān. What is more, the Qurʾān displays a decidedly urban attitude towards animals. This attitude is also prominent in later Arabic prose writings on animals. Within this literature as well, numerous accounts of animals are collected without any real scientific research.

The qurʾānic view of animals created the Islamic tendency toward anthropocentrism. According to this viewpoint, animals are beholden to humankind in principle and must be seen in relation to men. Therefore, the animal's right to exist is based on its coexistence with men. As a consequence, pets were not considered fit companions for humans, and they were not portrayed as such in either the Qurʾān or in later Arabic literature.

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Anointing

The ritual practice of touching objects or persons with scented oils. A practice common to various cultures of the ancient Near East, anointing is typically done on festive occasions and avoided during periods of fasting and mourning, although it is used in burials. It has also been a ritual act of the dedication of an individual to the deity. In the ancient Near East, kingship especially was conferred formally through anointing rather than through a crown or other fabricated symbols. The practice of anointing was then extended to the priesthood in the person of the high priest who adopted many of the roles of the king. It is in that context that the anointing of David (q.v.) in ancient Israel and the image of Jesus (q.v.) as the anointed one — in Greek, the "Christ", and Hebrew, the "Messiah" — were developed. The Christian usage carries a deeper sense than that of the simple act of being anointed. It conveys also the eschatological idea of the promised redeemer.

In Arabic, *duhn* can be used in the sense of anointing oil and that may be the meaning reflected in Q 23:20, "a tree issuing from the Mount of Sinai that bears oil *(duhn)* and flavoring for foods." In the common use of the word *duhn,* however, there appears to be no particular religious significance. It is used in connection with the anointing of one's moustache, face or hair with oil, perhaps specifically sesame oil, or an ointment. *Zayt,* another word for oil, perhaps specifically olive oil, has the sense of an oil for burning, certainly when used in Q 24:35, "whose oil well-nigh would shine, even if no fire touched it."

It is in the word *masīḥ* in reference to Jesus, of course, that the prime interest in this concept arises. The word is used eleven times in the Qurʾān ("the Messiah, Jesus, son of Mary (q.v.)" in Q 3:45; 4:157; 4:171; "the Messiah, Mary's son" in Q 5:17, 72, 75; 9:31; "Messiah" in Q 4:172; 5:17, 72; 9:30) and is a loanword from the Aramaic *meshīḥā* (see FOREIGN VOCABULARY). The sense often attached to that word is "purified" or "filled with blessing," both fairly obvious attempts at isolating an appropriate meaning with little foundation in the language and mainly derived from exegesis (see Q 19:31 in which Jesus says of himself, "He has made me blessed *(mubārak)* wherever I be"). The idea of connecting the word to "touching," a root sense in Arabic, also produced the idea that Jesus' touch could heal; thus it was suggested that Jesus had this power because he had been "touched" himself as had the earlier prophets (see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD). Al-Fīrūzābādī (*Baṣāʾir,* iv, 499-505) has been able to compile a list of forty-nine different meanings for the word *masīḥ,* indicating the extent to which the exegetes went in order to find an explanation for a word which would avoid the Christian connotations. In the use of *al-masīḥ* in reference to Jesus in the Qurʾān, there is little significance given to the sense of "anointing" as it had become connected to the

Redeemer in Christianity, who is known as *al-Masīḥ*. The common statement that *al-Masīḥ* is understood as a proper name or perhaps a title of honor — in the same way that "Christ" frequently is understood in popular Christianity — would appear to be the best conclusion about its occurrence in Q 3:45: "His name *(ism)* shall be the Messiah, Jesus, son of Mary," although the use of the proper article with a non-Arabic proper name is unknown in other instances.

The use of the word *al-masīḥ* in connection with the Antichrist (q.v.; see also APOCALYPSE), the one-eyed *al-Masīḥ al-Dajjāl*, follows the Syriac usage and does not alter the fundamental observation that the ancient idea of "anointed" is very remote from any Muslim use of the term *al-masīḥ*.

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Anṣār

see EMIGRANTS AND HELPERS

Ant

see ANIMAL LIFE

Anthropocentricity

see CREATION

Anthropology

see SOCIAL SCIENCES AND THE QUR'ĀN

Anthropomorphism

Ascribing human attributes to God. *Tashbīh,* the term most commonly rendered in English as "anthropomorphism," does not appear in the Qur'ān with that meaning. The second form of the root *sh-b-h* appears only once, in the passive voice, in reference to Jesus' death: "They did not kill him nor did they crucify him, but it appeared to [Jesus' followers that they had]" (Q 4:157). The sixth form occurs nine times, predominantly denoting "likeness," as in Q 2:70: "To us all cows look alike." The form *tashābaha* also connotes ascribing associates to God (Q 13:16). It also appears in Q 3:7, which distinguishes between the ambiguous verses of the Qur'ān *(mutashābihāt)* and the clear verses (*muḥkamāt,* see AMBIGUOUS).

Another expression of anthropomorphism was found in the ontological claim by some Muslims that God has a physical body *(jism)*. Corporealism *(tajsīm)* was not based on any occurrence of the term with that sense in the Qur'ān but rather on literal understandings of qur'ānic descriptions of God as having a physical body and also on the ground that God exists and only that which has physical extension can exist. Nonetheless, references in the Qur'ān gave rise to the image of God having a human form. Often cited were such passages as the Throne Verse (Q 2:255; cf. 20:5; see THRONE OF GOD) which suggests that God is seated on a throne in heaven and the passages that suggest God has hands (e.g. Q 3:73; 5:64; 48:10) and eyes (e.g. Q 20:39; 52:48; 54:14). Quite early on, those who accepted literal meanings of passages in the Qur'ān that likened God to humans were labeled by their opponents as anthropomorphists *(mushabbihūn)*.

The background of Islamic anthropomorphism

The topic of likening God or gods to humans was already well-known in the Middle East prior to the rise of Islam, both in Christianity and in Judaism. It had been discussed much earlier by the Greeks. The poet Xenophanes (fl. ca. 570-470 B.C.E.), in

his criticism of the anthropomorphism of Homer and Hesiod (fl. ca. 700 B.C.E.), claimed that God could in no way be like human beings. This led, as H. Wolfson has argued (*Philo,* i, 125), to a struggle between the popular conception of Olympic deities in human form on the one side and the abstract philosophical conceptions on the other. The latter came to be expressed through allegorical interpretations of the human representations of the gods, a solution not unlike the one argued by Muʿtazilite theologians in Islamic discussions of the question. In certain passages the Hebrew Bible portrays God in human terms, with hands (e.g. *Isa* 41:13) and feet (*Zech* 14:4) and so on; but Hebrew scripture in other passages distances God from human likeness (*Isa* 40:25, 46:5; *Ps* 89:7). As with the Greeks, opposition to anthropomorphic understandings of God in the Hebrew Bible was strongest among philosophers like Philo (d. ca. 50) and later Talmudic scholars. Among the Church Fathers, it was the less educated monks who asserted the anthropomorphic conceptions of God. Clement of Alexandria (d. ca. 215) and Origen (d. ca. 254), under the influence of Philo and perhaps the Greek philosophers, rejected anthropomorphism on theological grounds.

The formation of the discourse on anthropomorphism and corporealism in the first three centuries of Islam in many ways resembles the earlier discussions among the Christians, Jews and pagan Greeks. It was Plotinus (d. ca. 270) who said in the *Enneads,* "The One is, in truth, beyond all statement; whatever you say would limit it…" (5, iii, 1215). In the early second/eighth century, the church father John of Damascus (d. 749), under the employ of the Umayyad chancery, included in his *De fide orthodoxa* a chapter on the human need to conceive of God metaphorically in human terms (A.J. Wensinck, *Muslim creed,* 68). Although some Neoplatonic and Christian influence on Muslim thinking in this regard is possible, the earliest statements of the problem in Islam are clearly linked to disputes about how to interpret passages in the Qurʾān that ascribe, or seem to ascribe, human attributes to God. Moreover, since the great majority of Muslim speculative theologians *(mutakallimūn)* denied anthropomorphism, the textual record of this dispute is accordingly biased against those who held that God may be described literally in human terms. The critique of anthropomorphism among those who denied the anthropomorphic doctrine of God was expressed by the term *taʿṭīl* (divesting God of all human attributes). In point of fact, most of the speculative theologians and their opponents who disputed this doctrine found ways to hedge extreme positions of totally affirming or totally denying the human attributes of God. *Tashbīh* and *taʿṭīl* became terms of opprobrium used ascriptively, rather than descriptively, as accusations against theological opponents.

Anthropomorphism in early and medieval Islam. The context of the earliest expressions of anthropomorphic views of God is difficult to establish with precision. Although it is possible to speak in general terms of the way theological movements, such as Ashʿarī or Muʿtazilīs (q.v.) or the Ḥanbalī scholars of ḥadīth *(muḥaddithūn),* approached the problem of anthropomorphism, it is more accurate to analyze how individual theologians stated the problem and often that must be based on textual evidence as scant as one or more brief quotations preserved in later sources.

Muslim heresiographical sources locate the first arguments in favor of the position that God lacks human attributes, that is, denying anthropomorphic views of God, in the tumultuous final decade of the civil war during the second quarter of the

second/eighth century that brought the Umayyad Arab kingdom down and ushered in the ʿAbbāsid age. Two rather shadowy figures among the earliest theologians were said to have advanced arguments against anthropomorphism: Jaʿd b. Dirham, who was put to death for his heterodox religious views around the year 126/744, and Jahm b. Ṣafwān, who also was executed in 128/745 for his religious teachings. The theological views of Jahm are better attested by later heresiographers. According to the heresiographer al-Shahrastānī (d. 548/1153), Jahm said it is not possible to describe the Creator by an attribute by which his creatures are described because this would entail likening God to his creatures (*Milal,* i, 86). Abū l-Ḥasan al-Ashʿarī (d. 324/936) quotes Jahm and some of the Zaydī Shīʿīs as saying that God cannot be described as a thing *(shayʾ)* because a created thing has a likeness to other created things (*Maqālāt,* 181). Al-Ashʿarī quotes an argument from Jahm that identifies him also as an anti-corporealist: God cannot be a thing because a thing, according to Jahm, is an existent body and God cannot be so described (*Maqālāt,* 494). Modern scholars have suspected that Jahm was influenced by the Neoplatonic doctrine of the unique Transcendent One (R.M. Frank, Neoplatonism, 399-402; B. Abrahamov, *Anthropomorphism,* 12). One can infer from the later association of the attack against anthropomorphism with such heterodox figures as Jaʿd and Jahm that in the emerging orthodoxy of the late Umayyad period anthropomorphic conceptions of God must have been well established. Denying that God had human attributes entailed more than mere theological conflict. R. Strothmann has pointed out that third/ninth-century Muʿtazilīs in Baghdad accused the pro-ʿUthmān party, known as the "rising generation" *(nābita)* among the speculative theologians, of professing anthropomorphic views of God. Political conflict played a role that one can identify in these early theological conflicts but not always describe in much depth or detail.

Those often accused of anthropomorphism, the collectors and teachers of the prophetic ḥadīth, were known as the "adherents of ḥadīth" *(aṣḥāb al-ḥadīth, ahl al-ḥadīth).* The extreme literalists were often referred to contemptuously by Muʿtazilī and Ashʿarī theologians as *ḥashwiyya* (derived from *ḥashwa,* forcemeat) because they accepted anthropomorphic descriptions of God in the Qurʾān "without [asking] how" *(bi-lā kayf).* The defense of their views regarding anthropomorphism is often traced to Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal (d. 241/855) whose statements on anthropomorphism were described in the next generation by al-Ashʿarī (d. 324/935) in his *Maqālāt* (pp. 290-7). There al-Ashʿarī reports that the "adherents of the ḥadīth and sunna (q.v.)" — referring in this context to the followers of Ibn Ḥanbal — confess "without [asking] how, that God is on his throne, just as He said [in the Qurʾān] — 'The Beneficent One, who is seated on his throne' [Q 20:5] — and that he has two hands" (*Maqālāt,* 290). Although Ibn Ḥanbal and the adherents of ḥadīth generally rejected the Muʿtazilī doctrine of purifying God of all human attributes, he is also counted among those who rejected the doctrine of anthropomorphism. Indeed, the Ḥanbalī method of dealing with troublesome theological claims by not attempting to explain them rationally often led to the stance of affirming neither of two conflicting views. Al-Shahrastānī tells us that Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal and other adherents of ḥadīth took a more moderate position, affirming their belief in everything revealed in the Qurʾān and authentic ḥadīth while at the same time asserting that God is not like any of his creatures (*Milal,* i, 104). Some of the

early Imāmī (Twelver) Shīʿīs — referred to by Muʿtazilīs, Ashʿarīs and others as "turncoats" *(rāfiḍa)* — on the other side, asserted both corporealism, i.e. God has a physical body, and anthropomorphism, i.e. God's body is like a human body. The later Imāmī Shīʿīs who studied theology *(kalām)* with Muʿtazilī teachers did not affirm anthropomorphism (al-Ashʿarī, *Maqālāt,* 34-5). Another early Muslim sect accused of anthropomorphism and corporealism was the Karrāmiyya, a group that began in Khurāsān in the first half of the third/ninth century and continued to attract followers until the Mongol devastation of the seventh/thirteenth century.

Beyond the ascription of anthropomorphism to these sects, certain individuals among the early theologians were also accused of holding and defending such views. Opposing such views were the majority of the theologians of the Muʿtazilī, Ashʿarī and Māturīdī schools. Also, the second/eighth-century Qurʾān exegete, Muqātil b. Sulaymān, was accused by later Muslims of holding anthropomorphic views of God, but the recent publication of his qurʾānic commentary *(tafsīr)* indicates that he understood some of the seemingly anthropomorphic passages in the Qurʾān figuratively (B. Abrahamov, *Anthropomorphism,* 4-6).

The problems of anthropomorphism and corporealism lay at the heart of the disputes about God in Islamic theology. For some, such as the more extreme Imāmī Shīʿīs, anthropomorphic and corporealistic notions of God were necessary ontologically; for they believed that God could not be said to exist unless he had physical extension in space and time. Yet, as the Muʿtazilites and other theologians argued, a God limited by a body could not be omnipresent. For the extremists among the Sunnī adherents of ḥadīth, asserting anthropomorphic views of God seems to have been more a matter of fideism based on scriptural literalism *(tamthīl).* Such crude literalism could be attacked by reference to the Qurʾān itself. Q 42:11, for example, says of God: "nothing is like him" *(laysa ka-mithlihi shayʾun)*. For the theologians who attacked anthropomorphism, the discourse became more abstract and specialized over the problem of divine attributes. The Muʿtazilī and Ashʿarī theologians generally disagreed with each other as to why anthropomorphism was a matter of theological error. Inasmuch as they denied that it was possible for God to possess human or any attributes, the majority of the Muʿtazilīs adopted a doctrine of God *via negativa*. Al-Ashʿarī described the Muʿtazilī view in the third/ninth century as God "is not comparable with humans and does not resemble creatures in any respect" (*Maqālāt,* 155). The Muʿtazilīs also advanced the concept of *tanzīh,* the declaration that God is free of any impurities such as the ascription of human attributes to him. Al-Ashʿarī himself, following scholars of ḥadīth *(muḥaddithūn)* like Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, argued that what the Qurʾān states about God — such as passages referring to God's eyes, feet, hands, face and seated body — should be accepted as true "without [asking] how," thus neither affirming the anthropomorphic or non-anthropomorphic interpretations (B. Abrahamov, *Anthropomorphism,* 6).

Anthropomorphic passages in the Qurʾān basically posed a problem in hermeneutics, for the question that remained for all but the most crude literalists *(mumaththilūn)* was how these qurʾānic passages could be interpreted without violating the divine nature. The Muʿtazilīs took the position that God's word, i.e. the Qurʾān, must be rational and therefore the rational, i.e. true, meaning of the anthropomorphic and ambiguous *(mutashābihāt)* passages must be determined allegorically or figuratively. This is the her-

meneutical principle behind allegorical interpretation *(taʾwīl)*. Eventually Ashʿarī and Shīʿī exegetes came to prefer allegorical over literal methods of interpreting the Qurʾān (S. Wasserstrom, *Between Muslim and Jew,* 136-53). Like Ibn Ḥanbal, al-Ashʿarī also claimed that the anthropomorphic passages in the Qurʾān must be accepted "without asking how." Yet, in the *Book of the sparkle* (*Kītāb al-Lumaʿ,* 9) he offers a rationale for rejecting the claim that God is like his creatures: If he were like them in any or all respects, he would be, like creatures, temporally produced in those respects and it is impossible to say this about the eternal, uncreated God (*Lumaʿ,* 9).

In contemporary Islamic theology, the position usually found is the Ashʿarite melding of literalist and rationalist treatments of the anthropomorphic passages in the Qurʾān. Among many modernist thinkers, the more stringent Muʿtazilī denial of anthropomorphism is even argued, though it is seldom identified as such. See also GOD AND HIS ATTRIBUTES; EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL.

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Antichrist

In the Islamic tradition, an evil figure who will lead people astray (q.v.) in the last days and whose advent will be one of the signs of the approaching "hour." The Antichrist *(al-Dajjāl, al-Masīḥ al-Dajjāl)* is not mentioned in the Qurʾān, but he figures in numerous ḥadīth that are cited by the classical commentators. Although many Jews expected an eschatological conflict between God's agents and the forces of evil (see ESCHATOLOGY), the belief that those forces would be concentrated in a specific individual called the Antichrist seems first to have arisen in Christian circles shortly before the destruction of the temple in 70 C.E. During that period, there were rumors that the Roman emperor Nero (r. 54-68 C.E.) who had committed suicide in 68 C.E. was not dead but had escaped to the East and was about to return to recapture the Roman empire. As Nero was a notoriously cruel man who had instigated the persecution of Christians, it is possible that this rumor gave rise to the specifically Christian belief in the Antichrist (cf. *Ascension of Isaiah* 4:2; *Sibylline oracles* 4:121; *Rv* 13:3; 17:8).

Etymology

It is likely that the Muslims learned about the Antichrist from Syriac-speaking Christians as the Arabic *dajjāl* almost certainly comes from the Syriac *daggāl* which means "a liar" or "lying" (see FOREIGN VOCABULARY). Hence, *al-dajjāl* literally means "the liar" and *al-masīḥ al-dajjāl* "the lying Messiah." However, medieval lexicographers attempted to derive *dajjāl* from an Arabic root (Lane, iii, 853). One fanciful suggestion is that it comes from the verb *dajala,* "to cover [a mangy camel] with tar,"

because the *dajjāl* will in like manner cover the earth with his adherents. The claim that it comes from a homonym of the same verb meaning "to have one eye and one eyebrow" is equally implausible, for when *dajala* is used in this sense it is clearly denominal and means "to resemble the Antichrist." A third suggestion is that *dajjāl* is derived from *dajala* meaning "to gild," because the Antichrist will deceive humankind by covering up the truth, which has the merit of giving a sense not far removed from that of the original Syriac term.

Jewish background

The English word "Antichrist" comes from the Greek *antichristos,* which is composed of two elements: the preposition *anti,* "in place of," and the noun *christos,* "Messiah" or "anointed one." However, as in other compound words of this sort, the prepositional element implies that the substitute is a counterfeit and that his relationship with the real person is antagonistic. Thus the Antichrist is not simply a substitute Messiah, he is a false Messiah, the opponent of the genuine one.

Although the Jews looked for the coming of a Messiah, there is no specific mention of an Antimessiah in the Hebrew Bible or intertestamental Jewish writings. Nevertheless, there are several Old Testament types which set a precedent for a belief in this figure: 1) Sea monster. Together with the ancient Babylonians and Canaanites, the Jews believed that before creating the world God had vanquished a sea monster (e.g. *Isa* 51:9; *Ps* 74:13f.). According to some authors, the monster still lies dormant (*Amos* 9:3; *Job* 7:12) and will eventually be slain in an eschatological struggle (*Isa* 27:1). 2) Angelic adversary. Probably through contact with the Persians, the Jews came to believe in Satan (*Shayṭān,* lit. the Adversary), a member of the heavenly court whose role is to accuse human beings (*Jb* 1:6; *Zech* 3:1). As the devil (q.v.), Satan was subsequently identified with the serpent who brought death into the world (*Wisd of Solomon* 2:24; cf. *Gen* 3:1-15) and Belial, who gains power over all human beings (*Jub* 1:20). According to some authors, Belial will be the eschatological enemy who will perform signs and wonders and deceive many before he is finally destroyed (*Sibylline oracles* 3:63-74). 3) Evil human ruler. From the sixth century B.C.E. onwards, when Jerusalem was conquered by Nebuchadnezzar of Babylon (r. ca. 605-561 B.C.E.), the Jews were increasingly oppressed by foreign rulers. Matters came to a head in 168 B.C.E., when the Hellenistic king of Syria, Antiochus IV (r. 175-164 B.C.E.), erected a statue of the Greek god Zeus in the Jewish temple in Jerusalem (1 *Macc* 1:54). The Book of Daniel refers to this as "the abomination of desolation" (*Dan* 8:13) and fictionally projects the incident into the future so that it marks the last of the seventy weeks of years before the restoration of God's people (*Dan* 9:1-2, 20-7). 4) False prophet. The Book of Deuteronomy contrasts "the prophet like Moses (q.v.)" who must be obeyed (*Deut* 18:15-9) with the "false prophet" who will lead people astray by performing signs and wonders (*Deut* 13:2-6; 18:20). Originally, both descriptions were generic. By the time of the New Testament, however, some groups, including the Qumran sectaries, expected the advent of a specific prophet-like-Moses (1*QS* 9:11). A corollary to this was the belief that one or more false prophets would be active in the last times.

Christian background

The New Testament writers assume that Jesus (q.v.) is the Messiah and often refer to him as Christ Jesus or Jesus the Christ. However, they differ over the nature of the eschatological conflict in which he and the

Christians will be involved. Features of all of the four types from the Old Testament are combined in the Johannine apocalypse, which purports to be a revelation of those things which must soon take place (*Rev* 1:1). It includes a vision of a sea monster (*Rev* 13:1-10) which is clearly an allegorical description of the Roman empire and the emperors who persecuted Christians. There is also a reference to Satan who will lead the whole world astray and who is identified with the devil and the serpent of old (*Rev* 12:9). Finally, there are three references to the "false prophet" (*Rev* 16:13; 19:20; 20:10).

Mark's gospel, which portrays the eschatological conflict as having already begun during Jesus' ministry, depicts Jesus' adult life as coinciding with the fulfillment of time and the approach of God's kingdom (*Mark* 1:15). Because of this, it portrays the eschatological conflict as having already begun during his ministry. Thus, the Markan Jesus quells a storm on the Sea of Galilee, addressing it as if it were a sea monster (*Mark* 4:39), and presents his healings and exorcisms as the binding of Satan (*Mark* 3:23-7). Nevertheless, Mark holds that there will be other developments in the future. When the disciples see "the abomination of desolation standing where he ought not to be," they will know that the days of tribulation have arrived (*Mark* 13:14-20). The disciples are warned that in those days there will be "false Christs" *(pseudochristoi)* and "false prophets" who will perform signs and wonders and seek to lead people astray (*Mark* 13:21f.) before Jesus finally returns on the clouds as the Son of Man (*Mark* 13:26).

Although Mark does not use the term Antichrist, he probably has the Antichrist in mind when he employs the Danielic expression "the abomination of desolation." In this context, the term can be understood as a reference to a human embodiment of evil who will make his stand in the Jerusalem temple as the eschatological adversary of God. In a similar vein, the author of 2 *Thess* insists that Jesus will not return until "the man of lawlessness is revealed, the son of perdition who opposes and exalts himself against every so-called god or object of worship, so that he takes his seat in God's temple proclaiming himself to be God" (2 *Thess* 2:3f.). He further states that Jesus will slay him by the breath of his mouth (2 *Thess* 2:8). Some scholars still defend the Pauline authorship of this letter, but it is probably a pseudonymous work written like Mark in the turbulent period immediately before the destruction of the temple in 70 C.E. At that time, as mentioned above, there were rumors that Nero was about to return and this may have catalyzed the Christian formulation of the figure of the Antichrist.

The only New Testament writer to employ the actual word *antichristos* is the author of the first and second letters of John, which were probably written some thirty years after the destruction of the Temple:

> Children it is the last hour. You heard that the Antichrist is to come. Well now many Antichrists have come.… (1 *John* 2:18)
>
> Who then is the liar? None other than the person who denies that Jesus is the Christ. Such is the Antichrist.… (1 *John* 2:22).
>
> Every spirit which does not profess Jesus is not from God. It is rather of the Antichrist (1 *John* 4:3).
>
> For many deceivers have gone out into the world, those who do not confess that Christ has come in the flesh. This is the Deceiver and the Antichrist. (2 *John* 7).

These passages are striking in the extent to which they demythologize the notion of the Antichrist. The recipients of the letters had been led to await his coming as that of a distinct eschatological figure, but the author urges them instead to recognize him

in the false teachers who have broken with the community and who fail to acknowledge the full humanity of Jesus.

With some justification, the Fathers of the Church assumed that the Markan "abomination of desolation" and the Pauline "man of lawlessness" were alternative names for the Antichrist. Hence, they inferred that the Antichrist would come to the temple; that he would rule for three and a half years (Irenaeus, *Against the heresies,* 5:1-3; cf. *Dan* 7:25); and that Jesus, upon his own return, would dispatch him (e.g. Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catechetical lectures,* 15:12). Ephraem Syrus (ca. 306-373 C.E.) added the interesting detail that the Antichrist will come from Khurāsān *(Sermo II de fine extremo)*. Some of these features recur in the Islamic tradition. Moreover, in the *Peshitta* — the standard Syriac translation of the New Testament — the Greek words for "the liar" and "the Antichrist" (in 1 *Jn* 2:22) are rendered as *daggālā* and *mashīḥā daggālā* respectively, furnishing a precedent for the two ways of rendering "the Antichrist" in Arabic.

The Antichrist in Islamic tradition and qurʾānic exegesis

The Sunnī collections of ḥadīth contain numerous traditions about the Antichrist. When these are pieced together, the following picture is obtained. He was born to parents who waited thirty years to have a son. He is a thick-set man with a ruddy face and a mass of very curly hair. He is blind in his right eye, which swims in its orbit like a swollen grape. He also has the word "unbeliever" *(kāfir)* written on his forehead. He is currently chained up on an island in the East, where a Companion of the Prophet (see COMPANIONS OF THE PROPHET) called "Tamīm al-Dārī" claimed to have seen him. The Prophet himself dreamed that he saw him circling the Kaʿba (q.v.) and he was shown him again on the night of his ascension (q.v.). The Antichrist will be released after a six- or seven-year war between the Arabs and the Byzantines (q.v.) which will culminate in the capture of Constantinople. His coming will be one of the ten signs (q.v.) which will precede the last hour. The signs usually listed are smoke; the Antichrist; the beast; the rising of the sun from the West; the descent of Jesus; Gog and Magog (q.v.); a landslide in the East; a landslide in the West; a landslide in Arabia; and fire burning forth from the Yemen. However, some reports substitute a violent gale for the descent of Jesus and others make his descent the tenth and final sign. The Antichrist will come from the East via Khurāsān. He will ride a white donkey and will be followed by seventy thousand hooded Jews from Isfahan. He will not be able to enter Mecca or Medina. He will set out to attack the latter but, when he reaches the mountain of Uḥud (q.v.) outside of Medina, the angels will turn his face towards Syria. He will have two canals with him, one flowing with water and the other with fire. The people will believe in him because he will work miracles and will bring an abundant supply of water, bread and mutton. He will be at large for forty days or forty years. Jesus will descend in Damascus and will catch up with him at the port of Lydda in Palestine, where he will kill him with a lance. In addition, there are ḥadīth that the Prophet said that the person who most resembled the Antichrist was a pagan Arab called ʿAbd al-ʿUzza b. Qaṭan. It is also reported that he suspected a Medinese Jew named Ibn Ṣayyād (or Ibn Ṣāʿid) of being the Antichrist. Muḥammad is said to have loved the tribe of Banū Tamīm because they would put up the staunchest resistance to the Antichrist. He also prayed for refuge from the trial of the Antichrist and urged his Companions to do the same; and he promised that reciting the first (or last) ten

verses of sūra 18 would offer protection against the Antichrist. Many of these details are also reported in Shīʿī ḥadīth but the Shīʿī belief is that the Antichrist will be dispatched by the Mahdī and not by Jesus (see SHĪʿISM AND THE QURʾĀN).

The folkloric character of much of this material suggests that it may have originated with Muslim story-tellers long after the rise of Islam. However, there is little doubt that the Prophet and his Companions were concerned about the Antichrist. Proof that this must have been an interest of theirs may be gleaned particularly from the authentic ring of the extensive traditions about Ibn Ṣayyād, a Jew who apparently indulged in *merkavah* mysticism. Moreover, the difficulty of reconciling these traditions with some of the other reports tells against their having been invented.

The classical commentators make reference to the Antichrist principally in the following contexts: 1) Traditional accounts of the Prophet's description of the Antichrist are mentioned in their commentaries on the allusion to Muḥammad's night journey in Q 17:1. 2) Traditions that indicate that Jesus is alive and will return to kill the Antichrist are cited as evidence that the phrase "before his death" in Q 4:159 means before Jesus' death. 3) They use the same traditions in connection with Q 3:55 as evidence that this verse refers to Jesus' rapture rather than his death. 4) Traditions which list all the signs that will precede the final hour are contained in their comments on the references to Gog and Magog in Q 18:94 and Q 21:96, to the beast in Q 27:82, and to smoke in Q 44:10. 5) They cite the same traditions in connection with the references to the hour in Q 7:187 and Q 79:42. 6) They cite these same traditions of the signs preceding the final hour together with those which relate that Jesus will kill the Antichrist as evidence that Q 43:61 alludes to Jesus' final descent. 7) In their introduction to sūra 18, they cite traditions, as mentioned above, about the merits of reciting its first (or last) ten verses. See also APOCALYPSE; RESURRECTION.

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Apocalypse

Revelation of things to come, especially at the end of times, and a religiously-motivated form of eschatology (q.v.) with an emphasis upon the cosmic events which will occur at the end of the world. Since most of the apocalyptic events mentioned in the Qurʾān are connected with the resurrection (q.v.) of the dead, they are called by Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 606/1210) "the portents of the day of resurrection" (*muqaddimāt yawm al-qiyāma, Tafsīr,* ad Q 39:68).

In the Qurʾān

As a prophetic, revealed message, the Qurʾān is to a large extent apocalyptic yet there are parts of it that carry this theme

in a more intense manner. For example, Q 81 The Overthrowing (Sūrat al-Takwīr), Q 82 The Cleaving (Sūrat al-Infiṭār) and Q 99 The Earthquake (Sūrat al-Zilzāl) are accurately termed "apocalyptic sūras," inasmuch as they are entirely devoted to the portrayal of the upset in the natural order of things that will occur at the end of times. A good example of this is Q 81:1-14, which is considered one of the earliest passages with an apocalyptic theme to have been revealed: "When the sun will be darkened, when the stars will be thrown down, when the mountains will be set moving, when the ten-month pregnant camels will be neglected… then will a soul know what it has produced." Nevertheless, other parts of the Qurʾān are not necessarily less apocalyptic. In the earlier sūras in particular, the theme of the end of the world and its accompanying terrifying phenomena is often repeated. Although Muslim and non-Muslim qurʾānic scholarship — notwithstanding their interdependency — do not always agree on the order of the revelation of these segments of the qurʾānic text, there is a general consensus that the following apocalyptic passages: Q 56:1-56; 75:7-15; 80:33-42; 81:1-14; 82; 83; 84; 89:21-30; 99; 101 are to be dated to the earlier period of revelation (see CHRONOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN). Western scholarship, when using the classification of T. Nöldeke and R. Blachère, considers the most picturesque apocalyptic parts to be from the latter part of the first Meccan period and from the second Meccan period. In R. Bell's schema, they are attributed to the "early Qurʾān period."

Images of the end of the world in these early sūras are often quite vivid and contain colorful descriptions of cosmic events. However, given the variety of images depicted in the various sūras, one cannot form an exact picture of the events which will occur at the end of times. As R. Paret states, on the last day "the earth begins to move violently. It staggers, quakes and is crushed and flattened. It brings forth what is inside of it and empties itself. Like a mirage the mountains assume variable forms. They collapse, are like teased wool and disintegrate into sand and dust. Heaven will be like molten metal and be rent asunder, split open and full of gaping holes. The sun will be coiled up. The moon will darken. The sun and moon will be brought together. The stars will go out and tumble down (or become dull), etc. It would be pointless to try to patch together a coherent and comprehensive account of the events on the last day from the different statements. The individual sūras must be taken separately, just as they originally were recited. Indeed, the images of the events on the last day are not intended to, as it were, depict objective reality or to foretell the future exactly in all its details. They have been designed and formulated with the intention to shock the audience, to foreshadow the terror that, at some time in the future, on the last day, will seize all of creation" (*Mohammed,* 64-5). In addition to these cosmic events, there are other signs which will signal the end, e.g. the breaking loose of Gog and Magog (q.v.; Q 18:94, 21:96). God will bring forth from the earth a beast that will speak (Q 27:82) and the trumpet or horn (*ṣūr,* e.g. Q 27:87; 36:51; 39:68; 69:13; 78:18; *nāqūr,* Q 74:8) will be blown to summon every creature.

Interestingly, the early apocalyptic passages do not explicitly mention the end of the world, refer directly to the resurrection of the dead or give much detail about the day of judgment (see LAST JUDGMENT). Much is implicit, although the final result is clear: the unbelievers (or ungrateful, *kuffār*) and the evildoers *(alladhīna ajramū)* will receive their punishment in hell *(al-*

jahīm or *al-jahannam)* and the reward of the believers *(alladhīna āmanū)* who do righteous deeds *(ʿamilū al-ṣāliḥāt)* will be paradise (*al-janna,* see HELL; PARADISE; GARDEN; BELIEF AND UNBELIEF; REWARD AND PUNISHMENT). The fact that much is implicit in these early apocalyptic passages suggests that in the Mecca of the early qurʾānic revelations at least part of Muḥammad's audience must have been familiar with some of this apocalyptic imagery. Scholars have noted that it calls to mind many parallels with Jewish and Christian, canonical and apocryphal apocalyptic literature, although Arabian features, such as the neglect of ten-month pregnant camels (Q 81:4) are unique to the Qurʾān.

Some of the expressions used to indicate apocalyptic phenomena occur only once in the Qurʾān, e.g. "when the earth shall be rocked and the mountains crumbled" (*idhā rujjati l-arḍu rajjan wa-bussati l-jibālu bassan,* Q 56:4-5). One conspicuous characteristic of the descriptions of the apocalyptic events is that there is no mention of who or what brings them about (ʿĀ. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, *Tafsīr,* i, 80). Often the meaning of the apocalyptic terms is not straightforward, as in the case of "the great catastrophe" (*al-ṭāmma al-kubrā,* Q 79:34) and "the blast" (*al-ṣākhkha,* Q 80:33) and traditional exegesis does not offer much more than to say that they are names for the day of resurrection (e.g. Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*). The same is said about "the calamity" (*al-qāriʿa,* Q 101:1-3) but this term is also used to denote the catastrophe that overtakes unbelieving communities in the punishment stories (q.v.; Q 13:31; 69:4). Likewise, the root *r-j-f* — basically "to tremble" — is used both in apocalyptic passages and in punishment stories (q.v.; Q 7:78, 91, 155; 29:37; 73:14; 79:6). The apocalyptic passages in combination with the announcement of the final judgment belong to the earliest themes of the qurʾānic message. As in Christianity and Judaism, the theme of punishment has raised the question of compatibility with the idea of a good creator God (see Watt-Bell, *Introduction,* 158-62; R. Paret, *Mohammed und der Koran,* 62-71).

Just as the identity of the author and the precise nature of the events of the last day are ambiguous, so too is the time when it will occur. Not even the Prophet himself was able to tell when the apocalyptic end of the world and the subsequent resurrection and judgment will come (Q 79:43), but that they are sure to happen and nearly at hand is stated more than once (e.g. Q 51:5-6; 52:7; 53:57; 78:40). According to Q 47:18, its tokens or portents *(ashrāṭ)* have already come, but the hour itself will arrive suddenly.

In exegesis and ḥadīth

The fact that the Qurʾān mentions that even the Prophet cannot foretell the coming of the hour is probably one of the reasons why the exegetical works generally do not elaborate on the apocalyptic phenomena or try to determine when the end of the world will come. Referring to Q 3:7 and Q 7:187, al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923), for instance, mentions in his introduction that God has reserved the knowledge and the interpretation of the future apocalyptic events for himself (*Tafsīr,* i, 74).

Nevertheless, one can find some additional and traditionally accepted details in the exegetical works. For instance, it is commonly stated that an angel (q.v.), Israfel (Isrāfīl) or Gabriel (Jibrīl; see GABRIEL), will blow the trumpet and that he is also the "caller" *(al-munādī)* of Q 50:41. The commentaries elaborate upon the two blasts of the trumpet of Q 39:68. At the first blast everybody will die except for a few chosen by God (the archangels and/or

the martyrs, cf. Q 3:169) and the resurrection of the dead will occur forty years later at the second blast (Muqātil, *Tafsīr;* Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr;* Qurṭubī, *Jāmiʿ;* Bayḍāwī, *Anwār* ad loc.). In an apparent attempt to harmonize Q 39:68 and Q 27:87 (cf. Rāzī, *Tafsīr*, ad Q 39:68), Abū l-Layth al-Samarqandī (d. ca. 375/985), in his commentary mentions a variant given on the authority of the Prophet: The first blast of the trumpet or horn — which has a circumference as great as the distance between heaven and earth — frightens all of creation. At the second blast, the inhabitants of heaven and earth die. At the time of the third blast, all the souls or spirits *(arwāḥ)* are gathered in the horn and then blown into their respective bodies for the resurrection (*Tafsīr,* ad Q 39:68). The famous commentator al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923) mentions the tradition of the Companion Abū Hurayra about the three blasts (*Tafsīr,* ad Q 27:87 and 39:68), without any further comments and al-Qurṭubī (d. 671/1272), after having mentioned the three, explicitly states that there will only be two blasts (*Jāmiʿ,* ad Q 27:87). Ibn Kathīr (d. 774/1373) in his commentary on Q 27:87 and 39:68 also mentions three blasts (*Tafsīr,* ad loc.). Another accepted detail of the end of times is that Jesus (q.v.) will defeat the Antichrist (*al-dajjāl,* see ANTICHRIST). Ibn Kathīr, in keeping with his penchant for providing very detailed information on the events at the end of times, says (quoting, among other sources, the ḥadīth contained in the *Saḥīḥ* [*Fitan,* 117] of Muslim, d. 261/875) that the period of peace after this defeat will extend seven years. Usually in connection with the "near place" *(makān qarīb)* of Q 50:41, "the rock of Jerusalem" *(ṣakhr bayt al-maqdis)* is identified as the place where the trumpet shall sound. Often this is rationalized on the grounds that it is the place on earth nearest to heaven (e.g. Muqātil, *Tafsīr;* Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr;* Abū l-Layth al-Samarqandī, *Tafsīr;* Māwardī, *Nukat;* Zamakhsharī, *Kashshāf;* Qurṭubī, *Jāmiʿ;* Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr;* al-Maḥallī and al-Suyūṭī, *Jalālayn* ad loc.). Muqātil (d. 150/767) suggests that the end of times will not witness the end of the earth, but rather the world "will become empty with nothing in it. It will be laid out new and white, as if it were silver or as if it were unwrought. It will have rays like the rays of the sun. There will be no sin committed on it and no blood shed" (*Tafsīr,* ad Q 99:2).

The ḥadīth literature — such as the chapter of Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ* entitled *Kitāb al-Fitan wa-ashrāṭ al-sāʿa,* which contains 143 ḥadīth on the subject — gives much more detailed and precise accounts of the apocalyptic events than is found in the Qurʾān and the commentaries (see ḤADĪTH AND THE QURʾĀN). In Western qurʾānic scholarship the study of the apocalypse in the Qurʾān and its commentaries is somewhat underdeveloped, especially when compared with the recent upsurge of attention given to Jewish and Christian apocalyptic literature.

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Apocalyptic Sūras see SŪRA

Apologetics

A systematic argumentative discourse in defense of a religion or doctrine. In the history of encounters between Muslims of differing opinions and between Muslims and members of other faiths, the Qurʾān has usually been central as a guide and source in debates and has often been a significant topic in these discussions.

Within the Qurʾān itself there are arguments defending both its proclamations and its own status. Its fundamental emphasis that God is one and distinct from all other beings is most emphatically asserted in Q 112, which is generally thought to have been delivered in the context of debates with polytheists, Jews or Christians (e.g. Rāzī, *Tafsīr,* ad loc.). The Qurʾān argues generally against anyone who thinks of God as a creature (Q 2:255; 43:81, etc.); against those, including the Jews and Christians, who implicate him in human-like relationships (Q 5:116; 6:100-1; 9:30; see ANTHROPOMORPHISM) or suggest he is Trinitarian (see TRINITY; cf. Q 4:171; 5:73); and against the notion that anyone else is capable of creating anything without his aid (Q 6:1). Likewise, Muḥammad's activity as God's messenger is distinguished from the actions of soothsayers and people possessed by the jinn (q.v.; Q 52:29-31; 68:2), authenticated (Q 53:10-1) and supported by God against opponents (Q 108:3; see OPPOSITION TO MUḤAMMAD) and defined as a continuation of the work of previous messengers (Q 4:163; 33:40; 37:37; 61:6; see MESSENGER; PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD). With equal emphasis, the divine origin of the Qurʾān is defended against its detractors (Q 46:7-8) by reference to its inimitability (q.v.; Q 2:23-4; 10:38; 11:13-4; 17:88).

On the whole, the Qurʾān counsels against involvement in pointless disputes about matters of faith (Q 4:140; 6:68-70). The appropriate course of action is to point out true belief politely and tactfully (Q 16:125; 29:46). It does, however, explicitly sanction confronting those who deny the plainly revealed truth, as is indicated by the injunction given in Q 3:61 that the opposing parties should meet and ritually invoke a curse (q.v.) on the liars among them. This verse is connected with the mutual cursing *(mubāhala)* that was arranged to decide the outcome of the meeting between Muḥammad and the Christians, who are said to have come from Najrān (q.v.) in 10/631 to put questions to him (Ibn Isḥāq-Guillaume, 277). It is the first intimation of the long history of debate between Muslims and Christians in which the Qurʾān was nearly always crucial.

Among some Muslims the status of the Qurʾān was a matter of dispute from an early date. In the second/eighth century, Muʿtazilī (see MUʿTAZILĪS) theologians *(mutakallimūn,* sing. *mutakallim)* rejected the Qurʾān's uncreatedness as part of their perception of the strict unity and uniqueness of God (see CREATEDNESS OF THE QURʾĀN). At the same time scholars of a more independent frame of mind have openly rejected the notion that its miraculous nature could be readily proven (al-Qāḍī ʿAbd al-Jabbār, *Taṯbīt,* 412-3). The fragmentary form in which their views have come down to us makes it difficult to appreciate the real intention behind them, but if the early third/ninth-century Muslim Abū ʿĪsā l-Warrāq, who will be discussed further below, is in any way typical of them, it appears that they were rebutting apologetic arguments based upon the Qurʾān's literary qualities. Remarkably, he denigrates the notion that the Qurʾān represents an inimitable literary achievement.

Among the points he makes is that the Qurʾān stands out only because literary ability was lacking at the time it appeared, that Muḥammad's opponents were too occupied with resisting him to meet the challenge to produce passages comparable to the Qurʾān and, maybe most telling, that literary abilities can be acquired naturally and are not necessarily indications of divine endowments (al-Māturīdī, *Tawḥīd*, 191; see also D. Thomas, *Anti-Christian polemic*, 28). These particularly provocative criticisms presuppose a lively and developed debate about the claims made within the Qurʾān itself for its distinctiveness and suggest that the opposition to which the text itself attests was by no means silenced in every quarter by the defensive responses it contains.

If such radical criticisms were relatively rare among Muslims themselves and leveled by marginal figures, they persisted among Christians who expressed views about the Qurʾān throughout much of the shared history of the two faiths. The first major figure whose opinions are clearly known is John of Damascus (d. ca. 132/750) who accuses Muḥammad of writing a work on his own on the basis of what an Arian monk had told him about the Bible (q.v.; J.-P. Migne, *Patrologia graeca*, xciv, col. 765; see INFORMANTS). Here there is a clear allusion to the story of the monk who recognized Muḥammad as a prophet, which the classical biographies of Muḥammad (see SĪRA AND THE QURʾĀN) relate (e.g. Ibn Isḥāq-Guillaume, 79-81). However, the Christian apologists identify him as a heretic who was consciously exploited by Muḥammad. The accusation that the Qurʾān springs from Muḥammad's own authorship became commonplace in the Christian anti-Muslim polemic in the Middle Ages, when it was generally accepted unquestioningly that he was driven by selfish ambition in composing it (N. Daniel, *Islam and the West*, 47-99). Some modern scholars have substantially reversed this received verdict. Their views concerning the sincerity of Muḥammad's sense of vocation may suggest that Muslims and Christians can move closer together with regard to their view of the status of the Qurʾān in the light of present-day understandings about the incidence of inspiration (see REVELATION AND INSPIRATION).

Undoubtedly, the Qurʾān has been the most important single influence upon Muslim thinking about other faiths. This is attributable to the explicit teachings it contains concerning the leading figures and beliefs of Judaism and Christianity, and even more importantly to the relationship it asserts both between itself and previous revelations and between the faith it proclaims and earlier beliefs. Among the most detailed, though nevertheless incomplete, teachings in the Qurʾān are the explanations about the person of Jesus (q.v.), the Messiah, and the community who claimed to follow him. Muslims who were involved in encounters with Christians in the early centuries of Islam often made these teachings the basis of arguments with which they attempted to show that Jesus was only human, that God was one and not triune, and that Christians had been misled in a number of their beliefs. One of the earliest surviving, though incomplete, examples of this demonstrative literature, perhaps dating from as early as 210/825, is the now incomplete *Response to the Christians (al-Radd ʿalā l-naṣārā)* of the Zaydī imām al-Qāsim b. Ibrāhīm (d. 246/860). This relatively short tract contains full and accurate information about Christian doctrines and beliefs. Nevertheless, its author remains loyal to what he understands to be the qurʾānic view of Christianity. Thus his main argument that Christianity is wrong about the divinity of Christ, which he adduces Gospel texts to support, is essentially a vindica-

tion of the teaching on this point given in the Qurʾān (see JEWS AND JUDAISM; CHRISTIANS AND CHRISTIANITY; SCRIPTURE AND THE QURʾĀN).

It might be assumed that polemical literature of this type runs the risk of failing to carry its arguments home to Christians for the reason that it was not addressing their understanding of the doctrines but rather the qurʾānic interpretation of them. Nevertheless, in numerous later instances it is still evident that Muslim authors were guided primarily by the teachings of the Qurʾān. Even when they took Christian doctrinal explanations into account, they still generally conformed to the tendency to follow the Qurʾān's guidelines in their approach. The most striking exception to this general trend appears to be the independent thinker Abū ʿĪsā al-Warrāq, from the early third/ninth century, one of the most intense periods of intellectual encounter between Muslims and Christians. His long and concentrated refutation of the doctrines of the Trinity and Christ's divine and human nature is based upon exhaustive research into the teachings of the major Christian denominations. It relies for its effect entirely upon stringent logical reasoning, which reveals the inconsistencies and contradictions in the doctrines he examines. Thus, his arguments stem from the structure of Christian thought itself. It is little wonder that within a few decades Christians recognized the cogency of his attack and saw the need to marshal responses. Nonetheless, the work tacitly acknowledges the pervasive influence of the Qurʾān, since its twin attacks are effectively amplifications of the qurʾānic denial of the Christian assertion of the Trinity (*tathlīth,* cf. Q 4:171; 5:73) and the divine sonship of Jesus (Q 9:30; 19:34-5). Therefore, despite its stance of rational impartiality, the attack is as much a defense of absolute unity *(tawḥīd)* as a refutation of Christian doctrines. In this respect it conforms to the typical model of Muslim anti-Christian polemic.

The general stance of Muslim polemicists may be linked to the attitude expressed in the Qurʾān itself that it was revealed to confirm the earlier revelations (Q 3:3-4; 5:48; 6:92; 10:37; 46:12) and that it should be taken as the complete guide to the truth (Q 9:33; 25:1). Believing that the Qurʾān was the source of the truth and that Islam was the authentic expression of this truth, polemicists viewed other religions as either incomplete or incorrect forms of Islam (q.v.; see also BELIEF AND UNBELIEF). It followed that one main purpose of their arguments was to show where the inadequacies of the other faiths were to be found. Another was to establish the truth of Islam by demonstrating that other attempted versions of the truth did not have the inner consistency or comprehensiveness of their own. Some of the fullest examples of this approach are to be found in the theological compendiums of the two leading fourth/tenth century theologians, the *Book of preparation (Kitāb al-Tamhīd)* of the Ashʿarī theologian al-Bāqillānī (d. 403/1013) and the *Only work necessary on the various aspects of [divine] unity and justice (al-Mughnī fī abwāb al-tawḥīd wa-l-ʿadl)* of the Muʿtazilī al-Qāḍī ʿAbd al-Jabbār al-Hamadhānī (d. 415/1025). In both of these works a refutation of the main doctrines of other religions as understood by Islam follows the exposition of the corresponding Islamic doctrine. A refutation of the Christian doctrines of the Trinity and Incarnation follows the exposition of the Muslim doctrine of God's unity. In the same way, Jews are criticized for their rejection of prophets who succeeded Moses and this is combined with an exposition of Muḥammad's authenticity as a prophet. In such cases the refutations of the rival doctrines serve to adumbrate the soundness of the Islamic formulation. This is a large-scale

expression of the way in which qurʾānically-inspired religious thinking in Islam gives arguments against the validity of other religions a character which is both instructive and apologetic. Again, this approach accords with the qurʾānic injunction to desist from unedifying discussions about matters of faith (Q 4:140; 6:68-9) and to use the best means when arguing with the other so-called "People of the Book" (q.v.; Q 29:46).

A last feature of Muslim apologetics worth noting is the manner in which the scattered remarks given in the Qurʾān regarding the concealment and corruption of earlier revelations (Q 2:75, 140; 3:78; 4:46; 5:15, 41) are systematized into the general principle that the Torah (q.v.) and Gospels (q.v.) are unreliable. Some authors proceeded on the assumption that, while the actual text of the biblical books was more or less sound, the Jewish and Christian interpretations of them were confused. Among these were the aforementioned al-Qāsim b. Ibrāhīm, who adduces long quotations from the Gospels to support his argument that Jesus was only human. Another was the Christian convert to Islam ʿAlī b. Rabbān al-Ṭabarī (d. ca. 250/864), whose *Book of religion and empire (Kītāb al-Dīn wa-l-dawla)* contains about 150 verses translated from throughout the Bible together with ingenious and sometimes tortuous interpretations to show the ways in which they foretell the coming of Muḥammad and Islam. The author of *The beautiful response (al-Radd al-jamīl),* which has often been attributed to al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111), also followed this course. Other scholars adopted the position that the texts themselves had been corrupted. They postulated that this came about when the early Christians attempted to reconstruct the original Gospels, which they had lost, or when the apostle Paul introduced extraneous material into the sacred text. The anti-Christian polemic of the famous littérateur al-Jāḥiẓ (d. 255/869) implies that the evangelists have lied (*al-Radd ʿalā l-naṣārā,* 24). Al-Qāḍī ʿAbd al-Jabbār argued at length that Paul corrupted the original purity of Jesus' message *(Tathbīt dalāʾil al-nubuwwa)*. The Andalusian theologian and littérateur Ibn Ḥazm (d. 458/1065) composed one of the most searching critiques of the biblical texts *(Milal)*. Al-Juwaynī (d. 478/1085) attempted to show that textual corruption had taken place *(Shifāʾ al-ghalīl)*. Whether exposing misinterpretations or misrepresentations of the original texts, Muslim authors produced their arguments in conformity with the belief that the Qurʾān itself provided unimpeachable guidance.

A small but instructive indication of the trust placed in sacred text by Muslim polemicists is that for many of them a proof verse against the divinity of Jesus was *John* 20:17, where Jesus says to Mary Magdalene, "Do not touch me, for I have not yet ascended to my father, but go to my brethren and say to them, 'I ascend to my father and your father, to my God and your God.' " They could presumably feel confident in citing this because it was close enough to Jesus' words to the people of Israel in the Qurʾān, "It is God who is my lord and your lord. So worship him" (Q 3:51), for them to consider it authentic. See DEBATE AND DISPUTATION.

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Apostasy

Turning away from or rejecting one's religion. The qurʾānic notion of apostasy is functionally represented by two main concepts, *kufr* and *irtidād,* the latter bearing more directly than the former upon notions of apostasy. Beginning sometime during the second/eighth century, *irtidād* came to be used in legal and other discourses to speak exclusively of apostasy. In the Qurʾān, however, the semantic and conceptual connection between the terms *irtidād* and *kufr* seems to have already been made, albeit tenuously, before the emigration to Medina, as evidenced in the verse: "Those who come to disbelieve *(kafara)* after believing" (Q 16:106). In the Medinan period of the Qurʾān, the connection became more pronounced and in some instances the terms were used synonymously.

The meaning embedded in the qurʾānic concept of disbelief *(kufr)* assumes God to be infinitely merciful, generous, compassionate, and beneficent. Being directed towards human beings, these qualities dictate that humans, in turn, should be grateful to God for his goodness. Disbelief, then, is the act of failing to acknowledge, even of rejecting, God's benevolence, and together with this ingratitude and rejection comes, in a more developed sense of the term, the renunciation of God himself (see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF). In this respect, the Qurʾān distinguishes between two types of disbelief: that of the person who could never see God's goodness and thus remains in his original state of disbelief and that of someone who did acknowledge God, but subsequently turned his back upon his benevolence and finally upon God himself. This latter type becomes the exact equivalent of the apostate *(murtadd),* one who commits apostasy *(irtidād)*. Derivatives of the root *k-f-r* occur some 482 times in the Qurʾān. When verbal variations of *kafara* are used, it is not always clear which of the two types is meant. In at least nineteen verses, *kufr* is unmistakably used in the sense of apostasy. A small number of other verses may arguably be interpreted as carrying this sense, but such interpretations remain shrouded in uncertainty.

Yet another central qurʾānic term conceptually associated with apostasy is *fisq,* a stage beyond that of *kufr,* when the person stubbornly persists not only in turning away from God but also in deliberately disobeying his commands. Q 24:55 reads: "God has promised to appoint those of you who believe and perform honorable deeds as [his] representatives on earth, just as he made those before them into such overlords, and to establish their religion for them which he has approved for them, and to change their fear into confidence. They serve me [alone] and do not associate anything else with me. Those who disbelieve *(kafara)* henceforth are the miscreants *(fāsiqūn)*." Abandoning the religion of Islam is

therefore not only *irtidād* but also *kufr* and *fisq*. It is through the juxtaposition of this terminological triad that the Qurʾān articulates the idea of apostasy.

The characterization and fate of those who commit apostasy vary in the Qurʾān. What is striking, especially in light of later juristic developments, is that although apostates are usually assigned a place in hell, there is no mention of any specific corporeal punishment to which they are to be subjected in this world. In certain chapters of the Qurʾān, the apostates are described merely as "having strayed from the right path" (Q 2:108; also 4:167), while in others they are threatened with a severe yet unspecified punishment in this world and in the hereafter (Q 9:74). They are ignorant and "their punishment is that upon them is heaped the curse of God, of angels and of people in their entirety" (Q 3:87). In fact, in Q 2:109, the believers are even asked to forgive them: "Many People of the Book (q.v.) would like to turn you back *(yaruddūnakum)* into unbelievers *(kuffār,* sing. *kāfir)* after you have professed the faith, out of envy of their own, even though the truth has been manifested unto them. Pardon and forgive them till God brings his commands." The relatively lenient position of the Qurʾān toward apostates is also betrayed by the self-reassurance expressed in such verses as Q 3:176-7: "Let not their conduct grieve you, who rush into disbelief, for lo! they injure God not at all. It is God's will to assign them no portion in the hereafter, and theirs will be an awful doom. Those who purchase disbelief at the price of faith harm God not at all, but theirs will be a painful torment." It is quite plausible that the various types of reaction to apostasy, from the near oblivion to the angry chastisement (see CHASTISEMENT AND PUNISHMENT), may be a reflection of the changing circumstances with which the Qurʾān had to deal as its mission evolved. At the early stages, the Prophet did not have the effective power to deal with the apostates and thus the Qurʾān adopted a considerably more lenient attitude. With the growing strength of the new religion that attitude changed into a confident and less compromising one.

Despite the apostates' fate (q.v.) in the hereafter and their awful doom, they can always return to Islam, for God is "forgiving and merciful." This is especially true in the case of those who were coerced to apostatize (Q 16:106). But the repentance of those who persisted in and cherished apostasy and heresy (q.v.), and who remained for long obdurate in their antagonism toward Islam, shall never be accepted (Q 3:90). The Qurʾān frequently reminds the apostate who is not long persistent in his heresy and disbelief to re-embrace the faith soon while he still has the opportunity to do so. For death can come stealthily and seal the fate of the apostate into an eternal and irreversible doom. Q 47:34 is quite clear and sums up the qurʾānic position on the matter: "Those who disbelieve *(kafarū)* and turn from the way of God (see PATH OR WAY [OF GOD]) and then die unbelievers, God surely will not pardon them" (see also Q 2:161, 217; 3:91).

Upon the Prophet's death and until the early months of 13/634, Muslim armies engaged in a number of battles that came later to be known as the wars of apostasy *(ḥurūb al-ridda)*. Except for Medina, Mecca and the immediately surrounding regions, nearly all the rest of Arabia rose up against Muslim rule. Scholars disagree as to the causes of resistance, some arguing that it was provoked by a rejection of the taxes the Prophet imposed on the Islamicized tribes together with what that clearly implied in terms of political domination. Others have seen it as expressing a reli-

gious revolt, challenging the religion of the new state at Medina. A more convincing view, however, is that each of the revolts against the new order had its own causes. Of the six major centers of uprising, four had a religious color, each led by a so-called prophet, prophetess or soothsayer: al-Aswad al-ʿAnsī in Yemen, Musaylima (q.v.) in Yamāma, Ṭulayḥa b. Khuwaylid of the tribes of Banū Asad and Banū Ghaṭafān and Sajāḥ of the tribe of Tamīm. The resistance in the two other centers — east and southeast of the Arabian peninsula — seems to have been caused by a refusal to submit to the political authority of Medina including the payment of taxes imposed upon them by the Prophet in 9/630.

Following classical Islamic sources, much of modern scholarship tends to see all these wars and battles that took place within the boundaries of Arabia — before the conquests in Syria and Ḥīra began — as falling into the category of the wars of apostasy. In point of fact, of all the centers of revolt only Najd qualifies, strictly speaking, for classification as a center of apostate rebellion. The Banū Ḥanīfa, led by Musaylima in Yamāma, had never been subject to Medinan domination nor did they sign any treaty either with Muḥammad or with his successor Abū Bakr (11/632-13/634). It was only when the military commander Khālid b. al-Walīd (d. 21/642) defeated them in 12/633 that they came, for the first time, under Medinan domination. In other words, they never converted to Islam in the first place so that they cannot correctly be labeled as apostates. A similar situation existed in ʿUmān, al-Baḥrayn, al-Yaman, and Ḥaḍramawt. There, Muḥammad concluded treaties with military leaders — some of whom were Persian agents — who were quickly ousted by the local tribes. Thus, the tribes' resistance to Medina did not presuppose a particular relationship in which they paid allegiance to the Muslim state. Again, their uprising does not constitute apostasy, properly speaking. The tribes of Najd, on the other hand, were their own masters and signed treaties with Muḥammad, the terms of which required them to adopt Islam and to pay homage as well as taxes to Medina. Their revolt, thus, constituted a clear case of apostasy. In the other cases it was not exactly apostasy on the part of the tribes which prompted the wars but rather the Medinan religious, political and territorial ambitions.

It is highly probable that the events making up the so-called wars of apostasy, together with their fundamental impact upon the collective Muslim psyche, generated a new element in the attitude toward apostasy. Being largely a reflection of the post-Prophetic experience, ḥadīth — the reports that are believed to document the words and deeds of the Prophet — stipulate, at variance with the Qurʾān, that the apostate should be punished by death. To be sure, this stipulation reflects a later reality and does not stand in accord with the deeds of the Prophet. In fact, if we go by what seems to be reliable information about Muḥammad, the Qurʾān emerges as a more accurate representation of his attitude toward apostasy. It is more likely that Abū Bakr was the first to be involved in putting to death a number of apostates, an action which was in the course of time perceived as the practice (sunna, q.v.) of the Prophet. Later sources sanctioned this penalty and made a point in mentioning that the other Companions approved of Abū Bakr's action.

On the authority of the Companion Ibn ʿAbbās (d. 68/688), the Prophet is reported to have said, "He who changes his religion, kill him." Another ḥadīth from Ibn ʿAbbās and the Prophet's wife ʿĀʾisha (see ʿĀʾISHA

BINT ABĪ BAKR) states that the Prophet allowed the execution of anyone who abandoned Islam and dissented with the community. The Prophet is also reported to have given Muʿādh b. Jabal the following order when he dispatched him to govern in the Yemen: "Any man who turns away from Islam, invite him [to return to it]; if he does not return, cut off his neck." The second half of the ḥadīth occurs also in a virtually identical formulation, but applies to women. A more categorical, yet valueless, ḥadīth specifies that "He whose religion differs from that of Islam, behead him." The means of implementing capital punishment so stated in ḥadīth did vary. One ḥadīth, reported by ʿĀʾisha, specifies that beheading, crucifixion or banishment are acceptable, but burning at the stake is not. Another ḥadīth — used by Ibn ʿAbbās in criticism of the fourth caliph ʿAlī (r. 35/ 656-40/661), who burned some unbelievers or heretics *(zanādiqa,* sing. *zindīq)* — declares that: "He who abandons his religion (variant: "turns back on his own religion") kill him, but do not punish anyone by means of God's punishment," i.e. fire.

Within Islamic law, apostasy is defined as releasing oneself from Islam *(qaṭʿ al-Islām)* by means of saying or doing something heretical, even in jest. Upholding a theological doctrine which negates the existence of God; rejecting the Prophets; mocking or cursing God or the Prophet; kneeling down in prayer to an idol, the moon or the sun (see IDOLS AND IMAGES); dumping a copy of the Qurʾān in a waste basket; declaring legal what is otherwise strictly illegal, such as adultery (see ADULTERY AND FORNICATION), all constitute apostasy.

The apostate who is *compos mentis (mukallaf),* is given a three-day grace period to reconsider his decision. If he repents, there are to be no legal consequences. If he does not, then he is by juristic consensus *(ijmāʿ)* to be executed by the sword. The female apostate receives the same punishment according to all the schools except the Ḥanafīs and Twelver Shīʿīs (Jaʿfarīs), who waive this punishment and replace it by imprisonment. If the apostate is killed during the grace period, his killer is not prosecuted nor under the obligation to pay blood money (*diya,* see BLOOD MONEY). Some of the civil consequences of apostasy are that the property of the apostate is appropriated by the state treasury and all his transactions are considered null and void. If the person repents, he is given what is left of his property. This precept was formulated in a context where apostates had escaped to non-Muslim territory and returned much later to repent and reclaim their property. Legally speaking, minors, madmen and fully capacitated persons coerced into apostasy are not considered apostates. The foregoing discussion of the Qurʾān makes it clear that nothing in the law governing apostates and apostasy derives from the letter of the holy text. See also FAITH.

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Apostle

The disciples of Jesus (q.v.). The word for the apostles, *ḥawāriyūn (*sing. *ḥawārī),* occurs four times in the Qurʾān (Q 3:52; 5:111, 112; 61:14) and only in the plural. Most Muslim commentators (cf. M. Ayoub, *The Qurʾān,* 158-62) regard *ḥawārī* as a pure Arabic word derived from the verb *ḥāra,* meaning "to return," or from *ḥawira,* "to be glistening white." The first derivation yields the meaning "disciples," since a prophet *turns* to a disciple for help. This understanding would also be compatible with another tradition that the apostles are "helpers" *(anṣār)*. This reflects Jesus' question in the Qurʾān, "Who will be my helpers to God?" (*man anṣārī ilā llāh,* Q 3:52). Some reports indicate that apostles are, in a general sense, the "special companions of the prophets" *(khāṣṣat al-anbiyāʾ wa-ṣafwatuhum),* as in the statement of Muḥammad, "[The Companion al-Zubayr b. al-ʿAwwām]… is my apostle from my community" (cf. M. Ayoub, *The Qurʾān,* 159; Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr,* ii, 42-3). The most popular etymology derives the meaning of *ḥawārī* from *ḥawar,* meaning "intense whiteness." Some report that the apostles wore pure white garments. Others make them fullers (sing. *qaṣṣār*). Still others hold that the name refers to the purity of the apostles' hearts.

Interpretations closer to the witness of the Christian gospels frequently mention that Jesus' apostles, corresponding to the twelve tribes of Israel, were twelve in number; they were fishermen and his first loyal followers *(khulaṣāʾ* or *talāmīdh),* even leaving their families and homes to follow Jesus. Others say *ḥawāriyūn* means "strivers" (sing. *mujāhid*) because in Q 61:14 believers are being asked to fight for Muḥammad in a spirit of obedience like that of Jesus' apostles. The most difficult interpretation to justify with reference to a specific Qurʾānic passage is that the apostles were "kings" (sing. *malik*).

Most Western interpreters trace the origin of *ḥawārī* to the Ethiopic word *ḥawāryā,* meaning "messenger." In the Ethiopic translation of the New Testament this word is used for the twelve apostles of Jesus (see FOREIGN VOCABULARY).

The Qurʾān mentions only two events involving the apostles of Jesus. In Q 5:112 the apostles ask Jesus to have God send down a table of food to satisfy their hunger and strengthen their faith. Jesus agrees to do so, but warns them that, because they have witnessed such a confirmation of faith, God will tolerate no future deviation from faith on their part. The second instance takes place at the end of Jesus' mission. When he is under attack from unbelievers, his apostles testify to the constancy of their faith in him. Jesus asks, "Who will be my helpers to God?" His apostles answer, "We are God's helpers! We believe in God and do you bear witness that we are Muslims. Our lord! We believe in what you have revealed and we follow the messenger. Then write us down among those who bear witness (Q 3:52-3)." One final passage probably refers to the apostles of Jesus and his other followers: "We sent… Jesus the son of Mary (q.v.), and bestowed on him the Gospel (q.v.); and We ordained in the hearts of those who followed him compassion and mercy" (Q 57:27). See also CHRISTIANS AND CHRISTIANITY.

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Apparition

The preternatural appearance of a specter or vision. There is no specific qurʾānic term for apparition, and qurʾānic words which in some contexts may be taken to indicate an apparition, such as *burhān* (proof) and *āya* (sign), have different meanings in other verses. For example, Joseph (q.v.) "saw the proof of his Lord," while being seduced by his master's wife. The qurʾānic verse reads "For she desired him and he would have taken her but that he saw the proof *(burhān)* of his Lord" (Q 12:24). "Proof" in this verse has been interpreted in a variety of ways. Most commonly exegetes claim that Joseph saw a vision of his father Jacob (q.v.), from which he came to understand that he was acting improperly (e.g. Muqātil, *Ashbāh,* ii, 329; Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* xii, 110-3; Wāḥidī, *Wasīṭ,* ii, 608; Rāzī, *Tafsīr,* ix, 122; Qurṭubī, *Jāmiʿ,* ix, 169-80; Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr,* ii, 474; see also *The Babylonian Talmud,* Tractate *Sota,* ii, 36b). Others claimed that he saw a vision of something that appeared through the roof of the house which reminded him that he was one of the prophets of God and therefore infallible (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* xii, 113; Suyūṭī, *Durr,* iv, 15; Shawkānī, *Tafsīr,* iii, 18; see IMPECCABILITY AND INFALLIBILITY). The commentaries give different form to this vision, e.g. the palm of a hand, a note of warning, certain verses read or heard by Joseph (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* xii, 113; Ibn Abī Ḥātim, *Tafsīr,* xii, 2124-6; Qurṭubī, *Jāmiʿ,* ix, 169; Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr,* ii, 475). In each of these cases, the "proof" is interpreted as an apparition.

If "apparition" is understood to include visual illusions or optical errors, we may cite other examples. For instance, the commentators regarded "There was already a sign *(āya)* for you in the two companies which met, one company fighting in the way of God and the other unbelieving. Their eyes saw them to be twice their number" (Q 3:13) as dealing with the battle of Badr (q.v.). However, they differed as to whether it was the infidels who saw the believers in this fashion or vice versa. One view is that the infidels were made to see the believers as being twice as many in number as themselves. Another holds that the believers saw the infidels as being twice their own number while in reality the Meccan force was three times as large as theirs (Ṭabarsī, *Majmaʿ,* i, 7-28). Whichever interpretation is adopted, the victory of the believers is attributed to a divine sign in the form of the apparent change in number.

In the case of "and for [the Jews] saying, 'We slew the Messiah, Jesus (q.v.), the son of Mary (q.v.), the Messenger of God,' yet they did not slay him or crucify him. It only appeared like that to them *(wa-lākin shubbiha lahum)*" (Q 4:157), we are dealing here with something else which was perceived differently from its actual state (for the way in which the change became possible, see Ṭabarsī, *Majmaʿ,* i, 282-3). The illusion was created by God to mislead the Jews.

Another apparition of a different nature is implied in Q 7:148: "And the people of Moses took to them, after him, a calf [made] of their jewelry, a mere body that lowed *(jasadan lahu khuwār)*" (see CALF OF GOLD). The commentators had to answer two questions: How did the idol produce the sound and why? The last question is more relevant to our topic. Most commentators argue that God turned the golden calf into flesh and blood and enabled it to low, with the intention of putting the people to a test (Qurṭubī, *Jāmiʿ,* vii, 284-5, see esp. the secret conversation between God

and Moses). This means that the people who melted the gold and created the calf witnessed an apparition: They saw their idol as a living creature and took it to be God, failing the test. All of these apparitions originate in the divine will and demonstrate the divine plan. In this sense, the apparitions in the Qurʾān may be viewed as a particularly edifying means for God to communicate with mankind. See also SIGNS; VISIONS.

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Appointed Time

see FREEDOM AND PREDESTINATION; TIME

Aqṣā Mosque

An early mosque located in Jerusalem on what is called in Islam "The Noble Sanctuary" (*al-Ḥaram al-Sharīf,* see ARCHAEOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN). "The farthest place of prayer" *(al-masjid al-aqṣā)* is attested once in the Qurʾān, in Q 17:1 (see ASCENSION): "Glory be to he who transported his servant by night from the sacred place of prayer *(al-masjid al-ḥarām)* to the farthest place of prayer *(al-masjid al-aqṣā)*." Within Muḥammad's life-time "the sacred place of prayer" (*al-masjid,* the place of prayer, mosque; *al-ḥarām,* the sacred) was recognized as the sacred mosque at Mecca (q.v.) while "the farthest *(al-aqṣā)* place of prayer" might have been in heaven, in Jerusalem (q.v.) or perhaps in a locale near Mecca. Only at a later, unknown time did the topographical attribution become the proper name of the Aqṣā Mosque. In the earliest associations of *al-masjid al-aqṣā* with Jerusalem, it is likely that the whole of the Ḥaram was thought to be a place of prayer.

There was no mosque on al-Ḥaram al-Sharīf before Muḥammad's death; the Herodian platform was used then as a refuse dump and it is said that the second Caliph (q.v.), ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, who accepted the surrender of Jerusalem in about 17/638, commenced clearing away the rubbish. No Muslim source records the Ḥaram's first mosque but, in the reign of Caliph Muʿāwiya I (41/661-60/680), the Gallic pilgrim Arculf saw that the "Saracens" had a rough prayer house, unnamed, in its eastern part, built on what he understood to be the remains of the Jewish Temple. That mosque has been attributed to ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb.

The Aqṣā Mosque is situated in the southwest corner of the Ḥaram and during the repairs of 1938-42, five previous major (Aqṣā I-V), and several lesser, structural periods were identified. In period V (746-7/1345-751/1350), associated with the Mamlūk ʿIzz al-Dīn Aybak al-Miṣrī, the western vaulted aisles and the outer western porch bays were constructed. Period IV was the work of the Knights Templar who occupied the mosque (492/1099-582/1187), when some of the eastern aisles were demolished and replaced with vaulted galleries and the central porch bays built. Literary evidence credits two Umayyad caliphs, ʿAbd al-Malik (65/685-86/705) and al-Walīd I (86/705-96/715) and two ʿAbbāsids, al-Manṣūr (136/754-158/775) and al-Mahdī (158/775-169/785) with the building or restoration of the first three archaeologically distinguishable structures, which will now be discussed.

Al-Muqaddasī, who saw the Aqṣā

Mosque in 374/985, Nāṣir-i Khusraw who saw it in 438-9/1047 and the eighth/fourteenth century author of *Muthīr al-gharām* quoted by al-Suyūṭī all say that ʿAbd al-Malik built the mosque. Remains of Aqṣā I were found in the mosque's southern part and nineteen meters short of its present northern wall (Hamilton, *Structural history,* fig. 30). Archaeological evidence for Aqṣā II, which had a wide central nave, a dome before the *miḥrāb* (see ART AND ARCHITECTURE AND THE QUR'ĀN) and the nineteen meter extension of its northern wall, included Greek graffiti found on and deemed to be contemporary with the nave timbers. On epigraphic grounds, these carpenters' notes have been given a date range from the end of the sixth century C.E. to the beginning of the second/eighth century.

For Aqṣā III the nave and aisles north of the dome were demolished and new columns installed. Al-Muqaddasī wrote of these "marbled" columns which, Hamilton determined, had been specially prepared for the mosque and which remained in place until the 1938-42 repairs, when they were transferred to the Ḥaram museum. The *Muthīr,* written at Jerusalem in 752/1351, states that the Aqṣā Mosque was rebuilt by al-Manṣūr after the earthquake of 130/747-8, and built again by al-Mahdī after a second earthquake; this second quake is unrecorded and is generally thought to duplicate the earlier one.

No contemporary Muslim reports of the building of the Aqṣā Mosque exist. Its most detailed, sometimes contradictory, descriptions are those of al-Muqaddasī, Nāṣir-i Khusraw and the author of the *Muthīr al-gharām* as repeated by al-Suyūṭī, while Hamilton's study provides the most complete archaeological record. Greek papyri of ca. 90/708-96/714 found at the Egyptian village of Aphrodito mention workmen and materials having been requisitioned for construction of a mosque and palace at Jerusalem, but it cannot be determined if the reference is to a new mosque or to an ongoing project.

According to Creswell's interpretation of all of the evidence, al-Walīd I built Aqṣā I, al-Mahdī Aqṣā II, and, after the 424/1033 earthquake, the Fāṭimid Caliph al-Ẓāhir constructed Aqṣā III. He believed that the Aphrodito papyri confirmed al-Walīd I as the mosque's originator and inferred from al-Ẓāhir's mosaic inscription (see below) that, in addition to his renovation of the dome and its supports, al-Ẓāhir rebuilt the nave and aisles. Stern understood the evidence to mean Aqṣā I and II were Umayyad and Aqṣā III ʿAbbāsid; furthermore, he believed that the Fāṭimid mosaics on the dome were modeled after those of the original Umayyad building, pointing out their resemblance to those found in the Dome of the Rock. In more recent evaluations of the literary and archaeological record summarized by Hamilton (Creswell and Allan, *A short account,* 79-82), Aqṣā I is credited to ʿAbd al-Malik, Aqṣā II to al-Walīd I and Aqṣā III to al-Manṣūr and al-Mahdī after the earthquake of 130/748-9. It is surmised that Aqṣā II was enlarged considerably because the original building was too small.

An extant mosaic inscription at the base of the dome recording al-Ẓāhir's repairs of 426/1034-6 contains Q 17:1 immediately following the *basmala* (q.v.). A second inscription of al-Ẓāhir, in the dome and now lost but recorded by ʿAlī al-Harawī in 568-9/1173, also contained Q 17:1 immediately after the *basmala*. An inscription of part of Q 17:1, dating from 583-4/1187, appears on the wall east of the *miḥrāb,* while the inscription of Q 17:1-6 which is found at the eastern end of the transept is dated 731-2/1331.

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Arabic Language

The language codified by the grammarians of al-Baṣra and al-Kūfa in the second/eighth century as representing the speech of the pre-Islamic Arabs and the language of the Qurʾān. Ever since, this language has been the one in which most of the Islamic cultural and religious heritage has found expression. Historical, geographical and social varieties closely related to this language exist or have existed and a number of linguistic communities currently use variants of this language.

Considerable controversy surrounds such questions as the status of Arabic *(al-ʿarabiyya, lisān al-ʿarab)* before and at the time of codification, the status of the variety of Arabic used in the Qurʾān at the time of revelation (see DIALECTS), the nature of the relationship between Arabic and the colloquials spoken in the various parts of the Arab world as well as the nature of the relationship between this "classical" Arabic language and that used for written and formal spoken communication in the Arab world today. This article will outline current terminology relating to the varieties of the language and then address these questions. (For an outline of the structure of Arabic, the reader is referred to works such as M.C. Bateson's *Handbook* and C. Holes' *Modern Arabic*.)

Varieties of Arabic

Twenty modern states use Arabic as an official language: Algeria, Bahrayn, Djibouti, Egypt, Iraq, Jordan, Kuwait, Lebanon, Libya, Mauritania, Morocco, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Somalia, the Sudan, Syria, Tunisia, the United Arab Emirates

and the Yemen. To this list should be added the Palestinian Authority/State and Israel, where Arabic is not the principal language, but is nevertheless widely used. The language used in all of these states, and taught in their schools, is said to be structurally identical to the classical Arabic language and the language of the Qurʾān (*al-fuṣḥā* or "classical Arabic"). It is, however, freely admitted that both its vocabulary and idiomatic usage have developed considerably. One, therefore, frequently finds a distinction being made between classical Arabic, on the one hand, and contemporary Arabic *(al-lugha al-ʿarabiyya al-ḥadītha* or *al-muʿāṣira),* on the other. Contemporary Arabic, which in Western studies is frequently referred to as Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) or, mainly in textbooks, as Modern Literary Arabic, is not a variety used for everyday, informal speech by any community, even if certain groups would like to see it become one. Nor is it a purely written language. It is, perhaps, best described as a formal language, used for all types of formal communication, both written in most contemporary literature and in the press and spoken on all formal occasions, including "serious" programs on radio and television as well as in most educational contexts. Its use is acquired mainly through formal education and only a relatively small group within the communities which it serves as an official language can be said to have mastered it.

For informal communication, regional dialects, referred to as *al-lahjāt* or as *al-ʿāmmiyya,* the language of the commonality, or sometimes as *al-dārija,* the popular language, is used. In Western research, they are commonly called "colloquials." The various dialects all belong to the same recognizable type of Arabic, sometimes called neo-Arabic, but show a great deal of divergence among themselves, increasing according to geographical distance. The dialects of the extreme west and those of the eastern parts of the Arabic world are thus almost mutually incomprehensible. Dialects are normally referred to by names derived from the geographical area in which they are used, qualified, at times, with a reference to the religious status of the users. For purposes of classification, a distinction is made between sedentary *(ḥaḍarī)* and Bedouin *(badawī)* dialects, the Bedouin dialects being those descended from the varieties used by tribal groups that migrated from the Arabian peninsula well after the original conquests. These groups may later have settled so that one encounters places where the sedentary population speak Bedouin dialects (see BEDOUIN). The sedentary dialects are again subdivided into town *(madanī)* and village *(qarawī)* dialects.

The term "Proto-Arabic" has frequently been used for the language in which the Thamūdic, Liḥyānic, Ṣafāʾitic and Ḥaṣāʾitic inscriptions were written (see ARABIC SCRIPT). This language may be an early stage of the later Arabic language. K. Versteegh suggests that it be called Early North Arabic to distinguish it from the language of Arabic inscriptions (Proto-Arabic) and that the language of the Islamic papyri pre-dating the codification of Arabic be called Early Arabic (*Arabic language,* 26). It is to be hoped that this distinction will be adopted.

Classical Arabic is the language which was defined at the beginning of this article. The term is, however, used for a wide range of purposes. It is thus commonly used for the formal language as opposed to the colloquials throughout all periods of the development of Arabic but also for a specific period in the history of this development. Sometimes this period is narrowly defined — for instance, classical as opposed to medieval — while at other times it is defined more broadly — the classical

language as opposed to the modern. It is also ordinarily used to designate a style of language, that of literature and religious learning as opposed to the "modern standard" of the press. In short, readers of works where this term is used would do well to look for clues as to its exact meaning in the specific text in which it is encountered. In this article, it is used as a translation of the Arabic term *fuṣḥā* for all of the varieties of the formal language irrespective of the period from which they stem.

Old Arabic is a term sometimes used for the tribal dialects which are supposed to have co-existed with classical Arabic as vernaculars from pre-Islamic times onwards. The use of this term signals a belief in an essentially diglossic relationship between these dialects and classical Arabic. Most Arabs, and certain Western researchers, prefer to see these dialects as local variations of the classical language. Evidence as to the nature of the dialects is limited to a few scattered remarks in the works of the philologists regarding the forms they perceived to be unusual.

From Old Arabic, or from the dialects of the classical Arabic if one subscribes to this view, developed the medieval vernaculars collectively known as Middle Arabic. Much can be inferred about this stage of development from various kinds of text produced in circumstances where the normative influence of classical Arabic was not too strongly felt, either for religious reasons (Jewish and Christian Arabic) or because the purpose of the text was simply too mundane to warrant the effort entailed in attempting to produce correct classical Arabic. It is generally recognized that the modern colloquials developed from Middle Arabic vernaculars.

The impression of diversity — which the plethora of terms used above must necessarily create — should not be left unqualified. The Arabs will insist on the essential unity of their language and are right in doing so. Anyone with an educated person's command of Modern Standard Arabic finds it easy to acquire the knowledge necessary to read classical or medieval Arabic texts and the divergence between the various dialects is, on the whole, small, considering the distances and geographical obstacles which separate their users.

Classification and early history

Arabic is usually classified as belonging, alongside the south Arabian and Ethiopian languages, to the southwestern branch of the Semitic family of the Afro-Asiatic phylum. The classification as such is relatively undisputed, yet a number of points pertaining to its meaning deserves special consideration. Firstly, the group of languages referred to as the Semitic family is not such a widely divergent and heterogeneous one as, for instance, the Indo-European family, and a comparison to one of the smaller branches of the latter, such as the Romance languages, would provide a truer picture of the facts. Secondly, the varieties within the Semitic family tend to show continuous rather than discrete variation among themselves. This family of languages should therefore be seen as a large and varied continuum, specific segments of which have, at specific points of time, been liberalized and codified, becoming, through this process, the individual Semitic languages of antiquity and modern times.

The early history of the Arabic language cannot at present be satisfactorily established. This is mainly due to the lack of sources or to the unreliable nature of those sources which do exist. At the time of the revelation of the Qurʾān, Arabic had long been the bearer of a literary, mainly poetic, tradition. Yet the development of the Arabic script (see CALLIGRAPHY), and hence of Arabic as a written language, is

almost entirely connected to the transmission of the text of the Qurʾān. The process was a long one and the Arabic script was not fully developed until the end of the third/ninth century. Epigraphic evidence of Arabic predating the revelation of the Qurʾān is mainly limited to five brief inscriptions the oldest of which is the five-line Namāra inscription from 328 C.E., written in Nabatean characters, but in a language which is essentially identical to Classical Arabic. Then follows the Zebed inscription dated to 512 C.E., the Jabal Usays inscription dated to 528 C.E., the Ḥarrān inscription dated to 568 C.E., and the Umm al-Jimāl inscription, also from the sixth century C.E. All of these are brief inscriptions representing an early stage of the Arabic script. All these inscriptions tell us, however, that for some time before the Arabic language emerges into the light of history with the mission of the prophet Muḥammad, a language very similar to classical Arabic was in use on the peninsula and in neighboring areas, and that some of the users of this language had mastered the art of writing (see EPIGRAPHY AND THE QURʾĀN).

The poetic literature of the pre-Islamic Arabs was committed to writing only through the efforts of the Muslim philologists towards the middle of the second/eighth century. The earliest preserved specimens of the tradition would seem to date from the beginning of the sixth century C.E., so that the time span in which oral transmission was unsupported by writing was quite considerable. This has made several researchers doubt the validity of the poetic evidence for purposes of research on the linguistic situation prior to the codification of Arabic. In addition, there is evidence indicating that the philologists collecting the poems may have corrected them a bit during the process. To rely on the poetic corpus as evidence for the linguistic situation prior to the codification of Arabic is therefore to rely on the work of early Muslim philologists. Another matter is that the very nature of poetry, and the specific use to which poetry was put in the pre-Islamic society of Arabia, makes it likely that the language of the poetic corpus may not directly represent the linguistic varieties used for purposes of everyday communication within the tribes of the peninsula. The question which arises at this point, to wit, that of how great the differences between the language of the poetry and the vernaculars were in pre-Islamic times, has been a matter of contention throughout the twentieth century. Currently, the proponents of the view that the "poetic koine" existed in a diglossic relationship with the vernaculars would seem to outnumber those who think that the "poetic register" and the vernaculars essentially represented one and the same language. The latter view, which is represented mainly in the writings of K. Versteegh, does, however, have the considerable weight of the Islamic scholarly tradition to recommend it. See POETRY AND POETS.

To sum up, of the very little that can be known about Arabic before the dawn of Islam, we know that varieties very similar to classical Arabic were used for several hundred years before, extending over an area encompassing not only the Arabian peninsula but also parts of the Fertile Crescent. We also know that some of these varieties had sufficient prestige to be used for inscriptions and poetic composition. We do not, however, know who the users of these varieties were, what name they gave to their language, or for what other purposes, besides inscriptions and poetry, they may have used them. Nor do we know how great were the differences between the va-

rieties in question since only one of them, classical Arabic, has been preserved for us in the form of a corpus of text and a systematic description.

Codification

The actual codification of Arabic took place, as has already been stated, in the second/eighth century. The first dictionary was compiled — but never completed — by al-Khalīl b. Aḥmad (d. 175/791), who also codified Arabic prosody. The first grammar is the famous *Kītāb* of al-Khalīl's student Sībawayhi (d. 177/793), which was completed and transmitted after the author's death by his student al-Akhfash al-Awsaṭ (d. 221/835).

Among the factors usually mentioned to explain the process of codification, the most important are, on the one hand, the needs of non-Arab citizens of the empire to master Arabic as well as the linguistic corruption which supposedly came about as a result of the uprooting of Bedouin tribesmen from their natural environment and, on the other hand, the decision taken during the reign of the Umayyad caliph ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān (r. 65/685-86/705) to make Arabic the language of the public registers. It should, however, be noted that the early works on grammar are not elementary textbooks for teaching language to beginners. On the contrary, a work such as the *Kītāb* is concerned mainly with explanation and the systemization of the hierarchical ordering of facts with which the student is assumed to be familiar into a coherent whole. It is, in short, a treatise on grammar. Yet, the object of this systematization is definitely not Arabic as it was spoken in the time and place of the actual codification. Sībawayhi aims at an ideal which M. Carter terms "good old Arabic" (Sībawayhi, 526). The data of which Sībawayhi makes use include passages from the Qurʾān and verses of poetry, but also data obtained from contemporary Bedouin. This indicates that "good old Arabic" was a living language among the Bedouin at the time, in the sense that they could produce it upon demand, but not necessarily that it was a common medium of day-to-day communication. It should be noted that although as a totality the three groups of data are seen as embodying "good old Arabic," no individual group is given priority or accepted uncritically. The variety among the "readings" (*qirāʾāt,* see READINGS OF THE QURʾĀN) of the Qurʾān sometimes makes it possible to reject certain readings. Poetic usage is in some cases seen as differing from prose and certain Bedouin usages are dismissed as incorrect.

M. Carter has argued convincingly that Sībawayhi's system of grammar was, on the whole, inspired by the science of "law" *(fiqh)* as it was taught at that time. This implies a wholly pragmatic view of language: A language is not a system — though its grammar is — but rather a type of behavior, the individual acts of which are to be judged "by motive, structure and communicative effectiveness" (M. Carter, Sībawayhi, 526). Communicative effectiveness is the absolute. Speech is right *(mustaqīm)* if it conveys meaning, but wrong *(muḥāl)* if it does not. Structural correctness, on the other hand, is relative and speech may be *mustaqīm qabīḥ,* that is, make sense and thus be right, but still be structurally incorrect and hence "ugly." This implies that the codification of Arabic was neither a prescriptive project, aimed at teaching a forgotten language — or a language rapidly becoming forgotten — nor a descriptive one, aimed at setting down the facts of acknowledged contemporary usage. Rather it was a conservative effort, intended to keep linguistic behavior from

straying too far from what was the "way" of the Arabs (q.v.) and, more importantly, of the Qurʾān.

The Qurʾān

The Qurʾān is somewhat self-conscious with respect to its language. Generally speaking it identifies the language (the word used is *lisān,* "tongue"), in which it is revealed as that of the Prophet (Q 19:97; 44:58), as that of the Prophet's people (*bi-lisni qawmihi,* Q 14:4) and as Arabic (Q 26:195; 46:12). The epithet "Arabic" is also given to the Qurʾān itself (Q 12:2) and to its function as a decisive utterance (*ḥukm,* Q 13:37).

As was recently pointed out by Jan Retsö, the Qurʾān, which is the oldest source in Arabic which actually talks about a language named after the Arabs, does not contrast the Arabic language to any other languages identified by name. Throughout, the epithet *ʿarabī,* "Arab" or "Arabic," is contrasted to *aʿjamī,* "non-Arab" or "non-Arabic," but it is never stated that the Arabic tongue is not understood by non-Arabic speakers. Indeed, verses such as Q 26:199 seem to indicate that the Qurʾān would be understood by non-Arabs should it be recited to them. However, it is also clear, from e.g. Q 16:103, that one whose tongue is *aʿjamī* cannot be expected to produce Arabic.

In order for the Qurʾān to be able to declare itself Arabic, there had to exist some sort of criteria for what is Arabic and what is not. Such criteria may, of course, be very loose, but if one assumes that the *aʿjām* were foreigners in the sense of people speaking languages entirely different from Arabic and maybe even incomprehensible to an Arab the qurʾānic argumentation loses much of its force. For the argument "this is Arabic and hence divine" to have any noticeable force, the criteria for what is Arabic have to be quite narrow, to amount, in fact, to a standard of language recognizably out of reach of the ordinary member of society. In the words of J. Wansbrough: "The linguistic tradition to which reformers and prophets, as well as poets, turn may be ancient. What it must be, is other than the current *usus loquendi*…" (*QS,* 103).

The philologists' choice of the poetic corpus as the second source for the codification of Arabic has been taken to indicate what the tradition to which Muḥammad turned was. Their use of contemporary Bedouin informers demonstrates that this tradition was, at least in some areas, still alive at the time of codification. What is important to note is that the tradition is presented neither as a language nor as a literature but as a way of life, an ideal of culture. Even in works specifically devoted to the language itself, it is the "speech of the Arabs" *(kalām al-ʿarab)* which is presented and it is presented as a "way," a set of manners and customs. Equally important is the fact that both the Qurʾān and the philologists present the tradition as essentially somebody else's. Whether the "way" of the Arabs consisted in the active use of case and mode endings *(iʿrāb)* no longer in use in the vernaculars, as the proponents of the "poetic koine" hypothesis would have it or merely in the deliberate use of an archaic tradition of poetic diction and eloquent speech encompassing such features as the careful pronunciation of the glottal stop (a phoneme not realized in the Meccan dialect), use of the elevated register of poetry, the use of rhymed prose and the deliberate creation of parallelism, the effect would be much the same. The point, in both cases, is the appeal to a tradition which is both an essential part of the community's heritage and at the same time definitely not a "natural" part of the community's everyday language. Whoever coined the translation "classical" for *fuṣḥā* knew what he was doing.

The current situation: diglossia

The concept central to most descriptions of the linguistic situation of the Arab world today is that of diglossia. In Ferguson's classic paper from 1959, diglossia is defined as "a relatively stable language situation in which, in addition to the primary dialects of the language (which may include a standard or regional standards), there is a very divergent, highly codified (often grammatically more complex) superimposed variety, the vehicle of a large and respected body of written literature, either of an earlier period or in another speech community, which is learned largely by formal education and is used for most written or formal spoken purposes, but is not used by any sector of the community for ordinary conversation" (Diglossia, 336). To Ferguson, this definition is an attempt to outline one specific type of language situation, in the hope that other contributions, outlining other types of language situations, would in the end lead to the establishment of a viable taxonomy. However, much of the discussion relevant to Arabic pivoted on the validity of the concept itself, with alternatives such as pluriglossia and multiglossia competing with models employing the concept of variation along a continuum.

The crux of the problem lies in the fact that Ferguson's original article outlined the properties and areas of use of two "varieties" of language as if these varieties — which Ferguson later identified as cases of register variation — were linguistic (sub-) systems in normal and frequent use. As is shown by D.B. Parkinson's attempts to have Egyptians produce classical Arabic, at least this high variety is used very seldom by most members of the Egyptian speech community in any kind of pure form. Though I do not know of any published investigations of the problem, I would predict that "pure" Egyptian colloquial, without the slightest admixture of classical forms, is not very common either. In most cases of actual conversation, elements of the high variety and elements of the low variety are mixed in such a manner that it is frequently difficult to identify both the underlying matrix on which the specific instance of usage builds and the target at which the user aims. Actual usage is normally neither "high" nor "low" but somewhere in between.

S. Badawi's very influential *Levels of contemporary Arabic in Egypt* recognizes this problem. For him, modern Egyptian Arabic exhibits a continuum of socio-linguistic variety which he illustrates through the identification of five imaginary levels: "the classical of the heritage" *(fuṣḥā al-turāth),* "contemporary classical" *(fuṣḥā al-ʿaṣr),* "the colloquial of the cultured" *(ʿāmmiyyat al-muthaqqafīn),* "the colloquial of the enlightened" *(ʿāmmiyyat al-mutanawwirīn)* and "the colloquial of the illiterate" *(ʿāmmiyyat al-ummiyyīn)*. Although Badawi stresses that the levels are imaginary points of reference on a scale of free variation, he does assign specific linguistic features to the different levels. However, analysis of actual speech will show that there is normally a mixture of elements from various places on such a scale, operating on all levels of analysis. Not only may a sentence contain some words that are markedly classical side by side with some that are markedly colloquial but a single word marked as one variety may take an ending marked as another. The varieties, seen as levels on a scale, are therefore not discrete systems. The study of this phenomenon, called code-switching, has currently not reached the point where any decisive results can be established but a considerable amount of research is at present being carried out.

If Ferguson's original term diglossia still remains the most frequently used description of the current linguistic situation

in Arab societies, it is because, as he himself points out, the type of variation which he calls diglossic is just that and not pluriglossic because there are only two identifiable poles or ends to the scale of variation (Epilogue, 59). Furthermore, these poles are identifiable in the sense that systematic descriptions do exist, based, for the classical end of the scale, on the Arabic linguistic tradition and for the colloquial end, mostly on textbooks aimed at foreign students.

Attitudes

As K. Versteegh recently pointed out, languages are surprisingly often discussed as if they were some kind of living organisms, capable of birth, growth, change and decline. Yet they are not. They are patterns of human behavior, conventions acquired and manipulated by individuals. The attitude which the individual user of a language takes towards that language is therefore a matter of some importance. Of even greater importance are the attitudes which researchers take towards the object of their research.

Classical Arabic is, throughout the Arab world, seen as the Arabic language *par excellence*. Correspondingly, the colloquials are often seen as not being languages at all, but rather as chaotic, unsystematic and lacking in grammar. Yet a certain ambivalence of feeling towards the use of the classical language is often reported. D.B. Parkinson relates how users with an active command of the classical language are often constrained to deliberately employ a certain admixture of colloquial forms, even when speaking from rather formal platforms like that of the university lecture theatre (Variability, 92). On the other hand, suggestions for linguistic reform involving modification of the classical language or letting the colloquials take over some of its functions are either met with hostility or ignored. Classical Arabic remains the language in which the religion of Islam finds expression throughout an area considerably greater than that of the Arabic-speaking countries. It remains the language in which the cultural and political life of the Arab world is conducted and the language used by most mass media in the Arab world. It may be that the percentage of speakers who can claim an active command of the language is rather small, but there is no sign that this will seriously affect its position.

Classical Arabic is often treated as something of a special case in modern linguistics. Dominant trends, such as generative grammar, have assigned a somewhat important place among their data to the "intuition" of "native speakers" about their "first language." Classical Arabic does not quite fit in here since there is no one who has it as a first language. This may, unless due care is taken, lead to a view of classical Arabic as somehow "artificial" or "congealed" or as a "dead language" artificially kept alive by the conservatism of certain elites. The feeling that the "real" or "living" Arabic language is represented by the colloquials is quite widespread. This has the laudatory effect of drawing attention to the actual colloquial usage in which most communication within the Arab world takes place, a field which is seriously understudied. It is, however, also an attitude which an Arab may regard as offensive. Not only is this person denied the status of a "native speaker" of his own language, he is also being told that he may not really master it (Parkinson, Variability), and that it is a foreign language, or at least a strange dialect, even to the great linguists from whom he inherited its rules (Owens, *Foundations,* 8). One cannot help but feel that this is quite unnecessary and certainly counterproductive.

In the end, classical Arabic is much more

than a language. A ḥadīth of the Prophet, related in the *History of Damascus (Taʾrīkh madīnat Dimashq)* of Ibn ʿAsākir (d. 571/1176) illustrates this point: "Oh my people! God is one and the same. Our father [i.e. Adam, (see ADAM AND EVE)] is the same. No one amongst you inherits Arabic from his father or mother. Arabic is a habit of the tongue, so whoever speaks Arabic is an Arab" (Y. Suleiman, *Nationalism,* 22). Classical Arabic is thus the heritage of all Arabs, though it may not be the heritage of any individual Arab. It is the primary indicator of the Arab identity, though individual Arabs may partake of it in varying degrees. In most cases it is, and as far as we know it may always have been, more of an ideal to be striven for through painstaking effort, than an actual habit of everyday life, but this does not diminish its reality nor its status. As a matter of fact, it enhances it, for such strife is the theme around which the entire religion of Islam revolves. Thus, Arabic is more than the language of Islam, it is part of Islam. It is, as indeed are all languages, a phenomenon of culture, not one of nature, and changes as does the culture for which it is a medium changes but at the core it is unchanging, just as the document which is at the core of the culture of Islam, the Qurʾān, is unchanging.

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Arabic Literature and the Qurʾān

see LITERATURE AND THE QURʾĀN

Arabic Script

Arabic script *(al-khaṭṭ al-ʿarabī)* refers to 1) a set of characters and their sequential and spatial arrangement, 2) their forms and media and 3) the typology of a consonant-only system *(abjad)* denoting utterances in an abbreviated manner with linguistic and sociological implications (P. Daniels, Fundamentals, 730). Arabic script also forms part of the broader concept of Arabic writing which usually defines one Arabic variant (classical, Modern Standard or "written") within a multiglossic environment (see ARABIC LANGUAGE). The significant role of Arabic writing in religion, art, administration and scholarship, as well as in public and private life, characterizes the Arabic-Islamic world as a literate culture, albeit one in which the written and oral

transmission of knowledge were continuous and complementary (F. Rosenthal, Many books, 46-7). The impact of Arabic script throughout the multilingual Muslim world far surpassed that of Arabic language (F. Rosenthal, Significant uses, 53-4). As the Islamic script par excellence, Arabic was adapted by many non-Semitic Muslim languages, notably Berber, Persian, Pashto, Kurdish, Urdu, Sindhi, Kashmiri and Uyghur. In the past, languages as diverse as Medieval Spanish (Aljamiado), Ottoman Turkish, Azeri, Serbo-Croatian, Malay (Jawi), Sulu, Malagasy (Sorabe), Swahili, Hausa, Fulani and Afrikaans were periodically spelled with Arabic characters. Conversely, Christian Arabic was also recorded in Syriac (Karshūnī) and Judeo-Arabic in Hebrew characters. Today, the Arabic *abjad* is, next to the Latin alphabet, the most widely employed segmental script in the world.

Sources and methods

Arabic paleography, i.e. the history of Arabic script and its emerging styles, is based both on medieval Muslim accounts and preserved written specimens. In addition, it draws on the disciplines of papyrology, codicology, numismatics and art history (see EPIGRAPHY AND THE QUR'ĀN).

Medieval accounts of Arabic script and penmanship appear in over forty literary sources, notably Ibn al-Nadīm's (d. 385/995 or 388/998) *Fihrist* and the extensive treatment by al-Qalqashandī (d. 821/1418) in *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā* (ii, 440-88; iii, 1-226/ii², 440-88; iii², 1-222; cf. G. Endress, Arabische Schrift, 190-1; A. Gacek, al-Nuwayrī's classification, 129-30). Some of these accounts claim that the Arabic script originated in al-Anbār or al-Ḥīra in Iraq, against the mainly Syrian epigraphic evidence, a conflict N. Abbott attempts to reconcile (*Rise,* 3-12). But G. Endress (Arabische Schrift, 169-70) interprets the accounts as a retrospective construction by Muslim scholars to place the inception of writing at the point of the encounter between Aramaic-Hellenistic culture and a pre-Islamic Arab culture as exemplified by the person of ʿAdī b. Zayd (d. ca. 600 C.E.). The literary accounts of this early stage, generally composed after the time of the scribal practices they discuss, lack complete descriptions of graphemes. Ibn al-Nadīm defines one letter *(alif)* of the early Meccan script, allowing its identification in actual specimens (N. Abbott, *Rise,* 18-9, pls. 8-13). The terms *māʾil* and *mashq,* often understood as names of scripts today, may not have meant that originally (F. Déroche, Écritures coraniques, 213-21). Nonetheless scholars have ventured to identify scripts listed in the sources. J.G. Adler first applied the term *kūfic* in 1780 to qurʾānic material and J. von Karabacek did the same with *māʾil* and *ʿirāqī* (F. Déroche, Écritures coraniques, 209-12). Others identified *badīʿ* (Schroeder, *Badīʿ* script, 234-48), *ghubār* (N. Abbott, *Rise,* 37-8), *musalsal* (N. Abbott, Arabic paleography, 98-9), *jalīl* (A. Grohmann, *From the world,* 75-7), *thuluth rayḥān* (A. Grohmann, *From the world,* 81), and *qarmaṭa* (A. Dietrich, *Arabische Briefe,* 46, 67). Some medieval terms became too vague, so the *kūfī* of early Qurʾāns has been split into six groups of scripts by Déroche (*Abbasid tradition,* 34-47), and *naskhī* should no longer be used in reference to early papyri, according to G. Khan (*Arabic papyri,* 45-6). In short, the use of medieval terminology in paleographic study can be treacherous, and one should, according to Déroche, rely instead on datable specimens (Paléographie des écritures livresques, 3-5). Irrespective of their often dubious factual accuracy for the early period, the rich literary sources underscore the interest of Arabic-Islamic culture in the history of its script (see ART AND ARCHI-

TECTURE AND THE QUR'ĀN). Later, Mamlūk secretarial manuals described and even illustrated chancellery scripts which were also partially used for calligraphy. By the seventh/thirteenth century, five or, more frequently, six scripts (later called *al-aqlām al-sitta*) had established themselves in chancellery and popular practice. They fell into a "moist" *(muraṭṭab)* subgroup which emphasized the curvilinear elements and consisted of *thuluth, tawqī', riqā'* and a "dry" *(yābis)* subgroup that tended towards the rectilinear and included *muḥaqqaq, rayḥān* and *naskh*. Scripts were further classified by size — the extremes being the gigantic *ṭumār* and the tiny *ghubār* used for pigeon post — or by the presence of serifs *(tarwīs)* or closed loops (*ṭams,* A. Gacek, Arabic scripts, 144-5). The literary sources also recorded pioneering calligraphers: Ibn Muqla (d. 328/940), who codified *naskh,* elevating it to a qur'ānic script; Ibn al-Bawwāb (d. 413/1022), who further refined it; and Yāqūt al-Musta'ṣimī (d. ca. 697/1298), who invented a new way of trimming the pen and excelled in the six scripts. Ibn al-Bawwāb left us the first Qur'ān in *naskh,* dated 391/1001 (D. Rice, *Ibn al-Bawwāb,* 13 and pl. 7) and Yāqūt's name appears on several (partly forged) Qur'āns (D. James, *Master scribes,* 58-74).

The second type of source, groups of dated or datable specimens, provides a more reliable basis for early paleographic study. Even so, this research remains in a preliminary state with a vast amount of yet uncharted material in Eastern and Western libraries including that from recent finds, such as the one in the Great Mosque of San'ā' in 1971-2. The latter discovery not only offers new material for the paleography of the Qur'ān but also for the history of its codification (G. Puin, *Maṣāḥif Ṣan'ā',* 11-14; id., Observations, 110-1; E. Whelan, Forgotten witness, 13). During the first three centuries of Islam, scripts diverged among four more or less homogenous groups of texts with distinct functions: memorial and votive inscriptions, Qur'āns, papyrus documents and letters, and scholarly and literary manuscripts. To apply one script terminology derived from secretarial manuals to these various groupings is problematic. Some scholars prefer a careful analysis of all, or a significant sample, of a script's graphemes in order to build a typology, yet the conclusions drawn from small samples are limited (S. Flury, *Islamische Schriftbänder,* 8-21; F. Déroche, Écritures coraniques, 213). Different concepts have been introduced to grasp the level of execution in a piece of writing. For example, a cluster of scripts can be viewed as a circle with the specimen closest to the "ideal" at its center and the loosest reproduction at the periphery (F. Déroche, *Abbasid tradition,* 16). Similarly, N. Chomsky's syntactical notion of competence versus performance serves to distinguish a writer's ideal form, "competence," from the actual result, "performance" (G. Khan, *Arabic papyri,* 39, n. 53).

The formation of Arabic script before Islam

Prior to the (north) Arabic script, inhabitants of the Arabian desert wrote graffiti — short informal texts on rocks and the like — using the Dedānic, Liḥyānic, Ṣafā'itic, Thamūdic and Ḥasaean (also called Ḥasā'itic), derivatives of South Arabian script. In Tell el-Maskhūṭa near Ismailiyya in Lower Egypt, Arabs used Imperial Aramaic as early as the fifth century B.C.E. but, four centuries later, the Arab satellite states of the Seleucid and Roman empires developed their own branches of Aramaic script, including Nabatean and Palmyrenian. The script of the Nabateans continued to be used after the Romans defeated them in 106 C.E. for inscriptions made by Arabs throughout the Provincia Arabia until the fourth century C.E. Two such

inscriptions (ʿEn Avdat, between 88-9 and 125-6 C.E.; al-Namāra, 328 C.E.) employ Nabatean characters for writing Arabic while others (e.g. Umm al-Jimāl, ca. 250 C.E.; Madāʾin Ṣāliḥ, 267/268 C.E.) show a linguistic admixture of Arabic (A. Negev, Obodas, 48; K. Versteegh, *Arabic language,* 30-6 with further bibliography).

The characteristic basic forms of later Arabic

The characteristic basic forms of later Arabic (the Arabic *abjad*) first materialized in five brief pre-Islamic inscriptions from Syria and northwest Arabia. They display a clearly Arabic *ductus* — general shape and formation of letters and their combinations — though their language is controversial and their writing unhomogeneous. Except for the graffito in a Nabatean sanctuary in Jabal Ramm near Aqaba, datable to the first half of the fourth century C.E., they all belong to the sixth century C.E. They include a trilingual inscription in Greek, Syriac and Arabic on a Christian martyry in Zabad southeast of Aleppo (512 C.E.), a historical inscription in Jabal Usays (Sēs) on the Syrian-Roman border about 100 kilometers southeast of Damascus (528 C.E.), a graffito in the double church of Umm al-Jimāl southwest of Bosra (ca. sixth century C.E.) and a Greek and Arabic bilingual inscription on a martyry in Ḥarrān in the Lejāʾ (586 C.E.; see A. Grohmann, *Arabische Paläographie,* ii, 14-5; B. Gruendler, *Development,* 13-4.). The general proportions of this pre-Islamic Arabic script suggest Syriac calligraphic influence (N. Abbott, *Rise,* 19-20; F. Briquel-Chatonnet, De l'araméen, 143-4; J.F. Healey, Nabatean, 41-3). Yet the individual Arabic graphemes descend through Nabatean from the west Semitic alphabet. T. Nöldeke first established this link in 1865, later to be confirmed against J. Starcky's Syriac thesis (Pétra, 932-4) by A. Grohmann (*Arabische Paläographie,* ii, 13, 17-21). This affiliation is now fully documented (J.F. Healey, Nabatean, 44-5 and tables; B. Gruendler, *Development,* 123-30 and charts). The shift from Nabatean to Arabic was complex, for the Nabatean script combined epigraphic, formal and free cursive variants, developing at different rates. At the end of the first century C.E. the formal cursive of the Engaddi papyrus (J. Starcky, Contrat, 162, pls. 1-3) and the free cursive of the Nessana ostraca (F. Rosenthal, Nabatean, 200) already include shapes which the epigraphic script only achieves two centuries later. But few cursive documents have been preserved and supplementary evidence must be gleaned from late epigraphic Nabatean (J. Naveh, *Early history,* 156; J.F. Healey, Nabatean, 43-4, 50-2 with further bibliography, 156).

The five constitutive trends of Arabic script articulated themselves very early: 1) positional variants (allographs) emerged in the Aramaic cursive of the fourth century B.C.E., 2) letters became fully connected in cursive Nabatean of the first century C.E., 3) the *lām-alif* ligature appeared in the Namāra inscription (328 C.E.), 4) the "ceiling-line" limiting the height of most letters yielded to a baseline for free cursive in the first century C.E. (and for graffiti the third century C.E.), 5) the bars of letters were integrated into continuous strokes and formerly distinct letters merged *(bēṯ/nūn, gīmel/ḥēṯ, zayin/rēš, yōḏ/tāw, pēh/qōp)* in the cursive of Naḥal Ḥever. (In this article, a letter's name, e.g. *zayin* or *zāy,* is a reference to its *shape;* and one mentioned by its phonetic symbol, e.g. *z,* is a reference to its *sound*). These mergers are the only ways to account for the Arabic homographs *jīm/ḥāʾ, rāʾ/zāy,* medial *bāʾ/nūn, yāʾ/tāʾ,* and medial *fāʾ/qāf* and by themselves preclude a provenance from Syriac, where these graphemes stay distinct. Cursive Nabatean graphemes most closely approximate those of pre-Islamic Arabic: straight (Nabatean)

alep̄/(Arabic) *alif,* short hooked *tāw/tāʾ,* three parallel teeth for *shīn/shīn,* integrated *ṭēṭ/ṭāʾ,* hooked *ʿayin/ʿayn,* a closed loop without stem for *pēh/fāʾ,* rounded *mēm/mīm,* looped *hēh/hāʾ,* lowered curved *wāw/wāw,* and s-shaped left-turning final *yōḏ/yāʾ.* At the present state of paleographic evidence, the emergence of the Arabic *abjad* must be assigned to the late second or third century C.E., between the latest cursive Nabatean and the earliest attested Arabic script.

In the Arabic *abjad,* two formative trends (1 and 2 above) were harmonized into a coherent system, each shape corresponding to a specific (initial, medial, final or isolated) position, excepting the six letters *alif, dāl/dhāl, rāʾ/zāy* and *wāw,* which formed no connection to the left. In addition to the above-mentioned mergers (5), homographs had been imported with the West Semitic *abjad* based on its reduced inventory of twenty-two Phoenician sounds. In Arabic most proto-Semitic sounds (except *ś*) had been preserved and had to be recorded by an extant grapheme. This explains the presence of multiple homographs. The Nabatean letters *tāw, ḥēṯ, dāleṯ, ṣādeh, ṭēṯ* and *ʿayin* denoted additionally the sounds *th, kh, dh, ḏ, ẓ* and *ġh,* and Nabatean *shīn* denoted both Arabic *s* and *sh*. The spelling of a given Arabic word followed its (Imperial Aramaic or Nabatean) etymological cognate (W. Diem, Hauptentwicklungsstadien, 102-3). Combined graphic and sound mergers reduced the Arabic graphemes to eighteen *(alif, bāʾ, jīm, dāl, rāʾ, sīn, ṣād, ṭāʾ, ʿayn, fāʾ, qāf, kāf, lām, mīm, nūn, hāʾ, wāw, yāʾ),* or fifteen in non-final position (identical *bāʾ/nūn/yāʾ* and *fāʾ/qāf*) expressing a total of twenty-eight sounds. This homogeneity became an asset for Arabic calligraphy, but it also hampered the legibility of texts.

The development of Arabic script in early Islam

The pre-Islamic formation and early Islamic documentation of Arabic script suggest that it was readily available at the time of the Prophet. Some qurʾānic fragments on papyrus have indeed been attributed to the first/seventh century, though a more precise dating remains impossible. As the medium recording the Qurʾān and the official script of the Umayyad caliphate since ʿAbd al-Malik's (d. 86/705) reforms, the Arabic script thrived and spread from Upper Egypt to Sogdiana within a century. In this time, five distinct scripts emerged: 1) An angular epigraphic script, first attested in a clumsily carved Egyptian tombstone (31/652), reached a regular *ductus* in milestone inscriptions (65/685-86/705) and the mosaic band and copper plate of the Dome of the Rock (both 72/691; see ARCHAEOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN). Arabic rounded cursive, first attested in a requisition of sheep on papyrus (22/643), diversified into 2) a routinized ligatured protocol script, 3) a wide-spaced slender chancellery hand, preserved in the gubernatorial correspondence of Qurra b. Sharīk (r. 90/709-96/714), including 4) a denser and squatter variant for bilingual tax notifications *(entagie)* and 5) a slanting script of qurʾānic fragments, now referred to as *ḥijāzī* (B. Gruendler, *Development,* 131-41).

Diacritical marks *(iʿjām, naqṭ)* were possibly inspired by pre-Islamic Nabatean or Syriac examples (G. Endress, Arabische Schrift, 175, n. 82 with further bibliography). They appear as a full system, though used selectively, on the earliest dated documents: the aforementioned requisition and a building inscription (58/678) on a dam of the first Umayyad caliph Muʿāwiya (r. 41/661-60/680). During the next two centuries diacritics were generalized in Qurʾāns and difficult texts. As points or strokes — the former predominate in Qurʾāns, the latter in papyri and manuscripts — they marked either several meanings of a homograph *(<bāʾ/tāʾ/thāʾ/nūn/yāʾ>, <jīm/ḥāʾ/khāʾ>, <fāʾ/qāf>)* or only one of a pair

(<dāl/dhāl>, <ṭāʾ/zāʾ>, <ʿayn/ghayn>, <sīn/shīn>). In the second/eighth century, *qāf* alone was distinguished by a dot above or below. Only later did *fāʾ* receive the respective opposite diacritic. This method was preserved in *maghribī* script, while a single dot on *fāʾ* and a double dot on *qāf* spread in the East from the third/ninth century onwards. The early fluidity of the system articulated itself in further alternate diacritics. A qurʾānic manuscript (Paris Ar. 376 b) distinguishes *zāy* from *rāʾ* and *ʿayn* from *ghayn* with a dot beneath and *sīn* from *shīn* with three dots beneath. In the second/eighth century, the feminine ending written in pausal form as *hāʾ* received two dots, forming the *tāʾ marbūṭa,* and a century later, a miniature *kāf* was placed inside the final *kāf* to prevent confusion with *lām*. *Muhmal* signs indicated unmarked letters in the form of dots, tilted small *lā* or miniatures of the letters themselves. In modern print, diacritics have become part of the letters, yet in pre-modern writing, their presence varied greatly. Business and private correspondence largely dispensed with them, and an entirely unmarked epistle conveyed a writer's respect for the learning of the addressee.

The Arabic script is an *abjad* (or consonantal) system, with the added obligatory notation of long vowels. It abbreviates words by omitting the short vowels, doubled consonants and inflectional endings. Thus it can be read faster than alphabetic script, denoting both consonants and vowels, but it requires simultaneous linguistic reconstruction. This is done for each word theoretically by paradigmatic-etymological analysis and practically by lexical recognition. Many words, however, are ambiguous, *<ktʾb>* for instance, stands for *kitāb,* "book," and *kuttāb,* "scribes," the correct reading depending on the syntactic and semantic context. Such reconstruction requires competence in the classical language *(ʿarabiyya),* and Arabic-Islamic society is unique in the precedence it assigns this knowledge as the foundation of general culture. The same graphic economy safeguards the inclusiveness of Arabic script, for it tends to veil the mistakes and hypercorrections of uneducated writers. This feature also permits written texts to be read as colloquial, a capacity the renowned Egyptian writer Tawfīq al-Ḥakīm (1898-1987) exploited in his play *al-Ṣafqa,* "The Deal."

Most medieval Arabic sources ascribe the invention of qurʾānic vocalization to Abū l-Aswad al-Duʾalī (d. 69/688) or his disciple Naṣr b. ʿĀṣim (d. 89/707), but they trace the impulse back to an Umayyad governor, Ziyād b. Abīhi (r. 45/665-53/673) or al-Ḥajjāj (r. 75/694-95/714). Evidence of the actual use of vowel signs in the mid-second/eighth century can be gathered from the theological dispute about them, as well as from contemporary qurʾānic fragments (N. Abbott, *Rise,* nos. 9-13, 15). There, a colored dot above a consonant indicates the following short vowel /a/ *(fatḥ),* beneath it /i/*(kasr),* at the letter's base /u/ *(ḍamm)* and a double dot in these positions signifies indeterminacy *(tanwīn)*. Further orthographic signs — an inverted half-circle or hook for a double consonant and a line above *alif* for its zero-value *(waṣl)* — were ascribed to al-Khalīl b. Aḥmad (d. 175/791) though attested only in the third/ninth century. Since the orthography of the consonantal text reflected the dialect of the Quraysh, it did not indicate the glottal stop *(hamz)* unless an otiose *alif* had been kept or a glide had replaced it. *Hamz* was reinstated as a supplemental sign to an existing letter *(alif, wāw* or *yāʾ)* or placed on the line. The marker was a colored dot, a semi-circle or a miniature *ʿayn*. In the same century, papyri began to display the use of short strokes for the vowels /a/ and /i/, a small

wāw for /u/ and a double stroke (or a double *wāw*) for indeterminacy. Further miniature letters were introduced: to indicate the absence of vowels *(sukūn),* a small *mīm* standing for the word for "apocopation," *jazm;* a small *shīn* derived from the word *shadd* or *tashdīd,* "strengthening," for a double consonant; a small *ṣād* standing for either *waṣl* or *ṣila,* "connection," for *alif* with zero-value, and small *mīm-dāl* derived from the word *madd,* "extension," for word-initial /ʾā/ or word-final /āʾ/. These orthographic signs became fully used a century later in Qurʾāns and difficult texts. Qurʾānic verse markers (dots, strokes, circles or rosettes) remained the only punctuation. Occasionally, non-qurʾānic texts were subdivided with dotted circles or extended words *(mashq)*.

Papyri, Qurʾāns, and manuscripts

Ibn Durustawayh's (d. 346/957) thesis that script varies by profession, that there are, for example, differences between a copier of Qurʾān codices *(maṣāḥif),* a bookseller-copyist *(warrāq)* and a chancellery scribe *(kātib),* is supported by the fact that three functionally distinct groups of texts — letters and documents on papyrus or paper, Qurʾāns, and literary and scholarly manuscripts — have warranted their own subdisciplines (Ibn Durustawayh, *Kuttāb,* 113-27; E. Whelan, Early Islam, 49-53).

Papyrus remained in use until the cheaper and smoother rag paper replaced it in the middle of the fourth/tenth century. In addition to governmental use, papyrus was (re)used for legal documents as well as commercial and private letters, which were written in a careless non-official style (*muṭlaq),* governed by common use rather than formal rules *(muḥaqqaq)*. The writing can be divided into two phases dominated by "tendencies" rather than discrete scripts, as a piece of writing depended not only on date, but also on purpose and addressee. For example, a later text might revert to archaic graphic features, an earlier text might anticipate new developments or different stages of development could coincide (W. Diem, *Arabische Briefe,* nos. 24/25). 1) The script of the first two Islamic centuries was angular with mostly open loops, well-separated letters and extended connecting strokes. Typical letter shapes recall the epigraphic script, e.g. isolated *alif* with a bent foot and extending high above other letters; medial/final *alif* extending below the connecting stroke; *dāl* bending rightward at its top; and medial/final *ʿayn* made up of two oblique strokes (G. Khan, *Arabic papyri,* 27-39; id., *Bills,* 19-21). 2) With the third Islamic century, letters grew rounded, most loops were filled in, and four cursive tendencies dominated the performance: Angular forms became rounded, rounded forms, straightened, the nib no longer left the writing surface between letters and the pen covered a shorter distance. New homographs ensued, such as *dāl/rāʾ* and final *nūn/yāʾ*. Unusual ligatures abounded to the point of connecting most letters of a given line. This, as well as the papyri's laconic formulation, complicates their decipherment. A comprehensive assessment of the papyri's scripts is still needed; nonetheless, recent publications by W. Diem, R. Khoury, G. Khan and others have rendered much material accessible.

As is the case with the Yemeni find, Qurʾāns offer cohesive groups of scripts, conducive to establishing script families. For some areas and periods they also provide the only illuminated specimens. Qurʾānic fragments prior to the third/ninth century, however, lack dates, leaving their dating to paleographic considerations (A. Grohmann, Problem, 225). The production of Qurʾāns falls into two larger phases, using very different scripts. From the beginning of Islam until the fourth/

tenth century, Qurʾāns were written on vellum and more rarely on papyrus. During the earliest period, usually limited to the first/seventh century, Qurʾāns were written in high format in various styles of slanted *ḥijāzī* script. From the second/eighth century onwards, broad format fragments exhibit six "ʿAbbāsid styles" (F. Déroche's term replacing *kūfī*), each of which is defined by a significant sample of letters. During the third/ninth century, "new styles" (F. Déroche's term replacing "eastern" or "broken *kūfī*") emerge with oblique letter shapes and a changing thickness of the line, resembling contemporary book script (F. Déroche, Collection, 157-60). Meanwhile, the western part of the Arab-Islamic world developed the "new style" into *maghribī* and *andalusī,* written on vellum in a square format. These western scripts persisted, unaffected by the eastern emergence of *naskh* script. Ibn al-Bawwāb's *naskh* codex dated 391/1001 heralds the second phase of Qurʾān production in rounded scripts written in high format and on paper. An early *muḥaqqaq* Qurʾān is attested in 555/1160 (M. Lings and Y. Safadi, *Qurʾān,* no. 60). Rounded scripts soon reached calligraphic perfection. *Naskh, muḥaqqaq* and *rayḥān* formed the Qurʾān's main text and *thuluth* adorned headings as did ornamental *kūfī*. The Saljūq and Ayyūbid dynasties commissioned magnificent Qurʾāns, celebrating the return to Sunnī orthodoxy. Yet the earliest fully preserved (single or multiple-volume) Qurʾāns belong to the Mamlūk and Īlkhānid periods. Under Tīmūrid, Ṣafavid, Mughal and Ottoman patronage, the qurʾānic scripts themselves hardly changed, but were creatively adorned and framed with exquisite illuminations.

The scripts of scholarly and literary manuscripts and codices are the least studied to date and pose the greatest problems for classification. The scholars, literati and copyists were not committed to formal scribal criteria and their hands diverged substantially. Systematic paleographic study has been almost nonexistent up to the present and is urgently needed. Much material must still be consulted in the albums collected around the turn of the last century. However, a preliminary survey based on dated specimens suggests five styles (G. Endress, Handschriftenkunde, 282-4), the first two of which, dating mostly to the third/ninth century, overlap with a style defined in another study as "ʿAbbāsid book script" (F. Déroche, Manuscrits arabes, 356-63, tables i-ii).

Calligraphy

Arabic script also served as a highly refined artistic medium on buildings, objects, paper and other supports. Calligraphy flourished in the post-Mongolic period, particularly under Ṣafavid, Mughal and Ottoman patronage. The Ottoman *dīvānī* script emerged and scripts of the oblique *ductus, taʿlīq, nastaʿlīq* and the "broken" *shikasta* found application in illuminated pages and albums, mostly in Persian. New calligraphic genres were invented, among them the *tughrā* (originally a sultan's stylized signature, later any pious name or formula shaped into a graphic), pages of single letter exercises, mirrored writing, the verbal image of the prophet *(ḥilya),* miniature script inside larger letters *(ghubār),* decoupage and the gilt leaf. Arabic or pseudo-Arabic script was also adopted as an ornamental feature in European medieval and Renaissance art. See also CALLIGRAPHY AND THE QURʾĀN.

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Arabs

The native inhabitants of the Arabian peninsula and their descendants. The Qurʾān refers repeatedly to what may loosely be called peoples, communities, tribes and nations (see TRIBES AND CLANS). Most belong to the past but a few are contemporaneous, e.g. the Byzantines (al-Rūm, see BYZANTINES) and the Quraysh (q.v.). However, the Arabs *(al-ʿarab)* are not among these groups, either of the past or of the present. Instead, the Qurʾān employs the adjective *ʿarabī* (Arab, Arabic) to qualify a number of substantives such as the Qurʾān itself (six times) and the language in which it is re-

vealed (three times). In one instance only, Q 13:37, the expression "an Arab(ic) judgment" *(ḥukm ʿarabī)* is used in a context which may suggest a contrast between two ethnic groups but may equally be interpreted linguistically. Finally, there is another phrase in Q 41:44, which contrasts *ʿarabī* (Arab, Arabic) to *aʿjamī* (non-Arab) but here, too, the linguistic interpretation is as likely as the ethnic. From this brief portrait of the term "Arab(ic)," one might conclude that the Qurʾān does not employ this term to refer to a distinct ethnic group. This impression is fortified by the fact that in pre-Islamic (*jāhilī*, see AGE OF IGNORANCE) poetry, the terms *ʿarab* and *ʿarabī* are hardly ever encountered as an ethnic designation.

Yet the issue appears to be more complex than this. To begin with, it is not entirely legitimate to conclude from the absence of ethnic designators the absence of any concept of an Arab *ethnos*. Secondly, the Qurʾān insists upon its own manifest clarity and derives this clarity from its use of the Arabic language (q.v.; e.g. Q 16:103; 26:195). In this, one may well detect an appeal to Arabism as a form of collective consciousness. Thirdly, the ten references in the Qurʾān to a group called *al-aʿrāb* (nomadic Arabs; see BEDOUIN; NOMADS) — a term that has preserved the same meaning up to the present day in many Arab countries and has been consistently applied by urban Arabs to nomads — suggests a contrast of group identities that is not far from the ethnic. "You call us *aʿrāb* but our name is the Arabs," sings a poet of the Umayyad pe-riod (41/661-132/750), not too many years after the revelation of the Qurʾān.

Examined from this or a similar perspective, it appears that the term "Arab" in the Qurʾān should be contextualized within a broad array of kindred terms. One such that should be singled out here is the term *umma* (group, community, religious following; see COMMUNITY AND SOCIETY IN THE QURʾĀN). The *umma* of Muslims is what the Qurʾān proposes as the new collective identity of the faithful: "You are the best *umma* that ever was delegated to mankind" (Q 3:110). If we now reintroduce the emphasis by the Qurʾān on its Arabic speech, it would be possible to argue that this new *umma,* this new collective identifier, is to be coupled with Arabic, which is, as it were, its banner of clarity. Thus, although a community of the faithful strictly defined by religion is put forward as the ideal, this is nevertheless combined with a particular cultural expression. In short, while the term "Arab" may not have been used in a strictly ethnic sense in the Qurʾān, a quality of Arabness is attached to the concept of *umma,* rendering it an essential aspect of the earliest self-definition of the new faith. See also PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QURʾĀN.

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ʿArafāt

A plain extending about six and a half km in breadth from east to west and about twelve km in length, lying twenty-one km to the east of Mecca (q.v.). The grammarians agree that the word ʿArafāt is a singular noun in the form of a plural. Although the plain is also referred to by the singular

form ʿArafa, this is regarded by some experts as a later-day corruption (Yāqūt, *Buldān,* iv, 104). The name, according to the classical scholars, is derived from the verbs based on the root *ʿ-r-f.* According to one account, Gabriel (q.v.) is said to have taught *(ʿarrafa)* the rites of the pilgrimage to Abraham (q.v.). When Gabriel made the prophet stand *(waqqafahu)* on the plain, he asked him "Do you know? *(ʿarafta)*" and he replied, "yes." Other discussions of the etymology claim that the plain was where Adam and Eve (q.v.) encountered each other *(taʿārafā)* after the fall. The sole mention of this place in the Qurʾān is in Q 2:198: "There is no fault in you that you seek bounty from your Lord. So when you pour out from ʿArafāt, remember God at the sacred monument. Remember him as he has guided you, though formerly you had gone astray (q.v.)."

The plain of ʿArafāt plays an important role in the rites of the pilgrimage. According to a famous ḥadīth of the Prophet, the ritual at ʿArafāt *is* the pilgrimage. On the ninth day of the month of Dhū l-Ḥijja, the pilgrim must stand *(waqafa)* before God from shortly after midday until sunset. Most of this time is occupied by two long sermons (sing. *khuṭba*), which are usually delivered by a local dignitary. The preacher sits astride a camel on the side of a low hill known as the Mountain of Mercy (Jabal al-Raḥma), also sometimes called ʿArafāt or ʿArafa, which lies in the northeastern corner of the plain.

At one time, the plain was fertile. It is described as containing fields, meadows and fine dwellings which the inhabitants of Mecca occupied during the pilgrimage. Indeed, the area produced a number of notable transmitters of ḥadīth and poetry (Yāqūt, *Buldān,* iv, 104-5). Today, little remains but a few stunted mimosas and the plain is uninhabited with the exception of one day of the year. See also PILGRIMAGE.

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Ararat

The tallest of two peaks of a group of mountains, actually an extinct volcanic range, in the northeast of modern Turkey, south of present-day Armenia. Mount Ararat is identified by Jews and Christians with the biblical story of the flood and the ark (q.v.) of Noah (q.v.) in *Gen* 6-9. This peak is known by the Arabs as Jabal al-Ḥārith, by the Turks as Büyük Ağrı Dağ, by the Iranians as Kūh-i Nūḥ (Mountain of Noah) and as Mount Masis (or Masik) by the Armenians, who view the mountain as their national symbol, but did not come to consider it to be the resting-place of Noah's ark until about the twelfth century C.E.

Islamic tradition makes no mention of Ararat, for Q 11:44 states that "[Noah's] ship came to rest on Mount Jūdī," present-day Cudi Dağ. This mountain lies some forty km northeast of Jazīrat Ibn ʿUmar (now Cizre) in Turkey, just north of the Iraqi border, and some three hundred km southwest of Ararat. Nearby lies the town of Thamānīn (Arabic for "eighty"), supposedly named for the eighty passengers of the ark who survived the flood.

Attempts at locating the biblical Ararat are complicated by the names and locations given to the resting-place of the ark

in other languages and traditions. It is often overlooked that the biblical text, which has inspired repeated searches of remnants of the ark, actually states (*Gen* 8:4) that "the ark [of Noah] rested on the mountains of Ararat" as the flood waters subsided. In the Jewish Aramaic Targum and in Syriac "mountains of Ararat" is translated "turē Qardū." The latter appears as Qardā in the famous geographical dictionary of Yāqūt (d. 626/1229), *Muʿjām al-buldān* (iv, 56), which locates it south of the present day Ararat. Yāqūt states that "[al-Jūdī]… is a mountain overlooking Jazīrat Ibn ʿUmar, on the east side of the Tigris, in the district of Mosul" (ii, 144, s.v. al-Jūdī), hence in the territory of ancient Qardū. Some scholars have linked this name with Gordyene, the Greek appellation for the entire area and generally connected with the Kurds, whose ancient presence in this area seems to be attested by Xenophon (d. ca. 350 B.C.E.). The q/k of Qardū/Kurd, however, presents a problem and scholars are now of the opinion that an earlier people in this area, named Qardū were succeeded by the Kurds coming from the east.

The location of Ararat is undoubtedly connected with the ancient kingdom of Urarṭu (Araraṭ in ancient Hebrew). Urarṭu ruled much of the area of today's eastern Turkey from about the ninth to the seventh century B.C.E., vying for control of the region with the Assyrians until, weakened by constant warfare with its neighbors, it was finally conquered by the Medes in 612 B.C.E. A current view is, therefore, that the biblical phrase "the mountains of Ararat" actually refers to the entire area of mountain ranges of the kingdom of Urarṭu which includes both Mount Jūdī and Mount Ararat. See also JŪDĪ.

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Arbitration

An arrangement by which two or more persons, having a difference, appoint someone to hear and settle their dispute and to abide by that decision. Arbitration appears in the Qurʾān several times. The Arabic equivalent, used only in the singular, is *ḥukm,* a verbal noun of *ḥakama*. The root *ḥ-k-m,* which is said to be of non-Arabic origin (Jeffery, *For. vocab.,* 111), has a number of meanings (see FOREIGN VOCABULARY). The principal meanings of the simple verbal form *ḥakama* are "to govern," "to restrain," "to pass judgment" and "to be sage." From these original meanings *ḥākim,* "he who decides, the authority, governor, judge, wise," and *ḥukm,* "order, rule, sentence, judgment, wisdom," are derived (Q 5:46-9; 6:56; 12:39; 18:25; 26:82). *Ḥakam,* "arbiter," appears twice in the Qurʾān. One verse enjoins the appointment of an arbiter in the case of marital disputes: "If you fear a split between a man and his wife, send for an arbiter from his family and an arbiter from her family. If both want to be reconciled, God will adjust things between them. For God has full knowledge, and is acquainted with all things" (Q 4:35). The other is "Shall I seek an arbiter other than God, when he it is who has sent you the book, explained in detail?" (Q 6:114).

The appointment of arbiters, like a number of other practices of the Islamic community, is of pre-Islamic origin. In the Mecca of Muḥammad's day, it was customary for the parties in a dispute to select their own arbiter, usually a man noted for his tact, wisdom and knowledge of ancestral custom. Very often the disputing parties referred their case to a soothsayer (*kāhin,* see SOOTHSAYERS), a practice the Qur'ān specifically denounces (Q 52:29; 69:42).

Ultimately, the Qur'ān stresses that final judgment belongs to God alone (Q 6:57, 62; 12:40; see LAST JUDGMENT) and "the Arbiter" *(al-ḥakam)* is one of his titles (see GOD AND HIS ATTRIBUTES). It is he who conferred the authority to make decisions on his prophets (Q 21:78-9). As long as Muḥammad was alive, he was naturally regarded as the ideal person to settle disputes and was elevated to the position of judge supreme. His functions and responsibilities in Medina are defined in terms of qur'ānic decrees: "We have sent down to you the Book (q.v.) with the truth in order that you may judge *(li-taḥkuma)* between the people on the basis of what God has shown you" (Q 4:105). Muḥammad distinguished himself from soothsayers by basing his judgments upon scripture.

Muḥammad is told that if Jews come to him seeking arbitration and he accepts, "Judge *(faḥkum)* between them fairly" (Q 5:42; see Watt-Bell, *Introduction,* 29). The Prophet left Mecca for the purpose of acting as an arbiter between the feuding tribes in Medina (see EMIGRATION). His role as the messenger (q.v.) of God apparently suggested that he was a man of superior wisdom (Watt, *Islamic political thought,* 21). Later generations ascribed to Muḥammad a great number of legal decisions which, coupled with the existing customary law, formed the basis of Islamic law. See also JUDGMENT; LAW AND THE QUR'ĀN.

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Archaeology and the Qur'ān

At present the field of archaeology has little to contribute to an understanding of the Qur'ān and the milieu in which Islam arose. Archaeological excavations are taboo in Mecca (q.v.) and Medina (q.v.) and only a few other excavations or surveys have yet taken place in the Arabian peninsula that shed much light on the topic.

The pioneering work on historical geography and on the initial survey and collections of inscriptions in the Arabian peninsula began at the end of the nineteenth century with such explorers as Alois Musil in northern Arabia and Eduard Glaser in the Yemen, but only a limited number of archaeological surveys or excavations were carried out prior to the second World War. Substantial archaeological work has been underway since the 1950s in the Yemen (see B. Doe, *Monuments,* for a summary) and in the Arabian Gulf states (conveniently synthesized by D. Potts, *Arabian Gulf*). Archaeology in Saudi Arabia, beginning with the excavation at Qaryat al-Fā'w in 1972 and regional surveys since 1976 (published in the first issues of *Aṭlāl*), is less advanced than in those two areas.

Yet some information has become available. Among the principal journals devoted to the archaeology of the Arabian peninsula are *Aṭlāl,* published by the Department of Antiquities in Saudi Arabia since 1977, the *Proceedings of the seminar for Arabian stud-*

ies, held annually in Great Britain since 1971, and *Arabian archaeology and epigraphy* since 1990. One should also note in general the several volumes of the *Studies in the history of Arabia* published in Riyadh between 1979 and 1989. While few articles in those journals examine the physical remains of the cultural milieu of early Islam, there are two articles — S. Rashīd, Āthār Islāmiyya and G. King, Settlements — that summarize the state of knowledge about the archaeology of Arabia around the rise of Islam. One should also note numerous short entries of relevance in the *Oxford encyclopedia of archaeology in the Near East* (1997).

The light that archaeology can shed on the Qurʾān falls into two categories: 1) the physical remains from the distant pre-Islamic past that can be associated with earlier biblical and Arabian prophets and peoples (see SCRIPTURE AND THE QURʾĀN; PUNISHMENT STORIES), 2) the physical remains that can be informative for the lifetime of Muḥammad. Concerning the distant pre-Islamic past, the archaeological remains in Palestine that can be associated with the Israelites and other peoples also recorded in the Bible have been receiving intensive attention for over a century and little need be said here. But one should note that there is no recorded physical trace of the destruction of the people of Lot (q.v.; Q 15:76; 25:40; 37:137; 15:73; 37:136) other than the general God-forsaken barrenness of the Dead Sea region.

A number of qurʾānic verses relate to events that took place in Jerusalem (q.v.) in the pre-Islamic periods. Likewise, the Muslims early on localized there the *miḥrāb* of Mary (q.v.; Q 3:37), the *miḥrāb* of Zechariah (q.v.; Q 3:39; 19:11), the cradle of Jesus (q.v.; Q 3:46; 5:110; 19.29), the *miḥrāb* of David (q.v.; Q 38:21) and the gate where the Children of Israel (q.v.) were to enter and say "Repentance" (Q 2:58; 7:161; cf. A. Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem;* A. Kaplony, Die fatimidische Moschee). The Islamic tradition has also associated eschatological traditions with the double-door golden gate on the east enclosure wall of the Ḥaram (the Arabic-Islamic designation of the Temple Mount), called the "gate of mercy and repentance" (localizing Q 57:13). Yet the development of the architectural manifestations associated with those qurʾānic allusions, which have no claim to preserving any pre-Islamic features, falls within the purview of later Islamic art and architectural history rather than archaeology. No trace of the palace of Solomon (q.v.; Q 27:44) or the first temple has been identified nor would they have survived the neo-Babylonian destruction of the city in 586 B.C.E. and subsequent rebuildings.

The people of Midian (q.v.), to whom the prophet Shuʿayb (q.v.) was sent (Q 7:85; 11:84; 26:176), are also known from the Bible and can be identified with the population of northwest Arabia in the northern Hejaz and Gulf of Aqaba coast during the late second millennium B.C.E. in the Late Bronze Age (G. Mendenhall, Qurayya). But only limited survey work has been done in the area, notably at the major site of Qurayya, which consists of a citadel, a walled sedentary village and irrigated fields. Such clearly important sites like al-Badʾ, the probable city of Midian itself, and Maghāʾir Shuʿayb await careful examination.

To turn to the non-biblical, pre-Islamic peoples, the Thamūd (q.v.), the people to whom the prophet Ṣāliḥ (q.v.) was sent (e.g. Q 7:73-9; 11:61-8; 26:141-58; 27:45-52; 54:23-31), are a historically well-documented tribal group in northwest Arabia. The Thamūd first appear in Assyrian texts in the eighth century B.C.E. as tribal enemies of the Assyrians (I. Ephʿal, *The ancient Arabs*); the name also appears in a variety of Greek and Roman written sources. Most interestingly, a bilingual Greek-Nabataean dedicatory inscription records the erection of a temple dedicated to the

god Ilāhā between 166 and 169 C.E. in the reign of the Roman emperors Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus at Ruwwāfa in northwest Saudi Arabia by the confederation of the Thamūd (*Thamudênôn ethnos* in Greek; *ŜRKTH TMWDW* in Nabataean), by the heads of the confederation and by the efforts of the Roman governor who had made peace among them (D. Graf, The Saracens; M. O'Connor, Etymology of Saracen). The term *ŜRKTH* for confederation is a possible etymology for the term "Saracen" that the Romans used to identify the Arabs in general. The architectural style of the temple is typical Nabataean and along with the use of Nabataean for the dedicatory inscriptions reflects the acculturation of the Thamūd to their Nabataean rulers. One assumes that the temple functioned as a central shrine for the Thamūdic confederation along the major caravan route. The Thamūd became federate allies of the Romans and served as auxiliaries in the Roman army. For example, there were cavalry units in the fourth century C.E. identified as "Thamudeni" stationed in Palestine in the Negev, and as "Saraceni Thamudeni" stationed in Egypt in the Nile Delta.

The name Thamūd, however, only occurs a very few times in pre-Islamic Arabian inscriptions themselves. The inscriptions found by the thousands throughout northern Arabia and southern Syria and Jordan of uncertain date and debated classification, which modern scholars have attributed to nomads in the pre-Islamic centuries and have labeled as "Thamūdic" for the sake of convenience, need not have had anything to do with the Thamūd themselves. The "Thamūdic" inscriptions, mostly short graffiti recording personal names, may have been written by a number of diverse tribes with no necessary connection with the Thamūdic confederation. See also ARABIC SCRIPT.

The place where the Thamūd cut the mountains into dwellings (Q 7:74; 89:9) has commonly been identified with Ḥijr/Madā'in Ṣāliḥ in northwest Arabia where in the first century C.E. the Nabataean rulers, generals and other central government authorities, rather than the locals, cut numerous tombs for themselves into the mountain sides, similar to their more famous tombs in Petra. Architectural studies were carried out there in an earlier period (A. Jaussen and F. Savignac, *Mission archeologique*) and archaeological excavations began in 1986 (see the preliminary reports in *Aṭlāl* since 1988). The area of Ḥijr (*Hegra* in Nabataean) marked the southern limit of Nabataean territory and the Nabataeans established Ḥijr along the caravan route as their military and government center in the south in preference to nearby Dedān/al-ʿUlā. The earliest pottery found there is Nabataean, leaving open the question of whether there was substantial pre-Nabataean occupation at the site. The site continued as a government center after the Roman annexation of the Nabataean kingdom in 106 C.E. Some Latin inscriptions at Madā'in Ṣāliḥ and at al-ʿUlā from the second century C.E. provide slight evidence for a Roman military presence, although the area was always outside the frontier of the Roman empire (D. Graf, The Saracens). There is no trace of occupation at the site after the second or third century C.E.

The other peoples that were destroyed after they rejected the prophets who were sent to them are not readily identifiable as any archaeological remains. They include the ʿĀd (q.v.) who built monuments and strongholds on every high place (Q 26:128-9) and whose fate, according to the Qur'ān, is manifest from the remains of their dwellings (Q 29:38; 46:25). Likewise remains have not been found which could be associated with the dwellers in al-Rass

(Q 25:38, see also PEOPLE OF THE DITCH; RASS).

The site of Mārib, capital of the Sabean kingdom in southwest Arabia, and its irrigation dam (Q 34:15-6) have been investigated intensively, especially by German scholars (B. Doe, *Monuments,* 189-202; W. Daum, *Yemen,* 55-62; and the several volumes of the *Archäologische Berichte aus dem Yemen* of the *Deutsches Archäologisches Institut* Ṣanʿā'). The Mārib dam was the largest and most technologically sophisticated of the numerous other dams in southwest Arabia. While the Mārib oasis was being irrigated as early as the third millennium B.C.E., the oldest extant inscription that refers to separate irrigation works for the north and south halves of the Mārib oasis (Q 34:15) dates to 685 B.C.E. The extant single large dam, eight kilometers from the city, was first constructed after the date of these inscriptions, in ca. 528 B.C.E. Like the other dams, its function was not to store water long term but rather to reduce the velocity of the twice yearly flood waters and to raise the water level so that the water could be diverted through two sluices and distributed through a complex system of canals onto a wide cultivated area. The area irrigated by the dams was some 9,600 hectares along a distance of some eleven kilometers for the northern oasis and twenty-one kilometers for the southern oasis. The dam would have required frequent maintenance, and dam bursts necessitating repairs are recorded numerous times in inscriptions in the first centuries C.E., and for the last time in 553 C.E. Another dam burst occurred some thirty-five years later and it was repaired. The final, unrepaired burst caused by the qurʾānic flood of al-ʿArim (q.v.; Q 34:16; *ʿ-r-m* is the Sabean word for "dam") would have occurred in the early years of the first/seventh century.

The principal difficulty with such flood diversion irrigation is the gradual accumulation over time of deposits of silt that continuously raise the ground level of the irrigated fields. This necessitates the periodic raising of the water channels and the dams or relocating them so that they remain higher than the fields. Such maintenance to keep the system in operation becomes increasingly difficult and eventually becomes uneconomical and results in the abandonment of the irrigation works. The ultimate abandonment of the Mārib dam was, however, not due to questions of the technical feasibility of repairing it, but rather due to the political and social conditions of decline, culminating in the Sasanian Persian occupation of southern Arabia in 575 C.E., that broke down the public institutions needed to maintain such large projects as the dam.

Various locations have been proposed for the cave referred to in the qurʾānic passage on the Men of the Cave (q.v.; Q 18:9-27). One such possible location is at an excavated rock-cut Roman-Byzantine tomb at al-Raqīm, just south of Amman in Jordan (R. al-Dajānī, *Iktishāf kahf*).

To turn to more general topics, in south Arabia the Kingdom of Sheba (q.v.), with its capital at Mārib, was the leading state in the first millennium B.C.E. It was formed as a tribal confederation headed by a ruler who was given the title of "Mukarrib." The early chronology of the Sabean state is obscure due to the lack of early datable inscriptions or links with events outside southern Arabia. A Solomon and Queen of Sheba (see BILQĪS; Q 22:15-44) synchronism would need to be in the tenth century B.C.E. (see J. Pritchard, *Solomon and Sheba*), but the Queen is not an otherwise attested historical figure. There is no reference to a queen in any Sabean inscriptions, although queens of the Arabs are cited in several eighth-century B.C.E. Assyrian inscriptions recording the Assyrian military campaigns

into the northern Arabian peninsula (I. Ephʿal, *Ancient Arabs*). These obscurities have led to two competing scholarly reconstructions of Sabean history, one dating the origins of the state to the eighth century B.C.E., based on synchronisms, which are not definite, of names of Sabean rulers appearing in the Assyrian annals. The other reconstruction locates the start of the monumental cultures of south Arabia hundreds of years later, around the fifth century B.C.E. For the second view of Sabean history, that of the shorter chronology, the Solomon and Queen of Sheba incident becomes more legendary than historical.

The other independent states in southern Arabia, Maʿīn, Qatabān and Ḥaḍramawt also arose by the fifth and fourth centuries B.C.E. In the first centuries C.E. the political situation changed with the emergence of the state of Ḥimyar. Tubbaʿ (q.v.) was the title used by the Ḥimyarite rulers, thus localizing the people of Tubbaʿ (Q 44:37; 50:14) in southwest Arabia. By the mid-first millennium B.C.E. the south Arabians certainly were building monumental stone architecture, including city walls and temples, characterized by a distinctive style of square-sectioned monolithic pillars, perhaps evocative of the multi-columned Iram (q.v.; Q 89:7). There are any number of major surviving monumental temples in southwest Arabia (see B. Doe, *Monuments*). The temples are often identified with the term *maḥram* in the south Arabian dedicatory inscriptions. Those temples typically are rectangular columned structures without any direct influence on later mosque design. The ʿAwwam temple of the god Ilmuqah at Mārib is unique in having a large oval enclosure wall (100 X 75 m), delineating a sacred space *(ḥawṭa)* with a rectangular entrance hall on one side.

The caravan trade linking the incense-producing areas in southern Arabia and the Mediterranean was of major importance and was facilitated by the domestication of the camel (q.v.). While the first use of camels may have been as early as the fourth or third millennium B.C.E., and camels were certainly being used as pack animals by the second millennium B.C.E., it was the development of a suitable camel saddle by the early first millennium B.C.E. that enabled nomadism to develop fully (see BEDOUIN; NOMADS). At first the Sabeans were in control of most of the caravan route north to the Mediterranean but in the last centuries B.C.E., the Minaeans controlled the route, and they established a trading colony in the oasis at Dedān/al-ʿUlā in northwest Arabia. The site of Dedān is known to have been occupied previously and the kingdom of Liḥyān was centered there by around 400 B.C.E., about the time that the colony of traders from Maʿīn was established. Dedān continued in the Hellenistic period until the Nabataeans took over in the second or first century B.C.E. and moved their center to Ḥijr/Madāʾin Ṣāliḥ to the north. The connection between the Liḥyāns and the Thamūd, discussed earlier, is obscure. The archaeological site of al-Khurayba, ancient Dedān, has been surveyed and the water supply system has received focused attention (A. Nasif, *ʿal-ʿUlā*).

A few excavation projects at other sites from the distant pre-Islamic past took place in Saudi Arabia in the 1980's. Accompanying these projects were brief preliminary reports published in *Aṭlāl,* such as the excavation at Taym at the sixth or fifth century B.C.E. palace of Qaṣr al-Ḥamrāʾ, and at tombs dating from 1450-750 B.C.E. and excavations at the multi-period site of Dūmat al-Jandal/al-Jawf (K. al-Muaikel, *Study of the archaeology;* A. al-Sudayri, *The desert frontier*). Of greater interest here is the excavated site of Qaryat al-Fāʾw, the thriving capital of the pre-Islamic state of Kinda in southwest Arabia, occupied be-

tween the second century B.C.E. and the fifth century C.E. (A. al-Anṣārī, *Qaryat al-Fā'w*). The ancient name of the site was Dhāt Kahl, named after their chief god. Although there was some limited agricultural potential at the site, trade was important for the city. It was a large town with its buildings constructed of mud bricks on stone foundations. The excavations uncovered remains of a walled, two-storied market, with further open markets surrounding it; a palace; a temple; a residential area and a number of tombs, including one of the king, Muʿāwiya b. Rabīʿa, and tombs of nobles and commoners. Among the striking finds were a collection of bronze statues from the temple, some with Hellenistic features; painted wall plaster depicting people and animals from the palace; coins minted at the site; and numerous inscriptions in south Arabian *musnad* script.

There are large numbers of rock drawings throughout the Arabian peninsula spanning a wide range of time, both pre-Islamic and Islamic. They frequently depict hunting and pastoral scenes (E. Anati, *Rock art,* M. Khan, *Prehistoric rock art;* and issues of *Aṭlāl* since 1985).

Inscriptions from the pre-Islamic period in the Arabian peninsula number in the tens of thousands. H. Abū l-Ḥasan's 1997 study of Liḥyānic inscriptions is only the most recent of a number of publications of inscriptions by King Saʿūd University in Riyadh; one should also note a growing number of masters theses by the students of Yarmouk University in Jordan. There are many different types of inscriptions, ranging from dedicatory inscriptions to graffiti. Some of these are the monumental dedicatory inscriptions in southwest Arabia written in the *musnad* script. Others include the thousands of graffiti written in a variety of scripts labeled, as stated above, by scholars for convenience as Thamūdic. Another group includes over fourteen thousand north Arabian inscriptions whose sites are concentrated in southern Syria and northeastern Jordan, labeled by scholars as "Ṣāfā'itic", again for convenience, after the Ṣafā' basalt region of southern Syria, regardless of the fact that few such Ṣafā'itic texts have been found there specifically. The Ṣafā'itic texts are rarely dated but range from the first century B.C.E. and seem to end by the fourth century C.E. because there is no hint of any Christian influence in them (M. Rūsān, *al-Qabā'il al-Thamūdiyya*). The evolution of the Nabataean script into the Arabic script has been well established (B. Gruendler, *The development*).

Of special note is a south Arabian inscription from the second century B.C.E. that decrees a ban on the practice of killing (new-born?) girls (C. Robin, *L'Arabie antique,* 141-3; see Q 16:58-9; 81:8-9; see INFANTICIDE). It is noteworthy that around the fourth century C.E. pagan formulas in the south Arabian inscriptions are replaced by monotheistic expressions, using the term *raḥmān* (C. Robin, *L'Arabie antique,* 144-6; see GOD AND HIS ATTRIBUTES). The term *miḥrāb* — later used to indicate the direction of prayer (*qibla,* q.v.) in mosques — is used in the south Arabian inscriptions to mean a structure, along the lines of an audience chamber, or the title of a government official, along the lines of chancellor (C. Robin, *L'Arabie antique,* 152-5). There are some surviving papyrus documents and inscriptions that shed light on the period of the Rightly-Guided Caliphs (11/632-40/661; see F. Donner, The formation), but not on the lifetime of the Prophet.

Turning to the time period of Muḥammad himself, very little can be said about the physical remains of pre-modern Mecca and Medina, although much can be known from the historical sources which have been repeatedly analyzed. Nothing remains of the original architectural features

of the sanctuary in Mecca except for the Kaʿba (q.v.) itself nor of the sanctuary in Medina due to the repeated rebuilding and expansions over the centuries. Little of the pre-modern cities in general has survived massive modern development, although there are a number of pre-modern historic mosques in the two cities and elsewhere in Saudi Arabia (G. King, Historical mosques). A few stone defensive towers *(uṭūm)* from the pre-Islamic period are known around Medina (A. Anṣarī, *Āthār al-Madīna,* 72-4; G. King, Settlements in Arabia, 189-91). There are, of course, many place names recorded in the biographies of the prophet Muḥammad (see SĪRA AND THE QUR'ĀN), such as battle sites or places where Muḥammad built mosques, but archaeological inquiry, as opposed to the study of historical geography, has little to offer. A number of places known to have been major settlements at the time of Muḥammad, such as Khaybar (q.v.) or ʿUkāẓ, remain essentially uninvestigated beyond basic identification in the course of surveys. Nothing is known about al-Ṭā'if beyond several dams and other irrigation works, one of which was constructed in 58/678 under the Umayyad caliph Muʿāwiya (M. Khan and A. al-Mughannam, Ancient dams).

However, a few excavated sites are worth mentioning here. The major site of Najrān (q.v.) in southwest Arabia is well known historically from the sixth century C.E. as a center of Christianity. The persecution of the Christians there by the Jewish ruler around 520 C.E. is one candidate for the incident of the People of the Ditch (q.v.; Q 85:4-9). Ukhdūd, the archaeological site of Najrān, received some attention in 1967 and the early 1980s (J. Zahrins et al., Second preliminary report, 23-4; G. King, Settlements, 201-5). It had a stone-walled citadel within which possible remains were found of the Kaʿba of the Banū l-Ḥārith b. Kaʿb, mentioned by Ibn al-Kalbī (d. 204/819). During the late pre-Islamic period continuing into the Islamic period, the principal settlement in the area of al-ʿUlā shifted to Qurḥ or Wādī al-Qurā. Qurā is identifiable with the archaeological site of al-Mābiyāt, where two seasons of excavations were carried out in 1984 and 1985 (M. Gilmore et al., Preliminary report; A. Nasif, *al-ʿUlā*). The site of Jurash was excavated, but few details beyond a pottery analysis are available (A. al-Ghamedi, *The influence,* 176-220). The port of Ayla, modern-day Aqaba in Jordan, which some commentators have identified as the Sabbath-breaking town on the sea (Q 7:163), has received intensive attention in the last decade. Work has been done excavating at the early Islamic settlement, founded perhaps as early as the reign of the third caliph ʿUthmān (r. 23/644-35/656; D. Whitcomb, *Ayla*) as well as at the Roman-Byzantine site nearby (T. Parker, Roman ʿAqaba project), whose surrender on terms to Muḥammad in 630 C.E. is prominently recorded in the Islamic sources.

Of particular note is the excavated site of al-Rabadha, a settlement east of Medina along the caravan route between the Hejaz and al-Kūfa. Al-Rabadha experienced a continuity of settlement in the pre-Islamic and early Islamic periods, although the excavation report (A. al-Rashīd, *al-Rabadhah*) makes little mention of the pre-Islamic and pre-ʿAbbāsid remains there. The second caliph ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb (r. 13/634-23/644) set aside the area around the site as a state pasturage *(ḥimā)*. Reservoirs and wells were studied there, along with a western mosque and a second mosque in the residential area; a fortress or palace; several residential units; industrial installations; and a portion of the town enclosed by a wall with towers.

P. Crone and M. Cook's idea (*Hagarism,*

22-4) that the original pre-Islamic shrine of Bakka (Q 3:96) was located in northwest Arabia has no remaining physical support. The orientation of some early mosques that are well off the true direction of prayer can be explained as the result of inaccurate measurement rather than as a deliberate orientation to a shrine in northwest Arabia. One should also note that Y. Nevo and J. Koren's (Origins of Muslim descriptions) discussions of the pre-Islamic cultic practices in Mecca are based on fundamental misidentifications as cultic of the non-cultic sites that Y. Nevo excavated in the Negev area of southern Palestine.

The diffusion of Christianity in the Arabian peninsula was limited (see CHRISTIANS AND CHRISTIANITY). J. Beaucamp and C. Robin (Le Christianisme) summarize the evidence, to which should be added more recent archaeological discoveries along the Persian Gulf. These include churches (see CHURCH) in Jubayl, Saudi Arabia and elsewhere (J. Langfeldt, Early Christian monuments). An example of one of these is the church at Failaka, Kuwait dating from the end of the fourth century C.E. with later non-church occupation starting in the seventh century C.E. (V. Bernard et al., L'église d'al-Qousour). Another of these is the Nestorian monastery at Ṣīr Banī Yās in Abu Dhabi, dating around the sixth to seventh century C.E. (G. King, A Nestorian monastic settlement). One may also note the isolated hermitage at Kilwa in extreme northwest Saudi Arabia; one cell has a cross and a Christian Arabic inscription on its lintel (N. Glueck, Christian Kilwa). In South Arabia, a few columns remain of the famous al-Qalīs church built by Abraha (q.v.) in the middle of the sixth century C.E. to surpass the sanctuary of Mecca (R. Serjeant and R. Lewcock, *Ṣanʿā,* 44-8). These columns can now be found appropriated for use in the main mosque of Sanʿa. There seems to be no identified physical trace of the Jewish presence, known from historical sources, which existed in Medina and northern and central Arabia in the pre-Islamic period (see JEWS AND JUDAISM; KHAYBAR; NAḌĪR; QAYNUQAʾ; QURAYẒA).

Several aspects of archaeological inquiry, such as palaeo-botanical and faunal analyses, and environmental studies, have not yet been fully integrated into archaeological projects, so the contribution that they could make for understanding the milieu of early Islam remains mostly a potential for the future. There are no physical anthropological studies of human skeletal remains particularly close to the time of Muḥammad, although one can note the Bedouin cemetery excavated at the Queen Alia International Airport south of Amman in Jordan dating to the first and second centuries C.E. (M. Ibrahim and R. Gordon, *A cemetery*). The issue of possible climate changes remains open (J. Dayton, The problem of climatic change).

No examples are known to have survived of divining arrows (Q 5:3, 90), and one would have to move beyond the close cultural milieu of the Hejaz in Muḥammad's day to find surviving examples of jewelry (Q 24:31). There are no surviving early examples of armor (Q 21:80). The first Islamic artistic depictions are the stucco statues of soldiers from the eighth-century C.E. Umayyad palace at Khirbat al-Mafjar (R. Hamilton, *Khirbat al-Mafjar*). Just what distinguished the famous sword of Muḥammad and ʿAlī (see ʿALĪ B. ABĪ ṬĀLIB) to warrant its special name Dhū al-Faqār (sword with grooves) is not clear, but it may have been a straight-bladed, double-edged sword with two grooves as known from the Yemen (W. Daum, *Yemen 3000 years,* 15-6, 24); it would scarcely have had the impractical bifurcated tip so often described. The swords attributed to Muḥammad and other early figures in the Topkapı Museum in Istanbul are of dubious authenticity (A.

Zaky, Medieval Arab arms, 203-6).

In addition to the major settlements that they passed through, the various trade routes throughout the peninsula were provided with numerous way stations. Such facilities for travelers were expanded along the routes that were used by the pilgrims to Mecca (see PILGRIMAGE). The way stations, reservoirs and wells along the main pilgimage route from Kufa to Mecca have been well-documented. That route is known as the Darb Zubaydah, named after the wife of the ʿAbbāsid caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd (r. 170/786-193/809), who expanded the route's facilities. The Egyptian and Syrian pilgrimage routes in the northwest Arabian peninsula have also been studied (A. Hamed, *Introduction*). Some fragments of stone figures (see IDOLS AND IMAGES), seemingly deliberately destroyed at the onset of Islam, are at Qaryat al-Fāʾw and al-ʿUlā (G. King, Settlements, 211-2). The Nabataeans had often depicted their gods in a non-figurative manner (J. Patrich, *The formation*).

Concerning Jerusalem, the early Islamic tradition quickly identified it as the location of the Aqṣā Mosque (al-Masjid al-Aqṣā, Q 17:1; see AQṢĀ MOSQUE) which is associated with Muḥammad's night journey and ascension (q.v.) to heaven (q.v.). The use of the term "al-Ḥaram al-Sharīf" to identify the area of the former Jewish Temple Mount in Jerusalem, as well as the identification of the tomb of Abraham (q.v.) in Hebron as a *ḥaram,* has no explicit qurʾānic authority and only came into general use in the Mamluk and Ottoman periods. Prior to that period, the term "al-Masjid al-Aqṣā" was used to refer both to the entire Ḥaram area as well as to the roofed structure in the south edge of the Ḥaram, the Aqṣā mosque in the narrower sense. The Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem, the oldest surviving Islamic monument, contains the earliest extant extensive portions of the qurʾānic text, datable by ʿAbd al-Malik's dedicatory inscription to 72/692 C.E. (see EPIGRAPHY AND THE QUR'ĀN; ART AND ARCHITECTURE AND THE QUR'ĀN). The qurʾānic passages vary slightly from the standard text with changes from the first to the third person and are interspersed with other non-qurʾānic pious phrases (see most recently O. Grabar, *The shape of the holy*). The Aqṣā Mosque was first built as a monumental stone structure by the Umayyad caliph al-Walīd (r. 86/705-96/715), replacing a wooden structure noted by the Christian pilgrim Arculf around 675 C.E. But al-Ḥaram al-Sharīf, where both the Aqṣā Mosque and the Dome of the Rock are located, is off limits for excavations, while the results of the excavations of the Umayyad palaces just to the south and southwest of the Ḥaram await substantive publication. See also MATERIAL CULTURE AND THE QUR'ĀN; PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QUR'ĀN.

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ʿArim see AL-ʿĀRIM

Ark

The English term most frequently used in reference to the vessel that bore Noah (q.v.) and his family during the flood, it also denotes (2) the sacred chest that, for the Israelites, represented God's presence among them known as the ark of the covenant, and (3) the raft that carried the infant Moses (q.v.).

The ark of Noah

The ark or vessel that bore Noah, his family and two of every kind of animal is referred to in the Qurʾān by two separate Arabic words, *fulk* and *safīna,* both meaning "boat," as well as one circumlocution, "a thing of planks and nails" *(dhāti alwāḥin wadusur)*. The last, found in Q 54:13, is the only qurʾānic reference to the composition of the vessel. In extra-qurʾānic legends, which are generally derived from haggadic sources, the early Muslim commentators

elaborated on the materials and method of the ark's construction, the number of its levels, the types and location of the animals and the sundry difficulties that Noah faced when loading and unloading it. In accordance with the Qurʾān's general tendency to present a more abstract and paradigmatic representation of themes paralleled in the Jewish and Christian scriptures (see SCRIPTURE AND THE QURʾĀN), the ark is a sign both of God's punishment and of his willingness to save believers. When the Qurʾān is read in Arabic, the words referring to Noah's ark resonate with the more general uses of the words, usually translated as "ship" or "boat," reinforcing the sense of the ark as one of God's portents and providing a connection to the story of Jonah (q.v.; Q 37:140) and to that of Moses and God's servant in Q 18:71 (see KHĀḌIR/KHIḌR).

The ark of the covenant

In Q 2:248, the ark *(tābūt)* of the covenant (q.v.) is mentioned as a sign of God's sovereignty. In that verse, it is said to contain the divine presence (*sakīna,* see SECHINA). Extra-qurʾānic commentaries on this verse identify the ark of the covenant with the same cultic object mentioned in the Hebrew scriptures (see *Exod* 25:10-22).

The ark of Moses

The ark *(tābūt)* in which the infant Moses floated down the Nile is mentioned in Q 20:39. The qurʾānic account follows the biblical and extra-biblical stories of Moses being set adrift during the time Pharaoh (q.v.) was killing the first-born sons of the Israelites. Moses was found by a sister of Pharaoh and was given, by divine intervention, to a wet nurse who was Moses' actual mother. The Islamic tradition understands the ark as a small chest rather than the pitch-covered reed vessel in the biblical account. See also SHIPS.

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Army see EXPEDITIONS AND BATTLES

Arrogance

A sense of superiority which manifests itself in an overbearing manner. Acting arrogantly or insolently has different connotations in reference to God and his creatures. In the case of God, the creator of the whole universe and the supreme authority on heaven and earth, his expression of his superiority is devoid of any negative connotation. "The Great" *(al-kabīr)* is mentioned six times in the Qurʾān as one of God's attributes; five times in association with "the Supreme" (*al-ʿalī,* Q 4:34; 22:62; 31:30; 34:23; 40:12) and once with "the Exalted" (*al-mutaʿāl,* Q 13:9). The Qurʾān specifies, "God possesses greatness *(kibriyāʾ)* in the heavens and on earth" (Q 45:37). As a divine attribute, "exalting in his greatness" *(al-mutakabbir)* means that God exalts himself over his creation (q.v.) and transcends the characteristics of his creation.

Humans who claim to be great are guilty of an unwarranted assumption of dignity, authority (q.v.) and knowledge. A human who claims any of these attributes is to be considered an infidel *(kāfir)* and should be punished as a polytheist. In fact unbelief *(kufr),* "as man's denial of the Creator, manifests itself most characteristically in various acts of insolence, haughtiness, and presumptuousness" (Izutsu, *Concepts,* 120;

see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF). The basic difference between God and his creatures is that "whereas God is infinite and absolute, every creature is finite. All things have potentialities but no amount of potentiality may allow what is finite to transcend its finitude and pass into infinity. This is what the Qurʾān means when it says that everything except God is 'measured out' (*qadar* or *qadr, taqdīr,* etc.) and is hence *dependent upon* God, and that whenever a creature claims complete self-sufficiency or independence *(istighnāʾ, istikbār),* it thus claims infinitude and a share in divinity *(shirk)*" (F. Rahman, *Major themes,* 67). Human arrogance is a form of injustice *(ẓulm)* against God and the self (Q 6:93), as well as against other people. "Those regarded as weak" *(mustaḍʿafūn)* are a category of people mentioned in the Qurʾān as subjugated by the arrogant (*alladhīna stakbarū,* Q 7:75; 34:31-3). The Qurʾān urges Muslims to fight for the weak (Q 4:75).

The common word for "arrogance" *(kibr)* occurs only once with this sense in the Qurʾān: "Those who dispute about the signs of God without any authority, there is nothing in their hearts but an [unfounded] sense of greatness *(kibr)* that they will never [actually] attain" (Q 40:56). Related to *kibr* is the verbal noun *kibriyāʾ* (greatness) which occurs twice in the Qurʾān, once as one of God's attributes, "To him be greatness throughout the heavens and the earth: and he is exalted in power full of wisdom" (Q 45:37). The second occurrence is associated with the allegation made by Pharaoh (q.v.) and his people against Moses (q.v.) and Aaron (q.v.) that they wanted to turn the people of Pharaoh away from their traditions in order for Moses and his people to gain greatness, *al-kibriyāʾ,* in the land of Egypt (Q 10:78). Moses' prayer, on the other hand, asks God to provide protection for him and his people against every arrogant one (*mutakabbir,* Q 40:27). Conceiving of oneself as great and superior is considered by the Qurʾān to be claiming one of God's attributes, because only he is great *(al-kabīr)*. Thus, arrogance in man is a grievous sin (*kabīra,* see SIN, MAJOR AND MINOR). Acting insolently or behaving arrogantly is to claim God's position (Q 59:23). It is reported in one of the pronouncements of God preserved as a ḥadīth and not found in the Qurʾān (*ḥadīth qudsī,* see ḤADĪTH AND THE QURʾĀN) that God said, "Magnificence *(al-ʿazama)* is my garment and greatness *(al-kibriyāʾ)* is my covering. Whoever claims them surely will be thrown into hell." A well-known ḥadīth of Muḥammad reads, "Whoever has in his heart the smallest portion of arrogance *(kibr)* will never enter paradise."

Al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111) explains that the arrogant person *(al-mutakabbir)* is one who considers the position of every one else to be inconsiderable. He looks down on others and treats them like slaves. If arrogance manifests itself as mere insolence, it is wicked behavior. Whoever claims absolute greatness is nothing but a liar, because this position is absolutely inconceivable for anyone but God. Al-Ghazālī concedes that some individuals who enjoy higher positions or authority in society have the right to be somewhat arrogant. He explains that, according to mystical terminology, "arrogant" *(mutakabbir)* also may refer to the ascetic gnostic, i.e. one who renounces whatever keeps him from serving and communicating with God (*al-Maqṣad al-asnā,* 75).

Takabbur and *istikbār,* acting insolently or behaving arrogantly have different connotations in reference to God and to his creatures. For humans, acting arrogantly is a form of behavior directed towards other people on the grounds that they are inferior. It has been defined as undue assumption of dignity, authority, or knowledge,

aggressive conceit, presumption or haughtiness. In the case of God, understood as the creator of the whole universe and the supreme authority on heaven and earth, arrogance is devoid of such a connotation. As a divine attribute *al-mutakabbir* means that he exalts himself over doing injustice to his creation, or that he transcends the characteristics of his creation. Besides being great, high and self-exalted, he is also exalted in might *(jabbār)*. Whoever acquires or claims any of these attributes is to be considered *kāfir* and should be punished as a polytheist. In fact *kufr,* "as man's denial of the Creator, manifests itself most characteristically in various acts of insolence, haughtiness, and presumptuousness" (Izutsu, *Concepts,* 120).

The first act of arrogance was committed by Satan when he refused the command of God to prostrate before Adam (see ADAM AND EVE). For this he was condemned as an infidel. Although Satan represents the most wicked example of arrogance (Q 7:13; 38:74, 75), Pharaoh became the human reflection of Satan when he rejected the message God revealed to Moses (Q 28:39) and misled his people into acting arrogantly (Q 7:133; 10:75; 23:46; 29:39). Thus Satan and Pharaoh became the two representative symbols for the disastrous consequences of arrogance and insolence *(takabbur* and *istikbār)*. The majority of Muslim theologians and jurists consider Satan's arrogance, and to a great extent Pharaoh's, to be the act of disobedience that led to the existence of the devil (q.v.) on earth. The jurist and theologian Ibn Ḥazm (d. 456/1064), with the obvious intention of condemning speculative theology *(kalām),* considers Satan the first one to employ analogy *(qiyās)* in religious matters.

The view of the famous mystic al-Ḥallāj (d. 309/940) regarding Satan and Pharoah was exceptional. He saw their arrogance as a manifestation of their awareness of the divine nature of all creatures. Their apparent disobedience was thus in consonance with their real inner nature. Though Satan was cursed and expelled from God's presence, his loyalty and sincerity did not change. For his part, Pharaoh was drowned, but he did not betray himself. Al-Ḥallāj considered them his true models (*Ṭawāsīn,* 16-20). As is to be expected, this view was totally rejected by the mainstream of Islamic thought (see ṢŪFISM AND THE QUR'ĀN).

There are many references in the Qur'ān to communities, groups and individuals who insolently and arrogantly rejected the word of God. In addition to the subjects of Pharaoh, the Qur'ān mentions the neighbors of Noah (q.v.; Q 71:7), the people of ʿĀd (q.v.; Q 41:15), the people of Thamūd (q.v.; Q 7:75-6), the people of Midian (q.v.; Q 7:88) and the pagan Meccans (passim). Apart from these specific groups, a number of general classes of people are portrayed as arrogant, including those in defiance of right (Q 7:146); those who dispute about the signs of God (Q 40:35; see SIGNS); those who refuse to serve God (Q 4:172); those who tell lies about God, scornfully rejecting his revelation (Q 6:93; see REVELATION AND INSPIRATION); those who turn away from listening to the Qur'ān and prefer frivolous tales (*lahw al-ḥadīth,* Q 31:6); those who ignore the revelations of God completely (Q 45:8); those who do not believe in the afterlife (Q 16:22); and the hypocrites (*munāfiqūn,* see HYPOCRITES AND HYPOCRISY) of Medina (Q 63:1,7-9). Hell will be the final dwelling place of all of these arrogant people (Q 16:29; 39:60, 72; 40:76).

Those who are not arrogant, but rather are humble, unconditionally obey God and willingly accept his revelation. The Qur'ān several times refers to those who do not disdain to be God's servants (*lā yastakbirūna ʿan ʿibādatihi,* Q 7:206), e.g. the followers of Jesus (q.v.; Q 5:83), the angels (q.v.) and all of creation (Q 16:48-9; 21:19) and those who

believe in the Qurʾān (Q 32:15). In contrast with the arrogant disobedience of Satan and Pharaoh, Jesus, who is described as a servant of God (Q 19:30-2), was neither overbearing *(jabbār)* nor miserable *(shaqī)*. He will never disdain *(lan yastankifa)* to serve and worship God (Q 4:172). The believers are those who accept the Qurʾān. When the verses are recited to them, they fall down in adoration (q.v.), praising their Lord. They are never puffed up with pride (*lā yastakbirūna,* Q 32:15). The ideal behavior expected from Muslims that makes them worthy of the title "servants of God most gracious" *(ʿibād al-raḥmān)* is, among other things, that they walk on the earth in humility (Q 25:63). The advice of the sage Luqmān (q.v.) to his son was "Do not put on a contemptuous mien toward people and do not walk on the earth exuberantly, for God does not like any self-important boaster" (Q 31:18). All those who disdain his worship and are arrogant (*man yastankif ʿan ʿibādatihī wayastakbir,* Q 4:172) will be gathered together to be questioned and punished grievously, while those who believe and perform righteous deeds will be given their just rewards and more from God's bounty (Q 4:173). The *mustaḍʿafūn,* the ill-treated or the disinherited, is a category of people mentioned in the Qurʾān as oppressed by the *mustakbirūn* (Q 7:75; 34:31-3). The Qurʾān urges Muslims to fight for the liberation of the *mustaḍʿafūn* (Q 4:75) and encourages them in the meantime to resist such oppression even by emigrating to another land (Q 4:97). *Istikbār* thus leads to oppression which is a grievous form of *zulm,* injustice against others.

It is worthwhile to refer briefly to the recent political manipulation of the notion of arrogance. The old slogan of the national movements in the Arab and Muslim countries through the sixties was commonly "The struggle against international imperialism" *(al-kifāḥ ḍidda l-istiʿmār al-ʿālamī)*. The increasing power of the Islamic movements in the seventies led to the replacement of the non-qurʾānic concept of "imperialism" with "arrogance" *(istikbār)*. Before the Islamic revolution in Iran, Ayatollah Khomeini (d. 1989) started using the concept in reference to the Shah's regime. "The *mustakbirūn* were those who supported the regime of the Shah. After the revolution, *mustakbirūn* was used in a broader sense to describe also external enemies of the Islamic Republic" (Gieling, *Sacralization,* 100). The same negative connotation was applied to "the industrialized world, with the United States as its major representative. In this sense, *istikbār* was synonymous with other concepts with a negative connotation like colonialism and imperialism" (Gieling, *Sacralization,* 100). During the Iran-Iraq War (1980-88), the concept was used to condemn Saddam Hussain and other enemies. See also GOD AND HIS ATTRIBUTES.

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Art and Architecture and the Qurʾān

The relationship between the revealed scripture of Islam and attitudes towards art and architecture and the practice thereof will be discussed under three headings:
1. Qurʾānic references or allusions to art and architecture, including passages later

cited with respect to artistic creativity, even if they were not initially so intended; 2. The uses of the Qurʾān as a source for citations in the making and decorating of works of art; and 3. The enhancement of the Qurʾān itself through art.

Art and architecture in the Qurʾān

It must be stated at the outset that, with the partial exception of Q 27:44, which will be discussed later, the Qurʾān does not contain any statement which may be construed as a description of manufactured things or as a doctrinal guide for making or evaluating visually perceptible forms. The world in which the revelation of the Qurʾān was made was not one which knew or particularly prized works of art and later ḥadīth — the reports recording the Prophet's words and deeds — only briefly mention a few fancy textiles owned by the members of the entourage of the Prophet. Furthermore, although ḥadīth do attribute to the Prophet theoretical positions or practical opinions on the making of works of art, none is directly asserted in the Qurʾān itself, but only deduced from various passages. Finally, while the Qurʾān is quite explicit about such practices as prayer (q.v.) or pilgrimage (q.v.) being specifically restricted to Muslims, it provides no direct or implied definition or even a requirement for a particular locale for the accomplishment of these practices. For all these reasons, the consideration of art and architecture in the Qurʾān does not lead to a coherent whole, but to a series of disjointed observations which may be divided into two groups: the direct references to things made or to spaces built; and the indirect implications for the making of things and the design of spaces.

Direct references

There are, first of all, references to categories of manufacture and especially of construction. One rather striking set of examples involves concrete items which are mentioned only once. All of them are described as being in the possession of Solomon (q.v.), the prophet-king whose patronage for works of art was legendary and whose artisans were usually the no less legendary jinn (q.v.). In Q 34:12 he ordered the making of a fountain of molten brass, a Muslim adaptation of the celebrated brazen sea in Solomon's temple in Jerusalem (q.v.) as it is described in *2 Kings* 25:13 and *1 Chron* 18:8. Then in Q 34:13, the jinn manufacture for him *maḥārīb, tamāthīl, jifān* of enormous size and *qudūr* which were anchored down so that they could not easily be removed. The meaning of the word *miḥrāb (*sing. of *maḥārīb),* which will be discussed later, appears in other contexts as well. *Jifān* — meaning some sort of receptacle, usually translated as "porringer," a term of sufficiently vague significance to hide our uncertainty as to what was really involved — and *qudūr,* "cooking-pots" are only mentioned in this particular passage. The exact meaning and function of these two items are somewhat mysterious. *Tīmthāl,* also in the plural, appears again in Q 21:52, where it clearly refers to the idols worshiped by the father of Abraham (q.v.). These idols would have been sculptures of humans or of animals and it is probably sculptures in general rather than idols in particular that must be understood in Q 34:13 (see IDOLS AND IMAGES).

The association of Solomon with unusual buildings is confirmed by Q 27:44, where, in order to test the Queen of Sheba (q.v.) and ultimately to demonstrate his superiority to her, Solomon orders the construction of a *ṣarḥ* covered or paved with slabs of glass *(mumarrad min qawārīr)*. Usually translated as "pavilion" or "palace," the word *ṣarḥ* occurs also in Q 28:38 and Q 40:36. Both times it is modified by the adjective "high" and refers to a construction ordered by Pha-

raoh (q.v.). Since all these passages deal with mythical buildings and because the root of the word implies purity and clarity, the term may reflect the attribute of transparency in a building, rather than its form. It would then be a pavilion comparable to the elaborate construction alleged to have existed on top of pre-Islamic Yemeni palaces. Generally speaking, it seems preferable to understand the term as a "constructed space of considerable merit and attractiveness," without being more specific, though the matter remains open to debate. What is of import here is not the exact meaning of the term but the presence within the qurʾānic images of works of art that have not been seen, but only imagined. Further on it will be seen that the story of Solomon and the Queen of Sheba (see BILQĪS), as told in the Qurʾān, has many additional implications for the arts.

A second category of qurʾānic terms dealing with or applicable to the arts consists of much more ordinary words. There is a series of terms for settlements, such as *qarya* (Q 25:51), usually the term for a city as well as for smaller settlements; *madīna,* a word used only twice (Q 28:18, 20), possessing very broad connotations; *masākin* "[ruined] dwellings" (Q 29:38), which often occurs in poetry; and a more abstract term like *balad* in *al-balad al-amīn,* "the place of security" (Q 95:3), which is probably a reference to Mecca (q.v.). *Bayt* is the common word for a house and it is supposed to be a place of privacy (Q 3:49; 4:100; 24:27-9), a quality which has been sought until today by architects building in what they assume to be an Islamic tradition. The word was used for the dwellings of the wives of the Prophet (q.v.; Q 33:33-4), for whom privacy was an essential criterion, and also for the presumably fancy abode of Zuleika, the wife of Potiphar (Q 12:23; see JOSEPH). When it is mentioned as adorned with gold (q.v.; Q 17:93), it is meant pejoratively as an expression of vainglorious wealth. *Dār* occurs occasionally (e.g. Q 17:5; 59:2) with no clear distinction from *bayt* except insofar as it implies some broader function as in *al-dār al-ākhira* in Q 28:83 indicating "the space of thereafter." The rather common word *qaṣr* (castle, palace) occurs only four times, twice metaphorically, once in a well-known cliché referring to the destroyed "palaces" of old and once with reference to paradise (q.v.) in a passage which will be examined later. Other terms for something built or at least identified spatially are rarer, like *mathwā* (dwelling, Q 47:19) or *maṣāniʿ* (buildings, Q 26:129). There are a few instances when techniques of construction are indicated, often in a metaphorical way as in Q 13:2, where the heavens are depicted as a miraculous, divine creation built without columns.

A third category of terms consists of words which, whatever their original meaning, acquired a specifically Muslim connotation at the time of the Prophet or later. The two most important ones are *masjid* and *miḥrāb*. *Masjid* (place of prostration, see MOSQUE) occurs twenty-eight times in the Qurʾān. In fifteen instances it is modified by *al-ḥarām,* a reference to the Meccan sanctuary whose pre-Islamic holiness was preserved and transformed by the Muslim revelation, i.e. the Kaʿba (q.v.), the holy house (*al-bayt al-ḥarām* in Q 53:97) which Abraham and Ishmael (q.v.) built (Q 2:125). It is mentioned as the *qibla* (q.v.) or direction of prayer (Q 2:142-7) and as the aim of the pilgrimage (Q 5:96-7). However, nothing is said about its form or about the space around it and there is only a vague reference to the importance of its proper maintenance (Q 9:19). Even this action is not as important as professing the faith in all of its truth. In Q 17:1, the word is once used for the Meccan sanctuary while in Q 17:7 it refers to the Jewish temple in Jerusalem (q.v.). The word is used a second

time in Q 17:1 in the expression "the farthest mosque" *(al-masjid al-aqṣā),* the exact identification of which has been the subject of much debate (see AQṢĀ MOSQUE). There is no doubt that, at some point in history and possibly as early as the mid-second/eighth century, it became generally understood as a reference to Jerusalem. This, however, was not the case during the first century after Muḥammad's emigration to Medina (*hijra,* see EMIGRATION), when it was identified by many as a place in the neighborhood of Mecca or as a symbolic space in a miraculous event (see ASCENSION).

The remaining ten occurrences of *masjid* do not form a coherent whole except insofar as they all mention a place where God is worshiped (Q 7:29). It literally belongs to God (Q 72:18, a passage often used in mosque inscriptions, see below) and unbelievers are banned from it (Q 9:17). "Those who believe in God and his last day, practice regular prayer and give to charity, and fear none but God must maintain and frequent [the verb *ʿamara* has a complex range of meanings] the mosques of God" (Q 9:18, another passage frequently used in inscriptions). In recounting the story of the seven sleepers of Ephesus (see MEN OF THE CAVE), the Qurʾān asserts that God built a *masjid* over them (Q 18:21). A most curious and somewhat obscure passage is Q 22:40, which contains a list of sanctuaries that would have been destroyed had God not interfered to save them. The list includes *ṣawāmiʿ, biyaʿ, ṣalawāt* and *masājid,* usually — but there are variants — translated as "monasteries [or cloisters], churches, synagogues and mosques." The first two words are never again used in the Qurʾān. The third term, *ṣalawāt,* is the plural of *ṣalāt,* the word commonly used for the Muslim ritual prayer. Here it seems to mean a place rather than the act of prayer. But the sequence itself suggests four different kinds of sacred spaces, probably representing four different religious traditions. If there are four religious groups implied, Islam, Judaism and Christianity are easy to propose — even if one does not quite know which term goes with which system of faith —, what is the fourth religion? It is, in fact, with some skepticism that the word *masājid* is translated as "mosques" since nowhere else in the Qurʾān is the word *masjid* used alone to be understood correctly as a place of prayer restricted to Muslims. It always means a generally holy space which could be used by Muslims. This verse must, therefore, be connected to some particular event or story whose specific connotations are unknown.

In short, the proper conclusion to draw from the evidence is that, while the Qurʾān clearly demonstrates the notion of a sacred or sanctified space, it does not identify a specifically Muslim space as a *masjid*. The only specifically Muslim space mentioned in the Qurʾān is the *masjid* of Mecca and its sacred enclosure. The vagueness of nearly all references to it may explain some of the later problems in actually defining the exact direction of prayer *(qibla)*. Was it toward the city of Mecca (q.v.), a large enclosure, the Kaʿba, one of its sides or the black stone in its corner? In short, the word *masjid* — destined for a long and rich history in Arabic and in many other languages — soon after the death of the Prophet in 11/632 came to mean a special type of building restricted to Muslims. In the Qurʾān it appears to have a very broad significance with a very uncertain relationship to exclusively Islamic worship.

Matters are almost as complicated with the word *miḥrāb,* which also possesses a range of practical and symbolic meanings. It too was destined for a long and distinguished history as the name for the niche indicating the direction of prayer on the wall of all Muslim sanctuaries. The term

miḥrāb also refers to a type of decorative recess found on tombstones, faience panels and rugs. As has been shown in a recent article (N. Khoury, Mihrab), the word originally designated elevated structures which had acquired some sort of honorary significance, although the element of height is only clearly present in one qurʾānic verse. In Q 38:21 the disputants go *up* to the *miḥrāb* where David (q.v.) is. The honorific quality applies to this particular place by inference as it does in the three instances (Q 3:37, 39; 19:11) where the term is used for Zechariah (q.v.), the servant of God and the father of John the Baptist (q.v.). When used in the plural *maḥārīb* (Q 34:13), it has usually been interpreted as "places of worship," but, even if consecrated by tradition, this interpretation does not seem necessary since the other terms listed in this passage — the *maḥārīb, tamāthīl, jifān* and *qudūr* (see above) that the jinn manufactured for Solomon — are mostly exemplars of power and wealth rather than of religious, though pagan, needs. Altogether, the exact meaning of this word in the Qurʾān seems to be more secular than pious and bears no direct relationship to the word's later uses in mosques and as a theme of design.

While *masjid* and *miḥrāb* became terms to define major elements of Islamic architecture and while other terms dealing with created forms remained consistent and relatively clear *(bayt* or *dār)* or rare and fairly obscure *(ṣarḥ),* there is a category of qurʾānic references to visually-perceived matters which have not been seen, but which nonetheless are held to exist. The numerous accounts of paradise include a great number of references which fall into the category of architecture and planning. These accounts may have had an impact on the design of gardens, most particularly in Mughal India as with the tomb of Akbar in Sikandara near Agra and with the Taj Mahal in Agra itself (see W. Begley and Z.A. Desai, *Taj Mahal,* although their arguments are not universally accepted). It has also been argued that these qurʾānic passages were literally illustrated in the decoration of mosques, most specifically in the early second/eighth century mosaics of the Great Mosque of Damascus, also known as the Umayyad Mosque (B. Finster, Die Mosaiken; C. Brisch, Observations) although others (O. Grabar, *The formation*) have remained more skeptical. Whatever turns out to be appropriate to explain later developments in decoration and in design, an architectural and decorative imagery pervades most of the Qurʾān's vision of paradise and even, at times, of hell (q.v.).

Both paradise and hell are entered through fancy gates, green being the color of the ones for paradise (Q 39:72). Rivers and formal — as opposed to natural — gardens abound (Q 43:70-3; 44:51; 47:15; 76:12, among many places; see GARDEN) in paradise. There are also fountains (Q 76:6). In a celebrated passage (Q 61:12) gardens are described above underground rivers and beautiful dwellings (*masākin* in Q 61:12 or *quṣūr* in Q 25:10) are erected in the gardens. In five passages (Q 25:75; 29:58; 34:37; 39:20-1), these dwellings are called *ghuraf (*sing. *ghurfa),* in all cases but one modified by the adjective "lofty" with apparently the same equation between height and importance as in the instance of the word *miḥrāb*. It is difficult to know what was meant or imagined by the term in its singular occurrence in a strange passage (Q 25:75), which seems to state that there is only one *ghurfa* in paradise. Were these meant to be whole architectural establishments or simple pavilions? Inasmuch as we have no means to enter the imaginary world of qurʾānic sensitivity, the question cannot be answered in historical terms, although it possibly, as will be seen, may be entered in the fiction of later art.

The same difficulty appears when we try to imagine the *khiyām,* "tents or pavilions" (Q 55:72) in which houris (*ḥūr,* see HOURIS) are found, the *surur* (sing. *sarīr,* one of the several words for "throne," [q.v.]) with perpetually youthful companions (Q 56:15) and especially the throne of God himself. The word for God's throne is *ʿarsh,* as in Q 40:7, only one of its twenty-nine occurrences in the Qurʾān. Most of the time the word is used in the singular and refers to the throne as the place of divine presence (see SECHINA). The word *ʿarsh* is also used once in the story of Solomon and the Queen of Sheba (Q 27:41-2). When used in the plural (*ʿurūsh,* Q 2:259; 18:42; 22:45), it refers to some part of a larger architectural composition. Here it is usually translated as "turrets" or "trellis," which reflects the uncertainty of the translators and commentators about a feature which is always shown as destroyed by divine wrath.

One last visually significant qurʾānic reference dealing with paradise and with visually-perceived matters is that the elect are beautifully dressed (Q 35:33; 76:21) and the companions they find there (Q 76:15-7) carry vessels *(āniya),* cups *(akwāb)* and goblets *(kaʾs)* polished to look like crystal or silver (this seems to be the correct interpretation of *qawārīra min fiḍḍa,* Q 76:16). Their clothes are of silk (q.v.), the most precious metals are silver and crystal and polished glass is the model for the expected visual effect. These images are important in suggesting the materials and objects which were considered luxurious in early first/seventh century Arabia and also serve as inspiration for later Persian painting, where the association between paradise and luxury through expensive clothes and other objects was fully exploited.

Implications for art

Quite early passages from the Qurʾān came to be used to justify and explain Muslim attitudes toward the arts in general and the representation of living beings in particular. This last topic has been and will continue to be the subject of much debate and discussion because it reflects the ever-changing needs and concerns of the prevailing culture and society as much as the actual positions apparent in the Qurʾān. The latter is, on the whole, quite clear. Unlike the second commandment of the Old Testament, there is no opposition to art or to representation, just as there is no call for the creation of works of art or of a material culture that would be distinctly Muslim. Thus terms like "iconoclasm" (a call for the destruction of images) or even the German *Bilderverbot* (forbidding the making of images) are inappropriate to define any part of the message of the Qurʾān. The term "aniconism," meaning simply "the absence of a doctrine or even of much thought about representational imagery," has found favor among some scholars and is more accurate in reflecting the attitude of the Qurʾān.

On the other hand, once a broad Muslim culture had been established over vast territories, it was compelled to deal with the rich and varied artistic traditions of the alien cultures it encountered and it sought in the Qurʾān either direct answers to its own questions about the validity of artistic activities or, at the very least, references that could lead to such answers. In the absence of direct statements, three kinds of arguments could be, and were, derived from the Qurʾān.

One is based on a few passages which may be construed as dealing with representations. The "statues" made for Solomon (Q 34:12-3) have already been mentioned. A more frequently used passage to uphold a prohibition of images is Q 6:74, where Abraham, a far more saintly figure than Solomon in the Islamic tradition, says to his father Āzar (q.v.): "Do you take idols

(aṣnām) as gods? Indeed, I see that you and your people are in manifest error." This passage must be connected with Q 5:90, where idols *(anṣāb)* are also mentioned, together with wine and games of chance (see INTOXICANTS; GAMBLING), as "abominations of Satan's handiwork." Both words mean "idols," which usually have the shape of men or animals, or "statues" of figures that could be used as idols. The two passages are usually seen as expressing an objection to images, but they are more appropriately construed as being in opposition to idols regardless of their shape. A third passage is more specific and, therefore, more pertinent. In Q 3:47-9, God says to Mary (q.v.), "God creates what he wills. When he decrees something, he only says to it 'be' and it is." An example is the case of Jesus (q.v.), who comes with the following message: "I have come to you with a sign from your lord. I will make for you out of clay the figure of a bird. I will breathe into it and it will become a [real] bird by God's leave." Here it is clear that the making of a representation is only meaningful if life is given to that representation. Since the giving of life is reserved to God alone, it is only with his permission that the creation of a three-dimensional and lifelike bird can occur.

These few specific passages dealing with representations are not conclusive in themselves, but they served as important points of reference in the later development of the opposition to the making of images. They acquired their particular importance when put next to a second type of argument based less on specific passages than on two themes which pervade the Qurʾān: the absolute opposition to idolatry and God's uniqueness as creator. These two Islamic doctrines were used as arguments against the legitimacy of images as long as images were indeed worshiped and the belief existed that they partook of the spirit of what was represented. It may also be argued that they lost their pertinence once the old equation no longer held. Over the years, much has been written arguing that abstraction, visual distortion and ornamentation occur with such frequency in Islamic art because mainstream Muslim patrons and artists sought to conform to a doctrine that always aimed at the equation of the representation and the represented. According to this view, alternate modes of expression had to be found in order to avoid criticism or even condemnation for vying with God, as a result of such an alleged doctrine.

Another doctrine alleged to have been derived from the Qurʾān has been that of opposition to luxury, what may be called an ideal of reasonable asceticism in private and public life. Its premise is that art is a luxury, a point which certainly has been argued forcefully by fundamentalist groups and more moderately by moralists down through the centuries. Although common enough in any religious movement with a populist base, as Islam was certainly at the beginning, such a doctrine is difficult to represent as one which has maintained itself on a significant scale throughout time and even its qurʾānic basis is somewhat uncertain.

In spite of a number of contrary arguments, on the whole it is difficult to explain the development of an Islamic art through doctrines derived from the Qurʾān. This view may only appear to be correct, because too many problems have not received the proper attention. Instead, it would seem to have its roots in the complex contingencies of a new ethic encountering the well-developed cultures of the world with their rich visual heritage There is a need for a careful investigation of the terminology dealing, directly or potentially, with the arts. Words like *aṣnām* (idols), *anṣāb* (idols), *tamāthīl* (statues), *ṣūra* (shape, Q 82:8), *hayʾa* (form, Q 3:49; 5:110) are all terms

which actually refer to or imply a likeness or copy and suggest some sort of relationship to a previously existing original. The full investigation of the occurrences of these terms in the Qurʾān and in early Arabic poetry, as well as later usage both among *littérateurs* and in technical philosophical thought, may well provide a sketch of the conceptual framework implied by the revelation and give some idea of what the arts may have meant at the time. An interesting beginning in that direction occurred in a recent article by Muhammad Qlaaji published in a Saudi Arabian legal journal which argues, on the basis of a set of qurʾānic citations, for the canonical value of ornament in Islamic art. A much more imaginative work by the young French esthetician Valérie Gonzalez *(Piège de crystal)* will soon demonstrate the deep philosophical problems behind the qurʾānic passage mentioned earlier (Q 27:44) in which Solomon creates an object, the mysterious *ṣarḥ,* which is supposed to appear real and to be understood as such, without in fact being what it appears to be. The implications are striking not only for Islamic art, but for the very nature of art in general. Comparable statements have been made by twentieth-century surrealists like René Magritte. Yet such efforts at an interpretation adapted to the needs, tastes and paradigms of our own century are rare. Also they may well go against an interpretative current which asserts that only in its historical truth can the divine message be accepted.

Altogether, there is no doubt that the Qurʾān will continue to be mined for answers to the esthetic and social needs of Muslim societies and cultures as they evolve with time. It is also fairly clear, however, that the arts were not a significant concern of the revelation nor did they play a large role in the modes of life prevalent in the Arabian peninsula during the first decades of the first/seventh century. Fancy and elaborate objects were largely absent in the surroundings of Mecca and Medina and the vision of architecture was limited to the simple Kaʿba. There was a vision of art and architecture based on the legends of Solomon and memories of the ancient Arabian kingdoms. Ruins in the desert or in the steppe could then, as they do now, be transfigured into mirages of a lost man-made world of awesome proportions. It does not, however, seem that the milieu in which the Qurʾān appeared was truly aware of the great artistic traditions of the Mediterranean, Mesopotamia, Iran, India, or even of the Yemen and Ethiopia. Furthermore, the Qurʾān contains no trace of the neoplatonic debates about the nature of art. The emerging universal Muslim culture had to seek in the Qurʾān answers to questions which were only later formulated.

Uses of the Qurʾān in later art

It is well known that script played an important part in the arts of all Muslim lands, regardless of whether that art was primarily secular or religious (see ARABIC SCRIPT). Large inscriptions are a common part of the decoration of buildings and many objects have long bands or short cartouches with writing, at times even with imitations of writing. These inscriptions often used to be identified in older catalogs and descriptions as "Koranic" without proper concern for what they really say. It is, of course, true that there is an ornamental or esthetic value to these inscriptions which is independent of whatever meaning they convey. In order to organize a subject, which heretofore has received little attention, it has been broken into two headings: iconographic uses of the Qurʾān and formal uses of qurʾānic scripts.

Iconographic uses

The founder of the systematic study of Arabic epigraphy (see EPIGRAPHY AND THE QUR'ĀN), Max van Berchem, was the first scholar to establish that most formal inscriptions in monumental architecture consist of citations from the Qur'ān which bear or may bear a relationship to the function of the buildings on which they were found. He initiated the systematic publication with commentary of all Arabic inscriptions. Beginning in 1931 these were published under the title *Matériaux pour un corpus inscriptionum arabicarum* as part of the *Mémoires* of the Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale in Cairo. M. van Berchem himself published the volumes on Cairo (with a supplementary volume by G. Wiet), Jerusalem and Anatolia, while E. Herzfeld produced the volumes on Aleppo. A similar survey, although less elaborate in its commentaries, was made by Muhammad Husain for the Archaeological Survey of India. In recent years, G. Wiet and M. Hawary, using almost exclusively secondary sources, produced collections of the inscriptions of Mecca. In addition, S. Blair recently collected the inscriptions of pre-Mongol Iran and M. Sharon published those of Palestine. Unfortunately, M. van Berchem adopted the practice of providing only the sūra and verse numbers of the qur'ānic quotations, usually according to the verse division of the G. Flügel edition, which does not always agree with the now-standard Egyptian edition. Therefore, there are problems whenever one tries to identify the exact wording of an inscription. Although most recent publications have abandoned this practice, it is still found in the most important corpus of Arabic epigraphy, the eighteen volumes published so far of the *Matériaux pour un corpus inscriptionum arabicarum*.

A particularly important tool has been derived from all these efforts. Erica Dodd and Shereen Khairallah produced the work *The image of the word,* the first volume of which contains a list of all of the qur'ānic passages cited in inscriptions and where they have been used, thus allowing one to study the frequency of use of certain passages and the temporal or geographical variations in their use. The second volume is comprised of a series of essays on individual monuments and on questions which grow out of these catalogs, for example why certain inscriptions were placed in different places on different monuments. All of the essays show the influence of a major article written by E. Dodd in 1969 entitled "The image of the word," outlining the historical and psychological premises behind the existence of an iconography of the Qur'ān. She argues that in trying to avoid or even reject the religious imagery of Christianity and paganism, the mainstream of Islamic culture replaced images with words whenever it wished to make some pious, ideological or other point. Within this scheme, the Qur'ān was pre-eminent both because of its sacredness and because most Muslims were familiar with it. Therefore, the viewer appreciates the significance of the selection of the particular passages from the Qur'ān and interprets them in accordance with the expectations of the patron. It may be noted that Buddhism and Hinduism do not appear to have been pertinent to the formation of Islamic culture, even though this assertion may be modified by future research.

Though never established as a formal doctrine, this "iconography" of the divine word developed quite early in Islamic times, under Umayyad rule (r. 41/661-132/750). It might even be proper to associate its appearance with the caliph ʿAbd al-Malik (r. 65/685-86/705), who made the

language of administration Arabic and introduced Arabic inscriptions on the coinage. For the latter, the so-called "mission verse," "It is [God] who sent his messenger with guidance and the religion of truth to proclaim it over all religion, even though the pagans may detest it" (Q 9:33; see VERSES) became the standard formula for thousands and thousands of coins. It is, in fact, rather remarkable how rarely alternate passages were used. Even if there are sixty-one qurʾānic citations identified in North African coinage (H.W. Hazard, *Numismatic history*), many are only pious statements rather than fuller citations and should not be considered as iconographically or semantically significant quotations.

The ideological and political assertion of truth made by the passage chosen for coins is easy to explain for a coinage that was used all over the world and which, quite specifically, competed in its inscriptions with Byzantine gold and silver. It is also quite early that the glass weights and stamps used for internal consumption received as decoration "Give just measure and be not among the defrauders" (Q 26:181; G.C. Miles, *Early Arabic glass weights*). This selection demonstrates a considerable and very early sophistication in the manipulation of qurʾānic passages for pious as well as practical purposes.

The most spectacular early use of qurʾānic quotations on a building occurs in the Dome of the Rock (dated 71/691) in Jerusalem, where 240 meters of Umayyad inscriptions running below on either side of the dome octagon are divided into seven unequal sections, each of which begins with the phrase known as the *basmala* (q.v.), "In the name of God, the merciful and the compassionate." The first five sections contain standard proclamations of the Muslim faith. "There is no god but God, one, without associate" is the most common of these. There is also a series of short passages which are probably excerpted from the Qurʾān (Q 112; 35:36; 17:111, 64:1 combined with 57:2), but which might also be merely pious statements not taken from the Qurʾān. The sixth section contains historical data while the seventh, occupying half of the space, repeats a few of the formulas or citations from the first half and then creates a composite of Q 4:171-2; 19:33-6 and 3:18-19 with only one minor addition in the middle. This statement exposes the main lines of the Christology of the Qurʾān (see CHRISTIANS AND CHRISTIANITY; SCRIPTURE AND THE QURʾĀN), which makes sense in a city which was at that time a major ecclesiastical and devotional center of Christianity. Other inscriptions in the Dome of the Rock use various combinations of Q 2:255 and 2:112 (or 3:1 and 6:106); 3:26; 6:12 and 7:156, 9:33, 2:139 or 3:78 (slightly modified) in order to make clear the eschatological and missionary purpose of the building. Although the matter is still under much discussion, it is possible that the transmission of the qurʾānic text used for the decoration of the Dome of the Rock was done orally rather than through written copies of the text. This would seem to account for the fact that many of the inscriptions do not exactly agree in wording with the most common version of the Qurʾān in circulation.

While the use of the qurʾānic passage Q 9:33 on coins remained a standard procedure throughout Islamic history and the selection of verses made for the Dome of the Rock remained unique, other citations appear in several early Islamic inscriptions and deserve to be studied in detail. Such is the case with the series, known from later texts, of inscriptions from Mecca and Medina (see *RCEA*, nos. 38, 40, 46-52; G. Wiet and H. Harawy, *Matériaux*) with a primarily religious content. A curious painted graffito in Medina dated 117/735 contains a long citation dealing with faith (*RCEA*, no.

30), but its context is unclear and slightly troubling. There are no such concerns about the fragment of an inscription found on a floor mosaic in a private house, probably from the Umayyad period, excavated in Ramallah in Palestine. It contains a fragment of Q 7:205 "Do not be among the unheedful" next to the representation of an arch which may or may not be a *miḥrāb* (Rosen-Ayalon, The first mosaic). The actual point of the inscription and the reason this particular citation was chosen are still difficult to explain.

These early examples all suggest a considerable amount of experimentation in the use of qurʾānic citations during the first two centuries of Muslim rule. A certain norm became established from the third/ninth century onward. Epitaphs will almost always contain the Throne Verse Q 2:255, sūra 112 in its entirety, or both. These verses proclaim the overwhelming and unique power of God. Often these passages are accompanied by Q 9:33 with its missionary universality. Mosques will have the throne verse and Q 9:18 beginning with "the *masājid* of God will be visited and maintained by such as believe in God and the last day." *Miḥrāb*s have their own qurʾānic iconography with the beautiful Q 24:35: "God is the light of the heavens and of the earth, the parable of his light (q.v.) is as if there was a niche [*mishkāt,* another mysterious architectural term] and within it a lamp, the lamp enclosed in glass, the glass like a brilliant star, lit from a blessed tree, an olive neither of the East nor of the West, whose oil is luminous, although fire hardly touches it. Light upon light, God guides whom he wills to his light." There is little wonder that the decoration of *miḥrāb*s and of tombstones often included lamps hanging in a niche and tree-like vegetal ornaments.

The history of this iconography is still in its infancy but almost every major monument of Islamic architecture bears, in addition to the common and frequently repeated passages, citations expressing some special function or purpose or references to events which have been mostly forgotten. Examples include the great mosque of Isfahan (O. Grabar, *The great mosque*); the minarets of Iran (J. Sourdel-Thomine, *Deux minarets* and S. Blair, *Monumental inscriptions*); the striking minaret at Jām in Afghanistan (A. Maricq and G. Wiet, *Le minaret* and J. Moline, The minaret); the inscriptions of the small al-Aqmar mosque in Cairo, which expresses Shīʿī aspirations through qurʾānic citations (C. Williams, The cult); the Ghaznavid palace of Lashkar-i Bāzār in Afghanistan, which is the only building known so far to have used the Solomonic reference of Q 27:44 (J. Sourdel-Thomine, *Lashkar-i bazar*); the Firdaws law school *(madrasa)* in Aleppo, where a relatively unusual qurʾānic passage (Q 43:68-72) is found together with an extraordinary mystical text made to look like a qurʾānic inscription (Y. Tabbaa, *Constructions of power*). In the great mausoleums of the Mughal emperors of India (r. 932/1526-1274/1858), a wealth of qurʾānic inscriptions have allowed some scholars (W. Begley and Z.A. Desai, *Taj Mahal*) to interpret the buildings themselves in an unusual way as slightly blasphemous attempts to create on earth God's own paradise. These interpretations have not convinced all historians, but the point still remains that the choice of inscriptions and of qurʾānic citations is not accidental and reflects precise concerns on the part of patrons and constitutes a powerful message to the outside world.

In general, it is proper to conclude that qurʾānic citations were important signifying components of Islamic art, especially of architecture. They became part of the monument and served as guarantors or witnesses of its function and of the reasons

for its creation. They could be highly personalized, as in the epitaphs filling graveyards, where endlessly repeated statements are attached to individuals or more general proclamations of power, glory or good deeds projected to the whole of humankind and especially to the faithful. What is, however, less clear is the extent to which these messages were actually understood and absorbed. It is, in part, a matter of evaluating the level of literacy which existed over the centuries or at the time of a building's construction. It is also a matter of seeking in the chronicles and other sources describing cities and buildings actual discussions of the choice of inscriptions made. These descriptions, however, are surprisingly rare. Often it seems as though this powerful visual instrument, from which modern scholars have derived so many interpretations, was hardly noticed in its own time. Much remains to be done, therefore, in studying the response of a culture to its own practice, if one is to accept the position that the use of the qurʾānic word can be equated with the use of images in other religious systems. It is just possible that modern, primarily Western, scholarship misunderstood the meaning of these citations by arbitrarily establishing such an equation.

In a fascinating way, the contemporary scene has witnessed rather interesting transformations of this iconographic practice. A recently-erected mosque in Tehran, the al-Ghadir Mosque designed by the architect Jahangir Mazlum and completed in 1987, is covered with large written statements, for the most part in glazed or unglazed bricks. Some of these calligraphic panels are indeed placed like icons or images in a church and contain qurʾānic passages. Others are pious statements or prayers, for example the ninety-nine names of God on the ceiling and the endlessly repeated profession of faith (see CONFESSION OF FAITH). While the esthetic success of the structure is debatable, the building itself is impressive for its use of writing so well-blended into the fabric of the wall that its legibility is diminished and its value as a written statement difficult to perceive. It is almost as if the difficulty of reading the words contributes to their esthetic and pious values (M. Falamaki, al-Ghadir mosque). Many other contemporary mosques, especially the monumental ones, provide examples of the same difficulties (R. Holod and H. Khan, *The mosque*).

A particularly spectacular use of the Qurʾān has been proposed by the architect Basil al-Bayati for the city of Riyadh in Saudi Arabia. He envisioned huge arches in the shape of open books of the Qurʾān along the main highway leading into the city as a sort of processional alley greeting the visitor. The project, however, has not been executed. Yet an open book appears as the façade of a mosque designed by the same architect in Aleppo and the Pakistani sculptor Gulgee created a stunning free-standing *miḥrāb* in the shape of two leaves from an open Qurʾān for the King Faisal Mosque in Islamabad. The effect is striking, if unsettling for those who are used to traditional forms, but it demonstrates the contemporary extension of an iconography taken from the Qurʾān to one that uses the book itself as a model. Whether successful or not as works of art, these recent developments clearly indicate that the future will witness further experiments in the use of the Qurʾān, as a book or as a source of citations, to enhance architecture, especially that of mosques, and to send religious and ideological messages. Thus, shortly after the end of the Cultural Revolution in the primarily Muslim Chinese province of Sinkiang, a modest plaque at the entrance of a refurbished mosque in the small town of Turfan (Tufu in Chinese) on the edge of the Tarim Basin quoted in

Arabic script, which presumably was inaccessible to the secret police, 9:17: "It is not for idolaters to inhabit God's places of worship *(masājid)*, witnessing unbelief against themselves. Their work has failed and in fire they will forever dwell." Thus, the Qurʾān continues to reflect the passions, needs, and aspirations of Muslims everywhere.

The forms of the Qurʾān

Thanks to important recent studies in the paleography of early Arabic (F. Déroche, *Les manuscrits du Coran;* Y. Tabbaa, The transformation; E. Whelan, Writing the word) and to the stunning discovery of some forty thousand parchment pages of early Islamic manuscripts of the Qurʾān in the Yemen, we are beginning to understand the evolution of the Arabic script used in manuscripts of the Qurʾān in spite of the total absence of properly-dated examples before the third/ninth century. The variety of early scripts was already recognized by the bibliographer Ibn al-Nadīm (d. ca. 385/995) and modern collectors have transformed early pages of what is known in the trade as "Kūfic" writing into works of art which frequently fetch high prices on the market.

It is much more difficult to decide whether these early manuscripts were indeed meant to have a formal esthetic value independent of their sacred content. Some of them acquired many forms of ornamental detail, which will be examined in the following section of this entry. It is also difficult to evaluate whether they or the many styles of angular writing discovered in the Ṣanʿāʾ trove or elsewhere were meant primarily for the pleasure of the beholder. Matters changed considerably after the introduction of a proportioned script *(al-khaṭṭ al-mansūb)* by the ʿAbbāsid vizier Ibn Muqla (d. 328/940) in the fourth/tenth century. The establishment of a modular system of writing made it possible to create canons for scripts and variations of these scripts around well-defined norms. As a result, from the time of the small Qurʾān of Ibn al-Bawwāb (d. 413/1022) in the Chester Beatty Library dated to 391/1001 (D.S. Rice, *The unique Ibn al-Bawwāb*) until today, thousands of professional scribes and artists have sought to create variations on the conventional scripts which would attract and please the eyes of buyers. These scripts were not restricted to the text of the Qurʾān but, with the major exception of manuscripts of Persian poetry, the holy book was the text on which the most effort was lavished. This is demonstrated by the magnificent Qurʾāns of the Mamlūks (r. 648/1250-922/1517) in Egypt, Syria and Palestine and those of the Īlkhānids (r. 654/1256-754/1353) in Persia (D. James, *Qurʾans* and *After Timur*). It is also for the accurate reading of the qurʾānic text that diacritical marks and other identifying signs were carefully integrated into the composition of words and of letters without detracting from the availability of the text. Already with the celebrated "Qarmatian" Qurʾān of the fifth/eleventh or sixth/twelfth centuries, the leaves of which are spread all over the world (B. St. Laurent, The identification), each page became a composed entity to be seen and appreciated in its own right and in which writing and ornament are set in an even balance. A potential conflict between form and content has begun, with the former of greater importance to the ordinary faithful and the latter more important to the collectors of artistic writing or calligraphy.

Enhancement of the Qurʾān through art

Two aspects of the enhancement of the Qurʾān have already been mentioned: the varieties of styles of writing and the addition of small, ornamental, usually abstract or floral, features in the midst of the text itself or in the margins. At some point, large

headings were introduced between sūras and some of these acquired decorative designs. A group of pages, presumably in the Egyptian National Library in Cairo but not seen since their publication by B. Moritz almost a century ago, uses arcades and other architectural features, perhaps representing or symbolizing places of prayer, as well as geometric and floral designs. Large floral compositions project into the margins and the design of these headings has been compared to the *tabulae ansatae* of classical antiquity. In Mamlūk, Īlkhānid or later manuscripts, the cartouches with the titles of each sūra are often dramatically separated from the text proper, while in earlier manuscripts they are more closely imbricated with each other. Enhancement could also be provided by variations in size. There are minuscule copies of the Qurʾān and gigantic ones, like the Tīmūrid one which requires a special stand to be used and whose pages cannot be read and turned simultaneously. Accounts of calligraphers, especially in Iran, often boast of such feats of marvelous transformations of the holy book, thereby illustrating the major traditional esthetic value of being "astonishing" *(ʿajīb)*. Qurʾāns were also honored with fancy and expensive bindings. Especially valued copies were even kept in special boxes. When the Almohad ruler ʿAbd al-Muʾmin (r. 524/1130-558/1163) received from the people of Cordoba the copy of the Qurʾān which had allegedly belonged to the caliph ʿUthmān (r. 23/644-35/656) and preserved traces of his blood, he hired jewelers, metalworkers, painters and leather workers to embellish it. In Ottoman times (r. 680/1281-1342/1924) particularly beautiful cabinets were made for keeping pages and manuscripts of the holy book.

It is, on the whole, clear and not particularly surprising that many techniques were used to honor manuscripts of the Qurʾān by making them more attractive and more exciting than other books and by treating them like precious items, if not literally like works of art. What is more difficult to decide is whether certain styles of writing, certain techniques of binding, certain ways of ornamenting pages and certain motifs were, generally and exclusively, restricted to the Qurʾān. The argument may be made for the composition of pages after the fifth/eleventh century and for scripts which, angular or cursive, were written with particular care when used for the holy text. More tentatively, it may be argued that certain types of decorative feature like the marginal ornaments — which also served to signal divisions within the text — were exclusively restricted to the Qurʾān. All these hypotheses, however, still await investigation and discussion. The difficulty they present is well illustrated by two hitherto unique pages from the trove in Yemen which were published by H.C. von Bothmer (Architekturbilder) and discussed by O. Grabar *(The mediation)*. They illustrate large architectural ensembles, which have been interpreted as mosques shown in a curious but not unique mix of plans and elevations. Are they really images of mosques? If so, are they representations of specific buildings or evocations of generic types? Could they be illustrations of passages in the Qurʾān describing buildings in paradise? There are as yet no firm answers to these questions, but it may be suggested that there was a complex vocabulary of forms more or less restricted to the enhancement of the Qurʾān. These forms did indeed create an art. See also MATERIAL CULTURE AND THE QURʾĀN.

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Artery and Vein

The only qurʾānic reference to these vessels which carry blood away from and to the heart is the word *warīd,* usually translated as "jugular vein:" "We are nearer to him than his jugular vein" (Q 50:16). The critical nature of the jugular heightens the import of the message: Just as human life is dependent upon this vein, so human existence is dependent upon God. Exegetes have observed four constellations of meaning in the verse: the closeness of God to the believer, the protection afforded the believer by God, God's control of and oversight of the individual and the profound relationship which demands caution in all of one's activities. Al-Bayḍāwī (d. ca. 716/1317) stresses that God knows

everything about humans and this knowledge encompasses all details about the individual. Thus, God is closer to the individual than even the most intimate living person. This knowledge has immediate spiritual benefit because the believer can thus be assured that he is "closer to God because of his knowledge of humans." Al-Qurṭubī (d. 671/1272), on the other hand, finds significance in the blood flowing through the vein and sees this as symbolizing that God is "in control of and oversees everything the individual does or thinks." Hence, one becomes aware of God's closeness and lives in cautious awareness. He concludes that if one "knew the meaning of the verse, one would never do anything against God" (*Jāmiʿ,* iv, 4, no. 3362). For Ṣūfī commentators (see ṢŪFISM AND THE QURʾĀN), the divine watchfulness is a key factor in interpreting this verse. They see it as indicating a spiritual relationship between God and the believer that transcends ordinary language. They hold that this closeness is the confirmation of the special spiritual states, namely "intimacy" *(uns)* and "nearness" *(qurb),* that a true believer moves through in his spiritual quest. Thus, these words are held to denote experiential levels of religious attainment and the verse is a scriptural validation of the metaphysical system that the Ṣūfīs practice in their spiritual exercises. The Ṣūfī commentator al-Qushayrī (d. 465/1072), for example, elaborates a complex system of meanings based on nearness to God that ends with an exploration of self-identity. The Pakistani savant ʿAbdullāh Yūsuf ʿAlī (1872-1948), in the commentary on his translation of the Qurʾān, combines these notions when he argues that just as the blood vessel is the vehicle of life and consciousness, so God "knows more truly the innermost state of our feeling and consciousness than does our own ego" (The holy Qurʾān, 1412 n. 4952). In short, the word is universally interpreted by commentators to indicate the depth of God's relationship with human beings.

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Asbāb al-Nuzūl

see OCCASIONS OF REVELATION

Ascension

Muḥammad's night journey. The qurʾānic grounding of the ascent *(miʿrāj)* of Muḥammad is tenuous in two ways. In the first place, the ascent is not described and the term *miʿrāj* is not used in the Qurʾān. Secondly, the Qurʾān stresses that Muḥammad brings no miracle (q.v.) other than the divinely-wrought miracle of the Qurʾān itself (see INIMITABILITY). Even so, key qurʾānic passages are woven through the post-qurʾānic narrative of Muḥammad's ascent.

The qurʾānic evidence for the tradition of the ascension is the first verse of Q 17, "The Night Journey" (Sūrat al-Isrāʾ): "Glory to the one who took his servant on a night journey from the sacred place of prayer *(al-masjid al-ḥarām)* to the furthest place of prayer (*al-masjid al-aqṣā,* see AQṢĀ MOSQUE) upon which we have sent down our blessing, that we might show him some of our signs (q.v.). He is the all-hearing, the all-seeing." The tradition has understood "the sacred place of prayer" either as the sacred enclosure at Mecca (q.v.) or the Kaʿba (q.v.)

itself. However, the identity of "the furthest place of prayer" has been disputed, leading to several traditions about the ascension. One modern scholarly view holds that the oldest tradition identified "the furthest place of prayer" with the heavenly prototype of the Kaʿba. The night journey *(isrāʾ)* was then a night journey from Mecca through the heavens to the celestial Kaʿba. A later tradition identified "the furthest place of prayer" as the abode of sanctuary *(bayt al-maqdis)*, which is considered to be in Jerusalem (q.v.). Finally, the two journeys, the vertical and horizontal, were harmonized as Muḥammad was portrayed on a night journey to Jerusalem and from there on an ascension from Jerusalem through the heavens (see B. Schrieke and J. Horovitz, Miʿrādj).

The debate over the layers of tradition and the goal of the journey is largely based upon extra-qurʾānic evidence. There is little further information to be found in sūra 17. Verse 60 does mention a vision *(ruʾyā)* but within a hypothetical framework not tied clearly to Q 17:1. Verses 90-3 offer a list of proofs that the opponents of Muḥammad demand from him to validate his prophecy: a spring that bursts forth from the earth; a garden of date palms and grape vines among which rivers are gushing; the ability to bring down the sky or to summon God and the angels (see ANGEL); possession of an ornamented abode *(bayt);* and the ability of the prophet to "rise *(ruqī)* into the sky." These challenges are answered not by the claim that Muḥammad has carried out or could carry out such wonders, but rather by the repetition that he is merely a mortal messenger (q.v.).

Yet the challenges of Q 17:90-3 could have been an impetus for later storytellers who, qurʾānic statements to the contrary notwithstanding, began elaborating the miracles of Muḥammad in competition with miracle stories from other religious traditions. In such a spirit, storytellers may have been provoked by Q 17:90-3 into vindicating Muḥammad more literally in the face of such challenges. According to some ascension accounts, Muḥammad indeed attains a garden with gushing rivers — often named and specified as four — and a spring *(zamzam)* that bursts from the ground (see WELLS AND SPRINGS).

In the ascension stories, Q 17:1 is collated with the depiction of Muḥammad's prophetic vision or visions in Q 53, "The Star" (Sūrat al-Najm). Verses 1-12 begin with an oath, "By the star as it falls," then explain that "your companion" is not deluded and does not speak out of desire *(hawā)* but that the vision is a revelation given to him by one of great power. What was seen is described as being on the uppermost horizon, and then coming within a distance of "two bows' length" *(kāna qāba qawsayn)*. Some consider Q 53:13-8 to be another description of the same vision, while others maintain that it is a description of a separate vi-sion. Here, there is another descent *(nazla ukhrā)* at the lote tree of the furthest boundary *(sidrat al-muntahā)* when the tree was enshrouded. In a phrase that would be key to the ascension tradition, the gaze of the Prophet neither exceeded its bounds nor strayed *(mā zāgha l-baṣaru wa-mā ṭaghā)*. The passage ends with a statement that the Prophet had seen one or more of the greater signs of his Lord *(min āyāti l-rabbihi l-kubrā)*.

The opening verses of sūra 53, especially Q 53:12-8, serve as a constant subtext for the ascension stories. The lote tree and the garden of sanctuary *(jannat al-maʾwā)* are not constants; that is, they appear at different stages in different accounts of the ascent. However, Q 53:1-18 was used as a subtext by commentators not only for Q 17:1, but also for the depiction of the descent

of revelation on the night of destiny *(laylat al-qadr)* in Q 97:1-5: "We sent him/it down on the night of destiny (see NIGHT OF POWER). What could tell you of the night of destiny? The night of destiny is better than a thousand months. The angels come down — and the spirit among them/it/her — by permission of their lord from every decree. Peace she/it is until the rising of the dawn." Qurʾānic commentators disagree on whether what is sent down on the night of destiny is Gabriel (q.v.; "We sent him down") or the qurʾānic revelation ("We sent it down"). The angels that are said to come down in Q 97:4 are said, in some ḥadīth, to have been sent down from the lote tree of the furthest boundary (cf. Qurṭubī, *Jāmiʿ,* xx, 133-4). The fact that the visions of Q 53 serve as a subtext for both the ascension and the night of destiny sets up a tension between the sending down of revelation to Muḥammad and his rising up to receive it in the heavens. These two paradigms — the sending down of the revelation and the rising up to receive it — were in tension throughout the late antique era and they are clearly in tension in the tradition surrounding Muḥammad's prophetic call. As the tradition holds that the night of destiny and the night of the ascension are separate events, some commentators associate the first vision passage (Q 53:1-12) with the night of destiny and the second vision passage (Q 53:13-18) with the ascension. The tension is not easily resolved, however, and recurs throughout the exegetical tradition (see EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL). A particularly revealing and brilliantly illustrated example of this tension occurs in the commentary of al-Qurṭubī (*Jāmiʿ,* xvii, 81-103).

Further heightening the tension between the ascent and descent paradigms is the intertextual connection between Q 97 and Q 70:1-9, which begins with a question about the "pain that would fall" *(ʿadhāb wāqiʿ):* "From God, Master of the ascending stairways *(al-maʿārij),* angels and the spirit (q.v.) ascend to Him on a day whose span is fifty thousand years. Patience, patience most fair. They see it from afar, we see it near. A day the sky will be like molten copper and the mountains like fluffs of wool." These verses depict the day of reckoning (*yawm al-dīn;* see LAST JUDGMENT) in terms that resonate directly with other day-of-reckoning passages such as Q 101:4-5, which also refers to a time when the mountains are like fluffs of wool *(al-ʿihn al-manfūsh).*

A reference to stairways in a passage concerning the rising of the angels at the end of time would seem at first an unlikely proof for the ascent of Muḥammad during his lifetime. However, the intertextual link of Q 97 and Q 70:1-9 may have facilitated the use of the term *miʿrāj* and variations on the *ʿ-r-j* radical in traditional accounts of Muḥammad's ascent. In Q 70, the angels rise; in Q 97, the angels descend during the night of destiny or upon the night of destiny. The night of destiny is "better than a thousand months." Similarly, the day of reckoning is "a day whose span is fifty thousand years." These parallels in imagery are strengthened by sound and syntax parallels:

70:4	*taʿruju*	*l-malāʾikatu*	*wa-l-rūḥu*	*ilayhi*
	there rise	the angels	and the spirit	in/upon him/it
97:4	*tanazzalu*	*l-malāʾikatu*	*wa-l-rūḥu*	*fīhā*
	there descend	the angels	and the spirit	in/upon/among it/them/her

Both the night of prophetic revelation and the day of reckoning are boundary moments, moments in which the eternal realm comes into contact with the temporal realm. Although discrete in narrative sequence, they are nevertheless linguistically embedded within one another. The intertextual link between these two sūras accentuates further the tension between the ascent and descent models of revelation even as it binds the two models together.

Another day-of-reckoning passage critical to the ascension accounts is in Q 52:1-10: "By the Mount [i.e. Mount Sinai]. By the book inscribed on rolls of parchment most fine. By the enlivened house *(al-bayt al-maʿmūr)*. By the roof raised high. By the sea boiled over. The pain of your lord will fall *(inna ʿadhāba rabbika la-wāqiʿ)*. None can ward it off. On a day the sky will sway and the mountains will slide." These verses are bound to the opening verses of Q 70 in that both contain a warning of the pain that will fall *(ʿadhāb wāqiʿ)* and cannot be kept away, and by their depiction of the mountains sliding on the day of reckoning. Such intertextual connections cluster around the term *al-bayt al-maʿmūr,* a term difficult to translate but which means the abode that is inhabited and, as such, enlivened. The two major uses of the term *bayt* in the Qurʾān are with little ambiguity attributed to the Kaʿba: *al-bayt al-ʿatīq* (the ancient abode) and *al-bayt al-ḥarām* (the sacred abode). The identity of "the enlivened house," mentioned only this one time in the Qurʾān, is not specified.

The commentary of al-Qurṭubī on "the enlivened house" (*Jāmiʿ,* xvii, 59-61) elaborates on the controversy among various exegetes over which heavenly sphere contains the house. The region above the seventh sphere just before the divine throne, the sixth sphere, the fourth sphere, and lowest sphere are among the candidates (see COSMOLOGY IN THE QURʾĀN). In each case, the enlivened house would be a celestial abode that corresponds to the Kaʿba, although some others claim that the term refers to the Kaʿba itself. For those who put the enlivened house in the world of the celestial spheres, the way is paved for a connection between the apocalypse (q.v.) — in which the house will be encountered on the day of reckoning — and Muḥammad's ascent, a preview of what is revealed on the day of reckoning. Once Muḥammad's ascent is accepted, then it would be as natural to find him encountering the enlivened house as it would be to find him encountering the lote tree or the rivers of paradise (al-Qurṭubī cites the proof par excellence for such an encounter from Muslim's *Saḥīḥ*). Given the association of "the sacred place of prayer" with the origin of Muḥammad's journey, the links between sūras 52, 70 and 97 facilitate the identification of "the enlivened house" as its goal, particularly when the journey is seen as one of heavenly ascent, and provide a matrix of qurʾānic subtexts for the development and differing versions of the traditions about the ascension.

Finally, Q 94:1, "Did We not open your breast?" becomes the evidence for stories of the extraction of Muḥammad's heart and its purification in the waters of *zamzam* that parallel accounts of shaman-like preparatory practices in other cultures. Eventually, almost any aspect of qurʾānic language can be incorporated into the ascension tradition but the passages above form its core.

A passage from Muslim's *Saḥīḥ* concerning the Prophet near the culmination of his ascent offers an example of how these passages are incorporated into the ascent narrative: "He [Abraham] was resting his back against the enlivened house (*al-bayt al-maʿmūr,* Q 52:4) into which seventy thousand angels would disappear each day, not to

return. Then I was taken to the 'lote tree of the furthest boundary' (Q 53:14, *sidrat al-muntahā*). Its leaves were like the ears of elephants and its fruits were as large as jugs of clay. He said, When by the command of its lord 'the tree was enfolded' (Q 53:16) it was transformed. None of the creatures of God could describe its beauty. 'Then God revealed to me what he revealed'" (Q 53:10).

The ascension traditions expanded in length, complexity and cultural accretions throughout the medieval world in which traditions of heavenly ascent abounded. The number seventy thousand was standard in the ascent of Enoch stories, for example. In other cases, features of cosmology, both qurʾānic and extra-qurʾānic, associated with the creation were woven into the story of the ascension.

Muḥammad's ascent brought together the imagery of creation, revelation and the reckoning, the three major boundary moments of qurʾānic and extra-qurʾānic tradition. Examination of the relation of the ascension to extra-qurʾānic sources must be left to another occasion. Once the notion of the physical ascent was established, qurʾānic subtexts with strong intertextual bonds became a vehicle for exploring the tensions between the this-worldly vision and the end-of-time vision. Within the individual religions, the interreligiously symbolic cosmos of successive spheres or heavens became the site of contest among differing religions. The ascension was Islam's principle vehicle for expressing such a contest.

Within the Islamic tradition, these heavens also became the site of exploring the tension between revelation as sent down to earth and its retrieval by a prophet rising through the heavens. Both sets of tensions were at the core of the apocalyptic traditions that surrounded Islam and with which Islamic traditions of ascent were in increasing competition. They were adapted into the Ṣūfī tradition, both in the forms of paradigms of Ṣūfī experience and in Ṣūfī accounts of their own personal ascents. (For Bisṭāmī's ascent, see M. Sells, *Early Islamic mysticism,* 121-231, 242-50; for that of Ibn al-ʿArabī, see his *al-Futūḥāt al-makkiyya,* trans. M. Chodkiewicz, *Les illuminations,* 350-81.)

Just as the mosque retains its basic elements but reflects the culture in which it is built, the ascent traditions reflect the historical and cultural diversity, tensions and interactions of the classical Islamic world. A late pictoral representation of the ascension offers an example. Among the angels encountered by Muḥammad is an angel half of fire and half of ice, reflecting a dichotomy and experience that can be traced back to the world of 1 Enoch (Séguy, plate 10). The angels recite the *tasbīḥ* (Praise be to God!) in the same place that the angels in the Jewish Merkevah tradition recite the *qedusha*. Yet this angel in full lotus position reflects the cultural sphere of Buddhism, even as the facial features, dress and the bearing of this and other angels are Mongolian.

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Asceticism

The principles or practice of people who engage in rigorous self-discipline, abstinence and austerity for the sake of spiritual or intellectual discipline. The Arabic term *zuhd* — not found in the Qurʾān — has usually been translated as "asceticism" but would be better rendered as "renunciation of the world." Another Arabic word that does not appear in the Qurʾān, *nasḳ* (also vocalized as *nusk* and *nusuk*), which designates the pious lifestyle of the hermit, is a closer equivalent of "asceticism." There is not much about asceticism in the Qurʾān, but a certain amount of attention is given to two key elements of the ascetic lifestyle, vigils (q.v.) and fasting (q.v.), while there are also brief mentions of a third, weeping (q.v.), and of monasticism (*rahbāniyya*, see MONASTICISM AND MONKS), which asceticism overlaps. By contrast, the Qurʾān does not advocate celibacy (see SEX AND SEXUALITY; ABSTINENCE), another key element of asceticism, but enjoins marriage (see MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE). Men are permitted the pleasures of sex with wives and slave-girls. The Qurʾān also rejects the idea that one should give all one's wealth away (Q 17:26-9). While almsgiving (q.v.) is enjoined, the absolute and voluntary poverty which is characteristic of asceticism is not recommended. However, the presence of Christian — and especially Syrian — asceticism in the historical background to the Qurʾān is undoubtedly important as are the vigils apparently observed by Muḥammad himself.

Background

In eastern Christianity, in the centuries before Muḥammad, one finds an extremely strong ascetic tradition. Notably, one encounters the "Sons of the Covenant," who were neither priests nor monks but pursued mortification of the flesh and devotional exercises. Celibacy, even within marriage, was particularly venerated. Although Egypt is supposedly the birthplace of Christian monasticism, abstention from food does not seem to have been more than moderate amongst Egyptian monastics. In Syria, however, the mortification of the flesh was more extreme: There were "browsers" who ate nothing but plants and wearers of heavy iron chains, alongside the celebrated "stylites," ascetics who lived on the tops of pillars for decades. Here laymen often retired into solitude to live like hermits for a time, and nightly vigils for prayer and recitation were particularly prominent. It is not clear how all of this would have had an influence on the Qurʾān. According to Christian sources, a large number of Arabs from northern Arabia came to the most famous of the stylites, St. Simeon Stylites (ca. 390-459 C.E.) and were converted by him (A. Vööbus, *History*, ii, 253-4). T. Andrae (*Mohammed*, 83-8) insists that Syrian Christian asceticism lies at the root of the Qurʾān's piety but K. Wagtendonk (*Fasting*, 129) sees this view as "certainly one-sided."

Muḥammad outside the Qurʾān

In assessing extra-qurʾānic materials that attribute ascetic practices or teachings to Muḥammad one comes up against the problems of the authenticity, historicity and reliability of the ḥadīth. Muḥammad is credited with advocating poverty and weeping (Wensinck, *Handbook*, q.v. "Poor" and "Weeping"). In general, however, the ḥadīths which have been collected that favor a renunciation of the world are often

vague exhortations to a life of piety as opposed to specific recommendations of ascetic practices. By contrast, Muḥammad is said to have rejected both monasticism and the "wandering" *(siyāḥa)* characteristic of the Syrian anchorites (Wagtendonk, *Fasting,* 129-30). As regards Muḥammad's own practices, we are told that before his mission he would spend one month a year in seclusion on mount Ḥirāʾ (ibid., *Fasting,* 32-3). There he would engage in "the holding of pious exercises" (*taḥannuth,* a word again not found in the Qurʾān, and the exact meaning of which is not clear). Apparently asceticism as such did not exist as an indigenous Arabian phenomenon; fasting and other forms of abstinence existed only in particular rituals and as penance or as the result of specific vows but not as part of asceticism in the sense of a permanent way of life (cf. Wagtendonk, *Fasting,* 8, 31-40; and G. Hawting, Taḥannuth).

Muḥammad and vigils in the Qurʾān

In the Qurʾān itself Muḥammad is shown as engaging in vigils (Q 73:1-4, 20). Here the injunction to Muḥammad to keep awake for half the night is an echo of eastern Christian teachings. Similarly, the qurʾānic injunction for Muḥammad and his followers to recite the Qurʾān (see RECITATION OF THE QURʾĀN) during vigils also echoes Christian practices in which the recitation of the scriptures formed an important part of the vigil along with constant prostration. Here again, the Qurʾān's assertion that Muḥammad's true followers have marks on their faces as a result of their constant prostrating (Q 48:29) is an echo of a classic eastern Christian topos. The actual term for "keeping a vigil," *tahajjud,* occurs only once in the Qurʾān (Q 17:79). In Q 73:1-4 the command to keep a vigil and to recite the Qurʾān for about half the night is addressed to Muḥammad alone. In the same sūra (Q 73:20) we are informed that Muḥammad and some of his followers keep vigils for two-thirds, half or a third of the night. As there then ensues an obscure continuation, generally considered to be God's abrogation (q.v.) of his earlier command at the beginning of Q 73, this verse is said to have been revealed much later. God now gives a collective command to Muḥammad's followers to recite as much of the Qurʾān as they can easily manage, given their various difficulties (cf. Wensinck, Tahadjdjud). It is not clear, however, whether this collective command also includes Muḥammad himself; if it does not, then it does not require the hypothesis of abrogation and subsequent revelation since there is no contradiction with the initial individual command addressed to Muḥammad. In Q 76:26 Muḥammad is again told to prostrate himself to God and praise him through the night (see ADORATION; BOWING AND PROSTRATION). In Q 25:64 we are told that God's servants are those who spend the night prostrating themselves and standing in worship (q.v.) of him. In Q 17:79 the command to keep a vigil is again addressed to Muḥammad alone and it is explained that this is a "work of supererogation" *(nāfila)* for which Muḥammad may be rewarded with a glorious position in the hereafter (see REWARD AND PUNISHMENT). In Q 39:9 a rhetorical question asks whether someone who spends the night in worship, prostrating himself and standing up, in wariness as regards his fate in the next world and in hope of God's benevolence, is equal with someone who does not. In Q 3:113 we are told that among the People of the Book (q.v.) there are some good people who recite the scriptures and prostrate themselves all night long (see SCRIPTURE AND THE QURʾĀN). In Q 51:15-8 the righteous are depicted as being rewarded in heaven for having slept little at night and

for praying at dawn and in Q 32:16 they are shown as forsaking their beds in order to pray in fear and in hope.

Fasting

Alongside the obligatory fast in the month of Ramaḍān (q.v.) and the examples of fasting prescribed as penance and acts of reparation or compensation (see ATONEMENT), supererogatory pious fasting is also mentioned in the Qurʾān (Q 9:112; 33:35; 66:5). In Q 9:112 and 66:5 the verb *sāḥa* is used to mean "fast" and here there is certainly an echo of the "wandering" *(siyāḥa)* of the Syrian Christian anchorites. As Wagtendonk observes, this verb is never used to designate the fast of Ramaḍān and it must designate supererogatory pious fasting as must the verb *ṣāma* in the comparable passage Q 33:35. In all three passages the context is that of the behavior of pious Muslims (see PIETY): They are obedient (see OBEDIENCE), persevering, humble, givers of alms, chaste (see CHASTITY), penitent, worshipping and also fasting (men and women in Q 33:35, potential wives of Muḥammad in Q 66:5 and fighters in the holy war in Q 9:112). However, this context cannot be seen as that of asceticism and the extreme fasting of ascetics cannot be intended. Thus *sāḥa,* in spite of its Syrian ascetic connotations, must here be used in a weaker sense of "supererogatory pious fasting" or "voluntary religious fasting" on a more moderate scale. As for the fast of Ramaḍān itself, it has its roots in Judaic penitential fasting but in the Qurʾān is associated with gratitude (Q 2:185; see GRATITUDE AND INGRATITUDE): it is a thank-offering (Wagtendonk, *Fasting,* 128-43).

Weeping

Weeping is an important aspect of both Christian and Islamic asceticism and, as F. Meier has pointed out (Bakkāʾ, 960), there is clear evidence of historical continuity between the two traditions, from the Coptic and Syrian monks, with Isaac of Nineveh in the seventh century C.E., to the "weepers" of early Islam. In the Qurʾān there are explicit references to weeping: The recitation of the Qurʾān itself causes people to weep (Q 17:109) and in the past the recitation of God's previous signs (q.v.) to true believers had the same effect (Q 19:58).

Monasticism

The Qurʾān's attitude to asceticism is probably best expressed in its specific mention of Christian monasticism (Q 57:27). Unfortunately, this verse is unclear and has been interpreted in different ways. It reads, "And in the hearts of those who followed him [i.e. Jesus], we put kindness and benevolence, and monasticism *(rahbāniyya)* — they instituted it — we did not prescribe it for them — out of desire to please God. But they did not observe it as they ought." Some exegetes take the view that here *rahbāniyya* is not one of the objects of God's "putting:" thus it would be of purely human origin. Other exegetes do see *rahbāniyya* as put in the hearts of Christians by God, and, thus, of divine origin but not prescribed for everyone and later perverted (cf. A.J. Wensinck, Rahbāniyya; McAuliffe, *Qurʾānic,* 263-81). The idea, in any case, seems to be that the extreme asceticism of Christian monasticism, however well-intentioned, is an unrealistic and impractical ideal and the monks have not lived up to it. This interpretation is supported by the Qurʾān's brief references to the Christian monks themselves: On the one hand, the Christians are closest to the Muslims because they have priests and monks (Q 5:82) but, on the other hand, the monks have become

objects of worship and have amassed riches (Q 9:31-4).

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Ashes

The solid residue left when a material is burnt. The word "ashes" *(ramād)* occurs only once in the Qurʾān, in 14:18: "A similitude of those who have disbelieved in their Lord: Their actions will be like ashes swept away by a severe wind on a stormy day. They have no power over what they earned; it is this that is extreme misguidance." As the phrase "swept away by a severe wind on a stormy day" qualifies the ashes, it will be discussed here as well (see also AIR AND WIND). The point of the simile is that on the day of resurrection the disbelievers who had hoped to be saved on the strength of their supposedly good actions will be disappointed because these deeds will not avail them "just as no one can control ashes when [God] sends a wind against them on a blustery day" (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* xiii, 198). The verse thus emphasizes the importance of grounding actions in faith and the utter futility of actions not so grounded, for the latter will not only be reduced to ashes, but these ashes themselves will be blown away and no trace of them will be left behind (Zamakhsharī, *Kashshāf,* ii, 298; Rāzī, *Tafsīr,* xix, 105; Quṭb, *Ẓilāl,* iv, 2094).

The qurʾānic use of the word *ramād* in the sense of wasted effort represents an older usage most likely derived from a nomadic lifestyle. The wind blowing away the ashes left by a campfire must have been a familiar sight to the dwellers of the desert (cf. Quṭb, *Ẓilāl,* iv, 2094). A proverb such as "Your brother roasted [meat] until it was cooked, but then threw ashes over it *(ramada)*" means that he spoiled the good he had done (cf. *Lisān al-ʿArab,* q.v. *r-m-d,* and Zamakhsharī, *Asās,* q.v. *r-m-d*). This particular usage appears to antedate the Qurʾān, as does this expression for destruction: "We arrived in this town and were reduced to ashes *(ramadnā)* in it" (Zamakhsharī, *Asās,* q.v. *r-m-d*). From a literary viewpoint, the Qurʾān's comparison of certain kinds of human actions to ashes is an instance of what the twentieth-century Egyptian theologian Sayyid Quṭb represents as the characteristic qurʾānic technique, corporealizing *(tajsīm)* abstractions *(al-Taṣwīr al-fannī fī l-Qurʾān).*

Although the word "ashes" occurs only once in the Qurʾān and expresses wasted efforts, there are several instances in which other words and images are used to represent utter destruction in a similar eschatological context (see ESCHATOLOGY). God will turn the actions of the disbelievers into scattered dust motes (*habāʾan manthūran,* Q 25:23); the disbelievers will realize that their actions have been nullified. What they had regarded as water will turn out to be a mirage (Q 24:39). The wealth such people might have spent on good causes will become like a crop hit by a freezing cold wind (Q 3:117). The actions of someone who does somebody a favor and then reminds him of it will be washed away like the layer of dust on a rock (Q 2:264). Thus it may be seen that Q 14:18, with its mention of ashes, belongs to a larger category

of verses. Indeed the concept of nullification of deeds is stated and explained in many places in the Qurʾān and all the above-mentioned verses and many others may be subsumed under that general concept. See also APOCALYPSE; RESURRECTION.

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Ass

see ANIMAL LIFE

Association

see POLITICS AND THE QURʾĀN

Astray

To wander from a set path. *Ḍalla,* the root of which *(ḍ-l-l)* means "to err," "to go astray," "to lose one's way," is a ubiquitous and fundamental qurʾānic concept that appears 191 times in forty-seven derivatives of the Arabic verb. The best-known example is *al-ḍāllīn* "those who go astray," the final word in the opening sūra of the Qurʾān (Sūrat al-Fātiḥa, see FĀTIḤA). It is linked in the same sūra to a central qurʾānic theme "the straight way" *(al-ṣirāṭ al-mustaqīm).*

In pre-Islamic sources, the word *ḍalla* is employed primarily in discourse on mundane matters related to travel in the desert. With the advent of Islam and the growing influence of the Qurʾān on the Arabic language (q.v.), *ḍalla* assumed an array of moral and spiritual meanings related to the straight way. This concept, first encountered in Q 1:6, forms the basis of one of several religious dichotomies that characterize the qurʾānic worldview: the distinction between belief *(īmān)* and unbelief (*kufr,* see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF). In Sunnī sources, the straight way is interpreted as God's guidance *(hudā)* consisting of the Qurʾān and the exemplary words and practices of Muḥammad (q.v.). Humans respond to God's guidance either with belief — demonstrated by accepting God's guidance and adhering to the way *(ihtidāʾ)* — or with unbelief characterized by straying *(ḍalāl* or *ḍalāla),* the rejection of guidance and right conduct. Thus straying came to represent the harmful, base inclinations of human nature in the Qurʾān's dualistic moral conception.

The synonyms, correlatives and derivatives of *ḍalla* reflect its variant but related qurʾānic meanings. Synonyms include *ighwāʾ* (temptation, enticement to evil), *khusrān,* (spiritual deterioration, moral depravity) and *shaqāʾ* (misery, suffering). Among the chief causes of a person's going astray are Satan's desire to lead people astray (Q 4:60) and the natural, destructive appetites and passions of human nature (*ahwāʾ,* sing. *hawā,* Q 5:77; 6:56). The most prominent and exhaustively interpreted derivative is *al-ḍāllīn*. Classical Sunnī exegesis regularly identifies "those who have gone astray" *(al-ḍāllīn)* as the Christians who once possessed but subsequently lost true knowledge of the way. The famous commentator al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923), however, points out that both Jews and Christians have incurred God's wrath and have gone astray in the same manner (*Tafsīr,* i, 189-95; see JEWS AND JUDAISM; CHRISTIANS AND CHRISTIANITY). Modern Sunnī commentators tend to interpret "those who have gone astray" more broadly, given the absence in the Qurʾān of specific reference to any particular religious group. For example, M. al-Shaʿrāwī, a famous contemporary Egyptian shaykh, states that *al-ḍāllīn* are people who do not know the way to

where they want to go, who adopt any way of life other than God's and who thus become Satan's associate (*Tafsīr,* i, 90). Predictably, Shīʿī commentators identify "those who have gone astray" as those who do not recognize the spiritual primacy of the imām (q.v.). In mystical exegesis, spiritual seekers go astray if they fail to see the beauty and love of God in all things. See also ṢŪFISM AND THE QURʾĀN; SHĪʿĪSM AND THE QURʾĀN; EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN.

Exegetical differences concerning going astray fueled debate in early Islamic theology on the question of indeterminism versus determinism (see FREEDOM AND PREDESTINATION). Some verses seem to affirm the principle of free will: "Those who receive guidance, do so for the good of their own souls. Those who stray, do so to their own loss" (Q 10:108); "Let him who will, believe. Let him who will, reject" (Q 18:29). Other verses appear to support the doctrine of God's causality: "For those whom God has led astray *(man yuḍlili llāh),* never will you find the way" (Q 4:88); "God leads astray *(yuḍillu)* those whom he pleases and guides whom he pleases" (Q 14:4). Al-Ṭabarī deals with this controversy in his commentary on "those who have gone astray" in Q 1:7, first dismissing the conclusion that humans are free to choose their spiritual destiny and then affirming the traditional view that God is the cause of human action (*Tafsīr,* i, 195-7). The trend in modern commentary is to reconcile the apparent contradictions. ʿA. Yūsuf ʿAlī's commentary on Q 81:28-9 argues for a compromise position: "Both extremes, viz., cast-iron Determinism and an idea of Chaotic Free-will, are condemned" (*The holy Qurʾān,* ad loc.). M. Mir avers that according to Q 92:5-10 "God facilitates *(taysīr)* the doing of good actions for those who would perform them, and… he facilitates the doing of evil actions for those who would do such actions" (*Dictionary,* 79-80). M. Ṭanṭawī, the Shaykh of Sunnī Islam's al-Azhar University, holds that God gives humans only what they first choose for themselves: guidance for those who seek the straight path through God and misguidance for those who opt to go astray.

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Astronomy

see COSMOLOGY IN THE QURʾĀN

Asylum

see PROTECTION; OATHS

Atheism

see POLYTHEISM AND ATHEISM

Atmospheric Phenomena

see NATURAL WORLD AND THE QURʾĀN

Atom

see SCIENCE AND THE QURʾĀN

Atonement

The act of making amends for an injury or an offense. The idea that acts, whether moral or ritual lapses, can be atoned or compensated for by other acts occurs on a number of occasions in the Qurʾān, but it does not seem possible to construct either a clear or complete doctrine of atonement on the basis of the qurʾānic references alone. In three passages, the act which atones, expiates or compensates is called a *kaffāra* (cf. the cognates in the other Semitic languages; see FOREIGN VOCABULARY), but

there are other words used as well which are not easy to distinguish in sense.

Q 5:45 says that waiving, as an act of charity, one's right to retaliate for an injury or a death suffered is an atonement *(kaffāra)*. In this instance the idea seems to be that a voluntary meritorious act can atone for past sin. Here the commentators discuss whether the sin in question is that of the perpetrator or that of the one who waives his right to retaliate. In other passages the act of atonement appears to be undertood more as a compulsory consequence of a specified act or lapse.

Q 5:89 — where the word *kaffāra* occurs twice — sets out a choice of atonements in connection with oaths (q.v.): feeding ten poor people according to the normal level of the provision for one's own family, clothing them, emancipating a slave or fasting (q.v.) for three days. Commentators disagree whether the selected act atones for an oath which, for one reason or another, was not properly made *(al-laghw fī aymānikum)* or for an oath which was binding *(mā ʿaqqadtumu l-aymān)* but broken. In this connection it is questionable whether the idea of atonement for a sin (see SIN, MAJOR AND MINOR) or lapse actually applies since release from oaths which it was not desirable or possible to keep was a frequent and normal procedure.

Q 5:95 sets out three possible courses of action for someone who infringes the law by killing game (*ṣayd*, see HUNTING AND FISHING) while in the state of ritual consecration *(iḥrām)* of the pilgrim (see PILGRIMAGE). Such a person should provide a "compensation" (*jazāʾ*, see RECOMPENSE) in the form of a domestic animal comparable to the animal killed, to be brought as an offering (*hady*, see SACRIFICE) at the Kaʿba (q.v.); or he should make an "atonement" *(kaffāra)* by feeding an unspecified number of the poor or fasting for an unspecified period of time. These requirements are interpreted in qurʾānic commentary in ways which suggest no clear distinction between the idea of compensation and that of atonement. Some regard all three courses of action as equal in value so that the one who has killed an animal in a consecrated state may choose freely from among them (see CONSECRATION OF ANIMALS). Others regard the offering of an animal in compensation as preferable to the other two possibilities and thus perhaps see compensation as different in nature from atonement.

One possible distinction is that the compensation involves doing something comparable in kind to the sin: "As for [God's] saying, 'a compensation of livestock similar to what he killed,' he is saying that [the hunter] owes the equivalent and the reimbursement" (*wa-ammā qawluhu "fa-jazāʾun mithlu mā qatala min al-naʿami"* [Q 5:95] *fa-innahu yaqūlu wa-ʿalayhi kifāʾun wa-badalun*, Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, xi, 13). The idea that one can make up for having missed a duty by performing something similar in different circumstances occurs too without the word compensation *(jazāʾ)*. For example, in Q 2:184 it is said that someone who does not fast because he is sick or travelling might make up the missed days at a later time.

Another concept which seems to carry connotations of atonement is that of "ransom" *(fidya)*. Q 2:184 prescribes the feeding of a poor person or something more than that as a ransom *(fidya)* for someone who has failed to fast, and Q 2:196 asks for a ransom of fasting, charity or sacrifice from someone who has had to interrupt his pilgrimage.

Q 58:3-4 sets out a choice of acts required from a man who renounces sexual relations with his wife *(yuẓāhirūna min nisāʿihim)* by an oath known as *ẓihār* but then wished to retract it and resume sexual relations (see ABSTENTION). It is not clear whether the

acts set out are a consequence of having made such an oath in the first place or are a condition of release from it. They are arranged not as equal alternatives but in descending order of acceptability: freeing a slave, fasting for two consecutive months, or feeding sixty poor people. Though the word "atonement" *(kaffāra)* is not used here, a connection with Q 5:89 seems obvious. Commentaries and works of Islamic law freely use "atonement" *(kaffāra)* when discussing the case.

The idea of atonement also occurs in Q 2:54 in connection with the story of the worship of the calf of gold (q.v.) by the Children of Israel (q.v.). The words of Moses (q.v.), "Kill yourselves," are understood as a command to the Israelites to atone to God for their sin. In commentary we are frequently told that the Israelites' subsequent fighting and killing one another was an atonement *(kaffāra)*. See also LAW AND THE QURʾĀN; REPENTANCE AND PENANCE.

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Attributes of God

see GOD AND HIS ATTRIBUTES

Augury

see POPULAR AND TALISMANIC USES OF THE QURʾĀN

Authority

The right to act or command. The concept of authority is clearly attested in the Qurʾān but is not imparted by a single term or expression. The most common modern Arabic word for "authority," *sulṭa,* does not occur in the Qurʾān. Its cognate, *sulṭān,* does indeed occur there frequently, although solely as a verbal noun with an abstract sense. *Sulṭān* denotes mainly, according to the classical exegetes, "proof" or "argument"; it only occasionally seems to mean "authority," and even then mostly in association with "proof." Other terms which denote some form of authority are *quwwa* (power), *amr* (command), *ḥukm* (judgment or decision) and *mulk* (sovereignty, possession or power). With the exception of Q 4:59, which might hint at political authority, the authority with which the Qurʾān is concerned is essentially religious with credal, theological, legal, eschatological and moral implications.

There is no ambiguity whatsoever in the Qurʾān that all, full and absolute authority in the entire universe belongs to God and God alone. The Qurʾān thus keeps repeating: "To [God] belongs the sovereignty *(mulk)* of the heavens and the earth" (e.g. Q 5:40; 9:116). Although this authority does derive from God's singular and unique omnipotence, omnipresence and omniscience, it is essentially based on his being the creator of all things and on his holding supreme sway over their affairs in all matters, including the day of judgment (see LAST JUDGMENT). Thus one finds the strikingly simple "verily His is the creation and the command." (*a-lā lahu l-khalqu wa-l-amr,* Q 7:54). This makes God's relationship to his creatures one of sovereignty and ownership *(mulk),* where he is "the lord of all being" (*rabb al-ʿālamīn,* e.g. Q 1:2) and his creatures are his servants and worshippers (*ʿibād, ʿabīd,* sing. *ʿabd,* e.g. Q 39:10). This relationship is one which all human beings accepted collectively before creation (q.v.) and which constituted the primordial and binding covenant (*mīthāq,* see COVENANT) between humankind and God (see ADAM AND EVE). It is binding for man until the

day of judgment and man cannot deny being aware of it (Q 7:172). Accordingly, the Qurʾān emphasizes repeatedly the fundamental importance of man's obedience (*ṭāʿa,* see OBEDIENCE) to God (e.g. Q 3:50).

While the Qurʾān presents God as empowering both individuals and groups to perform extraordinary acts — e.g. Dhū l-Qarnayn (Q 18:83-98), Moses' (q.v.) companion (Q 18:60-82; see KHAḌIR/KHIḌR) and the people of ʿĀd (q.v.; Q 7:74) — such acts do not necessarily provide them with authority. In one case only does a verse come close to associating empowerment with authority. When God created Adam, he made him a vice-regent (*khalīfa,* see CALIPH) on earth, asked the angels to prostrate before him (Q 2:30-4; see ADORATION; ANGEL; BOWING AND PROSTRATION) and put the fruits of the earth at his service (e.g. Q 55:1-27). Nevertheless, in the Qurʾān the only area where God's authority is unambiguously and actually delegated to any creature is prophecy (see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD).

According to the Qurʾān, God selected from among humankind a number of prophets and messengers (see MESSENGER) as guides to his way and warners against deviating from it (see WARNING). These messengers are provided by God, among other things, with power and authority supported by proof (*sulṭān,* Q 11:96; 4:144). The most paramount of these is a scripture (*kitāb,* see BOOK; SCRIPTURE AND THE QURʾĀN) which carries God's authoritative message (e.g. Q 2:29; 4:54, 113). Hence belief in it is a requirement of faith (q.v.; e.g. Q 2:177, 285; 3:84; see also BELIEF AND UNBELIEF). Most importantly, though, these prophets are fundamentally aware that their authority is not independently acquired, but is derived from God (e.g. Q 14:11). It is precisely because of this that they can demand obedience from others: "We sent no messenger save that he be obeyed by God's leave" (*wa-mā arsalnā min rasūlin illā li-yuṭāʿa bi-idhni llāh,* Q 4:64). This obedience to the prophets is given an elevated position in the Qurʾān and in the case of the Prophet Muḥammad it is coupled frequently with obedience to God, as in the repeated statement "Obey God and the messenger" (*aṭīʿū llāha wa-l-rasūl,* e.g. Q 3:32, 132). Indeed, obedience to the Prophet is equated once with obedience to God: "Whoever obeys the messenger obeys God" (*man yuṭiʿ al-rasūla fa-qad aṭāʿa llāh,* Q 4:80). In another significant verse (Q 4:59), the Qurʾān commands people to obey "those in charge among you" *(ulī l-amr minkum),* in addition to God and the Prophet.

Due to the nature of the topic and its manifestation in many contexts in the Qurʾān, the qurʾānic commentaries are of limited use, except where a particular verse (such as Q 4:59) is of direct relevance. The ambiguity of Q 4:59, as well as its potential political significance, made it subject to numerous interpretations, most of which reflect the opinions of the various theological and political groups in early Islamic society. The Sunnī groups identified "those in charge among you" variously as the Prophet's military commanders *(umarāʾ),* religious scholars *(ʿulamāʾ, fuqahāʾ),* the Prophet's Companions (see COMPANIONS OF THE PROPHET) or more specifically the Prophet's close associates and future caliphs Abū Bakr (q.v.; r. 11/632-13/634) and ʿUmar (q.v.; r. 13/634-23/644; see Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* viii, 495-502; Ibn al-Jawzī, *Zād,* ii, 116-7). The view that became prevalent, however, is that they are the actual rulers of the Muslim community *(al-umarāʾ wa-l-wulāt),* as al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923) himself concludes (*Tafsīr,* viii, 502-5). The Shīʿīs, on the other hand, believe that "those in charge among you" are the infallible imāms (q.v.; *al-aʾimma min āl Muḥammad,* Ṭabarsī, *Tafsīr,* v, 138-9). Ṣūfīs tended to identify them as the Sufi saints (e.g.

Qu-shayrī, *Laṭāʾif,* ii, 36-7). See also IMĀM; SHĪʿISM AND THE QURʾĀN; ḤADĪTH AND THE QURʾĀN; ṢŪFISM AND THE QURʾĀN.

While divinely sanctioned authority is considered legitimate in the Qurʾān, authority unauthorized by God is not (Q 55:33). Accordingly seven out of the thirty-six verses containing the word *sulṭān* assert the falsehood of idols and other "gods," calling them merely "names" devised by people without God's proof, authority or authorization (e.g. Q 7:71), a matter which has credal implications (see IDOLS AND IMAGES; IDOLATRY AND IDOLATERS). Seven others decry the machinations of the devil (q.v.), declaring that he has authority only over the non-believers (e.g. Q 14:22), an issue which has some bearing on the theological question of indeterminism or determinism (*qadar,* see FREEDOM AND PREDESTINATION). On the moral level, the worldly authority of Korah (Qārūn, see KORAH) derived from his wealth (Q 28:76-82), that of Hāmān (q.v.) was due to his ambitious constructions (Q 28:38-9; 40:36-7); and that of Pharaoh (q.v.) was because of his powerful kingship (e.g. Q 7:75-92). All of these figures are condemned for the fault of arrogance (q.v.; cf. Q 7:146; 10:75). This authority is in any case ephemeral and these figures are eventually destroyed by God. In contrast, the right or authority *(sulṭān)* of an heir to retaliate when his relative is wrongfully slain is confirmed (Q 17:33; see BLOODSHED). This produced a legal rule that had political and ideological implications in early Islamic history.

Although obedience to God and his messengers is obligatory upon people, due to their original and derived sovereignty, respectively, history, according to the Qurʾān, is replete with instances of unlawful and hence sinful disobedience to them (see PUNISHMENT STORIES). The archdisobedient figure in the Qurʾān is the devil, who first refused to prostrate himself before Adam (Q 2:34) and then pledged — and implemented his pledge — to lead humanity astray (q.v.; e.g. Q 7:16-22). The various peoples who refuse to heed and obey God's messengers are sometimes considered to have been led astray by the devil (e.g. Q 6:121), although more frequently no mention of the devil's machinations is made. In any case, those people are held accountable for their transgressions. Some are severely punished, as human history has repeatedly shown, and all are to be subject to eternal punishment on the day of judgment (e.g. Q 7:59-136).

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Avarice

Greed or cupidity. Avarice is a multifaceted vice that plays an important role in the Islamic assessment of human nature and behavior. Despite the existence of synonyms, the primary term for the vice is *bukhl*. The miser is a *bakhīl* (with the rare form of *bākhil*), plural *bukhalāʾ* (and more rarely *bukhkhāl*).

The pre-eminent role that avarice holds is but a counterpart to the importance of generosity, long considered a primary social virtue by the Arabs, even before the advent of Islam. Both the Qurʾān and the ḥadīth have much to say about avarice. Qurʾānic verses, both Meccan and Medinan (see CHRONOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN), argue in favor of generosity and the giving of alms as well (see ALMSGIVING) and oppose the notion that one should accumulate one's wealth. Two examples will suffice. Q 3:180 lays this out clearly: "But as for those who are niggardly *(alladhīna yabkhalūna)* with the bounty God has given them, do not let them suppose it is better for them; rather it is worse for them; that which they were niggardly with *(mā bakhilū bihi)* they will have hung about their necks on the resurrection day" (see LAST JUDGMENT). Q 92:5-11 also says, "As for him who gives, is god-fearing and testifies to the best; we will certainly make the path to bliss smooth for him. But as for him who is a miser *(man bakhila),* and self sufficient and denies what is good, we will certainly ease his way to misery. His wealth will not avail him when he perishes."

Qurʾānic exhortations must be seen alongside the numerous ḥadīth of the Prophet in which avarice plays an important role. There, avarice takes its place in the garden of vices, sitting side by side with, among others, laziness and cowardice. The Prophet sought God's protection from these vices, carefully enumerating them one after another. Avarice is also transformed into a tool that can permit the elaboration of proverbial constructions. It becomes, for example, one of the trees of hell (q.v.), the branches of which hang over the world and whoever grabs one of the branches will be led by this branch to hellfire. The Prophet even asked if there was a disease worse than avarice. It should not be a surprise then that he declared, "An ignorant (*jāhil,* a loaded word implying ignorance of Islam; see AGE OF IGNORANCE) generous man is more beloved to God than an avaricious worshipper."

Despite these various denunciations, the miser has a special place in the Arab-Islamic cultural sphere. Anecdotal works — like the much-beloved *Kītāb al-Bukhalāʾ* of al-Jāḥiẓ (d. 255/869) or the work of the same title by al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī (d. 463/1071) — testify to the fact that the miser is a character type who can become the subject of anecdotes. As such he or she (there are female misers) testifies to an aspect of avarice that is almost denuded of any religious significance. Here, avarice becomes a major player in a cultural game of hospitality in which the guest reigns supreme. Nevertheless, the religious injunctions with their concomitant moral repugnance mean that the miser as anecdotal type is not as ludic as his anecdotal cousins, such as uninvited guests. The synonyms for avarice *(bukhl)* play an important role here, directing the concept towards the area of covetousness *(ḥirṣ)* or a more intense and generalized state of avarice *(shuḥḥ),* as well as lowness or meanness *(luʾm)*. See also VIRTUES AND VICES.

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Āya

see VERSES; SIGNS; FORM AND STRUCTURE OF THE QURʾĀN

Ayyūb

see JOB

Āzar

Generally considered to be a name for the father of Abraham (q.v.) in the Qurʾān, the word *"āzar"* appears only in Q 6:74: "[Remember] when Abraham said to his father, Āzar, do you take idols as gods? I most certainly see you and your people clearly in error." Early commentators know the biblical name of Abraham's father, Teraḥ (Arabic Tāriḥ or Tārakh; cf. *Gen* 11:24-32) and therefore suggest three interpretations to reconcile the difference. The most widely cited considers the name Āzar as a second name for Abraham's father, but only a few explanations are provided: one suggests that Teraḥ's name in Arabic is Āzar, another that it was a title given to him after he became responsible for Nimrod's (q.v.) idols. A second interpretation is that Āzar is the name of an idol (see IDOLATRY AND IDOLATERS; IDOLS AND IMAGES), with the verse therefore meaning: "… Abraham said to his father: "do you take 'Āzar' as idols for gods?" (cf. N. Calder, Tafsīr from Ṭabarī to Ibn Kathīr, 102). A third explanation is that *āzar* is a disparaging epithet with which Abraham insults his father for remaining idolatrous even after having been warned by Abraham.

There is no evidence in early Arabic literature for the name Āzar, either applied to humans or gods, although the names al-ʿAyzār and al-ʿAyzāra (both with the letter *ʿayn*) are attested (cf. J. Horovitz, Jewish proper names, 157). Moreover, there is no evidence that the word *āzar* was considered an insult outside of the commentaries on this verse. It therefore appears that in this as in many other cases in the Qurʾān, the name is borrowed from a non-Arabic source and this has been the approach of orientalist scholarship (see FOREIGN VOCABULARY). One school (Jeffery, *For. vocab.*, 53-5) suggests that it derives from Eusebius' error of metathesis when, in writing the Septuagint, he wrote Thara (for Teraḥ) as Athar, in which form it entered the Islamic corpus (but with an unlikely phonetic switch from *th* to *z*). Another proposes that the word derives from the old Persian *ātar* (modern Persian *ādhar*) associated with the fire demon. The most widely-accepted view (J. Horovitz, Jewish proper names, 157; cf. S. Fraenkel, Miscellen, 72) is that the name derives from the Hebrew *Eliʿezer,* the name of Abraham's servant in *Gen* 15:2, with the eventual omission of the *el* after it was construed as the Arabic article *al* and with a lengthening of the vowel of the first syllable according to the Arabic pattern *afʿal* (likewise with Ādam). This, however, does not adequately explain the problem of the dropping of the *ʿayn* in the Arabic form, and it also suggests an inability among early Muslims to differentiate Abraham's father from his servant in the biblical account. Another possibility derives from a rabbinical homiletic interpretation of *Ps* 89:20: "I have conferred help upon a warrior (Heb. *shūwwītī ʿēzer ʿal gibbōr*)..." The Psalm references David but the rabbis also associate it with Abraham (M. Margalioth (ed.), *Midrash vayikra rabah,* 1:4). Although not now attested, a typical rabbinical interpretive hermeneutic would easily render the verse: "I have made ʿĒzer (i.e. Teraḥ) [the father] of warrior Abraham," a fitting reference to *Gen* 14, with which the *midrash* associates the

verse. By the period of late antiquity, the rabbis had lost the phonetic distinction between the Hebrew *ʿayin* and *aleph* and would easily have rendered *ēzer* as *ʾēzer* which, in Arabic, would become *āzar*.

Abraham's father is referenced elsewhere in the Qurʾān, although never by name. Although Abraham later disowned his father, in Q 9:114 (and again in 26:86), he is noted to have prayed for his idolatrous father's forgiveness. In Q 19:42-9, Abraham tries to dissuade his father from idolatry but to no avail and, even after being banished by his father, tells him that he will ask God's forgiveness on his behalf. In Q 21:51-71, Abraham rejects his father's and his people's idols and is punished with burning, but is saved by God. These themes are repeated in Q 11:69-104; 37:85-99; 43:26-8; and 60:4.

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B

Baal

Baal *(baʿl)* is both a proper name of a pre-Islamic pagan deity worshipped by the people to whom the messenger Elijah (q.v.) was sent (Q 37:125) and a common noun meaning "husband" (Q 2:228; 4:128; 11:72; 24:31).

Baal as a pagan deity

The biblical prophet Elijah (*1 Kings* 17-22; *2 Kings* 1-2) is mentioned two times in the Qurʾān (Q 6:85; 37:123-30). He was sent to turn his people from the worship of the deity Baal. Commentary elaborates on the brief qurʾānic passages. It is said that, during the reign of the Israelite king Ahab (r. ca. 873-851 B.C.E.), Elijah attempted to turn the Children of Israel (q.v.) away from the false worship of Baal and asked God to give him power over the rain. That granted, Elijah caused a three-year drought during which time he concealed himself. This torment failed to divert the Israelites from their paganism, so Elijah prayed to be taken into heaven. There he was transformed into a heavenly being made up of light. The story of Elijah's control over the rain may possibly survive in the common modern use of the Arabic word *baʿl* in the sense of unirrigated land and plants relying exclusively on natural water. Some scholars see a parallel to the ancient Mesopotamian god Baal and his three daughters in the Meccan belief that the goddesses al-Lāt, Manāt, and al-ʿUzzāʾ were the daughters of God (Q 53:19-23). See also IDOLS AND IMAGES; PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QURʾĀN.

Baal as a common noun

The word *baʿl* is used four times in the Qurʾān as a common noun meaning husband, twice in the singular (Q 4:128; 11:72) and twice in the plural (*buʿūla,* Q 2:228; 24:31). In this sense, the word finds parallels in the northwest Semitic languages, in which the root bears the basic sense of "owner," one of the characteristics of the deity with that name in Canaanite mythology.

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Bābil see BABYLON

Babylon

The renowned ancient Mesopotamian city. Babylon *(Bābil)* is mentioned once in the Qurʾān: "And follow what the devils used to recite in the reign of Solomon (q.v.). Solomon did not disbelieve, but the devils disbelieved, teaching the people magic and what had been sent down to the two angels, Hārūt and Mārūt (q.v.), in Babylon. They do not teach anyone without first saying, 'We are only a temptation, so do not disbelieve' " (Q 2:102).

According to the geographer and biographer Yāqūt (d. 626/1228), Babylon constituted an entire region famed for its magic and wine (*Buldān,* i, 309-11). The commentators are unanimous in their agreement that Babylon is a place in Mesopotamia, although they do not identify it as an ancient Akkadian city. Islamic tradition states that Noah (q.v.) settled in Babylon after the deluge and expanded it and that the Chaldeans served him as soldiers there. According to some commentators, Hārūt and Mārūt were two fallen angels (see ANGEL) condemned to live in Babylon as prisoners, where they devoted themselves to magic. Many legends about these angels are found in the classical qurʾānic commentaries (summarized in A. Khoury, *Der Koran,* ii, 77-9; Horovitz, *KU,* 146-8; M. Ayoub, *The Qurʾān,* i, 130-6; see also MAGIC, PROHIBITION OF).

Relying on the Qurʾān, the Muslim storytellers familiar with biblical lore connected Babylon and the Bible. Of special interest are the tales concerning Babylon in the oldest collections (see R. Khoury, Babylon, 123f.; id., *Les légendes,* 223-84). These contain a description of the prophet Jonah's (q.v.) encounter with the whale, his return to his people and the designation of Isaiah (q.v.) as his successor (R. Khoury, *Les légendes,* 223-37). The main Babylonian kings are then treated. Sennacherib (ibid., 237-50), ruling from Nineveh, is the first king of Babylon to be mentioned. He led into Palestine an army of "six hundred thousand banners," each representing a thousand warriors, which was defeated as the prophet Isaiah had prophesied. The story of Nebuchadnezzar is of more interest because it covers the fall of Jerusalem and the deportation of Daniel with the other Jewish captives. They are liberated when Daniel interprets the king's dream (ibid., 250-79).

Such early tales circulated first orally and were gradually written down in the second/eighth century. They may be viewed as elaborate commentaries on the qurʾānic material, taken primarily from Jewish and Christian converts — who knew more about this subject than the pagan Arab converts did — to explain the biblical elements in the Qurʾān. The historian and philosopher Ibn Khaldūn (d. 808/1406) mentions the necessity of relying on these sources, while condemning their overuse in the commentaries (see R. Khoury, Ibn Khaldūn, 197-8; id., Babylon, 142f.). In any case, the tales about Babylon belong to a common historical tradition and stories of this sort should be considered important sources for ancient history, especially when other information is lacking. The work of H. Schwarzbaum illustrates how useful such material can be in elucidating certain aspects of the biblical tradition (*Biblical legends,* 10f., 21f.; for the present topic, see 46f., esp. 57f.; see also SCRIPTURE AND THE QURʾĀN).

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Badr

The site of Islam's first major military victory which occurred in the month of Ramaḍān (q.v.) in the second year after Muḥammad emigrated from Mecca to Medina (March 624, see EMIGRATION). Badr is mentioned explicitly only a single time in the Qurʾān (Q 3:123), but there are allusions to it in at least thirty-two other verses. Almost all of these references are found in the eighth sūra, "The Spoils" (Sūrat al-Anfāl), which addresses the issues that arose as a direct consequence of this Muslim victory and stresses above all the spiritual gains that gave Islam its firm foundations.

Badr, also known as Badr Ḥunayn, was at the time a small settlement with water wells on the Arabian peninsula near the Red Sea coast, lying some one hundred and fifty kilometers southwest of Medina and more than three hundred kilometers northwest of Mecca. The encounter between the Muslims from Medina and their pagan Meccan foes was occasioned by the return of a Meccan caravan. One of the Prophet's archenemies, Abū Jahl, led the Meccan forces sent to defend the caravan. At Badr, the Prophet together with little over three hundred of his followers met Abū Jahl and his army of approximately one thousand. Despite the disparity in numbers, the Muslim force emerged victorious over the Meccans, who reportedly had not known defeat for generations. Abū Jahl and a number of other prominent Meccan leaders lost their life and many prisoners and the caravan's cargo were captured as well.

The basic theme of the qurʾānic allusions to the victory of Badr is God's unmistakable vindication of Islam. The Prophet prayed for deliverance and received clear signs of God's grace (Q 8:7, 9), causing the Muslims to fight with even greater conviction. God himself aided the Prophet's forces (Q 8:17), sending a thousand angels to help (Q 8:9, 12). God's direct intervention signified his confirmation of Islam and set the Islamic community (see COMMUNITY AND SOCIETY IN THE QURʾĀN) apart from all others. In particular, the identification of the battle with the "Day of the Criterion" (*yawm al-furqān,* Q 8:41; see CRITERION) signaled the distinction between right and wrong which the battle of Badr had wrought.

Badr reflects other motifs as well. God tested his servants (Q 8:17; 33:11). Humankind must fear God and be grateful to him since, in spite of the small size of the Muslim force, he gave them victory (Q 3:123; see GRATITUDE AND INGRATITUDE). God also provided clear insight — i.e. the distinction between truth and falsehood — when he caused it to rain before the battle (Q 8:11), thereby aiding the Muslims (see HIDDEN AND THE HIDDEN).

The battle of Badr took place just after Muḥammad had broken with the Jewish tribes in Medina and the direction of the ritual prayers had been changed from Jerusalem to Mecca (see QIBLA). Thanks primarily to this triumph, the Prophet and his followers became even more assured of the righteousness of their cause. Furthermore,

it consolidated their break with the pagan Meccans and their creation of an independent community of believers. Later generations viewed the Muslims who fought in this battle with special reverence. See also EXPEDITIONS AND BATTLES.

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Bahāʾīs

The adherents of Bahāʾism *(ahl al-Bahāʾ),* widely recognized as the "Bahāʾī Faith," an independent world religion with Islamic origins. The Bahāʾī movement, a universalization of Bābism, was founded by Mīrzā Ḥusayn ʿAlī Nūrī (1817-92), known as Bahāʾullāh (Splendor of God; standardized Bahāʾī spelling, Bahāʾullāh), in Baghdad in the year 1863. In 1866, it emerged as a distinct faith-community in Adrianople (Edirne). Bahāʾism underwent transformations in ethos and organization throughout three missionary phases: the Islamic context (1844-92), the international missions (1892-1963) and global diffusion (1963-present). The Islamic context was co-extensive with the combined ministries of Bahāʾullāh and his precursor, Sayyid ʿAlī Muḥammad Shīrāzī (1819-50), known as the Bāb (Gate), the prophet-martyr of the Bābī movement.

The year 1260/1844 marked the Shīʿī millennium, a thousand lunar years since the occultation of the twelfth imām (see IMĀM; SHĪʿISM AND THE QURʾĀN). On 22 May 1844 the Bāb effected a decisive, eschatological break from Islam by means of an exegetical work entitled *The immortal renovator of the divine names (Qayyūm al-asmāʾ,* often referred to as *The commentary on the Joseph sūra),* an audacious and revolutionary commentary on the twelfth sūra of the Qurʾān (see JOSEPH). In this work he "proclaimed himself the focus of an Islamic apocalypse" (T. Lawson, Structure, 8). One of his most distinctive exegetical techniques is his "exploded commentary." In works on Q 108 and Q 103, the exegesis proceeds "not only verse by verse, or even word by word, but also letter by letter" (T. Lawson, Dangers, 179). The Bāb's commentaries on the Qur-ʾān are remarkable in that, by force of his prophetic authority, "interpretation became revelation" (T. Lawson, Interpretation, 253). In 1848, he revealed a new law code *(bayān-i fārsī),* paradoxically super-Islamic in piety, yet supra-Islamic in principle.

After the Bāb's execution (1850) by the Persian authorities, Bahāʾullāh revitalized the Bābī community by employing symbolic interpretation as strategy to abolish the Bābī antinomianism. In the Arabic *Tablet of "all food"* (*Lawḥ-i kull al-ṭaʿām,* 1854 — note that the titles of Bahāʾi works written in Arabic are conventionally given in Persianized form), Bahāʾullāh related the abolishment of the Jewish dietary restrictions in Q 3:93 to the mystical and cosmological realms. While the Baghdad period (1853-63) was eschatologically charged with his own messianic secrecy *(ayyām-i buṭūn),* Bahāʾullāh, in his preeminent doctrinal work, the *Book of certitude* (*Kitāb-i Mustaṭāb-i īqān,* Jan. 1861), advanced an extended qurʾānic and biblical argument to authenticate the Bāb's prophetic credentials. Bahāʾullāh's repertoire of exegetical techniques includes most of the

twelve "procedural devices" attested in the classical commentaries (Wansbrough, *Qs,* part ii) as well as others. Bahāʾullāh's style of discourse is itself exegetical, with frequent pairings, linked by the Persian metaphorical genitive *(iḍāfa-yi majāzī),* of qurʾānic symbols and referents. Hermeneutically, *Certitude* resonates with five Islamic orientations to symbolism: 1. the semanticism of rhetoric, especially the science of tropes *(ʿilm al-bayān);* 2. the dialectic of theology *(kalām);* 3. reason *(ʿaql)* and analogy *(qiyās)* as a reflex of philosophy *(falsafa)* and jurisprudence *(fiqh);* 4. the use of allusion *(ishāra)* and gnosis *(maʿrifa qalbiyya)* in Ṣūfī/Ishrāqī mysticism (see ṢŪFISM AND THE QURʾĀN); 5. recourse to apocalyptic presentism, adducing prophetic prooftexts to instantiate a realized eschatology, a common characteristic of millenarian sectarianism. In his *Commentary on the sūra "By the sun" (Tafsīr sūrat wa-l-shams),* while critical of rhetoric *(ʿilm al-balāgha)* and the cognate qurʾānic sciences, Bahāʾullāh echoes al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111) and al-Taftazānī (d. 791/1389) in stressing the need to harmonize literal and figurative interpretations (C. Buck, *Symbol,* 91-2, 104). In his *Tablet on esoteric interpretation (Lawḥ-i taʾwīl),* citing Q 3:5, he states that eschatological verses are properly susceptible to esoteric interpretation *(taʾwīl)* whereas qurʾānic laws are to be understood by their obvious sense (*tafsīr,* see EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL).

Islamic prophetology is anchored in the received interpretation of Q 33:40, which is widely believed to establish Muḥammad as the final prophet (see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD). In what is perhaps his most significant exegetical maneuver, Bahāʾullāh relativizes that claim in order to supersede it, refocusing the reader's attention a mere four verses later (Q 33:44) on the eschatological attainment to the presence of God *(liqāʾ Allāh)* on the last day (see ESCHATOLOGY). Arguing that direct beatific vision of God is impossible, Bahāʾullāh reasons that Q 33:44 anticipates a future theophany who, as *deus revelatus* and divine vicegerent, is symbolically God by proxy.

By force of explicative logic, *Certitude* — arguably the world's most-widely-read non-Muslim qurʾānic commentary — served as an advance prophetic warrant for Bahāʾullāh, who on 22 April 1863 declared himself "He whom God shall manifest" *(man yuzhiruhu llāh),* the messianic theophany foretold by ʿAlī Muḥammad. In public epistles to Queen Victoria, Napoleon III, Pope Pius IX and other world leaders during the Adrianople and ʿAkkā (Haifa) periods (1864-92), Bahāʾullāh proclaimed himself the advent of the millenarian "Promised One" of all religions — a "multiple-messiahship" (C. Buck, *Unique,* 158), i.e. the Zoroastrian Shāh Bahrām Varjāvand, the Jewish Everlasting Father (*Isa* 9:6)/Lord of Hosts, the Christian Spirit of Truth, the Shīʿī al-Ḥusayn *redivivus* and the Sunnī return of Christ (see APOCALYPSE).

As "the world-reformer," Bahāʾullāh advocated world peace, parliamentary democracy, disarmament, an international language, the harmony of science and religion, interfaith concord as well as gender and racial equality. From a historicist perspective, Bahāʾī principles represent modernist universalizations of Islamic canons, transcending the traditional believer/infidel dichotomy (see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF). In precocious religious preparation for a global society, Bahāʾullāh's signal contribution was to sacralize certain secular modernist reforms within an irreducibly original paradigm of world unity in which peace is made sacred. By designating his son ʿAbdu l-Bahāʾ (Servant of the Bahāʾ, d. 1921) as interpreter, exemplar and successor and by establishing elected councils, Bahāʾullāh instituted his Covenant, sym-

bolized as "the Crimson Ark" (C. Buck, *Paradise,* ch. 5). This is the organizing principle of the Bahāʾī community and the means to safeguard its integrity against major schism. Succeeding ʿAbdu l-Bahāʾ in 1921 as "Guardian" of the Bahāʾī faith, Shoghi Effendi (d. 1957) globalized and evolved the Bahāʾī administration as a system of local and national Spiritual Assemblies. This led in 1963 to the establishment of the Universal House of Justice, the international Bahāʾī governing body, on Mount Carmel in Haifa, Israel.

While granting the Bible's divine inspiration, Bahāʾīs regard the Qurʾān as the sole world scripture which, apart from the Bahāʾī canon, qualifies as pure revelation. Sacred, but not central, the Qurʾān nonetheless profoundly enriches the Bahāʾī scripture as a revelation within a revelation and is essential to its study. Qurʾānic vocabulary, ideology and motifs, as well as a plethora of citations and allusions and even the use of rhymed prose similar to that in the Qurʾān (see RHYMED PROSE), inform and suffuse the other Bahāʾī scriptures. ʿAlī Muḥammad's earliest works exhibit a conscious effort to extend and amplify a qurʾānic voice, a crucial warrant of revelation. Bahāʾullāh's commentaries include *Commentary on the mysterious letters* (*Tafsīr-i ḥurūfāt-i muqaṭṭaʿa;* see LETTERS AND MYSTERIOUS LETTERS), which incorporates a discourse on the Light Verse (Q 24:35); *Commentary on "He is" (Tafsīr-i Hū[wa])* and *Essences of the mysteries (J̌awāhir al-asrār)*.

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Baḥīra

see IDOLS AND IMAGES

Balance

see ESCHATOLOGY

Banū Isrāʾīl

see CHILDREN OF ISRAEL

Baptism

The practice of using water for religious purification, while a ritual feature in a number of religions, is often most closely identified with Christianity. There is one possible reference in the Qurʾān to baptism, Q 2:138: "The baptism *(ṣibgha)* of God and who is better than God in terms of baptizing *(ṣibghatan)*?" The term *ṣibgha,* however, usually refers to "color" or "dye" and it is not absolutely clear how the word has come to be understood as a reference to baptism. English translations of the Qurʾān reflect this ambiguity, with G. Sale, J.M. Rodwell, A.J. Arberry, K. Cragg and ʿA. Yūsuf ʿAlī rendering *ṣibgha* as "baptism." Preferring some reference to color or dye (see COLORS), M. Pickthall and A. Mawdudi translate it as "color," N.J. Dawood as "dye" and M. Asad as "hue." R. Bell gives "savour," focusing on a slightly different metaphor, that of taste. Bell comments that "the exact meaning of the word is uncertain" (Bell, i, 18).

Muslim commentaries on the Qurʾān display a similar range of understanding. Al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923) takes *ṣibgha* as a synonym for *milla,* which occurs three verses earlier with the sense of "religion:" "Follow the religion of God, which is the best religion" (*Tafsīr,* iii, 18). For his part, al-Ṭabarsī (d. 548/1153) interprets it as the faith which is inculcated into children, so that the Jews give their children the *ṣibgha* of Judaism and the Christians give their children the *ṣibgha* of Christianity, the true *ṣibgha* being Islam (*Majmaʿ,* i, 492-3; cf. Q 3:19). Al-Wāḥidī (d. 468/1076), by contrast, takes the verse to be an explicit reference to the Christian custom of immersing a child in water seven days after its birth in order to purify it, a replacement for circumcision (*Asbāb,* 38). Similarly, al-Qurṭubī (d. 671/1273) suggests that *ṣibgha* refers to the ritual bath which must be taken by those who wish to enter into Islam, equating it with the major ablution (*ghusl, Jāmiʿ,* ii, 144-5; see CLEANLINESS AND ABLUTION; RITUAL PURITY). Among the modern commentators, Asad (*Message,* 28), following al-Ṭabarī, takes the term as referring to "creed" in general, while Mawdudi (*Towards understanding,* i, 117-8) sees the verse as commending the adoption of the color of God which comes from service and devotion to God rather than from any bathing or immersion: "Of what use is this formal baptism?"

Perhaps the most plausible explanation for the double meaning of the term comes from ʿA. Yūsuf ʿAlī who, building upon al-Bayḍāwī (d. ca. 700/1300) and al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505), speculates in a footnote to his translation that "apparently the Arab Christians mixed a dye or colour in the baptismal water, signifying that the baptized person got a new colour in life" (*Holy Qurʾān,* 56, n. 137). Bell, on the other hand, notes that *ṣibgha* has frequently been derived from the Syriac *ṣbaʾ,* meaning "to baptize" (see FOREIGN VOCABULARY), but comments that this is not the usual word for "to baptize" in Syriac and suggests that an Arabic usage referred to by E. Lane, i.e. a girl who is brought into the household of someone, is preferable (*Commentary,* i, 27). Perhaps M. Watt's careful conclusion is therefore best: "While the verse could possibly mean that God gives a man a certain colour when he serves him, it is better to regard its interpretation as uncertain." He adds, "It is doubtful if there is any reference to Christian baptism" (*Companion,* 31). See also CHRISTIANS AND CHRISTIANITY.

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Barēlwīs

A group of religious scholars *(ʿulamāʾ)* and their followers, originally of South Asia, who trace their worldview to the teachings of Aḥmad Riḍā Khān Barēlwī (d. 1921). The Barēlwīs call themselves the "People of the [Prophet's] sunna (q.v.) and the majority community" *(Ahl-i sunnat wa-jamāʿat)* and reject the name "Barēlwī" as derogatory, because of its implication that their beliefs are local and deviant rather than universalistic and mainstream. Nevertheless, the term "Barēlwī" is widely current wherever the movement exists, which today includes not only South Asia but also Britain, continental Europe and South Africa, among other places.

The Barēlwīs emerged as a cohesive movement in the 1880s under the leadership of Aḥmad Riḍā Khān. He strongly opposed interpretations of Islam articulated by the leading contemporary figures. These included Mirza Ghulām Aḥmad (d. 1908), the founder of the Aḥmadiyya (q.v.); the Deobandīs (q.v.); the *Ahl-i ḥadīth* and *Nadwat al-ʿulamāʾ;* as well as modernist Muslim intellectuals such as Sayyid Aḥmad Khān (d. 1898) of Aligarh and Mawlānā Abū l-Kalām Āzād (d. 1958). In the twentieth century, the Barēlwīs have also opposed the interpretations of al-Mawdūdī (d. 1979) and his movement, the *Jamāʿat-i Islāmī.*

What was in dispute between the Barēlwīs and the nineteenth-century groups mentioned above related primarily to beliefs about the Prophet Muḥammad. The Barēlwīs' strong belief in the Prophet as intercessor with God on behalf of the faithful at all times contrasted particularly with the *Ahl-i ḥadīth* who denied the importance of prophetic intercession (see INTERCESSION). It also conflicted with the position taken by Sayyid Aḥmad Barēlwī (d. 1831) and Muḥammad Ismāʿīl (d. 1831), leaders of the Delhi-based *Ṭarīqa-i Muḥammadiyya* movement. Aḥmad Riḍā Khān referred to these and other like-minded religious groups as "Wahhābīs," a reference to the austere religious movement prevalent in the Arabian peninsula which has the unity of God as its central theme. The Barēlwīs also opposed these groups on questions related to Ṣūfism (see ṢŪFISM AND THE QURʾĀN). The *Ahl-i ḥadīth* and others were hostile to the idea of saintly intermediaries, while the Barēlwīs regard saints as an essential means to having a loving relationship with the Prophet and ultimately with God.

The sources for the Barēlwī interpretation of Islam and more particularly of its prophetology (see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD) are the classic ones of Qurʾān, ḥadīth (see ḤADĪTH AND THE QURʾĀN) and Islamic law *(fiqh)*. It is noteworthy that Aḥmad Riḍā Khān was primarily a jurist *(faqīh)* and a religious scholar *(ʿālim)* rather than a Ṣūfī. He supported his positions regarding the Prophet primarily with textual citations from legal sources rather than Ṣūfī writings. In qurʾānic exegesis, Aḥmad Riḍā Khān employed the concept of abrogation (q.v.) to support his arguments. An illustration of this may be seen in his views regarding the question of the Prophet's knowledge of the unseen (*ʿilm al-ghayb,* see HIDDEN AND THE HIDDEN), which he addressed in numerous writings. Briefly, Aḥmad Riḍā Khān's position was that God gave the Prophet knowledge of the unseen, including the five items mentioned in Q 31:34 as known to God alone: "God has knowledge of the hour and he sends the rain. He knows what is in the womb. No

one knows what he will gain tomorrow and no one knows where he will die." Aḥmad Riḍā Khān asserted that these five items were actually a small fraction of the Prophet's total knowledge, which encompassed knowledge of heaven (q.v.) and hell (q.v.), the resurrection (q.v.), the angels (see ANGEL), the nature and attributes of God (see GOD AND HIS ATTRIBUTES) and much else besides. Central to his argument is both "[God] will not disclose to you the secrets of the unseen, but he chooses of his messengers whom he pleases" (Q 3:179) as well as "He knows the unseen. He does not make any one acquainted with his mysteries, except a messenger whom he has chosen" (Q 72:26-7).

In Aḥmad Riḍā Khān's formal legal judgment *(fatwā)* written in Mecca in 1905 entitled *"al-Dawla al-makkiyya bi-māddat al-ghaybiyya,"* he argued that each time a verse *(āya)* or chapter *(sūra)* was revealed, the Prophet's knowledge increased further. Although some qurʾānic verses refer to Muḥammad's lack of knowledge of the prophets and of those to whom the Qurʾān refers as the hypocrites, for instance, this was only because the Qurʾān had not yet been fully revealed to him. Thus, these verses were abrogated by later ones, such as those quoted above. By the time the revelation was complete, the Prophet had detailed *(mufaṣṣal)* and clear knowledge of everything (Aḥmad Riḍā Khān, *al-Dawla,* 105). Elsewhere in the same document (175-91), he wrote that sometimes the Prophet was silent about certain things such as when judgment day (see LAST JUDGMENT) would come, for he had been ordered not to reveal them. Also he sometimes temporarily forgot something because his mind was preoccupied with other important matters. Aḥmad Riḍā Khān argued that "forgetting something is not a negation of knowledge [of that thing], rather it requires that one have known it first" (ibid., 110-12).

The concept of abrogation (q.v.) was again employed in the context of arguments made in 1919-20, when the Indian religious scholars were debating whether to support the Congress Party's Non-Cooperation Movement — which was largely Hindu — and whether to invite Congress to support their own Khilāfat Movement. In qurʾānic exegesis undertaken to oppose the above movements, Aḥmad Riḍā Khān used the exegetical principle that some earlier qurʾānic verses are abrogated by later ones to argue that Q 60:8-9, in which Muslims were told they could enter into friendly relations with non-Muslims as long as they were not fighting them, had been abrogated by Q 9:73, which advocated taking stern measures against "unbelievers" and "hypocrites" (see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF; HYPOCRITES AND HYPOCRISY).

Aḥmad Riḍā Khān relied heavily on quotations from the ḥadīth and Islamic legal texts, as well as the Qurʾān. He even accepted weak ḥadīths that elevate the Prophet's stature. It is interesting to note that on several issues concerning the Prophet he reached a position that resembles Shīʿī beliefs even though his arguments were based on Sunnī sources and not Shīʿī ones. Such issues include the concept of the pre-eminence of the Prophet's light (q.v.), which was created before God created the spiritual or material universe and before the creation of the first prophet Adam (see ADAM AND EVE); the belief that God created the world for the Prophet's sake; the belief that the Prophet's ancestors were believers; and the belief that the Prophet, being made of light, had no shadow (see SHĪʿISM AND THE QURʾĀN).

Aḥmad Riḍā Khān's translation of the Qurʾān, entitled *Kanz al-Īmān fī tarjumat al-Qurʾān*, published in Muradabad, India 1911, has recently been translated into English by Ḥ.A. Faṭmī and published by the Islamic World Mission, U.K. It is in current

use among English-speaking followers of the Barēlwī movement, although it awaits scholarly attention. See also EXEGESIS OF THE QUR'ĀN: EARLY MODERN AND CONTEMPORARY.

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Barrier

An obstacle; anything that hinders approach or attack. Both *ḥijāb* and *barzakh* (q.v.) are used to denote "barrier" in the Qurʾān. Under this general category of barrier, Ibn al-Jawzī (d. 597/1200) in two cases understands the word *ḥijāb* to mean a concrete division: he interprets "between the two is a *ḥijāb*" (*baynahum ḥijābun,* Q 7:46) as a bridge *(sūr)* between heaven (q.v.) and hell (q.v.); while he considers the *ḥijāb* that obstructs Solomon's (q.v.) view (*tawārat bi-l-ḥijāb,* Q 38:32) to be a mountain (*Nuzha,* 246). Other qurʾānic citations of *ḥijāb* are used to connote a covering *(satr),* such as a curtain or a veil (q.v.): Believers are instructed to speak with the wives of the Prophet from behind a *ḥijāb* (Q 33:53; see WIVES OF THE PROPHET); *ḥijāb* also appears in reference to Mary's (q.v.) seclusion from her people (Q 19:17); when Muḥammad recites the Qurʾān, God places between him and "those who do not believe in the hereafter a hidden *ḥijāb*" (*ḥijāban mastūran,* Q 17:45; cf. 83:15). However, the focus of this article is on barrier in its sense as an actual physical barrier.

Barzakh *as barrier*

Although *barzakh* is most commonly understood as the barrier that separates this world from the next, in Q 25:53 and 55:20 *barzakh* connotes a barrier, partition or separation between two oceans (see GEOGRAPHY IN THE QURʾĀN). Ibn Qutayba (d. 276/889) defines *barzakh* as a partition between two entities (*kullu shayʾ bayna shayʾayn fahuwa barzakh, Gharīb,* 438). The *Lisān* (i, 193) describes *barzakh* as an obstacle or partition *(ḥājiz),* a term found in the exegetical works of Muqātil (d. 150/767; cf. *Tafsīr,* iv, 197), al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923; cf. *Tafsīr,* xix, 16; xviii, 41), al-Qurṭubī (d. 671/1272; cf. *Jāmiʿ,* xiii, 59; xvi, 162-3), Ibn Kathīr (d. 774/1373; cf. *Tafsīr,* v, 158; vi, 488), al-Bayḍāwī (d. ca. 716/1316-7; cf. *Anwār,* ii, 167, 484), al-Rāzī (d. 606/1210; cf. *Tafsīr,* vi, 300-3), and Ṭabāṭabāʾī (d. 1403/1982; cf. *Mīzān,* xv, 229; xix, 99-100) — whereas al-Zamakhsharī (d. 538/1144) refers to *barzakh* as a hindrance of divine will *(ḥāʾil min qudratihi)* that bars the merging of the two oceans (*Kashshāf,* iii, 286-7; iv, 445). Al-Nasafī (d. 710/1310) uses both terms *(ḥājiz* and *ḥāʾil)* interchangeably (*Tafsīr,* ii, 548; iii, 455).

The two oceans

The interpretation about what the *barzakh* separates has been subject to varied interpretations. Al-Ṭabarī (*Tafsīr,* xix, 16) and al-Bayḍāwī (*Anwār,* ii, 167) interpret the fresh water as that of rain and rivers and the salt waters as that of the ocean. Al-Qurṭubī (*Jāmiʿ,* xvii, 162-3) lists other possibilities: the Persian Gulf *(baḥr fāris)* and the Mediterranean *(baḥr al-rūm);* the oceans of

heaven and earth; or, metaphorically, the paths of good and evil (q.v.). The point of contact between the two seas *(majmaʿ al-baḥrayn)* has been somewhat mysterious. Al-Qurṭubī considers the destruction of the *barzakh* as one of the eschatological signs (see APOCALYPSE; COSMOLOGY IN THE QURʾĀN; ESCHATOLOGY). The two oceans are separated for the duration of this earth. The overflowing oceans of the earth (Q 82:3) herald the end (Qurṭubī, *Jāmiʿ,* xvii, 162-3). Ibn Kathīr, on the other hand, strongly objects to the notion of cosmological oceans. The barrier is concrete *(yābis min al-ard)* and maintains the separation of the distinct characteristics of salt and sweet waters (Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr,* v, 158). In describing the cyclical pattern of water, Ṭabāṭabāʾī infers that the barrier, though not visible, does exist nonetheless. The oceans help form clouds that fill the wells and rivers with sweet water through rain. These rivers, in turn, lead to the sea (Ṭabāṭabāʾī, *Mīzān,* xix, 99-100).

Cosmography

A.J. Wensinck (*The ocean,* 37-8) suggests that the isthmus and the dual form of ocean is part of a cosmographic story that is now lost. Within western Semitic cosmology the meeting of the oceans *(majmaʿ al-baḥrayn)* marks the end of the world. This *majmaʿ* was incorporated in legends of al-Khāḍir and the Alexander (q.v.) romance (see also KHĀḌIR/KHIḌR). In the latter, it is given as the goal of the journey. Al-Khāḍir is sometimes depicted as sitting on a pulpit *(minbar)* of light between the upper and lower oceans. Ibn al-Wardī (d. 749/1349; *Kharīda,* 6) identifies the *barzakh* as the four stages of the journey *(marāḥil)* separating the Mediterranean *(baḥr al-rūm)* and the Red Sea *(baḥr al-qalzam)*.

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Barzakh

The term *barzakh* occurs three times in the Qurʾān; in Q 25:53 and 55:20, *barzakh* is a partition between two seas, a barrier that could be an allusion to a cosmic myth (see BARRIER; COSMOLOGY IN THE QURʾĀN). The third reference, which is the focus of this article, occurs in Q 23:100: "And behind them is a barrier until the day they are raised." This verse applies the concept of partition to the eschatological scene and death (see ESCHATOLOGY; DEATH AND THE DEAD). A. Jeffery (*For. vocab.,* 77) suggests Persian as a possible source for this loan word — *farsakh, parasang,* a measure of land that fits the description of a physical barrier (see FOREIGN VOCABULARY).

Barzakh *and the day of resurrection*

One interpretation places *barzakh* as a time barrier, a stated time or life span *(ajal)* in the momentous day of resurrection *(qiyāma,* see RESURRECTION). *Barzakh* is the time gap between the first and the second blowing of the trumpet (see APOCALYPSE). It lasts forty years and constitutes the only respite *(khumūd)* that the tormented sinners will ever experience (Ibn Ḥabīb, *Firdaws,* 105; Ghazālī, *Iḥyāʾ,* iv, 512-3; Qurṭubī, *Jāmiʿ,* xii, 150).

A second interpretation brings *barzakh* closer to home. Mujāhid (d. ca. 104/722)

describes the *barzakh* as the grave that separates us from the hereafter (*al-barzakh hiya hādhihi l-qubūr allatī baynakum wa-bayna l-ākhira, Tafsīr,* 488). The term becomes central to belief in life after death and, thus, co-opts a range of issues related to the continual existence of the soul (q.v.). By the third/ninth century al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923) defines *barzakh* as life span *(ajal);* as a veil *(ḥijāb)* between the dead and their return *(rujūʿ)* to this world; as what is between death *(mawt)* and resurrection *(baʿth);* and, spatially, as what separates this world *(al-dunyā)* from the hereafter (*al-ākhira,* Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* xii, 150). Al-Qurṭubī's (d. 671/1272) list is similar. Parsing these definitions in light of texts on the afterlife reveals how the temporal concept acquired a spatial concreteness that makes *barzakh* an indispensable phase in what happens after death (Qurṭubī, *Jāmiʿ,* xii, 150).

Ajal, which literally means a "stated time" or "life span," when used as a meaning for *barzakh* testifies to existence in the grave, a view adopted early by Muqātil (d. 150/767; *Tafsīr*, iii, 165-6). A later fourth/tenth century Ismāʿīlī text refers to *barzakh* as man's second *ajal* — a continuation of his time on earth. The author draws the conclusion that whoever has a long life on this earth has a shorter span in the *barzakh* and vice versa (Jaʿfar b. Manṣūr al-Yaman, *Sarāʾir,* 110).

Barzakh acts as an obstacle *(ḥājiz)* that prevents the dead from returning *(rujūʿ)* to this world. This is also an early idea suggested by Mujāhid (*Tafsīr,* 488). Al-Bayḍāwī (d. ca. 716/1316-7; *Anwār,* ii, 128) and al-Nasafī (d. 710/1310; *Tafsīr,* ii, 438) prefer the term *ḥāʾil.* Exegetes emphasize here the definitive aspect of *barzakh* that is applicable to sinners who, at the moment of death or in the process of eyeing the torments awaiting them in hell (q.v.), request a second chance. Death heralds the *barzakh* from which there is no return; the despair of the doomed is total.

Ibn Qutayba (d. 276/889) defines the *barzakh* as what lies between this world and the next. It acquires a life of its own. It is an interregnum *(mutawassiṭ)* between death and resurrection (Kāfiyajī, *Manāzil,* 72-3). Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya (d. 751/1350) refers to *dār al-barzakh* as the intermediary of three stages, which are this world *(dunyā), barzakh* and the hereafter *(ākhira);* in this schema, *barzakh* is seen as a partition through which the dead can look onto this world and the next. Each of the three stages is governed by its own rules (*aḥkām,* Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya, *Rūḥ,* 92-3, 105-6). Al-Suyuṭī (d. 911/1505) is more precise, interpreting *barzakh* as threefold: place, time and condition. The place is the grave from which the soul (q.v.) traverses either to the uppermost heaven (*ʿilliyūn,* see PARADISE; HEAVEN) or to the depths of hell *(sijjīn);* the time is that between death and resurrection; and the condition is that of pain, pleasure or incarceration — the last being a reference to the interrogation of the grave that should be over in seven days (Suyūṭī, *Ḥāwī,* ii, 185). Ibn Taymiyya (d. 728/1328) maintains that these conditions are experienced by both body and soul. The soul is free to roam and connect with other souls. It is God's will that permits it full or partial contact with its body. The soul has the full capacity of hearing and responding (Ibn Taymiyya, *ʿAdhāb,* 92-3).

Barzakh *as repository of souls*

The association of *barzakh* with souls was not limited to the dead. There is also a tendency to expand it so that it would incorporate all souls including the unborn. In rejecting the doctrine of the Ashʿariyya of the continual recreation of the soul, Ibn Ḥazm (d. 456/1064) asserts that the *barzakh* is the repository of all the spirits of Adam's

progeny (see ADAM AND EVE). It exists in the lowest heaven where an angel (q.v.) blows these souls into wombs (see BIRTH). This doctrine is strongly rejected by Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya (Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya, *Rūḥ,* 158-9; see also I. Netton, Nafs).

Punishment in the barzakh

The interrogation by the angels Munkar and Nakīr and the punishment of the grave become central to the *barzakh* experience (see REWARD AND PUNISHMENT). The vision of Muḥammad during an eclipse and his ascension (q.v.; *miʿrāj*) were evidence that certain punishments are ongoing (Bayhaqī, *Ithbāt,* 76-9; Ibn Ṭulūn, *Barzakh,* 222-8; and for an analytical version, see Suyūṭī, *Āya,* 3-29). The Muʿtazilīs (q.v.) acknowledge *barzakh* as a stage but strongly object to the idea of punishment, maintaining that the soul does not reside in the grave and that the body would be incapable of experiencing pleasure or pain. Ibn Kathīr (d. 774/1373; *Tafsīr,* v, 38-9) emphasizes that Q 23:100 is primarily a warning (q.v.) and a threat *(tahdīd)* to tyrants *(zālimūn)* who will be punished in their graves until their resurrection. In more general terms, this punishment is treated as a preliminary penance prior to the reckoning *(ḥisāb)* of the resurrection *(qiyāma)*. There is no doubt that the punishment of the *barzakh* endorsed the legitimacy of the idea of a reckoning in the afterlife. The corporeality attributed to the dead in their graves has at times been exaggerated. Ibn al-Jawzī (d. 597/1200) alludes to and rebukes the credulity of the masses who believe the dead are currently partaking in carnal pleasures, such as food and sex, in their graves (*Ṣayd,* 40).

Relationship of the living to the barzakh

The deeds of the dead affect the conditions of the *barzakh*. These conditions are ameliorated further through the prayers of the living. Shīʿīs, who emphasize the concept of the return *(rajʿa)* as part of their millenarian thought, list among their criteria for good deeds that the rewards are reaped in this world, the *barzakh* and the afterlife. Good deeds performed in ignorance *(ghafla)* are rewarded in the *barzakh* by preventing the punishment of the grave or opening the gate of heaven to the grave so that the soul can enjoy respite (Aḥsāʾi, *Rajʿa,* 197). Later Ṣūfīs such as al-Shaʿrānī (d. 973/1565) describe the spatial dimensions and the quality of light and visibility in the *barzakh* as defined by the deeds of the dead. Unpaid debt can incarcerate the soul. The *barzakh* is portrayed as a cosmology of consecutive circles *(al-barzakh al-muṭlaq)* where every prophet resides with his own constituents in separate spheres (Shaʿrānī, *Durar,* 60-1; see also SHĪʿISM AND THE QURʾĀN; ṢŪFISM AND THE QURʾĀN).

Ibn al-ʿArabī and the barzakh

Ibn al-ʿArabī (d. 638/1240) expands the spatial idea of *barzakh* beyond the definition found in relation to death (cf. S. al-Ḥakīm, *al-Muʿjam al-ṣūfī*). Man himself is an intermediate creation, a *barzakh* between God and the world. The *barzakh* is also the beyond; Ibn al-ʿArabī coins the term *al-nubuwwa al-barzakhiyya* in the case of Khālid b. Sinān who promised to tell his sons what happens after death if they exhumed his body. Death signals the birth of man into the first stage of the afterlife, the *barzakh,* during which he continues to mature until resurrection. The soul could travel to *barzakh* in its dream-state thus making it an accessible realm to living humans. In Ibn al-ʿArabī's definition of imagination as a creative energy that is capable of touching the eternal, knowledge gained through dreams *(ʿilm al-khayāl)* is synonymous with that gained through the *barzakh (ʿilm al-barzakh),* a divine emanation where

meanings manifest themselves without the need of form.

Conclusion

R. Eklund maintains that *barzakh* emerges on the eschatological scene free of any influence from the People of the Book (*ahl al-kitāb,* see PEOPLE OF THE BOOK; SCRIPTURE AND THE QURʾĀN) and represents a "genuine Islamic product, a rare phenomenon on the eschatological market" (*Life,* 82). Most scholars hesitate to label it as purgatory, preferring the term limbo. *Barzakh* as a barrier between this world and the next acquires a life of its own. The expanded sphere of the *barzakh* is exemplified in later works, like that of al-Shaʿrānī, where the dead are depicted as conducting an active afterlife allowing for a more dynamic interaction with the living. Here *barzakh* stops short of being the passive barrier to the afterlife.

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Bashīr

see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD; GOOD NEWS

Basmala

The invocation *bi-smi llāhi l-raḥmāni l-raḥīm(i),* "In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate," also known as the *tasmiya,* "naming/uttering (God's name)," occurs 114 times in the Qurʾān: at the head of every sūra except the ninth, which is entitled "Repentance" (Sūrat al-Tawba or Sūrat al-Barāʾa), and also in Q 27:30 as the opening of Solomon's (q.v.) letter to the queen of Sheba (see BILQĪS). Of the 113 occurrences at the head of a sūra, only the first, that before the opening sūra, Sūrat al-Fātiḥa (see FĀTIḤA), is commonly reckoned as an *āya,* i.e. as Q 1:1, although the other 112 unnumbered prefatory occurrences are still considered part of the sacred text (Rāzī, *Aḥkām al-basmala,* 21; Suyūṭī, *Durr,* i, 20).

Precedents for and parallels to the basmala

The *basmala* has various historical precedents among invocational formulae in

other traditions. Al-Zamakhsharī (d. 538/1144) long ago noted the pre-Islamic Arab use of parallel formulae such as "in the name of al-Lāt [or] al-ʿUzzā" (*Kashshāf,* i, 29; see IDOLS AND IMAGES; PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QURʾĀN). T. Nöldeke points out Jewish and Christian parallels to *bi-smi llāhi* in the recurrence of "in the name of the Lord" (*GQ,* i, 112, 116-7; cf. ii, 42; see JEWS AND JUDAISM; CHRISTIANS AND CHRISTIANITY) in the Hebrew and Christian bibles. Y. Moubarac suggests a coalescence of Jewish, Christian and pagan south Arabian influences behind the tripartite *Allāh al-raḥmān al-raḥīm* (Les études d'épigraphie, 58-61). There is also a parallel in the Mazdean formula *pad nām ī yazdān,* "in the name of (the) god(s)," attested as early as the third century at Paikuli (P. Gignoux, Pad Nām, 162).

Meaning of the basmala *in the Qurʾān*

Grammatically *bi-smi llāhi* has the form of an oath (see OATHS) introduced by *bi-* but traditionally it has been construed as an invocation, as opposed to an oath such as *billāhi,* "by God!" The *bi-* is held to require an implied verb expressing the intention of the one uttering the *basmala* to act or begin an action "with the naming [glossing *ism* as *tasmiya*] of God." Thus al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923) cites Ibn ʿAbbās as saying that an action following utterance of the *basmala* — be it reciting, standing or sitting down — implies intent to perform the act "in the name of" or "by naming" God, not "through" God (as agent; *Tafsīr,* i, 114-8). On the other hand, a modern interpreter, Rashīd Riḍā, says that to recite a sūra "in the name of God..." means to "recite it as a sūra coming from him, not from you" (*Tafsīr al-manār,* i, 44; A. Khoury, *Koran,* 147).

There are frequent invocations of God's name in the Qurʾān apart from the *basmala*. The short formula, "in the name of God," occurs only in Q 11:41: "[Noah (q.v.)] said, 'Embark in it [the ark (q.v.)]! In the name of God be its sailing and its mooring!…'" However, *bi-smi rabbikā,* "in the name of your Lord," occurs four times, after the command to "glorify" (Q 56:74, 96; 69:52; cf. 87:1) or to "recite" (Q 96:1) expressing similarly the invoking of God's name in performing an action. "Mentioning" or "remembering" *(dh-k-r)* God's name occurs 13 times and Q 55:78 speaks of blessing God's name *(tabāraka smu rabbika)*. These passages have been interpreted specifically as exhortations to repeat the *basmala* to declare one's righteous intention and to bless and consecrate any act, from drinking water to ritual ablution to marital intercourse (see BLESSING).

There are two possible grammatical readings of the final three words of the *basmala:* (i) with *al-raḥmān* and *al-raḥīm* taken as parallel attributive epithets of *Allāh,* seen in modern translations that replicate the Arabic word order (e.g. M. Henning [1901], "Allah, der Erbarmer, der Barmherzige;" R. Bell [1937], "Allah, the Merciful, the Compassionate") or that emphasize the emphatic force of two cognate attributives (e.g. G. Sale [1734], "the most merciful God"; E.H. Palmer [1880], "the merciful and compassionate God"; R. Paret [1962], "der barmherzige und gütige Gott"); (ii) with *al-raḥmān* construed as a name of God in apposition to *Allāh,* modified by the attributive *al-raḥīm,* (e.g. R. Blachère [1949], "Allah, le Bienfaiteur miséricordieux"; K. Cragg [1988], "God, the merciful Lord of mercy"). Al-Ṭabarī's discussion (*Tafsīr,* i, 55f.) supports the former, which became the standard reading. Most commentators focus on distinguishing the meanings of *raḥmān* and *raḥīm,* taking the intensive *raḥmān* to refer to God's mercy (q.v.) generally either (a) in this world and the next or (b) to all creatures; and *raḥīm* for God's mercy more specifically, limited

either (a) to the next world only or (b) to the faithful only. The commentators note also that *raḥmān* can only be used of God while *raḥīm* can be applied to humans (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* i, 55f.; Ibn al-ʿArabī [attr.], *Tafsīr,* i, 7; Zamakhsharī, *Kashshāf,* i, 41-5; M. al-Gharawī, *Ism,* 148-50).

While Muslim and non-Muslim scholars have preferred to read *al-raḥmān al-raḥīm* as paired attributive epithets (see GOD AND HIS ATTRIBUTES), the other instances of *raḥmān* and *raḥīm* in the Qurʾān could support reading *raḥmān* as an appositive modified by *raḥīm*. The two words are paired only four times (Q 1:3; 2:163; 41:2; 59:22) apart from the *basmala* and can in each case be cogently construed as a substantive *(al-raḥmān)* with a following adjective *(al-raḥīm),* "the compassionate Merciful [One]." *Raḥmān* occurs in the Qurʾān only with the definite article *al-* (57 instances in numbered *āyas*). *Raḥīm* occurs 81 times without the definite article as an adjectival predicate of God, most often paired with and following *ghafūr,* "forgiving." *Al-raḥīm* is found 32 times (including four occurrences apart from the *basmala* with *al-raḥmān*), all but once (Q 34:2: *al-raḥīm al-ghafūr*) as an attribute following other divine names or attributes: *al-ʿazīz* ("the Mighty"), *al-ghafūr* ("the Forgiving"), *al-tawwāb* ("the Relenting") and *al-birr* ("the Beneficent"). Thus the qurʾānic evidence could support the translation, "God, the compassionate *(al-raḥīm)* Merciful One *(al-raḥmān)*." This would accord also with pre-Islamic use of *al-raḥmān* as the name of God in south Arabia (see ARCHAEOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN), the pagan Meccans' aversion to using it instead of *Allāh* (G. Ryckmans, *Les religions arabes,* 47-8; cf. J. Jomier, Le nom divin, 2; Y. Moubarac, Les études d'épigraphie, 58-9) and its use as God's name by Muḥammad's contemporary, the "Arabian prophet" Musaylima (Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh,* iii, 245-6; Zamakhsharī, *Kashshāf,* i, 42; cf. Nöldeke, *GQ,* i, 112-3; see MUSAYLIMA AND PSEUDO-PROPHETS).

Place of the basmala *in the Qurʾān*

The question as to whether the *basmala* is to be counted as the first *āya* in the Fātiḥa (Q 1) and the remaining 112 sūras it precedes has been discussed by Muslim and non-Muslim scholars alike. The Muslim consensus is represented in the modern Cairo text, which counts it as an *āya* only in the Fātiḥa, otherwise as an unnumbered line of text *(saṭr)* that separates the first *āya* of every sūra (except Q 9, "Repentance" [Sūrat al-Tawba]) from the last *āya* of the preceding sūra (cf. Suyūṭī, *Durr,* i, 20). The exception of Sūrat al-Tawba is held traditionally to stem from either (i) its being originally joined with Q 8, "The Spoils of War" (Sūrat al-Anfāl), as a single unit later divided in two before the word *barāʾa,* which thus became the first word of Q 9 (Suyūṭī, *Itqān,* i, 60, 65; Tirmidhī, 48:10.1; cf. Ibn al-ʿArabī, *Futuḥāt,* 4, 211-3, 355-6, who says the *basmala* of Q 27:30 is the one missing at the head of Q 9) or (ii) its having as a main theme God's threats against the idolaters which makes the *basmala* inappropriate for it (Rāzī, *Tafsīr,* vii, 225; M. al-Gharawī, *Ism,* 77; see IDOLATRY AND IDOLATERS; POLYTHEISM AND ATHEISM).

Whether the *basmala* even belongs to the Qurʾān at all has been a live question for Muslims (cf. M. b. ʿAlī al-Shawkānī, *Fatḥ al-qadīr,* i, 64-5). According to most reports, neither Ibn Masʿūd's nor Ubayy b. Kaʿb's Qurʾān copy (*muṣḥaf,* see CODICES OF THE QURʾĀN) included Sūrat al-Fātiḥa. Further, Anas is reported as saying, "I performed the ritual prayer *(ṣalāt)* with God's apostle, Abū Bakr (q.v.), ʿUmar (q.v.) and ʿUthmān (q.v.) and I did not hear any of them recite *'bi-smi llāh...'*" (Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* 4:50; cf. 4:52; see PRAYER). However, Anas is also said to have reported that Muḥammad recited Q 108, "Abundance" (Sūrat al-Kawthar),

with the *basmala* (Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* 4:53) and al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505) cites traditions that the *basmala* belonged to the revelations from the beginning or sometime during the Prophet's mission (e.g. it "was sent down with every sūra"); however, he also cites traditions that the *basmala* was an opening or closing benediction given Muḥammad at the institution of the ritual prayer (*ṣalāt,* Suyūṭī, *Durr,* i, 20-3; cf. A. Spitaler, *Verszählung,* 31-2). The reciters (see RECITERS OF THE QUR'ĀN) and jurists of Medina, Basra and Syria did not consider it an *āya* at the beginning of a sūra, but a sūra-divider and a blessing that one would use to begin any important act. Abū Ḥa-nīfa (d. 150/767) agreed, and the Ḥanafīs do not recite it audibly in the ritual prayer. However, the Meccan, Kufan and most Iraqi reciters and jurists recognized it as an *āya* whenever it begins a sūra, as did al-Shāfiʿī (d. 204/820) and his followers who recite it aloud in the ritual prayer *(ṣalāt)* and likewise the Shīʿīs who recite it silently (Zamakhsharī, *Kashshāf,* i, 24-5; Rāzī, *Aḥkām al-basmala,* 20; Shawkānī, *Fatḥ al-qadīr,* i, 64-5; H. Algar, Besmellāh, 172). The division of the law schools over the audible reciting of the *basmala* likely reflects the early tradition's ambivalence about both the *basmala* and the Fātiḥa: Are they part of the Word of God (see BOOK) or only invocations used by Muḥammad? (cf. Nöldeke, *GQ,* ii, 79). It would also appear from the earliest extant Qurʾān pages that the *basmala* is almost always orthographically integral to the subsequent sūra's text and not set apart visually in any way (Dār al-Āthār al-Islāmiyya, *Maṣāḥif Sanʿāʾ,* 36-61).

Western scholars have also examined the question of the *basmala*'s relationship to the qurʾānic text (see COLLECTION OF THE QUR'ĀN). Nöldeke suggests that at least as early as the Qurʾān copy (*muṣḥaf,* q.v.) of Ḥafṣa the *basmala* was used to separate sūras (*GQ,* ii, 46). R. Blachère sees the *basmala* as a formula used by Muḥammad to introduce letters and pacts which was inaugurated at some point to mark the beginning of a sūra (*Introduction,* 143-4). R. Paret says it was likely added later as a seventh verse to Q 1 to allow "the seven oft-repeated [verses]" (*sabʿan mina l-mathānī,* Q 15:87) to apply to the Fātiḥa (*Kommentar,* 11). A. Neuwirth argues from Christian and Jewish liturgical formulae and the Fātiḥa's internal structure and content (e.g. repetition of part of the *basmala* in Q 1:3) that the *basmala* of Q 1:1 did not belong originally to the Fātiḥa (cf. Nöldeke, *GQ,* i, 116-7; ii, 41-2).

Place of the basmala *in Muslim life and tradition*

The *basmala* has been arguably the most-repeated sentence in Muslim usage. It is axiomatic that a Muslim should begin every act of any importance with the *basmala* (Zamakhsharī, *Kashshāf,* i, 26; Bājūrī, *Tuḥfat al-murīd,* 3; Rāzī, *Aḥkām al-basmala,* 19; M. al-Gharawī, *Ism,* 91; see RITUAL AND THE QUR'ĀN). Muḥammad is quoted as saying that "every important affair that one does not begin with 'in the name of God' is void" (Zamakhsharī, *Kashshāf,* i, 31; M. al-Gharawī, *Ism,* 13; Ṣabbān, *Risāla,* 21). Scriptural support is found in Q 6:119 which begins, "Why do you not eat that over which the name of God has been mentioned?" Various traditions stress the *basmala*'s great power and blessing, e.g. "Whoever recites *bi-smi llāh al-raḥmān al-raḥīm* enters paradise (*al-janna* [see PARADISE; GARDEN])" (A. Ghaylān, *Daʿwa,* 37; cf. M. b. ʿAlī al-Shawkānī, *Fatḥ al-qadīr,* i, 67-8).

The use of the *basmala* is often a legal and sometimes even political matter of importance. The divergence of the law schools concerning the audible recitation of the *basmala* in worship (q.v.), based on its status as an *āya* in the Fātiḥa and elsewhere, has

been especially subject to considerable Muslim debate and discussion (e.g. Rāzī, *Aḥkām al-basmala,* 38-78; Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī, *Radd;* cf. Bājūrī, *Tuḥfat al-murīd,* 3-4). This question has even become the key issue for differing local interpretations of Islam as in the case of modernists and traditionalists in Gayo society in Acheh (J. Bowen, *Muslims,* 306-9).

Traditionally, the *basmala* carries special blessings and power (cf. I. al-Basyūnī, *Basmala,* 19-20; Ṭabarsī, *Majmaʿ,* i, 26-7) and is used as a talisman in popular magic (see AMULETS). One tradition claims it is "… an *āya* of God's scripture not revealed to anyone other than the Prophet save for Solomon (q.v.) the son of David (q.v.)" (Suyūṭī, *Durr,* i, 20). Especially in mystical thought it is considered the quintessence of the Qurʾān: According to Ibn al-ʿArabī (d. 638/1240) "the *basmala* is the key to every sūra" and God says that uttering the *basmala* is remembering *(dhikr)* him (*Futuḥāt,* viii, 343; vii, 274-5). An early Ismāʿīlī work studied by W. Ivanov explains its esoteric meaning in cosmological terms (W. Ivanov, *Studies,* 68). The mysteries of the letters of the *basmala* are many, e.g. the popular tradition that all of the scriptures are contained in the dot of the Arabic letter *bāʾ* in the *bi-* of the *basmala* (ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Jīlī, *Kahf,* 4-5; see LETTERS AND MYSTERIOUS LETTERS). Shīʿī sources develop a similar interpretation: According to Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq (d. 148/765) and others, the greatest *āya* in the Qurʾān is the *basmala* (M. al-Gharawī, *Ism,* 77); all the areas of knowledge *(ʿulūm)* are contained in "the four [Shīʿī ḥadīth] books" and their *ʿulūm* in the Qurʾān and the *ʿulūm* of the Qurʾān in the Fātiḥa and the *ʿulūm* of the Fātiḥa in the *basmala* and the *ʿulūm* of the *basmala* in the *bāʾ* of the *basmala* (M. al-Gharawī, *Ism,* 64, 98). In a variation on this theme, Mir Dard (d. 1199/1785) cites ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib (q.v.) as saying all mysteries are contained in the dot beneath the *bāʾ* of the *basmala* and he, ʿAlī, is that dot (A. Schimmel, *Pain,* 90).

Orthographically, the *basmala* is set apart by the traditional but grammatically exceptional omission of the prosthetic *alif* of *ism (<s-m-w)* connecting the *bāʾ* directly to the *sīn*. One attestation of this is the absence of mention of the *alif* from the tradition that ʿUmar said "Lengthen the *bāʾ,* show clearly the teeth [of the *sīn*] and make round the *mīm*" (Zamakhsharī, *Kashshāf,* i, 35).

The calligraphic embellishment of the *basmala* has always been a favorite artistic undertaking in Islam, whether executed in formal script styles, zoomorphic (bird, lion, etc.) designs, stylized calligraphic shapes *(tughra)* or decorative calligrams (see ART AND ARCHITECTURE AND THE QURʾĀN; ARABIC SCRIPT; CALLIGRAPHY). The culmination of the calligrapher's art is often considered to be the famous *basmala* of the Ottoman artist Aḥmad Qarāḥiṣārī (d. 963/1520) in which extreme application of the principle of assimilation of letters (the letters *rāʾ* and *yāʾ* disappear, *lām* is shortened and "Allāh" becomes symbolic vertical strokes) leads to a *basmala* crafted into a single sweeping line of script without lifting the pen.

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Bāṭin and Ẓāhir see EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL

Battles/Warfare see EXPEDITIONS AND BATTLES

Be see CREATION; JESUS

Beast of Prey see ANIMAL LIFE; LAWFUL AND UNLAWFUL

Beating see CHASTISEMENT AND PUNISHMENT

Beauty

A quality in persons or objects that appeals to the human senses and exalts the spirit. At least a dozen terms describe beauty in the Qurʾān, which is more often understood as a moral quality than an aesthetic one. It is a quality defined by its deep effects upon the beholder rather than by its own properties. Aesthetic terms (e.g. the various terms related to *jamāl, iʿjāb, zīna, ḥilya, zukhruf, ṭayyib, alwān, qurrat ʿayn, bahīj*) signal moral choices to be made or divine grace rendered (see CONSOLATION), while moral terms (e.g. the various terms related to *ḥusn, itqān, fitna, karīm*) signal either beauty or the appropriate response to it. Reference to three kinds of beauty is discernible in the Qurʾān. The first characterizes the signs (q.v.) of God in creation (q.v.): awesome, delightful, instructive or useful, but ultimately transitory. The second describes the ornaments produced by human beings: attractive and enticing but also meaningless and even deceptive. This, too, is transitory. The third kind of beauty is not of this world but rather is sublime and eternal. Each of these three categories will be discussed in sequence.

The Arabic word most often translated as

"beauty" *(jamāl)* occurs only once in the Qurʾān and in that instance it has an aesthetic denotation: "And livestock… you find beauty in them when you bring them home in the evening and when you put them out to pasture" (Q 16:5-6). Yet other forms and effects of beauty are frequently cited. Humans delight in their children (q.v.; Q 28:13); fair winds (Q 10:22; 30:46; see AIR AND WIND); rain (Q 30:48) and the earth (q.v.) afterward (Q 57:20) and seed that grows (Q 48:29); fine animals (Q 2:69) and fertile pairs (Q 22:5; 26:7-8); and nice clothes and pure things (Q 7:31-2; see BLESSING). God has made things beautiful on purpose, as seen in the phrase "the creation of God, who has perfected *(atqana)* all things" (Q 27:88; cf. 22:6; 95:4). "We placed constellations in heaven and made them beautiful *(zayyannāhā)* to the beholders" (Q 15:16; cf. 37:6-7; 50:6; 67:3-5). "It is God… who has formed you and made your forms beautiful *(aḥsana ṣuwarakum)*" (Q 40:64).

Earthly beauty, however, can be a temptation and a test. Q 18:7 asserts: "What is on earth we have made a [mere] decoration for it *(zīnatan lahā),* so that we might test which of them is best in his actions" (cf. Q 57:20). Q 2:221 notes that beauty must not be the overriding criterion: "A believing slave-woman is better than an unbeliever, however much the latter pleases you *(aʿjabatkum)*." Other verses remark that humans deceive themselves and others with superficialities *(zīna)*. Significantly, the calf of gold (q.v.) is made from "the people's ornaments" (*zīnat al-qawm,* Q 20:87). We hear of unbelievers dazzled by their own stratagems (Q 13:33) and of him "whose evil act is made to seem fine to him *(zuyyina lahu sūʾu ʿamalihi)*" (Q 35:8; cf. 9:37; 10:12; 47:14). Forms of natural and man-made ornamentation *(zukhruf)* can be assessed as both positive and negative: "The earth takes on its ornament *(akhadhat al-arḍu zukhrufahā)* and is adorned *(azzayyanat)*" (Q 10:24) but humans deceive each other with "fancy talk *(zukhruf al-qawl)*" (Q 6:112).

The delights of paradise (q.v.) are sometimes evoked by the mention of beautiful objects, e.g. luxuries such as gold (q.v.) and silk (q.v.; e.g. Q 35:33) or couches and rich drinking cups (e.g. Q 56:12-18 ; see CUPS AND VESSELS). More often, however, the pleasures of paradise are described in terms that would appeal particularly to desert dwellers: trees, gardens, shade, and water (q.v.; see GARDEN). The Qurʾān itself is more often described in terms that mark its connection to the divine. The jinn (q.v.) who hear the Qurʾān do not call it "beautiful" but "a wonder" (*Qurʾānan ʿajaban,* Q 72:1), while humans break out in gooseflesh (Q 39:23). God himself is the subject of an extended metaphor in the Light Verse (Q 24:35; see VERSES) from which the listener infers his beauty, though he is never called "beautiful." Aspects of divinity are awesome rather than beautiful (see GOD AND HIS ATTRIBUTES). Yet a ḥadīth says what the many qurʾānic references to beauty seem to imply: "God is beautiful and loves beauty" (Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*). Beauty was certainly a factor in the later theological concept of the "miraculous inimitability" *(iʿjāz)* of the Qurʾan (see INIMITABILITY). See also ART AND ARCHITECTURE AND THE QURʾĀN.

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Bedouin

The Arabic term for "desert-dweller" *(badawī)* is a derivation from the root *b-d-w*. Arabic lexicographers use the term *badw/ badawī* as an antonym for "sedentary people" *(ḥāḍir)*, and the expression "people became Bedouin" *(badā l-qawm badwan)* means that they went out to the desert (Ibn Sīda in *Lisān al-ʿArab*, xiv, 67). The cognate term *bādiya* refers to the sand-desert as opposed to the settled lands. The terms *badw, badawī* or the active participle *bādī* signify one who pursues a certain way of life, i.e. people of the desert or nomads as distinct from settled people. *Bādī* is used twice in the Qurʾān; of more frequent occurrence is another term for Bedouin, the plural form *aʿrāb* (sing. *ʿarab*, see ARABS).

Words derived from the root *ʿ-r-b* were used in pre-Islamic times in different Semitic languages as appellations for the inhabitants of the desert, whether for sand-dwellers or oasis dwellers. In the biblical context *ʿarab* is a term for a particular mode of life (*Isa* 13:20; *Jer* 3:2) and not the name of a particular people. The Old Testament locates the Arabs as nomads in the neighborhood of Israel (*Jer* 25:24; *Ezek* 27:21; 2 *Chron* 9:14). Assyrian documents of the second half of the eighth century B.C.E. frequently mention the *aribi/aribu* as referring to nomadic tribes in the deserts around Palestine and northern Sinai.

In south Arabian inscriptions from the third century C.E. onwards the term *ʿarab* (pl. *aʿrāb*) designates the Bedouin inhabitants of the Arabian peninsula as distinct from its sedentary people. From the mention of *aʿrāb* in Sabaic inscriptions in connection with accounts of armed conflicts between Sabaʾ and Ḥimyar, the conclusion can be drawn that Ḥimyar recruited some of its soldiers from the Bedouin. In a late Sabaic inscription (516 C.E.) the *aʿrāb* occur as soldiers too. An inscription from the late third century B.C.E. mentions the *aʿrāb* of Mārib and it is not clear whether they are part of a south Arabian tribe or serve as auxiliaries in armed conflicts. After the year 400 C.E. the royal title also includes the *aʿrāb* of the peninsula highlands and the Tihāma without precise definition.

Before Islam, the use of the term *ʿarab* was restricted and appears rarely in pre-Islamic poetry though it is seen more frequently in pre-Islamic prose (for examples see G. von Grunebaum, Nature of Arab unity, 21-2). In pre-Islamic times, the inhabitants of the Arabian peninsula did not know the term *ʿarab* as a name for themselves. Use of this word for the whole peninsula and its population was adopted from the Greeks who first described the inhabitants of the northern part of the peninsula with this term and applied it later to the whole peninsula. The close relationship between the word *ʿarab* and the meaning "Bedouin," especially in the sense that the Bedouin preserve the pure Arabic speech, is a later development. To date there has been no complete study of the development of the term *ʿarab* and its derivatives in early Islamic times.

Modern ethnology distinguishes between so-called full Bedouin and non-sedentary agriculturists and pastoralists. Yet these categories are frequently blurred because the main characteristic of both is nomadism or a non-sedentary life. There are many intermediate and transitional stages between a sedentary life and that of the full Bedouin (cf. M. von Oppenheim, *Beduinen*, i, 22-36). In addition to the transition of the breeders of sheep, goats and cattle from a non-sedentary life with occasional farming to a fully settled life, there is also

evidence of the reverse development. Arabic lexicographical works that draw upon classical sources, however, do not reflect such ethnographic refinements. The appellation *aʿrāb* is given to those who dwell in the desert and move about in search of grazing and water (Lane, 1993). Such a definition presents no distinction between the above-mentioned different types of nomadic life nor does it permit a strict differentiation between the terms *aʿrāb* and *bādī* (e.g. *Lisān al-ʿArab,* i, 586; *Tāj al-ʿarūs,* iii, 333). In light of this, the translation of the term *bādī* as it occurs in the Qurʾān presents something of a problem. In Q 22:25 *bādī* is in contrast with *ʿākif,* a word that signifies someone who is remaining or staying in a place (Lane, 2122). In this verse, *bādī* can thus be interpreted as strangers or as visitors who are not permanent residents of Mecca (q.v.). It need not necessarily refer to non-sedentary people. The passage *bādūna fī l-aʿrāb* in Q 33:20 (translation by Arberry: "desert-dwellers among the Bedouins," Blachère: "au désert, parmi les Bédouins," Paret: "unter den Beduinen in der Steppe") gives the impression that a particular group of Bedouin is meant and *aʿrāb* functions as a generic term for different types of nomadic people. There is, however, no hint in pre-Islamic literature of a similar use.

The Qurʾān and later classical sources of Islamic literature present a composite picture of Bedouin lifestyles. The Bedouin are pastoralists specialized in camel breeding. Unlike pastoralists who specialize in the breeding and raising of other domesticated animals, such as cattle, sheep and goats, the Bedouin are almost self-sufficient. Nevertheless they are, to some extent, dependent on the settled lands. The existence of the Bedouin depends in great measure on the dromedary camel that supplies them with milk, meat (on festive occasions), leather, hair and dung (as fuel) and is used as both a means of transportation and a pack-animal (cf. Q 16:5; 40:79-80; 43:12-3; see CAMEL). The life of the Bedouin differs from that of the settled Arab despite the ties and relations between them. Summers are spent near permanent wells or other water-sources. With the beginning of the winter rains, animals are moved away from the exhausted summer pasture and are driven out to graze on the new grasses of the more arid steppes and deserts, a process called *tabaddī*. In spring the Bedouin return to their permanent wells to await the dry season. These places are called *ḥaḍar,* i.e. a fixed place. Q 16:6 refers to this periodic wandering of the Bedouin and the daily driving of their animals to pasture: "When you bring them home to rest and when you drive them forth to pasture" (see also early reports in Marzūqī, *Azmina,* ii, 119-23, 125-32). Of course, tent-dwelling is a feature of this nomadic existence and Q 16:80 mentions the tents or round huts *(buyūt)* made of leather *(min julūdi l-anʿāmi)*.

Unlike the Bedouin, the population in urban and oasis settlements earned their livelihood from agriculture or from trade and pilgrimage income. Yet the development of trade in Arabia, especially on the incense route, was closely connected with camel nomadism. The Bedouin were certainly involved in conducting caravans of merchandise and in guaranteeing the safe transit of these caravans, although the details of that have not yet been closely studied. Because a Bedouin lifestyle also included raiding and plundering, people of the settled areas always strove for effective control of the Bedouin. Not only the trader had to come to an agreement with the Bedouin for guaranteeing him safe transit but also the oasis dweller often had to pay a so-called *khūwa* as protection money against raids on the settled population. Arab historiographers mention continual diplomatic conflicts in pre-Islamic times between the

settled population and its nomadic neighbors (see the examples in R. Simon, Ḥums et īlāf, 217-20.)

In the Qurʾān, remarks about the Bedouin are not extensive and they testify to problems that emerged from forming alliances (see CONTRACTS AND ALLIANCES) with the Bedouin and to Muḥammad's suspicions about the existence or sincerity of their belief in God. In the years after the emigration from Mecca to Medina (the *hijra,* see EMIGRATION) the armed conflicts of the newly established Muslim community with the Bedouin were of great historical importance for Medina's development and independence. As we know from Arab historiography, raids *(ghazw)* against the Bedouin were more numerous than the armed conflicts with the Meccans (al-Wāqidī mentions 74 raids in his *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*); and problems that emerged from contracting alliances with Bedouin tribes came into focus in this period. One of the most important efforts to consolidate Muḥammad's own strength in Medina was the formation of alliances with nomadic tribes in the surrounding area of the town.

Some verses in the Qurʾān indicate that Muḥammad had enormous difficulties in controlling and using the Bedouin for his own ends. Q 9:90, 33:20, 48:11 and 48:16 refer to different expeditions (see EXPEDITIONS AND BATTLES) that depended upon the support of Bedouin on both sides, the Muslim and the Meccan. During the siege of Medina in the year 5/627, known to Muslims as the Expedition of the Trench (*khandaq,* see PEOPLE OF THE DITCH), the Meccans were supported by a vast confederacy, including some of the nomadic tribes. In Q 33:20 Muḥammad mentions the groups *(aḥzāb)* of Bedouin who joined the Meccans in this siege and criticizes the vacillation of some of his own Bedouin allies. In Q 48:11 and 16 — obviously revealed after the expedition of al-Ḥudaybiya (6/628; see ḤUDAYBIYA) — Muḥammad rebukes the Bedouin who were left behind (*mukhallafūn,* for an explanation see Paret, *Kommentar,* 208-9). The Bedouin *(al-aʿrāb)* mentioned in these verses did not join the expedition to al-Ḥudaybiya and made flimsy excuses for their absence. In Q 9:90 Muḥammad threatens the Bedouin with dire punishment in the afterlife (see REWARD AND PUNISHMENT) for absenting themselves from an expedition, probably that to Tabūk in the summer of the year 9/630. These verses show how deeply Muḥammad had been disappointed when some of the nomads refused to join the expedition. Apparently the Bedouin had seen no prospect of booty (q.v.) and therefore had rejected Muḥammad's appeal to them.

Q 9:97-9, 101, 120 and 49:14 offer indications of the fact that Muḥammad held the religious zeal of the Bedouin in low regard. He charges that some of the nomadic people pretend to be faithful simply in order to derive material advantage. These are described as more stubborn in unbelief (*ashaddu kufran wa-nifāqan,* Q 9:97) and as hypocrites (*munāfiqūn,* Q 9:101; see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF; HYPOCRITES AND HYPOCRISY). In the early Medinan years Muḥammad contracted alliances with nomadic tribes in the neighborhood on a secular basis, i.e. without demanding religious affiliation. After the treaty of al-Ḥudaybiya, however, the position of Muḥammad and the Muslims in Medina grew stronger and he began to demand acceptance of Islam and recognition of himself as Prophet. In letters and treaties concerning alliances with different tribes there are statements that, if the persons fulfil their obligations (performing the ritual prayer [*ṣalāt,* see PRAYER] and paying the communal alms [*ṣadaqa,* see ALMSGIVING]), they have a guarantee of security *(dhimma),* meaning security for their lives, goods and

rights to use the land (Ibn Isḥāq, *Sīra,* 963f.; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt,* i, 2, passim). Bedouin acceptance of these obligations does not appear to have modified their religious practices significantly nor could their degree of compliance be presumed to match that of those who had migrated from Mecca to Medina with Muḥammad (cf. Hamdānī, *Iklīl,* i, 167 for an account that there existed a special pledge made by the Bedouin to Muḥammad, *bayʿa aʿrābiyya* as against a pledge of migration, *bayʿa hijriyya*). In pre-Islamic times the religious life of the Bedouin consisted largely of periodic visits to holy places (q.v.), various forms of ritual sacrifice (q.v.) and the consultation of diviners (see PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QURʾĀN; DIVINATION). It is likely that most Bedouin managed with even less than that. Therefore the Bedouin considered the daily prayers *(ṣalāt)* and also the communal alms *(ṣadaqa),* which were two of the most important religious duties for a Muslim, as an unreasonable demand.

Later Muslim sources elaborated upon such differences of religious adherence and observance. Al-Marzūqī (*Azmina,* ii, 330-1) differentiates between those who emigrated from Mecca to Medina (*muhājirūn,* see EMIGRANTS AND HELPERS) and nomadic peoples who neither took part in the migration *(hijra)* nor submitted themselves to Muslim sovereignty. About the difference between Arabs *(ʿarab)* and Bedouin *(aʿrāb)* the philologist al-Azharī wrote that the *muhājirūn* and the residents of Medina who allied themselves with Muḥammad — the Helpers *(anṣār)* — are not Bedouin but Arabs because they live in settlements *(qurā ʿarabiyya)* and towns. Those who reverted to a nomadic lifestyle *(ahl al-badw)* after the migration to Medina became Bedouin again *(taʿarraba)*. As indicated by passages such as Q 4:31 and Q 42:37, such reversion constitutes one of the "great sins" (*kabāʾir,* see SIN, MAJOR AND MINOR) for which an individual can be held accountable on the day of judgment (cf. Azharī in *Lisān al-ʿArab,* i, 586-7; *Tāj al-ʿarūs,* iii, 334; see LAST JUDGMENT). Only the Bedouin who performed the migration were considered to be full Muslims and this included the obligation of military service. From the last-mentioned remark of al-Azharī the conclusion can be drawn that, after the migration to Medina, many of the Bedouin returned to their tribes and refused to perform the military service (see TRIBES AND CLANS). This situation changed after the defeat of the *ridda,* the "defection" of some tribes that occurred after the death of the Prophet (see APOSTASY). Eventually nomadic units developed into important auxiliary troops and were brought together in garrison towns *(amṣār)*. Nevertheless, the integration of the nomadic population into the Islamic state remained a source of social and political tension for centuries.

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Bee

see ANIMAL LIFE

Beguiling/Bewitching

see MAGIC, PROHIBITION OF

Belief

see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF

Belief and Unbelief

The fundamental attitudes to the divine being, to the prophethood of Muḥammad and to the message of the Qurʾān. The paired terms "belief and unbelief" *(īmān, kufr)* and their correlates "believer and unbeliever" *(muʾmin, kāfir)* represent the central antithesis of the qurʾānic discourse. The root *ʾ-m-n* in the sense of "believing" and its most common, though by no means only, antonym, *k-f-r* (see GRATITUDE AND INGRATITUDE), are among the most frequently attested roots in the Qurʾān with close to 500 cases of each. They appear, either separately or in combination, in most qurʾānic sūras, often more than once in a single verse. This in itself shows the central importance of these two pivotal concepts in the Qurʾān.

Belief and the believers

The term used most frequently in the Qurʾān to denote belief or faith (q.v.) is *īmān.* It is closely related to the term *islām* (q.v.) which is usually translated as "submission" or "the act of submitting." Although these two closely-related concepts seem at times to be near-synonymous (Q 10:84; 51:35-6), their difference is emphasized in Q 49:14: "The wandering Arabs (q.v.; see also BEDOUIN) say: We believe *(āmannā).* Say: You believe not, but rather say 'We submit' *(aslamnā),* for the faith has not yet entered into your hearts.…"

Īmān is the verbal noun of the fourth form of the root *ʾ-m-n.* The active participle, *muʾmin,* is usually translated as "believer" (its plural, *muʾminūn,* is sometimes rendered "the faithful"), the only exception being Q 59:23 where it is God who is described as *muʾmin* but in the sense of a protector or guarantor of security (cf. also Q 106:3-4). According to M. Mir (Īmān), the root *ʾ-m-n,* especially in its fourth form, does indeed connote security since the one who believes becomes secure against untruth and misguidance in this world and against punishment in the next (cf. Ṭūsī, *Tibyān,* i, 54; Ṭabāṭabāʾī, *Mīzān,* i, 45). Muslim commentators usually provide an explanation of what is to be understood by the term *īmān* at its first occurrence in the Qurʾān (Q 2:3), glossing it as affirmation or attestation of the truth of something *(taṣdīq).*

Even though the term *muʾmin,* in an absolute sense, is primarily used to describe an adherent of the religion founded by Muḥammad — in other words, a Muslim — it should be emphasized at the outset that in the Qurʾān *muʾmin* does not have this exclusive meaning. It also covers the pre-Muḥammadan believers, i.e. those who believed in the messengers (see MESSENGER; PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD) that were

sent by God before the appearance of Muḥammad, the most obvious example being the *muʾmin* mentioned in Q 40:28-45 who was a supporter of Moses (q.v.) at the court of Pharaoh (q.v.). A second group of non-Muslim *muʾminūn* consists of individuals among the People of the Book (q.v.; see below) who are described in the Qurʾān (Q 2:62; 3:110, 113-5, 199; 5:66, 83; 28:52-4; 57:27) as believers although most commentators regard them as converts to Islam. Strictly speaking, then, *muʾmin* and Muslim are not synonymous. However, in the following, *muʾmin* will be used primarily in the sense of an adherent to the religion of Muḥammad. The formula "O you who believe" *(yā ayyuhā lladhī āmanū),* which appears frequently in sūras from the Medinan period introducing a precept (see BOUNDARIES AND PRECEPTS) or an admonition, invariably addresses this class of believers. At times, female believers *(muʾmināt)* are explicitly addressed or mentioned, e.g. Q 9:71-2.

The objects of belief

What distinguishes true believers from polytheists (see POLYTHEISM AND ATHEISM) is the belief in one God, whereas what sets them apart from the earlier monotheists is the belief that Muḥammad is the messenger of God. This is reflected in the *shahāda,* the Muslim profession of faith (q.v.), which constitutes one of the five pillars of Islam and to which the Shīʿīs add the affirmation that ʿAlī (see ʿALĪ B. ABĪ ṬĀLIB; SHĪʿISM AND THE QURʾĀN) is the friend of God. But there is more to belief than that. In order to qualify as a *muʾmin,* one must furthermore believe in God's earlier messengers, his revealed books (see BOOK), his angels (see ANGEL) and the hereafter (see HEAVEN; HELL; Q 2:177, 285; 4:136). A separate article of faith is belief in *al-ghayb* (Q 2:3, see HIDDEN AND THE HIDDEN), which is given various glosses by the commentators (see Ibn al-Jawzī, *Zād,* i, 24-5). The commonly accepted view is that it refers to "unseen things," knowledge of which is hidden from humankind. Examples of "unseen things" that commentators on the Qurʾān frequently mention include the destiny (q.v.; see also FATE) of an individual human being, the events of the last day (see APOCALYPSE), the resurrection (q.v.), and the last judgment (q.v.; Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr,* i, 41; *Jalālayn,* 7; Qurṭubī, *Jāmiʿ,* i, 159). For a Shīʿī exegete like al-Ṭūsī (d. 460/1067; *Tibyān,* i, 55), *al-ghayb* includes the (unknown) duration of the occultation of the awaited Imām (q.v.) and the coming of the Mahdī. Only God has the keys to the unseen things (*mafātīḥ al-ghayb,* Q 6:59, also the title of the commentary by Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī) but man must believe in their existence. Moreover, some commentators state that in order for *īmān* to be valid, it should be a genuine affirmation and not merely an attitude acquired by imitation *(taqlīd,* Rashīd Riḍā, *Manār,* ii, 111f., 145f. and cf. Ibn al-ʿArabī [attributed], *Tafsīr,* i, 16-7, who distinguishes between *īmān taqlīdī* and *īmān taḥqīqī).*

Belief and works

According to the Qurʾān, the attitude of true believers towards God is characterized by gratitude, awe, repentance, and submission. In their attitude to their fellow humans, they are distinguished by their chastity, modesty, humility, forgiveness, and truthfulness. They respect their contracts and covenants (see Q 8:2-4, 74; 9:112; 13:20-3; 23:1-6, 8-11, 57-61; 24:36-9; 25:63-8, 72-4; 28:54-5; 32:15-7; 33:35-6; 42:36-43; 48:29; 70:22-35; 76:7-10; see CONTRACTS AND ALLIANCES; COVENANT; BREAKING TRUSTS AND CONTRACTS). The sūras from the Medinan period emphasize the importance of the coherence of the

Muslim community (see COMMUNITY AND SOCIETY IN THE QUR'ĀN). Believers are brothers (Q 49:10; see BROTHERS AND BROTHERHOOD) and should assist and protect each other (Q 8:72, 74; 9:71). Peace must be established between them in case they should fight (Q 49:9-10) and they should show each other mercy (Q 48:29). Offending another believer is a sin (Q 48:29; see SIN, MAJOR AND MINOR). These passages, incidentally, show that all was not well and harmonious among the believers in Medina; there were even special rules governing their proper conduct towards the Prophet and his wives (e.g. Q 33:53; 49:2-5; 58:12-3; see WIVES OF THE PROPHET).

Belief should ideally be accompanied by and expressed in pious deeds *('amal al-ṣāliḥāt)* such as worship (q.v.), charity and striving for the cause of God in different ways. Belief and works frequently appear together in the Qur'ān which suggests that *'amal* (see WORK) is an integral part of *īmān* (Q 2:82, 277; 3:57; 4:57, 122, 173; 5:9, 93; 7:42). However, post-qur'ānic literature reveals a tendency to separate *īmān* and *'amal*, often equating the latter with *islām* in the sense of an outward expression of the faith whose interior location is the heart (q.v.). This tendency can already be observed in certain traditions on *īmān* in the canonical collections of ḥadīth where Muḥammad is asked by the angel Gabriel (Jibrīl, see GABRIEL) about the essence of *islām, īmān* and *iḥsān* (which latter stands for supererogatory acts of worship; see Bukhārī, *Saḥīḥ, K. al-Īmān,* 38, 50; cf. Muslim, *Saḥīḥ, K. al-Īmān*). Compendiums of theology and heresiographical tracts invariably include discussions about the relationship between faith and works and the nature of belief. They raise such questions as whether someone who professes faith but does not observe the corresponding precepts can be considered a *mu'min* and whether he or she is entitled to a reward (see REWARD AND PUNISHMENT) in the hereafter. (For a survey of theological positions held by different groups and individuals, see Rāzī, *Tafsīr,* ad Q 2:6.) Another much-debated question is whether belief can increase or decrease (based on Q 3:173; 8:2; 48:4).

For their belief and their righteous deeds, believers will be the recipients of God's favor and enjoy preferential treatment. Although they will be subjected to trials in this world (Q 2:214; 3:186; 47:31; see TRIAL), they also prosper and God makes their works succeed (e.g. Q 2:5; 3:104; 23:1; 33:71). He strengthens the believers and defends, saves and protects them (Q 58:22; 22:38; 39:61; 40:9). Ultimately, they will be admitted to paradise (q.v.) — described in vivid detail throughout the Qur'ān — where they will remain in eternal bliss (e.g. Q 2:25; 3:15; 9:72; 13:23; 18:31; 22:23; 23:19; 35:33; 55:54; see also GARDEN).

Unbelief and unbelievers

The most frequent, though not the only, Arabic term denoting unbelief, disbelief or misbelief is *kufr* but the Qur'ān contains a series of related and to some extent synonymous concepts. These include iniquity *(ẓulm),* sinfulness *(fisq),* arrogance (q.v.) or haughtiness *(istikbār)* and denial *(takdhīb),* each of which expresses an aspect of the unbeliever's attitude (for a detailed analysis, see Izutsu, *Concepts,* 105-77).

The basic meaning of *k-f-r* is to cover, to hide, to conceal, e.g. the truth. By extension, *kufr* came to mean to ignore or fail to acknowledge (Q 30:13; 35:14; 46:6; 3:115), to reject, to spurn, to be thankless or ungrateful (Q 2:152; 16:55, 83, 122-4; 17:27; 26:18-19; 29:66; 30:24; 43:15). Finally, mention must be made of the meaning which today is regarded as the primary one, to disbelieve. This signification of *kufr* retains all the connotations of the above-mentioned verbs. It was not so much transformed as extended in the course of the

revelation of the Qurʾān (see M. Waldman, Development). According to classical sources of Arabic lexicography, such as the *Lisān al-ʿArab* (v. 144), the fundamental meaning of *kufr* is ingratitude for benefits received *(kufr al-niʿma)*.

Someone accused of *kufr* is called a *kāfir* (pl. *kāfirūn, kuffār, alladhīna kafarū,* and *kafara,* which latter occurs only once in the Qurʾān; often, however, the Qurʾān simply calls them *alladhīna lā yuʾminūna,* "those who do not believe"). The older English translation "infidel" is now used less frequently. The intensive forms, *kafūr* and *kaffār,* describe someone whose *kufr* takes extreme forms (Q 2:276; 11:9; 14:34; 22:38; 31:32; 35:36; 39:3; 42:48; 50:24). The derived form *takfīr,* not found in the Qurʾān, means branding someone, especially a fellow-Muslim, as a *kāfir*. This is condemned in ḥadīth but nonetheless *takfīr* became an effective instrument of excluding someone from the Muslim community. In the formative period of Islam the first ones to make this accusation were the Khārijīs (q.v.) who reserved for themselves the qualification *muʾminūn* while applying the term *kuffār* to all others. Their example has been followed by many others. Similarly, accusations of ascribing partners to God or of making anything else equal to him *(shirk)* have been used by Muslims in both medieval and modern times to challenge those whose views are deemed to be deviant.

The Qurʾān distinguishes two main groups of unbelievers. Although at first sight these two appear very different, they actually have much in common, not least being the fact that both rejected the message of Muḥammad. The idolaters (*mushrikūn,* see IDOLATRY AND IDOLATERS) were by far the most numerous for they constituted the majority among the Arabs, both sedentary and nomadic. The second group is that of the People of the Book *(ahl al-kitāb)*. A third group, to be discussed separately, is formed by the so-called hypocrites (*munāfiqūn,* see HYPOCRITES AND HYPOCRISY) who first appear in the Medinan period. Though outwardly professing belief, they are not truly committed to faith. This attitude is referred to in the *Lisān al-ʿArab* (v. 144) as *kufr al-nifāq,* to be distinguished from *kufr al-inkār* (failure to acknowledge the oneness of God either in the heart or in speech), *kufr al-juḥūd* (refusal to affirm in speech what the heart acknowledges as true), and *kufr al-muʿānada* (to acknowledge God in the heart and in speech but to refuse to act accordingly; cf. Lane, vii, 2621).

Idolaters, idol-worshippers, polytheists, pagans

The term *mushrik* is derived from *shirk,* i.e. associating, in the sense of ascribing partners to God, which is described in the Qurʾān as the only sin for which no forgiveness is possible (Q 4:48). Another common qurʾānic expression for this is "those who associate" *(alladhīna ashrakū)*. At first, Muḥammad's preaching was addressed almost entirely to the pagan Arabs whose attitude may be described as follows: Not believing in the existence of an afterlife, they are excessively attached to worldly goods and take great pride in their material possessions and in their sons (Q 19:77-80). But their enjoyment of this world will be brief (Q 2:126; 3:196-7; 31:24; 77:46) and their possessions and children will not avail them (Q 3:10, 116; 9:85; 34:35-7; 58:17; 60:3). Although they ascribe daughters to God (Q 16:57; 53:19-23), they themselves are aggrieved when female children are born to them (Q 16:58-9). God shows them his signs (q.v.), the wonders of nature, that they may believe and gives them of his bounties, that they may be grateful but they fail to acknowledge that the source of these favors is the one God, the creator of all things, who will resurrect and judge them on the last day. In their unbelief they follow the ways of their ancestors (Q 2:170;

37:69-70; 53:23) and are loath to give up their traditional beliefs and rites which are connected with idols (see IDOLS AND IMAGES) that will be of no help to them when the final hour comes. They ignore the warnings (q.v.) communicated to them by Muḥammad, just as earlier nations (the pre-Islamic unbelievers) had rejected the call of the messengers that God had sent, messengers such as Hūd (q.v.), Ṣāliḥ (q.v.), Noah (q.v.), Abraham (q.v.), Lot (q.v.), Moses (q.v.), and Jesus (q.v.; e.g. Q 6:34; 26:105, 123, 139, 141; 43:7; see also AGE OF IGNORANCE; PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QURʾĀN). They mock the believers (Q 83:29-32) and are not impressed by a message coming from someone who is a mere mortal like themselves, someone who fails to produce the miracles (see MIRACLE) that they demand as proof (q.v.; Q 17:90-3; cf. Q 74:52). Considering him possessed as had previous nations deemed the earlier warners, they call Muḥammad a liar who represents stories he received from outsiders as divine revelations. For their rejection, these nations had been severely punished (see PUNISHMENT STORIES) both in this life and in the hereafter, and this is what awaits the pagan Arabs unless they repent and turn to God and Muḥammad. However, most of the people to whom Muḥammad was sent will only recognize the truth of the warning and the reality of the punishment in the afterlife, when it is too late to mend their ways (e.g. Q 34:33; 39:56-8). Rather, they turned away when they were admonished (Q 21:2; 26:5; 74:49) or put their fingers in their ears (Q 71:7; see also BLASPHEMY). Theirs will be a painful doom in hell (graphic descriptions are found throughout the Qurʾān, e.g. Q 2:24; 4:56; 7:50; 8:50; 9:35; 21:39; 22:19; 23:104; 40:49, 72; 37:62-8; 44:43-8; 56:52-6). Criticism of the pagans continues into the Medinan period although there the focus shifts somewhat from the *mushrikūn* to the hypocrites and the People of the Book.

The People of the Book

This term (Q 2:105, 109; 3:64, 65, 69, 70, 71, 72, 75, 98, 99, 110, 113, 199; 4:123, 153, 159, 171; 5:15, 19, 59, 68, 77; 29:46; 33:26; 57:29; 59:2, 11; 98:1, 6), along with phrases like "those who were given the book" (*alladhīna ūtū l-kitāb,* Q 2:144, 145; 3:19, 20, 100, 186, 187; 4:47, 131; 5:5; 9:29; 74:31; 98:4, and cf. 2:213; 4:44, 51) and "those to whom we gave the book" (*alladhīna ātaynāhum al-kitāb,* Q 2:146; 6:20, 89, 114; 28:52; 29:47), is commonly taken to refer to the Jews and the Christians (see CHRISTIANS AND CHRISTIANITY; JEWS AND JUDAISM). In some verses that allude to the Jews and Christians, the Qurʾān mentions a third group: the enigmatic Sabians (*Ṣābiʾūn,* Q 2:62; 5:69; 22:17) but whether they and the Magians (*Majūs,* Q 22:17) are to be considered as "People of the Book" is disputed among commentators and legal scholars (see SABIANS AND MAGIANS).

The Meccan sūras contain little direct polemic against Judaism or Christianity. On the contrary, the Israelites or Jews and the Christians are presented as an example to be followed. This is because they acknowledge that there is only one God, the creator of the universe, who makes himself known to humankind through revelations (see REVELATION AND INSPIRATION) brought by prophets and messengers and who rewards obedience (q.v.) and severely punishes rejection and unbelief. In the Meccan period, the believers are still encouraged to seek the advice of the People of the Book who, having been steeped in monotheistic tradition, may be able to clarify for them issues that they do not understand (Q 10:94).

This initially benevolent attitude changes after Muḥammad moves to Medina (q.v.)

where he becomes closely acquainted with adherents of other monotheistic religions, especially with Jews. Although some of the Jews converted to the new religion, the majority rejected Muḥammad's claim to prophethood. This, combined with political factors, led to the deterioration of relations between Muḥammad and the Jews of Medina as is reflected in many of the sūras from the Medinan period. Jews are now grouped together with the idolaters as those who are the most inimical towards the believers. Christians, on the other hand, who constituted a less immediate threat, are presented as sympathetic to the believers (Q 5:82-3; see McAuliffe, *Qurʾānic,* chap. 7). Even though Christians themselves — although, according to certain commentators, only a portion of them — are judged more favorably than are the Jews, Christian teachings such as the Trinity (q.v.) and Jesus as the son of God, which are considered by Muslims to be distortions of true Christianity, are severely condemned in the Qurʾān as being in contradiction with the doctrine of the absolute oneness of God (Q 4:171; 5:75, 116; 9:30).

The unbelief of which the majority among the People of the Book are accused is of a different kind than that of the pagans. The stubborn rejection of Muḥammad's message by the People of the Book is simply incomprehensible because they had received revelations before and should therefore have been the first to believe in Muḥammad, whose coming was foretold in their scriptures (Q 7:157; 61:6; see SCRIPTURE AND THE QURʾĀN). Moreover, they shared with Muḥammad and his followers a number of essential truths. But, they refused to accept that Muḥammad had brought a new (or rather renewed) dispensation and are accused of having obscured scriptural references to him. In addition, they constituted a threat to the believers, whom they tried to lead astray (q.v.), seducing them back to their former unbelief (Q 2:109; 3:98-199).

The People of the Book, however, are not all alike. According to the Qurʾān, there are some among them who believe (Q 3:110, 113, 199; 28:52-4, and cf. 5:66, analyzed in detail in McAuliffe, *Qurʾānic,* chaps. 5, 6, 8). According to most commentators, this refers to those Jews and Christians who embraced Islam, such as the Jew ʿAbdallāh b. Salām and certain Christians from amongst the Abyssinians and others (e.g. Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* vii, 107; Ṭūsī, *Tibyān,* ii, 54; Ṭabarsī, *Majmaʿ,* iv, 170; Qurṭubī, *Jāmiʿ,* ii, 166; Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr,* i, 397; *Jalālayn,* 69-70; see also ABYSSINIA). They are, in other words, Muslims. Another view is that the reference is to people who did not formally convert to Islam but whose loyalty to the true interpretation of their scriptures impelled them to profess belief in Muḥammad as the one who was announced therein. Unlike their coreligionists, they were not dismayed by the fact that he was not from among their own people. The ones who are described in Q 28:52-4 as stating that they submitted before "it," i.e. before the coming of Muḥammad or the revelation of the Qurʾān *(innā kunnā min qablihi muslimīn),* are seen as Jews and Christians who understood from their scriptures that a new prophet was to be sent and who recognized Muḥammad as that prophet when he appeared. They are promised a double reward because of their loyalty to two books, the earlier revelation and the Qurʾān.

Despite the potentially higher status of the earlier monotheists, those among them who are guilty of unbelief will share a painful doom with the pagans unless they mend their ways. Q 98, taken by most commentators to be Medinan, places the

unbelievers amongst the People of the Book on the same level as idolaters *(mushrikūn),* calling them "the worst of created beings," as opposed to the believers, who are the best of them (Q 98:6-7).

The People of the Book were offered the choice of joining the new religion or of maintaining their own religious identity, but at the price of a poll-tax (*jizya,* q.v.), payment of which expressed submission to the Muslim community (Q 9:29). This arrangement was to become the basis for the *dhimma*-system which guaranteed the People of the Book protection (q.v.) of their lives and goods and which dates from the period following the death of Muḥammad (see A. Fattal, *Le statut légal;* C. Cahen, Dhimma; id., Djizya). The tolerance that was sometimes accorded to the People of the Book was not granted to the idolaters *(mushrikūn)*. For them, the choice was between Islam and death. Q 2:256, which reads "there is no compulsion in religion" *(lā ikrāha fī l-dīn)* and which in modern times is often adduced as proof of Muslim tolerance of other religions, is considered by most exegetes to have been abrogated by the so-called sword-verse (Q 9:5; see ABROGATION) and other passages that call for an all-out war against the unbelievers (Q 2:216; 8:39; 47:4). Another passage which is often considered as proof of tolerance is "To you your *dīn,* to me mine" (Q 109:6) where *dīn* is interpreted either as religion or as the recompense for one's beliefs. Most commentators interpret this verse as a radical break with the pagans by those who had accepted the prophethood of Muḥammad (see Ibn al-Jawzī, *Zād,* ix, 252).

Relations between believers and unbelievers

Various passages in the Qurʾān speak of the attitude to be adopted by the believers towards the unbelievers, warning them against close contacts with others who are not of their own rank. Whoever associates with them is one of them (Q 3:28; 118; 4:144; 5:51; 9:23-4; 13:1; 60:1; and cf. 58:22). The unbelievers are each other's allies (Q 8:73). Sitting with the unbelievers who mock the Qurʾān is forbidden (Q 4:140); the contributions from unbelievers may not be accepted (Q 9:54) and praying at their graves is prohibited (Q 9:84). Some passages explicitly forbid relations with pagan Arabs even if these are one's own relatives. The reason for the passage's revelation (*sabab al-nuzūl,* see OCCASIONS OF REVELATION) is not clear in every case, nor is the category of unbelievers to which reference is being made: the pagans, the People of the Book or perhaps the hypocrites. Not surprisingly, then, the exegetical literature also presents many different solutions. The unbelievers in Q 3:28, for example, are identified once as Jews and then again as pagan Meccans (Ibn al-Jawzī, *Zād,* i, 371).

The unbelievers will only mock the believers (Q 83:29-32) and try to corrupt them (Q 3:99-100). One should, therefore, avoid and ignore them and pay no attention to their idle talk. Only in cases of fear for one's life may one associate with unbelievers (Q 3:28; cf. 16:106). In this context, the term *taqiyya* — dissimulation (q.v.) — is mentioned. Whereas Sunnī commentators tend to see *taqiyya* as an option, their Shīʿī counterparts consider it a duty when faced with a threat to one's life (Ṭūsī, *Tibyān,* ii, 435; Mufīd, quoted in Ṭabarsī, *Majmaʿ,* iii, 56; Ṭabāṭabāʾī, *Mīzān,* iii, 153, 162-3). More recently, a very negative attitude was adopted toward the unbelievers, i.e. non-Muslims, by the twentieth century Egyptian thinker Sayyid Quṭb (*Ẓilāl,* i, 568) who was executed in 1966.

The passages listed so far suggest that a passive attitude be adopted towards the unbelievers. Other verses, however, which may be encountered in any discussion of *jihād* (q.v.), stress that believers should exert

themselves in the way of God (see PATH OR WAY [OF GOD]) in the struggle against unbelief or prescribe fighting against the unbelievers (e.g. Q 2:190-3, 218, 244; 4:74-6, 84, 95; 8:15-6, 45-6, 57, 65; 9:20, 81). Under certain circumstances, however, it is possible to make peace with them (Q 4:90-1; 8:61). Not surprisingly, all these verses are from the Medinan period when Muḥammad was in a position of power and no longer the persecuted preacher that he had been in Mecca.

The impurity of the unbeliever

Although at first Muḥammad tried to maintain amicable relations with the unbelievers, this attitude changed after the conquest of Mecca. Q 9:28 declares the *mushrikūn* to be impure (*najas,* see PURITY AND IMPURITY) and forbids them to come near the Meccan sanctuary *(al-masjid al-ḥarām)*. This verse came to be interpreted in the Mālikī and Jaʿfarī schools of law as prohibiting all non-Muslims from entering Muslim places of worship and led to discussions about the nature of the unbeliever's impurity: Were they literally filthy or ritually impure because they did not perform ablutions (see CLEANLINESS AND ABLUTION; RITUAL PURITY)? Is their impurity a judgment or conception in the minds of the believers? Or are they intrinsically impure and contaminating (see CONTAMINATION) (Ibn al-Jawzī, *Zād,* iii, 417; Rashīd Riḍā, *Manār,* x, 417; and see A.J. Wensinck, Nadjis)? Shīʿīs like al-Ṭūsī *(Tibyān)* and al-Ṭabarsī (d. 518/1153; *Majmaʿ,* 43) subscribe to the latter view and declare that contact with the unbelievers should be limited. If one has shaken hands with an unbeliever and the hand of either party was moist one should wash one's hand. Ibn Ḥazm (d. 456/1064), representing a Ẓāhirī viewpoint, maintains the essential impurity of all unbelievers but, unlike the Shīʿīs, does not prohibit their access to mosques (*Muḥallā,* iii, 162). The Qurʾān does not demand that the unbelievers live in segregation from the believers or that they distinguish themselves from the believers in their outward appearance; this was a later development of Islamic jurisprudence (see A. Fattal, *Le statut légal;* M. Perlmann, Ghiyār).

Belief and unbelief: choice or destiny?

According to the Qurʾān, humankind can be divided into two basic categories, those who believe and those who do not believe. Yet to what extent are people free to choose between belief and unbelief? While several passages in the Qurʾān suggest that people are given the option to choose whether or not to respond to the call of God's messenger(s) and that in the final analysis a person's fate in the afterlife depends on that person alone (Q 17:15, 54; 18:29; 20:82; 27:92; 34:50; 39:41), a larger number of verses give the impression or leave no doubt that it is God who decides who will be guided and who will be led astray. In other words, it is he who decides the fate of man (Q 6:125; 7:178, 186; 10:96-7, 99; 13:33; 28:50; 39:23, 36, 37; 45:23; 74:31). This apparent contradiction has given rise to much theological debate in later Islam about the question of indeterminism ("free will") or determinism ("predestination"). The members of the Muʿtazila school (see MUʿTAZILĪS) and the Shīʿīs, who were influenced by them, felt that predestination *(qaḍāʾ wa-qadar)* was incompatible with the idea of God's absolute justice (see JUSTICE AND INJUSTICE). Exegetes like the Muʿtazilī al-Zamakhsharī (d. 538/1144) and the Shīʿī al-Ṭūsī (d. 460/1067) devote much effort to proving that the Qurʾān supports their claim that man creates his own actions. On the other hand, the Ashʿarī, Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 606/1210) expends much effort in refuting this view. The Qurʾān describes the unbelievers as people in whose ears there is a deafness (Q 41:5, 44; cf. 16:108),

whose hearts and hearing have been sealed by God (Q 45:23; 63:3) or covered with a veil (Q 6:25; 17:46; 18:57; 41:5). Their hearts have been made hard or have rusted (Q 39:22; 83:14, and cf. 47:24). The unbelievers are compared with people who are deaf, dumb and blind (Q 2:18, 171; 6:39; 8:22) and God put fetters on their necks (Q 36:8). Whether this should be seen as the cause or as the result of unbelief is a disputed question among commentators, their answers depending upon their theological orientations. See also FREEDOM AND PREDESTINATION.

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Believers and Unbelievers

see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF

Bekka

see MECCA

Benjamin

The brother of Joseph (Yūsuf, see JOSEPH). Identified in the Bible as the son of Jacob (q.v.) and Rachel, Benjamin (Binyamīn) is not mentioned by name in Q 12, the sūra which tells the story of Joseph. Of the eighteen dramatis personae of this sūra, only Joseph is named directly. Nevertheless the identity of Benjamin is clear and his presence in the story exemplifies the effec-

tiveness of the referential character of qurʾānic rhetoric.

Benjamin is referred to on the following occasions: When the brothers complain "Joseph and his brother [i.e. Benjamin] are dearer to our father than are we" (Q 12:8); when they plot to rid themselves of him; when Joseph, while giving his brothers corn after having been established in Egypt, orders them, "Bring me another brother of yours by your father" (Q 12:59); when they say to Jacob on their return to Canaan, "Father, we are not to be given any more corn! So send our brother with us" (Q 12:63); when Jacob responds to them, "Shall I entrust him to you other than as I entrusted to you his brother long ago?" (Q 12:64); and in Jacob's reluctant words of consent, "I will not send him with you unless you make a pledge before God that you will bring him back to me" (Q 12:66).

Additionally, back in Egypt there are qurʾānic references, when Joseph takes Benjamin aside and says to him, "Truly, I am your brother" (Q 12:69); when Joseph has his cup (see CUPS AND VESSELS) put in the saddle bag of his brother (Q 12:70) from which it is taken (Q 12:76); when the brothers make an excuse for him, saying, "If he has stolen something, he has a brother who also stole" (Q 12:77); when the brothers plead to Joseph to take one of them in Benjamin's place, since he "has an aged father" (Q 12:78); prompting Joseph's response, "God forbid that we should take other than the one on whom we found our property" (Q 12:79). Further, when they return to Canaan to tell their father, "Father, your son has stolen" (Q 12:81); and Jacob exclaims, "Perhaps God will bring them all back to me" (Q 12:83); and orders them, "Go, search for Joseph and his brother" (Q 12:87). Finally, after their return to Egypt and to Joseph's presence, he asks them, "Do you know what you did to Joseph and his brother?" (Q 12:89); and after their hesitant reply he declares, "I am Joseph, and this is my brother" (Q 12:90).

Every reference to Benjamin has a role in the development of the narrative (see NARRATIVES): not, paradoxically, because of anything he says or does, but simply through his rel ationship to Joseph. It is jealousy of Benjamin as well as of Joseph that precipitates the events of the story (Q 12:8). It is through Benjamin that Joseph first exercises power over his brethren (Q 12:59). It is through Benjamin that Jacob puts his other sons to the test, to discover whether they will be faithful to their pledge. The discovery of the cup in Benjamin's saddle bag in Q 12:76 plays a pivotal role. The brothers' response to his arrest shows that they are faithful to their pledge (Q 12:78, 80). Benjamin is the agent of their change of heart. Jacob's order to his sons to search for Joseph and his brother (Q 12:87) leads to the narrative's denouement when Joseph reveals his identity to them (Q 12:90). The tensions that generated the story at a literary level are thereby resolved and the moral lessons of the sūra thereby confirmed.

The close fraternal relationship between Benjamin and Joseph is a leitmotiv in the qurʾānic story (see BROTHER AND BROTHERHOOD). The brothers are envious of Joseph and his *brother;* Jacob asks the brothers whether he can trust Benjamin with them any more than he trusted them with Benjamin's *brother* Joseph (Q 12:64); when revealing himself to Benjamin, Joseph says to him, "I am your *brother*" (Q 12:69); Joseph's cup is placed and found "in his *brother's* saddle bag" (Q 12:70, 76); the brothers' excuse for Benjamin's supposed theft is that he also had a *brother* who stole; Jacob sends the sons back to Egypt to seek Joseph and his *brother;* upon their return, Joseph puts to them the question, "Do you know what

you did to Joseph and his *brother?*" and in revealing himself, says, "I am Joseph and this is my *brother*."

The Muslim exegetical tradition elaborates these elements in the story. Qurʾānic commentators had no problem in identifying Benjamin and in noting that his mother Rachel died giving birth to him. Both commentary literature on the Qurʾān as well as the Muslim literary genre known as the "tales of the prophets" *(qiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ)* elaborated the elements of the core qurʾānic narrative that emphasized the positive role of Benjamin and that showed the love between the two brothers. The later Islamic mystical tradition, inspired by their closeness, saw in Joseph's love for Benjamin a metaphor for God's primordial love of the sinner (see ṢŪFISM AND THE QURʾĀN). See also SCRIPTURE AND THE QURʾĀN.

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Bequest see INHERITANCE

Berries see AGRICULTURE AND VEGETATION

Betrothal see MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE

Bible

While there is no qurʾānic equivalent of the term, the Qurʾān refers to certain elements of this scriptural composite. The most prominent of these are: Torah *(tawrāt),* Gospel *(injīl),* Psalms *(zabūr)* and more ambiguously scrolls or leaves *(ṣuḥuf)*. See TORAH; GOSPEL; PSALMS; SCRIPTURE AND THE QURʾĀN.

Jane Dammen McAuliffe

Bilqīs

The name most frequently given by Islamic commentators to the anonymous queen of the land of Sheba (q.v.). Bilqīs is the powerful and intelligent ruler whose celebrated visit to the court of the prophet Solomon (q.v.; see also ART AND ARCHITECTURE AND THE QURʾĀN) is mentioned in Q 27:20-44. The etymology of the name is unknown. The view that "Bilqīs" is derived from the Hebrew *pilegesh* (concubine) or from *Naukalis,* the Greek name given her by Flavius Josephus, is not at all convincing (see E. Ullendorff, Bilḳīs). Muslim religious scholars also refer to the queen as Balʿama (cf. Thaʿlabī, *Qiṣaṣ,* 312 and other sources with variant readings), i.e. the female Balaam. The Balʿama-tradition features an extended genealogy, with minor variations, that projects the queen's ancestors back to Qaḥṭān, the progenitor of the southern Arabs (Thaʿlabī, *Qiṣaṣ,* 313 among others).

The queen's story in the Qurʾān (J. Lassner, *Demonizing the queen,* 36-48), while lacking a coherent narrative, has a clear message. The Sheban ruler, a woman who

worships other than God (see IDOLATRY AND IDOLATERS; BELIEF AND UNBELIEF), must be brought to submission by the prophet Solomon once he is made aware of her unbelief by the hoopoe, a bird from his flying corps who discovered the queen and her kingdom in the Yemen (see ANIMAL LIFE). The prophet sends a threatening letter to the queen commanding her to submit. She attempts to deflect Solomon with various gifts, all of which are scornfully rejected. The queen, alarmed by Solomon's reaction to her initiative, journeys to visit him at his court, where she is twice tested. She passes the first test, but when she enters the prophet's pavilion, she thinks it to be a pool of water and so lifting her skirt, she uncovers her ankles. This forces her to acknowledge — although no reason is given — that she has wronged herself and she submits through Solomon to the lord of the universe.

The subsequent commentary and exegesis on the qurʾānic verses (J. Lassner, *Demonizing the queen,* 47-86) fill the interstices of the loosely formulated qurʾānic text. By providing a lengthy and sustained narrative, later Muslim writers also added an additional dimension to the account of the queen's visit. From their perspective, the queen must be brought in line, not only because she does not recognize God, but because she violates the nature of the universe, which is God's design. That is to say, the queen, who is half jinn (q.v.) and hence an unnatural creature, has no plans to fulfill the time-honored functions of women, namely, child bearing and nurturing (see WOMEN AND THE QURʾĀN). Instead she arrogates to herself the prerogatives of rule in a most defiant manner. She marries to unite a divided kingdom only to slay her husband on their wedding night (Thaʿlabī, *Qiṣaṣ,* 312-3; al-Dīnawarī, *Akhbār,* 22-5; Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh,* ii, 222; Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh,* i, 684; Masʿūdī, *Murūj,* iii, 173; and others). Faced with Solomon's call for her submission and the rejection of her initial diplomatic efforts to bribe him, she travels to Solomon's court to test him. Should he fail the tests, she will retain her kingdom and with that the natural order so carefully designed by God will be undone (J. Lassner, *Demonizing the queen,* 57-61). But Solomon with some help from the angel Gabriel (q.v.) overcomes her carefully crafted ploys and in the end the queen, unable to distinguish between a pool of water — God's design for nature — and an artificially created pool made from glass — representing her unnatural desire to rule — capitulates. These themes also appear in the Jewish lore of Solomon and the Queen of Sheba, a body of tradition that is seemingly linked, however loosely, with the Muslim scripture and its commentary (J. Lassner, *Demonizing the queen,* 88-132). See also MYTHIC AND LEGENDARY NARRATIVES AND THE QURʾĀN.

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Biology as the Creation and Stages of Life

The Qurʾān depicts the creation of the universe and everything within it as a

miracle (q.v.) of God and as proof of the existence of divine power (see POWER AND IMPOTENCE). According to the Qurʾān, human life began with the creation of Adam and Eve (q.v.). The qurʾānic account of the creation (q.v.) narrative affirms that everything has been created in pairs for reproduction and perpetuation of its own species. Modern Muslim commentators, particularly those who are devoted to "scientific" exegesis (*tafsīr ʿilmī,* see EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN), have decided that since the Qurʾān makes no mention of the evolution of one species to another kind of species, the Darwinian theory of evolution is contrary to the teachings of the Qurʾān. Such contemporary Muslim exegesis also makes the claim that the qurʾānic description from over 1400 years ago, of the conception of the fetus and of its subsequent development and growth, contains details of which scientific observation has become aware only in relatively recent times. A consistent pattern of interpretation, both medieval and modern, is to read the references to conception, birth and human development as evidence of God's creative majesty and care for humankind. The early life stages and aspects of human biology mentioned in the Qurʾān include conception, fetal development and growth, childbirth, lactation and weaning. There is also abundant reference to the various aspects of adult life as well as to death and to life after death (see DEATH AND THE DEAD). There is no sequential treatment in the Qurʾān of the biology of human life and of the human life span. Rather, these are treated in many different sūras and verses but relevant verses have here been grouped for the purpose of thematic analysis. See also LIFE.

Creation

The creation of humans from dust *(turāb)* is mentioned six times in the Qurʾān, from clay *(ṭīn)* in eight places and from dry clay *(ṣalṣāl)* in four places (see CLAY). Qurʾānic commentators are of the opinion that *turāb, ṭīn* and *ṣalṣāl* complement rather than contradict each other, as they refer to the various stages through which Adam was formed (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr;* Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr,* ii, 457). According to this interpretation, God created Adam from clay, which is a mixture of water and soil or dust and this was then turned into dark fetid mud and brought into shape. This inorganic matter was then transformed into organic material through the divine command of "Be!" *(kun)* after the soul *(rūḥ)* had been "breathed" into Adam (see SPIRIT; AIR AND WIND). Not only was Adam created from dust but the Qurʾān speaks of all men as being created in a similar fashion, thus signifying that the bodies of the progeny of Adam are composed of various organic and inorganic substances such as those found within the soil (M. Asad, *Message,* 520). An apt verse that summarizes the process of human creation is: "From the [earth] did we create you, and into it shall we return you, and from it shall we bring you out once again" (Q 20:55).

Stages and materials of human creation are mentioned in numerous qurʾānic sūras: Q 6 ("Cattle," Sūrat al-Anʿām), Q 22 ("The Pilgrimage," Sūrat al-Ḥajj), Q 23 ("The Believers," Sūrat al-Muʾminūn), Q 40 ("The Believer," Sūrat al-Muʾmin), Q 30 ("The Romans," Sūrat al-Rūm), Q 32 ("The Prostration," Sūrat al-Sajda), Q 55 ("The Beneficent," Sūrat al-Raḥmān), Q 77 ("The Emissaries," Sūrat al-Mursalāt), and Q 86 ("The Morning Star," Sūrat al-Ṭāriq). The qurʾānic vocabulary in each relevant passage, however, varies in both its mention and its ordering. For example, the stages of dust *(turāb),* sperm *(nutfa),* a material that clings (*ʿalaqa,* see BLOOD AND BLOOD CLOT; ANATOMY) and a lump of flesh *(muḍgha)* are mentioned in Q 22:5, while in

Q 23:12 clay *(ṭīn)* is mentioned instead of dust *(turāb)*. In Q 55:14 only the dry clay *(ṣalṣāl)* is mentioned while the materials and stages of dust *(turāb)*, clay *(ṭīn)*, sperm *(nuṭfa)*, blood clot *(ʿalaqa)* and chewed lump *(muḍgha)* are omitted. As with Q 6:2, which refers to clay *(ṭīn)*, Q 30:20 refers to dust *(turāb)* and to the fully formed human stage but none of the other materials or stages is mentioned.

Conception and fetal development

In Qurʾān 23:12-4 reference is made to fetal development and growth. There is again reaffirmation, at the beginning of this passage, of human origin from clay. Explanations of these verses express the view that "sperm" and "firm lodging" refer to sperm within the female reproductive tract, more specifically within the uterus. Prior to fertilization, sperm bind to the zona pellucida or outer covering of the ovum. Following such lines of interpretation, *ʿalaqa* could be a reference to this, i.e. to sperm "clinging" to the ovum. However, *ʿalaqa* is also interpreted by some exegetes as "blood clot" and taken to refer to "something that clings" to the uterus (M. Būṭī, *Taḥdīd al-nasl*, 69). For those modern commentators who then extrapolate this interpretation scientifically, the "blood clot" could be taken to represent the fertilized ovum or early embryo implanting itself in the endometrium or uterine lining. The "chewed lump" could then be reference to the cleaved embryo and organogenesis, the "fashioning of bones and flesh." Some exegetes and jurists *(fuqahāʾ)* are of the opinion that "another act of creation" signifies the fetus being imbued with a soul (q.v.; cf. M. Madkūr, *Janīn*, 84).

A second passage, Q 22:5, follows in much the same vein as the first except that early fetal development is further explained and specified with the phrase "formed and unformed" *(mukhallaqa wa-ghayr mukhallaqa)*. Furthermore, the statement that "We cause whom we will to rest in the wombs for an appointed term," is understood as a recognition that not all fertilized ova (or embryos) complete the full fetal cycle. Some are aborted and this citation exemplifies God's prerogative and power over birth, life and death (see ABORTION; BIRTH CONTROL).

A third passage, Q 32:7-9, makes clear reference to the creation of Adam from clay and to the conception of his progeny by natural reproductive process, i.e. "an extract of despised fluid." The paradox in this latter phrase is noteworthy in that a pure form, the human being, is created from impure fluid (ʿA.Y. ʿAlī, *The holy Qurʾān*, 1094). According to Islamic law, semen is a polluting substance, one of the bodily emissions that necessitates a major ablution before the ritual prayer (q.v.; see also RITUAL PURITY; PURITY AND IMPURITY). The comment by ʿAbdullāh Yūsuf ʿAlī, a well-known translator of the Qurʾān, connects this situation of legal impurity with its consequence in the act of conception. Finally, Q 39:6 points out that fetal development within the womb proceeds in three veils of darkness *(ẓulumāt thalāth)*. The three veils of darkness are, according to qurʾānic exegetes, the abdominal wall, the uterine wall and the embryonic sacs which surround the fetus (Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr*, iv, 46; Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, x, part 23:125-7; see also BLOOD AND BLOOD CLOT).

Birth

According to Q 80:20, God lets the birth (q.v.) of the baby take place through the birth canal. Embryological science explains this by the sequence of events which occur just before birth and that enable the baby to be born through the birth canal: The ovaries and placenta secrete a hormone which loosens the ligaments of the pelvic joints and softens the cervix. This is

followed by uterine contractions, the rupture of the bag of water, which helps in providing a smooth and slippery surface for the fetus to glide down, and, finally, birth. Q 46:15 also makes reference to this process, including the pangs of pregnancy, the actual birth and the subsequent period of lactation and weaning. Commentaries on this verse explain that since the minimum period of pregnancy is six months and the maximum period for breast-feeding is two years, the qurʾānic reference to a thirty month "carrying period" is an allusion to this entire process (Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr,* iv, 157; Ālūsī, *Rūḥ,* ad loc.).

Growth and maturation

The full cycle of human creation and development is described thus in the Qurʾān: "It is God who created you in [a state of] weakness, then gave [you] strength after weakness, then after strength, gave [you] weakness and a hoary head. He creates as he wills, and it is he who has all knowledge and power" (Q 30:54). Qurʾānic commentary on this verse sees both a succinct expression of the human life cycle and an affirmation of divine power over all things. A baby is born weak and slowly begins to grow, becomes a youth and then an adult — this is what is meant by strength after weakness. Thereafter the human reaches middle-age, then old age and finally senility — this is what is meant by weakness after strength. In other words, during old age, one's determination, movement, courage and other faculties are weakened (Ṣābūnī, *Tafsīr,* ii, 531). Moreover, the Qurʾān mentions that it is within God's prerogative to allow some of his creation to undergo the entire cycle from birth to old age and to end the lives of others before old age is attained (ibid., i, 567). For example, according to Q 6:2, the duration of one's existence on this earth is decreed by God alone.

Death

According to the Qurʾān life does not end with death. Death is not the total annihilation of human life. The Qurʾān uses the word *barzakh* (q.v.; Q 23:100) to signify the state that human beings enter into upon death. *Barzakh* is a screen or partition which separates this world from the next until the day of resurrection (q.v.; cf. Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* ad Q 23:100). In affirming human resurrection, the Qurʾān asserts that all human beings will be brought back to life to stand in judgment before their Creator (see LAST JUDGMENT). The Qurʾān contains innumerable passages confirming the day of resurrection and the belief that humankind will be raised from the dead, e.g. Q 22:7. Further, at the time of resurrection, an individual's deeds will be assessed and judgment will be rendered about whether entrance will be to paradise (q.v.) or hell (q.v.) as a permanent abode. This would then be the final stage of life, i.e. life after death (Q 4:121-2 and 168-9).

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Biosphere see ANIMAL LIFE

Birds see ANIMAL LIFE

Birth

The act of bringing forth new life from the womb of a mother. The Qurʾān details the process leading to birth in the conception of the fetus (see BIOLOGY AS THE CREATION AND STAGES OF LIFE). It emphasizes the sacrosanct nature of life (q.v.), God's knowledge of and willing of all new life, and it acknowledges the honorable role of mothers (see WOMEN AND THE QURʾĀN).

The topic of birth receives less specific attention in the Qurʾān than that of creation (*khalq,* see CREATION), a more inclusive term with a wider set of meanings. Life, granted by God (Q 29:27), is sacred (Q 17:31). When God wills the birth of a child, no human physical barriers can prevent the birth (Q 3:39; 19:3-8; see ABORTION; BIRTH CONTROL). God knows each person before birth when each is hidden in his mother's womb (Q 53:32). God created the first man, Adam and the first woman, Eve, and their progeny is countless (Q 4:1; see ADAM AND EVE). Humankind is enjoined to respect God's creative power: "Men have fear of your Lord, who created you from a single soul (q.v.). From that soul he created its mate and through them he disseminated a multitude of men and women" (Q 4:1). The process leading to an individual's birth, more specifically, the creation of the fetus and its being imbued with a soul, takes place in stages. Q 23:12-14 is one of several passages that explains this process: "We first created man from an essence of clay (q.v.): then placed him, a living germ (sperm), in a safe enclosure. The germ we made a clot of blood (see BLOOD AND BLOOD CLOT), and the clot a lump of flesh. This we fashioned into bones, then clothed the bones with flesh, thus bringing forth another creation. Blessed be God, the noblest of creators!" Qurʾānic references to the stages of conception, fetal development and birth imply that God creates individuals as male or female. As ʿImrān's (q.v.) wife delivers Mary (q.v.), she exclaims, "Lord, I have given birth to a daughter." The passage continues by relating that God knew the gender of the child: "God knew well of what she was delivered: The male is not like the female" (Q 3:36).

The role of mothers — women who conceive, give birth and sustain infants through the period of lactation — is noted with respect. Muslims are commanded to "honor the mothers that bore you" (Q 4:1) and to show kindness to parents for "with much pain his mother bears him and he is not weaned before he is two years of age" (Q 31:14; see FAMILY).

The births of Adam and Jesus (q.v.) are treated in more detail in the Qurʾān as each birth miraculously differed from those of other mortals. Adam, the first man, was created from clay (Q 23:12) or dust (Q 3:59). Then God said to him "Be!" and he was (Q 3:59). In the same verse, the creation of Jesus is likened to that of Adam, supporting the point that Jesus was a man like Adam. Among those who are venerated as prophets (see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD) in the Muslim tradition, Jesus holds special status through the sign (see SIGNS) of his miraculous birth. Mary, his mother, was given special protection from the time of her birth (Q 3:35-6, 42). An angel (q.v.) tells her to rejoice in a Word from God, the Messiah, Jesus the son of Mary (Q 3:45; 19:17-22). Mary replies, "How can I bear a child… when I am a virgin, untouched by man?" (Q 19:20; 3:47). "Such is the will of your Lord, he replied. That is no difficult thing for him. He shall be a sign to mankind, says the Lord, and a blessing from ourself" (Q 19:21).

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Birth Control

Avoiding pregnancy to space or to limit childbirth. The subject of birth control in this sense is not discussed in the Qurʾān. Rather, the major sources that both medieval and modern Muslim jurisprudence has used to assess practices of controlling birth are those of the prophetic tradition (sunna, q.v.) and its expression in ḥadīth, specifically those accounts that speak of coitus interruptus or withdrawal *(ʿazl)*. Yet verses of the Qurʾān have been used to support the practice of contraception and to argue the contrary despite the fact that no qurʾānic references bear directly on the permissibility or impermissibility of birth control.

According to classical Muslim sources that describe the historical period prior to the birth and prophethood of Muḥammad (see AGE OF IGNORANCE; PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QURʾĀN), pre-Islamic Arabs employed infanticide (q.v.) or infant exposure *(waʾd)* as a means of ridding themselves of unwanted female children. As such, it could be understood as a method of birth control. The Qurʾān condemns this practice of female infanticide in strong terms: "Do not kill your children for fear of want. We provide for you and for them; the killing of them is a great sin" (Q 17:31; also 6:151; 81:8-9; 60:12). Later sources, however, seem to indicate that less extreme forms of population control were known in the formative period of Islam.

Numerous ḥadīth speak of the use of *ʿazl* during the Prophet's lifetime and note that it was considered permissible. "We [the Companions of the Prophet, q.v.] used to practice *ʿazl* during the time of the Prophet. The Prophet knew about it and did not forbid it" (Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* from Jābir b. ʿAbdallāh). Reasons mentioned in the ḥadīth texts for employing contraception center primarily on property rights, that is, not wanting to impregnate a slave or female prisoners captured in war. A prophetic tradition that is commonly credited to Abū Hurayra (d. ca. 58/678) has become the most frequently cited justification for the majority of classical jurisprudence *(fiqh)* texts and the contemporary opinions of *ʿulamāʾ* on the use of birth control pills, IUDs and other temporary forms of family planning. According to one version of this ḥadīth, the Prophet said, "Do not use *ʿazl* with your wife without her permission." Consequently, the prevailing opinion of Muslim authorities has been to permit contraception when used with the consent of both spouses.

Breast-feeding children can also provide a measure of contraceptive protection. Some authorities, therefore, consider the Qurʾān's recommendation to nurse children for two years to be an indirect support for contraception (Q 2:233; 31:14; see also BIRTH; BIOLOGY AS THE CREATION AND STAGES OF LIFE).

Within the Islamic tradition, however, the acceptance of methods to avoid pregnancy has not been universal. Arguments which have been constructed against birth control emphasize qurʾānic texts that affirm the

importance of marriage (see MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE) and progeny (see CHILDREN). Frequent reference is made to Q 16:72: "And God has given you wives from yourselves and has given you, from your wives, children and grandchildren and has made provision of good things for you" (cf. Q 2:223; 4:1; 6:140; 7:86; 11:61; 13:38; 25:74; see BLESSING). Opponents of birth control also argue that contraception denies the will and power of God (Q 7:18; 81:29). The ḥadīth collections, too, provide support for this position of prohibition. According to a report from Anas b. Mālik (d. ca. 91-3/709-11), the Prophet said, "Even if you spill the seed from which a child was meant to be born upon a rock, God will bring forth from that rock a child." The use of birth control for economic reasons has been criticized as a denial of God's promise to sustain man and man's duty to rely upon God (Q 3:159; 11:6; 65:2-3). See also ABORTION.

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Blasphemy

Speech that is derogatory to God. The qurʾānic terms that correspond most closely to blasphemy are *takdhīb,* "giving the lie, denial" and *iftirāʾ,* "invention" (cf. Izutsu, *Concepts,* 40, 99-101, 169-70). Inasmuch as God and his messages represent the ultimate truth (q.v.), blasphemy is denial of that truth or propagation of a falsehood in its place.

Blasphemy by denial *(takdhīb)* is the outright rejection of revealed religious truths, such as the revelations and warnings of God's messengers (Q 54; see MESSENGER; REVELATION AND INSPIRATION; WARNING), and the announcements of the day of judgment and the meeting with God (Q 6:31; 10:45; 23:33; 25:11; 82:9; see LAST JUDGMENT). It can also include the refusal to recognize and acknowledge God's signs (q.v.), particularly the wonders of the natural world which serve as evidence of his omnipotence and unity (Q 6:21; 17:59; 55; see POWER AND IMPOTENCE; CREATION). According to passages such as Q 5:10, the refusal to recognize God's signs is associated with unbelief (*kufr,* see GRATITUDE AND INGRATITUDE; BELIEF AND UNBELIEF) and guarantees doom in the afterlife: "Those who reject faith and deny our signs will be the denizens of hell-fire."

Blasphemy by invention *(iftirāʾ)* is the declaration of a false belief of one's own contrivance. It most often occurs in the verbal idiom "to invent a lie against God" (*iftarā ʿalā llāhi kadhiban,* Q 11:18). Similar expressions that convey this signification are "to lie against God" (*kadhaba ʿalā llāh,* Q 39:32) and "to say a lie against God" (*qāla ʿalā llāhi al-kadhib,* Q 3:75, 78). This form of blasphemy calls down God's curse (q.v.; Q 11:18) and is equated with great sin or wrongdoing (see SIN, MAJOR AND MINOR), as apparent from the oft-repeated rhetorical question, "Who does greater wrong than he who invents a lie against God?" (e.g. Q 6:21). The gravest offense of this type is polytheism (*shirk,* see POLYTHEISM AND ATHEISM): the attribution of partners to God or the worship of other gods independent of, or as intercessors with, God

(Q 6:24, 137; 7:89; 10:18, 30; 16:56, 87; 18:15; 21:22; 28:75; 29:61-8). A prominent example of such an affront to God is the Hebrews' worship of the calf of gold (q.v.) under Moses (q.v.; Q 2:51-4; 7:152; see also IDOLS AND IMAGES; IDOLATRY AND IDOLATERS). The Qurʾān strongly denounces the claims that God engendered a son (Q 10:68-9; 19:88-92; see CHRISTIANS AND CHRISTIANITY; JESUS), that God produced son or daughter gods (Q 6:100; 16:57; 53:19-22) and that demons (*jinn,* q.v.) share in God's divine power (Q 6:100; 37:158). Blasphemy need not refer directly to God but may simply infringe on a divine prerogative. Thus, it is held to include false claims to prophecy or revelation (Q 6:93; 23:38; see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD) and declaring things lawful or unlawful of one's own accord (see LAWFUL AND UNLAWFUL; JEWS AND JUDAISM). This latter is a charge made against Jewish dietary laws and the taboos of the pagan Arabs concerning cattle or crops dedicated to various gods (Q 5:103; 6:136-45; 10:59; 16:116; see CONSECRATION OF ANIMALS).

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Blessing

Prosperity or favor *(niʿma, baraka)* bestowed *(anʿama, bāraka)* by God; a wish, invocation or greeting asking for such a favor to be granted to someone else; or an expression of praise (q.v.) for God.

Blessings in the Qurʾān, as in the Hebrew Bible, partake in an ongoing, reciprocal covenant (q.v.) between humans and God (Q 5:7). God bestows blessings on humankind, including the creation and ordering of life and the universe, sustenance, progeny, material wealth (q.v.), protection (q.v.), deliverance from enemies, and so on (R. Darnell, 50-4; Q 16:66-83; 55; see CREATION; BIOLOGY AS THE CREATION AND STAGES OF LIFE).

According to the Qurʾān, expression of gratitude for God's blessings is a fundamental obligation and failure to do so is tantamount to unbelief (Q 14:28; 16:114; see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF; GRATITUDE AND INGRATITUDE). God has particularly blessed earlier cities or nations (Q 34:18), the Israelites (Q 2:40, 47, 122; see CHILDREN OF ISRAEL), his prophets or messengers including Moses (q.v.), Lot (q.v.), and Jesus (q.v.; Q 5:20, 110; 19:31, 58) as well as other biblical figures such as Solomon (q.v.) and Mary (q.v.; Q 5:110; 27:19; see also PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD; MESSENGER). Abraham (q.v.), Moses, and Solomon fulfilled their obligations to God by giving thanks for his blessings (Q 16:121; 27:19; 28:17). The Israelites are often reminded of the special favor God has bestowed upon them in the past, implying a duty to express gratitude in the present (Q 2:211; 14:28). God will only alter his blessings in response to some change in the recipients' behavior (Q 8:53). Forgetting God's blessings, expressing dissatisfaction or "exchanging God's blessings for thanklessness" leads to severe punishment (Q 2:211; 14:28; see PUNISHMENT STORIES; CHASTISEMENT AND PUNISHMENT). Gratitude for God's favor leads to renewed blessings, as when Lot (q.v.) was rescued from the destruction which befell his people (Q 54:35).

Blessings take place at critical junctures in religious history. Abraham blessed Mecca and its inhabitants when he was about to build God's temple, the Kaʿba (q.v.; Q 2:126), and Noah (q.v.) blessed the ark (q.v.) upon embarkation (Q 11:41). Blessings

also reflect bonds with the historical religious community. It is a duty to bless one's parents, praying for God's mercy on their behalf (Q 17:24) and to bless the earlier prophets (Q 37:78-9, 108-9, 119-20, 129-130).

Thanking God involves expressions of praise which are also blessings. The most frequently occurring are "Praise be to God!" (*al-ḥamdu lillāh,* Q 1:1); "Glory be to God!" (*subḥāna llāh,* Q 12:108), "Blessed" (or hallowed, *tabāraka,* Q 25:1, 10, 61), [be God]!"; and "Exalted be God!" (*taʿālā llāh,* Q 7:190). The inhabitants of heaven will pray, "Glory be to you, oh God!" *(subḥānaka llāhumma)* and conclude their prayers with "Praise be to God, Lord of the worlds" (*al-ḥamdu lillāhi rabbi l-ʿālamīn,* Q 10:10).

An important sub-category of qurʾānic blessings are greetings, the most common of which is "Peace!" *(salām):* thus will the inhabitants of heaven greet each other (Q 10:10; 14:23; 33:44). Abraham exchanges this greeting with his guests, the angels (Q 11:69; see ANGEL), and the Prophet greets believers with "Peace be upon you!" (*salām ʿalaykum,* Q 6:54). Other blessings in the context of greeting are "May God's mercy and His blessings be upon you!" (*raḥmatu llāhi wa-barakātuhu ʿalaykum,* Q 11:73), and "May you be well!" (*ṭibtum,* Q 39:73).

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Blood and Blood Clot

The fluid which circulates in the arteries and veins (see ARTERY AND VEIN) of animals and a coagulated mass of such fluid. In the Qurʾān, the terms blood and blood clot do not refer primarily to concrete, physical, internal aspects of the body as they do in contemporary western cultures. Indeed, the two terms function quite differently than one might expect.

Except for one verse (Q 16:66), blood *(dam,* pl. *dimāʾ)* is always laden with a significance beyond its identity as the essential ingredient of living creatures. Thus, blood is a metaphor for illicit killing (Q 2:30, 84; see BLOOD MONEY; MURDER), is forbidden to humans for ingesting (Q 2:173; 5:3; 6:145; 16:115), is the sign of a plague from God (Q 7:133) and is an indication of false evidence (Q 12:18). The first of these metaphors bears the message of God's designation of humans as vicegerents (sing. *khalīfa,* see CALIPH) on earth, the second affirms the rule of law (see LAWFUL AND UNLAWFUL; LAW AND THE QURʾĀN) over such domestic matters as dietary fare, the third reflects the Qurʾān's affirmation of ancient historical details about God's relationship with earlier prophets (see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD), and the fourth similarly asserts God's guidance even against the wiles of evil people (see OBEDIENCE). In the main, then, these meanings reflect themes analagous to those in the Hebrew and Christian scriptures (see SCRIPTURE AND THE QURʾĀN). Noticeably different, however, is the lack of reference to blood for sacrificial purposes, a theme that dominates the earlier sacred writings, both the Hebrew Bible and the Christian New Testament. For example, the concept of sacrifice (q.v.) is central to biblical explanations of the death of Jesus (q.v.), such as that in Paul's *Letter to the Romans* (*Rom* 5:9). The

lack of this elaborate superstructure of blood sacrifice in the Qurʾān has been viewed by some historians as a distinctive shift from the Semitic and Near Eastern religious past.

Also unique are references to blood clot (*ʿalaq*, pl. *ʿalaqāt*, see BIOLOGY AS THE CREATION AND STAGES OF LIFE; BIRTH) which, besides being the title of a sūra (Q 96, traditionally held to be the first sūra revealed to the Prophet) is found within a series of verses reflecting upon the omnipotence of God and the evidence of his creative powers in the world. Blood clot references encompass three distinctive nuances, all of them associated with what we might term biological processes: a stage in human embryonic development (Q 22:5); a gum-like character in clay (q.v.) which produces adhesion (Q 23:12-4); and an ingredient out of which God shapes humans (Q 96:2). Commentators have universally acknowledged the leech-like qualities implied by the mention of blood clot in these verses and have seen them connoting various religious meanings. These include the loftiness of God's creation of humans, given the lowly and worthless character of their beginnings and the social character of human life as metaphorically expressed in adhesion during the first stages of existence (see SOCIAL RELATIONS; SOCIAL INTERACTIONS). Such adhesion then becomes the grounds for the kindness and affection generated in human society. Finally, it is understood as emblematic of the male seed "attaching" itself to the female egg, implying human procreation. By fixing these meanings within a larger process, the Qurʾān has been understood to reflect an awareness of human biology and to present a somewhat sophisticated model of human generation. Some modern interpreters combine these verses with Q 39:6, seeing in the reference to the "three veils of darkness" a reflection of the three anatomical layers that protect the fetus — the abdominal wall, the uterus and the matter surrounding the child, i.e. placenta, embryonic membranes, amniotic fluid. Traditionally, such biological specificity was held to indicate the superiority of the Qurʾān to earlier scriptures but in recent years some forms of qurʾānic exegesis (see EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: EARLY MODERN AND CONTEMPORARY) have found in such passages an affirmation that modern science validates the Qurʾān. The intent of these interpretations is to highlight the Qurʾān's superior knowledge of the creative process and to indicate not only its ascendancy over any other scriptures but also its superior insights into scientific understanding. Hence a contemporary commentary by Iranian scholars on the verses that refer to the blood clot notes, "It is true that at the time of the appearance of Islam these problems were not known to Man, but the Holy Qurʾān, as a scientific miracle, unveiled the true meaning" (A. Sadr al-Ameli (trans.), *Enlightening commentary*, 125). Interpretations of this sort are characteristic of a form of modern qurʾānic commentary known as "scientific" exegesis *(tafsīr ʿilmī)*. See SCIENCE AND THE QURʾĀN.

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Blood Kinship

see KINSHIP; FAMILY

Blood Money

Money obtained in compensation for life. The qurʾānic term commonly translated as "blood money" is *diya*. It is practically a *hapax legomenon,* occurring only in the phrase "blood money is to be paid to his kin" *(diyatun musallamatun ilā ahlihi),* which occurs twice in a single piece of legislation in Q 4:92. The verse lays down the law of accidental homicide for which the perpetrator must emancipate a slave or fast for two months (see ATONEMENT) and deliver a *diya* to the victim's family if the victim was a believer or protected by treaty (see CONTRACTS AND ALLIANCES). Both the term and the institution may well be of pre-Islamic Arabian origin (see PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QURʾĀN). The verbal expression *wdy nfs (fulān),* apparently in the sense of "he paid the *diya* for the life of (so and so)," occurs in two Liḥyānic inscriptions from the valley of al-ʿUlā in northwest Arabia. Under Jewish law even accidental homicide renders the perpetrator liable to retaliation, unless he can escape to a city of refuge, and payment of a ransom *(kōfer)* is specifically prohibited (*Num* 35:26-7, 32; *Deut* 19:4-6). On the other hand, Q 4:92-3 make clear that only accidental homicide must be compounded with a *diya*. Q 4:93 condemns the murderer with intent and unlawful killing is formally prohibited in Q 6:151, 17:33 and 25:68 (see BLOODSHED; MURDER). Q 5:45 reaffirms the principle of "a life for a life" and Q 17:33 endorses the right of the murdered victim's kin or protector to take vengeance (see JUSTICE AND INJUSTICE). All this sits uneasily with Q 2:178, which endorses retaliation in kind (*qiṣāṣ,* see RETALIATION) in respect of those killed, "a free man for a free man, a slave for a slave, a female for a female." Unlike Q 4:92-3, this verse makes no distinction between deliberate and accidental killing and — despite the best efforts of the exegetes — suggests that the person liable to retaliation is not necessarily the killer but any appropriate person of the same status as his victim. It encourages the compounding of the offense but without either the systematic distinction or the technical term *diya* of Q 4:92-3. The use of *adāʾ* (payment, delivery) in Q 2:178 is suggestive of the *diya* of Q 4:92, though neither exegetes nor lexicographers make any explicit connection between the two terms.

Classical Islamic jurisprudence (*fiqh,* see LAW AND THE QURʾĀN) has harmonized these somewhat disparate elements. It sets its face firmly against retaliation on the innocent and insists in principle that "a life for a life" means the life of the murderer for the life of the victim. It does, however, make exceptions. For example, when the victim is a slave and the perpetrator a free Muslim there can be no retaliation (see SLAVES AND SLAVERY). It also extends the legality of compounding the offense of homicide to that of murder with intent, for which a *diya* may be paid instead of lawful retaliation if the victim's next of kin or protector agrees (see KINSHIP; PROTECTION). The amount of the *diya* for a free male Muslim is set at 100 camels, perhaps a gesture to Arabian origins rather than an original statute that has survived the test of time. In settled lands, the *diya* is payable in cash.

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Bloodshed

Killing or injuring human life (q.v.). The Qurʾān bans bloodshed *(safk al-dimāʾ),* but it is specifically mentioned in the Qurʾān only twice (Q 2:30, 84). Nevertheless, there are numerous less-specific references to this concept, just as there are in its biblical antecedents (see the numerous and thematically diverse biblical references cited in A. Khoury, *Der Koran,* i, 223). Furthermore, the qurʾānic accounts of human creation use blood as a metaphor for life (see BLOOD AND BLOOD CLOT; BIOLOGY AS THE CREATION AND STAGES OF LIFE). God is said to have created man of a clay of molded mud (*ṣalṣāl min ḥamāʾ masnūn,* Q 15:26, 28, 33) and, in a further stage of the physical formation, of a blood clot (*ʿalaq,* Q 96:2). The latter conveys the ancient idea that life "is" blood and *vice versa*. When blood leaves the body, it carries life with it (H. Wheeler Robinson, Blood, 715; J.H. Waszink, Blut, 469).

According to the Qurʾān, "not to shed blood" is a divine command that the Israelites received in their holy scripture. The qurʾānic expression of this connection has given rise to different explanations by Muslim exegetes about the binding nature of the command. The idea of the creation of man (cf. Q 2:30-9) forms the context for the first qurʾānic mention of bloodshed. God speaks to the angels: "'I am setting in the earth a viceroy.' The angels ask, 'What, will you set therein one who will do corruption there, and shed blood *(yasfiku l-dimāʾ)?*' He said, 'I know that which you know not.' And he taught Adam [how to] name all things…" (Q 2:30-1). According to qurʾānic and biblical understanding, God handed over his creation (q.v.) to humankind despite the angels' warning (cf. Khoury, i, 222; see CALIPH; ANGEL). Therefore, some Muslim commentators felt themselves forced to rule out any connection of Adam and his descendants with bloodshed by insisting that the passage referred to another kind of human being or to jinn (q.v.) "who lived on earth, doing corruption and shedding blood" before the time of Adam (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* i, 154-5, 170-1; Rāzī, *Tafsīr,* i, 265; see also ADAM AND EVE).

According to other sources, however, the ethical-religious evidence is unequivocal: Bloodshed is related to corruption (q.v.). What is meant by the latter term becomes clearer with the description of the "workers of corruption" in Q 2:8-18. Here it is associated with the unbelievers, the opponents of the Muslims among the Jews and with the hypocrites of Medina (cf. Khoury, i, 178, 192; see OPPOSITION TO MUḤAMMAD; HYPOCRITES AND HYPOCRISY). The "mischief-makers" (*mufsidūn,* see also W. Caskel, *Entdeckungen,* 11, 27, 32) and "their evil abettors" *(shayāṭīn)* are "sinners" who trick God and the true believers and have "a sickness in their hearts" so that they "blindly wander in their insolence."

The second qurʾānic mention of bloodshed is contained in those passages that enjoin Jews to convert to Islam or to become allies of the Muslims (cf. Q 2:40-74; see JEWS AND JUDAISM). Hostilities between two Jewish tribes in Medina (q.v.) at the time of Muḥammad are also of relevance since they temporarily led to the situation in which Jews were fighting and killing each other (Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr,* i, 189; also Khoury, *Der Koran,* ii, 42). In this context the Children of Israel (q.v.) are addressed directly: "And when we took compact (*mīthāq,* see Q 2:27, 63; see COVENANT) with

you: 'You shall not shed your own blood *(lā tasfikūna dimāʾakum),* neither expel your own from your habitations,' then you confirmed it.… Then there you are killing one another…" (Q 2:84-5). The exegete Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 606/1210; *Tafsīr,* i, 422) notes that it is "difficult" *(fa-fīhi ishkāl)* to ascertain the binding character of the qurʾānic command not to shed blood. Accordingly, the interpretations cited by commentators and their authorities are multiple: (a) the ban was issued only to Jews ("the Banū Isrāʾīl [see CHILDREN OF ISRAEL] and their descendants are meant," Qurṭubī, *Jāmiʿ,* ii, 18); therefore, they are strictly forbidden to kill each other, according to "their" belief and to the word of "their holy scripture" (Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr,* i, 189; Rāzī, *Tafsīr,* i, 422; Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* i, 297; see SCRIPTURE AND THE QURʾĀN); (b) the ban is indirectly extended to Muslims by referring to people of "the same descent and belief" (Rāzī, *Tafsīr,* i, 423; Ālūsī, *Rūḥ,* i, 490); (c) the ban is directly in force for Muslims due to their civil wars (*al-fitan fīnā,* Qurṭubī, *Jāmiʿ,* ii, 19); (d) "unjustified" *(bi-ghayr ḥaqq)* bloodshed is forbidden (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* i, 298; see BLOOD MONEY; MURDER); (e) the ban on suicide (q.v.) is intended because an excessive devotion to secular matters is tantamount to suicide of the soul (Rāzī, *Tafsīr,* i, 422).

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Boast

To vaunt oneself or one's possessions. Several passages in the Qurʾān warn of the dangers of boasting. Boastfulness is contrasted with positive virtues that should be cultivated by the righteous. For example, Q 4:36 commands serving God alone, in part by doing good to others, and by being neither boastful *(fakhūran),* nor arrogant nor stingy. Q 11:10 tells of those who exult and boast *(innahu la-fariḥun fakhūrun)* after experiencing blessing (q.v.) in the wake of adversity. Q 31:17-8 admonishes people to "enjoin what is good and forbid what is wrong [i.e. *al-amr bi-l-maʿrūf*]; and bear patiently against whatever befalls you… and do not turn your cheek scornfully to people, nor walk in the earth with exultant insolence *(lā tamshi fī l-arḍ maraḥan),* for God loves not any arrogant boaster *(kulla mukhtālin fakhūrin)*." The Qurʾan, from the earlier revelations to the later ones, consistently warns against boastful people and their close companions: those who are disdainful (*alladhīna stankafū,* Q 4:173), those who are haughty (*al-mutakabbirīn,* Q 39:60), those who consider themselves to be self-sufficient (*an raʾāhu staghnā,* Q 96:7) and those who are conceited (*mukhtālan*, Q 4:36).

Q 57:20 presents a characterization of the life of this world *(al-ḥayāt al-dunyā)* as "play and amusement, pomp and boasting *(tafākhur)* among you, and rivalry in proliferation of wealth and offspring." Compare this with the early Meccan sūra, Q 102, which is entitled "Mutual Rivalry" (al-Takāthur): "Piling up of [good things] distracts you until you visit the graves. But no, you soon shall know the reality.… You shall certainly see hell-fire.… Then you shall be interrogated on that day concerning the comfort you indulged in" (Q 102:1-3, 6, 8). The obvious lesson is that at the point of death a person will perhaps look back on a life wasted in a quest for material

possessions and satisfactions. But the specialist of pre-Islamic poetry, Muḥammad al-Nuwayhī, once (in a 1970 exegesis seminar at the American University in Cairo) interpreted this passage as containing insider information that would have caused the original listeners to nod in recognition. It seems that Meccans used to argue and boast about who had the largest, most illustrious family, clan and tribe (see TRIBES AND CLANS), to the point that in altercations, they would stagger from tavern to cemetery to tally the departed as well as the living members of a kinship (q.v.) group.

The Meccan army that attacked the Muslims at Badr (q.v.) in 2/624 is characterized most unflatteringly in Q 8:47: "And do not be like those who came out of their dwellings boastfully *(baṭaran)* and in order to be seen by people, and to divert [them] from the path of God." This and other passages teach, in one way or another, that "pride goes before destruction, and a haughty spirit before a fall" (*Prov* 16:18). In a similar vein, Q 28:58 declares that: "And how many a community that was exulting *(baṭirat)* in its [comfortable] way of living have We destroyed; now those dwellings of theirs, after them, except for a few, are deserted. And we are their heirs!"

Various ḥadīths continue the Qurʾān's condemnation of pride and boastfulness as is illustrated in the well-known saying from Muslim's *Saḥīḥ:* "He who has in his heart the weight of a grain of mustard seed of pride *(kibriyāʾ)* shall not enter paradise." See also ARROGANCE; PRIDE; VIRTUES AND VICES.

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Body

see ANATOMY; GOD AND HIS ATTRIBUTES; ANTHROPOMORPHISM

Body Fluids

see BLOOD AND BLOOD CLOT; BIOLOGY AS THE CREATION AND STAGES OF LIFE

Bohorās

see SHĪʿISM AND THE QURʾĀN

Bones

see BIOLOGY AS THE CREATION AND STAGES OF LIFE; DEATH AND THE DEAD

Book

There is probably no word more important to the understanding of the Qurʾān than *kitāb* and yet its meaning is far more complex than the simple and almost universal translation "book" would seem to imply. The Qurʾān uses the word 261 times, not only in describing itself but also in referring to earlier scriptures and to various other means God employs in dealing with creation (q.v.). The noun comes from the verb *kataba* (to write) and thus can be applied to written material in any form — it is used for a letter in Q 27:28-9 and for a legal document in Q 24:33 — or to the act of writing itself. It also has extensive metaphorical uses which lead to the conclusion that in the Qurʾān the term *kitāb* operates on several levels at once. Since it also carries the force of a verbal noun, in order to understand *kitāb* it is necessary to examine it together with the verb from which it derives. In qurʾānic usage the word represents a quintessentially divine activity and ap-

plies only rarely to human writing. The translation "scripture" does some justice to the connotations of *kitāb* but runs the risk of reading Jewish and Christian understandings of scripture into the Qurʾān which has its own unique conception of the phenomenon of God's writing.

Kitāb *and divine knowledge*

It is a commonplace of Near Eastern religions that God keeps both an inventory of everything created as well as a detailed record of all human deeds. The Qurʾān addresses its hearers as though they are quite familiar with these ideas. "Did you not know that God knows all that is in heaven and on earth? Surely it is in a *kitāb*. That is easy for God" (Q 22:70). Nothing is too small or too great to be comprehended by God's knowledge (Q 10:61) and nothing of the unseen remains unaccounted for in the *kitāb* (Q 27:75). The birds and beasts, no less than humanity, have been recorded and nothing has been neglected in this inventory (Q 6:38), not even their sustenance or habitation (Q 11:6). The important thing to note in these verses about the inventory is the close connection between *kitāb* and knowledge. The *kitāb* represents what God alone knows: "And with him are the keys of the unseen (see HIDDEN AND THE HIDDEN). No one but he knows them, and he knows what is in the land and the sea. Not a leaf falls without his knowing it, not a grain in the darkness of the earth, nothing either wet or dry but it is in a *kitāb* that makes things clear" (Q 6:59). This inventory is characterized as *ḥafīẓ* (guarding, watchful, remembering, Q 50:4) like God (Q 11:57; 34:21; see GOD AND HIS ATTRIBUTES). It is also said to be *mubīn* (clear or clarifying, Q 6:59; 10:61; 11:6; 27:75; 34:3), echoing a term that the Qurʾān uses of itself (Q 12:1; 27:1). This adjective is not only very common (119 uses) but also very significant in the Qurʾān: true clarity is something only God is able to provide, since only God has full knowledge of all things.

Closely related to this inventory is the divine recording of human deeds and thoughts, both good (Q 3:53; 5:83; 9:120-1; 21:94) and bad (Q 3:181; 4:81; 10:21; 19:79; 43:19, 80; 78:29). Everything said and done by human beings is recorded (Q 10:61; 54:52; 82:11) in order that retribution and recompense may be made on the day of judgment (see LAST JUDGMENT): "And the *kitāb* is put in place, and you see the guilty fearful of what is in it. They say, 'What kind of a *kitāb* is this that passes over no matter either small or great without taking account of it?' And they find all that they did confronting them. Your Lord treats no one unjustly" (Q 18:49). "And each soul (q.v.) will be recompensed in full for what it has done" (Q 39:70). Good deeds are said to be written "to people's credit" (*lahum,* Q 9:121; 21:94). This register is sometimes referred to as an *imām* (leader, example, authority): "Surely it is we who bring the dead to life. We record *(naktub)* what they send before, and the traces [they leave behind]. And everything we have kept account of in an *imām* that makes things clear" (Q 36:12; see also Q 17:71; 36:12). On one occasion (Q 54:52) it is called *zubur,* a word often translated as "psalms" although it is actually a more general word for books, writings or scriptures. It is most often God who is depicted as recording (Q 3:181; 4:81; 19:79: 21:94; 36:12; 45:29), but there is also talk of "envoys" (*rusul,* Q 10:21; 43:80; see MESSENGER) who write and of "guardians, noble scribes" (*ḥāfiẓīn kirāman kātibīn,* Q 82:10-1) who know all that is done.

Although the record of deeds is often spoken of as a single entity, the final judgment is pictured as one in which each person will be handed the *kitāb* detailing his or her deeds. "On the day when we shall summon all people with their record

(imām), whoever is given his *kitāb* in his right hand — those will read their *kitāb* and they will not be wronged a shred" (Q 17:71; see also 69:19; 84:7). Anyone to be punished will be given the *kitāb* in the left hand (Q 69:25) or behind the back (Q 84:10). In another place, there seems to be a separate *kitāb* for each nation (Q 45:29). The image of judgment is a commercial one — a final settling of accounts. Like the inventory of creation the record of deeds is characterized as *mubīn* (Q 10:61; 34:4; 36:12) in that it makes clear precisely the recompense or punishment to be apportioned (see REWARD AND PUNISHMENT). It is intimately related to God's knowledge in that it reflects the fact that God is "most aware *(aʿlam)* of what they have done" (Q 39:70) and is a witness *(shuhūd)* to all actions in which people are engaged (Q 10:61). Taken together, these two activities of recording represent the completeness of God's knowledge of all that exists and all that takes place.

Kitāb *and divine authority*

The idea of writing is also very much associated in qurʾānic usage with the exercise of divine authority (q.v.; see also FATE). The length of one's life is "in a *kitāb*" and can neither be shortened nor lengthened (Q 35:11). One can neither escape death when it has been "written" (Q 3:154) nor hasten it since it comes by God's permission "as a writ to be carried out later" *(kitāban muʾajjalan,* Q 3:145). No city (q.v.) is punished by destruction without there having been a "known decree" *(kitāb maʿlūm,* Q 15:4; see PUNISHMENT STORIES). Such sentences of punishment are said to be "in the *kitāb*" (Q 17:58), as are those meted out to individuals *(bi-imām mubīn,* Q 15:79). "No calamity strikes either on the earth or among yourselves which is not already in a *kitāb* before we bring it into being — surely that is easy for God" (Q 57:22; see also Q 9:51).

It might seem that the use of the word *kitāb* in connection with these acts of divine authority indicates that they are envisaged as being recorded in some kind of book of decrees. However, the word is also used to apply independently to the decrees themselves (Q 2:235; 4:103; 8:68; 13:38; 30:56) suggesting that the usage of the root *k-t-b* (to write) is largely metaphorical. The verb *kutiba* (it has been written) is used when speaking of various aspects of law (see LAW AND THE QURʾĀN): retaliation (q.v.; Q 2:178), inheritance (q.v.; Q 2:180), fasting (q.v.; Q 2:183) and warfare (Q 2:216, 246; see WAR). God writes to determine obligations on various individuals and groups (Q 4:24, 66, 77; 5:32, 45; 57:27). In an unusual construction God is also said to have written mercy (q.v.) as an obligation for himself (Q 6:12, 54); this in effect expresses an element of the divine nature. In several uses of the verb "to write" there is a very close relationship between the decree and the record of people's deeds. God writes punishments (Q 22:4; 59:3; see CHASTISEMENT AND PUNISHMENT), entitlements (Q 2:187; 4:127) and rewards (Q 5:21; 7:156; 21:105). Indeed, it is sometimes difficult to make any separation at all between the recording of deeds and the determination of judgment: "This *kitāb* of ours pronounces against you truly. Surely we caused to be recorded *(kunnā nastansikh)* whatever you used to do" (Q 45:29). The definitive divine judgment against evildoers is inseparable from God's knowledge of all that they have done. Similarly, the recording of the time of each person's death is presented both as a matter of knowledge and also as an act of determination — foreknowledge and foreordaining are somehow inseparable. This very ambiguity suggests that the Qurʾān does not so much contain a reference to a heavenly archive with separate registers

and inventories as it does, in a more amorphous sense, to the overarching knowledge and authority of God.

It is common, of course, for qurʾānic commentators to gloss occurrences of the verb *kataba* with such verbs as *amara, ḥafiẓa, ḥasiba* or *faraḍa* and, similarly, for translators to render them "command," "remember," "keep account of," "enjoin," "prescribe" or "decree." They are surely right in detecting here a metaphorical usage of the verb "to write." The question then arises whether the use of the noun *kitāb* is not likewise more metaphorical than concrete. As long as the *kitāb* operates only in the heavenly realm it makes little difference. However, the issue becomes more acute when an effort is made to try to understand what the Qurʾān means when it refers to itself as *kitāb* and when it speaks of the *kitāb* being "sent down" and given to other peoples through the prophets (see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD).

Kitāb *and revelation*

One of the most important concepts used in connection with revelation in the Qurʾān is *kitāb* (see REVELATION AND INSPIRATION). It is several times stated in general terms that whenever God sent prophets and messengers to give good tidings and to warn of judgment, he sent down with them the *kitāb* (Q 2:213; 3:81; 35:25; 40:70; 57:25). The *kitāb* comes with the truth so that the Prophet may judge according to it (Q 2:213). It is specifically mentioned as having been given to Moses (q.v.; Q 2:53, 87; 17:2; 23:49; 25:35), to Jesus (q.v.; Q 3:48; 5:110; 19:30) and most often, of course, to Muḥammad (e.g. Q 5:48; 7:2; 14:1) . The Qurʾān also mentions by name several of those to whom God has given revelation: "Indeed we communicate to you just as we communicated *(awḥaynā)* to Noah (q.v.) and the prophets after him, as we communicated to Abraham (q.v.) and Ishmael (q.v.) and Isaac (q.v.) and Jacob (q.v.) and the tribes, and Jesus and Job (q.v.) and Jonah (q.v.) and Aaron (q.v.) and Solomon (q.v.), and as we granted to David (q.v.) the *zabūr* (see PSALMS)" (Q 4:163). This listing marks out one feature of the Qurʾān's understanding of *kitāb:* It is thought to have a particularly close association with the lineage of Noah, Abraham and Israel (q.v.; Q 4:54; 40:53; 57:26; see also CHILDREN OF ISRAEL). Although attempts have sometimes been made to distinguish between messengers *(rusul)* and prophets *(anbiyāʾ)* on the basis of whether they were given a canonical text or merely an oral message, there appears to be no such consistent distinction in the Qurʾān itself. Some canons resulting from God's sending of the *kitāb* are mentioned by name: Torah (*tawrāt,* 18 times; see TORAH) and Gospel (*injīl,* twelve times; see GOSPEL); the generic *al-ṣuḥuf al-ūlā* ("the former pages," Q 20:133; 87:18) are specified as belonging to Moses and Abraham (Q 53:36-7; 87:19). It is not clear that Moses' "pages" are thought of as identical to the *tawrāt*. Although the Qurʾān understands *tawrāt* to be the revelation given to the Jews, it is most often paired with Injīl and mentioned in connection not with Moses but with Jesus.

The *kitāb* is said to come to the prophets by *waḥy* (inspiration, revelation or communication; e.g. Q 18:27; 29:45; 35:31). However, more commonly God is said to "send it down" (*nazzala, anzala,* e.g. Q 2:174, 176, 213, 231) or simply to "give" it (*atā,* e.g. Q 2:53, 87, 121, 146). God teaches the *kitāb* to Jesus (Q 3:48; 5:110), gives it as an inheritance to the Children of Israel (Q 40:53) and to some chosen servants (Q 35:32). The messenger who brings the *kitāb* (Q 3:184, 6:91) in his turn teaches it to the people (Q 2:129; 2:151; 3:164; 62:2). The people recite it (*qaraʾa,* Q 2:44, 113, 121; 10:94; 69:19),

learn it (*ʿalima,* Q 2:78, 144, 146), study it (*darasa,* Q 3:79; 34:44; 68:37) and teach it (*ʿallama,* Q 3:79; see KNOWLEDGE AND LEARNING).

In order fully to understand what the Qurʾān means when it speaks of *kitāb* in the context of revelation, it is necessary to view the word within the whole field of vocabulary with which it is used. The word acts as the focus for some of the most significant concepts in the Qurʾān. Two key terms in this respect *(āya* and *ḥikma)* appear with *kitāb* in something like a credal formula that occurs four times (Q 2:129, 151; 3:164; 62:2). The role of the messenger *(rasūl)* is to recite to the people God's signs or revelations (*āyāt,* see SIGNS), to purify them and to make known to them the *kitāb* and the *ḥikma*. This latter term is often translated "wisdom" but such a rendering fails to take account of the origins of the word in the verb *ḥakama* (to judge, to rule, to decide). To the extent that *ḥikma* is wisdom at all, it is not to be mistaken for the esoteric wisdom of the gnostic but should be understood as the practical wisdom or the wise authority of the experienced ruler (see WISDOM; JUDGMENT). *Kitāb* and *ḥikma* appear ten times together and form a virtual hendiadys. The term *āya* (pl. *āyāt*) is used to refer to everything that reveals God's will and ways, whether in nature (e.g. Q 2:266; 16:11-3; 30:46; see ANIMAL LIFE), history (e.g. Q 46:27), legislation (e.g. Q 24:61) or in revelation (e.g. Q 24:1). The *āyāt* of God are intended to prompt people to reason *(ʿaqala),* to learn *(ʿalima),* to ponder *(tafakkara, tadhakkara)* and so to come to faith *(āmana)*. The coming of the *kitāb* with its *āyāt* provides insight into what God knows and what God commands. Therefore, far from being clearly distinguished from the above-mentioned registers, the *kitāb* of revelation is intimately linked with the same divine knowledge and authority that they symbolize. The fundamental pattern (with associated verbal roots) is this: (a) As creator God knows *(ʿ-l-m)* the truth *(ḥ-q-q)* of all things and is in command *(ḥ-k-m)* of all things. The symbol for this knowledge and authority is *kitāb*. (b) Given close attention and reflection (*ʿ-q-l, f-k-r,* etc.), it is possible for people to learn *(ʿ-l-m)* from the *āyāt* of nature and history much of the truth of what God knows and commands. Yet, they rarely do so. (c) In order to call humanity to such attentiveness and reflection, God sends prophetic messengers *(r-s-l, n-b-ʾ)* who bring their communities guidance *(h-d-y),* a privileged insight into God's knowledge and authoritative decree. They recite *(q-r-ʾ, t-l-w)* God's *āyāt* in order to remind *(dh-k-r)* the people of them, to make quite clear *(b-y-n, n-w-r, f-ṣ-l)* precisely what God requires *(ḥ-k-m)* and to warn (*n-dh-r,* see WARNING) of the coming judgment *(f-ṣ-l, ḥ-k-m, d-y-n)*. (d) The symbol of this guidance is the *kitāb* — God's sending down *(n-z-l)* through the Prophet of an authoritative word *(q-w-l, k-l-m)* to address the current situation and the prevailing issue. This divine/prophetic address bears the name *kitāb* not because of its form (which remains oral and responsive) but because of its origin and its nature as a communication *(n-z-l, w-ḥ-y)* of God's knowledge *(ʿ-l-m)* and a clear statement *(b-y-n)* of God's commands *(ḥ-k-m)*. (e) The community (see COMMUNITY AND SOCIETY IN THE QURʾĀN) addressed by God accepts the relationship of guidance first by accepting *(ʾ-m-n)* that what the Prophet recites has a divine origin, then by committing themselves *(s-l-m)* to following *(t-b-ʿ, ṭ-w-ʿ)* the divine will manifested in the prophetic word and, finally, by reciting *(q-r-ʾ)* it in their turn. In this way, they become a people who are identified and defined by their having been granted the *kitāb*.

It is the phenomenon of the *kitāb* that

unifies this whole schema while itself remaining somewhat elusive. It is often referred to in the plural, the indefinite or the partitive form so it remains unclear from the Qurʾān whether anyone can be understood to be fully in possession of the *kitāb*. In this respect, the Qurʾān does not present the *kitāb* as a closed and definable corpus of text, but rather as an ongoing relationship of guidance.

Ahl al-kitāb — *the people of the* kitāb

It is the *kitāb* relationship that defines the Christians *(naṣāra),* the Jews *(yahūd, Banū Isrāʾīl)* and the Sabians *(ṣābiʾūn)*. All of these groups are referred to in the Qurʾān as *ahl al-kitāb* or *alladhīna ūtū l-kitāb* (those who have been granted the *kitāb;* see PEOPLE OF THE BOOK; CHRISTIANS AND CHRISTIANITY; JEWS AND JUDAISM; SABIANS; MAGIANS). The Qurʾān calls for belief not only in the *kitāb* sent down to Muḥammad but also in the *kitāb* (or the plural *kutub*) sent down before him (Q 2:285; 4:136). It is precisely because they have already been recipients of God's revelation that the *ahl al-kitāb* are expected to recognize in Muḥammad a genuine messenger of God and to acknowledge in what he brings the same *kitāb* (Q 5:83; 13:43; 29:47) — not precisely the same text but the same message of God, the same guidance to humankind.

It is recognized that the Jews put "the *kitāb* that Moses brought as a light and a guidance for humanity" on papyri (*qarāṭīs,* sing. *qirṭās,* Q 6:91) yet it is not their possession of physical books that constitutes the *ahl al-kitāb*. If it had been, one might have expected an earlier attempt to have a written version of the Qurʾān. As it was, a standardized written text was not produced, according to Muslim tradition, until perhaps as late as twenty years after the death of the Prophet during the caliphate of ʿUthmān (r. 23-35/644-56; see COLLECTION OF THE QURʾĀN). The *ahl al-kitāb* seem to be thought of primarily as — like Muslims — reciters of the word of God rather than as writers and readers of books (see RECITATION OF THE QURʾĀN; READINGS OF THE QURʾĀN). *Ahl al-kitāb* should probably be understood as those who have been given not *possession of* but rather *access to* and *insight into* the knowledge, wisdom and sovereignty of God for which the very fluid term *kitāb* serves as a symbol. "Those who have been given the *kitāb"* are also called "those who have been given knowledge" (*alladhīna ʿūtū l-ʿilm,* e.g. Q 16:27; 17:107; 22:54). They have learned to read the "signs" (cf. Q 45:2-7), yet it is clear that they do not actually possess *all* knowledge. They have rather been given access to the divine knowledge through God's initiative in addressing humanity through the prophets (cf. Q 20:110-114).

Umm al-kitāb — *the "mother" of the* kitāb

Three times the Qurʾān refers to the *umm* (literally "mother" hence "essence" or "source") of the *kitāb* (Q 3:7; 13:39; 43:4). The latter two cases are traditionally read as referring to a heavenly archetype of the *kitāb,* a text that constitutes the source of all the particular versions given through Muḥammad and the other prophets. The commentary literature has developed what might be termed a "topography" of revelation that begins with the archetypal *kitāb* on the Preserved Tablet (*lawḥ maḥfūẓ,* Q 85:22; see PRESERVED TABLET) and involves the noble scribes (*safarat kirām,* Q 80:15-6) who are said to have revealed the text to Gabriel (q.v.) over twenty nights and who, in his turn, revealed it to Muḥammad over twenty years. Yet the term *umm al-kitāb* can just as well be read in the symbolic way that has been suggested above. To God alone belongs the essence

of authority and knowledge, so whatever authoritative guidance is given through God's messengers comes from that source. In Q 3:7 this term seems clearly to refer to part of the text of the Qurʾān: "It is he who has sent down to you the *kitāb,* some of whose verses are decisive — they are the essence (*umm,* lit. "mother") of the *kitāb* — and others that are ambiguous." In this famously controversial verse the Qurʾān distinguishes between those verses that are considered *muḥkamāt* (defined, fixed, firm, decisive, straightforward) and those that are *mutashābihāt* (lit. "resembling one another" possibly meaning "ambiguous" or "metaphorical"; see AMBIGUOUS). Since the Qurʾān does not specify which verses are which, this pair of terms has been interpreted in many different ways. It is the *muḥkamāt* that are said to constitute the essence or substance of the *kitāb*. Qurʾānic commentators often understand this to mean that such verses lay down the principles of Islam; they contain the basis of creed and law; they outline all the duties, punishments and commandments (q.v.) that are essential to Islam (see BOUNDARIES AND PRECEPTS). The *muḥkamāt* are sometimes thought to be the abrogating *(nāsikh)* verses because they remain firm and fixed whereas the *mutashābihāt,* although they *resemble* the others, are in fact without legal force due to their having been abrogated (*mansūkh,* see ABROGATION). Other commentators distinguish the *muḥkamāt,* those verses that can stand alone and so require little or no interpretation, from the *mutashābihāt,* those that can only be fully understood in relationship to other verses treating the same matter. The exegetical tradition has often identified the first sūra of the Qurʾān (Sūrat al-Fātiḥa; see FĀTIḤA) as *umm al-kitāb* since it is thought to contain the essential content of the Qurʾān. So also the so-called mysterious letters *(fawātiḥ)* at the beginning of some sūras have been thought to contain in some mystical way the essence of the Qurʾān. (See LETTERS AND MYSTERIOUS LETTERS.)

The Qurʾān as kitāb

One of the most complex questions about the Qurʾān is what it means when it refers to itself as *kitāb.* Western scholars have, by and large, taken the use of the word *kitāb* as an indication that Muḥammad intended to provide his community with a written canon of scripture parallel to those possessed by the Christians and the Jews. G. Widengren draws on Near Eastern religious history to propose that the Prophet saw himself primarily as the bringer of a written corpus. Nöldeke-Schwally (*GQ,* ii, 1-3) argue that, given Muḥammad's understanding that his revelations were to serve in place of the Bible as the definitive document of the divine will, he must also have intended to safeguard them in written form. R. Bell takes *al-kitāb* to refer to a document originally conceived of as distinct from *al-qurʾān* and which ultimately replaced it. He suggests that what the text calls *al-qurʾān* is a collection of recitations that was probably closed about the time of the battle of Badr (2/624; see BADR). The *kitāb* was never actually completed and if it ever had any logical framework its organization was constantly intruded upon by the vicissitudes, both internal and external, of communal life. Bell understands the *kitāb* to have been intended to be the complete record of revelation; it was to comprise, in a slightly re-worked form, all the elements Bell previously distinguished as characterizing the stages in the development of the Prophet's revelations: "signs" passages, stories of punishment, Qurʾān. It was also intended to include the material — the appeals, regulations and exhortations demanded of him as a leader — unsuitable for a collection meant for recitation. Bell is largely followed in this approach by W.M.

Watt and A.T. Welch. For A. Neuwirth, the term *kitāb* functions as a symbol of the shared prophetic heritage, the common memory of salvation history which Muslims now share with the Christians and Jews. Neuwirth believes that only certain parts of the Qurʾān are to be understood as belonging to the *kitāb* — the pericopes excerpted from the heavenly book, i.e. the *dhikr* or recalling of prophetic history.

Perhaps the weakest part of all these scenarios is the idea that the task of producing a book of scripture was left undone because of other responsibilities and demands which pressed upon Muḥammad. If one understands the verses about the *kitāb* to indicate that it was the Prophet's defining function to produce such a canonical text, then it becomes difficult to see how Muḥammad could have placed any duty above this one.

Muslim tradition has long understood that the Prophet intended the written codification of the Qurʾān; yet, the traditions about the collection and writing down of the text are at cross purposes (see CODICES OF THE QURʾĀN). On the one hand, some traditions seek to assure those who trust written texts that there exists an unbroken manuscript tradition, authenticated not only by the Prophet but by the angel Gabriel. On the other, many traditions represent the writing down of the text as an act of doubtful piety and they portray the manuscript tradition as in some respects deficient and as dependent on an oral tradition codified only after the Prophet's death. Neither strand of the tradition represents the text at the time of the Prophet's death as having existed in a physical form that would indicate that Muḥammad had all but finished preparing the definitive document of revelation. The scraps of wood, leather and pottery, the bones and the bark on which the revelations were apparently written down seem to indicate that the Prophet did not have in mind producing the kind of scroll or codex that was characteristic of Jewish and Christian use in other places. Furthermore, given the limitations of the Arabic script (q.v.) at the time, such written material as did exist could serve as not much more than an *aide-memoire* to those who knew that part of the text by heart.

Given all this, there remains considerable doubt as to whether the Prophet thought of the word *kitāb* as defining either the form in which the Qurʾān was revealed or the form in which it was to be propagated and perpetuated. Both Western and Muslim approaches seem to read into the Qurʾān what they know of the Christian and Jewish use of scripture in other contexts outside Arabia. However, in order to understand the meaning of the qurʾānic *kitāb* as fully as possible, such preconceptions must not become the sole basis for its interpretation.

At the beginning of what might be called the text proper (Q 2:1-2) the Qurʾān speaks of the *kitāb:* "*Alif. Lām. Mīm.* That is the *kitāb* about which there is no doubt, guidance for the God-fearing." Qurʾānic commentators were rather puzzled to find *dhālika* ("that") rather than *hādhā* ("this") in Q 2:2, but the majority of exegetical traditions opted to equate the two and in this they are generally followed by translators. Others, recognizing that *dhālika* logically refers to something absent or already complete, took it to refer variously to the mysterious letters of Q 2:1 or to the sūras of the Qurʾān that had thus far been revealed or even to the Gospel and the Torah. The issue was in effect side-stepped at this point yet the question remains: what is this *kitāb* that the *kitāb* is always talking about? What is the recitation (Qurʾān) about which verses are constantly being recited? The abiding enigma of the text is that, along with verses that are to be construed as timeless divine pronouncements, it also

contains a large amount of commentary upon and analysis of the processes of its own revelation and the vicissitudes of its own reception in time. One wonders how the two genres can exist not just side by side but interwoven within a single document; how the Qurʾān can so constantly refer to itself in the third person and at the same time be considered a unity; how it can define and defend itself even as it is being revealed.

The Qurʾān is both itself and *about* itself; both *hādhā* and *dhālika*. Even in its final form it seems still a work-in-process, carefully observing and commenting upon itself. This is what makes it so enigmatic as a canonized, codified text. What is to be found "between the two covers" remains a surprise because it does not behave as though it were a completed volume nor, indeed, as the copy of a pre-existent heavenly document.

The Qurʾān actually rejects certain common conceptions of *kitāb*. It is reiterated several times that in the ministry of the Prophet there comes to the Arabs (q.v.) "a *kitāb* from God" (e.g. Q 6:19, 114). However, it is also clear that Muḥammad does not consider that the lack of any written text invalidates this claim in any way. When the Prophet is challenged to produce a writing from heaven as proof (q.v.) of his authenticity (Q 17:93; see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF), he is told to reply that he is merely a human messenger. In Q 6:7 God says, "Even if we had sent down a *kitāb* on papyrus and they were to touch it with their hands, those who disbelieve would have said, 'This is clearly nothing but sorcery.'" So when the Qurʾān speaks of itself as *kitāb*, it seems to be talking not about the form in which it is sent down but rather about the authority it carries as a manifestation of the knowledge and command of God.

This is borne out in another situation of challenge where the Prophet's critics demand to know why the recitation he claims is from God is being given to him only piecemeal rather than "as a single complete pronouncement" (*jumlatan wāḥidatan*, Q 25:32). To Muḥammad's interlocutors, a divine pronouncement must, almost by definition, be complete. Yet the Qurʾān comes only, as the commentators like to say, responsively *(jawāban li-qawlihim)*, in installments *(munajjaman)* according to situations and events in order that the Prophet will be able to address God's response to whatever objection is being raised, whatever question is being asked (Q 25:33). In this context they quote Q 17:106: "... and in the form of a recitation that we have divided up *(faraqnāhu)* that you might recite it to the people at intervals *('ala mukthin)*, and we have indeed sent it down." In rejecting the claim that it should be sent down "as a single complete pronouncement" the Qurʾān is asserting its fluidity and its responsiveness to situations. It is refusing to behave as an already closed and canonized text but insists on being the authoritative voice of God in the present.

This immediate and responsive quality of the Qurʾān is illustrated again and again in one of its most characteristic rhetorical devices: the imperative, "Say!" (*qul*, the singular addressed to the Prophet is used 323 times, and it appears in other forms 26 times). This is not merely one among several literary forms (see LANGUAGE AND STYLE OF THE QURʾĀN) but rather demonstrates the Qurʾān's fundamental sense of itself: it "comes down" as the divine response placed on the lips of God's Prophet. In the ministry of Muḥammad, the *kitāb* comes not as a finished tome in which to search for the divine wisdom and will but as a wise and commanding voice to be heeded.

The term *kitāb*, then, does not indicate that the Qurʾān is to be understood as a

closed corpus of text, codified in writing; it used that language of itself long before it was either closed or written. The Muslim community used the same term while at the same time preserving the text primarily in oral form. The word *kitāb* rather expresses a claim as to the origin of the words on the Prophet's lips: they are *kitāb* because they come from God, from the realm of God's knowledge and authority, as these are symbolized by writing. Writing, of course, is a process of engagement with an audience. It involves re-writing and rephrasing, emendation and development. This is what the Muslim interpretative tradition has recognized in the phenomenon of abrogation *(naskh):* that elements of God's word are conditioned by time and circumstance and so God exercises the prerogative of amending the text, removing the force of some earlier pronouncements and perhaps even their wording as well. The Qurʾān is God's writing in the sense that it is God's definitive and authoritative word. Yet it is not the sum total of God's word but rather a token of it and a guarantee of continuing guidance. See also SCRIPTURE AND THE QURʾĀN.

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Book of David see PSALMS

Booty

Plunder taken in war (q.v.). The Qurʾān does not mention the words *ghanīma* or *fayʾ,* which became the technical terms for booty in Islamic law, but refers explicitly only to the plural noun *maghānim* (Q 4:94; 48:15, 19, 20); the verb *ghanima,* to take booty (Q 8:41, 69); and the verb *afāʾa* (from the same root as *fayʾ*), to give as booty (Q 33:50; 59:6-7). In pre-Islamic times the terms were synonymous. There are indications that in Q 59:6-7, referring to the surrender of the Banū l-Naḍīr, *afāʾa* denotes booty acquired not by actual fighting but as a result of the surrender of the enemy. Q 48:15, 19 and 20 suggest that taking booty is considered a normal element of warfare and Q 8:69 confirms that booty taken from the enemy is lawful property. A specific rule is given in Q 8:41 where the pre-Islamic custom of assigning one-fifth of the booty *(ghanīma)* to the leader is upheld. The verse mentions that this share belongs to God and is to be spent on the Messenger, i.e.

the prophet Muḥammad, (his) relatives, the orphans (q.v.), the needy and travelers. Regarding *fayʾ,* Q 59:7 stipulates that this type of booty is not to be distributed among the fighters but also belongs to God and his messenger and is to be spent on (his) relatives (see FAMILY OF THE PROPHET), the orphans (q.v.), the needy and travelers. F. Løkkegaard (*Islamic taxation,* 50), however, asserts that this constituted a breach with the established custom introduced by Muḥammad and was prompted by his lack of means. In Q 4:94 the rewards of paradise (q.v.) are com-pared to booty (see REWARD AND PUNISHMENT).

A great deal of controversy exists among Muslim legal scholars with regard to the rules about booty (see LAW AND THE QURʾĀN). *Ghanīma,* i.e. movable goods taken by force from unbelievers during actual warfare, must be divided among the army and the imām (as head of state; see IMĀM) once the army has returned to Islamic territory. The head of state is entitled to one-fifth (to be distributed to the leader, the Prophet's relatives, the orphans, the needy and travelers) and the remainder is to be divided among the soldiers. Only free, adult, male Muslims who were present during the battle have a share, regardless of whether they actually fought or not. The Ḥanafī form of Islamic law assigns a share also to soldiers who joined the troops after the battle but before reaching Islamic territory. Mounted soldiers are entitled to a double or triple portion. The head of state may reward certain warriors by giving them larger shares (*nafl,* pl. *anfāl,* cf. Q 8:1). Opinions differ on whether this reward is to be paid from the one-fifth portion of the state or at the expense of the other soldiers. Some jurists hold that a soldier is entitled to appropriate the spoils *(salab)* of the enemy he has killed, whereas others are of the opinion that the consent of the head of state is needed in this instance.

Opinions also vary on the status of land acquired by force. The Mālikī form of Islamic law holds that it is state land whereas the Shāfiʿī view is that it must be divided among the army that has conquered the region. The Ḥanafīs left the matter to the discretion of the head of state: He could make it state land, divide it among the army or leave its ownership to its inhabitants, provided they pay the *kharāj* tax.

As to *fayʾ,* enemy property (including tributes, the *kharāj* tax and the *jizya*) acquired by Muslims as a result of the surrender of the enemy, jurists generally hold that it is not to be divided among the army but that all of it is at the disposition of the head of state. See also JIZYA; TAXATION; TRIBUTE; EXPEDITIONS AND BATTLES.

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Boundaries and Precepts

Prescribed rules guiding behavior, which one should not transgress. The phrase "God's boundaries" *(ḥudūd Allāh)* occurs twelve times in the Qurʾān. It is used mainly as an admonitory conclusion to a preceding passage of legislation, as in "These are God's boundaries, do not approach them" (Q 2:187) or "These are God's boundaries, do not transgress them. Whoever does transgress God's boundaries, those are the wrongdoers" (Q 2:229)

and "These are God's boundaries, and the unbelievers shall have a painful torment" (Q 58:4). Q 4:13-4 balances reward with retribution (see REWARD AND PUNISHMENT): "These are God's boundaries. Whoever obeys God and his messenger, He will cause him to enter gardens below which rivers flow (…), but whoever disobeys God and his messenger, and transgresses his boundaries, He will cause him to enter a fire" (cf. Q 2:230; 65:1; cf. 9:112; see FIRE; HELL; GARDEN). Both the meaning and use of qurʾānic *ḥudūd* are similar to those of the biblical *ḥuqqīm/ḥuqqōt,* "boundaries, statutes (of God)" (e.g. *Lev* 18:4-5, 26; 19:19, 37; 26:3, 15; *Num* 30:17; *Deut* 5:1; 6:1, 24; 26:16-7; *ḥuqqei hā-elōhīm* occurs in *Exod* 18:16).

The legislation in these qurʾānic passages is always concerned in some way with marital or family relations (see MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE). Q 2:183-7 reminds the believers of their obligation to observe fast days but tends to alleviate the burdens that this imposes. In particular, Q 2:187 permits sexual intercourse with women as well as eating and drinking during the hours of darkness (q.v.) before the day of fasting. This is a departure from Jewish law as it relates to the Day of Atonement (see FASTING; ABSTINENCE; JEWS AND JUDAISM). Q 2:229-30 occur as part of a long passage of legislation on divorce and deal specifically with the divorced wife's right to retain property granted her by her husband and with the permissibility of the divorced couple's remarrying if the ex-wife marries a different husband and is then divorced by him. This latter is also a permissive variation from Jewish law. Q 58:3 outlines the standard means (i.e. the freeing of a slave, see SLAVES AND SLAVERY) by which a man may lawfully resume relations with his wife after *ẓihār,* a device by which a husband could deny his wife her right to sexual intercourse in the marriage. The following verse lays down an alternative expiatory procedure for annulling the device. Q 4:11-3 contain detailed rules for inheritance (q.v.), one of the most important qurʾānic legal reforms and a mainstay of qurʾānic family law. Q 65:1 is again concerned with divorce. Returning to Q 2:229-30, its somewhat different usage of the phrase "God's boundaries" strengthens the impression that his "boundaries" are invoked especially in connection with marital relations. According to Q 2:229, a wife may redeem herself from marriage in certain circumstances by surrendering to her husband at least part of the settlement she would normally retain on divorce. The circumstances are those of likely marital breakdown expressed as the couple's anticipated failure to "uphold God's boundaries." Q 2:230 lays down a corresponding expectation to "uphold God's boundaries" as a precondition for the remarriage of a previously divorced couple.

In Islamic jurisprudence the expression *ḥudūd Allāh* has become detached from civil law and serves instead as symbolic qurʾānic sanction for the classical theory of penal law. Here, in theory, "God's boundaries" are the deterrent corporal penalties of flogging (q.v.), amputation and execution as laid down in the "Book of God" (see BOOK) for the infringement of specific prohibitions (see ADULTERY AND FORNICATION; THEFT; HIGHWAY ROBBERY; INTOXICANTS). This classical doctrine, with its emphasis on scriptural sanction for judicial punishments, has a close parallel in Jewish law but requires some exegetical ingenuity to be wholly reconciled with the actual text of the Qurʾān. See also SIN AND CRIME; CHASTISEMENT AND PUNISHMENT; STONING; CRUCIFIXION; LAW AND THE QURʾĀN.

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Bovines see ANIMAL LIFE

Bowing and Prostration

Bowing, an inclination of the head or a bending of the body in reverence; prostration, reclining with the face on the ground in humble adoration (q.v.). The two fundamental gestures of the ritual prayer, bowing *(rukūʿ)* and the more frequent prostration *(sujūd)* are mentioned numerous times in the Qurʾān.

Many qurʾānic passages that refer to bowing (Q 2:43; 5:55; 77:48) and prostration (Q 4:102; 15:98; 25:64; 26:219; 50:40; 76:26; 96:19) allude to prayer (q.v.) and devotion in general. Other verses mention the two gestures together (Q 2:125; 3:43; 9:112; 22:26; 22:77; 48:29), again evidently referring to prayer. The Qurʾān does not always seem to make a clear distinction between the two terms. One such verse (Q 38:24) states that David (q.v.) fell down bowing *(rākiʿan)* in repentance but in this instance the act was actually a prostration. In contrast, in those verses describing the command given to the Israelites (see CHILDREN OF ISRAEL) to enter the door "prostrating themselves" (*sujjadan,* Q 2:58; 4:154; 7:161), the act was most probably a bow.

Prostration is much more frequently cited in the Qurʾān than bowing. The use of the root *sajada* in the Qurʾān underlines the relevance of prostration to God in Muslim devotion and at the same time reflects the reactions of people during the time of Muḥammad when this act was prescribed. The Qurʾān attests that prostration met strong opposition among Arabs (Q 25:60; cf. 68:42-3) and that pride (q.v.) was the cause of this opposition (Q 7:206; 16:49; 32:15; see ARROGANCE). Later traditions describe the haughty behavior of the pagans and their attempts to harass Muḥammad and the Muslims when they were prostrating themselves (see OPPOSITION TO MUḤAMMAD). On the other hand, various other verses stress the importance of prostration for the believer (Q 39:9; cf. 3:113) and that it should be addressed to God only and not to the sun (q.v.) or moon (q.v.; Q 41:37). The true believer should also prostrate himself at the recitation of the Qurʾān (q.v.; Q 17:107; 19:58; 32:15; 84:21). Moreover, all the creatures in heaven or on earth, as a sign of their devotion to the creator, perform this act directly or by means of their shadows (Q 7:206; 13:15; 16:48-9; 22:18; 55:6). Finally, another verse (Q 48:29) refers to the mark of prostration *(athar al-sujūd)* that in later traditions came to indicate the mark or callous left on the forehead of the believer who performs many prostrations.

Prostration also occurs in several other verses relating to the narrative parts of the Qurʾān. The people of Sheba (q.v.) used to

prostrate themselves to the sun instead of to God (Q 27:24-5). The magicians gathered by Pharaoh (q.v.) fell down prostrate and proclaimed their faith in God when Moses (q.v.) defeated them (Q 7:120; 20:70; 26:46). Joseph's (q.v.) parents and brothers fell down prostrate before him in Egypt (Q 12:100; cf. 12:4) and the angels prostrated themselves to Adam after his creation whereas Iblīs (q.v.) refused to do so (Q 2:34; 7:11-2; 15:29-33; 17:61; 18:50; 20:116; 38:72-5; see ANGEL; ADAM AND EVE). Given the strict Muslim prohibition against prostration to anything other than God (see IDOLS AND IMAGES; IDOLATRY AND IDOLATERS; POLYTHEISM AND ATHEISM), these last two episodes were problematic for commentators on the Qurʾān and exegetes have written many pages trying to account for these prostrations. Both bowing and prostration were widely diffused acts throughout the Middle East, especially in Jewish and Christian communities (see JEWS AND JUDAISM; CHRISTIANS AND CHRISTIANITY). They were also well-known to Arabs (q.v.) prior to the preaching of Muḥammad, as is attested in pre-Islamic poetry (see PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QURʾĀN). The Qurʾān particularly establishes the centrality of prostration to Muslim devotion and displays various attitudes, which were later expanded in Muslim literature.

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Bread

An article of food made from flour or meal by moistening, kneading and baking. The word "bread" *(khubz)* occurs only once in the Qurʾān, in the story of the prophet Joseph (q.v.) in the twelfth sūra. The wife of Potiphar (in the Qurʾān Potiphar is called *ʿazīz,* "powerful," that is, one holding a powerful position [cf. Q 12:30, 51, 78, 88]), on failing to persuade Joseph to sleep with her, carries out her threat to him and he is thrown into prison. Two young fellow-prisoners ask Joseph to interpret their dreams. One of them (whom the commentators on the Qurʾān, accepting the Biblical account in *Gen* 40:2, identify as the Egyptian king's baker) relates his dream in these words: "I see myself carrying on my head bread, and birds are eating of it." Joseph interprets the dream by saying that the young man "will be crucified and birds will eat of his head" (Q 12:41; see CRUCIFIXION). In this interpretation, "bread" comes to have the ominous signification of "feed," the prisoner in question being fated to "play host" to predatory birds.

This use of the word "bread" in the verse carries ironic connotations. First, the same life-sustaining bread he used to bake becomes the bread of death, foreboding the death of none other than the baker himself. A second, related point may be made in light of al-Ṭabarī's (d. 310/923) suggestion (*Tafsīr,* xii, 129; also Qurṭubī, *Jāmiʿ,* ix, 191) that the Egyptian king (see PHARAOH), when he intended to kill someone, used to

send him a certain kind of food, signifying death. This suggestion, if followed, means that the baker, instead of serving nourishing food to the king, will receive from him deadly food. Third, in the phrase "I see myself carrying on my head bread," the Arabic preposition used for "on" is *fawqa* which, strictly speaking, means "over" rather than "on," for which *ʿalā* would be more appropriate. It can be argued that *fawqa* has been used here in the sense of *ʿalā* (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* xii, 128). It is, however, possible that it has been used in its literal sense, graphically portraying the baker as carrying a basket of bread "over" his head for this would enable him to move briskly in order to serve his master. If so, then the irony becomes sharper still: The baker is hastening to his own death.

The fact that the baker mentions "bread" in relating his dream signifies that the content of his dream reflects his occupation. This is also true of the dream of the second prisoner (whom the qurʾānic exegetes, again following the Bible, identify as the king's cupbearer) who reports having dreamt of pressing wine (Q 12:36; cf. Rāzī, *Tafsīr,* xviii, 134: "The dream of each [prisoner] conforms to his occupation"). This may have some bearing on the broader issue of the qurʾānic view of dreams and dream-interpretation (see DREAMS AND SLEEP).

As we have seen, the use of the word "bread" in the Qurʾān is significant in its context. Its use, however, is essentially literal, even when it is interpreted to mean food in general (as in Rāzī, *Tafsīr,* xviii, 134: "… as if there were, on my head, three baskets containing bread and all kinds of foods and meals and suddenly birds of prey started biting into them"). Nonetheless, in this interpretation, as in the identification of the prisoner as the king's baker, the influence of the biblical account is obvious (cf. *Gen* 40:16-7; see also SCRIPTURE AND THE QURʾĀN).

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Breaking Trusts and Contracts

Not honoring one's legally enforceable obligation to another. Muslim exegetes identify a number of qurʾānic verses which require that contracts (*ʿuqūd,* sing. *ʿaqd,* see CONTRACTS AND ALLIANCES) not be broken, the most general of which is Q 5:1. Other verses enjoin keeping covenants (*ʿuhūd,* sing. *ʿahd,* see COVENANT), trusts *(amānāt,* sing. *amāna),* oaths (*aymān,* sing. *yamīn,* see OATHS) and pacts *(mawāthīq,* sing. *mīthāq).* According to many qurʾānic exegetes, the meanings of these terms are closely related but each carries particular legal obligations.

Q 9:4 and Q 16:91, both of which warn against breaking covenants, are interpreted by many exegetes as referring to particular events in the life of the Prophet. According to Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 606/1210; *Tafsīr,* ad loc.), Q 16:91 is related to Q 5:7 and the covenant made between the Prophet and the *anṣār* at ʿAqaba (see EMIGRANTS AND HELPERS). According to al-Zamakhsharī (d. 538/1144; *Kashshāf,* ad loc.), Q 9:4 refers to an incident in which the Quraysh (q.v.) broke their pact with the Prophet by backing their clients, the Banū Bakr,

against the clients of the Prophet, the Banū Khuzāʿa (see CLIENTS AND CLIENTAGE; TRIBES AND CLANS). Qurʾānic exegetes ordinarily claim that the Prophet's breaking of his contract in this case is a justifiable exception because the unbelievers with whom he had contracted did not uphold their end of the contract.

Concerning the most general verse about breaking contracts, Q 5:1, there is exegetical disagreement. Some exegetes disagree concerning the scope of Q 5:1. Ibn al-ʿArabī (d. 543/1148; *Aḥkām,* ad loc.) mentions a number of different interpretations, each associated with the name of a particular early commentator: Ibn ʿAbbās (d. 68/686-8) says the injunction to fulfill all contracts is coterminous with that of fulfilling all covenants; Qatāda (d. 117/735) says it refers only to keeping alliances *(aḥlāf,* sing. *ḥilf)* made in the period before Islam. According to Zayd b. Aslam, Q 5:1 includes keeping all contracts of marriage, partnership, sales, oaths, covenants and treaties. Interpreting the verse as applying only to divine-human relations and not to agreements among people, al-Zajjāj (d. 311/923) says Q 5:1 commands keeping all contracts made between God and humanity. The most general opinion is that of al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923), who reports (*Tafsīr,* ad loc.) that the order to fulfill all contracts entails fulfilling all obligations *(farāʾiḍ)* incumbent on Muslims.

In his exegesis of Q 23:8, al-Qurṭubī (d. 671/1272; *Jāmiʿ,* ad loc.) repeats this comprehensive understanding when he remarks that keeping trusts and covenants includes all that for which people are responsible in the matters of religion and in matters of this world, in both speech and deed. An inclusive understanding finds additional confirmation in the ḥadīth literature. It is reported in several of the standard collections of prophetic ḥadīth that all people who act treacherously, i.e. not keeping their agreements, will be held accountable for this on the day of judgment (see Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* 9:72; Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad,* 2:70; Tirmidhī, *Saḥīḥ,* 2191; Ibn Māja, 2872-2873; Nasāʾī, *Sunan,* 6:180; see LAST JUDGMENT).

Moving on to other relevant qurʾānic references, Q 13:20 and the verse repeated in Q 23:8 and 70:32 seem to contain a slight variation on the qurʾānic understanding of keeping covenants, which is in line with that of the ḥadīth collections. In Q 13:20 fulfilling the covenant of God and not breaking the pact are listed along with other attributes of the people who will enter the gardens of paradise (see GARDEN; PARADISE), thus providing a positive obverse to the judgment scenarios already mentioned. Keeping covenants and trusts is also listed in the context of the attributes given in Q 23:1-11 and Q 70:22-35 of those who will enter paradise. (See REWARD AND PUNISHMENT.)

Note also that there are structural parallels among the three lists in Q 13:19-23, 23:1-11, and 70:22-35. Each list includes a ritual obligation or contract with God such as the requirement to pray or give alms (Q 13:22; 23:2, 4, 9; 70:34; see ALMSGIVING; PRAYER). Each list includes marriage and family obligations including the restriction of sex to properly contracted contexts (Q 13:21-2; 23:5-7; 70:29-31; see ABSTINENCE; CHASTITY; SEX AND SEXUALITY; MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE). At least two of the lists have reference to giving upright testimony (Q 70:33) and not engaging in idle talk (Q 23:3). Q 13:22 mentions repelling evil with good in this context. In commenting upon these lists, Ibn Kathīr (d. 774/1373; *Tafsīr,* ad loc.) reports that the connection between these social and religious contracts and the requirement of keeping such obligations, reflects the obligation

arising from the "trust" accepted by Adam (see ADAM AND EVE) from God in Q 33:72. This trust, rejected by the heavens, earth and mountains, signifies the obligation to serve God when given the freedom to choose between good and evil (q.v.).

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Bridewealth

The obligatory payment of a sum of money by the groom to the bride as stipulated in the marriage contract, a sum which in turn becomes her property. Modern English usage has shown a preference for the term bridewealth or marriage payment over the earlier term "dowry" (cf. *Encyclopaedia Britannica* 1996, s.v. "bridewealth" and "dowry"). In the Qurʾān three different words are used for the concept: *ajr* (reward), *farīḍa* (legal obligation) and *ṣaduqa* (nuptial gift).

Several aspects of bridewealth are treated in the Qurʾān: (1) The payment of bridewealth is a prerequisite of marriage (the term used is *ajr* in Q 4:24, 25; 5:5; 33:50) In Q 60:10, for instance, it is stated that "There is no fault for you to marry them when you have given them their rewards." (2) The bridewealth becomes the property of the bride. This is an obvious conclusion from Q 4:4 where men are asked to "give the women their nuptial gifts *(ṣaduqāt)* as a present *(niḥlatan)*" to which they no longer have any rights except any portion voluntarily renounced by the woman (cf. also Q 4:20). Such possible post-marriage arrangements between spouses concerning the bridewealth are also mentioned in Q 4:24 and 2:237. (3) There is a relation between bridewealth and marital intercourse (Q 4:21 and 24). According to Q 2:236-7 the full amount of the bridewealth has to be given only when marital intercourse has occurred (see MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE).

The qurʾānic concept of bridewealth and the terms used for it differ substantially from pre-Islamic Arab custom (see PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QURʾĀN). In old Arabic poetry (see POETS AND POETRY) the bridewealth is called *mahr* and was given to the father or male relatives of the bride (cf. also Q 60:10 and Farrāʾ, *Maʿānī,* i, 256). The bride may also have received from the groom a gift called *ṣadāq* which was, however, of much lesser value. Similar customs were known in ancient Israel (cf. *Gen* 34:12; *Exod* 22:16; *1 Sam* 18:25). The Qurʾān, on the contrary, reserves the bridewealth for the married woman herself and gives her the sole right of disposal. This must have constituted an innovation in Arabic-Islamic society, as suggested by two facts: 1) the avoidance of the term *mahr* in the extensive terminology concerning bridewealth in the Qurʾān; and 2) the qurʾānic idea that the bridewealth is a compensation for the permission to have sexual intercourse (not a compensation for the loss of a potentially productive member of a clan as *mahr* was probably considered in pre-Islamic Arab tribal society) and, related to this idea, the choice of the term *ajr* (reward).

The amount to be given as bridewealth is not stipulated in the Qurʾān. In Arab society it depended on the bride's social status. It is unknown whether the *qinṭār* (of silver or gold?) mentioned in Q 4:20 should be considered as an average measure of bridewealth among the wealthier followers of Muḥammad or as a very large one (cf. ʿAbd al-Razzāq, *al-Muṣannaf,* vi, no. 10420).

In early Islamic legal discussion on bridewealth the qurʾānic discussion of the subject forms the point of departure (see LAW AND THE QURʾĀN). In this discussion, however, many questions left unanswered in the Qurʾān are also tackled, such as the lower and upper limits of bridewealth, the date of payment, the possibility of payment by installments and so on. It is remarkable that in early legal discussions the qurʾānic terms for bridewealth are not used at all. The most favored term is *ṣadāq* (bridewealth) with *mahr* as a synonym occurring less frequently.

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Brocade

see MATERIAL CULTURE AND THE QURʾĀN

Brother and Brotherhood

The term brother *(akh)* is used in the Qurʾān in several senses: in its strict biological sense; in several partly metaphorical senses, especially to indicate membership in a genealogical group; and, in a more extended metaphorical sense, to indicate membership in a group united by a shared belief. There are verses in the Qurʾān that indicate that the sense of community and mutual respect, concern and aid implied by brotherhood in this extended, metaphorical sense can unite not only Muslims but any humans who do virtuous acts in response to God's expectations of them (see COMMUNITY AND SOCIETY IN THE QURʾĀN; GRATITUDE AND INGRATITUDE).

Brother, in its literal sense, a male who shares one or both parents with another sibling, is the object of several verses with legal implications. A brother is within the closer degrees of kinship (q.v.) and therefore both forbidden to marry the daughter of his brother (Q 4:23) and allowed to see his sisters dressed less formally than would be proper before men not in close kin relation or considered likely to see them as sexually desirable (Q 24:31; compare Q 33:55 on the Prophet's wives; see WIVES OF THE PROPHET; SEX AND SEXUALITY; SOCIAL INTERACTIONS). Since Q 4:23 also forbids a "milk sister" to marry a biologically unrelated male suckled by the same mother, specialists in Islamic law have usually included the milk brother as well as the milk sister and milk mother in most of the legal rulings that regulate marriageability and acceptable private association. The brother also has a fixed position in entitlement to inheritance (q.v.; Q 4:176 and Q 4:11, in which "brothers" *(ikhwa)* is generally understood to mean both brothers and sisters; see SISTER). The brother is referred to as the archetype of the *walī l-dam,* the next of kin with the right to demand retaliation

(q.v.) for a deliberately slain kinsman or to settle for blood money (Q 2:178; see BLOOD MONEY; MURDER).

The most important "blood" brothers who figure in the Qurʾān are Cain and Abel, (who are referred to, but not mentioned by name; see CAIN AND ABEL), the brothers of Joseph (q.v.; see also BENJAMIN), and Moses (q.v.) and Aaron (Hārūn, see AARON). It is interesting that a figure so centrally important as Moses has a brother who is specifically called both a "prophet" (*nabī,* Q 19:53) and a messenger (*rasūl,* Q 20:47; see MESSENGER) of the Lord and who could, like his brother, receive divine inspiration (*waḥy,* Q 10:87; see REVELATION AND INSPIRATION) as well as miraculous signs (*āyāt,* Q 23:45; 20:42; see SIGNS). Moses, whose speech is hard to understand, has asked God to give him Aaron, his brother, as a "helper" *(wazīr)* from his family (Q 20:29-30; 25:35; 28:35). Moreover, both Moses and Aaron are given *sulṭān,* a word usually understood to mean authority, power and authoritative proof (Q 28:35; and 23:45, in which the phrase is *sulṭān mubīn,* "clear authority").

The simultaneous appearance of two prophet brothers among one people raised, for later generations, questions about the nature of prophethood (see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD). The Qurʾān seems to contain a two-fold explanation of the need for both prophets: namely, the rebelliousness of the Israelites towards Moses and his resultant need of Aaron's help, and the assistance Moses needs in circumventing his difficulty in speech. Thus when Moses orders them to enter the Holy Land and they refuse, Moses prays: "My Lord, I control only myself and my brother. Distinguish us (or "distance us") from such perverse people" (Q 5:25). Yet one might argue that God could have given Moses the gifts of speech and authority that would have freed him from the need of a prophet-brother.

A further problem is raised by Aaron's presence when the calf (see CALF OF GOLD) was made to be an object of worship while Moses was absent and receiving the law on Mount Sinai (q.v.), especially as Moses had told Aaron, "Be my deputy among my people, act righteously and do not follow the path of the perverse" (Q 7:142). That Moses on his return at least pretends to hold his brother responsible is shown by the words: "He [Moses] took his brother by the head, pulling him toward himself" (Q 7:150). Hence Aaron says in explanation: "O son of my mother, the people have humiliated me [or, "thought me to be weak"] and almost killed me. So do not let my enemies gloat over me nor place me among the wrongdoers" (Q 7:150). Moses then prays for both himself and his brother: "O Lord, forgive me and my brother and cause us to enter in your mercy" (Q 7:151). Alongside all of these problems was the problem of the apparent sin of Moses in killing a man (Q 20:40; 26:14; 26:19). These verses offered rich material for the speculation of later Muslim thinkers on the sinlessness, the degree of foreknowledge (or reasons for withholding foreknowledge) and the timing of divinely ordained persuasive miracles that God might grant his prophets (see IMPECCABILITY AND INFALLIBILITY; MIRACLE).

The commentators by and large avoid this discussion. Al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923) explains that "From our mercy we gave [Moses] his brother Aaron as a prophet *(nabī)*" (Q 19:53) means: "We supported and helped him [Moses] through his [Aaron's] prophethood" (*Tafsīr*, xvi, 95). Al-Ṭabarī (*Tafsīr,* xvi, 160) also implies that Aaron's station is in answer to Moses' prayers (which, perhaps, God anticipated) when Moses asks God to give him his brother Aaron as a vizier *(wazīr)* and says: "Let him share in my mission *(amrī)*" (Q 20:32). Moses is saying, al-Ṭabarī explains, "Make him a prophet

just as you made me a prophet." Al-Bayḍāwī (d. ca. 716/1316-7) seems to be explaining Aaron's inability to stop the worship of the calf — and also, perhaps, to be justifying Aaron as a second prophet — when he says that Aaron was three years older than Moses and was "a mild-tempered and tractable person, better loved by the people of Israel" (*Anwār,* i, 345). Yet often, even when the verse refers to prophetic traits possessed by both brothers, the commentators remain principally interested in Moses. Thus, in discussing the "miraculous signs" mentioned in Q 23:45, *Tafsīr al-Jalālayn* (450) only refers to the miracles of Moses since Aaron plays such a subordinate role in the narrative of their lives. Nevertheless, as al-Ṭūsī (d. 460/1067) explains (*Tibyān,* iv, 532), when Moses went up Mount Sinai he was able to order Aaron to be his deputy even though God had sent Aaron as a prophet with a mission *(nabī mursal)* because Moses had leadership *(riyāsa)* over Aaron as well as over all of the rest of the religious community *(umma)* to whom Moses brought revelation. Interestingly, the *sulṭān* given to Moses and Aaron is understood by several commentators to mean *ḥujja,* "argument (for a case)" (e.g. Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* xx, 76; see PROOF). Al-Bayḍāwī (d. ca. 716/1316-7) interprets *sulṭān mubīn* (Q 23:45), in which *mubīn* would ordinarily be understood to mean "manifestly clear," as "a manifestly clear argument, compelling to the one who opposes it" and says that it may mean such miraculous signs as Moses' staff which turned into a snake (*Anwār,* ad loc.). Incidentally, the use of terms such as *sulṭān* and *wazīr,* later to become political terms frequently used in the Islamic world, caused the verses on Moses and Aaron to be examined in the light of this use (see AUTHORITY). The example of Aaron as an "infallible" aide sent to help Moses was of importance to some Shīʿīs in understanding the role of ʿAlī (see ʿALĪ B. ABĪ ṬĀLIB) and other imāms (see SHĪʿISM AND THE QURʾĀN; IMĀM).

Very common in the Qurʾān is the largely metaphorical use of "brother" to mean members of a tribe or people (see TRIBES AND CLANS) especially (though not exclusively) in connection with three of the so-called "Arabian" prophets sent by God to their people. Hūd (q.v.) is the "brother" of the ʿĀd (q.v.; Q 7:65; 11:50; 26:124; 46:21), Ṣāliḥ (q.v.) is the brother of the Thamūd (q.v.; Q 7:73; 11:61; 26:142; 27:45) and Shuʿayb (q.v.) is the brother of Midian (q.v.; Q 7:85; 11:84; 29:36). Similarly, Noah (q.v.) is the brother of the "people" or "tribe" *(qawm)* of Noah (Q 26:105-6). Lot (q.v.) is the brother of the *qawm* of Lot (Q 26:160-1); and, correspondingly, "the brothers *(ikhwān)* of Lot" (meaning the people of Lot) are listed among those peoples who rejected messengers sent by God (Q 50:13). Al-Rāghib al-Iṣfahānī (d. early 5th/11th cent.; *Mufradāt,* 68, under the heading *"akh"*) says that brother is used in these verses to convey that the compassion that such a messenger has for his people is just as that which a brother has for his brother. In a parallel usage the kin of Mary (q.v.) address her as "sister of Aaron" (Q 19:28).

There are a few verses that bridge or partially indicate the transference of "brother" from its literal or partly metaphorical use (as when it means kinsman) to its full metaphorical sense. A striking example of the use of the emotional closeness implied by brotherhood is the simile which warns the believers to avoid suspicion, spying and speaking ill of each other, for: "Would one of you like to eat the flesh of his dead brother? For you would have a horror of such things" (Q 49:12). The believers are told if they "become mixed" with orphans (q.v.), "they become your brothers *(ikhwānukum)*" (Q 2:220). *Tafsīr al-Jalālayn* (46) echoes many commentaries in saying that

"brothers" here means "brothers in religion"; but, like many other commentaries, it implies that such acceptance means acceptance in a quasi-familial relationship, "For it is customary for a brother to mingle his expenses with his brothers, so you should act in this way [with such orphans]." Similarly, it is said of adoptive children that they should keep the names of their fathers "but if you do not know their fathers, then they are your brothers *(ikhwānukum)* in religion *(dīn)* and your friends/clients/protegés *(mawālī)*" (Q 33:5; see CLIENTS AND CLIENTAGE).

While several verses attest that biological kinship, including brotherhood, is less important than spiritual kinship, the verse following the discussion of adoption shows that for legal purposes real brotherhood is still the measure relevant to inheritance and kindred matters: "Blood relatives are closer to each other in God's book than to the believers and the emigrants. If (nevertheless) you act with goodness toward those affiliated with you *(awliyā'ikum),* that is set down in the Book (q.v.)" (Q 33:6). This verse is said by virtually all the commentators to confirm the abrogation of the *mu'ākhāt,* the adoption of each other as brothers by the Meccan Emigrants *(muhājirūn)* and certain members of the Helpers *(anṣār),* the sincere believers among the Medinans, at the time that the Prophet settled in Medina (see EMIGRANTS AND HELPERS).

Nevertheless, in the larger scheme of things, the ties created by religion are more meaningful in the eyes of God and should be a more significant source of motivation. If your kin and your wealth are dearer to you than the Prophet, God and the struggle in his path (see PATH OR WAY [OF GOD]), "then lie in wait until God brings his command to pass" (Q 9:24). "Those who believe in God and the last day (see LAST JUDGMENT) will not show love to those who oppose God and his Prophet whether they be fathers or sons or brothers or members of their clan *('ashīra)*" (Q 58:22). This sūra belongs to the Medinan period and may refer to the attempts by the Prophet to make the sincere converts among the Medinans place their loyalty to Islam above their feelings of kinship to their relatives who were not real converts, the "hypocrites" (see HYPOCRITES AND HYPOCRISY).

Several verses affirm the brotherhood of the believers (see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF). The Qur'ān reminds Muslims that before accepting Islam they were enemies, "then he unified your hearts so that through his bounty you became brothers *(ikhwān)*" (Q 3:103). The believers must take care to preserve this condition for they "are but brothers *(ikhwa);* therefore, make peace between (any) two of your brothers" (Q 49:10). Correspondingly, those who share in some form of sinful behavior can be considered members of a "brotherhood" so that "those who squander money [or are prodigal] are the brothers of the devils (*shayāṭīn,* see DEVIL)" (Q 17:27). Al-Ṭabarī (*Tafsīr,* xv, 74) adds: "In this way the Arabs (q.v.) speak of anyone who adheres to a habit of a people and follows their tradition: [he is] their brother."

Other verses show that the brotherhood of the believers entails a feeling of mutual affection and interdependence regardless of gender. Thus Q 3:195 reads: "And their Lord answers them, 'I do not/will not cause the action of anyone of you to be lost, whether male or female; you depend on/belong to/proceed from each other *(ba'ḍukum min ba'ḍin).*'" Similarly Q 9:71 reads: "The believers, male and female, are friends/guardians of each other *(ba'ḍuhum awliyā' ba'ḍin).*" Indeed, Q 59:9, which refers to the Emigrants from Mecca and the Helpers in Medina but may be generalized to indicate the degree to which all true believers prefer the interests of other believers to their own, reads: "They do not find

envy in their hearts for that which has been given [to the emigrants] but prefer them to themselves even if there be poverty amongst themselves. Whoever guards himself from the avarice (q.v.) of his own soul, those are the truly fortunate." (See also the next verse, Q 59:10 and compare Q 64:16).

According to some modernists all humans are believers by nature, and only by willful commitment to evil leave that state. Some verses might be seen to support this view. There are those who associate others with God (*mushrikūn,* see IDOLATRY AND IDOLATERS); "but" — adds a verse which need not be read as exclusively designating Muslims — "if they repent and establish worship (q.v.) and pay the alms-tax (*zakāt,* see ALMSGIVING), they are your brothers *(ikhwān)* in religion" (Q 9:11). And in a verse which seems from its context to be addressed to the righteous *(al-muttaqīn),* they are promised that in heaven (q.v.): "We shall root out whatever [remains] of hatred in their hearts; [they shall be] as brothers *(ikhwān)* on raised couches, face to face" (Q 15:47). If this verse is addressed to the righteous, both Muslim and non-Muslim, it conceives of brotherhood as their universal reward and ideal condition in the future life.

Elaboration of the concept of brotherhood as a heightened form of religious identification became prominent in medieval Islam. Literary examples of this would include the writings of the Brotherhood of Purity (Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ) and of Ibn Abī l-Dunyā (d. 281/894), whose ideas on "brotherhood" in God are often quoted by al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111) in book 15 of his *Iḥyāʾ ʿulūm al-dīn*. Historical formulations, especially those associated with Ṣūfism, are a prominent feature of religious life in virtually every Islamic century (see ṢŪFISM AND THE QURʾĀN).

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Buildings

see HOUSE — DOMESTIC AND DIVINE; MOSQUE; MARKETS

Burial

The interment of the body after death and accompanying practices involving the preparation of the body, its transportation to a cemetery, mourning, and erection of tombstones and mortuary buildings. In Islam, burial and its attendant preparations are the method prescribed for disposing of the dead. Islamic burial rituals *(janāʾiz)* normally require four elements: washing the body, shrouding, funeral prayers, and prompt burial with the face oriented towards the Kaʿba (q.v.) in Mecca. They are discussed most fully in Islamic legal literature *(fiqh)* and in modern ethnographies. The Qurʾān itself deals substantively with eschatology (q.v.) but has little to say about burial per se. Muslims nonetheless use verses from the Qurʾān in burial rites, mourning and mortuary inscriptions.

The Qurʾān briefly addresses itself to the question of the origin of burial in two ways. It depicts burial as the closing stage in the course that God has set for humans to follow from conception until death (see BIOLOGY AS THE CREATION AND STAGES OF LIFE). At death, he causes them to be buried *(aqbarahu)* in anticipation of the resurrection (q.v.; Q 80:18-22) when they will come forth from their graves *(ajdāth, qubūr)* for the day of judgment (Q 36:51-64; 100:9; see LAST JUDGMENT; APOCALYPSE). The

Qurʾān also alludes to the origins of burial in the narrative of Adamʾs two sons (identified as Cain [Qābīl] and Abel [Ḥābīl] in the commentaries) where a raven sent by God shows the murderer how to bury his brother's body (Q 5:31; cf. Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* vi, 127-8; see CAIN AND ABEL). Unlike the Bible, the Qurʾān does not explicitly discuss burial procedures. It does, however, prohibit prayer over the graves of hypocrites and disbelievers (Q 9:84; see HYPOCRITES AND HYPOCRISY; BELIEF AND UNBELIEF).

Despite the dearth of information about burial in the Qurʾān itself, Muslims have ubiquitously employed the sacred text in their funerary rites. According to some ḥadīths, the recitation of specific chapters and verses can earn the deceased special rewards in the hereafter (see REWARD AND PUNISHMENT). Thus, reciting Q 36, the sūra entitled Yā Sīn and known as "the heart of the Qurʾān," will bring them forgiveness, even a martyr's blissful status. According to another tradition, whoever dies after reading the last verses of Q 59, which glorify God, will be rewarded with paradise (q.v.). Comparable blessings are attributed to reciting Q 1, 67, 112, 113, and 114. Moreover, some ḥadīths report that the faithful will continue to recite and study the Qurʾān in their graves until resurrection.

Fiqh manuals and ethnographic descriptions of Muslim burial practices in the Middle East, North Africa, south and southeast Asia, and North America compensate for the paucity of information in historical literature. Jurists commend the reading of Q 36 when death approaches. Though they deplore recitation of the Qurʾān in funeral processions, those who follow the Shāfiʿī and Ḥanbalī forms of Islamic law approve reading the first sūra, Sūrat al-Fātiḥa (see FĀTIḤA), during prescribed funerary prayers. Shāfiʿī and Ḥanafī jurists favor reciting "From it we created you, to it we will return you, and from it we will extract you a second time" (Q 20:55) when the bereaved throw dirt on the grave. Another practice, involving advising the soul of the deceased on how to answer the angels that interrogate it in the grave the night after burial, includes the admonition that it should confess that the Qurʾān is its guide *(imām)* or book. Known as the *talqīn,* this rite is endorsed by most of the Islamic legal schools.

Ethnographies, on the other hand, indicate that recitation of the Qurʾān (q.v.) is a *sine qua non* in funerary rites, though these vary according to circumstance and local custom. This can be done by trained reciters (see RECITATION, THE ART OF), by the religiously learned or by ordinary mourners at the homes of the deceased, as well as in mosques, assembly halls and cemeteries. Qurʾānic recitation characterizes multiple aspects of the full range of Islamic burial practices. Generally, it occurs when someone is in the throes of death, while the body is being washed and enshrouded, at funerary prayers, and on death anniversaries. During the mourning period (usually forty days), a complete reading of the Qurʾān *(khatma)* is conducted in many Muslim cultures.

The written Qurʾān has various uses in burial rites. Sometimes the whole book is placed on the breast of the deceased or carried in the funeral cortege. In some cultures, the outer shroud has qurʾānic verses written upon it. More commonly, verses about God's unity and permanence, intercession, the afterlife, the Prophet, and the inevitability of death are inscribed on tombstones and mausolea. Epigraphic surveys (see EPIGRAPHY AND THE QURʾĀN) in medieval cemeteries reveal that the Throne Verse (Q 2:255); Q 3:169, 185; 112; and 55:26-27 were among the most popular verses, but many others are also attested. Funerary shrines and mosques dedicated to rulers, saints and esteemed scholars of-

ten feature artistically rendered inscriptions from the Qurʾān. The Taj Mahal in Agra, India, wherein lie the tombs of Shāh Jāhān (1000/1592-1076/1666) and his wife Mumtāz (d. 1040/1631), is exquisitely inscribed with verses from 23 sūras, including Q 36 and 112. Muslim jurists periodically condemn such practices, however, and none more than the Ḥanbalīs. See also DEATH AND THE DEAD; RITUAL AND THE QURʾĀN.

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Byzantines

The inhabitants of the Eastern Roman Empire, which had its capital at Constantinople. The Byzantines (*al-Rūm,* lit. "the Romans") are named in the Qurʾān only in Sūrat al-Rūm, Q 30:1-5: "The Byzantines have been defeated *(ghulibati l-Rūm)* in a nearby land, but after their defeat they will prevail *(sa-yaghlibūna)* within a few years.… On that day the believers will rejoice." An alternate reading going back to several early authorities, including Ibn ʿUmar (d. 73/693), reverses the voice of the verbs: "The Byzantines have prevailed *(ghalabati l-Rūm)*… [but afterwards] will be defeated *(sa-yughlabūna)*." This reading has mostly been rejected (e.g. Ṭabarī, *Jāmiʿ,* xxi, 15-21).

Historical context

The apparent context of this qurʾānic reference is the war between the Byzantine and Sasanian (Persian) Empires which coincided with the earliest years of Islam. The deposition of the Byzantine Emperor Maurice in 602 and his replacement by Phocas provoked the Sasanian Emperor Khusraw II Parviz into reopening hostilities. Byzantine defenses crumbled and the widely-hated Phocas was deposed in turn by Heraclius in 610. In the following decade, the Persians conquered Byzantine Syria, Palestine and Egypt, as well as much of Anatolia. Byzantine prestige received a harsh blow with the loss of Jerusalem and the True Cross in 614. But in the 620s Heraclius turned the tables in a series of northern campaigns crushing the Sasanians decisively at Nineveh in 627. He returned the Cross in triumph to Jerusalem in 630. By then, however, Muslim fighters from the south were already probing Byzantine defenses; they became the real beneficiaries of this long, devastating Perso-Byzantine war about which little is known except from archaeological evidence (C. Foss, The Persians; W. Kaegi, *Byzantium*).

The opening verses of Q 30, Sūrat al-Rūm, thus refer to Persian successes in Syria in the 610s, although it is not clear precisely when and where. In biographical

literature *(sīra)* about the Prophet and in exegetical literature, Muḥammad and the early Muslims favor the monotheistic Byzantines in this war while their Meccan enemies favor the "pagan" Persians. Alternatively, the largely rejected reading could refer to an early defeat of the Muslims at Byzantine hands as at Muʾta (629) and predict Muslim victories about to come (see the discussion in M. Götz, Historischen Hintergrund).

In the decades before these events, imperial power in northern Arabia had already declined and with it the fortunes of Arab imperial protégés (see I. Shahid, *Byzantium;* B. Isaac, *The limits;* A. Cameron, *Byzantine Near East,* see PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QURʾĀN). But with the disappearance of the Sasanian Empire and the rapid success of Muslim armies almost everywhere, the stubbornly surviving Byzantine empire became what it had not been during Muḥammad's lifetime, the paradigmatic enemy of the Islamic polity. Despite the varied exchanges which took place constantly and the admiration which Byzantines and Muslims often expressed for one another, true coexistence remained impossible as expressed by André Miquel: "Which of the two of us was created for the ruination of the other?" ("Lequel de nous deux fut créé pour la ruine de l'autre?" *La géographie,* ii, 384). The conquest of Constantinople appears as a cosmic event *(fitan)* in eschatological ḥadīth (see ESCHATOLOGY; ḤADĪTH AND THE QURʾĀN), while the long history of the wars between the two powers often evidences a ritual character.

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Exegetical explanations

As noted above, several scholars have alluded to the difficulty to be found in reading and interpreting the first verses of Sūrat al-Rūm, Q 30:1-5, pointing to the problematic vocalization of these verses, a textual situation that carries the potential of changing the meaning and the dependent historical explanation (cf. R. Bell, *Origin of Islam,* 137-8; id., *Commentary,* ii, 69-70; E. Beck, Die Sure ar-Rūm, 336-9). The most important problem concerns the forms of the verb *ghalaba,* "to vanquish," and whether in its repeated usages it is understood as passive voice or active. For this passage the voweling of the verbs is crucial as it fundamentally changes the meaning and interpretation of the verses.

The early commentary of Muqātil b. Sulaymān (d. 150/767) states that "Persia had defeated the Rūm and the unbelievers *(kuffār)* of Mecca rejoiced saying that the Persians, like us, do not have a [holy] book (q.v.) and they have defeated the Rūm who are People of the Book (q.v.) like you and so we will defeat you the way the Persians defeated the Rūm… On the day of Badr, the Muslims triumphed over the unbelievers *(kuffār)* of Mecca and the news reached them that the Rūm triumphed over the Persians and the Muslims rejoiced for that" (*Tafsīr,* iii, 406-7). Although the early exegetical texts stress the main reading that favors Byzantine victory, the variant reading is found already in texts of the early second/eighth and early third/ninth century with chains of authorities going back to much earlier times. According to the grammarian al-Farrāʾ (d. 207/822), "The reciters (*qurrāʾ,* see RECITERS OF THE QURʾĀN) agree on *ghulibat* except for Ibn ʿUmar who read it *ghalabat*." Al-Farrāʾ, however, states that the exegetical tradition rejects the saying of Ibn ʿUmar (*Maʿānī,* ii, 319).

Al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923) cites the material of the standard authorities, noting even insignificant variants. The main traditional reading, which is the most prevalent in the commentaries is, according to al-Ṭabarī, *ghulibat… sa-yaghlibūn*. The basic explana-

tion provided by al-Ṭabarī (*Tafsīr,* xxi, 15-21), which reiterates earlier exegetical works and is repeated by a majority of later commentaries, is the following: The Rūm were defeated by the Persians but they will soon be victorious and on that day, the day when the People of the Book defeat the pagan Persians, the believers will rejoice. This reading reflects a positive outlook towards the Byzantines in the expectation of a later Byzantine victory that will give the believers cause to celebrate. The believers' "rejoicing" at a Byzantine victory is explained by the commentators in religious terms that stress the importance of Byzantine monotheism as a determining factor in securing such Muslim approval: The "believers shall rejoice" for the victory of the Byzantines, a People of the Book, over the polytheist Persians (see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF; POLYTHEISM AND ATHEISM). This explanation is also found in the major work on the occasions of revelation (*asbāb al-nuzūl,* see OCCASIONS OF REVELATION) of al-Wāḥidī (d. 468/1075; *Asbāb,* 258-9; cf. id., *Wasīṭ,* iii, 462-3).

Another explanation provided by the commentators is that which attributes the believers' "rejoicing" to a Muslim victory which coincided with the predicted Byzantine victory. Al-Ṭabarī (*Tafsīr,* xxi, 16) states that the Muslims and the unbelievers *(mushrikūn)* met in battle on the same day the Byzantines and Persians were confronting each other; God let the Muslims triumph over the polytheists and he let the People of the Book vanquish the Persians. Most commentaries mention the battle of Badr (2/624; see BADR) or the treaty of Ḥudaybiya (q.v.) as coinciding with the Byzantine victory over the Persians (see EXPEDITIONS AND BATTLES). It is significant that the exact date for the promised future victory became an important subject of debate and led the Companion of the Prophet, Abū Bakr (q.v.), to engage in a wager *(murāhana)* with his enemies. The importance of the debate is linked in the commentaries with Muḥammad's ability to prophesy future events. The *murāhana,* discussed at length since such an action subsequently became forbidden, centered around the definition of the phrase "a few years" in Q 30:4. The commentators' identification of this time span generally places it between three and nine years or at the outset of the seventh year.

Al-Ṭabarī mentions the principal variant reading *ghalabat… sa-yughlabūn* on the authority of Ibn ʿUmar and Abū Saʿīd. This tradition has the potential of changing the meaning of these verses drastically. The Byzantines defeated the Persians but, later, the Byzantines will be defeated by the Muslims, the real cause for Muslim rejoicing. Al-Ṭabarī, however, states that "the only correct reading for us is *ghulibat al-Rūm* and no other reading is acceptable…" (*Jāmiʿ,* xxi, 16). Nevertheless, a large number of commentaries record this variant *(ghalabat… sa-yughlabūn)* that promises the ultimate defeat of the Byzantines by the Muslims. This negative interpretation attempts to circumvent the issue of the believers' rejoicing by denying any previous ideological affiliation between Islam and Byzantium, a perspective that assumed prominence in the course of the eleventh century. The Muʿtazilī ʿAbd al-Jabbār (d. 415/1025) explained the believers' joy in light of his own times: "Why is it that the believers shall rejoice for the polytheists' victory over one another… the answer is that God will bring victory upon the believers by bringing about the humiliation of a group of polytheists by another such group…" (*Tanzīh,* 399; see also MUʿTAZILĪS). Similarly, the Muʿtazilī al-Zamakhsharī's (d. 538/1144) interpretation is that the Rūm were victorious and they will be defeated by the Muslims in a few years. Al-Zamakhsharī proposes that the continuous

weakening of the warring parties would strengthen Islam, hence the believers' rejoicing (*Kashshāf,* iii, 466-7). Abū Ḥayyān (d. 745/1344) also includes the variant reading of Ibn ʿUmar and explains that after a certain period, the Muslims will triumph over the Rūm, whereas al-Bayḍāwī (d. 685/1286) provides the variant reading along with the traditional interpretation, but without any further discussion as to its veracity. It is as if the two interpretations, the prevalent and the variant, are on a par. The Ṣūfī ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Qushayrī (d. 465/1072) adheres to the traditional reading but does not neglect to specify that "the Muslims rejoiced for the victory of the Rūm over the Persians, even though unbelief unites them"; the Rūm, however, are a little better off having singled out a number of prophets for devotion (*Laṭāʾif,* v, 107; see also ṢŪFISM AND THE QURʾĀN).

Al-Qurṭubī (d. 671/1273) includes a third reading that uses both verbs in the active voice and provides the following explanation: On the day of Badr, the Rūm were victorious over the Persians and the Muslims rejoiced and then God brought down the good news that the Rūm would be victorious once again in a few years" (*Jāmiʿ,* xiv, 4). This variant promising a double Byzantine victory is exceptional but is in line with the traditional positive reading that promises a future Byzantine victory. Another isolated reading is found in the Shīʿī *tafsīr* of al-Qummī (d. 328/939) who offers a unique interpretation: The Persians defeated the Byzantines and they (the Persians) will be defeated by the believers (the Muslims). Al-Qummī is perhaps alone in explaining these verses in terms of a later Persian defeat by the Muslims and with reference to the reception of the Prophet's letters by the great leaders of the Near East (cf. Qummī, *Tafsīr,* ii, 152-3).

But to return to the principal alternative interpretation, commentators of the fifth/eleventh to seventh/thirteenth centuries adopted a new exegetical emphasis attempting to circumvent the believers' rejoicing (see EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN; CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL). This new line of explanation reflects the emergence of two cardinal differences in relation to the prior standpoint. First, the Byzantines who were traditionally viewed as monotheists are now depicted as polytheists. Second, the joy of the believers no longer stems from the knowledge of a future Byzantine victory. In the commentaries dating from the twelfth century on, the "rejoicing" arises from a combination of reasons: because the polytheists (Persians and Byzantines) were battling one another; because the Muslims were victorious over their enemies; because the Byzantine victory coincided with a Muslim victory; or because the victory, predicted by the Prophet, testified to his truthfulness. This new attitude represents an attempt at depreciating the traditional explanation of the believers' rejoicing with its main emphasis on the shared monotheism of the Muslims and Byzantines. This traditionally proclaimed reason becomes now only one among a variety of other reasons.

Another departure from the traditional explanation occurs in the Shīʿī commentary of al-Ṭabarsī (d. 548/1153), which states that "Jerusalem (q.v.) was for the Rūm, the equivalent of the Kaʿba (q.v.) for the Muslims." In explaining the believers' "rejoicing" he introduces a nuance: "The believers will rejoice for the expulsion of the Persians from Jerusalem and not for the Byzantines' victory because the latter are infidels *(kuffār);* the other reasons for rejoicing are due to the polytheists' distress, to the fulfillment of the prophecy and the heralding of the Muslims' own future victory" (Ṭabarsī, *Majmaʿ,* xx-xxv, 7). This rising motif of the Byzantines as infidels is coupled with a novel stress on the impor-

tance of Jerusalem. Abū Ḥayyān similarly introduces Jerusalem into the debate: In "a few years" the Muslims will conquer Jerusalem (*Baḥr,* 162, par. 9-12). The fact that such interpretations coincided with the period of the Crusades is not accidental.

The late fourth/tenth and early fifth/eleventh centuries had seen major Muslim defeats at the hands of the Byzantine emperors. The anti-Byzantine interpretation that was now emphasized must be linked to the new defensive position taken by the Muslims. The late fifth/eleventh century saw the arrival of the Crusades with their fresh religious message. From then on, a clear religious consciousness would develop in response to this specific crusading mentality, one that rejected any identification with the other monotheists and that placed Jerusalem at the top of its military and cultural agenda.

Consequently, the principal variant reading assumed a more prominent place in the commentaries, in particular in the more polemical commentaries. The variant reading sought to find different reasons for the believers' rejoicing in an attempt to distance the early Muslim community from Byzantium. The variant reading never, however, stands on its own. The traditionally more accepted reading is always juxtaposed side by side with the variant. Working as they were within a tradition, the commentators reiterated the traditional reading and interpretation. Ideology created a further problem for the commentators who were caught by having to re-interpret a series of verses that were originally used to establish the very foundation of prophecy in Islam (see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD). The miraculous character of the Qurʾān, partly reflected in the prophecies of future events, was essential to the theory of the inimitability of the Qurʾān (*iʿjāz al-Qurʾān,* see INIMITABILITY). In his chapter explaining the Qurʾān's information about future events, al-Bāqillānī (d. 403/1013) cites the opening verses of Sūrat al-Rūm (Q 30) as a major example of this (*Iʿjāz,* 78). To save the "prophesying" aspect of these verses was one of the commentator's essential tasks. The fulfillment of the prophecy partially hinged on the explanation of the believers' "rejoicing." Thus those departing from the traditional interpretation made the fulfillment of the prophecy one of the basic explanations for this "rejoicing."

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C

Cain and Abel

The sons of Adam and Eve (q.v.). The qurʾānic account of Cain and Abel (Q 5:27-32) closely follows the narrative in the Bible (*Gen* 4:1-16; see SCRIPTURE AND THE QURʾĀN). Each of the two sons of Adam and Eve — whose names are not mentioned in the Qurʾān — offers a sacrifice (q.v.): Only Abel's was accepted while Cain's was rejected because he was not God-fearing. Upon Cain's threat to murder Abel, the latter remained passive, wishing only that Cain be held responsible for the sins of both (*innī urīdu an tabūʾa bi-ithmī wa-ithmika,* Q 5:29) and punished accordingly (see CHASTISEMENT AND PUNISHMENT). Having followed the guidance of a raven about the burial of Abel's body, Cain repents. The story closes by directing the *Banū Isrāʾīl* (see CHILDREN OF ISRAEL) that murder (q.v.) is unlawful (see LAWFUL AND UNLAWFUL). Whoever kills someone for a reason other than justified punishment (*man qatala nafsan bi-ghayri nafsin aw fasādin,* Q 5:32) should be viewed as though he has killed all humanity *(fa-kaʾannamā qatala l-nāsa jamīʿan);* the opposite applies to those who save human life *(man aḥyāhā)*.

Since the *Banū Isrāʾīl* are mentioned toward the end of the story, some qurʾānic exegetes have offered the opinion that by "the sons of Adam" is meant not Adam's own sons but the Israelites. Most exegetes, however, reject this view. That the story was addressed to the Jews of Medina (q.v.) can be concluded from its context (see OCCASIONS OF REVELATION; JEWS AND JUDAISM). On the other hand, the exegete Muqātil (d. 150/767; *Tafsīr,* i, 468) explains "recount to them" (*wa-tlu ʿalayhim,* Q 5:27) at the beginning of the narrative to mean: "Oh Muḥammad! Recount to the people of Mecca." According to Nöldeke (*GQ,* i, 61, 229), Q 5:15-38 is a textual unit probably anteceding the conquest of Khaybar (q.v.) in 7/628. Bell (i, 154) proposed an earlier date because of Abel's inaction. In support of this suggestion, one can adduce that *wa-tlu ʿalayhim* was used as an opening clause already in the late Meccan period.

The exegetes were acquainted with the biblical account. To this they added a variety of details drawn from relevant Jewish and Christian traditions, much of which goes back to old Oriental and/or Greco-Roman mythology and folklore including, for instance, the story of Cain's punishment which recalls the myth of Prometheus (see MYTHIC AND LEGENDARY NARRATIVES). To render many of these additions authoritative, they were couched in

the shape of a ḥadīth (see ḤADĪTH AND THE QUR'ĀN). It should also be remembered that the borrowing also went in the other direction: Islamic elements did ultimately find their way into Jewish folklore.

Different locations for the events have been suggested (see GEOGRAPHY IN THE QUR'ĀN): The sacrifice took place on Jabal Nawdh in India or at Minā (near Mecca). The fratricide was committed on the "Holy Mountain" (al-Jabal al-Muqaddas) from which Cain is said to have descended to the Land of Nawdh; Jabal Qāsyūn near Damascus; Jabal Murrān in the Ghūṭa of Damascus; Jabal Thawr or ʿAqabat al-Ḥirā' near Mecca; and, finally, in the Friday Mosque of al-Baṣra.

The importance of the story for Muslim thinking is obvious and its moral and theological dimensions have been discussed in exegetical and other relevant literature. Most exegetes tell us that Cain was to marry Abel's twin sister on the order of Adam. Others, who consider this objectionable, opt for a variant tradition according to which God sent a virgin (*ḥūriyya,* see HOURIS) from paradise (q.v.) to Abel and a female demon (*jinniyya,* see JINN) in human form to Cain, an account apparently based on the biblical story of the sons of God who married the daughters of man (*Gen* 6:1-4).

Abel's inaction and passivity (cf. Q 5:28) is evidently a Christian element since, according to Christian tradition, the murder (q.v.) of Abel is considered a prefiguration of the crucifixion of Jesus. Traditional Muslim exegesis asserts that killing in self-defense was prohibited at the time of Cain and Abel but that this prohibition was later abolished. In support of this interpretation a ḥadīth is cited in which it is declared forbidden for a Muslim to kill another Muslim in self-defense. If he prefers to fight and dies, both he and his opponent will be condemned to the fire (q.v.) of hell (q.v.). Other ḥadīths recommend the abandonment of self-defense. In emulation of Abel, the caliph ʿUthmān (q.v.; d. 35/656) is said to have renounced self-defense when his murderers entered his house. According to other commentators, the issue of self-defense is of no relevance in this context because Abel was murdered treacherously.

The interpretation of Q 5:29, "Verily I wish you to become liable for my sin and for your own" *(innī urīdu an tabūʾa bi-ithmī wa-ithmika),* is problematic because the Qurʾān teaches that nobody can bear another's burden of guilt (Q 6:164, and parallels). Often "for my sin" *(bi-ithmī)* is said to refer to Cain's sin of murdering Abel and "for your sin" *(bi-ithmika)* to Cain's other sins. According to others, the point under discussion is the punishment, not the sin (see SIN, MAJOR AND MINOR). It is held that the phrase in Q 5:29 has to be explained by adding *lā* to *an (allā),* i.e. by supplying an implied negative, as is also the exegetical situation in Q 12:85 and Q 16:15. Another ḥadīth on the last judgment (q.v.) offers yet another explanation; the ḥadīth states that a murderer will be charged with the sins of his victim.

Many interpretations of "as though he has killed all humankind" *(kaʾannamā qatala l-nāsa jamīʿan)* have also been offered: The practice of blood revenge (see BLOOD MONEY; RETALIATION; VENGEANCE) must be applied in all cases regardless of whether the murdered victim was a single person or the whole of humankind; everyone is bound to avenge the blood of a victim; as the very first human being to have taken the life of another, Cain made killing customary *(sanna al-qatl).*

The quarrel between Cain and Abel has also been explained allegorically. In Sunnī tradition, "whoever kills someone" *(man qatala nafsan)* means he "who seduces somebody to polytheism" (*shirk,* see POLYTHEISM

AND ATHEISM) and "whoever revives or saves someone" *(man aḥyāhā)* refers to one "who invites somebody to the right belief." With appropriate modification, this interpretation was adopted by the Shīʿīs (see SHĪʿA; SHĪʿISM AND THE QURʾĀN); for them *man aḥyāhā* means he "who guides somebody from error to true religion" *(min al-ḍalāl ilā hudan),* or "who supports one of ʿAlī's family (see ʿALĪ B. ABĪ ṬALIB), helping him to gain the victory" (Furāt b. Ibrāhīm, *Tafsīr,* i, 122).

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Calendar

System of fixing the divisions of time (q.v.), adapted to the purposes of communal life. References in the Qurʾān related to calendar include the terms *waqt/mīqāt* which mean, among other things, fixed or appointed time (e.g. Q 2:189; 4:103; 7:143; 44:40; 78:17); the computation of years and numbers (*li-taʿlamū ʿadad al-sinīn wa-l-ḥisāb,* Q 10:5; 17:12; see NUMBERS AND ENUMERATION); and the division of the year into twelve months (q.v.): "The number of months with God is twelve in accordance with God's decree on the day he created the heavens and the earth; of which four are holy months" (Q 9:36).

There is no reference in the Qurʾān to the pre-Islamic system of *anwāʾ* (see PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QURʾĀN), which was used by the Arabs to estimate the passage of time and to predict the state of the weather (q.v.). In this system, the year is divided into precise periods on the basis of the rising and setting of certain stars (see COSMOLOGY IN THE QURʾĀN). According to tradition, this system was considered anathema in Islam. The most relevant qurʾānic allusion to calendar-related computation is the phases of the moon (*manāzil al-qamar,* Q 10:5; 36:39). Q 10:5 reads: "It is he who gave the sun (q.v.) its radiance, the moon (q.v.) its luster, and determined its phases so that you may compute years and numbers…" Qurʾānic exegesis as well as the exact scientific computations of calendars identify 28 such phases. The definition of these phases, however, is based on a combination of the

pre-Islamic system of *anwāʾ* with the system of lunar phases. Thus the solar zodiac is divided into 28 equal parts defined by the rising and setting of certain stars or constellations. Each of these parts is a station, or phase, and in rough measure the moon occupies one of these stations each day of the lunar month. At the end of a lunar month, the moon would have traveled through all 28 stations; in other words, the moon would have completed one revolution along the solar zodiac (Qurṭubī, *Jāmiʿ*, viii, 310; xv, 29-30).

The official Islamic calendar is lunar with year one coinciding with the year 622 C.E., the date of Muḥammad's emigration (*hijra*, q.v.) from Mecca (q.v.) to Medina (q.v.). This calendar was adopted during the reign of the second caliph ʿUmar (q.v.; r. 13-23/634-44). Later sources, however, suggest that the use of the lunar calendar is already prescribed in the qurʾānic references to the phases of the moon. For example, in the commentary on Q 10:5 mentioned above, al-Qurṭubī (d. 671/1272; *Jāmiʿ*, viii, 310) maintains that after mentioning the light of the sun and the moon, the Qurʾān uses the singular *(qaddarahu*, not *qaddarahumā)*. This is taken to indicate that only the lunar calendar is meant to serve as the basis for computing the official months or "new moons" (*ahilla*, Q 2:189) and for determining the dates for important religious activities such as fasting (q.v.) and pilgrimage (q.v.). Unless otherwise specified, time stipulations in legal contracts and documents are based on the *hijra* lunar calendar (see LAW AND THE QURʾĀN).

On average, the lunar months alternate between 29 and 30 days. Although the beginning of the lunar month is determined by sighting the new moon, numerous methods were developed to compute the exact length of the lunar months, to determine the days of the lunar year in relation to the solar year and to perform calendar conversions between different eras. Tables of varying details were also compiled to facilitate this conversion. In fact, in contrast to earlier Greek sources, Islamic astronomical handbooks often started with discussions of calendar computations and conversions between different eras (for example, Persian, Coptic, Syriac, Chinese-Ughur, Jewish and Hindu calendars). In addition to the basic computational techniques, numerous works also provide additional information covering calendar-related subjects, such as the length of day and night (q.v.); patterns of weather and wind (see AIR AND WIND); dates and descriptions of Christian, Jewish and Indian festivals as well as agricultural practices (see AGRICULTURE AND VEGETATION) at various times of the year. See also DAY, TIMES OF.

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Calf of Gold

The image of a calf worshipped by the Israelites while Moses (q.v.) was on the mountain receiving the tablets of the Law. Allusion to this story is made in five passages of the Qurʾān. There, as in the main biblical account (*Exod* 32), the object of worship is not explicitly called a "calf of gold" but simply a "calf" *(ʿijl*, Heb. *ʿēgel)*.

The Qurʾān says that it was made from ornaments (*ḥulī,* Q 7:148; *zīna,* 20:87), Exodus 32:2-3 from golden rings *(nizmey ha-zāhāb)*.

The qurʾānic allusions to the story (Q 2:51, 54, 92, 93; 4:153; 7:148-53; 20:83-98) display several verbal and conceptual parallels and similarities: the evil committed by those who worshipped the calf (e.g. Q 2:51, 54, 92; 7:148); their punishment in this world (Q 2:54, 93; 7:152; 20:97; see CHASTISEMENT AND PUNISHMENT); God's forgiveness (q.v.) and mercy (q.v.), sometimes specified for those who repent (Q 2:54; 7:153; see REPENTANCE AND PENANCE), sometimes applied generally (Q 2:52; 4:153; 7:149); and the role of Moses in obtaining God's mercy (Q 2:54; 7:151). Absent from the Qurʾān, but sometimes evident in the commentary, is any attempt to use the story as polemic against Judaism (cf. the speech of Stephen in the Acts of the Apostles, chapter 7).

Qurʾānic commentary

The qurʾānic allusions to the story of the calf suggested several questions to the traditional commentators. Unlike the Exodus narrative, the qurʾānic passages nowhere explicitly connect Aaron (q.v.) with the construction of the calf, although Q 7:150-1 and 20:90-4 could imply that Aaron had in some way erred and that Moses was angry with his brother. These passages proved problematic in relation to the doctrine of the impeccability (*ʿiṣma,* see IMPECCABILITY AND INFALLIBILITY) of the prophets — both Moses and Aaron being accepted as prophets — and gave rise to various suggestions about how they might be understood in ways compatible with this doctrine (see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD).

At Q 20:85, 87 and 95-7, responsibility for making the calf is placed squarely with a figure called "the Samaritan" (al-Sāmirī). Various suggestions are made in the qurʾānic commentaries about his origins and identity and about the significance of the phrase "do not touch" *(lā misāsa)* which, it is said at Q 20:97, Moses told him he would have to utter during his lifetime. Especially notable are statements by some commentators that the name of the Samaritan was "Aaron" (see SAMARITANS).

The ornaments from which the calf was fashioned are frequently described in the extra-qurʾānic materials as having been taken from the people of Pharaoh (q.v.) whom God had drowned in the sea (see DROWNING). One explanation of why, at Q 7:148, they are described as "their" (i.e. the Israelites') ornaments is that the Israelites borrowed them from the Egyptians for a festival and they became the property of the Israelites once the Egyptians died in the sea.

Q 20:96 may seem obscure: When Moses asked the Samaritan to give an explanation for his role in the making of the calf, he replied that he had noticed something which they (the Israelites) had not, that he had seized a "handful from the traces of the messenger" and had thrown it in *(qāla baṣurtu bimā lam yabṣurū bihi fa-qabaḍtu qabḍatan min athari l-rasūli fa-nabadhtuhā wa-kadhālika sawwalat lī nafsī)*. This phrase and the identity of the messenger are variously understood, a common explanation being that the Samaritan saw the angel Gabriel (q.v.) on a horse at the time when Pharaoh's people were drowned in the sea. He seized a handful of the dust which the horse had turned up and threw it into the fire in which the ornaments were melted. This often explains the ability of the calf to low, for both Q 7:148 and 20:88 say that it had a body and lowed *(ʿijlan jasadan lahu khuwārun)*.

There are various views about the nature of the calf. Had it been transformed into flesh and blood so that it could really low or had it remained simply an image made

from ornaments? The qurʾānic *jasad* is interpreted by some, particularly the rationalist sect of the Muʿtazila (see MUʿTAZILĪS), as applicable to any solid object and it was explained how a lowing sound could have been produced by mechanical devices or human trickery. The question of whether the calf had been changed into a real one also affected the understanding of Q 20:97, where Moses tells the Samaritan that he is going to burn the calf *(la-nuḥarriqannahu)* and scatter it upon the sea. Some commentators, noting that gold cannot be burned, argue that this was an indication that the calf had indeed become flesh and blood. Those who maintain that it had remained merely an image were able, by associating the verb *ḥarraqa* with a meaning of the root indicating "rubbing" or "grinding," to interpret it as "filing down with a rasp" *(la-nabrudannahu bi-l-mibrad),* thus making it possible that the calf could have been scattered upon the sea. Some read *nuḥarriq* as *naḥruq* in order to make that interpretation clearer.

Q 2:93, "they were made to drink the calf in their hearts with their unbelief" (see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF), is sometimes connected in the commentary with the destruction of the calf and the scattering of its ashes into water subsequently drunk by the Israelites (as at *Exod* 32:20). But it is frequently read metaphorically: They were made to imbibe the love of the calf. Supporters of the doctrine of human free will argue that it should not be taken to mean that God caused them to drink it (see FREEDOM AND PREDESTINATION).

At Q 2:54 it is said that, when Moses came down from the mountain and found his people worshipping the calf, he called upon them: "Turn in repentance to your Creator and kill yourselves" *(fa-tūbū ilā bāriʾikum fa-qtulū anfusakum)*. This injunction is generally understood literally and we find various accounts of how the Children of Israel (q.v.) fulfilled the command. It is reported, for example, that they divided themselves into two groups which fought one another, father fighting against son, son against father and brother against brother. This continued until a large number had been killed and God, moved by the appeals of Moses and Aaron, allowed them to desist.

The qurʾānic material in relation to the biblical and post-biblical material

Most non-Muslim scholars have assumed that the qurʾānic allusions to the story depend ultimately on the biblical account and are to be understood as drawing on and developing the interpretations and embellishments which had arisen about the biblical narrative in subsequent Jewish and Christian reworkings of it. In other words, the qurʾānic material has been itself understood as part of the midrashic tradition (see SCRIPTURE AND THE QURʾĀN).

Compared with the account in Exodus, the responsibility for making the calf had already been shifted from Aaron, as noted above, in Stephen's speech in the Acts of the Apostles (7:40-1) to the people themselves. This development is also evident in the explanation given in the Jewish *midrash* that Aaron called upon the people to give him their golden ornaments in the belief that they would not do so, i.e. it was only a delaying tactic.

The identity of "the Samaritan" and the source of the name have been much discussed by academic scholars and it may be that it combines ideas from various sources. The "handful" *(qabḍa)* from the "traces" *(athar)* of the messenger which, Q 20:96 tells us, the Samaritan cast in, has been suggested to relate to the midrashic story that Micah (associated in *Judg* 17:4 and 18:14f. with molten and graven images) threw a fragment containing the words "come up ox," *ʿaleh shōr* (cf. *Gen*

49:22, "Joseph [q.v.] is a fruitful bough… whose branches run over the wall" *[aley shūr]*) into the fire melting down the ornaments. The words had been written on the fragment by Moses when he cast it into the Nile in order to cause the coffin of Joseph to come to the surface. It was this fragment which caused the calf to appear, alive and leaping. Other accounts attribute the fact that the calf was alive to the activity of two Egyptian magicians, Jannes and Mambres (see MAGIC, PROHIBITION OF).

Aaron's words at Q 7:150, "The people considered me weak and came near to killing me," have been associated with the story that Hur — named at Exodus 24:14 by Moses as his deputy along with Aaron but subsequently absent from the account — tried to dissuade the people from worshipping the calf but was killed by them and that Aaron was afraid of suffering the same fate. Aaron's words at Q 20:94, "I was afraid that you would say, 'You have caused division among the Children of Israel and have not paid attention to what I said,'" may relate to the traditional image of Aaron as a peacemaker and to the story that he had thought it better to agree to the people's demands than to cause them to sin further by killing him as well as Hur.

The preference of the Muslim tradition for seeing the ornaments from which the calf was made as coming from the Egyptians — in spite of the fact that Q 7:148 simply says, "their ornaments" — reflects the wording of Q 20:87, "We have been burdened with the weight of the ornaments of the people" *(ḥummilnā awzāran min zīnati l-qawm)*. A connection seems likely here to Exodus 12:35-6, where it is related that the Egyptians were so eager to let the Children of Israel finally go that they were ready to lend them anything they needed, including "jewels of silver and jewels of gold." In the *midrash* the Children of Israel sought to excuse themselves for making the calf by complaining that God had given them an abundance of gold and silver when they left Egypt.

The explanation by the commentators of Moses' words "kill yourselves" *(fa-qtulū anfusakum)* in Q 2:54 probably relates to the story in Exodus 32:25-9, which describes how Moses ordered the sons of Levi to "slay every man his brother, every man his companion and every man his neighbor." It may be, however, that the words attributed to Moses in the Qurʾān reflect Leviticus 16:29, which is understood as the ordinance for the Day of Atonement in Judaism: "Afflict yourselves" *(teʿannū et-nafshotēkem)*. The meaning of the Hebrew phrase was much debated among Jewish groups, some of whom understood it to demand mortification and penitential practices. See also IDOLS AND IMAGES.

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Caliph

In Arabic, *khalīfa* is the title adopted by the head of the Muslim polity (see COMMUNITY

AND SOCIETY IN THE QUR'ĀN) ever since the death of the prophet Muḥammad in 11/632. The term occurs in the Qur'ān twice in the singular and seven times in the plural, as *khalā'if* or *khulafā',* and some of its verbal occurrences (particularly *khalafa* and *istakhlafa*) are semantically very closely connected with it.

There is little in the qur'ānic occurrences of the term that prepares for its politically and theologically charged meaning. By far its most prevalent meaning in the Qur'ān is "successor, substitute, replacement, deputy" which is particularly clear in the verbal and nominal plural occurrences. The basic notion is that — as human history has repeatedly shown, and as it will show in the future — God warns a people (see WARNING) when they go astray (q.v.), God destroys them and replaces them with another people who obey God's messengers (see MESSENGER), worship (q.v.) him, act morally and are consequently rewarded by inheriting the land and the scripture of their predecessors (Q 6:133, 165; 7:69, 74, 129; 10:14, 73; 11:57; 24:55; 27:62; 35:39; see also PUNISHMENT STORIES; GENERATIONS). In this sense, the term is, understandably, closely associated with such terms as *adhhaba* (to destroy; e.g. Q 4:133), *awratha* (to bequeath; e.g. Q 33:27) and *istabdala* (to replace; e.g. Q 47:38). The second, rarer and philologically less obvious meaning of the term is "inhabitant, settler on earth." This meaning is most evident in Q 2:30 where God says to the angels (q.v.): "I am making/creating on earth a *khalīfa*…," clearly meaning Adam (see ADAM AND EVE); it is also implied in Q 14:14 where the verb *sakana,* to dwell, connects it with the first meaning of a believing nation replacing a non-believing one (see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF). The third meaning has some political and juridical implications; it is "one who exercises authority (q.v.)." It is clear in only one verse, Q 38:26, where the prophet David (q.v.) is addressed thus: "O David, we have made you a *khalīfa* on earth; so judge justly between people and follow not desires lest they should thwart you from God's path."

The early Muslim exegetes who were philologically oriented and had some access to Jewish and Christian lore, i.e. *Isrā'īliyyāt,* considered "succession and substitution" the main meaning of the term *khalīfa* and its cognates, and applied it with varying degrees to almost all of its occurrences, an interpretation that led them into great difficulties with the exegesis of the Adam occurrence (see SCRIPTURE AND THE QUR'ĀN). On the other hand, they did indeed mention the other two meanings of the term although they seemed inclined to link them, sometimes artificially, with the main meaning: succession. With regard to the Adam verse, a general sense seems to have existed that the term refers not only to Adam but also to all humanity, i.e. the children of Adam. Conversely, most exegetes considered the David verse as referring to David alone and not to "people in authority" in general. It can therefore be said that during the Umayyad period, the exegetes made no connection between the qur'ānic term *khalīfa* and the politico-religious reality of the institution of the caliphate.

This tendency began to change about the middle of the second/eighth century when a more comprehensive interpretation started to appear. Beginning with a hint by al-Suddī (d. 128/745; cf. Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* xxiii, 151: "[God] made [David] king *(mallakahu)* on earth") this became more generalized in Sufyān al-Thawrī's (d. 161/778) commentary on Q 24:55: The believers who succeed others on earth are the governors/the people in charge (*al-wulāt,* see his *Tafsīr,* 185). By the time of the great synthesizer of Muslim exegesis al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923), the standard Sunnī exegetical position had created a complete merger between the qur'ānic *khalīfa* and the head

of the Islamic caliphate. Thus, at the first occurrence of the term, in the Adam verse, and after indicating the philological meaning of the term as successor or replacement, al-Ṭabarī adds, "hence the supreme authority *(al-sulṭān al-aʿẓam)* is called "khalīfa" for he succeeds the one who preceded him, replacing him in taking charge of matters, thereby being his substitute" (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, i, 199). This standard Sunnī position insists that the title "khalīfa" for the head of the Muslim polity is an abbreviation of the longer (and eventually cumbersome) formula *khalīfat rasūl Allāh* (successor of the messenger of God) which the first Muslim Caliph, Abū Bakr (q.v.; r. 11-3/632-4) adopted, not of *khalīfat Allāh* (viceregent of God). Although this last formula was indeed used by most Umayyad and ʿAbbāsid caliphs, it never received legitimation in Islamic political theory.

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Calligraphy

The Arabic script *(khaṭṭ),* its development, and its formal use in manuscripts of the Qurʾān. Though initially presented as an oral recitation (see BOOK), the Qurʾān has played an essential role in the development of the Arabic script (q.v.). According to traditional accounts, certain fragments were committed to writing by some of the Companions of the Prophet (q.v.) on crude materials such as flat stones, veins of palm leaves, animal skins or ceramic shards (see TEXTUAL HISTORY OF THE QURʾĀN). The script was then still imperfect and its signs were little more than a mnemonic technique for fixing a text already committed to memory — a far cry from the Arabic script we know today.

This primitive script, which probably originated in Ḥīra, capital of the Christian Arab kingdom of the Lakhmids (see CHRISTIANS AND CHRISTIANITY), was an adaptation of the Syriac script and was not widespread at the time. With the passing of the generation of the Companions, the first to have heard the Qurʾān from Muḥammad and to have learned it by heart, it became necessary to fix the final text of the holy book and to perfect the system for recording it in written form. Most versions of the textual history of the Qurʾān state that an official text was imposed by the third caliph, ʿUthmān (q.v.; r. 23-35/644-56), and distributed to the main centers of early Islam. Copies of the sacred text thence multiplied in territories conquered by the Arab armies. In an era when reproduction of the Qurʾān depended totally on the scribal art, considerable praise and merit was attributed to the skill of writing and its use in recording the Qurʾān. To emphasize the worthiness and nobility of this task, some religious scholars *(ʿulamāʾ)* asserted that at the day of judgment (see LAST JUDGMENT), the ink of calligraphers, placed on one of the arms of the scale of justice (see JUSTICE AND INJUSTICE), would balance the blood of martyrs on the other (see BLOOD AND BLOOD CLOT; MARTYR).

During the first three centuries of Islam, calligraphy underwent considerable development. This was due first of all to the need to meet the demands of state administration (most of the great calligraphers began their careers as secretaries either of the chancellery or the land-tax, both of which required skill in writing). An equal factor was the multiplication and distribution of copies of the Qurʾān throughout the entire empire. Given this increase in written production, efforts were thus made to make the script more legible. Diacritic signs were added to characters with an identical form to prevent confusion. At first, these were very fine lines superimposed above the letters, but the lines were then replaced by small, more or less regular dots. Beginning with the caliphate of ʿAbd al-Malik (r. 65/685-86/705), relatively large red dots corresponding to the vowels were joined to the letters to facilitate the reading of the Qurʾān and to prevent any falsification of the text: A dot above the letter corresponded to a *fatḥa* (a), a dot under the letter to a *kasra* (i) and a dot on the base line to a *ḍamma* (u). This practice provoked opposition among certain scholars *(ʿulamāʾ)* who considered it a human addition to an already perfect text given by God and thus a reprehensible innovation (q.v.). At the beginning of the fifth/eleventh century, the vowel signs currently in use replaced the red dots; it is this custom of vocalizing the qurʾānic text which persists today.

In addition to increasing precision of the script, manuscripts of the Qurʾān began to include additional textual specification. In former times (the dating of which is difficult to specify), small superimposed lines, drawn with the same ink as the text, separated one verse from another. The sūras were separated by a single blank line and had no title. Later, colored bands with a crude geometrical design were added to the empty space separating the sūras. In turn, three small dots in gold replaced the previous separation marks in ink. Small rosettes indicated groups of five verses while larger ones were used for groups of ten verses. Later, titles of sūras were inscribed in golden ink or placed in the centre of a painted band often illuminated with gold.

Centers for the instruction and production of the calligraphic art multiplied in the great urban milieux of the empire, in which various writing styles developed as may be observed in the qurʾānic material written on parchment and preserved in museums all over the world. The calligraphy of these old, handwritten Qurʾāns can be divided into two main groups: The first and oldest is a more or less angular type called Kūfic. The second, which is more cursive, appeared in Baghdad at the end of the third/ninth century. These two groups are further divided into a plethora of scribal forms of which both place of origin and period are difficult to determine. In fact, the earliest qurʾānic material written on parchment is not dated at all. The first established reference (264/877-8) appears in the *waqf* of the Qurʾān of Amājūr (governor of Damascus). This date refers to its placement in the Umayyad mosque; it was probably copied a bit earlier. Resort must be had to palaeography when attempting to classify the many types of old, handwritten copies of the Qurʾān in order to date them and/or trace their origin. This is a particularly arduous enterprise which specialists have undertaken for more than two centuries without any fully satisfactory results. This continuing ambiguity can be attributed to the fact, on the one hand, that variations in the written form are innumerable and imprecisely named and, on the other, that copies of the Qurʾān were moved from

one calligraphic center to another or given as gifts to sovereigns or other notables who subsequently moved them to mosques in their respective capitals or added them to their personal libraries.

The primary source consulted by palaeographers is the *Kītāb al-Fihrist,* the famous work of Ibn al-Nadīm (d. after 377/987-8) who includes an inventory of the styles of writing in use during his time. From this and with the help of commentaries by later Arab authors, specialists have tried to identify the types of script encountered in available collections of ancient copies of the Qurʾān on parchment. With a few, rare exceptions, this effort has been unsuccessful since the information provided by Ibn al-Nadīm has proven insufficient to establish secure identification. From this perspective, even a work as important as that of Nabia Abbott *(The rise of the north Arabian script)* which refers to Ibn al-Nadīm as well as al-Qalqashandī *(Ṣubḥ al-Aʿshāʾ)* has resulted in very little. In fact, al-Qalqashandī (d. 821/1418) himself used terminology borrowed from writers of different epochs without any regard for possible evolution in the meaning of these terms. Consequently, by classifying very diverse types of script under one single name borrowed from Arab authors, Nabia Abbott's attempt has only added to the confusion since these authors had not clearly identified the terms they used.

Recent studies have made use of a new methodology that consists in classifying — independently from their designation by classical Arab authors — copies of the Qurʾān with easily identifiable common features. Once the numerous collections discovered during the twentieth century have been studied, it should be possible to match different scripts selected on the basis of clearly defined criteria to rare examples lacking dates. Scholars will then be able to fit certain examples into a sequence of which the date and the provenance are easier to determine.

The most recent conclusions of this new methodology distinguish two main groups which allow classification of the first handwritten copies of the Qurʾān: *ḥijāzī* and "classical Kūfic." This latter term is preferred to "Kūfic" which is used widely as though covering a single entity; it actually includes many forms. A broad consensus exists for the identification of the *ḥijāzī* script as a result of the comparative studies undertaken by A. Grohman between this style of writing and the related script used in papyri. *Ḥijāzī* — referred to in some works, notably that of Nabia Abbott, as *māʾil* (slanted), a term presently in question since it groups together scripts too diverse to be characterized by a single term — was already in use at a very early stage in Mecca (q.v.) and Medina (q.v.). It is characterized by oblique strokes, generally oriented, more or less unvaryingly, from right to left; *alif*s ending in a short curved return; letters having a circular loop *(fāʾ, qāf, mīm, wāw); ʿayn*s having the shape of a small *v* when in medial position; *nūn*s in the form of a wide and very open curve when in isolated or final positions; characters packed together on the line; short ligatures slightly curved; and a regular, sober rhythm of script which is sometimes interrupted by stretching out letters at the end of a line.

Considered Iraqi in origin, classical Kūfic displays considerable variety but also enough common features to be classified under one heading. At first glance classical Kūfic conveys a balanced and harmonious impression because of the equal space between the lines and the regular dimensions and geometry of the characters. This impression is reinforced by the rhythm created, firstly, by the alternation of short and long ligatures and, secondly, by the contrast of compact *(rāʾ, zayn, ḥāʾ, mīm, hāʾ,*

wāw) and stretched *(dāl, dhāl, ṣād, ḍād, ṭāʾ, ẓāʾ, kāf, yāʾ)* characters. This type of script has slender, vertical strokes with upper ends that have a beveled edge while the lower ones have either a large, tapering curve *(alif)* or a right angle descending well below the line *(lām* and *nūn)*. The tails of the letters *jīm, ḥāʾ, khāʾ, wāw* are short and compact and their end-point falls below the line whereas the tail of the *ʿayn* ends in a large curve with a tapered point reminiscent of the *alif*. The tail of the *mīm* is reduced to a small horizontal stroke.

Between these two main groupings, a whole range of types shows particularities of both the *ḥijāzī* group and the classical Kūfic. These are the types of script which specialists attempt to classify for the sake of defining them more precisely.

Several other scripts, related to classical Kūfic but with specific criteria, arose at the end of the fourth/tenth century and were used conjointly with cursive writing (see below). Among these is "oriental Kūfic" which owes its name to its appearance in the easternmost provinces of the Islamic empire (see the examples in the catalogue of M. Lings, pls. 11-21). This type of writing, while retaining the geometry of classical Kūfic, exhibits characters with radically different proportions. In oriental Kūfic, the ratio of the length of the low characters (teeth and loops) to that of the tall characters (down-strokes) is 1:8 whereas it varies from 1:3 to 1:2 in classical Kūfic. The common features of oriental Kūfic can be summarized as follows:

— a strictly horizontal base-line broken by small dots which serve as ligatures between characters closely packed together (letters with teeth and loops); in other cases, the ligatures are rather short but those of the *basmala* (q.v.) are sometimes thoroughly stretched out so that the phrase fills up the entire line.

— very slender strokes with upper extremities ending in a small triangle or bevel extended by a fine oblique segment. Sometimes the down-strokes of certain characters *(ṭāʾ, ẓāʾ, kāf)* display an obliquity of 45 degrees and end in a leftward pointed bulge. The strokes of the *lām-alif* are either very close parallel lines or two fairly thin symmetric curves with conjoined ends. The strokes of the two *lām*s in the word Allāh are sometimes reduced to two small and very oblique segments packed together, thus reducing the size of the word by half.

— the loss of the verticality known in classical Kūfic in characters with teeth which are oblique in oriental Kūfic. The rectangular bodies of the letters *dāl/dhāl, ṣād/ḍād, ṭāʾ/zāʾ, kāf* are thoroughly stretched out in length and small in height.

— the loss of the circular shape of the letters *fāʾ, qāf, mīm* and *wāw* as in classical Kūfic, which become either triangular or square or even an oblique trapezoid pointed forward. Only the medial *hāʾ* has a circular shape with two eyelets.

— the loss of the regular curve in the tails of characters, although still just as large. The tails descend obliquely below the line, then break off and end in a triangle, parallel to the line with the points below. It is perhaps this rupture of curves that provides the origin of the name of broken Kūfic, sometimes used to designate this script.

Many examples of this oriental Kūfic are adorned with illuminated bands in gold which frame the title of the sūra, the number of its verses and its Mekkan or Medinan origin. The rosettes marking the separation between verses or groups of verses are also written in golden ink. The diacritical dots are generally in the same ink as the text but the vowels are often in red.

Some of these qurʾānic manuscripts are signed and dated, for example that written and illuminated by ʿUthmān Ḥusayn

Warrāq (466/1073-4) from Iraq or Iran, that by Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. ʿAbdallāh al-Ghaznawī (573/1177-8) which was copied in Afghanistan and, finally, the one by ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad (620/1223) copied in Iran.

The appearance of cursive writing, the second main category of qurʾānic scripts, coincided more or less with that of paper (the first attested copy of the Qurʾān in cursive dates from 361/971). The cursive script, quite ancient but reserved up to that time for daily use, owes its nobility to the vizier and famous calligrapher, Ibn Muqla (d. 328/940). Using a circle with a diameter corresponding to the height of an *alif,* he standardized the method of tracing the characters, all other characters being defined in accordance with this circle. A system of measures allowed the standardization of the characters' proportions, where the unit used for measuring was the dot, still in use today by calligraphers. This square-shaped dot, resting on its point, corresponds to the trace left on paper by the tip of the calligrapher's reed when applied to the sheet with a certain pressure. Ibn Muqla's innovative style of writing is called *al-khaṭṭ al-mansūb,* "the well-proportioned script," though its exact meaning is not known. Another great master of calligraphy, ʿAlī b. Hilāl, known as Ibn al-Bawwāb (d. 413/1022) improved Ibn Muqla's style by increasing its elegance. In charge of the library of the Buwayhid Bahāʾ al-Dawla in the city of Shīrāz, Ibn al-Bawwāb was very pious and could recite the Qurʾān by heart. He appears to have made sixty-four copies of the Qurʾān, one of which, signed by him, is still extant: Dated 391/1000-1, it is conserved in the Chester Beatty Library in Dublin where it is possible to admire the aesthetic quality of its letters as well as the beauty of its illumination. D.S. Rice has, in a detailed study of the manuscript, demonstrated its authenticity. The style Ibn al-Bawwāb created is known as *naskhī.*

More than two centuries later, another calligrapher succeeded in surpassing Ibn al-Bawwāb. Yāqūt al-Mustaʿṣimī (d. 697/1298), known as the "sultan of calligraphers," brought Ibn al-Bawwābs *naskhī* to its apogee. Several manuscripts by this great artist have survived, among them one dated 685/1285, which was written in Baghdad in *rayḥānī* (a variety of *naskhī*) and bears witness to the exactness of his skill, as well as the suppleness and lightness of his hand. To attain this quality of writing, al-Mustaʿṣimī cut the tip of his reed at an angle so that it barely touched the paper. In the ornamental band at the head of each sūra, the title — written in oriental Kūfic — is outlined. Thus it appears in white on a blue background adorned with golden arabesque. A flower with slightly gyron-like petals separates each verse.

Cursive scripts multiplied in centers of calligraphy attached to the courts of princes and sultans; these scripts apparently received their name according to their size. It should also be noted that all of these scripts are vocalized. Particular care has been given to the slope of the *fatḥa*s and *kasra*s which are slightly oblique and at the same angle. According to F. Déroche, the six most "fundamental" varieties are the following:

— *naskhī,* the most common and widely used style throughout the centuries, is a medium-sized cursive. The base line is always horizontal but sometimes broken to allow a new beginning at a slightly higher level for characters starting inside the tail of a preceding letter. This style is easily recognized by its *alif,* the shape of which is reduced to a simple, vertical segment with a beveled upper end and a pointed, slightly tapered lower end. The tails have fairly small curves protruding under the next character which thus must be written

slightly higher. The longevity of this style explains the many varieties it has. A great number of qurʾānic manuscripts from the Ottoman era were written in *naskhī* as witnessed in the numerous examples of the Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris now conserved in the Grande Bibliothèque de France (see the examples in the Déroche catalogue, nos. 88-120).

— the *rayḥānī* and *muḥaqqaq* scripts seem to present only slight differences. Déroche reserves the term *muḥaqqaq* for larger scripts whereas M. Lings gives the name of *rayḥānī* to some large types (see no. 85 of his catalogue). In *rayḥānī,* the characters appear more packed together than in *muḥaqqaq*. In both styles, the *alif* has a small hook at the upper end and terminates in a slightly curved point below. The tails pointing leftwards have such slight curves that they sometimes convey the impression of being oblique, especially in the cases of the *mīm* and the *wāw*. Nevertheless, the tails pointing towards the right (like *jīm, ḥāʾ, khāʾ, ʿayn*) and dropping well below the line, have very ample curves. These two styles were in favor among the Ilkhānids and the Tīmūrids (see the superb examples of *muḥaqqaq* in Ling's catalogue [nos. 45-51] and *rayḥānī* [nos. 81-85]). For another example of *muḥaqqaq,* mention can be made of the manuscript copied in 707/1307 by the great master Muḥammad b. Aybak for the Ilkhānid sultan Ūljāytū (r. 703-16/1304-16), preserved in the library of the Top Kapı Sarayı in Istanbul (no. 46). It has a large format (72 x 50 cm) and one of the two pages reproduced has alternating lines of handwritten characters, one in gold ink with a black-ribboned edge and the other in black ink with a golden edge. The rosettes embellishing the margins of the pages are very delicate and quite beautiful.

For examples of *rayḥānī,* mention can be made of the qurʾānic manuscripts copied in 827/1424 and 834/1440 by the great calligrapher Ibrāhīm Sulṭān b. Shāhrūkh b. Tīmūr. Richly illuminated under the supervision of the grandson of Tīmūr Leng, they also offer pages entirely written in gold (those of the Fātiḥa [q.v.]) in an illuminated frame in which gold is matched with blue. A detail concerning sūra titles should be added: The type of script selected for these titles is generally oriental Kūfic. A cursive style has rarely been retained but when this is the case, *thuluth* was chosen (see below). Within the classification of these two scripts, one can include some Mamlūk manuscripts also written in gold ink with frontispieces richly illuminated with geometrical motifs and interlaces that encircle fine golden arabesque which stand out against a blue or red background (cf. M. Lings, nos. 52-59).

— *thuluth,* rather similar to *muḥaqqaq,* is easily recognized by the triangular profile of the upper ends of the *alif* and the very tapered, and sometimes curved, lower end. It is rarely used in the calligraphy of the Qurʾān except for sūra titles (see above). It is equally favored by artists who reproduce "mirrored" qurʾānic verses on mosque walls, thanks to the possibility of giving its tails a tapered curve that intertwines with the down-strokes of other characters (see examples in H. Massoudi, pp. 103 and 104).

— the last two styles considered fundamental by F. Déroche are *tawqīʿ* and *riqʿa* (sometimes vocalized as *ruqʿa*); he underlines the links between these two styles and *thuluth*. Few qurʾānic manuscripts have been calligraphed in these styles.

The qurʿānic script originating in the western provinces of the Islamicate should be classified separately. In fact, this script has features of both classical Kūfic and some clearly cursive characteristics. The designation as Andalusian Kūfic for manuscripts copied in Andalusia or North African Kūfic for those copied in Ifrīqiyya or the Maghrib bears witness to

the links binding them to the classical Kūfic in spite of the suppleness of certain types of characters. Lings defines this style as the first which stems directly from Kūfic and qualifies it as occidental Kūfic, contrasting it with the earlier oriental Kūfic. This style was known in Ifrīqiyya from the time of the Qurʾān calligraphed by ʿAlī al-Warrāq in 410/1019-20 for the wet nurse of the Zīrid prince al-Muʿizz b. Bādis (r. 407-54/1016-62), which was doubtlessly copied in Qayrawān where it is still preserved in the new museum of Raqqāda. The alphabetic repertoire of this type of large and massive script resembles that of oriental Kūfic: the same ruptures in the horizontal base-line by ligatures in the shape of triangular dots, characters with oblique teeth, characters with non-circular curls varying from the triangle to the square pointed forwards and with small eyes. All these characteristics belong to oriental Kūfic but certain particularities distinguish the two styles: the slight bending of the small oblique teeth, the inflection of median *jīm* and *ḥāʾ*, intersecting curves of the *lām-alif* and the slender and disproportionate tail of the *nūn* with its broad, angular, lance-shaped end. Classical Kūfic was also known and used in Ifrīqiyya as witnessed by examples from the mosque of Qayrawān and, in particular, one superbly calligraphed Qurʾān in gold on parchment tinted in indigo.

A number of particularities of classical Kūfic are clearly perceptible in North African-Andalusian Kūfic: the horizontal and rigid writing line and the great number of ligatures, the verticality and fineness of the down-strokes of the *alif* and *lām*, the open rectangular shapes of *dāl/dhāl* and *kāf* along with the stretching out of the body of certain characters. On the other hand, some features clearly refer to cursive writing, like certain supple or slightly dented ligatures, the *rāʾ* with a very open curve, the rounded teeth of the *sīn/shīn*, the flattened ovals of the *ṣād/ḍād*, *ṭāʾ/ẓāʾ*, the large semi-circular and sometimes slightly broken tails surrounding several characters, which give a rhythm to the base-line. In other respects, an old writing practice remains in practice in the diacritics of this writing style: The dot of the *fāʾ* is always placed below the letter whereas the *qāf* has only one dot placed above the letter. Some of these manuscripts (e.g. nos. 95-98 in the collection published by Lings) are written in large characters and have only a few lines per page (5-9) while certain others (nos. 99, 102 and 103 of the same catalogue) are written in an extremely fine script and have up to 27 lines on a page for qurʾānic manuscripts of a similar size. Splendid frontispieces with richly ornate bands, titles written in gold, series of medallions or small rosettes embellished with fine arabesques in the margin contribute to the beauty and majesty of these manuscripts (see in particular the frontispieces of nos. 100 and 101 of the Qurʾān of Valencia, copied by ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAṭūs in 578/1182).

A few words must be said about the use of qurʾānic calligraphy in epigraphy (q.v.). Its function is both educational and ornamental. It is educational because the choice of reproduced verses reminds the believers of the great truths of the Islamic faith (q.v.); this choice is adapted to the type of education religious authorities want to further (see TRADITIONAL DISCIPLINES OF QURʾĀNIC STUDY). It is ornamental because it is linked to religious architecture where it constitutes one of the essential decorative elements (see ART AND ARCHITECTURE). The bands decorated with qurʾānic verses surround the upper part of the walls of prayer rooms in mosques, *madrasa*s and mausoleums, frame the *miḥrāb*s, crown the arcades of mosque courtyards and make the shafts of minarets more attractive; they

generate the composition of stone rosettes that decorate some portals and, inscribed on funerary stelae (see BURIAL), they accompany the faithful to the gates of the hereafter.

From the very outset, calligraphed verses of the Qurʾān have contributed to the beauty of monuments, like the superb, 240 meter-long band decorating both sides of the arcade around the rock of the Qubbat al-Ṣakhra (the Dome of the Rock; see AQṢĀ MOSQUE) in Jerusalem. The style, a form of classical Kūfic adapted to the material (see MATERIAL CULTURE AND THE QURʾĀN), became the prototype of the Kūfic used in official Umayyad inscriptions. Executed in gold mosaic on a blue background, the angular *ductus* of the characters is naturally more accentuated than in manuscripts (see MANUSCRIPTS OF THE QURʾĀN), but the shape and proportions of the letters correspond generally to the same norms. Throughout the centuries, qurʾānic calligraphy on stone (q.v.) has followed, more or less, the development of manuscript calligraphy, though sometimes with a certain delay. It has, however, made its own contributions to the efflorescence of character ornamentation (see ORNAMENT AND ILLUMINATION): The down-strokes intersect, curve, turn over and are stretched to create interlaces that balance the empty spaces in the band. Their ends are enriched with leaves, flowers, palmettes or foliage; the bodies of the letters are adorned with indentations, knots, strapwork or vegetal elements; their tails go up in elegant curves and counter curves and their ornate ends add to the whole decorative impression of the band.

At the end of the fourth/tenth century, cursive qurʾānic calligraphy appeared in stone inscriptions in the eastern provinces during the same period in which it appeared in manuscripts; it was often found in combination with Kūfic script and then finally replaced it. Its development was rapid and it attained a degree of perfection comparable to that of manuscripts. Examples are the so-called throne verse (see THRONE OF GOD) that frames the *miḥrāb* of the Arslanhan mosque in Ankara (seventh/thirteenth century) in *thuluth* with characters that stand out against a background of arabesque and flowers (G. Akurga et al., *Trésors de Turquie,* 132); at the Sukulu mosque in Istanbul (tenth/sixteenth century), one can find the four verses of Sūrat al-Ikhlāṣ (Q 112) written in *thuluth* and arranged in a circle embellishing the rosette of the portal. The radiating strokes of the *alif*s and *lām*s are interlaced into strapwork and open out into a star-shaped composition at the center of the rosette (H. Massoudi, *La calligraphie,* 74 and 110).

Qurʾānic calligraphy remains the most specific expression of Islamic aesthetics. Taken in its entirety, it is an astounding combination that embraces the geometrical rigidity of the Kūfic characters, the fantasy in the rhythm of the inscribed lines, the contrastive sobriety of lines and lavishness of illuminations, the subtle harmony of proportions and supple elegance of the cursive characters; and the delicacy of foliages and arabesques that interlace with the letters. In the eyes of a Muslim, qurʾānic calligraphy is the visible form of the revealed word, an achievement in which artists and faithful are united in their search for the unspeakable and the ineffable.

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Camel

A large, ruminant mammal used for carrying burdens and for riding in the desert regions of Asia and Africa. The central Asiatic species has two humps on its back, while the Arabian camel, or dromedary, has only one. The presence of this animal in the Near East and North Africa appears to date back to the third millennium B.C.E., although there is no evidence of the domesticated dromedary prior to the 11th century B.C.E. (cf. H. von Wissmann, Badw). The camel played an important role in sacrifices (see SACRIFICE; CONSECRATION OF ANIMALS): Before Muḥammad's time, they were ritually slaughtered at the time of the pilgrimage (q.v.) to Mecca (q.v.; see also PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QURʾĀN; cf. J. Chelhod, *Sacrifice*). As the camel was an integral part of the Arabs' (q.v.) daily life, not only as a means of transportation, but also as a source of food (see FOOD AND DRINK) and clothing (q.v.), they developed a rich vocabulary for this animal. Many of these terms are not solely proper designations for the animal *per se,* but rather describe aspects of its appearance or its various stages of growth. Although the numerous words for camel are preserved in Arabic poetry and lexicography, only four of the names appear in the Qurʾān (cf. C. Pellat, Ibil).

Baʿīr, the generic term for camel, male or female, is mentioned in the Qurʾān in the story of Joseph (q.v.), and solely in connection with a measure (see WEIGHTS AND MEASURES): "We have lost the king's cup, and whoever brings it shall have a camel-load *(ḥamlu baʿīrin)*…" (Q 12:72; cf. 12:65). The most common Arabic word for the male camel, *jamal,* is mentioned only once in the Qurʾān: "Verily for those who have counted our signs (q.v.) false and been too proud to receive them, the gates of heaven (q.v.) will not be opened, nor will they enter the garden (q.v.), until a camel *(jamal)* passes through the eye of a needle *(fī sammi l-khiyāṭ);* so do we recompense the sinners" (Q 7:40). In reference to this single occurrence, most qurʾānic commentators read the Arabic word as *jamal* (as in *Matt* 19:24; *Luke* 18:25, repeated here with other terms) while they vocalize the word for the "eye" of the needle *(samm)* either with *a* or with *u (summ)* as noted by the tenth-century exegete al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923; *Tafsīr,* viii, 130-2). Another possible reading of the consonantal structure *j-m-l* is *jummal* (i.e. a thick cord) but this rendition is an isolated occurrence in the exegetical literature. As a consequence of the reading of *jamal,* commentators ordinarily provide extensive descriptions of the camel in their commentaries on this verse.

A female camel *(nāqa)* appears in the stories of the prophet Ṣāliḥ (q.v.) and the Thamūd (q.v.): "And to Thamūd [we sent] their brother Ṣāliḥ. He said, 'Oh people!

Worship God, for there is no other god for you. Evidence from your lord has come to you. This is the she-camel *(nāqa)* of God as a sign for you. Let her eat in the land of God, and do not molest her lest a painful retribution afflict you'" (Q 7:73). However, the Thamūd disregard their prophet's warning (q.v.) and hamstring the camel. For this violation of his commandment (see COMMANDMENTS), God destroys them with an earthquake (cf. Q 7:77-8; 11:64-8; 17:59; 26:155-8; 54:27-31; 91:11-4; see PUNISHMENT STORIES).

The exegesis of the fourth qurʾānic term for camel, *ibil* (cf. Q 6:144), demonstrates the elasticity of the Arabic language (q.v.). A feminine word, *ibil,* is used for the species and the group. However, Q 88:17, which alludes to the creation (q.v.) of the camel *(ibil),* is understood by some interpreters to be a reference to the creation of the clouds. One example of a qurʾānic designation of a camel, which does not allude so much to an image of the animal itself as to a condition of that animal, is the camel that is in the tenth month of her pregnancy (*ʿishār,* Q 81:4). This image is often invoked in Islamic apocalyptic literature (see APOCALYPSE), recalling its Arabian origins.

Popular beliefs about the camel abounded and have survived in classical Islamic exegetical literature. Some examples of these beliefs, testified by Ibn Qutayba (d. 276/889) and al-Jāḥiẓ (d. 255/868-9), among others, are that the animal descended from demons and that the jinn (q.v.) could take on the form of a camel, which urinated backwards so as not to soil Abraham (q.v.).

The camel, often dubbed "the ship of the desert," is one of the most important animals for Bedouins (see BEDOUIN) and very early it captured the interest of ancient Arab poets (see POETRY AND POETS). They considered no other companion more trustworthy and persevering than the camel, both for their settled and for their nomadic life-styles (see NOMADS). For this reason the Arabs of antiquity accumulated particular designations and descriptions of the camel and poets surpassed themselves in characterizing this animal's attributes (see especially the *muʿallaqa* poem by Ṭarafa b. al-ʿAbd, fl. sixth century C.E.; see also LITERATURE AND THE QURʾĀN).

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Camphor

A white, translucent substance distilled from the wood of the camphor tree *(Cinnamomum camphora,* family *Lauraceae)* which is indigenous to China, Taiwan and Japan. The term camphor *(kāfūr, qāfūr, qaf[f]ūr)* denotes the tree, its resin and its drug.

South and southeast Asian designations of these botanical products include Indian *karpūra, kappūra* or Malayan *kapur*. It is attested once in the Qurʾān at Q 76:5. Besides the qurʾānic *kāfūr* there are references to the spelling with *qāf* instead of *kāf* in works of qurʾānic commentary (Ālūsī, *Rūḥ,* xxix, 154; Qurṭubī, *Jāmiʿ,* xix, 124; for further variants see M. Ullmann, *Wörterbuch,* i, 10b).

The single relevant verse, Q 76:5, reads: "Surely the pious shall drink of a cup whose mixture *(mizāj)* is camphor *(kāfūr)*." Among the classical exegetes, Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 606/1210) and al-Qurṭubī (d. 671/1272) explain that this verse cannot mean that the liquid really contains camphor because it would not have a good taste (*lā yakūnu ladhīdhan,* Rāzī, *Tafsīr,* xxx, 240) or, respectively, one does not drink this drug (*lā yushrabu,* Qurṭubī, *Jāmiʿ,* xix, 123). According to this and other classical exegesis on the verse, the liquid to which reference is made is only similar to camphor *(ka-kāfūr)*. It has some of the camphor qualities, i.e. its fragrance *(ṭīb)* and its scent *(rāʾiḥa),* its whiteness and coolness (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* xxviii, 112-3; Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr,* vii, 179-80; Qurṭubī, *Jāmiʿ,* xix, 123-4). It does not, however, have its harmful effect (*maḍarr,* Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* xxviii, 112; Rāzī, *Tafsīr,* xxx, 240). Again al-Rāzī (*Tafsīr,* xxx, 240) and al-Qurṭubī (*Jāmiʿ,* xix, 123) emphasize that it does not have its taste. Taking into consideration the beginning of the next verse, Q 76:6, "A fountain whereat drink the servants of God…" where the first word, "fountain" (*ʿaynan,* see FOUNTAINS), is in grammatical apposition to *kāfūran,* all the above-mentioned exegetes explain that there is a fountain in paradise (q.v.) called the camphor fountain. In his contemporary commentary the German scholar, R. Paret, like others, considers the drink mentioned in Q 76:5 to be wine (see INTOXICANTS) mixed with camphor-flavored water.

In the olfactory classification of the eight basic odors, camphor is qualified as spicy (G. Ohloff, *Düfte,* 14). According to the pharmacological humoral theory of the four elements (cold-warm, dry-moist) which should be in harmony in a healthy body, and the corresponding qualities of drugs, it is classified as cold and dry in the third degree (L. Leclerc, *Ibn el-Bëithar,* iii, no. 1868, 128). Camphor is often used as a metaphor for white. The Indian perfume-tradition obtained — already 5000 years ago by a primitive method of distillation — scented waters from camphor. At the same time in China, the wood of the tree was burnt with other incenses. There camphor has long been one of the most important scents, used not only as a remedy, but also in a ritual context, e.g. embalming. Within the Islamic tradition can be found ḥadīths which refer to the use of camphor to wash the corpse (Nasāʾī, *Sunan,* iv, no. 1890), a practice that can still be found in Muslim countries (see BURIAL; DEATH AND THE DEAD). Besides its use as an aromatic, camphor offers a wide range of medicinal qualities (cf. L. Leclerc, *Ibn el-Bëithar,* iii, no. 1868, 129-30). It remains an ingredient in cosmetic compounds, ointments and rubbing alcohol.

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Cape see CLOTHING

Capital Punishment

see BOUNDARIES AND PRECEPTS

Captives

Persons who are captured in an act of war and whose lives are in the hands of the captor. According to Islamic law a captive may be killed, enslaved or returned for ransom. The Qurʾān refers to captives directly as *asīr* (pl. *asrā, asārā* or *usarāʾ*), the literal meaning of which is "one who is shackled" (cf. Q 2:185; 18:73; 94:5, 6). *Raqaba* (pl. *riqāb*), literally "nape of the neck," is used six times (cf. Q 2:177; 5:89; 9:60; 47:4; 58:3; 90:13) to refer to captives or slaves synecdochically; the verb *taʾsirūna,* "you make captive," is found in Q 33:26 (see SLAVES AND SLAVERY).

Pre-Islamic rules of warfare (see WAR; PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QURʾĀN) involved small raiding parties rather than full-scale battles. This practice was well-known to Muḥammad who used such raids to great effect in his campaigns (see EXPEDITIONS AND BATTLES) against the Meccans after his emigration to Medina (*hijra,* see EMIGRATION). References to captives from the Medinan period of the Qurʾān (see CHRONOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN) are all in the context of such raids and some may be connected with specific events, such as Q 33:26, which commentators connect with the killing and enslaving of members of the Qurayẓa (q.v.) tribe in Medina (q.v.). Other references are more vague but seem to refer to a strategy of engaging in more violent raids before taking captives (see Q 8:67).

In the Meccan period, the only mention of *asīr* is in a list of actions undertaken by the "servants of God:" "For the love of [God], they give food to the poor, the orphan, and the *asīr*" (Q 76:8). There is some debate in the commentaries as to whether this verse refers to captives or prisoners, but compare similar lists at Q 2:177 and 9:60. The former reads: "The pious (see PIETY) is the one who believes in God, and the last day (see APOCALYPSE; ESCHATOLOGY; LAST JUDGMENT), the angels (q.v.), the book (q.v.), and the prophets (see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD), and who shares wealth (q.v.), for the love of [God], with relatives (see KINSHIP), orphans (q.v.), the poor (see POVERTY AND THE POOR), the traveler, beggars, and with the *riqāb.*" In this case, al-Zamakhsharī (d. 538/1144; *Kashshāf,* i, 217-8) and others gloss sharing wealth with the *riqāb* as "helping *mukātab* slaves… or ransoming captives *(fakka l-usarā).*" While the ransoming of captives of war (see HOSTAGES) seems reasonable for the qurʾānic period, recent scholarship has questioned the commentators' implicit assertion that the institution of *mukātab* slaves (i.e. slaves who have entered into a contract of emancipation with their masters) was already established (J. Brockopp, 183-221; P. Crone, 64-76). Further, scholars continue to debate the ways in which Meccan society distinguished among captives, slaves, clients *(mawālī)* and allies *(ḥulafāʾ),* all of whom were in a dependent relationship with the tribal unit (see TRIBES AND CLANS; CLIENTS AND CLIENTAGE).

That captives were a known source for slaves is demonstrated by Joseph's (q.v.) capture and sale in the Joseph narrative (Q 12:19-20). Of the many Companions of the Prophet (q.v.) who were slaves, only Ṣuhayb b. Sinān (d. 38/659) appears to have been an actual captive, though the accounts are contradictory (see Ibn Isḥāq, *Sīra,* i, 488-9). During the conquests (q.v.) in the years following the death of Muḥammad, Medina and Damascus were flooded with thousands of captives, leading to significant slave markets in these and other cities. Since Islamic law forbids enslaving Muslims, capture from outlying,

non-Muslim territories was essential to maintaining slave populations.

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Caravan

A company of travelers on a journey through a desert or hostile region; also, the vehicles which transport the company. The most prominent qurʾānic word denoting a "caravan" is *ʿīr,* which occurs three times in Q 12, "Joseph" (Sūrat Yūsuf; Q 12:70, 82, 94). Arabic lexicographers say that originally this term denoted camels, asses or mules that carried provisions of corn but that it was later applied to any caravan (see CAMEL). Some say, however, that in the Qurʾān it signifies asses not camels (Lane, q.v. *ʿīr*) which does not comply with the biblical version of the story of Joseph (q.v.) where camels are mentioned explicitly (*Gen* 37:25). In the qurʾānic story of Joseph, a caravan is also called *sayyāra* (Q 12:10, 19) which recalls the Hebrew *shayyāra*. However, lexicographers explain this term as coming from the Arabic root *s-y-r* in the sense of *jamāʿa sayyāra:* "a company of persons journeying" (Lane, q.v. *s-y-r*).

Muslim commentators have also discovered an allusion to caravans in Q 106 (Sūrat Quraysh; Q 106:2), in which the "journey of the winter and the summer" is mentioned (see JOURNEY; TRIPS AND VOYAGES). In English translations of the Qurʾān, the "journey" *(riḥla)* is often rendered as "caravan" (e.g. Arberry). Commentators usually identify the journeys of the winter and the summer with the commercial caravans of pre-Islamic Meccan traders (see PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QURʾĀN). The winter journey is ordinarily said to have set out to Yemen (q.v.) and the summer journey to Syria (q.v.). Less current interpretations say that both journeys were to destinations in Syria. The leaders of Quraysh (q.v.), who are said to have initiated the journeys while obtaining pacts of security for their travels, were heads of prominent Meccan clans and mainly the sons of ʿAbd Manāf: Hāshim, al-Muṭṭalib, ʿAbd Shams and Nawfal (see TRIBES AND CLANS). The reports about them may reflect political tensions between their respective Muslim descendants (U. Rubin, Ilāf, 170-1; see POLITICS AND THE QURʾĀN). A less commercial perception of the winter and summer journey is reflected in interpretations to the effect that Quraysh carried them out not merely for trade but also for pleasure and recreation. In summer they reportedly used to travel to cool places in Yemen, Syria or al-Ṭāʿif and in winter they went to warmer places in Syria. Conversely, other interpretations hold that the journeys did not start from Mecca (q.v.) but rather ended there. These were journeys of pilgrims coming to Mecca from various zones twice a year to perform the *ʿumra* and the *ḥajj,* i.e. the lesser and the greater pilgrimage respectively (U. Rubin, Ilāf, 174, n. 59; see PILGRIMAGE). Implicit here is the notion that pilgrimage and commerce are closely associated.

Most modern scholars have tended to adopt the commercial interpretation of the winter and summer journey and infer from them that Mecca of the sixth century C.E. rose to the position of an important center

of transit trade (e.g. M.J. Kister, Mecca and Tamīm, 120). This has been challenged by Patricia Crone who, relying on the variety of inner contradictions in the suggested interpretations, has observed that "the exegetes had no better knowledge of what this sura meant than we have today" (*Meccan trade,* 210).

Whatever the case may be, the Qurʾān mentions the winter and the summer caravan journey that Quraysh performed regularly in order to illustrate a divine benevolence that is consequent upon belief in God (see BLESSING; BELIEF AND UNBELIEF).

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Carcass

see CARRION

Carpet

see MATERIAL CULTURE AND THE QURʾĀN

Carrion

The putrefying flesh of a carcass. The Arabic term is *mayta,* from the verbal root meaning "to die." Hence the word is used in an adjectival sense as in Q 36:33: "The dead earth *(al-arḍ al-mayta)* is a sign for them. We have brought it to life [i.e. by means of rain]…" In all other qurʾānic instances, the term refers specifically to carrion, one of the Islamic food taboos supported also in prophetic traditions (see FOOD AND DRINK; FORBIDDEN).

E. Lane's definition of *mayta* includes both animals which have died a natural death (explicitly *mayta,* as in Q 2:173; 5:3; 6:139, 145; 16:115) and those killed in a state or manner different from that prescribed by the religious law (see LAW AND THE QURʾĀN). In the latter situation the circumlocution is used, "over which has been invoked a name other than that of God" (as in all the above-mentioned references except Q 6:139; see CONSECRATION OF ANIMALS). Thus the term carrion may be applied where either the agent or the animal killed may not meet prescribed conditions, as for example, a person who slaughters an animal in a state of ritual purity (*iḥrām,* see RITUAL PURITY) or an animal sacrificed to an idol (see IDOLS AND IMAGES; SACRIFICE). The prohibition of carrion in these two senses (to which one could add the refinements of Q 5:3 that include animals who died from asphyxiation, a beating, a fall or being gored) is mentioned along with the religious taboos against eating blood and pork meat. An exception is made (Q 16:115; 6:145) when one might be forced to consume any of these prohibited substances under duress. Q 6:139 also suggests that a fetal or stillborn animal could be lawfully eaten (see LAWFUL AND UNLAWFUL).

The ḥadīth literature expanded upon these few and brief qurʾānic references. Fish (and, according to some authorities, by extension all sea animals and birds) and locusts were deemed lawful since they required no ritual slaughter. According to the caliph ʿUthmān (q.v.; r. 23-35/644-56), doves could be slaughtered and were therefore governed by the conditions of *mayta.*

Among the traditions recounted by al-Bukhārī (d. 256/870) a shepherd slaughtered one of his flock after noticing that it was on the verge of death. Following consultation (q.v.) with the Prophet, the meat was permitted for consumption as slaughtering the dying animal had prevented it from becoming carrion. In another tradition, al-Bukhārī cites an episode in which an expedition of the Prophet's troops began to suffer severe hunger. They discovered a huge fish cast upon the shore which provided nourishment for several days. Upon their return to Medina, the incident was related to the Prophet who replied, "Eat of those things which God sends you" (cf. Q 5:4). This tradition offered an implicit extension of the qurʾānic context (Q 16:115), which dealt only with prohibited foods, and the tradition may also have helped settle what was considered a problematic case of fish. Other traditions prohibit the sale of meat and by-products from such prohibited carcasses though there was exegetical and legal discussion about the permissibility of using the skin.

Islamic restrictions governing food preparation and consumption are fewer than in Judaism (see JEWS AND JUDAISM). However, the context of the verses cited here reflects close adherence to Jewish religious tradition. In both, the name of God has to be invoked when an animal is slaughtered and blood — the essential life force given by God (see BLOOD AND BLOOD CLOT; LIFE) — cannot be consumed but must be poured out, returned to the earth (q.v.) whence it came.

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Cattle see ANIMAL LIFE

Cave

A hollow space in a mountain or hill. The term cave *(kahf, ghār, maghārāt)* is used in the Qurʾān to designate a place of refuge for the faithful or a locus of intimate contact with God. *Kahf* occurs six times (Q 18:9, 10, 11, 16, 17, 25). *Ghār* and *maghārāt* (sing. *maghāra*) each occur once (Q 9:40, 57); lexicographers consider these latter terms to be synonymous with *kahf* or to be designations for small caves.

"The Cave" (Sūrat al-Kahf) is the title of Q 18, which consists of 110 verses. It refers to the story of the Companions of the Cave (vv. 9-26), an Arabic version of widely-circulated Christian accounts about the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus (see MEN OF THE CAVE). This version tells of a group of youths who, fearing persecution or death for their faith, fled to a cave with their dog (q.v.). God sheltered them there in a slumberous state for perhaps 309 years. When they awoke, they were discovered by their townspeople who decided to build a mosque over them and their hiding place. Muslim commentators and traditionists (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* xv, 130-54; Thaʿlabī, *Qiṣaṣ,* 370-86; Zamakhsharī, *Kashshāf,* ii, 473-81; for Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī's commentary on Q 18: 9-12, see R. Gramlich, Faḫr ad-Dīn ar-Rāzī) debate the meaning of the ambiguous qurʾānic narrative and embellish it

with details from Christian accounts (see CHRISTIANS AND CHRISTIANITY; NARRATIVES). According to these sources, after the youths discovered that their religion had finally prevailed in their homeland, they blessed Theodosius, the faithful ruler, and returned to their death-like sleep to await the final resurrection (q.v.).

In the Qurʾān and its subsequent interpretation, this cave was understood to be a sanctuary for the faithful and a place where they enjoyed God's mercy (q.v.). It also represents the tomb from which the dead were to be resurrected. Ibn Isḥāq (d. 150/767; *Sīra,* i-ii, 302-3), a biographer of the Prophet, said that this story was revealed in response to challenges to Muḥammad's authenticity as a prophet and to his growing persecution in Mecca (q.v.; see also OPPOSITION TO MUḤAMMAD). It functioned as a proof of God's ability to revive the dead (see DEATH AND THE DEAD) but it was also to portend the emigration (q.v.; *hijra*) to either Abyssinia (q.v.) or Medina (q.v.). The cave thus signified the goal of emigration. For Ṣūfī commentators, it came to represent a place for spiritual retreat for the worldly body awaiting illumination from the divine spirit (see ṢŪFISM AND THE QURʾĀN). The modern commentator Sayyid Quṭb (d. 1966) saw it as a metaphor for the heart (q.v.) filled with faith (q.v.). The story of the Companions is also the subject of a play by the Egyptian playwright Tawfīq al-Ḥakīm (d. 1987) and was used by the Egyptian media to describe anti-government Islamist groups such as that led by Shukrī Muṣṭafā in Egypt during the 1970s. Muslim exegetical and geographical literature ordinarily followed the Christian placement of the Companions of the Cave at Ephesus in present-day Turkey (see GEOGRAPHY IN THE QURʾĀN). In addition to Ephesus, however, Muslims fixed the geographical site of the cave in various locations including the Muqaṭṭam hills in Cairo, Mount Qāsyūn in Damascus and even Tuyuk in Chinese Turkestan.

Caves were also the locations of pivotal moments in the life of Muḥammad. After periods of spiritual retreat, Muḥammad received his first revelations (see REVELATION AND INSPIRATION) from the angel Gabriel (q.v.; Q 96:1-5) in a small cave *(ghār)* on Mount Ḥirāʾ, according to reports attributed to ʿĀʾisha (Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ, Badʾ al-waḥy* 3, *Tafsīr sūra* 96; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt,* i, 194; Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr* xxx, 161; see ʿĀʾISHA BINT ABĪ BAKR). Through the centuries this site, which is located five miles north of Mecca near Minā, was visited by pilgrims who came for the pilgrimage (q.v.; *ḥajj*). It is mentioned in medieval texts (Azraqī, *Akhbār Makka,* i-ii, 204; Yaqūt, *Buldān,* ii, 228; Ibn Jubayr, *Travels,* 160) and modern pilgrim narratives (M. Faraḥānī, Safarnāmeh, 235-6; M. Haykal, *Manzil,* 228-46). Tradition also maintains that Q 77 was revealed to Muḥammad in a cave at Minā itself (Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ, Tafsīr sūra* 77).

Another noteworthy cave in Islamic tradition is on Mount Thawr, south of Mecca on the road to Yemen (q.v.). It was there, according to early accounts (Ibn Isḥāq, *Sīra,* i-ii, 485-6; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt,* i, 228-9; Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* x, 95-6), that Muḥammad and Abū Bakr secluded themselves for three nights during their emigration *(hijra)* to Medina to avoid capture by their Quraysh (q.v.) opponents. According to commentaries, this event is addressed in a late Medinan sūra: "If you do not help him [Muḥammad], God certainly will, as he did when the disbelievers expelled him and the second man. When they were in the cave, he said to his companion (see COMPANIONS OF THE PROPHET), 'Grieve not, for God is with us'" (Q 9:40). The spider's web and the dove's nest that God used to conceal them in the cave (according to Ibn

Saʿd, d. 230/845) became popular symbols of the emigration.

A cave was not a shelter for disbelievers and hypocrites, however (see HYPOCRITES AND HYPOCRISY). The Qurʾān states that they would like to flee to caves (*maghārāt,* cf. Q 9:57) and other places of refuge to escape divine retribution but God has readied a harsher abode (i.e. hell [*jahannam*], cf. Q 9:63, 68, 73) for them in the hereafter (see HELL; LAST JUDGMENT).

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Cave, Men of the

see MEN OF THE CAVE

Celibacy

see ABSTINENCE; CHASTITY

Ceremony

see FESTIVALS

Chair

see THRONE OF GOD

Challenges of Modern Science

see SCIENCE AND THE QURʾĀN

Chance and Coincidence

see MARVELS; OMENS; SECRETS; HIDDEN AND THE HIDDEN; THEOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN

Chapters

see SŪRA(S)

Charity

see ALMSGIVING

Charm

see AMULETS

Chastisement and Punishment

To discipline, especially by corporal means, as retribution for a wrong and incidentally for correction and prevention. "Chastisement" and "punishment" correspond to several Arabic terms used in the Qurʾān, e.g. *ʿadhāb, nakāl, ʿiqāb, jazāʾ* and their cognates, although, in addition to these discrete terms, the Qurʾān does use other expressions to convey the same meaning. The word *ʿadhāb* and its cognates appear in the Qurʾān over 350 times; *jazāʾ* and its cognates over 100 times; *ʿiqāb* and its cognates 26 times; and *nakāl* and its cognates four times. Considering the numerous qurʾānic stories of divine punishment meted out to those who rejected God's prophets, it is clear that divine chastisement — in this world and the next — is one of the most important topics in the Qurʾān.

While these terms have shared meanings, it is useful to distinguish them carefully. The most general of these terms is *ʿadhāb,* which al-Zamakhsharī (d. 538/1144; *Kashshāf,* i, 164-5) defines as any type of burden-

some pain. More specifically, *ʿiqāb* is used to mean various forms of punishment while *nakāl* is used to refer particularly to exemplary punishment. Therefore while every *ʿiqāb* and *nakāl* is also a type of *ʿadhāb*, the opposite is not true — one can suffer some type of *ʿadhāb* that is not a punishment. Finally, *jazāʾ* carries the signification of "just deserts," i.e. the deserved consequences of one's actions, and can therefore be found in the sense of either chastisement or reward. These terms and their cognates appear in a variety of contexts in the Qurʾān and are employed to describe events both in this world and the next (see REWARD AND PUNISHMENT). When their use is related to events in this world, moreover, they apply equally to both divine and human acts. Finally, *ʿadhāb* and *nakāl* are used to describe punishments required by law, e.g. flogging (q.v.), which in Q 24:2 is the prescribed punishment for adultery (see ADULTERY AND FORNICATION) and the amputation of the hand of the thief, the qurʾānic punishment for theft (q.v.; cf. Q 5:38), but the use of these terms in this sense is extremely limited in the Qurʾān (see BOUNDARIES AND PRECEPTS; LAW AND THE QURʾĀN; STONING).

According to the Qurʾān, both humans and God share in the capacity to administer punishment (see JUDGMENT). Further, there is an acknowledgement of the destructive power of some events and processes. Consequently, theological reflection takes up the question of the cause of human calamities, attributing them variously to natural explanations and acts of divine judgment. This question presents a tension that is central to the qurʾānic view of humankind's relationship to the divine.

Human acts of chastisement

The Qurʾān describes many instances where one human, typically a ruler or the equivalent, inflicts a terrible punishment upon another who is, predictably, powerless. Interestingly, the Qurʾān does not attach any independent ontological significance to the act of punishment itself. Thus, at times the wicked succeed in torturing the good, as in the story of Pharaoh's (q.v.) treatment of the Jews (Q 2:49), as well as that of Pharaoh's treatment of his magicians after they announced their faith in Islam (Q 20:71; see MAGIC, PROHIBITION OF); at other times, the good is empowered over the wicked and is able to punish accordingly, as in Dhū l-Qarnayn's (see ALEXANDER) punishment of the unjust whom he encountered in his travels and conquests (Q 18:86-7).

The central lesson of the Qurʾān regarding these events is that the ontological status of any human act of punishment is derivative, viz. a result not of the act itself but rather of the nature of the actor. For that reason, the qurʾānic view is that a naive "empiricism" is insufficient to grasp the moral reality behind actual exercises of power (see INTENTION), i.e. mere empiricism is unable to judge whether the exercise of power was just (see JUSTICE AND INJUSTICE). The Qurʾān presents a vivid example of the fallacy of confusing empirical manifestations of power with the moral judgment of truth (q.v.) and falsehood when it describes Abraham's (q.v.) encounter with a king who had fallaciously claimed to share in divine attributes (see GOD AND HIS ATTRIBUTES; KINGS AND RULERS) because he, just as God, could grant life and take it away (Q 2:258).

It is not just the powerful, however, who endow their acts with ontological significance. The powerless, according to the Qurʾān, also believe, on the basis of the power of their oppressors, that they must be right or, less drastically, that God has no concern for the believers' welfare (see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF). Thus, when Pharaoh began to slaughter the male offspring of

the Jews in retaliation for their support of Moses (q.v.) and Moses urged the Jews to remain firm in their faith in God and to seek his help, their reply was simply: "Tortured were we *(ūdhīnā* from root, *ʾ-dh-y)* before you came to us, and [tortured are we] after you came to us" (Q 7:129; see JEWS AND JUDAISM). Likewise, the Qurʾān portrays the powerless' confusion of might with right as a failure to exercise their own judgment; they thus blindly follow the powerful to their own perdition:

> Were you [O Muḥammad!] to see the moment when the unjust are brought standing before their Lord, as they exchange words, one with another, and the downtrodden say to the mighty, "But for you, we surely would have been believers!" And the mighty will say to the downtrodden "Did we keep you away from [God's] guidance after it came unto you? No, you indeed were wicked!" And the downtrodden will say to the mighty, "No, indeed, it was rather your plotting, day and night, commanding us to be ungrateful (see GRATITUDE AND INGRATITUDE) to God and to assign unto him peers" (Q 34:31-3; see POLYTHEISM AND ATHEISM).

Thus, despite the fact that punishment administered by humans — and the power that stands behind it — says nothing about the moral significance of that act, humans nevertheless tend erroneously to attribute moral value to the exercise of power. They presume to read moral meaning into punishment prescribed by the socially and politically powerful or they interpret it negatively as divine disinterest. Because of such human misapprehension, the qurʾānic demystification of the empirical phenomenon of power (see POWER AND IMPOTENCE) provides an answer to the question of how one is to differentiate good from evil (see GOOD AND EVIL), given that both will at times use the same means.

Divine chastisement in this world

Qurʾānic narrative repeatedly demonstrates the belief that God intervenes at least episodically in human history. In a frequently encountered qurʾānic pattern, the most spectacular of these interventions begins when God sends a prophet (see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD) to a human group and ends when God destroys them for their rejection of this prophet (see PUNISHMENT STORIES). While these stories are mentioned throughout the Qurʾān, the seventh sūra, Sūrat al-Aʿrāf, narrates in succession the accounts of the major prophets whose peoples God had destroyed — Noah (q.v.), Hūd (q.v.), Ṣāliḥ (q.v.), Lot (q.v.), Shuʿayb (q.v.), and Moses (q.v.; Q 7:59-93, 103-37).

The Qurʾān concludes its narration of these events with some general observations: The missions of the prophets are simultaneously accompanied by some significant misfortune *(bi-l-baʾsāʾ wa-l-ḍarrāʾ)* inflicting the people to whom they are sent, so as to awaken them from their heedlessness (Q 7:94). But God does not allow their misery to continue unabated and eventually replaces their misfortune with good fortune leading to general prosperity (Q 7:95). Instead of responding to God with gratitude, however, the prophet's people *naturalize* the calamity, concluding that the cycle of misfortune followed by good fortune is natural, something which occurs at all times. They therefore conclude that what happened to them during the course of their prophet's preaching had no causal connection with the prophet's mission (Q 7:95). God then sends his chastisement at the moment when they convince themselves that their experience was simply natural, lulling themselves thereby into a false sense of security (Q 7:95; see NATURAL

WORLD AND THE QUR'ĀN). Apparently, it is their reckless disregard for the possibility that the prophet is telling the truth that warrants their punishment and by analogy the punishment of future sinners who fail to take heed of their predecessors' example (Q 7:97-100).

Although the Qur'ān creates the impression that the majority of the prophets' peoples rejected them, their leaders are singled out by the Qur'ān for particular blame. It is always the leading citizens such as the town or tribal assembly *(al-mala')* that constitutes the biggest obstacle to the success of the prophet's mission (Q 7:60, 66, 75-7). Such is the case with the story of Moses and Pharaoh where the conflict between prophets and wicked temporal authority reaches its apogee. Although there are a number of other versions of the conflict between prophets and the political power (see POLITICS AND THE QUR'ĀN), the story of Moses produced sign after sign of God's power — first miracles (Q 7:107-8; see MIRACLE) and the defeat of Pharaoh's magicians (Q 7:117-9); then after the request of Pharaoh and his people, Moses removed the plagues (q.v.) that God had sent upon Pharaoh's people (Q 7:133-4). Pharaoh and his people, however, insisted that Moses was a mere politician whose only goal was to drive the Egyptians from power (Q 7:109-10, 127). When Pharaoh and his people broke their promise to Moses to release the Children of Israel (q.v.) from captivity after Moses removed the plagues from Egypt (q.v.), God finally destroyed them because "they rejected our clear signs (q.v.) and were heedless of them" (Q 7:136; see also CAPTIVES; AUTHORITY).

According to the narrative in Q 7, the story of Moses and Pharaoh provides a more detailed demonstration of the dynamic relationship between the unacceptable status quo and the reforming prophet than is generally to be found in the stories of the other prophets. The common theme among all the punishment stories associated with prophets, however, is that human beings, due to their narrow self-interest, behave recklessly when God gives them an opportunity to reform themselves. It is their reckless disregard for God's teaching that constitutes ungrateful rejection of God *(kufr)* and justifies his intervention in the form of a terrible chastisement.

Yet given the indeterminacy of the means God chooses to punish the wicked, such as natural phenomena, the question facing human beings is how to distinguish a truly natural calamity from one that is an actual manifestation of divine judgment. The answer that the Qur'ān gives is the person of the prophet, and Q 17:15, "We never punish until we send a messenger (q.v.)," offers ratification of this. Thus when a prophet confronts evil and challenges his people with the consequences of sinful behavior (see SIN, MAJOR AND MINOR), human actions assume a moral dimension, thereby creating a solid basis for divine judgment. According to the Qur'ān, only when God sends a prophet, therefore, do humans become morally accountable to God for their actions. Otherwise, their injustice would be a result of mere negligence and, as discussed above, only reckless disregard for truth that has been conveyed by God through a prophet (see REVELATION AND INSPIRATION) creates, in the sight of the Qur'ān, a moral justification for punishment.

The nature of divine punishment in the next world

The Qur'ān is replete with descriptions of the torments of hell (q.v.) that await those whose deeds made them deserving objects of divine chastisement. Whether these vivid descriptions should be understood in a strictly literal manner is a question that has preoccupied Muslim theologians of both the medieval and the modern periods.

Even among the classical figures of Islamic thought there has been the recognition that this cannot be answered from the qurʾānic text itself (e.g. Rāzī, *Tafsīr,* ii, 54-8). Indeed, the language of the Qurʾān uses vivid, literal images of the chastisements of hell at the very least to create "literal *psycho-physical effects* of the Fire" (F. Rahman, *Major themes,* 112-3). According to some contemporary lines of interpretation, more interesting and more answerable is the Qurʾān's description of the psychological aspect of divine chastisement in the next world.

While the image of God sitting in judgment over humankind (see THRONE OF GOD; LAST JUDGMENT), separating the saved from the damned has been criticized as a gross oversimplification of qurʾānic eschatology (q.v.), it does have some basis in the qurʾānic text, e.g. Q 2:284. Although Muslim dogma certainly promotes this image of the day of judgment, some modern commentators understand the day of judgment to be more a moment of complete self-awareness than a trial before a judge. Within this perspective, punishment is as much a result of the guilty person's realization of his or her own guilt as something that God imposes upon the individual (Q 2:167; 17:14; 69:25-9; 78:40). As a result of their new-found self-awareness, the guilty accept the justice of their punishment in recognition of their own moral depravity. Thus "they say 'Had we listened or reasoned, we would not have been among the denizens of the flame.' Thus did they recognize their sin…" (Q 67:10-1). In support of such a view, these commentators note that the Qurʾān often describes punishment in the next world as a deprivation of divine blessings, the effect of which is the equivalent of a punishment (Q 2:174; 3:77; 83:14-5; see also SIN AND CRIME).

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Chastisement and Sentences

see CHASTISEMENT AND PUNISHMENT; TRIAL; JUDGMENT

Chastity

Avoidance of illicit sexual intercourse. Within the Qurʾān, this concept is generally expressed by the Arabic verb *aḥṣana,* its participles and the verbal noun *taḥaṣṣun*. The original meaning of the fourth form of the verb is "to protect or preserve something or someone," in the fifth form "to protect oneself" (Lane, 586). Other verbs used to convey this idea are *ḥafiẓa* (to protect) and *istaʿaffa* (to abstain).

The special meaning of the concept can be discerned by a comparison of qurʾānic verses in which the word, its synonyms or antonyms occur. There are transitive and intransitive forms. The transitive ones have as their complement the word *farj* (vagina) or *furūj* (genitals). In Q 21:91 and 66:12, Mary (q.v.), the mother of Jesus (q.v.), is called a woman "who preserved her vagina" *(allatī aḥṣanat farjahā)* meaning that she had not had sexual intercourse before she became pregnant with Jesus (Q 19:19-20). In Q 33:35, 23:5 and 70:29 it is said that "preserving one's genitals" is a general virtue of Muslims, both males and females. This statement should not be taken as covering all connotations of the

English word "chaste," since the qurʾānic concept does not imply that it is a virtue to abstain completely from sexual intercourse and lead a celibate life (see ABSTINENCE). This is made clear by Q 23:5-7 and 70:29-30 where true Muslim men are described as "those who preserve their genitals except from their wives and slave women." Wives and concubines (q.v.) of a Muslim man are considered lawful sexual partners (see SEX AND SEXUALITY). The virtue of chastity is therefore limited to the abstention from sexual intercourse with all others who are by definition unlawful (see LAWFUL AND UNLAWFUL). In the case of a Muslim woman the only lawful partner is her husband. In the verses in which the term *aḥṣana* is used intransitively, the meaning is the same and can best be translated by "abstaining from unlawful sexual intercourse." This is obvious from the verses in which the term *muḥṣin* is contrasted with its opposites, namely people who have illicit sexual relations (men, *musāfiḥūn;* women, *musāfiḥāt*) and a man who takes mistresses (*muttakhidh akhdān,* cf. Q 5:5; 4:25). Other antonyms are *imrā saw', zānin* and *khabīth* for men, all of which are best rendered by "fornicator" (Q 19:28; 24:3, 26), and, for women, *baghī* (whore; cf. Q 19:28), and *zāniya* and *khabītha,* which are the feminine forms of terms for fornicator (cf. Q 19:20; 24:3, 26).

Free Muslims must be chaste. This is also assumed of Christians and Jews and therefore Muslim men may marry Christian and Jewish women (Q 5:5; see CHRISTIANS AND CHRISTIANITY; JEWS AND JUDAISM; PEOPLE OF THE BOOK). Heathens are regarded as unchaste and are — like Muslims, Jews or Christians who have fornicated — unacceptable marriage partners (Q 2:221; 24:3; 60:10). Slaves are generally not regarded as chaste (see SLAVES AND SLAVERY). The Qurʾān, however, prohibits forcing them into prostitution if they wish to live chaste lives (Q 24:33; in all likelihood this verse refers to Jews and Christians or to slaves who have converted to Islam). Free Muslims may even marry Muslim slaves who are then obliged by marriage to live chastely, i.e. to abjure illicit intercourse (Q 4:25; 24:33).

Although chastity was already considered a virtue (at least for women) among the heathen Arabs before Islam (see PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QURʾĀN), the qurʾānic ideal of chastity follows Jewish and Christian traditions. Besides the instances cited above, the example of Joseph (Yūsuf; see JOSEPH) who, as a slave in Egypt, had resisted with God's support the seduction of his master's wife (Q 12:22-34, 50-3) is a clear illustration of this continuity (see also SCRIPTURE AND THE QURʾĀN). In order to realize this ideal in the (early) Muslim community (see COMMUNITY AND SOCIETY IN THE QURʾĀN), the Qurʾān stipulates a special code of behavior among the sexes and prescribes severe sanctions for illicit sexual relations. The Qurʾān recommends that the sexes refrain from sexually provocative behavior and that people carefully veil their physical charms in front of the opposite sex (Q 24:30-1). People are warned by the Qurʾān not to enter other people's houses without asking permission to do so (Q 24:27-9, 58-9). If women have to leave the house, they are told to pull a piece of their clothes down (presumably over their heads) in order to be recognized as chaste women who do not want to be molested (Q 33:59; see VEIL). Unlawful sexual relations are condemned as sins (see SIN, MAJOR AND MINOR) and fornicators are threatened with severe punishment (Q 4:15-6, 19; 12:25; 17:32; 19:27; 23:5-7; 24:2; 65:1; see ADULTERY AND FORNICATION). For the wives of the Prophet even stricter standards of decent behavior are prescribed and their punishment in cases of adultery is doubled (Q 33:30, 32-3, 53;

see WIVES OF THE PROPHET; CHASTISEMENT AND PUNISHMENT). In Islamic jurisprudence the meaning of the word *iḥṣān* underwent a change and the measures to enforce chastity and to prevent illicit sexual intercourse became more severe over time. See also FAMILY; MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE; WOMEN AND THE QUR'ĀN.

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Cheating

Defrauding by deceit or trickery. Several qurʾānic expressions depict this vice (see VIRTUES AND VICES): *tatfīf* (lit. making light of or slighting); *bakhs* (shortchanging); *akl amwāl al-nās bi-l-bāṭil* (devouring people's wealth on false pretext); *taghābun* (mutual fraud). Sūrat al-Muṭaffifūn, "The Slighters" (Q 83), is one of two sūras of the Qurʾān named for the actual practice of cheating. Its opening verses chide proprietors who manipulate the scales and measuring devices (see MEASUREMENT) in the market (see MARKETS) so that buyers receive less than the quantity for which they are paying. These same proprietors, meanwhile, go to market and demand full measure. This suggests some type of oligarchic conspiracy on the part of proprietors of which the general public was largely unaware (see COMMUNITY AND SOCIETY IN THE QURʾĀN). Muslim exegetes differ, however, over whether these verses were revealed in response to the actual situation at Mecca (q.v.) or Medina (q.v.). Lexicographically, the word *tatfīf* implies that the gains it brings are trifling. *A fortiori*, its condemnation in the Qurʾān is seen to cover all measures of cheating, though no legal sanctions against *tatfīf* are mentioned in the Qurʾān (see LAW AND THE QURʾĀN). The matter is referred, rather, to the *forum internum* as cheaters are reminded about the resurrection (q.v.) and the grievous penalty they will face on the day of judgment (see REWARD AND PUNISHMENT; LAST JUDGMENT). Later, Muslim society would entrust the regulation of proper weights and measures (q.v.) in the marketplace to a market inspector, the so-called *muḥtasib*.

Several verses (Q 2:282; 7:85; 11:85; 26:183) proscribe the practice of cheating in the form of *"bakhs"* or shortchanging people. The verses on *bakhs* are easily attributable to both the Meccan and Medinan periods. At Q 2:282, for example, the object is clearly the Muslim community at Medina. At Q 7:85 (a Meccan verse), meanwhile, the reference is to the pre-Islamic community of Midian (Madyan; see MIDIAN) to whom the prophet Shuʿayb (q.v.) was sent in order that, among other things, he might command his people to give just measure and not shortchange their countrymen *(lā tabkhasū l-nās ashyāʾahum)*. This same theme is repeated in the Meccan verses, Q 11:85 and 26:183. What can be found here is a type of intertextuality quite common in the Qurʾān, where the rhetoric serves as a form of warning (q.v.) by example. The people of Midian failed to heed the warnings of Shuʿayb and as a result suffered destruction, a fate that the Qurʾān describes in moving imagery (see PUNISH-

MENT STORIES). Muḥammad's condemnation of *bakhs* in his preaching to the early Muslim community could hardly fail to conjure up such images.

A number of verses (Q 2:188; 4:29; 9:34) condemn the practice of devouring people's wealth on false pretext *(akl amwāl al-nās bi-l-bāṭil)*. This is actually a general category of misappropriation of which cheating, including such activities as gambling (q.v.) and unlawful gain (*ribā,* see USURY), are a subset. In terms of psychological impact, the verses treating of *akl amwāl al-nās bi-l-bāṭil* constitute, in all likelihood, the most powerful condemnation of cheating since the word here translated as "false pretext" *(bāṭil)* is also used in some twenty other qurʾānic verses with the meaning of falsehood as the antithesis of divinely revealed truth (q.v.; see REVELATION AND INSPIRATION).

Sūrat al-Taghābun, "Mutual Fraud" (Q 64), also takes its title from the notion of cheating. Here, however, the reference is not to pecuniary cheating but to the self-deception of the unbelievers through which they "cheat" themselves (collectively) out of a place in paradise (q.v.). Judgment day is thus called *yawm al-taghābun,* "the day of mutual fraud," i.e. the time when the results of their mutual deception are brought to light (see also BELIEF AND UNBELIEF).

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Children

Offspring; gender-inclusive term for young people, between infancy and youth. The Qurʾān contains a number of terms for "offspring" and "young people," (e.g. *dhurriyya; ghulām,* pl. *ghilmān; ibn,* pl. *banūn; walad,* pl. *awlād*), but it is only seldom clear from the context when these refer to the age group between birth (q.v.) and maturity (q.v.). More specific terms for infants and children are: *walīd,* "child" (pl. *wildān,* although in Q 56:17, *wildān* probably means "youths"); *mawlūd,* "born, child," *ṣabī,* "infant, boy," *ṭifl,* "infant" and *ṣaghīr,* "young." Generally the terms in this latter group do not distinguish between various stages or developments in childhood, whereas the transition from childhood to maturity *(balagha ashuddahu)* or to puberty *(balagha al-ḥulum)* is mentioned in a few places. Qurʾānic statements about children which convey a normative-ethical significance form the foundation for later Islamic legislation and are mainly concerned with infanticide, adoption, breast-feeding, and fatherless children (see FAMILY; MILK; ORPHANS).

Infanticide

Infanticide as a form of post-partum birth control in pre-Islamic Arab society was motivated either by want and destitution and therefore practiced on males and females alike (Q 6:151; 17:31), as in cases of sacrificing children to gods (Q 6:137, 140), or by the disappointment and fear of social disgrace felt by a father upon the birth of a daughter (Q 16:57-9; 81:8-9; see PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QURʾĀN; COMMUNITY AND SOCIETY IN THE QURʾĀN). Regarding it as a practice typical of the pagan social mores of the pre-Islamic period (*jāhiliyya,* see AGE OF IGNORANCE), the Qurʾān, already in Meccan sūras, defines infanticide as a grave sin (see SIN, MAJOR AND MINOR). Consequently, it totally forbids the practice, together with other grave sins such as polytheism (see POLYTHEISM AND ATHEISM) and homicide (see MURDER; cf. Q 6:151; see also Q 60:12 — the only

reference to women committing infanticide). Infanticide is also implicitly denounced in the story of Pharaoh (q.v.) and the Children of Israel (q.v.; Q 2:49; 7:127, 141; 14:6; 28:4; 40:25). The case of an unbelieving young man, who is killed in order to preserve his parents from the disobedience (q.v.) to God which he is destined to bring to their life, appears in a legendary context (Q 18:74, 80; see MYTHIC AND LEGENDARY NARRATIVES) and is certainly not intended as an example to be followed. See BIRTH CONTROL.

Adoption

Adoption as a practice in which an adopted son would take the name of his adoptive parent was common in pre-Islamic Arabia. It was cancelled and forbidden, however, in the early years of Islam (Q 33:4-5). Thus, Muḥammad was able to marry Zaynab bt. Jaḥsh after his formerly adopted son Zayd had divorced her, confirming the rule that forbids father and son to marry the same woman (Q 33:37; see A. al-Azhary-Sonbol, Adoption, esp. 45-52; see also FAMILY OF THE PROPHET; WIVES OF THE PROPHET).

Breast-feeding

Two of the five (Medinan) verses which mention breast-feeding (Q 2:233; 65:6; see BIOLOGY AS THE CREATION AND STAGES OF LIFE) aim at protecting repudiated but still lactating women (see LACTATION) and their nurslings by guaranteeing them economic support from the father for at least two years and by sanctioning non-maternal nursing when needed (see MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE). A related verse, Q 4:23 forbids sexual relations between males and their milk-mothers as well as milk-sisters thereby extending the realm of incest as defined by Judaism and Christianity (see A. Giladi, *Infants,* chap. 1; see also LAWFUL AND UNLAWFUL). See WET NURSING.

Fatherless children

Qurʾānic sensitivity to society's weaker members finds its full expression in nineteen verses forbidding the harsh and oppressive treatment of fatherless children *(yatāmā,* sing. *yatīm)* while urging kindness and justice towards them. A passage from the first Meccan period (Q 93:6-8) celebrates God's providence towards the orphan Muḥammad (q.v.). The fatherless children mentioned in some of the Medinan verses (e.g. Q 8:41) are those of Muḥammad's followers who had fallen in battle (see T. O'Shaughnessy, Youth and old age, 35-8). See ORPHANS.

The many other qurʾānic references without any explicitly normative message reflect concepts of childhood and attitudes towards children that are, on the whole, typical of patrilineal societies (see PATRIARCHY; INHERITANCE): sons (and property) are signs of divine benevolence (e.g. Q 16:72; 17:6; 26:132-3; 71:12; see BLESSING) but can also be a temptation for the believers (Q 8:28) who, unlike pagans, are to rely on God, not on earthly power (e.g. Q 3:10, 116; 9:24; 18:46; 19:77; see ARROGANCE). Unlike daughters, whose birth evokes disappointment and protest against God's decree (Q 16:57-9; cf. 42:49-50), sons are much desired (cf. Q 7:189-90). Both parents invest much in their children, from the moment of conception through pregnancy and lactation to weaning and upbringing (Q 17:24; 31:14; 46:15) and hope to find comfort in them (Q 25:74). Mothers, particularly, love their children (Q 20:40; 28:7-13), with some indication of favoring sons. Children are sexually innocent and therefore may be in the company of adults of both sexes even when the latter are not completely dressed (Q 24:31, 58-9). See also KINSHIP; WOMEN AND THE QURʾĀN.

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Children of Israel

One of the qurʾānic designations of Israelites as well as Jews (*yahūd,* see JEWS AND JUDAISM) and Christians (*naṣārā,* see CHRISTIANS AND CHRISTIANITY), in reference mainly to past generations (q.v.). The majority of the passages mentioning the Children of Israel *(Banū Isrāʾīl)* are dedicated to the Israelites of the time of Moses (q.v.), while references do exist to later stages of their history, such as the story of Saul (Ṭālūt; Q 2:246-52; see SAUL), the destruction of the Temple (Q 17:2-8) and the emergence of Jesus (q.v.) among them (Q 61:6). Sometimes, the label "Children of Israel" is interchangeable with the label "People of the Book" (*ahl al-kitāb,* see PEOPLE OF THE BOOK).

Biblical background

The qurʾānic treatment of the Children of Israel must be examined against the background of the biblical allusions to them. The labels "Israel," "House of Israel" and "Children of Israel" had already appeared in the Hebrew Bible as synonymous names for the Israelite nation, which is thus named after its genealogical father, Jacob (q.v.), whose name was changed to Israel (q.v.; cf. *Gen* 32:29). In the New Testament, "Israel" is retained as a name for the Jewish people (e.g. *Acts* 1:6; 2:22, 36; 3:12; 4:8).

In the Hebrew Bible, Israel is a holy community chosen by God to be his special people and ranks above all other nations that are upon the face of the earth (e.g. *Deut* 7:6). The election of Israel signifies a covenant (q.v.) between God and his chosen people whose duty it is to keep his laws (*Ps* 105:43-5), fight the idolaters (see IDOLATRY AND IDOLATERS) and avoid all kinds of sins (*Deut* 7:5-6; 14:1-2, etc.). This election signifies God's blessing (q.v.) of them; God did not choose the children of Israel because they deserved it, but merely because of God's love for Israel (*Deut* 7:7-8) and for the sake of His own name (*Isa* 48:9-11).

The historical evidence of the election of Israel is provided in the exodus, i.e. Israel's deliverance (q.v.) from slavery (see SLAVES AND SLAVERY) in Egypt (q.v.) "by signs (q.v.) and by wonders," which is followed by the conquest of the Promised Land. This represents the fulfillment of God's ancient promise to the fathers of Israel to bequeath the land of Canaan to their posterity (e.g. *Exod* 3:6-17; *Deut* 4:34; 7:8; *Jer* 11:4). Israel can remain a chosen community only as long as they obey God and keep his covenant (*Exod* 19:5), but when they stray (see ASTRAY) they are no longer regarded as God's people. Thus when the Israelites commit the sin of worshipping the golden calf (see CALF OF GOLD), God disclaims them, and refers to them as Moses' people whom Moses, not God, has brought out of Egypt (*Exod* 32:7). Due to their sin, the people of Israel have become *lo-ʿammī:* "not my people" (*Hos* 1:9). See SCRIPTURE AND THE QURʾĀN.

Qurʾānic Israelites as a chosen community

This set of ideas, which appears mainly in the *Book of Deuteronomy,* reappears almost intact in the Qurʾān. The qurʾānic allusions to the Children of Israel are focused on the election of Israel on the one hand, and on Israel's breaking of God's covenant on the other. Taken together, they convey the idea that Israel has betrayed God's love and lost the status of God's chosen community, which implies that the believers who follow the qurʾānic Prophet replace the Children of Israel as God's renewed chosen community (see COMMUNITY AND SOCIETY IN THE QURʾĀN). Most allusions are anchored in the story of the exodus, which exemplifies the election of Israel as well as their sin (see SIN, MAJOR AND MINOR).

The most explicit formulation of the idea of Israel's election is provided in Q 44:30-3 in which God announces that he has chosen them *(ikhtarnāhum)* above all beings. This statement is coupled with the story of Israel's deliverance from Pharaoh (q.v.), including the signs *(āyāt)* given to Israel during their deliverance. The signs are mentioned in additional passages presenting the Children of Israel as chosen by God, for example in Q 45:16-7, in which God gives them the book (i.e. the Torah [q.v.]; see also BOOK) as well as judgment (q.v.) and prophethood (see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD), provides them with good things and "prefers" them *(wa-faḍḍalnāhum)* above all beings. Then the clear signs *(bayyināt)* that were given to them are mentioned. According to other passages (e.g. Q 5:32), the signs were brought to them by their prophets.

The election of Israel forms the essence of God's blessing *(niʿma)* unto them. Thus in Q 2:211, the "clear signs" given to Israel by God are mentioned within a warning (q.v.) against "changing" God's *niʿma.* God's *niʿma* features as something which the Children of Israel must remember; it consists not only of their preference above all beings (Q 2:47, 122) but also of their being given prophets and of their being made into kings (Q 5:20; see KINGS AND RULERS).

God's *niʿma* appears also in close association with God's covenant (*ʿahd*) which the Children of Israel must keep. Keeping the covenant means that they must believe in the Torah and observe God's laws (Q 2:40-3; see BOUNDARIES AND PRECEPTS). God's covenant with the Israelites is often called *mīthāq* (Q 2:63, 83-4, 93; 5:12, 70), which also applies to the obligation of keeping the sabbath (q.v.; Q 4:154). It is also a covenant with "those who have received the book" (Q 3:187).

The exodus from Egypt and the sins of Israel

Israel's deliverance from Pharaoh provides the clearest manifestation of God's *niʿma* (Q 14:6). This event, as well as the journey of the Israelites to the holy land, is recounted in the Qurʾān in several parallel passages of varying length. A detailed version is provided in Q 7 ("The Heights," Sūrat al-Aʿrāf) in verses 103-71. Here the story begins with Moses and Aaron (q.v.) and their encounters with Pharaoh, including the signs, i.e. the miracles they perform and the calamities they bring down upon Pharaoh (Q 7:103-33; see MIRACLE). This is followed by the departure of Israel from Egypt (q.v.) and the drowning (q.v.) of the troops of Pharaoh in the sea (Q 7:134-6). Then comes a short reference to Israelite settlement in the Promised Land (Q 7:137). This version of Pharaoh's story is one of a series of well-known qurʾānic punishment stories (q.v.) that deal with nations which have been destroyed because of their disobedience (q.v.). Sometimes Pharaoh's punishment story appears independently of the story of the Israelites (Q 26:10-68; 27:7-14; 28:3-47; 43:46-56; 51:38-40; 79:15-29). In Q 7 the story about Pharaoh's

punishment is followed by an account of the events that take place after the Children of Israel cross the sea. The plot now focuses on their sins, mainly on their fashioning the calf of gold which results in the breaking of the Tablets (Q 7:138-51). Other sins mentioned in this sūra are the refusal to say *ḥiṭṭa* (a word, or profession, of repentance), for which they are destroyed in a disaster *(rijz)* sent from heaven (Q 7:161-2; see also Q 2:58-9) and the violation of the sabbath (q.v.), for which they are turned into apes (Q 2:65; cf. 7:163-7). Elsewhere (Q 5:20-6) the Qurʾān recounts the sin of the Israelites when refusing to wage war on the mighty inhabitants of the Promised Land. As punishment they must wander in the wilderness for 40 years (till they perish). This is based on the biblical affair of the spies (*Num* 13).

The Qurʾān is also aware of other Israelite sins, which are outside the scope of the exodus, for example, persecuting and killing their prophets (Q 2:61, 87, 91; 3:21, 112, 181; 4:155; 5:70). The Qurʾān also condemns the Children of Israel for inner conflicts *(ikhtilāf)* which divided them after they had been chosen by God (Q 45:16-7; see also Q 10:93). Elsewhere this divisiveness is attributed to the People of the Book (Q 3:19).

A major sin committed by the Children of Israel, one which signifies violation of God's covenant, is the distortion *(taḥrīf)* of the word of God, i.e. the Torah (Q 5:13; see CORRUPTION). The same is said of the Jews as well (Q 4:46; 5:41). The Qurʾān also mentions those of the People of the Book who conceal parts of the Book (Q 6:91; see also Q 2:159, 174; 3:187, etc.). The Qurʾān not only recounts the sins of the Children of Israel but states that some of their own prophets, namely David (q.v.) and Jesus have already cursed them for their deeds (Q 5:78).

The polemical purpose

The Qurʾān employs the theme of the Children of Israel for polemical reasons arising from tensions between Muslim believers and their contemporary Jews and Christians. The Qurʾān strives to prove that Islam provides the framework for God's newly chosen community and that the Children of Israel, i.e. the Jews and the Christians, are no longer a chosen community (see ELECTION). This is stated explicitly in Q 5:18, in which the Jews and the Christians are said to claim that they are "the sons of God and his beloved ones." To this the Qurʾān responds by asserting that they are no more than mortals *(bashar)* whom God punishes for having sinned (see CHASTISEMENT AND PUNISHMENT).

The elevation of the Muslims to the status of a chosen community destined to replace the Israelites is indicated in passages which shift to the believers various aspects of their share in God's blessing. Thus God's *niʿma* emerges as something equivalent to the religion given to the believers (Q 5:3) and is coupled with the divine covenant that is being made with them (Q 5:7). In this capacity, God's *niʿma* consists in giving the believers the book and the wisdom (q.v.; Q 2:231), in bringing their hearts together (Q 3:103; see HEART), in protecting them against the schemes of their enemies (Q 5:11; see PROTECTION) and in assisting them in battle (Q 33:9). See OPPOSITION TO MUḤAMMAD; POLEMIC AND POLEMICAL LANGUAGE; EXPEDITIONS AND BATTLES.

Righteous Israelites

On the other hand, the Qurʾān is also aware of a righteous Israelite group, consisting mainly of a minority who have remained faithful to the prophets. In Q 7:159 a group *(umma)* of the righteous living among the "people of Moses" *(qawm Mūsā)* is mentioned; they "guide by the truth and

by it act with justice." Some early commentators on the Qurʾān (Muqātil, *Tafsīr,* ii, 553-4) identify them with the lost tribes of the Israelites who dwell beyond a river of running sand called *Ardaf* which "freezes" every Sabbath (i.e. the midrashic *Sambatyon*). More prevalent, however, are interpretations identifying them with contemporary Jews who have embraced Islam. Similarly, a righteous group of leaders (*aʾimma,* sing. *imām* [q.v.]) among the Children of Israel are mentioned in Q 32:24 (cf. Q 28:5). Mention is also made of a righteous group *(umma)* among the People of the Book (Q 5:65-6; 3:113-4; cf. Q 3:199). See OBEDIENCE; BELIEF AND UNBELIEF; GRATITUDE AND INGRATITUDE; JUSTICE AND INJUSTICE.

Qurʾānic Israelites and Muslims

Muslim historiographers used qurʾānic passages about the Children of Israel as an instrument to illuminate the relations between the prophet Muḥammad and the Jews of Medina (q.v.; see NAḌĪR; QAYNUQĀʿ; QURAYẒA). In the work of one of Muḥammad's earliest biographers, Ibn Isḥāq (d. 150/768), there is an early instance of regarding these passages as an attack on the Jews of Muḥammad's own times. He incorporated many of the verses recounting the sins of Israel — mainly from Q 2 ("The Cow," Sūrat al-Baqara) — in his description of conditions in Medina shortly after Muḥammad's emigration (q.v.; *hijra*) from Mecca (Ibn Isḥāq, *Sīra,* ii, 177f.). Most characteristic is his interpretation of Q 2:40 in which the Children of Israel are commanded by God to remain faithful to his covenant. For Ibn Isḥāq this verse is specifically addressed to the leaders of the Jews of Medina, requesting them to keep faithful to God's covenant, i.e. to believe in Aḥmad (cf. Q 61:6) when he comes to them (Ibn Isḥāq, *Sīra,* ii, 181).

However, qurʾānic models of Israelite sin, and particularly the making of the calf of gold, were also adduced to denounce objectionable phenomena within Islamic society itself, situations which were regarded as signaling the assimilation of Muslims to other communities. The sin of the making of the calf is mentioned, for example, in a story about Muḥammad in which he predicts that the Muslims will follow the evil ways (*sunan,* see SUNNA) of the Israelites. He declares this after being asked by the Muslims to establish for them a place of worship on the model of a nearby pagan sanctuary (see IDOLS AND IMAGES). The Prophet refuses and says that the Muslims have asked for the same thing that the people of Moses had previously requested, i.e. the calf (Ibn Isḥāq, *Sīra,* iv, 84-5). Qurʾānic models of Israelite punishment, especially transformation into apes and pigs (Q 2:65; 5:60; 7:166) were also employed as a warning against various phenomena of assimilation into Jewish and Christian beliefs and practices for which some heretical trends in Islam were held particularly responsible. Several traditions predict that heretics (such as Qadarīs, etc.) will suffer punitive transformation into apes or pigs. See RELIGIOUS PLURALISM AND THE QURʾĀN.

Qurʾānic Israelites and the Shīʿa

The qurʾānic Israelites play a key part in Shīʿī tradition where their history foreshadows the history of the Shīʿīs. The massacre of al-Ḥusayn and his following at Karbalāʾ by the hand of the Umayyads (61/680) is equated in Shīʿī tradition to the evil ways of the qurʾānic Israelites who killed their prophets (Furāt, *Tafsīr,* i, 136, no. 162). The Shīʿīs also applied to the Umayyads the qurʾānic model of Pharaoh who slew the sons of the Israelites (cf. Q 40:25), an interpretation which meant that the persecuted Shīʿīs were equal to the persecuted Israelites of Pharaoh's time (e.g. Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh,*

ii, 711; Ibn Aʿtham, *Futūḥ,* vi, 281).

More frequently, however, the Shīʿa (q.v.) identify with the Children of Israel in their role as a chosen community. Shīʿī qurʾānic exegetes explain that the chosen Israelites mentioned in the Qurʾān (e.g. in Q 2:47) stand for the Shīʿīs. This is based on the notion that Isrāʾīl (see ISRAEL) is one of Muḥammad's own names (ʿAyyāshī, *Tafsīr,* i, 62-3) which, in turn, implies that the "Children of Israel" are Muḥammad's descendants, i.e. the *imām*s. Twelver Shīʿīs found the most suitable Israelite model for their *imām*s in the qurʾānic reference to the twelve "chieftains" *(nuqabāʾ,* sing. *naqīb)* whom, according to Q 5:12, Moses appointed to lead the Israelites. The twelve *imām*s were held to be analogous to them (Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Manāqib,* i, 258). See IMĀM; SHĪʿISM AND THE QURʾĀN.

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Christ *(masīḥ)* see JESUS

Christianity see CHRISTIANS AND CHRISTIANITY

Christians and Christianity

Evidence for the presence of Christians and currency of Christianity in the Arabian milieu in which Islam was born comes from the Qurʾān itself as well as from reports included in other documents of a similar date and provenance. From these texts it is clear that by the beginning of the first Islamic century, toward the end of the first quarter of the seventh century according to the common reckoning, the number of Christians in the territories frequented by the Arab tribes in the Middle East was on the increase (see TRIBES AND CLANS). Evidence of the Christian presence on the periphery of Arabia proper, in Syria/Palestine, in the Syrian desert, in southern Iraq, south Arabia and the coastal areas of the Red Sea as well as in Ethiopia (q.v.) is abundant and widely discussed in modern histories of Christianity in the Near East. Increasingly, there is further evidence of an important Christian presence in the first Islamic century within Arabia, in the territories of the central tribal confederations such as the Kinda, in the area of Najrān (q.v.), and even in the Ḥijāz, in Mecca (q.v.) and its surroundings, but the textual references are fragmentary, sometimes obviously legendary and often difficult to interpret. So far the published archaeological record is meager (see ARCHAEOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN).

The province of Bostra/Būṣrā

Already in New Testament times a Christian presence existed in Arab territory. St. Paul reports that after his conversion, needing time away from Damascus to think about his experiences there, "I went off to Arabia" (*Gal* 1:17). While Paul's

precise destination is unknown, it was in all probability in the territories controlled by the Nabateans, which in the year 106 C.E. were to be incorporated into the Roman Empire as the Province of Arabia. The capital of the former Nabatean kingdom, Bostra/Būṣrā in due course became the seat of a metropolitan bishop and by the first third of the third century, under bishop Beryllus (d. after 244 C.E.) the city was the scene of a theological controversy that drew into its affairs the intervention of no less an ecclesiastical figure than Origen of Alexandria (ca. 185-ca. 251 C.E.) who visited the locale at least three times over the course of almost thirty years for purposes of theological consultation. By the year 325 C.E. the Christian communities had grown so numerous in the region that there were five representatives of the province of Arabia at the council of Nicea. The churches in this Arab milieu had strong ties with the Syriac-speaking, Aramaean churches in Mesopotamia, especially Edessa and its environs. In Mesopotamia from the fourth century onward there was even a bishop for the nomad Arabs, whose see in later times was ʿAqūla, the site of Kūfa in the early Islamic period. Arab tribes associated with these areas, many of whom were at one time or another in alliance with the Byzantines (q.v.) or Sasanians, include Tanūkh, Ṣāliḥ, Judhām, Kalb, Ghassān, Lakhm, and al-Ṭayy. Syriac-speakers often used the name of the last-mentioned tribe to designate all Arabs and later the Muslims, viz., *Ṭayyāyê*.

Ghassānids and Lakhmids

It is reasonable to suppose that Christianity found its way into the Arab tribes on the periphery of desert Arabia through the ministrations of Greek and Aramaic-speaking monks in Sinai, Syria/Palestine, Mesopotamia and Iraq as well as through the attraction of pilgrimage centers (see PILGRIMAGE; HOLY PLACES) such as Jerusalem (q.v.) in the Holy Land, Qalʿat Simʿān and Ruṣāfa/Sergiopolis in Syria. What is more, the Byzantine practice of forging military alliances with Christianized Arab tribes on the Arabian frontier of the empire to counterbalance the comparable arrangement made by the Persians to the east, also encouraged the further spread of Christianity among the Arabs of the interior. In this connection the mention of the Ghassānid and Lakhmid confederations and their special relationships with the Romans and the Persians respectively highlights the situation in the fifth and sixth centuries C.E.

The Ghassānids became the principal group of Arab tribes who were the *foederati* of Byzantium on the Arabian frontier in the sixth century. The names of their leaders, Ḥārith (Arethas), Mundhir and Nuʿmān in particular, figure prominently in the accounts of the troubled relations between the Byzantines (q.v.) and the Persians in this period, in the annals of Byzantine political life more broadly as well as in the record of the current ecclesiastical controversies. As for the territories under the control of the Ghassānids, recent archaeological excavations in Transjordan have revealed the remains of extensive church and monastery building at this time along the whole extent of Rome's Arabian frontier (see CHURCH). Many of these installations include strikingly beautiful mosaic floors, some with Greek inscriptions, testifying to a certain level of material prosperity as well as cultural sophistication.

An important Christian center of influence among the Arab tribes in the territories under Persian influence in pre-Islamic times was the Lakhmid enclave of Ḥīra, on the lower Euphrates. Here, as was also the case further to the north in Syrian Mesopotamia, the dominant ecclesiastical language was Syriac but the predominant

confessional allegiance was that of the so-called "Nestorians" or the "Assyrian Church of the East" whose principal hierarch occupied the see of Seleucia-Ctesiphon. The king of Ḥīra, Nuʿman b. Mundhir (583-ca. 602 C.E.), converted to this Christian allegiance toward the end of the sixth century but even prior to this development, the church had flourished in the area and its influence was felt in the associated Arab tribes. Archaeological investigations on the coast of southern Arabia (see SOUTH ARABIA), especially along the Persian Gulf, have uncovered a number of sites with extensive church remains typical of the Nestorians, particularly in the territory of modern Kuwait.

The movement of monks (see MONASTICISM AND MONKS), traders and caravans (see CARAVAN) from all these areas into central Arabia was unhindered as was the seasonal transhumance of the pastoral nomads (q.v.) from the heart of the desert to the pastures on the periphery at pilgrimage time in the spring of the year and at other times as well (see CALENDAR). These were the traditional routes of Christianity's spread eastward and southward from the beginning. By the time of Muḥammad's birth, in the late sixth century C.E., there is every reason to think that Christianity would have been well known, if not widely practiced, in the very heart of Arabia.

Arabia Deserta

From the fragmentary sources it is clear that already in the fifth century, the Arab tribal confederation of Kinda, whose leaders were originally from South Arabia (q.v.), had gained a strong political presence in the center and the northern reaches of the peninsula and had numerous contacts with both the Romans and the Persians on the borders of Arabia as well as with their Arab allies, the Ghassānids and the Lakhmids. Christianity, if not already present among them, probably came to the Kinda with the enlistment of the tribal leader, Ḥārith b. ʿAmr, as a Byzantine phylarch in the early sixth century.

Knowledge of the Christians of Najrān, who flourished in the sixth century as an enclave of the "Jacobite" church in the Arabic-speaking milieu of southwestern Arabia, is mostly preserved in the Syriac letters of Simeon of Bēth Arshām (fl. ca. 525 C.E.) and in the enigmatic *Book of the Ḥimyarites*. The texts tell of the martyrdom of some 300 Christians around the year 520 C.E. at the hands of Yūsuf Asʾar Yathʾar, the allegedly Jewish king of the Ḥimyarites. Their shrine in Najrān became a pilgrimage center. In later times, Islamic tradition passed on the account of a delegation of Christians from Najrān who are said to have visited Muḥammad (q.v.) at Medina (q.v.) and to have engaged in a debate with him about the true identity of the Messiah, Jesus (q.v.), "son of Mary (q.v.)." It ended, according to the Islamic exegetical tradition of a passage in the Qurʾān, when the Christian delegation withdrew at the threat of an ordeal to determine who was telling the truth about Jesus (Q 3:61-2), the Muslims or the Christians (see W. Schmucker, Mubāhala; see CURSE).

One finds in later Islamic traditions remarks which suggest that there was a cemetery in Mecca for Christians during Muḥammad's lifetime and a Christian group is mentioned who engaged in the water trade there (see WATER). But the most dramatic record of a Christian presence in Mecca is the claim voiced by al-Azraqī (d. 222/837), the early historian of the Muslim holy places, that among other images in the Kaʿba (q.v.) there was an icon of Mary and her son Jesus and that at the "cleansing of the Kaʿba" of its idols the Prophet himself forbade its effacement. While legendary reports such as this one, coming as they do from much later times in

Islamic history and normally rejected by Islamic tradition criticism, cannot be cited as convincing historical evidence, they do nevertheless testify to the sense among at least some early Muslim scholars of a more than casual Christian presence in the world of the Qurʾān at the very time of the birth of Islam. In the Islamic scripture itself a Christian presence among the Arabs who were its primary audience is openly mentioned and evidently taken for granted. The text refers to Christians, their beliefs and practices, both directly and indirectly.

Direct references to Christians in the Qurʾān

In most passages of the Qurʾān that directly concern Christians, they are included, along with Jews and others, under the general heading of "People of the Book" or "Scripture People" (*ahl al-kitāb,* see PEOPLE OF THE BOOK). This phrase occurs some 54 times in the Qurʾān, mostly in passages that reflect events in the last ten years of Muḥammad's prophetic career, when he governed the Muslim community in Medina. Christians and Jews together were among those who found some obstacles to the acceptance of the teachings of the new revelations (see REVELATION AND INSPIRATION; OPPOSITION TO MUḤAMMAD). The Qurʾān in turn observed faults and short-comings in both Jewish and Christian doctrines and practices. A major claim is that Jews and Christians both had fallen away from the faith of Abraham (q.v.), whom all the scriptures recognize as "God's friend" (*Isa* 41:8; *James* 2:23; Q 4:125). Whereas, according to the Qurʾān, "Abraham was neither a Jew nor a 'Nazarene,' but he was *"ḥanīfan, musliman"* (see ḤANĪF) and he was not one of the polytheists" (Q 3:67). The implied claim in this passage, that Abraham was a proto-Muslim, is reminiscent of the comparable early Christian claim, recorded in the *Ecclesiastical history* of Eusebius of Caesarea (ca. 260-ca. 340 C.E.) that Abraham could rightfully be considered a Christian "in fact if not in name" (i, 4).

Once in the Qurʾān Christians are called "Gospel People" (*ahl al-injīl,* Q 5:47; see INJĪL) and they are admonished to "judge by what God sent down in it." However, the Gospel (q.v.) is not what the Christians think it is. Rather, the Torah (q.v.), the Gospel and the Qurʾān are said to be on a par in terms of God's promise and covenant (q.v.; Q 9:111). In the form in which Jews and Christians have them, their scriptures are considered to be in some sense distorted (Q 2:75; see CORRUPTION). Jesus is presented as being but God's messenger (q.v.), like Abraham and Moses (q.v.) before him (Q 42:13) and like Muḥammad after him (Q 3:144).

Some 14 times in the Qurʾān Christians are named *al-naṣārā (*sing. *al-naṣrānī)*. Interpreters of the text in western languages, both Muslims and non-Muslims, have customarily translated this term by substituting the noun "Christians" for it. Strictly speaking, this is not a correct rendering and the usage in fact obscures what the text actually says. The Arabic noun *Masīḥiyyūn*, which does properly mean "Christians," is never used in the Qurʾān.

The prevailing scholarly opinion is that the Arabic term *al-Naṣārā* is derived from the name of Jesus' home town of Nazareth in Galilee and that it literally means "Nazarenes," alternately "Nazoreans," that is to say, "people from Nazareth," echoing the Greek *nazôraioi* and the Syriac *naṣrāyê.* The Syriac name preserves the original Aramaic form, from which the Greek name was transcribed. This epithet is applied in the singular to Jesus himself in the Gospel (*Matt* 2:23; *John* 19:19) and in the plural in the Acts of the Apostles (24:5) to the associates of Paul who is himself described before the Roman governor Felix, by Tertullus, an attorney for the Jewish

elders, as "a ringleader of the sect of Nazoreans." In later times the same Greek noun was used in the plural by Epiphanius of Salamis (ca. 315-403 C.E.) and other heresiographers of the established Church of the Roman empire, to designate a "Christian" community deemed heretical because of their Christological views. But in Greek the term was never used to designate "Christians" in general. However, the case was otherwise in Aramaic usage where the cognate noun in Syriac, *naṣrāyê,* was widely used in the early period to designate "Christians" in general, particularly in works by east Syrian writers living in the Persian empire.

Some early commentators on the Qurʾān, both Muslim and Arab Christian, seeking a properly Islamic sense for the term *al-naṣārā* have posited a linguistic connection in Arabic on the basis of the shared root consonants *n-ṣ-r* between the noun *al-naṣārā* and the expression *anṣār Allāh,* "God's helpers," as it is used in the Qurʾān to refer to Jesus' apostles *(al-ḥawāriyyūn)* in Q 61:14 (see APOSTLE). On this hypothesis, which is rejected by grammarians on philological grounds, the noun *al-naṣārā* as it is used in the Qurʾān would then be thought to indicate people in the Arabian milieu who were considered as in some way being "God's helpers" in the manner of Jesus' apostles, that is to say, those customarily called "Christians" elsewhere.

For the sake of completeness, one should note that some commentators have sought a connection between the *noṣrîm* of Jewish rabbinical literature and the *naṣārā* of the Qurʾān; both terms may be considered to have a similar etymology and to have been used to designate "Christians." And while there were certainly Jews in the environs of Mecca and Medina (see JEWS AND JUDAISM), it nevertheless seems most likely that the Arabic term *naṣārā* as it is used in the Qurʾān is a calque of the Syriac word *naṣrāyê,* meaning "Nazarenes" or "Nazoreans." It preserves an archaic usage current, though not dominant, in east Syrian circles, according to which "Christians" in general are called "Nazarenes," "Nazoreans," mostly by non-Christians. There are numerous other instances in the Qurʾān in which the Arabic religious vocabulary is used in accordance with the sense of the cognate words in Syriac. This is not surprising in contexts evoking Christian belief or practice since it is clear that the Christianity known in tribal Arabia during the time of the Qurʾān's appearance had its most immediate background in the Syriac-speaking communities of the desert's landward fringes.

The Qurʾān's posture towards Christians in the Arabian milieu is somewhat guarded. On the one hand, there are positive comments in the text about them but there are also sharp criticisms. In general, the Qurʾān says, the Christians (i.e. the "Nazarenes") will give Muslims a friendlier reception than will the Jews or the polytheists. And the text gives as the reason for this friendly attitude the fact that among the Christians "there are presbyters and monks, and the fact that they do not behave arrogantly" (Q 5:82). But in other passages there are strictures against monks. People in the past are said to have wrongly taken them as masters instead of God, and the monks themselves, the passage says, were among those who "would consume people's wealth (q.v.) for nought and turn them aside from God's way" (Q 9:31, 34). So it is not surprising in yet another passage to read that from the Qurʾān's viewpoint, the development of monasticism in the Christian community followed a path of unwarranted innovation (q.v.). The text says, "Monasticism they invented; we prescribed for them only to seek God's favor, but they did not keep its right observance" (Q 57:27).

Given this ambivalence about such a

typical ecclesiastical institution as monasticism, it is hardly surprising to read at another place in the Qurʾān about the Christian community at large that although they may give Muslims a friendlier reception than do most people of other religions, Muslims nevertheless should not, the text insists, take either Jews or "Nazarenes" as their friends (Q 5:51). For, as the scripture also says, "Neither the Jews nor the 'Nazarenes' will be pleased with you until you follow their religion" (Q 2:120). While listing the Christians (i.e. the "Nazarenes") among those who generally believe in God and the last day (see LAST JUDGMENT) and who do the works of righteousness (Q 2:62), the Qurʾān nonetheless also exhorts Muslims to fight against such "People of the Book" who do not uphold these truths until they pay the tribute (*al-jizya,* see TAXATION) and are humble (cf. Q 9:29).

The Qurʾān charges that the "People of the Book" exaggerate in their religion (Q 4:171; 5:77). The text in these passages clearly rejects the conventional Christian doctrines of the Trinity (q.v.) and the Incarnation (Q 4:171; 5:17, 72, 73, 116, 117), teaching to the contrary that Jesus, Mary's son, is but a man like Adam (see ADAM AND EVE) before him (Q 3:59) and that he is God's messenger (Q 5:75). The text also rejects the conventional Christian view of the crucifixion of Jesus in terms (*shubbiha lahum,* Q 4:157) that are reminiscent of certain issues in the Christological controversies in the churches of the time such as those of the so-called *Aphthartodocetists* and the followers of Julian of Halikarnassos (d. after 518 C.E.). They bedeviled the "Jacobite" followers of the teachings of Severus of Antioch (ca. 465-538 C.E.), who were prominent among the Christians of west Syrian theological heritage in the Arabian milieu of Muḥammad's day. On the face of it, the passage is addressed to Jews, as a reprimand for infidelity, for slander against Mary, the mother of Jesus, and for the claim that they killed Jesus by crucifixion. These are charges against Jews that are reflected in Syriac Christian texts as well.

Two things are very clear in the Qurʾān's assessment of conventional Christian teaching: the view that the doctrines of the Trinity and the Incarnation are wrong; and that in propounding them Christians go to an excess or they go beyond the bounds of scriptural truth in their religious confession. From the Qurʾān's perspective the exaggeration consists in saying more about God and about Jesus than the Torah and the Gospel warrant one to say. And the Qurʾān goes on to suggest that the exaggeration comes more proximately from the tendency on the part of Christian teachers "to follow the whims of a people who had earlier gone into error (q.v.), and had led many into error, and who had gone off the right path into error" (Q 5:77). The earlier people in question are the polytheists. Like the polytheists who also thought the one God had offspring, the Christians, according to the Qurʾān, have exposed themselves to the charge of infidelity and are liable to be branded as infidels. The text says, "They have become infidels who say that God is one of three" (Q 5:73).

The "one of three" with whom this verse (Q 5:73) claims the Christians wrongfully identify God is, as the text itself goes on to make clear, Jesus the Messiah (Q 5:75). In fact, the otherwise enigmatic epithet "one of three" sometimes translated "third of three" *(thālith al-thalātha)* finds its best explanation in the recognition that it reflects an epithet applied to Christ in Syriac Christian usage, the tradition most immediately available to Arab Christians. The epithet in Syriac is *thlîthāyă,* no easier to translate into a western language than the Qurʾān's reflection of it in Arabic. It means "third," "threefold," "treble" or "trine" and is sometimes used in the plural

to refer to the three "persons" or "hypostases" of the Trinity. As an epithet of Christ it evoked for the liturgical poets in Syriac primarily the recollection of their belief in Christ's three-day stay in the tomb, after his passion and death on the cross, before his resurrection. That Jesus is "one of three" along with God and a Spirit from him, all three of whom are one God, is the Christian tenet the Qurʾān criticizes most explicitly in Q 4:171. In the Qurʾān's view the Christian doctrine of the Trinity thus involves an association of creatures with God the creator, an infidelity that participates in the pagan infidelity of polytheism (see POLYTHEISM AND ATHEISM). The basic problem with Christian teaching, according to the Qurʾān, is that "the 'Nazarenes' say that Christ is the Son of God… imitating the parlance of those who disbelieved before" (Q 9:30). It is for this reason that in another place the Qurʾān puts an emphasis on Jesus' full humanity by saying, "With God Jesus is as Adam; he created him from dust, then said to him 'Be,' and he was" (Q 3:59; see CREATION).

The Qurʾān often calls Jesus "Mary's son" as if to insist that he is in no strict sense God's son as the Christians say. The Qurʾān fully accepts Jesus' virgin birth from Mary, who became pregnant with him at the message of an angel (q.v.; Q 3:45-9; 19:1-22). But to say that Jesus the Messiah is God's son is to say that he is God or an associate of God in divinity, so the Qurʾān explicitly teaches, "They disbelieved who said God is the Messiah, Mary's son. Say, who could prevail with God in anything if he wanted to destroy the Messiah, Mary's son, and his mother" (Q 5:17). Furthermore, in a passage that pointedly criticizes the typical Christian veneration of Jesus and his mother Mary in both liturgy and icon (see IDOLS AND IMAGES), the Qurʾān envisions what God will ask Jesus at the end of time. He will say, "Jesus, son of Mary, did you say to mankind, 'Take me and my mother as two gods besides God?'" (Q 5:116).

Melkites, Jacobites and Nestorians

In its direct references to Christian beliefs and practices as well as in its judgments of them, the Qurʾān is reflecting its interaction with those main-line Christian communities whose Arabophone members owed their ecclesiastical formation to the monks and preachers whose languages were principally Syriac together with some Greek and Coptic. They were the "Melkites," "Jacobites" and "Nestorians" long familiar from the Christian history of the area; the progress of their teaching and preaching among the Arabs from the fifth century C.E. onward is demonstrable from a number of sources. The Qurʾān assumes that members of its audience are already familiar with the Bible stories and with many customary Christian interpretations of them. Too often in the past, Western scholars in particular have wrongly interpreted the rhetorical devices (see RHETORIC OF THE QURʾĀN) of the Qurʾān's criticism or rejection of conventional Christian doctrines as flawed reports of misunderstood teachings or as echoes of the doctrines of shadowy groups such as the "Nazarenes/Nazoreans" or the "Collyridians" of the Byzantine heresiographers or of "Jewish Christian" groups often mentioned by modern scholars, no historical trace of whom is otherwise to be found in the Arabian milieu in the time of Muḥammad and the Qurʾān. Such interpretations have themselves often been the product of a polemical or of an apologetic agenda in regard to the Qurʾān rather than the yield of a credible historical examination of the milieu in which the text appeared, and to which it spoke in the first instance. In light of the plentiful evidence of the presence of Christians in the world of earliest Islam,

their several conventional denominations of that time and place, the most plausible interpretive stratagem is to relate the Qurʾān's statements about the "Nazarenes" and the "People of the Book," their beliefs and practices, to these known Christian groups with reference to the largely Syriac idiom in which modern scholars can find written expressions of their faith and works. On this reading of the evidence, the "Nazarenes" of whom the Qurʾān speaks were no other group than the "Melkites," "Jacobites" and "Nestorians" of ordinary church history, notwithstanding the fact that in earlier times there were some who were called "Nazarenes/Nazoreans" by the Byzantine heresiographers, whom they described as espousing views which, in hindsight, some modern scholars would regard as being compatible with views of Christ expressed in the Qurʾān. Rather, the term "Nazarenes" as it is used in the Qurʾān is taken to be a general one reflecting an archaic Syriac usage and indicating those "People of the Book" whom others customarily called "Christians." The Qurʾān would have had its own reasons for not using the more customary nomenclature and it is not inconceivable that these were polemical reasons comparable to the use of the cognate term *noṣrīm* by Jews as attested in some rabbinical texts and in accordance with the practice of non-Christians, as reported in Syriac texts, of calling Christians in Persia "Nazarenes/Nazoreans."

Indirect reference to Christians in the Qurʾān

Indirectly, the Qurʾān attests to the presence of Christianity and to Christians themselves in a number of passages that mention in passing such typical institutions and personages as monasteries and churches (Q 22:40), monks and monasticism (Q 57:27), people who argue with Muslims about religion (e.g. Q 3:61) or even to the troubles of the neighboring Byzantines (Q 30:2). Yet by far the most significant indirect evidence for the presence of Christians in the world of the Qurʾān is the sustained dialogue in the text about the proper understanding of the numerous biblical characters and events mentioned there as well as allusions to and comments on narratives that were widespread in the Christian communities of the day especially in the Syriac-speaking milieu such as the story of the "Companions of the Cave" (Q 18:9-26; see CAVE; MEN OF THE CAVE) or the memory of episodes in the apocryphal Gospels (Q 5:110). Biblical and literary echoes such as these evoke the realm of intertextuality in virtue of which the Qurʾān presumes in its audience a basic familiarity with narratives which are also to be found in the Bible and the lore of the churches. This textually-necessary presumption of familiarity with ecclesiastical lore is itself a testimony to the significant presence of Christians in the milieu of the Qurʾān and it demonstrates that from its origins, Islam has been in dialogue with Christianity as it has been with Judaism.

Sīra *and* ḥadīth

Other Islamic texts from the early period similarly document the ample presence of Christianity and Christians in the milieu of the Qurʾān. These include in particular the collections of pre-Islamic, Arabic poetry put together in the days of the early caliphs, which sometimes refer to Christians and their activities. In some instances the poets themselves were Christians but their poems did not on this account exhibit notably Christian themes. What is more to the point, Christians figure somewhat prominently in the numerous traditions assembled in the literature of the biography of the Prophet Muḥammad. Here the Christians portrayed as intimately involved with the Prophet range from monks like Baḥr,

to the monotheist *(ḥanīf)* Waraqa b. Nawfal and the early Companion of the Prophet, Salmān the Persian. In the ḥadīth collections that came to govern religious practice in the Islamic community in later times there are also numerous evocations of Christianity. These and many other testimonies in Islam's foundational documents are, at the very least, literary intimations of the presence of Christianity, as the confessional "other" in the matrix of the delineation of the new community's distinctive religious profile.

Pre-Islamic, Arab Christian texts?

While there is thus abundant confirmation of Christianity among the Arabs in the world in which Islam was born, there is as yet no conclusive evidence of the existence of a pre-Islamic, Christian literature in Arabic. The patristic and liturgical heritage of the Arab Christians before the rise of Islam was predominantly Aramaic and Greek. As their own indigenous poetry was mostly oral, there is every reason to think that there would also have been among them a vibrant, oral Christian culture in Arabic reflecting in translation the religious diction of the Greek and especially the Syriac-speaking monks and preachers from whom the Arabs would have learned their Christian discourse. Traces of this diction seem to have survived even within the Qurʾān itself (see FOREIGN VOCABULARY). But as for the liturgy and the Bible or any other Christian text in the form of written translations into Arabic from the time before the rise of Islam, scholars have so far not been able to find any conclusive evidence of their existence. Perhaps this is not so surprising a fact; it was arguably the Qurʾān itself that gave the Arabic language a literary definition and provided a point of reference for the development of a classical language from a welter of previously current, tribal speech patterns. In this connection, one might think of the Qurʾān as having done for the Arabic language what the translations of the Bible did for the development of the Germanic and Slavonic languages in other parts of the world, just one or two centuries later. As for actual Christian texts in Arabic, the evidence in hand suggests that they were first produced in the eighth Christian century, in early ʿAbbāsid times, in monastic communities in the conquered territories outside of Arabia properly so-called. Typically, they exhibit a sometimes hypercorrect idiom that reflects the conventions of a developing Middle Arabic diction which had as its background the concurrent evolution of the classical form of the Arabic language. By the time of the appearance of these texts, the language of the Arab conquerors of the Middle East was fast becoming the *lingua franca* of all the peoples living in the burgeoning Islamic commonwealth and the principal carrier of their cultures, Christians included.

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Chronological Sequence of the Qur'ān

see CHRONOLOGY AND THE QUR'ĀN

Chronology and the Qur'ān

The Qur'ān is the most recent of the major sacred scriptures to have appeared in the chronology of human history. It originated at a crucial moment in time when Muḥammad proclaimed it in the northwestern half of the Arabian peninsula during the first quarter of the seventh century C.E. The Qur'ān exhibits a significant relationship to the biblical tradition, the scriptures of Judaism and Christianity, while it shows no literary affinity to the sacred literatures of Hinduism and Buddhism and little to Zoroastrian sacred writings (see SCRIPTURE AND THE QUR'ĀN). The elements of the biblical tradition included in the Qur'ān echo themes found in the apocryphal and midrashic writings of Judaism and Christianity more than those incorporated in their normative scriptures, the Hebrew Bible and the New Testament. No single collection of biblical writings, normative, apocryphal or midrashic, however, has been identified as the major source on which the Qur'ān might have depended directly. Nevertheless, as the last holy book in the historical sequence of the great world religions, the Qur'ān stands in a clear chronological relationship to the biblical tradition of Judaism and Christianity. There is no evidence that this tradition had been translated into Arabic by the time of Muḥammad, either as a whole corpus or in the form of single books. It is a widely shared view among historians of religion that Muḥammad's knowledge of the biblical tradition came principally, if not exclusively, from oral sources. This oral lore, enriched by extra-biblical additions and commentary, was communicated to Muḥammad in his mother tongue. It, however, ultimately originated in traditions recorded mainly in Syriac, Ethiopian, Aramaic and Hebrew, as evidenced by the vocabulary of foreign origin to be found in the Arabic Qur'ān (see FOREIGN VOCABULARY). In the main, this foreign vocabulary had already been assimilated, however, into the Arabic religious discourse of Muḥammad's native environment.

The Qur'ān is the first book-length production of Arabic literature and as such stands at the crossroads of the pre-Islamic oral, highly narrative and poetical tradition of the Arabic language (q.v.) and the written, increasingly scholarly prose tradition of the subsequently evolving civilization of Islam (see ORALITY AND WRITINGS IN ARABIA). The beginnings of this transition in the Arabic language from the oral to the written tradition can be pinpointed chronologically to the time and person of Muḥammad and can be seen as clearly reflected in the rhymed prose style of the Qur'ān. This rhymed prose (*saj'*, see RHYMED PROSE), the mode of speech of the pre-Islamic soothsayer's oracles (see

DIVINATION), is a characteristic of the Qur'ān, the first sizeable Arabic document to exhibit this form of speech in written form. The roots of the Qur'ān as the first Arabic book can also be discovered in its content. In its verses (q.v.) the Qur'ān captured many topics that had formed an important part of the worship and cult of the non-scriptural tribal religion practiced in pre-Islamic Arabia (see SOUTH ARABIA, RELIGION IN PRE-ISLAMIC). Again, it is not possible to ascribe the origin of the Qur'ān to any single current of pre-Islamic tribal religion, though the religious practice of Mecca (q.v.) exerted the most influence on the vision of Arab tribal religion that Muḥammad had acquired in his early youth (see PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QUR'ĀN).

While the historian of religion classifies the Qur'ān as the last major scripture to appear in human history and the first actual book to be produced in the Arabic language, the Muslim believer views it as a text that in its essence fundamentally transcends all matters of chronology. For the believer the Qur'ān lies beyond the horizon of chronological analysis because it is the word of God, which is beyond all time, and the supreme book of divine revelation that derives its origin from God eternal (see REVELATION AND INSPIRATION). Since the dawn of creation (q.v.), God has manifested his will to humanity, revealing himself in his divine speech (q.v.). His word became book (q.v.) in the revealed scriptures that were communicated to the prophets throughout human history (see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD). The Qur'ān is the most perfect and ultimate form of this divine revelation and represents the final stage of a process of "in-libration," the divine speech becoming holy book. In essence there is only one timeless revelation reiterated by the prophets, God's messengers (see MESSENGER) throughout the ages, without any contribution of their own. From Adam (q.v.) through Abraham (q.v.), Moses (q.v.), David (q.v.) and Jesus (q.v.) to Muḥammad, the messengers are human beings and divinely chosen mouthpieces of revelation through whom, in chronological succession, God speaks forth the primordial truth he wishes to reveal. God is the sole author of revealed scripture and his word passes untouched through the messenger whom it neither transforms nor divinizes. God is the speaker of the Qur'ān, Muḥammad its recipient; an angel of revelation, eventually identified as Gabriel (q.v.), its intermediary agent. Since the Qur'ān is and remains God's very own words, it includes only God's voice without any admixture of human speech. It literally *is* God's word, word for word. It holds nothing radically new because it brings the oldest thing of all, the first proclamation, unknown in the Arabic tongue prior to Muḥammad: God is one, creator of this world and judge in the world to come (see LAST JUDGMENT). Though clearly revealed at a definite point in time, in its essence the Qur'ān is rooted in the eternity of God (see CREATEDNESS OF THE QUR'ĀN).

The essential content of the divine revelation that would become the proclamation of the prophets is recorded in a heavenly book (q.v.), "the mother [i.e. essence] of the book," a qur'ānic phrase denoting the archetype of all divine revelation that is preserved in heaven and guarded by the angels (see PRESERVED TABLET). From this heavenly, a-temporal archetype the Qur'ān was revealed in clear Arabic to Muḥammad, the last prophet and messenger of God. Clearly understood, faithfully proclaimed and accurately recited by Muḥammad in historical time, the Qur'ān, according to the normative Muslim view, was memorized with exact precision and also collected in book-form by Muḥammad's followers after his death. Then it was

recited and copied with infinite care in continuous transmission from generation to generation. Today, as in the past, the Qur'ān is copied and recited in Arabic, pronounced only in Arabic in Muslim ritual worship, by Arabs and non-Arabs alike (see RECITATION OF THE QUR'ĀN). It cannot be rendered adequately into any other tongue and, in the Muslim view, all translations are crutches, at best helpful explanations of its original intention and at worst doubtful makeshifts endangering its true meaning. Inasmuch as Muslims believe that the Qur'ān has been preserved unchanged through time in its pristine Arabic, it is superior to all other scriptures because of the faulty form in which these latter have been preserved by their respective communities. In particular, the revealed scripture given to Jesus, called the *injīl* (q.v.; see GOSPEL) and also the scripture given to Moses, called the *tawrāh* (see TORAH) have undergone alteration (*taḥrīf,* see CORRUPTION) at the hands of their followers through such modification of the original texts as insertions, omissions or falsifications (see POLEMIC AND POLEMICAL LANGUAGE). In Muslim eyes, the Qur'ān alone has remained unchanged over time in its divinely-willed form, transcending chronology both in its origin from God eternal and in its minutely faithful transmission through the centuries.

While respecting the faith perspective of Muslim believers about the Qur'ān, there have been since the middle of the last century philologists and orientalists and then in the present century islamicists and text-critical scholars of the history of religions who have tried to analyze the Qur'ān as a literary text and historical source. These scholarly approaches have focused principally on questions involving the "chronology" of the Qur'ān. What is the self-perception of time and history in the Qur'ān? What are the historical data in the Qur'ān that link it chronologically to Muḥammad's life and career? What differences exist between the chronological sequence of the revelation of individual qur'ānic passages and the actual order of the chapters *(suwar,* sing. *sūra)* and verses *(āyāt,* sing. *āya)* that appear in the final redaction of the Qur'ān as a book? What were the major stages of composition and redaction that were taken sequentially by the early Muslim community to produce the book of the Qur'ān in the form in which it appears today? These questions, focused on the chronology of the Qur'ān, were to become of central importance in any scholarly analysis of the text, its content, its style, its composition, its redaction and the history of its early transmission until the final fixation of the normative text of the Qur'ān. Due to the complexity of each of these questions, they shall be addressed separately below.

Qur'ānic perception of time

The qur'ānic text reflects an atomistic concept of time, while lacking a notion of time as divided into past, present and future. Chiefly this is because Arabic grammar knows only two aspects of time (q.v.), complete and incomplete, without distinguishing precisely between present and future. The Qur'ān also rejects the pre-Islamic fatalism of impersonal time (*dahr,* see FATE) which holds sway over everything and erases human works without hope for life beyond death (cf. Q 39:42; 45:24; 76:1). Affirming resurrection (q.v.) of the body and life in the world to come (see ESCHATOLOGY), the Qur'ān explains time from the perspective of a transcendent monotheism (see GOD AND HIS ATTRIBUTES) that promises paradise (q.v.) and threatens eternal damnation (see HELL). Obliterating the spell of fate and subduing the all-pervading power of time, God almighty made the heavens and the earth (Q 6:73; 7:54; 10:3; 11:7; 25:59;

32:4; 50:38; 57:4) and formed the first human being in an instant through his command, "Be!" (Q 3:59; for other references to God's creative ability, cf. Q 2:117; 3:47; 16:40; 19:35; 36:82; 40:68). He gives life and brings death according to his will and rules each moment of human existence (Q 53:44-54; cf. 35:12; 39:42; 40:69; 50:42): God is the Lord of each instant; what he has decreed happens. The most common term adopted in Arabic for time, *zamān,* does not appear in the Qur'ān, nor does *qidam,* its counterpart for eternity. The Qur'ān, however, has a great variety of terms for time understood as a moment or short duration (e.g. *waqt, ḥīn, ān, yawm, sāʿa*). These terms give expression to an atomism of time that includes a vision of God acting instantaneously in the world as the sole true cause. Of itself, creation (q.v.) is discontinuous. It appears to be continuous only because of God's compassionate consistency.

Qur'ānic perception of history

Bolstered by the lack of genuine verbs for "to be" and "to become" in the Arabic language, the atomism of time also underlies the qur'ānic vision of history, which is typological in nature and focused on the history of the prophets. In the Qur'ān, history is seen as the scenario of God's sending messengers as warners (see WARNING) and guides to successive generations (q.v.), each of whom rejects the monotheistic message that the prophets proclaim and is overtaken by a devastating divine punishment (see PUNISHMENT STORIES). Whether it refers to the legendary peoples of the ancient Arabs and their leaders or to biblical figures such as Noah (q.v.), Lot (q.v.) and their people, the same typology is repeated from messenger to messenger. Each of them comes with an essentially identical message and is himself saved, while his disobedient people are destroyed. History in the Qur'ān is principally portrayed as a series of such typological events, in which the features of similarity override the actual differences among individual stories of the prophets. The best explanation for this recurrent typological pattern is Muḥammad's ingenious interpretation of history in the light of his own life and time, which he took as the yardstick, projecting his own experience back onto all other messengers before him. Just as the qur'ānic emphasis on the atomism of time had frozen the flux of time into that of reiterated instants of God's action, so its typology of history had collapsed the rich variety of past events into a regularly recurring pattern. Not pretending to be a document of historical record, the Qur'ān simply represents the prophetic preaching of Muḥammad, making passing references to his personal situation, the opposition of his adversaries (see OPPOSITION TO MUḤAMMAD) and the questions of his followers. Consequently it often lacks precise historical information, mention of the specific dates of events and determination of detailed or approximate historical settings (see HISTORY AND THE QUR'ĀN).

Qur'ānic references to events contemporaneous with the lifetime of Muḥammad

There are certain allusions, however, which may be retrieved from the text of the Qur'ān as indicators of historical circumstances that relate to Muḥammad's life and times. These references are often obscure. They refer to Muḥammad's orphanage (see ORPHANS), his uncle Abū Lahab (see FAMILY OF THE PROPHET), his persecution at the hands of the Meccans, the tribal boycott of his clan at Mecca, the political rivalry of Mecca with Ṭā'if and the religious practices observed at the Meccan sanctuary of the Kaʿba (q.v.), the hills of Ṣafā (q.v.) and Marwa (q.v.), Mount ʿArafāt (see ʿARAFĀT) and the sanctuary in al-Muzdalifa. A somewhat cryptic reference

to the military defeat of the Byzantine forces at the hands of their Persian enemies — probably leading to their loss of Jerusalem in 614 C.E. — is found in Q 30:2-5 (see BYZANTINES). The return to Mecca of some of Muḥammad's followers who had emigrated to Abyssinia (q.v.) — probably in 615 C.E. — and had recited Q 19 to the Negus, may be connected with Q 53:19-23 on the basis of references found in the traditional biography of Muḥammad (see SĪRA AND THE QUR'ĀN). The conversion of ʿUmar (q.v.) — dated on the basis of extra-qurʾānic sources to the year 618 C.E. — occurred after the revelation of Q 20. The emigration *(hijra)* of Muḥammad and his followers from Mecca to Medina (see EMIGRATION), which is generally understood as the first firm date of the Islamic era (see CALENDAR), is implied in Q 2:218, although its actual dating to September, 622 can only be determined with the help of extra-qurʾānic sources. The change of the direction toward which ritual prayer must be performed (*qibla,* q.v.), which Muḥammad initiated more than a year after settling in Medina, is signaled in Q 2:142-4 in association with Q 2:150.

For the time after the emigration, there are explicit references to battles fought by Muḥammad at Badr (q.v.; 2/624) and Ḥunayn (q.v.; 8/630), and circumstantial references to the battle of Uḥud (q.v.; 3/625), the encounter at the Trench (5/627), and the expeditions to Khaybar (q.v.; 7/628) and Tabūk (9/630, see EXPEDITIONS AND BATTLES). We find as well implicit references to the pledges made by Muḥammad at ʿAqaba in the year prior to the emigration (cf. Q 40:12) and at al-Ḥudaybiya (q.v.) in 6/628 (cf. Q 48:27 in association with 48:18), the expulsion of the Jewish tribe of Banū l-Naḍīr from Medina (cf. Q 59:1-24; see NAḌĪR), an episode involving Muḥammad's adopted son Zayd b. Ḥāritha (q.v.; cf. Q 33:37) and a reference to Muḥammad's qurʾānic address at his farewell pilgrimage (cf. Q 5:3; see FAREWELL). The dates for these events, however, can only be supplied from extra-qurʾānic sources such as the biographical literature on the Prophet. Qurʾānic passages with chronological implications that are linked to the inner development of Muḥammad's prophetic career and religious experience are Q 96:1-5 and 74:1-7 (Muḥammad's call to prophethood), Q 53:1-18 and 81:15-29 (Muḥammad's visions, see VISIONS) and Q 17:1 (Muḥammad's night journey; see ASCENSION) among others. As is evident from all of these mainly circumstantial references, the framework for dating qurʾānic verses in relation to Muḥammad's life is rather tenuous. There are no reliable chronological references in the Qurʾān itself that could be matched with the period prior to the emigration and there are only a few firm dates concerning events of Muḥammad's biography after the emigration that can be coordinated chronologically with qurʾānic verses. Again, hardly any of the historical events in question can be established purely by reference to the Qurʾān without recourse to extra-qurʾānic sources.

Early Islamic methods for determining the order in which Muḥammad received the revelations

From the earliest centuries of Islam, the jurists and scholars of religious law *(fuqahāʾ)* developed a particular sensitivity for chronological inconsistencies affecting a variety of legal stipulations in the Qurʾān. Acknowledging the differences and variations of regulation found in disparate verses of the Qurʾān, they developed a theory of abrogation (*al-nāsikh wa-l-mansūkh,* see ABROGATION), which established lists of abrogating and abrogated verses on the basis of their chronological order. This analysis had its earliest example in the systematic work entitled *al-Nāsikh wa-l-mansūkh* of Abū ʿUbayd al-Qāsim b. Sal-

lām (d. 224/838). For this theory — the qur'ānic basis for which is found in Q 2:106 and 16:101 — examples into the hundreds were cited. Q 5:90, prohibiting the drinking of wine, was understood as abrogating Q 2:219 and 4:43, which tolerated it (see INTOXICANTS). Q 4:10-1 on inheritance (q.v.), allotting to the relatives specific shares in a deceased's estate, were seen as revoking Q 2:180, which had instituted testamentary provisions for parents and nearest kin. Q 8:66 was taken to reduce from ten to two the number of unbelievers against whom the Muslims in Q 8:65 were required to fight. The "sword verse" (Q 9:5) alone was thought to have replaced 124 other verses. The "Ibn Adam verse" and verses praising the martyrs of Bi'r Ma'ūna (see MARTYR) were claimed to have been lost altogether. The locus of the spurious "stone verse," mandating ritual stoning (q.v.) as a punishment for fornication, was believed to have been omitted from the qur'ānic text (see ADULTERY AND FORNICATION). The highly controversial and infamous "Satanic verses" (q.v.), cited in the extra-qur'ānic literature (e.g. Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh,* i, 1192-3), were understood as having been actually replaced by Q 53:19-23 with the significantly later Q 22:52-3 explaining the Satanic interference. (See also CHASTISEMENT AND PUNISHMENT; BOUNDARIES AND PRECEPTS).

Other Muslim scholars, especially the early works of qur'ānic exegetes *(mufassirūn),* were fully aware of the scanty amount of chronological information that could be retrieved from the Qur'ān and hence turned to the Prophet's biography (*sīra,* see SĪRA AND THE QUR'ĀN), the reports about his actions and words *(ḥadīth)* and the early historiography of Muḥammad's campaigns *(maghāzī)* for circumstances that might be seen as linked to individual passages of the Qur'ān. This led to the development of a separate genre of literature called "the occasions of the revelation" (*asbāb al-nuzūl,* exemplified by the work of al-Wāḥidī, d. 468/1075-6; see OCCASIONS OF REVELATION) that connected a small portion of qur'ānic verses with actual occurrences and with stories about Muḥammad's time and career, many of which were legendary. The method of the scholars dealing with the theory of abrogation was primarily intra-qur'ānic, i.e. replacing the legislative force of one qur'ānic verse with that of another. It, however, also made ample room for a ḥadīth to be abrogated by another ḥadīth and cited cases where a qur'ānic passage was abrogated by a ḥadīth or vice versa (see ḤADĪTH AND THE QUR'ĀN). On the contrary, the method of the scholars dealing with the occasions of the revelation was primarily extra-qur'ānic, relating qur'ānic verses to circumstances that could be established through recourse to the extra-qur'ānic literature of the Islamic scholarly tradition. Both methods focused their chronological analysis on individual or isolated qur'ānic verses and small passages rather than on qur'ānic chapters and sūras as integral units of revelation. This approach, attentive to individual qur'ānic passages, was very much in step with the piecemeal character of the qur'ānic revelation itself.

Another group of Muslim scholars active in later medieval times based their analysis of qur'ānic chronology on the assumption that the individual sūras formed the original units of revelation and could best be divided into two sets, Meccan and Medinan, according to whether they were revealed before or after the emigration *(hijra).* This division into Meccan and Medinan sūras became the most characteristic method of chronological analysis. The first attempt of this kind was the list of sūras attributed to Ibn 'Abbās (d. 68/688), the traditional father of qur'ānic exegesis. Later scholars further elaborated this system until it achieved fixation in the qur'ānic

commentary of al-Bayḍāwī (d. 716/1316) and the *Itqān* of al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505). Centuries later the latter became the principal starting point for Western scholarship on qur'ānic chronology. Muslim scholars, however, had to cope with the fact that the exact chronological listing of sūras had been in dispute since Qatāda (d. 112/730) and that qur'ānic scholars had not managed to agree on whether certain sūras were either Meccan or Medinan, and thus had furnished a list of 17 disputed sūras, namely Q 13; 47; 55; 57; 61; 64; 83; 95; 97; 98; 99; 100; 102; 107; 112; 113; 114). To these other scholars added six more (Q 49; 62; 63; 77; 89; 92). The traditional chronological order attributed to Ibn ʿAbbās, however, became widely accepted and was generally adopted by the Egyptian standard edition of the Qur'ān published in 1924. It enumerated 86 Meccan sūras and added headings to each sūra indicating its exact chronological locus in the traditional order of revelation established by Muslim scholarship. It also noted later Medinan verses which were inserted into a number of the earlier Meccan sūras and cited three Medinan sūras (Q 8; 47; 9) that incorporated earlier verses. This Muslim method of chronological analysis, separating Meccan from Medinan sūras, reflected two basic assumptions, namely that the sources of traditional Muslim scholarship provided a solidly reliable basis for the chronological ordering of the sūras and that the sūras could be treated and dated as integral units of revelation.

Western historical-critical qur'ānic analysis

From the mid-nineteenth century Western scholars began to engage in serious literary research on the Qur'ān linking the scholarly findings of traditional Muslim scholarship with the philological and text-critical methods that biblical scholarship was developing in Europe. An intensive scholarly attempt was made to arrive at a chronological order of qur'ānic chapters and passages that could be correlated with the development and varying circumstances of Muḥammad's religious career. Beginning with Gustav Weil (*Historisch-kritische Einleitung,* Bielefeld 1844), this Western chronological approach to the Qur'ān achieved its climax in the highly-acclaimed *Geschichte des Qorans* by Theodor Nöldeke (Göttingen 1860). It was later revised and expanded by Friedrich Schwally (Leipzig 1909-19) and later by Gotthelf Bergsträsser and Otto Pretzl (Leipzig 1938) into a three-volume work. This work became the classic of Western qur'ānic scholarship and the foundation of its widely-accepted framework of qur'ānic chronology, one to which Régis Blachère (*Introduction,* Paris 1947-50) added further refinements. The chronological sequencing of the sūras, elaborated by Western qur'ānic scholarship, largely adopted the distinction of traditional Muslim scholarship between Meccan and Medinan sūras. It further subdivided the Meccan phase of Muḥammad's proclamation of the Qur'ān into three distinct periods.

A different method leading to similar chronological results, however, was chosen by Hartwig Hirschfeld (*Composition and exegesis,* London 1902), who proposed an arrangement of the Meccan sūras into periods according to five literary criteria — confirmatory, declamatory, narrative, descriptive and legislative — followed by the group of Medinan sūras. Some years earlier (*The Corân. Its composition and teaching,* London 1875), William Muir made the innovative suggestion in his rearrangement of the sūras that eighteen short sūras, termed rhapsodies, dated from before Muḥammad's call (Q 103; 100; 99; 91; 106; 1; 101; 95; 102; 104; 82; 92; 105; 89; 90; 93; 94; 108). A drastically different approach was taken by Richard Bell (*The Qur'ān,* 2 vols., Edinburgh 1937-9 and posthumously

A commentary on the Qur'ān, 2 vols. Manchester 1991), who abandoned the chronological division into Meccan and Medinan periods and designed a highly subjective and disjointed dating system for individual verses in the Qur'ān taken as a whole. The two summary follow-up reactions to R. Bell in 1977 by John Wansbrough (*Quranic studies,* London 1977) and John Burton (*The collection of the Qur'ān,* Cambridge 1977) challenged the assumptions underlying the Western chronological approach from totally opposite sides. Rudi Paret (*Der Koran: Kommentar und Konkordanz,* Stuttgart 1971), on the other hand, integrated the major findings of Western scholarship on qur'ānic chronology with the principal ancillary studies authored in the West in his balanced manual of commentary and concordance to the Qur'ān.

The overriding goal of the chronological framework of the Qur'ān, elaborated in Western scholarship, was to divide the qur'ānic proclamation into four periods — Mecca i, Mecca ii, Mecca iii, and Medina — and to link these with a vision of the gradual inner development of Muḥammad's prophetic consciousness and political career that Western scholarship had determined through biographical research on the life of Muḥammad, worked out in lockstep with its research on the Qur'ān. This was initiated by Alois Sprenger (*Leben und Lehre,* 3 vols., 1861-5) and Hubert Grimme (*Mohammed,* 1892-5) and was later developed by Frants Buhl (*Das Leben Mohammeds,* 1934) and with certain modifications by W. Montgomery Watt (*Muhammad at Mecca,* 1953; *Muhammad at Medina*, 1956). Chronological research on the Qur'ān and biographical research on Muḥammad's career were closely dependent on each other. For this reason, the threat of a circular argument remained a constant danger for this approach because the subjective evaluation of Muḥammad's religious development had to be read back into a great variety of disparate qur'ānic verses from which it had been originally culled. Nevertheless, the division of the Meccan sūras into three sequential periods offered many new insights into Muḥammad's genesis as a prophet prior to the emigration and opened novel perspectives into significant stages of development in his early qur'ānic proclamation.

In general, the fourfold division of periods of the qur'ānic proclamation proceeded on the basis of two major principles. It related qur'ānic passages source-critically to historical events known from extra-qur'ānic literature and it systematically analyzed the philological and stylistic nature of the Arabic text of the Qur'ān passage by passage (see GRAMMAR AND THE QUR'ĀN; FORM AND STRUCTURE OF THE QUR'ĀN). It also placed clear markers between the Meccan periods at the approximate time of the emigration to Abyssinia (about 615 C.E.) and Muḥammad's disillusioned return from Ṭā'if (about 620 C.E.) and retained the emigration in 622 C.E. as the divide between Meccan and Medinan sūras. An overview of major versions of the chronological re-arrangement of the sūras in comparison to their actual numbered order in the Qur'ān may be found in Watt-Bell, *Introduction,* 205-13.

The group of sūras classified as belonging to the first or early Meccan period — forty-eight sūras in T. Nöldeke's chronology — were identified by a similarity of style which gives expression to Muḥammad's initial enthusiasm in a language that is rich in images, powerful in passion, uttered in short and rhythmic verses, marked by a strong poetic coloring and with about thirty oaths or adjurations introducing individual sūras or passages. Most of these sūras, which are understood as a group rather than as standing in the exact chronological order of their revelation, are short.

Twenty-three of them have less than twenty and fourteen less than fifty verses. They are driven by a heightened awareness of the apocalyptic end of this world and God's final judgment of humanity (see APOCALYPSE). They include Muḥammad's vehement attacks against his Meccan opponents for adhering to the old Arab tribal religion and his vigorous rebuttals of their damaging accusations against his claim of divine inspiration, when they dismissively characterized him as a soothsayer (*kāhin,* see SOOTHSAYERS), poet (*shā'ir,* see POETRY AND POETS) and a man possessed (*majnūn,* see INSANITY).

The sūras of the second or middle Meccan period, twenty-one in number, have longer verses and longer units of revelation, which are more prosaic and do not exhibit a clearly distinct common character. They mark the transition from the excitement of the first phase to a Muḥammad of greater calm who aims to influence his audience by paranetic proofs selected from descriptions of natural phenomena, illustrations from human life and vivid depictions of paradise (q.v.) and hellfire (see FIRE; HELL; NATURAL WORLD AND THE QUR'ĀN). The stories of earlier prophets and elements from the story of Moses, in particular, are cited as admonitions for his enemies and as encouragement for himself and the small group of his followers. The place of the oaths (q.v.) is taken by introductory titles such as "This is the revelation of God" and by the frequently recurring, "Say!" *(qul),* the divine command for Muḥammad to proclaim a certain qur'ānic passage. The name *al-raḥmān* (the merciful), a name for God in use prior to Islam in southern and central Arabia, although rejected by the pre-Islamic Meccans, is frequently employed although it dies out in the third period (see below for a discussion on the names of God).

The sūras of the third or late Meccan period are also 21 in number but cannot be seen as standing in any kind of inner chronological order. They exhibit a broad, prosaic style with rhyme patterns that become more and more stereotyped, frequently ending in *-ūn* and *-īn*. The formula "You people" *(yā ayyuhā l-nās)* is frequently employed by Muḥammad in addressing his followers as a group. Muḥammad's imagination seems to be subdued, the revelations take on the form of sermons or speeches and the prophetic stories repeat earlier ideas. Overall, this group of sūras could be understood to reflect Muḥammad's exasperation at the stubborn resistance to his message on the part of his fellow Meccan tribesmen.

The sūras of the Medinan period, 24 in number, follow one another in a relatively certain chronological order and reflect Muḥammad's growing political power and his shaping of the social framework of the Muslim community (see COMMUNITY AND SOCIETY). As the acknowledged leader in spiritual and social affairs of the Medinan community, a community that had been torn by internal strife prior to his arrival, Muḥammad's qur'ānic proclamation becomes preoccupied with criminal legislation, civil matters such as laws of marriage, divorce (see MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE) and inheritance (q.v.), and with the summons to holy war (*jihād,* q.v.) "in the path of God" (*fī sabīl Allāh,* see PATH OR WAY [OF GOD]; LAW AND THE QUR'ĀN). Various groups of people are addressed separately by different epithets. The believers, the Meccan emigrants *(muhājirūn)* and their Medinan helpers (*anṣār,* see EMIGRANTS AND HELPERS), are addressed as "You who believe" *(yā ayyuhā lladhīna āmanū),* while the Medinans who distrusted Muḥammad and hesitated in converting to Islam are called "waverers" (*munāfiqūn*, see HYPOCRITES AND HYPOCRISY). The members of the Jewish tribes of the Qurayẓa (q.v.), Naḍīr (q.v.)

and Qaynuqāʾ (q.v.) are collectively called Jews (*yāhūd,* see JEWS AND JUDAISM) and the Christians are referred to by the group name of Nazarenes (*naṣārā,* see CHRISTIANS AND CHRISTIANITY). More than thirty times — and only in Medinan verses — the peoples who have been given a scripture in previous eras are identified collectively by the set phrase "the people of the book" (*ahl al-kitāb,* see PEOPLE OF THE BOOK). They are distinguished from the *ummiyyūn* (Q 2:78; 3:20, 75; 62:2), who have not been given the book previously but from among whom God selected Muḥammad, called *al-nabī al-ummī* in the late Meccan passage Q 7:157-8, as his messenger (see ILLITERACY). A significant group of qurʾānic passages from Medinan *sūra*s refers to Muḥammad's breach with the Jewish tribes and his subsequent interpretation of the figure of Abraham, supported by Ishmael (q.v.), as the founder of the Meccan sanctuary and the prototypical Muslim (*ḥanīf,* q.v.) who represents the original pure religion designated "the religion of Abraham" *(millat Ibrāhīm)* and now reinstated by Muḥammad.

The most radical chronological rearrangement of the sūras and verses of the Qurʾān was undertaken by R. Bell who concluded his elaborate hypothesis with many provisos. He suggested that the composition of the Qurʾān followed three main phases: a "Sign" phase, a "Qurʾān" phase and a "Book" phase. The earliest phase in R. Bell's view was that of "sign passages" *(āyāt)* and exhortations (q.v.) to worship God. These represent the major portion of Muḥammad's preaching at Mecca of which only an incomplete and partially fragmentary amount survive. The "Qurʾān" phase included the later stages of Muḥammad's Meccan career and about the first two years of his activity at Medina, a phase during which Muḥammad was faced with the task of producing a collection of liturgical recitals (sing. *qurʾān*). The Book phase belonged to his activity at Medina and began at the end of the second year after the emigration from which time Muḥammad set out to produce a written scripture *(kitāb)*. In the present Qurʾān, each of these three phases, however, cannot be separated precisely because sign passages came to be incorporated into the liturgical collection and earlier oral recitals were later revised to form part of the written book. In explaining his complex system of distinguishing criteria, Bell often remained rather general in his remarks. He dissected sūras on the basis of subjective impressions and suggested arbitrarily that certain passages had been discarded while the content of other "scraps of paper" that were meant to be discarded had been retained. He convincingly argued, however, that the original units of revelation were short, piecemeal passages which Muḥammad himself collected into sūras and that written documents were used in the process of redaction, a process undertaken with the help of scribes during Muḥammad's career in Medina. Regarding the redaction of the Qurʾān during Muḥammad's lifetime, the starting point for the Qurʾān as sacred scripture, in Bell's view, had to be related to the time of the battle of Badr (q.v.; 2/624). For Bell, this was the watershed event while the emigration *(hijra)* did not constitute a great divide for the periodization of the sūras.

None of the systems of chronological sequencing of qurʾānic chapters and verses has been accepted universally by contemporary scholarship. T. Nöldeke's sequencing and its refinements have established a rule of thumb for the approximate order of the sūras in their chronological sequence. Bell's hypothesis has established that the final redaction of the Qurʾān was a complex process of successive revisions of earlier material whether oral or already available in rudimentary written form. In

many ways, Western qur'ānic scholarship reconfirmed the two pillars on which the traditional Muslim views of qur'ānic chronology were based. First, the Qur'ān was revealed piecemeal and, second, it was collected into book-form on the basis of both written documents prepared by scribes on Muḥammad's dictation and qur'ānic passages preserved in the collective memory of his circle of companions. All methods of chronological analysis, whether traditional Muslim or modern Western, agree that the order of the sūras in Muḥammad's proclamation was different from the order found in the written text we hold in hand today where, in general, the sūras are arranged according to the principle of decreasing length.

One consequence of the chronological periodization of sūras was the attention given to the first and last qur'ānic proclamations. There is a general consensus that either Q 96:1-5 or 74:1-7 represent the first proclamation of qur'ānic verses uttered by the Prophet. In particular Q 96:1-5 which includes the command, "Recite!" *(iqra')*, derived from the same Arabic root as the word "Qur'ān" but also Q 74:1-7 which may refer to Muḥammad being raised from sleep at night, especially if seen in parallel to Q 73:1-5, are linked in ḥadīth literature with Muḥammad's call to prophethood. This call, the beginning of qur'ānic revelation, occurred according to Islamic tradition during the night of destiny (*laylat al-qadr*, Q 97:1-3; cf. 44:3; see NIGHT OF POWER), ordinarily identified as the twenty-seventh day of the month of Ramaḍān (q.v.). As is to be expected, the last passages of the Qur'ān were sought among the Medinan sūras and Muslim scholarship identified sūras 5, 9 or 110 as the last to be revealed. Some pointed to either Q 2:278 or 281 or Q 4:174 as the last verse of the Qur'ān, while others opted for Q 9:128-9, two verses said to have been finally found during the collection of the qur'ānic material into book-form. The most suitable candidate for the last verse, however, is Q 5:3 which includes Muḥammad's affirmation, "Today I have completed your religion," and one on which there is much agreement among Muslim and Western Qur'ān scholars.

Thematic manifestations of qur'ānic chronology

Qur'ānic chronology is also manifest in the development of inner-qur'ānic topics, four of which may be analysed as cases in point: disconnected letters, ritual prayer, the name for God and the figure of Abraham. From a stylistic perspective, a particular and characteristic phenomenon of the Qur'ān with chronological implications is the so-called mysterious or disconnected letters (*al-ḥurūf al-muqaṭṭa'a,* see LETTERS AND MYSTERIOUS LETTERS) found immediately after the introductory *basmala* (q.v.; the formulaic saying "In the name of God, the merciful, the compassionate") of twenty-nine sūras. Muslim sources, which consider the disconnected letters an integral part of the qur'ānic revelation, record no recollection of their real significance as is shown by the great variety of explanations given for them. Many Muslim and Western scholars have attempted to interpret the function of the disconnected letters in the Qur'ān, but no satisfactory explanation has been found. Among the theories put forward are that the letters represent abbreviations of the divine names, the initials of the owners of manuscripts used in the redaction of the Qur'ān, numbers written in Arabic letters or simply letters possessing an inscrutable or mystical meaning known only by God. Three consistent factors, however, can be observed that may undergird a chronological explanation of their function in the Qur'ān. First, the disconnected letters at the beginning of the twenty-nine sūras belong to

later Meccan and early Medinan sūras. The letters sometimes occur singly and sometimes in groups of two to five. Some of these occur only once while others are repeated before two, five or six sūras. Secondly, these letters are pronounced separately in recitation as the letters of the alphabet, and the literature on the variant readings of the Qurʾān reveals no differences regarding their recitation (see READINGS OF THE QURĀN). Thirdly, they represent every consonantal form of the Arabic alphabet in Kufic script, the earliest Arabic script (q.v.), namely fourteen forms, and no form is used for more than a single letter of the alphabet.

On the basis of these constant factors it may be argued that the disconnected letters are related to an ordering of sūras, using the letters of the Arabic alphabet in the time when Muḥammad collected sūras (q.v.) for liturgical purposes and began to take the first steps toward a written scripture. This rather general explanation of the function of the disconnected letters in the chronological genesis of the text of the Qurʾān could be confirmed by the fact that certain groups of sūras introduced by the same letters — especially those beginning with the letter patterns *alif - lām - mīm, alif - lām - rāʾ, ḥāʾ - mīm* and *ṭāʾ - sīn - [mīm]* — have been kept together in the actual order of the Qurʾān despite their sometimes widely varying lengths and by the fact that in almost all cases the disconnected letters are followed by a usually explicit or occasionally implicit reference to the revelation of scripture as a "Book" sent down or a "Qurʾān" made clear. Because the disconnected letters appear only at the beginning and never within the body of a sūra, such as at points of incision indicated by a change of style, rhyme or content, they belong to the initial phase of redaction by Muḥammad himself rather than to either the original proclamation of qurʾānic passages by Muḥammad or to the final redaction of the Qurʾān after his death. The insertion of the letters after Muḥammad's death would presuppose the sporadic introduction of letter patterns into the final text by a later hand. This general explanation favors the view that Muḥammad as redactor was the author of the disconnected letters affixed to the beginning of sūras and that he began quite early to produce his own scriptural text with the help of scribes, by piecing together passages of similar content in certain sūras. Some of these he then marked as a liturgical unit through the insertion of the disconnected letters, a marking scheme that the final redactors of the Qurʾān felt obliged to respect.

Yet another phenomenon that manifests significant chronological parameters is the genesis of central religious institutions introduced by Muḥammad such as the ritual prayer (*ṣalāt,* see PRAYER) of Islam. The institution of the ritual prayer cannot be traced to the earliest phase of Muḥammad's qurʾānic proclamation in which the root *ṣallā* is used in reference to the tribal practice of animal sacrifice (Q 108:2; see CONSECRATION OF ANIMALS; SACRIFICE) and the prayers of unbelieving Meccans (Q 107:4-7). At this stage the recitation of the Qurʾān is as yet not linked with ritual prayer but is connected with Muḥammad's labor in composing qurʾānic passages (Q 73:1-8). Somewhat later, about the middle of the Meccan period of his qurʾānic proclamation, Muḥammad began to observe a night vigil *(tahajjud)* which combined the recitation of the Qurʾān with the beginnings of a prayer practice called *ṣalāt* (Q 17:78-9; cf. 25:64; 51:17-8) that was performed both by day and by night (Q 76:25-6; 52:48-9). At first Muḥammad alone is called to perform the *ṣalāt* (Q 17:110; 20:130) but, then, in Q 20:132, he is clearly summoned to command his relatives or followers *(ahlaka)* to perform the

ṣalāt together with him and to persevere with those who invoke God morning and evening (Q 18:28) or prostrate themselves in prayer at night (Q 39:9; see BOWING AND PROSTRATION). During this phase, Muḥammad also draws attention to the great qur'ānic models of prayer, Abraham (Q 26:83-9), Moses (Q 20:25-35) and Zechariah (q.v.; Q 19:3-6) and points to God's servant, Jesus, as a prophet divinely commissioned to practice *ṣalāt* (Q 19:30-1). Perhaps somewhat later in the Meccan phase of his proclamation Muḥammad is prompted, again in the singular, to perform the *ṣalāt* at three different times of day (see DAY, TIMES OF), in the morning and in the evening, and also during the night (Q 11:114-5; 50:39-40). His followers are admonished to join in the practice, which clearly includes the recitation of the Qur'ān and prostration in prayer (Q 7:204-6). The evolution of ritual prayer can also be traced in the varying yet vacillating qur'ānic vocabulary used in the late Meccan and early Medinan periods for the prayer times: in the morning (at the dawning of the day and before the rising of the sun), in the evening (at the declining of the day and before the setting of the sun) and during the night (*tahajjad,* Q 17:79; *zulafan min al-layl,* Q 11:114; *ānā' al-layl,* Q 3:113).

After the emigration *(hijra),* qur'ānic chronology demonstrates that the *ṣalāt* becomes a firm institution of the individual and communal ritual prayer for Muslims. References to *ṣalāt* (generally used in the singular) occur with high frequency in the Medinan sūras (33 times in Q 2, 4, 5, 9 and 24 alone, representing half of all occurrences of this term in the entire Qur'ān) and are now frequently linked with its sister religious institution of almsgiving (*zakāt,* the development of which can itself be traced in the Qur'ān from an act of free giving to a religious duty and communal tax; see ALMSGIVING). The frequent reference to a normative obligation to perform *ṣalāt* is paralleled by the emphatic introduction of the obligatory direction of prayer *(qibla).* At first this may have been observed in the direction of Jerusalem (q.v.), emulating Jewish-Christian custom, but then was changed toward the Ka'ba of Mecca by a qur'ānic command (Q 2:142-52). These particular early Medinan verses were proclaimed by Muḥammad at about the time of the battle of Badr in 2/624 although they may actually reflect a gradual process of change in the ritualization of the *ṣalāt* and the fixation of its *qibla.* Furthermore, in Medina, the specific prayer times are fixed for what has now clearly become a daily ritual prayer that is repeatedly enjoined in the plural *(aqīmū al-ṣalāt),* is performed standing upright (cf. Q 4:102) and includes the recitation of the Qur'ān (cf. Q 7:204-5). Finally, the Medinan verse Q 2:238 firmly establishes a ritual mid-day prayer *(al-ṣalāt al-wusṭā)* which may already have been introduced toward the end of Muḥammad's career in Mecca when he summoned his followers to praise God in the morning, the evening and during the middle of the day (*wa-ḥīna tuzhirūn,* Q 30:17-8). From this point on, the *ṣalāt* is enjoined upon the believers at fixed times (*kitāban mawqūtan,* Q 4:103) and the communal prayer during the week is explicitly fixed on Friday *(yawm al-jum'a),* the market day of Medina (Q 62:9). The believers are called to prayer (Q 5:58; 62:9) and ritual ablutions before prayer *(wuḍū', ghusl)* are established in detail, including such specificity as the substitution of sand in the absence of water (*tayammum,* cf. Q 4:43; 5:6) and provisos for people who are traveling (see CLEANLINESS AND ABLUTION; RITUAL PURITY).

It is more difficult to trace stages of chronological development for the proper name for God in the Qur'ān, which relies principally on Allāh (*al-ilāh,* lit. the deity),

Lord *(rabb)* and the Merciful *(al-raḥmān)* but ultimately establishes Allāh as the predominant designation and the one adopted by Islam throughout the centuries. In what the Islamic tradition identifies as the first verses of qurʾānic revelation, Muḥammad is summoned to speak in the name of "your Lord" (*rabbika,* Q 96:1; *rabbaka,* 74:3). A non-secular usage of lord (q.v.) or master (*rabb,* never used with the definite article in the Qurʾān yet very often linked with a personal pronoun), was familiar to the Meccans from pre-Islamic times. This is demonstrated by the phrase "the lord of this house" (*rabba hādhā l-bayt,* Q 106:3), the house being the Kaʿba in Mecca. It is most frequently employed in the first Meccan period (e.g. "Extol the name of your lord the most high *[sabbiḥi sma rabbika l-aʿlā]*" Q 87:1), less often in the second and third (as in Pharaoh's [q.v.] blasphemous utterance, "I am your lord the most high *[anā rabbukumu l-aʿlā]*" Q 79:24; see also BLASPHEMY), and only rarely in Medinan verses. On the contrary, the term Allāh, known to the Meccans prior to Muḥammad as a proper name for God, is attested in pre-Islamic poetry and pre-Islamic personal names. In all probability it is a contraction of *al-ilāh* which, itself, is never used in the Qurʾān, though the form *ilāh,* without the definite article but in a genitive construction, is employed to denote a specific deity as in "the deity of the people," *ilāh al-nās,* Q 114:3, used interchangeably with "the lord of the people," *rabb al-nās,* Q 114:1). The term Allāh occurs very rarely in the first Meccan period, is still infrequent throughout the second and into the third Meccan periods but finally becomes so dominant that it appears on average about every five verses in the Medinan *sūra*s. The Merciful (*al-raḥmān,* probably derived from the personal name for God in southern and central Arabian usage), makes a strong entry into the qurʾānic vocabulary for God in the second Meccan period but then is almost entirely subsumed by "Allāh," except for its inclusion (albeit in a subordinate position to *Allāh*) in the formula of the *basmala* (Q 27:30) that becomes the introductory verse to each qurʾānic chapter except Q 9.

One crucial stage of transition toward the breakthrough of the finally dominant "Allāh" may be traced in God's declaration of his unicity before Moses (Q 20:12-4; cf. 27:8-9). Immediately following the declaration, "I am your Lord" (*innanī anā rabbuka,* Q 20:12), the name Allāh is affirmed by the first form of the emphatic, "I, I am God *(innanī anā llāh),* there is no deity save me" (*lā ilāha illā anā,* Q 20:14) in a passage that belongs to the second Meccan period. This verse is chronologically later than sūra 79 including Pharaoh's blasphemous utterance, "I am your Lord the most high" (*anā rabbukum al-aʿlā,* Q 79:24). After Q 20:12 the use of *rabb* decreases noticeably in frequency, while the affirmations, "there is no deity save me" (*lā ilāha illā anā,* in late Meccan verses, i.e. Q 16:2; 20:14; 21:25) and "there is no deity save him" (*lā ilāha illā huwa,* in late Meccan verses, i.e. Q 28:70, 88, and increasingly in Medinan verses, i.e. Q 2:163, 255; 3:6, 18) occur repeatedly. Since *rabb* was applied to a variety of deities in pre-Islamic Arabia, it proved less suitable to serve as the name for the one God of Muḥammad's monotheistic message than Allāh, a name that by its very nature is definite and unique. An explanation for the rare occurrence of Allāh in the early Meccan sūras may also be found in the possibility of Muḥammad's original reluctance to adopt any name associated with polytheistic practices as a proper name for a supreme God. For pre-Islamic Arabs swore solemn oaths "by Allāh" (*billāhi,* Q 6:109; 16:38; 35:42), worshipped Allāh as creator and supreme provider (Q 13:16-7; 29:60-3; 31:25; 39:38; 43:9, 87)

and asserted Allāh to have a kinship with the jinn (cf. Q 6:100, 128; 37:158; 72:6) and a relationship to subordinate deities such as al-ʿUzzā, Manāt and al-Lāt, identified as his daughters (cf. Q 53:19-21; 16:57; 37:149), and others anonymously as his sons (*kharaqū la-hu banīna wa-banāt,* Q 6:100). The sheer amount of references to God in the Qurʾān, which number in the thousands, makes it difficult to develop a precise curve of chronological development. Nevertheless, the overwhelming inner-qurʾānic evidence suggests that Muḥammad moved from a forceful personal experience of God who could be addressed as "my Lord" *(rabbī),* to a conception of the unique godhead of Allāh, the one and only God of his message *(lā ilāha illā llāh),* to whom a great number of epithets and attributes *(al-asmāʾ al-ḥusnā)* were applied in the Qurʾān (see GOD AND HIS ATTRIBUTES).

The figure of Abraham (q.v., Ibrāhīm), who appears with many details of his story in twenty-five sūras, also provides an important touchstone for inner-qurʾānic chronology. In the first Meccan period the "sheets" *(ṣuḥuf)* of Abraham are cited as previously revealed scriptures and Abraham stands as a prophetic figure next to Moses (Q 87:18-9). In the second and third Meccan periods Abraham is identified as "a prophet, speaking the truth" (*ṣiddīqan nabiyyan,* Q 19:41) and depicted in detail as a staunch monotheist who attacks the idolworship of his father and his people (Q 37:83-98; 26:69-89; 19:41-50; 43:26-8; 21:51-73; 29:16-27; 6:74-84; see IDOLATRY AND IDOLATERS; POLYTHEISM AND ATHEISM). Next to many other details (e.g. Abraham's rescue from the fire and his intercession for his idolatrous father), the same periods also record men sent by God to visit Abraham and to announce the punishment imposed on Lot's people (Q 51:24-34; 15:51-60; 11:69-76; 29:31-2). They also refer to Abraham's near sacrifice of his son (Q 37:100-11), ordinarily understood to be Isaac (q.v.) on account of Q 37:112-3 and, anonymously, Q 51:28 and 15:53. In the Medinan sūras, Abraham, supported by his son Ishmael, erects the Kaʿba in Mecca as a place of pure monotheistic belief and as a center of pilgrimage (q.v.; cf. Q 2:124-41; 3:65-8, 95-7; 6:125; 22:26-9, 78). Called emphatically a "true monotheist" *(ḥanīf),* who did not belong to the idolaters (*mushrikūn,* cf. Q 2:135; 3:67, 95; 4:125; 22:31, 78) and mentioned once as God's friend (*khalīl,* Q 4:125), Abraham becomes the exemplary prototype for Muḥammad who identifies the religion he himself proclaims as "the religion of Abraham" (*millat Ibrāhīm,* Q 2:130, 135; 4:125; 6:161; 16:123).

The characteristic features of the qurʾānic story of Abraham have been the subject of much scholarly research by Snouck Hurgronje *(Mekkaansche feest),* A.J. Wensinck *(Muhammad and the Jews)* and Y. Moubarac *(Abraham),* and more recently R. Firestone *(Journeys)*. These scholars have laid great stress on the re-interpretation of Abraham in the Medinan sūras as provoked by Muḥammad's break with the Jewish tribes of Medina. Muḥammad's reorientation to Mecca, linking the figure of Abraham with the change of the prayer-orientation *(qibla)* to Mecca, is most certainly a significant chronological incision in the interpretation of Abraham and in the thrust of the qurʾānic message. What tends to be de-emphasized in the chronological analysis, especially of the Meccan verses, however, is an indisputable fact analyzed by E. Beck (Die Gestalt des Abraham). According to Beck, Abraham was already understood in the Meccan verses as connected with Mecca, prior to his association with Ishmael in the Qurʾān, and Muḥammad had developed his idea of the *millat Ibrāhīm,* at least initially, already at Mecca prior to his break with the Jews of Medina. In this perspective, some of G. Lüling's

observations about Muḥammad's "religion of Abraham" (pruned of their bitterly controversial aspects, cf. *Wiederentdeckung,* 213-303), call for a more substantive examination as to whether Muḥammad possessed a distinct knowledge of Hellenistic and Judaeo-Christian trends in Christianity that facilitated his turning to a pre-Islamic Arab tradition of Abraham, closer akin to the latter, while rejecting the icon-worship of the former.

These four examples of a detailed approach to inner-qur'ānic chronology that concentrates upon central themes — i.e. the literary phenomenon of the disconnected letters, the institutional genesis of the ritual prayer, the qur'ānic development of the proper name for God and the tradition of the prophetic figure of Abraham and his religion — may open ways to complement the standard approach to qur'ānic chronology based on the four-period classification advanced by T. Nöldeke or the three-phase hypothesis advocated by R. Bell. The mosaic stones of such inner-qur'ānic approaches, case by case and limited to a manageable amount of verse analysis, may help to fill the somewhat indistinct and conjectural framework of the chronological approach to the Qur'ān as a whole.

Compilation of the Qur'ān

As mentioned above, it is a well-known fact that in the "completed" Qur'ān, i.e. that finally produced as Islam's holy book, the sūras are generally arranged according to decreasing length. This order was established in the final redaction of the written text of the Qur'ān, which reached its canonical completion many years after Muḥammad's death in 11/632. This process of final redaction and canonical completion represents the history of the text from Muḥammad's last qur'ānic proclamation, shortly before his death, until the appearance of the final vocalized text of the Qur'ān in the fourth/tenth century. This history of the text moves the Qur'ān from the life of the Prophet into the life of the Muslim community and from the principal historical author of the qur'ānic message to the chief redactors who produced the final written version we hold in our hands today. Due to its very nature, the history of this process is a minefield of chronological problems that are deeply rooted in the highly complex and contradictory evidence included in the Islamic tradition, especially the ḥadīth.

After Muḥammad's death, the Muslim community faced three major tasks with regard to establishing the Qur'ān as canonical scripture: it had to collect the text from oral and written sources, establish the consonantal skeleton of the Arabic text (see ARABIC SCRIPT) and finalize the fully-vocalized text that came to be accepted as the canonical standard. The traditional view depicting the accomplishment of these tasks covers three centuries and telescopes the history of the text into a basic scheme (the principal objections to which are examined in volumes ii and iii of Nöldeke's revised *Geschichte des Qorans*). This scheme proceeded on the assumptions that Muḥammad did not leave a complete written text of the Qur'ān and that the Qur'ān was preserved primarily in oral form in the memory of a considerable number of Muḥammad's direct listeners with a sizeable amount of the text having been recorded in writing by scribes during Muḥammad's lifetime. A group of the Companions (see COMPANIONS OF THE PROPHET), led by Zayd b. Thābit (q.v.; d. 46/665), whom Muḥammad himself had employed as a scribe in Medina, collected and arranged the oral and written materials of the Qur'ān in a complete consonantal text during the second half of the caliphate of ʿUthmān (q.v.; r. 23/644-35/656; see COLLECTION OF THE

QUR'ĀN). The final fully-vocalized text of the Qur'ān was established and completed only in the first half of the fourth/tenth century after different ways of reading — either seven, ten or fourteen in number — displaying slight variations in vocalization, came to be tolerated and accepted as standard. In addition to these standardized variations of vocalization, however, thousands of other textual variants were recorded in the literatures of Islamic tradition and Qur'ān commentary *(tafsīr al-Qur'ān),* many of which cannot be found in the myriad, complete and fragmentary, manuscripts of the Qur'ān, extant in libraries all over the world (see CODICES OF THE QUR'ĀN).

It is unlikely, as is maintained in a number of early accounts, that the initial collection of the Qur'ān took place in the short reign of the first caliph Abū Bakr (11/632-13/634) at the instigation of ʿUmar. ʿUmar is supposed to have perceived a serious threat to the integrity of the transmission of the qur'ānic text in the many casualties at the battle of al-Yamāma because these included a number of reciters *(qurrā')* who knew the text by heart. According to this story, Abū Bakr, though hesitating for fear of overstepping Muḥammad's precedent, ordered Zayd b. Thābit to collect all of the qur'ānic fragments written on palm leaves, tablets of clay and flat stones and "preserved in the hearts of men" and to write them out on sheets *(ṣuḥuf)* of uniform size. These written sheets came into the possession of ʿUmar upon his accession to the caliphate in 13/634 and when he died in 23/644, his daughter Ḥafṣa, one of the Prophet's widows (see WIVES OF THE PROPHET), inherited them from him. Another account credits the creation of the first collected volume *(muṣḥaf)* to ʿUmar while yet another refutes this by asserting that ʿUmar did not live to see this collection completed. The historicity of these accounts, placing the collection of the Qur'ān within the caliphates of Abū Bakr and ʿUmar, has been challenged on the grounds that critical study shows only two of the dead at the battle of al-Yamāma actually qualified as reciters (see RECITERS OF THE QUR'ĀN), that ʿUthmān's widely-attested role in establishing the official text has been intentionally neglected and that Muḥammad's role in the preparation of the text and the scribal work done during his lifetime have been under-emphasized.

The most widely-accepted version of the traditional history of the Qur'ān places the collection of the final consonantal text in the caliphate of ʿUthmān about twenty years after Muḥammad's death. The occasion for the final collection of the Qur'ān, according to this account, was a military expedition to Azerbayjan and Armenia under the leadership of the general Ḥudhayfa. Apparently his Muslim contingents from Syria and those from Iraq fell into dispute about the correct way of reciting the Qur'ān during the communal prayers. Trying to establish order, ʿUthmān appointed a commission of four respected Meccans, presided over by Zayd b. Thābit, to copy the "sheets" that were in Ḥafṣa's personal possession. Where variant readings of words were encountered, they chose the one in the dialect of the Quraysh. When the scribes completed their assignment, ʿUthmān kept one copy in Medina and sent other copies to al-Kūfa, al-Baṣra and Damascus. He then commanded that all other extant versions be destroyed. His order, however, was not heeded in al-Kūfa by the Companion Ibn Masʿūd (d. 32/653) and his followers. The difficulties of this version of the story center on essential points, namely the doubt that accuracy in the recitation of the Qur'ān would have caused significant unrest in the military during the early conquests of

Islam, the widely-accepted view that the Qurʾān is not actually in the dialect of the Quraysh (q.v.) and the improbability that the caliph would have given an order to destroy the already existing copies of the Qurʾān. Further, the appearance of Ḥafṣa in this narrative probably functions simply as a mechanism to link the Abū Bakr/ ʿUmar and ʿUthmān versions together and to establish an unbroken chain of custody for an authoritative text that remained largely unnoticed in the community. Despite the difficulties in this version of the chronology of the collection of the Qurʾān, scholars generally accept that the official consonantal text of the Qurʾān was established in ʿUthmān's caliphate and that Zayd b. Thābit played a significant role in effecting it.

To gain a clearer picture of the collection of the standard consonantal text of the Qurʾān, one may have to consider the possibility of a number of factors, among them the following: 1) that Muḥammad himself had begun the work of establishing a written version of the Qurʾān without completing it; 2) that during the first two decades after his death, the Muslim community was focused on expansion and conquest rather than on standardizing the qurʾānic text; 3) that the need for a standardized text of the Qurʾān manifested itself only after local Muslim communities began to form in the newly established garrison cities *(amṣār)* such as al-Kūfa, al-Baṣra and Damascus; and 4) that the "ʿUthmānic text" established in Medina by the chief collector Zayd b. Thābit has to be seen as a parallel phenomenon to the codices containing textual variants — all of which are said to have been begun during Muḥammad's lifetime — the one attributed to ʿAbdāllah b. Masʿūd and accepted in al-Kūfa, the one attributed to Ubayy b. Kaʿb (d. ca. 29/649) and accepted in Syria, the one attributed to Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī (d. 42/662) and accepted in al-Baṣra as well as to other "primary" codices of individuals (see A. Jeffery, *Materials;* see also TEXTUAL HISTORY OF THE QURʾĀN). ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib (q.v.; d. 40/661), Muḥammad's cousin and son-in-law, is also cited in the early sources as the first to collect the Qurʾān after the Prophet's death. It is said that he arranged the sūras in some form of chronological order and that he allowed his codex to be burned when the "ʿUthmānic text" was promulgated.

While the establishment of the consonantal text of the Qurʾān, the "ʿUthmānic text," is intertwined with the question of the parallel personal or metropolitan codices (*maṣāḥif,* see MUṢḤAF), the promulgation of the fully vocalized text involves the question of the various "readings" *(qirāʾāt)* of the Qurʾān (see READINGS OF THE QURʾĀN). Since the non-vowelized "ʿUthmānic text" was written in a "scriptio defectiva" that was merely a consonantal skeleton lacking diacritical marks that distinguish certain consonants from each other, oral recitation was needed to ascertain the intended pronunciation of the text. As the qurʾānic orthography developed step by step over more than two centuries and as the linkage between the consonantal skeleton and the oral recitation became more and more defined, the deficiencies of the Arabic script were gradually overcome. The variations of recitation, in the vast majority of a minor nature, were either reconciled or accommodated and the written text became increasingly independent of its linkage to oral pronunciation. This process culminated with the "scriptio plena," the fully-vocalized and pointed text of the Qurʾān.

This text may be considered as a "textus receptus, ne varietur" with the proviso that no single clearly identifiable textual specimen of the Qurʾān was ever established or accepted with absolute unanimity. Rather

the final, fully-vowelized and pointed text of the Qurʾān, accepted as normative and canonical, may best be understood as a construct underlying the work of Abū Bakr b. Mujāhid (d. 324/936), who restricted the recitation of the Qurʾān to seven correct readings, termed *aḥruf* (lit. letters) on the basis of a popular ḥadīth. Ibn Mujāhid accepted the reading *(qirāʾa)* of seven prominent Qurʾān scholars of the second/eighth century and declared them all as based on divine authority. In 322/934 the ʿAbbāsid establishment promulgated the doctrine that these seven versions were the only forms of the text and all others were forbidden. Nevertheless, "three after the seven" and "four after the ten" ways of reading were added somewhat later to form, respectively, ten or fourteen variant readings. Finally, each of the ten ways of reading was eventually accepted in two slightly varying versions (sing. *riwāya*), all of which, at least theoretically, belong within the spectrum of the "textus receptus, ne varietur." For all practical purposes today, only two versions are in general use, that of Ḥafṣ (d. 190/805) from *(ʿan)* ʿĀṣim (d. 127/744), i.e. Ḥafṣ's version of ʿĀṣim's way of reading, which received official sanction when it was adopted by the Egyptian standard edition of the Qurʾān in 1924; and that of Warsh (d. 197/812) from *(ʿan)* Nāfiʿ (d. 169/785), i.e. Warsh's version of Nāfiʿ's way of reading, which is followed in North Africa, with the exception of Egypt.

The hypothetical nature of the scholarly arguments about the textual variants of the parallel codices ultimately led those scholars who most meticulously examined them (e.g. G. Bergsträsser, O. Pretzl, A. Jeffery, and A. Fischer) to pronounce a very guarded judgment about their authenticity. It became the increasingly accepted scholarly view that most of the allegedly pre-ʿUthmānic variants could be interpreted as later attempts by Muslim philologists to emend the "ʿUthmānic text." In the second half of this century two scholars came to the conclusion that these "codices" were virtual fabrications of early Muslim scholarship without offering, however, substantive and irrefutable proof for their claims. Arguing in opposite directions, J. Wansbrough *(QS)* concluded that the Qurʾān was not compiled until two to three hundred years after Muḥammad's death while J. Burton contended that Muḥammad himself had already established the final edition of the consonantal text of the Qurʾān. Such widely-differing hypotheses, as well as the fact that there is no single uniform text of the Qurʾān that would represent a text-critical edition composed on the basis of the essential extant manuscripts and the critically evaluated variant readings, demonstrate that much of the chronological reconstruction of the Qurʾān's fixation as a written text has reached an impasse. Only the future will tell whether a possible computer analysis (see COMPUTERS AND THE QURʾĀN) of the sheer mass of textual material may enable scholarly research to develop a more consistent picture of the Qurʾān's textual chronology.

Certain breakthroughs with regard to qurʾānic chronology, however, may be achieved through a more systematic chronological analysis of the major themes within the Qurʾān such as the four examples cited in this survey. Another challenge might be a more consistent search for an Ur-Qurʾān, initiated by G. Lüling, that would reopen scholarly debate about the sources of Muḥammad's proclamation and whether he only began to produce religious rhymed prose after the defining religious experience that the sources identify as his call to prophethood, an event that took place when he was a man of about forty years of age. Searching the text for segments that could antedate this experience may reveal their roots in usages of religious

worship and liturgy within the Arab environment in which Muḥammad grew up and reached his maturity. Finally, it may be necessary for scholarly research to espouse more unequivocally the view that Muḥammad was not the mere mouthpiece of the Qurʾān's proclamation but, as its actual historical human author, played a major role in its collection and compilation.

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Church

Building in which public Christian religious services occur. Christian churches, shrines, monasteries and other institutions were common in the territories inhabited by Arabic-speaking peoples in the world in which Islam was born. In the early Islamic period both Muslims and Christians regularly used the word *kanīsa* to mean "church" and sometimes "synagogue." Although this conventional Arabic word for church does not appear in the Qurʾān, there is one verse that has been interpreted as referring to churches. In Q 22:40, churches *(biyaʿ)* are mentioned along with monasteries *(ṣawāmiʿ),* synagogues (*ṣalawāt,* see JEWS AND JUDAISM) and mosques (*masājid,* see MOSQUE) as places "in which God's name is mentioned frequently." The Arabic noun *bīʿa* (pl. *biyaʿ*) that appears in this verse very probably came into the language from Syriac where the cognate word, *bīʿtā,* means simply "egg." The egg-shaped dome found on many shrines and churches in the geographical milieu of early Islam is thought by many commentators to explain the appropriation of the word to mean "church" in Arabic already in pre-Islamic times. In the qurʾānic commentary *(tafsīr)* literature, the word *kanīsa* is used by the earliest exegetes to gloss the more obscure term *bīʿa*.

In addition to numerous references to churches in the documentary sources such as early Arabic poetry, inscriptions and the capitulation treaties of numerous cities at the time of the Islamic conquest, there is an increasingly abundant archaeological record of churches in the Arabian milieu well into early Islamic times (see SOUTH ARABIA, RELIGION IN PRE-ISLAMIC). Their ruins have been discovered in south Arabia, east of the Jordan river, in the modern Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, in Syria and in Iraq as well as in Palestine and in

the Sinai peninsula. Of particular significance are the shrine churches of Syria such as those at Qalʿat Simʿān and Ruṣāfa (Sergiopolis), the memorials of St. Simeon the Stylite the Elder and of St. Sergius the Martyr respectively where, according to the sources, in the sixth and seventh centuries Arab Christians were among the numerous pilgrims who thronged to these sites. Similarly important in early Islamic times would have been the smaller churches and chapels of the numerous monastic establishments that were located on the periphery of the Arabian desert (see MONASTICISM AND MONKS). Not only did Muslims and Christians sometimes both worship in them, but as a result of the practice of visiting monasteries for a measure of rest and recreation, a sub-genre of Arabic-Islamic poetry, "On Monasteries" *(al-diyārāt),* soon developed. While these compositions had wine (see INTOXICANTS) and revelry as their principal themes, they did often mention in passing some aspects of the ecclesiastical structures in which they found their settings.

Churches also figured in early Islamic legal texts, particularly those concerned with spelling out the stipulations *(shurūṭ)* in the observance of which the subject Christian populations were allowed to live under the protection (*dhimma,* see PROTECTION) of the Islamic community in return for the payment of the capitation tax (*jizya,* see TAXATION) and the maintenance of a low social profile as the Qurʾān requires (cf. Q 9:29; see LAW AND THE QURʾĀN). Specifically, new church construction was often theoretically prohibited as were repairs to existing structures. Churches were required to be no taller or more sumptuous in presentation than neighboring mosques and they were not allowed to display crosses, icons or other troublesome decorations (see ICONOCLASM). They were forbidden to ring bells or to sponsor public parades or processions or in any other way to draw public attention to themselves. See also CHRISTIANS AND CHRISTIANITY.

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Cinema and the Qurʾān

see MEDIA AND THE QURʾĀN

Circumambulation

see KAʿBA; PILGRIMAGE

Circumcision

The removal of the foreskin of the penis or, in the case of females, of the internal labia. Male circumcision is denoted in Arabic by the term *khitān,* and sometimes by *ṭahāra,* "purity." For female circumcision, the term usually employed is *khafḍ,* "reduction," i.e. of the clitoris. Circumcision of either type is nowhere mentioned in the Qurʾān but was practiced by pre-Islamic Arabs and is mentioned in poetry (see PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QURʾĀN; POETRY AND POETS).

There are two qurʾānic occurrences of the plural form of an Arabic term *(aghlaf,*

pl. *ghulf)* that can mean uncircumcised. "They [the Jews] say: 'Our hearts are hardened *(qulūbunā ghulf)*.' Indeed, God has cursed them for their unbelief. Little is that which they believe" (Q 2:88; cf. 4:155). According to the qurʾānic exegete Ibn Kathīr (d. 774/1373; *Tafsīr,* ad loc.), the reference in Q 2:88 and 4:155 is to Jewish hearts as "wrappings" of God's word. Although ironic for its semantic relation to foreskin *(ghulfa),* the word probably does not intend the sense of uncircumcised in its qurʾānic occurrences (but cf. *Lev* 26:41, which refers to sinful Israelites with uncircumcised hearts and *Jer* 10:25-6, concerning "all those who are circumcised [i.e. in the flesh] but still uncircumcised [in the heart]").

To be uncircumcised *(aghral* or *aghlaf)* was considered a disgrace among pre-Islamic Arabs. According to the biographer of the Prophet, Ibn Isḥāq (d. ca. 150/767; *Sīra,* ii, 450; Ibn Isḥāq-Guillaume, 572), during the battle of Ḥunayn (q.v.) in the year 8/630, the corpse of a young enemy warrior was discovered by one of the Helpers (*anṣār,* those inhabitants of Medina who assisted Muḥammed as he emigrated from Mecca to Medina; see EMIGRANTS AND HELPERS) to be uncircumcised *(aghral)*. The discoverer of the dead man's anomalous condition "shouted at the top of his voice: 'O, fellow Arabs! God knows that Thaqīf are uncircumcised!'" Fearing that the report would spread among the Arabs, a comrade took the shouter's hand and said that the deceased was only a Christian slave. Upon examination, it was discovered that other slain soldiers were properly circumcised Arabs, albeit worshippers of al-Lāt (see IDOLS AND IMAGES) rather than of God.

The notion of *fiṭra,* which has the sense of humankind's natural disposition or character as created by God (mentioned once in the Qurʾān at Q 30:30), figures in later references to circumcision. The details of this disposition are given in the ḥadīth: "Five are the acts of *fiṭra:* circumcision *(khitān),* shaving the pubes, clipping the moustache, cutting the nails, plucking the hair under the armpits" (Abū Hurayra as reported by Muslim; cf. Nawawī, *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim. K. al-Ṭahāra. B. Khiṣāl al-fiṭra,* iii, 146; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ* [Eng. trans.], i, 159). Abraham's (q.v.) circumcision is also reported in the ḥadīth literature. Muslim (d. ca. 261/875) relates:… "Abraham circumcised himself *(ukhtatana)* by means of an adz *(bi-l-qadūm)* at the age of eighty" (Nawawī, *Saḥīḥ Muslim. K. al-Faḍāʾil,* xv, 122). Some scholars have attempted to discern circumcision in the Qurʾān by referring to Q 3:95 where Abraham is declared to have been a *ḥanīf* (q.v.) and not a polytheist (see POLYTHEISM AND ATHEISM), but D.S. Margoliouth (Circumcision) objects that the passage says nothing about any particular ritual obligations (see RITUAL PURITY).

The question of whether circumcision is absolutely required of Muslims was addressed by classical jurisconsults with varying opinions. For example, al-Shāfiʿī (d. ca. 204/820) considered it obligatory for both males and females (see al-Nawawī's commentary in Nawawī, *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim. K. al-Ṭahāra,* iii, 148; for an English translation of the passage, see A.J. Wensinck, Khitān). Some jurists consider circumcision to be a recommended *(sunna)* rather than an obligatory *(wājib)* practice, although custom has usually supported it strongly, particularly in the case of males (see LAWFUL AND UNLAWFUL; LAW AND THE QURʾĀN). Thus, while explicit qurʾānic support is lacking, the strong support for circumcision in the Islamic tradition suggests that it was simply assumed by Muḥammad and his community.

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City

An inhabited place of greater size, population or importance than a town or a village. Although the construction of a monotheistic, just and ethical social order is a fundamental theme running throughout the Qurʾān, surprisingly little is said about the city, the most elaborate of human organizations (see COMMUNITY AND SOCIETY IN THE QURʾĀN; SOCIAL INTERACTIONS; SOCIAL RELATIONS). Even the city of Yathrib, which was at that time being refashioned as *madīnat rasūl Allāh,* the "city of the messenger of God" (i.e. Muḥammad), is mentioned only four times — at Q 9:101, 120; 33:60; 63:8 — and in each instance is termed al-Madīna, i.e. "the city" (see MEDINA). References to cities in the Qurʾān are typically laconic, non-specific and oblique. One of two terms — *qarya* and *madīna* — is always used to designate a city. A third term, *dār,* which generally means "abode," is ordinarily employed with a qualifier to designate the House of God (see HOUSE-DOMESTIC AND DIVINE) or the hereafter (see ESCHATOLOGY; RESURRECTION) but at least once (Q 59:9) it appears to indicate Yathrib at the time of the emigration from Mecca (*hijra,* see EMIGRATION; MECCA). *Qarya,* clearly the preferred term, occurs a total of 56 times. *Madīna* with its more meaningful etymological connections to religion *(dīn),* judge or governor *(dayyān)* and civilization *(madaniyya),* appears only 17 times. In two cases — Q 18:77, 82 and 36:13, 20 — *qarya* and *madīna* seem to have been used synonymously. This makes it difficult to assert that the Qurʾān originally drew the distinction that later developed in Islamic thought whereby *madīna* became the term for the city as the center of religiously and politically structured social life while *qarya* receded to mean a village or any small human agglomeration.

Madīna occurs 14 times in the singular form, four of which — Q 9:101, 120; 33:60; 63:8 — are in reference to *madīnat rasūl Allāh,* as Yathrib became known after the Prophet's emigration *(hijra).* It also appears three times in the plural *(madāʾin),* always in reference to a gathering of the sorcerers from the cities of Egypt (q.v.) in the context of the story of Moses (q.v.) and Pharaoh (q.v.). Of the 56 times that *qarya* appears, 37 are in the singular form, one followed by the second person masculine singular possessive, *"qaryataka,"* (in reference to Mecca), two by the second person masculine plural possessive, *"qaryatakum"* and one by the first person plural possessive *"qaryatanā."* It also occurs once in the dual form *"qaryatayn"* (Q 43:31), which seems to refer to the two cities of Mecca and Ṭāʾif and 18 times in the plural *"qurā,"* two of them (Q 6:92 and 42:7) in the form *umm al-qurā,* "the mother of cities." This epithet seems to have been applied to Mecca, although in one instance (Q 28:59) the expression refers to some other capital to which God sent a messenger (q.v.) to warn a group of cities (see also WARNING).

Most references to *qarya* and *madīna* occur in conjunction with the parables of past nations. In the majority of instances, the *qarya* is described as an insidious environment: Its people revel in excess and perversion, ignore their religious duties and chase out God's prophets (see PUNISHMENT STORIES; PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD). They therefore deserve God's fire and brimstone, not because of their status as cities, but because they usually reject God's warning delivered by his messengers (see CHAS-

TISEMENT AND PUNISHMENT). This negative impression of cities in the Qurʾān influenced many early Islamic views expressed in ḥadīth, exegesis *(tafsīr)* and belles-lettres *(adab)* and even found its way into later legal *(fiqh)* discourses, the main objective of which was to regulate the Islamic urban order (see LAW AND THE QURʾĀN).

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Civil Society

see POLITICS AND THE QURʾĀN; COMMUNITY AND SOCIETY IN THE QURʾĀN

Clans and Tribes

see TRIBES AND CLANS

Clay

An earthy material, plastic when moist but hard when baked or fired. There are twelve references to clay *(ṭīn);* four to "resounding" clay *(ṣalṣāl);* three to petrified clay *(sijjīl);* and one to baked clay or earthenware *(fakhkhār)*. Whereas *ṣalṣāl* is pure Arabic, *ṭīn* and *fakhkhār* are probably Syriac loan words and *sijjīl* is almost certainly Persian (see FOREIGN VOCABULARY).

Etymology

Arabic lexicographers derive *ṭīn* from the verb *ṭāna,* "to plaster with clay" (said of a roof or wall) or "to seal with clay" (said of a written document). However, this verb, which is not found in the Qurʾān, is clearly denominal. Most European scholars assume that the substantive *ṭīn* is a loan word, although its occurrence in early poetry may indicate that it was already in circulation in pre-Islamic times (Jeffery, *For. vocab.,* 208). The most plausible derivation is from the Syriac *ṭīnā* which likewise means simply "clay." The noun *ṣalṣāl* is derived from the Arabic verb *ṣalṣala,* "to make repeated sounds." It denotes dry clay that has not been baked but which makes a sound when struck (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* xxvii, 73). The noun *fakhkhār* cannot be derived from the Arabic verb *fakhara* which means "to boast." There is consensus among the classical commentators that the noun denotes baked clay or earthenware. It is probably derived from *paḥārā,* the Syriac term for potter. As *sijjīl* is used interchangeably with *ṭīn* (Q 11:82; 15:74; cf. 51:33), it must have a similar meaning. It is widely acknowledged that it is the Arabicized form of *sāng-i gil,* a Persian expression denoting stones of clay or petrified clay.

The creation of humankind from clay

There are eight references to the creation of humankind from clay (Q 6:2; 7:12; 17:61; 23:12; 32:7; 37:11; 38:71, 76); three to their creation from "resounding" clay (Q 15:26, 28, 33) and one to their creation from "resounding clay like earthenware" (Q 55:14). Most of the passages refer to the creation of the first human being, although in Q 6:2, it is the Prophet's contemporaries who are envisaged (see BIOLOGY AS THE CREATION AND STAGES OF LIFE).

The ancient Egyptians depicted Knum, the ram-god of Elephantine, as fashioning man on a potter's wheel and the Bible, which speaks of God creating man from the earth (*Gen* 2:7), likens human beings to pots in his hands (e.g. *Jer* 18:6, *Rom* 9:21). In the Qurʾān, however, the emphasis is on humankind's base origins rather than their

malleability or fragility. According to Ibn ʿAbbās (an early exegete to whom much material is ascribed, d. 68/688), Adam's body lay prostrate for 40 nights after God had fashioned it. Then Iblīs (the devil) came along and kicked it with his foot and it resounded (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* xxvii, 73).

At Q 23:12, God says "We have created humankind from a *sulāla* of clay." A standard exegetical work glosses this as "He extracted him from it and it is his essence" (*Jalālayn,* 452). Hence most translators assume that *sulāla* means "an extract." However, the word occurs elsewhere in the Qurʾān only at Q 32:8 where it clearly means "semen." Bell therefore suggests that Q 23:12-4 was an early revelation which originally referred to natural procreation and that the words "of clay" *(min ṭīnin)* were added to make it rhyme when it was inserted in its present context (Watt-Bell, *Introduction,* 90-1; see BLOOD AND BLOOD CLOT).

Clay projectiles

God is said to have punished Lot's (q.v.) people by sending his angels to rain "pebbles of clay" (Q 51:33) or "pebbles of petrified clay" (Q 11:82; 15:74) upon them (see PUNISHMENT STORIES). This corresponds to the biblical account of their destruction by showers of brimstone (*Gen* 19:24). It is conceivable that the phenomenon in question was occasioned by a volcanic irruption but Aḥmad ʿAlī goes too far when he translates *sijjīl* as "hardened lava." God is also said to have sent flocks of birds to hurl "pebbles of petrified clay" at the owners of the elephant (Q 105:3-4; see ABRAHA). Some modernists have been reluctant to admit that the Qurʾān contains legends of this sort and have therefore attempted to interpret these verses in the light of modern science (see EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: EARLY MODERN AND CONTEMPORARY; MYTHIC AND LEGENDARY NARRATIVES). M. Asad, for example, notes correctly that the word which is usually translated "birds" simply means "flying creatures" and could therefore denote insects. As there is a tradition that smallpox first appeared in Mecca (q.v.) in the year of the expedition of the elephant (see MUḤAMMAD; EXPEDITIONS AND BATTLES; CHRONOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN), he therefore argues that the Qurʾān is at this point referring to an insect-born disease. Then, ingeniously, but most implausibly, he connects *sijjīl* with *sijill,* a word which means a scroll (see SCROLLS) or written decree, and renders the passage "Thus, he let loose upon them great swarms of flying creatures which smote them with stone-hard blows of chastisement pre-ordained."

Other passages

Two Medinan verses relate how Jesus (q.v.) fashioned birds from clay (Q 3:49; 5:110). A similar miracle (q.v.) is attributed to him in an apocryphal gospel known as the *Infancy story of Thomas* (see CHRISTIANS AND CHRISTIANITY; SCRIPTURE AND THE QURʾĀN). Whereas Christians interpreted Jesus' action as proof of his divinity (Ibn Isḥāq-Guillaume, 271) because it resembled God's initial creation of humankind, the Qurʾān stresses that it was a sign which Jesus performed with God's permission (see CREATION; SIGNS). There is no justification for eliminating the supernatural element as M. Asad, Aḥmad ʿAlī and other modernist translators have done by giving the impression that Jesus, rather than fashioning birds from clay, moulded his disciples' destiny.

Finally, in one passage, Pharaoh (q.v.) is said to have ordered Hāmān to fire clay for him and build a lofty palace so that he could mount up to the God of Moses (q.v.; Q 28:38). This episode resembles the biblical story of the Tower of Babel (*Gen* 11), which contains a mocking allusion to the ziggurats of ancient Mesopotamia.

However, the pharaonic building projects were equally extravagant. According to the early exegete Qatāda (d. 117/735), Pharaoh was the first person to have bricks made in this way (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* xx, 49).

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Cleanliness and Ablution

Cleanliness, the quality of keeping oneself free from defilement; ablution, an oftentimes ritual process by which one is purified. The concepts of cleanliness and ablution are represented in the Qurʾān both by a small set of specific injunctions regarding purity practices and by a vocabulary of purity with ethical and spiritual dimensions (see PURITY AND IMPURITY; RITUAL PURITY).

The Qurʾān's specific directions regarding ablutions and the occasions on which these must be performed are concentrated largely in two lengthy verses, Q 4:43 and Q 5:6. Q 4:43 opens by instructing the believers not to "approach" prayer when they are intoxicated *(sukārā)* or sexually polluted *(junub),* a command that suggested to commentators an early date of revelation preceding the definitive proscription of wine (see INTOXICANTS; LAWFUL AND UNLAWFUL). Those who are intoxicated are to wait until they are cognizant of what they say, while those who are sexually polluted must wait until they have "washed" *(ḥattā taghtasilū),* understood as a reference to the full-body ablutions known in the legal literature *(fiqh)* as *ghusl.* An exception to the requirement of washing is made for those who are "passing on the road" *(illā ʿābirī sabīl).* This dispensation is commonly interpreted in two ways: Some commentators explain it as an allusion to the traveler's prerogative of performing substitute ablutions with dust *(tayammum)* when water is unavailable, while others argue that one does not "approach" the act of prayer (q.v.), thus inferring that one must not enter places of prayer (i.e. mosques, see MOSQUE) in a state of sexual pollution except when passing on a journey (q.v.).

Q 5:6 begins with a detailed description of the minor ablutions known to the juridical literature as *wuḍūʾ:* "O believers! When you rise to pray, wash your faces and your hands up to the elbows, and wipe your heads and your feet up to the ankles." It then instructs those who are in a state of sexual pollution *(junub)* to purify themselves *(iṭṭahharū).* These apparently simple and explicit instructions contain several points which emerged as major interpretive controversy among jurists and writers of exegetical works *(tafsīr).* These include the verse's opening injunction to perform *wuḍūʾ* when they rise to pray, which in its most literal meaning would contradict the almost universal understanding that one must perform *wuḍūʾ* only if in a state of minor impurity. Most commentators have understood this command to be qualified in light of the verse's later reference to "coming from the privy" and "touching women" while others have interpreted it as a reference to "rising" from sleep. Yet other interpreters accept a literal understanding

of the verse's wording while rejecting its legal implications. Thus, some hold that the Prophet was originally enjoined to perform the minor ablutions before every prayer but that, this requirement proving onerous, it was abrogated *(mansūkh)* at the time of the conquest of Mecca (q.v.). Others argue that the directive to perform ablutions before every prayer was directed exclusively to the Prophet or that it is directed at all believers but represents a recommendation rather than a command (cf. J. Burton, The practice of *wuḍūʾ*, 32).

Questions have also been raised by the syntactical structure of the verse's instruction to "wash your faces and your hands up to the elbows and wipe your heads and your feet." The most obvious reading would place "feet" in apposition to "heads" and thus imply that the feet are to be wiped. This reading was early rejected by Sunnī commentators who believed that the feet were to be washed and accordingly read "feet" in apposition to "hands." Because Shīʿī interpretations rejected this understanding, the washing or wiping of the feet came to be among the most visible everyday ritual distinctions between Sunnīs and Shīʿīs, starting in the early Islamic period (see SHĪʿISM AND THE QURʾĀN).

Verses Q 4:43 and Q 5:6 then continue identically enumerating a series of situations understood to be the occasions of pollution ("coming from the privy," i.e. urination and defecation, and "touching women," variously understood as sexual intercourse or simple skin-to-skin contact) and the special circumstances (illness and travel) under which one is entitled to perform symbolic ablutions with dust *(tayammum)*. Each verse then ends with a reference to the clemency of God.

These two lengthy verses opened a number of questions debated by exegetes and jurists not only because of their syntactic and semantic complexity but because of their apparent interrelation. Some commentators argue that Q 4:43 was abrogated *(mansūkh)* by Q 5:6, a chronological sequence suggested by Q 4:43's apparent reference to the use of intoxicants (see ABROGATION). Further complication is introduced by a well-known tradition from the Prophet's wife ʿĀʾisha bint Abī Bakr (q.v.), in which her search for a misplaced necklace detains a caravan in a waterless spot and prompts the revelation of the "verse of *tayammum*" (see OCCASIONS OF REVELATION). Commentators are generally undecided about which of the two verses is intended since both contain the dispensation relating to *tayammum*. Perhaps the "verse of *tayammum*" of the tradition should in fact be understood as the segment on *tayammum* shared by Q 4:43 and Q 5:6.

Purity practices are also addressed in a small number of other verses. Q 2:222 instructs men to "avoid" (*iʿtazilū*, see ABSTINENCE) women during their menstrual periods, a command understood in the exegetical tradition to prohibit only sexual intercourse (in contrast with the comprehensive avoidance practiced by Zoroastrians and/or Jews). The praise of "those who purify themselves" *(al-muṭṭahhirīn)* in Q 9:108, although it seems to invite a metaphorical interpretation, is traditionally understood to refer to the practice of cleansing the affected parts with water after relieving oneself. A widespread ḥadīth identifies as the people of the Mosque of Qubāʾ the verse's "men who love to purify themselves" and who merit the right to stand in the "mosque founded upon piety." They are said to have learned this form of purification from neighboring Jews (see JEWS AND JUDAISM). Q 9:28, which identifies polytheists as "unclean" (*najas*, see CONTAMINATION) and bars them from the Sacred Mosque (i.e. that of Mecca), is understood in the Sunnī tradition either as a

metaphorical reference to moral turpitude or as an allusion to chronic sexual pollution resulting from the failure to perform ablutions. The Twelver Shīʿī tradition, in contrast, has embraced a literal understanding that non-believers are substantively impure (see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF; POLYTHEISM AND ATHEISM).

The verses enjoining specific purity practices occur in Medinan chapters although the practice of ablution was traditionally understood to have been introduced to the Prophet by the angel Gabriel (q.v.), along with prayer, at the beginning of his mission (cf. Ibn Isḥāq-Guillaume, 112). In general, the qurʾānic chapters which contain the verses describing purity practices are sūras thematically concerned with the definition of community boundaries, containing a high proportion of references to defining ritual practices (prayer, pilgrimage [q.v.], fasting [q.v.], alms [see ALMSGIVING]) and to relations with non-believers and members of other religious communities (see COMMUNITY AND SOCIETY). The Qurʾān's provisions regarding ritual purity seem to be thematically linked with the concept of the covenant (q.v.) which is also strongly represented in the relevant chapters. This linkage is reflected in the end of Q 5:6 and the opening of Q 5:7 which conclude the instructions regarding ablutions by stating: "God does not wish to burden you, but to purify you and to complete his favor to you, so that you may give thanks. Remember God's favor to you, and his covenant which he concluded with you when you said 'We hear and we obey'…"

The relationship between the early study and interpretation of the qurʾānic text and the development of the Islamic law of ritual purity seems to have been a complex one. The centrality of qurʾānic exegesis to early legal discussion of purity practices is demonstrated by the fact that all important interpretive cruxes in the relevant qurʾānic verses generated juristic debates that can be traced in the early sources. However, the development of Islamic law *(fiqh)* does not merely represent unconstrained reflection on the qurʾānic text. Rather, as in the case of the washing or wiping of the feet, pre-existing understandings of right practice sometimes led to strained readings of the wording of the Qurʾān. The development of *fiqh* must be understood to represent a living tradition of normative practice as well as exegetical refinement (see LAW AND THE QURʾĀN).

In addition to providing instructions for the practice of ritual purity, the Qurʾān uses a terminology of purity in a number of different contexts. Notable among these are its description of paradise and its self-description as a revealed book (q.v.; see also REVELATION AND INSPIRATION). The blessed in paradise will enjoy pure drink (Q 47:15; 76:21) and consort with pure spouses (Q 2:25; 3:15; 4:57); the Qurʾān is a pure scripture (Q 80:14; 98:2) and is touched by none but the pure (Q 56:79), a statement interpreted either as a requirement of ritual purity for those who touch earthly copies of the Qurʾān or as a description of the heavenly exemplar of the Qurʾān touched only by the angels (see ANGEL). The term "pure" *(ṭ-h-r)* is also used in an ethical context referring to sexual and moral purity (Q 74:4, also sometimes interpreted in a physical sense; Q 2:232; 7:82; 11:78; 27:56; 33:53). The literal meaning of the word *zakāt,* "alms" (etymologically derived from the root *z-k-y,* "to be pure"), is reflected in verses describing almsgiving as purifying (Q 9:103; 58:12).

The strong connection between the Qurʾān's purity terminology and its moral vocabulary is exemplified by the antonyms *ṭayyib/khabīth* ("pure, pleasant, good"/"vile, evil") and the range of their usage extends from the purity status of foods (e.g. Q 5:4-5) to general moral censure and praise. These

two contrasting roots are among the most frequently used in the purity terminology of ḥadīth and of opinions attributed to the earliest jurists. The antonyms *ḥalāl/ḥarām* ("licit"/"forbidden") cover a similar semantic range (cf. Q 5:1-5). Izutsu *(Concepts,* 237) suggests that these antonyms "go back to the old Semitic idea of ritual cleanness" with *ḥarām* denoting that which is taboo (i.e. both holy and polluted) and *ḥalāl* denoting that which is free from this ban. Significantly, the legal scholar al-Shāfiʿī (d. 204/820) uses *"ḥarām"* as a synonym of *"najis"* (i.e. substantively impure).

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Clear and Unclear see AMBIGUOUS

Clients and Clientage

The legal attachment of a person or group to another person, family, clan or tribe (see FAMILY; TRIBES AND CLANS). The term "client" *(mawlā,* pl. *mawālī)* plays, along with "confederate, ally" *(ḥalīf)* and "protected neighbor, temporary protégé" *(jār),* a prominent role in pre-Islamic Arabia and in early Islamic society and law (see PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QURʾĀN; COMMUNITY AND SOCIETY; LAW AND THE QURʾĀN). A client was either under the protection of, or nominally equal to, those born into, and thus "full" member(s) of, a family, clan or tribe (Watt-Bell, *Introduction,* 6; see KINSHIP). The meanings of both *mawlā* (in the sense of client, protégé, affiliated free person or manumitted slave or a group of such individuals) and *walāʾ* (clientage, patronage) essentially vary according to their legal, historical or theological usage and according to the periods and the social contexts to which they were applied (A.J. Wensinck, Mawlā, in *EI¹,* iii, 417-8; J. De Bruijn, Iran, 44; Juda, *Mawālī,* 1-29; P. Crone, Mawlā, 874; and esp. id., *Roman law,* 43-4; 49-63; and W. Hallaq, Use and abuse, 84-7).

In the Qurʾān *mawlā* occurs 21 times (three of which are in the plural form, *mawālī*), predominantly with a signification antonymous to that of the English expression "client," i.e. with the meaning of master or patron. In the majority of the qurʾānic occurrences, *mawlā* is an epithet of God or a divine attribute with the meaning of Lord (synonymous with *al-sayyid*), Protector, Helper and Trustee (Q 2:286; 3:150; 6:62; 8:40; 9:51; 10:30; 19:5; twice in 22:78; 47:11; 66:2, 4). The term also indicates a master, a responsible person or thing (Q 16:76: "He is a burden upon his *mawlā*"; Q 57:15: "Your refuge is the fire (q.v.; see HELL), that is your *mawlā*"), a good protector (Q 47:11: "Unbelievers have no *mawlā*") or an evil protector (Q 22:13) and it occurs in the sense of heir (Q 4:33: "To everyone we have appointed *mawālī*") or kinsman (Q 19:5, where Zechariah [q.v.] prays: "Now I fear my kinsfolk *(mawālī)* behind me").

Only twice does *mawlā* occur in the Qurʾān with the common meaning of client. Q 33:5 from a Medinan sūra states: "They [i.e. the adopted sons] are your brothers in

religion and your *mawālī*" (see CHILDREN). Q 44:41 from a Meccan sūra captures, in some interpretations, the term's antonymy: "the day a master *(mawlā)* shall be of no profit to a client *(mawlā)*." The basic meaning of the root *w-l-y,* "to be near or close to, to be connected with someone or something," is the linguistic explanation for this antonymy. *Mawlā* connotes primarily a person or party linked to another person or party by proximity *(walāʾ),* and can thus, as attested in the Qurʾān, be a designation for both client and its counterpart lord (q.v.) or master (q.v.).

The qurʾānic use of client is explained by the exegetes as meaning close person or relative (*qarīb,* Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr,* iv, 233, ad Q 44:41) and, figuratively, fellow-tribesman *(ibn al-ʿamm),* helper *(nāṣir),* friend (*ṣadīq,* Qurṭubī, *Jāmiʿ,* xvi, 148, ad Q 44:41), the one to whom one feels connected by closeness or friendship (*bi-qarāba aw ṣadāqa, Jalālayn,* 377, ad Q 33:5), but also as protector (*walī,* Qurṭubī, *Jāmiʿ,* xvi, 148, ad Q 44:41) which again has a double meaning (see B. Carra de Vaux, Walī). However, on the day of judgment (see LAST JUDGMENT) no *mawlā* can protect another *mawlā* from punishment (*"lā yadfaʿ ʿanhu mina l-ʿadhāb," Jalālayn* 457; cf. Qurṭubī, *Jāmiʿ,* xvi, 148, ad Q 44:41). Compared with the (also figuratively used) word, brother (*akh,* see BROTHER AND BROTHERHOOD), *mawlā* is the expression which describes a slightly firmer relationship to another person (Qurṭubī, *Jāmiʿ,* xiv, 119, ad Q 33:5). Both terms, however, can also be understood as synonyms (as exemplified by Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr,* iii, 772, citing the saying of the Prophet *"anta akhūnā wa-mawlānā,"* see Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* nos. 2700, 4251; Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad,* no. 933). It is important to note that the close relationship, which both client *(mawlā)* and brother *(akh)* commonly represent, seems to be specified and restricted in the Qurʾān to a relationship in terms of religion, as shown by the parenthetical usage of *"ikhwānukum fī l-dīn wa-mawālīkum"* (Q 33:5).

The qurʾānic conception of clientage, however, seems to reflect the old Arab pattern of collective, egalitarian social relationships of mutual assistance. This differs from Islamic patronage *(walāʾ)* in its institutionalized form, the latter's being individual and assimilative (P. Crone, *Roman law,* 35-42, 43). Furthermore, it is of theological relevance that the idea of God as the Lord and *mawlā* of believers not only indicates the one who has the authority (q.v.) over them but also implies that he is close to and, in a certain sense, in charge of them (while always protecting his "clients"). The qurʾānic notion of a certain kind of interrelation between the human and the divine spheres contributes to enabling Muslim believers to feel closer to God and to making the "All-Mighty" (e.g. Q 16:70) seem somewhat more approachable (see ṢŪFISM AND THE QURʾĀN).

Clientage of a slightly different nature is mentioned in Q 20:39-43. Here it is the word *iṣṭanaʿa* which signifies the patronage of God over a client: Moses (q.v.) is told by God when his mother puts him in the Nile: "And I laid upon you love from me, and to be formed in my sight" (*wa-li-tuṣnaʿa ʿalā ʿaynī,* Q 20:39). Moses grew up with the education and experience that God had desired for him, at which point God said to him: "I have bound you to myself" (*wa-ṣṭanaʿtuka li-nafsī,* Q 20:41) According to Muslim commentators, this phrase means that God had chosen, formed and educated Moses for himself in order that Moses might establish God's proof (q.v.) and serve as his spokesman, or that Moses might undertake a special task (see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD). The idea of helping or promoting somebody as contained in the qurʾānic *iṣṭanaʿa,* seems to have gained a

new importance in medieval Islamic society, as shown by its frequent appearance in texts of the fourth/tenth and fifth/eleventh centuries. Here it means "to foster someone's career" but connoting at the same time an almost parental connection of a master to his client or protégé *(muṣṭanaʿ, ṣanīʿ, ṣanīʿa)* who has been reared, educated and trained well by his master (cf. R. Mottahedeh, *Loyalty,* 82-3).

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Clothing

Garments worn for modesty (q.v.), utility, protection and decoration. Explicit references to clothing appear 23 times in the Qurʾān. Qurʾānic terms for clothing are *libās* and *thiyāb* (clothing, garment), *zīna* (finery), *ḥilya* (ornament) and *rīsh* (attire). Only rarely are specific items mentioned: (mail) shirts (*sarābīl,* Q 16:81), sandals (*naʿl,* Q 20:12), robes (*jalābīb,* Q 33:59) and shirt (*qamīṣ,* Q 12:18, 25-8, 93). A wrap or cloak *(dithār)* is evoked in Q 74, which is entitled "The Cloaked One" (Sūrat al-Muddaththir). In the Qurʾān *ḥijāb* denotes a curtain or separation rather than a female head wrap or face-veil (see BARRIER; VEIL). As presented in the Qurʾān, clothing is made from various materials, including animal hides and furs (see CAMEL; ANIMAL LIFE). The making of coats of mail *(ṣanʿat labūs)* is alluded to in Q 21:80 (see SOLOMON); and mountains are likened to carded cotton *(al-ʿihn al-manfūsh)* in Q 101:5 (see APOCALYPSE).

On the whole, the Qurʾān provides little information regarding specific forms of dress, though it is categorical regarding women who should "draw their hooded robes *(jalābīb)* close around themselves" (Q 33:59; cf. 24:31; see WOMEN AND THE QURʾĀN). Yet the Qurʾān's use of clothing imagery in a metaphorical sense is noteworthy. The verse, "We have revealed *(anzalnā)* to you clothing *(libās)* to conceal your nudity/pudenda *(sawʾāt),* and attire *(rīsh),*" for example, continues "but the garment *(libās)* of piety is superior" (Q 7:26; see NUDITY; PIETY). Indeed, the "first" garments were not Adam and Eve's "leaves of the garden" *(waraq al-janna)* but rather the "garment" of honor stripped away by Iblīs (Q 7:22; 20:121; see ADAM AND EVE; FALL OF MAN; DEVIL; GARDEN; PARADISE). And in Q 2:187 men and women are described as garments for one another (see MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE). The night (Q 25:47; 78:10) and hunger and fear (Q 16:112) are also described as garments.

The Qurʾān's most symbolic garment is the shirt *(qamīṣ)* of Joseph (Yūsuf; see JOSEPH). It is produced by Joseph's brothers as bloodstained proof of his death (Q 12:18; see BROTHER AND BROTHERHOOD); it is rent by Zulaykhā as she attempts to seduce him (Q 12:25-8) and is used to restore his

father Jacob's (Yaʿqūb; see JACOB) sight (Q 12:93). The shirt, a synecdoche for Joseph, serves each time to establish truth (q.v.) or restore honor (q.v.). Q 12:18 explains that the shirt is in fact stained with false or lying blood *(dam kadhib)*. The discovery in Q 12:28 that it is torn from behind proves Joseph's innocence; and in Q 12:94, in proclaiming to Jacob that Joseph is still alive, prophecy and kingship are validated (see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD). A similar validation is echoed in Q 27:44 where the Queen of Sheba (see BILQĪS; SHEBA), mistaking Solomon's crystal palace-floor for a deep pool, raises her garment and thus immodestly exposes her legs. On discovering her error, she is forced to acknowledge Solomon's superior knowledge. Her act of uncovering results in a validation of Solomon as prophet and ruler.

Shīʿī exegesis of Q 3:61-2 and Q 33:33 relates the tradition of Muḥammad's embracing his daughter Fāṭima (q.v.), his son-in-law ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib (q.v.) and their sons Ḥasan and Ḥusayn under his cloak, a group subsequently honored as the "people of the cloak" (*ahl al-kisāʾ*, cf. W. Schmucker, Mubāhala; A. Tritton, Ahl al-kisāʾ; see SHĪʿISM AND THE QUR'ĀN). This bestowal of favor highlights a connection between clothing and reward (see REWARD AND PUNISHMENT; VIRTUES AND VICES). Indeed, the reward in heaven (q.v.) for the righteous includes garments of silk and brocade *(sundus, istabraq, ḥarīr)*. These luxurious fabrics are in contrast to the clothing of the inhabitants of this world — Muḥammad proscribed the wearing of silk for men — and in stark contrast to the fire-dwellers' garments of fire (Q 22:19; see HELL; FIRE).

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Clouds

see NATURAL WORLD AND THE QUR'ĀN

Codes/Markings for Recitation

see RECITATION, THE ART OF

Codices of the Qurʾān

A designation generally used to refer to the *maṣāḥif,* plural of *muṣḥaf,* meaning "a copy of the complete text of the Qurʾān" as these existed in the early period of Islam (see J. Burton, Muṣḥaf). These ancient codices, both extant and presumed, are important for the study of the history of the text of the Qurʾān. There are supposedly two categories of these early codices, the pre-ʿUthmānic codices and those with an ʿUthmānic text (see COLLECTION OF THE QUR'ĀN; ʿUTHMĀN).

Until the present day, no pre-ʿUthmānic codices of the Qurʾān have been discovered and definitively identified, although possibly some extant palimpsest leaves may contain a non-ʿUthmānic text (Nöldeke, *GQ,* iii, 97-100, but also see W. Diem, Untersuchungen, 211 and 226-7). Nevertheless, many textual variants reported to have existed in these pre-ʿUthmānic codices are known from other sources such as exegetical works *(tafāsīr,* sing. *tafsīr)* and specialized works dealing with non-canonical readings *(al-qirāʾāt al-shādhdha)* like Ibn Jinnī's

(d. 392/1002) *Muḥtasab* and the much earlier *Maʿānī l-Qurʾān* works by al-Akhfash al-Awsaṭ (d. between 210-21/825-35) and al-Farrāʾ (d. 207/822). Or they are found in works dealing specifically with the non-ʿUthmānic codices as such, like the *Kitāb al-Maṣāḥif* of Ibn Abī Dāwūd al-Sijistānī (d. 316/929; Jeffery, *Materials*) which appears to be the only surviving example of this specialization in early qurʾānic studies.

Codices of the second category, however, those with an ʿUthmānic text, have been preserved. Yet the age of the oldest ones, written in the *māʾil* script, has still not been established beyond doubt (see ARABIC SCRIPT). Some of the codices that were discovered in the loft of the Great Mosque of Ṣanʿāʾ in 1972 appear to be of a very early date. However, very little of this material has become available for philological study and until now it is not clear to what extent these manuscripts deviate from the ʿUthmānic orthographic rendering (*rasm,* G.-R. Puin, Observations, 107-11). For a number of leaves from ancient codices that were originally preserved in the Umayyad Mosque in Damascus some scholars have suggested an Umayyad origin (Ṣ. al-Munajjid, *Dirāsāt,* 90-5; see also S. Ory, Nouveau type).

According to prevailing Islamic tradition, the members of a group led by Zayd b. Thābit (q.v.; d. ca. 34-5/655) discharged the task, assigned to them by the third caliph ʿUthmān (r. 23-35/644-56), of producing a complete codex of the Qurʾān. This became the master copy, usually referred to as *al-imām*. Copies of this codex were made and sent to the chief centers of the Muslim empire; all other codices were ordered to be destroyed. In Kufa, ʿAbdallāh b. Masʿūd (d. ca. 33/653) refused, however, to destroy his codex, and his reading apparently remained in use there for some time. Eventually, some seventy years later, the famous governor al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf (d. 95/714) felt compelled to suppress it. Other codices, like those of Ubayy b. Kaʿb (d. 21/642), ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib (q.v.; d. 40/661), the Prophet's wife ʿĀʾisha bt. Abī Bakr (q.v.; d. 58/678) and Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī (d. ca. 42/662), are also reported to have been destroyed. Nevertheless, from these codices variant readings are reported in classical Islamic literature (see READINGS OF THE QURʾĀN).

The ʿUthmānic recension credited by Muslim tradition to the group led by Zayd b. Thābit only established the *rasm* of the text, i.e. the writing of the consonantal structure but without the diacritics and vowel signs incorporated at a later stage. Thus the reported variant readings of the ancient pre-ʿUthmānic codices — of which the Ibn Masʿūd codex appears to have been the most important — are of two kinds: those which do and those which do not presuppose a different *rasm* than that recorded in the ʿUthmānic master copy.

Variant readings of the first kind range from a difference of one Arabic character, like the reading of *sirāṭ* instead of *ṣirāṭ* in Q 1:6 and all subsequent occurrences in the Qurʾān as reported from a codex attributed to Ibn ʿAbbās (d. ca. 67-8/686-8), to the addition of whole verses or even sūras like "The Renunciation" (Sūrat al-Khalʿ) and "The Service" (Sūrat al-Ḥafd) in Ubayy's codex. Reported omissions fall within the same range: from *wa-nunsihā,* "and we cause to be forgotten," instead of *aw nunsihā,* "or we cause to be forgotten," in Q 2:106 as reported from ʿAlī and Ubayy, to the omission of the first and the two last sūras from the codex of Ibn Masʿūd.

The readings reported from Ibn Masʿūd of the kind which presupposes a different *rasm* may be characterized as follows: (a) They offer synonyms to the ʿUthmānic text like *irshadnā* for *ihdinā* in Q 1:6, both meaning "guide us." (b) They leave less room for ambiguity, as in *taʾwīluhu illā ʿinda llāhi,* "its

interpretation is only with God," for *wa-mā yaʿlamu taʾwīlahu illā llāhu,* "and none knows its interpretation, save only God," in Q 3:7, the frame of which excludes the possibility of the following phrase, *al-rāsikhūna fī l-ʿilm,* "those firmly rooted in knowledge," being also "those who know." (c) They provide clarification, as in the addition of *fī mawāsim al-ḥajj,* "in the seasons of the pilgrimage (q.v.)," after *an tabtaghū faḍlan min rabbikum,* "if you seek bounty from your Lord," in Q 2:198. (d) They provide more easily understood alternatives like *mīthāq alladhīna ūtū l-kitāb,* "the covenant (q.v.) of those who were given the book" instead of *mīthāq al-nabiyyīn,* "the covenant of the prophets," in Q 3:81. It is thus no wonder that these readings continued to play a role in classical exegetical literature (*tafsīr,* see EXEGESIS OF THE QUR'ĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL). Indeed one often finds in early commentary *(tafsīr)* a qurʾānic term explained by a synonym or a phrase which elsewhere is mentioned as a variant reading. This is hardly surprising in view of the interdependence of early exegetical activity and the regular recitation of the Qurʾān (F. Leemhuis, Origins, 24 and 26-7; see RECITATION OF THE QUR'ĀN).

Sometimes non-ʿUthmānic readings also occur among the ones which the commentators explain and ʿUthmānic readings are qualified as scribal errors. In Sufyān al-Thawrī's (d. 161/778) commentary on Q 24:27 (*Tafsīr,* ad loc.), Ibn ʿAbbās is quoted as having said that *tastaʾnisū,* "engaging in social talk," is a scribal error for *tastaʾdhinū,* "asking for permission." In the *tafsīr* tradition of Mujāhid (d. 104/722) on Q 3:81 (both in al-Ṭabarī's *Tafsīr* and in the independently preserved recension of Mujāhid, ad loc.), the case is the same, the above-mentioned reading of Ibn Masʿūd being presented as the correct one. In the manuscript of the commentary of Sufyān al-Thawrī the more than 60 variant readings transmitted are nearly always clustered together near the end of his treatment of each sūra. Most of these are attributed to Ibn Masʿūd and his followers and the majority of them, but certainly not all, do not necessarily presuppose a non-ʿUthmānic *rasm*. The same treatment of variant readings is found in the *Jāmiʿ* of the Mālikī traditionist of Egypt, Ibn Wahb (d. 197/813; cf. M. Muranyi, Materialien, 239-42). All of this suggests that in the first half of the second Islamic century (720-70 C.E.) variant readings were considered to fulfill a separate exegetical function and that the ʿUthmānic recension, apart from some exceptions, had been accepted as the textus receptus. About half a century later, al-Farrāʾ (*Maʿānī,* i, 11) explicitly contrasts "the reading *(qirāʾa)* of Ibn Masʿūd" with "our reading." Nevertheless, these texts also make clear that the existence of variant readings which presupposed a non-ʿUthmānic *rasm* was considered a matter of fact.

Apart from the connection with qurʾānic exegetical literature, there is also a connection with the corpus of ḥadīth as some additions from the non-ʿUthmānic codices are also reported as sayings of the Prophet, whether inspired by God or not (see REVELATION AND INSPIRATION; ḤADĪTH AND THE QUR'ĀN). The verse about the greed of man (see AVARICE), "If man had two valleys of riches…" *(law [kāna] anna li-bni ādama wādiyāni min mālin…),* for instance, is reported both as an addition in Ubayy's codex at Q 10:24 and in all the six canonical ḥadīth collections as an utterance of the Prophet and sometimes as a non-ʿUthmānic Qurʾān quotation as well. It also appears that, at least in some cases, the supposed existence of some verses in non-ʿUthmānic codices functioned in the framework of the doctrine of the abrogation (q.v.) of the recited text but not of the divine directive contained therein (*naskh*

al-tilāwa dūna l-ḥukm, cf. J. Burton, *Collection,* 68-86).

It is often asserted that Ibn Masʿūd's codex contained a number of Shīʿī readings which were omitted from the ʿUthmānic codex. Although some of these readings are reported to have also been present in other codices, like Ubayy's and ʿAlī's, a separate Shīʿī Qurʾān codex is not known (see SHĪʿISM AND THE QURʾĀN). It could be argued, however, that if there ever was a distinct Shīʿī codex of the Qurʾān it probably would have contained the explicit Shīʿī readings reported from Ibn Masʿūd's codex.

Eventually, the readings from the pre-ʿUthmānic codices which show a different *rasm* disappeared from the recitation of the Qurʾān. Those which did not, continued to play a role in the recitation systems of the Qurʾān as variant readings of the ʿUthmānic text. Parenthetically, it should be noted that al-Farrāʾ (*Maʿānī,* 95) suggests that in some cases a canonical reading may actually have its origin in a different *rasm*. Those non-ʿUthmānic readings which fitted in with the later systems of the seven, ten or fourteen accepted recitation systems *(qirāʾāt)* remained accepted, like the reading *ḥasanan* of Ibn Masʿūd in Q 2:83 which is also the reading of Ḥamza, al-Kisāʾī, Yaʿqūb, Khalaf and al-Aʿmash whereas the rest (of the fourteen) read *ḥusnan* (see RECITERS OF THE QURʾĀN). Those readings which did not fit acquired the qualification of "deviant readings" *(qirāʾāt shādhdha)* and became unfit for recitation, although they continued to play a role in the interpretation and linguistic explanation of the Qurʾān.

Alongside the different readings of these pre-ʿUthmānic codices, a variant order of sūras (q.v.) is frequently mentioned (see CHRONOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN), the most plausible being the ones of Ibn Masʿūd and Ubayy. As in the case of the variant readings of the pre-ʿUthmānic codices, until recently there was no extant manuscript evidence to support this. In some early codices from Ṣanʿāʾ, however, such different arrangements are indeed found, agreeing or nearly agreeing with what is known from the Ibn Masʿūd and Ubayy arrangements (G.-R. Puin, Observations, 110-1).

Although the concept of the ʿUthmānic *rasm* suggests a uniform and invariable text, such uniformity is not presented by most of the oldest extant codices. Considerable variation in orthography is found especially in connection with long *ā* and words which in the later classical Arabic orthography required a *hamza*. Even the word *qurʾān* is found spelled as *qrn* (e.g. in Q 50:1 of the St. Petersburg fragment as reproduced in E. Rezwan, Frühe Abschriften, 120-1). In addition to their value for study of the Qurʾān's textual history such evidential examples are important for the history of Arabic orthography.

Before the second World War, two complementary projects for preparing a critical edition of the Qurʾān were initiated. A. Jeffery's aim was to present all variants of the ʿUthmānic text that could be collected from the Islamic literary tradition (see LITERATURE AND THE QURʾĀN), whereas G. Bergsträsser planned to collect variants from (photographs of) extant early manuscripts of the Qurʾān. Although neither project survived the war, Jeffery was able to publish his harvest of readings of the old codices together with his edition of the *Kitāb al-Maṣāḥif* of al-Sijistānī (d. 316/929), and at least part of Bergsträsser's work found its way into the third volume of *Geschichte des Qorāns* (Nöldeke, *GQ*), which was completed after his death in 1933 by O. Pretzl, T. Nöldeke having died in 1930.

According to the hypothesis of J. Wansbrough (*QS,* esp. 43-52), which asserts that the Qurʾān only reached its final, standard form during the formative process of the

first two centuries of the Islamic community, the reports of the ʿUthmānic recension and of the existence of pre-ʿUthmānic codices, as well as accounts of their suppression must be regarded as fiction, probably patterned after Jewish views about the creation of the Hebrew scriptural canon. On the other hand, J. Burton's (*Collection,* esp. 160-89) thesis considers the collection and codification of the Qurʾān to have been the work of the prophet Muḥammed himself and the stories about its later collection and codification are therefore to be entirely distrusted since their function was probably only to provide a basis for the doctrine of abrogation *(naskh)*.

From these two contrasting views, it is apparent that the paleographical study of ancient codices has produced no clear, unambiguous and generally accepted results with respect to the dating of extant codices. Recent, new studies, however, do appear to be more promising in their attempts to develop a chronological framework based on an inductive approach or to apply classical, art-historical methods to the paleography of the early qurʾānic manuscripts. See also TEXTUAL HISTORY OF THE QURʾĀN; MUṢḤAF.

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Coercion

see TOLERANCE AND COMPULSION

Collection of the Qurʾān

The assemblage, ordering and recording of the textual material of the Qurʾān. Muslim reports on the collection of the Qurʾān must, like any other ḥadīth, be tested by exposure to the wider background of Islamic definition from which they emerged. It was held by the most influential commentators and by a majority of the legal scholars that the entire Qurʾān was never collected. This view has been echoed by Western scholars following Nöldeke's *Geschichte* of 1860 (*GQ¹,* 43; *GQ²,* i, 47; ii, 44). From this perspective it is important to note a basic verbal distinction: By Qurʾān

was meant all that was ever revealed to the Prophet as "the Book of God." The word refers not to a physical object but to an idea. The inherited book or written manifestation, on the other hand, is called the *muṣḥaf* (q.v.) and the ḥadīths about the collection of the Qur'ān are concerned with its identity, provenance and completeness as a textual object (see BOOK).

Several members of the Prophet's circle (see COMPANIONS OF THE PROPHET) are said to have prepared during Muḥammad's lifetime personal copies of the qur'ānic revelations, the significance of which became apparent only after Muḥammad's death. These texts, also called *muṣḥaf,* exhibited mutual differences. They also differ from a definitive text, *muṣḥaf,* said to have been promulgated by official state action some dozen years after the Prophet's death. This last text, known as the ʿUthmānic *muṣḥaf* (see ʿUTHMĀN), shows three classes of "omission" relative to the Qur'ān and a fourth when compared to the *muṣḥaf*s of the Companions (see CODICES OF THE QUR'ĀN).

Legal rulings and the ʿUthmānic muṣḥaf

Islamic law (see LAW AND THE QUR'ĀN) is understood to have been derived primarily from two sources, the Qur'ān and the sunna (q.v.), the latter originally defined as reports on the words and actions of previous generations of Muslims but, as these reports showed wide differences by the late second century, redefined as reports on the words and actions of the Prophet specifically. These reports reach us through the Companions of the Prophet and their successors.

On certain topics the law exhibits rulings that are not mentioned in the ʿUthmānic *muṣḥaf* and are thought to derive from the sunna. Other rulings of the law clash with rulings mentioned in the *muṣḥaf*. Some scholars traced these discrepancies to the sunna as well, while others — impressed by their adoption in the law and by their certainty that the Prophet had constantly been directed by divine inspiration (see REVELATION AND INSPIRATION; PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD) — postulated texts (or pericopes) allegedly once revealed in the Qur'ān although omitted from all *muṣḥaf*s.

One finds, for instance, almost unanimous legal agreement in the early texts that for certain cases of adultery (see ADULTERY AND FORNICATION; CHASTISEMENT AND PUNISHMENT; FLOGGING) the penalty is death by stoning (q.v.), a ruling that cannot be reconciled with the penalty prescribed in Q 24:2, "Adulterers, male and female, flog each of them one hundred strokes." The law's stoning penalty had been rejected by some precisely because it was absent from the *muṣḥaf* (Mālik [d. 179/796], *Muwaṭṭaʾ, K. al-Ḥudūd*). But the majority accepted the penalty since it was present in the inherited law and argued that it demonstrated the repeal of the *muṣḥaf* penalty by the sunna penalty. Others, supposing that the words and actions of a human, however elevated, could never supersede the words of the divine lawgiver (see INIMITABILITY), were driven to argue that stoning "must" have originated in a further qur'ānic revelation, a stoning-verse that had simply been omitted from the *muṣḥaf* (Mālik, *Muwaṭṭaʾ, K. al-Ḥudūd*). Thus knowledge of the law indicated that the omission of a confirmatory text from the *muṣḥaf* carried no negative implication for the continuing validity of a revealed ruling. The inherited law also indicated that inclusion of a text in the *muṣḥaf* carried no positive implication for the continuing validity of a revealed ruling. As an example, Q 2:240 seemed to establish a period of twelve months during which a widow (q.v.), since she might not legally contract a fresh marriage, was entitled to accommodation

and maintenance (see MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE). Q 2:234, it was argued, appears to reduce the period to four months and ten nights, the ruling adopted in the law. It was concluded that verse 234 had been revealed to repeal verse 240 although the wording of both verses survived in the *muṣḥaf* (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* v, 250-62; J. Burton, *Sources,* 56-80). The two cases are said to represent partial omissions from the *muṣḥaf*. One involved the omission of a text but not its ruling; the other showed suppression of a ruling but not its text (see AMBIGUOUS).

Other cases involving omission of both text wording and ruling can with certainty be traced to old exegetical assertions about the implications of verses still present in the *muṣḥaf*. Q 87:6-7, for instance, "We shall instruct you to recite it and you will not forget — except what God wills," was held by commentators to mean, "except what God wills you, Muḥammad, to forget" (J. Burton, Interpretation; see ABROGATION). Ubayy b. Kaʿb (d. 21/642) reports that Q 33 used to equal Q 2 in length "and we used to recite the stoning verse in Q 33." Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī (d. ca. 42/662) reported that Q 33 was once as long as Q 9 "but I have been caused to forget it — except one verse." Ḥudhayfa declared, "You do not recite today a quarter of Q 9" while ʿĀ'isha bint Abī Bakr (q.v.) stated that Q 33 had once consisted of two hundred verses (Burton, *Collection,* 80-2; Suyūṭī, *Itqān,* ii, 26f.). The *muṣḥaf*'s Q 33 consists of seventy-three verses. Such reports had convinced many that words and rulings together had been forgotten. The two kinds of omission, total and partial, are said to be the intended reference of the mention in Q 2:106 of the *āya* which was "abrogated" or "caused to be forgotten" *(mā nansakh min āya aw nunsihā)* and then replaced with a better or a similar one.

The muṣḥaf*s of the Companions*

Following the Prophet's death, many of his Companions had dispersed to participate in the administration and islamization of newly conquered lands outside Arabia. Syrians and Iraqis, like the Arabians at Mecca and Medina, claimed to have acquired and preserved their stock of sunna and Qur'ān lore from these Companions. The surviving literature shows the use made of their names in disputes arising between regional coteries of scholars. The following will illustrate this trend: ʿUrwa was perplexed by the status of the *saʿy* or "running" between Ṣafā (q.v.) and Marwa (q.v.). Q 2:158, "There is no harm for him *(lā junāḥ ʿalayhi)* in moving about between the two of them" appears to suggest that it is optional — one Iraqi view — whereas the Medinan law assumes that it is a rite indispensable to the validity of the pilgrimage (q.v.). ʿUrwa consulted his aunt ʿĀ'isha, a widow of the Prophet, who replied that his view would call for a different reading, i.e. "There is no harm in not performing it." She explained that the obligatory status of this ritual derived not from the Qur'ān but from the sunna, which had cleared up the ambiguity of the text. The Medinese and other Iraqis agreed that the *saʿy* ritual was obligatory. One early Iraqi exegete reports an anonymous variant identical to ʿĀ'isha's hypothetical variant. Although convinced that the ritual is obligatory, he did not on that account reject the reading (see READINGS OF THE QUR'ĀN). Comparing it with further qur'ānic usage, he neutralizes it. The variant incorporates a double negative and so just as Q 7:12 "What prevented you that you did not prostrate?" means "What prevented you from doing it?" Q 2:158 means "There is no harm in performing it." He can now accept the variant without having to accept the ruling it implies since the variant means the same as the *muṣḥaf* reading (Farrā', *Maʿānī,* i, 95;

Burton, *Collection,* 12, 30-1). A century later, reporting that certain Companions and their successors had held this ritual to be optional, al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923) states that their view was explicitly grounded in the *muṣḥaf*s of Ibn Masʿūd (d. ca. 33/653) and Ibn ʿAbbās (d. ca. 67-8/686-8; Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* iii, 241-2). That discrete variants had logically evolved into discrete *muṣḥaf*s was already a given for the earlier exegete mentioned above although, in this present instance, the variant he treated was still unattributed. One of two contending opinions had claimed support in Q 2:158. Its contrary, countering that such an understanding would necessitate a different text, had sought its evidence in the sunna. An understanding of this ritual as optional requires notional improvement of the text in the form of an interpolation. The interpolation is supplied, first as an anonymous reading, but one that can be linguistically neutralized. Persisting in its claim of qurʾānic support, the optional interpretation next acquires specific attribution to named Companion texts. The obligatory nature of the ritual finally claims support in the ʿUthmānic *muṣḥaf* as allegedly interpreted by the Prophet. The interpolation proved neither necessary nor effective.

Another example involves competing interpretations of a mandated expiation (see ATONEMENT). Ḥumayd and Mujāhid were circling the Kaʿba (q.v.) when a man approached and asked Mujāhid whether the days of fast in expiation of the breach of an oath (see OATHS) had to be consecutive (see FASTING). Ḥumayd said the matter was optional but Mujāhid disagreed. The fast must be consecutive since in the reading of Ubayy, "a fast of three consecutive days" was the wording that actually appeared. Non-committal as to the preferred reading, Mālik b. Anas (d. 179/796) expresses his own preference that all fasts imposed in the Qurʾān should be consecutive *(Muwaṭṭaʿ, Ṣiyām, al-nadhr fī l-ṣiyām).* Al-Ghazālī's (d. 505/1111) much later view was that this fast need not be consecutive even if Ibn Masʿūd did read Q 5:89 as "three consecutive days" rather than the ʿUthmānic *muṣḥaf*'s reading of "three days." According to al-Ghazālī, since Ibn Masʿūd's interpolation was not universally acknowledged, it is not part of the Qurʾān. Possibly Ibn Masʿūd mentioned this restriction as his considered interpretation or he may have imported the wording from Q 58:4, where "consecutive" does occur, albeit in another context. Abū Ḥanīfa (d. 150/767), who conceded that the wording is not qurʾānic, had accepted Ibn Masʿūd's view — but as a ḥadīth. The practice, however, should be understood as based solely on what is reported from the Prophet (al-Ghazālī, *Mustaṣfā,* i, 102; Burton, *Collection,* 35, 128).

A Ḥanafī scholar argued that the principle of the omission of a qurʾānic wording with no negative implication for the continuing validity of its ruling is shown "by our doctrine that the fast in expiation of the breach of the oath must be consecutive on account of ʿAbdallāh's [i.e. Ibn Masʿūd] reading 'three consecutive days.'" That reading was still current in Abū Ḥanīfa's day but had not achieved the universal acknowledgment requisite to establish it as the definitive text of the Qurʾān. As nobody questions the integrity and trustworthiness of Ibn Masʿūd as transmitter, the early authorities had no alternative other than to presume that his reading had been the original text as preserved by him although omitted during the Prophet's lifetime by God's causing it to be forgotten — except by ʿAbdallāh b. Masʿūd whose reading was to be the means of preserving the ruling. Since the status of his ḥadīths is that they must be acted upon, his Qurʾān reading could not be held inferior to his ḥadīths as source (al-Sarakhsī, *Uṣūl,* ii, 81). Examples like these demonstrate that the

Companions were repositories of two classes of ḥadīths: Companion-sunna-ḥadīths and Companion-Qur'ān-ḥadīths (see ḤADĪTH AND THE QUR'ĀN).

The collection of the muṣḥaf

Reports on the collection of the *muṣḥaf* reveal disparities as to its completeness or incompleteness, evincing pressure from some intepretations of Q 87 and from the condition of the law. To provide a summarized version of these reports: Muḥammad's death had been followed by the outbreak of civil wars, and al-Zuhrī (d. 124/741) reports that men who had memorized many Qur'ān passages fell in the fighting. Those passages had neither been written down nor had the Prophet's successors as yet collected the texts. Consequently, those passages had been lost. That impelled the Muslims to pursue the collection of the Qur'ān which, in the reign of Abū Bakr (r. 11-3/632-4), they assembled on sheets. They were motivated by fear that others who bore much of the Qur'ān in memory would perish and would take their memorized portions to their graves. Zayd b. Thābit (q.v.; d. ca. 34-5/655) states that he was reluctant to attempt what the Prophet had never undertaken but that he had agreed to do so at the urgent requests of Abū Bakr (q.v.) and ʿUmar (q.v.) who feared that much of the qur'ānic texts would perish. Little more than a year after the Prophet's death, Zayd collected the texts from the people's memories and their written memoranda. He found the final verse of Q 9 with Abū Khuzayma, having found it with no one else (Ibn Ḥajar, *Fatḥ,* ix, 9-12; Burton, *Collection,* 119, 128). It is also reported that Zayd and others collected the Qur'ān from the personal copy of Ubayy who dictated as they wrote (Jeffery, *Materials,* 9; Burton, *Collection,* 124). When they thought that they had completed the text of Q 9, Ubayy read to them two further verses which they recorded. Anas b. Mālik (d. ca. 91-93/709-711) claims to have been among those who dictated as this written record was being made (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* i, 62). At a later date, when Zayd was editing the texts for ʿUthmān, he recovered from Khuzayma b. Thābit a verse missing from Q 33 (Jeffery, *Materials,* 18-9; Burton, *Collection,* 142). Others report that Khuzayma himself, noting the omission of the Q 9 verse, brought it to ʿUthmān, who accepted it (Jeffery, *Materials,* 11).

Additional reports provide amplification or variant scenarios. Adjudicating a legal case, ʿUmar inquired about the relevant verse. Informed that it had been known by a man who had fallen in battle, ʿUmar commanded that the Qur'ān be collected (Jeffery, *Materials,* 10; Burton, *Collection,* 120). On this occasion, al-Ḥārith b. Khuzayma brought the Q 9 verse to ʿUmar. Further, ʿUmar is said, before the Prophet's death, to have requested permission to record the stoning verse, but the request had been denied (Burton, *Collection,* 82; Suyūṭī, *Itqān,* ii, 26-7). ʿAlī said that the stoning verse had been revealed but that those who had memorized it and other revelations had perished in battle (Burton, *Collection,* 121). Questioned about his non-appearance at the inauguration of the Prophet's first successor, ʿAlī explained that he had solemnly sworn not to appear in public following the Prophet's death until he had first collected the Qur'ān. Having now done so, he was free to take the oath of allegiance to Abū Bakr (Jeffery, *Materials,* 10; Ibn Ḥajar, *Fatḥ,* ix, 9; Burton, *Collection,* 122).

In these and many similar reports, Western scholarship has traditionally detected competitive claims to primacy in the Qur'ān's collection on behalf of each of the Prophet's four immediate successors and sought to determine which was the one "true" version. It is, however, clear from

the literature that this is not the usual Muslim duplication of attribution but an attempt to account for more than one aspect of the qur'ānic texts by assuming more than one phase in their collection. Abū Bakr assembled the text for fear of further loss as a result of the deaths of those who had memorized it (Jeffery, *Materials,* 23). The scrupulous care with which Zayd proceeded, taking account both of people's memories and of written records, is calculated to provide reassurance that nothing of what he could yet collect had been overlooked. The early date of the first collection initiative aims to provide similar reassurance. That is balanced by mention of loss through death but even more importantly by the placing of the first collection after the death of the Prophet. Some Muslim scholars suggested a cause for the Prophet's non-participation in the collection but none has explicitly questioned his exclusion.

The ʿUthmānic muṣḥaf

As the traditional reports proceed, they provide further elaboration: Scandalized by the beadle's separating those in the mosque who followed the Ibn Masʿūd *muṣḥaf* from those who adhered to that of Abū Mūsā, Ḥudhayfa counseled the ruler to take immediate action (Jeffery, *Materials,* 11; Burton, *Collection,* 142). ʿUthmān (r. 23-35/644-56) himself had been outraged by quarrels that broke out at Medina. He advised the other Companions that he proposed to unite the people on the basis of a single text. "Companions of Muḥammad! Act in unison to write out a definitive text for the Muslims that will unite them" (Jeffery, *Materials,* 21; Burton, *Collection,* 143). "Abū Bakr was the first to collect the Qur'ān into folios on the deaths of those slain in battle; ʿUthmān collated and published the folios to produce a single reading, he then commanded the destruction of all other texts" (Jeffery, *Materials,* 18-9; Burton, *Collection,* 141).

Inasmuch as reports about ʿUthmān's initiative are hostile to the Companion-*muṣḥaf*s, efforts were made to defend their legitimacy. A man complained to the Prophet, "Ibn Masʿūd taught me a Qur'ān passage; Zayd taught me the same passage and so also did Ubayy. The readings of all three are different, so whose reading ought I to adopt?" (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* i, 24). The request received several replies in different versions of the report. "Recite as you were taught"; "their readings are all equally valid" (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* i, 26, 30, 32); "only public contention over the Qur'ān amounts to apostasy (q.v.)" (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* i, 44, 63; see RECITATION OF THE QUR'ĀN; RECITERS OF THE QUR'ĀN).

Arbitrating similar quarrels between ʿUmar and a fellow Meccan or between Ubayy and a fellow Muslim, the Prophet announced, "Each of your readings is correct. The Qur'ān was revealed in seven forms, so recite whichever is easiest"(Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* i, 24-5 [ʿUmar]; 32 [Ubayy]). Attempts to explain reading differences as being caused by their different local dialects (q.v.) foundered on the observation that ʿUmar's quarrel had been with a Meccan. Perhaps each had used different words. Reciting Q 73:6, *hiya ashaddu waṭ'an wa-aṣwabu qīlan,* Anas b. Mālik was corrected, "It is *aqwamu qīlan*." He replied, "*Aqwamu, aṣwabu, ahya'u* — they all mean the same thing" (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* i, 52). Even the synonym explanation had to be abandoned on the mature view that at no stage had the transmission of the Qur'ān according to the meaning only ever been countenanced. When the doctrine of the uniqueness *(iʿjāz)* of the Qur'ān was being interpreted in the sense that the text was inimitable in the strict literary sense (see INIMITABILITY), it had to be agreed that the transmission of the early authorities had been rigorously

verbatim. With the abandonment of the dialect and synonym explanations, a reserve rationalization was proffered. According to this interpretation, ʿUmar, an early convert, would have memorized the Qurʾān at an early date. His compatriot, Hishām, had converted only after the conquest of Mecca and had probably memorized later additions to the text which, at the time of their quarrel, ʿUmar had not yet heard (Ibn Ḥajar, *Fatḥ,* ix, 21).

The isnād *of the* muṣḥaf

ʿUthmān is said to have dispatched copies of his *muṣḥaf* to the metropolitan centers with the command that all other texts be shredded or burned. "When the copy arrived at Baṣra, Abū Mūsā declared that everything in ʿUthmān's text and lacking in his own should be added. Anything in his own but lacking in ʿUthmān's text should not be omitted. Ḥudhayfa exclaimed, 'What is the point of all our work? Nobody in this province will abandon ʿAbdallāh's [i.e. Ibn Masʿūd] reading, and nobody of Yemeni origin will abandon Abū Mūsā's'" (Jeffery, *Materials,* 35). ʿAbdallāh b. Masʿūd is projected as protesting, "How can I be ordered to conform to the reading of Zayd, when I recited seventy sūras from the very lips of the Prophet? Am I to be excluded from the collection and the task given to a man who was still an infidel in his father's loins when I first became a Muslim?" (Jeffery, *Materials,* 15, 17). Proponents of the Ibn Masʿūd *muṣḥaf* recruited the Prophet's authority in its defense. "Whoever wishes to recite the Qurʾān in its purest form, as it was revealed, should adopt the reading of ʿAbdallāh" (Ṭayālisī, *Musnad,* ii, 150-1). When ʿUthmān's order for the destruction of their copies reached Iraq, ʿAbdallāh b. Masʿūd is portrayed as advising his followers to conceal their *muṣḥaf* to preserve it from destruction (Ṭayālisī, *Musnad,* ii, 150-1; Jeffery, *Materials,* 15; Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* i, 28). Reading differences had thus allegedly evaded the supposed ʿUthmānic initiative to unite the Muslims on the basis of a single text.

The readings attributed to Companions are of two kinds: attempted interpolations into a universally acknowledged text or variations on the consonantal or vocalic values that may be assigned to the script used to record the *muṣḥaf,* a script which originally lacked both diacritics and short vowel markers (see ARABIC SCRIPT). The use of a denuded script has even been explained as a deliberate device to accommodate the "seven readings" which the Prophet was said to have sanctioned. A reading of the final verse which Zayd, or ʿUmar, or ʿUthmān had recovered, "There has now come to you a prophet from your own number *(anfusikum)*" was ascribed to ʿĀ'isha and Fāṭima (q.v.), respectively the Prophet's widow and daughter, and even to the Prophet himself, as *anfasikum,* "from the most noble among you" (Zamakhsharī, *Kashshāf,* ad Q 9:128).

At the time when irreconcilable doctrines were being attributed to the different past "authorities," to whom appeal was made in support of competing regional or school attitudes, the sunna showed bewildering contradictions and confusions. To control a growing accumulation of disparate source materials, scholars began to insist on the naming of those in each generation who transmitted relevant statements from their putative authors among the Companions. The lists could be compared and judgments made as to degrees of accurate memorization, *ḥifẓ,* and trustworthy transmission, *thiqa*. Al-Shāfiʿī (d. 204/820) sought to impose the solution of discounting all Companion information when reports from the Prophet himself were available. Reports from the Prophet continued to conflict, so al-Shāfiʿī insisted on closer scrutiny of the lists of transmitters

(sing. *isnād*), applying the principle of abrogation. It is possible to date a shift in preference for reports from older to younger Companions. Invariably, where reports clash, the later are to be accepted. The application of this rule can already be seen in reference to the reported quarrel between ʿUmar and Hishām discussed above. In this light, the participation of Zayd in every phase of Qurʾān compilation becomes clearer. Addressing Zayd, Abū Bakr declared, "You are young, intelligent and we know nothing to your discredit. You served the Prophet by recording his revelations in writing, so now pursue the Qurʾān and bring it all together." Here, the moral uprightness *(ʿadāla)* of Zayd is assured, and the projection or "raising" *(rafʿ)* of the *isnād* of his *muṣḥaf* to the Prophet is established as against that of the older Companions. The ʿUthmān-Zayd label identifies the last historical link between the time of the Medinan caliphate (see CALIPH) and that of the Prophet. It was thus designed to supersede all other Qurʾān traditions.

As to the abrogation principle, two features can be observed when it is applied to the Qurʾān: alleged omissions from the Qurʾān and alleged omissions from the ʿUthmānic text. The latter are the Companions' "variants," actually attempted interpolations. Yet despite the near unanimity on the stoning penalty, for example, it is strikingly noteworthy that the wording of the stoning verse has never been attributed to any Companion-*muṣḥaf*. Thus it can be argued that it represents attempted interpolation into an ideal text.

In another example, Q 2:184 permits the sick and those who are travelling to breach the Ramaḍān (q.v.) fast on condition that, when they can, they will fast the precise number of days they had not fasted. The manner of this compensatory fast became the subject of dispute. ʿĀʾisha reports that the verse "was originally revealed: 'a number of alternative consecutive days.' Subsequently, the word 'consecutive' was dropped." One commentator explains "was dropped" to mean that the word was withdrawn by the divine author (Suyūṭī, *Durr*, i, 192). Elsewhere al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505) explains that "Abū Bakr's aim was seen to have been to collect the Qurʾān 'between two covers'; ʿUthmān's had been to collect those readings attested as coming from the Prophet and to reject all non-canonical readings. He sought to unite the Muslims on the basis of a single text containing no interpolations which still appeared in written documents alongside verses whose inclusion in the final version of the text had been endorsed" (Suyūṭī, *Itqān*, i, 60-1).

The extent of the Companion muṣḥafs

When isolated readings from Companions or their successors were discussed, the majority of scholars tended to mention them as curiosities and, apart from those who were dependent on them for their evidence, to view them as variants or as explanatory additions, hence as secondary to a generally recognized text. They were only prepared to acknowledge readings that conformed with the consonantal matrix of ʿUthmān's *muṣḥaf*, conformed with the rules of Arabic grammar (see GRAMMAR AND THE QUR'ĀN) and were equipped with a sound *isnād*. Consonantal or vocalic readings can be indicated by symbols external to the core script, which thus remains unaltered. Given this limitation, these tolerated variants amounted to no more than the interpretation of a shared common text. Only in very rare cases was there potential for serious division of opinion. Such an instance occurred in the reading of Q 5:6, where the absence of short vowel markers raised the difficulty of deciding whether, in the ritual purification required for prayer

(q.v.), the feet should be washed like the face and hands or merely wiped like the head (see RITUAL PURITY; CLEANLINESS AND ABLUTION).

When, to reinforce appeal to Companion readings, Companion *muṣḥaf*s began to be mentioned, they had to be differentiated from the ʿUthmānic *muṣḥaf*. The order of the sūras in Ibn Masʿūd's or Ubayy's *muṣḥaf* had, it was alleged, differed from that of the ʿUthmānic text (see SŪRA). Any sūra lists produced for these codices merely had to vary from the ʿUthmānic sequence. Adoption of the present order could have occurred, it was thought, when ʿUthmān arranged the sheets of Abū Bakr. Further reports state that annually during the Prophet's later years, in Ramaḍān, Gabriel (q.v.) reviewed the year's revelations. It was presumed that he would have fixed at least the order of the verses within their sūras. There has, in any event, been no recorded dispute over the internal arrangement of the individual sūras. Perhaps the order of the sūras themselves had also been fixed at the same time. The precise order of the sūras is, however, of no practical relevance. All classical Muslim scholars are agreed that the present order of the *muṣḥaf* bears no relation to the order in which the sūras were revealed. A chronological ordering of the revelations would have been of practical utility only in discussions on abrogation, the earlier being thereby more easily distinguished from the later revelation. Although ʿAlī is reputed to have collected his Qurʾān materials in chronological order and to have included notes on abrogation, no copy of his *muṣḥaf* has ever been located (Suyuṭī, *Itqān,* i, 58). A fourth/tenth century bibliographer claimed to have handled a number of *muṣḥaf*s, all of which were attributed to Ibn Masʿūd, but no two of them agreed in respect of sūra order (Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist,* 46, on the arrangement of the Qurʾān in the *muṣḥaf* of ʿAbdallāh b. Masʿūd).

Both the ʿAbdallāh b. Masʿūd and the Ubayy *muṣḥaf*s were said to have varied from the ʿUthmānic *muṣḥaf* in length. Numerous reports relate ʿAbdallāh b. Masʿud's erasure of the first and the last two sūras on the grounds that "they were not part of the book of God." There was considerable speculation as to the implications of this procedure. In the end, it was concluded that, having seen the Prophet frequently employ the three short passages as charms (see AMULETS), ʿAbdallāh had supposed that they must be special prayers, as opposed to revealed passages. Others dismissed the reports outright as a pack of lies fathered upon a leading Companion of the Prophet who could not conceivably have entertained doubts about the revelation. ʿAbdallāh himself had characterized denial of any part of the Qurʾān as apostasy (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* i, 38). Eventually it was settled that, because one may not simply dismiss reports of sound *isnād,* ʿAbdallāh had at first doubted whether the Companions were justified in their determination to include these passages and was only slowly won round to their view. It had to be presumed that by "book of God," ʿAbdallāh had meant only the *muṣḥaf* and not the Qurʾān. Further, he may have considered that the purpose of the collection was to obviate possible forgetting, loss or addition, dangers which would not arise with regard to the three sections. They were all extremely brief and one was repeated five times daily in the ritual prayers (Suyūṭī, *Itqān,* i, 79; Burton, *Collection,* 221-4; see PRAYER FORMULAS). Ubayy's *muṣḥaf* was said to have contained two sections absent from the ʿUthmānic *muṣḥaf*. It was similarly supposed that, having noted the frequency with which the Prophet had recited them in the ritual prayers, Ubayy had erroneously imagined that the formulae must have been part of the divine

revelation since they were uttered in the ritual. Misapprehension had thus led him into admitting the two passages into his recension of the Qur'ān (Burton, *Collection,* 221).

The final review of the text

There are numerous reports that record what were understood to be the last stage of the Qur'ān's collection. The Prophet's daughter is reported as saying that her father told her that Gabriel, who checked the revelations with him once a year, had just checked them twice, from which Muḥammad inferred that his death must be imminent. According to another account when Ibn ʿAbbās asked, "Which of the two texts do you consider the later?" they said the Zayd text. "No," he replied, "the Prophet reviewed the texts annually with Gabriel, twice in his final year. The reading of Ibn Masʿūd is that of the later of the two final reviews" (Ibn Ḥajar, *Fatḥ,* ix, 35-6).

When a man referred to "the former reading," Ibn ʿAbbās asked what he meant. He said "When ʿUmar sent ʿAbdallāh [b. Masʿūd] to Kufa, the people there adopted his reading. Then when ʿUthmān changed the texts, they referred to the ʿAbdallāh reading as 'the former text.'" "But it is the later," insisted Ibn ʿAbbās, "based on the final review. Ibn Masʿūd attended the final review and learned what had been withdrawn and what had been altered" (Ibn Ḥajar, *Fatḥ,* ix, 35-6).

Two sets of ḥadiths involving ʿAbdallāh b. Masʿūd and Zayd concern the *isnād* of the texts. One stressed the early date of ʿAbdallāh's acceptance of Islam and claimed that his *muṣḥaf* had considerably predated that of Zayd. The second now seeks to claim that ʿAbdallāh's represents the most recent text. Appropriating this second ḥadīth motif, the proponents of the Zayd-ʿUthmān *muṣḥaf* insist that Zayd attended the final review, learning what had been withdrawn and what remained: "Zayd attended the final review in which he learned what had been removed and what remained. He wrote out this final review text and read it over to the Prophet for him to check once more. Thereafter Zayd taught that text to the Muslims. That explains why Abū Bakr and ʿUmar relied on Zayd to collect the texts and why ʿUthmān entrusted him with production of the copies" (Suyūṭī, *Itqān,* i, 51).

The ʿUthmān collection tradition was not opposed to the Abū Bakr-ʿUmar initiative. It was opposed to the "variant reading" and "variant *muṣḥaf*" tradition (Dānī, *Muqniʿ,* 7; Burton, *Collection,* 146). As noted earlier, the consolidation of the sunna involved the transition from the ḥadīths reported from the Companions to those reported from the Prophet and, as transmitters from the Prophet, younger Companions came to be preferred to older Companions in order to ensure reports from the Prophet's late period. *Muṣḥaf*s reported from the Companions, however, failed to complete the transition since no *muṣḥaf* has ever been attributed to the Prophet. The reason is clear and simple. No revealed verse still legally valid when the Prophet died could have been omitted from the *muṣḥaf* if the Prophet had been credited with its collection. To accommodate the concept of abrogation, the collection had logically to be consciously and deliberately placed in the period following the Prophet's death, a motif the scholars were keen to emphasize by repeating it in the collection ḥadīths. They knew why and they explained why: "It is probable that the Prophet did not himself collect the Qur'ān into a single volume, since he expected abrogation to affect either some of its legal provisions or certain of the wordings. Once revelation ceased absolutely on the Prophet's death, God inspired his Companions to the task of collecting the texts,

in fulfillment of the divine promise (Q 15:9) to preserve them" (Ibn Ḥajar, *Fatḥ,* ix, 9).

Western scholarship has in the past century contributed considerably to the knowledge of the Qurʾān sciences (see EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL; TRADITIONAL DISCIPLINES OF QURʾĀNIC STUDY) by discovering and publishing many works on the various aspects of the qurʾānic texts with particular emphasis on the structure of the composition, the periodization of the content and close examination of accumulated variants. Interest has focused principally on the Qurʾān as a literary monument and the labors of many outstanding experts might have resulted in a scholarly edition of the entire text. Such a project was, indeed, planned in the earlier years of the century by G. Bergsträsser, A. Jeffery and others but was frustrated by the outbreak of the second world war. It had probably, in any case, been rendered unnecessary by the excellent Royal Egyptian version of 1342/1923-4. It should also be remembered that to Muslims, the Qurʾān is both unparalleled literary document and legal source and it is this combined quality that has determined their view of its history. See also TEXTUAL HISTORY OF THE QURʾĀN; CHRONOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN.

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Colors

The distinguishing hues and shades reflecting or emanating from a light source. The Qurʾān speaks of color generically as an attribute of God's creation: The fact of the existence of diverse hues, *alwān,* is mentioned nine times (twice in Q 2:69 and 35:27; also in Q 16:13, 69; 30:22; 35:28; and 39:21), most often connected to evidence for God's handiwork in creation (q.v.). As might be expected, then, a majority of the mentions of individual colors are connected to this same motif.

Before discussing the qurʾānic material, however, it is necessary to understand what is meant by color terminology. Linguists have established sets of criteria by which words for basic colors may be identified. The work of B. Berlin and P. Kay, *Basic color terms. Their universality and evolution* (Berkeley 1969) is the standard work in the field and the authors provide four such criteria for a word to be considered a "color term" (p. 6): (a) it is monolexemic (i.e. not predictable from the meaning of its parts); (b) its significance is not included in that of any other color term; (c) its application is not restricted to a limited class of objects; and (d) it is psychologically salient for informants, i.e. it appears at the beginning of elicited lists of color words, is stable across informants and is used in ideolects of all informants. Berlin and Kay have also made a significant contribution to the study of the historical development of

color terms, but the limited corpus of early Arabic means that making suggestions about the emergence of color terms in that language is unlikely to be very profitable.

Using these criteria for the assessment of color terminology, then, certain words may be isolated in the Qurʾān as representing colors. White *(abyaḍ),* black *(aswad),* yellow *(aṣfar),* red *(aḥmar)* and green *(akhḍar)* are all prominent; a number of other terms may also be suggested as conveying color perception, frequently with an ambiguous relationship to these primary terms.

Red *(aḥmar)* is used only once (in the plural form *ḥumr*) in the Qurʾān, in Q 35:27-8, a passage which speaks of the multicolored nature of God's creation and which conveys the significance of most color references in the Qurʾān by indicating that they are a part of the way of appreciating God's creative work in the world (see NATURAL WORLD AND THE QURʾĀN): "Have you not seen how God sends down water (q.v.) from heaven, and therewith we bring forth fruits of diverse hues *(alwān)?* And in the mountains are streaks white and red, of diverse hues *(alwān),* and pitchy black; men too, and beasts and cattle — diverse are their hues." Another word for red (or crimson) is used in Q 55:37, in which the day of judgment (see LAST JUDGMENT; APOCALYPSE) is described: "And when heaven is split asunder, and turns crimson like [red] hide *(warda ka-l-dihān)*." The phrase *warda ka-l-dihān* apparently has an exact sense which, in this occurrence, is nonetheless unclear. *Dihān* is used only once (cf. Q 23:20 with its use of *duhn* in reference to the anointing oil flowing from a tree on Mount Sinai; see ANOINTING; SINAI) and some translations of the word suggest "ointment" or "grease" although the lexicographers certainly favor a meaning of "a red hide" (see Lane, ad loc.). *Warda,* likewise, is only used once in what appears to be a color reference (cf. *warīd* in Q 50:16 meaning "jugular vein"; see ARTERY AND VEIN) and the sense seems to flow from the context of a brilliant sky as being colored red, rosy or crimson. While the word red is commonly employed as a powerful image associated with blood and life (see BLOOD AND BLOOD CLOT; BIOLOGY AS THE CREATION AND STAGES OF LIFE), the Qurʾān does not follow that direction in its color language. Qurʾānic usage does, however, express the prominence or "strikingness" of this color.

Green is mentioned six times as an adjective (*khuḍr, akhḍar,* Q 12:43, 46; 18:31; 36:80; 55:76; 76:21) and once as a participle (Q 22:63), "to become green." The usage of *khaḍir* in Q 6:99 is a related nominal usage referring to a "green leaf" but is not, strictly speaking, a color word. Green conveys a sense of freshness and luxuriousness in the Qurʾān. It is likely that the connotation of vegetation (see AGRICULTURE AND VEGETATION) explicit in the reference to "green ears of corn" in Q 12:43 and 12:46, is the foundation for the associative senses of the color green, as in the green garments of silk (q.v.; Q 18:31; 76:21. Note may also be made of the connected uses of gold [q.v.] and silver here; see also CLOTHING) and of green cushions (Q 55:76) pictured within the comforts and lushness of the hereafter (see HEAVEN). The participial usage of *mukhḍarra* in Q 22:63 echoes the more general color connotation of the glories of God's creation manifested in the colors which result, in this instance, from rainfall. The word *mudhāmm* is commonly translated as green pastures but has more the sense of dark, tending towards black (which is the common meaning of the adjective *adham*). Its use in Q 55:64 in reference to the "two gardens" tends to demand a translation that stresses green; the lexicographers try to explain this as a shade of green so intense that it "appears black when viewed from a distance" (Lane, ad loc; see GARDEN).

The color yellow or golden, *aṣfar,* is used five times including three times in verbal form. The "golden cow" (see CALF OF GOLD) of the Moses (q.v.) story in Q 2:69 is understood as intense, bright or pure, *fāqiʿ,* a word associated with both yellow and white. In Q 77:33, the association of yellow is with hell fire (see HELL) in which sparks are spoken of "as if they were yellow camels." While it might be possible to suggest that there is an association of the quality of animals with brilliant yellowness, clearly the biblical story of the golden calf could very well have suggested the image as it is found in the Qurʾān. The three participial uses refer to a "yellow wind," perhaps of a sand storm (Q 30:51) and to the withering of vegetation after the rain has turned it green and it has grown (Q 39:21; 57:20). Reference to color is thus again evidence of God's work although notably in this instance not simply of a generative kind, but of involvement with the entire life cycle.

Absent in this list of colors thus far are brown and blue. The use of *zurq* (plural form of *azraq,* the common adjective for blue) in Q 20:102 denotes eyes (q.v.) specifically and cannot be considered truly a color word: "The day when the trumpet shall be sounded, at that time we will gather the sinful blue-eyed *(zurqan)*."

The fact that the adjective *azraq* is commonly associated with eyes (q.v.) that are blind and, as a color, is often seen to tend towards gray, makes it likely that the expression of the perception of the blue spectrum in Arabic is more closely aligned to that of green, as is common in many languages, despite the sense that blue is "one of the essential colors of nature" (A. Morabia, Lawn). There may also be a connection with the medical ailment of cataracts, which turns the eye blue or even grey or green. In contemporary Arabic dialects cataracts are called blue water *(al-māʾ* or *al-miya al-zarqa)*. It is here that some of the dimensions of the cultural values which colors can convey may be perceived. The glorification of blue skies is perhaps something meaningful only to those who live in climates in which precipitation is an expected element in life (see WEATHER). It is more likely that the appearance of storm clouds is to be greeted with pleasure in areas where rain is not a predictable phenomenon. Thus the symbolic usages of the word — the praising of blue skies, blue waters, blue eyes — are more limited and, in fact, when used, tend towards the negative as indicated by the association of blue eyes with evil in Q 20:102. But even there, it should be noted that explicit development of the negative connotations of blue (the use of blue to ward off the evil eye, for example) is absent from the Qurʾān. According to A. Morabia, the color blue was so "magical, inauspicious and disturbing" that "the Arabs took pains to avoid mentioning this color" (Lawn). The overlap between brown and yellow and red makes the absence of the color brown from the Qurʾān perhaps less remarkable than the absence of blue.

White and black, often contrasted, constitute a substantial portion of the color references in the Qurʾān, as might be expected. *Abyaḍ,* "white," (including its feminine and plural forms) occurs eight times (the root is also used for eggs in Q 37:49) plus three times in a verbal conjugation. In Q 35:27, white is a color of creation, put alongside red, black and "many colors" as a description of colors in mountains, as mentioned above. Similar perhaps is Q 37:46 as a description of water in paradise (q.v.) but this may also be understood as the use of white as a symbol of purity, a notion conveyed in the contrast with black in Q 3:106 and 3:107 where the pure believers "glow in white" and the unbelievers "glow in black" (see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF; FAITH). Another sense here might be that to

"glow in white" is to be filled with joy while "black" represents sadness (Mir, *Verbal,* 63-4). Likewise, Moses' hand being miraculously white when he withdraws it from his garments as an evidence to Pharaoh (q.v.) also conveys a sense of purity. Numerically, this is the most significant use of white, being mentioned in Q 7:108, 20:22, 26:33, 27:12 and 28:32. These passages have another interpretation, however, in precisely the inverse, emphasizing the miraculous element rather than the metaphoric. Developing a Rabbinic interpretation (*Pirke Rabbi Eliezer,* chapter 48, quoted in A. Geiger, *Judaism and Islam,* 125, n. 4), some Muslim commentators (e.g. Ṭarafī, *Qiṣaṣ,* p. 262) are aware of the version of the story in which Moses' hand was "white with leprosy *(baraṣ),*" thus white would mean impure (see PURITY AND IMPURITY). Finally, in a passage which must be understood as idiomatic, Jacob's (q.v.) grief over the loss of Joseph (q.v.) is described in Q 12:84 as causing his eyes (q.v.) to "become white with sorrow" *(ibyaḍḍat ʿaynāhu min al-ḥuzn),* sorrow causing blindness, which itself is characterized as showing the whites of one's eyes (see Mir, *Verbal,* 64).

The contrast between the "white thread (or streak)" and the "black thread" in Q 2:187, as this refers to daybreak and thus to the beginning of a day of fasting (q.v.; see also RAMAḌĀN), has been a locus of exegetical discussion about the meaning of the statement. Generally this contrastive terminology is understood to indicate the difference between dark and light (see DARKNESS) rather than the colors black and white *per se*. Clearly there is a relationship between these two pairs, especially on the metaphorical level in which God is seen as the source of light (q.v.) and of purity.

The color black is denoted primarily by *aswad* and its derivatives although several other terms apparently fall within the chromatic field. Of the seven uses of the root *s-w-d,* four (Q 2:187; twice in 3:106; 35:27) appear alongside white as detailed in the previous paragraph, suggesting not only the color black in nature but also its metaphorical usage as the opposite of white in the latter's sense of purity. The word *muswadd* is used in Q 16:58 and its parallel Q 43:17 to suggest the darkening of the face in the light of bad news as a reflection of grief, echoing the eschatological (see ESCHATOLOGY) usage in Q 39:60, as well as the previously-mentioned Q 3:106 (see Mir, *Verbal,* 177). Other words generally understood as the color black (or at least dark hues) include *aḥwā* in Q 87:5, where the contrast is between lush pasture land (i.e. green) and what becomes dark stubble *(ghuthāʾ aḥwā),* according to God's (i.e. nature's) laws. *Hāmida* in Q 22:5 means lifeless and is ordinarily taken as blackened, as though by fire (q.v.; an image sometimes connected to *aswad* as well, due to hell fire "blackening" the faces of its inhabitants). *Mudhāmm,* used in Q 55:64 in the sense of dark, sometimes seen as dark green (as mentioned in the discussion of "green") tending to black, is found as a description of lushness of the "two gardens." Several other terms related to darkness have a primary sense of cloud covering, shadows and the like and are not truly color terms.

Colors are present in the Qurʾān, therefore, in both descriptive and metaphoric usage. The most pervasive sense of color is detailed in God's creative power, which is witnessed in the presence and the changing of colors in the world. Cultural values, however, are also conveyed in the metaphorical instances, reflecting both common elements of the biblical Near Eastern tradition and the culture of Arabic speakers of the first/seventh century.

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Combat see WAR

Commandments

Moral regulations mandated by divine decree. The Qurʾān does not refer explicitly to the biblical Ten Commandments (see SCRIPTURE AND THE QURʾĀN) or "ten words," and Muslim exegetes have not generally tried to find either the Decalogue itself or a Muslim equivalent in the text. The Qurʾān does speak of tablets *(alwāḥ)* given to Moses (q.v.; Q 7:145f.) but alludes to their content only in general terms: "And we wrote for him on the tablets of everything an admonition *(mawʿiẓa)* and exposition *(tafṣīlān)* for everything." The tradition often seems as interested in what the tablets were made of (emerald with gold writing, according to Masʿūdī, *Murūj,* i, 49; other possibilities include ruby, chrysolite, wood, stone; see Qurṭubī, *Jāmiʿ,* vii, 179) as in what they contained. Otherwise, commentators generally see the tablets of Q 7:145 as containing a law code of sorts ("what [the Israelites, see CHILDREN OF ISRAEL] were commanded to do and forbidden from doing," Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* ix, 57). Some exegetes consider the tablets to have contained both statutory rules (*aḥkām,* see BOUNDARIES AND PRECEPTS) and narrative material intended to induce obedience (q.v.; e.g. Rāzī, *Tafsīr,* xiv, 193). Wahb b. Munabbih (d. 110/728 or 114/732), the Jewish convert and well-known transmitter of "Jewish lore" or *Isrāʾīliyyāt,* is said to have associated the tablets of Q 7:145 with the Ten Commandments and gives — without identifying it as such — a close paraphrase of some of the Decalogue: "[God] wrote: Do not associate with me anything of the heavens and the earth, for all of that is my creation (q.v.; cf. the wording of *Exod* 20:4, on graven images); Do not swear falsely in my name, for I will not cleanse the one who swears falsely (cf. *Exod* 20:7 and *Deut* 5:11, with the Hebrew *lō yənakkeh* [God will not acquit, or purify] semantically equivalent to the Arabic *lā uzakkī,* "I will not cleanse"); and honor your parents" (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* ix, 57f.).

Apart from the tablets of Q 7:145, Moses (q.v.) also receives nine "clear signs" (*āyāt bayyināt,* see SIGNS) at Q 17:101. From the context, this must refer to something other than the Ten Commandments and most commentators have taken it to mean nine miracles performed for the benefit of Pharaoh (q.v.; see also EGYPT) and his people, spoken of elsewhere at Q 27:12. These are traditionally said to have included, among other things, the changing of the rod into a serpent, Moses' white hand and the plagues (q.v.) of locusts, lice, frogs and blood (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* xv, 171; Bayḍāwī, *Anwār,* i, 583; Rāzī, *Tafsīr,* xxi, 54). However, one line of commentary takes these "nine clear signs" to refer to nine specific legal statutes, some of which are familiar from the biblical Decalogue while others are foreign to it: Do not associate anything with God; do not steal; do not kill anyone

(whose blood) God has declared unlawful, except with just cause (see MURDER; BLOODSHED); do not use magic (see MAGIC, PROHIBITION OF); do not take unjust enrichment, i.e. usury (q.v.); do not bring an innocent person before the ruler (see KINGS AND RULERS) so that he may be killed; do not slander a chaste woman (see CHASTITY); do not flee on the day the army marches (see WAR); and — a matter specifically addressed to the Jews (see JEWS AND JUDAISM) — do not transgress the Sabbath (q.v.). Muḥammad's recitation of this list is supposed to have pleased the two Jews who had inquired about the meaning of Q 17:101 (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* xv, 172; Tirmidhī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* v, 286, no. 3144) and there are indications that Muḥammad's words were understood by some to recall the Decalogue. In a late collection of ḥadīths, one commentator remarks that the Prophet answered the question about the nine clear signs by reciting the Ten Commandments (Tabrīzī, *Mishkāt,* i, 62); moreover, the very next tradition in this collection gives ten commands which the Prophet is supposed to have made, some of which link up with the list of commandments Muḥammad recited to the two Jews. Finally, the presence of the Sabbath command in Muḥammad's list is a strong indication that reference to the Decalogue is being made here, as that particular command is frequently omitted in the few Muslim versions of the Ten Commandments we have. (The command has fallen out of Wahb's partial version noted above and it does not appear in Thaʿlabī, *Qiṣaṣ* 180-1; though glossed in a Muslim sense, it is present in Ibn Kathīr's version, *Bidāya,* i, 281. Both al-Thaʿlabī and Ibn Kathīr explicitly identify their text with the "ten words," *al-ʿashar al-kalimāt,* cf. the *ʿaseret haddevārīm* of *Deut* 10:4).

From the exegesis of Q 7:145 and 17:101, it would not seem that early Muslims had a precise notion of the biblical Decalogue or that they tried very hard to discern its presence in the Qurʾān, even if some did make that effort. Elsewhere, the Qurʾān offers a coherent list of precepts and prohibitions which a few Western scholars have taken to be an incomplete version of the Ten Commandments (M. Seale, *Qurʾān,* 74f.; T. Hughes, *Dictionary,* s.v. commandments). The list appears at Q 17:22-39 and an abbreviated version can be found at Q 6:151-3:

Set not up with God another god…
The Lord (q.v.) has decreed that you shall not serve any but him…
And [that you] be good to your parents…
Give the kinsman (see KINSHIP) his right, and the needy, and the wayfarer; and never squander…
Slay not your children (q.v.) for fear (q.v.) of poverty…
Approach not fornication *(zinā)*…
Slay not the soul (q.v.) God has forbidden, except by right.…
Do not approach the property (q.v.) of the orphan (see ORPHANS) save in the fairest manner…
Fill up the measure when you measure, and weigh with the straight balance…
Pursue not what you have no knowledge of; the hearing, the sight, the heart (q.v.)…
Walk not in the earth (q.v.) exultantly…

Much of this does indeed parallel the biblical Decalogue. The first two echo Exodus 20:3f., where graven images and other gods are prohibited (see IDOLATRY AND IDOLATERS; IDOLS AND IMAGES); the third parallels Exodus 20:12; the sixth parallels, but is somewhat broader than, the biblical prohibition of adultery since the Arabic *zinā* is understood to apply to all kinds of sexual misconduct (see ADULTERY AND FORNICATION; SEX AND SEXUALITY); the seventh recalls the Decalogue's prohibition of murder (q.v.; *Exod* 20:13), although it is much less unequivocal, and goes on to

allow the Arabian *lex talionis*. For other parts of this passage, parallels can be supplied from elsewhere in the Pentateuch: the ninth, for example, concerning weights and measures (q.v.), which echoes Leviticus 19:35. There are also divergences where biblical parallels are harder to find, as in the case of the fifth command prohibiting infanticide (q.v.).

None of this, however, amounts to very much: Commands such as these are the common stock of ethical monotheism and their collective grouping here need not suggest a failed qurʾānic attempt to appropriate the biblical Decalogue. It is not clear what particular importance the Qurʾān attaches to this list, although it is interesting to note that the abbreviated version in the sixth sūra is juxtaposed with a reference to Mosaic revelation. Although Muslim commentators have not generally connected the list with the Ten Commandments, Ibn ʿAbbās (d. ca. 67-8/686-8) is said to have referred to Q 6:151f. as the "essence of scripture" (*umm al-kitāb,* Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr,* ii, 178), and Ibn Kathīr (d. 774/1373) remarks, after giving a rare Muslim translation of much of the biblical Decalogue, that many consider the content of the "ten words" to be present in these verses from the sixth sūra (Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāya,* i, 281). W. Brinner has argued that Q 17:22-39 and 6:151-3 represent less an incomplete Decalogue than a uniquely Muslim code of ethics (see ETHICS IN THE QURʾĀN), albeit one perhaps shaped by a desire to rival Moses. The presence of this code in the seventeenth sūra may locate it, according to Brinner, in the context of Muḥammad's divine ascension (*miʿrāj,* see ASCENSION), traditionally associated with the first verse of this sūra if not explicitly mentioned in the Qurʾān. Just as Moses received the tablets while in the immediate presence of God, so too Muḥammad's commandments might be seen as the product of a similar experience, as the juxtaposition of Muḥammad's code with Mosaic revelation (Q 6:155) might suggest (W. Brinner, Islamic decalogue, 73-5, 81). Such a conclusion must remain speculative since neither the Qurʾān nor tradition unambiguously associates these verses with the Ten Commandments and the connection between the divine ascension and the seventeenth sūra is likely to be secondary. See also LAW AND THE QURʾĀN; LAWFUL AND UNLAWFUL.

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Commentary and Commentaries

(tafsīr, tafāsīr; taʾwīl) see EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL; EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: EARLY MODERN AND CONTEMPORARY

Commerce and Commercial Terminology

see SELLING AND BUYING

Community and Society in the Qurʾān

It is noteworthy that the Qurʾān, as Islam's preeminent source of information about God, is also the tradition's definitive guide to what constitutes a godly community and society, in both theory and practice. Although the Qurʾān's discourse on social dimensions of human existence is intended principally for guidance, inspiration and

regulation of Muslims in the service of God, there is also an abundance of information on a diverse range of human groupings viewed from a religious perspective.

The Qurʾān is not a textbook that explicates the sociology of ancient Arabia (see PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QURʾĀN); that must be constructed from a wide variety of sources, including the Qurʾān. An extensive modern literature has been devoted to that task since the appearance of W. Robertson Smith's *Kinship and marriage in early Arabia* in 1885. Scholarship has ranged widely, embracing both ancient Arabia (e.g. H. Lammens, *L'Arabie occidentale* and B. Fares, *L'honneur chez les Arabes*) and more recent Middle Eastern tribal societies (e.g. T. Ashkenazi's analytical essay, La tribu arabe). For an extensive listing of sources and studies, see the articles "al-ʿArab," "Badāwī" (Bedouin, pastoral nomads),"Ḳabīla" (tribe), and "Nasab" (genealogy) in *EI²*. A relatively recent, comprehensive study, embracing the qurʾānic period and early Islamic history, is R. al-Sayyid, *Mafāhīm al-jamāʿāt fī l-Islām* (concepts of human groups in Islam). See also ARABS; BEDOUIN; KINSHIP; TRIBES AND CLANS.

The ancient Arabian context of qurʾānic religio-communal ideas and institutions

A stimulating and influential older study, with special reference to early Islam, is W.M. Watt's *Muhammad at Mecca* (1953) and a sequel *Muhammad at Medina* (1956) which provides detailed analyses of the Arabian tribes and clans that figured in the formative phases of the Muslim community's *(umma)* development. The birth of Islam as a new socio-religious system, unprecedented in some ways yet peculiarly and effectively adapted to the existing social and value system of the Ḥijāz, is addressed within the context of a theory of "tribal humanism" (*Muhammad at Mecca,* 24f.). This was, in Watt's view, the effective value system, really a functional religion, significantly advanced beyond the old cults of veneration of trees, sacred stones and springs, with an extensive and diverse pantheon (see SOUTH ARABIA, RELIGION IN PRE-ISLAMIC). Tribal humanism, focusing on social and economic matters far more than transcendent spiritual concerns, was itself also in decline by the time of Muḥammad. Its character can best be discerned in the poetry of those times which witnesses to a strong veneration of tribal heritages, a fiercely defended sense of honor, bravery in combat and generosity of a sometimes prodigal character. The tribe with its kinship subdivisions was the main focus of values rather than the individual, tribal unity and survival being the greatest good. There is little if any awareness of the possibility of a personal afterlife and this fact becomes a key element in the Qurʾān's challenge to the old Arabian worldview, with its fatalistic resignation (see FATE) and materialistic emphasis, denounced frequently by the Qurʾān as preferring the life of this world (*ḥayāt al-dunyā,* e.g. Q 2:86; 9:38; 16:107) over the afterlife (*al-ākhira,* see HEAVEN and HELL).

According to Watt (as summarized in his more recent work, *Muhammad's Mecca,* 1988, 15-25), the Arabian tribal system at the time of Muḥammad was organized principally in the male line (see PATRIARCHY). Kinship of a matrilineal type had earlier been known also in Medina (q.v.). Q 25:54 speaks of God having created humankind from water (q.v.; see CREATION), then establishing relationships both of consanguinity *(nasab)* and by marriage or affinity *(ṣihr)* which latter may possibly also refer to matrilineality, according to al-Bayḍāwī's commentary (*Anwār,* ad loc.). The Qurʾān also says (Q 49:13) that God created all humankind from one male and

female couple and made them into nations *(shuʿūb)* and tribes *(qabāʾil)* so that they might know each other.

Tribes were subdivided into clans which contained families (see FAMILY), but according to Watt (*Muhammad's Mecca,* 16; also F. Donner, see below) the highly elaborated and differentiated definitions of ancient Arabian tribal kinship were largely a later development. During Muḥammad's time a kinship group was most often referred to as "the sons of" *(banū)* a certain tribal figure. The word *qawm* occurs very often in the Qurʾān with the general meaning of "people." Little can be learned from the Qurʾān about the specifics of tribal organization and structure. Watt points out the word *malaʾ,* a collective term for the leading males of a tribe and, in the Qurʾān, it sometimes connotes a council or assembly (e.g. Q 10:75 for Pharaoh's [q.v.] *malaʾ,* Q 27:29 for the Queen of Sheba's [see BILQĪS], Q 2:246 for the Children of Israel's [q.v.] "chiefs" as Yūsuf ʿAlī renders the term in his translation of the Qurʾān). The Qurʾān also speaks of *al-malaʾ al-aʿlā* (Q 37:8; 38:69), an "exalted assembly" of angels (see COURT). Mecca (q.v.) apparently had a *malaʾ* comprised of clan representatives, mentioned in Q 38:6 as Muḥammad's opposition (see OPPOSITION TO MUḤAMMAD).

Leadership of a tribe was in the hands of a *sayyid* or "chief," a term not found in the Qurʾān in this precise sense. A tribal chief was in no sense an autocratic ruler or hereditary monarch but a first among equals, respected for experience, character, good judgment, courage, hospitality and wisdom as well as the ability to provide protection. This last virtue Watt considers to be the most important aspect of pre-Islamic Arabian tribal life (*Muhammad's Mecca,* 17-20). Protection included the law of retaliation *(lex talionis),* where an injury or killing in one kinship group was answered in kind by the other group. This is supported by the Qurʾān, when it repeats the Mosaic law (Q 5:45) of "life for life, eye for eye, nose for nose, ear for ear, tooth for tooth and wounds equal for equal" and when it sets forth a guide for Muslims (Q 2:178f.) which is similar and also provides, as in ancient Israel, an opportunity for remission through a just compensation known as blood money (*diya,* see BLOOD MONEY). Killing people outside of one's group was not necessarily considered wrong per se but it could bring a most costly and bloody retaliation (q.v.; see MURDER; BLOODSHED). What is more, both warfare *(ḥarb)* and raiding *(ghazw)* had clearly understood rules and worked within the social system (see WAR; BATTLES AND EXPEDITIONS). War was the norm in pre-Islamic Arabia but it became unlawful under Islam for Muslims to shed their co-religionists' blood. Yet holy war (*jihād,* q.v.) was permitted, indeed encouraged under certain circumstances in order to defend the Muslims as well as to extend the territories to be governed by Islamic principles. War between Muslims and non-Muslims was to become a permanent state of affairs but governed by the principles and practices of Islamic law *(sharīʿa)* with respect to the treatment of prisoners (see CAPTIVES) and other matters (see M. Khadduri, *War and peace*).

People not belonging by blood to a protecting tribal structure could often find protection (q.v.) by attaching themselves to a powerful group in a protected neighbor *(jār)* relationship. The Qurʾān speaks of this arrangement in various ways: It regards good done toward both the distant and unknown as well as the near and intimate neighbor as meritorious (Q 4:36); it reveals that whereas God protects *(yujīru)* all things, he is himself unprotected (*lā yujāru ʿalayhi,* Q 23:88); and it advises that seeking protection from God is far more

secure than relying on the material world even if there is no evidence beyond belief and trust in him (Q 67:28-9; see TRUST AND PATIENCE). Expressions in a new light of an old Arabian protection option did much to promote the idea of a Muslim community, an *umma,* that would far exceed tribal affiliation in benefits bestowed.

Watt adds (*Muhammad's Mecca,* 19) that a more common notion of protective affiliation was that of friend or protector *(walī,* pl. *awliyā),* terms that occur frequently in the Qurʾān. The word *walī* may apply to either the one protected or the protector as patron or guardian (see CLIENTS AND CLIENTAGE). Q 3:68 states that "God is the protector *(walī)* to those who believe" while Q 10:62-4 asserts "Truly, the friends *(awliyāʾ)* of God, no fear will be on them, nor shall they be sorrowful; those who believe and are god-fearing for them is good news, in the life of this world and in the hereafter." The helpless individual in ancient Arabian society could seek protection from a human group of higher status whereas Islam raised that paradigm to a theological level by providing membership in a community that itself received protection from the highest authority. Because the Qurʾān was able to express old ideas and to reformulate customs in new and appealing ways, Islam gained additional authenticity while preserving much of the old values and security. And, for example, the qurʾānic teaching on *walī*-hood would have far reaching effects in the elaboration of later Islamic ideas about human interpersonal and inter-group relations no less than divine-human relations, particularly in Ṣūfī confraternities (see ṢŪFISM AND THE QURʾĀN).

Yet even though Islam could claim a larger authority than the traditional tribal system for the ordering and regulation of community life, the old system was by no means simply abandoned. Rather it was incorporated into the larger complex of Muslim community life by means of what Fred M. Donner calls "genealogical legitimation" (*Narratives,* 104-11), an ancient practice in the Near East. And although the Qurʾān rejects claims that the superiority of people is based on their kinship affiliation, in post-qurʾānic times there developed a well-elaborated science of genealogy, as has been mentioned. Donner sees at the base of this a strong commitment by the dominant Arabs, however they were defined, to preserving hegemonic control in the early empire over the subject peoples of other ethnic-linguistic groups. Arab tribal legitimation became stronger, not weaker, as other peoples embraced Islam and questioned the Arab suzerainty. "Arabians were able to respond that their rule was legitimate because, as the people to whom the Prophet had been sent and in whose language the Qurʾān had been revealed, they were the rightful heirs of the Prophet, whose mission was, after all, universal" (ibid., 109). Further, Donner's analysis of the sources for early Islamic history includes attention to what he calls "themes of hegemony" (ibid., 174-82) whereby Muslim conquerors, leaders and claimants to leadership came to control not only non-Muslims but fellow Muslims as well. A major issue was *fitna,* variously translated as temptation or sedition, within the Muslim community itself and the ways in which various groups and interests justified themselves politically as fit to rule. In other words, war was not simply a matter of conflict between insiders and outsiders, Muslims and non-Muslims; increasingly, it became an intra-communal phenomenon with fateful consequences. Though the Qurʾān provides general principles for Islamic community life, history itself posed the greatest challenges to these ideals of harmony and cooperation. See POLITICS AND THE QURʾĀN.

Donner's contribution to our understanding of the beginnings of Islamic historical writing includes a useful treatment of "themes of community" (*Narratives,* ch. 6) in which he traces the *umma* idea from its qurʾānic context and relates it closely to another theme that he calls prophecy (*nubuwwa, Narratives,* ch. 5; see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD). Although Donner sees the centrality of the qurʾānic message in the Prophet's development as both prophet and community leader or shaper, he also combines many other aspects of the complex history in a coherent manner. Thus, in addition to Muḥammad's establishment of social and ritual practices which were foundational, Donner includes consideration of how the cult of the community was routinized over time and administered in a larger context of government and taxation (q.v.). Donner's approach is important for its attention to the *diverse* historical sources, of which the Qurʾān is but one, however fundamental. He makes clear that one cannot arrive at a full understanding of community and society in the age of the Qurʾān and in the aftermath of the *umma*'s founding from the Qurʾān alone.

A richly documented study of the evolution of ideas about community and society since the pre-Islamic period in the Arabian peninsula is Riḍwān al-Sayyid's *al-Umma wa-l-jamāʿa wa-l-sulṭa. Dirāsāt fī l-fikr al-siyāsī l-ʿarabī l-islamī* (The *umma,* the community and political authority. Studies in Islamic Arab political thought). Drawing upon modern scholarship as well as traditional sources about Arabian religion and society before Islam, the author proceeds to demonstrate the novelty of the Islamic *umma* as a universal community intended to unite humankind in a system of common belief and action. The work is an absorbing example of a theologically informed sociology that utilizes not only the Qurʾān and other contemporary documents but also ḥadīth, qurʾānic interpretation *(tafsīr),* poetry (see POETRY AND POETS), history, prophetic biography (*sīra,* see SĪRA AND THE QURʾĀN) as well as qurʾānic sciences (see TRADITIONAL DISCIPLINES OF QURʾĀNIC STUDY) in addition to commentary (e.g. *asbāb al-nuzūl* and *nāsikh wa-mansūkh* discussions; see OCCASIONS OF REVELATION; ABROGATION) to show how the *umma* evolved over time into a multi-dimensional, charismatic community.

It has been important to situate the Qurʾān within its larger historical, social, cultural, linguistic and religious contexts — which can only be suggested here — before turning to an exploration and survey of its complex, evolving discourse on society and community throughout the period of Muḥammad's prophetic vocation. The remainder of this article focuses principally upon the contents of the Qurʾān itself with respect to this subject.

Religio-communal terms and ideas in the Qurʾān: umma

The idea of Islamic community is based definitively, if not exclusively, on the qurʾānic meanings of the ancient Semitic root that produced the Arabic word *umma* (pl. *umam*). *Umma* possibly derives ultimately from the Akkadian *ummatu* (Jeffery, *For. vocab.,* 69) or from the Hebrew *umma* or the Aramean *umetha* (Horovitz, Jewish proper names, 190). In the Qurʾān, *umma* most often means a human religious community although additional meanings include: any traditional value or belief system (Q 43:22, 23); a tribe or subgroup (Q 7:164; 28:32); a fixed term or time (Q 11:8; 12:45); a paragon or exemplar (see below in connection with Abraham in Q 16:20); and genera of animals (Q 6:38; see ANIMAL LIFE). This last is far-reaching in its moral and ecological implications, for animals and birds form "*umma*s like unto you" (see NATURAL WORLD AND THE QURʾĀN).

The term *umma* occurs in both Meccan and Medinan passages a total of 62 times (including 15 plurals). The term first occurs in Nöldeke's *(GQ)* second Meccan period where it refers to *ummas* either before or concurrent with the Qurʾān's revelation (see CHRONOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN). The most numerous occurrences are in Nöldeke's third Meccan period. The term has a variety of references before it comes to designate, more or less exclusively by the Medinan period, a fledgling Muslim community under Muḥammad's guidance after the Muslim *umma* as both a religious and political entity had been established there (see MEDINA).

Q 2:128 speaks of an *umma muslima,* a community submitting to God; Q 2:213 refers to an *umma wāḥida,* meaning humankind as an archetypal "single community" or a specific unified community (Q 21:92); and 2:143 identifies the believers in the qurʾānic message as an *umma wasaṭan,* a "midmost community," properly balanced and standing as a kind of model among other communities in relation to God. To every *umma* has been given a prophetic messenger (Q 10:47; see MESSENGER) preaching both good news (q.v.) and warnings (see WARNING). And every *umma* has been provided by God with a ritual system *(mansak)* to observe (Q 22:67; see RITUAL AND THE QURʾĀN).

Although nowhere does the Qurʾān explicitly state this, it is not inaccurate to assert that the Muslim *umma* is seen in Islam's scripture as the "qurʾānic *umma*." The word *al-kitāb,* meaning the scripture or book (q.v.), is frequently associated with religious communities such as the Jews, Christians and Muslims (see PEOPLE OF THE BOOK). When *kitāb* is used in connection with the Muslims it generally means the Qurʾān, as in Q 2:2-4: "This is the book *(kitāb);* in it is guidance sure, without doubt, to those who fear God… who believe in the revelation (see REVELATION AND INSPIRATION) sent to you [Muḥammad], and sent before your time, and they are certain of the hereafter." In Q 32:3 the book is designated as a message for those who had not previously received admonishment, namely the pagan Arabs (cf. Q 36:2-6 where *qurʾān* replaces *kitāb*). And in Q 42:7 an Arabic Qurʾān is declared to have been inspired in order to warn the "mother of cities," Mecca (q.v.). There have been and continue to be other entities known as *umma*s, but by the end of the Qurʾān's revelatory stages the term refers definitively, if not exclusively, to the Muslims as just stated. (Further consideration of *umma* will be given as it relates to other terms and concepts, but for a more extensive survey see F. Denny, The meaning of *ummah*.) Still, the qurʾānic concept of *umma* as it described the actual human groupings of the early Islamic generations should not be overemphasized. According to J. van Ess, "the *umma*-concept, which today has become so highly esteemed, hardly played a role"; tribal and partisan associations were far more prominent (*TG,* i, 17).

Other prominent religio-communal terms and concepts in the Qurʾān

Although the *umma* idea is the most fully developed qurʾānic concept of the community as applied to Muslims, other terms and concepts are also significant, both in themselves and as part of a comprehensive qurʾānic framework of socio-communal meaning. There seems to be a category for every type of individual and community in the Qurʾān's view and these categories present a broad range of values from exemplary religio-moral qualities to disapproved and condemned characteristics.

Ḥanīf (*pl.* ḥunafāʾ)

An example of the first is the type of generic monotheist — being neither Jew nor Christian — identified by the Qurʾān

as *ḥanīf* (q.v.). Although there is considerable scholarly literature about the origins and meanings of the word *ḥanīf* in the Semitic languages (see F. Denny, Religio-communal), the Qurʾān employs the term twelve times in late Meccan and Medinan passages with distinctive emphases. Ten of the occurrences are in the singular, of which eight refer to Abraham (q.v.). Of these eight, five also contain the term *milla,* commonly translated as religion (Q 2:135; 3:95; 4:125; 6:161; 16:123) and one (Q 16:120) includes *umma*. All of the twelve passages but one (Q 4:125) directly contrast idolater *(mushrik)* and *ḥanīf* as opposites. So one finds in the Qurʾān, apart from the traditional monotheisms of Judaism and Christianity, an ideal of an Abrahamic *ur*-monotheism, as it were, that precedes them as a paradigm of what God intends as religion for his human creatures. Q 3:67 states: "Abraham was neither a Jew nor a Christian; but he was a *ḥanīf,* a *muslim* and was not of the *mushrik*s"; (see IDOLATRY AND IDOLATERS; POLYTHEISM AND ATHEISM).

Ḥanīf is not strictly a term denoting community but it does stipulate what the Islamic *umma* is meant to embody and from where it should draw its inspiration: not from the older monotheistic siblings mentioned but from Abraham and his community at the beginning of authentic religion. Abraham was both a *ḥanīf* and an *umma*. The latter application seems somewhat strange so that instead of thinking of the patriarch as a community to himself, some have suggested that *umma* in Q 16:120 either has an eponymous meaning or means paragon of virtue as Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 606/1210) speculated in his commentary (*Tafsīr,* ad loc.).

Milla (*pl.* milal)

This word is clearly a religio-communal term, most often related to Abraham, as in the phrase *millat Ibrāhīm* (e.g. Q 2:130; 3:95; 4:125; 6:161). *Milla* is a loan-word from Aramaic and in the Qurʾān a synonym for the Persian-derived *dīn* (Nöldeke, i, 20 n. 2). Although *milla* and *umma* overlap in their meanings to some extent, the former is a much more restricted term referring to any religion and, by extension, to its community but without defining or representing a tradition theologically or ethically. A *milla* simply *is* whereas the *umma,* in the sense of the Muslim community, *becomes* an historically particular community through faith (q.v.), responses to challenges (see TRIAL) and maturation. When the Qurʾān declares in Q 109 "The Unbelievers" (Sūrat al-Kāfirūn): "To you your religion and to me my religion," (*lakum dīnukum wa-liya dīn,* Q 109:6) it could just as well have used *milla* as *dīn*. W.C. Smith has wondered if *milla* "is not the only word in any language or culture that designates a specific and transferable religion, one as distinct from others, and nothing else" (*The meaning and end of religion,* 294). Of course, that the Qurʾān could employ terms such as *milla,* with the assumption that they would be understood by the first hearers, implies that the Ḥijāzī Arabs shared fully in the general Semitic worldview that featured close relations between religions and communities, between ethics and society in a pluralistic framework (see ETHICS IN THE QURʾĀN; THEOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN). The qurʾānic message, though it sets forth absolute truth as it sees it, nevertheless also defines the rest of the world in terms of a range of options that assume close relationships between religious commitments — whether traditional and inherited or confessional (in the philosopher Karl Jaspers' sense) and thus changeable — and socio-communal groupings.

Submitters and believers constitute the Muslim umma

Arabic plural forms for human groups constitute much of the Qurʾān's categories of

society and community. Two of the most frequently encountered terms also are pivotal for the Islamic religion: *muslimūn* and *muʾminūn,* submitters (i.e. Muslims) and believers, those who have faith *(īmān)*. The two terms occur frequently, although perhaps surprisingly "believers" occurs five times as frequently (ca. 200 times) as "submitters" (ca. 40). Faith *(īmān)* is a weightier concept than submission *(islām)* both throughout the Qurʾān and in the developed Muslim theological tradition (see FAITH; ISLAM).

Only rarely does *umma* occur in close conjunction with *islām, īmān, muslim* or *muʾmin*. However, when it does it is a significant passage as in Q 3:110: "You are the best *umma* that has been raised up for humanity. You enjoin right conduct and forbid indecency; and you believe *(tuʾminūna)* in God. And if the People of the Book had believed *(law āmana),* it had been better for them. There are believers *(muʾminūn)* among them but most of them are wicked transgressors." This passage appears to say that being a nominal Jew or Christian is not sufficient to be acceptable to God; one must also be a believer. Q 3:113-4 states that "of the People of the Book there is an upright group *(umma qāʾima)*… [who] believe in God and the last day [see APOCALYPSE; LAST JUDGMENT]… they are in the ranks of the righteous *(wa-ulāʾika min al-ṣāliḥīn)*." This seems to be just as true of Muslims who without faith are understood to be merely submitters and at an inferior level of spiritual awareness and development.

The occurrences of *umma* along with references to faith and submission are generally found in the most highly developed instances of *umma,* those in Medinan passages when it refers to the Muslims exclusively. For example, Q 3:102-4 states, "O you who believe, fear God as he should be feared, and do not die except as *muslimūn*. And hold fast together to the rope of God *(ḥabl Allāh),* and do not become divided among yourselves.… Let there arise from you a community *(umma)* inviting to all that is good, enjoining what is right and forbidding what is wrong. Those, they are the prosperers." Islam's legendary sense of strong community loyalty and solidarity may be seen in its qurʾānic iteration in passages such as this. A similar passage (Q 2:256), that addresses the individual as much as the group, speaks of "the strongest handhold" *(al-ʿurwa al-wuthqā),* which is available to those who avoid evil and believe in God. It should be recalled that throughout the Qurʾān's discourse on community the emphasis is not on community as such; the ancient Arab world did not lack understanding and appreciation of strong social and communal networks. The important thing is the Qurʾān's consistent pattern of linking community with belief and morals within a monotheistic paradigm. This was one of the principal appeals of the new religion to tribal as well as town folk who already placed such a high value on kinship and covenants.

Watt has compared the Medinan Muslim *umma* to a kind of tribe that was based not on blood but on a common faith (*Muḥammad at Medina,* 239). The new order did not discard kinship relations; rather it placed them within the larger circle of loyalties and affiliations brought by Islam. Just as the Qurʾān appealed to its first hearers because of its excellence in Arabic expression so also there appears to have been an elective affinity between its socio-communal emphases and the Arabs' own strong community-mindedness, albeit at different levels. The "pattern-maintenance system," to borrow the sociologist Talcott Parsons' useful concept, of Arabian society and kinship was to be enhanced by that of the qurʾānic vision of submission, belief, obedience (q.v.) and solidarity within the

umma. It is worth noting here that, according to Watt at least, the term *umma* apparently did not dominate the discourse on Muslim community to the end of the Medinan period for, after Mecca was incorporated, other terms, both non-qurʾānic and qurʾānic, such as, respectively, *jamāʿa* and *ḥizb Allāh* (party of God) took its place in extra-qurʾānic documents and treaties (*Muhammad at Medina,* 247).

The important contemporary, extra-qurʾānic document known as the Constitution of Medina uses the term *umma* but with a somewhat different meaning from that of the Qurʾān — moving in the direction of a political confederation more than a single community united by a common creed (see CREEDS). There is a diverse modern scholarly literature on this document that is fairly summarized by R. Stephen Humphreys in his *Islamic history. A framework for inquiry* (92-8).

Faith as a higher value than submission may also be seen in a dramatic passage (Q 49:14-5) where desert Bedouin declared to Muḥammad: "'We believe *(amannā)*.' Say [Muḥammad], unto them, 'You do not believe yet.' Say rather, 'We have submitted *(aslamnā),* for faith *(īmān)* has not yet entered your hearts'… The believers *(muʾminūn)* are those who believe in God and his apostle [Muḥammad], and afterwards never doubt, but struggle with their wealth and their lives in the way of God, such are the sincere ones." Passages like this may mislead one into imagining that submission *(islām)* is not such a profound matter in the Qurʾān after all. It clearly is, but it must be understood in relation to other things. Submission is the crucial gateway to the service of God, without which faith would not be possible; humans themselves are capable of submitting according to their own will and power whereas faith is bestowed as a grace (q.v.) later on. As T. Izutsu has expressed the matter, "surrender, far from being, as is suggested by [Q 49:14]…, a lukewarm and superficial sort of belief, or the first stumbling step in the faith, is the very foundation on which the whole religion of Islam is based" (*Concepts,* 190-1). Faith and submission are often coupled and placed as opposites to other terms such as unbelievers *(kāfirūn),* idolaters *(mushrikūn)* and sinners *(mujrimūn)*. The last group are often spoken of as a sinful people (*qawm,* e.g. Q 6:147; 15:58; see also BELIEF AND UNBELIEF; SIN AND CRIME).

Servants (ʿibād) *of God*

When the most important dimension of individual and group identity and values is religion, it is not surprising that fundamental distinctions will be made between insider and outsider, brother (see BROTHER AND BROTHERHOOD) and other. The striking early Meccan sūra, Q 109 "The Unbelievers" (Sūrat al-Kāfirūn) reveals the tension among Muḥammad's contemporaries that was brought by the preaching of Islamic monotheism. This brief, vital sūra is a tour-de-force focusing on the Arabic root letters *ʿ-b-d,* from which are derived the terms for worship of and service to God: *ʿabd,* slave or servant of God, *ʿibāda,* worship and *ʿibād,* servants, especially of God. The active verbal form of the root applies in the sūra both to Muslims and to disbelievers, as both are viewed as serving some superior power. The Muslims serve God whereas the disbelievers serve, according to classical commentary, idols and are thus *mushrik*s as well as disbelievers *(kāfirūn)*. The terse ending of Q 109 sharply distinguishes the speaker's community, the Muslims, and the opposition's, which according to the commentaries, is devoted to disbelief *(kufr)* or idolatry *(shirk):* "Say: O unbelievers, I serve not what you serve and you are not serving what I serve, nor will I serve what you have served, neither will you serve what I serve. To you your religion *(dīn)* and

to me my religion." Although the qurʾānic use of the *ʿ-b-d* root generally refers to worship of and service to God, this early sūra shows how it can be neutral as well, referring to the worship of anything.

The servant of God is not a passive adorer; active exertion is a key aspect of this status. There is a strong sense of work involved, in a manner that parallels the Jewish idea of worship *(avoda),* a Semitic parallel that also means service. A Christian parallel is the medieval Benedictine monastic expression, the work of God *(opus dei),* meaning the Divine Office of daily prayers and worship as the primary task of monks and nuns. The Qurʾān declares that the "servants of the Merciful are those who walk humbly on the earth, and when the ignorant address them say, 'Peace.' Who spend the night (in prayer), prostrate and standing" (Q 25:63-4; see BOWING AND PROSTRATION). Clearly, the qurʾānic idea of true religion is strongly invested in service, in "work" for God in ways parallel to Islam's older, cognate traditions of Judaism and Christianity (see WORK; SERVANT; WORSHIP; PRAYER).

Excursus: Concerning category formation in the Qurʾān

It is all too easy for western readers of the Qurʾān and other Arabic texts to fall into the practice of reifying dynamic, verbal expressions such as *islām, īmān, muslim, muʾmin, shirk, mushrik* and their human plural forms. Stated differently, it would be a distortion to consider *muslimūn, muʾminūn, mushrikūn, mujrimūn* ("sinners") and so forth as rigid, unchangeable categories of human association based on this or that virtue or offense (see VIRTUES AND VICES; BOUNDARIES AND PRECEPTS). Nor do words like *islām, īmān, shirk* and *kufr* refer to static abstractions; they are essentially active and engaged.

Although it is true that the Qurʾān views human groups according to their degree of religion and/or impiety, generally the message also regards human beings as capable of repentance (see REPENTANCE AND PENANCE) and conversion (q.v.) to the "straight path" of Islam (see PATH OR WAY [OF GOD]). So, to denominate people as fated to sin or deceit or falsehood, at least in the present, is generally un-qurʾānic if it means there is no hope (q.v.) of deliverance (q.v.) or, to be more idiomatically qurʾānic, no hope of success or prosperity *(falāḥ).* Although the noun *falāḥ* does not occur in the Qurʾān, it appeared early on in Islamic history in the clause of the call to prayer: "Hasten to success" (*ḥayy ʿalā l-falāḥ,* see PRAYER FORMULAS). Verbal forms derived from the Arabic root letters *f-l-ḥ,* as well as the human plural *al-mufliḥūn,* the successful, do appear in strong ways, as in the frequently recalled Q 2:1-5, where those who fear God, believe in the unseen (see HIDDEN AND THE HIDDEN), persist in prayer, share their wealth (q.v.) with others, believe in divine revelation, and anticipate the hereafter will be considered to be "on true guidance from their Lord, and it is these who will be successful *(humu l-mufliḥūn).*"

Hence human groupings as described in ethical and spiritual terms are not rigid, unchanging realities in principal. Of course, the Qurʾān frequently presents its teachings through reference to historical groups whose fate was already sealed. Sometimes such groups saw the error of their ways, repented, and were forgiven and set on a new course (see FORGIVENESS). An example is when Moses' (q.v.) followers repented of their sin of creating and worshipping the graven image of a calf (Q 7:152-5; see CALF OF GOLD). At other times, groups fell into error (q.v.) from which they did not recover, as was the case of the people of certain unnamed towns in Q 7:94-102 who failed to heed God's wrath (see ANGER) after they were warned. "Did they feel secure against the trickery *(makr)*

of God? But no one feels safe from God's stratagem *(makr)* except a people who have utterly lost their bearings *(al-qawm al-khāsirūn)*" (Q 7:99; see also PUNISHMENT STORIES).

Those who are saved and those who lose out from previous generations do not receive their recompenses because they are urban, or rural, or Jews, or Christians, or foreigners; they are judged according to their dispositions and behavior. The qurʾānic denomination of significant human groups, in the religious and moral senses, usually pertains to faith and righteousness or their absence. This universality of theological and moral vision has been fundamental in enabling Islam to be a world religion transcending social, cultural, political and regional boundaries. The *umma* ideal is thus global in both its intent and scope. (See F. Donner, *Narratives,* 141-6, for a classification of historiographical themes crucial for understanding the early Muslim community's "collective vision of the past" and how these enabled Muslims to make sense of their experience.)

The ideal of a unified umma *and the People of the Book*

Humankind were one *umma* but then they went in different directions and split up (Q 2:213). From a somewhat different slant, the Qurʾān states that God could have created a unified *umma* but declined that option so that people might be tested and find their own way as morally accountable beings (Q 5:48; see FREEDOM AND PREDESTINATION). A single *umma* of humankind would have included both unbelievers and believers, the bad and the righteous (Q 43:33). The Qurʾān does not equate humankind or the people *(al-nās)* with an *umma,* at least not descriptively. Ideally, it may turn out that all people will submit and follow God's teachings, but until then an *umma* will be a selective grouping drawn out from the larger human family to be a specially dedicated cohort.

Q 23:52-4 states, concerning the People of the Book: "Lo, this *umma* of yours is one *umma,* and I am your Lord so show piety (q.v.) towards me. But they cut their affairs into pieces amongst them in the matter of scripture, each sect *(ḥizb)* in what is with them rejoicing. Leave them in their confusion for a time." This passage is from the second Meccan period (according to Nöldeke, *GQ*), before *umma* came to refer more exclusively to the Muslims under Muhammad's guidance. If the Nöldeke chronology is accepted, by the second Meccan period, *umma* in its true sense is a religious community, ideally unified in its beliefs, although not necessarily Muslim in the sense of Muḥammad's *umma*. During the Meccan periods of the Qurʾān's revelation, much attention is paid to Jews and Christians as fatefully important precursors of the Islamic venture between the archetypal era of Abraham who was neither a Jew nor Christian but a pure monotheist *(ḥanīf)* and the prophetic career of Muḥammad. Although the People of the Book had been called to serve God, many of them failed in their religion and fell astray (q.v.).

In addition to submission, belief, idolatry, and other frequently expressed qurʾānic ideas by which human groups are categorized, "brand name" communities are also identified. *Ahl al-kitāb,* the People of the Book, has already been mentioned as referring to the Jews and Christians, Islam's immediate precursors in scriptural monotheism. The phrase occurs about 30 times. Jews *(yahūd* or *hūd)* occurs some nine times (with *hūd* occurring three times; see JEWS AND JUDAISM). Christians *(naṣāra)* occurs 14 times and the adjective Christian *(naṣrānī)* once (with reference to Abraham's *not* being such, or Jewish, *yahūdī,* in Q 3:67; see CHRISTIANS AND CHRISTIANITY). The Sons of Israel (*Banū Isrāʾīl,* see CHILDREN OF ISRAEL)

occurs some 40 times, whereas the Sons of Adam *(banū Ādam),* i.e. humanity, occurs seven times. *Ṣābiʾūn,* referring to the Sabians (q.v.; probably meaning Mandaeans, a Jewish-Christian sect in Iraq), occurs three times. Muslims, Jews, Christians, Sabeans, Magians (q.v.; i.e. Zoroastrians) and polytheists are all mentioned together in Q 22:17 as peoples among whom God will judge. In his commentary on this verse, al-Zamakhsharī (d. 538/1144) recalls the view that, according to the Qurʾān, there are five religions, four belonging to Satan (see DEVIL; IBLĪS) and one to God (Islam). In this schema, the Sabians are considered to be a branch of Christianity (Zamakhsharī, *Kashshāf,* ad loc.).

There are some very negative remarks directed at the Jews in the Qurʾān, much more so than against Christians (see POLEMIC AND POLEMICAL LANGUAGE). An example is Q 5:82: "The strongest among men in enmity to the believers are the Jews and idolaters; and the nearest to them in love are those who say, 'We are Christians.' Because among these are priests and monks (see MONASTICISM AND MONKS) and they are not arrogant." Al-Zamakhsharī comments that because the Jews are mentioned before the idolaters in the passage, they are at their head. The great rationalist commentator closes his interpretation of this passage by citing Q 2:96 wherein the Jews are portrayed as grasping for life as much as a thousand years; but God would still punish them at the end for "all that they do" (as translated in H. Gätje, *The Qurʾān,* 134). Al-Zamakhsharī declares: "The Jews are like this, and even worse!" Then he quotes a prophetic ḥadīth: "If a Muslim is alone with two Jews, they will try to kill him" (Gätje, *The Qurʾān,* 134). The Muslims had a great conflict with Jews in Medina and this is reflected in strongly critical qurʾānic passages such as Q 5:82 (quoted above). Nevertheless, the Jews were also considered, in the Constitution of Medina, to be an *umma* alongside the Muslim *umma.* And for a period Jews and Muslims worshipped together facing Jerusalem (q.v.) as their common prayer orientation (*qibla* [q.v.], see F. Denny, Umma, 44; also R. Humphreys, *Islamic history,* 92-8).

The Qurʾān's criticism of Jews and, to a lesser extent, Christians, exhibits early Islam's struggle to define itself over against the older siblings of the Abrahamic tradition. The disagreements between Islam and the other two religions are not like the fundamental controversy with the polytheists because there is a basic common foundation for the monotheistic traditions. The disagreements over actual behavior versus lofty ideals, as occurs in qurʾānic criticisms of Jews or over a doctrine regarded as heretical, such as the Christian Trinity (q.v.), are nevertheless disagreements among cognate systems. It is like a large, extended family with diverse branches: Their theological, scriptural and, with respect to Jews and Muslims, ritual, disagreements and conflicts only make sense within their common monotheistic framework, however generalized that may be. Religion is first of all an embodied and socially embedded reality in the Qurʾān's view, so it is individual Jews, Christians and others, as well as groups of them, that are the focus of criticism and occasional admiration (as in Q 5:82, quoted above) rather than Judaism and Christianity *per se.* From this perspective, it is hoped that the People of the Book will someday see the light and submit to God as proper Muslims; but meanwhile they are to be tolerated because they are not all astray and they do have a valid heritage in covenant (q.v.) with God. (For an extended qurʾānic discourse, see Q 3:64-115; covenant ideas are treated below).

Fred Donner (From Believers to Muslims,) hypothesizes that the Muslim follow-

ers of Muḥammad in the community's formative period did not necessarily make a strong distinction between themselves and other monotheists in their environment but viewed them as fellow believers *(mu'minūn)* before the term Muslim took on the increasingly political and exclusionary meanings of the caliphal era (see CALIPH). There is much to commend in Donner's carefully argued general thesis that the community of believers in the period of the Prophet and for a time thereafter did not constitute a distinct religious confession although such an argument certainly goes against the traditional Muslim view of the matter.

The Muslims as a covenant people and a people united by devotion to the Prophet of God

The Muslim *umma,* like its Jewish and Christian predecessors, is a covenant (*'ahd* or *mīthāq*) community. Contracts, covenants and treaties were important factors in pre-Islamic Arabian society (see CONTRACTS AND ALLIANCES; BREAKING TRUSTS AND CONTRACTS). A key term was *wafā',* "to fulfill, be faithful to." This idea was well established in pre-Islamic times as in the ode of Zuhayr: "Whoever keeps his word *(man yūfi)* goes unblamed; he whose heart is set on the sure path of piety (q.v.) needs not to fear or falter" (A.J. Arberry, *Seven odes,* 117; cf. Izutsu, *Concepts,* 87). This idea is clearly reflected in the following qur'ānic passage, which chides some People of the Book for not fulfilling concluded agreements with ignorant pagans *(ummiyyūn):* "No! The one who fulfills his promise *('ahd)* and is godfearing — truly God loves the godfearing (*al-muttaqīn,* Q 3:76).

The Muslim community came to view God as the guarantor of oaths (q.v.) and covenants. This belief in a divine witnessing of agreements contributed greatly to the establishment of an Islamic ideal of justice (see JUSTICE AND INJUSTICE; LAW AND THE QUR'ĀN) that would be honored throughout an ever-increasing *umma*. In a way it reflects the notion that can be discerned in the Hebrew Bible, Genesis 31:49, the famous Mizpah Benediction, wherein Jacob and his uncle Laban, after much conflict and disagreement over property and relationships, solemnly declared together: "May the Lord watch between you and me when we are absent from one another." The core of this agreement is that God sees all and will judge any misdeeds accordingly. Q 16:91 reflects this idea: "Fulfill the covenant of God when you have entered into it, and do not break your oaths *(aymān)* after you have confirmed them; you have indeed made God your surety *(kafīlan),* for God knows what you do" (Q 16:91). Islam adopted this idea and applied it both to human social relations and to the divine-human relation of religion.

The establishment of the Muslim *umma* on the occasion of the emigration *(hijra)* of Muḥammad and his fellow Meccan Muslims (known henceforth as *al-muhājirūn,* the Emigrants) to Medina in 622 C.E. (see EMIGRATION) marked a definitive trend away from tribalism toward a supra-community knit together by faith more than by kinship, as was noted earlier. Before the *umma*'s founding, there had been an intertribal confederation for mutual defense known as *ḥilf al-fuḍūl,* which Muḥammad is said to have admired. Even so the Prophet reportedly declared that there was to be no *ḥilf* in Islam (see E. Tyan, Ḥilf, and C. Pellat, Ḥilf al-fuḍūl).

The Qur'ān frequently refers to the Mosaic covenant *('ahd)* as a paradigm of the divine-human relationship (e.g. Q 7:134). In the Bible, the covenant is not between God and Moses, but between God and the community of Israel. The Qur'ān, however, presents a covenant *(mīthāq)* that is first between God and his prophets — Noah (q.v.), Abraham (q.v.), Moses (q.v.), Jesus (q.v.) — and then through them to

the Jews, Christians and Muslims (Q 33:7; cf. 3:81). There is, in the Qurʾān, a society of prophets, as it were, that will endure until judgment day and vindication, with their communities safeguarded by their faith. A vigorous declaration of these closely related convictions is the following passage from the Medinan period, Q 58:21-2: "God has decreed: 'Verily, I and my messengers shall prevail…' You will not find any people believing in God and the last day, loving those who resist God and his messenger, even though they were their fathers or their sons, or their brothers, or their kindred. For such he has written faith *(al-īmān)* in their hearts, and strengthened them with a spirit from himself. And he will admit them to gardens beneath which rivers flow, to dwell therein forever. God will be well pleased with them and they with him. They are the party of God *(ḥizb Allāh)*. Truly it is the party of God that will be successful *(al-mufliḥūn)*."

The word *ḥizb* (pl. *aḥzāb*) occurs a number of times and is pertinent to this discourse because it can mean sect, party or confederacy in the religious sense. A *ḥizb* of Satan is mentioned in Q 58:19 and shortly afterward countered by a *ḥizb Allāh* (Q 58:22). Q 33 takes its name, "The Confederates" (Sūrat al-Aḥzāb) from a grouping of clans opposed to Muḥammad at the Battle of the Ditch *(khandaq)* in 5/627. Earlier occurrences of *aḥzāb* refer to ancient peoples who had rejected their prophets (e.g. Q 38:11-3; discussed in F. Rahman, *Major themes,* 138-9). The idolaters are characterized in Q 30:32 as "Those who split up their religion *(dīn),* and became sects *(shiyaʿ)* — each party *(ḥizb)* rejoicing in that which is with itself." Unlike *umma,* the term *ḥizb* does not come to refer to the Muslims exclusively. Even so, it does have a powerful rhetorical impact when conjoined with the divine name, as in *ḥizb Allāh*. The party of God trumps all other parties and is the opposite of sectarianism and division. The Qurʾān claims unity and communal coherence in belief and practice, and that not only for Islam as the religion established under the prophetic guidance of Muḥammad. The Qurʾān further insists that "the same religion *(dīn)* has he established for you [i.e. the Muslims under Muḥammad's leadership] as that which he enjoined upon Noah — that which we have sent by inspiration to you — and that which we enjoined on Abraham, Moses, and Jesus: Namely, that you should remain steadfast in religion and make no divisions therein" (Q 42:13). Passages such as this help us to understand better the direction and character of qurʾānic criticisms of Jews and Christians. The message is not denying the validity of those traditions' fundamental covenants and doctrines — indeed it is strongly affirming it; the problem is a perceived deviation from the primordial monotheism that the Qurʾān views as having been established by Abraham, Moses and Jesus preeminently. The quarrel is, as it were, a family affair. Inasmuch as the old-style "Muslims" have slipped and deviated as well as split up into sects, then the fresh Muslims of the Muḥammadan renewal movement — and such it is viewed to be — must fill the breach and constitute the party of God.

The principal covenant term in the Qurʾān is *mīthāq,* from *wathiqa,* meaning to place confidence in someone. In the third form the verb means to enter a compact or treaty. *Mīthāq* can have a secular sense, as in Q 4:21 where it concerns a marriage price compact. Most often, however, *mīthāq* in the Qurʾān refers to a religious agreement between God and humans or more specifically between God and his prophets, usually in the context of the People of the Book *(ahl al-kitāb)*. The term occurs 25 times, principally in Medinan passages.

Another important qurʾānic term for

covenants and contracts is *ʿahd,* whether with reference to the Children of Israel (e.g. Q 2:40) or to the Muslims. The root occurs more than 50 times, mostly in Medinan passages. (A valuable exploration and analysis of covenant ideas in the ancient Semitic world is J. Pedersen, *Der Eid bei den Semiten;* a review of selected theories concerning covenant in the Qurʾān is F. Denny, Religio-communal terms).

Some negative religio-communal terms

We have mostly considered positive communal terms and concepts such as *umma, milla, ḥanīf/ḥunafāʾ,* submitters, believers and the People of the Book. The strongly negative and accursed category of idolaters *(mushrikūn)* has also been included because of its frequent binary opposition with the various positive dimensions of monotheistic theology and ethics. Also, there are the so-called hypocrites (see HYPOCRITES AND HYPOCRISY), a category represented in the Qurʾān more than 25 times often in contrast to the believers. Although the historical Hypocrites *(al-munāfiqūn),* a disaffected Medinan community that, covertly, supported the Meccan Quraysh (q.v.), were nominally Muslim, they are consigned, together with the unbelievers, to hell (Q 9:68 with both masculine and feminine plural forms so as to specify equal accountability and treatment; cf. Q 4:140; Q 33:73 has the hypocrites and idolaters, male and female, paired for punishment; see REWARD AND PUNISHMENT).

Another strongly negative category centers upon *kufr,* which can be translated as unbelief, ingratitude or covering and concealing the truth (see GRATITUDE AND INGRATITUDE). The root occurs three times as often as the root *(s-l-m)* for Islam and Muslim. Only the root for faith *(ʾ-m-n)* occurs more frequently among the terms we are examining here. To disbelieve in or be ungrateful to God is not always considered to be as heinous as idolatry *(shirk)* but it is a grave offense and is sometimes understood as interchangeable with idolatry. So prevalent is the Muslim awareness of being a people strongly demarcated from other communities and so persistent is the Qurʾān's condemnation of unbelievers that Muslims have throughout history referred to non-Muslims as *kāfirūn,* "unbelievers, infidels," although the degree and type of unbelief has been a topic of reflection and mitigation (cf. Jewish characterizations of outsiders as Gentiles *(goyyim)* and Christian references to infidels and gentiles, whether Muslims or others). In this regard, recall Q 109, known as "The Unbelievers" (Sūrat al-Kāfirūn), quoted and discussed above.

Another frequent signifier for humans engaging in disapproved beliefs and behavior is the Arabic root *k-dh-b,* which occurs in the Qurʾān in active verbal forms as well as plural forms, e.g. *mukadhdhibūn,* "those who falsely accuse or deny." In Q 77, an early Meccan litany of punishments to come, the following phrase punctuates the building tempo ten times: "Ah woe, that day, to the rejecters of truth *(al-mukadhdhibīn)!*"

"Those who are astray, in error" are known in the Qurʾān as *ḍāllūn*. This term often implies a willful straying and not a haphazard mistake. An example is Q 3:90: "But those who disbelieve after they believed, and then go on adding to their disbelief — never will their repentance be accepted; for they are those who have [of set purpose] gone astray *(ūlāʾika humu l-ḍāllūn)*." The most frequently encountered example of this group term is in Q 1 "The Opening" (Sūrat al-Fātiḥa): "Show us the straight path, the path of those on whom you have bestowed your grace, not [the path of] those whose portion is wrath, nor of those who go astray *(al-ḍāllīn)*" (Q 1:6-7). One school of classical Qurʾān commentary *(tafsīr)* has interpreted this term in this

particular passage to refer to the Christians, with the Jews being understood as the objects of the divine wrath. This is a questionable interpretation of the meaning of the references at the time of their revelation, however, because the sūra is universally regarded as very early and, thus, is more pertinent to the conflicts between Muḥammad and the polytheistic Quraysh̄ıs of Mecca during a period when Muslim prayers at the Kaʿba (q.v.) sanctuary were a vexed issue. (But see F. Donner, *Narratives,* 162-3, for a discussion of the matter in the early Medinan context).

Another negative term applied to groups is *mutakabbirūn,* "arrogant ones" (e.g. Q 39:60 where hell is the "abode for the haughty"; see ARROGANCE). Although this category does not denote a moral meaning as such, the desert Arabs *(al-aʿrāb)* are viewed somewhat negatively in the Qurʾān, as in Q 9:97: "The Arabs of the desert are the worst in unbelief and hypocrisy, and most fitted to be in ignorance of the command which God has sent down to his messenger." But not all desert Arabs are considered wicked and, although some went to Muḥammad claiming to be believers, they had not quite reached that level yet (Q 49:14) as is described above. This survey has not been exhaustive but it does suggest the range of negative terms by which human groups or types are categorized.

Marriage and family

Marriage and domestic interrelations between the sexes figure fairly prominently in the Qurʾān. This is not surprising considering the importance of kinship in ancient Arabian society. Although before the founding of the Muslim *umma* there were no stable, large scale social groups, particularly of a political character, beyond the tribal level, kinship was a well delineated social reality with varied, complex levels. The Qurʾān does not explicate this topic although key terms and concepts occur here and there.

Perhaps the most explicit treatment of kinship relations in the Qurʾān in a sociological (as well as a legal and moral) sense involves the immediate family level in connection with what is permitted and forbidden with respect to marriage, family (q.v), sexual relations (see SEX AND SEXUALITY), women's rights, orphans (q.v.), inheritance (q.v.) and related matters (see SOCIAL RELATIONS). The fourth sūra, "Women" (Sūrat al-Nisāʾ), is in a way a parallel with the Jewish *mishna's* book on women. There is no sūra about men as such because the society into which the Qurʾān came was an increasingly patriarchal and patrilineal society albeit with some vestiges of matrilinearity (if not matriarchy), depending on how the sources are interpreted (see W.R. Smith, *Kinship and marriage,* ch. 3; W.M. Watt, *Muhammad at Medina,* 272-3; L. Ahmed, *Women and gender,* 41f.; A. Wadud-Muhsin, *Qurʾān and woman,* 1992; see WOMEN AND THE QURʾĀN).

Watt contends, as was noted earlier, that the pre-Islamic Arabian family tended most often towards a matrilineal type with both women and men "reckoned as belonging to their mother's groups. Tribes and individuals are known as sons of females." (*Muhammad at Medina,* 272). Marriage was uxorial and property was communally owned by the matrilineal group. Women in this system could have several husbands concurrently. But Watt finds evidence of patrilineal practices as well, strongest in Mecca. The Qurʾān favors patrilinealism and probably de-emphasized continuing evidence of matrilineal practices. By the time of the emigration *(hijra)* to Medina both systems existed side by side, according to Watt, and "often intermingled" (ibid., 273). Watt theorizes that the patrilineal system came to replace

matrilineal tradition by the time Islam emerged and that it was based on increasing individualism. Males' interest in their own children went against the matrilineal tradition when it came to distributing inheritances. Under patrilineal authority a man could control the distribution of his wealth after his death and preserve it for his own sons especially, whereas under the matrilineal custom the inheritance would normally devolve to his sister's son. As patrilineal practices increased in influence men were much more interested in who was in fact father to sons while under a matrilineal system that was not deemed to be very important. Watt argues that the Qurʾān encourages patrilinearity, for example, in its legislation concerning the waiting period *(ʿidda)* between divorce and remarriage of a woman — to see if she were pregnant from her former husband. "In the case of divorce the man, if he was a 'gentleman,' would do nothing during the waiting period that would prevent cancellation of the divorce should his wife present him with a son" (ibid., 274).

The Qurʾān exhorts men to marry up to four wives (Q 4:3). In pre-Islamic Arabia men sometimes married more than four wives concurrently but the Qurʾān stipulates that if wives cannot be treated equally then only one woman should be married. There is much concerning marriage in Q 4. There is also a detailed listing of people whom it is forbidden for a male to wed (Q 4:22-4), namely his mother, daughter, sister, aunt (on either side), his brother's or sister's daughter, his wife's mother or daughter or his father's or son's wife, someone who has nursed the male, stepdaughters (provided their mother and the male have consummated their marriage), women who have been married to one's sons or two sisters concurrently (see MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE).

The forbidden degrees of marriage just summarized are complemented by a listing of the legal bounds of consanguinity in Q 24:31. This regulation is situated in a discussion of personal and family privacy and propriety governing believers: They should not enter houses other than their own without gaining permission, and both men and women should be exceedingly modest in their relations with each other (see CHASTITY). Women, particularly, should draw their veils (see VEIL) over their bosoms and not display their beauty except to their husbands, their fathers, their husbands' fathers, their sons, their husbands' sons, their brothers or their brothers' sons or their sisters' sons or their women, or the slaves whom their right hands possess or male servants free of physical needs (see SLAVES AND SLAVERY) or small children who have no understanding of the nakedness of women (cf. Q 24:31).

Those enumerated in Q 4:22-4 are known in Islamic law as forbidden *(maḥram)* to marry because of being within the bounds of legal consanguinity (see LAWFUL AND UNLAWFUL). Until the present, Muslims have, more often than not, conducted their social lives strictly within these boundaries with the result that free mingling between the sexes, as is often found in the schools, workplaces, markets, entertainment centers and so forth of western societies, is severely censured by the traditionally-minded. Needless to say, strict interpretation of the qurʾānic teachings concerning social relations between the sexes is strongly challenging Muslim families and individuals now residing in western countries where such behavior is normal (see SOCIAL INTERACTIONS).

There is material in the Qurʾān pertaining to the prophet Muḥammad's marriages and family life (see FAMILY OF THE PROPHET). In Q 33:50 we read that, for a period, he was permitted by God to marry without limit, whereas other Muslims were

limited to four wives concurrently. But this permission to Muḥammad was later withdrawn (Q 33:52) so that he ceased taking wives (except for Mary the Copt, but she was sometimes reported to have the status of concubine, not wife). One of the issues that loomed large in the Medinan period of Muḥammad's prophetic career was privacy and security for his family in a growing and sometimes unruly social milieu. The Prophet's family situation, with multiple wives and households beyond the four permitted to Muslims by the Qurʾān, required special attention and regulation. Watt characterizes Muḥammad's households as a "plural virilocal family" (*Muhammad at Medina,* 284), meaning that his residence was the base with close proximity of his wives' separate households. The Prophet visited his several wives in a scheduled manner and sought always to be equitable and just in his dealings with each of them. Muḥammad's wives had special status above other women in the early Islamic movement (see WIVES OF THE PROPHET). This is seen, for example, in the institution of veiling or covering *(ḥijāb)* addressed by the Qurʾān in Q 33:53: "O you who believe! Do not enter the Prophet's houses until leave is given to you, for a meal, but not so early as to await its preparation. But when you are invited, enter; and when you have taken your meal, disperse without small talk. Such behavior bothers the Prophet; he is ashamed to dismiss you, but God is not ashamed to tell the truth. And when you ask of the women of his household anything, do so from behind a screen *(ḥijāb):* That is more pure for their hearts and for yours." A bit farther in the same sūra, additional admonition is provided: "O Prophet, tell your wives and daughters, and the women of the believers, that they should draw their jilbabs [*jalābīb,* flowing garments covering the bosom and neck, or even the whole body] about themselves. That is better, that they be recognized [sc. as respectable women] and not bothered (Q 33:59)." Whatever the original reasons for such regulations, Muslims ever since have drawn on the above two passages for guidance in the conduct of their social relations, particularly regarding male-female contact, the presentation of the female self and proper deportment generally.

The original context for the revelations was clearly one of stressed conditions wherein the Prophet's family was subjected to more or less public display because of the proximity of their households to the center of power in Medina. People apparently attempted to access the Prophet by seeking the intervention of members of his household which in the case of his wives could lead to gossip and even scandal (see W.M. Watt, *Muhammad at Medina,* 285). There were also tensions and conflicts between the elements of Muḥammad's extended households.

There has been considerable discussion and debate over whether the passage about the screen, or curtain, namely the *ḥijāb,* applies only to the Prophet's wives in that context or more generally to Muslim women in all times and places. There is no consensus in a restricted sense although Muslims generally accept the passages as serious advice however the specifics are interpreted and emulated.

Society perfected

Although the Qurʾān's treatment of society and community is focused principally on the historical world, considerable attention is also given to the afterlife, whether in heaven or hell. The Companions of the Garden *(aṣḥāb al-janna),* those who believed and lived upright lives, will live an eternal existence of happiness in the company of God, the angels (see ANGEL), the lovely female denizens or houris (*ḥūr,* see HOURIS)

and the community of the saved. As for this last grouping, believing husbands and wives will be together (Q 43:69-70) as will their pious parents and offspring (Q 13:23; cf. 52:21). Also in heaven will be those who fought in the way of God. The blessed of the garden will praise God (Q 10:10) and the angels in heaven will address the believers with: "Peace be unto you because you persevered patiently! How excellent is the final home!" (Q 13:24). Q 52 contains additional details about the heavenly society with its ranks of saved: persons reclining on couches (Q 52:20), the availability of good fruit and meat to eat (Q 52:22), the sharing of a convivial cup (Q 52:23; see CUP) and enjoyment of mutual inquiry and discussion without fear (Q 52:25; see GARDEN; PARADISE; BLESSING).

The damned, called Companions of the Fire *(aṣḥāb al-nār)* will suffer eternal woe and pain. The horrors of hell are described in various passages. The saved will be able to observe the damned and communicate with them in a limited way (Q 7:44). Some humans and jinn (q.v.; the creatures, made from fire, that have a moral nature similar to that of humans and include some converted by the Qurʾān; Q 72:1-19) will be consigned to hell (Q 7:179). Generally speaking, the saved in heaven will enjoy life in a society of purity, mutual respect and courtesy, and continued awareness of the blessings of God and his created order at an exalted level whereas the damned will suffer not only the literal pains of the fire (q.v.) but the alienation and meaninglessness that prevail when there is no meaningful social existence or community life. For the person who is consigned to hell, "therein shall he neither die nor live" (Q 20:74).

Conclusion

This article has covered the principle dimensions of the Qurʾān's views of society and community and it has attempted to place them in the social and cultural context of pre-Islamic Arabia. Although the material in the Qurʾān concerning more descriptive dimensions of our subject is limited, the doctrines and views contained there have nevertheless had the most important influences on the history, customs and attitudes of Muslim peoples everywhere. Even today we find Muslim countries aspiring to order their lives according to the Qurʾān, treating it as a charter and constitution for their societies.

Surely the most enduring and influential qurʾānic idea and ideal of community is that of *umma* and so flexible is it in specific social, religious, and political terms that it can be embraced across a wide range of concerns by Muslims without their losing a general sense of common cause and consensus concerning the big questions of belief and the proper conduct of life both individually and communally. Indeed, the *umma* idea has enabled Muslims to endure serious setbacks as in the times of western colonialism when political power was at a low point in many Muslim regions. What is more, the *umma* ideal does not require a unified political order among Muslims in order to be realized and activated. In America, for example, Muslim prison inmates constitute *umma*s in the facilities where they are incarcerated. And North America itself, as is often said, is a place where the *umma* is being established (see AFRICAN AMERICANS). There is one *umma* ideally but there are multiple instances of the *umma* being established, empowered and enjoyed as an enduring religio-moral community in touch with the Muslim mainstream.

Wherever one looks in the spreading Muslim populations of today — in the traditional centers of Muslim civilization and in new locales such as Europe, the Americas, Australia, New Zealand and the

Pacific — the qurʾānic foundations and models of social and communal life of Muslims predominate and provide an ever fresh and innovative approach to defining what it means to be Muslim and how to live in a pluralistic world alongside other communities and societies, whether religious or secular in nature. For an examination of the qurʾānic terminology relating to the commercial and economic aspects of communal life, see SELLING AND BUYING.

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Companions of the Prophet

The body of people who had known or seen the Prophet Muḥammad during his lifetime. The plural "Companions of the Prophet" *(aṣḥāb al-nabī),* otherwise known simply as "the Companions" *(ṣaḥāba),* is derived from the root *ṣ-ḥ-b* and has referred, at least since the classical period, to this group. (On the question of whether a merely ocular encounter with the Prophet could be considered a sufficient criterion to render someone a Companion, cf. Goldziher, *MS,* ii, 240.) For Sunnī Muslims, a reference to the Companions serves not

only to describe certain individuals as a collective entity but also carries with it an immense weight from a theologico-political prescriptive: Appeal is made to the sayings and deeds of the Prophet and his Companions, as recorded in the ḥadīth, in all matters of Islamic decision-making as well as for guidelines about personal piety and everyday conduct.

As explicitly articulated in al-Shāfiʿī's (d. 204/820) great legal treatise *al-Risāla,* the manner of conduct (*sunna,* q.v.) of the Prophet and his Companions is considered one of the four sources of the law *(uṣūl al-fiqh)* and commands an authority second only to that of the Qurʾān. Al-Shāfiʿī locates the authority for the prophetic sunna in the Qurʾān itself, insofar as the Qurʾān commands Muslims to obey the Prophet's orders. Although al-Shāfiʿī asserts that the Qurʾān "explains everything," he argues nonetheless that the sunna may clarify the general or particular meaning of a qurʾānic passage or supply an answer to an issue not treated in the book. In response to the question whether the Qurʾān can ever abrogate the sunna, al-Shāfiʿī replies that only another sunna can abrogate the sunna (see ABROGATION). This statement appears to be based on his explicit presumption that the sunna can never be in contradiction with the Qurʾān. He also avers that if there "is a contradiction [in the sunna], it is not a contradiction" (cf. *al-Risāla,* chapter ix, "On Traditions").

Qurʾānic references

Given the enormous religious significance later accorded the Companions of the Prophet by Sunnī Muslims, it is interesting to note that the phrase *aṣḥāb al-nabī* does not appear anywhere in the Qurʾān. Nor does the plural form *ṣaḥāba* occur there. Of the 94 times that the noun *ṣāḥib* and its plural *aṣḥāb* do appear in the Qurʾān, the vast majority of instances are found in the following phrases: companions of the fire (q.v.; or hell, q.v.) and companions of paradise (q.v.; 42 times), and companions of the right hand and companions of the left hand (14 times; see HANDS). The Companions of the fire (or hell) are also usually identified, in a nearly formulaic fashion, as "those who disbelieved [see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF; BLASPHEMY] and lied about our signs (q.v.)." It is emphasized that those people are not only "Companions" of the fire but also that they are most emphatically "dwelling in it."

The remaining instances of *ṣāḥib* carry a wide range of generic meanings including any fellow traveler, fellow dweller, friend or mate. In the three instances in which a verbal form of the root *ṣ-ḥ-b* occurs in the Qurʾān, the actions are predicated by Moses (q.v.; *lā tuṣāḥibnī,* Q 18:76), Luqmān (q.v.; *ṣāḥibhumā,* Q 31:15) and those who worship other gods (*yuṣḥabūna,* Q 21:43; see IDOLATRY AND IDOLATERS), respectively.

The Qurʾān qualifies the Prophet three times as "your [pl.] companion" and once as "their companion." However, in these four cases the Prophet is not being described as the companion of the faithful but rather as the companion of those who disbelieve. "Those who have lied about our signs" are addressed by the qurʾānic verse, "your companion is not possessed" (Q 81:22). The same group is urged to see that "there is no madness in their companion" (Q 7:184). After recalling those who have "lied about my messengers" (Q 34:45), the Qurʾān attests that "there is no madness in your companion" (Q 34:46). The Qurʾān also reminds that "your companion has not gone astray (q.v.), nor is he deluded" (Q 53:2; see IMPECCABILITY AND INFALLIBILITY). Q 9:40 is the only qurʾānic verse in which someone is designated as the "companion" of the Prophet. However, Abū Bakr appears to be designated as such only insofar as he is Muḥammad's "fellow

dweller" in the cave (q.v.) where they were hiding (see EMIGRATION). The notion of the Companions of the Prophet as a defined body with a special theologico-political authority thus does not appear to be attested by the revelation.

The Companions in the ḥadīth and exegetical literature

While the Companions as a body as such are not mentioned in the Qurʾān, they, as well as their relations to the Qurʾān, are amply attested in the ḥadīth and exegetical literature. One finds ḥadīth collections in the form of short manuscripts or pamphlets dedicated to the sayings and deeds of a single companion, as well as larger anthologies that treat individual Companions in sub-chapters (*kutub,* literally "books"). The well known ḥadīth collections of the classical period gather stories about the virtues *(faḍāʾil* or *manāqib)* of the Companions, taken as a group, in discrete chapters. The remaining narratives about the sayings and deeds of the Prophet and his Companions in this literature are organized according to practically expedient themes such as prayer (q.v.), fasting (q.v.), alms (see ALMSGIVING) and so forth. Other compendia supply a list of the Companions with short biographical references along with some of the reports they handed down. (For some of the most famous collections of ḥadīth, *sīra* and *ṭabaqāt,* see bibliography below; see also SĪRA AND THE QURʾĀN).

For Muslims, it is the reputation of the men and women who handed down the stories about the sayings of the Companions that guarantees the veracity of these accounts rather than the content of the stories and sayings themselves. Accordingly, one finds prefixed to the text of each ḥadīth story *(matn)* a chain of transmitters *(isnād)* linking that particular account back to one of the Companions or to the Prophet himself (see ḤADĪTH AND THE QURʾĀN). According to al-Shāfiʿī, the minimum proof for the authenticity of a narrative about the Prophet is that the narrative must be "related by one person from another back to the Prophet or to one next to the Prophet." Ḥadīths are thus not only about the Prophet and his Companions but they are also recounted by them as well.

The ḥadīth narratives also address the question of their own authenticity internally. For example, one finds ḥadīths in which a Companion recounts that a ḥadīth about the Prophet and his Companions is to be considered sound only if two Companions can testify to it. In some story cycles, one finds the Companions openly discussing and then deciding upon the limits of their own authority. In the absence of a clear prophetic precedent, they are often called upon to make their own decisions on the basis of utility, which in turn may be further validated by God. One sees this, for example, in ʿUmar's and Abū Bakr's successful persuasion of Zayd b. Thābit to compile the revelation into one written book after the Prophet's death on the basis of God having "opened" their breasts to it and its being a "good" thing despite the fact that the Prophet himself had not done it (cf. Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ, Tafsīr al-Qurʾān,* 9, *Faḍāʿil al-Qurʾān,* 3 and *Aḥkām,* 37; see CODICES OF THE QURʾĀN; COLLECTION OF THE QURʾĀN).

Certain Companions enjoy a special distinction in ḥadīth literature. The first four caliphs (or successors to the Prophet; see CALIPH) are remembered by Sunnīs as the Rightly Guided Ones *(Rāshidūn)*. They are Abū Bakr (r. 11-3/632-4), ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb (r. 13-23/634-44), Uthmān b. ʿAffān (q.v.; r. 23-35/644-56) and ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib (q.v.; r. 35-40/656-61) respectively. Sunnīs recall the period of their political leadership as a golden age from which the Muslim community has devolved not only

in time but also in righteousness. The caliph ʿUmar also appears to have predicted the revelation, verbatim, before it was announced by the Prophet on at least three different occasions. Accordingly, the narratives have him claim that "my lord agreed with me about three (things)" and that "I agreed with God about three (things)" (cf. Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ, Tafsīr al-Qurʾān,* 2 and *Ṣalāt,* 31). The Prophet's cousin Ibn ʿAbbās (d. ca. 67-8/686-8; see FAMILY OF THE PROPHET), as well as Muḥammad's youngest wife ʿĀʾisha bint Abī Bakr (q.v.; d. 58/678), are also frequently mentioned, among many others. Over 600 women are mentioned by name in the six canonical collections alone, either as transmitters or in the ḥadīth stories themselves.

The canonical ḥadīth also mention that "ten will be in paradise" although the ten names that comprise that list vary. According to Abū Dāwūd (d. 275/889) and Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal (d. 241/845), the ten include Muḥammad, Abū Bakr, ʿUmar, ʿUthmān, ʿAlī, Ṭalḥa, Zubayr, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf, Saʿd b. Abī Waqqāṣ and Saʿīd b. Zayd. According to al-Tirmidhī (d. ca. 270/883-4), Ibn Saʿd (d. 230/845) and Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, on the other hand, the name of Abū ʿUbayda b. al-Jarrāḥ is substituted for that of Muḥammad in this list. The ten later came to be referred to as *al-ʿashara al-mubashshara,* although this term does not appear in the canonical ḥadīth collections themselves.

The Prophet's Companions were also commonly distinguished according to other categories such as whether they accompanied him as emigrants *(muhājirūn)* from Mecca to Medina (then known as Yathrib; see MEDINA), whether they were "helpers" (*anṣār;* see EMIGRANTS AND HELPERS) from Medina, whether they fought in certain battles (such as the battle of Badr, q.v.) and how early they converted to Islam. (Cf. Nawawī, *Sharḥ,* v, 161, for a collection of the differing views about the gradations attributed to the Companions).

Whereas the *muhājirūn* were largely pagan converts to Islam from Mecca, the *anṣār* were primarily converts from the Aws and Khazraj tribes of Medina (see TRIBES AND CLANS). Both categories are mentioned by name in Q 9:100 and 9:117. The term *anṣār* is related to the verb *naṣara,* in the sense of coming to the aid of someone who has been wronged by his enemy, which is found in Q 8:72, among other instances of its use. The word *anṣār* also bears some resemblance to the Arabic *naṣārā* or "Christians," as when Jesus (q.v.) asks in Q 3:52 "who will be my helpers in God's cause?" The more common exegetical etymology of *naṣārā,* however, connects it to the village of Jesus, i.e. Nazareth (al-Nāṣira; see CHRISTIANS AND CHRISTIANITY).

Another group of Companions is distinguished as the so-called "people of the bench" *(ahl al-ṣuffa)*. According to Lane, these were the people who reclined on the bench or banquette in a long, covered portico or vestibule attached to Muḥammad's home, part of the mosque complex in Medina. Later legend traces the origins of the mystical, ascetic Ṣūfī group to these Companions — based in part on the similarity between the Arabic words for bench *(ṣuffa)* and for the woolen *(ṣūfī)* garment the Ṣūfīs wore (see ṢŪFISM AND THE QURʾĀN). Some commentators, such as Muḥammad b. Kaʿb al-Quraẓī claim that qurʾānic passages such as Q 2:273-4, 6:52, 18:27-8 and 42:26-7 are intended to refer to the *ahl al-ṣuffa* even though they are not explicitly mentioned by name there. Other orthodox commentators, such as al-Bayḍāwī (d. ca. 716/1316-7), are more hesitant to make such assertions reporting only that "it is said" to be the case.

Although some of the stories in Shīʿī collections of ḥadīth overlap with those found in their Sunnī counterparts, they are read

by the Shīʿa (q.v.) in different, and sometimes in directly opposite, ways. Most notably, the Shīʿa read the Prophet's sayings and deeds regarding ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib as an indication that the Prophet intended ʿAlī to succeed him following his death. Thus, in direct antithesis to the Sunnīs, the Shīʿa regard the rule of the first three caliphs not as a golden age but a period of unjust usurpation.

In many cases, this difference results in the paradoxical situation wherein Shīʿa may point to a ḥadīth about one of the first three caliphs as evidence of wickedness while Sunnīs may point to the very same story in their ḥadīth collection as evidence of that person's exemplary conduct. A classic example of this phenomenon would be their diametrically opposed readings of the second caliph ʿUmar. Shīʿa read these stories, such as the one where ʿUmar refuses to let the Prophet write something for his followers at the moment of his death, as evidence of ʿUmar's unsurpassed wickedness while Sunnīs interpret it as yet another example of ʿUmar's uncompromising defense of the Prophet's tradition (cf. Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ, Iʿtiṣām,* 28).

According to the tradition about the "people of the cloak" *(ahl al-kisāʾ)* the Shīʿa recount that Muḥammad went out one morning during the visit of the Najrān (q.v.) delegation and drew his daughter Fāṭima (q.v.), her husband ʿAlī and their sons al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn under his cloak (see CLOTHING; CURSE). He then uttered the words in Q 33:33: "God only desires to put away filthiness from you as his household *(ahl al-bayt),* and with cleansing to clean you." While the Sunnīs interpret the "filthiness" in this verse as unbelief, the Shīʿa understand it as a concern with this impure world and in particular with the Sunnī caliphate. For the Shīʿa, the *ahl al-bayt,* or Family of the Prophet (q.v.), have a special salvational function (see SALVATION). Devotion to them is central to the religion and it has a redemptive quality. In one version of the Prophet's farewell (q.v.) sermon, Muḥammad proclaims that God has given two safeguards to the world, his book (q.v.) and the Prophet's sunna. In another version, however, Muḥammad describes the two safeguards God left the world as his book and the Prophet's family *(ʿitra).* The heads of the family are the infallible and sinless Imāms (see IMĀM). For Muslims in general and for Sunnīs in particular, the Companions of the Prophet, collectively, can also be said to have played a certain role in the work of salvation as the link between the Prophet and the transmission of the faith.

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Compensation see RECOMPENSE

Compulsion see TOLERANCE AND COMPULSION

Computers and the Qurʾān

Electronic versions of the Qurʾān exist in two major forms: multimedia presentations of the Qurʾān on compact discs (CD-ROMs) and on the Internet, particularly on the World Wide Web (WWW). Each of these two forms has its own peculiarities and consequently they will be treated separately. The digitization of the Qurʾān also offers new but as yet relatively unexplored possibilities in computer-assisted textual analysis. Producing electronic versions of the Qurʾān presents no more of a technological difficulty than any other text, though the Arabic alphabet has several major encoding standards: ASMO 449, ISO 8859-6 and UNICODE. The pages of the Qurʾān need only be scanned and preserved as images or, alternatively, scanned and then encoded according to one of these standards using Optical Character Reader (OCR) software. Many such electronic versions of the Qurʾān already exist and most of the major translations of the Qurʾān have also been encoded. Nor does digitizing the Qurʾān present any significant theological difficulty. The importance of both qurʾānic recitation (see RECITATION OF THE QURʾĀN) and calligraphy (q.v.) demonstrates that Muslims accept the presentation of the Qurʾān in various media and even recitational requirements such as the *taʿawwudh* (a call for God's protection before reading the Qurʾān) can be incorporated digitally.

Multimedia presentations of the Qurʾān on CD-ROM

The storage capacity of compact discs not only allows the complete text of the Qurʾān to be preserved electronically in a relatively portable and inexpensive format but also permits it to be presented in a multimedia format. The description which follows is based upon the two most popular, currently available multimedia presentations on one or more CD-ROMs. Shared features of these presentations include: the fully vocalized text of the Qurʾān, a transliteration to aid pronunciation and as many as three English translations. The translations of ʿAbdallāh Yūsuf ʿAlī, Marmaduke M. Pickthall and Muḥammad Shākir are the most common. The ability to display these translations simultaneously along with the Arabic allows for easy comparison. One presentation also offers French, Spanish, German, Malay, Turkish, Indonesian, Chinese and Urdu translations as well as an Arabic exegetical commentary (*tafsīr;* see EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL; EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: EARLY MODERN AND CONTEMPORARY). The other presentation has bundled a number of reference books with the Qurʾān. The most notable of these are English translations of selected sections of Mālik b. Anas' (d. 179/796) *Muwaṭṭaʾ,* al-Bukhārī's (d. 256/870) *Ṣaḥīḥ* and those traditions which Muslims believe convey God's very words as uttered by the Prophet (*ḥadīth qudsī,* see ḤADĪTH AND THE QURʾĀN). It also includes abridged versions of the ḥadīth collections *(Sunans)* of Muslim (d. ca. 261/875), al-Tirmidhī (d. ca. 270/883-4) and Abū Dāwūd al-Sijistānī (d. 275/889). None of these *ḥadīth*s are presented with their lines of transmission *(isnād*s). Additional bundled reference materials include English translations of Muḥammad's last sermon (see FAREWELL), a legal *(fiqh)* text, biographies of the Companions (see COMPANIONS OF THE PROPHET), various subject indices, concordances and dictionaries and the sūra introductions of the modern Pakistani exegete, Abū al-ʿAlāʾ al-Mawdūdī. Both of these multimedia presentations

also provide audio recitations coordinated with the displayed text of the Qur'ān. Several recitation styles may be present (see RECITATION, THE ART OF), though at the time of writing these additional recitations require the use of more than one compact disc.

All of these features on one or even a few compact discs is certainly useful for a number of purposes. Pedagogically, they provide a means for more easily learning proper qur'ānic pronunciation and even the recitation(s) provided. The reference books included are also helpful for homiletic purposes. These multimedia presentations, however, are less useful as research tools. In one of the programs, searching can only be done with the English translation. In the other, searching is done with the Arabic text but only finds exact matches. Therefore, words that are vocalized or declined differently (for example, *al-kitābu* versus *al-kitābi*) are not found. As a result, no searching can be done according to the radical consonants alone. (For example, *kitāb* and its plural, *kutub* would have to be searched individually rather than by their three common consonants.)

The Qur'ān as hypertext on the World Wide Web

Electronic versions of the Qur'ān on the Internet predate those on CD-ROMs and can be downloaded to one's personal computer. Numerous sites on the WWW also contain electronic versions of the Qur'ān that can be viewed by browsers (front-end graphical interfaces) such as Netscape or Internet Explorer — though this normally requires that an Arabic font exist on the destination computer. Most of the popular translations of the Qur'ān are also readily available. The placing of the Qur'ān in this medium is not remarkable but it is the potential of this medium that may have an enormous impact on how the Qur'ān is used and understood.

The technology used for producing and preserving written documents whether inscriptions on stone, wood or clay, handwritten papyrus scrolls and codices or mechanically printed books, had a significant effect on the form and concept of scripture in two important ways (see CODICES OF THE QUR'ĀN; COLLECTION OF THE QUR'ĀN; TEXTUAL HISTORY OF THE QUR'ĀN). First, the prevalent technology determined who had access to the meaning of the texts and thus controlled that meaning. The scroll and the codex visibly fixed a text but left the interpretative authority in the hands of literate elites. This manuscript culture allowed the concept of canon — with its claims to unicity of authority, content and source — to develop. The printed book democratized direct access to scripture while largely retaining its stability. Second, the technology, particularly in the Islamic context, influenced the scripture's self-description. In the Qur'ān, God is even said to "teach by the pen" (Q 96:4). A sense of awe at the written word is also obvious in the use of the word *kitāb* for God's various revelations (see BOOK; REVELATION AND INSPIRATION), the records of deeds (*kitāb a'māl,* see RECORD OF HUMAN ACTIONS) and the knowledge and power of God (as in Q 34:3; see POWER AND IMPOTENCE; GOD AND HIS ATTRIBUTES). It is precisely in the areas of canonicity and respect for the written word, both products of a manuscript and print culture, that the reduction of God's speech to ones and zeroes may prove problematic.

Computers have introduced the use of hypertexts and hypermedia which represents a technological revolution as significant as the inventions of papyrus and the printing press. A printed book is a linear structure — the reader moves from beginning to end or in the case of the Qur'ān from one verse to the next sequentially. Cross references in footnotes, indices and

concordances have adapted this linear retrieval system somewhat and are themselves a form of hypertext or "non-sequential writing." But such cross references are not problematic and in fact support theological claims for the unity of a text of scripture whereas hypertexts on the WWW may undermine such claims. More generally, hypertexts are texts with links to other texts. These information units are connected through linkages made by the author or by the reader using a browser. Instead of linear or sequential access required of the printed text, the author or reader can use the computer's ability to access a multitude of diverse texts, some or all of which are located on other computers connected by the Internet. The author of a particular text may be able to determine what links to other texts will be embedded in his or her own text, but cannot control which other texts will link themselves to his or her text. And since it is the reader who determines which links to follow, the text's context and meaning is also reader-dependent. In addition, these linked "texts" can include images, sounds, video and animation. Therefore it is more correct to speak of hypermedia or interactive multimedia. By its very nature hypermedia lends itself to multiple or even conflicting interpretations of these information units. They no longer speak with a single voice nor are they fixed and unified with a linear, hierarchical structure. Pundits predict that without this structure the binary opposites it produced such as central/marginal, top/bottom, first/last, orthodox/heretical, canonical/non-canonical will "vanish in the networked world of the hypertext" (R. Fowler, The fate of the notion of canon).

The doctrine of the Qurʾān's unicity of authority, content and source, a doctrine that has been so firmly established during the period of manuscript and print culture which produced concepts of "canon," is unlikely to be affected in a hypermedia culture. In other words, the content of the Qurʾān may not be as malleable or multilinear as other electronic texts and its status as the central authoritative text will probably survive the transition to the new technology. Where hypermedia is already affecting the Qurʾān is in its interpretation. Exegesis or interpretation of the Qurʾān *(tafsīr)* has been until now largely under the purview of scholars steeped in the classical tradition. Currently, a search of the WWW on the word "Qurʾān" will yield close to 10,000 "hits" with subjects that range from "how to become a Muslim" to "contradictions in the Qurʾān." Websites offering access to electronic versions of the Qurʾān or interpretation of the Qurʾān are as often those of the Nation of Islam, Aḥmadiyyas, Bahāʾīs as those of more "orthodox" groups and individuals (see AFRICAN AMERICANS; AḤMADIYYA; BAHĀʾĪS). While most do not present themselves as commentaries *(tafsīr*s*),* clearly the context in which they are placed will affect how the reader interprets the Qurʾān. And on the WWW, there are no scholars or *ʿulamāʾ* to police or censor websites. Therefore, while the WWW and hypermedia are unlikely to make the qurʾānic canon more fluid, the democratization of *tafsīr* has already begun.

Although this development presents new possibilities for research about the popular understanding of the Qurʾān, it will unlikely become a significant new tool for scholars of the classical exegetical tradition. There are, however, far more practical research applications for the WWW. Digital libraries accessed through the WWW have obvious advantages. Ancient manuscripts of the Qurʾān, its commentaries or other early texts in museums and libraries around the world can easily be preserved electronically. Their copyrights or ownership can be protected by invisible

electronic watermarks. As electronic images, these manuscripts would be far easier to protect from man-made and natural disasters and even the slow decay of time. Moreover, instead of relying on the expertise of one scholar to analyze the provenance and authenticity of a text, digital preservation and distribution allow anyone access to the "original" manuscript.

Computer assisted analysis of the Qur'ān

Computers have proven to be extremely useful and sophisticated tools for analysis of texts. Stylistic, grammatical and lexical features can be located and compared with relative ease using computers (see GRAMMAR AND THE QUR'ĀN). Except for isolated efforts such as Rashad Khalifa's search for words and letters in the Qur'ān that occur in multiples of 19, little has been done with computer-assisted analysis of the text. For such analyses, the text of the Qur'ān and a complete index of all positions of the words (or words with the same roots) in the text are needed. At the very least, these two components would provide a simple computerized concordance — a useful project in itself. Automatic index and concordance software already exists: WordCruncher, Oxford Concordance Program, MacConcordance and TACT, for example. Each of these provides keyword-in-context (KWIC) concordances, meaning that these programs can generate a list of passages from the text in which a particular word occurs. Repetends, both fixed-order word sequences and collocations, can be discovered and even displayed using distributional graphs. Such software is not automatic — it still requires that the scholar produce some initial hypothesis.

Unfortunately, at the date of the writing of this article, the scholar must still work in translation. Such programs cannot be used with the Arabic text of the Qur'ān. Arabic, along with other Semitic languages, presents some unique morphological difficulties not present in most languages using Roman script (see ARABIC SCRIPT; ARABIC LANGUAGE). In order to search for a particular word in the Qur'ān, the software must be able to separate all the prefixes such as the definite article, conjunctions, prefixed prepositions, verbal prefixes and suffixes, nominal case suffixes and enclitic direct-object and possessive-pronoun suffixes. Only then could the root or stem of the word and its consonant-vowel pattern (both of which might be obscured by phonological and orthographic practices such as those associated with weak and hollow roots) be discerned. Such difficulties, though complex, are now being overcome. One new morphological analysis system includes a lexicon of 4,930 roots and a dictionary of 400 phonologically distinct patterns, many of which are obviously ambiguous (K. Beesley, Arabic morphological analysis). However, such a system has not yet been combined with KWIC software. Thus, for the present, computer-assisted analysis of the Qur'ān remains an intriguing but unexplored field. Nevertheless, given the speed of technological innovation the reader should remember that this article could capture only those advances available at the time of its authorship.

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Conceit

An exaggerated sense of one's own importance. The Qurʾān declares conceit and insolence toward others to be major human failings, especially when directed toward God and his prophets. Several qurʾānic terms elucidate the causes and consequences of conceit. *Mukhtāl* is a close Arabic equivalent to "self-conceit," and in the Qurʾān the three instances of the term are paired with the notion of boasting (*fakhūr,* see BOAST) as in Q 31:18: "Do not turn your cheek away from people in contempt, or strut about the earth (q.v.); God does not love any who are self-conceited and boastful!" This attitude of superiority stems from the mistaken belief that good and bad fortune are solely the product of one's own efforts whereas in fact they may be a test (see TRIAL) sent by God: "No disaster falls upon the earth or among yourselves, save that it is in a book (q.v.) before we cause it to appear — and that is easy for God — lest you should grieve for what has passed you by or be overjoyed by what has come to you. For God does not love any who are self-conceited *(mukhtāl)* and boastful *(fakhūr),* those who are stingy and encourage others to do likewise…" (Q 57:22-4; cf. 4:36).

While all humans are vulnerable to moments of smug self-satisfaction, according to the Qurʾān, persistent attitudes permeated with vanity and conceit have led many to think themselves self-sufficient and, so, they have scorned God's prophets and their calls for religious and social reform (see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD; GRATITUDE AND INGRATITUDE; VIRTUES AND VICES). In this context the Qurʾān speaks of those who are insolent (verb: *ʿatā;* noun: *ʿutūw*): "Who is there to sustain you if he withholds his sustenance? Yet [the unbelievers] persist in insolence and aversion" (Q 67:21). Conceit and insolence, then, are directly opposed to belief which requires obedience (q.v.) and humility (see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF). "Those who do not hope to meet us say: 'Why have no angels descended to us?' or 'Why do we not see your Lord?' They are full of self-superiority *(istakbarū fī anfusihim)* and extremely insolent!" (Q 25:21).

This passage introduces a third related qurʾānic concept, that of being haughty, arrogant or proud *(kibr, takabbara, mutakabbir, istakbara, istikbār, mustakbir).* In over fifty verses (q.v.), the Qurʾān condemns arrogance and pride (q.v.) which were first manifest by Iblīs when he refused the divine command to bow before Adam (see ADAM AND EVE; BOWING AND PROSTRATION; DEVIL; ANGEL): "When we told the angels, 'Prostrate to Adam!' they did so save Iblīs; he scornfully refused and grew haughty, and so became an unbeliever!" (Q 2:34; cf. 38:74-5). Following in Satan's footsteps was Pharaoh (q.v.) and communities in the past including those of ʿĀd (q.v.) and Thamūd (q.v.). In their arrogance, they denied God's message, persecuted his messengers and so earned God's wrath (e.g. Q 23:46; 7:73-84; see PUNISHMENT STORIES; CHASTISEMENT AND PUNISHMENT; ANGER). In response to such resistance "God seals up every haughty, pitiless heart!" (Q 40:35) and, as the Qurʾān declares on numerous occasions, damnation is the fate of all those who feel secure in their conceit and selfish ways: "And your Lord has said: 'Call to me, and I will answer you. Truly, those who are

too proud to worship (q.v.) me will enter hell (q.v.), humbled!'" (Q 40:60; cf. 4:173; 7:36). See also ARROGANCE.

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Concordances of the Qurʾān

see TOOLS FOR THE STUDY OF THE QURʾĀN; COMPUTERS AND THE QURʾĀN

Concubines

Female slaves who enter into a sexual relationship with their male master. In addition to four legal wives, Islamic law allows a Muslim man the right of sexual intercourse with his female slaves (see MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE; SEX AND SEXUALITY). This right is based on ancient Arab custom (see PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QURʾĀN) and on several verses of the Qurʾān which refer to "that which your [or their] right hands own *(mā malakat aymānukum,* variants: *aymānuhum, aymānuhunna, yamīnuka)*." The phrase occurs 15 times in the Qurʾān. Other qurʾānic terms for female slaves *(ama,* pl. *imāʾ, fatayāt)* do not refer to concubines but appear in the context of marriage (*ama,* pl. *imāʾ,* in Q 2:221 and 24:32; *fatayāt* in Q 4:25) or prostitution (*fatayāt* in Q 24:33). The classical Arabic word for concubine, *surriyya,* is unknown in the Qurʾān.

The circumlocution "that which your right hands own" appears as a generic term for slaves in several instances (e.g. Q 24:32, 58; 30:28; 33:55; 70:30) although elsewhere the subject of discussion appears to be marriage, not concubinage (Q 4:25; 33:50). For instance, Q 4:3, "Marry such women as please you — two, three or four — but if you fear that you will not be just, then only one, or those your right hands own," supports a reading of both marriage and concubinage, but al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923; *Tafsīr,* ad loc.), *Jalālayn* (ninth/fifteenth century) and other exegetes gloss this verse as referring to concubines. Q 23:5-6 and 70:29-30 are more explicit in urging men to hide their private parts from all except their wives and "those their right hands own."

The vague qurʾānic pronouncements on concubines are matched by vigorous debates in the first few centuries over the status of children (q.v.) born to concubines. Although the Prophet is known to have had a child by his concubine Māriya, who was given to him by the Byzantine ruler of Alexandria (see FAMILY OF THE PROPHET; MUḤAMMAD; WIVES OF THE PROPHET), the rules on the *umm walad* (literally "mother of children") were not solidified until long after the Prophet's death. According to this law, the children born to a free man and his concubine are legitimate; further, the concubine is freed upon the master's death. As the Islamic empire grew, concubines were understood as a necessary part of a ruler's household and most of the ʿAbbāsid caliphs were sons of concubines, who were able to exert considerable influence at times on political and courtly affairs.

The right of intercourse with slaves is not unlimited in Islamic law. For instance, right of intercourse does not translate into license to sell that right, as the Qurʾān specifically forbids the prostitution of female slaves (Q 24:33); nonetheless, such prostitution appears to have existed in Islamic societies. Unlike ancient Roman law, Islamic law does not extend the right of concubinage to female masters of male slaves nor

does it condone in any way homosexual intercourse. The Qurʾān also promotes marriage to slaves and abstinence (q.v.; see also CHASTITY) as alternatives to right of intercourse by possession. The marriage of free persons to slaves was unusual in other Near Eastern cultures and there appears to have been some problems with its incorporation into Islamic society. While al-Zamakhsharī (d. 538/1144; *Kashshāf,* i, 260) explains Q 2:221, "A believing female slave is better [to marry] than an idolatress," by stating that "all people are slaves of God *(al-nāsu kulluhum ʿabīdu llāhi wa-imāʾuhu),*" while the *Jalālayn* (ad loc.), on the other hand, regard marriage to slaves as shameful *(ʿayb).* See also SLAVES AND SLAVERY.

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Confession of Faith *(shahāda)* see WITNESS TESTIFYING

Conquest

Gain or acquisition by force of arms. In the Islamic context it is associated with the "opening" of a land to the message and rule of Islam. The Qurʾān, revealed as it was before the Islamic conquests had begun, does not possess a clear concept of conquest, but the Arabic root *f-t-ḥ* produced during the first Islamic century the technical term for the Muslims' conquests over the Byzantine and Sasanian empires *(fatḥ/futūḥ)* and is frequently translated as such in the Qurʾān.

The Qurʾān has much to say about warfare (see WAR). It is enjoined upon those able to do so (Q 48:17 exempts the blind, crippled and ill) at specific times, outside of specific places (Q 9:36; 2:217) and only within certain limits: "Fight in the way of God (see PATH OR WAY [OF GOD]) those who fight you, but do not aggress (or transgress)" (Q 2:190). Q 61:4 enjoins a formation, "God loves those who fight on his path in a rank," and Q 47:4 recommends a combat protocol, "when you meet the unbelievers, strike their necks until you have subdued them, then bind a bond" (cf. Q 8:12; see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF). In the next world, the reward for those who fight and die in battle is the pleasures of heaven (q.v.); in this world, it is the spoils of victory (q.v.), the distribution of booty (q.v.) figuring prominently — even producing the name of a sūra, Sūrat al-Anfāl (Q 8, "The Spoils of War"; see REWARD AND PUNISHMENT; BLESSING). The reason and purpose of warfare are less clear, perhaps because they were so clear to contemporaries; but they were probably religious. According to Q 9:33 and 61:9, Muḥammad had been sent by God to make his religion prevail over all others, "though the unbelievers loathe it." Q 2:193 and 8:39 instruct believers to fight until there is no *fitna,* a term usually understood to mean the Meccans' opposition to Muḥammad and his followers (see OPPOSITION TO MUḤAMMAD). According to Q 9:29, "those who have received the book (q.v.)" are to be fought until they pay the *jizya* (see TAXATION), an obscure verse that has inspired a small industry of scholarship.

For the historical context of these verses one conventionally turns to the historical and exegetical traditions. The Constitution of Medina, the series of documents understood to have been drafted by Muḥammad soon after his emigration (*hijra,* see EMIGRATION) from Mecca to Medina, makes it plain that he put his community on a war footing fairly soon after the *hijra* and indeed the first decade of the *hijra* was dominated by a string of campaigns, the most prominent being Badr (q.v.) in Ramaḍān (q.v.) of 2/624, Uḥud (q.v.), al-Khandaq ("The Ditch"; see PEOPLE OF THE DITCH), al- Ḥudaybiyya (q.v.), Khaybar (q.v.), Mecca (q.v.), Ḥunayn (q.v.), and Tabūk in Rajab of 9/630. The political context of this campaigning was tribal rather than imperial: Forces were small (tribesmen often numbering in the hundreds; see TRIBES AND CLANS), marches short and shows of strength more frequent than actual violence. The handling of captives (q.v.), one infers from Q 8:67, seems to have been *ad hoc*. The object of these campaigns, moreover, was not to acquire and control land so much as to secure the loyalty and obedience of the principal tribes, an object also achieved by negotiation and the promise of material blandishments of various sorts. That the tribesmen's loyalties had been committed to Muḥammad, rather than to his nascent polity, is made clear by the eruption of the so-called "Wars of Apostasy" that broke out upon his death (see APOSTASY). In the view of modern historians, Abū Bakr's (r. 11-3/632-4) campaigns to re-impose Islamic rule within the Arabian peninsula led directly to ʿUmar's (r. 13-23/634-44) campaigns beyond its borders.

The qurʾānic lexicon of warfare is dominated by the Arabic terms *qitāl* and *jihād* (q.v.), that of victory by *naṣr* and *fatḥ*. The first of this latter pair of terms, *naṣr,* poses fewer problems than the second, in part because its qurʾānic usage is so clearly mirrored by that in the Constitution of Medina where it, too, signifies "support" or "help" (either God's or the Believers'). As a first and second form verb, *f-t-ḥ* usually signifies the basic Semitic meaning "to open or loosen" (Hebrew *pātaḥ,* Aramaic and Syriac *pᵉtaḥ,* Ethiopic *fatḥa*). Qurʾānic usage correlates the verb with gates (usually of heaven [q.v.], sometimes of hell [q.v.], cf. Q 6:44; 7:40; 15:14; 23:77; 38:50; 39:71, 73; 54:11; 78:19), belongings or baggage (*matāʿahum,* Q 12:65; see JOSEPH), and Gog and Magog (q.v.; Q 21:96). Lexical authorities such as al-Rāghib al-Iṣfahānī (d. early fifth/eleventh cent.) not infrequently explain the Fātiḥa, the opening verses of the Qurʾān (see FĀTIḤA), as the "starting point, by which what follows is opened." The range of this verb also extends in several instances to the sense of revealing or delivering, e.g. "blessings from heaven and earth" and mercy (q.v.; Q 7:96 and 35:2, respectively) and in this sense it is echoed in Ḥassān b. Thābit's (d. ca. 40/659) verses as well as those of al-Farazdaq (d. ca. 110/728; *Sharḥ dīwān al-Farazdaq,* i, 375, line 6). In two instances of the imperative (Q 26:118 and 7:89; cf. the tenth forms in Q 2:89, 8:19 and 14:15), the root clearly has the narrower sense of to deliver, render or make a judgment. In Q 26:118, Noah asks God to "make a judgment between me and them" *(fa-ftaḥ baynī wa-baynahum fatḥan),* a translation that is indebted in the first instance to J. Horovitz ("Urteil," *KU* 18, n. 2) who is followed by A. Jeffery ("judgment, decision," *For. vocab.,* 221). Both adduce Ethiopic and Jeffery includes South Arabian as well (see J. Biella, *Dictionary,* 412f.; A. Beeston, *Dictionnaire,* 47; W. Leslau, *Comparative dictionary,* 170). Commentators suggest the same: R. Paret cites al-Farrāʾ (d. 207/822) *apud* al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923) for his reading of Q 7:89 *(rabbanā ftaḥ baynanā wa-bayna qawminā bi-l-ḥaqq wa-anta khayru*

l-fātiḥīn), to which can be added other authorities, both early and late. Thus Muqātil b. Sulaymān (d. 150/767; *Tafsīr,* ii, 49) glosses the imperative "make a judgment" *(ftaḥ)* as *iqḍi;* and Makkī b. Abī Ṭālib (d. 437/1045; *al-ʿUmda,* 136) and Abū Ḥayyān al-Andalusī (d. 745/1344; *Tuḥfat al-arīb,* 94) gloss it as *uḥkum,* the latter also glossing *al-fattāḥ* of Q 34:26 as the judge *(al-ḥākim).* Paret ("Bedeutungsentwicklung," *Kommentar,* 167) holds that this was the primary meaning *(Grundbedeutung)* of *f-t-ḥ,* translating it as *Entscheidung* (thus Q 8:19; 32:28, the latter perhaps best translated in English as reckoning). He further holds that it shifted towards success *(Erfolg),* which is how he suggests the noun and verb be read in a number of instances (Paret, Q 4:141; 5:52; 48:1, 18, 27; 57:10; 61:13; 110:1). Q 48:1, *innā fataḥnā laka fatḥan mubīnan,* which is said to have been revealed in connection with either Ḥudaybiyya or Khaybar, is translated by A.J. Arberry as "Surely we have given thee a manifest victory," and by Paret as "Wir haben dir einen offenkundigen Erfolg bescheiden." ʿAbd al-Razzāq al-Ṣanʿānī (d. 211/827; *Tafsīr,* ii, 225; see also Muqātil b. Sulaymān, *Tafsīr,* iv, 65) glosses this passage as "We have made a clear judgment for you" *(qaḍaynā laka qaḍāʾan mubīnan).*

For Paret, as for others (e.g. R. Bell, W.M. Watt), the fall of Mecca, particularly as mentioned in Q 57:10, probably explains the historians' use of *fatḥ* in the sense of conquer. In the words of Watt, "The meaning of conquest, however, is derived from this conception of the conquest of Mecca as a judgment or clearing up" (*Muhammad at Mecca,* 67). Certainly Mecca's capitulation hardly qualifies as conquest in any military sense. Only two Muslim fatalities are connected to the event, and these only tangentially. The city never really resisted, Abū Sufyān, the leader of pagan opposition, having been captured earlier. Even so, when medieval Muslims came across the term *al-fatḥ* in ḥadīth (e.g., *lā hijra baʿd al-fatḥ,* "there shall be no migration after the conquest") or in history in a more general context (e.g. *ʿām al-fatḥ,* "the year [A.H. 8] of the conquest"), they had no doubt which one was intended; indeed, according to some sources (e.g. Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* ii, 301), Muḥammad uttered a version of the *lā hijra* statement on the very day Mecca fell. Ibn Isḥāq (d. 150/767), as well as later authorities on the biography of the Prophet *(sīra),* describes any number of forays *(sariyyas)* and raids *(ghazwas),* but only one *fatḥ;* and it was the Prophet's campaigns (conventionally called *maghāzī*) that produced the normative form of prophetic biography in the first three centuries, alternative titles (e.g. al-Madāʾinī's putative *Kitāb Futūḥ al-nabī* cited by Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist,* 113) being extremely rare.

That the fall of Mecca came to be called *"al-fatḥ" tout court* must therefore be explained in terms of salvation (q.v.) rather than military or legal history. For unlike the treaty of Najrān (q.v.) or especially Khaybar, the terms of Muḥammad's entrance into (pagan) Mecca seem to have played no important role in legal discussions about the conquest fate of the (mostly Christian and Jewish) communities of the Near East (see JEWS AND JUDAISM; CHRISTIANS AND CHRISTIANITY). It might be suggested that by labelling as *futūḥ* the Muslims' victories outside of Arabia, historians sought to reinforce a point made by Tabūk accounts and the modelling of Muḥammad's biography upon Moses', i.e. that warfare beyond both the Arabian peninsula and the Prophet's direct experience enjoyed his (and God's) sanction. The natural alternative, the Arabic root *gh-l-b* meaning to overcome, conquer or prevail, was perhaps too closely associated with the fate of the Byzantines (q.v.) in Q 30. Exactly when and how Mecca emerged as

the definitive *fatḥ* is just as difficult to know, the evidence being so exiguous. For example, Q 110:1 (*idhā jāʾa naṣru llāh wa-l-fatḥ,* see Nöldeke, *GQ,* ii, 219f.; followed by F. Buhl, *Leben,* 310) is variously held to be a Meccan or a Medinan verse. Adducing the Medinan-sounding second verse, Nöldeke opted for the latter categorization, connecting it, via the exegetical works, to the fall of Mecca. This does appear to have been the tradition's consensus, one attested already in the commentary attributed to Mujāhid b. Jabr (d. 104/722, *Tafsīr,* 792; cf. Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad,* v, no. 3127). But some authorities held that events at Ḥunayn gave rise to the verses (thus Wāḥidī, *Asbāb,* 506) or even that it was revealed after the Prophet's Farewell Pilgrimage some two years later (see FAREWELL; OCCASIONS OF REVELATION). Q 57:10 is sometimes taken to refer to Mecca but other times to the truce *(ṣulḥ)* of al-Ḥudaybiya. Al-Ṭabarī preferred the latter. In fact, G.R. Hawting has adduced some evidence suggesting that the association of *fatḥ* in the sense of conquest with Mecca is secondary on two counts: The opening of the sanctuary at al-Ḥudaybiya may be primary.

In any case, since the poetry of the early Islamic period betrays a clear debt to qurʾānic imagery, one can fairly infer that the infusion of the Arabic root *f-t-ḥ* with God's providential direction was indeed a qurʾānic innovation, albeit one with scriptural precedents (e.g. *Deut* 28:12 and *Ezek* 25:9, the latter closer to the classical notion of conquest than anything qurʾānic). The first instance of this connection is a verse attributed to Muḥammad's contemporary Ḥassān b. Thābit (*Dīwān,* i, 17, line 14) which is said to have been composed shortly before Mecca fell in Ramaḍān of 8/629. It already echoes Q 18:101 and 50:22, as well as prophetic ḥadīth (Wensinck, *Concordance,* v, 50). Similarly, al-Farazdaq's panegyric to the Muhallabids (*Sharḥ dīwān al-Farazdaq,* i, 375, lines 5-6) draws on Q 48:18 (*fa-anzala l-sakīnata ʿalayhim wa-athābahum fatḥan qarīban,* see SECHINA). Elsewhere (*Dīwān,* i, 330, line 1), we find the qurʾānic conjunction of *fatḥ* and *naṣr,* along with the familiar instrumentality of human agents (see also *Sharḥ dīwān Jarīr,* 218, line 31): God conquers through men. The poetry of this period now begins to exhibit signs of the conquest rhetoric that characterizes the historical prose of the second and third centuries, even producing one of its principal genres, the *futūḥ* works of Ibn Aʿtham al-Kūfī (fl. third/ninth century), al-Madāʾinī (d. 225/840) and, most famously, al-Balādhurī (fl. third/ninth century), among others. When al-Farazdaq has strongholds *(maʿāqil)* defy the Sasanians, only to be conquered by the sword of the Muhallabids (*Dīwān,* i, 380, lines 5-6), the usage is identical to that found amongst the narrators of historical material *(akhbārīs)*. See also EXPEDITIONS AND BATTLES.

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Consanguinity

see BLOOD AND BLOOD CLOT; KINSHIP

Consecration of Animals

The ritual reservation or segregation of animals for religiously mandated reasons. Some information about pre-Islamic practices of this sort can be gleaned from qurʾānic statements that proscribe them. Islamic forms of animal consecration and sacrifice (q.v.) present both continuities and discontinuities with earlier practice.

Consecration in pre-Islamic Arabia

Animal consecration in pre-Islamic Arabia can be conveniently divided into those forms that involve bloodshed (q.v.) and those that do not (see PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QURʾĀN). For the latter the locus of proscription is Q 5:103. Among ancestral customs *(ʿawāʾid)* that were considered sacred *(aḍḥā, ḍaḥāyā)* by pre-Islamic Arabs, the following were condemned by Q 5:103: (1) The consecration to the gods of any female camel with her female offspring after having given birth to the fifth. Such a camel (q.v.) was given the name of *baḥīra,* i.e. "with slit ear," because as a sign of her consecration her ear, as that of her female offspring, was slit; as a consequence, people refrained from mounting such an animal or cutting its hair. According to the biographer of the Prophet, Ibn Isḥāq (d. 150/767), however, her milk could be offered to a guest or to a person in need (*Sīra,* 57f.). Q 11:4 indicates that a camel consecrated in this manner *(nāqat Allāh)* was given by the prophet Ṣāliḥ as a "sign" *(āya)* of his mission and allowed to graze on the "land of Allah" without any harm being done to her. (2) The consecration of any she-camel (or he-camel) following an oath sworn for the purpose of healing an illness or ensuring the success of a business. No subsequent benefit was to be derived from this consecrated camel, and that is why it was called *sāʾiba,* "left in nature." Ibn Isḥāq records that a camel that has given birth to ten she-camels in five pregnancies with no intervening male offspring was also given this name (*Sīra,* 57-8). (3) The consecration of the fruit of the seventh pregnancy: If a he-camel, it was sacrificed, but if a she-camel, it was left in the herd; if twins were born, however, consisting of a male and a female, the male was not sacrificed. Hence the name of *waṣīla* was given to this she-camel whose birth spared the life of her brother. Although Ibn Isḥāq states that both the male and female were sacrificed, this contradicts the meaning of the name given to such a ewe. On the other hand, Ibn Hishām (d. 218/833), the redactor of Ibn Isḥāq's

text, comments that this name is applied to the she-camel that gave birth to ten females in five pregnancies without any intervening male (*Sīra,* 57). (4) The consecration of a camel-bull that has become a great-grandfather. This animal was no longer mounted and it could graze and drink wherever it wanted. It was called a *ḥāmī,* or *ḥāmī ẓahrahu,* "protector of itself." Ibn Isḥāq (*Sīra,* 57) applied this term to a camel-bull that had fathered ten females in a row without a single intervening male. (5) The hundredth he-camel of the herd was added to these consecrated animals that had been dedicated to the gods. If the herd increased to one thousand animals, an eye of this camel-bull was pierced and, above this number, the second eye was torn out as well. (6) In addition to the customs just enumerated, the custom of tying the she-camel to the tomb of its master by pulling its head towards its tail and saddling it with its packsaddle should be mentioned. If the animal succeeded in escaping, it was given to the deity and could graze wherever it desired. In later heresiographical literature this custom was explained as the wish to provide the deceased with a mount on the day of universal resurrection (q.v.; Shahrastānī, *Milal,* 439-40; Fr. trans. ii, 513-4; Lammens, *Culte des Bétyles,* 99f.). Consecration of these animals to the gods is condemned by the Qurʾān together with the added stipulation that only males may benefit from them (i.e. eat the flesh of the sacrificed beast, Q 6:138-9), whereas both men and their wives might partake in the flesh of those animals which have died of natural causes. W.R. Smith (*Lectures,* 269) considered this common meal the most appropriate expression of the ancient ideal of religious life.

The sacred character of these animals is denoted by the term *ḥarām,* the primary meaning of which is "retrenchment, exclusion, prohibition" (see LAWFUL AND UNLAWFUL; FORBIDDEN). According to qurʾānic (as well as Mosaic) law, this designation precludes any secular use and sets aside a person, an animal, a place or a thing (the *ḥurumāt,* see SACRED PRECINCTS) from any common use as a result of its dedication to God, including the impossibility of repurchase or exchange (cf. *Lev* 27, 28). (This notion of taboo is also represented by the Sumerian *nig-nig.* The opposing notions of holiness and abomination, born out of the concept of inviolability, are also attested in other earlier Near Eastern Sources [W. Albright, *De l'âge de la pierre,* 128]).

Animal consecration that involved bloodshed also presents a specific vocabulary. Animals *(anʿām)* destined for sacrifice were called *farāʾiʿ* (also *faraʿ*) and *ʿatāʾir,* the first originally referring to the first-born she-camel and the second designating the sacrifices offered during the month of Rajab. Both were considered to be on the same level as the produce of the earth *(ḥarth),* of which the first fruit was offered to the gods (see AGRICULTURE AND VEGETATION). The Qurʾān expresses surprise that men dedicate to God a part of what he himself has given them and especially that they give another part to deities which are associated with him. In such dedications the deities will receive nothing nor will God receive his due (Q 6:136). Verses or verse segments of Q 6:138 elaborate the areas of contradiction and complexity: At the same time, men decide that such animals and produce are illicit *(ḥijr);* they determine to whom these can be given to eat (Q 6:138a); some animals are made sacred while others have their throats slit without the name of God spoken over them (Q 6:138b); people go even further by deciding that whatever is born from these animals is licit for their male children but illicit for their wives (Q 6:139a).

The Qurʾān raises the question of the

gender of the animal to be sacrificed. Of two sheep, goats, camels or cows, does God want the males or the females of the litter to be consecrated? Q 6:143-4 concludes with the accusation that lies are told in the name of God. Among animals are those created for carrying burdens while others are destined to be killed (Q 6:142)? Q 6:145 states: "Say: 'I do not find in what has been revealed to me anything which is forbidden to eat, except for dead animals, blood poured forth, and pig's meat.'" While the following verse explains what had been prohibited to the Jews: "We have forbidden to them all animals which have nails *(zufur)* and we have forbidden the fat of the cows and sheep, except that which covers their back or their intestines or their bones" (Q 6:146). This prohibition of fat is justified in Leviticus as follows: "All fat belongs to Yahweh. It is a perpetual law for your descendants, in whatever place you may live. You will eat neither fat nor blood" (*Lev* 3:14-5).

Q 6:143-4 refers to offerings of first-born animals which were made mainly during the month of Rajab and which included the firstborn animals of every herd (see Henninger, *Fêtes de Printemps,* 37-44). It is true that, according to these verses, the first-born animals were not explicitly the "actual object of sacrifice, as there is no other indication found that the Arabs felt obliged, as did the Hebrews, to sacrifice the firstborn animals" (J. Lagrange, *Étude,* 299). To be sure, *dhabḥ al-ʿatāʾir,* the sacrifice of small cattle, was practiced during Rajab but in reality the Arabs only carried out spontaneous sacrifices *(nadhr,* Heb. *nedharīm)* and Islam did not reject these sacrifices. During his farewell pilgrimage (see FAREWELL), the Prophet is said to have left everyone completely free to sacrifice the firstborn of the herd *(farāʾiʿ)* and to practice the sacrifices of the month of Rajab (*ʿatāʾir,* Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd,* i, 341) as he himself had carried out these sacrifices (Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt,* i, 104; on this subject also see J. Chelhod, *Sacrifice*).

Consecration in Islam

It should be noted that the words *farāʾiʿ* and *ʿatīra* do not appear in the Qurʾān. Perhaps they are replaced by the term *manāsik* which refers to both sacrifices with and without bloodshed. The term *nusuk* consists of the cultic practice in general, including a sacrifice with bloodshed, there being no mention of *dhabḥ al-manāsik* during the month of Rajab. The Qurʾān considers *nusuk* to be at the same level as fasting (q.v.) and almsgiving (q.v.). Another term, *shaʿāʾir,* refers to the victims *(budn,* sing. *badana),* destined for sacrifice which wear, as a distinctive mark, a silver or iron collar in the shape of a grain of barley (cf. T. Fahd, Shiʿār). Camels wore a garland *(qilāda,* pl. *qalāʾid)* of different materials. A practice called *ishʿār,* consisting of making incisions on one side of the bump of a camel or on its skin for the purpose of allowing its blood to be shed, is also mentioned. Such an animal often wore a special cover.

This ritually mandated sacrifice, called *hadī,* "oblation," is still practiced today in the entire Muslim world during the pilgrimage (q.v.) on the Day of Sacrifice *(yawm al-naḥr)* in Minā, in memory of the sacrifice of Ishmael (q.v.; see RITUAL AND THE QURʾĀN; FESTIVALS AND COMMEMORATIVE DAYS). In reference to the topic of almsgiving *(zakāt)* in the classical books about ritual obligations *(kutub al-ʿibādāt),* one finds that pre-Islamic customs continued under Islam after being purified from any remains of paganism in accordance with the conditions set forth in the sunna (q.v.) of the Prophet. This is the case in particular for the *aḍāḥī l-naḥr,* i.e. sacrifices with bloodshed *(aḍḥā, ḍaḥāyā),* just mentioned, and consecration of the *ʿaqīqa* of

the newly born, i.e. the sacrifice of a sheep (cf. M. ʿAbduh, *ʿIbādāt,* 276ff.). These bloody sacrifices are optional, whereas consecration by invoking the name of God and by carrying out the *tazkiya* or by pouring out as much blood as possible from the animal slaughtered for eating, is obligatory (see PROHIBITED DEGREES).

Additionally, a temporary consecration of animals within the *ḥaram* (i.e. the sacred territory of Mecca) was in force during the sacred periods of the major pilgrimage *(ḥajj)* and the minor one *(ʿumra)*. Whoever hunts while in the state of ritual purification *(iḥrām)* has to compensate for his yield by carrying out an equivalent number of bloody sacrifices *(hadī)* of camels, cows or sheep, by giving food to the poor, or by fasting (Q 5:94-5). Five harmful animals are exempted from this prohibition: crows, kites, scorpions, mice and mad dogs (Bukhārī, iii, *Bāb al-maḥṣar wa-jazāʾ al-ṣayd*) as well as animals that are similarly noxious, such as snakes, wolves or panthers (see ANIMAL LIFE).

In many ancient Near Eastern cultures, animals have been an object of worship and were thus included in the sacred, either through sacrifice or incarnation of a divinity, as in ancient Egypt, where they served as an omen for the divine (see OMENS). "The primitive belief that the god or demon comes to dwell in his statue, by virtue of the magic ritual of consecration, has, in ancient Egyptian religion, been raised to a real theological principle" (P. Kraus, *Ǧābir II,* 131-2; for more information, see H. Bonnet, Tierkult, 812-24). Giving a "soul" to the objects of worship has led to their sacralisation. Nothing similar is found in the cultic traditions of central Arabia, the cradle of Islam. The only known divinity in the shape of an animal is Nasr, the vulture god; but this god was part of the South Arabian pantheon where animal figures were numerous (Fahd, *Panthéon,* 132-4; see SOUTH ARABIA, RELIGION IN PRE-ISLAMIC). The sacred character of the animal dedicated to a divinity is reflected by the following rites: the use of its blood for the unction of the central pole of the tent or of an erect stone *(anṣāb),* the use of its flesh for a sacred meal and the prohibition of breaking its bones out of respect to the animal. This can be concluded from the book of Exodus (12:2-11); a text that is, in fact, a typical example of a sacrifice among nomads (Dhorme, *L'evolution,* 57f.; cf. Henninger, *Fêtes de prin-temps,* 58f.).

The main idea which emerges from sacrificing, among the ancient Arabs and in the Qurʾān, is that an animal is a gift (see GIFT AND GIVING) from the divinity to human beings as is the agricultural produce of the earth. To gain his favor, the human gives the divinity the blood, i.e. its life, so that his own life may be spared. It is at once an oblation (*hadī,* Q 5:95, 97) and a ransom (*fidāʾ,* Q 37:107) or a compensation, "because the soul of the flesh is in the blood" (*Lev* 17:11) and "it is by the soul that the blood atones" (*Lev* 27:9f.). To this, finally, should be added that the sacrifice of animals, common in Near Eastern religions since the third millennium before Christ, was meant to construct a dynamic bond between the divinity and the faithful who united with him in flesh and in spirit, by sharing the flesh of the sacrifice (Albright, *De l'âge de la pierre,* 195).

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Consolation

A form of divine beneficence bestowed upon the pious or those confronted with worldly misfortune despite their righteousness. The Qurʾān recalls instances of God or his agents consoling some pre-Islamic figures; in addition, a number of qurʾānic verses themselves constitute divine consolation for Muḥammad and his followers.

God strengthened the heart of Moses' (q.v.) mother *(rabaṭnā ʿalā qalbihā)* when she was told to cast him into the river to elude Pharaoh's (q.v.) soldiers (Q 28:10). She was comforted *(taqarra ʿaynuhā)* when Moses' life was spared and Pharaoh's wife selected her as his wet nurse (Q 20:40; 28:13). On her part, Pharaoh's wife urged him to adopt Moses rather than killing him so that he might be a comfort *(qurrat ʿayn)* for them (Q 28:9; Speyer, *Erzählungen,* 241-5; G. Newby, *Making,* 121-3; K. Prenner, *Muhammad und Musa,* 222-33). In another instance, God's messengers told Lot (q.v.) to "fear not, neither sorrow" *(lā takhaf wa-lā taḥzan)* when he felt himself unable to protect them from his people (Q 29:33; Speyer, *Erzählungen,* 147-58; G. Newby, *Making,* 83-5).

Muḥammad received God's consolation numerous times during periods of adversity or strife. After a discouraging period during which he feared that divine revelation (see REVELATION AND INSPIRATION) had lapsed *(fatrat al-waḥy),* Muḥammad was reminded how God sheltered *(āwā),* guided *(hadā)* and enriched *(aghnā)* him when he was a destitute orphan without direction (Q 93:6-8). God would not forsake him and would aid him further as long as he remained thankful and obedient despite hardships (cf. Q 93:3-5; 94:1-8; U. Rubin, *Eye,* 116-24, 250-2; see GRATITUDE AND INGRATITUDE; OBEDIENCE). He is advised to overlook the unbelievers' malicious words (Q 6:33-5; 10:65; 27:70; 36:76; 73:10; see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF; OPPOSITION TO MUḤAMMAD), not to regard their error as his failure (Q 31:23) and to elicit assurance from what God has revealed to him (Q 76:24). Similarly, he is to ignore the hypocrites and the Jews who twist his words in an attempt to manipulate potential believers (Q 5:41; see HYPOCRITES AND HYPOCRISY; JEWS AND JUDAISM). With respect to specific events, God's assurance (*sakīna,* see SECHINA) descended upon Muḥammad during his migration from Mecca to Yathrib (see MEDINA), giving him strength to console Abū Bakr (Q 9:40; M. Lings, *Muḥammad,* 118-9; see COMPANIONS OF THE PROPHET; EMIGRATION). He is told not to grieve over those who deserted him during the battle of Uḥud (q.v.; 3/625) since the weakness of their faith was a divine curse (q.v.) inflicted upon them (Q 3:175-7; Wāqidī, *Maghāzī,* i, 327; see FREEDOM AND PREDESTINATION). At Ḥunayn (q.v.; 8/630), it was God's assurance and unseen aid that enabled Muḥammad and his followers to win the battle after an initial retreat (Q 9:25-6; Wāqidī, *Maghāzī,* iii, 189-90; see EXPEDITIONS AND BATTLES). Muḥammad is counseled many times to be patient in affliction and await his due in both this

world and the next (e.g. Q 11:115; 16:127; 40:77; 74:7).

Muslims as a group received the good news (*bushrā,* see GOOD NEWS) of victory from God when they feared a much stronger enemy at Badr (q.v.; 2/624; Q 8:10, 26; Wāqidī, *Maghāzī,* i, 131-8). His consoling words "fear not, nor sorrow" *(lā tahinū wa-lā taḥzanū)* comforted them after the retreat at Uḥud (Q 3:139-40; Wāqidī, *Maghāzī,* i, 320-1) and his assurance descended upon them at Ḥudaybiyya (q.v.; 6/628) as they negotiated a truce with the Meccans (Q 48:4, 18, 26; Wāqidī, *Maghāzī,* ii, 618-24). Their firm faith (q.v.) in God gained them blessedness (*ṭūbā,* Q 13:29), worldly refreshment *(qurrat aʿyun)* such as spouses and children (q.v.; Q 25:74-5), and it will secure them rewards in the hereafter (Q 32:17; 41:30; 78:31-6; 88:8-16; 95:6; 98:7-8). See also BLESSING; REWARD AND PUNISHMENT.

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Conspiracy

see OPPOSITION TO MUḤAMMAD

Consultation

To confer with other individuals or a group. The term consultation *(shūrā)* does not appear to have been used in Arabic before Islam and the revelation of the Qurʾān and occurs only once in the text of the Qurʾān at Q 42:38. Yet, the term *shūrā* in the sense of "consultation" has important implications for social and political theory.

Etymology

The word *shūrā* is related to the verb *shāra,* meaning to remove something from its place. It can also refer to the display of a thing, showing the good qualities inherent in something. The term *al-shūrā* can thus connote a handsome outward appearance, while the linguistic usage of the term is also connected to removal and the appearance of the thing removed (*Lisān al-ʿArab,* iv, pp. 434-7). The term does not occur in pre-Islamic poetry (see AGE OF IGNORANCE; POETRY AND POETS) but is first found in the Qurʾān. There it is used to indicate or describe a consultation and deliberation, a practice which was known to the Arabs (q.v.) and other peoples before Islam. Given its pre-Islamic use the custom of consultation was not necessarily a religious impulse, but connected to a social or political impetus since consultation inevitably involves a social structure.

Consultation according to the Arabs before Islam

The Arabs before Islam engaged in practices of social and political deliberation and were considered to be knowledgeable and experienced in worldly affairs. The tribe of Quraysh (q.v.) had a meeting house *(dār al-nadwa* and sometimes *malaʾ),* which was built by Quṣayy b. Kulāb and established southwest of the Kaʿba (q.v.). It was called this because the Quraysh used to convene there to deliberate on issues of social and political concern. Deliberative authority rested with the elders of the tribe (see TRIBES AND CLANS) as the Quraysh had stipulated that no one could enact legisla-

tion until reaching the age of 40. A number of different types of deliberations were conducted in this meeting house, including the consideration of issues related to marriage, matters of commerce, and war and peace (Shintināwī, *Dāʾirat al-Maʿārif,* ix, 92-3; Jawād ʿAlī, *Mifḍal,* ii, 109).

Among the Arabs who were familiar with consultation were the people of Yathrib (see MEDINA; CITY), the Aws and Khazraj, some of whom were among those who came to be known as the Helpers (*anṣār,* see EMIGRANTS AND HELPERS) for assisting the prophet Muḥammad after his emigration (q.v.; *hijra*) to Medina. Ibn Isḥāq (d. 150/767) mentions that they deliberated among themselves when they sent the delegation to negotiate the first pledge at ʿAqaba. This delegation consisted of twelve men representing different clans of the tribe of the prophet Muḥammad and the pledge itself has been called the "pledge of the women"; unlike the second pledge at ʿAqaba, this one did not stipulate fighting for the cause of the Prophet (Ibn Isḥāq, *Sīra,* 288-303).

Consultation in the Qurʾān

Because of the use of deliberation among the Arabs before Islam the mention of consultation in the Qurʾān need not be understood as the introduction of a new concept. As noted above, though the word consultation *(shūrā)* as such occurs only once in the Qurʾān, the word "consult" *(tashāwur)* occurs in Q 2:233 and the command "consult them" *(shāwirhum)* is found in Q 3:159. These three instances apply to different situation and categories of Muslims. Q 42:38 applies to all Muslims, Q 2:233 applies particularly to the potential controversy between two divorced partners (see MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE) concerning the matter of weaning an infant and Q 3:159 is a special text related to the prophet Muḥammad in the shadow of the occurrence of the battle of Uḥud (q.v.) in which the Muslims were defeated (see EXPEDITIONS AND BATTLES).

The three different significations of these verses can lead to the following conclusions. First, that consultation was originally understood in relation to the prophet Muḥammad and in connection with Uḥud as one of the most important early battles. Second, that consultation was connected to relations among Muslims in the establishment of an Islamic society (see COMMUNITY AND SOCIETY IN THE QURʾĀN). Third, that consultation was understood to be connected to situations of dispute (see DEBATE AND DISPUTATION) where a form of communal deliberation was required or recommended for the Muslim judge, a usage which continues to the modern period. A fuller consideration of the qurʾānic contexts of the three passages will elaborate these significations.

Sūrat al-Shūrā *(Q 42)*

According to traditional understandings, the 53 verses of this sūra were revealed in Mecca (q.v.), with the exception of four (Q 42:23-6) which were revealed in Medina (q.v.). This is also related to the fact that the sūra begins with the letters *ḥāʾ-mīm* and *ʿayn-sīn-qāf;* the other sūras (q.v.) which begin with *ḥāʾ-mīm* are all said to be revealed in Mecca (Q 41-46) with the exception of Q 42:23-6 and Q 45:14 which were revealed in Medina (see LETTERS AND MYSTERIOUS LETTERS).

It is not known with certainty why Q 42 was called al-Shūrā but it was well-known as *ḥāʾ-mīm-ʿayn-sīn-qāf* owing to the letters in the first two verses. According to al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505; *Itqān,* 148-57), other sūras derive their names from a word that is mentioned in one of the verses. It is possible that Q 42 derived its name from the

mention of *shūrā* in verse 38. In the commentary known as *Jalalayn,* Q 42 is also called *Shūrā* but without the definite article.

Some scholars claim that an earlier verse in this sūra (Q 42:27) was revealed in reference to the *ahl al-ṣuffa,* a group of Muslims who emigrated to Medina with the Prophet but had no money or clothes with them (see ṢŪFISM AND THE QURʾĀN). They passed the night in the mosque of Medina and were fed there. The *Ahl al-Ṣuffa* include a number of prominent followers of the Prophet such as Abū Hurayra, Saʿd b. Abī Waqqāṣ and Abū Dhurr al-Ghafārī (Qurṭubī, *Jāmiʿ,* xvi, 27). The verse immediately preceding Q 42:37 is said to have been revealed in reference to the vilification of ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb (q.v.) at Mecca. It is also said that it was revealed concerning Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq (see ABŪ BAKR) when he was reproved by the people for giving his property for charity (Qurṭubī, *Jāmiʿ,* xvi, 35).

The expression "consultation" occurs in Q 42:38 and is understood in the context of verses 37-9 as one of a series of attributes of Muslims: They shun great sins (see SIN, MAJOR AND MINOR) and indecencies, forgive when angry, answer their Lord and persevere in prayer (q.v.). Their rule is to consult one another, spend out of what God provides and, when tyranny afflicts them, defend themselves. Exegetes agree that these verses were revealed in connection with the Helpers *(anṣār)* and that they were intended to order deliberation among them. It is also said that Q 42:38 refers to their deliberation when they heard about the appearance of the prophet Muḥammad (Qurṭubī, *Jāmiʿ,* xvi, 36-7; Ṭabarsī, *Majmaʿ,* xxv, 57-60). These interpretations are problematic, however, because the sūra is said to have been revealed in Mecca and so it would have to be supposed that the Helpers knew how to pray before they met with the Prophet. The interpretation of Sayyid Quṭb (d. 1966) resolves this problem by mentioning that the verse refers in general to all Muslims, requiring a new call to God, matters of prayer and faith (q.v.), consultation among themselves and charitable giving (see ALMSGIVING). It is also evident from the context of Q 42:37, that this refers to the Muslims of Mecca in particular, those who "respond to their Lord," i.e. through faith in the religion of Islam when the Prophet first began to call people to it. Then they persevere in their prayer, for they are the ones who were wronged by the unbelievers (see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF), such as what happened to Bilāl al-Ḥabashī, ʿAmmār b. Yāsir and his mother Samiyya (Ibn Isḥāq, *Sīra,* 205-7).

Sūrat al-Baqara *(Q 2)*

According to the exegetes, this sūra was the first to be revealed in Medina, except for v. 281 which is said to have been the last to be revealed. The verses on usury are also held to be among the last verses revealed in the Qurʾān (Qurṭūbī, *Jāmiʿ,* i, 152). Mention of consultation appears in Q 2:233. The verse is long and is said to contain 18 different legal rulings relative to nursing (see MILK; WET NURSING; LACTATION) and the occurrence of divorce between two parents (Qurṭubī, *Jāmiʿ,* iii, 160-73). If the two parents concur on weaning the child from the breast of its mother before the child is two and there is no obstacle to this, then it is legally permitted on condition of consultation and mutual satisfaction between the parents (Qurṭubi, iii, *Jāmiʿ,* 170-1). This is a separate instance of the use of consultation because it applies to the specific case of two divorced parents. The greater importance of this reference, however, lies in its allusion to the necessity of consultation in matters of the family (q.v.). In pre-Islamic tribal society, the man held complete control over family matters but with the revelation of this verse the extent

of his control was modified and the role was given to the woman and the man jointly.

Sūrat Āl ʿImrān *(Q 3)*

This sūra contains the term "consultation" in the form of a command given directly to the prophet Muḥammad in the context of Medinese society. The term is found in Q 3:159 referring to the battle of Uḥud in which the Muslims experienced their first defeat after the battle of Badr (q.v.). This verse is not to be understood by itself or in isolation but is to be explained in the context of Q 3:118-74 and the picture of the relations among the Muslims in the earliest period of the Prophet's emigration to Medina. In Medina, social relations were organized according to different social groups, such as those who lived in Medina originally (the Helpers) and those who followed the Prophet to Medina from Mecca (the Emigrants). Likewise, there were divisions according to religion between Muslims and Jews (see JEWS AND JUDAISM). These groupings were further divided. To the Emigrants belonged the tribes of al-Aws and al-Khazraj, and the Jews were linked historically to the Helpers. There were also the so-called Hypocrites *(munāfiqūn)* under the leadership of ʿAbdallāh b. Ubayy, leader of an influential group in Medinese society. The relations between the Helpers and the Jews were based on long-standing connections between the Jews and the tribes of al-Aws and al-Khazraj. According to al-Qurṭubī (d. 671/1272) many of the offspring of the Helpers were among the Banū l-Naḍīr (Qurṭubī, *Jāmiʿ,* iii, 280; see NAḌĪR). The many affiliations between the people of Yathrib, al-Aws and al-Khazraj and the Jews is well-known from Ibn Isḥāq. The interactions among the Muslims, the Helpers and the Hypocrites headed by ʿAbdallāh b. Ubayy were also established according to tribal ties (see HYPOCRITES AND HYPOCRISY).

Q 3:118-74 must be understood in the context of these social relations. Verses 118-20 refer specifically to those among al-Aws, al-Khazraj and the Jews. Verses 121-2 refer to the fighting at the battle of Uḥud, verses 123-36 to the situation at the battle of Badr, verses 137-59 to the victory of the Muslims at the battle of Uḥud and verses 174-160 to what came after the battle of Uḥud.

Q 3:159 begins by indicating the tensions among the Muslims. The situation was not easy for the Prophet, who had to face the Muslims who had been insulted by the defeat and those who had left their position exposed to the enemy. This was compounded by other issues concerning patronage between the Helpers and the Jews, and the two groups of al-Aws and al-Khazraj who were upset about the failure of the call to fight after they themselves had been wounded (Qurṭubī, *Jāmiʿ,* iv, 185-6). After the events of this battle, the nascent Muslim community experienced a period of communal tension. This uncertain situation perhaps explains the recklessness of the Helpers in battle, seventy of whom were killed at Uḥud while only four Emigrants died in that engagement. Q 3:159 addresses this situation: "This is due to mercy from God that you treat them lightly, for had you been heavy and hard-hearted, they would have left your side." The release of tension is attributed to God's mercy (q.v.). Then comes the divine command to pardon and forgive them (see FORGIVENESS), and consult with them in the matter. The sequence of these commands indicates that the command to Muḥammad to consult the people came after he had settled with them, pardoned them and forgiven them for their sins. It was only after these events, which assured him of the sincerity of his followers, that he established the process of consultation (Qurṭubī, *Jāmiʿ,* iv, 249).

Later theories concerning consultation

Based on these references in the Qurʾān, and particularly the command in Q 3:159, later Muslim thinkers have theorized about the social and political dimensions of consultation, including the scope and necessity of its application. Examination of prophetic ḥadīths related to these qurʾānic references also allowed for the extraction of more general principles about the application of consultation (Anṣārī, *Shūrā,* 65-9 and 113-222). The historical setting of Medina was generalized to allow the emergence of questions of political theory, such as the role of consultation in legislation, the installation of community leaders and the legitimacy of the state (see POLITICS AND THE QURʾĀN).

More recent theorists have sought to compare the qurʾānic concept of consultation with the modern western notion of democracy. Others have critiqued such a comparison, arguing that it often results in eschewing more felicitous explanations of "consultation" in its qurʾānic and classical exegetical contexts. According to these critics, a political system based on the consultation of a select group of religious scholars, whose status is founded upon their expertise in qurʾānic exegesis, is at odds with a number of the more normative understandings of broad-based and secular democracy.

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Consultative Assembly

see CONSULTATION

Consummation

see MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE

Contamination

Soiling or corrupting. It is perhaps surprising to find that the Qurʾān has no concept of contamination per se, in contrast, for example, to the Pentateuch which is very much concerned with the concept. There is no qurʾānic equivalent of Leviticus 15:19 which stipulates that "when a woman has a discharge of blood which is her regular discharge from her body, she shall be in her impurity for seven days, and whoever touches her shall be unclean until the evening." There are items to be avoided, events and substances that leave one ritually disabled, but in the qurʾānic text nothing suggests the transmission of impurity from one person to another.

Two words often understood as "impurity" are (in the qurʾānic vocalization) *najas* and *rijs*. *Najas* appears only a single time in Q 9:28: "O you who believe, polytheists *(al-mushrikūn)* are only [i.e. entirely] *najas;* do not let them draw near the sacred mosque after this, their year." Nothing here suggests contamination that is transferred to others; only that some quality of polytheism disqualifies one from attending the sacred mosque (see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF; POLYTHEISM AND ATHEISM). Nonetheless, the literature of qurʾānic commentary considers the possibility. According to exegetical traditions, Ibn ʿAbbās (d. ca. 67-8/686-8) maintained that *mushrikūn* were *najas* in their essence *(ʿayn)* like dogs or swine (see LAWFUL AND UNLAWFUL; DOG). And the Zaydīs reportedly held, as do some Imāmīs, that touching a polytheist *(mushrik)* requires ritual ablution (*wuḍūʾ,* Nīsābūrī, *Tafsīr,* x, 64; Qurṭubī, *Jāmiʿ,* viii, 98; see SHĪʿISM AND THE QURʾĀN). Yet the Prophet drank from *mushrik* vessels (Nīsābūrī, *Tafsīr,* x, 64). Moreover, nothing can make pork

permissible for consumption *(ḥalāl)* but upon conversion to Islam, a *mushrik* ceases to be *najas*. It must be, as al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923, *Tafsīr,* x, 105) suggests, that it is their dietary habits and omission of full ritual ablution *(ghusl)* that makes them deserving of the epithet for contamination or impurity *(najas)*.

The more common word in the Qurʾān is *rijs* — and this is surprising since the dominant words for ritually impermissible substances or acts in later legal literature are *(najis, najas* or *najāsa)*. *Rijs* occurs ten times in the qurʾānic text. The *locus classicus* for *rijs* as "contamination" is Q 5:90: "O you who believe, *al-khamr, al-maysar, al-anṣāb* and *al-azlām* (see INTOXICANTS; GAMBLING; DIVINATION) are entirely *rijsun,* and among the works of Satan (see DEVIL). Avoid it *(fa-jtanibūhu),* that perhaps you might prosper." The verbs derived from the root *j-n-b* all convey, however, the sense of "separation, distinction from" in qurʾānic usage and so what is meant here is only that one should avoid these substances and practices. The basic meaning of the word, according to al-Nīsābūrī (d. mid eighth/fourteenth century; *Tafsīr,* vi, 23), is "an act that is repellent *(qabīḥ),* disgusting *(al-qadhir)*." One commentarial tradition sees the *innamā* as governing the list of things to be prohibited so that it is only these items that are *rijs,* i.e. only wine, gambling, divining, etc. are *rijs* (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* vii, 31). Al-Nīsābūrī (*Tafsīr,* vi, 23) and others differ. For them, wine *(khamr)* is "nothing but *rijs*." That is, under no circumstances can it be considered other than *rijs*.

Another passage often read as a reference to contamination is Q 6:145: "Say I do not find in what is revealed to me anything prohibited to eat except that it be carrion (*al-mayta,* see CARRION) or flowing *(masfūḥ)* blood (see BLOOD AND BLOOD CLOT) or the meat of swine — these are *rijs*… Whoever is compelled [to eat these things] while not desiring [to do so] nor in hostility, your Lord (q.v.) is forgiving, clement." It is not, therefore, that one is contaminated by contact with these items but that one is to avoid them. If there should be contact, no purification is necessary, no penance is to be performed (see also Q 22:30).

The underlying meaning of *rijs,* when not specifically contamination, is certainly "something worthy of avoidance" but the "why" of that avoidance is elusive (see Lane, 1037; Nīsābūrī, *Tafsīr,* vi, 23 for etymology). Some insight may be gained from consideration of the term in other contexts where the reference is not to substances or acts but is more metaphorical. Q 10:100 states: "And no soul will believe except by God's permission, and he places *al-rijs* upon those who do not reflect *(lā yaʿqilūn)*." The failure to use common sense, to reflect upon what one simply knows by virtue of living in the world, seems to result in *rijs*. Here the term must mean "repellent" or "being such as to cause avoidance." This meaning makes sense of other second-order usages such as Q 7:71: "[Hūd, q.v.] said '*rijs* and wrath (*ghaḍb,* see ANGER) from your Lord have befallen you.'" Those who have rejected Hūd have become objects of avoidance and wrath. Likewise Q 9:125: "As for those in whose hearts is a malady, repellence has been added to their repellence, and they shall die as unbelievers." It is clear then that *rijs* suggests something that evokes disgust, something that is repulsive.

Another domain often thought to reflect a notion of contamination is that of ritual purification. After urination and defecation, sexual intercourse, ejaculation (male and female), menstruation and parturition, one is ritually disabled until the appropriate ritual of purification is performed (see Q 4:43; 5:6). In these passages, however, (with one possible exception) there is no notion that the precluded *(junub)* person or the "affected" *(muḥdath)* person is contaminated or that the disability is contagious.

There is one suggestion that contamination by touch might be possible. Q 4:43, in the passage approving the "dry ablution" *(tayammum)* states: "And if you are ill, or on a journey, one of you comes from the privy or you have touched *(lamastum,* variant *lāmastum)* women, and you do not find water, then perform the dry-ablution [with] fine surface-soil and rub your faces and hands." The question turns on what is meant by "touching." The synonym for *lamastum* given in al-Ṭabarī (*Tafsīr,* v, 101) is *bāshartum,* the root meaning of which is "to touch skin to skin." Yet that term itself gives rise to substantial discussion, so it is clear that "touching" is exegetically significant. In one understanding, it is synecdochical and understood to mean conjugal relation *(jimāʿ)*. According to another, it is literal and means "any contact of the two skins" (Nīsābūrī, *Tafsīr,* v, 49). Al-Ṭabarī attributes these two positions to Arabs (q.v.), who understood it as conjugal relation, and to the *mawālī* (non-Arab converts to Islam), who interpret the term to mean "contact," respectively. Within the exegetical tradition, the contact position is attributed to Ibn Masʿūd (d. 32/652-3), Ibn ʿUmar (d. 73/693), al-Shaʿbī (d. ca. 110/728), al-Nakhaʿī (d. ca. 96/717) and al-Shāfiʿī (d. 204/820) and is justified by reference to Q 6:7: "So they could touch [the parchment book] with their hands" (with the root *l-m-s*). The sexual congress position is attributed to Ibn ʿAbbās, al-Ḥasan (d. 168/784-5), Mujāhid (d. 104/722), Qatāda (d. ca. 117/735), the Ḥanafīs and the Shīʿa (q.v.) and justified by analogy to Q 2:237: "If you divorce them before you have 'touched' them" (here the root is *m-s-s* not *l-m-s*) where touching clearly means "sexual intercourse" (Nīsābūrī, *Tafsīr,* v, 49-50; see MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE). Only in this qurʾānic passage does one find suggestion of contamination by contact with a woman. Yet, for the most part, the legal tradition rejected this literal reading and required at least "desire" or "pleasure" in the touching for one's purity to be "lifted" (see Qurṭubī, *Jāmiʿ,* v, 203f.).

The qurʾānic understanding that contamination or any repellent quality is not conveyed by transmission is confirmed in ḥadīth literature, for the most part, but is substantially modified in *fiqh,* particularly Shīʿī *fiqh* (see LAW AND THE QURʾĀN; ḤADĪTH AND THE QURʾĀN). Yet for those who chose to see Islamic ritual law as derivative of Jewish and Zoroastrian sources, this difference, between qurʾānic understanding of a repellent quality and the Jewish and Zoroastrian logics of pollution, constitutes a datum that must be explained (see SCRIPTURE AND THE QURʾĀN). See also PURITY AND IMPURITY; RITUAL PURITY; CLEANLINESS AND ABLUTION.

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Contemporary Critical Practices and the Qurʾān

Contemporary methodology operative in the study of the Qurʾān, especially in the West, and the philosophical and epistemological questions and problems related to the study of the Qurʾān in its function as the focal point of a religion and a religious tradition. See also POST-ENLIGHTMENT PREOCCUPATIONS OF QURʾĀNIC STUDY.

Introduction: The ranking of rational processes

Reason no longer offers the certainty it once did; only philosophers still adhere to

the primacy of critical reflection in the implicitly or explicitly assumed hierarchy of approaches *(l'ordre des raisons)* in every cognitive construction. The social sciences continue to produce their own isolated critical approaches to knowledge, the result being a reduction of epistemological exchange and confrontation and the rise of what J. Derrida calls *teletechnoscientific reason,* a disjointed conglomerate that claims to be the only reliable form of thinking in current scholarly discourse. On the other hand, P. Bourdieu has recently presented a trenchant criticism of scholastic reason (in *Méditations pascaliennes*), which is nevertheless unlikely to elicit any fruitful response from the great figures of the scholarly world since it is the systematic spread of this very scholastic reason on which their reputation has been based and continues to depend.

Every scholar lives within the confines of a speciality which can become a private kingdom, and thus strives to establish certain aims which lack any real basis, in order to publicize assumptions of meaning *(effets de sens)* or representations of them. These, in turn, are presented under the guise of meaning or truth as established by a scientific method and as recognized by the community of scholars. According to J.F. Lyotard, "Scientific reason is not questioned according to the criterion of (cognitive) truth or falsehood on the message/referent axis, but according to its (pragmatical) performative abilities on the messenger/recipient axis" (*L'enthousiasme,* 15).

European modernity, at least since the eighteenth century, has left us with the impression that reason would finally be liberated from the constraints of dogmatism for the service of knowledge alone, once a radical separation between every church and the "neutral" state was accomplished. When this latter body is free to exercise an undisputed sovereignty, it does not, however, struggle with the same determination for such a radical separation between cognitive freedom and its own aims and rationality. This is not the place to explore this subject further; it is enough to recall now that in various Islamic contexts, reason multiplies the constraints which it had itself created for the sake of its initial independence in the face of the strict control of the state, a state which unilaterally proclaims itself the exclusive administrator of orthodox religious truth (q.v.).

Such are the two contexts in which the Qurʾān has been read, consulted and interpreted for fourteen centuries on the Muslim side and for some two centuries on the side of the modern West. This introduction of a hierarchy of approaches makes the debate on orientalism irrelevant as it has hitherto been conducted, i.e. apart from any preliminary critique, apart from scholastic reason (as defined above), and apart from recognition of the fact that cognitive reason has willingly accepted this utilitarian, pragmatic, teletechnoscientific reason. One must, however, remember two troublesome issues for the Western scholar of the Qurʾān who continues to be influenced by the tools and assumptions of a positivist and philological methodology: (1) With the exception of a handful of scholars who have had no lasting influence, all qurʾānic scholars have little regard for any methodological debate and reject, if they are not actually unaware of, questions of an epistemological nature. They are only sensitive to discussing the "facts" according to the meaning and in the cognitive framework which they themselves have chosen. (2) Apart from specialists who are themselves believers and bring their Jewish or Christian theological culture to bear on the question at hand, all who declare themselves agnostic, atheist or simply secular dodge the question of meaning in religious discourse and thus refuse to enter

into a discussion of the content of faith (q.v.), not as a set of life rules to be internalized by every believer, but as a psycholinguistic, social and historical edifice. Hence the essential question about truth, for religious reason as well as that of the most critical philosphical kind, remains totally absent in the so-called scientific study of a corpus of texts of which the *raison d'être* — the ultimate goal to which all rhetorical and linguistic utterances bear witness — consists in providing for its immediate addressees, who have multiplied and succeeded one another throughout the centuries, the unique, absolute and intangible criterion of Truth as a True Being, a True Reality and a True Sense of Right *(al-Ḥaqq)*. Yet surely, this *Ḥaqq* has from the time it was first anounced orally between 610 and 632 C.E. until today developed in a way which history and cultural sociology must be willing to investigate and explain.

This is not a question of establishing the true meaning of texts as lived by the faithful, i.e. as sacred and revealed nor is it a matter of articulating the certitudes recorded in a long process of sacralization, transcendentalization, ontologization, spiritualization, etc., and systematized in the great products of theological, philosophical, legal or historiographical thought inherited from the Middle Ages. Rather, the task of the contemporary researcher is to problematize all systems which claim to produce meaning, all the forms, still existent or not, which offer meaning and assumptions of meaning. This is an essential distinction that encompasses many problems yet to be raised or, if they have been, only poorly or without full recognition. In the study of the Qurʾān and similar corpuses in other cultures — comparison must always be utilized — the scholar approaches the activity of the human spirit that most closely expresses its own utopian vision, its hopes, both those which are unfulfilled and those which recur, its struggle to push back the limits of its servitude and to attain the full exercise of its "will to know," combined with its critical and creative freedom. The theme in the case of the qurʾānic corpus and its vast historical development is to test the capacity of reason to decipher the mysteries which it has itself produced.

Despite this shared reference to a utopian vision, it is important not to lose sight of the fact that contemporary qurʾānic studies lag considerably behind biblical studies to which it must always be compared (see SCRIPTURE AND THE QURʾĀN). This lag could be said to reflect the different concerns that emerged in the historical development of societies in which the Qurʾān continues to play the role of ultimate and absolute reference point and in which it has never been replaced as the sole criterion for the definition and function of all true, legitimate and legal value. In the violent and passionate rejection of what political Islam calls "the West," the stakes lie less in the seizure of an ephemeral power than in the progress of the secular model of historical production which could ultimately render the "divine" model obsolete, as it has already done in the West. This point is important for any attempt to liberate the problematic of the Qurʾān from its isolation vis-à-vis the historical perspective of modernity as well as for any effort to address the religious problem, which has been at one and the same time appropriated by and disqualified by this political concern. The context is also essential for clarifying the strategy of mediating a solution and thus guiding the pedagogy of the reflective researcher *(chercheur-penseur)*.

During the years of struggle for political independence (1945-1970), one could have hoped that an opening toward modern historical criticism as shown in the Middle East and North Africa during the so-called

Renaissance (*Nahḍa,* 1830-1940), would have grown to incorporate subjects as taboo as qurʾānic studies, including the sacralised areas of law appropriated by the *sharīʿa* and its legal statutes and rulings (see LAW AND THE QURʾĀN), the corpus of ḥadīths (see ḤADĪTH AND THE QURʾĀN) which enjoy the status of fundamental source *(aṣl)* as defined by al-Shāfiʿī (d. 204/820). Certain historical events, however, altered this potential course, beginning with the 1979 Islamic revolution in Iran and its eventual global enlargement by so-called fundamentalist movements. This revived, in the already very complex and inadequately explored area of qurʾānic studies, the rather archaic combination of the violent and the sacred, a combination that was still able, with some effect, to bring its weight to bear upon the global civilization of disenchantment, desacralization and the supremacy of sciences over all dimensions of human reality. In order to enrich the questions of the social sciences and to radicalize their criticism in every area, including, of course, modernity, the reflective researcher must bear in mind the historical, sociological and psychological significance of the religious imagination. This is a reality which the assumptions of scientific socialism and militant secularism of the French kind believed it was possible to eradicate through teaching official atheism or through eliminating the concept of the religious event *(fait religieux)* from an educational system run by a state that self-proclaimed its neutrality. By agreeing to work within such assumptions, the social sciences have contributed to nourishing and even legitimizing recurrent wars between the forces, demographically in the majority, that support sacrality and sacralization and the so-called enlightened who support a rational process thought to be emancipatory. But this process actually has a hegemonic mission, since it continues to spread pragmatic truths while refusing to think philosophically about what is intolerable in relations between humans, cultures and civilizations (cf. Arkoun, *Les sciences sociales*).

Like Christians during the modernist crisis of the nineteenth century, Muslims have reacted — and still react — against earlier works marked by historicist-philologist positivism as well as against more recent research that is relatively free of the assumption of a triumphalist, even intolerant science. Under the pretext of not wanting to confuse different kinds of science, so-called pure researchers refuse to address the conflict between full-blown scientific reason and religious reason that is apparently vanquished intellectually or forced on the defensive despite its historical persistence. This refusal continues despite the many possible applications of an epistemological radicalization of the social sciences. These "pure" researchers steadfastly refuse to integrate theological reasoning — despite its popular persistence — into a methodological program for an epistemology of historical research *(épistémologie historique)* which could include all aspects and dimensions of reason and its products and in which relations between religious, philosophical and scientific reason could be examined. They also prefer simply to ignore even the mere suggestion of cooperation with a reflective researcher since he or she is dismissed as speculative and unable to respect particular evidence (which does, unfortunately, often happen) rather than as a rigorous academic committed to the establishment of facts. A necessary correction to this narrow perspective would mean moving toward the use of historical psychology, historical sociology and historical anthropology for vast territories of the past, long ignored by the historian interested in narration, description and taxonomy. The recently published work of

J. van Ess *(Theologie und Gesellschaft)* shows all the richness of which we have been deprived and points to what will potentially escape into the future.

As a rather marginal academic discipline, the history of religions is looked at askance by both theological authorities, guardians of orthodoxy, and by secular states which propagate a political "neutrality" yet to be adequately examined philosophically and anthropologically. Furthermore, this field remains uncertain of its precise scope since it spills into many other disciplines. The same uncertainty applies to its intended objects of study which largely involve the invisible, the untouchable, the unnamable, the supernatural, the miraculous, the mysterious, the sacred, the holy, hope, love, violence and so on, as well as its instruments, analytical framework and inevitable relation to other disciplines, themselves groping their way forward in the dark. There is another rarely mentioned fact about the history of religions: Specialists writing for their colleagues are fully aware of the academic constraints by which they will be judged and admitted to the profession or excluded from it, no less differently than theologians who must practice self-censorship in order to obtain the *imprimatur* of doctrinal authorities. In any case, the populace at large, long confined to the discourse of oral culture, does not appear in scholarly writing, although they are the most directly concerned addressee of this research and form by far the largest and most convinced bloc of consumers of systems of belief and non-belief which science has submitted to its examination. Medieval élites *(khāṣṣa)* already taught openly that the masses *('awāmm)* should be kept away from scholarly debates. Today it is left to the scorned popularizers of knowledge to transmit to a large audience bits and pieces of a highly specialized science. The distinctive feature of religion, however, is that it is a source of inspiration, hope and legitimatization for all and first of all for those who have not received instruction in critical thought. In the case of the contemporary Muslim world, this observation bears considerably on qurʾānic studies.

Reading the Qurʾān today

As far as what is commonly called the Qurʾān is concerned, it must be said that this term has become so heavily laden by theological inquiry and the practical goals of secular approaches that it must be subjected to a preliminary deconstruction in order to make manifest levels of function and significance that have been sidestepped, suppressed or forgotten by pious tradition as well as by text-oriented philology. As is well-known, this situation has a long history, extending from the moment the Qurʾān was written down through its centuries of propagation in manuscript form until its modern-day dissemination in print, an historical process which has encouraged the rise of the clerical class to political and intellectual power. The present conceptual burden of the term Qurʾān is at odds with the social and cultural conditions prevailing at the time of the emergence and growth of that which the initial qurʾānic discourse calls *Qurʾān,* the celestial Text (*al-Kitāb,* see BOOK), recited as a faith event, aloud and before an audience. This annunciation can be called prophetic discourse and establishes an arena of communication between three grammatical persons: a speaker who articulates the discourse contained in the celestial Text; a first addressee, who transmits the message of annunciation as a faith event; and a second addressee, the people *(al-nās),* who constitute the group, large or small according to the circumstances, whose members are nevertheless all equal and free in their status as addressee. They are equal because they share the same discourse situation, i.e.

access to the same oral language used in the annunciation of the message. They are free because they respond immediately by assent, understanding, rejection, refutation or the demand for further explanation. More will be said about the crucial importance of the psycho-socio-linguistic analysis of what will henceforth be called prophetic discourse. (Justification will be given for the use of this qualification of "prophetic," which, historically, is strongly contested by the first addressee, after the adage that "no one is a prophet in his own country.") It must be remembered that all orientalist scholarship, in limiting itself to the curiosities of the task of a philological restoration of the text (grammar, morphology, lexicography, syntax) along with an historical reconstruction of the simple facts, has ignored the concepts of the structure of relations between persons (Benvéniste), of the discourse situation as conditioned by its context (as described by P. Zumptor for medieval literature by use of the term *orature* after the French *écriture,* "writing"), and of the dialectic between the powerful and the weak *(dialectique des puissances et des résidus)*. This last-mentioned encompasses the interaction between *orature* and *écriture,* knowledge of the structure of myth and critical historical knowledge, in other words the functional solidarity among 1) the centralizing program of state education, 2) *écriture,* 3) the scholarly milieu and the clerics who produce and manage it, and 4) orthodoxy. Thus, four dynamic socio-historical forces can be seen to be dialectically related to four other forces in the social arena which appear universally, as in Mecca (q.v.) and Medina (q.v.) at the time of the emergence of the qurʾānic event *(fait coranique)* no less than in the social milieu of the contemporary nation-state: 1) segmented society which defies uniformity, 2) *orature,* 3) culture which is called popular and disintegrates into popular culture in the contemporary megalopolis, and 4) heterodoxies. This interconnected conceptual framework allows an integration of all levels at which qurʾānic discourse functions — linguistic, social, anthropological, along with all historical periods — into the project of analysis and interpretation. This is demonstrated in a reading of Q 9, Sūrat al-Tawba (Arkoun).

One can still be grateful, in fairness to orientalist scholarship, for the efforts and achievements of such pioneers as J. Wellhausen, H. Grimme, T. Nöldeke, F. Schwally, G. Bergsträsser, O. Pretzl, I. Goldziher, T. Andrae, A. Guillaume, A. Jeffery, M. Bravmann, whose work has been continued by R. Paret, R. Blachère, H. Birkeland, R. Bell, W.M. Watt, J. Burton, J. Wansbrough, A.T. Welch, U. Rubin and so on. It should also be noted that for an area of studies which is so rich and vital, the names of those who really matter in this past century are quite few, as can be seen in bibliographies. The current generation seems promising, but the number and isolation of the researchers remain the same, along with the meager size of the projects and the less than considerable importance of the publications. Two additional remarks can elaborate these assessments:

(1) The question of an epistemological perspective — reductionist, scientist, positivist — that goes so far as to support, openly and aggressively, an atheism that does not acknowledge itself to be merely one simple doctrinal option, must be examined, especially where it concerns comparative history and the anthropological analysis of religion. This problem has to be addressed repeatedly and discussed in relation to every scholarly production concerning the religious event. (2) A scholar such as J. Van Ess, whose contribution to Islamic studies is exceptionally rich, represents another perspective, belonging to that

school which undertakes to censor itself, constantly and strictly, when it comes to the arena of faith, going so far as to respect the expression of this faith which proclaims itself to be orthodox by virtue of the sole fact of its sociological influence and political dominance. Against both perspectives, it must be emphasized that the deconstruction of every form of orthodoxy falsely rendered sacred by historical figures who happened to succeed politically is one of the most essential critical tasks for the social sciences. Within this context the following quotes from J. van Ess prove instructive: "I could have brought examples from the Muʿtazila (see MUʿTAZILĪS), but since they were considered to be heretics by the majority of Sunni Muslims afterward, I would have to reckon with the objection that they were ultimately not representative for Islam… He [i.e. Bishr al-Marīsī] is an interesting man, but, as in the case of the Muʿtazilites, I do not want to put the Islamic view of history upside down. This would be something for the Muslims themselves to do" (in Verbal inspiration? Language and revelation in classical Islamic theology, a lecture given on November 21, 1994 at the plenary session of the annual conference of the Middle Eastern Studies Association (MESA) and published in Wild, *Text,* 180-1). He adds, "As an historian and non-Muslim, I should not ask who was right, and who was wrong.… Indeed, whoever believed the recitation to be uncreated committed a sacrifice of intellect" (184-5). This is not the place to comment further on these two citations from the perspective of the necessary epistemological commitments of reason in the domain of religious studies in general and that of Islamic studies in particular. The possibility of securing such commitments and the way of defining this territory will be clarified in the remainder of this essay.

From the vantage point of a kind of research which is always accompanied by a critical return to procedures, a process of cutting and pasting, theoretical constructions, explanations and meaningful results, it can be concluded that the Qurʾān is only one among a number of events that have the same level of complexity and the same abundance of meanings. Others would be the Bible, the Gospels and founding texts of Buddhism and Hinduism, all of which have already known and may in the future know still more historical growth. It is necessary to ask what would finally serve to distinguish the religious corpus just mentioned from the vast Platonic and Aristotelian corpus with all its different forms in Islamic and later European contexts or from the corpus of the French Revolution or that of the October Revolution of 1917 (cf. the works of F. Furet). It is nevertheless clear that the invocation of a religious dimension, which can act, as a corrective, to remind us of the dangers of reductionist readings and the scholarship of cutting and pasting, ought not lead to any concession to dogmatic definitions as advanced by believers in the name of their sacred writings (which in fact are sacralized and sacralizing). The constructions of faith which aim to build and manage the heritage of symbols possessed by every community will be considered cultural manifestations and defining premises in the type of history produced with the attitude of the believer. There should be no question of screening these constructions of faith from historical research or from a critical assessment of the arguments of the authors who have defended them, the historical actors who have promoted them and the managers of orthodoxy who have perpetuated their point of view in scholastic traditions marked more or less by a dogmatic spirit. Belief is in itself a domain of human reality which has been either ignored or insufficiently integrated into larger undertakings

of historical and philological research. Historical psychology, the discipline which ought to treat this subject, has only begun its first steps of exploration. Is it appropriate to fragment, under the pretext of inevitable specialization, this contiguous and indivisible domain which prophetic discourse has wrought and which believers perceive and express daily?

By way of concluding these introductory remarks, it will be helpful to ask whether scholarly experience as amassed by orientalist scholarship enables us to pass to a new phase of qurʾānic studies. What would then be the epistemological orientations, the methodological choices and the appropriate programs of this new stage? Such new fields of scholarly investigation of the qurʾānic event must obviously meet two requirements: (1) Many more Muslim reflective researchers should be urged to participate, by increasing the possibilities and places for the exchange and confrontation of thoughts, in order to make progress in what is bound to be a long-term enterprise with the ultimate goal, indeed, of comprehensive thinking and knowing *(la noèse et la gnoséologie);* (2) Room should be given to previous and contemporary scholarship of Muslim believers. But which scholarship? What positive knowledge, independent of theological requirements, can be derived from it? Will it be possible, from this heterogeneous but undivided reality that is the Qurʾān, the revealed word of God, to separate data that can be declared objective from the psychological burdens and the content of faith which believers attach to the Qurʾān in their daily use and which are still experienced as correct? Is it necessary to classify all Muslim (or Christian or Jewish...) discourse as prior or alien to the modern disposition towards reason, as merely documentation for psychological and historico-sociological inquiry? This would lead to the placement of a scientific goal, entirely artificial, next to the exuberant and effervescent production of history by the strong dialectical exchange between human faith (itself the fruit of the interaction between the social imagination, the imagined, reason and memory) and the forces of upheaval in what can be only partially expressed by our concepts of speech, discourse, text, Qurʾān, revealed word and so on.

I will attempt to answer these questions under the following subtitles: (1) Priorities and limits of historical-anthropological interpretation; (2) Linguistic, semiotic and literary interpretation; (3) Religious interpretation, (4) Final proposals.

Priorities and limits of historical-anthropological interpretation

The short list, given above, of pioneering researchers in the field of qurʾānic studies includes only orientalists. The choice to exclude Muslim authors is, in itself, enough to disqualify this study in the eyes of orthodox believers (by which is not meant Muslims in general since this generic name includes practising believers as well as the many individuals who make claims upon a culture, a sensitivity, a spirituality, in other words an Islamic ethos without confining their thought to the dogmatic enclosure of a single orthodoxy). Mention will be made of Islamic contribution to qurʾānic studies in the third part, though it is fitting to state here that no arbitrary boundary has been drawn. The epistemological criterion used here is open to debate provided that the essential distinction between the disposition of belief and that of critical reason be respected. While no claim can be made for the superiority of one over the other, there are important differences separating the two states of cognition in terms of function, choice, aims, interests and results. Furthermore, the confrontation between these two attitudes and their respective

products is necessary for a fuller awareness of the dimensions of cognition.

The criterion is as follows: The Qurʾān as an object of research is a collection of initially oral utterances put into writing in historical conditions not yet elucidated. These utterances were then elevated, by the industry of generations of historical figures, to the status of a sacred book which preserves the transcendant word of God and serves as ultimate and inevitable point of reference for every act, every form of behavior and every thought of the faithful, who themselves are to be considered as communally interpreting this heritage. In this framework of study, a number of operative concepts and problems exist and still await a sufficiently objective, well-considered and inclusive elucidation so as to appeal not only to the community of reflective researchers but also to those believers who consider themselves practising and orthodox Muslims. This is a crucial point if one wants to overcome the arrogance of scientific reason which provides believers with no opportunity to speak and which interprets, cuts and pastes, categorizes and judges without actually elucidating the mechanisms, the omnipresence, the results and significance of belief for every human person. The task of the reflective researcher is to include in his or her field of investigation and analysis all that is said, experienced, constructed and emerges inside the dogmatic enclosure. To refuse today to enter these laboratories, so full of liveliness and significant events, which have become the societies remade by so-called religious revolutions, would deprive the social sciences of essential data to renew their theoretical positions and strategies of intervention.

It will be seen later how the fact and products of belief can be integrated into such scholarship while also submitting it to critical analysis of the most fruitful kind. In a spirit of equity, it is necessary to mention something of the still relevant achievements of orientalist scholarship. In *Lectures du Coran,* this author has presented three comparative tables which clarify the relations and differences between the Muslim approach as synthesized by al-Suyūṭī in his *Itqān fī ʿulūm al-Qurʾān,* the orientalist approach as summarized and followed by A.T. Welch *(Ḳurʾān)* and the approach, still in the process of elaboration, of the social sciences which are themselves subject to the ever evasive challenges of a comparative history of religions, conceived and written as an "anthropology of the past" and an "archaeology of daily life" (G. Duby, J. Le Goff, A. Dupront). Although not without problems, the theoretical project proposed by this last category of approach ought not to be too hastily reduced. For example, the synchronic linguistic exploration of qurʾānic discourse, combined with an anthropological analysis, has recently been used in an excellent monograph to be discussed later (Chabbi, *Le seigneur*). This third approach is made possible by the progress of the social sciences and by the accumulative achievements of orientalist scholarship.

The taboo that orthodoxy has always laid on qurʾānic studies was more easily lifted during the period of historical-philological positivism than it is today because the euphoria of positivist reasoning was boosted by colonial rule. Hence, the battle for a critical edition of the text of the Qurʾān, including most notably a chronological ranking of the sūras (see CHRONOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN), is not as persistent as it was in the period between T. Nöldeke and R. Blachère. All the same, this initiative has lost nothing of its scientific relevance since it implies a more reliable historical reading less dependent on suppositions, hypotheses and the quest for the plausible. (Despite the trust she puts in her methods,

J. Chabbi cannot avoid writing in the conditional mood). Unless more incontrovertible manuscripts related to the history of the text are found, which is still possible, it seems better to draw the conclusion that an irreversible situation has been created by the systematic destruction of precious documents or by the lack of interest of people today in all that has become essential for modern historical knowledge.

This field of research does not seem to have broadened its horizons or inquiries, if one is to judge by three collections of articles bearing carefully chosen signatures: *Approaches to the history of the interpretation of the Qur'ān,* ed. Andrew Rippin, *Approaches to the Qur'ān,* ed. G.R. Hawting and Abdul-Kader A. Shareef, and *The Qur'ān as text,* already cited above, the title of which does not fulfill its promises, as its editor, S. Wild, has admitted. The articles in each volume seem to be limited to verifying the continuity of historicist problematics, philological procedures and peripheral curiosities. This syndrome, clarified by J. van Ess, is apparent in the work of the researchers who contribute to these collections, each of whom considers him or herself to be an expert in a well-defined domain but who is never a reflective researcher vis-à-vis an object of knowledge that demands precise intervention on all levels and manners of production and propagation of meaning and assumptions of meaning. This critique can be addressed to those involved in the collections under examination as well as to other interpretations, including those which circulate among the community interpreting its heritage *(la communauté interprétante)*.

The problem must be reiterated: We are dealing with a corpus of which the primary constitutive function of its linguistic articulation is to express the true meaning of human existence — the objective, ideal, intangible, insurmountable norms which have to be strictly observed to keep this existence in line with its true meaning. We are also dealing with secondary corpuses derived from the first, of which the linguistic articulation has, in its long history, functioned in a similar fashion (the *yaqūlu llāhu* of the exegetes and of current discourse or *jā'a fī l-ḥadīth*) to perpetuate, throughout the long course of history, the illusion of a lived continuity between the revealed norms and meanings and the accumulated interpretations and plans used by the living tradition of the community of believers. We are thus dealing with such an existential structure as translated into multiple, developing existential realities. Is the researcher permittted to sever systematically knowledge of marginal facts from the critique of prophetic discourse as a discourse of existentiation (the Arabic term, *ījād,* renders the causative function more explicit) which gives shape, content and orientation to the actual existence of the believers. This is the problem toward which the reflective researcher directs his or her sights, in reaction against the dominance of scholastic reason which imposes its manner of cutting and pasting the heritage, not on the basis of an intellectual authority — which would create a debt of meaning in its regard, but by the mechanisms of academic power which are intertwined with and dependent on the political philosophy of modern states, just as the clerics who create and guard religious orthodoxies, were enmeshed with these state powers before the secular revolution.

The concepts introduced here as well as those used previously are likely to alienate quite a number of readers or even researchers not familiar with the discourse used in the social sciences and in a Christian theology attentive to the challenges of the modern criticism of religious thought. Doubtlessly in deference to these pioneering theologians, J. van Ess leaves to

Muslims the responsibility of accomplishing the same theological tasks. There remains, however, an objection to this reticence on the epistemological and gnoseological level: The advances of critical thought, as brought to light by the example of their application to the Qurʾān, will certainly benefit from the conceptualization of thought and thinking as a general effort of the human spirit that can push back against the limits encountered by reductive critical analysis. In any event, it is important to recall the distinct absence of a prospective conceptual framework in the most recent and best informed writings on the Qurʾān and the Islamic tradition.

It is appropriate to say something now about J. Chabbi's contribution before analyzing it more fully later on. In brief, it is a welcome example of historical analysis of the Qurʾān which illustrates the possibility of crossing an epistemic and epistemological threshold in the progress towards the desired disposition of the reflective researcher. The author traces the insurmountable boundary between the normative code of the professional historian and the domain of the thought and knowledge of the believer, while still incorporating this methodologically separate domain into the field of historical inquiry. The result is real progress, not only in historical writing as such, but first and foremost in the elucidation of the linguistic and historical processes which generated this belief. The author works with a recognition that this belief has become the inexhaustible source and ever powerful force of all the combined efforts and mental projections for understanding an inaugural moment *(moment inaugurateur)* and its mythological, ideological, semantic and semiotic ramification and enlargement, as well as its intellectual, institutional and artistic creations which continue and become increasingly complex. By using anthropological categories such as myth and social imagination, the historian can, from the same critical analytic perspective, gather the diverse transformative dialectics reflected in the Meccan utterances of the Qurʾān, carefully restore them to their context, thus liberating them from the overly determined sense which subsequent religious readings have projected onto them. As such, one can retrace the inchoate manifestations of a supra-tribal rationality and the formation of a nascent conceptual framework, as expressed in the linguistic usage, belief and the account of the foundation of the defined social group *(nās, ʿashīra, qawm)* that was meant to be the addressee. One can see how this addressee gradually became the dialectical protagonist and the involuntary agent of an historical transformation which had been fought, refused and denied in Mecca before imposing itself in Medina through a doubly armed prophet who added the weapon of revelatory speech to that of military arms. The religious interpretation of these events, which historians and anthropologists seek to reconstruct by archaeological investigation, was later transformed into a conglomerate of actors in a vast and long-lasting foundation story — opponents in Mecca, helpers in Medina (the *kāfirūn, munāfiqūn,* vs. the *muʾminūn, muhājirūn* and *anṣār* of orthodox terminology; see OPPOSITION TO MUḤAMMAD; EMIGRANTS AND HELPERS; HYPOCRITES AND HYPOCRISY) — which also requires the same kind of archaeological investigation to distinguish between historical and sociological reality and the subsequent mythical enlargment of the religious imagination.

It is now becoming possible to see how one might step out of the scientist rigidity of the historical critical method which, since the nineteenth century, has imposed its judgments, chronological and thematic categories, divisions of reality and objects

of study, etymologism and quest for origins and relations of ideas and accounts onto highly charged and creative contexts (e.g. the reduction of the Qurʾān to biblical and Hebraic sources to the detriment of its literary and spiritual creativity which transforms language and thought dynamically under the twofold horizon of fundamentally utopian thoughts and concrete action meant to actualize these thoughts in history). Yet J. Chabbi is not entirely successful in escaping all of these shortcomings despite the fact that she criticizes them sharply. For example, she was unsuccessful in clarifying the anthroplogical problems, like the tribal and political organization often used as key references for her impressionist interpretations, but not analyzed on the level required by her ambitious theorizations. Even in this enhanced scholarly environment, the philological concern is still unavoidable, but it can now be enriched by the contribution of linguistics so as to give place to the distinctive characteristics of the oral announcement *(l'énonciation orale)* in relation to written accounts *(énoncés écrits)* and to replace etymologism by the reconstruction of semantic fields and networks of language connotation. This is done through patient microanalysis which combines archaeological excavation (see ARCHAEOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN) with vocabulary, ethno-linguistic inquiry and ecological, sociological, cultural and political recontextualization. All this must be attained by using sources known for their precariousness and insufficiency as well as disguise, selection, transfiguration, sublimation, transcendentalization, essentialization, sacralization, mythologization and, now today, gross ideologization. This is not the place to specify the significance for the historical method of this set of concepts, intentionally grouped together, which are often used to mark the substitution of a principle of interpretation which is careful to employ social dialectics and their effects on the relation between language and thought with a principle at once rigid, ignorant of these dialectics and with the tendency to turn developing ideas, contingent representations, the assumptions of truth, precarious power relations and functional or arbitrary categories into eternal essences, intangible substances, ontological and transcendent truths, and ethical and juridical norms immune to every human intervention.

The principle of interpretation for the qurʾānic text should be equally applied to all sources with the same set of requirements: the ḥadīth collections, the works of exegesis, the biographical literature, the expanding biblical-qurʾānic imagination in mystical experience, the *Isrāʾīliyyāt,* the lives of the prophets, the integration myths of symbolic founding figures, like Abraham (q.v.) in the pantheon and Arab rituals associated with the Kaʿba (q.v.). These rich sources can be reviewed and reinvested in an archaeological excavation, now writ large, where there is no question of quarreling over the sources or debating their authenticity and the truth of positive facts liberated from the superstitions of the straightjacket of legends, popular stories and the ramblings of a pious imagination. This is what historicism has long done, reinforced by dialectic materialism at a time when Marxist rhetoric made its prejudice of rationality prevail in all domains of knowledge. The great classical commentators are no longer consulted — as many orientalists have done and still continue to do — as reliable authorities in clearing up the semantic contents of qurʾānic vocabulary. All commentaries are treated as corpuses which must be read within the changing contexts of their production, reception and reproduction.

It will be useful to elaborate on Chabbi's monograph since it furnishes a relatively

convincing illustration of both the methodological priority and the limits of the historical-anthropological approach applied to a corpus which lays the foundation of a religion. The limits are those which the historian imposes on himself in deciding when the work of scrutinizing and exploiting the documents is finished. One can see clearly that, regarding the question of contemporary critical practices and the Qurʾān, the historian is here caught within an extreme tension between two different attitudes of the human spirit: that of limiting knowledge to theoretical and practical pieces of information artificially constructed by scholarly disciplines or that of recognizing the reliable and potentially universal teaching of these disciplines while also creating space for a policy of hope, a concept that enables the integration of theological developments about the history of salvation, the quest for salvation and eschatological hope into historical psychology and religious sociology.

To clarify: If the present resources of historical inquiry are willing to concede, in accordance with a scientifically acceptable manner, that the Qurʾān, when viewed in the ecological, ethno-linguistic, sociological and political theater of tribal life (see TRIBES AND CLANS) in Mecca and Medina at the beginning of the seventh century C.E., cannot but change its cognitive status, a whole new field of work will be possible. This raises the question of whether a historian can do justice to two clearly different realms of cognition: 1) that of a Meccan Qurʾān restored to its concrete historical and linguistic reality as distinct from the Medinan corpus as well as from the universal corpus later imposed under the name of *muṣḥaf* (q.v.), and 2) that of this *muṣḥaf* which would be more aptly named the Closed Official Corpus (see COLLECTION OF THE QURʾĀN; CODICES OF THE QURʾĀN). It is this later corpus that the interpreting community has accepted and will continue to accept for the foreseeable future as a *tanzīl,* a revealed given *(donné révélé)* that abolishes — in interpretation and in experience, i.e. in the course of history — the status of the corpus as unveiled by historians.

One cannot dodge this question by saying that this later corpus is the concern of believers because it is the historian who uncovers the new status of belief to the extent that his or her achievements as a historian are recognized to be intellectually compelling. A first answer would consist in widening the same inquiry with the same deconstructive procedure to the entire history of societies in which this revealed given has been received, interpreted and translated into ethical, juridical, political, semantic, esthetic and spiritual codes. This author has proposed the concept of societies of the book-Book *(sociétés du Livre-livre),* including the Jewish and Christian examples, in order to integrate the revealed given into the productive forces of the history of these societies before it was disqualified, marginalized and even eliminated by scientific and political revolutions. It is possible that the historian's refusal — by leaving to the theologian and the philosopher a task lying within the scope of the historian's responsibility — to enlarge the working domain reflects a philosophical commitment to the *fait accompli* of the eighteenth century political revolutions in Europe and America. This would explain the difficulties of dialogue between historians, anthropologists, theologians and philosophers on these delicate subjects. This author has shown, with the example of the work of C. Cahen, that historians have until now not assumed the responsibilities that ensue from a historical-anthropological reading of the Meccan and Medinan Qurʾān (Arkoun, Transgresser, déplacer, dépasser, in *Arabica* 1996.1).

One should not forget that these battles

and debates take place within the historical trajectory of European thought as it has developed since the sixteenth century, i.e. with the first challenges to the medieval heritage by the Reformation and Renaissance. Within the Islamic context, these questions are still suppressed and considered unimagineable. One can see the disarray in the human spirit wherever there is a failure in the indispensable work, assigned to philosophy and anthropology, of taking charge of the domains of thought left in ruins by the social sciences which limit themselves to working on divided fragments of an undivided reality.

Linguistic, semiotic and literary interpretation

These approaches have produced far less foundational or innovative work than the historical approaches. Semiotics was in fashion in France between 1960 and 1980 with the support of A.J. Greimas and a number of his disciples. A relatively small number of doctoral theses on the Qurʾān have appeared in France during that period, but it has not been possible to publish any of them in contrast with studies on the Bible and the Gospels that have abounded and been published. Linguistic approaches to the Qurʾān, especially in the domain of discourse criticism, are not well represented either, despite the fact that studies of Arabic linguistic history have flourished especially during the last twenty years. One can see this paucity as clear proof of an intellectual timidity, itself nourished by the researcher's 'prudent' reluctance to study the Muslim sacred text. At the Sorbonne, many have preferred to renounce subjects which had aroused their intellectual curiosity but which also aroused their fears of rejection in their countries of origin. Among the few exceptions is C. Gilliot who has been willing to work on the common Islamic imagination as found in al-Ṭabarī's (d. 310/923) commentary, although limiting himself to the classical scholarly track in which he continues to make substantial contributions.

As for the literary approach, there is nothing in qurʾānic studies equivalent to N. Frye *(The great code),* not to mention the abundant research which has enriched and renewed biblical studies. I have personally planned to treat the use of the metaphor in the Qurʾān in order to correct an intolerable shortcoming, one that has lasted since the medieval battles over accepting or totally rejecting the metaphorical dimension in the interpretation of God's word. A book by Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya (d. 751/1350), bearing the eloquent title, "Thunder Bolts Sent in Refutation of the Sectarian al-Jahmiyya and al-Muʿaṭṭila" *(al-Ṣawāʿiq al-mursala fī l-radd ʿalā al-Ǧahmiyya wa-l-Muʿaṭṭila),* clearly sets out the stakes in the debate over the theology of revelation. I have not abandoned this rich project; but the terrain left to be cleared is immense and the few works available on this subject are largely irrelevant. Muslims are themselves scandalised at hearing of this shortcoming and refer with pride to al-Bāqillānī (d. 403/1013), al-Jurjānī (d. 471/1078), Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 606/1210), al-Sakkākī (d. 629/1231) and to the immense *iʿǧāz* literature of which the apologetic dimension still weighs heavily on contemporary works (e.g. Muṣṭafā Ṣādiq al-Rāfiʿī, Sayyid Quṭb, Muḥammad Shaḥrūr). These fail, however, to mention the current hostility to metaphor and the fact that the doctrine of the created Qurʾān (see CREATEDNESS OF THE QURʾĀN) has prevailed since the fourteenth century. For this reason, it is the literary approaches which triumph today. Studies of Arabic rhetoric and literary criticism are quick to scrutinize the positive and negative consequences of the influence exerted by theological tenets on linguistic, semiotic and

literary approaches to the sacred text. Among the positive results is the possibility of enjoying, at one and the same time and with the profound attention of an undivided conscience, the spiritual emotion, ethical beauty and pleasure of the text, whether read or recited. It is one of the distinctive characteristics of prophetic discourse to bring together these three values — the true, the good and the beautiful — in order to draw the human subject more surely to the salvific utopia. This is exactly what Greek literature did before the intervention and victory of Aristotelian logocentrism. Additionally, there remains the simple fact that the foundational texts of religions never lose their initial status as oral announcement. Thus do the faithful identify with them through liturgical recitation, ritual conduct and quotations in current conversation (Graham, *Beyond;* see RECITATION OF THE QUR'ĀN; RITUAL AND THE QUR'ĀN; EVERYDAY LIFE, THE QUR'ĀN IN).

It is therefore important to consider the possibilities of literary criticism itself lest religious discourse monopolize the methods and issues found in modern works. For example, beyond prophetic discourse, what status should be assigned to the immense corpus left by a figure like Ibn al-ʿArabī (d. 638/1240)? Religious and literary qualifications alone do not allow for an account of the exceptional richness and dimensions of such a written text, one for which the exact status has yet to be defined.

How to take up these scientific challenges? It is not enough to denounce the shortcomings of apology and the repression of innovation by the guardians of orthodoxy. To take one case, Naṣr Ḥāmid Abū Zayd, the first Muslim scholar to face the Arabic world directly by writing in Arabic while teaching at Cairo University, tried to break the many taboos which prohibit the application of the most relevant achievements of contemporary linguistics to the Qurʾān. Before him, Muḥammad Khalafallāh tried to apply literary criticism to narrative in the Qurʾān, and in spite of its modest scientific span, his essay caused a major upheaval. The works of Abū Zayd contain nothing revolutionary if one places them within the scholarly production of the last twenty years, since they explain quite straightforwardly the conditions necessary for applying the rules of defining and analysing a text to the Qurʾān *(Mafhūm al-naṣṣ)*. Once more, the violent reaction to attempts intending only to popularize knowledge long since widely accepted, underlines the area in contemporary Islamic thought of what cannot be and has not been thought.

The religious interpretation

The concept of an interpreting community leads to a wide range of possibilities for the use of speech that has become text and of a text that was laid down in the Closed Official Corpus but which is still invoked and experienced as speech. The range runs the gamut from the most learned exegesis to daily liturgical recitation and the spontaneous quoting of the text in current conversation, in controversy or at joyful or somber events. Qurʾānic studies has been chiefly interested in scholarly exegetical readings that offer historical information, cultural insights or grammatical and lexical explanations which could enrich the understanding of the text as given in the Closed Official Corpus. Insufficient account has been taken of the cognitive status of the many other religious approaches to the text as these are interpreted by and for the community. There are two major reasons for this: Firstly, all approaches and all appropriations are confined within a dogmatic enclosure; secondly, the great commentaries which were given authorization over the historical development of the living tradition function as orthodox corpuses of interpretation.

Not only are believing Muslims imprisoned in this dogmatic enclosure, orientalist scholarship has also long contented itself with transferring to European languages the exegetical orthodoxy of the dominant Sunnī Islam before doing the same with Shīʿī Islam (and that at a time when political events enabled political scientists to dispute the supremacy of expertise claimed by scholars of Islam). Those, for example, who attempted to tackle the question of the authenticity of the prophetic tradition have instead used this material to prop up artificially constructed historical argumentation. In so doing, they are careful to protect their scholarly status with certain rhetorical techniques: "according to Muslim tradition," "according to Muslim faith," etc., and thus does the dogmatic enclosure remain untouched and free to operate without restraint.

The term "dogmatic enclosure" applies to the totality of the articles of faith, representations, tenets and themes which allow a system of belief and unbelief (q.v.) to operate freely without any competing action from inside or outside. A strategy of refusal, consisting of an arsenal of discursive constraints and procedures, permits the protection and, if necessary, the mobilization of what is presumptuously called faith (q.v.). It is well known how scrupulously the profession of faith (*ʿaqīda,* see CREEDS) is translated and described, but no green light has ever been given to a deconstruction of the axioms, tenets and themes that hold together and establish the adventurous cohesion of every faith. The point is not to demonstrate the scientific validity or the irrationality of the articles of faith but rather to trace their genealogy from Nietzsche's perspective of the criticism of values as well as their psychological functions and decisive role in the construction and formation of every human subject. All this is a matter for historical psychology with its curiosity and inquiry which has, as previously mentioned, not yet been integrated into historical-anthropological methodology. A realization of this direction of research is greatly to be desired and could proceed by exploring the shared Islamic imagination as represented in the great corpuses of interpretation such as those of al-Ṭabarī, Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, Muḥammad al-Ṭāhir Ben ʿAshūr (d. 1867), and Muḥammad Ḥusayn Ṭabāṭabāʾī (d. 1980) amongst others. As long as faith and spirituality are the object of simple narrative and descriptive accounts — be it with the agnostic's cold distance (in the style of H. Laoust) or with the warm and exhorting empathy of the believer (in the style of J. Jomier or Kenneth Cragg) — qurʾānic studies and, more generally, the comparative history of religions will be unable to achieve the exhaustiveness and relevance expected of them.

The religious interpretation as applied to foundational texts is also the place where creativity of meaning, assumptions of meaning, representations and mythological or ideological construction emerge and erupt in accordance with the cultural contexts of different social groups. This is equally true for medieval approaches now considerd sacred and treated as obligatory classical reference works as well as for contemporary approaches. The functional relation between the Closed Official Corpus (including the ḥadīth collections), promoted to the rank of primordial foundational text, and the corpuses of interpretation to which the Closed Official Corpus gives rise remains the same whether these be religious corpuses, as in the societies of the book-Book, or secular corpuses, or those of modern political revolutions. The latter two categories, however, benefit from historical clarity and from tools of analysis which exclude any possibility of resorting explicitly, as does the first category, to

mystery, the supernatural, transcendence and the miraculous, where the operation of sacralization, mythification, sublimation, transfiguration, ontologization and even mystification rests. Still, the historian has to determine the various forms of reason used (grammatical, theological, juridical, historiographical or philosophical reason) as well as the kind of rationality, imagination and modes of intervention and creative imagination, recognizing their diversity in figures such as al-Ḥallāj (d. 309/922), al-Tawḥīdī (d. 414/1023), Ibn al-ʿArabī (d. 638/1240), Mullā Ṣadra Shīrāzī (d. 1050/1604), Sayyid Quṭb (d. 1966), etc.

It is now possible to see in what way the integration of religious interpretation into the enlarged domain of the historian can enrich historical knowledge while also restricting speculative criticism of religious reason that, as demonstrated here, is only a modality of the reason of belief. At the same time, it has been shown that the various kinds of interpretation discussed here lead to the same acknowledgment, namely that the progress of qurʾānic studies has depended on the orientalist scholarship of the nineteenth century. (The term scholarship is used to underscore the orientalists' refusal to commit epistemologically their accumulated knowledge to a criticism of religious reason that would include all known examples in the societies of the book-Book). The refusal of the historian, anthropologist, sociologist, psychologist, literary critic and semiotician to identify and answer the challenges of prophetic discourse and the logical universe it generates, will lead finally to the degeneration of these disciplines themselves. As for Muslim scholarship, it continues to inflict upon itself limitations, mutilations and prohibitions that only accentuate the dependency and backwardness of qurʾānic studies. What it has produced since the nineteenth century has more of a documentary interest for a history of religious psychology and the enlargement of the imagination of religious discourse, especially in the domain of politics, than any intellectual and scientific merit which could enrich our knowledge of the qurʾānic event and of the Islamic event and, beyond those, of the religious event in general. The recently published volume by Muḥammad Shaḥrūr, "The Book and the Qurʾān" *(al-Kitāb wa-l-Qurʾān),* has had a success that bears witness to both the intolerable pressure of dogmatic control on qurʾānic studies and the limits within which every discourse with hopes of innovation must be pursued.

Final proposals

The project of publishing an *Encyclopaedia of the Qurʾān* that is conceived and realized with respect for the critical order of rational processes is long overdue. This delay confirms this article's position on the historical and epistemological discrepancy between philosophic and scientific reason, as practiced today in the West and elsewhere, and Islamic reason as it asserts itself in its positions on Islam as well as in political action, legal codes, educational systems and behaviors which encourage the traditional. As long as the Islamic logical universe continues to function within the dogmatic enclosure of its historical form as received since the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, there will be a place for a parallel Islamic encyclopedia of Islam and, all the more, an Islamic encylopedia of the Qurʾān. The *Encyclopaedia of the Qurʾān* constitutes a basis of data that will undoubtedly, like every work of scholarship, be subject to discussions, additions and revisions. It will, however, be impossible to ignore, particularly by people who pursue the cognitive project of understanding the religious event in a universal way.

To sustain this project within that perspective, it would be helpful to conclude

with the following proposals: It is necessary to open up the qurʾānic fact by situating it in a comparative approach not only within the three monotheistic religions but also within a historical anthropology of the religious event in its geo-historical and geo-cultural ambiance that can, for the time being, be qualified as Mediterranean. The historical phase of what historians explore under the name of the Near East should always be kept in sight, although not in order to rediscover so-called origins or to reconstruct linear relations of ideas, representations, linguistic forms and rituals of expression. The aim should be to deepen our knowledge of constituent elements common to the monotheistic religious conscience in its global historical genesis and manner of differentiation. This should include attention to inaugural moments and new departures from cultural codes that engender logical universes, dogmatic enclosures, societies of the book-Book and communities of election who have been promised salvation in contrast to anonymous groups destined to stray and be damned. In brief, it is a matter of deepening our knowledge of all these historical formations that the ethnographic view imprisons in so-called identities and encloses in alleged regions, traditions and cultures.

The concept of the Closed Official Corpus provides a good example of the comparative approach that will enable Muslim readers of the *Encyclopaedia of the Qurʾān* to better assess the stakes in a scientific problematization of the orthodox vocabulary inherited from a theological theory of values resistant to every critical examination. The Jewish and Christian traditions have similarly had a before and an after to what has been called the *fait accompli* of the Closed Official Corpus. Christians today are willing to read the apocryphal writings left out by the church between the fourth and the sixteenth centuries (cf. their publication in the *Pléiade* series by F. Bovon and P. Geoltrain). The results have not functioned in the same way before and after the triumph of a Closed Official Corpus in each tradition: Scholarly research without the burden of dogma creates more favorable conditions for historical re-readings of the texts that have been selected as sacred and thus untouchable. One can therefore understand why the concept of a Closed Official Corpus is more effective for a comparative history of the religious event in its prophetic trajectory.

Two more gaps are left that must be mentioned: The theological and philosophical attitudes of reason in the so-called societies of the book-Book should be the object of the same comparative historical approach within the perspective of a critical historical epistemology. Tackling such a task requires constant vigilance, not only to check the use of all conceptual frameworks which have been protected from the critique of deconstructionism but also to introduce and refine more inclusive concepts which are more productive from the perspective of a critique of religious reason beginning with its formulation by Jews, Christians and Muslims.

In that which concerns the Qurʾān more directly, it is clear that what is called for here is a protocol of interpretation that is free from both the dogmatic orthodox framework and the procedural disciplines of modern scientism which is, it must be admitted, no less constraining. It is an interpretation which wanders, in which every human, Muslim or non-Muslim, gives free rein to his or her own dynamic of associating ideas and representations, beginning from the freely chosen interpretation of a corpus of which the often imputed disorder, so often denounced, favors the freedom to wander. This approach is able to

extricate itself definitively from every kind of arbitrary rhetoric, artificial and allegedly logical reconstruction, and delusive coherence later imposed by juridical, theological, apologetic, ideological and fantastic interpretations. One potential model here is, of course, the creative freedom of the likes of Ibn al-ʿArabī; but now the desired freedom is more subversive since it would include all forms and experiences of subversion that were ever attempted by mystics, poets, thinkers and artists.

M. Arkoun

Bibliography

The titles included in the text demonstrate more attention to the publications of the human and social sciences than to the literature of Islamic studies which I do not neglect, but which I consider to be known by the readers of this encyclopaedia. It is impossible to give here an ample and fully annotated bibliography of qurʾānic studies from the perspectives herein formulated. It would be necessary to include in such a list publications in Islamic languages, notably Arabic, Persian and Turkish. The programme of which I have just given a too brief overview will be more clearly defined and duly illustrated in my forthcoming *Lecture de la sourate* 9. It will also be noted that I have not evoked the essential contribution of J. Wansbrough. Discussions on his revolutionary positions have recently been relaunched in a rather redundant and all too brief fashion (see H. Berg, *Islamic origins reconsidered*). Wansbrough's scientific intervention finds its place in the framework I propose. It gives priority to methods of literary criticism which, like the historical-anthropological reading, lead to questions left to other disciplines and a level of reflection unimagineable in the current fundamentalist context. Within this context I would like to specify references briefly indicated in the text or which seem to me essential to the production of new works free from all the constraints of outdated knowledge or from condescending attitudes towards beliefs arbitrarily sacralized.

Primary: M. Ben ʿAshūr, *Tafsīr al-taḥrīr wa-l-tanwīr,* vols. 1-30, Tunis 1984 (this commentary, as well as those published since the nineteenth century — e.g. those of Ṭabāṭabāʾī and Sayyid Quṭub — should be presented as contemporary, not modern if by modern is meant the critical-historical framework of analysis and interpretation. It is easy to show that all of them depend on the classical exegesis more than on the modern approaches to religion as proposed by the social sciences. A good example of this epistemological posture which I support is given in the two following titles by P. Gisel. See also my essay, From inter-religious dialogue to the recognition of the religious phenomenon); Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya, *al-Ṣawāʿiq al-mursala fī l-radd ʿalā al-Ǧahmiyya wa-l-Muʿaṭṭila,* Cairo 1380/1960-1; Quṭb, *Ẓilāl;* Suyūṭī, *Itqān;* M.Ḥ. Ṭabāṭabāʾī, *al-Mīzān fī tafsīr al-Qurʾān,* 20 vols., Beirut 1971².

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Contracts and Alliances

Contract, a unilateral or bilateral agreement or promise to do or not to do a thing or a set of things; alliance, a relationship of solidarity and support to preserve and further the common interests of those participating in the relationship.

The concepts of a strictly legal contract or political alliance are not well articulated in the Qurʾān. That of a contract *(ʿaqd)* in the sense of a covenant (*ʿahd,* see COVENANT) between God and man does, however, appear frequently. The word *ʿahd* seems at times to be a virtual synonym of *ʿaqd* although the latter connotes more than the former a sense of bilateralism (Q 17:34). The use of *ʿahd* in the Qurʾān varies. In some passages it connotes a self-initiated commitment (as in Q 16:91) while in others it expresses a commitment of man toward God but a commitment imposed by God and accepted by man (as in Q 48:10). The commentators disagree as to the meaning of *ʿahd,* some arguing that it is God's commandment (see COMMANDMENTS) to his creation (q.v.) to live by the laws he revealed to them through his prophets and books (see BOOK; PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD). Failing to live by the law constitutes a breach of this commandment.

Other commentators advance a more limited definition of the term. The scope of *ʿahd,* they maintain, is confined to the People of the Book (q.v.). They breached it by rejecting Muḥammad and his message after having agreed to follow him once he appeared. According to a third group of commentators, apparently spearheaded by al-Zamakhsharī (d. 538/1144), *ʿahd* is the proof (q.v.) or set of proofs in favor of monotheism, proofs which God had implanted in the minds of disbelievers in the form of a commitment on their part, a commandment by which they should live.

In the majority of instances, the term *ʿahd* is used with a negative tenor, in the sense of breaching the commitment to God, a commitment of a binding nature that was also signified by the term *mīthāq* (Q 2:63; 4:90; see CHILDREN OF ISRAEL). The preservation or abandonment of the *ʿahd* demarcates the boundaries between belief and heresy, between believer *(muʾmin)* and disbeliever (*kāfir, fāsiq,* cf. Q 2:27-8, 100; 7:102; 33:23; see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF). The term also occurs in the sense of an alliance or a treaty between Muḥammad and one group or another of his contemporaries, such as the Meccan polytheists (see POLYTHEISM AND ATHEISM) and the People of the Book. Q 9:1 declares: "Freedom of obligation is proclaimed from God and his Messenger toward those of the idolaters with whom you made an alliance (or treaty)" (see also Q 9:7; 8:56; see IDOLATRY AND IDOLATERS). In other instances, *ʿahd* signifies personal commitment, such as in Q 17:34, "Come not near the wealth of the orphan (see ORPHANS) save with that which is better till he come to strength; and keep the commitment *(ʿahd)* for to the commitment [is attached] a responsibility."

The notion of alliance is preeminently expressed by the derivatives of the root

w-l-y, especially the noun *walī* which appears in the Qurʾān over 85 times. It seems that in pre-Islamic Arabia, *walāʾ* (also known as *ḥilf*) represented a relationship of mutual support between two tribes or between particular individuals belonging to two tribes (see TRIBES AND CLANS; PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QURʾĀN). It also represented the admission of individuals into a clan or a tribe through an agreement with one of its members or with the tribe as a collectivity. The strength of such a relationship is reflected in the fact that once *walāʾ* is concluded the individuals on both sides would acquire equal rights, would inherit from each other and would be bound by the same set of obligations. From this perspective then *walāʾ* creates relationships that are equal in force to blood relationships (see KINSHIP; CLIENTS AND CLIENTAGE). But the term *walī* may designate a variety of relationships that include a more basic form of loyalty and support, relationships whose precise nature is not entirely clear. It is fair to say, however, that the relationship of *walāʾ* is nearly always understood to entail support. In numerous qurʾānic verses, the term *walī* appears conjoined with the word *naṣīr,* an ally, supporter or one aiding in achieving victory (Q 4:45, 75, 89, 123, 173; 33:17, 65).

A term that does not appear in the Qurʾān but which denoted significant relationships of tribal alliance was *ḥilf,* a compact into which various related and unrelated clans entered. The purpose of such alliances was to establish permanent peace among these clans, to unite them in war against common enemies, to consolidate their wealth (q.v.) to pay for blood money (q.v.; see also RETALIATION), to share pasturage, etc. Since these alliances strengthened tribal structures, which did not serve the cause of the new religion, the Prophet condemned them with his famous declaration: "There is no *ḥilf* in Islam."

In the Qurʾān, God is the true and, ultimately, only ally *(walī)* of the believers; those who swerve from the path of belief (see ASTRAY), especially apostates (see APOSTASY), are left without such an ally (Q 2:107; 9:74; 41:31). "And they have no protecting allies *(awliyāʾ)* to help them instead of God" (Q 42:46); "Besides God you have no protecting ally or supporter" (Q 2:107; 42:31). Entering into alliance with the People of the Book or with the Arab polytheists is considered particularly reprehensible, if not absolutely forbidden: "Do not take them as allies till they migrate in the path of God" (Q 4:89; see PATH OR WAY [OF GOD]); "O you who believe, choose not disbelievers for allies in place of believers" (Q 4:144); "O you who believe, take not the Jews and Christians for allies. They are allies of each other. He amongst you who takes them for allies is one of them" (5:51).

As mentioned earlier, the term *ʿahd* was considered virtually synonymous with *ʿaqd,* a word expressing notions of contractual obligation. The latter term makes an appearance only once in the Qurʾān (Q 5:1), in the plural form *ʿuqūd*. The form *ʿuqda* (lit. "knot"), however, in conjunction with the word *nikāḥ* appears twice in the sense of marriage contract (see MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE). Likewise, the verb *ʿaqada,* again used in the context of marriage, occurs twice.

The most general precept regarding obligations or contracts occurs in Q 5:1: "O you who believe, fulfill your contracts *(ʿuqūd)*." The term, Ibn Manẓūr reports (*Lisān al-ʿArab,* iii, 296-300, 311-5), was taken by some scholars to refer generally to *ʿuhūd* (pl. of *ʿahd*). Others understood it to connote the religious obligations imposed upon the believers. In commenting on this verse, al-Zajjāj (d. 311/923) construes it to have a double meaning; namely, the obligations that God imposed upon Muslims and those which Muslims imposed upon

each other as elements of juridical contractual transactions. Thus, accordingly, the qurʾānic use of the root *ʿ-q-d* connotes both unilateral and bilateral obligations. When unilateral, they emanate from God and are directed toward Muslims; when bilateral, they are of human construction, although the principles upon which they are constructed are dictated by religion.

On the basis of Q 2:282, the Qurʾān was interpreted as having enjoined the writing down of obligations. This particular verse, however, pertains to the recording and attestation of debts (q.v.). It reads as follows:

O you who believe, when you contract a debt for a fixed term, record it in writing. Let a scribe record it in writing between you in (terms of) equity. No scribe should refuse to write as God had taught him, so let him write, and let him who incurred the debt dictate, and let him observe his duty to God his Lord, and diminish not thereof. But if he who owes the debt is of low understanding, or weak, or unable himself to dictate, then let the guardian of his interests dictate in [terms of] equity. And call to witness, from among your men, two witnesses. And if two men be not [available] then one man and two women, of such as you approve as witnesses, so that if one [woman] errs [through forgetfulness], the other will remember. And the witnesses shall not refuse when they are summoned (see WITNESSING AND TESTIFYING). Be not averse to writing down [the contract] whether it be small or great, with [record of] the term thereof. That is more equitable in the sight of God and more sure for testimony, and the best way of avoiding doubt between you; save only in the case when it is actual merchandise which you transfer among yourselves from hand to hand. In that case, it is no sin for you if you do not write it down. And have witnesses when you sell one to another, and let no harm be done to scribe or witness. If you do them harm, lo! It is a sin in you (see WRITING AND WRITING MATERIALS; SIN AND CRIME).

Despite the relative detail of this verse and the clarity of the prescription to write down contracts, Islamic law neither recognized the validity of written instruments nor elaborated a general, comprehensive theory of contracts and obligations. To be valid, it was required that an instrument be attested by witnesses. Thus it is by virtue of testimonial attestation that an instrument acquires validity. The fact of its being a written instrument did not, as a rule, bestow on it any validity. The Qurʾānic injunction to reduce contracts to writing reflected the legal practices of the Near East, both to the north and to the south of Mecca (q.v.) and Medina (q.v.). Why Islamic law — which developed primarily in the Fertile Crescent, Egypt and the Hijaz — broke away from this practice, even at the expense of ignoring a qurʾānic prescription, remains largely a mystery.

In classical and medieval Islamic law, several types of contract were recognized. The most common source of contractual obligations was primarily the *ʿaqd* in matters of pecuniary transactions. More specifically, the contract of sale (*bayʿ*, see SELLING AND BUYING) formed not only the archetype of contractual theory but also constituted the core of legal obligations. Commutative and other types of contracts stand on their own though they are nonetheless constructed on the contractual model of sale which otherwise includes barter and exchange. In the sale contract, strictly defined, the object sold is distinguished from the price and the value. And being bilateral, a contract requires offer *(ījāb)* and acceptance *(qabūl)*, both taking place in the same session in the presence

of the contracting parties. It was generally required that offer and acceptance be expressly stated although the Mālikī school did fully recognize implied-in-fact contracts. The Qurʾān itself does not explicitly enjoin express offer and acceptance but it does acknowledge that the basis of contractual validity is mutual assent (Q 4:29).

Islamic law recognizes the right to rescision which is a unilateral right to cancel or ratify a contract of sale. The buyer has the right to rescind the contract at the time when he inspects the object purchased. The right to rescision arises if there is a defect in the object of sale. Deficiency is taken to be a cause for the reduction of the value and thus the price of the object, and reduction in price upsets the terms of the contract. This right, however, lapses if not exercised within a certain time limitation. And once it lapses, the sale would be considered complete and thus irrevocable. Similarly, once the time limitation on rescision has expired, it is assumed that the reciprocal taking of possession has gone into effect.

In addition to the narrowly defined contract of sale, Islamic law recognized a variety of other types of contracts. A special type was the *salam* which entailed the ordering of goods to be delivered later (assuming usually that they are custom-made) for a payment made immediately. Placing an order for a ship to be built, for instance, fell into this category. But because of the disparity between the time of payment and the delivery of goods, this type of contract came close to violating the prohibition on usury (*ribā,* see USURY). So did another, similar type of contract known as *nasīʾa* whereby goods are delivered immediately for a delayed payment.

An important type of contract is that of hire and lease which involves the sale of a usufruct. Two types of hire are distinguished, one for a period of time, the other to carry out a specific task. Marriage is also a type of contract under Islamic law and as such it involves offer, acceptance and the payment of a price, technically known as dower (*mahr,* see BRIDEWEALTH). The bridegroom concludes the contract with the legal guardian *(walī)* of the bride before two male witnesses or one man and two women. The *walī* is the nearest male relative, usually the father or older brother. The element of price in this contract is constituted by the dower which he pays to the bride instead of her guardian.

In the wake of the so-called legal reforms during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the law of obligations underwent various degrees of change, depending on the individual Muslim country in question. The most fundamental change occurred first in Egypt in 1949, when the Egyptian Civil Code became law through the efforts of ʿAbd al-Razzāq al-Sanhūrī. This code became in many important respects the model for the Syrian, Lebanese, Kuwaiti and Libyan reforms. With its appearance, a comprehensive and integrated text of legal obligations replaced the medieval law manuals, which lacked a unified theory of contracts. Furthermore, formal matters of wording and syntax, important in the medieval context, now become marginal if not obsolete. See also LAW AND THE QURʾĀN; BREAKING TRUSTS AND CONTRACTS.

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Conversion

Spiritual and moral transformation attended by a sincere change of belief. The concept of conversion is represented in the Qurʾān by a group of teachings which together stress the importance of admitting God's lordship, accepting the guidance he gives, following the way he has established and conforming to his will (see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF; LORD; OBEDIENCE; ISLAM). It is essentially a matter of reverting to a norm perceptible to all and to which one is able to conform by one's own efforts. The initiative for the movement of restoration lies with God, though humankind has the ability to comply or not (see FREEDOM AND PREDESTINATION).

God has created all things primarily so that they should serve and worship (q.v.) him (e.g. Q 6:102; 16:48-50; 21:19-20; 64:1; see CREATION; SERVANT). Among them are humankind (Q 51:56) whose vocation is to seek God's help (Q 1:5) and thank him for the good he gives. But humans are weak and contentious (Q 2:30; 4:28; 16:4; see BLOODSHED; CORRUPTION) even though God has given them intelligence (Q 55:4), and they allow themselves to be seduced from their proper relationship with him (Q 20:121; 82:6-7; see DISOBEDIENCE; GRATITUDE AND INGRATITUDE). It is this fallibility that causes a slip from their true nature (Q 30:30; see FALL OF MAN) and which God in his mercy (q.v.) seeks to restore.

One of the commonest terms in the Qurʾān by which the notion of this restoration is expressed is guidance, *hudā*. It springs from the idea that the fundamental relationship entails that humans follow where God leads and in so doing fulfill their existence. But the term has rather more nuanced meanings than this basic depiction suggests. On the one hand, the Qurʾān makes clear that God's guidance enlightens (Q 24:35) and directs to the path of right action (Q 10:25) and that he provides signs (q.v.) to help along the way (Q 3:103). But this guidance is not made available to everyone. For on the other hand, some have fallen into error (q.v.; Q 7:30; 16:36) or even been cast aside by God (Q 4:88) and purposely willed by him to stray (Q 7:155; 7:178; see ASTRAY). Exactly why this should be is part of the divine mystery, for only God can give guidance (Q 7:43) and no one else, not even the Prophet (Q 2:272; 4:88; 28:56). A partial explanation, however, is provided by suggestions that humans have a crucial part to play for themselves, for God could have willed to guide all (Q 6:149; 13:31; 32:13) and he guides those who turn to him (Q 5:16; 13:27; 42:13). This is amplified by indications that he gives guidance to those who are already seeking it, *alladhīna htadaw hudān* (Q 19:76; cf. 47:17) and guides those who believe (Q 2:4-5).

The relationship between belief and guidance is made yet more explicit in references to those who have made a choice. God has shown the way to the grateful and the ungrateful (Q 76:3); however, he only guides those who believe (Q 64:11; 2:264). Believers who turn away from their belief can only be left to the consequences of their choice (Q 3:86; see FATE; DESTINY). Here the Qurʾān seems to suggest a subtle interplay between God's unbounded will to guide and the human ability to accept or reject. While humans are not left entirely to decide for themselves — because God's

will is not to be resisted — the relationship does involve a measure of freedom, with the result that God's guidance is occasionally identifiable as forgiveness (q.v.) offered in order to bring back his willful creature to his way (Q 20:122-3).

This is the kind of awareness that is shown by Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111) who tries to explain his recovery from the debilitating skepticism (see UNCERTAINTY) which struck him when he taught in Baghdad. Quoting Q 6:125, he relates that after a time God put light into his heart (q.v.) to give him clearer insights than he had obtained himself by the deductive methods that he had previously employed, implying that whereas his own faculties had led him into error, he was brought back to the truth by God's guidance. He readily admits that he is moved entirely by God in his new vocation of teaching the true knowledge and he asks God to guide him and through him to guide others (Ghazālī, *Munqidh,* 93, 159-60). It is clear from what al-Ghazālī says that he attributes the origins of his recovery wholly to God although the preparations he himself made for the conversion are detailed throughout his autobiographical account in his expositions of the weaknesses of the various sciences.

More or less the same dynamic is expressed in the less common notion that God admits *(adkhala)* humankind into the sphere of his mercy or into a place among the righteous. While he admits those whom he wills (Q 42:8; 48:25; cf. 110:2), he also allows to enter those who show their worth by good deeds (q.v.; Q 29:9; 45:30; cf. 9:99). The elaborate relationship of divine ordination and human qualification is intimated in the prayer of the prophet Solomon (Sulaymān, see SOLOMON) asking God to compel him to have gratitude and to act righteously and to admit him among his servants (Q 27:19). Human action and divine conduct are inseparable here, forming a partnership in which the responsibility for fulfilling God's expectations seems to be reciprocal.

The manner in which these terms are employed suggests that the act of conforming to God's way requires a conversion that is determined by God himself but also involves human initiative. The most intimate form of this relationship is denoted by the idea of returning to an initial position or restoring a lost condition, expressed by the verb *tāba* and its forms. In some instances this is used of humans alone and carries a strong element of repentance (Q 4:146; 9:11). But in other significant occurrences it is used of God, as when he turns to Adam and guides him (Q 20:122; see ADAM AND EVE), or when the three followers of Muḥammad who have failed in their duty try to run away until God turns to them to enable them to turn as well, (*thumma tāba ʿalayhim li-yatūbū* (Q 9:118; compare 9:117; see OPPOSITION TO MUḤAMMAD). The use of the same verb for both divine and human action here graphically portrays the way in which the fugitives' return is reciprocated by God's move to restore them. The same divine concern is shown in God's turning to those who believe (Q 33:73), suggesting that as soon as they signal their readiness, he too is ready to help them in their faith.

The accounts of how the theologian *(mutakallim)* Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī al-Ashʿarī (d. 324/936) abandoned the Muʿtazilī doctrines (see MUʿTAZILĪS; CREATEDNESS OF THE QUR'ĀN) of his early years illustrate this cooperative action well. In most versions of the story of his conversion, he is first troubled by the insufficiency of the answers provided by speculative theology *(kalām)* and then, after praying to God, is guided in visions of the Prophet to accept traditional beliefs and to defend them with rational arguments (see EXEGESIS OF THE QUR'ĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL). Accord-

ing to one version he publicly declares that he now embraces Islam and repents of his old ways, (*innī qad aslamtu l-sāʿa wa-innī tāʾib mimmā kuntu fī-hi,* Ibn ʿAsākir, *Tabyīn,* 40; also, R. McCarthy, *Theology of al-Ashʿarī,* 152). This conversion results from al-Ashʿarī's own preliminary efforts and God's guidance working together.

The same movement, though only with respect to human actors, is expressed in the verb *anāba,* which similarly suggests the motion of coming back to the same point. So humankind is enjoined to make this return (Q 31:15) and warned to do so before punishment is inflicted (Q 39:54; see CHASTISEMENT AND PUNISHMENT; PUNISHMENT STORIES; WARNING) though they only comply when in trouble and at other times ignore God's oneness (Q 39:8; see GOD AND HIS ATTRIBUTES). Human responsibility for making this move is emphasized in the forthright admonition to unbelievers: God leaves to stray those whom he wills but guides those who make the return (Q 13:27). Here again there is a hint that the action of God in guiding and that of humankind in accepting are interconnected. But if conversion consists in returning to the way that God has set and which humans are innately prepared to follow, there is still the necessity of actively pointing them to this way. The Qurʾān explains that the activity of calling humankind (see INVITATION), indicated by the verb *daʿā,* is undertaken both by God through clear signs (Q 2:221), and by the Prophet. Muḥammad is told to invite people (Q 7:193; 12:108; 28:87) with proper exhortation (Q 16:125) though, like Noah (q.v.) and other earlier messengers (cf. Q 71:7), he meets solid resistance (Q 23:73-5; 57:8; see MESSENGER; PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD). One reason for this is that God prevents those who have already ignored his signs from hearing and understanding (Q 18:57). And again we see an intimate relationship, this time between the Prophet's call, people's readiness to heed and God's ordaining the outcome. An obligation for individual Muslims and the community, the equivalent to the Prophet's calling, is striving, *jihād* (q.v.). While this term is often employed for fighting with arms, some uses suggest conduct that marks out believers. Such is the case when those who are called strive in God's way (see PATH OR WAY [OF GOD]) with person and possessions (e.g. Q 8:72; 49:15; 61:11), having been commanded to do this as part of the observance of faith, as though their conduct might attract others to imitate them.

This nexus of movements in which God and humankind seem engaged together achieves its end in the conforming of the individual to God's way. The Christian convert ʿAlī b. Rabban al-Ṭabarī (d. ca. 250/864) attests to this when he confesses that he was able to recognize the existence of one, eternal God through his own reason, though it was God who called *(daʿā)* him to exercise his reason and so escape from the error of unbelief (I.-A. Khalifé and W. Kutsch, *Radd,* 119). This is the true conversion, fulfilled in the action of bowing (see BOWING AND PROSTRATION) to God's will as expressed by the verb *aslama*. Its significance is perhaps most fully conveyed in Q 3:83 which proclaims that all things in heaven and earth surrender to God, whether obediently or not, and will return to him, indicating that God is the lord of all and that eventually nothing can remain indifferent to him. This receives endorsement elsewhere, e.g. where Muḥammad is told to say that God's is the only guidance and so humankind is commanded to surrender to him (Q 3:20; 6:71) and that there can be no help when punishment comes unless humankind surrenders to God (Q 39:54). There is a strong suggestion in such verses that the act of bowing and submitting results for

reasonable creatures from an awareness of God and of the individual's status as subservient to him. Living indifferently to him is, therefore, unreasonable and fraught with obstacles, while living in harmonious conformity with his way brings self-enhancement.

The inference to be drawn is that conversion and return to the position for which creatures were ordained results from a rational acknowledgement of the relationship between the created order and the Creator. The prime example of this in the Qurʾān is the prophet Abraham (Ibrāhīm, see ABRAHAM) who, from the initial realization that idols cannot be objects of worship (see IDOLS AND IMAGES), engages in a process of deduction. From his observation of the changing condition of the natural world in which stars (q.v.), moon (q.v.) and sun (q.v.) can appear to be supreme until they decline and disappear, he deduces the existence of the one who made them all (Q 6:74-9; see COSMOLOGY IN THE QURʾĀN). The prophet himself works out the difference between the created and Creator but at the same time he is supported and guided in his growing understanding by God himself (Q 6:83).

It is salutary to be told in the Qurʾān that while the act of acknowledging God and submitting to him is in conformity with his will, it is not a cause for complacency as though those who had accomplished it have been able to do so through their own insight. For the very act itself results from God's guidance which he gives as a favor (Q 49:17; see BLESSING; POWER AND IMPOTENCE). Again, the human's return through reason to the appropriate position in relation to God is as much an act of God's care as the individual's efforts. See also ISLAM.

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Coral

The lime-skeleton of sea-creatures covered by animalcular polyps. Red coral *(Corallium rubrum),* which is particulary valued, is harvested from the depths of the sea and used in jewelry; moreover, it is supposed to possess curative power. The Arabic term for this coral, *marjān,* appears twice in the Qurʾān.

The two qurʾānic references to coral occur in Q 55 ("The Merciful," Sūrat al-Raḥmān; see GOD AND HIS ATTRIBUTES). Reflecting the name of the sūra, coral and pearls (*luʾluʾ,* see SOLOMON) are mentioned together in Q 55:22 as symbols of the mercy (q.v.) and benefits of God (see BLESSING): "He has loosed the two seas [fresh-water and salt-water] which meet. Between them is a barrier (q.v.) which they do not transgress. Which then of the benefits of your Lord will the two of you count false? From both come forth the pearl and the coral" (Q 55:19-22). (Q 35:12 contains a similar passage, but with no reference to any specific product: "… yet from each [of

the two seas] you eat fresh meat, and bring forth adornment *(ḥilya)* to wear.") The second reference to coral is found in Q 55:58: "As if [in paradise] they [women of restrained glance] are jacinth and coral [i.e. like them in beauty]." In this passage, coral and jacinth (*yāqūt,* which term eventually came to denote a variety of minerals, most commonly referring to the colorless corundum) are used as attributes of modest women. They also symbolize the benefits of God in the next world (see REWARD AND PUNISHMENT).

Reliable Arabic commentaries on the Qurʾān like al-Ṭabarī's (d. 310/923) *Tafsīr,* al-Zamakhsharī's (d. 538/1144) *Kashshāf* or Ibn Kathīr's (d. 774/1373) *Tafsīr* refer to *marjān* not only as a precious red jewel, but provide several other connotations. The exegesis of Q 55:22 explains *marjān* to be a small pearl in opposition to the large one, the *luʾluʾ*. Commentary on Q 55:58 holds that jacinth serves as a symbol of pureness and coral as a symbol of beauty and glitter. Another interpretation of coral and jacinth offered by the commentators is that the lexemes refer to the transparent silk (q.v.) robes of the houris (q.v.) in paradise (q.v.) with their legs shining through.

As for the Arabic sources that do not deal with the Qurʾān, coral, which is classified as a mineral or a stone, is never found in the zoological works. An extensive description of coral that shows its resemblance to certain plants is offered by the Egyptian scholar al-Tīfāshī (d. 651/1253) in his work on mineralogy entitled *Azhār al-afkār*. Egypt (q.v.) was the center of the coral trade for centuries, as many varieties of coral are found in the Mediterranean Sea. See also MATERIAL CULTURE AND THE QURʾĀN.

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Corruption

Decay, depravity, impurity. The topic of corruption has two general references in the Qurʾān: (1) committing mischievous and depraved deeds that willfully subvert God's order and purposes (see DISOBEDIENCE); (2) perverting scripture (see SCRIPTURE AND THE QURʾĀN) so as to mislead and conceal its meanings. The first reference is most often expressed by the Arabic root *f-s-d,* occurring principally in late Meccan and Medinan passages, e.g. Q 2:251: "If God did not check one group of people by means of another, the earth (q.v.) would certainly have been corrupted" *(la-fasadati l-arḍ)*. This root is very frequently paired with the phrase "in the land/earth," e.g. in the account of Cain's slaying of his brother Abel (see CAIN AND ABEL) in Q 5:32: "We decreed for the Children of Israel (q.v.) that if anyone killed a person — except for murder (q.v.; see also BLOODSHED) and corruption in the land *(fasād fī l-arḍ)* — it would be as if he had slain all the people." Punishment for "corruption in the land" is extremely severe ("execution, or crucifixion [q.v.], or the cutting off of hands and feet from opposite sides, or exile from the land; that is their disgrace in this world, and a heavy punishment is theirs in the hereafter," Q 5:33; see CHASTISEMENT AND PUNISHMENT; REWARD AND PUNISHMENT), unless the perpetrator sincerely repents in time (see REPENTANCE AND PENANCE). The sense that threads

through such passages is that corruption and mischief are not only evil personal deeds but also expressions of fundamental hostility to and subversion of God's created order, an order which embraces both nature and justice (Q 26:151-2, 183; see JUSTICE AND INJUSTICE). A particularly pointed passage about the perpetrator of corruption is Q 2:204-5: "There is the type of individual whose speech about the life of this world delights you, and he calls God to witness what is in his heart (q.v.); yet he is the most contentious of opponents. When he turns away, his effort is to run about in the land sowing corruption in it *(yufsida fīhā),* destroying crops and young livestock — God does not love corruption *(fasād)*."

Another root, occurring far less frequently than *f-s-d,* is chiefly found in Medinan passages: *kh-b-th,* as in Q 8:37, "that God may distinguish the corrupt *(khabīth)* from the good (*ṭayyib,* see GOOD AND EVIL), and put the corrupt one upon another, heap them together and cast them into hell (q.v.)." This root is dramatically displayed in Q 24:26, where both masculine and feminine forms are used: "Corrupt women *(al-khabīthāt)* are for corrupt men *(al-khabīthīn),* and corrupt men for corrupt women." "Impure" is an alternative translation because the passage addresses the slandering of chaste women (see ADULTERY AND FORNICATION; CHASTITY). Humankind's proneness to corruption is an undesirable but inevitable consequence of their God-given freedom of action in the natural, moral and social realms (see FREEDOM AND PREDESTINATION).

The matter of distorting scripture is addressed in Medinan passages accusing Jews (see JEWS AND JUDAISM; MEDINA) of the practice, e.g. Q 4:46: "Some of those who are Jews shift *(yuḥarrifūna)* words from their proper places and say, 'We hear and disobey,' and 'Hear as one who hears not,' and *'rāʿinā'* [an insulting corruption of an Arabic phrase, *'rāʾinā,'* meaning "Please listen to us"], distorting with their tongues and slandering the religion." The corruption of scripture is not a major or sustained topic in the Qurʾān although it became an important and abiding theological as well as textual controversy in later relations between Muslims and the People of the Book (q.v.; see also POLEMICS AND POLEMICAL LANGUAGE; THEOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN).

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Corruption of Scripture

see REVISION AND ALTERATION; PEOPLE OF THE BOOK; ABROGATION; CORRUPTION

Cosmogony

see CREATION; COSMOLOGY IN THE QURʾĀN

Cosmography

see COSMOLOGY IN THE QURʾĀN

Cosmology

Introduction

A divinely governed order of the universe and the place of humans within it. This qurʾānic understanding of cosmology is dramatized in diverse reports: the divine six-day-work of creation (q.v.; *khalq*) of the cosmos *(al-samāwāt wa-l-arḍ),* of humankind *(insān)* and its habitat in nature (*nabāt al-arḍ;* see AGRICULTURE AND VEGETATION), of demons or spirits (*jinn,* q.v.) and the

animal world (*al-ḍābba, al-anʿām,* see ANIMAL LIFE) as well as the resolution of created space on the day of doom (see JUDGMENT) — all occupy prominent roles in the Qurʾān. Additionally, the existence of humans on earth (q.v.), the ambiguity of their moral condition, the liability they bear to fall prey to the seduction exercised by a negative figure, Iblīs (Diabolos, see IBLIS; DEVIL) or al-Shayṭān (Satan) and the evil (*fasād;* see EVIL DEEDS; GOOD AND EVIL; CORRUPTION) they commit are all elaborated from an etiological orientation. All these issues may, however, be due to the peculiar genesis of the Qurʾān as viewed from two principally different perspectives. The Qurʾān first manifested itself as the immediate expression of the psychic-prophetic experience of Muḥammad himself, meant to be read out to his audience *(qurʾān);* only later, once being canonized (see COLLECTION OF THE QURʾĀN), did it become the binding document (*muṣḥaf,* q.v.) of a religion with social demands of its adherents, "the corporate confession of it in the inward possession of Islam and of Muslims" (Cragg, *Event*). In the latter context the cosmological recollections have served, as did the analogous accounts in the scriptures of the neighboring religions (see SCRIPTURE AND THE QURʾĀN), to explain a given world order and to justify particular rulings therein. To read them exclusively in a post-canonical context as etiological texts is, however, by no means the only way to look at them. One has to be aware that the status of a canon presupposes a fixed, indeed "frozen" corpus of equally ranked textual entities with no distinction regarding the function they held in the text as a *"qurʾān" in statu nascendi,* i.e. in that historically unique sequence of communications between a speaker and his audience, accompanying and at the same time documenting the historical process of the emergence of the early Muslim community (see COMMUNITY AND SOCIETY IN THE QURʾAN). The value of references to cosmology and of cosmogonic accounts in that process can be made clear only by observing their structural function within their particular context of discourse, i.e. their particular sūra.

Indeed, considered in the context of the emergence of a community, i.e. reflecting the process of a "canonization from below" of the successively publicized liturgical texts, the recollections of cosmogonic accounts assume a different value. They present themselves as new readings of a familiar narrative with the perspicuous tendency to demythologize it in certain substantial traits, though not without introducing new mythic elements meant to elevate contemporary developments onto a salvation-historical level (see MYTHIC AND LEGENDARY NARRATIVES). The qurʾānic cosmological recollections are presented to their listeners less as narrative accounts than as exhortations serving immediate theological rather than etiological aims: The creation of nature — flora and fauna — appears as a starting point of the divine interaction with humans, a "sign" *(āya)* of divine omnipotence and an instigation for human gratefulness *(shukr)*. The creation of human beings, moreover, framed in a divine deal with Iblīs, is presented as a challenge for the option of accepting divine guidance *(hudā)* and as an affirmation that the socio-religious antagonisms existing in the world of the addressees during the first transmission of the Qurʾān are nothing else than part of a divine plan of salvation (q.v.).

In order to give due attention to both perspectives, canonical and pre-canonical, evidence will be presented in this article, wherever possible, from two different angles: (1) a macro-structural perspective on the basis of the Qurʾān as canon, i.e.

presented in the form of a cumulative synopsis of qurʾānic references to cosmology; (2) a micro-structural perspective, by situating references into their communicational framework with a particular view to their various typological features such as situation of speech, context and referentiality.

The six-day work: Creation of the material world

Collecting the dispersed qurʾānic statements about the creation of the world into one comprehensive picture, an image in accord with more ancient Near Eastern lore emerges (for individual parallels see Speyer, *Erzählungen,* 4f.): God created the heavens (see HEAVEN) and the earth in six days (*khalaqa l-samāwāti wa-l-arḍa fī sittati ayyāmin,* Q 7:54, cf. 10:3; 11:7; 25:59; 32:3), not in jest (*wa-mā khalaqnā l-samāwāti wa-l-arḍa wa-mā baynahumā lāʿibīn,* Q 44:38-9, cf. 21:16), nor in vain (*a-fa-ḥasibtum annanā khalaqnākum ʿabathan,* Q 23:115; *wa-mā khalaqnā l-samāʾa wa-l-arḍa wa-mā baynahumā bāṭilan,* Q 38:27) but in truth and with a stated term (*illā bi-l-ḥaqqi wa-ajalin musamman,* Q 30:8; cf. 44:38). The heavens and earth were completed in two days (*khalaqa l-arḍa fī yawmayn,* Q 41:9), formed from an integrated disk-shaped mass which had to be split (*a-wa-lam yara lladhīna kafarū anna l-samāwāti wa-l-arḍa kānatā ratqan fa-fataqnāhumā,* Q 21:30). From smoke (*thumma stawā ilā l-samāʾi wahiya dukhānun,* Q 41:11f.) the seven heavens were created (*fa-qaḍāhunna sabʿa samāwātin fī yawmayn,* Q 41:12; cf. 23:17; 78:12) forming layers, one above the other (*ṭibāqan,* Q 67:3; cf. 71:14). In the seventh heaven or above it, where the angels praise God (*yusabiḥḥūna bi-ḥamdi rabbihim,* Q 40:7; cf. 39:75; 42:3; see ANGEL; PRAISE) and seek forgiveness (q.v.) for the believers (*yastaghfirūna li-lladhīna āmanū,* Q 40:7), the divine throne *(ʿarsh)* is located (see THRONE OF GOD), carried by angels (q.v.) (*alladhīna yaḥmilūna l-ʿarsha,* Q 40:7), who move in row after row (Q 89:22; cf. 37:1). The lowest heaven is adorned with lights (*wa-zayyannā l-samāʾa l-dunyā bi-maṣābīḥa,* Q 41:12): the sun and the moon (Q 71:16; 78:13), the stars (*bi-zīnati l-kawākib,* Q 37:6; cf. 67:5) and the constellations of the zodiac (*wa-laqad jaʿalnā fī l-samāʾi burūjan,* Q 15:16; cf. 25:61; 85:1). The sun (q.v.) which follows a regular path is considered to be subject to humans (*wa-sakhkhara lakumu l-shamsa wa-l-qamara dāʾibayni,* Q 14:33). Its course serves man to reckon the periods of time (*wa-jaʿalnā āyata l-nahāri mubṣiratan… li-taʿlamū ʿadada l-sinīna wa-l-ḥisāba,* Q 17:12; cf. 6:96-7; see DAY AND NIGHT; DAY, TIMES OF). As to the moon (q.v.), particular stations are decreed for it, again as a means at man's disposal for his chronological orientation (*wa-qaddarahu manāzila li-taʿlamū ʿadada l-sinīna wa-l-ḥisāba,* Q 10:5). Accordingly, the number of the months have been fixed at creation (*inna ʿiddata l-shuhūri ʿinda llāhi thnā ʿashara shahran fī kitābi llāhi yawma khalaqa l-samāwāti wa-l-arḍa,* Q 9:36). The stars serve to guide people in the darkness of the land and the sea (*wa-huwa lladhī jaʿala lakumu l-nujūma li-tahtadū bihā fī ẓulumāti l-barri wa-baḥri,* Q 6:97). The lowest heaven is also the assembling place of demons (*jinn, wa-laqad jaʿalnā fī l-samāʾi burūjan…/wa-ḥafiẓnāhā min kulli shayṭānin rajīm,* Q 15:16-7; cf. 21:33; 25:62; 67:5; 85:1), who attempt to listen to the heavenly councils in order to convey supernatural knowledge to privileged humans (*hal unabbiʾukum ʿalā man tanazzalu l-shayāṭīn,* Q 26:221). They are, however, chased away by shooting flames (*illā mani staraqa l-samʿa fa-atbaʿahu shihābun mubīn,* Q 15:18; cf. 37:6-10). God raised the vault of the heaven high (*rafaʿa samkahā fa-sawwāhā,* Q 79:28; *wa-l-samāʾa banaynāhā bi-aydin wa-innā la-mūsiʿūn,* Q 51:47) without support (*rafaʿa l-samāwāti bi-ghayri ʿamadin,* Q 13:2), keeping it from collapsing and falling down on the earth

(*wa-yumsiku l-samāʾa an taqaʿa ʿalā l-arḍ,* Q 22:65). In accordance with ancient Near Eastern models the earth is viewed as being surrounded by waters separated by the creator through a barrier (*maraja l-baḥrayni... wa-jaʿala baynahumā barzakhan wa-ḥijran maḥjūran,* Q 25:53; cf. 27:61; 35:12; 55:19), which are themselves divided into two "oceans," the waters of one being fresh and sweet, those of the other being bitter (*hādhā ʿadhbun furātun wa-hādha milḥun ujājun,* Q 25:53; cf. 35:13).

God extinguishes the light (q.v.) of the day and introduces the night (see DARKNESS), as two of his signs (q.v.; *wa-jaʿalnā l-layla wa-l-nahāra āyatayni fa-maḥawnā āyata l-layli wa-jaʿalnā āyata l-nahāri mubṣiratan,* Q 17:12), alternating continuously (*innā fī khalqi l-samāwāti wa-l-arḍi wa-khtilāfi l-layli wa-l-nahāri… bi-mā yanfaʿu l-nāsa,* Q 2:164; cf. 3:26; 31:28; 35:14; 36:37; 39:7). In four days God furnished the creation of the earth with mountains, rivers and fruit-gardens (*wa-jaʿala fīhā rawāsiya min fawqihā wa-bāraka fīhā wa-qaddara fīhā aqwātaha fī arbaʿati ayyāmin sawāʾan lil-sāʾilīn,* Q 41:10; cf. 13:3-4; 15:19; 16:15-6; 27:61). From water (q.v.) he created the animals, some that creep on their bellies and others that walk on two or four feet (*wa-llāhu khalaqa kulla dābbatin min māʾin fa-minhum man yamshī ʿalā baṭnihi wa-minhum man yamshī ʿalā rijlayni wa-minhum man yamshī ʿalā arbaʿin,* Q 24:45). They have been created for the benefit and adornment of man (*wa-l-anʿāma khalaqahā lakum fīhā difʾun wa-manāfiʿu wa-minhā taʾkulūn,* Q 16:5). Man was elected to rule over the animals (*a-wa-lam yaraw annā khalaqnā lahum mimmā ʿamilat aydīnā anʿāman fa-hum lahā mālikun,* Q 36:71). No less was the sea created for the benefit of man, supplying him with food and ornaments to wear (*wa-huwa lladhī sakhkhara l-baḥra li-taʾkulū minhu laḥman ṭariyyan wa-tastakhrijū minhu ḥilyatan talbasūnahā,* Q 16:14; see CLOTHING).

Time in cosmological context

After the six-day work of creation (Q 7:54; 10:3; 11:7; 25:59; 32:4; 50:38; 57:4), that had neither tired nor wearied him (*wa-mā massanā min lughūb,* Q 50:38; *wa-lam yaʿya,* Q 46:33), God seated himself upon his divine throne (*thumma stawā ʿalā l-ʿarshi,* Q 7:54; 10:3; 13:2; 20:5; 25:59; 57:4) which extends over heavens and earth (*wasiʿa kursiyyuhu l-samāwāti wa-l-arḍa,* Q 2:255), to govern everything through his divine command (*yudabbiru l-amra,* Q 10:3). He is continuously occupied with maintaining his creation (*kulla yawmin huwa fī shaʾn,* Q 55:29) and does not rest (*lā taʾkhudhuhu sinnatun wa-lā nawm,* Q 2:255). This explicitly stated effortlessness and untiring activity (Böwering, Time) is in clear contrast to the human condition where sleep (q.v.) is part of the divinely ordained rhythm (*wa-jaʿalnā nawmakum subātan,* Q 78:9). God, moreover, plays an active role in man's sleep for "God takes the souls unto himself at the time of their death, and that which has not died in its sleep. He keeps those on whom he has decreed death, but looses the others till a stated term" (*Allāhu yatawaffā l-anfusa ḥīna mawtihā wa-llatī lam tamut fī manāmihā fa-yumsiku llatī qaḍā ʿalayhā l-mawta wa-yursilu l-ukhrā ilā ajalin musamman,* Q 39:42; see DEATH AND THE DEAD).

Still, God's undisrupted concern for the world is reflected in the rhythm of human interaction (see SOCIAL RELATIONS). Although the heptad as a measure for counting days must be assumed to have been known in ancient Arabia (see CALENDAR), the qurʾānic accounts of creation lack a cosmic etiology or a divine prototype for the concept of a six-day cycle of profane working days culminating in a sacred seventh day of rest, a concept so characteristic for the rhythm of life with Jews and Christians (see JEWS AND JUDAISM; CHRISTIANS AND CHRISTIANITY). A particular day of the week to be reserved for official

services has been decreed in the Qurʾān (Q 62:9) but Friday was chosen for purely pragmatic and mundane reasons which lack any reference to cosmic contexts. Accordingly, not the whole day but only a particular period — the time until midday prayer — is reserved for religious purposes (see FRIDAY PRAYER), the rest being profane, a ruling that has given Islamic culture a distinct imprint of its own.

Even though no entire day of the week is held sacred, there are nonetheless particular times during the day which are considered to have a sacred character and are thus apt to be dedicated to communication with the divine, namely dawn (*fajr,* Q 89:1), afternoon (*ʿaṣr,* Q 106:1), sunset (*maghrib, qabla l-ghurūb,* Q 50:39), later evening (*ʿishāʾ,* Q 24:58; cf. Q 30:18 where *ʿashīyan* is used) and midday (*ẓuhr, ḥīna tuẓhirūn,* Q 30:18). Three of these prayer times (see PRAYER) coincide with Jewish practice and in the case of *maghrib,* the Hebrew *ʿerebh,* the analogy is even etymologically obvious. The two others are known as well in Christian monastic contexts (see MONASTICISM AND MONKS), for example, *ʿishāʿ,* reflecting the Greek *apodeipnon*. The Qurʾān knows about additional sacred times like the time when the day has reached its full light *(al-ḍuḥā),* a time marked by prayers in pre-Islamic times *(al-jāhiliyya)* and apparently also in the early years of the Muslim community (Q 91:1; 93:1). To be sure, the Qurʾān does not explicitly state that all these time periods bear a sacred character, but such can clearly be inferred from some particularly expressive verses which refer to these alone and to no other periods as significant in themselves. This relates to the early sūras where single oaths or oath clusters (see OATHS) refer to these periods (*wa-l-fajr/ wa-layālin ʿashr,* Q 89:1-2; *wa-l-ʿaṣr,* Q 103:1; *wa-l-ḍuḥā,* Q 93:1). It is worth noting (Neuwirth, Images) that all the sūras in which these oaths or oath clusters appear focus on the idea of the believer's intimate closeness to the divine speaker. The sūra texts thus unfold the inherent liturgical relevance implied in the sacred time evoked in their introductory oaths.

There are also longer cosmically determined periods of time which are deemed sacred *(ḥaram)*. It is true that the holy months (*al-ashhuru l-ḥurum,* Q 9:5; see MONTHS) which were cherished in the *jāhiliyya* and during which no blood was to be shed (see BLOODSHED) — though reaffirmed in the Qurʾān — were already superseded in significance during qurʾānic development by two important cosmologically determined feast periods (see FESTIVALS AND COMMEMORATIVE DAYS), one inherited from pre-Islamic practice, the other newly institutionalized, namely the pilgrimage (q.v.) and the month of Ramaḍān (q.v.; *shahru ramaḍāna lladhī unzila fīhi l-qurʾān,* Q 2:185). Whereas the period of pilgrimage was to occupy only a number of days, the notion of a full holy month survived most vividly in Ramaḍān. This Muslim month of fasting (q.v.) was introduced as a cosmically defined sacred time early in the Medinan period (*fa-man shahida minkumu l-shahra fa-l-yaṣumhu… wa-li-tukmilū l-ʿiddata,* Q 2:185; SEE CHRONOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN), its beginning and end discernible and definable only by the sighting *(ruʾyā)* of a cosmic sign, the appearance of the new moon *(hilāl),* as was the case for determining the beginning of the month of pilgrimage (*yasʾalūnaka ʿani l-ahillati qul hiya mawāqītu lil-nāsi wa-l-ḥajj,* Q 2:189). Similarly the exact period of daily fasting was defined by cosmic observations, the rising and the setting sun respectively. The qurʾānic ruling, however, refers to these cosmic aspects only obliquely, relying rather on a cultural criterion for the distinction between daylight and darkness, i.e., the possibility of distinguishing a white from a black thread. The reference is to a custom

already in use in monotheistic contexts which presupposes a black-white garment used for prayer (*wa-kulū wa-shrabū ḥattā yatabayyana lakumu l-khayṭu l-abyaḍu mina l-khayṭi l-aswadi mina l-fajri thumma atimmū l-ṣiyāma ilā l-layli,* Q 2:187). Ramaḍān was marked from the outset by a particular affinity to liturgical practice, the divine response to human supplications uttered in that period being assured already in the Qurʾān itself (*wa-idhā saʾalaka ʿibādī ʿannī fa-innī qarībun ujību daʿwata ʾd-dāʿi idhā daʿāni fal-yastajībū lī,* Q 2:186; cf. *Isa* 55:6).

In accordance with a pre-Islamic custom, the first ten nights of the month of pilgrimage are also counted as exceptional as reflected in a qurʾānic oath (*wa-layālin ʿashr,* Q 89:2; see OATHS). This month, Dhū l-Ḥijja, had been — before the calendar became confused due to lax intercalations shortly before the event of the Qurʾān — the first month of the new year, a time in which ritual practices in support of the emergence of a new season (see SEASONS) had been essential. Though traces of ancient new year's practices are still recognizable in some qurʾānic pilgrimage rites (Wellhausen, *Reste*), the reform of the calendar, ordained through the Qurʾān, severed all relations of the pilgrimage with a seasonal festival. The necessity of adducing cosmic evidence for determining qurʾānically endorsed feasts, though interpreted explicitly as an act of obedience (q.v.) toward the divine legislator, still leaves a strong cosmic imprint on the character of Islamic feasts. This manifests itself not only in quantitative terms — cosmic observations alone are deemed valid as the criteria for the exact times of beginnings and ends — but in more general, aesthetic terms as well. The cosmic references engender a peculiar imagery which connects the idea of festiveness with that of the creation and the order of the cosmos, not as a merely sensual backdrop, adding emotional potential to the feasts, but in a more sober manner, as a communicated "sign" *(āya),* an invitation to humans to respond to the divine gift of creation by conveying gratefulness *(shukr)* and thus belief (see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF; BLESSING; GRATITUDE AND INGRATITUDE). So although an insistent iconoclasm cannot be denied, yet the impact of the Qurʾān — to use Kenneth Cragg's words — eloquently conserved that sense of the wonder of the natural order which inspires all religiosity, including so-called paganism, and told it in "the signs of God" as the grateful benediction of the divine unity suffused through the plural world (Cragg, *Event,* 24).

Space in cosmological context

The Qurʾān seems to reflect the Aristotelian-Ptolemaic model with the world *(al-dunyā)* as the lowest level in the center covered by seven homocentric spheres (*falak,* pl. *aflāk,* Q 21:33; 26:40). A closer look, however, provides traces of an older, ancient Near Eastern model of the world which is also reflected in Genesis 1:6 (*Allāhu lladhī khalaqa sabʿa samāwātin wa-min al-arḍi mithlahunna,* Q 65:12). Here, the world is viewed as not only covered by seven heavenly spheres but also as relying on as many layers of "earths." The whole structure is surrounded by waters, "oceans," separated by the creator through a barrier (*maraja l-baḥrayni yaltaqiyān/baynahumā barzakhun lā yabghiyān,* Q 55:19-20; cf. 25:53; see BARRIER; BARZAKH). The cryptic qurʾānic statement about the two oceans has engendered diverse interpretations, mostly attempts to vindicate the geocentric Aristotelean-Ptolemaic world view. Only al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923) presents an interpretation in accordance with the qurʾānic evidence, the image of a world swimming in an ocean and being covered by another ocean above the highest heaven. Al-Ṭabarī (*Tafsīr,* xxvii, 75, ad

Q 55:19) states that the two oceans are located above the earth and around it respectively, the upper waters being fresh and sweet *(ʿadhbun furātun),* the lower salty and bitter *(milḥun ujājun)*.

The metaphorical qurʾānic allusions to the all-encompassing dimensions of God's throne (*wasiʿa kursiyyuhu l-samāwāti wa-l-arḍ,* Q 2:255; *wa-huwa rabbu l-ʿarshi l-ʿazīm,* Q 9:129) were already taken literally by early exegetes who attempted to fit the two different designations for the throne image into a comprehensive scheme, *ʿarsh* thus figuring as the throne, *kursī* becoming the footstool underneath. Throne and footstool were imagined to be of a physical nature in the sense of celestial bodies located above the heavens and earths. The earthly observer, facing the footstool from below, thus finds himself in a dome-like hemisphere. Equally, the "overflowing ocean" (*wa-l-baḥri l-masjūr,* Q 52:6), introduced as an image of the overwhelming mono-mentality of creation under the sky, was claimed as a celestial phenomenon and explained as "the upper water under the throne." The assembled fragments of early cosmological theories agree that the space between the footstool or the whole throne and the earth is filled with water.

The inhabitants of the created world: humans and jinn

God created humans from dust (*wa-min āyātihi an khalaqakum min turābin,* Q 3:52; 30:20; 40:67; 45:11) or clay (q.v.; *wa-laqad khalaqnā l-insāna min sulālatin min ṭīn,* Q 23:12; cf. 6:2; 32:7; 37:11), potter's clay (*khalaqa l-insāna min ṣalṣālin ka-l-fakhkhār,* Q 55:14), fermented clay (*laqad khalaqnā l-insāna min ṣalṣālin min ḥamāʾin masnūn,* Q 15:26) in contradistinction to the demons which were created from smokeless fire (*wa-khalaqa l-jānna min mārijin min nār,* Q 55:15). He created, then proportioned and stabilized man (*alladhī khalaqaka fa-sawwāka fa-ʿadalaka,* Q 82:7), leading him through the various phases of his life (q.v.; *huwa lladhī khalaqakum min turābin thumma min nutfatin thumma min ʿalaqatin thumma yukhrijukum ṭiflan thumma li-tablughū ashuddakum thumma li-takūnū shuyūkhan,* Q 40:67), giving him the beautiful shape he intended (*wa-ṣawwarakum fa-aḥsana ṣuwarakum,* Q 64:3; cf. 7:10), supplying him with the sense of hearing and seeing (*wa-jaʿala lakumu l-samʿa wa-abṣāra wa-l-afʾida,* Q 32:9; see SEEING AND HEARING; EYES; EARS; HEARING AND DEAFNESS) and blowing his spirit (q.v.) into him (*wa-nafakha fīhi min rūḥihi,* Q 32.9, cf. 3:59; 40:68) or uttering the creational imperative "be" over him (*khalaqahu min turābin thumma qāla lahu "kun" fa-yakūn,* Q 3:59) while at once he fixed his death term (*thumma qaḍā ajalan wa-ajalun musamman ʿindahu,* Q 6:2). These stages of creation do not necessarily refer only to the mythical context of the creation of Adam (see ADAM AND EVE) but may perhaps apply as well to the empirically known process of human reproduction in which God takes an active part, forming the human being in the womb of the mother (*huwa lladhī yuṣawwirukum fī l-arḥāmi kayfa yashāʾu,* Q 3:6; see BIOLOGY AS THE CREATION AND STAGES OF LIFE).

Contrarily, *jinn* (pl. *jānn*) in general have been created from fire (*wa-khalaqa l-jānna min mārijin min nār,* Q 55:15; cf. 15:27). *Jinn* figure in the pre-qurʾānic world as familiar beings. They are known from desert life as mostly harmless demons manifesting themselves unexpectedly — often in the guise of an animal — in front of humans as a help (although sometimes as a trick). Alongside this ambivalent role, they also play a significant part as bearers of a faculty of communication crucial for the social life of *al-jāhiliyya,* acting as inspirers of supernatural knowledge to humans who thus become seers or poets (see POETRY AND POETS). A poet is supposed to be "possessed" by an

inspiring spirit (i.e. to be *majnūn,* passive participle derived from *jinn*). This faculty of the *jinn* which contradicts monotheistic notions of inspiration is vehemently contested in the Qurʾān: Even the Prophet himself has to cleanse himself of the accusation of being inspired by *jinn* (*wa-mā ṣāḥibukum bi-majnūn,* Q 81:22; cf. 68:2, 51; 52:29; 37:36; 26:27; 15:6; see REVELATION AND INSPIRATION).

Among *jinn,* Iblīs (Q 2:34; 7:11; 15:31f.; 17:61; 18:50; 20:116; 26:95; 34:20; 38:74f.), whose name is derived from Greek "diabolos" (Jeffery, *For. vocab.,* 47f.), plays a prominent role in the Qurʾān. The noble substance from which he is created (fire, q.v.) induces him to claim superiority over man who is created from clay *(ṭīn)*. His double affiliation — on the one hand with *jinn,* as implied in Q 15:27f. and as one might infer from his occasional designation as *al-shayṭān* (Q 20:120; 36:60), and on the other hand with the angels, as evident from Q 15:30f. — suggests that the Qurʾān shares the notion developed in earlier Gnostic thought that both groups, demons and angels, are closely related. They become, however, clearly distinguishable in the Qurʾān when the function of inspiration is involved. The Prophet's own angelic intermediator (*qul man kāna ʿaduwwan li-Ǧibrīla fa-innahu nazzalahu ʿalā qalbika bi-idhni llāhi…,* Q 2:97; *innahu la-qawlu rasūlin karīm,* Q 69:40) is vehemently defended against the suspicion of belonging to the *jinn* as inspirers of poets (*wa-mā huwa bi-qawli shāʿir,* Q 69:41) or to be a *shayṭān* (*wa-mā huwa bi-qawli shayṭānin rajīm,* Q 81:25).

Descent of humans from paradise to earth

As known from the apocryphal "Life of Adam and Eve" and other pre-qurʾānic sources (for details, see Awn, *Tragedy*), though also found in the Qurʾān, God had announced his plan of creation to the angels (Q 2:28-31; 15:28-38). Man was to be the vicegerent of God on earth. When the angels contest the divine decree, God empowers Adam with the knowledge of the names of all things whereupon the angels accept to prostate themselves before him. Only Iblīs — figuring in the account as one of the angels — refuses, claiming to be created from nobler material than humans. Though condemning Iblīs for his disobedience (q.v.), God grants him his request to play an active role in humankind's destiny as the seducer who performs the task of testing humans until judgment day (Q 7:15-6).

After the creator has formed from Adam a wife for him, "from one soul" (*khalaqakum min nafsin wāḥidatin wa-khalaqa minhā zawjahā,* Q 4:1; cf. 7:189; 30:21; 39:6; 42:11), he lodges them in paradise (q.v.: *yā-Ādamu skun anta wa-zawjuka l-jannata,* Q 2:35; cf. 7:19; see GARDEN). He forbids them to taste from one particular tree (*wa-lā taqrabā hādhihi l-shajarata,* Q 2:35; cf. 7:19; see TREES), the tree of immortality (*shajarati l-khuldi wa-mulkin lā yablā,* Q 20:120), warning them about *al-shayṭān* (*yā-Ādamu inna hādhā ʿaduwwun laka wa-li-zawjika fa-lā yukhrijannakumā mina l-jannati fa-tashqayā,* Q 20:117), a figure identical to Iblīs but bearing in his function of the seducer the generic designation of *al-shayṭān,* i.e. a spirit closely related to the *jinn*. *Al-shayṭān* succeeds in seducing them with vain promises (Q 7:20-2) and induces them to eat from the forbidden tree. As a result they realize their nakedness and thus their sexuality (*fa-akalā minhā fa-badat lahumā sawʿatuhumā,* Q 20:121; cf. 7:22; also Bounfour, Sexe; see SEX AND SEXUALITY). Immediately they cover themselves with leaves. Overtaken by God, they have to descend from paradise to earth (*fa-qulnā hbiṭū,* Q 2:36) where they continue to live as mortals (*fīhā taḥyawna wa-fīhā tamūtūna wa-minhā tukhrajūn,* Q 7:25), but they do receive, after expressing repentance (*rabbanā alamnā anfusanā,* Q 7:23;

see REPENTANCE AND PENANCE), divine forgiveness (*fa-talaqqā Ādamu min rabbihi kalimātin fa-tāba ʿalayhi,* Q 2:37).

The episode is interpreted as an early covenant between God and Adam, a covenant which Adam and his offspring later forgot (*wa-laqad ʿahidnā ilā Ādama min qablu fa-nasiya wa-lam najid lahu ʿazman/… fa-qulnā yā-Ādamu inna hādhā ʿaduwwun laka…,* Q 20:115-7). The covenant in pre-existence is extended to humankind as a whole (*a-lam aʿhad ilaykum yā-banī Ādama an lā taʿbudū l-shayṭāna innahu lakum ʿaduwwun mubīn,* Q 36:60). In spite of man's liability to neglect it, Adam still figures as the first among the prophets with whom God entered into covenant and is the prototype of the vicegerent of God on earth, destined to reign in truth. The notion of a fatal sin committed by Adam and passed on to humankind does not exist in the Qurʾān (see FALL OF MAN).

The human habitat in space and time

Qurʾānic sections entailing narrative reports of the creation of the world (q.v.; Q 41:8-12) and of humans (Q 2:28-39; 7:10-34; 15:26-48; 17:61-5; 20:115-23; 38:71-85) are chronologically preceded by reminiscences of creation embedded in exhortations to give thanks to God, i.e. "signs of creation" *(āyāt)*. These mostly hymn-like appraisals of divine deeds, very frequent in the early sūras (Graham, Signs; Neuwirth, *Studien,* 192-6), that create the image of the world as a lodging for humans, as a tent granting them repose (*a-lam najʿali l-arḍa mihādan/wa-l-jibāla awtādan/wa-khalāqnākum azwājan/wa-jaʿalnā nawmakum subātan/wa-jaʿalnā l-layla libāsan/wa-jaʿalnā l-nahāra maʿāshan,* Q 78:6-11), are often clad in images familiar to the Psalms (compare, for instance, Q 55 with *Ps* 136). There is, however, the marked difference that while the psalmist praises God as the creator of a monumental cosmos and a paradisiacal dwelling for humans, in the qurʾānic case it is God who reminds them that his abundantly furnished habitat is both a gift demanding thanksgiving in return and a token for which account must be made.

It is obvious that the images used in the Qurʾān to depict the human habitat as divinely created and as divinely sustained are in striking opposition to the image of the heroic homelessness of human beings in the midst of threatening and invincible nature, as reflected in ancient Arabic poetry. Heroic man as depicted in the poetry of the pre-Islamic Arabia is not only charged with hardships to ensure the survival of his clan but also with existential achievements to ensure the honor of his tribe (see TRIBES AND CLANS). The human condition was understood to be governed by the anticipation of a person's *ajal,* his fated time, life being understood as governed by the inscrutable will of a dark, blind, semi-personal being, Fate (q.v.; *al-dahr*) from whose strong grip there was no escape (Izutsu, *God*). Humans thus find themselves in constant confrontation with *al-dahr,* a superior power which wastes his strength and eventually overwhelms him, if he himself does not forestall its blow by exposing himself to the worst dangers, thus inviting death itself to hit him before the appointed time. Contrary to that scenario, in the Qurʾān humans are not only provided for materially (Q 78:6-11), being accommodated in surroundings that sometimes reflects material abundance (*wa-l-arḍa waḍaʿahā li-l-anām/fīhā fākihatun wa-l-nakhlu dhātu l-akmām/wa-l-habbu dhū l-ʿaṣfi wa-l-rayḥān/fa-bi-ayyi ālāʾi rabbikumā tukadh-dhibān,* Q 55:10-13), but also spiritually since God takes the responsibility for their dignity by inviting them to accept his guidance. Nothing is left to an unpredictable fate, everything is measured in advance (*inna kulla shayʾin khalaqānhu bi-qadar,* Q 54:49).

The human being's approach to time, conceiving it as devastating, *al-ayyām* and even *al-layālī* — with the multiple meanings of darkness and fate — as wasting one's life away has thus been changed in value. Day has become the portion of time given to humans to strive for their livelihood (*wa-jaʿalnā l-nahāra maʿāshan,* Q 78:11) while nights are merely periods of repose to be spent in the familiar space of home and, moreover, conjugal company (*wa-khalaqnākum azwājan/wa-jaʿalnā nawmakum subātan/wa-jaʿalnā l-layla libāsan,* Q 78:8-10).

These presentations of an intact created space are not to be taken in isolation but are meant to hint at a concealed meaning. They are oriented toward an eschatological focus (see ESCHATOLOGY): God's absolute power to create *(khalq)* warrants his power to recreate (*khalq jadīd,* see POWER AND IMPOTENCE). The image drawn by the *āyāt* is therefore complemented by its reverse projection, the image of the dissolution of creation at the end of the days. These counter-accounts to the *āyāt,* the "eschatological scenarios" (Neuwirth, *Studien,* 190-1), present created space in the situation of its destruction. The eschatological events do not, however, mark the definite extinction of the created cosmos, but space — after passing the temporal limit of judgment — reappears under two contrasting images: the absolute negative, tormenting fire, hell (*jahannam,* see HELL; FIRE); and the absolute positive, the shady paradisiacal garden *(janna),* the representations of which occupy considerable space in the early sūras. The early verses about human accommodation on earth (*al-dunyā,* "the lower world") and in the hereafter (*al-ākhira,* "the last times"), though highly referential, only incidentally reflect the older scriptural narratives themselves. They are very often closely related to the liturgical recollections of ancient Near Eastern lore with their rich metaphoric resources such as the psalms (cf. Speyer, *Erzählungen,* 447-9; Neuwirth, Narrative; see METAPHOR; NARRATIVES) known from the practice of the monotheist groups adjacent to the early community — a fact scarcely astonishing in view of the liturgical character of the early sūras. It is only subsequently that later reminiscences of world creation, encountered in sūras that already serve primarily didactic ends, occur in the shape of sermon-like admonishments.

God and humans

The Qurʾān stresses again and again that humans, as such, are ambivalent creatures, being ungrateful (*qutila l-insānu mā akfarahu,* Q 80:17; cf. 22:46; 42:48; 43:15; see GRATITUDE AND INGRATITUDE) and stubborn (*inna l-insāna li-rabbihi la-kanūd,* Q 100:6), faint-hearted (*inna l-insāna khuliqa halūʿan,* Q 70:19), heavy (*laqad khalaqnā l-insāna fī kabad,* Q 90:4), unruly and willful (*inna l-insāna la-yaṭghā,* Q 96:6). This deficiency — as the context of the sūras in question shows — is due both to their shortsightedness and to their obligations to their creator (*a-yaḥsabu an lam yarahu aḥad,* Q 90:7; cf. 100:9f.). It is a defect anticipated by the angels who before the creation of Adam disapproved of God's plan to install humans as his deputies on earth arguing that they might cause corruption and shed blood (*qālū a-tajʿalu fīhā man yufsidu fīhā wa-yasfiku l-dimāʾ,* Q 2:30). Still, "humanity," through Adam, is a *khilāfa* (see caliph) of God. The centrality of humanity and its representational relationship to God can be seen as grounded in an ontological "community" (al-Azmeh, *Thought;* see COMMUNITY AND SOCIETY IN THE QURʾĀN). Although according to the Qurʾān human beings are not explicitly created in the image of God, they still share crucial faculties with God, primarily that of mercy (q.v.; *raḥma,* cf. e.g. *wa-huwa arḥamu l-rāḥimīn,* Q 12:92; and *fa-ammā l-yatīma fa-lā taqhar/*

wa-ammā l-sāʾila fa-lā tanhar, Q 93:9-10), the readiness to revise their positions and repent (*thumma yatūbūna min qarībin fa-ūlāʾika yatūbu llāhu ʿalayhim,* Q 4:17), to remain patient (*wa-laʾin ṣabartum la-huwa khayrun lil-ṣābirīn,* Q 16:126). If humans do not cope with the tasks imposed on them by God's primordial design, it still remains their destiny to take them upon themselves. As a creature the human being is surely subject to contradictory conditions, grandeur and wretchedness (*laqad khalaqnā l-insāna fī aḥsani taqwīm/thumma radadnāhu asfala sāfilīn,* Q 95:4-5). However, as the symbolic subtext of the sūra suggests, human time (q.v.) is not confined to the circular span of an individual's lifetime but has become linear, extending over a much longer period. Although human physical time does describe a circle from insignificant beginnings to its climax in adulthood and back to decrepitude, the significant, spiritual time of the human condition spans from primordial creation and subsequent divine revelation to humankind on the one hand, to the resolution of creation and the final, eschatological rendering of account on the other.

These images, in spite of their eschatological framework (see ESCHATOLOGY), are closely reminiscent of the psalms, not only implying an active, personal role on the side of God but also his faculty to work as an artisan who shapes humans like a potter shapes his forms (*khalaqa l-insāna min ṣalṣālin ka-l-fakhkhār,* Q 55:14), who used his own hands in creation (*mā manaʿaka an tasjuda li-mā khalaqtu bi-yadayya,* Q 38:75) and who certainly keeps everything under his supervision (*wa-ṣnaʿi l-fulka bi-aʿyuninā,* Q 11:37). These verses of the Qurʾān with their overtly anthropomorphic imagery, attributing to God not only power and will but also eyes (q.v.) and hands (q.v.) and most strikingly a stable location, a throne (*thumma stawā ʿalā l-ʿarshi,* Q 7:54), are apt to counterbalance the evidence of an absolute transcendence of God as suggested by the numerous verses about his extreme remoteness and exclusive power (see ANTHROPOMORPHISM). The notion of one particular God as the creator of the world, of course, had already been acknowledged in pre-Islamic Arabia but this association between creation and God had not always been necessarily firm and definite and thus could be taken to be of little relevance for created beings. It is exactly the awareness of human "creatureliness" (Isutzu, *God*), the acceptance of this particular descent of humankind, that forms the basis of an Islamic consciousness.

There is further evidence of a totally new scenario of mundane interaction: Social life appears not only to be based on God's providence, as though God were simply a substitute for the blind fate which overshadowed the *jāhilī* life (see AGE OF IGNORANCE), but also to be substantially new in nature. Human interaction is no longer confined to the human agents involved but has been extended to accommodate a new "mythic participant," — hierarchically more elevated than the human co-actors — who plays the role of a "stage director." He lends his hand to support his creatures in difficult ventures such as the exaction of blood revenge (see VENGEANCE) — previously a domain of the heroic individual (*faqad jaʿalnā li-waliyyihi sulṭānan falā yusrif fī l-qatli innahu kāna manṣūran,* Q 17:33) and relieves man of the burden of providing for his extended family in times of crisis; God's provision even works to eliminate the barbaric forms of self-preservation inherited from the *jāhiliyya,* such as infanticide (q.v.; Q 17:31, cf. 81:9). But God as the creator and preserver of his creatures is not only their co-actor, he is their preceptor as well: The mode of communicating the new knowledge about the personal divine-human relation itself claims to

encompass the participation of the dominant new protagonist as it emerges as speech sent from on high. Insofar as this sender is at once an ever-present actor in the scenario of the new scripture-oriented interaction, communication as reflected in the Qurʾān decisively transcends all earlier analogies of superhuman transmission of knowledge, primarily the mode of soothsaying, *waḥy al-kahāna* (see SOOTHSAYERS).

Developments

The problem of evil and suffering (q.v.), the need to explain their existence, which does not arise in tribally oriented traditional religions, had to be introduced for pagan listeners of the qurʾānic message. The myth of the first sin or more precisely of human initiation in the notion of good and evil, is conveyed in a biblical context in the account of the first couple's tasting of the forbidden tree in the very beginning of the Judaeo-Christian scripture. As for the Qurʾān, the analogous account does not occupy a comparably prominent position. With regard to the early sūras, the divine creation of humans is often recollected, clad in hymn-like reminiscences of divine providence that appear in the context of short hymn-like verses (*qraʾ bismi rabbika lladhī khalaqa/khalaqa l-insāna min ʿalaq,* Q 96:1-2; *alladhī khalaqa fa-sawwā,* Q 87:2). These texts are not interested, however, in the dramatic circumstances of man's transition from a mythic orbit into that of lived reality. With the evolution of the polythematic sūra, i.e. with the transition of the Qurʾān from an oral to a written and thus scripture-oriented text and the accompanying process of a canonization from below (Neuwirth, Rezitationstext; see BOOK), a complex structure for the mythic drama emerges. The divine choice of the human being as God's elect and the ensuing election (q.v.) of a community is presented in six sūras; in later cases, it is complemented by the account of the first transgression. All cases, however, work to elucidate particular needs of the community. The complete set of structural elements are (1) a short introductory recollection of the creation of human beings or of the pact concluded between God and humankind. This is followed by (2) the drama in heaven: (a) God's announcement to the angels of Adam's creation, (b) their disapproval but (c) final acceptance of Adam's election, and (d) the deal concluded between God and Iblīs allowing for the testing of man by Iblīs/*al-shayṭān*. After its treatment in the first three sūra accounts, the deal story is finally followed by (3) the test of the first couple. It is, however, noteworthy that the canonized final text of the Qurʾān (*muṣḥaf,* q.v.) has placed a most elaborate and theologically relevant version of the comprehensive account in the first main part of the first long sūra though not the beginning of the corpus.

Sūra 15:26-48

The earliest testimony of the story occupies the central part of Q 15 (vv. 26-48). It is still confined to the drama of the deal in heaven (2 a, c, d). This simple type (i.e. without the test of the first couple) unfolds before the mythic backdrop of the creation of humans and *jinn* from diverse substances as stated in the programmatic verse Q 15:26, quoted almost exactly from the earlier Q 55:14-5 (*innā khalaqnā l-insāna min ṣalṣālin ka-l-fakhkhār wa-khalaqa l-jānna min mārijin min nār,* Q 15:26-7). This diversity of the elements of creation which did not produce immediate antagonisms between the two groups in Q 55, gains momentum in all the texts involving Iblīs. After creating the first human being from clay God invites the spirits — creatures generated from fire — to prostrate themselves before him (see BOWING AND PROSTRATION). Only Iblīs refuses — claiming to be of more

noble origin than Adam. Accused of disobedience and cursed, he is nevertheless granted respite from punishment and authorized to set out to challenge his primordial rival, Adam, i.e. humankind, through seduction. God himself thus cedes part of his interaction with humankind to Iblīs, entitling him to test humans. He will, however, have no power over God's elected servants (*illā ʿibādaka minhumu l-mukhlaṣīn,* Q 15:40). Humans thus have the option of following guidance or giving way to seduction, which henceforth provides the criterion separating true believers and deluded disbelievers (see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF). It is the work of Iblīs that underlies the crisis reflected in the sūra, namely the schism of the Meccans into believers and unbelievers. Inasmuch as the agreement between God and Satan, concluded in pre-existence (for the type of this mythical story cf. Job), foresees that most of those put to the test by Iblīs/*al-shayṭān* will not resist seduction, it is only logical that the community of the first hearers of the Qurʾān *(ʿibādu llāhi mukhlaṣūn),* who have remained untouched by Iblīs, have to face a majority who insist on denying the message (see OPPOSITION TO MUḤAMMAD). The Meccan community and their opponents alike thus appear to have been preconceived as such in pre-existence. The focus of the argument is on the election of the group of actual listeners, the adherents of the qurʾānic message, who, though suffering social hardships, are divinely elected. The mythic narrative comes as a consolation (q.v.), serving to reaffirm for them the justice of their cause and to legitimate them as a religious community. Their status as a religious community is affirmed by the fact that the ensuing pericope addresses them (*nabbiʾ ʿibād,* Q 15:49) as the recipients of a divine message, including the exemplary story of previously beleaguered righteous believers. With such biblical predecessors of the Meccan community, who emerge from their struggle against calumny, prejudice, superstition and tradition, with manifest triumph, with their foes and hostile conspirators disowned and broken (Cragg, *Event,* 171), the sūra predicts success for those who endure.

Sūra 38:71-85

The second version of the simple type of the deal-story (Q 38:67-85) serves different ends. The pericope which differs in rhythm and rhyme from the preceding text may have been linked to it in order to supply a heavenly prototype (Q 38:69) for the ambivalent activity of arguing which appears as the leitmotiv of the whole sūra. Dispute is presented as the negative counterpart of the implementation of truth (*al-ḥukm bi-l-ḥaqq,* Q 38:22, 26; cf. 38:84; see DEBATE AND DISPUTATION). The central figure of the sūra is David (q.v.; Dāwūd), evoked as a prominent scriptural personification of the primordial deputy of God on earth, as divinely decreed (*yā-Dāwūdu inn jaʿalnāka khalīfatan fī l-arḍi fa-ḥkum bayna l-nāsi bi-l-ḥaqqi wa-lā tattabiʿi l-hawā fa-yuḍillaka ʿan sabīli llāhi,* Q 38:26). The episode relates that two numinous disputants (*wa-hal atāka nabaʾu l-khaṣmi…/idh dakhalū alā Dāwūda fa-faziʿa minhum qālū lā takhaf, khaṣmāni…,* Q 38:21-2) appear before David to enact a symbolical lawsuit thereby arousing his troubled conscience (*wa-zanna Dāwūdu annamā fattannāhu fa-staghfara rabbahu,* Q 38:24). The argument is about a case where truth was suppressed by rhetorical means (*wa-ʿazzanī fī l-khiṭāb,* Q 38:23), an inappropriate use of dispute. Dispute to avoid facing a truth is also practiced by those condemned to hell (*takhāṣumu ahli l-nār,* Q 38:64). But the primordial origin of arguing lies in the role played by Iblīs in the heavenly deal. It is true, the heavenly

council (see COURT) itself is in dispute (*mā kāna lī min ʿilmin bi-l-malaʾi l-aʿlā idh yakhtaṣimūn,* Q 38:69), most probably an allusion to the angels' disapproval of the election of Adam as deputy of God and thus entitled to the obedience of the heavenly hosts (*wa-idh qāla rabbuka lil-malāʾikati innī jāʿilun fī l-arḍi khalīfatan fa-qālū a-tajʿalu fīhā man yufsidu fīhā,* Q 2:30). But all finally comply; only the pretentious Iblīs (*istakbara,* Q 38:74; see ARROGANCE) insists on the inferiority of humans to spirits, daring to dismiss God's argument of creating Adam with his own hands (*mā manaʿaka an tasjuda li-mā khalaqtu bi-yadayya,* Q 38:75) in view of his nobler substance. He is cursed (see CURSE) and driven from the heavens. Being granted, however, respite from punishment, he starts a new argument. He invokes God's omnipotence itself (*bi-ʿizzatika,* Q 38:82) in swearing to seduce all of Adam's offspring — again excluding explicitly the elected servants (Q 38:83; cf. 15:40). Against Iblīs' pathetic oath, God invokes the truth of his own word (*qāla fa-l-ḥaqqu wa-l-ḥaqqa aqūl,* Q 38:84) to attest to the firmness of his will to punish Iblīs and his followers, consigning them to hell. The pericope embedded in a section about reaffirmation of the community is — however close in content to that in Q 15 — distinguished from it by its far higher tension, being itself an enactment of a *takhāṣum,* a fierce argument. Arguing, in the sense disapproved by the ḥadīth *(inna abghaḍa l-nāsi ilā llāhi l-aladdu l-khaṣmi)* has its primordial origin in Iblīs' performance in the deal episode. The focus of the version presented in Q 38 is on the pretentiousness of Iblīs (*istakbara,* Q 38:74-5) who dares to argue with God, only to end up with the power to work seductive works (*la-ughwiyannahum,* Q 38:82) that fail next to God's true words (*al-ḥaqq,* Q 38:84). His is a merely rhetorical message devoid of truth and meant to lead to an illusive confidence in human self-sufficiency on the side of his followers.

Sūra 17:61-5

A further echo of the deal-story, again placed in the context of consolation in a crisis, is presented by a short pericope in Q 17:61-5. The passage is part of a vehement polemic (see POLEMIC AND POLEMICAL LANGUAGE) against unbelievers which entails admonitions to the community to remain patient with those who are obviously affected by Iblīs/*al-shayṭān* (*wa-qul li-ʿibādī yaqūlū llatī hiya aḥsanu inna l-shayṭāna yanzaghu baynahum inna l-shayṭāna kāna li-l-insāni ʿaduwwan mubīnan,* Q 17:53). The isolation the community suffers thus follows from Iblīs' power over the majority of humankind (*la-aḥtanikanna dhurriyyatahu illā qalīlan,* Q 17:62), while it is at the same time proof of their being elected (*inna ʿibādī laysa laka ʿalayhim sulṭānun wa-kafā bi-rabbika wakīlan,* Q 17:65). The short recollection of the deal-narrative pinpoints the means of seduction introduced by *al-shayṭān,* particularly wealth and numerous offspring, those privileges of which the community's powerful opponents boast. The mythic story thus reveals them as most ambiguous commands, no more than divinely intended devices for testing. In the end, the essential remains the enactment of the human response to the offer of divine guidance.

Sūra 20:115-23

In the second type of the account, which focuses on the test (3) of the primordial couple, only allusion is made to the mythic deal (2) between God and Iblīs. This more complex narrative is presented in the final, consoling, section of Q 20 (vv. 115-23). The story is introduced (1) as a divine covenant (q.v.) with Adam. *Al-shayṭān,* obviously identical with Iblīs but introduced with his

generic designation to underline his role as a malign force, seduces the first couple to taste from the tree of immortality (*shajaratu l-khuld,* Q 20:120). They comply — in spite of a divine warning (*yā-Ādamu inna hādhā ʿaduwwun laka wa-li-zawjika,* Q 20:117) — obviously from mere curiosity since God has reminded them that they do not lack anything by which to satisfy their hunger (*inna laka allā tajūʿa fīhā,* Q 20:118). What they actually gain from tasting the forbidden fruit is, however, not immortality but the awareness of their nakedness and their sexuality (Bounfour, Sexe). The hitherto unfelt desire to consume the fruit from the unknown tree is now followed by an equally novel desire to cover their bodies, a measure which God had declared to be superfluous (*inna laka allā tajūʿa fīhā wa-la taʿrā,* Q 20:118). Once the fruit is tasted, the awareness of individuality and thus the need of delimiting oneself from the surrounding world, of bearing a secret (see SECRETS) not to be exposed to outsiders, has been aroused: They cover themselves with leaves. The implications of their changing relationship towards the outer world are, however, fully elaborated. The transgression is, contrarily, viewed solely as demanding repentance. Accepted once again by God they are granted guidance. Though they have to descend from paradise, obviously understood as a demotion in status, they do not part without the divine promise that guidance will be offered to them later on to save them from going astray (q.v.). It is the awareness of this binding covenant between God and humankind which can only be disrupted by human forgetfulness (*qāla ka-dhālika atatka āyātunā fa-nasītahā wa-ka-dhālika l-yawma tunsā,* Q 20:126) that marks the dividing line between the community and the disbelievers. The community — and this is the message of the sūra — has become a people of a divine covenant (q.v.). It is noteworthy that this first version of the test-narrative displays a particular tendency to rid single narrative elements of their virtual mythic potency. Thus the act of tasting of the fruit deemed fatal in the biblical story as well as the desire to cover one's body, an experience marking the transition to a new stage of socialization, are both reduced in advance to a mere satisfaction of physical needs, God admonishing the first couple that they do not suffer from hunger nor from lack of clothing. The mythic significance of the acts, the momentum of their essential "firstness," has thus been lost and excluded.

Sūra 7:10-34

The third type of account, which is the most comprehensive account, entailing an introduction and both the deal- and the test-narratives (1, 2, 3), is presented in a pericope embedded in the polemical introductory section of Q 7 (vv. 10-34). It starts with an appeal (1) to the listeners — who are viewed as embodying Adam — to remember their creation and their accommodation in their earthly dwelling, presented as an ideal habitat, and to be accordingly grateful. The scenario then switches to the heavens (2) where Iblīs figures in his well-known role as a rebel refusing to prostrate himself before Adam; he is cursed but at his request granted a stay of punishment. Rather, he sets out to seduce humans to the vice of ingratitude — that particular human deficiency already lamented as prevailing among them in the introduction. The test story (3) again sets forth an appeal, addressed to Adam and his wife to enjoy the fruit of the garden except for one tree which they are to avoid. *Al-shayṭān,* eager to make them aware of their nakedness, whispers that the restriction has only been made to deny them the

status of angels and eternal life. Arousing their curiosity and greed for a good withheld, he induces them to eat from the tree, thus causing their discovery of their nakedness. Again they hasten to cover themselves with leaves. The mischief cannot, however, remain hidden; God calls them to account, reminding them that they have been warned about *al-shayṭān* — an allusion to the earlier text Q 20:117 *(yā-Ādamu inna hādhā ʿaduwwun laka wa-li-zawjika fa-lā yukhrijannakuma mina l-jannati fa-tashqayā)*. They acknowledge their transgression and ask to be pardoned. Since the acceptance of the plea is already known from an earlier text (*thumma ijtabāhu rabbuhu fa-tāba ʿalayhi wa-hadā,* Q 20:122), the divine answer is confined to the decree that they have to leave paradise altogether to find their living on earth, destined moreover to be each other's enemies. Immortality is emphatically denied to them (*fīhā taḥyawna wa-fīhā tamūtūna,* Q 7:25) but death is not final in view of the central qurʾānic revelation, the promise of resurrection (*wa-minhā tukhrajūna,* Q 7:25). This account of both the election and the test of man, the fullest in the Qurʾān, functions as an etiological basis for an argument that is unfolded in the ensuing sermon. Humans are exhorted (see EXHORATIONS) to accept the custom of clothing as a divine grace calling for gratefulness, a social achievement to assure decency — which is only eclipsed in value by the allegorical cloth of humankind, the virtue of fear of God. They shall beware of *al-shayṭān* whose seduction brings about degradation in rank and humiliation through exposure. Further admonitions ensue regarding decent behavior in places of worship, while the upholders of coarse pagan customs are denounced as followers of *al-shayṭān*. The account, which is obviously understood to culminate in the primordial couple's shocking awareness of their nakedness, is thus put to the service of a reform concept, the plea for a less ostentatious pagan practice of ancient Arabian rites which were occasionally performed by naked worshipers.

Sūra 2:28-39

The fourth type (Q 2:28-39) presents yet a different selection of elements: It is characterized by a particularly elaborate prologue (2a) to the — shortly summarized — heavenly deal (2b), leading to the test story (3). The prologue, focusing on the newly developed design, serves to solve the enigma of God's demand of the angels to prostrate themselves before a figure other than himself. The pericope (Q 2:28-39) is part of a sūra which appears as a loose collection of diverse text units, thus making it difficult to judge the structural function of its single elements; the pericope may, however, be fruitfully juxtaposed to previous versions. With a prelude which recalls (1) the creation of humankind and the cosmos (Q 2:28-9) it continues with God's announcement that he is to establish a deputy on earth (*innī jāʿilun fī l-arḍi khalīfatan,* Q 2:30), a plan vehemently opposed by the angels who anticipate the moral ambivalence of human behavior in contrast to their own pure service of God (*wa-naḥnu nusabbiḥu bi-ḥamdika wa-nuqaddisu laka,* Q 2:30). In order for him to be superior to the angels Adam is endowed with the knowledge of the names of things and thus accepted. The angels refrain from further argument complying with God's knowledge of hidden truth (*a-lam aqul lakum innī aʿlamu ghayba l-samāwāti wa-l-arḍi,* Q 2:33; see HIDDEN AND THE HIDDEN). They prostrate themselves before God's elect with the now well-known exception of Iblīs whose ensuing "investiture" as seducer is now presupposed. In the second part of the narrative (3), Adam, whose future

important role in the lower realm of the earth has already been disclosed to the listeners, has to go through the decisive change from a privileged but not self-responsible inhabitant of the garden to an active responsible agent on earth. The positive response to God's invitation to establish himself with his wife in the garden but to confine themselves to the share entrusted to them (*wa-kulā minhā raghadan ḥaythu shi'tumā wa-lā taqrabā…*, Q 2:35) cannot therefore be lasting. Indeed, the ensuing transgression of the limits set in the divine offer is but the enactment of the transition demanded for the realization of the destined change. But the qur'ānic perspective is different: The blame is laid on *al-shayṭān* who is accused of having made them slip and thus of despoiling their enjoyment of the garden and the status they had held. They are ordered to descend to earth, inimical to each other (see ENEMY), where they will find a living place and provisional means of living. Their repentance and rehabilitation being known from the earlier texts, it is only fitting that Adam whose election as *khalīfatu llāh* on earth and whose endowment with knowledge constituted the beginning of the story, is honored in the end by a divine message (*fa-talaqqā Ādamu min rabbihi kalimātin,* Q 2:37) and promised guidance for his offspring. The pericope is strongly referential and relies on the listeners' knowledge of important details from earlier publicized pericopes. But the plot has by now changed its focus: It is no longer a consolation for the community of the elect confronted with followers of the seducer as in the earliest versions (type one), nor a lesson in obedience the neglect of which will result in shameful self-exposure and humiliating degradation from a noble status to a more burdensome one (type two), nor an argument for the implementation of new social norms (type three). Rather, it is obviously intended to be more universal by presenting the primordial exemplum for the endless coexistence of the positive option of divine guidance — to be implemented by the deputy of God on earth — and the negative option of following one's desire. Inclination towards the wrong choice has been already experienced by the first human being and is reflected in human behavior since then. The human being now established as the deputy of God on earth, the qur'ānic admonitions and recollections of examples acquire the momentum of this deputy's ethical project to be implemented on earth.

Summary: Some theological implications

The seemingly repetitive qur'ānic creation accounts clearly convey various messages. They share, however, the characteristic of a far-reaching emptiness of those mythical traits that in the biblical story serve to explain world order etiologically. Indeed, a kind of demystification has taken place. The first woman is neither compromised by a "secondary" origin from a rib of Adam, thus being degraded to comparatively inferior rank, nor does she play a fatal initiative role in the act of transgression that could win her the doubtful reputation of a seductress. Furthermore, the tasting of the food is not motivated by any alluring mystery that could arouse desire (the biblical *concupiscentia oculorum*); rather, the act is marginalized as essentially superfluous in view of the lack of hunger suffered by the inhabitants of the garden. Not even the sudden discovery of their nakedness as a shocking exposure is viewed as more than incidental mischief. The most significant role of Iblīs as a dialogical agent — bringing about the transformation of the human being from an obedient but not self-responsible creature to an active agent fit to take up his task on earth — remains unacknowledged in the Qur'ān. It is no surprise, then, that later exegetes in the Ṣūfī tradition have revised his image.

Iblīs becomes a tragic figure raised to the rank of the purest believer in the unrivalled uniqueness of his lord, whose refusal to prostate himself before Adam though an act of disobedience to God's command, becomes an act of faithfulness to God's will (Ḥallāj; Awn, *Tragedy*). It is noteworthy that determinist exegesis leads to similar conclusions: If God has decreed the role of Iblīs, how can Iblīs be blamed? The Qurʾān and mainstream exegesis, however, do not allow for such a moral rehabilitation of the figure. Still in the narrative, however, he alone retains a mythic dimension, posing an unsolved enigma. In view of the otherwise strikingly a-mythic reading of the ancient accounts in the Qurʾān it becomes all the more relevant that a mythic elevation of the community of believers has taken place, their emergence being foreshadowed in the deal concluded in pre-existence between God and Iblīs. It is in that sense that the community is anticipated, raised to the rank of God's elects, inaccessible to the machinations of Iblīs. The final growth of the account reached in Q 2:28-39 culminates in a combination of two election narratives, the universal election of Adam who is called upon to implement divine truth on earth and the historical election of the community to live up to the truth transmitted to them from the same source, is hardly purely accidental. At this advanced stage of the canonical process where the concept of a *khalīfatu llāh* on earth as an agent of God who is to reign in truth (already touched upon, but not yet unfolded in Q 38:26) constitutes the nucleus of a central qurʾānic design, could a more qualified personification of that divine design be imagined than that offered by the elect community?

A later, isolated verse, Q 33:72, presents a shorthand mythic image — familiar to other Near Eastern traditions as well (cf. Speyer, *Erzählungen*) — for the unique rank of man in the qurʾānic concept of cosmogony: "We offered the trust to the heavens and the earth and the mountains, but they refused to carry it and were afraid of it; and man carried it, verily man is sinful, very foolish" *(innā ʿaraḍnā l-amānata ʿalā l-samāwāti wa-l-arḍi wa-l-jibāli fa-abayna an yaḥmilnahā wa-ashfaqna minhā wa-ḥamalahā l-insānu innahu kāna ẓalūman jahūlan)*. Humans thus took upon themselves the challenge and the risk of falling prey to injustice and error (q.v.). Human consent to this privileged, yet dangerous stance within the venture of creation appears like a "fiat" to the order of a world that involves humans as serious partners from the beginning (Talbi, *L'homme*). The risk is, of course, mutual: Cragg (*Mind,* 142) has stressed, "there is an evident risk divinely taken at creation. Man was seen as a dubious proposition in the divine counsels — too frail to be trusted, too arrogant to be thus empowered, too liable to shed blood and corrupt the earth. In this qurʾānic myth of man-the-liability, history is seen as the sphere of the Satanic determination to prove the accusation valid and the divine risk discredited. The very theme of history is thus the question mark of human worth, albeit understood as a vital question-mark of divine wisdom and power. The wisdom of God is staked on the credibility of man as its supreme test and venture. The question of God is the question of man. The human is in this way the sphere in which the divine is either acknowledged or belied." See HISTORY AND THE QURʾĀN.

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Courage

That quality of mind which enables one to meet danger and difficulties with resolve. Although this notion is often invoked in the Qur'ān, especially in verses that describe the struggle of the Muslim community against their Meccan and pagan Arab foes (see OPPOSITION TO MUḤAMMAD; ARABS), it is usually expressed indirectly or descriptively. The words *shajā'a, ḥamāsa* and *basāla* that commonly designate "courage," "bravery" or "valor" in pre-Islamic poetry and tribal lore are conspicuously absent from the qur'ānic text (see PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QUR'ĀN). Qur'ānic terms such as *ba's* (Q 48:16; 59:14; 27:33), *baṭsh* (Q 50:36), *ṣabr* and its derivatives (Q 3:142, 146; 2:153, 155; 8:46, 65; 19:65, etc.), *jihād* (q.v.) and its cognates (Q 3:142, 9:41,81, etc.), do not cover the same semantic field as the former three, although they do highlight some important aspects of the idea at hand.

The qur'ānic avoidance of the common pre-Islamic words for courage and bravery may be attributed to the radical transformation of the traditional bedouin (q.v.) tribal values following the advent of Islam (see TRIBES AND CLANS). Prominent among these values were *ḥamāsa, muruwwa,* and *'irḍ* which connoted, in addition to the dignity and power of a free tribesman, his "bravery in battle, patience in misfortune, persistence in seeking blood revenge [see RETALIATION; BLOOD MONEY; MURDER; VENGEANCE], protection (q.v.) of the weak, defiance of the strong" (Izutsu, *Concepts,* 27). More importantly, the word *ḥamāsa* implied the tribesman's readiness to defend valiantly the gods and religious customs of his tribe or tribal confederation, e.g. the *ḥums* and the *ḥilla* (Frantsouzoff, Processes; see IDOLATERS AND IDOLATRY; POLYTHEISM AND ATHEISM). Such connotations may have rendered it totally unacceptable from the Islamic viewpoint. After Islam had thoroughly revised these and other concepts to suit its overall value system, some of the terms that were intimately intertwined

with the pre-Islamic bedouin mentality seem to have been consciously abandoned in favor of more neutral ones.

This Islamic revision of the old values and virtues did not necessarily entail a total and indiscriminate rejection of the pre-Islamic code of honor (q.v.) that praised courage and condemned cowardice. It is more appropriate to speak of a selective adaptation of this code to the central tenets of Islam. In the process of this adaptation, the thoughtless, impulsive bravery of the proud tribesman (see ARROGANCE) which often led to the senseless bloodshed (q.v.) and inhuman ferocity of tribal feuds was replaced with the idea of "a noble, well-disciplined courage with a lofty aim serving the cause of the right religion: courage 'in the way of God'" (Izutsu, *Concepts,* 85; see ISLAM; PATH OR WAY [OF GOD]). This type of courage is frequently invoked in the Qurʾān without, however, being described by such value-laden terms of the pre-Islamic past as *ḥamāsa, basāla, shajāʿa* and their derivatives. In the Qurʾān, the correct type of courage is consistently associated with the notions of *ḥilm* and *ṣabr,* which signify man's ability to "overcome his own blind passions and to remain tranquil and undisturbed" in the face of the gravest danger (Izutsu, *God,* 205) and to persevere in championing a religious cause (Izutsu, *Concepts,* 102). These virtues (see VIRTUE) are indispensable for the Muslim warrior on the battlefield (see EXPEDITIONS AND BATTLES; WAR). Therefore, they develop "quite naturally into the spirit of martyrdom, that is, the moral strength to undergo with amazing heroism death or any torment for the sake of one's own faith" (Izutsu, *Concepts,* 102; see MARTYR).

In the Qurʾān, these qualities are sometimes juxtaposed with the unpredictable, reckless behavior of the pagan Arab, who is quick to lose self-control and to succumb to fits of a destructive, blind rage. The contrast between the two types of behavior on the battlefield is thrown into relief in Q 48:26 which sets the senseless fierceness of the pagan inhabitants *(ḥamiyyat al-jāhiliyya)* of Mecca (q.v.; see AGE OF IGNORANCE) in opposition to the unshakable calmness and steadfast resignation of the Muslims, which they acquire through the Divine Presence (*sakīna,* see SECHINA) in their midst (cf. Q 9:26 and 40, where, in addition to the *sakīna,* God reinforces the believers with "the multitudes, or legions, [of angels?] you do not see"; see HIDDEN AND THE HIDDEN). Occasionally, the Muslims' unflagging allegiance to God's cause is presented in terms of a commercial deal between the two parties (see CONTRACTS AND ALLIANCES): "God has bought from the believers their souls and their possessions (see POSSESSION; WEALTH) as they will have the Garden (q.v.; see also PARADISE); they fight in the way of God, they kill and get killed; that is a promise binding upon God in the Torah (q.v.), and the Gospel (q.v.) and the Qurʾān; and who fulfills his covenant (q.v.) more truly than God?" (Q 9:111; see SELLING AND BUYING). The actions of the pagan warrior, on the other hand, are dictated primarily by his exaggerated sense of pride and independence, his obligations toward his kinsfolk (see KINSHIP) and his confidence of his superior physical strength, all of which constituted the bedouin code of honor.

The Qurʾān accentuates the disparity between the pagan and Muslim values by attributing the distinctive concepts of fear (q.v.) and honor to their respective carriers. While the pagan's haughty refusal to surrender to the will of any other person is dictated by his fear of tarnishing his personal honor, as dictated by the unwritten laws of the tribal society, the Qurʾān presents the Muslim as willingly bowing before

the supreme authority and might of God (see BOWING AND PROSTRATION; AUTHORITY). Hence his only fear is to fail in his obligations toward his Lord, e.g. by withdrawing from battle or refusing to obey the commands of his Messenger (q.v.; see also DISOBEDIENCE). This pious fear (*khawf, taqwā,* see PIETY) strengthens the resolve of faithful Muslims in times of adversity, causing them to resign themselves to their destiny and to fight in the way of God to the bitter end (Q 3:172-5; cf. 9:81-3). Moreover, while pre-Islamic poetry (see POETRY AND POETS) usually celebrates individual courage, the Qurʾān emphasizes the collective spirit of its Islamic counterpart: "God loves those who fight in his way in ranks, as though they were a building well-compacted" (Q 61:4; see COMMUNITY AND SOCIETY; SOCIAL INTERACTIONS). In this context, the god-fearing attitude of the Muslim fighter which lies behind his inflexible determination to defend his faith is intimately linked to the central tenet of the Muslim religion, that is, the human being's unconditional submission to the will of God. In return God gives them "the reward of this world and the fairest reward of the world to come" (Q 3:148; see REWARD AND PUNISHMENT; BLESSING).

As for those who waver when confronted with a superior enemy force and who seek refuge in their homes due either to weakness or to the whisperings of Satan (see DEVIL; IBLĪS), they are threatened with "a grievous punishment" in the hereafter. The Qurʾān repeatedly condemns them as "the hypocrites and those in whose hearts is sickness" (Q 33:12; see HYPOCRITES AND HYPOCRISY). Boastful (see BOAST) and overconfident in times of peace (q.v.), they quickly panic and lose heart at the sight of the approaching enemy: "When fear comes upon them, you see them looking at you, their eyes rolling like one who swoons of death; but when the fear departs, they flay you with sharp tongues, covetous of the good things. Those have not believed" (Q 33:19). Since such people are interested primarily in the spoils of war (see BOOTY), they are prone to squabbling and mutual recriminations; they also routinely doubt the wisdom of the Prophet and the accuracy of his predictions (Q 3:149-52; see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD; WISDOM; INFALLIBILITY). Their vacillation and opportunism are constantly juxtaposed with the moral strength and selfless heroism of the true believers who remain steadfast and unshakeable under any adversity or suffering: "They were true to their covenant with God; some of them have fulfilled their vow (q.v.) by death, and some are still awaiting, and they have not changed in the least" (Q 33:23).

In many verses, the trials and defeat in battle experienced by the Medinan community are depicted as divine tests that were meant to unmask the backsliders and separate them from the true believers. Although God unfailingly comes to his community's rescue with "legions you do not see," he wants the faithful to demonstrate their fidelity to his cause by exerting themselves in the struggle against their pagan foes (Q 3:140-2,154, 166; 47:4; see TRIAL). The valiant behavior of the Muslim warriors at Badr (q.v.) and Uḥud (q.v.) is prefigured by the feats of the faithful followers of the earlier prophets, e.g. those of Saul's (Ṭālūt; see SAUL) men against whom Samuel (q.v.) sent the superior army of Goliath (Jālūt; see GOLIATH) in an episode probably meant to inspire a similar unswerving loyalty in Muḥammad's own supporters following the defeat at Uḥud (Bell, *Commentary,* i, 52): "Said those who reckoned they should meet God, 'How often a little company has overcome a numerous company, by God's leave! And God is with

the patient.' So when they went forth against Goliath and his hosts they said, 'Our Lord, pour out upon us patience, and make firm our feet, and give us aid against the people of the unbelievers!' And they routed them, by the leave of God!" (Q 2:249-50; see TRUST AND PATIENCE).

A large group of hortative verses appears to be explicitly designed to instill resolve in the Muslim warriors fighting against formidable odds. They urge the Prophet and his followers to "faint not, neither sorrow" (Q 3:139; cf. 4:104; 47:35), to "struggle for God as is his due" (Q 22:78; cf. 5:35; 9:41, 73, 86; 25:52; 66:9), and to "fight in the way of God" (Q 2:190, 244; cf. 2:193; 3:167; 4:76, 84; 5:24; 8:39; 9:12, 14, 29, 36, 123; 49:9). These and similar passages mostly pertain to the Muslim battles against pagan Arabs (al-Nakhla, Badr, Uḥud, Ḥunayn [q.v.], etc.). Often invoked in these contexts is the notion of *ṣabr,* "patience," that lies behind the Muslim fighter's "inflexible determination to persist in the face of unrelenting attacks of the enemy" (Izutsu, *Concepts,* 104). The frequency with which this notion is mentioned in "battle sūras" (Q 2:153-5; 3:142, 146, 150; 8:45, 65; 61:4) indicates its centrality to Muslim warfare. The concerted, disciplined war effort of the Muslim community is thus implicitly juxtaposed with the disorganized raiding expeditions of the pagan Arabs that quickly disintegrate when confronted with a stiff resistance or first reversals.

Verses pertaining to courage and heroism on the battlefield became objects of exegetical elaboration in later qurʾānic commentary *(tafsīr).* Muslim scholars sought to elucidate the socio-political context in which the particular verses were revealed in order to draw moral and ethical lessons (see OCCASIONS OF REVELATION; ETHICS IN THE QURʾĀN). In so doing, they often supported their exegesis by relevant ḥadīth enjoining martyrdom and bravery on the battlefield. Typical in this regard is Ibn Kathīr's (d. 774/1373) commentary on Q 3:143 in which he quotes the famous prophetic tradition: "Do not yearn for meeting your enemies; rather ask God for well-being. But if you meet them, be steadfast, and know that paradise is under the shadow of swords" (M. Ayoub, *The Qurʾān,* ii, 334). Al-Shawkānī (d. 1250/1832) explains Q 3:139 in the following manner: "God consoled the Muslims for the injuries and loss of life they suffered on the day of Uḥud. He urged them to fight steadfastly against their enemies and not give in to weakness and defeat. Then God informed them that they would prevail over their enemies with victory (q.v.) and conquest. God meant to say, 'You shall be uppermost over them and any other people after this battle'" (M. Ayoub, *The Qurʾān,* ii, 328). Ṣūfī commentators, on the other hand, sought to detach the "battle verses" from their historical context and infuse them with a spiritual, transcendent meaning (see ṢŪFISM AND THE QURʾĀN). As an example, one may quote a gloss on Q 3:141 by the Ṣūfī author al-Ḥasan al-Nīsābūrī (d. 728/1327). According to his interpretation, the pain and hardships suffered by Muslim warriors symbolize the "cleansing of their hearts (see HEART) of the darkness of unsalutary characteristics, illuminating them with lights of divine mysteries *(ghuyūb),* obliterating the attributes of unfaithfulness… and effacing the wicked marks of their characters. Thus they would be liberated from the prison of phantoms into the sacred realms of the spirits" (M. Ayoub, *The Qurʾān,* ii, 334).

Frequently, such interpretative explanations and conclusions evince the underlying religio-political agendas of the exegetes. Thus, in an effort to reproduce the devoted homogeneity and bold enthusiasm

of the primitive community of Medina, Khārijī leaders often quoted "battle verses" to instill in their followers the spirit of self-denial and martyrdom that they attributed to the first Muslim heroes. Citing Q 9:111, the Khārijīs (q.v.) called themselves "vendors" *(shurāt),* i.e. those who sold their lives and property to God in return for salvation (q.v.). Pro-ʿAlid and Shīʿī exegetes, for their part, use these verses in order to demonstrate the exceptional courage and loyalty to the Prophet shown by ʿAlī during the battles of Badr and Uḥud (see SHĪʿISM AND THE QURʾĀN; ʿALĪ B. ABĪ ṬĀLIB). Simultaneously, they tended to ascribe cowardice and wavering to some of the Companions (see COMPANIONS OF THE PROPHET), including ʿUthmān (q.v.) and to a lesser extent ʿUmar (q.v.), who are said to have fled from the battlefield leaving the Prophet face to face with his enemies. Conversely, Sunnī scholars sought to exonerate their rightly-guided Caliphs (see CALIPH) by offering various explanations on their behalf and by emphasizing Abū Bakr's unwavering commitment to the Prophet and the Muslim cause during these fateful encounters (M. Ayoub, *The Qurʾān,* ii, 311-3, 335-7, 339, 343, 354-5).

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Court

The celestial court of God as both divine ruler and judge. No qurʾānic wording directly corresponds to the concept of a celestial court but the idea is best approximated by the phrase *al-malaʾ al-aʿlā* which occurs only twice in the Qurʾān (Q 37:8; 38:69). Q 37:6-8 reads: "We have adorned the lowest heaven *(al-samāʾ al-dunyā)* with adornment, the planets, a security from every daring devil. They cannot listen to *al-malaʾ al-aʿlā;* they are pelted from every side." The Qurʾān contains many other scattered references to the celestial court of God, most containing only a few words or lines and offering too few specific details to form a clear picture of the court. This celestial court may be related to pre-Islamic pagan nature myths, which contain similar imagery and for which the sky is a central theme (cf. Bell, *Commentary,* ii, 149; P. Eichler, *Die Dschinn,* 30-1; see PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QURʾĀN; NATURAL WORLD AND THE QURʾĀN). The qurʾānic court consists of God and his angels (see ANGEL) with certain inanimate accoutrements, such as God's throne (e.g. Q 40:7; see THRONE OF GOD) and storehouses (e.g. Q 15:21-2). Mention of the court is mostly associated with either the creation (q.v.) or the last judgment (q.v.).

Among the ongoing purposes of the court is that it provides a place for the angels to sing God's praises and to ask forgiveness for the believers (Q 40:7-9). The angels' praises and supplications exalt God's majesty while also providing an authoritative model for the worship (q.v.) of God required of believers on earth (q.v.). Another purpose of the court is to serve as the locus from which God's com-

mands are sent down to the earth (Q 32:5; cf. 16:2). The mediation of God's commands from the celestial court in the heavens, through angelic messengers, to the earth emphasizes the divine authority (q.v.) backing such commands (see MESSENGERS). When a decree of God goes forth, the devils try to steal a hearing of the court's conversations from the lowest heaven only to be pursued by meteors: "They cannot listen to *al-malaʾ al-aʿlā;* they are pelted from every side, outcast and theirs is a perpetual torment; except for him who snatches a fragment and a piercing flame pursues him" (Q 37:8-10; cf. 72:8-10). Sometimes, the court takes on a military character as God sends down armies of angels to participate in certain earthly battles (Q 3:124-5; 8:9; see EXPEDITIONS AND BATTLES). The concept of God showering his bounty on earth from his storehouses may also be connected with the image of a regal court, although this does not appear to require angelic intermediaries (Q 15:21-2; see BLESSING).

The Qurʾān contains only general descriptions of the court's working; the account of the creation of Adam (see ADAM AND EVE) contains the sole mention of its being issued a specific commandment (Q 2:30-33). The other event of note in which the court participates is its assembling for God's final judgment (Q 2:210; 25:25; 78:38; 89:22) where the angels, prophets or others will not be permitted to intercede with God except by his permission (Q 20:109; 53:26; see INTERCESSION). On that day, certain angels will bear God's throne (Q 40:7; 69:17).

Although the qurʾānic references to the celestial court are brief, general and devoid of descriptive imagery, they still constitute a significant area of exegetical difficulty in Muslim religious literature and have become a major subject of debate between literalist and allegorical schools of interpretation (see EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL), the central issue being anthropomorphism (q.v.). On the one hand, the transmitters of ḥadīth *(ahl al-ḥadīth)* and those who, following Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal (d. 241/845), took a traditionalist approach to the interpretation of the Qurʾān, used a mass of prophetic traditions elaborating the qurʾānic verses on the court to support their insistence that the descriptions referred to actual identifiable objects and that God, in effect, had the likes of a royal court. On the other hand, most of the jurists *(ahl al-fiqh),* the specialists in speculative theology (the *mutakallimūn*) and the philosophers including al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111) sought to deemphasize or avoid such interpretations in favor of allegorical ones. Much debate was generated over God's location in the heavens and his ability to sit on a throne (cf. D. Gimaret, *Dieu a l'image de l'homme,* 66-9, 76-89). Most works of qurʾānic commentary, however, have no reticence about presenting both types of explanation side by side, especially as both sides — regardless of their opinion about the validity of a literal interpretation of the qurʾānic imagery — are agreed that the celestial court symbolizes God's dominion over the heavens and the earth (cf. Q 48:4, 7; 78:37). See also CREATEDNESS OF THE QURʾĀN.

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Courtesy and Hospitality

see HOSPITALITY AND COURTESY

Cousin

see FAMILY

Covenant

An agreement between persons or parties; theologically, the promises of God offered to representatives of humanity as revealed in the scriptures. The Qurʾān employs two principal terms for the idea of covenant, *mīthāq* and *ʿahd,* using each in the singular. *ʿAqd,* the term that is used in Islamic law for the legal act of a contract, a will or other forms of bi- or unilateral declarations, has only a slim qurʾānic basis: Twice the cognate nominal form is used for the marriage contract, i.e. the "knot of marriage" (*ʿuqdat al-nikāh,* Q 2:235, 237; see MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE); once the plural, *ʿuqūd,* is employed, probably in reference to Muḥammad's treaty with the Meccans at al-Ḥudaybiya (q.v.; Q 5:1; cf. 9:1; see CONTRACTS AND ALLIANCES). Another cognate, *ʿaqīda,* which is the Arabic term for creed or article of faith (q.v.) and which is central to Islamic theology, does not appear at all in the Qurʾān (see CREEDS). The noun *mīthāq,* "agreement, covenant, contract," is found 25 times in the Qurʾān and is derived from *wathiqa* (constructed with *bi-*) "to place confidence in, depend on, trust in" and *wathuqa,* "to be firm, solid." *ʿAhd,* the term for commitment, obligation, pledge, or covenant, occurs 29 times in the Qurʾān. It is the infinitive *(maṣdar)* of *ʿahida,* "to entrust, empower, obligate," a verb that appears eleven times in the Qurʾān in its third verbal form, *ʿāhada,* "to make a covenant, to pledge oneself to," a meaning which stresses the bilateral aspect of covenant. Both terms are found frequently in sūras of the third Meccan and the Medinan periods of Muḥammad's qurʾānic proclamation (with the earlier term, *ʿahd,* already present in the second Meccan period and *mīthāq* appearing in the Medinan period; see CHRONOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN) and are used interchangeably in the Qurʾān (compare Q 2:27 and Q 13:20, 25). These two terms are applied to political compacts and civil agreements as well as to the idea of a covenant between God and human beings (cf. A. Jeffery, Scripture, 119-121; see POLITICS AND THE QURʾĀN; LAW AND THE QURʾĀN). The political and civil uses are less frequent (for *ʿahd,* cf. Q 17:34; 23:8; 70:32; for *mīthāq,* cf. Q 4:90, 92; 8:72) with the compact between husband and wife termed once an inviolable covenant (*mīthāqan ghalīẓan,* Q 4:21). The principal qurʾānic signification of covenant, however, is God's enjoining a covenant upon human beings, particularly upon prophets and their followers (see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD).

Underscoring God's unilateral imposition of the covenant, the Qurʾān prefers the phrase that God "took" or "enjoined" (*akhadhnā, akhadha llāh,* cf. Q 33:7, 3:81) the covenant *(mīthāq)* with Muḥammad (q.v.) and with other prophets such as Noah (q.v.), Abraham (q.v.), Moses (q.v.) and Jesus (q.v.). The same turn of phrase is used for God's covenant with the People of the Book (q.v.; Q 3:187), the Christians (*naṣārā,* Q 5:14; see CHRISTIANS AND CHRISTIANITY) and Muḥammad's following (Q 2:84; 57:8), whose loyal supporters keep the covenant (Q 13:20) while disloyal ones break it (Q 13:25; see EMIGRANTS AND HELPERS; OPPOSITION TO MUḤAMMAD). God's covenant

(mīthāq) with the Children of Israel (q.v.), who broke the covenant made at Sinai (q.v.; Q 2:63, 83, 93; 4:154; 5:12, 70), is couched in an imagery that can be traced back to the biblical covenant *(berit/diathéke)* of the Pentateuch (cf. Horovitz, *KU,* 41, 51; Speyer, *Erzählungen,* 295-296; Wansbrough, *QS,* 8-12; see SCRIPTURE AND THE QUR'ĀN). An intriguing reference to God's covenant is also found in Q 7:169 citing "the covenant of the book" (*mīthāq al-kitāb,* see BOOK) because it seems to imply that God separated the righteous from the damned prior to creation (see FREEDOM AND PREDESTINATION). Whether the qur'ānic "rope of God" (*ḥabl Allāh,* cf. Q 3:103, cf. 3:112) can be understood as an image of God's covenant depends in part on the interpretation of the parallel though cryptic phrase of "the most firm handle" *(al-ʿurwatu l-wuthqā,* cf. Q 2:256; 31:22; *wuthqā* and *mīthāq* are derived from the same triliteral Arabic root, *w-th-q)*. The qur'ānic phrase of "holding on" to God's rope or to God himself (*iʿtaṣamū bi-llāh,* Q 4:146; cf. 4:175; *yaʿtaṣim,* Q 3:101), especially when paired with the duties of prayer (q.v.) and almsgiving (q.v.; Q 22:78), may refer to obligations pledged at the moment of entering the Muslim community in Medina (see COMMUNITY AND SOCIETY IN THE QUR'ĀN). *Mawthiq,* a cognate form of *mīthāq,* is employed in reference to God as the guarantor of the pledge that Jacob (q.v.) takes from his sons promising Joseph's (q.v.) safe return (Q 12:66, 80).

In the Qur'ān, as F. Buhl has shown (Ḳurānexegese, 100-6), the notion of *ʿahd* generally implies a reciprocal obligation of two parties, yet frequently signifies the promise of God in the sense of a unilateral obligation (not unlike the pentateuchal *berit/diathéke*). This latter sense is contained in Q 20:115, "We made a covenant with Adam before *(la-qad ʿahidnā ilā Ādama min qablu),* but he forgot and we found no constancy in him." This crucial qur'ānic reference to God's covenant as *ʿahd* refers to that which Adam (see ADAM AND EVE) broke by eating from the tree of paradise when prompted by the whisperings of Satan (see FALL OF MAN). God also imposed a covenant on Adam's offspring (Q 36:60) obligating them not to serve Satan (see DEVIL). This covenant was broken by Israel through the idolatry of the calf (Q 20:86-9; cf. 7:102; see CALF OF GOLD). Furthermore, God concluded an *ʿahd* with Moses (cf. Q 7:134; cf. 43:49), voided his *ʿahd* for Abraham's progeny when they betrayed it (Q 2:124) and summoned the Children of Israel to fulfil the covenant so that he, God, might fulfil it (*wa-awfū bi-ʿahdī ūfi bi-ʿahdikum,* Q 2:40, perhaps the strongest bilateral declaration of covenant in the Qur'ān). Intercession (*shafāʿa,* see INTERCESSION) in the hereafter is only granted to one who has received the promise of the All-Merciful (*man ittakhadha ʿinda l-raḥmāni ʿahdan,* Q 19:87; cf. 19:78; 2:80). In their deceit, unbelievers among Muḥammad's followers pledge their willingness to give alms if they receive generously from God's abundance (Q 9:75; see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF; HYPOCRITES AND HYPOCRISY). Q 16:91 reminds the believers of the absolute obligation to fulfil the covenant of God into which they have entered *(wa-awfū bi-ʿahdi llāhi idhā ʿāhadtum)*. In Q 9:1 and 54:43 the term *barā'a* (originally, Aramaic *barīya*), seemingly reflecting the Hebrew *berit,* is mentioned in the meaning of God's "pact," and in Q 5:97 the Kaʿba (q.v.) is cited as the visible symbol of God's compact with humanity *(qiyāman lil-nās)*. Furthermore, C. Luxenberg (*Die syro-aramäische Lesart des Koran,* 37-8) argues that the qur'ānic phrase *millat Ibrāhīm* (Q 6:161 and passim), understood on the basis of the Aramaic term underlying it (and the Syriac, *meltā,* "word"; cf. F. Buhl, Milla) implies the meaning of God's "covenant" with Abraham (cf. *Gen* 17:2).

On the qurʾānic evidence alone it cannot be demonstrated whether the entrance into Muḥammad's community was linked with a (ceremonial) compact between the neophyte and God (or the Prophet) or an oath of loyalty *(bayʿa)*. In Medina, however, Muḥammad required his followers to swear a solemn promise of allegiance or a pledge of loyalty (e.g. Q 33:15; 48:10; 60:12; *taḥta l-shajarati,* "under the tree," Q 48:18) prior to crucial moments of his cause. The term *ʿahd,* moreover, is used in the Islamic tradition for the treaty of protection (q.v.) the Christians of Najrān (q.v.) received from Muḥammad in exchange for their paying tribute (q.v.) after the ordeal of the *mubāhala* (mutual imprecation) had been averted (cf. Q 3:61, *thumma nabtahil*). For the qurʾānic significance of the oath *(qasam, yamīn)* as both God's oath and a human being's pledge to God, see OATHS; PLEDGE. For animal sacrifice connected to a pledge or a compact between two parties as a qurʾānic reflection of pre-Islamic Arab tribal custom, see SACRIFICE; CONSECRATION OF ANIMALS; PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QURʾĀN.

Early Islamic legal terminology used *ʿahd* (short for *kitāb al-ʿahd*) to signify a certificate of appointment to administrative office under the Umayyads while *mīthāq* denotes hostages given as a pledge of security (cf. E. Tyan, *Histoire,* 56-7; 180-1). The political language of *walī al-ʿahd,* the successor appointed by a ruler, and *ahl al-ʿahd,* non-Muslims with whom the Islamic state has entered into a treaty, also reflects post-qurʾānic usage. For the way in which Arab foreigners, non-Arab freedmen or converts to Islam became associated with the Arab tribal structure (see TRIBES AND CLANS) as kinsmen (see KINSHIP) by oath rather than birth, by way of *ʿahd* and through procedures known as compact or confederacy *(ḥilf)* or proximity of kinsmen or allies *(walāʾ),* see CLIENTS AND CLIENTAGE and P. Crone, Mawlā.

Q 7:172 includes reference to neither *mīthāq* nor *ʿahd,* but nevertheless became the fulcrum of qurʾānic interpretation for the primordial covenant on the "Day of *Alastu*" (cf. Goldziher; Speyer, *Erzählungen,* 304-5; R. Gramlich, Urvertrag, 205-30) which anchors mystical speculations of Ṣūfism (Böwering, *Mystical,* 147-65; see ṢŪFISM AND THE QURʾĀN). God's servants professed monotheism as humanity's pledge in response to God's revelation in the event of a primordial covenant concluded at the dawn of creation. To God's question "Am I not your Lord?" *(alastu birabbikum)* humanity answered with "Yes, we testify!" *(balā shahidnā)* thereby acknowledging God's oneness and sovereignty and instantiating the first conscious act of the human intellect (*ʿaql,* the source of knowledge by nature in antithesis to *naql,* tradition). Linked with the qurʾānic notions of "God-given nature" (*fiṭra,* Q 30:30) and baptism (*ṣibgha,* Q 2:138; cf. Jeffery, *For. vocab.,* 192; see BAPTISM), the covenant in pre-existence inspired theological controversies on the issue of predestination (cf. J. Van Ess, *Zwischen Ḥadīth,* 34-6, 105-7) and the infant's inborn nature *(anima naturaliter moslemica)* as expressed by the ḥadīth, "Every infant is born according to the *fiṭra* (*ʿalā l-fiṭra,* "on God's plan"); then his parents make him a Jew or a Christian or a Magian" (cf. D. Macdonald, *Religious attitude,* 243). The idea of a primordial covenant animated qurʾānic interpretation in both Sunnī and Shīʿī circles and contributed to the subtle insights of Islamic mysticism (cf. L. Massignon, Le jour, 86-92; U. Rubin, Pre-existence, 62-119; C. Schöck, *Adam,* 138-40, 166-9, 187-92). Lines of continuity between the qurʾānic covenant in pre-existence and the Judaeo-Christian (cf. J. Habermann, *Präexistenzaussagen,* 415-30) as well as the gnostic traditions (cf. I. Goldziher, Neuplatonische Elemente, 317-44) remain insufficiently

studied. See also BREAKING TRUSTS AND CONTRACTS.

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Cow see ANIMAL LIFE

Coward see COURAGE

Cradle see JESUS

Createdness of the Qurʾān

A central issue in Muslim theological discussion that asks whether the Qurʾān was created by God or is, like him, eternal. The term creation *(khalq)* appears 48 times in the Qurʾān and designates the natural world and all existence as God's creation (q.v.). Instances of the perfect and imperfect tenses of the verb *(khalaqa, yakhluqu* and the passive *khuliqa, yukhlaqu)* appear over 200 times in reference to God's act of creation. God himself is referred to in the Qurʾān as the Creator *(khāliq)* twelve times, e.g. "There is no God but he, the creator of everything" (Q 6:102). The phrase *khalq al-Qurʾān,* often rendered as "createdness of the Qurʾān" or "creation of the Qurʾān (by God)," does not occur in the Qurʾān as such. Assertions that the Qurʾān was created appeared at the beginning of the second/eighth century and eventually came to be associated primarily with the heterodox theological school known as the Muʿtazila (see MUʿTAZILĪS).

Introduction to the problem

The issue at hand does not conflict with the fact of the prophetic event, i.e. the revelation of the Qurʾān to Muḥammad at a particular point in history. Both proponents of and opponents to the theory of the createdness of the Qurʾān understand many qurʾānic verses as having been revealed in response to a particular situation in Muḥammad's life (see OCCASIONS OF REVELATION; REVELATION AND INSPIRATION). Both sides also acknowledge the role that Muslims in the generations after Muḥammad had in the collection and the ordering of the codices of the Qurʾān (see CODICES OF THE QURʾĀN; COLLECTION OF THE QURʾĀN). Nor did the discussion of "createdness" involve the status of the Qurʾān's existence prior to Muḥammad's receiving of the revelation or even its existence before the rest of creation. Rather, the debate over *khalq al-Qurʾān* focuses on the nature of the pre-existent prototype of the book (q.v.), which is known as *umm al-kitāb* (Mother of the Book, see HEAVENLY BOOK) or *lawḥ maḥfūẓ* (Preserved Tablet [q.v.]). Both sides are agreed upon the existence of this heavenly prototype, but are in disagreement as to whether it is co-eternal with God or contingent upon the will of God, and thus created and

existing within a limited sphere of time (cf. van Ess, *TG,* iv, 625-7).

A legendary account of the origins of the assertion of the createdness of the Qur'ān that circulated among some Sunnī heresiographies traces it back through extreme Shī'ī revolutionaries to Ṭālūt, the son-in-law of a Jew, Labīd b. al-A'ṣām. Labīd is said to have tried to cast a magical spell on the Prophet (Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil,* 7:49; van Ess, *TG,* i, 442). This may be seen as a later orthodox attempt to depict the Mu'tazila and others who defended the doctrine as enemies of the Prophet Muḥammad as well as of the Qur'ān itself. Muslim heresiographers trace the first claims made by theologians *(mutakallimūn)* that the Qur'ān was created *(makhlūq)* by God and sent down to the Arabs in historical time to the last decade or so of the 'Abbāsid revolution that brought down Umayyad rule (ca. 120/738). In these tumultuous years of uprising and political conflict, inevitably religious in its articulation, two of the darker figures of early Muslim thought are named as proponents of the createdness of the Qur'ān: Ja'd b. Dirham (executed in 125/743) and Jahm b. Ṣafwān (killed in 128/745 while supporting the rebellion of al-Ḥārith b. Surayj).

Before the inquisition

Particular attention is paid to Jahm b. Ṣafwān in the heresiographical literature and especially among traditionalist opponents of the createdness of the Qur'ān such as 'Abdallāh b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Dārimī (d. 255/869) and Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal (d. 241/855). In a heresiographical notice by Abū l-Ḥasan al-Ash'arī (d. 324/936), Jahm b. Ṣafwān is also accused of denying that heaven (q.v.) and hell (q.v.) are eternal (*Maqālāt,* 280, l. 4, 279, l. 2; see ESCHATOLOGY). Jahm's doctrine of God was founded on the strict assertion that God alone is eternal (see GOD AND HIS ATTRIBUTES). All else, including heaven and hell, and even the prototype of scripture — written on a heavenly Tablet, the Mother of the Book — is created. The strongest opponents of Jahm b. Ṣafwān and his followers, known as the Jahmiyya, were the Traditionalists *(muḥaddithūn)* led by Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal. The latter's refutation of Jahm is titled: *al-Radd 'alā l-Zanādiqa wa-l-Jahmiyya,* "Refutation of the deniers of our religion and the followers of Jahm." Jahm's followers lasted apparently until the fifth/eleventh century. W.M. Watt has warned that it is extremely difficult to identify those who are listed as members of the Jahmiyya except to conclude that they are enemies of the Ḥanbalīs (*Formative period,* 144-7; cf. van Ess, *TG,* ii, 507; v, 220, Text 19 d-e and W. Madelung, Origins, Nr. V, 506f. for a discussion on Jahm; a good summary is found in van Ess, *TG,* iv, 625-30). Nonetheless, the doctrine of the createdness of the Qur'ān seems to have found defenders after Jahm other than the Mu'tazila. The latter were, however, the most important in this debate. As a consequence of having to defend the assertion of the createdness of the Qur'ān, they developed a philosophy of language to support their claim that everything about the Qur'ān — paper, ink, organs of speech, memory, writing, sounds and phonemes — is a part of the phenomenal, created world.

One reason for Jahm's insistence that the Qur'ān was created was his strong denial of anthropomorphism (q.v.). According to Ibn Ḥanbal, Jahm held that "God has never spoken and does not speak" (Ibn Ḥanbal, *Radd,* 32). In the Qur'ān, Moses (q.v.) is presented as the only prophet to whom God spoke directly (from the fire, Q 20:10-48; cf. M. Seale, *Muslim theology,* 102-12 for an English translation of relevant passages from the *Radd*). Jahm held that God could not have a physical body like his creatures. Therefore God must cre-

ate a speech (the Qurʾān) unlike his own speech which human ears can hear. Part of what was at issue in the ensuing debate between rationalist *mutakallimūn* on the one side and the traditionalist Ḥanbalīs and the Ashʿarīs on the other was the problem of God's attributes (*ṣifāt,* see GOD AND HIS ATTRIBUTES). Jahm promulgated a *theologia negativa* by declaring it possible for humans to say of God only what he is not. It followed that God's attributes such as his speech must be unlike the attribute of speech among God's creatures. During the three centuries after Jahm b. Ṣafwān, the Muʿtazila became the main, but not the exclusive, defenders of the doctrine of the createdness of the Qurʾān (which was not a monolithic position; cf. W. Madelung, Origins and van Ess, *TG,* iv, 620 for a discussion of the two prevalent views supporting *khalq al-Qurʾān*). They were opposed vigorously in the court of public opinion by traditionalists such as the popular Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal. Their chief theological opponents were the Ashʿarīs, who engaged the Muʿtazilī *mutakallimūn* on their own grounds of rational argumentation.

The inquisition and the Muʿtazilī doctrine

The dispute between those who defended the doctrine of the created Qurʾān and those who denied it was one among many such disputes in early Muslim thinking about the nature of God, his attributes and his revelation to humankind. It became a major fissure in Islamic religious doctrine when the caliph al-Maʾmūn (r. 198-218/813-33) made public affirmation of the created Qurʾān a requirement for judges *(qāḍīs)* during the last year of his reign (see W. Madelung, Origins). The inquisition *(miḥna),* as it was called, lasted some 16 years until finally reversed by the caliph al-Mutawwakil (r. 232-47/847-61) two years after he assumed the caliphate. Of the many judges and court-appointed witnesses in the service of the caliph (q.v.) and his provincial governors (not every province beyond Baghdad and its environs in Iraq paid much attention to al-Maʾmūn's decree), only two steadfastly refused to affirm the doctrine of the created Qurʾān, Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal and Muḥammad b. Nūḥ. The latter died on his way to prison, but Ibn Ḥanbal was imprisoned, beaten and subjected to theological interrogation and testing. Al-Maʾmūn's brother and successor, the caliph al-Muʿtaṣim (r. 218-27/833-42), was less adamant about promulgating the affirmation of the createdness of the Qurʾān and feared the public reaction gathering outside the prison in Baghdad where Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal was held. All along, Ibn Ḥanbal refused to affirm that the Qurʾān was created. After his release, he shunned public life and did not engage the issue when it cropped up again under the more aggressive inquisitional policies of al-Muʿtaṣim's son, the caliph al-Wāthiq (r. 227-32/842-7). Ibn Ḥanbal, nonetheless, is remembered as the victor over the Muʿtazilī doctrine of the created Qurʾān and, in reference to this particular doctrine, over the three caliphs who attempted to enforce it in Islamic public religious life (cf. van Ess, *TG,* iii, 446-508).

After the inquisition

The *miḥna* was not only a test of traditionalist beliefs about the Qurʾān. It was also a test of whether or not the caliphate had the authority to define and enforce religious doctrine. Politically, the *miḥna* and Ibn Ḥanbal's tenacious refusal to affirm the createdness of the Qurʾān constituted an important moment in the contest between the caliphate and the religious scholars *(ʿulamāʾ)* about the exercise of religious authority in early and medieval Islam (see EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL). Theologically, the *miḥna* and

the doctrine of *khalq al-Qurʾān* raised the question of whether divine revelation, "the Book" as the Qurʾān often refers to itself, was coeternal with God or a created vessel of communication from God to his creatures. Since the third/ninth century the majority of Muslims have condemned the Muʿtazilī doctrine of the created Qurʾān by asserting that the Qurʾān is eternal. Historically, the orthodox Shīʿī rebuttal of the assertion of the createdness of the Qurʾān has been more guarded.

For example, even in the second/eighth century, the sixth Shīʿī *imām,* Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq (d. 148/765), is said to have replied, when asked if the Qurʾān was the creator or the created, that it was neither. A great many early traditionalists such as Yaḥyā b. Yaḥyā al-Tamīmī (d. 226/840) asserted against the doctrine of the created Qurʾān that the Qurʾān is the speech (q.v.) of God. For the Muʿtazila, speech is phenomenal, that is, sounds and letters which come into being *(muḥdath)* in the world God creates. Speech is an attribute of God acting external to himself. Later Muʿtazila developed a sophisticated theory of language and linguistics based on the ontology and mechanics of speech. Whereas the Jahmiyya denied that God could speak on the grounds that this would constitute anthropomorphism — likening God to humans — the Muʿtazila accused their opponents of claiming that the Qurʾān was eternal, which was tantamount to implying that an entity other than God is coeternal with God, in other words, dualism. The unacceptability of dualism, referred to as *zandaqa* and *thanawiyya* in the heresiographical literature from the second/eighth century on, was as strong among traditionalists like Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal as it was among Muʿtazila.

In his super-commentary on Qāḍī ʿAbd al-Jabbār's (d. 414/1025) *Sharḥ al-uṣūl al-khamsa,* Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn b. Abī Hāshim, known as Mānkdīm (d. 425/1034), says that the Qāḍī classified the dispute about the createdness of the Qurʾān under the topic of divine justice (*al-ʿadl,* one of the five fundamentals of Muʿtazilī doctrine; see JUSTICE AND INJUSTICE) because the Qurʾān is one of God's acts (ʿAbd al-Jabbār, *Sharḥ,* 527). ʿAbd al-Jabbār identifies ʿAbdallāh b. Kullāb (d. 240/854) and those whom he terms the "mindless" *(al-ḥashwiyya)* Ḥanbalīs as holding that the Qurʾān is not created *(ghayr makhlūq)* and not produced *(lā muḥdath),* but that it is eternal with God. He states the Muʿtazilī doctrine of the createdness of the Qurʾān as follows:

> … the Qurʾān is the speech of God and his revelation *(waḥy)*… it is created *(makhlūq)* and produced *(muḥdath).* God sent it down to his Prophet to be an emblem and evidence of [the latter's] prophethood. [God] made it an evidentiary proof *(dalāla)* so that we could have rules to which we could refer concerning what is permitted and what is forbidden (see LAWFUL AND UNLAWFUL).… Therefore, the Qurʾān is that which we hear and recite today. If it is not produced by God [in the present moment] it is attributed to him in reality, just as the poems we [might] recite today [can be] the poetry of Imruʾ al-Qays [a pre-Islamic poet] in reality, even though he is not producing them now [when we recite them] (ʿAbd al-Jabbār, *Sharḥ,* 528).

ʿAbd al-Jabbār's contemporary and opponent, the Ashʿarī Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. al-Ṭayyib b. al-Bāqillānī (d. 403/1013), replied to Muʿtazilī defenses of the createdness of the Qurʾān with arguments based on qurʾānic proof texts. Especially crucial was the passage from Q 16:40: "For to anything we (God) have willed, we say to it 'be'

and thus it is," on which al-Bāqillānī builds several arguments to deny the createdness of the Qur'ān (Bāqillānī, *Tamhīd,* 237-57).

Several historians of Islamic thought in the twentieth century have also concluded that ʿAbd Allāh b. Kullāb, a contemporary of Ibn Ḥanbal and considered a forerunner or early exponent of many of the views held by al-Ashʿarī, was in fact the chief architect of the orthodox doctrine of the eternity of the Qur'ān (cf. van Ess, *TG,* vi, 411-2). W. Madelung (Origins) believes that the controversy over the createdness of the Qur'ān was not a critical public debate until al-Ma'mūn initiated the *miḥna,* and that Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, not ʿAbdallāh b. Kullāb, added to the traditionalist denial of the createdness of the Qur'ān the claim that the Qur'ān is eternal *(qadīm).* Taqī l-Dīn b. Taymiyya (d. 728/1328), the later theological critic of both Muʿtazilī and Ashʿarī theology *(kalām)* and reviver of Ḥanbalī traditionalist thought, also argued against the doctrine of the eternity of the Qur'ān on the grounds that the pious ancestors *(salaf)* had claimed only that it was the speech of God, not that it was eternal (*kalām Allāh;* Ibn Taymiyya, *Majmūʿa,* iii, 20 passim).

Conclusion

Although the Ashʿarī and traditionalist Sunnī doctrine of the eternity of the Qur'ān has prevailed down to the present, some modernist Muslims have challenged the Ashʿarī denial of the Muʿtazilī doctrine of the createdness of the Qur'ān. Muḥammad ʿAbduh (d. 1324/1906) did so in the late nineteenth century, although he removed his defense of the createdness of the Qur'ān after the publication of the first edition of *Risāla al-tawḥīd,* the work in which it appeared. More recently, revisionist modernist writers such as Mohammed Arkoun (*Rethinking Islam,* 6) have called for a return to the Muʿtazilī doctrine of the createdness of the Qur'ān. In the comparative study of religions, the dispute about the created versus the uncreated or eternal nature of the Qur'ān is a theological problem of the proportions of the ancient problem in Christian theology concerning the divine versus the human nature of Jesus Christ. In fact, as Trinitarian debates are attested within Christian circles at Baghdad contemporaneous with the Muslim discussion on the createdness of the Qur'ān, the formulation of the Christian doctrine of the Trinity (q.v.) and the Islamic debate on the createdness of the Qur'ān may have influenced one another (cf. H. Wolfson, *Philosophy,* 240-2; for a rebuttal of Wolfson's position, see van Ess, *TG,* iv, 625-7). See also THEOLOGY AND THE QUR'ĀN.

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Creation

God's origination of the universe and of humankind. In cultural traditions around the world, including the tradition of naturalistic evolution, creation stories serve to explain the nature of the human social and physical environment, to make sense of what befalls human beings and, often, to legitimate particular moral, political or ideological systems. One of the central themes in the Qurʾān is that reflection upon creation *(khalq)* ratifies God's peerless authority (q.v.) to command (see SOVEREIGNTY) and his unique prerogative to be worshipped (see WORSHIP). This, in turn, indicates that the proper response to him and to those who preach his revelation (see REVELATION AND INSPIRATION) is submission (*islām,* q.v.) to his will.

God as sole creator

The Qurʾān is insistent that God, Allāh, is the "creator *(badīʿ)* of the heavens and the earth" (Q 2:117; 6:101; cf. Q 2:54; 10:3; 12:101; 13:16; 21:56; 26:77-8; 35:1; 36:70; 39:46, 62; 40:62; 42:11; 46:3; 59:24; 64:2-3; 85:13; 91:5-6), which signifies that he is the creator of all things — the lowest, the highest and, implicitly, all that is in between.

Indeed, his being the creator is a central reason that he is deserving of worship (Q 2:21; 6:1, 80, 96; 7:10; 11:61, 118-9; 14:10, 32-4; 16:52, 80-1; 36:22; 39:6; 43:26-7; 56:57-62; 87:1-4) for the entire universe owes its existence to him. Moreover, in his role as creator as with other aspects of his nature, God has no partners, no helpers and thus no peers (see GOD AND HIS ATTRIBUTES). In fact, his uniqueness in this regard is recognized even by the Qurʾān's pagan opponents (Q 2:22, 164-5; 6:1, 14, 73, 80, 101-3; 7:54, 194; 10:32, 35, 69; 13:16; 16:17; 20:4; 25:3; 27:59-61, 64; 29:61; 30:27, 40; 31:11, 25; 32:4; 34:49; 35:3, 13, 40; 37:95-6; 39:38; 40:61-4; 41:9; 43:9, 87; 46:4; 52:35-6; 56:57-62) and therefore provides a point of common agreement from which theological debate can proceed. But, the Qurʾān says, the pagans fail to draw from their recognition of God as sole creator the appropriate conclusion, namely that he is uniquely worthy of worship: "Those upon whom they call besides God create nothing, and are themselves created" (Q 16:20; cf. Q 7:191; 25:2-3; see POLYTHEISM AND ATHEISM). "Those upon whom you call apart from God will never create a fly, even if they gathered together in order to do it. And if the fly should snatch something away from them, they would be unable to recover it from him. Weak is the petitioner, and weak is he who is petitioned" (Q 22:73; cf. 16:73; 25:2-3; see POWER AND IMPOTENCE).

The Qurʾān is not, however, content to assert merely that God created the universe at some definable point in the past. As opposed to deism or to certain readings of Newtonian physics, God continues to sustain the creation during every moment of its existence (Q 2:255). (As discussed below, this has implications for understanding precisely what the Qurʾān understands by creation). Accordingly, worship of him proceeds not merely from his gracious creative act in the past but from dependence upon him for existence at every instant of the present and the future. And in fact the Qurʾān is deeply impressed with the ongoing order of nature and summons all humankind to share in its admiration and to learn from it (Q 7:54-6; 24:43-4; 25:47-50, 53-4, 61, 62; 26:7; 29:19; 31:10; 35:13; see NATURAL WORLD AND THE QURʾĀN). It is, for instance, God who sends down water in rain and sends it coursing through rivers

(Q 6:6) — a power that would arouse particular attention in the aridity of Arabia.

God's purpose in creation

Creation had a divine purpose (Q 3:190-1; 15:85-6; 30:8) and was done "in truth" (Q 6:73; 29:44; 39:5; 44:39; 45:22). But that purpose is, in a sense, external to the deity who does not need a cosmos for himself. "We did not create heaven (q.v.) and earth (q.v.) and what is between them for sport. Had we wanted to adopt a pastime, we could have found it in ourself," says the God of the Qurʾān (Q 21:16-7; cf. Q 44:38). And since the creation and the cosmos itself are of a teleological character, those who believe (see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF) are not free to view the universe or even their own lives as pointless. "We did not create heaven and earth and what is between them for nothing. That is the thinking of those who disbelieve" (Q 38:27).

What was God's intention in creating the physical cosmos? On this point, the Qurʾān is unabashedly anthropocentric. God's purpose in the creation of the universe was focused on humanity. This is manifest, for example, in the fact that the universe is admirably designed to provide for human needs and wants (Q 2:22, 29; 10:67; 14:32-4; 16:5-8, 10-8, 80-1; 17:12; 20:54-5; 22:65; 23:17-22; 67:15; 78:6-13; 79:32-3). The Qurʾān offers its own version of what has come to be termed in cosmology the "cosmic anthropic principle." This beneficent, human-centered design characterizes not merely the arrangements on the earth where humans actually live. It extends beyond to the heavens: "He cleaves the dawn and makes the night for rest and the sun (q.v.) and the moon (q.v.) for reckoning. That is the decree of the Mighty, the Omniscient. He is the one who placed the stars for you, so that you might be guided in the darkness (q.v.) of land and sea" (Q 6:96-7; see COSMOLOGY IN THE QURʾĀN).

God did not, however, create the universe merely for the comfort and enjoyment of the human race. It is also arranged as a proving ground for them. "He it is who created the heavens and the earth in six days… in order to test you, which of you is best in conduct" (Q 11:7; cf. Q 18:7; 67:2; see TRIAL. The Qurʾān generally describes the creation of the universe as requiring the biblical six days [as at Q 7:54; 10:4; 11:7; 25:58-9; 32:4; 50:38; 57:4; but see 41:9-12]). "God made the heavens and the earth in truth, so that each soul (q.v.) could be rewarded for what it earned; they will not be wronged" (Q 45:22; see REWARD AND PUNISHMENT).

A qurʾānic natural theology

But the physical cosmos provides more than just necessities for survival and good things to enjoy; it is more than simply a place where humans can be tested and tried. It is a message to human beings that if heeded, will help them pass the divinely ordained test. It is, itself, a kind of revelation. Nature is constituted as it is "that you might remember" (Q 51:49). Thus undergirding the special revelation of the Qurʾān is a qurʾānically endorsed natural theology according to which serious and discerning minds can deduce much about the existence and character of God by contemplation of the cosmos (Q 10:6-7, 67; 13:2-4; 16:10-8, 65-9, 79; 17:12; 20:53-4; 24:41, 44-5; 25:61, 62; 29:44; 42:29; 55:1-15; 56:57-62; 71:14-20; 88:17-20). "Truly, in the creation of the heavens and the earth and the variation of night and day and in the ship (see SHIPS) that sails in the sea, carrying things useful to the people, and in the water (q.v.) that God sends down from the sky so that he enlivens the earth after its death and disperses every animal throughout it, and in the direction of the winds and of the subservient clouds between heaven and earth, there are signs *(āyāt)* for people who

have intelligence" (Q 2:164; cf. 6:96-7; 45:3-5; see ANIMAL LIFE; AGRICULTURE AND VEGETATION; AIR AND WIND).

Significantly, the term used for the signs (q.v.) of the natural realm, *āyāt,* is the same Arabic word used to denote the individual verses (q.v.) of Islam's special revelation, the Qurʾān. Thus nature, properly viewed, becomes a revealed book (q.v.) very much like the Qurʾān is itself composed of individual signs or miracles (q.v.). (The identification of miracles as signs pointing to the divine recalls the equivalent usage of Greek *semeia* in the Gospel of John.) "Truly, in the creation of the heavens and the earth and the variation of night and day there are signs *(āyāt)* for those of understanding, those who remember God standing, sitting, and lying on their sides, and who contemplate the creation of the heavens and the earth: 'Our Lord, you did not create this for nothing!'" (Q 3:190-1; see PRAYER). "Have they not looked at the sky above them," the Qurʾān asks of the unbelievers, "how we have built it and adorned it without rifts? And the earth, how we spread it out and cast into it firmly-rooted mountains and scattered throughout it every delightful pair, as a sight and a reminder for every repentant worshiper?" (Q 50:6-8; cf. Q 67:2-5). Such passages imply that the ultimate condemnation of the pagan polytheists will be just even if they never heard the message of the Qurʾān itself because they had before them the book of nature and its clear testimony to the existence, beneficence and oneness of God.

The moral implications of God as sovereign and creator

Humanity has been divinely appointed to be God's vice-regent (see CALIPH) upon the earth (Q 2:30; the Qurʾān knows the story of the origin of the devil (q.v.), as when Iblīs (q.v.) failed to prostrate himself before the newly created Adam. See Q 2:30-4; 7:11-22; 15:26-35; 17:61-2; 18:51; 20:120; 38:75-86; see DISOBEDIENCE; BOWING AND PROSTRATION; ADAM AND EVE). In this respect, qurʾānic natural theology has ethical as well as purely theological implications (see ETHICS IN THE QURʾĀN). The universe has been organized into a cosmos rather than a chaos and humanity is accordingly warned to introduce no human disorder into the divinely ordained arrangement of the physical world: "Do not sow corruption *(lā tufsidū)* in the earth after its ordering *(baʿda iṣlāḥihā)*" (Q 7:56; see CORRUPTION). Moreover, humankind is admonished to read the signs (q.v.) of nature correctly: "Among his signs *(āyāt)* are night and day, the sun and the moon. Do not bow before sun and moon, but bow before God, who created them" (Q 41:37; cf. 6:75-9; see IDOLS AND IMAGES; IDOLATRY AND IDOLATERS). The symbols were not created for their own sake but are intended to point beyond themselves.

As the creator of all things God is obviously also the creator of humankind (Q 4:1; 6:2). In the intimate relationship between creator and creature he knows everything about human motivations, thoughts and acts; he is closer to each person than that individual's own jugular vein (Q 50:16; see ARTERY AND VEIN) and is therefore uniquely equipped both to understand and to judge.

God as absolutely free agent

The assertion that the creation of the heavens and earth was in some sense a greater achievement than the creation of man (Q 40:57; 79:27-30) does not imply that it was a more difficult act. For the Qurʾān stresses God's utter freedom in creation and the sublime effortlessness with which he acts (Q 4:133; 5:17; 14:19-20; 35:16-7; 42:49; 46:33; 50:38). The most dramatic qurʾānic assertion of divine creative power is the repeated declaration that God has merely to say, "'Be!' And it is" (*kun fa-yakūn,*

at Q 3:47, 59; 6:73; 16:40; 19:35; 36:82; 40:68; 54:49-50). An uncritical reading might gloss such passages as promising material for the construction of a theory of creation from nothingness *(creatio ex nihilo)*. Indeed, verses containing this phrase or a variant thereof are commonly used to support such a concept. Usage of qurʾānic evidence alone, however, does not support the theory.

Origins of the doctrine of creatio ex nihilo

Although it is popularly regarded as a teaching of their canonical scriptures, the notion of creation from absolute nothingness appears to have developed relatively late in the history of Judaism and Christianity. The biblical terms that are generally rendered in English as "create" have their origins in the Hebrew terminology for handicrafts and the plastic arts. They primarily refer to mechanical actions such as cutting out or paring leather, molding something into shape or fabricating something, rather than to metaphysical origination (for which early Semitic thought almost certainly lacked the conceptual apparatus; metaphorical usage was a later development). Throughout the Hebrew Bible, the image recurs of God as a craftsman, a potter shaping a vessel from clay (q.v.) or a weaver at his loom (Isaiah 29:16; 40:22; 45:9; 51:13, 15-6; Psalms 74:13-7; 89:11; 90:2; Romans 9:20-3). Although it is very doubtful that a doctrine of creation from utter nothingness is to be found in either the Hebrew Bible or the Greek New Testament, by the early part of the third century of the common era *creatio ex nihilo* had become a fundamental doctrine of orthodox Christianity. Its near-universal adoption by Jews may have come still later.

Does the Qurʾān teach creatio ex nihilo?

In light of the widely-held misconceptions about the biblical attestation of creation out of nothingness, it appears necessary to examine whether such a concept appears in the Qurʾān. Traditional understandings to the contrary, it seems that it does not. In several of the passages where the phrase *kun fa-yakūn* occurs, *creatio ex nihilo* is excluded by the context. In no passages is absolute nothingness a necessary prerequisite for the effectiveness of God's creative act. The subject of Q 3:47, 3:59 and 19:35 is the virginal conception of Jesus (q.v.), whom, Q 3:59 affirms, God first created from dust, and *then* said to him "Be!" and he was *(kun fa-yakūn)*. This points to a striking characteristic of these passages: Q 2:117 typifies them in its assertion that God "decrees a matter *(amr)*" and *then* "says to it *(la-hu)* 'Be,' and it is" (compare Q 3:47; 40:68). Q 16:40 and 36:81-2 actually speak of a thing *(shayʾ)* to which God says "Be!" and it is *kun fa-yakūn,* (cf. Q 54:49-50; cf. 19:35; 40:68). There seems to be an underlying and pre-existing substrate to which the divine imperative is addressed as clearly is the case in the story of the Sabbath-breakers who are told "Be apes!" (*kūnū qiradatan,* Q 2:65; 7:166; see CURSE). The command *kun!* would therefore seem to be rather more determinative or constitutive than productive of something out of utter nothingness.

Indeed, a survey of the words used in the Qurʾān in connection with creation and an examination of the ways in which they are used, reveals little or no reason to suppose that any of them involves a creation from nothing. The great Andalusian jurist and philosopher Ibn Rushd (Averroës, d. 595/1198) appears to have been correct when he alleged that the theologians' adherence to creation from nothing rests upon an allegorical interpretation of the Qurʾān whose literal sense rather teaches a preexistent matter which simply received the form given it in God's creative act. "For," as he observes, "it is not stated in scripture

that God was existing with absolutely nothing else: A text to this effect is nowhere to be found" (Averroës, *On the harmony,* 56-7; see EXEGESIS OF THE QUR'ĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL).

The most common relevant qur'ānic terminolgy for creation involves the Arabic root *kh-l-q*. Its original meaning seems to have been associated, much like the creation-related vocabulary of the Hebrew Bible, with such things as working leather. The Qur'ān states that God created the heavens and the earth in six days (Q 7:54; 10:3; 11:7; 25:59; 32:4; 50:38; 57:4) and that humankind is also among his creations (as at Q 2:21; 6:94; 7:11; 26:184; 37:96; 41:21; cf. 5:18; 50:16; 51:56; 55:3; 56:57). An examination of the occurrences of the verb virtually rules out *creatio ex nihilo:* Thus Iblīs in particular (Q 7:12; 38:76) and the jinn (q.v.) in general (Q 15:27; 55:15) are created of fire *(nār)*. The human, on the other hand, is said to have been created from dust (*turāb,* Q 30:20; this is specifically stated of Adam and Jesus [q.v.] at Q 3:59), from the earth (*arḍ,* Q 20:55; see EARTH), from clay (*ṭīn,* Q 6:2; 7:12; 32:7; 38:71, 76; cf. 17:61), from sounding clay drawn from altered mud (*ṣalṣāl min ḥamā' masnūn,* Q 15:26, 28, 33), from an extraction of clay (*sulālat min ṭīn,* Q 23:12), from sticky clay (*ṭīn lāzib,* Q 37:11) and from sounding clay like earthenware (*ṣalṣāl ka-l-fakhkhār,* Q 55:14). God created man with his hands (*khalaqtu bi-yadayya,* Q 38:75-6) — recalling Jesus' "creation" of a bird from clay by the leave of God (Q 3:49; 5:110). See CLAY.

It is not only in the miraculous origination of Adam and Eve that the divine role of the creator is to be recognized. For, as noted above, God is actively involved in the ongoing order of the universe. Thus he is also the creator of men and women as manifested in the ordinary processes of human reproduction (Q 7:189; 16:4; 19:9; 23:78-9; 30:54; 35:11; 36:35; 39:6; 49:13; 53:32, 45; 67:23-4; 74:11-2; 76:2, 28; 82:6-8; 90:4; 92:3; 95:4-5) and in the natural succession of human generations (Q 2:21; 39:6). "He it is who forms you in the wombs as he pleases," says the Qur'ān. "There is no god but he" (Q 3:6). God's creative power is also at work in the everyday events of animal reproduction (Q 24:44-5; 36:36) and the propagation of plants (Q 6:95, 99; 13:4). The Qur'ān names yet other materials, besides clay and water, out of which the human body is created — materials which cannot have been involved in the origination of Adam and Eve (q.v.). It is produced from a single soul (*nafs,* Q 4:1; 7:189; 39:6) or from a male and a female (Q 49:13). It is created from a kind of water (Q 25:54, 77:20-2, 86:5-7) as were all animals (Q 24:45) — though this water is not to be confused with the primordial water from which Adam was taken. For the human body is created from a drop of sperm (*nutfa,* Q 16:4; 36:77; 76:2; 80:18-9; cf. Q 53:45-6; 86:5-7), "from an extract of contemptible fluid" (Q 32:8-9; cf. Q 77:20-2; 86:5-7). "We have created them, they know of what" (Q 70:39; this is reminiscent of the mishnaic injunction [Aboth 3:1] to "know whence thou art come." The Mishna's answer to this question, obviously designed to promote humility in humankind, is from a "putrid drop" *[tippah serukhah]*). Yet the human body is also created from a blood clot (*'alaq,* Q 96:2).

How are we to reconcile these varied and seemingly contradictory statements? It would seem that there is really no contradiction, for the Qur'ān affirms that human beings are created in stages (*aṭwār,* Q 71:14), obviously referring to the process of fetal development from conception through gestation to birth, a process which at every phase it ascribes to the creative agency of God. "He creates you in the wombs of your mothers, creation after creation in a

three-fold gloom" (*khalqan min baʿdi khalqin,* Q 39:6). The physical human body is made first from dust, then of a "drop," then of clotted blood, then of a morsel of partially formed flesh which turns into bones and covering skin and, finally, it becomes a man (*rajul,* Q 18:37; cf. 22:5; 23:12-4; 40:67; 75:37-9). In every case, the "creation" described occurs from pre-existing materials. See also BIRTH; BIOLOGY AS THE CREATION AND STAGES OF LIFE; BLOOD AND BLOOD CLOT.

Only two passages in the Qurʾān would seem to be susceptible to an interpretation indicative of *creatio ex nihilo*. Both occur in Q 19, "Mary" (Sūrat Maryam). When Zechariah (q.v.), a believer, expresses some doubt that he and Elizabeth should have a child at their advanced ages, the Lord (q.v.) replies, "That is easy for me, since I created you before, when you were not anything" (*wa-lam taku shayʾ,* Q 19:9). Later it is the unbelievers who express doubt when they question the possibility of bodily resurrection: "Man says, 'When I have died, shall I then be brought forth living?' Does man not remember that we created him before, when he was not anything?" (*wa-lam yaku shayʾ,* Q 19:66-7). But if these two passages teach *creatio ex nihilo,* they are the only qurʾānic passages that do so, which in turn suggests that they in fact do not propound such a concept. See also MARY.

There is no obligation, of course, to assume that the Qurʾān is a monolithic, totally consistent text, on this or any other matter. There is no *a priori* reason, however, to take the opposite position, i.e. to assume that the Qurʾān is inconsistent and self-contradictory. The situation must be evaluated on a case by case basis and, as will be clear, there is no compelling evidence contained within these two passages to imply that the Qurʾān contradicts itself on the issue of *creatio ex nihilo*. In the absence of such compelling evidence, it is reasonable to take this scripture as being internally consistent.

We know from Aristotle that the Platonists called preexistent matter "the non-existent" (*to mē on,* Aristotle, *Physics* 1.9.192a 6-7). More to the point, however, the early fourth century Syrian monastic writer Aphraates uses a similar argument to make precisely the same point as does the latter of the two passages in Q 19 — and Aphraates clearly does not intend to argue for *creatio ex nihilo:* "About this resurrection of the dead I shall instruct you, most dear one, to the best of my ability. God in the beginning created man; he molded him from dust and he raised him up. If, then, when man did not exist, he made him from nothing, how much easier is it for him now to raise him up like a seed sown in the earth" (cited by T. O'Shaughnessy, Creation from nothing, 278). What is involved here is creation not from absolute but from relative non-existence, from a condition when the human body did not exist as such but existed only potentially as dust or clay. It is God's ability to give life to inanimate matter both at birth and at the resurrection (q.v.) which is the ultimate proof of his power. *Creatio ex nihilo* is not the point at issue.

If *khalaqa* is associated with pre-existing material, the same is true of other words used qurʾānically in connection with God's creative activity. The root *j-ʿ-l,* for example, is used to describe God's creation of earth and sky (Q 40:64), of the constellations or zodiacal signs (Q 25:61), of darkness and light (i.e. night and day: Q 6:1; 10:67; 40:61), of the sun and the moon (Q 6:96). Indeed, it is very often used in precisely the same sense as *khalaqa* — as, for instance, when the Qurʾān states that every living thing, including particularly the posterity of Adam, has been made from a kind of water (Q 21:30; 32:8; see also Q 23:12-4, in which, when it is taken with other similar

passages, *jaʿala* is synonymous with *khalaqa*). It is also used to refer to God's changing Sabbath-breakers into apes (Q 5:60), the transformation of what is on the earth into barren sterility (Q 18:8), the laying out of gardens (Q 36:34), the production of fire from a green tree (Q 36:80) and the divine dispensation of ships (q.v.) and of cattle for human usage (Q 43:12). It is a form of this root which is used when the Children of Israel (q.v.) demand of Moses (q.v.) that he "make" them a god like the gods of the idolaters (Q 7:138) — where presumably what is meant is the fashioning of a material idol (see CALF OF GOLD). Likewise it is the verb used by Pharaoh (q.v.) when he orders Hāmān (q.v.) and his servants to build him a tower out of fired clay bricks so that he may climb up to the god of Moses (Q 28:38).

Other verbs used in the Qurʾān seem to imply a similar pre-existent material, an *Urstoff,* out of which the universe was made. At the very least, there is nothing in them which would necessitate reading the Qurʾān as advocating *creatio ex nihilo*. Heaven, for example, of which it is repeatedly stated that God is the creator (using the root *kh-l-q* as at Q 65:12; 67:3; 71:15 and throughout the Qurʾān), is said to have been "built" as an "edifice" (both the noun and the verb are formed from the Arabic root letters *b-n-y,* Q 2:22; 40:64; 50:6; 51:47; 78:12; 79:27; 91:5). In another version of Pharaoh's order to Hāmān to build him a tower, *b-n-y* is used as a synonym of *jaʿala* (Q 40:36).

In the case of *badaʾa,* too — which is used as a synonym of *khalaqa* at Q 7:29 — there is no reason to infer, from the text as it stands, a creation out of nothing. In the passages relevant to the present concern, the root *b-d-ʾ* invariably serves as an inceptive helping verb, with the actual content relating to the creation being supplied by another root. (See, for example, Q 10:4, 34; 21:104; 27:64; 29:19-20; 30:11, 27; 32:7; 85:13 [by implication].)

The Arabic root *b-d-ʿ* (whose third radical differs from the root just discussed) occurs only four times in the Qurʾān. In two of the four occurrences of the root, God is simply declared to be the "creator of the heavens and the earth." Neither requires an understanding of *creatio ex nihilo*. In their third qurʾānic occurrence, the radicals appear in the eighth verbal form and are used to describe the allegedly unauthorized "invention" of monasticism by Christians (Q 57:27; see MONASTICISM AND MONKS; CHRISTIANS AND CHRISTIANITY). The fourth occurrence is in the form of the noun, innovation (*bidʿ,* Q 46:9). Admittedly, the latter two cases might be interpreted to support the concept of *creatio ex nihilo,* but there is nothing in the context to suggest that they should be so taken.

The Arabic root *b-r-ʾ,* cognate with the Hebrew verb of creation occurring at Genesis 1:1, is to be found almost solely (in the contexts which concern the present discussion) in the neutral meanings of "creator" (Q 2:54; 59:24) or "creature" (Q 98:6-7), where nothing is specified about the mode of creation. The one exception to this is Q 57:22, which speaks of misfortunes as foreordained before God brings them about. It is evident, however, that misfortunes in this life, whether earthquakes or diseases or war (q.v.), are "brought about" out of pre-existing matter or circumstances. Thus, again, nothing in the qurʾānic use of *baraʾa* compels an assumption of *creatio ex nihilo* and, indeed, what evidence the book does furnish would seem to militate against such an assumption.

Much the same can be said of the root *n-sh-ʾ* which, in its qurʾānic manifestation, essentially means "to cause something to grow." God produces gardens, for example (Q 6:141; 23:19), and he makes trees grow (Q 56:72). He also causes clouds to swell up,

heavy with rain (*yunshiʾu al-saḥāb al-thiqāl,* Q 13:12). Significantly, the root occasionally seems to be used as a synonym for *khalaqa* as at Q 36:77-9 and 29:19-20. God created humankind from a single soul (Q 6:98) or from the earth (Q 11:61; 53:32). Verbs derived from this root are also used to describe the raising up of a new human generation (Q 6:6, 133; 21:11; 23:31, 42; 28:45), the birth of a child (Q 23:14) and the development of sensory apparatus (Q 23:78). In none of these instances does a concept of *creatio ex nihilo* appear to play a role.

Protology and eschatology

A further clue to the qurʾānic doctrine of creation occurs in certain polemical passages (see POLEMIC AND POLEMICAL LANGUAGE) which might seem at first only marginally relevant. In accordance with the ancient notion of history as cyclical, almost every element of the traditional creation myths was taken up again in Judaeo-Christian apocalypticism, which taught that God would renew the world in a new creation or *palingenesia*. Not surprisingly, the same doctrine is abundantly attested in the Qurʾān where protology foretells eschatology (q.v.) and God's initial creation is a sign pointing forward to the resurrection at the end of time (see APOCALYPSE) as well as a demonstration of God's power actually to do it (Q 6:95; 7:29, 57; 10:55-6; 13:5; 16:70; 17:49-51, 98-9; 19:66-7; 20:55; 21:104; 22:5; 27:64; 29:19-20, 120; 30:11, 27; 31:28; 32:10; 36:76-8; 46:33; 50:2-11, 15; 53:45-6; 75:37-40; 86:5-8; cf. J. Bouman, *Gott und Mensch,* 252). God creates once and then he repeats the process to bring men before his tribunal at the day of judgment (Q 10:4; 30:11; 32:10; 46:33-4; see LAST JUDGMENT). Men will be "created" again when they are but bones and dust (Q 13:5; 17:49-51, 98-9; 32:10; 34:7; 36:77-82; see DEATH AND THE DEAD). "Were we wearied in the first creation," God asks, "that they should be in confusion about a new creation?" (Q 50:15). "Do they not see that God, who created the heavens and the earth and was not wearied in their creation, is able to give life to the dead?" (Q 46:33).

The nature of resurrection (q.v.) as a revivification of once animate, now inanimate, matter and the pointed comparisons to the initial creation (emphatically so at Q 22:5-6; 36:77-82; 75:37-40; 86:5-8) are significant in many ways. They sustain the view that the qurʾānic concept of creation was most likely conceived as the determination of pre-existent matter. They are also strikingly reminiscent of the argument advanced in a formative Jewish context at 2 Maccabees 7 — one of the most important documents for the study of the development of thinking in the Abrahamic traditions on the nature of creation (see also SCRIPTURE AND THE QURʾĀN). "When we are dust," exclaim Muḥammad's Meccan critics, "shall we indeed be in a new creation?" (Q 13:5; cf. 32:10; 34:7; see OPPOSITION TO MUḤAMMAD). "They say, 'When we are bones and fragments, shall we really be raised up again as a new creation?'" To this, Muḥammad is instructed to reply "'Be stones, or iron, or some creation yet more monstrous in your minds!' Then they will say, 'Who will bring us back?' Say: 'He who originated you the first time'" (Q 17:49-51). "Have they not seen that God, who created the heavens and the earth, is capable of creating the likes of them?" (Q 17:99; cf. 17:98).

Thus, while the Qurʾān forcefully asserts God's role as peerless creator of the universe and summons humanity to serve and to worship him on that account, it does not appear that a theory of *creatio ex nihilo* can be constructed on the basis of qurʾānic material alone. Rather, it is only with the development of the Islamic sciences, such

as ḥadīth (reports of the sayings and the deeds of Muḥammad and his early followers), qurʾānic commentary *(tafsīr),* theology *(ʿilm al-kalām),* and philosophy *(falsafa)* that one finds extensive discussion about the divine act of creation from absolute nothingness (cf. R. Arnaldez, Khalḳ, esp. sec. III-VI; van Ess, *TG,* iv, 445-77 and "Schöpfung" in Index).

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Creeds

Concise and authoritative formulae that provide a summation of the essentials of faith (q.v.). Professions of faith or creeds *(ʿaqāʾid,* sing. *ʿaqīda)* were formulated by individual scholars and by groups of scholars, yet there exists no standard or universally accepted Muslim creed. Rather, there are a variety of Islamic creeds, which vary substantially in length, contents and arrangement.

Although the Qurʾān does not proclaim any formal creed or compendium of faith, it does contain elements that form the basis for most creeds. First among these is the nature of God (see GOD AND HIS ATTRIBUTES), particularly his unity and unicity (e.g. Q 2:255; 27:26; 28:70, 112), although other attributes are sometimes included. The following are often singled out for special consideration: power (e.g. Q 2:20, 106, 109 etc.; see POWER AND IMPOTENCE), knowledge (e.g. Q 4:11, 17, 24 etc.; see KNOWLEDGE AND LEARNING), will (e.g. Q 3:40; 14:27; 22:18 etc.), life, including hearing (e.g. Q 2:181, 224; 3:34) and sight (e.g. Q 2:96, 110; 3:15; 4:58, 134), speech (Q 2:253; 4:164) and visibility (Q 75:22-3). Other themes include the prophetic mission of Muḥammad and earlier messengers (e.g. Q 4:136; 7:158; 8:1; 48:29; see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD; MESSENGER) and eschatological matters, namely the day of resurrection (*yawm al-qiyāma,* e.g. Q 6:36; 50:41-2; 58:6, 18) following the annihilation of all creatures (e.g. Q 28:88) and preceding the last day or the day of judgment (*yawm al-dīn,* e.g. Q 37:20; 70:26; see ESCHATOLOGY; APOCALYPSE; LAST JUDGMENT; RESURRECTION). In some passages, the Qurʾān explicitly puts forth a credal prototype, such as that found at Q 4:136: "O believers, believe in God and his messenger, and the scripture (see BOOK) he has revealed to his messenger, and the scripture he revealed before. But he who believes not in God and his angels (see ANGEL) and his scriptures and his messengers and the last day, has wandered far away" (cf. Q 2:136, 285; 3:84; 57:7; see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF; ASTRAY; SCRIPTURE AND THE QURʾĀN).

The qurʾānic data constituting the necessary beliefs that determine the content of the Muslim faith were further supplemented by data from the sunna (q.v.).

Moreover, as a result of the controversies that developed during the earliest period of Islam and gave rise to the schisms within the Islamic community and various politico-religious traditions, other issues became relevant for consideration in any formulation of a credal proclamation of the tenets of the faith. These included the validity of the imāmate (see IMĀM), the nature of faith *(īmān),* the conditions for salvation (q.v.), the question of God's predetermination of events and human responsibility for their actions (see FREEDOM AND PREDESTINATION) as well as the issue of the createdness versus the uncreatedness of the Qurʾān (see CREATEDNESS OF THE QURʾĀN). These issues, together with the conceptual elaboration of the qurʾānic data, were dealt with differently by various Muslim groups. Thus, professions of faith served not only to represent the faith of the community but were also meant to refute allegedly heterodox doctrines.

Although there are extant creeds from the second Islamic century (such as those of al-Awzāʿī, d. 157/774 and Sufyān al-Thawrī, d. 161/778; cf. Lālakāʾī, *Sharḥ,* i/ii, 170-5), most of the earliest creeds were formulated within the traditional, anti-rationalist camp, the adherents of which were hostile to speculative theology *(kalām)* and to esoteric interpretation by Ṣūfism (see ṢŪFISM AND THE QURʾĀN). Instead, they relied exclusively on the Qurʾān and the sunna in its apparent form. Professions of faith thus became a way for the adherents of orthodoxy to express their doctrine and to distance themselves from divergent groups. This applies in particular to the main representatives of orthodoxy, the Ḥanbalīs. Six creeds are attributed to the school's founder, Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal (d. 241/855; see Ibn Abī Yaʿlā, *Ṭabaqāt,* i, 24-36, 130-1, 241-6, 294-5, 311-3, 341-5; partial trans. in W.M. Watt, *Creeds,* 30-40; Lālakāʾī, *Sharḥ,* i/ii, 175-85, which contains a version of Ibn Ḥanbal's creed *(iʿtiqād)* as transmitted by his son, ʿAbdallāh, another rendition of which is found in J. Schacht, *Der Islam,* 36-7; cf. L. Massignon, *Recueil,* 213-4). Similar creeds are attributed to the disciples of Ibn Ḥanbal, notably his son ʿAbdallāh b. Aḥmad (d. 290/903) whose *Kitāb al-Sunna* (ed. A. b. Basyūnī Zaghlūl, Beirut 1994²) is one of the oldest extant Ḥanbalī creeds, and Muḥammad b. Idrīs Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī (d. 277/890-1; see Ibn Abī Yaʿlā, *Ṭabaqāt,* i, 284-6). Another early creed is that of the famous compiler of the prophetic tradition, Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl al-Bukhārī (d. 256/870; cf. Lālakāʾī, *Sharḥ,* i/ii, 193-7).

In the early Ḥanbalī creeds the importance of polemics often eclipses the enumeration of even the most central articles of faith, which are often missing. Moreover, these creeds frequently lack a logical arrangement. Among the Ḥanbalīs of the second half of the third/ninth century, mention should be made of Abū Bakr al-Khallāl (d. 311/922) who collected and classified in his *Kitāb al-Jāmiʿ,* partly extant in manuscript, the *responsa* of Ibn Ḥanbal on questions of law and dogmatics (cf. H. Laoust, al-Khallāl); and Abū Bakr al-Sijistānī (d. 316/928) who wrote, among other works, a short profession of faith in verse (see Ibn Abī Yaʿlā, *Ṭabaqāt,* ii, 53-4). One of the most significant Ḥanbalī creeds of this period was composed by the militant traditionalist Abū Muḥammad al-Barbahārī (d. 329/941) entitled *Kitāb al-Sunna* (see Ibn Abī Yaʿlā, *Ṭabaqāt,* ii, 18-44; H. Laoust, Les premières professions de foi, 22-5; C. Gilliot, Textes, in *MIDEO* 24). It is, above all, a polemic work denouncing the proliferation of blameworthy innovations *(bidʿa),* condemning pernicious deviations resulting from a personal and arbitrary use of reason in the domain of religious beliefs and enjoining a return to the precepts of the "old religion" *(dīn ʿatīq)*

of the first three caliphs. In his treatment of doctrinal issues such as the divine attributes and theodicy, al-Barbahārī reproduces data drawn from the Qurʾān and the sunna. His creed proved particularly influential for Ibn Baṭṭa al-ʿUkbarī (d. 387/997), who composed, among other works, two professions of faith belonging to the great tradition of Ḥanbalī polemics: the shorter version, *al-Ibāna al-saghīra* (cf. H. Laoust, *Profession d'Ibn Baṭṭa*) and the longer version, *al-Ibāna al-kubrā,* both of which have been published (cf. J. van Ess, Notizen, 130f.). Ibn Baṭṭa's creeds apparently influenced the various edicts issued between 408/1017 and 409/1018 by the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Qādir (r. 381-422/991-1031), who wanted to make Ḥanbalism the official *credo* of the state. These edicts came to be known as the Qādirī Creed (*al-iʿtiqād al-qādirī,* cf. G. Makdisi, *Ibn ʿAqīl*, 8f.). However, despite its hostile attitude towards dogmatic theology, Ḥanbalism was not immune to its influence.

In contrast to former Ḥanbalī creeds, the dogmatic treatise of Abū Yaʿlā b. al-Farrāʾ (d. 458/1066), *Kitāb al-Muʿtamad,* is organized after contemporary treatises on *kalām*. Towards the end of the sixth/twelfth century and the beginning of the seventh/thirteenth century, Muwaffaq al-Dīn b. Qudāma (d. 620/1223) composed a short creed in traditional Ḥanbalī fashion, *Lumʿat al-iʿtiqād* (Brockelmann, *GAL,* i, 398; G. Anawati, Textes, in *MIDEO* 1, no. 22). Aḥmad b. Ḥamdān b. Shabīb al-Ḥarrānī (d. 695/1295) was also active in the seventh/thirteenth century. His creed, *Nihāyat al-mustadʿīn fī uṣūl al-dīn*, mentions the individual views of numerous former Ḥanbalī doctors (cf. J. van Ess, Notizen, 127-8). A century later, the neo-Ḥanbalī Ibn Taymiyya (d. 728/1328) wrote a number of creeds, among them the *ʿAqīda al-wāsiṭiyya* (cf. H. Laoust, *La profession de foi d'Ibn Taymiyya*) and the *ʿAqīda al-tadmuriyya* (cf. Wein, *Die islamische Glaubenslehre*). His student Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya (d. 751/1350-51) wrote a profession of faith in verse, the *Nūniyya* (published as *al-Kāfiyya al-shāfiyya fī l-intiṣār lil-firqa l-nājiyya,* Cairo 1901, 1920²; cf. Brockelmann, *GAL,* S ii, 128 no. 47), directed principally against the Jahmiyya and the Ittiḥādiyya. Much use of the work of Ibn Taymiyya was made by Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb (d. 1206/1791) whose most significant writing, apart from several professions of faith, was his *Kitāb al-Tawḥīd* (found in his *Majmuʿat al-tawḥīd,* Cairo n.d., 21st treatise, 156-232; cf. H. Laoust, *Essai sur les doctrines sociales,* 514-24 and 615-24 for Laoust's French translation of this *ʿaqīda* and another Wahhābī creed).

To a lesser extent, the other legal schools have also developed creeds often attributed to their founders, although the authenticity of these attributions is not clear. Of Abū Ḥanīfa's (d. 150/767) own theological tracts, only two epistles addressed to a certain ʿUthmān al-Battī are extant (*Risālat Abī Ḥanīfa ilā ʿUthmān al-Battī,* in Abū Ḥanīfa, *al-ʿĀlim wa-l-mutaʿallim,* ed. M. Zāhid al-Kawtharī, Cairo 1949, 34-8). By contrast, *al-ʿĀlim wa-l-mutaʿallim* and *al-Fiqh al-absaṭ,* usually attributed to Abū Ḥanīfa, were composed by two of his students, Abū Muqātil al-Samarqandī (d. 208/823) and Abū Muṭīʿ al-Balkhī (d. 199/814) respectively (cf. U. Rudolph, *al-Māturīdī,* 30-78). Al-Balkhī's work is a collection of theological statements with commentary by Abū Ḥanīfa. One of the most prominent Ḥanafī creeds was composed towards the end of the third/ninth century by Abū l-Qāsim Isḥāq b. Muḥammad al-Ḥakīm al-Samarqandī (d. 342/953), *Radd ʿalā aṣḥāb al-ahwāʾ al-musammā Kitāb al-Sawād al-aʿẓam ʿalā madhhab al-īmām al-aʿẓam Abī Ḥanīfa (Refutation of those holding heretical views entitled the Book of the vast majority of people who follow the teaching of the worthy Imām Abū*

Ḥanīfa), which became known under the title *al-Sawād al-aʿẓam*. This creed, which al-Ḥakīm al-Samarqandī had been commissioned to write, won the formal approval of the Samanid ruler *(amīr)* Ismāʿīl b. Aḥmad (r. 279-95/892-907) and all the Ḥanafī doctors of Transoxania. The tract, translated into Persian and Turkish, served as the official creed under the Samanids and remained popular long after the fall of the dynasty (cf. U. Rudolph, *al-Māturīdī,* 106-31 for a summary of the tract; he gives a list of editions and translations on p. 374). The Ḥanafī jurist Abū l-Layth al-Samarqandī (d. 373/983) composed a short catechism, *ʿAqīdat al-uṣūl,* which became highly popular among Indonesian and Malayan Muslims (cf. Juynboll, Samarkandi's catechismus) and a manual of basic religious knowledge entitled *Bustān al-ʿārifīn*. In addition to these works, a commentary on the above-mentioned *al-Fiqh al-absaṭ* entitled *Sharḥ al-fiqh al-akbar* has been attributed to al-Samarqandī (H. Daiber, *Islamic concept of belief*). However, this attribution is disputed (cf. U. Rudolph, *al-Māturīdī,* 361-5).

Of the various professions of faith attributed to al-Shāfiʿī (d. 204/820) some *(al-Fiqh al-akbar fī l-tawḥīd* and *Waṣiyyat al-Shāfiʿī)* may give the impression that his theological thinking prefigured either Ashʿarism or, depending on who makes the claim, Ḥanbalism (Ibn Abī Yaʿlā, *Ṭabaqāt,* i, 283-4). However, these attributions are doubtful. For instance, later Shāfiʿī Ashʿarīs like Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 606/1209) or al-Subkī (d. 771/1370) describe al-Shāfiʿī as having favored the exercise of speculative theology *(ʿilm al-kalām),* whereas according to traditionalist Shāfiʿīs, he is described as having been hostile to this discipline. Modern scholars usually consider both views to be retrospective projection (cf. Laoust, Šāfiʿī and Makdisi, Juridical Theology).

A profession of faith was also formulated by the historian and commentator on the Qurʾān, al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923), who was the founder of a school of law which did not survive. Though his creed bears a strong resemblance to the traditional creeds of his time, al-Ṭabarī deviates to some extent from the orthodox doctrine regarding the question of the imāmate and that of the divine attributes. This was presumably the reason for the strong Ḥanbalī opposition he encountered (for the creed of al-Ṭabarī, cf. Gilliot, *Elt,* 60; Lālakāʾī, *Sharḥ,* i/ii, 206-9; D. Sourdel, Une profession; for creeds before al-Ṭabarī, cf. Gilliot, *Elt,* 208-10).

Although creeds were natural expressions of dogma for the orthodox, they are frequently encountered within other Muslim theological traditions. As the Māturīdiyya generally lagged behind the other *kalām* schools in methodological sophistication and systematization, professions of faith played a far more important role in expounding and elaborating the doctrine of al-Māturīdī (d. 333/944) than they did in the refinement of Ashʿarī doctrines. Most significant for the dissemination of Māturīdī dogma was a creed by Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar b. Muḥammad al-Nasafī (d. 537/1142; for *al-ʿAqāʾid al-nasafiyya,* see the second creed in W. Cureton, *Pillar;* D. Macdonald, *Development,* 308-15; J. Schacht, *Der Islam,* 81-7, no. 19; for Abū Ḥafs, see A. Wensinck, al-Nasafī, no. III). It was frequently versified and many commentaries and glosses were written on it, the best known by Saʿd al-Dīn al-Taftazānī (d. 792/1390; cf. C. Gilliot, Textes, in *MIDEO* 19, no. 49; the English translation of al-Taftazānī's commentary is E. Elder, *A commentary on the creed of Islam,* NY 1950; the best edition is that of Claude Salamé, Damascus 1974). ʿAlī b. ʿUthmān al-Ūshī (fl. 569/1173) composed another popular creed in verse, known as *al-Lāmiyya fī*

l-tawḥīd or *Badʾ al-amālī* (cf. Brockelmann, *GAL*, i, 429; S i, 764). Numerous commentaries were written on it, some of them in Persian and Turkish. The most popular was *Ḍaw al-amālī* of ʿAlī al-Qārī (d. 1014/1605; cf. Brockelmann, *GAL*, S ii, 764, commentary no. 6). Other popular Māturīdī creeds were composed by Nūr al-Dīn al-Ṣābūnī al-Bukhārī (d. 580/1184) entitled *Kitāb al-Bidāya min al-kifāya fī l-hidāya* (ed. F. Khulayf, Cairo 1969, 180 p.) and by Abū l-Barakāt al-Nasafī (d. 710/1310; cf. W. Heffening, al-Nasafī, no. IV) entitled *ʿUmdat al-ʿaqīda li-ahl al-sunna* (ed. W. Cureton, *Pillar*). On this latter creed, in support of the creed of Abū Ḥafṣ al-Nasafī *(supra)*, Abū l-Barakāt wrote a commentary entitled *Kitāb al-Iʿtimād fī l-iʿtiqād*.

Creeds were also frequently composed by Ashʿarī scholars. Al-Ashʿarī (d. 324/936) himself wrote a short creed, two versions of which are extant, in his *Ibāna* (9-13) and his *Maqālāt* (290-7; trans. W.M. Watt, *Creeds*, 41-7; R. McCarthy, *Theology*, 235f.). Later adherents of his school also composed numerous professions of faith. In contrast to the specialized and elaborate dogmatic treatises on Ashʿarī doctrine, these creeds were written for a wider audience with the purpose of attracting them to Ashʿarism. Examples are the *ʿAqīda* of al-Ustādh Abū Isḥāq al-Isfarāyinī (d. 418/1027; cf. R. Frank, al-Ustādh Abū Isḥāḳ); various creeds by Abū l-Qāsim al-Qushayrī (d. 465/1074) such as *al-Fuṣūl fī l-uṣūl* (for English translation, cf. R. Frank, Two short dogmatic works, [part 2] in *MIDEO* 16 (1983), 59-94), the *Lumaʿ fī l-iʿtiqād* (for English translation, cf. R. Frank, Two short dogmatic works, [part 1] in *MIDEO* 15 (1982), 53-74) and *al-Manẓūma*, an *ʿaqīda* in verse (ed. K. al-Samarrāʾī, in *Majallat al-majmaʿ al-ʿilmī l-ʿIrāqī*, 18 (1969), 284-6); *al-ʿAqīda al-nizāmiyya* of Abū l-Maʿālī al-Juwaynī (d. 478/1085; cf. G. Anawati, Textes, in *MIDEO* 15, no. 13); a profession of faith by Abū l-Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111; trans. W.M. Watt, *Creeds*, 73-9); *al-ʿAqāʾid al-ʿaḍudiyya* of ʿAḍud al-Dīn al-Ījī (d. 756/1355; trans. W.M. Watt, *Creeds*, 86-9) as well as a number of popular creeds by Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Sanūsī (d. 891/1486 or 895/1490; cf. W.M. Watt, *Creeds*, 90-7).

Few if any creeds seem to have been formulated by the Muʿtazila (see MUʿTAZILĪS). However, a number of summaries of Muʿtazilī doctrine meant to serve as professions of faith are extant. Examples are the *Mukhtaṣar fī uṣūl al-dīn* (see *Rasāʾil*, i, 161-254) and the *Sharḥ al-uṣūl al-khamsa* by the Qāḍī ʿAbd al-Jabbār (d. 415/1025; cf. Gimaret, Les Uṣūl), who was the head of the disciples of Abū Hāshim ʿAbd al-Salām al-Jubbāʾī (d. 321/933), who are called in Arabic al-Bahshamiyya (cf. Shahrastānī, *Livre des religions*, 265-89). A further example is the *Minhāj fī uṣūl al-dīn* of Maḥmūd b. ʿUmar al-Zamakhsharī (d. 538/1144; (trans. Schmidtke, *A Muʿtazilite creed*), who was largely influenced by the views of the founder of the last innovative Muʿtazilī school, Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī (d. 436/1044).

Countless professions of faith were composed by Imāmīs, not only by traditionalists like Ibn Bābawayh (d. 381/991; *Risālat al-iʿtiqādāt*, trans. A. Fyzee, *Shiʿite Creed*) but also by later Twelver Shīʿīs who were predominantly influenced by Muʿtazilism. Examples are the two popular creeds by the ʿAllāma al-Ḥillī (d. 726/1325), the *Bāb al-ḥādī ʿashar* (trans. W.M. Watt, *Creeds*, 98-105) and the *Risāla fī wājib al-iʿtiqād ʿalā jamīʿ al-ʿibād*, both of which received frequent and lengthy commentary; or the *Risāla tashtamilu ʿalā aqalli mā yajibu ʿalā l-mukallifīn min al-ʿilm bi-uṣūl al-dīn* by Ibn Abī Jumhūr al-Aḥsāʾī (d. after 904/1499; for further Imāmī creeds, see al-Tihrānī, *Dharīʿa*, ii, 224-9; xv, 281, 306). An example of an Ismāʿīlī creed is the *Tāj al-ʿaqāʾid* of

Sayyidnā ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Walīd (d. 612/1215; cf. Ivanov, *Creed*). Among the Ibāḍīs, professions of faith were written by Zakariyyāʾ Yaḥyā b. al-Khayr al-Jannāwunī (fifth/eleventh century; cf. Cuperly, Profession) and by Abū Ḥafṣ ʿAmr b. Jamīʿ (eighth/fourteenth-ninth/fifteenth century; cf. A. Motylinski, ʿAqīda). Concise overviews of the essentials of Islamic faith were also produced by Ṣūfīs (cf. W. Chittick, *Faith and Practice;* see SHĪʿISM AND THE QURʾĀN; ṢŪFISM AND THE QURʾĀN).

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Crescent see DAYS, TIMES OF

Crime see SIN AND CRIME

Criterion

A standard of judging. Among the many names used by Muslims for the Qurʾān, one of the most popular is *al-furqān,* usually translated "the Criterion." The word appears in the text seven times (Q 2:53, 185; 3:4; 8:29, 41; 21:48; 25:1) and is also one of the names given to Q 25. It has long been conjectured by Western scholars that the origin of *furqān* is the Aramaic/Syriac *purqāna* (salvation, deliverance, redemption; see FOREIGN VOCABULARY). Although a foreign origin has not been posited by the Muslim tradition, it has nonetheless been recognized that a simple derivation from the Arabic root letters *f-r-q* (to separate, distinguish) will not easily explain all the uses of *furqān*.

There seem to be two basic elements influencing qurʾānic usage of this term: a soteriological sense probably deriving from an Aramaic or Syriac origin and the notion of separation and discernment characteristic of the Arabic verb *faraqa*. When a sense of connection to revelation and scripture is added to these two factors, the resulting semantic field becomes quite complex (see REVELATION AND INSPIRATION; SCRIPTURE AND THE QURʾĀN). The aspect of salvation (q.v.) is clearest in Q 8:29: "O you who believe! If you fear God, he will create for you a *furqān,* acquit you of your evil-doing and forgive you (see FORGIVENESS)." Al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923) notes that in this context authorities have interpreted the word variously as escape *(makhraj),* salvation *(najāt)* or separation/discernment (*faṣl,* cf. *Tafsīr,* ad loc.). Its use in connection with Moses (q.v.) and Aaron (q.v.) forms a conceptual link between salvation and scripture: "We granted to Moses the book (*al-kitāb,* see BOOK) and the *furqān*. Perhaps you might accept to be guided" (Q 2:53); "Indeed we granted to Moses and Aaron the *furqān* and a light and a reminder *(dhikr)* for the God-fearing" (Q 21:48; see PIETY). Since the career of Moses unites the roles of both liberator and deliverer of revelation, and since for the Qurʾān it is the latter role that is paramount, it is not difficult

to see how the emphasis in the usage of this loanword might shift from salvation to revelation.

This dual emphasis is evident also in the career of the Prophet (see MUḤAMMAD): Q 8:41 refers to "what we revealed to our servant on the day of *al-furqān,* the day when the two armies met." The tradition universally recognizes this as referring to the battle of Badr (q.v.) and so links the revelation of the Qurʾān in the month of Ramaḍān (q.v.) with the divinely-granted victory of the Muslims over the Meccan forces (see CONQUEST; EXPEDITIONS AND BATTLES). In this verse the various levels of meaning in the word *furqān* can be seen to come together: God saves (Syr./Aram. *purqāna*) the smaller Muslim band from almost certain defeat and at this juncture a decisive break *(farq)* between Muslims and Meccans takes place. Furthermore, God's revelation in the Qurʾān is something by which right is distinguished *(faraqa)* from wrong and it is also what distinguishes *(faraqa)* Muslims from the unscriptured and from the recipients of earlier revelations (see PEOPLE OF THE BOOK). The sense that *al-furqān* refers to revelation is reinforced by the fact that it is used on all but one occasion with the verbs "to grant" *(atā)* and "to send down" *(nazzala/anzala)* — verbs most often, although not exclusively, connected with revelation. To the extent that the Qurʾān recognizes a need for salvation, the term *al-furqān* shows how it considers the salvific action of God to be the sending of prophetic guidance (see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD).

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Criticism, Critical Theory

see CONTEMPORARY CRITICAL PRACTICES

Cross

see CRUCIFIXION

Crucifixion

Nailing or binding the hands and feet of a criminal to a cross of execution. The verb *ṣalaba,* "to crucify," occurs six times in the Qurʾān: twice in the root form and four times in the second verbal form. It is probably a Syriac loan word (see FOREIGN VOCABULARY).

Etymology and meaning

The verb "to crucify" *(ṣalaba),* which occurs in the active voice at Q 4:157 and in the passive at Q 12:41, is a denominal verb from the noun *ṣalīb,* meaning a cross. This noun does not occur in the Qurʾān, although found in early poetry (see POETRY AND POETS). It is probably derived from *ṣʿlībā,* the word for cross in Syriac. The precise meaning of the second form of the verb *(ṣallaba),* which occurs at Q 5:33 in the passive voice and at Q 7:124, 20:71 and 26:49 in the active, is uncertain. J. Penrice assumes that it is causative (*Dictionary,* 85) but as the verb is denominal the first and second forms may be interchangeable. Other possibilities are that the second form is intensive ("to crucify with great violence") or numerically extensive ("to crucify in large numbers").

Crucifixion as a pre-Islamic punishment

Crucifixion was widely practiced in antiquity. Herodotus (fifth century B.C.E.) makes numerous references to its employment by the Persians and other classical authors testify to its currency amongst Indians, Assyrians, Celts, Carthaginians and Romans

(M. Hengel, *Crucifixion,* 4-5). According to the Gospels, when the Romans crucified Jesus they nailed him to a cross which had to be carried to the site of execution (e.g. *John* 19:17-23; 20:25). However, Paul equates crucifixion with hanging on a tree (*Gal* 3:13; cf. *Deut* 21:23).

In the Qurʾān, crucifixion is associated principally with ancient Egypt (q.v.). Joseph (q.v.) interprets the dream (see DREAMS AND SLEEP) of a fellow prisoner to mean that the latter will be crucified and birds will eat from his head (Q 12:41; cf. *Gen* 40:23, where Pharaoh's chief baker is hanged on a tree; see BREAD). Another instance occurs in reference to Moses (q.v.). When Pharaoh's magicians testify to their belief in the God of Moses, Pharaoh (q.v.) says that he will cut off their hands and feet on opposite sides and crucify them (Q 7:124; 20:71; 26:49). We are not given details of the procedure, although in one of these qurʾānic references, Pharaoh tells his magicians that he will crucify them "on the trunks of palm trees (q.v.)" (Q 20:71).

The non-crucifixion of Jesus

The Qurʾān takes the Jews to task for claiming that they killed Jesus (q.v.) and it states that they did not kill him or crucify him but that it appeared so to them (Q 4:157; see JEWS AND JUDAISM; CHRISTIANS AND CHRISTIANITY). According to the traditional Sunnī and Shīʿī commentators, God raised him alive to heaven, having first projected his likeness onto someone else whom the Jews crucified in the belief that he was Jesus. In support of this interpretation, they cite ḥadīths which state that Jesus will descend to kill the Antichrist (q.v.) before he dies (see APOCALYPSE; ESCHATOLOGY), as well as reports attributed to the early exegetes Ibn ʿAbbās (d. 68/686-8), Wahb b. Munabbih (d. 110 or 114 A.H.) and al-Suddī (d. ca. 127/745) which narrate how God outwitted the Jews (N. Robinson, *Christ in Islam,* 127-41, 171-2). Muslim rationalists were quick to point out the difficulties in the projection theory. Some of them proposed more credible alternatives, e.g. that the authorities, after failing to arrest Jesus, knowingly crucified another person and that the crowds were misled into thinking that the substitute was Jesus because they were kept at a distance and his appearance was disfigured by the ordeal (N. Robinson, *Christ in Islam,* 136-8, 172; see POLEMICS AND POLEMICAL LANGUAGE).

As some pre-Islamic texts such as the gnostic *Apocalypse of Peter* discovered at Nag Hammadi mention the crucifixion of a substitute, it is possible that the traditional commentators have interpreted this verse correctly. However, Christian apologists have long argued that Q 4:157 does not actually deny that Jesus was crucified, but rather, that it denies that it was the Jews who crucified him. This accords with the gospel accounts, which attribute his execution to the Romans (N. Robinson, *Christ in Islam,* 108-9). Christian apologists also draw attention to Q 3:55, which seems to imply that Jesus' death is in the past and to Q 3:169, which asserts that Muslim martyrs are alive with God. The Brethren of Purity (see BROTHER AND BROTHERHOOD) apparently accepted these arguments and adopted the view that Jesus' body was nailed to the cross but that his spirit was raised alive into God's presence (N. Robinson, *Christ in Islam,* 56).

M.Z. Khan's translation of Q 4:157 (… "those who have differed in the matter of his having been taken down alive from the cross are certainly in a state of doubt concerning it"…) gives the impression that the Arabic explicitly states that Jesus was taken down alive from the cross. However, as the Arabic reads: *wa-inna lladhīna khtalafū*

fīhi la-fī shakkin minhu, a more literal translation would be along the lines of "those who have differed in it are certainly in a state of doubt concerning it." He also renders Q 2:72-5 so as to allude to the crucifixion. His rendition of Q 2:72-3, in particular, is at variance with the Arabic: "Call to mind also when you claimed to have brought about the death of a Personage [*wa-idh qataltum nafsan,* lit. "and when you killed a man"] and then differed among yourselves concerning it, and Allah would bring to mind that which you concealed. So We said: 'Test the crucial question by putting together other incidents relating to the affair and you will arrive at the truth.' Thus does Allah plan to preserve alive those considered dead [*kadhālika yuḥyi llāhu l-mawtā,* lit. "thus does God make the dead alive"] and shows you His Signs that you may understand." The interpretations conveyed in this translation, corresponding to the teaching of the Aḥmadiyya (q.v.), have no textual basis.

Crucifixion as a divinely-ordained punishment?

The traditional interpretation of Q 5:33 is that it prescribes crucifixion as one of four possible punishments for brigandage. The basis for this view is a ḥadīth which states that the verse *(āya)* was revealed when some people from the tribe of ʿUkl abused the Prophet's hospitality by killing a herdsman and stealing cattle (Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* viii, 201-2; see OCCASIONS OF REVELATION). Without mentioning this ḥadīth, M. Asad argues that the Qurʾān would hardly promulgate a divine law which advocated a punishment identical to that inflicted by Pharaoh, whose qurʾānic characterization is that of an enemy of God. Asad suggests that the *āya* is not a legal injunction, but rather a description of what the unbelievers were doing to each other in their perverseness (*The message,* 148-9; see CHASTISEMENT AND PUNISHMENT; BELIEF AND UNBELIEF; GRATITUDE AND INGRATITUDE; DISOBEDIENCE; LAW AND THE QURʾĀN).

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Crusher

see HELL

Crying

see WEEPING

Cultivation

see AGRICULTURE AND VEGETATION

Cups and Vessels

Hollow or concave receptacles for conveying food and drink. As with qurʾānic religious terminology, some of the Qurʾān's cultural vocabulary, such as the various lexemes for cups and vessels, are of non-Arabic origin (see FOREIGN VOCABULARY). As noted by Arthur Jeffery and others who have investigated the origins of foreign words in the Qurʾān, the borrowings came

from other Semitic languages, such as Aramaic, Nabatean, Syriac, Ethiopian, as well as from Persian and Greek. Eleonore Haeuptner's study on material culture in the Qurʾān deals with the relationship between the references to material culture in the Qurʾān on the one hand — not so much focusing on specific vocabulary, but rather on general categories to which the terms belong — and pre-Islamic Arab culture on the other, as it is known from poetry and from other sources, such as ḥadīth and biographies (see PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QURʾĀN), presenting a panorama of the cultural environment of the Qurʾān. At least as important perhaps as the etymology of the material-cultural terms is the pattern of their occurrences. The enumeration of vessels presented below reveals such patterns with regards to certain lexemes. Some words are exclusively associated with specific contexts or certain stories and do not occur elsewhere. For example, *kaʾs, akwāb, abārīq,* and *qawārīr,* which are of diverse origins and all of which refer to various types of drinking vessels, occur only in descriptions of the pleasures of paradise (q.v.) whereas the words *ṣuwāʿ* and *siqāya,* which also translate as drinking vessels, are used only in Q 12 ("Joseph," Sūrat Yūsuf) where none of the previous paradisiacal vessels are mentioned. *Ṣiḥāf,* a kind of dish described as made from gold (q.v.) and "vessels" *(āniyya,* sing. *ināʾ),* which are described as made from silver, occur only in the context of descriptions of paradise. The word *zujāja,* like *qārūra,* is usually associated with a glass vessel, but the former is used only in the symbolic context of the oil lamp (q.v.) in the Light Verse (*āyat al-nūr,* Q 24:35; see also ANOINTING) whereas the latter is used only in a paradisiacal context. The following list of qurʾānic terms for vessels is arranged alphabetically. *Abārīq* (sing. *ibrīq*), ewer, jug: Like *kaʾs* and *akwāb,* the word *abārīq* is used in the context of paradise. It occurs only once and in the plural form (Q 56:18). *Akwāb* (sing. *kūb*), goblet: Like *kaʾs* the word is used in the context of paradisiacal drinks. In Q 43:71 the cups are golden, in Q 76:15 they are made of silver. In Q 56:18 the cup contains a wine that neither causes headache nor intoxicates (see INTOXICANTS). It occurs only in the plural form (Q 43:71; 56:18; 76:15; 88:14). *Āniyya min fiḍḍa,* silver vessels: Like *kaʾs* and *akwāb,* the term appears in the context of the pleasures of paradise (Q 76:15). *Dalw,* pail: It occurs only once, in Q 12 ("Joseph," Sūrat Yūsuf), which relates the story of Joseph (q.v.). Thrown by his brothers (see BROTHER AND BROTHERHOOD) into a well (see WELLS AND SPRINGS), Joseph was found by someone who was drawing water from the well with his pail (Q 12:19). *Ǧifān* (sing. *jafna*), basin: The word is used once, in the plural, to describe basins as large as troughs in King Solomon's (q.v.) palace (Q 34:13; see JINN; ART AND ARCHITECTURE AND THE QURʾĀN). *Kaʾs,* cup: The word occurs only in the singular, and in the context of the pleasures of paradise where the believers will be served in cups a drink (wine) from a paradisiacal well. In verse Q 76:5 the water in the cup is camphor-flavored (*kāfūr,* see CAMPHOR); in Q 76:17 the drink is ginger-flavored (*zanjabīl,* cf. Q 37:45; 56:18; 52:23; 76:5, 17; 78:34). *Qawārīr* (sing. *qārūra*), a glass vessel, perhaps a bottle: It is described as made of silver, which could still mean that it is a glass vessel, but comparable to or as shiny as silver. The word is used in the plural and in the context of paradisiacal delights; the believers will be served in such vessels as much as they like (Q 76:15-6; see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF). *Qudūr* (sing. *qidra*), cauldrons: The term occurs only once in the text and in the plural, referring to built-in cauldrons which the jinn made for King Solomon's palace (Q 34:13). *Mikyāl,* a measuring vessel: The word is used in the singular to-

gether with *mīzān* in the metaphorical sense of justice (Q 11:84-5; see WEIGHTS AND MEASURES; MEASUREMENT; METAPHOR). *Ṣiḥāf* (sing. *ṣaḥfa*), originally meaning a flat surface, in the Qurʾān the term refers to dishes. It occurs in the plural in the description of paradise, wherein the believers will be served in golden dishes (Q 43:71). *Siqāya,* drinking cup: The word is used in the singular, with two different meanings. At Q 12:70, Joseph places a cup *(siqāya)* in his youngest brother's saddlebag (see BENJAMIN). Used in the context of pilgrimage (q.v.) in Q 9:19, however, it means a water basin. *Ṣuwāʿ* (from *ṣāʿa, yaṣūʿu,* to measure), a drinking cup: The word is used once, as a synonym for *siqāya,* the cup which Joseph placed in his brother's bag. The *ṣuwāʿ* is described as a royal vessel (*ṣuwāʿ al-malik,* Q 12:72). *Zujāja,* glass vessel: The term occurs only once and in the singular, at Q 24:35 *(āyat al-nūr)*. The lamp that symbolizes the divine light is described as including a *zujāja* or glass vessel, which contains the oil of an olive tree.

Conclusions about the significance of a qurʾānic lexeme cannot be drawn based solely upon its status as a "loan word" or an original Arabic term (see ARABS; BEDOUIN; ARABIC LANGUAGE; LANGUAGE AND STYLE OF THE QURʾĀN; LANGUAGE, CONCEPT OF). It is important to know the history of the presence of the term in the Arabic language and to determine whether its occurrence in the Qurʾān was an innovation. However, literature on material culture in the Qurʾān (see MATERIAL CULTURE AND THE QURʾĀN) remains particularly sparse.

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Curse

A wish or prayer (q.v.) for misfortune or disaster to befall someone or something; with specific reference to God, the prediction or causation of misfortune; the expression of this invocation, prediction or causation or the result thereof. All of these significations are rendered in the Qurʾān by *laʿna,* "curse"; closely related is wrath (*ghaḍab,* see ANGER). Curses are often expressed by verbs with an optative sense, with "to curse, damn" *(laʿana)* appearing most frequently. Other verses which may be read as curses are: "May God fight against them!" (Q 9:30; 63:4), "May their hands be tied and may they be cursed for what they have said!" (Q 5:64), "May the hands [i.e. the power] of Abū Lahab (q.v.) perish, and may he perish as well!" (Q 111:1). The passive *qutila* ("may he be killed!") occurs five times (Q 51:10; 74:19, 20; 80:17; 85:4). The accusative absolute understood to modify a suppressed verb may also express a curse: "May perdition befall them *(fa-taʿsan lahum)* and may [God] make their actions vain!" (Q 47:8); "May the denizens of hellfire be far removed [from mercy]!" (*fasuḥqan li-aṣḥābi l-saʿīr,* Q 67:11; see HELL; FIRE); "May the wrongdoing folk be far removed!" (*fa-buʿdan lil-qawmi l-ẓālimīn,* Q 23:41; cf. 11:44, 60, 68, 95; 23:44; see PUNISHMENT STORIES). A curse is created by inversion of the greeting "Welcome!": "May you not be welcome!" (*lā marḥaban bikum,* Q 38:60). The noun *wayl,* "woe, misfortune," appears in such frequent curses as "Woe to the deniers on that day!" (e.g. ten times in Q 77; see LAST JUDGMENT).

The act of cursing is most often performed by God. God has cursed Satan

(Q 4:118; see DEVIL), enemies of the faith such as unbelievers, apostates, hypocrites and those who conceal God's signs (q.v.; Q 2:88, 159; 3:8; 9:6; 33:64; see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF; ASTRAY; APOSTASY; HYPOCRITES AND HYPOCRISY; IDOLATERS AND IDOLATRY) as well as perpetrators of specific legal infractions such as Sabbath breakers, murderers and those who accuse innocent women of adultery (Q 4:47, 93; 24:23; see BOUNDARIES AND PRECEPTS; MURDER; BLOODSHED; ADULTERY AND FORNICATION). The curse of God is sometimes associated solely with eternal damnation (e.g. Q 4:93; 33:64; 48:6) while other passages imply that it has two distinct effects: damnation in the afterlife and destruction in this world (Q 11 passim; see CHASTISEMENT AND PUNISHMENT; REWARD AND PUNISHMENT). God's curse renders hypocrites blind and deaf (Q 47:23) and turns those who have incurred his wrath into apes and pigs (cf. Q 5:60). Those who are cursed by God are doomed and will find no one to help them (Q 4:52; see FATE; DESTINY). The curses of angels and people may reinforce those of God (Q 2:159, 161). Nations curse their predecessors for leading them astray and causing their doom to hell (Q 7:38). Earlier prophets including Noah (q.v.), Moses (q.v.) and Jesus (q.v.) cursed the stubborn opponents among their peoples for refusing to accept the Lord's messages (Q 5:78; 10:88; 71:24-8; see DISOBEDIENCE; GRATITUDE AND INGRATITUDE; OPPOSITION TO MUḤAMMAD).

An oath often contains a conditional curse upon oneself as with *liʿān*, whereby a husband who has no witnesses other than himself swears four times that his wife has committed adultery and his wife swears her innocence, each invoking God's curse if he or she is lying (Q 24:6-9; see MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE; LAW AND THE QURʾĀN; OATHS). As a means to settle a dispute concerning the nature of Jesus as divine or human, Q 3:61 proposes a technique of mutual cursing known as *mubāhala*, wherein the assembled disputants each present their case, then pray humbly (i.e. to God; *ibtahala*) and, finally, invoke the curse of God upon those who lie. This incident, which apparently was never actually carried out, is said to have been occasioned by a Christological debate between the Prophet and a deputation from the Christian Balḥārith b. Kaʿb of Najrān (q.v.) in 10/632 (see POLEMICS AND POLEMICAL LANGUAGE; CHRISTIANS AND CHRISTIANITY; DEBATE AND DISPUTATION). See also BLESSING.

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Custom

see SUNNA; TRADITION AND CUSTOM

D

Dahr see FATE

Damnation see LAST JUDGMENT

Dance see ṢŪFISM AND THE QUR'ĀN

Dār al-Ḥarb see COMMUNITY AND SOCIETY IN THE QUR'ĀN

Dār al-Islām see COMMUNITY AND SOCIETY IN THE QUR'ĀN

Darkness

The absence of light (q.v.). In the Qur'ān, darkness is almost always evoked within the semantic field of the term unbelief (*kufr,* see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF) as a metaphorical expression descriptive of the spiritual state of the unbeliever *(kāfir)*. It is expressed by the word *ẓulumāt* (the plural of *ẓulma/ẓuluma*) attested 23 times in the text. The fourth verbal form, which means to become or to make dark (*aẓlama,* Q 2:20) and its active participle *muẓlim* (Q 10:27; cf. 36:37), account for the only other qur'ānic references to darkness. Finally, the elative form *(aẓlam),* where it occurs, is not directly related to darkness semantically, but rather to injustice (see JUSTICE AND INJUSTICE), arrogance (q.v.), unbelief, etc. *(ẓulm)*.

As its antonym, light *(nūr),* stands for faith (q.v.; *īmān*), darkness is inextricably associated with the concepts of error (q.v.) or straying from truth (*ḍalāla,* see ASTRAY), perfidy *(nifāq),* and unbelief *(kufr)*. Going astray, open or hidden breach of faith and concealment of the truth (q.v.) plunge human beings into the darkness of doubt (see UNCERTAINTY), delusion and ultimately faithlessness. In two powerful sequential similes, the hypocritical dissenters (*munāfiqūn,* see HYPOCRITES AND HYPOCRISY) are likened first to those who have lit a fire which has gone out and left them in total darkness so that they cannot see and then to those who are caught in a rainstorm at night, paralyzed by fear and darkness, ironically able to take a few steps only in the light provided by the lightening of which they are terrified (Q 2:17-20). The unbelievers, by contrast, are totally blind and cannot be compared to "those with sight *(baṣīr),*" i.e. the believers (Q 13:16; 35:19-20). The parallelism here between the antonym pairs of light-darkness and seeing-blindness is unmistakable. The commentators take the obvious step and superimpose the pair *īmān-kufr* onto the other

two. This move also suggests an answer to the question of why darkness is always expressed in the plural: Right guidance is singular and integral while error is multiple (e.g. Bayḍāwī, *Anwār,* i, 292, ad Q 6:1).

Even the more straightforward usage of the term as in the expression "the darknesses of the land and of the sea" (Q 6:63, 97; 27:63), which the commentators regularly gloss as difficulties attendant on travel by land and sea, preserves the core metaphorical connotation of straying from the proper course. The only exception to this pattern is in Q 39:6 where the "three darknesses" enveloping the fetus are decoded as the belly, the womb, and the placenta by the commentators (e.g. Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* x, 615-6; see BIOLOGY AS THE STAGES AND CREATION OF LIFE; BLOOD AND BLOOD CLOT). The commentary tradition cites the crying out of Dhū l-Nūn (see JONAH) in the darkness (Q 21:87) as another exception to the general metaphorical interpretation of darkness by interpreting *zulumāt* here as physical darkness (of the fish's belly, of the sea, of the night, e.g. Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* ix, 76-7); yet the verse is patently about Jonah's temporary spiritual deviation and his subsequent return to the truth, making a metaphorical understanding of the term difficult to rule out. Finally, it is noteworthy that *zulumāt* is not found in semantic proximity to the important qurʾānic pair, day and night (q.v.).

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Date Palm

Phoenix dactylifera, a widely-cultivated tree of great economic importance in the Middle East: *nakhl* (collective noun), *nakhīl* (plural), and *nakhla (nomen unitatis)*. These forms appear in the Qurʾān a total of nineteen times.

The date palm is mentioned in two general contexts. The first is as one of the signs (q.v.) of God's munificence towards his creation, occurring often with the olive and the grape, e.g. Q 6:99; 16:11; 80:29. The second is in a metaphorical sense, likening God's punishment of sin (see SIN, MAJOR AND MINOR; CHASTISEMENT AND PUNISHMENT) to the "uprooted trunks of palm trees," as in Q 54:20 and Q 69:7. Both contexts underline the great importance of the palm tree in its various species to agriculture and human subsistence throughout the Middle East (see AGRICULTURE AND VEGETATION).

This is confirmed by the unusually large number of terms in the Qurʾān which are related to the plant, more in fact than to any other. Of the following almost all are single references, some used in a figurative or metaphorical sense: *līna,* a kind of palm tree (Q 59:5); *masad,* the fibers growing at the roots of the palm branches, used for making rope (Q 111:5); *nawā,* the date stone (Q 6:95); *haḍīm,* palm spathe (Q 26:148); *dusur* (sing. *disār*), the palm fiber cord traditionally used in Arabian shipbuilding to bind the planks of the hull together (Q 54:13); *akmām* (sing. *kumm*), the calyx of the flowers, the date bud (Q 41:47; 55:11); *qiṭmīr,* the thin skin around a date stone (Q 35:13); *qinwān,* said by al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923) to be the fruit stalks and fruit of the palm when ripe (Q 6:99); *naqīr,* the groove in a date stone (Q 4:53, 124); *jidhʿ* (pl. *judhūʿ*), the palm trunk (Q 19:23, 25; 20:71); *ʿurjūn,* the dry date stalk (Q 36:39); *janā,* fresh ripe dates (Q 55:54); *aʿjāz* (sing. *ʿajuz*), trunks of the palm tree (Q 54:20, 69:7); *ṭalʿ,* the spadix of the palm (Q 50:10); *ṣarīm,* dates cut from the tree (Q 68:20).

Two remarkable references may also be

noted. In Q 19:23-5 Mary (q.v.) seeks the cooling shelter of a palm tree and then is fed by its nourishing fruit *(ruṭab),* while painfully awaiting the imminent birth of her child. And in Q 16:67 there is a mention of the fruit of palms and grapes used to make an intoxicating drink and a "good substance." Attention is directed to these products as a sign of God. Commentators agreed that these verses were later abrogated by the verses prohibiting the use of alcohol (see INTOXICANTS; ABROGATION).

In a ḥadīth attributed to the Prophet, the date palm is said to be the most blessed of trees just as Muslims are the most blessed community of humankind (see COMMUNITY AND SOCIETY IN THE QUR'ĀN). This saying appears to have derived from the widespread notion in Iraq that the date palm occupies in the plant kingdom the same rank as the human being among the animals. The date palm was honored with the epithet of "Adam's sister" (Ibn Waḥshiyya [fl. late third/ninth century], *al-Filāḥa al-nabaṭiyya,* ii, 1339). In another tradition, the Prophet recommended eating seven *ʿajwa* (the best variety of dates grown in Medina, called *umm al-tamr,* "the mother of dates") in the morning to counteract the effects of poison and other ills throughout the day. The Prophet is said to have enjoyed *ḥays,* a mixture of pitted dates, clarified butter and dried curd, vigorously kneaded together into a paste and shaped into mouth-sized portions. Finally, dates could be used to pay off a grower's debts (Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ, K. Aṭʿima* for all references; see DEBT).

In Ibn Waḥshiyya's *Nabatean agriculture (al-Filāḥa al-nabaṭiyya)* the date is judged to be more useful than the olive. It was more widely cultivated than the olive and the tree and its fruit were put to numerous uses. The consumption of dates was seen as the cause of the supposed longevity of Arabs and was said to provide protection against ulcers and tumors. Wine, vinegar and syrup could be produced from the fruit. Palm fronds were used to make doors, beds, floor coverings and tents. (Indeed, down to the present day, houses constructed of palm fronds are found in certain coastal areas of Oman). Palm fiber was woven to make shrouds for the dead, plates, baskets, trays and jar covers. The wood of the trunks could be burned or used as a building material. The first mosque (q.v.) in the city of Medina (q.v.) was constructed of palm trees. See also FOOD AND DRINK.

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Dates

see DATE PALM

Dating

see CALENDAR

Daughters

see CHILDREN

Daughters of God

see POLYTHEISM AND ATHEISM; IDOLS AND IMAGES; IDOLATRY AND IDOLATERS; PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QUR'ĀN

David

The Israelite king, mentioned sixteen times in the Qurʾān. David (Dāwūd) appears in the Qurʾān as a link in the chain of proph-

ets who preceded Muḥammad (Q 4:163; 6:84). Although he is not one of the law giving prophets *(ulū al-ʿazm),* he is far from a marginal figure.

David in the Qurʾān

David was the recipient of a written divine book of psalms (q.v.; Q 4:163; 17:55). Mountains and birds obeyed him in praising God (Q 21:79; 34:10). He killed Goliath (q.v.; Jālūt) and God granted him kingship (*mulk,* see KINGS AND RULERS) after Saul (q.v.; Ṭālūt) and wisdom (q.v.; *ḥikma,* Q 2:251), sometimes explained as the gift of prophecy (e.g. Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh,* i, 559). God also gave David and his son Solomon (q.v.) "knowledge" (*ʿilm,* Q 27:15), which in this case is sometimes understood to be the ability to comprehend the language of the birds and animals (see KNOWLEDGE AND LEARNING). He was appointed a deputy of God on the earth (*khalīfa fī l-arḍ,* Q 38:26; see CALIPH), a title given only to him and to Adam (see ADAM AND EVE). David cursed the unbelievers among the Children of Israel (q.v.; Q 5:78). Exegetes commonly connect this verse with Q 7:166: "Be you apes, miserably slinking!" (e.g. Ṭabarsī, *Majmaʿ,* iii, 231). He was given the ability to distinguish between truth (q.v.) and falsehood when dispensing justice (*faṣl al-khiṭāb,* Q 38:20; see JUSTICE AND INJUSTICE; DECISION). God softened iron for him and instructed him to make coats of mail (Q 21:80; 34:10-1) to provide for his livelihood. David thought that God was putting him to the test (see TRIAL). Then he prayed and repented and God forgave him (Q 38:24-5; see FORGIVENESS; REPENTANCE AND PENANCE). A divine forgiveness that commentators have linked to the biblical story of Bathsheba and Uriah (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* ad Q 38:24) yet unlike the Hebrew Bible, the Qurʾān does not explicitly mention anything about Uriah, Bathsheba or the other wives of David or about Absalom or his other sons, with the exception of Solomon. There is also no mention of his stay in Hebron and Jerusalem (q.v.) and his conflicts with the Philistines.

Sūrat Ṣād (Q 38) is also called "the sūra of David" (Hibat Allāh b. Salāma, *Nāsikh,* 262). Exegetes explain that since David prostrated when asking God to forgive him, Muḥammad was ordered to imitate him and to perform a prostration when reading this sūra (Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* vi, 155; see BOWING AND PROSTRATION).

David in qurʾānic exegesis and the stories of prophets

The need to explain some cryptic allusions in the Qurʾān opened the door to the abundant and readily available Jewish and Christian legends about David (see MYTHIC AND LEGENDARY NARRATIVES). In particular, homiletic interpretations of the scriptures (*midrash,* see SCRIPTURE AND THE QURʾĀN) and pious Jewish legends *(haggada)* were to figure prominently in the exegesis of the Qurʾān and in the nascent literature of the "stories of prophets" *(qiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ)*. An early collector, Wahb b. Munabbih (d. 110/728 or 114/732), played an important role as a source for traditions about David.

The image of David in later exegesis closely parallels that in the Jewish sources (e.g. the Books of Chronicles, the *mishna,* the *talmud* and the *haggada*), where he is represented as completely purified of all sins. Such traditions were compatible with the Islamic doctrine of infallibility of prophets which developed in the second/eighth and third/ninth centuries (see IMPECCABILITY AND INFALLIBILITY) and Muslim authors followed this lead. For example, in the Muslim tradition Bathsheba was engaged to Uriah, not married to him. David asked for her hand and her parents preferred him, the king, to Uriah, the warrior. Other versions of the story maintain that Bathsheba was divorced or widowed

and Uriah was resurrected for a moment to tell David that he forgave him, not for sending him to his death, but for marrying his widow. God pardoned David (Sibṭ b. al-Jawzī, *Mirʾāt al-zamān,* i, 484-5). Muslim story-tellers *(quṣṣāṣ,* sing. *qāṣṣ)* accepted these legends and rejected the older image of David from the Book of Samuel and Kings, where he is charged with adultery and murder. Further, it seems that such a total change in the attitude towards David (and other biblical figures) in the Jewish sources is one of the bases for the qurʾānic accusation that the Jews had falsified the Bible (Q 2:75; 4:46; 5:13, 41; see CORRUPTION).

The image of David varies in different currents of Islam. The canonical Sunnī ḥadīth collections, which were compiled in the third/ninth century (see ḤADĪTH AND THE QURʾĀN), strengthened opposition to the use of traditions from Jewish sources *(Isrāʾīliyyāt)* by neglecting all the above-mentioned stories. In these sources David is represented largely by his prayers, fasts, songs and handiwork. On the other hand, the Shīʿī tradition insisted on the complete infallibility of David and blamed the Sunnīs for the accounts which portray him as less than perfect (Majlisī, *Biḥār,* xiv, 26). Finally, the Ṣūfīs made David a symbol of asceticism, circulating his pious prayers and utterances and the legends dealing with his repentance. He became a supreme example of devotion (Mojtabāʾī, Dāwūd in *EIr,* vii, 161-2). Accounts concerning David also form an integral part of every book celebrating the importance and sanctity of Jerusalem *(faḍāʾil bayt al-maqdis)*. See also PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD.

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Daʿwa

see INVITATION

Dawn

see DAY, TIMES OF

Day and Night

Alternation between light (q.v.) and darkness (q.v.) due to the rotation of the earth upon its axis. The numerous references in the Qurʾān to day and night *(al-nahār wa-l-layl)* fall under four general themes. First, the phenomenon of day and night itself, or aspects of it, is frequently presented as a sign (*āya,* see SIGNS), lesson *(ʿibra)* or expression of God's mercy (q.v.) for the wise to note and remember. The other related aspects of the phenomenon of day and night include their alteration *(ikhtilāf),* succession, covering up one by the other and stripping off one from the other *(yūliju, yaqlibu, yaghshā, yaslukhu)*. As signs or proofs of God, the darkness of the night and the brightness of the day are called to witness against unbelievers (see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF). Second, the Qurʾān repeatedly affirms that together with such natural

phenomena as the heavens (see HEAVEN), earth (q.v.), sea, clouds and wind (see AIR AND WIND), God subjugates *(yusakhkhir)* the night and day for the service of humankind (see NATURAL WORLD AND THE QUR'ĀN; CREATION). Thus, the night has been created as a time for rest, sleep, covering up and concealment *(maskan, manām, subāt, libās, sarmad, mustakhfā)* while the day exists for seeing, rising, walking freely and seeking one's livelihood *(mubṣir, nushūr, sārib, ma'āsh, ibtighā')*. The alteration of night and day also enables people to compute years and numbers (Q 17:12; Qurṭubī, *Jāmi'*, viii, 227-8; see CALENDAR; NUMBERS AND ENUMERATION). The third theme is the precise manner in which God creates day and night (Q 39:5) so that each has a prescribed measure (Q 73:20) and does not transgress the orbit of the other (Q 36:40). Interpretations of Q 73:20 often maintain that only God knows the exact measures of day and night whereas humans need to investigate and exercise their judgment to estimate these measures (Qurṭubī, *Jāmi'*, xix, 53). Finally, there are several references to praying and singing the praise (q.v.) of God during the night and day or parts thereof. Moreover, the Qur'ān enjoins people to pray at the "watches of the night" *(min ānā'i l-layl)* and the "ends of the day" (*aṭrāf al-nahār,* Q 20:130); this, according to many interpreters, is a reference to the sunset *(maghrib)* and evening *('ishā')* prayers (Qurṭubī, *Jāmi'*, xi, 261; see PRAYER).

Qur'ānic references, in addition to various mundane concerns, gave rise to an elaborate mathematical tradition of calculating the exact length of day and night and of determining the times of prayer relative to their beginning and duration. Two systems were used for measuring the length of the hours of the night and day. In the system of equal hours, one daylight hour is equal in length to one night hour and the whole day is divided into twenty-four equal parts. In the system of unequal hours, however, the arc of daylight and the arc of the night are each divided into twelve equal parts; thus, one daylight hour generally differs from a night hour while the total number of each of the daylight hours and the night hours is always twelve. While this and other topics were already treated in pre-Islamic astronomy, there are some subjects unique to the Islamic astronomical tradition which received no equivalent attention in earlier traditions (see COSMOLOGY AND THE QUR'ĀN; SCIENCE AND THE QUR'ĀN). One such subject is the elaborate discussion of dawn and twilight which originated in the need to determine the morning and evening prayers commencing after dawn and sunset, respectively. Many works of Islamic astronomy include chapters on dawn and twilight and provide exact mathematical methods for their determination (see DAY, TIMES OF).

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Day of Judgment see LAST JUDGMENT

Day, Times of

Day *(yawm)* together with the corresponding terms night *(layl)* and daytime *(nahār),* as well as the regular intervals of the day and parts or particular times of the day. Such apparently familiar concepts actually have considerable importance in the Qurʾān. Five sūras are named for times of day or daily natural phenomena: "The Dawn" (al-Fajr, Q 89); "The Night" (al-Layl, Q 92); "The Forenoon" (al-Ḍuḥā, Q 93); "The (late) Afternoon" (al-ʿAṣr, Q 103) and "The Daybreak" (al-Falaq, Q 113). Times of day serve as a framework for the events of the history of revelation and sometimes determine rules of worship, i.e. ritual as opposed to the actions of everyday life. They are also used metaphorically and can assume a supernatural dimension in formulas of evocation. Understanding such uses can offer much insight into the intellectual and emotional sensibilities of Islam.

The entire day

The full day is called *yawm*. To express the full period of twenty-four hours, the Qurʾān usually employs "night and daytime" *(layl wa-nahār)* or, figuratively, "evening and morning." An entire day is the period from sunset to sunset. The night makes up its first half, starting immediately after sunset at dusk (Q 17:78; Ibn al-Sikkīt, *Kanz,* 51). The understanding of night as the naturally more immediate portion of the full day is reflected in the Islamic calculation of the twelve months (Q 9:36) according to the lunar phases (see CALENDAR) and the notion that the daytime is somehow derived from night (Q 36:37). This seems to have already been common practice among the Arabs in pre-Islamic times (cf. Fischer, "Tag und Nacht," 741; see PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QURʾĀN) as it was in much of the ancient world. According to Pliny in his *Naturalis historia* (cf. Orelli, Tag, 312), the earliest Hebrews and the Athenians counted the entire day from sunset to sunset (cf. "evening-morning," *Dan* 8:14; "night-day," *2 Cor* 11:25; see also Day and Night, in *Encyclopedia Judaica*), while the Babylonians counted from morning to morning, and the Egyptians and the Romans from midnight to midnight. The proto-Semitic sequence "day-night" *(*yawm-*laylay)* has been substantiated, with **yawm,* originally designating daytime, but eventually coming to mean the entire day (Fischer, "Tag und Nacht," 753-5). The simple fact that the qurʾānic reference to sun (q.v.) always precedes that to the moon (q.v.), when the two occur in sequence (eighteen times except Q 71:16), is possibly due to this proto-Semitic understanding of the day (Fischer, "Tag und Nacht," 745-6).

The indication of a period of time by days, as can be seen in Western translations of the Qurʾān, is often expressed in terms of nights (*layl,* less frequently *layl,* pl. *layālin,* see Q 2:51 [but cf. *Exod* 34:28]; Q 7:142; 19:10; cf. also Q 89:2 and *Luke* 1:20 without indication of time). This method of counting can also be found in ḥadīth (e.g. Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* no. 584). The reference to God's creation of heaven (q.v.) and earth (q.v.) in six days (*ayyām,* Q 7:54) has a biblical parallel (*Exod* 20:11). In Q 69:7, *yawm* indicates not the entire day, but daytime (Paret, *Koran,* 405).

"Day" *(yawm)* occurs 378 time as a noun, mostly in the singular, but also in the dual (Q 2:203; 41:9, 12) and as an adverb of time (*al-yawma,* "on the day [of judgment]" or "today"; *yawma,* "the day when," cf. Watt-Bell, *Introduction,* 79-80; *yawman,* "on a [certain] day"). The plural *(ayyām)* appears 27 times; and the temporal adverb "on that day/time" *(yawmaʾidhin)* 69 times. Generally, *yawm* describes a definite day, an event or a certain date. In what follows, the specific connotations of the word will be given.

(a) In eschatology (q.v.): The day of judgment (see LAST JUDGMENT) is expressed in several ways in the Qurʾān, each beginning with the word "day," as in the day of doom (*yawm al-dīn,* e.g. Q 1:4; 13 times); the day of resurrection (*yawm al-qiyāma,* e.g. Q 2:85; 70 times; cf. Rosenthal, The "Time," 13-4); the last day (*al-yawm al-ākhir,* e.g. Q 2:8; 38 times); a mighty/dreadful day (*yawm ʿaẓīm,* Q 6:15; 10 times); a great day (*yawm kabīr,* Q 11:3); a painful day (*yawm alīm,* Q 11:26; 43:65); an encompassing day (*yawm muḥīṭ,* Q 11:84); a tempestuous day (*yawm ʿāṣif,* Q 14:18); a day wherein shall be neither bargaining nor befriending (*yawm lā bayʿun fīhi wa-lā khullatun wa-la shafāʿatun,* Q 2:254; *yawm lā bayʿun fīhi wa la-khilālun,* Q 14:31); the day of the time appointed (*yawm al-waqt al-maʿlūm,* Q 15:38; 38:81; see DEATH AND THE DEAD); an appointed day (*yawm maʿlūm,* Q 56:50); the day of (painful) distress (*yawm al-ḥasra,* Q 19:39); a disastrous day (*yawm ʿaqīm,* Q 22:55); the day of victory (*yawm al-fatḥ,* Q 32:29); the day of decision (*yawm al-faṣl,* Q 37:21, 6 times; see DECISION); the day of reckoning (*yawm al-ḥisāb,* Q 38:16, 26, 53; 40:27); the day of the encounter (*yawm al-talāqi,* Q 40:15); day of the imminent doom (*yawm al-azifa,* Q 40:18); the day of [disaster for] the factions [of unbelievers] (*yawm al-aḥzāb,* Q 40:30); the day of invocation (*yawm al-tanādi,* Q 40:32; cf. 41:47); the day of gathering (*yawm al-jamʿ,* Q 42:7; 64:9); the day of the threat (*yawm al-waʿīd,* Q 50:20); the day of eternity (*yawm al-khulūd,* Q 50:34); the day of coming forth (from the grave; *yawm al-khurūj,* Q 50:42); a hard day (*yawm ʿasir/ʿasīr,* Q 54:8; 74:9); the day of advantage (of believers over unbelievers; *yawm al-taghābun,* Q 64:9; see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF); a gloomy and wrathful day (*yawm ʿabūs qamṭarīr,* Q 76:10); a burdensome day (*yawm thaqīl,* Q 76:27); and the promised day (*al-yawm al-mawʿūd,* Q 85:2).

(b) In the history of revelation (see REVELATION AND INSPIRATION): The ʿĀd (q.v.) were killed "on a day of constant calamity" (*fī yawmi naḥsin mustamirrin,* Q 54:19); Moses (q.v.) set the feast day (*yawm al-zīna,* Q 20:59); Lot (q.v.) spoke about the final judgment in terms of a fierce day (*yawm ʿaṣīb,* Q 11:77; cf. Paret, *Kommentar,* 238-9 on Q 11:69-83); the magicians of Pharaoh (q.v.) were gathered on an appointed day (*yawm maʿlūm,* Q 26:38; cf. Paret, *Kommentar,* 170 on Q 7:113-4); and on an appointed day the Thamūd (q.v.) were given a sign (Q 26:155).

(c) In early Islamic history: the day of decision/salvation (*yawm al-furqān,* Q 8:41; probably in reference to the battle of Badr [q.v.]; cf. Paret, *Kommentar,* 19 on Q 2:53 and 187, Q 8:29 and the literature given there on *al-furqān;* see also CRITERION; SALVATION); and the day of Ḥunayn (q.v.; Q 9:25, in reference to the battle of Ḥunayn; cf. Buhl, *Das Leben,* 311-3).

(d) In religious and everyday life: the day of congregation (*yawm al-jumʿa,* Q 62:9; see FRIDAY PRAYER); the Jewish Sabbath (q.v.; *yawm sabtihim,* Q 7:163; 16:124); the day of the greater pilgrimage (*yawm al-ḥajj al-akbar,* Q 9:3, probably in reference to the major day of the pilgrimage [q.v.] on the ninth/tenth Dhū l-Ḥijja; cf. Paret, *Kommentar,* 195 ad Q 9:3; but noted differently by Bell, Muḥammad's pilgrimage, 233-44); the day of the harvest (*yawm al-ḥaṣād,* Q 6:141); and a day of privation (*fī yawmin dhī masghaba,* Q 90:14).

The particular times of a day: the night and daytime

The times of a day and their terminology reflect the natural cycle of darkness (q.v.) and light (q.v.; Q 2:187) and the position of the sun (Q 25:45) and moon, God having created "the sun and moon [as a medium] for reckoning [time]" (Q 6:96; 55:5). A mathematical-chronometrical division of the day (as the Babylonian system of

hours, minutes and seconds) is not encountered in the Qurʾān.

The word "hour" *(sāʿa)* is mentioned several times. It does not, however, describe a timed or calculated hour but rather an indefinite shorter period or particular time of the day. Thus we find the hour of difficulty (*sāʿat al-ʿusra,* Q 9:117); the hour of judgment (Q 6:31, 40; 7:187; 12:107; 15:85; 18:21, 36; 19:75; 20:15; 21:49; 22:1, 7, 55; 25:11; 30:12, 14, 55; 31:34; 33:63; 34:3, 30; 40:46, 59; 41:47, 50; 42:17, 18; 43:61, 66, 85; 45:27, 32; 47:18; 54:1, 46; 79:42) where God's order comes to pass in "a twinkling of the eye or less" (Q 16:77); the period until the last judgment will not be extended "by a single hour" (Q 7:34; 10:49; 16:61); and after the resurrection people will feel as if they had not tarried but "an hour," long enough to "mutually recognize one another" (Q 10:45; 46:35; also Q 30:55). It should be added that the manner in which time is partitioned "by a strip of the night" (*biqitʿin min al-layl,* Q 11:81; 10: 27; 15:65) remains vague.

The corresponding terms "night and daytime" (*al-layl wa-l-nahār,* cf. Pellat, Layl and nahār) often express — in addition to amounting to an entire day (e.g. Q 34:18) — reiteration, regularity or unqualified continuation of an action or a procedure. One should, therefore, "constantly" give alms (from one's wealth; Q 2:274; see ALMSGIVING); to God belongs "whatsoever inhabits the night and the day," i.e. all things (Q 6:13); and God's command is to be expected "at any time" (Q 10:24); one should glorify the Lord "continuously" (Q 21:20), etc.

God subjected "the night and the daytime" to the benefit of humankind (Q 7:54; 14:33; 16:12). Their creation as a pair (Q 17:22; 21:33) and their permanent and mutual succession (Q 24:44) are signs of God's omnipotence (e.g. Q 2:164). "God [alone] determines [the extent and goal of] night and daytime" (Q 73:20). Here again, night precedes daytime (Q 2:164; 3:190; 10:6; 23:80; 25:62; 45:5) and retreats before it (Q 74:33). However, night covers daytime [then again] (Q 7:54; 1313), since both night and daytime are made to enter into one another (Q 3:27; 21:61; 31:29; 35:13), and to become wrapped together (Q 39:5). Like all celestial phenomena night and daytime follow divinely ordained rules: "The [following] night will never outstrip the daytime" (Q 36:40) although "it [daytime] is in haste to follow it (Q 7:54). The night "conceals" the sunlight (Q 91:4), "enshrouding [everything with darkness]" (Q 92:1).

Night implies quietness, tranquillity (Q 93:2) and security. It is "a garment [in which you can swathe yourself] and [it offers you] sleep for rest" (Q 25:47; 78:9). Darkness can also imply helplessness: "Their faces were covered with [and unprotected like] strips of night shadowy" (Q 10:27). Important events in the history of revelation occur at night: The Qurʾān is revealed in "a blessed night" (Q 44:3), the Night of Power (q.v.; *laylat al-qadr*), which "is better than a thousand months" (Q 97:1-3); Muḥammad is taken at night on his journey from Mecca to the Farther Mosque in (Jerusalem and to) heaven (Q 17:1; see ASCENSION); Muḥammad's opponents seem to have tried to discredit him by claiming that writings of the ancients were dictated to him at dawn and early in the evening (Q 25:5; see ILLITERACY); and the night gives to the god-fearing protection from Pharaoh (q.v.; Q 44:23).

Morning, conversely, implies freshness and pristineness (e.g. the root *b-k-r* from which is derived not only early morning *[bukra],* but also virgins *[abkār],* Q 56:36; 66:5). At this time, the normal work of the day is described as beginning (Q 68:21-2, 25) and important events such as battles (Q 3:121) are prepared. Also a decreed punishment came upon the people in the early

morning (Q 54:38; see CHASTISEMENT AND PUNISHMENT) as did the wind which killed the ʿĀd (Q 69:7; see AIR AND WIND). In the daytime everything is clearly visible (Q 10:67; 17:12; 27:86; 40:61) and obvious (Q 13:10). It is the time when one becomes active again (Q 25:47). It is the time of action (Q 6:60), created so that people might earn their living (Q 78:11) and seek the bounty of the Lord (Q 17:12; see BLESSING).

In early Mekkan sūras (see CHRONOLOGY AND THE QUR'ĀN), certain times of the day frequently occur as basic elements in formulaic evocation, contributing to the hymnal tenor of the given sūra, as in Q 74:33, "[I swear] by the… night when it retreats and the dawn when it is white"; Q 81:17, "by the night swarming"; Q 81:17-18, "by the dawn sighing"; Q 92:1, "by the night enshrouding"; Q 89:4, "by the night when it journeys on"; and Q 93:1,"by the sun and his morning brightness"; etc. (see Günther, Tag und Tageszeiten, 54-5). This special way of evoking a time of the day seems somehow to record "the liturgical experience of the recipient of the revelation." It seems to keep present the perception of light and dark accompanying certain exercises of worship and thus to 'capture' this powerful experience for later generations of worshippers (Neuwirth, Zur Relevanz, 21). It is interesting to note in passing that the emphasis here is on the time of twilight, i.e. the impressive period of transition from dark to light and *vice versa* as known in the Middle East. However, the last part of the night, i.e. the time of morning twilight, seems to be of particular importance in this regard. This observation is confirmed by two epithets of God: "lord of the daybreak" (*rabb al-falaq,* Q 113:1) and "the one who splits the sky into dawn" (*fāliq al-iṣbāḥ,* Q 6:96).

Divine service, rules of religious and everyday life

The ritual prayer (q.v.; *ṣalāt*), including its five appointed times (*mīqāt,* pl. *mawāqīt,* cf. Wensinck, Mīḳāt) was standardized only after the death of the Prophet in ḥadīth and in works on jurisprudence *(fiqh)*. The Qurʾān only generally mentions times of day for (a) prayer and (b) glorification of God *(tasbīḥ)*. This led Muslim and non-Muslim commentators to differing interpretations of qurʾānic information on the times of prayer (e.g. Paret, *Kommentar,* 305 on Q 17:78-9; Watt-Bell, *Introduction,* 163; "the middle prayer" [*al-ṣalāt al-wusṭā,* Q 2:238], which gives no indication of time).

(a) "And perform the prayer *(ṣalāt)* at the two ends of the day and nigh of the night" (Q 11:114, i.e. the morning prayer at dawn *(ṣalāt al-ṣubḥ* or *ṣalāt al-fajr),* the afternoon prayer at the beginning of sunset *(ṣalāt al-zuhr* or *ṣalāt al-ʿaṣr),* and the evening prayer immediately after sunset *(ṣalāt al-maghrib)*. "Perform the prayer at the sinking of the sun to the darkening of the night, and the recital of [the Qurʾān at] dawn" *(qurʾān al-fajr,* Q 17:78). Some authorities interpret the time of "the sinking of the sun" to start from the point of the sun's culmination (at noon) and thus include four canonical prayers, i.e. *al-ẓuhr, al-ʿaṣr, al-maghrib, al-ʿishāʾ* . Then, the fifth canonical prayer, *ṣalāt al-ṣubḥ,* would be represented by *qurʾān al-fajr* (cf. Paret, *Kommentar,* 305-6 on Q 17:78-80).

(b) God should be remembered, glorified and praised in the morning and evening (e.g. Q 7:205; 33:41; 48:9) when all who are in the heavens and the earth bow to him (Q 13:15; 24:36; also 38:18; 41:38; see BOWING AND PROSTRATION; GLORY; PRAISE). Early sūras call to "remember the name of your Lord at dawn and in the evening and part of the night… and magnify him through the long night" (Q 76:26; also 73:2); or "in the night, and at the declining of the stars" (Q 52:49). Among the People of the Book (q.v.), there is a standing *(qāʾim)* community "that recites God's signs [at certain times] of the night…" (Q 3:113). To "keep

vigil a part of the night" is a supererogatory work and will be rewarded in the next world (Q 17:79; see REWARD AND PUNISHMENT). Further utterances, however, state that the "first part of night is heavier in tread, more upright in speech" (Q 73:6) and that eating, drinking and sexual intercourse are permitted on the nights of Ramaḍān (q.v.) "until [the early morning when] the white thread appears clearly to you [in distinction] from a black thread" (Q 2:187).

The times of the day in chronological order

The "night" (*layl,* 93 times; *layla,* 8 times; pl. *layāl,* 4 times) is the first, dark half of the full day. It starts with the "evening twilight" (*shafaq,* Q 84:16; defined as "the first moment of the night," *li-awwal sāʿa min al-layl* [Hamadhānī, *Alfāz,* 287]; cf. Pellat, Layl and nahār, 709). Furthermore, the beginning of the night is described as "a darkening [at the beginning] of the night" (*ghasaq al-layl,* Q 17:78) or the "nigh of the night" (*zulafan min al-layl,* Q 11:114; see DAY AND NIGHT).

The "late, dark evening" *(ʿashī, ʿashiyya)* corresponds to the period "from the time when the sun starts to disappear until it completely sets" (Qurṭubī, *Jāmiʿ,* vi, 82, ad Q 3:41). It marks the "end of the bright day" (*Jalālayn,* 54, ad Q 3:41). It occurs as *ʿashiyyatan* (Q 79:46); *bi-l-ʿashī* (Q 38:31); *bi-l-ʿashī wa-l-ibkār* (Q 3:41; 40:55); *bi-l-ʿashī wa-l-ishrāq* (Q 38:18); *ʿashiyyan wa-ḥīna tuẓhirūna* (Q 30:18); *ʿashiyyatan aw ḍuḥāhā* (Q 79:46); and, in a different sequence, *bi-l-ghadāti wa-l-ʿashī* (Q 6:52; 18:28); *ghuduwwan wa-ʿashiyyan* (Q 40:46); *bukratan wa-ʿashiyyan* (Q 19:11, 62). The term *ʿishāʾ,* however, is used both as a synonym for *ʿashī* and in designation of a time following it (Hamadhānī, *Alfāz,* 287). It foreshadows the beginning of darkness (q.v.); see *ʿishāʾan* (Q 12:16) and *ṣalāt al-ʿishāʾ* (Q 24:58).

"The night when it journeys forth" (*wa-l-layli idhā yasri,* Q 89:4) is one of several metaphorical utterances which denote the end of the night (see METAPHOR). Similarly, at "the setting of stars" (*idbār al-nujūm,* Q 52:49) can mean not only the very early morning but also, more generally, the day (cf. Paret, *Kommentar,* 460 ad Q 52:48-9; 456 ad Q 50:39-4). The short period directly before daybreak is referred to by a term best translated as "the breaking of morning" (*saḥar,* Q 54:34; pl. *asḥār,* Q 3:17; 51:18; cf. Mustafa, Morgenanbruch, 113). The "daybreak" *(falaq)* itself designates the time when dark and light split (lord of the daybreak, *rabb al-falaq,* Q 113:1; and cleaver of the daybreak, *fāliq al-iṣbāḥ,* Q 6:96).

Daytime (*nahār,* 57 times; *nahāran,* three times) is the second half of the full day. It starts with the opening or "face of daytime" (*wajh al-nahār,* Q 3:72). In this sense, also used are the "[rising of] dawn, morning twilight" (*maṭlaʿ al-fajr,* Q 97:5; *fajr,* Q 2:187; 17:28 [two times]; 24:58; 89:1) and the period "before sunrise" (*qabla ṭulūʿi l-shams,* Q 20:130; 50:39).

The "[early] morning" *(ibkār)* indicates the time "before sunrise" (Hamadhānī, *Alfāz,* 287), "the end of the night" (Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr,* iv, 134 ad Q 40:55) and "the beginning of the bright day" (*Jalālayn,* 54 ad Q 3:41). It is the counterpart of the late evening (*bi-l-ʿashī wa-l-ibkār,* Q 3:41; 40:55). Another word for morning, *bukra,* is also used in this sense; it is also given as a counterpart to both the early evening in which daylight still appears (*bukratan, bukratan wa-aṣīlan,* Q 25:5; 33:42; 48:9; 54:38; 76:25) and the late evening when daylight is gone (*bukratan wa-ʿashiyyan,* Q 19:11, 62). The period of "sunrise" (*ishrāq,* cf. *bi-l-ʿashī wa-l-ishrāq,* Q 38:18; *mushriqīn,* Q 15:73; 26:60) is also called "the sun, when it [rises]" (*al-shams idhā ṭalaʿat,* Q 18:17) or "the sun rising" (*al-shams bāzighatan,* Q 6:78).

The "[early bright] morning" *(ghadāh, ghuduww)* generally relates to the time "after sunrise" (Hamadhānī, *Alfāz,* 287). We find it as *bi-l-ghadāt (wa-l-ʿashī), ghuduww (an wa-ʿashiyyan),* Q 6:52; 18:28; 34:12;

40:46; *bi-l-ghudū wa-l-aṣāl,* Q 7:205; 13:15; 24:36; "breakfast," *ghadāʾ,* Q 18:62; *ghadā,* Q 3:121; 68:22, 25. Both "the dawning of morning" (*iṣbāḥ,* Q 6:96) and "morning" *(ṣubḥ, ṣabāh)* designate the "first hour of the daytime (before sunrise)" (Hamadhānī, *Alfāẓ,* 287; see *ṣubḥ,* Q 11:81; 74:34; 81:18; 100:3; *ṣabāh,* Q 37:177; *ṣabbaḥahum bukratan,* Q 54:38; *aṣbaḥa,* Q 7:78, 91; 11:67, 94; 18:40, 41, 42, 45; 28:18, 37, 82; 30:17; 46:25; 67:30; 68:20; *muṣbiḥīna,* Q 15:66, 83; 37:137; 68:17, 21). The time when the Lord "has stretched out the shadow" (*madda l-zilla,* Q 25:45), again, refers to early morning.

The "completely bright morning, or forenoon" (*ḍuḥā,* Q 7:98; 20:59; 79:29, 46; 91:1; 93:1) follows *al-ghadāh* (Hamadhānī, *Alfāẓ,* 287), represents the "first part of the daytime [after sunrise] or daytime itself" (*Jalālayn,* 567 ad Q 93:1), but also means "sunlight" (*wa-l-shamsi wa-ḍuḥāhā,* Q 91:1). This time is followed by the "heat of the noon" (*ẓahīra,* Q 24:58; see also "in your noontide hour," *ḥīna tuẓhirūna,* Q 30:18).

The "later afternoon" (*ʿaṣr,* Q 103:1) generally indicates the period from before sunset until the sky is red with the glow of the setting sun (Hamadhānī, *Alfāẓ,* 287). It is also described, however, as "the period… between the sinking of the sun [after passing its culmination, *zawāl*] and sunset" (*Jalālayn,* 572 ad Q 103:1). The period of the "return" home in the evening (*rawāḥ,* Q 34:12) seems to precede (Hamadhānī, *Alfāẓ,* 287) the "late afternoon" or "early bright evening" (*aṣīl,* Q 25:5; 33:42; 48:9; 76:25; pl. *āṣāl* Q 7:205; 13:15; 24:36). The latter determines the "end of the daytime" (*Jalālayn,* 382 ad Q 33:42; Ibn Kathīr, *Tafṣīr,* iv, 298 ad Q 48:9) and is explained as being a synonym for both *ʿashī* (Qurṭubī, *Jāmiʿ,* vi, 267 ad Q 48:9) and *masāʾ* (Ibn Kathīr, *Tafṣīr,* iii, 818 ad Q 33:42). Its counterpart is the "early morning" *(bukra)*.

The time of *aṣīl* is followed by the "evening" (*masāʾ,* Hamadhānī, *Alfāẓ,* 287): "in your evening hour and in your morning hour" (*ḥīna tumsūna wa-ḥīna tuṣbiḥūna,* Q 30:17).

Apart from this, the time "before sunset" (*qabla l-ghurūb,* Q 50:39) appears to precede the period of the "sinking of the sun [against the horizon]" (*dulūk al-shams,* Q 17:78), although the latter can designate both (a) the time starting with noon, when the sun has passed its zenith and, probably originally, (b) the time of the bright evening, directly before sunset.

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Days of God

A literal translation of the Arabic expression *ayyām Allāh*. The expression assumes its fuller significance in analogy to the phrase *ayyām al-ʿarab,* i.e. battles of Arab tribes in the pre-Islamic era (see PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QURʾĀN), leading to the more appropriate translation, "battles of God." The phrase *ayyām Allāh* occurs twice in the Qurʾān.

The first occurrence is Q 14:5 (Sūrat Ibrāhīm), which reflects God's retribution — grace and reward for believers and punishment for unbelievers (see REWARD AND PUNISHMENT; CHASTISEMENT AND PUNISHMENT). More specifically, *ayyām Allāh* in Q 14:5 refers to the signs God sent through Moses (q.v.) for distinguishing between belief and unbelief (q.v.). Apart from this explicit injunction to Moses in Q 14:5, exegetes identified this and following verses with the ill omens that befell the peoples of ʿĀd (q.v.) and Thamūd (q.v.) for rejecting God's revelations (see PUNISHMENT STORIES).

The second occurrence of *ayyām Allāh* is Q 45:14 (Sūrat al-Jāthiyya, "The Hobbling"), the only verse revealed at Medina of this otherwise Meccan sūra (see CHRONOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN). The verse, which urges believers to forgive those who do not look ahead to *ayyām Allāh* but who will ultimately receive their due in the final abode, i.e. hell (q.v.), was eventually abrogated (see ABROGATION). Indeed, the Qurʾān repeatedly commands the believers to fight against unbelievers — thus contravening the injunction for forgiveness in the verse just cited.

The specific qurʾānic locus of the abrogation of Q 45:14 is uncertain. Whereas some consider it to be the ninth sūra (Sūrat al-Tawba, "Repentance") in its entirety, others restrict this function to Q 9:5 alone (since it specifically calls for violence against unbelievers, it is known as the verse of the sword, *āyat al-sayf*). Other authorities link it to either Q 9:5 or 9:36, or both. Further, a minority view considers Q 22:39 (Sūrat al-Ḥajj, "The Pilgrimage") as an alternative. Finally, there are exegetes who argue that Q 8 (Sūrat al-Anfāl, "The Spoils") is acting in conjunction with Q 9. Reference to Sūrat al-Anfāl — a sūra revealed shortly after the battle of Badr (q.v.) — constitutes a direct link to that battle and as such forms the basis for the analogy touched upon earlier between *ayyām Allāh* and *ayyām al-ʿarab*. The Muslim victory at Badr highlighted God's support of the believers and gave them a flawless rationale for setting themselves apart from unbelievers. Since Badr reflects in essence a battle between good and evil (q.v.), there is logic to the claim of those who point to Sūrat al-Anfāl as the sūra which abrogates Q 45:14, a verse that initially called for the forgiveness of those who are not part of God's religion. See also EXPEDITIONS AND BATTLES; WAR.

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Deadly Sins see SIN, MAJOR AND MINOR

Death and the Dead

The end of life (q.v.). The following aspects of the qurʾānic depiction of death *(mawt, wafāt)* and the dead *(al-mawtā)* shall be addressed here: various qurʾānic descriptions of attitudes towards death on the part of

both believers and unbelievers (see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF); the main themes connected with death which occur in the Qurʾān, ordered according to Bell's chronology; distinctive features of qurʾānic statements about death; and, finally, a sketch of the qurʾānic vision of death and its meaning.

Attitudes of believers and unbelievers

The Qurʾān, especially in its Medinan parts, takes the human fear of death for granted. Death is the great enemy of humankind which overtakes *(adraka)* even those who seek refuge in lofty towers (Q 4:78). Dying is a physical and spiritual event of great importance that only happens under divine authority and by divine decree. Death — whether natural or in battle — loses its terror for the true believer: "… my life and my death belong to God…" (Q 6:162). Three passages containing the prayers of those known to be believers depict them as requesting that God allow them to die *(tawaffā)* as just men or "surrenderers" to God's will (*muslimūn,* Q 7:126; cf. Q 3:193; 12:101). In short, death need be feared only by those who have led evil lives (see EVIL DEEDS). Those who have given witness of their belief by dying as martyrs (in battle; see MARTYR) should be thought of not as dead but as living (Q 2:154; 3:169). One passage promises immediate passage (lit. gathering *[tuḥsharūna]*) to God for those who die "in the way of God," (*fī sabīl Allāh,* Q 3:157-8; see PATH OR WAY [OF GOD]).

An unbeliever, however, clings to this life and believes death to be the inevitable result of fate *(dahr)*. Unbelievers who do not believe in the resurrection (q.v.) are only concerned with life in this world (*dunyā,* Q 6:29; 23:37). They think their life is splendid but deceive themselves and are deceived by Iblīs (q.v.; Q 15:39; see DEVIL); they should rather be called "dead" already. They have reason to fear doubly: to fear death itself and to fear retribution; when they are punished it will be too late to repent (see REWARD AND PUNISHMENT; REPENTANCE AND PENANCE). The Qurʾān vividly describes the last moments of their lives (Q 6:93; 33:19; 47:20; 56:83) and their agony (Q 50:19). Angels of death stretch out their hands and speak to them while they are dying (Q 6:93). Those attached to this world flee death in vain. One text, however, describes how in a particular case God had pity on thousands of people who, threatened by death, left their houses (Q 2:243).

Main themes of death

Following T. O'Shaughnessy (*Muhammad's thoughts on death,* the only monograph on the subject), one can organize the various qurʾānic themes of death according to Bell's chronology of the revelation of the Qurʾān (see CHRONOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN). In the Meccan period, death is first used metaphorically in "sign passages," texts speaking of God's providence: He brings to life dead land (i.e. waste land) by sending rain; in seeds he gives life to what has been considered dead (see AGRICULTURE AND VEGETATION). Very soon those who refuse to believe in God and his judgment (see LAST JUDGMENT) are also considered to be "dead." Inability to recognize God's bounty (see BLESSING) and his control over life and death is presented as a spiritual death. In a further development hell (q.v.) is called a "second" or "living" death, reserved for those who have entered into their "first" death as unbelievers. In the face of skeptics in Mecca and Medina who maintain that there is only one (i.e. the first physical) death, the Qurʾān asserts this second death as well for the unbelievers.

The question "When I am dead, shall I be brought out alive?" (Q 19:66) elicits lengthy responses. The imagery of the earlier "sign passages" referring to God's

providence is combined here with the theme of the resurrection which testifies to God's supreme power over life and death. The resurrection represents the final restoration and re-commencement of the human race as it was at the beginning, at the pristine moment of creation (q.v.). It is God who brings to life and causes to die, who raises the dead as a new act of life-giving creation and who brings the faithful back to him in paradise (q.v.). This power of God is the decisive argument in the Qurʾān for belief in God (see POWER AND IMPOTENCE).

In the Medinan period these themes all receive further elaboration in various ways. Here, however, the stress is on God's omnipotence and his control of anything that has to do with life and death, the ultimate proof being the resurrection which is viewed as a second creation. God's causing objects to penetrate *(walaja)* one another and then to come forth *(kharaja)* from one another also illustrates his omnipotence. Yet, most important is the fact that he has power *(qādir* or *qadīr)* to bring the dead to life. In former times, God returned the dead to life in this world: He raised some of the dead from among the followers of Moses (q.v.; Q 2:55-6) and gave leave to Jesus (q.v.) to bring the dead to life (Q 3:49; 5:110). God differs from all living beings in that he does not die; he is the Living One (*al-ḥayy*, Q 25:58; see GOD AND HIS ATTRIBUTES). By his capacity to create life God distinguishes himself from the idols which are themselves created and simply dead (Q 16:20-1; see IDOLS AND IMAGES).

The appointed term *(ajal)* of human life also receives emphasis in Medina. God determines *(qaddara)* a human's life span at his birth (see FATE; FREEDOM AND PREDESTINATION). At death God executes *(qaḍā)* this predetermined will for each person and takes him or her to himself *(tawaffā)*. Consequently, human life and death are presented as subject to God's direct authority.

It is no accident that notions of God's omnipotence and the human being's predetermined life are stressed in the Medinan years of war (see WAR; EXPEDITIONS AND BATTLES; OPPOSITION TO MUḤAMMAD). The same holds for a third theme, that of fear (q.v.) of death, which is found almost exclusively in the verses of this period. All 48 qurʾānic passages treating it are Medinan. These texts include explicit references to Muḥammad's own foreseeable death as well as to the deaths of earlier prophets (see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD). Moreover, they affirm God's providence and protection (q.v.) of every believer. Typically, even more than before, they insist that humans should not cling to this passing life but instead prepare for the everlasting life in the hereafter. They should commit their lives to causes connected with God; those who fight in *jihād* (q.v.), for instance, make proper use of their life "in the way of God." In *jihād*, the fear of death is absent, at least consciously. In this period the theme of violent death, whether of those committed to the cause of Islam or of innocent people, is a matter of particular concern (see MURDER; BLOODSHED).

Distinct features of the qurʾānic treatment of death

The presentation of death in the Qurʾān, while resembling that of other religious systems, also has its own distinctive traits. For the Arabs of the pre-Islamic period, for instance, death came about through the (sometimes sudden) entrance of fate *(dahr)* into a human's life (see PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QURʾĀN). They saw death basically as the soul's (q.v.) departure from the body, either in a bloody fashion (in case of a violent death) or by escaping from the nose at the final breath (in case of natural death). The survivors had the duty to see to a correct burial and to exact vengeance (q.v.; in

case of a violent death), to ensure peace for the departed soul, which would be forced to wander otherwise, and to maintain the honor of the tribe (see TRIBES AND CLANS). In ancient times a certain cult of the dead may have existed, with offerings and sacrifices. A real man would show no fear of death and the survivors would glorify the departed (see COURAGE).

In the Qurʾān it is not *dahr* but God who decides the appointed time *(ajal)* of each individual and who causes the person to die *(amāta);* human beings can only mortally wound *(qatala)* someone but it is God who causes that person to die. The last act in a person's life is thus an act of God.

The relation to death is a key issue for two reasons. First, it implies a relation to life and the freedom to decide what to do with it. Second, in the qurʾānic view any attitude to death implies an attitude to God, either of belief or unbelief. In the qurʾānic view, life and death have been instruments of God's providence to humankind from the very beginning. This theocentric view of death implies a radical contingency of human beings as well as of the world in which they live and to which they should no longer attach themselves. The way of life of the ancient Arabs is declared to have been ignorance (*jāhiliyya,* see AGE OF IGNORANCE). Life itself comes about through God's blowing something of his spirit (*rūḥ,* see SPIRIT) into Adam's form (Q 15:29; 32:9; 38:72; see ADAM AND EVE). This *rūḥ* is thus the principle of life which leaves the body at the moment of death. The fact that it originates in God has important implications. First of all, life is a gift apportioned by God; this also means that it is forbidden to kill someone (for instance, out of revenge) except after due process of law (see BLOOD MONEY; RETALIATION). Second, the community of the faithful replaces the older kinship (q.v.) and tribal community organized along blood relationships (see COMMUNITY AND SOCIETY IN THE QURʾĀN). Third, every believer is individually responsible for his life, thought and action. The ancient glorification of the dead gives way to a humble appeal to God to show mercy (q.v.) on the dead. The Qurʾān suggests the continued existence of the *rūḥ* after it has left the body in death but leaves unspecified the period between the grave and later resurrection (see BARZAKH). In the new Islamic theocentric framework, it is no longer the exact moment of death but the allotted term of life as man's testing period (see TRIAL) that is important. Islam brings a profound change not only in the visible customs of life but also in the way in which one can and does understand one's own life. Human life is not the individual's property but a divine gift to be used in God's service (*ʿibāda,* see SERVANT) or to be dedicated to a divine cause or to God himself. God is seen as creator of all that is and as the source of all life: "… everything perishes except his countenance…" (Q 28:88).

Thus, with Islam, death is no longer the end of life, but only the end of the appointed period *(ajal)* in which humans are tested in the world. Human existence has been extended to eternity and death becomes a merely transitional phase during which the *rūḥ,* the principle of life, provisionally remains separated from the disintegrating body. In other words, death has been designed as a part of creation and is put to use to attain creation's aim; God wants human life — understood as service *(ʿibāda)* to him — not to end but to receive eternity in paradise.

In a broader context the qurʾānic message thus follows very much the tradition of the Near Eastern prophetic religions from Zoroastrianism and the oldest prophets of Israel onwards, all of whom call people to choose between the new life which they offer and the old life linked to by-gone

conditions, ways of life and ideas, which they consider to be in the realm of death. Different prophetic religions, including Christianity, have given different descriptions of what may be called the old dispensation in the light of their particular message of renewal. They proclaim God as a fundamentally liberating force.

In this context the Qurʾān distinguishes itself first by its proclamation of the God of providence, liberating human beings from the curse of *dahr* by causing them to rise again as a new creation. After humankind has been haunted by fear of *dahr* and death, *dahr* is nullified and death is brought under God's omnipotence. Additionally, the Qurʾān distinguishes itself from other prophetic messages by calling specifically for action in this world in the dedicated service of God. It shares the general framework of resurrection and judgment (q.v.) known since Zoroaster and shares with the Akkadian and the Israelite religions the idea of a gloomy abode for the deceased. There is a striking parallelism between the qurʾānic and Syriac emphasis on the inevitability of death and the consequences humans should thereby draw regarding their eternal destiny (q.v.), ending in parallel descriptions of the terrors of hell as the destiny of unbelievers. In the case of the Qurʾān, however, this preaching did not lead to monastic asceticism (see MONASTICISM AND MONKS) as in Eastern Christianity but to a particular form of "inner-worldly" asceticism (q.v.).

Two facts are worth noting. First, this kind of "Weberian" attitude produced an outburst of energy which was invested in worldly enterprises of a military, political and economic nature. The qurʾānic view of life and death undoubtedly contributed to the mobilization of many in this sense. Second, in Islam as in other prophetic religions, God was proclaimed to be the force which brings about a decisive change from death to life. Where unbelief was seen as chaotic since it did not recognize the providence and rule of God in this world, belief was held to lead to the establishment of God's rule through a particular ordering of this world by means of a law considered to have been revealed and to be contained, at least in essentials, in the Qurʾān.

The qurʾānic vision of death; its meaning

Throughout the Qurʾān the issue of death is apparent, explicitly in the numerous verses and implicitly as an inescapable human condition, which the Qurʾān's preaching continuously notes. Though the descriptions of resurrection and final judgment have attracted much scholarly attention, the subject of death — with the exception of T. O'Shaughnessy's study — has been strangely neglected. For the Near East at the time of Muḥammad, death was a problem, solutions for which were sought in ascetic orientations and movements. There is reason to assume that this was also the case among bedouin Arabs (see BEDOUIN; ARABS) and townspeople in Arabia, for whom it was the impersonal, lawlike and fatal *dahr* that brought man's life to an end (Q 45:24).

If the Qurʾān maintains that the moment of death is inescapably determined, this is no longer the work of the power or law of fate, but has been established, as the moment of birth, by God. The vision broadens still further through the idea that God alone can conquer death. This conquest shows his omnipotence and his divinity; idols cannot rival him. The final delivery from death by fate *(dahr)* happens through the anticipated resurrection. From the second Meccan period onwards, there is a qurʾānic triad of concepts that constantly reappears: God, life/death and resurrection. The last is primarily a deliverance of humankind from the condition of death, for the sake of a new creation, a gift of

restoration. The judgment may be positive for some, negative for others; common to all, whether they like it or not, is that they are brought to life again. Only God is able to restore the creation after the temporary condition of death.

Life and death — like God and humankind or this world and the hereafter — are absolutely opposed to each other in the Qurʾān, but a shift in meaning is discernible. The terms no longer signify the natural contrast between what is alive and what is not, but indicate the opposition between two states that are metaphysical rather than physical, religious rather than empirical. On the one hand there are those who reject belief in one God, in Muḥammad as a prophet and in the Qurʾān, its preaching and prescriptions as revelation (see REVELATION AND INSPIRATION). Since unbelief is viewed as a kind of death, these people, seen as attached to this world and imprisoned by it, are considered to be "dead." On the other hand, those who believe in God and the resurrection as well as in Muḥammad and the revelation are thereby considered to be oriented towards eternal life, as "living." In the Qurʾān the natural opposition between life and death merges into the spiritual one between belief and disbelief.

This vision of death is part of the broader qurʾānic vision of the purpose of God's creation of humans to whom he has assigned a final destiny. As a created being, the human should live in his Creator's service *(ʿibāda)*. To carry out his task, he disposes of his natural faculties, his reason and the revelation provided in the Qurʾān. As a logical consequence, once he has accomplished this *ʿibāda* in the course of the lifetime allotted to him, he will be with God forever. Human life has an eternal destiny and the earthly phase of this life is essentially a test of human submission to God. Death in this perspective is simply the end of a testing period and a threshold which must necessarily be passed. Those who fail the test will simply not reach their destiny. Normally, life stretches from birth to paradise; abnormally, it extends from birth to hell. The message which emerges from this vision is clear. Humans are warned (see WARNING) and called not to attach themselves to this life or to delude themselves with rewards that are of a transient nature. They should turn to God and take care to live as God's servants and hence prepare for the real life of the hereafter.

The Qurʾānic view of death and the attitude and actions which derive from it signify a complete shift from what may be called the "natural" as well as the "secular" view of life. As in other prophetic religions, life and death are simply a testing ground of human beings' basic intentions regarding eternity and, in the case of the Qurʾān, the human willingness to put one's life entirely at God's disposal. The result may be not only an inner life of faith (q.v.) and piety (q.v.) but also an extraordinary mobilization of life forces for action — communal or individual — in this world. The Qurʾān's message on the subject can be seen as a liberation from the confines of death, for which humans are grateful to God (see GRATITUDE AND INGRATITUDE). Or is the very concept of God in prophetic religions perhaps born from the experience of a conquest of and a liberation from death — whatever the concept has meant in particular contexts?

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Death Penalty

see BOUNDARIES AND PRECEPTS

Debate and Disputation

An oppositional mode of discourse and a formal process of argumentation. References to the activities of disputation and debate are associated with several qurʾānic verbs in their various forms. Terminology pertinent to the process of argumentation occurs throughout the Qurʾān and the importance of such forensic activities as proving, explaining and making manifest is repeatedly stressed. Demonstrable proof (q.v.) and convincing argumentation are represented as indispensable elements of conveying the divine message and actual or anticipated opponents are a prominent feature of much qurʾānic discourse. Further, the qurʾānic text frames and focuses upon striking scenes of debate: Satan (Iblīs, see DEVIL) argues with God about his superiority over humans (Q 15:30-3; 7:11-2; 17:61; 38:73-6); Abraham (q.v.) and Noah (q.v.) dispute with the unbelievers among the people to whom they are sent as do such other prophets as Hūd (q.v.), Ṣāliḥ (q.v.) and Shuʿayb (q.v.). Lengthy pericopes report the exchanges of Moses (q.v.) and Pharaoh (q.v.). Even the famous parable of the two gardens (see GARDEN) in Q 18 (Sūrat al-Kahf, "The Cave") is cast in the form of a debate.

As just stated, the Qurʾān uses several terms to designate the multiple modes of oppositional discourse. Of these *jadala* in its various forms is central. While Arabic lexicographers give "to twist firmly" or "to make strong and compact" as the base meaning of this verb, they also note the more frequent use of those forms of the verb that can denote reciprocal speech acts such as debates, disputations, altercations, arguments, quarrels, etc. (*Tāj al-ʿarūs,* vii, 253-5; see also DIALOGUES). Extra-qurʾānic attestation of *jadala* and its cognates, with connotations of debate and confrontation, can be gathered from a range of early sources such as the verses of al-Kumayt b. Zayd (d. 126/743) and Dāwūd b. Salm (d. ca. 132/750).

In the Qurʾān *jadala* and its cognates occur 29 times, with the first use in Q 2:197 and the last in Q 58:1. This latter sūra, which is entitled Sūrat al-Mujādala ("She Who Disputes"), is the only sūra to carry a form of the triliteral Arabic root *j-d-l* as its title. The first use of a form of *jadala* in the Qurʾān is an imperative, as are four other occurrences (Q 4:107; 16:125; 22:68; 29:46). All but one of these is, like the first, a negative imperative prohibiting disputation. The initial mention, in Q 2:197, groups disputation *(jidāl)* with obscenity *(rafath)* and wickedness *(fusūq)* as forms of behavior prohibited during the pilgrimage (q.v.) and the majority of the other uses in this category are also negative imperatives.

Descriptive and interrogative uses of *jadala* and its cognates constitute a larger category. Q 4:109 raises the issue of disputation on behalf of the soul (q.v.) on the day of resurrection (q.v.) by asking, "You have disputed on their behalf in this present life,

but who will dispute with God on their behalf *(fa-man yujādilu llāha ʿanhum)* on the day of resurrection?" Q 16:111 speaks of the "day when every soul shall come debating on its own behalf *(tujādilu ʿan nafsihā)* and every soul (q.v.) will be recompensed for what it has done and they will not be wronged." A quasi-judicial eschatology (q.v.) is evoked by this vocabulary. If debate can constitute part of the process of human accountability, then the individual's pleading may take the form of self- or mediated representation.

Yet this eschatological possibility captures only a small proportion of the descriptive and interrogative uses of *jadala* forms. In most cases disputation is portrayed as deliberate disavowal of God's "signs" (q.v.). A prominent example of this is Q 6:25 which insists, "Were they to see every one of the signs, they would not believe in them, even to the extent that when they come to you, they dispute with you *(yujādilūnaka)* [and] those who do not believe say, 'These are nothing but the tales of the ancients.'" Again, Q 13:12-3 contends, "He is the one who shows you the lightning, [arousing] both fear and hope, and raises the clouds heavy [with rain]. Thunder extols his praise (q.v.), as do the angels with awe. He sends thunderbolts, striking by them whom he wishes. Yet they dispute about God *(wa-hum yujādilūna fī llāhi)*." There is a persistent rhetorical structure that emerges in these qurʾānic references to debate: Messengers (see MESSENGER) have been sent, the truth (q.v.) has been given, parables have been struck and "signs" made manifest but still people dispute (cf. Q 8:6; 18:54, 56; 31:20). This connection of debate with "signs" is pervasive. Multiple mentions of such phrases as "those who dispute about the signs of God" (*alladhīna yujādilūna fī āyāti llāhi,* Q 40:56; cf. 42:35; 40:69) and "the only ones who dispute about the signs of God are those who disbelieve" (*mā yujādilu fī āyāti llāhi illā lladhīna kafarū,* Q 40:4; cf. 40:35) reinforce the linkage of disputation and God's "signs." In every instance this linkage is connected with condemnation and rebuke.

Rebuke also characterizes the reference to ignorantly disputing about God himself. Q 22:3, 8; 31:20 contain the phrase, "There are people who dispute about God without knowledge *(wa-mina l-nāsi man yujādilu fī llāhi bi-ghayri ʿilmin)*." The first time this accusation occurs, Q 22:3, it is connected with devils or with behavior prompted by devils. "Those who dispute about God without knowledge" are characterized as following "every willful devil" *(kulla shayṭānin murīdin)* while Q 6:121 states, "Truly the devils prompt their friends to debate with you *(li-yujādilūkum)*. If you obey them, you are polytheists."

A final note should be made of a category of statements which associates *jadala* with the prophets, sometimes directly, sometimes tangentially. These would include the brief pericope in Q 43:57-8: "When the son of Mary (q.v.) is cited as an example *(mathal),* your people turn away from it [the example]. They say, 'Are our gods better or is he?' They cite it to you only in debate *(jadal)*. Indeed they are a contentious people *(qawmun khaṣimūn)*." (Cf. Q 18:54 — with its similar tagline — where the provision of another "example" provokes dispute.) At Q 43:57-8 Jesus' (q.v.) association with disputation is somewhat tangential. A more immediate connection between prophets and disputation is found in those instances where the prophets themselves argue. In Q 7:71, Hūd challenges his people: "Atrocity and anger have fallen on you from your Lord; would you dispute with me about names *(tujādilūnanī fī asmāʾ)* that you and your fathers have assigned for which God has sent down no authorization?" The figure of Noah is particularly associated with disputation. In

Q 11:32 Noah's people charge: "Noah, you have debated with us and prolonged our disputation *(qad jādaltanā fa-aktharta jidālanā)*. Now, if you are truthful, bring upon us what you threatened." Perhaps most striking are Abraham's debates with God himself: "When fear had left Abraham and the good news [of Isaac's (q.v.) conception] came to him, he was disputing with us *(yujādilunā)* concerning the people of Lot (q.v.)" (Q 11:74; cf. *Gen* 18:23-32). The classical exegetical tradition (see EXEGESIS OF THE QUR'ĀN, CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL) also regularly understood Abraham to be debating the messengers *(rusul)* mentioned in Q 11:69. Of course, with Muḥammad himself the topos of prophets who debate and dispute reaches its fullest exemplification (see OPPOSITION TO MUḤAMMAD; PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD). Disputation, recollected and anticipated, drives the rhetorical engine of the Qur'ān. Instances of this are too numerous to catalog but at least one should be mentioned since it is captured by the title of a sūra. This is Muḥammad's exchange in Q 58:1 with the eponymous "disputatious woman" *(mujādila)*. The literature dealing with the circumstance under which this verse was revealed (*sabab al-nuzūl*, see OCCASIONS OF REVELATION) asserts virtually unanimously its exegetical association with the wife of Aws b. al-Ṣāmit, who was complaining that her husband had unjustly divorced her. (For representative accounts and for variations of her name, e.g. Khawla bt. Thaʿlaba, see Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, xxviii, 1-6.)

There are other qur'ānic terms relevant to this topic such as the vocabulary related to *ikhtaṣama* and *nāzaʿa*, both meaning "to argue or dispute," that can be grouped in the same way as the *jadala* category. These include the strong negative imperative of Q 50:28, "Do not dispute in my presence when I have already set the threat before you *(lā takhtaṣimū ladayya wa-qad qaddamtu ilaykum bi-l-waʿīd)*," and other occurrences that maintain the connection of debate and disputation with eschatological events (Q 36:49; 38:64; 39:31), with the rejection of "signs" (cf. Q 22:19) and with the denigration or disregard of messengers (Q 26:96-7; 27:45; cf. 3:44). The nearly synonymous nature of this vocabulary is evidenced by paired usage in passages like Q 4:105-7 and Q 43:58 (forms of the Arabic roots *j-d-l* and *kh-ṣ-m*) and Q 22:67-8 (forms of the Arabic roots *j-d-l* and *n-z-ʿ*). Taken together the qur'ānic vocabulary associated with this topic demonstrates that, in the overwhelming majority of cases, debate and disputation are assessed negatively. The activity of oppositional discourse is associated with human ignorance or with satanic insinuation or with human insolence, as when individuals are unwilling to recognize the probative value of God's "signs." Although Abraham was permitted to debate with God about the people of Lot, other qur'ānic scenarios depict prophets whose people dispute with them as a form of rejection. While there are exceptions such as the eschatological possibility in Q 16:111, the human propensity to debate and dispute generally elicits qur'ānic condemnation. In fact, Q 18:54 laments that "more than anything, humans are disputatious *(wa-kāna l-insānu akthara shayʾin jadalan)*."

Yet a keen awareness of that very propensity emerges in those verses describing how one should deal with disputation that express an etiquette of oppositional discourse. Q 22:68 advises: "If they dispute with you *(wa-in jādalūka)*, then say, 'God knows best what you are doing.'" Even more explicit is Q 16:125 with its encouragement to "summon to the way of your Lord (q.v.) with wisdom and fine exhortation (see EXHORTATIONS) and debate with them in the better way *(wa-jādilhum bi-llatī hiya aḥsanu)*."

This latter verse emerged in post-qur'ānic

literature as a frequently cited justification for the use of disputation as a powerful tool in fields such as law (see LAW AND THE QURʾĀN) and theology (see THEOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN). With the assimilation of Greek dialectic as a major mode of intellectual engagement, classical Muslim scholars began to discuss scenes of debate and disputation in the Qurʾān from the perspective of these refined rhetorical tools. As indicated above, they were able to point to many instances of this within the textual narrative but they were also cognizant of the frequent qurʾānic denunciation of the human propensity to argue, disagree and contradict. Consequently, in the classical Islamic treatises devoted to such topics as logic and jurisprudential theory it became common to enumerate the qurʾānic texts where disputation is censured or, less frequently, praised. This commonplace of commendable/reprehensible disputation — the usual pair of Arabic adjectives is *maḥmūd* and *madhmūm* — can be found in the works of many authors. Some examples are Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm's (fl. third/ninth century) *al-Burhān fī wujūh al-bayān,* Ibn Fūrak's (d. 406/1015) *Mujarrad maqālāt al-Ashʿarī,* the *Kāfiyya fī l-jadal* attributed to Imām al-Ḥaramayn ʿAbd al-Malik al-Juwaynī (d. 478/1085; but see D. Gimaret, *La doctrine d'al-Ashaʿrī,* 183, n. 2), Sulaymān b. Khalaf al-Bājī's (d. 474/1081) *al-Minhāj fī tartīb al-ḥijāj,* Ibn Ḥazm's (d. 456/1064) *al-Iḥkām fī uṣūl al-aḥkām,* Ibn al-Ḥanbalī's (d. 634/1236) *Istikhrāj al-jidāl min al-Qurʾān al-karīm,* Najm al-Dīn al-Ṭūfī's (d. 716/1316) *ʿAlam al-jadhal fī ʿilm al-jadal*. Finally, the most noted of the works on the traditional disciplines of qurʾānic study (q.v.) include debate *(jadal)* among their long list of contents. Al-Zarkashī (d. 793/1391) included a section on the subject in his *Burhān* as did al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505) in his *Itqān*. See also RHETORIC OF THE QURʾĀN.

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Debt

A financial obligation due to another. The qurʾānic expression for debt is the Arabic word *dayn*. Two places in the Qurʾān, both Medinan chapters, deal with the matter of debts. At Q 2:282, the longest verse in the Qurʾān, detailed instructions are given for the actual handling of debts. All debts, be they large or small, in the form of loans or

deferred payment for goods received, are to be recorded in writing. The only exception to this is "local business transactions" involving nearly immediate exchange. Recognizing the paucity of literacy (q.v.) in first/seventh century Arabia, the Qurʾān instructs the literate minority to serve as recorders in cases where the parties to a debt are illiterate. Recognizing also the tribal structure of the society, literate persons are forbidden to refuse to record a debt whenever they are petitioned to do so; and they are commanded to discharge this duty with accuracy and without prejudice to either party, i.e. regardless of clan- or tribe-affiliation (see TRIBES AND CLANS; CHEATING). Debtors, not creditors, are to dictate to recorders. If a debtor is mentally or physically incapable, a representative is to dictate on his or her behalf. In addition to being recorded, debts are to be validated by witnesses, preferably two males or, if that is not possible, one male and two females. (As an aside, it is on the basis of this verse that the jurists have developed the more general rule that one male equals two female witnesses in a court of law [see LAW AND THE QURʾĀN; WITNESSING AND TESTIFYING]). Both male and female witnesses must be morally upright. Here again, regardless of clan- or tribe-affiliation, individuals are commanded not to refuse to serve as witnesses nor to refuse to come forth and testify to what they witnessed whenever petitioned to do so. Finally, in circumstances such as journeys where there is no access to scribes to record the transaction, debtors are instructed to offer collateral to their creditors. This, however, is not obligatory and those who contract debts without collateral are commanded not to betray the trust placed in them.

The second passage that deals with debts is in the fourth sūra, entitled "Women" (Sūrat al-Nisāʾ; see WOMEN AND THE QURʾĀN). In a series of appendages to verses outlining the shares of inheritance the stipulation is added that any debts contracted by the deceased prior to death are to be excluded from the shares distributed to his or her heirs (cf. Q 4:11-2). The shares of inheritance (q.v.), in other words, are to be computed *after* any and all debts have been settled even if these should exhaust the entire estate.

The Qurʾān mentions no legal sanctions to be applied to those who fail or refuse to pay their debts. The matter is referred rather to the *forum internum* as the Qurʾān bids debtors to be conscious of God in their financial dealings (see ECONOMICS). Islamic law, however, subsequently developed elaborate rules on bankruptcy and related matters (cf. A. Delcambre, Dayn). See also CONTRACTS AND ALLIANCES; BREAKING TRUSTS AND CONTRACTS.

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Decadence

see EVIL DEEDS; INTOXICANTS

Decalogue

see COMMANDMENTS

Deceit

see TRICK

Decision

In the qurʾānic context, a divine decree reflecting omniscience and omnipotence. The notion of decision in the Qurʾān is related to the concept of God as the creator, the king and the judge whose decisions —

decrees, judgments and sentences — represent his supreme wisdom (q.v.) and power (see POWER AND IMPOTENCE). These decisions emerge in both the initial and the final phase of all acts and events. Through them God creates inanimate objects and human beings (see CREATION), rules over the life of his creatures, which he brings to their final end on the day of judgment (see LAST JUDGMENT).

There is, however, no unique term in the Qurʾān which speaks in general to this conception of decision. The terms which convey the idea — namely *ḥukm, faṣl,* and *qaḍāʾ* — can function interchangeably (e.g. Q 4:65; 6:57; 27:78; 42:21). There are, however, significant semantic differences between the three terms and the frequency with which they occur also varies.

The most ubiquitous of the terms, *ḥukm,* which is best translated as judgment (q.v.), is historically related to pre-Islamic judges *(ḥakam,* pl. *ḥukkām)* who exercised justice in ancient Arabia (see PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QURʾĀN). Lexically, it is associated with wisdom *(ḥikma)* and authority *(ḥukm, ḥukūma)* embodied in two of the most beautiful names of God (*al-asmāʾ al-ḥusnā,* see GOD AND HIS ATTRIBUTES): al-Ḥakam, "the Judge," and al-Ḥakīm, "the Wise." The term *ḥukm* already occurs in early Meccan sūras (see CHRONOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN) in the juxtaposition of the human judgments of the pagan Arabs (see AGE OF IGNORANCE) next to divine judgment (Q 5:50). God is described as "the most just of judges" (*aḥkam al-ḥākimīn,* Q 11:45; 95:8) and "the best of judges" (*khayr al-ḥākimīn,* Q 7:87; 10:109; 12:80). Of the three stages of existence of humans and the world — creation, life history and resurrection (q.v.) — *ḥukm* is overwhelmingly related to the second and the third, since it appears in only one qurʾānic passage in the context of creation (Q 13:41; see DEATH AND THE DEAD; ESCHATOLOGY). *Ḥukm* is also used in discussions about the prophetic authority to judge individuals with the help of scriptures (see BOOK), wherein special emphasis is given to Muḥammad and the Qurʾān, which is called "the Arabic code" (*ḥukm ʿarabī,* Q 13:37). Moses (q.v.), David (q.v.) and Jesus (q.v.) are also mentioned in this context, together with the Torah (q.v.; Q 5:44) and the Gospel (q.v.; Q 5:47).

The term *faṣl,* which is translated variously as cut, division, separation, differentiation and judgment, and which appears the least frequently of the three qurʾānic terms for decision, resembles *ḥukm* in its usage. It refers to the last judgment (Q 22:17; 60:3) and gives an early name for it, "the day of separation" (*yawm al-faṣl,* Q 37:21; 44:40; 77:13, 14, 38; 78:17), which is later replaced with "the day of judgment" (*yawm al-dīn,* as in Q 1:4). It is etymologically related to the biblical Hebrew idiom as well as to a qurʾānic epithet of God, "the best of arbiters" (*khayr al-fāṣilīn,* Q 6:57). It is also associated with the notion that the revealed word, speech or utterance is the basis of the judgment of prophets (Q 6:57; 42:21; 86:13; see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD; REVELATION AND INSPIRATION).

The third term, *qaḍāʾ,* which has the sense of decree, order or final judgment, is opposed to the previous two in many respects. First, it never occurs in the early Meccan sūras. Secondly, it rarely conveys the idea of a human judgment (with the exception of Q 10:71 and 20:72). Thirdly, the term usually implies God's pre-existent decision to undertake creation (q.v.; *kun fa-yakūn,* Q 2:117; 3:47; 19:35; 40:68) as well as the pre-ordained life-span *(ajal)* of human life (Q 6:2; 10:11; see FATE), approximating the meaning of *qadar,* i.e. the Lord's eternal universal decision concerning his creatures which he has determined for them from their creation (see FREEDOM AND PREDESTINATION). The main issues which Muslim theology (see THEOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN)

discussed in connection with *qaḍāʾ* included the following: determinism; the essence of the Prophet's mission; "acquisition" *(kasb* or *iktisāb),* i.e. the way in which humans acquire the acts determined and created for them by God (see ANTHROPOMORPHISM; MUʿTAZILA); the relationship between justice (see JUSTICE AND INJUSTICE) and mercy (q.v.) at the last judgment and the role of intercession (q.v.).

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Decoration

see MATERIAL CULTURE AND THE QURʾĀN

Deed Scroll

see RECORD OF HUMAN ACTIONS; BOOK

Deeds

see ETHICS IN THE QURʾĀN; EVIL DEEDS; GOOD DEEDS

Defamation

see LIE; OPPOSITION TO MUḤAMMAD

Deferral

The qurʾānic concept of postponement or delay in God's punishment. It was this concept, derived from the single occurrence of this word in conjunction with the decision-making character of God at Q 9:106, that formed the basis of the doctrine of a number of different groups of early Muslims usually called Murjiʾīs (*murjiʾa,* see CREEDS; THEOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN).

The concept of deferral *(irjāʾ)* is derived from the fourth form of the Arabic root *r-j-ʾ,* uniquely used in connection with God's judgment (q.v.) at Q 9:106 (the fourth form is also used at Q 33:51 but in reference to the Prophet's choice of spouses; see WIVES OF THE PROPHET). The word means to "delay" or "postpone" and refers to a group whose ultimate fate is postponed. With this definition, the verse could be translated: "There are others for whom God's command is deferred *(murjawna),* whether he will punish them or forgive them; for God is knowing, wise." Some commentators read the word as *murjaʾūnā* from the same root and with the same meaning while others derive the word from the root *r-j-w,* meaning "to hope" or "to anticipate," rendering the translation: "There are others who are made to hope for God's command…." This reading, however, contradicts the historical understanding of Q 9:106 (see OCCASIONS OF REVELATION).

The context of Q 9:106 is usually understood to involve the defection of some of Muḥammad's putative supporters in the expedition to Tabūk (see EXPEDITIONS AND BATTLES). There were those who were said to receive punishment twice, meaning in this world and the next (see REWARD AND PUNISHMENT), whereas those whose actions were considered a mixture of good and bad and who acknowledged their bad deeds (see GOOD AND EVIL) were offered the hope of God's forgiveness (q.v.; Q 9:101-2). The third group, those of Q 9:106, who had not repented but were not in either of the other groups, had their judgment deferred (see REPENTANCE AND PENANCE). After Muḥammad's death, various doctrinal and political positions arose around the issues of sin and punishment (see SIN, MAJOR AND MINOR). The Khārijīs (q.v.) held that

anyone who committed a grave sin had also committed apostasy (q.v.) and was condemned to hell (q.v.). They had emerged from a group of adherents to the fourth caliph (q.v.), ʿAlī (see ʿALĪ B. ABĪ ṬĀLIB), whose soldiers parted ways with him over the issue of arbitration during the battle of Ṣiffīn (q.v.). They held that ʿAlī and his Umayyad opponents were guilty of such a sin and were thus not to be followed. In opposition to the Khārijite position, some argued that these Muslims belonged to the category of those for whom God's judgment was deferred, and they too thus refrained from making a categorical judgment. From this also developed the notion that faith (q.v.) was sufficient to make one a Muslim, even if his or her works were not perfect (see WORK; GOOD DEEDS; EVIL DEEDS). As Islam spread into Khurāsān and Transoxania, the Murjiʾīs became supporters of unity among all Muslims and were thus in opposition to Shīʿīs as well as Khārijīs in disputes about legitimate rule as well as the definition of a good Muslim, the Shīʿīs holding as illegitimate the rule of the caliphs Abū Bakr (q.v.; r. 11-13/632-4), ʿUmar (q.v.; r. 13-23/634-44) and ʿUthmān (q.v.; r. 23-35/644-56). While the Murjiʾīs split into a number of factions, Murjiʾism became identified with support of converts to Islam, in opposition to some Umayyad policies, and Murjiʾīs became the champions of the converted non-Arab Muslims, the *mawālī*. The famous jurist Abū Ḥanīfa (81-150/700-760) held moderate Murjiʾī beliefs and many scholars see the origins of later Sunnism in moderate Murjiʾism.

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Defilement

see PURITY AND IMPURITY

Deities

see POLYTHEISM AND ATHEISM; IDOLS AND IMAGES; IDOLATRY AND IDOLATERS

Deliverance

Throughout the Qurʾān, but especially in later Meccan sūras, various forms of deliverance *(najjā/anjā, anqadha, waqā)* illustrate God's saving power (see POWER AND IMPOTENCE; SALVATION). God typically speaks in the divine plural, recalling specific settings in which he had acted on behalf of either the prophets or their people. Many of the references occur in the context of Muḥammad's efforts to counteract Meccan opposition (see OPPOSITION TO MUḤAMMAD).

Prominent among the beneficiaries of divine deliverance are the prophets (see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD), several of whom God rescues from the treacherous designs of those who reject their message (see MESSENGER). Moses (q.v.), Noah (q.v.) and Lot (q.v.) appear most often in this connection, their deliverance usually linked to that of the believers among their peoples. God rescues Moses (Q 14:6; 20:40, 65), the people of Israel (Q 2:49; 10:86; 20:80; 44:30; see CHILDREN OF ISRAEL) and Moses' brother Aaron (q.v.; Q 37:115) from the evil designs of Pharaoh (q.v.). The ḥadīth attribute the cause for fasting (q.v.) on ʿĀshūrāʾ (the voluntary fast-day observed on the tenth of Muḥarram) to that

rescue *(al-Ḥadīth al-sharīf,* Bukhārī 3145 and parallels, *najjā)*. Earlier in his career, Moses begs deliverance from the angry throng pursuing him after his murder of the Egyptian (Q 28:21; also 28:25). Pharaoh's wife, Āsiya, becomes the paradigm of the believer whom God saves in the very home of the arch-unbeliever (Q 66:11); but God accepts even Pharaoh's conversion as the sea engulfs him (Q 10:92). See BELIEF AND UNBELIEF.

Noah's escape from the clutches of unbelievers appears frequently (Q 7:64; 10:73; 21:76; 23:28; 26:118). Several texts (Q 10:22-3; 17:67; 29:65; 31:32) speak of God rescuing sea travelers from storms, only to have them return to idolatry once safely on land. One such text (Q 36:43) comes immediately after a reference to Noah's ark (q.v.), emphasizing that only God's power saves from death (see DEATH AND THE DEAD). For that verse, some exegetes gloss *anqadha* with *najjā* (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* x, 446; Bayḍāwī, *Anwār,* ii, 283; Abū Ḥayyān, *Baḥr,* viii, 324); other exegetes elaborate and identify deliverance as purification (see PURITY AND IMPURITY) from all that is loathsome (Ibn al-Jawzī, *Zād,* vi, 282), and compare drowning to eternal punishment (Qurtubī, *Jāmiʿ,* xv, 25; see REWARD AND PUNISHMENT). Lot and his family (Q 21:74; 26:169-70; 37:134), with the exception of his unbelieving wife (Q 29:32), merit deliverance, once in explicit association with Abraham (Q 21:71). God rescues all three of the pre-Islamic Arabian prophets: Hūd (q.v.), Shuʿayb (q.v.), and Ṣāliḥ (q.v.; Q 11:58, 94, 66; 41:18).

Though references to the deliverance of Muḥammad's people are scarce (Q 6:63-4), some texts refer to God protecting believers, either in general or as nameless individuals, from apocalyptic or eschatological disasters (see APOCALYPSE; ESCHATOLOGY) such as the fire of hell (q.v.; Q 52:18 which uses *waqā* in the sense of "deliver"; Q 70:14 *[anjā];* Q 3:103; 39:19 *[anqadha]*), fearsome wind (Q 58:23, often associated with the destruction of Hūd's [q.v.] people, the ʿĀd [q.v.]) or the evil of the last day (Q 39:61; 76:11; 10:103; see LAST JUDGMENT). The ḥadīth speak of the deliverance of individuals from the fire more often than the Qurʾān. For example, among the three kinds of people who experience the sweetness of faith (q.v.) are those who, once God has delivered them *(anqadha)* from unbelief, would rather be thrown into hell (q.v.) than revert to unbelief (*kufr, al-Ḥadīth al-sharīf,* Bukhārī 20; Muslim 60; Ibn Ḥanbal 11563; Tirmidhī 2548; Ibn Māja 4023; Nasāʾī 4902 and parallels; a similar theme is found in Ibn Ḥanbal 8051, 13467 and parallels). God alone is the unprotected protector (*wa-huwa yujīru wa-lā yujār ʿalayhi,* Q 23:88) whose deliverance and forgiveness (q.v.) await all who heed the prophets (Q 46:31; see also Q 67:28 and 72:22 on denial of deliverance).

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Demons

see DEVIL; SPIRITUAL BEINGS

Deobandis

The name given to Muslim scholars *(ʿulamāʾ)* associated with the Indo-Pakistani reformist movement centered in the religious school *(dār al-ʿulūm)* of Deoband, a country town some ninety miles northeast of Delhi. Founded in 1867, the school was a pioneering effort to transmit the religious sciences by organizing staff and instruction on the model of British colonial schools (see TRADITIONAL DISCIPLINES OF QURʾĀNIC

STUDY). The goal of the school was to preserve the teachings of the faith (q.v.) in a period of non-Muslim rule and considerable social change by holding Muslims to a standard of correct individual practice. Central to that goal was the creation of a class of formally trained and popularly supported religious scholars (*ʿulamā,* see SCHOLAR) who served as imams (see IMĀM), guardians and trustees of mosques (see MOSQUE) and tombs, preachers, muftis, spiritual guides, writers and publishers of religious works. The school's curriculum has included study of the art of reciting the Qurʾān (*tajwīd, qirāʾāt,* see RECITATION OF THE QURʾĀN), of translation (*tarjama,* see TRANSLATION OF THE QURʾĀN) and of qurʾānic commentary (*tafsīr* and *uṣūl-i tafsīr* such as *J̌alālayn;* Shāh Walī Allāh, *al-Fawz al-kabīr;* al-Bayḍāwī, *Anwār;* and Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr;* see EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL). At its first centenary in 1967, Deoband counted almost 10,000 graduates including several hundred from foreign countries. Hundreds of Deobandi schools, moreover, have been founded across the Indian sub-continent.

The early Deobandis were associated with a shift in emphasis from the rational sciences *(al-ʿulūm al-ʿaqliyya)* to the revealed or traditional sciences *(al-ʿulūm al-naqliyya)* of Qurʾān and, above all, ḥadīth. In this they followed their forebear, Shāh Walī Allāh Dihlavī (1702-63) whose qurʾānic commentary stressing the clear meaning of the Qurʾān was highly influential and whose translation of the Qurʾān into Persian stimulated further translations into Urdu, among them two produced by his sons. They have also been firmly committed to the Ḥanafī legal tradition (see LAW AND THE QURʾĀN). The Deobandis were among those *ʿulamāʾ* who took advantage of the newly available lithographic presses to disseminate sacred texts and vernacular materials widely. The scholar and revered spiritual guide, Mawlānā Ashraf ʿAlī Thānavī (1864-1943), one of the most influential Deobandis of this century, is an important example of the school's qurʾānic scholars. He was an accomplished reciter *(qāriʾ)* of the Qurʾān, enjoyed the prestige of those who knew the holy text by heart *(ḥāfiẓ),* was esteemed for his natural voice in recitation and authored many works on *tajwīd.* He translated the Qurʾān into excellent and accurate Urdu and prepared a twelve-volume commentary, *Tafsīr bayān al-Qurʾān,* with citations from ḥadīth to elucidate matters of law and Ṣūfism (see ṢŪFISM AND THE QURʾĀN).

Deobandi devotion to the Qurʾān was not merely scholarly. When Rashīd Aḥmad Gangōhī (1829-1905), for example, read the Qurʾān alone at night, his biographer wrote, he would be overcome with joy or shake in terror as he read of God's mercy (q.v.) or his wrath (see ANGER). The Deobandis also used sections of the Qurʾān for *ʿamaliyyāt,* i.e. prescriptions of certain prayers and readings intended to secure particular concrete goals. Indeed another of Ashraf ʿAlī Thānavī's books was the *Aʿmāl-i qurʾānī,* intended to save common people from undertaking illegitimate works *(aʿmāl).*

The central school, as well as Deobandi schools throughout the sub-continent, continue to teach many students. The apolitical strand within the school's teaching has taken shape for many in the widespread, now trans-national, pietist movement known since the 1920s as Tablīghī Jamāʿat; the movement has particularly cherished the popular writings of Mawlānā Muḥammad Zakariyyā Kandhalavī (1897-1982), among them the *Faḍāʾil-i Qurʾān* (1930) and its discussion of forty ḥadīth.

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Depravity see EVIL

Desert see GEOGRAPHY IN THE QURʾĀN

Design see COSMOLOGY IN THE QURʾĀN

Desire see WISH AND DESIRE

Despair

The loss of hope. Rendered in Arabic by the following five different roots: *y-ʾ-s, q-n-ṭ, b-ʾ-s, b-l-s, w-ḥ-n*. Loss of hope in God's mercy (q.v.) is the chief cause of despair in the Qurʾān which contrasts human responses in good times with feelings that can prevail in dire straits. Human beings consider bounty to be the result of their own doing, but when they encounter difficulties, they assume God is to blame and give up (Q 11:9; 17:83; 41:49; 57:23; see 30:49, 42:28 for the converse). In fact, human beings often cause their own sense of desperation through evil deeds (q.v.; Q 30:36; 47:35). A ḥadīth says that God "laughs at the despair of his servants," amused at humanity's insecurity about something so infinitely certain as the divine mercy (*al-Ḥadīth al-sharīf,* Ibn Māja 177, Ibn Ḥanbal 15598, 15612).

Prophets (see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD) must maintain courage (q.v.) while striving in the way of God (Q 3:146; see PATH OR WAY [OF GOD]) amongst unbelieving peoples (Q 12:110) though they may be tempted to despair of God's largess for themselves as Abraham (q.v.) did when he doubted that the birth of a son would come to pass (Q 15:55, 56). Joseph (q.v.) tells Benjamin (q.v.) not to lose heart at the actions of their brothers (Q 12:60), and God instructs Noah (q.v.) to rise above rejection and build the ark (q.v.; Q 11:36). Conversely, a prophet's enemies (q.v.) may despair when they fail to undermine the divine message (Q 5:3). Joseph's brothers lose hope of persuading Joseph not to detain the falsely accused Benjamin (Q 12:80). Ironically, Jacob (q.v.) later encourages his sons to return to Egypt (q.v.) to ask about Joseph, so as not to despair of God's mercy as unbelievers do (Q 12:87; see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF).

All who reject God's signs (q.v.) despair of divine deliverance (q.v.) and of a life hereafter (Q 29:23; 60:13; see REWARD AND PUNISHMENT). After death (see DEATH AND THE DEAD) the burden of their deeds will mire them in hopelessness (Q 43:75), for none will intercede for them (Q 30:12; see INTERCESSION). Distracted by every whim, the spiritually petulant expect blessing (q.v.) without consequence, unable to cope with the ethical demands of God-given success (Q 23:77), while people of faith (q.v.) do not lose heart (Q 3:139). A ḥadīth says: "No believer who knows the punishment God has in store aspires to heaven; and no unbeliever who knows the extent of

God's mercy despairs *(q-n-ṭ)* of paradise" (*al-Ḥadīth al-sharīf,* Tirmidhī 3465; Muslim 4948; Ibn Ḥanbal 8063, 8799, 9890).

For sinners, trust in God's forgiveness is a struggle (q.v.; Q 39:53). Ibn Kathīr (d. 774/1373; *Tafsīr,* iv, 65-6) provides an excursus on ḥadīth about counteracting despair with the certainty of divine forgiveness; al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923; *Tafsīr,* xi, 14) and Ibn al-Jawzī (d. 597/1200; *Zād,* vii, 59) gloss *q-n-ṭ* with *y-ʾ-s;* the Muʿtazilite al-Zamakhsharī (d. 538/1144; *Kashshāf,* iv, 130-1) emphasizes that God forgives *all* sin since he is impervious and "does not care," i.e. is not affected by the sins of his creatures. God seeks to bring the heedless back through bounty, only to see them regress into hopelessness at the merest hint of accountability (Q 6:44). Ṣūfī authors also develop the theme. Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī (d. 386/996) quotes Q 39:53 in his section on hope (*rajāʾ, Qūt,* i, 375); Abū Saʿīd al-Kharrāz (d. 286/899) glosses *rajāʾ* as "'despair *(yaʾs)* of all that God has marked with the stamp of nothingness,' that is, all that is not God" and interprets the "truth of longing" *(ṣidq al-raghba)* as despairing *(qunūṭ)* of lust and covetousness (Nwyia, *Exégèse,* 280-1; see ṢŪFISM AND THE QURʾĀN).

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Secondary: Nwyia, *Exégèse;* Wensinck, *Concordance.*

Destiny

The predetermined course of events in general and of human actions and eternal fate in particular, a condition foreordained by divine will or human will, a real or imaginary impersonal power or agency. From the first Islamic centuries, the question of the agency of human works and eternal destiny was a widely discussed controversy among Muslim theologians — whether they are ordained by God's decree or whether they are executed by man himself (see FREEDOM AND PREDESTINATION; ANTHROPOMORPHISM; DECISION). Both determinists and non-determinists made reference to the Qurʾān in support of their respective views with scriptural proofs (see THEOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN).

In the Qurʾān, deterministic and non-deterministic sayings stand side by side. The qurʾānic concept of the last judgment (q.v.) when God will demand individual reckoning from each human being clearly presupposes man's individual liberty and responsibility for his actions in this world and his destiny in the hereafter (e.g. Q 3:161, 182; 4:110-2; 18:29-31; 36:54; 45:24-37; 53:33-41, 56-62; 99:1-8). All that a person has done in this world is recorded in his or her individual record book *(al-kitāb)* throughout life (see RECORD OF HUMAN ACTIONS). When the day of judgment comes, the acts of everyone in this world are shown to the individual by God (e.g. Q 6:59; 10:61-5; 17:13-4, 71-2; 34:3; 36:12; 39:69-70; 45:28-9; 83:7-24). God is considered an impartial judge. He objectively evaluates that which the individual has done in this world. The objective character of the judgment is allegorically expressed by the metaphor of scales (e.g. Q 7:8-9; 21:47; 23:101-5; 101:4-11; see ESCHATOLOGY). Without the freedom to choose one's actions, personal responsibility for conduct on the day of judgment would be meaningless. Free choice is also expressly stated in those passages where God is said not to lead astray (q.v.) except if

one chooses to disobey (e.g. Q 7:28; 11:101; see DISOBEDIENCE). Similarly, God cannot effectively guide those who are not willing to receive his guidance (e.g. Q 16:104).

In contrast, other passages of the Qurʾān emphasize God's omnipotence and omniscience and human responsibility appears completely eclipsed. Here, human destiny is said to depend on the will of God. He is the originator of belief and unbelief (q.v.), he guides or leads astray as he pleases. Whomsoever God desires to guide, he opens his heart (q.v.) to Islam (q.v.); whomsoever he desires to lead astray, he hardens his heart, narrow, tight, as if forced to climb to heaven unaided. So God lays abomination upon those who believe not (Q 6:125; see also Q 2:6-7; 7:177-9; 9:51; 10:98-103; 11:118; 13:27; 14:27; 16:35-40; 16:93; 18:17; 24:21; 32:12-4; 76:27-31; 81:27-9). God's omniscience furthermore includes foreknowledge of all future events which are laid down in the clear book *(kitāb mubīn)* or heavenly book (*umm al-kitāb,* see BOOK). In contrast to the record book, *kitāb* here refers to a book of destiny that contains everything that God knows (e.g. Q 6:38; 11:6; 13:38-43; 15:4; 17:58; 20:51-5; 22:70; 27:75; 35:11; 57:22-3). The idea of predetermination is also conveyed by the concept of fixed terms *(ajal)* set by God in his governing of the world and denoting, at least in some instances, the time of death (Q 3:145; 10:49; 11:3; 15:4; 39:42; 63:10-11; see DEATH AND THE DEAD).

In other passages a combination of deterministic and non-deterministic outlooks is found. In the following verses, for instance, the idea of a book of account seems to be confused with the idea of destiny or fate fastened on man's neck: "Around each man's neck we have hung his ledger *(ṭāʾir)* of deeds and on the day of resurrection we will present it as a book spread out [and say]: 'Read your ledger; this day you are sufficient to take your own account'" (Q 17:13-4; see also Q 22:67-72; 27:71-5; 34:1-5; 53:33-62; see RECORD OF HUMAN ACTIONS; RESURRECTION).

It has been argued (Blachère, Paret) that the discrepancies of the Qurʾān on the issue of human destiny are to be explained in terms of chronological development. During his early period, when the Prophet demanded repentance in the face of impending judgment (see REPENTANCE AND PENANCE), he assumed freedom of choice and responsibility on the part of his hearers. The opposition he encountered, however, called for an explanation which was found in the idea of predestination; the unbelief of his hearers must be due to the will of God (see OPPOSITION TO MUḤAMMAD). This explanation also served as a practical source of comfort for the Prophet who was thus freed from personal responsibility for the unbelievers. Other scholars (Rahbar, Räisänen) have argued that the determinist passages should be interpreted in the light of non-determinist sayings and attempted to show that there are no predestinarian teachings at all in the Qurʾān. In their view, the idea of human responsibility and of judgment according to deeds is so fundamental in the Qurʾān that it predominates even where the language has a predestinarian coloring. Nagel and Jomier do not see a contradiction in the two standpoints as found throughout the Qurʾān, but rather understand them to result from and stand in subordination to the notion of the divine who is both supreme judge and omnipotent, bountiful creator and preserver of his creation (see GOD AND HIS ATTRIBUTES; CREATION). Whenever emphasis is placed on God as the supreme judge over his creation, man's freedom and responsibility is implied. Whenever God is referred to as omnipotent, bountiful creator and preserver of his creation the

deterministic standpoint is included (see POWER AND IMPOTENCE). It should also be mentioned that the Qurʾān, a text designed to call people to faith (q.v.), had no intention of precise theological harmony, but stands on the force of its rhetoric, much of which involves contrasting language to evoke a response in its hearers (see RHETORIC OF THE QURʾĀN).

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Destroyed Cities and Peoples

see PUNISHMENT STORIES

Determinism

see FREEDOM AND PREDESTINATION

Devil

The fallen angel (q.v.) or jinn (q.v.) known by two names in the Qurʾān, Iblīs (q.v.) and Shayṭān. The ambiguities present in the English word "devil" (themselves a result of early Christian translation activities; see Jeffrey Burton Russell, *The devil. Perceptions of evil from antiquity to primitive Christianity,* Ithaca 1977) are precisely those reflected in the Qurʾān, such that the heritage of the Greek demon "accuser" and the Hebrew "adversary" are brought together in one character.

The word *shayṭān* is used 70 times in the Qurʾān in the singular form, including six times in the indefinite (Q 4:117; 15:17; 22:3; 37:7; 43:36; 81:25), plus 18 times in the plural, *shayāṭīn,* which is always definite. Etymologically, the word is related to the Hebrew *sāṭān;* and the passage of the word into Arabic is not clear, although it is usually thought to have come into Arabic through Christian languages (especially Ethiopic; see FOREIGN VOCABULARY). A recent study of early Qurʾān manuscripts has suggested another reason for the particular form of the Arabic word: The pronunciation of the word may be due to a misunderstanding of early Arabic orthography (see CALLIGRAPHY). The word was originally to be pronounced *sāṭān* or *shāṭān,* and the first long *a* of the word was written with a *yāʾ,* contrary to the rules of later orthography which does not allow *yāʾ* to represent *ā* in the middle of a word (but only at the end). The loss of understanding of that orthography then resulted in the pronunciation *shayṭān* (see Gerd-R. Puin, Neue Wege der Koranforschung, in *Universität des Saarlandes Magazin Forschung* 1 (1999), p. 40).

Iblīs, on the other hand, is used only 11 times in the Qurʾān, always as a proper name. The general consensus is that the word is derived from the Greek *diabolos*. Arab tradition connects the word to the verbal sense of *ublisa* meaning "he was rendered without hope," a reference to Iblīs' fate of being cursed and sentenced to punishment by God (see Jeffery, *For. vocab.,* 47-8, with a full bibliography). That sense of the verbal root is itself present in Q 30:12: "On the day when the hour will arrive the guilty will be in despair," and also Q 6:44, 23:77, and 43:75, with the same sense of the punishment of the evil doers (see CHASTISEMENT AND PUNISHMENT); in

Q 30:49 people are in despair (q.v.) over the difficulties of life. In none of those cases, however, does the figure of Iblīs actually enter into the picture.

The name Iblīs figures mainly in the stories of the creation of Adam (see ADAM AND EVE) and the subsequent fall of the devil (the context of nine of the instances of the name is the "bowing" before Adam). When the angels were ordered to bow before the first man Adam (see BOWING AND PROSTRATION), Iblīs refused (Q 2:34; 7:11; 15:31; 17:61; 18:50; 20:116; 38:74-5; see COSMOLOGY IN THE QUR'ĀN), citing the human's creation from clay as the reason (e.g. Q 15:33: "I am not going to bow to man whom You have created from clay of moulded mud"). God then curses Iblīs, calling him "accursed," *rajīm* (Q 15:34; 38:77, lit. "stoned," also used in reference to al-Shayṭān and the *shayāṭīn* and symbolically as "accursed" but meant literally in the rituals of the pilgrimage [q.v.; *ḥajj*]; see the commentary *(tafsīr)* tradition on the *isti'ādha* [the statement said before reciting the Qur'ān, "I seek refuge with God from Satan, the accursed"], e.g. Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* i, 111-13, trans. J. Cooper, *The commentary on the Qur'ān by Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. Jarīr al-Ṭabarī,* Oxford 1987, 46-7). God orders Iblīs "out" (of paradise presumably; Q 15:34; 38:77) but the punishment promised to him (unspecified but cf. Q 26:94-5: "they will be thrown into it [hell, q.v.], they and the perverse, and the hosts of Iblīs") is delayed until the judgment day (see LAST JUDGMENT), as a result of Iblīs's plea. Iblīs is given the power to lead astray (q.v.) those who are not followers of the true God (Q 15: 39-40; 34:20-1). The name al-Shayṭān, however, is used in speaking of Iblīs' first act of temptation, when he tempts Adam and Eve to eat of the "tree of immortality" (Q 20:120-3; see also 7:20-2; see FALL OF MAN).

Al-Shayṭān's role in scripture extends well beyond this one myth (see MYTHIC AND LEGENDARY NARRATIVES), however, while the figure of Iblīs is confined to it. Iblīs may be characterized, then, as the one who is proud and disobedient (see DISOBEDIENCE; ARROGANCE), while al-Shayṭān is the tempter, and it is in that role that the emphasis falls within other sections of the Qur'ān when al-Shayṭān is mentioned. It is notable that the two names, Iblīs and al-Shayṭān, are used within the same narrative (Q 2:30-9; 7:11-25; 20:116-23) in such a manner as to discount a simple blending of separate myths related to these two names; rather, the narrative appears integrated and the change in name is best interpreted to suggest that Iblīs gained the name al-Shayṭān after his disobedience, which is how the Muslim tradition has frequently understood it.

The details of the story of the fall of the devil are very similar to those found in Jewish and especially Christian apocryphal literature (and quite distinct from the sketchy story found in the biblical text itself; see SCRIPTURE AND THE QUR'ĀN). The idea of the angels worshipping Adam and of the devil's refusal is found in the *Life of Adam and Eve* (written no later than 400 C.E.; see the introduction and translation by M.D. Johnston, in James H. Charlesworth, *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha,* Garden City, NJ 1985, vol. 2, 249-95, esp. *Vita* 12:1-16:3) and the *Questions of Bartholomew* (likely third century C.E. in its original form) explains, among many details similar to the qur'ānic story, that the devil's refusal to bow was based on the objection that his essence was of fire (q.v.) as opposed to Adam's clay (q.v.; see the introduction and translation by F. Scheidweiler and W. Schneemelcher in W. Schneelmelcher (ed.), *New Testament Apocrypha,* vol. 1, *Gospels and related writings,* trans. R.M. Wilson, Louisville 1991, 537-53, esp. 4:54).

It is thus to al-Shayṭān that most of what

have become the traditional characteristics of the devil are ascribed. He has the ability to cause fear (Q 3:175), cause people to slip (Q 2:36; 3:155), lead astray (Q 4:60), precipitate enmity and hatred (Q 5:91), make people forget (Q 6:68; 12:42; 18:63), tempt (Q 7:27; 47:25), and provoke strife (Q 17:53). He is described as a comrade to unbelievers (Q 4:38), a manifest foe (Q 7:22, 17:53, 43:62), an enemy (Q 12:5). Guile (Q 4:76), defilement (Q 8:11) and abomination (Q 5:90) are associated with him. The image of evil (see EVIL DEEDS) as a "path," like that of righteousness, is conveyed in Q 7:16-7, "Said [the devil], 'Now, for Your putting me out, I will sit in ambush for them on Your straight path. Then I will assault them from in front and from behind, from their right and their left.'" Al-Shayṭān also is spoken of as "taking steps" and his followers take steps towards him (Q 2:168, 208; 6:142; 24:21; see also 4:83). He is seen as an influence towards a number of specific as well as more general sins (see SIN, MAJOR AND MINOR), actions which take people away from God. Among his tools to do this are several vocal attributes: He calls (Q 31:21), simply speaks (Q 14:22; 59:16), promises (Q 2:268), and whispers (Q 7:20; 20:120; see also 50:16; 104:4-5). The attributes, "the deluder" (*gharūr,* Q 3:33; 35:5; 57:14) and "the one who slinks or sneaks around" (*khannās,* Q 114:4) have particularly stuck with al-Shayṭān, such that they have even been used on occasion as proper names for particularly evil people.

The proper name al-Shayṭān may be distinguished from the qurʾānic plural usage *shayāṭīn* which is often thought to reflect Arabian notions of devils (although it is used in a sense which is not unknown within the biblical tradition as in the "adversaries" of 1 *Sam* 29:4). These "devils" can be humans or jinn (Q 6:112) and come in varying ranks (see SPIRITUAL BEINGS). The word is used to refer to the hosts of evil (Q 2:102; 6:121), the evil leaders among humans (e.g. Q 2:14) and mischievous spirits very similar to jinn (Q 6:71; 21:82). They are the friends of the unbelievers (Q 7:27), they make evil suggestions (Q 23:97) and they were believed by Muḥammad's opponents to be the source of his inspiration (Q 26:210, 221; see OPPOSITION TO MUḤAMMAD).

In exegetical material and other literature reflecting more popular images, especially those associated with Ṣūfism, the qurʾānic predominance of the evil influence of al-Shayṭān on humans becomes overtaken by the personality of Iblīs, ultimately reaching the point of mystical meditation on the "disobedience of Iblīs." This results from Iblīs's ascetic, worshipping nature (his refusal to bow down to Adam is an indication of how serious he took the command to worship God alone) and because of his personality which reflects human ambiguity and complexity (see ṢŪFISM AND THE QURʾĀN). By no means is al-Shayṭān neglected, however, although the two names do become separated to some degree in later Islamic thought, such that al-Shayṭān is the force of malevolence (see GOOD AND EVIL) and Iblīs more of a symbolic figure of human failings.

A good deal of discussion has taken place over the original nature of Iblīs (and, thus, al-Shayṭān). One statement in the Qurʾān suggest that he was a jinn (Q 18:50, "They bowed themselves save Iblīs; he was one of the jinn"); and yet he was among the angels when they were commanded to bow to Adam. Resolving this apparent inconsistency consumed many pages in classical Muslim writing and continues to vex polemicists today. The problem revolves around an understanding of the nature of the angels and the jinn. The angels were considered incapable of disobedience; being sinless and able only to follow God's will, they are unable to have offspring, and

they were said to have been created from light (q.v.). The Qurʾān clearly indicates, however, that Iblīs was one of the jinn, that the jinn were made from fire (Q 55:15, "He created the jinn of a smokeless fire"), and that he has offspring (Q 18:50, "What, do you take him [Iblīs] and his seed to be your friends apart from Me while they are an enemy to you?"). To resolve the problem, many solutions were put forth, and they are gathered together in works such as al-Ṭabarī's (d. 310/923) *History* and most Qurʾān commentaries (mainly when dealing with Q 2:34). One line of thought affirms Iblīs's angelic nature. The suggestion is made that jinn was a tribal or clan name of some of the angels (perhaps of the cultivators who lived on earth). The word jinn was also said to be derived from *janna,* paradise (q.v.) or garden (q.v.), and the jinn are a special class of angels in charge of access to paradise. In fact, Iblīs's downfall was the result of his pride (q.v.) at being in charge of everything between heaven and earth. On the other hand, some argued for Iblīs as a member of a distinct class of creation, the jinn. One story recounts that Iblīs was a jinn who was captured by the angels when young and raised by them. This was the result of a battle between the two groups. Among the many reports on the subject, al-Ṭabarī states, "God created the angels on Wednesday, he created the jinn on Thursday, and he created Adam on Friday.… Some jinn disbelieved, and the angels went down to them on earth to fight them. Thus, bloodshed (q.v.) and corruption (q.v.) came into being on earth." (Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh,* i, 82, trans. Rosenthal, 253) and "the angels used to fight the jinn and Iblīs was taken captive. He was young and used to worship together with the angels" (i, 85, trans. 256). Popular imagination wound these and other such narrative fragments into an imaginative story to reconcile the various qurʾānic elements, although no consensus was truly reached as to the nature or origin of Iblīs.

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Dhikr see PRAYER

Dhimma see PEOPLE OF THE BOOK

Dhū l-Kifl

An enigmatic figure, whose name appears in the Qurʾān in two places: "And [remember] Ismāʿīl (see ISHMAEL) and Idrīs (q.v.) and Dhū l-Kifl, all of them were patient" (Q 21:85); "And call to mind Ismāʿīl and Alyasaʿ and Dhū l-Kifl and all of the best" (Q 38:48).

In some exegetical works, it is held that Dhū l-Kifl was a prophet since he is mentioned alongside other prophets (see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD). Most exegetes, however, deny his prophethood, confining themselves to repeating the qurʾānic statement that he belonged to

those who were patient and the best.

A person named Dhū l-Kifl is unknown to the Bible (q.v.). One starting point for fleshing out this figure is the meaning of the root *k-f-l:* to nourish, to take care of, to oblige oneself *(kafala);* to entrust *(kaffala);* to vouch for, to guarantee, to engage oneself *(takaffala);* portion *(kifl,* also *naṣīb,* i.e. "share," sc. of felicity, *ḥazz);* the double and more *(diʿf),* sc. of doing good works and of recompense (Azharī, *Tahdhīb,* x, 250-3; *Lisān al-ʿArab,* xiv, 107-10; see GOOD DEEDS).

Many stories are told in exegetical literature *(tafsīr)* and extra-scriptural tales *(qiṣaṣ)* to explain the name. While G. Vajda styles these stories "edifying," they do have a theological meaning. Ibn al-Jawzī (d. 597/1200; *Zād,* ad Q 21:85) tells, on the transmission of Muḥammad b. al-Sāʾib (d. 146/763), the story of Dhū l-Kifl's rescue of a hundred prophets threatened with death by an ungodly king and his care for them, which recalls the biblical story of Obadiah and Jezebel (*1 Kings* 18:4). Another story, in which Dhū l-Kifl promises a pious man who performed a hundred prayers (*ṣalāt,* see PRAYER) every day to do the same after the latter's death, first appears in ʿAbd al-Razzāq al-Ṣanʿānī (d. 211/827; *Tafsīr,* ii, 25), on the transmission of Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī (d. ca. 42/662; a prominent *ṣaḥābī,* see COMPANIONS OF THE PROPHET) and is based on *kifl* meaning "the double and more." The story of Dhū l-Kifl's kindness to a prostitute illustrates the meaning of *kifl* as "portion, delight" *(naṣīb, ḥazz)*: There, he solicits her with money, but overcomes the temptation and, having promised never again to sin, dies the same night (Thaʿlabī, *Qiṣaṣ,* 232; Shawkānī, *Tafsīr,* iii, 425f.). He was rewarded by eternal delight in paradise (q.v.; see REWARD AND PUNISHMENT). An example of Dhū l-Kifl's trust in God and belief in the freedom of the will (see FREEDOM AND PREDESTINATION) is the popular story of his appointment to succeed to the office of a prophet or king of the Israelites, on condition of committing himself *(takaffala)* to fast during the day, to remain awake at night and to act as a judge without becoming angered. The devil's efforts at making him angry produce no effect (Sufyān al-Thawrī, *Tafsīr,* 161f.; Suyūṭī, *Durr,* iv, 595f.). The story of Dhū l-Kifl acting as bailsman *(kafīl)* on behalf of the heathen king Kanʿān is an example of divinely conferred prophetic authority: Dhū l-Kifl converts the king and gives him a letter in which he guarantess God's obligation to reward the king *(al-kafīl ʿalā llāh li-Kanʿān)* with paradise (Fasawī, *Badʾ l-khalq,* 71-4, in three different versions; see also Ṭarafī, *Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ,* 239-41; Qurṭubī, *Jāmiʿ,* xi, 217, has all six stories).

Much in these stories reminds one of biblical tales of prophets and other heroes, especially the Elijah (q.v.) and Elisha (q.v.) cycle (*1 Kings,* 17; *2 Kings* 13) and Moses' (q.v.) appointment of Joshua as his successor (*Num* 27,16-23). Accordingly, Dhū l-Kifl has been numbered among the prophets by identifying him as Elijah, Joshua or Zechariah (Zamakhsharī, *Kashshāf,* iii, 581; Rāzī, *Tafsīr,* xxii, 183; Bayḍāwī, *Anwār,* ii, 77; Shawkānī, *Tafsīr,* iii, 425). His identification as Zechariah (q.v.) is possibly based on Q 3:37, *wa-kaffalahā Zakariyyā,* "and he entrusted her [Mary] to the care of Zechariah."

According to al-Ṭabarī (*Taʾrīkh,* i, 364), God called Bishr, the son of Job (q.v.), to prophethood after his father's death, naming him Dhū l-Kifl; he converted the Rūm (Thaʿlabī, *Qiṣaṣ,* 145; see BYZANTINES). When identified as Elisha (perhaps in recollection of *2 Kings* 2:9, "Let me inherit a double share of your spirit"), Dhū l-Kifl is said to be a cousin of the biblical and qurʾānic Elisha (Bayḍāwī, *Anwār,* ii, 314), a brother of the latter (Burūsawī, *Tafsīr,* iii,

368) or Elisha, the son of Akhṭūb or Yakhṭūb (Ṭabarsī, *Majmaʿ,* vii, 107).

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Dhū l-Nūn see JONAH

Dhū l-Qarnayn see ALEXANDER

Dialectic and Debate see DEBATE AND DISPUTATION

Dialects

Different forms of the Arabic language (q.v.). Commentators on the language of the Qurʾān, both medieval and modern, often turn to dialectal material as a relevant source for understanding the contents and linguistic background of the sacred text (see EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN). Already in the earliest sources treating of dialectal forms (dating back to the end of the second/eighth century), which were produced within the context of qurʾānic exegesis and the description of the Arabic language, the word *lugha* denotes not only language variants but also dialectal forms, i.e. the particular form of Arabic used in a region or by an ethnic (tribal or super-tribal) group (pace Hadj-Salah, Lugha). Kinberg's index of al-Farrāʾ's (d. 207/822) *Maʿānī l-Qurʾān* lists 25 groups with their own forms of the language (i.e. *lugha, kalām*): Azd ʿUmmān, Banū Asad, Tamīm, Tamīm wa-Bakr, Tamīm wa-Rabīʿa, ʿUlyā Tamīm wa-Suflā Qays, Tihāma, Ahl al-Ḥijāz, Ahl al-Ḥijāz wa-Ahl al-ʿĀliya, Banū l-Ḥārith b. Kaʿb, Ḥaḍramawt, Ahl al-Ḥawrān, Salīm, al-Ṭāʾiyyūna, Banū ʿUqayl, ʿUkal, al-ʿĀliya, Banū ʿĀmir, Quraysh, Qays, Kinda, Najd, al-Anṣār, Hudhayl, and Ahl al-Yaman, also called *lugha yamaniyya* (Kinberg, *Lexicon,* 744-53; see TRIBES AND CLANS). For all that, it should be noted that these early sources tend to refer to a vague notion of *lugha* without any further attribution. Al-Farrāʾ, for instance, states in his discussion of Q 1:7 on the alternative expression *ʿalayhum* for *ʿalayhim: wa-humā lughatāni li-kull lugha madhhab fī l-ʿarabiyya,* "… they are two modes of expression, each one of which belongs to an accepted custom in Arabic" (Farrāʾ, *Maʿānī,* i, 5). Likewise, in his discussion of Q 2:61, al-Farrāʾ (*Maʿānī,* i, 41) identifies the use of "corn" (*fūm,* variant reading "garlic") as an archaic usage of the language *(lugha qadīma)*. The very obscure *lughat man qāla akalūnī l-barāghīth,* "the *lugha* of those saying 'The fleas devoured me,'" is Sībawayhi's (d. ca. 180/796) recurring label for what we would define as a structure in which the verb (which should be in the feminine singular form, but is in the masculine plural) agrees with its subject in number (for the analysis of the Arab grammarians, see Levin, What is meant).

Sībawayhi does not define the group following this usage, but Abū ʿUbayda (d. 209/824-5) ascribes the label and the personal use of this structure as it occurs in Q 3:113 and in 5:71 to one Abū ʿAmr al-Hudhalī, i.e. a person from Hudhayl *(Majāz)*.

It is instructive that the early commentators do not identify the language of the Qurʾān as purely Ḥijāzī. For example, in Q 25:18, "They were a corrupt people" *(wa-kānū qawman būran),* the meaning of *būr* is identified with the better known term for "corrupt" *(fāsid)* in "the language of the Azd of ʿUmmān" *(lughat Azd ʿUmmān)* as opposed to the common speech of the Arabs in general *(kalām al-ʿarab),* in which it means "nothing" *(lā shayʾ)*. There is, however, a tendency to prefer Ḥijāzī variants, especially when they are faithful to the orthography of the canonical text, e.g. the reading *fa-ajāʾahā* of Ahl al-Ḥijāz and al-ʿĀliya at Q 19:23 is considered "qurʾānic" whereas Tamīm's *ashāʾa* is called "another language not valid in the book (i.e. the Qurʾān)" *(lugha ukhrā lā taṣluḥu fī l-kitāb)*. Indication of dialectal peculiarities offered early scholars a means by which to explain variations in qurʾānic readings such as the Ḥijāzī *mathulāt* and the Tamīmi *muthlāt* in Q 13:6 and, likewise, *ṣaduqāt* and *ṣudqāt* in Q 4:4 (see READINGS OF THE QURʾĀN).

The study of dialectal forms serves also to explain the linguistic peculiarities of the Qurʾān, for instance, the four occurrences of "They fear not meeting us [God]" (*lā yarjūna liqāʾanā,* Q 10:7, 11, 15; 25:21) in which the verb seems to mean "to be afraid of," and not the usual rendering, "to wish." A Tihāmī use of *rajā* in this sense is offered as explanation by al-Farrāʾ (*Maʿānī,* ii, 265). Even more interesting is the attempt, regrettably missing in the otherwise useful study of Burton (Linguistic errors), to recruit dialectal study for a convincing solution of the dialectal variant in "These two men are sorcerers" (*inna hādhāni la-sāḥirāni,* Q 20:63). Al-Farrāʾ (*Maʿānī,* ii, 183-4) explains the unexpected use of the nominative *hādhāni* (instead of the accusative *hādhayni*) on the basis of information received from a "most reliable" informant with Asad affiliation (literally, "most eloquent," in the sense of an accurate and natural instinctive sense for language peculiarities) who states that the tribe of Ḥārith b. Kaʿb has an uninflected dual case-ending *-ā(ni)* as well as an uninflected relative dual *alladhāni*. In the same context, al-Farrāʾ (*Maʿānī, ii,* 184) mentions another dialectal peculiarity concerning the *iʿrāb* (i.e. desinential inflection) of *alladhūna* as attested by the tribe of Kināna. A similar attempt is made by Abū Zayd according to al-Akhfash's (d. ca. 221/835) report in his *Maʿānī l-Qurʾān,* who identifies the dialectal form in question as a shift of all *-ay* to *ā* (e.g. *ʿalayka* > *ʿalāka*) and attributes its distribution to the tribe of Balḥārith (see Talmon, *Arabic grammar*). Could it be that this mode of utilizing dialectal data in the service of qurʾānic exegesis created the dogma which is formulated as "The Qurʾān has been revealed in seven dialectal versions" *(nazala l-Qurʾān bi-sabʿ lughāt)*? Similarly, al-Farrāʾ contends that *hayta* in Q 12:23, "Come, she said, take me [lit. I'm yours]" *(qālat hayta laka)* is a way of expressing oneself peculiar to the people of Ḥawrān which had been adopted by the Meccans *(Maʿānī,* ii, 40: *innahā lugha li-ahl Ḥawrān saqaṭat ilā Makka fa-takallamū bihā)* whereas "the Medinans read *hīta,*" *(wa-ahl al-Madīna yaqraʾūna hīta)*. This, it can be argued, is indicative of the thesis, developed later, that the virtues of the Meccan dialect in the Prophet's days comprised the virtues of all other dialects.

Modern scholarship on the relations between the dialects of old Arabia and their relation to qurʾānic language reached its

peak in the 1940s with the studies of Koffler (Reste altarabischer Dialekte) and Rabin *(Ancient west Arabian)*. A revision of their findings is a desideratum, considering the abundance of first hand information about the old philologists' original studies on these data (see GRAMMAR AND THE QUR'ĀN). Mention should also be made of Nöldeke's careful treatment of the question of dialectal features in the Qur'ān, particularly two exemplary cases. First (*Neue Beiträge,* 21), he identifies the qur'ānic negative particle *in* as a dialectal form of Mecca and Medina on the basis of later citations of local speech as recorded in al-Ṭabarī's *History,* Ibn Hishām's biography of the Prophet *(Sīra)* and in parallel passages. In the same study, he suggests Jarīr's use of *lawlā* to be a case of qur'ānic influence and notes the editor's change to *hallā* whereas *lawlā* was current in Mecca and possibly in Medina. A generally more skeptical attitude towards Arab philologists' identification of dialectal features, notably the indication of a Ḥijāzī-Tamīmī dichotomy, is also expressed by Nöldeke (*Neue Beiträge,* 3f.).

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Dialogues

Conversations between two or more persons. Dialogue is an important and frequently occurring feature of qur'ānic style. Direct speech, in fact, predominates in many sūras while narration (see NARRATIVES) occupies relatively little space.

Of the four periods into which the qur'ānic sūras are usually divided (three Meccan and one Medinan; see CHRONOLOGY AND THE QUR'ĀN), the second and third Meccan periods are especially rich in dialogue. The lack of dialogue in the sūras from the early period may be explained by the fact that, throughout the first Meccan period, the Quraysh (q.v.) ignored or ridiculed Muḥammad's message (see OPPOSITION TO MUḤAMMAD). When, however, Muḥammad began to gain followers and pose a challenge to their supremacy, they began to take his presence seriously by raising questions about the tenets of Islam and doubts about its validity. In other words, as they entered into a "dialogue" with the Prophet, their questions and doubts were increasingly addressed in the Qur'ān. The criticisms made by the Quraysh, which began in the second Meccan period, continued into the third, thus providing an explanation for the Qur'ān's frequent use of dialogue in these two periods. In the Medinan period, dialogue was to become less frequent since the establishment of an Islamic state in Medina created a situation in which recourse to dialogue was less likely. Consequently, the absence of dialogue in certain periods is as significant as its presence in others.

Using the criteria of speaker and content, qur'ānic dialogues can be divided into five types. (1) Probably the most common dialogue is that between a prophet and the nation to which he is sent: A prophet presents his message to his nation, which usually responds by ignoring or rejecting it (see

PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD). Q 26 contains a series of such dialogues involving the following prophets: Abraham (q.v.; Q 26:69-82), Noah (q.v.; Q 26:105-18), ʿĀd (q.v.; Q 26:123-38), Ṣāliḥ (q.v.; Q 26:141-56), Lot (q.v.; Q 26:160-9), and Shuʿayb (q.v.; Q 26:176-88). (2) Another common example of qurʾānic dialogue is one which takes place between God and prophets. Here, a prophet is charged with a mission (see MESSENGER), a certain demand is made by a prophet and God responds, or a prophet is given an insight into divine acts (see IMPECCABILITY AND INFALLIBILITY). Examples are Q 2:260, where Abraham demands to know how God will resurrect the dead; Q 7:143, in which Moses (q.v.) demands to see God; and Q 28:29-35, where Moses, commanded by God to go to Pharaoh (q.v.), expresses his fear that Pharaoh will have him killed. (3) A number of dialogues are situated in the hereafter: In Q 74:40-7 the people of heaven (q.v.) and the people of hell (q.v.) converse; in Q 7:38-9 the people of hell curse one another; and in Q 34:31-3 the wicked leaders and their followers indulge in recriminations. (4) In some dialogues the speakers consult with each other about some important matter: In Q 12:8-10 Joseph's (q.v.) jealous brothers (see BROTHER AND BROTHERHOOD) discuss ways to get rid of Joseph and enjoy their father's love and affection, while in Q 27:29-35 the Queen of Sheba (see BILQĪS) solicits her courtiers' views on the appropriate response to Solomon's (q.v.) letter. (5) In some passages, only one side of the dialogue is related: In Q 2:34-9 God addresses first Satan (see IBLĪS; DEVIL) and then Adam and Eve (q.v.), and in Q 31:12-9 Luqmān (q.v.), a wise man of ancient Arabia, gives advice to his son.

Certain features mark the structure of qurʾānic dialogues. The onset of a dialogue may be signaled by a short phrase like *idh/wa-idh* + verb ("Recall the time when such-and-such an event occurred") as in Q 2:30-3, which reports the conversation between God and angels (see ANGEL) at the time of Adam's creation (q.v.) or Q 5:20-5, where the Israelites (see CHILDREN OF ISRAEL) refuse to enter Palestine when commanded to do so by Moses. Two other phrases serve the same function *fa-lammā* + verb + *qāla* ("When such-and-such a thing happened, so-and-so said," cf. Q 10:76), and *hal atāka ḥadīthu fulānin* ("Has the report about so-and-so reached you?" e.g. Q 20:9; 51:24-8; cf. 38:21-4).

Sometimes one dialogue blends seamlessly with another. In Q 26:10-7, God commands Moses and Aaron (q.v.) to confront Pharaoh, and at Q 26:17 God asks Moses and Aaron to tell Pharaoh that he must let the Israelites leave Egypt (q.v.). Although the speaker in this verse is God, the following verse, Q 26:18, opens with Pharaoh's response to the demand while addressing Moses — and thus starting a new dialogue. It is assumed that Moses repeated the demand before Pharaoh but since this is not explicitly stated, verse 17 serves as a connecting link between the two dialogues since it belongs to both. Another example is Q 12:80-2, where Joseph's brothers — while still in Egypt — deliberate on how to break the news to Jacob (q.v.) of Benjamin's (q.v.) detention in Egypt. They agree to inform Jacob that Benjamin was taken into custody as punishment for theft and that other members of the caravan may be asked to verify this (Q 12:82). Since the very next verse reports Jacob's skepticism about their statement, it must be assumed that the brothers, on their return from Egypt, repeated the content of Q 12:82. Dialogues like these impart continuity to the narrative by "splicing" two passages. This point calls for further comment.

The importance of dialogue in qurʾānic narrative can be judged from the fact that in some sūras it acts almost as an organizing principle. For example, Q 12 (Sūrat

Yūsuf), which has 111 verses, is conceived in terms of a series of dialogues: Joseph and Jacob (Q 12:4-6); Joseph's brothers (Q 12:8-10); the brothers and Jacob (Q 12:11-4, 16-8); Potiphar's wife and Joseph (Q 12:23); Potiphar's wife, Joseph, the wise observer and Potiphar (Q 12:25-9); Potiphar's wife, the Egyptian ladies and Joseph (Q 12:31-3); Joseph and his two prisonmates (Q 12:36-42); the king and his courtiers (Q 12:43-4); the butler and Joseph (Q 12:46-9); the king, the Egyptian ladies and Potiphar's wife (Q 12:51); the king and Joseph (Q 12:54-5); Joseph and his brothers (Q 12:58-61); the brothers, and Jacob (Q 12:63-7); the brothers, Joseph's men and Joseph (Q 12:70-9); the brothers among themselves (Q 12:80-2); the brothers and Jacob (Q 12:83-7); the brothers and Joseph (Q 12:88-93); Jacob and his neighbors (Q 12:94-5); and the brothers and Jacob (Q 12:96-8). It is thus through dialogue that the plot of the story advances. Even in the narrative portions of the sūra, direct speech occurs in the form of a comment, exclamation or aside (e.g. Q 12:19, 30, 62, 77). A detailed study of the sūras of the second and third Meccan periods is likely to highlight the role of dialogue in establishing continuity and coherence in the qurʾānic text.

Qurʾānic dialogues illustrate major themes of scripture. A statement of the themes may precede or follow the dialogues. Q 2:257 says that God is the friend and supporter of the believers and leads them out of darkness (q.v.) into light (q.v.) whereas the *ṭāghūt,* "those who rebel (against God)," are the friends of the unbelievers and lead them out of light into darkness (see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF; REBELLION). This statement is followed by three short dialogues: between Abraham and the king of his time, usually identified as Nimrod (q.v.); between God and a certain man whom God had caused to die for one hundred years and then brought back to life; and between God and Abraham. Taken together, these dialogues explain how the believers are strengthened in their faith by God and the unbelievers are led further astray (q.v.) by the *ṭāghūt*. Q 5:32, where the law of vengeance or retaliation (*qiṣāṣ,* see BLOODSHED; RETALIATION) is stated, is immediately preceded by a dialogue between Cain and Abel (q.v.). Q 37 (Sūrat al-Ṣāffāt, "Those ranged in ranks") underscores the theme of the unity of prophecy and people's unwillingness to accept it readily through a series of dialogues between prophets and their nations in which a number of prophets present essentially the same message to their nations who frequently respond to it negatively. Finally, the Qurʾān emphasizes that prophets, though chosen individuals, are nonetheless human and do not make any claims to divinity nor should they be considered as such. In illustration of this, Moses, when commanded by God to go to Pharaoh, shows fear and reservation with words which any other mortal might have spoken (Q 26:12-4). Similarly, when angels visit Lot in the guise of young boys, he is approached by his people, who demand that the boys be handed over to them. Lot feels helpless and utters, as would any other, a cry of pain: "I wish I had the power to confront you or could seek some powerful support" (Q 11:80).

The Qurʾān uses dialogue to portray character, as well, such as that of the prophets. A study of the dialogues of Abraham and Moses reveals interesting differences between them. Abraham has a sense of humor and would even play a practical joke on his opponents. In Q 21:62-7 he smashes all the idols (see IDOLS AND IMAGES) in the temple save one, and when questioned by the indignant priests, he tells them with tongue in cheek that it was the work of the chief idol, whom he had spared: "Ask them," he says

curtly, referring to the broken idols, "if they can speak." In this way he plays upon the foolishness of deifying inanimate, powerless things. The dialogue illustrates Abraham's characteristic use of irony and satire (see LANGUAGE AND STYLE OF THE QUR'ĀN) to defeat his opponents in a debate (see DEBATE AND DISPUTATION). Just before destroying the idols, he engages in a mock dialogue with them, asking them ironically why they are not eating the food placed before them and why they are not speaking (Q 37:91-2). Moses, on the other hand, has a serious temperament and is also quick to anger. On returning from Mount Sinai he learns that the Israelites have started worshipping a calf in his absence (see CALF OF GOLD). Without stopping to investigate the matter, he rebukes Aaron for his failure to prevent the calf-worship. Aaron addresses him with the words "Son of my mother," which show Aaron's humility and his love for his brother (Q 7:150). In Q 26 Moses goes on a sea voyage to meet a certain individual whom the Qur'ān calls one of God's servants but whom tradition has identified as Khiḍr (see KHĀḌIR/KHIḌR). Khiḍr is supposed to initiate Moses into certain mysteries. In the course of the journey Khiḍr makes a hole in a boat, kills a young man and repairs a wall. Moses, who has promised to remain silent until addressed by Khiḍr, is unable to contain himself on any of these occasions. The dialogue which ensues between the two after each outburst demonstrates well Moses' impetuous nature. In Q 12 the characters of Joseph and many other figures are revealed through dialogue. When, for example, Joseph informs Jacob about his dream (see DREAMS AND SLEEP), he says: "My dear father, I have seen eleven stars and the sun and the moon — I have seen them bowing down before me!" (Q 12:4). The repetition of "I have seen" *(ra'aytu),* signifying as it does a certain hesitation on Joseph's part, is significant, for it provides insight into Joseph's character: Being modest, he is reluctant to relate a dream in which he receives homage from the heavenly bodies. His hesitation may also be due to the fact that he already knows the interpretation of the dream and feels that he may appear presumptuous by relating the dream. Only direct speech could delineate character with such subtle force. Similarly, only dialogue could have revealed Joseph's tactfulness in his attempt, while imprisoned, to convert his two fellow inmates (see PRISONERS) to his religion: When the butler and the baker (see BREAD) approach him for an interpretation of their dreams, he assures them that they will have the interpretation very soon; with this delay tactic, he proceeds to acquaint them with his own monotheistic belief.

Dialogue represents one of the ways in which the Qur'ān differs from pre-Islamic Arabic literature, which primarily exists only in the form of poetry. Essentially the impassioned utterance of the individual soul, pre-Islamic Arabic poetry (see AGE OF IGNORANCE; POETRY AND POETS; PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QUR'ĀN) makes very little use of dialogue whereas the Qur'ān — which presents a program of social action within a framework of struggle — reflects, through dialogue, the interaction between the Muslim and non-Muslim communities of Arabia on the one hand and among the members of the Muslim community itself on the other. Dialogue is inevitably interactive and social, and given the Qur'ān's overt and strong social dimension (see COMMUNITY AND SOCIETY IN THE QUR'ĀN), its frequent use in the Qur'ān is understandable. At the same time, use of dialogue makes the Qur'ān stylistically akin to the Bible, where dialogue is very prominent (see SCRIPTURE AND THE QUR'ĀN).

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Difficult Passages

Seemingly contradictory verses in the Qurʾān. Although qurʾānic scholars frequently used the word *mushkil* in its more usual sense of "difficult to understand" in reference to verses (q.v.) and individual vocabulary items in the Qurʾān, as a technical term *(mushkil al-Qurʾān)* it refers specifically to the apparently contradictory passages within the holy text. In this application, the term "difficult" may have been somewhat euphemistic. The analogous term in the study of the reports of the utterances and actions ascribed to the Prophet — where the possibility of genuine contradiction, at least among unauthentic reports, was admitted — was called "contradictory ḥadīth" *(ikhtilāf* — or *mukhtalif al-ḥadīth).*

The avowed aim of those who treated the difficult passages was nothing less than confirming the divine origin of the Qurʾān by vindicating Q 4:82: "If it [i.e. the Qurʾān] had been from someone other than God, they would have found much contradiction *(ikhtilāf)* in it." The Cairene expert in qurʾānic commentary as well as several other religious disciplines, al-Zarkashī (d. 794/1392), stated this bluntly: "Sometimes a beginner comes across something which he mistakenly believes to be a contradiction — and it is not one — so [the putative contradiction] needs to be eliminated" (*Burhān,* ii, 45). The range of difficult passages would seem to cover some of the same territory as that of the abrogating and abrogated verses (*al-nāsikh wa-l-mansūkh,* see ABROGATION) and at least one author regarded abrogation as a component of the broader study of apparently contradictory verses (al-Kāfiǰī, *Taysīr,* 228-35). In practice, classical Muslim scholars gave much more attention to the supposed instances of abrogation than to the other apparently contradictory verses, which deal largely with such matters as the creation (q.v.) of the universe, the nature of God (see GOD AND HIS ATTRIBUTES) and eschatological events (see ESCHATOLOGY), in other words, subjects to which the mechanism of abrogation could not be readily applied.

It appears that in the earliest times, Muslim attitudes about the validity of commentary on the difficult passages varied considerably, paralleling in some respects those regarding the "ambiguous verses" (*mutashābihāt,* see AMBIGUOUS). In one report, the early commentator Ibn ʿAbbās (d. ca. 68/687) is said to have refused discussion of the apparent qurʾānic contradictions (Suyūṭī, *Itqān,* iii, 83); in others he speaks volubly about them. Similarly, it remains unclear who undertook this criticism of the Qurʾān by pointing out its alleged inconsistencies. Those who harmonized the apparent contradictions were defending the faith against non-Muslim attacks (e.g. a Jew; Suyūṭī, *Itqān,* iii, 83) and even intra-communal criticism (cf. the title in Ibn al-Nadīm of the contribution of Quṭrub Muḥammad b. al-Mustanīr [d. 206/821]: *Regarding the verses of Qurʾān which the heretics question [Fīmā saʾala ʿanhu al-mulḥidūn min āyi l-Qurʾān], Fihrist,* ed. R. Tajaddud, 41). On the other hand, it is argued that the fact of the Qurʾān's revelation in a hostile environment encouraged the Prophet's enemies to claim inconsistency and contradiction (Zarkashī, *Burhān,* ii, 46). In fact, most of the examples of apparent contradictions cited in the various manuals are often trivial (e.g. the alleged objection that phrases like, "Indeed, God *was [kāna]* all-hearing, all-seeing," mean

that he is no longer all-hearing, etc.) or concern matters of which humans can have no certain knowledge (e.g. whether the earth was created first [Q 41:9-11] or the heavens [Q 79:27-30]). Despite its immense theoretical importance, the discipline of difficult passages never seems to have been widely cultivated. In fact, most modern works ignore it. Furthermore, the arguments produced to eliminate the apparent contradictions, while important for a systematic presentation of the faith, usually offer little to inter-confessional polemic. As the passage quoted above from al-Zarkashī suggests, it would seem that the real reason for a scholar to study the difficult passages was to equip himself to silence the conundrums posed by students in elementary classes on qurʾānic commentary.

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Dīn see RELIGION; LAST JUDGMENT

Disciple see APOSTLE

Disobedience

Transgression of or failure to comply with God's commands (see COMMANDMENTS). Disobedience, of which both angels (see ANGEL) and humans are capable, appears in a variety of forms in the Qurʾān. The Arabic root corresponding most directly to disobedience is *ʿ-ṣ-y* (e.g. Q 20:121, "And Adam disobeyed his lord"), which appears 32 times in the Qurʾān, and is translated variously as to disobey, to rebel, to resist, to flinch or to flout. Other roots reflecting different nuances of disobedience — such as sin (*kh-ṭ-ʾ,* 22 times in the Qurʾān; e.g. Q 4:92, 112; 12:29; also *j-n-ḥ,* 25 times, and *dh-n-b,* 27 times; see SIN AND CRIME), fault (*ʾ-th-m,* 35 times) and transgression *(ʿudwān)* of the limits sanctioned by God (*ḥudūd allāh,* see BOUNDARIES AND PRECEPTS) — also appear in the Qurʾān. Disobedience often appears in conjunction with the denial of God's signs (q.v.) or miracles (see MIRACLE), which leads one to go astray (*ghawā,* Q 20:121; see ASTRAY) and to transgress specified limits (*iʿtadā,* cf. Q 2:61; 3:112; 5:78).

The Qurʾān distinguishes between the disobedient and the obedient (see OBEDIENCE). Two verses serve as reminders of the fact that the angels are always obedient, even those in charge of hell (q.v.) "do not disobey God in what he commands them" (Q 66:6). Abraham (q.v.) admits to his father that "Satan (see DEVIL) is a rebel against the All-Merciful" (Q 19:44). However, human beings are the only creatures required to show proof (q.v.) of their obedience (various forms of the root *ṭ-w-ʿ,* "to obey, be obedient," appear 76 times in the Qurʾān). Nevertheless, for many different reasons, humans do disobey God.

Various peoples disobey the messengers (see MESSENGER) sent by God for their guidance. Noah (q.v.) states this in his supplication: "My Lord! Lo! They have disobeyed me" (Q 71:21). The people of ʿĀd (q.v.) act no better with regard to the prophet Hūd (q.v.; cf. Q 11:59-60). As for Abraham (q.v.), he was obliged to say: "Whoever follows me belongs to me, and whoever disobeys me, but You are indeed all-forgiving" (Q 14:36). Aaron (q.v.), Pharaoh (q.v.) and the Children of Israel (*Banū Isrāʾīl,* see CHILDREN OF ISRAEL) all disobey Moses

(q.v.). The latter reproaches his brother concerning the golden calf (see CALF OF GOLD): "O Aaron! What held you back when you saw that they had gone astray, that you did not follow me? Have you then disobeyed my order?" (Q 20:92-3). Pharaoh himself repeatedly refuses to obey Moses: "Pharaoh disobeyed the messenger" (Q 73:16); "He denied and disobeyed" (Q 79:21). Similarly, after the disaster which befell him in the midst of the sea, he is told: "What! Now! When hitherto you have disobeyed and been of the wrong-doers!" (Q 10:91). So Pharaoh, like others who "disobeyed the messenger of their Lord" (Q 69:10), is condemned (see PUNISHMENT STORIES). Moses' people experienced humiliation, wretchedness and the wrath (see ANGER) of God because, to use ʿA. Yūsuf ʿAlī's rendition of Q 2:61, "they rejected faith, slew God's messengers and went on transgressing." Twice the Children of Israel are reported to have said, "We hear and we disobey" (*samiʿnā wa-ʿaṣaynā,* Q 2:93; 4:46), for (again, according to ʿA. Yūsuf ʿAlī's rendition) "the calf is the symbol of disobedience, rebellion (q.v.), want of faith (q.v.)." Moses, however, was an example of obedience, saying to his anonymous guide and spiritual leader: "God willing, you shall find me patient, nor shall I disobey you in anything" (Q 18:69). Another model of obedience is John, son of Zechariah (q.v.), for he "was not arrogant or rebellious" (Q 19:14).

Muḥammad, just like the previous prophets, experienced rejection by his own people (see OPPOSITION TO MUḤAMMAD). Q 4:42 reads: "Those who disbelieved and disobeyed the messenger will wish that they were level with the ground." In fact, God said to the Prophet: "If they [your kinsfolk] disobey you, say: 'Lo! I am innocent of what they do!'" (Q 26:216). The Qurʾān cites the battle of Uḥud (q.v.; see BATTLES AND EXPEDITIONS) as a particular instance of the disobedience of Muḥammad's followers: "When… you disobeyed after he had shown you that for which you longed!" (Q 3:152). So the followers of Muḥammad must not disobey because "[God] has made detestable to you disbelief, wickedness and disobedience" (Q 49:7; see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF). Indeed, women are mentioned as taking the oath of allegiance to Muḥammad so that, among other things, "they will not disobey you in what is right" (Q 60:12; see WOMEN AND THE QURʾĀN). Q 58:8-9 summarizes the qurʾānic position on disobedience: Regarding hypocrites (see HYPOCRITES AND HYPOCRISY), Q 58:8 states, "Did you not see those who were forbidden to hold secret counsels… and now conspire together for sin, transgression and disobedience toward the messenger." Q 58:9 then reads, "O believers! When you hold secret counsel, do it not for sin, transgression and disobedience toward the messenger; but do it for righteousness and piety (q.v.); and fear God." Jews (see JEWS AND JUDAISM), who are identified as disbelieving in the revelations of God, are described as having incurred the wrath of God (see ANGER) "because they were rebellious and used to transgress" (Q 3:112). This disobedience had also been denounced by the messengers before Muḥammad: "They were cursed by the tongue of David (q.v.), and of Jesus (q.v.), son of Mary (q.v.), because they disobeyed and used to transgress" (Q 5:78).

To disobey his messengers is to disobey God himself, a truth asserted on three occasions, each of which implies various consequences: "Whoever disobeys God and his messenger" and "transgresses his limits, he will make him enter fire (q.v.)" (Q 4:14); "he verily goes astray in error (q.v.) manifest" (Q 33:36); "his is the fire of hell" (Q 72:23). It is the disobedience towards God which is the most serious infraction. This, indeed, was Adam's (see ADAM AND EVE) sin: "And Adam disobeyed his Lord,

so went astray" (Q 20:121). Herein lies the central theme expressed by the messengers of God: In no way was God to be disobeyed. Sent to the Thamūd (q.v.), Ṣāliḥ (q.v.) expressed this fear in his own way: "Who will save me from God if I disobey Him?" (Q 11:63). Muḥammad likewise expresses this fear: "If I were to disobey my Lord, I should myself fear retribution of an awful day" (Q 10:15). He is actually commanded to express such a fear on two occasions: "Say: I would verily, if I disobeyed my Lord, fear retribution of an awful day" (Q 6:15; 39:13; see REWARD AND PUNISHMENT).

These, then, are the types of disobedience which appear in the Qurʾān: Those who disobey the messengers are really disobeying him who sent them. One interpretation of the prophetic mission is that the prophets obey God's law and beg God that they might in no way be rebellious *(ʿaṣī)* to his will (see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD). Does not the fear of God *(taqwā)* consist in obeying his commands *(awāmir)?* If obedience to God's commands is the proper response in gratitude for his benificence, is not disobedience, then, the highest form of ingratitude? See GRATITUDE AND INGRATITUDE; SIN, MAJOR AND MINOR.

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Dissension

Partisan quarreling which, in the Qurʾān, denotes religious sectarianism. The qurʾānic concept of dissension is expressed by the Arabic terms *ikhtilāf* or *tafarruq,* both of which carry a pejorative sense. According to Q 2:213 and 10:19, humankind started its existence on earth as a united religious community. The nature of this primordial religion is not specified in the Qurʾān; in exegetical literature it is described as "the religion of truth" *(dīn al-ḥaqq),* sometimes explicitly equated with Islam. The dissension that set in later and resulted in the disruption of this unity is seen as a negative development, which God wanted to rectify by sending prophets to preach and warn (see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD; WARNER). Dissension is reported to have been rampant between Jews and Christians who denounced each other's religion (Q 2:113; see JEWS AND JUDAISM; CHRISTIANS AND CHRISTIANITY). Dissension within each of these two scriptuary communities (see PEOPLE OF THE BOOK) was also recorded: Some believed in the revelation they received and some rejected it (Q 2:253). The Qurʾān instructs Muslims not to follow the example of the scriptuaries but rather to guard their own unity (Q 3:103, 105). Religious dissension is thus perceived as a negative phenomenon; nevertheless, God did not use his power to unify all humanity in one religious community and saved from dissension only those to whom he showed mercy (q.v.; Q 11:117-8; see COMMUNITY AND SOCIETY IN THE QURʾĀN).

Attitudes to dissension in the ḥadīth vary (see ḤADĪTH AND THE QURʾĀN). Prior to his death, the Prophet intended to write a document that — according to some interpretations — would have prevented later dissension among Muslims. He is also reported to have said that "Unity is tantamount to (divine) mercy while dissension is torment" (*al-jamāʿa raḥma wa-l-furqa ʿadhāb,* Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad,* iv, 278, 375). The Companion of the Prophet, Ḥudhayfa b. al-Yamān, advocated the codification of the Qurʾān to save Muslims from the dissension that plagued Jews and Christians (Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ, Faḍāʾil al-Qurʾān,* 3, iii, 393;

see THE COLLECTION OF THE QUR'ĀN). Given the failure to achieve this ideal of unity, however, a ḥadīth offers the gloomy prospect of the division of the Muslim community into 73 sects, only one of which will merit paradise (q.v.; Dārimī, *Sunan,* ii, 158).

In support of the opposing view is the well-known tradition which maintains that "dissension among my Companions (or in my community) is (divine) mercy" *(ihktilāfu aṣḥābī/ummatī raḥma)*. Diversity among the Companions of the Prophet (q.v.) is implied and legitimized in a tradition that states: "My Companions are like the stars: Whichever one [of them] you follow, you will find the straight path" *(aṣḥābī ka-l-nujūm bi-ayyihim iqtadaytum ihtadaytum)*. Such diversity was seen as minimizing the danger of deviations from the prophetic sunna (q.v.). Similarly, the Umayyad ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (r. 99/717-101/720) gave legitimacy to the diverse views of the religious scholars *(ʿulamāʾ)* in various areas of the Muslim state and refused to impose a unified code on all (Dārimī, *Sunan,* i, 122). The Shāfiʿī jurist al-Dimashqī (fl. eighth/fourteenth century) wrote in the introduction to his *Raḥmat al-umma fī ikhtilāf al-aʾimma* that the scholars "dissented while exerting themselves in the search of truth and their dissension was mercy for the people" *(fakhtalafū bi-shiddat ijtihādihim fī ṭalab al-ḥaqq wa-kāna ikhtilāfuhum raḥmatan lil-khalq)*.

Traditions with a sympathetic view of dissension were not included in the canonical collections of ḥadīth. They were relegated to compilations of lesser authority or to compilations dedicated to traditions considered "fabricated" *(mawḍūʿ)* by the Muslim mainstream. Conversely, traditions advocating unity found their way into the more authoritative compilations. This is an indication of the importance attributed by mainstream Islam to the unity of religious belief. Nevertheless, the idea of dissension was accepted in jurisprudential literature, where differences of opinion between schools of law and individual jurists became a permanent fact of life (for a survey of relevant literature, see J. Schacht, Ikhtilāf; see LAW AND THE QUR'ĀN; CREEDS). In an attempt to find theological justification for the existence of dissension amongst Muslims, some scholars have argued that without religious dissension the world would cease to be a place of trial (q.v.), in which people must choose the right way; there would be no need of *ijtihād* and the *ʿulamāʾ* would loose their prestige *(faḍīla)* as arbiters of the law.

Political dissension in the Muslim community is referred to as "strife" *(fitna)*, sometimes equated with *ikhtilāf* (see Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad,* ii, 345; v, 292). Al-Bukhārī (d. 256/870; *Ṣaḥīḥ, Maghāzī,* 12, iii, 70) mentions two such moments of strife in early Muslim history: the assassination of ʿUthmān (q.v.) and the battle of Ḥarra (see L. Veccia Vaglieri, al-Ḥarra). The struggle between ʿAlī (see ʿALĪ B. ABĪ ṬĀLIB) and Muʿāwiya and other internal disputes among the Muslims are also considered to be strife which threatened the unity of the Muslim community (see also REBELLION).

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Dissimulation

The action of concealing one's religious convictions when divulgence would bring danger or death, called *taqiyya* in Arabic. Two qurʾānic verses seem to allow Muslims to conceal their true convictions in case of danger, i.e. Q 3:28 and 40:28 (cf. Q 16:106). The two main terms found in these verses for tactical dissimulation or mental concealment in matters of faith are *taqiyya,* literally "care" or "fear" (from the same root *w-q-y* come *tattaqū* and *tuqātan* in Q 3:28) and *kitmān,* literally "the act of concealing or hiding" (from *k-t-m,* cf. *yaktumu* in Q 40:28).

The first Muslims to have practiced *taqiyya* seem to be the ʿAlid Kaysāniyya (Qummī, *Kitāb al-Maqālāt,* 22) and the Khārijīs (q.v.) except for the Azāriqa subsect who considered *taqiyya* illicit (Shahrastānī, *Milal,* 379). Another Khārijī sub-sect, the Najadāt, used it both in word and deed, the Ṣufriyya only in speech (Shahrastānī, *Milal,* 379, 413; Goldziher, Das Prinzip, 217/63). Among the Khārijīs in general, dissimulation was used in the context of *jihād* (q.v.) against non-Khārijīs while the Kaysānīs practiced it within the context of their esoteric teachings. All such sects designated regions outside their community as "the abode of dissimulation" (*dār al-taqiyya,* but the Azāriqa used "the abode of unbelief" (*dār al-kufr,* see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF) while referring to their own milieu as "the abode of openness" (*dār al-ʿalāniyya,* Qummī, *Maqālat,* 22; Ashʿarī, *Maqālāt,* 97f., 111, 120; Baghdādī, *Farq,* 108).

Although *taqiyya* is known to have been practiced by Sunnī Muslims in particular political situations (Meyer, Anlass und Anwendungsbereich, 47f.; Kohlberg, Taqiyya in Shīʿī theology, 361-2, n. 89), dissimulation has remained closely linked to the Shīʿīs (with the exception of the Zaydīs; see SHĪʿĪSM AND THE QURʾĀN) since the classical period. The origin of the practice most likely derives from the Shīʿī doctrine of associating *(tawallī)* with ʿAlī (see ʿALĪ B. ABĪ ṬĀLIB) and disassociating *(tabarrī)* from the first three caliphs, in particular the first two, Abū Bakr (q.v.) and ʿUmar (q.v.; Ashʿarī, *Maqālāt,* 17; Shahrastānī, *Milal,* 435). Later *taqiyya* would be more precisely applied to the concealment of particular religious beliefs, divulgence of which ran the risk of putting believers and especially their leader, the Imām (q.v.), in danger. Qarmāṭīs and later Ismāʿīlīs use it frequently (Daftary, *The Ismāʿīlīs*), but the notion and practice of *taqiyya* became an article of faith with important doctrinal developments only amongst the Twelver Shīʿa (Kohlberg, Imāmī-Shīʿī views; id., Taqiyya).

Taqiyya in Twelver Shīʿism is usually compared to the theological concept of *badāʾ,* i.e. change in God's decisions (see DECISION) or will. It is with this connotation that it became the principal accusation against the Twelver Shīʿa, reproached for hiding their erroneous and contradictory views under the guise of dissimulation (Nawbakhtī, *Firaq,* 52; Shahrastānī, *Milal,* 469).

In addition to the above-mentioned verses, the Twelver Shīʿa used other qurʾānic passages to legitimize their practice of dissimulation — called by them *taqiyya, kitmān* or *khabʾ* — such as Q 2:61, 4:83, 16:106 or 41:34 (Kohlberg, Imāmī-Shīʿī views, 396b; id., Taqiyya, 352). In Kohlberg's analysis, the concept underwent development in Twelver Shīʿism (Kohlberg, Taqiyya), allowing us to distinguish two kinds of *taqiyya:* (1) a "prudential *taqiyya*" which especially characterized the Shīʿa (q.v.) during the Umayyad period, when most made use of armed revolt against caliphal authority (q.v.; see CALIPH; REBELLION) and (2) a "non-prudential *taqiyya*" which took shape primarily after the drama of Karbalāʾ. This second form of dissimulation arose along with the Shīʿī shift towards quietism and the corresponding attempt to elaborate esoteric doctrines in justification of their positions, especially from the time of the imāmates of Muḥammad al-Bāqir (d. 114/732 or 119/737) and Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq (d. 148/765).

Though Shīʿī law considers dissimulation unnecessary as far as less significant articles of faith are concerned (Kohlberg, Imāmī-Shīʿī views, 399b-400a), *taqiyya* nonetheless remains a canonical duty for fundamental points of doctrine (Amir-Moezzi, *Le guide divin,* 310-2). In many traditions attributed to the Imāms, Twelver Shīʿī teachings are presented as esoteric and hidden knowledge (see HIDDEN AND THE HIDDEN), a secret (see SECRETS) that must be concealed and protected from unworthy people (Amir-Moezzi, *Le Guide divin,* 143; 174-199). Generally, the Shīʿa present their doctrines as a secret, esoteric dimension of Islam in accordance with the tradition that "all things have a secret, the secret of Islam is Shīʿism" (*li-kulli shayʾ sirrun sirru l-Islām al-shīʿa,* Kulaynī, *Rawḍa,* ii, 14; Amir-Moezzi, Du droit à la théologie, 38-40). A special form of dissimulation, which seems to have been elaborated ever since it found its way into the oldest sources, is the technique of attributing writings to Jābir b. Ḥayyān (fl. second/eighth century), called *tabdīd al-ʿilm* (lit. "dispersion of knowledge") which consist of fragmentary esoteric teachings dispersed in the most unexpected places throughout the corpus attributed to this figure (Amir-Moezzi, *Le guide divin*, index, s.v.). Moreover, the *ẓāhir/bāṭin* (manifest/hidden) complex is at work in every level of reality, and each doctrinal system or religious science is composed of many levels, from the most apparent and obvious to the most secret. In other words, both exoteric and esoteric cosmogonies exist as well as exoteric (obvious) and esoteric (secret) qurʾānic exegesis (see EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL), an exoteric and esoteric theology (see THEOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN), a divulged and secret law (see LAW AND THE QURʾĀN) and so forth (Amir-Moezzi, Du droit à la théologie).

It is well-known that dissimulation and secrecy tend to be natural practices of minority movements. Notions like protection of the secret *(ḥifẓ al-sirr),* dissimulation *(katm* or *kitmān),* deception (i.e. making something ambiguous, *talbīs*), hiding the real state of one's conviction *(ikhfāʾ al-ḥāl)* all constitute important characteristics in occult sciences as well as in Ṣūfī (especially *malāmatī*) circles (see ṢŪFISM AND THE QURʾĀN), in philosophical teachings or in mystical poetry, especially in Persian (Suhrawardī, *ʿAwārif,* 72; Hujwīrī, *Kashf,* 500-1; ʿAfīfī, *Malāmatiyya,* 89, 117; Shaybī, *Taqiyya,* 20f.). In Persian literature, for instance, poets constantly refer to "the affair of al-Ḥallāj," the famous mystic who was brutally tortured and executed in 309/922 and to his divulgence of the secret *par excellence,* i.e. the utterance of the celebrated *shaṭḥ* (ecstatic exclamation): "I am the

Truth" *(anā l-ḥaqq)*. The greatest Persian mystical poets, like ʿAṭṭār (d. 627/1230), ʿIrāqī (d. 688/1289) or Ḥāfiẓ (d. 792/1390), often make allusion to the "the crucified one of Baghdad" (i.e. al-Ḥallāj, d. 309/922) and call authentically inspired individuals "people of the secret" *(ahl-e rāz,* Khorramshāhī, *Hāfiz Nāmeh)*.

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Divination

The art of foretelling the future or discovering hidden knowledge through augury or omen (see OMENS). In Q 52:29 and 69:42, God reassures his messenger (q.v.) that he is not a *kāhin* (i.e. a soothsayer; see SOOTHSAYERS); in Q 36:69 and 69:41, Muḥammad is told that his message is not poetry (see POETRY AND POETS). Such verses, along with others (e.g. Q 21:5 and 52:30) mean to demonstrate that Muḥammad is neither poet nor magician (*sāḥir, siḥr,* see MAGIC, PROHIBITION OF), nor possessed by a demon (*majnūn, masḥūr,* see INSANITY). Whereas these last qualifications were applied to all previous messengers, only the terms *kāhin* (i.e. soothsayer) and *shāʿir* (i.e. poet) were used as a label for Muḥammad. This is related to the fact that these two categories played an important role in the pagan society of pre-Islamic Arabia (see PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QURʾĀN). In preaching to the members of this society, Muḥammad made use, at the very beginning of the revelation, of the rhythmic and oracular style then common (see RHYMED PROSE). His opponents took this as a pretext to reduce his message to the level of the rhymed prose (q.v.; *sajʿ*) of the soothsayers and/or the *rajaz* (end-rhyme) of the poets (cf. Fahd, Sadjʿ; see OPPOSITION TO MUḤAMMAD).

The Prophet of Islam was born in an era in which divination *(kihāna)* continued to form one of the rare manifestations of the divine in an Arab society in which religiosity, as it had been practised in the past, had reached a critical point, if it had not actually begun to fossilize (cf. Fahd, *Le panthéon,* intro.). Thus, the *kāhin,* with his various attributes (cf. Fahd, *La divination,* 91-129), continued to exist, although with nothing of his former prestige and prosperity (which may be concluded from the great number of divinities in the Meccan pantheon; see KAʿBA). The absence of

other designations in the Qurʾān differentiating the *kāhin*'s functions is another indication of the collapse of a religious, cultural and social framework in the face of calls for the renewal of outdated religious and social concepts which no longer resonated with the society and its predominantly commercial activities and orientation. The *kāhin* was, in the eyes of Muḥammad's contemporaries, already scorned and despised, and thus calling Muḥammad a *kāhin* was a clear attempt to minimize his role and attack the revelation itself. Since his craft was limited to a traditional knowledge, the *kāhin* was confined to a less significant role than he had had in ancient society. The decline of religious thought and the cult in central Arabia in the fifth and sixth centuries C.E. reduced the *kāhin* to a mere charlatan, magician or even searcher of lost objects and camels (see CAMEL). More privatized forms of faith gradually replaced public acts of devotion in which the rites of pilgrimage (q.v.) remained the sole manifestation of community feeling. The development of individual conscience favored the adoption of new ideas; these found inspiration in the monotheist environment of the surrounding countries through which Meccan trading caravans used to travel (see CARAVAN). Such developments contributed to the depreciation of the surviving elements of the *jāhiliyya* (i.e. pre-Islamic times and customs; see AGE OF IGNORANCE) while opening a venue for the new horizons of enlightened spirits, such as poets, "monotheists" (*ḥanīf,* q.v.), preachers *(khaṭīb)* and sages.

In an effort to comfort his messenger (see CONSOLATION), always inclined to doubt his vocation, God asks him to tell his fellow tribesmen that his message cannot be compared to that of a *kāhin,* "It is the speech of a noble messenger. It is not the speech of a poet (little do you believe) nor the speech of a soothsayer (little do you remember), a sending down [i.e. revelation] from the Lord (q.v.) of all worlds" (Q 69:40-3). Another Meccan sūra (Q 52:29-34; see CHRONOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN) emphasizes the same assertion even more forcefully: "Therefore remind [them]! By your Lord's blessing (q.v.) you are not a soothsayer, nor possessed. Or do they say, 'He is a poet for whom we await fate's (q.v.) uncertainty' [particularly times of war]?.… Or do their intellects [*aḥlām,* lit. dreams of an evil origin; see DREAMS AND SLEEP] bid them do this? Or are they an insolent people? Or do they say: 'He has invented it?' Nay, but they do not believe. Then let them bring a discourse like it, if they speak truly" (a listing of all God's works — beyond human capacity — follows). This sūra reflects the objections raised by Muḥammad's adversaries. The most relevant, so they believed, was the comparison of his first revelations to the prophecies of the soothsayers *(kuhhān,* pl. of *kāhin)* and to the trance of possessed poets. The Qurʾān underscores the following response to these objections (Q 81:22-5): "Your companion *(ṣāḥibukum)* is not possessed; he truly saw him [i.e. God] on the clear horizon; he does not hold back [what he knows] of the unseen (see HIDDEN AND THE HIDDEN). And it is not the word of an accursed satan (see DEVIL; CURSE)." The accusation levelled at Muḥammad was apparently based on observed practices. In their ecstatic manifestations, the ancient soothsayers used a more elevated style than that of common language. Prophetic and divinatory language is characterized by its rhythm, the structure of the sentence, the balanced use of verbs, a vocabulary full of imagery and the use of uncommon terms. This is called by the Qurʾān *zukhruf al-qawl,* "the adornment of speech," which sought to mislead and seduce people *(ghurūran)*. Arabs were (and remain) very sensitive to the melody of rhythm and the magic of the word. The first schism in

Islam (*ridda,* see APOSTASY), the return to paganism by the Yemenite tribes of the Madhḥij in the year 11/632, was instigated by Dhū l-Ḥimār ʿAbhala b. Kaʿb, nicknamed al-Aswad (i.e. the black one), a soothsayer, conjurer and magician, who "charmed the hearts of those who heard him speak" (Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh,* i, 1851-80). The second schism, led by Musaylima al-Kadhdhāb (see MUSAYLIMA AND PSEUDO-PROPHETS), also arose in response to the seductive powers of his oratory style (Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh,* i, 1929-57).

Muḥammad's opinion about soothsayers and divination illustrates his belief, particularly prior to his prophetic vocation, that they offered a means by which the mysteries of God might be unveiled. When asked about the *kuhhān,* Muḥammad is said to have replied: "They are nothing." Those with him remarked that these soothsayers nevertheless predicted events that came to pass. The Prophet replied: "The true part of what they say comes from the jinn (q.v.) who, like chickens, cackle it into the ears of the one into whose service he is placed, while they mix with it more than a hundred lies" (Bukhārī, for reference see Fahd, Nubuwwa). A ḥadīth reported by Anas b. Mālik (Wensinck, *Concordance,* ii, 26, s.v. *khurāfa*) confirms that the Prophet put great faith in revelations by jinn. This ḥadīth concerns a man by the name of Khurāfa from the tribe of ʿUdhra who was abducted by the jinn; he listened to their reports from the sky and passed them on to the inhabitants of earth (q.v.).

In other words, Muḥammad acknowledged that the *kāhin* received his knowledge from a spirit through possession *(majnūn),* i.e. a personal relationship with a jinn who observes from the sky events below and relays this information to his confidant(s). When the Qurʾān was revealed to Muḥammad, the angels (q.v.) were said to have been charged with guarding the sky by firing shooting-stars at the jinn in order to prevent their spying (Q 15:15-8; cf. 41:12; 67:5; Ibn Isḥāq, *Sīra,* 129f.; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt,* i, 1, 110).

The constant assertion that there is to be no divination after the Islamic prophecy *(lā kihāna baʿd al-nubuwwa)* was not accompanied by any negative assessment of a message transmitted by a jinn or *shayṭān* (see DEVIL). Though there is no talk in Islam of soothsayers, *kihāna* was never formally prohibited by the Qurʾān or even the sunna (q.v.). Two matters are, however, forbidden: first, consultation of a *kāhin* and belief in what he says, since this is tantamount to denying the revelation made to Muḥammad (Wensinck, *Concordance,* iv, 196); secondly, earning money as a *kāhin* or alloting a salary for this activity (Wensinck, *Concordance,* i, 505). Nowhere in the Qurʾān can one find a prohibition analogous to the one in Leviticus 19:3: "Do not turn to mediums or wizards; do not seek them out, to be defiled by them." It seems, however, that such a prohibition was not altogether absent; in fact, it is related on the authority of Wahb b. Munabbih (d. 114/732) that God revealed to Mūsā b. Manassa b. Yūsuf and his people the following: "I have nothing to do with whoever practices magic or consults a magician, with whoever practices soothsaying or consults a soothsayer and with whoever draws omens from birds or whoever lets anyone do so… Let he who sincerely believes in me trust in me sincerely…" (Ibn Qutayba, *ʿUyūn,* ii, 263; cf. *Lev* 20:6).

The Prophet's reluctance to condemn divination outright can be related to the overall conception of prophecy and medium (i.e. supernatural agency) of his day (see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD). Since prophecy was considered an extension of divination and an indication of a superior state of being, it was only normal that certain pre-Islamic ideas and prophetic pro-

cesses should have carried over into the young Islamic community. This explains the fact that the role of mediums, angels, demons and jinn remained prominent in the notion of inspiration as conceived by early Islam (see Fahd, *La divination,* 63f., 68f.; id., Kihāna, Nubuwwa; see also REVELATION AND INSPIRATION).

In conclusion, it can be stated that vestiges of ancient Semitic concepts appear in both the Qurʾān and the ḥadīth, including the recognition of a strong relationship between the seer and the divine: Knowledge of the seer originates in divinity and no incompatibility exists between the craft of the seer and divine inspiration; only the origin of the message, its nature and its content make it different.

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Divisions of the Qurʾān

see FORM AND STRUCTURE OF THE QURʾĀN

Divisions of the Qurʾān for Recitation

see RECITATION, THE ART OF

Divorce

see MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE

Djinn

see JINN

Dog

A carnivorous domesticated mammal, the dog *(kalb)* is mentioned twice in the Qurʾān, once in a generic sense and once in reference to the dog of the Men of the Cave (q.v.). Islamic law considers the animal unclean (see PURITY AND IMPURITY), and although this cannot be inferred from the qurʾānic references, it is evident in the exegetical literature (see EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN). That dogs were not entirely shunned may be seen in Q 5:4, which declares permissible eating that which has been killed by "beasts of prey trained as hounds." It has been taken to mean any beasts (even birds) of prey, but the adjective "trained as hounds" *(mukallabīn),* is a derivation of *kalb,* indicating the importance of the hunting dog. However, the occasion for this revelation (see OCCASIONS OF REVELATION) is said to have been an order of the Prophet to kill all the dogs in Medina (q.v.), for the angel Gabriel (q.v.) would not enter a house in which there was a dog.

In Q 7:176, the dog is used in a simile in reference to the unbeliever or apostate (see APOSTASY): "So his likeness is as the likeness of a dog: If you attack it, it lolls its tongue out; if you leave it, it lolls its tongue out. That is that people's likeness who accuse our signs (q.v.) of being lies." Sometimes this is considered to refer to the biblical figure Balaam. The simile implies the thoughtlessness of the dog, but exegetes often claimed that the dog represents the most base of creatures, distinguished by the "weakness of its heart (q.v.)."

The story of the Men of the Cave (Q 18:9-26) contains two references to a

dog, here presented as the companion of the Sleepers. The believers sleep, and "their dog stretches out its paws on the threshold" (Q 18:18). Utterance of this verse (or of Q 55:33), it is claimed, will stop a dog from attacking (al-Damīrī, ii, 265). More enigmatic is Q 18:22: "[Some] will say: They were three, their dog the fourth, and [some] say: Five, their dog the sixth, guessing at random; and [some] say: Seven, and their dog the eighth." Narrative details on the appearance and name of the animal, as well as its relation to the Sleepers, are described variously, but more esoteric interpretations, even from the most conservative commentators, have been inspired by the place of the dog in the parable. It is said to follow their religion, and in one common tradition, the men try to drive the dog away, but it miraculously speaks, telling them that it is the most beloved of God and will watch over them. The fact of its presence among them is proof of its exalted status, and it will be the only dog to enter paradise (q.v.). L. Massignon cites Ismāʿīlī explanations in which the dog is the spiritual instructor of the Sleepers or Salmān Pāk, accompanying the Seven Imams (Les sept dormants, 72-3). In other versions the dog is a human or the reincarnation of a human, or some other animal. There seems to have been a desire to see it as a human, perhaps as the owner of the dog, and a variant reading to this effect is attributed to Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq (d. 148/765; *kālibuhum* instead of *kalbuhum*), but as pointed out by al-Ṭūsī (d. 459/1066), this variant is difficult to reconcile with "stretching its paws/arms on the threshold" (*Tibyān,* v, 30).

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Donkey see ANIMAL LIFE

Doubt see UNCERTAINTY

Dower/Dowry see BRIDEWEALTH

Dreams see DREAMS AND SLEEP; SLEEP

Dreams and Sleep

Visions (q.v.) seen while asleep which convey a message or meaning of some import. Four different terms denote dreams in the Qurʾān. The word *ruʾyā* appears six times (Q 12:5, 43, 100; 17:60; 37:105; 48:27); the word *manām* appears four times, twice meaning sleep (q.v.; Q 30:23; 39:42) and twice meaning dream (Q 8:43; 37:102); *bushrā,* which means good tidings (see GOOD NEWS), is interpreted once to mean a dream (Q 10:64). All three words signify good dreams. For bad dreams the Qurʾān uses *ḥulm*. This word occurs twice, both times in the expression *aḍghāth aḥlām,* meaning "confused dreams" (Q 12:44; 21:5). Of the ten references, six deal with biblical figures: four with Joseph (q.v.; Q 12:5, 43, 44, 100) and two with Abraham (q.v.; Q 37:102, 105); the other references deal with matters relating to central Islamic issues.

In their remarks on verses that mention dreams, most qurʾānic commentators ad-

duce ḥadīth sayings of the kind found in the canonical ḥadīth collections (see ḤADĪTH AND THE QURʾĀN). These sayings deal with the authority (q.v.) of dreams and their usage as a means of legitimization. (For a characterization of the nature of dreams in the ḥadīth collections, see *Manām,* Introduction, 36.) In citing these sayings, the exegetical works *(tafsīr)* associate the qurʾānic dreams with the general Islamic attitude toward dreams as expressed in the ḥadīth. The ḥadīth contributes to this association by referring to qurʾānic dreams and citing relevant qurʾānic verses in its dream chapters (for example Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ, Bāb al-taʿbīr, Bāb ruʾyā al-ṣāliḥīn*). The same occurs in other sources that dedicate special chapters to dreams, using qurʾānic dreams to support their interest in the topic of dreams (for example Abū l-Qāsim al-Qushayrī, *Risāla;* cf. the examination of *bushrā* below).

Some commentators suggest that qurʾānic dreams be classified according to their fulfillment and clarity. Al-Rāzī (d. 606/1210; *Tafsīr,* xxvi, 157), for example, mentions three classes: (1) dreams in which the message or description becomes reality, such as the message in Muḥammad's dream in Ḥudaybiya (q.v.), foretelling the conquest of Mecca (q.v.; Q 48:27); (2) dreams in which the message is fulfilled in the opposite way, e.g. Abraham's dream, where the message was to sacrifice a son but the reality was the sacrifice of a lamb (Q 37:102-5; see ISAAC; ISHMAEL); (3) dreams that need interpretation to be understood, exemplified by the four dreams in Sūrat Yūsuf (Q 12).

The remainder of this article is devoted to an examination of qurʾānic verses that allude to dreams (with a translation of the verses), a summary of the relevant *tafsīr* sections as well as an analysis of their applicability to the ḥadīth.

Abraham's dream

Q 37:102-5 reads: "And when [his son] was old enough to walk with him, he said, 'My son, I see in a dream *(manām)* that I shall sacrifice (q.v.) you; consider, what do you think?' He said, 'My father, do as you are commanded; you shall find me, God willing, one of the steadfast.' When they had surrendered, and he flung him upon his brow, we called unto him, 'Abraham, you have confirmed the vision *(ruʾyā)*'…" Exegetical commentaries on these verses add details to complete the account and raise a few questions about the content and process of Abraham's dream. Through such details and questions, the status of dreams in Islamic thought, not necessarily in the Qurʾān, was articulated.

Several commentators mention that when Abraham was informed about the future birth of his child, he took an oath (see OATHS) that he would sacrifice the child to God. In a dream he was reminded of that oath (Muqātil, *Tafsīr,* iii, 615; Rāzī, *Tafsīr,* xxvi, 153; Qurṭubī, *Jāmiʿ,* xv, 102; Suyūṭī, *Durr,* v, 307). Exegesis (see EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL) further reports that Abraham saw the dream three nights in a row. In the morning after the first night, Abraham thought about the dream and wondered whether it was from God or from Satan (see DEVIL). The next night he had the same dream and then he knew that the message was from God. By the third night, Abraham was ready to sacrifice his son (Rāzī, *Tafsīr,* xxvi, 153; Baghawī, *Maʿālim,* iv, 569; Qurṭubī, *Jāmiʿ,* xv, 101-2; Suyūṭī, *Durr,* v, 308). Abraham's hesitation is understood to be in disagreement with the ḥadīth that states that prophets' dreams *(ruʾyā)* are equal to revelation (*waḥy,* Suyūṭī, *Durr,* v, 305; cf. Joseph's dream below). If dreams have the authority of revelation, Abraham should not have hesitated. Furthermore, the Qurʾān narrates that Abraham consulted his son

about the sacrifice *(fa-nzur mādhā tarā)*. This, in the eyes of some commentators, constitutes a contradiction: If dreams are authoritative, as indicated by the ḥadīth, why did this dream not elicit Abraham's immediate trust and certitude (see TRUST AND PATIENCE)? On the other hand, if the dream does not supply decisive proof of its reliability, which may explain the hesitation, how did it happen that Abraham decided to sacrifice his son after all? Al-Rāzī's (d. 606/1210) (*Tafsīr,* xxvi, 153) answer to both questions is that Abraham hesitated with regard to the dream *(ruʾyā)* but was reassured by a clear revelation *(al-waḥy al-ṣarīkh)*.

Attention should be given to the terminology used by al-Rāzī: Although the verse itself uses the word *manām,* the commentator refers to the word *ruʾyā* without indicating whether it was a synonym for *manām* or not. When dealing with *ruʾyā,* he also refers to *waḥy*. The difference between the two may be associated with the ḥadīth that defines dreams as part of prophecy (see Abū Hājir Zaghlūl, *Mawsūʿa,* v, 156; Kinberg, Literal dreams, 283-4, and n. 12; Qurṭubī, ad Joseph's dream, below). Al-Rāzī, when explaining how Abraham made the decision, puts *ruʾyā* and *waḥy* in a hierarchy, in which the latter authorizes the former.

The *tafsīr* emphasizes that Abraham was so determined about what he was going to do that the efforts of Satan to change his mind were in vain (Baghawī, *Maʿālim,* iv, 570; Suyūṭī, *Durr,* v, 306-7). Abraham made all the preparations and when he was about to sacrifice his son, a voice was heard, complimenting him for trusting the dream (*ruʾyā,* Q 37:105). This, according to al-Rāzī, indicates Abraham's awareness of the fact that the message delivered in his dream was obligatory. This does not mean, however, that the command was actually carried out (Rāzī, *Tafsīr,* xxvi, 156). Following this argument, al-Rāzī classifies this dream among those in which the message is fulfilled in an opposite way (id., 157).

Dreams related to Joseph

In Sūrat Yūsuf (Q 12) there are four dreams that are symbolic and require interpretation. As such they fit the third category of dreams mentioned above. In the beginning of the sūra (Q 12:3), Joseph tells his father that he dreamt he had seen eleven stars, the sun (q.v.) and the moon (q.v.), all bowing down before him (cf. *Gen* 37:4-6; see BOWING AND PROSTRATION). Later in the sūra we read about the dreams of the two men who met Joseph in prison. One saw himself pressing grapes, the other saw himself carrying bread (q.v.) on his head while birds were picking at it. Joseph interpreted the dreams to mean that the first man will pour wine for his king and the other will be crucified (Q 35-41; cf. *Gen* 40:5-19; see CRUCIFIXION). Verse 12:43 tells of Pharaoh's (q.v.) dream about the seven fat cows eating the seven lean ones and about the seven green and seven withered ears of corn. Pharaoh's counselors could not interpret the dream and defined it as *aḍghāth aḥlām,* "confused dreams" (Q 12:44). Joseph interprets the symbols as standing for seven good years that will be devoured by seven bad years (Q 12:47-9). Toward the end of the sūra Joseph's dream, mentioned at the outset of the sūra, is fulfilled with the arrival of his family to Egypt: "And he lifted his father and mother upon the throne and they fell down prostrate before him. 'See, father,' he said, 'this is the interpretation of my vision of long ago; my Lord (q.v.) has made it true'" (Q 12:100).

As in the case of Abraham's dream, here too exegesis contributes to the understanding of the status of dreams in Islam. While dealing with the verse that cites Jacob's (q.v.) advice to Joseph not to tell his dream to his brothers (Q 12:5), most commentators

focus on the prophetic nature of this dream and elaborate on the relationship between prophecy and dreams. Al-Wāḥidī (d. 468/1076; *Wasīṭ,* ii, 600), for example, explains that Joseph was a prophet and states that prophets' dreams *(ruʾyā)* are equal to revelation (*waḥy,* cf. Abraham's dream above). Jacob knew that his sons, Joseph's brothers, would understand the meaning of the dream and would try to do away with Joseph. Thus he advised him not to tell them his dream.

For the same verse, al-Qurṭubī (d. 671/1272) adduces some of the ḥadīth sayings that actually underscore the reliability of dreams such as the one which defines dreams as part of prophecy (the 26th, 40th, 44th, 46th, 49th, 50th part of prophecy, *Jāmiʿ,* ix, 122-4; cf. Abraham's dream above; see REVELATION AND INSPIRATION; PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD). He further examines the qualities of dreams as truth-holders (see TRUTH), as prophecies that come true, and compares different kinds of dreams and different times of dreaming (Qurṭubī, *Jāmiʿ,* 125-9). He ends his commentary with the presentation of Joseph as a prophet and as the best dream-interpreter on earth (id., 129, ad v. 6). In his commentary on the verses dealing with Joseph's interpretation of the dreams of the two men in prison (Q 12:35-42), al-Qurṭubī raises a question concerning the actualization of dreams according to their interpretation: When the dreamer tells the truth, his dream will be fulfilled according to its interpretation. The process is different when the dreamer lies. In this case, only the interpretation of a prophet will be carried out. This is the way to understand Joseph's words: "The matter is decided whereon you enquire" (Q 12:41). Al-Qurṭubī explains that when Joseph interpreted the dream of the doomed man, the latter denied having the dream. To that Joseph answered, "Whether you saw it or not, 'the matter is decided whereon you enquire'" (Qurṭubī, *Jāmiʿ,* ix, 193). The question of the fulfillment of dreams is raised again by al-Qurṭubī when dealing with the number of years that passed from the time Joseph had his dream as a boy until he met his family in Egypt as a hero (Q 12:100). Forty years, as stated by al-Qurṭubī, is the longest time that can pass from the time the dream occurred until its actualization (id., 264 ad Q 12:100).

Al-Qurṭubī's elaboration conveys the exegetical inclination to consider qurʾānic dreams an integral part of the literature of dream interpretation *(taʿbīr)*. An examination of the *taʿbīr* literature shows that although it also manifests that it has been influenced by foreign cultures such as Babylonian (Bland, Muhammedan science, 119; Fahd, The dream, 351), Greek (Bland, Muhammedan science, 123-4; Fahd, The dream, 248; Somogyi, Interpretation, 2) and Jewish (Kister, Interpretation, 99-101). The literature on oneiromancy is, however, Islamic in nature: A basic requirement imposed on every Muslim dream-interpreter is a thorough knowledge of the tradition of qurʾānic commentary *(tafsīr)* from which many ways of interpretation derive (Bland, Muhammedan science, 132). Qurʾānic verses are also often cited in *taʿbīr* works and are frequently used as means of interpretation (id., 122; Kister, Interpretation, 90, 91; Somogyi, Interpretation, 15-8). Joseph appears in *taʿbīr* books in illustration of methods of interpretation (Bland, Muhammedan science, 125). Certain parts of the Qurʾān are considered protectors against bad dreams (id., 129-30) and verses heard or seen in dreams are interpreted according to the nature of the sūra in which they occur (id., 143).

More qurʾānic references to dreams deal

with issues taken from the biography of Muḥammad (see SĪRA AND THE QUR'ĀN) and contribute to the establishment of basic elements of Islamic belief related to good tidings about the next world *(bushrā),* the battle of Badr, the conquest of Mecca, the nocturnal journey of the Prophet (see ASCENSION) and the accusation against Muḥammad of being inspired by *aḍghāth aḥlām,* "confused dreams" (see OPPOSITION TO MUḤAMMAD).

Bushrā

Q 10:62-4 reads: "Surely God's friends — no fear shall be on them, neither shall they sorrow. Those who believe, and are godfearing — for them is good tidings in the present life and in the world to come. There is no changing the words of God; that is the mighty triumph." Several definitions of "good tidings" *(bushrā)* are adduced in the commentary on this verse, among which "dream" *(ru'yā)* is one. Dreams are the good tidings in the present world; the gardens of Eden (*jannāt Adan* (see GARDEN)) are the good tidings of the next world (Ṭabarsī, *Majmaʿ,* iii, 70). Apart from commentary, this verse is often adduced as an opening to examination of dreams. For example, al-Qushayrī begins the chapter about dreams in his *Risāla* with this verse in order to legitimize the interest Islam has in dreams (Qushayrī, *Risāla, Bāb ru'yā al-qawm,* 304). Al-Qushayrī further develops the legitimization of dreams by adducing a set of prophetic sayings that denote the special value of this medium.

Similar traditions also appear in exegetical works. Al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505), in his commentary on this verse, cites a variety of sayings defining dreams as a part of prophecy that has ceased to exist (*Durr,* iii, 337-9; Ibn ʿAṭiyya, *Muḥarrar,* iii, 129). Kāshānī (d. after 1091/1680), on the same verse, quotes a few Shīʿite traditions to demonstrate the way in which the good tidings are delivered. Such is the one transmitted by ʿAyyāshī (d. early fourth/tenth) on the authority of Abū Jaʿfar al-Bāqir (the sixth Shīʿī Imām, d. 114/733): When a man is about to die, the angel of death comforts him by telling him that his hopes will be fulfilled and that none of his fears will materialize to hurt him. Then the angel (q.v.) opens a door facing the gardens of Eden and lets the man see his future abode (see GARDEN); there he sees the Prophet and ʿAlī (see ʿALĪ B. ABĪ ṬĀLIB) and Ḥasan and Ḥusayn (Kāshānī, *Ṣāfī,* ii, 410; see FAMILY OF THE PROPHET; SHĪʿISM AND THE QUR'ĀN). Visions of paradise (q.v.) and descriptions of rewards in the next world are the most common motifs in the literature of dreams (see REWARD AND PUNISHMENT). By using these motifs, and by referring to ḥadīth sayings that legitimize the usage of dreams, commentators try to anchor dream literature in the Qur'ān.

The battle of Badr

Q 8:43 reads: "When God showed them to you [Muḥammad] in your dream *(manām)* as few; and had he shown them as many you would have lost heart, and quarrelled about the matter; but God saved [you]; he knows the thoughts in the breasts." Some commentators report that before the battle of Badr (q.v.), Muḥammad had a dream in which he saw the enemy to be few in number. Upon divulging the dream, the people were encouraged and declared that their Prophet's dream revealed the truth. In the battlefield, God, to fulfill Muḥammad's dream, decreased the number of infidels in the eyes of the believers (Muqātil, *Tafsīr,* ii, 117; Abū l-Layth al-Samarqandī, *Tafsīr,* ii, 20; cf. Rāzī, *Tafsīr,* xv, 174). This verse should be read together with Q 3:13 which states that the victory of the believers at Badr became possible through a divine sign *(āya)* which had caused a deceptive change in the number. Thus, if Q 8:43

deals with a preliminary, revealing dream, Q 3:13 describes some kind of apparition (q.v.) that took place on the battlefield in the fulfillment of the dream.

The conquest of Mecca

Q 48:27 reads: "God has indeed fulfilled the vision *(ruʾyā)*. He vouchsafed to his messenger truly: 'You shall enter the holy mosque (q.v.), if God wills, in security, your heads shaved, your hair cut short, not fearing.' He knew what you knew not, and gave you a victory beforehand." Of the three groups of dreams presented above, this verse is used to demonstrate the first kind, where the message or description is fulfilled and becomes a part of reality.

In explaining the background to the verse, commentators emphasize that the verse alludes to a dream which the Prophet had before he went to Ḥudaybiya. In the dream, he saw the believers entering the holy mosque. The believers were pleased to hear the dream, believing that they would enter Mecca (q.v.) that same year. When this did not happen, the so-called hypocrites (*munāfiqūn,* see HYPOCRITES AND HYPOCRISY) became doubtful. The verse was revealed to encourage believers and to certify the trustworthiness of the dream (see OCCASIONS OF REVELATION), namely the future entrance into Mecca (Muqātil, *Tafsīr,* iv, 76; Ṭabarsī, *Majmaʿ,* iv, 78; Shawkānī, *Tafsīr,* v, 55; Rāzī, *Tafsīr,* xxviii, 104. See also Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ, Bāb al-taʿbīr, Bāb ruʾyā al-ṣāliḥīn*).

God's promise to fulfill the dream ("You shall enter the holy mosque") seems to contradict the addition "if God wills." Exegesis suggests several ways to settle the contradiction, all of which convey a need, almost an obligation, to interpret the verse in a manner that does not contradict the idea of dreams as truth-holders or, as stated by al-Qurṭubī, as "means to deliver revelations to prophets" (*Jāmiʿ,* xvi, 290).

The nocturnal journey of the Prophet

Q 17:60 reads: "And when we said to you, 'Surely your Lord encompasses humankind,' and we made the vision *(ruʾyā),* that we showed you, an ordeal *(fitna)* for humankind and [also] the tree cursed in the Qurʾān; and we frighten them, but it only increases them in great insolence." Exegetical literature offers various occasions to which the *ruʾyā* in this verse may refer: One is the ascension (q.v.; *isrāʾ*), mentioned in the first verse of the same sūra. In this case, *ruʾyā* (dream) might mean *ruʾyat ʿayn,* "physical seeing in wakefulness" and the cursed tree *(al-shajara al-malʿūna)* is the *zaqūm* (Ṭabarsī, *Majmaʿ,* iv (xv), 66; Suyūṭī, *Durr,* iv, 210; Shawkānī, *Tafsīr,* iii, 240; Ibn ʿAṭiyya, *Muḥarrar,* iii, 467, 468; see TREES). The reference could also be to Muḥammad's dream regarding the conquest of Mecca (Q 48:27; Ṭabarsī, *Majmaʿ,* iv [xv], 66; Shawkānī, *Tafsīr,* iii, 240; Ālūsī, *Rūḥ,* viii, 107; Ibn ʿAṭiyya, *Muḥarrar,* iii, 468) or to the dream in which the Prophet saw monkeys climbing his pulpit *(minbar),* interpreted as being the Umayyad caliphs. According to the last interpretation, the cursed tree alludes to the Umayyad dynasty (Ṭabarsī, *Majmaʿ,* iv (xv), 66; Suyūṭī, *Durr,* iv, 211; Shawkānī, *Tafsīr,* iii, 240; Ālūsī, *Rūḥ,* viii, 107; Kāshānī, *Ṣāfī,* iii, 200; Ibn ʿAṭiyya, *Muḥarrar,* iii, 468).

Unlike the other references discussed above, the exegesis on this verse does not examine the dream as a medium which reveals a future event but rather raises a question as to the circumstances under which the dream could cause *fitna,* "ordeal, insolence, dissension (q.v.)." Performing the ascension *(isrāʾ)* through a dream would not cause *fitna* (Ibn ʿAṭiyya, *Muḥarrar,* iii, 468). Only physical ascension could be considered a miracle, the acceptance of which requires profound belief and as such puts people to the test. Following this line, attention should be given to the exceptional

usage of *ruʾyā* in this verse. It means physical seeing rather than dreaming and indicates wakefulness rather than sleep (see SEEING AND HEARING). If that *ruʾyā* refers to the dream Muḥammad had before the conquest of Mecca, *fitna* could be the outcome of the disappointment of the people who did not witness the immediate fulfillment of the dream (see "The conquest of Mecca" above).

Aḍghāth aḥlām

Dreams of this category are defined as frightful nightmares, deceptive dreams or dreams with a meaning that cannot be interpreted (Qurṭubī, *Jāmiʿ,* xi, 270). In the case of Pharaoh, the counselors did not know how to interpret his dream and named it *aḍghāth aḥlām* (Q 12:44). In Q 21:5 the term refers to the Qurʾān brought by Muḥammad and was used by those who doubted his mission. Although not elaborated in the *tafsīr,* the difference between the term *aḍghāth aḥlām* and *ruʾyā/manām* can be easily perceived. The latter are considered part of prophecy, of divine origin, revealing the future (see *Bushrā* above), they hold the truth (see Muḥammad's dream before the conquest of Mecca, mentioned above) and have the authority to lead people and instruct them on how to act (see Abraham's dream, and all the dreams in Sūrat Yūsuf, mentioned above). *Aḍghāth aḥlām,* on the other hand, are represented as misleading lies, stories inspired by demons and, as such, invalid. By comparing the negative features of *aḍghāth aḥlām,* the value and weight of *ruʾyā* and *manām* become prominent. This differentiation also appears in the ḥadīth literature, expressed in a widespread saying "*ruʾyā* is from God and *ḥulm* is from Satan" (*al-ruʾyā min Allāh wa-l-ḥulm min al-shayṭān,* for a reference to different versions of this ḥadīth, see Abū Hājir Zaghlūl, *Mawsūʿa,* v, 157).

Conclusions

Of all the references to dreams examined above, only in Sūrat Yūsuf do we come across dream narratives (q.v.). In all other cases, the term "dream" is mentioned but nothing is said about the content of the dream, the reason for it or its background (*asbāb al-nuzūl*; see OCCASIONS OF REVELATION); these are elaborated in the exegetical literature. This observation allows us to say that — except for the dreams in Sūrat Yūsuf — the Qurʾān does not contain narratives of dreams. The examination of dreams in the exegetical literature reflects the concerns of later times, when dreams had already gained a special status in Islam.

The legitimization of the usage of dreams, established in the ḥadīth, was set to justify the special role dreams began to play in the nascent Islamic community that had lost its Prophet. People's search for the authority of dreams increased after the death of the Prophet, when prophecy came to an end (see Kinberg, Literal dreams, 283, and n. 12; also Von Grünebaum, Cultural function, 7). As part of prophecy, dreams were perceived as vehicles through which transcendental information could reach the believers. This created a special interest in dreams and, due to the trust people had in them, they began to function in a way similar to that of the ḥadīth, especially that of edifying ḥadīth (for further details see Kinberg, Literal dreams, 283-92 [Dreams as a functional parallel to ḥadīth]). The Qurʾān naturally was not in need of this kind of dream. The exegetical literature, nevertheless, tried to relate ḥadīth and Qurʾān.

The same can be said of the relationship between qurʾānic dreams and *taʿbīr* literature, the interpretation of dreams. Exegesis, whenever applicable, dealt with the way in which the interpretation of dreams operated and the circumstances under which they could be fulfilled. *Taʿbīr* books,

which developed into a distinct genre (for details see *Manām,* Introduction, 43-6), referred to the Qurʾān and used its verses as a means of interpretation. Nonetheless, were it not for the contribution of *tafsīr,* no qurʾānic verse would have been associated with the *taʿbīr* literature.

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Dress

see CLOTHING

Drink

see FOOD AND DRINK

Drowning

Death by suffocation under water. Alongside warnings about the day of judgment on which individuals will receive their reckoning (see LAST JUDGMENT; APOCALYPSE; ESCHATOLOGY), the Qurʾān also recounts instances of God's judgments against entire communities in former times. Due to their corruption (q.v.), God had destroyed these once powerful peoples, as stated in Q 29:40: "And we seized [and punished] each for its crime. We sent a hail of stones against some; others were overtaken by an awful cry; some we had the earth (q.v.) swallow up; while still others we drowned! Surely God did not wrong them; rather they had wronged themselves." Such drownings *(gharaq, aghraq, mughraq)* occur approximately twenty times in the Qurʾān and almost always in explicit reference to either the story of Noah (q.v.) and the flood or to the destruction of Pharaoh (q.v.) and his army in pursuit of Moses (q.v.) and the Children of Israel (q.v.). Both accounts depict people who are intransigent in their evil ways (see EVIL DEEDS) and deny the messengers sent by God to warn them of his impending judgment (see MESSENGER; WARNER): "When the folk of Noah called the messengers liars, we drowned them and made them a sign for humanity. We have prepared a painful punishment for oppressors!" (Q 25:37; cf. 10:90; 11:37, 43; 23:27; 36:43; 44:24; 71:25). Thus, and at times in nearly identical language, the Qurʾān describes God's deliverance (q.v.) of Noah and Moses as well as his punishment of their enemies by drowning: "And we saved Moses and all of those with him, then we drowned the others. In that is a sign, but most do not believe" (Q 26:65-7; cf. 26:119-21; also 2:50; 7:64, 136; 8:54; 17:103; 21:77). Far from being random acts of nature (see NATURAL WORLD AND THE QURʾĀN), these drownings result from the flood of forty days and the parting of the Red Sea and as such they are miraculous in nature (see MIRACLE). Due to their miraculous nature, these and

similar events are meant both to underscore God's justice (see JUSTICE AND INJUSTICE) and, equally important, to serve as a sign (*āya,* see SIGNS) for later generations (q.v.), that they might take heed and follow God guidance for humanity as revealed by his prophets (see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD): "So when they angered us, we took vengeance (q.v.) and drowned them all, and so we made them a precedent and an example for those to come" (Q 43:55-6; also see 17:69; 25:37). See also CHASTISEMENT AND PUNISHMENT; PUNISHMENT STORIES; ANGER.

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Druzes

A religio-ethnic community and offshoot of the Shīʿī Ismāʿīlī branch of Islam. The Druze *(durzī,* pl. *durūz)* trace their origins to early eleventh-century Fāṭimid Cairo and the reign of the Ismāʿīlī Imām-Caliph al-Ḥākim bi-Amr Allāh (r. 386/996-411/1021). The Druze faith or doctrine *(madhhab)* is based on 111 "Epistles of Wisdom" *(rasāʾil al-ḥikma)* written during the brief period of its propagation, 408/1017-435/1043. Three centuries later these epistles were collected into six books by ʿĪsā al-Tanūkhī. His organization of these epistles constitutes the Druze Canon (14 in Book I, 25 in Book II, 15 in Book III, 13 in Book IV, 7 in Book V and 36 in Book VI; epistle 50 is addressed to Tanūkhī, himself. With the exception of eleven epistles whose authorship is unknown, all others bear the name of one of the three founders of the faith: Ḥamza b. ʿAlī al-Zawzanī (d. after 411/1021), known as the guide of the believers *(hādī l-mustajībīn),* nos. 5-35 (although bearing no author's name, the style of Epistles 5, 7, 8 and 11 indicate his authorship); Ismāʿīl b. Muḥammad al-Tamīmī, second in rank, nos. 36-40; and Bahāʾ al-Dīn al-Muqtanā (d. after 434/1032), whom Ḥamza called the mouthpiece of the believers (lit. tongue of the unitarians, *lisān al-muwaḥḥidīn*) on account of his skill in articulating the faith, nos. 42-111. The founders called themselves and their followers unitarians *(mūwaḥḥidūn)* and their doctrine unitarianism *(daʿwat al-tawḥīd)*. Both terms appear on almost every page of the Druze Canon, where the epistles quote, either in full or in part or sometimes even with a single word, more than 250 verses from the Qurʾān to corroborate *tawḥīd* or to refute tenets inconsistent with Druze doctrine (Book I quotes 109 qurʾānic verses, Book II 58, Book III 30, Book V 60, Books IV and VI 4 each). For Ḥamza (epistle 6), the Qurʾān as revelation has seven forms *(unzilaʿalā sabʿat ṣunūf),* one part of which is *nāsikh* (abrogating), the other *mansūkh* (abrogated), and seven readings *(quriʾa bi-sabʿat aḥruf)*. See ABROGATION; READINGS OF THE QURʾĀN.

From Ismāʿīlism to Daʿwat al-tawḥīd

Shīʿī Ismāʿīlī precepts and beliefs grew out of those of the Shīʿa Imāmiyya (see SHĪʿISM AND THE QURʾĀN) in the second half of the third/ninth century. Disagreement over the identity of the legitimate imāms led to divergence in doctrine (see CREEDS; DISSENSION), which soon set the Ismāʿīlīs apart as an independent sect. Ismāʿīlism achieved its most brilliant success in North Africa when in 297/909 it became the religion of the Fāṭimid state that soon conquered Egypt in 360/969. After the establishment of this state, Ismāʿīlī theologians instilled in

the followers of the sect messianic expectations of the coming of the *mahdī* (the divinely guided figure destined to usher in the eschatological age of justice; see ESCHATOLOGY), personified eventually in the Fāṭimīd Imām-Caliph (see IMĀM; CALIPH). Some orthodox Ismāʿīlīs were eager to see the messianic promise fulfilled during their own lifetime and thus were described as extremists *(ghulāt)*. Such messianic hopes reached their peak in 386/996 when, after almost a century and five Fāṭimid caliphs, al-Ḥākim bi-Amr Allāh ascended the throne. In 408/1017 Fāṭimid Ismāʿīlī missionaries *(duʿāt,* sing. *dāʿī)* claimed that al-Ḥākim was not only of divine nature but that he was the long-awaited *mahdī*. It is at this point that tradition locates the origin of the Druze religious sect.

The most radical change introduced by Druzism was the abolishment of a hereditary system of the Imāmate; after the divine manifestation in al-Ḥākim, the Ismāʿīlī messianic belief in the coming *mahdī* was replaced by the definitive triumph of unitarianism. The Druze belief is based on the idea that human beings, bound by their physical nature, possess a faculty of comprehension which is correspondingly bound by space and time and thus incapable of conceiving the essence of the divine *(lāhūt)*. God can be understood only within the limits of our own comprehension: Like an image in a mirror, the divine appears in human form *(nāsūt)*. *Lāhūt* and *nāsūt* are based on an interpretation of qurʾānic verses. For example: "Say: 'Who is the lord *(rabb)* of the heavens and earth?' Say: 'Allāh'" (Q 13:16). The qurʾānic terms *rabb* and Allāh are interpreted by Ḥamza (epistle 10) as the "*Lāhūt* of our lord… who cannot be defined and described." The *nāsūt* does not signify an incarnation of God (see ANTHROPOMORPHISM) but an image through which God brings himself closer to human understanding. Al-Tamīmī (epistle 36) bases the form of *nāsūt* on the Qurʾān: "Like a mirage in a desert which the thirsty takes to be water, until when he comes to it, he finds it to be nothing, discovering instead God beside him" (Q 24:39). Al-Ḥākim was the penultimate manifestation of the *lāhūt* in the *nāsūt* form, completing the cycle of unitarian messages. Throughout the Epistles of the Druze Canon, there is a strong emphasis on the unitarian concept, and warning is given against taking the *nāsūt* image for the divine itself: "God is unique, eternal, without a beginning, and abiding without end. He is beyond the comprehension of human understanding. Thus, he cannot be defined by words or attributes distinct from his essence. He has no body or spirit."

Tawḥīḍ

Druze doctrine follows Ismāʿīlism in its distinction between formal revelation and esoteric interpretation (see REVELATION AND INSPIRATION) but adds a third element in its call to apply, above all else, the heart and mind to deep devotion to God, not to rules and rituals. Those who follow either the exoteric *(tanzīl)* or esoteric *(taʾwīl)* approach to interpreting scripture (see EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL) remain dependent on intermediaries and can thus never reach true belief in God *(tawḥīd)*. True unitarians have no need for such mediation when it comes to worship. They are exempt from the performance of ritual obligations (*daʿāʾim taklīfiyya* or *al-takālīf al-sharʿiyya,* see RITUAL AND THE QURʾĀN) which they view as a form of punishment God has set aside for non-*muwaḥḥidūn* (see CHASTISEMENT AND PUNISHMENT). In place of the seven ritual obligations or pillars *(daʿāʾim taklīfiyya),* the Druze faith substitutes seven unitarian principles: (1) truthfulness, (2) mutual aid, (3) disassociation from unbelievers, (4) renunciation of

belief inconsistent with *tawḥīd,* (5) belief that the unitarian doctrine was preached in every age, (6) content resignation to all God's actions and (7) submission to God's will. Al-Tamīmī (epistle 37) considers *daʿāʾim taklīfiyya* to be fire (q.v.) which scorches those who practice the ritual obligations, as the Qurʾān describes: "The fire will scorch their faces" (Q 23:104).

Thus early Ismāʿīlism was articulated around the notion of the superiority of the esoteric *(bāṭin)* over the exoteric *(ẓāhir)* and *taʾwil* over *tanzīl,* with the accompanying conclusion that outward ritual acts are God's punishment for non-Ismāʿīlīs, i.e. *tawḥīd* replaces *tanzīl* and *tāʾwīl.* In this, Druze doctrine differs from the Shīʿī and Ismāʿīlī approaches as well as the Sunnī emphasis on the sacred law *(sharīʿa)*. The writers of the Druze Canon took pains to ground their unique position in the Qurʾān through allegorical interpretation of qurʾānic verses which are invariably quoted to explain the principle of the unitarian doctrine as the third or middle doctrine *(maslak)* to which, according to al-Tamīmī (epistle 38), the Q 57:13 refers: "Between them will be a wall with a door: The inner side *(bāṭinuhu)* will contain mercy, and the outer side in front *(wa-ẓāhiruhu min qablihi)* the punishment." The three doctrines are perceived as three stages of the religious faith: "Islam *(ẓāhir)* is the door to faith *(īmān,* i.e. inner faith, *bāṭin)* and *īmān* is the door to the ultimate goal *(tawḥīd),* the highest stage of the religion" (epistle 9). Al-Tamīmī (epistle 38) distinguishes these stages by quoting Q 20:55 in the following way: "'From it did we create you,' i.e. from *ẓāhir,* 'into it do we bring you again,' i.e. to *bāṭin,* 'and from it do we bring you forth another time,' i.e. by setting the *muwaḥḥidūn* apart from *ẓāhir* and *bāṭin* and bringing them to the middle doctrine of *al-tawḥīd*." There are three corresponding ranks of believers: *ahl al-ẓāhir,* i.e. Muslims *(al-muslimūn); ahl al-bāṭin,* i.e. Believers *(al-muʾminūn);* and *ahl al-raḥma,* i.e. Unitarians *(al-muwaḥḥidūn)*.

Ethics

While the Epistles provide a general framework for morality (see ETHICS IN THE QURʾĀN), the influence of Ṣūfism (see ṢŪFISM AND THE QURʾĀN) comes to the fore in the many mystical principles to which Druze sheikhs adhere in their overall demeanor (*maslak,* lit. way, path, course), i.e. the way they eat, dress and pray and in their attitude towards others (see FOOD AND DRINK; CLOTHING; PRAYER; SOCIAL RELATIONS). Interesting is the way Bahāʾ al-Dīn deals with qurʾānic references to issues such as marriage *(nikāh)* which, according to him, contradict one another. This contradiction is explained by the existence of abrogating *(nāsikh)* and abrogated *(mansūkh)* verses. Accepting the *nāsikh* but viewing *mansūkh* as an addition to the qurʾānic revelation, Bahāʾ al-Dīn (epistle 71) considers that only what is true, i.e. non-contradictory, in the Qurʾān comes from God. Epistle 25 grants women complete equality with men (see FEMINISM AND THE QURʾĀN; WOMEN AND THE QURʾĀN) in what concerns marriage and divorce (q.v.) as well as inheritance rights (where Islamic law normally makes a distinction between sons and daughters; see INHERITANCE). Four epistles (8, 18, 83 and 84) are addressed to female unitarians *(al-muwaḥḥidāt)* and extol the values of purity (*ṭahāra,* see PURITY AND IMPURITY) and good conduct. Furthermore, women have full access to the Canon and take part in religious meetings.

al-Amīr al-Sayyid al-Tanūkhī

Al-Amīr al-Sayyid Jamāl al-Dīn ʿAbdallāh al-Tanūkhī (820/1417-884/1479) is revered almost as highly as the propagators of the faith themselves. Al-Amīr al-Sayyid devoted his life to the study of the Arabic

language, logic, poetry, history and, above all, the Qurʾān and the Druze Canon. His legacy includes fourteen volumes with commentary on the Epistles, theology and ethics, with the aim of creating unity in the exegesis of the Canon which guides the Druze sages *(ʿuqqāl)* until today. The moral principles articulated by al-Sayyid and his elaboration of "the lawful and the prohibited" (*al-ḥalāl wa-l-ḥarām,* see LAWFUL AND UNLAWFUL) soon became the elementary code on which Druze came to rely in their everyday life and in the rules of their newly-established religious courts.

Modern times

Until the end of the Ottoman era in 1918, the Druze were able to preserve their traditional characteristics as a close-knit ethno-religious community. In modern times an emerging generation of intellectuals has begun to search for ways to combine Islam and Arab nationalism in order to unite all the various Muslim sects. They now emphasize the Islamic character of the Druze "school" *(madhhab)* and turn to the Qurʾān, in addition to the Druze Canon, in order to demonstrate that their *madhhab* represented one among several autonomous Muslim doctrines. This work is often the result of personal efforts of interpretation and thus frequently adds new Islamic elements and incorporate beliefs current among the Druze at large (*juhhāl,* lit. the ignorants), whose role in the formation of the Druze faith has increased with the rise of modernization and consequent diminishment of the numbers of *ʿuqqāl*.

At the close of the twentieth century, the Druze numbered about one million and are geographically dispersed over Syria, Lebanon, Jordan and Israel/Palestine. Emigration mainly from Syria and Lebanon has created small pockets of Druze populations in the American continents, Australia and West Africa. Thus, socio-economic and political changes, including growing secularization, are reshaping the life of the community as a whole.

Kais M. Firro

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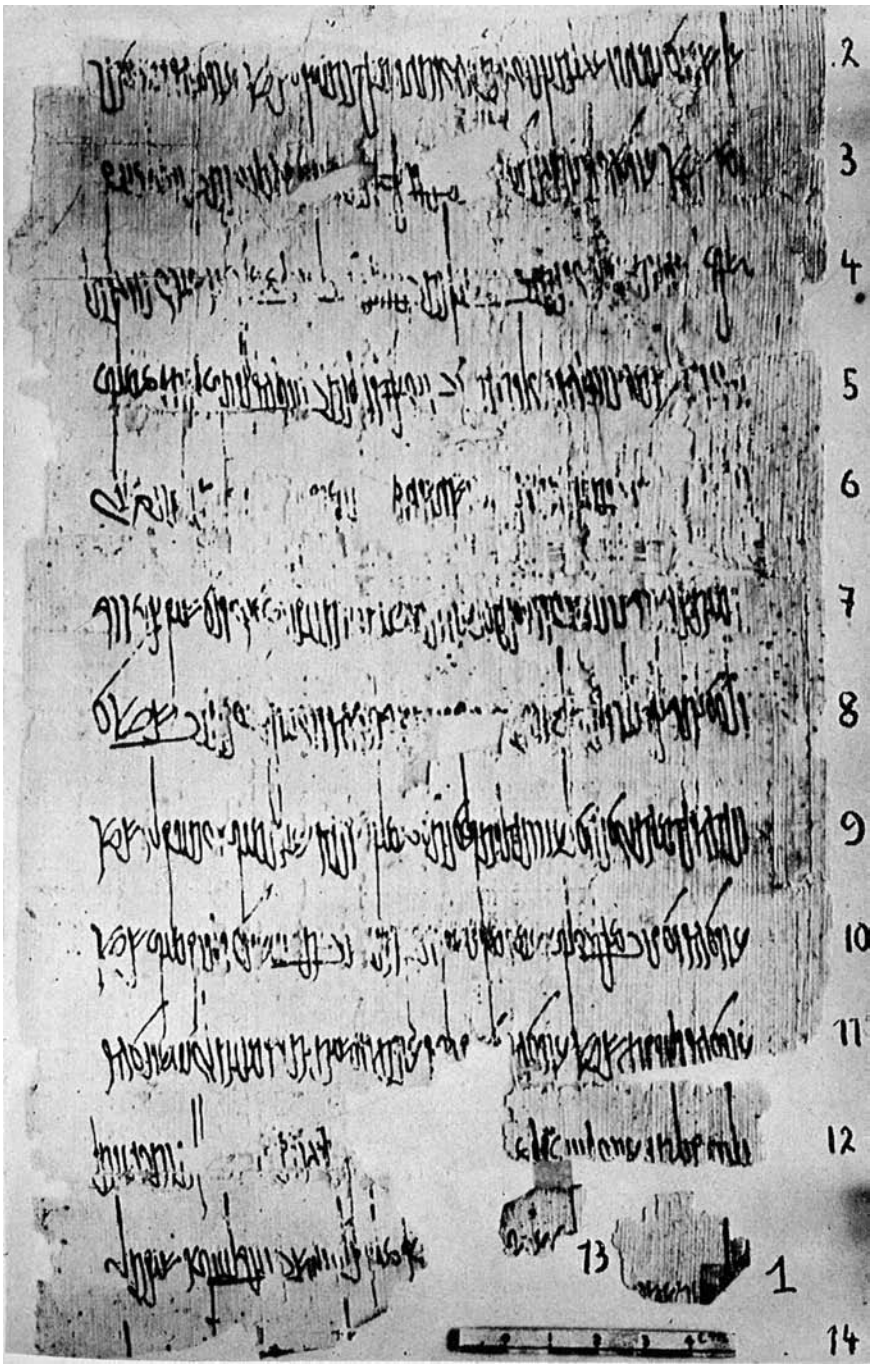
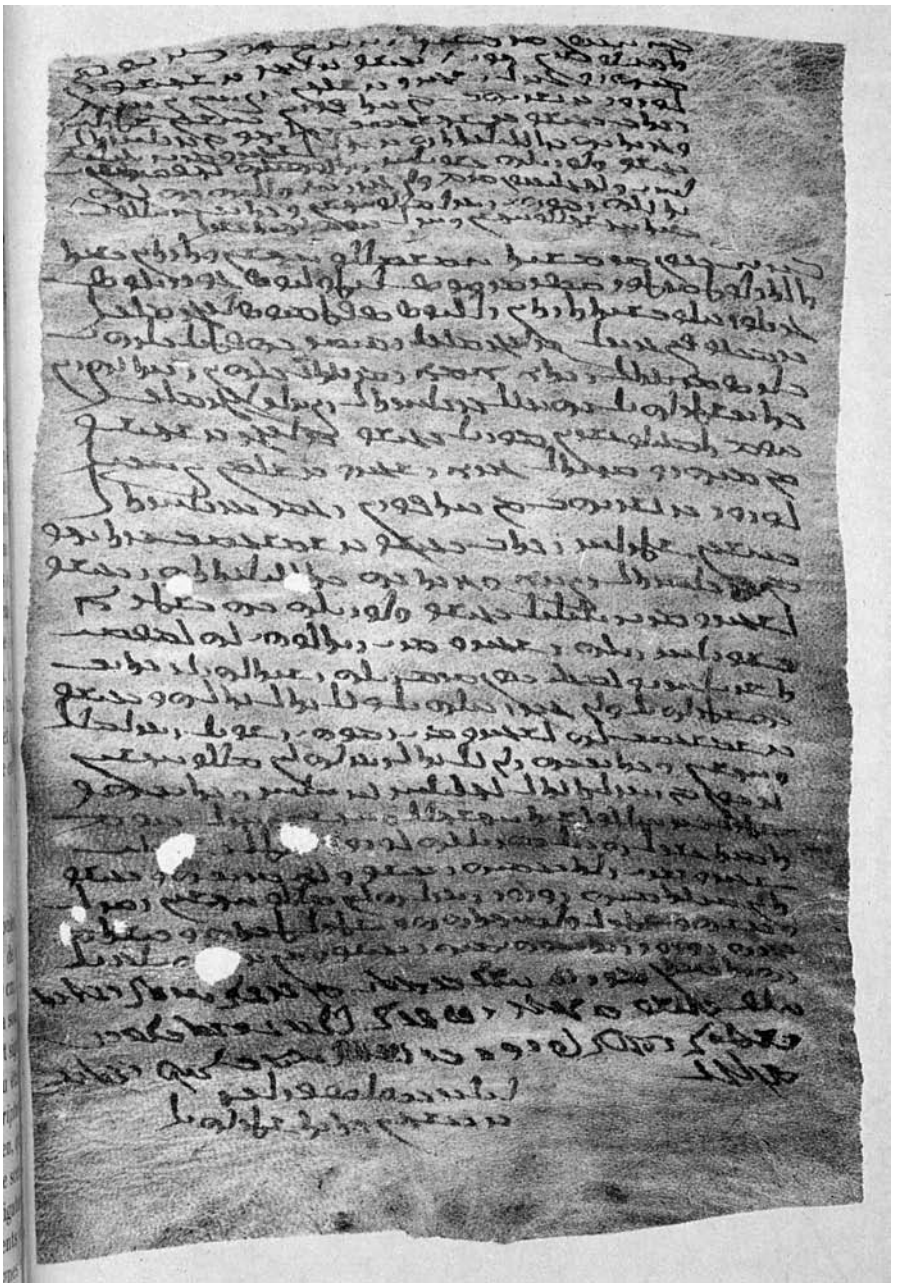
Dunyā see WORLD; LIFE



[1] Nabatean cursive, datable to 40–71 CE, from J. Starcky, Contrat, 169.



[11] Syriac cursive of the third century CE, from J. Teixidor, Deux documents syriaques, 145.

III	A-B	C-E	11	16	17-18	21-22	23
Dates A.D.	Monumental 1st. cent.	Cursive 1st/2nd cent.	211/2	265/6	266/8	305/7	328/9
'							
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ṭ							
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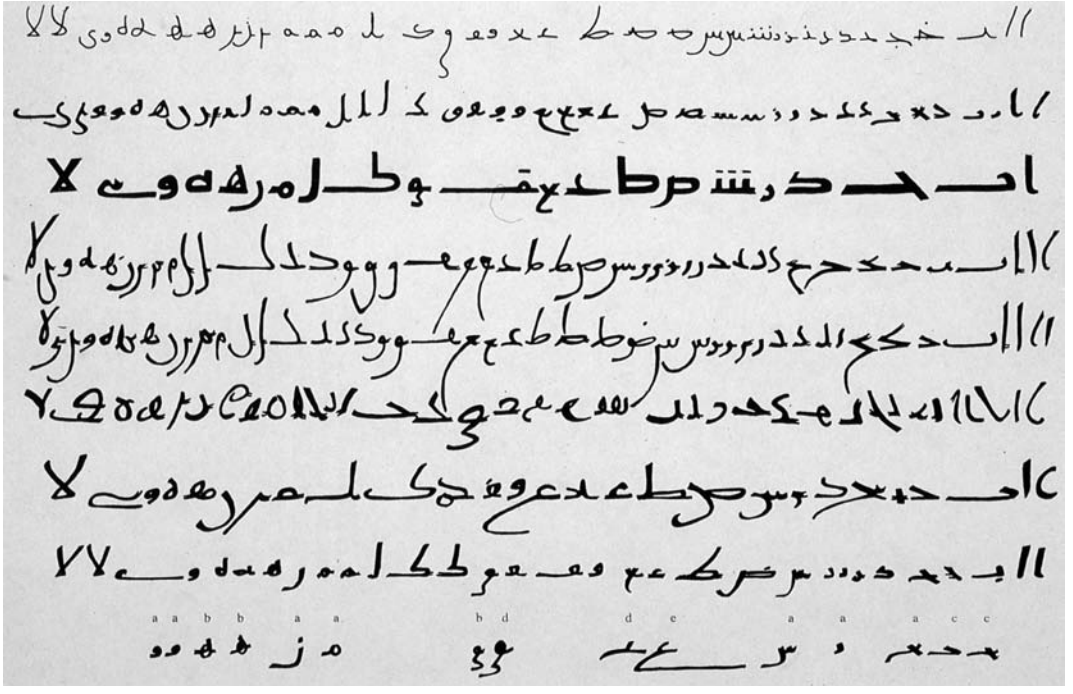
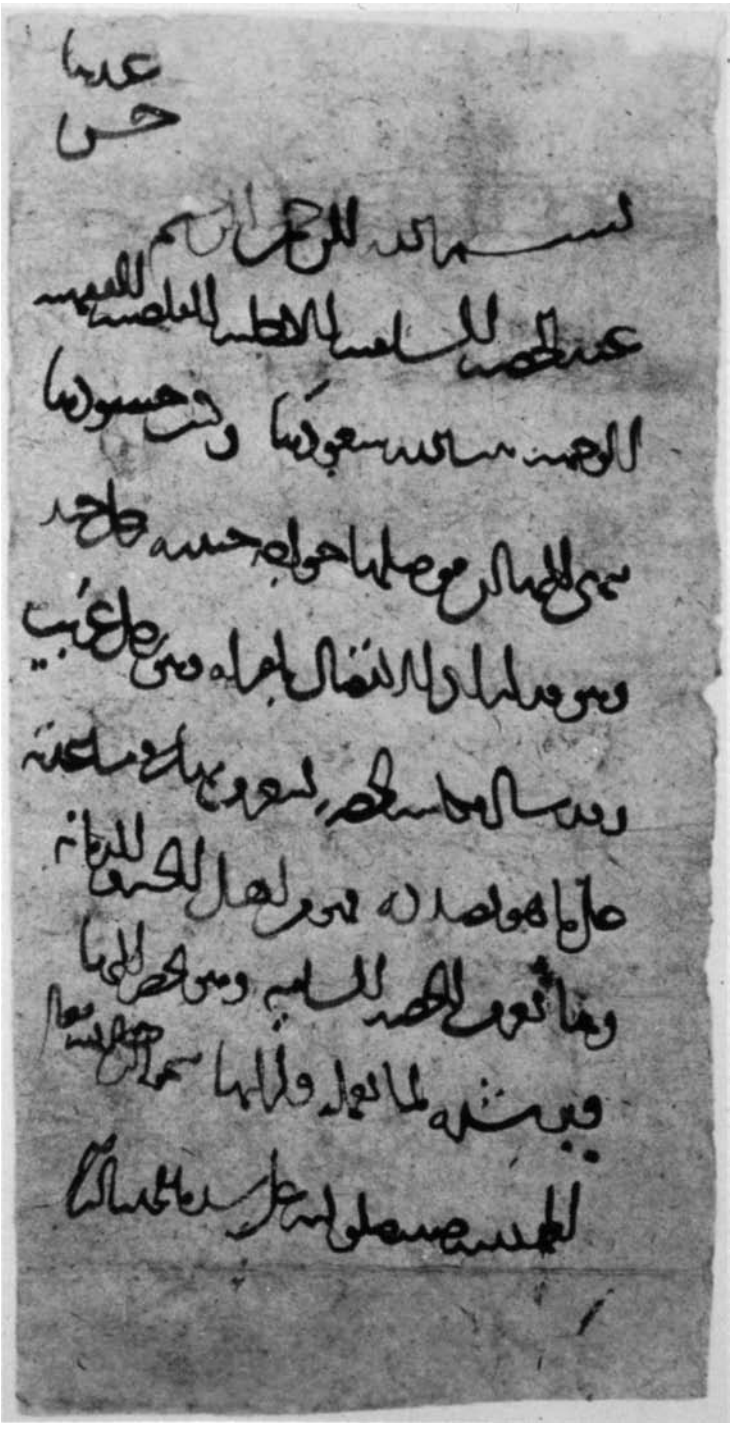
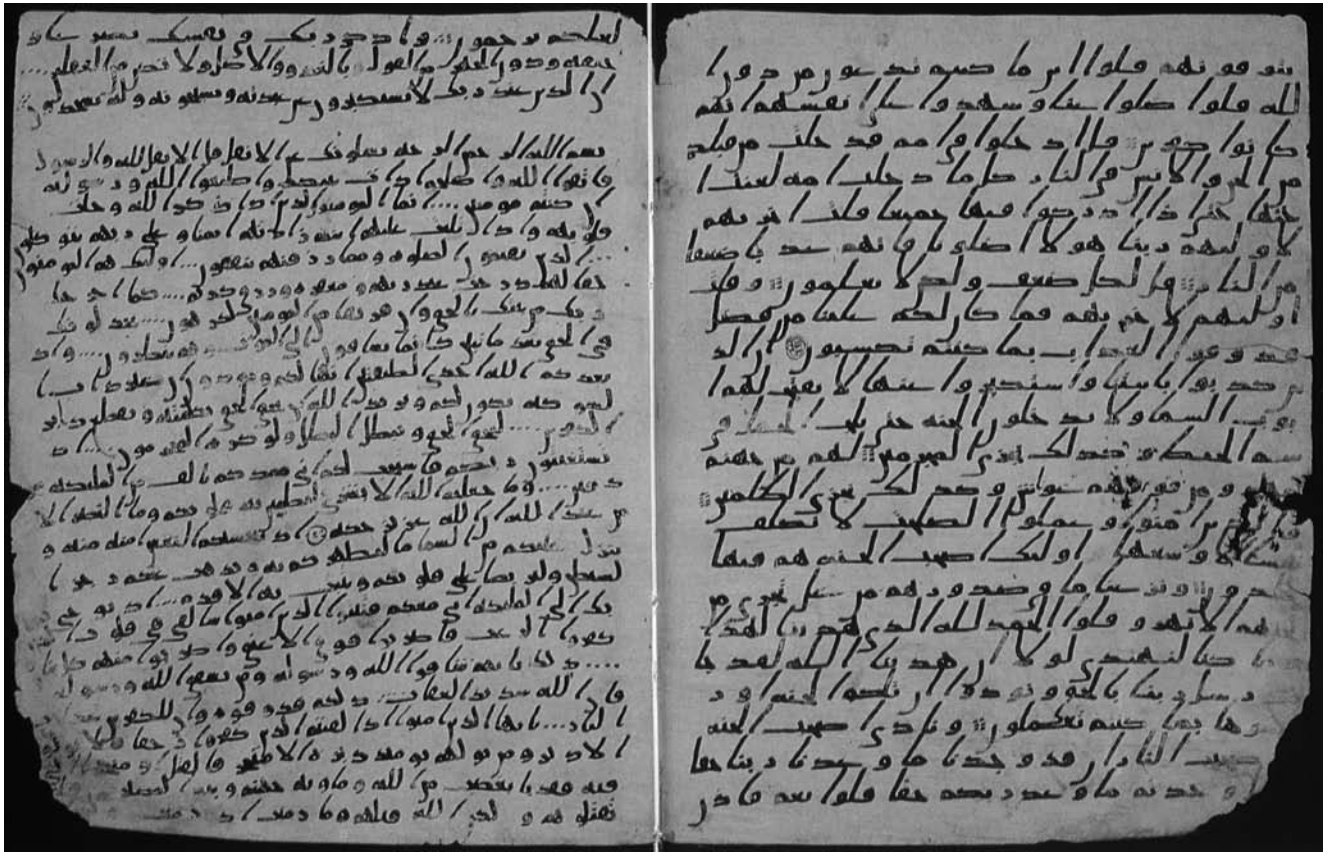
[III] Cursive Nabatean chart, from J. Healey, Nabatean to Arabic, 51.



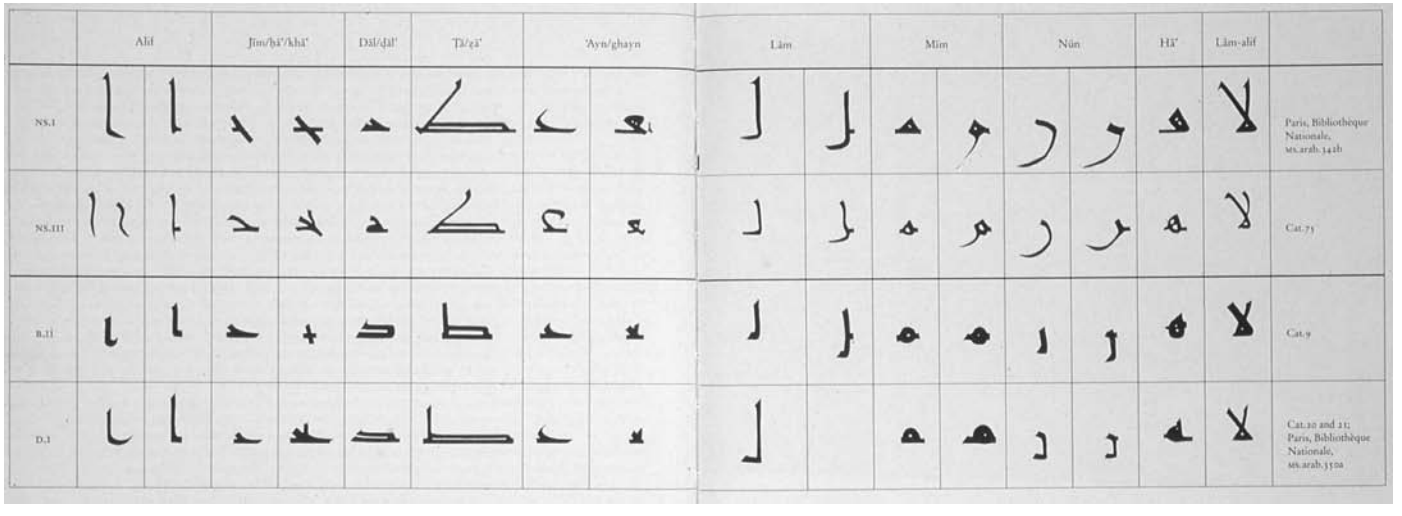
[IV] Arabic scripts of the first/seventh century: early cursive (11. 1–2), epigraphic script (1.3), chancellery cursive (1.4), entagia cursive (1.5), protocol cursive (1.6), cursive of palimpsest PSI 1272^{v} (1.7), and slanting qur'ānic script (8–9), from B. Gruendler, *Development*, 141.



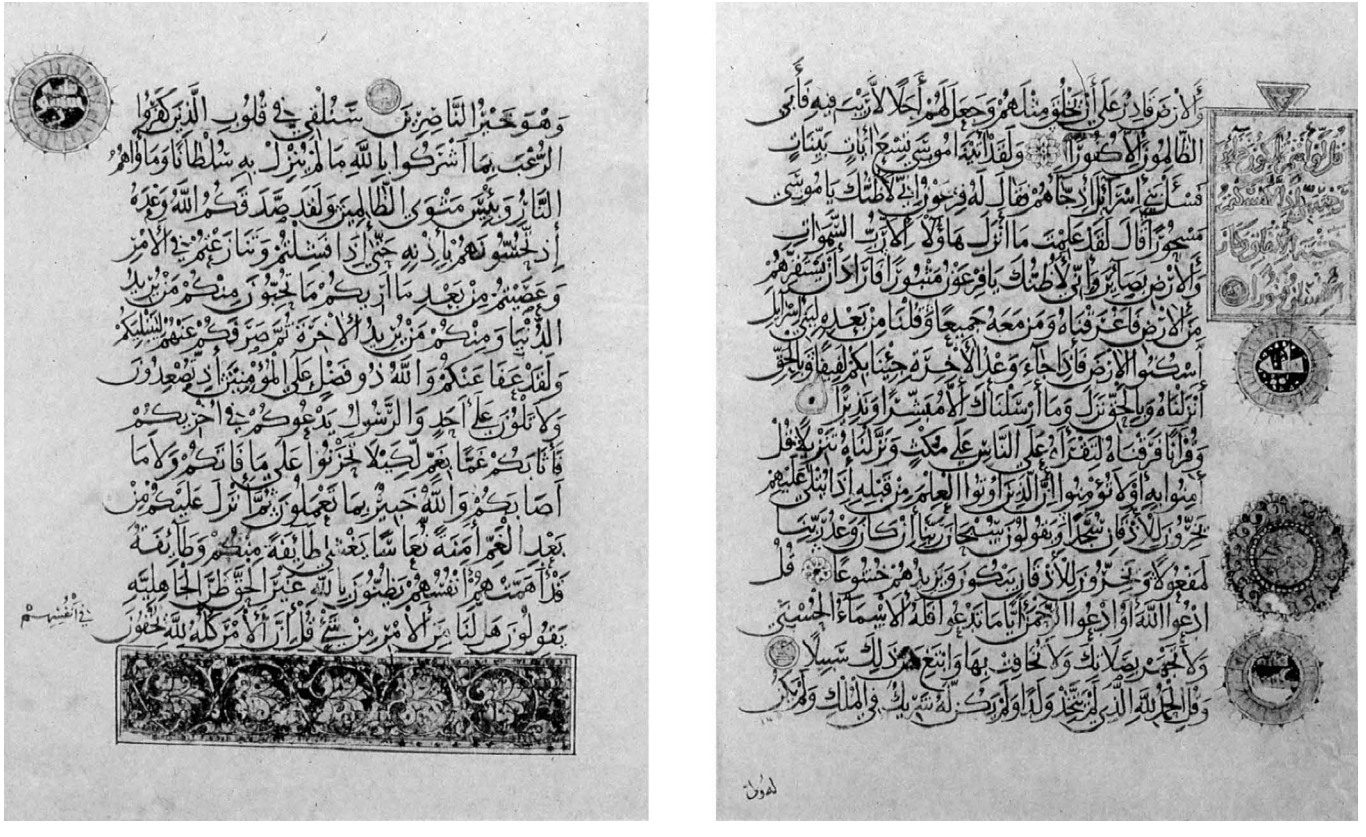
[v] Letter, datable to the sixth/twelfth century, from W. Diem, *Arabische Briefe*, no. 48.



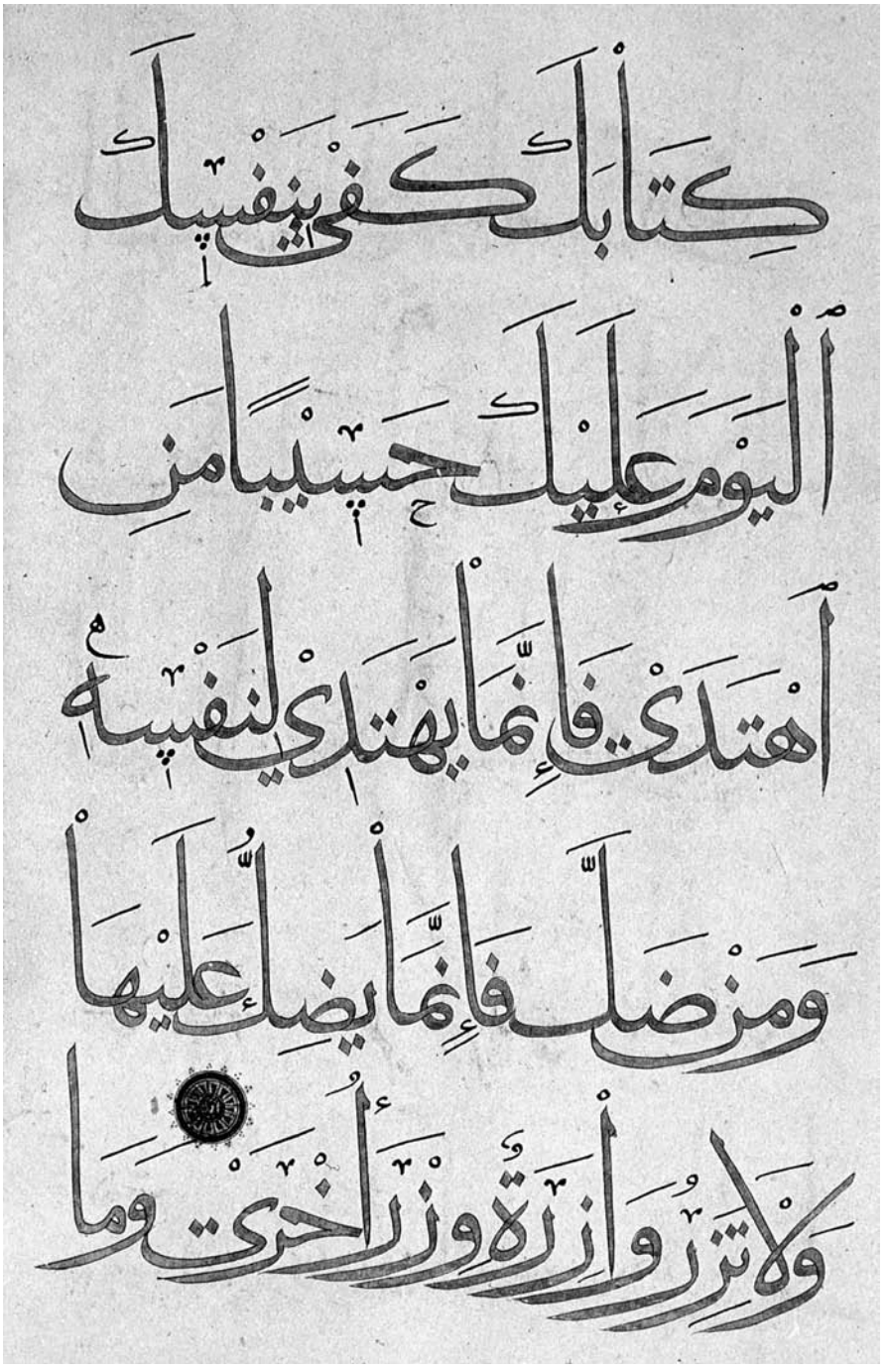
[VI] Qurʾān in *ḥijāzī* script, datable to the first/seventh century, from *Maṣāḥif Ṣanʿāʾ*, 60–61.



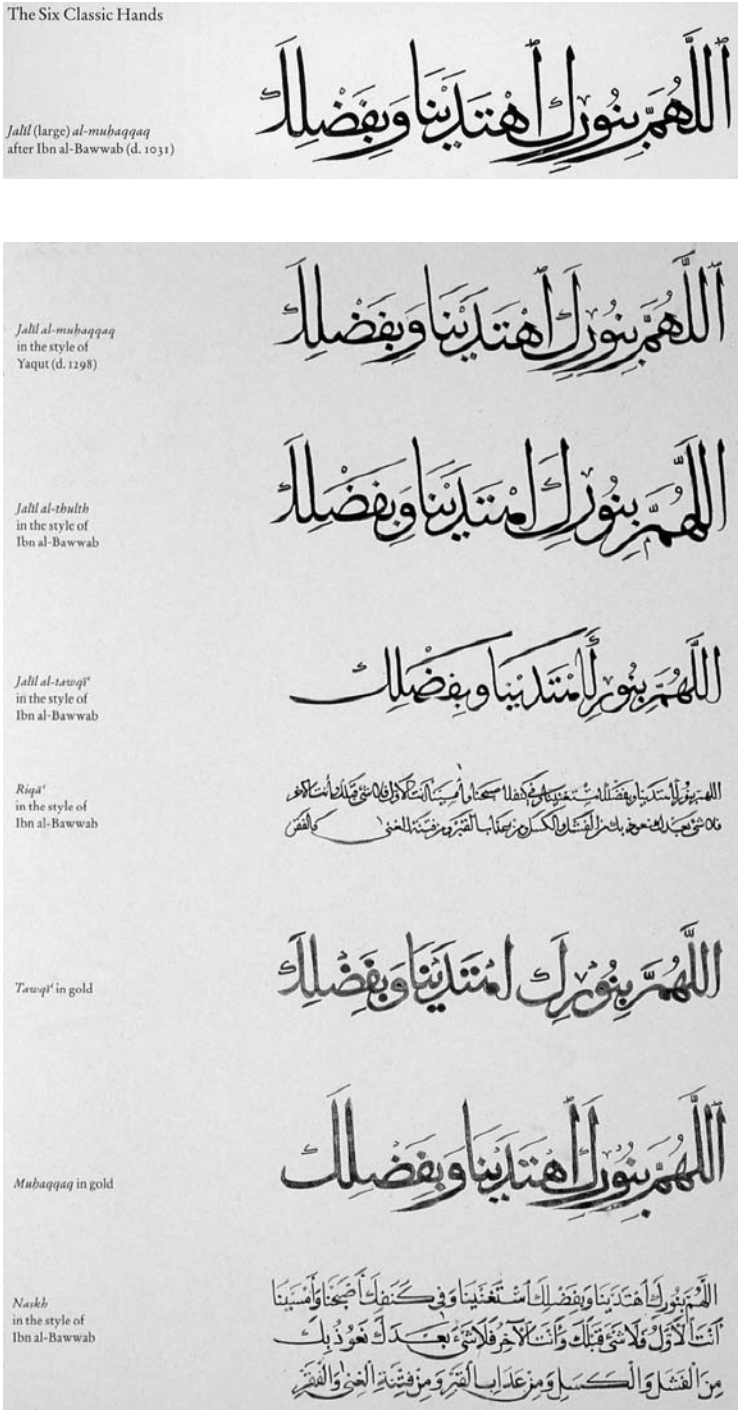
[VII] ʿAbbāsid Styles B, D and New Style, from F. Déroche, *Abbasid tradition*, 136.



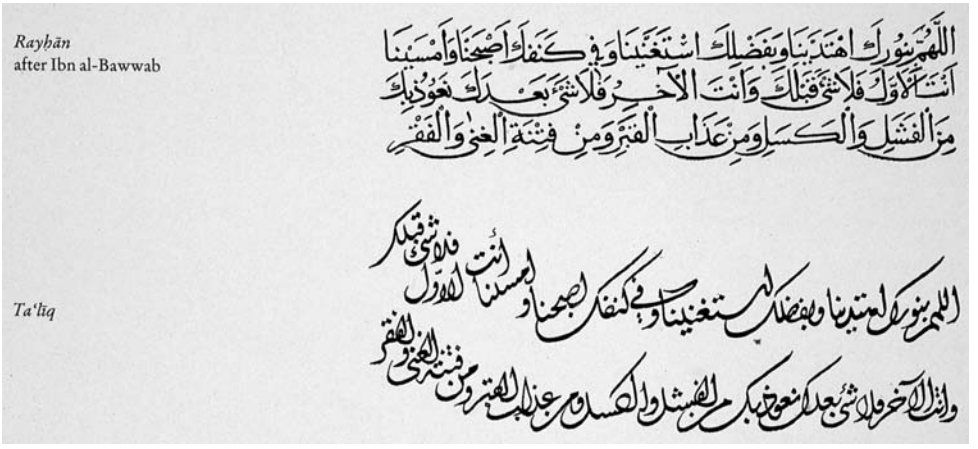
[VIII] Qur'ān in *naskh*, dated 391/1000, from D.S. Rice, *Ibn al-Bawwāb manuscript*, pl. VIII.



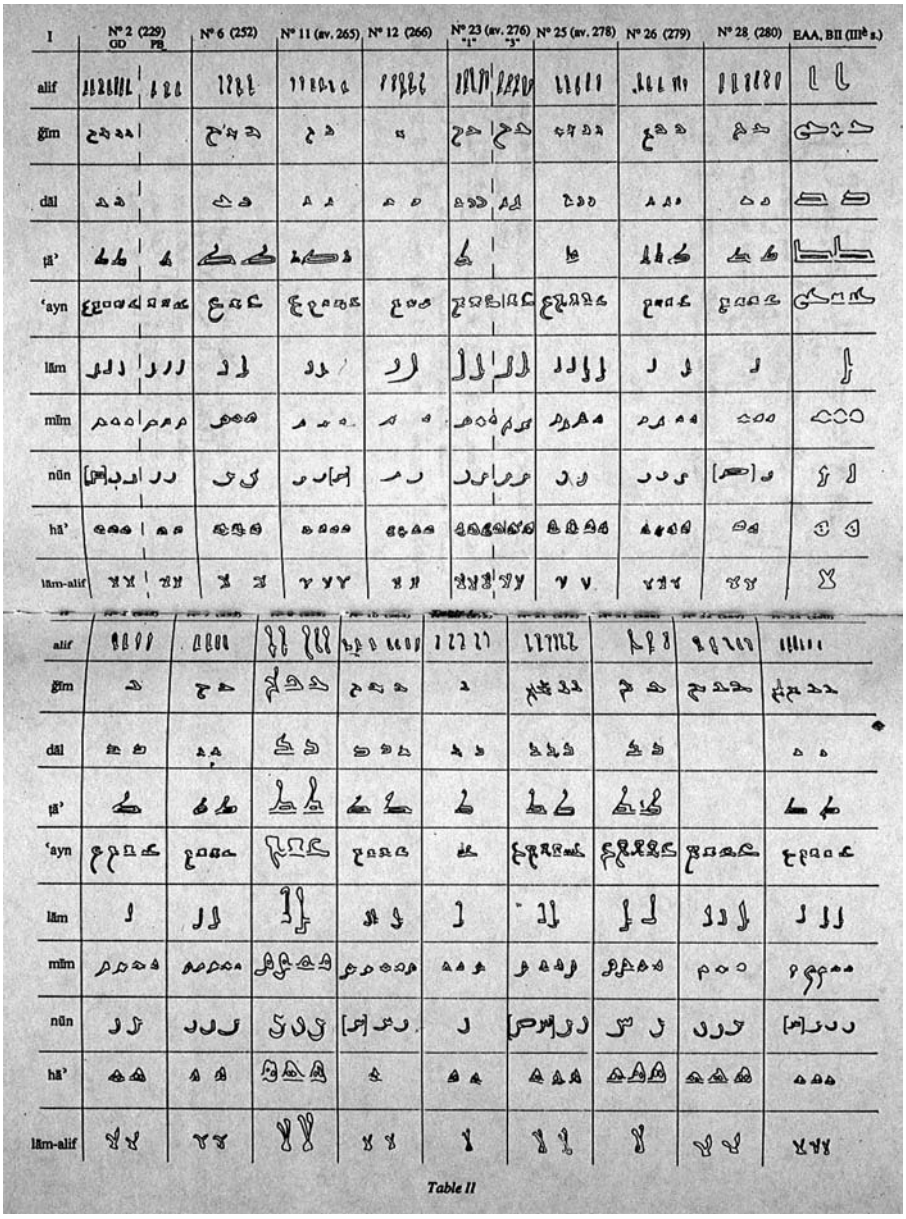
[IX] Mosul Qur'ān of Öljaytü, in *muhaqqaq*, dated 706/1306–7, from D. James, *Qur'āns*, 99.



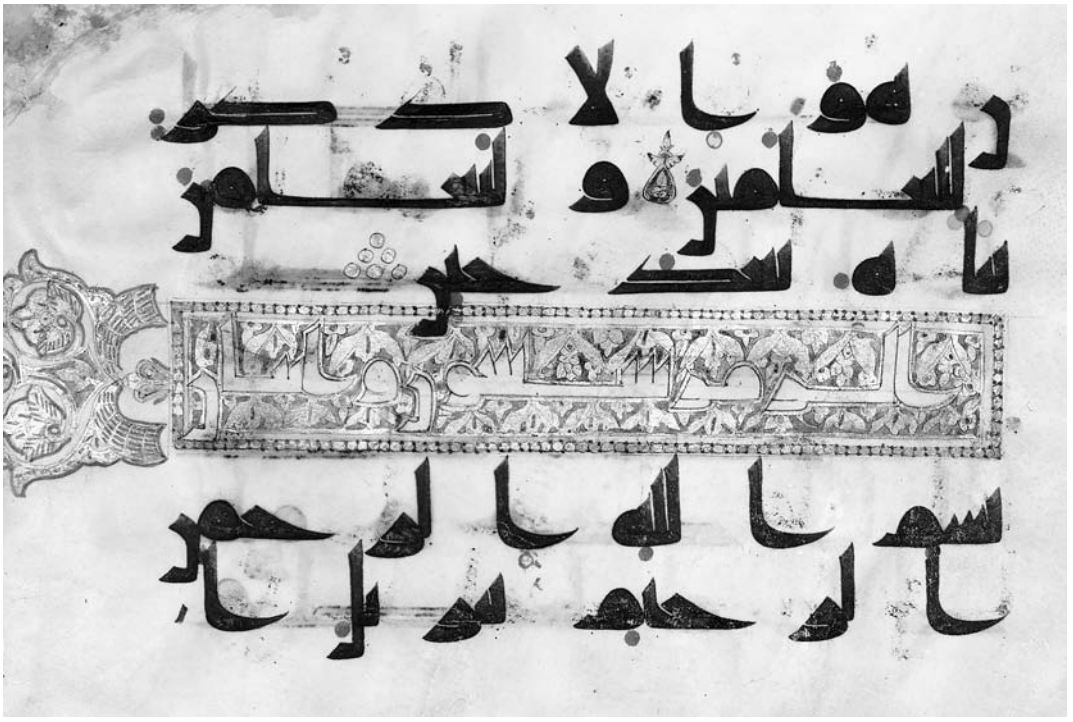
[x] The Six Pens interpreted by M. Zakariya, from N. Safwat, *Art of the pen*, 230–32.



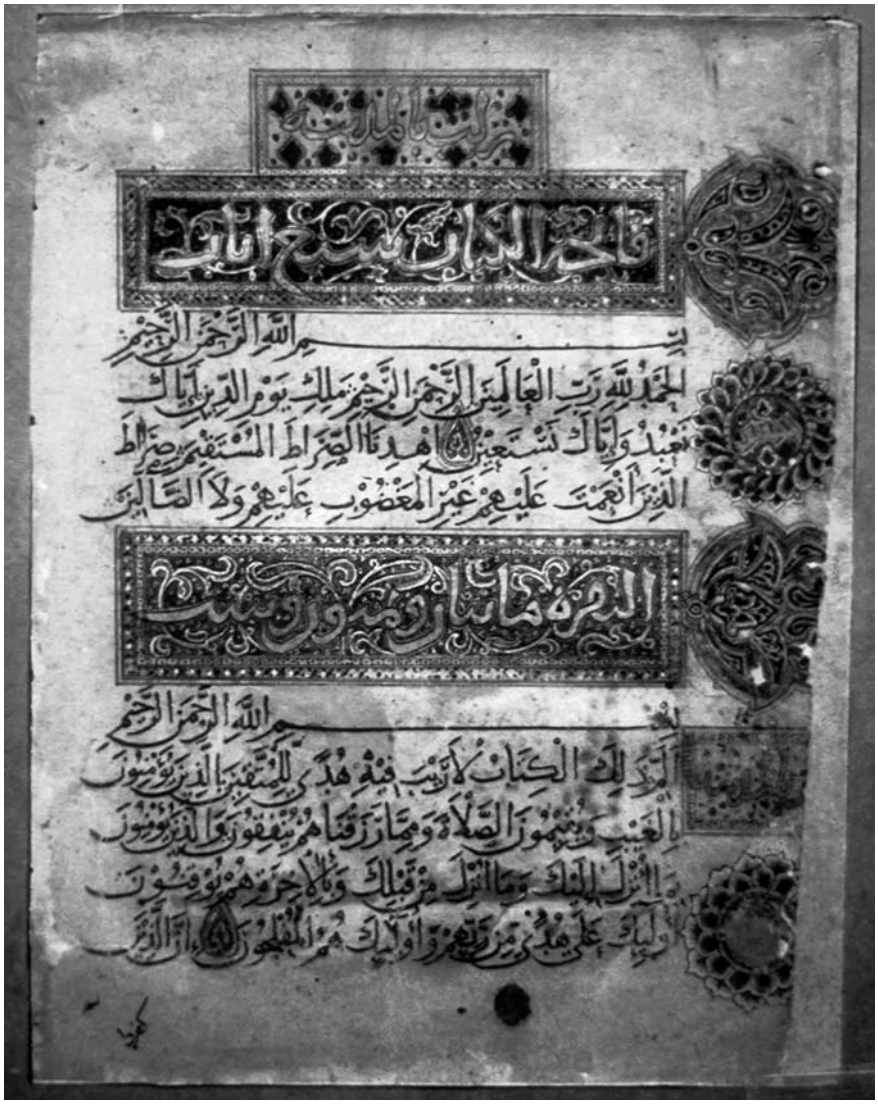
[x] The Six Pens interpreted by M. Zakariya, from N. Safwat, *Art of the pen*, 230–32. Cont.



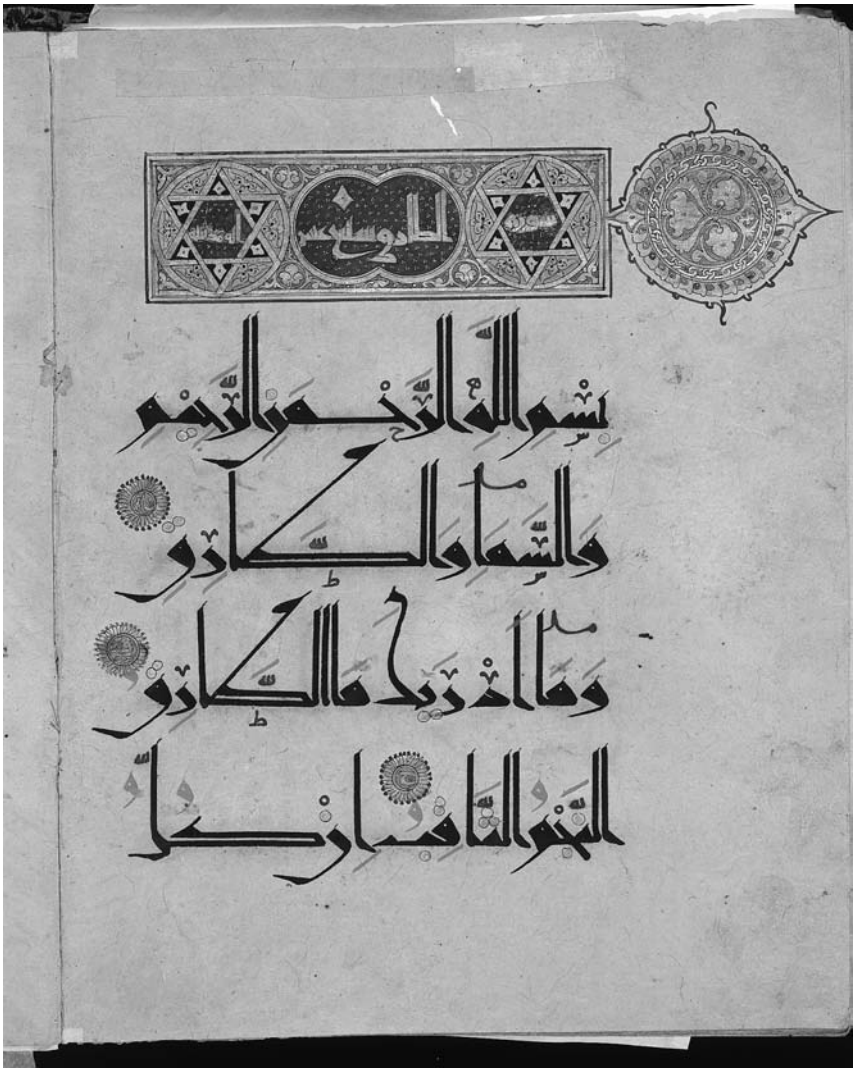
[xi] Scripts of Muslim and Christian Arabic manuscripts from the third/ninth century, from F. Déroche, *Manuscrits arabes*, pls. i–ii.



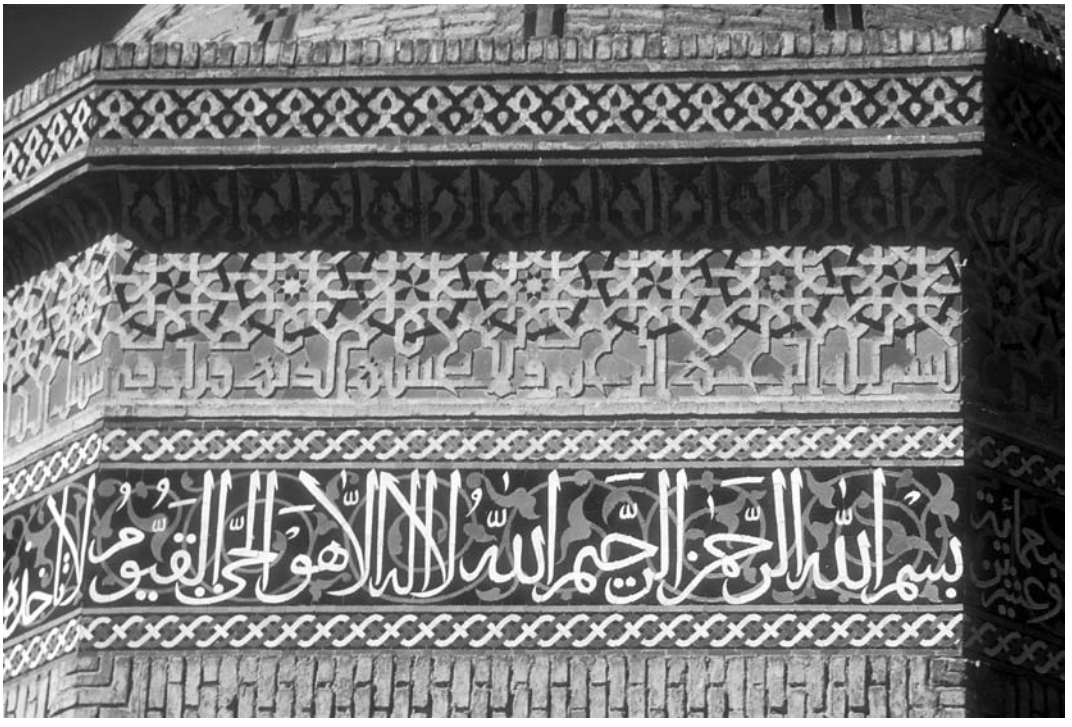
[1] End of Q 38 (Sūrat Ṣād) and initial *basmala* of Q 39 (Sūrat al-Zumar). Early Egyptian Kufic. Courtesy of the Freer and Sackler Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC, F 1930.60-1.



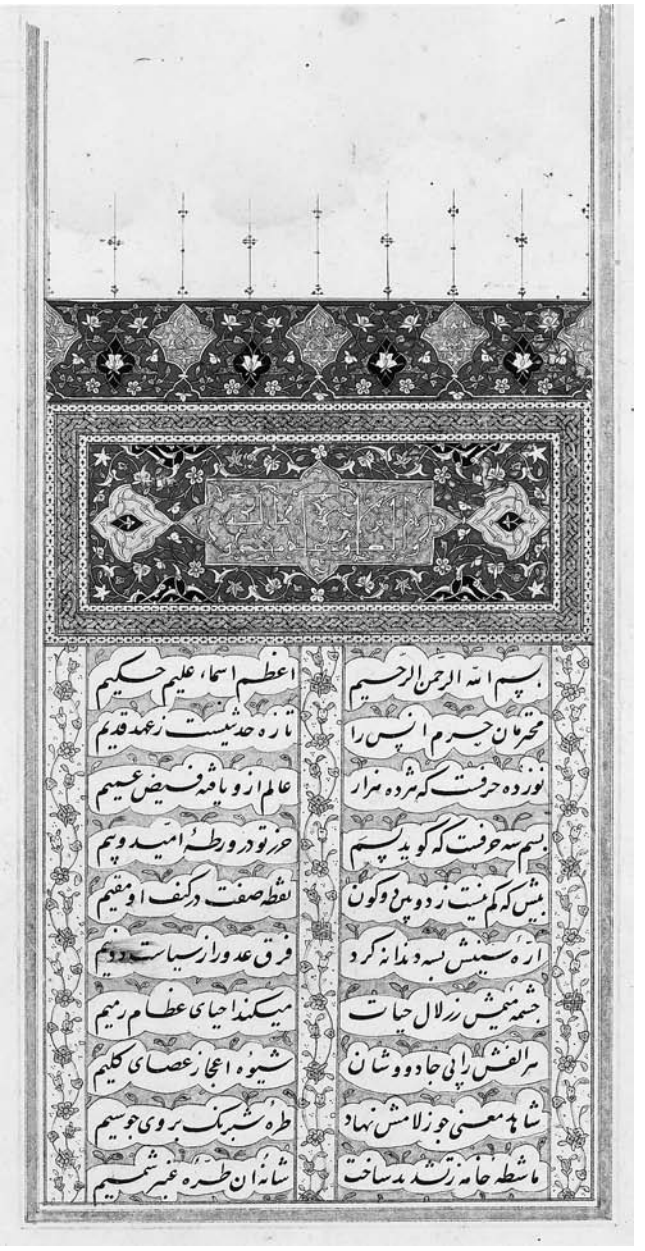
[11] Opening page of Ibn al-Bawwāb's (d. 413/1022) copy of the Qur'ān, dated 391/1000. Q 1 (Sūrat al-Fātiḥa) and the beginning of Q 2 (Sūrat al-Baqara). Courtesy of the Trustees of the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin.



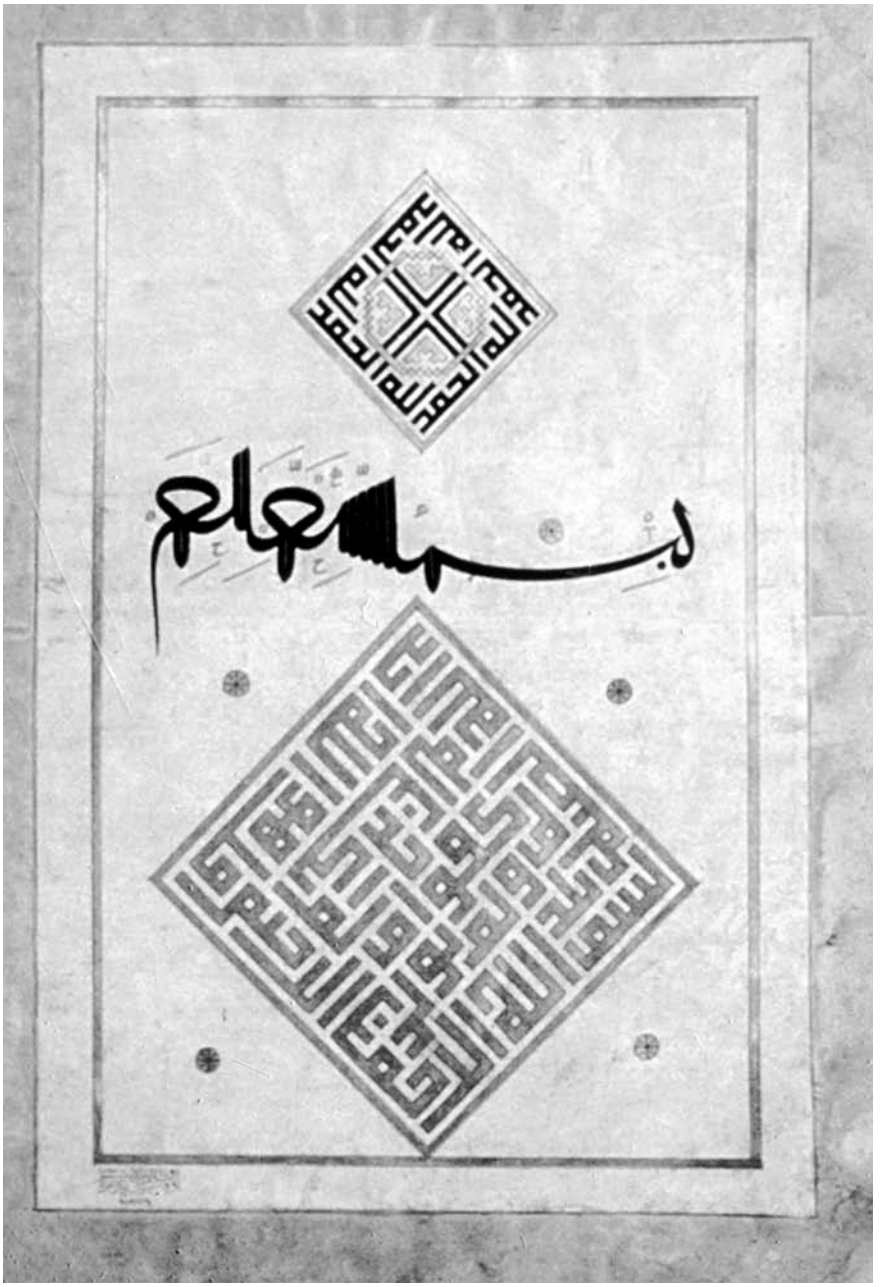
[111] Opening page of Q 86 (Sūrat al-Ṭāriq) with initial *basmala*. Eastern Kufic script copied in the fifth/eleventh century in Iraq or Persia. Courtesy of the Prince and Princess Sadruddin Aga Khan Collection, Geneva.



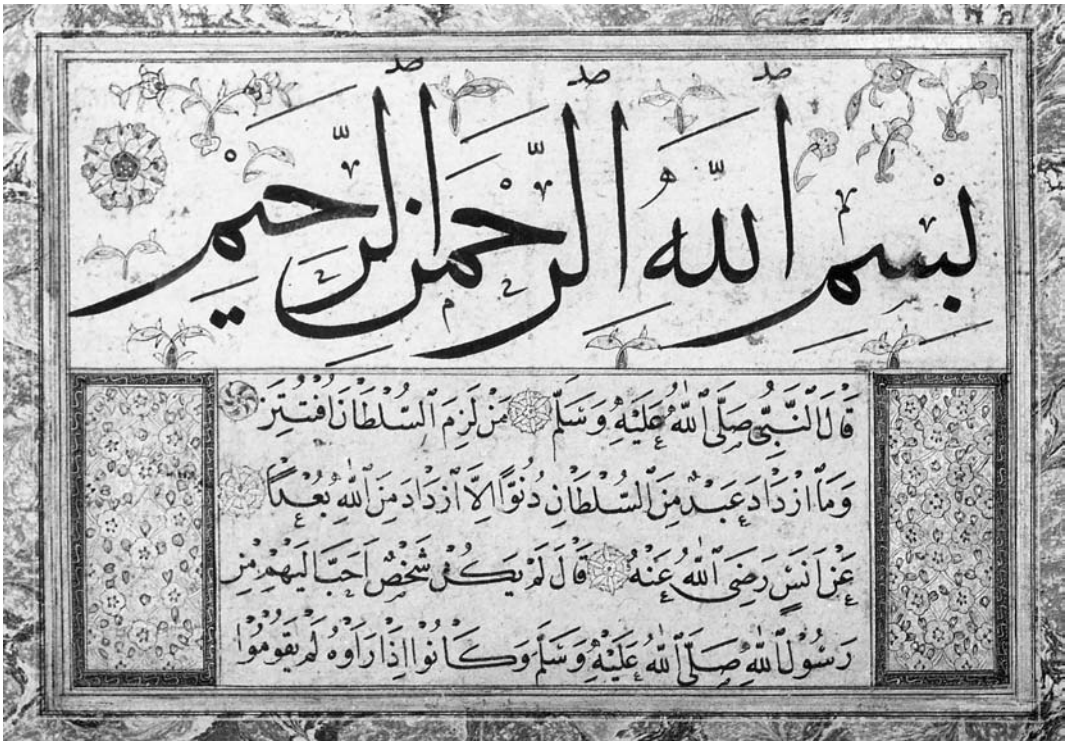
[IV] *Basmala* in upper façade of Imāmzāda Jaʿfar's tomb tower, 726/1325 (restored), Isfahan. Courtesy of Jonathan Bloom and Sheila Blair.



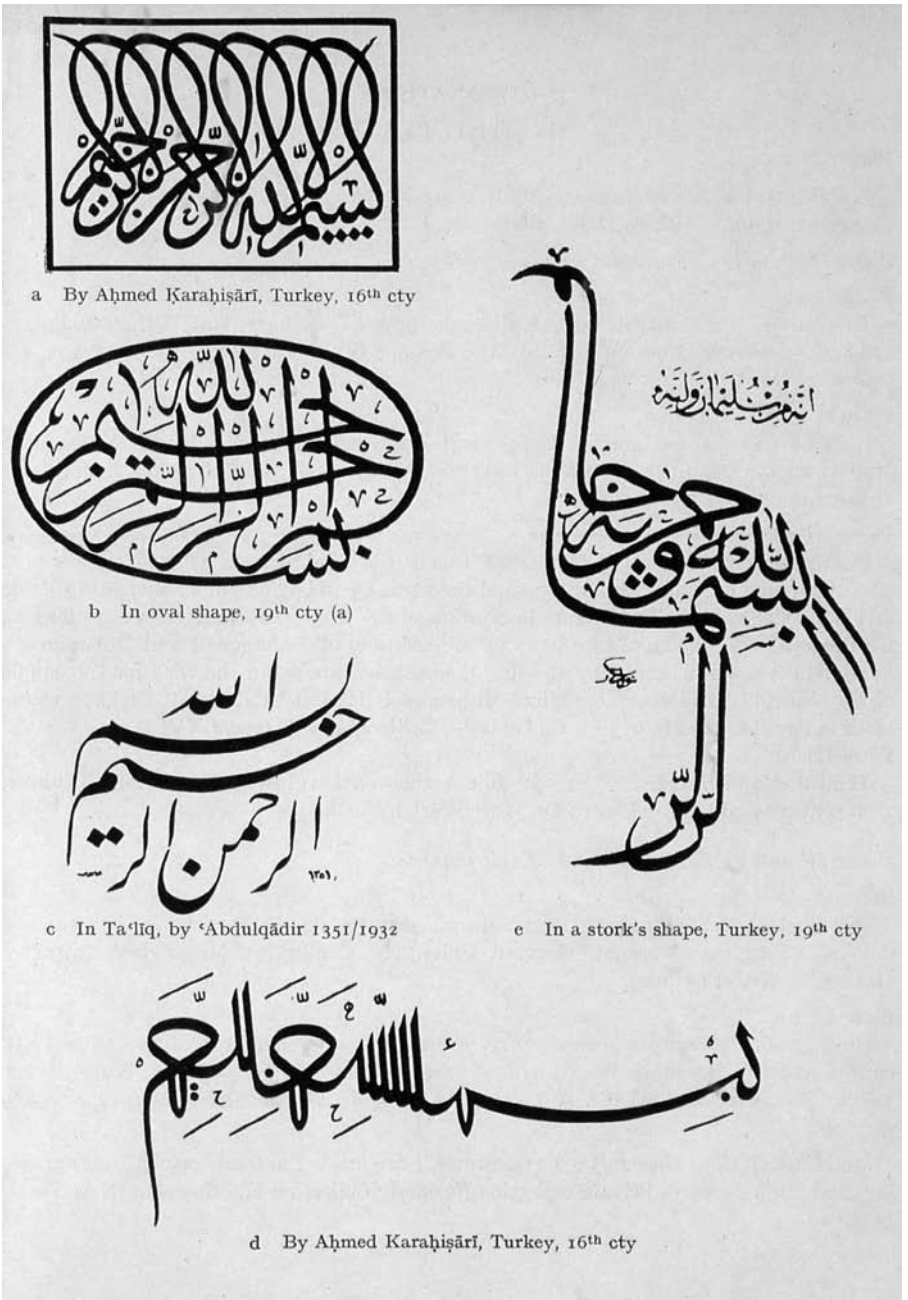
[v] Beginning of poem by Jāmī (d. 899/1492) on the secrets of the letters of the *basmala*. In *nastaʿlīq*, ca. 906/1500. Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.



[VI] Frontispiece of album of calligraphy by Aḥmad Karāḥiṣārī, showing the *basmala* in both chain and square Kufic scripts. Istanbul, ca. 957/1550. Courtesy of the Museum of Turkish and Islamic Art, Istanbul.



[VII] Leaf from an album of calligraphy by Ḥāfiẓ ʿUthmān, Istanbul, 1105/1693. Courtesy of the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Museum für Islamische Kunst, Berlin.



[VIII] Forms of the *basmala*, from A. Schimmel, *Islamic calligraphy*, 19.

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E

Ears

The organs of hearing. The Arabic term used in the Qurʾān for ear is *udhun* (pl. *ādhān*), occurring eighteen times in both Meccan and Medinan passages. The ear as anatomical object (see ANATOMY) is presented, for example, in Q 4:119, where Satan (see DEVIL) induces superstitious people to slit their cattle's ears; in Q 2:19, where fools (*sufahāʾ,* Q 2:13), upon sighting menacing storm clouds "press their fingers in their ears *(ādhān)* by reason of the thunderclap, fearing death"; in Q 18:11, where God sealed the ears *(fa-ḍarabnā ʿalā ādhānihim)* of the youths sleeping in the cave for a number of years (see MEN OF THE CAVE); and in Q 5:45, reflecting law in ancient Israel (see LAW AND THE QURʾĀN; TORAH; CHILDREN OF ISRAEL), "Life for life, eye for eye (see EYES), nose for nose, ear *(al-udhun)* for ear."

The sense of hearing is very important in the qurʾānic discourse, particularly when it is related to thoughtful awareness (see HEARING AND DEAFNESS; SEEING AND HEARING; KNOWLEDGE AND LEARNING). In one passage (Q 9:61), the prophet Muḥammad's antagonists (see OPPOSITION TO MUḤAMMAD) characterize him as being "an ear" *(udhun)* in the sense of one who listens to everyone. The Qurʾān retorts: "He is an ear of what is best for you" (Q 9:61). Hearing, whether in literal or spiritually/morally meaningful ways, is frequently mentioned in the Qurʾān, both with respect to human beings and God. God is almost exclusively characterized by the frequent noun and adjective derived from the main Arabic root for hearing and listening, *s-m-ʿ,* i.e. *samīʿ,* "one who hears" or "hearing" (e.g. Q 2:127, 137, 181; 4:58, 134; 21:4; 44:6; 58:1). *Samīʿ* often occurs with the definite article thus rendering a name, "the all-hearing," paired either with *ʿalīm,* "knowing," or *baṣīr,* "seeing," in forty-three of forty-seven occurrences (in Q 14:39 God is hearer of personal prayer [*duʿāʾ,* see PRAYER] and in Q 34:50 God "hears [all] and is [always] near" *[innahu samīʿun qarībun]*). God as "hearer/all-hearing" occurs in both Meccan and Medinan passages. Interestingly, the two occurrences where the word applies to humans (Q 11:24 and 76:2) are both Meccan. Q 76:2 tells of God's ordaining for humankind hearing *(samīʿ)* and sight *(baṣīr),* two key divine attributes in the qurʾānic worldview (see GOD AND HIS ATTRIBUTES).

Active verbal words for hearing/listening, also derived from the frequently employed *s-m-ʿ* root, include the imperative *ismaʿ,* as

in Q 5:108: "Fear (q.v.) God, and listen *(wa-smaʿū)*" and Q 36:25: "For my part, I believe in your lord; therefore hear me *(fa-smaʿūni)*"; the imperfect active in Q 7:179, concerning both humans and jinn (q.v.): "They have hearts (see HEART) wherewith they understand not, eyes wherewith they see not, and ears *(ādhān)* wherewith they hear not *(lā yasmaʿūna bihā)*"; and the arresting early Meccan passage Q 72:1: "Say: It has been revealed to me that a company of the jinn listened *(istamaʿa)* [to the Qurʾān recitation; see RECITATION OF THE QURʾĀN] and declared, 'We have truly heard *(ʾinnā samiʿnā)* a wondrous recital *(qurʾānan ʿajaban)!*'"

The frequent references to hearing and listening in the Qurʾān — of which there are far more than references to actual ears — bear witness to the strongly oral and auditory nature of the message (see ORALITY) and indeed to Muḥammad's prophetic vocation, which was spare in visionary episodes (see VISIONS) but rich in hearing and speaking (see REVELATION AND INSPIRATION; PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD). God's frequent command "Say!" *(qul),* followed by what then is revealed to Muḥammad, occurs 332 times in the text, in addition to many hundreds of other words relating to saying/speaking (see SPEECH) derived from the same root *(q-w-l,* e.g. "He said *[qāla],*" with God often as subject, occurs 529 times; see LITERARY STRUCTURES OF THE QURʾĀN; LANGUAGE OF THE QURʾĀN). Since fatefully important utterances are continuously declared (see RHETORIC OF THE QURʾĀN), it is no wonder that ears and hearing are also prominent in the message that, when heard by the God-fearing, causes their skins to quiver, followed by softening of both skins and hearts (Q 39:23).

Frederick Mathewson Denny

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Earth

The land and land areas as distinguished from sea or air. In the Qurʾān, "earth" refers both to the terrestrial part of the universe, including the materials or elements of which it is composed, and, as will be seen below, the human body (see ANATOMY). In both cases, the Arabic *arḍ* is used (over 450 occurrences), although other words with such a signification may appear.

Primarily, *arḍ* denotes the earth in distinction from the heavenly sky (see HEAVEN AND SKY). This is the case in the many verses in which the paired couplet, "heaven and earth" *(al-samāʾ wa-l-arḍ)* or "heavens and earth" *(al-samāwāt wa-l-arḍ),* occurs in a context referring to God as the creator, master or owner of the universe (see CREATION; LORD). Secondly, *arḍ* denotes the space assigned to humankind and earthly animals (see ANIMAL LIFE; LIFE). As such, it is said to be a carpet (*bisāṭ,* Q 71:19) or a bed (*firāsh,* Q 2:22; *mahd,* Q 20:53; 43:10; *mihād,* Q 78:6) spread by God (*daḥā,* Q 79:30; *madda,* Q 13:3; 15:19; 50:7; *farasha,* Q 51:48) for his creatures, with the implication that it is flat and floats on the surface of the sea. In order to prevent it from pitching (*māda,* Q 16:15; 21:31; 31:10), God has firmly anchored it to mountains, described as *rawāsin* (Q 13:3; 15:19; 16:15; 21:31; 27:61; 31:10; 50:7; 77:27) and, finally, has strewn it with pathways and rivers

(Q 13:3; 16:15; 20:53; 21:31; 43:10; 71:20). Sometimes this terrestrial space is designated as earth and sea, in which case *arḍ* is replaced by the couplet, *al-barr wa-l-baḥr* ("the dry land and the sea," Q 6:59, 63 and 97; 10:22; 17:70; 27:63; 29:65; 30:41; 31:31-2). Lastly, *arḍ* denotes the earth as the cosmic element from the depths of which terrestrial flora (see AGRICULTURE AND VEGETATION) arise in response to the fertilizing rain (Q 2:22, 126; 6:99; 7:58; 10:24; 13:4; 14:32; 16:10-1; 18:45; 20:53; 22:63; 23:18-20; 26:7; 27:60; 32:26-7; 35:27; 36:33-6; 39:21; 50:7, 9-11; 78:14-6; 80:24-32). In this last case, *balad* (Q 2:126; 7:57-8; 14:35; 35:9) and *balda* (Q 25:48-9; 43:11; 50:11) sometimes serve synecdochically for *arḍ*.

The earth is represented as dead one moment, alive the next, i.e. bare or covered with plants, as rain water — always referred to as *māʾ* ("water," "sperm") — restores it to life (Q 2:164; 7:57-8; 16:65; 23:18; 25:48-9; 29:63; 30:24; 35:9; 36:33; 43:11; 45:5; 50:9-11; 57:17; see WATER). Inasmuch as the Arabic word *māʾ* is masculine and *arḍ* feminine, together they form a genuine couple, the first one playing the part of the flora's father, the latter its mother. Although the verses describing the plants' conception, gestation and birth are scattered throughout several different sūras, there is no doubt about the process as a whole: God sends forth beneficent winds (see AIR AND WIND) that carry rain clouds to a dead and barren land. The rain then penetrates the earth, which quivers (*ihtazzat,* Q 22:5; 41:39) before swelling up (*rabat,* ibid.) like the belly of a pregnant woman, and it is only after the water has mingled with the dead plants, previously strewn by the winds (Q 18:45) and the earth is broken up by God (*shaqaqnā l-arḍa shaqqan,* Q 80:26) that flora sprout and grow (*akhraja,* 2:22, 267; 6:99; 7:57; 14:32; 20:53; 32:27; 35:27; 36:33; 39:21, 33; 78:14-6; 87:4; *anbata,* Q 2:61; 15:19; 16:10-1; 26:7; 27:60; 31:10; 50:9-11; 80:27; *anshaʾa,* 6:141; 23:19; 56:72). In this process, the female earth, elsewhere called "a receptacle for the living and the dead" (Q 77:25-6), appears to be a merely passive element whereas the male water is described as active, penetrating the earth, mixing it with dead plants so as to restore them to life, and thereby distinguishing itself, as elsewhere in the Qurʾān, by its life-giving power (see POWER AND IMPOTENCE).

If the earth's revival accompanies the new life of plants, its dying corresponds to the flora's fading away in the heat of the sun (q.v.). Under the influence of the sun, plants first wither and turn yellow, then gradually become hard and finally fall to pieces (*hashīm,* Q 18:45; *ḥuṭām,* Q 39:21; 56:63-5; 57:20) before being strewn by the winds, so that what the Qurʾān calls "dead land" *(balad mayyit)* is only land with no vegetation at all, a dead and barren ground (*arḍ hāmida,* Q 22:5), an arid and sterile soil (*ṣaʿīdan juzur,* Q 18:7-8; *ṣaʿīdan zalaq,* Q 18:40).

Consequently, the vegetation that covers the earth during what one may call its childhood and youth — its adornment or tinsel (*zīna,* Q 18:7; *zukhruf,* Q 10:24; see ORNAMENT AND ILLUMINATION) as the Qurʾān says — is a gift of fresh rain water (again, masculine in Arabic) which acts merely as the delegate here below of the springs and rivers of paradise (q.v.; see also WELLS AND SPRINGS). Moreover, an inventory of the species that, according to the Qurʾān, grow on earth shows that they are the same as those mentioned in reference to the gardens of Eden (see GARDEN), except for agricultural produce (*zarʿ,* Q 6:141; 13:4; 14:37; 16:11; 18:32; 32:27; 39:21; *zurūʿ,* Q 26:148; 44:26; *khaḍir,* Q 6:99; *al-ḥabbu dhū l-ʿasf,* Q 55:12; *ḥabb,* Q 6:99; 36:33; 78:15; 80:27; *ḥabba l-ḥaṣīd,* Q 50:9), olive-trees

(*zaytūn,* Q 6:99, 141; 16:11; 80:29) and plants used for fodder (*qaḍb,* Q 80:28; *abb,* Q 80:31), all this referring to horticulture and husbandry, which are unnecessary and thus absent in paradise. The earth's and flora's decline and death are due, again, to the blazing sun (feminine in Arabic) which seems, in contrast to water, to represent the infernal fire (q.v.) in this world. This process, however, depends on other factors, such as the quality of the ground. The Qurʾān distinguishes more exactly between 1) good land *(balad ṭayyib),* the plants of which sprout even in the absence of rain, since it is dampened by dew (Q 2:265), and 2) bad land, the plants of which hardly emerge at all (Q 7:58), together with a sterile, rocky soil that remains hard, dry and bare, even when watered by a downpour (*wābil,* Q 2:264). Moreover, the ground's composition is taken into account: It can be compact, dry and hard like stone (*ṣafwān,* Q 2:264; *ḥijāra,* Q 2:74 or *ḥajar,* Q 2:60; 7:160); easily separated like *turāb,* a matter composed of dry and hard grains of dust (numerous occurrences); compact, soft and humid like clay (q.v.; *ṭīn,* Q 3:49; 5:110; 6:2; 7:12; 17:61; 23:12; 32:7; 38:71, 76; *ṭīn lāzib,* Q 37:11) or discrete, soft and humid like *tharā* (Q 20:6).

If the earth, then, reveals itself as one of the cosmic elements from which the universe is composed, it also plays a role in the birth of humankind, since, as the Qurʾān indicates, it is the same matter from which the first human being was made (see BIOLOGY AS THE CREATION AND STAGES OF LIFE). In this context, the Qurʾān uses a rich and rather obscure vocabulary with no less than five words or expressions which describe the material employed by God to fashion Adam's body (see ADAM AND EVE): "clay as pottery" (*ṣalṣālin ka-l-fakhkhār,* Q 55:14), according to al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923; *Tafsīr,* xi, 582) "a clay or mud that has not been baked, but only put out to dry"; "clay" (*ṭīn,* Q 6:2; 7:12; 17:61; 38:71, 76); "sticky clay" (*ṭīn lāzib,* Q 37:11); "clay from moulded mud" (*ṣalṣālin min ḥamaʾin masnūn,* Q 15:26-33), according to al-Ṭabarī (ibid., ad loc.) "a black, putrid and therefore stinking mud"; and finally "dusty earth" (*turāb,* Q 3:59; 30:20-1). It is worth noting that all these expressions, taken together, obviously refer to the different stages of the process of making pottery: The basic matter seems to be the dusty earth *(turāb)* which, once mixed with water, turns into a sticky, malleable mud *(ṭīn lāzib)* that is left for some time and changes into a rather putrid matter *(ṣalṣālin min ḥamaʾin masnūn)* which, when shaped, is put to dry and grows hard *(ṣalṣālin ka-l-fakhkhār)* before God gives it life.

Finally, it should be mentioned that dusty earth *(turāb)* is also the form to which the dead body returns after its decomposition, itself a process of withering: As in the case of plants, mortal remains first lose their humid part, i.e. the flesh. The bones (*ʿiẓām,* Q 17:49, 98; 23:35, 82; 36:78; 37:16, 53; 56:47; 79:11) then fall to little pieces (*rufāt,* Q 17:49, 98) as do dried out flora which ultimately turn to dust (*turāb,* Q 13:5; 23:35, 82; 27:67; 37:16, 53; 50:3; 56:47).

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Earthquake

see ESCHATOLOGY

East and West

see GEOGRAPHY

Ecology

see NATURAL WORLD AND THE QUR'ĀN

Economics

The science investigating the production and distribution of a society's material resources. In the qur'ānic context, economics is a function of the injunctions, rules and guidelines of Islamic law (*al-sharī'a,* see LAW AND THE QUR'ĀN) that govern the behavior of the individual and society in the acquisition and disposal of material resources and wealth (q.v.). Though works treating taxation (q.v.), the economic role of the state, markets (q.v.), prices and household management were written by Muslim scholars in the pre-modern period (e.g. Abū Yūsuf [d. 182/798], *al-Kharāj;* Ibn Taymiyya [d. 728/1328], *Public duties;* Ibn Khaldūn [d. 809/1406], *Muqaddima*), economic matters on the whole were considered a part of Islamic legal literature *(fiqh)*. Beginning in the late twentieth century, many Muslim scholars have sought to develop an Islamic system of economics as a discipline relying on both the guidelines found in canonical texts (i.e. Qur'ān and ḥadīth) and the fruit of Muslim historical experience.

The Qur'ān does not provide a blueprint for an economic system but rather a series of values, guidelines and rules which serve as the basis for developing appropriate economic systems and institutions for Muslim communities (Haq, *Economic doctrines,* 81-9; Naqvi, *Ethics,* 37-57). The many positive values include justice (see JUSTICE AND INJUSTICE), moderation (q.v.) and honesty as well as kindness to the disadvantaged, while the negative values are named as injustice, greed, extravagance, miserliness and hoarding. Similarly, the Qur'ān identifies prohibited economic activities such as usury (q.v.; *ribā,* considered by many Muslims to be equivalent to interest), misappropriation, and gambling (q.v.), as well as permitted ones such as trade. Five areas of economic behavior are prominently mentioned in the Qur'ān: justice and communal responsibility; the acquisition of wealth; the disposal of wealth; the protection of the disadvantaged and the regulation of transactions through contracts (see CONTRACTS AND ALLIANCES).

Justice and communal responsibility

Justice *('adl)* is to be upheld in all aspects of life, including the economic (Q 4:58; 6:152; 11:84-7; 16:76; 42:15), and those who pursue economic affairs are exhorted to act fairly, truthfully, honestly and in a spirit of cooperation; to enter into transactions freely, without coercion, provide a fair description of the goods involved in a transaction and, when exchanging goods, ensure that proper standards of measure are used (Q 6:152; 7:85; 11:84-5; 12:59, 88; see WEIGHTS AND MEASURES). In contracts such as sale, purchase or lease, where there is a notion of exchange, justice is to be ensured by an equitable exchange between what is surrendered and what is received.

Practices considered to lead to gross injustice are prohibited or blameworthy (see LAWFUL AND UNLAWFUL; FORBIDDEN).

Injustice *(zulm)* and tyranny *(baghy, ṭughyān, ʿudwān)* are prominent themes in the Qurʾān and are forbidden in the strongest terms. Those who commit acts of injustice are required to repent (Q 5:39; see REPENTANCE AND PENANCE). They are warned that their punishment in the hereafter will be severe (Q 39:24) and that even in this world they will suffer (Q 29:31; see CHASTISEMENT AND PUNISHMENT; REWARD AND PUNISHMENT; WARNING). Many of the prohibited acts in commerce and finance are also described as unjust, such as dishonesty, cheating (q.v.), fraud, misrepresentation and theft (q.v.).

The community is called upon to ensure that justice is maintained and injustice avoided. Where qurʾānic norms and regulations are violated, the community, individually and collectively, is required to see that acceptable standards of practice are restored. This responsibility functions through the institution of "enjoining what is right and forbidding what is wrong" *(al-amr bi-l-maʿrūf wa-l-nahy ʿan al-munkar)* and is regarded by the Qurʾān as essential to social cohesion (Q 7:157; 9:71; cf. Ibn Taymiyya, *Public duties,* 73-82; see COMMUNITY AND SOCIETY IN THE QURʾĀN). For the Qurʾān, conditions most conducive to ensuring justice in the area of economic activity exist when the ethical, moral and legal injunctions provided in the Qurʾān are put into practice (see ETHICS IN THE QURʾĀN; GOOD AND EVIL; LAW AND THE QURʾĀN), together with those derived from the normative behavior of the Prophet (see ḤADĪTH AND THE QURʾĀN; SĪRA AND THE QURʾĀN; SUNNA).

Acquisition of wealth

The human being, as defined in the Qurʾān, naturally desires wealth and material gain. Regulation of this desire, however, in light of spiritual and moral values leads to socio-economic equilibrium. The desire for comfort and adornment (Q 18:46; 42:36) or for an easy livelihood is described as one of the pleasures of this world rather than an evil (see MATERIAL CULTURE AND THE QURʾĀN), and Muslims are encouraged to seek and earn such things, even during the pilgrimage (q.v.; *ḥajj,* Q 2:198; Qurṭubī, *Jāmiʿ,* ii, 274). The Qurʾān even allowed the Prophet to cut short the prayers lest economic activity be hampered (Q 73:20; see PRAYER).

The Qurʾān emphasizes repeatedly that all things in the universe belong to God, the creator (see CREATION); all human ownership is, therefore, custodial (Q 2:155, 247; 17:6). Wealth bestowed upon a person is a blessing (q.v.; *niʿma)* and is held in trust from God (Q 8:28; 24:33; see COVENANT). Although everything belongs to God, an individual is called to strive to share in this wealth; it is considered an acceptable and even beneficial activity provided that the qurʾānic rules and guidelines are followed. The resulting private ownership is seen as a right which is to be protected (Q 2:188; see PROPERTY). In turn, the community is allowed certain rights over the wealth of the individual: Unlimited private property would destroy the social obligations which go together with the possession of wealth, and balancing the interests, rights and obligations of the individual with the needs of the community is one of the key features of the qurʾānic economic outlook.

According to the Qurʾān, there are several methods by which wealth can be acquired but the most important appears to be labor or work *(ʿamal)* or earned acquisition *(kasb)*. These terms indicate that effort and a meaningful contribution are necessary for prosperity, including trade (Q 2:275) or even *jihād* (q.v.; Q 8:41, where booty, *ghanīma,* is considered a source of wealth; cf. Mālik, *Muwaṭṭaʾ,* 173-7; see

BOOTY). In contrast, idleness and reliance on others are contrary to the work ethic of the Qurʾān. Begging is discouraged except in the case of dire need. Certain industries and professions are prohibited, such as prostitution (Q 24:33), dancing and erotic arts in general (Q 17:32), the production of and trade in wine and intoxicants (q.v.; Q 2:219; 5:90; cf. Mālik, *Muwaṭṭāʾ,* 355-7) and gambling (Q 5:90-1). Any lawful work is not only considered good and permitted (*ḥalāl,* see PROHIBITED DEGREES) but also an expression of devotion (*ʿibāda,* see RITUAL AND THE QURʾĀN).

Distribution and disposal of wealth

Accumulation of wealth in the hands of a few is seen to cause societal imbalance, leading, in turn, to corruption (q.v.), misuse of economic power and injustice towards the weak or marginalized. One of the main features of the qurʾānic view of wealth distribution is the requirement of those in pursuit of prosperity to give a share of their wealth regularly, to specified categories of people, at specified times, according to certain conditions. The Qurʾān repeatedly commands the faithful to give to the poor and needy (Q 2:271; 9:60; 22:28; see POVERTY AND THE POOR), to one's parents (q.v.) and relatives (Q 2:83, 177; 4:36; see FAMILY). Further, it states that the reward for such giving is great (Q 92:5-7). It links this giving to belief (*īmān,* see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF) and warns of severe punishment for those who do not act generously (Q 74:42-4). The Qurʾān describes such distributive justice in terms of almsgiving (q.v.; *zakāt* or *ṣadaqāt*). Although the two terms were initially interchangeable in the Qurʾān, Islamic law later came to recognize *zakāt* as compulsory (and thus a right of the recipient) and *ṣadaqāt* as voluntary (and thus a sign of the generosity and good-heartedness of the donor; see GIFT-GIVING). The qurʾānic command to give is often coupled with the command to perform prayer *(ṣalāt).*

Important in the distribution and thus also the acquisition of wealth are the specific formulae according to which property is bequeathed upon one's death (Q 4:11-2, 176; see INHERITANCE). This compulsory distribution of an estate among members of a family reinforces the distribution of a society's wealth and corresponds, again, to the qurʾānic idea of wealth as a trust. The owner is allowed some discretion and is permitted to bequeath up to one-third of his or her property according to preference, as established in the sunna, e.g. for charitable purposes. The owner, however, cannot control the distribution of the remaining two-thirds, which must be inherited by relatives according to qurʾānic regulations of division (Ibn Rushd, *Distinguished,* ii, 407). This is a further example of the qurʾānic objective of maintaining social cohesion by preventing the concentration of wealth in the hands of a few.

Acquisition of property does not mean that the owner has an exclusive right to own property and dispose of it at will. Rather, wealth must always remain in circulation and be fairly distributed (Q 59:7). Stinginess is criticized (Q 53:33-34; 59:9) while moderation (q.v.) is encouraged (Q 17:29). Hoarding wealth is prohibited and those who disobey are warned of hellfire (Q 9:34-35; see DISOBEDIENCE; FIRE). Similarly, squandering property is prohibited; in fact, the community must prevent individuals at risk to themselves *(sufahāʾ)* from wasting their own wealth (Q 4:5; Rāzī, *Tafsīr,* vii, 107). In another context, extravagant spending *(isrāf)* is linked to corruption (*fasād,* Q 2:60; 7:74; 11:85) with severe punishment to follow (Q 7:86; 13:25). In the same vein, individuals should not spend on prohibited goods or acts, such as illicit sex,

alcohol or anything that leads to the corruption of society or injury to others.

Non-exploitation of the disadvantaged

According to the Qurʾān, wealth should be acquired by engaging in socially beneficial activities which take into account the needs of the weaker sections of the community. At the time of revelation, Mecca (q.v.) was a trading town and a substantial amount of money was used for lending at interest (considered to be equivalent to *ribā*). The prohibition of usury *(ribā)* is mentioned in four different contexts in the Qurʾān (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* iii, 190). The first emphasizes that *ribā* strips wealth of God's blessing (Q 30:39). The second condemns *ribā,* equating it with wrongful appropriation of property (Q 4:161). The third asks Muslims to avoid *ribā* (Q 3:130). The fourth establishes a clear distinction between *ribā* and trade, urging the believers to take only the principal sum and to forgo even this if the borrower is unable to repay (Q 2:275-80; Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* iii, 108-14).

Increase of wealth by means of *ribā* is forbidden on the grounds that it is unjust and exploitative (*ẓulm,* Q 2:279). Given the deep-rooted nature of *ribā* in pre-Islamic and early Muslim society (see PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QURʾĀN), the Qurʾān had to be insistent, declaring that those who transgressed (see ENEMIES) should be prepared for "war (q.v.) against God and his Prophet" (Q 2:279). For the Qurʾān, the greatest injustice occurs when a rich person uses the wealth entrusted to him or her by God to exploit the weak and disadvantaged sections of the community. Since *ribā* occurs largely due to debts (q.v.), the creditor is commanded to give additional time to the debtor in financial difficulty without charging any interest (Q 2:280) and, if need be, to forgive the debt. It also declares that lending without *ribā,* i.e. "an admirable loan" *(qarḍ ḥasan),* is a charitable activity (Q 2:245; 57:18; 64:17). Although the Qurʾān does not differentiate between rich and poor in dealing with the issue of *ribā,* there is some indication that its main concern was the impact of *ribā* on the poor and disadvantaged (Saeed, *Islamic banking,* 21-39). See also ORPHANS; WIDOW.

Regulation through fulfilling contracts

In order to regulate the economic activities of the community, the Qurʾān insists that transactions must be governed by rules, many of which the text itself supplies. To avoid misunderstanding or injustice, contracts should be in writing and witnesses used where appropriate (Q 2:282; Rāzī, *Tafsīr,* vii, 107; see WITNESSING AND TESTIFYING). The Qurʾān commands believers to fulfil promises (Q 6:152; 16:91; 17:34) and contracts (Q 5:1; 23:8) and emphasizes that this is a duty for which they will have to answer on the day of judgment (Q 17:34; see LAST JUDGMENT). Honoring obligations is not only an economic, moral and redemptive imperative but is also a hallmark of the believer (Q 2:177; Quṭb, *Ẓilāl,* i, 161). On the other hand, breaking one's word or commitment *(ʿahd)* is prohibited (Q 2:27; Qurṭubī, *Jāmiʿ,* i, 172; see BREAKING TRUSTS AND CONTRACTS). Believers are also commanded to pay their debts (Q 3:75), give full measure (Q 6:152; 7:85; 11:84-85; 17:35; 26:181), return what is entrusted to them (Q 2:283; 4:58), and avoid fraud and cheating (Q 26:181).

Such guidelines and regulations provide the basis for contract law in Islam. By regulating economic behavior, the Qurʾān appears to give a significant role to institutions such as the market and provide sufficient space for Muslims, collectively and individually, to develop economic institutions and systems within the framework of the qurʾānic outlook, values and norms. The overarching objective is to ensure that fairness and justice are maintained. It is

these rights and obligations that, in theory, limit the absolute freedom available to members of a community in their pursuit of individual economic objectives.

Islamic economic principles in the modern period

In the twentieth century, Muslim scholars have sought to develop an Islamic economics in accordance with qurʾānic guidelines, the sunna and Islamic law, as well as historical experience. The following is a list of principles considered to be the basis of an Islamic economic system (Taleghani, *Society,* 25-9; Najjār, *Madkhal,* 45-87; Sadr, *Iqtiṣādunā,* i, pt. 2, 51-142):

1) Ownership of all things belongs to God alone, humans being entrusted with them as representative (*khalīfa,* see CALIPH) of God on earth (Khan, *Economic teachings,* 7).

2) Economic freedom and behavior is to be constrained by the categories of permitted and forbidden *(ḥalāl wa-ḥarām)* as well as ethical values.

3) Private ownership is recognized with minimal limitations meant to protect the public interest (Khan, *Economic teachings,* 7-14).

4) The role of the market is considered important, while state intervention is meant to protect the public interest and regulate standards of economic activity (Ibn Taymiyya, *Public duties,* 47-58).

5) Where the interests of the individual clash with those of the community, the interests of the community are given preference.

6) Fair compensation for one's labor and the prohibition of labor exploitation (Ibn Taymiyya, *Public duties,* 43-5).

7) One is free to dispose of or distribute one's wealth within the constraints specified by the Qurʾān and sunna.

8) The state (and community) should care for the disadvantaged through public spending programs (Siddiqi, *Role,* 5-30).

9) In trade and exchange, the performance of a socially beneficial and useful type of work should be the basis of profit.

10) Lending money at interest is *ribā;* transactions and economic activity should be free of interest (Saeed, *Islamic banking,* 49-50; Mawdudi, *Ribā,* 139-42).

11) Qurʾānic limitations on acquisition and disposal of wealth, income, consumption and spending are to be maintained.

A number of Islamic economic institutions are being developed to put these principles into practice, among the most important being Islamic financial institutions based on the prohibition of interest. Such an Islamization of economics appears to be increasingly well-received in the Muslim world.

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Eden

see PARADISE; GARDEN

Editions of the Qurʾān

see PRINTING OF THE QURʾĀN; CODICES OF THE QURʾĀN; READINGS OF THE QURʾĀN

Education

see KNOWLEDGE AND LEARNING

Egypt

Country in the north-east corner of Africa. Egypt or its capital, Miṣr, occurs by name five times in the Qurʾān, once in oblique form according to most readings (*qirāʾāt,* see READINGS OF THE QURʾĀN). The word Miṣr is mentioned in Q 2:61, 10:87, 12:21, 12:99 and 43:51. Egypt also appears in the Qurʾān as the kingdom of Pharaohs (Q 43:51; see PHARAOH); the country where Joseph (q.v.; Yūsuf) became viceroy, like his patron (*al-ʿazīz,* Q 12:78, 88), after having been a slave and then coming to prominence through his patron's wife (Q 12); the arena of the struggle of Moses (q.v.; Mūsā) and Aaron (q.v.; Hārūn) for their people, the Children of Israel (q.v.; Banū Isrāʾīl, especially sūras 2, 4, 7, 10, 20, 26, 27 and 28); and the refuge given to Jesus (q.v.) and his mother (Q 23:50; see MARY). There is a controversy about the reading of the word Miṣr (Q 2:61), and its significance. Most of the sources prefer the reading *miṣran,* "some country," whereas the rest read Miṣra, the surname of Egypt (al-Sijistānī, *Maṣāḥif,* 57; al-Farrāʾ, *Maʿānī,* i, 42-3).

It seems that, originally, Miṣr referred to the main city (q.v., *al-madīna*) of Egypt or a particular city *(madīna bi-ʿaynihā)* in that country (*Lisān al-ʿArab,* v, 176). Exegetes confirm this identification on the basis of some references in the Qurʾān (Q 7:123; 12:30; 28:15, 18, 20; Nasafī, *Tafsīr,* ii, 70, 219; iii, 229).

The origin of the name Miṣr is also dealt with by exegetes who generally attribute the name to its builder, Miṣr the son of Nūḥ (*Lisān al-ʿArab,* v, 176; see NOAH) or the grandson of Ḥām b. Nūḥ (Ibn al-Faqīh, *Buldān,* 115). His father's name is given in some sources as Miṣrayim, like the name of one of Ḥām's sons in Genesis 8:6, which is the Hebrew form of the word for Egypt. It is a dual form and therein is most likely a hint to the fact that ancient Egypt was regarded as two lands: Upper Egypt and Lower Egypt. The form Miṣr as used in Arabic after its conquest by the Muslims in 18-20/639-41 represents perhaps Lower Egypt only but was later applied to the entire country.

Egypt in qurʾānic exegesis and in sīra *and ḥadīth literature*

Even though Egypt is only cited by name five times, it is nonetheless the most frequently mentioned city or country in the Qurʾān (as is the case in the Bible). Some claim that the Qurʾān mentions Miṣr explicitly and indirectly 28 times in all (Ibn Ẓahīra, *Faḍāʾil,* 71; see GEOGRAPHY).

Exegetes suggest taking some words or expressions as allusions to Egypt or to a specific part of the country: "the land" (*al-arḍ,* Q 7:127, 129; 12:56, 80; 28:4, 6, 19), the Nile (*al-yamm,* Q 7:136; 20:39, 78, 97; 28:7, 40; 51:40), Alexandria (*iram dhāt al-ʿimād,* Q 89:7; cf. Ibn Ẓahīra, *Faḍāʾil,* 73), "a height, where there was a hollow and a spring" (*rabwatin dhāti qarārin wa-maʿīn,* Q 23:50; cf. Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh,* i, 597; Ibn

Ẓahīra, *Faḍā'il,* 71; see WELLS AND SPRINGS). Other interpretations for this last expression — Jerusalem (q.v.), al-Ramla or Damascus — are suggested as well (ʿAbd al-Razzāq, *Tafsīr,* ii, 45-6; Nasafī, *Tafsīr,* iii, 121).

The Qurʾān does not mention Hagar (Hājar) and her Egyptian origin (see ABRAHAM). It also does not mention either the relations between Muḥammad (q.v.) and al-Muqawqis, the ruler of Egypt, or with Mary the Copt (Māriya al-Qibṭiyya; see WIVES OF THE PROPHET), the Prophet's concubine and mother of his son Ibrāhīm, who died in 8/630 (al-Zubayr b. Bakkār, *Muntakhab,* 55-62). But exegetes, ḥadīth and *sīra* traditionists and the so-called tales of the prophets *(qiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ)* provide a substantial addition to fill this gap. In the subsequent literature, Egypt became "the holy, good and blessed land" (*al-arḍ al-muqaddasa al-ṭayyiba al-mubāraka,* cf. Ibn Ẓahīra, *Faḍāʾil,* 6). See also EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN; ḤADĪTH AND THE QURʾĀN; SĪRA AND THE QURʾĀN; PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD. The wealth (q.v.) of Egypt and its economic and political importance prompted an abundance of traditions in praise of the country (see POLITICS AND THE QURʾĀN). Most of these traditions were attributed to the Prophet, his Companions (see COMPANIONS OF THE PROPHET) or the Bible (q.v.) and eventually became incorporated into the exegesis of the relevant qurʾānic verses. See also SCRIPTURE AND THE QURʾĀN.

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Election

Choice or appointment by God of an individual or community, thereby designated to carry out or fulfill a task, assume a position of authority (q.v.) or pursue a mission or special purpose, especially that of conveying God's revelation. Related qurʾānic notions also include "choice" in the sense of the best and "divine will" in terms of God's will to choose. What is noteworthy is the connection of the qurʾānic concept of election to divine inspiration and revelation (see REVELATION AND INSPIRATION).

In the Qurʾān and in later literature, three different Arabic roots are used to render the sense of "choose" or "chosen." These roots, *kh-y-r* (whence *ikhtāra,* [Q 7:155; 20:13; 44:32], *yakhtāru* [Q 28:68], *ikhtiyār, khīra* [Q 28:68]), *ṣ-f-w* (whence *iṣṭafā* [Q 2:130, 132, 247; 3:33, 42; 7:144; 27:59; 35:32; 37:153; 39:4], *yaṣṭafī* [Q 22:75], *muṣṭafā* [Q 38:47], *ṣafwa*), and *j-b-y* (whence *ijtabā* [Q 6:87; 7:203; 16:121; 19:58; 20:122; 22:78; 68:50] and *yajtabī* [Q 3:179; 12:6; 42:13]) have essentially the same meaning when used in the Qurʾān. Different English translations of the Qurʾān tend to render these words as chose, choose, choice, prefer, taken and elected. Among the several citations, the following are illustrative of the general import of election in the Qurʾān: 1) From the root *kh-y-r:* God says to Moses, "Know that I have chosen you *(ikhtartuka)*. Listen then to the inspiration" (*limā yūḥā,* Q 20:13); to the Israelites (see CHILDREN OF ISRAEL), "Your lord creates what he will and chooses *(wa-yakhtāru)* freely, but they have no power of choice

(al-khīra). Blessed be God and exalted above what is associated with him" (Q 28:68). 2) From the root *ṣ-f-w:* God says to Moses, "… I have chosen you *(iṣṭafaytuka)* of all humankind for my message and my word…" (Q 7:144); and of his messengers *(rusul),* "God chooses *(yaṣṭafī)* his messengers from the angels and humans" (Q 22:75; see ANGEL; MESSENGER). 3) From the root *j-b-y:* speaking of various prophets God says, "… and each we preferred above all beings; … and we elected them *(wa-ajtabaynāhum)* and guided them to a straight path (see PATH OR WAY)" (Q 6:86-7); Jacob (q.v.) speaking to Joseph (q.v.) says: "Your lord will choose you *(yajtabīka),* and teach you to interpret events (or tales)" (Q 12:6). Muḥammad (q.v.), the last of God's messengers, is chosen/elected to speak to humankind, and, in Islamic tradition, is therefore often called "the chosen one" *(al-muṣṭafā),* i.e. the elect (of God). He is also said to be "God's elect (or best) of his creatures" *(ṣafwat Allāh min khalqihi)*.

Election or choice *(ikhtiyār)* may be used in quite different senses, in historical, theological and philosophical works (see HISTORY AND THE QUR'ĀN; PHILOSOPHY OF THE QUR'ĀN; THEOLOGY AND THE QUR'ĀN), among others, to express the concept of human choice or free will (see FREEDOM AND PREDESTINATION). In a religio-political sense it is used, primarily by Sunnīs, to refer to the election of a caliph (q.v.; *khalīfa,* lit. "successor") of the prophet Muḥammad, in theory by the consensus of a council (*shūrā,* see CONSULTATION) of leading figures, following the precedent of the five Companions of Muḥammad who "elected" Abū Bakr (q.v.) or that of the later six-man *shūrā* designated by ʿUmar (q.v.) before his death. Succession to the Prophet being one of the dividing lines between Sunnīs and Shīʿīs (see SHĪʿISM AND THE QUR'ĀN), Shīʿīs speak not of election, but "designation" (*naṣṣ,* lit. "text") interpreted as "divine ordinance," in reference to Muḥammad's designation of ʿAlī (see ʿALĪ B. ABĪ ṬĀLIB) and, by inference, his descendants, as imāms (i.e. leaders of the Muslim community; see IMĀM), each of whom is believed to have possessed an inherent divine light (q.v.). In Sunnī legal usage, *ikhtiyār* also refers to the process of selection among useful points of law in the four orthodox schools, including the opinions of individual jurists who do not adhere to any of them (see LAW AND THE QUR'ĀN). Finally, in astrology *ikhtiyārāt* is used for "selecting" among auspicious and inauspicious omens (q.v.).

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Elements (the four)

see NATURAL WORLD AND THE QUR'ĀN

Elephant

see ANIMAL LIFE

Elijah

A messenger (q.v.) and prophet who is mentioned three times in the Qur'ān. In the first instance the name of Elijah (Ilyās) is cited along with those of Zechariah (q.v.), John (see JOHN THE BAPTIST) and Jesus (q.v.) with the statement that "all were of the righteous" (Q 6:85). The name of Elijah is next mentioned at the beginning of a passage (Q 37:123-32) that recounts his vicissitudes in the manner of

other qurʾānic punishment stories (q.v.) involving the prophets and their peoples (see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD). There Elijah is identified as one of the messengers, the one who called upon his people not to worship an idol called Baʿl (see BAAL; IDOLS AND IMAGES; IDOLATRY AND IDOLATERS). His people refused to obey him (see DISOBEDIENCE) and so he pronounced God's punishment (see ANGER): Only those who followed him survived. In the end of the passage Elijah is described as one of the "believing servants" (Q 37:132). In a verse from this same passage (Q 37:130) the name Elijah appears a third time, but in the mysterious orthographic variation Ilyāsīn instead of the usual form Ilyās. A variant reading proposed by the classical exegetical tradition substitutes the names Ilyās/Ilyāsīn in the passage with those of Idrīs/Idrāsīn (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* xxiii, 96).

The extra-canonical Muslim traditions follow the accounts of the Bible (*1 Kgs* 18 f.; see SCRIPTURE AND THE QURʾĀN), relating that Elijah was sent from God after the death of Ezekiel (q.v.) because the Israelites had begun worshipping idols such as Baʿl, who was revered by the people of Baalbek and, according to other reports, had the form of a woman. Elijah's mission, his choice of Elisha (q.v.) as his disciple, together with the rejection of his message by his people and the punishment inflicted upon them by God, which consisted of a three-year drought, are described in great detail. Other traditions, however, attest to the association of the figure of Elijah with the prophet Idrīs (q.v.) and the mysterious al-Khiḍr (see KHAḌIR/KHIḌR). According to certain exegetes (cf. Suyūṭī, *Durr,* vii, 117-8), the name Idrīs could not have been anything but another name for Elijah, while other reports and traditions claimed that Elijah and al-Khiḍr were the same person, or at least that they were relatives who used to meet annually. The close relationship between these last two is based upon a tradition stating that both of them attained the gift of eternal life (see ETERNITY) in this world and that they are still alive on earth whereas, in contrast, Jesus and Idrīs are alive in heaven (q.v.). Elijah, according to other reports, was turned into a semi-angelic being at the conclusion of his mission among his people. God had Elijah dressed in light (q.v.) and removed from him the desire for food and drink. God then made Elijah ascend to heaven on a horse of fire (ʿUmāra b. Wathīma, *Badʾ al-khalq,* 68).

Arab lexicographers have debated the origin of his name and have concluded that it was taken from the Hebrew, along with other names such as Ishmael (q.v.) and Isaac (q.v.). Yet the Arabic form of the name (Ilyās) bears more similarity to the Christian Greek, Syriac and Ethiopic versions, than to the Hebrew one (see FOREIGN VOCABULARY). In fact, according to Jeffery (*For. vocab.,* 68), the term entered into Arabic from Syriac, as was the case with the name of the idol Baʿl, quoted in the qurʾānic story of Elijah (Q 37:125).

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Elisha

A prophet who is mentioned in two verses in the Qurʾān. In the first (Q 6:86), Elisha (al-Yasaʿ) is cited together with Ishmael (q.v.), Jonah (q.v.) and Lot (q.v.), where it is said that they were elevated above the rest of creation *(wa-kullan faḍḍalnā ʿalā l-ʿālamīna)*. Elisha is mentioned in a second verse (Q 38:48), along with Ishmael and Dhū l-Kifl (q.v.), where it is said that "all are among the excellent" *(wa-kullun mina l-akhyāri)*. The Qurʾān does not contain any details about his life and limits itself to mentioning his name together with those of other prophets (see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD). The Arabic version of the name is usually read by lexicographers and exegetes as al-Yasaʿ, but exegetical literature also attests to the variant reading al-Laysaʿ (Farrāʾ, *Maʿānī,* ii, 407-8).

Muslim tradition has added a few particulars about the figure of Elisha. The son of a woman who gave hospitality (see HOSPITALITY AND COURTESY) to Elijah (q.v.), Elisha became his disciple either when Elijah cured him from a serious illness or when Elijah gave him food while he was starving (cf. *1 Kgs* 17:9 f.). According to other traditions, Elijah and Elisha were cousins or, at the very least, had some blood relationship (Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī, *Mirʾāt,* i, 460). From that moment, Elisha followed Elijah wherever he went, and was with him when he invoked God's punishment against his people around the time of his death (see PUNISHMENT STORIES). When Elijah was taken to God in heaven (q.v.), Elisha succeeded him as prophet among his people until his death. Certain traditions maintain, however, that Elisha was another name for Dhū l-Kifl or for al-Khiḍr, and possibly Ezekiel (Maqdisī, *Badʾ,* iii, 100; see KHAḌIR/KHIḌR; EZEKIEL).

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Embezzlement

see MONEY; BREAKING TRUSTS AND CONTRACTS; THEFT; ORPHANS; WEALTH

Embryo

see BIOLOGY AS THE CREATION AND STAGES OF LIFE; INFANTICIDE; ABORTION

Emigrants and Helpers

Those who emigrated from Mecca (q.v.) to Medina (q.v.) with the prophet Muḥammad (Emigrants, *muhājirūn*), and the residents of Medina who received and helped them (Helpers, *anṣār*). In a broader sense, those who forsake home and land, giving up evil deeds and renouncing personal desires for the sake of God are called emigrants by the Qurʾān (*muhājir,* Q 4:100; 29:26). In some classical sources the Medinans who came to Mecca and met Muḥammad at ʿAqaba were also characterized as emigrants because Medina was considered to be the abode of polytheism (see POLYTHEISM AND ATHEISM) and from there they had come to the Prophet (Nasāʾī, *Sunan, K. al-Bayʿa,* ch. 13). Ḥadīth literature offers a definition of emigrant *(muhājir)* as one who abstains from things forbidden (q.v.) by God (Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ, K. al-Īmān*). The term, which became *mhaggrāyē* in Syriac, *magaritai* in Greek, was also used by non-Muslim writers at the time of the Arab conquests when mentioning the Arabs, perhaps suggesting the self-designation of the conquerors at the time (Hoy-

land, *Seeing Islam,* 547-8). In the course of Islamic history, various Muslim groups have been identified as *muhājirūn,* such as those who emigrated from Russian and Balkan territories to Turkey during the early decades of the twentieth century and those who emigrated from British India to Afghanistan and from India to Pakistan after its creation in 1947.

Technically, however, the Emigrants *(muhājirūn)* were those early Companions of the Prophet (q.v.) who undertook to emigrate (*hijra,* see EMIGRATION) from Mecca to Medina (known before the *hijra* as Yathrib) and who settled in the latter place during the period between 1-8/622-30. The Helpers *(anṣār)* were those Medinans who accepted Islam, received the Emigrants, provided them with shelter and protection, and helped them to settle in their new abode. While the great majority of the *muhājirūn* were members of the Quraysh tribe, the *anṣār* were exclusively the members of two Arab tribes residing in Medina — the Aws and the Khazraj, collectively known as Banū Qayla (see ARABS; TRIBES AND CLANS).

Muhājir, the singular of *muhājirūn,* is used in the Qurʾān and other Arabic sources in this technical sense, but *naṣīr,* the singular of *anṣār,* is not used to designate individual Medinan Helpers. Reference to those who had emigrated for the sake of God appears nineteen times in the Qurʾān, seventeen of which the exegetical tradition has related, directly or indirectly, to the Meccan Emigrants. The word *anṣār* and its cognates *nāṣir* and *naṣīr* appear forty-six times in the Qurʾān, but references to the *anṣār* of Medina appear only five times — twice in the form of *anṣār* (Q 9:100, 117), twice as "those who gave shelter and help" (Q 8:72, 74) and once as "others" (Q 59:9).

According to classical accounts of the early days of Islam, it was following the second pledge of ʿAqaba that the Prophet instructed his Companions to emigrate to Yathrib and to do so in small groups to avoid the attention of the Quraysh (q.v.). Within a few months almost all Muslims had left Mecca and reached Medina. Some went alone, others with their families. As soon as the Quraysh realized the danger of this move, they tried, either by persuasion or by coercion, to prevent the escape of Muslims, but had little success. Ibn Isḥāq (d. 150/767), Ibn Saʿd (d. 230/845) and several other early sources report that in only two instances did the Quraysh succeed in inducing apostasy (q.v.) by use of excessive force. Both individuals, however, reportedly returned to Islam and left Mecca at an opportune moment (Ibn Isḥāq, *Sīra,* ii, 87-90; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt,* iii, 271-2; iv, 130-2). Many of those who left their Muslim wives and children in Mecca were reunited with them as more and more people slipped through the fingers of the Meccans. Those who had earlier emigrated to Abyssinia (q.v.) now came back and emigrated to Medina, gaining credit for making two *hijra*s.

It is difficult to know precisely the number of those who emigrated in the first wave to Medina. Based on the lists of names in early Arabic sources it can safely be estimated that the total number of adult male emigrants was not more than eighty. If the reports in Ibn Saʿd (*Ṭabaqāt,* i, 238) and al-Balādhurī (d. 279/892; *Ansāb,* i, 314-5) about the brotherhood (*muʾākhāt,* established in the first year of the *hijra;* see BROTHERS AND BROTHERHOOD) are taken at face value — that no Emigrant was left without a brotherhood established between him and a Helper — then the number of adult male Emigrants was substantially less. These two sources name only ninety men between whom a brotherhood was established, forty-five from the category of the Emigrants and forty-five from that of the Helpers. One report in these sources

puts the number at fifty on each side, raising the total to one hundred. In the light of these reports, the figure of eighty as the total number of (male adult) Emigrants seems unrealistic. Nonetheless, as more and more people accepted Islam and joined the Prophet in Medina, their number gradually increased. A recent work devoted to the biographical notes of those who made their *hijra* to Medina lists 304 names, including women and children (Ward, *Aṣḥāb al-hijra*). The Prophet assigned the status of *muhājirūn* to a number of nomadic tribes who converted to Islam by giving the oath of allegiance (*bayʿa,* see OATHS; PLEDGE) and settled in Medina. A few other nomadic tribes, such as Muzayna and Khuzāʿa, who signed special treaties with the Prophet, also received the status of *muhājirūn* although not by settling in Medina (Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt,* i, 291, 293; also 303 for Qushayr b. Kaʿb). This clearly indicates that a special status was attached to the designation *muhājirūn* and that people from the very earliest phase of Islamic history sought to acquire it in one way or another. In this regard, one should mention the later, non-qurʾānic concept of seats or centers of emigration *(dūr al-hijra),* in reference to early Muslim garrison cities. Settling in these cities was counted towards one's status as a Muslim. In a certain sense, the notion of emigration even plays into Islamic concepts of salvation (q.v.).

The *anṣār,* who had entered into an agreement with the Prophet, welcomed the newcomers to their city and, despite limited resources, shared with them whatever they had. Some of them went so far as to divide their entire wealth in two and offer one half to their guests. To create a lasting tie between the *anṣār* and the *muhājirūn,* the Prophet introduced the aforementioned system of brotherhood.

According to the early sources the *anṣār,* i.e. the Aws and the Khazraj, were descendants of the famous Yemenite tribe of Azd, through Ḥāritha, Thaʿlaba, ʿAmr, ʿĀmir, etc. (see YEMEN) who migrated to the oasis of Yathrib sometime around 500 B.C.E. and became clients of Jewish tribes already settled there (see JEWS AND JUDAISM). As a result of their increased numbers and wealth, they eventually gained the upper hand over the Jews and became masters of the political affairs of the oasis. This prosperity, however, also had adverse effects. The two tribes (now divided into several clans) engaged in internal feuds that erupted in violence on a number of occasions, the biggest being the battle of Buʿāth which took place one year before the *hijra.* Though the Khazraj had usually maintained their supremacy in these feuds, they were severely defeated by the Aws at Buʿāth. This may explain why the Khazraj showed greater interest in Islam than the Aws; the former outnumbererd the latter as representatives *(nuqabāʾ)* at the first and second gatherings with the Prophet at ʿAqaba (for a discussion of the events at ʿAqaba, see Mélamède, Meetings), at the battle of Badr (q.v.) and in the number of women converts, according to Ibn Saʿd (*Ṭabaqāt,* iii, 419-627; viii, 315-460). Moreover, while all clans of the Khazraj had embraced Islam (q.v.) by the time of the *hijra,* four clans of the Aws, collectively known as Aws Allāh (Aws al-Manāt before the *hijra*), refrained from such affiliation until after the battle of Khandaq (Battle of the Trench, 5/627; see PEOPLE OF THE DITCH; EXPEDITIONS AND BATTLES; Lecker, *Muslims,* 19-49). Thus, the Khazraj enjoyed a position in Islam — at least in its early phase — over that of the Aws. This preferred position was evident under ʿUmar's (r. 13-23/634-44) system of calculating the amount of one's pension *(ʿaṭāʾ)* on the basis of temporal precedence in accepting Islam (*sābiqa,* see CONQUESTS; TAXATION; ʿUMAR). The largest amount,

after the wives of the Prophet (q.v.), was given to those who had accepted Islam before the battle of Badr and had participated in that battle. Many members of the Aws did not qualify for this category due to their late conversion. That the Khazraj rose to greater prominence than the Aws was also reflected in the fact that Saʿd b. ʿUbāda, who was almost selected caliph (q.v.) by the *anṣār* after the Prophet's death, was from the Khazraj (Ibn Saʿd, iii, 568; ʿAbd al-Razzāq, *Muṣannaf,* v, 442-5).

The difficulties faced by the *muhājirūn* in the wake of their emigration and the need to elevate their status from dependence to self-reliance prompted the Prophet to conclude a series of agreements among various factions in Medina which are now collectively known as the "Constitution of Medina" (for details, see Serjeant, Sunna Jāmiʿa; Hamidullah, *First written constitution*). According to these agreements, the *muhājirūn* were given the status of an independent tribe with the same rights and responsibilities as those of other Medinan tribes who were named one by one with their clients (*mawālī,* see CLIENTS AND CLIENTAGE) without distinguishing between those of their members who already had converted to Islam and those who had not. Several qurʾānic verses appear to allude to these agreements (e.g. Q 3:101-3) and to emphasize the unity of the *umma* (see COMMUNITY AND SOCIETY IN THE QURʾĀN), the nucleus of which was composed of the *anṣār* and *muhājirūn*.

The *muhājirūn* and *anṣār* maintained their separate identity for quite a long time: It is even reported that, while digging the Trench in 5/627 to protect Medina from Meccan-led incursions, they dug separate areas without intermingling. In all major battles during the lifetime of the Prophet, their contributions were separately enumerated, and inter-marriage between the two groups was not common. They did, however, live in a brotherly and neighborly fashion, save rare occasions when friction occurred, above all in the events surrounding the selection of a successor to the Prophet. The *muhājirūn* gradually gained higher status in Medinan society until, eventually, from roughly 125 years after the *hijra,* both they and the *anṣār* largely identified themselves with the members of the Quraysh.

The *muhājirūn* and the *anṣār* came to be viewed as model interpreters of the Qurʾān, since they had been close to the Prophet, whose life was the living example of qurʾānic norms (see EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL; SUNNA). Several noted qurʾānic scholars emerged from among them: Most outstanding among the *muhājirūn* were ʿAbdallāh b. Masʿūd (d. 32/652-3), one of the earliest Qurʾān reciters (*qurrāʾ,* see RECITERS OF THE QURʾĀN) and an exegete; ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbbās (d. 98/716-7), known as the father of Qurʾān commentaries; and ʿĀʾisha bint Abī Bakr (q.v.; d. 58/678-9), the widow of the Prophet and the most prominent female exegete (see also ḤADĪTH AND THE QURʾĀN). From the *anṣār* came such noted scholars as Ubayy b. Kaʿb (who died during the caliphate of ʿUmar), one of the Prophet's secretaries entrusted with the task of writing down the revelation and whose reading the Prophet preferred (Ibn Saʿd, iii, 498-9; see READINGS OF THE QURʾĀN); and Zayd b. Thābit (d. 45/665), another secretary of the Prophet who later served as the head of the group responsible for the codification of the Qurʾān (see CODICES OF THE QURʾĀN; COLLECTION OF THE QURʾĀN). Both Ubayy and Zayd were from the Khazraj branch of the *anṣār*. In the following generations (i.e. Successors and Successors of Successors), qurʾānic scholars relied heavily on the understanding and interpretation credited to the *muhājirūn* and *anṣār*. No written work has

come down to us from this generation of scholars due to the largely oral nature (see ORALITY; ORALITY AND WRITINGS IN ARABIA) of scholarly activity at the time (see KNOWLEDGE AND LEARNING; TRADITION AND CUSTOM). Questions of authenticity also surround material attributed to these early scholars. For example, the authorship of *Tanwīr al-miqbās* as ascribed to Ibn ʿAbbās by its compiler Abū Ṭāhir Fīrūzābādī, is seriously doubted (cf. Sezgin, *GAS,* i, 27).

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Emigration

Departure from a place or abode. The Arabic term for emigration (*hijra,* from the root, *h-j-r*) denotes cutting oneself off from friendly or sociable relations (see SOCIAL INTERACTIONS; SOCIAL RELATIONS), ceasing to speak to others, forsaking, abandoning, deserting, shunning or avoiding (Q 4:34; 25:30; 74:5). It also means departure from the desert to the town or villages and vice versa. Its most common meaning is to forsake one's own land and take up residence in another country. The Qurʾān frequently uses the variations of the root *kh-r-j* to convey this sense (Q 4:66; 8:30; 9:40; 60:1). It also has been interpreted to mean an emigration from the territory of unbelievers to the territory of believers for the sake of religion (Q 4:97; 29:26). Technically, the term *hijra* has been used to designate the emigration of the prophet Muḥammad (q.v.) and his early companions from Mecca (q.v.) to Medina (q.v.) in 622 C.E. (Lane, viii, 2879-81; see COMPANIONS OF THE PROPHET; EMIGRANTS AND HELPERS). Although the standard sources narrate an earlier emigration of a group of Muslims from Mecca to Abyssinia (q.v.), the term is primarily used in the sense of emigration from Mecca to Medina. Its various derivatives appear thirty-one times in the Qurʾān, sixteen of which refer to the emigration of Muslims from Mecca to Medina and to departure from home for the cause of God (see PATH OR WAY).

The first emigration of Muslims was to Abyssinia (al-Ḥabasha, modern Ethiopia). Early sources place this in the fifth year of the Qurʾān's revelation to Muḥammad. According to the various accounts, when the Meccan persecution of the Prophet's followers intensified and Muḥammad found himself unable to protect them, he instructed them to disperse in various directions. Upon their inquiry of where,

exactly, to go, he advised them to set out for Abyssinia, the "land of truthfulness," whose ruling (Christian) king was a just person, and to stay there until God relieved them from their difficulties (Ibn Isḥāq, *Sīra*, i, 358). Several groups of Muslims, therefore, both with and without their families, emigrated there. The Abyssinian king, the Negus, received them favorably. He inquired about their new religion and inquired about their understanding of Jesus (q.v.), the son of Mary (q.v.). In reply, their leader, Jaʿfar, recited Q 19:16-21, which had been revealed shortly before their leaving Mecca. The king, satisfied with this response, allowed them to stay in his country, denying the request of the delegation of Quraysh (q.v.) who had followed them to Abyssinia in the hope of convincing the king to force their return. A total of eighty-two people, excluding the youth, emigrated to Abyssinia at different times (Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, ii, 330), though Ibn Saʿd, (*Ṭabaqāt*, i, 204, 207) gives a higher figure of one hundred sixteen. When rumor reached this group that leading Meccans had been followers of the Prophet (Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, ii, 330, 340), thirty-three of their number returned to Mecca where they remained until their second emigration, this time to Medina. Those Muslims who had elected to stay in Abyssinia eventually left to join the Prophet in Medina.

A summary narrative of the second but more consequential emigration can be drawn from the most commonly available sources of early Islamic history. According to these accounts soon after the end of the boycott of the Prophet's clan, Banū Hāshim, by the rest of the clans of Quraysh, probably in 619 C.E., two important figures in the life of the Prophet died: his uncle Abū Ṭālib (see FAMILY OF THE PROPHET) who had continuously provided him with protection (q.v.) and his wife Khadīja (q.v.; see WIVES OF THE PROPHET), who had been a source of both financial and moral support. As chief of the Banū Hāshim, Abū Ṭālib was succeeded by his brother Abū Lahab who, it is said, had initially promised to protect Muḥammad in the same way as Abū Ṭālib had done, but soon withdrew this protection on the grounds that Muḥammad had alleged that ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib (their common ancestor) was in hell (q.v.). This loss of security caused great distress to the Prophet and his followers, since he could now be easily targeted for harsher treatment (see OPPOSITION TO MUḤAMMAD). Thus, both he and his supporters were no longer safe in Mecca. Moreover, the Prophet probably realized that he had already achieved what he could in Mecca. No dramatic change in the attitude of the Meccans could be expected and no important conversions could be foreseen. Faced with such circumstances, he changed his strategy and decided to convey his message to the nomadic tribes of Arabia (see ARABS; TRIBES AND CLANS), doing this during the last three years of his stay in Mecca. In his quest to continue his mission he went to Ṭāʾif, a neighboring city at a distance of some twenty-five miles (40 km) south of Mecca and dominated by the Thaqīf, a branch of the Hawāzin. Like Mecca, Ṭāʾif was a commercial city (see ECONOMICS) and the Thaqīf, who maintained close ties with Yemen (q.v.), were a natural rival of the Quraysh. What actually prompted the Prophet to choose Ṭāʾif in preference to other localities is not clear, but he certainly sought to utilize their rivalry with the Quraysh to his advantage. The people of Ṭāʾif, however, not only rejected his message but encouraged the town rabble to throw stones at him. He was physically injured and left Ṭāʾif without any immediate success. On his way back to Mecca, he realized that his re-entry into the city would be highly risky, given his lack of

protection and his failed mission at Ṭā'if. So, through an intermediary, he approached three clan chiefs for protection. One of them, al-Muṭ'im b. ʿAdī, chief of the Banū Nawfal and a relative of the Prophet on his mother's side, appears to have agreed and took him to the Kaʿba (q.v.), where the protection was recognized by the leaders of the Quraysh (Ibn Isḥāq, *Sīra,* i, 419).

The Prophet then re-entered Mecca and remained there, preaching to the various tribes that came to the city for pilgrimage and fairs. During the pilgrimage season of 620 C.E. he met at ʿAqaba with six members of the Khazraj tribe in Yathrib (see MEDINA) who accepted his message and promised to propagate it. These six were the first from Yathrib (the name of Medina before the *hijra*) to convert to Islam, although reports do claim that two members of the Aws, killed before the battle of Buʿāth (between the Aws and Khazraj one year before the *hijra*), died as Muslims (Balādhurī, *Ansāb,* i, 274-5). Five of these six came back during the pilgrimage the following year and brought seven others with them, three of whom were from the tribe of Aws. They met the Prophet again at ʿAqaba and made a solemn pledge (q.v.) to support and protect him. This was known as the Pledge of Women *(bayʿat al-nisāʾ)* as no fighting was involved (Ibn Isḥāq-Guillaume, 198-9; cf. Q 60:12). They went back to Yathrib, having promised to convey Muḥammad's message to their brethren. The Prophet also sent Muṣʿab b. ʿUmayr to Yathrib to teach the Qurʾān to the new converts and to invite others to Islam. Their work was apparently so effective that converts were made from every family of *anṣār* (i.e. the Helpers or residents of Yathrib who were to receive and help the Emigrants — *muhājirūn* — from Mecca) except the Aws Allāh, a group of the Aws known as Aws Manāt before Islam.

In the following pilgrimage season (622 C.E.), 72 men and three women met the Prophet at ʿAqaba and made a pledge not only to obey him but also to protect and fight for him. This pledge is known as the Pledge of War *(bayʿat al-ḥarb)*. Traditional accounts stress that the Prophet's uncle ʿAbbās, though not yet a Muslim, was present at this Pledge in order to oversee the smooth transfer of responsibility for Muḥammad's protection from the Banū Hāshim to the people of Yathrib (Ibn Isḥāq, *Sīra,* ii, 54-5). The authenticity of this anecdote is, however, seriously questioned by modern scholarship and is ascribed to Abbāsid propaganda efforts — ʿAbbās was the eponymous ancestor of this dynasty — aimed at enhancing their image. Soon after this group went back to their city, the Prophet instructed his Companions to leave, in small groups, for Yathrib. All but two of his Companions gradually left Mecca and reached Yathrib. Of the remaining two, Abū Bakr was asked by the Prophet to delay his emigration and to be his travel companion as the Prophet was expecting divine permission to emigrate (see OCCASIONS OF REVELATION; REVELATION AND INSPIRATION). The other, ʿAlī (see ʿALĪ B. ABĪ ṬĀLIB), remained in Mecca at the Prophet's instruction and later joined the rest of the Muslims at Yathrib.

The standard accounts continue that after receiving divine permission, the Prophet left Mecca on the same night the Quraysh surrounded his house to attack and kill him (Q 8:30). He stayed the first three days after leaving Mecca at the Cave of Thawr (Q 9:40; see CAVE), south of Mecca, then moved to Yathrib following an unusual route. On the 12th of Rabīʿ I he reached Qubāʾ, in al-ʿĀliya of Yathrib (topographically, Medina was divided into Āliya and Sāfila — upper and lower — Medina, respectively; see Lecker,

Muslims, 1-18; see GEOGRAPHY), where he stayed for about two weeks and built the first mosque (q.v.). He then moved to the main part of the city, called Sāfila, and settled at the spot on which his famous mosque is now located. The city changed its name to commemorate the occasion, from Yathrib to Madīnat al-Nabī (lit. the city of the Prophet), commonly shortened to al-Madīna (Medina being the popular English transliteration).

The early sources differ in their interpretations of who was saved by the *hijra:* the Prophet from Meccan persecution, or the Medinans from self-destruction. One side stresses that it was Muḥammad who was rescued as he sought a safe haven to avoid the persecution of the Meccans and to continue his mission. With this understanding it is the Prophet who receives salvation, the Medinans who provide it by offering Muḥammad and his followers shelter and protection (Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt,* i, 217; for qurʾānic reference to shelter and assistance, cf. Q 8:72, 74; for a detailed discussion on the salvation issue, see Rubin, *Eye,* 169-85). One allusion to the potential salvific role of the Medinans is the insistence of the uncle of the Prophet, ʿAbbās (said to have been present at the second pledge of ʿAqaba), that the Medinans be serious about their commitment to sheltering and protecting Muḥammad and not abandon him when he moved to their city. Evidence of the view that perhaps Muḥammad did not need 'salvation' is found in ʿAbbās' reported statement that if the Medinans had such an intention [i.e. to abandon Muḥammad], they should leave him immediately, for he already enjoyed protection and honor in his city and from his clan (Ibn Isḥāq, *Sīra,* ii, 54-5).

In the reports that emphasize the Medinans as the actual recipients of salvation and the Prophet as the provider, the Medinans are depicted as being on the verge of collapse due to their internal feuds (between the Aws and the Khazraj, which resulted in a long-lasting war). It was for assistance in the resolution of this crisis that they had invited the Prophet (Ibn Isḥāq, *Sīra,* ii, 42; iv, 152-3; Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* ad Q 3:103). Several commentators, such as al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923), al-Rāzī (d. 606/1209) and al-Qurṭubī (d. 671/1272), as well as Sayyid Quṭb (d. 1966) in modern times, are of the opinion that Q 3:103 and 8:63 refer to the chaotic situation which prevailed in Medina before the Prophet brought peace, stability and order. This interpretation understands Muḥammad to be the rescuer, and the Medinans the rescued. Some sources indicate that Muḥammad himself insisted on this understanding during reconciliation with the unhappy Medinans after the Battle of Ḥunayn (q.v.; 8/630; Ibn Isḥāq, *Sīra,* iv, 152-3; see also EXPEDITIONS AND BATTLES). While the exegetical and historical sources express no unanimity on this issue, they uniformly contend that both parties greatly benefited from the *hijra.*

Classical Muslim historiography is also unanimous in understanding the emigration to Medina as an event of great importance for the development of Islam (q.v.). According to this literature, for the great majority of Meccans the Prophet was an unwanted reformer who had created tension and uneasiness in their society and hence was rejected by them. Their disdain was compounded by the Prophet's lack of either elite status or strong financial backing. In Medina, after the *hijra,* his position changed markedly. There, he was an invited and accepted leader with the responsibility of saving the Medinan community from self-destruction and leading them to prosperity. He eventually became the undisputed leader of all of Medina, to whom issues were referred for final resolution (Ibn Isḥāq, *Sīra,* ii, 117). There, the Muslim

community *(umma)* was established as a polity (see COMMUNITY AND SOCIETY IN THE QUR'ĀN) and the Muslims, freed from the fear of persecution, began to flourish as a supra-tribal community.

Viewed through the lens of the exegetical literature that it generated, the Qur'ān also attests to the importance of the *hijra*. Not only are sūras of the Qur'ān tagged as Meccan or Medinan (based on the place/period of revelation, though some are understood to contain both Meccan and Medinan portions; see CHRONOLOGY AND THE QUR'ĀN), but their contents also reflect the changed position of the *umma* after the *hijra*. While the major emphases of Meccan verses appears to be on belief in the unity of God *(tawḥīd),* in the prophetic office of Muḥammad *(risāla)* and in the life to come (*ākhira,* see ESCHATOLOGY), the emphases found in Medinan verses are related to the social, economic, legal and political affairs of the *umma*. The classification of sūras as Meccan and Medinan also takes account of changes in tone and terminology (see FORM AND STRUCTURE OF THE QUR'ĀN). While the pre-*hijra* verses use the vocative phrase "O you people" *(yā ayyuhā l-nās),* post-*hijra* verses are often addressed to "O you who believe" (*yā ayyuhā lladhīna āmanū,* see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF). Classical qur'ānic exegesis thus saw the *hijra* as the demarcation for major changes in the course of the *umma*'s development and for changing themes of the qur'ānic message. The Muslim calendar provides another indication of the decisive importance accorded to this event. When ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, the second caliph, established the Muslim calendar (q.v.), its beginning was set on the first day of the lunar year in which the *hijra* had taken place.

Early authors differ on whether the door of *hijra,* i.e. the period in which emigration could be undertaken for religious reasons, was closed after the conquest of Mecca (in 8/630) or whether it remained open indefinitely (see CONQUESTS). The disagreement revolves around two sets of conflicting traditions. In one, the Prophet said, "There is no emigration after the conquest" (ʿAbd al-Razzāq, *Muṣannaf,* v, 309; Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ, K. al-Fatḥ*). In another, the Prophet is reported to have said, "The *hijra* will not come to an end as long as the infidels are fought," or in a variation, "The *hijra* will not come to end until the sun shall rise from its place of setting" (Nasā'ī, *Sunan, K. al-Bayʿa,* ch. 18, no. 7747-8; Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad,* i, 191; iv, 99). The issue was so hotly debated in scholarly circles that both Abū Dāwūd (d. 275/889) and al-Nasā'ī (d. 303/915) included separate chapters in their ḥadīth compilations entitled "On whether the *hijra* has ended" and "Mention of disagreements regarding the *hijra* on whether it has come to an end," respectively. Both of them record conflicting traditions in their chapters on this topic. Madelung (Has the *hijra* come to an end?) has lately shown that the set of traditions which understand *hijra* as not having ended with the conquest of Mecca originates primarily in Syria with Umayyad backing. It was the Umayyads who compelled Muslims to relocate to newly conquered territories, a process initiated by the second caliph ʿUmar (q.v.; r. 13-23/634-44). The heated debate notwithstanding, the *hijra* acquired new significance and meaning after the death of the Prophet. No longer was it considered necessary to emigrate to Medina but the duty to emigrate to a safer place remained in force for Muslims whenever their faith and practice were at risk in their own lands (Q 4:97). For example, some Khārijīs (q.v.) demanded that those adhering to their cause break off from other Muslims, considered by them to be unbelievers or monotheists at best, and depart for a place defined as a seat or center of emigration (*dār al-hijra,* see Watt, Khārijite thought). Even in modern times, many reformist leaders urge the emig-

ration of their followers when they are oppressed in their own lands or unable to perform their religious obligations as they would wish.

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Enemies

A military foe or hostile force. The root of the common Arabic term for "enemy" *(ʿaduww,* pl. *aʿdāʾ), ʿ-d-w,* occurs frequently in the Qurʾān. Its essential meaning is to run or gallop swiftly or, in so doing, to pass by or beyond something. The root therefore took on the meaning of passing beyond boundaries or limits, i.e. to transgress, a meaning which occurs commonly in the Qurʾān in various forms (e.g. Q 2:229; see BOUNDARIES AND PRECEPTS). An enemy is thus one who has transgressed against another.

The term "enemy" is often applied in the Qurʾān specifically to Satan (Q 2:168, 208; 6:142; 7:22; 12:5; 17:53; 18:50; 35:6; 36:60; 43:62; see DEVIL; IBLĪS) or more generally to those in ancient days who did not listen to previous prophets (Q 6:112; 25:31; 61:14; see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD), especially the Egyptians who were the enemies of Moses (q.v.; Q 7:129, 150; 20:39, 80; 28:8, 15, 19; see also EGYPT; PHARAOH; ISRAEL). "Enemy" is also applied to those who refuse to believe in God and/or God's angels (Q 2:97-8; 8:60; 41:19, 28; 60:1-2; see ANGEL; FAITH), those actively opposing Muḥammad and his followers (Q 4:45, 101; 9:83, 120; see OPPOSITION TO MUḤAMMAD) or who do so discretely (Q 63:4), the idolatrous relatives of the believers (Q 64:14; see IDOLATRY AND IDOLATERS) including the relatives of Abraham (q.v.; Q 9:114; 26:77) and kinship groups hostile to one another even among the believers (Q 4:92; see KINSHIP; TRIBES AND CLANS).

"Enemies" is also used to describe the natural state of humankind in conflict with one another as a result of Adam's and his unnamed wife's banishment from the garden (q.v.; Q 2:36; 7:24; 20:123; see ADAM AND EVE; COSMOLOGY; FALL OF MAN). God commands them, "Descend [from the garden, from now on being] enemies one to another" *(ihbiṭū baʿḍukum li-baʿḍin ʿaduww).* This state of affairs persisted naturally until God brought friendship and unity among the believers (Q 3:103; see COMMUNITY AND SOCIETY IN THE QURʾĀN; FRIENDS AND FRIENDSHIP), although as mentioned previously, the Qurʾān does

note that kinship groups among believers may retain old hostilities (Q 4:92).

The term is often used in formulaic expressions in the Qurʾān, some of which exist in part for the sake of literary style and rhyme (see LANGUAGE OF THE QURʾĀN). Satan, for example, is "a clear enemy to you" *(innahu lakum* [or *lil-insān] ʿaduwwin mubīn)* in eight verses (Q 2:208; 6:142; 7:22; 12:5; 17:53; 28:15; 36:60; 43:26). So too does God tell Adam and his wife in three different contexts to "get down, enemies one to another" (Q 2:36; 7:24; 20:123).

It is clear from these references that the meaning of the term has a variety of nuances. The identity of those called enemies is to an extent influenced by whether the verses in question are Meccan or Medinan (see CHRONOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN). The Meccan material identifies enemies in mythic terms, usually placing the word within a context that finds parallels with biblical narrative. Pharaoh is enemy to Moses and Israel and, therefore, God (see above for citations); Satan is enemy to Adam and his unnamed wife. Idols are enemies to Abraham or, in theological/apocalyptic terms, Satan is by definition enemy to humans. Unbelievers will be enemies on the day of judgment and, on that day, God's enemies will proceed to the fire (see LAST JUDGMENT; FIRE; HELL; APOCALYPSE). In the Medinan verses the term takes on a more direct political and worldly tone while the apocalyptic references drop out (there remain parallels to biblical narrative in the Medinan material; see SCRIPTURE AND THE QURʾĀN). What is new in the Medinan verses is that God is enemy to unbelievers (*kāfirūn,* Q 2:98), who are the enemy of believers (Q 4:101; see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF). Dissenters, often termed "hypocrites," *(munāfiqūn)* are the enemy who would entice believers away from true belief (Q 63:4; see HYPOCRITES AND HYPOCRISY). Believers must be willing to go to war (q.v.) against God's enemies, meaning opponents of the growing community of believers (Q 9:80-3, 120; see JIHĀD).

In subsequent centuries, the Qurʾān commentators (see EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL) would elaborate upon the qurʾānic meaning of "enemy," and, based upon the ḥadīth and *sīra* materials (see ḤADĪTH AND THE QURʾĀN; SĪRA AND THE QURʾĀN), often attempted to apply it to reconstructed history. It may be added that the potency of such qurʾānic expressions as "enemies of God" *(aʿdāʾu llāh)* and "friends of Satan" *(awliyyāʾu l-shayṭān)* made them useful for citation in propaganda and ideology (see Qāḍī, Religious foundation).

Reuven Firestone

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Enjoining the Good and Forbidding the Evil

see GOOD AND EVIL; ETHICS AND THE QURʾĀN

Enoch

see IDRĪS

Entering Houses from their Backs

see HOSPITALITY AND COURTESY; HOUSE, DOMESTIC AND DIVINE

Envy

Discontentment at another's good fortune. The qurʾānic term for envy *(ḥasad)* is mentioned four times in the Qurʾān, denoting a human emotion that begrudges others

and wishes them ill for what they possess.

The most well-known example of this term in the Qurʾān is Q 113:5: "And from the evil of an envier when he envies" *(wa-min sharrin ḥāsidin idhā ḥasada)*. In this verse, divine protection (q.v.) is sought from "the envy of an envier." This envy is semantically and syntactically grouped with other kinds of evil such as the evil of "darkness" (*sharr ghāsiq,* see DARKNESS) and the evil of those "who blow upon knots" *(wa-min sharri l-naffāthāti fī l-ʿuqad)*. A polemical context (see DEBATE AND DISPUTATION; POLEMICS AND POLEMICAL LANGUAGE) which provides another instance of the use of the word envy *(ḥasad)* is Q 2:109. There it is mentioned that the People of the Book (q.v.) — out of envy *(ḥasad)* — wish to turn the believers back into disbelievers (see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF). The verb "to envy" *(ḥasada)* is also employed in Q 4:54 in reference to this same group who "were given a portion of the book (q.v.)," wherein it is rhetorically asked, "Do they envy people for what God has given to them out of his favor?" (*am yaḥsudūna l-nāsa ʿalā mā ātāhumu llāhu min faḍlihi,* see BLESSING; GIFT-GIVING). This is a theme especially developed in the life story of Muḥammad in his relations to the Jews of Medina, whose refusal to convert is portrayed as resulting from envy (see JEWS AND JUDAISM; SĪRA AND THE QURʾĀN). In Q 48:15, those not permitted to accompany Muḥammad (q.v.) and his followers when they set out to collect booty (q.v.; see also ECONOMICS; EXPEDITIONS AND BATTLES; WAR) present themselves as the targets of envy. Although the word *ḥasad* is not employed explicitly in Q 12:8, which describes how Joseph's (Yūsuf) brothers resent what they perceive as their father Jacob's (Yaʿqūb, see JACOB) preference for Joseph (q.v.) and his brother (see BENJAMIN), the verse nonetheless seems to imply the notion in the brothers' reaction (see BROTHERS AND BROTHERHOOD; VIRTUES AND VICES).

Ruqayya Khan

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Epigraphy

Epigraphy is the study or science of inscriptions, i.e. texts traced upon some hard substance for the sake of durability, as on a monument, building, stone, tablet, medal, coin, vase, etc. The use of the Qurʾān in the corpus of Muslim inscriptions will be the focus of this article.

Background

The durability of inscriptions was observed by pre-Islamic Arab poets who compared them to the traces left by their own desert encampments, both of which seemed able to defy the ravaging effects of time. For that purpose inscriptions had long been used by Greco-Roman and Near Eastern peoples to record their deeds and resolutions, their hopes and aspirations, their prayers and supplications. Often a fine monumental script was developed in order to convey these messages, imparting dignity and authority both to the text and to the medium into which it was carved. For certain civilizations little else remains of their literary heritage but the epigraphic record. This is particularly true of the people of pre-Islamic Arabia, whether the spice traders of ancient Yemen or the pastoralist tribes of the desert regions, who scribbled on the rocks around them with alacrity. The visibility of inscriptions meant that they were all, to a greater or lesser degree, public texts. Many were

officially so, a proclamation by a representative of the political or religious establishment on behalf of the whole community, expressing the principles by which it was governed and conducted itself. Others were deliberately so, a declaration by a wealthy patron vaunting his magnanimity and virtue. Still others (notably epitaphs and graffiti) were more subtly so, a personal statement by individuals seeking to demonstrate their credentials, thereby affirming their membership in a community and their adherence to its moral precepts and guiding tenets. Given this intention and the need for ease of comprehension, inscriptions tend to draw upon a common repertoire of phrases which, though each genre and cultural group has its own particular expressions, remain fairly limited and exhibit to a high degree the recurrence of set formulae.

Muslims not only continued but also expanded this tradition, and inscriptions are found on most kinds of objects created by Muslims wherever they lived, in all periods and in a number of different languages (chiefly Arabic, but also Persian and Turkish, as well as other languages). They are borne by the humblest of materials such as oil lamps and other unglazed ceramics as well as by the finest and most expensive, such as rock crystals and jade (see MATERIAL CULTURE AND THE QUR'ĀN; CALLIGRAPHY). This predilection for the written word in Islam is paralleled by the central role that the concept of writing plays in the Qur'ān. The verb "to write" (from the root letters *k-t-b*) occurs, in its various forms, 58 times, and the noun therefrom is attested some 260 times, most often in the sense of scripture (see BOOK). In what Muslim scholars have considered to be one of the earliest passages revealed by God is found the statement, "He who taught by the pen" (Q 96:4). Sūra 68 is entitled "The Pen" (Sūrat al-Qalam) and opens with the assev-

erative oath: "By the pen and that which they inscribe." Those who have received a revelation from God are referred to as People of the Book (q.v.). Humankind's every deed is said to be written down so that at the last judgment (q.v.) one will be given "his/her book," on the basis of which that individual's fate (q.v.) will be decided (Q 69:19-26). This predilection together with a pronounced preference for non-figurative expression, especially in the religious sphere, meant that in Islam inscriptions were not only a means of communication and of visual propaganda but also an art form.

The portrayal of the Qur'ān in inscriptions

Though cited directly or alluded to innumerable times, the Qur'ān is not specifically mentioned in inscriptions as a distinct entity until at least a century after Muḥammad's time. On a second/eighth century graffito from northern Arabia there appears the expression, "he believes… in every messenger he has dispatched and book he has sent down" (Muaikel, *Jawf,* no. 12). In the inscription of 135/752 commissioned by the caliph al-Saffāḥ (d. 136/754) for the refurbished mosque of Medina, believers are called upon to act in accordance with "the book of God" (Combe et al., *Répertoire chronologique,* no. 38). A more explicit statement is given on a tombstone from Egypt dated 195/810: "[The deceased] testifies that the book is truth, which God sent down with his knowledge. Falsehood does not come to it from before it nor from behind it, a revelation from [one who is] wise, praiseworthy. He believes in what is in it, the sure and the doubtful (see DIFFICULT PASSAGES), the abrogating and the abrogated (see ABROGATION), from its beginning to its end" (Combe et al., *Répertoire chronologique,* no. 89). The second sentence is Q 41:42, one of the comparatively few verses in which the

Qurʾān offers an insight into its own character and status. On another epitaph from a slightly later period, this time from Mosul, the owner bears witness that "the Qurʾān is the speech of God, sent down, uncreated" (Combe et al., *Répertoire chronologique,* no. 117). The last word alludes to the virulent early medieval debate over the nature of the Qurʾān, whether it was to be considered co-eternal with God and thus uncreated, or created by him at a fixed point in time (see CREATEDNESS OF THE QURʾĀN; INQUISITION). The former opinion won out and became part of the standard Muslim creed (see CREEDS). Evidently inscriptions reflected this creed and present us with the generally accepted view of the nature of the Qurʾān.

The citation of the Qurʾān in inscriptions

Given that Muslims considered the Qurʾān to be the "book of God" *(kitāb Allāh),* God's final and definitive revelation to humankind (see REVELATION AND INSPIRATION), it was natural that they should have turned for inspiration to this scripture when they came to write inscriptions. Qurʾānic phrases or passages added gravity and prestige to the medium onto which they were inscribed and underlined the piety and probity of the owner of the inscriptions in which they appeared. The Qurʾān's words imparted new meaning and significance both to the text incorporating its verses and to the building or object bearing its imprint. Qurʾānic inscriptions on buildings are sometimes situated too high to be read or in places poorly lit. In such instances a qurʾānic text's purpose might often be chiefly symbolic, bearing witness to the sacred nature of the building itself (see HOUSE, DOMESTIC AND DIVINE). The literal message of the text, however, was usually important, too. Some scholars have argued that many inscriptions were too ornate to be legible (see Ettinghausen, Communication), but a fair proportion of people knew the Qurʾān by heart, as its memorization was often the principal mode of primary education. They thus needed only to decipher a word or two in order to identify the verse being quoted, especially as the repertoire of verses (q.v.) used was very limited. Moreover, the frequency with which inscriptions conclude with a blessing (q.v.) for "the one who reads [this text]" and then "says amen" (e.g. Imbert, *Jordanie,* nos. 1, 5, 11, 22-3, 72, 82, 106, 151, 156; Moraekhi, *Medina,* B11, L4a, L17, R8; Baramki, al-Bādiya al-sūriyya, nos. 22, 33, 56, 65, 71, 77) conveys the impression that they were usually meant to be understood. Often it would seem that they were recited out loud as is suggested by such expressions as "Oh God, forgive… the one who reads [this text aloud] and the one who hears, then says amen" (Nevo, *Negev,* EL200C, GM389). Lastly, one should bear in mind that the lettering was generally highlighted by some bright substance so that, as Abū l-Raddād tell us in the account cited below, the text "could be read from a distance."

The authors of a thorough study of qurʾānic texts inscribed on buildings conclude that "the verses chosen to decorate Islamic monuments show the greatest possible variety and invention both in the selection of the verses and where they were placed in relation to the architecture of the building" (Dodd and Khairallah, *Image,* i, 61-3). The reason for this lack of conformity is that the choice of verses did not depend upon any one factor but rather might be determined by the type of material or object involved, the space available, the nature of the occasion, the personal intentions and tastes of the author/commissioner, the prevailing fashion or dominant tradition, religious and political considerations, the effect intended and so on (for magical protection see the section on "seals

and amulets" below; see also AMULETS; MAGIC, PROHIBITION OF). But whatever the occasion, the choice was usually deliberate, as is illustrated by the following account:

When I [Abū l-Raddād, supervisor of the nilometer in Egypt] wanted to engrave texts on the nilometer, I consulted Yazīd b. ʿAbdallāh, Sulaymān b. Wahb and al-Ḥasan the eunuch as to what was most appropriate. I informed them that the most fitting, in my opinion, would be to inscribe verses of the Qurʾān and the name of the Commander of the Faithful (see CALIPH), al-Mutawakkil [r. 232-247/847-861], together with that of the governor al-Muntaṣir since he would be responsible for the work. The three disputed about that and Sulaymān b. Wahb, on his own initiative and without our knowing, sought out the opinion of the Commander of the Faithful. The latter then wrote that verses in conformity with the matter of the nilometer should be inscribed as well as his name. I therefore extracted from the Qurʾān the verses that best suited this subject and had them engraved wherever possible on the marble on the outside of the structure. The letters, the thickness of a finger, were firmly embedded in the body of the marble and tinted with lapis-lazuli and so could be read from a distance (Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt,* iii, 112-3).

Verses might be selected for their applicability to the function of the building or object. A good example is provided by the four pieces picked by Abū l-Raddād for the nilometer, all of which maintain that water (q.v.) is a boon of divine origin: "We sent down blessed water from the sky with which we bring forth gardens and the harvest grain" (Q 50:9); "you sometimes see the earth (q.v.) barren, but no sooner do we send down rain upon it than it begins to stir and swell, putting forth every kind of radiant bloom" (Q 22:5); "do you not see how God sends down water from the sky and covers the earth with vegetation" (Q 22:63; see AGRICULTURE AND VEGETATION); "it is he who sends down rain for them when they have lost all hope (q.v.), and spreads abroad his blessings" (Q 42:28). Regarded as particularly pertinent to mosques (q.v.) was Q 9:18: "none should visit the mosques of God except those who believe in God and the last day, attend to their prayers and pay the alms-tax and fear none but God. These shall be rightly guided" (see ALMSGIVING; PRAYER). For prayer niches Q 17:78 was a popular choice: "Recite your prayers at sunset until nightfall, and the recitation at dawn, indeed the recitation at dawn has its witnesses" (see DAY, TIMES OF; RECITATION OF THE QURʾĀN; WITNESSING AND TESTIFYING). And on tombstones humankind's common fate was deemed a suitable topic as touched upon in Q 2:156: "We belong to God and unto God we shall return"; Q 21:35: "Every soul will taste death"; and the like (see DEATH AND THE DEAD).

Apart from such considerations, the particular aims of the author/commissioner might direct the choice of verses. Quite common was the desire to make some sort of declaration of faith (q.v.) and affirmation of allegiance to the one true God. This might be a personal statement, as in graffiti and epitaphs, or a public proclamation, as in official texts on monuments, milestones, coins, seals, etc. The texts most often used to this end were Q 2:255 (known as the Throne Verse), of which it was often considered sufficient to cite just the first few words: "God, there is no God but he, the living, the everlasting," and Q 3:18: "God is witness that there is no god but he, as also are the angels (see ANGEL) and men of knowledge; he acts with justice, there is no god but he, the mighty, the wise" (see GOD AND HIS ATTRIBUTES; KNOWLEDGE

AND LEARNING). Almost as popular and of similar content, stressing God's unity and majesty, was Q 112: "Say: God is one, the eternal God. He does not beget, nor was he begotten. None is equal to him." With their emphasis on God's oneness, such verses betray a certain polemical thrust (see POLEMIC AND POLEMICAL LANGUAGE), an assertion of Islam's validity as against those who practice a corrupt form of monotheism, associating others with God, the chiefly intended object of such words being the Christians (see CHRISTIANS AND CHRISTIANITY; DEBATE AND DISPUTATION). This is much more blatant in another very frequently quoted verse, Q 9:33: "It is he who has sent his messenger (q.v.) with guidance and the religion of truth (q.v.) to make it prevail over all religion (q.v.), even if the associators are averse."

The personal whims and preferences of the author/commissioner could also play an important part in determining which verses might be favored. In most cases this cannot be detected. Very occasionally, however, it will come to light, as when a qurʾānic phrase is adopted as a play on the patron's name. Thus the coins of al-Ḥakam b. Abī l-ʿAṣ, governor of Fars and Khuzistan in 56-58/676-78, mostly bear the legend, "God is the lord of judgment *(ḥukm),*" echoing numerous qurʾānic verses. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿAbdallāh, governor of Sistan in 66/685-86, liked to have the slogan, "in the name of God the all-mighty *(al-ʿazīz),*" a popular qurʾānic epithet for God, stamped on the coins of his province. Such puns on names were very popular, like officials with the name Maḥmūd opting for Q 17:79, "Your lord may exalt you to an honorable station *(maqām maḥmūd),*" and so on. They could often be worked in very subtly as in the text commemorating an addition to the congregational mosque at Isfahan in 480/1087, which cites Q 23:1-6, the concluding words of which ("what their right hands possess," *mā malakat aymānuhum*) allude to the name of the reigning Sultan (Malik Shāh) and his official title ("right hand of the caliph," *yamīn al-khalīfa*).

Individual discretion and creation are present to some degree in inscriptions but inevitably — as with dress, architecture and the like (see ART AND ARCHITECTURE AND THE QURʾĀN) — the influence of fashion would also make itself felt. What was in vogue in one generation might be regarded as outmoded by the next. On early Egyptian tombstones, for example, Q 22:7 was very popular: "The hour is coming, of that there is no doubt, and God will raise those who are in the graves," a verse which subsequently lost ground to Q 55:26-7: "All who live on earth are doomed to die, but the face of your lord will abide forever in all its majesty and glory (q.v.)." Trends were presumably often set by political elites. Certainly this seems to be borne out by the frequency with which the earliest dated occurrence of a phrase in graffiti follows, by a couple of decades, its earliest dated occurrence in an imperial inscription. And it is more frivolously confirmed by the following anecdote: "When people met in the time of al-Walīd [founder of many mosques and palaces] they would talk about nothing but building and construction; next (the debauched) Sulaymān came to power… and they would ask one another about copulation and slave girls; and then when [the pious] ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz held office, people would meet and discuss their night prayers, their memorization and recitation of the Qurʾān and their fasting (q.v.)" (Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh,* ii, 1272-3).

Religious and political conditions might also have a part to play (see POLITICS AND THE QURʾĀN). The devolution of the caliphate into discrete polities in the third-fourth/ninth-tenth centuries, many of them headed by Shīʿī dynasties (see SHĪʿISM

AND THE QUR'ĀN), meant that sectarian concerns assumed a greater role in the choice of qur'ānic verses (for Fāṭimid Egypt see Bierman, *Writing signs*). In Syria during the Crusades, "holy war" was championed in stone as well as in deed (Tabbaa, Monuments; Hillenbrand, Jihad; see JIHĀD). The use of Q 43:88-9 ("And his [i.e. the Prophet's] saying: 'Oh my lord, these are a people who do not believe'") in a graffito has been interpreted as a criticism of the notoriously dissolute ruler al-Walīd II, who had stayed in a palace in the immediate vicinity before his assassination in 126/744 (Imbert, Coran). And the blanket use of qur'ānic texts on monuments, coins, papyrus protocols, milestones, etc., by ʿAbd al-Malik from 72/691 onward was chiefly a response to the divisive effects of the second Arab civil war (65-72/684-91). In this he was not totally innovative, for certain of the participants in the civil war had already been testing this idea. One claimant to the caliphate, the Khārijī (see KHARAJĪS) leader Qaṭarī b. al-Fujā'a, minted coins bearing the rallying cry "judgment belongs to God alone" (cf. Q 6:57; 12:40, 67; 28:88; 40:12; 42:10). And coins bearing the legend "Muḥammad is the messenger of God," part of Q 48:29, were issued by a governor of Fars loyal to another contender, ʿAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr, of whom it was said that "he had come out of zeal for the house of God, and he was full of threats against the westerners (i.e. ʿAbd al-Malik's supporters), alleging that they were transgressors of the law" (see Hoyland, *Seeing Islam,* 550-4).

The manipulation of the Qur'ān in inscriptions

An inscription may simply cite one or more qur'ānic verses, whole or in part, without interfering with the wording or order in any way and with very little additional information save the name of the author/commissioner and a date. Onto a rock face near Mecca, for example, is etched Q 65:3: "God is all-sufficient for whoever puts his trust in him. He will surely bring about what he decrees. He has set a measure for all things. Umayya b. ʿAbd al-Malik wrote this in the year 98/716" (Rāshid, *Makka,* ʿAsila 2). And a tombstone from the region south of Mecca simply quotes the Throne Verse (Q 2:255) followed by the name of the deceased (Zaylaʿī, *Ḥamdāna,* no. 1). Sometimes the qur'ānic text is presented alone, unencumbered by any other data. Thus a first-second/seventh-eighth century basalt tombstone from southern Syria tells us nothing of the persons interred below except perhaps that they had stood by, or had done so in the eyes of their companions, the words of Q 37:61: "For the like of this [i.e. the joys of paradise] let all men strive" (Ory, *Hawran,* no. 1).

Very often a subtle amendment to the text is introduced for the sake of clarity. On ʿAbd al-Malik's coinage of 77/696 and on most inscriptions thereafter, Q 9:33 ("It is he who sent his messenger with guidance…") is slightly filled out (from Q 48:29) to read: "Muḥammad is the messenger of God whom he sent with guidance…." Alteration may also be made to personalize the quotation, in particular changing the subject of a verb from "they" to "I." Most of the discrepancies between the inscribed qur'ānic text and the official qur'ānic text, however, suggest that the inscriber, especially in the case of graffiti, would be working from memory. Subtle variants would, therefore, be likely to creep in. A graffito from the environs of Mecca slightly adjusts Q 38:26 from "Oh David, we have made you a deputy on the earth, so rule *(faḥkum)*…!" to the more straightforward "Oh David, we have made you a deputy on earth in order that you may rule *(li-taḥkuma)*…" (Fahmī, *Makka,* no. 2). Another graffito from the same area (Rāshid,

Makka, no. 2) attempts to render Q 2:21: "Men, serve your lord *(uʿbudū rabbakum),* who has created you and those who have gone before you, so that you may guard yourselves against evil *(laʿallakum tattaqūn)*"; the graffito, however, introduces variants from Q 4:1 *(ittaqū rabbakum)* and Q 2:189, 3:130, 200 and 5:100 *(laʿallakum tufliḥūn)*.

More commonly still, especially in the case of graffiti, an inscription will be an eclectic blend of phrases taken from different verses of the Qurʾān. The words may still be faithfully conveyed. Thus an Egyptian marriage contract inscribed on silk begins with snippets from Q 11:88 ("my success lies only with God and in him I trust") and Q 9:129 ("And he is lord of the mighty throne"), unchanged except for the insertion of an "and" (Ragib, Contrat, 32; see CONTRACTS AND ALLIANCES; MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE; TRUST AND PATIENCE). Very often the phrases will be slightly modified and/or supplemented as required or desired. For example, the text "My lord, lord of the heavens and earth and what is between them, there is no God but he, and so I adopt him as a protector" (Rāshid, *Medina,* no. 21) is assembled from Q 26:24 (or Q 37:5; 38:66; 44:7, 38) and Q 73:9, with a small amendment to personalize the quotation ("I adopt him" rather than "you adopt him!"). The text "My lord is God and my religion is Islam, in him I trust and unto him I turn, and all shall return to him" (ʿUshsh, Jabal Usays, no. 87, dated 119/737) borrows from Q 40:28, 11:88 (cf. Q 42:10) and 5:18 (*wa-ilayhi l-maṣīr,* cf. Q 40:3 and 64:3), and inserts the phrase "my religion is Islam" which, though not strictly qurʾānic, plays on Q 5:3 ("I have approved for you as a religion Islam") and Q 3:19 ("religion with God is Islam"). The text "I believe that there is no god except him in whom the Children of Israel (q.v.) believed, [believing as] a Muslim *ḥanīf,* nor am I among the associators" (Donner, Hanakiyya, W1) quotes verbatim part of Q 10:90, then adapts a statement about Abraham (Q 3:67) to suit the inscriber. Finally, the text "Provide for him from your bounty, and enter him into your mercy (q.v.), and perfect upon him your favor, and make him one of the prosperous" (Nevo, *Negev,* SC301) takes from Q 24:38 (paraphrased), 7:151, 48:2 (or 5:3), and adds the Qurʾān-like closing request to be made "one of the prosperous."

The media on which qurʾānic texts appear

Muslims have carved inscriptions onto most of the kinds of objects that they have produced, at all times since the death of their Prophet and in all the lands that they have inhabited (so not just the Muslim world, but also China, America, etc.), and a substantial proportion of these inscriptions incorporate qurʾānic verses, whole or in part, reported verbatim or paraphrased. Our task here is limited to noting some of the most common media onto which Qurʾān-bearing texts have been inscribed.

Buildings

Public edifices and grand residences would almost always be adorned with some sort of inscription. By far the most numerous are those recording the foundation or renovation of a structure. They might say no more than what was done, when and at whose command. The patron would, however, very likely take the opportunity, by including appropriate qurʾānic verses, to indulge in a little self-glorification by adding titles and eulogies and underlining the majesty and significance of his work. How much care sometimes went into this latter aspect can be observed from the example of the tomb and college of Sultan Ḥasan (757-64/1356-62) in Cairo. At the great entrance, which opens onto the sunlit streets and leads inside to where enlightenment may be found, the famous Light Verse

(Q 24:35) is encountered, which begins: "God is the light (q.v.) of the heavens and the earth; the likeness of his light is as a niche wherein is a lamp (q.v.), the lamp in a glass, the glass as it were a glittering star." The prayer niche, indicating the direction of Mecca (q.v.), is adorned with the highly relevant verse: "We have seen you turn your face towards heaven [for guidance, O Muḥammad]. Now we will make you turn in a direction that will please you. Turn towards the holy mosque; wherever you are, face towards it. Those to whom the scripture was given know this to be the truth from their lord" (Q 2:144). On the eastern walls, which are sacred by virtue of their alignment towards Mecca and paradise (q.v.), letters larger and more elaborate than elsewhere speak of victory (q.v.) and eternal reward (see REWARD AND PUNISHMENT): "We have given you a glorious victory so that God may forgive your past and future sins and perfect his goodness upon you… He has caused you to do as you have done that he may bring the believers, both men and women, into gardens watered by running streams, there to abide forever…" (Q 48:1-6). And in the adjoining tomb of the Sultan there is quoted the Throne Verse, a basic statement of the Islamic faith to which any Muslim could assent.

Less common than foundation inscriptions, though socially more important, are endowment (see INHERITANCE) texts and decrees. The latter record the assignment of buildings to a religious body, whether to be owned by it or to be used for its support (see MAINTENANACE AND UPKEEP; PROPERTY). The format of the inscription might be much the same as for a foundation (identification of the building, date, name and titles of the benefactor), but the choice of qurʾānic verses would generally be different, the most popular being the very apt Q 2:181: "Whoever alters a will after hearing it shall be accountable for his crime (see SIN AND CRIME). God hears all and knows all" (see BREAKING TRUSTS AND CONTRACTS). The text of a decree will, of course, chiefly be taken up with details of the issuing authority's resolutions, as also with the name and titles of that authority and the date of issue. The Qurʾān may well intrude, however, in the customary warning to potential violators of the decree, particularly Q 26:227 ("Wrong-doers will come to know by what a great reverse they will be overturned"), and in the concluding phrase, most often taken from Q 3:173: "God is sufficient for us and most excellent as a protector."

Tombstones and rocks

Inscriptions on tombstones (epitaphs) and on rocks (graffiti), though they are visible to passers-by, are, unlike texts on monuments and the objects of state, not so much concerned with addressing the public as making a personal statement. They begin by invoking God, starting with a simple exclamation *(Allāhumma)* or calling upon his name (*bi-smi llāh,* see BASMALA). Then some sort of petition will usually be made, most often for forgiveness, mercy, blessing or approval, concepts that form an important part of the qurʾānic worldview. It may also be asked that favor be conferred on other parties, such as relatives, the Muslim community, prophets (see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD) and angels, and often, in conclusion, the reader of the inscription and/or somebody else says "amen, amen, lord of the worlds" or just "amen" (e.g. Abbott, Kasr Kharana, dated 92/710; Cantineau, *Palmyre,* no. 39, 110/728; Couroyer, Beit Gibrin, first/seventh-eighth century). For this purpose the phrase, "invoke a blessing upon" (*ṣalli ʿalā,* lit. "pray for"), will frequently be used, especially for the prophet Muḥammad, as in Q 33:56 (e.g. Kessler, Inscription; Miles, Taʾif, 241), but

also for others (e.g. Ory, ʿAyn al-Garr, no. 1: "May God bless all the Muslims").

Supplicants will also put forward many more elaborate entreaties. They wish to be admitted into paradise (q.v.), the terms here being *janna, jannāt al-naʿīm* (literally, gardens of bliss; see GARDEN) and *madkhal* (esp. Q 4:31; cf. Grohmann, *Arabic inscriptions,* Z11: *adkhilhā madkhalan karīman*), attested 137, ten and three times respectively in the Qurʾān. And they desire to be united with their Prophet (e.g. Hawary-Rached, *Steles,* nos. 3-4, 13; Imbert, Qastal al-Balqaʾ, nos. 2, 7-8, 14, 16), an idea not found in the Qurʾān, though the expression *alḥiqhu bi-nabiyyihi* is reminiscent of Q 26:83 (*alḥiqnī bi-l-ṣāliḥīn,* "unite me to the righteous"). They seek to be preserved from the torment of the day of reckoning, to be spared God's punishment, to be saved from hell (q.v.) and to receive succor on the day of resurrection, all concepts crucial to the qurʾānic theory of divine retribution (see RESURRECTION; RETALIATION; REWARD AND PUNISHMENT). They, or the deceased at least, beg to be instructed in his proof (q.v.; e.g. Hawary-Rached, *Steles,* nos. 3, 10, 13, etc.; Imbert, Qastal al-Balqaʾ, nos. 2, 6-8, 10), presumably a reference to Q 6:83 ("This is our proof which we bestowed upon Abraham") and Q 6:149 ("To God belongs the conclusive proof"). Finally, we find inscriptions where supplicants advance the more positive requests of being rewarded for the best of their deeds (see GOOD DEEDS; EVIL DEEDS), having their devotions and good actions accepted, receiving God's favor and guidance and being granted good health, virtue and prosperity, all again bristling with qurʾānic thinking and terminology.

The other major objective of inscribers of epitaphs and graffiti is to convey some of the essentials of their faith and to pronounce their adherence to it, to give a summary of the principles by which, as is so often written of the deceased, "he has lived, by which he has died and by which he will be raised alive, if God wills." Always in first place is some declaration about God. Very commonly various epithets and predicate phrases will be assigned to him, almost all corresponding to portions of qurʾānic verses: "the clement, the generous," "praiseworthy, glorious," "the forgiving, the compassionate," "the mighty, the wise," "the lord of the worlds," "the manifest truth," "to him belongs sovereignty and praise," "he gives life and brings death," "in his hand is the sovereignty and he is able to do all things" (Q 67:1; e.g. ʿAbd al-Tawab, *Nécropole,* no. 1). Very frequently his unity will be affirmed, both by simple assertions that he is one and by recourse to pertinent qurʾānic verses, especially Q 6:163 ("He has no associate"; used on Umayyad papyrus protocols), Q 72:3 ("He has taken no companion nor offspring"; e.g. Hawary-Rached, *Steles,* no. 18) and Q 2:255 and 3:18 as cited above. Next in line is the prophet Muḥammad (q.v.), whose importance to humankind is highlighted with the aid of such qurʾānic texts as the aforementioned Q 9:33 (first appearing on coinage from 77/696), Q 37:37 ("He brought the truth and confirmed those already sent"), Q 36:70 ("to warn whoever lives and that the word may be fulfilled against the unbelievers"), and Q 33:45 ("a summoner to God by his permission and a light-giving lamp"; Hawary-Rached, *Steles,* nos. 20, 28-9).

Objects and furnishings

This is a very broad category, comprising a vast range of artifacts and fittings fashioned out of many different materials: metal, glass, wood, clay, ivory, textiles, rock crystal and jade, to name but the most common. At the more basic end of the spectrum inscriptions might be rare or record no more than the place of

manufacture, the name of the craftsman responsible, and perhaps a very brief blessing or prayer for the future owner. Items at the luxury end of the scale, by contrast, could bear quite effusive texts, containing praise for the commissioner, moral maxims, profane poems and qurʾānic quotations. The last-mentioned of these would most likely be featured on objects of a religious nature (e.g. wooden Qurʾān-stands, glass mosque lamps) or those found in a religious context (e.g. the cloth covering the Kaʿba [q.v.] in Mecca, carved wooden panels in mosques), and especially on those being donated to mosques and shrines. There would seem to have been considerable diversity in the choice of verses and only very occasionally was a particular text linked to a particular object (keys to the Kaʿba were usually inscribed with Q 3:96-7, which refers to Mecca and its sanctuary; mosque lamps often bore Q 24:35, the Light Verse; bronze water-cauldrons might bear Q 9:19, which alludes to giving drink to pilgrims; see PILGRIMAGE).

Coins

The qurʾānic legends that appear on the earliest purely epigraphic coins, the gold dinars and silver dirhams struck by the Umayyad caliph ʿAbd al-Malik in the 70s/690s, served as a statement of the essence of the Islamic message and the difference between Islam and the other monotheistic religions. The dinar of 77/696-7 is a conflation of three verses to this effect: 1) "There is no god but God alone. He has no associate" on the obverse center ("associate" [*sharīk*] occurs in Q 6:163; 18:111; 25:2); 2) "Muḥammad is the messenger of God, who sent him with guidance and the religion of truth to make it prevail over all religion, even if the associators are averse" (Q 48:29; 9:33) in the margin; and 3) "God is one, the eternal God. He begot none, nor was he begotten" (Q 112) in the margin. On dirhams is added the last phrase of Q 112: "None is equal to him."

These phrases remained unchanged on coins up to the end of the Umayyad caliphate in 132/750, and they stayed in use under the ʿAbbāsids (the main reverse inscription was changed to the simpler "Muḥammad is the messenger of God"). Yet while these basic phrases tended to predominate, certainly until the breakup of the caliphate, different qurʾānic verses were used at different times as slogans. To mention but two examples here: The leaders of the ʿAbbāsid revolution, wishing to emphasize their links to the clan of the Prophet, adopted Q 42:23: "Say, for this I ask of you no recompense other than love of kin" (Bates, *Islamic coins,* 18). The Almoravids, seeking to stress their zeal for holy war, used Q 3:85: "He who chooses a religion other than Islam, it will not be accepted from him and in the world to come he will be one of the lost" (Bates, *Islamic coins,* 28). Sectarian aspects are underlined by the addition of certain non-qurʾānic phrases to the standard profession of faith. For example, on coins of the Fāṭimids in Egypt and the Ṣulayḥids in Yemen (both Shīʿī dynasties) is found "ʿAlī is the friend of God" (Lowick, Dinars, 263); and on a coin of the Fāṭimid caliph al-Muʿizz (341-65/953-75) is inscribed the longer, more emphatic expression, "ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib (q.v.) is the nominee of the Prophet and the most excellent representative and husband of the radiant chaste one" (Bates, *Islamic coins,* 31; see FAMILY OF THE PROPHET).

A wide variety of qurʾānic texts appears on coins from across the empire, used by different rulers in different circumstances and at various times. On the whole these demonstrate certain basic themes: aspects of government and God's role in its execution (see POLITICS AND THE QURʾĀN), the victorious nature of Islam, its position in

respect of unbelievers, and so on. Sometimes they will be brief snippets of generic pious import (see PIETY), such as "our sufficiency is in God" on Mongol coins of Abū Saʿīd, "the kingdom belongs to God" on coins of Ibrāhīm of Ghazna (Lane Poole, *Catalogue,* 6.219, 2.556), "might is God's" on a Fāṭimid coin of al-Muʿizz (Bates, *Islamic coins,* 31), and a host of others (see Codrington, *Musalman numismatics,* 23-30; Lane Poole, *Catalogue,* indices). At other times most or all of a verse will be used. On coins of the Naṣrid Yūsuf I in Spain and of the Mongol chief Hūlāgū, for instance, one finds Q 3:26: "Say: 'Lord, sovereign of all sovereignty, you bestow sovereignty on whom you will and take it away from whom you please; you exalt whomever you will and abase whomever you please. In your hand lies all that is good" (Lane Poole, *Catalogue,* 2.171, 6.8). The expression, "Victory comes only from God, the mighty, the wise" (Q 3:126), was popular and appears, for example, on the obverse of coins of the Mamlūk ruler Nāṣir Muḥammad, and on the reverse in a form adjusted to suit the sovereign: "There is no victory except with the Sultan al-Malik al-Nāṣir…" (Lane Poole, *Catalogue,* 4.499). Reference to the Qurʾān being "the words of God (see WORD OF GOD)" occurs on medieval North African gold coins from Fās (Lane-Poole, *Catalogue,* 5.211). And in a message against the unbelievers we find most of Q 48:29 cited on a Mongol coin of Uljaitū: "Muḥammad is the messenger of God. Those who are with him are hard on the unbelievers but merciful to one another. You see them adoring on their knees, seeking the grace of God and his good will. Their marks are on their faces, the traces of their prostration" (Lane Poole, *Catalogue,* 6.129; see BOWING AND PROSTRATION). A notable exception to this practice of using qurʾānic phrases is encountered on the coinage of the Ottoman sultans who, with the exception of a few examples inscribed with the standard profession of faith, favored ostentatious formulae highlighting their greatness and the perpetuation of their reign (Lane-Poole, *Catalogue,* 8.xlii, 427-8).

Seals and amulets

In private and public collections are found many thousands of Islamic seals and amulets from the early Islamic period up to the present day. These are made from a variety of stones or metals (see METALS AND MINERALS). This section discusses, first, early Islamic seals inscribed with qurʾānic verses or other pious phrases and, second, amulets that use qurʾānic phrases or make allusion in other ways to God and the Qurʾān. The terms amulet and talisman are often used interchangeably; in Arabic there is no single word, but a variety (*ḥirz, ṭilasm, ḥijāb,* etc.). The preferred term in the present context is "amulet," defined as an object "often worn on or close to the human body, and used for protective purposes" (Ruska and Carra de Vaux, Tilsam; see also Maddison and Savage-Smith, *Science,* 133, where amulets are additionally defined as "made out of lasting materials… apparently made to function over a long period"). Seals and amulets have certain basic differences: The seal is engraved in reverse and made with the intention of stamping onto something, such as a document, to validate it, whereas the amulet is generally engraved in positive and made for a variety of purposes: to bring good luck, to protect from the evil eye, and so on. As will be discussed, however, they both draw upon the same body of pious expressions of Islamic belief for the tone and content of their inscriptions.

The phenomenon of using pious phrases for sealing has its roots in the pre-Islamic tradition. There are close parallels with Sasanian seals which appeal to deities for

protection. As has been argued, not only was the presence of the religious text an expression of a person's direct link with God, but it also provided a mark of authenticity for the object being sealed (Kalus and Gignoux, Les formules, 138). Where specific phrases from the Qurʾān are used on early Islamic seals, these generally consist of just a few words, sometimes supplemented by non-qurʾānic phrases. Particularly popular is the phrase "God is sufficient for me" from Q 9:129 and 39:38, which also appears on early Islamic coins and glass stamps (Walker, *Arab-Sasanian,* 102; Morton, *Glass stamps,* 156). Other popular phrases include "as God wills" (sometimes compounded with "there is no power except in God" from Q 18:39 and "I ask forgiveness of God"), "the kingdom belongs to God" from Q 40:16 (also as "glory" and "glory belongs to God" from Q 4:139 and elsewhere) and the standard profession of faith (Kalus, *Ashmolean,* I.1.1.1; see WITNESS TO FAITH). Longer qurʾānic phrases also feature, such as Q 9:127 (Kalus, *Bibliotheque Nationale,* I.1.1.22) and Q 112 (Kalus, *Ashmolean,* I.1.1.4). A commonly recurring theme is the inevitability of death: "Obey your Lord before that day arrives which none can defer against the will of God. For on that day there shall be no refuge for you, nor shall you be able to deny your sins" from Q 42:47 (Naqshabandi and Horri, *Iraq,* no. 61). A seal in the British Museum (Porter, *Catalogue,* Marsden collection 4) includes a mention of its owner having learned the *sabʿ al-mathānī,* thought to refer to the whole of the Qurʾān or to the seven verses of the first sūra (see FĀTIḤA).

Chroniclers and historians (see HISTORY AND THE QURʾĀN), in particular al-Masʿūdī (d. 345/956), Ibn al-ʿArabī (d. 638/1240) and al-Qalqashandī (d. 821/1418), document the use by the caliphs of the phrases, qurʾānic or otherwise, that they affixed on their seals in place of a signature (collected in Gignoux and Kalus, Les formules). The authors do not always agree, however, on which phrases were used by which caliphs. For example, al-Masʿūdī relates that the seal of Muʿāwiya b. Yazīd (64/683-84) was engraved with "In God is the trust of Muʿāwiya" (*Tanbīh,* 307), while according to al-Qalqashandī his seal bore "This world is a deception" (*al-dunyā ghurūr, Ṣubḥ,* vi, 354), an abbreviated form of Q 3:185 and 57:20. The pious phrases used on these caliphal seals correspond to those inscribed on documents, such as "Praise be to God, lord of creation" from Q 1:2, used by the Fāṭimid caliphs, and "The sovereignty belongs to God," used by their viziers. These phrases, both on documents and seals, served the same function as a modern signature, identifying and authenticating the author, and are known as an *ʿalāma* or motto (Stern, *Fatimid decrees,* 127-8).

The nature of these phrases, however, with their expressions of belief or trust in God, lends an added dimension which goes beyond the simple act of validation, especially in the case of seals which personalize the inscription, emphasizing that the owner "believes in God" (Kalus, *Bibliotheque Nationale,* 17). Hence the seal, because of both the words it bears and the stone types from which it is made, which are themselves believed to have protective powers and other beneficent properties, overlaps in function with the amulet. This is most clearly illustrated by the following observation of the ninth-century Muslim scholar al-Jāḥiẓ (d. 255/868): "When a believer takes off his signet ring to affix his seal upon some piece of business and the seal has on it 'God is sufficient for me' or 'I trust in God,' then he surely suspects that he has left the shelter of God, mighty is his name, until he returns the signet to its place" (al-Jāḥiẓ, *Book of Misers,* 42).

Another instance of this amuletic aspect

of Islamic seals is offered in a sardonyx seal of the Ḥimyarite period (ca. third-sixth century C.E.) in the British Museum (Walker, South Arabian gem). It was originally engraved with the name Nadīm in south Arabian script (see ARABIC SCRIPT) and an eagle grasping the tail of a serpent, then re-engraved probably in the eighth century with the qurʾānic verse Q 3:191: "Give us salvation from the punishment of the fire (q.v.)," the first word having been amended to "give me" in order to personalize the phrase. The seal may also have been believed by its Arab owner to have amuletic properties on account of the south Arabian script engraved upon it, which was regarded as one of a series of Kabbalistic alphabets by Ibn Waḥshiyya (fl. fourth/tenth cent, although concrete proof of his existence has yet to be found; Porter, Magical, 140). This seems to be corroborated by a seal inscribed in Arabic with the words "We have repented to God" set into a Carolingian cross brooch found in Ireland (Porter and Ager, Carolingian, 212-3), where again it is presumably the script that is chiefly responsible for the amuletic value of the seal.

The overlapping function of seal and amulet has its roots in the ancient Near Eastern tradition: "Early stamp seals probably derived from amulets and it is likely that seals, whether stamps or cylinders, never lost their amuletic meaning and were always invested with magical powers in the eyes of their owners" (Finkel, Magic, 7). In the Islamic world amulets are most commonly inscribed in positive, to be read straight off, though they can also be rendered in negative, like seals. In this case their power does not become active "until the inscription has been stamped onto a surface where it can be read in the correct sequence" (Maddison and Savage-Smith, *Science,* 133). On amulets there will also often be imprinted a symbol or motif, such as a zodiacal figure, drawn from a vast number of possibilities.

The use of a verse from the Qurʾān on amulets is seen as a powerful tool in magic (Hamès, Le Coran, 129-60), for "it is a guide and a healing to those who believe" (Q 41:44). Moreover, the Qurʾān as a whole was believed to be a source of protection, and the number of extant miniature Qurʾāns indicates that they were frequently carried for this purpose (Canaan, Decipherment, 72; Kalus, *Bibliotheque Nationale,* 71; Donaldson, Koran, 254-66). On amulets complete qurʾānic verses may be inscribed or just short extracts therefrom, such as appear on the early seals discussed above. By far the most popular verses for amulets are the Throne Verse (Q 2:255) and the short chapters at the end of the Qurʾān, especially Q 112 (Canaan, Decipherment, 71-6). These two were often combined with other popular verses (Kalus, *Bibliotheque Nationale,* III.1.1.8: Q 2:255 and 13:13). One example blends Q 112, 12:64 and 61:13 ("help from God and a speedy victory"), the last a common feature of talismanic shirts probably worn in battle (Porter, *Catalogue,* OA+1334; Maddison and Savage-Smith, *Science,* 118). The names of the seven sleepers of Ephesus (see MEN OF THE CAVE), whose story is told in Q 18:1-25, also appear on amulets (Reinaud, *Monumens,* ii, no. 25) as do "the most beautiful names of God" (drawn from or inspired by the Qurʾān), sometimes inscribed in their entirety (99) in tiny script (Kalus, *Bibliotheque Nationale,* III.1.4) or with just one or two added to qurʾānic quotations. The most frequently recurring "names" on amulets are "pardoner" and "preserver," the latter said by Redhouse (Names, no. 85) to be "often employed as a written preservative, spell or charm, on houses etc. against danger of every kind."

Such is the prevalence and multi-purpose nature of verses such as Q 2:255, the

Throne Verse, that only a very general impression of their function and significance on amulets now long separated from their owner can be garnered. Some verses, however, are more specific. For example, there are six, all containing words from the root "to cure," traditionally believed to be very efficacious against illness (Canaan, Decipherment, 75). Two of these verses — Q 10:57: "and a healing for the diseases of your hearts" and Q 16:69: "from its [the bee's] belly comes forth a fluid of many hues, a medicinal drink for mankind" — are engraved in reverse on an amulet in the British Museum (Porter, Magical, 144). Alongside the verses on this particular amulet are magical squares, known as *wafq* or *budūḥ*. This is a 3 x 3 square consisting of letters or their number equivalents, which is so named because in each corner are the letters which make up the artificial word *budūḥ* (Macdonald, Budūḥ; Maddison and Savage-Smith, *Science,* 106-7, and its bibliography for magical squares) and which was deemed to have a favorable influence on childbirth, stomach complaints, the expediting of letters and so on. Sometimes included are the "mysterious letters of the Qurʾān" (Schuster, Magische Quadrate, 20 fig. 2; see LETTERS AND MYSTERIOUS LETTERS), which appear singly or in groups at the beginning of twenty-nine sūras of the Qurʾān and which are widely used on amulets. The widespread use of these letters on amulets results from the belief that "they represent the heavenly language used by the Almighty from whom they derive their natural power… or that they are the names of the Almighty himself" (Canaan, Decipherment, 94).

Strong qurʾānic associations are also present in a group of esoteric symbols with an essentially protective function which as with the magic squares, frequently appear on amulets, bowls, mirrors, manuscripts and other media and are known as "the seven magical signs." They include the five- or six-pointed star called "Solomon's seal" (see SOLOMON), though sometimes the whole group of symbols are referred to as Solomon's seal. Al-Būnī (d. 622/1225), one of the most important Muslim writers on occult sciences, argued that the signs stood for the seven letters omitted from the first sūra of the Qurʾān and that "every letter contains one of the names of God" (Būnī, *Shams,* 93). It was also believed that the combination of signs stood for the greatest name of all (Anawati, Le nom supreme, 26-7). Al-Būnī's text, which principally contains prescriptions for a wide variety of conditions and ailments, includes magical squares, the "seven magical signs," "the most beautiful names of God," as well as the exhortation to recite qurʾānic verses, in particular the Throne Verse (see further Fodor, Notes, 269-71).

The Qurʾān hints at the existence of amulets made from perishable materials rather than stone: "If we sent down to you a writing inscribed on real parchment and the unbelievers touched it with their own hands, they would still say 'this is nothing but plain magic' " (Q 6:7). Still, in Islam pieces of papyrus or paper inscribed with qurʾānic verses, again particularly Q 2:255 and 112:1-4, did serve as amulets (Bilabel and Grohmann, *Texte,* 416; Fodor, Notes, 272). Early block-printed amulets on paper (ca. tenth-eleventh century C.E.) called *ṭarsh,* of which about fifty are known, have been found in Egypt (Kubiak and Scanlon, *Fustat,* 69; two are on parchment, see Schaeffer, Schneide tarsh, 408). After being stamped with qurʾānic verses, names of God and other texts deemed powerful, they are rolled up inside amulet holders ready to be worn about the person. In the case of the Schneide *ṭarsh* there are at least seven separate qurʾānic passages as well as invocations to jinn (q.v.) and angels

(Schaeffer, Schneide tarsh, 416). The stamps, which do not appear to have survived, are thought to have been made in the following way: the text was engraved onto a flattened, moist clay tablet and, after this tablet dried, either molten tin was poured onto the tablet or a thin sheet of malleable tin was pounded into it so that the grooves of the letters appeared on the metal (Bulliet, Tarsh, 435). Modern paper amulets, too, have qurʾānic verses as well as magic squares and other symbols (Fodor, Notes, 273).

In conclusion one might draw attention to an interesting group of amulets bearing qurʾānic texts that are made of strips of lead about six to ten cm (two to four inches) long. Found in Andalusia and dating to the early medieval period, they have inscriptions in angular script. One clear example has the whole of Q 112 (Ibrahim, Evidencia, 708-9). Some show evidence of having been rolled. The fashioning of lead amulets in strips which are in some cases used for exorcism, is an extension of an ancient Near Eastern tradition, examples being known from Mandaic, Hebrew and Greek contexts.

Epigraphy without the Qurʾān

Though the Qurʾān features in a fair proportion of Muslim inscriptions, it is by no means ubiquitous. Carving texts onto hard surfaces requires time and care, especially if it is to be clear, well-formed and even esthetically pleasing. In all cases, save simple graffiti, the services of a professional engraver would generally be called upon, but this could prove expensive, and so there would be reason to minimize the length of the text. A long qurʾānic citation in a well-executed inscription is, therefore, a sure indication of wealth or influence or fame. A study of cemeteries in a region of southern Syria provides some confirmation of this. Tombstones in the luxury material of marble are invariably inscribed, in fine style, with one or more qurʾānic verses. These would only rarely, however, grace tombstones in the cheap local stone of basalt, which would usually bear, in rough letters, just the *basmala* ("in the name of God"), the name of the deceased, and sometimes, though not always, a date (Ory, *Hawran,* 15-6).

Even when the author/commissioner could afford an extensive text, he might feel a qurʾānic quotation unnecessary. The Umayyad caliph al-Walīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik constructed many wondrous monuments bedecked with Qurʾān-laden inscriptions, but on his desert lodge in east Jordan, a place he frequented when heir apparent, he simply recorded that "he built these residences in the year 81" (Combe et al., *Répertoire chronologique,* no. 12). And the foundation inscriptions of roadside hostels, intended for housing and feeding travelers, were rarely deemed worthy of a qurʾānic citation (none in Sauvaget, Caravanserails; Mayer, Satura, mentions one in Palestine that cites Q 25:11). Water installations (drinking fountains, cisterns, etc.), on the other hand, were very often furnished with a qurʾānic text, probably because water (q.v.) was seen as a gift from God and described as such in the Qurʾān on a number of occasions.

Otherwise, a qurʾānic verse might be considered inappropriate to the context. The most blatant example is gold or silver drinking vessels (see CUPS AND VESSELS), the use of which was condemned by the prophet Muḥammad and for which poetry was felt to be a more suitable adornment. Thus a gold bowl belonging to a hoard discovered at Nihāwand and part of a wine service is embellished with some lines of the fourth/tenth-century Iraqi poet Ibn al-Tammār: "Wine is a sun in a garment of red Chinese silk. It flows, its source is the flask. Drink, then, in the pleasance of time,

since our day is a day of delight which has brought dew" (Ward, *Metalwork,* no. 38). In poetic graffiti dedicated to the themes of being away from home and a victim of fate, a qurʾānic quotation would have been an anomaly; or at least that is what we are led to believe by a tenth-century collector, whose texts include the following lines: "The calamities of time (q.v.) have driven me from place to place, and shot me with arrows that never miss. They have separated me from those that I love, ah woe to my love-smitten and infatuated heart. Alas for the happy time that has passed as if it were a dream" (Iṣfahānī, *Strangers,* no. 8).

It would also appear that the use of the Qurʾān in inscriptions varied in popularity according to dynasty, region, era, and so on. The Mamlūks of Egypt and a number of other dynasties were very fond of honorific titles and these were often so numerous as to crowd out qurʾānic verses in the inscriptions of themselves and their agents. Iran saw itself not only as a Muslim country, but as a land possessing its own national culture. The Qurʾān therefore had to jostle for position with indigenous poetry, especially extracts from the Persian national epic, the *Shāhnāme*. Thus Kāshān in central Iran churned out ceramic tiles both with qurʾānic legends and with such lines as "Last night the moon came to your house. Filled with envy I thought of chasing him away. Who is the moon to sit in the same place as you?" (Porter, *Tiles,* no. 34). In Ottoman times there seems to have been a move away from the Qurʾān altogether, its verses disappearing from the coinage and building inscriptions and many epitaphs favoring poems composed specially for the occasion (though sometimes with qurʾānic allusions and snippets). The following is an unpublished example from the citadel of Maṣyāf in Syria: "This place derives its glory from its inhabitants, and the truth resides in total fidelity. A man created this blessed place who is called Muṣṭafā [i.e. the founder]. He hopes from the generous God pardon before the chosen Prophet, and for kindness out of God's beneficence, for protection and a just victory: and [he hopes too for] a good end of all things, by his grace, on the day of resurrection. The palace of Kisrā has vanished, and this gift of his [i.e. of the founder] must suffice (1268/1852)." Many conclude with a relevant phrase, which provides the date when the numerical values of its letters are added up (a chronogram). Thus on one of the walls of Qayrawān there is inscribed a poem which begins with "This rampart announces to us the days of felicity," and ends with "Its date is 'thanks to the seigneur felicity has come' [i.e. 1123/1712]" (Roy and Poinssot, *Kairouan,* no. 44).

Moreover, in addition to poetry, the Qurʾān had to compete with an amorphous body of oral material. Most important were prayers of supplication *(duʿā,* pl. *adʿiyya)*. For example, a graffito dated 64/683 found near Karbalā in Iraq opens with one of the prayers said at the Festival of the ʿĪd (compare Sanduq, Hafnat, with Nawawī, *Adhkār,* 156; see FESTIVALS AND COMMEMORATIVE DAYS). Numerous epitaphs repeat the prayer to be spared the punishment in the grave (compare Hawary-Rached, *Steles,* no. 4, with Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* iv, 199). The graffito of an Umayyad official contains the prayer to be reunited with someone in the hereafter (compare Musil, Arabia Petraea, no. 1, with Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh,* ii, 353, uttered by Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī before his death in 61/680). Otherwise there are found pious sayings, such as "Any friend who is not [a friend] in God, then his friendship is aberrant, lifeless, empty, and his attachment ephemeral" (Sharon, Rehovoth, no. 1), and "in God is a consolation for every disaster and a compensation for every loss" (Hawary-Rached, *Steles,* no. 29). An additional category is

wise maxims, such as that engraved on a bowl of the Ghaznawids beginning with "Keep your tongue by saying little, verily calamity is linked with discourse." And also popular sayings of Muḥammad, such as "The Prophet, may God bless him and give him peace, said that whoever builds a mosque, though it be only like the hollow of a sand grouse, God will build for him a house in paradise" (Da-sheng and Kalus, *Chine,* no. 10, on a mosque in Quan-Zhou).

Finally, one should note that, though the vast majority of Muslim inscriptions draw from a common pool of source texts and from a shared stock of expressions and phrases, one encounters texts that break out of this mould. In such cases the author/commissioner decides to drop the public façade so as to speak in a more personal vein, using his own words. A good example is the following: "This is the grave of the slave girl of Mūsā b. Yaʿqūb b. al-Maʾmūn, surnamed Umm Muḥammad. She died leaving behind twenty children and grandchildren. All of them and she herself were afraid of her death in a distant foreign land, anxious about it. And indeed she died while on her way to Jerusalem, in this place, and none of them was present with her except some stranger" (Elad, Epitaph; cf. Sharon, *Corpus inscriptionum,* ʿAqabah 4). See also ARCHAEOLOGY AND THE QURĀN.

Robert Hoyland with
contributions from Venetia Porter
(Coins; Seals and amulets)

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Error

Departure from truth or accuracy. The qurʾānic terms for error derive from the Arabic verb for "to err, go astray (q.v.), deviate from the right course" *(ḍalla)* and are attested at least sixty times in the Qurʾān. In qurʾānic usage the semantic field of *ḍalla* ranges from accidental mistakes to conscious transgressions in the realms of rightful belief and conduct (see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF; SIN, MAJOR AND MINOR). It is not clear, however, whether the concepts of deviance and mistake conveyed by this term are always regarded as something culpable or whether they could be considered, at times, excusable. The majority of instances in which *ḍalla, ḍalāl* and *ḍalāla* occur concern the relation between believers/unbelievers and God; in only a few cases are these words employed with regard to human relations (see SOCIAL INTERACTIONS; SOCIAL RELATIONS). Occasionally, the Qurʾān uses words derived from the verb "to be misguided or led astray, seduced" *(ghawā)* to express notions of error.

The connection between unbelief *(kufr)* and error *(ḍalāl)* is clear from Q 4:136 where it is stated that one who disbelieves in God, his angels (see ANGEL), his books (see BOOK), and his messengers (see MESSENGER; PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD) as well as in the last day (see LAST JUDGMENT) has wandered "far astray [i.e. is in serious error, *ḍalāl baʿd*]." In Q 3:164, error denotes the state of pagan unbelievers before God "sent to [the believers] a messenger from among themselves…," while, in Q 4:44, error is a condition that those who have been given "a portion of the book" deliberately "purchase." Use of transactive verbs such as "to buy" *(ishtarā)* or "to exchange" *(tabaddala)* in connection with ideas of error or erring occurs elsewhere in the Qurʾān. Mention is made in Q 2:16 and Q 2:175 of those "who buy or trade error for guidance" *(ashtarawū l-ḍalāla bi-l-hudā)* and in Q 2:108 of those "who exchange disbelief for belief" *(man yatabaddali l-kufra bi-l-īmān)*. Understanding *shirk* (i.e. associating partners with God; see POLYTHEISM AND ATHEISM) as a form of *ḍalāl* is evident in Q 4:116, 13:14, 36:23-4 and 46:5. The prophet Abraham (q.v.) uses terms for error to describe his father's and forefathers' practice of worshipping images (*tamāthīl,* Q 21:54 and 26:86; see IDOLS AND IMAGES). On the other hand, in Q 54:24, the tribe of Thamūd (q.v.) — after rejecting God's messengers — declares that "we would indeed be in error *(ḍalāl)*…" in following "a mortal, one of us." Attribution of one's mistakes to error occurs at Q 26:20 where Moses (q.v.) says that he had been among the erring *(mina l-ḍāllīna)* when he had committed a certain unnamed act. The effect of this wording is to underscore the unintentionality of a grave action of his. Error is theologically associated with blindness (Q 27:81; 30:53), blinding darkness (q.v.; Q 2:17), blindness and deafness (Q 43:40), and a hardened heart (q.v.; Q 39:22). See HEARING AND DEAFNESS; SEEING AND HEARING; THEOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN.

Excess as a form of error is invoked in Q 12:8 and 12:95 where the word *ḍalāl* is twice used by Joseph's (Yūsuf) brothers to describe what they consider to be their father Jacob's (Yaʿqūb, see JACOB) excessive fondness for Joseph (q.v.) and once by the "women in the city" who perceive Zulaykha as being in "manifest error" *(ḍalāl mubīn)* as a consequence of her intense passion for Joseph (Q 12:30). Likewise, in Q 7:146, excessive pride (q.v.; *yatakabbarūna fī l-arḍ bi-ghayri l-ḥaqq*) causes a rejection of

divine signs (q.v.) which in turn leads to being on a "path of error." Finally, it should be said that error *(ḍalāl)* and guidance *(hudā)* are quite often paired in the Qurʾān, letting this couplet serve as a rhetorical device to impress upon listeners the significance of the choice they are called to make between the two as they are summoned to faith (q.v.).

Ruqayya Khan

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Lisān al-ʿArab; Paret, *Kommentar;* al-Rāghib al-Iṣfahānī, *Mufradāt.*

Eschatology

Doctrine about the final things to come at the end of time. Two of the earliest and most important messages given to the prophet Muḥammad (q.v.), prominent in the Meccan revelations (see CHRONOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN), were about the oneness of God and the accountability of human beings at the last day (*yawm al-qiyāma,* lit. the day of resurrection; see GOD AND HIS ATTRIBUTES; LAST JUDGMENT; RESURRECTION). These two message were so integrally linked that the Qurʾān in many places suggests that faith in God *is* faith in the *yawm al-qiyāma,* the time when all will be resurrected and held accountable. The recognition of God's unity or oneness, *tawḥīd,* also necessitates a response of moral and ethical uprightness (see ETHICS AND THE QURʾĀN), and it is on the basis of one's comportment in life that judgment (q.v.) is rendered and final reward or punishment is accorded (see REWARD AND PUNISHMENT). It is no coincidence that those who have earned a place in the gardens (see GARDEN) of paradise (q.v.) are often referred to as the people who affirm God's oneness *(ahl al-tawḥīd).*

The Qurʾān is very clear, in its articulation of eschatological realities, that the theme of ethical and human accountability in this world is paramount. There is, in other words, a direct relationship between the present world *(al-dunyā)* and the life to come *(al-ākhira).* While God has foreknowledge of every deed, it is people's freely chosen deeds in this world that determine their fate (q.v.) in the next (see EVIL DEEDS; GOOD DEEDS; FREEDOM AND PREDESTINATION). Q 7:172 insists that God has created humanity with the knowledge of his lordship (see LORD), making it inexcusable in the end not to have known the truth (q.v.). As *al-dunyā* and *al-ākhira* are linked by ethical responsibility (q.v.), the one the realm of action and the other the realm of recompense for that action, they are also clearly distinguished. The earthly realm is the place of vanity and false pleasures, as the Qurʾān affirms in many places, while the hereafter is the abode of permanence and true life (q.v.). "For what is the life of this world but play and amusement? Best is the home in the hereafter for those who are righteous" (Q 6:32). For most Qurʾān commentators the distinction between the pleasures of this world and the next is not that the former are physical and the latter are spiritual, but rather that the former lead to pain and suffering (q.v.) and the latter do not, the former are subject to change and the latter are constant, the former are temporary and the latter are eternal.

The message that human bodies will be resurrected and brought to judgment fell on unbelieving ears as Muḥammad tried to persuade his fellow Meccans of its reality and urgency (see OPPOSITION TO MUḤAMMAD). They scoffed at the possibility of life being breathed into dead bones (Q 17:98-9; see DEATH AND THE DEAD), much as they scoffed at the reality of only one deity. It is apparent from the verses of the Qurʾān, however, that the Prophet was talking

about a very different concept from the one life/one death belief prevailing in the Arabia of his day (see PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QUR'ĀN). Many of the verses (q.v.) of the Qur'ān insist that all of life is a constant process of creation (q.v.) and recreation. Therefore as God brings life out of death at every moment, he can do it, albeit in a more dramatic way, at the day of resurrection. "Who will bring life to these bones when they have rotted away? Say: 'He will revive them who brought them into being'" (Q 36:78-9). "He brings out the living from the dead, and brings out the dead from the living, and he gives life to the earth (q.v.) after it is dead. And thus you shall be brought out [from the dead]" (Q 30:19).

Human life and death

The Qur'ān leaves no doubt that the individual life span from birth to death is understood as part of the overall structure of God's creation of the world and the events to come on the final day. Creation (q.v.) is both the bringing into being of the world and humankind as a generic whole, and the creation of every individual in the womb of his or her mother (see BIOLOGY AS THE CREATION AND STAGES OF LIFE). Individual time is set within the context of collective time (see COSMOLOGY). The Qur'ān affirms the idea that each human span is for a fixed term *(ajal)* both for individuals (Q 6:2; 7:34; 16:61; 20:129) and for nations (Q 10:49; 15:4-5). As God ascertains the life spans of persons and of communities, in his hands lies the fate (q.v.) of all that he has brought into being. Two Qur'ān references also state that God causes humans to die twice and to live twice (Q 2:28; 40:11). Commentators have suggested a number of possibilities for the meanings of those two lives and deaths; the most common interpretation is that they refer to death before life in this world (i.e. before we are first born we are in fact dead), life given to us at the time of our birth (q.v.) in this world (q.v.), a second death which is the termination of life on earth, and rebirth or second birth at the day of resurrection.

Although Islamic tradition has greatly expanded the descriptions of the process of death, the Qur'ān itself contains little mention of these matters. Q 56:83 describes the soul (q.v.) of the dying person coming up to the throat, and in Q 6:93 death is portrayed as a kind of flooding-in process *(ghamarāt al-mawt)* at which time angels (see ANGEL) stretch forth their hands and ask that the souls be given over to them. The question of the condition of persons in the grave before the coming of the resurrection has also been the subject of much speculation but little qur'ānic clarification. One of the only clues in the Qur'ān as to whether or not the dead have any degree of consciousness is the indication in Q 35:22 that the living and the dead are not alike, and that while God can accord hearing to whomever he wills, the living cannot make those in the graves hear them (see HEARING AND DEAFNESS).

Certain individuals, such as those martyred in the cause of Islam (see MARTYR; PATH OR WAY), are noted as living (Q 2:154; 3:169) and it is said that they will rejoice in God's bounty and blessing (q.v.; Q 22:58-9; 3:170-1). It also seems that some persons are already in the fire (q.v.; Q 40:46-9; 71:25), although it is not certain whether such references are to past, present or future punishment (see TIME). The qur'ānic scripture provides only brief and oblique references to what has been later referred to as the punishment of the grave, although the subject has been greatly elaborated in traditional eschatological manuals. Two verses speak of angels smiting the faces and backs of those who reject God's word *(kuffār)* upon taking their souls at

death as a warning of the punishment of the fire (Q 8:50; cf. 46:27). (See also BELIEF AND UNBELIEF.)

From the evidence of the Qurʾān, then, it is difficult to say much with certainty about the period between death and resurrection. Matters become clearer in the descriptions of the events associated with the final day, although this is not to suggest that they are spelled out in chronological or systematic sequence in the Qurʾān. Some 56 Meccan and eleven Medinan sūras deal in some way with resurrection and judgment. All of the events, from the signs (q.v.) of the coming of the hour to the final assessment and determination, support two basic themes central to Islamic eschatology. The first is that bodies will be resurrected and joined with spirits in the reunion of whole and responsible individuals. The second is that there will be a final judgment of the deeds and actions of every individual while on earth (q.v.), and that the assessment will be in God's hands and through God's absolute justice (see JUSTICE AND INJUSTICE). The following elements, referred to in various places throughout the Qurʾān, make up the events that constitute the end of earthly time and the transition to eternity (q.v.; see also DEATH AND THE DEAD).

Signs/conditions of the hour (ashrāṭ al-sāʿa)

The narrative of the events to occur on the final day is graphically and dramatically sketched in the Qurʾān. This is a day when specific signs will be given indicating the reversal of the natural order and a disintegration of the structure of the natural universe (see NATURAL WORLD AND THE QURʾĀN). The story begins, in effect, with the startling descriptions of what are known as the signs of the hour, the cataclysmic events that will occur just preceding the actual resurrection *(baʿth)* and judgment (see APOCALYPSE). In seven different places the Qurʾān talks about the splitting of the heavens (see HEAVEN AND SKY) and, in two, the rolling up of heaven, indicating that the resurrection of the dead and the last judgment are about to occur. Sometimes in the descriptions of the cataclysmic events is included a vivid picture of eight angels carrying above them the throne of God (q.v.; Q 69:17). The Qurʾān uses many different terms for the day of resurrection, including "the sure reality," "the doom," "the reunion," "the gathering," "the resuscitation," "the day of meeting," "the day of judgment," "the day of sorting out" and some others. Of these many names, the single appellation suggested in Q 11:84 — "the all-encompassing day" *(yawm al-muḥīṭ)* — is one of the most telling. God brings all humanity back to life, i.e. back to himself, in the resurrection of bodies, the in-gathering and infusing of new life as the first step in the process of calling human beings to an accounting of their earthly deeds.

There is no indication in the Qurʾān when the last day will arrive, and it is apparent that such knowledge belongs only to God. "People ask you about the hour. Say: Truly such knowledge is with God… Perhaps the hour is near" (Q 33:63). Commentators have interpreted this to mean that the signs of the hour will appear with no warning and that they will signal a dramatic interruption, indeed, cessation, of the normal activities of life and the world. The Qurʾān is most graphic in describing the cataclysmic events upsetting the rhythms of the natural world. "When the sun (q.v.) is folded up, when the stars are thrown down, when the mountains are set moving… when the seas are made to boil, when the souls are reunited… when the scrolls are unrolled, when heavens are torn away, when hell (q.v.) is set ablaze, when the garden (q.v.) is brought near…

[then] shall a soul know what it has produced" (Q 81:1-4). This startling picture represents a reverse process of creation. The heavens, understood as seven layers, are stripped away, rolled up and destroyed. The stars, lamps set in the lowest part of the heavens, fall and are extinguished, and the sun and moon (q.v.) are covered. The earth itself shakes and rocks until it is finally split apart and ground to dust, its mountains first put in motion and then leveled. Even the seas mix together in a kind of primordial chaos.

The traditional eschatological manuals go on to describe a series of events which have only scant mention, or sometimes none at all, in the Qurʾān. One is the appearance of the beast of the earth, cited in Q 27:82: "And when the word is fulfilled against them, we shall bring forth to them a beast of the earth to speak to them. For humanity does not have faith in our signs (q.v.)." Tradition names the beast Dajjāl, and sometimes suggests that it will be defeated by Jesus (ʿĪsā). Jesus (q.v.) in this capacity is not specifically mentioned in the Qurʾān. In the traditions, however, he is often interpreted as assuming the role of the divinely guided one *(mahdī)* who will kill the Dajjāl (see ANTICHRIST), and do various other things prior to the actual coming of the hour. Others see Jesus and the *mahdī* as two distinct figures. The Qurʾān provides no clarification of this issue.

The trumpet, the resurrection (qiyāma) *and the gathering* (ḥashr)

The terrifying blast of the trumpet which will signal the actual moment of the resurrection is mentioned several times in the Qurʾān, referred to either as *al-ṣūr* or *al-nāqūr*. The qurʾānic imagery is stunning in these descriptions, as illustrated in Q 69:13-6: "When the trumpet is blown with a single blast, and the earth and the mountains are lifted up and crushed with a single blow, then, on that day, the happening will occur, and heaven will be split, for on that day it will be very frail…." The first sounding of the trumpet is followed by a second, which signals the dramatic final cataclysm in which all earthly affairs cease and everything animate and inanimate ceases to exist save God. Again the Qurʾān does not order these events as such but the impetus for developing this theme of absolute cessation *(fanāʾ)* comes from such verses as Q 28:88 and 55:26-7, which say that everything will perish except the countenance of God (see FACE OF GOD). Because of the repeated qurʾānic assurance that every soul will taste death, the commentators have assumed that there must be a point at which all creatures are annihilated before being brought back to life in the resurrection of bodies joined once again with souls. In order for God's oneness to be manifested, there must be death; in order for God's justice and mercy (q.v.) to be demonstrated, there must be life again, a re-investing of souls and bodies previously rendered lifeless with the living breath of God.

The Qurʾān spares little in describing the day of judgment as one during which even the most pious will be afraid (see FEAR; PIETY). The whole resurrection process culminates in what is often called the terror of the gathering *(ḥashr)*, when reunited souls and bodies assemble to await the judgment. The Qurʾān alludes to this terror in such verses as Q 21:103 and 37:20 f. and traditions supply the particulars. Some say that the waiting will last 50,000 years based on Q 70:4 ("The angels and the spirit [q.v.] ascend to him in a day whose measure is fifty thousand years") while others interpret it as only a thousand (see NUMBERS AND ENUMERATION). After all the waiting and torment, greatly elaborated in the

traditions, comes the act interpreted by many to signal the moment of the judgment itself. Q 68:42 talks about "… the day when the thigh is exposed and they are called to fall down in prostration, but are not able to" (see BOWING AND PROSTRATION). Some commentators have interpreted this uncovering to mean that God himself exposes his leg as the signal for the beginning of the judgment process while others have seen it as a metaphor (q.v.) for the seriousness of the moment. Eschatological manuals have taken the various Qurʾān verses specific to that judgment and tried to put them into sequential order. Again it should be noted that such an order is absent in the Qurʾān itself.

The reckoning (al-ḥisāb)

That a time of reckoning will come is a constant theme in the Qurʾān. No doubt is left that each individual alone will be responsible for his or her past decisions and deeds, the sum of which is in some fashion recorded and presented as one's own "book" (q.v.): "Truly we give life to the dead, and we record what they send before, and their traces. And everything is kept in a clear register" (Q 36:12; see RECORD OF HUMAN ACTIONS). As is attested in Q 17:13, this completed book is fastened onto the neck of the deceased when the spirit departs his or her body at death. No passage, perhaps, is more explicit than Q 69:19-31: "As for the one who is given his book in his right hand, he will say, 'Take and read my book. I knew that I would be called to account.' And he will be in a blissful condition… But as for him who is given his book in his left hand, he will say, 'Would that my book had not been given to me and that I did not know my reckoning!'…. [And it will be said:] Seize him and bind him and expose him to the burning fire…."

The particular elements that make up the occasion of the reckoning have sometimes been categorized as the "modalities of judgment." Although most of these modalities are based on references from scripture, the Qurʾān contains no ordering or even grouping of them, and credal affirmation of them implies only that they are real (see CREEDS). The Qurʾān, for example, refers a number of times to the balance *(mīzān),* one of the most important eschatological realities. In general, the balance refers to the expression of God's justice in this world. In the plural *(mawāzīn)* it has the clear eschatological reference of the scales by which deeds are weighed on the day of resurrection: "As for the one whose scales are heavy [with good works] he will live a pleasant life. But as for the one whose scales are light… [his fate will be] raging fire" (Q 101:6-11; see WEIGHTS AND MEASURES). Thus the balance is also the coordination of justice in this world with the measuring of human responsibility justly in the next. There is no hope of protest on the part of one who would wish for mitigating circumstances by which judgment should be postponed or lightened. Judgment is final and the direct consequence of one's deeds. Even one's own limbs will testify to the accuracy of the judgment rendered: "On that day we will seal their mouths, and their hands will speak to us and their feet will bear witness to what they have acquired" (Q 36:65; see WITNESSING AND TESTIFYING).

The Qurʾān has little more to say about the judgment process itself. The saved and the doomed are distinguished beyond any doubt (see SALVATION), and all that remains is their consignment to the garden and the fire, so graphically detailed in the scripture. Islamic tradition, however, builds on several other brief Qurʾān references as indicative of what else will happen before the final separation of the blessed and the damned.

The crossing of the bridge (ṣirāṭ), *the possibility of intercession* (shafāʿa) *and preparation for the final consignment*

The bridge is not specifically mentioned in the Qurʾān as a modality of the eschaton. The Qurʾān does, however, frequently use *ṣirāṭ* as meaning the path or way, especially in its references to the straight path, *al-ṣirāṭ al-mustaqīm,* first appearing in the Qurʾān's opening sūra (see FĀTIḤA). Of these references only two, Q 36:66 and 37:23-4, are usually cited to support the idea of a bridge to or over hell, and the first is rather indefinite. The latter refers to the *ṣirāṭ al-jaḥīm* and was adopted into Islamic tradition to signify the span over hell *(jahannam),* the top layer of the fire. The traditions take the term, used repeatedly in the Qurʾān, to represent the proper and prescribed mode of action for all the faithful, the straight path, and apply it in a much more specific sense as the last modality in the process assessing the degree to which every individual has followed that path. Eschatological manuals often affirm that those who have neither faith nor good deeds to their credit find that the bridge has become sharper than a sword and thinner than a hair, and that their fall from it signifies an inescapable descent into the fire. The faithful, however, are said to move easily and swiftly across a broad path, led by the members of the Muslim community and by the Prophet himself first of all.

The question of whether there can be any possibility of intercession (q.v.) in the judgment process has engaged commentators in a variety of ways. The several forms of the word for "intercession," *shafāʿa,* occur 29 times in the Qurʾān. On the whole the text holds out no hope for the last day: "Protect yourselves against a day when no soul will be able to avail another, and no intercession will be accepted…" (Q 2:48; see PROTECTION). The basic argument of the Qurʾān is that God is sovereign in arranging the relationship between himself and his creatures and that no human efforts at mediation are valid or effective. Every individual is responsible for his or her own deeds and acts of faith, and will be called to full account for them. Nevertheless, certain verses have been interpreted as leaving room for the possibility of some kind of intercession. Aside from God himself, those designated as possibly performing this function are angels (Q 53:26), true witnesses (Q 43:86), and those who have made a covenant (q.v.) with God (Q 19:87). A few verses describe intercession for those who are acceptable. Tradition has wanted to invest the prophet Muḥammad with an intercessory function, although none of the qurʾānic verses mentioning *shafāʿa* refer to him specifically. God did call upon Muḥammad to ask forgiveness (q.v.) for living believers (Q 47:19) and this has been taken by many to be the earthly precedent for intercession on the day of judgment. Despite the contrary evidence provided in the Qurʾān, popular belief has often chosen to see that all but the most sinful will be saved by Muḥammad's intercession and God's mercy at the final time (see SIN AND CRIME; SIN, MAJOR AND MINOR). The Qurʾān itself leaves no question whatsoever that divine justice will prevail on the day of judgment, that retribution will correspond in direct proportion to the degree of one's faith (q.v.; *īmān*) and the nature of one's religious acts *(ʿibāda)*.

The torment of the fire (al-nār)

According to the consistent witness of the Qurʾān the alternatives for each individual at the day of judgment are two: the bliss of the garden or the torment of the fire. For the latter abode the Qurʾān offers a variety of designations, seven of which have been interpreted to be actual names or terms of specification: *hāwiya, jaḥīm, saʿīr, jahannam, laẓā, saqar* and *ḥuṭām*. Some scholars

identify the use of *jaḥīm* as characteristic of the majority of Meccan references, with other terms, particularly *jahannam,* used in later verses. The overwhelming understanding of the abode of the damned, however, is as the fire, *al-nār,* just as what might be called heaven in other traditions is best rendered by its common qurʾānic designation as the garden(s). Many of the details of the fire, as of the garden, are reminiscent of the Bible (see SCRIPTURE AND THE QURʾĀN), while others occasionally reflect the tone of early Arabian poetry (see POETRY AND POETS). On the whole, however, the picture afforded by the Qurʾān is uniquely its own.

The Qurʾān does not offer a detailed plan of the realms of the fire. Q 15:43-4 describes *jahannam* as having seven gates, each gate with its layers, each descending one an abode of increased torment. *Jahannam* is sometimes used to refer to the totality of the fire and sometimes only to the topmost circle. Later traditions supplied each of the gates of the fire with innumerable guardians who torture the damned. On the bottom of the pit of the fire grows the dreadful tree Zaqqūm (Q 37:62-8) with the heads of devils for flowers, from which sinners must eat. The Qurʾān offers a number of rather specific indications of the tortures of the fire: Its flames crackle and roar (Q 25:12); it has fierce, boiling waters (Q 55:44), scorching wind, and black smoke (Q 56:42-3); it roars and boils as if it would burst with rage (Q 67:7-8). As those who are damned enter the fire a voice will cry out: "Seize him and drag him into the depths of the chastisement of *jahannam,* then pour out boiling water over his head" (Q 44:47-8). The people of the fire are sighing and wailing, wretched (Q 11:106); their scorched skins constantly exchanged for new ones so that they can taste the torment anew (Q 4:56); they drink festering water (q.v.) and though death appears on all sides they cannot die (Q 14:16-7); people are linked together in chains of 70 cubits (Q 69:30-2) wearing pitch for clothing and fire on their faces (Q 14:50); hooks of iron will drag them back should they try to escape (Q 22:19-21). In four verses the Qurʾān affirms that God intends to fill up the realm of the damned to capacity, as in Q 11:119: "Truly I shall fill *jahannam* with jinn (q.v.) and humankind together."

Torment is thus portrayed in physical rather than spiritual or psychological terms in the Qurʾān and regret, if expressed, is for the consequences of one's deeds rather than for the actual commission of them. The community of Islam, however, has offered a variety of interpretations as to whether or not the punishments, or indeed the rewards, of the life to come are to be understood in their most literal sense. While the predominant understanding has been of the corporeal nature of the ultimate recompense, this view has generally not insisted that the realities of the next world will be identical with those of this world. While definitely physical, recompense in the ultimate sense is generally understood to have a reality beyond what we are now able to comprehend. Contemporary Qurʾān commentators are especially insistent that the recompense of the hereafter, while sentient, is in some way different from the experiences that we now know and understand. See EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: EARLY MODERN AND CONTEMPORARY.

The bliss of the garden(s)

The Qurʾān provides some very specific categories of people for whom eternal habitation in felicity is assured: those who refrain from doing evil, keep their duty, have faith in God's revelations, do good works, are truthful, penitent (see REPENTANCE AND

PENANCE), heedful and contrite of heart, those who feed the needy and orphans (q.v.) and who are prisoners (q.v.) for God's sake. These form a close parallel to the acts of omission and commission that afford one a place in the fire. There are also very detailed descriptions of the nature of the reward and of the habitations to be enjoyed by the virtuous (see VIRTUES AND VICES).

Paradise in the Qurʾān is generally referred to as the garden *(al-janna),* although its descriptions are usually of gardens in the plural. The term *naʿīm,* delight, is used frequently in the early Meccan sūras in association with the garden or gardens. There are two references to the name *firdaws* (i.e. paradise; Q 18:107 and 23:11; see FOREIGN VOCABULARY) as the abode of the blessed. As was true of the descriptions of the fire, the Qurʾān does not provide an ordered picture of the structure of the garden. Roughly, however, it can be said to parallel the divisions of the fire. In Q 23:17 God says, "We created above you seven paths *(ṭarāʾiq)*…," which supports the conception of a seven-tiered heaven familiar to Near Eastern cosmogony. Some argue that *firdaws* is the most spacious and highest part of the garden, directly under the throne of God, from which the four rivers of paradise flow (see WATER OF PARADISE). Others argue that it is the second level from the top, and that the uppermost portion is either the garden of Eden or ʿIlliyūn (q.v.). Q 55:46 talks about two gardens: "As for him who fears standing before his lord (q.v.) there are two gardens *(jannatān)*." All descriptions following this verse are of things in pairs — two fountains flowing, fruit of every kind in pairs and two other gardens beside these with two springs (see WELLS AND SPRINGS). This has caused some commentators to speculate that there are actually four realms of the blessed, of which either *firdaws* or Eden is the top.

Within the garden(s) are certain specific features. Many verses speak of the rivers flowing underneath and Q 47:15 describes rivers of water, milk (q.v.), wine (see INTOXICANTS) and honey (q.v.) in the garden. In general, it can be said that there is neither too much heat in paradise nor bitter cold and that there is plentiful shade from spreading branches dark green with foliage. The early Meccan sūras put special emphasis on the shade to be found in paradise, e.g. Q 76:13-4: "Reclining therein on couches, they will find neither sun nor bitter cold. And next to them is shade.…" References to rivers in paradise are especially common in the later Meccan and the Medinan sūras, appearing some 35 times. The *sidrat al-muntahā,* called the lote tree of the outermost limit, is described in Q 53:14-6 as being close to the garden of refuge; tradition soon located it specifically at the top of the garden(s) to parallel the tree of Zaqqūm at the pit of the fire. In Q 39:73 we read that people will be driven into the garden in troops until they reach it, whereupon the gates will be opened and they will be welcomed.

Scenes of the joys awaiting the dwellers in the garden are wonderfully rich in the Qurʾān (see JOY AND MISERY). The faithful are described as content, peaceful and secure; they hear no idle talk and experience only peace (q.v.); they do not taste death; they enjoy gentle speech (q.v.), pleasant shade and fruits neither forbidden nor out of reach, as well as cool drink and meat as they desire; they drink from a shining stream of delicious wine, from which they will suffer no after effects (Q 37:45-7); they sit on couches facing each other as brothers (see BROTHERS AND BROTHERHOOD), wearing armlets of gold (q.v.) and pearls, green and gold robes of the finest silk (q.v.) and embroidery, waited on by

menservants (Q 52:24; 56:17; 74:19; see MATERIAL CULTURE AND THE QUR'ĀN). Among the joys afforded to the inhabitants of the garden, specifically to males, is the companionship of young virgins with lovely wide eyes (Q 44:54; 52:20; see HOURIS). These creatures, which the Qur'ān identifies as the *ḥūr,* have been the subject of a great deal of discussion on the part of traditionists (see ḤADĪTH AND THE QUR'ĀN) and commentators.

Despite the graphic terms in which the physical pleasures of the inhabitants of the garden are portrayed, there are clear references to a kind of joy that exceeds the pleasures of the flesh. Greater than the delights of the gardens, says Q 9:72, is satisfaction *(riḍwān)* from God. And in Q 6:127 the Qur'ān talks about the final meeting place of those who have heeded the straight path: "For them there will be an abode of peace *(dār al-salām)* in the presence of their lord. And he will be their friend (*walī,* see FRIENDS AND FRIENDSHIP) because of what they have done."

As we have seen, the post-judgment qur'ānic option is either the punishment of the fire or the bliss of the garden. The only possible exception comes in Q 7:46: "And between them is a partition *(ḥijāb),* and on the heights *(al-aʿrāf)* are men who know them all by their signs. And they call to the inhabitants of the garden, 'Peace be upon you.' They do not enter it, though they wish to." It is clear from the preceding verses that this partition separates the inhabitants of the garden from those of the fire and that the men on the heights can view persons in both circumstances. Considerable discussion has arisen about the meaning of this verse. Although it is doubtful that the qur'ānic reference is to an abode for those understood to be in an intermediate category, some exegetes have developed a kind of "limbo" theory on the supposition that there is a classification of people who do not automatically enter the garden or the fire (see BARZAKH; BARRIER).

The issue of whether the abodes of fire and garden are already in existence has been of great interest to exegetes and theologians (see THEOLOGY AND THE QUR'ĀN). The majority of the Muʿtazila (see MUʿTAZILĪS), for example, rejected the notion that they have already been created on the grounds that the physical universe does not allow for their existence yet. The Ashʿarīs disagreed, saying that location is not the issue and that it is not impossible to imagine another world or level of existence unattainable by our present faculties. Besides, they argued, the Qur'ān itself states that Adam and his wife (see ADAM AND EVE) were in the garden of Eden; it must thus already have been created. Most credal statements affirm that the garden and the fire are a reality and that they are already in existence.

Even more engaging has been the question whether the recompense of the two abodes will be for all eternity. The issue, of course, is more tantalizing when asked of punishment. Will the damned be damned forever? The intention of the Qur'ān itself is not entirely clear in this context. Q 32:14 talks of the punishment of eternity and Q 41:28 calls the fire the *dār al-khuld* (the house of eternity). The form *khālidūn* (eternally) is used numerous times to describe the stay of the wicked in the fire, as in Q 43:74: "The guilty ones are in the punishment of *jahannam* eternally." On the other hand, some verses seem to leave open the possibility that punishment will not necessarily be forever. Q 78:23, for example, states that sinners are in the fire for a long time and Q 10:107 says they are in it as long as the heavens and the earth endure. Q 6:128 may be the clearest statement that in this matter, as is true of all things,

the affair is completely in the hands of God: "Then [God] will say, 'The fire is your resting place. [You will] abide there forever, except as God wills….'" This verse, related specifically in reference to the jinn or beings created of fire, assures that they too will be subject to the judgment of God on the final day. The unbelievers *(kuffār)* will be in the fire eternally, says the Qurʾān, yet many theologians have interpreted the reference to mean that as long as the fire lasts the wrongdoers will be in it — but that through God's mercy even the fire will be brought to an end.

The other matter of concern to Muslim theology in relation to the final consignment has been the question of the beatific vision of God. Q 75:22-3 provides what many have felt to be positive affirmation of that vision: "[On that day] faces will be radiant, looking toward their lord." The Qurʾān also speaks of the face of God (*wajh Allāh,* cf. Q 2:115; 30:38; 76:9) and the face of the lord (Q 13:22; 55:27; 92:20). Many in the early Islamic community, however, denied that such a vision is to be understood as a direct view of the actual visage of God. The Muʿtazila, for example, argued that since God is an immaterial substance devoid of accidents, he by definition is not visible. To say that he can actually be seen, they said, would be anthropomorphism (q.v.), citing as proof Q 6:103, "Vision cannot attain to him…." The majority opinion, however, followed the conclusion of the school of al-Ashʿarī (d. 324/935-6) that the vision of God in the next world is indeed a reality.

Classical Qurʾān commentaries on the verses dealing with eschatology tend to underscore fear of eternal punishment as an incentive to right conduct. Much modern commentary, in contrast, seems to have shifted in emphasis from reflections on the enormity and distaste of the purgation of the fire to the wonder and glory of God's beneficence in providing an ordered structure for this life and the next, and to human responsibility and accountability in relation to his constancy within the framework of that order.

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Eternity

The state of being in infinite time (q.v.) as contrasted with the ever-changing quality of earthly existence (see COSMOLOGY). In the Qurʾān, God is the only eternal being in both the past and the future, while created beings will dwell in states of bliss or damnation for eternity *(khulūd, abad)* only in the afterlife (see ESCHATOLOGY). In addition, the Qurʾān denounces a pre-Islamic Arab belief according to which existence and death are attributable to nothing more than time (*dahr,* see FATE; HISTORY AND THE QURʾĀN).

God's eternal existence is denoted in the affirmation that he was not begotten (*lam yūlad,* Q 112:3) and his titles "the first" and "the last" (*al-awwalu wa-l-ākhiru,* Q 57:3; see GOD AND HIS ATTRIBUTES). He is also called the everlasting refuge (*al-ṣamad,* Q 112:2) in the context of his relationship with the created world (see CREATION). These references, and the general qurʾānic notion of God as a limitless being, led exegetes to state explicitly that God is a being with neither a beginning nor an end (e.g. al-Rāzī, *Sharḥ asmāʾ Allāh,* 315-8, 323-32).

The greatest part of the qurʾānic discussion of eternity is concerned with human beliefs and destinies (see DESTINY). Although no human has ever been assigned the gift of escaping death (Q 21:34), human desire for such a state is exemplified in the fact that Satan (see DEVIL) was able to lure Adam (see ADAM AND EVE) to a forbidden deed by promising him an undecaying kingdom and the tree of eternity (*shajarat al-khuld,* Q 20:120; some Muʿtazilīs [q.v.] discussed whether or not the garden in which Adam dwelt [cf. Q 2:35] was the garden of eternity; cf. van Ess, *TG,* ii, 274-5). The inevitability of the cycle of life and death led pre-Islamic Arabs (see AGE OF IGNORANCE; PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QURʾĀN) to believe that humans exist only in their earthly states and, consequently, time *(dahr)* in the sense of fate is an all-powerful universal force (Q 45:24). The Qurʾān denies this doctrine due to its atheism (see POLYTHEISM AND ATHEISM), and a tradition from Muḥammad, reported in various versions (Bukhārī, Muslim, Ibn Ḥanbal, Abū Dāwūd, Mālik; see ḤADĪTH AND THE QURʾĀN), states that what is called time is nothing other than God exercising his powers (cf. al-ʿĀtī, *al-Zamān,* 66).

Against the materialistic fatalism of pre-Islamic Arabs (q.v.), the Qurʾān proclaims God's promise of an eternal reward or punishment (see REWARD AND PUNISHMENT) for humans in the afterlife as contingent upon their earthly actions (see LAST JUDGMENT; GOOD DEEDS; GOOD AND EVIL). On the day of eternity (*yawm al-khulūd,* Q 50:34), the righteous will be told of the pleasures they can enjoy in the garden (q.v.) of eternity (*jannat al-khuld,* Q 25:15) with its eternal *(dāʾim)* fruit and shade (Q 13:35). They shall live there forever (*abadan,* Q 4:122; 5:119; 9:22, 100; 18:2-3; 64:9; 65:11; 98:8) with their spouses (Q 4:57; see MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE). In contrast, those who were evildoers (see EVIL DEEDS) or unbelievers (see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF) will be put forever in a place of severe chastisement (Q 4:169; 10:52; 25:15; 33:65; 72:23; 98:6; see CHASTISEMENT AND PUNISHMENT). They are God's enemies since they denied his signs (Q 41:28), and God shall forget them in the fire (q.v.) on account of their acts (Q 32:14). The eternity of paradise (q.v.) and hell (q.v.) is made subject to God's will in one place in the Qurʾān where it is stated that the punish-

ment and reward will continue so long as he sustains the existence of the heaven and the earth (Q 11:107-8).

It is noteworthy that the classical Islamic period witnessed extensive theological and philosophical controversies regarding the createdness or eternity of the cosmos. Authors of such discussions, however, for example al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111) and Ibn Rushd (d. 595/1198), relied almost exclusively on rational arguments instead of the authority of the Qurʾān to substantiate their viewpoints. Finally, the created versus the eternal nature of the Qurʾān itself was the subject of extensive theological debates (see CREATEDNESS OF THE QURʾĀN).

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Ethics and the Qurʾān

The subject matter of this article is elusive, since the word "ethics" itself is used in various ways in English. If we take the definition of a standard reference work, we learn that "ethics" is "(1) a general pattern or way of life, (2) a set of rules of conduct or moral code, and (3) inquiry *about* life and rules of conduct…" (*Encyclopedia of philosophy,* iii, 81-2). This article's focus, then, will be qurʾānic ethics in senses (1) and (2) above; we might also use the word "morality," i.e. "beliefs about human nature, beliefs about ideals — what is good for its own sake, rules stipulating action, and motives (ibid., vii, 150). Both terms, ethics and morals, suggest the scope of our inquiry. The Qurʾān abounds with "rules of conduct," and, taken in its entirety, establishes much of a "way of life." While it has little by way of "inquiry about rules of conduct," that is, what philosophers call philosophical or meta-ethics, nonetheless it is possible to infer from the qurʾānic text certain meta-ethical presuppositions and methods.

It must be recognized from the start that the Qurʾān contains more exhortation than stipulation. Despite the plethora of rules that confronts the Qurʾān's reader in the first sūras (which, chronologically speaking, are actually from the latter part of the period of revelation), most of the Qurʾān rallies Muslims to act rightly, and reframes their moral knowledge in a context of retribution and reward in this world (see BLESSING; CHASTISEMENT AND PUNISHMENT), and judgment and subsequent punishment and reward in the next (see LAST JUDGMENT; REWARD AND PUNISHMENT).

Two general points about qurʾānic morality follow from recognizing the nature of the qurʾānic discourse. The Qurʾān assumes that (a) humans know the good and nonetheless often fail to follow it; (b) that since humans know the good, they know too that explanations of why the good is the good are beside the point; the good has the utility of guaranteeing success and reward, but nothing suggests that the good is good for some reason extrinsic to itself. These two moral facts are framed by two other important features of qurʾānic ethics: (a) that the Qurʾān takes for granted the

vices, virtues and modes of human organization present at the time of revelation, and (b) that it has a jaundiced view of human capacity and goodwill (see COMMUNITY AND SOCIETY IN THE QUR'ĀN; PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QUR'ĀN).

Yet the Qur'ān's embeddedness in seventh-century Arabian society and those particular notions of virtue and vice should not cause us to lose sight of novel features of its ethical perspective: 1) an assertion of the ultimate meaningfulness of human acts and a variety of compelling theories of why humans should act virtuously; 2) an emphasis on individual but also collective responsibility for the ethical treatment of all persons, whether male or female, infant, wayfarer, neighbor, parent, or wife (see CHILDREN; FAMILY; WOMEN AND THE QUR'ĀN; KINSHIP). The Qur'ān should be seen as revolutionary not in its content, but rather in its justification. It did not so much provide new rules, as a new perspective — namely, that the claims of morality transcend mere human interest and are the very purpose of human existence.

While the distinction between "religion" and "ethics" so dear to philosophical ethicists is unnatural to the Qur'ān, nonetheless the focus here will be on passages discussing virtuous conduct toward human beings rather than those concerned with virtuous attitudes towards God, right beliefs about God, etc. (for discussion of this aspect of right conduct, see FAITH; BELIEF AND UNBELIEF). In addition, this essay will concentrate on passages important within the Qur'ān itself and not necessarily on those esteemed in later legal, theological, or mystical scholarship (see LAW AND THE QUR'ĀN; THEOLOGY AND THE QUR'ĀN; ṢŪFISM AND THE QUR'ĀN). Questions of the sequence of qur'ānic revelation — so important for choosing among apparently contradictory qur'ānic passages — will, for the most part, lie outside the scope of this article (on this, see ABROGATION; CHRONOLOGY AND THE QUR'ĀN).

Accordingly, these issues will be considered in what follows: (1) ethical knowledge (human capacity and human nature; motivations to moral action; the reality of moral choice), (2) terminology (classifying acts; classifying actors), (3) ethical knowledge and moral reasoning, (4) the nature of the Qur'ān's ethical stipulations (rules; principles; admonitions to virtue), and (5) ethical sociology (Muslims and non-Muslims; Muslims).

Ethical knowledge

Human capacity

Three grand ethical questions reveal the assumptions underlying the qur'ānic view of ethics: What is the innate moral nature of human beings? What motivates them to moral action? Are moral choices "real?"

Human nature

The description of human nature in the Qur'ān is not sanguine. It repeatedly complains that human beings are fickle: If harm touches a human he calls to his lord, inclining towards him; then if granted a favor from God he forgets that for which he pleaded before (cf. Q 39:49). They are attentive to God and upright in conduct when in jeopardy or when suffering, but heedless when secure (Q 17: 83; 41:51; 70:19-21). They seek evil as much as good (Q 17:11), they are prone to oppression and ingratitude (cf. Q 13:34; 22:26; see GRATITUDE AND INGRATITUDE), they are hasty (Q 17:11; 21:37), weak (Q 4:28), and they are oppressive and ignorant (Q 33:72; see IGNORANCE).

This bleak picture is modified in two ways. The same human nature that is inclined to err, can also, as we shall see below, recognize the good by reflection, reason, or instinct. In addition, innate hu-

man responses to evil and good show that human nature is not hopelessly corrupt, e.g. Q 49:7: "… God has made you love faith and has made it beautiful to your hearts and made hateful to you ingratitude *(kufr),* wickedness *(fusūq)* and rebellion. These are the rightly guided!" Nothing in the Qur'ān's jaundiced view of human propensities suggests that humans cannot act ethically, and consequently there is no need for supernatural grace or a redemptive sacrifice (but see below on predestination). Indeed, the entire qur'ānic *kerygma* makes no sense if ethical and virtuous action is not possible. In its description of human nature, the Qur'ān maintains an artful tension between the possibility of human perfection and the reality of human moral deficiency.

Motivations to moral action

If human nature is pulled between inclinations to evil conduct and recognition of the good, what, then, motivates humankind to act virtuously? Here the Qur'ān offers some of its most distinctive and original arguments, which are incomprehensible without some knowledge of the Arab milieu in which the Qur'ān arose. There are three overlapping motives to human virtue — two are claims that God has on humankind, and the third, more common one, is what might be seen as a prudential motive.

The first motivation to moral action is the myth of the primordial covenant (q.v.). This is an overtly mythological story of a primordial commitment to obey God. It is, as al-Nīsābūrī (*Tafsīr,* ix, 85) says: "The establishment of compelling evidence against *(ḥujja ʿalā)* all who are responsible *(jamīʿat al-mukallafīn)* [to God, but would attempt to deny that obligation]." Its source is Q 7:172: "When your lord took from the children of Adam, from their loins *(ẓuhūrihim)* their seed and called them to testify of themselves: 'Am I not your lord?' They said, 'Indeed yes!' We testify; lest you should say on the day of resurrection, 'We were unaware of this!'" In this myth, all human beings *in potentia* acknowledged their obligation to obey God's dictates because of his status as their sovereign. The last sentence makes it clear that what is at issue here is whether humans are innately morally responsible. The answer is yes, they have committed themselves primordially to obedience (q.v.; *al-mīthāq al-awwal ʿalā l-fiṭra,* as al-Ṭabarī in *Tafsīr,* ix, 112 calls it), and so to morality.

The argument most central to the Qur'ān's view of human moral obligation is that of "thanking the benefactor." This understanding of human ethical motivation begins with God's status as the creator of humankind and the world (Q 19:67; 30:8; 50:16; 89:15; see CREATION). A clear statement of the argument is found in Q 39:5-7: "He created the heavens and the earth with truth *(bi-l-ḥaqqi),* and made night follow day and made day follow night; he subjected the sun (q.v.) and the moon (q.v.) to service, each running for a stipulated term. Is he not the mighty and forgiving? He created you from a single soul then made of it its mate and sent down to you eight couples of cattle. He created you in your mothers' bellies, creation after creation, in the three darknesses. This is your God, your lord; his is sovereignty, there is no god but he. How then did you depart? If you are ungrateful *(takfurū),* God is quit of you, nor is he content with ingratitude from his bondsmen. If you are thankful *(tashkurū),* it contents him with you.…"

According to pre-Islamic norms, one who spared a life, that is, in effect, gave life, was owed something by the one who benefited from this generosity (see BLOODSHED). The benefactor was entitled both to reward and to public acknowledgement of the benefactor's generosity in sparing life. In the

qur'ānic understanding, by giving life, by not taking life, as well as because of a whole series of other benefactions — rain, food, sustenance — God establishes a claim *(ḥaqq)* on humankind (see Bravmann, Ancient Arab background; Reinhart, *Before revelation,* chap. 6). This is clear in Q 14:32-4: "It is God who created the heavens and the earth and sent down from the sky water, then produced by it fruits as sustenance for you; and he made ships serviceable to you to run upon the sea for you by his command; and made rivers serviceable to you. And he makes serviceable to you the sun and the moon in their courses and made serviceable to you the night and the day. And he gives you of all you ask him; if you counted the benefactions of God you could not reckon them. Truly humankind are wrong-doers, ingrates!"

Consequently, like the warrior who spared a life, God is entitled to a proclamation *(shukr)* of his generosity and a gesture that would content *(raḍā)* him. The passage quoted at the beginning of this section says that it is the proclamation of his sovereignty that contents him, and further, that by being an obedient bondsman one expresses the gratitude that is owed: "Be a bondsman *(fa-'bud)* and be one of the thankers" (Q 39:66).

In the qur'ānic moral calculus, the obligation of humans to act morally arises from their obligation to acknowledge and repay their debt to the creator and benefactor. Since what God asks is obedience to his command — to perform the cultus (see PRAYER; ISLĀM; WORSHIP), to struggle (see JIHĀD), to act rightly — human beings are then obliged, though not compelled, to act in accord with his desires.

The third and most prominent claim to obedience and the religious and moral behavior the Qur'ān enjoins is fear (q.v.), or to put it more conventionally, a prudential concern for one's eternal fate. Perhaps *the* central theme of the qur'ānic revelation is the reality of the judgment that forms an inevitable part of the cosmic order: "… God has created the heavens and the earth and that which is between them only by right *(bi-l-ḥaqqi)* and for a stated term.… Have they not journeyed in the land and seen the consequence of those who were before them?… Their messengers (see MESSENGER) came to them with signs *(bi-l-bayyināti);* for God did not wrong *(z-l-m)* them, but they wronged themselves. Then the consequence for those who did evil was evil, for they denied *(k-dh-b)* the signs *(āyāt)* of God and mocked them. God originates creation then brings it back, then to him you return.… As for those who had faith and did good deeds *(ṣāliḥāt),* they shall rejoice in a garden; as for those who rejected or denied our signs and the encounter with the next life, they will be in punishment" (Q 30:8-11, 15-6).

These themes are present on almost every qur'ānic page. Thus, while relations between humankind and God may be governed by a primordial covenant and by the claim of God on those whom he has benefacted in the here-and-now, also and overwhelmingly, the force of sanction for ill-deeds and reward for good deeds confronts the moral actor. Accordingly, in the long run humankind is given a clearly prudential motive to act virtuously. Virtue produces bliss (eventually) and vice leads to eternal chastisement.

These three factors — keeping a promise made primordially, paying back what is owed by acting well, and fear of punishment — all motivate the Qur'ān's audience to act ethically.

The reality of moral choice

One problem with the qur'ānic text — one that has received perhaps too much attention from Muslim theologians and Western polemicists — is the question of "predesti-

nation" in the Qur'ān. It is important to note that terms for "predestination" used in later disputes *(qadar, taqdīr, qaḍā')* do not, in the Qur'ān, necessarily suggest predetermination of human moral choice. Rather, there are a number of texts suggesting that rejection of the qur'ānic message or the Prophet (and similarly plotting against the Prophet, hypocrisy in commitment to him and to God, and the like; on the hypocrites, see, for example, Q 4:88; see OPPOSITION TO MUḤAMMAD; HYPOCRITES AND HYPOCRISY), are the results of God's "turning away" the hearts of the recalcitrant. Examples include Q 5:49: "Then if they turn away, know that God wishes to strike them for some of their sins," and Q 4:88: "Do you wish to guide whom God has led astray *(aḍalla)?* Whom God leads astray, you [Muḥammad] can find no road for him" (see also Q 30:29). Similarly, "… God leads astray whom he wishes and guides to himself those who turn to him [in repentance]" (Q 13:27; see also Q 6:35, 125; 7:178; 10:100; 11:34; 81:28-9); "The one whom God leads astray *(yuḍlil)* has no protecting friend *(walī)* after him" (Q 42:44); and "… So when they turned aside *(zāghū)*, God caused their hearts to go astray *(azāgha llāhu qulūbahum)*. And God does not guide a corrupt people *(al-qawma l-fāsiqīna)*" (Q 61:5). These texts have been read, understandably, as suggesting that God causes the errant to err. If this is the case, moral choice is illusory and punishment for moral transgressions seems unjust.

On the other hand, the entire argument of the Qur'ān, that humans will be judged for their actions and that they ought to behave in such and such a manner, makes no sense if humans are not understood to be faced with real moral choices and with justified (in humanly comprehensible terms) consequences. Those who were concerned to assert the reality of human moral judgment also had a large number of texts to point to; for example, "… Who wishes, let him have faith; and who wishes, let him reject" (Q 18:29); or "God does not charge a soul beyond what it can encompass. He has for it only what it has earned and against it what it has earned" (Q 2:286). Similarly, the following passage assumes the efficacy of moral behavior and the consequentiality of those acts: "… Do not those who believe know that, had God wished, he would have guided the people altogether; and catastrophe does not cease to afflict those who reject according to what they do" (Q 13:31). In these texts, as well as in many other passages, the Qur'ān clearly states that human beings earn their fate and they are free to choose virtue or vice.

In sum, on the vexed question of predestination, predetermination and the like, the Qur'ān asserts the controlling authority of God, while also assuming the reality of human agency. For later systematizers, this contradiction had to be resolved in one direction or the other; but the religious sensibility of the Qur'ān can hold the two in tension and assert both limits to human capacity and the fact of human ethical responsibility (for further discussion on this, see ASTRAY; FREEDOM AND PREDESTINATION; FATE; DESTINY).

Terminology

The best index of ethics in the Qur'ān is the terms used in it to discuss moral and immoral behavior.

Classifying acts

The Arabic term most frequently translated as ethics, *akhlāq*, is not found in the Qur'ān and there are few words that suggest a technical terminology for "ethics" — i.e. terms like the English words "virtue (q.v.)" or "conduct." Rather, the terms used to describe virtue and vice are for the most part plain words like

"good" and "bad," "right" and "wrong." A general feature of qur'ānic ethical terminology is that it typically commends the good far more than it stipulates what the good is; the Qur'ān assumes that much of the good and its opposite is known or recognizable *(ma'rūf)*. It is notable that the Qur'ān exhorts the Muslim to act virtuously but seldom specifies the exact form of that virtuous conduct. At most, the Qur'ān provides lists of good or bad acts that suggest the scope of morality, but do not define it (see also GOOD DEEDS; EVIL DEEDS; GOOD AND EVIL; SIN AND CRIME; SIN, MAJOR AND MINOR).

Virtuous acts

The most prominent word for virtuous conduct is *ṣāliḥ* or other words from the root which occur some 171 times in the Qur'ān. The root appears in verbal forms as in, "Who does right *(man ṣalaḥa)* from among their fathers, wives, and offspring [shall enter the garden of Eden]" (Q 40:8; also 13:23). Its most common form is a nominal in stereotype with *'amila* as "do good deeds," or "those who do virtuous acts" (*alladhīna 'amilū l-ṣāliḥāt,* e.g. Q 2:25 and numerous other instances). *'Amila l-ṣāliḥāt* is so common as to amount almost to a chorus in qur'ānic discourse. Very often *ṣāliḥ* is joined to other fundamental qur'ānic concepts, as in Q 5:93: "For those who have faith and do good deeds there shall be no transgression *(junāḥ)* concerning what they have eaten. Therefore — [be one of those who] fear God and have faith and do good deeds; then, fear God and have faith; then, fear God and do kindness *(aḥsanū);* God loves those who do kindness." (On *junāḥ* and *aḥsanū* see below.) *Ṣāliḥ*-acts explicitly earn the doer paradise (q.v.; Q 2:25; 5:93; 18:107) and this twinning of faith and good deeds led Izutsu (*Concepts,* 204) to speculate that *ṣāliḥ* is the outward expression of the faith enjoined by the Qur'ān. It certainly is the case that *ṣāliḥ* is sometimes found among the qualities listed in passages that read like catechisms of what it means to be a virtuous Muslim (see, for instance, Q 2:277; 5:69). Yet, for all its prominence, the *ṣāliḥ* is undefined and this it shares with the other important terms for virtue. The hearer of the Qur'ān knew or recognized a good deed and he or she will be rewarded for doing that good deed. The specifics in context, however, are left to the Muslims' faculties to recognize.

Another important qur'ānic term for virtue is *birr* and various derivatives of the root letters *b-r-r* (see Izutsu, *Concepts,* 207-11). *Birr* seems to be a general word connoting virtue or righteousness in the context of religious attitudes and acts, and can occur also in verbal form, as in Q 2:224: "… act well *(tabarrū),* fear God, and reconcile people," or Q 60:8: "… to be good to [your opponents] and be equitable toward them." From the same root comes *barr,* which seems to mean, literally, "pious," that is, filial toward parents (see Q 19:14, 32). The most common form, however, is the nominative, *al-birr,* which is used eight times in the Qur'ān (Q 2:44, 177 [twice], 189 [twice]; 3:92; 5:2; 58:9), mostly in passages coming from the later period of revelation. In three instances (Q 3:92; 5:2; 58:9) it is paired with *taqwā,* "piety" or "an awareness of God," or another derivative of the root letters *w-q-y;* in all cases it is overtly virtue in a religious context that is implied. There is some evidence that *birr* is a pre-Islamic religious term, since Q 2:189 addresses what seems to be a pre-Islamic taboo and re-defines the term not as a superstitious act, but as the fear of God: "it is not *birr* to go to houses from their backs but rather, pious is the one who fears God *(wa-lākinna l-birra mani ttaqā)*." The verse continues with an exhortation to enter houses by their doors *(abwāb)* and to fear God. *Birr* does refer also to ethical behav-

ior, however: "You do not attain *birr* until you spend *(tunfiqū)* from that which you love; and whatever you spend, God is aware of it" (Q 3:92). More elaborately, at Q 2:177 *birr* is defined in one of the familiar "creeds" of the second and third sūras: "It is not *birr* that you turn your faces to the east and the west, but *birr* is one who has faith in God and the last day and the angels (see ANGEL) and the book (q.v.) and the prophets (see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD), and [one who] gives wealth from love of him to kin and orphans (q.v.) and the unfortunate and *ibn al-sabīl* (probably those who have recently immigrated to Medina; see EMIGRATION) and to those who ask — and who frees slaves (see SLAVES AND SLAVERY) and undertakes worship and pays *zakāt* (see ALMSGIVING), and who fulfill their compact *('ahd),* when they make compacts (see BREAKING TRUSTS AND CONTRACTS), and the steadfast *(al-ṣābirīn)* in adversity, in stress and time of tribulation (see TRIAL); those who have integrity *(ṣadaqū)* — these are the ones who fear God *(al-muttaqūn)*."

Here, again, *birr* is contrasted with mere cultic practice, but is defined as faith and ethical behavior. It seems that toward the end of the period of revelation, a vocabulary defining virtuous membership in the community was in the process of development. *Birr* was among the terms that had significance in the pre-Islamic world but were being redefined to convey a new, qur'ānic ethical sense.

The common term *khayrāt* also refers to "good works" as in: "Vie with one another in good works" (Q 2:148; see also 3:114 where it is linked with enjoining the *ma'rūf;* see below for a discussion of this term). The term usually is stereotyped with "vie in" or "hasten to" (e.g. Q 23:56). *Khayr* itself means "good," and in certain contexts has an explicitly moral sense, as in Q 3:26: "In your hand (God) is the good *(al-khayr)*." Izutsu (*Concepts,* 217 f.) points out that this term usually refers to bounty and wealth, or to bounty and wealth properly used (but see also Q 5:48; 8:70). *Khayr,* then, is a natural good, but beyond that, not much more can be said.

Likewise, it is difficult to translate *ḥ-s-n* and its derivatives more precisely than with the word "good." Aside from aesthetic description and mere approval in a number of places, the root sometimes suggests ethical action: "Then we gave Moses (q.v.) the book complete for those who do good *(alladhī aḥsana)*…" (Q 6:154). More often, it is overtly a reference to religiously-approved behavior, especially when this form is used in the plural, e.g. Q 3:172: "Those who responded to God and the messenger after the wound befell them, for those among them who did well *(aḥsanū)* and feared God — a mighty reward!" Izutsu (*Concepts,* 224 f.) suggests that the root *ḥ-s-n* refers to pious acts and includes ethical acts informed by the pre-Islamic virtue of prudent forbearance *(ḥilm)*. Of the first usage, a good example is the curious passage at the end of Q 5:93: "For those who have faith and do good deeds *(ṣāliḥāt),* there shall be no transgression *(junāḥ)* concerning what they have eaten. Therefore — [be one of those who] fear God and have faith and do good deeds, then fear God and have faith, then fear God and do kindness *(aḥsanū);* God loves those who do kindness."

The most obvious "ethics" usage of the root is with the form *iḥsān,* which occurs twelve times (Q 2:83, 178, 229; 4:36, 62; 6:151; 9:100; 16:90; 17:23; 46:15; 55:60 [twice]), e.g. "kindly treatment of parents" (Q 2:83, *bi-l-wālidayni iḥsānan*), or "Divorce twice, then take back with *ma'rūf* or release with *iḥsān*" (Q 2:229). The point of these passages is to incite the listener to what he/she knows to be proper behavior.

Indeed, among the most common terms

for virtuous acts, as a class, is *maʿrūf,* literally, "the known." It appears thirty-two times in the Qurʾān, but is so taken for granted as a concept that even the commentators do not feel a need to explain it (see the discussions on the first occurrence of the term, Q 2:178, in Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr;* Nīsābūrī, *Tafsīr;* Qurṭubī, *Jāmiʿ*). It is often paired with *iḥsān* and seems to mean nothing more specific than "good deed," or "virtuous conduct." It is worth noting that the implication of *maʿrūf,* as an ethical term, is that "the right thing" is known. One lexicographer suggests that the test of the *maʿrūf* is that "it is that in which the self finds ease *(sakinat ilayhi l-nafs)* and it deems it good, because of its goodness — intellectually, revelationally, and customarily" (Abū l-Baqāʾ, *Kulliyāt,* iv, 185). In other words, the Qurʾān assumes that some part of the good enjoined by the Qurʾān is known without revelational stipulation, perhaps being that which the Prophet's audience knew to be the good from earlier (pre-Islamic) times (see Hodgson, *Venture of Islam,* i, 163). The scope of the term may be suggested by Q 4:6: "[the guardian of orphans' wealth] who is poor: let him consume [of that wealth] what is appropriate *(fa-l-yaʾkul bi-l-maʿrūf)*" or Q 9:71: "And the faithful men and women are protégés of each other, commanding the good *(maʿrūf)* and forbidding the reprehensible *(munkar),* undertaking *ṣalāt* and paying *zakāt,* and obeying God and his messenger…" The phrase "commanding the good and forbidding the reprehensible *(al-amr bi-l-maʿrūf wa-l-nahy ʿan al-munkar)*" is one of the most common both in the Qurʾān and in later ethical and moral literature (for a recent discussion of this, see M. Cook, *Commanding right and forbidding wrong*). Here, the very word for "good" itself denotes a knowledge extrinsic to revelation.

None of these qurʾānic terms for virtue seems novel, though at least in the case of *birr* there is clear evidence of a term from pre-Islamic religious life being re-understood. For the most part, not only is the terminology of virtue familiar to the seventh century audience, but the very context of ethics is alluded to rather than specified. Although later Islamic ethical thought moved in the opposite direction (G. Hourani, *Reason and tradition,* 15-22; Reinhart, *Before revelation,* 62-76; 177-84), it is clear that the Qurʾān assumed its listeners knew the meaning of virtue, and could be assumed to recognize the virtuous course in a particular situation.

Vice

Vice, too is in large part assumed to be obvious in context. Perhaps it is here that the Qurʾān's appeal to prudence (see below) is most important. Vice is not defined, but the consequences of vicious behavior are set forth at length in the threats of judgment (q.v.) and punishment so prominent in all parts of the Qurʾān.

A common word for vice is *fasād,* and other words from the root. The root occurs forty-eight times in the Qurʾān, thirty-five times in stereotype with *fī l-arḍ,* "on (the) earth." Without the phrase "on (the) earth" it can mean "to ruin" (Q 27:34), and in other places it refers to *kufr,* rejection of or turning away from God (e.g. Q 3:63; 7:86; 16:88); in still other places *fasād* or *mufsid* is opposed to *ṣāliḥ* and so means "to do evil acts" (e.g. Q 2:220). In the cases where it is linked to the phrase "on (the) earth" it invites us to see the corruption of an otherwise benign state. It is the acts of humankind that corrupt the earth (see CORRUPTION): "Had not God repelled some of humankind by others the earth would have been corrupted" (*la-fasadati l-arḍu,* Q 2:251). The movement from literal ruin to metaphorical moral corruption can be seen in the glosses to the verse: "And when he (man) turns away he strives on

the earth to corrupt it and to destroy tillage *(al-ḥarth)* and the generations (q.v.; *al-nasl*)" (Q 2:205). The commentators harmonize these two terms and understand them first as "cropland and livestock," but also as "women and children" (see Nīsābūrī, *Tafsīr,* ii, 98-200; Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* ii, 312-9). Humans can, then, by malice, corrupt an otherwise benign creation; and humans, like crops, can be ruined by the moral depravity of others. In the latter case, the need for moral intervention (by others) is clear: if the vicious are not "repelled," they will corrupt others.

F-ḥ-sh is found twenty-four times in the Qurʾān and is defined as a transgression of the boundary (*al-ḥadd;* cf. Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* ii, 64). There is good reason to think, from its citation in verses referring to transgressions by wives (e.g. Q 4:15, 25) and the so-called people of Lot (q.v.; Q 27:54-5), that the term refers particularly to sexual transgression, of which "adultery" (*zinā,* see ADULTERY AND FORNICATION) is one instance (Q 17:32; see BOUNDARIES AND PRECEPTS).

The root *kh-b-th* is found twenty-two times in the Qurʾān, fourteen of them in the form *khabīth*. Like *f-ḥ-sh,* it evokes the notion of disgust, as in Q 21:74: "We delivered [Lot] from the village that was wont to practice wickednesses *(al-khabāʾith)*. Truly they were an evil people, depraved *(fāsiqīn)*." The term *khabīth* is frequently offered as the antinomy for the ordinary word *ṭayyib,* "good." These two are contrasted with each other and the attraction of the wicked is admitted: "Wickedness *(al-khabīth)* and good *(al-ṭayyib)* are not equivalent, though the plenitude of wickedness pleases you" (Q 5:100).

F-s-q is also sometimes a term of moral disapproval, indicating depravity of some sort. The root appears in the Qurʾān fifty-four times. Its semantic field includes cultic transgressions, such as swearing by divining arrows (Q 5:3; see FORETELLING; OATHS AND PROMISES) and betraying covenants (Q 3:81-2). For the most part, however, *f-s-q* is a term of theological opprobrium and Izutsu (*Concepts,* 157 f.) goes so far as to call it a species of *kufr*. Like other terms of ethical opprobrium, the term has little specific content — the Qurʾān's audience is to recognize it when they see it.

The meaning of the root *n-k-r* in the fourth form is "to disapprove," and so the passive participle *munkar* means "to be denied, be disavowed, disapproved of." It is regularly paired with *maʿrūf,* as a slogan, however, and so its meaning must also be "the wrong thing to do," "that which cannot be affirmed as right," "that which is known to be wrong." It occurs sixteen times in the Qurʾān, nearly always alongside *maʿrūf,* as in Q 3:113-4, where the most virtuous of the People of the Book (q.v.) are described as reciting the signs of God and prostrating themselves, having faith in God and the last day, commanding the *maʿrūf* and forbidding the *munkar,* competing in the doing of good deeds *(khayrāt):* "… they are among the virtuous *(al-ṣāliḥīn)*" (Q 3:114).

Ithm, junāḥ, dhanb, khaṭaʾ, and *jurm* are all terms for acts disapproved of, and each is frequently translated as "sin"; these five terms refer primarily to a violation of one of the legal or ritual norms instituted in Qurʾān. Although an illegality or ritual transgression is an ethical failure in the qurʾānic view, there does remain a sense in which these are formalistic failings that do not incite feelings of repulsion as do the other terms discussed above. *Ithm,* for instance, appears in Q 2:85 referring to a covenant *(mīthāq)* violated (cf. Q 2:84), and in Q 6:120 in reference to failure to recite the name of God over food; in Q 58:9 it refers to conspiring, after having been "forbidden conspiracy/confidential conversation" (*nuhū ʿan al-najwā,* Q 53:8). *Junāḥ* is

connected to circumambulating Ṣafā and Marwa during *ḥajj* or *ʿumra* (see PILGRIMAGE) in Q 2:158, while in Q 4:24 the term refers to additional contractual stipulations in addition to the bride-portion. *Dhanb* is found in, for instance, Q 26:14 where it refers to murder as grounds for punishment; and in Q 81:9 the female infant asks what transgression of hers justifies her being killed (*bi-ayyi dhanbin qutilat,* see INFANTICIDE). *Khaṭaʾ* is equivalent to *junāḥ,* as in Q 33:5, which is concerned with the technicalities of lineage determination: "There is no technical transgression in mistakes you make." In Q 4:92, *khaṭaʾ* refers to mistaken killing, while Q 2:286 connects the word in its fourth verbal form to "forgetting."

It is harder to assign a precise scope to *jurm*. In Q 11:89 the term in its first verbal form refers to the failings of the people to whom the prophets Noah (q.v.), Hūd (q.v.), Ṣāliḥ (q.v.) and Lot were sent. Q 10:17 suggests that a *mujrim* is someone who declares God and his revelations to be false, and the *mujrimūn* about to fall into the fire (q.v.) in Q 18:53 seem to refer to those who associated gods with God (see Q 18:52); Q 25:31 states that the enemy who is appointed for every prophet comes "from the *mujrimīn*." A *mujrim* seems, then, to be one of those damned for what are theological, rather than strictly ethical, transgressions.

The three words *sayyiʾ*/*sawʾ*/*sūʾ* (all from the same root: *s-w-ʾ*) correspond well to the semantic scope of the English word "evil," both in its applicability to misfortunate acts, that is, natural evil, as in Q 16:58-9: "If one of them is given news of [the birth of] a female, his face darkens and he is silently angry; he retreats from people as a result of the evil news given him *(min sūʾi mā bushshira bihi)*…," and to morally reprehensible acts, i.e. theological or moral evil, as in Q 6:136, a verse that speaks of the tribal custom of giving tithes to "partners" of God: "Evil is their rule *(sāʾa mā yaḥkumūna)*." It may be that the root suggests evil to be an intrinsic feature of the act, as in Q 4:17-8 where "evil" deeds are done unwittingly: "… those who do evil in ignorance *(yaʿmalūna l-sūʾa bi-jahālatin)*…" Al-Nīsābūrī (*Tafsīr,* ii, 64) adds that *sūʾ* encompasses "all acts of disobedience, whether of the limbs or of the mind *(qalb)*."

Without doubt, words from the root *z-l-m* are the most frequent terms for wrong-doing, appearing 310 times in the Qurʾān. The meaning of this term is complex and has engendered a relatively large body of discussion (e.g. Izutsu, *Concepts,* 164-77; Hourani, Injuring oneself; Husain, The meaning of zulm). In the broadest sense, the root means "wrong," or "wrong-doing," e.g. Q 40:17: "[On the day of judgment] each soul is requited according to what it has earned. No wrongdoing *(zulm)* on the day! God is swift at reckoning *(ḥisāb)*." This last word, the commercial term "reckoning, calculating, accounting," suggests that *zulm* is *unearned harm* — either in deed or in proportion. It is undeserved conduct vis-à-vis another that is denoted by *zulm* and its cognates.

The objects of *zulm* have occasioned much discussion. First, one human can do *zulm* to another by theft (cf. Q 12:75), by consuming an orphan's property (Q 4:10), or by preventing the faithful from going to worship (cf. Q 2:114). Second, one can wrong God: "Whoever transgresses God's limits, they are the *ẓālimūn*" (Q 2:229); also, "who does greater wrong than one who, reminded of the signs of his lord, turns away from them" (*wa-man aẓlamu mimman dhukkira bi-āyāti rabbihi fa-aʿraḍa ʿanhā,* Q 18:57). There can be no question of "harming" God — as an orphan is harmed by having his property consumed — but rather of "doing wrong by him," given the obligations that obtain in the relation between humankind and God (see above).

The third and most controversial object of *zulm* is the self *(ẓalama nafsahu)*. Thirty-six times the Qurʾān links the self/soul with *zulm,* e.g. Q 7:23: "They (Adam and Eve) said: 'Our lord! We have wronged ourselves *(ẓalamnā anfusanā)*. If you do not forgive us and show us mercy we shall be among the lost!'" The faithless, whose fate is the fire (of hell), are also described as people who have "wronged themselves:" "The likeness of what they (the faithless) spend in this worldly life is to a frosty wind which strikes the crops of a people who wronged themselves, then destroyed it: God did not wrong them but they wrong themselves *(wa-lākin anfusahum yazlimūn)*" (Q 3:117); "Then we gave the book as inheritance *(awrathnā)* to those whom we chose of our bondsmen — among them were those who wrong themselves *(minhum ẓālimun li-nafsihi),* among them were those who are tepid, and among them are those who race ahead in good deeds by God's leave…" (Q 35:32).

Hourani (Injuring oneself, 49-51) points out that the concept of "wronging oneself," as a purely ethical concept, is problematic, especially from the point of view of the Aristotelian tradition that has dominated Western (and Islamic philosophical) ethical reflection. "Wronging," that is, acting in a way that evokes the judgment that an act is morally unjust, requires the object of the action to be non-consenting, and unless one is a dualist, the agent (the "wronger") of acts done to the self necessarily consents in actions done by the agent. Therefore, one cannot be "morally unjust to," i.e. "wrong," the self. Hourani suggests that implicit in the root meaning of *ẓ-l-m* is the notion of harm, as well as wrong. Consequently, *ẓālim li-nafsihi* is "harming oneself," inasmuch as a moral transgression has harmful consequences on the day of judgment. He concedes there may be in these qurʾānic passages some notion of the wrongdoer as having harmed himself because of some quality of the vicious acts done, although he thinks it likely that this is a later, philosophical reading into the qurʾānic text (Hourani, Injuring oneself, 56).

Acts, then, are categorized by the Qurʾān in terminology suggesting strongly that its message is to exhort Muslims to do the right act and eschew the wrong act, more than to define for them right and wrong. The same seems to be true of concepts for categorizing moral actors.

Classifying actors

Virtuous acts are signs of *ṭāʿa,* "obedience," "submissiveness," or "allegiance," on the part of humankind (Lane, 1890-1; see Q 3:100, where a Muslim obedient to People of the Book allies himself to their rejectionism, when the Muslim had previously been one of the faithful). One obeys God and his messenger and those given command: "And the faithful men and faithful women are protégés of each other, commanding the good *(al-maʿrūf)* and forbidding the reprehensible, undertaking *ṣalāt* and paying *zakāt,* and obeying God and his messenger — to these God will show mercy" (Q 9:7; cf. 3:32; 4:59, 8:1). Obedience is a public, not a private virtue (Q 24:53, Q 47:21). Those who are obedient and loyal not only ally with each other as "protecting friends," or protégés, as above, but ally themselves with God as well: "And the wrongdoers *(ẓālimūn)* have no protector *(walī)* nor ally. Or have they chosen protectors *(awliyāʾ)* other than him? But God [alone] is the *walī*" (Q 42:8-9). The virtuous then are protégés or clients (see CLIENTS AND CLIENTAGE; PROTECTION) of God and "no fear comes to the protégés of God nor do they grieve" (Q 10:62).

The opposite of the virtuous, the unrighteous, are those who "rebel against" *(ʿ-ṣ-y)* God. Adam's transgression was that he

rebelled against his lord (Q 20:121), while Pharaoh (q.v.) also rebelled against the messenger that God sent (Q 73:16). Rebellion is listed as a failing which the faithful avoid: "[O you who are faithful]… God has made you love faith and has made it beautiful to your hearts and made hateful to you ingratitude *(kufr),* wickedness *(fusūq)* and rebellion *('iṣyān)*. These are the rightly-guided!" (Q 49:7).

The wicked are not just moral failures but active "enemies of God." The notion of moral transgression as enmity gives a sharply affective edge to the notion of ethical failure. It is not, in qur'ānic discourse, that the vicious are merely misguided, but their moral failures make them active agents of corruption and opponents of God and his messenger: "… [The hypocrites] had faith, then rejected; their hearts are sealed up so they cannot understand… They are the enemy, so beware of them! May God fight them; what liars they are!" (Q 63:3-4). The nature of this enmity is emphasized by the numerous places in which Satan, too, is described as an enemy — of mankind and of God. (e.g. Q 7:22; 12:5; 35:6; 43:62). Enmity toward God is heartily reciprocated: "Who is an enemy of God and his angels and his messengers and Gabriel (q.v.) and Michael (q.v.), then God is an enemy to the ingrates *(kāfirīn)*" (Q 2:98).

Despite this emotional characterization of ethical transgressors, the most prominent description of those who believe or act wrongly, is that they are "astray" *(ḍ-l-l* or *gh-w-y):* "Adam rebelled against his lord, and so went astray *(ghawā)*" (Q 20:121); "… who rebels against God and his messenger has manifestly gone far astray *(qad ḍalla ḍalālan mubīnan)*" (Q 33:36). The ethical implication of this terminology is that the errant can find, or be led to the correct path again. Repentance requires reform, however: "Who does evil out of ignorance *(bi-jahālatin)* then repents afterwards and does well *(aṣlaḥa)* [then God] is forgiving, merciful" (Q 6:54). Such a view is completely consonant with the qur'ānic emphasis on God as merciful, compassionate, and forgiving, themes found on nearly every page of the Qur'ān. Forgiveness (q.v.) is a human virtue as well: "And those who avoid the greatest sins and indecencies and when angry, they forgive" (Q 42:37; see also 42:40, 43).

Though there may be other terms with a scope that would place them under "ethics" (e.g. *fājir, i'tidā',* etc.), this sample suffices to show the shape and content of qur'ānic ethical valuation. Acts have moral values, and morally aware humans, as humans, recognize these values. The lie (q.v.) is bad, an act of kindness toward one's parents is good. Acts are valued also because they affirm or deny theological truth or they signify obedience or disobedience to Islamic cultic norms. For the most part, however, the human capacity for moral knowledge suffices to provide judgment in particular cases. The details of moral conduct need not be specified. The qur'ānic contribution is less information that this act is good, that act bad, than it is the clarification of the stakes in choosing a particular ethical path. One may be God's protégé or God's enemy; a final judgment will recompense virtue and the oppressed and punish vice and the oppressors. The Qur'ān, in sum, does not so much inform as incite, it calls not so much for the correct assessment of acts, as for action.

Ethical knowledge and moral reasoning

From this discussion of ethical terminology, it should be obvious that the ethical epistemology of the Qur'ān differs from ethical epistemology as it developed within later Islamic theology and jurisprudence (see G. Hourani *Islamic rationalism,* passim; Reinhart, *Before revelation,* passim).

As we saw above, the ability of humankind to perceive values, and the assumption of already-existing Arab cultural norms play a role in the knowledge of right and wrong. As Hourani noticed, (Ethical presuppositions) the Qur'ān takes for granted that thinking, or reflecting, will guide one to right action. (Even later commentators, who otherwise rejected this epistemological theory, recognized that the Qur'ān refers to knowledge that is common to all humans, e.g. Qurṭubī, *Jāmiʿ*, v, 185, commenting on Q 4:36, says: "Scholars are utterly agreed that this *āya* is efficacious — nothing of it is abrogated. And it is [found] thus in all the scriptures. Even if this were not so, this would be known by means of the intellect, even if it were not revealed in scripture.")

Though the noun *ʿaql* (glossed variously as "intellect, reason, mind") is never referred to, the Qur'ān uses verbal forms of *ʿ-q-l* for the activity of thinking, reflecting, ratiocinating, 49 times. There are places where it seems to mean something like "using common sense," and others where it means, "reflect and draw the logical conclusions." Both aspects of using the *ʿaql* are relevant for qur'ānic epistemology, as when the Qur'ān suggests that to read scripture requires one to draw the conclusion that righteous behavior is enjoined on scriptuaries as on others: "Do you command that people be good *(birr)* and you forget yourselves, while you yourselves recite scripture? Have you not reflected? *(a-fa-lā taʿqilūn)*" (Q 2:44). It seems that the signs of God — which include but are not limited to scripture — must be reflected upon before action takes place; but when they are reflected upon one is led to moral truth: "Thus God makes clear his signs that perhaps you might reflect *(laʿallakum taʿqilūna)*" (Q 2:242). The Qur'ān repeatedly lists features of nature (see NATURAL WORLD AND THE QUR'ĀN) — e.g. that man has eyes (q.v.), ears (q.v.), a heart; that God has metaphorically sown humans on the earth; that he has given life and death and distinguished night from day — and urges the hearer to draw the right conclusion: "Will you not reflect *(a-fa-lā taʿqilūn)?*" (cf. Q 23:78-80). Ignoring the knowledge the intellect provides leads one to perdition: "[The people of hell] say, 'Had we listened or reflected *(naʿqilu)* we would not have been among the dwellers in the flames'" (Q 67:10). Likewise, ethical reflection can prevent one from being led astray and into moral transgression: "[Satan] has led a large group of you astray; did you not reflect *(a-fa-lam takūnū taʿqilūn)?*" (Q 36:62). It would seem that an argument based on proof *(burhān)* is decisive — again a reference to thought as a source of religio-ethical knowledge: "And we extract from every nation a witness and we say, 'Bring your proof *(burhān)!*' Then they will know the truth is with God and what they invented has led them astray" (Q 28:75).

The same appears to be true for the root *f-k-r,* which is used 97 times. The root appears, as does *ʿaql,* in assertions that humans have been given the means to religio-moral knowledge if they reflect upon what they know: "They ask you about date-wine (*khamr,* see INTOXICANTS) and games of chance (*maysir,* see GAMBLING). Say: In both is great sin *(ithm),* and utility for humankind, though their sin is greater than their utility. They ask you also what to spend. Say: What is superfluous. Thus God clarifies to you the signs, perhaps you will consider *(laʿallakum tatafakkarūn)*" (Q 2:219; cf. 2:242).

Despite the existence of epistemologically significant signs (q.v.), and the injunction to reflect upon them, there are still matters where the Qur'ān suggests that intuition and reflection are insufficient: the Qur'ān repeatedly says "prescribed *(kataba* or *kutiba)* for you/them is such and such,"

followed by a rule or an adjuration (e.g. 2:187; Q 2:216 for warfare). In many other cases, such a prescription is indicated by the simple imperative: "Give orphans their property" (Q 4:2); or "Call to witness against [adulterous women] four of you" (Q 4:15). The claim of God to make such prescriptions is rooted in several covenantal assumptions (see above), but the form of the command implies that this is a moral requirement whose justification is simple — it is God's command. Implicit in the command form, however, is also the epistemological assertion that this norm is not *definitively* known except by revelation — hence we may read for *kutiba ʿalaykum,* "it is [scripturally] ordained for you" (Q 2:216) and in the divine imperative "[God orders in this revelation that you] call to witness…" (Q 4:15). The intellect is not a sufficient guide; it may also not be an altogether reliable guide; some acts clearly may seem intuitionally to be repulsive, while they are nonetheless enjoined upon the faithful: "Battle is ordained for you though it is hateful to you; it may happen that you hate a thing, but it is good for you, and it may happen that you love a thing and it is evil for you; God knows and you do not" (Q 2:216). Because "God knows and you do not," revelation remains an indispensable part of the qurʾānic moral epistemology. Nonetheless, most medieval Muslim scholars underestimated the role assigned to ethical reflection by the Qurʾān in Islamic moral knowledge (see G. Hourani, *Reason and tradition;* Reinhart, *Before revelation*).

Nature of the Qurʾān's ethical stipulations

It is often suggested that the Qurʾān is full of rules, or, in more contemporary phraseology, that "the Qurʾān contains rules for every aspect of life." In fact, even the most liberal counting produces only 500 verses (albeit, many of these are very long — sometimes, as much as ten or twenty times the length of the shorter verses) of the roughly 6220 in the Qurʾān that are "rules" (al-Mahdī li-Dīn Allāh, *al-Baḥr,* i, 238-308), and these include many *āyāt* with important legal implications. Yet these could hardly be called 'rules" in the normal sense of the word: e.g. "He it is who created for you that which is on the earth" (Q 2:29); or "Woe to those worshiping heedless of their worship who make show [of worship] but refuse to give aid" (Q 107:4-7).

It is useful to recognize that the kinds of qurʾānic ethical stipulations can be sorted roughly into three classes, which we might call rules, principles, and admonitions to virtue.

Rules

"Rules" are decrees, which usually occur in the imperative. They are distinguished from principles and admonitions by the way in which their observance or neglect is assessed. Rules are either observed or not observed — the statement "Aḥmad observes the rule, 'Forbidden to you is carrion and blood and the meat of swine (Q 5:3)'," is true if he avoids those things, and false if he does not avoid them. There are rules aplenty in the first several sections of the Qurʾān (i.e. those revealed in the later periods of revelation), and these stipulate diet (e.g. Q 2:173), how to divorce (e.g. Q 2:227-32; see MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE), cultic practice (Q 3:57), etiquette (e.g. 24:27) contracting debt (2:282; see DEBTS), as well as many other matters (see LAWFUL AND UNLAWFUL).

Principles

Yet to characterize the ethical content of the Qurʾān as "rules" would be a mistake. A good deal of the qurʾānic ethical advice and command is not in the form of rules, but what Dworkin calls "principles:"

"Principles are standards to be observed… because it is a requirement of justice or fairness or some other dimension of morality…" (Is law a system of rules?, 43). "Principles are not applied, as rules are, in an 'all or nothing' fashion, but instead, a principle is something which [one] must take into account… as a consideration inclining in one direction or another" (ibid., 47). Principles have a dimension of "weight" or relative importance which one must take into account when two or more principles are in conflict — which, because of their generality, they often are (see PROHIBITED DEGREES).

Principles may look to a qur'ānic reader like rules, but a consideration of some will show their difference. For instance, there is the maxim "The good deed *(al-ḥasana)* and the evil deed *(al-sayyi'a)* are not equivalent; repel [harm] by what is better…" (Q 41:34). This sort of Golden Rule, in its generality, can hardly be said to be observed or not observed in an 'all or nothing fashion,' as a rule is. To obey this injunction is not like avoiding swineflesh. One must judge that a given act in a given situation is better than other alternatives — all of which might also be good. The principle in Q 41:34 might be seen to conflict, in some situations, with other principles, such as "Warfare [in the sacred month] is a major [transgression] but blocking [one] from the way of God and rejecting him and expelling people from the sacred mosque is greater with God; tribulation *(al-fitna)* is greater than killing" (Q 2:217; see FIGHTING). So, if one is blocked from the sacred mosque during the sacred month, does one "return evil with good," or bear in mind that "tribulation is worse than warfare?" The Muslim must weigh these two principles, and make a decision based on how they are weighted. (This is not the same as resolving a conflict between two rules; both principles are invoked and in force.) There are many such principles — some obviously moral maxims, some less obviously so: "Do not be extravagant; God has no love for the extravagant" (Q 6:141); or, "Those who are steadfast in desiring the countenance of their lord and undertake the worship *(al-ṣalāt)* and spend of what we bestowed upon them covertly and overtly and overcome evil with good: It is they whose aftermath will be the home (*'uqbā l-dār,* i.e. paradise)" (Q 13:22). The Muslim is to weigh the value of spending versus the folly of extravagance, according to the situation. There is no rule in either of these texts, only principles. In fact, the majority of the Qur'ān's injunctions are of this sort — guidelines rather than stipulations.

Some of these maxims, too, are orientational rather than prescriptive. The Qur'ān elaborates upon Q 13:22 a few verses later: "God expands the provision of those whom he wishes, and contracts [it for those whom he wishes] while they rejoice in the life of the world — but what is the life of the world but [mere] pleasure compared to the afterlife? (Q 13:26). This passage, too, shapes the ethical perspective of the attentive Muslim, but it is certainly not a rule or a call to a specific action. It is, rather, a principle, a moral fact which, to differing degrees, according to the situation, will inform his or her moral judgment.

Ethicists who describe ethical knowledge and reflection as grounded in rules have recently come under criticism. And the critics of such analysis would find support in the style of qur'ānic ethical discourse. Some of these critics assert the relative importance of moral *reasoning* over moral rules, and, though the distinction is sometimes artificial, it is clear that these qur'ānic principles have more to do with judicious judgment after reflection than with mere obedience or following prescriptions. The importance of the intellect (q.v.; *'aql*) and reflecting upon *(fikr)* likewise

suggest that the Qur'ān is less about prescription than about guidelines and comparative judgment.

Admonitions to virtue

There is another critical perspective, however, that also finds support in qur'ānic ethics, and this is the claim that ethics is about the *cultivation of virtues* more than it is about rules or reasoning. For such ethicists, it is emulation rather than obedience or reflection that shapes most ethical endeavors. From this perspective, ethical questions are not decided by reflection of the sort "What ought I to do?" but, rather, "What would the sort of person I want to be do in this case?" The domain of this ethical method is virtue — how to be courageous, what is courage in a given situation, what is generosity, and so on.

The Qur'ān has many references to virtues and to specific vices. Goldziher has argued (*MS* [Eng. tr.], i, 18-44) and Izutsu concurs (*Concepts,* 45-119) that the Qur'ān redefines and sometimes denigrates the tribal virtues summed up in the term "manliness" *(muruwwa),* and moves the Muslim toward a new set of religious virtues. Izutsu suggests that, nonetheless, there is a religious re-appropriation of some of these tribal virtues by giving them "a consistent theoretical basis" (*Concepts,* 45). Here we can offer only a brief demonstration of qur'ānic virtues to show the importance of these themes in the Qur'ān's ethical discourse (for more detailed discussions of some of these virtues, see VIRTUES AND VICES; JUSTICE AND INJUSTICE; TRUST AND PATIENCE; PIETY).

Justice (*'adl,* literally, "equity" and *qist,* "giving fair measure") is repeatedly enjoined throughout the Qur'ān. *'Adl* is used in quasi-legal contexts (cf. Q 2:282; 4:58), but elsewhere seems to mean simply "being fair" or "fairness" (cf. Q 4:3, 129; 16:76, 90). Almost as important as *'adl* is its near synonym *qisṭ.* The root letters *q-s-ṭ* appear in various forms, and with various glosses, often linked to judging in judicial matters (e.g. Q 2:282): sometimes as a mere synonym of *'adl* (e.g. Q 49:9); more generally, as the virtue "equity:" "Oh you who believe! Be upright in equity *(kūnū qawwāmīna bi-l-qisṭ),* witnesses to God" (Q 4:135; cf. 5:8). God likewise will act with *qisṭ* (Q 21:47). As with the terms for "good" and "bad" discussed above, the exact scope of *qisṭ* is not spelled out in the Qur'ān; rather, the term appeals to the sense of virtue latent in its listeners, inculcated by moral education and moral exemplars — surely including the prophet Muḥammad.

Other virtues enjoined on Muslims include endurance *(ṣabr)* and integrity *(ṣidq).* Endurance (*ṣ-b-r,* in various forms) is among the most commonly cited virtues in the Qur'ān. It seems to mean something like the ability to maintain commitment despite difficult circumstances (Q 2:177) and to persevere. One is to show fortitude, and do good deeds (*ṣāliḥāt,* Q 11:11); to be persistent and rely upon [the] lord (Q 16:42); to struggle and be steadfast (Q 16:110): "Endure *(ṣbirū),* show fortitude toward others *(ṣābirū),* be steadfast *(rābiṭū),* fear God, that you might succeed" (Q 3:200; cf. 68:48, "wait steadfastly for your lord's decree *[fa-ṣbir li-ḥukmi rabbika]*"). *Ṣabr* is something prayed for (e.g. Q 2:250; 7:126) and the term is frequently paired with *ṣ-d-q.*

Though the root *ṣ-d-q* is often translated as "telling the truth," it is clear that the term means, rather, something like "integrity" or "being true to"; that is, it calls for a correspondence between reality and speech, behavior and public profession. It means fulfilling promises (*ṣādiqīn,* Q 34:29), and therefore *ṣidq* can be something characteristic of God whose threats and promises are not empty (*ṣadaqa llāhu,* Q 3:95; 33:22), and also of humankind who must act in accordance with their profes-

sions of faith (Q 33:23). In addition to acting out one's faith, the root also implies a public quality, a proclaiming of one's allegiance — the root concept of *ṣadīq,* "friend" (Q 26:101). The archetypes of this public integrity are prophets such as Abraham (q.v.) and Idrīs (q.v.), each of whom is an affirmer, a warner (q.v.; *ṣiddīqan nabiyyan,* Q 19:41, 56). The concept underlying these words is simply the public performance of commitments made in private.

The vices contrary to these virtues would be pretension, boasting (see BOAST), and hypocrisy; all three are the objects of qur'ānic obloquy. For example, the Qur'ān condemns acting pretentiously, i.e. without integrity between conduct and true moral commitment, in "those who spend their wealth in the sight of men" (Q 4:38), or, "Why do you say what you do not do? It is hateful to God that you say what you do not do" (Q 61:2-3). Hypocrites *(munāfiqūn)* are condemned because "they say with their mouths what is not in their hearts" (Q 3:167). The root *n-f-q* appears 34 times in this sense: "The hypocrites fool God; he fools them! If they rise to worship they stand up sluggishly to be seen *(yurā'ūn)* by the people nor do they mention God but a little" (Q 4:142).

There are many virtues and vices commanded and condemned in the Qur'ān — Donaldson (*Studies,* 16 f.) lists humility (see MODESTY), honesty, giving to the poor (see POVERTY AND THE POOR), kindness, and trustworthiness, and as vices he mentions boasting, blasphemy (q.v.), slander — and there are many more besides. Indeed, there are lists of virtues and vices at many points in the Qur'ān, for instance Q 17:23-39, which Donaldson (*Studies,* 25) compares to the Decalogue (though there are 11 points — 4 virtues and 7 vices listed). Q 25:63-72 is a series of injunctions to dignity and equipoise; Q 31:13-19 enjoins theological commitment and modest reserve (cf. Q 2:177; 4:36; for other discussions see Donaldson, *Studies,* 14-59; al-Shamma, *Ethical system,* passim).

Ethical sociology

In recent literature, ethics is discussed mostly as a series of problems that the individual faces as an individual. Universal ethics is assumed to require an interchangeability among persons, and it is only very recently that ethical "roles" have received the attention they require. In the Qur'ān, while the locus of moral responsibility is the individual, the nature of one's moral responsibilities is in large part shaped by the group to which one belongs: some roles entail behaviors, some roles (on the part of others) provoke behaviors. There is also a sense in which the community as a whole is viewed as a moral agent (a perspective articulated in later legal thought as the concept of *farḍ al-kifāya* (J. Esposito (ed.), *Oxford encyclopedia of the modern Islamic world,* s.v. *farḍ al-kifāyah*). The constantly-repeated refrain ordaining that Muslims "command the good and forbid the reprehensible" *(al-amr bi-l-maʿrūf wa-l-nahy ʿan al-munkar)* assumes one party exhorting another. So it is necessary here to discuss "ethical sociology" — the groups recognized by the Qur'ān as incurring or provoking distinctive moral attitudes and behaviors. The corporate bodies recognized in qur'ānic ethics and discussed below are: Muslims (and *mu'min*s, "believers"), scriptuaries (i.e. Peoples of the Book), hypocrites, and rejectors.

The Qur'ān acknowledges the existence of what might be called "ethnicity" — that is, tribal and ethnic identities (see TRIBES AND CLANS), though it maintains that piety outweighs ethnic descent: "O people! We have created you male and female and have made you peoples *(shuʿūb)* and tribes *(qabā'il)* that you might know one another. But the noblest with God is the most

god-fearing *(atqā)* among you" (Q 49:13). Yet though recognized, "tribe" seems to be a pejorative term since it is otherwise found to refer only to Satan's minions (Q 7:27). The other term for such social groups, *ḥizb* (pl. *aḥzāb*), is found more frequently, but it, too, suggests divisiveness (though there is a *ḥizb Allāh,* a "clan of God" [Q 5:56; 58:22], in opposition to the *ḥizb shayṭān,* the clan of Satan [Q 58:19]). None of these "political" categories has any ethical significance.

Muslims and non-Muslims

The Qur'ān uses the term nation *(umma),* which seems to be the people who fall under the jurisdiction of a particular prophet's message (e.g. Q 10:47) and who share a particular "historical epoch *(ajal)*" (Q 7:34). Thus Christians and Jews form communities separate from Muslims. This distinction between nations is deliberate (Q 11:118; cf. 5:48; 10:19; 16:93; 42:8), and consequently the relations of Muslims to each other differ from their relations to other "nations," such as the Christians and the Jews (see CHRISTIANS AND CHRISTIANITY; JEWS AND JUDAISM).

This "Islamic *umma*" (a phrase not attested in the Qur'ān; rather, "a nation submissive to you," *ummatan muslimatan laka,* Q 2:128) is envisioned as a community of virtue: "Who call to the good *(al-khayr)* command the good *(al-ma'rūf),* and forbid the reprehensible *(al-munkar):* These are the successful" (Q 3:104). Muslims are urged to collaborate in virtue and not vice (cf. Q 5:2), and they are in law a single entity (cf. Q 5:48). Harmony among its members is enjoined: "Let not one group ridicule another group which might [in fact] be better than they *(khayran minhum);* nor women [ridicule] other women who might be better than they; neither defame yourselves nor apply derisive nicknames; bad is the name depraved *(bi'sa l-ismu l-fusūqu)* after faith" (Q 49:11). Sūra 49 has the rules to construct the social solidarity of the Muslim *umma.* Some of the rules are rules of courtesy — lowered voices, not yelling at people who are indoors (Q 49:2-5; see Qurṭubī, *Jāmi',* xvi, 303-10). Others are rules of law to deal with disorder within the community: support the correct side but make peace between the groups in conflict (Q 49:9). Suspicion (q.v.; *ẓann*), spying, and gossip (q.v.) are compared to eating the flesh of one's dead brother (Q 49:12). The faithful are given status as brethren (Q 49:10; see BROTHER AND BROTHERHOOD). In this sūra, too, is the distinction (not of much account elsewhere) between the faithful *(al-mu'minūn)* who have faith without uncertainty and strive *(jāhadū)* with their property and themselves in the path of God *(fī sabīli llāhi,* see PATH OR WAY), and are people of integrity *(al-ṣādiqūn),* as opposed to the Bedouin (q.v.), who, instead of saying, "We have faith *(āmannā),*" ought to say "We submit *(aslamnā),*" for the faith has not entered their hearts (cf. Q 49:14-5).

The visible commitment to the Islamic summons and the willingness to sacrifice money, comfort and life to that end define the roles and responsibilities in qur'ānic social ethics. Those who have joined the Muslim community physically, and sacrificed their wealth, are protégés of each other (or the faithful in general; cf. Q 9:71; 8:72). Those who have not joined the community are not entitled to the same support unless they actually seek it "in religion" *(fī l-dīn);* then Muslims are duty-bound to aid them — unless there be a treaty in force to the contrary (Q 8:72).

Since the Muslims are a single group, relations with non-Muslims are shaped by that fact. Yet, in the end, the claims of ethical behavior outweigh those of communal solidarity. The distinction between Muslims and non-Muslim Peoples of the Book

is fundamental to qur'ānic behavioral norms, but a common ethical monotheism of the members of these traditions seems to underlie more superficial distinctions. For example, Q 3:84-5 lists in credal fashion the faith described as Muslim, in a way that is inclusive of more than just the *umma* of Muḥammad: "We have faith in God, in what has been sent down to us and what has been sent to Abraham, Ishmael (q.v.)… We do not distinguish any of them from the others. We are to him submitters. And who follows other than the submission *(al-islām)* as a religion *(dīnan)* — it will not be accepted from him; he will be, in the afterlife, a loser" (Q 3:84-5). Consequently the Qur'ān recognizes the existence of virtue and even religious virtue among Peoples of the Book: "… Of the People of the Book, there is an established people reciting the signs of God at the time of night prostrating themselves. They have faith in God and the last day and they command the good and forbid the reprehensible and hasten to good deeds *(al-khayrāt);* these are among the righteous *(al-ṣāliḥīn)*. And whatever good they do, they will not be rejected" (Q 3:113-4). In other words, the Qur'ān assumes a moral universe shared with the other Peoples of the Book.

Christians and Jews, then, are not a demonized Other, the anti-thesis of Muslims, but they belong to the same religious genus. Yet, because of their theological errors, and, more importantly, due to their animus against Islam (cf. Q 5:82 for the anti-Jewish and anti-"associator" polemic), the Muslims are enjoined not to take them as friends: "O you who are faithful! Do not take the Jews and Christians as friends. They are each other's protégés *(awliyā')*. Who has taken one of them as a protégé — he is one of them. God does not guide a wrong-doing people" (Q 5:51; the whole anti-People of the Book polemic can be found at Q 5:41-82; see also Q 3:118; 4:144; see POLEMIC AND POLEMICAL LANGUAGE). Furthermore, their theology leads them to moral error (Q 5:62-3).

Indeed, it is the claim of the scriptuaries that moral norms do not apply to other than their own moral communities that brings God's condemnation: "… And among [the People of the Book] are those who if you entrust them with a *dīnār,* do not return it to you unless you insist upon it; this is because they say 'We have no duty toward the gentiles (*al-ummiyyīn,* see ILLITERACY).' They say of God a falsehood, which they know" (Q 3:75). Only a single verse enjoins struggle against People of the Book (this, contrary to Vajda in *EI²,* i, 264): "Fight those who do not believe in God nor the last day and do not forbid that which God and his messengers have forbidden and who are not religious with the religion of truth *(lā yadīnūna dīna l-ḥaqqi)* from among those given the scripture until they give a reward [for being spared] while they are ignominious" (Q 9:29; for this translation, see Bravmann, Ancient Arab background). In sum, the boundaries of religious identity are irreducible in the qur'ānic understanding and crucially shape the ethical conduct of Muslims toward one another and towards others. A norm of moral conduct that transcends communal boundaries is, however, equally a part of the qur'ānic message.

Of social groups other than the People of the Book, two groups remain. One is the *munāfiq*s. Whatever the original meaning of this term, the usage of the Qur'ān conforms to the traditional definition of the term as "hypocrites" (for a survey of the term and its interpretation, see Brockett, al-Munāfiḳūn). Though *munāfiq*s may be analyzed as a separate group in various ways, for the present purpose they may be viewed as insincere Muslims. Sincerity and pretension are discussed in this article both above and below.

The final social group that has ethical significance is the *kāfir* (ingrate, rejecter, unbeliever, pl. *kuffār*), who is equivalent to the *mushrik* (polytheist, syntheist, associationalist). Their theological errancy leads them also to commit morally aberrant acts and the qur'ānic instruction on their treatment is uncompromising — they are to be fought and subdued and compelled to acknowledge the single God and his messenger, save in the case of a compact (Q 9:4-6). So central is the animus against the nonfaithful that qur'ānic citations could fill this article, but a few of the clear ones follow: "Will you not fight a folk who broke their oaths and sought to expel the messenger — they began it with you first!… Fight them! God will chastise them with your hands and then will abase them and give you victory over them…" (Q 9:13-4); "So do not obey the ingrates *(al-kāfirīn)* but struggle against them with a mighty struggle" (Q 25:52; see also Q 9:5); "So fight them until there is no disorder *(fitna)* and religion — all of it — is for God!" (Q 8:39). As with Christians and Jews, Muslim women may not be given up to *kuffār*, but while the scriptuary women may marry Muslim men, *kāfir* women may not. Thus, Muslims are a group distinct from other — Wagner suggests that Islam creates a spiritual endogamy (*La justice,* 37).

Yet even with the *kuffār*, there are places where a more generous response is enjoined: "It may be that God ordains affection between you and those of them who act with enmity toward you… God has not forbidden you — with respect to those who did not war against you in religion nor drove you from your houses — that you be good to them *(tabarrūhum)* and equitable with them…" (Q 60:7-8). It must also be said that identification with the *kuffār* is easily changed: "Yet if they cease, God sees what they do" (Q 8:39), and "Say to those who reject that if they cease, it will be forgiven them…" (Q 8:38), and even "If any of the polytheists seeks your protection, protect him that he might hear the word of God *(kalāma llāhi)*, then convey him to his secure place; that is because they are a folk who do not know" (Q 9:6).

Muslims

The Islamic community contains only two categories of persons: Muslims, and the Prophet (who is "dearer to the faithful than themselves," Q 33:6) and his family (see FAMILY OF THE PROPHET; PEOPLE OF THE HOUSE). Muḥammad's wives (see WIVES OF THE PROPHET), called "mothers of the faithful" (Q 33:6) are not allowed to remarry (Q 33:53) and their punishment for immorality is double that of other women (Q 33:30). The Prophet is permitted different marriage practices (Q 33:50) and his acts are exemplary (Q 33:21). His decisions are not subject to appeal (cf. Q 33:36). Yet, he, too, is subject to rebuke for ethical failure (80:1-10; see IMPECCABILITY) and his judgment in earthly affairs is subject to error (Q 34:50). In all, his role as messenger is decisive and obedience to him is demanded as it is to God. To love the messenger is to love God (cf. Q 3:31, lit. "if you love God, follow me [i.e. Muḥammad]") and both should be obeyed (Q 3:32; 4:59; cf. 4:80). Otherwise, the Qur'ān levels the ranks of Muslims and makes them of the same status and responsibility.

This ethical corporatism holds within the Muslim community, as well. Islam creates a bond analogous to kinship, since the marriage rules make of Muslim women a group eligible for marriage only to Muslim men (Wagner, *La justice,* 37). In addition, the Qur'ān recognizes the natural bonds of family, and assigns moral duties to Muslims based on their roles within families. The reality of the claims made by familial affinity can be seen in the qur'ānic rejection of the pre-Islamic practice of permanent

wife-repudiation by public declaration that the repudiated wife is as one's mother, as well its rejection of the practice of the adoption of children by public declaration of kinship. It is "natural," that is, "blood" ties that are affirmed: "God has not made for man two hearts in his breast, nor made your wives whom you repudiate (i.e. by saying that their backs are as your mothers' backs for you, *tuẓāhirūna minhunna*) your mothers, nor has he made those whom you claim [as sons], sons. That is just a saying of your mouths… Proclaim their real parentage. That will be more equitable in the sight of God…" (Q 33:4-5).

It follows that taking care of the family is especially enjoined — parents, orphans who are wards, wives, familial relations *(dhū l-qurbā),* e.g. "They ask you what they shall spend. Say: You spend for good, then, on the two parents, and kin, and orphans and the unfortunate and wayfarers *(ibn al-sabīl),* and what you do of good, then God knows it" (Q 2:215). Children are viewed, quite literally, as an asset (cf. Q 17:64) and, like other assets, they can be an occasion of discord: "Your wealth and your children are disturbances" (*fitna,* Q 8:28); but, unlike other forms of property or other disturbances, they may not be dispensed with, as tradition says had been the pre-Islamic custom among those who did not want to be burdened with a child. "Do not kill your children in fear of poverty; We shall provide for you. If you kill them, upon you is a great wrongdoing *(khiṭān kabīran)*" (Q 17:31; cf. 6:151).

One is obliged to treat parents kindly, and to leave part of one's wealth to parents and relatives (Q 2:180; 4:36). Oddly, the obligation to show kindness to parents is stereotyped with injunctions to refrain from false faith and worship, e.g. "Say: Come, I will recite to you that which your lord has sanctified for you: That you not associate anything with him, and show kindness *(iḥṣānan)* to the two parents, do not kill your children from [fear of] poverty" (Q 6:151; cf. 2:83; 17:23). It seems clear that parents were at some psychological level associated with polytheism and the old ways (see POLYTHEISM AND ATHEISM; SOUTH ARABIA, RELIGION IN PRE-ISLAMIC); one is obliged to deal with them kindly despite their error (q.v.): "We have stipulated to humankind *(al-insān)* concerning his parents — his mother carried him, weakness on weakness, and his weaning is two years — thank me and your two parents. To me is the journeying. But if both make an effort to make you associate with me what is not known [to be true, *mā laysa laka bihi ʿilmun*], do not obey them but consort with them in the world kindly *(maʿrūfan)*…" (Q 31:14-5).

Orphans are identified with other unfortunates (Q 2:177; 89:17-8). Unlike many other ethical obligations, the concern with orphans dates from the earliest qurʾānic revelations, "you are not generous with orphans" (Q 89:17), and continues into the later sūras (e.g. Q 6:152). And, as with parents and other relations, one is enjoined to kindness towards them (Q 2:83, 220).

Women, with men, are part of the fundamental order of creation (Q 4:1). It has been understood — reasonably from a grammatical standpoint — that verses addressing the Muslims that use the grammatical masculine (*yā ayyuhā lladhīna āmanū,* and the like; see GENDER; GRAMMAR AND THE QUR'ĀN) are addressed to women as well, unless there is contextual evidence to the contrary. So, women are included in all ethical stipulations addressed to Muslims. Moreover, men and women are described as each other's protector (Q 9:71) and in both the act of creation (Q 42:11) and the promise of final intercession (Q 47:19), women are explicitly included (see also Q 33:35). On the other hand, women are seen as the source or object of backbiting, gossip, and other social discord, and they

are warned against such behaviors (Q 24:31; 33:59).

Relations between the sexes are grounded in the assumption that women are in a dependent relationship to men — as daughters, wards, wives, or slaves. Hence the designation of half shares in inheritance (q.v.) compared to their male counterparts (e.g. in Q 4:11, though the verse may also be read as a *requirement* that shares be given them, since these are also called *naṣīban mafrūḍan,* "mandated shares" as in Q 4:7; see also Q 4:19). Q 4:34 explicitly says: "Men are the custodians *(qawwāmūn)* of women by what *(bimā)* God favored some of them (masc.) over others (unmarked), and by what they spend of their (masc.) wealth. So virtuous women *(al-ṣāliḥāt)* are submissive *(qānitāt),* guarding for the hidden what God has guarded. Those from whom you fear uprising *(nushūzahunna),* exhort them, then banish them from the sleeping place *(fī l-maḍājiʿi),* then strike them. Then if they obey you, do not seek a way against them. God is sublime, great" (cf. 2:228; for further discussion, see Wadud, *Qurʾān and woman,* 74-78).

Wives are the objects of qurʾānic ethical concern — they must be dealt with kindly (Q 65:2); must be given their marriage portion (Q 4:4); must be given what remains of their property (Q 4:20); even in divorce they must be treated kindly (Q 33:49; 65:2); they must be protected in marriage and divorce so as to be supported (Q 65:6); and the obligation of paternity must be acknowledged and enforced (Q 2:233). Divorce is discouraged (Q 4:35). Sexual relations between men and women married to each other are endorsed (Q 2:223 says that women are "tillage" for men), and while lusting after men instead of women is condemned (Q 27:55; 7:81; see HOMOSEXUALITY), the implication is that sexual desire between married men and women is legitimate.

The Qurʾān, then, recognizes that social roles determine many ethical obligations. Yet there remains also the notion that ethical obligations of fairness and justice transcend the boundaries of kinship or social group: "O you who are faithful! Be upright in justice *(qisṭ),* witnesses to God though it be against yourselves or the two parents or kin if he is rich or poor… (Q 4:135; cf. 31:15).

Given this corporatism in qurʾānic ethical thought, it is not surprising that in later times some believed Muslims were assured salvation by being Muslim. This was, however, a mistake — at least from the Qurʾān's perspective (see Madelung, Murdjiʾa). While roles and responsibilities are determined by membership in one group or another, ethical responsibility lies solely with individuals. It is individuals who are enjoined to act, and it is individuals who are promised requital according to how they have acted. In no place does the Qurʾān say Muslims will be in paradise, but those who are addressed by the Qurʾān's words — surely including Muslims — are promised hell for their ethical transgressions.

Conclusion

Qurʾānic ethics fit neatly no single Western philosophical category; it is likely this is true for any lived — as opposed to academic — system. Yet the qurʾānic approach to what is called ethics can be clarified by judicious reference to Western philosophical ethics. For example, it has seemed obvious to scholars that the Qurʾān and the Islamic law derived from it represent a classic, almost a maximal, case of deontological ethics — that is, an ethical system in which behaviors said to be ordained are deemed right because of their nature, and one acts virtuously because that is what one ought to do, apart from outcomes (Gk. *deon* = duty). In addition, qurʾānic ethics might seem — especially

in light of later developments in Islamic theology — clearly to be a classic case of what ethicists call "divine command theory" (Frankena, *Ethics,* 28-9). This might take the form of *theological voluntarism* in which something is good solely because God commanded it (see G. Hourani, *Reason and tradition,* 17); or it might be seen as *naturalism* in which God commands the good because its nature is "good" (as in Ralph Cudsworth, in Raphael, *British moralists,* i, 106-12).

There is certainly evidence to support these initial impressions: for many qur'ānic imperatives, there is no attempt to persuade, no explication of useful social consequences, no appeal to values already agreed upon. Yet, as pointed out above, there are, to the contrary, many instances where the imperative is presented with an appeal to follow reason or reflection. "Here are the signs, here is the evidence," the Qur'ān proclaims; "now, acknowledge the claim that God has on you to act morally!" There is also a clear prudential argument for acting in accord with qur'ānic imperative, namely, the threat of punishment for transgression and the promise of eternal felicity for obedience to the command to act virtuously (though there is no argument that the good is defined by pleasant or desirable circumstances). Every virtuous act is promised a reward (Q 99:7) and, so, every good deed has a telos apart from itself. Yet there is nothing to suggest causation — that the good is good because it leads to reward. Rather, the good coincides with reward but the affect of the text — the wrath, anger (q.v.), and repugnance at vice — suggests that the good and bad are so, independently of the strategic considerations of a utilitarian Muslim.

It is helpful, too, to ask, what is the qur'ānic ethical epistemology? Here again, the answer is complex. Later Ash'arī and Ḥanbalī theoreticians asserted that the only means to moral knowledge was revelational declaration, or methodologically sound inference from such declarations. Yet there is no doubt that the Qur'ān appeals to many sources of knowledge (see KNOWLEDGE AND LEARNING), and indeed that the qur'ānic stipulations are incomprehensible without appeal to other sources of knowledge.

First, it is undoubtedly the case that the Qur'ān assumes some moral facts to be known by human beings *qua* human beings. Second, there is some evidence that human beings can perceive moral truth when confronted with a particular situation. This latter feature conforms to what has been called "moral sense theory," that is, the belief that some faculty analogous to sense or taste provides moral information when presented with a circumstance which calls for moral action. Like the English moralist Hutcheson, the Qur'ān seems to suggest that humans are disposed to feel approval or condemnation when they consider persons of good character, and their actions. Like Hutcheson (Raphael, *British moralists,* i, 302), also, the Qur'ān believes that humans innately feel gratitude, and a sense of obligation that ensues from that perception. How else can the near total absence of definitions for ethical terms be construed? What is the meaning of "well" in "treat your parents well *(iḥsānan),*" or "kindly" in "give your wife her marriage-portion kindly" (*bi-l-ma'rūf,* literally, "according to the known") — what do these terms mean, exactly?

There may be many answers, but since the Qur'ān did not spell out the details, it obviously expected its audience to draw upon their own knowledge, sense of fairness, justice, and gratitude to fill in these many undefined terms. As with all ethics, however (Frankena, *Ethics,* 7), qur'ānic morality is not mere convention — it is critical of convention, and it also demands

a self-consciousness and self-examination that is the very stuff of ethical deliberation. So, the Qur'ān is not purely a kind of moral sense theory, nor is it averse to moral reasoning and deliberation.

In our consideration of the nature of qur'ānic moral stipulation, we saw that the Qur'ān has both rules (which are sometimes deontic, sometimes teleological), but also principles and admonitions. These weighted rules, and exhortations to virtuous conduct, are what ethicists call *aretaic* judgments. These take us beyond basic principles of ethical behavior and moral obligation and into more complex statements of value, and appreciation, and beyond obedience and conformity to estimation and value judgments (Frankena, *Ethics,* 61). Here we can place the concerns of social solidarity and of fellow-feeling that are also so much a part of qur'ānic moral language. The Qur'ān urges one to act with *iḥsān,* with *maʿrūf,* to choose *khayr* and *ṭayyib,* and suggests that hearts (by which the Qur'ān refers both to affect and consciousness; see HEART) are drawn to the good and recoil from the bad.

The most important ethical feature of the Qur'ān is its recasting of moral conduct. As Brown has pointed out (*Apocalypse of Islam,* 80-1), the Qur'ān calls its audience to re-view the world, themselves, and their acts *sub specie aeternitatis,* to take a view that transcends the day-to-day perspective of petty utilitarianism and self-interest. Killing an infant daughter may make good economic sense in the quotidian, but, the Qur'ān says, viewed from a larger moral perspective, it is an abomination. To sacrifice property and lives for the qur'ānic kerygma may not be a good investment in worldly terms, but in meta-worldly terms it is a "can't lose" proposition.

Yet, to repeat, this recasting of moral perspective rested upon a foundation of moral knowledge shared by the first/seventh century Ḥijāzī Arabs who were its first audience. As Bravmann has shown with *"al-jizya ʿan yadin"* and in many more cases perhaps than we can recover, the Qur'ān appeals to, while redefining, contemporary moral norms. As Islam and the Qur'ān moved from this culturally coherent environment, through time and space, the shared foundation was lost and had gradually to be replaced — with local norms, with the codified Sunna (q.v.), and through reasoned inference of what was understood to be implicit in qur'ānic moral discourse. In some cases, this demonstrably took Islamic ethical reasoning in a direction different from its original orientation. Nonetheless, the Qur'ān has remained primary in theory, and crucial in moral practice for Muslims over the 1400 years of Islamic history.

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Ethiopia

Derived from the Greek term, *Aithiopes,* designating mythical or actual peoples defined as having dark skin and living south of Egypt (q.v.), and applied to roughly the area of ancient Axum or Abyssinia (q.v.) in northeast Africa, directly across the Red Sea from Arabia. As the opposition to Muḥammad (q.v.) increased, a group of his followers left Mecca (q.v.; see EMIGRATION), seeking the protection of the Christian king (see CHRISTIANS AND CHRISTIANITY) of the region. See GEOGRAPHY.

Reuven Firestone

Eulogy

see LAUDATION

Eve

see ADAM AND EVE

Evening

The latter part and close of the day, evening *(ʿishā, ʿashīy)* appears in the Qur'ān in both specific and semantically ambiguous ways. Its primary importance is related to worship (q.v.) since evening is specified as one of the obligatory prayer times (see DAY, TIMES OF; PRAYER). The qur'ānic text, however, shows a great deal of variance regarding the naming and timing of the evening prayer: It is mentioned as dusk (*ghasaq,* Q 17:78), evening twilight (*shafaq,* Q 84:16), times during the night (q.v., *zulafan mina l-layli,* Q 11:114) and so forth. In fact, the phrase canonized in Islamic law as evening prayer *(ṣalāt al-ʿishā')* is mentioned only once in the Qur'ān (Q 24:58).

The compiler of prophetic traditions, al-Bukhārī (d. 256/870), cites a number of reports in which the evening worship is commonly referred to as darkness (q.v.; *ʿatma*). It also appears that some people did not make nominal distinctions between the evening and sunset prayers: One ḥadīth says that Muḥammad urged people to ignore the Bedouin habit of calling the prayer at sunset *(maghrib)* evening prayer (*ʿishāʾ*, Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, i, 10, no. 538; see ḤADĪTH AND THE QUR'ĀN). A similar alteration exists in the Turkish language in which the sunset prayer *(maghrib)* is called evening prayer *(akşam namazı)* and the evening prayer *(ʿishāʾ)*, bed-time prayer *(yatsı namazı)*. What further reinforces this relative semantic imprecision is that Muḥammad himself was not very rigorous regarding its timing; on the contrary, many Companions (see COMPANIONS OF THE PROPHET) report that he delayed the evening prayer on many occasions and performed it early on many others. Any hour after sunset seems to have been acceptable (ibid., no. 536).

Equally ambiguous is the frequent adverbial usage of evening in conjunction with morning (q.v.) in the Qurʾān. That the lord (q.v.) should be praised morning and evening is mentioned in many places in the Qurʾān (*bi-l-ghadāti wa-l-ʿāshī*, e.g. Q 6:52; 18:28; *bukratan wa-aṣīlan*, e.g. 76:25). In such instances the phrase functions as a powerful stylistic and didactic device (see RHETORIC OF THE QUR'ĀN) and is informed by diurnal and nocturnal frames of reference (see DAY AND NIGHT). Nevertheless, even here the semantic ambiguity has elicited different interpretations. The phrase varies as *bukratan wa-ʿashiyyan* (Q 19:11, 62), *ghuduwwan wa-ʿashiyyan* (Q 40:46), *bukratan wa-aṣīlan* (Q 25:5; 33:42) and *bi-l-ghuduwwi wa-l-āṣāl* (Q 7:205; 13:15; 24:36). Although *aṣīl* is hardly synonymous with *ʿishāʾ*, most classical exegetes treat it as such (e.g. Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr;* Ṭūsī, *Tibyān;* Jalālayn; see EXEGESIS OF THE QUR'ĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL). The more contemporary Usmānī (d. 1949; *Tafseer-e Usmānī*) is cautious in his interpretation, arguing that *aṣīl* is the space between mid-day and the next morning that includes all four prayers after the morning prayer. Ṭabāṭabāʾī (d. 1982; *Mīzān*) digresses even further in interpreting *aṣīl* as the afternoon (q.v.) prayer *(ʿaṣr)* only (see EXEGESIS OF THE QUR'ĀN: EARLY MODERN AND CONTEMPORARY).

Most exegetes, however, seem particularly concerned not to overlook the metaphoric value of the conjunction of evening and morning (see METAPHOR) in the context of paradise (q.v.; Q 13:15; 19:62) or hell (q.v.; Q 40:46). Both places, they argue, lack the usual sunrise or sunset and thus cannot experience evening. In paradise, for example, the perpetual light (q.v.) is occasionally rearranged so as to give the impression of the passage of time. It is in that sense that the qurʾānic evening has only a linguistic and not an empirical reality.

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Everyday Life, Qurʾān In

Introduction

The topic of religion in everyday life has become a subject of increasing interest for historians and social scientists alike. The role of scripture, however, in everyday life has hardly been studied. "Everyday life" is

not, it should be said, as obviously or immediately discernible as one might suppose, but entails a variety of complex activities of individuals as well as of communities within a specific cultural domain. The definition of 'everyday life' adopted here is "the routine non-ritual activities of ordinary people… who do not occupy positions of importance or celebrity in their society" (Beckford, Socialization, 140). The methodological problem of classifying or documenting these phenomena must face the difficulty that study of the abundant historical and religious sources provides little information about the Muslim populace at large or their general everyday life. Anthropological studies tend to be more interested in the form of those religious activities connected to social and communal structures, such as rituals, devotional practices, saints' festivals, sermons, ceremonies and the like, than in their contents. Very rarely do these studies pay attention to the role or function of the Qur'ān in such religious activities.

Mention must be made, however, of three important contributions of the latter half of the twentieth century that do examine the role that the Qur'ān plays in various aspects of daily life, and which one may consult for detailed analyses of the phenomenon. The first is the anthropological study of Sayyid ʿUways, "The shout of the silent" *(Hutāf al-ṣāmiṭīn)*, which treats the phrases and expressions written on cars and trucks in Egypt. The author counted 55 qur'ānic quotations, which amounts to 27.5% of the religious expressions and 8.9% of all the written expression collected (ibid., 82, 135-42). The second is William Graham's *Beyond the written word*. It was during the author's first visit to Egypt, which coincided with the month of Ramaḍān (q.v.), that he sought to comprehend the significance of the recited Qur'ān (see RECITATION OF THE QUR'ĀN), eventually devoting an entire chapter to 'The Recited Qur'ān in Everyday Piety and Practice" (ibid., chapter eight) where brief accounts are given of the role of Qur'ān recitation in worship (q.v.), Muslim education, communal life (see COMMUNITY AND SOCIETY IN THE QUR'ĀN), and family and personal life (pp. 102-9). The third study worth mentioning is Padwick's *Muslim devotions,* where a great deal of attention is given to the Qur'ān quotations to be found in texts of devotion.

As studying the role of the Qur'ān in everyday life is a "work in progress," certain aspects have, at the time of the writing of this article, been more closely documented than others. For example, regional differences, as well as those that are observable between rural and urban contexts, have to be examined more fully. This article is correspondingly limited to the available data, supplemented by the personal observations of the author.

Insofar as the Qur'ān sought, from its inception, to re-shape and re-form the everyday life of the prophet Muḥammad and his followers, it is necessary to consider aspects of everyday life that the Qur'ān regulates on the basis of the Qur'ān itself. It is fair to say that, after the Prophet's death, the role of the Qur'ān in everyday life gradually increased. With the expansion of Islam (q.v.) into regions with different historical, religious and cultural traditions, the position occupied by the Qur'ān developed beyond that of its function in the early Muslim community at Medina (q.v.). The part that the Qur'ān played in shaping the lives of the early Muslims will thus be treated as a necessary background to understanding its similar function in more recent times.

Shaping everyday life

The first command issued to the Prophet in the process of the revelation of the Qur'ān was to "recite, *(iqra')* in the name of your lord who created, created man from a clot" (Q 96:1-2; see BLOOD AND BLOOD

CLOT). As preparation for the heavy mission with which he was to be charged, he was subsequently commanded to keep awake during part of the night in prayer (q.v.), reciting the Qur'ān and repeating the name of his lord (q.v.; cf. Q 73:2-8). Recitation of the Qur'ān thus became the very heart of all kinds of prayers — whether invocation of God's blessing *(du'ā')* or the obligatory ritual *(ṣalāt)*. For example, Q 17:78 speaks of the dawn prayer as (recitation of the) Qur'ān at daybreak (*qur'ān al-fajr,* Padwick, *Muslim devotion,* 108). The repetition of God's name *(dhikr)* was also identified with the recitation of the Qur'ān; it is repeatedly mentioned that the Qur'ān is for reminding (*dhikr,* e.g. Q 54:17, 22). The Qur'ān can itself be construed as a reminder, and the word *dhikr* thus became, like the word for book (q.v.; *kitāb*), one of the names of the Qur'ān (q.v.). Muslims are supposed to remember and mention the name of God (Allāh) at every moment, regardless of whether they are standing, sitting or lying down (Q 3:191). Only the unbelievers (see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF) and the hypocrites (see HYPOCRITES AND HYPOCRISY) are those who abstain from doing so (Q 4:142; 37:13).

Like *dhikr* and prayer, glorification of God (q.v.; *tasbīḥ*) is repeatedly demanded of the Prophet as well as of all believers. It is through *tasbīḥ* that the believers join the whole universe in a cosmological prayer, because everything and every being on earth (q.v.) and in heaven (q.v.), glorifies God (Q 13:13; 17:44; 24:41 etc.). This kind of cosmological prayer is to be performed day and night, early and late, before sunrise and before sunset (Q 3:41; 20:130; 33:42 etc.; see DAY TIMES OF; EVENING). Such forms of sacred utterance represent different dimensions of the essential relationship between the creator and his creatures, the continuous acts of praise (q.v.; *ḥamd*) through worship *('ibāda)*. Jinn (q.v.) and humans are created only to worship God (Q 51:56). Strongly related to *dhikr, tasbīḥ* and *ḥamd* is the magnification of God (*takbīr,* i.e. saying "God is the greater [or the greatest]," *Allāhu akbar*). While the Qur'ān speaks of God as "the great, the transcendant" (*al-kabīru l-muta'ālī,* Q 13:9) and "the exalted, the great" (*al-'aliyyu al-kabīr,* Q 22:62; 31:30; 34:23; 40:12; cf. 4:34; see GOD AND HIS ATTRIBUTES), Muslims are ordered to exalt God over all other deities (see POLYTHEISM AND ATHEISM). The order was first directed to the Prophet as part of his prophetic mission to "get up and warn" (*qum fa-andhir,* i.e. his people; Q 74:2; see WARNER) and to "exalt his lord" (*wa-rabbaka fa-kabbir,* Q 74:3). The command to utter the *takbīr* is also directed to Muslims when fasting (q.v.; Q 2:185) and also while on pilgrimage (q.v.; Q 22:37).

There are five daily ritual prayers that are obligatory for a Muslim *(ṣalāt):* the dawn prayer of two units of prostration (*rak'a;* see BOWING AND PROSTRATION); the noon prayer of four; the afternoon prayer also of four; the sunset prayer of three; and the evening prayer of four. A Muslim recites the first chapter of the Qur'ān, Sūrat al-Fātiḥā (see FĀTIḤA), and other qur'ānic verses at every unit of prayer, amounting to 17 daily recitations from the Qur'ān. This number would be much higher if the believer were to perform the non-obligatory prayers called *nawāfil*. As every *rak'a* includes *takbīr, dhikr, ḥamd, tasbīḥ* and *du'ā',* in addition to Qur'ān recitation, *ṣalāt* represents in itself a channel of communication between humans and God through the recitation of the Qur'ān. The importance of the five daily *ṣalāt* is thus related to this function. In this respect, Sūrat al-Fātiḥa, which is to be recited at every *rak'a,* occupies a special position in the liturgical use of the Qur'ān. According to a well-known ḥadīth, God says, "I divided the prayer, i.e. al-Fātiḥa, in two [parts] between me and

my servant" *(qasamtu l-ṣalāta baynī wa-bayna ʿabdī nisfayni):* When he says, "Praise be to God, the lord of the worlds" *(al-ḥamdu lillāhi rabbi l-ʿālamīna),* I say, "My servant has praised me" *(ḥamadanī ʿabdī);* When he says, "The merciful, the compassionate" *(al-raḥmāni l-raḥīm),* I say, "My servant has exalted me" *(athnā ʿalayya ʿabdī);* When he says, "Sovereign of the day of judgment" (*māliki yawmi l-dīni,* see LAST JUDGMENT), I say, "My servant has glorified me" *(majjadanī ʿabdī);* When he says, "It is you that we worship and you from whom we seek help" *(iyyāka naʿbudu wa-iyyāka nastaʿīnu),* I say, "This verse is between me and my servant, and all that my servant requests is his" *(fahādhihi l-āyatu baynī wa-bayna ʿabdī wa-li-ʿabdī mā saʾala);* When he says, "Guide us to the straight path, the path of those whom you have blessed, not the path of those who have provoked your anger upon them, nor the lost" *(ihdinā l-ṣirāṭa l-mustaqīma, ṣirāṭa lladhīna anʿamta ʿalayhim ghayri l-maghḍūbi ʿalayhim wa-lā l-ḍāllīna),* I say, "This is for my servant and all that my servant requests is his" *(hādhā li-ʿabdī wa-li-ʿabdī mā saʾala).*

In addition to its importance as the basic channel of communication between God and humans, the Fātiḥa contains in its seven short verses, according to al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111), all the topics covered in detail throughout the entire Qurʾān: information about God's essence *(dhāt),* his attributes *(ṣifāt)* and his actions *(afʿāl),* which together constitute the doctrine of faith (q.v.); the after-life (*al-maʿād,* see ESCHATOLOGY), reward and punishment (q.v.; *al-thawāb wa-l-ʿiqāb*), and allusion to the qurʾānic narratives (q.v.), as well as to certain legal injunctions (*aḥkām,* Ghazālī, *J̌awāhir,* 39-42; see LAW AND THE QURʾĀN). This interpretation, as elaborated by al-Ghazālī justifies the other name given to the sūra, "the essence (lit. mother) of the scripture (lit. book)" *(umm al-kitāb).* If prayer occupies the highest position in the religion, it is through recitation of Sūrat al-Fātiḥa *(umm al-kitāb)* that the Qurʾān becomes the heart of prayer. Seen in this light, the mandatory prayer cannot be reduced to a mere ritual devoid of personal meaning. Further, it can be fit to the pattern of a person's life since it can be performed anywhere, at any time, in privacy or with others, although it is highly recommended as sunna (q.v.), i.e. a prophetic precedent, to perform it in congregation *(jamāʿa)* at the mosque.

Formal ritualism in Islam should be understood in terms of congregational prayers, such as the Friday noon prayer *(ṣalāt al-jumuʿa/al-jumʿa)* and the prayer on the two feast days, (*ṣalāt al-ʿīdayn;* see FESTIVALS AND COMMEMORATIVE DAYS) of which a sermon *(khuṭba),* replete with qurʾānic rhetoric (cf. Gaffney, *Prophet's pulpit,* append.), is an essential part. The prayers of the two feast days are important, though non-obligatory, sunna. The first is to be performed after the end of the fasting month of Ramaḍān (q.v.), i.e. *ṣalāt ʿīd al-fiṭr,* while the second is to be performed on the final day of the annual pilgrimage rite at Mecca on the tenth of the month of Dhū l-Ḥijja, i.e. *ṣalāt ʿīd al-aḍḥā.* Prayer, the most important tenet of Islam after the confession of faith (*shahāda,* see WITNESS TO FAITH), is at the heart of all religious action *(ʿibādāt)* and thus is termed the essence of religion *(mukhkh al-ʿibāda),* as well as the pillar of religion *(ʿimād al-dīn).* Neglecting it is tantamount to neglecting Islam altogether (*man tarakahā fa-ka-annamā taraka l-dīn,* Ibn Māja, *K. Iqāmāt al-ṣalāt wa-sunnat fīhā,* nos. 1068, 1069, 1070).

Fasting *(ṣiyām)* was another way the Qurʾān regulated the life of the Prophet and the early Muslim community, both spiritually and physically. It is mentioned in the Qurʾān that the establishment of fasting was in accord with what had been prescribed (*kutiba,* lit. "written") for "those who had come before you" (cf. Q 2:183),

suggesting that it is an essential part of any revealed religion and that the Muslim community stands in continuity with the history of such religions, a continuity that partially compensates for the inevitable dissociation of early Muslims from their immediate, pagan society. Obligatory fasting lasts one month, "the month of Ramaḍān in which the Qur'ān [understood to mean the first verses of the Qur'ān] was revealed" (Q 2:185). Associated with the day-long fast is a night-prayer, *(ṣalāt al-qiyām),* recommended as sunna to be performed collectively every night. During the last ten days of the month, it is a recommended practice to stay at the mosque day and night, completely committed to devotion *(i'tikāf)*. One night out of these last ten, the Night of Power (q.v.; *laylat al-qadr*), is considered the most important, because it was the night that witnessed the first episode in the revelation of the Qur'ān. It is "better than one thousand months" (Q 97:3), i.e. devotion on that specific night is evaluated, and will be rewarded, as equal to the devotion of one thousand months. "The angels (see ANGEL) and the holy spirit (q.v.) descend in it [i.e. the Night of Power] on every errand by the permission of their lord. Peace (q.v.) it is until the break of dawn" (Q 97:4-5). Although there is no consensus on the exact date of the Night of Power, Muslims generally believe it to be the twenty-seventh night of Ramaḍān. Scholars (q.v.; *'ulamā'*) of the Qur'ān explain that the reason that the exact night is not specified is to encourage Muslims to undertake devotion during the entire time it is expected, i.e. the last ten nights of the month.

The practices associated with Ramaḍān are well suited to illustrate the extent to which the Qur'ān infuses the texture of everyday life for Muslims (for Ramaḍān and everyday life, see Jomier, *L'islam vécu en Égypte,* 33-74). It is Ramaḍān in particular, that has drawn attention to the importance of the oral dimension of the Qur'ān, so much so that Ramaḍān has been perceived as "the month of months in the Muslim calendar (q.v.)." The historian of religion W. Graham has written: "I was fortunate to be in Cairo during the month of Ramaḍān, which fell that year in December. It was there, walking the streets of the old city amidst the animated bustle of the nocturnal crowds of men, women and children, that I first heard at length the compelling chanting of the professional Qur'ān reciters. It seemed that wherever I wandered in the old city, from Bāb Zuwaylah to Bāb al-Futūḥ, the drawn-out, nuanced cadences of the sacred recitations gave the festive nights a magical air as the reciters' penetrating voices sounded over radios in small, open shops, or wafted into the street from the doorways of mosques and from under the canvas marquees set up specially for this month of months in the Muslim calendar. If it was only an impressionistic introduction to the living tradition of Qur'ān recitation, it was also an unforgettable one" (Graham, p. x.; see also Jomier, op. cit., 60-73).

After the *shahāda,* prayer, almsgiving (q.v.) and fasting, the fifth and final pillar of Islam is the pilgrimage *(ḥajj)* to the holy sanctuary at Mecca (q.v.), the Ka'ba (q.v.; cf. Q 2:197; 3:96-7; 9:3). A pre-Islamic ritual practice (see PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QUR'ĀN), it was given Islamic orientation by the qur'ānic ascription of its origins to Abraham's (q.v.) cry to God (Q 2:125-7; cf. 22:26). Although it is obligatory to undertake it only once during one's life, and only for those who can afford it, Muslims are often eager to perform the pilgrimage more than once. With the technological advancements in transportation, the number of contemporary Muslims who want

to go on pilgrimage has steadily increased to the extent that the Saudi authorities have been forced to set an annual quota for every Muslim country. To avoid huge crowds during the month of the pilgrimage itself, Muslims have increasingly opted for the 'lesser pilgrimage' (*ʿumra,* Q 2:196; cf. 2:158), which has traditionally been understood as a supererogatory act of personal devotion. In an article in the Egyptian newspaper *al-Ahrām,* an Islamist writer recently criticized the thousands of Egyptian Muslims heading to Mecca during the month of Ramaḍān to perform *ʿumra*. The aim of such criticism is to draw the attention of Muslims to the priority given in Islam to communal and social duties over the mentality of devotion for personal salvation. Yet the angry reaction to such criticism reflects the importance of both *ḥajj* and *ʿumra* for Muslims at large (see articles by Fahmī Huwaydī, in the January 12, 19 and 26, 1999 issues of *al-Ahrām*).

The role of the Qurʾān in both the *ḥajj* and the *ʿumra* is most clearly observed during the seven-fold circumambulation of the Kaʿba (the *ṭawāf*). The phrases that constitute the supplication *(duʿāʾ al-talbiya)* that is chanted in the course of this ritual, although not taken verbatim from particular sūras, are all taken from the language of the Qurʾān. The words of this supplication are as follows: I am here, come O God, I am here *(labbayka Allāhumma labbayka);* indeed all praise and grace and sovereignty are yours *(inna l-ḥamda wa-l-niʿmata wa-l-mulka laka);* You have no partner, I am here, I am here, come O God, I am here *(la sharīka laka, labbayka, labbayka Allāhumma labbayka)*. Another formulaic derived from the Qurʾān, the *takbīr,* is as important a component of the ritualism of the *ḥajj* as the supplication (for more on the *ḥajj,* see Jomier, *L'islam vécu en Égypte,* 113-84).

It was not only through such rites as mentioned above that the Qurʾān regulated the early Muslims' everyday life. The piecemeal *(munajjam)* manner of the Qurʾān's revelation itself corresponded to the needs and demands of the community (see OCCASIONS OF REVELATION; REVELATION AND INSPIRATION). According to the exegetical tradition, demands made by early Muslims are reflected in the Qurʾān in the frequent occurrence of the phrase, "They ask you (*yasʾalūnaka,* i.e. Muḥammad)," attested 15 times. The questions to which the Qurʾān responds cover many different areas of religious and social interest. What is significant for our subject are those questions related to everyday life: expenditures for charity (*al-infāq,* cf. Q 2:215, 219), fighting during the prohibited month (Q 2:217); wine (see INTOXICANTS) and gambling (q.v.; al-khamr wa-l-maysir, Q 2:219), care of orphans (q.v.; *al-yatāmā,* Q 2:220), menstruation (q.v.; *al-maḥīḍ,* Q 2:222), permitted food (Q 5:4; see FOOD AND DRINK; LAWFUL AND UNLAWFUL) and the spoils of war (*al-anfāl,* Q 8:1; see BOOTY). In the qurʾānic response to such matters, it was important to dissociate Muslims from the traditions and practices related to pre-Islamic idol worship (see IDOLATRY AND IDOLATERS). For example, the mention of an idol's name while slaughtering an animal, whether for sacrifice (q.v.) or merely for consumption, was replaced with mention of the name of God (Q 6:119-21; see CONSECRATION OF ANIMALS).

Qurʾānic regulation of the everyday life of the individual as well as of the community developed with subsequent generations. The Qurʾān came to be understood as the repository of all kinds of knowledge alongside the prophetic tradition, sunna, for both the individual and the community. It was al-Shāfiʿī (d. 204/820) who definitively expressed the view that the Qurʾān entails everything and contains, explicitly

or implicitly, solutions to all problems of human life, present or future (*Risāla,* 20 and *al-Umm,* 271). Although his central concern was jurisprudence, Muslim theologians and philosophers (in their rational inquiry for the bases of sound knowledge) also upheld the supreme position of the Qur'ān (see PHILOSOPHY OF THE QUR'ĀN; THEOLOGY AND THE QUR'ĀN). Their point of view is summed up in the principle that complete consistency exists between sound rationality and authentic revelation *(muwāfaqat ṣarīḥ al-maʿqūl li-ṣaḥīḥ al-manqūl)*. The predominant view of Muslims worldwide, both past and present, is epitomized in the following statement: "As a word from God, the Koran is the foundation of the Muslim's life. It provides for him [sic.] the way to fulfilment in the world beyond and to happiness in the present one. There is for him no situation imaginable for which it does not afford guidance, no problem for which it does not have a solution. It is the ultimate source of all truth (q.v.), the final vindication of all right, the primary criterion (q.v.) of all values, and the original basis of all authority (q.v.). Both public and private affairs, religious and worldly, fall under its jurisdiction" (Labib, *Recited Koran,* 11). Beyond being the source of all sorts of knowledge (see KNOWLEDGE AND LEARNING; SCIENCE AND THE QUR'ĀN), both religious and secular, the Qur'ān is a formative element of society and polity alike (see POLITICS AND THE QUR'ĀN). It is "the basis not only of a faith and a religion; it is the basis also of a civilization, one which has phenomenalized itself in the clear light of the day. No one who has studied the civilization of Islam impartially can fail to appreciate the central role which the Koran has played both in its origin and in its development." (ibid., 12). For everyday life, however, the most prominent presence of the Qur'ān can be found in its recitation.

Recitation: Oral/aural communication

The continuing function of the Qur'ān in everyday life is mainly based on its essential characteristic as an orally recited text (see ORALITY). Though it was recorded in written form as early as the time of the Prophet (see CODIFICATION OF THE QUR'ĀN), it has been always orally transmitted. Throughout the centuries, Muslims have learned the Qur'ān largely from the mouth of a teacher who has committed the text to memory *(ḥāfiẓ* or *qāri')*. The student also ordinarily combines study and memorization. This method of learning the Qur'ān entails both reciting and listening. In order to insure this method, Muslim scholars throughout history have forbidden reliance upon the written text alone in learning the Qur'ān. The same method was applied to learning the prophetic traditions *(aḥādīth),* so much so that reliance on a book was considered a "grievous mistake" (Ibn Jamā'a, *Tadhkirat al-sāmiʿ,* 87, Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Jāmiʿ,* i, 69). This oral/aural, or reciting/listening, dimension of the Qur'ān that lies at the root of its role in everyday life is an essential dimension of the structure of revelation *(waḥy)* itself, i.e. revelation as a pattern of communication (Izutsu, *Revelation,* 128). The report about the first encounter between Muḥammad and the archangel Gabriel (q.v.) is indicative of this oral/aural dimension. It is reported that in this first encounter, wherein the first five verses of what eventually came to be sūra 96 were revealed, the archangel Gabriel ordered Muḥammad to "recite" *(iqra')*. A terrified Muḥammad reacted by saying, "What shall l recite?" *(mā aqra')*. Apparently Gabriel's command was ambiguous to Muḥammad and it was not clear to him what he was supposed to recite. After three repetitions of the same command and response, Muḥammad (q.v.) understood that he was supposed to repeat

what Gabriel recited. In a later revelation the Prophet was advised to follow the [angel's] recitation (*fa-idhā qara'nāhu fa-ttabiʿ qur'ānahu,* Q 75:18), which is understood to mean that he should not repeat hastily what was recited to him, but should first listen to the angel's recitation and then repeat it.

Listening attentively *(inṣāt)* to qur'ānic recitation is, according to the Qur'ān itself, an avenue for receiving God's mercy (q.v.; Q 7:204). Listening is not merely a passive action, but represents the internal act of comprehension. It was through listening to the Qur'ān recited by the Prophet that some of the jinn converted to Islam (Q 46:29-30; 72:1). Many are the reports of the influence that the Qur'ān's recitation has over people. Stories are preserved in Islamic literature which recognized that even the unbelievers were fascinated by the overwhelmingly poetic effect of the Qur'ān, an effect incomparable to that of poetry itself (see LANGUAGE AND STYLE OF THE QUR'ĀN; POETRY AND POETS; RHETORIC OF THE QUR'ĀN). Important in this context is the report about one of the scribal recorders of revelation who enjoyed what was dictated to him by the Prophet so much that he reached the point of spiritual unification with the text. Being able to anticipate the final wording of the verse under dictation, he thought he had attained the state of prophethood (see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD). The full account is as follows: The prophet Muḥammad was dictating Q 23:12-14 to one of his scribes — verses which explain the gradual process of creating a human being out of a sperm (see BIOLOGY AS THE CREATION AND STAGES OF LIFE). When the Prophet finished the last sentence, the man was so deeply impressed that he exclaimed, "So blessed be God, the fairest of creators" — a sentence which fits the rhyming pattern of the verse and closes it. The Prophet was highly surprised, the story continues, because what the man said was exactly the last sentence revealed to the Prophet. Although the scribe in this story thought he could produce something like the Qur'ān (see INIMITABILITY; CREATEDNESS OF THE QUR'ĀN), and accordingly claimed that the Qur'ān had been invented by Muḥammad, a deeper significance can be found in the story. It indicates the aesthetic dimensions which always affect those who encounter the Qur'ān. The language of the text could capture the scribe's imagination and could inspire him to anticipate what might follow because of its powerful structure and cadences (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* i, 45 and xi, 533-5).

In order to resist the influence exerted by listening to the recitation of the Qur'ān the people of the Quraysh (q.v.) at Mecca used to make noise around the reciter (Q 41:26). Listening *(samāʿ)* was understood as inseparable from and as important as recitation itself. This intrinsic correlation of recitation *(qirā'a)* and listening *(samāʿ)* led to the notion of the ethics of recitation *(ādāb al-tilāwa)* and the ethics of listening *(ādāb al-samāʿ)*. According to a prophetic ḥadīth, if the reciter is to recite the Qur'ān as if it were revealed into his heart (q.v.), the listener is to be aware of the fact that he or she is listening to the recitation of God's speech (Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad,* nos. 19635, 19649).

As the Qur'ān is essentially orally transmitted through recitation and memorization, the first step in the education of a Muslim child is the memorization of some of the short sūras such as Sūrat al-Fātiḥa (Q 1), Sūrat al-Ikhlāṣ (Q 112) and Sūrat al-Falaq (Q 113) and Sūrat al-Nās (Q 114), the last two being known as al-Muʿawwidhatān ("the two cries for refuge and protection").

This first step is followed by the memorization of other sūras until the child has memorized the whole Qur'ān by the age of ten or twelve. (This author memorized the entire Qur'ān by the age of eight.) The importance of this tradition for Muslims is perfectly expressed by Graham: "The very act of learning a text 'by heart' internalizes the text in a way that familiarity with even an often-read book does not. Memorization is a particularly intimate appropriation of a text, and the capacity to quote or recite a text from memory is a spiritual resource that is tapped automatically in every act of reflection, worship, prayer, or moral deliberation, as well as in times of personal and communal decision or crisis" (Graham, *Beyond*, 160).

Consequently, qur'ānic recitation *(qirā'at al-Qur'ān)* developed as an independent discipline with rules and methods of its own (see RECITATION, THE ART OF). A professional reciter *(qāri')* would recite the Qur'ān in a rather embellished way known as *tartīl*, a term used twice in the Qur'ān for "recitation" (Q 25:32; 73:4). It is reported that the Prophet said, "Embellish the Qur'ān with your voices." It is also reported that he said, "He who does not recite the Qur'ān melodiously is not one of us." To such precepts the Prophet added his personal example, that on the day of his victorious entry into Mecca (see CONQUESTS) he was seen on the back of his she-camel vibrantly chanting verses from Sūrat al-Fatḥ. The rules of recitation with embellishment *(tartīl)* became a discipline called *tajwīd*, rendered as "euphonious recitation." It is an art related to music. The study of qur'ānic recitation (including learning the science of *tajwīd* and practicing recitation of the Qur'ān) thus became a prerequisite for a Muslim aspiring to become a singer or a musician. Most of the very famous Arab singers (e.g. Sayyid Darwīsh, Umm Kalthūm and Zakariyyā' Aḥmad) in Egypt are known to have studied *tajwīd* and started their career as Qur'ān reciters.

With the progress of technology, especially in the field of audio and video taping, learning *tajwīd* rules has become more accessible for large numbers of Muslims. Now there is no need to attend the sessions of an expert *shaykh* or *qāri'* in order to learn *tajwīd*. Sets of cassettes produced by one reciter (e.g. *al-Muṣḥaf al-Murattal* by Shaykh Maḥmūd al-Ḥuṣarī which appeared for the first time in Egypt in 1960) encouraged other reciters to record their recitations (*qirā'āt*, see RECITERS OF THE QUR'ĀN). All of these *qirā'āt* are now available on CD-ROM, accompanied by *tajwīd*-teaching programs. Many of the encyclopaediac classical commentaries such as those of al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923), al-Qurṭubī (d. 671/1272), Ibn Kathīr (d. 774/1373) and others are also now on CD-ROM (see EXEGESIS OF THE QUR'ĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL; COMPUTERS AND THE QUR'ĀN). With the spread of internet service thousands of web sites about Islam have emerged, many containing the Qur'ān in Arabic and its translation into the relevant language of the site (see TRANSLATION OF THE QUR'ĀN). Some sites even present video recordings of qur'ānic recitations.

A "correlation between highly oral use of scripture and religious reform movements" can be observed, and it has been noted that the "'internalizing' of important texts through memorization and recitation can serve as an effective educational or indoctrinational discipline" (cf. Graham, *Beyond*, 161). The recent radical Islamist movements, who introduce themselves as the best substitute for current political regimes, make very good use of the recitation of the Qur'ān, among other things, to spread their ideologies. Governments in Muslim countries, whose "religiosity" is often challenged by the Islamist movements, have

not hesitated to encourage memorization and recitation of the Qur'ān by spending a great deal of money on recitation competitions and memorization competitions. In Egypt, for example, the highest competition for the recitation and memorization of the Qur'ān is sponsored by the Ministry of Religious Endowments *(wizārat al-awqāf),* with prizes presented to the winners by the President or the Prime Minister on the eve of the Night of Power *(laylat al-qadr),* i.e. the twenty-sixth of Ramaḍān, every year.

Thus, as an essential element of Muslim daily religious life, *tartīl al-Qur'ān* has become not only a profession but an institution. Recitation of verses of the Qur'ān is always performed at the opening of a project, a meeting, a celebration, etc. It is the first item to be broadcast on every radio or television station in almost every Muslim country and it is also the closing item (see MEDIA AND THE QUR'ĀN). The Arabic MBC television station, for example, though broadcasting from London, follows the same tradition. Recitation of the Qur'ān is an equally essential part of all funeral ceremonies and processions (see DEATH AND THE DEAD), i.e. the body-washing ceremony *(ghusl),* the funeral-prayer *(ṣalāt al-janāza),* and the condolence-receiving session *('azā'),* where two professional reciters are often hired to recite either at the house of the deceased or at the neighborhood mosque (for further discussion of the place of the Qur'ān in everyday life, see esp. J. Jomier, *L'islam vécu en Égypte,* 185-219).

Everyday language

It is worth noting that qur'ānic phrases, expressions, formulae and vocabulary have become an essential component of the Arabic language. Qur'ānic language, in capturing the imagination of Muslims and Arabs from the moment of its revelation, has affected almost every field of knowledge, namely theology, philosophy, mysticism, linguistics, literature, literary criticism and visual art.

The linguistic structure of the Qur'ān, although basically a "parole" in the pre-Islamic Arabic language, has been able to dominate this language by transforming the original signs of the language system so that they act as semiotic signs within its own system. In other words, qur'ānic language is trying to dominate the Arabic language (q.v.) by transferring its linguistic signs to the sphere of semiotics where they refer only to one absolute reality, which is God (see SEMANTICS OF THE QUR'ĀN; SEMIOTICS AND NATURE IN THE QUR'ĀN). The function of such a transformation is evasion of the seen reality in order to establish the unseen divine reality of God: that is why everything in the whole seen reality from top to bottom, according to the Qur'ān, is nothing but a sign that refers to God. Not only natural phenomena, whether ani-mate or inanimate, are semiotic signs but human history (see HISTORY AND THE QUR'ĀN), presented in the Qur'ān to express the everlasting struggle between truth and non-truth, is also referred to as a series of signs (q.v.; *āyāt,* sing. *āya*). The Qur'ān itself is divided into chapters or sūras (q.v.), each of which is divided into verses (q.v.), also known as *āyāt* (sing. *āya*). The comprehensive employment of this word in the Qur'ān, in both the singular and the plural, solidly supports this semiotic interconnection.

By surrounding the activities of everyday life with its recitation, the qur'ānic language has successfully dominated the standard Arabic language *(al-fuṣḥā),* as well as the various local dialects. Although the role of education, religious as well as secular, cannot be overlooked, the oral/aural character of the Qur'ān constitutes the basic factor in its widespread and effective re-shaping of the Arabic language.

Illiterate people have been able, long before the age of mass education, to memorize and recite the Qur'ān. The same is true for blind persons who have been capable, long before the invention of the Braille system, of becoming professional reciters *(qurrā')* of the Qur'ān. Even non-Arab Muslims are required to learn how to pray in Arabic. Every Muslim is expected to memorize at least Sūrat al-Fātiḥa and some short sūras in order to be able to perform the prayer in a legally acceptable fashion.

The possibility of non-Arab Muslims' reciting qur'ānic passages in translation during their prayer was first addressed by Abū Ḥanīfa (d. 150/775), founder of the Ḥanafī school of jurisprudence. From a Persian family himself, he did not find any religious objection to a Muslim who is unable to understand or to recite the Qur'ān in Arabic, performing the prayer in translation. He ruled it permissible even for those who had learned Arabic but still saw difficulties in reciting the Qur'ān in Arabic (Abū Zahra, *Abū Ḥanīfa,* 241). Al-Shāfi'ī, however, insisted that reciting a Persian translation of the Qur'ān prayer is not valid. Moreover, even recitation in Arabic, according to him, is not valid if the verse sequence is mistakenly altered. It is not enough to correct the mistake by returning to the proper sequence, rather the reciter must restart the entire sūra in its proper order (Shāfi'ī, *al-Umm,* i, 94). As the opinion of al-Shāfi'ī became the one accepted by later consensus *(ijmā')*, it became obligatory for non-Arab Muslims to recite the qur'ānic verses in Arabic in their prayer. As a result, languages like Persian, Turkish, Urdu, Malay and others spoken by Muslims became heavily influenced by the Qur'ān, or at least carry a qur'ānic imprint, because of its oral/aural character.

The traditional system of Islamic education (see TRADITIONAL DISCIPLINES OF QUR'ĀNIC STUDY), whether in the classical school *(madrasa)* or in private tutoring, usually starts with study of the Qur'ān. Memorizing the whole Qur'ān was for a long time a pre-condition for a student to be admitted to higher education *('ālimiyya)* at al-Azhar University in Cairo. Even with the introduction of the modern secular educational system, the teaching of Islam continued as an essential part of the curriculum at all levels. This remains true for almost all Muslim countries. With the development of mass education in every Muslim country in the post-colonial era, learning the Qur'ān thus became even more widespread, a phenonemon which can be observed in any Muslim country. Even Muslim communities in the diaspora, whether living in western or non-western countries, seek to establish their own schools where they can teach Islam and the Qur'ān to their children.

The age of mass media made it much easier, as mentioned above, for an individual to have access to learning Qur'ān recitation properly without attending school or engaging a private teacher. Qur'ān recitation is broadcast every day from all radio and television channels in Muslim countries. It is heard at least twice a day, once at the beginning and again at the end of the daily broadcast. In some countries, such as Egypt, the broadcast of Qur'ān recitation is far more frequent, as it is heard both before and after each call to prayer *(adhān),* which occurs five times daily. Religious programs, where qur'ānic verses are quoted and explained, amount to about 25% of the total broadcasts every day. The Egyptian government established a special radio station in the sixties *(Idhā'at al-Qur'ān al-karīm)* for the sole purpose of broadcasting Qur'ān recitation and related qur'ānic programs. The Friday prayer (q.v.) and the prayer during the two feasts are broadcast in their entirety, including the sermons, by

both radio and television in almost every Muslim country. With the establishment of satellites, like Arab-sat and Nile-sat, the broadcast reaches Muslim communities in non-Muslim countries, making it possible for any Muslim to receive transmission of the entire pilgrimage procession from Mecca, thereby turning the previously ritualistic privilege of those with the necessary means into a publicly Islamic experience shared by all. The month of Ramaḍān, the "month of months" of the Muslim calendar, now enjoys widespread publicity in the satellite age. *Ṣalāt al-qiyām,* also known as *tarāwīḥ* or *tahajjud,* has also become an experience publicly shared with those who perform it at the Kaʿba in Mecca. *Laylat al-qadr* is a special occasion that some television stations broadcast from Mecca until the completion of the dawn prayer.

How much everyday language is influenced by the Qurʾān in such an all-pevasive context? It is impossible to provide an exact answer, but the phenomenon may be illustrated within the limits of this article by some examples. Qurʾānic phrases and verses spoken by Muslims in their ordinary language use include: the first part of the *shahāda, "lā ilāha illā llāh,"* translated as "There is no god but Allāh"; the phrase asking God's forgiveness (q.v.; *istighfār*), *"astaghfiru llāh,"* lit. "I ask the forgiveness of God"; the Islamic greeting, *"al-salāmu ʿalaykum,"* lit. "Peace be with you"; phrases with the name Allāh, e.g. *"lā ḥawla wa-lā quwwata illā bi-llāhi l-ʿāliyyi l-ʿaẓīm,"* rendered "All power and might are from God, the exalted, the great"; *"Allāhu akbar,"* lit. "God is greater/the greatest"; the invocation of God's protection against Satan *(al-istiʿādha)* and *al-basmala* (see BASMALA).

The first part of the *shahāda* has different connotations, depending on the situation: to express sadness upon hearing bad news about someone known to the person; reacting to news of somebody's death, when it is always followed by the qurʾānic expression *innā li-llāhi wa-innā ilayhi rājiʿūn,* "We surely belong to God, and surely we will return to him" (Q 2:156; cf. 3:83; 6:36; 19:4; 24:64; 28:39; 40:77 and 96:8). It also conveys a sense of anger or displeasure in certain contexts.

Istighfār, which is mentioned and recommended by the Qurʾān more than 50 times, is always present in everyday language and mostly associated with the *istiʿādha* (invocation of God's protection against Satan), either to express sorrow for anger or to persuade an angry person to calm down. The Islamic greeting *(salām)* also has its foundation in the Qurʾān as the greeting given by the angels to those who deserve paradise (cf. Q 6:54; 7:46; 10:10; 13:24; 14:23; 15:46; 19:62; 56:26). It is also the required greeting of the prophets (cf. Q 19:15, 33). As the word Islam itself is derived from the same root as *salām, s-l-m,* and as al-Salām is one of the most beautiful names of God *(asmāʾ Allāh al-ḥusnā),* it became an obvious choice as the greeting of Muslims. It is also part of a formula used to greet the souls of ancestors upon arrival at the graveyard, whether visiting or participating in a funeral. The formula is *al-salāmu ʿalaykum dāra qawmin muʾminīn, antum al-sābiqūn wa-naḥnu in shāʾa llāh bikum lāḥiqūn,* "Peace be upon you, residence of people of faith, you preceded us and we will join you, God willing." The qurʾānically derived Arabic phrase for "God willing" *(in shāʾa llāh)* is a very common expression among Muslims. Like the greeting *"al-salām ʿalaykum" (*also, *salām[un] ʿalaykum),* its usage in everyday language is not limited to Arab Muslims.

The name of God, Allāh, is present in almost every example offered here. In Arabic, especially in the Egyptian dialect, its frequency in everyday speech with multiple connotations is remarkable. It can express deep appreciation or admiration of a

beautiful face, voice, song, poem, scent, sight, drink, meal, etc., if pronounced with a very long last syllable and closed at the end. It can express anger and dissatisfaction if pronounced with a higher tone stressing the double *lām* ending with the intonation of a rhetorical question. It can convey a connotation of teasing or mocking if it is repeated twice with an open ending. More will be said on this subject in the next section below.

The expression *lā ḥawla wa-lā quwwata illā bi-llāhi l-ʿāliyyi l-ʿazīm* contains three of God's names (Allāh, al-ʿĀlī and al-ʿAẓīm) in addition to reference to another of his names (al-Qawī, Q 11:66; 22:40, 74; 33:25; 40:22; 42:19; 57:25; 58:21). The expression is used in everyday language to express reaction to a situation where a sense of power or strong authority is displayed. The phrase *"Allāhu akbar"* has many functions: it is the marker of entry into the prayer context, in that sense it is called *takbīrat al-iḥrām*. It also indicates, within the context of prayer, movement from one praying position to another. It is always followed by *istiʿādha* and then *basmala* before reciting Sūrat al-Fātiḥa. The *istiʿādha* seeks God's protection against the devil (q.v.) by saying *aʿūdhu bi-llāhi mina l-shayṭāni l-rajīm,* especially when beginning Qurʾān recitation (cf. Q 16:98). Like the *istiʿādha,* the *basmala (bi-smi llāhi l-raḥmāni l-raḥīm),* "In the name of God, the compassionate, the merciful," is also to be recited before Sūrat al-Fātiḥa because, with the exception of the ninth sūra of the Qurʾān, it occurs at the opening of every sūra in the qurʾānic text (*muṣḥaf,* q.v.). It also appears in a verse within a sūra (Q 27:30).

Apart from their essential role in prayer, the *takbīr, istiʿādha, basmala* and Sūrat al-Fātiḥa play other important roles in the language and practice of everyday life. *Takbīr* is always used, for example, to express dissatisfaction in a situation where someone speaks or acts arrogantly. As for *istiʿādha,* besides its use in religious and devotional contexts (cf. Q 3:36; 7:200; 19:18; 23:97), it expresses, in everyday usage, the speaker's intention not to be involved in matters or affairs which he or she disapproves of or resents. The two sūras called al-Muʿawwidhatān (Q 113 and Q 114) are recited before sleeping, preceded as a matter of course by both *istiʿādha* and *basmala*. They are also recited by mothers to a crying baby. If *istiʿādha* is intended to seek protection against the devil (i.e. a negative dimension of life), *basmala* represents the positive dimension of seeking a blessing (q.v.; *baraka*).

By virtue of its positive connotation, *basmala* is frequently present in the diverse activities of everyday life. It is reported in a well-known ḥadīth that any action or behavior is incomplete if executed without having the *basmala* recited (*kullu shayʾin lā yudhkaru fīhi ismu llāh fa-huwa abtar,* Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad,* no. 8355). It should be recited upon entering a room or a house, opening a book, eating a meal, and it has become common behavior on television talk shows for a guest to start his or her answer with the *basmala,* regardless of the topic. It is very normal for students of all ages to whisper the *basmala* before exams, oral or written. It has recently been used by some airlines, e.g. Gulf Air, Saudi Air and others, on an audiotape played before takeoff. It is followed on the same tape by part of another verse of the Qurʾān, *subḥāna man sakhkhara lanā hādhā wa-mā kunnā lahu muqrinīn,* "Glory to God who tamed this [i.e. the sea and animals] for our use, for we are unable to control it" (cf. Q 43:13). The verse, meant to glorify God whose power makes it possible for people to travel on water and to ride on the backs of animals, is equally applied to modern technology. It has also been a general practice for many Muslims to recite the *basmala*

followed by Q 43:13 when he or she starts his or her car. The *basmala* has a certain magical power according to some mystics who believe in the magical power of language in general and in the sacred power of Arabic, the language of the Qur'ān in particular (cf. Ibn al-'Arabī, *Futūḥāt,* i, 58 f.; ii, 395 f.). It should be mentioned here that the literature about the magical power of language in Islamic culture is probably derived, at least partially, from the enigmatic letters at the beginning of some qur'ānic sūras, *al-ḥurūf al-muqaṭṭa'a* (see LETTERS AND MYSTERIOUS LETTERS).

The recitation of Sūrat al-Fātiḥa *(qirā'at al- fātiḥa)* expresses, in the broadest sense, the idea of donation, although the meaning varies with the context. If said in the context of condolences, at the graveyard or at mention of the name of the deceased, the recitation is a donation in return for God's mercy and a blessing for the soul of the deceased. If it is done while visiting or passing by a saint's shrine, its recitation is meant to gain a blessing *(baraka)* from the saint *(walī)*. It can also signal that someone has recently been or is about to be engaged. Betrothal is traditionally associated with the recitation of Sūrat al-Fātiḥa by some family members of the future groom and bride. It is also recited before the wedding contract session *(katb al-kitāb)* and on the wedding night and is meant to add a sacred nature to the marriage institution (see MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE).

The first verse of Sūrat al-Fātiḥa after the *basmala,* i.e. *al-ḥamdu lillāhi rabbi l-'ālamīn,* is also part of everyday language. At the beginning of a meal, the *basmala* is recited, and at the end this first verse *(al-ḥamd)* is recited. But *al-ḥamd* is not limited to thanking God for blessings provided. Rather it should always be the reaction of the Muslim to whatever God bestows on him or her, hence the statement, "Thanks be to God who alone is to be thanked for unpleasant things" (*al-ḥamdu lillāhi lladhī lā yuḥmadu 'alā makrūhin siwāh,* see GRATITUDE AND INGRATITUDE). This explains why the answer given by a Muslim to the casual question, "How are you?" is always answered by *al-ḥamd* regardless of how he or she really is.

Like *al-ḥamd,* the glorification *(al-tasbīḥ)* is also a part of everyday language, but conveys, like the recitation of Sūrat al-Fātiḥa, different senses according to context, e.g. different levels of excitement. An invocation *(du'ā')* composed of most of the above elements is frequently recited as follows: "Glory to God, praise be to God; there is no other god besides God, God is great, and there is no power or strength other than in him, the exalted, the magnificent" (*subḥāna llāh, wa-l-ḥamdu lillāhi, wa-lā ilāha illā llāh, wa-Allāhu akbar wa-lā ḥawla wa-lā quwwata illā bi-llāhi l-'āliyyi l-'aẓīm;* for further discussion on the Qur'ān's influence on everyday language, see Jomier, *L'islam vécu en Égypte,* 221-40).

Artistic presentation, calligraphy and crafts

There is no need to elaborate on the artistic dimension of Qur'ān recitation, especially when performed by a professional *qāri'* endowed with a melodious voice. *Tartīl* based on mastering the rules of *tajwīd* is actually a musical performance. The use of different terminologies, such as *tartīl* instead of *ghinā'* (singing), is meant to differentiate between melodious production as entertainment intended for amusement and that associated with serious religious activity. For the same reason, other forms of religious music, such as praise of the Prophet *(madā'iḥ)* or religious folk poetry, are referred to as chant *(inshād)* and not singing *(ghinā')*. In daily life, however, Muslims react to Qur'ān recitation, whether listening to a reciter or a recording, in a manner similar to that prompted by a musical performance.

Offering condolences *(ta'ziya)* is an occasion to listen to Qur'ān recitation directly from a *qāri'*. In the Egyptian countryside, for example, people extoll the quality of a certain *qāri'* with a loud cry of "Allāh" after each pause between verses. They sometimes even ask the shaykh to repeat a verse or verses. It is expensive to hire a well-trained *qāri'* with a beautiful voice, such a *qāri'* being something of a star. The renown of the *qāri'* who is hired depends on the wealth of the deceased's family or the amount of inheritance (q.v.) he left behind. Thus paying condolences *(ta'āzī)* can offer a splendid opportunity for those who appreciate the art of Qur'ān recitation both to fulfil a religious duty and to experience exquisite recitation.

Again, in a fashion analogous to the enjoyment of music, qur'ānic recitation may be experienced through listening to a tape or compact disk. Like musical art, Qur'ān recitation can also be enjoyed through one's own practice of recitation. The division of the Qu'rān into 30 parts *(juz')* — each of which is further divided into two parts *(ḥizb)* which are themselves divided into four quarters *(rub')* — makes it feasible for a Muslim to enjoy daily recitation of at least one *rub',* if not more. In a communal context, the recitation of the Qur'ān is performed weekly by a professionally trained shaykh in every mosque before the Friday prayer and sermon. At this weekly recitation, preference is given to the recitation of Q 18, Sūrat al-Kahf ("The Cave").

The ninety-nine most beautiful names of God *(asmā' Allāh al-ḥusnā)* — originally based on the Q 59:22-24 — are usually sung, accompanied by flute and drums, in Ṣūfī *dhikr* ceremonies. The singer, or *munshid,* melodically repeats over and over again the names of God while the participants sway back and forth to the right and to the left. Within the melody, the name of Allāh is uttered. The rhythm of the movement, as well as the utterance of the name of Allāh, gradually quickens in response to the melody. The end of the performance approaches when the name of Allāh alone is recited by repeating the first and the last letters *(alif, hā'),* thus indicating the attainment of the state of annihilation in God *(fanā')*. Apart from the ritual function of this musical presentation of the names of God, there is also the aesthetic side, interest in which is confirmed by the widespread distribution of these musical presentations in recorded form. The musical productions do not belong to an individual singer, but like folk songs are performed by anyone with a beautiful and strong voice capable of song. In such a fashion the musical presentation of God's names is not unlike their presentation in calligraphy (q.v.).

If the recitation of the Qur'ān has developed its own musical genre, its written form has developed two kinds of visual art, calligraphy and book decoration (see ORNAMENT AND ILLUMINATION). Manuscript decoration (see MANUSCRIPTS OF THE QUR'ĀN) was an art developed by Muslims through their efforts to invent markers or indicators for the early 'Uthmānic copies (*muṣḥaf,* see CODICES OF THE QUR'ĀN) of the Qur'ān, in order to facilitate recitation of the written text. First it was necessary to add diacritical points in order to differentiate between Arabic letters of similar written form; second, to establish signs indicating short vowels within and at the ends of words; and third, to create a system for the numbering of the verses and the demarcation of the beginning and end of each sūra. Different colorful artistic markers, still highly esteemed, were employed. The work of binding and covering the manuscript was considered a sacred craft to be performed only by those who were well-trained and had long experience. Many of

these Qur'ān manuscripts, produced in the age before print (see PRINTING OF THE QUR'ĀN), are now displayed in museums all over the world. In the wake of the revolutionary development of printing technology, the *muṣḥaf* decoration became an independent and technical art in the production of printed Qur'āns.

It continues to be commonplace in any Muslim house, apartment or even a single room, to have a copy of the qur'ānic text placed in the highest possible position as a blessing *(baraka)*. It is also often seen behind the front or the rear window of a car. The golden *muṣḥaf* around the neck of a Muslim woman or girl is a beautiful piece of art. The production of such sacred art and jewellery is, it could be argued, one of the liveliest industries in the Muslim world.

The art of monumental calligraphy as connected to the Qur'ān consists of transforming the written text into visual tableaux. Letters and words are only elements that form the entire piece of art and are no longer meant to be read. In such elaborate calligraphy, the readability of the written text of the Qur'ān is less important than its artistically powerful presentation. According to the doctrine that the Qur'ān represents the eternal and uncreated utterance of God (*kalām Allāh al-azalī al-qadīm,* the Qur'ān is believed to have previous existence in heaven (see HEAVENLY BOOK) where it was, and still is, recorded on the preserved tablet (q.v.; *al-lawḥ al-maḥfūẓ*). It is written there in magnificent Arabic letters, each of which is as great as a mountain, specifically Mount Qāf, which is supposed to surround and encompass the entire earth (cf. al-Zarkashī, *al-Burhān,* i, 229). It has also been noted that the Islamic prohibition of any kind of figural representation of living figures (see ICONOCLASM) made the art of calligraphy prosper and flourish in various media (see ART AND ARCHITECTURE AND THE QUR'ĀN).

As arabesque represents Islamic art in its abstract form, calligraphy represents a parallel form of artistic presentation of the word of God (q.v.). A variety of script forms *(khuṭūṭ)* are employed in qur'ānic calligraphy in both the Arab and non-Arab Muslim world (T. Fahd, Khaṭṭ). As might be expected, the verses and sūras most frequently presented in calligraphy correspond to those most often recited, underlining their particular significance in the everyday life of the Muslim. Commonly appearing in beautiful calligraphy are phrases such as "There is no god but Allāh" *(lā ilāha illā llāh)* and "Muḥammad is the messenger (q.v.) of God" *(Muḥammadun rasūlu llāh),* which together make up the testimony to faith *(shahāda);* the plea for God's forgiveness *(astaghfiru llāh);* and many other phrases that demonstrate the variety of ways in which the term Allāh is used. These include "There is no support or strength except in God, the exalted, the great" *(lā ḥawla wa-lā quwwata illā bi-llāhi l-ʿāliyyi l-ʿazīm);* the magnification of God *(Allāhu akbar);* the invocation of God to provide refuge from Satan *(al-istiʿādha);* the invocation of God's name *(basmala);* and, finally, the most beautiful names *(al-asmāʾ al-ḥusnā)*.

Since Allāh is the focal name that embraces all other names and attributes of God, it became, and still is, subject to much theosophical interpretation. A considerable portion of Ṣūfī literature is dedicated to explaining the multivalent significance of each letter of the name of Allāh. In calligraphy, the name is written either individually or at the center of the other names of God in many different forms and presentations: in the shape of a circle, square or triangle, each shape being an artistic expression of a particular Ṣūfī explanation of the divine reality. The circular shape, for example, is a visual mode of expressing the theory, elaborated by Ibn

al-ʿArabī (d. 638/1240), of the relationship between the name Allāh and the rest of God's names. While the name Allāh occupies the center of the circle, which represents the universe, the other names of God, being countless, are represented as lines extending from the centre to every point of the circle. The artistic tableaux containing the calligraphic representations of the above-mentioned qurʾānic verses and words may be found everywhere in any Muslim community, on the walls of houses and offices, as bumper stickers or decals for car windows, as well as in mosques. The desk tops in many official buildings bear small plaques which display such verses as "On God I depend" (*tawakkaltu ʿalā llāh,* cf. Q 9:129; 10:71; 11:56, 88; 12:67; 13:30; 42:10, etc); "God is my lord" (*Allāh rabbī,* cf. Q 13:30; 18:38; 19:36; 40:28; 42:10; 43:64); "This is from God's grace" *(hādhā min faḍli llāh);* and "Victory [comes] only from God" *(wa-mā l-naṣra illā min ʿindi llāh)*. Tableaux containing particular verses like the Throne Verse (Q 2:255) and the Light Verse (Q 24:35) are best sellers, as are those inscribed with certain chapters such as Q 36 (Sūrat Yāsīn) and Q 112 (Sūrat al-Ikhlāṣ).

Such verses and sūras are also inscribed on small golden and silver pendants. The visual presentation of qurʾānic verses and phrases by metal inscription is not a modern phenomenon (see EPIGRAPHY). Inscribing copper, silver and gold (q.v.), as well as coins in general, is an ancient Islamic craft. Nowadays, it has become an industry, with almost every Muslim girl and woman wearing around her neck a pendant with a qurʾānic inscription, the most common being "What God wills" *(mā shāʾa llāh),* the *basmala,* "There is no god but Allāh" *(lā ilāha illā llāh),* and the Throne and Light verses.

The importance of both the Throne and the Light verses may have its roots in the mystical interpretation given to them, an interpretation that later became an essential aspect of folk Islamic beliefs (see POPULAR AND TALISMANIC USES OF THE QUR'ĀN). The Light Verse exemplifies the rhetorical device of allegory *(tamthīl),* with the nature of God being compared to the nature of light. This light of God, however, is not the ordinary light known and enjoyed in daily life, but is rather an extraordinary kind of light which can only be perceived through similitudes. The similitude is expressed through extraordinary linguistic means in order to convey the extraordinary nature of God's light (see SIMILES). Al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111) devoted a treatise *(Mishkāt al-anwār)* to explaining in detail the conception of the divine light in reference to the above-mentioned qurʾānic verse.

The Throne Verse, on the other hand, represents the master verse of the Qurʾān *(sayyidat al-Qurʾān)* for al-Ghazālī, since it contains the three major branches of the most important qurʾānic sciences, i.e. the science of knowing God (*ʿilm maʿrifat llāh,* cf. *Jawāhir,* 45-9). Compared with Sūrat al-Ikhlāṣ, which contains only one branch of the science of knowing God, i.e. knowing his essence, *(ʿilm maʿrifat al-dhāt),* the Throne Verse merits a higher position in al-Ghazālī's categorization. Both of these verses have generated an extensive theological and mystical literature and occupied the attention of many generations of Muslim scholars. Their popularity has also expressed itself, as has been noted, in manifold material representations of varying levels of artistic skill and craftsmanship.

Conclusion

In conclusion, it can be said that the Qurʾān was able to penetrate all aspects of daily life by re-forming and re-shaping the everyday life of the early Muslim community physically as well as spiritually. The

spread of Islam in a very short period presented the Qur'ān to different socio-cultural environments, where it eventually enjoyed an exalted position. As it gradually infiltrated the texture of the Arabic language, including its proverbs (a topic touched upon here only tangentially; cf. M.B. Ismā'īl, *al-Amthāl*), it succeeded in influencing all the languages spoken by non-Arab Muslims. It is at the level of language, the building block of thought and of community, whether the media of the language be material (see MATERIAL CULTURE AND THE QUR'ĀN) or audio-visual, whether the form of conveyance be recitation or crafts, that the Qur'ān has had its most pervasive influence on all aspects of Muslim everyday life.

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Evil

see GOOD AND EVIL

Evil Deeds

Actions that are intended to harm others. The term normally understood as "evil deed" or "sin" *(sayyiʾa)* is mentioned in the Qurʾān 24 times in the singular, and 36 times in the plural. In many verses, the term is directly juxtaposed to "good deed(s)" (q.v.; *ḥasana,* pl. *ḥasanāt*) and is often interpreted by Muslim exegetes as denoting actions which are negative by means of their intentions and consequences. Other related terms include "sin" (*dhanb,* see SIN, MAJOR AND MINOR) mentioned in the Qurʾān 39 times in its various permutations, "wrong-doing," attested over 200 times in various derivatives of *z-l-m,* and "disobedience" (q.v.; *maʿṣiya* [Q 58:8, 9] and *ʿiṣyān* [Q 49:7]). The first verbal form of the Arabic root for this last set of words, *ʿ-ṣ-y, (ʿaṣā, yaʿṣī)* is attested 27 times, whereas the adjective, *ʿaṣī,* occurs twice (Q 19:14, 44).

According to many Muslim exegetes, knowledge of good and evil, and specifically what constitutes good and evil actions, is evident to all people. This idea is found in Ibn al-ʿArabī's (d. 543/1148) exegesis of Q 7:172-3; 9:8; 23:111, 115; 91:7-10 and other passages (*Aḥkām,* ad loc.). Q 7:172-3 recounts how God took all humanity from the loins of Adam (see ADAM AND EVE) and made them testify to God as their creator. Insofar as good deeds (q.v.) are considered to be following God and his commandments (q.v.), evil deeds are disobeying God and rejecting his commandments. Q 28:59 implies that ignorance of God and his commandments cannot excuse evil actions since God never destroys a town (see PUNISHMENT STORIES) until he has sent a messenger (q.v.) reciting for them God's revelations (Qurʾān commentators have set forth the various "evil" characters who opposed the prophets; e.g. Ibn Kathīr, *Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ;* Thaʿlabī, *Qiṣaṣ;* Kisāʾī, *Qiṣaṣ;* see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD). Q 7:38 is also interpreted to mean that people cannot account for their evil deeds with the claim that they were merely following the example of the generation (see GENERATIONS) before them. Further proof of this connection between faith (q.v.) and deeds is the fact that the acts of those who say that they believe in God while in their hearts they do not (see HYPOCRITES AND HYPOCRISY) are also considered as evil (or corrupt; see CORRUPTION), even if such people believe that they are doing good (Q 2:11-2).

Because the purpose of creation is the worship (q.v.) of God, all actions which are not in accord with this purpose are considered to be in vain *(bāṭil).* According to al-Ṭabarī's (d. 310/923) commentary on Q 18:102-8 (*Tafsīr,* ad loc.), those whose actions have been most unproductive and misleading in this world are those who thought that they were doing good by acquiring fame for themselves and their own works. A similar idea is expressed in Q 11:15-6. Earthly deeds, or actions oriented to this world and away from the worship of God, are inconsequential in the sense that things acquired on earth are ephemeral.

The notion of evil deeds as vanity is also

found in some of the Muslim exegesis of passages concerning the efficacy of other deities. Q 22:62, for example, contrasts God as the "truth" *(al-ḥaqq)* with the other things that people call upon for help as "vain falsehood" *(al-bāṭil)*. This relates to the idea that doing evil, like worshipping false gods, is a rejection of the truth. God as truth and rejection of God as falsehood *(al-bāṭil)* is also found in Q 47:3. Q 6:24 is interpreted by Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 606/1210; *Tafsīr,* ad loc.) to mean that the false gods which people create for themselves will not intercede on their behalf on the day of judgment (see LAST JUDGMENT; INTERCESSION) as God will do on the behalf of his followers. This idea is found in such additional passages as Q 10:30, 11:21, 16:87 and 41:48. Muslim exegetes also point out that the many qurʾānic references to those who "associate" other things with God *(mushrikūn)* may refer not only to polytheists but also to those who put their own fame or wealth (q.v.) above the worship of God (see POLYTHEISM AND ATHEISM; IDOLATRY AND IDOLATORS).

It is in this sense that evil deeds are not only inconsequential but also misleading *(ḍalāl),* causing people to stray (see ASTRAY; ERROR) from the righteous path, which is the worship of God (see PATH OR WAY). Al-Ṭabarī, in his commentary on Q 7:53 (*Tafsīr,* ad loc.), reports on the authority of Ibn ʿAbbās that, on the day of judgment, those who did not worship God will not find their own creations able to intercede on their behalf before God. Q 50:16-29 describes how, on the day of judgment, the two angels who accompany each person on earth will appear and give an account of the evil and good deeds done by that person (see RECORD OF HUMAN ACTIONS). Some exegetes understand these "angels" not literally but as metaphors for the recording of each person's good and evil deeds. Q 50:22 stresses that, on this day, people will see the consequences of their actions, their evil deeds addressed as a waste of the time God had provided them for his worship. See also ETHICS AND THE QURʾĀN; GOOD AND EVIL.

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Exegesis of the Qurʾān: Classical and Medieval

Interpretation of the Qurʾān in the premodern period. Qurʾānic exegesis *(tafsīr, taʾwīl)* is one of the most important branches of the qurʾānic sciences (*ʿulūm al-Qurʾān,* see TRADITIONAL DISCIPLINES OF QURʾĀNIC STUDY), but is only one part of the wider Islamic hermeneutics, which also comprises the legal hermeneutics operative in the arena of ḥadīth and law (see ḤADĪTH AND THE QURʾĀN; LAW AND THE QURʾĀN). This latter type of hermeneutics, however, plays a leading role in the qurʾānic commentaries.

Etymology and significance of the Arabic words tafsīr, taʾwīl, *and related terms*

The Arabic word *tafsīr* means the act of interpreting, interpretation, exegesis, explanation, but also connotes an actual commentary on the Qurʾān. The term is used for commentaries on scientific or philosophical works, being in this last case equivalent to *sharḥ,* "explanation," which is reserved primarily for profane purposes such as commentaries on poetry and on philological, grammatical and literary

works, etc. (cf. Gilliot, Sharḥ; Rippin, Tafsīr [in *EAR,* xiv], 236). Although *tafsīr* with no other qualification refers in most cases to a qurʾānic interpretation or commentary, its origin is not Arabic. The verb *fassara,* "to discover something hidden," is a borrowing from Aramaic, Syriac or Christian-Palestinian (*peshar, pashshar,* see FOREIGN VOCABULARY). The same verb is also found in Jewish-Aramaic. Accordingly, it cannot be determined whether Arabs (q.v.) or Muslims took the word over from the Jews or from the Christians (Fraenkel, *Die arämäischen Fremdwörter,* 28; Hebbo, *Fremdwörter,* 277-9; Horovitz, *Jewish proper names,* 74; Jeffery, *For. vocab.,* 92).

The emergence of the word *tafsīr* as a technical term is unclear. It occurs as a *hapax legomenon* in Q 25:33: "They do not bring to you any similitude, but what we bring to you [is] the truth, and better in exposition *(wa-aḥsana tafsīran)*." This unique attestation is in a polemical context (see POLEMIC AND POLEMICAL LANGUAGE), giving the assurance that any opposition to Muḥammad (q.v.) by the unbelievers (see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF) will be countered by divine assistance. Some of the qurʾānic commentators have proposed here an etymology by metathesis (*tafsīr/tasfīr,* "unveiling," or *takshīf,* "uncovering;" Suyūṭī, *Itqān,* iv, 192). It seems doubtful, however, to see in this verse the origin of *tafsīr* as a technical term (Wansbrough, *QS,* 154 f.).

The Arabic *taʾwīl,* "interpretation, exegesis," literally related to the notion of "returning to the beginning" (according to al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī [d. 292/905 or 298/910]; Nwyia, *Exégèse,* 145-6), is the second technical term of the semantic field of interpretation. It occurs eighteen times in the Qurʾān, signifying the interpretation of narratives (q.v.) or of dreams (Q 12:36, 101; see DREAMS AND SLEEP), or a deeper interpretation (Q 3:7; Dāmaghānī, *Wujūh,* i, 197-8, where five meanings are given). It has recently been definitively shown that the verb *taʾawwala,* from which the term *taʾwīl* is formed, originally meant "to apply a verse to a given situation," before it came to mean allegorical interpretation (Versteegh, *Arabic grammar,* 63-4; Nwyia, ibid., meaning "reality," *ḥaqīqa*).

The antithesis *tafsīr/taʾwīl* has been attested since the first half of the second/eighth century, and probably before, in the earliest rudimentary attempts to classify exegesis. The Kūfan scholar Muḥammad b. al-Sāʾib Abū l-Naḍr al-Kalbī (d. 146/763) attributes to Ibn ʿAbbās (d. 69/688) the following classification: "The Qurʾān was [revealed] in four aspects *(wujūh): tafsīr* [the literal meaning?], which scholars know; Arabic with which the Arabs are acquainted; lawful and unlawful (q.v.; *ḥalāl wa-ḥarām*), of which it is not permissible for people to be unaware; [and] *taʾwīl* [the deeper meaning?] that only God knows" (see ARABIC LANGUAGE). When a further explanation of *taʾwīl* is demanded, it is described as "what will be" (*mā huwa kāʾin,* Muqātil, *Tafsīr,* i, 27). This categorization could have had its origin in the Jewish and patristic discussions on the four meanings of scripture (Heb. *peshat,* "literal translation"; *remez,* "implied meaning"; *derash,* "homiletic comprehension"; *sod,* "mystical, allegorical meaning"; Zimels, Bible; for patristic and medieval conceptions of the four meanings [literal/historical, allegorical/spiritual, tropological/moral and anagogical/eschatological], see De Lubac, *Exégèse;* Böwering, *Mystical,* 135-42).

Representative of this antithesis between *tafsīr* and *taʾwīl* is the opposition between the transmission *(riwāya)* of exegesis from early authorities, such as the Companions of the Prophet (q.v.), and an exegesis built upon critical reflection *(dirāya),* as a declaration of al-Māturīdī (d. 333/944) in his

qurʾānic commentary indicates: "The *tafsīr* belongs to the Companions, the *taʾwīl* to the scholars *(fuqahāʾ),* because the companions saw the events and knew the circumstances of the revelation of the Qurʾān" (Māturīdī, *Taʾwīlāt,* 5; see OCCASIONS OF REVELATION; REVELATION AND INSPIRATION).

This opposition is not, however, always the same. In a tradition attributed to the Khurāsānī exegete Muqātil b. Sulaymān (d. 150/767), it is said: "He who recites the Qurʾān and does not know the *taʾwīl* of it is an *ummī*" (lit. "illiterate," but perhaps also a "pagan"; Muqātil, *Tafsīr,* i, 26-7; see ILLITERACY; RECITATION OF THE QURʾĀN). Others have said that *tafsīr* is the explanation *(bayān)* of a term which has only one significance, whereas *taʾwīl* is the reduction of a plurivocal term to a single signification according to the context (Suyūṭī, *Itqān,* iv, 192), on the basis of which it could be argued that the distinction between the two terms remained a theoretical one. Abū ʿUbayd al-Qāsim b. Sallām (d. 224/838), whose interest in the text of the Qurʾān was primarily legal, had asserted that they were one and the same (Suyūṭī, *Itqān,* iv, 192; Wansbrough, *QS,* 155-6).

It could be said that the contradictions in the definition of both terms reflect not only differences in times, practices and individuals, but also the fact that the nascent Muslim exegesis was influenced by Jewish and Christian discussions about the four (or more; Muqātil, *Tafsīr,* i, 27, beginning with *"fī l-Qurʾān,"* lists 32 "literary genres" in the Qurʾān) meanings of scripture (see SCRIPTURE AND THE QURʾĀN). The use of the term *wajh,* pl. *wujūh,* "aspect, face, significance," in these discussions may recall the Tannaitic *panim* of scripture, also connected with the Muslim debates on the seven "letters/aspects" *(al-aḥruf al-sabʿa)* in which the Qurʾān is supposed to have been revealed (see READINGS OF THE QURʾĀN).

Legitimation of qurʾānic exegesis

The nature of the early exegesis in Islam continues to be vigorously debated, as does the idea of opposition to this activity itself. No definitive explanation has yet been given for the supposed opposition to the practice of interpreting the Qurʾān, although three main solutions have been proposed (Leemhuis, Origins, 15-9; Gilliot, Débuts, 84-5). The first posits that the exegesis rejected by pious circles in early Islam was based on historical legends and eschatological narratives (*malāḥim,* Suyūṭī, *Itqān,* iv, 205, 207-8, quoting Ibn Ḥanbal; Goldziher, *Richtungen,* 55-61; see the names of the comparatively few scholars who objected to or refrained from *tafsīr* activity in Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* i, 84-9; id., *Commentary,* i, 17-9; Jeffery, *Muqaddimas,* 183-206 *[K. al-Mabānī];* see ESCHATOLOGY). Birkeland (*Opposition,* 19 f.), however, sees no such aversion at all in the first Islamic century, e.g. among the disciples of Ibn ʿAbbās, and believes strong opposition arose in the second/eighth century. Thereafter, exegesis gained general acceptance with the introduction of special rules for the transmission of reports (Birkeland, *Opposition,* 19 f.; id., *Lord,* 6-13, 133-7). The third solution was advanced by Abbott (*Studies,* ii, 106-12), who maintains that the opposition to *tafsīr* was limited to a special category of ambiguous or unclear *(mutashābih,* pl. *mutashābihāt)* verses (q.v.) of the Qurʾān (see AMBIGUOUS). Exegetes have never agreed, however, on which verses are unclear, or even what that qualification means precisely (Rippin, Tafsīr [in *ER,* xiv], 237-8). It can be thus concluded that opposition to exegesis was above all an opposition to the use of personal opinion (*rayʾ,* Birkeland, *Opposition,* 9-10), beginning from the

end of the second/eighth century when the rules for the transmission of traditions mandated acceptable chains of authorities *(isnāds)*. Exegetical traditions without any origin *(aṣl),* i.e. without authoritative chains — a category which included exegesis by personal opinion or that promulgated by popular preachers *(quṣṣās)* — were rejected, even though their narratives were often the same as those of the traditions introduced by authoritative, sound chains of scholars.

In spite of the supposed aversion of some ancient scholars to qurʾānic exegesis and the fact that the Qurʾān itself does not explicitly state that it should be interpreted, commentators have been able to legitimate their exegetical practice over the centuries. One of the passages of the Qurʾān to which they refer for this legitimization is Q 3:7: "It is he who sent down upon you the book (q.v.), wherein are verses clear *(muḥkamāt)* that are the essence (lit. mother) of the book, and others ambiguous *(mutashābihāt)*. As for those whose hearts (see HEART) are perverse, they follow the ambiguous part, desiring dissension (q.v.), and desiring its interpretation *(taʾwīl);* and none knows its interpretation, save God. And those firmly rooted in knowledge (see KNOWLEDGE AND LEARNING; INTELLECT) say, 'We believe in it; all is from our lord (q.v.)'; yet none remembers, save men possessed of minds." The first part of the last pericope ("and none knows its interpretation…) could be read in another way, since the Arabic text provides no indication of where stops and pauses should be taken: "And none knows its interpretation save only God and those firmly rooted in knowledge, who say…." With the latter reading, the interpretative task was open to unclear and ambigous verses, as well as to the clear ones (Wansborough, *QS,* 149-53; McAuliffe, Text).

The beginnings of qurʾānic exegesis

The beginnings of qurʾānic exegesis have also been the object of vigorous debate. At first glance, one is faced with two opposing versions, a traditional Muslim view and the Orientalist reading. According to the traditional Muslim version, the exegesis of the Prophet is the point of departure, then that of his Companions who transmitted and added to his exegesis, then that of the successors *(tābiʿūn)* who, in turn, transmitted and added to the previous interpretations. Finally, the following generations of exegetes took up the interpretations of the Prophet, the most revered Companions and successors, as established by the authoritative chains of transmission (*isnād,* Suyūṭī, *Itqān,* iv, 245-301; 207-8; 233-44; Leemhuis, Origins, 13-4; Gilliot, Débuts, 82-3).

Ten of the Companions are listed as exegetes: the four first caliphs (see CALIPH) — but above all ʿAlī (see ʿALĪ B. ABĪ ṬĀLIB) — then Ibn Masʿūd, Ibn ʿAbbās, Ubayy b. Kaʿb, Zayd b. Thābit, Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī and ʿAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr (Suyūṭī, *Itqān,* iv, 233). Others added to this list include Anas b. Mālik, Abū Hurayra, Jābir b. ʿAbdallāh and ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ (Ḥājjī Khalīfa, *Kashf,* i, 428-30). Ibn al-Nadīm (fl. fourth/tenth century), who is only interested in written works in his "Index" of Arabic books, does not give such lists, but has only "the book of Ibn ʿAbbās transmitted by Mujāhid (b. Jabr)" (d. 104/722; *Fihrist,* 33).

Muslim tradition always counts the following figures among the successors *(tābiʿūn),* those "who achieve celebrity for the science of exegesis *(tafsīr),*" said al-ʿAṣimī, a Khurāsānian Karrāmī (a theological current of Transoxiana; cf. Bosworth, Karrāmiyya) who wrote in 425/1034 (see Jeffery, *Muqaddimas,* 196 *[K. al-Mabānī]*): 1. Saʿīd b. Jubayr (d. 95/714; Gilliot, *Baqara,*

205-11); 2. ʿIkrima (d. 105/723), the client of Ibn ʿAbbās; 3. Abū Ṣāliḥ Bādhām, the client of Umm Hāniʾ (Bint Abī Ṭālib); 4. Mujāhid b. Jabr; 5. Abū l-ʿĀliya al-Riyāḥī (Rufayʿ b. Mihrān, d. 93/711); 6. al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Muzāḥim (d. 105/723); 7. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭalḥa (al-Hāshimī, d. 120/737); 8. Abū Mijlaz Lāḥiq b. Ḥumayd (al-Sadūsī al-Baṣrī, d. 106/724); 9. al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (d. 110/728); 10. Qatāda b. Diʿāma al-Sadūsī (d. 118/736; ibid.; for a traditional presentation of Qatāda as an exegete, see ʿA. Abū Suʾud Badr, *Tafsīr Qatāda;* Ḥājjī Khalīfa, *Kashf,* i, 430 has 1, 2 and 4 and includes Ṭāwūs b. Kaysān, ʿAṭāʾ b. Abī Rabāḥ, saying that all five were Meccans or died in Mecca [q.v.]; Nöldeke, *GQ,* ii, 167-8; for all these exegetes cf. Gilliot, *La sourate al-Baqara*). Our Karrāmī author remarks that all of them, save Qatāda, learned from Ibn ʿAbbās. It should be noted, however, that neither al-Ḍaḥḥāk nor al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī were disciples of Ibn ʿAbbās.

Lastly, it is obvious that the two lists have a symbolic significance, since both enshrine ten figures. The fact that the majority of the figures on these lists of successors died in Mecca adds weight to the "soundness" of this being a transmission from the Prophet to the greatest Companions and successors. Confirming this vision of the religious propriety of exegesis is its multiple connections to the figure of Ibn ʿAbbās as the father of qurʾānic exegesis (Gilliot, Débuts, 85-8).

The early Orientalist point of view questioned the reliability of the authoritative chains of transmission as a means for reconstructing supposedly early *tafsīr* works. Actual reconstructions of the early history of exegesis in Islam are all based on one of several preliminary assumptions about the answer to following question: "Are the claims of the authors of the late second and third Islamic centuries, that they merely pass on the material of older authorities, historically correct?" (Leemhuis, Origins, 14-5). F. Sezgin responds affirmatively, going so far as to say that even Ibn ʿAbbās, the alleged father of qurʾānic exegesis, had a commentary (*GAS,* i, 19-24, 25-8); some early Muslim scholars have said that the transmitter of this supposed *Tafsīr,* ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭalḥa, did not hear the work from Ibn ʿAbbās himself (according to al-Khalīlī, d. 447/1055, in Suyūṭī, *Itqān,* iv, 237), but learned it from Mujāhid b. Jabr and Saʿīd b. Jubayr (ibid.). In contrast, J. Wansbrough believes "haggadic" or narrative exegesis to have begun rather late: "Extant recensions of exegetical writing here designated haggadic, despite biographical information on its putative author, are not earlier than the date proposed to mark the beginnings of Arabic literature, namely 200/815" (*QS,* 144, 179; see the use of Wansbrough's categorization by Berg, *Development,* 148-55, and additions to it, 155-7).

Certainly, the question cannot be answered by an unqualified "yes" or "no," and even if Sezgin had an express desire to prove the existence of early documents "in order to substantiate the claim for the validity of *ḥadīth* transmission and the *isnād* mechanism" (Rippin, Present status, 228), his work has prompted a reconsideration of the Orientalists' traditional critical view of the soundness of authoritative chains, especially in exegesis. One of the arguments of Wansbrough for rejecting the authenticity of the old *tafsīr*s was the intrusion of poetry, because poetry as an exegetical device is not present in the commentaries of Muqātil b. Sulaymān, al-Kalbī and Sufyān al-Thawrī al-Kūfī (d. 161/778). For Wansbrough, a virtual *terminus a quo* for this phenomenon may be elicited from Ibn Hishām's (d. 218/834) recension of the *Sīra*

of Ibn Isḥāq (Wansbrough, *QS,* 142, 217; see SĪRA AND THE QUR'ĀN). But citations of poetry *(shawāhid)* to explain the qur'ānic text exist before this time, e.g. in Abū ʿUbayda (d. 210/885), and al-Farrā' (d. 207/822), and in the *Kitāb al-ʿAyn* of Khalīl b. Aḥmad (d. 175/791), or his redactor, al-Layth b. al-Muẓaffar (d. ca. 200/815; cf. Khan, *Exegetischen Teile,* 64-6; Talmon, *Arabic grammar,* 91-126). The analysis of the different versions of the *Masā'il Nāfiʿ b. al-Azraq ʿan Ibn ʿAbbās* (Gilliot, Textes [in *MIDEO* 23], no. 44), in addition to the poetic quotations in the *Majāz al-Qur'ān* of Abū ʿUbayda and in the *Kitāb al-ʿAyn,* demonstrates that the beginnings and development of *tafsīr* must be pushed back into the early second/eighth century and perhaps even earlier (Khan, *Die exegetischen Teile,* 67-82; Neuwirth, Die *Masā'il*). The same conclusion can be drawn from an analysis of the fragments of the summa, *al-Ǧāmiʿ,* of ʿAbdallāh b. Wahb (d. 197/812; Ibn Wahb, *Koranwissenschaften;* cf. Muranyi, Neue Materialien).

This does not mean, however, that the traditional Muslim representation of the genesis of qur'ānic exegesis can be accepted as a whole, as evinced by the example of the alleged *Tafsīr* of Ibn ʿAbbās. It has been shown that the three texts (to simplify and not speak of the confusion in the numerous manuscripts and their ascriptions, one example of which being the erroneous attribution of *Tanwīr al-miqbās min tafsīr Ibn ʿAbbās* to al-Firūzābādī, d. 817/1414, see Rippin, Criteria, 40-7; 56-9) circulating under the names of the *Tafsīr* of Ibn ʿAbbās, al-Dīnawarī (d. 308/920) or al-Kalbī, and which are supposed to transmit the exegesis of Ibn ʿAbbās, have their origin somewhere in the late third or early fourth century (Rippin, Criteria, 71). Even though it is likely that Ibn ʿAbbās did explain passages of the Qur'ān, it must not be forgotten that he was elevated to a kind of *heros eponymus* of qur'ānic exegesis *(turjumān al-Qur'ān),* above all in ʿAbbāsid times (cf. Gilliot, Portrait; id., Débuts, 87-8). Moreover, al-Shāfiʿī remarks (Suyūṭī, *Itqān,* iv, 239) that, at most, a hundred reports of Ibn ʿAbbās on exegesis are reliable (meaning, perhaps, that they go back to the Prophet?).

It is clear from the foregoing that additional research is needed, including work on manuscripts, to elucidate more fully the problems of the beginnings and early development of qur'ānic exegesis. Such research should also take into consideration the problematic of the relation between orality (q.v.) and literacy (q.v.) in early Islam (cf. Schoeler, Writing; Berg, *Development,* 34-6 and passim).

The formative period

The formative period is understood to extend from the beginnings of written exegetical activity to the introduction of the philological and, above all, grammatical sciences in exegetical works (see GRAMMAR AND THE QUR'ĀN), the *terminus ad quem* being the commentary of Abū ʿUbayda (d. 207/825), entitled *Majāz al-Qur'ān,* or the *Maʿānī l-Qur'ān* of al-Farrā' (d. 207/822).

It is now certain that written works emerged at least by the early second/eighth century. It should not be concluded that such works were complete commentaries *ad litteram;* they might have amounted to a kind of notebook (*saḥīfa,* see WRITING AND WRITING MATERIALS) and did not always follow the order of the qur'ānic text. The reason for using the Arabic word *tafsīr* for this period is because it is both a verbal noun, "to interpret," and a substantive, meaning a qur'ānic commentary: In this period, it is not always obvious if the exegete in question had ever produced a completed work or had only undertaken a kind of exegetical activity with some reliance on writing, as in the above-mentioned note-

book. It is possible to distinguish three broad categories of *tafsīr* in this period: paraphrastic, narrative and legal.

Paraphrastic exegesis is represented, above all, by Mujāhid b. Jabr al-Makkī (d. 104/722), whose paraphrasis is mostly of a lexical nature, e.g. upon "Surely my lord" (Q 12:23), where Mujāhid comments "My lord, that is, my master." The commentary of Mujāhid has been published on the basis of a single manuscript, but it is not always identical to the source al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923) used in citation of Mujāhid. It is, rather, the *Kitāb al-Tafsīr,* transmitted by Ādam b. Iyās (d. 220/835), from *(ʿan)* Warqā (d. 160/776), from Ibn Abī Najīh (d. 131/749), from Mujāhid. Comparison between the different versions shows that "the written fixation of the works that transmit *tafsīr* from *(ʿan)* Ibn Abī Najīh from Mujāhid must have taken place some time around the middle of the second century A.H." (Leemhuis, Origins, 21, in accordance with the study of G. Stauth, *Die Überlieferung des Korankommentars Muǧāhid b. Ǧabr,* cf. esp. 225-9). The same conclusion has been reached concerning Ibn Isḥāq's biography of the Prophet: "Whatever the role of writing in the transmission of *tafsīr* may have been before that time, such works, conceived as definitive and complete literary works, probably never existed. A living tradition precludes them" (Leemhuis, Origins, 22; Gilliot, Débuts, 88-9).

A *tafsīr* is also attributed to the celebrated proponent of free-will *(qadarī)* and model for the ascetics and mystics, al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (d. 110/728), but this was probably along the lines of the aforementioned notebooks, which were organized and compiled at a later date (van Ess, *TG,* ii, 45-6; Gilliot, Textes [in *MIDEO* 22], no. 36). The most important version of this commentary is that of the Baṣran Muʿtazilī ʿAmr b. ʿUbayd (d. 143/760 or 144/761), himself the author of a commentary (van Ess, *TG,* ii, 297-300; see MUʿTAZILĪS).

To the genre of Mujāhid's *tafsīr* belongs the *tafsīr* of Sufyān al-Thawrī al-Kūfī (d. 161/778), a traditionist, theologian, ascetic and jurist, whose exegetical traditions sometimes go back to Mujāhid. The small *tafsīr* which was edited under his name on the basis of a unique manuscript is not without its problems and should be compared with the traditions of Sufyān quoted by al-Ṭabarī or by Abū Isḥāq al-Thaʿlabī (d. 427/1035). One of his transmitters was Abū Ḥudhayfa (Mūsā b. Masʿūd al-Nahdī al-Baṣrī, d. 220/835), also an exegete and the author of a work called *Tafsīr al-Nahdī,* who appears in one chain of transmission of the *Tafsīr* of Mujāhid in al-Ṭabarī (Gilliot, Débuts, 89).

Another traditionist, exegete and jurist was Sufyān b. ʿUyayna (d. 196/811) who was born in Kūfa but lived and died in Mecca. The very small commentary published under his name is a purely speculative reconstruction based on exegetical traditions taken from later commentaries (Gilliot, Débuts, 89-90).

The second type of exegesis of the formative period, narrative exegesis, features edifying narratives, generally enhanced by folkore from the Near East, especially that of the Judeo-Christian milieu. (The narratives upon which this exegesis drew eventually gained the name *Isrāʾīliyyāt,* although it is also the heritage of Byzantium, Persia, Egypt, etc.) In narrative exegesis, it is the actual narrative that seems of prime importance; although the text of the Qurʾān itself underlies the story, it is often subordinated in order to construct a smoothly flowing narrative (Rippin, Tafsīr [in *ER,* xiv], 238).

To this genre belongs the *tafsīr* of al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Muzāḥim (d. 105/723) who died in Balkh. The various chains of transmission concerning his exegesis go back to the

Prophet's companion Ibn ʿAbbās, although al-Ḍaḥḥāk probably never met him personally, but only heard the exegetical lessons given by a disciple of Ibn ʿAbbās, Saʿīd b. Jubayr, in Rayy (see TEACHING AND PREACHING THE QURʾĀN). Al-Ḍaḥḥāk's own qurʾānic interpretations are preserved in later recensions. Some of his exegetical traditions, one of which draws upon a midrash dealing with the creation (q.v.) of Adam (see ADAM AND EVE), show him to have been a narrator of the old-fashioned type, one who borrowed from Persian legendary lore circulating in Khurāsān. As with many older commentators, and notably Ibn ʿAbbās himself, it might be going somewhat too far to attribute to him an actual body of qurʾānic exegesis in the strict sense of the term. Instead, he should be regarded as one who imparted oral teachings on various passages of the Qurʾān and delivered moral lessons to the young warriors of Transoxiana, and this later came to be considered a commentary (van Ess, *TG,* ii, 508-9; Gilliot, Impossible censure, 65-70; id., EAC, 130).

Also belonging to this category are the two celebrated Kūfan exegetes, al-Suddī al-Kabīr (d. 127/746 or 128/747; Gilliot, *La sourate al-Baqara,* 216-21; id., Impossible censure, 72-5) and al-Kalbī, a genealogist and historian. Al-Kalbī's exegesis can be found not only in the problematic *tafsīr* attributed to him, but also in later Sunnī commentaries. Even though he was indeed a Shīʿī and believed in the doctrine of the "return" *(rajʿa)* of the Imāms (see IMĀM) after their occultation, his exegetical work was transmitted in Sunnī, not Shīʿī, circles (see SHĪʿISM AND THE QURʾĀN). In the fragments of his *tafsīr* compiled by the Shīʿī Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 664/1266; cf. Kohlberg, *Ibn Ṭāwūs,* 343), it appears that he largely made use of historiographical materials (van Ess, *TG,* i, 298-301). In this connection, it should be borne in mind that the interpretations of al-Kalbī, although a Shīʿī, were appreciated especially in non-Shīʿī circles, notably among the Karrāmiyya, and were later considered, especially in Khurāsān, as sound and authentic, including their transmission of the exegetical traditions of Ibn ʿAbbās (van Ess, *TG,* i, 299).

Two Khurāsānian exegetes from Balkh of great note are Muqātil b. Ḥayyān (d. 135/753) and Muqātil b. Sulaymān (d. 150/767 or after), who both shared the experience of being warriors on behalf of the faith (*muqātil,* see FIGHTING). The former did not compose a complete commentary, but rather operated as a popular preacher *(qāṣṣ),* imparting exegetical interpretations or narratives within the framework of edifying lessons. Interpretations of a midrashic type are to be found in his sermons, such exegesis later meeting a rather cold reception among adherents of the Iraqi rational school. Some of his exegetical traditions are quoted, for instance by al-Ṭabarī and by Abū l-Fuṭūḥ al-Rāzī (d. after 525/1131; van Ess, *TG,* ii, 510-6; Gilliot, EAC, 131).

As for Muqātil b. Sulaymān, three of his works on qurʾānic exegesis are extant and published. These are the *Kītāb Wujūh al-Qurʾān,* "Aspects of the Qurʾān" (also named *al-Ashbāh wa-l-nazāʾir,* "The interpretative constants of the Qurʾān"); a kind of rudimentary concordance entitled *Tafsīr khams miʾat āya,* "Commentary on five hundred verses"; and his *Tafsīr* ("Commentary") proper. Most Muslim jurist-theologians and traditionists later branded this Muqātil as a poor transmitter of traditions, although they almost all qualify him as a "great qurʾānic commentator." The criticism levelled at Muqātil actually betrays a discernible historical trend of backward projection, whereby ancient scholars come to be judged according to standards which only find widespread acceptance long after

the scholar in question has died. Writers on heresy (q.v.) and theology have also depicted him as one given to anthropomorphism (q.v.). To be sure, Muqātil's recently published commentaries do show traces of anthropomorphic thinking, although not to the extent ascribed to him. The problem is that his commentary has been transmitted in two recensions, a Baghdadi and an Iranian one, only the first of which is extant. It is possible that later redactors of this text suppressed propositions which appeared shocking to them.

Muqātil's commentary poses yet another problem: the eventual mingling of his own material, in this eastern stretch of the Muslim world, with elements of the Kūfan tradition represented by al-Kalbī, who partly drew on interpretations offered by Ibn ʿAbbās or his pupils. Finally, the Baghdadi version — as published — includes interpolations probably by one of the transmitters of this material, al-Tawwazī (d. 308/920), himself a grammarian and a specialist in qurʾānic readings.

These qualifications notwithstanding, narrative exegesis does hold interest as an example of qurʾānic commentary belonging to the early period. It proceeds mainly by way of paraphrase and narratives, with very little use of ḥadīth, drawing instead on what would later be known as *Isrāʾīliyyāt,* "Tales from the Jews," and, more generally, on the legendary lore of the entire region. Moreover, since a number of theological points had not yet been entirely fixed at the time of its composition, certain positions are discernible in this commentary that must have shocked later orthodox sentiment (see THEOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN), especially those that run counter to notions that came to prevail, such as the sinlessness of prophets and, above all, of the Prophet (van Ess, *TG,* ii, 516-32; Gilliot, Muqātil; id., EAC, 132-4; see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD; IMPECCABILITY).

In the category of legal exegesis can be placed different types of commentary, for instance the first attempts to order the text of the Qurʾān and its interpretation according to legal topics. Whereas in narrative or textual interpretation "the order of scripture for the most part serves as a basic framework, for the legal material a topical arrangement is a definitive criterion" (Rippin, Tafsīr [in *EI*², xiv], 239). Another mode of legal exegesis addresses the abrogation (q.v.) of verses with prescriptive or proscriptive content for the purpose of determining legal positions.

Muqātil b. Sulaymān once again is a focal point in the development of legal interpretation. In his small legal commentary, *Khams miʾat āya* ("Commentary on five hundred verses"), which may have been derived from his great narrative commentary, he covers the following legal topics: faith (q.v.), prayer (q.v.), alms (see ALMSGIVING), fasting (q.v.), pilgrimage (q.v.), retaliation (q.v.), inheritance (q.v.), usury (q.v.), wine (see INTOXICANTS), marriage (see MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE), repudiation, adultery (see ADULTERY AND FORNICATION), theft (q.v.), debts (q.v.), contracts (see BREAKING TRUSTS AND CONTRACTS; CONTRACTS AND ALLIANCES) and holy war (*jihād,* q.v.). To this kind of exegesis also belong the fragments of Ibn Wahb's *Jāmiʿ,* although his material is not organized in a topical fashion: it is arranged according to primary sources, presenting us with a sort of *musnad*. He also includes material on the *qirāʾāt,* the readings of the Qurʾān (q.v.; Ibn Wahb, *Koranwissenschaften;* Muranyi, Neue Materialien).

Also under the heading of legal exegesis is Maʿmar b. Rāshid's (d. 154/770) *Tafsīr* in the recension of ʿAbd al-Razzāq al-Ṣanʿānī (d. 211/827): this recension is found both in the latter's *Tafsīr* and scattered throughout his compilation of prophetic traditions (entitled *al-Muṣannaf*). We find in them

hundreds of examples of discussions about the qurʾānic text and its meaning, reflecting actual practice: "What should we do in such and such a case?" with recourse to ḥadīth (Versteegh, *Arabic grammar,* 65-7; Gilliot, Bilan, 158).

As for the topic of abrogation, a "book" *(kitāb)* on this subject is attributed to successors, such as Qatāda (d. 118/736), and to members of the early generations, such as Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī (d. 124/742), but comparisons with later material where these same names appear reveal great differences or different versions (Rippin, al-Zuhrī; Gilliot, Sémantique institutionnelle, 42-50; Muranyi, whose judgment is more optimistic concerning the antiquity of the texts attributed to the earlier scholars, in Ibn Wahb, *Koranwissenschaften,* i, 12-3, 51-2, from the *tafsīr* of Zayd b. Aslam, d. 136/753). With the edited work of Abū ʿUbayd (d. 224/838) on this subject, however, we can be certain of the authenticity of the attribution (cf. Abū ʿUbayd, *Nāsikh,* 174-90).

All of these genres of exegesis from the formative period have been integrated — to a greater or lesser degree, depending on the author — in the various commentaries from the next period.

An intermediary and decisive stage: the introduction of grammar and the linguistic sciences

The science of the readings of the Qurʾān *(qirāʾa)* developed in the ʿAbbāsid period, above all in Baṣra and Kūfa, while less so in the Ḥijāz. The specialists in this field were also grammarians and philologists who tried to explain the difficult or strange/rare *(gharāʾib)* words or expressions of the Qurʾān by appealing to the nascent science of grammar, the dialectical forms *(lughāt)* of the Arabs and ancient poetry (see DIALECTS; POETRY AND POETS; ORALITY AND WRITINGS IN ARABIA). The readings of the Qurʾān thus became a branch of the qurʾānic sciences and an integral part of exegesis. The great grammarian of Baṣra, Sībawayh (d. probably in 180/796 at the age of roughly forty years), had dealt with the Baṣran reading and was thus a precursor to the Baṣran philologist and grammarian of Jewish origin, Abū ʿUbayda Maʿmar b. al-Muthannā (d. ca. 210/825), who wrote a qurʾānic commentary entitled *Majāz al-Qurʾān,* "The literary expression of the Qurʾān" (see LANGUAGE AND STYLE OF THE QURʾĀN). *Majāz* here is used in a pre-rhetorical sense and cannot be translated as "figurative speech," its later meaning in stylistics. Rather, in this context, it means what is "usual/permitted" *(jāʾiz)* in the speech of the Arabs, even if it seems "unusual" *(gharīb)*. For Abū ʿUbayda, God had spoken to the Arabs in their own language, making it natural to interpret the Qurʾān through recourse to the grammar and usage of the "profane" language of the Arabs, such as that found in poetry, a notion illustrated in his use of sixty poetic verses as witnesses (*shawāhid,* cf. Almagor, Early meaning, 307, 310-1; K. Abu-Deeb, Studies in the majāz and metaphorical language of the Qurʾān, 310-53, Wansbrough, *Qs,* 219-6) to the usage of language in the qurʾānic text. His aim is not, however, purely literary but includes searches for literary evidence to demonstrate the then-nascent notion of the miraculous character of the Qurʾān, which became a full doctrine only in the fourth/tenth century (see INIMITABILITY). A work which occupies an intermediary position beween Abū ʿUbayda and the later treatises on the inimitability *(iʿjāz)* of the Qurʾān is the *Taʾwīl mushkil al-Qurʾān,* "The interpretation of the difficulties of the Qurʾān (see DIFFICULT PASSAGES)," of Ibn Qutayba (d. 276/889), which does not follow the text of the Qurʾān, but is divided into chapters (cf.

Rippin, Tafsīr [in *ER,* xiv], 239). It is worth mentioning that the author of a recent study (Versteegh, *Arabic grammar;* reviewed by Gilliot in *ZDMG* 146 [1996], 207-11) on the introduction of grammar into the exegetical enterprise has attempted to demonstrate that a segment of Arabic grammatical terminology could have its origins in the first qurʾānic commentaries, that is, those of the first half of the second/third century: Muqātil b. Sulaymān, al-Kalbī and others.

A closely related genre is that known under the title of *Maʿānī l-Qurʾān,* usually translated as "The significations of the Qurʾān," but better as "The qualities of the Qurʾān." *Maʿnā* means both signification and quality, and the purpose of the genre is not only to explain the qurʾānic text, but, above all, to enhance the allegedly "eminent qualities" in both its content and style. This type of commentary seeks to explain the lexicon of the Qurʾān, along with its grammar, variant readings and poetry, with lesser recourse to historiography and legends (see HISTORY AND THE QURʾĀN; MYTHIC AND LEGENDARY NARRATIVES). One of the earliest texts devoted to this type of analysis is the *Maʿānī l-Qurʾān* of al-Farrāʾ (d. 207/822), a Kūfan scholar with Muʿtazilī leanings (Beck, Dogmatisch-religiöse Einstellung; id., Die b. Masʿūdvarianten; Kinberg, *Lexicon,* 9-23), whose work was probably preceded by others with the same title written by such figures as his Kūfan teacher al-Kisāʾī (d. 189/805), considered one of the seven canonical readers of the Qurʾān (Beck, Kufischen Koranlesung), and the Baṣran al-Akhfash al-Awsaṭ (d. 215/830; Gilliot, Textes [in *MIDEO* 21], no. 81; al-Ward, *Manhaj al-Akhfash*). The genre continued into the following centuries, e.g. the works of al-Zajjāj (d. 311/923; *Maʿānī l-Qurʾān wa-iʿrābuhu,* "The qualities and the semantic grammar of the Qurʾān"), Abū Jaʿfar al-Naḥḥās (d. 338/950; *Iʿrāb al-Qurʾān,* "The semantic grammar of the Qurʾān"), Makkī b. Abī Ṭālib al-Qaysī (d. 437/1047; *Mushkil iʿrāb al-Qurʾān,* "The difficulties of the semantic grammar of the Qurʾān"; cf. A.H. Faraḥāt, *Makkī b. Abī Ṭālib;* Sh. ʿA. al-Rājiḥī, *Juhūd al-Imām Makkī b. Abī Ṭālib*), Abū l-Baqāʾ al-ʿUkbarī (d. 616/1219; *al-Tibyān fī iʿrāb al-Qurʾān,* "The elucidation of the semantic grammar of the Qurʾān"), and others (see SEMANTICS OF THE QURʾĀN). It should be noted that these prerhetorical and textual commentaries follow the text of the Qurʾān, but do not explain each verse, as would later be the case in the great classical commentaries such as that by al-Ṭabarī.

The role of grammar in the semantic, theological and juridical interpretation of the text of the Qurʾān also appears in the numerous books composed on the accepted variant readings *(al-qirāʾāt al-mutawātira),* and also on the "irregular" *(shādhdh)* readings, their grammatical analysis *(iʿrāb)* and their significations and qualities (*maʿānī,* Ḥājjī Khalīfa, *Kashf,* ii, 1317-23; Nöldeke, *GQ,* iii, 116-249; Pretzl, Wissenschaft, 1-47, 230-46; Gilliot, *Elt,* 135-64). Special books were also devoted to the pauses and beginnings of enunciation in the Qurʾān (Nöldeke, *GQ,* iii, 234-7), e.g. *Kitāb al-Waqf wa-l-ibtidāʾ,* "Elucidation of the pause and beginning in the Qurʾān," of the grammarian Abū Bakr al-Anbārī (d. 328/940). This branch has an obvious relationship to the discipline of the public recitation of the Qurʾān (*tajwīd,* Nöldeke, *GQ,* iii, 231-4).

Some later extended commentaries placed a special importance upon the variant readings and grammar, as did the philologist of Granada with Baṣran grammatical inclinations, Abū Ḥayyān al-Gharnāṭī (d. 754/1344), in his *Tafsīr al-baḥr al-muḥīṭ,*

"Commentary of the oceanic sea," which is actually an encyclopaedia of grammar and variant readings, although the author also treats other aspects of exegesis (al-Mashnī, *Madrasat al-tafsīr,* 104-9).

The introduction of grammar and the linguistic sciences was an important turning point in the history of qurʾānic exegesis (Gilliot, *Elt,* 165-203). Indeed, the integration of a positive discipline, like grammar, gave qurʾānic exegesis the appearance of a sure science, even if philology was a sort of *ancilla Corani,* serving apologetic purposes and adapting grammar in some cases, either to the peculiarities of the qurʾānic language or to its "weak style" (cf. Nöldeke, Zur Sprache). The jurists, theologians and exegetes, however, did not want the text of the Qurʾān to be subject to grammar, since, for them, the only sure science was one that derived from the ḥadīth or traditions of the Prophet. They did not abandon grammar, but showed marked preference for the "exegesis from tradition" *(al-tafsīr bi-l-maʾthūr)* which prevailed in the following centuries. Some, however, did find ways to counterbalance this exegesis from tradition with, for example, the introduction of dialectic theology *(kalām)* or Ṣūfī allegorical exegesis (see ṢŪFISM AND THE QURʾĀN).

Constitutive Sunnī corpora based upon traditions and later development

It is commonly said that the first Sunnī exegetical corpus based upon traditions is the commentary of al-Ṭabarī, but there were several others before him at the end of the second/eighth and the beginning of the third/ninth century, e.g. that of Yaḥyā b. Sallām al-Baṣrī (d. 200/815 in Egypt), who came from Iraq and established himself in Qayrawān. He interested himself in qurʾānic readings, along with the occasions of revelation, ḥadīth and the exegetical traditions of Iraq (q.v.), Mecca (q.v.) and Medina (q.v.), and is said to have shared the Murjiʾite conception of faith (Gilliot, Commentaire, 181-2, and passim; M. Muranyi, *Beiträge,* 16-20, 390-7; see DEFERRAL). Mention can also be made of ʿAbd b. Ḥamīd (or Ḥumayd, d. 249/863; see Gilliot, EAC, 134 n. 24) who was born in Kish in what is now Uzbekistan. While his qurʾānic commentary has not come down to us as such, abundant reference is made to it by later scholars such as the polymath al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505) in his exegetical compilation, itself based on traditions, *al-Durr al-manthūr fī l-tafsīr al-maʾthūr,* "The scattered pearls concerning exegesis of tradition," (Gilliot, EAC, 134). Another commentary, also quoted by al-Suyūṭī, that has not survived in full and which pertains to the same genre of exegesis based upon tradition, is that of the jurist and exegete of Khurāsān, Ibn al-Mundhir (Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Mundhir al-Mundhirī al-Nīshābūrī, d. 318/930; *Tafsīr al-Qurʾān,* ms. Gotha 521 [from Q 2:272 to Q 4:91]; Sezgin, *GAS,* i, 496). It should be added that most of the canonical or subcanonical collections of the prophetic traditions have a section on *tafsīr* or on the *faḍāʾil al-Qurʾān* ("the virtues/merits of the Qurʾān"), such as the collections of al-Bukhārī (d. 256/870), Muslim (d. 261/875), al-Nasāʾī (d. 303/916), etc. (cf. R.M. Speight, Function of ḥadīth). It has also been said that Ibn Ḥanbal (d. 241/855) had a *tafsīr* containing 120,000 traditions, probably an arrangement by his son ʿAbdallāh, if it ever existed at all (Gilliot, Abraham, 66). All these commentaries, however, were only compilations of traditions, with very limited intervention by the compilers themselves.

It can be said that the *J̌āmiʿ al-bayān ʿan taʾwīl āy al-Qurʾan,* "The sum of clarity concerning the interpretation of the verses of the Qurʾān," of Abū Jaʿfar Muḥammad b. Jarīr b. Yazīd al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923) is a

landmark work, the first to combine fully the various formative stages or elements of Muslim exegesis described above. A central feature of the work is the attention given by the author to ensuring complete chains of authoritative transmission: 13,026 chains are thus offered in 35,400 cases (Gilliot, *Elt,* passim; Ṣ.Ḥ. Hallaq, *Rijāl al-Ṭabarī*), yielding a precious mine of information (30 volumes in the complete 1954 Cairo edition) for earlier sources of exegesis. Since so much related by al-Ṭabarī is tradition, he has often been regarded as essentially a compiler. Some have even balked at his transmission of numerous "legendary" traditions or *Isrāʾīliyyāt,* but such are to be found, already by his time, in nearly all commentaries and even the six canonical ḥadīth collection *(al-kutub al-sitta)* of Sunnism and the four canonical collections *(al-kutub al-arbaʿa)* of Shīʿism. The latter, while composed after al-Ṭabarī, contain reports and traditions which he would have had at his disposal that are earlier than the books themselves. Moreover, reducing al-Ṭabarī to the role of compiler alone would be to overlook the task which he set for himself, which involved nothing less than filtering most of the data he transmitted so as to ensure that it would meet the criteria of the Sunnite orthodoxy of his own day and environment. Indeed, he often took an outright theological stance, notably, but not only, against the Muʿtazilites. Additionally, there are places in his commentary where he actually speaks out in the tone of a dialectical theologian *(mutakallim),* something hardly agreeable to Ḥanbalite partisans, who occasionally made life difficult for him in Baghdad, even going so far as to accuse him of harboring Shīʿite tendencies.

Again, al-Ṭabarī's commentary amounts to something of a *summa,* with legal elements (he was a remarkable Shāfiʿite jurist, and he even founded his own school of law, which was a variation of the Shāfiʿite school), grammatical elements (he was an excellent grammarian, more attached to the Kūfan school without, however, neglecting the Baṣran), philological and rhetorical elements, and also references to the variant readings of the Qurʾān (to which he had devoted a separate work, see Gilliot, *Elt,* 135-64) and poetic material (M. al-Mālikī, *Juhūd al-Ṭabarī*). In short, al-Ṭabarī's commentary has been regarded as a key source of exegesis in Islam in subsequent centuries and even down to our own time.

A number of other commentaries mark this decisive stage of classical exegesis. The commentary of the collector of prophetic traditions, Ibn Abī Ḥātim al-Rāzī (d. 327/938; Dāwūdī, *Ṭabaqāt,* i, 285-7, no. 264), is composed of exegetical traditions of the classical commentators, together with chains of warrants for their validity, with very few interventions by the author (Ibn Abī Ḥātim al-Rāzī, *Tafsīr*).

The commentary of Abū l-Layth al-Samarqandī (d. 373/983), entitled *Baḥr al-ʿulūm,* "The ocean of sciences," is of average size and belongs to the genre of exegesis which relied largely on tradition, although its author was a Ḥanafite jurist and theologian (Gilliot, EAC, 138).

The Shāfiʿite of Nīshāpūr, Abū Isḥāq al-Thaʿlabī (d. 427/1035), the celebrated author of *Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ,* "Tales of the prophets," was a specialist on the readings of the Qurʾān, a traditionist, an exegete and a man of letters. Ibn al-Jawzī (d. 597/1200), while recognizing the importance of his qurʾānic commentary, faults him, as does Ibn Taymiyya (d. 728/1328), for integrating too many traditions which they consider unsound. Except for its introduction, al-Thaʿlabī's commentary, entitled *Kashf al-bayān ʿan tafsīr al-Qurʾān,* "Unveiling the elucidation of the exegesis of the Qurʾān," remains unpublished. This

regrettable gap is perhaps due to the length of the commentary and the prevailing — mistaken — opinion that the essence of the qurʾānic exegesis embodying the interpretations of the Companions of the Prophet and of the early exegetes is sufficiently accessible in the great work of al-Ṭabarī. Also, al-Thaʿlabī did not hesitate to draw upon the exegesis of men like al-Kalbī and Muqātil b. Sulaymān, two commentators regarded with suspicion by the orthodox both in former times and especially today, regardless of the fact that traditions of similar or identical content are abundantly found in the commentaries of al-Ṭabarī and others (Gilliot, EAC, 139-40).

Abū l-Ḥasan al-Wāḥidī (d. 468/1076) is the author of a commentary praised by the partisans of tradition. He was one of the most noted disciples of al-Thaʿlabī and also of Abū ʿUthmān al-Ṣābūnī (d. 449/1057). Famous for his commentaries on the collected works of several poets as well as for his exegesis of the Qurʾān, he authored no less than three qurʾānic commentaries, called "Extended," "Abbreviated" and "Medium-sized" respectively, and also wrote *Kitāb Asbāb al-nuzūl,* "The occasions of revelation" (Gilliot, EAC, 141; id., Textes [in *MIDEO* 24], no. 66).

Al-Baghawī, also called Muḥyī l-Sunna (Revifier of the Sunna, d. 516/1122), composed, as a traditionist and exegete, a medium-sized commentary, most of the material for which he drew from the commentary of al-Thaʿlabī. One might, as a result, regard his commentary as a sort of abridgment of al-Thaʿlabī's work, duly purged of those traditions considered unacceptable by a strict traditionist like al-Baghawī. Indeed, this was probably the main reason for the praise given to al-Baghawī's work in certain circles. In contrast, criticism levelled against him faults him for drawing too much material from biblical and extra-biblical legend and lore (Gilliot, EAC, 143-4; M.I. Sharif, *al-Baghawī*).

The Karrāmīs of Nīshāpūr, and of Khurāsān and Transoxania in general, played a leading role in exegesis, qurʾānic readings and sciences, even if very little of their work is extant. Abū l-Ḥasan al-Ḥaysan b. Muḥammad (d. 467/1075), who belonged to a great family of scholars, taught exegesis and ḥadīth in Nīshāpūr. The only text of his to be preserved, *Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ*, "Tales of the prophets," is to be published (cf. C. Schöck, *Adam im Islam*). Another Karrāmī of Nīshāpūr, al-ʿAṣimī, was the author of the *Kitāb al-Mabānī,* which dealt with qurʾānic sciences and is the introduction to his commentary (Gilliot, EAC, 146; cf. id., Sciences coraniques).

The age of abridgment of the great commentaries of tradition material culminated in *al-Nukat wa l-ʿuyūn,* "The main points and essential features of exegesis," the six-volume commentary of the great Shāfiʿite jurist of Baghdad, Abū l-Ḥasan al-Māwardī (d. 450/1058); the six-volume *al-Muḥarrar al-wajīz,* "The accurate and brief commentary," by the Andalusian Ibn ʿAṭiyya (d. 541/1147; al-Mashnī, *Madrasat al-tafsīr,* 92-7); and the nine-volume *Zād al-masīr fī ʿilm al-tafsīr,* "Provisions for the journey concerning the science of exegesis," of the great Baghdadi Ḥanbalite traditionist, preacher and man of letters, Ibn al-Jawzī (d. 597/1200; McAuliffe, *Qurʾānic,* 57-63). In these three works, chains of transmission are generally reduced to the first figure (companion, successor or later exegete). In al-Māwardī's commentary, the various solutions of interpretation of a verse are summarized and numbered, while Ibn al-Jawzī's awards a prominent place to qurʾānic readings.

The Ḥanafite jurist and theologian Abū l-Barakāt al-Nasafī (d. 710/1310) wrote a

medium sized commentary, *Madārik al-tanzīl wa ḥaqā'iq al-ta'wīl,* "The reaches of revelation and the truths of interpretation," which amounts to a compendium of exegesis that might satisfy the most orthodox of Sunnis. This work may be considered in part as a kind of shortened version of those by al-Zamakhsharī (d. 538/1144; see below) and al-Bayḍāwī (d. 716/1316), while obviously refraining from repeating al-Zamakhsharī's Muʿtazilite positions (Gilliot, EAC, 144-5).

The *Gharā'ib al-Qur'ān wa-raghā'ib al-furqān,* "Wonders of the Qurʾān and desirable features of revelation," of Niẓām al-Dīn al-Nīsābūrī al-Aʿraj (d. after 730/1329), who studied with, among others, the astronomer Quṭb al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī, is a well-planned commentary which proceeds in four stages: variant readings; pauses (also the subject of his eight introductions); literal exegesis *(tafsīr),* borrowing here from Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (see below) and al-Zamakhsharī; and spiritual exegesis (*ta'wīl,* G. Monnot, Exégèse coranique [in *EPHESS Annuaire* nos. 89-91, 98]; Gilliot, EAC, 142-3).

A much appreciated commentary today is the *tafsīr* of the Syrian Shāfiʿite traditionist, jurist and historiographer ʿImād al-Dīn Abū l-Fidāʾ Ibn Kathīr (d. 774/1373; eight vols., ed. A.A. Ghunaym et al.), who counted among his teachers the Ḥanbalite Ibn Taymiyya. His commentary is prefaced with an extended consideration of the principle of exegesis by tradition (McAuliffe, *Qurʾānic,* 71-6; for the relation between the different introductions to his commentary and his book *Faḍā'il al-Qurʾān,* see Gilliot, Textes [in *MIDEO* 24], no. 63). He often quotes his predecessors, like al-Ṭabarī or Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, sifting and evaluating the exegetical traditions according to rather strict orthodox conceptions in the manner of his teacher Ibn Taymiyya. Comparison of this work to that of al-Ṭabarī or al-Rāzī shows that we are in a much less rich intellectual environment (cf. Calder, Tafsīr; on Ibn Kathīr, see also I.S. ʿAbd al-ʿAl ʿAbd al-ʿAl, *Ibn Kathīr wa-minhājuhu fī l-tafsīr;* Masʿūd al-Raḥmān Khan Nadwī, *al-Imām Ibn Kathīr. Sīratuhu wa-mu'allafātuhu wa-minhājuhu fī kitābāt al-ta'rīkh*).

Nearly contemporaneous with Ibn Kathīr was the exegete, grammarian and specialist in qurʾānic readings, al-Samīn al-Ḥalabī (Aḥmad b. Yūsuf, d. 756/1355 in Cairo; Brockelmann, *GAL,* ii, 111), who wrote the larger but less well-known qurʾānic commentary entitled *al-Durr al-maṣūn fī ʿulūm al-kitāb al-maknūn* ("The secret jewels. On the sciences of the hidden book"), which contains many grammatical explanations.

A very important later source for scholars of exegesis is *al-Durr al-manthūr* of the Egyptian Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505), mentioned above. In this great compilation he draws upon several commentaries, some of which are now lost, and proceeds by compiling a series of exegetical traditions with few interventions. The same polymath also contributed to completing the small commentary of one of his teachers, Jalāl al-Dīn al-Maḥallī (d. 864/1459), which is thereby entitled *Tafsīr al-Jalālayn,* "Commentary of the two Jalāls." It is very popular today because of its very brief explanations of qurʾānic words and phrases.

The encyclopaedist exegesis in the tradition of al-Ṭabarī continued through the pre-modern period with commentaries such as that of the Zaydite jurist al-Shawkānī (d. 1250/1834), entitled *Fatḥ al-qadīr,* "Victory of the Powerful" (cf. al-Sharjī, *al-Imām al-Shawkānī;* M.H.A. Ghumārī, *al-Imām al-Shawkānī mufassiran*).

Special legal exegesis

While legal exegesis was operative at almost every stage of the history of exegesis,

"the framework of legal analysis emerges quite clearly in some works, achieving a status reflected in titles" (Rippin, Tafsīr [in *EI²*], 84; McAuliffe, Legal exegesis) such as *Aḥkām al-Qurʾān,* "The legal rules of the Qurʾān" (Dhahabī, *Mufassirūn,* ii, 432-73), composed by the Ḥanafite al-Jaṣṣāṣ (d. 370/981), the Shāfiʿite Ilkiyā l-Harrāsī (d. 504/1110; Dhahabī, *Siyar,* xix, 350-2), the Mālikite Ibn al-ʿArabī (d. 543/1148; M.I. al-Mashnī, *Madrasat al-tafsīr,* 89-91; id., *Ibn al-ʿArabī al-Mālikī al-Ishbīlī wa-tafsīruhu Aḥkām al-Qurʾān*) and the Cordoban Mālikite al-Qurṭubī (d. 671/1272). The first three exhibit a particular interest in legal material and do not explain every verse of the Qurʾān. The third, a lengthy one, contains many legal "treatises" or developments of explanation, but is also a commentary *ad litteram* with many quotations from earlier commentaries or exegetes, like Muqātil b. Sulaymān and al-Kalbī, with grammatical analyses, etc. As such, it can be considered an exegetical encyclopaedia in the manner of al-Ṭabarī (al-Qaṣabī, *Qurṭubī;* al-Mashnī, *Madrasat al-tafsīr,* 98-101).

The exegesis of the dialectical/speculative theologians (mutakallimūn)

While here is not the place to discuss the early beginnings of dialectical theology *(kalām)* in Islam, it can be said to have been consolidated by the Muʿtazilites, even if they did not actually initiate it. Worthy of note are the Baṣran Muʿtazilite theologian and jurist ʿAmr b. ʿUbayd (see above) and Abū Bakr al-Aṣamm (d. 200/816) who was not, however, always accepted by the other Muʿtazilites. He composed a lost commentary containing not only Muʿtazilite views on the freedom of will and acts (see FREEDOM AND PREDESTINATION), but also historical, philological and legal matters (van Ess, *TG,* ii, 403-7). The great commentary of Abū ʿAlī al-Jubbāʾī (d. 303/915) has not been preserved, but important explanatory material from it has been recently reconstructed from quotations found in later works (cf. Gimaret, *Djubbāʾī*). The Ḥanafite jurist and Khurāsānian Muʿtazilite theologian Abū l-Qāsim al-Balkhī al-Kaʿbī (d. 319/931) wrote a 12-volume commentary on the Qurʾān which has not survived save for quotations found in later works, notably the *Ḥaqāʾiq al-taʾwīl fī mutashābih al-tanzīl,* "The realities of interpretation concerning the ambiguous passages of revelation," by al-Sharīf al-Raḍī (d. 406/1016; cf. Gimaret, *Djubbāʾī,* 28; Gilliot, EAC, 151).

Mention should also be made of the *Nazm al-Qurʾān,* "The fine ordering of the Qurʾān," of Abū Zayd al-Balkhī (d. 322/934), also lost, passages of which can be found quoted in later sources. Several important philologists and grammarians, like al-Farrāʾ, Abū ʿAlī al-Fārisī and al-Rummānī, were Muʿtazilites. Moreover, the Muʿtazilites played a leading role in the elaboration of the doctrine of the inimitability of the Qurʾān and in the study of its stylistic aspects. From such beginnings, the genre of the *Nazm al-Qurʾān* (the Muʿtazilite al-Jāḥiẓ [d. 255/868] composed a book so entitled) was later adopted by traditional Sunnite scholars, like the Shāfiʿite Syrian Burhān al-Dīn Biqāʿī (d. 885/1480) in his great commentary entitled *Nazm al-durar fī tanāsub al-āyāt wa-l-suwar,* "The arrangement of the pearls regarding the correspondence of the verses and sūras," (Gilliot, Textes [in *MIDEO* 22], no. 39), or al-Suyūṭī in his small *Tanāsuq al-durar fī tanāsub al-suwar,* "The harmonious disposition of the pearls regarding the correspondence on the sūras."

Qāḍī ʿAbd al-Jabbār al-Hamadhānī (d. 415/1025) made important exegetical contributions, not only in his *Mutashābih al-Qurʾān,* "The ambiguous passages of the Qurʾān," where he explained those passages according to the Muʿtazilite doctrine, but also in several volumes of his great theological and juridical encyclopaedia, *al-*

Mughnī fī abwāb al-tawḥīd wa-l-ʿadl, "The sufficient [treatise] on the matters of unity and justice."

The nine-volume commentary of al-Ḥākim al-Jushamī (d. 494/1101; the correct vocalization is al-Jishumī, since he was born in Jishum in the district of Bayhaq), entitled *al-Tahdhīb fī l-tafsīr,* "Refinement in exegesis," survives in several manuscripts. One advantage of this commentary, compared with al-Zamakhsharī's *Kashshāf,* is the more solid support it shows for Muʿtazilite doctrine, notably the conception of the unity of God (Gimaret, *Djubbāʾī,* 25-6; Gilliot, EAC, 151-2).

Several Shīʿite exegetes, like Abū Jaʿfar al-Ṭūsī (d. 460/1067) and Abū ʿAlī al-Ṭabarsī (al-Ṭabrisī; d. 548/1153), were also Muʿtazilites; quotations of earlier Muʿtazilite commentators can thus be found in their works (Gimaret, *Djubbāʾī,* 23-5, 26).

As for Jār Allāh al-Zamakhsharī (d. 538/1144), the celebrated Muʿtazilite grammarian, exegete and man of letters from Khwārazm, his commentary, entitled *al-Kashshāf ʿan ḥaqāʾiq al-tanzīl wa ʿuyūn al-aqāwīl fī wujūh al-taʾwīl,* "The unveiler of the truths of revelation and of the essences of utterances concerning the aspects of exegesis," was long considered a model of Muʿtazilite exegesis. In point of fact, while Muʿtazilite standpoints are certainly to be found therein, many of its theological opinions often remained veiled, and its author is to be considered only a distant successor, one of only marginal importance (Madelung, Theology of al-Zamakhsharī, 485-95; Gimaret, *Djubbāʾī,* 11). His reputation for exegesis rests not so much on his Muʿtazilism as on his qualities as a grammarian, philologist, and master of rhetoric and literary criticism. For this reason he is still appreciated in Sunnite orthodox circles (Gilliot, EAC, 152-4).

The importance of the Muʿtazilite contribution can be illustrated through the example of the Zaydite Muʿtazilite scholar, Abū Yūsuf al-Qazwīnī (d. 488/1095), a disciple of the Qāḍī ʿAbd al-Jabbār, who wrote possibly the longest commentary ever composed: It is reported to have been 300, 600, or even 700 volumes. While the number is surely an exaggeration, there is no reason to doubt the testimony of Ibn ʿAqīl, who writes that al-Qazwīnī's commentary on Q 2:102 ("They followed what the Satans [see DEVIL] recited") took up an entire volume (Gilliot, EAC, 154).

The Sunnite reaction against the sectarian groups *(firaq)* and especially against Muʿtazilism is reflected in their qurʾānic exegesis, above all in the commentaries of the Sunnite dialectical theologians.

In the eastern part of the Islamic world, a Ḥanafite theologian who was later recognized as the founder of a school of dialectical theology, Abū Manṣūr al-Māturīdī (d. 333/944), wrote a commentary entitled *Taʾwīlāt al-Qurʾān,* "Exegeses of the Qurʾān," or *Taʾwīlāt ahl al-Sunna,* "Exegeses of the people of the sunna (q.v.)," of which only one volume has been published (the rest will be soon published). It is of major interest not only as representative of Māturīdite doctrine in Transoxiana, but also because it preserves much older exegetical material, including Muʿtazilite interpretations which the author rejects. It might also be added that, at times, he deals with subjects which are not to be found in other commentaries. While this work was glossed, notably in the gloss *(sharḥ)* of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn al-Samarqandī (d. 539/1144), it has not left discernible traces in qurʾānic exegesis (Rudolph, *al-Māturīdī,* 201-8; Gilliot, EAC, 155).

The Shāfiʿite jurist and Ashʿarite theologian Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 606/1210; cf. Anawati, Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī) is also a significant representative of the exegesis of the dialectical theologians. His commentary, entitled *Mafātīḥ al-ghayb,* "Keys of the unseen," (also known as *al-Tafsīr al-kabīr,*

"The great commentary"), was a work of his mature years, begun in Khurāsān and pursued in various places. It is not clear that he finished the work himself, e.g. the commentary on Q 29-36 seems not to be his (cf. Jomier, Ensemble; id., Mafātiḥ al-ghayb). Certainly, the usual apparatus of qurʾānic commentary is found therein, as well as references to previous interpreters, including the Muʿtazilites. His exegesis not only follows that which relies on personal opinion *(raʾy),* but is also very much a philosophical commentary, within the guideliness set by dialectical theology *(kalām)*. Where al-Rāzī considers it appropriate, he explains various issues in the form of scholastic *quaestiones* (Arabic *masʾala,* pl. *masāʾil*), to which he appends the opinions of different scholars with their lines of argument, before concluding with his own. Although his orientation was deliberately anti-Muʿtazilite, he did owe a considerable debt to their exegesis (McAuliffe, *Qurʾānic,* 63-71; Lagarde, *Index,* 1-15; Gilliot, EAC, 156-8).

For different aspects of the methodology and theology of Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī as evidenced in his commentary, see M. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, *al-Rāzī mufassiran;* M.I. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, *Minhāj Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī;* M. Ḥusaynī Abū Saʿdah, *al-Nafs wa-khulūduhā;* ʿA.M. Ḥasan al-ʿAmmarī, *al-Imām Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī;* M. al-ʿArabī Abū ʿAzīzī, *Nazariyyāt al-maʿrifa ʿinda l-Rāzī;* M. Mahdī Hilāl, *Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī balāghiyyan;* and ʿU. al-Turaykī, *al-Dhāt al-ilāhiyya* (full bibliographical information for these works is given in the bibliography of the article).

Another commentary should be mentioned here, even if it is not entirely matched to this section, the *Anwār al-tanzīl wa-asrār al-taʾwil,* "The lights of revelation and the mysteries of interpretation," of the Shāfiʿite jurist and theologian Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Bayḍāwī (d. 716/1315-6, according to van Ess; cf. Gilliot, EAC, 160 n. 187). It depends a great deal upon al-Zamakhsharī's work, but while often regarded as a mere abridgment of the *Kashshāf,* it actually draws upon many other sources, which the author unfortunately fails to mention. Al-Bayḍāwī treats variant readings and issues of grammar more than al-Zamakhshārī, but also avoids repeating al-Zamakhsharī's theological views so far as possible. Some of these views, however, still lurk in his text, probably because he remained unaware of their implications. This commentary became one of the single most popular commentaries in the Muslim world. As such, it has been the subject of many glosses, and with that of al-Khaṭīb al-Kāzarūnī (d. 940/1553), now forms part of the curriculum of the University of al-Azhar in Cairo (Gilliot, EAC, 160-3).

Khārijite and Shīʿite exegesis

The oldest Khārijite commentary still exant is that of the Ibāḍite Hūd b. Muḥkim (or Muḥakkam) al-Hawwārī (d. ca. 280/893 or 290/902-3), of the Awres in today's Algeria. It has recently been edited in four volumes and actually forms a kind of abridgment of the commentary of Yaḥyā b. Sallām al-Baṣrī who lived for a period in Qayrawān. Naturally, a great part of the exegetical traditions contained in the work of Hūd are borrowed from Ibn Sallām, especially explanations given by al-Kalbī, Mujāhid and al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, and a large amount of exegetical material, especially Baṣran, is found in the work. This commentary is, above all, a valuable testimony to early Ibāḍite exegesis, notably on faith and works (see FAITH), — views which stand in opposition to the Murjiʾite views of Ibn Sallām — against the Sunnite conception of the intercession (q.v.) of the Prophet. Juridical matters in general, as well as those particular to the Ibāḍites are also to be found (cf. Gilliot, Commentaire).

The early Zaydite exegesis is represented

by the *Tafsīr* of Abū l-Jārūd (d. after 140/757-8) which exhibits predestinarian leanings and contains historical and midrashic passages. More than 200 quotations of his exegesis are preserved in the commentary of al-Qummī, hardly surprising since the Imāmī Shīʿites called the Jārūdites the "strong" Zaydites, with regard to their radical Shīʿite positions (Madelung, *Imam al-Qāsim,* 43-8; van Ess, *TG,* i, 253-61; Bar-Asher, *Scripture and exegesis,* 46-56; see SHĪʿISM AND THE QURʾĀN).

Imāmī Shīʿite exegesis can be divided into the Pre-Buwayhid school of exegesis and the Post-Buwayhid school, keeping in mind that the Buwayhid period (334-447/945-1055), known for its theological creativity and far-reaching internal innovations in Imāmite doctrine, constitutes a golden era for the Imāmī Shīʿites (Bar-Asher, *Scripture and exegesis,* 9-12).

Most of the commentaries of the first period were composed between the middle of the third/ninth and late fourth/tenth centuries, roughly the time between the Minor Occultation (which began 260/874 or 264/878) and the Major Occultation (329/941) of the twelfth Imām. The literature from the period of the fifth Imām, Muḥammad al-Bāqir (d. 113/731-2), and the sixth, his son Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq (d. 148/765), "undoubtedly incorporates earlier exegetical material. However, early exegetical traditions seem to have been edited and modified" (Bar-Asher, *Exegesis,* 7-8). The commentators of this period are Furāt b. Furāt al-Kūfī (fl. second half of third/ninth and possibly fourth/tenth centuries), ʿAlī b. Ibrāhīm al-Qummī (alive in the days of al-Ḥasan al-ʿAskarī, d. 260/873; on the commentary ascribed to Ḥasan al-ʿAskarī, see Bar-Asher, Qurʾān commentary), al-ʿAyyāshī (fl. end of third/ninth and beginning of fourth/tenth centuries) and al-Nuʿmānī (d. ca. 360/971; Bar-Asher, *Scripture and exegesis,* 27-70). The main features of this Pre-Buwayhid school of exegesis are the following: commentary relying on ḥadīths of the Shīʿite tradition (cf. Bar-Asher, *Scripture and exegesis,* chap. 2); narrow and focused concern with the text of the Qurʾān, with special attention given to verses with potentially Shīʿite allusions; minimal interest in theological themes or specific issues bearing on the institution of the Imāma, such as those of the Imām's immunity from error and sin *(ʿiṣma)* or intercession *(shafāʿa)* on the day of judgment (Bar-Asher, *Scripture,* 159-189); an extreme anti-Sunnite tendency, expressed primarily by the hostile attitude to the Companions of the Prophet (Bar-Asher, *Scripture,* 71-86). The methods used by these commentators were interpretations of a textual nature, "seeking to harmonize between the text of the Qurʾān and the ideas they sought to derive from it," and also allegorical interpretation, "which grounds the basic concepts of the Imāmī-Shiʿite in the text" (Bar-Asher, *Scripture,* 87-124). Some of the recent editions of these texts have sometimes been censured, above all in the extreme anti-Sunnite declarations present in the manuscripts and lithograph editions.

Prominent among the tradition-based commentaries of the second period of the Imāmī Shīʿite exegesis (Monnot, Introduction, 314-7) are *Rawḥ al-jinān wa-rūḥ al-janān,* "The breeze of paradise and the spirit of the heart" (probably the first commentary written in Persian), of Abū l-Futūḥ al-Rāzī (fl. first half of the sixth/twelfth century; McAuliffe, *Qurʾānic,* 54-7; Gilliot, EAC, 149-50) and *al-Burhān fī tafsīr al-Qurʾān,* "The proof in interpreting the Qurʾān," of al-Baḥrānī (d. 1107/1696), which quotes almost exclusively exegetical traditions borrowed from previous exegetes and attributed to the Shīʿite Imāms.

The two greatest exegetes of this period, already mentioned above with the Muʿtazilites, are Abū Jaʿfar al-Ṭūsī (d. 460/1067),

the author of *al-Tibyān fī tafsīr al-Qurʾān,* "Elucidation in interpreting the Qurʾān" (McAuliffe, *Qurʾānic,* 45-9), and Abū ʿAlī al-Ṭabarsī (d. 548/1153; cf. Abdul, Majma albayan; id., Unnoticed mufassir) who composed *Majmaʿ al-bayān li-ʿulūm al-Qurʾān,* "The confluence of elucidation in the sciences of the Qurʾān," a work which owes a considerable debt to al-Ṭūsī. These two commentaries exhibit a distinct kinship with accepted Sunnite exegetical writings, such as interest in the variant readings and grammatical or philogical explanations, and offer moderate points of view on passages of particular importance for the Shīʿites. One must, however, also take into account their Muʿtazilite outlook (cf. Gilliot, EAC, 148-9).

The Ismāʿīlites make a fundamental distinction in religion and knowledge between the exterior *(ẓāhir)* and the interior *(bāṭin),* a distinction also reflected in their interpretation of the Qurʾān. The science of *tafsīr* (exoteric exegesis) is absent from their literature, since true meaning can be obtained only through *taʾwīl* (esoteric interpretation), which originates in the legitimate Imām. Hence, the Imām is often called "the speaking Qurʾān" *(Qurʾān-i nāṭiq),* while the book itself is called "the silent Qurʾān" *(Qurʾān-i ṣāmit)*. This arrangement corresponds to the distinction between the hidden, spiritual meaning of scripture explained by the Imām *(taʾwīl)* and the divine message delivered by the Prophet in its literal form (*tanzīl,* descent). Even the physical objects mentioned by the Qurʾān are to receive an esoteric intepretation, often designating one of the Imāms or Fāṭima (q.v.) or one of the holy ancestors, like Abraham (q.v.; cf. Strothmann, *Ismailitischer Koran-Kommentar,* 15; Poonawala, Ismāʿīlī *taʾwīl;* A. Nanji, Hermeneutics). Numerous Ismāʿīlite interpretations of the Qurʾān go back to the letters of the Brethren of Purity (Goldziher, *Richtungen,* 186-207; Netton, *Muslim neoplatonists,* 78-89).

Important traces of the Ismāʿīlite way of interpreting the Qurʾān can be found in the commentary of al-Shahrastanī (d. 548/1153) entitled *Mafātīh al-asrār wa-maṣābīḥ al-abrār,* "Keys of the mysteries and beacons of the pious," with its twelve-chapter introduction, bearing on the first and second sūras of the Qurʾān. His exegesis fully belongs to the tradition of the great commentaries, in the light of the keen interest shown by the author in linguistic issues and exoteric exegesis. He does, however, turn, when necessary, to the "mysteries" *(asrār),* i.e. esoteric exegesis, with Ismāʿīlite ideas, like the "accomplished" and "not yet accomplished" or the distinction between the "designated successor" *(waṣī),* who is heir to the Prophet, and the Imām who comes after the *waṣī* (Monnot, Controverses théologiques, 281-96; id. Exégèse coranique [in *EPHESS Annuaire* nos. 93-7]; Gilliot, EAC, 158-60; cf. D. Steigerwald, *Pensée philosophique*).

Mystical exegesis

The important question to consider in the case of the mystical interpretation of the Qurʾān is, 'When did the introspective reading of the Qurʾān begin?' (Massignon, *Essai,* 118; Nwyia, *Exégèse,* 157). Certainly, al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, whose personality is so important for the history of spirituality in Islam, is a logical starting point, but his teaching has come to us only in the form of fragments. We are on much surer ground with Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq (d. 148/765). Whatever the historical origin of the *Tafsīr* attributed to him, its entry into the mystical circles of the third/ninth century corresponds to attempts to consolidate Sunnite mystical doctrine (cf. Nwyia, Tafsīr mystique). Tustarī's (d. 283/896) method of qurʾānic interpretation, as exhibited in his *Tafsīr,* apparently follows the precedent set by al-Ṣādiq "who is on record with a statement concerning the four point pattern of qurʾānic exegesis; but actually, in his com-

mentary of the Qurʾān applies two ways of interpretation, a literal *(ẓāhir)* and a spiritual *(bāṭin)* way, and stresses the hidden meanings *(bāṭin)* of qurʾānic verses" (Böwering, *Mystical,* 141).

The Tustarī tradition of Ṣūfism was very important in the following centuries (Böwering, *Mystical,* 18-42), particularly its influence on the mystical exegesis undertaken in Andalusia, e.g. that by the Cordoban Ibn al-Masarra (d. 319/931), who wrote *Kitāb Khawāṣṣ al-ḥurūf wa-ḥaqāʾiqihā wa-uṣūlihā,* "Particularities of the letters and their essences and their origins," on the isolated letters of the Qurʾān (under the influence of the *Risāla fī l-ḥurūf,* "Treatise on the letters," of al-Tustarī; see LETTERS AND MYSTERIOUS LETTERS), and Ibn Barrajān (born in Seville; d. 536/1142 in Marrakesh) who taught in Seville. Ibn Barrajān treated revelation as a whole as related to its principle, the divine names (see GOD AND HIS ATTRIBUTES), addressing his reader as a disciple and inviting him to follow a "whole and superior reading" (*al-tilāwa al-ʿulyā,* cf. Gril, Lecture supérieure) in his two commentaries: *Kitāb al-Irshād,* "Book of guidance," and *Iḍāḥ al-ḥikma,* "Illustration of wisdom." Ibn al-ʿArabī (d. 638/1240), who had read al-Tustarī, borrowed some of his expressions in his own commentary on Q 1 (chap. 5 of *al-Futūḥāt al-makkiyya*), and traces of his influence (Böwering, *Mystical,* 39-40) and of Ibn Masarra are to be found in his lost commentary *al-Ǧamʿ wa l-tafṣīl fī asrār maʿānī l-tanzīl,* "The general survey and detailing of the mysteries of revelation" (which had 66 volumes and stopped at Q 18:53; see K. ʿAwwād (ed.), Ibn al-ʿArabī. *Fihrist,* 356-7; Gilliot, Textes [in *MIDEO* 23], no. 111).

Ibn al-ʿArabī authored a large commentary which was in circulation until the ninth Islamic century; what we now possess is his small commentary, *Iʿjāz al-bayān fī tarjamat al-Qurʾān,* "The inimitability of clarity in the explanation of the Qurʾān," which stops at Q 2:252. The school of Ibn al-ʿArabī also had its exegetes, like Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Qūnawī (673/1274), who wrote a commentary on the Sūrat al-Fātiḥa, entitled *Iʿjāz al-bayān fī tafsīr umm al-Qurʾān,* "The inimitability of clarity regarding the exegesis of the essence [lit. mother] of the Qurʾān" (Chittick, Ṣadr al-Dīn Ḳūnawī); al-Qāshānī (d. 730/1329; cf. Lory, *Commentaires ésotériques*); and ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Jīlī (d. ca. 832/1428), who composed a commentary on the *basmala* (q.v.), "In the name of God, the merciful, the compassionate", entitled *al-Kahf wa-l-raqīm fī sharḥ bi-smi llāhi l-raḥmāni l-raḥīm,* "The cavern and the cave in the explanation of the *basmala*."

Another great mystical exegete, al-Sulamī (d. 412/1021) of Nīshāpūr, had, like al-Tustarī, a major influence on mystical exegesis and thinking. One version of his major commentary, the *Ḥaqāʾiq al-tafsīr,* "The spiritual realities of exegesis" (which exists in two versions, a longer and a shorter), was published in 2001 (ms. Istanbul, Fātiḥ, 261). To this commentary is appended a separate addendum, entitled *Ziyādāt al-ḥaqāʾiq,* "Additions to the spiritual realities," which has recently been published. He was an original author, collecting most of his materials in the course of his journeys, particularly in Merv, Baghdad and Mecca. His approach is methodical and rigorous, shunning subjects of an edifying, anecdotal or biographical nature and avoiding those issues dealt with in legal commentary or in exegesis based upon tradition, as well as technical or philogical points, i.e. those materials pertaining to exoteric learning. He limits himself to interpretation which he considers material for a mystical exegesis of the Qurʾān, according to the principle stated in his introduction: "Understanding the book of God according to the language of the people of the truth." Such an esoteric approach to interpreting the Qurʾān inevitably aroused

disapproval in orthodox circles, but his work also contributed to the establishment of mystical exegesis as an independent branch of qurʾānic hermeutics, coming to represent for the mystical interpretation of the Qurʾān what the commentary of al-Ṭabarī had been to traditional exegesis (cf. Böwering, Commentary; id., Sufi hermeneutics). The extracts of his commentary, originally published by L. Massignon and P. Nwyia, have been reprinted in *Majmūʿat-i āthār-i Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Sulamī* (ed. N. Purjavādī, i, 5-292).

The celebrated author of *al-Risāla al-qushayriyya,* ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Qushyarī (d. 465/1072), also composed a six-volume commentary (cf. G.C. Anawati, Textes [in *MIDEO* 10, no. 47; 17, no. 35]), entitled *Laṭāʾif al-ishārāt,* "The subtle allusions," in which he notes qurʾānic allusions or indications of the spiritual state of those who recite the Qurʾān (cf. Halm, al-Ḳushayrī).

The commentary of Rūzbihān al-Baqlī al-Shīrāzī (d. 606/1209), entitled *ʿArāʾis al-bayān fī ḥaqāʾiq al-Qurʾān,* "The maidens of clarity regarding the realities of the Qurʾān," besides its high spiritual range, contains quotations from al-Sulamī and sometimes al-Qushayrī (*al-ustādh,* cf. Ernst, Rūzbihān). Rashīd al-Dīn al-Maybudī is the author of a large Persian commentary of mystical inspiration, entitled *Kashf al-asrār wa-ʿuddat al-abrār,* "The disclosure of the mysteries and the outfit of the pious," begun in 520/1126 (Storey, *PL,* i, 1190-1).

The Khwarazmite Najm al-Dīn Kubrā (d. 617/1220; cf. Algar, Kubrā) composed a commentary entitled *al-Taʾwīlāt al-najmiyya,* "The spiritual interpretations of al-Najm," also known as *Baḥr al-ḥaqāʾiq* or *ʿAyn al-ḥayāt*. This commentary was only begun by him, important contributions being made by his disciple Najm al-Dīn Rāzī Dāya (d. 654/1256; cf. Algar, Nadjm al-Dīn), and was finally completed by another Ṣūfī of the order of al-Kubrāwiyya, ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla Simnānī (d. 736/1336; F. Meier, ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla al-Simnānī; Landolt, La "double échelle"). This Ṣūfī of the Ilkhanid period rejected Ibn al-ʿArabī's ontology; his commentary, *Tafsīr najm al-Qurʾān,* contains the salient features of his thought (cf. Elias, *Throne carrier*).

The Moroccan Ṣūfī Ibn ʿAjība (d. 1224/1809) composed a four-volume commentary, entitled *al-Baḥr al-madīd fī tafsīr al-Qurʾān al-majīd,* "The outstretched sea regarding the exegesis of the glorious Qurʾān," in which he distinguishes between the classical textual intepretation *(ʿibāra)* and the allusions *(ishārāt),* especially to the saints (Michon, Ibn ʿAdjība).

As for the Ottoman period, mention should be made of the allegorical commentary, *al-Fawātiḥ al-ilāhiyya wa l-mafātīḥ al-ghaybiyya,* "The divine openings and the secret keys," of al-Nakhjuwanī (d. 920/1514 in Āqshehir of today's Turkey; Brockelmann, *GAL,* S ii, 320-1). The most celebrated commentary of this period is the ten-volume *Rūḥ al-bayān,* "The spirit of clarity," composed by Ismāʿīl Ḥaqqī al-Brūsawī (d. 1137/1725), which is a classical commentary along with a mystical exegesis. He often quotes *al-Taʾwīlāt al-najmiyya* and Persian mystical poetry (Kut, Ismāʿīl Ḥaḳḳī). The thirty-volume *Rūḥ al-maʿānī,* "The spirit of the significations," begun by Maḥmūd al-Ālūsī (1270/1854) and finished by his son (cf. H. Péres, Ālūsī; Dhahabī, *Mufassirūn,* i, 352-62), is also a classical commentary, reserving at the same time considerable room for mystical interpretation.

Conclusion

The study of the Qurʾān gradually became divided into a profusion of sciences (i.e. disciplines; see TRADITIONAL DISCIPLINES OF QURʾĀNIC STUDY), each with its own handbooks, like *al-Burhān fī ʿulūm al-Qurʾān,* "The proof regarding the sciences of the

Qurʾān," of al-Zarkashī (d. 794/1391; Anawati, Textes [in *MIDEO* 4, no. 18; 6, no. 15]) or *al-Itqān fī ʿulūm al-Qurʾān,* "The mastery regarding the sciences of the Qurʾān," of al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505; Anawati, Textes [in *MIDEO* 10, no. 34]), which is itself based upon al-Zarkashī's work; or *Baṣāʾir dhawī l-tamyīz fī laṭāʾif al-kitāb al-ʿazīz,* "The keen insights of those with discernment in the subtilities of the holy book," of the lexicographer al-Fīrūzābādī (d. 817/1414; Anawati, Textes [in *MIDEO* 8, no. 22]).

The vast exegetical tradition of the Qurʾān is a reminder that the Qurʾān has been the *magna carta* of Islamic societies throughout history; its exegesis is not limited to the various schools of qurʾānic commentators, but is found in almost every kind of literature, particularly belles-lettres (*adab;* cf. Gilliot, *Usages;* see LITERATURE AND THE QURʾĀN).

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Exegesis of the Qurʾān: Early Modern and Contemporary

This article deals with the exegetical efforts of Muslim scholars as well as with their views of exegetical methodology from the middle of the nineteenth century to the present.

Aspects and limits of modernity in the exegesis of the Qurʾān

Treating early modern and contemporary exegesis of the Qurʾān as a distinct subject implies that there are characteristics by which this exegesis differs noticeably from that of previous times. The assumption of such characteristics, however, is by no means equally correct for all attempts at interpreting passages of the Qurʾān in the books and articles of Muslim authors of the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and even where such an assumption holds true, those authors do not always deviate significantly from traditional patterns and approaches (see EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL). Many Qurʾān commentaries of this time hardly differ from older ones in the methods applied and the kinds of explanations given. The majority of the authors of such commentaries made ample use of classical sources like al-Zamakhsharī (d. 538/1144), Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 606/1210) and Ibn Kathīr (d. 774/1373) without necessarily adding anything substantially new to the already available interpretations. One should thus always bear in mind that in the exegesis of the Qurʾān there is a broad current of unbroken tradition continuing to this day. Still, in what follows attention will be directed mainly to innovative trends.

The majority of the new approaches to exegesis has so far been developed in the Arab countries and particularly in Egypt. Therefore, this part of the Islamic world will be dealt with most extensively.

Elements of novelty include the content as well as the methods of interpretation. When mentioning content, it should be said, first of all, that new ideas about the meaning of the qurʾānic text emerged largely in answer to new questions which arose from the political, social and cultural changes brought about in Muslim societies by the impact of western civilization. Of particular importance among these were two problems: the compatibility of the qurʾānic world view with the findings of modern science (see SCIENCE AND THE QURʾĀN); and the question of an appropriate political and social order based on qurʾānic principles (see POLITICS AND THE QURʾĀN; COMMUNITY AND SOCIETY IN THE QURʾĀN) which would thus enable Muslims to throw off the yoke of western dominance. For this purpose the qurʾānic message had to be interpreted so as to allow Muslims either to assimilate western models successfully or to work out alternatives believed to be superior to them. One of the problems to be considered in this framework was the question of how qurʾānic provisions referring to the legal status of women could be understood in view of modern aspirations towards equal rights for both sexes (see FEMINISM; GENDER; WOMEN AND THE QURʾĀN). Hitherto unknown methodological approaches sprang partly from new developments in the field of literary studies and communication theory, partly from the need to find practical ways and theoretical justifications for discarding traditional interpretations in favor of new ones more easily acceptable to the contemporary intellect, but without at the same time denying the authority of the revealed text as such. These approaches were

usually based on a new understanding of the nature of divine revelation and its mode of action in general.

Kinds of publications containing exegesis of the Qurʾān and discussing exegetical methods

The main place where exegesis of the Qurʾān can be found remains the commentaries. Most of them follow a verse-by-verse approach (*tafsīr musalsal*, i.e. "chained" or sequential commentary). In the majority of cases such commentaries start from the beginning of the first sūra (q.v.; see also FĀTIḤA) and continue — unless unfinished — without interruption until the last verse of the last sūra. An exception is *al-Tafsīr al-ḥadīth* by the Palestinian scholar Muḥammad ʿIzza Darwaza, which is based on a chronological arrangement of the sūras (cf. Sulaymān, *Darwaza*). Some *musalsal* commentaries are limited to larger portions of the text (known as *juzʾ*, pl. *ajāzʾ*) that were already in former times looked upon as units (e.g. Muḥammad ʿAbduh, *Tafsīr juzʾ ʿAmmā*, 1322/1904-5). Some are devoted to a single sūra (e.g. Muḥammad ʿAbduh, *Tafsīr al-Fātiḥa*, 1319/1901-2). In a few cases such commentaries deal only with a selection of sūras made by the author for demonstrating the usefulness of a new exegetical method (ʿĀʾisha ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, *al-Tafsīr al-bayānī*, see below) or the edifying purpose that the exegesis was originally meant to serve (e.g. Shawqī Ḍayf, *Sūrat al-Raḥmān wa-suwar qiṣār*). It should also be said that the traditional genre of commentaries which treat verses considered particularly difficult (see DIFFICULT PASSAGES) is still being pursued (e.g. Rāshid ʿAbdallāh Farḥān's *Tafsīr mushkil al-Qurʾān*). While it is true that most commentaries have been written for the consumption of religious scholars, some are explicitly designed to address the needs of a more general public. This is true, for example, in the case of Mawdūdī's (d. 1979) *Tafhīm al-Qurʾān* (see below), a commentary intended for Indian Muslims of a certain education who, however, do not possess knowledge of Arabic or expertise in the qurʾānic sciences.

The last decades of the twentieth century in particular witnessed the publication of an increasing number of commentaries which classified key passages of the qurʾānic text according to main subjects and treated verses related to the same subject synoptically. The ideas of exegesis underlying this "thematic interpretation" *(tafsīr mawḍūʿī)* and the pertinent theoretical statements proclaimed in them can vary greatly from one author to the next, as will be seen below; also, in such thematic commentaries, the procedures of determining the meaning of single verses sometimes differ hardly at all from those applied in commentaries of the *musalsal* kind. Therefore, this thematic interpretation can oscilate between mere rearrangement of textual material and a distinct method of exegesis with new results. Generally, however, thematic interpretation concentrates upon a limited number of qurʾānic concepts judged by the author to be particularly important. This effect has also been achieved by Maḥmūd Shaltūt in his *Tafsīr al-Qurʾān al-karīm. al-Ajzāʾ al-ʿashara al-ūlā*, who steers a middle course between the *musalsal* and thematic approaches in not commenting upon the text word by word, but focusing attention on key notions (see Jansen, *Egypt*, 14).

Where commentaries concentrate on a single, central qurʾānic theme or just a few (e.g. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. al-Dardīr's *al-Tafsīr al-mawḍūʿī li-āyāt al-tawḥīd fī l-Qurʾān al-karīm*), this genre merges into that of treatises on basic questions of qurʾānic theology (see THEOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN), such as Daud Rahbar's *God of Justice* or — on a less sophisticated level — ʿĀʾisha ʿAbd al-Raḥmān's *Maqāl fī l-insān. Dirāsa qurʾāniyya*.

In addition, books or articles written in the field of Islamic theology or law that argue from qurʾānic texts — which most of them do to a great extent — include an element of exegesis. Printed collections of sermons, on the other hand, are not as relevant for exegesis as one might expect, since Islamic sermons are nowadays primarily laid out thematically, not exegetically.

Discussions concerning the appropriate methods of exegesis are often located in introductions placed at the beginning of Qurʾān commentaries. A remarkable early modern case in point is Muḥammad ʿAbduh's introduction to his *Tafsīr al-Fātiḥa* (5-21, actually Muḥammad Rashīd Riḍā's account of one of Ābduh's lectures). A small separate treatise about the principles of exegesis, Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan's *Taḥrīr fī uṣūl al-tafsīr,* was already printed in 1892 (Agra, in Urdu). Since that time quite a few books and articles entirely devoted to methodological problems of interpreting the Qurʾān have been published, most of them since the late 1960's.

Main trends in the exegetical methods and their protagonists

1. Interpreting the Qurʾān from the perspective of Enlightenment rationalism

The first significant innovation in the methods of exegesis, as they had been practised for many centuries, was introduced by two eminent protagonists of Islamic reform: the Indian Sayyid Ahmad Khan (1817-98) and the Egyptian Muḥammad ʿAbduh (1849-1905). Both of them, impressed by the political dominance and economic prosperity of modern Western civilization in the colonial age, ascribed the rise of this civilization to the scientific achievements of the Europeans and embraced a popularized version of the philosophy of the Enlightenment. On this basis they adopted an essentially rationalistic approach to the exegesis of the Qurʾān, working independently of each other and out of somewhat different points of departure and accentuations, but with similar results all the same. Both were inspired with the desire to enable their fellow Muslims in their own countries and elsewhere to share in the blessings of the powerful modern civilization.

For Sayyid Ahmad Khan, the traumatic experience of the Indian mutiny (1857), on the one hand, had roused in him the urge to prove that there is nothing in the Islamic religion which could prevent Indian Muslims from coexisting and cooperating peacefully with the British in a polity held together by a reasonable, morally advanced legal order and founded on scientific thinking. On the other hand, he had personally turned to a modern scientific conception of nature and the universe after many years of exposure to the impact of British intellectuals residing in India. These motives incited him to attempt to demonstrate that there could not be any contradiction between modern natural science and the holy scripture of the Muslims. (For a fundamental study of his principles of exegesis and the underlying ideas, see Troll, *Sayyid Ahmad Khan,* 144-170.)

Sayyid Ahmad Khan's basic notion for understanding qurʾānic revelation (see REVELATION AND INSPIRATION) is expounded in his above-mentioned treatise on the fundamentals of exegesis *(uṣūl al-tafsīr)* and put into practice in several other writings published by him: The law of nature is a practical covenant (q.v.) by which God has bound himself to humanity (see NATURAL WORLD AND THE QURʾĀN), while the promise and threat (see REWARD AND PUNISHMENT) contained in the revelation is a verbal one. There can be no contradiction between both covenants; otherwise God would have contradicted himself, which is unthinkable. His word, the revelation, cannot contradict his work, i.e.

nature (see CREATION). Sayyid Ahmad Khan complements this assumption with a second axiom: Any religion imposed by God — and hence also Islam, the religion meant to be the final one for all humankind — must necessarily be within the grasp of the human intellect, since it is possible to perceive the obligatory character of a religion only through the intellect (q.v.). Therefore it is impossible that the qurʾānic revelation could contain anything contradicting scientific reason.

If some contemporary Muslims believe the opposite, this does not stem, in Sayyid Ahmad Khan's opinion, from the qurʾānic text as such, but from an erroneous direction within the exegetical tradition: The holy book only seems to contradict modern science in certain places if one has not noticed that the passage in question must be understood metaphorically. According to Sayyid Ahmad Khan this metaphorical interpretation *(taʾwīl)* is, *nota bene,* not a secondary reinterpretation of an obvious meaning of the text, but a reconstruction of its original meaning: God himself had chosen to use certain metaphorical expressions in the text only on account of their currency as common metaphor (q.v.) in the Arabic usage of the Prophet's day, making them comprehensible to his contemporaries, the first audience for what had been revealed to him. Exegetes must, therefore, first try to understand the text as understood by the ancient Arabs to whom it was adressed in the time of the Prophet (see LANGUAGE AND STYLE OF THE QURʾĀN; PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QURʾĀN).

The practical result of Sayyid Ahmad Khan's exegetical endeavor on the basis of these principles is to eliminate miraculous events from his understanding of the qurʾānic text as much as possible, as well as all kinds of supranatural phenomena and other phenomena incompatible with his own scientific world view (see MIRACLE). In the case of doubt, the reasoning of modern science, not the meaning of the text which was most likely accessible to the ancient Arabs, is his criterion of truth (q.v.). He thus explains the prophet's night journey (see ASCENSION) as an event that took place only in a dream (see DREAMS AND SLEEP), while the jinn (q.v.) become, in his interpretation, some sort of primitive savages living in the jungle, etc.

Muḥammad ʿAbduh, taking over a well-known idea that can be traced back to the philosophy of the late phase of the European Enlightenment, conceived of the history of humankind as a process of development analogous to that of the individual and saw in the "heavenly religions" educational means by which God had directed this development towards its final stage of maturity, the age of science. According to him, Muslims are perfectly fit for sharing in the civilization of this age and can even play a leading part in it, since Islam is the religion of reason and progress. The Qurʾān was revealed in order to draw the minds of human beings to reasonable conceptions about their happiness in this world as well as in the hereafter. For ʿAbduh this means not only that the content of the Qurʾān conforms to the laws of nature, but also that it informs people about the laws that are effective in the historical development of nations and societies.

In this sense, the whole qurʾānic revelation seeks to bestow God's guidance *(hidāya)* upon humankind, and hence it has to be interpreted so as to make it easier for its audience to understand the goals God desires them to attain. Exegetes should devote themselves to the service of God's enlightening guidance and concentrate their efforts on searching the qurʾānic text to uncover God's signs (q.v.; *āyāt*) in nature and to discern the moral and legal norms

of which the text speaks (see ETHICS AND THE QUR'ĀN). This is their proper task rather than digressing into complicated scholarly discussions about the possible sense of individual words and phrases or immersing themselves in a variety of levels of meaning — whether grammatical or mystical (see GRAMMAR AND THE QUR'ĀN; ṢŪFISM AND THE QUR'ĀN) — that might be discernible in the text, particularly since these various understandings were quite unfamiliar to the Arabs of the Prophet's time. In order to grasp that to which God intends to guide humankind, the text has to be understood — and here ʿAbduh agrees once more with Sayyid Ahmad Khan — according to the meaning its words had for the Prophet's contemporaries, the first audience to which the revelation was disclosed. Moreover, commentators must resist the temptation to make qur'ānic statements definite where they have been left indefinite *(mubham)* in the text itself — e.g., by identifying persons whose proper names have not been mentioned — as well as the temptation to fill gaps in qur'ānic narratives (q.v.) with Jewish traditions of biblical or apocryphal origin *(Isrā'īliyyāt)* since these were handed down by previous generations of scholars who never stripped them of what contradicted revelation and reason (*Tafsīr al-Fātiḥa,* 6, 7, 11-12, 15, 17).

The characteristic features of ʿAbduh's own exegetical practice are reflected most clearly in his voluminous commentary widely known as *Tafsīr al-Manār,* which has become a standard work quoted by many later authors alongside the classical commentaries. ʿAbduh's actual share in it consists of the record of a series of lectures that he gave at al-Azhar University around the year 1900 which covered the text of the Qur'ān from the beginning to Q 4:124. His pupil Muḥammad Rashīd Riḍā took notes of these lectures which he afterwards elaborated and showed to his teacher for approval or correction. In addition, he complemented the passages based on ʿAbduh's lectures by inserting explanations which he marked as his own — and in which he displayed a more traditionalist attitude than that of ʿAbduh (cf. Jomier, *Commentaire*). After ʿAbduh's death Riḍā continued the commentary on his own to Q 12:107.

ʿAbduh divides the qur'ānic text into groups of verses constituting logical units and treats the text of these paragraphs as a single entity. This corresponds to his view that single words or phrases are not the primary subject of interest for the commentator, but rather the didactic aim of the passage, and that the correct interpretation of an expression can often be grasped only by considering its context *(siyāq)*. His interpretations, which he often enriches with lengthy excursions, do not always consistently follow his own declared principles but show a general tendency towards stressing the rationality of Islam and its positive attitude towards science, while aiming at the same time to eradicate elements of popular belief and practice which he considers to be superstitious. For ʿAbduh, too, in the case of doubt, science is the decisive criterion for the meaning of qur'ānic wording.

Another Egyptian author, Muḥammad Abū Zayd, who published a commentary in 1930, can also be ranked among the exponents of a rationalistic exegesis inspired by a popular appropriation of the European Enlightenment. His book, *al-Hidāya wa-l-ʿirfān fī tafsīr al-Qur'ān bi-l-Qur'ān,* created a considerable stir and was finally confiscated by the authorities at the instigation of al-Azhar University, which condemned it in an official report (Jansen, *Egypt,* 88-9). The methodological device hinted at in its title — namely that of explaining particular qur'ānic passages by comparing them to parallel passages which address the same

subject in a more detailed way or in similar, though not identical terms — was not completely novel even then, and has been taken up more than once by later commentators, so far without negative reactions on the part of the guardians of orthodoxy. What gave offence was apparently not the methodology so much as the ideas Muḥammad Abū Zayd tried to propagate by making a very selective use of it: He argues that a far-reaching *ijtihād* is permitted with respect to traditional norms of Islamic law, and he does his best to explain away any miracles and supranatural occurrences in the qurʾānic narratives concerning the prophets (see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD).

Some commentaries contain elements of rationalistic exegesis in line with the insights of Sayyid Ahmad Khan or ʿAbduh, but use them only to a limited extent. Among these are *Tarjumān al-Qurʾān* (1930) by the Indian author Abū l-Kalām Āzād and *Majālis al-tadhkīr* (1929-39) by the Algerian reformist leader ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd Ibn Bādīs.

2. The so-called scientific exegesis of the Qurʾān

Scientific exegesis *(tafsīr ʿilmī)* is to be understood in light of the assumption that all sorts of findings of the modern natural sciences have been anticipated in the Qurʾān and that many unambiguous references to them can be discovered in its verses (q.v.). The scientific findings already confirmed in the Qurʾān range from Copernican cosmology (see COSMOLOGY) to the properties of electricity, from the regularities of chemical reactions to the agents of infectious diseases. The whole method amounts to reading into the text what normally would not ordinarily be seen there. Often trained in medicine, pharmacy or other natural sciences, even agricultural sciences, scientific exegetes are, for the most part, not professional theologians. This kind of exegesis has, however, gained entry into the Qurʾān commentaries of religious scholars as well.

It should be mentioned that Muḥammad ʿAbduh's commentaries are not themselves devoid of attempts to read discoveries of modern science into the text. As is well-known, he considered the possibility that the jinn mentioned in the Qurʾān could be equated to microbes. He also considered it legitimate to understand the flocks of birds which, according to Q 105, had thrown stones on the People of the Elephant (q.v.), to be swarms of flies which, by their polluted legs, had transmitted a disease to them (*Tafsīr juzʾ ʿAmmā,* 158). ʿAbduh's interest in such interpretations, however, did not parallel that of the supporters of scientific exegesis: He wanted to prove to his public that the qurʾānic passages in question were not contrary to reason by modern scientific standards, whereas proponents of scientific exegesis hope to prove that the Qurʾān is many centuries ahead of western scientists, since it mentions what they discovered only in modern times. Most enthusiasts of scientific exegesis regard this assumed chronological priority of the Qurʾān in the field of scientific knowledge as a particularly splendid instance of its *iʿjāz,* miraculous inimitability (q.v.), appreciating this aspect of *iʿjāz* all the more as a highly effective apologetical argument, in their view, to be directed against the West.

The basic pattern of scientific exegesis was not completely new: Several authors of classical Qurʾān commentaries, notably Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, had already expressed the idea that all the sciences were contained in the Qurʾān. Consequently, they had tried to detect in its text the astronomical knowledge of their times, then largely adopted from the Perso-Indian and Greco-Hellenistic heritage. Efforts of this

kind were still carried on by Maḥmūd Shihāb al-Dīn al-Ālūsī (d. 1856) in his *Rūḥ al-maʿānī,* a commentary which, however, does not yet show any familiarity with modern western science.

The first author who attained some publicity by practicing scientific exegesis in the modern sense, i.e. by finding in the qurʾānic text references to modern scientific discoveries and advances, was the physician Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Iskandarānī; one of his two pertinent books printed around the year 1880 bears the promising title *Kashf al-asrār al-nūrāniyya al-qurʾāniyya fī-mā yataʿallaq bi-l-ajrām al-samāwiyya wa-l-arḍiyya wa-l-ḥayawānāt wa-l-nabāt wa-l-jawāhir al-maʿdiniyya* (i.e. "Uncovering the luminous qurʾānic secrets pertaining to the heavenly and terrestrial bodies, the animals, the plants and the metallic substances," 1297/1879-80).

The most prominent representative of this *tafsīr ʿilmī* in the early twentieth century was the Egyptian Shaykh Ṭanṭāwī Jawharī, author of *al-Ǧawāhir fī tafsīr al-Qurʾān al-karīm* (1341/1922-3). This work is not a commentary in the customary sense, but rather an encyclopaedic survey of the modern sciences or, more exactly, of what the author classes with them — including such disciplines as spiritism *(ʿilm taḥḍīr al-arwāḥ)*. Jawharī claims that these sciences were already mentioned in certain qurʾānic verses, passages upon which his lengthy didactic expositions of pertinent topics are based. All this is interspersed with tables, drawings and photographs. Unlike most other enthusiasts of scientific exegesis, Jawharī did not employ this method primarily for the apologetic purposes, mentioned above, of proving the *iʿǧāz* of the Qurʾān. His main purpose was to convince his fellow Muslims that in modern times they should concern themselves much more with the sciences than with Islamic law; only in this way could they regain political independence and power. Other authors wrote books devoted to the scientific exegesis of qurʾānic verses mainly with apologetic intentions, among them ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Ismāʿīl (*al-Islām wa-l-ṭibb al-ḥadīth,* Cairo 1938, reprint 1957), Ḥanafī Aḥmad (*Muʿǧizat al-Qurʾān fī waṣf al-kāʾināt,* Cairo 1954, two reprints entitled *al-Tafsīr al-ʿilmī lil-āyāt al-kawniyya,* 1960 and 1968) and ʿAbd al-Razzāq Nawfal (*al-Qurʾān wa-l-ʿilm al-ḥadīth,* Cairo 1378/1959).

Some authors of well-known Qurʾān commentaries who do not rely exclusively on the method of scientific exegesis, but deal with the qurʾānic text as a whole (not only with verses lending themselves to this method), nevertheless practice scientific exegesis in the explanation of particular verses. Thus, elements of *tafsīr ʿilmī* occur, for example, in *Ṣafwat al-ʿirfān* (= *al-Muṣḥaf al-mufassar,* 1903) by Muḥammad Farīd Wajdī, in the *Majālis al-tadhkīr* (1929-39) by ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd Ibn Bādīs, and in *al-Mīzān* (1973-85) by the Imāmite scholar Muḥammad Ḥusayn Ṭabāṭabāʾī (d. 1982).

The scientific method of interpretation did not find general approval among Muslim authors who wrote Qurʾān commentaries or discussed exegetical methods. Quite a few of them rejected this method outright, like Muḥammad Rashīd Riḍā, Amīn al-Khūlī (whose detailed refutation of it [*Manāhij tajdīd,* 287-96] has often been referred to by later authors), Maḥmūd Shaltūt and Sayyid Quṭb (for these and other critics of the *tafsīr ʿilmī* and their arguments, see al-Muḥtasib, *Ittijāhāt al-tafsīr,* 302-13 and Abū Ḥajar, *al-Tafsīr al-ʿilmī,* 295-336). Their most important objections to scientific exegesis can be summarized as follows: (1) It is lexicographically untenable, since it falsely attributes modern meanings to the qurʾānic vocabulary; (2) it neglects the contexts of words or phrases within the qurʾānic text, and also the occasions of revelation (q.v.; *asbāb al-nuzūl*)

where these are transmitted; (3) it ignores the fact that, for the Qurʾān to be comprehensible for its first audience, the words of the Qurʾān had to conform to the language and the intellectual horizon of the ancient Arabs at the Prophet's time — an argument already used by the Andalusian Mālikite scholar al-Shāṭibī (d. 790/1388) against the scientific exegesis of his time (*al-Muwāfaqāt fī uṣūl al-sharīʿa,* ii, 69-82); (4) it does not take notice of the fact that scientific knowledge and scientific theories are always incomplete and provisory by their very nature; therefore, the derivation of scientific knowledge and scientific theories in qurʾānic verses is actually tantamount to limiting the validity of these verses to the time for which the results of the science in question are accepted; (5) most importantly, it fails to comprehend that the Qurʾān is not a scientific book, but a religious one designed to guide human beings by imparting to them a creed and a set of moral values (or, as Islamists such as Sayyid Quṭb prefer to put it, the distinctive principles of the Islamic system; cf. below). Despite the weight of all these objections, some authors still believe that the *tafsīr ʿilmī* can and should be continued — at least as an additional method particularly useful for proving the *iʿjāz* of the Qurʾān to those who do not know Arabic and are thus unable to appreciate the miraculous style of the holy book (see Hind Shalabī, *al-Tafsīr al-ʿilmī,* esp. 63-69 and 149-164; Ibn ʿĀshūr, *Tafsīr al-taḥrīr,* i, 104, 128).

3. Interpreting the Qurʾān from the perspective of literary studies

The use of methods of literary studies for the exegesis of the Qurʾān was initiated mainly by Amīn al-Khūlī (d. 1967), a professor of Arabic language and literature at the Egyptian University (later King Fuʾād University, now University of Cairo). He did not write a Qurʾān commentary himself, but devoted a considerable part of his lectures to exegetical questions and also dealt with the history and current state of methodological requirements of exegesis in his post-1940's publications.

Already in 1933, his famous colleague Ṭāhā Ḥusayn had remarked in his booklet *Fī l-ṣayf* that the holy scriptures of the Jews, Christians and Muslims belong to the common literary heritage of humankind (see RELIGIOUS PLURALISM AND THE QURʾĀN; SCRIPTURE AND THE QURʾĀN) as much as the works of Homer, Shakespeare and Goethe, and that Muslims should begin to study the Qurʾān as a work of literary art and use methods of modern literary research for its analysis, just as some Jewish and Christian scholars had done with the Bible (*al-Majmūʿa al-kāmila li-muʾallafāt al-duktūr Ṭāhā Ḥusayn,* Beirut 1974², xiv, 215-9). He had added that such an approach was not to be expected from the clerics *(shuyūkh)* of al-Azhar, but that there was no reason to leave the study of holy scriptures to men of religion alone — why should people not be entitled to express their opinions about such books as objects of research in the field of literary art, "taking no account of their religious relevance *(bi-qaṭʿi l-nazari ʿan makānatihā l-dīniyya)*" (ibid., 216)? He concluded, however, that it would still be dangerous in his country to embark publicly on an analysis of the Qurʾān as a literary text. Amīn al-Khūlī shared the basic idea contained in these remarks and developed them into a concrete program; several of his students, along with their own students, tried to carry it out, some of them not without bitter consequences, as foreseen by Ṭāhā Ḥusayn.

According to Amīn al-Khūlī, the Qurʾān is "the greatest book of the Arabic language and its most important literary work *(kitāb al-ʿarabiyya al-akbar wa-atharuhā l-adabī al-aʿẓam)*" (*Manāhij tajdīd,* 303; see LITERATURE AND THE QURʾĀN). In his view, the

adequate methods for studying this book as a work of literary art do not differ from those that apply to any other works of literature. Two fundamental preliminary steps have to be taken: (1) The historical background and the circumstances of its genesis — or in the case of the Qurʾān, its entry into this world by revelation — must be explored. For this purpose, one has to study the religious and cultural traditions and the social situation of the ancient Arabs, to whom the prophetic message was first adressed, their language (see ARABIC LANGUAGE) and previous literary achievements, the chronology of the enunciation of the qurʾānic text by the Prophet (see CHRONOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN), the occasions of revelation *(asbāb al-nuzūl),* etc. (2) Keeping in mind all relevant knowledge gathered in this way, one has to establish the exact meaning of the text word by word as it was understood by its first listeners (see FORM AND STRUCTURE OF THE QURʾĀN). In accordance with al-Shāṭibī, al-Khūlī assumes that God, in order to make his intention understood by the Arabs of the Prophet's time, had to use their language and to adapt his speech to their modes of comprehension, which were themselves determined by their traditional views and concepts. Hence, before the divine intention of the text can be determined, one has first to grasp its meaning as understood by the ancient Arabs — and this can be done, as al-Khūlī emphasizes, "regardless of any religious consideration *(dūna nazarin ilā ayyi ʿtibārin dīnī)*" (*Manāhij tajdīd,* 304). It then becomes possible to study the artistic qualities of the Qurʾān, by using the same categories and by keeping to the same rules as are applied in the study of literary works. The style of the Qurʾān can thus be explored in given passages by studying the principles which determine the choice of words, the peculiarities of the construction of sentences, the figures of speech employed, etc. (see RHETORIC OF THE QURʾĀN; SEMANTICS OF THE QURʾĀN). Likewise, one can examine the typical structure of passages belonging to a particular literary genre. Since works of literary art are characterized by a specific relation between content or theme on the one hand and formal means of expression on the other, al-Khūlī attaches particular importance to the thematic units of the qurʾānic text and stresses that a correct explanation requires commentators to consider all verses and passages which speak to the same subject, instead of confining their attention to one single verse or passage (ibid., 304-6). At the same time, al-Khūlī's approach is based on a particular understanding of the nature of a literary text: For him, literature, like art in general, is primarily a way of appealing to the public's emotions, as a means of directing them and their decisions. He therefore argues that the interpreter should also try to explain the psychological effects which the artistic qualities of the qurʾānic text, in particular its language, had on its first audience.

Shukrī ʿAyyād, who wrote his M.A. thesis, *Min waṣf al-Qurʾān al-karīm li-yawm al-dīn wa-l-ḥisāb* (n.d., unpublished, although a critical summary exists in al-Sharqāwī, *Ittijāhāt,* 213-6) under al-Khūlī's supervision, is reputed to have been the first to carry out a research project based on these principles.

Also among al-Khūlī's students was ʿĀʾisha ʿAbd al-Raḥmān (pen name, Bint al-Shāṭiʾ), his wife. Her commentary, *al-Tafsīr al-bayānī lil-Qurʾān al-karīm,* is designed in conformity with the main features of al-Khūlī's methodological conception and in its preface explicitly refers to the suggestions received from him. ʿĀʾisha ʿAbd al-Raḥmān consciously

selected a number of shorter sūras to show in a particularly impressive way the fruits to be gathered by the application of al-Khūlī's method. Each of them constitutes a thematic unit, and the author gives a rough indication of the place of the respective sūra in the chronology of the Prophet's enunciation of the qurʾānic text and expounds the significance of its theme during this time in comparison with other phases of the Prophet's activity. To illustrate this point, she hints at other relevant sūras (q.v.) or parts of them, and discusses questions of the occasions of revelation *(asbāb al-nuzūl)*. In doing so she attempts to give at least part of an outline of the historical background of the sūra under consideration (see HISTORY AND THE QURʾĀN). She highlights the most striking stylistic features of this sūra, e.g. relative length or shortness of sentences, accumulation of certain rhetorical figures, frequent occurrence of certain morphological or syntactical patterns, etc., and tries to demonstrate the specific relation of these features to the corresponding theme, citing a host of parallel verses from other sūras which treat the same subject or show the same stylistic features. She also considers the emotional effect these peculiarities are meant to have on the listeners and attends to such questions as the impact of qurʾānic rhymes (see RHYMED PROSE) on the choice of words and of the compository structure of the sūras. Additionally, she gives a careful verse-by-verse commentary in order to explain every single difficult word and phrase by comparing other qurʾānic verses which contain the same or similar expressions, quoting verses from ancient Arabic poetry, referring to classical Arabic dictionaries and discussing the opinions of the authors of — mostly classical — Qurʾān commentaries. In all this she displays a high degree of erudition. In general, ʿĀʾisha ʿAbd al-Raḥmān's commentary, as well as her other publications treating problems of the exegesis of the Qurʾān, have found a favorable reception even among conservative religious scholars, as she avoids broaching dogmatically sensitive points and apparently does not do anything but prove once more the stylistic *iʿjāz* of the Qurʾān, now on the level of advanced philological methods.

Another student of al-Khūlī, Muḥammad Aḥmad Khalaf Allāh, faced considerable difficulties in his use of al-Khūlī's approach and was exposed to the anger of leading religious scholars *(ʿulamāʾ)* at al-Azhar. In 1947 he submitted his doctoral thesis *al-Fann al-qaṣaṣī fī l-Qurʾān al-karīm* to the King Fuʾād University (now University of Cairo). On the basis of al-Khūlī's idea of literature as an instrument of appealing to emotions and directing them according to the author's intentions, Khalaf Allāh had set about studying the artistic means by which, according to his conviction, the qurʾānic narratives were so uniquely and effectively fashioned (Wielandt, *Offenbarung*, 139-52).

In order to be psychologically effective, narratives need not correspond absolutely to the historical facts. Khalaf Allāh even considers other requirements to be much more relevant for this purpose: They must refer to the listeners' customary language, previous conceptions and narrative traditions — in line with what al-Shāṭibī and al-Khūlī had already said about the importance of understanding the original reception of the message. They must be adapted to the listeners' feelings and mental condition. Finally, they must be well constructed. He thus arrives at the conclusion that the qurʾānic narratives about prophets of earlier times are, to a large extent, not historically true: Although Muḥammad's Arab contemporaries

certainly believed them to be true reports about what actually happened, God used them in the Qurʾān not primarily as historical facts *(wāqiʿ taʾrīkhī),* but as psychological facts *(wāqiʿ nafsī),* i.e. as a means of influencing the listeners' emotions (*al-Fann,* Cairo 1965³, 50, 111). In order to achieve this, God took the subject matter of these qurʾānic narratives from stories and ideas already familiar to the ancient Arabs. Moreover, for the purpose of supporting Muḥammad (q.v.) emotionally during the latter's often exhausting confrontation with the heathen Meccans (see OPPOSITION TO MUḤAMMAD), God reflected the Prophet's state of mind in the qurʾānic stories about earlier prophets by shaping these narratives according to Muḥammad's own experience.

Obviously, this interpretation implies that the content of the qurʾānic narratives about prophets corresponds for the most part to the content of the Prophet's consciousness as well as that of the original audience of the divine message. This makes it possible to trace important features of these narratives to what Muḥammad and his Arab contemporaries knew from local traditions or what Muḥammad could have said himself on the basis of his experience. According to Khalaf Allāh, however, this correspondence results from the fact that God, the only author of the holy book, had marvellously adapted the qurʾānic narratives to Muḥammad's situation and that of his audience. Khalaf Allāh never doubts that the entire text of the Qurʾān was inspired literally by God and that Muḥammad had no share whatsoever in its production.

Nevertheless Khalaf Allāh's thesis was rejected by the examining board of his own university, one of the arguments being that its results were religiously questionable. Moreover, a commission of leading scholars *(ʿulamāʾ)* of al-Azhar issued a memorandum classifying Khalaf Allāh as a criminal because he had denied that the qurʾānic narratives were historically true in their entirety. A short time later he was dismissed from his position at the university on another pretext.

Occasional attempts at studying the Qurʾān as a work of literary art were also made by authors not belonging to al-Khūlī's school, again, mainly Egyptians (for details up to the 1960's, see al-Bayyūmī, *Khuṭuwāt al-tafsīr al-bayānī,* 336-9). Sayyid Quṭb's *al-Taṣwīr al-fannī fī l-Qurʾān* bears witness to the aesthetic sensitivity of the author — who had previously made his name as a literary critic — and contains some cogent observations, but in contrast to the works of al-Khūlī's students it is not based on the systematic application of a method. The longest chapter of *al-Taṣwīr al-fannī* is devoted to the qurʾānic narratives; unlike Khalaf Allāh, Sayyid Quṭb does not voice any doubts about their historical truth. In short, it is possible to state that, since the 1970's, an increased interest in studying the qurʾānic narrative art has emerged (see e.g. ʿAbd al-Karīm Khaṭīb, *al-Qaṣaṣ al-qurʾānī fī manṭiqihi wa-mafhūmihi;* Iltihāmī Naqra, *Sīkūlūjiyyat al-qiṣṣa fī l-Qurʾān;* al-Qaṣabī Maḥmūd Zalaṭ, *Qaḍāyā l-tikrār fī l-qaṣaṣ al-qurʾānī;* Muḥammad Khayr Maḥmūd al-ʿAdawī, *Maʿālim al-qiṣṣa fī l-Qurʾān al-karīm*). Cognizant of Khallaf Allāh's fate, however, those authors who have addressed this topic in more recent times have tended to draw their conclusions rather cautiously.

4. Endeavors to develop a new theory of exegesis taking full account of the historicity of the Qurʾān

The school of al-Khūlī had already given much importance to the task of recovering the meaning of the Qurʾān as understood at the time of the Prophet and looked upon the Qurʾān as a literary text which

had to be interpreted, as any other literary work, in its historical context. Since the late 1950's several scholars have come to the conviction that the qurʾānic text is related to history in a much more comprehensive way and that this fact necessitates a fundamental change of exegetical methods.

One such scholar is (Muhammad) Daud Rahbar, a Pakistani scholar who later taught in the United States. In a paper read at the International Islamic Colloquium in Lahore in January 1958, he emphasized that the eternal word of God contained in the Qurʾān — which is addressed to people today as much as to Muḥammad's contemporaries — "speaks with reference to human situations and events of the last 23 years of the Prophet's life in particular," as "no message can be sent to men except with reference to actual concrete situations" (Challenge, 279). Rahbar calls urgently on Muslim exegetes to consider what this means for the methods of dealing with the revealed text. In this framework, he attaches special significance to the question of the occasions of revelation *(asbāb al-nuzūl)* and to the phenomenon of the abrogation (q.v.) of earlier regulations by later ones *(al-nāsikh wa-l-mansūkh)* in the qurʾānic text. He expresses the expectation that exegetes react to the challenges of modern life more flexibly by taking notice of the fact that the divine word had to be adapted to historical circumstances from the very beginning, and that God even modified his word during the few years of Muḥammad's prophetic activity in accordance with the circumstances.

Fazlur Rahman, also of Pakistani origin and until 1988 professor of Islamic thought at the University of Chicago, proposed in his *Islam and Modernity: Transformation of an Intellectual Tradition* (1982) a solution for the hermeneutical problem of disentangling the eternal message of the Qurʾān from its adaptation to the historical circumstances of Muḥammad's mission and discovering its meaning for believers of today. According to him, the qurʾānic revelation primarily "consists of moral, religious, and social pronouncements that respond to specific problems in concrete historical situations," particularly the problems of Meccan commercial society at the Prophet's time (see MECCA); hence the process of interpretation nowadays requires "a double movement, from the present situation to qurʾānic times, then back to the present" (ibid., 5). This approach consists of three steps: First, "one has to understand the import or meaning of a given statement by studying the historical situation or problem to which it was the answer"; secondly, one has "to generalize those specific answers and enunciate them as statements of general moral-social objectives that can be 'distilled' from specific texts in the light of the socio-historical background and the… *ratio legis*"; and thirdly, "the general has to be embodied in the present concrete socio-historical context" (ibid., 6-7). A methodological conception coming close to this approach, although confined to the interpretation of qurʾānic legal norms, had already been evolved since the 1950's by ʿAllāl al-Fāsī, the famous Mālikite scholar and leader of the Moroccan independence movement (cf. *al-Naqd al-dhātī*, 125, 221; *Maqāṣid al-sharīʿa*, 190-3, 240-1).

A remarkable recent development in the arena of theoretical reflection on the appropriate methods of interpreting the Qurʾān is the plea of the Egyptian scholar Naṣr Ḥāmid Abū Zayd for a new exegetical paradigm, a plea made in several of his publications, particularly in his *Mafhūm al-naṣṣ* (1990). He submitted this book to the Faculty of Arts of the University of Cairo, where he was teaching in the Arabic Department, together with his application for promotion to the rank of full professor.

Abū Zayd's approach to the exegesis of the Qurʾān continues the tradition of al-Khūlī's school to a certain extent, but at the same time generalizes what had been the starting point of al-Khūlī's methodology, namely his idea about the form in which the Qurʾān can actually be subjected to interpretation. Whereas al-Khūlī had stressed that the Qurʾān is, above all else, a literary work and must be analyzed as such, Abū Zayd simply states that it is a text *(naṣṣ)* and must be understood according to the scientific principles which apply to the understanding of texts in general. His conception of what it means to understand a text is based on a model of the process of communication first introduced by the American mathematician and information theorist C.E. Shannon (in *The mathematical theory of information*, published in 1947 in co-authorship with W. Weaver) and widely accepted since the 1960's among experts of linguistic as well as literary text theory. The model can be presented in the following terms: The information contained in a message can be understood only if the sender transmits it in a code (i.e. a system of signs) known to the recipient. According to Abū Zayd this model is necessarily valid also for the process of revelation, in which a divine message is transmitted to human beings: The Prophet, the first recipient, would not have been able to understand the revealed text if it had not been fitted into a code understandable to him, and the same applies to his audience, the people to which it was sent. The code which is understandable to a prophet and to the target group of his message consists of their common language and the content of their consciousness, which is to a large extent determined by their social situation and their cultural tradition. Hence God must have adapted the qurʾānic revelation to the language, the social situation and the cultural tradition of the Arabs of Muḥammad's time. This has far-reaching consequences for the methods of exegesis: In order to be able to understand the divine message, the exegetes of today have, on the one hand, to familiarize themselves with the code tied to the specific historical situation of the Prophet and his Arab contemporaries, i.e. those peculiarities of language, society and culture that are not theirs any more; only in that way will they be able to identify in the qurʾānic text the elements belonging to this code and to distinguish them from the immutably valid substance of the revelation. On the other hand, they have to translate the code of the primary recipients, the Prophet and his Arab contemporaries, into a code understandable to themselves, i.e. into the language and the social and cultural situation of their own time. This also means that they cannot rely uncritically on the long exegetical tradition from the Prophet's time to their own: The commentators of past centuries, such as al-Zamakhsharī or Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, certainly did their best to translate the divine message into the codes of their respective times, but our time has a code of its own.

Obviously, this methodical paradigm makes it possible to interpret the qurʾānic text in such a way that conceptions corresponding to the social and cultural context of the Prophet's preaching, but not tenable for the interpreter of today, can be classed as belonging to a bygone historical situation and not obligatory anymore, without discarding the belief in the literal revelation of the Qurʾān and in the everlasting validity of its message. In fact, Abū Zayd has always declared unequivocally that he stays firm in this belief and that it is his conviction that the historical and cultural code in the text of the Qurʾān has been used by God himself, its sole author, and was not brought into it by Muḥammad.

Still, Shaykh ʿAbd al-Ṣabūr Shāhīn, a

member of the promotion board examining Abū Zayd's publications, voted against his advancement to the position of full professor, charging him, among other things, with a lack of orthodoxy. Several other supporters of traditionalist or Islamist views accused him of heresy *(ilḥād)* or unbelief *(kufr)*. At the instigation of a member of an Islamist organization, in 1995 a court in Cairo nullified his marriage on the grounds that he had abandoned the Islamic religion and thus could not be married to a Muslim woman. The Egyptian Court of Cassation failed to anull this verdict. As he was in danger of being "executed" as an apostate (see APOSTASY) by Islamist fanatics, he had to accept an appointment at a European university.

Mohammed Arkoun, a scholar of Algerian origin who taught in Paris for many years, arrived at methodological conclusions quite similar to those of Abū Zayd, but by a different theoretical approach. According to Arkoun, the *fait coranique,* i.e. the fact to which all attempts at understanding the Qurʾān have to refer in the final analysis, is the originally oral prophetic speech (see ORALITY; ISLĀM) which the Prophet himself and his audience believed to be God's revelation. This speech, which is attested in, but not identical with, the written text of the ʿUthmānic recension of the Qurʾān (see CODICES OF THE QURʾĀN; COLLECTION OF THE QURʾĀN), was performed in a language and in textual genres tied to a specific historical situation, and in mythical and symbolic modes of expression (see SEMIOTICS AND NATURE IN THE QURʾĀN; SYMBOLIC IMAGERY). It already contains a theological interpretation of its own nature and must be subjected to an analysis of its structure. The whole exegetical tradition is a process of appropriation of this *fait coranique* by the various factions of the Muslim community. The text as such is open to a potentially infinite range of ever new interpretations as long as history continues, although the advocates of orthodoxy insist on absolutizing the results of a particular interpretation established at an early stage of this process. Any scientific study of the Qurʾān and of the exegetical tradition referring to it has to keep in mind that religious truth, insofar as it can be understood by Muslims as well as by adherents of other "book religions," becomes effective provided it exists in a dialectical relation between the revealed text and history. Contemporary scholars must use the instruments of historical semiotics and sociolinguistics in order to distinguish particular traditional interpretations of the qurʾānic text from the normative meaning which this text might have for present-day readers.

5. Exegesis in search of a new immediacy to the Qurʾān

All exegetical trends outlined so far — including scientific exegesis, whose supporters claim that the Qurʾān is centuries ahead of modern science — are in one way or another characterized by a marked awareness of the cultural distance between the world in which the qurʾānic message was primarily communicated and the modern world. In contrast to these approaches, the Islamist exegesis tends to assume that it is possible for Muslims today to regain immediate access to the meaning of the qurʾānic text by returning to the belief of the first Muslims and actively struggling for the restoration of the pristine Islamic social order. It is in this later form of exegesis that the author's underlying conception of the revealed text often finds expression. For example, Sayyid Quṭb in his Qurʾān commentary, *Fī ẓilāl al-Qurʾān* (1952-65), insists that the Qurʾān in its entirety is God's message, and the instructions concerning the "Islamic system" or "method" *(nizām islāmī* or *manhaj islāmī)* contained in it are valid

forever. The Qurʾān is thus always contemporary, in any age. The task is not primarily that of translating the original meaning of the qurʾānic text into the language and world view of modern human beings, but that of putting it into practice, as done by the Prophet and his first followers, who took seriously God's claim to absolute sovereignty (*ḥākimiyya* in Abū l-Aʿlāʾ Mawdūdī's term) and set up the perfect "Islamic system."

One of the consequences of this goal — i.e. achieving the system of the first Muslims in the way they followed qurʾānic instructions — is the marked preference usually shown by Islamist commentators for ḥadīth materials in their references to the exegetic tradition (see ḤADĪTH AND THE QURʾĀN; SĪRĀ AND THE QURʾĀN). This can be seen in Sayyid Quṭb's commentary, in Mawdūdī's *Tafhīm al-Qurʾān* (1949-72) and also in Saʿīd Ḥawwā's *al-Asās fī l-tafsīr* (1405/1985), the (largely ill-structured and much less original) commentary of a leading Syrian Muslim Brother. Although these authors quote classical commentators such as al-Zamakhsharī, Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī or al-Bayḍāwī (d. 716/1316) here and there, they suspect them of having succumbed to the corrupting influences of Greek philosophy and *Isrāʾīliyyāt*. When relying on "sound" ḥadīth materials, however, they feel they are on the firm ground of the Prophet's own commentary and hence also of the intentions of the revealed text as understood by the first Muslims.

The Islamist ideal of subordinating oneself to the divine word as immediately as the first Muslims had done can produce positive as well as questionable exegetical results. This becomes clearly visible in Sayyid Quṭb's *Fī ẓilāl al-Qurʾān* where the author generally listens to the qurʾānic text with a great deal of personal attention and in relative independence of the exegetical tradition. On the one hand, this attitude of intense and direct listening sometimes enables him to grasp the original meaning and spirit of a given qurʾānic passage more adequately than many exegetes since the medieval period have been able to do. On the other hand, his presumed immediacy also tends to make him ignore or play down points in which the qurʾānic text cannot be easily harmonized with modern ideas.

6. Conceptions associated with the thematic interpretation of the Qurʾān

As stated above, the thematic interpretation *(tafsīr mawḍūʿī)* of the Qurʾān is not always equivalent to a complete break with the exegetical methods applied in traditional commentaries of the *musalsal* kind. Most authors, however, in reflecting on thematic interpretation, agree to a large extent about the advantages of concentrating one's exegetical endeavor on a limited number of themes dealt with in the Qurʾān. Two main arguments are put forward in favor of thematic interpretation: It enables exegetes to gain a comprehensive and well-balanced idea of what the divine book really says about the basic questions of belief, and thus reduces the danger of a merely selective and biased reading of the qurʾānic text; and commentaries based on such an interpretation are more suitable for practical purposes such as preparing Friday sermons or religious radio and television addresses (see EVERYDAY LIFE, THE QURʾĀN IN), because these kinds of presentations usually have a thematic focus. An additional argument mentioned in support of thematic interpretation is that it allows exegetes to take a more active role in the process of interpretation, bringing their own modern perspective to bear in this process more effectively than the traditional verse-by-verse commentaries, since in the traditional commentaries the interpreter merely reacts to what is said in the

text as it occurs, whereas in the *tafsīr mawḍūʿī* he can start from the application of his own questions to the text (Ṣadr, *Muqaddimāt*, 18-22).

Highly problematic and not representative of the prevailing views about *tafsīr mawḍūʿī* is the conception of thematic interpretation advocated in 1993 by the Egyptian philosopher Ḥasan Ḥanafī. According to Ḥanafī, revelation is neither affirmed nor denied by thematic interpretation, since this method deals with the qurʾānic text without any distinction between the divine and the human, the religious and the secular (Method, 202, 210). In contrast to the supporters of the thematic interpretation of the qurʾānic text, he considers the question of the divine origin of the Qurʾān to be largely irrelevant, but this is only partly true where Ḥanafī's own interest in the qurʾānic text is concerned. Irrespective of whether he personally attributes a religious character to the Qurʾān or not, his interest in interpreting this book and not any other text stems exclusively from the fact that many millions of Muslims believe the Qurʾān to be God's revealed word and can hence be most effectively influenced by its interpretation. Moreover, in Ḥanafī's opinion, it is one of the "rules" of thematic interpretation that the commentator should conduct exegesis on the basis of a socio-political commitment, with the added assumption that the interpreter is always a revolutionary (ibid., 203-4). While it is true that every interpretation comes with prior assumptions, there is no reason why they should only be revolutionary. Finally, according to Ḥanafī, thematic interpretation is based on the premise that "there is no true or false interpretation" (ibid., 203) and that "the validity of an interpretation lies in its power" (ibid., 210). By professing this principle, Ḥanafī actually abandons the notion of the hermeneutical circle as a model for interpretation, and, instead, looks upon this process as a one-way street whose only destination lies in influencing the audience according to the preconceived intentions of the interpreter. The notion of the hermeneutical circle, as analyzed in differing forms by Schleiermacher, Dilthey, Heidegger, Gadamer and others, implies an interaction between interpreter and text in which the interpreter puts questions to the text on the basis of his own prior conceptions, which are themselves reshaped by the text itself. As Gadamer stresses, the text must "break the spell" of the interpreter's presuppositions, and its subject matter effects the correction of his preliminary understanding. For Ḥanafī, in contrast, the text has no significance of its own: In his idea of thematical interpretation, the committed interpreter's prior understanding is absolute, and the text is considered to be relevant only in so far as its interpretation can serve the purpose of enhancing the power of the interpreter's revolutionary arguments, which are not subject to critical review.

Problems of gaining acceptance for new approaches to the exegesis of the Qurʾān

New methodological approaches such as those of Khalaf Allāh, Fazlur Rahman and Abū Zayd sprang from the widely felt need to extract the permanent tenets of the qurʾānic message from the historical forms in which they were communicated to the Prophet's contemporaries and to recast them in terms of a modern intellectual outlook. These approaches also showed that this need can be served without abandoning the belief in the divine origin of every single word of the qurʾānic text and the binding character of its basic precepts. Nevertheless, thus far, these approaches have not found wide acceptance among theologians and experts of religious law, and some of them have even provoked

vehement reactions on the part of the religious élite. Some of the reasons for this phenomenon can be stated here.

The prevailing traditional exegetical paradigm has remained nearly unchallenged for centuries. It has thus become customary among religious scholars to confuse the permanence of their own way of interpreting the qurʾānic text with the everlasting truth of this text itself and, hence, to consider any attempt at promoting a new approach to exegesis as an assault on the authority of the divine book as such, but at the same time as an attack on their own interpretative authority. The latter is a particularly sensitive issue, as it concerns the social position of the *ʿulamāʾ*, who have lost much ground in the fields of jurisdiction, public administration, education and academic studies since the early 19th century due to the general secularization of political and cultural structures. Moreover, if one allows new exegetical paradigms based on the acknowledgment of the historicity of the qurʾānic text and all its subsequent interpretations, this leads inevitably to an increasing plurality of competing interpretations. Such a situation would not only be contrary to the interests of the *ʿulamāʾ*, for whom it would then become more difficult to defend their interpretative monopoly, but also to the intentions of the poorly legitimized present governments of most Muslim states. These governments are accustomed to appealing to the Islamic religion as a unifying ideology in order to mobilize the loyalty of the masses in their favor, and for this purpose a largely uniform understanding of Islam is most suitable. The relationship of mutual dependence of the religious establishment and the government which is nowadays typical of many Islamic countries makes the suppression of disagreeable innovations in the field of exegetical methodology relatively simple. Because of the above-mentioned presuppositions of their own exegesis, Islamists are strongly opposed to permitting a plurality of interpretations based on methods differing from their own. The present situation is additionally aggravated by the fact that methods which imply a more serious consideration of the historical dimension of the qurʾānic text and of the exegetical tradition referring to it are generally associated with the kind of research pursued by orientalists, who in their turn are accused of working for Western colonialism. This makes it very easy to start a massive campaign against any scholar advocating such methods. Under these circumstances, the fact that hardly any Muslim authors have appropriated the methods and results of modern non-Muslim qurʾānic studies is also quite understandable. Rare exceptions to this trend are Amīn al-Khūlī and Daud Rahbar, both of whom recognized the value of the preliminary chronology of the qurʾānic text established in Th. Nöldeke's *Geschichte des Qorāns (GQ)*. Still, on the basis of hermeneutical conceptions such as those of Abū Zayd and Fazlur Rahman, there will be continued attempts to enter into a far-reaching scientific exchange with non-Muslim scholars without questioning the literal revelation of the Qurʾān. See also CONTEMPORARY CRITICAL PRACTICES AND THE QURʾĀN.

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Exhortations

Verbal incitements, usually in the imperative mood, encouraging action on the part of the addressee. "Exhortation" *(mawʿiza)* is attested numerous times in the Qurʾān (Q 2:275; 3:138; 5:46; 7:145; 10:57; 11:120; 16:125; 24:34); moreover, much of the qurʾānic rhetoric (see RHETORIC OF THE QURʾĀN; LANGUAGE OF THE QURʾĀN) may be understood as an "exhortation" to heed God's message as proclaimed by the prophet Muḥammad. It is explicitly recommended to the Prophet in Q 16:125, "Call unto the way of your lord (see PATH OR WAY) with wisdom (q.v.) and fair exhortation" *(udʿu ilā sabīli rabbika bi-l-ḥikmati wa-l-mawʿiẓati l-ḥasanati),* a verse that has served as a motto for al-Ghazālī's (d. 505/1111) famous attempt to introduce Aristotelian logic into religious apologetics (McAuliffe, "Debate"; Neuwirth, Ghazzali's Traktat). An earlier qurʾānic designation is *tadhkira,* literally "reminder" (Q 20:3; 56:73; 69:12, 48; 73:19; 74:49, 54; 76:29; 80:11), presented as the essence of the early recitations as such (see CHRONOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN). The strong interest that Muslim Medieval theorists took in qurʾānic exhortations and modes of debate (McAuliffe, "Debate") — be they divine-human addresses (God admonishing and encouraging the Prophet and implicitly the community [see COMMUNITY AND SOCIETY IN THE QURʾĀN]) or interactions between humans (the Prophet being recommended to address the community or, more often, the unbelievers [see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF; DEBATE AND DISPUTATION]) — is easily explained by the predominance of address passages over all other kinds of qurʾānic expression (see LITERARY STRUCTURES OF THE QURʾĀN) such as narratives (q.v.), eschatological descriptions or legislative regulations (see LAW AND THE QURʾĀN).

The earliest manifestations of qurʾānic exhortations are short admonitions that recommend the fulfillment of ritual duties such as prostration before God (Q 53:62; 96:19; see BOWING AND PROSTRATION) and glorification of God (q.v.; Q 69:52; for

other examples of early exhortations, see Q 86:17; 94:7-8; 108:2; cf. 106:3-4), or negative recommendations to avoid the unbelievers ("leave them *[fa-dharhum]* to chat and play until they meet their day which they are promised…," Q 70:42-4) or to remain patient with them (Q 52:48-9; 68:48-50; 86:15-7), always occurring as closures of sūras. Consoling words affirming the truth of the Qurʾān's revelation are also found in the final verses of some of the early sūras (Q 68:51-2; 74:54-5; 81:26-8; 85:21-2; 87:18-9). All these elements merge to form extended closing sections in the later tripartite sūras (see FORM AND STRUCTURE OF THE QURʾĀN), where affirmations of the revelation and encouragements of the Prophet (see OPPOSITION TO MUḤAMMAD) combine to create the standard closing section, sometimes extended to encompass polemics (Q 15:85-99; 17:82-111; 19:97-8; 20:130-5; 21:105-12; 37:149-82; 38:67-88; 43:84-9; 67:23-9; 72:20-8; 76:23-31; see POLEMIC AND POLEMICAL LANGUAGE). This frequently corresponds to an introductory section that is in the same tenor (Q 18:1-6, 109-10; 26:1-9, 192-227; 27:1-6, 76-93; 36:2-6, 69-83; 54:1-8, 58-9; 54:1-8, 43-55). These sections have been compared to the responsorial parts at the beginning and end of the "standard monotheist service" (Neuwirth, Referentiality). Even if in the Qurʾān the listener hears only the replica of a single actor, i.e. the sender, he or she will not fail to realize that it refers to or even quotes thoughts belonging to the addressees, thus leaving the impression of a dialogue (see DIALOGUES). Qurʾānic exhortations thus mirror, through the divine response to the unspoken pleas of the transmitter, the hardships and needs of the community (see TRIAL). Again, in a way similar to the monotheist service, in many sūras the dialogical parts frame a narrative account drawn from the store of knowledge of salvation history. In later Meccan texts this pattern becomes blurred, the closing section sometimes being doubled, exhortations forming the closure of both the second last and the last part (Q 23:72-7, 116-8; 25:55-60, 61-77); elsewhere the framing parts have grown into poly-thematic discourses dominated by, but not exclusively filled with, divine exhortations (Q 11:1-24, 103-11). In Medinan sūras, the sermon — sometimes filling the whole sūra — has replaced the exhortations of the earlier sūras.

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Exile

see CHASTISEMENT AND PUNISHMENT

Exorcism

see POPULAR AND TALISMANIC USES OF THE QURʾĀN

Expeditions and Battles

Journeys undertaken for military purposes, including raids for the purpose of plunder and assassination, and single engagements of armed and/or mounted forces, each of which is intent upon decisive victory. The term "battle" may also be used in a figurative sense, and refers to a struggle with

one's spiritual and psychological self, i.e. a battle against ego, greed, addiction, etc. Both senses are relevant to the use of this vocabulary in the Qurʾān.

There are several terms used in the Qurʾān to refer to acts of aggression, some of which make reference directly, and others indirectly, to expeditions and battles. The qurʾānic vocabulary for acts of aggression is as follows: 1) The root *f-t-ḥ* (attested thirty-eight times), which can simply mean "to open," has the sense of granting victory, deliverance. With reference to conquest (q.v.), it appears but five times (Q 48:1, 18, 27; 57:10; 61:13) though, even here, the reference to a physical battle is not clear; a spiritual victory could be intended. 2) The root *f-t-n* has a negative connotation and appears sixty times, with a range of meanings that extend from trial to sedition. As the feminine noun, *fitna,* twelve appearances seem pertinent, sometimes meaning persecution (cf. Q 2:191, 193, 217; 8:39), while at other times conveying the idea of sedition or tumult, and insinuating civil strife. 3) The root *gh-l-b* (attested thirty-one times) means to overcome, to prevail, to conquer. In the context of expeditions and battles it appears eight times; five times as an imperfect verb *(yaghlibu),* twice as the perfect passive (*ghuliba,* Q 7:119; 30:2), and once as a verbal noun (*ghalab,* Q 30:3). 4) The active participle of the root *gh-w-r, mughīr,* meaning raider, appears only once (Q 100:3). 5) The root *gh-z-w* appears as an active participle, meaning raiders, once (Q 3:156). 6) The root *ḥ-r-b* provides a broad, direct reference to war (q.v.): It occurs four times as the verbal noun, *ḥarb,* meaning "war" (Q 2:279; 5:64; 8:57; 47:4); and twice in the third verbal form, as a perfect verb (*ḥāraba,* Q 9:107), "he fought," and in the imperfect (*yuḥāribu,* Q 5:33). 7. Words based on the root *j-h-d* appear forty times, and have the meaning of struggle for God or endeavor (*jahd,* meaning "most earnest," is not relevant here). This last-mentioned root is ambiguous in that it does not necessarily refer to the physical act of fighting. It appears in the third verbal form as the perfect verb *jāhada,* meaning "he struggled/fought, he strove," fifteen times. The imperfect *(yujāhidu)* occurs four times. It appears seven times as an imperative, *jāhid;* as a nominal verb, *jihād* (q.v.), meaning struggle/fight for God, four times; and as an active participle, *mujāhid,* four times. 8) The root *q-t-l* occurs 165 times with reference to fighting in general. As the perfect verb, "he killed" *(qatala),* it appears 19 times; in the perfect passive, meaning "may he be slain or perish, may death seize him" *(qutila),* seventeen times. As a nominal verb referring to the act of killing/slaying, it appears ten times; as an imperative *(qātil),* ten times; as the passive verb *(yuqtalu),* three times; and as a verbal noun meaning "fighting, battle" *(qitāl),* thirteen times.

The presence of such aggressive vocabulary seems appropriate: according to Islam, Muḥammad, the recipient of the Qurʾān, was one of the many prophets encouraged by God to fight for his beliefs (see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD; PATH OR WAY), and actually took up arms in defense of them. By telling us of battles fought by the prophets, the Qurʾān presents Islam as the climax to a trajectory of struggles through which monotheism (see POLYTHEISM AND ATHEISM) has evolved. Such qurʾānic episodes provide evidence of meaning in life, for, despite the numerous and terrible trials (see TRIAL) God puts one through, he is always on the side of those who do right.

The term *maghāzī* (from the root *gh-z-w*), which best translates the phrase "expeditions and battles," is not found in the Qurʾān, although a derivative occurs in Q 3:156. This is a significant comment on the disconnection that exists between the Qurʾān and traditions (*ḥadīth* and *akhbār,*

see ḤADĪTH AND THE QUR'ĀN). The Arab milieu into which the Qur'ān was introduced was characterized by constant raids *(ghazwā,* pl. *maghāzī),* whereby one tribe would seek to plunder the property of another, with minimum risk to life. Traditions of early Islam, ignoring this distinction, use the term freely to refer to the numerous expeditions and battles attributed to the Prophet. Indeed, the raid came to symbolize every achievement of the Prophet, so that the very genre of literature which tells of his expeditions, generally enumerated after his emigration to Medina (*hijra,* see EMIGRATION), is entitled *maghāzī;* the label *sīra-maghāzī* is applied to literature that tells of the entire life of the Prophet (see SĪRA AND THE QUR'ĀN).

Muslims believe that the Qur'ān was revealed in portions from the moment Muḥammad was appointed Prophet until his death. Yet, the achronological and piecemeal nature of the collection of the Qur'ān (q.v.; see also CHRONOLOGY AND THE QUR'ĀN) makes it difficult to place its verses — particularly those dealing with fighting — in the context of the Prophet's life. To a large extent, qur'ānic exegesis *(tafsīr)* constitutes the early Muslim community's use of traditions to introduce the realia of Islam and the life of the Prophet into the Qur'ān, so as to render an interpretation related to his teachings (see EXEGESIS OF THE QUR'ĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL). At the same time in *maghāzī* literature significant passages of the Qur'ān are linked to the campaigns of the Prophet, creating corresponding material on the circumstances of revelation (see OCCASIONS OF REVELATION). Thus, *sīra-maghāzī* and *tafsīr* tend to overlap, although they do not always corroborate each other. In the compilations of Ibn Isḥāq (d. 150/767; in the recension of Ibn Hishām d. 218/834) and al-Wāqidī (d. 207/823), the only two examples of *sīra-maghāzī* literature extant in their entirety today, these events, which appear to act as a mnemonic device for the recollection of particular qur'ānic passages, are presented in a chronological sequence, inevitably indicating the progression of the verses concerned.

In view of this connection between the Qur'ān and traditions, this article will discuss not only the obvious qur'ānic passages which inform of expeditions and battles, but also those passages of the Qur'ān which are associated in the tradition literature with various campaigns. Accordingly, this essay is presented under the following sub-headings: Expeditions and battles of previous prophets; Historical battles; Expeditions and battles foretold; Expeditions and battles of the Prophet; Conclusion.

Expeditions and battles of previous prophets

The Qur'ān mentions numerous prophets whose struggles against idolatry (see IDOLATRY AND IDOLATORS) and sin were introduced as messages of encouragement to Muḥammad in his predicament. Noah (q.v.), Abraham (q.v.), Joseph (q.v.), Lot (q.v.), etc., may not have assumed the warrior proportions of the Prophet of Islam, but they battled, nonetheless, for the cause of monotheism.

There are a number of obvious references to battle: Samuel (q.v.) appoints Saul (q.v.; Ṭālūt) to lead the Israelites against the giant warrior and king of the Philistines, Goliath (q.v.; Jālūt); and David (q.v.), a youth, brings down the giant with a pebble from his sling (Q 2:247-51). David, who becomes poet, prophet and king, is skilled in the making of defensive armor: "We bestowed grace on David… And we made the iron soft for him. Make coats of mail… (Q 34:10-1; cf. 21:80). Neither was this the first time the Israelites were commanded to fight: Q 5:22-9 is essentially the biblical story of the spies narrated in Numbers 13-4. It tells of how the Israelites refused to

obey Moses' (q.v.) command to capture their "promised land." As punishment, they were left to wander in the wilderness for forty years (see PUNISHMENT STORIES).

Historical battles

Four passages in particular, Q 17:4-8, 30:1-5, 85:4-9 and 105:1-5, are interpreted as referring to discernible historical events which occurred before or during the life of Muḥammad, though the references are minimal, and the precise occasions difficult to determine. They provide assurance to Muḥammad that God would stand by him. Each passage has its own set of problems that are resolved variously by different exegetes who may, and do, disagree as to the precise historical event to which reference is being made. It is the kerygma, brought to life by the story woven around the verse, which is relevant. The exegete's assessment of his own religious and socio-political milieu is thus a crucial aspect of what he brings to his interpretation. Moreover, there is a significant religious intent which guides the exegete as he shapes his rendition: to establish Muḥammad as the last and the best of prophets, and to make evident the miraculous nature or *iʿjāz* of the Qurʾān, which includes the ability to prophesy (see INIMITABILITY).

Q 17:4-8 states: "And we decreed for the Children of Israel (q.v.)… 'Twice you shall do mischief (see CORRUPTION)….' When the first of these came to pass, we sent against you our servants given to terrible warfare… but if you revert [to your sins], we shall revert [to our punishments]." In fact, there were several conquests and destructions of Jerusalem and many instances when the Jewish temple was defiled. The exegete chooses that moment of history which would render the message most meaningful; sometimes he even provides an alternative interpretation.

Muqātil b. Sulaymān (d. 150/767), who is believed to have studied exegesis with Jews and Christians and, therefore, to be well informed about their traditions, recognizes in Q 17:4-8 a reference to three destructions of Jerusalem, which he attributes to Nebuchadnezar, Antiochus and Titus, respectively. According to him, the Jews had lost their sanctuary in Jerusalem because they murdered the prophets, while Titus' destruction of Jerusalem was brought on by the murder of John the Baptist (q.v.). Asserting that it was the Muslims who eventually reclaimed and rebuilt the site, he emphasizes the Muslim claim to Jerusalem (*Tafsīr*, ii, 519-23).

Al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923) recognizes two destructions, the first by Sanacharib and the second by Nebuchadnezar. It is through Ismāʿīl al-Suddī (d. 127/745), the Kufan exegete, that al-Ṭabarī learns why Nebuchadnezar had destroyed Jerusalem: John the Baptist, who had warned the Jewish king that he must not marry the woman he desired, had been beheaded. The tale has aroused comment because Nebuchadnezar lived several centuries before John the Baptist. Balʿamī, the Persian translator of al-Ṭabarī, explains the confusion using a kind of typological analysis, pointing out that the Israelites generally named bad kings "Nebuchadnezar" (Busse, Destruction of the Temple, 15). Significant, however, is the inevitable knitting together of the Hebrew Bible with the New Testament within the interpretation of a qurʾānic verse in a fashion that asserts the place of the Qurʾān in the series of God's revelations.

Busse informs us that, according to al-Zamakhsharī (d. 528/1144), Q 17:8 refers, however, to a third destruction of Jerusalem (by which he means its capture) which could relate to any of three possibilities, the last of which emphasizes Islam's claim to Jerusalem. They are: the conquest of Jerusalem by the Persians; Muḥammad's imposition of the poll tax (q.v.) on the Jews

(of Medina and/or Khaybar); or the defeat of the Jews by a tribe of Arabs — probably a reference to the taking of Jerusalem by ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, although ʿUmar neither took the city by force nor wrested it from the Jews (Zamakhsharī, *Kashshāf,* ii, 650, cited in Busse, Destruction of the Temple, 6). For the Shīʿite commentator ʿAlī b. Ibrāhīm al-Qummī (d. 328/939), however, Q 17:4-8 is an allegorical reference to the Umayyad persecution of the followers of ʿAlī, which climaxed in the massacre of al-Ḥusayn and his family at Karbalāʾ (Busse, Destruction of the Temple, 16; cf. Qummī, *Tafsīr,* i, 406).

According to El-Cheikh (Sūrat al-Rūm, 364), the exegeses of Q 30:1-5 (recognized as *al-āyāt al-bayyināt* because of their prophetic communication) indicate that the interpretations of these verses were affected by the relations of power between the caliphate and the Rūm (generally understood as Byzantium; see BYZANTINES). Three readings are available, depending upon how the text is vocalized. The recognized version on which the seven reciters (*qurrāʾ,* see RECITERS OF THE QURʾĀN) were agreed — "the Rūm have been defeated… but they… will soon be victorious," *(ghulibat al-Rūm… sa-yaghlibūn)* — is the version accepted by Mujāhid b. Jabr (d. 104/722), Muqātil b. Sulaymān, and al-Ṭabarī. The variant, "the Rūm were victorious [over the Persians]… they will be defeated [by the Muslims]" *(ghalabat al-Rūm… sa-yughlabūn),* was first asserted by Ibn ʿUmar, the son of ʿUmar al-Khaṭṭāb. A rarer variant was established by al-Qurṭubī (d. 671/1272), who reads: "the Rūm are victorious… they will conquer [again]" *(ghalabat al-Rūm… sa-yaghlibūn).*

With Mujāhid, Muqātil and al-Ṭabarī, the interpretations are similar: The qurʾānic words predict that, although the Persians defeated the Rūm, they (the Rūm) would soon be victorious over them; the believers can therefore rejoice in God's assistance to the People of the Book (q.v.). Muqātil provides a narrative framework for the passage with a tradition going back to ʿIkrima (d. 105/723), the client of Ibn ʿAbbās. Apparently, when the Prophet learned that God would soon grant the Rūm victory over the Persians, Abū Bakr went to the Meccans with the news, and Ubayy b. Khalaf, who was present, called Abū Bakr a liar. According to Muqātil, the news of the prediction that the Rūm would be victorious arrived on the day of Badr (q.v.), in which battle the Muslims defeated the Meccans; news of the actual victory of the Rūm arrived when the Muslims were at Ḥudaybiya (*Tafsīr,* iii, 403-5).

Al-Ṭabarī lists several traditions explaining Q 30:1-5. He portrays the Byzantine-Persian wars as a rehearsal for the wars between the Muslims and their Qurayshī opponents (*Tafsīr,* xxi, 10-4). Al-Qummī's interpretation, on the other hand, motivated by the Persians' rude rejection of the Prophet's invitation to Islam, maintains that it is the Persians who were victorious over the Rūm, but that they (the Persians) will in turn be defeated by the believers (*Tafsīr,* ii, 152-3). With the advent of the Crusades, however, the ideological affiliation that linked the Muslims and the Byzantines began to disintegrate. This may account for al-Zamakhsharī's preference for the variant reading — the Rūm were victorious, but soon they will be defeated by the Muslims (Zamakhsharī, *Kashshāf,* iii, 466-7, cited in El Cheikh, Sūrat al-Rūm, 361).

Q 85:4-9, "Killed were the makers of the pit of fire (see PEOPLE OF THE DITCH), of the fuel-fed fire *(qutila aṣḥābu l-ukhdūdi l-nāridhāti l-waqūdi)*… they ill-treated them *(naqamū minhum)* for… they believed in God," is variously explained, including a reference to the mistreatment of Muslims by the pagan Quraysh (q.v.). An alternate

interpretation, however, is provided by Ibn Isḥāq (Ibn Isḥāq-Guillaume, 17), who holds that it refers to an expedition led by the Himyarite king of Yemen (q.v.), Dhū Nuwās, against the Christian settlement of Najrān (q.v.). When the latter refused to convert to Judaism, he had them burned.

Q 105:1-5 is believed to refer to the invasion of Mecca by the troops of Abraha (q.v.) the Abyssinian, an event which Ibn Isḥāq (Ibn Isḥāq-Guillaume, 26) asserts took place in the year of the Prophet's birth (570 C.E.). This conflicts with Muqātil's dating of Muḥammad's birth at forty years after the year of the Elephant — a traditional designation for the year of the Abyssinian invasion — and al-Kalbī's view that the Prophet was born fifteen years earlier (Conrad, Abraha, 234-5). The message, however, is that God alone was the savior of the Kaʿba (q.v.), which, as a sanctuary, must be protected from bloodshed. In a sense, the passage anticipates Sūrat al-Fatḥ's (Q 48) celebration of the truce of Ḥudaybiya which prevented fighting in Mecca.

Expeditions and battles foretold

The inimitable nature of the Qurʾān, as reflected in its ability to prophesy is indicated by al-Ṭabarī in his interpretation of Q 5:57 as a prediction and justification of Abū Bakr's victory over the people of apostasy (q.v.; *ridda,* Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* x, 411-4, cited in Kister, Illā bi-ḥaqqihi, 40), many of whom were defined by their refusal to pay the alms tax (*zakāt,* see ALMSGIVING), rather than by a rejection of God and his messenger. Shīʿīte exegetes, however, recognized a reference to ʿAlī's battles against those who had broken their vows of allegiance (Ṭalḥa and Zubayr), those who had strayed from the true faith (the Khawārij; see KHARAJĪS) and those who were unjust (Muʿāwiya; cf. Kister, Illā bi-ḥaqqihi, 40-1).

While there are no clear qurʾānic references to expeditions and battles in eschatological contexts, the thesis of a nineteenth-century scholar, P. Casanova, *(Mohammed)* is that the mission of Muḥammad was primarily to warn of the approaching end: that eschatology (q.v.), the subject of the earliest discourse reflected in both the Qurʾān and tradition, had given Islam an urgency and aggressiveness that enabled its several conquests. Indeed, numerous early Meccan passages warn of the approaching hour *(zalzalat al-sāʿa)* that would spearhead the end of time (Q 22:1; cf. 22:7; 33:63; 40:59; 42:16-7; 54:1; see APOCALYPSE; LAST JUDGMENT). Q 47:18 claims that the signs of the hour are manifest, while Q 21:1 warns that the reckoning is near. That Muḥammad saw himself as the harbinger of the hour is asserted by Abū l-Futūḥ Rāzī (d. 525/1131) who cites the tradition: "I am the resurrector *(ḥāshir)*… and I am the final one…" to explain the epithet "seal of the prophets" *(khātam al-nabiyyīn)* in Q 33:40 (*Tafsīr,* ix, 162, cited in Arjomand, Islamic apocalypticism, 246). According to tradition, ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb claimed that "the Prophet will not die until we conquer the cities [of Rome]…" (Arjomand, Islamic apocalypticism, 246-7). When the apocalypse did not arrive, verses such as Q 7:187 and 20:15 were emphasized instead, explaining that exact knowledge of the hour belongs to God alone.

Expeditions and battles of the Prophet

The most well-known expeditions and battles of the Prophet were fought against Arab non-Muslims at Badr, Uḥud, al-Khandaq ("the Trench"), Muʾta, Mecca, Ḥunayn (q.v.), and Tabūk, and against the Jews of the Qaynuqāʿ (q.v.), Naḍīr (q.v.), Qurayẓa (q.v.), Khaybar, and Fadak. Qurʾānic references to these events are brief and unclear — and only Badr, Mecca, Ḥunayn and Yathrib (or Medina) are named in the text. Nevertheless, a

broad consensus regarding their occasions of revelation, which often signify socio-economic change, is reflected in *tafsīr* and *maghāzī* literature. Thus, it is believed that: Q 2:217, which justifies fighting during the sacred months, was revealed after the expedition to Nakhla (623 C.E.), a raid in which Muḥammad did not personally participate (Ibn Isḥāq-Guillaume, 288; Wāqidī, *Maghāzī,* 18). Q 8:41, which establishes that one fifth of the booty (q.v.) be set aside for God and his messenger, near relatives, orphans (q.v.), the needy, and the wayfarer, was revealed after the miraculous victory of the Muslims over the more numerous Quraysh at Badr (624 C.E.; Ibn Isḥāq-Guillaume, 321; Wāqidī, *Maghāzī,* 134); Q 16:127, which is understood to forbid the mutilation of the dead of one's foe, was revealed after the battle of Uḥud (625 C.E.), where Muḥammad was not only injured, but suffered the death of his uncle Ḥamza (see ḤAMZA B. ʿABD AL-MUṬṬALIB), whose body was mutilated by the enemy who had returned to avenge their recent defeat (Ibn Isḥāq-Guillaume, 387; Wāqidī, *Maghāzī,* 290). Q 59:6, which decrees that property taken without force *(fayʾ)* belongs entirely to the Prophet, was revealed during the raid on the Banū l-Naḍīr (625 C.E.) who surrendered without fighting when Muḥammad besieged them, on discovering their plot to kill him (Ibn Isḥāq-Guillaume, 438; Wāqidī, *Maghāzī,* 381). The more complex issues concerning verses from Q 33 (Sūrat al-Aḥzāb, "The Clans") associated with the battle of al-Khandaq, culminating in the execution of the Banū Qurayẓa (627 C.E.); and from Q 9 (Sūrat al-Tawba, "Repentance") associated with the raid on Tabūk (629 C.E.) and the repudiation of agreements with the polytheists, are discussed in greater detail below.

The expeditions of Muḥammad parallel the trials of many biblical prophets. They communicate to the believer that Muḥammad was indeed a prophet like any other, who struggled to maintain God's laws on earth. The reports that his small forces could overcome large, well-trained battalions of the enemy are understood by believers to indicate that, when he is willing, God will help them accomplish seemingly impossible feats.

Probably the most obvious assertion of victory found in the Qurʾān is at Q 48 (Sūrat al-Fatḥ, "Victory"): "Truly we have granted you a manifest victory" (Q 48:1), understood by both exegetes (Muqātil, *Tafsīr,* 4:65) and writers of *maghāzī,* i.e. Ibn Isḥāq (Ibn Isḥāq-Guillaume, 505) and al-Wāqidī (Wāqidī, *Maghāzī,* 614), as a reference to the culmination of hostilities which surfaced when the Prophet asserted his right to make a lesser pilgrimage (*ʿumra,* see PILGRIMAGE) to the Kaʿba. That the allusion is not to a typical battle fought and won, but rather, to the making of a truce at Ḥudaybiya resulting from the ordained respect for sanctuaries and a considerable self-control, is reflected in Q 48:24: "And it is he who has restrained their hands from you and your hands from them in the valley of Mecca…." Like many of the battles/victories alluded to in the Qurʾān, this passage may also be understood in a spiritual sense.

The vague nature of several qurʾānic statements leaves room for manipulation. Although the opponents of Muḥammad (see OPPOSITION TO MUḤAMMAD) fell into various groups — Jews *(yahūd)* and Christians (*naṣārā,* see CHRISTIANS AND CHRISTIANITY), as well as polytheists *(mushrikūn)* — they are often broadly referred to as disbelievers *(kāfirūn)*. Tradition, appreciating the sixth century Arabian context of the Prophet's life, has generally understood the "disbelievers" to refer to the Meccan Quraysh or polytheistic Arab tribes of the Ḥijāz, and to the Jews of the region, many of whom were settled in Yathrib (or

Medina, q.v.), Khaybar, Fadak, Wādī al-Qurāʾ, and Taymāʾ. Much of Muḥammad's prophetic career was, thus, one of confrontation with Arab pagans and Jews. This preponderance of aggression against Jews and Arabs is reflected in Q 5:82: "You will find the Jews and the polytheists the strongest among men in enmity to the believers…".

Moreover, since the Qurʾān does not specify any of the Jewish tribes of which tradition informs us (see JEWS AND JUDAISM), the exegete has a choice of traditions from which to explain the many qurʾānic references to disbelievers and People of the Book. Thus, while Ibn Isḥāq cites Q 3:10 and Q 5:56 as informing us of Muḥammad's raid on the Banū Qaynuqāʿ (Ibn Isḥāq-Guillaume, 363), and al-Wāqidī, Q 8:58 (*Maghāzī,* 177), al-Kalbī gives the impression that the Banū Qaynuqāʿ did not even exist (Schöller, Sīra and tafsīr, 25): Interestingly, the *maghāzī* traditions of ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr (643-709) also do not inform us of the Banū Qaynuqāʿ (al-Aʿẓamī, *Maghāzī*). Time, the nature of oral tradition and the biblio-qurʾānic representation of the Jews as a people who repeatedly revoked their covenant (q.v.) with God (Faizer, Comparison, 469), had probably contributed to an exaggeration of the number of conflicts with the Jews. A slightly different account for the conflict with the Jews is given by both Crone and Cook (*Hagarism;* a hypothesis based on non-Islamic sources) and Wansbrough *(Sectarian milieu),* who, despite their very different approaches to the tradition of Islam, explain Muḥammad's religion as the expression of sectarian groups whose break with the community of Jews in Jerusalem resulted in a tradition of conflict with Jews.

The raid on the Banū Qurayẓa to which Q 33 apparently makes allusion is described vividly in the *sīra-maghāzī* of Ibn Isḥāq (Ibn Isḥāq-Guillaume, 461-9) and al-Wāqidī (*Maghāzī,* 496-529), who, significantly, do not substantiate the traditions concerning their execution per se with citations from the Qurʾān. This execution has resulted in a condemnation of the Prophet by modern historians such as W. Muir (*Mahomet,* 151) and F. Gabrieli (*Muhammad,* 73). Whereas Lings justifies this punishment as in keeping with Deuteronomy 20:12 (*Muhammad,* 232), W.N. Arafat rejects their execution as being "diametrically opposed to the spirit of Islam" (New light, 106). Kister repudiates Arafat's claims, protesting that these traditions are narrated in early *tafsīr* on Q 8:55-8 by such as Mujāhid b. Jabr and al-Ṭabarī, and that Muslim jurists, by deriving laws from the incident, have effectively acknowledged it (Massacre, 94-5).

Importantly, exegetes do not always agree on the significance of the verses they explain. Thus, al-Kalbī explains Q 59:11, not as a reference to the Banū l-Naḍīr alone, as is the usual practice, but to the Banū Qurayẓa as well, against both of whom, he claims, Muḥammad led a single expedition. Furthermore, al-Bayḍāwī (d. ca. 716/1316-7) interprets Q 17:8 as referring to the Banū l-Naḍīr and the Banū Qurayẓa who called the Prophet a liar and tried to kill him, at which Muḥammad subdued them and ordered them to pay the poll tax (*Tafsīr,* i, 534; cited in Busse, Destruction of the Temple, 7). Significantly, Crone, noticing the conflicting nature of the variant traditions, states: "We cannot even tell whether there was an original event: in the case of Muḥammad's encounter with the Jews there was not" (*Meccan trade,* 222).

Muslims have attempted to understand what the Qurʾān intends by treating its verses as a response to the experiences of the Prophet during his lifetime. Later decrees were believed to override earlier commands (see ABROGATION). Accordingly, Islamic law establishes that the People of the Book must be tolerated once they pay

the poll tax, despite the fact that the Banū l-Naḍīr were exiled, and the Banū Qurayẓa, executed, because of the later revelation of Q 9:29, perhaps revealed during Muḥammad's final expedition against the Jews, the expedition of Khaybar: "Fight those (Jews of Khaybar)… until they pay the poll tax *ʿan yadin,*" generally translated as "with willing submission." While traditions concerning the capture of Khaybar and Fadak tell us that the Prophet permitted the Jews to cultivate the land in exchange for half of their produce (Ibn Isḥāq-Guillaume, 515), early treaties drawn by Khālid b. al-Walīd (d. 21/642) show that *yad* probably meant property, the poll tax being imposed only on those who owned property (Rubin, Qurʾān and tafsīr, 138-42).

This raises the issue of Islam's aggression against the non-monotheist. Once again, the Qurʾān contains a variety of decrees which are seemingly contradictory (see RELIGIOUS PLURALISM): Thus, while Q 109:6 promotes tolerance, and Q 2:190 commands "Fight in the path of God . . . but do not transgress limits *(wa-lā taʿtadū),*" Q 2:216 insists that "fighting is commanded upon you even though it is hateful to you." Q 9:5, the "Sword Verse," commands: "when the sacred months are past, then slay *(fa-qtulū)* the polytheists *(al-mushrikīn)* wherever you find them and take them and besiege them…."

Rubin (Barāʾa, 13-32) shows that the early Muslim exegetes preferred to interpret the sword verse in its context, that is, in relation to the situation of the Prophet when it was revealed and in association with the verses surrounding it. Q 9:1-5 are believed to have been revealed on the eve of the raid on Tabūk, when many of the pagans and hypocrites who had treaty obligations with the Prophet resisted joining him on the battlefield. Though al-Suddī explains the verses as a repudiation of Muḥammad's agreement with all pagans, al-Ṭabarī, al-Zamakhsharī, Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 606/1209), and al-Bayḍāwī deny that the Qurʾān could decree such intolerance. They divide Muḥammad's non-monotheist allies into offensive and inoffensive groups and insist that the repudiation *(barāʾa)* applied only to those non-monotheists who had violated their agreements. Al-Ṭabarī supports his interpretation with a tradition from Ibn ʿAbbās: "… If they remained loyal to their treaty with the Prophet, … [he] was ordered to respect their treaty and be loyal to it." Significantly, Muḥammad's treaty with the (pagan) Khuzāʿa, who remained loyal to him, was for an unlimited period of time (Rubin, Barāʾa, 24-30; see TREATIES AND ALLIANCES; BREAKING TRUSTS AND CONTRACTS).

Conclusion

The considerable consensus that has developed around the "expeditions and battles" of Muḥammad has led modern historians such as Watt *(Muhammad's Mecca)* and Welch (Muḥammad, 153) to claim that historical material concerning the Prophet may be obtained from the Qurʾān. At the same time, historians ranging from Caetani to Jones have commented on the chronological differences that characterize exegetical and biographical traditions (Jones, Chronology, 259). According to Crone, these traditions are tales inspired by the Qurʾān (*Meccan trade,* 204). Sachedina, examining the concept of *jihād,* expresses the dilemma somewhat differently: "… these exegetes and jurists were reponding to questions… as individuals… their writings reflect their individual and independent reasoning in an attempt to formulate an appropriate response to the socio-political realities of the Islamic public order" (Development of jihad, 36).

Such tenuous links between Qurʾān and tradition (biographical, exegetical and

juridical) inevitably compel one who is seeking to understand its various decrees to attempt a more thorough investigation of the text. That there is a message seems clear: "My righteous servants shall inherit the earth" (Q 21:105). The Qurʾān condemns the unjustifiable shedding of blood (Q 17:4-8; see BLOODSHED). It establishes the right to strive, even fight, for a just and moral society: "And let not detestation for a people move you not to be equitable; be equitable. That is nearer to the consciousness of God *(taqwā)*" (Q 5:8). Free will is concretized in the declaration: "There is no compulsion in religion" (Q 2:256). In such a context, it seems probable that unbelief becomes problematic only when unbelievers take hostile action against believers: just war in such circumstances is what Islam condones.

There are problems: the equivocal nature of the terminology must be considered: the root letters *j-h-d* are usually glossed as "striving," but can mean "fighting"; *f-t-ḥ* is not merely "conquest" and "opening," but also "decision" and "outcome"; and *f-t-n* denotes either "dissension" or "unbelief." The various potential glosses of the Arabic root letters, combined with the existing lack of consensus regarding the chronology of the qurʾānic verses, permit varying interpretations of the issues concerned.

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Eyes

The organ of sight. The human eye, both as anatomical object and as capacity for physical sight or mental apprehension, is frequently encountered in the qurʾānic text, with examples from all chronological periods (see CHRONOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN), most often with respect to human beings but occasionally, also, as anthropomorphic characterizations of divine capacity (see ANTHROPOMORPHISM). The most frequently used Arabic roots are *ʿ-y-n*, producing the forms *ʿayn*, pl. *ʿuyūn* and *aʿyun*, "eye(s)," and *ʿīn*, "wide-eyed female"; and *b-ṣ-r*, producing *baṣar*, pl. *abṣār*, "sight, eyesight, eyes," *baṣīr*, "seeing, understanding clearly," "[God as] all-seeing," and *abṣara*, "to see, seeing, having open eyes, to consider, be visible." Both groups denote actual ocular seeing in most instances but *b-ṣ-r* more often embraces mental apprehension as well (e.g. Q 7:201; see SEEING AND HEARING).

The ancient law of retaliation (q.v.) is recalled in Q 5:45, "Life for life, eye for eye *(wa-l-ʿayna bi-l-ʿayni)*," with God's charitable admonition to remit offenses committed against oneself as an act of atonement (q.v.). The emotional expression of eyes is captured in the vignette of Jacob (q.v.) mourning over his lost son Joseph (q.v.) until "his eyes *(ʿaynāhu)* became white with sorrow" (Q 12:84). Another example is the panicked rolling of the eyes of even the most covetous and unscrupulous sort of person from fear of the approach of death (*tadūru aʿyunuhum*, Q 33:19). An early Meccan passage (Q 68:51) concerning Muḥammad (q.v.) reports that "the unbelievers would almost trip you up with their [disapproving] glances *(yakādu… la-yuzliqūnaka bi-abṣārihim)* when they hear the message; and they say: 'Surely he is possessed.'" In Q 5:83 we read of the eyes of Christian

listeners (see CHRISTIANS AND CHRISTIANITY) to the qurʾānic revelation "overflowing with tears" *(aʿyunahum tafīḍu min al-damʿ)* in recognition of the truth of the message. Those who reject faith (*kafarū,* see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF; FAITH; GRATITUDE AND INGRATITUDE) will have their eyes veiled *(wa-ʿalā abṣārihim ghishāwatun)* by God as part of their punishment (Q 2:7; see CHASTISEMENT AND PUNISHMENT).

Reference to God having eyes, in the sense of sight, is found in Q 23:27, where God commands Noah (q.v.) to "construct the ark (q.v.) under our eyes *(bi-aʿyuninā)*." There are numerous passages that tell of God's ability to see all things, e.g. Q 25:20: "Your lord is all-seeing" (*baṣīran,* cf. Q 17:1). God's seeing is not principally a passive activity but is rooted in his just and beneficent purposes for creation (q.v.; see also BLESSING; JUSTICE AND INJUSTICE), as in Q 67:19, where God asks whether birds can fly on their own: "None can uphold them except the most merciful, truly it is he that watches over all things" (*innahu bi-kulli shayʾin baṣīrun,* see GOD AND HIS ATTRIBUTES).

The human eye as romantic/sensuous fetish is linked with the houris (q.v.; *ḥūr*), beautiful, wide-eyed damsels who, according to several Meccan passages, will be wed to the righteous males in heaven (q.v.; Q 44:54; 52:20; 55:72; 56:22). The term *ḥūr,* pl. of *ḥawrāʾ,* refers to whiteness as in the large eye of the gazelle. The heavenly houris possess the ideal of feminine beauty with large, lustrous eyes that charm through a juxtaposition of white background — comprised of the eyeball and skin — and black pupil, lashes and eyebrows (see ANATOMY; COLORS). The houri's eye is not deployed so much for seeing as for being seen and enjoyed as a sign of affection, delight and bidding to blissful union (see PARADISE).

Despite its wide influence in ancient Arabia during the genesis of Islam (see PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QURʾĀN), the notion of the evil eye (e.g. *al-ʿayn*) does not occur in the Qurʾān, although believers are instructed (in Q 113:5) to fend off envy (q.v.; *ḥasad*) which is at the core of the concept of eye as malignant glance. Al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923), in his exegesis of this passage, quotes the well-known prophetic ḥadīth which begins: "The evil eye is real" (*al-ʿayn ḥaqqun,* Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr;* see ḤADĪTH AND THE QURʾĀN).

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Ezekiel

Biblical prophet who figures in Islamic tradition. Ezekiel is not mentioned in the Qurʾān but exegetical literature claims a qurʾānic allusion to him at Q 2:243 as follows: "Have you not considered those who went forth from their homes in the thousands for fear of death (see DEATH AND THE DEAD)? God said to them, 'Die!' Then he gave them life (q.v.)."

Qurʾānic exegesis and extra-canonical traditions of various origins have given a vivid description of the events to which this verse alludes, in connection with the story of the vision of the dry bones (cf. *Ezek* 37:1-14). According to some reports (see, in particular, Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* ii, 585-91), a great many Israelites (see CHILDREN OF ISRAEL) — between three and ninety thousand — fled a plague out of fear of

death and sought refuge outside their city, but God let them die. Other traditions state that these Israelites were so badly afflicted by a calamity that they sought the peace of death; or that death struck them when they disobeyed their king's order to fight against an enemy. Some sources also mention the name of their city, Dāwardān, and state that they died when they had already abandoned their homes. Ezekiel, passing by their corpses, called upon God to bring them back to life. God did so — after eight days according to some traditions — thus demonstrating his omnipotence to the Israelites. Other reports add that Ezekiel called on God when the corpses had already been dismembered and the bones had been scattered by beasts and birds and that they were prodigiously recomposed and restored to life.

The Muslim tradition contains a great many orthographical variations of Ezekiel's full name. Most sources, however, refer to him as Ḥizqīl b. Būzī/Būdhī/Būrī. Some sources add that he was also called Ibn al-ʿAjūz, "Son of the old woman," accounting for the origin of this name in various ways. Finally, a few exegetical traditions identify Ezekiel with Dhū l-Kifl (q.v.; Muqātil, *Tafsīr,* i, 202) and with Elisha (q.v.; Maqdisī, *al-Badʾ,* iii, 100).

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Ezra

Ezra (ʿUzayr) is identified in the Jewish sources as a high priest and scribe who helped to rebuild the Temple after returning from Babylonian exile with a number of Jewish families. He is seen as a highly pious and learned person who directed the religious life of the Jewish community, first in Babylon and then, later on, in Jerusalem (q.v.). Modern scholarly opinion considers Ezra a lettered man with spiritual tendencies who was a functionary of the Persian state which sent him to Palestine around the fourth century B.C.E. in order to promote the political authority of Persian rule.

Only once does the Qurʾān explicitly mention Ezra, in the course of disputing the claim, apparently made by some Jews in Medina, that Ezra was the son of God (see DEBATE AND DISPUTATION), a claim hard to verify in the Jewish sources. (According to Horovitz, *KU,* 128, Muḥammad could have heard about Jewish or Judeo-Christian sects that venerated Ezra in the way other sects venerated Melchizedek.) At any rate, one must understand the qurʾānic verse which mentions ʿUzayr in the context of Muslim-Jewish relations in Medina (q.v.) after the emigration (q.v.; *hijra*) made by the Prophet and the Meccan Muslim community to Medina in 622 C.E.: "The Jews call ʿUzayr son of God, and the Christians call Christ son of God. That is a saying from their mouth; in this they but imitate what the unbelievers of old used to say. God fights them *(qātalahumu llāhu):* How they are deluded away from the truth!" (Q 9:30). The verse, which occurs in a Medinan sūra, was thus revealed in a context replete with theological arguments between the nascent Muslim community *(umma)* and the well-established Jewish community in Medina (see JEWS AND JUDAISM; OCCASIONS OF REVELATION).

The Qurʾān emphasizes the absolute divinity of God (see GOD AND HIS ATTRIBUTES) by pointing out that any act of association, however minute, would not be tolerated by the new Muslim community. In numerous verses, the Qurʾān warns against this divine association *(shirk)*. The Qurʾān takes the offensive against the contemporary Jewish and Christian leaders because, according to the Qurʾān, they deceived the masses into taking "their priests *(aḥbār)* and their anchorites (*ruhbān,* see MONASTICISM AND MONKS) to be their lords (see LORD) in derogation of God, and [they take as their lord] Christ (*al-masīḥ,* see JESUS), the son of Mary (q.v.); yet they were commanded to worship (q.v.) but one God. There is no God but he" (Q 9:31). In casting doubt on the divine claims attached to both ʿUzayr and Christ, the Qurʾān has in mind not just the Jewish and Christian communities in Arabia at the time (see CHRISTIANS AND CHRISTIANITY; POLEMIC AND POLEMICAL LANGUAGE), but the nascent Muslim community and its need to distinguish itself from those who claim ʿUzayr or Christ as the son of God. This process of religious formation initiated by the Qurʾān reflects a great deal of tension between the new Muslim *umma* and the more established Christian and Jewish *umma*s in Arabia (see COMMUNITY AND SOCIETY IN THE QURʾĀN; ISLAM). Questions of prophetic identity being often linked to a community's notion of revelation, it remains to be asked why Ezra would be considered the son of God, why the qurʾānic text challenges this, and whether, in fact, ʿUzayr really is Ezra (see Wasserstrom, *Between Muslim and Jew,* 183-4).

In commenting on the qurʾānic verse that mentions ʿUzayr, al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923) — the Muslim exegete *par excellence* — takes a cautious approach. He first asserts that, far from being a standard Jewish claim, this claim was made by a person called Pinhas, most probably a Medinan, who said, "God is poor and we are rich." Or, al-Ṭabarī continues, this claim may have been made by a number of Medinan Jews who visited the Prophet upon his arrival in Medina in 622 C.E. and asserted the divinity of ʿUzayr (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* XV, 206 f.; Ibn Abī Ḥātim al-Rāzī, *Tafsīr,* VI, 1781-2). What is important to note, however, is that most Muslim exegetes glorify the important role played by ʿUzayr in renewing the faith of his people in the Bible after a period of decline in scriptural knowledge. Al-Ṭabarī, as well as other exegetes (see EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL), assert that ʿUzayr was one of the learned scholars *(ʿulamāʾ)* of the people of Israel (see CHILDREN OF ISRAEL) who sought to revive the scriptures after the people of Israel forgot the importance of God's commands (see COMMANDMENTS; SCRIPTURE AND THE QURʾĀN). While deeply meditating one day, God sent a light into his heart as a prelude to inspiring him with the entire biblical tradition, which ʿUzayr used in order to teach the people the forgotten laws of God. Finally, Muslim exegesis paints ʿUzayr as a spiritual seeker and a man of truth (q.v.) who refused to associate any being with God. On the other hand, "Muslim tradition says that God expunged ʿUzayr from the list of prophets because he refused to believe in qadar [divine decree] and inquired into it" (Rubin, *Between Bible and Qurʾān,* 197).

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F

Fables

see NARRATIVES; MYTHIC AND LEGENDARY NARRATIVES

Face

The front part of the head, including the eyes (q.v.), cheeks, nose, mouth, forehead and chin. The Arabic term for face *(wajh,* pl. *wujūh)* in the Qurʾān is generally applied to the face of human beings, seventy-two times across all chronological periods (see CHRONOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN), but is also used less frequently to refer to the face of God (q.v.), eleven times in such constructions as "the face of God" *(wajh Allāh),* "his face" *(wajhuhu)* and "the face of your lord" *(wajh rabbika)*. Depending on context and purpose, the term may also be rendered as countenance, essence, being, will, favor, honor (q.v.) or sake. For example, when used in relation to humans, *wajh* may mean being or essential/whole self as in Q 3:20: "I have surrendered my whole self to God" *(aslamtu wajhī lillāhi;* cf. Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* iii, 214, where this is explained through recollection that it is the face that is the noblest part of the human anatomy *[jawāriḥ])*. With respect to the physical human face, we find examples such as Q 4:43, where we learn that, when water (q.v.) is unavailable, pre-prayer ablution with clean sand is recommended (see RITUAL PURITY): "Rub your faces *(wujūh)* and your hands." On judgment day (see LAST JUDGMENT), the faces of those who lie (q.v.) regarding God will turn black (Q 39:60). Moreover, the unbelievers' faces will be turned upside down in the fire (q.v.) of hell (q.v.) as the ultimate humility, degradation and loss of the free agency enjoyed on earth (Q 33:66; see FREEDOM AND PREDESTINATION). The face bears the full brunt of the penalty of judgment day, according to Q 39:24 (see REWARD AND PUNISHMENT).

The Qurʾān favors the face as the focus of intention (q.v.) and purpose. The face represents the self in the person's faring well or being punished (see CHASTISEMENT AND PUNISHMENT). It is significant that both God and his human servants share, and in important ways meet, in the deeply personal symbolism of the face (see SYMBOLIC IMAGERY). Recipients of the revelation (see REVELATION AND INSPIRATION), when they realize its authenticity, fall down on their faces in prostration *(yakhirrūna lil-adhqāni sujjadan,* Q 17:107; cf. Q 17:109; see BOWING AND PROSTRATION) and tears. In several passages concerning proper ritual orientation (see RITUAL AND THE QURʾĀN), the human face is the searching probe that

focuses the self on the appointed *qibla* (q.v.), literally "facing point," which for Muslims came to be the Kaʿba (q.v.) in Mecca (q.v.), the *axis mundi:* "We see the turning of your face *(qad narā taqalluba wajhika)* to heaven. Now shall we turn you to a *qibla* that will please you. Turn then your face in the direction of the sacred mosque (q.v.). Wherever you are, turn your faces in its direction" (Q 2:144).

The face serves as a relating coordinate for both worship (q.v.) in the direction of Mecca and God's guidance and blessing (q.v.) in general. Additionally, the concept of people facing each other openly is a significant ingredient in the personal nature of life in heaven (q.v.). All previous unpleasantness in interpersonal relations on earth will be banished: "We will remove from their hearts any hidden enmity: They will be brothers facing each other *(mutaqābilīn)* on raised couches" (Q 15:47; see BROTHER AND BROTHERHOOD; SOCIAL INTERACTIONS; SOCIAL RELATIONS).

The Ṣūfī tradition has always been particularly devoted to such passages as the following in their self-transcending search for union with God: "To God belong both the east and the west. Wherever you turn, there is the face of God" (Q 2:115); "Whatever of good you give benefits your own soul (q.v.), and you shall not do so except in seeking the face of God" (Q 2:272; see ṢŪFISM AND THE QURʾĀN). Two Meccan passages, one late and the other early, illustrate the ethical and spiritual power of the concept of the face of God in Muḥammad's prophetic career: "And do not call, besides God, on another deity. There is no deity but he. Everything perishes except his face" (*kullu shayʾin hālikun illā wajhahu,* Q 28:88); and, "He who spends his wealth (q.v.) for increase in goodness (see ECONOMICS; GOOD DEEDS), and has not in his mind expectation of a reward in return, but only desires the face of his lord (*illā btighāʾa wajhi rabbihi,* see LORD; ANTHROPOMORPHISM), the most high, will soon attain satisfaction" (Q 92:18-21).

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Face of God

The visage of the creator, the sight of which the believer hopes to enjoy in the afterlife (see ESCHATOLOGY; BELIEF AND UNBELIEF; ANTHROPOMORPHISM). References to God's face appear frequently in the Qurʾān. In early Muslim theological debates the notion of God's face was an important, though not central, issue in discussions of theodicy. In mystical thought, God's face acquired a theophanic meaning as part of a complex understanding of how God relates to the created world (see GOD AND HIS ATTRIBUTES).

In the Qurʾān references to God's face or countenance *(wajh)* appear in the construction "the face of God" *(wajh Allāh),* "the face of their [or 'your'] lord" *(wajh rabbihim),* and "his face" *(wajhuhu).* Seeking the

face of God is repeatedly presented as a desirable characteristic of virtuous human beings: "Whatever of good you give benefits your own souls, and you shall only do so seeking the face of Allah" (Q 2:272; see GOOD DEEDS); "Who spends his wealth for increase in self-purification, and has in his mind no favor from anyone for which a reward is expected in return, but only desires to seek after the face of his lord most high, soon will attain satisfaction" (Q 92:18-21).

Elsewhere, seeking the face of God is explicitly linked to other meritorious and ritually obligatory acts: "So give what is due to kinfolk, the needy, and the wayfarer. That is best for those who seek the face of God, and it is they who will prosper. That which you lay out for increase through the property of [other] people (see USURY) will have no increase with God: but that which you lay out for charity, seeking the face of God, [will increase]: it is these who will get a recompense multiplied" (Q 30:38-39; see ALMSGIVING; POVERTY AND THE POOR; KINSHIP); "Those who patiently persevere (see TRUST AND PATIENCE), seeking the face of their lord; establish regular prayers (see PRAYER); spend out of [what] we have bestowed for their sustenance, secretly and openly; and stave off evil with good (see GOOD AND EVIL); for such there is the final attainment of the [eternal] abode" (Q 13:22; see HOUSE, DOMESTIC AND DIVINE).

References to the face of God also appear in descriptions of his omnipresence; "To God belong the east and the west: wherever you turn, there is God's countenance, for God is all-embracing, all-knowing" (Q 2:115). References are more frequent in formulaic testaments to his eternality (see ETERNITY): "All that is on earth will perish, but the face of your lord will remain, full of majesty and honor" (Q 55:26-27); "And call not on another god besides God. There is no god but he. Everything that exists will perish except his face. To him belongs the command, and to him will you be brought back" (Q 28:88).

Belief that God possessed a visibly perceivable (though not earthly) body, and therefore a face, is reflected in early Islamic sources. The canonical collections of Sunnī tradition records a ḥadīth on the authority of Abū Hurayra (see ḤADĪTH AND THE QURʾĀN) in which, upon being questioned as to whether or not believers will see their lord on the day of resurrection (q.v.), the Prophet replies that God will be plainly visible at that time in the same way as the sun (q.v.) and moon (q.v.) are in this world (Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* i, 349).

In the early development of Islamic thought, God's face gets treated under two separate, yet related, rubrics, in neither of which it is a central issue of concern. The first is in the larger discussion of divine anthropomorphism and the second the eschatological concern over whether or not human beings can have a vision of God and, if so, what it would comprise. In the discussion of divine anthropomorphism, references to the face of God were subsumed in the wider discussion of 'the vision of God' *(ruʾyat Allāh)* which, together with the question of the divine word (see WORD OF GOD), was at the center of theological debates. Some early literalists maintained that qurʾānic references to God's body had to be taken at face value, but they were clearly outnumbered by their opponents who referred to them derrogatorily as corporealists *(mujassima* or *ḥashwiyya)*. Their opposition was most famously represented by the Muʿtazila (see MUʿTAZILĪS), who practised the concept of *tanzīh* (removal or withdrawal), consisting of the absolute denial of the possibility that any created quality could be attributed to God.

The attitude that eventually came to dominate Muslim belief was that of the Ashʿarīs who are famous for their theological principle of *bilā kayf wa lā tashbīh*

("without [asking] how and without comparison"). They acknowledged the literal truth of qurʾānic references to God's body, but simultaneously maintained that God was utterly transcendent and therefore his qualities could not be anthropomorphic. Thus God must have a face and the promise of a vision of God must be true, but God's face cannot be anything like a human face and vision of him cannot be the same as seeing anything in the created world (see SEEING AND HEARING; THEOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN).

Ṣūfī thought, perhaps more than any other branch of the Islamic sciences, focused directly on the question of the precise nature of how human beings could perceive God (see ṢŪFISM AND THE QURʾĀN). From as early as the time of Junayd al-Baghdādī (d. 297/910), most Ṣūfīs had rejected the possibility that God could be seen visually. Instead, they emphasized two different notions of how he could be made visually manifest, through his theophanic manifestation in the created world *(tajallī)* and through the heart (q.v.; *qalb*) which functions as the most important mystical organ of perception.

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Faction see PARTIES AND FACTIONS

Faḍīla see VIRTUE

Failure

A deficiency or inability to perform. In the Qurʾān, the God who is all-powerful (Q 8:41 etc.) cannot fail; nor can his messengers (Q 72:27-8; cf. Ṭabāṭabāʾī, *Qurʾān,* 80; see MESSENGER; POWER AND IMPOTENCE). The fact that their human audiences can and do fail constitutes the basis of the Qurʾān's account of God's dealings with humanity.

There is no qurʾānic term with the explicit meaning of failure. The root *kh-f-q* does not occur in the Qurʾān, while the root *f-sh-l* does appear four times (Q 3:122, 152; 8:43, 46), but in the sense of showing weakness or cowardice in battle (see COURAGE; EXPEDITIONS AND BATTLES). Eschatological failure (see ESCHATOLOGY) is sometimes expressed as the annulment of one's works (*ḥubūṭ al-ʿamal,* cf. Q 5:5; 6:88, 11:16; 39:65) as a result of lack of belief or faith (*īmān,* cf. Q 33:19; see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF; FAITH), a dislike of God's revelations (Q 47:9) or failure to follow what pleases God (Q 47:28). Failure is implicit in the root *kh-s-r,* one of the Qurʾān's commercial terms (see ECONOMICS), which connotes loss. Without *īmān* and good works, "man is in loss" (Q 103:2). What is lost is the self (*nafs,* Q 6:12; 7:9) and even one's family (Q 39:15; 42:45), either because the evildoer (see DEVIL) misleads them, thus sending them to hell (q.v.) or because he is parted from them when he himself is damned (Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr,* iv, 48). In other passages *kh-s-r* implies worldly failure: Joseph's (q.v.) brothers protest, "If the wolf eats him, we will be losers" (Q 12:14); and those who contemplate believing in Shuʿayb (q.v.) are warned by his enemies (q.v.) that they will be "the losers" (Q 7:90). The echo of this phrase at

Q 7:92 gives it religious meaning. Failure is also the consequence of the ruse *(kayd)* of miscreants (see CHEATING). Gravely astray (q.v.) is the *kayd* of the treacherous (Q 12:52), unbelievers (Q 40:25), Pharaoh (q.v.; Q 40:37) and the figure identified by exegetes as Abraha (q.v.; Q 105:2). The root *f-l-ḥ,* connoting success, governs passages that implicitly explain the nature of failure. Hence failure will be the lot of the unjust (Q 6:21; 12:23; see JUSTICE AND INJUSTICE), evildoers (Q 10:17; see EVIL DEEDS) and of sorcerers (Q 10:77; see MAGIC, PROHIBITION OF). Purifying the *nafs* brings success (Q 91:9), and one who "stunts it" *(dassāhā)* fails (*khāba,* Q 91:10). The latter term, associated with failure in pre-Islamic *maysir* games (Lane, 828), is the fate of "every stubborn tyrant" (Q 14:15; cf. 20:111) and of those who cry lies (Q 20:61; see FORETELLING; GAMBLING; LIE; PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QUR'ĀN).

The collective failure of a community, as contrasted with personal eschatological failure, figures in the Medinan period (see CHRONOLOGY AND THE QUR'ĀN). Hence the disbelievers in retreat are *khā'ibīn* (Q 3:127), and explanations are offered of the community's *(umma)* military setbacks (for Uḥud [q.v.] see Q 3:139-44; 152-5; 165-7), which are presented as tests or chastisements (see TRIAL; CHASTISEMENT AND PUNISHMENT). Shī'ī exegetes find references to the tragic future of Fāṭima (q.v.) and the Imāms (q.v.) in certain verses (cf. Ḥuwayzī, *Tafsīr*, iv, 186, 270-4; see SHĪ'ISM AND THE QUR'ĀN). From a Christian perspective, Kenneth Cragg has criticized the Qur'ān's insistence that God's purposes must not fail and that the prophet must therefore have recourse to arms (Cragg, *Event,* 132; id., *Mind,* 103-4, 194-7).

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Faith

Belief in God and a corresponding system of religious beliefs. No concept in the Qur'ān is more basic to the understanding of God's revelation through the prophet Muḥammad than faith. As the core of the truly good or moral life, faith is generally understood to encompass both affirmation and response.

According to the qur'ānic perspective, nothing of virtue (q.v.) is conceivable which does not arise directly from faith in the being and revelations of God (see REVELATION AND INSPIRATION). Such faith as it is articulated in the Qur'ān in its most basic sense means acknowledgment of the reality and oneness of God (see GOD AND HIS ATTRIBUTES) and of the fact that humans will be held accountable for their lives and deeds on the day of resurrection (q.v.). These two integrally related concepts frame the message of the Qur'ān and thus the religion of Islam itself. Faith in God is both trust in God's mercy (q.v.) and fear of the reality of the day of judgment (see LAST JUDGMENT). It also means that it is incumbent on those who acknowledge these realities to respond in some concrete way. The details of that response, and thus the relationship of faith and action, have been the subject of much debate in the history of Islamic thought.

The nature of faith

The Arabic noun rendered in English as either faith or belief is *īmān*. It is from the verb *amuna,* which in its several forms means to be faithful, to be reliable, to be safe and secure from fear. The fourth form of the verb, *āmana,* carries the meaning both of rendering secure and of putting trust in someone/something, the latter understood as having faith. The one who is faithful, therefore, the *muʾmin,* is he or she who understands and accepts the content of God's basic revelation and who thereby has entered a state of security and trust in God (see COVENANT). "The faithful *(al-muʾminūn)* are the ones whose hearts, when God is mentioned, are filled with awe. And when his revelations *(āyāt)* are recited to them, their faith is strengthened and they put their trust in their lord" (Q 8:2). The term *al-īmān* itself, used with the definite article, appears only 16 times in the text of the Qurʾān. Other derivatives of the fourth form of *amuna,* however, specifically *muʾmin* and *muʾminūn* (the singular and plural of the faithful) appear frequently in the Qurʾān. "O you who have faith" is a common refrain as God speaks to the members of his community through commandments (q.v.), admonitions, or words of counsel. Sometimes faith is expressed specifically as the remembrance (q.v.; *dhikr*) of God: "Those who have faith are those whose hearts find peace in the remembrance of God" (Q 13:28).

Implicit in the qurʾānic understanding of God is an unqualified difference between divine and human. The very recognition of God is often expressed by the term *tawḥīd,* meaning both God's oneness and human acknowledgment of it through the act of faith. It presupposes that there is no other being in any way similar to God (see POLYTHEISM AND ATHEISM), that God is utterly unique and that humans must not only testify to that uniqueness but embody their acknowledgment of it through their own lives and actions. As God alone is lord (q.v.) and creator of the universe (see CREATION), so the Muslim acknowledges that oneness by living a life of integrity and ethical and moral responsibility, in other words a life in which faith is reflected in all its dimensions (see ETHICS AND THE QURʾĀN). The greatest sin a human being can commit from the Islamic point of view is impugning the oneness of God (*shirk,* see SIN, MAJOR AND MINOR), i.e. to suggest by word or deed that anything else can in any way share in that divine unity.

The Qurʾān leaves no doubt that faith as a general category of human response did not begin with Muḥammad or those who heard the first messages he preached. Throughout the ages there were people who understood that there is only one God, and who responded with faith and submission. In the Qurʾān they are usually described not as *muʾminūn* but as *ḥanīf* (q.v.; pl. *ḥunafāʾ*), monotheists who lived a kind of pristine purity in the knowledge and recognition of God. The first of these to be acknowledged by name, and thus understood as an archetypal person of faith or submission *(islām),* was Abraham (q.v.). "Abraham was not a Jew, nor a Christian, but he was an upright man *(ḥanīfan),* one who submits *(musliman),* and he was not of those who practice *shirk (wa-mā kāna mina l-mushrikīna)*. The nearest of humankind to Abraham are those who follow him and this Prophet and those who have faith. God is the protector of the faithful" (Q 3:67-8). The Qurʾān contains numerous references to Abraham and his offspring as those who were the original *muslims,* those who acknowledged and surrendered to God. The faith of the *ḥanīf* served as a precursor of the *īmān* which was to emerge as the essential characteristic of those who

became part of the religion of Islam. It is the faith of Abraham that was signaled in the Qurʾān as that which gave justification to Judaism and Christianity as religions of the book (q.v.; see also PEOPLE OF THE BOOK), not the manifestations of those religions in forms which did not acknowledge that they were precursors of the coming of Muḥammad. "They say: Become Jews or Christians, then you will be rightly guided. Say: No, [rather] the religion of Abraham, the upright *(ḥanīfan),* and he was not one of those who practiced *shirk (wa-mā kāna mina l-mushrikīna)*" (Q 2:135).

Faith as gratitude, fear and responsibility

Many verses in the text of the Qurʾān attest that one of the primary ways in which faith is to be understood and expressed is by recognition that the world is the manifest gift of God (see GIFT-GIVING), and that its constituent elements are the signs (q.v.; *āyāt*) by which God makes evident his beneficent favors to humankind (see BLESSING). The person who has faith is the one who sees these signs and understands with his intelligence or intellect (q.v.; *ʿaql*) their nature as a gift from God. Those who are lacking in faith are the ones who fail to recognize and be grateful for these signs (see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF; GRATITUDE AND INGRATITUDE). Faith in its qurʾānic understanding, then, contains as an important ingredient the element of thankfulness to God for the bounties he has bestowed on humanity and praise (q.v.) of God as the only fitting response: "Only those have faith in our revelations *(āyātinā)* who, when they are reminded of them, fall down in prostration and give praise to their lord, and do not become arrogant" (Q 32:15; see ARROGANCE; BOWING AND PROSTRATION). Appreciation is expressed not only in the heart (q.v.) and by individual praise and prostration, but by active participation in helping support the faithful of the community (see COMMUNITY AND SOCIETY IN THE QURʾĀN): "Only those are faithful *(muʾminūn)* who have faith in God and his messenger (q.v.), then never doubt again (see UNCERTAINTY), but strive with their wealth (q.v.) and their lives for the cause of God (see PATH OR WAY). Such are the sincere" (Q 49:15). In listing some of the names of God, Q 59:23 identifies him as both *salām* (from *s-l-m,* the root letters of *muslim* and *islām*) and *muʾmin*. Rather than suggesting that God is a "believer," or one who possesses faith, as is said of a human person, the term *muʾmin* signifies that God witnesses to his own truthfulness or trustworthiness, that in effect he testifies to his own unicity, and that he is responsible for the signs that make humans *muʾminūn*.

It is important to underscore the importance of fear (q.v.) as a component of faith. The word generally rendered as piety (q.v.), godliness or devoutness is *taqwā,* derived from the root letters *w-q-y,* which, in their fifth and eighth verbal forms, mean to fear, especially God: "O you who believe," says Q 59:18, "fear God." Some have argued that to fear God *(ittaqa llāh)* is virtually synonymous with *āmana,* to have faith. Fear, however, is not a state in which the person of faith is terrorized or left in a pitiable condition bereft of consolation (q.v.). It is rather an attitude of trembling before the power and the majesty of God and the reality of the events to come at the end of time, including those signaling the coming of the "hour," the resurrection, the judgment and the final consignment (see ESCHATOLOGY). Fear as an element of faith is balanced in the Qurʾān by the very trust implied in the original definition of *īmān,* often rendered as *tawakkul,* with the implication of a kind of unshakable reliance on the fundamental goodness, justice and mercy of God (see JUSTICE AND INJUSTICE): "In God let those who are faithful put their trust" (Q 14:11). Such trust is not always

easy to achieve, however, and so the Qurʾān assures the faithful that they must also have patience, especially when up against difficult circumstances (see TRUST AND PATIENCE). "O you who have faith! Seek help with steadfastness (*ṣabr,* lit. patience) and prayer (q.v.). God is with those who are steadfast *(al-ṣābirīn)*" (Q 2:153). Faith which is grounded in absolute trust expresses the certainty of conviction, and it is therefore the highest form of knowledge *('ilm)*. It is contrasted with other kinds of belief such as *zann* (supposition, opinion, assumption) and *khars,* which is close to guessing. The highest kind of faith is that generated by revelation. Many of the qualities which the Qurʾān affirms as an integral element of faith were part of the moral code that structured the lives of persons of conscience and honor (q.v.) in pre-Islamic Arabia (see PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QURʾĀN).

The faithful are therefore described as those who are "protecting friends, one of another," as specified in Q 9:71. This verse continues by placing on male and female believers *(muʾminūn* and *muʾmināt)* the responsibility for carrying out what was to become one of the signal responsibilities for Muslims as developed in the schools of law and theology (see LAW AND THE QURʾĀN; THEOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN), namely to enjoin what is right and forbid what is wrong. Thus doing good and avoiding evil (see GOOD AND EVIL), in the general qurʾānic understanding, is essential to an understanding and expression of faith. And the next verse again spells out clearly the reward for this discernment, namely the promise of God that the faithful men and women will abide in the blessed dwellings of the gardens of paradise (q.v.). In a number of references the Qurʾān affirms that those who have faith are regular and humble in their prayer, help and give asylum to the needy, pay the poor-tax (see ALMSGIVING; POVERTY AND THE POOR), guard their modesty (q.v.), love truth (q.v.) and honor their pledges (see CONTRACTS AND ALLIANCES), are not weary or faint-hearted, fight in the way of God (see JIHĀD), and always trust in the guidance of God regardless of the circumstances. Qurʾān commentators agree that while a person is still alive in this world there is always the possibility of his or her coming to a position of faith. But when the final hour arrives, and time as we know it comes to an end, then the opportunity to attain faith is gone forever and one must pay the consequences. Some interpreters insist that to fare well in that final judgment one must not have abdicated his or her faith at any time, that faith must continue unabated from the time at which one acknowledges oneself to be a *muʾmin* to the last hour. Others allow that God in his mercy will accept the one who comes to the final judgment in a state of faith, regardless of earlier inconsistencies.

Faith and its qurʾānic opposites

The Qurʾān is replete with the kind of absolute dichotomy represented both by the choices of right and wrong, and by the ultimate consequences of those choices in the consignment to the garden (q.v.) or the fire (q.v.; see also REWARD AND PUNISHMENT). Faith becomes the ultimate criterion by which one is aligned either with the positive or the negative, and thus in many verses one sees the sharp contrast drawn between the person of faith and the one who lacks faith, who actively disbelieves, who thereby rejects the message and the promise of God. The quality that is set in opposition to faith is most often rendered as *kufr,* with its agent the *kāfir* contrasted with the *muʾmin*. *Kufr* has two basic meanings in the Qurʾān, either the absence of faith, often rendered as disbelief, or ingratitude for God's signs *(āyāt)*. In one way

these meanings connote somewhat different aspects of negative response to God, of lack of faith, and in another they are integrally related. Sometimes *kufr* is said to be the response of those whose intellectual reasoning does not enable them to believe and adopt a position of faith. One of the most obvious examples of this kind of *kufr* is that offered by those who cannot accept the reality of the resurrection and time of judgment: "… they rejected *(kafarū)* our signs, saying: "When we are bones and fragments, shall we be raised up as a new creation?… the wrongdoers reject all save disbelief *(kufr)*" (Q 17:98-9; see DEATH AND THE DEAD). The contrast of *kufr* with *īmān* is vivid, and serves to illustrate not only that there is a sharp difference between faith and rejection, but that acceptance of the resurrection and judgment is an essential element of faith.

The other dimension of *kufr* as it is contrasted with *īmān* relates to ingratitude. It was noted above that gratitude and corresponding attitudes of praise are fundamental to faith: "He gives you all that you ask for. If you count the favors of God you will not be able to number them. Man is truly a wrong-doer, an ingrate *(kāfir)*" (Q 14:34). As the person of faith allows the promises of God to assume reality, however difficult that may be for reason to accept, and to engender in him or her a grateful response, so the *kāfir* both rejects truth (Q 43:78) and is actively unaccepting of and ungrateful for the bounty of God's gifts to humankind: "Then remember me," says God, "[and] I will remember you. Give thanks to me, and do not reject [me] *(lā takfurna)*" (Q 2:152). In this striking negative parallelism, found throughout the Qurʾān between the concepts of faith and rejection/ingratitude, appears the definition of the qualities of the one in the negation of the qualities of the other. The original and in some senses prototypical *kāfir,* according to the Qurʾān, was the angel Iblīs (q.v.) who refused to obey God's command (see DISOBEDIENCE). "And when we said unto the angels, 'Bow down before Adam (see ADAM AND EVE),' they bowed down, all except Iblīs. He refused and was haughty, and so became a disbeliever *(wa-kāna mina l-kāfirīn)*" (Q 2:34).

Another qurʾānic term which stands in contrast to *īmān* is *nifāq,* generally rendered as hypocrisy (see HYPOCRITES AND HYPOCRISY) or dissimulation (q.v.). Unlike *kufr,* however, which is the mirror opposite of faith, *nifāq* is understood to be the act or condition of making a profession of faith verbally while inwardly not being a believer at all: "Have you not seen those who declare that they have faith in what is revealed to you and to those before you… When it is said to them, 'Come to what God has revealed and to the messenger,' you see the hypocrites *(al-munāfiqūn)* turn away from you with disgust" (Q 4:60-1). Some exegetes of the Qurʾān have posited that hypocrisy is sufficiently different from either faith or rejection that it should be categorized separately. The majority, however, have understood that *nifāq* is a kind of sub-set of *kufr,* both standing in essential opposition to *īmān*. Q 57:13-5 draws a dramatic picture of the great divide between the hypocrites and the faithful on the day of resurrection: Hypocrites (male and female, contrasting with the male and female believers of Q 57:12) will beg the believers to borrow from their light. But to the horror of the hypocrites, there will arise between them and the believers a gated wall, with mercy to be found on one side and doom on the other. The *munāfiqūn* will ask of the faithful, "Were we not with you?" But the answer is that while in one way they were, in another and more important way they led lives marked by temptation,

hesitation and doubt, consumed with vain desires until it was too late. Now no ransom is possible (see INTERCESSION), and the lot of the hypocrites is the fire.

Faith and works; islām *and* īmān

In the Qurʾān, as we have seen, there is a close connection between having faith and doing good deeds (q.v.). The expression "those who believe and do good works" is repeated in many verses, and such people "are the inhabitants of the garden; they will abide there eternally" (Q 2:82). The Qurʾān closely links the term for good works *(ṣāliḥāt)* to *īmān*. The verb *ṣalaḥa* in Arabic means to be good, right, proper, pious and godly, and the *ṣāliḥāt* are the good deeds (q.v.) in which the faithful engage. The joining of faith and works is so integral to the Qurʾān that many have argued that the performance of works is implicit in the understanding of what it means to have faith. Faith is not so much believing in something or adhering to some kind of acceptance of the unseen (see HIDDEN AND THE HIDDEN) or what is not immediately evident to the senses or reason, as it is active testimony to what one holds unquestionably to be true. God acts on behalf of humankind, and men and women respond in the act of faith. But what is the content of that faith? What is the mix of mental discernment, verbal confession (see CREEDS) and the performance of good deeds that is really at the heart of *īmān?*

Despite their apparent qurʾānic association, the question arose early in the history of the Muslim community as to whether faith and works were to be understood as one and inseparable, or as two different though perhaps necessarily related concepts. The issue was directly related to the definition of who was a true Muslim, i.e. acceptable as a faithful member of the community, and who was not. Opinions differed widely, and in many cases depended on the understanding of two related matters pertaining to the question of faith: (1) What is the relationship of faith and works? (2) What is the relationship of *islām* (submission to God) to *īmān* (faith in God)? Several schools of interpretation, each with its own version of belief in the message of the Qurʾān, refused to separate faith and the accomplishment of good works *(aʿmāl)*. Others who were attempting to understand the meaning of *īmān,* however, found it important to distinguish between faith and works, including some who were willing to see the performance of good deeds as an overt means of achieving or actualizing faith. The question of the possibility of an increase or decrease of faith will be dealt with below.

The matter of faith and works for some was seen to be integrally related to the question of faith and submission. Islam is the only major religion whose very name suggests a bi-dimensional focus of faith. On the vertical axis it refers to the individual and personal human response to God's oneness, often described as the "faith" dimension, while on the horizontal axis it means the collectivity of all of those persons who together acknowledge and respond to God to form a community of religious faith. Muslims agree that the religious response of all those persons throughout the ages who have affirmed the oneness of God in faith can rightly be understood as personal *islām*. It was only with the official beginning of the community at the time of the emigration (q.v.; *hijra*) to Medina (q.v.), however, that there came to be a specific recognition that Muslims together form a group, a unity, an *umma,* although the term *islām* itself was not often used to refer to that group until considerably later. Nonetheless it was over the

question of legitimate membership in the *umma* that some of the most serious controversies arose. Implicit in that discussion was the issue of whether there is a distinction between *islām* and *īmān* (see ISLAM).

In the Qurʾān there is no clear distinction between these two terms. Among the early traditions of the community, however, is one in which the Prophet is said to have defined *islām* specifically as distinct from *īmān*. The narrative is given in a variety of renditions in a large number of compilations. The most popular version tells the story of a man who comes to the Prophet of God while he is seated with some of his companions. This man, who is unknown to the assembled group, turns out later to be the angel Gabriel (q.v.). He asks the Prophet, "What is *islām?*" And the Prophet replies that it is the specific duties of witnessing that there is no God but God and Muḥammad is his messenger (see WITNESSING AND TESTIFYING), submitting to God with no association of anything else, performing the prayer *(ṣalāt),* paying the alms tax *(zakāt),* fasting (q.v.) during Ramaḍān (q.v.) and making the pilgrimage (q.v.; *ḥajj*) if possible. He then asks the Prophet, "What is *īmān?*" The answer given is that it is faith in God, his angels (see ANGEL), his books, his messengers, the last day and the resurrection and all of the particulars to attend the final judgment, and (in some versions) the decree *(al-qadr)* in its totality (cf. Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* i, 48; Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad,* i, 27, 51-2; ii, 107, 426; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* i, 36-40).

In terminology developed in later Islamic theology a distinction was made between *īmān mujmal* (a brief summary of faith) and *īmān mufaṣṣal* (faith elaborated in detail). The former indicates that the essential content of faith is the affirmation that came to be known as the creed or *shahāda* (testimony) of Islam, that there is no God but God and that Muḥammad is the messenger of God. The details of that testimony *(īmān mufaṣṣal),* or the elements as found in the verses of the Qurʾān that came to comprise the content of faith, are those outlined above in the Prophet's answers to the question of the angel, "What is *īmān?*" Generally these are limited to the first five, sometimes said to parallel the five pillars *(arkān)* or responsibilities incumbent on the believing Muslim (these "pillars of Islam" are outlined in the Prophet's response to the angel's question, "What is *islām?*"). Sometimes, however, acceptance of *qadar* or the measure of divine foreordainment is also included in *īmān mufaṣṣal* (see FREEDOM AND PREDESTINATION).

In the several renditions of this tradition there seems to be a fairly distinct line drawn between *islām* and *īmān*. The former consists almost exclusively of the performance of the (five) specific duties prescribed by God through his Prophet for the Muslim; the latter is faith in (acceptance and affirmation of) the various elements proclaimed through the word of the Prophet as real and valid. The case could thus be made, as some did, that the Prophet himself distinguished between faith and works. Some traditions support this distinction by affirming that the Prophet asserted that *islām* is overt *(ʿalāniyya)* while *īmān* is in the heart, and that pointing to his breast he said, "Piety *(taqwā)* is here" (Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad,* iii, 134-5). Such a clear distinction was not always made, however, and in several traditions we see that while *islām* and *īmān* were generally given different emphases, they were definitely seen to be interrelated. In the Qurʾān commentaries (see EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN), the traditions (see ḤADĪTH AND THE QURʾĀN) and the classical lexicons, three sets of relationships between faith and *islām* are proposed: different but separate; distinct but not separate; and synonymous. One frequently cited tradition reports the Prophet as having said that the most virtuous kind of *islām* is *īmān* (Ibn

Ḥanbal, *Musnad,* iv, 114) thus suggesting that faith is a sort of subdivision of *islām*. And in a number of narrations *islām* seems to consist of *īmān* plus works, as the Prophet, when asked to discuss *islām,* responded that the submitter should say, "I have faith," and should walk the straight path (*al-ṣirāṭ al-mustaqīm,* Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad,* iii, 413; iv, 385; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* i, 65).

As the Qurʾān is not precise on the distinction between faith and submission, for the most part it also does not suggest that either is higher or of more value than the other. There is one verse, however, which does seem to suggest that there is, in fact, not only a distinction between *īmān* and *islām* but a quality judgment about them. Q 49:14 says, "The desert Arabs say, 'We have faith *(āmannā)*.' Say [to them], 'You do not believe,' but [should] say, 'We submit *(aslamnā)*,' for faith has not yet entered into your hearts…." For some commentators the verse has been taken to mean that the Arabs (q.v.) mentioned there came to follow the teachings of the Prophet only to obtain his bounty, and because they did not have true faith they should be classified as hypocrites, i.e. lying in their hearts (Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* i, 41-2). Others, seeing that the distinction apparently drawn in this verse does not represent the way in which the terms are used elsewhere in the Qurʾān, have been unwilling to say that *īmān* is superior to *islām* (i.e. that faith takes priority over works; cf. Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* i, 31). In general the exegetes and theologians define *īmān* as the specific act of faith most commonly understood as assent or attestation *(taṣdīq)* and affirmation or acknowledgment *(iqrār),* and make it clear that it has at least some areas of identification with *islām*.

The various elements of faith and faith-response are often associated with the parts of the body (see ANATOMY), such that the full acceptance of the content of faith lies in the heart, the public affirmation or profession comes through the lips, and the performance of the duties or responsibilities of the faith is done by the members. Some interpreters have wanted to say that only the matter of the heart is of primary significance, and that the affirmation and deeds are secondary. Only the latter constitute *islām,* they argue, and, while part of *īmān,* are not its crucial feature (see e.g. al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* vi, 564-5). Only a few Qurʾān commentators, notably Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 606/1210), have argued for the essential identity of faith and submission (while different in generality, he says, they are one in existence, *Tafsīr,* ii, 628). Most agree with the giant of classical Qurʾān exegetes, Abū Jaʿfar Muḥammad al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923), that on one level *islām* signifies the verbal submission by which one enters the community of *muslims,* and on the other it is coordinate with *īmān,* which involves the total surrender of the heart, mind and body (*Tafsīr,* ix, 518).

Early theological controversies over issues of faith

While the commentators argued with their pens over the centuries about the relationship of faith and *islām,* others in the early days of Islam were more vocal in their insistence that certain people must not be acknowledged as true members of the Muslim community and used what they saw as the distinction between the two terms to support their arguments. Who is truly a *muʾmin,* a member of the community of the faithful believers? The issue became one of genuine concern to the early Muslim community when a group of puritans called the Khārajites (*khawārij,* see KHĀRAJĪS; this group considered themselves to be the only "true Muslims") tried to draw the distinction by claiming that some *muslims,* especially claimants to the leadership of the Muslim community, such as ʿUthmān (q.v.) and ʿAlī (see ʿALĪ B. ABĪ ṬĀLIB), who had committed what they considered sinful acts and had failed to rule

the community in the name of the Qurʾān, were in fact without *īmān* and thus should not be part of the *umma*. In the Qurʾān, as we have seen, the polarity is clear between those with faith, whether they are called *muʾminūn* or *muslimūn,* and those who do not have faith, the *kāfirūn,* the ungrateful rejectors of God's message. In their attempt to try to assure the absolute purity of Islam, to make sure that those who were Muslims were faithful in their hearts as well as submitters with their tongues and members, the Khārajites accused some members of the community of actually being infidels. For them the important distinction was not between Muslim believers and non-Muslim unbelievers, but rather between those within the body of Islam who had faith and those who did not, even if technically *muslimūn*. With these accusations came the first discussions of the nature of grave sin within Islam. Although the Khārajites were not themselves so much theologians as concerned Muslims who feared for the purity of the community once Islam had begun to spread rapidly beyond Arabia, they brought the issue of a definition of *īmān* and *muʾmin* to the fore for essentially the first time. The radical alternative of an essentially faithless Muslim was never adopted. Forced to resort to severe reprisals on those who disagreed with them, the Khārajites were relegated to an underground movement of political opposition.

Another group concerned with the matter of grave sin was called the Murjiʾites (see DEFERRAL). In distinction to the Khārajites, they held that even though a Muslim commits a grave sin, he may still remain a *muʾmin,* a person of faith. So long as one continues to profess *islām,* they said, it is not the responsibility of other Muslims to determine that he or she has given up all claims to true faith. The designation *murjiʾa* means those who postpone, and in this case indicates their belief that judgment about the presence or absence of faith in anyone must be left to God to decide on the last day. Nonetheless they were convinced that it is faith which provides for the ultimate salvation (q.v.) of humans, and that the essence of faith is not necessarily affected by one's deeds.

Other factions in the early history of Islam looked at what the Qurʾān has to say about matters of faith and works from a different perspective. For one of these groups, the Muʿtazilites, faith was said to be measured most accurately by the works that constitute it. Known as the "people of justice and unity *(ahl al-ʿadl wa-l-tawḥīd),*" they insisted on the absolute unicity of God, denying him any substantive attributes, and held that God is necessarily just, and wills and does only that which is good (cf. Gimaret, Muʿtazila, 787-91). In their view, humans are not predestined by God toward one condition or another, but make their own destiny by their deeds. For the Muʿtazilites, the primary issue was not whether the grave sinner is still a person of faith (indeed, they developed the notion of an "intermediate state" *[al-manzila bayna l-manzilatayn],* refusing to classify a sinful Muslim as either a believer *[muʾmin]* or a disbeliever *[kāfir],* but considering this individual a "malefactor" *[fāsiq];* cf. Gimaret, Muʿtazila, 786-7), but that doing good works is an essential element of *islām/īmān*. Unlike those who wanted to identify the crucial component of *īmān* as heartfelt affirmation, with deeds a secondary result, the Muʿtazilites insisted that faith cannot exist without works. The necessity of putting faith into action is seen in one of the principles of Muʿtazilism: heeding the qurʾānic injunction (cf. e.g. Q 3:104, 110) of "ordering good and forbidding evil *(al-amr bi-l-maʿrūf wa-l-nahy ʿan al-munkar)*"; how frequently Muʿtazilites put this principle into practice, however, is a matter of debate (cf. Gimaret, Muʿtazila, 787; for a re-

cent discussion of this principle in Islamic thought, see Cook, *Commanding the right*). The Muʿtazilites' stress on human reason as the way of understanding God's commands led them to the position that faith is actually the knowledge by which the revelation is manifested. *Īmān,* then, is both what the faithful one knows and the necessary deeds undertaken on the basis of that knowledge.

The testimony of faith

The position taken by various groups in the early history of Islam on the matter of faith as it is expressed in the verses of the Qurʾān, then, is obviously related to the larger issues they wished to press. While some chose to stress the importance of heartfelt acceptance, and others emphasized the importance of good deeds, still others looked to the matter of testimony by verbal pronouncement as the essential ingredient in faith. The Qurʾān affirms the importance of testimony in many places, none clearer than the passage which describes all humanity affirming God since the beginning of human creation: "When your lord took from the children of Adam, from their loins, their descendants, and made them testify concerning themselves, [saying], 'Am I not your lord?' they said, 'Yes! We testify *(shahidnā)*' " (Q 7:172).

Thus the testimony or *shahāda* is the content of *īmān mujmal,* faith summarized. One school that has clearly insisted on the importance of this kind of verbal testimony as essential to *īmān* is that of the Ḥanafites. For them, confession by the tongue is not merely a consequence of faith, but is the actual obligation of the person in whose heart *īmān* is to be found. Thus the very fact of God's having professed himself to be *muʾmin* (Q 59:23) means that *muʾmin*s in turn are obligated to profess God as the essential act of faith. Many theologians who believe that the locus of faith is only to be found deep within the human heart consider the Ḥanafite position to place an overemphasis on the verbal nature of faith.

Abū Ḥanīfa (d. 150/767) raised an important issue in relation to faith, namely whether, once adopted, it is capable of increase or decrease. This (Murjiʾite) position was that *īmān* cannot be divided, and thereby cannot become more or less. It seems clear from the Qurʾān that it is possible for faith to grow or diminish, or even to disappear completely: "Whoever rejects God after his faith *(man kafara bi-llāhi min baʿdi īmānihi)*…" says Q 16:106. Most of the early doctors of Islam disagreed with the Ḥanafites on this matter, holding that faith can increase when one performs obedient acts, and likewise can diminish if one does unfaithful or disobedient deeds. Abū l-Ḥasan al-Ashʿarī (d. 324/936), once a Muʿtazilite but later devoting himself to a refutation of many of their views, is often said to have been the founder of what emerged as the orthodox or dominant school of theological reasoning in matters of divine justice and human responsibility. Al-Ashʿarī disputed Abū Ḥanīfa's doctrine that *īmān* cannot increase or decrease on the grounds that one's deeds and words have an indisputable effect on the quality and nature of one's faith (*Maqālāt,* 140-1).

Not all of those who affiliated themselves with the Ashʿarite school followed al-Ashʿarī in this affirmation, but in general it has become part of the understanding of most Muslims that what one says and does can have a significant effect on what is understood to be one's *īmān* or the content of faith. Whether or not faith actually increases or decreases remains a matter of conjecture. A popular twelfth-century credal formulation (see CREEDS) by the jurist and theologian Najm al-Dīn al-Nasafī (d. 537/1142) summarizes a number of the issues raised above and offers its own conclusions. It affirms that faith is assent by

the heart to what God has revealed and verbal confession of it, that while works can increase or decrease the essence of faith cannot, and that while they may emphasize different aspects of the human response to God, *īmān* and *islām* are one.

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Fall of Man

The primordial turning away from God by human beings, usually depicted in scripture in the persons of Adam and Eve (q.v.). The Qurʾān tells of the fall of humankind from a garden (q.v.) in which they enjoyed happiness — free from hunger, thirst and pain from the sun's heat (Q 20:118-9; Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* viii, 267-8) — to this present world (q.v.) in which they are subject to pain and, with it, moral and physical weakness (see FAILURE). This fall is an event in the drama that ensued when God announced to the angels (see ANGEL) that he was going to place on earth (q.v.) a vicegerent (Q 2:30; see CALIPH) fashioned from clay (q.v.; Q 15:26; 17:61). Satan (see DEVIL), when ordered to bow before Adam, refused (Q 2:34; 7:11; 15:31; 17:61; 18:50; 20:116; 38:74) and was expelled from heaven (Q 7:13; 17:63; see BOWING AND PROSTRATION). Motivated by anger (q.v.) and envy (q.v.), he swore to waylay Adam, his wife and their descendants, dragging them with him into hell (q.v.; Q 7:16-7; 15:39; 17:62).

The events of this drama are scattered over a number of sūras (q.v.), presented with varying emphases and from different perspectives. A synoptic overview is as follows. God set Adam and his wife in the garden where they were allowed to enjoy everything except the fruit of one tree (q.v.): "Do not approach this tree, for then you will be evil doers" (Q 2:35, 7:19; see EVIL DEEDS). He warned them that Satan was their enemy (see ENEMIES) and would try to deceive and mislead them (Q 20:117). Satan tempted them to eat from this forbidden tree, saying to Adam, "Shall I guide you to the tree of immortality and power? It does not wither" (Q 20:120); and "Your lord (q.v.) forbade you both this tree lest you become angels or [be numbered]

among the immortals" (Q 7:20). They succumbed to his guile and ate its fruit. They realized they were naked, and tried to clothe themselves with leaves from trees of the garden (Q 20:12, cf. Ṭābarī, *Tafsīr*, viii, 468; Q 7:22). By eating of it they had sinned. God rebuked them: "Did I not forbid you that tree, and say to you 'Satan is a self-declared enemy to you!' " (Q 7:22). They asked forgiveness. God forgave them and offered them guidance, but expelled them from the garden (Q 20:122-3), as he had expelled Satan from heaven (see HEAVEN AND SKY), warning that they and their descendants would be foes one to another (Q 2:36; 7:24; 20:123), adding "On earth is for you a dwelling place and chattels for a time… on it you will live, on it you will die, and from it you will be brought forth" (Q 7:24-5). He also comforted them (see CONSOLATION): "When guidance comes to you from me, then whoever follows my guidance, no fear or grief shall come upon them" (Q 2:38; cf. 20:123), referring to the prophets he would send (see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD).

Exegetes differ as to the nature and location of the garden (cf. Asad, *Message,* 590 n. 6). The name of Adam's wife, Ḥawwāʾ in Arabic, is not given in the Qurʾān, but the earliest commentators identify her by this name, a cognate of the Hebrew word for Eve (Eisenberg/Vajda, Ḥawwāʾ; see FOREIGN VOCABULARY).

The fall, then, is the result of Satan's first deception of humankind. It does not have the consequence of separation from God and need for a redeemer set out in the Christian doctrine of original sin (see SIN, MAJOR AND MINOR). Although the themes associated with the fall from the biblical tradition are found in the Qurʾān, the Qurʾān in no way associates the fall with original sin. Rather, the significance of the term is a function of the cosmological order of things: heaven is clearly "up there" in the Qurʾān, and one may "fall" from it (see COSMOLOGY IN THE QURʾĀN). Humankind, the qurʾānic word is *insān,* is forgetful, impulsive (Arnaldez, Insān) and in a sorry state, *fī khusrin* (Q 103:2; Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, xii, 684-5). One has to endure hardships from which one would otherwise have remained exempt. One needs guidance, however, not redemption (see CRITERION; FAITH; SALVATION), and the prophets, above all Muḥammad (q.v.), give this guidance. If a human being accepts this guidance, on the day of resurrection (q.v.) he or she will enter heaven. The fall has generated numerous popular stories concerning the way in which Adam and Eve were tempted, the different spots on earth to which they fell, and their eventual reunion to beget their children (q.v.) and cooperate in the building of the Kaʿba (q.v.; Kisāʾī, *Tales,* 55, 65-7 and other collections of *Qiṣaṣ*).

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Family

Those who live in one house or share a common lineage. While several qurʾānic terms can be understood as referring to family, it is impossible to distinguish, on the basis of terminology alone, between household and biological family, or between one type or another of the latter (e.g. core,

compound, joint or extended family; cf. Smith, Family).

Āl (Lane, 127) at Q 15:59 and 61 (the family of Lot [q.v.]; Bell, i, 246); 3:11 and 8:54 (the family of Pharaoh [q.v.]; Bell, i, 45, 167) may mean either household or (in the case of Pharaoh) followers. *Āl Ibrāhīm* (the family of Abraham [q.v.]) at Q 4:54 may refer to the Arabs (q.v.) or Muḥammad (q.v.) as their representative (Bell, i, 77, n. 3).

Ahl also has several meanings (cf. al-Rāghib al-Iṣfahānī, *Mufradāt,* s.v. *a-h-l;* Lane 121). In many verses (q.v.) throughout the Qurʾān, it refers to the people of a house or dwelling (e.g. Q 28:29; 29:32; 38:43; 52:26); in others, more specifically to a family (e.g. Q 4:92; 12:93; 39:15 [pl.]; 83:31; 84:9, 13); but in quite a few of the aforementioned verses (as well as Q 11:45, 46, 81; 15:65; 20:10, 29; 66:6), these meanings are interchangeable. In some cases, *ahl* designates people, e.g. "the people of this town" of Q 29:34 (Bell, ii, 387; cf. Robertson-Smith, *Kinship,* 27).

Bayt, literally a tent or, in towns, a room (in a large family house) that houses a conjugal family (Bianquis, Family, 636; see also Robertson-Smith, *Kinship,* 202), is also used in a compound phrase, e.g. *ahl bayt* and *ahl al-bayt,* literally "people of a/the house," for instance, in Q 11:73 (Bell, i, 212) and Q 28:12 (Bell, ii, 375), and can designate either household *(jamāʿat al-bayt,* cf. al-Rāghib al-Iṣfahānī, *Mufradāt,* s.v. *b-y-t)* or family. In the Medinan verse Q 33:33 (Bell, ii, 414) it probably refers to the Prophet's family (*ahl bayt Muḥammad,* Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* ad loc.; see FAMILY OF THE PROPHET; PEOPLE OF THE HOUSE).

ʿAshīra, as a person's kinsfolk (see KINSHIP; PARENTS; TRIBES AND CLANS), his nearer or nearest relations, or next of kin by descent from the same father or ancestor (Lane, 2053; see also al-Rāghib al-Iṣfahānī, *Mufradāt,* s.v. *ʿ-sh-r;* cf. *Jalālayn*'s commentary on *raht* in Q 11:91: *rahṭuka=ʿashīratuka;* according to al-Rāghib al-Iṣfahānī *[Mufradāt,* s.v. *f-ṣ-l], faṣīla* at Q 70:13 is also identified with *ʿashīra: wa-faṣīlat al-rajul=ʿashīratuhu al-munfaṣila ʿanhu*) appears in Q 9:24 (Bell, i, 176). *ʿAshīrataka al-aqrabīna* at Q 26:214 means a clan, the nearer ones (Bell, ii, 362).

Qurbā (Q 42:23; Bell, ii, 487) designates relationship, or relationship by the female side (Lane, 2508) whereas *aqrabūna* (cf. Q 2:180, 215; 4:135) and phrases such as *dhū l-qurbā* (cf. Q 2:83, 177; 4:36), *dhū maqraba* (cf. Q 90:15; Bell, ii, 658) and *ūlū l-qurbā* (e.g. Q 4:8) refer to kinsfolk, relatives. Relationship, i.e. nearness of kin, specifically relationship by the female side (?), is also expressed by *raḥim,* pl. *arḥām,* (lit. womb, Lane, 1056), as at Q 60:3 (*arḥāmukum=qarābatukum, Jalālayn,* ad loc.). See also *ūlū l-arḥām* (those who are related in blood, blood relations) in Q 8:75 (Bell, i, 170) and Q 33:6 (Bell, ii, 411).

Both types of familial relations, i.e. descent *(nasab)* and marriage *(ṣihr),* are mentioned in Q 25:54 (Bell, ii, 350). It has been suggested that at the time of the Prophet, the family structure within the Arabian tribal system went through a transition from matrilineal-matrilocal, which was common in central Arabia and influential, to a certain degree, during the early Islamic period, to patrilineal-patriarchal-patrilocal, a form dominant in Mecca even before the time of Muḥammad. The latter evolved when, due to their involvement with trade, nomad tribes became sedentary, which in turn led to growing individualism (Watt, *Muhammad at Medina,* 273; see PATRIARCHY; NOMADS).

The Qurʾān stresses the nuclear family and deemphasizes larger groupings like tribes and clans (Robertson-Smith, *Kinship,* e.g. 203 f.; Stern, *Marriage,* 81; Watt, *Muhammad at Medina,* 272-89, Excursus J, esp. 385, 387-8; Bianquis, Family, 614 f.; Al-Azhary-Sonbol, Adoption, 47-8). Muḥammad himself created a polygamous virilo-

cal family (Watt, *Muhammad at Medina,* 277, 284). That the core, biological family, consisting of a man, his wife (or wives) and their offspring, is the natural, basic social unit finds its expression in many verses. Meccan and early Medinan verses (see CHRONOLOGY AND THE QUR'ĀN), such as Q 35:11; 39:6; 42:11; 53:45; 75:39; 78:8, understand God's creation (q.v.) of humans (and other creatures) as gendered to be a sign of his omnipotence (see Bouhdiba, *Sexuality,* Ch. 1; see POWER AND IMPOTENCE; SIGNS). In some verses (e.g. Q 30:21), the typical elements of human conjugal life, common dwelling, love and mercy, are also enumerated as such. A beautiful simile is used in Q 2:187 where husband and wife are depicted as raiment *(libās)* for each other (see CLOTHING). According to the Qur'ān, the conjugal framework existed for Adam and Eve (q.v.; e.g. Q 2:35; 7:19) and shall continue to exist in the hereafter (e.g. Q 2:25; 3:15; 43:70; see DEATH AND THE DEAD; ESCHATOLOGY). Offspring are presented as an indispensable element of the core family in this world (e.g. 3:61; 7:189; 13:38; 16:72; 25:74; see also BLESSING) as well as in the world to come (Q 52:21; Bell, ii, 535). Nevertheless, preoccupation with wife/wives and children is a danger for a Muslim (see Q 64:14; cf. 18:80-1; Bell, i, 281; on the motif of children as temptation, see CHILDREN), and family ties will be of no avail on the day of judgment (Q 31:33, cf. Bell, ii, 403; Q 35:18, cf. Bell, ii, 430; Q 60:3, cf. Bell, ii, 572; see LAST JUDGMENT).

Duties of the members of the core family towards one other, as defined by the Qur'ān, reflect a patrilineal-patriarchal family pattern modified by monotheist ethics and a special sensitivity towards women and children in a changing society and under new economic conditions (see ECONOMICS; PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QUR'ĀN; WOMEN AND THE QUR'ĀN). Muslims should respect their parents and be kind to them, because of the concern the latter showed while rearing them (e.g. Q 17:24), but they must disobey their parents in idolatry (e.g. Q 29:8; see DISOBEDIENCE; IDOLATRY AND IDOLATERS). A husband, sometimes referred to as *ba'l* (a lord, master, owner; Lane, 228; e.g. Q 4:128) or *sayyid* (a chief, lord or master; Lane, 1462; see Q 12:25), owns his wife/wives — limited polygamy is allowed (Q 4:3) — and female slaves, with whom sexual relations are allowed (Q 4:3). "Your women are to you [as] cultivated land; come then to your cultivated land as you wish" (Q 2:223; Bell, i, 31); men have a rank above women (Q 2:228) and serve as their overseers (Q 4:34). A father owns his biological children, who are attributed to him, not to their mother (e.g. Q 2:233; *al-mawlūd lahu,* "to whom the child is born," cf. Bell, i, 33; see Zamakhsharī's *Kashshāf* ad Q 2:233, … *al-awlād lil-ābā' wa-li-dhālika yunsabūna ilayhim;* on the issue of formal adoption, which is forbidden, see CHILDREN); and is responsible for the welfare of his wife/wives and offspring (Q 2:233; 65:6, both in the context of divorce). A wife should obey her husband (see OBEDIENCE), who is allowed to punish her physically for failing to do so (Q 4:34). This concept of patrilineal-patriarchal family is also reflected in the relatively detailed qur'ānic regulations concerning marriage and divorce (q.v.), including the waiting period *('idda),* women's modesty (e.g. Q 24:31) and inheritance (q.v.). The Qur'ān, however, grants women a religious status which in principle is equal to that of men (e.g. Q 33:35) and economic rights, such as the right to own property (q.v.), to receive the bridewealth (q.v.) directly, to inherit and to bequeath, etc., which represent a considerable attempt to achieve social reform and protection for the oppressed (Bianquis, Family, 619).

In several verses, most of them Medinan, Muslims are ordered to support and show kindness to relatives (*dhū/dhawū al-qurbā,* for other similar phrases see above) — probably members of their extended families — alongside needy people such as those under their protection, orphans (q.v.), the poor, the wayfarer *(ibn al-sabīl),* etc. (e.g. Q 2:177; 4:36; 8:41; 16:90; see POVERTY AND THE POOR). In these Medinan verses, blood ties and the duties they entail are again emphasized, after having been denounced in Mecca (O'Shaughnessy, Youth, 37-8). Some ideas of the qurʾānic concept of the extended family and its dimensions can be inferred from verses dealing with inheritance, categories of people with whom marriage is prohibited, the regulation of the presence of women in public and familial environments (Q 24:31; 33:55) and those concerning eating in the houses of one's relations (Q 24:61).

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Family of the Prophet

The extended family (q.v.) of the prophet Muḥammad (q.v.), to which the Qurʾān contains several references clearly intended to distinguish them from other Muslims. This is in accord with the general tendency in the Qurʾān of exalting the family and descendants of most prophets (see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD), as is evidenced, for example, in Q 3 (Sūrat Āl ʿImrān), a sūra named after the family of ʿImrān (q.v.), the father of Moses (q.v.).

The specific contexts in which the Qurʾān refers to the prophet Muḥammad's family are diverse. Q 8:41 and 59:7 designate a portion of the booty (q.v.) and other property (q.v.) acquired from infidels (see WARFARE; EXPEDITIONS AND BATTLES; BELIEF AND UNBELIEF) that is to be distributed to the Prophet's kin (see KINSHIP), among others, apparently since they were not eligible to receive alms (*ṣadaqa, zakāt,* see ALMSGIVING; TAXATION). Again, Q 33 contains many verses that prescribe a code of conduct and of dress (see CLOTHING) to be followed by the wives of the Prophet (q.v.) in keeping with their superior status in the Muslim community (see COMMUNITY AND SOCIETY IN THE QURʾĀN). Moreover, Q 33:33 refers explicitly to the family of the prophet Muḥammad as the *ahl al-bayt,* "People of the House," and their distinctive state of purity: "God desires only to remove impurity from you, O People of the House, and to purify you completely." On the other hand, Q 111 severely curses renegades among the Prophet's relatives who opposed his mission, primarily his uncle Abū Lahab and his wife.

Muslim commentators on the Qurʾān differ in their definitions of the Prophet's kin. Some interpret the term broadly to include the Prophet's tribe (see TRIBES AND CLANS), that is, the Quraysh (q.v.). Others define it more narrowly by limiting it to his clan,

the Banū Hāshim. The Shīʿa (q.v.), in consonance with their veneration of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib (q.v.) and his descendants as the true heirs of the Prophet, generally restrict the definition of the term *ahl al-bayt* to the Prophet's immediate family, i.e. his daughter Fāṭima (q.v.), son-in-law ʿAlī, and their two sons, Ḥasan and Ḥusayn, and their descendants (see Bar-Asher, *Scripture,* 93-8; Sharon, People of the House; Madelung, Hāshimiyyāt). In support of such an interpretation, they cite reports in which the Prophet once gathered Fāṭima, ʿAlī, Ḥasan and Ḥusayn under his mantle *(kisāʾ)* and, referring to them as his family, prayed for their protection (q.v.). Hence they became known as the people of the cloak *(ahl al-kisāʾ)*. Popular and theological qurʾānic commentaries among the Shīʿa elevate the religious rank of the Prophet's immediate family *(ahl al-bayt)* by claiming that many verses in the Qurʾān which describe true believers refer first and foremost to them and only tangentially to the rest of the community (see THEOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN). Thus, some Shīʿī commentators hold that Q 76 (Sūrat al-Insān, "The Human"), which extols those humans who choose to do good over evil (see GOOD AND EVIL), was revealed specifically to describe the virtues of the *ahl al-bayt,* whose lives and actions can actually be considered a form of true exegesis of the Qurʾān. See also PEOPLE OF THE HOUSE.

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Famine

Extreme hunger, denoted in the Qurʾān by the synonymous terms, *makhmaṣa* and *masghaba*. *Makhmaṣa* occurs at Q 5:3 (cf. Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* iv, 424-5) and Q 9:120. The first instance is situated in the context of food taboos (see FOOD AND DRINK; FORBIDDEN) where it is stated, "Whoever is constrained by hunger (*makhmaṣa,* i.e. to eat of what is forbidden) not intending to commit transgression, will find God forgiving and merciful (see FORGIVENESS; MERCY)." The second instance suggests hunger suffered for the cause of God (*fī sabīli llāhi,* see PATH OR WAY). The full sense of the word in both passages, says al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923; *Tafsīr,* ad loc.), describes the condition of a stomach emaciated from hunger or starvation (*shiddat al-saghab,* see SUFFERING). *Masghaba* is used at Q 90:14 in the sense of deprivation in reference to how the virtuous

(see VIRTUE) should behave, feeding the needy "on a day of hunger [or famine]" (cf. Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* xii, 594-5).

More important is the well-known scene in the story of Joseph (q.v.), although neither of the above terms appear in it. The prophet Joseph had been summoned from his prison cell (see PRISONERS) to interpret the king's (i.e. Pharaoh, q.v.) dream (see DREAMS AND SLEEP) of seven fatted cows devoured by seven lean ones and of seven green ears of corn and seven dry ones (Q 12:43-8). Joseph's interpretation was that seven years of abundant crops would provide a surplus for storage in addition to a sufficiency for current consumption after which seven hungry years *(sabʿun shidādun)* would consume most of what had been set aside in earlier times. Al-Ṭabarī, citing several exegetical sources, understands the seven years of dearth to have resulted from severe and prolonged drought (*ǧaḥṭ* and *jadūb,* Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* vii, 227, ad Q 12:48). Following the period of scarcity, a year of abundant rain would allow various food plants to yield their pressed juices in plentiful quantity (Q 12:49). Al-Ṭabarī notes that commentators differ as to which specific food plants were meant, the suggestions including sesame, grapes, olives and other fruits (see AGRICULTURE AND VEGETATION); other commentators suggest that "pressed juices" referred to increased supplies of milk from domestic animals (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* vii, 230-1, ad Q 12:49). Al-Ṭabarī adds that minor differences over the proper pronunciation of a word in this last verse do not hinder agreement as to its essential meaning.

The four passages, however brief, when considered together convey the clear impression that famine was not an unfamiliar foe among the Arabian populace and beyond. Yet unlike other "acts of God" mentioned in the Qurʾān (e.g. Q 11:67; Q 99; Q 101; see PUNISHMENT STORIES; APOCALYPSE) there is no hint in the text itself or in the commentaries that hunger and famine were counted among the divine punishments (see CHASTISEMENT AND PUNISHMENT).

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Farewell Pilgrimage

The pilgrimage (q.v.) to the Kaʿba (q.v.) at Mecca (q.v.) led by the Prophet in year 10 of the *hijra* (see EMIGRATION), so called because it occurred just months before he died, 'taking leave' of the Muslim community (see COMMUNITY AND SOCIETY IN THE QURʾĀN). It is viewed as the primary occasion when the Prophet taught his followers the rites of the Islamic pilgrimage and thus figures prominently in subsequent discussions of its rituals and meaning. It was also the occasion of important announcements concerning the status of several pre-Islamic customs in Islam (see PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QURʾĀN). The Prophet's last pilgrimage represents for later Muslims the completion of divine revelation and the scripture and is thus understood as a time of special holiness. The phrase "farewell pilgrimage" *(ḥaǧǧat al-wadāʿ)* does not occur in the Qurʾān itself; the related verb, *waddaʿa,* "to take leave, bid farewell," occurs once at Q 93:3, but with the figurative meaning of to forsake or abandon: "Your lord has not forsaken you, nor does he detest you."

The Prophet prepared to perform the pil-

grimage *(ḥajj)* in Dhū l-Qaʿda 10/632 and set out with a group of his followers, including his wives (see WIVES OF THE PROPHET), from Medina (q.v.) toward the end of that month. He led the pilgrimage, teaching the customs of the pilgrimage to his followers and answering their questions about specific regulations. A large number of the oral traditions concerning the pilgrimage that are preserved in the standard compilations (see ḤADĪTH AND THE QURʾĀN) are set during the Farewell Pilgrimage and treat questions which arose on this occasion.

According to the majority of accounts, the Prophet performed both the *ʿumra* (lesser pilgrimage) and *ḥajj* (greater pilgrimage) rituals. While he allowed his followers to resume their profane state in between an initial *ʿumra* and the *ḥajj* itself, he maintained the sacred state of *iḥrām* (see RITUAL PURITY), he said, because he was leading animals to be sacrificed (see SACRIFICE; CONSECRATION OF ANIMALS). During the pilgrimage, the Muslims continually questioned the Prophet about their religious obligations. In his answers to them, he is reported to have cited qurʾānic verses such as Q 2:125, "Take as your place of worship (q.v.) the place where Abraham (q.v.) stood" and Q 2:158 "Al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa are among God's rites" They apparently crowded him so much that he performed the circumambulation of the Kaʿba and hurried between Ṣafā and Marwa (q.v.) mounted on a camel. As part of the ceremonies, the Prophet sacrificed a cow or several cows on behalf of his wives. Together with ʿAlī (see ʿALĪ B. ABĪ ṬĀLIB), who had come to perform the pilgrimage upon returning from a mission to Yemen (q.v.), the Prophet sacrificed one hundred camels. According to some traditions, he sacrificed sixty-three camels and ʿAlī the remaining thirty-seven; others have him sacrificing thirty, thirty-three, or thirty-four camels and ʿAlī the remainder (see the chapters on the rites of the pilgrimage in the various ḥadīth compliations: Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan,* ii, 139-219; Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* iii, 80-285; Ibn Māja, *Sunan,* 962-1055; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* viii, 72-237; ix, 2-171; al-Nasāʾī, *Sunan,* vi, 110-277; Tirmidhī, *Jāmiʿ,* ii, 152-219).

After completing the rituals, the Prophet gave what is now known as the Farewell Speech (Ibn Isḥāq-Guillaume, 651-2; Ibn Ḥajar, *Fatḥ al-bārī,* viii, 103-10), in which he abolished a number of pre-Islamic customs. Chief among these was the *nasīʾ,* or intercalary month. From then on the Muslim community would operate on a strictly lunar calendar (q.v.) that would not be adjusted to bring it into alignment with the solar calendar. The Prophet abolished all old blood feuds, implying that the creation of the Islamic *umma* had made all disputes based on the former tribal system obsolete (see TRIBES AND CLANS; BROTHER AND BROTHERHOOD; BLOOD MONEY; KINSHIP). In addition, all old pledges were to be returned, another indication of this new beginning (see CONTRACTS AND ALLIANCES; OATHS AND PROMISES). The Prophet informed his followers that they were entitled to discipline their wives but should do so with kindness (see MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE; WOMEN AND THE QURʾĀN). He commanded that one could not leave one's wealth (q.v.) to a testamentary heir (see INHERITANCE); that one could not make false claims of paternity (see FAMILY; ILLEGITIMACY) or of a client relationship (see CLIENTS AND CLIENTAGE). The tradition of holding four months (q.v.) of the year, Dhū l-Qaʿda, Dhū l-Ḥijja, and Muḥarram (months 11, 12, and 1) and Rajab (month 7) sacred was upheld at this time. This measure seems related to the Islamic adoption of the pilgrimage itself,

along with the understanding that the shrine at Mecca lies on holy ground.

Among the qurʾānic passages reportedly revealed during the Farewell Pilgrimage are Q 110, some verses in Q 9 (see Bell, Muhammad's pilgrimage), and some verses from the opening of Q 5. Several reports describe Q 110 as hinting at the approaching demise of the Prophet, and on these grounds the text is called Sūrat al-Tawdīʿ ("Leave-taking"; Zamakhsharī, *Kashshāf,* iv, 219; Ṭabarsī, *Majmaʿ,* v, 844). Nöldeke, however, holds that Q 110 was revealed earlier, probably even before the conquest of Mecca, when the Prophet first foresaw an eventual victory over the Meccans (Nöldeke, *GQ,* i, 219-20). The attribution to the Farewell Pilgrimage, he asserts, is based on an erroneous interpretation of the text related from Ibn ʿAbbās. While Q 9:36-7 do contain the regulations concerning the sacred months mentioned in the Farewell Speech, these verses may have been revealed earlier. Nöldeke accepts the dating of some sections of Q 5:1-10 to the Farewell Pilgrimage, including the well-known passage, commonly held to be the final revelation: "This day have I perfected your religion for you and completed my favor unto you, and have chosen for you as religion Islam" (Q 5:3; cf. Nöldeke, *GQ,* i, 227-9).

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Fasting

Abstaining from food or, with ritual fasting, abstaining from food, drink and sexual activity. The Qurʾān recognizes three different kinds of fasting (*ṣiyām, ṣawm; ṣawm* is also interpreted as *ṣamt,* "silence," cf. Q 19:26): ritual fasting, fasting as compensation or repentance, and ascetic fasting. Ritual fasting is prescribed in Q 2:183-7 "as it was prescribed to those before you, … on counted days… The month (q.v.) of Ramaḍān (q.v.), in which the Qurʾān was sent down… let him fast the month." This fast takes place during the daylight hours: Sex, except in the case of a voluntary retreat or withdrawal for prayer (*iʿtikāf,* see ABSTINENCE), is allowed during the night of the fast, as is eating and drinking until dawn (see DAY, TIMES OF; DAY AND NIGHT). Fasting as compensation or repentance is found in, for instance, Q 2:196 where, in the case of inability to observe certain pilgrimage (q.v.; *ḥajj*) rituals, fasting or almsgiving (q.v.) or sacrifice (q.v.) is prescribed. And for the insufficient fulfillment of the pilgrimage rules *(tamattuʿ),* a sacrifice or a fast of three plus seven days is required (also Q 2:196). As expiation for killing game during the pilgrimage (see HUNTING AND FISHING), a sacrifice, feeding the poor or fasting is required (Q 5:95). For unintentional manslaughter (see BLOODSHED) — apart from blood money (q.v.) — the manumission of a slave or a fast of two consecutive months (Q 4:92) is demanded. Perjury/breach of oath (see OATHS AND PROMISES) calls for feeding or clothing ten poor persons or the manumission of a slave or, if these measures are not possible, a fast of three days (Q 5:89). For breach of the oath of *zihār* (a specific form of divorce; see MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE), the feeding of sixty poor persons or a fast of two consecutive months is required (Q 58:3-4; see BREAKING TRUSTS AND CONTRACTS). Traces of some of these rules

are found in pre-Islamic times — tariff rates and compensations resemble Christian practices (cf. Vogel, *Pécheur,* 17-71) — and further research may shed light on the nature and degree of Christian or other influences. The third kind of fasting, ascetic fasting, is found in Q 33:35: "humble men and humble women, men who give alms and women who give alms, men who fast and women who fast, … for them God has prepared forgiveness…." Certain words whose base meaning is not "fasting" are taken to indicate the practice: *sāʾiḥāt* (Q 66:5) and *sāʾiḥūn* (Q 9:112), both from the Arabic root meaning "itinerant," are taken by commentators on the Qurʾān to mean, respectively "women who fast" and "men who fast"; and in Q 2:45,153, *ṣabr,* "patience," is interpreted as fasting.

Origin of the fast of Ramaḍān

The question of the origin of the fast of Ramaḍān (the abstension from food, drink and sexual activities during the daylight hours of the lunar month of Ramaḍān) is complicated and conclusive evidence is scarce. The Qurʾān is almost the only contemporary source. One of the puzzles is the question of what exactly is meant by "Ramaḍān in which the Qurʾān was sent down" (Q 2:185). Tradition has it that Muḥammad used to spend a month every year in a cave (q.v.) on Mt. Ḥirāʾ for "religious devotion" *(taḥannuth),* and at one time, during the month of Ramaḍān, the Prophet received his call (Ibn Isḥāq, *Sīra,* 151-2; Ibn Isḥāq-Guillaume, 105-6). The story is primarily based on qurʾānic material (Q 2:185; 53:1-11; 81:23; 96:1-5) with some additions like the notion of *taḥannuth,* which probably is an ancient form of worship (Kister, Al-taḥannuth, 232-6), although some (notably Calder, Ḥinth, 236-9) consider it a later custom (see SOUTH ARABIA, RELIGION IN PRE-ISLAMIC).

Two other verses of the Qurʾān speak about a night of revelation. Q 97:1: "We sent it down in the Night of Destiny (*laylat al-qadr,* see NIGHT OF POWER)" and Q 44:3: "in a blessed night *(layla mubāraka)*." The Night of Destiny is an ancient New Year's night in which God decides humankind's destiny in the coming year; it is commonly held to be the night of the 27th of Ramaḍān. The "blessed night" is either equated with it or it is held to be the night of 15 Shaʿbān, the starting point for popular voluntary fasting. According to A.J. Wensinck, these two nights distinguished an ancient New Year's period around the summer solstice which underlies the establishment of the Ramaḍān fast (Arabic, 5-8). But the notion of two New Year's nights within a period of forty days is improbable. The ancient Arabic calendar (q.v.), like others in the region, recognized a New Year, either in spring or in autumn. The observance of 15 Shaʿbān is more likely a product of Islam (Wagtendonk, *Fasting,* 102; Kister, Shaʿban, 34).

Muslim tradition is uncertain about what is meant by "sent down in Ramaḍān." Generally, it is thought to commemorate Muḥammad's first revelation (cf. Goitein, Ramadan, 101-9), although it is sometimes considered to indicate the "sending down" of the entire Qurʾān (to the lowest heaven). The desire of the exegetes to combine these two ideas, or to maintain them side by side, gives the impression of an effort to harmonize conflicting opinions (Wagtendonk, *Fasting,* 87; see ibid., 63-7, 118-20, for yet another reason for the fast of the month of Ramaḍān, namely as a commemoration of the month in which the battle of Badr [q.v.], the first major military victory of the Muslims, occurred).

The three phases of the qurʾānic establishment of fasting

Fasting was established in three phases, Ramaḍān being the third. The first phase is that which forms the background to the

revelation of Q 2:183. Tradition reports that when Muḥammad arrived in Medina (q.v.) after the emigration (q.v.; *hijra*) from Mecca, he saw the Jews fasting. It happened to be ʿĀshūrāʾ, the Day of Atonement or Yom Kippur, in which Jews fasted from sunset to sunset . When asked, he learned that they were fasting because Moses (q.v.) and the Israelites (see CHILDREN OF ISRAEL) were delivered on that day from Pharaoh (q.v.) with God's help. The Prophet subsequently ordered the Muslims to fast because "We have a better right to Moses than they [the Jews] have," as he remarked (Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, iii, 1281; id., *History*, vii, 26). Clearly this tradition incorrectly renders the motive of the Jewish fast. On the other hand, it fits Muḥammad's notion of Moses as his predecessor who had a similar message to convey (cf. the attention to the story of Moses earlier in the sūra, Q 2:49-74). Goitein has convincingly demonstrated that the connection between fasting and revelation in Q 2:185 resembles one of the motives of the fast of Yom Kippur (ʿĀshūrāʾ). The second giving of the tablets of the Law to Moses as an element of the liturgy of Yom Kippur can explain why Muḥammad adopted this day of fasting for the Muslims.

The second phase is expressed in Q 2:183-4: "Fasting is prescribed for you as it was for those before you…," apparently for a fixed period, *ayyām maʿdūdāt*, "(on) counted days (or 'for counts of days,' i.e. 'fixed')," as compensatory provision must be made for days of illness or travel. The verses date from the period just before the change of the direction of prayer (*qibla*, q.v.) when relations with the Jews were already strained (see JEWS AND JUDAISM); a "new" fast was intended. The reference to "those before you" may contain an echo to the short-lived ʿĀshūrāʾ-fast, though the People of the Book (q.v.; *ahl al-kitāb*) or even humankind in general may have been meant. The rule which allows one to redeem the fast by simply paying a ransom *(fidya)* of feeding a poor person betrays the same uncertainty as that which accompanied the change of *qibla*. Commentators openly state that, originally, healthy persons who did not want to fast were not required to do so. Others, harmonizing the different tendencies in historical memory, associate this ruling with aged people who could only fast with hardship. But with that interpretation it is hard to see why this alleviation was not repeated in the next verse.

The character of the fast of the "counted days" still resembled somewhat the discontinued ʿĀshūrāʾ. Tradition relates that only once in twenty-four hours was it permitted to interrupt the fast. Indication that the fast was even more stringent is given in Q 2:187, however, where it is implied that people used to engage in *illicit* sexual relations during the night of the fast: "It is made lawful for you to go to your wives on the night of the fast… God is aware that you were deceiving yourselves in this respect and he has turned in mercy towards you and relieved you" (cf. Q 2:189 for a similar deceit). Sex (see SEX AND SEXUALITY) is henceforth allowed, like eating and drinking, during the whole night of the fast. If, however, an allusion to voluntary withdrawal to a mosque *(iʿtikāf)* is perceived in Q 2:187 *(wa-l tubāshirūhunna wa-antum ʿākifūna fī l-masājidi)*, a clearer idea about the period of the "counted days" of Q 2:184 may be achieved, for this could indicate a connection with an ancient religious period, similar, for instance, to the first ten days of the month Dhū l-Ḥijja. This period, which included the Night of Destiny *(laylat al-qadr)*, is unlikely, therefore, to have been part of Ramaḍān initially. Tradition, however, is understandably uncertain about the exact time of the fast of the "counted days," considering

that Q 97 is devoted to the Night of Destiny and is therefore important for the explanation of Q 2:185.

A number of arguments strongly suggest locating the *iʿtikāf* and the *laylat al-qadr* in Rajab, which, unlike Ramaḍān, was a sacred month of celebrations. In early Islam, the "lesser pilgrimage" *(ʿumra)* continued to take place during Rajab (Wagtendonk, *Fasting,* 106); it was the month of the sacrifices of the sacrificial animals (*ʿatāʾir,* see CONSECRATION) and the first-born of the flocks and herds, and these in turn determined the state of ritual purity (q.v.; *iḥrām*) as well as the rites of *wuqūf* and *ʿukūf* with sexual abstinence and, as a result of vows, possibly also fasting. Some traditions, in fact, refer to Rajab as the month of the Prophet's *taḥannuth* (see Kister, Al-taḥannuth, 223-4), when Muḥammad received his revelation of the reward of fasting on the twenty-seventh day of the month, a day of *iʿtikāf* and recitation of Q 97 for ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbbās (Kister, Rajab, 197, 200-1). Fasting was so popular in Rajab under Abū Bakr and ʿUmar that they reproached the *"rajabiyyūn"* for making Ramaḍān into Rajab and had them punished (Ṭurṭūshī, *Ḥawādith,* 129-30; Goitein, Ramadan, 93). Another (indirect) indication is the predilection for the *ʿumra* in the last ten days of Ramaḍān (Paret/Chaumont, ʿUmra). In Islam, the twenty-seventh of Rajab corresponds to the twenty-seventh of Ramaḍān, respectively the date of Muḥammad's ascension (q.v.; *miʿrāj*) to heaven, and the commonly accepted date of *laylat al-qadr*. The *miʿrāj* is in fact another call-vision, an initiation to prophethood, similar to the vision of *laylat al-qadr.*

In any case, the *iʿtikāf* period was chosen for the fast of the "counted days" because the Night of Destiny *(laylat al-qadr),* with which the revelation of the Qurʾān was connected, occurred during it. This night was not necessarily the time of Muḥammad's first revelation, but rather a symbolic date with which the entire revelation was associated just like, for instance, the association of the Torah with *Shavuot* in Judaism.

The third and last phase of the establishment of the fast is its extension into a whole month, the month of Ramaḍān. Q 2:185 abrogates 2:184; the healthy are no longer permitted to forgo the fast: the uncertainty has disappeared. The increase of fasting days is balanced by the alleviation concerning the nights. The motif of fasting as commemoration of the revelation to Muḥammad (see REVELATION AND INSPIRATION) has not changed. The main question concerns the immediate cause of the revelation of Q 2:185 (see OCCASIONS OF REVELATION). Goitein (Ramadan, 105) maintains that the fast of Ramaḍān is an extension of its last third (the counted days) when "the absolute certitude came" without any indication of what caused this certitude. The mention of Ramaḍān, however, in Q 2:185 sounds new and unexpected. Although the use of the word *furqān* (literally, the distinguishing, i.e. between good and evil; see CRITERION) here is not new, the complicated way in which it is used certainly is: the Qurʾān is "guidance for humankind and proofs of the guidance and of the *furqān*." We see here the subordination of the *furqān* to the Qurʾān instead of the juxtaposition of book (q.v.) and *furqān* or the identification of both found elsewhere (see Watt-Bell, *Introduction,* 145-7). It is as if the notion of *furqān* was essential but, at the same time, the priority of the sending down of the revelation had to be maintained by all means. Tradition conflates the two concepts: the *furqān* came down on the 14th or the 17th of Ramaḍān (Ibn Isḥāq, *Sīra,* 150). This leads to the meaning of *furqān* in Q 8, which is about the victory at Badr on 17 Ramaḍān 2/623. *Furqān,* probably a Syriac/Aramaic loanword, in Q 8:29

(and 8:41) can mean "deliverance" (*najāh,* cf. Bayḍāwī, *Anwār,* ad Q 8:29). This notion — central to the Jewish Pesach-story, deliverance from Egypt's Pharaoh — was adopted by Muḥammad who, naturally, associated it with the Arabic root *f-r-q,* "to separate, discern," and applied it to the victory at Badr, which brought the separation of believers and unbelievers (Bell, *Introduction,* 136-8). The theme of the end of Pharaoh (Firʿawn) and the salvation *(najāh)* of the believers is important in the Qurʾān (cf. Q 7:141; 10:90; 20:78; 26:65; 44:30). Here, at Q 8:29, this salvation is expressly called *furqān:* "If you fear God, he will appoint for you a *furqān*" (cf. *Exod* 14:13, "Fear not and see the salvation of the lord"; see CRITERION). In Q 2:49-50, the root *f-r-q* appears for the first time in connection with the deliverance from Pharaoh and the forty nights of Moses on Mount Sinai: "We divided *(faraqnā)* the sea for you."

The victory at Badr brought at once a fundamental improvement in the situation of the Muslims, which was threatened both by the Meccans and by the confrontation with the Jews of Medina (see OPPOSITION TO MUḤAMMAD). The truth of the Qurʾān had been at stake (Q 8:20-32). The victory of Badr was for Muḥammad also the promised judgment over the unbelieving Meccans (Q 8:33), comparable to the end of Pharaoh (Q 8:54). This is the background of Q 2:185. The authority of Muḥammad was determined by what God had sent down to Muḥammad on the day of the *furqān,* the day of Badr (Q 8:41). The fast of Ramaḍān must have been established shortly after Badr or at least before the month of Rajab in the year 3/625. The reference to the victory of Moses over Pharaoh in the above-mentioned tradition is certainly rooted in fact, rather than being just "a fanciful accretion" (Goitein, Ramadan, 97). After all, Muḥammad must have witnessed in his early contacts with the Jews of Medina not only Yom Kippur but also Pesach and Shavuot which, (especially the latter) commemorate the revelation of the Law.

The length of the fast, an extension from ten to thirty days, must be seen against the background of the popularity of fasting, both by Jews and Christians, in the centuries preceding Islam (cf. also the two months of penitential fasting, Q 4:92; 58:3-4).

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Fate

The principle, or determining cause or will, through which things occur as they should. Although the pre-Islamic concept (see PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QURʾĀN; SOUTH ARABIA, RELIGION IN PRE-ISLAMIC; AGE OF IGNORANCE) of an impersonal fate (*dahr,* see TIME) is attested in the Qurʾān (Q 45:24; 76:1; cf. "accident of time" *[rayb al-manūn],* Q 52:30), the qurʾānic message is that God, and not an impersonal agent, governs the world (cf. Böwering, Ideas, esp. 175-7). But are some, or even all events in history predetermined by God from eternity (q.v.)? This thorny question, which has generated involved debates and discussions among Muslims — particularly in theological *(kalām)* and philosophical *(falsafa)* circles — up until the present, does not receive a univocal answer in the Qurʾān. The predestination theme appears in the form of an uncompromising emphasis on the supreme agency and omnipotence of God, but it is counterbalanced by an equally strong assumption of human responsibility for human action (see FREEDOM AND PREDESTINATION).

Several qurʾānic terms in particular are associated with predestinarian ideas. Foremost among these are *qaḍā* (or *qaḍāʾ*) and *qadar,* which later become technical terms in *kalām* (see THEOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN). The verb *qaḍā,* "to decide, to determine, to judge," occurs sixty times in the text. Leaving aside the occurrences that are not relevant to this discussion, it is used principally to underline God's creative power (in verses of the type "When he decrees a thing, he says to it 'Be' and it is," as in Q 2:117; 3:47; 19:35; 40:68; also cf. 19:21; see CREATION), to emphasize his ultimate judgment (q.v.; Q 40:20; 10:93; 27:78; 45:17; etc.; see LAST JUDGMENT), or to declare him the master of death (Q 39:42 and 34:14; see DEATH AND THE DEAD). The verb seems to assume a deterministic tone in Q 17:4, however, where reference is made to God's decree that the Israelites (see CHILDREN OF ISRAEL) will twice cause corruption (q.v.) on the earth (though many commentators understand the verb to mean "to inform" here, as in Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* viii, 20), and in Q 12:41, where Joseph (q.v.) informs his two prison mates of their fates. It is, of course, possible to read these verses as confirmation of God's foreknowledge of events rather than as evidence of his predestination, but there is little doubt that God is portrayed here as shaping the destinies of at least some groups and individuals.

Words of the root *q-d-r* are equally abundant. The verbs *qadara* and *qaddara,* "to measure, to determine," are used primarily to convey the central idea that God measures and orders his creation, that while he is unbounded and infinite, everything else is limited and determinate (Ringgren, Studies, 97-103; Rahman, *Themes,* 12, 23, 67). All other words of this root (chief among them the noun *qadar* and the adjectives *qadīr* and *qādir,* "mighty," as an attribute of God in an expression like "God is powerful over all things") serve to underscore God's omnipotence. Of special significance is the expression *laylat al-qadr,* "the night of measure (or might)," in sūra 97 (Sūrat al-Qadr, "Power"; see NIGHT OF POWER). Commentators and theologians are united in identifying this night as the time of the revelation of the Qurʾān (cf.

Q 44:3-4) and, while some of them understand this event as the transference of God's eternal decree to the temporal-spatial plane and reach predestinarian conclusions, the Qurʾān itself gives us no clear pointers in this direction.

Another potent qurʾānic word is *ajal,* "term." It seems to be the temporal equivalent of *q-d-r,* words that evoke the idea of a "measured creation." Everything but God is limited and fixed, not only in space but also in time. Thus all humans are appointed a fixed term of life on earth: "It is he who created you from clay (q.v.) and assigned [you] a term" (Q 6:2; see BIOLOGY AS THE CREATION AND STAGES OF LIFE). Whether this term can be shortened (see CHASTISEMENT AND PUNISHMENT; REWARD AND PUNISHMENT) by sins (see SIN, MAJOR AND MINOR) or lengthened by good deeds (q.v.) is a question debated later by theologians, but the Qurʾān insists, instead, only on the limited nature of created beings as opposed to the absolute unboundedness of God.

Two other prominent qurʾānic concepts that relate to God's role in shaping human destiny are *amr,* "command, word," and *rizq,* "bounty, sustenance." The former, a complex concept, normally refers to God's creative command 'Be' or, parallel to the concept of *qadar,* expresses the qurʾānic view that the creation is subject to laws authored by God — hence the idea that nature is *muslim,* i.e. that it submits to God (see COSMOLOGY; NATURAL WORLD AND THE QURʾĀN; SEMIOTICS AND NATURE IN THE QURʾĀN). Some *amr* verses, however, seem to supply evidence of God intervening in human events on certain occasions (for instance, Q 11:73, on the conception of Isaac (q.v.) and Q 30:3-4, on a prediction of Byzantine victory [see BYZANTINES]), but the emphasis is clearly on God's supreme sovereignty, as suggested by Q 3:128, where the Prophet is told that he has no part in the divine command. The term *rizq,* too, is generally used to highlight God's agency since it conveys the idea that sustenance belongs to God alone, but it also connotes a "sense of specific allotment" (McAuliffe, Rizq), especially in verses where one's lot is said to be "straitened" or "made ample" (Q 89:16 or 13:26; see BLESSING).

Apart from the ones so far mentioned, there are other qurʾānic concepts that are frequently invoked in *kalām* discussions of predestination, such as *lawḥ,* "tablet" (Q 85:22; see PRESERVED TABLET), *qalam,* "pen" (Q 68:1), and *kitāb,* "book" (q.v.; 261 occurrences, including attestations in the plural and dual forms). The first two concepts remain undeveloped in the Qurʾān, while the last — the book, along with verses related to "writing" where God is the author — plays a central role as the manifestation of God's knowledge, will and wisdom (q.v.), as best exemplified in the verse "Nothing will happen to us except what God has written for us" (Q 9:51). From here, it is an easy step to the thoroughly predestinarian view that God has determined all events in pre-eternity. A closer scrutiny suggests, however, that the *kitāb* verses — like the *qadā* (or *qaḍāʾ*), *qadar, ajal, amr,* and *rizq* verses — are really about God's absolute, infinite sovereignty as opposed to the measured, limited, contingent nature of his creation. It is for this reason that the Qurʾān is adamant about God's supreme agency, as in the verse "You did not throw when you threw, but God threw" (Q 8:17, referring to the battle of Badr [q.v.], when the Prophet threw a handful of dust toward the Meccan forces).

Does God's omnipotence and omniscience leave any room for human agency? It is clear that human beings, who were not created in play (Q 23:115), have a special place in the creation in that God breathed his own spirit (q.v.) into them (Q 15:29; 38:72; 32:9), endowed them with the capac-

ity to know (exemplified by God teaching Adam [see ADAM AND EVE] the names of things, Q 2:30f; see KNOWLEDGE AND LEARNING) and entrusted them with the unique trust (Q 33:72) of being his vicegerent on earth (Q 2:30; see CALIPH). It is a fundamental assumption of the Qurʾān that human beings, unlike angels (see ANGEL), do not fulfill this role, so to speak, automatically, and that they are as likely to fail in this endeavor as to succeed. Indeed, the Qurʾān itself is an invitation for them to assume this role, provided to them as guidance by God in his mercy (q.v.; many verses, e.g. Q 2:185). It is in this context that the final reckoning, *ḥisāb,* of human acts on the day of judgment is to be understood.

Human agency, therefore, is a reality. It is the responsibility of human beings to purify their souls (Q 91:7-10) and they have the initiative on this front since God only turns them in the direction they choose (Q 4:115) and does not change the condition of a people until they change it themselves (Q 13:11). Those who fail bring misfortune upon themselves by doing injustice to their own souls (numerous verses, e.g. Q 65:1). If they realize their error (q.v.) and repent (see REPENTANCE AND PENANCE), God forgives them (see FORGIVENESS) and guides them to the right path (e.g. Q 28:16; see PATH OR WAY) but, if they persevere in their injustice (see JUSTICE AND INJUSTICE), God entrenches them in this state by placing seals on their hearts (see HEART) and ears (q.v.) and veils on their eyes (q.v.; Q 2:7; see SEEING AND HEARING; HEARING AND DEAFNESS). The Qurʾān itself is best understood as God's guidance to humanity prompting them to help themselves by acknowledging God's sovereignty and serving him by committing good deeds.

In addition to the verses considered, there are numerous verses of the intriguing type "God guides to truth whom he wills and leads astray whom he wills" (e.g. Q 14:4), which would seem to deny any agency to humans in their salvation (q.v.). An examination of these "will-verses" suggests, however, that they are to be understood as expressions of God's absolute liberty of action, or better yet, as powerful reminders of his final authority and power. Simply put, nothing happens outside the orbit of his will. Perhaps the best way to reconcile the apparent discrepancy between this unflinching qurʾānic insistence on God's omnipotent, overpowering agency and its equally fundamental assumption of human accountability as demonstrated, among other things, by its highly developed eschatology (q.v.) is to argue as does the modern Muslim philosopher Fazlur Rahman (*Themes,* 22) that the Qurʾān is prescriptive, not descriptive. It is a document that is meant to bring about a change in human attitude and behavior in order to orient humanity towards God; it is not a cold, descriptive account of the scope and boundary of divine and human action. It is meant to reawaken and strengthen human capacity for moral action, not to stifle it by relentless reiteration of God's power (see ETHICS AND THE QURʾĀN). For Muslim scholars who hold this view, the numerous verses on God's omnipotence and supreme agency lose their predestinarian ring and assume the function of awakening in human beings the properly pious attitude of grateful patience and equanimity in the face of fortune and misfortune alike (as, for instance, in Q 22:35; see TRUST AND PATIENCE; GRATITUDE AND INGRATITUDE; TRIAL).

In summary, many would argue that the majority of the seemingly predestinarian verses in the Qurʾān are really expressive of God's supreme sovereignty, that the emphasis is clearly not on predetermination of events but on God's creative activity which continuously "measures out" his creation (God's control of life and death,

for instance, would be understood in this sense) or on his all-encompassing knowledge and will. From this interpretive perspective, the qurʾānic insistence on God's absolute sovereignty is not a description of a deterministic universe dominated by God but an urgent reminder that invites humanity to moral action. In contrast to the pre-Islamic understanding of human destiny, the God of the Qurʾān is not an impersonal Fate but a personal God who invites human beings to dynamic involvement in the world and who himself responds dynamically to human action. See also HISTORY AND THE QURʾĀN.

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Father(s)

see FAMILY; PARENTS; PATRIARCHY

Fātiḥa

The first sūra of the Qurʾān, "The Opener," more properly "The Opening of Scripture" (*fātiḥat al-kitāb,* see BOOK). It occupies a unique place formally and theologically in the ʿUthmānic text of the Qurʾān and in ritual prayer (*ṣalāt,* see CODICES OF THE QURʾĀN; RITUAL AND THE QURʾĀN; PRAYER). Its seven brief verses stand at the head of the qurʾānic text, the remaining 113 sūras being arranged roughly from longest to shortest. It is the one sūra that every Muslim must be able to recite by heart in order to perform the ritual prayer (full legal observance of which requires repeating the Fātiḥa seventeen times daily [Quṭb, *Ẓilāl,* i, 21]: twice for the dawn *ṣalāt,* three for the sunset, and four for each of the remaining three [see DAY, TIMES OF]. On the legally obligatory [except among the Ḥanafīs] Arabic recitation of the Fātiḥa in *ṣalāt,* see *al-Fiqh ʿalā l-madhāhib al-arbaʿa,* 186-8; Khoury, *Der Koran,* 140-1). Even apart from the *ṣalāt,* the Fātiḥa is easily the most-repeated sūra in Muslim use — as devotional prayer, hymn of praise (q.v.), supplication, invocation, social convention, protective or curative talisman (see AMULETS), or word of solace (see EVERYDAY LIFE, THE QURʾĀN IN). As the primary prayer and scriptural formula in Muslim communal and personal life, the Fātiḥa is comparable to the *Shema* in the Jewish tradition and the *Paternoster* in the Christian.

The text of the Fātiḥa (with standard verse numbering) runs as follows: (1) "In the name of God, the merciful compassionate one ["merciful Lord of mercy" — K. Cragg]. (2) Praise be to God, lord (q.v.) of all beings [or worlds], (3) the merciful compassionate one, (4) master of the day of reckoning. (5) You alone do we worship (q.v.), and upon you alone do we call for help. (6) Guide us on the straight path, (7) the path of those whom you have blessed, not of those upon whom your anger (q.v.) has fallen, nor of those who are astray (q.v.)." (See also PATH OR WAY; BLESSING; LAST JUDGMENT; MERCY.)

Muslims have many different names for the Fātiḥa. Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 606/1210) cites twelve (*Tafsīr,* i, 179-83), the first ten of which are also given by Ṭabarsī

(d. 518/1153; *Majmaʿ*, i, 31-2), while the first four to seven are given by most commentators. The twelve, beginning with the more frequent, are: the aforementioned *fātiḥat al-kitāb; al-ḥamd,* "Praise"; *umm al-Qurʾān/al-kitāb,* "the Quintessence (lit. "Mother") of the Qurʾān/Scripture" (cf. Q 3:7; 13:39; 43:4); *al-sabʿ al-mathānī,* "the Seven Mathānī" (i.e. traditions or repeated verses; cf. Nöldeke, *GQ,* i, 114-6; Bell-Watt, *Introduction,* 134; cf. Q 15:87); *al-wāfiya,* "the Complete"; *al-kāfiya,* "the Sufficient"; *al-asās,* "the Foundation"; *al-shifāʾ* (or *al-shāfiya*), "Healing"; *al-ṣalāt,* "Worship"; *al-suʾāl,* "the Request"; and *al-duʿāʾ,* "Supplication." Abū Ḥayyān (d. 745/1344; *Baḥr,* i, 153) gives most of these and others, e.g. *al-rāqiya,* "the Charm/Enchantment"; *al-wāqiya,* "the Protector"; *al-kanz,* "the Treasure"; and *al-nūr,* "Light." Exegetes have discussed the many names given this sūra, each of which points to some role or understanding of the Fātiḥa in Islam (see Kandil, Surennamen, 44-50; cf. Suyūṭī, *Itqān,* i, 52-3).

The Fātiḥa takes the form of a first-person-plural prayer formula clearly intended for human utterance rather than a first- or third-person word of God, a point that has been noted since the earliest days of Islam. A testimony to this is the practice among Sunnī Muslims of ending their recitation of this sūra with *āmīn* ("amen"; see RECITATION, THE ART OF) — this being the only sūra so treated (Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr,* i, 31-2; Zamakhsharī, *Kashshāf,* i, 73-5). Shīʿīs reject this (see SHĪʿISM AND THE QURʾĀN): Al-Ṭūsī (d. 460/1067) says one should not seal the recitation of the Fātiḥa with *āmīn;* indeed, doing so voids the *ṣalāt* (*Tibyān,* i, 46; cf. Ṭabarsī, *Majmaʿ,* i, 65, who says one should say instead, "Praise be to God, lord of beings"). There are only three similar qurʾānic instances of prayers: Q 113 and Q 114 (known as "the two sūras of taking refuge [i.e. from evil]," *al-muʿawwidhatān*), both first-person-*singular* invocations of God against evil powers; and parts of the last two verses of Sūrat al-Baqara, Q 2:285-6 (known as the "seals of the Cow," *khawātīm al-Baqara*), which, like the Fātiḥa, contain first-person-plural prayer formulae. Muslim tradition has long recognized the link between the Fātiḥa and the *khawātīm,* the latter sharing the special blessing *(baraka)* of the former — e.g. Ibn ʿAbbās' (d. 68/686-7) report of an angel (q.v.) saying that Muḥammad (q.v.) was given two lights accorded no earlier prophet, namely the Fātiḥa and the *khawātīm,* the recitation of even one letter of which brings an answer to prayer (e.g. Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ. K. Ṣalāt al-musāfirīn,* 254; Nasāʾī, *Sunan,* xi, 25; Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr,* i, 342).

The Fātiḥa in Muslim and non-Muslim scholarship

Classical qurʾānic scholarship preserved several variant readings for the Fātiḥa which were ascribed to various pre-ʿUthmānic codices (see Jeffery, *Materials,* 25, 117, 185, 195, 220, 227, 232; Khoury, *Der Koran,* i, 146; cf. Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr,* i, 22, 24-8; Ibn Hishām al-Anṣārī, *Iʿrāb,* 1-4). Major examples are: for *mālik(i),* "master, possessor, lord," in Q 1:4, *malik(i),* "king, sovereign" (Ibn Masʿūd, Ubayy, ʿAlī, ʿĀʾisha et al., also preferred by Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* i, 148-54; cf. Jeffery, *Muqaddimas,* 134; Zamakhsharī, *Kashshāf,* i, 57 says *mālik* is preferred because it is the reading of the people of the *Ḥaramayn*, i.e. Mecca and Medina), or also *mālika, maliku, malīku, malīki, malku* (various authorities); in Ubayy's codex, *Allāhumma,* "O God!" precedes Q 1:5, and *iyyāka* is read *iyāka* (also meaning "you"); in Q 1:6, for *ihdinā,* "Guide us," three variants with the same or a similar sense are known, e.g. *arshidnā* (Ibn Masʿūd); also, *al-ṣirāṭ al-mustaqīm,* "the straight path," is given by Ibn ʿUmar

(d. 73/693), Ubayy (d. 21/642), and Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq (d. 148/765) without the first *al-* ("the path of the straight"); al-Aʿmash and al-Rabīʿ spell *ṣirāṭ* as *zirāṭ* and Ibn ʿAbbās spells it *sirāṭ;* in Q 1:7, for *alladhīna,* "those who," *aladhīna* (Ubayy), or *man,* "whoever" (Ibn Masʿūd, ʿUmar, Ibn al-Zubayr); for *ghayri,* "not those," *ghīra* (Ibn Masʿūd, ʿAlī, ʿUmar et al.), *ghayra* (ʿAlī, Ubayy,ʿUmar et al.); for *wa-lā,* "and not/nor," *wa-ghayri, wa-ghayra* (Ubayy, ʿAlī et al.; cf. Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* i, 182-4).

The meaning of several words in the text has also been debated in the tradition, notably that of *ʿālamīn* in Q 1:2, "creatures, beings" (lit. "worlds"). Ṭabarī (d. 310/923; *Tafsīr,* i, 143-6) takes it as the different communities of men, jinn (q.v.), and all created species (see CREATION), each being an *ʿālam* ("cosmos, world"; see Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr*, i, 23-4; Zamakhsharī, *Kashshāf*, i, 53-5; Dāmaghānī, *Wujūh*, 331-2; cf. Jeffery, *For. vocab.*, 208-9; Nöldeke, *GQ*, i, 112 n.1; Paret, *Kommentar,* 12); some exegetes have limited *ʿālamīn* solely to rational beings (e.g. Ṭūsī, *Tibyān,* i, 32; cf. Ayoub, *Qurʾān*, i, 47); Rāzī says it refers to all things real, imagined or even unimaginable (*Tafsīr,* i, 234-5; cf. Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr*, i, 24). The final verse has also been a point of grammatical divergence for interpreters and translators. Some have read the verse (without change of meaning) as "The path of those whom you have blessed, [the path of] those on whom your wrath has not fallen, and [the path of] those who are not astray" (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* i, 181-2).

Most Muslim scholars, following Ibn ʿAbbās and Qatāda (d. ca 117/735), have considered the Fātiḥa an early Meccan revelation (see CHRONOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN), primarily because of its centrality to ritual prayer *(ṣalāt),* which began in Mecca (q.v.); Mujāhid (d. 104/722) alone among early authorities (see EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL) held it to be Medinan. In an effort to reconcile the two positions, some say that it was revealed both in Mecca, when the *ṣalāt* was prescribed, and again in Medina (q.v.), when the *qibla* (q.v.) was changed (see ABROGATION). It is also said to have been the first sūra revealed in its entirety (M. ʿAbduh, *Tafsīr al-Fātiḥa,* 20-22; Ṭabarsī, *Majmaʿ,* i, 35). Muslim exegesis has largely focused on the following: (i) the meaning and implications of the text (including such questions as whether the latter portion refers to three specific communities: Muslims — *alladhīna anʿamta ʿalayhim,* Christians (see CHRISTIANS AND CHRISTIANITY) — *al-maghḍūbi ʿalayhim,* and Jews (see JEWS AND JUDAISM) — *al-ḍāllīn* (e.g. Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* i, 185-95; Ṭabarsī, *Majmaʿ,* i, 65; Zamakhsharī, *Kashshāf,* i, 71), or to previous peoples to whom the Qurʾān often refers elsewhere (see ʿAbduh, *Tafsīr al-Fātiḥa,* 46-8; Ṭabarsī, *Majmaʿ,* i, 59-66; see GEOGRAPHY; GENERATIONS); (ii) whether the *basmala* (q.v.) is a prefatory formula, as elsewhere, or the first verse of the Fātiḥa (Ṭabarī and some other exegetes deny this; others affirm it, as its inclusion as Q 1:1 in the Cairo text shows); (iii) the disagreement among the Companions (see COMPANIONS OF THE PROPHET) as to whether the Fātiḥa was originally intended to be included in the qurʾānic text at all (Ibn Masʿūd did not put the Fātiḥa [or *al-muʿawwidhatān*] in his recension, saying that if he had, he would have had to place it before every part of the Qurʾān; Shawkānī, *Tafsīr,* i, 14; see COLLECTION OF THE QURʾĀN); (iv) the bipartite structure of the sūra (the initial praise, or *ḥamd,* portion through *iyyāka nastaʿīn* [Q 1:2-5], and the ensuing supplication [Q 1:6-7]); (v) the aforementioned textual variants (*qirāʾāt,* see READINGS OF THE QURʾĀN); (vi) the identification of the Fātiḥa as the *sabʿan min al-mathānī,* "seven of the repeated [verses]/traditions," mentioned in Q 15:87; and (vii) the aforementioned tradition of closing every repetition of only this sūra with *āmīn*. Recently,

M. Arkoun (Lecture) has sought to analyze the dual function of the Fātiḥa as (i) something voiced by the Prophet in a liturgical context no longer accessible to us and (ii) a text within the composite qurʾānic text that has been the subject of exegetical interpretation as a meaningful whole (see FORM AND STRUCTURE OF THE QURʾĀN).

Non-Muslim, Western scholars, following Nöldeke (*GQ,* i, 110-5), have generally agreed that the Fātiḥa is Meccan, but not from the very earliest period, since they date the institution of *ṣalāt* later in the Meccan period. While R. Bell, R. Blachère, R. Paret, W. Watt and others have discussed the sūra, there has been little major change in the general picture presented by Nöldeke-Schwally. S. Goitein, however, emphasized in a 1966 article that the Fātiḥa is "a liturgical composition created deliberately" for use in "a fixed liturgy" and set before the actual qurʾānic text as a prefatory sūra, the provenance of which was the communal prayer rite (Prayer, 82-4). Still more emphatically, Neuwirth and Neuwirth (1991) argued that (i) the first substantive of the paired *sabʿan min al-mathānī wa-l-Qurʾān al-ʿaẓīm* of Q 15:87 refers to the Fātiḥa (minus the *basmala,* but with the final verse divided into two to keep seven verses [q.v.]) as a liturgical text received alongside the Qurʾān, and, correspondingly, (ii) the Fātiḥa is clearly a liturgical prayer, specifically an *introitus* to the *ṣalāt,* rather than a regular sūra, which has parallels in very similar formulae in contemporaneous Christian and Jewish liturgical use.

The Fātiḥa in Muslim life

The role of the Fatiḥa in piety (q.v.) and practice is immense and can only be adumbrated here. Above all, it is the anchor of the *ṣalāt,* in which, according to a prophetic ḥadīth (see ḤADĪTH AND THE QURʾĀN), it must be recited for the performance of the ritual to be valid (Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ* 10:94:2; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ. K. al-Ṣalāt,* 38, 41; see also Jeffery, *Muqaddimas,* 135; Wensinck, *Concordance,* ii, 12). Its special quality is signaled in the *ḥadīth qudsī* (see ḤADĪTH AND THE QURʾĀN) that sometimes accompanies this prophetic ḥadīth, in which God says, "I have divided the *ṣalāt* between myself and my servant," then declares that he himself responds to each phrase of the Fātiḥa as it is uttered, in answer to the worshiper's prayer (Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ. K. al-Ṣalāt,* 38, 41; Ṭabāṭabāʾī, *Mīzān,* 39; further refs. in Graham, *Divine word,* 183-4; see also EVERYDAY LIFE). Tradition holds it to be unique among revelations, both pre-qurʾānic and qurʾānic (see REVELATION AND INSPIRATION), a special blessing given to Muḥammad (e.g. Ālūsī, *Rūḥ,* 97-8). As Ibn Māja (ix, 19) quotes the Prophet, "Every important matter one does not begin with 'al-Ḥamd' is void." Commentators of all ages have devoted significant attention to it; most major modern Muslim thinkers have commented on it either separately or within a full *tafsīr* (e.g. ʿAbduh, Rashīd Riḍā, Mawdūdī, Sayyid Quṭb, Ḥasan al-Bannā, Ṭabāṭabāʾī; see EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: EARLY MODERN AND CONTEMPORARY). In addition to being the most universally known and repeated part of the Qurʾān among Muslims, its repetition is, along with that of the *shahāda* ("testimony" by which one declares oneself to be a Muslim; see WITNESS TO FAITH), the most significant oral mark of Muslim faith. For example, J. Bowen in a recent unpublished paper (Imputations) points to its symbolic importance as a litmus test for the "true Muslim" in contemporary Indonesia. So much is the Fātiḥa the quintessential prayer that its dialect form, *fatḥa,* comes to be used in some North African Ṣūfī contexts for other prayers as well (Crapanzano, *Ḥamadsha,* 189, n. 4; see DIALECTS; ṢŪFISM AND THE QURʾĀN). The sacred power, or *baraka,* of the Fātiḥa is universally attested in all eras in popular practice:

as a talismanic healing aid (see MEDICINE AND THE QUR'ĀN); as defense against evil spirits; as an intercessory prayer for the dead (see DEATH AND THE DEAD; INTERCESSORY PRAYER); in burial rituals and when approaching a cemetery or visiting a grave; on recovery from sickness; to avert danger; in naming and circumcision (q.v.) rituals; in thanksgiving for food and drink (q.v.); to "seal" a promise, treaty, marriage, or other contractual agreement (see CONTRACTS AND ALLIANCES; MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE); to bless a place, a time of plowing or harvest, or the admission of an apprentice to a guild; to give oneself courage (q.v.) in battle; as the quintessential superogatory prayer; as consolation (q.v.) to the bereaved after a funeral; as prayer upon visiting a saint's shrine; and in every *ʿĪd al-Fitr* and *ʿĪd al-Aḍḥā* celebration (Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ* 66:9, 76:34; Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka,* 29, 43, 53, 129, 140, 143; Westermarck, *Ritual,* i, 113 and passim [see index for numerous examples]; Jomier, *Place du Coran,* 135-6, 141, 148-9; Piamenta, *Muslim conception of God,* 5, 24-6 [further refs.]; Khoury, *Der Koran,* 138-40; Lane, *Manners,* 61, 76, 236-7, 260, 458, 465, 480, 521; see FESTIVALS AND COMMEMORATIVE DAYS).

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Fāṭima

Only child of Muḥammad and his first wife, Khadīja (q.v.), to survive their deaths. Fāṭima is not mentioned by name in the Qurʾān but the classical exegetical tradition (see EXEGESIS OF THE QURĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL) has associated certain verses with her and with her hus-

band and children. Particularly in Shīʿī Islam, the figure of Fāṭima as the closest blood link (see BLOOD AND BLOOD CLOT; KINSHIP) to the Prophet himself, generated a hagiographical literature as well as practices of devotion and supplication (see SHĪʿISM AND THE QURʾĀN).

Of the qurʾānic verses that commentators have linked to Fāṭima, the most important are Q 33:33 and 3:61. The first of these makes reference to the "people of the house" (q.v.; *ahl al-bayt*), which has ordinarily been understood in the more specific sense of "the family of the Prophet" (q.v.), namely, Muḥammad, Fāṭima, her husband ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib (q.v.), and their sons al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* xxii, 6-8 who also includes a tradition attributed to ʿIkrima that interprets *ahl al-bayt* as the Prophet's wives [see WIVES OF THE PROPHET]; Ibn al-Jawzī, *Zād,* vi, 381, reverses the order of these options.) Traditions which depict the Prophet sheltering his family, actually or symbolically, under the expanse of his cloak (see CLOTHING) have provided another title for this group of five: "the people of the cloak" (*ahl al-kisāʾ*, Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* xxii, 7-8; cf. Spellberg, *Politics,* 34-7, for the relation of Fāṭima and the Prophet's wife ʿĀʾisha; see also ʿĀʾISHA BINT ABĪ BAKR). Q 3:61 contains the challenge: "Come, let us call our sons and your sons, our women and your women, ourselves and yourselves; then let us invoke God's curse (q.v.) on those who are lying *(thumma nabtahil fa-najʿal laʿnata llāhi ʿalā l-kādhibīna)*. Muslim exegetes have depicted as the "occasion for the revelation" (*sabab al-nuzūl,* see OCCASIONS OF REVELATION) of this verse an episode in which the Prophet proposed to a delegation of Christians (see CHRISTIANS AND CHRISTIANITY) from Najrān (q.v.) an ordeal of mutual adjuration *(mubāhala)*. To underscore the veracity of his theological claims, Muḥammad offered his family, including Fāṭima, as witnesses and guarantors. The exegetical tradition on Q 3:42, "Then the angels (see ANGEL) said: 'O Mary (q.v.), truly God has chosen you and purified you and chosen you over the women of the world *(al-ʿālamīna)*'," has linked this qurʾānic praise of Mary, the mother of Jesus (q.v.), with the Muslim veneration of Fāṭima (McAuliffe, Chosen, 19-24). Key to this linkage is one or another variant of the ḥadīth (see ḤADĪTH AND THE QURʾĀN) in which Muḥammad lists the outstanding women of all time as: Mary, Āsiya (the wife of Pharaoh [q.v.]), Khadīja and Fāṭima (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* iii, 263; Rāzī, *Tafsīr,* viii, 46; but cf. such Shīʿī commentaries as those of Abū l-Futūḥ Rāzī, *Rawḥ,* iii, 36-7 and Mawlā Fatḥ Allāh Kāshānī, *Minhaj,* ii, 224, who insist upon the absolute superiority of Fāṭima). Shīʿī literature elaborates the connection of Mary with Fāṭima, viewing both as women of suffering (q.v.). Fāṭima endured the death of her father and both mothers experienced, actually or proleptically, the violence inflicted upon their sons. So entwined is their hagiographical connection that one of the epithets born by Fāṭima is *Maryam al-kubrā,* Mary the Greater (McAuliffe, Chosen, 27; Stowasser, *Women,* 80).

This connection between Fāṭima and Mary has been given a spiritually esoteric interpretation by the modern French Islamicist Louis Massignon. Other appropriations of the figure of Fāṭima can be found in such diverse sources as contemporary devotional writings (Biographie de Fâtima az-Zahrâʾ, 109-18; Rahim, Fatima, 16-8), the corpus of traditional Malay literature (Wieringa, Does traditional) and the revolutionary writings of the Iranian ideologue Ali Shariʿati (d. 1977).

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Fealty

see OATHS AND PROMISES

Fear

Emotion marked by alarm; dread; reverence or awe. Three principal qurʾānic concepts are usually translated by the English word "fear." In their most common nominal forms these concepts are: (a) *taqwā* and related derivatives, probably from the triliteral Arabic root *w-q-y* (or *t-q-w* or *t-q-y;* see below for a brief discussion of the possible root letters) attested 239 times; (b) *khawf* and related derivatives from *kh-w-f,* attested 123 times; and (c) *khashya* and related derivatives from *kh-sh-y,* attested forty-eight times. There are six additional concepts regularly translated into English as either denoting or connoting some kind of fear, anxiety, or cautiousness: (d) *ḥidhr* and related derivates from *ḥ-dh-r,* attested twenty-one times; (e) *ishfāq,* not appearing as a noun, but only in participial and verbal forms derived from *sh-f-q,* attested ten times; (f) *rahab* and related derivatives from *r-h-b,* attested eight times; (g) *fazaʿ* and related derivatives from *f-z-ʿ,* attested six times; (h) *ruʿb,* derived from *r-ʿ-b,* attested five times; and (i) the various derivatives of the root *w-j-l,* attested five times.

Taqwā, khawf, *and* khashya

Taqwā is one of the central concepts in qurʾānic theology and ethics. Izutsu (*Concepts,* 195-200) describes *taqwā* as "the very heart and pivot" of qurʾānic teaching, and even goes so far as to equate *taqwā* with *īmān* itself, the qurʾānic term most often translated as "faith" (q.v.) or "belief" (see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF). Although certain English versions of the Qurʾān employ the notion of "fear" in their renderings of *taqwā,* it is crucial to note that these versions identify *taqwā* as a very specific kind of fear, namely the "fear of God" (e.g. Arberry, Pickthall, Y. ʿAlī). In fact, this rendering of *taqwā* directly parallels the biblical concept of "fear of the Lord" (Heb *yirʾāh yhwh,* Gk *phobos theou* — e.g. *Ps* 19:10; *Prov* 7:1; *Isa* 11:2-3) and thus should not be confused with the ordinary sense of "fear" as a negative and usually disturbing emotional reaction to impending harm. Although it does include a distinct awareness of the potential danger of incurring divine wrath (see ANGER), *taqwā* as "fear of God"

describes the psychic state of an individual who is reverent, devout, and solicitous in his or her service to God (see PIETY), rather than one who is afflicted by distressing or debilitating anxiety. Indeed, this is the only sense in which verses such as Q 47:17, which identifies *taqwā* as God's reward for those who are open to divine guidance, are at all intelligible.

Taqwā is an abstract noun expressing action (i.e. a *maṣdar*) which is generally taken to be a morphologically altered substantive (originally either *taqyā/taqyan* or *waqyā/waqyan*), as opposed to an adjective *(ṣifa),* of either the first or eighth verbal form of the root *t-q-y* (or possibly *t-q-w*), or *w-q-y* (*Lisān al-ʿArab,* v, 15, 402; Bustānī, *Muḥīṭ,* 982; Lane, i, 310). In pre-Islamic poetry, the eighth verbal form, *ittaqā,* did not connote a religious attitude, but rather denoted an action of self-defense through the placement of a buffer between oneself and something that one feared (see Tibrīzī's commentary on Abū Tammām's *Dīwān al-ḥamāsa,* 254; see Izutsu, *God,* 234-6). Among some pre-Islamic Arab poets who evidence monotheistic influence, however, there are instances of *muttaqī* having the sense of "pious believer," and *taqwā* having a religious sense (Izutsu, *God,* 235).

The simplest literal meaning of either of the verb forms of either of the roots *(t-q-y/t-q-w,* or *w-q-y)* is basically the same: "to be on one's guard," "to be extremely cautious," and/or "to protect oneself from harm." In at least one instance, one English translation of the Qurʾān uses elements of the narrower literal sense by rendering *al-muttaqūn* ("those who practice *taqwā,*" — the plural active participle of the same root) as "those who ward off evil" (Pickthall, at Q 2:2; see GOOD AND EVIL). In other instances, however, this same translation contributes to the formulation of a broader theological concept of *al-muttaqūn* as "those who protect themselves from harm" specifically by "keeping their duty to God" (e.g. Pickthall, at Q 8:34) or, alternatively, by living "righteous" lives (e.g. Y. ʿAlī, at Q 8:34).

What is significant about these translations is that they reflect the link that can be found in the classical qurʾānic commentary literature between the narrower root meaning of *taqwā* as "protecting oneself from harm" and its broader construal as "piety," "righteousness," or "godfearing" (e.g. Q 2:237, Pickthall, Y. ʿAlī, and Arberry, respectively). Al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923), for example, glosses the qurʾānic expression, "they practiced *taqwā (ittaqaw),*" in the following way: "they feared the punishment [of God] and thus obeyed him by fulfilling the obligatory duties [he imposes], and they eschewed acts of disobedience against him" (*khāfū ʿiqābahu fa-aṭāʿūhu bi-adāʾi farāʾiḍihi wa-tajannabū maʿāṣīhi;* Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* ad Q 2:103). Al-Bayḍāwī (d. prob. 716/1316-7) further articulates the link between "fear" and devotion in his enumeration of three different "degrees" *(marātib)* of *taqwā,* each degree presumably indicating the relative moral and spiritual state of the individual. He also locates the scriptural support for the existence of each of these three degrees in three specific qurʾānic proof-texts. Al-Bayḍāwī's first degree of *taqwā* consists of "guarding against eternal punishment (see REWARD AND PUNISHMENT) by ridding oneself of ascribing partners to God *(shirk),*" supported by Q 48:26. The second degree of *taqwā* entails "avoiding everything sinful, in deed or omission, even what would generally be considered minor offenses (see SIN, MAJOR AND MINOR)," supported by Q 7:96. Finally, the third degree of *taqwā* involves "being far removed from whatever would distract the innermost self from the real (i.e. God), and renouncing the world (q.v.), devoting one's entire life to him," supported by Q 3:102 (Bayḍāwī, *Anwār,* ad Q 2:2).

According to this tripartite scheme, the most basic understanding of *taqwā* does indeed center around the notion of a prudent "fear" of divine retribution, ideally resulting in a life of adherence to God's commands (see COMMANDMENTS). This basic understanding reflects the original qurʾānic usage (at Q 5:2, the first attestation based upon the chronological ordering of the sūras; see CHRONOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN), namely of *taqwā* as "eschatological fear of Divine chastisement" (cf. Izutsu, *God,* 234-8). It is noteworthy that the lexicographical tradition basically echoes the commentary literature in this regard by defining *taqwā* as "taking precautions *(al-iḥtirāz)* against God's punishments by obedience (q.v.) to him," and as "the imitation *(al-iqtidāʾ)* of the Prophet in word and deed" (Bustānī, *Muḥīṭ,* 982). As both this reference to prophetic emulation and al-Bayḍāwī's third degree suggest, however, if developed to its fullest extent, *taqwā* becomes the ideal and all-encompassing posture of the human being before God. In terms of the dominant qurʾānic paradigm for the human-divine relationship, the individual who cultivates *taqwā* is the human "servant" (q.v.; *ʿabd*) who perfectly "fears" his or her divine "master" *(rabb),* not by cowering in terror at the prospect of punishment for dereliction of duty, but rather by remaining ever watchful and steadfast in his or her respect for and devotion to the master. Within this context one can better appreciate Izutsu's assertion (e.g. *Concepts,* 196) that, in qurʾānic discourse, *taqwā* ("fear of God") and *muttaqūn* ("godfearing") function almost as synonyms for *īmān* ("faith") and *muʾminūn* ("believers"). In order to evoke more effectively this important sense of the concept as well as to avoid English readers' misinterpreting *taqwā* as an ordinary type of "fear," one recent English translation of the Qurʾān deftly renders *taqwā* as "God-consciousness" (Asad, passim).

Along with *taqwā,* two additional concepts, *khawf* and *khashya,* account for almost 90% of all references to "fear" in English-language translations of the Qurʾān. Although these concepts are largely synonymous with each other, they are only partially synonymous with *taqwā.* Unlike *taqwā,* which has an almost exclusively positive connotation as a foundational qurʾānic virtue (see VIRTUES AND VICES), *khawf* and *khashya* have both the positive connotation of a virtue to be embraced and cultivated as well as the negative connotation of those unwelcome states of anxiety or dread typically associated with "fear."

The standard that separates the positive and negative connotations of *khawf* and *khashya* appears simply to be whether the object of the fear is God and his chastisements (see CHASTISEMENT AND PUNISHMENT) or some other phenomenon. When God and his chastisements are their object, *khawf* (e.g. Q 5:94; 7:205; 13:13; 14:14; 55:46) and *khashya* (e.g. Q 9:13; 21:49; 24:52; 36:11; 98:8) are almost always synonymous with each other — and with *taqwā* — as states of piety. Even Satan (see DEVIL) is portrayed in a minimally sympathetic light when he declares, "I fear God!" *(akhāfu llāha)* as he hastily retreats from successful temptations so as not to share in the divine retribution his human dupes will surely incur (Q 8:48; 59:16). When, however, both *khawf* and *khashya* lack God and his chastisements as their object, they usually connote highly undesirable states.

It is interesting to note, however, that in this context there is a subtle but interesting difference between these two otherwise synonymous terms. Cases of *khawf* directed at a phenomenon other than God usually elicit divine compassion and seem to occasion overt divine consolation (q.v.; e.g. Q 2:38; 11:70; 20:46; 29:33; 43:68), whereas similar cases of *khashya* appear in certain

instances to involve those who compete with God for human attention (sometimes even God's expressed enemies [q.v.]). Rather than occasion God's consolation, these cases seem to invite implied admonitions against the cardinal sin of ascribing partners to God (e.g. Q 5:3, 44; 9:13-8; 33:37-9; see POLYTHEISM AND ATHEISM).

On the basis of this difference between *khawf* and *khashya* one might conclude that, of the three principal qurʾānic terms for "fear," *taqwā* and *khashya* are specialized forms of religious or moral "fear" which take God and his chastisements as their only proper object, while *khawf* seems to refer to "fear" in the more generic sense of a morally neutral emotion which may take either God and his chastisements (in which case it is a desirable emotion), or any other phenomenon (in which case it is undesirable), as its legitimate object (cf. Izutsu, *Concepts,* 198). In the light of this distinction, it is arguable that Abraham's (q.v.) proclamation, "I do not fear anything you associate with [God], unless my lord so wills!" (*wa-lā akhāfu mā tushrikūna bihi illā an yashāʾa rabbī shayʾan,* Q 6:80), becomes an expression of the divinely inspired courage (q.v.) that can free God's servants from being victimized by fear. With such courage, Abraham, as the archetypal Muslim, is able to rise above the petty fears that ensnare the human soul, and fear only God and his will. The implication of the verse is that all Muslims are invited to follow in the footsteps of the Abrahamic archetype and enjoy the same freedom from victimizing fear (i.e. freedom from the grip of *khawf* directed at phenomena which may menace, but which ultimately cannot harm God's faithful servants).

Other qurʾānic concepts denoting "fear"

There are six remaining qurʾānic terms construed as referring to some kind of fear. *Ḥidhr* sometimes conveys a sense of "fear," but more often a sense of "wariness" and "caution." Some lexicographers have suggested *ḥidhr* as a synonym for *taqwā (*e.g. *Lisān al-ʿArab),* but the preponderance of qurʾānic discourse makes a sharp distinction between the two. Unlike *taqwā* and *khashya,* but similar to *khawf, ḥidhr* can be legitimately directed at both God and other phenomena. Unlike *khawf,* however, *ḥidhr* can have the positive connotation of a virtue (i.e. "awareness" or "caution") even when it is directed at the expressed enemies of God or God's people (Q 63:4; 64:14). In other words, to be "wary" *(ḥidhr)* of the impious is a virtue, while to "fear" *(khawf)* them is a vice.

The noun *ishfāq* is not attested in the Qurʾān. *Mushfiqūn,* however, a plural active participle (fourth verbal form) derived from *sh-f-q,* accounts for eight of ten attestations of a derivative from this root, while the verb *ashfaqa* (also form IV) accounts for the remaining two. In three instances, *mushfiqūn* appears together in the same verse with *khashya,* where the former is often translated as those who "tremble" (e.g. Arberry) or "quake" (e.g. Pickthall) in reverent fear — usually of judgment and divine chastisement (Q 21:28, 49; 23:57). It is noteworthy that, in one instance, *ashfaqa* denotes what might be interpreted as the profound "shudder" elicited from the largest and most majestic elements of creation — namely "the heavens and the earth and the mountains" — when they were offered the "trust" *(amāna)* of moral responsibility, but, according to the text, fearfully and wisely refused (Q 33:72).

In most of its eight attestations, *rahab* and the other nominal forms from the same root (i.e. *rahb, rahba, irhāb*) appear to describe a "reverent fear" or "awe" which seems to be, like *khashya,* appropriately directed at God alone (e.g. Q 2:40), though it too can be easily misdirected toward other phenomena (Q 59:13). *Fazaʿ* usually

denotes "terror" or "fright." Of its six attestations, five are specifically eschatological (Q 21:103; 27:87, 89; 34:51; see ESCHATOLOGY; APOCALYPSE), and one is not (Q 38:22). All six, however, can be construed as having to do with being judged. *Ruʿb* usually indicates a paralyzing "terror" or "fright," and is roughly synonymous with *fazaʿ*. Of the five times it is attested, four (Q 3:151; 8:12; 33:26; 59:2) refer to instances when, as retribution for their perfidy, God has or will "cast terror" *(qadhafa, sa-ulqī,* or *sa-nulqī… ruʿb)* into the hearts of the unbelievers or oppressors of his faithful servants. The fifth attestation has to do with a description of how frightful the sleeping Men of the Cave (q.v.; *aṣḥāb al-kahf*) would look to someone who encountered them (Q 18:18). Finally, *w-j-l,* often translated as "quake," seems to have the two-fold connotation of many of the other words for "fear:" in three instances it represents the appropriate and natural response of the hearts of the believers to God (Q 8:2; 22:35; 23:60); but twice (Q 15:52, 53) it depicts Abraham's initial reaction to the messengers who come bearing the good news (q.v.) that he shall have a son, a reaction that appears unwarranted, for the messengers tell him not to be afraid.

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Fear of God

see FEAR; PIETY

Feast Days

see FESTIVALS AND COMMEMORATIVE DAYS

Feet

The terminal parts of the legs. There are three Arabic terms for foot in the Qurʾān: 1) *qadam (*pl. *aqdām),* occurring eight times, 2) *rajul (*pl. *rijāl),* occurring three times, and 3) *rijl (*pl. *arjul),* with fifteen instances. Another term, *athar (*pl. *āthār),* occurring fourteen times, may mean "footstep" or "track," in the sense of a mark or impression left behind. References to the human foot in the Qurʾān are generally symbolic and metaphorical (see METAPHOR), usually in a positive sense of being on a firm footing when expressed by *qadam,* pl. *aqdām,* but most often in a negative sense when expressed by *rijl/arjul* (always in the plural). *Rajul* is used in its literal sense of "afoot" or "on foot" (Q 2:239; 22:27), "footsoldiers, infantry" (Q 17:64).

The first term, from the root *q-d-m,* most often means firm footing in the sense of security against danger, whether physical or spiritual/moral. In Q 2:250, David (q.v.) is depicted as leading Saul's (q.v.) force against Goliath (q.v.), with the Israelites (see CHILDREN OF ISRAEL) praying: "Our lord! Bestow on us endurance and make

firm our steps *(thabbit aqdāmanā)*." In Q 10:2, the Qur'ān is characterized as "good tidings" (see GOOD NEWS) that provide a "sure-footing" *(qadama ṣidqin)* before God. Those who conclude fraudulent, deceitful covenants (*aymān,* see COVENANT; BREAKING TRUSTS AND CONTRACTS) will reap heavy punishment from God, both for the sin itself and for its possible consequence of causing another's foot to slip after it was firmly planted (*fa-tazilla qadamu baʿda thubūtihā,* Q 16:94). In Q 41:29, unbelievers call upon God to show them some evil people so that they might "crush them beneath our feet" *(taḥta aqdāminā)*. In Q 55:41 sinners will on judgment day (see LAST JUDGMENT) be "seized by their forelocks and their feet *(aqdām)*."

The *r-j-l* root most often depicts feet in a baleful way, as in Q 26:49 (cf. Q 7:124), where Pharaoh (q.v.) threatens to cut off the hands and feet *(arjul)* of the Israelites and crucify them for believing in the "lord of Moses (q.v.) and Aaron (q.v.)" (Q 26:47-8; 7:121-2) without royal permission. The punishment of "those who wage war (q.v.) against God and his messenger, and strive for corruption (q.v.) throughout the land is execution, or crucifixion (q.v.), or the cutting off of hands and feet *(arjul),* or exile…" (Q 5:33; see CHASTISEMENT AND PUNISHMENT; LAW AND THE QUR'ĀN). The Qur'ān views feet, as it views hands (q.v.), eyes (q.v.), and ears (q.v.) as key factors of human agency and marks of "creatureliness" (see Q 7:195; see IDOLS AND IMAGES; ANTHROPOMORPHISM). Feet are not viewed negatively per se in the passages where *rijl/arjul* occur. Their sometimes symbolically negative cast relates to human will and motives, not to the anatomical appendages, which are created for good ends. The power of the human foot is seen in the dramatic passage in Q 38:42, when Job (q.v.), suffering from thirst and filthy sores, calls upon God for help and is commanded to "Stamp [on the ground] with your foot" *(urkuḍ bi-rijlika),* so as to bring forth cool, refreshing water for washing and drinking, as the passage concludes. The washing of the feet *(arjul)* in pre-worship ablutions is commanded in Q 5:6 (see CLEANLINESS AND ABLUTION; RITUAL PURITY).

Footsteps as traces or marks left behind by others are depicted in several passages, e.g. Q 43:22, where previous peoples followed their ancestors' (see GENERATIONS) footsteps *(āthār)* with respect to religion because of strong custom. God sent in the past messengers (see MESSENGER) such as Noah (q.v.) and Abraham (q.v.), and others, later, in their footsteps *(ʿalā āthārihim),* such as Jesus (q.v.; Q 57:26-7). See also ANATOMY.

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Feminism and the Qur'ān

Feminism is understood to be a mode of analysis that includes: (1) the recognition of gender equality and of women's rights that a particular religion, nation, society, or culture may affirm in its basic tenets but withhold in practice, and (2) identification of ways to secure the practice of such rights by women and men alike. The Qur'ān, the basic text of Islam, taken as the word of God (q.v.), enunciates the equality of all human beings within a system of social justice that grants the same fundamental rights to women and men (see COMMUNITY AND SOCIETY IN THE QUR'ĀN). Muslim

women, however, have been denied the exercise of many of their rights within patriarchal societies that speak in the name of Islam (see PATRIARCHY). In developing their feminist discourses, women have looked to the Qur'ān as Islam's central and most sacred text, calling attention to its fundamental message of social justice and human equality and to the rights therein granted to women (see WOMEN AND THE QUR'ĀN). While feminisms grounded in the Qur'ān are of most immediate concern to Muslims, they also make distinct contributions to theorizing gender possibilities and gender relations more generally. Drawing upon the Qur'ān, Muslim women have generated two basic feminist paradigms: 1) feminism with Islam (discussed in the first section of this article, *Qur'ān consciousness and women's rights*), and 2) Islamic feminism (discussed below in the second section, *Qur'ānic hermeneutics and gender equality*).

Qur'ān consciousness and women's rights

Feminism in Muslim countries and communities has from the start been formulated within religious parameters. The earliest paradigm, feminism with Islam, is a rights-centered feminism. Its beginnings are found in the late 19th century when some Muslim women in different parts of "the East," drawing upon their newly acquired literacy and expanding social exposure, brought their qur'ānic consciousness to bear as they grappled with issues related to their changing everyday lives in the face of encounters with modernity. Reflecting upon their own experience, and in the context of Islamic reformist movements calling for renewed *ijtihād* (individual investigation of the sacred texts) and of national liberation struggles against colonial rule, some Muslim women began to evolve what can be recognized as a "feminist consciousness" before the term itself existed. They pointed out that the Qur'ān accorded them rights that were being withheld from them in practice, often in the name of Islam, and drew attention to constraints imposed upon them in the name of religion, thereby beginning to articulate a "feminism" backed by religious argumentation.

Women in Egypt in the 1890's, for example, cited the Qur'ān to demonstrate that veiling the face was not a qur'ānic requirement as they had been made to believe (see VEIL; MODESTY). Women also argued against other practices and constraints imposed upon them, employing the holy book as their liberation text. One of the first Muslims to make a public demand for women's religiously-granted rights, such as access to mosque worship, education, and new work opportunities was Malak Ḥifnī Nāṣif, known also as Bāḥithat al-Bādiya, who presented her claims at a nationalist conference in Cairo in 1911 and who had two years earlier published her feminist views in her book *al-Nisā'iyyāt.* She articulated and acted upon a "feminism" before the term existed in Egypt; before long, however, others cited her as a feminist forebear. In Beirut in the 1920's the Lebanese Nāẓira Zayn al-Dīn of Lebanon, a woman learned in religion, invoking the qur'ānic spirit of freedom, justice (see JUSTICE AND INJUSTICE), and equality, including equality between women and men, argued against such injustices as the face veil and polygamy (see MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE) in her book *Sufūr wa-ḥijāb* published in 1928. Although the term "feminism" had recently come into circulation, Nāẓira Zayn al-Dīn did not frame her call for the recuperation of women's qur'ānically granted rights in the language of feminism. Nevertheless, some of her Muslim contemporaries referred to her work as feminist.

Among the first Muslim women explicitly to link feminism and the Qur'ān were members of the Egyptian Feminist Union who demanded full and equal rights for

women in the public sphere and a reduction of inequalities in the private or family sphere. They adopted a gradualist position in calling for controls on men's practice of divorce and polygamy, citing qur'ānic verses *(āyāt)* in support of their case. Egyptian feminist Iḥsān al-Qūsī referenced the Qur'ān in arguing for an end to the legalized institution of *bayt al-ṭā'a* or the forced restitution of an estranged wife to the conjugal home.

Historically, the first Muslim women to declare publicly their feminism did so in the context of western colonial occupation. Secure in their Islamic identity and firm about a feminism of their own making, they refused to be silenced by detractors who misrepresented their feminism, attempting to delegitimize it as a western anti-Islamic foreign imposition. Muslim feminists stressed the Islamic notion of *maṣlaḥa* (well-being or prosperity) of the *umma* (community of Muslims) insisting that the exercise of women's rights would strengthen both the Muslim community and the nation as a whole, in its struggle to win and secure independence from foreign rule.

For most of the twentieth century, in different parts of the Muslim world, the paradigm of feminism with Islam that incorporated intersecting Islamic, nationalist, and humanitarian (later human rights), and democratic discourses remained paramount.

Qur'ānic hermeneutics and gender equality

Toward the end of the twentieth century, especially in the 1990's, it became evident that there was a major paradigm shift underway. This was a shift towards a feminism grounded exclusively in religious discourse with the Qur'ān as its central reference, or what is increasingly called Islamic feminism. The new Islamic feminism constitutes a move away from the earlier women's rights-based focus toward a wider focus on gender equality and social justice as basic and intersecting principles enshrined in the Qur'ān. Those who shaped the feminism with Islam discourse claimed an explicit feminist identity, while most of those who articulate Islamic feminism are reluctant to wear a feminist label.

The new Islamic feminism emerged in the context of Islamic religious resurgence (including the growth of a global *umma* of vast proportions), of the spread of Islamism or political Islam, and at a moment when Muslim women had gained access to higher education on an unprecedented scale (see POLITICS AND THE QUR'ĀN). Key formulators of the new Islamic feminist discourse are women who utilize their advanced training in the religious sciences (see TRADITIONAL DISCIPLINES OF QUR'ĀNIC STUDY) and other disciplines to reinterpret the Qur'ān. In making the Qur'ān the center of their attention, women are recuperating their right as Muslims to reflectively examine *(tadabbur)* sacred scripture, thus disputing the exclusive authority men have arrogated to themselves to define Islam. The female exegetes *(mufassirāt)* draw upon their own experience as women as they pose fresh questions. They proceed within an interpretive framework which maintains that the fundamental ideas of the Qur'ān cannot be contradicted by any of its parts. They perform skilled deconstructions of qur'ānic verses and enact fresh readings respectful of the spirit of the holy book while mindful of the letter of the text.

This new gender-sensitive, or what can be called feminist, hermeneutics renders compelling confirmation of gender equality in the Qur'ān that was typically obscured as male interpreters constructed a corpus of commentary (*tafsīr,* see EXEGESIS OF THE QUR'ĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL) promoting a classical doctrine of male

superiority that reflected the mindset of the prevailing patriarchal cultures. Feminist hermeneutics distinguishes between the universal or timeless basic principles and the particular and contingent, which are understood as ephemeral. In the case of the latter, they have judged that certain practices were allowed in a limited and controlled fashion as a way of curtailing behaviors prevalent in the society into which the revelation (see REVELATION AND INSPIRATION) came, while encouraging believers on a path to fuller justice and equality in their human interactions. Feminist hermeneutics has taken three approaches: 1) revisiting verses *(āyāt)* of the Qur'ān to correct false narratives in common circulation, such as the accounts of creation (q.v.) and of events in the primordial garden that have shored up claims of male superiority (see ADAM AND EVE; FALL OF MAN); 2) citing verses that unequivocally enunciate the equality of women and men; and 3) deconstructing verses attentive to male and female difference that have been commonly interpreted in ways that justify male domination.

Exegetes such as Amina Wadud-Muhsin in her major work of exegesis *Qur'ān and woman,* and Riffat Hassan, in various articles and public lectures, have corrected the widely-circulated but erroneous narratives (traditionally repeated by the religiously trained and the wider populace alike) purporting to be qur'ānic. One such narrative insists that the woman was created out of the man (from a crooked rib of Adam) and thus woman was a secondary or derivative creature. Another concerns the events in the garden of Eden claiming that Eve tempted Adam, thus making woman responsible for the downfall of man and enforcing the stereotype of the female as seductress. Wadud-Muhsin and Hassan point to verses of the Qur'ān declaring that women and men were created at the same moment as two mates (each mate is referred to by the masculine noun *zawj*) out of a single self or soul *(nafs)*. For example, Q 4:1 states: "Oh mankind [humankind]! Reverence your guardian-lord, who created you from a single person, created, of like nature, his mate, and from the two scattered [like seeds] countless men and women." In the Qur'ān both Adam and Eve fell into temptation in the garden (q.v.), both were expelled, both repented (see REPENTANCE AND PENANCE) and both were equally forgiven.

The new interpreters stress that the Qur'ān makes clear the fundamental equality of women and men. Human beings, whatever their sex, are distinguished one above the other only in piety (q.v.; *taqwā*). "Oh mankind [humankind]! We have created you from a single (pair) of a male and a female… verily the most honored of you in the sight of God (is he [or she] who is) the most righteous of you [who possesses the most *taqwā*]" (Q 49:13). Aziza al-Hibri and other female exegetes point to the qur'ānic principle of *tawḥīd* as affirming the oneness of God as the supreme being and the equality of all human beings as his creatures. All Muslims are enjoined to fulfill the trusteeship or moral agency (*khilāfa,* see CALIPH) that is entrusted to them as human beings.

While fundamentally equal, humans have been created biologically different for the perpetuation of the species. Only in particular contexts and circumstances will males and females assume different contingent roles and functions. Woman alone can give birth (q.v.) and nurse, and thus in this particular circumstance a husband is enjoined by the Qur'ān to provide material support (see FAMILY) as indicated in Q 4:34, "Men are in charge of (or the managers of, *qawwāmūn ʿalā*) women because God has given the one more than the other *(bimā faḍḍala llāhu baʿḍahum ʿalā baʿḍin),* and be-

cause they support them from their means." Wadud-Muhsin, Hassan, and al-Hibri demonstrate that *qawwāmūn* conveys the notion of "providing for" and that the term is used prescriptively to signify that men ought to provide for women in the context of child-bearing and rearing but does not mean that women cannot necessarily provide for themselves in that circumstance. The term *qawwāmūn* does not signify that all men are unconditionally in charge of (or have authority over) all women all the time, as traditional male interpreters have claimed, nor does the term *faḍḍala* indicate male superiority over women, as is also commonly claimed. Such female exegetes thus show how common male interpretations have turned the specific and contingent into universals. In confronting the masculinist argument that men have authority over women, feminist Qurʾān commentary both deconstructs particular verses, such as those cited above, and draws attention to other verses that affirm mutuality of responsibilities: for example, Q 9:71, which says that "The believers, male and female, are protectors of one another" (i.e. they have mutual *awliyāʾ;* see FRIENDS AND FRIENDSHIP).

The rigorous scrutiny and contextualization of qurʾānic terms and phrases pursued by female commentators exposes the patriarchal inflections given to many qurʾānic passages in classical interpretations produced by men and demonstrates how such patriarchal interpretations contradict the basic qurʾānic message of gender equality. The project of Qurʾān-based Islamic feminism, while still in its foundational stage, continues to be meticulously elaborated and is fast gaining wider ground. See also GENDER; CONTEMPORARY CRITICAL PRACTICES; EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: EARLY MODERN AND CONTEMPORARY.

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Festivals and Commemorative Days

Periodic celebrations held either to honor the memory of particular individuals or to remember or mark events important in sacred history. The Qurʾān does not use the word holiday *(ʿīd),* but this word has come to be employed for two feast days: the breaking of the fast of Ramaḍān *(ʿīd al-fiṭr),* and the "great ʿīd," the feast of sacrifice *(ʿīd al-aḍḥā)* at the end of the rites of the pilgrimage to Mecca (*ḥajj,* see

PILGRIMAGE). To these two feast days Muslims later added other celebrations and commemorative days, including the celebration of the Prophet's birthday, those commemorating the dates of death of various saints, and the Shīʿī (see SHĪʿISM AND THE QURʾĀN) commemoration of the passion and death of the Prophet's grandson, Ḥusayn.

The fast of Ramaḍān and ʿĪd al-fiṭr

The Qurʾān says in verse 2:183, "Fasting (q.v.) is prescribed for you as it was for those before you, that you may learn piety (or protect yourself, *laʿallakum tattaqūn*)." Ḥadīths tell us that before the institution of Ramaḍān (q.v.), Muslims observed the pre-Islamic fast of ʿĀshūrāʾ in the month of Muḥarram. After the emigration from Mecca to Medina (*hijra,* see EMIGRATION), according to ḥadīth (see ḤADĪTH AND THE QURʾĀN), the Prophet learned from the Jews that ʿĀshūrā was the day when Moses (q.v.) and the Israelites were rescued from the hand of Pharaoh (see CHILDREN OF ISRAEL). Muḥammad told the Jews, "We are closer to Moses than you," and ordered the Muslims to observe it. But when the fast of Ramaḍān was instituted, the fast of ʿĀshūrāʾ was made optional (Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* ii, 548-51). The excellence of fasting is such that the breath of a person who is fasting (which would normally not have a pleasant odor) would be sweeter than the fragrance of musk to God (ibid., 558-60). The Qurʾān tells us that Ramaḍān is the month in which the Qurʾān was revealed (Q 2:185; this is generally understood to mean that this is when the Qurʾān was first revealed). Ḥadīth tells us that Ramaḍān carries particular excellence because "the gates of mercy are opened, the gates of hell are locked, and the devils are chained" (Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* ii, 524). Of particular blessedness is the "night of power [or destiny]" (*laylat al-qadr,* see NIGHT OF POWER), described in the Qurʾān as "better than a thousand months; in it the angels and the spirit (q.v.) come down with the permission of their lord, concerning every matter; peace it is until the rise of dawn" (Q 97:3-5). Many ḥadīths tell us that this night is among the last ten days of the month of Ramaḍān, during which the Prophet would remain in the mosque in prayer *(iʿtikāf),* a practice which is continued by pious Muslims today. Some ḥadīths specify that it is the night of the 27th of Ramaḍān (Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* ii, 573-4). The month of Ramaḍān is a time of extra prayers at night *(ṣalāt al-tarāwīḥ)* and often of added devotions and religious studies during the day, when Muslims (except the sick, old, travelers or menstruating women) should observe a total fast from all food, drink and sexual intercourse (see ABSTINENCE; PRAYER). All of these are allowed at nighttime, however, and in some countries the breaking of the fast at the time of the sunset prayer (often accompanied by giving of food to the poor) is a time of celebration and feasting. In urban areas, offices and businesses might alter their work hours to accommodate the fast, closing at noon and reopening in the evening, and families visit each other at night. In the "popular quarters" of Cairo, residents hang out colored lamps during Ramaḍān, and there are special displays of folkloric dances and Ṣūfī *dhikr* at nighttime. The feast that marks the end of Ramaḍān is a day when no fasting is allowed at all (Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* ii, 553), and it is customary for families to dress well on that day and visit each other (an important recent study of this fast is Nabhan, *Das Fest des Fastenbrechns*).

The pilgrimage to Mecca and ʿĪd al-aḍḥā

The *ḥajj* is an elaborate ritual that takes place once a year, involving a pilgrimage to Mecca, circumambulation of the Kaʿba (q.v.) seven times in a counterclockwise direction, praying at the place where Abra-

ham (q.v.; Ibrāhīm) stood to pray, touching or kissing, if possible, the black stone that marks the commencement of circumambulation, running seven times between the hills of Ṣafā and Marwa (q.v.), stoning pillars representing Satan (see DEVIL), a vigil from noon to sunset on the plain of ʿArafa (q.v.) where pilgrims ask for forgiveness, and the sacrificial offering of an animal. All of these rituals contain special prescriptions and prohibitions regarding dress, bodily adornment or grooming, sexual activity, and hunting. The books of ḥadīth and *fiqh* are concerned with informing Muslims of the many details of the ritual and how to perform them. The rationale of the pilgrimage is clarified there mainly in terms of the provision of forgiveness (q.v.) of sins: "There is no day when God sets free more servants from hell than the day of ʿArafa. He draws near, then praises them to the angels, saying, 'What do these want?'" (Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* ii, 680). In this literature the commemorative functions of the rituals are not emphasized.

The Qurʾān tells us that the Kaʿba was built by Abraham and Ishmael (q.v.; Ismāʿīl) at God's command as a place of pilgrimage (Q 2:125, 127), and people are told to take the "station of Abraham" *(maqām Ibrāhīm)* as a place of prayer (Q 2:125), but the association of the rituals with events from the life of Abraham and his family may have come later. Most of the ritual elements were practiced in the pre-Islamic *ḥajj,* and were modified by the Prophet only in minor aspects. Later legends associated the well of Zamzam (see WELLS AND SPRINGS), located near the Kaʿba, with God's provision of water to Ishmael and his mother, Ḥajar, in the desert; the running between Ṣafā and Marwa with Ḥajar's frantic search for water; the stoning at Muzdalifa with Abraham and Ishmael's resistance of Iblīs's (q.v.) temptation to abandon God's command to Abraham to sacrifice his son; and the sacrifice of an animal as a commemoration of God's provision of an animal for Abraham to sacrifice in place of his son (Yāqūt, *Muʿjam,* ii, 943; Azraqī, *Akhbār,* i, 4-5, 31-2; Jeffery, *Islam,* 205-11; Denny, *Introduction,* 132-6). In this respect, the animal sacrifice is purely commemorative and has no redemptive significance. The language of the Qurʾān is less than explicit: the "gift" or "offering" is to be brought to its place (Q 2:196), and shared with the poor (Q 22:36; see also ALMSGIVING). "And for every nation *(umma)* we have appointed rites of devotion *(mansak)* that they may mention *(li-yadhkurū)* the name of God over the cattle that he has bestowed upon them *(ʿalā mā razaqahum min bahīmati l-anʿāmi)*" (Q 22:34). The feast of sacrifice is celebrated by all Muslims all over the world at the same time as it is celebrated by the pilgrims who are on the *ḥajj* (see also SACRIFICE; CONSECRATION OF ANIMALS).

The celebration of the two feast days is meant to be a time of rejoicing. Fasting on these days is not allowed. According to a ḥadīth, Abū Bakr entered the room of his daughter ʿĀʾisha (see ʿĀʾISHA BINT ABĪ BAKR), wife of the Prophet, and found girls singing about the battle of Buʿāth, a pre-Islamic custom. He was shocked and exclaimed, "Are the songs of Satan sung in the house of the Prophet, and this on a feast day?" The Prophet, however, told him to leave them alone: "Every people has its holiday, and this is ours" (Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* ii, 419-20; Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* 205-6). This text is interpreted as permitting songs and merry-making on the feast days, though many commentators hasten to caution against excess in this regard.

The visitation of tombs and celebration of saints' days

After the *ḥajj,* it is recommended that pilgrims visit the tomb of the Prophet in Medina (q.v.). The excellence of Medina over other places is well-attested in ḥadīth

(Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* ii, 686-99), and the space between the Prophet's tomb and his pulpit is described as "one of the gardens of paradise" (ibid., 696). There are ḥadīths prohibiting the visiting of graves, but this prohibition was lifted in later ḥadīths (Ghazālī, *Iḥyāʾ,* i, 320). In time, the tombs of people popularly recognized as saints *(awliyāʾ)* became the focus of pilgrimage because of the blessing *(baraka)* to be obtained from visiting them, especially during their anniversary celebrations, their *mawlid*. The devotees of some saints even claimed that the visitation of their tombs could replace the pilgrimage to Mecca.

The literal meaning of *mawlid* is "birthday," but in most cases the celebration takes place on the anniversary of the saint's death, which is seen as his or her rebirth into the presence of God or "wedding" with the divine presence. In fact, such celebrations in the Indian subcontinent are called *ʿurs,* "wedding." The celebration of *mawlid*s might have begun with the (Shīʿite) Fāṭimid celebrations of the birthdays of the Prophet, ʿAlī (see ʿALĪ B. ABĪ ṬĀLIB), Fāṭima (q.v.), and the reigning Imām (q.v.; see also FAMILY OF THE PROPHET; PEOPLE OF THE HOUSE). N. Kaptein has demonstrated that the *mawlid al-nabī* was introduced in Egypt under the Fāṭimids, certainly by the 6th/12th century, but not before 415/1024, the date which is commonly attested being 517/1123 (*Muḥammad's birthday festival,* 9, 23). Although today's festivities differ in form from those of the Fāṭimids (the Fāṭimid celebrations were held in court during daylight hours, whereas the modern *mawlid* is a popular nocturnal carnival), we lack evidence as to how, exactly, Sunnī Islam adopted this Shīʿite tradition.

Sunnī historians and theologians trace the origin of the *mawlid* to a Prophet's birthday celebration in Ibril, southeast of Mosul, in 1207, arranged by Muẓaffar al-Dīn Kokböri Kokbürü, a brother-in-law of Saladin, and this celebration, influenced by Christian rites, bore many of the features of the modern-day *mawlid* (Ibn Khallikān, *Wafāyāt al-aʿyān,* ii, 550 f.; von Grünebaum, *Muhammadan festivals,* 73-6). Von Grünebaum says that with the growth of Ṣūfism in Egypt under the Sunnī Ayyūbids (1171-1250), the *mawlid* took root there and spread from there throughout the Muslim world (*Muhammadan festivals,* 73). During the same period, in Muslim Spain and northern Morocco, the *mawlid* was introduced as a way of countering Christian influence. The Prophet's *mawlid,* in medieval times as well as today, was sponsored by the government and attended by prominent officials. The word *mawlid* is used not only for the day of celebration, but also for a poem celebrating the Prophet, and such poems may be found publicly recited throughout the Muslim world, in many different languages (Fuchs, Mawlid). We do not know when the anniversary celebrations of saints' days began, variously called *mawlid* or *ziyāra* or *ʿurs* in different countries, and their importance varies from one country to another. In Egypt, thousands of saints' days are celebrated annually, and some Ṣūfīs spend much of their lives traveling the circuit of *mawlid* celebrations (Hoffman, *Sufism, mystics and saints in modern Egypt,* 89-118; McPherson, *Moulids of Egypt*).

The sanctity of a saint's shrine is generated by the fact that it contains its own spiritual center, its own axis that reaches toward heaven, whereas the mosque directs prayers toward the spiritual center of the Kaʿba. To the saint's devotees, the pure body of the holy person buried in the tomb provides a center that constitutes a more direct link to heaven than may be found at a mosque. The degree of sanctity attributed to a saint's shrine depends on the holiness of the person, indicated especially

through the degree of kinship to the Prophet. Saints' shrines exude a sense of power and tranquility, and people visit them to feel peace, seek refuge from their problems, and appeal to the intervention of the saint. Saints' shrines are perceived as places of mercy (q.v.) for the oppressed (see OPPRESSED ON EARTH) and places of power. Visitors cling to the *maqṣūra,* the barrier erected around the *tābūt,* a draped, box-shaped structure built over the burial place of the saint. They kiss and rub the *maqṣūra* and then rub their faces to transfer some of the saint's *baraka* to themselves. The holiness of the saint extends to the surrounding space and anything distributed there to visitors, such as water, candy or perfume. Visitors circumambulate the tomb in a counterclockwise direction, fervently murmuring prayers. Visitors might make a vow to sacrifice an animal and distribute the meat or some other food to the shrine visitors and the poor if their prayers are answered. Such sacrifices take place outside the shrine. *Dhikr,* the Ṣūfī ritual of repeated recitation of the names of God, accompanied by rhythmic breathing and particular body movements such as bowing forward or turning from side to side, often to the accompaniment of music and singing, may be performed within or outside a shrine during the *mawlid* or some other special visiting day. (In Cairo some of the major saints and members of the Prophet's family have weekly *dhikr*s on a particular day of the week.) Specific customs vary somewhat from one country to the next, but evince a remarkable similarity. Visitors also sometimes sing songs of praise to the Prophet and his family. Some visitors sit by the shrine, perhaps reading the Qurʾān. Others sit along the outside wall of the shrine to absorb the blessing of the saint.

During the *mawlid*s in Egypt, many people camp outside on the grounds surrounding the shrines for days or even weeks, offering food and drink to passers-by. The actual day of the *mawlid* is the last night of the celebration, the "great night," the culmination of the festivities' intensity. The festivities begin anywhere from two weeks to two nights before the great night, but build until they reach a feverish pitch on that night when the densest crowds are in attendance, and activities persist until the dawn prayer. Some *mawlid*s open with a procession of Ṣūfī orders, carrying banners and chanting praises. A few of them end with a procession as well. Secular activities, such as the selling of food and toys and attractions like shooting games for men and giant swing sets for children, also attract many people. Some *mawlid*s also feature stalls where barbers provide circumcisions. In the mosque of Sayyid Aḥmad al-Badawī on the "great night" of his *mawlid* in the Egyptian Delta town of Ṭanṭā, the vast floor of the mosque and shrine is covered with families packed tightly together, while they spend the night.

The celebration of *mawlid*s has been criticized by many modern Muslim reformers, especially because of the mixing of men and women and the prominence of secular activities, but also because praying at the tombs of saints is perceived by some Muslims as misguided or even idolatrous (see INTERCESSION). Defenders of the celebrations often point to the commemorative function of the *mawlid*s: They serve to educate people about the lives of the saints who are models of piety. The educational function of the *mawlid*s of the saints is not, however, very much in evidence. Only the *mawlid* of the Prophet appears to be accompanied by much oral recitation of his life. Visiting of the tombs of the Imāms in Shīʿī Islam is not as controversial as the visitation of the tombs of saints among Sunnī Muslims.

Commemorating Ḥusayn's martyrdom

Of all the Muslim festivals, the one that appears most directly commemorative is the Twelver Shīʿī commemoration of the death of the Prophet's grandson Ḥusayn at Karbalāʾ on the tenth day of the Islamic month of Muḥarram, the feast of ʿĀshūrā. Ḥusayn's death is not only perceived as a martyrdom or as a tragic victimization of the righteous members of the Prophet's family, it is also seen as having a redemptive effect for those who love Ḥusayn, grieve over his death, and are willing to share in the suffering of him and his family. "Just as Christ sacrificed himself on the altar of the cross to redeem humanity, so did Ḥusayn allow himself to be killed on the plains of Karbalāʾ to purify the Muslim community of sins" (Enayat, *Political thought,* 183). The customs of ritual grieving, involving oral recitations of the passion of Ḥusayn with public demonstrations of mourning, the "passion plays" (*taʿziya,* cf. Chelkowski, Taʿziya), and the processions of self-flagellation introduced by the Ṣafawids in the sixteenth century gave Shīʿism a distinct ritual complex that assumed great importance in the solidification of communal identity as well as emphasizing the distinctiveness of Shīʿism from Sunnism. In Egypt, an entirely Sunnī country, Ḥusayn's death is commemorated and love for Ḥusayn is celebrated, but the Shīʿī festival is distinctive for its identification with his suffering and the public display of mourning.

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Fetus see BIOLOGY AS THE CREATION AND STAGES OF LIFE

Fig see AGRICULTURE AND VEGETATION

Fighting

Violent physical struggle for victory. The Arabic term for fighting *(qitāl)* is a derived form of the root *q-t-l,* the essential meaning of which is to kill. Its third verbal form *(qātala)* suggests mutuality, i.e. to fight, and is the most common term for such combat in the Qurʾān. *Ḥāraba* in the Qurʾān likewise means to fight and is derived from the root *ḥ-r-b,* from which war *(ḥarb)* is derived, although it is sometimes used in reference to the activity of brigands who wage war against God by sowing corruption (q.v.) on earth (e.g. Q 5:33-4; cf. Abou El Fadl, Ahkam al-bughat). Attention here will be lim-

ited to fighting as derived from *qitāl* (see also EXPEDITIONS AND BATTLES; JIHĀD).

Competition and fighting between unrelated or distantly related kinship (q.v.) groups was a regular characteristic of pre-Islamic Arabian life (see CLANS AND TRIBES; PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QUR'ĀN), and Jewish and Christian Arabs regularly engaged in such fighting along with non-monotheistic Arabs (q.v.; see CHRISTIANS AND CHRISTIANITY; JEWS AND JUDAISM). Common cultural norms in pre-Islamic Arabia regulated warfare and forbade fighting at certain sacred places (*ḥaram,* pl. *aḥrām;* see SACRED PRECINCTS) and during certain sacred periods known commonly as the sacred months *(al-ashhur al-ḥurum)*. Aspects of these pre-Islamic cultural characteristics are reflected in the Qur'ān, which, as the word of God, intended to replace the role of tribal culture in regulating much of Arabian social behavior (see Q 2:190-1, 194, 217; 9:5, 36; see COMMUNITY AND SOCIETY IN THE QUR'ĀN; REVELATION AND INSPIRATION).

The Qur'ān refers to fighting between kinship groups, Muslims fighting non-Muslims or being attacked by them, Muslims fighting other Muslims, and fighting "in the path of God" (*fī sabīli llāhi,* see PATH OR WAY). The Qur'ān is not completely consistent insofar as some verses appear to discourage fighting (Q 15:94-5; 16:125) while others allow fighting for the purpose of defense (Q 2:190; 22:39-40), encourage fighting with certain restrictions (Q 2:191, 217) or command fighting without limitations (Q 2:216; cf. 9:5). Muslim exegetes have attempted to resolve the problem by suggesting that the qur'ānic doctrine on fighting evolved through stages during Muḥammad's prophetic mission from an early period of virtual pacifism to its final position of commanding believers to fight idolatry (see IDOLATRY AND IDOLATERS) and God's enemies (q.v.) without restriction (see CHRONOLOGY AND THE QUR'ĀN; PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD). Modern scholars have begun to challenge this notion, suggesting that such an understanding may have been imposed on the Qur'ān by a later generation wishing to apply divine authority (q.v.) to the Islamic conquests (q.v.; cf. Sachedina, Justifications). The various qur'ānic statements on fighting may in fact reflect different layers of opinion about fighting among early Muslims (Firestone, *Jihad*).

Fighting "in the path of God" is commanded in the Qur'ān (Q 2:190, 244; 4:74-6, 84), as are other activities defined as pious (Q 2:195, 261-2; 4:89; 8:60, 72-4; 9:19-20, etc.; see PIETY). Those who engage in fighting in the path of God are admitted into the garden (q.v.; *al-janna*) or remain in some way alive after dying in battle (Q 2:154; 3:157-8, 169; 3:158, 169, 195; 4:74; 9: 89, 111; 47:4-6, 36; see LIFE), a view which has no parallel in pre-Islamic culture. God assists or even engages in the fighting on behalf of Muslim warriors (Q 3:123-5, 166-7; 8:17, 65-6; 9:14, 25-6; 48:23). Other verses also command fighting not defined specifically as in the path of God (Q 2:216; 4:76; 8:39; 9:123, etc.). The repetitive nature of the command along with the above and other evidence suggests that a significant faction of Muḥammad's followers opposed fighting religious wars, a view that seems to have lost out to a more militant faction (on qur'ānic evidence of resistance to religious warring, see WAR).

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Figurative Language

see RHETORIC OF THE QURʾĀN; SIMILES; METAPHOR

Filth

see CLEANLINESS AND ABLUTION

Fire

Combustion, manifested in light and heat, which was classified in the classical world as one of the four elements. Fire occurs in the Qurʾān both in the other world as well as in this world and it can assume different forms.

As far as the other world is concerned, it is the element that characterizes hell (q.v.) and therefore carries the charge of torment *(ʿadhāb)* for the damned. Within this context, the following terms, which in many cases merely denote hell, are used: *nār,* fire (sometimes specified by *jahannam: nār jahannam,* as in Q 9:35, 68; 35:36; 72:23; 98:6); *jaḥīm,* a term relating to the intenseness of fire; *saʿīr,* fire or flame; *laẓā,* flame (a single occurrence in Q 70:15); and *saqar* (only four occurrences, one in Q 54:48, the other three concentrated in Q 74:26, 27 and 42), a word originating in a root used to describe "a fire so hot that it melts bodies and spirits" *(Lisān al-ʿArab)*. These last two terms are generally considered to be proper names for hell. Finally, there is *ḥuṭama* (two occurrences, both in Q 104:4 and 5) defined by the Qurʾān itself as "the fire lighted by God." Three other terms relating to the intensity of hell-fire and referring to the diverse figures it may assume can be found in connection with the word *ʿadhāb,* pain or punishment: *ʿadhāb al-ḥarīq,* "the torment of burning" (Q 3:181; 8:50; 22:9, 22; 85:10); *ʿadhāb al-ḥamīm,* "the torment of boiling water" (Q 44:48); and *ʿadhāb al-samūm,* "the torment of the blazing and stinking wind" (Q 52:27).

Fire fills up infernal space in its entirety, turning it into an igneous abyss from which there is no escape. The flames stretch out in horizontal columns (Q 104:8-9) and close around the damned who are additionally surrounded by the abyss's vertical burning walls (Q 18:29) and therefore unable "to repulse the fire neither from their faces, nor from their backs" (Q 21:39). These flames throw out sparks so heavy that the Qurʾān compares them, according to two different readings (see READINGS OF THE QURʾĀN) of the verse in question (Q 77:32), with either fortified castles *(qaṣr)* or logs *(qaṣar),* flying as fast as she-camels, the black color of which is tinged with yellow (Q 77:33). Such fire spares nothing and nobody: Its favorite combustible is stone and human flesh (Q 2:24; 66:6); part of its functions is to "roast" *(ṣallā, aṣlā)* the damned who are clad in igneous garments (Q 22:19) or in clothes made out of either boiling copper or pitch (Q 14:50, according to whether one reads *qiṭrin ānin,* as Ibn ʿAbbās does, or *qaṭirān,* as others do). Thus it spares nothing (Q 74:28-9) and burns away the skin, which, however, will be replaced by a new one every time that "it is done to a turn" (*naḍijat,* Q 4:56); "eager to roast" (Q 70:15-6), it is called *al-ḥuṭama* (Q 104:5-6) from a root meaning "to break," and is

thought to shatter whatever enters it (cf. the discussion of *al-ḥuṭama* in Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* ad Q 104:5-9), penetrating even to their viscera (104:6-7). While doing so, it makes an awful noise (Q 25:12) that resembles the bray of an ass (Q 67:7), a sound generally considered to be very ugly (Q 31:19).

In this fiery furnace and in contrast with the numerous gushing springs (see WELLS AND SPRINGS) that characterize the qurʾānic paradise (q.v.), a single well spouts boiling water (Q 88:5), that is to say, liquid fire, with a putrid stuff called *ghassāq* (Q 38:57; 78:24-5) and pus (*māʾ ṣadīd,* Q 14:16), the only beverage at the disposal of the damned (Q 6:70; 37:67; 38:57; 40:72; 47:15; 56:42, 54, 93; 78:25). They have to drink it straight out of the well, whether because it is poured on their heads or because they are immersed in it; this not only involves the burning up of their bowels but also of their skin (Q 18:29; 22:19-20; 40:72; 44:47-8; 56:42, 55, 93). Due to this igneous beverage that is incapable of quenching the thirst of the damned, they will roam in the midst of the flames and the boiling water (Q 55:44), and will drink it as if they were "lost and thirsty camels" (Q 56:55).

Hell-fire also brings about a specific vegetation, a bush and a tree, bearing fruits conceived to torture the damned, which together with *ghislīn* (Q 69:36) — like *ghassāq,* a putrid matter — are the only food of which their diet is composed: the *ḍarīʿ,* a well known dry bush that also grows in the Najd and the Tihāma (sometimes mentioned in ancient poetry as *the* exemplary bad pasture since it dries the she-camel's udders), bears blood-red, prickly fruit that has a bitter taste and "neither fattens, nor allays hunger" (Q 88:6-7). The *zaqqūm,* for its part, a tree mentioned thrice in the Qurʾān (Q 37:62; 44:43; 56:52) and corresponding, like the *ḍarīʿ,* to a terrestrial species which can be found in South Arabia, if one credits the remark made by the botanist Abū Ḥanīfa al-Dīnawārī (cf. *Lisān al-ʿArab*), grows at the very bottom of the furnace. Its fruit looks like snakes' or demons' heads *(ruʾūs al-shayāṭīn)* that "seethe in the bellies like melted bronze, like boiling water" (*ka-l-muhli yaghlī fī l-buṭūn ka-ghalyi l-ḥamīm,* Q 44:45-6). These rather disgusting dishes, all derived from fire, are globally qualified as *ṭaʿām dhū ghuṣṣa,* "food that gets stuck in the throat" (Q 73:13).

In the end, the flames as well as the scanty infernal flora cast a smoky, sparing, dark shadow (Q 56:43-4) that, contrary to the beneficent shade spread by the luxuriant vegetation of paradise, does not at all refresh and, as such, is incapable of protecting the damned from the omnipresent fire.

The igneous element that invests the infernal space has its representatives in this world, all of them more or less connected with the other world. Fire is connoted in this world in connection with: the sun (q.v.); the cataclysms that have annihilated various non- or wrong-believing peoples (see PUNISHMENT STORIES), all of which — save perhaps the deluge — are connected with fire; the burning stakes set up for Abraham (q.v.) by his idolatrous kin who do not want to be turned from their unbelief (see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF; Q 21:68-9; 29:24; 37:97; Abraham, however, is able to walk unscathed through the flames, having been saved by God, who says 'O fire, be coolness and peace for Abraham' [Q 21:69]) and the People of the Ditch (q.v.; *aṣḥāb al-ukhdūd,* Q 85:4-8); the fire of war and the fire of sacrifice — each mentioned once (respectively at Q 5:64 and Q 3:183); the earthly fire of which humankind can take advantage (Q 36:79-80; 56:70-3); and, finally, the burning bush (Q 20:9-14; 27:7-9; 28:29-30). Although a very rich vocabulary is used to describe the above-mentioned cataclysms, the word

generally used for terrestrial fire is *nār;* most of the terms employed with regard to hell-fire disappear, *jaḥīm* occurring only once in the context of the story of Abraham (Q 37:97).

As far as the qurʾānic sun *(shams)* is concerned, it clearly appears to be nothing other than hell-fire: it is said to set to the west of the earth in a well of black mud (or, according to another reading, in a boiling well: *fī ʿaynin ḥamiʾatin,* Q 18:86), and to rise the next day in the east, so that during the night, like the Mesopotamian sun-god Šamaš, it must pass through the subterranean hell where it takes in a supply of fire. Thus, the fiery Arabian sun's task consists in ripening and withering the earthly vegetation to which the spring rains have given rise (see EARTH). And in so far as *shams* is female, she forms a pair with life-giving-rain *(māʾ, ghayth),* sun's male homology in this world; the former represents the cosmic fire that characterizes hell, whereas the latter symbolizes the cosmic fresh water that characterizes paradise.

With respect to the terrestrial *ʿadhāb* of the annihilated peoples, the central igneous figure responsible for the death of four of them, Thamūd (q.v.), ʿĀd (q.v.), Midian (q.v.), Moses (q.v.) and his people — the annihilation of this last group, however, being only momentary, as they are restored to life shortly thereafter — is the thunderbolt to which the text refers with four different words. These are: *ṣāʿiqa,* "thunderbolt" (Q 41:13, 17; 51:43-5), *rajfa,* "a single shock" (Q 7:77-8), *ṣayḥa,* "a single cry" (Q 11:67, 15:80-3; 54:31), and *ṭāghiya,* "the excessive one" (Q 69:5), all used to describe the torment of the Thamūd, thus implying the same atmospheric phenomenon. *Ṣāʿiqa* is "a fire that falls off the heaven with a terrible thunder-clap" *(Lisān al-ʿArab)* as well as "the flash of lightning when it burns a human being" (ibid.), and one may therefore conclude that *rajfa* describes the shock actually felt by the struck victim, whereas *Ṣayḥa,* being at the same time a metaphor for God's anger (q.v.), expresses the audible apprehension of the phenomenon in question. Finally, *ṭāghiya* seems to refer to the fact that any excessive event, no matter what it is, is considered to be negative.

A second group of non- or wrong-believing people — the people of Lot (Q 7:84; 11:82-3; 15:74; 25:40; 26:173; 27:58; 51:33; 54:34) and the so-called "People of the Elephant" (q.v.; Q 105:1-5) — have been annihilated by stone rains, to which the *ṣayḥa* (Q 15:73) must be added, at least as far as the people of Lot are concerned. Solid rains in the Qurʾān are always bound to fire, because the stones are thought either to have been baked in it or at least branded (*musawwama,* Q 11:82-3) with it. They can also bring out a specific vegetation (see AGRICULTURE AND VEGETATION) — *ushar, ḥarmal* and *ḥanẓal* — that is, like the infernal flora, caustic and bitter, and therefore inedible even for animals, and capable of causing diseases like smallpox *(judarī)* and measles *(ḥaṣaba)* that are supposed to lead, like fire itself, to the putrescence of the entire body (see the legend of the People of the Elephant in Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh,* i, 942-5; id., *History,* 229-35; cf. id., *Tafsīr,* xxx, 303-4).

The last group of annihilated nations is composed of Pharaoh's (q.v.) troops and Noah's (q.v.) people, both apparently victims of water (q.v.): salt-water with regard to the first, fresh water for the latter. Yet some textual data point to the fact that seawater might have been considered a mixture of fresh water and fire: at first, the Qurʾān qualifies it as *milḥ ujāj* (Q 25:53; 35:12), the second of these epithets meaning not only "very bitter," but also "very hot," while the root it derives from refers to the blazing and burning of fire. Secondly, the narrative of Moses leading the Israel-

ites out of Egypt (q.v.) is related in sixteen verses, scattered in ten different sūras (Q 2:50; 7:136, 138; 8:54; 10:90; 17:103, 20:77-8; 26:63-6; 28:40; 44:24-5; 51:40) in which the sea, when it is mentioned, is systematically designated by two different terms, *baḥr* and *yamm,* the first only occurring in connection with the successful crossing of the Israelites (see CHILDREN OF ISRAEL), the second, a foreign Semitic word with negative connotations, being assigned to the fatal crossing of Pharaoh's troops. These textual data seem to hint at the double nature of sea-water, composed of birth-giving, fresh water connoted by *baḥr,* and mortal fire designated by *yamm*. As for the qurʾānic deluge, it should be mentioned that it might have been considered a flood of hot water, in other words, of liquid fire, a conception that is also found in the Talmud and the Midrash, as well as in the apocryphal literature, which would explain why the qurʾānic flood is said to start when the *"tannūr"* — a round hole in the ground, used as an oven for baking bread — "will be coming to a boil" (Q 23:27; see Fraenkel, *Aramäischen Fremdwörter,* 26; Hebbo, *Fremdwörter,* 63-4). Thus, fire could also be responsible for the deluge.

While the references to fire as a destroying element are continuous and run throughout the entire text from beginning to end, the kind of fire of which human beings can make use is only mentioned twice (Q 36:78-80 and 56:71-3). It has been set by God in the "green trees" *(al-shajar al-akhḍar)* so that men can strike sparks from them. These passages obviously allude to the fact that the ancient Arabs used to produce fire by striking sparks either from different species of wood (e.g. *ʿafār, markh, sawwās, marj, manj, ʿushar*) or from flints. And since the "green trees" — where the fire is concealed and from which it only manages to escape when two pieces of wood are rubbed against each other — are among the figures that rain water is apt to assume, their watery nature reduces the fire's destroying violence and heat, thus making it serviceable for humankind.

The final situation in which fire is involved is that of the burning bush (Q 20:9-14; 27:7-9; 28:29-30) which catches Moses' eye one night while, on their way back to Egypt, he and his family are lost in the desert. At first, Moses takes it for a campfire where he hopes he may get a brand to warm them up and to light their way. But when the bush starts speaking, he suddenly realizes that it is God himself who appears to him in this form. And as trees and vegetation in general are, as just mentioned, of aqueous nature, the burning bush is a complex figure is which the vivifying water and the mortal fire are in balance. In other words, it appears as a perfect metaphor for "the one who gives life and death," that is to say, God.

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Firm Handle

see RELIGION

Fish

see ANIMAL LIFE; HUNTING AND FISHING

Fishing

see HUNTING AND FISHING

Fitna

see TRIAL

Fiṭra

see CREATION

Flight

see FLYING

Flogging

Beating with a rod or whip. Flogging *(jald)* is a common punishment in Islamic law (see CHASTISEMENT AND PUNISHMENT; LAW AND THE QUR'ĀN), prescribed both as a *ḥadd* (i.e. divinely sanctioned) and as a *ta'zīr* penalty (i.e. at the judge's discretion; see PROHIBITED DEGREES). The Arabic term *jald* is from the root *j-l-d,* meaning to flog, whip or lash and it appears in the Qur'ān in the form of a command (q.v.) against the culprits (*ijlidū* at Q 24:2 and *ijlidūhum* at Q 24:4). Flogging is the *ḥadd* punishment prescribed in the Qur'ān for the crimes of fornication *(zinā')* and false accusation of fornication *(qadhf)*. As a *ḥadd* penalty, it is a claim of God *(ḥaqq Allāh)* which implies that it cannot be pardoned but rather must be implemented by the ruler (see KINGS AND RULERS). For the offence of *zinā',* the punishment according to Q 24:2 is one hundred lashes for the free, unmarried Muslim and fifty lashes for the slave (see SLAVES AND SLAVERY). This is considered to be the final verse to be revealed concerning the crime of *zinā',* after the earlier Q 4:15 which refers to the adulteress being confined in her family's house until her death (see DEATH AND THE DEAD) or until another piece of divine legislation came into force (see ADULTERY AND FORNICATION; ABROGATION). For the married person, the punishment of stoning (q.v.) as prescribed in the sunna (q.v.) of the Prophet became the majority opinion. Jurists, however, are divided as to whether the unmarried culprit is to be banished for one year after flogging and whether the married culprit is to be flogged before stoning (Tabrīzī, *Mischcat-ul-Masabih,* ii, 182-90).

False accusation of unchastity (see CHASTITY) or defamation is termed *qadhf* in the Qur'ān and incurs a penalty of eighty lashes for the free person and forty for the slave (Q 24:4-5). Furthermore, the future testimony of the *maqdhūf* should not be accepted (see WITNESSING AND TESTIFYING), although this too is the object of controversy due to the qur'ānic verses, "except those who afterwards repent" (Q 24:5; see REPENTANCE AND PENANCE). For the crime of drinking wine (*shurb al-khamr,* see INTOXICANTS), the *ḥadd* punishment is flogging or beating; according to the major collectors of ḥadīth this is what the Prophet prescribed without fixing a definite number of lashes and irrespective of whether the culprit was intoxicated or not (Tabrīzī, *Mischcat-ul-Masabih,* ii, 197-9; Ḥaṣarī, *al-Ḥudūd wa-l-ashriba*). The tradition of Anas b. Mālik (d. 91-93/709-711) reports that the Prophet gave a beating with palm branches and shoes forty times and that Abū Bakr (q.v.) gave forty lashes. When 'Umar (q.v.) became caliph (q.v.), the number of drinkers had risen sharply and so he increased the punishment to eighty lashes (Bayhaqī, *Sunan,* viii, 320).

In the classical *fiqh* texts, flogging or lashing denoted a common *taʿzīr* penalty, i.e. a type of chastisement. When *taʿzīr* is inflicted in the form of flogging — except according to the Mālikī school — the number of lashes must not exceed that in the *ḥadd* punishment (Izzi Dien, Taʿzīr). Regarding the implementation of the lashes, the culprit is to be whipped either in the sitting or the standing posture at a time when it is neither too hot nor too cold. Mālik (d. 179/796) states that the flogging is to be applied to the back while Abū Ḥanīfa (d. 150/767) and al-Shāfiʿī (d. 204/820) claim that all parts are to be touched except for the sexual organs and the face (q.v.). Moreover, whipping as a form of punishment should not be so severe as to result in the death of the punished (Ibn Rushd, *Primer*). The ordinances in Muslim countries outline in great detail the circumstances and manner in which whipping is to be applied or excused (Waqar-ul-Haq, *Criminal laws,* 456-7).

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Flood

see NOAH; PUNISHMENT STORIES

Flora and Fauna

see AGRICULTURE AND VEGETATION

Flying

Moving in the air with or as with wings. The concept of flying appears in a variety of forms in the Qurʾān. Perhaps the closest reference to elevated motion through the air is associated with the flying mountain (cf. Q 2:63-93; 4:154) which rose up into the air and hovered over the heads of the Children of Israel (q.v.) to compel them to keep the covenant (q.v.). A related notion, that of propulsion through the air from one place to another, is associated with the *isrāʾ* and *miʿrāj* (Q 17:1), the journey (see ASCENSION) of the Prophet from Mecca (q.v.) to Jerusalem (q.v.) and thence to paradise (q.v.). The motif was picked up by Ṣūfīs and made an essential ingredient of their metaphysical understanding of inner space (see ṢŪFISM AND THE QURʾĀN; SPATIAL RELATIONS). A less direct reference to flying is more properly related to ideas of ascending and descending. For example, one finds a reference to ascending into the skies in Q 6:125, where the image is one of climbing stairs into the heavens (see HEAVEN AND SKY), and in Q 35:10, where the verb denotes the ascension of odors (see ODORS AND SMELLS) from words of purity (see PURITY AND IMPURITY), based on the same idea as the stench from evil words and deeds rising up into God's nostrils (see EVIL DEEDS). We also read of the descent of the table (q.v.; Q 5:114) as well as the "sending down" of manna (Q 2:57; 7:160; 20:80), a meaning with some affinity to that of God sending down manna to the Hebrew people in the wilderness and the "sending down" of the Qurʾān. The importance of descent is

surely not the movement "down," but the affirmation of God's benevolence (see BLESSING) providing both spiritual and material food (see FOOD AND DRINK) for his people. The movement down is also fortified by references to the Night of Power (q.v.), the potent moment during Ramaḍān (q.v.) when the Prophet received the book (q.v.). Contemporary vigils during this holy night attract believers (see FESTIVALS AND COMMEMORATIVE DAYS), hopeful of catching a glimpse of the holy descent, the results of which will portend good omens (q.v.) for the year. Transport through the air is also implied in the verses affirming that God "raised" Jesus (q.v.; see RESURRECTION) as in Q 4:158, where God raised Jesus to him, or Q 3:55 where God comforts Jesus with "I will take you and raise you to myself…," as well as the fascinating story of the transportation of the throne of the Queen of Sheba (q.v.) to the court of Solomon (q.v.) as proof (q.v.) of God's true message (Q 27:22-43). There is also the dramatic case of Q 22:31 where those who associate anyone with God are said to fall from the sky and the birds or the wind will then toss them through the air into a distant place. Consequently flying in the Qurʾān is a constellation of meanings embracing movement across distances and through the air with a variety of religious metaphors and journeys (see METAPHOR; JOURNEY). Their ultimate purpose appears designed to express God's control of space and distance.

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Food and Drink

Nourishment, in solid and liquid form, that sustains life. This topic may be examined in contexts where the following verbal roots frequently occur in the Qurʾān: *ṭ-ʿ-m,* "to eat," (fourth form "to feed, nourish"), *ʾ-k-l,* "to eat," and *sh-r-b,* "to drink." (See AGRICULTURE AND VEGETATION for additional terms related to food and drink that deal with some of the major food resources available to the peoples of early Islam, and with vegetation in general.) The qurʾānic terms treated here are those that are related to food consumption. These key verbal roots occur more than two dozen times each, with *ʾ-k-l* and *sh-r-b* appearing together eight times. Of these latter phrases, the most famous is perhaps that in Q 7:31 where God beseeches the children of Adam to dress properly when attending the mosque (q.v.), and to "eat and drink, but avoid excess for he does not love the intemperate." A tradition transmitted by Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal and attributed to the Prophet stresses proper behavior in matters of food, dress and the giving of alms, since God loved to witness his servants enjoying his bounty (see BLESSING) without arrogance and extravagance. This expressed an essential Islamic ethical norm of moderation in all things. Another social norm associated with food is feeding the needy, either as a matter of one's daily routine (Q 74:44; 22:28; 89:18; 107:3) or as expiation for a ritual unfulfilled (Q 5:95; 58:4). The prophets of God are described as dependent upon food and drink just like all other human beings. In Q 25:20 it says, "We have sent no messengers (see MESSENGER) who did not

eat and walk about the markets" (q.v.; see also Q 23:33; on Muḥammad, Q 25:7; Jesus [q.v.] and Mary [q.v.], Q 5:75), a signal of how basic these actions are to humanity.

Food and drink in the Qurʾān

General terms for food, nourishment and sustenance in the metaphorical sense of livelihood occur in but a few instances, almost exclusively connected with the divine creative power. For example, Q 41:10 reads "in four days he provided (the earth) with sustenance *(aqwāt,* sing. *qūt)* for all alike" and then, in Q 4:85, God is described as the *muqīt,* "nourisher" of everything (see also Q 26:79). A similar description of God is found in Q 6:14: "He gives nourishment [to all] and is nourished by none" *(huwa yuṭʿim wa-lā yuṭʿam),* a phrase structurally parallel to the description of God's oneness in sūra 112 (*lam yalid wa-lam yūlad,* Q 112:3). *Maʿīsha,* victuals, necessaries of life or livelihood, is found in the phrase "We deal out to them their livelihood in this world" (Q 43:32; see also 51:57). These expressions are precisely parallel to those discussed in the article AGRICULTURE AND VEGETATION, where a sign of God's benevolent, creative power is the water (q.v.) sent down from the skies bringing forth vegetation and crops from the earth (q.v.). In describing God's prophets, humankind's dependence upon food is expressed in Q 21:8 and for this divine bounty one is enjoined to "Eat of what your lord has given you *(kulū min rizqi rabbikum)* and render thanks to him" (Q 34:15).

There are more food terms of a specific nature, many only in unique references as, for example, the gourd (*yaqṭīn,* Q 37:146). In an interesting passage (Q 2:61) the Israelites, during their sojourn in the desert, plead with Moses to call upon his lord to provide a change in their monotonous diet *(ṭaʿām wāḥid),* to "… give us from that which the earth produces, green herbs *(baql),* cucumbers *(qiththāʾ),* garlic *(fūm),* lentils *(ʿadas)* and onions *(baṣal).*" According to al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923), the Israelites were bored with eating nothing but quail meat and drinking "a honey sent down from the skies called *mann*" (*Tafsīr,* ii, 125-6, ad Q 2:61). The plants mentioned by way of contrast were common items in the diet of the Arabian populace, as each is found frequently in the extant Arabic culinary manuals of the medieval period. Al-Ṭabarī also notes that commentators differed as to the correct interpretation of *fūm,* invariably rendered in translations as garlic. Some commentators said *fūm* meant bread in general, others that it referred to wheat in the dialect of the Banū Hāshim. Oral tradition had it that one could say *fawwimū lanā* in the sense of "they prepare bread for us" *(ikhtabizū lanā).* But as al-Ṭabarī relates that the Israelites had neither bread nor anything else for variety, *fūm* might well have been intended to mean the bread they lacked (*Tafsīr,* ii, 127-30, ad Q 2:61). Fruits *(fawākih,* coll. sing. *fākiha)* are mentioned collectively several times (in contexts both terrestrial, Q 55:11, and eschatological, Q 23:19). Specific fruits are mentioned such as the pomegranate (*rummān,* Q 6:141), the fig *(tīn,* Q 95:1, cited along with the olive, *zaytūn),* a kind of black grape (*gharābīb,* Q 35:27), and grapes (*ʿinab,* Q 17:91; 80:28 etc.). These are often named in connection with the date palm (q.v.), the most important fruit-producing tree in the Middle East. Ibn Kathīr (d. 774/1373) notes that the reference to fruits and specifically to pomegranate and dates in Q 55:68 indicates that these two were superior in rank to all other fruits. Two spices commonly used in cooking, ginger (*zanjabīl,* Q 76:17) and mustard (*khardal,* Q 21:47), are both mentioned in eschatological contexts, while salt (*milḥ,* Q 25:53) only occurs in reference to salt and fresh sea water of the earth. Finally, several of the references to an ear or spike of grain (coll. *sunbul,* pl. *sanābil,*

sunbulāt) appears in Joseph's interpretation of the Egyptian ruler's dream (Q 12:43, 46, 47); the word for bread (q.v.; *khubz,* Q 12:36) is mentioned only in the dream of Joseph's prison cell mate.

Rather more curious are the sparse references (in comparison, say, to the date palm) to milk (q.v.; *laban*) and honey (q.v.; *ʿasal*), common items of daily consumption. In Q 16:66, pure milk from cattle is noted as yet another sign of God's benevolence, but the only other reference to either is contained in a description of paradise (Q 47:15), the inhabitants of which will enjoy the delights of the rivers of water and wine and of milk and honey of biblical fame. In his commentary on the verse, Ibn Kathīr (*Tafsīr,* vii, 295-7) stresses the "unearthly" nature of these celestial sources of nourishment. Water and milk are of the purest quality imaginable, as is honey "which does not come from the bee's belly"; wine does not have the loathsome taste and smell associated with it because it was not made "from grape trodden upon by the feet of men." Several traditions attributed to the Prophet explain that in paradise there are seas of water, milk, wine and honey from which these rivers flow (Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad,* ii, 158; Tirmidhī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* iv, 680-1, no. 2542). Another word, *raḥīq,* meaning pure wine tempered with the waters of the fountain Tasnīm (see SPRINGS AND FOUNTAINS) is also described as a heavenly reward for the righteous (Q 83:25).

There is a single reference to the sheep and goat (*ḍaʾn, maʿz,* Q 6:143), the former being the most commonly consumed animal flesh in the Middle East throughout the medieval period. Animal fat (*shaḥm,* pl. *shuḥūm,* Q 6:146), referring to either the cow or sheep, was the most widely used form of cooking fat; the other cooking medium, olive oil, appears only in the famous Light Verse (*zayt,* Q 24:35; Q 23:20 mentions a tree on Mount Sinai which yields an oil, *duhn,* and a condiment for the table; see also ANOINTING). The cow (*baqara,* and specifically, see Q 2:67; also *baqar,* Q 6:144 and *baqarāt,* Q 12:43) gives its name to the longest sūra of the Qurʾān, while the word for calf *(ʿijl)* occurs in several verses, most often associated with Israelite worship which incurred the anger of the lord (Q 2:51, 54, 93; 4:153; 7:152; see CALF OF GOLD). The prophet Abraham (q.v.) offered his guests roasted calf (*ʿijl ḥanīdh,* Q 11:69) in one verse and fatted calf (*ʿijl samīn,* Q 51:26) in another; these are the only passages in the Qurʾān where particular reference is made to food prepared in a domestic setting. Game (*ṣayd,* Q 5:1, 94, 95, 96) including fish (*ṣayd al-baḥr,* Q 5:96; *ḥūt,* Q 18:63 and see also Q 16:14; 35:12; see HUNTING AND FISHING) was consumed but was not permitted while on pilgrimage (q.v.); other food restrictions will be noted later. Fowl is mentioned only in connection with the delights of paradise (*laḥm ṭayr,* Q 56:21). A special case of food slaughtered for consumption is the camel sacrificed in Mecca (*budn,* sing. *badana,* Q 22:36-7; see also Q 22:28). The camel (q.v.) in general (*ibil,* Q 6:144) is mentioned as one of the "eight" kinds of livestock (i.e. the male and female of four species) permitted by God for human use.

In connection with the general food vocabulary brief mention may be made of certain verbs commonly found in the medieval Arabic culinary manuals, but which are used in a metaphorical or secondary sense in the Qurʾān. For example, two such verbs occur in Q 4:56 referring to punishment in hell (q.v.), "Those who deny our signs, we shall burn *(ṣalā)* in the fire (q.v.); just as their skins are thoroughly done *(nadijat julduhum)* we shall exchange them for other skins…" The many occurrences

of the verb *ṣalā,* conventionally meaning "to roast," all refer to punishment in the afterlife, in the sense of "to roast in hell." The single use of the verb *qalā(ū),* the primary meaning of which is "to fry" is used in the secondary sense (Q 93:3) of "to detest." Another, rather different observation may be made of two instances where nominal forms found in the Qurʾān are derived from verbal roots denoting processes for cooking meat; the verb *ḥanadha* (*ʿijl ḥanīdh,* Q 11:69, "roasted calf") means to roast meat in a hole in the ground covered by glowing embers or heated stones, while *ramaḍa* (Ramaḍān, Q 2:185) means to cook an animal in its skin in the same manner before skinning and eating it.

Finally, we may end this section noting the few terms for vessels or appliances used in the household (see CUPS AND VESSELS; INSTRUMENTS). A drinking cup is mentioned once (*ṣuwāʿ,* Q 12:72), while in Q 34:13 the terms *jifān,* large basins (sing. *jafna*) and *qudūr,* cauldrons (sing. *qidr*) are found. Other vessels include the cup (*kaʾs,* e.g. Q 56:18); glass bottles or goblets (*qawārīr,* sing. *qārūra,* e.g. Q 56:18); ewer, goblet (*abārīq,* sing. *ibrīq,* Q 56:18); dish, container, receptacle (*āniya,* sing. *ināʾ,* Q 76:15). Two occurrences of the term *tannūr* ("oven," Q 11:40; 23:27) both relate to the story of Noah (q.v.). The bee-hive-shaped oven of Babylonian origin became the most widely diffused appliance for domestic baking (as distinct from the larger communal oven, the *furn*) throughout the Middle East and can still be found in use to this day. The qurʾānic usage is metaphorical and Ibn Kathīr interprets Q 11:40 (following Ibn ʿAbbās and the majority of the pious ancestors), in the light of Q 54:11-2, which reads "We opened the gates of heaven with pouring rain and caused the earth to burst with gushing springs.…" Hence, *tannūr* becomes a metaphor for the surface of the globe; the oven's orifices are the springs from which the divinely ordered deluge would burst forth to cover the earth.

Food taboos in scripture and tradition

The terms dealt with in the sections above have referred to qurʾānic contexts chiefly depicting the benevolent gifts of God to his creatures on earth or to his reward and punishment (q.v.) in the afterlife. The present section shall examine passages treating certain emblematic prohibitions of food and drink (see LAWFUL AND UNLAWFUL), the adherence to which were "markers" separating one religious community from another. According to the believer's perception, adherence to the food laws was also one determinant in the individual's path to salvation. In humankind's pristine state in paradise (q.v.), there was only one food prohibition when God said to Adam and his wife (see ADAM AND EVE) "eat of its fruits to your hearts' content wherever you will. But never approach this tree or you shall both become transgressors" (Q 2:35; cf. 7:19). The tree in question was the tree of immortality (*shajarat al-khuld,* Q 20:120). Seduced by their enemy Satan into defying their lord, Adam and his wife suffered banishment from paradise (see FALL OF MAN). The food prohibitions to Adam's descendants are offered in the same spirit, "Men, eat of what is lawful and wholesome on the earth and do not walk in Satan's footsteps, for he is your inveterate foe" (Q 2:168; cf. 6:142; see ENEMIES) and then "give thanks to God if it is him you worship" (Q 2:172). In the historical continuum from the Age of Ignorance (q.v.; *jāhiliyya*) to Islam, al-Ṭabarī (*Tafsīr,* iii, 317, ad Q 2:172) explains these verses to mean that whereas God himself had permitted what was lawful and wholesome, pre-Islamic food prohibitions followed obedience of the devil or the

customs of the tribal fathers and ancestors (see SOUTH ARABIA, RELIGION IN PRE-ISLAMIC). For example, peoples of the *jāhiliyya* had prohibited the eating of certain camels, whereas Islamic prohibitions did not embrace these, as they were not enumerated by God in passages like Q 2:173, 6:142-5 and 5:3-4. Only the most interesting of these passages — namely, those found at the beginning of the sūra entitled *al-Mā'ida,* "the Table" (Q 5) — shall be examined here, in conjunction with Ibn Kathīr's and al-Ṭabarī's commentaries on these verses.

The first four prohibited items are carrion *(mayta),* blood (*damm,* see BLOOD AND BLOOD CLOT), flesh of swine *(laḥm khinzīr),* and meat consecrated to anything other than God (see CONSECRATION OF ANIMALS). Carrion is dealt with in a separate article (see CARRION). Blood in this passage is interpreted to mean the "spilt blood" (*damm masfūḥ,* cf. Q 6:145) of a correctly-executed slaughter which then, according to a prophetic tradition, permitted the consumption of the animal's organs, the kidney and spleen. As for swine, the flesh of both domestic and wild species was prohibited; reading Q 5:3 again with Q 6:145, the commentators added that its flesh was an abomination and the prohibition extended to all parts of the animal, including its fat (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* xii, 190 f.). Meat slaughtered without consecration to God alone meant flesh dedicated to created objects such as graven images. In his commentary to Q 6:118, al-Ṭabarī (*Tafsīr,* xii, 67) notes that this is addressed to those Peoples of the Book who believe in the unicity of God, namely Jews and Christians, but excludes idolaters and people like the Magians (q.v.; Majūs) who do not possess a scripture.

In connection with carrion *(mayta),* one should examine the next five items prohibited in Q 5:3, and which are essentially an extension of the preceding injunction: "You are forbidden the flesh of strangled animals *(munkhaniqa),* and of those beaten to death *(mawqūdha);* of those killed by a fall *(mutaraddiya)* or gored *(naṭīḥa)* to death; or mangled by beasts of prey *(mā akala l-sabu'u)*." The phrase immediately following, "except what you have (lawfully) slaughtered yourselves," was interpreted to mean that if any of the preceding categories of animal were still alive, evidenced by the blinking of an eye or other movement, then its flesh was permitted if it were properly sacrificed. Some scholars among the Medinans, however, regarded all these categories as prohibited, the exceptive phrase applying only to what God had made legal for slaughter. In a story recounted by al-Ṭabarī, a group of idolaters asked the Prophet, "'When a sheep dies, who or what causes it to die?' The Prophet replied, 'God,' to which the idolaters retorted, 'So you claim that what you and your companions slaughter is permissible to eat, but what God kills is forbidden!'" This apparently prompted the revelation of the verse to eat only meat consecrated in God's name, for what he caused to die was understood to be carrion *(mayta).*

God, however, forgives the eating of prohibited meat when one is driven by hunger and where no sin is intended (Q 5:3). In two other passages that indicate God's forgiveness of violation of dietary laws (Q 2:173; 6:145), the condition of hunger is not mentioned explicitly. Commentators then explained that one could eat prohibited meat only from fear of dying of hunger (see FAMINE).

Running through the subject of food taboos is a matter of community distinction between believers and those who "walk in Satan's footsteps" (Q 6:142). This phrase and the pagans' habits mentioned in Q 6:138 are explained by al-Ṭabarī

(*Tafsīr,* xii, 139-46) to indicate that the idolaters' food customs were based upon their own judgment without heed to God's permission or, conversely, that they forbade themselves certain benefits granted by God to believers and therefore they obeyed the devil and defied the Compassionate One. In his commentary to Q 2:173, al-Ṭabarī (*Tafsīr,* ad loc.) notes that "intending neither to sin nor to transgress" when compelled to eat forbidden meat entails the intention neither to disassociate oneself from the way of God (see PATH OR WAY) nor to withdraw from the community of believers. In Q 5:5, another instance of intercommunity food customs, to which allusion has already been made, appears resolved: "The food of those who received the book (q.v.) is lawful to you, and yours to them." Al-Ṭabarī comments (*Tafsīr,* ix, 572-3) that the sacrificial meat and food of Jews and Christians who had received, respectively, the Torah and the Gospels was permitted; but forbidden for consumption were the sacrifices of those who possessed no scripture, who neither confessed the unity of God, nor adhered to the faith of the People of the Book (q.v.; see also Q 3:93). Al-Ṭabarī reports a tradition that points to a problem which possibly engaged some early Muslim scholars; by this account, the sacrificial meat of the Christian Arab tribe of Banū Taghlib was deemed forbidden owing to their persistent habit of drinking wine (*khamr,* see INTOXICANTS; Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* ix, 575; Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr,* iii, 57 [quoting the tradition from al-Ṭabarī]). This was another Muslim community "marker" to which we shall now turn.

"No blame shall be attached to those that have embraced the faith and done good works (see GOOD DEEDS; ETHICS AND THE QUR'ĀN) in regard to any food they may have eaten, so long as they fear (q.v.) God and believe in him and do good works" (Q 5:93). Al-Ṭabarī's comment on this passage (*Tafsīr,* xii, 139-46, ad Q 5:93) first relates it to a preceding verse (Q 5:90) that wine was among the abominations of Satan and therefore best avoided. Yet there were those in the nascent community, Companions of the Prophet (q.v.), who had died at the battle of Badr (q.v.) or at Uḥud, and who had been drinkers of wine before its prohibition expressed in Q 5:90; they were nevertheless forgiven owing to their belief in God and the good deeds they performed. Al-Ṭabarī defines wine as any beverage which "veils" *(khammara)* the mind in a metaphorical sense, the way a *khimār* "veils" or covers a woman's head (*Tafsīr,* iv, 320-1, ad Q 2:219). The sin resulting from this cloaked state of mind was that knowledge of the lord slipped into oblivion. Before the prohibition, wine and gambling were conceded to have some benefit, although their harm was greater than any good (Q 2:219). This, according to a report in al-Ṭabarī, prompted some to give up drinking until another verse was revealed which said, "And the fruits of the palm and the vine from which you derive intoxicants *(sakaran)* and wholesome food; verily in that is a sign for those who have sense" (Q 16:67) and those who had abstained resumed drinking. Another early verse had warned that believers should not attend their prayers in a state of inebriation (Q 4:43). When it was deemed appropriate and necessary, the prohibition found in Q 5:90, abrogating the earlier verses (see ABROGATION), was revealed (see OCCASIONS OF REVELATION) and wine drinking was made a sin in itself (see SIN, MAJOR AND MINOR; BOUNDARIES AND PRECEPTS).

The difference between wine and pork in qur'ānic food taboos was the progressive series of prescription against the former and the initial and absolute prohibition of the latter. In the present state of knowledge

about early Islam it is difficult to determine whether this also reflected differing social attitudes during the formative period of the Islamic community. Possibly the prohibition of pork was more easily adopted than that of wine. For example, evidence suggests that whereas medical opinion accepted the curative properties of alcohol until at least the early fourth/tenth century, three centuries later even medical attitudes had hardened against its use. Of course, the pious, devout Muslim would have avoided alcoholic drink as a matter of religious principle from the beginning (see Waines, Medieval controversy).

One final observation to conclude this section concerns Mary Douglas' well known analysis of dietary rules in the Hebrew Bible and her conclusion that they could not be sustained in the Islamic context. For Douglas, the Jewish dietary laws were like signs which inspired meditation on the oneness, purity and completeness of God and by avoidance "holiness was given a physical expression in every encounter with the animal kingdom and at every meal" (Douglas, Abominations, 57). For Muslims, on the other hand, whose food taboos were far less exclusive in intent than the Jewish, the object of avoidance was more simply and directly piety (q.v.) towards and obedience (q.v.) of God.

Food and drink in early Islamic literature

Food and drink were topics of interest among the cultured urban public throughout the formative period of the Islamic community. That concern was both religious and secular. Apart from the relevant contents of scripture and the contribution recorded in the commentaries examined in this article, there had emerged by the third/ninth century the first compilations of traditions attributed to the prophet Muḥammad (see ḤADĪTH AND THE QUR'ĀN). The ḥadīth collections of al-Bukhārī (d. 256/870) and Muslim (d. 261/875), for example, contained books on food and drink, and on matters related to hunting and butchery. Pious attention to the words and deeds of the Prophet extended to medicine as well; a book on this subject is found in both al-Bukhārī and Muslim (see also MEDICINE AND THE QUR'ĀN). During a journey to eastern Islamic lands, the Andalusian scholar and jurist ʿAbd al-Malik b. Ḥabīb (d. 238/853) compiled a medical compendium which contains, along with data drawn anonymously from the Greek tradition, the earliest known collection of material from the Prophet and his Companions on medical themes in which he records the unattributed saying that "the best medicine is based on experience and its most important aspect is diet." Later, the qurʾānic verse "eat and drink but avoid excess" (Q 7:31) was interpreted as a scriptural foundation of Prophetic medicine since, according to Ibn Kathīr, some of the Prophet's Companions argued that God "had gathered together all of medicine in this half verse." This indicated the importance of diet in the preservation of health and its restoration in times of illness. Ibn Ḥabīb's work offers grounds to correct the view that Prophetic medicine *(al-ṭibb al-nabawī)* represented the "Islamic dethronement of Galen… in favour of Beduin quackery and superstition" (Burgel, Arabic medicine, 59). Rather, Prophetic medicine accepted the theoretical framework of humoral pathology but attempted to spiritualize its source of authority, reason, acknowledging only God as the creator and arbiter of body and soul.

Then, in what may be more properly called "secular literature" the food lore of the urban and urbane population was reflected in two encyclopaedic works, the *ʿUyūn al-akhbār* of Ibn Qutayba (d. 276/889) and the *ʿIqd al-farīd* of Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi (d. 328/940). Earlier, the wine

poems of Abū Nuwās (d. ca. 200/815) had crowned a long evolution of poets' involvement with the Bacchic theme; but it must be remembered, too, that it was Muslim mystics who put the erotic and Bacchic framework to use in their poetic expressions of drunken love for God. Finally, the earliest extant cookbook of the late fourth/tenth century by Ibn Sayyār al-Warrāq reflects culinary developments from the reigns of the first ʿAbbāsid caliphs; other cookbooks illustrate a rich and varied culinary tradition down to the eighth/fourteenth century, which spanned the regions from Iraq and Persia to al-Andalus. The cookbooks are also related to the medical interest in dietetics illustrated by the works of Abū Bakr al-Rāzī (d. 313/925) and his contemporary al-Isrāʾīlī (d. ca. 323/935).

Conclusion

In sum, food and drink touch the vital core of Islamic religious ethics, belonging in part to the worship *(ʿibādāt)* of God by the believers, following the explicit prohibitions of scripture, and in part also to the sphere of social relationships *(muʿāmalāt)* by the faithful adherence to injunctions such as feeding the needy and the weak. The necessity of bodily sustenance illustrates humankind's dependence upon its creator, but these signs of divine benevolence are a reminder of the believer's expected response of gratitude (see GRATITUDE AND INGRATITUDE).

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Foot see FEET

Forbidden

Excluded from acceptable behavior on legal and religious grounds. The Arabic terms *ḥarām* and *maḥẓūr* (the latter is not attested in the Qurʾān) refer to that which is impermissible, expressed in legal terminology as prohibited acts, the performance of which renders one liable to punishment (see CHASTISEMENT AND PUNISHMENT). Several derivatives of the root *ḥ-r-m,* which carries the notion of impermissibility or debarring, appear in the Qurʾān. Often, the verb *ḥarrama* — with God as the grammatical subject — is used to declare certain foods, acts or games of chance

impermissible, e.g. the flesh of carrion (q.v.), blood, pork, usury (q.v.), homicide and numerous other things (Q 2:173, see BLOOD AND BLOOD CLOT; BLOODSHED; FOOD AND DRINK; GAMBLING; MURDER). The same verb is also used with a different shade of meaning, namely, to make untenable or bar from. The most notable of these uses occurs in Q 5:72: "He who associates anything with God, God will bar him *(ḥarrama llāhu ʿalayhi)* from the garden (q.v.), and his final rest shall be the fire (q.v.)." The verb is also often employed as the functional antonym of *aḥalla,* to render something *ḥalāl,* permissible, legitimate, tenable (cf. Q 4:160; 9:37). While the focus here will be limited to the root *ḥ-r-m,* it should be noted that the extensive use of *n-h-y* is also significant for the qurʾānic sense of the forbidden, e.g. Q 6:28 in reference to things forbidden to humans in this life and Q 7:20 in reference to God's forbidding Adam and Eve (q.v.) from eating from the tree (q.v.). Of course, this root is most well-known in the phrase "Commanding the right and forbidding the wrong" *(al-amr bi-l-maʿrūf wa-l-nahī ʿan al-munkar)* as the identifying character of the chosen community of God (e.g. Q 3:104; see COMMUNITY AND SOCIETY IN THE QURʾĀN; ETHICS AND THE QURʾĀN; GOOD AND EVIL).

Another derivative of *ḥ-r-m* is the word *ḥarām,* which has the meaning of a forbidden thing and, by extension, of a sacred space (see SPATIAL RELATIONS; SACRED PRECINCTS) or time (q.v.): "Turn your face (q.v.) toward the sacred mosque (q.v.; *al-masjid al-ḥarām*)," the Qurʾān declares in Q 2:149 (see also Q 2:150, 191; 5:97). In Q 5:97, the Kaʿba (q.v.) is also declared as *al-bayt al-ḥarām* or the sacred house (see HOUSE-DOMESTIC AND DIVINE). Similarly, sacrosanct status is given to a particular month or months (q.v.) during which no fighting (q.v.) or wars are to be conducted, known in pre-Islamic times as the sacred month *(al-shahr al-ḥarām),* an expression that appears on no less than six occasions in the Qurʾān, once in the plural form (see PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QURʾĀN; SOUTH ARABIA, RELIGION IN PRE-ISLAMIC). For reasons that are not entirely clear, but which may have been due to confusion over which month was in fact sacred, the Qurʾān at one point appears to change its position on the matter and implies that the persecution of believers is worse than fighting against unbelievers during this month (Q 2:217; cf. 2:194; compare with Q 5:2; see LAWFUL AND UNLAWFUL; WAR). The status of sanctuary in Islam, also known as *ḥarām* (cf. Q 28:57; 29:67) was bestowed upon three places of worship (q.v.): one in Mecca (q.v.), one in Medina (q.v.) and one in Jerusalem (q.v.). Mecca, in terms of overall physical space was the largest *ḥarām,* Jerusalem the smallest. Their precincts were defined in some detail and entry into them, especially those of Arabia, was subject to numerous conditions. Hunting wild game, uprooting any flora and killing humans were among the most notable prohibitions that applied within the boundaries of these sanctuaries (see HUNTING AND FISHING). Even the execution of murderers who had been legally sentenced to death was forbidden.

Sanctity extends also to people who are found in the sacred *(ḥarām)* areas, whether during the greater or the lesser pilgrimage (q.v.; see SANCTITY AND THE SACRED). This sanctified state is known as *iḥrām,* a state into which one enters physically, spiritually, geographically and temporally. Once a person enters this state, he or she should not, *inter alia,* engage in sexual intercourse (see SEX AND SEXUALITY), lie (q.v.), argue, hunt wild game (even speaking about or pointing to it is forbidden), kill any creatures (even fleas), use perfume, clip finger nails or trim or shave hair. Such matters as trimming hair or clipping finger nails should, of course, be done, but before en-

tering the state of *iḥrām*. Hygienic practices, including taking baths, are permitted, even encouraged, at any time during the *iḥrām* period. Also highly recommended during this period is wearing a particular type of clothing (q.v.), preferably new, clean and white in color.

Another important derivative of *ḥ-r-m* that is not attested in the Qurʾān is *maḥram*, namely, a person who is within a prohibited degree of marriage. Blood relatives, relations arising out of marriage and suckling brothers and sisters are not permitted to marry (see FAMILY; MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE). Thus, a man cannot marry his mother, daughters, sisters, aunts, sisters-in-law or step-daughters, as well as any woman, however unrelated to him she may be, if both he and she had once been nursed by the same woman (cf. Q 4:23; see WET NURSING; FOSTERAGE; KINSHIP). The word *ḥarīm*, distorted into English as harem, refers to those parts of the house where women are not to associate with non-*maḥram* males (see WOMEN AND THE QURʾĀN). Thus, *maḥram* males, being excluded from the *ḥarīm* prohibition, can associate with females to whom they stand in such a relationship, both in the *ḥarīm* and elsewhere. *Ḥurma* is a term of general applicability, used to refer to things that have certain sanctity and are thus inviolate. In modern discourse on medicine and medical ethics (see MEDICINE AND THE QURʾĀN), the word has come to refer to the physical integrity of a person or the inviolability of the body.

Perhaps the most important of the uses of the word *ḥarām* is that found in law (see LAW AND THE QURʾĀN), where it is virtually synonymous with *maḥẓūr*, although this latter term is, relatively speaking, of far less frequent occurrence. Both terms mean forbidden or impermissible, a legal norm that has four counterparts (see PROHIBITED DEGREES): the obligatory *(wājib)*, the recommended *(mandūb)*, the permissible *(mubāḥ)*, and the repugnant *(makrūh)*. In the earlier, formative period, perhaps by the middle of the third/ninth century, these five legal norms had not yet been fully developed. Thus, al-Shāfiʿī (d. 204/820), for instance, often uses *makrūh*, especially in its verbal form *akrahu*, to denote prohibition. After the formative period, however, each of the five norms was distinctly represented by a separate word, though at times there was more than one word to denote a particular norm.

The value that is embedded in the forbidden is *ḥurma* (or *taḥrīm)*, which gives rise to punishment. Since the forbidden requires the relinquishing of particular acts *(ṭalab tark fiʿl)*, such as drinking wine (see INTOXICANTS) or gambling, it is distinguished from the recommended that enjoins the *performance* of certain acts. It is likewise distinguished from the permissible in that the latter equally allows the option of omission or commission. The forbidden stands in sharp contrast to the obligatory which requires the performance of particular acts. A question that arose in legal theory *(uṣūl al-fiqh)* was whether one and the same thing could be forbidden and obligatory. The answer was in the negative, but a differentiation was made concerning the nature of acts subject to this categorization. An act may be classified either as a number *(ʿadad)* or as a species *(nawʿ)*. As a number, an act, being one, unique individual, can in no way be both forbidden and obligatory. As a species, however, an act may be of various types, as is the case with prostration (see BOWING AND PROSTRATION) as an act of prayer (q.v.): it may be prostration before God, but it may also be before an idol (see IDOLATRY AND IDOLATERS; IDOLS AND IMAGES). The former is obligatory, the latter forbidden.

Nor is prohibition an indistinguishable entity. It may arise from a quality innate to the act itself or it may be external to that act, as if it were a contingent. For instance,

consumption of the flesh of carrion or marrying a first-degree relation are prohibited because of the very nature of the acts involved. It is simply the case that carrion meat and mothers and sisters carry within themselves the value of prohibition. But undue enrichment and embezzlement are forbidden not on account of the nature of the object involved, i.e. money. Rather, they are deemed so because the proprietorship of the object (see POSSESSION; PROPERTY) belongs to someone else *(milk al-ghayr)*. See also BOUNDARIES AND PRECEPTS.

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Foreign Vocabulary

From the earliest period of Islam down to the present day, attentive readers have observed that there are words in the Qurʾān which appear to be of non-Arabic origin. Such observations, motivated by varying factors, have been the source of controversy, discussions and extensive study in traditional Muslim and Euro-American scholarship.

Why foreign words?

When the Qurʾān proclaimed itself to be written in "clear Arabic," the seeds of discussion, disagreement and analysis concerning the presence of "foreign words" within the text were sown. Not only is the point made a number of times that the Qurʾān is in Arabic (on occasion referred to as a *lisān,* "language") rather than some other language (Q 12:2; 13:37; 16:103; 20:113; 39:28; 41:3; 42:7; 43:3; 46:12), but this Arabic language is declared to be *mubīn,* "clear" (e.g. Q 26:195). Perhaps most significant in this regard is Q 41:44, "If we had made it an *aʿjamī* Qurʾān, they would have said, 'Why are its signs not distinguished *(fuṣṣilat)?* What, *aʿjamī* and Arab?' Say: 'To the believers it is a guidance and a healing; but those who believe not, in their ears is a heaviness, and to them it is a blindness (see SEEING AND HEARING; HEARING AND DEAFNESS); those — they are called from a far place.' " There is a contrast set up in this verse between what is Arab (i.e. Muḥammad) and/or Arabic and what is barbarous or simply foreign, *aʿjamī.* This latter word is to be understood both in terms of language and as a quality of a person, as reflected in Q 26:198-9, "If we had sent it down on an *aʿjamī* and he had recited it to them, they would not have believed it." This separation between Arab and foreign has dictated a good deal of the approach to the nature of the language of the Qurʾān. On occasion, the word *aʿjamī* is best understood in terms of the polemical motif of "informers" (those who told Muḥammad the stories which he claimed were revelation and who are understood

to be foreign; see INFORMANTS) rather than as characterizing the language of the text itself; this is clear in Q 16:103, "And we know very well that they say, 'Only a mortal is teaching him.' The speech of him to whom they tend is *aʿjamī;* and this speech is Arabic, manifest." Be that as it may, this polemical perspective did not prove to be the dominant interpretative stance in Muslim thinking about these verses; glossing them as a matter of the actual language being used was more commonly applied.

A typical Muslim attitude towards this issue is illustrated by the following statement attributed to Ibn ʿAbbās (d. ca. 68/687) which is found at the beginning of an exegetical text dealing with Arabic dialects and foreign words in the Qurʾān. A number of variants to this statement exist, but the following translation presents the text in a widespread form. The text provides a common interpretation of the understanding of language in the Qurʾān and suggests, as well, a resolution to the problem of why it is that there are foreign words in the text at all, an issue which will be raised in the second section below:

From Ibn ʿAbbās concerning the words of God, "In a clear Arabic tongue." He said: that is, in the language of Quraysh (q.v.). If there had been other than Arabic in the Qurʾān, the Arabs would not have understood it. God has only revealed books in Arabic and Gabriel (q.v.) then translated them for each prophet into the language of his people. Therefore God said, "We do not send a prophet except in the language of his community" (Q 14:4). There is no language of a people more comprehensive than the language of the Arabs. The Qurʾān does not contain any language other than Arabic although that language may coincide with other languages; however, as for the origin and category of the languages used, it is Arabic and nothing is mixed in with it (Arabic text in Wansbrough, *QS,* 218; see Rippin, Ibn ʿAbbas, 20).

Underlying such a statement is an area of substantial concern and disagreement among Muslim scholars. Given the statements within the qurʾānic text as background, it may well be asked why Muslim exegetes would have ever considered the possibility of the existence of foreign words in the text at all. The qurʾānic text seems clear in its statement on the matter, which suggests that the exegetes created a problem not necessitated by their exegesis of the actual qurʾānic text. To arrive at a situation in which the presence of foreign words in the Qurʾān was seen as a problem that needed resolution, observations on the factual presence of foreign words in the Qurʾān must have arisen. Such observations would have been provoked in a number of ways.

It is certainly apparent that early Muslim authorities who are cited in ḥadīth reports had no qualms about considering some words to be "foreign" (see Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* i, 13-4; id., *The commentary,* 12-3). Abū Maysara (tradition no. 6) is quoted by al-Ṭabarī as stating, "There are expressions in the Qurʾān from every language." That statement was a datum of which all later exegetes had to take account. But, clearly, there was more to it than that.

Among the early exegetes, speakers of languages other than Arabic would certainly have noticed the similarity between words in the Qurʾān and their own languages. A number of Persian words were identified, often correctly in the judgment of contemporary scholarship, probably as a result of personal knowledge of the language (although the morphological structure of Persian words conveyed in Arabic also frequently makes them stand out as compared to words from neighboring Semitic languages). Another factor would

be words that were known from other languages and whose meaning as used in the Qurʾān was such as to suggest a relationship between the qurʾānic usage and the foreign language. This may have occurred because the meaning of the Arabic root would not support such a usage: *dīn* as both "religion" and "day of reckoning" may be an example. Another example may be the way in which al-Zamakhsharī (d. 538/1144; *Kashshāf,* ad loc.) and following him al-Bayḍāwī (d. ca. 691/1291; *Anwār,* ad loc.) treat *ṣalawāt* in Q 22:40 as meaning a Jewish place of worship and judge this to be an Arabized version derived from *ṣalūtā*. These observations would have been derived from Muslim knowledge of Semitic languages other than Arabic.

This is a topic that has been studied in some detail by Ramzi Baalbaki in his "Early Arab lexicographers and the use of Semitic languages." Syriac — referred to as *suryānī* or *nabaṭī* (with the latter perhaps referring to a specific Eastern Aramaic dialect) — was well known as a spoken language according to anecdotes found in the works of Ibn Qutayba (d. 276/889) and Ibn Durayd (d. 321/933). The association of Syriac with Christianity is clear in the work of al-Bīrūnī (d. ca. 442/1050). The same may be said for Hebrew *(ʿibrī* or *ʿibrānī)* and Judaism, for which al-Bīrūnī is able to provide a reasonably accurate system of transliterating the language into Arabic. Baalbaki also suggests that there appears to have been an awareness of the relationship between these languages and Arabic. He claims, for example, that Ibn Ḥazm (d. 456/1064) makes his understanding of the relationship explicit, although whether it is possible to equate Ibn Ḥazm's observations with genuine linguistic reflection is still open to debate: Ibn Ḥazm speaks of the language of Abraham being Syriac; of Isaac, Hebrew; and of Ishmael, Arabic. It seems doubtful, however, that, in noting the genealogical relationship, Ibn Ḥazm is saying anything about the relationship of the languages as such.

It has frequently been noted that, among the classical Arab grammarians, lexicographers and exegetes, there were many who had a language other than Arabic, either as their mother tongue or as the language of their religious upbringing. It has always been suspected, therefore, that knowledge of this kind was brought to the study of "loan words" in Arabic, a topic of some interest both within the exegesis of the Qurʾān and in general lexicography. As a branch of Arabic lexicography, words which had been "Arabized," *muʿarrab* (see Fischer, Muʿarrab) were studied on the basis of the movement between languages in pre-Islamic and early Islamic times. The book by al-Jawālīqī (d. 539/1144), *Kitāb al-Muʿarrab min al-kalām al-aʿjamī ʿalā ḥurūf al-muʿjam* ("Arabized words coming from foreign languages organized alphabetically"), is the most renowned of its kind in the realm of general lexicography. He traced much of his material back to famous early exegetes and grammarians such as Abū ʿUbayd (d. 224/838), Abū Ḥātim al-Sijistānī (d. 255/869) and Ibn Durayd and, in a significant number of cases (although primarily non-qurʾānic ones), their opinions as to the source of words agrees with that of modern philologists, a fact which suggests a good measure of knowledge of the non-Arabic languages.

Another factor that prompted attention to foreign words was the rise of grammatical studies in Arabic because these led to understandings about the form of Arabic words which, in turn, then indicated the aberrance (by Arabic standards) of some words found in the Qurʾān. These would include examples of difficult morphological structures and irregular phonetic features as found in words such as *istabraq* (Persian for "silk brocade," Q 18:31; 44:53;

55:54; 76:21), *zanjabīl* ("ginger," Q 76:17), *barzakh* ("barrier," Q 23:100; 25:53; 55:20; see BARRIER; BARZAKH), *firdaws* ("paradise," Q 18:107; 23:11) and *namāriq* ("cushions," Q 88:15). Another form of these considerations would be identifying words from barren roots such as *tannūr* ("oven," Q 11:40; 23:27), *jibt* ("idol," Q 4:51) and *raḥīq* ("wine," Q 83:25). The isolation of these features as "aberrant" depended, of course, upon the establishment of a set of criteria which could act to define Arabic as such, criteria that were developed by early grammarians like Sībawayh (d. ca. 180/796) and al-Khalīl (d. ca. 160/776) in their fixation, for example, of the permissible morphological forms of Arabic words. Certain combinations of letters which could not occur in Arabic words were also determined and these acted as yet another criterion. Among the observations cited in al-Suyūṭī's (d. 911/1505) *al-Muzhir* (i, 270), the following examples are typical: a word cannot start with a *nūn* followed by a *rā';* a word cannot end in a *zā'* preceded by a *dāl;* a *ṣād* and a *jīm* cannot occur in the same word; and a *jīm* and a *qāf* cannot be found in the same word. Words which violate these rules are deemed to be "foreign." Finally *hapax legomena* and other infrequently used words were also among the likely candidates for inclusion in lists of foreign words (even in some cases where the origin of the word does seem to be Arabic).

The theory of foreign words in the Qur'ān

Such observations about particular qur'ānic words must also be seen within the context of the controversies which surrounded the theoretical problem that Muslims, both past and present, clearly perceive to underlie the issue of foreign vocabulary in the Qur'ān: is it even possible that such vocabulary was included in the text when, by the testimony of the text itself, the Qur'ān is in Arabic which is clear and non-foreign?

To the early philologist Abū ʿUbayda (d. 208/824) is ascribed the statement, "Whoever suggests there is anything other than the Arabic language in the Qur'ān has made a serious charge against God" (Abū ʿUbayda, *Majāz,* i, 17-8; quoted in Jawālīqī, *Muʿarrab,* 4). This appears to have been a widespread sentiment in the formative centuries of Islam. Abū ʿUbayda clearly recognized the existence of a similarity between certain words in foreign languages and those in the Qur'ān. He states, "The form of a word [in one language] can correspond *(yuwāfiq)* to the form in another and its meaning [in one language] can approach that of another language, whether that be between Arabic and Persian or some other language" (*Majāz,* i, 17). Gilliot (*Elt,* 97) has pointed out that Abū ʿUbayda's argument insists upon the contemporary Arabic character of the qur'ānic language. That assumption, the basis of his hermeneutical approach to the text allows Abū ʿUbayda to support the use of secular language to help explain the Qur'ān. But, for Abū ʿUbayda, it excludes any sense of "foreignness" in the language. The "challenge," issued to the Arabs in the so-called *taḥaddī* verses, to imitate the Qur'ān would be meaningless if the Qur'ān depended upon foreign vocabulary. Al-Shāfiʿī (d. 204/820) suggested that no one knew (or knows) the entire stock of Arabic, so what might be thought of as "foreign" to one group of Arabs was, in fact, known to others:

> Of all tongues, that of the Arabs is the richest and the most extensive in vocabulary. Do we know any man except a prophet who apprehended all of it? However, no portion of it escapes everyone, so that there is always someone who knows it. Knowledge [of this tongue] to the Arabs is

like the knowledge of the *sunna* to the jurists *(fuqahāʾ):* We know of no one who possesses a knowledge of all the *sunna* without missing a portion of it.… In like manner is the [knowledge concerning the] tongue of the Arabs by the scholars and the public: No part of it will be missed by them all, nor should it be sought from other [people]; for no one can learn [this tongue] save he who has learned it from [the Arabs]… (*Risāla,* 27-8; English trans. 88-9).

At the same time, al-Shāfiʿī admitted that there may be:

in foreign tongues certain words, whether acquired or transmitted, which may be similar *(yuwāfiq)* to those of the Arab tongue, just as some words in one foreign tongue may be similar to those in others, although these [tongues are spoken in] separate countries and are different and unrelated to one another despite the similarity of some of the words (*Risāla,* 28; English trans. 90).

Thus, while similarities may exist, they are there simply by coincidence and not because of a relationship between the words. Al-Shāfiʿī's position is one that concurs with his legal reasoning: the knowledge of the Arabs in language is a part of "tradition" which must form the basis of Muslim society. The study of language, like the use of reason in law, has its place, but it must always come second in significance and authority to traditional knowledge.

Abū ʿUbayd (d. 224/838), on the other hand, argued that words of foreign origin are to be found in the Qurʾān but they had been incorporated into Arabic well before the revelation of the Qurʾān and are thus to be considered Arabic. Furthermore, the nature of the Arabic usage of such words is superior to their usage as found in other languages (Gilliot, *Elt,* 98-9). Al-Ṭabarī (d. 311/923) provided another response to the problem, although the view may well not originate with him: words which appear to be foreign simply reflect a similarity between languages and that says nothing about the historical origins of the words. This idea is reflected in the above-quoted statement attributed to Ibn ʿAbbās (but which clearly originates at a later time): that words "coincide" (*ittafaqa* in Ṭabarī; *wāfaqa* in Ibn ʿAbbās) between languages. Al-Ṭabarī finally argues in favor of a position which suggests that certainty in these matters cannot be obtained; it can never be known for sure whether a word started in one language or another. Of the person who says, "[these words] were originally Arabic, and then spread and became current in Persian," or "they were originally Persian and then spread to the Arabs and were Arabized," al-Ṭabarī states:

[We should deem this person to be] unlearned, because the Arabs have no more right to claim that the origin of an expression lies with them rather than with the Persians than the Persians to claim the origin lies with them rather than the Arabs. [The only certain fact is that] the expression is employed with the same wording and the same meaning by two linguistic groups (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* i, 15; id., *The commentary,* 14).

Such arguments were used in a variety of apologetic writings about the merits of the Qurʾān. Arguments to support the inimitability (q.v.) of the Qurʾān were reinforced by denying that any special words were introduced by Muḥammad. Ultimately, the point was a theological one tied to conceptions of the nature of Arabic as a language and Islam as divine revelation. To admit that there were foreign words in the Qurʾān that had been intentionally borrowed

would undermine the meaning of the challenge put forth to the masters of Arabic speech to produce a chapter of text which was "like" the Qurʾān.

Still, for some people, especially in later centuries, the idea of "foreign" vocabulary was not denied. Al-Jawālīqī (*Muʿarrab,* 3), for example, speaks openly about "foreign words found in the speech of the ancient Arabs and employed in the Qurʾān" without any cautious restrictions. Al-Suyūṭī's works (discussed below in the next section) take the incorporation of foreign languages in the Qurʾān as a positive fact, the result, perhaps, of the increasing realization of the universal appeal of Islam and certainly taken as a part of the argument for the excellent qualities of the text. Contemporary writers — ranging from scholars such as Muḥammad Shākir (the editor of al-Jawālīqī's text) to Internet polemicists — have tended to return to the earlier positions, however, seeing the denial of foreign words as an important point in the "defense" of the Qurʾān.

Muslim treatises on foreign words in the Qurʾān

The observation that there are foreign words in the Qurʾān is found in the earliest texts of qurʾānic exegesis. In the *tafsīr* of Muqātil b. Sulaymān (d. 150/767), for example, the words *qisṭās* and *firdaws* are attributed to Greek, *istabraq* to Persian, *ḥūb* to Ethiopic, *yamm* to Hebrew, *maqālīd* to Nabataean, and *ṭāḥā* to Syriac. Proper names are also provided with foreign etymologies, Mūsā being Coptic and Nūḥ being Syriac. Similar observations may be made for the approach taken by other early works of *tafsīr* (see Versteegh, *Grammar and exegesis,* 89-90).

Various genres of early specialized exegetical works contain elements that contribute to the isolation of foreign vocabulary, building towards the construction of lists of such words. One example is found in dictionaries of the Qurʾān, the earliest form of which is essentially a compilation of lexical glosses to the text. Works devoted to *gharīb,* "difficult passages (q.v.)," manifest a conception of "difficulty" that is conceived in a variety of ways: foreign words, dialect words, bedouin words or lexical oddities are all included. Ibn Qutayba occasionally cites the foreign origins of words which he conceives to have become Arabized, as in the case of *istabraq* in Q 18:31 and *qisṭās* in Q 17:35 (*Gharīb,* 267, 254). The treatment by Abū Bakr al-Sijistānī (d. 330/942) of *istabraq* and *qisṭās* in his *Nuzhat al-qulūb fī gharīb al-Qurʾān* (p. 35 [for *istabraq*], 161 [for *qisṭās,* s.v. *qusṭās*]) is identical to that of Ibn Qutayba. Curiously, the same does not hold for the most famous book of its type, al-Rāghib al-Iṣfahānī's (d. 502/1108) *Muʿjam mufradāt alfāẓ al-Qurʾān:* it simply ignores any speculation about foreign words.

A work likely stemming from the fourth/tenth century but attributed to Ibn ʿAbbās, *al-Lughāt fī l-Qurʾān,* provides a listing not only of foreign words but also of Arab tribal dialects found in the Qurʾān. As Versteegh has commented, this list is designed to fulfil the exegetical function of connecting the language of scripture to the *ʿarabiyya* (Versteegh, *Grammar and exegesis,* 91; see ARABIC LANGUAGE). This work considers some twenty-four words (out of a total of over three hundred words treated in the text) to be related to foreign languages, including Aramaic/Nabataean, Syriac, Ethiopic, Persian, Hebrew, Coptic and Greek/Latin.

It is with Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī, who died in 911/1505, that full lists of "foreign words in the Qurʾān" become significant. Al-Suyūṭī quotes (*Itqān,* ii, 119-20) two poems, one written by Ibn al-Subkī (d. 771/1369) and the other by Ibn Ḥajar (d. 852/1449) as representing previous efforts to compile all the foreign qurʾānic words together. But

both of these works, al-Suyūṭī notes, did not reach the comprehensiveness of his own efforts. Al-Suyūṭī himself wrote at least two separate works and also incorporated the material into several other of his larger treatises (as well as treating the subject on a theoretical level in his *al-Muzhir fī ʿulūm al-lugha wa-anwāʿihā*). One work is called *al-Mutawakkilī fīmā warada fī l-Qurʾān bi-l-lughāt, mukhtaṣar fī muʿarrab al-Qurʾān,* a treatise named after the caliph al-Mutawakkil II ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Mustaʿīn (d. 903/1497), who commanded that the learned author compile a list of qurʾānic words that are "to be found in the speech of the Ethiopians, the Persians or any people other than the Arabs." This list, al-Suyūṭī says, was extracted from his longer book *Masālik al-ḥunafāʾ fī wāliday al-Muṣṭafā.* Within the list, there are 108 words attributed to eleven languages and they are organized according to language and, within that organization, according to the textual order of the Qurʾān.

Al-Suyūṭī's second work, *al-Muhadhdhab fīmā waqaʿa fī l-Qurʾān min al-muʿarrab,* is arranged according to the alphabetical order of the words themselves. More variant opinions are given in the book than in the *Mutawakkilī* (that is, a given word is likely to be attributed to more than one language), although some words are termed simply "foreign" without a specific language from which they are thought to derive being specified. Al-Suyūṭī's *al-Itqān fī ʿulūm al-Qurʾān* also contains a chapter (number 38) on "foreign vocabulary." There, he makes reference to his *Muhadhdhab,* but not to *al-Mutawakkilī,* so it is likely that the former work, *al-Muhadhdhab,* was written first. While the lists in *al-Itqān* and *al-Muhadhdhab* are not identical, they are extremely close, both being arranged according to the alphabetical order of the words. 118 words are listed in *al-Itqān* and 124 in *al-Muhadhdhab,* but the content of the entries is clearly related and the overlap between the two works is almost complete.

Al-Suyūṭī is often viewed simply as a compiler of material. His re-use of material is certainly a notable characteristic which is observable within the large corpus of his works; the fact is also demonstrated by the existence of these three books that bring together similar material in slightly different organizational patterns. But al-Suyūṭī also participates fully within an attribute of the mature Muslim exegetical tradition which Norman Calder has termed "fundamentally acquisitive" by nature (Calder, Tafsīr, 133). The material which al-Suyūṭī presents in his lists of foreign words has been culled from many sources and, on numerous occasions, contains within itself in an unresolved manner substantial differences of opinion on many items. A considerable number of these words are cited as "foreign" within earlier exegetical works, and the act of collating all of these citations, as al-Suyūṭī has done, has produced a stock of vocabulary deemed to be "foreign" which remains relatively constant. Exegetes such as al-Suyūṭī frequently cite the foreignness of a given word with very little elaboration about why or how it should be considered so; the nature of the "acquisitive" tradition is such that the foreign status of a word is an element of exegesis which is accepted without necessarily any questioning. A major factor in this is the power of tradition. The acquisitive nature of the exegetical tradition has meant that nothing could be thrown away (at least, up to the time of Ibn Kathīr in the eighth/fourteenth century, as Calder has argued).

The exegetical conception of foreign languages

Of the words to be found in the lists of words Muslim scholars considered to be foreign, some appear to be common Arabic words. Trying to understand why these

were deemed "foreign" sheds light on the entire category of foreign words and on how the designation itself has hermeneutical significance.

Arabic words which are classified as "foreign" make one immediately suspect that it must have been an exegetical problem which led to the suggestion of the foreignness of the word, as Arthur Jeffery argued in his work, *The foreign vocabulary of the Qurʾān.* The hermeneutical advantage is clear: if the word is foreign, then it is open to a far greater interpretational variation than if the word is to be taken as a common Arabic word.

The determination of the language to which a given "foreign" word belongs is also of particular interest. In specifying the non-Arabic language from which a given word might be thought to originate, Muslim exegetes seem to have incorporated two elements into their procedures: (1) some knowledge of foreign languages and (2) typical Muslim exegetical tools. At times, the combination of these two elements resulted in what must have appeared, even to the exegetes themselves, to be intuitively "wrong" designations.

It is also clear, however, that on occasion, the classical Muslim sources are at a loss in attempting to identify the source of a foreign word. This may be seen in two ways. First, one encounters the attribution of words to a language for which there are absolutely no historical or linguistic grounds on which to establish such a relationship. Secondly, apparent relationships are ignored even though this raises the questions of why, if the exegetes had a knowledge of the language in question (as Baalbaki's discussions make clear they did), they ignored the apparent source.

The explanation for these two situations, at least as they apply to the situation of qurʾānic vocabulary, lies in exegetical procedures and their importance, and in the development of *tafsīr* as an enterprise (see EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL). Part of the explanation lies in the fact that the original suggestion that a certain word was foreign may have been made by those who did *not* know the language in question. When those who might have known better came along, it was not possible to reject the traditions which conveyed such opinions. It is worth pointing out, however, that the concept of the acquisitive tradition cannot simply be equated with the inherited stock of works of *tafsīr;* in a significant number of cases, no evidence of the traditions in earlier works of *tafsīr* can be found, even though such traditions are included in the lists of al-Suyūṭī, for example. The explanation for this may reside in the fact that earlier works which did contain these traditions have not come down to us, or it may be that these traditions were more a part of the living, popular Islam than of the recorded intellectual tradition and only become incorporated into "official" Islam at a late date.

Some specifics may help clarify this point. For example, while it appears to have been known that the Jewish Bible was written in Hebrew, the language of the biblical characters mentioned in the Qurʾān does not seem to have been connected to Hebrew very often. In al-Suyūṭī's *Mutawakkilī,* only nineteen words are cited as possibly being Hebrew and seven of those are cited in a manner which clearly indicates that al-Suyūṭī did not consider these claims to have much support. Other languages, such as Syriac and Coptic, seem to be more significant. This suggests that the ideas surrounding the languages from which "foreign" words were thought to originate were dictated to some extent by the *spoken* foreign languages known to the Arabs, suggesting a non-historical view of the world: that is, that the language spoken by a

group of people in the present was the language they had always spoken.

There seem to be other factors at play as well. Certain common Arabic words (*taḥta* meaning "within" rather than "under" in Q 19:24; *baṭāʾin* referring to "outer" surfaces rather than "inner" ones in Q 55:54; *ūlā* meaning "last" instead of "first" in Q 33:33; *ākhira* meaning "former" instead of "latter" in Q 38:7) are attributed to Coptic when the words take on meanings that are contrary to their common Arabic designation. This may lead to the speculation that for Arabic speakers Coptic played a cultural role as a language of deception; there may well be a larger social picture behind this, namely of an image of Copts as deceptive in their dealings with Muslims and as twisting the Arabic language to their own advantage.

Likewise, the attribution of a number of words to Greek seems to convey certain cultural assumptions rather than specific linguistic knowledge. For example, the following words are commonly attributed to Greek: *qisṭ,* "justice"; *qisṭās,* "scales"; *ṣirāṭ,* "road"; and *qinṭār,* "hundred weight." It is noteworthy that while, in a number of instances, modern philology agrees with the judgments of early Muslim scholars about certain words being derived ultimately from Greek, that coincidence does not necessarily indicate linguistic knowledge. The idea that these words come from Greek does not, in fact, account historically for the presence of the words in Arabic. In no instance is it likely that the word passed directly into Arabic from Greek. It is far more likely that Aramaic or Syriac (possibly through Arabian or Syrian Christians; see CHRISTIANS AND CHRISTIANITY) was the conduit for the transmission of the Greek words. In a number of cases, Greek is not even the ultimate source; rather, the words are Latin and have moved into the Middle Eastern languages through their Hellenized forms during times of Greek administrative rule. The fact that Muslim exegetes decided that these words are Greek, therefore, is unlikely to be the result of observations of linguistic parallels or of linguistic knowledge. Such specification is more likely based upon observations of the non-Arabic nature of the words combined with speculations involving certain cultural assumptions about the nature of other societies in the past (and perhaps the present) — in this instance, the association of the Greek world with the marketplace (see Rippin, Designation of "foreign" languages, for further examples of this hypothesis).

Foreign vocabulary and the Qurʾān in modern scholarship

The Euro-American interest in the vocabulary of the Qurʾān has a long history and reflects a number of differing motivations. Ordinarily, the question of foreign vocabulary has been raised in an attempt to determine the sources of the Qurʾān. An assessment of the lineage of the Qurʾān in terms of its religious debt to its forerunners was approached through the question of vocabulary: if it could be demonstrated that the majority of technical terms within the Qurʾān were traceable to a particular source — be that Jewish, Christian, Jewish-Christian or Zoroastrian — then a likely context could be established for the overall development of the Qurʾān and Islam, at least in the opinion of some scholars. Such an approach would also allow for a determination of the unique elements of the Qurʾān by seeing where the shifts in vocabulary had occurred when words were compared to their etymological sources. The work of Abraham Geiger, which marks the beginning of the modern Euro-American study of the Qurʾān, bases an initial part of its argument on "the words which have passed from Rabbinical Hebrew into the Qurʾān, and so into the Arabic language" (Geiger, *Judaism and Islam,* 31), in order to

respond to the question, as the German title of his book has it, "What did Muḥammad borrow from Judaism?" More contemporary studies differ very little from this original orientation because the task of understanding the Qurʾān must always revolve around trying to establish the historical and linguistic context within which the Qurʾān is to be read. The sense in which even some individual words are to be understood will differ depending on whether one conceives them as having been transmitted from Jewish or Christian sources. Overall, Arthur Jeffery's statement seems to sum up the fundamental impulse:

"This religion as he [Muḥammad] insists over and over again in the Qurʾān, is something new to the Arabs: it was not likely, therefore, that native Arabic vocabulary would be adequate to express all its new ideas, so the obvious policy was to borrow and adapt the necessary technical terms" (Jeffery, *For. vocab.,* 38).

An additional motivation for the study of foreign vocabulary has emerged from the study of Arabic as a source of comparative Semitic linguistic data. Many of the famous names of Islamic Studies from the nineteenth century — Nöldeke, Bergsträsser, Brockelmann — were also significant figures in comparative studies. The need was apparent from the beginning, therefore, to clarify the transmission of some terms into Arabic from other Semitic languages in order to avoid anachronistic use of the Arabic data in the attempt to deal with other languages (the continued influence of the Qurʾān on the Arabic lexicographical tradition, so ably demonstrated by the works of Lothar Kopf, indicates some of the potential pitfalls; on the general problem of Arabic as a source of meaning, see Barr, *Comparative philology,* and Kaltner, *Arabic in biblical Hebrew*). The role of Arabic as a language which could serve to clarify the meaning of obscure words in the Hebrew Bible, perhaps first evidenced in scholarship in the work of A. Schultens (1686-1750), has only recently been somewhat displaced by the more newly discovered material available in Akkadian and Ugaritic. Of course, there remains the problem of whether Arabic maintains a proto-Semitic meaning or has borrowed a sense from another language, thus accounting for similarities (see Margoliouth, Additions, 55-6).

This philological impulse has seen its flowering in the treatment of proper names in the Qurʾān; tracing the original language behind the form of the names of various biblical characters (see SCRIPTURE AND THE QURʾĀN) was thought to have established likely paths of transmission of stories into the Arab culture of pre-Islamic times. It is notable that the Muslim exegetes did not, for the most part, worry themselves about the "foreignness" of the names found in the Qurʾān, whether they be the names of people or the names of scriptures. This point makes clear that there are substantially different presuppositions and aims separating contemporary scholarship and medieval Muslim exegesis in their approaches to the topic. Commenting on Q 3:3, "He sent down the Torah (q.v.) and the Gospel (q.v.)," Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 606/1209) sets forth various explanations which classical philologists have provided regarding the Arabic etymologies of *tawrāt* and *injīl*. Ultimately he dismisses the exercise as absurd:

"Torah" and "Gospel" are two foreign nouns, one of them from Hebrew, the other from Syriac. How is it appropriate for an intelligent person to study their adaptation to the patterns of the Arabic language? (Rāzī, *Tafsīr,* vii, 160).

Scholarship of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, then, has established a fairly

firm foundation for the study of qurʾānic vocabulary through the procedure of etymological derivation. Current contributions tend to focus on individual words, providing some refinement and clarification on smaller points. For the most part, however, the enterprise remains as contentious within modern scholarship as it was for medieval Muslims. The wide variety of postulated sources for the words considered to be of foreign origin has made it hazardous to suggest a single likely cultural focus for the background to the qurʾānic worldview. While many of the words studied have been shown to have a Jewish origin in terms of religious technical vocabulary, their vehicle of transmission more often seems to have been Christian Syriac (see LUXENBERG, *Die syro-aramäische Lesart des Koran*).

The scholarly work which has been completed on foreign vocabulary also lays a basis for the construction of a modern dictionary of the Qurʾān. Even there, however, much modern linguistic theory would doubt the relevance of etymological procedures that underlie the approach of scholars such as Arthur Jeffery. The contemporary emphasis on dictionaries which concentrate on word usage rather than word origin means that, while the material on foreign origins can continue to provide information for a diachronic examination of Semitic (and other) words, it will likely no longer be considered the basis from which specialized lexicographical work should start. See also GRAMMAR AND THE QURʾĀN; LANGUAGE OF THE QURʾĀN.

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Foretelling in the Qurʾān

The interpretation of omens or inspired or mystic knowledge of what will occur. Leaving aside prophecy (*nubuwwa,* see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD), which is clairvoyance of a different order and deserves to be treated separately, the Qurʾān and ḥadīth mention a great number of procedures used for penetrating the secrets of God and foreseeing the human fate (q.v.; see also HIDDEN AND THE HIDDEN). As in the case of divination (q.v.), foretelling connotes an association with pre-Islamic paganism (see PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QURʾĀN). A prayer is attributed to the Prophet which seems to legitimize recourse to such procedures: "My God," so he prays, "there is no ill omen *(ṭayr)* but the one that you allow *(illā ṭayruka),* there is no good omen *(khayr khayr)* but yours, there is no God but you and no might and power but in you" (Ibn Qutayba, *ʿUyūn,* ii, 146, who attributes it to Ibn ʿAbbās; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt,* iv, 2, 13, who attributes it to ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ; Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi, *ʿIqd,* i, 397; Ibshīhī, *al-Mustaṭraf,* ii, 181 cited in Fahd, *Divination,* 437, n. 5).

The attention devoted to clairvoyance, foreseeing and foretelling in Islamic literature is considerable. In the second part of T. Fahd's *La divination arabe,* foretelling is classified according to the following procedures: 1) divination by lots (cleromancy, pp. 179-245), 2) divination by dreams (oneiromancy, pp. 247-367), 3) physiognomic (pp. 369-429), and 4) omens (pp. 431-519). The topic to be treated here is the possible appearance of such procedures in the Qurʾān and their explanation in ḥadīth and exegetical commentary (*tafsīr,* see ḤADĪTH AND THE QURʾĀN; EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL).

Cleromantic procedures

Pre-Islamic Arabs used various cleromantic techniques to probe the will of the divinity, some of which are explicitly condemned in the Qurʾān on account of their pagan character: *al-istiqsām bi-l-azlām* (cf. Q 5:3, 90) and *maysir* (Q 2:219; 5:90-91). The Qurʾān is silent on two other procedures (although it is attested that the Prophet made use of them): *al-ḍarb bi-l-qidāḥ,* which indicates all other forms of lottery, and *al-qurʿa,* which designates drawing lots.

a) *al-istiqsām bi-l-azlām*. This qurʾānic expression indicates belomancy, i.e. "divining arrows," as practised in Arab sanctuaries. It designates more specifically the sacred arrows of Hubal in the Kaʿba (q.v.), those of Dhū-l-Khalaṣa in Tabāla (cf. Fahd, *Panthéon,* 95 f. and 61 f.), and those that the nomads (q.v.) took along with their holy stones in their migrations. They were sticks

that were shaken in a sack or quiver and not arrows to be shot. They apparently were part of the cultic baggage for which the soothsayer (*kāhin,* see SOOTHSAYERS) of the nomadic tribes and the custodian *(sādin)* of the sanctuaries were responsible (cf. the Hebrew *qosēm, Num* 22:7; *Deut* 18: 10, 14; *Isa* 3:2; *Jer* 19:8-9). The sack that contained them had to be attached to the holy stone or somehow included with the priest's attire in the manner of the Urīm and Tumīm with the Hebrew nomads, which formed an integral part of the ephod (i.e. high priest's garment) at all stages of its evolution (cf. Fahd, *Divination,* 138 f.).

As with all cleromantic procedures, belomancy consists in leaving to chance the task of revealing the will or the thought of the divinity. The answer is obtained in two different ways: a) by asking the question explicitly, to which the divinity replies with "yes" or "no" and b) by successive elimination, as one singles out, for example, a culprit in a crowd. In such a manner Saul (q.v.) discovered that his son, Jonathan (q.v.), had violated a prohibition (*I Sam* 14:37 f.). A further example of belomancy is the collection of a set of symbolic signs, each of which corresponds to a group of ideas (adversity, woman, war, etc.), expressing more or less vaguely all possible eventualities in a given situation. Thus, an ideal world in miniature is constructed, a sort of microcosm in which the events correspond to those in the real world and which, consequently, enable these to be foreseen or divined (Février, *Histoire de l'écriture,* 509).

The development of belomancy among the Arabs (q.v.) finally led to ever more precise designations being ascribed to the arrows, so as to leave no doubts about the answer of the oracle. To the primitive arrows, which only bore mention of the words "yes" or "no," "good" or "bad," "do" or "don't," were added other arrows that bore precise announcements related to the circumstances, like "leave (for a journey)," "don't leave," "(act) immediately," "wait," "take one's turn at the water," "being of pure descent," "not being so," "pay off the blood price (see BLOOD MONEY)," etc. Blank arrows (without inscriptions) were given precise meanings according to the occasion, as explicitly agreed upon between the *sādin* and his consultants. Thus, every dispute could be resolved, thanks to the oracle of shaken arrows. It should be noted, however, that the abundance of designations given to the arrows of Hubal contrasts widely with the sobriety of the belomantic oracle of Dhū l-Khalaṣa, who only knew "imperative *(āmir),*" "prohibitive *(nāhī)*" and "expectative *(mutarabbiṣ)*." See Fahd's *La divination arabe* (185 f.) for the use of these oracles during the lifetime of the Prophet.

b) The *maysir* or game of chance (see GAMBLING) is a cleromantic procedure of pagan character, and the fact that it is condemned in the Qur'ān, along with *istiqsām* and *anṣāb* (Q 5:90), suggests its relation to idolatry (see IDOLATRY AND IDOLATERS). The *maysir* is, however, also prohibited twice along with wine (Q 2:219; 5:91; see INTOXICANTS), on the grounds that, though they have their advantages, they constitute a grave transgression (see BOUNDARIES AND PRECEPTS; PROHIBITED DEGREES) and are an instrument in the hands of the demon (see DEVIL) who can make use of them to sow enmity and hatred among the faithful, in order to keep them from praying and calling upon God.

The fact that *maysir* and wine are considered to be transgressions (sing. *ithm,* see SIN, MAJOR AND MINOR) of the divine law suggests that their sinful character comes only from their association with the pagan cult. In fact, *maysir* had to be used to divide the

meat of the sacrifice (q.v.; see also CONSECRATION OF ANIMALS), and wine could be linked to a Dionysiac cult among the Nabateans, whose inscriptions make mention of a certain number of divinities who reject wine libations (E. Littmann, Deux inscriptions religieuses de Palmyre, in *JA* 9 t. 18 [1901], 386, cited in Fahd, *Divination,* 205, n. 3), which made Wellhausen (in *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen* 164 [1902], 269) remark: "Eigentlich trinken arabische Götter überhaupt keinen Wein" (quoted in Dussaud, *Pénétration,* 146, n. 3). Dussaud adds, "Seule la diffusion du christianisme amena les poètes arabes antéislamiques à chanter le vin" (ibid.). From this, one can suppose that wine was taboo, as was pork, probably a heritage of the Syrian cults (cf. Fahd, *Divination,* 205, n. 3). One opinion, attributed to the Yemenite Ṭāwūs b. Kaysān (d. 106/724), affirms that drinking wine [constitutes part] of the [rituals for] concluding the pilgrimage (q.v.; *ḥajj*), the Prophet doing so during his last pilgrimage (Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt,* ii, 1, 131). For the sake of conformity to qurʾānic legislation, Islam let this custom fall into disuse.

Thus, it appears, although without definitive proof, that the prohibition of wine in Islam is related to idolatry. The fact that the prohibition includes the game of *maysir,* which, according to Doutté (*Magie et religion,* 375), "a certainement la même origine que l'*istiqsām,*" leads one to believe that the latter had something to do with idolatry as well. It is not, however, out of the question that the game of *maysir* gave rise to drinking sessions and that their simultaneous condemnation was a mere consequence of this fact (for the modalities of the game, see Fahd, *Divination,* 207 f.).

In general, cleromantic procedures of ancient Arabia were limited to *istiqsām* and *maysir,* and Islam was able to supplant these pagan procedures with more refined methods better adapted to the cultures of the conquered peoples, giving rise to many cleromantic techniques, discussion of which will be limited to *ṭarq bi-l-ḥaṣā,* an ancestor of geomancy, and *qurʿa,* or the drawing of lots, procedures that were in use at the time of the Prophet.

c) *Ṭarq bi-l-ḥaṣā* is described by Ibn al-Aʿrābī (d. ca. 231/846) in the following terms: "The *ḥāzī* sits down and lets a young boy at his service draw lines in the sand or in the dust; he traces them nimbly and promptly so as to make it impossible to count them. Then, on the order of his master, he erases them two by two while saying, 'You two, eyewitnesses of God's will, let the evidence quickly appear!' If, at the end, only two lines remain, it is a sign of success; if there is only one left, it is a sign of failure and misfortune" (quoted after al-Ālūsī, *Bulūgh al-arab,* iii, 323; cf. *Tāj al-ʿarūs,* v, 129, 11.13 f., s.v. *khaṭṭ*). The term *khaṭṭ,* eventually replaced by *ṭarq,* designates geomancy in its varied forms, as an ancient science that, in Islam, underwent considerable development. There is an allusion to it at Q 46:4, explained by al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923) as follows: "Bring me the proof that your gods have created anything from the earth (q.v.) and that they have any part in the [creation (q.v.) of] the heavens (q.v.), [even if only] from the lines that you draw in the sand *(athārātin min ʿilm);* for you, the Arabs, have become masters in *ʿirāfa, zajr* and *kihāna*" (*Tafsīr,* xxvi, 3).

It is, however, attested in the ḥadīth as licit. Muʿāwiya said to the Prophet: "But there are among us, O messenger of God, men who practice the *khaṭṭ.*" The Prophet is said to have replied to him: "It is said that there was one among the prophets who practiced the *khaṭṭ;* whoever will succeed in doing it according to his procedure will know what this prophet knew" (cf. Wensinck, *Concordance,* i, 40). It is perhaps

here that one would have to look for the starting point of the phenomenal increase of geomantic procedures in the lands of Islam (see Fahd, *Divination,* 196 f.; id., Khaṭṭ).

d) *Qur'a* or the drawing of lots. This is also a procedure that was widespread in Islam, particularly in its rhapsodomantic use, e.g. divination from isolated sentences taken haphazardly from inspired books like the Qur'ān and the ḥadīth in Islam, the Bible among the Christians, the poetry of Homer, Hesiod and Virgil among the Greeks and the Romans, or Ḥāfiẓ's *Dīwān* or Jalāl al-Dīn al-Rūmī's *Mathnāwī* with the Persians and the Turks.

The patronage of this practice is attributed to Ja'far b. Abī Ṭālib, who fell as a hero at the age of thirty-three in the battle of Mu'ta in 8/629 (see EXPEDITIONS AND BATTLES). In the account of the departure for this battle, there is a rhapsodomantic foretelling that was not taken from him, but from one of his companions who had a premonition of his death at the moment of leaving, and mentioned a qur'ānic verse about hell (q.v.; cf. Q 19:71) that was pronounced by the Prophet (Ibn Isḥāq, *Sīra,* i, 791 f.; Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh,* i, 1610 f.; on this practice, see Fahd, *Divination,* 214 f.). Important here is that *qur'a,* as the simple drawing of lots, was used by the Prophet to know which of his wives would accompany him on his incursions (Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh,* i, 1519; Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt,* ii, 1, 78, 82, 83; see WIVES OF THE PROPHET).

It can thus be seen that there were two categories of cleromantic practice: one with an oracular character forbidden by the Qur'ān; and another that was fortuitious, which was tolerated.

Oneiromantic procedures

Oneiromancy, which occupies an important place in the civilizations of the ancient east, is well represented in the qur'ānic context. The sources have conserved numerous dreams of the Prophet himself, which marked out the great events that he experienced. The most important of these events was his ascension (q.v.; the *isrā'* and the *mi'rāj*). This was, according to Mu'āwiya b. Abī Sufyān, "a truthful dream that comes from God" (Ibn Isḥāq, *Sīra,* i, 265, 1.16), an opinion confirmed by 'Ā'isha (see 'Ā'ISHA BINT ABĪ BAKR), who said, "I have not noticed the absence of the Prophet's body, but God let his spirit travel during the night" (ibid., 1.15).

This dream falls under the literary category of dreams of ascension out of and descent into hell, from which arose many writings relating to the ascensions of prophets (e.g. Abraham [q.v.], Moses [q.v.], Isaiah [q.v.], Baruch and Elijah [q.v.]; cf. Charles, *Apocrypha,* Index; Fahd, La visite de Mahomet aux enfers). Dreams of light (q.v.), announcing the birth of Muḥammad, also fit into a widespread tradition in the ancient East (see details in Fahd, *Divination,* 259 f.).

Before understanding the full light of the actual revelation, Muḥammad started with dreams that were qualified as truthful *(ru'yā ṣādiqa)*. 'Ā'isha reports that "the initiation of the messenger of God in prophecy [began] by truthful dreams. Every vision that he saw in his dreams was as clear as daybreak" (Ibn Isḥāq, *Sīra,* i, 151; Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt,* ii, 2, 129). The Prophet himself said: "There is only one sign announcing prophecy and that is the dream; the Muslim sees it or it is seen for him" (Ibn Sa'd, loc. cit., 18); "it is, so it is rumored, one of the forty parts of prophecy" (Berakhōt, 57b, cited in Fahd, *Divination,* 267, n. 4).

Muḥammad's vocational awakening on Ḥirā' itself unites the triple call of Samuel's vocation and Ezekiel's inititation by absorption of the prophetic message (*Ezek* 2:8 f.; cf. *Jer* 5:10), and it goes through two stages: the first takes place during sleep, the second when awake. This is a typical example of the passage from dream to

ecstatic trance (Ibn Isḥāq, *Sīra,* i, 152 f.; Fahd, *Divination,* 267-8).

The life of the Prophet (*sīra,* see SĪRA AND THE QUR'ĀN) has retained a number of Muḥammad's dreams which reveal his thoughts. The typical example, which has evangelical reminiscences, is the Islamic form of the parable of the invited (cf. *Luke* 14:15-24; *Matt* 22:1-14) that the archangels Gabriel (q.v.) and Michael (q.v.) are said to have revealed to him in a dream (Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt,* i, 1, 113); there the symbolic content and the interpretation are given conjointly, thus resembling the dreams of Joseph (q.v.; *Gen* 37: 5-8, 9-10; see also DREAMS AND SLEEP). The Babylonian Talmud compares these symbolic dreams to a sealed letter (Berakhōt, 55a).

The figure of Waraqa b. Nawfal can be likened, in relation to Muḥammad, to that of John the Baptist (q.v.) in relation to Jesus. His thankfulness to him is expressed in a dream (Ibn Isḥāq, *Sīra,* i, 153; Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt,* i, 1, 130); his affection for 'Ā'isha is revealed in another (Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt,* 8, 44; Ibn Isḥāq, *Sīra,* i, 731-7); and his admiration for 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb (q.v.) in a third (Ibn Isḥāq, *Sīra,* i, 270; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd,* iv, 62, 64).

Muḥammad's preoccupations as the founder of a religion and the chief of a community appear, for example, in the institution of the call to prayer (*adhān,* which was brought into being after a dream of 'Abdallāh b. Zayd (Ibn Isḥāq, *Sīra,* i, 346-8; Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt,* i, 2, 7). This dream fits into an ancient Semitic tradition admitting that the dreams of subjects can serve as a divine warning or as a message to their king or their chief (cf. A. Leo Oppenheim, *The interpretation of dreams,* 188, 199 f.; *I Sam* 3:1; a ḥadīth quoted by Ibn Sa'd [*Ṭabaqāt,* ii, 2, 18] makes it comprehensible). Many dreams seen by persons in the surroundings of the Prophet (e.g. his aunt, 'Ātika, and Juhaym) and by himself announced the victory of Badr (q.v.) and the defeat of Uḥud (q.v.). At the beginning of his illness, he saw in a dream his impending end (see details in Fahd, *Divination,* 279 f.).

Is this oneiric climate, broadly attested in the *sīra,* also reflected in the Qur'ān? Q 12 (Sūrat Yūsuf) contains three dreams: the dream of Joseph (Q 12:4-5), that of his companions in prison (12:36) and that of Pharaoh (q.v.; 12:43). The order given to Abraham to sacrifice his son (Q 37:102, 105) was given to him in a dream. God brought Muḥammad's dream *(ru'yā)* of his return to Mecca (Q 48:27) to fruition. His earlier dream, that of the *isrā'* and *mi'rāj,* had been given to him to test the faith of those that had followed him; it was in a way "the accursed tree" of the Qur'ān (Q 17:60). Other terminology for dreaming (*manām,* e.g. at Q 37:102) is indicative of a divine sign (Q 30:23), a summoning to God that is analogous to death (Q 39:42) and an instrument of divine supervision that was used by God to guide the steps of his Prophet and the believers (Q 8:43-4). The term *ḥulm* (pl. *aḥlām*) is used in the prophetic tradition to distinguish the true dream *(ru'yā)* from the false, the latter being the result of passions or preoccupations of the soul (q.v.) or the inspiration of Satan, as in the following: "The *ru'yā* comes from God and the *ḥulm* from Satan" (cf. Wensinck, *Concordance,* i, 504; Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* ii, 324 = *Khalq,* 11). This meaning could be suggested in Q 12:44 and 21:5, in which the plural, *aḥlām,* is preceded by the term *aḍghāth,* which denotes "incoherent dreams." At Q 12:44, one finds "the interpretation of dreams" *(ta'wīl al-aḥlām)* in the sense of dream *(ḥulm)* found in the Semitic languages, where it also refers to the prophetic dream (cf. Ehrlich, *Der Traum im alten Testament,* 1). One has to note that, also in Q 12:21, there is mention of "the interpretation of events" *(ta'wīl al-aḥādīth),* an expression which, if brought into relation with *anbā' al-ghayb,* would refer to the *ḥidthān,* a term later used to designate the

malāḥim (cf. Fahd, *Divination,* 224-8; 272; 408; [ed.], Malāḥim in *EI²*). The gift of predicting coming events makes Joseph a prophet *avant la lettre* and makes the interpretation of dreams a means by which God makes his will known to humans.

Omens

Three qurʾānic verses (Q 7:131; 27:47; 36:18) allude to the *ṭāʾir/ṭīra,* which originally referred to the consultation of the flight of birds, and, later, to the bad tidings that this was considered to foreshadow. The contrary of *ṭīra* is *faʾl,* the good omen. This term is not qurʾānic, but can be found in the ḥadīth, where the capacity is attributed to the Prophet of distinguishing between *ṭīra* and *faʾl.* "He said: 'There is no *ṭīra, al-faʾl* is better.' He was asked, 'What is the *faʾl?*' He replied, 'It is the good word that every one of you can hear." (cf. Wensinck, *Concordance,* v, 40; see SEEING AND HEARING; HEARING AND DEAFNESS). Also attributed to the Prophet is the following: "The *faʾl* pleases me and I love a good *faʾl*" (Damīrī, *Ḥayāt,* 118). It is clear, then, that *ṭīra* is a bad *faʾl.* Elsewhere, he places the *ṭīra* alongside suspicion and jealousy, being three vices (see VIRTUES AND VICES) from which no one can escape. He counsels those stricken by them not to come back following a bad omen, not to act on the basis of suspicion (q.v.) and not to harm someone because of jealousy (Ibn Qutayba, *ʿUyūn,* ii, 8; Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi, *ʿIqd,* i, 226). He is also imputed of having said the following: "The *ṭīra* is idolatry *(shirk)*" (Bukhārī-Qasṭallānī, viii, 442 f. *[ṭīra],* 444 *[faʾl]*).

A strange ḥadīth which made ʿĀʾisha shiver with indignation says: "The *ṭīra* is in the woman, in the dwelling and in the beast of burden" (Ibn Qutayba, *ʿUyūn,* 146-7). There is no question of ornithomancy here, but of domestic foretellings that a man draws from the gestures and words of his wife, of the inhabitants of his house and of the tools and animals that are at his service. This is the *ṭīra* in its broadest sense, and this is the meaning it has in the three qurʾānic verses that were quoted at the beginning of this section (for the onomatomantic *faʾl,* see Fahd, *Divination,* 452; id., Faʾl).

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Forgery

Act of fabricating or producing falsely. Forgery is connoted in several qurʾānic concepts. Re-writing sacred scripture,

either the Qurʾān or the scriptures of the Jews and Christians, is covered by two Arabic terms *(taḥrīf, tabdīl)*. These or their cognates convey the charge that Jews and Christians distorted revealed scripture before the Qurʾān (see SCRIPTURE AND THE QURʾĀN; JEWS AND JUDAISM; CHRISTIANS AND CHRISTIANITY). Also, within the Islamic tradition, various sectarian groups have charged that there were additions and deletions to the Qurʾān. Finally, the notion of forgery is connected with the concept of the inimitability (q.v.) of the Quran *(iʿjāz al-Qurʾān)*.

Forgery by the alteration of sacred text, either by letter substitution *(taḥrīf)*, mispronunciation *(taḥrīf)* or other forms of substitution *(tabdīl)*, contributes to some Muslims' understanding of the relationship of the Qurʾān to the scriptures of Jews and Christians. In Q 2:59 and 7:162 a group of Jews is said to have "exchanged the word that was told to them for another saying *(fa-baddala lladhīna ẓalamū qawlan ghayra lladhī qīla lahum)*," thereby falsifying scripture (cf. Q 2:75; 5:13, 41, *yuḥarrifūna*). In Q 4:46, the falsification is said to derive from deliberate mispronunciation of scripture, in which the words, "We hear and obey," were recast into "We hear and disobey." Forgery or falsification by omission was also charged (Q 2:146; 3:71), whereby parts of the original sacred text were purposely omitted. In qurʾānic usage, accusations of substitution *(taḥrīf* and *tabdīl)* seem to be a reaction to traditional modes of, chiefly, Jewish commentary on scripture that make use of substitution of words based on their numerical value (Hebrew *gematria*), on differences in meaning of homophones or homographs, and on differences in meanings of words with similar sounds and roots across cognate languages, in this instance Hebrew and Arabic. The word, "we disobeyed" *(ʿaṣaynā)* in Q 4:46 is a close homophone to the Hebrew word for "do" or "accomplish" *(ʿasah)* and the passage reflects a midrash on the disobedient Israelite worship of the calf of gold (q.v.) after having promised to obey God (see *Exod* 19:8 and following; see OBEDIENCE). Q 2:75 charges that a party of the People of the Book (q.v.) would change scripture even after they had understood it. From the qurʾānic evidence about *taḥrīf* and *tabdīl*, the Qurʾān rejects a common feature of the midrashic way of reading scripture, namely the toleration of multiple, simultaneous interpretations of the text (see READINGS OF THE QURʾĀN), which was, however, allowed for. Ḥadīth (i.e. prophetic reports), which sometimes were contradictory or diverse in their meaning, were accepted so long as their chain of transmission was deemed sound (see ḤADĪTH AND THE QURĀN). Post-qurʾānic commentators understood the Qurʾān to regard all scripture of Jews and Christians as corrupted and thereby to be either rejected or understood only through the filter of the Qurʾān itself.

Charges of forgery have been a feature of inter-Islamic polemics as well as of those between Muslims and the People of the Book. Q 12 was regarded by the Khārijīs (q.v.) as a forgery on the basis of its love themes (Ṭūsī, *Tibyān*, iv, 75; van Ess, *TG*, i, 75). Both Sunnīs and Shīʿīs (Bar-Asher, *Scripture*, 88-93; see SHĪʿISM AND THE QURʾĀN) have accused the other of substituting or repressing portions of the Qurʾān, including two complete chapters which appear in the codex of Ubayy b. Kaʿb, one of Muḥammad's secretaries (Nöldeke, *GQ*, ii, 33-8; Jeffery, *Materials*, 180-1; see COLLECTION OF THE QURʾĀN; CODICES OF THE QURʾĀN). All attempts at producing a definitive Shīʿī alternative Qurʾān have failed, and both Sunnīs and Shīʿīs use the same recension for liturgical purposes (see RITUAL AND THE QURʾĀN). Sunnī commentators have consistently held that the true Qurʾān defies all attempts at forgery and is inimitable. This is in keeping

with Q 2:79, which condemns the falsification of scripture: "Woe to those who write the book (q.v.) with their own hands, then say 'This is from God,' in order that they might purchase a small gain therewith." See also REVISION AND ALTERATION.

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Forgiveness

The act of pardoning or the quality of being merciful. All 114 sūras (q.v.) of the Qurʾān but one (Q 9) open with the formula "In the name of God, the merciful *(al-raḥmān),* the compassionate *(al-raḥīm)*" (see BASMALA) and the theme of divine forgiveness permeates throughout as in Q 2:286: "God does not burden any soul more than it can bear. It receives every good that it earns, and it receives every evil that it earns. 'Our lord! Do not condemn us if we forget or err… Our lord! Do not place upon us a burden greater than we have strength to bear, and pardon and forgive us, and have mercy (q.v.) upon us!' " (cf. Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* iii, 159).

God loves those who pardon others (Q 3:134; cf. Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* iii, 438) and the Qurʾān encourages believers to forgive their fellow human beings (cf. Q 15:85). In fact, although not as explicitly as in the New Testament (e.g. at *Matt* 5:7; 6:12, 14-5; 7:1-2), God's forgiveness of human beings seems to be at least potentially associated in the Qurʾān with their forgiveness of others (Q 24:22; 64:14). Ultimately, however, forgiveness of sins is a uniquely divine prerogative: "He is the one who accepts repentance from his servants and pardons evil deeds" (Q 42:25; cf. Q 3:135; 9:104). God is "the best of forgivers" (Q 7:155; cf. Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* vi, 78), the "forgiver of sin and accepter of repentance" (Q 40:3). The term *ghaffār* occurs ninety-six times as a divine name or attribute (see GOD AND HIS ATTRIBUTES), signifying, roughly, "the much forgiving." The essentially synonymous *tawwāb* and *ʿafūw* occur, counted together, fifteen times, and, as mentioned above, the *raḥmān/raḥīm* complex is widespread. (For the differences of connotation between *ʿafw, maghfira* and *raḥma,* see Rāzī, *Tafsīr,* vii, 150, ad Q 2:286.)

God's forgiveness, like his will, is sovereign and free (see FREEDOM AND PREDESTINATION; SOVEREIGNTY). He forgives whomever he will (Q 2:284; 3:129; 5:18, 40, 118; 9:15, 27; 48:14). "Your lord is a lord (q.v.) of forgiveness and of painful punishment" (Q 41:43; see CHASTISMENT AND PUNISHMENT). He will not forgive those who associate other gods with him in worship — believers should not seek pardon for idolaters (Q 9:113; see IDOLATRY AND IDOLATERS; POLYTHEISM AND ATHEISM) — but is ready to forgive anything else (Q 4:48, 116). And, in fact, he forgives

"many things" (Q 42:30, 34). "Those who avoid major sins (see SIN, MAJOR AND MINOR) and abominations, all except petty wrongs — truly, your lord is ample in forgiveness" (Q 53:32). He forgives those who sin ignorantly but repent quickly (Q 4:17; see REPENTANCE AND PENANCE). He does not, however, forgive those who reject faith (q.v.; Q 4:168; 9:80; 63:5-6; see also GRATITUDE AND INGRATITUDE) and persist in evildoing (Q 4:18; see EVIL DEEDS), and he is unlikely to forgive repeated apostasy (q.v.; Q 4:137). To obtain his forgiveness, one must believe in him (cf. Q 8:38; 46:31; 47:34). Various individuals seek God's forgiveness in the qurʾānic narratives (q.v.) and believers are told to pray for it (e.g. Q 11:3, 52, 61, 90; 73:20; 110:3). Indeed, at God's command (Q 3:159), Muḥammad (q.v.) himself pleads for forgiveness on behalf of others (as at Q 4:64; cf. Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* iv, 160; see INTERCESSION). The imperative form of the verb *ghafara* occurs seventeen times in the Qurʾān, with speakers calling directly upon God to forgive them. The qurʾānic archetype of God's forgiveness of human beings is, of course, God's forgiveness of Adam (see ADAM AND EVE) after his disobedience (q.v.; see FALL OF MAN), the result being the absence in Islam of the concept of original sin (see COSMOLOGY).

Forgiveness from God is better than wealth (q.v.; Q 3:157). Indeed, it is among the great and oft-cited blessings of paradise (q.v.; Q 2:221, 268; 3:136; 4:96; 5:9; 8:4, 74; 11:11; 22:50; 24:26; 33:35; 34:4; 35:7; 36:11; 47:15; 48:29; 49:3; 57:20; 67:12; see REWARD AND PUNISHMENT). More than that, however, his gracious and unearned forgiveness offers humankind its only ultimate hope (q.v.; Q 7:23, 149; 11:47). See also MERCY.

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Form and Structure of the Qurʾān

Preliminary reflections about the redaction and canonization of the Qurʾān

Methodological dilemmas

Any assessment of qurʾānic form and structure depends on the position chosen by the researcher as to the redaction and the canonization of the qurʾānic corpus (see COLLECTION OF THE QURʾĀN; CODICES OF THE QURʾĀN; for a recent analysis of western views on the collection of the Qurʾān, see Motzki, Collection). Two apparently irreconcilable positions are currently infelicitously blocking each other in qurʾānic scholarship: on the one hand, there is the historico-critical approach which is oriented to older, more traditional biblical scholarship. It focuses on the development of the Qurʾān and views it as concomitant to that of its transmitter. It assumes the historicity of the basic Islamic traditions about the genesis of the Qurʾān, though sometimes tends to cling too closely to the reports contained in the biography of the Prophet (*sīra,* see SĪRA AND THE QURʾĀN; ḤADĪTH AND THE QURʾĀN) and thus unduly re-historicizes the Qurʾān. On the other hand, there is the counterposition of John Wansbrough's hyperskeptical revisionist approach (see CONTEMPORARY CRITICAL PRACTICES AND THE QURʾĀN) informed by a more modern trend in biblical scholarship, namely *Formgeschichte,* as well as semiological approaches that reject the traditional narrative altogether. This approach projects the role

hitherto ascribed to the Prophet and the first caliphs in the redaction process onto an anonymous committee assumed to have assembled a century or more later. In A. Rippin's words: "Canonization and stabilization of the text of the Qurʾān goes hand in hand with the formation of the community (see COMMUNITY AND SOCIETY IN THE QURʾĀN). A final fixed text of the scripture was not required, nor was it totally feasible, before political power was firmly controlled (see POLITICS AND THE QURʾĀN); thus the end of the second/eighth century becomes a likely historical moment for the gathering together of oral tradition and liturgical elements leading to the emergence of the fixed canon of scripture" (Literary analysis, 161). This approach, which not only dismisses the *sūra* but also rigorously de-historicizes the Qurʾān, and, by confining itself to the macrostructure of the canonized final version, disregards the distinctive internal literary structures of the Qurʾān (q.v.), has been criticized for its mechanistic argument. Thus, J. van Ess comments: "Generally speaking I feel that the author [i.e. J. Wansbrough] has been overwhelmed by the parallel case of early Christianity. Islam comes into being at a time and in surroundings where religion is understood as religion of the Book (q.v.; see also PEOPLE OF THE BOOK). This understanding had been prepared by the developments in Judaism (see JEWS AND JUDAISM) and Christianity (see CHRISTIANS AND CHRISTIANITY), as well as in Manichaeism (see MAGIANS). Canonization was no longer something novel. It was expected to happen. This, in my view, suffices as a justification of the process in Islam taking place so rapidly" (Review of J. Wansbrough, 353). This article argues for a third way: a shift in focus from a "canon from above" to a "canon from below," and a reading of the Qurʾān which studies the sūra (q.v.) as a communication process and thus respects this redactionally-warranted unit as a genuine literary text.

Canonization and the problem of the "sūra" as a unit

Several recent studies on the Qurʾān have focused anew on the problem of its canonization, making this a central issue in qurʾānic research. What these studies have called into question is the traditional account of the redaction and publication of a unified and authorized final version of the Qurʾān through which the text came to occupy the status of a scripture bearing an intrinsic logic of its own. By focusing on this final phase and ranking it as the crucial event in qurʾānic genesis, an epistemological course has been set: The literary image of the Qurʾān as reflecting a text still in progress and thus displaying a unique micro-structural diversity due to its evolution out of an extended process of a liturgical communication, becomes blurred, being eclipsed by its macro-structural weight and the social importance of the henceforth normative corpus and its ideological implications for the construction of the community's identity.

According to the dominant Islamic tradition, the Qurʾān owes its authoritative final version to the redaction carried out by a committee summoned by the third caliph, ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān (r. 23-35/644-56). The creation of this codex does, it is admitted, impose on the sūras a sequence that, until then, had not been fixed. In many cases it also incorporates passages that had been transmitted in an isolated manner into completely new contexts. The committee clings faithfully, however, to the text material whose authenticity is warranted by reliable oral and/or written tradition (see ORALITY), taking into consideration the entire corpus of the qurʾānic revelations available at the time. The performance of the committee is, therefore, traditionally

identified as an act of collection *(jamʿ),* one accomplished in perfect accordance with the concept of its commissioner, ʿUthmān, who is reported to have imposed on the redactors — apart from observing some linguistic cautions — no further task than that of gathering all the extant parts of the Qurʾān. The traditional account of the collection of the Qurʾān accords with the evidence offered by the text itself, since the new codex, which does not claim any chronological or theological rationale for the sequence of the single units (sūras) — which appear to be arranged according to merely technical external criteria — does display inextinguishable traces of its compilation as a collection (see CHRONOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN). On the surface, it presents itself as a corpus of unconnected texts of considerable structural diversity, not allowing for an immediate classification under one particular genre.

The traditional reports identify political constraints as the explanation of, and justification for, the admitted fact that the collection was carried out somewhat hastily and thus had to proceed in a rather mechanical fashion. Although other redactions had to be suppressed, the sequences of sūras in two of them (the codices *[maṣāḥif]* of Ibn Masʿūd [d. 32/653] and Ubayy b. Kaʿb [d. ca. 19/640 to 35/656]) are known to us. Both seem to have considered sūras 1, 113 and 114 to be not part of the corpus, but rather prayers to be uttered concomitant with the recitation of the Qurʾān (q.v.). The official redaction and publication of the standard text neither completely extinguished the memory of extant variants, later known as *qirāʾāt shādhdha,* nor precluded the emergence of further variants. Indeed, a number of reading traditions of the entire Qurʾān *(qirāʾāt mutawātira),* which, in many instances, diverge — although not substantially — from each other have come down to us. Seven of these (the so-called "seven readings," *al-qirāʾāt al-sabʿ*) even received canonical status through Ibn Mujāhid's (d. 324/936) scrutinizing selection of admissible qurʾānic text forms (see READINGS OF THE QURʾĀN). Although these have since enjoyed an equal status in the scholarly and the cultic tradition *(ʿilm al-qirāʾa, ʿilm al-tajwīd)* only two have survived and are still in use in modern times, namely the reading of Ḥafṣ *ʿan* ʿĀṣim (current in the Islamic east) and that of Warsh *ʿan* Nāfiʿ (current in the western Islamic world). Since modern audio media have further enhanced the status of the former, contemporary qurʾānic scholarship usually refers only to the Ḥafṣ text.

Yet, with the ʿUthmānic consonantal fixation of the text, a decisive course had been set with regards to its structure, which gave rise to a problematic development: namely, the joint codification of loosely composed passages and often unframed, conceptually isolated communications — so characteristic of the Medinan "long sūras" *(ṭiwāl al-suwar)* — together with the complex poly-thematic structures and mnemonic, technically sophisticated pieces that comprise the short and middle-sized sūras resulted in a most heterogeneous ensemble, a fact that did not remain without consequences. Once these elements melded to form a comprehensive and closed corpus, a codex (*muṣḥaf,* q.v.), they became neutralized as to their liturgical *Sitz-im-Leben* and their communicational context in the emergence of the community. Previously defined text-units distinguishable through reliable devices such as introductory formulas and markers of closure were, it is true, retained by the redaction process and labeled "sūra." They lost much of their significance, however, for, in the same codex there were now other units also labelled as "sūras," but whose constituent

passages had not come to form a coherent literary structure and thus invalidated the structural claim raised by those sūras that were neatly composed. The neatly-composed sūras eventually ceased to be considered integral literary units conveying messages of their own and mirroring individual stages of a process of communication. On the contrary, once all parts had become equal in rank, arbitrarily selected texts could be extracted from their sūra context and used to explain other arbitrarily selected texts. Passages thus became virtually de-contextualized, stripped of the tension that had characterized them within their original units. Genuine text-units lost their literary integrity and could be mistaken for mere repetitions of each other.

Hence, with its final official canonization, the Qurʾān had become de-historicized. Not the process of its successive emergence as mirrored in the text, but the timeless, eternal quality of its message had become its brand. This made the understanding of the Qurʾān all the more dependent on the *sīra,* a corpus that, although transmitted and codified separately, had been grafted on the Qurʾān by its readers and listeners from early times. Prophetic tradition, in its development of haggadic meta-history, thus took the place that intra-qurʾānic history should legitimately have occupied, i.e. the history, however sparse the chronological evidence, of a liturgical and social communication process, that took on a distinctly textual shape in the Qurʾān and is reflected in the structure of the sūras. Further literary investigation into the micro-structure of the Qurʾān, which might reveal the still-traceable traits of that history, remains an urgent desideratum.

As M. Mir (The *sūra*) has stressed, Muslim exegetes have only recently rediscovered the most prominent micro-structure of the Qurʾān, namely the sūra as a unit containing meaning, a concept long neglected in Muslim circles and generally dismissed as irrelevant in western scholarship. Exceptions to this dismissal have more recently appeared (cf. M.A.S. Abdel Haleem, Context; A. Neuwirth, Zur Struktur; id., Symmetrie; id., Koran; id., Images; id., Erste Qibla; id., From the sacred mosque; id., Qurʾānic literary structure; A.H.M. Zahniser, Word of God; id., Sura as guidance; M. Sells, Sound, spirit and gender; id., Sound and meaning; A.H. Johns, Qurʾānic presentation; and S.M. Stern, Muhammad and Joseph).

Reflections of a canonical process

The older sūras in particular seem to mirror a development which in its essential traits reflects a canonization from below, as characterized by Aleida and Jan Assmann (Kanon und Zensur). These two scholars distinguish between a canon described as power-oriented and one that relies on a particular source of meaning, not least on the charisma of the transmitter of a message. According to the Assmanns' theory, "whenever the message is preserved to survive beyond the situation in which the original group was directly interacting, it will usually undergo a profound change in structure. The message gains a new appearance through scripturalization and moreover through institutionalization." In the case of the Qurʾān, then, a canon from below certainly precedes the canon from above. The latter comes about only with the authoritative final redaction, which became necessary to counteract the pressure of a reactionary tendency towards provincialization and fragmentization. The canon from below has thereby changed into a canon from above, a development comparable to that in early Christianity when the official Church contracted a pact with political power.

To discern the textual signs of a canon developing from below, we may draw on

the new approaches developed in recent biblical studies, principally those of the American scholar Brevard S. Childs, who has proposed an understanding of the genesis of a canon as a process of growth. Canon in this context no longer covers the officially codified final form of a text, but rather signifies the "consciousness of a binding covenantal character deeply rooted in the texts" (C. Dohmen, *Biblischer Kanon,* 25) that is affirmed by the continuous references of later emerging text-units to a text nucleus and by the recurrent instances of intertextuality mirrored in the text-units developing around the nucleus. Even at the point where the genesis of a text conceived as a canonical process has come to a close with the end of the text's growth, its final form will not be a harmonious presentation but will leave the roughness caused by the organic growth unleveled. The final shape only re-locates interpretation, which, until then, had taken place in productive additions or changes within the text, and which henceforth takes place through exegesis and interpretation separate from the text.

Methodological conclusions

The following presentation of qurʾānic form and structure is based on these observations. At the same time it represents an attempt to comply with a provocative demand proffered by A. Rippin (Qurʾān as literature) that the Qurʾān should be studied by (a) situating it in its literary tradition and (b) situating it as the focal point of a readers' response study. But, diverging from Rippin's proposal, we will not go so far as to replace an immediately traceable intra-qurʾānic context with a speculative biblical or post-biblical one in order to provide the appropriate literary tradition. Nor will we embark on reconstructing a post-qurʾānic reader-response from the exegetical literature (see EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL; EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: EARLY MODERN AND CONTEMPORARY). Rather, what we shall analyze — on the basis of individual sūras — is the qurʾānic communication process as taking place between speaker and listeners. The reader-response is thus replaced by a listener-response, the concept of the "implied reader" is modified into that of the "implied listener." Situating the Qurʾān in its literary tradition (see SCRIPTURE AND THE QURʾĀN; ORALITY) will be realized through the investigation of its peculiar referentiality, not stopping short at the notice of particular instances of a biblical background, but proceeding to examine the position of the sūra as a stage in an extended canonical process.

This article will discuss the language and style of the Qurʾān in general (see LANGUAGE OF THE QURʾĀN; GRAMMAR AND THE QURʾĀN; RHETORIC OF THE QURʾĀN) and on this basis the individual literary genres assembled in the Qurʾān will be surveyed in terms of form and content. To present such an inventory of the building blocks or *"enjeux"* (Ger. *"Gesätze"*) of the sūras is a useful propaedeutic step towards the literary assessment of the Qurʾān, although hardly any of the *enjeux* themselves appears as a self-sufficient communication, i.e. as a complete sūra. Rather, they are integrated in complex ensembles and thus, to be adequately understood, must be viewed in their wider context. The discussion will therefore survey the contextuality, i.e. the diverse combinations of individual *enjeux* displayed in individual sūras.

Now, the Qurʾān has never been conceptualized or intended as a primarily literary corpus whose purpose was to convey information to, or serve the re-education of, its readers (see HISTORY AND THE QURʾĀN). Rather, it has manifested itself — until its final publication — as a continuous hermeneutical process reflecting, and

simultaneously conditioning, the attitudes of its listeners towards the message (see ETHICS AND THE QUR'ĀN; THEOLOGY AND THE QUR'ĀN). The literary ensembles — sūras — thus constitute essentially liturgical units that have developed not so much through the textual growth of the corpus as through a liturgical or communicational process that transpired within the emerging Islamic community. Their "history" can therefore be plumbed out only by closely considering the process of conveying the message, i.e. by surveying the subsequent changes in communication techniques and the hints at the performative framework, in terms of time, space and protagonists involved, as mirrored in the self-referential passages of the Qur'ān. Only such a synopsis of the literary and the communicational, i.e. liturgical development, will enable us to pursue the canonical process which finally produced the corpus as we have it today.

Linguistic, stylistic and literary character of the Qur'ān

Diversity of views

An early debate about the question of qur'ānic language — Meccan vernacular (Vollers, *Volkssprache*) or poetic koine (*'arabiyya,* Nöldeke, *Neue Beiträge;* Geyer, Zur Strophik) was decided in favor of the latter, though occasional linguistic interferences reflecting the Ḥijāzī vernacular are still discernible beneath the amendments later supplied by the classical philologists (see TRADITIONAL DISCIPLINES OF QUR'ĀNIC STUDY; INIMITABILITY). Still, the style and language of the Qur'ān have often been dismissed as defective, with verdicts ranging from Th. Nöldeke's "Sündenregister" (*Neue Beiträge,* 5-23) imposing upon the Qur'ān grammatical rules that were developed at a later date, to L. Kopf's (Religious influences, 48) denigration of the Prophet's stylistic talents, to R. Blachère's (*Histoire,* ii, 187-241, esp. 204-36) reaffirmation of Nöldeke's influential critique. Although recognizing the division of the text into three sections from the Meccan period and one from the Medinan period, based upon predominantly stylistic considerations, and thus admitting a poetic character for the earlier sūras as against a more prosaic one for the later sūras (Nöldeke, *GQ,* esp. i, 66-75; 143-4), Western qur'ānic scholarship has for a long time failed to draw due methodological conclusions and to analyze the qur'ānic texts in an accordingly complex manner. An attempt to broadly survey the literary qualities of the Meccan part of the corpus was undertaken by Neuwirth in several studies (see bibliography).

Qur'ānic composition fared even worse. Since the sensational hypothesis presented by D. Müller *(Die Propheten)* claiming a strophic composition for the sūras was dismissed without further scrutiny by subsequent scholarship (Nöldeke, *GQ*) the possibility that "a firm literary hand was in full control" of the composition and structure of individual sūras has been virtually excluded. Disclaimers (adduced by Rippin, Review of Neuwirth) range from Goldziher's (*Introduction,* 28, n. 37) statement, "Judgments of the Qur'ān's literary value may vary, but there is one thing even prejudice cannot deny. The people entrusted… with the redaction of the unordered parts of the book occasionally went about their work in a very clumsy fashion," to Wansbrough's (*QS,* 47) "… ellipsis and repetition [in the Qur'ān] are such as to suggest not the carefully executed project of one or of many men, but rather the product of an organic development from originally independent traditions during a long period of transmission." Although Nöldeke's work still built on the reality of the sūras (admitting, of course, subsequent modifications), the hypothesis of an artistically valuable composition — be it of the qur'ānic corpus

or of the single sūras — has since been negated, and existing literary forms have been considered to be the result of a haphazard compilation.

The problem of periodization

As against the view just mentioned, through micro-structural analysis, structures do become clearly discernible beneath the surface. These structures mirror a historical development. Indeed, observations about style and structure complemented by thematic considerations have induced Western scholars (Weil, *Historisch-kritische Einleitung;* Nöldeke, GQ [repeated by Blachère, *Le Coran;* id., *Histoire*]) to declare a division of the text into three sub-sections from the Meccan period and one from the Medinan period, thus further developing the distinction between Meccan and Medinan text-units already made by Muslim traditional scholarship. Although the assumption (also held by Bell, *Qurʾān;* id., *Introduction*) of "a historical progression at work between the diverse sections, i.e. that stylistic and thematic considerations can be translated into historical conclusions" has been contested (Rippin, Review of Neuwirth), it should nonetheless be noted that stylistic developments in any literature, once attained, are not deemed reversible. Since Nöldeke's division still proves useful as a working hypothesis, it appears worthwhile to further scrutinize his observations. As a first step in that direction, Neuwirth *(Studien)* has tried to establish a critical basis for determining verse structures by scrutinizing the verse divisions of the "standard Ḥafṣ text" through consultation with other traditional schemes. The crucial procedures demanded in order to reach a valid periodization are, however, more complex, and they have to proceed from a thorough investigation of qurʾānic rhyme to that of verse and then to that of paragraph structure in relation to the diverse semantic units (see RHYMED PROSE).

Rhymes and verse structures as a criterion of relative chronology

The poetical structure of the Qurʾān is marked by rhyme endings of the verses. A description of these rhymes *in toto* is a necessary pre-requisite for the analysis of the composition of a sūra, since only a synopsis of all the rhymes figuring in the Qurʾān will allow us to isolate sequences of rhymes and to examine their relation to semantically coherent groups of verses. Such a classification has been undertaken for the Meccan parts of the Qurʾān by Neuwirth *(Studien)*. There, a significant difference was noted between those sūras classified as early Meccan (whose endings comprise some eighty types of rhyme), as middle Meccan (seventeen types of rhyme endings) and as late Meccan (five types of rhyme endings). The diversity of rhymes is, of course, related to the style at large: The sūras commonly considered the oldest, i.e. those that display *sajʿ,* rhymed prose in the strict sense — short units rhyming in frequently changing sound patterns reiterating the last consonant and based on a common rhythm — are made up of monopartite verses containing one colon each (see for the colometric structure, Neuwirth, Zur Struktur; id., *Studien*), e.g. Q 70:8-9, *yawma takūnu l-samāʾu ka-l-muhl/wa-takūnu l-jibālu ka-l-ʿihn*. Longer compositions, whose style is too complex to be pressed into short *sajʿ* phrases, usually display a bipartite (two cola) structure, e.g. Q 54:42, *kadhdhabū bi-āyātinā kullihā fa-akhadhnāhum akhdha ʿazīzin muqtadir,* or even pluripartite (more than two cola) verse, e.g. Q 37:102, *fa-lammā balagha maʿahu l-saʿya qāla yā bunayya innī arā fī l-manāmi annī adhbaḥuka fa-nzur mādhā tarā qāla yā abati fʿal mā tuʾmaru sa-tajidunī in shāʾa llāhu mina l-ṣābirīn*. The relative length of the verses should not be

dismissed as simply conditioned by a more or less complex content. Rather, the transition from *sajʿ* speech to a more ordinarily flowing, though still poetically tinted, articulation attests to the transformation of an adherence to the standard pre-Islamic (*jāhilī,* see AGE OF IGNORANCE) tradition into a novel literary paradigm that may be considered as a genuine qurʾānic development marking a new stage in the history of the Arabic literary language.

Proportions between verse groups as a criterion

R. Bell (*Qurʾān,* 71) claimed that "many sūras of the Qurʾān fall into short sections or paragraphs. These are not of fixed length, however, nor do they seem to follow any pattern of length. Their length is determined not by any consideration of form but by the subject or incident treated in each." This claim is, however, no longer tenable. Bell's perception of the Qurʾān — not unlike that held by Nöldeke and many later scholars — relies heavily on the imagination of a written text and completely neglects the oral character of the majority of the Meccan compositions. The principally liturgical function of the qurʾānic texts, however, presupposes texts that are easily memorized and which, as long as writing is not involved, are dependent on mnemonic-technical devices. An analysis of the structure of the verses of the Qurʾān in terms of their division into segments and the relationship between the grammatical structure of each segment and the thematic contents carried out by A. Neuwirth *(Studien)* has resulted in a typology of sūra structures. Most Meccan sūras display fixed sequences of formally and thematically defined verse groups distinctly separated by a change of rhyme or other clearly discernible, sometimes formulaic markers of caesurae. A group of two verses may be adduced at Q 94:7-8, *fa-idhā faraghta fa-nṣab/wa-ilā rabbika fa-rghab* (new rhyme, strictly parallel structure); a group of three verses is Q 90:8-10, *a-lam najʿal lahu ʿaynayn/wa-lisānan wa-shafatayn/wa-hadaynāhu l-najdayn* (new rhyme, identical subject); a group of four verses is Q 90:1-4, *lā uqsimu bi-hādhā l-balad/wa-anta ḥillun bi-hādhā l-balad/wa-wālidin wa-mā walad/la-qad khalaqnā l-insāna fī kabad* (ensuing change of rhyme, oath cluster with assertion); a group of five verses is Q 99:1-5, *idhā zulzilati l-arḍu zilzālahā/wa-akhrajati l-arḍu athqālahā/wa-qāla l-insānu mā lahā/yawmaʾidhin tuḥaddithu akhbārahā/bi-anna rabbaka awḥā lahā* (ensuing change of rhyme, apocalyptical scenery succeeded by an eschatological process; see APOCALYPSE; ESCHATOLOGY); a group of six verses is Q 75:1-6, *lā uqsimu bi-yawmi l-qiyāma/wa-lā uqsimu bi-l-nafsi l-lawwāma/a-yaḥsabu l-insānu allan najmaʿa ʿiẓāmah/balā qādirīna ʿalā an nusawwiya banānah/bal yurīdu l-insānu li-yafjura amāmah/yasʾalu ayyāna yawmu l-qiyāma* (group made up by 2 + 2 + 2 verses, held together by concatenation; ensuing change of rhyme, the group is followed by two further groups of six verses: 2 + 4, 2 + 2 + 2); a group of seven verses is Q 56:81-7 (polemics against adversaries of the Qurʾān), followed by another group of seven verses (Q 56:88-94) presenting the eschatological retribution; a group of eight verses is Q 93:1-8, *wa-l-ḍuḥā/wa-l-layli idhā sajā/mā waddaʿaka rabbuka wa-mā qalā/wa-la-l-ākhiratu khayrun laka mina l-ūlā/wa-la-sawfa yuʿṭīka rabbuka fa-tarḍā* … (ensuing change of rhyme, oath cluster with three assertions); groups of nine verses are Q 73:1-9, 10-18; for groups of ten verses and more cf. Neuwirth, *Studien,* 186 f.

These distinct verse groups often form part of clear-cut patterns of proportions. Thus, Q 75 is built on the following balanced verse groups: 6 + 6 + 6 + 6 + 5 + 5 + 5; Q 70 is made up of 6 + 7 + 7 + 7 + 7 + 9; Q 79 entails two groups of nine

verses, its proportions being strikingly balanced: 5 + 9 / 6 + 6 + 6 / 9 + 5. Q 51 is made up of groups of 9 + 14 + 14 + 9 + 7 + 7 verses. Similar cases are found in many of those early Meccan sūras that exceed some ten verses, proportion being obviously a mnemonic device required in a situation where memorizing without written support was demanded from the listeners (see below for a further discussion).

The clausula phrase

Any similarity to *sajʿ* is given up when verses exceed the bipartite structures. In these cases, the rhyming end of the verses follows the stereotypical *-ūn, -īn*-pattern that would hardly suffice to fulfill the listeners' anticipation of a resounding end to the verse. A new mnemonic-technical device is utilized, solving the problem. This device is the rhymed phrase, a syntactically stereotyped colon which is distinguished from its context insomuch as it does not partake in the main strain of the discourse, but presents a kind of moral comment on it, as "… give us full measure and be charitable with us. Truly God will repay the charitable" (…*fa-awfi lanā l-kayla wa-taṣaddaq ʿalaynā, inna llāha yajzī l-mutaṣaddiqīn,* Q 12:88), or else refers to divine omnipotence and providence, as "… that we might show him our signs. Truly he is the hearer, the seer" (… *li-nuriyahu min āyātinā, innahu huwa l-samīʿu l-baṣīr,* Q 17:1). An elaborate classification of the rhymed phrases has been provided by Neuwirth (Zur Struktur) on the basis of sūra 12, a text particularly rich in clausulae that, hardly by mere coincidence, display a large number of divine predicates (*al-asmāʾ al-ḥusnā,* see GOD AND HIS ATTRIBUTES). Although it is true that not all multipartite verses bear such formulaic endings, and occasionally do contain ordinary short sentences in the position of the last colon, still, clausula verses may be considered to be a characteristic developed in the late Meccan period, and present in later verses. The presence of clausulae should not be considered as a purely ornamental phenomenon due to the merely stylistic moods of the speaker and thus devoid of significance for periodization. On the contrary, their appearance marks a new and irreversible development: The clausula serves to turn the often-narrative discourse of the extended sūras into paraenetical appeals, thus immediately supporting their theological message. They therefore betray a novel narrative pact between the speaker and his audience, the consciousness that there is a basic consensus on human moral behavior as well as on the image of God as a powerful agent in human interaction, a consciousness that has of course been reached only after an extended process of the community's education (Neuwirth, Referentiality; id., Qurʾān, crisis and memory).

Orality, scripturality and the canonical process

In spite of the etymology of its earliest self-designation (*qurʾān* < Syriac *qeryānā*, i.e. recital, pericope to be recited in services), far too often the Qurʾān is implicitly considered to be a literary work, imagined as "authored by Muḥammad," as becomes apparent from all the critiques which blame the text for not fulfilling particular literary standards. Since the quest for an "Urtext" has long been prevalent in historical-critical studies, qurʾānic speech has usually been investigated according to the criteria of written compositions with no relation to oral performance. This view has been met with criticism in more recent scholarship, which has demanded that the quest for "original meaning" be replaced by a consideration of the Qurʾān's sociocultural context as necessary for its interpretation (Martin, Understanding the Qurʾān). Denny (Exegesis and recitation,

91) criticized the neglect of the "ritual-recitational dimensions of the Qurʾān" and Graham (*Beyond,* 80) stressed "the abiding and intrinsic orality of the Qurʾān as a scriptural book of revelation and authority." "Oral composition" such as has been claimed for ancient Arabic poetry by Zwettler *(Oral tradition)* and Monroe (Oral composition) on the basis of the thesis presented by M. Parry in 1930-2 *(The making of Homeric verse)* and followed by Lord (in *The singer of tales*), although not immediately applicable in the case of the Qurʾān, is still in need of debate. According to Parry and Lord, "oral poetry" is characterized by its composition during performance, a procedure which is supported by a thesaurus of formulaic phrases. In some cases this may apply to the Qurʾān (see below), but can hardly be proved for the bulk of its corpus. Many early sūras (e.g. Q 73 and 74) that surely were composed without the support of writing attest to their origin in nocturnal vigils (q.v.) rather than public performances. Later sūras (from the so-called Raḥmān period onward, see Watt-Bell, *Introduction;* Nöldeke, *GQ*), composed of multipartite verses with little poetic shaping and thus devoid of effective mnemonic-technical devices, strongly suggest an immediate fixation in writing if they were not initially written compositions.

To investigate the full scope of this development one has, however, to go beyond the mere technical aspects. It is noteworthy that, although the distinction between two decisive periods for the genesis of the Qurʾān (a *qurʾān* phase and a *kitāb* phase, the latter implying the use of writing as a mnemonic-technical device to preserve the text) has been accepted in historic-critical qurʾānic scholarship as a whole (Watt-Bell, *Introduction;* Nagel, Vom Koran zur Schrift; Robinson, Structure), the double self-representation of the qurʾānic text has never been explored under the perspective of its implications for the canonical process. One has to keep in mind, however, that the terms *qurʾān* and *kitāb* denote very different concepts. The first points to a communal event in progress involving a multiplicity of dramatis personae — a speaker reciting a message received from an "absent" commissioner that he is to communicate to a plurality of listeners. It thus stresses a horizontal human interaction. This dynamic, thanks to the striking phenomenon of qurʾānic self-referentiality, is mirrored clearly in the early sūras themselves, which have preserved lively scenarios of the reception of the qurʾānic revelation. The second concept focuses on the hierarchical quality of a transcendent message presupposing a vertical relationship between an "author" (or his spokesperson) and the "reader" (or the worshipper). Thus the notion of a *kitāb* in itself clearly implies a strong claim of canonicity. Indeed, it was realized as such by the early community who first observed *kitāb* as a transcendent scripture, on the one hand manifested in the texts held sacred by the adherents of the older religions (i.e. *tawrāt* [see TORAH], *injīl* [see GOSPEL], *zabūr* [see PSALMS]), and, on the other hand, being communicated to them in subsequent messages (*ḥadīth,* Q 51:24; 20:9; *naba',* Q 15:51; 26:69; 38:21) to form narrative pericopes (see NARRATIVES) within the more complex liturgical recitals *(qurʾān)*. They only later realized *kitāb* to be the entelechy of their own growing corpus of divine communications. What was *qurʾān* in the beginning, then, developed into *kitāb* in the end; so a similar claim of canonicity cannot, in principle, be excluded for the term *qurʾān* either, which in later usage comes very close to that of *kitāb*. In turn, the Muslim *kitāb* preserves much of its "*qurʾān*-ness" since throughout the process of revelation the presence of the listeners is maintained, the believers among whom, i.e. the community (see BELIEF AND

UNBELIEF), even step into the text, not only as protagonists in new scenarios of salvation (q.v.) history but as conscious voices in an ongoing debate. Thus the entirely vertical relationship between the sender and the recipients, which prevails at the close of the qurʾānic development, i.e. after the completion of the corpus, is not really relevant to the preceding stages. The direct or indirect reference to the notion of *kitāb* thus may serve as a reliable guide when tracing the ongoing process of canonization in the qurʾānic development.

The "enjeux" *or building blocks of the sūra (*"Gesätze," *structurally definable verse groups)*

Since the appearance of A. Welch's article (Ḳurʾān) in 1981, further attempts at a classification of the *"enjeux"* have been put forward. Contrary to Welch — who is skeptical of the intra-Meccan periodization and thus reluctant to discuss the forms according to their successive emergence —, Neuwirth *(Studien),* in an extensive study of the qurʾānic literary forms of Meccan sūras, does consider this periodization — i.e. the approximately chronological sequence of sūras *(Entwicklungsreihen)* presented by Nöldeke and accepted by Schwally and Blachère — as still valid and useful as a working hypothesis. Unlike Welch's article, which praises Bell's atomization of the sūra as an important step forward, Neuwirth's study insists on the significance of the sūra as a literary unit although conceding that many Meccan sūras have undergone developments *(Fortschreibungen)* during their liturgical use, and that Medinan sūras constitute a case of their own. It is, however, assumed that the Meccan sūra in its final composition is an intended unit that reflects a natural growth, not a haphazard combination of diverse elements. The acceptance of the sūra as an intended unit following verifiable compositional patterns that are important for the understanding of the ensemble of *"enjeux"* enables the perception of structural developments, which, again, make possible a rough periodization of the sūras as units as well as of their *"enjeux."*

The following list comprises only the main types of *"enjeux,"* focusing on the early manifestations of the particular elements. On the whole, Meccan and Medinan sūras consist of the same building blocks; a few elements that appear in Medinan sūras exclusively will be discussed at the end of the list (for a more exhaustive discussion, see Neuwirth, *Studien,* 187 f. and 238 f.).

Oaths and oath clusters (introductory and intra-textual sections)

From among the forty-three sūras ascribed by Nöldeke to the first Meccan period, seventeen are introduced by oaths. In eight instances, oaths appear within sūras. Two types of oath formulas can be distinguished: a group introduced by *wāw al-qasam* (fifteen times in introductory sections, three times within sūras) and another introduced by *lā uqsimu bi-* (twice in introductory sections, five times within sūras). The particular importance of the introductory sections of the qurʾānic sūras for the entire composition has not been discussed on any systematic level. Still, observations concerning the beginning of the sūras have led to quite far-reaching hypotheses about the special brand of Muḥammad's prophethood (see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD): i.e. the early sūras betray a close relationship to the utterances of the pre-Islamic soothsayers (q.v.; *kuhhān,* sing. *kāhin*), and may even be considered the most reliable evidence for *kuhhān* speech itself (see also ORALITY AND WRITINGS IN ARABIA).

Now, the specimens of *kuhhān* sayings that have been transmitted in early Islamic literature are not always assuredly genuine,

nor have they been studied regarding their literary form. Theories about their relation to qur'ānic speech, therefore, still lack a methodological foundation. Neuwirth (Der Horizont; id., Der historische Muhammad) has presented some preliminary observations about the relationship between *kāhin* expression and the early sūras. Whereas oaths still bearing traces of legally binding commitments (see OATHS AND PROMISES) are found sporadically in the Qur'ān — mostly in the context of solemn pronouncements invoking God as witness for the truth of a statement — the oaths appearing in the early Meccan sūras are completely devoid of any legal connotation, but form clusters that serve exclusively as a literary device. This is affirmed by several formal characteristics, the most striking of which is the multiplicity of the objects invoked. Unlike in the case of legally binding oaths, these are not of a superior order (God, the life of the speaker, etc.) but, rather, are objects chosen from the empirical realm. A second characteristic is the limitation of the oaths to the standard formula *wa*-X or *lā uqsimu bi*-X followed by an assertion, a "statement," usually worded *inna* Y *la*-Z, not implying any allusion to a legally binding commitment on the part of the speaker. The oath clusters may be classified as follows:

a) Oath clusters of the type *wa-l-fā'ilāt:* Q 37:1-3; 51:1-4; 77:1-4; 79:1-5, 6-14; 100:1-5. These oaths, which do not explicitly name the objects to which they refer, but only allude to them by qualifying them as being moved in different successive motions, have been considered the most intricate by both Muslim exegetes and Western scholars. Displaying a metaphorical language distinctly different from that of the rest of the corpus, they have come to be known as particularly enigmatic, not so much because of the few undeniable lexical and grammatical ambiguities, but because of a more fundamental difficulty: their pronouncedly profane imagery (horses on their way to a raid [*ghazwa,* see EXPEDITIONS AND BATTLES], clouds heavy with rain) which seems inconsistent with the overall purport of the sūras as documents of religious discourse.

b) Oath clusters alluding to sacred localities and the abundance of creation: Q 52:1-6; 90:1-3; 95:1-3. The localities mentioned refer to particular theophanies, thus functioning as symbols of divine instruction. The one locality constantly mentioned is Mecca (q.v.); it appears once alone (Q 90) and twice (Q 52 and 95) in combination with Mount Sinai (q.v.) as the second site. In all three oath clusters an immediately recognizable semantic coherence between the oath formulae and the following text passage is missing, thus delaying the anticipation of a solution to the enigma posed which is disclosed only at the end of the sūra: theophanies, i.e. divine communications, necessitate an account be rendered on the day of judgment.

c) Oath clusters relating to cosmic phenomena and liturgically significant time periods of the day and the night (see DAY, TIMES OF; DAY AND NIGHT) are found at the beginning of a number of sūras: Q 85:1-3; 86:1-3; 89:1-4; 91:1-7; 92:1-3; 93:1-2; they appear within sūras in: Q 51:7-9; 86:11-12.

What justifies the classification of sūras with introductory oath clusters as a type of their own is not so much the observation of such obvious traits as common topics or patterns of composition as it is the immanent dynamics dominating these sūras. With regards to form, this particular quality is due to the accumulation of parallel phrases in the introductory section creating a rhythm of its own. Structurally speaking, it is based on the anticipation of a solution to the enigma that is aroused in the listeners' minds by the amassed metaphorical elements, an enigma that is not imme-

diately comprehensible or even plausible to them. It is this dynamization of the entire sūra created by the introductory oath clusters that is the main characteristic of this text group.

In the case of (a), the *fāʿilāt*-clusters, the anticipation of an explication of the ideas presented in the cluster in an oblique metaphorical way through their empirically known prototypes is fulfilled only at the end of the sūra (or the first main part). The metaphorically projected catastrophe is none other than the eschatological dissolution of creation. In the case of oaths referring to (b), symbols of creation and instruction, the anticipation of the ideas of judgment (q.v.; see also LAST JUDMENT) and account is suspended in a similar way and fulfilled only at the end of the sūra, or again, at the end of the first main part. Sūras introduced by oath clusters referring to (c), cosmic phenomena and liturgically significant day and night phases, respectively, betray a somewhat different structure of anticipation. They are characterized, it is true, by a hymnical (or polemical) *tonus rectus* that remains audible throughout the entire sūra. However, in both types it is the ever-stressed opposition between created beings in terms of moral behavior, structurally prefigured through the contrast of light (q.v.) and darkness (q.v.), that arouses the anticipation of a final affirmation of unity personified in the creator, a unity that alone gives meaning to the oppositions extant in the realm of created beings. Indeed, the concluding sections, in speaking of the believers' nearness to the divine speaker, lead back to the experience of divine unity felt in liturgy and Qurʾān recitation to which the images in the introductory section (liturgical time phases) allude.

In the later sūras, the anticipation aroused by the oaths is fulfilled immediately, without suspense, in the ensuing statement (Q 36:2, object: *al-qurʾān al-ḥakīm;* Q 38:1, *al-qurʾān dhī l-dhikr;* Q 43:2, *al-kitāb al-mubīn;* Q 44:2, *al-kitāb al-mubīn;* Q 50:1, *al-qurʾān al-majīd;* Q 68:1, *al-qalam wa-mā yaṣṭurūna*), all of which are followed by assertions related to revelation (see REVELATION AND INSPIRATION). The oath clusters have thus developed from functional units into merely ornamental devices. In these later and more extended sūras, where the primary function of the oaths, i.e. arousing tension toward the explication of the initial enigma, has become faint, the attention of the listener can thus concentrate on particular — structurally important — images bearing symbolic value. It is not by mere coincidence that the standard incipit characteristic of so many later sūras develops from one of the types of early oath clusters: In the end, the image of the book *(al-kitāb)* — which had constituted the object of most of the early Meccan intra-textual oaths (Q 56:75 f.; 81:15 f.; 84:16 f.; 86:11 f.) but appeared less frequently in the introductory part (Q 52:2-3) — alone remains in use, the most abstract of all the different symbols used, essentially no more than a mere sign. The book is thus the only relic that survives from among a complex ensemble of manifold accessories of revelation, originally comprising cosmic, vegetative, topographic, cultic and social elements. The book as the symbol of revelation par excellence successively acquires the dignity that it has preserved until the present day to represent the noblest emblem of Islamic religion.

Eschatological passages (introductory and intra-textual sections)

Clusters of *idhā*-phrases

Five sūras (Q 56:1-6; 81:1-13; 82:1-4; 84:1-5; 99:1-3) start with *idhā*-phrase-clusters, most of which have a distinct internal structure: Q 81:1-13: six pairs of verses; Q 82:1-4: two

pairs; Q 56:1-6: two groups of three verses. *Idhā*-clusters are also encountered within sūras, e.g. Q 56:83 f.; 75:26 f.; 79:34-36; 100:9-11. They are typologically related to the oath clusters as they build up a pronouncedly rhythmical beginning to the sūra or part of the sūra; here, however, the tension is resolved immediately in the closely following apodosis. In their particularly concise and poetically tinted syntactical structure (*idhā* + noun + verb instead of the standard prose sequence of *idhā* + verb + noun), these clusters (ranging from two to twelve verses) present apocalyptic scenes depicting the dissolution of the created cosmos on the last day. It is noteworthy that the highly rhythmical *idhā*-phrases never exceed mono-partite verse structures and thus contribute to the pronounced *saj'* character of the early sūras. In some cases the *idhā*-phrases are not confined to natural and cosmic phenomena but proceed to depict the preparations for the final judgment (the blowing of trumpet, positioning of the throne, opening of the account books etc.). *Yawma* may also serve the function of the conjunction *idhā:* Q 52:9-10; 79:6-7.

Eschatological processes

In terms of grammar, the *idhā*-phrases constituting the protasis of a conditional period are followed by equally stereotyped apodoses referring to the foregoing with the adverb *yawma'idhin* (e.g. Q 69:15; 79:8; 99:4, 6). These "eschatological processes" depict the behavior of people in the apocalyptic setting and their separation into the groups of the blessed and the condemned (Q 56:7; see REWARD AND PUNISHMENT).

Diptycha: Descriptions of the hereafter

Continuing (in grammatical terms) the apodosis of the eschatological period, these descriptions of the hereafter are strictly divided into two counterparts. Introduced by *fa-ammā… wa-ammā* (Q 101:6-7, 8-9) or *wujūhun… wujūhun* (Q 80:38-9, 40-2), they juxtapose the situation of the believers in the paradisiacal garden (q.v.; *janna,* see also PARADISE) with that of the disbelievers *(kuffār)* or evildoers (*fāsiqūn* and the like; see EVIL DEEDS; HYPOCRITES AND HYPOCRISY) in the tribulations suffered in the fire (q.v.; *nār*) of hell (q.v.; *jahannam*). It is noteworthy that both depictions are particularly rich in imagery and together form a double image, consisting of either an equal number of verses (e.g. Q 51:10-4, 15-9: five verses each) or of two verse groups displaying a proportional relation to each other (e.g. the just of Q 69:19-24 as against the evildoers of 69:25-37, seven and fourteen verses, respectively). As such, they remind us of the closely juxtaposed pictorial representations of both sections of the hereafter depicted in Church iconography, thus suggesting the designation of "diptycha."

Flashbacks

Not infrequently, diptycha comprise recollections of the particular behavior of the inmates of the two abodes during their worldly life, serving to justify their eschatological fate. These are stereotypically introduced by *innahu kāna* (Q 69:33), and they are sometimes interspersed with direct speech, e.g. *yaqūlu yā laytanī* (Q 69:25). Some of them merge into a catalogue of virtues to be emulated (Q 32:15-7) or vices to be avoided (Q 83:29-33; see VIRTUES AND VICES). Independent flashback passages are Q 56:88-94; 75:31-5; 78:27-30; 84:13-5; subgroups of verses within passages are Q 52:26-8; 56:45-8; 69:33-4; 74:43-6; 83:29-32.

Signs *(āyāt)*

Signs implied in nature

Several descriptions of the "biosphere," of copious vegetation, fauna, an agreeable habitat for humans, the natural resources at their disposal, and the like, are incorporated into paraenetic appeals (see COSMO-

LOGY) to recognize divine providence and accept divine omnipotence, since all these benefits (see BLESSING; GRACE) are signs (q.v.; *āyāt*) bearing a coded message. If they are properly understood, they will evoke gratitude (see GRATITUDE AND INGRATITUDE) and submission to the divine will (Graham, The wind). The perception of nature, which, in pre-Islamic poetry, is a first step to the heroic defiance of its alien roughness (see GEOGRAPHY), has, by middle Meccan times, crystallized into the image of a meaningfully organized habitat ensuring human welfare and arousing the awareness of belonging (see NATURAL WORLD AND THE QURʾĀN; SEMIOTICS AND NATURE IN THE QURʾĀN). Extensive *āyāt* passages in the strict sense, with their explicit designation of "signs," do not occur before the second Meccan period; they are, however, preluded by enumerations of divine munificence, as in Q 76:6-16; 77:25-7; 79:27-32; 80:24-32; 82:6-8; 88:17-20; 90:8-10. Often recalling the imagery of the psalms, *āyāt* passages serve to express the progressive change in paradigm concerning the perception of nature. They soon become stock inventory: Q 15:16-25; 25:45-50; 36:33-47; 50:6-11; 14:32-4; 35:9-14, 27-8; 40:61-6; 41:37-40; 42:28-35; 45:12-5. Although signs do occur in polemical contexts (Q 21:30-33: *a-wa-lam yara…;* Q 78:6: *a-lam najʿal…;* Q 79:27-33: *a-antum ashaddu khalqan ami l-samāʾu banāhā…;* Q 88:17: *a-fa-lā yanzurūna…;* see POLEMIC AND POLEMICAL LANGUAGE), hymnical *āyāt* predominate.

Closely related to the hymnical *āyāt* is the hymn as such. Sections praising God's benevolence, omnipotence and his deeds in history occur predominantly in introductory sections (early: Q 87:1-5; 96:1-5; later: Q 67:1-4 introduced by a doxology [see GLORIFICATION OF GOD]; Q 35:1-2). They are also found distributed within the sūras (early: Q 53:43-9; later: Q 32:4-9; 25:61-2 introduced by a doxology *"tabāraka"*; Q 39:62-6). Loosely related to the hymn in a structural sense, but serving a different purpose — namely to present a moral example for the community — is the catalogue of virtues which appears already in early sūras and is frequent in later texts (Q 23:57-61; 25:63-76; 42:36-43). Its counterpart is the catalogue of vices which can be traced through the entire corpus (Q 104:1-2; 18:103-5; 53:33-7; 68:8-16).

Signs implied in history: retribution legends

Short narratives — the invasion of Mecca (Q 105; see ABRAHA; PEOPLE OF THE ELEPHANT); the Thamūd (q.v.) myth (Q 91:11-5); the story of Pharaoh (q.v.; Firʿawn) and Moses (q.v.; Mūsā, Q 79:15-26) — or ensembles of narratives like that in sūra 51 including: Abraham (q.v.; Ibrāhīm) and Lot (q.v.; Lūṭ, Q 51:34-7), Moses and Pharaoh (Q 51:38-40), the ʿĀd (q.v.; Q 51:41-2), the Thamūd (Q 51:43-4), Noah (q.v.; Nūḥ, Q 51:46) — or evocations of stories (sūras 51, 53, 69, 73, 85, 89) — occur from the earliest sūras onward (see MYTHIC AND LEGENDARY NARRATIVES; PUNISHMENT STORIES). The latter sometimes form lists (sūras 51, 53, 69, 89). Longer narratives are introduced by the formula known from *āyāt* in nature: *a-lam tara…*, later by *wa-idh (faʿala)…*, i.e. they are assumed to be known to the listeners. It is noteworthy that the longer narratives which occur in the first Meccan period are split into equal halves, thus producing proportionate structures (e.g. Q 79:15-26, six plus six verses; Q 51:24-37, seven plus seven verses; and 68:17-34, nine plus nine verses). This remains the rule in later narratives as well. Narratives successively develop into retribution legends or punishment stories (Horovitz, KU, *"Straflegenden"*), serving to prove that divine justice (see JUSTICE AND

INJUSTICE) is at work in history, the harassed just being rewarded with salvation (q.v.), the transgressors and the unbelievers punished by annihilation. At the same time, legends that are located in the Arabian peninsula may be read as reinterpretations of ancient notions of deserted space: sites lie in ruins no longer due to preordained natural processes, but to a fair equilibrium — maintained by divine providence — between human actions and human welfare (see GEOGRAPHY; GOOD DEEDS; FATE; DESTINY; TIME). Deserted sites acquire a meaning, voicing a divine message. The often-proffered view that it is the retribution legends that are signified with the qurʾānic phrase "the seven reiterated (utterings)," (*sabʿan mina l-mathānī*, Q 15:87) has been called into question by Neuwirth (Der Horizont). From Sūrat al-Ḥijr (Q 15) onward, retribution legends no longer focus predominantly on ancient Arabian lore but increasingly include biblical narratives (see SCRIPTURE AND THE QURʾĀN): Q 15:49-77 offers a detailed narrative about Abraham and Lot, followed by a shorter report about the People of the Thicket (q.v.; *aṣḥāb al-ayka*) and those of al-Ḥijr (*aṣḥāb al-ḥijr*, see ḤIJR).

A related genre in terms of function, which also serves paraenetic purposes, is the parable *(mathal)* — the owners of the blighted garden (*aṣḥāb al-janna*, Q 68:17-33); the good and corrupt trees (Q 14:24-7); the unbelieving town (Q 36:13-32; and cf. Welch, Ḳurʾān, 424). The particular relevance ascribed to parables is obvious from occasional introductory formulas such as *wa-ḍrib lahum mathalan* (Q 18:32; cf. 18:45). Parables are, however, less frequent than myths and historical narratives.

Salvation history narratives (occurring as complete sūras and central sections)

Although initially embedded in catalogues of narratives of partly extra-biblical tradition, stories about major biblical figures like Moses, Jesus (q.v.) and a number of patriarchs known from Genesis gain a function of their own: They become the stock inventory of the central part of longer Meccan sūras. Sūras from the second Meccan period onward may indeed be read as the enactment of a service (see below). The appearance of biblical stories in the center fulfills the expectation of monotheistic worshippers demanding that the central position of a service should be occupied by the reading of scriptural texts, as is customary in other monotheistic services. These stories are explicitly referred to as elements of *al-kitāb;* indeed, some sūras identify themselves as drawing on a pre-existing more extensive text, i.e. as excerpts from a transcendent scripture (see HEAVENLY BOOK; BOOK). Such a book, obviously imagined as being unchangeable and comprehensive, presupposes a stream of tradition that has come to a standstill and became frozen, constituting a store of warranted knowledge. Qurʾānic reference to scripture therefore presupposes a certain stock of narratives existing in a previously fixed form and dispatched by the sender in single portions to form neatly composed pericopes to be inserted into a more extensive recital that also contains less universal elements such as the debate about ephemeral issues of the community. This ceremonial function of the biblically inspired narrative is underlined by introductory formulas, e.g. *wa-dhkur fī l-kitābi* (Q 19:16, 41, 51, 54, 56). At a later stage, when the particular form of revelation communicated to the Muslim community is regarded as constituting a scripture of its own, i.e. when community matters are acknowledged as part of salvation history, whole sūras figure as manifestations of *al-kitāb*.

Although the central position of the narrative in the middle and late Meccan sūras is the rule, an exception is presented by Q 17:2-8. As has been argued by Neuwirth (Erste Qibla; id., From the sacred mosque),

the particular composition of this sūra may be due to its unique rank as a testimony of a cult reform, the introduction of the Jerusalem direction of prayer (*qibla,* q.v.). Other outstanding cases are Q 18 and Q 12, the latter of which contains the expanded narrative of Joseph (q.v.; Yūsuf), which fills the entire sūra (cf. Mir, The story of Joseph; Neuwirth, Zur Struktur). The phenomenon of recurring narratives, retold in slightly diverging fashions, has often been interpreted as mere repetition, i.e. as a deficiency. These forms deserve, however, to be studied as testimonies of the consecutive emergence of a community and thus reflective of the process of canonization. Their divergences, then, point to a successively changing narrative pact, to a continuing education of the listeners and the development of a moral consensus that is reflected in the texts (cf. Neuwirth, Negotiating justice). In later Meccan and Medinan sūras, when a large number of narratives are presupposed as being well known to the listeners, the position acquired by salvation history narratives is occupied by mere evocations of narratives and debates about them (Neuwirth, Vom Rezitationstext).

Debate

Polemics

It has been argued that debate is one of the essential elements of the Qurʾān (McAuliffe, Debate; see DEBATE AND DISPUTATION). This is certainly true for the sūras from the middle Meccan period onward. In early Meccan texts, polemical utterances are more often than not directed against listeners who do not comply with the exigencies of the behavioral norms of the cult. These listeners are reprimanded by the speaker *in situ,* e.g. *a-fa-min hādhā l-ḥadīthi taʿjabūn/wa-taḍḥakūna wa-lā tabkūn* (Q 53:59 f.); *a-raʾayta lladhī yanhā/ʿabdan idhā ṣallā* (Q 96:9 f.). Sometimes curses (see CURSE) are uttered against absent persons: *tabbat yadā Abī Lahabin* (Q 111:1 f.) or against humankind in general: *qutila l-insānu mā akfarah* (Q 80:17); in other cases menaces are uttered against the ungrateful or pretentious: *waylun li-…* (Q 104:1; 107:4), and these may merge into a catalogue of vices (Q 104:1-2; 107:2-3, 5-7). Whereas in most of these early cases the adversaries are not granted an opportunity to reply: *mā li-lladhīna kafarū qibalaka muhṭiʿīn* (Q 70:36), later sūras present the voices of both sides. Lengthy polemics are put forward against the unbelievers, sometimes in the presence of the accused (*antum*-addresses), more often, however, in their absence. During the middle and late Meccan periods, when the community had to struggle against a stubborn opposition (see OPPOSITION TO MUḤAMMAD), they needed to be trained in dispute. Meccan sūras often begin and end with polemical debates, treating diverse points of dissent. In some cases, the absent adversaries are verbally quoted: *qālū…* (Q 15:6-7), while in other cases the simulation of a debate is presented, instructing the addressee and his listeners to react to a given statement of the adversaries with a particular response: *wa-yaqūlūna… fa-qul…* (Q 10:20). These instances — classified by Welch as "say-passages" — are to be regarded as virtual debates performed in the absence of one party of the discussants. As against these cases, there are *qul*-verses that do not refer to a debate, but serve to introduce prayers or religious mottos. Often polemics respond to the unbelievers' rejection of the Qurʾān, again figuring at the beginning of sūras (Q 15:1-3), the end of sūras (Q 21:105-12) or in the conclusions to main parts of sūras (Q 7:175-86).

Apologetics (closing sections, sometimes intra-textual)

Like polemics, apologetic sections frequently appear as framing parts of a sūra. From early Meccan texts onward they

mostly serve to affirm the rank of the Qurʾān as divine revelation, usually constituting the nucleus of concluding sections (early: Q 73:19; 74:54-5; 85:21-2; 87:18-9; later: Q 26:192-227). In later sūras these concluding affirmations of the revelation tend to merge into exhortations of the Prophet (Q 11:109-23; 38:67-70; 76:23-31; see EXHORTATIONS). It is noteworthy that affirmations of the revelation finally become a standard incipit of sūras (Q 12:1-3; 13:1; 14:1-4; 28:1-3; 30:1-5; 32:1-3; 39:1-2; 40:1-4; 42:1-3; 45:1-6; 46:1-3), again often merging into exhortations (Q 41:1-8). In some cases, sūras are framed by two affirmations of revelation (Q 41:1-5 and Q 41:41-54). In later developments, introductory affirmations are reduced to mere evocations of the book. By far the majority of these sūras start with a pathetical evocation of the book, often introduced by a *"chiffre"* (Q 2:1; 3:1; etc.; see for the most plausible explanation of the initial "mysterious letters," Welch, Ḳurʾān, 412-4; see LETTERS AND MYSTERIOUS LETTERS). This incipit seems to hint at a newly achieved cultic function of the recited text which is no longer understood as the immediate communication of a divine message to the community, but as a recital from a sacred scripture assumed as pre-existing and only reproduced through recitation.

Additional *"enjeux"* to be found in Medinan sūras

Medinan sūras have not yet been studied thoroughly as to their form and structure. Summary analyses are presented by Nöldeke *(GQ)*, Bell *(Qurʾān)*, Welch (Ḳurʾān) and Robinson *(Discovering)*. Zahniser (The word of God; id., Sura as guidance) has discussed single sūras. A systematic investigation of their building blocks is still lacking. It may, however, be stated that with a few exceptions (oath clusters, *idhā*-phrase clusters), all the Meccan *"enjeux"* are met again in Medinan sūras; the eschatological sections and the *āyāt*, however, are no longer unfolded at length, but rather are summarily evoked. This should not be taken as a decisive shift in spiritual interest. Although new topics which occupy the focus of the community's attention do emerge, the earlier topics remain present, since it is the partial corpus of the early sūras (*qiṣār al-suwar*, later assembled in *juzʾ ʿammā*, Neuwirth, Koran) that is known by heart by the believers and serves as the textual basis for the emerging ritual prayers.

Regulations

Although occasional regulations — mostly concerning cultic matters — do occur in Meccan sūras (Q 73:1-3 addressed to the Prophet, revised for the community in Q 73:20), more elaborate regulations concerning not only cultic but also communal affairs figure in the Medinan context (see Welch, Ḳurʾān). Their binding force is sometimes underlined by a reference to the transcendent source (*kutiba ʿalaykum*, Q 2:183-7; *farīḍatan mina llāhi*, Q 9:60). Medinan regulations do not display any structured composition nor do they participate in neatly composed units; they suggest, rather, later insertions into loosely connected contexts.

Evocations of events experienced by the community

A new element appearing in Medinan sūras is the report of contemporary events experienced or enacted by the community, such as the battle of Badr (q.v.) in 2/624 (Q 3:123), the battle of Uḥud in 3/625 (Q 3:155-74), the expulsion of the Banū Naḍīr in 3/625 (Q 59:2-5; see NAḌĪR), the siege of Khaybar in 7/628 (Q 48:15), the expedition to Tabūk in 9/630 (Q 9:29-35) or the farewell (q.v.) sermon of the Prophet in 10/631 (Q 5:1-3; see FAREWELL PILGRIMAGE). It is noteworthy that these reports do not display a particularly artistic literary shaping. Nor do they betray any particular

pathos. It does not come as a surprise, then, that, unlike the situation in Judaism and Christianity, where biblical history has been fused to form a mythical drama of salvation, no such "grand narrative" has arisen from the Qurʾān. A metahistorical blueprint of the genesis of Islam was constructed only later, through the *sīra* (cf. Sellheim, Prophet; see HISTORY AND THE QURʾĀN).

Contextuality: Synopsis of the literary and the communicational development

Types of early Meccan sūras

The spectrum of different ensembles is very broad in early Meccan times. Sūra types range from mono-partite pieces: pure *hijāʾ* (Q 111), pure exhortations through the Prophet (Q 94), pure eschatological discourse (Q 95; 100; 101) — to bipartite ones: oath cluster (Q 92:1-13), eschatological section (Q 92:14-21) — to the later standardized tripartite sūra: exhortations (Q 74:1-10), polemics (Q 74:11-48), affirmation of the Qurʾān (Q 74: 49-56). (See for their proportions, Neuwirth, *Studien,* 235-7.) Characteristic of this group as a whole is their striking self-referentiality. The sūras mirror a scenario locally situated in a Meccan public place, most probably close to the Kaʿba (q.v.), taking into account their pronouncedly articulate references to sacred space and human behavior therein, as well as sacred time. The rites at the Kaʿba seem to be the *Sitz-im-Leben* of many early sūras, the Kaʿba not only serving as the locale for the performance of their recitation, but its rites also marking particular times of the day respected by the community as ritually significant. Inasmuch as these sūras are memorized without any written support, their mostly distinct proportions are effective as mnemonic-technical devices.

Types of later Meccan sūras

Things change substantially in later Meccan times. We may localize the caesura with Q 15, where, for the first time, an allusion is made to the existence of a particular form of service in which scripture functions as the cardinal section (cf. Neuwirth, Vom Rezitationstext; id., Referentiality and textuality). In these sūras, the references to the Meccan *ḥaram* as the central warrant of the social coherence of the community have been replaced by new symbols. Instead of introductory allusions to liturgical times and sacred space we encounter an evocation of the book, be it clad in an oath (Q 36:2; 37:3; 38:1; 43:2; 44:2; 50:1) or through a deictic affirmation of its presence (Q 2:2; 10:1; 12:1; 13:1; etc.). Moreover, a new framework of the message in terms of space is realizable, and later Meccan sūras have broadened the scope for the listeners, who are led away from their local surroundings to a distant landscape, the holy land, which becomes familiar as the scenery where the history of the community's spiritual forebears has taken place. The introduction of the Jerusalem *qibla* is an unequivocal testimony to this change in orientation (Neuwirth, Erste Qibla; id. From the sacred mosque). In view of the increasing interest in the biblical heritage, it comes as no surprise that the bulk of the middle and late Meccan sūras (twenty-seven instances) seems to mirror a monotheistic service, starting with an initial discursive section (apologetic, polemic, paraenetic) and closing with a related section, most frequently an affirmation of the revelation. These framing sections have been compared to the ecclesiastic ecteniae (initial and concluding responsoria consisting of pleadings for divine support recited by the priest or deacon with the community complementing the single addresses through affirmative formulas). The center of the monotheistic service and, similarly, of the fully developed sūra of the middle and late Meccan period is occupied by a biblical reminiscence — in the case of the service, a lectio; in the case of the sūra, a narrative focusing on biblical

protagonists (Neuwirth, Vom Rezitationstext). Ritual coherence has thus given way to scriptural coherence, the more complex later sūras referring to scripture both by their transmission through diverse processes of writing and by being themselves dependent on the mnemonic-technicalities of writing for their conservation. (For particular sequences of single *"enjeux"* and topics in these compositions, cf. the inventory in Neuwirth, *Studien,* 318-21.)

Types of Medinan sūras

It is true that, already in later Meccan sūras, the distinct tripartite composition often becomes blurred, with narratives gradually being replaced by discursive sections. Some compositions also display secondary expansions — a phenomenon that still needs further investigation. Yet, for the bulk of the middle and late Meccan sūras, the claim to a tripartite composition can be sustained. In Medina, however, sūras have not only given up their tripartite scheme, but they display much less sophistication in the patterns of their composition. One type may be summarily termed the "rhetorical sūra" or "sermon" (Q 22; 24; 33; 47; 48; 49; 57 until 66); they consist of an address to the community whose members are called upon directly by formulas such as *yā ayyuhā l-nāsu…* (Q 22:1). In these sūras, which in some cases (Q 59; 61; 62; 64) are stereotypically introduced by initial hymnal formulas strongly reminiscent of the biblical psalms, the Prophet (*al-nabī,* Q 33:6) appears no longer as a mere transmitter of the message but as personally addressed by God (*yā ayyuhā l-nabiyyu,* Q 33:45) or as an agent acting synergetically with the divine persona (*Allāhu wa-rasūluhu,* Q 33:22). As against these intended monolithic "addresses," the bulk of the Medinan sūras are the most complex. The so-called "long sūras" (Q 2-5; 8; 9) cease to be neatly structured compositions but appear to be the result of a process of collection that we can no longer reconstruct. As pointed out earlier, a systematic study of these sūras is still an urgent desideratum in the field.

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Fosterage

Entrusting a child to foster parents. There is no technical term in the Qurʾān for fosterage. As formal adoption of children (q.v.) is forbidden (Q 33:4-5; for dating see Bell, ii, 409, 411, 415), the qurʾānic discussion focuses exclusively on the prohibition for a man to marry women with whom he has foster relationships of a certain type (see FORBIDDEN; MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE).

According to Q 4:23 (from years 4-5 A.H., cf. Bell, i, 66, 71) a man is not allowed to marry his step-daughters (*rabāʾib,* sing. *rabība,* "a man's wife's daughter by another husband…" [Lane, 1005] whom the new husband rears as his own [see Bayḍāwī, *Anwār,* ad Q 4:23; Robertson-Smith, *Kinship,* 196-7, n. 3]) unless his marriage with their mother(s) has not been consummated. It is also forbidden, by the same verse, for a Muslim man to marry his foster (milk) mothers and foster (milk) sisters (see MILK; WET NURSING; LACTATION), i.e. females who were breast-fed by the same foster mother(s). These, as well as the prohibition of marriage with one's father's wife (Q 4:22), wife's mother, son's wife, and marriage with two sisters at the same time (Q 4:23), represent the negative qurʾānic attitude towards "incest du deuxieme type" (Héritier, *Les deux soeurs,* 87-91).

Muslim exegetes, commenting on Q 4:23, raise different legal questions (see LAW AND THE QURʾĀN) stemming from the qurʾānic prohibition of marriage with one's wife's daughter. For instance, whether *dakhaltum bihinna* ("[wives to whom] you have gone in") refers necessarily to full sexual relationships (see SEX AND SEXUALITY) or also to intimate contacts, not involving penetration (see, e.g. Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr;* Zamakhsharī, *Kashshāf*); or, in the light of the expression *fī ḥujūrikum* ("those who are under your care, protection," lit. "held in your bosom"), whether or not a Muslim man is allowed to marry his wife's daughter (by another man) who has not been under his care, living, for example, outside his own house (see, e.g. Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr;* see HOUSE, DOMESTIC AND DIVINE).

Although Q 4:23 explicitly mentions only foster (milk) mothers and foster (milk) sisters, Qurʾān commentators, relying on ḥadīth (see ḤADĪTH AND THE QURʾĀN), explain the verse as intended to duplicate for milk relationships the list of those blood relatives with whom a Muslim is forbidden to contract marriage (see, for instance, Rāzī, *Tafsīr,* ad Q 4:23). Thus the Qurʾān, and later on ḥadīth, add a unique element — which may have been rooted in pre-Islamic Arabic custom — to a long Semitic tradition of impediments to marriage, extending the range of incest beyond its parameters in Judaism and Christianity (see JEWS AND JUDAISM; CHRISTIANS AND CHRISTIANITY; PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QURʾĀN). Viewed in the light of Q 4:23, the ruling formulated by various ḥadīth reports in this regard (for instance, *inna llāha*

ḥarrama min al-riḍāʿi mā ḥarrama min al-nasab) was understood to mean that to the list of women a man is forbidden to marry because of foster (milk) kinship are added his milk niece (maternal and paternal), milk aunt, milk daughter and the milk mother of his wife. It was also forbidden for a man to be married to, or to own, simultaneously two women who were milk sisters (see Giladi, *Infants,* 24-33). See also KINSHIP.

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Fountains

see SPRINGS AND FOUNTAINS; WELLS AND SPRINGS; WATER

Freedom and Predestination

Unhampered or divinely controlled human activity. The question of free will and predestination, a question which accompanied the development of rational theology in all the religious systems of the Near East, was expressed in qurʾānic form as the issue of the extent of God's ability to determine events, including human acts. Muslim scholars refer to this issue as that of God's power and decree *(al-qadar wa-l-qaḍāʾ)*. The final Islamic answer, partially presupposed by pre-Islamic fatalism (see PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QURʾĀN), was, in contrast to that offered by Christianity, to assert the overwhelming force of God's predetermination at the expense of the individual's free will. Only during the second/eighth and third/ninth centuries was there heated discussion on the subject, initiated by a group of theologians, proponents of free will, who paradoxically received the name of Qadarites (*qadar* here refers to the possibility of human as opposed to divine power; see THEOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN). Both parties, the Qadarites and their opponents, tried to support their respective doctrines by citations from the Qurʾān. While the general message of the Qurʾān seemed to downplay the role of the individual and to attribute to God complete and total power, particular qurʾānic passages provided fertile ground for arguments in support of and against human free will.

The pre-Islamic concept of the impersonal and irresistable fate (q.v.) or destiny (q.v.) identified as time (q.v.; *dahr* and *zamān*) was the point of departure for the qurʾānic message. In this pre-Islamic scheme, fate or destiny was an unfriendly and antagonistic force closely associated with the events of an individual's life, i.e. with the time of death *(ajal),* good and evil fortune, and even daily sustenance *(rizq)*. The outcome of one's acts or decisions, rather than the acts or decisions themselves, was thought to be predetermined. The individual person, far from being guided by, was in opposition to this "fate." It was perceived as distinct from this individual's actions, a predetermination that resulted in an inability to escape one's doom, regardless of what was decided or attempted. Of the two above-mentioned terms — power and decree — the first, power *(qadar),* better conveys the idea of impersonal fate, while the latter, decree *(qaḍāʾ),* which does appear in the pre-Islamic context, albeit much less frequently than *qadar,* could already mean God's decision (see Ringgren, *Studies in Arabian fatalism,* 5-61).

The qurʾānic point of view represented

a break with the previous conception of fatalism, though traces of the old belief did not disappear entirely, as in the variant of Q 103 ascribed to ʿAlī (see Jeffery, *Materials,* 192; cf. Q 52:30). Substituting impersonal fate with the personal God, known as creator, king and judge, omnipotent, and benevolent (see GOD AND HIS ATTRIBUTES) radically changed the situation. The transition to this new conceptual horizon was achieved in several steps, and a certain evolution of the qurʾānic views on predestination can be argued on the basis of the text, views which seem to have crystallized in the late Meccan sūras of the second and third periods (see CHRONOLOGY OF THE QURʾĀN). Over seventy percent of the qurʾānic citations used as theological arguments by both sides, starting from the famous letter on predestination of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (d. 110/728) addressed to the Umayyad caliph ʿAbd al-Malik (r. 65-86/685-705), are taken from these periods. Only very occasional references are made to the early Meccan (poetic) sūras, though the beginning of the process of transition is already discernible in these earlier sūras.

Already in the early Meccan sūras God emerges as the lord (q.v.) of time who governs day and night (q.v.), e.g. Q 73:20. This idea later culminated in the direct juxtaposition of God, who governs the sun (q.v.) and moon (q.v.; Q 13:2; 31:29; 35:13; 39:5), with time, and a refutation of the latter's role in determining fate (Q 45:24, 26; cf. the famous ḥadīth: "I am *dahr;* in my hand are night and day," Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* ad Q 5:24 [cited in Watt, *Formative period,* 91]). Whereas previously time was thought to be the agent, it is now God who is understood to predetermine human sustenance (*rizq,* cf. Q 51:22, 58; 56:82; 89:15-6) and death (Q 56:60; see DEATH AND THE DEAD), as well as the fate of people after death (Q 70:38-42). The scope of predestination, however, also embraces birth, understood as the realization of the lord's decree (see, in addition to the citations for God's predetermination of death and sustenance, Q 77:20-3; 80:18-22). This notion of predetermination thus governs not only the results of human actions and the end of life, but also their beginning and initial cause (see BIOLOGY AS THE CREATION AND STAGES OF LIFE; BIRTH). The central term for determination in the early sūras is *qadar* and its derivatives, to which no form of the Arabic root letters *q-ḍ-y* (from which the noun *qaḍāʾ*) is ever adjoined. The new understanding of *qadar* as the manifestation of God's omnipotence eventually leads to the later utilization of the same root for conveying the idea of the lord's might, eventually embodied in two of his given attributes: the powerful (*al-qadīr,* 39 times) and the one who prevails (*al-muqtadir,* four times). This etymological connection with the notion of God's power set the term *qadar* in opposition to free will, eventually conceived by orthodox scholars as an infringement on God's omnipotence (see POWER AND IMPOTENCE). In comparison with God's might, helplessness over one's fate is emphasized (cf. Q 68:25). Q 97:1-3, which speaks of the Night of Power (q.v.; *laylat al-qadr*), so important in later dogma, seems to belong to a subsequent stage in the revelation, the Medinan period. Here, a link may be seen between the notion of the annual determination of everyone's fate for the coming year and parallels in the Jewish tradition, for exegetical literature *(tafsīr)* discussing the circumstances surrounding the revelation of this verse (see OCCASIONS OF REVELATION) indicates a context of dialogue with Judaism (see JEWS AND JUDAISM).

Starting from the Meccan sūras of the second period, the qurʾānic message takes a new direction. The reminiscences, motifs and ideas of the Hebrew Bible and the

New Testament are much more prominent (see SCRIPTURE AND THE QUR'ĀN): God's benevolence becomes equal in importance to his omnipotence (see BLESSING), the idea of the scripture as the book (q.v.) becomes dominant, and the history of the prophets (see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD) and, later, the divine law (see LAW AND THE QUR'ĀN) are significantly developed. All this gave further impetus to the idea of predetermination. The fatalistic concept in its theistic variant unfolds further and incorporates old ideas, both those found in pre-Islamic poetry (see POETRY AND POETS) and in biblical sources.

The idea of a fixed term or life-span *(ajal),* while sometimes carrying a profane sense, is mostly used in reference to the terms set by God in his governance of the world (q.v.). The idea includes notions of death, an earthly punishment (see CHASTISEMENT AND PUNISHMENT) and the last judgment (q.v.). It also indicates an individual's life-span (cf. Q 11:3), fixed terms for communities and peoples (Q 7:34; 10:49), and even the whole of the universe (Q 30:8; 46:3). It is in the context of God as creator of the world that the concept of *qaḍā'* appears in the qur'ānic text. It is a divine decision that is prior to creation (q.v.; cf. Q 2:117; 3:47; 19:35; 40:68) and sets its fate (cf. Q 6:2; 10:11), thus becoming a term parallelled with *qadar*. This decree emerges as related to the lord's creative command *(amr)* that precedes the world and which initiates creation and rules everything in the world. The two concepts, *qaḍā'* and *amr,* are sometimes conjoined in one context (cf. Q 12:41), implying, as Muslim exegetes stress, the inseparability of creation from the establishment of its unchangeable fate. The Qur'ān also declares that what has been predestined for an individual or the universe has been recorded in a primordial book *(kitāb* or *kitāb mu'ajjal)* of fate: "No misfortune can happen on earth or in your souls but it is [recorded] in a book before we bring it about" (Q 57:22; cf. Q 3:145, 154; 6:38, 59; 9:51; 10:61; 20:52; 27:75; 35:11; see HEAVENLY BOOK). It should be stressed that the doctrine of predetermination gradually embraced not only the results of human acts but these acts themselves, considered to have been pre-conceived by the lord's wisdom: "With him are the keys of the unseen (see HIDDEN AND THE HIDDEN), no one knows it [or them] but he. He knows whatever is on land and in the sea; there falls not a leaf but he knows of it, nor a grain in the darkness of the earth, nor a thing either succulent or desiccated but is [inscribed] in a clear book" (Q 6:59). The introduction, during the Medinan period, of the idea of the annual renewal of the lord's decree concerning the fate of the individual and its connection with the Night of Power *(laylat al-qadr)* can be considered the logical culmination of the qur'ānic concept of predestination, informing the believer of its workings in history.

Later developments in Muslim thought uncovered a problem implicit in the qur'ānic concept of predestination as this related to the belief in God's benevolence towards his creatures. The Qur'ān understands heaven (q.v.) and hell (q.v.), respectively, to be the greatest fortune and misfortune to befall humankind. Whether one will enjoy the pleasures of the garden (q.v.) or suffer the torments of the fire (q.v.) is decided on the day of judgment in accord with the balance of good and evil deeds (see EVILS DEEDS; GOOD DEEDS) committed during one's lifetime and written down in a special book (see RECORD OF HUMAN ACTIONS; cf. Q 17:3-4, 71; 45:28-9; this is not to be confused with the primordial book, mentioned above, which contains the fate of the individual and the cosmos). One may logically conclude, then, that a human being is punished or rewarded for

his acts since they are, indeed, of his making. It would seem that responsibility is presupposed by the idea of punishment and reward (see REWARD AND PUNISHMENT). Still, there is no decisive or unequivocal answer to the question of final reponsibility for these deeds: Are they the result of one's free choice or of God's predetermination of those acts and choices? A common qurʾānic statement is the following: "[God] leads astray (q.v.) whom he wills, and guides whom he wills" (Q 16:93; 74:31; cf. Q 6:125; 13:27). There are, however, verses in which divine guidance or misguidance are a function of previously committed good or bad acts (Q 2:26; 3:86; 16:104). Other contexts indicate that the choice between belief and unbelief (q.v.) is made by people themselves while God only gives them guidance *(hudā)* without forcing them to choose faith (q.v.; cf. Q 18:29; 41:17). The ambivalent treatment of the topic is clear in "This truly is a warning: Whosoever wills, let him take the [right] path (see PATH OR WAY) to his lord; but you cannot will, unless God wills it. God is all-knowing and wise" (Q 76:29-31). The qurʾānic message stops at this point, and never directly asks how God can punish those whom he himself has led astray, or how he can be the source of evil deeds, issues which already the first generations of Muslim rational theologians (*mutakallimūn,* see THEOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN) began to debate. Similarly, the qurʾānic text mostly gives an overview of the crucial points in human life, dealing with topics such as belief and unbelief, life and death, good and evil acts without ever saying explicitly that every single act performed by a person, i.e. eating or abstaining from food, meeting with friends, etc., is preordained or predetermined.

It should be added that the second source of the Muslim tradition, the sunna (q.v.), also addresses the question. Chapters on *qadar* are found in four of the six canonical collections of traditions (see ḤADĪTH AND THE QURĀN), i.e. those of Bukhārī, Muslim, Tirmīdhī, and Abū Dāwūd, all of whom generally favored the predestinarian position, foreshadowing the final outcome of the debate on free will. Tradition has not preserved a single ḥadīth advocating free will (see Wensinck, *Muslim creed,* 51), and certain ones seem especially designed to refute the arguments of the Qadarites. That is why al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, who coined many arguments used by later generations of the proponents of free will, begins his letter with the statement that the predecessors *(salaf)* would not use any arguments but those of which God makes use in his scripture (Schwarz, Letter, 167; for the text itself see Ritter, Studien, 63).

The beginning of the debate is generally traced to the middle of the Umayyad rule (the first quarter of the eighth century C.E.) and is painted in terms of a dispute between theologians and traditionalists. The Muʿtazilis (q.v.), who take up the issue at a later date, are generally cast in the role of proponents of free will. Some scholars have argued that the origin of the Qadarite doctrine should be attributed to Christian influence, a position supported by historical data in the sources, but there is no unanimity on this point among the Western treatments of the topic (J. van Ess, Ḳaḍariyya). In any case the roots of the problem of free will in Islam lie in the domain of rational theodicy and the questions of God's justice (see JUSTICE AND INJUSTICE), the origin of evil in the world (see GOOD AND EVIL) and the justification of human punishment in this world and the next.

A comparison of the subtle exegetical passages in the letter *(risāla)* of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (van Ess, *TG,* ii, 46-50) with the commentary on the relevant qurʾānic verses done by the last great theologian of

the Muʿtazila, al-Zamakhsharī (d. 538/1144; cf. Nyberg, al-Muʿtazila, 791), in his *Kashshāf* highlights the continuity with the arguments used by the Qadarites. At the same time, the exegesis *(tafsīr)* of orthodox commentators, such as al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923), al-Qurṭubī (d. 671/1272), Ibn Kathīr (d. 774/1373), and al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505) demonstrates that some verses were taken to speak explicitly against the Qadarite or Muʿtazilite position (Gilliot, *Elt,* 259-76; see EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL). In other words, there is a wealth of traditional material, not yet properly studied, that can suggest how, and perhaps predictably so, the generations of Muslim scholars who lived after the early theological debates were concluded, came to view the qurʾānic rhetoric on free will and determinism as a message of divine omnipotence and predestination.

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Free Will

see FREEDOM AND PREDESTINATION

Freewoman

see MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE

Friday Prayer

Weekly gathering of Muslims in the chief mosque (q.v.), at which they listen to a sermon *(khuṭba)* and perform ritual acts of worship (q.v.) at the time of the noon-day prayer. Direct reference to the Friday Prayer, *al-ṣalāt min yawm al-jumʿa,* occurs only once in the Qurʾān (at Q 62:9), where the expression denotes an occasion of ritual worship held on the "day of assembly" (the literal translation of the Arabic term for the sixth day of the week, *yawm al-jumʿa* or *yawm al-jumuʿa*) rather than a gathering for the express purpose of congregational prayer (q.v.). Whereas later developments — as reflected in ḥadīth literature, exegetical works and legal treatises — employ this term, usually abbreviated as *ṣalāt al-jumuʿa,* to designate the formal ceremony held in major mosques in the place of the noon *(zuhr)* prayer (one of the five daily prayers prescribed for Muslims; see PRAYER; NOON; DAY, TIMES OF) on Friday, the etymology of this qurʾānic phrase points to pre-Islamic usage (see PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QURʾĀN).

The Arabic name for this sixth day of the week, with close Hebrew and Aramaic parallels, derives largely from customs prevailing in Medina (q.v.) at the time of the Prophet, where Friday was identified as the "day of gathering" in that it served as the principal market day when Jews (see JEWS

AND JUDAISM; MARKETS) bought provisions in preparation for the Sabbath (q.v.; Jeffery, *Materials,* 170; Goitein, Djumʿa; see also SELLING AND BUYING). Hence, designating Friday as the day for congregational prayer among Muslims appears to originate in the juxtaposition of market activity and collective religious duty. Friday was not set apart as a day of rest, although the weekly conduct of this communal prayer defined a setting dedicated to devotion and instruction, to which an array of prescriptions was later attached (e.g. that the communal prayer was incumbent upon all male, adult, free, resident Muslims; that it should be held in only one mosque in each town; and various prescriptions for the number of attendants; cf. Goitein, Djumʿa). Although there is no evidence that the initiation or establishment of Friday as the day of communal prayer was of polemical intent, Friday has emerged as a 'symbol' of Islam as opposed, for example, to Saturday or Sunday. In modern times, many Muslim states have declared Friday an official day of rest (cf. Goitein, Djumʿa).

The summons to "hasten to the remembrance of God and put away your business" at the call to prayer and afterwards "to spread out in the land and look for the bounty of God" (Q 62:9-10), indicates the sacred ritual's occurrence in the proximity of commercial and social pursuits. The time of day also points to this conjuncture. Whereas midday may suggest an unsuitable hour for assembly in certain respects, historical observation of traditional periodic markets in Arabia has confirmed that, around noon, trading diminishes and people depart with their goods. Thus, it has been argued that the Prophet convoked this worship as those at market were preparing to disperse.

While abundant references to the practice of ritual prayer appear in the Qurʾān, including numerous verses that signal its establishment as a regular practice, such as Q 17:78, no clear precedent for the Friday Prayer in its familiar classical form occurs, a form which consists of an *adhān* and the *khuṭba,* followed (and sometimes also preceded) by a *ṣalāt* consisting of two *rakʿa*s (see BOWING AND PROSTRATION). Specifically, the sermon, *khuṭbat al-jumʿa,* that constitutes the distinctive feature of the Friday Prayer is not mentioned nor does the term *khuṭba* appear in the Qurʾān with this technical meaning. Nevertheless, commentators have discerned indirect allusions to preaching in the relevant verses. For instance, mention of *dhikr Allāh* with reference to Friday Prayer at Q 62:9 has been interpreted by al-Bayḍāwī (d. ca. 716/1316-7), *Jalālayn,* Mawdūdī (d. 1979), and others as referring to the sermon. Similarly, the lines "when they see some buying and selling, or some sport, they go for it, leaving you standing" (Q 62:11) have been read by Bukhārī (d. 256/870; *Ṣaḥīḥ,* bk. 11, no. 26) and others as leaving the Prophet standing "on the *minbar,*" that is, the ceremonial pulpit, an interpretation that indulges in anachronism since pulpits were only introduced under the Umayyads.

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Friends and Friendship

One attached to another by affection, loyalty or common experience. In the Qurʾān, the terms *walī, khalīl* and (in certain instances) *ṣadīq* all correspond in some sense to the English word "friend." Of these, the term *walī* (sometimes in the plural form *awliyāʾ*) appears most frequently, and it is often paired with *naṣīr,* "helper," or *shafīʿ,* "intercessor" (see INTERCESSION). Unless otherwise indicated, the term *walī* is used in all references cited below.

The Qurʾān envisages friendship primarily as an alliance (see COVENANT; LOYALTY; PROTECTION). It makes little distinction between alliances on the human plane and those between human beings and supernatural powers. For example, "Your friend is only God, his messenger (q.v.), and those who believe, those who perform prayer and give alms (see ALMSGIVING), while they are bowing down (see BOWING AND PROSTRATION); whoever takes as friend God, his messenger and those who believe, the party of God (see PARTIES AND FACTIONS) will prevail (see VICTORY)" (Q 5:55-6; the first of these verses is taken to refer to the imāmate of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib [q.v.] in Shīʿī exegetical works; see Ṭūsī, *Tibyān,* iii, 549; see also IMĀM; SHĪʿISM AND THE QURʾĀN). The predominant qurʾānic concept of friendship thus presupposes the existence of a struggle in which individuals are called upon to take sides.

The Qurʾān repeatedly pronounces God, from whose will there is no escape (see FREEDOM AND PREDESTINATION), as the only friend and helper of the believers (Q 4:45; 9:116; 29:22; 33:17; 42:31; cf. 2:257; 3:68; 5:55-6; 6:127; 7:155; 18:26); according to most interpretations, these passages represent calls to communal solidarity and activism among the believers (e.g. Bayḍāwī, *Anwār,* i, 211 [ad Q 4:45]; see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF; COMMUNITY AND SOCIETY IN THE QURʾĀN). God's friendship with the believers manifests itself in divine aid and guidance (Māwardī, *Nukat,* i, 328 [ad Q 2:257]). The oppressed *(mustaḍʿafūn)* properly call on God to make for them a friend and helper (Q 4:75), while the unbelievers, oppressors and wrongdoers have no friend or helper (Q 4:123, 173; 9:74; 11:20; 18:102; 33:65; 42:8-9, 46; 48:22). No fear (q.v.) is upon the friends of God (Q 10:62), and God is humankind's only friend and intercessor (Q 6:51, 70; 32:4; cf. Q 42:9, 28; 45:19). On occasion, God has singled out prophets as his friends (see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD), particularly in the case of Abraham (q.v.; Q 4:125, *wa-ttakhadha llāhu ibrāhīm khalīlan*); God is also the friend of the angels (Q 34:41; see ANGEL). Yet elsewhere, as an assertion of monotheism, the Qurʾān insists that God has no friend: "And say: Praise be to God, who took no son, has no partner in sovereignty (q.v.), and has no friend against baseness; magnify him greatly" (Q 17:111; cf. Bayḍāwī, *Anwār,* i, 554; see also Penrice, *Dictionary,* 52).

In a similar vein, the Qurʾān depicts polytheism (see POLYTHEISM AND ATHEISM) as a wrongful alliance, and stresses the impotence (see POWER AND IMPOTENCE) of false supernatural friends. Just as the believers are the friends of God, the unbelievers are the friends of the devils (Q 3:175; 6:121; 7:27, 30; see DEVIL; SPIRITUAL BEINGS; ENEMIES). Such false friends, however, will be of no value on the last day (see ESCHATOLOGY; LAST JUDGMENT), since they will be powerless to intercede with God (see INTERCESSION), the only true friend. Those led astray (q.v.) will thus find that they have no friends other than God (Q 17:97; 18:17; 42:44, 46; cf. 26:100-1 *[ṣadīq]*); those who take friends other than God will find no escape and will surely come to grief (Q 29:41; 39:3; 42:6, 9; 45:10; 46:32). More explicitly, those who take Satan as their friend will

come undone (Q 4:76, where the believers are urged to fight against the friends of Satan, *fa-qātilū awliyāʾa l-shayṭān;* Q 4:119; 16:63; 19:45; cf. Q 18:50, with its warning against choosing Iblīs [q.v.] and his seed as friends).

The Qurʾān also places great emphasis on earthly alliances. The believers are enjoined not to take other than their own folk as intimates (*biṭāna,* Q 3:118; cf. Bayḍāwī, *Anwār,* i, 172, where the verse is explicated as a warning against trust and the sharing of secrets; see TRUST AND PATIENCE; SECRETS), nor to form friendships with members of other groups. This restriction of ties applies (see CONTRACTS AND ALLIANCES) to unbelievers (Q 3:28; 4:89, 139, 144) and to Jews and Christians (Q 5:51; cf. 5:57, 80-1, where some of the Children of Israel [q.v.] befriend the unbelievers; see also PEOPLE OF THE BOOK). Friendship is a manifestation of communal solidarity: The believers, male and female, are friends one of another, and this friendship is expressed through enjoining the good and forbidding the evil (see GOOD AND EVIL), performing prayer (q.v.) and giving alms (Q 9:71; see ALMSGIVING). Moreover, activism is the mark of friendship: "Those who believe, emigrate (see EMIGRATION), and strive with their wealth (q.v.) and themselves in the way of God (see PATH OR WAY); and those who give shelter and help, they are friends one of another" (Q 8:72; according to a widespread interpretation, this passage refers to the appointment by the *muhājirūn* and *anṣār* of one another, to the exclusion of their relatives, as heirs, e.g. Sufyān al-Thawrī, *Tafsīr,* 122; Bayḍāwī, *Anwār,* i, 375; cf. Ṭūsī, *Tibyān,* v, 189-90; see EMIGRANTS AND HELPERS. See also Q 5:55-6, cited above: according to one interpretation, the "friendship" referred to here constitutes obedience [q.v.] to God and his messenger, and assistance to the believers; according to another, it constitutes aiding God's religion [q.v.] and fidelity to it; cf. Ṭūsī, *Tibyān,* iii, 554. For a Ṣūfī interpretation, see Tustarī, *Tafsīr,* 50-1; see ṢŪFISM AND THE QURʾĀN). Similarly, the oppressors are friends one of another (Q 45:19); the believers should not take as friends those who prefer disbelief to belief (see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF), even if they are their own fathers and brothers (Q 9:23). "Those who choose unbelievers as friends, to the exclusion of believers: Do they aspire to power *(ʿizza)* through them? Power belongs entirely to God" (Q 4:139; cf. Bayḍāwī, *Anwār,* i, 236). Such people will also give God clear authority (q.v.) against themselves (Q 4:144; generally interpreted as a reference to the hypocrites, who take unbelievers as friends; cf. Bayḍāwī, *Anwār,* i, 238; see HYPOCRITES AND HYPOCRISY). As with every person who does not heed God, Muḥammad (q.v.) himself (for whom God is the only friend and helper, cf. Q 2:107; 7:196), will find himself with neither friend nor helper if, after receiving God's revelation, he heeds the wishes of the Jews and Christians (who desire that he adhere to their confession *[milla],* Q 2:120; cf. 13:37; see JEWS AND JUDAISM; CHRISTIANS AND CHRISTIANITY).

The Qurʾān thus portrays a friend primarily as a fellow member of a community, a person who can be trusted because he or she is presumed to share in and to be ready to fight (see FIGHTING) for the interests of the group; individuals who make friends with members of other groups will find their own trustworthiness called into question. In the classical period and later, the term *walī* was used for Ṣūfī saints (Böwering, *Mystical,* esp. 231-41), and in the Shīʿī tradition, of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib and other imāms (Momen, *Introduction,* 17, 157), and these conceptions of friendship permeate the Ṣūfī and Shīʿī exegetical traditions respectively. The Qurʾān also uses the

term *mawadda,* the meaning of which may include the bond of personal trust and affection primarily connoted in contemporary usage by the English word "friendship." (In this sense, see also the comments of al-Bayḍāwī on Q 3:118, referred to above.) Thus God may ordain *mawadda* where enmity now exists (Q 60:7; a reference, according to al-Bayḍāwī, *Anwār,* ii, 328, to joining the community of believers); Muḥammad asks for love among kin (*al-mawadda fī l-qurbā,* cf. Q 42:23); and God creates wives for men, so that they may share in mutual affection *(mawadda)* and compassion (*raḥma,* Q 30:21; see KINSHIP; LOVE AND AFFECTION; MERCY; MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE).

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Frog

see ANIMAL LIFE; PLAGUE

Fruits and Vegetables

see AGRICULTURE AND VEGETATION; FOOD AND DRINK

Fugitives

see LAW AND THE QURʾĀN

Funeral

see DEATH AND THE DEAD

Furniture and Furnishings

Movable articles and adornments within a house. Furniture and furnishings *(matāʿ* and *athāth)* in the Qurʾān are most commonly used as tropes for discussing the ephemeral nature of existence in the mundane world and for the pleasures and pains of life in the hereafter (see ESCHATOLOGY; REWARD AND PUNISHMENT). Two of the most widely esteemed passages in the Qurʾān, however, the Throne Verse (Q 2:255) and the Light Verse (Q 24:35), use terms for specific furnishings (*kursī,* "throne," and *miṣbāḥ,* "lamp") to help convey ideas about the majesty and mystery of the godhead (see GOD AND HIS ATTRIBUTES). In actual practice, Muslims often furnish mosques, traditional centers of Islamic education *(madrasas),* workplaces and their own homes with copies of the Qurʾān and objects upon which verses of sacred scripture have been inscribed (see EVERYDAY LIFE; EPIGRAPHY).

The most inclusive qurʾānic term for furnishings, *matāʿ* (pl. *amtiʿa*), occurs thirty-five times. In half of these instances it means "enjoyment" of worldly pleasures and their limitations, as in the following verse: "Say, 'The enjoyment of the world *(matāʿu l-dunyā)* is of little value; the hereafter is best for the godfearing'" (Q 4:77). Through such statements the Qurʾān seeks to direct the orientation of its audiences away from this world towards consciousness of their eternal fate in the afterlife. In a few instances, *matāʿ* denotes ordinary household comforts, as in Q 24:29: "It is not sinful for you to enter unoccupied houses — in these there are amenities *(matāʿ)* for you." Such comforts and furnishings *(matāʿ* and *athāth),* though temporary, are counted among the gifts God bestowed on humankind (see Q 16:80-3; see BLESSING; GRACE).

Specific furnishings are also mentioned in the Qurʾān, such as the throne *(kursī)* of God (Q 2:255; see THRONE OF GOD) and that of Solomon (q.v.; Q 38:34), the lantern *(sirāj)* as a metaphor (q.v.) for the Prophet (Q 33:46) and the sun (q.v.; Q 25:61; 71:16) or the lamp (q.v.; *miṣbāḥ*) as a metaphor for

the source of divine light (q.v.; Q 24:35) and heavenly bodies (*maṣābīḥ,* Q 67:5). The vast plain of the earth (q.v.) is described as a ground cover (*firāsh,* Q 2:22) or carpet (*bisāṭ,* Q 71:19) created by God for people to travel upon. Other household furnishings mentioned include the beds *(maḍājiʿ)* to which disobedient women are confined (Q 4:34; see WOMEN AND THE QURʾĀN), the food table (q.v.; *māʾida,* Q 5:112, 114), the cradle from which Jesus (q.v.) spoke as a child (*mahd,* e.g. Q 3:46; 5:110) and the veil (q.v.; *ḥijāb*), which may refer to a partition in the home (Q 33:53) or a barrier (q.v.) between heaven and hell (Q 7:46), the Prophet and his audience (Q 41:5) or God and humanity (Q 42:51). More frequently, however, furnishings appear in qurʾānic discourses about the hereafter: the tomb is a sleeping place (*marqad,* Q 36:52) from which the dead are resurrected (see RESURRECTION; DEATH AND THE DEAD), the damned are consigned to a bed *(mihād)* of evil and misery (e.g. Q 3:12, 197; 7:41; see HELL), while the blessed recline on carpets (*ʿabqarī,* Q 55:76; *zarābī,* Q 88:16), elegant couches (for example, *surur,* Q 15:47; 56:15; 88:13; *arāʾik,* Q 18:31), silken cushions (*rafraf,* Q 55:76; *namāriq,* Q 88:15) and beds (*furush,* Q 55:54; 56:34). Immortal youths and beautiful houris (q.v.) offer the righteous food (see FOOD AND DRINK) from the paradisaical gardens (see PARADISE; GARDEN) in golden bowls (*ṣiḥāf,* Q 43:71) and invite them to drink from goblets (*akwāb,* for example, Q 43:71; 88:14), silver chalices (*āniya,* Q 76:15), wine cups (*kaʾs,* Q 56:18) and other drinking vessels (*abārīq,* Q 56:18; *qawārīr,* Q 76:16; see CUPS AND VESSELS).

The *muṣḥaf* (q.v.) of the Qurʾn is used as a furnishing for liturgical and educational purposes or as an instrument for obtaining God's blessing, to avert evil and misfortune, and for decoration. Since the early Islamic period, it has been prominently displayed in mosques, where it is usually placed on a stand *(kursī)* for use by the reciter (*qāriʾ,* see RECITERS OF THE QURʾĀN). It is also a common furnishing in Islamic primary schools (*kuttāb*s, *maktab*s). In modern times, with the advent of the printing press (see PRINTING OF THE QURʾĀN), Muslims normally purchase a *muṣḥaf* for display in their homes, workplaces, automobiles, trucks and buses.

Writing on manufactured furnishings owned by Muslims was practiced as early as the fourth/tenth century, but the use of qurʾānic texts on these objects is not very evident until the late twelfth century, especially among the elites. Thereafter, we find Qurʾān boxes skillfully crafted with inlaid texts such as the Throne Verse Q 3:18-9 (about God, Islam and scripture), Q 3:26-7 (about God's power), Q 56:76-80 (about the Qurʾān), and Q 59:23 (the names of God); and the distinctive Mamluk hanging lamps inscribed with phrases from the Light Verse. Pen boxes, ceramic plates, bowls, tiles and textiles also bore qurʾānic phrases and verses as did Persian and Turkish prayer rugs occasionally after the tenth/sixteenth century. Nowadays Muslims customarily acquire artfully framed verses of the Qurʾān, posters, calendars and other objects with qurʾānic writing on them for display at home, school, the workplace and, of course, mosques and shrines (see also MATERIAL CULTURE AND THE QURʾĀN; HOUSE, DOMESTIC AND DIVINE).

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Furqān

see CRITERION; NAMES OF THE QUR'ĀN

Future Life

see ESCHATOLOGY; RESURRECTION; PARADISE; HELL AND HELLFIRE; FIRE; GARDEN

G

Gabriel

The angelic being who "brings down" the qurʾānic revelation to the prophet Muḥammad's heart (q.v.; Q 2:97), Gabriel (Ar. Jibrīl, also Jabrāʾīl; Heb. Gabrīʾēl) is named three times in the Qurʾān, Q 2:97, 98 (where Michael [q.v.], too, is mentioned), and Q 66:4. Commentators on the Qurʾān such as al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923), al-Zamakhsharī (d. 538/1144) and al-Bayḍāwī (d. ca. 716/1316-7) identify Gabriel as the messenger who brings the revelation to Muḥammad, and understand the two visions of Muḥammad recorded in Q 53:1-18 to be the Prophet's sighting of Gabriel (Pedersen, Djabrāʾīl, 636; see REVELATION AND INSPIRATION; ASCENSION). According to al-Ṭabarī, Gabriel (and Michael) are said to have purifed the belly and breast of Muḥammad; Gabriel is also reported by al-Ṭabarī to have taught Muḥammad to pray, to have guided Muḥammad on his ascension, and to have rebuked Muḥammad for his acknowledgment of al-Lāt, al-ʿUzza and Manāt (see SATANIC VERSES; see Pedersen, Djabrāʾīl, 363 for the references in al-Ṭabarī).

As the Qurʾān is also said to have been brought down by "the trustworthy spirit" (Q 26:193), Gabriel is identified by qurʾānic exegetes with the spirit, an identification also understood by them as evidenced in the qurʾānic discussion of Mary (q.v.), in which "our [God's] spirit" that is sent to her (Q 21:91) assumes the likeness of a perfect man (Q 19:17). Gabriel is further identified by the commentators with the spirit who, together with "the angels," descends and ascends to God (Q 16:2; 70:4; 97:4). As such, the figure of Gabriel becomes a rich source of theological reflection not only on the content of revelation — the duties and beliefs of the faithful — but on the nature of cognition itself, including distinctions between reason, prophetic revelation, and mystical knowledge (see ANGEL; HOLY SPIRIT).

Gabriel in ḥadīth and the "tales of the prophets"

The theme of Gabriel as transmitter of fundamental qurʾānic beliefs, duties and values appears in many ḥadīths used as teaching stories in Muslim community life. One such ḥadīth has the future caliph ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb reporting how "a [strange] man in white clothes and very black hair" came to Muḥammad and his Companions (see COMPANIONS OF THE PROPHET), sat down with his knees pressed

against Muḥammad's, and questioned the Prophet on the meaning of Islam. In response, Muḥammad delineated the "pillars" of Islam. When the stranger left and Muḥammad was asked by his Companions to explain this odd event, he answered "He was Gabriel who came to… *teach you* your religion" (Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* i, 37; Tibrīzī, *Mishkāt,* i, 5; see FAITH).

Stories about Gabriel appear in those qurʾānic commentaries that include the folkloristic ("midrashic") interpretations of the Qurʾān as well as in the sense of classical literature known as the "tales of the prophets" *(qiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ)*. In one representative narrative, Gabriel offers Abraham (q.v.) aid when he is cast by Nimrod (q.v.) into a fire (q.v.). Abraham's refusal of even Gabriel's help becomes an example of trust in God *(tawakkul)* and of an interiorized understanding of the unity and transcendence of God *(tawḥīd)* from the theological perspective that it would be "hidden associationism" to rely upon or be afraid of any created being.

Gabriel in Islamic philosophy

The meaning of Gabriel as agent of revelation is taken up by medieval Muslim philosophers in their discussions about the generation of the universe (see CREATION) and about human knowledge (including prophetic knowledge; see KNOWLEDGE AND LEARNING; REVELATION AND INSPIRATION). Ibn Sīnā (d. 428/1037), utilizing certain elements of pre-Islamic, particularly neo-Platonic, philosophy in his reflection on the relationship of "being and beings," conceived of the generation of the universe as an eternal procession of "angel intellects" from a primordial divine unity (God). The tenth, or active intellect, is identified with Gabriel/Holy Spirit. Not only is "being" given by God through the active intellect, but the individual cognition process, including the prophet's knowledge (though in a complete form) is viewed as a bestowal of divine illumination on the human soul.

Gabriel in theosophical Ṣūfism

The "philosopher-mystics" of Islam, such as Muḥyī l-Dīn Ibn al-ʿArabī (d. 638/1240) and Shihāb al-Dīn Yaḥyā b. Ḥabash al-Suhrawardī (d. 578/1191) utilize the qurʾānic Gabriel-as-agency-of-revelation in their mystical theologies to identify particular stages and states in the path to integration of the self and unity with God. Ibn al-ʿArabī (as does Rūmī) uses Gabriel-narratives that emphasize the qurʾānic theme that human beings have the potential for knowledge — and hence ontological status — that the angels do not have. Suhrawardī, utilizing both pre-Islamic Greek and Iranian imagery in his school of "oriental wisdom," emphasizes the soteriological role of Gabriel as the one who illuminates the soul to its condition of forgetfulness and entanglement in the world of matter.

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Gambling

Playing or gaming for money or other stake with the participants in such activity having no control over the outcome. Although related qurʾānic concepts (discussed below) include such terms as "playing, gaming" *(l-ʿ-b),* "betting" (associated with Q 30:1-4), and "the casting of lots" (*qurʿa,* in relation to Q 3:44; 37:141), the most precise qurʾānic example of gambling is *al-maysir.*

al-Maysir *and games of chance*

The term *al-maysir* is mentioned three times in the Qurʾān, always with the general connotation of gambling (games of chance). A first occurrence is in Q 2:219: "They question you about strong drink (see INTOXICANTS) and gambling/games of chance *(al-maysir).* Say: in both is great sin, and some utility for men; but the sin of them is greater than their usefulness.…" The other two occurrences of *al-maysir* are in Q 5:90-1: "O you who believe! Strong drink and games of chance/gambling and idols (see IDOLS AND IMAGES) and divining arrows are only an infamy of Satan's handwork. Leave it aside in order that you may succeed. Satan seeks only to cast among you enmity and hatred by means of strong drink and gambling/games of chance, and turn you from remembrance of God and from (his) worship. Will you then have done?" Although it appears to be condemned primarily for being a diversion from prayer (q.v.) and a cause of divisiveness and hostility among the faithful, by being categorized together with idols (see IDOLS AND IMAGES) and divining arrows (see FORETELLING), it is seen as an "impure" practice (Fahd, al-Maysir, 924; see LAWFUL AND UNLAWFUL).

Commentators on the Qurʾān as well as Arabic linguists have debated at length the etymology of the term *al-maysir* (derived from the Arabic root *y-s-r,* meaning "to be easy" but from which also derives the term for the left hand, *al-yusrā;* for details on the pre-Islamic practice, see Fahd, al-Maysir, 923-4). The generally accepted glosses include: games of risk or chance, playing dice, a game with dice, gambling, as well as material or spiritual gain (e.g. titles) through bets or gambling. Al-Zamakhsharī (d. 538/1144; *Kashshāf,* i, 261) cites the word *al-maysir* as denoting the Arabic word *al-qimār,* i.e. gambling, namely "taking someone's property in an easy way, without effort and labor." In the same context, al-Zamakhsharī states that the word *al-maysir* is derived from the word *al-yasār,* denoting *al-ghinā,* "wealth," because, al-Zamakhsarī claims, "gambling [is] to grab someone's property" *(li-annahu salb yasārihi).* Al-Shawkānī (d. 1250/1832; *Tafsīr,* i, 220), on the other hand, lists the word *al-maysir* as meaning *al-jazūr,* a slaughtered animal the division of whose parts were subject to gambling among pre-Islamic Arabs *(al-jazūr alladhī kānū yataqāmarūna ʿalayhi).* This gloss of *al-maysir* is not completely divorced from al-Zamakhsharī's interpretation, for he also discusses meat acquired by means of gambling (*Kashshāf,* i, 262): he states that the arrow used by the pre-Islamic Arabs

when gambling about how to distribute their prey is called *qidḥ* (pl. *aqdāḥ*), and he mentions that meat acquired by gambling was given away to the poor and never eaten by those who had actually won it *(wa-kānū yadfaʿūna tilka l-anṣiba ilā l-fuqarāʾ wa-lā yaʾkulūna minhā)*. For this purpose, the slaughtered animal was called *al-jazūr* (or *al-maysir*) because it was by gambling that its meat was shared, i.e. the winners received an easy gain in meat by gambling. The classical commentators of the Qurʾān record that the word *al-yāsir* denotes the person who supervises this specific ceremony of gambling over the meat of a slaughtered animal (see e.g. Ṣābūnī, *Tafsīr āyāt al-aḥkām,* i, 268).

Many commentators on the Qurʾān speak extensively about what could be subsumed under the headings of gambling and games of risk. Al-Zamakhsharī states, besides the above-mentioned, that *al-maysir* includes the games known as *nard,* "backgammon" ("trictrac" in Levantine dialect; also called *ṭāwila*) and *shaṭranj,* "chess." These games were allegedly banned by the Prophet because they were played by Persians *(min maysiri l-ʿajam)*. The same commentator mentions that the fourth caliph ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib (q.v.; r. 35-40/656-61) is once said to have declared that the games *nard* and *shaṭranj* are included in *al-maysir*. The Ṣūfī (see ṣūfism and the qurʾān) Qurʾān commentator Ismāʿīl Ḥaqqī l-Brūsawī (d. 1137/1725; *Tafsīr,* i, 338) includes in the category of *al-maysir* the child's game of dice and a game played with walnuts *(luʿb bi-l-jawz wa l-kiʿāb)*. This commentator quotes, in the same context, one of Islam's earliest authorities, Ibn Sīrīn (d. 110/728), who said "Everything that involves risk, everything that implies gambling is *al-maysir*" *(kullu shayʾin fīhi khaṭar fahuwa min al-maysir)*. Mystical commentators of the Qurʾān claim that human destiny (q.v.) is too serious a matter to be interpreted and foretold by games of risk and gambling. Hence, Islam prohibits *al-maysir*.

The fact that the Qurʾān mentions *al-maysir* along with strong drink *(al-khamr),* idolatry *(al-anṣāb),* and fortune-telling, as well as divining arrows *(al-azlām)* is in itself reason enough for Muslim jurists to view all forms of *al-maysir* (through gambling, card games, dice, games that involve risk, etc.) that involve money or other valuables as strictly forbidden (q.v.; *ḥarām*). The reason for this is that gambling is a way to gain property from others that is easy and without labor.

The legitimacy of such leisure activities in Islamic thought is varied (see Rosenthal, *Gambling,* 9-26). Although recreation or play — designated by the root *l-ʿ-b* (which occurs twenty times in the Qurʾān) — is not condemned outright by Muslim jurists, it acquired judgments such as "an activity without a sound purpose" or "the activity of children resulting in tiredness without any profit." Consequently, the seriousness and usefulness of activities such as sports (regardless of whether or not they were used for gambling) had to be argued (see Rosenthal, *Gambling,* 13). The linkage of *al-maysir* with the notion of game or play *(al-luʿb)* is seen in the warning against "pigeon fancying and playing chess and *nard;* once a person gets accustomed to them, he finds it hard to stop and avoid their destructive consequences" (ibid., where al-Ghazālī's *Iḥyāʾ ʿulūm al-dīn* is cited). Indeed, there are legal pronouncements *(fatāwā)* claiming that the games of chess, backgammon, cards and dominoes, etc. are not *ḥarām* if the game itself is not played for money or any other material or spiritual gain, and if it does not imply excessive waste of time; i.e. if the game does not turn into sheer leisure.

Such legal pronouncements have been issued by the contemporary Sheikh Yūsuf al-Qaraḍāwī, who classifies the playing of

chess under the category of things allowed. He considers playing chess as neither unclean *(karāha)* nor forbidden (*ḥarām,* see PROHIBITED DEGREES) but allowed *(mubāḥ)* under three conditions: (a) that the prayer at prescribed times is not neglected due to playing chess; (b) that chess is not played for money or material gain (i.e. that it does not turn into *qimār*); and (c) that chess players do not curse while playing, and abstain from rude words, from making false vows, etc. Many contemporary Muslim jurists consider card games, backgammon and other games allowable under the same conditions. Lottery and games that involve risk in any form are, however, unanimously treated by contemporary Muslim jurists as forms of *al-maysir,* i.e. forbidden things. They are considered to be *al-maysir* because they imply investing money or other substantive means in an action that could lead to gain for some and loss for others.

Betting and casting lots

The other qurʾānic allusions to activities in which the participants have no control over the outcome, but may lose or gain thereby, fall under the headings of "betting" and "casting of lots." In their commentaries on Q 30:1-4, which discusses the fortunes of the Byzantines (q.v.), qurʾānic exegetes relate that the polytheists made a bet with Abū Bakr (q.v.) that the Prophet's prediction of Byzantine victory and Persian defeat would not come true, and that Abū Bakr won the bet (see Rosenthal, *Gambling,* 26-31). One must note that the Qurʾān itself contains no allusion to "bet" in this passage, and the commentators use different Arabic words to describe the activity between Abū Bakr and the polytheists. Unspecified persons are said to have cast lots for the task of being Mary's (q.v.) guardian in Q 3:44. A more specific qurʾānic allusion to this practice *(sāhama)* is found in Q 37:141, in which Jonah (q.v.), as a result of losing the drawing of lots, is thrown into the sea (see Rosenthal, *Gambling,* 32-4).

Enes Karic

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Garden

A fertile tract of land for the cultivation of flowers, herbs, vegetables or fruits. In Arabic, the term *janna* refers to "garden" in general; with the definite article *al-*, it refers particularly to paradise (q.v.), the celestial abode promised to the righteous in the next world (see REWARD AND PUNISHMENT).

As a single word *al-janna* is the most frequently used term in the Qurʾān to designate paradise (e.g. Q 2:214; 7:43; 19:63). It is also found in phrases such as *jannat* (or *jannāt*) *ʿadn,* "garden(s) of Eden" (Q 13:23; 16:31; 18:31; 61:12; etc.), *jannat al-khuld,* "garden of perpetuity" (Q 25:15), *jannat* (or *jannāt*) *al-naʿīm,* "garden(s) of bliss" (Q 10:9; 22:56; 26:85; 56:12; etc.) and *jannat al-maʾwā,* "garden of refuge" (Q 53:15). But this is not the only terminology for paradise. Several times it is called "the last

abode" (*al-dār al-ākhira,* Q 2:94; 7:169; etc.), twice "the abode of peace" (*dār al-salām,* Q 6:127; 10:25), once "the abode of residence" (*dār al-muqāma,* Q 35:35), and "the abode of permanence" (*dār al-qarār,* Q 40:39; see HOUSE, DOMESTIC AND DIVINE). Further, the term *al-firdaws* (related to the Greek term *paradeisos,* traceable ultimately to the Avestan word *pairidaeza*), occurs twice (Q 23:11; 18:107), as does the term *ḥadāʾiq,* "gardens" (Q 27:60; 80:30). *Rawḍa* occurs once (Q 30:15), as does its plural, in the phrase *rawḍāt al-jannāt,* "meadows of the gardens" (Q 42:22). The Qurʾān also includes reference to garden in the dual (*jannatān,* e.g. Q 34:15; 55:46).

Earthly gardens find reference in the Qurʾān as well, mostly as manifestations of God's pleasure or displeasure with humans (see BLESSING; GRACE). For example, the Qurʾān mentions the two gardens of Sheba (q.v.; Sabaʾ) which, on account of the iniquitous behavior of the natives of the town, were turned into gardens that bore "bitter fruit, tamarisks and a few hawthorns" (Q 34:15-6; see AGRICULTURE AND VEGETATION). The earthly garden, which blooms when watered by rain from the heavens (see HEAVEN AND SKY) but whose verdure easily turns into stubble under arid conditions, also serves as a qurʾānic parable for the fleeting pleasures of this world (Q 18:32-5). The Qurʾān further invokes the earthly fruit orchard (specifically of date palms [see DATE PALM] and grapes, Q 17:91) as an analog to good deeds (q.v.) that reap countless benefits for the believer (Q 2:265-6).

Paradise *(al-janna)* is where God placed Adam and his wife after their creation (Q 2:35; 7:19). The Qurʾān provides broad reference to paradise as a physical place with specific geographical features. Water (q.v.) is a main component of the paradisaical garden(s); the believers are frequently promised the "garden(s) underneath which rivers flow," an expression that occurs more than thirty times (Q 9:100; 16:31; etc.). There are four rivers which flow through paradise, one of "fresh water," one of "milk (q.v.) that does not change in flavor," one of "wine (see INTOXICANTS) that is a delight to those who drink [from it]," and one of "pure honey" (q.v.; Q 47:15). Some paradisaical springs have specific names; one is called Kawthar (Q 108:1), implying abundance; another is called Salsabīl (Q 76:18); and a third is called Tasnīm (Q 83:27; see WELLS AND SPRINGS).

Paradise, the breadth of which is "as the breadth of heaven and earth" (Q 57:21), is described as an enclosed garden with gates, guarded by doorkeepers who admit the righteous (Q 39:73), along with their spouses (Q 43:70; see MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE), to happily dwell therein forever (Q 35:35; 43:71). Lush verdancy *(mudhāmmatān)* characterizes two heavenly gardens in particular (Q 55:64); there are references to "shady trees" (Q 56:28-30) and to "fruits and shade everlasting" (Q 13:35). Fountains (see SPRINGS AND FOUNTAINS) find plentiful mention (e.g. Q 15:45; 26:57, 134), and the phrase "shades and fountains" occurs in one verse (Q 77:41). Among paradisaical fruits are grapes (Q 23:19; 36:34) and pomegranates (Q 55:68). A mysterious tree called *sidrat al-muntahā,* "the lote-tree of the boundary" (Q 53:14-5), demarcates one extreme of the heavenly abode. The climate in paradise is described as temperate, devoid of intense heat or cold (Q 76:13).

The discourse of the inhabitants of paradise is one of peace (*salām,* Q 56:26) and praise of God (Q 35:34), unvitiated by idle talk (Q 88:11). The heavenly dwellers live together in fraternal companionship (Q 15:47; see BROTHER AND BROTHERHOOD), enveloped by peace (Q 50:34) and security (Q 44:51), their hearts emptied of rancor (Q 7:43; 15:47). They do not suffer from fatigue (Q 15:48; 35:35) and are free of

all cares and labor (Q 35:34-5). They are reunited with the righteous members of their families, from among their parents, wives, and children (Q 13:23; 40:8; see FAMILY; KINSHIP). All that the heart desires and pleases is made available to them (Q 43:71). The paradise dwellers are thus satisfied with the heavenly reward they have earned (Q 52:18; 88:8-10) and with the physical circumstances of their existence (Q 7:43). According to the commentators, the Qurʾān (Q 6:103; 10:26; 50:35; 75:22-3) hints at the beatific vision of God in the after-life (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* xv, 62-9; Rāzī, *Tafsīr,* xiii, 124-32; xvii, 77-8), a theme that became popular in later, particularly mystical, literature (see FACE OF GOD).

The pious believer (see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF; PIETY) accustomed to denial of certain material and physical pleasures or to modest indulgence in them on earth will be granted these pleasures manifold in paradise. Gastronomic delights (see FOOD AND DRINK) are promised in the form of "fruit and flesh as desired by them" (Q 52:22), nectar sealed with musk, blended with the water of Tasnīm (Q 83:25-7), and "pure wine" (*sharāban ṭahūran,* Q 76:21), which neither debilitates nor inebriates (Q 37:45-7). Dark-eyed maidens (*ḥūr,* Q 44:54; 52:20; 55:72; 56:22; see HOURIS), modest of glance (Q 55:56), and peerless of form (Q 56:34-5), are paired with the believers who are of the same age (Q 56:37). Handsome young men (*wildān,* Q 56:17; 76:19; *ghilmān,* Q 52:24) will circulate among the believers with "goblets, beakers and cups of refreshing drink" (Q 56:18; see CUPS AND VESSELS; INSTRUMENTS). The heavenly dwellers recline on couches (Q 56:15; 76:13; 83:23; 88:13), on green cushions and exquisite carpets (Q 55:76; see FURNITURE AND FURNISHINGS). They dress in robes of fine silk (q.v.; Q 22:23) and brocade (Q 76:21), and wear bracelets of gold (q.v.), pearls (Q 22:23) and silver (Q 76:21). Although these vivid descriptions invite comparison with earthly delights several times magnified (see MATERIAL CULTURE AND THE QURʾĀN), the Qurʾān also states that "no soul knows what joys are hidden from them in compensation for their deeds" (Q 32:17). In qurʾānic depiction, paradise is overwhelmingly a place of joyous repose, amiable companionship, physical, emotional, and spiritual well-being.

Ḥadīth and exegetical literature

The description of paradise and the heavenly compensations promised by the Qurʾān are further elaborated in the ḥadīth and exegetical literature *(tafsīr),* and in individual works on paradise. The following account, which is far from exhaustive, refers to some of the more common and distinctive topics contained in this extra-qurʾānic literature.

Paradise is described as a vast domain having eight gates and one hundred levels (*daraja;* Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* ix, 153). The distance between each level is as the distance between the sky (see HEAVEN AND SKY) and the earth (q.v.; ibid.; Tirmidhī, *Sunan,* iv, 82) or the length of a hundred years' journey (Tirmidhī, *Sunan,* iv, 81). The highest and most central level of paradise is occupied by Firdaws; directly above it is the throne *(al-ʿarsh)* of God (see THRONE OF GOD), and it is from this level that the rivers of paradise pour forth (Tirmidhī, *Sunan,* iv, 82; Abū Nuʿaym, *Ṣifat al-janna,* 115). Kawthar is described as a river whose two banks are piled with hollowed pearls (Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* xxiii, 66), and whose water is whiter than milk and sweeter than honey (Tirmidhī, *Sunan,* iv, 87; Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad,* viii, 202-3). The *ṭūbā,* "blessing, goodness," mentioned in Q 13:29, is understood by commentators to refer to a special tree in paradise, adorned with jewels, which stretches the distance of a hundred years' journey (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* xvi, 443-4), as do

other wondrous trees (Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* xxiii, 50).

The majority of the heavenly denizens will be drawn from the ranks of the poor and the weak (Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* xxiii, 48; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* iv, 2186-7). One tradition states that the best of women will precede the best of men into heaven (Abū Nuʿaym, *Ṣifat al-janna,* 115). Since the ḥadīth literature mentions that each man will live with two wives (Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* iv, 2178-9; Tirmidhī, *Sunan,* iv, 84, 85), and each woman with her preferred husband (Shaʿrānī, *Mukhtaṣar,* 105; Rashīd Riḍā, *Manār,* xxxii, 91-2), most commentators are of the opinion that women will outnumber men in heaven (ʿAynī, *ʿUmda,* xii, 305; Wensinck/Pellat, Ḥūr, 582; to be contrasted to the tradition which states that there will be more women than men in hell on account of their disobedience toward their husbands, for which see Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* xxiii, 48; see WOMEN AND THE QURʾĀN). According to some accounts, paradise dwellers will visit one another on white camels resembling sapphire (Suyūṭī, *Ǧāmiʿ,* i, 469) and also have a winged horse, studded with pearls and sapphire (Qāḍī, *Daqāʾiq,* 42; id., *Eschatologie,* 198; Tirmidhi, *Sunan,* iv, 88), named Rafraf in some reports (El-Saleh, *La vie future,* 35-7).

The heavenly dwellers are eternally young; their bodies do not produce excretions (Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* iv, 2179, 2180; Tirmidhī, *Sunan,* iv, 85) and their clothes never wear out (Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* iv, 2182; Tirmidhī, *Sunan,* iv, 86). Each man will be as tall as Adam (see ADAM AND EVE), either sixty cubits (Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* i, 279) or ninety cubits (Ibn Abī Shayba, *Muṣannaf,* vii, 56), as old as Jesus (q.v.; thirty-three years), and as handsome as Joseph (q.v.; ʿAbd al-Razzāq, *Muṣannaf,* xi, 416). The earthly women are reborn as beautiful, young virgins (Rāzī, *Tafsīr,* xxxi, 166; Ṭabarānī, *Awsaṭ,* v, 357), whose optimal height is eighty cubits (Ibn Abī Shayba, *Muṣannaf,* vii, 56). The celestial houris sing in exquisite voices (Ṭabarānī, *Awsaṭ,* v, 49; Ibn Abī Shayba, *Muṣannaf,* vii, 57) and are said to be made of light or saffron (Suyūṭī, *Durar,* 43), musk, ambergris and camphor (Qāḍī, *Daqāʾiq,* 43; El-Saleh, *La vie future,* 38-43). The least blessed among the heavenly dwellers is described in some reports as having 70,000 or 80,000 servants, a thousand mansions made from pearls, chrysolite and sapphire (Ibn Abī Shayba, *Muṣannaf,* vii, 56), and seventy-two or seventy-three consorts (Tirmidhī, *Sunan,* iv, 98). The believers have but to desire a particular kind of food or a thing and it is instantly made available to them (Tirmidhī, *Sunan,* iv, 87).

The believers are assured of God's eternal satisfaction *(riḍwān)* with them (Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* xxiii, 48-9) and they praise and glorify him night and day (Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* iv, 2180; Tirmidhī, *Sunan,* iv, 85). According to some weak reports, Arabic will be the language of paradise (Abū Nuʿaym, *Ṣifat al-janna,* 100; Suyūṭī, *Ǧāmiʿ,* i, 59). The ultimate reward for the pious is described in some reports as the beatific vision of God, which will be as clear as the full moon on a cloudless night (Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* xxiii, 59-60); the most virtuous *(afḍal)* will be afforded this opportunity twice every day (Ibn Abī Shayba, *Muṣannaf,* vii, 58; Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad,* vi, 284). Against this backdrop of vivid, concrete description of paradise, one should also keep in mind the ḥadīth *qudsī* (see ḤADĪTH AND THE QURʾĀN) which states that God has prepared for the believer "what no eye has seen, no ear has ever heard, nor has ever occurred to the human mind [heart]" (Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* iv, 51; Rāzī, *Tafsīr,* xxxi, 58), underscoring the indescribable nature of the bliss that awaits the righteous in the hereafter.

The above is just a brief sampling of the more detailed descriptions of the heavenly

abode occurring in the extra-qurʾānic literature which are couched in prophetic traditions of varying degrees of reliability (according to the categories developed by medieval traditionists). Individual works on paradise include many of these traditions indiscriminately, creating hyperbolic narratives that one modern author has described as "a textualization of the imagination" (Azmeh, Rhetoric, 218). To conclude this section, one may state that through their evocative imagery and bold metaphors these paradisaical accounts ultimately embody "an attempt to demonstrate the ineffability of the world to come" (Reinhart, Here and hereafter, 18). Further, by conceptualizing paradise both as a continuation and exaltation of worldly delights, they have "ennobled the Muslim view of this more ephemeral world" (Brookes, *Gardens of paradise,* 21).

Views of the Muʿtazilīs, philosophers, Ṣūfīs, and modern exegetes

Very briefly, the Muʿtazilīs (q.v.) in particular tended to downplay the exaggerated descriptions of paradisaical pleasures. They accepted literally the description of paradise as it occurs in the Qurʾān but rejected anthropomorphic attributions to God (see ANTHROPOMORPHISM) and thus the possibility of the beatific vision, arguing that the divine being cannot be comprehended by the human ocular faculty. The Ashʿarīs affirmed the reality of the divine attributes and the descriptions of paradise contained in the Qurʾān and canonical ḥadīth compilations, including the vision of God, but emphasize their other-worldly nature according to their principle of "without [asking] how *(bi-lā kayf)*." The early Ṣūfīs (see ṢŪFISM AND THE QURʾĀN), like Rabīʿa al-ʿAdawiyya and al-Ḥallāj, accepted these verses in their literal sense and emphasized above all the beatific vision as the ultimate reward for the believer (Gardet, Djanna, 450). The theosophical philosophers *(mutafalsifūn)* and the later Ṣūfīs *(ahl al-taṣawwuf),* in contrast, stressed the allegorical interpretation of qurʾānic verses that describe paradise (ibid.).

Modern scholars such as Muḥammad ʿAbduh (d. 1905) and Mawlānā Muḥammad ʿAlī (d. 1951) have emphasized the other-worldly nature of the rewards promised to the righteous in the hereafter (Smith and Haddad, *Islamic understanding,* 166-8). This applies in particular to the beatific vision of God which cannot be explained in terms of this-worldly human perception (ʿAbduh, *Risāla,* 183-4). The reformist zeal of Muḥammad Rashīd Riḍā (d. 1935) was especially directed toward critical reevaluation of ḥadīths in general, including those that contain literalist and over-sensualized descriptions of heavenly pleasures (Rashīd Riḍā, *Manār,* x, 548; Gardet, Djanna, 451).

The Islamic garden as earthly paradise

Historians of Islamic art and architecture have generally assumed that the profuse, particularly royal, gardens in various Muslim countries developed as an attempt to replicate the heavenly garden on earth. One art historian summarizes this conventional view thus: "Indeed one can understand neither the Islamic garden nor the attitude of the Muslim toward his garden until one realizes that the terrestrial garden is considered a reflection or rather an anticipation of Paradise" (Dickie, Islamic garden, 90). Briefly, evidence adduced in favor of this view is as follows. Qurʾānic reference to the four main rivers of paradise is believed to be the origin of the quartered Islamic garden, divided by four water-channels that converge at a central point. This type of garden is typically enclosed within walls, again considered a reflection of the qurʾānic description of *janna* as a garden with gates (Q 39:73). In Persian, the quartered garden is known as "four gar-

dens" *(chahar bagh),* which is considered to be the prototype of the typical Islamic garden (see e.g. Lehrmann, *Earthly paradise,* 62). But it should be noted that the *chahar bagh* itself is pre-Islamic in origin, and the institution of royal pleasure gardens was already well-known in the ancient Near East in general (Denny, Reflections of paradise, 41). To draw an immediate and direct equation between the quartered garden in the Islamic world and the supposed heavenly "prototype" is, therefore, not without its problematic aspects.

In recent times, questions have been raised about this conventional view, primarily on the basis that no written evidence explicitly stating this equation between the earthly and celestial gardens exists from the pre-modern era in Arabic, Persian or Turkish. It has been argued that many modern scholars, both from within and outside the Islamic tradition, have assumed this implicit equation because of their need to reify Islam and thus to see religious symbolism in every artifact associated with Islamic civilization. Another possible influence on this conventional equation may have been the narrative genre indigenous to medieval Europe that speaks of an earthly paradise. Acquaintance with this genre could have prompted western scholars to transfer analogous assumptions to the study of the Islamic world (Allen, *Imagining paradise,* 6 f.). This recent revisionist position raises many interesting and pertinent questions; clearly the last word has not yet been spoken on this topic.

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Garlic see FOOD AND DRINK

Gehenna see HELL AND HELLFIRE; FIRE

Gender

A religious and cultural construction, including prescribed, proscribed, and suggested behaviors and practices relating to women and/or men. Although there is no qurʾānic term for "gender" as such, both "gender-specific" and non-gendered (i.e. the enunciation of principles pertaining to all human beings) language pervade the qurʾānic text. (Another word that is absent from the Qurʾān is the biological term "sex" [see SEX AND SEXUALITY]. The common, contemporary term *al-jins* did not exist in Arabic at the time of the Qurʾān's origins but appeared later as a loanword in Arabic indicating genus and also a people, while its specific connotation as "sex" is a relatively recent usage.) To grasp how gender as a religio-cultural construct is conveyed in the Qurʾān it is important to observe how sex as a biological construct is employed. Gender as a religio-cultural construction is linked to biological sex though distinguished from it, yet occasionally in the Qurʾān the two seem to blur. This is indicated by a vast and complex repertoire of "gender terms" or "gendered vocabulary" in the Qurʾān. Moreover, Arabic, the language of the Qurʾān, is itself highly gendered in its grammatical structure (see ARABIC LANGUAGE; GRAMMAR AND THE QURʾĀN). The complex gendering of the language of the Qurʾān (including the presence and absence of personal nouns) and the textual and contextual embedding of words adumbrate the interpretive potential that this language exhibits.

Examination of the terms for gender and sex in the Qurʾān and how they are employed confirms the gendered-ness of the Qurʾān and indicates interpretive strategies for extracting deeper meanings that may clarify the message of the Qurʾān and serve as guidance. Five basic linguistic observations may be made. One, gender terms predominate over sex terms in the Qurʾān. Two, sometimes gender and sex terms are used inversely so that gender terms may indicate a biological condition or sex terms may make a religio-cultural statement. Three, the word "women" and other gender terms referring to female persons appear mainly in relation to men (see WOMEN AND THE QURʾĀN). Four, women are most frequently mentioned as wives. Five, the same word may be given similar or different inflections in the female and male forms.

When ascertaining meanings and messages in the use of gendered words it is crucial to contextualize them. Likewise, it is necessary to distinguish between what is specific and contingent from that which is universal and timeless. It is instructive to examine gendered vocabulary employed in the verses Muslim understand to have been revealed in Medina (q.v.), where specific instructions (taking into account prevailing conditions and practices) were given to the nascent community of believers and those revealed in Mecca (q.v.), which are believed to contain universal messages. The exegete Amina Wadud-Muhsin in *Qurʾān and woman* points out that verses revealed in Medina introduced reforms of existing practices and that most of them specifically benefited women. In the Meccan verses, woman is given as an exemplar for all humankind.

It is imperative to be attentive to the meaning words convey in qurʾānic Arabic, as distinct from post-qurʾānic Arabic, especially modern varieties of Arabic. There are also problems of translation into other languages. Rendering qurʾānic Arabic in 21st century English, for example, is highly

demanding because of the different grammatical structures and the disparate range of vocabulary. From today's perspective, gender slippage may be observed in even the most highly respected translations such as translating *insān, nās* and *bashar* as either man or mankind instead of humankind or humans. Finally, the accepted standard translations of the Qurʾān into English were made in the early and middle decades of the twentieth century prior to increased gender sensitivity to language.

To gain an understanding of gender in the Qurʾān, it is instructive to observe that it conveys the intrinsic equality of human beings and their differences, both biological and functional. Believers (see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF), like all of God's creatures (see CREATION), are in essence equal before the creator; as males and females, however, these creatures are biologically different. Taking into account the fact of biological difference, the Qurʾān advances a religiocultural construction of difference in what may be called a balancing system. A cultural balancing of difference, relating to the ways difference is performed, is linked to the childbearing capacity of females (see BIOLOGY AS THE CREATION AND STAGES OF LIFE; CHILDREN). Apart from the husband's duty to provide materially for his wife in the circumstance of childbearing and rearing, there is an absence of prescribed gender roles and functions (see MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE; FAMILY). There were certain disparate gender practices allowed in the Qurʾān as a means of reducing and controlling, and perhaps eventually eliminating, particular behaviors prevalent in Arabia at the time of the Qurʾān.

The biological or sex terms "male and female" are typically rendered by the nouns *al-dhakar* (pl. *dhukūr* and *dhukrān*) and *al-unthā* (pl. *ināth*), respectively. The terms male and female are used in the Qurʾān in two ways. One is in relation to procreation and to indicate biological difference or specificity. For example, Q 13:8 says: "God knows what every female (womb) bears…" and Q 42:49, "He bestows (children) male or female according to his will." The other way sex, or the biological terms male and female, are employed is to enunciate the principle of the fundamental equality of males and females before God so that there cannot be any doubt or confusion about the basic equality of biologically different human beings. For example, in Q 4:124, "Whoever does good deeds (q.v.), whether male or female, and believes — those will enter the garden (q.v.)." Another instance is Q 3:195, "And their lord has accepted of them and answered them 'Never will I suffer to be lost the work of any of you, be he male or female: you are members, one of another.'"

The culturally constructed categories man and woman are typically rendered by the nouns *rajul* (pl. *rijāl*) and *imraʾa* (pl. *nisāʾ, niswa*), respectively. Another word for man is *marʾ,* which appears only four times. *Rajul* is most often used to signify man, whereas *imraʾa* may also connote wife and indeed is used most frequently in this sense. Both *rajul* and *imraʾa* are found more frequently in the plural, while the plural for woman occurs about twice as often as the plural for men. Of the two plural forms for women, *nisāʾ* predominates (*niswa* appears only twice). Other gendered categories, more specific in meaning, are abundant in the Qurʾān, such as boy, girl, young man and young woman. The most numerous terms, however, are relational or familial categories such as mother, father, brother, sister, son and daughter.

The ways gender terms are used include, for example, "And in no way covet (see ENVY) those things in which God has bestowed his gifts more freely on some of you than on others: to men *(rijāl)* is allotted what they earn and to women *(nisāʾ)* what

they earn but ask God of his bounty" (Q 4:32; see BLESSING; GRACE). Some interpreters have seen an allusion to the grudging acceptance of polygamy (q.v.) in the beginning of Q 33:4, "God did not make for any man *(rajul)* two hearts (see HEART) in one (body)." Another example relating to the possibility of dissolving a difficult marriage occurs in Q 4:128, "If a wife *(imraʾa)* fears cruelty or desertion on her husband's part there is no blame on them if they arrange an amicable settlement between themselves." The two previous examples have been less contested than Q 4:34, "Men are the protectors/maintainers *(qawwāmūn)* of women because God has given the one more than the other, and because they support them from their means." This verse has been interpreted in the classical exegesis (see EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL) developed by male scholars as connoting male authority and superiority over women in general. Feminist hermeneutics points to the contingent prescription for husbands to support their wives materially in the specific context of childbearing and rearing and argues that, while this support is incumbent upon husbands, it may be obviated if the wife and mother so wishes. Thus, *qawwāmūn* should not be generalized and read to signify (and justify) male authority over women. The element of balancing and of equality in fathering and mothering are clearly enunciated in Q 2:233, "The mothers shall nurse their offspring for two whole years… but [the father] shall bear the cost of [the mothers'] food and clothing in a fair manner *(bi-l-maʿrūf)*… no mother shall be treated unfairly on account of her child. No father on account of his child… If they both decide on weaning by mutual consent and after due consultation there is no blame on them." Thus, man/men and woman/women appear in the Qurʾān in ways that lend themselves to interpretations of complementarity or a balancing of gender roles within the context of marriage and the family, that is, the duty and performance of complimentary roles, while leaving room for a woman during pregnancy and child-rearing to relinquish the support due her if she wishes. This is a zone lending itself to varying interpretations. Innovative or reformative interpreters argue that this is a strength of the holy text, which allows for contextual readings within changing environments and circumstances while preserving the principle of gender justice and equality.

Although *rajul* and *imraʾa* typically function as cultural constructs in the Qurʾān they sometimes seem to indicate biological sex. For example, "… Do you deny him who created you out of dust (see CLAY; EARTH), then out of a sperm-drop, then fashioned you into a man?" (*rajul,* Q 18:37) or "Oh humankind! Be careful of your duty to your lord, who created you from a single *nafs* (self, soul) and from it created its *zawj* (mate), and from them [that pair] spread [over the earth] a multitude of men and women" (Q 4:1). The occasional inversion of sex and gender terms allows interpretators to highlight the connection-cum-distinction between biology and cultural construction and serves to underscore the universal principles of equality and justice in the Qurʾān across the biological-cultural continuum.

Gender and sex, or cultural and biological identity, are also conveyed in the Qurʾān by proper nouns or names referring to specific individuals who may serve as role models and/or exceptional exemplars. These named persons are all men (most of whom are prophets, see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD) with the sole exception of Mary (q.v.; Maryam), the mother of the prophet Jesus (q.v.; ʿĪsā) whom God has chosen "above the women of all the

worlds" (Q 3:42). Not only is Mary cited in the Qurʾān by name, but "Maryam" is additionally given as a title to a sūra (Q 19; most other personal names given to sūras are those of prophets). She appears in numerous verses throughout the Qurʾān that detail the trajectory of her life and mission, and that imprint her religious and social importance. Although exceptional, Maryam, identified in Q 66:12 as among the "devout, or righteous" *(mina l-qānitīna)* in the masculine form, serves as an exemplar to all Muslims, men and women alike.

All other individual women appear in the Qurʾān unnamed but are known in two ways. First, by the mention of their link to a named male, including (1) the *zawj* or mate of Adam from whom all humankind descend (see ADAM AND EVE) and (2) the wife *(imraʾa)* or other female relative or intimate of a prophet (other than Muḥammad). The second way a specific woman may be known is through a telling description. For example, "a woman ruling over them and provided with everything; and she has a magnificent throne…" (Q 27:23) refers to Bilqīs (q.v.), the queen of Sheba (q.v). Moreover, this is a rare instance of a woman appearing in her own right and constitutes an example of a woman who is a supreme political leader.

The Qurʾān refers to a group of women by their relationship to the prophet Muḥammad (see WIVES OF THE PROPHET). The wives of Muḥammad are designated as *nisāʾ al-nabī,* "the women (i.e. wives) of the Prophet" as in Q 33:32, "O wives of the Prophet! You are not like any of the (other) women" and when a verse speaks directly to Muḥammad, as in Q 33:28, "O Prophet say to your wives *(qul li-azwājika)*." The daughters of Muḥammad are sometimes addressed, as in Q 33:59, "Tell your wives and daughters *(qul li-azwājika wa-banātika)*." Examination of references to the wives of the Prophet, as well as to his daughters, has given rise to varying interpretations about whether specific prescriptions were ordained only for such women or were meant to apply to all Muslim women (in instances where the specific mention of other women is absent). Modern women exegetes such as ʿĀʾisha ʿAbd al-Raḥmān (Bint al-Shāṭiʾ) and Zaynab al-Ghazzālī have found in the wives and daughters of the prophet Muḥammad models for active social roles for women lived in a combination that balances the importance of family roles.

There are some terms in the Qurʾān which exist grammatically in the masculine form but which refer to both women and men, such as *insān,* "human being," *nās,* "humankind," *bashar,* "human being" and *ahl,* "people." *Nās* and *ahl* operate as collective nouns while *insān* and *bashar* may also signify the singular. These terms have invariably been rendered in the standard English translations as mankind or man, giving the contemporary English speaker a skewed sense of the gender-inclusiveness of the original Arabic.

In the Qurʾān, because of the grammatical demands of the Arabic language, Arabic nouns appear in masculine or feminine form. "Believer," for example, must be rendered as male believer, *muʾmin,* or female believer, *muʾmina*. Nouns in the masculine dual or plural, however, may also include females. While terms such as *muʾmin* and *muʾmina* meaning believer (man believer and woman believer, respectively) are used in ways that appear self-evident (for one of the verses that explicitly enumerate male and female groups, see Q 33:35: *muslimīna wa-l-muslimāti wa-l-muʾminīna wa-l-muʾmināti wa-l-qānitīna wa-l-qānitāti wa-l-ṣādiqīna wa-l-ṣādiqāti*…), there are other nouns that have given rise to variant understandings when applied to men and women. For example, feminist hermeneutics would argue that *nushūz,* which connotes disobedience (q.v.)

or rebellion on the part of men and women to one another in the context of their marital responsibilities and obligations, and which in turn constitutes, in qurʾānic terms, an (equal) act of disobedience to God, has been incorrectly thought to appear in the Qurʾān only in relation to women. This has lead to the conviction in modern Arabic usage that only a woman is *nāshiza,* that is, a man cannot be *nāshiz*. *Nushūz* relative to women has been commonly rendered in English as denoting "disobedience, disloyalty, and rebellion" (relative to a husband) as in Q 4:34, yet when used in relation to men (relative to a wife or wives) it has been translated into English as "cruelty or desertion" as seen in Q 4:128. The male translators of the standard English versions of the Qurʾān have conducted an exegetical act in the very process of translating.

Pairing is an important concept in the Qurʾān. The Arabic language, which includes the dual form, facilitates the expression of this notion. All living things are created in pairs. While all creation is paired, God alone is one, "And of everything we have created pairs that you may bear in mind [that God is one]" (Q 51:49); "And God did create you from dust; then from a sperm-drop; then he made you in pairs…" (Q 35:11). The same word, *zawj* (in the masculine form), is used for each of the two parts, underscoring their absolute equality. Human beings were created from a single soul *(nafs)* to be the *zawj* (mate) of one another. In the creation story Adam and Eve, as noted above, are each the *zawj* of the other. While God created two *zawj*(s) (*zawjayn,* dual form) that are totally equal, he also created them different as *dhakar* and *unthā*. This equation of equality-with-difference is powerfully conveyed in Q 53:45, "That he did create in pairs *(zawjayn),* male *(dhakar)* and female *(unthā)*." As if to reaffirm this further there are instances when the term *zawj* is used on its own to indicate wife (rather than the more common term *imraʾa*). In direct qurʾānic address to Muḥammad, as seen above, the term *zawj* is used in the plural, *azwāj,* connoting his wives. There is also the rare example of a more general usage, as in Q 4:20. "But if you decide to take one wife in place of another *(zawjin makāna zawjin)*." In a departure from the use of a single term to designate one of the two in a pair *(zawj),* in modern Arabic, wife is rendered by *zawja,* the femine form of *zawj*.

The richness of gender vocabulary in the Qurʾān and its multiple contextualizations, along with the gendered suppleness of the structure and functioning of the Arabic language, assist exegesis attentive to the fundamental equality of all human beings, female and male, as well as to the reality of biological difference. Modern interpreters — mainly, but not only, females — are articulating new readings of the Qurʾān that draw upon the highly nuanced qurʾānic Arabic (see also FEMINISM).

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Generations

Stages in the succession of natural descent. Generations *(qarn,* pl. *qurūn)* is used some twenty times in the Qurʾān to refer to the

groups of people (i.e. nations; cf. Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* xi, 26, ad Q 6:6) who had been destroyed by God for their disobedience (q.v.) and failure to heed his message (e.g. Q 6:6; 10:13; 11:116; 17:17; 19:74, 78; 23:31; 38:3; 50:36); the same word, *qarn,* also refers to the people who replace those generations. These destroyed peoples are cited as examples of wrongdoing and as warnings not to follow their doomed ways. The destroyed peoples are usually identified with a prophet named in the Qurʾān, such as Noah (q.v.), Lot (q.v.), Hūd (q.v.) for the people of ʿĀd (q.v.), Shūʿayb (q.v.; sometimes identified with the biblical Jethro) for the people of Midian (q.v.) and Ṣāliḥ (q.v.) for the Thamūd (q.v.). The traces of their existence, either in memory or artifacts, serve as a caution to humankind about the consequences of disobedience to God (see GEOGRAPHY).

The use of the category of generations in the Qurʾān is part of the larger qurʾānic argument that all of history can serve as a lesson for humankind, part of the total number of signs (q.v.) and portents God has sent down. Q 6:6, for example, states, "Do they not see how many generations before them we destroyed, which we had established on the earth, strengthening them as we have not strengthened you, for whom we sent down rain in abundance and made rivers flow beneath them. But we destroyed them because of their sins and brought forth another generation after them." The destroyed generations are described as having had great power and wealth (q.v.) that availed them nothing in the face of God's judgment (q.v.). Not all sinners are necessarily condemned without the possibility of redemption. The Qurʾān tells the story of the people of Jonah (q.v.; Yūnus or Dhū l-Nūn), who repented and were saved from destruction (Q 10:98; 37:139-48).

Post-qurʾānic commentators elaborate on details of the destroyed generations, making liberal use of materials derived from biblical commentaries and Arabian legends (see MYTHIC AND LEGENDARY NARRATIVES; SCRIPTURE AND THE QURʾĀN). In the story of Noah, for example, the number of people saved from destruction rises to seventy, including the giant Og (ʿŪj b. ʿAnaq; cf. Kisāʾī, *Tales,* 99, 251-3). Such elaboration became the locus for the narration of much fabulous lore. Scholarly critics of this genre point to quotations of verbatim speeches and poetry from the destroyed peoples as examples of the excesses of this material. See also PUNISHMENT STORIES.

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Generosity

see GOD AND HIS ATTRIBUTES; GIFT-GIVING; ALMSGIVING

Gentiles

see JEWS AND JUDAISM; ILLITERACY

Geography

This entry starts with a short general overview of the geography *of* the Qurʾān, i.e. the geographical setting of the genesis of the text. It then proceeds to survey the geographical representations *in* the Qurʾān. As Kenneth Cragg *(Event)* has correctly pointed out, the events which are pivotal in the Qurʾān are located in a space shaped

by pagan notions (see POLYTHEISM AND ATHEISM; SOUTH ARABIA, RELIGION IN PRE-ISLAMIC). Geography in the Qurʾān thus appears constructed against the pre-qurʾānic Bedouin (q.v.) views of space transmitted in ancient Arabic poetry (see AGE OF IGNORANCE; POETRY AND POETS). To make this background more intelligible, these pre-qurʾānic concepts need to be presented at least summarily. Subsequently, their de-mythicizing and re-coding in the qurʾānic urban context will be explored (see CITY). To this end, evidence about the developing "mental map" of the listeners will be collected, their changing perception of "local geography," and their acquisition of a new understanding of physical geographical phenomena will be investigated. Spatial self-orientation is, of course, not necessarily bound to "real," objective space, familiar from one's own experience; it may point to imagined space as well. Both the real home of the listeners on the one hand, and the community's imaginary home, i.e. the space of their spiritual yearning after the real home has turned into exile (see EMIGRATION), on the other, have to be given attention since the changing significance of particular sites and landscapes is apt to make the qurʾānic canonical process more transparent.

General overview: geography of the Qurʾān

The broader geographical framework of the Qurʾān is the Arabian peninsula. A specified historico-geographical map of the entire peninsula has been prepared in the framework of the *Tübinger Atlas zum Vorderen Orient* (TAVO) by Ulrich Rebstock: Islamic Arabia until the death of the Prophet. "This map presents the topographical setting of the nucleus of the Islamic empire that was emerging on the periphery of the Sasanian and Byzantine empires. It tries to reconstruct the process of the expansion of 'Islam,' i.e. the 'submission' to its claim, on the basis of early Islamic geography and historiography. The identification and localization of important places serves as a kind of framework into which the social, economic, and religious developments are fitted. The main focus is on the political and military actions with which the 'Muslims,' operating first from Medina and then from Mecca, tried to break the opposition of the urban and tribal Arabian aristocracy. The subtly differentiated contracts of the 'Muslims' with members of other religious communities, with traditional tribal confederations and with tribes allied to other powers give an insight into the precarious situation of the Islamic community at the death of their Prophet." (Rebstock, Islamic Arabia; see COMMUNITY AND SOCIETY IN THE QURʾĀN; ECONOMICS; MECCA; MEDINA; EXPEDITIONS AND BATTLES; TRIBES AND CLANS; OPPOSITION TO MUḤAMMAD.)

More precisely, however, the Ḥijāz is to be considered the Qurʾān's land of origin. The Ḥijāz is defined as the mountain barrier that runs through the western side of the peninsula. Although exact application of topographical conceptions can be problematic, it may be roughly described as bordering the Syrian provinces in the north and, in the southwest, the highlands of ʿAsīr that separate it from the Yemen. The Red Sea lowlands of Tihāma are situated to its west. In the east, the Ḥijāz merges into the Najd plateau, the elevated land above the coastal plain, which is primarily steppe and desert. Rainfall in the Ḥijāz is very scanty, and water is retained only in a few areas of clay soil, thus allowing rural cultures to emerge. In the Qurʾān al-Ṭāʾif and Yathrib are among the most prominent of these rural cultures. Several trade routes ran through the Ḥijāz; the main north-south route, which connected the area with the Byzantine province of Syria, ran parallel to the Red Sea, passing

through a chain of oases such as al-Mudāwara, Tabūk, al-Aʿlā and Yathrib. Although the Ḥijāz was not directly on the sea, seafaring Ethiopia (Bilād al-Ḥabash; see ABYSSINIA), which was a commercial partner of pre-Islamic Mecca, and which, during Muḥammad's career, became a temporary asylum for a group of his followers, was easily accessible through the Red Sea harbors of Shuʿayba or Jidda. Much more difficult were travel and transport eastward across the *ḥarra* (basalt desert, covered with stones from lava flow), where the roads passed through one of the two main valleys (*wādīs*) of the Najd, the Wādī l-Dawāsir or the Wādī l-Rumma, which runs across the plateau until entering the Euphrates plain at Baṣra (see IRAQ).

Mecca: general

Among the cities of the peninsula, Mecca is certainly an exceptional case. It does not owe its importance to a vassal relationship with a mighty power as did al-Ḥīra, located on the border of Sasanian territory, nor is it a rural oasis city such as neighboring al-Ṭāʾif or the more distant Medīna. Situated in the Ḥijāz about seventy two kilometers inland from the Red Sea at 21°27' north latititude and 39°49' east longitude, Mecca is a barren place lying in a valley known as *wādī* or *baṭn Makka,* surrounded by steep, rocky mountain ranges. A number of side-valleys, known as *shiʿb,* converge at its lowest part, the Baṭḥāʾ, where settlement started and where the Kaʿba (q.v.) is located. Mecca's nearest neighboring city, at a distance of approximately fifty kilometers to the east, was the rural oasis al-Ṭāʾif, a place that seems to have been closely associated with Mecca since, according to the exegetical tradition, Q 43:31 refers to both with the joint eponym *al-qaryatāni*. The next important city was Yathrib, at 350 kilometers to the north of Mecca. Rainfall in the region of Mecca is scant and irregular. When occurring at all, the rains may be violent and cause torrents which pour down the valleys towards the *ḥaram.* The supply of water (q.v.) depended on wells and cisterns (see WELLS AND SPRINGS; SPRINGS AND FOUNTAINS).

Mecca's sanctuary must have existed from very ancient times; it is apparently the site intended by Ptolemy when he notes the existence of a place called Macoraba. The qurʾānic narrative that ascribes its foundation to Abraham (q.v.) and Ishmael (q.v.) may have already been promulgated in *ḥanīf* (q.v.) circles before Islam. The *ḥaram,* Mecca's *temenos,* was composed of a variety of holy objects and holy sites (see FORBIDDEN; SANCTITY AND THE SACRED; HOUSE, DOMESTIC AND DIVINE). The completely unadorned and roughly built structure of the Kaʿba is reported to have hosted a number of idols (see IDOLS AND IMAGES) that were later removed by Muḥammad. Embedded in the southeastern side of the Kaʿba was the black stone, *al-ḥajar*. Beside the building there was the Zamzam well. Loosely attached to the Kaʿba was the *ḥijr,* a low semicircular wall that extended from one of the faces of the building. In addition, there was the Station of Abraham, sometimes described as another stone, sometimes as a particular site, and even on occasion equated with the entire *ḥaram.* The pre-Islamic *ḥaram* known to Muḥammad at Mecca was not an imposing place; it was little more than a clearing, with the Kaʿba in its midst, the extent of which was marked off only by the exterior walls of the houses of Meccan merchants huddled closely around it.

Any effort to survey the modern academic analysis of the historical developments prior to or contemporary with the emergence of Islam is severely complicated by the controversy surrounding scholarly views of the value of the data presented by

traditional Islamic sources. On one end of the spectrum stands W. Montgomery Watt's presentation *(Muhammad at Mecca, Muhammad at Medina)* which reconstructs the early developments from the data of the Islamic sources in an attempt to relate the material to the qurʾānic evidence itself. On the other end there is Patricia Crone's wholesale rejection *(Meccan trade and the rise of Islam)* of any such endeavor in view of the discrepancies between the secondary literature and the primary sources and of conflicting information within the sources. Although Crone has argued convincingly that Meccan trade was much more limited in extent than hitherto held hypotheses would admit, her more general conclusion is open to debate: "It is at all events the impact of Byzantium and Persia on Arabia that ought to be at the forefront of research on the rise of the new religion, not Meccan trade" (Crone, *Meccan trade,* 250). This statement, and the hypothesis that "Muḥammad mobilized the Jewish (see JEWS AND JUDAISM) version of monotheism against that of dominant Christianity (see CHRISTIANS AND CHRISTIANITY) and used it for the self-assertion, both ideological and military, of his own people" (ibid., 248), appear to neglect the development reflected in the self-referential parts of the Qurʾān itself. These self-referential texts relate the qurʾānic change in the paradigm of moral values (see ETHICS AND THE QURʾĀN) to a new perception of space in terms of urban structures; moreover they present the scenario of an ongoing argument between believers and pagans rather than between believers and Christians. These features corroborate much of the mainstream, traditional Islamic picture of the social and political developments in Arabia during the early seventh century rather than the revisionist reconstructions. The following survey of Mecca's situation contemporary with the emergence of the community closely follows the arguments of a non-partisan study that — very much in accordance with Albrecht Noth's research (Früher Islam) — seeks to associate qurʾānic references with the traditional Islamic reports, reviewing both from a modern sociological vantage point, namely Gottfried Müller's "Das Problem des integrativen Zusammenhangs periodisch stattfindender Märkte auf der Arabischen Halbinsel im Jahrhundert vor dem Islam."

Mecca's market networks

Traditional reports have been reconstructed by Müller to form the following picture: Mecca was founded as a city about 400 C.E. when the tribal coalition of Quraysh (q.v.) started to become more sedentary. In contrast to the Ghassānids, al-Ḥīra and the Ḥimyar, who had remained vassals to the great powers, i.e. the Persians, the Byzantines and the Abyssinians, Mecca had succeeded in creating independent forms of political and social organization after the Meccan clan of ʿAbd Manāf was privileged to act as an agent of those powers in long distance trade across the Arabian peninsula. The sedentarization of the clans of Quraysh implied that the formerly segmented administration of power which lay with rather autonomous family groups became centralized in the institution of the *malaʾ,* an urban assembly of notables that exercised leadership over the various family groupings. Mecca of the mid-sixth century presents itself as a society in which the political, economic and religious levels of organization were embodied in diverse institutions with individual functions complementing each other. Blood ties (see KINSHIP) as a common denominator thus lost significance and individual people were able to use their political and economic acumen to build networks of commercial partners. They could thus domi-

nate the life of their community over a period of time, themselves embodying the common interests of the city. At the same time, in the realm of religious beliefs, the cults of family groups were marginalized in favor of that of a single deity who sacralized the order of the city-state entity. This process reduced interactions with the tribal gods — now down-graded to form part of a pantheon associated with the main deity — to merely marginal rituals practiced for pragmatic reasons. This development led to a sharpening of the antagonism that existed between Mecca and the local tribal groups outside Mecca and supported the integrative political, social and religious organization of its urban coherence.

On the cultic level, a parallel development took place. With the formation of an urban administration, the formerly tribal sanctuary of the Kaʿba gained a privileged status whereas the other sanctuaries increasingly lost their independent local signification, finally becoming subordinate to the exclusive *ḥaram* of Quraysh. The cultic invocation *(talbiya)* of Quraysh clearly expresses this state of affairs: *Labbayka Allāhumma labbayk/innanā laqāḥ/ḥumatunā ʿalā asinnati l-rimāḥ/yaḥsudūnanā l-nāsu ʿalā l-najāḥ* ("Here we are, O God, here we are/we are sperm/our sting is on the tips of our spears/people begrudge us our success," Ibn Ḥabīb, *al-Muḥabbar,* 315). According to this view, it is the exclusiveness of the cult at the Kaʿba that contrasts with the practices at the other sanctuaries which were integrated, as subordinate elements, into an encompassing cultic context.

The particular position of the *ḥaram* and the obligations pertaining to the cult of the Kaʿba (not to that at ʿArafa, pace Wellhausen, *Reste,* 85) constitute the "ferment" of the tribal confederation known under the common name of *ḥums* that was established in the mid-sixth century (see TREATIES AND ALLIANCES). It comprised the inhabitants of Mecca and individual tribes from different regions of the peninsula (Khuzāʿa, Kināna) who controlled the markets of their territories and who had acquired a kind of overarching identity. The counterpart of this alliance was the confederation of the *ḥilla* which subsumed those tribes that, although participating in the Meccan trade, constituted political and economic partners of only minor import for the prosperity of the city. These tribes addressed their deities with cultic invocations *(talbiya)* of their own and celebrated their rites at a site of their own, ʿArafa, located approximately ten kilometers east of Mecca. In contrast to Mecca, this space is considered *ḥill,* i.e. profane space. It is there that the *ḥilla* tribes performed their *ḥajj* before being allowed to enter the Meccan *ḥaram* (see PILGRIMAGE). The rites at ʿArafa are in stark contrast to those of the *ḥums* at the *ḥaram;* the *ḥums* distinguished themselves from the *ḥilla* through particular prohibitions to be respected during their ceremonies. These prohibitions rendered vital aspects of nomadic life taboo (see NOMADS), such as basic nomadic nourishment, dwelling in tents (see TENTS AND TENT PEGS), wearing particular clothes made of materials produced by cattle breeders (see HIDES AND FLEECE; CLOTHING) and performing the custom of the *ṭawāf* around the Kaʿba naked or without footwear. These and other prohibitions were not binding for the *ḥilla* tribes and thus were likely to separate the Meccan sedentary population from their nomadic past and to solidify, through recourse to cultic-cultural references, their adherence to urban life. With particular prohibitions of this kind the *ḥums* express their consciousness of being chosen, the offspring of Abraham: *naḥnu banū ibrāhīma wa-ahlu l-ḥurma wa-wulātu l-bayt wa-quṭṭānu makka wa-sukkānuhā fa-laysa li-aḥadin mina l-ʿarabi*

mithlu ḥaqqinā wa-lā mithlu manzilatinā ("We are the children of Abraham and the people of the *ḥurma* and the protectors of the house and the residents of Mecca and its inhabitants, and none of the Arabs have anything like our rights or our high rank," Ibn Ḥabīb, *al-Munammaq,* 143). The Meccan way of life has become an urban way of life.

Three major market sites — ʿUkāẓ, Majanna and Dhū l-Majāz, whose religious significance as tribal sanctuaries decreased when confronted with the commercial and centralizing functions of the Meccan *ḥaram* — were situated southeast of Mecca on the way to the oasis of al-Ṭāʾif. These sites were not populated except during market days (see MARKETS). Their precise dates, known as the *mawāsim al-ḥajj,* relied on the time of year and constituted the integral part of the *ḥajj* of the *ḥilla* tribes to ʿArafa during the three sacred months. Through the economic link with the long distance commerce of the Meccans, the *mawāsim al-ḥajj* constituted the most relevant regional commercial context of the peninsula. The sequence followed a strict plan culminating in the *ḥajj* of ʿArafa: Dhū l-Qaʿda 1-20: market at ʿUkāẓ, Dhū al-Qaʿda 21-29: Majanna; Dhū l-Ḥijja 1-8: Dhū l-Majāz, Dhū l-Ḥijja 9: *ḥajj* at ʿArafa, Dhū l-Ḥijja 10: *ijāza,* the ceremonial permission to enter the Meccan *ḥaram,* and Dhū l-Ḥijja 10-13: *ʿīd al-aḍḥā* in Minā, again outside the Meccan *ḥaram*. Although these markets were situated in districts belonging to particular tribes, they could become external stations for Meccan commerce since those tribes were integrated into the pro-Qurashī *ḥums* system.

According to Müller (Zum Problem), this Ḥijāzī market system, thanks to the reinterpretation of the ritual practices of the *ḥajj* as politico-economic activities and the construction of a *ḥums-ḥilla* antagonism, was subjected to Meccan control. This system did not exist in isolation from further market activities, but constituted the nucleus of a second more comprehensive market system, a sequence of regional markets which covered vast regions of the peninsula.

Yathrib/al-Madīna

Medina lies at 24°28' north latitude, 39°36' east longitude, about 160 kilometers from the Red Sea and some 350 kilometers north of Mecca. It developed from an oasis, surrounded on the southeast and west by *ḥarra* lands, i.e. lava flows. Several *wādī*s, whose fairly high water table warrants a number of wells and springs, cross the oasis from south to north. Medina, named Yathrib in Q 33:13, is attested by Ptolemy and Stephanus Byzantinus as Iathrippa, and appears as Yathrib in Minaean inscriptions. Al-Madīna, an Aramaic loan word, means "the town," or place of jurisdiction. Apart from ten qurʾānic occurrences as a common noun, it figures in four relatively late verses — Q 9:101, 120; 33:60, 63:8 — as referring to the oasis when it was inhabited mainly by Muslims. Medina emerged from a loose collection of scattered settlements, surrounded by groves of date palms (see DATE PALM) and cultivated fields. Characteristic features were a number of strongholds *(āṭām,* sing. *uṭum)* serving as a refuge in times of danger. In earlier times, the place had been primarily populated by Jewish clans, three of whom — Qurayẓa, al-Naḍīr and Qaynuqāʾ — still played a dominant role at the time of the emigration of Muḥammad and his followers from Mecca *(hijra)*. The first two cultivated particularly fertile land in the oasis, while the third, in addition to conducting a market, were armorers and goldsmiths. Some of them may have arrived in the course of the migrations caused by the defeat of Bar Kokhba, others might have been Arab

converts. Though not politically united by their religion, in Q 2:47 f. they claim to be of Hebrew descent. The earlier Jewish domination of Medina came to an end when two large Arab groups, al-Aws and al-Khazraj, who are said to have left South Arabia after the bursting of the dam of Maʾrib, came to settle in Yathrib. Although they were initially under the protection of the Jewish groups, they later gained the upper hand; the Jewish groups, however, retained a measure of independence.

For at least fifty years before the emigration *(hijra),* a series of blood-feuds had occurred between the Arab groups, behind which there may have been an economic factor. The disruption of social order in Medina was a decisive factor leading the Arabs of Medina to invite Muḥammad to join them. On two occasions, some early converts arranged for an agreement with Muḥammad; and, as a result of the last of these agreements, the *bayʿat al-ḥarb,* concluded in 622 C.E., some seventy of Muḥammad's Meccan followers, together with their dependents, emigrated to Medina in small groups. Muḥammad arrived last, reaching al-Qubāʿ in the south of the oasis on 12 Rabīʿ I (24 September 622).

Geography in the Qurʾān: the pagan background of qurʾānic geographical representation

It is noteworthy that the Qurʾān, in contrast to ancient Arabic poetry, avoids the explicit naming of topographical data. Only very few exceptions, mostly late, can be adduced. Mecca, for instance, is often evoked through its sanctuary (*al-bayt al-maʿmūr,* Q 52:4; *al-masjid al-ḥarām,* Q 2:144, 149, 150, 191, 196, 217; 5:2; 8:34; 9:7, 19, 28; 17:1; 22:25; 48:25, 28), or through its role as the hometown of the listener(s) (*qaryatuka* or *qaryatukum,* Q 47:13) or as the metropolis par excellence (*umm al-qurā,* Q 6:92), but is eventually explicitly named twice: at Q 48:24 *(Makka)* and Q 3:96 *(Bakka).* Equally in Medinan times, the two places of pilgrimage, al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa, are named in Q 2:158, Yathrib is named in Q 33:13. Two battlefields (see EXPEDITIONS AND BATTLES) of early Islam, Badr (q.v.), a small place situated southwest of Medīna (Q 3:123) and Ḥunayn (q.v.), one day's journey from Mecca on the way to al-Ṭāʾif (Q 9:25), are recalled in a late text. Jerusalem (q.v.) is evoked through its sanctuary (*al-masjid al-aqṣā* in Q 17:1 and simply *al-masjid* in Q 17:7) or there is allusion to it through a location within its temple (*al-miḥrāb,* Q 3:37, 39; 19:11; 38:21). Sodom and Gomorra are evoked through *al-muʾtafikāt* (Q 9:70; 69:9; cf. *al-muʾtafika,* Q 53:53).

The striking scarcity of place names may be explained by the fact that real social space is perceived during the early Meccan periods less from an empirical viewpoint, as a stage for worldly human interaction, than from an eschatological perspective (see ESCHATOLOGY), as a multiply-staged forum of debate where divine truth should emerge victorious. It is only later, in Medinan times, that places turn into territories that need to be controlled and must thus be marked by unambiguous names. Changing notions of space, therefore, can be taken as milestones in the qurʾānic canonical process (see COLLECTION OF THE QURʾĀN; CODIFICATION OF THE QURʾĀN; FORM AND STRUCTURE OF THE QURʾĀN).

The Qurʾān *in statu nascendi* addresses a public that is accustomed to listening to recitals of texts which present the human condition in terms very different from the qurʾānic presentation, recitals which are preserved in the extensive corpus of pre-Islamic Arabic poetry. It must be assumed that this textual world of the ancient poets was familiar not only to the pre-Islamic listeners, but to later Arab converts as well. The ancient poets are thus in no way isolable from the Qurʾān. On the contrary, the

Qurʾān itself presents a response to them. Although far more interested in "the presence, the example and the provocation of the antecedent Semitic religions" (Cragg, *Event,* 15), Western scholarship has paid tribute to diverse aspects of this encounter (Farrukh, *Das Bild*), even claiming that ancient poetry provides the "spiritual background" for the Qurʾān (Bravmann, *Spiritual background*). Scholars have moreover acknowledged the achievement of the Qurʾān's re-coding (Izutsu, *God and man*) of the world imagined in poetry into a new paradigm of ethical values, stressing the dialectical relation (Montgomery, Poetry) that exists between the two realms of thinking. But although the qurʾānic construction of real and imaginary space is certainly one of the most important achievements in the context of the turn from paganism to Islam, no extensive study has been undertaken regarding the qurʾānic geographical representation of both the Arabian habitat and the biblical sites (see SCRIPTURE AND THE QURʾĀN).

Notions of space in pre-Islamic poetry

Deserted space

The pre-qurʾānic literary paradigm implies a perception of space as a challenge to humans, because it is not at their disposal. Not seldom does it present itself as "embattled space," demanding to be recovered by the Bedouin hero. Yet, even when space is not viewed in such a dynamic context but is presented in a more static way, it does not appear as an integral part of the poetical speaker's natural habitat; rather, it appears as an entity deprived of actual life and haunted by loss. Nonetheless, the role of topography in ancient poetry is striking, particularly when the poet in pre-Islamic (*jāhilī,* see AGE OF IGNORANCE) poetry's main genre, the *qaṣīda,* chooses to start his speech with an elegiac "*aṭlāl*-section" in which a broken-off love relation is remembered. He invests much diligence in describing the detailed features of the natural space where he finds himself, having come to a halt at a deserted campsite to recall a beloved of the past. The picture he designs to frame his first entrance does not, however, express enjoyment of nature or aesthetic delight in its extraordinary traits, but rather portrays the search for the reconstruction of the lost shape *("Gestalt")* of that space that was formerly replete with fulfilling social interaction but has meanwhile decayed and become disfigured through climatic influences. It is the poet who has to give space its distinctive features, to make it speak again — a situation which sometimes induces him to address the place, literally begging it to answer him. Some verses from the famous *nasīb* of Labīd's *Muʿallaqa* (vv. 1, 2, 10) serve well to illustrate this:

Effaced are the abodes, brief encampments and long-settled ones/at Minā the wilderness has claimed Mount Ghawl and Mount Rijām *(ʿafati l-diyāru maḥalluhā famuqāmuhā/bi-minan taʾabbada ghawluhā farijāmuhā).*

Dung-darkened patches over which, since they were peopled,/years elapsed. Their profane months and sacred ones have passed away *(dimanun tajarrama baʿda ʿahdi anīsihā/ḥijajun khalawna ḥalāluhā waḥarāmuhā).*

Then I stopped and questioned them, but how do we question/mute immortals whose speech is indistinct? (*fa-waqaftu asʾaluhā wa-kayfa suʾālunā/ṣumman khawālida mā yabīnu kalāmuhā,* trans. Stetkevych, Mute immortals, 9).

When scenes of idyllic group life are introduced, these are staged in the animal realm rather than the human, thus stress-

ing the feeling of deprivation suffered by the poet who is in a state of loss regarding erotic and matrimonial fulfillment (see e.g. Labīd's *Muʿallaqa,* vv. 6-7).

Although space is presented as empty and desolate, the location tends to be very determinate. Place names abound (Thilo, *Die Ortsnamen*). Places are marked and are still recognizable as having been previously peopled, as *lieux de mémoire,* places of remembrance and yearning, though blurred and deserted at the time the poet speaks, and no longer *milieux* of human interaction. Geographical representation is thus in stark contrast to the physical absence of those for whom such representation is intended. It is further striking — as Hamori has noted (*The art,* 18) — that "in the *aṭlāl* scene, time present has no effective contents to speak of." The desertedness of space is not due to any historical event relevant to the present, but to the seasonal practices of the camel breeding tribes, who only in the winter and spring, when water resources were sufficient, would roam the desert freely with their camels, but with the beginning of the drought, would retreat to their own permanent sources of water. These exigencies thus limited longer-term encounters between members of different tribes to short periods and pre-determined the break-off of personal relations after short durations. Only rarely is the extinction of the traces of the encampment explained by phenomena which are beyond mere seasonally imposed needs, as in the verses of ʿAbīd (18.2-3; Caskel, *Das Schicksal,* 45).

Embattled space

Although the world of the pre-Islamic listeners to poetry appears well-mapped, place-names being adduced frequently and playing a prominent role in the initial part of the *qaṣīda,* and, although a sharp realization of physical-geographical phenomena can be attested, the relation of man to space appears to be tense. The pagan poet or more precisely his persona, the Bedouin hero, has to re-conquer space over and over again in order to meet the ideals of *muruwwa* and thus fulfill his role as an exemplary member of tribal society. Risky expeditions undertaken by the hero through most inhospitable areas and adventurous rides under extreme climatic conditions are among the stock topics of the closing part, the *fakhr,* of the ancient Arabian *qaṣīda*. One of the most famous testimonies of this poetical self- image — though in this case going back not to a tribally integrated poet, but rather to an outlaw — are certainly the triumphal final verses of al-Shanfarā's *Lāmiyyat al-ʿarab:*

I have crossed deserts bare as the back of a shield, where no traveler's beast sets foot *(wa-kharqin ka-ẓahri l-tursi qafrin qaṭāʿtuhu/ bi-ʿāmilatayni ẓahruhu laysa yuʿmalū).*

I tied one end of the waste to the other, squatting or standing on a peak *(wa-alḥaqtu ūlāhu bi-ukhrāhu mūfiyan/ʿalā qunnatin uqʿī marāran wa-amthulū).*

While the dark yellow mountain goats come and go about me like maidens in trailing garments *(tarūdu l-arāwī l-ṣuḥmu ḥawlī ka-annahā/ʿadhārin ʿalayhinna l-mulāʿu l-mudhayyalū),*

Until at dusk they stand about me, motionless, as if I were a white-legged, crook-horned one, with a twist in the legs, a scaler of summits (*wa-yarkudna bi-l-āṣāli ḥawlī ka-annanī/mina l-ʿuṣmi adfā yantaḥī l-kīḥa aʿqalū,* trans. Hamori, *The art,* 30).

Indeed, with only a slight exaggeration it might be held that space, being among those inimical elements that permanently threaten man is, in view of its momentum,

one of the manifestations of fate (*al-manāyā, al-manūn, al-dahr,* see FATE; TIME; DESTINY) itself. The Bedouin hero, who does not find himself in a position of mastery over his habitat, but has to empower himself over and over again to defy his most threatening enemy, the all-consuming fate, does so in many instances by venturing into dangerous space. Space and fate are frequently viewed as closely related, such as a verse by ʿUrwa b. al-Ward (Caskel, *Das Schicksal,* 21) attests:

Many a gray (desert) where perishing is feared/where the traveler is threatened by the ropes of fate (I have crossed; *wa-ghabrāʾa makhshiyin radāhā makhūfatin/akhūhā bi-asbābi l-manāyā mugharrarū*).

Space, thus, is often presented as the site of a battlefield, a scene of human strife for self-assertion against threatening nature. Not least through his recollection of "special conquests," could the Bedouin hero counterbalance the resignation-inspiring view of man as an easy prey to the haphazard assaults of the anonymous powers of nature, and thus contribute vitally to the coherence of his tribal society.

"The old Arabic *qaṣīda* was both sensuous and logical as it faced *al-dahr,* time and mutability which unconcerned with human conduct and human reason govern the world. In a morally capricious universe, the heroic model allowed a view of the totality of experience as balanced and coherent. To achieve balance, the speaker of the *qaṣīda* offers himself to the voluntary experience of fullness as well as emptiness, of gain as well as loss" (Hamori, *The art,* 29).

Responses: the qurʾānic canonical process as reflected in the re-coding of the pagan notions of space

As against the heroic attitude of man towards space as displayed in poetry, the early qurʾānic revelations present earthly space as particularly inspiring of confidence. They present it as a locus of pleasure and enjoyment, as a venue for the reception of divine bounty and as a site of ethically-charged social interaction.

Aesthetically enjoyable space, symbolically significant space: the de-mythicizing of pagan heroic space

An early and dominant image is that of a well preserved tent, allowing man to repose, to enjoy matrimonial life, as well as to pursue his daily activities in a peaceful and self-confident way. Q 78:6-16 strongly reminds one of some psalms (q.v.) of praise which interpret worldly space as a secure housing for the created beings: "Have we not made the earth an expanse, and the mountains bulwarks? And created you in pairs (see CREATION)? And appointed your sleep as repose, and the night as a cloak (see CLOTHING; DAY AND NIGHT), and the day for livelihood? And built above you seven strong [heavens; see HEAVEN AND SKY]?" *(a-lam najʿali l-arḍa mihādā/wal-jibāla awtādā/wa-khalaqnākum azwājā/wa-jaʿalnā nawmakum subātā/wa-jaʿalnā l-layla libāsā/wa-jaʿalnā l-nahāra maʿāshā/wa-banaynā fawqakum sabʿan shidādā)*. Worldly space, then, is a divine grace demanding gratitude (*shukr,* see GRATITUDE AND INGRATITUDE), a present that inspires forms of worship (q.v.) which, in turn, will enhance the coherence of the relationship between God and humankind. There is a whole qurʾānic genre of hymnic praises of divine omnipotence, the so-called *āyāt,* "signs" (q.v.; Neuwirth, *Studien;* Graham, "The winds") that rely on the very notion that the earth has been equipped with diverse means to make human life easy and pleasant (e.g. "God sent water down from the heavens and enlivened the earth with it after its death," Q 16:65: *wa-llāhu anzala mina l-samāʾi māʾan fa-aḥyā bihi l-arḍa baʿda*

mawtihā). The revivification of the earth that seemed dead is a sign of divine providence: "Have you not seen God send water down from the heavens and the earth become green the next day?" (Q 22:63: *a-lam tara anna llāha anzala mina l-samāʾi māʾan fa-tuṣbiḥu l-arḍu mukhḍarratan*). The picture seems to reflect that of a rural oasis, such as al-Ṭāʾif or Yathrib: "We have showered down water, then split the earth in clefts, and made the grain to grow therein, and grapes and green fodder, and olive trees and date palms, and garden groves, and fruits and grasses, provision for you and your cattle" (Q 80:25-32: *annā ṣababnā l-māʾa ṣabbā/thumma shaqaqnā l-arḍa shaqqā fa-anbatnā fīhā ḥabbā/wa-ʿinaban wa-qaḍbā/wa-zaytūnan wa-nakhlā/wa-ḥadāʾiqa ghulbā/wa-fākihatan wa-abbā/matāʿan lakum wa-li-anʿāmikum*). These descriptions, of course, are not devoid of a symbolic dimension. The image of the dead land miraculously revived is evoked not least to provide an empirically evident antecedent for the divine power of reviving the dead that contradicts empirical verisimility. The idea is therefore central not only to the early sūras (see Q 79:27-33) but is reiterated over and over again in later phases (Q 22:5; 50:9-11; 57:17; 41:38-9).

Early Meccan descriptions like these do not solely convey the message of divine omnipotence, freeing a man from his burden to fight for his survival, a dominant theme of pre-Islamic poetry (see FREEDOM AND PREDESTINATION). Their objective is more far-reaching: the entire paradigm within which a man's self-respect was dependent on his achievements (which, in Meccan terms, might have been manifested in commercial success), was to be redefined. The focus shifts: from the human person being the sole agent in the process of restoring meaning to life, attention is turned towards created nature which displays divinely granted abundance (see BLESSING; GRACE). God appears as the decisive agent in the process of restoring meaning to life, communicating his message through aesthetically understandable phenomena. The addressee is — not unlike the situation of ancient Arabian poetry — the community. Be it the image of the firm land or the image of the sea (*baḥr,* cf. Q 16:4; 25:54-5; 35:12, *baḥrān;* cf. Barthold, Der Koran und das Meer), humankind is taught to rejoice in a divinely adorned cosmos which simultaneously manifests a new paradigm of social coherence.

Copiousness of vegetation as a divine gift

It is hardly astonishing that vegetation plays a significant role in conveying the image of the world as a hospitable realm of human life (see AGRICULTURE AND VEGETATION). The vegetation in the Qurʾān has been meticulously surveyed by Arne Ambros (Gestaltung und Funktionen). His presentation is very helpful for present purposes as it provides an insight to the listeners' perception of local, imagined and even transcendental landscapes; it will thus be summarized in the following. The Qurʾān offers no less than eleven detailed depictions of earthly vegetation. They are distributed over the entire corpus of the Qurʾān, figuring equally in the context of salvation (q.v.) history — located outside the peninsula — and in the reality of the listeners' present situation on the peninsula. Their frequency in relation to the scarcity of depictions of the fauna (for which only Q 16:5-8 could be adduced) points to the listeners' relationship towards the realm of plants as being basically different from that towards the realm of animals (see ANIMAL LIFE). An important element of this relationship is the delight in the beauty of plants; they are often viewed without regard to their usefulness.

One of the three main themes that

accommodate vegetation is the description of plants as a testimony to the bounty of God (no less than forty occurrences). The second theme is the perception of the permanent threat to which plants are subject in view of abrupt climatic changes and the scarcity of water supplies — an observation that often evokes the transitory nature of all beings. This theme unfolds thirteen times and in five of these both the first and the second themes are combined. The third theme is the diversity of vegetation in nature. This topic sometimes erupts in exclamations of admiration and delight never found in conjunction with descriptions of the animal world.

The most frequently mentioned locus of vegetation is certainly the garden (q.v.; *janna*), which also denotes an other-worldly garden. Particular plants that are grown in a garden are named, such as date palms and vines (Q 2:266; 17:91; 23:19; 36:34). *Janna* thus is not to be imagined as a merely ornamental garden, but rather as a plantation, a "garden from which one eats" (Q 25:8). The earthly garden is therefore a possession that permits a good living or even wealth (q.v.). Whereas *rawḍa* — a place with copious vegetation, a garden or a meadow — in the Qurʾān denotes only the paradisaical (see PARADISE) abode, *ḥadīqa* appears as a locale where copious plants, among them trees (q.v.), are to be found (Q 27:60; 80:30). In contradistinction, the qurʾānic *ḥarth* is a place where primarily cereals grow. It is presented in Q 3:14 as a possession desirable to humans. Associated with toil, *ḥarth* never appears in descriptions of paradise. It does serve, however, as a metaphor for the constraints that are demanded from humans as qualification for admission to the paradisaical afterlife: "Whoever desires the harvest *(ḥarth)* of the hereafter, we increase its harvest for him; but whoever desires the harvest of the world, we give it to him, but he has no part of the hereafter" (Q 42:20, *man kāna yurīdu ḥartha l-ākhirati nazid lahu fī ḥarthihi wa-man kāna yurīdu ḥartha l-dunyā nuʾtihi minhā wa-mā lahu fī l-ākhirati min naṣīb*). Remnants of mythical thinking are reflected in a *ḥarth* metaphor in Q 2:223: "Your wives are your *ḥarth,* so approach your *ḥarth* as you wish" *(nisāʾukum ḥarthun lakum fa-ʾtū ḥarthakum annā shiʾtum)*. The lexeme *zarʿ* (pl. *zurūʿ*) denotes sown plants. In view of its association with hard work, like *ḥarth* it is confined to worldly contexts; when it occurs in the singular form, *zarʿ,* it is synonymous with *nabāt,* the most frequent context being praise of divine care and providence (Q 6:141; 16:11; 32:27; 39:21). It is noteworthy that the region around Mecca is called in a prayer of Abraham the "valley with no existence of *zarʿ*," (*wādi ghayr dhī zarʿ,* Q 14:37), or an uncultivable area, a wasteland.

The benefits to be made from vegetation are manifest in fruit. The least concrete notion seems to be *thamar,* "fruit." It is only once specified, in Q 16:67: "fruits of palms and vines" *(thamarāt al-nakhīl wa-l-aʿnāb)*. Used in the plural form, it encompasses all kinds of fruit — including those of the fields — and usually denotes the normal means of subsistence that is granted by God, but is liable to be taken away by him whenever he pleases (cf. Q 2:22; 14:32: "he sends water down from the sky and through it makes fruit spring up for you as a blessing *[rizqan],*" *anzala mina l-samāʾi māʾan fa-akhraja bihi mina l-thamarāti rizqan lakum*). A shortage of fruit (Q 7:130) figures among the punishments of the Egyptians (see EGYPT). A little more precise is *fākiha,* with the etymological connotation of enjoyable fruit (*f-k-h* denotes the sentiment of being cheerful), mostly appearing in paradisaical depictions.

After fruit, seeds figure prominently

among the parts of plants. The sprouting of seeds is viewed as a work of God (Q 6:95, *inna llāha fāliqu l-ḥabbi wa-l-nawā*). In most of the other instances, *ḥabb* or *ḥabba* serves as a symbol of the tiny thing that is yet not neglected by God: "Not a leaf falls but he knows it, nor a grain *(ḥabba)* in the darkness of the earth" (Q 6:59, *wa-mā tasquṭu min waraqatin illā yaʿlamuhā wa-lā ḥabbatin fī ẓulumāti l-ʿarḍi*). In Q 21:47 and 31:16 it is mentioned that God will reckon even the weight of one grain of a mustard-seed *(mithqāl ḥabbatin min khardalin)*.

In reference to individual plants there are, first of all, trees: the Arabic word *shajar* or *shajara* is also used to denote bushes and shrubs. Some contexts point to an Arabian habitat, Q 36:80 where the kindling of fire from *shajar* is considered to be a divine gift to humankind (also Q 56:71 f.). As a place where bees live, *shajar* appears in Q 16:68. A historical occurrence in Muḥammad's life is associated with a tree in Q 48:18: *idh yubāyiʿūnaka taḥta l-shajarati*. Other mentions of *shajar(a)* point to an extra-Arabian habitat, like the olive tree on Mount Sinai (q.v.; Q 23:20), the burning shrub of Moses (q.v.; Q 28:30; see FIRE), and the gourd shrub of Jonas (q.v.; Q 37:146). There is an otherworldly tree *(shajara mubāraka zaytūna)* in the famous Light Verse (Q 24:35). Otherwise, trees figure in paradise frequently, and are indeed characteristic of its landscape; but there is also an exotically shaped tree, *shajarat al-zaqqūm* or *shajar min zaqqūm,* in hell (q.v.; Q 37:62; 44:43; 56:52; cf. 17:60).

Very often the palm tree, a particularly important plant in Arabia, is mentioned: *nakhla* or, collectively, *nakhl* (pl. *nakhīl*). It is the only plant that is described in some detail in the Qurʾān (Q 6:99; 13:4; 26:148; 50:10; 55:11). In view of the importance of palms in the Arabian habitat, the metaphor of ruined palms provides a sufficiently shocking image to dramatize the theme of a people smitten with divine punishment, the ʿĀd (q.v.; Q 54:20; 69:7; see PUNISHMENT STORIES). *Nakhl* may appear in the same context as gardens. They also occur in extra-Arabian habitats, like Q 19:23, 25 (*nakhla* in the account of the birth of Jesus, q.v.) and Q 20:71 (Moses appearing before Pharaoh, q.v.), as well as in a description of paradise (Q 55:68). The fruit of the palm tree is mentioned rather seldom (Q 19:25, *ruṭab;* Q 16:67, *thamarāt al-nakhīl*).

Vines are mentioned eleven times *(ʿinab,* mostly *aʿnāb);* they appear in most cases (seven times) together with date palms (Q 18:32), perhaps due to a joint cultivation of both species. Vines also appear in descriptions of paradise (Q 78:32; the prohibition to consume intoxicating drinks is rather late [cf. Q 16:67]; see INTOXICANTS; CHRONOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN). Besides date palms and vines, olive trees *(zaytūn)* occur five times, twice in the habitat of Mount Sinai.

Other plants named in the Qurʾān are tamarisk trees (*athl,* Q 34:16), onions (*baṣal,* Q 2:61), figs or fig trees (*tīn,* Q 95:1), mustard (*khardal,* Q 21:47; 31:16), lote tree (*sidr,* Q 34:16; 56:28; cf. 53:14, 16), ginger (*zanjabīl,* Q 76:17), pomegranates (*rummān,* Q 6:99, 141; 55:68), basil (*rayḥān,* Q 55:12), lentils (*ʿadas,* Q 2:61), garlic (*fūm,* Q 2:61) and the gourd shrub (*yaqṭīn,* Q 37:146). As against these, some generic names are difficult to identify: *khamṭ,* thorny shrubs (Q 34:16), *ḍarīʿ,* dried thorny shrubs (Q 88:6), *qaḍb,* fodder plants (Q 80:28; see GRASSES).

The empirical knowledge of these plants and moreover their places of cultivation clearly point to familiarity with and, indeed, the esteem of rural oases like al-Ṭāʾif as places of enjoyment and delight in the mental map of the listeners. Vegetation in paradise is not essentially different, but

only more copious than earthly vegetation. It is noteworthy that only a few of the plants mentioned in the Qurʾān attest to the listeners' empirical knowledge of the vegetation of the desert.

Urban public space as a forum of meaningful social interaction

Ancient Bedouin poetry portrays the exemplary man, when appearing in public, as bound to burdensome constraints. He is expected to display extreme generosity, sometimes bordering on economic self-annihilation, so as to, through sacrifice, heroically defy the hardships imposed on weaker individuals by fate. Man in the Qurʾān is relieved of this burden. Moving in an urban space he orients himself to ethical values that are symbolically mirrored in the urban structures themselves. His "heroism" is not dependent on wealth and status, but piety (q.v.) and moral-ethical obedience (q.v.). Q 90 "The City" (Sūrat al-Balad) may serve as an example: "No, I swear by this city. And you are an inhabitant *(ḥillun)* of this city. And the begetter and that which he begat. We verily have created man in affliction *(kabadin)*. Does he think that nobody has power over him? And he says, 'I have destroyed vast wealth.' Does he think that nobody sees him? Did we not provide him with two eyes (q.v.) and a tongue and two lips, and guide him to the two mountain passes *(najdayn)*. But he has not attempted the ascent *(al-ʿaqaba)*. What will convey to you what the ascent is? [It is] the freeing of a slave, feeding in the day of hunger an orphan (q.v.) near of kin or a pauper in misery (see POVERTY AND THE POOR), and to be of those who believe (see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF) and exhort one another to perseverence (see TRUST AND PATIENCE) and mercy (q.v.). Their place will be on the right hand. But those who disbelieve our revelations, their place will be on the left hand. Fire will be an awning over them." The initial incantation evokes Mecca as the place of the origin of the addressee, joining it to the complex idea of procreation (see BIOLOGY AS THE CREATION AND STAGES OF LIFE). Mecca, as a city with a *temenos,* a *ḥaram,* i.e. a place where divine theophany has taken place, is thus a reference to the idea of divine interaction with humans. Allusions to both creation and divine communication at the beginning of history (see HISTORY AND THE QURʾĀN) have been identified as a stock introductory theme serving to arouse the listeners' expectation of an equally complex ending, of the fulfillment of both physical and spiritual time (Neuwirth, Images and metaphors; see FORM AND STRUCTURE OF THE QURʾĀN). Mecca, figuring from the beginning as a locus of divine self-manifestation, has attracted eschatological connotations similar to those of the biblical localities mentioned in comparable oath-introduced texts, namely Mount Sinai and Jerusalem, whose introduction at the beginnings of sūras serve as a prelude to eschatological discourses unfolded at the end of the texts.

What is particularly noteworthy in this sūra is the reflection of the urban structure in the image of a human being. The topographic features (the two paths, *al-najdān,* the steep path, *al-ʿaqaba*), recall features of the human body whose organs — some of which are dual as well — have been shaped to enable him to understand the proper ways of moral conduct. Both urban and bodily structures are thus divine tokens that have to be translated by the listeners into ethical imperatives. The topographic features of the difficult paths and the steep road which structure the public space of the city have to be read as moral tasks. To climb them means to restrain oneself in favor of others: to ease the burden of the slaves, the hungry and the poor. These "others" are presented as fellow

creatures, whose bodily parts (*raqaba,* representing the social "class" of slaves), genetic relations (*maqraba,* representing the class of equals, or rich persons) or even whose ailments (*masghaba,* alluding to the class of the poor), through common rhyme patterns, evoke the aforementioned urban feature of *ʿaqaba,* thus including them in the morally demanding entity of urban public space. Mecca, indirectly introduced (vv. 1-2) as the scenario of this interaction, is obviously recognized as a body politic, suitable for implementing social activities in accordance with the divine will (cf. also Rippin, Commerce).

The pagan perception of man's ideal activity in the public space is exemplarily presented in this sūra ("I have destroyed vast wealth," Q 90:6, *ahlaktu mālan lubad*) by the words of the unbeliever himself. It is, however, not rejected with the arguments known from the counter-voice of the pagan poet, the often adduced "critic" who aims at the avoidance of exaggerated generosity and warns of extra-family-oriented overspending, which may lead to impoverishment. Whereas in pre-Islamic poetry visibility in public space meant wasting one's fortune by overspending to prove one's generosity, in the Qurʾān any insistence on such extreme practices are censured. Public appearance in the Qurʾān is rather governed by an ethical code which aims at a fair distribution of goods achieved in an un-heroic manner. It is the experience of the city as a structured space that in the Qurʾān provides the metaphors to communicate that code.

Restoring meaning to deserted space: the umam khāliya; *reconstruction of space in terms of salvation historical* lieux de mémoire

According to Kenneth Cragg, "Arabian history was awed by the recollection of whole prosperous communities which had disintegrated and passed away through the collapse, sudden or cumulative, of their earthworks and irrigation systems, most noteworthy of all the catastrophic end of the dam of Maʾrib and the irreparable loss of the precious oversoil by uncontrolled erosion" (*Event,* 88). This is certainly the factual background of the repeated evocations of bygone cultures, the *umam khāliya* or deserted localities in the Qurʾān. Yet, the frequent descriptions of deserted space as a marker of loneliness, of the search for meaning and never ending questions which figure so prominently in pagan poetry, also resound in the many allusions to deserted space in the Qurʾān. But in the Qurān — contrary to the situation in poetry — all the questions are answered. The desolate places are historical sites, evoked through the reports of events. Though seldom explicitly named, they still have become sites laden with symbolic significance, since their evocation marks the beginning of a conversion process: The believers are turned from a community rooted in a local collective memory (see e.g. Q 105:1 on the episode of the elephant; see ABRAHA), where reminiscences of local experience count (Q 106:1-2 on Mecca's past and present), into a community whose memory of imagined space is oriented towards an "other" tradition: that of salvation history. The development will reach its climax with the re-coding of significant geography as a whole, i.e. with its integration into a world that is scripturally informed. Before that stage is reached, allusions to deserted places that figure in Meccan texts are often related to the world of the listeners' experience, i.e. the Ḥijāz or the Arabian peninsula as a whole. These sites are, from the beginning, presented as collective *lieux de mémoire,* places replete with meaning, assuring the listeners of a divinely endorsed order, in which not capricious fate or cyclically occurring constraints dominate, but one in which an

equilibrium of human action and welfare is achieved. For details about the local Arabian sites of *umam khāliya* we may simply refer to Josef Horovitz' seminal study, *Koranische Untersuchungen* (for Iram [q.v.] in Q 89:7, see Horovitz, *KU,* 89; for Thamūd [q.v.] in Q 11:61-8; 51:43 f.; 54:23-32; 69:5 f.; 89:8; 91:11 f., see Horovitz, *KU,* 11 f., 103 f. and also J. Stetkevych, *Muhammad;* for Madyan [see MIDIAN] in Q 7:85 f.; 9:70; 11:84 f.; 20:42; 22:43; 28:21; 29:35 f., see Horovitz, *KU,* 138; for Saba' [see SHEBA] in Q 27:22, see Horovitz, *KU,* 115 f.; for Tubba' [q.v.; or *qawm Tubba'*] in Q 44:36 f., 50:13, see Horovitz, *KU,* 103; for Sodom and Gomorra [the qur'ānic *al-mu'tafikāt*] in Q 9:70; 69:9, see Horovitz, *KU,* 13 f.).

What is common to all of them, whether they are presented as known and visible to the first audience of the Qur'ān, or only adduced as mythical examples, is that they are spaces, imagined mostly as "cities" (*qurā,* sing. *qarya,* Q 47:14; cf. Q 30:9; 35:43; 40:22, 82), which, at the time of the Qur'ān, had become deserted. But what was, in pagan poetry, due to the seasonal cycle, i.e. the necessity of leaving campsites due to the lack of water, and successive devastation through natural decay, has been furnished in the Qur'ān with a historical reason. The devastation of the sites is caused by a divine retaliation, which the former inhabitants — the unbelievers — called upon themselves. That which in pagan poetry would arouse resignation: a temptation to allow oneself to succumb to the overwhelming power of fate from which the poet would recover only through a strenuous personal endeavor, was, to the Qur'ān's audience, no longer a threat. More than once (Q 27:69; 30:42), the Qur'ān invites the listeners to roam the lands and convince themselves of the tragic ends with which the earlier peoples have met — an idea associated already by Horovitz with the *aṭlāl*-descriptions of ancient poetry as well as with the verses on the *"ubi sunt qui ante nos fuerunt"* topos (Becker, *Islamstudien,* i, 501 f.). But the Qur'ān, in contrast with the nostalgic verses of poetry, is paraenetical in orientation, conveying the message that even the most powerful peoples are annihilated when they defy the warnings of their messengers (see WARNING). It teaches the imminence, but at the same time the avoidability, of divine retaliation in this life (see CHASTISEMENT AND PUNISHMENT) that causes the destruction of one's habitat in this world. Fate can be overcome, not through heroic endeavor, but through obeying messengers (see OBEDIENCE). The absence of human presence is recompensed, not by a reassurance of previous happiness, but by a story restoring meaning, reestablishing the balance between what occurred and the suffering that was endured. Haphazard fate and all-consuming time have ceded their power to a just divine agent. Space has regained a meaningful historical dimension.

Exile and recovery of the familiar landscape: the "biblification" of pagan space

Two movements within the qur'ānic corpus mark the figuration of Mecca as a locus of salvific importance. The first presents Mecca as a calque on the biblically significant sites of the holy land and Jerusalem while the second situates Mecca as a second Jerusalem.

Mecca as a counterpart of biblical sites of revelation: the holy land and Jerusalem

It is interesting to note that early sūras, which otherwise focus on Meccan sacred space or Arabian sites of retaliation, in some instances already recall central sanctuaries of biblical geography. This applies in particular to Mount Sinai (Q 19:52; 20:80; 28:46; 95:2), the locus of the revela-

tion received by Moses (q.v.). Through the juxtaposition of this sanctuary with Mecca, the pagan sanctuary is affirmed in its aura of a holy place honored as such in its past through a divine manifestation and thus communication of the divine will.

At a later phase, when the map of the believers has itself widened, it is no longer for the sake of Mecca that biblical loci are mentioned: a new notion of geography has arisen, relating not to experienced space but to desired space. It is the area of the holy land familiar to Judaism and Christianity that replaces the familiar local geography.

The holy land (*al-arḍ al-muqaddasa,* Q 5:21; *al-arḍ allatī bāraknā ḥawlahā/fīhā,* literally, "the land that we have blessed," Q 21:71; cf. 7:137; 17:1; 34:18) is evoked in the Qurʾān on different occasions. Particularly the middle and late Meccan periods are replete with recollections of biblical history. The earlier reminiscences of Arabian salvation history are being replaced by recollections of biblical history featuring the Children of Israel (q.v.; Banū Isrāʾīl). Local *lieux de mémoire* are substituted by geographically remote ones — a new *topographia sacra* emerges, adopted from "the others," not the genealogical, but the spiritual forebears. One of the first events recorded to have taken place in the holy land is the story of Lot (q.v.; Lūṭ) staged at the *muʾtafikāt* (Q 53:53-6; 69:9). Indeed, the whole history of the Israelites, except for the parts staged in Egypt (Miṣr) and their wandering through the desert of Sinai, is located in the holy land. The Qurʾān later relates several significant events of salvation history staged in Jerusalem, such as the annunciation of a son gifted with prophecy to the aged Zechariah (q.v.; Q 3:39; 19:7; see JOHN THE BAPTIST), the sojourn of young Mary (q.v.) in the temple in the care of Zechariah (Q 3:37), David's judgment, viewed in the Qurʾān as a divine trial (Q 38:21 f.), and finally the catastrophe of the destruction of the sanctuary by foreign conquerors, understood to be a punishment imposed on the Children of Israel (Q 17:2 f.). These qurʾānic references to Jerusalem and the holy land, though often not explicit, not only serve to complete the narrative of salvation history, but also help the listeners adopt the remote world of the memory of the others as their own spiritual past. The community, urged to go into an inner exile, yearned for a substitute for the emotionally alienated and politically hostile landscape of their origin. Through the adoption of the *qibla* towards Jerusalem dating to the last years of Muḥammad's Meccan activities, a trajectory has been constructed. Q 17:1, the sole verse which connects the holy land directly with the biography of the Prophet, is also a testimony of the establishment of the first *qibla* (q.v.; Neuwirth, The spiritual meaning): "Glorified be he who carried his servant by night from the inviolable sanctuary *(al-masjid al-ḥarām)* to the remote sanctuary *(al-masjid al-aqṣā),* the neighborhood whereof we have blessed, in order that we might show him our signs. Verily, God is the hearer, the seer (see SEEING AND HEARING; GOD AND HIS ATTRIBUTES)."

Here, a short excursus on the *qibla* towards Jerusalem appears indispensable. Indeed, the Jerusalem sanctuary in its function as a ritual orientation — as the focus of an imaginary space becoming accessible in prayer — did not develop in the consciousness of the young Islamic community at a haphazard time. Rather, it appeared during a phase of development when, thanks to a complex process of new orientation, a remarkable widening of the young community's horizons was taking place, in terms of time as well as of space. Thus the "remote sanctuary," so suggestive in its topographical and historical setting, could become a forceful symbol. One

might dare to hypothesize that the Jerusalem *qibla* came about as a gestural expression of the deeply felt experience of having gained new spiritual horizons.

Together, two essential novelties — the newly attained convergence of the qurʾānic revelations with the scriptures of the two other monotheistic religions and the simultaneous adoption of the *topographia sacra* of the earlier religions — created a new self-consciousness for the young Islamic community. This new self-awareness was no longer based primarily on the rites practiced at the Kaʿba, but on a new consciousness of being among the receivers and bearers of a scripture, and, as such, having a share in the memory of salvation history, transported by the medium of writing (see BOOK). Jan Assmann *(Das kulturelle Gedächtnis)* has coined a phrase for this type of change in orientation, the "transition of a society from ritual coherence to textual coherence." By its very gesture, the *qibla,* oriented toward Jerusalem, points to this new connection between the emerging Islamic community and the older religions. It is not surprising, then, that the qurʾānic allusions to the Meccan sanctuary and its rites as the previous guarantors of social coherence (Neuwirth, Images and metaphors) — allusions, up until that point, so numerous in the introductory sections of the Meccan sūras — were soon replaced by a stereotypical introductory evocation of the book *(al-kitāb),* now recognized as the most significant common spiritual possession. The images now appearing in the introductory sections of the sūras, the book and its requisites, unequivocally point to the awareness that a stream of tradition had come to a standstill and was now accessible through written means. It was a new form of remembrance that would soon penetrate the daily ritual practices: the strong attachment to a familiar place, which was characteristic of the worship at the Kaʿba, gave way to the perception of a new situation in a spiritual space, that reached far beyond the horizons of the inherited rites into the world and history of the others, of the Children of Israel (Banū Isrāʾīl).

Whereas in the earliest sūras there had been few places considered worth evoking except for Mecca and the deserted sites of Arabia, from this point until the emigration *(hijra)* — with the sole exception of Q 17 — one does not find any further references to Mecca in the sūras. Instead, the "blessed land" is introduced as a space in which the oppressed believer may take refuge and where most of the prophets had worked. Sūras culminate in an oft-repeated appeal to the examples reaching far back into the history of the spiritual forebears, the Children of Israel (Banū Isrāʾīl). Jerusalem is the central sanctuary of the space marked by this scripture and thus by writing. All prayers gravitate in the direction of Jerusalem as their natural destination and to Jerusalem the worshipper turns his face in prayer.

The inner exile to which allusion is already made in Q 73:10, "part from them in a pleasant manner" *(uhjurhum hajran jamīlā),* was to culminate in a territorial exile. As Cragg (*Event,* 126) has noted, "for an event so vital and formative, the Qurʾān surprisingly has little direct to say," the only explicit passage about the emigration *(hijra)* being perhaps Q 9:40-1. The move out of Mecca is, however, not definite; it presages the move against Mecca that would follow some ten years later and the spiritual recovery of the familiar space of the Meccan sanctuary before then.

Biblical sites substituted: Mecca's emergence as a second Jerusalem

When we reach the Medinan period, we find the afore-sketched trajectory from the familiar but now banned and forbid-

den Mecca to the "remote," imaginary sanctuary of Jerusalem being called into question.

Leaving the remote imaginary homeland — the recovery of the peninsula

It is in this period that an attempt to settle the antagonism between the local Jewish tribes and the Medinan communities is being made, and the incompatibility of the rivaling *lieux de mémoire,* the two *topographiae sacrae,* Jerusalem with the holy land on the one hand and Mecca with the Ḥijāzī landscape on the other, has become evident. Thus, places formerly carrying paradigmatic memories become loci of ambivalent events: Mount Sinai now is portrayed as the site where the Children of Israel failed to fulfill a divine command (Q 2:63-4, 93; 4:153-5; 7:171). Jerusalem does not fare very differently. The rediscovery of Mecca as the essential destination of the longing of the exiles at Medina came about barely two years after the emigration, and is documented in Q 2:142-4: "The fools from among the people will say, 'What has turned them from their former *qibla?*' Say: 'Unto God belongs the east *(al-mashriq)* and the west *(al-maghrib)*. He guides whom he will to a straight path *(ṣirāṭ mustaqīm)*.' … We have seen the turning of your face [i.e. Muḥammad] to heaven. Now we shall make you turn to a *qibla* that is dear to you. Turn your face towards the inviolable sanctuary *(al-masjid al-ḥarām),* and [O Muslims] wherever you are, turn your faces towards it." The spiritual return of the worshippers to the Kaʿba at Mecca heralded in these verses dislocates Jerusalem from the center. A ritual re-orientation in space (see RITUAL AND THE QURʾĀN), expressed by so dominant a gesture in worship, should not be taken as a mere religio-political step, but appears to reflect the reality of a genuine change of spiritual longing. Mecca was able to replace Jerusalem because the memory shared with the Children of Israel (Banū Isrāʾīl) by the Medinan community had been eroded to some degree by the novel experience of territorial exile, within which the Meccan central sanctuary had increased substantially in symbolic value.

Mecca had by then gone through a substantial change. It had become integrated into that particular form of memory that is transported by the vehicle of writing, which we might identify with biblical tradition — and this bestowed on it the rank of a place honored by a significant episode of salvation history. It had become the central place of the career of a biblical hero, Abraham himself. Abraham's inauguration prayer of the Kaʿba (Q 2:126 f.) has been rightfully associated with the Solomonic inauguration prayer of the temple in Jerusalem. In Abraham's prayer, the sanctuary is conceived not only as a place of pilgrimage for a particular group, but also as a sign set up for all humankind:

And when Abraham prayed, 'My lord! Make this a safe country *(baladan āminan)*'…/'Our lord! Make us submissive to you *(muslimīna laka)* and make a nation submissive to you from our seed'…/'Our lord! And raise up for them a messenger from among them who will read them your signs and teach them the book *(kitāb)* and wisdom *(al-ḥikma)* and improve them *(wa-yuzakkīhim)*.'

In this prayer, the Kaʿba appears as the monument of a new divine foundation. In view of its Abrahamic origin it has become the first monotheistic temple (cf. Q 3:96).

According to this inaugural prayer, verbal worship and the reading of scripture shall take place in this sanctuary in addition to the constitutive rites of the ancienct cult (see RECITATION OF THE QURʾĀN). The prayer reaches its fulfillment with the

appearance of the prophet Muḥammad. His mission is to complete the complex structure of Islam as a religion whose cult is based equally on ritual and verbal elements. He has come to read God's signs to the community and teach them the scripture (Q 2:129, *yatlū ʿalayhim āyātika wa-yuʿallimuhumu l-kitāb*). Through this new increase in meaning, once again a vital part of the previous aura of Jerusalem is transferred to Mecca. What had been a prerogative of Jerusalem attested by the prophet Isaiah, "The law will go out from Zion and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem" (*Isa* 2:3), is finally conferred on Mecca.

The uniqueness of the rites originating in Mecca and sanctioned by the Qurʾān are perceived as temporally prior to the phenomenon of revelation through scripture, associated so closely with Jerusalem (see REVELATION AND INSPIRATION). Thus, it is only at the end of the qurʾānic development, after Mecca had been regained and its sanctuary had finally found further anchoring in Islam, that ultimate statement is found: "Surely the first house founded for people is that in Bakka, the blessed and a guidance to all beings" (*inna awwala baytin wuḍiʿa lil-nāsi la-lladhī bi-Bakkata mubārakan wa-hudan lil-ʿālamīn,* Q 3:96).

The canonical process of the Qurʾān is thus reflected not least in the changing views of space expressed in its geographical representations. At a first stage, local space replete with heroic memory or associated with the yearning for a lost paradise has been re-coded in *lieux de mémoire* recalling acts of divine mercy and generosity, as well as wrath, and mirroring human piety and obedience, but more often rebellion and obstinacy. Later, local space having become exile, had to be expanded to encompass its imaginary substitute, the *topographia sacra* of the Children of Israel (Banū Isrāʾīl). Finally, Mecca and the peninsula themselves acquired biblical associations and salvific as well as historical significance sufficient to obtain the rank of a divinely blessed topography of the new religion.

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Ghazā/Ghāzī

see EXPEDITIONS AND BATTLES

Gift-Giving

Bestowing an item without a necessary return. Two kinds of "gift-giving" occur in the Qurʾān: (1) God giving gifts *(ʿaṭāʾ)* to humans and (2) people giving, or exchanging, presents *(niḥla, hadiyya)*. That God gives *(aʿṭā)* to humans is mentioned five times in the Qurʾān. A metaphor for "bounties" and "rewards," material and moral, for good deeds (see BLESSING; GRACE; REWARD AND PUNISHMENT), the divine gift is described as "unbroken" (Q 11:108), and "not confined" (Q 17:20), and is often associated with "reckoning" (Q 38:39, Q 78:36). God also commands men to "give the women their dowries as a gift spontaneous" (*wa-ātū l-nisāʾa ṣaduqātihinna niḥlatan,* Q 4:4; see BRIDEWEALTH; MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE).

The exegetes differ in regard to the etymology and meaning of *niḥlatan.* One explanation, favored by al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923), traces its root to the verb *intaḥala,* "to embrace a religion," the noun of which, *niḥla,* is thus a synonym of *milla, diyāna,* or *sharʿ*. The accusative *niḥlatan* therefore signifies, as a *ḥāl* clause, *farīḍatan,* "as a duty" (cf. also Q 2:236-7; 4:24), or *wājibatan,* "as an obligation," or, as a *mafʿūl lahu* clause, *diyānatan,* "in order to fulfill a religious duty" (see GRAMMAR AND THE QURʾĀN). Another explanation, held by al-Zamakhsharī (d. 538/1144) and al-Qurṭubī (d. 671/1272), is based on the verb *naḥala,* which is, according to al-Kalbī (d. 146/763) and al-Farrāʾ (d. 207/822), the same as *aʿṭā* or *wahaba,* "to give." Thus, the noun *niḥla* means *ʿaṭiyya* or *hiba,* a gift (Shawkānī, *Tafsīr,* i, 535; Zamakhsharī, *Kashshāf,* i, 459-60; Qurṭubī, *Jāmiʿ,* v, 17-8). Some exegetes note that *niḥla* denotes a gift to be given "voluntarily" *(ʿaṭiyya bi-ṭībat nafs)* without the expectation of anything being provided in return (Rāzī, *Tafsīr,* ix, 147; Ibn al-Jawzī, *Zād,* ii, 9). In this connection, the Qurʾān warns against gift-giving in the expectation of receiving more (Q 74:6). Islamic law has elaborated upon the conditions necessary for, and the problems inherent in, the giving of gifts, which touches upon the practice of almsgiving (q.v.; see Rosenthal, Hiba, 342-4; Linant de Bellefonds, Hiba, 350-1; Ṭabarī, *Tahdhīb al-āthār,* i, 3-147).

The only case that involves gift-giving in a narrative context in the Qurʾān is the Queen of Sheba's (see BILQĪS) sending a gift *(hadiyya)* to Solomon (q.v.) to test whether he was a noble "prophet" or a worldly "king" (Q 27:35-6; see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD; KINGS AND RULERS). The Queen's presents are said, according to interpretations, to have consisted of bricks of gold and silver, slave boys dressed

as girls and slave girls in boy's clothing, horses, and jewelry, each linked to a riddle for Solomon to solve (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* ix, 515-6; Zamakhsharī, *Kashshāf,* iii, 353-4, Suyūṭī, *Durr,* v, 202-3). The qurʾānic version of the legend relates that Solomon won the Queen over not only with his magic powers, by ordering the jinn (q.v.) to move the Queen's throne, but also with his eloquence and moral stance. In refuting the Queen's envoy, Solomon declared that he was in no need of any gift from her for he was content with what God had given him: "What, would you succor me with wealth, when what God gave me is better than what he has given you? Nay, but instead you rejoice in your gift" (*hadiyyatikum,* Q 27:36). The exegetes point out that Muḥammad and all the prophets, including Solomon, both accepted and encouraged the exchange of gifts on account of their beneficial effect on human relations (Qurṭubī, *Jāmiʿ,* xiii, 132).

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Ginger see AGRICULTURE AND VEGETATION; FOOD AND DRINK

Glorification of God

The adoration and exaltation of God, the Arabic terms for which (derived from the root letters *s-b-ḥ*) cover a range of meanings: worship (q.v.) or prayer (i.e. Q 3:41); wonder at his ability to perform miraculaous deeds (i.e. Q 17:1); constant remembrance (q.v.) of God (*dhikr,* exemplified in Q 13:13); contrition (*tawba,* exemplified in Q 24:16; see REPENTANCE AND PENANCE); as well as a negative assertion of what God is not (see Dāmaghānī, *Wujūḥ,* i, 446-7 for an elaboration of these themes). *Tasbīḥ,* the qurʾānic word most often translated as glorification of God, is essentially negative: it denotes removal of all those elements from the conception of God which are unworthy of him — anthropomorphic elements, for example (see ANTHROPOMORPHISM). The infinitive *subḥān,* which comes from the same root as *tasbīḥ (s-b-ḥ)* and occurs in the Qurʾān in the interjectory constructions *subḥānahu, subḥānaka,* and *subḥāna llāhi,* brings out this meaning effectively, as in Q 2:116: "And they say, 'God has taken unto himself a son.' Far above that is he! *(subḥānahu);*" Q 3:191: "Our lord, you have not created this [universe] in vain. Far above that are you! *(subhānaka),*" and Q 37:159: "God is far above *(subḥāna llāhi)* what they attribute [to him]!" The Qurʾān thus uses *subḥān* (and other words) to purge the conception of God of all those beliefs and notions that would diminish his being, limit his power, or impute any imperfection to him.

Being negative in character, *tasbīḥ* frequently occurs in the Qurʾān in conjunction with its positive complement *ḥamd* ("grateful praise"), as in Q 25:58: *wa-sabbiḥ bi-ḥamdihi* ("And make *tasbīḥ,* together with

ḥamd of him"), which may be glossed as: Glorify God by dissociating from him all that must be dissociated from him, and by associating with him all that ought to be associated with him.

Tasbīḥ connotes earnestness (the primary meaning of the root is swift movement); Q 79:3 refers to angels (see ANGEL) as *sābiḥāt* — those who are diligent in carrying out God's commands — and Q 21:33 speaks of the heavenly bodies as "swimming" *(yasbaḥūna)* in their orbits (also Q 36:40). The command to make *tasbīḥ* thus implies that one must glorify God with earnest devotion.

According to al-Rāghib al-Iṣfahānī (d. early fifth/eleventh cent.), *tasbīḥ,* construed as worship of God, may take the form of an utterance, an act, or an intention. He interprets the word in Q 37:143 as representing all three: *fa-law lā annahā kāna mina l-musabbiḥīna,* "Had he (Jonah [q.v.], in the belly of the fish) not been one of those who glorify God." The verse, in other words, praises Jonah for glorifying God on all three counts of speech, action and intention. In some verses, however, *tasbīḥ* has a more restricted meaning, as in Q 20:130 and 50:39-40, where it stands for the obligatory daily prayer because glorification is an essential part of that prayer. Similarly, Q 21:79 and 38:18 call David's (q.v.) hymns *tasbīḥ,* saying that mountains and birds used to sing — *(yusabbiḥna)* literally, make *tasbīḥ* — in unison with him.

According to Q 17:44, all existence glorifies God: "The seven heavens and the earth and what is in them glorify him; there is nothing but that it glorifies him, together with praise of him, but you do not understand their glorification." Commentators remark that all orders of creation — angels, jinn (q.v.), humans, animals, and inanimate phenomena — glorify God, through submission to God and his laws; that this submission may be voluntary or involuntary or both; and that the precise nature and form of this submission may not be comprehensible to all.

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Glory

Height of splendor and renown. The word *jalāl* ("majesty") comes closest to being the qurʾānic term for glory. The only two occurrences of the word are in sūra 55, and in both instances it is constructed with *dhū,* "possessor, owner" (see Gimaret, *Noms divins,* 75-6; Rāzī, *Lawāmiʿ al-bayyināt fī l-asmāʾ wa-l-ṣifāt,* 270): "Your lord's countenance, possessor of majesty and honor, [alone] will survive" (Q 55:27) and "Blessed is the name of your lord, possessor of majesty and honor" (Q 55:78). The word *majd* has a similar denotation and the participle *majīd* is used in the Qurʾān for God (Q 11:73), for the throne of God (q.v.; Q 85:15) and for the Qurʾān itself (Q 50:1; 85:21). In qurʾānic usage, however, *majd* is different from *jalāl* in that while *jalāl* represents an attribute that belongs exclusively to the being of God, *majd* may be posited of other entities — hence the qualification of the divine throne and the Qurʾān as *majīd*. It may, however, be argued that the throne and scripture become *majd* only by virtue of their association with God who is *majīd*.

More important than establishing qurʾānic terms for glory is the task of clarifying the concept of glory. A clue to the concept may be found in Q 7:143, which reports God's response to the request of Moses (q.v.) to see God: "When he manifested himself to the mountain, he

crushed it, and Moses fell down unconscious." The Arabic word used for "He manifested himself" is *tajallā,* which is suggestive of effulgence. In light of this verse, divine glory could be described as God's holy magnificence or majestic splendor. But the verse clearly indicates that even if this divine magnificence or splendor were to become visible, the physical eyes (q.v.) of humans in this world could not bear the sight (see SEEING AND HEARING). At the end of this world, however, it may be possible to catch a glimpse of divine glory, as suggested by Q 39:67-9, a passage of epical quality which speaks of God holding the heavens and earth in his hands on the last day (see LAST JUDGMENT; APOCALYPSE), with the earth "lit up with the light of its lord" (cf. *Isa* 6:3: "the whole earth is full of his glory").

Glory in the sense of awesome divine presence or a manifestation of that presence is indicated in Q 7:171: "And recall the time when we hung the mountain (Sinai) over them (the Israelites), as if it were a canopy, and they thought that it was about to fall on them." This verse (see also Q 2:63, 93) alludes to Exodus 19:17-8, which describes how the mountain shook when God "descended upon it in fire." According to Amīn Aḥsan Iṣlāḥī (*Tadabbur-i Qurʾān,* ad Q 2:63), God manifested his power and majesty on the mountain not in order to extract forcibly from the Israelites a commitment to follow the Torah (q.v.), but in order to remind them that God, with whom they had made a covenant (q.v.), was not a weak but a mighty being, and that his vengeance was no less great than his bounty — that it was within his power to crush them by means of a mountain if they disobeyed him. The incident, in other words, made the Israelites (see CHILDREN OF ISRAEL) aware of the close and immediate presence of God. Q 2:210 is similar: "They are waiting only for this — are they not? — that God should arrive in canopies of clouds, and his angels, too — and the matter is settled!" Neither Q 2:210 nor Q 7:171, however, can be interpreted to signify localization of divine presence (see SECHINA).

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Goat see ANIMAL LIFE

God and his Attributes

"Allāh," the name for God in Islam, is generally taken to mean "the God," God plainly and absolutely (Watt, The use, 245-7). The name is commonly explained linguistically as a contraction of the Arabic noun with its definite article, *al-ilāh* shortened into *Allāh* by frequency of usage in invocation. Actually, "Allāh" is not understood to be a proper name like any other, rather it is the name of the nameless God, next to whom there is no other. *Allāh* is mentioned only in the singular, no plural can be formed of the name. God, however, is not understood in Islam as an abstract absolute; rather God exists and is one: God is the only real supreme being whom all Muslims address and invoke by the name "Allāh." Faith in God is the fulcrum of Islamic monotheism and obedience (q.v.) to his will the focus of the Muslim way of life.

The principal names for God in the Qurʾān

The idea and concept of Allāh, the one and only God, are deeply rooted in the

prophetic message of Muḥammad embodied in the Qurʾān. Muḥammad proclaimed the Qurʾān "in the name of Allāh" (Q 1:1; see BASMALA) and the Muslim profession of faith *(shahāda),* "there is no deity but Allāh," encapsulates the core of the qurʾānic witness to the unique God (see WITNESS TO FAITH). He is both feared by humans (see FEAR) and near to them, being both transcendent and immanent. In the Qurʾān, God is described by his "most beautiful names" *(al-asmāʾ al-ḥusnā),* traditionally enumerated as ninety-nine epithets, on which Islamic theology based its systematic expositions abour the divine essence *(dhāt)* and its attributes (*ṣifāt,* cf. D. Gimaret, *Les noms divins,* see THEOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN). Muslims believe the Arabic Qurʾān to be the actual word of God (q.v.) through which God makes himself known to humanity. No greater self-testimony of God to himself can be found anywhere else than in the Qurʾān, in which God in his own words calls himself "Allāh," a name that appears about 2,700 times in the qurʾānic text (*Allāhu,* 980 times; *Allāha,* 592 times; *Allāhi,* 1125 times; *Allāhumma,* 5 times). Long before the time of Muḥammad, the pre-Islamic Arabs (q.v.) and the Meccans (see MECCA) in particular, worshiped a great deity and supreme provider, called Allāh (Q 13:16; 29:61; 31:25; 39:38) and invoked him in times of distress (Q 6:109; 10:22; 16:38; 29:65; 31:32; 35:42; see PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QURʾĀN; SOUTH ARABIA, RELIGION IN PRE-ISLAMIC). From his youth, Muḥammad was intimately familiar with this name for the supreme God since his father's name was ʿAbdallāh, "servant of Allāh." It seemed most natural to him, therefore, to employ the word "Allāh" for God in his qurʾānic proclamation, rather than to introduce a totally new name for his monotheistic concept of God. Muḥammad stripped the pre-Islamic notion of the supreme Allāh, however, of associates and companions, whom the polytheistic belief of the Arabs accepted as subordinate deities (cf. T. Fahd, *Le panthéon,* 41; see POLYTHEISM AND ATHEISM; IDOLATRY AND IDOLATERS). Prior to Islam, the Meccans asserted a kinship of Allāh with the jinn (q.v.; Q 37:158), attributed sons to Allāh (Q 6:100), regarded the local deities of al-ʿUzzā, Manāt and al-Lāt as daughters of Allāh (Q 53:19-22; 6:100; 16:57; 37:149), knew of the worship of five pre-Islamic male deities, Wadd, Suwāʿ, Yaghūth, Yaʿūq and Nasr (Q 71:23; see IDOLS AND IMAGES) and possibly associated angels (see ANGEL) with Allāh (Q 53:26-27). Muḥammad's proclamation of Allāh left no room for partners and angels or saints to fill the space between the believer and God. Rather, in the Qurʾān, humanity was made to stand directly before God, unassisted by any mediator (see INTERCESSION).

Another name for God, used parallel to Allāh in the Qurʾān mainly in the Meccan phases of Muḥammad's qurʾānic proclamation (see CHRONOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN), is the name al-Raḥmān, cited 57 times in the qurʾānic text, as e.g. in Q 17:110, "Say, call upon Allāh or call upon al-Raḥmān; however you call upon him, to him belong the most beautiful names." Al-Raḥmān eventually lost its independence in the proclamation of Muḥammad and became subsumed under the principal name of Allāh in the final redaction of the Qurʾān. It came to be understood as an adjective modifying the word God, and meaning "the merciful," though it was not counted as one of the most beautiful names of God (cf. J. Jomier, Le nom divin, 367-381). Originally, al-Raḥmān was the name given to the God of the heavens worshiped in Yemen (q.v.) and central Arabia. Documented in an inscription from the year 505 C.E., the name appears in the old south Arabian form of Raḥmānān, with

the article placed in postposition, and clearly indicates an Aramaic origin (cf. J. Rijckmans, Le christianisme, 436, 440; see EPIGRAPHY; FOREIGN VOCABULARY).

The amalgamation of the name al-Raḥmān with that of Allāh is fully achieved in the first verse of the Qurʾān, which also serves as the introductory formula to all of its sūras (see FORM AND STRUCTURE OF THE QURʾĀN), except Q 9: *"bismi llāhi l-raḥmāni l-raḥīm."* This credal formula, called the *basmala* (q.v.), appears in its full form within the qurʾānic text at the head of Solomon's (q.v.) letter to the queen of Sheba (q.v.; Q 27:30; see BILQĪS). In an abridged form it is uttered by Noah (q.v.; Q 11:41) who gives the command to embark in the ark (q.v.) with the words, "in the name of God" *(bismi llāhi)*. The formula in its full form was first used by Muḥammad, who amalgamated its component parts for a reason, linking the name of Allāh with two adjectives *(al-raḥmān* and *al-raḥīm),* both derived from the same root denoting mercy (q.v.; only the second of which, however, is a pure adjective). Arabic grammar (see GRAMMAR AND THE QURʾĀN) alone cannot decide how to differentiate the two terms and how to translate the passage. The phrase can be translated, "In the name of God, the merciful and the compassionate" or, "In the name of the merciful and compassionate God," or, and this is the crux of the issue, "In the name of Allāh, the compassionate Raḥmān." Understood from this third perspective, the *basmala* amalgamates Allāh, the supreme God of the Meccans, with al-Raḥmān, the high god of south and central Arabia, by depriving al-Raḥmān of distinct individuality and transforming the name into a mere epithet of God, leading to the traditional understanding of the formula, "In the name of God, the merciful, the compassionate" (cf. J. van Ess, Der Name Gottes, 157-60).

Aramaic origin can be demonstrated for Raḥmānān, but can it also be claimed for Allāh? The majority of scholars answer this question with skepticism (J. Blau, Arabic lexicographical miscellanies, 175-7) and explain it purely on the basis of Arabic, i.e. Allāh as a contraction of Arabic *al-ilāh* ("the deity" in the masculine form), parallel to the female deity of al-Lāt as a contraction of *al-ilāha* ("the deity" in the feminine form, cf. J. Wellhausen, *Reste,* 32-3, 217 f.; F. Buhl, *Leben,* 75, 94; A. Ambros, Zur Entstehung). It is difficult, therefore, to explain Allāh as derived from the Aramaic Alāhā (pace A. Jeffery, *For. vocab.,* 66-7), for which there is epigraphic evidence in Nabatean inscriptions, because such a suggestion accounts neither for the contraction nor for the doubling of the consonant in the Arabic "Allāh" (see ARABIC LANGUAGE). It must remain doubtful whether some secondary form of Syriac (or Hebrew) influence may have been combined with the primary Arabic usage of Allāh, a notion based on the claim that Muḥammad used this name for God in addressing both pagan Arabs and Jews or Christians in the Qurʾān (see JEWS AND JUDAISM; CHRISTIANS AND CHRISTIANITY), thus establishing common ground for the understanding of the name for God. Positing an Aramaic origin for Allāh remains highly speculatively, however, though it raises the intriguing possibility of the separate existence of two groups of pre-Islamic believers in a high god, each of them worshipping God with an Aramaic name, Raḥmānān in the Yemen and Alāhā in the Ḥijāz. Muḥammad, acquainted with both names, would then have fused the two in the introductory formula of the Qurʾān, giving Allāh pride of place and treating al-Raḥmān as if it were an adjective.

God, moreover, is invoked since pre-Islamic times by yet another name, namely *rabb,* "lord" (q.v.; cf. J. Chelhod, Note,

159-67). This term is also used several hundred times in the Qurʾān, though rather as a title for God than an actual name. In pre-Islamic north-west Semitic usage the word *rabb* means "much" or "great" and corresponds to terms such as Baʿal or Adonis (A. Jeffery, *For. vocab.,* 136-7). In what the Islamic tradition identifies as the first qurʾānic verse to have been revealed, Muḥammad is summoned to speak "in the name of your lord" (*bismi rabbika,* Q 96:1). *Rabb* is never used with the definite article in the Qurʾān, yet very often linked with a personal or possessive pronoun. A non-secular usage of *rabb* was familiar to the Meccans from pre-Islamic times since soothsayers (q.v.; *kāhin*) were given the title of *rabb* and the female deity al-Lāt was addressed as *al-rabba* (cf. H. Lammens, Le culte des bétyles, 39-101). A similar usage is demonstrated by the early qurʾānic phrase, "the lord of this house" (*rabb hādhā l-bayt,* Q 106:3; see HOUSE, DOMESTIC AND DIVINE), the house being the Kaʿba (q.v.) in Mecca. *Rabb* is rarely used in the Medinan phase of Muḥammad's qurʾānic proclamation but is most frequently employed in its Meccan phases, e.g. Q 87:1, "Extol the name of your lord the most high" *(sabbiḥi sma rabbika l-aʿlā),* or Q 79:24, "I am your lord the most high" (*anā rabbukumu l-aʿlā,* in Pharaoh's [q.v.] blasphemous utterance; see BLASPHEMY). Traditionally, *rabb* is counted among God's most beautiful names and the slave is forbidden to address his master as *rabbī,* "my lord," being commanded to use *sayyidī* instead (cf. T. Fahd, *La divination,* 107-8; see SLAVES AND SLAVERY).

The attributes of God in the Qurʾān

In Islamic theology, the attributes of God, called *ṣifāt* and kept distinct from the divine essence *(al-dhāt),* are widely discussed in scholastic discourse (cf. M. Allard, *Le problème*). This terminological usage is post-qurʾānic and cannot be traced back to the Qurʾān, which cites *ṣifāt* neither in the plural nor in the singular *(ṣifa).* In fact, the term *ṣifāt Allāh* was borrowed by Islamic theology from the classical grammarians of the Arabic language. In the Qurʾān, however, the attributes of God are consistently called God's "most beautiful names" (*al-asmāʾ al-ḥusnā,* Q 7:180; 17:110; 20:8; 59:24), a phrase that is also engraved on the eastern gate of the Dome of the Rock (see AQṢĀ MOSQUE). They are traditionally enumerated as 99 in number to which is added as the highest name *(al-ism al-aʿẓam),* the supreme name of God, Allāh. The *locus classicus* for listing the divine names in the literature of qurʾānic commentary is Q 17:110, "Call upon God, or call upon the merciful; whichsoever you call upon, to him belong the most beautiful names," and also Q 59:22-4, which includes a cluster of more than a dozen divine epithets. In their traditional enumerations, most of the beautiful names, many of which are synonyms, are listed according to euphony or similarity in linguistic patterns. In the Qurʾān, the divine names do not function as predicates of a developed theology but rather as patterned formulas of the Prophet's prayer. They are doxology not doctrine. This is in keeping with the general discourse of the Qurʾān in which God is referred to in the third person singular and speaks in the imperative or the majestic plural. Rarely, however, is God addressed by the "you" of invocational prayer (q.v.) and only in some verses is he introduced by the theophanic "I am" (cf. below; see LANGUAGE OF THE QURʾĀN).

Rather than being considered abstract attributes of God, the most beautiful divine names are regarded simply as epithets or names which describe God in the rich facets of his being. Traditionally, the name "Allāh" itself is set apart and not counted as one of the most beautiful names; rather it is taken to belong to God alone in such a

way that it cannot be applied to any other thing. The majority of the divine epithets accord with linguistic patterns of the Arabic language that display a similarity of assonance and rhyme (*saj*ʿ, see RHYMED PROSE), linguistic characteristics that the Qurʾān has in common with the utterances and oracles of the pre-Islamic Arab soothsayers *(kāhin)*. This linguistic similarity accounts for the frequent repetition of such divine names at the end of qurʾānic verses where they function as mnemonic devices facilitating oral recitation (see ORALITY; RECITATION OF THE QURʾĀN), especially in Medinan suras. For emphasis or pleonasm, the qurʾānic epithets of God frequently appear in pairs, either with or without the definite article, yet generally with no connecting "and" in-between, such as "the mighty, the wise", meaning "the one who is mighty and wise." Counted traditionally as ninety-nine in number (Redhouse, Most comely names; D. Gimaret, *Les noms divins,* 51-84), the traditional listings do not exhaust the actual divine epithets in the Qurʾān nor do the names necessarily appear in their qurʾānic form of quotation. Rather than enumerating the whole range and catalogue of the most beautiful names, some characteristic examples shall be chosen to demonstrate the rich and variegated nature of their usage in the Qurʾān. With each of these examples only select references will be cited to signal their, in many cases, highly repetitive occurrence.

In keeping with Muḥammad's insistence upon a strictly monotheistic understanding of Allāh, God is called in the Qurʾān "the one" (*al-wāḥid,* Q 2:163). He is God, the living (*al-ḥayy,* Q 2:255; 3:2), the self-subsisting (*al-qayyūm,* Q 2:255), the self-sufficient (*al-ghanī,* Q 2:263), the comprehensive (*al-wāsi*ʿ, Q 2:247), the powerful (*al-qādir,* Q 2:20), the glorious (*al-majīd,* Q 85:15), the strong (*al-qawī,* Q 11:66), the mighty (*al-*ʿ*azīz,* Q 2:129), the great (*al-kabīr,* Q 22:62), the high (*al-*ʿ*alī,* 31:30) and the exalted (*al-muta*ʿ*ālī,* Q 13:9). He is known by his epithets of the all-wise (*al-ḥakīm,* Q 2:129), the all-knowing (*al-*ʿ*alīm,* Q 2:32), the all-hearing (*al-samī*ʿ, Q 2:127), the all-seeing (*al-baṣīr,* Q 17:1). God is the overpowering restorer (*al-jabbār,* Q 59:23), the subduing dominator (*al-qahhār,* Q 12:39), the constant giver (*al-wahhāb,* Q 3:8), the good provider (*al-razzāq,* Q 51:58), and the victorious revealer (*al-fattāḥ,* Q 34:26). God is the benevolent (*al-laṭīf,* Q 67:14), the gentle (*al-ḥalīm,* Q 4:12), the generous (*al-karīm,* Q 44:49), the sagacious (*al-khabīr,* Q 6:18), the vigilant (*al-ḥafīẓ,* Q 34:21), the unshakable (*al-matīn,* Q 51:58) and the insuperable (*al-*ʿ*aẓīm,* Q 2:255). Expressed by paired epithets in Q 57:3, God is "the first *(al-awwal)* and the last *(al-ākhir)* and the manifest *(al-ẓāhir)* and the hidden *(al-bāṭin)*." He is the reckoner (*al-ḥasīb,* Q 4:86), the watcher (*al-raqīb,* Q 4:1), the witness (*al-shahīd,* Q 3:98), the guardian (*al-wakīl,* Q 3:173), the patron (*al-walī,* Q 42:9) and the guide of those who believe (*la-hādī lladhīna āmanū,* Q 22:54).

In relation to his creatures God is named the creator (*al-khāliq,* Q 59:24), who is constantly creating (*al-khallāq,* Q 36:81; see CREATION). He is the "the creator of the heavens and the earth" (*badīʿ al-samāwāti wa l-arḍ,* Q 6:101; see HEAVEN AND SKY; EARTH), the maker (*al-bāriʾ,* Q 2:54) and the shaper (*al-muṣawwir,* Q 59:24). He gives life (q.v.) and death (Q 15:23; cf. 41:39; see DEATH AND THE DEAD), prevails over everything (*al-muqtadir,* Q 18:45) and assembles all on the day of judgment (*al-jāmi*ʿ, cf. Q 3:9; 4:140; see LAST JUDGMENT; APOCALYPSE). God does not only create, sustain, rule and restore, he is also marked by antipodal epithets coined by tradition on the basis of qurʾānic statements, qualifying him as the one who honors and abases, grants and withholds, advances and defers, offers help and sends distress, because "He leads astray (q.v.) whom he wills and guides aright whom he wills" (Q 16:93; 74:31; cf.

13:27). He infuses the hearts (see HEART) of the believers with faith (q.v.) but seals with unbelief the hearts of the unbelievers (Q 4:155; see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF). Then again, God is given a plethora of names denoting his mercy and forgiveness (q.v.), in addition to being frequently called compassionate and merciful. Qualified as the kind (*al-raʾūf,* Q 2:143), the loving (*al-wadūd,* Q 85:14) and the one who answers prayers (*al-mujīb,* cf. Q 11:61), God abounds with forgiveness as the forgiving (*al-ghāfir,* Q 7:155), the oft-forgiver (*al-ghafūr,* Q 2:173) and the all-forgiving (*al-ghaffār,* Q 38:66; cf. 20:82), the pardoner (*al-ʿafuww,* cf. Q 4:43), the one "turned to" humans with favor (*al-tawwāb,* Q 2:37) and ready to acknowledge their gratitude (*al-shakūr,* cf. Q 35:30; see GRATITUDE AND INGRATITUDE).

The Qurʾān calls God "the justest of judges" (*aḥkamu l-ḥākimīn,* Q 11:45; 95:8; see JUSTICE AND INJUSTICE) and "the best of judges" (*khayru l-ḥākimīn,* Q 7:87; 10:109; 12:80) and asks, "who is fairer in judgment (q.v.) than God" (*wa-man aḥsanu mina llāhi ḥukman,* Q 5:50). It cites "God's judgment" (*ḥukmu llāhi,* Q 60:10) and contrasts it with "the judgment of pagan times" (*ḥukma l-jāhiliyya,* Q 5:50; see AGE OF IGNORANCE). God "will render judgment" *(yaḥkumu)* between humanity on the day of resurrection (q.v.; Q 4:141; 2:113; 16: 124; 22:69, cf. 22:56; 2:213; 5:50) and "judges as he desires" (Q 5:1). While a powerful reference to acting with justice is attributed to a prophetical figure, "David (q.v.), we have appointed you a successor in the earth, so judge between men in truth" (*fa-ḥkum bayna l-nāsi bi-l-ḥaqq,* Q 38:26), God alone "judges and none repels his judgment *(lā muʿaqqiba li-ḥukmihi);* he is swift at the reckoning" (Q 13:41). Close to a hundred times God is named *ḥakīm,* "wise, judicious" (cf. Q 2:32). While God is mentioned once as "bidding to justice" (*yaʾmuru bi-l-ʿadl,* 16:90), only twice, however, is "justice" attributed directly to God, when God's word is said to have been fulfilled "in veracity and justice" (*ṣidqan waʿadlan,* Q 6:115) and when God is said to be "upholding justice" (*qāʾiman bi-l-qist,* Q 3:18). Never, however, is God called *al-ʿādil,* "the just," in the Qurʾān. This fact may be surprising because the Qurʾān depicts God sitting in judgment over humanity on the day of judgement at the end of the world, decreeing reward or appointing punishment, granting bliss or meeting out damnation (see REWARD AND PUNISHMENT). With the absolute authority of a monarch, God passes straight to rendering a verdict, his legal decision (*ḥukm,* Q 13:41) following the model of the pre-Islamic arbiter (*ḥakam,* Q 6:114) though, unlike him, not bound by foregoing arrangements, but influenced by his good pleasure *(riḍwān)* or anger (*sakhaṭ,* cf. Q 3:162; 47:28; 3:15; 5:19).

Other divine epithets involved intricacies of interpretation, one of them illustrated above in the case of *al-raḥmān* and *al-raḥīm* in the *basmala*. Rather than denoting the abstract notion of peace (q.v.), the qurʾānic epithet *al-salām* (Q 59:23) refers to God as possessor of pure peace, giver of peace at the dawn of creation and the day of resurrection, and the one who pronounces the blessing (q.v.) of peace over creation, his house of peace (*dār al-salām,* i.e. house of God, Q 6:127; 10:25). Composite phrases such as "the possessor of majesty and generosity" (*dhū l-jalāl wa-l-ikrām,* cf. Q 55:78), "the holy king" (*al-malik al-quddūs,* Q 59:23; 62:1), "the master of the kingdom" (*mālik al-mulk,* Q 3:26) and "the master of the day of doom" (*mālik yawm al-dīn,* Q 1:4) offered enigmas to critical interpreters, while the divine name, "the real" (*al-ḥaqq,* Q 20:114; 22:6, 62; 31:30), was chosen by Ṣūfism (see ṢŪFISM AND THE QURʾĀN) as its preferred name for God. Hapax legomena such as "the benign" (*al-barr,* Q 52:28) or "the impenetrable," dense to the absolute degree, (*al-ṣamad,* Q 112:2) seem to conceal traces of

pre-qurʾānic religious terminology. Although God's mercy *(raḥma)* is attested more than a hundred times in the Qurʾān, the phrase, "he inscribed mercy upon himself" (*kataba ʿalā nafsihi l-raḥmata,* Q 6:12; cf. 6:54), raised the question whether his mercy was an expression of benevolence or was linked to his forgiveness of sins (cf. Q 18:58; 39:53; 40:7; see SIN, MAJOR AND MINOR).

Some phrases in the Qurʾān, ascribing qualities of apparent imperfection to God, caused consternation to its interpreters, such as God's coming stealthily (*sanastadrijuhum,* Q 7:182; 68:44), devising (*makra llāhi,* Q 7:99; cf. 3:54; 4:142), mocking (*Allāhu yastahziʾu bihim,* Q 2:15), deriding (*sakhira llāhu minhum,* Q 9:79) and forgetting (*fanasiyahum,* Q 9:67; cf. *nunsihā,* Q 2:106). The phrase referring to God as a "thing" became a theological quagmire, "What thing is greatest *(ayyu shayʾin akbar)* in testimony? Say, God!" (Q 6:19; D. Gimaret, *Les noms divins,* 142-150). Other phrases squarely enunciated actual attributes of God, rather than divine names, such as, "Say, the knowledge is with God!" (Q 67:26) or, "My lord embraces all things in his knowledge" (Q 6:80; cf. 7:89; see KNOWLEDGE AND LEARNING). Similarly, the Qurʾān claimed God to have "power" (*dhū l-quwwati,* Q 51:58) though it also called him "the powerful" (*al-qawī,* Q 11:66; cf. 22:40; see POWER AND IMPOTENCE). The name qualifying God to be "loving" (*wadūd,* Q 11:90; cf. 85:14), had its unsettling counterpoint in a qurʾānic verse depicting divine love answered by human love, "he loves them and they love him" (*yuḥibbuhum wa-yuḥibbūnahu,* Q 5:54). A goodly number of other verses, however, declared stereotypically that God loves those who do good (Q 2:195; 3:134; see GOOD DEEDS), trust in God (Q 3:159; see TRUST AND PATIENCE), cleanse themselves and are repentant (Q 2:222), god-fearing (Q 3:76) or patient (Q 3:146), while he does not love corruption (q.v.; Q 2:205) or those who do evil (Q 3:57, 140; see EVIL DEEDS; GOOD AND EVIL), the aggressors (Q 2:190) or the unbelievers (Q 2:276; 3:32), etc.

The divine names of the Qurʾān may best be understood as multifarious expressions in praise (q.v.) of God rather than as doctrinal expositions concerning the nature of God. They give expression to Muḥammad's rich and multi-faceted perception of that ultimate reality which he personally experienced as the only God. This experience filled him with awe before the transcendent God, who could not be known in his very self, yet could be glorified in his names. Filled with knowledge of God as "the lord of the heavens and the earth" (Q 19:65), the Prophet also was aware of God's nearness, nearer to a person than his own "jugular vein" (Q 50:16; see ARTERY AND VEIN). This overpowering transcendence and intimate immanence of Allāh in Muḥammad's religious experience was transformed in his qurʾānic proclamation into the praise of the most beautiful names. They are landmarks of his prayer rather than tenets of his theology.

Visual imagery of God in the Qurʾān

The most beautiful names of God appear hundreds of times in the Qurʾān, while the metaphors for God figure in only a few dozen verses (see METAPHOR). The divine names attract by the frequency of their quotation, the metaphors impress by the force of their images. Three metaphors, perhaps the most famous of the Qurʾān, though often tenuous and less embellished than in ḥadīth literature (see ḤADĪTH AND THE QURʾĀN), may be singled out to illustrate the point (D. Gimaret, *Dieu à l'image,* 123-264). In the Qurʾān God is depicted as having a face (q.v.), eyes (q.v.) and hands (q.v.), is pictured as sitting on a throne (see THRONE OF GOD) and is compared to the light (q.v.) of the heavens and the earth.

These descriptive images of God play a decisive role in the discussions on the anthropomorphic (see ANTHROPOMORPHISM) or ambiguous (q.v.) verses of the Qurʾān *(mutashābihāt)*. The locus classicus for the various ways of interpreting these ambiguous verses is found in the commentary literature on Q 3:7 (and, in dependence on it, in Q 11:1 and 39:23; see EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL). They also figure prominently in the scholastic debate about the literal versus the allegorical interpretation of the Qurʾān in Islamic and Western scholarship. Rather than reflecting on this scholarly debate, emphasis here will be given to the vividly visual and majestic imagery these verses actually convey in the Qurʾān.

The comparison of God with the human being as "made after his image" *(ʿalā ṣūratihi),* however, is not cited in the Qurʾān, rather it is a development of ḥadīth literature, probably in dependence on Genesis 1:27. On the contrary, the Qurʾān emphasizes that "nothing is like unto him" (*laysa ka-mithlihi shayʾun,* Q 42:11), excluding thereby any similarity between God and human beings, and that God simply "formed" *(ṣawwarnākum)* human beings, giving them beautiful forms (*fa-aḥsana ṣuwarakum,* cf. Q 7:11; 64:3). While, in his act of creation, God "composed" the human beings in the form he wished to give them (Q 82:8), God himself remained untouched by any composition. The perception that God saw his own image, i.e. his face or form *(ṣūra),* for the first time mirrored in the waters of the primal sea is an extra-qurʾānic development of ḥadīth literature. The Qurʾān does not speak of the figure or body of God as a single or composite entity. Also, it mentions neither God's ear (see EARS), though he is "the all-hearing," (*al-samīʿ,* see SEEING AND HEARING; HEARING AND DEAFNESS), nor his mouth and tongue, though God has the preeminent quality of speech (q.v.) and commands, forbids, promises or threatens in the Qurʾān. Likewise, there is no mention of his sex (though the masculine pronoun is used consistently with reference to God in the Qurʾān; see GENDER; SEX AND SEXUALITY) nor of his nose, arm, fist, feet (q.v.), heart and beard (cf. van Ess, *TG,* iv, 396-401).

Very explicitly, however, the Qurʾān describes God as having a face (Q 2:115; 2:272; 6:52; 13:22; 18:28; see FACE OF GOD) and eyes (Q 11:37; 23:27; 52:48; 54:14) or an eye (Q 20:39) as well as possesing a hand (Q 3:73; 5:64; 48:10; 57:29), two hands (Q 5:64; 38:75) or a grasp (Q 39:67) and, somewhat obscurely, also a "side" (Q 39:56) and a "leg" (Q 68:42). Though the word *wajh,* "face," may be taken as denoting generally the self *(nafs* or *dhāt)* when related to human beings in the Qurʾān (cf. Q 2:112; 3:20; 4:125; 6:79; 10:105; 30:30, 43; 31:22; 39:24), it has a particular metaphorical impact when predicated about God. Two famous qurʾānic verses proclaim: "all that dwells upon the earth is perishing, yet still abides the face of your lord, majestic, splendid" (Q 55:26-7) and, "all things perish, except his face" (Q 28:88). Human beings are "desirous of God's face" (*ibtighāʾa wajhi llāhi,* Q 2:272; 13:22), asking for his favor, and "seek his face" (*yurīdūna wajhahu,* Q 6:52; 18:28) in their prayer (cf. J.M.S. Baljon, To seek, 263). They act for the sake of God's face, feeding the needy (see POVERTY AND THE POOR), the orphan (see ORPHANS) and the captive (see CAPTIVES) only "for the face of God" *(li-wajhi llāhi)* without any desire for recompense or gratitude (Q 76:8-9; see ALMSGIVING). Wherever human beings turn, "there is the face of God" *(fa-thamma wajhu llāhi)* to whom belong the east and the west (Q 2:115). The metaphor of the face of God, stressing both God's omnipresence and the innate desire of humans for God, finds an echo in a unique divine utterance in the Qurʾān,

one that provides a parallel image for the divine presence, "We are nearer to him than the jugular vein" (Q 50:16).

The face of God, taken literally, raised the question of whether the divine countenance could be seen by human eyes in the beatific vision *(ruʾyat Allāh)*. According to the Qurʾān, God could not be seen because "the eyes attain him not" (*lā tudrikuhu l-abṣāru,* Q 6:103) and God speaks to mortals "from behind a veil" (q.v.; *min warāʾi ḥijābin,* Q 42:51). Even Mount Sinai (q.v.) crumbled to dust when God appeared in a theophany before Moses (q.v.; Q 7:143). On the other hand, Q 75:22-3 proclaimed that, on the day of judgment, "faces shall be radiant, gazing upon their lord *(ilā rabbihā nāziratun)*" and verses 10:26 and 50:35 intimated that "the surplus" (*ziyāda,* Q 10:26) and the "yet more" (*mazīd,* Q 50:35), promised to the upright, referred to their vison of God (cf. D. Gimaret, *La doctrine,* 329-44; van Ess, *TG,* iv, 411-15).

Interpreted in this way, it soon became necessary to make theological distinctions between the vision of God in this world and the hereafter (see ESCHATOLOGY), and its occurrence with the physical eyes *(bi-l-abṣār)* or the eyes of the heart *(bi-l-qalb)*. Moreover, the only human being capable of seeing God in the Qurʾān is none other than Muḥammad who experienced two visions of God as stated in Q 53:5-18 (cf. 81:19-25). According to early qurʾānic exegesis, which seems to be closest to the qurʾānic text, the Prophet saw God with his own eyes. Thus ḥadīth literature called Muḥammad God's beloved *(ḥabīb Allāh)*, who saw God and engaged in intimate colloquy with him, reaching nearer to God than Abraham (q.v.), God's friend *(khalīl Allāh),* and drawing closer to God than Moses whom God had addressed on Mount Sinai *(kalīm Allāh)*. Eventually, Muḥammad's vision of God was intertwined with the legends that developed around his nocturnal journey *(isrāʾ)*, vaguely intimated by Q 17:1, and the story of his heavenly ascent *(miʿrāj),* later developed jointly in ḥadīth literature into a major topic of his prophetic mission (see ASCENSION). The phrase that his "heart *(al-fuʾād)* lied not of what he saw" (Q 53:11) facilitated the interpretation that Muḥammad saw God with his heart, i.e. in a dream vision (see DREAMS AND SLEEP; VISIONS), and the reference that "he saw him another time by the lote-tree of the boundary" (*ʿinda sidrati l-muntahā,* Q 53:13-4; see AGRICULTURE AND VEGETATION) made it possible to speak of a veil having separated Muḥammad from his lord in this encounter. The assertions that, at the height of the Prophet's heavenly ascent, God laid his hand on Muḥammad's head or his shoulders or touched his heart are not found in the Qurʾān, rather they are gestures of prophetic initiation recorded in ḥadīth literature, not unlike the account of the angels opening Muḥammad's breast (cf. H. Birkeland, *The legend*).

In another metaphor of the Qurʾān, God's eyes are cited in the plural, rather than in the dual, which would have been required grammatically to convey bodily features unequivocally. The one passage that quotes God's eye in the singular refers to his love for the young Moses, watching over him "with divine care," i.e. literally "my eye" (*ʿalā ʿaynī,* Q 20:39). The phrase, "under our eyes" *(bi-aʿyuninā)* occurs with reference to God's care for his prophets (see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD), e.g. Noah is asked to "build the ark under our eyes" (Q 11:37; 23:27; cf. 54:14), and Muḥammad is assured by God that he is "under our eyes" (Q 52:48). The phrase, *fī janbi llāhi* (Q 39:56), literally "in the side of God," expressed regret for negligence "toward" God, while the enigmatic phrase, "upon the day when the leg *(sāq)* shall be bared" (Q 68:42) left obscure what was

meant by God's (?) leg or calf being revealed on the day of resurrection (cf. van Ess, *TG,* iv, 400-1).

The qurʾānic context also seems to argue for a not too literal understanding of God's hand or hands. For, "surely bounty (see GRACE; BLESSING) is in the hand of God" (*bi-yadi llāhi,* Q 3:73; 57:29; cf. 5:64; 48:10), appears as an expression for God as the source of divine favor and, "but his two hands are outspread" (*bal yadāhu mabsūṭatān,* Q 5:64) hints at divine sustenance being given freely and generously to all human beings. The expression, "God's hand is fettered" (*yadu llāhi maghlūlatun,* Q 5:64), however, sounds rather anthromorphic in the Qurʾān where it is cited as an expression uttered by the Jews who are reproached for it. The two most crucial verses implying metaphorical understanding of God's hands are Q 38:75 and 39:67. In Q 38:75 Adam (see ADAM AND EVE) is said to have been shaped by God's own two hands as Iblīs (see DEVIL) is reproached by God for not having prostrated (see BOWING AND PROSTRATION) with all the other angels "before what I created with my own hands *(limā khalaqtu bi-yadayya)*." In Q 39:67 God is depicted as holding the whole world in his hand, "the earth altogether shall be in his grasp *(qabḍatuhu)* on the day of resurrection, and the heavens shall be rolled up in his right hand *(bi-yamīnihi)*." There is no reference to the left hand of God nor any mention of the finger of God in the Qurʾān. In the works of qurʾānic exegesis, however, God was portrayed in pre-existence as holding the souls of the believers between two fingers and turning them back and forth to determine their fate and destiny (R. Gramlich, *Muḥammad al-Ġazzālīs Lehre,* 64). God's foot is not mentioned in the Qurʾān when he restrains hell's voracity (cf. Q 50:30), but ḥadīth literature places his foot *(qadam)* in hellfire to smother it (see HELL AND HELLFIRE; FIRE). When God "comes" with his angels, rank upon rank, to render judgment over humanity (Q 2:210; 6:158; 89:22), there is no mention of his footstep. Likewise, God's footprint does not appear in the Qurʾān but, within a century after Muḥammad's death, the Dome of the Rock had been built in Jerusalem and memories of God's footprint in the rock were later transformed into the one Muḥammad left behind when he ascended to heaven (cf. Q 17:1 and R. Paret, *Der Koran,* 295-6).

Jerusalem (q.v.) was also known in Muḥammad's time as the place where God sat down on a throne after completing his work of creation and where he would sit again at the end of time holding his final judgment of humanity (T. O'Shaughnessy, God's throne, 202). The Qurʾān does not refer to this geographical scenario, which can be traced in Jewish tradition (cf. Ezechiel 1:10) and is taken up in ḥadīth literature. Rather, the Qurʾān stresses the image of God sitting on a throne, the symbol of his power and presence (G. Vitestam, ʿArsh and Kursī, 369 f.). God does not move about in the Qurʾān, he is seated on his throne, ruling over creation in majesty and splendor. "Sitting back on the throne" (*istawā ʿalā l-ʿarsh,* Q 7:54; 10:3; 13:2; 20:5; 25:59; 32:4; 57:4) like a king, he neither wears a crown nor holds a scepter in the Qurʾān. The term *kursī* for "throne" appears twice in the Qurʾān, once in reference to Solomon's throne (Q 38:34; cf., however, Q 27:38, 41-2, *"ʿarsh"*) and once as God's throne encompassing heaven and earth in the famous Throne Verse (Q 2:255). The term *ʿarsh* is employed in phrases such as "lord of the throne" (*rabb al-ʿarsh,* Q 21:22; 23:86, 116; 27:26; 43:82) and "possessor of the throne" (*dhū l-ʿarsh,* Q 40:15; 85:15; cf. 17:42; 81:20). It is also used when the Qurʾān states that God's throne is carried and encircled by angels proclaiming the praise of their lord

(Q 39:75; 40:7; 69:17) and that "his throne was upon the waters" (Q 11:7). Not fatigued by his work of creation (Q 2:255; 50:38), God is seated on his throne in a relaxed fashion and, on the day of judgment, offers his elect Prophet a seat on it next to himself according to the commentary on the "laudable station" *(maqām maḥmūd),* enigmatically cited in Q 17:79. Much exegetical acumen was also devoted to questions of the throne's precise location, i.e. whether God was in the clouds before he created the throne, whether he sat above it or on it, and in which way he surpassed the throne that encompassed the heavens and the earth (van Ess, *TG,* iv, 402-11).

It is possible that the throne of God resting "upon the waters" (Q 11:7) was implicitly understood in the Qurʾān, not unlike in Jewish tradition, as made of light, perhaps appearing as a reflection of divine light in the waters of the primal sea (see WATER). More explicitly though, God himself is called, "the light of the heavens and the earth *(Allāhu nūru l-samāwāti wa l-ard)*" in the famous Light Verse of the Qurʾān (Q 24:35). The imagery of this verse is unique and highly complicated by the metaphor of the light, depicted as placed in a niche wherein is a lamp made of glass and resembling a glittering star kindled from a celestial tree (G. Böwering, The light verse, 115-29). Muslim interpretations of this complex imagery reached from the comparison of God with a being or substance of light to a "man of light" who could be imagined as having five senses, just as light, traditionally understood, has five colors (cf. H. Halm, *Die islamische Gnosis,* 145). This man of light, possessed of limbs representing the letters of the supreme name of God, collocated these letters in the act of creation to fashion the names of all things, whose shadows project the actual things that come into being on earth. In the Light Verse, the light is qualified as "light upon light" *(nūrun ʿalā nūrin)*, a phrase recalling a formula of the Nicene Creed. In Muslim exegesis it came to be interpreted as the "light" of the believers originating from the divine light and returning into it. Other qurʾānic passages citing the term "light" referred simply to the light of God (Q 9:32; 39:69; 61:8), the light coming from God (Q 5:15; 39:22) or the light that God had sent down (Q 4:174; 7:157; 64:8), facilitating the less complicated interpretations of the light as divine guidance or of God as the all-knowing and the guide. Mystic interpreters of the Qurʾān, however, saw in the "light of light" a metaphorical reference to a kind of Muslim logos represented by either Adam or Muḥammad appearing in their light nature as the first creation in preexistence (Böwering, *Mystical,* 149-153). Metaphysically inclined exegetes saw God as the primal light and source of all being and contrasted the polarity of light and darkness (q.v.) with the world of ideas and that of the bodies. Politically inclined interpreters, however, used the Light Verse to speak of the caliph (q.v.) as "the shadow of God on earth."

Major aspects of God in the Qurʾān

The reputedly earliest passage of the Qurʾān proclaimed by Muḥammad introduces God as creator, "Recite, in the name of your lord who created" (Q 96:1). God's act of creation is an act of his will. He has created the world by the decree of his eternal will (see ETERNITY) and continues to maintain it as long as he wishes. His act of creative will is expressed in a command of his speech because God calls the things into being through his creative imperative. Creation is seen in the Qurʾān as God's permanent work, an understanding that sees creation as the ongoing existence of the world rather than as one single event at the beginning of the universe (Q 79:27-33; 80:17-42; see COSMOLOGY). God is always

active conducting the affairs of the universe; he never sits still. Even on the seventh day, he rules creation from the throne of his majesty (T. Nagel, *Der Koran,* 172-84). The Qurʾān neither speaks of nothingness and chaos preceding creation nor offers a story of creation similar to that of the Book of Genesis. It includes, however, references to the creation in six days (Q 7:54 and parallels; cf. however, 41:9-12), which intimate some familiarity with the gist of the biblical story on the part of its listeners (see SCRIPTURE AND THE QURʾĀN). Creation is not a unique moment at the beginning of time (q.v.) setting history in motion (see HISTORY AND THE QURʾĀN); rather, creation is a process experienced by humans as happening at each and every moment. Creation is seen in the Qurʾān through the eyes of humans observing the world they experience around themselves rather than being viewed from its origin in God as its creator. God makes the heavens and the earth, looses the winds (see AIR AND WIND), sends down the rain, fortifies the land with the mountains, traces the rivers in its soil and places landmarks in its ground to guide humans (see GEOGRAPHY; NATURAL WORLD AND THE QURʾĀN). The animals (see ANIMAL LIFE) are created to serve humans and provide them with livestock, while the oceans yield fish and pearls (see HUNTING AND FISHING) and carry the ships (q.v.). Rain symbolizes the creative power of God in that it gives life to the land, makes grass (see GRASSES) grow and produces fruit of all sorts. God creates the human beings living in this world and after their death, in their resurrection, creates them again in the world to come. He who can make the desert sprout can also give new life to the dead.

In the Qurʾān God is called three times "the maker" (*bāriʾ,* Q 2:54 59:24), twice "the originator *(badīʿ)* of the heavens and the earth" (Q 2:117; 6:101), once "the shaper" (*muṣawwir,* Q 59:24) and about half a dozen times, "the creator" (*khāliq,* e.g. Q 13:16) who is constantly creating (*khallāq,* Q 36:81) all things, with the Arabic root *kh-l-q* being employed very frequently to describe God's creative activity in the Qurʾān. God creates "what he wishes" (*mā yashāʾ,* Q 3:47; 5:17; 24:45; 28:68; 30:54; 39:4; 42:49) and gives existence by the divine command, "'Be!,' And it is" (*kun! fa-yakūn,* Q 2:117; 3:47, 59; 6:73; 16:40; 19:35; 36:82: 40:68). God created the universe in truth and with a stated term (Q 30:8) rather than in jest (Q 44:38-9) or in vain (Q 23:115; 38:27). He created the heavens and the earth (Q 10:3) when he split the primal mass, "a mass all sewn up" *(ratqan),* into two (Q 21:30). In six days he created the heavens and the earth (Q 7:54) and what is between them (Q 25:59) and brought all living beings out of the water (Q 21:30). From the vapors rising from the waters the seven skies were formed (Q 41:11). The vault of the heaven, which has no support (Q 13:2), was adorned with the sun (q.v.), the moon (q.v.), the stars and the constellations (Q 71:16; 78:13; 37:6; 15:16; see PLANETS AND STARS) to guide humans in the darkness of the land and the sea (Q 6:97). God created night and day (Q 21:33), succeeding each other (Q 24:44), and determined their extent and duration (Q 73:20; see DAY AND NIGHT; DAY, TIMES OF).

Following the angels as inhabitants of the earth, God created Adam, the first human being, as "successor" *(khalīfatan)* to the angels on earth (Q 2:30; the understanding of Adam as *God's* viceroy or deputy is not borne out by the qurʾānic text, cf. Q 7:69; 11:57 and R. Paret, *Der Koran,* 16). Creating Adam with his own two hands (Q 38:75), God breathed his spirit into Adam (Q 15:29; 38:72) and asked him to name the things, which the angels were unable to do (Q 2:31-2). God shaped the human figure "in the fairest stature" (*fī aḥsani taqwīm,*

Q 95:4), giving it proper proportions and erect posture, and shaping it in a balanced form. God "created you and formed you *(khalaqaka fa-sawwāka)* and balanced you *(fa-ʿadalaka)* and composed you in whatsoever form *(ṣūra)* he wished" (Q 82:7-8; cf. 18:37; 3:6). The Qurʾān mentions four stages in the creation of humans (see BIOLOGY AS THE CREATION AND STAGES OF LIFE; CLAY): God created the first human being, Adam, from dust (*min turābin,* Q 3:59), procreating human beings through the sperm, shaping them individually to their complete figure, and finally making them male and female. "(God) created you of dust, then of a sperm-drop *(min nutfa),* then shaped you in the form of a man *(rajulan)*" (Q 18:37), and "then made you pairs" (Q 35:11), while other qurʾānic verses state that God created every animal of water (Q 24:45) and the jinn from a flame of fire (Q 55:15).

Two principal images are combined to depict the creation of humans: one, God created the human being of clay (*ṭīn,* Q 6:2), clinging clay (*ṭīn lāzib,* Q 37:11), an extraction of clay (*sulāla,* Q 23:12), the potter's clay (*ṣalṣāl,* Q 55:14) or stinking mud (*ḥamāʾ masnūn,* Q 15:28), and, two, of a sperm-drop *(nutfa),* a drop of water (Q 25:54) or a blood-clot (*ʿalaq,* Q 96:2, *ʿalaqa,* Q 22:5; 40:67; see BLOOD AND BLOOD CLOT). Q 23:12-4 describes the process in detail, "We (God) created man of an extraction of clay, then we set him, a drop, in a receptacle secure, then we created of the drop a clot *(ʿalaqa),* then we created of the clot a tissue *(muḍgha),* then we created of the tissue bones, then we garmented the bones in flesh." Other depictions are added in the Qurʾān: "God caused you to spring up *(anbatakum)* from the earth" (Q 71:17); "He created you in your mothers' wombs, creation after creation" (*khalqan min baʿdi khalqin,* Q 39:6); "He it is who created of water a mortal *(basharan),* and made him kindred of blood and marriage" (Q 25:54; see KINSHIP; MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE); "We have created you male and female, and appointeed you races and tribes" (Q 49:13; see TRIBES AND CLANS). Another image implies the creation of Adam and his mate, "He created you of a single soul *(min nafsin wāḥidatin)* and from it created its mate, and from the pair of them scattered abroad many men and women" (Q 4:1; cf. 7:189; 39:6; 6:98; 16:72; 30:21), called "children of Adam" (*banī Ādam,* Q 7:26-7, 31, 35, 172; 17:70; 36:60). In creating the human being, God also determined for him "a stated term" of life *(ajalun musammā).* "He it is who created you of clay and then fixed a term — and a term is stated in his keeping" (Q 6:2). "From a sperm-drop! he created him and determined him *(qaddarahu),* then he makes the way easy for him. Then he caused him to die and buried him, then when he wills he raises him again" (Q 80:19-22). "Surely we have created everything with a limit" (*bi-qadarin,* Q 54:49). He is God, "who created and formed *(fa-sawwā)* and who determined *(qaddara)* and guided" (Q 87:2-3).

The theme of God as creator was central to the earliest layers of Muḥammad's proclamation of the Qurʾān. The explicit message of God's oneness, the core of Islamic monotheism, however, increasingly became the focus as the qurʾānic proclamation progressed throughout Muḥammad's prophetic career. This uncompromising monotheism, known in ḥadīth literature and scholastic discourse by the extra-qurʾānic term, *tawḥīd,* the profession that God is one, stands in the mind of Muslims as the foremost symbol of the Islamic creed (see CREEDS). In the Qurʾān the pure profession of God's oneness is seen as innate and common to all humans. It cannot

be altered because it has been rooted by God in their very nature as the primal religion on which God created all of humanity. "Set your face to the true religion, as a man of pure faith *(ḥanīfan),* God's original *(fiṭrata llāh)* upon which he originated humanity. There is no changing God's creation. That is the right religion *(al-dīnu l-qayyimu)*" (Q 30:30). The primal monotheism, called *al-ḥanīfiyya,* by its oldest name antedating the use of "Islam (q.v.)" for the religion proclaimed by Muḥammad, is documented by the wording of the qurʾānic text in the version of Ibn Masʿūd (d. 32/653; see CODICES OF THE QURʾĀN; COLLECTION OF THE QURʾĀN; READINGS OF THE QURʾĀN), "the true religion with God is *al-ḥanīfiyya*" (Q 3:19; see ḤANĪF). This innate monotheism embeds the knowledge of God in the hearts of humans and forms "the convincing argument" (*al-ḥujjatu l-bālighatu,* Q 6:149) God has made in his judgment against humans should they have compromised the oneness of God. The profession of God's oneness, "a straight path (*ṣirāṭ mustaqīm,* see PATH OR WAY) on a right religion, the creed *(milla)* of Abraham, a man of pure faith, who was no idolater" (Q 6:161), is upheld by Muḥammad who is commanded to say, "my prayer, my ritual sacrifice (q.v.), my living, my dying belong to God, the lord of all being. No associate has he" (*lā sharīka lahu,* Q 6:162-3).

God is one, the unique sovereign of the heavens and the earth and the only ruler "who has no associate *(sharīk)* in the sovereignty" (Q 17:111; 25:2) and does not share his power with anyone. This categorical denial of any partner in divine power is an expression of the explicit rejection of *shirk,* the foremost religious crime in Islam, that of associating partners with God. The phrase is directed against pre-Islamic idolatry or polytheism and, equally, against the Christian doctrine of divine sonship because Q 17:111, which is engraved in the outer hall of the Dome of the Rock, pointedly adds, "who has not taken to himself an offspring *(lam yattakhidh waladan)*." Q 25:2 repeats the phrase and Q 19:35 projects the polemics (see POLEMIC AND POLEMICAL LANGUAGE) onto Jesus (q.v.), son of Mary (q.v.), "it is not for God to take to himself an offspring" (cf. also Q 2:116). The language of the Qurʾān is multivalent in this case: it may refer to ancient Arab deities, such as the daughters of Allāh, al-Lāt, Manāt and al-ʿUzzā (Q 53:19-20; 16:57-9; 52:39), and/or to polemics against the Christian belief in the son of God because the term *walad,* "offspring," can be masculine or feminine, singular or plural, and the term *lam yattakhidh,* "has not taken," can imply adoption or generation. The categorical denial of associating partners with God is reiterated in the passage, "He has taken to himself neither a consort *(ṣāḥiba)* nor an offspring." (Q 72:3; cf. 6:101).

Most pointedly, however, the denial of *shirk* is expressed in the pithy verses of Q 112:1-4, "Say, he is God, one *(aḥad),* God, the impenetrable. He has not begotten nor has he been begotten *(lam yalid wa-lam yūlad),* and no one is equal to him." This short sūra lays great stress on rejecting the idea of generation within the concept of God and denies the Nicean creed, "begotten, not made," in the nutshell of a qurʾānic credal formula proclaiming God as one. Other phrases reinforce this strict monotheism of the Qurʾān, "Say, he is only one God" (*qul innamā huwa ilāhun wāḥidun,* Q 6:19; cf. 16:51; 14:52; 4:171), "your God is one God" (*annamā ilāhukum ilāhun wāḥidun,* Q 18:110; 21:108; 41:6; cf. 2:163; 16:22; 22:34), "no god is there but one God" (*wa-mā min ilāhin illā ilāhun wāḥidun,* Q 5:73) and, "surely your God is one" (*inna ilāhakum la-wāḥidun,* Q 37:4). The same

monotheistic stress is achieved with the help of a divine name, "Glory be to him! He is God, the one, the omnipotent" (*al-wāḥidu l-qahhār,* Q 39:4; 12:39; 13:16; 40:16; 14:48) and reinforced by the statement that "God is sufficient to himself" (*anna llāha ghanī,* Q 2:267).

One set of verses stressing directly divine oneness in the sense of God's singularity, may be seen in select qurʾānic statements, when God refers to himself, "I am" *(anā),* sometimes emphatically, "Verily, I" *(innī),* and "Verily, I am" *(innanī anā)*. Expressions such as, "I am the one who turns toward you *(al-tawwāb),* the compassionate" (Q 2:160) or, "I am the forgiving, the compassionate" (Q 15:49) or, "I am God, the mighty, the wise" (Q 27:9) are somewhat formulaic. Other expressions are explicit about the self reference, "there is no god but I *(lā ilāhā illā anā),* so fear me" (Q 16:2), "there is no god but I, so serve me" (Q 20:14) or, "I am your lord *(anā rabbukum),* so fear me" (Q 23:52), "I am your lord *(anā rabbukum),* so serve me" (Q 21:92). Yet another passage places God emphatically at the beginning and end of human life, "He (God) said, I give life and I make to die" (Q 2:258). The intensity of self reference is increased in phrases such as, "verily, I am making" (*innī jāʿilun,* Q 2:30) or, "verily, I am creating a mortal" (*innī khāliqun basharan,* Q 15:28; 38:71). The most crucial passage proclaiming God's self assertion is Q 20:12-4, in which God addresses Moses, "Verily, I am God; there is no god but I *(innanī anā llāhu lā ilāha illā anā),* so serve me" (Q 20:14; cf. 21:25). The qurʾānic wording, however, falls short of the full divine self-revelation expressed by the biblical, "I am who I am" (Exodus 3:14).

There are hundreds of verses in the Qurʾān which give emphasis to divine omnipotence, insist on the unimpeachable power of the divine decree, raise the question of human responsibility (see FREEDOM AND PREDESTINATION), discuss divine retribution for human action in this world, good or bad, imply the problem of predestination, open the metaphysical treatment of human freedom and offer prooftexts for the theological discussion of evil and its origin (cf. W.M. Watt, *Free will and predestination*). These issues are discussed at great length in the theological literature of Islam, their inclusive recital in this context, however, could only list a multitude of qurʾānic verses and open issues related to qurʾānic phrases that have been interpreted variously in Islamic exegetical literature. The natural environment for their discussion are works on Islamic religious thought rather than one devoted only to the Qurʾān (cf. W.M. Watt, *Formative period*). Some characteristic examples, however, may illustrate the plethora of these points. "God created you and that which you make" (Q 37:96). "Whatever good visits you, it comes from God; whatever evil visits you is of yourself" (Q 4:79). "God charges no soul save to its capacity; standing to its account is what it has earned and against its account what it has merited" (Q 2:286). "Each soul shall be recompensed for that it has earned" (Q 40:17). Upon the day of judgment, "whoever has done an atom's weight of good shall see it, and whoever has done an atom's weight of evil shall see it" (Q 99:7-8). God "leads astray whom he wishes and guides whom he wishes" (Q 14:4; 16:93; 35:8; 6:39, 125), "bestows his bounty upon whomever he wishes" (Q 57:21) and "admits whomever he wishes into his mercy" (Q 42:8). God has "laid veils on their hearts lest they understand it, and in their ears heaviness" (Q 18:57). "God has led him (i.e. man) astray out of a knowledge, and set a seal upon his hearing and his heart, and laid a covering on his eyes" (Q 45:23). Addressing

God, the Qurʾān sums up, "You exalt whom you wish and you abase whom you wish" (Q 3:26).

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Gog and Magog

Two peoples known to Jewish and Christian eschatology and similarly associated by the Qurʾān and Muslim tradition with events at the end of time. The coming of Gog and Magog (Ar. Yājūj and Mājūj or Yāʾjūj and Māʾjūj), according to one ḥadīth, will be one of ten principal "signs of the hour" (Muslim, *Saḥīḥ [K. Fitan],* xviii, 27; Nuʿaym b. Ḥammād, *Fitan,* 404, 406); the two will be set loose upon the earth to work their evil in anticipation of the apocalyptic descent of Jesus (q.v.; see also APOCALYPSE).

Muslim tradition generally identifies Gog and Magog as two peoples descended from the biblical Japheth (*Gen* 10:2), also held to have fathered the Turks (Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh,* i, 2, id., *History,* ii, 11; Bayḍāwī, *Anwār,* ii, 22 f., with variants given; Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr,* iii, 102 [ad Q 18:94]). In taking the two names to designate entire peoples rather than individuals, Muslim tradition is consistent with post-biblical Jewish and Christian writing on the subject, which had long since modified the biblical picture (*Ezek* 38 and 39) of an individual named Gog ruling the land of Magog (cf. Gressman, *Ursprung,* 181 f.; Alexander, *Apocalyptic tradition,* 190 f.).

The names Yājūj and Mājūj appear twice in the Qurʾān, both times in apparently eschatological contexts (see ESCHATOLOGY). At Q 21:96-7, the day of judgment (see LAST JUDGMENT) will occur only after "Gog

and Magog are unloosed, and they slide down out of every slope, and the true promise has drawn near." More context is supplied at Q 18:94-8, where reference to Gog and Magog is embedded in the Qurʾān's extended account of Alexander the Great (Q 18:83 f.; see ALEXANDER). There, Dhū l-Qarnayn (Alexander) agrees to build a barrier against Gog and Magog, who are to be prevented from sowing corruption in the land until "the lord's promise comes to pass." This conflation of the biblical-haggadic Gog and Magog with the Alexander legend is not unique to the Qurʾān; it is attested in the early sixth-century Syriac Christian "Legend of Alexander" and in a homiletic poem by Jacob of Sarug (d. 521 C.E.), both of which contain other suggestive parallels to Q 18:83 f. (The former is edited and translated by Budge, *History,* 255-75 [text], 144-61 [trans.]; the latter is translated at Budge, 163-200. For specific parallels to the qurʾānic passage, see Anderson, *Inclosed nations,* 28 f.; Friedlaender, *Chadhirlegende,* 51; Nöldeke, Beiträge, 32 f.)

Further details about Gog and Magog can be found in Muslim tradition. The two peoples are human or semi-human (according to one report, they are the product of Adam's sperm mixed with soil, and thus not descended from Eve; see ADAM AND EVE), and possess certain monstrous or animalistic physical qualities. They graze as wild beasts and hunt their prey as predatory animals, eating vermin such as snakes and scorpions as well as human flesh and the placentas of their wives. According to some reports, Gog and Magog are dwarfs with claws and fangs, and with enough fur to protect them against heat and cold; according to others, they are of three physical types: one as tall as cedars, a second as broad as they are tall, and a third able to use their giant ears as covering for their bodies. They are said to howl like dogs and copulate like animals. If given free reign, their numbers would soon cover the entire world, as not one among them dies before leaving a thousand others in its place; as it now stands, they constitute six-sevenths of the world. (These and other details can be found at Nuʿaym b. Ḥammād, *Fitan,* 397 f.; and Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* xvi, 19 f.; xvii, 88 f.)

A rough picture of Gog and Magog's role at the end of time emerges from various ḥādīths (see ḤADĪTH AND THE QURʾĀN). Imprisoned behind Alexander's gate, they continue to try to escape by tunneling under it, devouring it or climbing over it; each night, however, their progress is set back as God repairs the breaches in the wall. According to one report, Dhū l-Qarnayn set above it a stone eagle that screams an alarm each time Gog and Magog approach. The alarm summons Khiḍr (see KHAḌIR/KHIḌR) and Ilyās (see ELIJAH; DHŪ L-KIFL), who reassure the frightened people in the area, and petition God to restore the gate to its original condition (Friedlaender, *Chadhirlegende,* 149; Arabic text of ʿUmāra at 315). When the day of judgment arrives, Gog and Magog will finally be allowed to emerge into the world, devouring crops and consuming the waters of the Tigris and Euphrates, or Lake Tiberius, or all the waters of the earth. People will flee to cities and fortified places as Gog and Magog, having vanquished the inhabitants of the earth, now turn their attention to the heavens. In response to Jesus' petitions, God will send down worms to clog the nostrils and ears (or necks) of Gog and Magog. The stench of their dead will fill the earth, until God sends a cleansing rain and birds deposit the remains of Gog and Magog in the sea. Meanwhile, animals fatten themselves on the corpses (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* xvi, 21; xvii, 88 f.; Tirmidhī, *Jāmiʿ, [K. Fitan],* bāb 59 [no. 2240]; Nuʿaym b. Ḥammād, *Fitan,* 398; Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad,* ii, 510 f.). Their

fate is well-deserved, as Gog and Magog had rejected Islam offered to them by the Prophet during his night journey (see ASCENSION; Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh,* i, 70; id., *History,* i, 237-8; Nuʿaym b. Ḥammād, *Fitan,* 404).

Neither details about Gog and Magog's physical appearance and behavior nor their precise role at the end of time, can be found in the Qurʾān itself. These are presumably the products of Muslim reflection on an older set of legends, some of which can be found in the Syriac materials already mentioned as well as in the mid-seventh-century Syriac apocalypse pseudo-Methodius (see e.g. Palmer, *Seventh century,* 239; Alexander, *Apocalyptic tradition,* 49). In any case, the gate of Alexander and the home territory of Gog and Magog piqued the Muslim imagination to the extent that the ʿAbbāsid Caliph al-Wāthiq (r. 227-232/842-847) is supposed to have sent an expedition in 842 to locate the gate. The report of the expedition leader Sallām the Interpreter, preserved by Ibn Khurradādhbih (*Masālik,* 162-70), seems largely a wonder-tale and may owe something to the Syriac "Legend of Alexander" (Nöldeke, Beiträge, 33).

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Gold

A yellow metallic element, the most precious metal used as a common medium of commercial exchange. Gold (Ar. *dhahab*) is attested eight times in the Qurʾān (Q 3:14, 91; 9:34; 18:31; 22:23; 35:33; 43:53, 71). Four verses mention gold in the context of the pleasures and luxury the believers will enjoy in paradise (q.v.; Q 18:31; 22:23; 35:33; 43:71; see REWARD AND PUNISHMENT). These verses are very similar in content. They refer to the economic value of gold and the materialistic wealth (q.v.) symbolized by jewels and clothes. In this context, gold, silver, pearls, brocade and silk (q.v.) simply denote precious materials (see METALS AND MINERALS). Thus the "bracelets of gold" (Q 18:31) can elsewhere be "bracelets of silver" (Q 76:21).

Gold, silver and silk are often mentioned together in the collections of ḥadīths and *fatwā*s, as well as in the *tafsīr* literature.

Wearing gold and silk, however, is restricted to women. Abū Dāwūd (d. 275/888) and al-Nasāʾī (d. 303/915) record that ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib (q.v.) took silk in his right hand and gold in his left hand and said: "These two are forbidden to the men of my nation *(ummatī)*" (Ibn Bāz, *Fatāwā,* iii, 194). Men are only allowed to wear silver (Qurṭubī, *J̌āmiʿ,* xii, 29). Gold and silk belong to a category of things disapproved of in this world, but explicitly allowed in paradise and even emphasized as special delights that the believers will enjoy there (cf. also the prohibition of wine; see INTOXICANTS; CUPS AND VESSELS). According to Q 43:71, golden platters in paradise contain "whatever the souls desire." In this life, however, those who drink from silver and golden vessels will feel the fire (q.v.) of hell (q.v.) in their stomachs (Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* vi, 135). Only in Q 43:53 is there an allusion to gold (specifically, bracelets of gold) as being among the insignia of earthly sovereignty and honesty. The fact that Moses (q.v.) lacks these insignia is used by Pharaoh (q.v.) to underscore his contemptibility and insincerity (Qurṭubī, *J̌āmiʿ,* xv, 100).

Gold as well as silver (the two are paired in Q 3:14 and 9:34) play an important symbolic role in religions. Gold symbolizes the incorruptible and imperishable. In some religious contexts, though, it has negative connotations, as evidenced in the Abrahamic traditions (Carpenter, Gold, 68a/b). Q 9:34 points out the dangers of cheating (q.v.), greed (see AVARICE) and misbehavior caused by treasuring gold and silver for personal use, namely among rabbis and monks (see MONASTICISM AND MONKS; JEWS AND JUDAISM; CHRISTIANS AND CHRISTIANITY). Similarly, and again in the context of contrasting this world with the next, in Q 3:14 "heaped-up heaps of gold and silver" symbolize much wealth (*al-māl al-kathīr,* Ṭābarī, *Tafsīr,* vi, 249-50), which people desire, among other things, in their life on earth. Q 3:91 uses gold to delineate the difference between this- and other-worldly values: "Those who disbelieve and die in disbelief (see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF), the earth full of gold would not be accepted from any one of them were it offered as a ransom. Theirs will be a painful doom and they will have no helpers."

Despite the ambivalent attitude towards the presence of gold in this world that is found in the Qurʾān and Islamic literature, Muslim societies did find use for the material. In the *materia medica,* gold has not only been used as a remedy (eyes, heart, respiration), but also as a material for medical instruments (cauterization; cf. Leclerc, *Ibn el-Bëithar,* ii, no. 1007, 150 f.). See also MATERIAL CULTURE AND THE QURʾĀN.

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Goliath

Foe of the Children of Israel (q.v.) slain by David (q.v.). Goliath's name (J̌ālūt; this Arabic rendition of the name is possibly influenced by the Heb. word for exile, *gālūt;* cf. Vajda, Djālūt) is mentioned three times in Q 2:249-51 wherein he is portrayed as the ancient Israelites' opponent in battle. The qurʾānic account conflates the biblical story of Gideon's conflict with the Midianites (see MIDIAN) — in particular the episode wherein God instructed Gideon to

select only those men who drank from the river by scooping water with their hand (*Judg* 7:1-7) — with the account of the wars of Saul (q.v.) and David against the Philistines (*I Sam* 17). The "stories of the prophets" tradition *(qiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ)* identifies Goliath as the king of the Amalakites; the biblical account identifies him as the champion of the Philistines (*I Sam* 17:4, 23). The *qiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ* tradition transforms the simple phrase, "David slew Goliath" (Q 2:151) into a tale, attributed to Wahb b. Munabbih (d. 114/732), whose origins may be found in midrashic legend. In Wahb's account, David collected the stones of his ancestors Abraham (q.v.), Isaac (q.v.), and Jacob (q.v.) and put them in his satchel. When he confronted Goliath, he reached into his satchel and the three stones became one. After he placed it in his sling and threw it at Goliath, the single stone again became three. One stone penetrated Goliath's helmet and slew him; the second vanquished his right flank; the third his left flank. Not surprisingly, the Muslim tradition views the miraculous victory of the young David's outnumbered forces over the formidable Goliath's mighty host as a foreshadowing of the battle of Badr (q.v.). In fact, one finds the passage "Many a small band has, by God's grace, vanquished a mighty army; God is with those who endure with fortitude" (Q 2:249), cited in all sorts of accounts in which the smaller armies of the righteous (however defined by the author) defeat the larger armies of their opponents (see EXPEDITIONS AND BATTLES; FIGHTING).

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Secondary: L. Ginzberg, *Legends of the Jews,* 7 vols., Philadelphia 1909-36, iv, 81-121; G. Vajda, Djālūt, in *EI²,* ii, 406.

Good and Evil

Frequently paired terms that can connote moral qualities, ontological entites and categories of judgment, both human and divine. The direct opposition of an abstract good and evil as moral or ontological categories is not common in the Qurʾān, nor are there terms that are necessarily always understood as "good" or "evil," though many passages in the Qurʾān are interpreted to depend on the opposition of positive and negative intentions and consequences. Note also that unlike the biblical account, in Q 2:35 and 20:120 it is stated that it was the tree of life from which Adam and Eve (q.v.) were commanded to abstain in the garden of Eden. There is no mention of a tree of the knowledge of good and evil in the Qurʾān (see INTELLECT; KNOWLEDGE AND LEARNING).

The word normally translated as "evil," *sūʾ,* occurs forty-three times as a noun, but is not always understood by Muslim commentary on the Qurʾān as a reference to a moral or ontological category. Often the term refers to harm (Q 7:73; 11:64; 20:22; 26:156; 27:12; 28:32; 60:2), misfortune (Q 16:94; 27:62; 39:61; 40:45, 52) or God's chastisement (Q 6:157; 7:141, 167; 13:18-25; 14:6; 27:5; 39:24, 47; see CHASTISEMENT AND PUNISHMENT). Many verses refer to "evil" as the intention or consequence of actions (Q 4:110, 123; 6:54; 12:25; 13:11; 16:119; 33:17; 40:37; 47:14), though in some cases it appears that harm or misfortune can result from actions unrelated to a moral choice. Q 7:165 refers to the general prohibition against evil, and Q 9:37 seems to equate evil with unlawful actions (see LAWFUL AND UNLAWFUL). Joseph's (q.v.) renunciation of Potiphar's wife's sexual

advances is described as avoiding evil deeds (q.v.) in Q 12:24 and again in Q 12:51 and Q 12:53.

Evil is also taken as a sort of entity in the accusations made against Hūd (q.v.) by his opponents in Q 11:54, and the evil that people deny in Q 16:28 seems to be the "shame" that covers them on the day of judgment (see LAST JUDGMENT) in the preceding verse, Q 16:27. Muslim exegetes often interpret qurʾānic references to Iblīs and Satan (see DEVIL) to cast him in the role of the personification of evil. Satan is cursed by God (Q 15:39) and vows to lead astray (q.v.) many of Adam's descendants (Q 7:16-7; 17:64; 38:77-85). Closely related to these various uses of the term *sūʾ* is the word *sharr,* occurring some 28 times in the Qurʾān, often translated as "bad" and used to indicate that certain ideas or actions are considered to be unfortunate.

One of the two words normally translated as "good" occurs six times as a noun *(ḥusn)* and nineteen times as an adjective *(ḥasan)*. The term usually translated as "good deeds" (q.v.; *ḥasana*) occurs twenty-six times with an additional three times in the plural *(ḥasanāt)*. Q 27:11 states that God is forgiving and merciful when a person substitutes good *(ḥusn)* for evil *(sūʾ),* though some exegetes take this as a specific reference to the messengers of God mentioned at the end of verse 10 (Ṭabarsī, *Majmaʿ,* xix, 202). According to the *Kashshāf* of al-Zamakhsharī (d. 538/1144), the "good" mentioned in Q 27:11 is repentance from evil (see REPENTANCE AND PENANCE).

Another word often translated as "good" *(khayr)* occurs 140 times in the nominative case and thirty-seven more times in the accusative case, oftentimes used to denote a "good thing" without the object being specified. For example, in Q 28:24, Moses (q.v.) asks God to send him something good, understood by several classical commentators to refer to food and clothing needed by Moses after his long trip to Midian (q.v.; Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* xx, 58-9; Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr,* vi, 237). Q 7:188 juxtaposes the multiplication of "good" *(khayr)* and the protection from "evil" *(sūʾ)* as the result of actions directed by divine knowledge of that which is hidden (see HIDDEN AND THE HIDDEN). These usages suggest that *khayr,* which can also be used with the meaning of "better," is most appropriately opposite to those uses of *sūʾ* that denote harm and misfortune. Closely related to these usages of *khayr* is the term *ṣāliḥ,* occurring numerous times in the Qurʾān, sometimes translated as "good," but more commonly as "upright" or "righteous" in the sense of a person's character and actions being suitable to God's design.

Knowledge of good and evil

Muslim exegetes contend that thinking about the cosmos and human experience leads to acknowledging the existence of God which, in turn, leads to doing good (see GRATITUDE AND INGRATITUDE). According to the Shīʿite and Muʿtazilite exegete al-Ṭūsī (d. 460/1067; *Tibyān,* vii, 401-2), Q 23:115 makes a connection between God's purpose in creating the world and the return of this creation to God without blemish. Commenting on Q 23:115, Ibn Kathīr (d. 774/1373) writes that God created people for the express purpose of worship (q.v.; *ʿibāda*) and establishing the commands (*awāmir,* see COMMANDMENTS) of God on the earth (*Tafsīr,* v, 459).

Knowledge of God and of his intention that people do good is considered to be innate. Q 91:7-10 lists the attributes which God created as part of each person's awareness, including *taqwā* which is understood as balance and stability but also piety (q.v.) and fear (q.v.) of God. In his *Jāmiʿ* on Q 91:8, al-Qurṭubī cites several reports in which *taqwā* is portrayed as a sort of conscience, that which protects one's self from

the evil consequences of one's actions. The positive result of *taqwā* is directing one's conduct to the worship of God and the establishing of his commands.

Q 7:172-3 also recounts how God revealed himself to the descendants of Adam (see ADAM AND EVE) before they were born, and how these descendants testified that they recognized God as their lord (q.v.). In his discussion of the "stories of the prophets" *(qiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ),* Ibn Kathīr recounts a number of related reports in which God takes Adam's descendants from his body. Some of these reports, such as those related by Ibn ʿAbbās, concern Adam's giving part of his life span to David (q.v.; Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad,* ed. al-Ghamrāwī, i, 197; ed. Shākir et al., iii, 42-3, no. 2270; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāya*). Other reports, such as that transmitted by ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb and recorded by Mālik b. Anas (d. 179/796), reflect the tradition that God showed Adam how some of his descendants would end up in paradise (q.v.) but others in hell (q.v.; Mālik, *Muwaṭṭaʾ,* ii, 898-9; Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad,* ed. al-Ghamrāwī, i, 44-5; ed. Shākir et al., iii, 42-3, no. 2270; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāya,* i, 8; see REWARD AND PUNISHMENT). Because of its proximity to the mention of the covenant (q.v.) with the Israelites (see CHILDREN OF ISRAEL) in Q 7:163-71, many Muslim exegetes stress that the verses of Q 7:172-3 demonstrate the existence of a covenant between God and all humanity. It is further underscored that in Q 7:173 God cautions people that they cannot now use ignorance (q.v.) as a defense of their evil deeds on the day of judgment.

In addition, the Qurʾān contains numerous accounts of the various prophets sent to different peoples in different times and places reminding them of their covenant obligation to worship God and to establish his commands on the earth (see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD). Q 28:59 makes explicit that God did not destroy any peoples to whom he had not first sent a messenger (q.v.) reminding them of God and of their covenant with him (see PUNISHMENT STORIES). To some of these messengers God also revealed books which contained accounts of the laws by which people were supposed to conduct themselves. Muslim exegetes emphasize that these qurʾānic stories of prophets and their ultimate rejection by the peoples to whom they were sent underline the view of evil action as a willful act of disobedience (q.v.).

Doing evil is thus not the result of ignorance that God exists or ignorance of his commands. Because knowledge of God and of doing good is self-evident and periodically re-revealed, doing evil is a conscious decision to disobey God's commands. According to the interpretation of Q 38:27, it is those who regard the creation of the heavens and earth as being without purpose, who will, as a consequence of their actions, be cast into the fire (q.v.) of hell. On Q 2:11-2, the Muʿtazilite Ibn Kaysān (Abū Bakr al-Aṣamm, d. 200/816) remarks that even people who think they are doing good, when they deny the prophet Muḥammad and the teaching of the Qurʾān, are disobeying God (al-Qurṭubī, *Jāmiʿ,* i, 255, l.5). Q 18:103-4 is interpreted similarly to mean that acts thought to be good but done without knowledge of God's instructions are actually fruitless and ultimately result in evil.

Consequences of good and evil

In keeping with the general association of evil with misfortune and of good with benefit, Muslim exegetes identify passages which represent this opposition in the stories of the prophets. That these stories themselves are intended as further evidence of God's instructions can be seen in the exegesis of Q 29:67-9. In his *Tafsīr,* Ibn Kathīr relates that these verses were originally addressed to the Quraysh (q.v.) as a

message that it is because of God's protection, not the false gods they themselves created, nor their own efforts, that Mecca (q.v.) had remained a safe sanctuary (see POLYTHEISM AND ATHEISM; SOUTH ARABIA, RELIGION IN PRE-ISLAMIC).

Evil actions are those which are unproductive or fruitless *(bāṭil),* whereas good actions produce sound and proper benefit *(ṣāliḥ)*. Muslim exegesis finds this juxtaposition in numerous verses which stress the ephemeral nature of earthly accomplishments. Ibn Kathīr, in his *Tafsīr* on Q 29:41, writes that those who deny the existence of God are like spiders who put their trust in their own creations, their webs made of silk and easily destroyed. Al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923) in his *Tafsīr,* reports on the authority of Ibn ʿAbbās that the last part of Q 29:40, immediately preceding the parable of the spider (q.v.) in Q 29:41, refers to the story of Noah (q.v.) and the flood. This follows allusions in the preceding verses to the Pharaoh (q.v.), Hāmān (q.v.), Korah (q.v.), and the peoples of Lot (q.v.), Ṣāliḥ (q.v.), Hūd, and Shuʿayb (q.v.) who exalted themselves rather than God on the earth (see ARROGANCE; PRIDE).

Throughout the Qurʾān, certain characters are singled out for their attempts to achieve earthly fame in opposition to the prophets' attempts to focus attention away from this world, and directly on the worship of God. Pharaoh and Hāmān, mentioned together as persecutors of the Israelites (Q 28:6, 8, 38; 40:36) and with Korah (Q 29:39; 40:24), seem to symbolize the outright denial of God (see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF) in the attempt to exalt oneself. In Q 28:4, for example, the Pharaoh is said to have exalted himself on the earth and, again in Q 28:38, the Pharaoh and Hāmān plan to build a tower to the heavens to prove that the God of Moses is false. In Q 79:24 the Pharaoh says plainly that he is God. Many Muslim exegetes point out that Korah's fate of being swallowed by the earth (Q 28:81) is in stark contrast to his own attempts to accumulate and claim earthly wealth (q.v.).

The stories of the people of ʿĀd (q.v.) and Thamūd (q.v.) are also particularly clear in showing the contrast between earthly fame and eternal damnation. Q 89:6-13 compares the buildings of ʿĀd that were created unlike any others in the land, the buildings of Thamūd hewed out of rocks, and the city-building of the Pharaoh (see GEOGRAPHY). Q 26:128-9 accuses the people of Thamūd of using their buildings to guarantee their immortality through their fame. Yāqūt, in his *Buldān,* reports an opinion that the city of Iram Dhāt al-ʿImād (see IRAM), mentioned in Q 89:7 in connection with the ʿĀd, was built between the Ḥadramawt and Ṣanʿā in imitation of paradise by one of the descendants of ʿĀd, and that God destroyed the city on account of its builder's pride. According to the exegesis of Q 46:25 in al-Rāzī's (d. 606/1210) *Tafsīr,* God left only the ruins of the dwellings of the ʿĀd after their destruction as a testament to their refusal to recognize his providence. In Ṭabarī's *Taʾrīkh,* it is reported that the wind or black birds carry away the people of ʿĀd from their houses, dropping them in the sea and leaving their houses as a sign of the artifices upon which they pinned their false hopes of immortality. The houses are left standing, but their treasury and their bodies are swept away by a noisy, roaring wind *(ṣarṣar)*. According to Nuwayrī (d. 733/1333; *Nihāya,* xiii, 73), the people of Thamūd, secure in their houses against invaders and storms, are destroyed by the sound of the "scream" *(ṣayḥa)*.

In his *Taʾrīkh,* al-Ṭabarī reports that the people of Thamūd are said to have been made invulnerable by God, and given special skills to hew their houses out of the sides of mountains. The *Sīra* of Ibn Isḥāq

takes the mention of the houses of Thamūd (in Q 26:149; 29:38; 89:9) as references to the ruins located at al-Ḥijr (see ḤIJR), also called the "cities of Ṣāliḥ" *(madāʾin Ṣāliḥ),* Nabataean ruins which the prophet Muḥammad passed on his way to the raid on Tabūk (Ibn Isḥāq-Guillaume, 605; see EXPEDITIONS AND BATTLES). The ruins of the people of Thamūd, according to a tradition preserved by al-Bayḥaqī (d. 458/1066; *Dalāʾil,* v, 235), are called "al-Ḥijr" because of their status as a place that is interdicted or forbidden *(ḥijr),* a monument not to the immortality but to the infamy of the people of Thamūd.

Conclusions

In contrast to the images of empty buildings and ruins, Muslim exegetes point to the qurʾānic images of fertility and life as evidence of the eventual vindication of good over evil. Noah is saved from the flood, Abraham (q.v.) from the fire, Moses from the Pharaoh, and Jesus (q.v.) from the Jews (see JEWS AND JUDAISM). According to many Muslim exegetes, the message of the Qurʾān here is that the prophet Muḥammad, and those who follow him, also will be saved. The people can choose to keep their primordial covenant with God and thus do good, or they can choose to deny God and rely on their own devices. Doing good and doing evil produce concrete results both in this world and in the next. (For further discussion of the connection between faith and good works, see FAITH. See also ETHICS AND THE QURʾĀN; OBEDIENCE.)

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Good Deeds

Meritorious acts that will accrue to an individual's benefit on the day of judgment. The term normally translated as "good deeds" *(ḥasana,* pl. *ḥasanāt)* occurs twenty-nine times in the Qurʾān. Related are two words, usually translated as "good," which occur as a noun *(ḥusn)* six times, and as an adjective *(ḥasan)* nineteen times. Another term often translated as "good deeds" *(ṣāliḥāt)* is found 63 times in the Qurʾān, but often with the sense of "good things" or actions which produce good things rather than actions which are consistent with God's will.

According to Muslim exegesis of the Qurʾān, knowledge of good and evil is given to every person. Exegesis of Q 7:172-3 recounts how all of Adam's (see ADAM AND EVE) descendants made a covenant (q.v.) with God before they were born. Q 91:7-10 and 9:8 have been interpreted to indicate that all people possess a conscience that distinguishes good from evil. Acts of

worship are also equated with doing good deeds. Q 28:59 states that God has not destroyed a people (see PUNISHMENT STORIES) to whom he has not first sent one of his messengers (see MESSENGER) reminding them of God and the distinction between good and evil (q.v.). Commentary on Q 23:12 and 23:115 emphasizes that God created people for the express purpose of worshipping him. In his *Tafsīr* on these verses, Ibn Kathīr (d. 774/1373) remarks that people were created for worship *(ʿibāda)* of God and for establishing his commands *(awāmir)* on earth. In a general sense, to neglect the worship (q.v.) of God and obedience to his commands (see COMMANDMENTS) is to do evil, while to worship and follow God's commands is to do good (see OBEDIENCE). The consequence, then, of doing God's will, which includes the rituals made obligatory upon people, is being saved from punishment in hell (q.v.) and rewarded with eternal life in heaven (q.v.) on the day of judment (see LAST JUDGMENT; REWARD AND PUNISHMENT).

The required Muslim acts of worship are outlined in the Qurʾān and more fully developed in later Islamic legal codes derived from the Qurʾān and the example of the prophet Muḥammad (see ḤADĪTH AND THE QURʾĀN; SUNNA). These rituals include prayer (q.v.; Q 11:114; 17:78-9; 20:130; 30:17-8), fasting (q.v.; Q 2:184-5), almsgiving (q.v.; Q 2:43, 110, 177, 277; 4:162; 5:55), the pilgrimage (q.v.; Q 2:158, 196-203; 3:97; 5:2; 22:26-33) and, according to some schools of Muslim thought, striving in the service of God (*jihād fī sabīli llāhi,* Q 2:216, 244; 9:20; 22:78; 25:52; 26:69; 61:11; see JIHĀD). In addition to fulfilling these ritual obligations, doing good involves following the laws of God on earth, as these are expressed in the Qurʾān and the example of the prophet Muḥammad, and accumulated in what is known as the *sharīʿa* (see LAW AND THE QURʾĀN).

Good deeds also include spontaneous, non-prescribed acts that arise from addressing situations in daily life with an attitude of serving God. The result of such acts is "sound" or "proper benefit" *(ṣāliḥ),* whereas not living with a focus on service of God produces "fruitless" or "unproductive" *(bāṭil)* results. The Qurʾān often refers to people who do good as the "upright" *(ṣāliḥūn)* who are worshippers of God (Q 21:105; 22:14). The prophet sent to the people of Thamūd (q.v.) is named Ṣāliḥ (q.v.; Q 7:73-9; 11:61-8; 26:141-59; 27:45-53), which could be translated as "the one who does good." According to Q 4:69, those with whom God is pleased include the prophets (*nabiyyūn,* see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD), the righteous *(ṣiddīqūn),* the martyrs (*shuhadāʾ,* see MARTYR), and the upright *(ṣāliḥūn)*. Q 6:85 identifies Zechariah (q.v.), John the Baptist (q.v.), Jesus (q.v.), and Elijah (q.v.) as being among the upright *(kullun mina l-ṣāliḥīn)*. See FAITH for a further discussion of the connection between belief and good deeds; see also EVIL DEEDS; ETHICS AND THE QURʾĀN.

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Good News

Tidings of welcome events. In the Qurʾān, "good news" (*bushrā,* as well as various permutations of the second verbal form of the

root *b-sh-r*) signifies the announcement of a birth and, by extension, other welcome occurrences. Thus, the prediction of Isaac (q.v.) and Jacob (q.v.) given to Sarah was good news (Q 11:69-74; 15:51-5; 29:31; 37:100-1, 112; 51:28) as were the announcements of John the Baptist (q.v.) to Zechariah (q.v.; Q 3:39; 19:7) and of Jesus (q.v.) to Mary (q.v.; Q 3:45). Jesus himself proclaimed the good news of the coming of Muḥammad (Q 61:6). The good news when the caravan (q.v.) found Joseph (q.v.) in the well (*yā-bushrā,* Q 12:19) is perhaps to be metaphorically related to the term's use for annunciations, as may also be the case with the messenger (q.v.) who told Jacob that his son Joseph still lived and was thus a "bearer of good news" (*bashīr,* Q 12:96). It is perhaps in an extended sense that the winds (see AIR AND WIND) bear good news *(yursilu l-riyāḥa bushran):* They go before God's mercy (q.v.), bearing clouds and rain to parched deserts (Q 7:57; 25:48; such extension does not, however, fully account for the statement at Q 30:46 that [God] sends winds as heralds of good news *[yursila l-riyāḥi mubashshirātin],* enabling ships [q.v.] to sail). The term can also be used ironically, as when the Qurʾān refers to the "good news" of the birth of a female child — addressing an audience for whom such news would not have been good at all (*bushshira,* Q 16:58-9; 43:16-7; see CHILDREN; INFANTICIDE).

In a broader signification, God has good news for those who abandon evil (see GOOD AND EVIL), who listen to the divine word and serve him (Q 39:17-8), who are pious (see PIETY) and his friends (Q 10:62-4; 19:97; see FRIENDS AND FRIENDSHIP), who believe (Q 2:25, 97, 223; 7:188; 10:2, 87; 18:2; 27:1-2; see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF; FAITH), humble themselves (Q 22:34), submit (Q 16:89, 102; see OBEDIENCE; ISLAM), do good (Q 2:25; 17:9; 18:2; 22:37; 46:12; see GOOD DEEDS) and are patient (Q 2:155; see TRUST AND PATIENCE). Unfortunately, most reject the good news and consequently neither hear nor know it (Q 34:28; 41:4; see GRATITUDE AND INGRATITUDE).

God's good news applies to both this life and the next (Q 10:62-4), banishing despair (q.v.; Q 15:55). The message of assurance and divine assistance given to the Muslims before the battle of Badr (q.v.) was *bushrā* (Q 3:126; 8:10). Preeminently, though, the good news is the promise of paradise (q.v.) for the righteous. This is the message that Muḥammad was told to convey (Q 2:25). Jesus brought good news (*mubashshiran,* Q 61:6), and Moses and Aaron were ordered to bring good news to the believers (Q 10:87). Such tidings are sent to all, but are conjoined with a warning to those who reject them (Q 17:9-10; see REWARD AND PUNISHMENT). Prophets bear these dual tidings (Q 2:213; 4:165; 6:48; 18:56; see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD). So it was with Muḥammad, who, like all prophets, is both a warner (q.v.; *nadhīr*) and a bearer of good news (*bashīr,* Q 2:119; 5:19; 7:188; 10:2; 11:2; 17:105; 19:97; 25:56; 33:45; 34:28; 35:24; 48:8). The Qurʾān itself has this dual function (Q 41:1-4). In fact, it is not only a bearer of good news (Q 17:9), but *is* good news (Q 16:89, 102; 27:1-2; 46:12). Thus, in addition to the human prophets and messengers, God conveys the good news through scripture (Q 18:2) and angelic messengers (Q 2:97; 3:39, 45; 15:51-5; 29:31; 51:24-8; 69:74; cf. Q 3:126; 8:10).

On judgment day (see LAST JUDGMENT), believers will receive the good news of their admission into the gardens of paradise (Q 9:20-1; 18:2; 42:22-3; 57:12). In the eschatological context (see ESCHATOLOGY), *bushrā* (or various permutations of the second verbal form of *b-sh-r*) can ironically denote the punishment of the wicked (3:21; 4:138; 9:3, 34; 31:7; 45:8; 84:24) for whom, in the strict sense, ultimately there will be no good news (Q 25:22; compare 17:10).

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Gospel

In Christianity, the "good news" preached about Jesus Christ; in the Qurʾān, part of the divine message given to Jesus (q.v.). Of the twelve times the Gospel *(al-injīl)* is mentioned in the Qurʾān, in nine of them it occurs in conjunction with the mention of the Torah (q.v.; *al-tawrāt*), as a scripture sent down by God (see SCRIPTURE AND THE QURʾĀN; BOOK). Together with wisdom (q.v.; *al-ḥikma*), the Torah and the Gospel appear to comprise the 'scripture' *(al-kitāb)* that the Qurʾān says God taught to Jesus (Q 3:48; 5:110). Twice the Qurʾān says explicitly that God brought Jesus the Gospel (Q 5:46; 57:27). And once the Qurʾān instructs the 'People of the Gospel' to judge in accordance with that which God sent down to them (Q 5:47; see CHRISTIANS AND CHRISTIANITY).

In a number of passages the Qurʾān clearly presumes in its audience a prior knowledge of Gospel characters and narratives (q.v.). In some passages the Qurʾān closely parallels narratives to be found in the canonical, Christian Gospel (cf. e.g. Q 3:45-7); in others one finds some motifs familiar from the apocryphal Gospels of the Christians, or other sources of early Christian lore (cf. e.g. Q 5:110). A number of qurʾānic sayings of Jesus, and narratives about him, have no known parallels in extant Christian texts. What is more, the Qurʾān clearly teaches that the future coming of Muḥammad was written in both the Torah and the Gospel and was foretold by Jesus himself (cf. Q 7:157; 61:6).

The Arabic word *injīl* is ultimately derived from the Greek *evangelion,* but the exact philological path by which the term in its present form came into Arabic is unclear (see FOREIGN VOCABULARY). Noting that all but one of the mentions of the Gospel in the Qurʾān are in sūras traditionally designated as 'Medinan' (see CHRONOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN), some scholars have suggested that the Ethiopic form of the word, *wangēl,* is not only philologically, but chronologically the most likely ancestor of the Arabic term.

Conceptually, in the Qurʾānic view, the Gospel is a scripture that God gave to Jesus, on the order of the Torah that God gave to Moses (q.v.), and even on the order of the Qurʾān that God gave to Muḥammad (cf. Q 9:111). Contrariwise, in the usual Christian view, the Gospel is the proclamation in the human community of the 'good news' of the salvation of all human beings that God has accomplished in Christ. Most Christians have believed that the Gospel was recorded under divine inspiration by the four evangelists in the four canonical texts: the Gospel according to Matthew, the Gospel according to Mark, the Gospel according to Luke, and the Gospel according to John, all of them written originally in Greek (see REVELATION AND INSPIRATION). Qurʾānic uses of the term *injīl,* however, are all in the singular and betray no awareness of multiple Gospels. The conceptual differences between the Christian and the Islamic views of the Gospel soon gave rise among Muslim commentators to the charge that Christian have 'distorted' *(al-taḥrīf)* the original Gospel of which the Qurʾān speaks, in the way that the Qurʾān suggests the Jews distorted the Torah (cf. Q 4:46; 5:13; see POLEMIC AND POLEMICAL LANGUAGE; JEWS AND JUDAISM). Some early Muslim writers say that the original Gospel was written in Hebrew, or in Aramaic, both of them languages in use in the Jewish community at the time of Jesus. As for the Gospel in Arabic, while one strand of

Islamic tradition credits Waraqa b. Nawfal (see INFORMANTS) with a translation of the text into Arabic, the remaining textual evidence suggests that the earliest translations were made after the rise of Islam, from Greek originals, by Christian monks in Palestine, in the late eighth century.

There is some evidence that the term Gospel was also sometimes used in the early Islamic period to indicate the whole New Testament, in the same way that the name of the Torah was used not only for the Pentateuch, but for all the books of the Jewish scriptures. While passages were liberally quoted from the Christian Gospel by some early Muslim writers, such as Ibn Qutayba (d. 276/889) and al-Yaʿqūbī (d. 292/905), among others, in general, early Muslim writers referred to Gospel characters and Gospel narratives in the forms in which they appear in the Qurʾān or in other early Islamic texts. Many sayings of Jesus current in Islamic texts have no known Christian counterparts.

A text called the *Gospel of Barnabas* has had a wide circulation in modern times. It was discovered in an Italian manuscript in Amsterdam in 1709. Since its translation into Arabic in the early 20th century, some have claimed that it preserves the original Gospel, of which the Qurʾān speaks. In fact, the *Gospel of Barnabas* has been shown to have its origins in the western Mediterranean world, probably in Spain, in the 16th century.

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Gossip

Idle discussion of an absent party's personal affairs. Although no exact equivalent to the English "gossip" is to be found in the Qurʾān, there are several explicit condemnations of the closely related phenomenon of backbiting, that is, deliberately spreading information, whether true or false, to someone's discredit; and two further passages address, somewhat obliquely, painful incidents of destructive talk involving the Prophet's wives (see WIVES OF THE PROPHET).

Backbiting (ightiyāb, lamz, hamz, namīm)

At Q 49:11-2 the believers are enjoined to avoid expressing disrespect for one another in a number of ways — mockery (q.v.), defamation *(lā talmizū anfusakum),* the use of offensive nicknames, undue suspicion (q.v.), spying, and backbiting: "… and do not backbite *(lā yaghtab)* one another — would one of you like to eat the flesh of his dead brother (see DEATH AND THE DEAD; BROTHER AND BROTHERHOOD)? You would hate that!" Although the specific term used here for backbiting (from a root meaning "to be absent") does not recur elsewhere in the Qurʾān, the vaguer term for defamation, *lamz,* is attested. In two instances (Q 9:58, 79), concerning criticism directed at the Prophet and the believers over the distribution of alms (*ṣadaqāt,* see ALMSGIVING), it is generally understood by the

exegetes as referring to face-to-face criticism. Most of them interpret the *lumaza* in the laconic condemnation at Q 104:1 ("Woe to every *humaza lumaza!*") in the same way, contrasting such a person with the *humaza* who only defames people behind their backs; but others reverse these definitions or distinguish the two in terms of gesture (or bodily attack) versus explicit speech. The *hamazāt* of demons (*shayāṭīn,* see DEVIL) at Q 23:97 are said to be insidious whisperings; but elsewhere, in a string of epithets describing evildoers (see EVIL DEEDS) the Prophet is not to heed (Q 68:11), the commentators identify the *hammāz* as a backbiter and the immediately following *mashshāʾ bi-namīm* ("he who walks around with harmful information") as a malicious talebearer.

Gossip and the Prophet's wives

Certainly the most notorious case of malicious gossip to which the Qurʾān makes reference is that of the "scandal of ʿĀʾisha" (*ḥadīth al-ifk,* see ʿĀʾISHA BINT ABĪ BAKR), the vicious rumors that swirled around the Prophet's wife when she was accidently left behind in the desert during the return from a military engagement and was rescued by a young man. The attacks on her virtue (q.v.) were finally squelched only by a revelation (Q 24:11-20) condemning the scandalmongers and admonishing the believers to recognize a lie (q.v.; *ifk*) and a slander *(buhtān)* as such and to refrain from passing on that of which they have no knowledge (Schoeler, 119-63). Preceding this passage and linked with it (Q 24:4-5) is the stipulation of a punishment (see BOUNDARIES AND PRECEPTS; CHASTISEMENT AND PUNISHMENT) of eighty lashes for those who falsely accuse chaste women of adultery (see ADULTERY AND FORNICATION) without producing four witnesses (in legal parlance, the offense of *qadhf*). Much less clear is a reference (Q 66:1-5) to a breach of confidence on the part of one of the Prophet's wives, for which the exegetical literature provides a variety of explanatory (and mutually incompatible) accounts, but for which the Qurʾān, in any case, recommends repentance (see REPENTANCE AND PENANCE; VIRTUES AND VICES).

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Grace

Undeserved favor or unmerited salvation. Grace has no linguistic or conceptual equivalent in the Qurʾān, although *faḍl* in certain contexts suggests shades of that meaning. Q 2:64, criticizing the Israelites (see CHILDREN OF ISRAEL) for breaking a covenant (q.v.) with God, says "Were it not for God's *faḍl* upon you and his mercy (q.v.), you would have been among the losers." This implies that while, strictly-speaking, the breach called for punishment (see CHASTISEMENT AND PUNISHMENT), God's *faḍl* gave the Israelites respite and another chance. It was David's (q.v.) special gift that when he sang the praises of God, mountains and birds sang with him — this was a *faḍl* from God (Q 34:10). One of Solomon's (q.v.) courtiers who possessed "knowledge of the book (q.v.)" brought him the Queen of Sheba's (q.v.; see also BILQĪS) throne before Solomon could blink his eyes — this, too, was a *faḍl* from God (Q 27:40). According to several verses, God,

who possesses great *faḍl,* gives the gift of prophecy and revelation (see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD; REVELATION AND INSPIRATION) to whomever he likes — thus bestowing his *faḍl* on whomever he likes (for example Q 2:90, 105; 3:74; 4:113; 57:29). In the same vein are verses that speak of the election (q.v.) of Israel (for example Q 2:47, 122). In all these verses *faḍl* represents divine bounty that is uncaused and freely given.

In the above-noted Q 2:64 (and elsewhere) *faḍl* occurs together with *raḥma,* "mercy," suggesting that while the two words belong to the same general category of divine kindness, they differ in their import. The clue to the difference may be in the literal meaning of *faḍl,* which represents excess — in this case excess, or rather superabundance, of mercy which cannot be fully explained by reference to the calculus of merit and reward or sin and punishment (see Q 4:173; 24:38; and 35:30, which seem to distinguish between deserved reward and supervenient mercy; see REWARD AND PUNISHMENT; SIN, MAJOR AND MINOR).

But even when it signifies something like unmerited favor, *faḍl* in the Qurʾān has certain distinguishing characteristics. First, it is informed by divine wisdom (q.v.). Q 6:124 says that the omniscient God "knows very well where to bestow his message" — that is, he selects the most suitable person to serve as his messenger (q.v.). Second, it is purposive: God chose the Israelites, but they were expected to be grateful for the election and show their gratitude by fulfilling the covenant God had made with them; and when they violated the terms of the covenant, they were treated with lenience, but only so that they could have another opportunity to fulfill the covenant. Divine *faḍl,* in other words, makes a certain demand on those who receive it — namely, that they show gratitude to God. It is for this reason that *faḍl* and *shukr,* "gratitude," are bracketed together in many verses, for example in Q 34:13, which calls upon the followers of David *(āl Dāwūd)* to offer gratitude (see GRATITUDE AND INGRATITUDE).

To sum up, while *faḍl* may be said to represent the qurʾānic concept of grace, it essentially means bounty and has special connotations in the qurʾānic context. In later centuries, the theme of *faḍl* would be used in the polemic against the Qadarites and Muʿtazilites (see MUʿTAZILĪS) concerning the question of human free will (cf. Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* i, 162-3, ad Q 1:5; Gilliot, *Elt,* 266-7; see FREEDOM AND PREDESTINATION). See also BLESSING.

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Grains

see GRASSES; AGRICULTURE AND VEGETATION

Grammar and the Qurʾān

Qurʾānic language and text

Modern students of Arabic linguistics have been studying several fundamental questions about qurʾānic language and text ever since the earliest formulations of these investigations some hundred years ago (see LANGUAGE OF THE QURʾĀN; LITERARY STRUCTURES OF THE QURʾĀN). The qurʾānic text constitutes one of the three early language corpora that reflect language varieties of Arabic speakers in pre-Islamic Arabia (see ARABIC LANGUAGE). The other two corpora are poetry (usually inclusive of almost all the pre-ʿAbbāsid Islamic inventory; see POETRY AND POETS) and vestiges of the spoken dialects (q.v.). Since the re-

cording of all three corpora has reached us through the medium of early Arab philologists, whose earliest extant writings were composed in the last quarter of the second/eighth century, none of them has escaped the scepticism of modern scholars regarding their value as authentic manifestations of the language situation of pre-Islamic Arabic.

The character of the Qur'ān's language has been investigated in comparison with the poetic idiom and the living language of the Arabs (q.v.), tribal nomads (q.v.) and town dwellers (see CITY). Vollers *(Volkssprache und Schriftsprache)* was the first to formulate a coherent hypothesis, based on the well-known diglossia of modern Arabic, which suggested that the cleavage between the poetic language and the spoken language was related to two opposed modes by which the qur'ānic text was transmitted. The first reflected the genuine living language of the two Ḥijāzī communities of Meccans and Medinese (see GEOGRAPHY; MECCA; MEDINA), the original language in which Muḥammad addressed his people (see ORALITY). The other was a later modification by Arab philologists, grounded in the grammatical standards formulated by this scholarly body on the basis of the poetic idiom that they had carefully studied. According to Vollers, a prominent element in the cleavage between these two modes of transmission was the lack of case and mood *(iʿrāb)* endings in the original text and their presence in the philologists' radical modification of it. This distinction is also fundamental in the typological classification of standard Arabic (*iʿrābi,* synthetic) and the modern (non-*iʿrābi,* analytical) dialects. It also corresponds with the linguistic situation of Arabic in the medieval Islamic world as far as the documentation of that era goes, with the somewhat debatable exception of Bedouin (q.v.) dialects during the first Islamic centuries.

Study of the history of Arabic diglossia resides currently in a distinction between old Arabic (OA) and neo-Arabic (NA) as two types of this language. A largely accepted view propagated by Nöldeke (*Beiträge,* 1-14; id., *Neue Beiträge,* 1-5), which rejects Vollers's thesis, identifies the three corpora of testimony associated with the language of pre-Islamic Arabs as OA. Its direct offspring consists of the medieval literary idiom and modern standard Arabic (MSA). Accordingly, NA developed later than the emergence of the Qur'ān and the evolution of its text. Although adherents of this view admit that some difference could have existed between the language of the Qur'ān and either the pre-Islamic poetry or the language of the townsmen of the Ḥijāz, they nevertheless argue that these differences could not have been large, considering the typological identity shared by these corpora. Some of the central arguments for the genuineness of the extant qur'ānic text as a representative of the original prophetic message and of an OA idiom will be presented in the course of our discussion below of the structure of the qur'ānic language (see also FORM AND STRUCTURE OF THE QUR'ĀN).

A recent discussion of the definition of classical Arabic (CA) has attempted to draw a structural distinction between the language of these three corpora of material and that of later medieval literary production up to the fourth/eleventh century. Fischer (Die Perioden; Das Altarabische; *Grammatik*) counted some thirty items attested in the earliest corpora, which distinguish their language from that of the later stage. Accordingly, he called this distinct language layer "pre-classical Arabic." Included in his list are such morphological phenomena as verbal forms from outside the fifteen stems *(harāqa, irʿawā), nisba* endings of a *yamānin* type rather than *-iyy* ending, use of the *faʿāli* pattern, relative

use of a basically demonstrative *al-ulā,* an inflected cataphoric pronominal *-kum* in *dhālikum,* fifth and sixth stems without *-a-* following the characteristic *t-* (e.g. *izzayyana* < **itzayyana* = *tazayyana),* the forms *ẓalta/zilta* = *ẓalilta* of the geminite verb, the energicus enclitic *-an* with the imperative (the energicus form is the imperfect or imperative plus *-an* or *-anna*), *ayyatuhā* as the vocative particle, the *-ta* in *rubbata,* use of *ʿalla* for *laʿalla,* etc., and some syntactic phenomena such as *mā al-ḥijāziyya,* occurrence of the energicus in conditional clauses, *lākin* followed by a subject rather than a verb, and imperfect verbal forms following perfect verbs. Although Ullmann (Vorklassisches Arabisch) indicated that all these phenomena are documented in later layers of standard Arabic, this search for a distinct common denominator of the corpora of the early stage of Arabic is instructive as a fresh attempt to revive the typological dimension of the study of Arabic and as an effort to be attentive to the role played by the grammarians and other philologists in the formation of the language norms of the later layer.

Outline of the grammarians' study of the Qur'ān

A group of works from the end of the second/eighth and the beginning of the third/ninth century constitutes the main body of sources about early grammarians' interest in the language of the Qurʾān. These works include Sībawayhi's (d. prob. 180/796) *Kitāb,* al-Farrāʾ's (d. 207/822) *Maʿānī l-Qurʾān,* al-Akhfash's (d. between 210 and 221/825 and 835) commentary under the same title, and Abū ʿUbayda's (d. 209/824-5) *Majāz al-Qurʾān*. Versteegh studied the few grammatical observations and a list of forty-one terms of linguistic relevance in five early *tafsīr* collections that are attributed to the exegetical effort of the middle second/eighth-century onward (that is, exegetical works attributed to Mujāhid b. Jabr [d. 104/722], Zayd b. ʿAlī [d. 122/740], Muḥammad b. al-Sāʾib al-Kalbī [d. 146/763], Muqātil b. Sulaymān [d. 150/767], Maʿmar b. Rashīd [d. 153/770], and Sufyān al-Thawrī [d. 161/778]; see Versteegh, *Grammar and exegesis,* 41-2). His conclusions about the later development of Arabic grammar, however, can hardly be supported by the evidence of the grammatically oriented sources mentioned above, which include frequent mention of yet earlier authorities who had developed grammatical thinking by their combined study of the three corpora of early Arabic. The patterns of their scholarly effort integrated a meticulous analysis of given sources and the sophistication of a grammatical theory with a rich vocabulary of linguistic terms.

We are better acquainted with the achievements of the two centers in Kūfa and Baṣra, although Ḥijāzī scholars are also mentioned in the early sources at random (cf. Talmon, An eighth century school). The growing discipline of scholarly studies in grammar was then taken over by al-Khalīl b. Aḥmad (d. ca. 170/786) and his disciple Sībawayhi, whose criticism of contemporary theory and whose innovative advanced analogical methodology soon became the leading stream of Iraqi linguistics. Sībawayhi's *al-Kitāb* has ever since stood as a source of inspiration for all generations of later grammarians. While future study of grammatically oriented qurʾānic exegesis (*tafsīr,* see EXEGESIS OF THE QUR'ĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL) from the third/ninth century on will show the extent to which it continued to follow the patterns of pre-Khalīlian grammar, in what follows we shall concentrate on the interest of the Kūfan and Baṣran grammarians in qurʾānic grammar.

One should bear in mind, however, that the authors of the sources upon which this article will concentrate, namely Sībawayhi,

al-Farrā', and the others, are far better recorded in their study of many of the topics mentioned in what follows and other observations about qur'ānic grammar than the earlier sources. Only a handful of notes exist in the early sources that indicate pre-Sībawayhian interest in phonetical matters, among them the treatment of two consecutive *hamza*s by Ibn Abī Isḥāq (d. 117/735) in Qur'ān reading (Sībawayhi, *Kitāb,* ii, 458.19; Akhfash, *Maʿānī,* 565), such as *'a'āmantum* in Q 7:123 (other cases are mentioned by Nöldeke, *GQ,* iii, 45). Other problems of assimilation are mentioned in the sources concerning the irregular *yikhkhiṭṭifu* of a reflexive variant of *yakhṭafu* in Q 2:20 (Farrā', *Maʿānī,* i, 18) and the shift of *s* > *ṣ* in *bi-muṣayṭirin* (Q 88:22) and *al-muṣayṭirūna* (Q 52:37; cf. Talmon, *Arabic grammar,* 265). Sībawayhi's phonetical studies, particularly his survey of the consonantal inventory in chapter 565 and the following chapters of the *Kitāb,* are closely related to Qur'ān readings.

To return now to the four foundational sources mentioned above, early morphological analysis of qur'ānic material included etymological study of the singular form of the *hapax legomena al-zabāniya* (Q 96:18; cf. Akhfash, *Maʿānī,* 582) and *abābīl* (Q 105:3; cf. Talmon, *Arabic grammar,* 271), inquiry concerning the structure of *wayka'anna* and *wayka'annahu* (Q 28:82, Talmon, op. cit., 269), as well as the root of *yatasannah, s-n-n* or *s-n-h* (Q 2:259; id., op. cit., 267), and discussion of exceptional forms in the verbal paradigms, namely *āmarnā* (Q 17:16, *amarnā*), whose identification as a first stem verb is considered (Abū ʿUbayda, *Majāz,* i, 372). It is not evident, however, that early interest in the irregular form *mastu* of the originally geminite *masastu* (in Khalīl, *al-ʿAyn;* see Talmon, *Arabic grammar,* 267 f.) is evoked by interest in the analogous morphological shift found in *zalta, zaltum* as they occur in Q 20:97 and 56:65, respectively. In general, early Arabic grammarians focused on the study of *iʿrāb,* and its intricate rules and their observations were applied to qur'ānic morphology. The triptote variant of *ṭuwā/ṭuwan* at Q 79:16 (but not Q 20:12) was debated (Akhfash, *Maʿānī,* 566); the non-nunated *mathnā* at Q 4:3 is identified by Abū ʿAmr b. al-ʿAlā' (d. 154/771) as an "adjective" *(ṣifa)* with reference to its sense *ithnayni thnayni* (Sībawayhi, *Kitāb,* ii, 15.4). This formulation corresponds partly with the early grammarians' application of a rule of "deviation" *(ṣarf)* which relates non-nunated and diptote forms to their equivalents in the triptotic domain and a "deviation" process as the reason for a "loss" of full inflexional features.

Early sophistication in the grammatical examination of qur'ānic morphology is demonstrated (Talmon, *Arabic grammar,* 273) in the study of the pair *ḥūr ʿīn,* "women of white complexion and wide open eyes," (Q 44:54; 52:20; and 56:22; see HOURIS) in which the opposite order is presented as an existing reading with the form *wa-ḥīrun ʿīnun*. The shift of *ḥūr (ḥ-w-r)* to *ḥīr* is a case of attraction caused by the following *ʿīn (ʿ-y-n),* and Abū Zayd al-Anṣarī (d. 214 or 215/830-1) quotes the view of "grammar experts" *(ḥudhdhāq ahl al-ʿarabiyya)* to this effect (Abū Zayd, *Nawādir,* 574). Next, the author resorts to Khalīl's authority for an explanation of the principle of attraction (with the sample phrase *juḥru ḍabbin kharibin,* "a ruined lair/burrow of a lizard," instead of *[…] kharibun*), and concludes with an analysis of the features of this pair of adjectives which justify identification of this occurrence as attraction.

In the early sources, syntactic study is the most extensively reported and most developed field of interest in qur'ānic grammar. It seems proper to conclude that this is the result of the general tendency among the Arab grammarians to emphasize the im-

portance of *iʿrāb* in linguistic studies, a tendency which has endured. As a rule, qurʾānic and poetic language are understood to be one fully integrated system (*pace* Wansbrough's review of Müller's Untersuchungen, in *BSOAS* 33 [1970], 389); consequently poetic structures are taken as evidence in the analysis of issues of qurʾānic syntax. We shall give as an example *balā qādirīna* (Q 75:4), mentioned by Kinberg (*Lexicon of al-Farrāʾ,* 12). Al-Farrāʾ records a theorem, disseminated by anonymous grammarians, that the accusative case *(naṣb)* of the active participle results from a shift *(ṣarf)* from a finite verb form *(naqdiru)*. It is clear that this *ṣarf* principle, introduced earlier in the domain of morphology, played a major role in the theory of pre-Sībawayhian grammar. A poetic verse quoted by these grammarians as an illustration *(ḥujja)* was al-Farazdaq's (d. 110/728 or 112/730) *ʿalā qasamin lā ashtimu l-dahra musliman wa-lā khārijan min fiyya zūru kalāmi,* "swearing that I shall never curse a Muslim and will never utter a lie," in which *khārijan* is presented as an active participle shifted from the finite *yakhruju*.

Another citation is presented here as an illustration of the difference between the approach of early exegetes and grammarians in their treatment of identical structures. Q 72:18 reads *wa-anna l-masājida li-llāhi fa-lā tadʿū maʿa llāhi aḥadan* ("and the mosques are for God, so do not invoke anyone along with God"). Sībawayhi (*Kitāb,* i, 413.12) attributes to the exegetes an *ad sensum* interpretation, namely that the sentence *wa-anna…* is subordinate to an unexpressed verb "it is revealed" *(ūḥiya)*. The grammarians offer a more sophisticated analysis which is based on its identification of the *wa-anna* clause as a structure that had undergone permutation and elision of *li-* with the sense of "because" (<**fa-lā tadʿū… li-anna l-masājida li-llāhi*). This structure is identified also in Q 23:52. The elision of *li-* is formalized in the grammarians' jargon as *fī mawḍiʿ al-jarr,* "[the clause opened with *anna* is] in a status of a noun which follows a preposition." This passage is documented in Sībawayhi's *Kitāb* (i, 413.17) and the information about the grammarians' view is reported from al-Khalīl, but in al-Farrāʾ's commentary it is mentioned explicitly as al-Kisāʾī's (d. ca. 189/805) view (Farrāʾ, *Maʿānī,* i, 58.7, 148.8; ii, 173.9, also 238.13). It is not insignificant to note that two of the seven official readers of the ʿUthmānic Qurʾān (see CODICES OF THE QUR'ĀN; COLLECTION OF THE QUR'ĀN), Abū ʿAmr b. al-ʿAlāʾ and al-Kisāʾī, are recorded in early treatises of grammatical orientation as the authoritative grammarians of their days, scholars who mastered a sophisticated methodology of grammatical analysis and an advanced technical vocabulary.

It is important to mention that in the pre-Khalīlian stage of Arabic grammar, the formulation of several major syntactic categories seems to have been defined according to strict dictation of qurʾānic exegetical effort. Prominent among these is the *ibtidāʾ* category, which at that period was not defined in terms of governance grammar (and relations with *khabar/mabnī ʿalayhi*), but according to its relations with, in fact independence of, the preceding speech unit. It is especially effective in the analysis of written texts, in which boundaries of independent segments are not always clear, and case and mood marks can be crucial for the distinction of a fresh new utterance from a segment related to an antecedent.

Linguistic studies in the qurʾānic text continued intensively throughout the Middle Ages. Generally speaking, the accumulated knowledge provided by the scholars of the early centuries circulated in the later writings, with a growing tendency to improve its categorization. The study of the inimitability (q.v.) of the Qurʾān *(iʿjāz*

al-Qur'ān), a branch of Arabic rhetoric (see RHETORIC OF THE QUR'ĀN), provided a type of language analysis which was only partially dependent upon the principles of Arabic grammar.

In recent years there has been a growing tendency among Muslim scholars to study the language of the Qur'ān not so much in order to ceremonially follow their great medieval predecessors, but by application of some trends of literary criticism and modern fashions of western interest in language, e.g. stylistics and text analysis (see CONTEMPORARY CRITICAL PRACTICES AND THE QUR'ĀN).

Sketch of modern linguistic interest in qur'ānic grammar

Elements of qur'ānic grammar were incorporated in virtually all of the main grammars of classical Arabic of the last two centuries. Fischer's chronological division mentioned above has already effected several studies in individual topics of classical Arabic. Surprisingly, the long interest in the Qur'ān expressed by western scholarship has not yielded a satisfactory description of its characteristics and peculiarities with respect to many grammatical issues. Nedjar *(Grammaire fonctionnelle)* is a unique attempt, so far, to create a comprehensive grammar of the Qur'ān, but it is far from complete. Here, we shall briefly highlight the status of qur'ānic grammar in the major systematic treatises of classical Arabic, the important work done by Nöldeke, and the issues covered by modern research in the various domains of qur'ānic grammar. We shall also consider the attitude of some prominent modern scholars regarding the contribution of the medieval Arab grammarians to the study of qur'ānic grammar.

The common tendency to discuss details of qur'ānic grammar within the general context of a presentation of CA features can be observed in Fleischer *(Kleinere Schriften),* Wright *(Grammar),* Reckendorf *(Die Syntaktische Verhältnisse; Arabische Syntax),* and Brockelmann *(Grundriß).* Ewald *(Grammatica critica)* and Nöldeke *(Zur Grammatik)* are exceptional in their more intensive attention to the peculiarities of qur'ānic grammar. Ewald (*Grammatica critica,* ii, 171 f.), for instance, reports the frequency of topicalization structures, in which the subject precedes its verbal predicate ("600 times") and notes its rarity in Arabic, in contrast to Hebrew. Peculiarities of the Qur'ān's agreement rules are discussed by Nöldeke (*Zur Grammatik,* 80, 81) regarding such cases as *jā'akum/jā'athum rusuluhum* (cf. Q 3:183 and 10:13, 14: 9, respectively). All these grammars state their position vis-à-vis the grammatical studies of the medieval Arab grammarians. Reservations about the adequacy of medieval explanations, however, are shared by all of them with the exception of Fleischer, about whose attitude Nöldeke expresses severe criticism in the introduction to his *Zur Grammatik.* Further, such reservations are expressed with different degrees of emphasis. In general, the Arab grammarians' theories are judged to be incompatible with the modern linguistic search for an explanation of language facts, whether this is according to the principles of the comparative study of Semitic languages or those of general linguistics. Several examples may illustrate their differences of approach to the analysis of several syntactic structures. Ewald discusses interferences in the coordination of nouns (shift from singular to plural and back to singular) in such cases as Q 40:35, *alladhīna yujādilūna… kabura maqtan* (similarly Q 5:69) and confines this phenomenon to "general sentences," mentions its frequency in Hebrew, and notes its rarity in the language of Arabic texts later than the Qur'ān. Nöldeke (*Zur Grammatik,* 33) considers the circumstantial *(ḥāl)* identification by the Arab

grammarians of such accusative abstract nouns as *ṭawʿan wa-karhan* (Q 3:83) but prefers to classify them as gerunds. A series of substantives marked by the accusative in various qurʾānic verses, e.g. *farīḍatan mina llāhi* (Q 4:11, 9:60) were analyzed by the Arab grammarians as *mafʿūl muṭlaq* governed by a covert verb. Nöldeke (*Zur Grammatik,* 35) considers them adverbials and notes their limited use (eight of the nine references are qurʾānic).

Nöldeke's studies present a unique combination of linguistic analysis and consideration of Muḥammad's biography. In his *Zur Grammatik* (33) he examines the apparent irregularity of Q 104:1-2, where a structure with *kull* plus an indefinite singular noun is followed by *alladhī* (which normally follows definite nouns) and concludes that in pronouncing these words which were phrased in general terms, Muḥammad mentally associated them with a concrete rival (see OPPOSITION TO MUḤAMMAD). The scattered remarks made in this book about Muḥammad's language being inarticulate were followed by a famous essay in Nöldeke (Zur Sprache) on syntactical and stylistic peculiarities of the language of the Qurʾān. This study discusses thirty aspects of such peculiarities. Included, among others, are formulaic repetitions (cf. *hal atāka ḥadīthu…,* Zur Sprache, 8), problems resulting from the dictates of rhyme (e.g. shift of a verb form, as in *farīqan kadhdhabtum wa-farīqan taqtulūna* [Q 2:87]; Nöldeke, Zur Sprache, 9; see RHYMED PROSE), correlation of subjective and objective genitives (*huwa ahlu l-taqwā wa-ahlu l-maghfirati,* "He owns [men's] fear [q.v.] and owns mercy" [q.v.; Q 74:56]; Nöldeke, Zur Sprache, 11), repetition of identical words with distinct reference (*alladhīna qāla lahumu l-nāsu inna l-nāsa qad jamaʿū lakum* [Q 3:173] with reference to "allies" and "enemies" [q.v.] respectively; id., op. cit., 11), correlation of finite verbs and participles (*inna l-muṣṣaddiqīna wa-l-muṣṣaddiqāti wa-aqraḍū llāha qarḍan ḥasanan…* [Q 57:18]; Nöldeke, op. cit., 14), elision of the resumptive pronoun in expressions of time (*hal atā ʿalā l-insāni ḥīnun mina l-dahri lam yakun shayʾan madhkūran,* without *[lam yakun] fīhi,* [Q 76:1]; Nöldeke, op. cit., 16 f.), and use of the conjunctive *an* where the negative *allā* is expected (*wa-ḥdharhum an yaftinūka* [Q 5:49]; Nöldeke, op. cit., 19 f.). Nöldeke's thesis was that Muḥammad's pioneering position as the exponent of a new prose genre in his society was responsible for his idiosyncratic grammar and style. Given the accumulated advances in our present knowledge of pre-Islamic Arabic, it is difficult for contemporary scholars to appreciate or affirm Nöldeke's position.

Linguistic studies specific to the Qurʾān following in the pattern of the composition of the comprehensive grammars are few. Spitaler (Die Schreibung des Typus *ṣlwt*) studied the qurʾānic orthography exhibited in *ṣ-l-w-h* and its like. Diem's work on early Arabic orthography (Untersuchungen) is another key contribution to this field (see ARABIC SCRIPT; ORTHOGRAPHY OF THE QURʾĀN). No specific study treats qurʾānic phonology per se. Birkeland's studies on pause and stress in old Arabic *(Altarabische Pausalformen; Stress patterns)* are of special importance. In the field of qurʾānic morphology we have two studies of the verb by Chouémi *(Le verbe dans le Coran)* and Leemhuis *(D and H stems)*. Works on qurʾānic syntax include several studies of its tense and aspect characteristics by Reuschel (Wa-kāna llāhu ʿalīman; *Aspekt und Tempus*), Nebes (ʾIn al-muḫaffafa), and Kinberg (Semi-imperfectives). Negation is another topic of intensive interest, already dealt with by Bergsträsser in 1914 *(Verneinungs- und Fragepartikeln)* and more recently by several others. On various aspects of *mafʿūl muṭlaq* there is Talmon (Syntactic category). Studies concerned with types of clauses

are Tietz *(Bedingungsatz)* on conditional sentences, Correll ("Ein Esel") on relative clauses, and Goldenberg (*Allāḏī al-maṣdariyya* in Arab grammatical tradition) on the treatment of *alladhī* structures without resumptive pronouns (e.g. in Q 9:69). Syntactic features of the energetic form of the verb are described by Ambros (Syntaktische und stilistische Funktionen; also Zewi, *Syntactical study*). Several small publications concentrate on the function of specific particles: Worrell (The interrogative particle *hal*) studied *hal* and *a-,* Miquel (La particule *innamā;* La particule *ḥattā*) studied *innamā* and *ḥattā,* and Ambros *(Lākin* und *lākinna) lākin* and *lākinna*. Richter *(Der Sprachstil)* and Müller *(Untersuchungen zur Reimprosa)* are, respectively, monographs on the effect of qurʾānic style and rhyme on the Qurʾān's grammatical structure. General questions of the treatment of the Arab grammatical tradition in the Qurʾān include Sībawayhi's use of Qurʾān citations, in Beck's dissertation *(Die Koranzitate),* and *iʿrāb* errors in Burton (Linguistic errors).

A sketch of qurʾānic grammatical structure

In the absence of a comprehensive grammar of the Qurʾān the following sketch comprises a selection of orthographical and grammatical phenomena recorded mainly in the ʿUthmānic text, which are either peculiar to the Qurʾān in comparison with the other corpora of old Arabic, or considered by the present writer to be of special relevance for students of qurʾānic language. It is inescapably technical but will be of interest to those who are well-versed in the structure and semantics of classical Arabic.

Orthographic characteristics

This domain is of special importance for the study of the Qurʾān's language because it provides, according to a largely accepted scholarly view, the most reliable record of this language in the earliest days of the formation of this corpus. Brockelmann (*Grundriß,* i, 53; also 460), illustrates nicely how important the occurrence of *w, y, ā* in the noun's final position is for scholars who want to draw conclusions about the use of case endings in the "Meccan dialect." The following is mainly a synopsis of the detailed description of characteristics given by Nöldeke, *GQ,* iii:

1. Exceptions to the pausal orthography
   a. Use of *t* instead of *h* for *tāʾ marbūṭa* in non-pausal state: at least forty-one times, most frequently in *niʿma* (eleven times), *raḥma,* and *imraʾa* (seven times each). Others may be interpreted as plural feminine. Four other words in which *ā* precedes: *marḍāt, al-lāt, hayhāt, dhāt*. This orthographic custom is attested mainly in the construct state *(muḍāf)*.
   b. Omission of *w* (five times) and *y* (fifteen times) in word ending, e.g. *yuʾti* for *yuʾtī* (Q 4:146), *sa-nadʿu* for *sa-nadʿū* (Q 96:18). A similar omission of *alif* occurs three times in *ayyuhā* > *ayyuha* before the article.
   c. Use of *n* for *tanwīn: kaʾayyin/kāʾin* > *kaʾayyin* (e.g. Q 3:146; 12:105; 22:45).

2. Merger of two particles
   This occurs in *mimman, mimmā* (three times for *min mā*), *fīmā* (less frequent *fī mā*), *allan* < *an lan, ammā* (also for "or what," Q 6:143) and others. *Biʾsa mā* are separated on all but one occasion. Other peculiarities in this respect: *yā bna umma* is written *y-b-n-w-m* (Q 20:94), *mā li-(hāʾulāʾi/lladhīna kafarū,* etc.) occurs four times with separated *li-, wa-lāta ḥīna* (Q 38:3) is separated as *wa-lā taḥīn*. Also *wa-lākinnā* < *wa-lākin anā* (Q 18:38; cf. Brockelmann, *Grundriß,* i, 258 and Nöldeke, *GQ,* iii, 114, n. 1; see now Ambros, *Lākin* und *lākinna,* 22 n. 9).

3. Letters of prolongation *(matres lectionis)*
a. *Alif* in inner positions of the word is more often written than not, and almost without any regularity. The shift *a'* > *ā* resulted in such forms as *t-w-y-l* for *ta'wīl* or *'-s-t-j-r-t* for *ista'jarta* (Q 28:26).
b. *Y* is omitted when it represents *ī* following another *y* as in *al-nabiyyīna* (written *'-l-n-b-y-n; 'illiyyīna* in Q 83:18 is exceptional) and *yuḥyīkum*. Different from this orthographic convention is the massive omission of *y* in word-endings. It indicates either total elision of *ī* (cf. Q 13:9, *l-muta'āl* < *l-muta'ālī* in rhyme) or its shortening in the local dialect.
c. *W* is omitted only when it represents *ū* following another *w,* e.g. *yalwūna* is written *y-l-w-n* in Q 3:78. Also *ru'yā* > *rūyā* is written *r-y-'*, because of the shift *uy* > *ī*.
d. *H* of the pronoun *hu/hi* is shortened to *-h* in pause (for this issue, see Fischer, Die Quantität, esp. 399).

4. *Alif maqṣūra* and *ā* preceding *tā' marbūṭa*
Final *ā* is written *y* if *y* is a third radical or expressed as *y* in the inflexion. It is also written so before suffixes. It seems to reflect a pronunciation with some proximity to *e (imāla)*. The few exceptions are largely regulated and include, for example, cases in which *alif waṣl* follows, as in *ladā l-bāb* (Q 12:25) and the verb *ra'ā,* written *r-'*.
Use of *y* for *ā* preceding *tā' marbūṭa* occurs only in foreign words (see FOREIGN VOCABULARY), e.g. *tawrāh* (see TORAH). The *w* in a similar situation occurs in eight words *(ṣalāh, zakāh, ḥayāh, najāh, manāh, mishkāh, ghadāh,* and the exceptional *ribā)*. Whereas the first two follow the Aramaic orthography, the others follow them by analogy, and the last may represent a word with *w* (possible pronunciation *rabw,* see Spitaler, Die Schreibung des Typus *ṣlwt*).

5. *W* of word end
This *w* is regularly followed by *alif* (*alif al-faṣl,* "*alif* of separation"). Few exceptions exist.

6. *Hamza*
As a result of its weakening and even disappearance in word middle and end positions, the orthography of such words in the Qur'ān is modified by the following changes:
a. Omission after a vowelless consonant results sometimes in the writing of *yas'alu,* etc. as *y-s-l, '-l-m-w-d-h* for *al-mawūda* (< *al-maw'ūda,* Q 81:8), or the variations *l-y-k-h/'-l-'-y-k-h* for *[aṣḥāb] al-aykah* (with *"h"* here indicating *tā' marbūṭa;* cf. Q 26:176; 38:13 for the first and Q 15:78; 50:14 for the other).
b. Loss of vowelless *hamza: ri'yan* is written *r-y-'* (Q 19:74) and *t-w-y/t-w-y-h* stand for *tu'wī/tu'wīhi* (Q 33:51 and 70:13 respectively).
c. Loss of *hamza* intermediating two *-a* vowels, resulting in such orthographic forms as *l-m-l-n* for *la-amla'anna* (Q 7:18 and passim), or *'-r-y-t-m* for *a-ra'aytum* and *'-l-m-n-sh-t* for *al-munsha'ātu* (Q 55:24). The same occurs in *-i'ī* position, as in *m-t-k-y-n* for *muttaki'īna* (e.g. Q 18:31; 37:51).
d. Loss of *hamza* intermediating two different vowels. The following is a selection of forms that exemplify the intricate subcategorization of the orthographic convention in this situation: *'-w-n-b-y-k-m* for *a-unabbi'ukum* (Q 3:15), *'-n/'-'-n* variably for *a-in* with the interrogative, both exhibiting the situation following a pre-posed particle; *t-b-w-'* for *tabū'a* (Q 5:29), but also *l-t-n-w-'* for *la-tanū'u* between two vowels of the same quality (Q 28:76); change in word end orthography following case and mood vowels is typical with *-ā'* endings, such as *j-z-'-w* for *jazā'u* (Q 5:33 and passim), *t-l-q-'-y* for *[min] tilqā'i [nafsī]* (Q 10:15), though *'-w-l-y-'* with personal pronoun suffixation stands for the nominative and genitive as

well; finally, sequence of *alif* plus *'/w/y* may indicate pronunciation of *hamza,* in a word-opening position preceded by a pre-posing particle (*l-'-'-dh-b-ḥ-n-h* for *la-adhbaḥannahu,* Q 27:21), or it may be a mere graphic peculiarity in such cases as *m-l-'-y-h* for *mala'ihī, b-'-y-y-d* for *bi-aydin* (Q 51:47) and *l-sh-'-y* for *li-shay'in* (Q 18:23).

7. Omission of *n*

Its occurrence in Q 12:110 where *nunajjī* is written *n-j-y,* and, in several qur'ānic variants, two other verbs *(n-z-r* and *n-ṣ-r),* may reflect dissimilation. The form *ta'murūnī* for *ta'murūnanī* (also read *ta'murūnnī,* Q 39:64) has many equivalents in poetry but not in the Qur'ān, see Nöldeke (*Zur Grammatik,* 11, n. 1).

8. Omission of *l* of the article and *alif al-waṣl*

In addition to omission of this *l-* in the relative pronouns (cf. *'-l-y* for *allā'i*), it is missing in *al-layl* and *lal-dār*. Omission of *alif al-waṣl* is attested in *bi-sm* of the *basmala* (q.v.) and several other words (including *la-ttakhadhta* in Q 18:77 and *wa-s'al*), but it is preserved in *ibn* of *'Īsā bnu Maryam* in all of its sixteen occurrences (see JESUS; MARY).

9. *S* > *ṣ, z* > *ḍ*

Ṣ written instead of *s* is attested in four words, *wa-yabṣuṭu* and *baṣṭatan* (Q 2:245, 247) and *bi-muṣayṭirin* and *al-muṣayṭirūna* (Q 88:22 and 52:37). This spelling reflects assimilation of the emphatic *ṭ* as is also the case with *ṣirāṭ*. In similar fashion *ḍanīn* (Q 81:24) is said to present a shift from *zanīn*.

10. Regularity of pausal orthography

This regularity is largely maintained and *ā* is written in rhyming words like *al-rasūlā* (Q 33:66) and *al-sabīlā* (Q 33:67), or *-a* in *sulṭāniya* (Q 69:29), although exceptions exist.

Phonetics

1. Short vowels

a. Elision of final short vowel following liquid, such as *yanṣurukum* > *yanṣurkum* (Q 67:20) and *yushʿirukum* > *yushʿirkum* (Q 6:109; redaction of Abū ʿAmr). Nöldeke (*Zur Grammatik,* 9 f.) presents the forms *ta'mannā* (written *t-'-m-n-';* Q 12:11), *makannī* (Q 18:95) and the reading *wa-arnā* for *wa-arinā* (Q 2:128) among others from poetry, and considers them early testimony for the gradual disappearance of *iʿrāb* (see also the discussion in Rabin, *Ancient west Arabian,* 93 n. 16).

b. Elision of unstressed short vowel as it happens in *ṣudqātihinna* < *ṣaduqātihinna* (Q 4:4) and *jumʿati* < *(yawmu) l-jumuʿati* (Q 62:9). The east Arabian, so-called Tamīmī form of Arabic, has for the first *ṣaduqa* > *ṣuduqa* > *ṣudqa,* through vowel harmony. In sound plural feminine *-āt* the eastern form omits the vowel of the preceding syllable *(fVʿlāt),* whereas the western Ḥijāzī form has it *(fVʿVlāt),* e.g. *muth-lāt-mathulāt* (Q 13:6). This Ḥijāzī practice was conceived by the early philologists as *tafkhīm* (cf. Rabin, *Ancient west Arabian,* 97 f.).

2. Long vowels

a. *ā* > *ō:* Rabin argues for this shift (op. cit., 105), following all earlier scholars, for *ṣalāh* and the other words with *w* ending but Spitaler disagrees (Die Schreibung des Typus *ṣlwt;* see the section on orthography above).

b. *ī* > *i* in word end: According to the reading of several official readers, this shift is attested in a phrase like *yawma ya'ti* (Q 11:105). Al-Zamakhsharī (d. 538/1144) identifies it as a peculiarity of the dialect of Hudhayl (see Rabin, op. cit., 89).

c. *-ī* > *ø* in pause: Such are the forms *akramanī* > *akraman,* and *ahānan* (Q 89:15, 16), in the reading of the Kūfans and

Abū ʿAmr (see Rabin, op. cit., 119).
d. *ā'u > ō?* According to Rabin (op. cit., 110), this is the correct interpretation of the spelling *w-'*. A more conservative view suggests *ā'u > āwu* (Nöldeke, *GQ,* iii, 47).
e. *-ā (alif maqṣūra a/y):* In the Qur'ān the two kinds of *alif maqṣūra* rhyme (e.g. *dunyā* and *abqā* in Q 20:71-3). Note also the *imāla* of *fa-nadēhu* (Q 3:39) in the reading of Ḥamza and al-Kisā'ī, (see Rabin, op. cit., 116 f.).
f. *ā > ī (imāla)*: In addition to the above, the two readers read *rāna > rīna (ryn)* in Q 83:14 (see Rabin, op. cit., 112).

3. Glottal consonants
a. *Hamza* — general: A detailed study of the orthographical evidence is provided in Rabin (*Ancient west Arabian,* 133 f.) who concludes that it is missing in most cases of qur'ānic spelling, as in *yasamu* (Q 41:49), *mashamati* (Q 56:9), *yanawna* (Q 6:26), *tajarū* (Q 23:65) and the frequent *afidatun, yasalu, malakun*. Noteworthy is *aṣḥābu laykati* (Q 38:13) with the article. *Alif* is written in *nashata* (Q 29:20; 56:62) as a single case of post-consonantal *hamza* followed by feminine ending. Rabin concludes that *hamzat bayna bayna* is the closest Ḥijāzī approximation to *hamza* and that some spellings (not specified) reflect hyper-corrections.
b. *Hamza — i'u* shifts: This state occurs in verbs where the third radical is *hamza*. *Mustahzi'ūna* (Q 2:14) may be rendered in the Ḥijāzī performance as either *mustahziwūna* or *mustahzūna*. Al-Akhfash, as cited in Zamakhsharī, reports *yastahziyūna*. For the third singular form in Q 2:15 Rabin suggests *yastahzī* (like **yarmiyu > yarmī;* see Rabin, *Ancient west Arabian,* 139).
c. *Hamza — ā'i > ay: sā'ilun > saylun* (Q 70:1) is Ibn ʿAbbās's reading according to al-Zamakhsharī. Ḥamza reads *ṭayr* for *ṭā'ir* (Q 3:49; see Rabin, op. cit., 140 and 149 n. 24).
d. *Hamza* — pausal *a' > ā:* The following pausal forms *al-mala'u* (Q 7:60), *mala'un* (Q 11:38), *al-mala'i* (Q 2:246), and *al-mala'a* (Q 28:20) are all spelt *m-l-'* and confirm information about this Ḥijāzī pausal form (see Rabin, op. cit., 141).
e. *Hamza* — assimilation of *hamza:* Non-pausal *al-mar'i* is shifted to *al-marri* (Q 8:24) according to some readings. Similarly *juz'un > juzzun* (Q 15:44) in the reading of the Ḥijāzī al-Zuhrī (d. 124/742). *Ri'yu > riyyu* (Q 19:74) is a Medinese reading (see Rabin, op. cit., 134 f.).
f. *wu > 'u* is attested in *ujuhuhum* (Q 39:60; see Rabin, op. cit., 81).
g. *ʿ > ḥ:* According to the late grammarian Ibn Hishām al-Anṣārī (d. 761/1360), Ibn Masʿūd (d. 32/652; *Mughnī,* 451) read *naʿam > naḥam* four times in the Qur'ān (see Rabin, op. cit., 85).

4. Velars (post-palatal uvular)
For *q* in Qur'ān reading, see Brockelmann (*Grundriß,* i, 121).

5. Interdentals
a. *th > t:* This shift is suggested in the reading of *mukhbithīna>mukhbitīna* (Q 22:34; see Rabin, *Ancient west Arabian,* 125).
b. *z/ḍ* are interchangeable (see the section on orthography above for *zanīn ~ ḍanīn*). This is a unique case which supports Nöldeke's argument that such cases were rare in Muḥammad's days (see Nöldeke, Das klassische Arabisch, 10 and n. 3).
c. *n* — omission of *n* in qur'ānic manuscripts (see MANUSCRIPTS OF THE QUR'ĀN) occurs in the case of *nunjī, fa-nunjiya* (see the section on orthography above). Other occurrences are *li-nanzura* (Q 10:14) and *lanaṇsuru* (Q 40:51) in which nasal pronunciation *(ghunna)* is suggested (see Rabin, *Ancient west Arabian,* 123 n. 28, 146).

It is noteworthy that Sībawayhi (Chapter 565) makes a detailed distinction between

thirty-five favorite versus seven disfavored consonantal variants in the reading of the Qur'ān and poetry.

6. Stress patterns
Central questions have been discussed for decades concerning the evidence on this issue provided by qur'ānic orthography and variant readings. The earliest works on grammar and grammatical analysis of the qur'ānic language already take account of variant readings attributed to early authorities from the days of Muḥammad's Companions (see COMPANIONS OF THE PROPHET) and of the next generation. Study of such readings and their respective readers developed into an independent branch of Islamic sciences (see READINGS OF THE QUR'ĀN). The assumption that the qur'ānic material supports a dichotomy of an expiratory Tamīmī versus non-expiratory Ḥijāzī stress was considered by various scholars and debated by others. Several scholars advocated its central role in the omission of unstressed vowels in open syllables and especially in word-end position and eventually in the emergence of the north Arabian language type. A useful summary of the main arguments is found in Neuwirth (*Studien zur Komposition,* 325 f.).

7. Pausal patterns
Fischer (Silbenstruktur, 54) objects to the assumption that the pausal forms reflected in the qur'ānic orthography represent with precision the spoken language, and indicates that on the basis of the pausal shift of *-an* to *-a* one would have expected the shift of *-atan* (with *tā' marbūṭa*) to *-atā,* whereas the qur'ānic orthography records *h (-ah)*. Blau (*Pseudo-corrections,* 57 n. 14) clarifies how the orthography reflects living pronunciation, in which the accusative state of *tā' marbūṭa* merged with the genitive/nominative *-ah* pausal form, to prevent the anomalous contrast of *ḥasana-h* (nom./gen.) — *ḥasana-tā* (acc.), when other nouns have only *ḥasan — ḥasan-ā*.

Morphology

1. Personal pronouns — suffixes
-Iyya > *iyyi* and *-āya* > *-ayya: mā antum bi-muṣrikhiyyi* (Q 14:22) is a Kūfan reading reported by al-Farrā'. *'Aṣāyi* (Q 20:18) is the reading of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī and Abū 'Amr. The other shift is reported by the early Baṣran grammarian Ibn Abī Isḥāq for *'aṣayya* and for *maḥyayya* (Q 6:162). Al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī is reported to have read *yā bushrayya* (Q 12:19). According to some readers also *hudāya* > *hudayya* (Q 2:38). Rabin (*Ancient west Arabian,* 151) concludes that *-ayya* was the west Arabian form.

2. Demonstrative pronouns
a. East-Arabian *hādhī:* The reading *hādhī l-shijrata* (Q 2:35) is interpreted by al-Bayḍāwī as Tamīmī (see Rabin, op. cit., 120).
b. *dhālika:* The Qur'ān has only *dhālika,* not *dhāka*. Accordingly al-Ushmūnī suggests Ḥijāzī versus Tamīmī identification of the two (see Rabin, op. cit., 154). *Dhālikum,* etc. with the inflected suffix in agreement with the addressee's number and gender is identified as a qur'ānic language characteristic by Brockelmann (*Grundriß,* i, 318).
c. *ūlā* vs. *ūlay:* Ibn 'Aqīl considered the first Ḥijāzī and identified *ūlā* (with *alif maqṣūra bi-ṣūrat al-yā'*) as Tamīmī. This observation is based on the qur'ānic changes seen in Q 2:16. Rabin (op. cit., 153), for his part, attributes to the Tamīmī the form with final *-ā,* and adopts Ibn Jinnī's attribution to Qays of the qur'ānic *ūlā'i*.

3. Relative pronouns
For *allā'i* < *al-ulā'i,* see Brockelmann (*Grundriß,* i, 257).

4. The verb

a. These statistics for qurʾānic verb forms are based on Chouémi *(Le verbe):* 1,200 roots of verbal forms, of which fifteen are quadriliteral and the others triliteral; 801 triliteral verbs are in stem I (69%); three verbs are in stem IX and one in stem XI. Sound verbs number 629, *geminata:* 108, *hamzata:* 55, *prima w/y:* 49, *media w/y:* 152, *tertia w/y:* 131, doubly weak verbs: 61 (including one occurrence of *ʾ-w-y*), $R_1R_2R_1R_2$: eight, $R_1R_2R_3R_4$: seven; from a total of 14,000 verbal occurrences of stem I (including participles; *maṣdar* forms amount to 2000), the average of passive forms is 6.3%, with similar proportions in stems II, III, and IV, 4% in stem X, 2% in stems V and VIII, none in stems VI, VII, IX, XI.

b. Verbal forms

i. Imperfect — Prefixes, *-a-* vs. *-i-* vowel: In the discussion of *nistaʿīnu* (Q 1:5) al-Farrāʾ, as cited in al-Suyūṭī (*Muzhir,* beginning of *nawʿ* no. 16; cf. Rabin, op. cit., 61), identifies the *-a-* as characteristic of Quraysh and Asad alone. But note that this reference does not appear in the printed addition of al-Farrāʾ's *Maʿānī* (Kinberg, *Lexicon of al-Farrāʾ,* ad *lughat-*). Other readings with *-i-* include *lā tiqrabā* (Q 2:35) and *lā tirkanū* (Q 11:113). Interestingly, such forms are found only in *shawādhdh,* non-canonical readings. The form *nuʿbuduhum* in Q 39:3 is presented by Vollers (*Volkssprache und Schriftsprache,* 129; see also Rabin, *Ancient west Arabian,* 61, 158). For an instructive discussion of the span of such phenomena and their minimal effect in consideration of the relations between classical Arabic and the old Arab dialects, see Nöldeke (Zur Sprache, 3).

ii. Imperfect — Prefixes, third plural feminine *y > t:* This form, which exhibits analogy with third singular feminine, is recorded in a variant reading *tatafaṭṭarna* (Q 42:5), according to Abū ʿAmr, *tanfaṭirna* (see Fleischer, *Kleinere Schriften* 99, citing al-Bayḍāwī).

iii. Imperfect — Loss of final vowel: This is attested in the case of assimilation of *n* in *taʾmanunā* > *taʾmannā* (Q 12:11; see Brockelmann, *Grundriß,* i, 257).

iv. Imperative: *alqiyā* (Q 50:24) as a pausal form of the energicus *-an* (see Brockelmann, op. cit., 554).

5. Stems

a. Stem V — Haplology *(taqattalu* < *tataqattalu):* According to Rabin (*Ancient west Arabian,* 147) this reading is characteristic of Ḥijāzī readers; also *fa-timassakum* < *fa-tatamassa-kum* (Q 11:113; see Rabin, op. cit., 148, 158 and Brockelmann, op. cit., 257).

b. Stems V-VI — Assimilation: This phenomenon is attested in *muddaththir* (Q 74:1), though some suggest stem II, *mudaththir.*

c. Stem VIII: Rabin (op. cit., 146) identifies *muddakir* (Q 54:15 and elsewhere) as a Ḥijāzī form, while the Asadī is *idhdhakara*. This is based on al-Farrāʾ apud al-Ṭabarī (at Q 27:56), though the express formulation of al-Farrāʾ (*Maʿānī,* i, 215.11) yields the contrary, namely that in the Asadī dialect the interdental fricative assimilates with the *t* of stem VIII. This is demonstrated by *ith-thaghara* > *ittaghara,* but it stands to reason that similar assimilation of *dh* > *d* is also characteristic of this tribe's dialect in such conditions.

d. *Yakhaṭṭifu* (Q 2:20) with assimilation of the stem's *t* with the emphatic second radical is presented in Brockelmann (op. cit., 258) following a list of later grammarians and al-Bayḍāwī. Al-Farrāʾ (*Maʿānī,* i, 215.11) gives, on the authority of an anonymous grammarian, the reading *yakhiṭṭifu* and quotes this grammarian's view that the first *i* is anaptyctic (cf. *yakhiṣṣimūna* at Q 36:49).

e. *Verba primae wāw: lā tawjal/lā tājal/tūjal* (Q 15:53). The second form exhibits a shift of *-ūʾ-iw* (see Rabin, op. cit., 158).

f. *Verba mediae wāw/yā':* There are two variations recorded for the perfect of stem I *m-w-t, mittu/muttu* (Q 19:23, 66), also in *mittum* (Q 23:35). The first reading is ʿĀṣim's (see Rabin, op. cit., 114); the passive participle *mahīl* (Q 73:14) is discussed by Rabin (op. cit., 160), where *madīn* versus *madyūn* are attributed to the Ḥijāzī versus Tamīmī varieties respectively.

g. *Verba mediae hamzatae:* The passive *sīla* (Q 2:108) is discussed by Rabin (op. cit., 138) who argues that it should not be reckoned as *uy* > *ī* but as a regular passive.

h. *Verba tertiae wāw/yā':* On *ukhfī* < *ukhfiya* (Q 32:17) and *rāḍātun* < *rāḍiyatun* (Q 88:9-12) see Rabin (op. cit., 161) who relates the last to the shift in stem I perfect pattern *baqiya* > *baqā* which existed in Yemen (q.v.) and probably in parts of the Ḥijāz. The opposite is reflected in Nāfiʿ's reading *ʿasaytum* > *ʿasītum* (Q 47:22; see Rabin, op. cit., 185). *Marḍiyyan* (Q 19:55) has a variant *marḍuwwan,* which al-Farrāʾ in his *Maʿānī* attributes to the Ḥijāzī dialect.

i. *Verba geminata:* Both the sound and the geminate forms of the apocopate *yartadid* (Q 2:217) and *yartadda* (Q 5:54; also 59:4 and 8:13 for *yushāqqi-yushāqiq* and 2:282 for *yuḍārra-yuḍārar*) exist in the Qurʾān. The short forms of the *faʿila* pattern *zalta* and *zaltum* (in Q 20:97 and 56:65 respectively) have always attracted scholars' interest; *faʿala* is not shortened (cf. *shaqaqnā* in Q 80:26 and *madadnā* in Q 15:19; Brockelmann, *Grundriß,* i, 247 discusses the matter together with *aḥastu/istaḥaytu*). The Arab grammarians' views are cited by Barth (Ziltu, 330 f.). *Wa-l-yumlil* < *wa-l-yumli* (Q 2:282): note that *umlī* takes, according to commentators, the sense of *umhilu* in Q 7:183; Chouémi (*Le verbe,* 4) notes their same meaning. Nöldeke (Zur Sprache, 26 n. 1) considers the Syriac *mallel* as their immediate origin.

6. Verbal nouns

a. Stem II: The Yemenite identity of the form *kidhdhāb* (Q 78:28) is given by al-Farrāʾ (*Maʿānī,* iii, 229) who mentions the various readers who had adopted it (against the variant *kidhāban*) and exemplifies its use in the Yemenite dialect while describing his personal experience with a Yemenite concerning this pattern (see Brockelmann,*Grundriß,* i, 346 and Nöldeke, Zur Sprache, 8, n. 4).

b. Stem IV: The rare form *iqām* (Q 21:73) is discussed in Wright (*Grammar,* i, 121a).

7. The noun

a. Patterns: *afʿal* (Nöldeke, *Zur Grammatik,* 17) indicates the wrong reading *al-asharr* in Q 54:26 for *al-ashir*. *Faʿāli* is not recorded in the Qurʾān, but see Vollers (*Volkssprache und Schriftsprache,* 187) on the variant *masāsi* to *(lā) misāsa* in Q 20:97.

b. Affixation: *-CCāt* > *-CVCāt: ʿawrāt* > *ʿawArāt* (Q 24:58); for *niʿīmāt* (Q 31:31), see the sub-section on vowel elision above. *-Īyy:* The *nisba* suffix serves for attribution of a person to an ethnic group, e.g. *sāmiriyy* (Q 20:85, 87, 95) but also for a description of relations on a more abstract level, and the derivation of an adverbial form of it, e.g. *sikhriyyan* (Q 38:63).

c. Plural derivation — adjectival plurals: The plural adjectives of the elative *afʿal* are sound, as in *al-ardhalūna* (Q 26:111; see Wright, *Grammar,* i, 200). On the indefinite *unās* (four occurrences in the Qurʾān) versus *al-nās* (240 times), see Nöldeke (*Zur Grammatik* [1963], 15) and also Ullmann (*Untersuchengen,* 181).

8. The particles

a. Four occurrences of *(naʿam>) naʿim* in al-Kisāʾī's reading are reported by al-Suyūṭī (see Rabin, *Ancient west Arabian,* 73) who mentions a similar shift in the perfect form, namely *naʿima* > *niʿima*.

b. Al-Farrāʾ equates the sense of *lammā* to that of *illā* (Q 86:4). Rabin (op. cit., 163) speculates, albeit with hesitation, that its origin is from Hudhayl.
c. Uninflected *halumma* (Q 6:150) is used in addressing several persons.
d. No occurrences of *mundhu/mudh* in the Qurʾān (see Rabin, op. cit., 187).
e. *Ladun* and the two variants of *ladunī/ladunnī* (Q 18:76) are discussed by Brockelmann (*Grundriß,* 66) with reference to al-Ṭabarī's discussion of them.

Syntax

1. Preservation of *iʿrāb*

A list of cases in which the qurʾānic orthography indicates the use of *iʿrāb* is included in the comprehensive study by Diem (Untersuchungen [1981], 366; brief mention of this topic is made in the section on orthography above). Diem (op. cit., 381) concludes that the situation is undecided concerning relations of these cases to the Ḥijāzī vernacular. A strong argument made by Nöldeke (Zur Sprache, 2) is the absence of non-*iʿrāb* traces in its transmission (see Blau, *Pseudo-corrections,* 57).

2. *Iʿrāb* interference

a. The following four cases are mentioned in Nöldeke, *GQ,* iii, 2 f.: *wa-l-mūfūna… wa-l-ṣābirīna* (Q 2:177); *lākini l-rāsikhūna… wa-l-muqīmīna… wa-l-muʾtūna* (Q 4:162); *inna lladhīna āmanū… wa-l-ṣābiʾūna* (Q 5:69; mentioned by Reckendorf, *Syntaktische Verhältnisse,* 489); *inna hādhāni la-sāḥirāni* (Q 20:63), which Brockelmann (*Grundriß,* i, 456) considers characteristic of Rabīʿa. A summary of Arab philologists' views about these problematic occurrences is given by Burton (Linguistic errors).
b. Another case of interference is *yā jibālu awwibī maʿahu wa-l-ṭayra* (Q 34:10). Several explanations by early grammarians of the irregular *naṣb* (in *wa-l-ṭayra*) are recorded (cf. Farrāʾ, *Maʿānī,* ii, 355 and Abū ʿUbayda, *Majāz,* at Q 34:10; also Jumaḥī's introduction to his *Ṭabaqāt al-shuʿarāʾ*). Most of them identify it as an object and reconsruct a covert verb *(aʿnī, sakhkhara, udʿu),* whereas Abū ʿAmr offers an alternative analysis, that this is the result of an anomaly involving a combination of *yā* plus noun identified by an article.
c. *Inna hādhāni la-sāḥirāni* (Q 20:63, see listing above): This case is extremely interesting from the cultural point of view, as it presents various attempts made by exegetes and grammarians to solve a crux in the sacred text. Among these attempts is a tradition (see ḤADĪTH AND THE QUR'ĀN) narrated on the authority of ʿĀʾisha (see ʿĀʾISHA BINT ABĪ BAKR) to justify attempts to correct the script, an attempt to change the error, made by Abū ʿAmr, a variety of grammatical modes of analysis to secure some regularity of the structure, and scholarly testimony of peculiar dialectal forms, attributed to a certain tribe to the same effect (cf. Goldziher, *Die Richtungen,* 31 f.; see DIALECTS). Another case in which this authority is called on to solve a problem of text transmission is *yuʾtūna* for *yaʾtūna* in Q 23:60, with ʿĀʾisha's saying: *wa-lākinna l-hijāʾ ḥurrifa* (see Nöldeke, *GQ,* iii, 3 n. 2).
d. Tanwīn is omitted before the article in *qul huwa llāhu aḥadu llāhu l-ṣamadu* (Q 112:1-2) and *sābiqu l-nahāra* (Q 36:40; variant: *l-nahāri;* see Spitaler's additions to Nöldeke, *Zur Grammatik,* 134 [to 27/4]).
e. The verses *an takūna tijāratan* (Q 4:29)and *in kānat illā ṣayḥatan wāḥidatan* (Q 36:29) are considered by Rabin (*Ancient west Arabian,* 174) as irregular structures with *kāna* functioning as a full predicate whose agent is marked by the accusative, instead of the regular nominative.

3. Rhyming and prosodic dictation
Nöldeke (Zur Sprache, 9) notes some grammatical and stylistic interferences which result from yielding to prosodic dictation in the Qur'ān, e.g. the inaccurate expression *wa-anā maʿakum mina l-shahidīna* (Q 3:81), "and I am with you among the witnesses" while he is the only witness (see WITNESSING AND TESTIFYING), and the change of verb forms (see above); see for the recurring *kāna llāhu ʿalīman…*, Reuschel (Wa-kāna llāhu, 152; also *Aspekt und Tempus,* 100 f.), who considers the possibility of *licentia* but favors *tawkīd*. Extraction of the pronominal constituent of the verb is not always incorporated for the sake of focalization or topicalization (see below): *yā ʿibādi lā khawfun ʿalaykumu l-yawma wa-lā antum taḥzanūna* (Q 43:68); similarly syntactic nominalization can occur without formal head *(mawṣūf): in hum illā yakhruṣūna* (Q 43:20).

4. Verbal aspects and tenses
Reuschel's *Aspekt und Tempus in der Sprache des Qorans* is a comprehensive taxonomy of the verbal tense and aspect use in the Qur'ān, but it is not an attempt to sort out qur'ānic peculiarities. Structures discussed in Reuschel: *wa-mā kāna li-nafsin an tamūta illā bi-idhni llāhi,* "cannot, impossible that" (Q 3:145); *wa-mā kāna llāhu li-yuʿjizahū min shay'in,* "it is not the kind of thing that he does to…" (Q 35:44; Reuschel, *Aspekt und Tempus,* 115 f.); performative *samiʿnā wa-aṭaʿnā* (e.g. Q 2:285; Reuschel, op. cit., 130). On the expression *in kuntum fāʿilīna* (Q 12:10), see Bravmann (The phrase, 347 f.), who considers its sense an expression of "inner compulsion", without, however, studying the three other occurrences in the Qur'ān.

Kinberg (Semi-imperfectives) treats qur'ānic active participial structures and observes that some indicate "semi-imperfective present," namely, it may be bounded by a dynamic event, either at its beginning (similar to the English present perfect) or at the end (the English equivalent here is "puturate progressive"). On *arānī/arā* (lit. "I see myself") in Q 12:36 and 43 exhibiting the use of an imperfect in a narrative of one's own dream (see DREAMS AND SLEEP), see Nöldeke (*Zur Grammatik,* 67). The extensive qur'ānic use of the energicus forms (imperfect or imperative plus *-an* or *-anna*) is studied by Ambros (Syntaktische und stilistische Funktionen), where its use as a stylistic device is particularly emphasized. Zewi *(A syntactical study)* presents a meticulous classification of sentence-types with energicus, and indicates its association with indicatives, in a larger context of Semitic linguistics.

5. Nominal SP sentence
Collision of formal and notional reme (comment): The recurring *wa-mā kāna jawāba qawmihi illā an qālū…* (as in Q 7:82) exhibits what seems to be disagreement between the formal predicate marking *(naṣb)* and the notional status of *jawāb* as a subject (see Fleischer, *Kleinere Schriften,* 558 f., following al-Bayḍāwī's distinction in nominal sentences with two definite members).

6. Presentatives
The demonstrative pronouns (of both "close" and "remote" sets) are used as presentatives with the sense of "look!", "voilà" (see Bloch, *Studies in Arabic syntax,* 54 f.). The nuclear presentative plus predicate occurs in such expressions as: *yā bushrā hādhā ghulāmun* (Q 12:19); *hā'ulā'i banātī in kuntum fāʿilīna* (Q 15:71).

The following verses present an enlarged structure, with an additional finite verb or a nominal marked by accusative, which Bloch, ibid., terms the amplified structure: *hādhihi biḍāʿatunā ruddat ilaynā* (Q 12:65); *hādhā baʿlī shaykhan* (Q 11:72); *fa-tilka buyūtuhum khāwiyatan bi-mā ẓalamū* (Q 27:52; see also Nöldeke, *Zur Grammatik* [1963], 48-50).

The early Arab grammarians took great interest in this structure. A development in their conception is observable in the *Kitāb* with al-Khalīl's and Sībawayhi's identification of the accusatival nominal as circumstantial *(ḥāl)* instead of *khabar (al-maʿrifa),* which was still conceived as such by al-Farrāʾ, for example. On the Arabic grammatical literature concerning *hāʾulāʾi banātī hunna aṭharu/aṭhara lakum* (Q 11:78) see Talmon (Problematic passage). *Hā antum hāʾulāʾi tudʿawna* (as in Q 47:38 and similar verses) are discussed by Nöldeke (op. cit., 50). Bloch (*Studies in Arabic syntax,* 74 f. and especially 80 f.) identifies them as "proclitic" with the presentative as a separate unit ("look!") and the pronoun and the verb as S plus P.

The verse *inna hādhā akhī lahu tisʿun wa-tisʿūna naʿjatan wa-lī naʿjatun wāḥidatun* (Q 38:23) includes both an affirmative *inna* (see what follows) and a presentative followed by a topicalized sentence *akhī lahu… < li-akhī….*

7. Function of *inna*

Bloch's (*Studies in Arabic syntax,* 102) description of classical Arabic *inna* as "[…] emphasiz[ing] the speaker's certainty… that what is said in a sentence is a fact, is true, will indeed take place," fits Goldenberg's (*Studies in Semitic linguistics,* 148 f.) model of nexal relations as corroboration of the nexal constituent. Note Bloch's observation that qurʾānic citations (Q 2:20 = 8:10, 63:1, 26:41 = 23:82, 6:19, 13:5) still exhibit this function "despite a large degree of conventionalization of its use."

The following verses have an independent pronoun in a position occupied regularly by a subject: *huwa llāhu aḥadu* (Q 112:1) and *fa-idhā hiya shākhiṣatun abṣāru lladhīna kafarū* (Q 21:97). Al-Kisāʾī, and less firmly al-Farrāʾ, consider this pronoun *ʿimād* (cf. Kinberg, *Lexicon of al-Farrāʾ,* s.v.). Occasionally instead of *inna* we find the use of *in* with the same function: *in kullun lammā jamīʿun ladaynā muḥḍarūna* (Q 36:32) and *in kullu nafsin lammā ʿalayhā ḥāfiẓun* (Q 86:4). This structure occurs also with *inna* in *wa-inna kullan lammā la-yuwaffiyannahum rabbuka aʿmālahum* (Q 11:111); similarly, *in kidta* for *innaka…* in *ta-llāhi in kidta la-turdīni* (Q 37:56).

8. Verb agreement in a verb + subject (VS) sentence

Agreement of the verb with the number of its following agent, dubbed *akalūnī l-barāghīth* in the Arab linguistic literature, is recorded in Q 5:71, 21:3 and in the reading *qad aflaḥū l-muʾminūna* in Q 23:1. Nöldeke adds *fa-aṣbaḥū fī dārihim jāthimīna lladhīna kadhdhabū Shuʿayban* (Q 7:91-2; see SHUʿAYB) and cites al-Ḥarīrī's misgivings *mā sumiʿa illā fī lugha ḍaʿīfa lam yanṭuq bihi l-Qurʾān,* but Spitaler is more equivocal about the correct attribution of the last to the list (cf. Nöldeke, *Zur Grammatik* [1963], 152). Nöldeke (op. cit., 78) adds a note about the possible development of this phenomenon which accordingly is only in its first stages in qurʾānic language. See Levin (What is meant) on the grammarians' interpretation of this structure, not in terms of number agreement. (On the possible Hudhalī origin of this variant, see DIALECTS.)

Absence of gender agreement in *kāna ʿāqibatu…* (e.g. Q 27:14) is discussed as a phenomenon discernible "in the earliest texts" in Fischer (Classical Arabic, 212). Verbs of stem II can mark agreement with a plural subject (originally an object), as in *mufattaḥatan lahumu l-abwābu* (Q 38:50).

9. Use of an impersonal verb construction

The construction exhibited by *wa-ḥushira li-Sulaymāna* (Q 27:17) in the sense of "Solomon (q.v.) collected," is better known in Aramaic (but see Ullmann, *Adminiculum,* 78 f. ex. 700-10). Reckendorf (*Arabische Syntax,* 359) explicates the structure *li-yujzā*

qawman (Q 45:14). A discussion of non-inflected passives followed by an accusatival complement is found in Blau (On invariable passive forms). Nöldeke (*Zur Grammatik,* 76) mentions *la-qad taqaṭṭaʿa baynahum* (Q 6:94; *baynakum* is another attested reading).

Problems concerning the negative of *ghayri l-maghḍūbi ʿalayhim…* (Q 1:7; see FĀTIḤA) are discussed by the early Arab grammarians; see Farrāʾ, *Maʿānī,* e.g. at Q 18:99, *nufikha fī l-ṣūri* and five other occurrences, including *fīhi,* vs. *fa-idhā nufikha fī l-ṣūri nafkhatun wāḥidatun* in Q 69:13 (on which see Fleischer, *Kleinere Schriften,* 93).

Brockelmann's (*Grundriß,* ii, 119 f.) suggestion that *wa-idhā azlama ʿalayhim* (Q 2:20) is a case in point is repeated by Blau (On invariable passive forms, 87 n. 8) but rejected by Nöldeke (cf. the margin of his private copy, located in the library of Tübingen University), who refers to the preceding *barq* "lightning" as the subject in *kullamā aḍāʾa lahum mashaw fīhi*.

10. Topicalization

Topicalization, or isolation of a natural subject in a sentence's opening position, seems to be the most frequently used transposition in qurʾānic syntax, e.g. *inna lladhīna lā yuʾminūna bil-ākhirati zayyannā lahum aʿmālahum* (Q 27:4; see the statistics in Dahlgren, Word order). Isolation of this kind may leave its original case mark of the unmarked position as in *wa-l-samāʾa banaynāhā bi-aydin* (Q 51:47) and *wa-l-arḍa madadnāhā wa-alqaynā fīhā rawāsiya* (Q 50:7); al-Farrāʾ restricted this structure to "continuing" sentences, conjoined to a preceding sentence (cf. Kinberg, 'Clause' and 'sentence,' 240 f.). *Ammā* is the most common particle marking topicalization, usually in combination with contrast, as in *fa-ammā lladhīna āmanū… fa-yudkhiluhum rabbuhum fī raḥmatihī… wa-ammā lladhīna kafarū…* (Q 45:30-1). Examples of contrastive clauses presented without *ammā,* especially when SV transposition seems to sufficiently mark the contrastive effect, are *wa-llāhu yaqḍī bil-ḥaqqi wa-lladhīna yadʿūna min dūnihi lā yaqḍūna bi-shayʾin* (Q 40:20) and *ammā l-yatīma… fa-ammā bi-niʿmati rabbika faḥaddith* (Q 93:9-11); for several readings of *ammā Thamūdan* (Q 41:17; see THAMŪD), see Rabin (*Ancient west Arabian,* 183), where, however, "extraposition" is used as a general notion covering focalization as well.

The resumptive member of the predicate portion may be related more loosely to the topicalized entity, cf. *inna lladhīna āmanū wa-ʿamilū l-ṣāliḥāti innā lā nuḍīʿu ajra man aḥsana ʿamalan* (Q 18:30); similarly Q 7:170 and elsewhere.

11. Focalization

Focalization is another extensively used syntactic transformation which serves the Qurʾān's rhetorics. The following are various modes of creation of *tawkīd:*

a. Focalization by extraposition: *iyyāka naʿbudu* (Q 1:5).

b. Focus on the pronoun of a predicate complex by its isolation ("pronoun reduplication"): *inna shāniʾaka huwa l-abtaru* (Q 108:3); *ūlāʾika humu l-ṣādiqūna* (Q 49:15; a typical case of *ḍamīr al-faṣl* according to the grammarians' tradition); *wa-hum bil-ākhirati hum yūqinūna* (Q 27:3); and in verbal sentences: *anā ātīka bihi* (Q 27:40); *a-hum yaqsimūna raḥmata rabbika naḥnu qasamnā…* (Q 43:32); similar is the repetition in *zawjayni ithnayni* (e.g. Q 11:40); the occurrences of *(u)skun anta wa-zawjuka l-jannata* (Q 2:35; 7:19) are not cases of *tawkīd,* in spite of their description as such in the grammatical tradition, but "cases of balancing" (see Bloch, *Studies in Arabic syntax,* 1 f.).

c. Focalization of the lexical contents of the verbal complex by use of the exceptive particle *illā: mā nadrī mā l-sāʿatu in nazunnu illā zannan* (Q 45:32, following 45:24 *wa-mā*

lahum… min ʿilmin in hum illā yaẓunnūna), on which see the general study of focalization by Goldenberg (*Studies in Semitic linguistics,* 110), where it is incorporated in a comprehensive concept of the rather independent character of the verb's constituents.
d. *Innamā* and *annamā* focalizing the member following their immediate adjacent, e.g. *innamā l-muʾminūna ikhwatun* (Q 49:10). Miquel (La particule *innamā*) offers a variety of semantic functions of the qurʾānic *innamā* based on the Arab grammarians' distinction of its restrictive *(ḥaṣr)* sense.

12. Entity terms
Kull plus singular is used not only for the partitive "every one of" but also in the sense of "all possible items of the species." See Nöldeke (*Zur Grammatik,* 82 f.) on *kullun āmana bi-llāhi* (Q 2:285), *kullun kadhdhaba* (Q 50:14), and *kullun qad ʿalima ṣalātahu* (Q 24:41) followed by a verb indicating their plurality *wa-llāhu ʿalīmun bi-mā yafʿalūna* (also Fischer, *Grammatik,* § 136, anm. 2).

13. Adjective, morphological and syntactic
a. Syntactic adjectivization, as in *yā ayyuhā lladhīna āmanū,* occurs some eighty-five times, but note the absence of qurʾānic occurrences of *(yā) ayyuhā l-muʾminūna*. The finite verb in nominal position in *mina lladhīna hādū yuḥarrifūna l-kalima* (Q 4:46) is considered by Nöldeke (Zur Sprache, 15) not to be a case of asyndetic adjectivization, but an ellipsis completed by *qawm*.
b. Agreement — irregularity: *al-samāʾu munfaṭirun* (Q 73:18); *la-ʿalla l-sāʿata qarībun* (Q 42:17); see Nöldeke (*Zur Grammatik,* 22-3) who provides his discussion with rich documentation of such cases with *faʿīl* and passive participles and mentions this active participle *munfaṭir* for the feminine *samāʾ*. Among early Arab grammarians who discussed these cases, Yūnus b. Ḥabīb al-Thaqafī (d. 182/798) is quoted (see Akhfash, *Maʿānī,* 62) saying *yudhakkaru baʿḍ al-muʾannath,* and others analogized it with *ḍāmir*. Abū ʿAmr's explanation relates it to the sense of *saqf* "roof." The inconsistency of feminine singular *ẓallat* and then plural *khāḍiʿīna* in *fa-ẓallat aʿnāquhum lahā khāḍiʿīna* (Q 26:4) is included in Nöldeke's study of cases of personification (op. cit., 81) and is related to another case of inconsistency in *yatafayyaʾu ẓilāluhu… wa-hum dākhi-rūna* (Q 16:48); al-Kisāʾī (see Farrāʾ, *Maʿānī,* ii, 277) considers the pronoun in *khāḍiʿīna* resuming human plurality of *-hum* in *aʿnāquhum* and compares this "mirror-like" structure with a similar poetic verse.

The Qurʾān is particularly abundant in cases of irregular agreement in number and gender, e.g. *wa-man yaʿṣi llāha wa-rasūlahu lahu nāra jahannama khālidīna fīhā abadan* (Q 72:23). These particular cases are studied in Nöldeke (*Zur Grammatik,* 81 f. and id., Zur Sprache, 12 f.).
c. "Indirect attribute," see Polotsky (Point in Arabic) and his criticism of Reckendorf's concept of "Attraktion" and defence of the Arab grammarians' analysis of *naʿt sababī,* as in *min hādhihi l-qaryati l-ẓālimi ahluhā* (Q 4:75) and *(ṣirāṭi…) ghayri l-maghḍūbi ʿalayhim* (Q 1:7). Nöldeke (*Zur Grammatik,* 79) treats the structure and adduces several qurʾānic and other occurrences including *mukhtalifan alwānuhu* (Q 16:13), *lil-qāsiyati qulūbuhum* (Q 39:22), *khāshiʿatan abṣāruhum* (Q 68:43) and *mufattaḥatan lahumu l-abwābu* (Q 38:50), all with singular adjectives but *khushshaʿan abṣāruhum* (Q 54:7) in the plural. A recent comprehensive study of these and similar structures is Diem *(Fa-waylun li-l-qāsiyati)*. Valuable observations are provided in Goldenberg, Two types.

14. Nominal concord
a. Inclusion of one member of a coordinative pair, known in the Arab linguistic tradition as *taghlīb,* is *buʿda l-mashriqayni*

(Q 43:38; see Sister, Metaphora, 117; Goldenberg, *Studies in Semitic linguistics,* 128). The plural *rabbu l-mashāriqi* (Q 37:5) may have resulted from attraction to the preceding *al-samāwāt*. For a discussion of *il yāsīn* (Q 37:130) as "Ilyās and his party," see Goldenberg (Allāḏī al-maṣdariyya, 110, n. 11 with reference to Farrā', *Maʿānī*); also Goldziher (*Richtungen,* 18) who mentions *idrīsīn* as an alternative reading and seems to imply a possible case of *taghlīb* of either of the two figures (see IDRĪS; ELIJAH).

b. The plural noun construed with a dual pronoun in *qulūbukumā* (Q 66:4) is studied, with reference to Sībawayhi's view, in Blau (Two studies, 16 f.). For further reference to grammarians' views on this issue see Talmon (*Arabic grammar,* 225 f., 271). Other qur'ānic instances are the four occurrences of *saw'āt-uhumā/-ihimā* in Q 7:20 and elsewhere.

c. Coordination of two prepositional phrases, the first of which includes a bound pronoun, is *lladhī tasā'lūna bihi wa-l-arḥāma* (Q 4:1). Nöldeke (*Zur Grammatik,* 93; also Zur Sprache, 12, n. 1) indicates the Arab grammarians' dissatisfaction with this structure (which does not comply with their rule of *bihi wa-bi-l…*).

15. Numeralia

There is a single case of irregularity of the counted noun following a number of the 11-99 group, *ithnatay ʿashra asbāṭan* (Q 7:160) against *thnatā ʿashrata ʿaynan* in the same verse; *thalātha miʾatin sinīna* (Q 18:25) does not exhibit irregularity as it stands. The "literal" use of the active part in cardinal numbers in the sense of "increasing the number up to X" is attested in *sa-yaqūlūna thalāthatun rābiʿuhum kalbuhum wa-yaqūlūna khamsatun sādisuhum kalbuhum… wa-yaqūlūna sabʿatun wa-thāminuhum kalbuhum* (Q 18:22; also 58:7), but *inna llāha thālithu thalāthatin* (Q 5:73) and *thāniya thnayni* (Q 9:40).

16. Verbal regimen

Transitive verbs with restricted transitivity: The verbs *safiha* and *ṣabara* of *safiha nafsahu* (Q 2:130) and *wa-ṣbir nafsaka* (Q 18:28) are recognized in the early Arab grammarians' literature as instances in which the apparent object has a different identity, i.e. instances of *mufassir,* later termed *tamyīz*. This recognition involved a description of peculiarities of these complements whose definiteness is consequently regarded as merely formal (cf. Talmon, *Arabic grammar,* 270). The syntactically problematic reading *hal tastaṭīʿu rabbaka* (Q 5:112) for *hal yastaṭīʿu rabbuka* and its dogmatic background is discussed in Goldziher (*Richtungen,* 23).

17. Particles, adverbials

a. *Bi-* of *bi-l-amsi* (four occurrences) is not omitted, hence there is no occurrence of *amsi* (cf. Beeston, *Arabic language,* 89).

b. The conjunctive *wa-,* following the first nominal in *fī-himā fākihatun wa-nakhlun wa-rummānun* (Q 55:68), puzzled Arab philologists and accordingly an anonymous view recorded in al-Khalīl's *Kitāb al-ʿAyn* suggested its interpretation as reference to inclusion, i.e. "namely…," though this view was rejected by others (see Talmon, *Arabic grammar,* 269).

c. *Lawlā* in the sense of the cohortative *hallā* often caused misunderstanding (see Nöldeke, *Zur Grammatik,* 112 f. and Bergsträsser, *Verneinungs- und Fragepartikeln*).

d. Expressions of agreement include *balā, naʿam, ajal;* disagreement and rejection are expressed by *kallā* (see Bergsträsser, op. cit., 82).

e. A comparative study of the adversative *lākin/lākinna* in Ambros *(Lākin* und *lākinna)* brings out the emphasis of added value to the latter and its frequent formulaic (stereotypical) combination, particularly with *akthar (al-nās/-hum)*.

18. Negation

a. Negation of nexal relations: *shay'an* as a verb complement in such cases as *wa-laysa bi-ḍārrihim shay'an* (Q 58:10) and some other thirty occurrences, in which this complement cannot be considered an external object, is studied in Talmon (Syntactic category) and identified there as a corroboration of nexus negation, namely the negation of relations between the person and the attribute constituents of the verb. It is considered there as a qur'ānic syntax peculiarity. Its possible relation with the negating suffix *shay/-sh* is then considered. Bergsträsser's (*Verneinungs- und Fragepartikeln,* 105 f.) classification of *shay'an*'s occurrences misses this peculiarity.

b. Redundant *lā* following negation is frequent in the Qur'ān as in *wa-mā arsalnā min qablika min rasūlin wa-lā nabiyyin* (Q 22:52; see also Q 2:105; 9:121; 42:52; 46:9; Nöldeke, *Zur Grammatik,* 90; also id., Zur Sprache, 19 f. for a detailed discussion of its occurrence after *mana'a* etc.).

c. *(fa-) lā khawfun 'alayhim* (Q 46:13) and elsewhere exhibits use of *-un (raf')* instead of *-a* for the general negation with *lā al-nāfiya lil-jins*.

d. The negating particle *in* is probably characteristic of the Ḥijāz (see Nöldeke, Zur Sprache, 21 and for a summary see DIALECTS; also Bergsträsser, *Verneinungs- und Fragepartikeln,* 105 f.). On the use of *in* in structures of the type *in… illā…* see Rabin (*Ancient west Arabian,* 178).

e. Wehr (Funktion) first studied the difference between classical Arabic *mā/lam* and indicated the added affective value of the first.

f. *Lā* of the *laysa/mā* type is reported by al-Zamakhsharī (d. 538/1144) for the Ḥijāz, but the Qur'ān has it only coordinated (Q 31:28); and in Q 36:40 the predicate is in the nominative (cf. Rabin, op. cit., 179).

19. Affective expressions

a. *Fa'ula* in an affective sense occurs in *kaburat kalimatan* (Q 18:5) and *kabura maqtan* (Q 40:35).

b. *Ni'ma* (with eighteen occurrences and two others as *ni'immā*) and *bi'sa* (with thirty-seven occurrences and three others as *bi'samā*) present in the Qur'ān a unique structure, namely without a "remote nominative," which is hardly followed in their use in other corpora of early Arabic, e.g. *ni'ma l-thawābu* (Q 18:31). The structure constitutes the majority of occurrences of *ni'ma* and *bi'sa* in the Qur'ān (see Beeston, Classical Arabic *ni'ma*).

c. *X mā X: fa-aṣḥābu l-maymanati mā aṣḥābu l-maymanati…* in Q 56:8-9, similarly in Q 56:27; *al-qāri'atu mā l-qāri'atu* (Q 101:1-2) is interpreted by Arab philologists as "how happy, miserable, awful…" respectively; see also the somewhat similar *jundun mā hunālika mahzūmun mina l-aḥzābi* (Q 38:11); *huwa mā huwa* is discussed in Fleischer (*Kleinere Schriften,* 477 f.).

d. Typical interjections: *uffin lakumā* (e.g. Q 46:17); *yā ḥasratā* (Q 39:56).

20. Reported speech

A pattern represented by the verb *qāla* plus imperative plural seems to represent a lively narrative style, where the order is expected to be a cohortative "let's" in which the speaker is included: *qālat… udkhulū* (Q 27:18); *qālū anṣitū* (Q 46:29); *qālū taqāsamū bi-llāhi* (Q 27:49); *idh qālū la-Yūsufu wa-akhūhu aḥabbu ilā abīnā… qtulū Yūsufa…* (Q 12:8-9).

The speaker excludes himself from the collectivity of addressees, to whom he belongs, in *qāla qā'ilun minhum kam labithtum qālū labithnā yawman* (Q 18:19), where we would expect "how much have *we* spent…". In a way this applies to another occurrence of direct speech with *qāla qā'ilun minhum* (Q 12:10). The other occurrence

of *qāla qā'ilun minhum* (Q 37:51) exhibits the same phenomenon as in Q 37:54 *qāla hal antum muṭṭali'ūna* which is followed by his own act in the next verse *fa-ṭṭala'a*….

Use of *an* at the beginning of citations following verbs other than *qāla* is frequent in the Qur'ān and and is considered by Fischer (*Grammatik,* 188, n. 1) as typical of "Vorarabisch," e.g. *nūdiya an būrika…* (Q 27:8). Verbs other than *qāla* may open a citation. In the case of *wa-waṣṣā bihā Ibrāhīmu… yā baniyya* (Q 2:132) al-Farrā' (*Ma'ānī,* ad loc.) reports that other grammarians analyzed it as a structure in which *an* is omitted whereas al-Farrā' himself argues that *waṣṣā* only has the sense of *qāla*.

Some sentences commencing with the verb of command *amara* and reporting the contents of the command indirectly may present an intermediary mode in which the cohortative *li-* precedes the subordinate particle *an,* as in *umirtu li-an akūna* (Q 39:12) or even dispense with it as in *wa-mā umirū illā li-ya'budū llāha* (Q 98:5). A case in which this mode is followed by a direct quotation is *wa-umirnā li-nuslima li-rabbi l-'ālamīna wa-an aqīmū l-ṣalāta wa-ttaqūhu* (Q 6:71-2).

21. Nominalization, subordinate sentences in noun position

Morphological nominalization which maintains the relations of the former attributival element and the agent/recipient is shaped as a construct structure *(iḍāfa)*. Existence of both actants is attested in *qatlu awlādihim shurakā'uhum* (Q 6:137), in which *awlād* is the recipient (killed children; see INFANTICIDE) and *shurakā'* is the agent, which stands in loose relation to the construct *qatl*. The reading *qatlu awlādahum shurakā'ihim* presents a stronger syntactic cohesion with the agent, yet with irregular separation by the recipient of the two constituents of the *iḍāfa* relations. This reading is reported and discussed by al-Farrā' (*Ma'ānī,* ad Q 6:137).

Use of *an* instead of *anna* in other cases than *qāla* (see above) is considered by Fischer (*Grammatik,* 188, n. 2) characteristic of the pre-classical period of Arabic. Rabin (*Ancient west Arabian,* 172) discusses *an sa-yakūnu* (Q 73:20), and notes its relation to the preceding *'alima an lan tuḥṣūhu* (op. cit., 190, n. 11). Rabin (op. cit., 169) also discusses in this context *ka-an lam* for *ka-anna…* as in *fa-ja'alnāhā ḥaṣīdan ka-an lam taghna bil-amsi* (Q 10:24) and relates *an* to *in* of the structure *in… lammā* in Q 36:32 (see also the discussion of *inna* above). For an example of an asyndetic structure with main verbs expressing a wish conjoined directly to imperfect indicative verbs without *an,* see *ta'murūnnī a'budu* in Q 39:64.

22. Relative clauses

a. Asyndetic syntactic adjectivization: *al-muṣṣaddiqīna wa-l-muṣṣaddiqāti wa-aqraḍū llāha qarḍan* (Q 57:18); also *[waylun yawma'idhin lil-mukadhdhibīna] wa-idhā qīla lahumu rka'ū lā yarka'ūna* (Q 77:48); cf. Brockelmann (*Grundriß,* ii, 563) with reconstruction of the process as "Muḥammad wagt es zwar ein determiniertes Adjektiv durch einen Satz forzusetzen, aber noch nicht den Artikel auf diesen zu übertragen," referring to Nöldeke's evaluation (Zur Sprache, 14).

b. The resumptive pronoun of a locative is missing in *yawman lā tajzī* for *lā tajzī fīhi* (Q 2:48, 123. Nöldeke (op. cit., 16) considers it a case in which this pronoun behaves as if it were an object pronoun, namely *tajzīhi*. This phenomenon recurs in *fa-l-yaṣumhu* (Q 2:185) and is studied by Nöldeke (*Zur Grammatik,* 36). Early Basran and Kūfan grammarians recorded by Farrā' disputed the identity of the elliptic pronoun in Q 2:48.

c. Indirect relative clauses: *yā ayyuhā lladhīna āmanū* (see above under adjectives) and *yā 'ibādiya lladhīna āmanū* (Q 29:56) is discussed by Bloch (*Studies in Arabic syntax,* 28)

who suggests the notion of "encompassing generality" of believers as an explanation for its abundance. The direct relative clause should be *lladhīna āmantum*.
d. The use of *alladhī al-maṣdariyya* in Q 9:69, *wa-khuḍtum ka-lladhī khāḍū,* and the history of its linguistic treatment is studied by Goldenberg (Allāḏī al-maṣdariyya) who mentions two other verses which probably exhibit this phenomenon, namely Q 6:154 and 62:23 (cf. ibid. § 9). Reference is made to another omission of the resumptive pronoun in *niʿmataka llatī anʿamta ʿalayya* (Q 27:19).

23. Other compound sentences
a. Embedded copular structures: Nöldeke (*Zur Grammatik* [1963], 48) treats this structure, noting duplication of pronouns after *verba sintiendi* and *jaʿala* and exemplified with *in taranī anā aqalla…* (Q 18:39) and *tajidūhu ʿinda llāhi huwa khayran wa-aʿẓama ajran* (Q 73:20); Nöldeke refers to *lā yaḥsibanna lladhīna yabkhalūna bi-mā ātāhumu llāhu min faḍlihi huwa khayran lahum* (Q 3:180) as "ungeschickt."
b. *ʿAsā* structures occur thiry times in the Qurʾān. Rabin (*Ancient west Arabian,* 185) mentions two cases in which uninflected *ʿasā* has a dual or plural subject, namely in Q 2:216 and 49:11 (Ibn Masʿūd [d. 32/652] and Ubayy b. Kaʿb [d. 35/656] read the latter with inflected *ʿasā*) and two loci with inflected *hal ʿasaytum…* (Q 2:246; 47:22). Of the eight structural modes of its occurrence in classical Arabic texts (as specified by Ullmann, Vorklassisches Arabisch), only the first, namely *ʿasā* plus *an* plus subjunctive, is represented here. See also Nöldeke (Zur Sprache, 4), where the variation of inflected and uninflected *ʿasā* constitutes part of his argumentation against Vollers' thesis.
c. Exceptive member after negative *mā:* Rabin (op. cit., 181) cites the Arab grammarians' observation according to which the Ḥijāzī dialect marked the *munqaṭiʿ* (logically non-identical, of a different species) exceptive member with accusative, contrary to the Tamīmī rule which maintained agreement of this member with the noun of the main sentence. The Qurʾān exhibits what may be interpreted as the Ḥijāzī pattern in *mā lahum bihi min ʿilmin illā ttibāʿa l-zanni* (Q 4:157), although *ḥāl* interpretation or its like is also possible.

24. Elliptic sentences
Frequent occurrence of elliptic sentences in the Qurʾān is well noted by Nöldeke (Zur Sprache, 17) and others, especially with *idh* and *idhā* as opening new passages.

As this overview demonstrates, qurʾānic grammar poses a great challenge to modern students of the language of early Islam, especially in its historical setting. Advancement of computerized techniques of language- and text-analysis may give an added value to future research in this field (see COMPUTERS AND THE QUR'ĀN).

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Grapes

see FOOD AND DRINK; HOURIS; PARADISE; GARDEN

Grasses

Plants distinguished by their jointed stems, narrow and spear-shaped blades and fruits of a seedlike grain; also, the green herbage affording food for cattle and other grazing animals. The Qurʾān does not contain specific words for grass(es) as used in the modern Arabic language such as *ʿushb* and *ḥashīsh*.

The word *ḍighth* in Q 38:44, rendered in some translations as "a handful of (green or dry) grass," can also refer to a mixture of herbs or a handful of twigs from trees or shrubs; Lane conveys a gloss of the term in the same passage as "a bundle of rushes." Al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923) understands the word to indicate a bundle of fresh wood or large grasses with which to beat somebody, although not with too much force (*Tafsīr,* xxiii, 167-9).

Another word, *ḥuṭām,* meaning something that is dry and tough, appears in Q 56:65 (and 57:20) where it can be translated as "chaff" or "straw." Both Arabic terms are embraced by the general term for "vegetation," *nabāt* (see AGRICULTURE AND VEGETATION). Despite the imprecision of these words, in one passage, Q 18:45, *nabāt* occurs together with another imprecise term, *hashīm,* meaning a plant that has become dried and broken, the entire context of which, however, clearly reveals the qurʾānic intent in its frequent references to the natural world (see NATURAL WORLD AND THE QURʾĀN). The passage reads in Pickthall's translation, "And coin for them the similitude of the life of the world as water (q.v.) which we send down from the sky (see HEAVEN), and the vegetation of the earth *(nabāt al-arḍ)* mingleth with it and then becometh dry twigs *(hashīm)* that the winds (see AIR AND WIND) scatter. Allāh is able to do all things."

A final term that is sometimes understood to refer to "grasses" is found in Q 55:6, where the *najm* (glossed variously as "grass" or "star") and the tree are both said to bow down in adoration (*yasjudān,* see BOWING AND PROSTRATION; WORSHIP).

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Gratitude and Ingratitude

Thankfulness or disdain in response to a kindness. A dominant feature of the concept of gratitude in the Qurʾān is its use to describe the spiritual bond binding the believer to God. Gratitude has a very broad semantic field in the Qurʾān with a strong theocentric character in the sense that gratitude is owed chiefly to God, even if that means through what God has made and the offices he has appointed. Gratitude is a spiritual and moral state of mind, spiritual in the sense of acknowledging the believer's obligation to the creator, and moral in the sense of mandating rightful conduct in relation to God and to those appointed by God (see ETHICS AND THE QURʾĀN). Ingratitude is the opposite, its fundamental defect being denial of what is rightfully owed to God. It thus twists and distorts the very basis of all moral relationships, whether those with God or with those within the human community (see COMMUNITY AND SOCIETY IN THE QURʾĀN). As the Qurʾān states it, ingratitude is a form of rebellious unbelief, of *kufr* (see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF).

The verb to thank, to be grateful *(shakara)* and its various cognates, such as *shukr* (gratitude or thanksgiving), occurs seventy-four times in the Qurʾān. Gratitude or thanksgiving is in one sense due to God alone, and, only by analogy, to others. Accordingly, worship (q.v.; *ʿibāda*) is grateful praise (q.v., *al-ḥamd*), to which only God is entitled. The roots of gratitude lie in the act of creation (q.v.) to which human beings owe their life, with sustenance of life through God's bounties and blessings (see BLESSING; GRACE) being further grounds for gratitude. The faithful person *(muʾmin),* the person of *īmān* (Q 3:147), is the grateful person *(shākir)*. In Sūrat al-Raḥmān ("The Beneficent," Q 55), the Qurʾān rehearses for the believer the bounties and blessings of God with a refrain in the form of a rhetorical challenge, "which of your lord's bounties will you deny?" The word used for "denial," in the dual form, is *tukadhdhibān,* and carries the sense of falsifying, of making counterfeit the true and genuine, all because ingratitude has sealed the doors of the heart. One passage provides a graphic description of the ungrateful heart (q.v.) thus: "Then your hearts became hardened thereafter and are like stones, or even yet harder; for there are stones from which rivers come gushing, and others split, so that water issues from them, and others crash down in fear of God. And God is not heedless of the things you do" (Q 2:74).

Other metaphors are used to describe the heart of the heedless and the ungrateful. Their hearts are rusted (Q 83:14); a veil has come over their hearts; and a heaviness has fallen on their ears (q.v.), making them tone-deaf (Q 17:46; 41:5; see HEARING AND DEAFNESS). In fact, a rebellion has infected their primary organs of speech, hearing, sight, and feeling (Q 2:171; 6:25; 8:20-4; 22:46; 46:26; see SEEING AND HEARING; EYES). Nothing avails them. That situation contrasts with that of those who believe and are grateful to God: "Those who believe, their hearts being at rest in God's remembrance — in God's remembrance are at rest the hearts of those who believe…" (Q 13:28).

Ingratitude, or unbelief, like its opposite, is a matter for the exclusive attention of God. Unbelief, however, stands beyond ingratitude as the ultimate defiance of God. The Qurʾān describes unbelievers in uncompromising terms, saying God will not relent towards them: "How shall God guide a people who have disbelieved after

they believed, and bore witness that the messenger (q.v.) is true, and the clear signs came to them? God guides not the people of evildoers" (Q 3:86; see EVIL DEEDS); and "surely those who disbelieve, and die disbelieving, there shall not be accepted from any of them the whole earth full of gold (q.v.), if he would ransom himself thereby; for them waits a painful chastisement, and they shall have no helpers" (Q 3:91; see REWARD AND PUNISHMENT).

The favored servants, by contrast, who are brought close to God are those who have been given thankful hearts. God is the true benefactor, the ultimate patron, and ingratitude to God therefore ranks as the ultimate act of disobedience, an act of willful rebellion against God. Accordingly the Qurʾān speaks of God's blessings as something bestowed on the grateful and ungrateful alike (*min faḍli rabbī li-yabluwanī a-ashkuru am akfuru wa-man shakara fa-innamā yashkuru li-nafsihi wa-man kafara fa-inna rabbī ghaniyyun karīmun,* Q 27:40).

Gratitude defines God's claim on the attention and devotion of believers. God is abundant in bounty, yet humanity remains ungrateful (*wa-inna rabbaka la-dhū faḍlin ʿalā l-nāsi wa-lākinna aktharahum lā yashkurūna,* Q 27:73); God has furnished people with the earthly life and the means of its enjoyment, and still ingratitude clouds the human response (Q 7:10).

Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111), a theologian with considerable influence on Muslim thought and practice, devoted a detailed study to the subject. For him, remembrance of God *(dhikr)* is united with gratitude to God, as he points out in his *Kītāb al-Ṣabr wa-l-shukr* ("On patience and gratefulness," in the fourth volume of his *Iḥyāʾ ʿulūm al-dīn,* pp. 53-123). Al-Ghazālī cites the Prophet as saying that among the remembrances of God nothing is more meritorious than "thanks be to God." As such, glorification of God *(subḥān Allāh)* and "praise be to God" *(al-ḥamdu li-llāh)* signify the proper attitude of the acknowledgment of blessings from God. According to al-Ghazālī, God is the benefactor from whom gifts come without being mediated through an intermediary. Consequently, gratitude for God's blessings should rebound to God alone.

Fullness of human gratitude consists in recognizing that nature itself bears in its bosom the divine bounty and blessing, signifying that fact in its obedience to God's command. By the same token, human mediators of God's bounty remain subservient to God's power, whether or not they are conscious of it. Gratitude should not be deflected to the means God employs or to the thing God gives, for such is the gratitude of the common people when they receive food, clothing, drink and similar concessions to the appetite. Accordingly, gratitude to God is an act that God enables the faithful to perform — yet another reason for gratitude. In the final analysis, God does not need the gratitude of the faithful in order to be God. Indeed, gratitude to God is meritorious obedience to him, just as complaining is shameful disobedience, al-Ghazālī insists. A person who misuses a thing by diverting it from that for which it was created, including misuse of the organs of the body, becomes thereby ungrateful in the eyes of God. Gratitude is of the heart, hidden manifestations *(wāridāt al-qulūb),* as it were, but it must be expressed with the tongue, for God desires that of the faithful (Q 29:17; 7:206). According to Q 31:12, "Indeed, we gave Luqmān (q.v.) wisdom (q.v.): 'Give thanks to God; whosoever gives thanks gives thanks only for his own soul's good, and whosoever is ungrateful — surely God is all-sufficient, all-laudable.' "

The Qurʾān exhorts the devout, "So remember me, and I will remember you; and be thankful to me; and be you not

ungrateful towards me. O all you who believe, seek you help in patience and prayer; surely God is with the patient" (Q 2:152-3; see TRUST AND PATIENCE). In the general scheme of creation, as well as in the specific conduct of human affairs, gratitude is a moral marker. No relationship with God is complete or credible without it. This is not simply because God commandeers it in the fashion of a liberationist power, but because gratitude is an attribute of divinity ("God is all-grateful *[shākirun],* all-knowing *[ʿalīmun],*" Q 2:158). By extension, gratitude is a mark of the moral order God has ordained for human society and its furtherance, as the following verses make clear: "We have charged man, that he be kind to his parents (q.v.)… Until, when he is fully grown, and reaches forty years, he says, 'O my lord, dispose me that I may be thankful for your blessing by which you have blessed me and my father and mother, and that I may do righteousness well-pleasing to you; and make me righteous also in my seed" (Q 46:15); and "of his mercy he has appointed for you night and day, for you to repose in and seek after his bounty, that haply you will be thankful" (Q 28:73; cf. 3:190-1; see DAY AND NIGHT).

Gratitude is the criterion God will use to separate the faithful from the evil doers (Q 7:17 f., 14:7). The Qurʾān assures the faithful that at the final reckoning "God will recompense the thankful" (Q 3:144, 145). An early Meccan sūra (see CHRONOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN) that contains the unique occurrence of one term for ingratitude, *kanūd,* alludes to the fate of the ungrateful: "Lo! man is an ingrate unto his lord *(inna l-insāna li-rabbihi la-kanūdun)*… Does he not know that when the contents of the grave are poured forth and the secrets of the breasts are made known, on that day their lord will be perfectly informed about them" (Q 100:6-11; see APOCALYPSE; LAST JUDGMENT).

The Qurʾān speaks of the prophets of God as people of gratitude, of their obedience and faithfulness as acts of thanksgiving (see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD). Abraham's (q.v.) obedience (q.v.) and faithfulness were tokens of his gratitude to God (Q 16:120-1); Noah (q.v.) was a man of faith (q.v.) and gratitude (Q 17:3); Solomon (q.v.) was endowed with supernatural gifts to accomplish the ends for which God appointed him so that he would be grateful (Q 34:12-3); even the apocryphal ant (*naml,* see ANIMAL LIFE) responds in gratitude when it escapes being trampled underfoot in the path of Solomon's imperious progress (cf. Q 27:18-9); Moses (q.v.) consecrated his work of prophecy by issuing a call for gratitude to God by all who live on the earth (Q 14:5-8). Al-Ghazālī has Moses himself making supplication before God, asking how Adam (see ADAM AND EVE) showed his gratitude to God after all that God did for him. God responds by saying that Adam's knowledge *(maʿrifa)* was gratitude. Moses comments further that he is unable to express his gratitude to God except with a thanksgiving that itself is God's gift to him. In a striking passage describing David's (q.v.) anointed lineage and his appointment as prophet, the Qurʾān holds him up as a model of gratitude: "And we gave David bounty from us: 'O you mountains, echo God's praises with him, and you birds!'…. 'Labor, O house of David, in thankfulness; for few indeed are those that are thankful among my servants' " (Q 34:10 f.).

Apart from being one of God's attributes, gratitude is something in which God engages by virtue of God's beneficence (God is all-thankful *[shakūrun],* all-clement *[ḥalīmun],* Q 64:17). God will thank those of the faithful who strive after eternal life (Q 17:19). Upon such favored ones "shall be garments of silk and brocade (see CLOTHING); they are adorned with bracelets of

silver, and their lord shall give them to drink a pure draught," and God will say to them, "Behold, this is a recompense for you, and your striving is thanked (*mashkūran,* Q 76:21 f.)."

Al-Ghazālī reflects on the implication of divine reciprocity suggested in these verses, particularly how such reciprocity can be reconciled with divine transcendence *(tanzīh)*. He comments: "It is conceivable that man may be a thankful person in respect of another man, either by praising the second person for his good treatment of him or by rewarding the second person with a greater [benefit] than he received. [Actions of this nature] spring from man's praiseworthy qualities… As far as thanking God is concerned, one can use this term only metaphorically and then only loosely. For even if man praises God, his praise is inadequate since the praise God deserves is incalculable…. However, the best way of manifesting thankfulness for the blessings of God most high is to make use of these blessings in obeying, and not disobeying [see DISOBEDIENCE], him. And even this can only happen with God's help [see FREEDOM AND PREDESTINATION] and by his making it easy for man to be a thankful person to his Lord…." (al-Ghazālī, *al-Maqṣad al-asnā,* trans. Stade, *Ninety-nine names,* 71).

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Greed see AVARICE

Greeks see BYZANTINES

Guardianship

Care and management of the person and/or property of a person deemed incapable of managing his or her own affairs. Although the Qurʾān has no specific term for guardian and nowhere says what kind of relationship (kinship of a certain degree or otherwise) should exist between a guardian and ward, guardianship is nonetheless referred to in several verses. It is understood that (a) minors and (b) women are those who ought to be protected by male, adult guardians (see also CHILDREN; WOMEN AND THE QURʾĀN).

The Qurʾān, probably against a background of injustice and violence to which orphans (q.v.) and widows (see WIDOW) were subjected in pagan Mecca (q.v.; see also PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QURʾĀN), shows special solicitude for young people who have been deprived of their natural guardians. Exhortations to deeds of beneficence towards fatherless children *(yatāmā,* sing. *yatīm)* appear from the early Meccan sūras, e.g. Q 93:9 (for dating see Bell, ii, 663; see CHRONOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN). Another, probably Meccan, verse (Q 17:34) emphasizes that the property rights of orphans should be respected, warning the guardian not to touch their

property "except in a way that will improve it" (Bell, i, 265). Medinan verses from the second and third year after the emigration from Mecca to Medina (*hijra,* see EMIGRATION) deal particularly with the guardianship of children who had lost their fathers, Muḥammad's followers, in the battles of Badr (q.v.) and Uḥud (see EXPEDITIONS AND BATTLES). Q 4:5 elaborates on the obligations of guardians (*awṣiyāʾ al-yatāmā,* according to Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* ad loc.) appointed by God to manage the property *(jaʿala… lakum qiyāman)* of those who are "of weak intellect" *(sufahāʾ):* They are exhorted to feed and clothe them from the wealth that is entrusted to them, and they are also told to "speak to them in reputable fashion" (Bell, i, 68-9). In Q 4:2 and 4:6, guardians are warned not to misuse their wards' possessions (in these verses, the wards are specified as orphans), neither to "substitute the bad for the good" nor to "consume their property" (Bell, i, 68-9). In Q 4:6, guardians are also instructed to hand their property over to their wards in the presence of witnesses, when they will have reached the age of marriage *(balaghū l-nikāḥ)* and become able to manage their own affairs (*rushd,* see also the Medinan verses Q 4:10; 6:152).

Q 4:3 deals with the permission, given to men, to establish (limited?) polygamous unions (with their wards? with other women?, cf. Q 4:127; see MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE) in the context of their duty to treat their wards (specifically female ones?) justly. Watt (*Muhammad at Medina,* 276), accepting the traditional account that this verse was revealed shortly after the battle of Uḥud, suggests that the crux of the problem was not the large number of widows resulting from that battle but the many unmarried girls now placed under the guardianship of uncles, cousins and other kinsmen (see KINSHIP). Some of the guardians would keep their wards unmarried so as to enjoy unrestricted control over their property. According to Watt, the Qurʾān probably did not intend that the guardians should themselves marry their wards. Support for this supposition may come from Q 4:24, which continues the list begun in Q 4:23 of those women who are forbidden for a man to marry: "And *al-muḥṣanātu mina l-nisāʾi* [are forbidden to you], except those whom your right hand possesses…." The term *muḥṣanāt* may indicate "respectably housed and guarded women whether married or not" (Bell, i, 72; cf. Motzki, Wal-Muḥṣanātu, 192-218).

Even before the rise of Islam, it had become customary in Arabia for the dowry to be paid to the woman, not to her guardian (Stern, *Marriage,* 37). This is reflected in several Medinan verses (Q 4:4, 24, 25; 5:5; 60:10) which urge husbands to pass the bridal gift (*ṣaduqāt, ujūr,* see BRIDESWEALTH) directly to their brides or, according to commentaries on Q 4:4, command guardians to return to their wards dowry they had unjustly taken themselves (e.g. Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr;* Zamakhsharī, *Kashshāf;* Bayḍāwī, *Anwār,* ad loc.). That the bridal gift is the property of the wife and remains her own if the marriage is dissolved (Spies, Mahr, 79) is reflected in Q 4:20. Despite this apparent financial independence, it seems to have been the province of the male guardian to arrange the marriage of his female wards (daughters, granddaughters, and others who fell under his natural — or otherwise — guardianship): "He in whose hand is the bond of marriage" *(alladhī biyadihi ʿuqdatu l-nikāḥi,* Q 2:237; cf. Zamakhsharī, *Kashshāf,* ad loc.: *al-walī alladhī yalī ʿaqd nikāḥihinna)* is probably a reference to this facet of male guardianship of women.

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Guidance and Leading Astray see FREEDOM AND PREDESTINATION; ASTRAY

H

Ḥadīth and the Qurʾān

One important genre in Arabic literature comprises the sayings attributed to the Prophet Muḥammad, descriptions of his deeds as well as accounts of events supposed to have occurred during his lifetime. This literary genre is the tradition literature, the ḥadīth, which is a term for the literature as well as for a single tradition. This article is divided into eleven sections: (1) general introduction; (2) traditions about the beginning of the divine revelations and what the Prophet is reported to have experienced while receiving them (see REVELATION AND INSPIRATION); (3) traditions dealing with the collection of the scattered qurʾānic fragments by order of the first three caliphs (see COLLECTION OF THE QURʾĀN); (4) traditions dealing with the seven variant readings (*qirāʾāt* or *aḥruf,* see READINGS OF THE QURʾĀN); (5) traditions in which the various modes of Qurʾān recitation are sorted out (see RECITATION OF THE QURʾĀN); (6) exegetical traditions in general (see EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL); (7) traditions that clarify certain well-known qurʾānic legal prescriptions (see LAW AND THE QURʾĀN); (8) historical reports closely connected with particular qurʾānic verses (q.v.; see also OCCASIONS OF REVELATION); (9) traditions that sing the praises of certain sūras or verses; (10) special genres of ḥadīth literature closely related to the Qurʾān: "stories of the prophets" *(qiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ)* traditions (see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD); eschatological traditions (see ESCHATOLOGY); ḥadīth *qudsī;* (11) the Shīʿī ḥadīth sources (see SHĪʿISM AND THE QURʾĀN).

(1) *General introduction*

Normally each tradition consists of (1) a list of names, beginning with the collector in whose collection the tradition found a place followed by several transmitters going back to the prophet Muḥammad or to another ancient authority, the so-called *isnād* (see further down), followed by (2) the actual text *(matn)* of the tradition. Certain collections of ḥadīths, six in all, were compiled in the latter half of the third/ninth century and became generally considered as so reliable by the Sunnī Muslim religious authorities of the day that they were canonized as it were, eventually acquiring a sanctity second only to the Qurʾān. In each of those six collections, known collectively as *al-kutub al-sitta,* i.e. "the Six Books," there is, apart from countless scattered allusions to qurʾānic verses and accompanying "occasions of revelation"

(*asbāb al-nuzūl,* the plural of *sabab al-nuzūl,* cf. sec. 8 below), as well as a host of concomitant issues, at least one special section that deals exclusively with qur'ānic matters — exegesis in the widest sense of the word. These sections contain the *tafsīr* traditions. In order of the importance of the collections, with references to the better-known editions, these sections are:
(1) *Bad' al-waḥy* and *Faḍā'il al-Qur'ān,* in Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl al-Bukhārī (d. 256/870), *Ṣaḥīḥ,* ed. L. Krehl & Th.W. Juynboll, 4 vols., Leiden 1862-1908, i, 4 f.; iii, 391 f., and the edition authorized and carried out by a number of Azhar scholars and other religious dignitaries, 9 vols., Cairo 1313/1895, Maṭba'at Muṣṭafā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī and reprinted many times, i, 2 f.; vi, 223 f. (al-Bukhārī's lengthy exegetical *[tafsīr]* section in iii, 193 f. = vi, 20 f., is especially important);
(2) *Bāb faḍā'il al-Qur'ān wa-mā yata'allaqu bihi* and *Tafsīr,* in Muslim b. al-Ḥajjāj (d. 261/875), *Ṣaḥīḥ,* ed. Muḥammad Fu'ād 'Abd al-Bāqī, 5 vols., Cairo 1955 (reprinted many times), i, 543 f.; iv, 2312 f.;
(3) *Abwāb qirā'at al-Qur'ān wa-taḥzībihi wa-tartīlihi, Bāb fī thawāb qirā'at al-Qur'ān* and *Kitāb al-Ḥurūf wa l-qirā'āt* in Abū Dāwūd Sulaymān b. al-Ash'ath al-Sijistānī (d. 275/889), *Sunan,* ed. Muḥammad Muḥyī l-Dīn 'Abd al-Ḥamīd, 4 vols., Cairo 1354/1935 (reprinted several times), ii, 54 f., 70 f.; iv, 31 f., and Muḥammad Shams al-Ḥaqq al-'Aẓīmābādī, *'Awn al-ma'būd sharḥ sunan Abī Dāwūd,* 14 vols., Beirut 1990, iv, 186 f., 228 f.; xi, 3 f.;
(4) *Faḍā'il (*or *Thawāb) al-Qur'ān* and *Qirā'āt* in Muḥammad b. 'Īsā al-Tirmidhī (d. 279/892), *al-Jāmi' al-ṣaḥīḥ,* ed. Aḥmad Muḥammad Shākir et al., 5 vols., Cairo 1937-65, v, 155 f., 185 f.; his *Tafsīr* section (v, 199 f.) is, like al-Bukhārī's, especially important;
(5) *Faḍā'il al-Qur'ān, Abwāb qirā'at al-Qur'ān* and *Tafsīr* in Aḥmad b. Shu'ayb al-Nasā'ī (d. 303/915), *Kitāb al-Sunan al-kubrā,* ed. 'Abd al-Ghaffār Sulaymān al-Bundārī and Sayyid Kasrawī Ḥasan, 6 vols., Beirut 1991, v, 3 f., 173 f.; vi, 282 f. (n.b.: in Nasā'ī's abbreviation of this collection entitled *Sunan* or *al-Mujtabā* there are no special Qur'ān-related sections);
(6) *Bāb iftitāḥ al-qirā'a* in Ibn Māja al-Qazwīnī (d. 273/886), *Sunan,* ed. M.F. 'Abd al-Bāqī, 2 vols., Cairo 1952-3 (reprinted several times), i, 267 f.

Five other major pre-canonical collections of ḥadīth and related material with special sections devoted to the Qur'ān are:
(1) Mālik b. Anas (d. 179/795), *Muwaṭṭa',* ed. M.F. 'Abd al-Bāqī, 2 vols., Cairo 1951 (reprinted many times), *Kitāb al-Qur'ān,* i, 199 f.;
(2) Abū Dāwūd al-Ṭayālisī (d. 203-4/819-20), *Minḥat al-ma'būd fī tartīb Musnad al-Ṭayālisī Abī Dāwūd,* ed. Aḥmad 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Bannā al-Sā'ātī Beirut 1372, ii, *al-Kitāb fī mā yata'allaqu bi-l-Qur'ān,* 2 f.;
(3) 'Abd al-Razzāq al-Ṣan'ānī (d. 211/826), *Muṣannaf,* ed. Ḥabīb al-Raḥmān al-A'ẓamī, 11 vols., Beirut 1970, *Faḍā'il al-Qur'ān,* iii, 335 f.;
(4) Abū Bakr b. Abī Shayba (d. 235/849), *Muṣannaf,* 15 vols., Hyderabad 1966-88, *Faḍā'il al-Qur'ān,* x, 456 f.;
(5) 'Abdallāh b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Dārimī (d. 255/869), *Sunan,* ed. Fawwāz Aḥmad Zamarlī and Khālid al-Sab' al-'Alamī, 2 vols., Cairo/Beirut 1987, *Faḍā'il al-Qur'ān,* ii, 521 f.

Among the most important Shī'ī ḥadīth sources we find the following, each with special sections on the Qur'ān:
Muḥammad b. Ya'qūb al-Kulaynī (d. 328/939), *al-Kāfī fī 'ilm al-dīn,* ed. 'Alī Akbar al-Ghaffārī, 8 vols., Teheran 1381, *Faḍl al-Qur'ān,* ii, 596 f.;
Muḥammad Bāqir al-Majlisī (d. 1110/1700), *Biḥār al-anwār,* 2nd edition, ed. al-Sayyid Ibrāhīm al-Mayānjī and

Muḥammad al-Bāqir al-Bahbūdī, 104 vols., Beirut 1983, vols. lxxxix and xc, 1-145, *Kitāb al-Qurʾān*. For an appraisal of this source, see section 11 below.

Seemingly complete *isnād*s preceding longer or shorter medieval Qurʾān studies were occasionally utilized in later writings in the qurʾānic sciences (see TRADITIONAL DISCIPLINES OF QURʾĀNIC STUDY) in order to lend these prestige, but these studies are not part of ḥadīth literature per se. Thus we find, for example, a concise enumeration *(talkhīṣ)* in which passages assumed to have been revealed in Mecca (q.v.) are separated from those assumed to have been revealed in Medina (q.v.), headed by a strand ending in Mujāhid/Ibn ʿAbbās in Jamāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī's *Itqān* (i, 24 f.), who cites a book on abrogation (q.v.) by the grammarian al-Naḥḥās (d. 338/950, cf. *GAS*, ix, 207 f.). Throughout his massive work al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505) quotes other such surveys on a variety of qurʾānic subjects with the name of only one ancient authority (often Companions like Ibn ʿAbbās or Ubayy b. Kaʿb; see COMPANIONS OF THE PROPHET) prefixed as the transmitting authority. The "mysterious letters" (*fawātiḥ*, see LETTERS AND MYSTERIOUS LETTERS) with which a number of sūras begin are enumerated with a host of interpretations, each of which is again preceded by an *isnād* of sorts (cf. Suyūṭī, *Itqān*, iii, 21 f., and also Majlisī, *Biḥār*, lxxxix, 373 f.). Examples of such works on a number of qurʾānic disciplines with scattered and non-canonical *isnād*s attached to them are otherwise legion. The significance of such *isnād*s is slight on the whole, and mentioning them at all seems more a matter of habit than a purposeful attempt to substantiate historically the transmission paths of such studies.

The evolution of the ḥadīth went hand in hand with Muslim exploration and interpretation of the Qurʾān. Thus we find a variety of interpretive issues reflected in the ḥadīth: theological, ethical (see ETHICS AND THE QURʾĀN), legislative, grammatical and lexicographical exegesis (see GRAMMAR AND THE QURʾĀN), setting off the general of the Qurʾān against the specific in the ḥadīth or, on some occasions, the general in the ḥadīth against the specific of the Qurʾān, as well as providing background information on the history of the revelation *(asbāb al-nuzūl, nāsikh wa-mansūkh)*. Some of these aspects, in addition to various others, will be dealt with in sections 2-11 below.

The *isnād*s preceding accounts about the Prophet or his closest associates or anyone from the past were first instituted in the course of the final decades of the first/seventh century. From that time, people who wished to transmit something, for example a saying or anecdote which they had picked up somewhere, were required first to name their informant and the informant of that informant, and so on all the way back to the lifetime of the pivotal person of the event. This requirement led to the birth of untold numbers of *isnād* chains which, eventually, turned up in the tradition collections, heading the individual sayings and anecdotes.

*Isnād*s occurring in the canonical collections are, on the whole, accepted almost without question by the Islamic world as historically reliable authentication devices, traditional ḥadīth criticism being a highly developed discipline in the Muslim world. They are, however, rejected as such by those Western investigators of ḥadīth who opine that *isnād*s are better left alone, inasmuch as not only a good number — as is generally admitted — but, conceivably, *all* of them may be forged, and that there is no foolproof method of telling which one is sound and which one is not. In the present article the appraisal of *isnād*s is less

radically skeptical. *Isnād*s heading the adduced traditions have all been scrutinized and analyzed and, as far as that seemed tenable, questions as to chronology, provenance and authorship of the traditions supported by them have been addressed. This procured satisfactory answers in some instances, but that is, unfortunately, not always the case (e.g. see sec. 6 below).

At any rate, an effort has been made in this article to adduce datable traditions with indications as to their conceivable originators. Mostly, references will be given first to the number of the *isnād* bundle as listed in the *Tuḥfa* of Yūsuf b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Mizzī (d. 742/1341; for this author, who lists in his work all canonical traditions from the Six Books and a few others in alphabetical order, according to the oldest transmitters of their respective *isnād*s, see Juynboll, Some *isnād*-analytical methods). After that, references to occurrence in one or a few important collections will be added. This will then be followed by the transmitter(s), if any, who may be held responsible for the proliferation of these traditions. In an attempt to highlight the importance of non-Arab converts to Islam *(mawālī)* in early Islam, indication is given when these transmitters belonged to that category.

Throughout this article, mention will be made of several newly-coined technical terms developed in recent *isnād*-bundle analysis, such as "common link" (= cl), "seeming common link" (= scl), "spider," "single strands" (= ss's), and the like. For the time being the following introductory excursus should suffice. For visual illustrations, one is referred to the diagrams as drawn here (Diagrams A, B and C, see p. 380) and also those in section 3 below (Diagrams D and E). (For an extensive introduction to these terms, see Juynboll, Nāfiʿ, and id., Early Islamic society.)

When all the *isnād* strands found in the collections in support of one particular, well-known tradition are put together on a sheet of paper, beginning at the bottom with the names of the oldest transmitters and working one's way upwards in time, a picture emerges which turns out to be similar to other pictures, whenever that exercise is repeated in respect to other well-known traditions. From the bottom up one finds first a single row or strand of three, four or more names (rarely two) from the Prophet or any other ancient central authority, a strand which at a given moment starts to branch out to a number of names. Where that single strand (ss) branches out first, we find a man whom we call the common link (cl), and when his alleged pupils have themselves more than one pupil we call each one of such pupils a partial common link (pcl). All these branches together constitute a so-called *isnād* bundle.

The more transmission lines there are, coming together in a certain transmitter, either reaching him or branching out from him, the greater the claim to historicity that moment of transmission, represented in what may be described as a "knot," has. Thus the transmission moments described in ss's (*fulān-fulān-fulān,* etc.), linking just one master with one pupil and then with one pupil and so on, traversing at least some two hundred years cannot lay claim to any acceptable historicity: in all likelihood they are the handiwork of the collectors in whose collections they are found. But when the transmission from a cl branches out to a number of pcls, each of whose transmissions branches out also to a number of other pcls, then these "knots" give a certain guarantee for the historical tenability of that transmission path, at least in the eyes of the rather less skeptical *isnād* analyst.

The more pcls a cl has, the more probable the authorship of the (wording of that) tradition under scrutiny is to be ascribed to

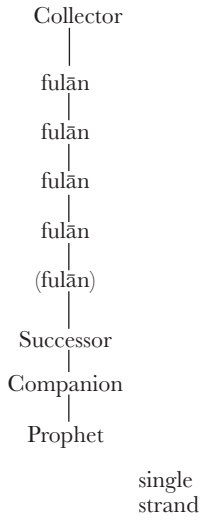


Diagram A

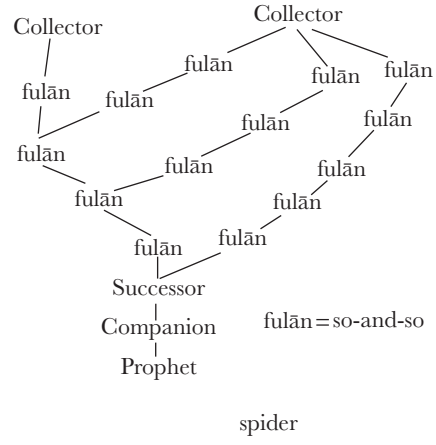


Diagram B

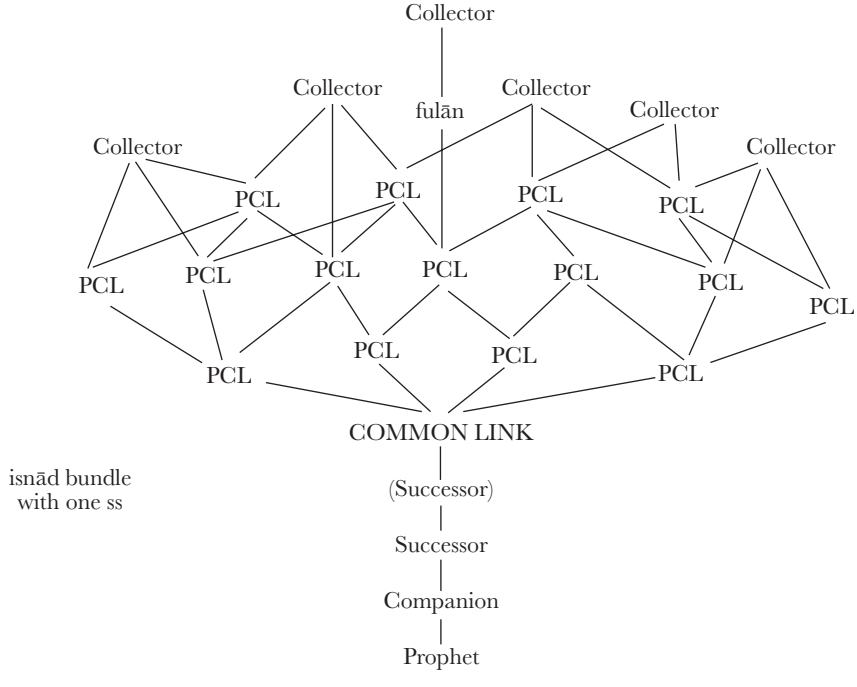


Diagram C

that cl. And that supplies at the same time answers to questions about the provenance and chronology of the tradition thus supported. In other words, a transmitter can only safely be called a cl when he has himself several pcls, and a pcl can only safely be called that, when he has himself several other, younger pcls. When the number of pcls of a cl is limited we rather speak of that cl as a seeming cl. Seeming cls may emerge in bundles which, upon scrutiny, turn out to be two or a few ss's which happen to come together in what looks like a cl, but which, for lack of pcls, is not.

Summing up, the vast majority of traditions in the Six Books are supported by *isnād* structures in the form of ss's. When, in any given tradition, several ss's seem to come together in a seeming cl, which does not have the required minimum of believable pcls, we call the *isnād* structure of that tradition a "spider." In Muslim tradition literature we find thousands upon thousands of ss's, a good many of which form into otherwise undatable spiders. Traditions supported by *isnād* bundles that deserve that qualification are rather rarer, but do seem to contain data that may point to a more or less tenable chronology, provenance and even authorship.

(2) *The beginning of the divine revelation*

The best-known tradition about the beginning of the revelation *(waḥy)* depicts how the Prophet was visited by the angel Gabriel (q.v.; Jibrīl) who gave him a short text to recite, the first divine revelation of all, five verses of Q 96: "Recite in the name of your lord.…" The oldest version of the story extant in the sources may tentatively be attributed to the storyteller *(qāṣṣ)* of Mecca, ʿUbayd b. ʿUmayr (d. 68/687), officially installed in that position by the second caliph (q.v.), ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb. This version was later reworded and provided with some crucial interpolations by the Medinan/Syrian chronicler Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī (d. 124/742). He traced the account back to the Prophet via a ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr/ʿĀ'isha (see ʿĀ'ISHA BINT ABĪ BAKR) *isnād*. The development of the textual accretions and embellishments of the story — including an attempt of the *mawlā* Yaḥyā b. Abī Kathīr (d. between 129/747 and 132/750) to have Q 74:1-5 accepted as the first revealed verses — as well as of its multiple *isnād* strands, has been studied and provided with diagrams of the *isnād* bundles by Juynboll (Early Islamic society, 160-71) and Schoeler (*Charakter,* chap. 2; cf. also Rubin, Iqra').

There are various traditions on how the Qur'ān was further revealed. Some late and undatable traditions describe how the Qur'ān was lowered in its entirety during Ramaḍān (q.v.) to the heaven (see HEAVEN AND SKY) nearest to earth (q.v.), on the "Night of the Divine Decree" (*laylat al-qadr,* see NIGHT OF POWER), whereupon it was revealed piecemeal from there to Muḥammad through the angel Gabriel (q.v.). Efforts to mark the exact night in Ramaḍān that must be identified as *laylat al-qadr* have resulted in a cluster of traditions supported by *isnād* strands, from among which various late common links are discernible. The overwhelming number of (partially conflicting) prophetic and Companion reports on the exact day in Ramaḍān leads, however, to the inevitable conclusion that the discussion was an ancient one, in all likelihood triggered by Q 97:1-3: "We have sent it (i.e. the Qur'ān) down in the Night of the Divine Decree… a night better than one thousand months (q.v.)." For some late originators of prophetic *laylat al-qadr* traditions, see Mizzī's *Tuḥfa,* iii, no. 4419 (Mālik, *Muwaṭṭa',* i, 319; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* ii, 824), in which *isnād* bundle we encounter the Baṣran transmitter Hishām b. Abī ʿAbdallāh al-Dastuwā'ī (d. 152-4/769-71) and the Medinan jurist Mālik b. Anas who are seen

to occupy common link positions.

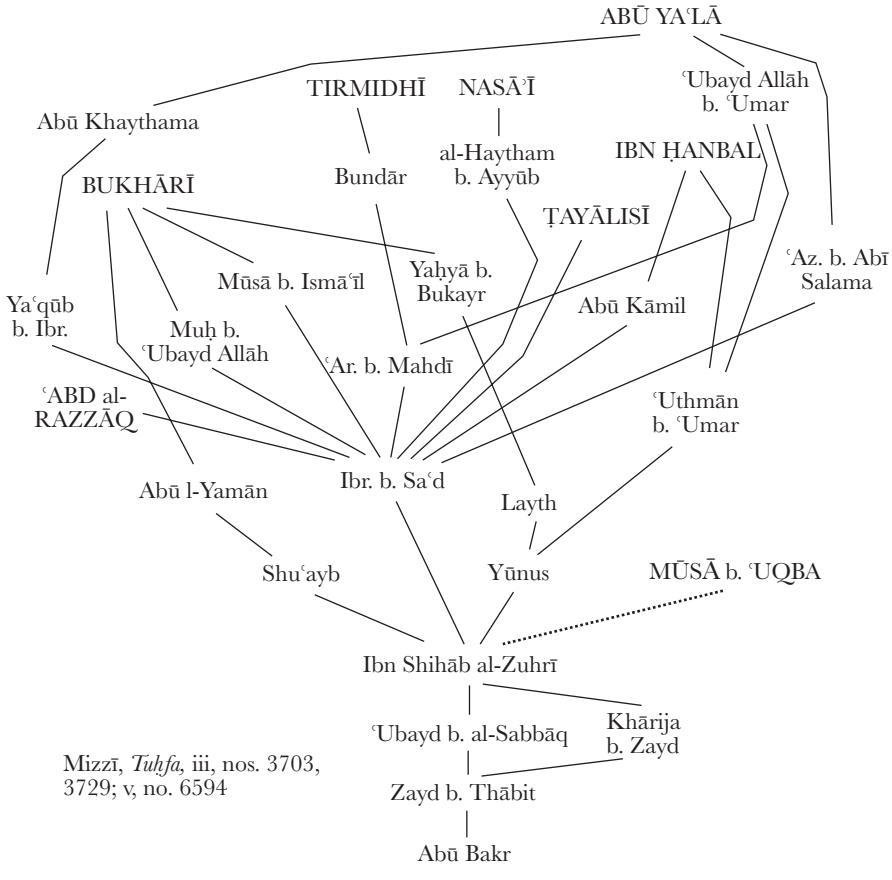
Then there are traditions in which we encounter descriptions of the physical symptoms allegedly displayed by the Prophet while he received revelations. One of the oldest of such traditions may be attributed to the Medinan (later, Kūfan) transmitter Hishām b. ʿUrwa (d. 146/763), the son of ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr mentioned above. Here, it is related that the Prophet either heard a tinkling bell from which he had to distill the divine message or that he was approached by the angel (q.v.) in human form who delivered a spoken message. He is also depicted as perspiring profusely, even in cold weather, when a revelation was sent down upon him (cf. Mizzī, xii, no. 17152; Mālik, i, 202 f.; Muslim, iv, 1816 f.). Another early tradition, for which the Kūfan transmitter Manṣūr b. al-Muʿtamir (d. 132/750) may be held responsible, deals with the occasional forgetfulness in retaining revelations from which the Prophet is reported to have suffered. This was caused by God, it says in a later commentary, who thereby abrogated a verse's recitation. Forgetting a verse constituted, on the whole, human punishment for not having memorized it properly in the first place, in the same way one would be punished for the escape of a camel (q.v.) that had not been hobbled. Often this forgetfulness was deemed to be the result of a malicious whisper from the devil (q.v.; Mizzī, vii, no. 9295; Muslim, i, 544). Another early traditionist responsible for a similar tradition is the above-mentioned Hishām b. ʿUrwa (cf. Mizzī, xii, nos. 16807, 17046; cf. also Ibn Ḥajar, *Fatḥ,* x, 457 f.).

The revelation process was allegedly assisted by the angel Gabriel who descended from heaven once every year during Ramaḍān in order to collate with the Prophet the qurʾānic fragments that had been revealed in the course of that year, mostly in groups of no more than five verses (cf. Suyūṭī, *Itqān,* i, 124 f.). In the final year of Muḥammad's life, Gabriel is recorded to have come down to earth twice for this collation. Seemingly the earliest datable tradition in which this is reflected may be ascribed to the Kūfan *mawlā* Zakariyyāʾ b. Abī Zāʾida (d. 147-9/764-6, Mizzī, *Tuḥfa,* xii, no. 17615; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt,* ii 2, 40; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* iv, 1904 f.). And there is a tradition in the same vein to be dated to the time of the Baghdādī jurist-cum-traditionist Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal (d. 241/855, cf. his *Musnad,* i, 231).

(3) *The collection of the Qurʾān*

As the early Muslim historical sources inform us, during the Prophet's life the qurʾānic fragments were noted down by several of his Companions, sometimes labeled as his "secretaries," on the available materials that could serve for that purpose. But upon his death the scattered remains could hardly be said to constitute an ordered or easily accessible redaction (see codices of the qurʾān). The ḥadīths in the canonical and other collections that purportedly give an account of the first caliphs' endeavors to gather up *(jamʿ)* these fragments and organize them into chapters *(taʾlīf)* in an orderly fashion do not permit hard and fast conclusions as to chronology and authorship. They can be divided into two distinct reports, the first one centering on Abū Bakr's and ʿUmar's measures (for its *isnād* bundle, see Diagram D) and the second on ʿUthmān's efforts in this respect (for its *isnād* bundle, see Diagram E).

Muḥammad's desire to keep matters open so that cases of abrogation or repeal *(naskh)* concerning certain prescriptions *(aḥkām)* could still be inserted is given as the reason why he did not already assemble the revelations in a *muṣḥaf* (q.v.), i.e. a collection of sheets (= *ṣuḥuf,* see writing and writing materials; instruments), during his lifetime (cf. Ibn Ḥajar, *Fatḥ al-*



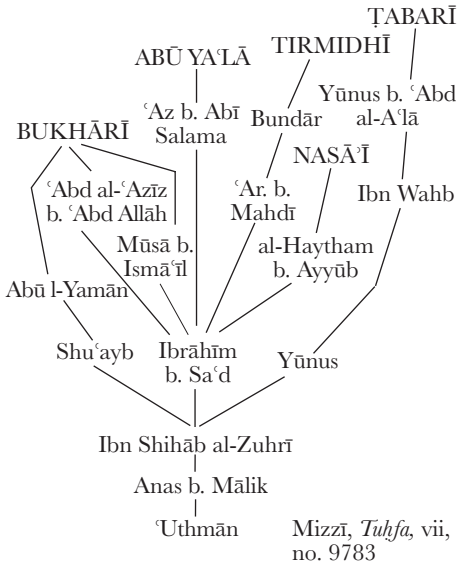
Mizzī, *Tuḥfa*, iii, nos. 3703, 3729; v, no. 6594

Diagram D

bārī, x, 386, ll. 8 f.). That is why the "rightly-guided caliphs" (*al-khulafāʾ al-rāshidūn*, the first four caliphs of Islam) took up the matter only after his death. Notwithstanding numerous textual variants, the background data in these two reports tally by and large with what we read in Islam's most prestigious, early historical sources, but their embellishing elements caution us that we should not take them at face value or all too literally.

Within its *isnād* bundle the first report dealing with Abū Bakr seems to show a common link: Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī who, with a strand down to the young Companion Zayd b. Thābit (d. between 45/665 and 55/675) via the totally obscure, and therefore probably fictitious, transmitter ʿUbayd b. al-Sabbāq, may conceivably be held responsible for the skeleton of the wording as well as for this strand, *if* that is not the handiwork of an unidentifiable transmitter higher up in the bundle who is evidently also responsible for the Khārija b. Zayd strand. As for the historicity of details, one does well to treat the report with caution.

The second report, the one concerning ʿUthmān's directives, is even more swamped by typically ahistorical or, differently put, topical, embellishments. Zuhrī is again a key figure in its *isnād* bundle but his strand down to ʿUthmān via the Baṣran Companion Anas b. Mālik (d. 91-3/710-12) is even more dubious than the one to Abū



Mizzī, *Tuḥfa*, vii, no. 9783

Diagram E

Bakr because of various considerations brought together in Juynboll, Shuʿba. In any case, Zuhrī cannot be held responsible for it. On the other hand, the position of his younger and distant kinsman the transmitter Ibrāhīm b. Saʿd al-Zuhrī (d. 183/799), who migrated from Medina to Baghdad, is more firmly established and, what is more significant, especially highlighted by the otherwise fierce *isnād* critic, the Baghdadi *mawlā* Yaḥyā b. Maʿīn (d. 233/847; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, i, 122, 9). So it is he, and not Zuhrī, who may be held largely responsible for its wording.

The overall conclusion must be that the basic historicity of what both stories tell us remains a matter of dispute among dispassionate historians, especially in the case of the second. A reliable chronological reconstruction of the final redaction of the Qurʾān can presumably only be achieved on the basis of ancient manuscript evidence. Islam has, however, always accepted the Abū Bakr and ʿUthmān stories without question as fundamental. Schwally (in Nöldeke, *GQ*, ii, 18 f.) prefers to hold ʿUmar, rather than Abū Bakr, largely responsible for the first collection of the Qurʾān and in Burton's *Collection* and Wansbrough's *Qurʾānic studies* both stories are rejected out of hand on the basis of a host of different considerations. For a much less skeptical assessment of the two traditions, see Motzki, *De Koran*, 12-29.

Abū Bakr's order to have the Qurʾān organized is laid down in a report in which it is alleged that he was warned by ʿUmar that, because of the many casualties at the battle of ʿAqrabāʾ in the Yamāma (see EXPEDITIONS AND BATTLES) against the false prophet Musaylima (see MUSAYLIMA AND PSEUDO-PROPHETS), many of the memorized fragments (see ORALITY) of qurʾānic revelations might be lost for posterity. So Zayd b. Thābit was assigned to collect as many fragments preserved in peoples' memories, as well as those preserved in writing on all sorts of material, as he could find. The oldest historical source in which this report is said to have been preserved is the *Maghāzī* of Mūsā b. ʿUqba (d. 141/758; Ibn Ḥajar, *Fatḥ*, x, 390, l. 8), where a sober account is quoted from Zuhrī who, this time, dispenses with naming his authority, a highly significant omission by any standards. Except for a small fragment, that *Maghāzī* text is lost.

The second report centering on ʿUthmān is chronologically situated in the second or third year of his reign. In this report it is alleged that one of his generals had observed that his men from Iraq (q.v.) recited the Qurʾān differently than did his men from Syria. This was incentive enough for ʿUthmān, so the story tells us, to have the sheets *(ṣuḥuf)* on which Abū Bakr had recorded the fragments sorted out and copied out again, whereby the dialect of Quraysh (q.v.) was to prevail in the case of conflicting readings.

Thus the 114 sūras of the Qurʾān were supposedly collected in one *muṣḥaf*, roughly in the order of decreasing length. As

Muslim sources indicate, the last sūra to be revealed was Q 9, Sūrat al-Tawba ("Repentance") and the last verse Q 4:176, the so-called *kalāla* verse that dealt with a category of the relatives of a deceased person who are entitled to a share in the inheritance (q.v.; cf. Mizzī, *Tuḥfa,* ii, no. 1870; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* iii, 1236). The Baṣran *mawlā* Shuʿba b. al-Ḥajjāj (d. 160/776) is the transmitter responsible for a tradition to this effect. According to a Shīʿī source the last sūra to be revealed was Q 110 (Majlisī, *Biḥār,* lxxxix, 39). An enigmatic report not contained in any of the canonical collections but listed in al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923; *Tafsīr,* xxvi, 40), with a full *isnād* ending in Muʿāwiya b. Abī Sufyān, the first Umayyad caliph (d. 61/680), claims that the final verse of Sūrat al-Kahf ("The Cave," Q 18) was indeed the last verse sent down to Muḥammad. Another such report, for which see al-Suyūṭī (*Itqān,* i, 184 f.), relates that two more short sūras, or rather prayers, were originally thought to have been part of the Companion Ubayy b. Kaʿb's early, pre-Abū Bakr redaction, the so-called *sūrat al-khalʿ* and *sūrat al-ḥafd,* but they were eventually not added to the 114. And, finally, the existence of short sequences of rhyming prose lines *(sajʿ),* which are strongly reminiscent of early Meccan sūras (see RHYMED PROSE; FORM AND STRUCTURE OF THE QUR'ĀN), complete with various, seemingly pre-Islamic oaths, and which do not deserve to be dismissed as mere pastiche (Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh,* i, 2484, id., *History,* xiii, 223 f.; Ibn Isḥāq, *Sīra,* iii, 343), may leave one with the impression that there were more such fragments floating about which never made it into what later came to be called the ʿUthmānic codex. Al-Suyūṭī (*Itqān,* iii, 72-5) has, furthermore, conveniently listed some assorted verses, including the famous stoning (q.v.) verse (cf. Powers, Exegetical genre, 117-38), that were, as several Companions tell us, allegedly revealed to Muḥammad, but were never incorporated in it either.

(4) *Traditions on the seven* qirāʾāt *or* aḥruf

On various occasions the Prophet is supposed to have taught his followers one particular wording of a qurʾānic fragment at one time and at other times other wordings, concluding: "… recite it in the way that is easiest for you." This course of events is reflected in a *matn* cluster in the canonical collections concerning the "seven readings" (*sabʿat aḥruf* or *sabʿ qirāʾāt;* for the variant *sabʿat aqsām,* "seven subdivisions," Majlisī, *Biḥār,* xc, 4). When ʿUmar was once reported to have voiced his anxiety as to what is truly qurʾānic and what not, the Prophet is said to have reassured him with the words: "Every phrase that is purported to be part of the Qurʾān is correct as long as forgiveness (q.v.) is not confused with chastisement (see CHASTISEMENT AND PUNISHMENT), or chastisement with forgiveness," and "Each of the seven *aḥruf* is 'sufficient and restores health' *(kāfin shāfin)*" (Ibn Ḥajar, *Fatḥ,* x, 401, 9 f.). But this is a late report, in which the flexible attitude vis-à-vis qurʾānic variant readings is presented in florid terms. It had many precursors.

The number seven for the different readings is not to be taken literally, but rather as conveying an undefined number of units under ten, as seventy is often used to convey an undefined number of tens under one hundred. As long as the inner meaning is preserved, there is no harm in variants. The first tentatively datable traditions, which deal with variant readings but do not yet center on the number seven, may be attributed to the Baṣran traditionist Shuʿba (Mizzī, *Tuḥfa,* i, no. 60; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* i, 562 f.; and Mizzī, *Tuḥfa,* vii, no. 9591; Bukhārī, *Faḍāʾil al-Qurʾān,* 37, 3, iii, 410 = vi, 245). The number seven, mostly interpreted as representing a number of

ways of placing, or deleting, variable diacritics and vowels in verbs and nouns, especially in their endings, or the metathesis of letters, whole words, or phrases, etc., is occasionally assumed, wrongly in the opinion of most medieval scholars, to point to the different dialects (q.v.) the Arabs (q.v.) spoke, when the Qurʾān was in the process of being revealed. Moreover, the number is occasionally identified with seven modes of expression: verses or phrases containing incitement (*zajr,* see EXHORTATION), command (*amr,* see COMMANDMENTS), permission *(ḥalāl),* prohibition (*ḥarām,* see LAWFUL AND UNLAWFUL), affirmed or ambiguous (q.v.) statements *(muḥkam* or *mutashābih)* and similes (*amthāl,* see METAPHOR). Perhaps the earliest datable and most comprehensive tradition based on the number seven and probably going back to a discussion that had been going on for more than half a century before his lifetime is that of Mālik b. Anas (*Muwaṭṭaʾ,* i, 201, no. 5, = Mizzī, *Tuḥfa,* viii, no. 10591; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* i, 560). There are otherwise very few phrases in the Qurʾān that actually allow recitation in seven ways, the classic examples being: *ʿabada al-ṭāghūt* in Q 5:60 (Bayḍāwī, *Anwār,* i, 265), and *fa-lā taqul lahumā uff* in Q 17:23 (cf. ibid., i, 537).

The permission to resort to as many as seven variant readings is thought to have come forth from God's desire to facilitate *(takhfīf, tashīl)* mastery in Qurʾān recitation for those Arabs who were to embrace Islam at a later stage, especially after the emigration (q.v.; *hijra*). Following the early conquests (q.v.), in particular after the completion of the Qurʾān redaction that reportedly came to be recognized as that of ʿUthmān (see above, section 2), with the consolidation of the empire and the proliferation of Qurʾān instruction, the study of the variants began to constitute a separate qurʾānic discipline, even if some scholars hold the view that the so-called "ʿUthmān *muṣḥaf*" represents just one of the seven permissible *aḥruf,* making the other six obsolete. This seeming contradiction and accompanying harmonization attempts are set forth in detail by al-Zarkashī (*Burhān,* i, 222-7, and also Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* i, 560, note 3; for further discussion of the seven *aḥruf,* see Gilliot, *Elt,* 112-33).

(5) *On recitation*

There are traditions in which the proper ways of recitation are described, e.g. that one is not to hasten the recitation without pauses as one does while reciting poetry (see POETRY AND POETS), a recitation mode which is called *hadhdh*. Originators of such traditions are the Kūfan *mawlā* Sulaymān b. Mihrān al-Aʿmash (d. 148/765; Mizzī, *Tuḥfa,* vii, no. 9248; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* i, 563) and Shuʿba b. al-Ḥajjāj (Mizzī, *Tuḥfa,* vii, no. 9288; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* i, 565). Then there are traditions on the lengthening *(ishbāʿ* or *madd)* of vowel sounds while reciting with the Kūfan jurist al-Thawrī as probable originator (Mizzī, *Tuḥfa,* vi, no. 8627; Tirmidhī, *Jāmiʿ,* v, 177) and the Baṣran transmitter Jarīr b. Ḥazim (d. 175/791) as probable originator (Mizzī, *Tuḥfa,* i, no. 1145; Bukhārī, *Faḍāʾil,* iii, 406 = vi, 241). Vibrating in recitation *(tarjīʿ)* is dealt with in a tradition of Shuʿba (Mizzī, *Tuḥfa,* vii, no. 9666; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* i, 547). This vibrating could perhaps be described as interrupting the vowel sounds with a series of glottal stops, that at least appears to be the explanation of Majd al-Dīn al-Mubārak b. al-Athīr (d. 606/1210, cf. his *Nihāya,* ii, 202).

The total number of Qurʾān verses is variously given as 6204, 6214, 6219, 6225 or 6236. That number is also thought to indicate the steps whose ascendance will bring the faithful Qurʾān reciter, practicing the solemn recitation mode of *tartīl,* ever closer to paradise (q.v.), cf. a tradition in Muḥammad Shams al-Ḥaqq al-ʿAẓīmābādī (fl.

1312/1894, cf. his *ʿAwn al-maʿbūd,* iv, 237), for which al-Thawrī may tentatively be held responsible. Furthermore, there is a well-known tradition with many details about the Prophet's prolonged night recitation (Mizzī, *Tuḥfa,* iii, no. 3351; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* i, 536 f.) with Aʿmash as possible originator. To Shuʿba, who was eventually imitated by al-Thawrī can be attributed a tradition in which the teaching of Qurʾān recitation to others is praised (Mizzī, *Tuḥfa,* vii, no. 9813; Bukhārī, *Faḍāʾil al-Qurʾān,* 21, iii, 402 = vi, 236).

The slogan-like Prophetic tradition "Adorn the Qurʾān with your voices" (Mizzī, *Tuḥfa,* ii, no. 1775; Abū Dāwūd in *ʿAwn al-maʿbūd,* iv, 239) is supported by a complex *isnād* bundle in which the position of the early Successor and Qurʾān expert Ṭalḥa b. Muṣarrif (d. 112/730) may be construed as that of common link. In fact, his may be considered one of the earliest datable traditions in the entire canonical ḥadīth corpus. In view of his purported Qurʾān expertise he might conceivably be this tradition's originator. Moreover, the matter of Ṭalḥa's supposed authorship may be definitively settled by the long list of people mentioned in the *Ḥilya* of Abū Nuʿaym al-Iṣfahānī (d. 430/1038, cf. v, 27) who are reported to have transmitted it from him. According to the commentators, this slogan-like saying constitutes a case of inversion *(qalb),* in which the two final words are to be interpreted as if they were in reverse order, not *zayyinū l-Qurʾān bi-aṣwātikum* but *zayyinū aṣwātakum bi-l-Qurʾān,* i.e. "Adorn your voices with Qurʾān recitation."

Another very famous tradition that emphasizes the merit of recitation is the following: "A believer (see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF) who recites the Qurʾān is like a citron *(utrujj),* both its smell and taste are delicious, a believer who does not is like a date, its taste may be good but it has no smell, a hypocrite (*munāfiq,* see HYPOCRITES AND HYPOCRISY) who recites the Qurʾān is like sweet basil, its smell is good but its taste is bitter, and a hypocrite who does not recite the Qurʾān is like a colocynth which has no smell and tastes bitter" (Mizzī, *Tuḥfa,* vi, no. 8981; the Six Books, e.g. Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* i, 549). Although this tradition may convey the impression that it hails from a time later than Qatāda's (d. 117/735), he is the undeniable key figure in its *isnād* bundle. Qatāda is, moreover, also the conceivable originator of the following tradition: "He who recites the Qurʾān skillfully will find himself in the company of the honorable, godfearing scribes (obviously an allusion to Q 80:15-6: *safaratin kirāmin bararatin,* "noble and righteous scribes," identified with angels, prophets or divine messengers; see MESSENGER), and he who, to his regret, can recite the Qurʾān only haltingly will have a double reward" (Mizzī, *Tuḥfa,* xi, no. 16102; the Six Books, e.g. Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* i, 549 f.).

Reciting the Qurʾān in a singsong manner was thought to be especially meritorious. This is reflected in a relatively late tradition for which the Meccan transmitter Sufyān b. ʿUyayna (d. 198/814) can be held responsible: "God listens to nothing as he listens to a prophet singing the Qurʾān" (Mizzī, *Tuḥfa,* xi, no. 15144; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* i, 545). The discussion on raising one's voice while reciting the Qurʾān versus muttering under one's breath seems to have been triggered directly by Q 17:110. A number of personal opinions on the issue are attributed to early first/seventh century jurists (Ibn Abī Shayba, *Muṣannaf,* ii, 440 f.). A later, more elaborate prophetic tradition has the transmitter Hushaym b. Bashīr (d. 183/799), the son of a *mawlā* from Wāsiṭ, as originator (Mizzī, *Tuḥfa,* iv, no. 5451; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* i, 329). It had a forerunner brought into circulation by Hishām b. ʿUrwa (cf. Muslim, ibid.), in which the

verse is said to pertain to private prayer (q.v.; *duʿāʾ*).

A tradition, full of narrative embellishments (cf. Ibn Ḥajar, *Fatḥ,* x, 296-8), which relates the story of how some jinn (q.v.), bombarded by shooting stars (see PLANETS AND STARS), came down from heaven to listen to Qurʾān recitation, was probably brought into circulation by the Wāsiṭī *mawlā* Abū ʿAwāna al-Waḍḍāḥ b. ʿAbdallāh (d. 175/791; Mizzī, *Tuḥfa,* iv, no. 5452; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* i, 331 f.). This tradition harks back to an episode in Ibn Isḥāq's *Sīra* (cf. ii, 63) in which Muḥammad, on his return journey from Ṭāʾif, recites parts of the Qurʾān in the middle of the night to the amazement and delight of seven jinn who immediately committed themselves to his cause.

Prescriptions as to the minimal amount of Qurʾān recitation that is required in the various prayers *(ṣalāt)* is found in an early tradition for the skeleton of which the *mawlā* from Yamāma, Yaḥyā b. Abī Kathīr (d. 129-32/747-50), may be held responsible: in the first two prostrations (*rakʿa*s, see BOWING AND PROSTRATION) of the afternoon (q.v.; *zuhr)* and *ʿaṣr* recitation of Sūrat al-Fātiḥa (Q 1; see FĀTIḤA) and two sūras (variant: one) suffices, whereby performance of the first *rakʿa* of the *zuhr* should be drawn out, while the second may be somewhat shortened; the same rules apply to the morning *(ṣubḥ)* prayer. This tradition (see Mizzī, *Tuḥfa,* ix, no. 12108; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* i, 333) evidences a large number of minor variants, reflecting how the issue has been the subject of an ongoing debate. The Medinan *mawlā* ʿAbd al-Malik b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Jurayj (d. 150/767) is the common link in an *isnād* bundle supporting a tradition on the recitation requirement of the *ṣubḥ ṣalāt* (Mizzī, *Tuḥfa,* iv, no. 5313; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* i, 336). And to Hushaym b. Bashīr can possibly be attributed a tradition which relates how the Prophet's Companions tried to compute the time to be spent in recitation during the *zuhr* and *ʿaṣr ṣalāt*s by measuring it against certain Qurʾān passages, such as the thirty verses of Sūrat al-Sajda ("Prostration," Q 32) for each of the first two *rakʿa*s of the *zuhr* and half that time for the second two *rakʿa*s of the *zuhr* and the first two *rakʿa*s of the *ʿaṣr,* and half that time again for each of the final two *rakʿa*s of the *ʿaṣr* (Mizzī, *Tuḥfa,* iii, no. 3974; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* i, 334). Finally, Mālik may be credited with two traditions on the Prophet's recitation habits in the evening *(maghrib)* prayer (Mizzī, *Tuḥfa,* ii, no. 3189, xii, no. 18052, Mālik, *Muwaṭṭaʾ,* i, 78): namely Q 52 and Q 77.

(6) Tafsīr *traditions in general; Ibn ʿAbbās' role*

One of the first and at the same time most important *tafsīr* collections is that of Muḥammad b. Jarīr al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923). Strictly speaking it is a collection of prophetic and other ancient ḥadīths that, without exception, have a bearing on a qurʾānic verse or phrase. Al-Ṭabarī's collection is available in a dependable complete edition and an incomplete one, edited by the brothers Shākir (see Bibliography). It is not only important because it presents al-Ṭabarī's considerable qurʾānic scholarship, but it also contains an array of ancient *tafsīr* collections predating his own time, collections that for the most part have otherwise not come down to us. Two major rubrics within his exegetical material are readily discernible. First of these is that of the "occasions of revelation" *(asbāb al-nuzūl),* for which see further down. The second major rubric within *tafsīr* traditions is that of "abrogation" *(nāsikh wa-mansūkh).* This genre of traditions grew out of the abrogation principle *(naskh):* previously revealed verses may be considered to have been abrogated by verses expressing a different ruling that came down at a later date. On the one hand, Islamic teaching in

the Qur'ān is based on the principle of *yusr,* ease, rather than *'usr,* hardship, leading to the alleviation of, and concessions in, several previously revealed prescripts. On the other hand, however, a hardening of a legal point of view is, for instance, discernible in Islam's increasingly outspoken disapproval of intoxicating beverages (see INTOXICANTS). *Nāsikh wa-mansūkh* collections are numerous. Apparently the earliest is the one by Abū 'Ubayd al-Qāsim b. Sallām (d. 224/838, cf. the introduction to Burton's text edition).

No survey of Muslim *tafsīr* traditions is complete without an appraisal of the most frequently quoted alleged Qur'ān expert among the Prophet's Companions, Ibn 'Abbās (d. 68/687), a son of one of Muḥammad's uncles, who is said to have been some ten, thirteen or fifteen years old when the Prophet died. In view of his young age it should not come as a surprise that the overall number of traditions he is supposed to have actually heard from Muḥammad in person turned out to be a matter of controversy, some saying that there were no more than four, nine or ten such traditions, others suggesting larger numbers (Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb,* v, 279). He is furthermore credited with hundreds of sayings in which he is reported to have given explanations of qur'ānic passages.

Upon scrutiny of the accompanying *isnād* strands, all these — with very few exceptions, for which see below — seem to date to a relatively late time of origin, as they are at most supported by late spiders. The vast majority have only single strands as authentication (for this chronology, see the theoretical introduction found at the end of sec. 1 above and Juynboll, Nāfi', and id., Early Islamic society). But this has never prevented the Islamic world, or indeed a fair number of western scholars, from regularly dubbing Ibn 'Abbās the "father of Muslim Qur'ān exegesis." It appears that the collections of Abū Dāwūd and Nasā'ī are especially rich in these, but the four other canonical collections also contain a sizeable number. Thus we find hundreds of *tafsīr* traditions scattered in Mizzī (*Tuḥfa,* iv and v, nos. 5356-6576). A comparison of these traditions with ones dealing with the same qur'ānic passages in the older *tafsīr* collections, such as those of Mujāhid b. Jabr (d. ca. 102/720), Muqātil b. Sulaymān (d. 150/767), Sufyān al-Thawrī (d. 161/778), 'Abd al-Razzāq (d. 211/826) and the ancient exegetical materials brought together in al-Ṭabarī's *Tafsīr,* makes clear that it is figures such as the *mawālī* Mujāhid, 'Ikrima (d. 105-7/723-5), Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (d. 110/728) and Ismā'īl b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Suddī (d. 127/745) as well as the blind Baṣran Qur'ān expert Qatāda (d. 117/735), who are credited with personal opinions that later turn up in single strand-supported Ibn 'Abbās traditions. These have sometimes, but not always, a slightly more elaborate exegesis, in which matters of abrogation often seem to have been settled definitively. (For more on the phenomenon that Companion-supported reports vis-à-vis Successor-supported reports can be considered to have been of later origin — one of Schacht's main hypotheses — see Juynboll, Islam's first *fuqahā',* 287-90, but also Rubin, *Eye of the beholder,* 233-8.)

The overall conclusion must be that Ibn 'Abbās' purported Qur'ān expertise constitutes, in fact, the final stage in the evolution of early Islamic exegesis, in as far as it is based upon prophetic traditions that found a place in the canonical collections. Curiously, the jurist al-Shāfi'ī (d. 204/820) is reported to have trusted no more than some one hundred *tafsīr* traditions of Ibn 'Abbās (Suyūṭī, *Itqān,* iv, 209). Traditions that sing Ibn 'Abbās' praises, i.e. so-called *faḍā'il* traditions, meant to corroborate his supposed expertise, are likewise relatively

late and cannot be dated more precisely than to a time in the second half of the second/eighth century at the earliest. Common links bringing such Ibn ʿAbbās *faḍā'il* into circulation are hardly discernible in the *isnād* constellations supporting them, with the possible exception of the Baghdadi transmitter Abū l-Naḍr Hāshim b. al-Qāsim (d. 205-7/820-2; Mizzī, *Tuḥfa,* v, no. 5865; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* iv, 1927). One thing, however, is clear: in these *faḍā'il* God's benevolence is called upon to grant Ibn ʿAbbās juridical insight *(faqqihhu)* in the older ones, and it is only in the later ones that Qur'ān expertise is added *(wa-ʿallimhu [ta'wīl] al-Qur'ān),* an addition for which Ibn Ḥanbal may be held responsible (cf. his *Musnad,* i, 266, 269, 314 etc.).

Occasionally, we find a common link in a bundle supporting an exegetical or a background-providing remark attributed to Ibn ʿAbbās that invites dating. Seemingly the earliest such tradition that could be unearthed, pertaining to Q 4:93, has the Kūfan Manṣūr b. al-Muʿtamir (d. 132/750) as common link (Mizzī, *Tuḥfa,* iv, nos. 5624; also no. 5621; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* iv, 2317). But its *isnād* bundle may constitute, in fact, an example of late spiders superimposed upon one another, in which the real originator is no longer visible. In any case, it is the only such Ibn ʿAbbās tradition dating to this seemingly early time. Within the output of other, later common links there are the occasional Ibn ʿAbbās/Qur'ān traditions, but they are very few in number and hardly foreshadow the veritable avalanche of such traditions with single strands and late spiders alluded to above.

A convenient survey of *tafsīr* traditions which are *expressis verbis* prophetic but without *asbāb al-nuzūl* is presented by al-Suyūṭī (cf. the end of his *Itqān,* iv, 214-57). The material, presented without complete *isnād* strands, is arranged sūra by sūra and the sources in which the traditions are found, canonical as well as post-canonical, are duly identified.

(7) *Traditions on some Qur'ān-related prescriptions*
First among these is the *sajda,* i.e. performing an extra prostration *(sajda,* pl. *sujūd)* at the recitation of certain qur'ānic passages. The practice is reported to have come into fashion before the emigration *(hijra),* when Muḥammad recited a qur'ānic passage for the first time in the open near the Kaʿba (q.v.), provoking various hostile reactions from the as yet unbelieving Meccans (see OPPOSITION TO MUḤAMMAD). What qur'ānic passages constituted actual *sajda* passages and how they became part of the ritual as determined by the legal schools of later times has given rise to one of the first extensive discussions among the earliest Muslim generations. This is clearly reflected in the dozens of reports supported by *isnād* strands ending in Companions *(= mawqūfāt),* or strands that have no Companion between the Successor and the Prophet *(= mursalāt),* and personal opinions *(aqwāl)* ascribed to the first jurists *(fuqahā')* preserved in the pre-canonical collections (ʿAbd al-Razzāq, *Muṣannaf,* iii, 335-58; Ibn Abī Shayba, *Muṣannaf,* ii, 1-25). Reports supported by these three genres of strands are demonstrably earlier than those authenticated by strands ending in the Prophet (= *marfūʿāt,* cf. Juynboll, Islam's first *fuqahā',* xxxix [1992], 287-90) and they became the breeding ground for a host of prophetic traditions which are found in the canonical collections, mostly — but not always — supported by an assortment of spiders and single strands.

A very early prophetic tradition prescribing that a *sajda* is to be performed when Q 17 is recited originated conceivably at the hands of the Baṣran transmitter Sulaymān b. Ṭarkhān al-Taymī (d. 143/760, cf. Mizzī, *Tuḥfa,* x, no. 14649; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* i, 407). Special sections devoted to *sajda* prescrip-

tions are found, for example, in Mālik (cf. *Muwaṭṭaʾ,* i, 205 f.; Bukhārī, *Faḍāʾil,* i, 273 f. = ii, 50 f.; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* i, 405 f.). Among these traditions there are only very few supported by datable bundles which show a conceivable originator (cf. Shuʿba in Mizzī, *Tuḥfa,* vii, no. 9180; Mālik in ibid., xii, no. 14969; Sufyān b. ʿUyayna in ibid. no. 14206; and the Baṣran Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd al-Qaṭṭān [d. 198/814] in ibid., vi, no. 8144; for a survey of *sujūd*-related traditions, see Tottoli, Muslim attitudes towards prostration).

Other subjects related to law and ritual are mentioned so concisely in the Qurʾān that interpretation had to be distilled from data proliferated in ḥadīth. There are so many of these that just one well-known example should suffice here. The rules concerning the performance of the minor ritual ablution (see CLEANLINESS AND ABLUTION) when washing water is not available all go back to the *tayammum* verses, Q 4:43 and Q 5:6. In all likelihood the discussion dates to the lifetime of the Prophet, or in any case to the time when these verses became generally known, probably in the course of the first/seventh century. Traditions about *tayammum* were inserted in stories featuring ʿĀʾisha which have Hishām b. ʿUrwa as common link (Mizzī, *Tuḥfa,* xii, nos. 16802, 16990, 17060, 17205; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* i, 279), and one which has Mālik b. Anas as common link (Mizzī, *Tuḥfa,* xii, no. 17519; Mālik, *Muwaṭṭaʾ,* i, 53 f.), and one story centering in the Companion ʿAmmār b. Yāsir (d. 37/657) with Aʿmash as common link (Mizzī, *Tuḥfa,* vii, no. 10360; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* i, 280), and another one with Shuʿba as common link (Mizzī, *Tuḥfa,* vii, no. 10362; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* i, 280 f.). The *tayammum* story has one feature which is also found in the ḥadīth *al-ifk* (see below in sec. 8), namely ʿĀʾisha losing her necklace. In the *tayammum* story her necklace is retrieved, too, after a while, but the circumstances forced those searching for it to perform a *ṣalāt* without a proper ritual ablution *(wuḍūʾ).* This feature was worded by Zuhrī but its historicity, if any, cannot be established with a measure of certainty.

(8) *Historical reports, in particular so-called "occasions of revelation"*

Numerous verses gave rise to more or less extensive accounts of the special circumstances leading up to, or resulting from, their respective revelation. Certain allegedly historical episodes in early Islam accompanying these instances of revelation were eventually laid down in reports, together comprising a separate literary genre within the qurʾānic sciences, the so-called "occasions of revelation" literature *(asbāb al-nuzūl).* A relatively late, major collector in this genre is ʿAlī b. Aḥmad al-Wāḥidī (d. 468/1075). One may be struck by the (quasi-) polemical tone (see POLEMIC AND POLEMICAL LANGUAGE) of a sizeable proportion of these *asbāb* traditions: a remarkably large percentage deals with situations in which Jews (see JEWS AND JUDAISM) or Christians (see CHRISTIANS AND CHRISTIANITY) are addressed, mostly in hostile terms, but that may conceivably be due to al-Wāḥidī's selection.

An *asbāb* collection consists predominantly of historical reports *(akhbār),* each headed by an *isnād* strand like any ordinary ḥadīth. Among the best-known of these reports is perhaps the one that became known as the *ḥadīth al-ifk,* the "ḥadīth of the slander," a malicious rumor launched by some men who, at one time, accused the Prophet's favorite wife (see WIVES OF THE PROPHET) ʿĀʾisha — falsely as it turned out — of having committed adultery with someone on the return journey from Muḥammad's campaign against the tribe of al-Muṣṭaliq. The affair supposedly constituted the immediate cause for the revelation of Q 24:11-5. For the skeleton of the

wording of this story al-Zuhrī can on good grounds be held responsible (Mizzī, *Tuḥfa,* xi, nos. 16126, 16311; xii, nos. 16576, 17409; Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* iii, 103 f. = vi, 127 f.; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* iv, 2129-37; Ibn Isḥāq, *Sīra,* iii, 310 f.). (For a study of its *isnād* strands as well as of its historicity, if any, see Juynboll, Early Islamic society, 179 f. and Schoeler, *Charakter,* chapter 3.)

The wording of the *khabar* about the Prophet's recognized miracle of splitting the moon, hinted at in the Qurʾān by the verse "The hour drew nigh and the moon (q.v.) was split" (Q 54:1) may, on the basis of *isnād* analysis and other arguments, be attributed to the Baṣran Shuʿba (Juynboll, Shuʿba b. al-Ḥajjāj, 221 f.).

An episode that reportedly was to have a particular impact on the exchanges between Muḥammad and his Meccan opponents concerns his recitation one day of Q 53:1-20, in which three ancient Arabian deities were mentioned, al-Lāt, Manāt and al-ʿUzzā. Part of his recitation highlighted their capacity to mediate with God, an additional verse which came to be regarded as having been prompted by the devil (see INTERCESSION; SATANIC VERSES). Thereupon everyone present, friend and foe, prostrated themselves, which roused Gabriel's wrath, who reproached Muḥammad for having recited a text not conveyed by himself. It was then that Q 22:52 was supposedly revealed, according to which God asserted his power to wipe from his Prophet's memory whatever the devil had implanted there. It is against this background that S. Rushdie's *The Satanic Verses* is set. The episode, concisely chronicled in al-Wāḥidī (*Asbāb,* 177) is headed by single *isnād* strands, most of which end in Successors and some in Companions, and therefore prevent us from drawing chronological inferences more precise than that they are relatively early. The observations that Muqātil, the early exegete, hints at the controversy (*Tafsīr,* iii, 133), that al-Ṭabarī (*Taʾrīkh,* i, 1192) cites Muqātil's contemporary, the Medinan (later Iraqi) *mawlā* Ibn Isḥāq, while Mujāhid leaves it unmentioned, all may point to its having originated sometime in the first half of the second/eighth century.

The nocturnal journey (*isrāʾ,* see ASCENSION), alluded to in Q 17:1, which is supposed to have formed the onset of Muḥammad's midnight ascension into the seven heavens *(miʿrāj),* is related in great detail in the canonical ḥadīth collections, but the *isnād*s that support the various accounts are either single strands or just produce undatable spiders, thus no conclusions as to authorship other than that the texts are relatively late can be drawn from the material; they probably date back, at the earliest, to the beginning of the third/ninth century (Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* iii, 30 f. = v, 66-9, and Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* i, 145-50).

The *ḥijāb* verse, the breeding ground of four different *asbāb al-nuzūl* reports (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* xxii, 37-40) prescribes that Muḥammad's wives should answer callers at the Prophet's living quarters from behind a "partition" *(ḥijāb).* Muqātil b. Sulaymān may have had a hand in the proliferation of an early background story (*Tafsīr,* iii, 504-5), which illustrates how the Prophet, when he married Zaynab bt. al-Jaḥsh, had the *ḥijāb* verse (Q 33:53) revealed to him. During the banquet he gave, he was irritated by some guests who had overstayed their welcome. The earlier exegete Mujāhid does not yet list the story, neither does Ibn Isḥāq for that matter. We may therefore tentatively infer that the story originated during Muqātil's lifetime, if we do not want to attribute it to him directly, responsible as he was for so many "explanatory" stories *(qiṣaṣ)* which he wove through his *Tafsīr*. Soon after that, the traditionists, having taken it aboard, began to embellish

it with narrative trimmings which probably originated at a much later date (e.g. Mizzī, *Tuḥfa,* i, no. 1505; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* ii, 1050, with the Baghdadi Yaʿqūb b. Ibrāhīm b. Saʿd [d. 208/823] as common link), for there is not a single such *ḥijāb*-related tradition that is supported by an early bundle in which a common link or even a seeming common link is discernible (Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* ii, 1048-52). Another *asbāb al-nuzūl* report in this context is the one dealing with ʿUmar al-Khaṭṭāb's concern with the "unprotected" state of the women of those days (Mizzī, *Tuḥfa,* viii, no. 10409, Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad,* i, 23 f., with Hushaym b. Bashīr as common link). The question of whether, on the one hand, certain qurʾānic verses contained historically feasible data and thus gave rise to historically significant *asbāb* exegesis or whether, on the other hand, certain other *asbāb* traditions were brought into circulation just to embellish *tafsīr* in general, thus creating a quasi-historical background for certain other verses is discussed extensively in Rubin, *Eye of the beholder*.

(9) *Traditions with praises of particular sūras or verses*

There are sūras and verses whose recitation equals that of variously given, sizeable parts — one quarter, half, two thirds etc. — of the entire Qurʾān, and guarantees the reciter, were he to die suddenly in the midst of his recitation, a martyr's death (see MARTYR) or entrance into paradise. Shīʿī ḥadīth is even more given to hyperbole in this respect (Majlisī, *Biḥār,* lxxxix, 223-369). On the whole we find a strikingly large number of such reports molded in the form of statements ascribed to Companions and early Successors (i.e. *mawqūfāt* and *aqwāl*) in the pre-canonical collections, especially in Ibn Abī Shayba's *Muṣannaf*. This permits us to infer that popularizing the recitation of certain Qurʾān fragments was an early phenomenon that originated in the first/seventh century.

The popularity of Sūrat al-Kahf ("The Cave," Q 18) is reflected in early traditions which can be attributed to Qatāda (cf. Mizzī, *Tuḥfa,* viii, no. 10963; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* i, 555) and his pupil Shuʿba (cf. Mizzī, *Tuḥfa,* ii, no. 1872; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* i, 548). Sūrat al-Mulk ("Sovereignty," Q 67), a sūra of thirty verses, is valued because recitation thereof is said to engender forgiveness. Shuʿba may be held responsible for this one, too (Mizzī, *Tuḥfa,* x, no. 13550; Tirmidhī, *Jāmiʿ,* v, 164). The Kūfan *mawlā* Ismāʿīl b. Abī Khālid (d. 146/763), another famous common link, is the plausible originator of a tradition singing the praises of *al-muʿawwidhatān,* the final two sūras of the Qurʾān (Q 113 and Q 114, Mizzī, *Tuḥfa,* vii, no. 9948; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* i, 558). There are a number of traditions in which the issue of whether or not they actually belong to the Qurʾān is differently answered. But feasible originators of these could not be identified. The issue may be old, though, for there are some *aqwāl* ascribed to the Kūfan *faqīh* ʿĀmir b. Sharāḥīl al-Shaʿbī (d. 103-10/721-8) and others that substantiate that chronology (Ibn Abī Shayba, *Muṣannaf,* x, 538 f.). It looks as if only the Companion ʿAbdallāh b. Masʿūd (d. 32/653) purportedly opposed their being included in the *muṣḥaf,* but whether or not that is historically accurate could not be ascertained.

The *muʿawwidhatān,* as well as the Fātiḥa (q.v.), were commonly recited in case of illness (see ILLNESS AND HEALTH), as some traditions assert (Mizzī, *Tuḥfa,* xii, no. 16589; Mālik, *Muwaṭṭaʾ,* ii, 942 f.; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* iv, 1723, with Zuhrī as originator, and Mizzī, *Tuḥfa,* iii, no. 4249; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* iv, 1727, whose author is unclear). Mālik can be considered as the proliferator of a tradition highlighting the particular merits of Sūrat al-Ikhlāṣ ("Sincerity," Q 112;

Mizzī, *Tuhfa,* x, no. 14127; Mālik, *Muwaṭṭaʾ,* i, 208). His Iraqi contemporary Ibrāhīm b. Saʿd is possibly the author of a tradition in which the recitation of two verses of Q 2 (Sūrat al-Baqara, "The Cow") is regarded as sufficient for someone who wants to spend (part of) the night in religious devotion (Mizzī, *Tuhfa,* vii, no. 9999 and 10000; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* i, 555). Moreover, the controversial Syrian traditionist Baqiyya b. al-Walīd (d. 197/813) seems the common link in an *isnād* bundle (Mizzī, *Tuhfa,* vii, no. 9888; Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad,* iv, 128) supporting a prophetic tradition asserting that somewhere in the *musabbiḥāt,* i.e. Q 57, Q 59, Q 61, Q 62 and Q 64, there is a verse that is more excellent than a thousand other verses. All the alleged merits of the different sūras and particular verses are conveniently brought together in Suyūṭī (*Itqān,* iv, 106-15).

Wholesale fabrication in this field was otherwise a generally recognized phenomenon. Thus the *mawlā* Abū ʿIṣma Nūḥ b. Abī Maryam (d. 173/789) was identified by early tradition critics as responsible for an *iʿrāb*-glorifying tradition, i.e. one that emphasizes the necessity of reciting the Qurʾān with full case and mood endings (Ibn ʿAdī, *Kāmil,* vii, 41) as well as one protracted tradition in which all the sūras are enumerated one by one with the recitation rewards of each (Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb,* x, 488; van Ess, *TG,* ii, 550, n. 25). Abū ʿIṣma confessed that he had brought this tradition into circulation in order to make the people concentrate more on the Qurʾān (Suyūṭī, *Itqān,* iv, 115). Motivated by the same urge, Maysara b. ʿAbd Rabbihi (fl. 150/767) is also mentioned in this respect as the originator of a similar, lengthy tradition (Ibn Ḥajar, *Lisān,* vi, 138; van Ess, *TG,* ii, 120 f.).

Finally, judging by the huge number of manuscripts of Q 36 (Sūrat Yā Sīn) and the innumerable printed versions available for very little money in talisman-like booklets throughout the Islamic world, this sūra seems to have been a particular favorite with the public. It is called the "heart *(qalb)* of the Qurʾān" whose recitation equals that of ten times (Suyūṭī, *Itqān,* iv, 110), or eleven times (Majlisī, *Biḥār,* lxxxix, 292), the whole Qurʾān. The precise origin for this popularity is hard to pin down, but it is recorded that its first partial recitation by Muḥammad allegedly coincided with one of his miracles preserved in the *Sīra:* when he (or Gabriel) sprinkled dust on the heads of his Meccan opponents, they could not see or hear him recite, and this is supposed to have prevented them from harming him (*Sīra,* ii, 127).

(10) *Other ḥadīth literature related to the Qurʾān*

Background information and stories laid down in traditions illustrating the numerous qurʾānic references to early prophets and Jewish personalities evolved into a ḥadīth-based literary genre of its own, the so-called "stories of the prophets" or *qiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ* literature. Although hugely popular, Muslim scholarship has always emphasized that its *isnād* structures were on the whole not to be relied upon and that the stories should be appraised for their entertainment value rather than their religio-historical contents. First and foremost among the purported ancient authorities who, from the perspective of *isnād*s, were seen to be responsible for the stories was — again — Ibn ʿAbbās. A survey of the origins of the genre is found in T. Nagel, *Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ* and in the introduction of R.G. Khoury (ed.), *Les légendes prophétiques* (see also the bibliography for studies by Kister, Gilliot and Tottoli). A striking example of how a legal decision allegedly issued by the Jewish king David (q.v.; Dāwūd) and improved upon by his son Solomon (q.v.; Sulaymān) is linked in Qurʾān exegesis (at Q 21:78) and ḥadīth lit-

erature to an ancient legal issue whose origins may well lie in pre-Islamic (*jāhiliyya*, see AGE OF IGNORANCE) usage *('urf)* concerns the guarding of sowing fields against freely roaming animals and the compensation, if any, to be paid by the animals' owners for damage caused by them (cf. Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* xvii, 50-4; and, with al-Zuhrī as common link, Mizzī, *Tuḥfa,* ii, no. 1753; Mālik, *Muwaṭṭa',* ii, 747 f.).

As soon as the many qur'ānic references to the day of resurrection (q.v.; see also LAST JUDGMENT) and what judgment the believers awaited after their death became generally known, numerous eschatological traditions were brought into circulation with details purporting to elucidate certain passages. A relatively late, major contributor to this genre who flourished in the latter half of the second/eighth century is the blind Kūfan *mawlā* Abū Muʿāwiya Muḥammad b. Khāzim (d. 195/811). But out of many such traditions a few will be mentioned here which may tentatively be assumed to be among the earliest.

The Kūfan centenarian ʿAbd al-Malik b. ʿUmayr (d. 136/754), known as the Copt, seems the originator of the oldest tradition on the *ḥawḍ,* the basin, which constitutes one of the stations the believer is to pass by on the day of resurrection where he will find the Prophet acting as water scout (*faraṭ,* Mizzī, *Tuḥfa,* ii, no. 3265; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* iv, 1792; the tradition was taken up by Shuʿba, Mizzī, *Tuḥfa,* i, no. 148; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* iii, 1474). The basin as such receives no mention in the Qur'ān, but the Kawthar, the river in paradise from Q 108:1 (see WATER OF PARADISE), is sometimes defined as a special basin that will be given to the Prophet (cf. also Ghazālī, *Iḥyā',* iv, the *ṣifat al-ḥawḍ* paragraph). This basin and *the* basin become then occasionally confused in Muslim eschatology.

Another such station, the bridge *(sirāṭ)* spanning hellfire (see HELL; FIRE), is not qur'ānic either, but when asked where the people would be on the day referred to in Q 14:48, the Prophet allegedly said "on the bridge" according to a tradition proliferated by the Baṣran *mawlā* Dāwūd b. Abī Hind (d. 139-41/756-8, Mizzī, *Tuḥfa,* xii, no. 17617; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* iv, 2150; Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* xiii, 252 f.). Aʿmash is the probable originator of a tradition commenting on that with which the people will be confronted on the day of grief alluded to in Q 19:39, namely death in the shape of a ram that will be slaughtered (cf. Mizzī, *Tuḥfa,* iii, no. 4002; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* iv, 2188; Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* xvi, 88).

To the question about when the day of resurrection might be expected, various answers are recorded in ḥadīth. Conceivably one of the oldest is the answer the Prophet is said to have given in a tradition for which Shuʿba may be held responsible: "When I received my divine call, the hour of judgment was already as near as my two fingers here are to each other" (Mizzī, *Tuḥfa,* i, no. 1253; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* iv, 2268 f.; Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh,* i, 11). In Q 4:34 it says "Men will manage the affairs of women;" this verse is incorporated in an early Shuʿba tradition on the Portents *(ashrāṭ)* of the hour (cf. Mizzī, *Tuḥfa,* i, no. 1240; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* iv, 2056). A further description of the scene in front of God on that day is detailed in another Shuʿba tradition appended to Q 21:104 (cf. Mizzī, *Tuḥfa,* iv, no. 5622; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* iv, 2194 f.; see APOCALYPSE).

The last tradition mentioned above is in fact partly a ḥadīth *qudsī.* This is the third separate ḥadīth genre dealt with in this section. It comprises sayings attributed by Muḥammad directly to God, sayings that were never incorporated in the book (q.v.), because the Prophet was supposed to have received these in a way fundamentally different from qur'ānic *waḥy*. Judging by the *isnād* strands the individual divine sayings

are supported by — in most cases no more than single strands — it is a remarkably late genre whose earliest origins, with very few exceptions, go back to the final years of the second/eighth century. The canonical collections have preserved a fair amount of such sayings, scattered over all sorts of contexts. The one major study devoted to the genre is by W.A. Graham, *Divine word and prophetic word in early Islam* (cf. especially part two), but its list of *qudsī* sayings needs updating.

(11) *Shīʿī ḥadīth sources*

The Qurʾān-related material in the gigantic collection of Shīʿī texts, *Biḥār al-anwār* (cf. vol. lxxxix), is for the most part presented only as ḥadīths (of which several are ḥadīth *qudsī,* see sec. 10 above), but mostly supported by *isnād* strands peopled largely by Shīʿī imāms. We do find a number of Sunnī *isnād* strands being used, but then the appended texts are shortened in a way that agrees with Shīʿī tenets. Thus ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib's (q.v.) role as collector of the qurʾānic fragments is emphasized to the point that the merits accruing to other early Islamic authorities, such as Abū Bakr and ʿUthmān, are suppressed or left unmentioned leaving the impression that the collection of the Qurʾān (cf. sec. 3 above) is really carried through only by ʿAlī while Zayd b. Thābit's role is reduced to that of a virtual onlooker (Majlisī, *Biḥār,* lxxxix, 51, 53). Many pages later (ibid., 75 f.) the reports as found in the canonical Sunnī collections are duly mentioned.

Among the better known examples of instances where the Shīʿites accuse the Sunnites of having introduced alterations *(taḥrīfāt)* in the final redaction of the Qurʾān is the suppression of the word *aʾimma,* the plural of *imām,* and substituting for it *umma,* "community" (see Q 2:143; 3:110; cf. Majlisī, *Biḥār,* lxxxix, 60 f.; see COMMUNITY AND SOCIETY AND THE QUR'ĀN; IMĀM). And Sūrat al-Aḥzāb ("The Clans," Q 33), so the Shīʿites say, was in reality even longer than Sūrat al-Baqara ("The Cow," Q 2), having been subjected to radical changes and abridgement (ibid., lxxxix, 288). The "seven readings" (*sabʿat aḥruf,* cf. sec. 4 above) are interpreted by Shīʿites also as "seven ways of issuing legal opinions (*fatwā*s) by the imām" (cf. ibid., lxxxix, 49).

The *Biḥār*'s traditions are replete with the usual hyperbole, e.g. Ibn ʿAbbās is reported to have said that his Qurʾān expertise compared with that of ʿAlī was like a small pool of water compared with the sea (cf. ibid., 104 f.). On the day of judgment the Qurʾān is described as talking to God about the merits accrued by a reciter when he studies the Qurʾān while young (cf. ibid., 187 f.). Finally, we find the seemingly complete text (Majlisī, *Biḥār,* xc, 3 f.) in ḥadīth form of a *tafsīr* collection by Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Jaʿfar al-Nuʿmānī (d. 360/971) which is not even mentioned by Sezgin (cf. *GAS,* i, 543). Its main source seems to be Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq (d. 148/765), the sixth imām of the Shīʿa. For the rest we find that Shīʿī material in general is very similar to its Sunnī counterpart.

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Ḥafṣa

A wife of the prophet Muḥammad and a daughter of the caliph ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb. Ibn Saʿd relates that she was born in Mecca five years before Muḥammad's first revelation (ca. 605 C.E.). Her mother was Zaynab bt. Maẓʿūn. Ḥafṣa emigrated to Medina with her first husband, Khunays b. Ḥudhāfa, of the Sahm, a clan of the Quraysh (q.v.). He is believed to have died shortly after the battle of Badr (q.v.; 2/624) in which he participated (Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt,* viii, 81), although some say that he was killed during the battle of Uḥud (Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣāba,* vii, 582; see EXPEDITIONS AND BATTLES). Ibn Qutayba, however, reports that Khunays was Muḥammad's envoy to the Persian emperor, which indicates that he died much later (Ibn Qutayba, *Kitāb al-Maʿārif,* 59).

The Prophet is said to have married Ḥafṣa after ʿĀʾisha bint Abī Bakr (q.v.; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣāba,* vii, 582), two months before the battle of Uḥud (3/625; al-Balādhurī, *Ashrāf,* ii, 54). Eventually, Muḥammad divorced her, but later resumed the marriage

bond (Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt,* viii, 84). The circumstances of the divorce were read by Muslim exegetes into the interpretation of Q 66:3, in which the Prophet is said to have confided a certain matter to "one of his wives," but she is said to have failed to have kept the secret. The exegetes say it was Ḥafṣa (Balādhurī, *Ashrāf,* ii, 55-6) who disclosed the secret to ʿĀʾisha. The secret reportedly pertained to Muḥammad's intercourse with his concubine Maryam the Copt, but according to others it pertained to the future of Ḥafṣa's and ʿĀʾisha's respective fathers (i.e. ʿUmar and Abū Bakr) as caliphs (see CALIPH). Ḥafṣa's image as a disobedient wife also emerges in the story that the Prophet ordered a certain woman to teach Ḥafṣa a special charm designed to train wives not to slander and to obey their husbands (al-Zamakhsharī, *al-Fāʾiq fī gharīb al-ḥadīth,* iv, 26).

According to most versions, Ḥafṣa died in Medina at the age of 60, in Shaʿbān 45/665 during Muʿāwiya's reign (Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt,* viii, 86). The Shīʿīs, for their part, claim that she lived until the end of ʿAlī's regime (Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Manāqib āl Abī Ṭālib,* i, 138; see ʿALĪ B. ABĪ ṬĀLIB). Ibn Qutayba, however, says she died earlier, already during Uthmān's reign *(Maʿārif,* 59).

Traditions of the Prophet as well as of her father, ʿUmar, were reported on Ḥafṣa's authority (see ḤADĪTH AND THE QURʾĀN). Her importance to the history of the Qurʾān stems from the fact that she is said to have possessed a private copy (*muṣḥaf,* q.v.) of the Qurʾān based on a version (*qirāʾa,* see READINGS OF THE QURʾĀN) which she had heard directly from the Prophet. Several Companions of the Prophet (q.v.) are said to have had such copies, but her particular one played an important role in the collection of the Qurʾān (q.v.). The copy was prepared for her by a *mawlā* (client) of her father (Ibn Abī Dāwūd, *Maṣāḥif,* 95–7). In other reports, however, this copy is said to have been prepared for another wife of Muḥammad, namely, Umm Salama (Ibn Abī Dāwūd, *Maṣāḥif,* 98). In yet other reports, Ḥafsa's copy is not her own private one, but rather an old copy already prepared during the days of Abū Bakr (q.v.), which marked the first officially organized "collection" of the Qurʾān. When Abū Bakr died the copy is said to have passed to ʿUmar, and after him, to Ḥafṣa (Ibn Abī Dāwūd, *Maṣāḥif,* 14, 15, 28). Her possession of the copy accords with reports to the effect that she was the one who inherited ʿUmar's estate (Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt,* viii, 84). Ḥafṣa is said to have delivered this copy to ʿUthmān for the preparation of what is known as the ʿUthmānic codex of the Qurʾān. When this version was ready, her copy was returned to her. After she died, her copy was reportedly destroyed by Marwān b. al-Ḥakam, then a governor of Medina, in order to sustain the canonical status of the ʿUthmānic codex (Balādhurī, *Ashrāf,* ii, 60; Ibn Abī Dāwūd, *Maṣāḥif,* 16, 26, 27, 28, 32). See also WIVES OF THE PROPHET; WOMEN AND THE QURʾĀN.

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Hagar see ABRAHAM

Ḥajj see PILGRIMAGE

Ḥalāl see LAWFUL AND UNLAWFUL; PROHIBITED DEGREES

Hāmān

The chief minister of Pharaoh (q.v.) who with him rejected Moses' (q.v.) call to worship the true God and to set free the children of Israel (q.v.). In the Qurʾān, there are six attestations of his name. In Q 28:6 he is mentioned alongside Pharaoh. They both have armies, and share guilt in the slaughter of the sons of the Israelites. God declares that they will be overthrown by the people they so oppress, who will then be heirs to their power and wealth (q.v.; Q 28:4-5). There is thus an irony in the fact that when Pharaoh's household took the infant Moses from the river — an infant whom Pharaoh would have slain but for the plea of his wife (Q 28:8-9) — Hāmān is singled out for mention as a member of that household.

When Moses is a young man, he kills an Egyptian, and flees to Midian (q.v.). On his return from exile, he delivers God's message to Pharaoh and Hāmān, "Send with us the children of Israel, and do not torment them" (Q 20:47). Pharaoh, having asked Moses who and what his God is, commands Hāmān to light a fire (q.v.) to bake clay for bricks (Q 28:38) in order to build a high tower he can climb to be able to see the God of Moses (Q 28:38; 40:36-7).

In Q 40:24, Korah (q.v.; Qārūn) is included with Pharaoh and Hāmān as among those in Egypt to whom Moses was sent. There is a vivid scene presenting the response of the three of them to Moses' message, "A sorcerer (see MAGIC, PROHIBITION OF)! A liar (see LIE)! … Kill the sons of those who believe along with him, and let their women live" (Q 40:24-5), and Pharaoh turns to Korah and Hāmān, saying, "Let me kill Moses, let him cry out to his lord" (Q 40:28). In Q 29:39 Hāmān, Korah and Pharaoh are named along with the peoples of Midian (Q 29:36), ʿĀd (q.v.) and Thamūd (q.v.; Q 29:38), as among those who rejected the prophets sent to them and were punished: Korah was swallowed up by the earth (Q 28:81) and Hāmān drowned with Pharaoh (Q 29:40; see PUNISHMENT STORIES; DROWNING; CHASTISEMENT AND PUNISHMENT).

There are conflicting views as to Hāmān's identity and the meaning of his name. Among them is that he is the minister of King Ahasuerus who has been shifted, anachronistically, from the Persian empire to the palace of Pharaoh (cf. Vajda, Hāmān). There is, however, no reason, other than the paradigmatic one of hostility to the Israelites (see JEWS AND JUDAISM), to make any direct connection between him and the eponymous minister of Ahasuerus referred to in Esther (3:1-6) who persuaded his ruler to issue an edict to exterminate the Jews of the Persian Empire because Mordechai refused to pay him homage. One suggestion is that Hāmān is an Arabized echo of the Egyptian Hā-Amen, the title of a high priest second only in rank to Pharaoh (Asad, *Message,* 590, n. 6). The name, however, may have become a time-honored designation for any court official hostile to the Jews and belief in the one God. His role is marginally elaborated in the "stories of the prophets" literature (*qiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ,* see Kisāʾī, *Tales,* 213, 226-7, 229).

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Ḥamza b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib

Paternal uncle of the Prophet (half-brother of the Prophet's father), as well as his foster brother (Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ, K. al-Riḍāʿ,* 14; Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh,* i, 970; id. *History,* v, 172; see FOSTERAGE). One of the great heroes of the earliest period of Islam.

Ḥamza appears to have had a close relationship with the Prophet; he accompanied him when he went to ask Khadīja's (q.v.) father for her hand and, apparently out of solidarity with his foster brother, gave Abū Jahl a serious beating when the latter had gravely abused the Prophet. On this occasion, Ḥamza announced his adherence to the new religion and became a Muslim even before ʿUmar. This act provided crucial support for the emerging community of believers.

During the battle of Badr (q.v.), Ḥamza distinguished himself, together with ʿAlī (see ʿALĪ B. ABŪ ṬĀLIB). Ḥamza, ʿAlī and ʿUbayda b. al-Ḥārith were chosen by the Prophet to fight three pagan Meccans who had initiated this conflict by issuing a challenge. They killed their opponents, although ʿUbayda later died of his wounds. According to the *Ṣaḥīḥ*s of al-Bukhārī (d. 256/870; *Les traditions,* iii, 387) and Muslim and the early commentators Sufyān al-Thawrī (d. 161/778; *Tafsīr,* ad loc.) and ʿAbd al-Razzāq (d. 211/827; *Tafsīr,* ad loc.), Q 22:19 is understood to be a reference to this event: "These are the two opposing parties who had a fight about their lord." Other early and some later commentators mention only a broader meaning (cf. Muqātil, *Tafsīr;* Farrāʾ, *Maʿānī;* Qushayrī, *Laṭāʾif;* Zamakhsharī, *Kashshāf;* Bayḍāwī, *Anwār,* ad Q 22:19). Most later commentaries favor a more expansive interpretation of this passage, as referring to Muslims and Jews (see JEWS AND JUDAISM) or the unbelievers (see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF), but, like al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923), often mention this opening event of Badr as the occasion for its revelation (see OCCASIONS OF REVELATION). Shortly after the battle, Ḥamza, who had enjoyed drink and song at a party, killed the two camels ʿAlī had received as part of the spoils. When the Prophet and ʿAlī came to demand an account, he started to scoff at them and the Prophet turned away from him, realizing that he was drunk (Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ, K. al-Shirb,* 13 [*Les traditions,* ii, 84-6]; *K. Farḍ al-khums,* 1 [*Les traditions,* ii, 380-1]; *K. al-Maghāzī,* 12 [*Les traditions,* ii, 84-6]; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ, K. al-Ashriba,* 1 and 2; Abū Dāwūd, *K. al-Imāra,* 20 [ed. al-Ḥamīd, iii, 14850, no. 2986]).

Ḥamza was killed a year later during the battle of Uḥud (see EXPEDITIONS AND BATTLES) by the Ethiopian slave Waḥshī who thereby earned his emancipation. His body was mutilated by Hind bt. ʿUtba, whose father Ḥamza had killed at Badr. She even tried to eat his liver; this is why she is referred to in later literature as the liver-eater *(ākilat al-akbād),* and her descendants are upbraided for that. When the Prophet found Ḥamza's body he, apparently referring to his uncle's qualities as a hunter, sadly said: "If it would not grieve Ṣafiyya (Ḥamza's sister) and if it would not become a *sunna* after me, I would leave him for the bellies of lions and the stomachs of birds" (cf. Ibn Isḥāq-Guillaume, 387).

At the battle of Karbalāʾ (in 61/680), al-Ḥusayn — who himself was killed during this battle — referred to his great-uncle Ḥamza as "lord of the martyrs" (*sayyid al-shuhadāʾ,* Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh,* ii, 329; id., *History,* xix, 123).

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Ḥanafīs

see LAW AND THE QURʾĀN

Ḥanbalīs

see LAW AND THE QURʾĀN

Hand(s)

The terminal part of the arm; also, figuratively, control or agency. The hand, in both its literal and symbolic senses, is most often expressed in the Qurʾān by the Arabic *yad* (dual *yadān,* pl. *aydī*), with some 119 occurrences, found in all chronological periods of revelation (see CHRONOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN). (The expression *bayna yaday,* "between two hands," as in Q 36:12 [cf. 36:45, *bayna aydīkum,* "between your (pl.) hands"], means "before, in front of, in the presence of.") Another term, *kaff,* is encountered only twice, with reference to one who futilely stretches out his hands to water (q.v.; Q 13:14) and to a person who wrings his hands over a great loss (Q 18:42). Other Arabic expressions refer to the right hand *(yamīn,* pl. *aymān),* which can also mean an oath (see OATHS AND PROMISES) or simply the right side. The triliteral root *y-m-n* occurs fairly frequently (some seventy times) and in all periods, which is appropriate considering its ancient positive meanings in the Arabian classification of values and acts (see ETHICS AND THE QURʾĀN). A much less frequent root, meaning "left hand, the left side" is represented by *shamāʾil* (Q 7:17; 16:48) and *shimāl* (Q 18:17, 18; 70:37 etc.), with corresponding traditional negative and ominous connotations (see LEFT HAND AND RIGHT HAND).

God is characterized metaphorically as having hands (see ANTHROPOMORPHISM), as in "All bounties are in the hand *(yad)* of God" (Q 3:73; see BLESSING; GRACE), "in whose hand *(yad)* is the dominion of everything" (Q 23:88), and "the hand *(yad)* of God is over their hands *(aydīhim)*" (Q 48:10), referring to a pledge of fealty to Muḥammad as being equivalent to pledging fealty to God. Most often, references are to hands of human beings, whether literally or symbolically. Examples are "Woe to those who write the book (q.v.) with their own hands *(bi-aydīhim),* then say: 'This is from God'" (Q 2:79; see POLEMIC AND POLEMICAL LANGUAGE); "As to the thief, male or female, cut off the hands of both *(aydiyahumā)*" (Q 5:38; see THEFT; BOUNDARIES AND PRECEPTS); the very early Meccan verse "Perish the hands *(yadā)* of Abū Lahab" (Q 111:1) carries a metaphorical meaning of what that enemy of Muḥammad had acquired in life, which would perish along with Abū Lahab himself. Q 9:29 exhorts (see EXHORTATIONS) the fighting (q.v.) of the unbelievers among the People of the Book (q.v.; see also BELIEF AND UNBELIEF; FAITH; JIHĀD) until they pay the poll tax (q.v.; *jizya*) "out of hand" (*ʿan yadin,* for discussions on this verse, see Rosenthal, Minor problems; Kister, ʿAn yadin; Cahen, Coran IX-29).

It is noteworthy that hands — and not just the left hand — sometimes have a foreboding meaning in the Qurʾān, particularly when pertaining to human agency. In Q 42:30 we read: "Whatever misfortune happens to you, is because of the things

your hands have wrought *(kasabat aydīkum)*." Hands represent ability, power (see POWER AND IMPOTENCE), and will and, as such, their deeds are accountable in relation to God. In Q 38:45 Abraham (q.v.), Isaac (q.v.) and Jacob (q.v.) are characterized as possessing "power" (*al-aydī,* lit. "the hands") and "prudence/vision" (*al-abṣār,* lit. "the sight;" see SEEING AND HEARING). Part of what it means to be created according to a sound constitution (*fiṭra,* see Q 30:30) is to have "hands," whether understood literally or symbolically.

Hands themselves are not ominous but the purposes to which they are dedicated may well bring self-inflicted suffering and woe according to both natural and supernatural criteria. For example, in Q 59:2 we read of hypocrites (see HYPOCRITES AND HYPOCRISY) who miscalculate their actions and "are seized by misfortune, because of the deeds which their hands have sent forth." In Q 24:24 those who slander (see GOSSIP) chaste women (see CHASTITY; ADULTERY AND FORNICATION) will receive a severe punishment (see REWARD AND PUNISHMENT; LAST JUDGMENT) from God "on the day when their tongues, their hands *(aydīhim),* and their feet (q.v.) will bear witness against them as to their actions." The purifying of the hands before formal prayer (q.v.; *ṣalāt*) is commanded in Q 5:6, both with respect to ablutions with water *(wuḍūʾ)* and with clean sand or earth (*tayammum;* see CLEANLINESS AND ABLUTION; RITUAL PURITY).

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Ḥanīf

A believer who is neither a polytheist *(mushrik)* nor a Jew or a Christian (see POLYTHEISM AND ATHEISM; JEWS AND JUDAISM; CHRISTIANS AND CHRISTIANITY). The Arabic root *ḥ-n-f* initially means "to incline," so that *ḥanīf* (pl. *ḥunafāʾ*) is most probably understood in the Qurʾān as one who has abandoned the prevailing religions and has inclined to a religion of his own. It occurs once as a synonym of *muslim* (Q 3:67) and also in juxtaposition with the verb *aslama* (Q 4:125).

The qurʾānic prototype of the ideal *ḥanīf* is Abraham (q.v.; Q 3:67; 16:120), and being a *ḥanīf* signifies belonging to the "religion" *(milla)* of Abraham (Q 2:135; 3:95; 4:125; 6:161; 16:123). Abraham's disposition as a *ḥanīf* means that the Qurʾān, in accordance with the Talmud, perceives him as a natural believer, i.e. as one who has reached monotheism by means of individual insight (Q 6:75-9). In qurʾānic terminology, his *ḥanīfī* monotheism consists of inclining his face towards God who has "created *(faṭara)* the heavens and the earth" (Q 6:79). A *ḥanīfī* monotheism is therefore part of the natural constitution *(fiṭra)* with which one has been created (Q 30:30). The qurʾānic Prophet, too, is requested to become a *ḥanīf* by setting his face upright towards the true religion (Q 10:105), and the same demand is also imposed on the rest of the people (Q 22:31; 98:5).

The stress laid on the fact that a *ḥanīf* is

neither a *mushrik* nor a Jew or a Christian, underlines a polemical context in which the use of this term in the Qurʾān should be understood. Implicit here is the notion that polytheists as well as Jews and Christians have distorted the natural religion of God, which only Islam preserves. In post-qurʾānic sources, *ḥanīf* retains this polemical context and is used to bring out the particularistic aspect of Islam as a religion set apart from Judaism and Christianity. Thus the caliph ʿUmar (r. 13-23/634-44) is said to have introduced himself as *al-shaykh al-ḥanīf* to a Christian who had introduced himself as *al-shaykh al-naṣrānī* (Ibn Abī Shayba, *Muṣannaf,* iii, 199).

Inasmuch as the image of Abraham is closely associated in Islamic historical perception with the pre-Islamic history of Mecca (q.v.) and the Kaʿba (q.v.), the notion of a *ḥanīfī* monotheism was also integrated into that history. Muslim exegetes of the Qurʾān say that *ḥanīf* in the Age of Ignorance (q.v.; *jāhiliyya*) signified an Arab adhering to the religion of Abraham and that the title was also claimed by idolaters (see IDOLATERS AND IDOLATRY) who only observed certain rites of that religion, such as pilgrimage (q.v.) to Mecca and circumcision (q.v.; Abū ʿUbayda, *Majāz,* i, 58; Lane, s.v. *ḥanīf*). Among famous seekers of the Abrahamic *ḥanīfī* religion who are said to have lived in pre-Islamic Mecca are Waraqa b. Nawfal, ʿUbaydallāh b. Jaḥsh, ʿUthmān b. al-Ḥuwayrith and Zayd b. ʿAmr b. Nufayl (Ibn Isḥāq, *Sīra,* i, 237-47). In Medina, too, other *ḥunafāʾ* are said to have been active.

The historicity of the reports about the pre-Islamic *ḥunafāʾ* and the nature of their relationship with Muḥammad has become the subject of controversy among Islamicists. While some scholars of Islamic studies reject the reports as retrojection of qurʾānic concepts into pre-Islamic history, others accept all or some of the reports as authentic. Efforts have also been made to define the exact nature of the Arabian *ḥanīfiyya,* mainly according to the (somewhat enigmatic) evidence of early Arabic poetry, and with relation to Judaism and Christianity as known among the Arabs. (See ALSO PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QURʾĀN; SOUTH ARABIA, RELIGION IN PRE-ISLAMIC.)

The evidence of non-Islamic sources

In Jewish midrashic literature, the Hebrew root *ḥ-n-f* is associated with heretics *(minim),* and in Syriac documents the form *ḥanpā (*pl. *ḥanpē)* denotes non-Christian "pagans." This complicates the etymological history of the qurʾānic *ḥanīf,* which nevertheless retains the sense of one who has dissociated from Judaism and Christianity. Christian apologists of the early ʿAbbāsid period retained the pagan sense of the term and applied it to Muslims in an attempt to bring out the derogatory aspect of the title *ḥanīf* by which Muslims called themselves (Griffith, The prophet, 118-9). The pagan sense of the term was also known to Muslim writers who applied the title *ḥunafāʾ* to such pagans as the Ṣābiʾūn (e.g. Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh,* 6, 90-1, 122-3, 136, 161; cf. Luxenberg, *Die Syro-aramäische Lesart,* 38-40, on Q 6:161; see SABIANS). Al-Yaʿqūbī (d. 292/905), too, describes as *ḥanīf*s pagans who worshipped the stars in Saul's (q.v.) and David's (q.v.) times (Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh,* i, 49, 50).

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Ḥaram

see HOUSE, DOMESTIC AND DIVINE; SANCTITY AND THE SACRED

Ḥarām

see FORBIDDEN; LAWFUL AND UNLAWFUL; PROHIBITED DEGREES

Hārūn

see AARON

Hārūt and Mārūt

Two angels in Babylon who were given knowledge which, when used by humankind, causes discord on the earth. The Qurʾān mentions these two angels (*malakayn,* see ANGEL) in only one rather enigmatic verse, Q 2:102 (cf. Ibn ʿAskar, *Takmīl,* 52-3). Their names, similar in pattern to Jālūt (Goliath, q.v.) and Ṭālūt (Saul, q.v.; Q 2:247-51), have been traced etymologically by modern scholars to those of two Zoroastrian "archangels" *(amesha spenta)* Haurvatat and Ameretat, literally "integrity" and "immortality," possibly mediated into the Arabic forms by way of Aramaic. Through later elaboration by Qurʾān exegetes and authors of the "stories of the prophets" *(qiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ)* literature, they developed into the Islamic equivalent of fallen angels, a story genre well known in Jewish midrashic and apocryphal literature (e.g. Enoch, Jubilees), the New Testament (e.g. 2 Peter; Jude), and the writings of the Church Fathers.

Q 2:102 consists of two separate stories with magic as their unifying link (see MAGIC, PROHIBITION OF): the first defends Solomon (q.v.) from the devils' (see DEVIL) false reports about him, which were accepted as true by some people of weak faith. Solomon did not reject faith (q.v.), the demons who taught men sorcery did. Humans do not transgress by studying magic, only by using it to cause harm. Solomon, who was reputed to have possessed occult powers, is here exculpated of any wrongdoing, although according to al-Thaʿlabī's *Qiṣaṣ,* humans, tempted by demons to dig under Solomon's throne after his death, would find writings by which "he ruled over the jinn (q.v.), humans, demons, and birds." The second story tells of the angels Hārūt and Mārūt and mentions what was revealed to them in Babylon (q.v.). They taught men charms that harmed no one without God's permission. This tale was later expanded in an effort to understand and explain the meaning of the enigmatic verse because of important theological questions that it raised for Qurʾān commentators. For example, by definition, angels are sinless and faithful servants of God; although influenced by Satan in this story, their purity is preserved.

Later expansions of the story emphasize the special favor that human beings enjoy with God, relating that the angels, seeing the sinful nature of humans, spoke of

them with contempt, whereupon God reproached them saying that in humankind's position they would not have done better. As an experiment, God permitted the angels to send Hārūt and Mārūt down to earth, but ordered them to abstain from idolatry (see IDOLATRY AND IDOLATERS), whoredom (see ADULTERY AND FORNICATION), murder (q.v.) and intoxication (see INTOXICANTS). Though Muslim scholars questioned whether angels could be capable of such sins, al-Thaʿlabī and others relate that on coming to earth, these two angels did indeed yield to the temptations of a beautiful woman named al-Zuhara, revealed God's ineffable name to her, enabling her thereby to ascend to heaven. For this lapse, Hārūt and Mārūt were subjected to eternal punishment: confined to a pit in Babylon, they were doomed to hang upside down and teach humankind magic. Unable to leave the heavens because she had not learned from the two angels the secret word for descent, al-Zuhara was transformed into a star bearing her name, Arabic for the planet Venus. This and other elements suggest a possibly non-Islamic origin for the story as it was later developed.

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Harvest

see AGRICULTURE AND VEGETATION

Hawā

see ADAM AND EVE

Hearing and Deafness

The power or process of perceiving sound, and the inability to do so. The root *s-m-ʿ* denoting "hearing" or "listening," is, with some 185 occurrences, among the most common ones in the Qurʾān. It is found as a verb, mostly *samiʿa,* "to hear," once in the fifth verbal form, "to try to hear/listen" (*issammaʿa,* Q 37:8), a few times in the eighth form, *issamaʿa,* "to listen," and the fourth, *asmaʿa,* "to cause to hear." The verb *aḥassa* is also used in the sense "to hear" (e.g. Q 3:52; 19:98); *anṣata,* "to listen," is found twice (Q 7:204; 46:29). Other verbs meaning "to listen" such as *aṣghā* and *aṣākha* are lacking.

Among the nominal derivations of *s-m-ʿ,* by far the most frequent is *samīʿ:* all but one of its forty-three occurrences apply to God as the "hearing one," the exception being Q 11:24. It is one of God's beautiful names (see GOD AND HIS ATTRIBUTES). Later theologians and exegetes, averse to anthropomorphism (q.v.), discuss this divine "hearing" at length. In the Qurʾān, God is described as *(al-)samīʿ (al-)baṣīr,* "hearing

and seeing," on ten occasions; but more usually (thirty-two times) the combination "hearing and knowing" *(samīʿ ʿalīm)* is found, which is an indication of the close relationship between audition and knowledge (see KNOWLEDGE AND LEARNING). The same link may be observed when the verb "to hear" is applied to human beings. "Hearing" may refer to the purely physical process of the perception of sounds or voices, but in the great majority of cases in the Qurʾān it implies a moral or spiritual stance, involving the acceptance of what is heard: obeying God's commands (see OBEDIENCE; DISOBEDIENCE), taking to heart his or his prophets' admonitions (see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD; WARNING). The phrase "we heard and obeyed" *(samiʿnā wa-aṭaʿnā)* occurs in a number of qurʾānic passages (Q 2:285; 4:46; 5:7; 24:51; cf. 24:47), emphasizing the larger connotation of *s-m-ʿ*, which is evidenced in later Islamic thought, where "hearing and obedience" *(al-samʿ wa-l-ṭāʿa)* becomes a symbol of expressing allegiance to political authority.

That *s-m-ʿ* may have a spiritual or moral connotation is obvious in the many instances where "hearing" has no direct object, e.g. "Therein are signs for people who hear" (*li-qawmin yasmaʿūna,* Q 10:67; 30:23 etc.; the "sign" in question, the existence of the night for resting and the day for seeing [see DAY AND NIGHT], has no audile effects). It is possible, however, not only to have ears and yet not to hear (Q 7:179), but also to hear without accepting, as in Q 2:93, "We have heard and have rebelled," or to say one has heard while rejecting, "Be not like those who said: 'We have heard,' though they were not hearing" (Q 8:21).

Conversely, "deafness" (from the verbal root *ṣ-m-m,* which root is attested 15 times in the Qurʾān) means rejecting God's commands: "The worst of beasts, in God's eyes, are the deaf and the dumb who do not understand" *(al-ṣummu l-bukmu lladhīna lā yaʿqilūna,* Q 8:22; see GRATITUDE AND INGRATITUDE; BELIEF AND UNBELIEF). Just as "hearing" goes with "seeing," with both terms meaning "to understand" and "to accept," so "deafness" goes with "blindness" (e.g. Q 5:71; 11:24; 25:73; 43:40; 47:23; see VISION AND BLINDNESS). Twice the expression "deaf, dumb, blind" *(ṣummun bukmun ʿumyun)* is found (Q 2:18, 171; cf. Q 17:97 "blind, dumb, deaf," and Q 6:39 "deaf, dumb, in the darknesses"), and the "heavy" sound of the Arabic beautifully captures the sense. This deafness is often self-induced — continuing the image in the last quotation, it is said: "They put their fingers in their ears" (q.v.; Q 2:19) — but it may be the result of God's act: "We put a seal upon their hearts so that they do not hear" (Q 7:100; see HEART). But if God causes spiritual deafness, it is because the people in question deserve it: "These [viz. who turn away and cause corruption (q.v.) in the land, etc.] are they whom God has cursed (see CURSE), so he made them deaf and blinded their sight" (Q 47:23). See also SEEING AND HEARING.

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Heart

The organ responsible for the circulation of blood. In its singular form *(qalb)* the most common Arabic term for 'heart' ap-

pears 19 times in the Qurʾān, beginning with the second sūra and ending with the 64th. Q 33:4 represents its unique occurrence in the dual form of the noun *(qalbayn)*. As a plural *(qulūb)*, however, the term occurs well over 100 times. Textually, the first mention is Q 2:7: "God set a seal *(khatama)* on their hearts and on their hearing and a cover over their eyes." This "sealing" of the heart appears again in Q 6:46, 42:24 and 45:23 (see Ibrahim, Qurʾānic "sealing of the heart"; cf. also Q 9:98). Virtually all of the verbal forms of *khatama* are connected with this expression, except the single mention in Q 33:40 of Muḥammad as the "seal of the prophets."

Other, less frequently found qurʾānic vocabulary that convey meanings associated with the English word 'heart' include terms like *fuʾād, ṣadr, albāb* (sing. *lubb* but always found in the expression *ūlū l-albāb*, "those posssessed of understanding") and *nafs*. While all of this vocabulary appears in later theological and spiritual treatises about the nature of human beings (e.g. al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī, A Ṣūfī psychological treatise), this article will concentrate chiefly on the term *qalb*. Two themes dominate the qurʾānic treatment of *qalb*, (1) the heart's association with negative emotions and behaviors and (2) the belief that God can and does act directly upon the individual heart. Underneath both emphases lies the concept that the heart is the locus of understanding (see KNOWLEDGE AND LEARNING).

Negative associations

Negative associations with the concept of heart concentrate themselves in two characteristic conjunctions: the heart as "hardened" and the heart as "diseased." In a number of passages (Q 2:74; 5:13; 6:43; 22:53; 39:22; 57:16) forms of the verb 'to be harsh or hard' *(qasā)* or 'to make hard' *(shadda)* are combined with 'hearts' in a descriptive or a prescriptive statement. For example, Q 22:53 speaks of "those whose hearts are hardened" *(wa-l-qāsiyati qulūbuhum)* and Q 57:16 *(fa-qasat qulūbuhum)* echoes this. In both cases, there is a clear connection made with evil-doers *(ẓālimūn, fāsiqūn)* and, in the latter verse, with "those who were given the book (q.v.) before," i.e. with previous recipients of divine revelation, such as the Jews and the Christians (see PEOPLE OF THE BOOK). Prescriptively, the association of heart and hardness occurs in a verse like Q 10:88 where Moses (q.v.) begs God to destroy the wealth of Pharaoh (q.v.) and his nobles and to "harden their hearts" as prelude to securing their final damnation.

Even more prevalent is the association of heart and "disease." In the numerous occurrences (Q 2:10; 5:52; 8:49; 9:125; 22:53; 24:50; 33:12, 32, 60; 47:20, 29; 74:31) of the phrase "in their hearts is a disease" or its variants, the Arabic term that can be translated 'disease' or 'sickness' — *maraḍ* — is invariable. The exegetical tradition ordinarily understands this 'sickness' to be the human failings of doubt (q.v.), disbelief or hypocrisy (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, i, 120-2; xxi, 133; Ibn al-Jawzī, *Zād*, i, 31; ii, 378; v, 443; see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF; HYPOCRITES AND HYPOCRISY). In Sūrat al-Aḥzāb ("The Clans," Q 33), however, which contains the most frequent mention of this phrase, the disease or sickness is associated with a desire for illicit intercourse (see SEX AND SEXUALITY). Q 33:32, which is addressed to the wives of the prophet Muḥammad (see WIVES OF THE PROPHET), cautions them against "those in whose heart is a disease" and the commentaries make the nature of this disease explicit. Similarly, some of the early exegetes (see EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL) draw that same signification from its mention in Q 33:60, with Ibn Zayd (i.e. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Zayd b. Aslam, d. 182/798) making a direct connection between these

two verses (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* xxii, 47; see also Ibn al-Jawzī, *Zād,* vi, 379).

A phrase that appears twice in the Qurʾān *(qulūbunā ghulfun,* Q 2:88 and 4:155; cf. Q 41:5) can be translated as referring to the "uncircumcised heart." That expression finds parallels in biblical references (Jeremiah 9:25; Romans 2:25-9) to the uncircumcised heart as the one which fails to follow God's law. The exegetical tradition on these two qurʾānic verses has been preoccupied with the variant readings of the descriptive term, with one reading giving a sense of being enwrapped or enveloped (so that nothing can enter — ʿAbd al-Razzāq, *Tafsīr,* equates Q 2:88 with Q 41:5) while the other carries the meaning of a filled container (again, into which nothing more can enter). In either case, however, the expression is understood as referring to the Jewish rejection of Muḥammad's message (cf. Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr;* Ṭūsī, *Tibyān;* Zamakhsharī, *Kashshāf;* Qurṭubī, *Jāmiʿ,* ad loc.)

God acts upon the heart

Yet the Qurʾān also characterizes the heart in more spiritually positive terms. It is the point of loving connection between humans (Q 3:103) and the locus of piety (q.v.; *taqwā,* Q 22:32). It is associated with the remembrance of God (Q 13:28; 39:23; 57:16), and with steadfastness in faith (q.v.; Q 16:106). It is described as "sound" (*salīm,* Q 26:89; 37:84) and repentant (*munīb,* Q 50:33). The basis for such associations and descriptions lies in the dual qurʾānic claim that God knows what is in human hearts and that he acts directly upon them.

The qurʾānic references to God's action upon human hearts can be grouped, like the qurʾānic descriptions of the heart, as both positive and negative. The total number of such references is massive but examples taken from the initial sūras of the text can demonstrate the range of divine action. God "seals" the heart of the one who is headed for a painful doom (Q 2:7; 6:46; 7:100-1; 9:87; cf. Räisänen, *Divine hardening,* 13-44) or allows it to be prompted to evil (Q 2:93) or throws a veil (q.v.) over it (Q 6:25). He causes hearts to go astray (q.v.; Q 3:8; 9:127), hardens them (Q 5:13, 10:88) and frightens them (Q 8:12). Yet God can also strengthen and fortify the human heart (Q 8:11). He joins hearts in friendship (see FRIENDS AND FRIENDSHIP) and unites them (Q 3:103, 8:63), makes them forgiving (Q 3:159) and heals them (Q 9:14, 10:57).

An intriguing verse that generated substantial exegetical discussion alludes to God's placing in the hearts of Jesus' (q.v.) followers "compassion and mercy and monasticism" (Q 57:27; see MONASTICISM AND MONKS). By most readings of this phrase the word "monasticism" *(rahbāniyya)* is not conjunctive with "compassion and mercy" but begins a new sentence, an interpretation that fits more comfortably with the ambivalence toward monasticism expressed in many Muslim sources. Some commentators, such as al-Zamakhsharī (d. 538/1144), however, make it the third object of God's action upon the heart (*al-Kashshāf,* ad loc. but cf. Abū l-Futūḥ Rāzī, *Rawḥ;* Ibn al-Jawzī, *Zād;* Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr,* ad loc.), thereby raising interesting questions about the ways that divine and human action can be understood to intersect (McAuliffe, *Qurʾānic,* 260-84). All such references to God's action, whether negative or positive, presuppose that God has intimate knowledge of each human heart, a qurʾānic claim that is expressed explicitly in many passages, perhaps nowhere more eloquently than in the famous Throne Verse (*āyat al-kursī,* Q 2:255).

Heart as the locus of understanding

God's action, both positive and negative, on the human heart correlates directly with the qurʾānic representation of the heart as the locus of understanding (Q 6:25; 7:179;

9:87; 17:46; 18:57; 22:46; 63:3; for a succinct expression of this correlation, cf. *inna fī dhālika l-dhikrā li-man kāna lahu qalbun,* Dāmaghānī, *Wujūh,* ii, 157). In one famous scene Abraham asks God for proof that he can raise the dead, demonstrative proof "that will satisfy my heart [i.e. understanding]" (*wa-lākin li-yaṭma'inna qalbī,* Q 2:260). Referring to the modality of the Qurʾān's revelation, Q 2:97 tells Muḥammad that the angel Gabriel "has sent it down upon your heart" (*fa-innahu nazzalahu ʿalā qalbika;* cf. al-Jūzū, *Mafhūm,* 209-10). But the heart's capacity for recognition and comprehension of such non-verbal communication as the divine "signs" *(āyāt)* is also acknowledged (Izutsu, *God,* 136-8). While the just-cited passages use the term *qalb,* another common expression deploys alternative terminology. The phrase that can be translated as "those possessed of understanding" *(ūlū l-albāb)* occurs 16 times in the Qurʾān, with a first appearance in Q 2:179. Glossing *albāb* (sing. *lubb*) as "reason" or "intellect" (q.v.; *ʿaql*) quickly became an exegetical standard (Muqātil, *Tafsīr;* Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* ad loc.), with some commentators (Ṭūsī, *Tibyān,* ad loc.) explaining its larger meaning, i.e. what lies inside, such as a kernel or the choicest part of a plant. Q 3:7, a pivotal verse in the Qurʾān's self description, offers the most exegetically rich occurrence of this phrase. Here it connects closely with the preceding "those firmly-rooted in knowledge" *(al-rāsikhūn fī l-ʿilm)* and the following prayer that God "not allow our hearts to deviate" *(rabbanā lā tuzigh qulūbanā),* a connection made explicit by the classical commentators (e.g. Zamakhsharī, *Kashshāf;* Qurṭubī, *Jāmiʿ* , ad loc.; cf. Lagarde, Ambiguïté; Kinberg, Muḥkamāt; Wild, Self-referentiality; McAuliffe, Text).

Ṣūfī and other post-qurʾānic developments

The qurʾānic depiction of the heart, rather than the brain, as the locus of understanding became a central theme in the elaboration of post-qurʾānic anthropology, particularly that of medieval Ṣūfism. The notion that religious knowledge and sensitivity, i.e. conscience, are lodged in the heart grew more formalized and systematized, generating an extensive literature on spiritual formation *(ʿilm al-qulūb)*. Some of the most prominent names associated with this tradition are al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (d. 110/728), al-Ḥusayn b. Manṣūr al-Ḥallāj (309/922), and Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī (d. 386/996). Al-Makkī's *Qūṭ al-qulūb* was joined by Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī's (d. 505/1111) *Iḥyāʾ ʿulūm al-dīn,* and Ibn al-ʿArabī's (d. 638/1240) *al-Futūḥāt al-makkiyya* to form a group of the most famous works on this topic. The Ṣūfī tradition of qurʾānic commentary can add to these listings names like Sahl al-Tustarī (d. 283/896) and Rūzbihān al-Balqī (d. 606/1209).

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Heaven see HEAVEN AND SKY

Heaven and Sky

The expanse or firmament arching over the earth. The Arabic *al-samʾ,* from the root *s-m-w,* denotes the upper part of anything, such as a roof, sky or heaven (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* i, 151; *Lane,* iv, 1434). In the masculine it means roof or sky or heaven, in the feminine, sky or heaven. In the Qurʾān, it is attested 120 times in the singular, and 190 times in the plural *(samāwāt).* In a special usage of the term, God swears by heaven (Q 51:7; 85:1; 86:1, 11; cf. 51:23; see OATHS AND PROMISES).

Creation of heaven

As depicted by the Qurʾān, heaven and earth (q.v.) were a mass all sewn up, which God unstitched, creating every living thing from water (q.v.; Q 21:30; for the idea of creation in Islam, cf. al-Alousi, *The problem of creation;* see also CREATION). According to Q 2:29 God first created all that is on the earth and then created the seven heavens. The duration of this creation is ambiguous: although it is written that the creation of the earth *(al-arḍ)* lasted two days (Q 41:9), it is also stated that "a day in the sight of your lord is as a thousand years of your reckoning" (Q 22:47; cf. 32:5). After the creation of the earth, God turned to heaven while it was smoke *(dukhān),* and ordained seven heavens in two days (Q 41:11-2; cf. Q 2:29; 21:16; 65:12; 67:3; 71:15; for creation in six days, see Q 7:54; 11:7; 25:59; 32:4; 50:38; 57:4; cf. Speyer, *Erzählungen,* 4-17). He assigned to each heaven its proper order (Q 41:12) and then mounted *(ʿistawā)* the throne (Q 7:54; see THRONE OF GOD), directing all things (Q 10:3).

Cosmology

God then subjected the sun (q.v.) and moon (q.v.) to a divine plan, each moving to a stated term (Q 13:2; see COSMOLOGY). Although the idea of creation and of the seven heavens was evidently already familiar in its rough outline to the ancient peoples of the Near East (K. Galling, *Religion in Geschichte,* s.v. "Himmel," iii, 329-33; for a detailed discussion, see Bietenhard, *Himmlische Welt),* various qurʾānic verses prompted widespread speculation about the nature of this cosmological order. According to Q 11:7, at the beginning of creation God's throne was upon the waters, then God elevated his throne *(ʿarsh)* to the uppermost part of the seventh heaven (Q 23:86). According to Q 2:255, however, God's stool *(kursī)* contains the heavens and the earth. The throne is held by angels (see ANGEL) who sing the praise (q.v.) of God (Q 39:75; 40:7; see GLORIFICATION OF GOD). Some exegetes upheld an anthropomor-

phic understanding of the concept of "elevation" *('istiwā')* and throne or stool (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* i, 149-53; iii, 7-9; Ṭabarsī, *Majmaʿ,* iii, 303; Wensinck, *Muslim creed,* 148; Daiber, *Muʿammar,* 140-2; see ANTHROPOMORPHISM). God built the heaven as an edifice (Q 2:22; 40:64) and a roof (Q 21:32) and holds it back lest it fall upon the earth (Q 22:65; cf. Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* xxii, 95), having raised it without visible supports (Q 13:2; 31:10; see HOUSE, DOMESTIC AND DIVINE). Some exegetes understood this verse to indicate that the heavens were supported "with pillars which man cannot see" (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* xiii, 61-4; Ṭabarsī, *Majmaʿ,* xiii, 138; xxi, 48). Heaven is filled with paths (Q 51:7; for *ḥubuk,* "paths," cf. Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* xxvi, 117; Ṭabarsī, *Majmaʿ,* xxvi, 7) and with mighty guardians and meteors (Q 72:8). Islamic tradition believes that the distance separating one heaven from another amounts to the travel of five hundred years (Tirmidhī, *Sunan,* no. 3220; but cf. no. 3242). The lower heaven is adorned with astral constellations and planets (Q 15:16; 25:61; 37:6; 41:12; 50:6; 67:5) and with meteors meant to serve as projectiles against demons (*shayṭān,* see DEVIL) who might try to eavesdrop (Q 15: 17; 67:5; cf. Paret, *Kommentar,* 274).

The relation between the heaven(s) and earth

The lower heaven bears a direct relation to the growth of earthly flora and to subsistence and abundance on earth (see AGRICULTURE AND VEGETATION). From this lower heaven God sends rain, so that since pre-Islamic times grass (q.v.) itself has often been called *samāʾ* by the Arabs (*Lane,* iv, 1435). God also sends destruction from the lower heaven on evil nations in the form of plagues (q.v.; Q 2:59) and stones (Q 8:32; 11:82; 105:4; Ibn Zayd believes that *sijjīl* in *ḥijāra min sijjīlin* [Q 105:4; Jeffery, *For. vocab.*] is the name of the lower heaven; cf. Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* xii, 57). From heaven God sends revelations (see REVELATION AND INSPIRATION), a table (q.v.; i.e. a meal) to Jesus (q.v.; Q 5:112; cf. Paret, *Kommentar,* 133), and angels as messengers (see MESSENGER), exterminators of evil nations (Q 29:31; see PUNISHMENT STORIES) and combatants in battle (Q 3:124-5; Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* iv, 50-4; see FIGHTING; EXPEDITIONS AND BATTLES). The way from earth up to heaven, however, is blocked to humans without God's authority (Q 55:33).

Description of the heaven(s) and the location of paradise

As developed in post-qurʾānic exegesis, during his night journey to the heavens (*miʿrāj,* see ASCENSION), the prophet Muḥammad was guided by Gabriel (q.v.) through the abodes of the seven heavens where he met with the previous prophets (see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD). He was shown the wonders of the heavens as well as those of paradise (q.v.) and hell (q.v.) until he reached the lote tree of the furthest boundary *(sidrat al-muntahā)* "near to which is the garden (q.v.) of the refuge" (Q 53:15) where the Prophet had a beatific vision (Q 53:1-18; cf. Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* xxvii, 29-35; Ṭabarsī, *Majmaʿ,* xxvii, 47; cf. Paret, *Kommentar,* 460-1; Gardet, *Dieu,* 338-40; Tuft, *Hamdard Islamicus,* 3-41). Exegetes differ as to where this lote tree is located, whether at the summit of the sixth heaven or directly beneath the throne in the seventh heaven (Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad,* no. 12212; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ, K. al-Īmān,* no. 252; Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* xxvii, 29-35; Ṭabarsī, *Majmaʿ,* xxvii, 47; Horovitz, Himmelfahrt, 160-4). Paradise is believed to be in heaven near the lote tree, with *al-firdaws* (Jeffery, *For. vocab.,* 223) being the highest abode in paradise (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* xvii, 30). Finally, drastic and fearful changes in the lower heaven and in the cosmological order are among the signs of the day of judgment (Q 21:104; 25:25; 44:10; 52:9; 55:37; 69:16;

70:8; 73:18; 81:11; 82:1; 84:1; see APOCALYPSE; ESCHATOLOGY; LAST JUDGMENT).

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Heavenly Book

The account of all past, present and future events, and the source of revelation to which the qurʾānic terms "mother of the book" (*umm al-kitāb,* Q 43:4), "hidden book" (*kitāb maknūn,* Q 56:78) and "guarded tablet" (*lawḥ maḥfūẓ,* Q 85:22) collectively refer. According to most interpreters, the heavenly book sits either to the right of or underneath God's throne (see THRONE OF GOD; ANTHROPOMORPHISM), above the seventh heaven (see HEAVEN AND SKY). Others hold that the heavenly book rests upon the brow of the angel Isrāfīl. Given its elevated position the heavenly book is hidden except to those pure enough to approach it; these are generally understood to be the angels (see ANGEL), who protect it against any alteration. The heavenly book's covers are said to be made of white pearls and red or green jewels, and the writing in it of light.

The heavenly book serves God in two ways. First, it is a record of everything that has happened since creation and everything that will happen until the day of resurrection (q.v.; Tirmidhī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* vi, 325-6; Suyūṭī, *Durr,* vii, 366; Rashīd Riḍā, *Manār,* vii, 471). To the extent that the heavenly book comprehends all events, it is linked to the divine ledger of human actions which is displayed on the day of judgment (Q 17:13; 18:49; 45:28-9; 84:7-12; see LAST JUDGMENT; RECORD OF HUMAN ACTIONS).

In a second, more restricted sense, the heavenly book is the source *(aṣl)* and totality *(jumla)* of all revelations, including the Qurʾān. Some hold that the number of pages in the heavenly book is 104, others 114, divided among the revelations of Seth, Abraham (q.v.), Moses (q.v.), David (q.v.), Jesus (q.v.) and Muḥammad (for different theories about the number of pages assigned to each prophet see Bājūrī's comments on the *Sanūsiyya,* 66-7). On the "fateful night" (*laylat al-qadr,* see NIGHT OF POWER), the Qurʾān was sent in its entirety from the heavenly book above the seventh heaven down to the lowest heaven immediately above the earth (q.v.). From this staging area Gabriel (q.v.) delivered bits and pieces of it as needed during the period of Muḥammad's prophethood.

Tensions between these two conceptions

of heavenly book can be seen in two of Islam's earliest theological debates: predestination versus free will (see FREEDOM AND PREDESTINATION), and the createdness versus the uncreatedness of the Qurʾān (see CREATEDNESS OF THE QURʾĀN). The tradition that the heavenly book in its broader sense (that is, as the written record of God's *knowledge* of all events in the history of the universe) was created before the heavens and the earth first provided support for those who first argued for predestination and against free will, and later supported the Ashʿarīs against the Muʿtazilīs (q.v.; see also THEOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN). The problem of theodicy was then dodged by pointing to the fact that God's foreknowledge of events in the heavenly book was not identical to his compelling humans to disobey him (Muqātil, *Tafsīr,* iv, 651; see DISOBEDIENCE; FATE; DESTINY).

The vexed question of whether the Qurʾān was created or uncreated, the focal point of Caliph al-Maʾmūn's *miḥna,* or inquisition (q.v.), during the second quarter of the third/ninth century, revolved, however, around the more restricted sense of the heavenly book as God's *speech* (q.v.; that is, as the articulation of portions of his knowledge to humanity in the form of scripture; see SCRIPTURE AND THE QURʾĀN). In this sense, the tradition that the heavenly book was created, albeit before the heavens and the earth, supported those who first affirmed the createdness of the Qurʾān against those who denied it, and later supported the Muʿtazilīs against the Ashʿarīs (cf. Abū l-Hudhayl, Jaʿfar b. Ḥarb and Jaʿfar b. Mubashshar in Ashʿarī, *Maqālāt,* ii, 598-600). In response, those arguing for the Qurʾān's uncreatedness seemed to maintain that God's attribute of speech (see GOD AND HIS ATTRIBUTES), conceived of as co-eternal with him, underwent two processes of "inlibration:" the first from the attribute of speech to the heavenly book, and the second from the heavenly book to the Qurʾān (this is taken by Wolfson to be implied by Ashʿarī in *Ibāna,* 34). By virtue of its ultimate derivation from God's attribute of speech, therefore, the Qurʾān could still be held to be uncreated.

Early Ṣūfī commentators identified the *lawḥ maḥfūẓ* with men's hearts (*ṣudūr,* Tustarī, *Tafsīr,* 180, cited by Sulamī, *Ziyādāt,* 220; see HEART), later ones with the Muḥammadan heart (Ibn al-ʿArabī, *Tafsīr,* ii, 790; see ṢŪFISM AND THE QURʾĀN). In more philosophical Ṣūfī texts the heavenly book plays an almost demiurgic role in the neoplatonic cosmos. While the "pen" *(qalam)* is understood to be the universal intellect *(al-ʿaql al-kullī),* that is, the first emanation from God, the *lawḥ maḥfūẓ* is seen as the second emanation, the universal soul (*al-nafs al-kulliyya,* Ibn al-ʿArabī, *Futūḥāt,* i, 209; ii, 300; x, 436). The equation of the heavenly book with the universal soul is also implied in certain Ismāʿīlī texts (e.g. Nāṣir Khusraw, *Gushāyish,* 69), with the stipulation that only the current imām (q.v.) is qualified to inspect it (Nāṣir Khusraw, *Gushāyish,* 53; see SHīʿISM AND THE QURʾĀN). Similar to this is the philosophers' notion that because of the strength of his imaginative faculty and his intuition, a prophet can receive an instantaneous emanation of forms and thereby envision future events (Avicenna, *De Anima,* 170-81, 248-50), a view criticized by al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111; *Tahāfut al-falāsifa,* 156, 158-63, 167; see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD; PHILOSOPHY AND THE QURʾĀN). See also BOOK; PRESERVED TABLET.

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Hell

see HELL AND HELLFIRE

Hell and Hellfire

The place or state of punishment for the wicked after death. The Qurʾān portrays a hell that tortures both body and soul. It mentions its names, something of its physical layout, just which human sinners are its fuel, and how people may save themselves from it. Sinners whose wishful thinking minimizes the scope of hell must still face the reality of it, yet when they see it, it will be too late. They will be in hell eternally but the Qurʾān remains ambiguous on whether hell is eternal in the same way that God is eternal (see ETERNITY).

The names of hell

The Qurʾān uses some ten terms to name hell and to describe it. The "proper" name of hell, Jahannam, is only the second most common of these (77 occurrences, the first at Q 2:206; cf. Heb. Ge Hinnom, possibly through Ethiopic; Jeffery, *For. vocab.,* 105-6). The most common description, the fire (q.v.; *al-nār*), refers to its best-known characteristic (some 125 occurrences, excluding non-technical uses, the first at Q 2:24). Most other terms are synonyms; thus *al-saʿīr* is "the blaze" (cf. Q 4:10), and *al-jaḥīm* is "the hot place" (Q 2:119), though in one verse (Q 37:97) the latter is not a synonym for hell but denotes the fire into which the idolaters (see IDOLATRY AND IDOLATERS) order that Abraham (q.v.) be thrown. Hell has flames, *lahab* (Q 77:31), and it punishes by combustion, *ʿadhāb al-ḥarīq* (Q 3:181). The unique term *hāwiya* (Q 101:9) is defined two verses later as "a raging fire," *nār ḥāmiya* (Q 101:11), a definition validated by an apparent Ethiopic cognate (Jeffery, *For. vocab.,* 285-6). Two other terms are defined not by what they are but by what they do. *Lazā,* a "blaze" (Q 70:15), is known from *nār talazzā* (Q 92:14); *saqar* is not defined at its first occurrence in Q 54:48 ("taste the touch of *saqar*") but Q 74:26-31 contains a functional definition: it "lets nothing remain and leaves nothing alone, turning human beings red" (*lawwāḥatun lil-bashari,* see Ṭabarsī, v, 386-9). Finally, the term *ḥuṭama* (Q 104:4) although defined in context both notionally and functionally, has elicited further interpretation from lexicographers and exegetes. "What will make you realize what *al-ḥuṭama* is? God's kindled fire, which reaches up to the hearts: it is closed in over them in long columns" (Q 104:5-9). The verbal root signifies breaking, i.e. "that

which breaks in pieces," especially the shattering of something dry (Fīrūzābādī, *Qāmūs,* iv, 97). "*Al-ḥuṭama* is one of the names of the fire… I think it has been called that because it breaks up whatever is thrown into it; similarly a man who eats a lot is called *al-ḥuṭama*" (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* xxx, 190). Ibn Abī Ḥātim al-Rāzī (d. 327/938-9) reported, "*Al-ḥuṭama* is one of the gates of Jahannam" (cf. Suyūṭī, *Durr,* viii, 620).

The topography of hell

The fire is spread out above and below in layers (Q 39:16), enclosed (Q 90:20), with sparks as big as forts (Q 77:32). Its fuel is human beings and stones (Q 2:24; 66:6), specifically, unbelievers (Q 3:10; see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF), the unjust (Q 72:15; see JUSTICE AND INJUSTICE), and polytheists and whatever they worship besides God (Q 21:98; see POLYTHEISM AND ATHEISM). Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 606/1210; *Tafsīr,* ii, 122) interprets the "stones" as stone idols (see IDOLS AND IMAGES). With the fire comes black smoke (*yaḥmūm,* Q 56:43), three columns of shadow that do not protect against the flames (Q 77:30-1), boiling water (*ḥamīm,* Q 56:42) and the poisonous hot wind (*samūm,* Q 52:27; 56:42). People's faces are turned upside down in the fire (Q 33:66); they are dragged through it on their faces (Q 54:48), unable to keep it away from their faces or their backs (Q 21:39). Several times hell is called "an evil bed" (*biʾsa l-mihād,* Q 2:206), one with canopies (Q 7:41). The sinners wander about between hell and boiling water (Q 55:43-4).

Hell is reached by a road (*ṣirāṭ al-jaḥīm,* Q 37:23), later construed as a bridge, and by seven gates, one for each class of sinners (Q 15:44; see SIN, MAJOR AND MINOR). Heaven (see HEAVEN AND SKY; PARADISE; GARDEN) is separated from hell by a wall with a gate; inside is mercy (q.v.), and all along the outside is torment (*ʿadhāb,* Q 57:13). Yet despite that barrier and the veil between them (Q 7:46; see BARZAKH), the inhabitants of heaven and hell can see and call to each other. They compare experiences: both have found their lord's promises to be true (Q 7:44). Then "the companions of the fire cry out to the companions of the garden, 'Pour water down on us, or any nourishment God has provided you!' They reply, 'God has forbidden both of those things to the disbelievers!'" (Q 7:50). The cry for water is one of the spatially oriented descriptions that seem to confirm the usual view of heaven as an elevation and hell as a pit. The horrible tree of Zaqqūm grows up from the bottom of hell-fire (*takhruju fī aṣl al-jaḥīmi,* Q 37:64). Those who were believers in life will laugh at the unbelievers *(kuffār),* looking down from their thrones (*ʿalā l-arāʾiki yanẓurūna,* Q 83:34-5). An extended passage portrays a man who looks out from heaven and sees his old friend, a skeptic who denied the afterlife, in the middle of the fire (Q 37:51-9); the word used is *iṭṭalaʿa,* which signifies looking down from an elevation (Fīrūzābādī, *Qāmūs,* iii, 59; but cf. Q 28:38). On the other hand, the "men on *al-aʿrāf*" (Q 7:46-9), for which Q 7 (Sūrat al-Aʿrāf, "The Heights") is named, seem to look down on both the garden and the fire, as though they were side by side, although that is the same passage where the damned beg the saved to pour water on them (Q 7:50). Al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505; *Durr,* iii, 460-1) offers ten possible identifications of *al-aʿrāf,* including "a wall (or a mountain or a hill) between the garden and the fire," "an elevated place," "a wall with a crest like a cock's comb," "a wall with a door," and "the bridge" *(al-ṣirāṭ).*

The punishments of hell

The most common term for punishment is *ʿadhāb* (see REWARD AND PUNISHMENT). The

noun occurs some 322 times, to say nothing of verbs and participles; but the word is used for earthly punishments as well, as in Solomon's (q.v.) threat to the hoopoe (Q 27:21) or Pharaoh's (q.v.) treatment of the Children of Israel (q.v.; Q 2:49). Punishment in hell is often qualified by an epithet, as in the phrase *ʿadhāb al-ḥarīq*. The Qurʾān emphasizes its magnitude and seriousness with such phrases as *ʿadhāb ʿazīm* (Q 2:7), *sūʾa l-ʿadhābi* (Q 2:49), and *ʿadhāb shadīd* (Q 3:4). Punishment is both physical and mental: the very common phrase *ʿadhāb alīm,* "painful punishment" (Q 2:10), refers to that part of infernal torment that affects the body, while the less common *ʿadhāb muhīn,* "humiliating punishment" (Q 3:178), refers to its effects on the mind or soul.

Physical punishment affects all the senses. It begins with the sight of hell, the vision of which is a certainty (*la-tarawunnahā ʿayna l-yaqīni,* Q 102:7). "The sinners will see the fire and recognize that they are to fall into it, and they will find no outlet" (Q 18:53): every time they try to escape, they will be forced back (Q 32:20). The fire will roast their skins and then roast them anew (Q 4:56); their garments will be of fire (Q 22:19) or of liquid pitch (Q 14:50); the treasure they stored up on earth will be heated and used to brand their foreheads, sides and backs (Q 9:35). Their faces will be black (Q 39:60); and "the fire will burn their faces, on which are grotesque grins" (Q 23:104). They will be in chains with yokes around their necks (Q 40:71). They will eat fire (Q 2:174) and drink boiling water (Q 6:70), which will also be poured on their heads, scalding their bodies inside and out (Q 22:19-20). Drinks that are not hot as melted brass (Q 18:29) will be bitter cold (Q 38:57), putrid, full of pus (Q 14:16), and, in any case, will not quench their thirst (Q 14:17; see HOT AND COLD). Food that is not fire will be the fruit of the tree Zaqqūm, like the heads of devils (Q 37:65) or "the corruption from the washing of wounds" (Q 69:36); their food will choke them (Q 73:13) but will neither nourish them nor remove their hunger (Q 88:6-7). The sounds they hear will be "sighs and sobs" (Q 11:106).

What is worse than these physical tortures is the knowledge that they will never end. "He shall have hell: in it he shall neither die nor live" (Q 20:74; cf. 14:17). "Those who disbelieve shall have the fire of hell; no final sentence shall be given them so that they might die, nor shall its punishment be lightened" (Q 35:36); nor can they claim to be wrongly condemned, for their tongues and limbs (Q 24:24), their senses and their skins (Q 41:20-3) will witness against them. "You thought that God did not know much of what you used to do! But this notion that you had has destroyed you, and now you are one of the lost!" (Q 41:22-3). The mental tortures are both individual and communal, incorporating the most painful aspects of both. The sinners will be all alone, with no intercessor (Q 6:94; see INTERCESSION) or defender (Q 10:27; see PROTECTION), or even a greeting (Q 38:59). "They shall have no share of happiness in the hereafter; God will not speak to them, or look at them on the day of resurrection, or purify them" (Q 3:77). Indeed, they will be told, "God loathes you more than you loathe yourselves" (Q 40:10).

In other verses, however, sinners are told that they will not only be in groups, they will be bound together with fetters (Q 14:49). They will curse each other (Q 7:38), and constantly argue and blame each other (Q 26:96-102). "They will argue in the fire. The weak ones will say to the haughty ones (see ARROGANCE), 'We were following you! Can you take on some of our share of the fire?' And the haughty ones will say, 'We are all in this together!…'" (Q 40:47-8). Even worse, they

are able to see the inhabitants of heaven (Q 7:44-50); they are surrounded by what they used to mock (Q 45:33); and Satan himself comes to turn the knife. "God made you a true promise; I made you a promise and I broke it. I had no power over you except to call you, but you answered me; so do not blame me — blame yourselves!… I reject what you did in associating me with God…" (Q 14:22).

The tortures of hell mirror the pleasures of heaven: foul food and disgusting drinks in place of delicious food and clear drinks in crystal goblets; garments of fire instead of garments of silk (q.v.); sinful companions like themselves (Q 41:25) instead of beautiful and virtuous ones (see HOURIS); pain, humiliation and despair instead of peace and joy. A short example of the parallel rhetoric that illustrates parallel concepts (often at length) can be found in the ninth sūra: "God has promised the hypocrites (see HYPOCRITES AND HYPOCRISY), male and female, and the unbelievers the fire of hell, to remain in it forever; that is sufficient for them. And God has cursed them, and they will have a punishment of long duration" (Q 9:68). "God has promised the believers, male and female, gardens below which rivers flow, to remain in them forever, and fine dwellings in gardens of paradise. And acceptance from God is supreme: that is the great victory" (Q 9:72).

If hell is a mirror of heaven, is Satan in charge? Unlike the elaborations found in later literature, Satan's connection with the infernal regions is rather tenuous in the Qurʾān. As has been mentioned, he appears before the sinners to taunt them (Q 14:22), but the only other verse that puts him in hell indicates that it is punishment for his sins. "[Iblīs] said, 'Do you see this man whom you [God] honored over me? If you postpone [my fate] until the day of resurrection, I will take control of his descendants, except for a few.' [God] said, 'Go! And no matter who follows you, hell will be the penalty for you all — an ample penalty!' " (Q 17:62-3; see also Q 38:85). Until then, Satan will remain on the earth, making evil appear good (see GOOD AND EVIL), misleading all except God's sincere servants (Q 15:31-43; also 7:11-8), and inviting people to the fire (Q 35:6) as he invited their forefathers (Q 31:21; see DEVIL).

Pharaoh and his hosts likewise are "imāms (see IMĀM) who summon to the fire" (Q 28:41). Over it are set nineteen angels (Q 74:30-1; see ANGEL), also called *al-zabāniya:* "guardians of hell… strong and mighty angels" (Q 96:18; Jeffery, *For. vocab.* 148). The most complete description is at Q 66:6: "Over it are strong, hard-hearted angels, who do not rebel against what God has commanded them to do: they do what they are ordered."

In a number of passages, hell itself is personified. It sees those who denied it approaching from afar (Q 25:12); it invites those who turn their backs on what is right (Q 70:17). "When they are thrown into it, they hear it draw a sobbing breath as it boils up, nearly bursting with rage" (Q 67:7-8). That the word *Ǧahannam* is grammatically feminine is most vivid in Q 50:30: "One day we shall ask hell, 'Are you full?' and she will say, 'Are there more?' "

Who will enter hell?

All humans must face hell. "There is not one of you but that he must come to it: that is a sealed [commitment] that shall be carried out. Then we shall save the pious and leave the sinners in it on their knees" (Q 19:71-2). As al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111; *Iḥyāʾ,* iv, 658) says, "You are certain of going there, but your rescue is in doubt." The list of those who will remain in hell is virtually endless. One group may be characterized by their attitudes: the disbelievers (*al-kāfirūn,* Q 2:24), particularly those who

die in that state (Q 2:161-2), apostates (Q 3:86-91; see APOSTASY), hypocrites (Q 4:140), idolaters (Q 14:30; see IDOLATRY AND IDOLATERS), wastrels (*al-musrifīn,* Q 40:43), the haughty (Q 7:36), those who go against God and his messenger (q.v.; Q 9:63), those who make religion a game (Q 6:70; see GAMBLING), those who tempt and those who allow themselves to be tempted (Q 57:13), and those who die in sin, having failed to flee to where they could have been virtuous (Q 4:97). Another group has failed in specific ways: they have denied God's signs (q.v.; Q 2:39), broken the covenant (q.v.; Q 2:83-5), gone back to usury (q.v.) after God's ban (Q 2:275), deserted in battle (Q 8:16; see EXPEDITIONS AND BATTLES) or avoided it altogether (Q 9:49), been satisfied with the things of this world (Q 10:7-8; 17:18), made fun of God's messengers (Q 18:106), failed to respond to God (Q 13:18), or denied the divine origin of the Qurʾān (Q 74:16-26) or the reality of the hour of judgment (Q 25:11-4; see LAST JUDGMENT). Among those who commit particular sins are murderers (Q 4:29-30; see BLOODSHED; MURDER), including those who have killed their prophets (Q 3:21); persecutors of the believers (Q 85:10); those who consume the property of orphans (q.v.; Q 4:10) or violate inheritance (q.v.) laws (Q 4:12-4); those who claim divinity for themselves (Q 21:29); polytheists who build mosques (Q 9:17); and rumor-mongers (Q 104; see GOSSIP), especially those who slander chaste women (Q 24:23; see MODESTY; VIRTUE; CHASTITY). Hell is a certainty for some individuals: Cain (Q 5:27-32; see CAIN AND ABEL), Noah's (q.v.) and Lot's (q.v.) wives (Q 66:10; see WOMEN AND THE QURʾĀN), and the Prophet's uncle Abū Lahab and his wife (Q 111).

Is hell eternal?

Many of the damned failed while still on earth to appreciate that hell is real and that it is eternal. "They say, 'The fire will not touch us except for a countable number of days,' but they have deceived themselves with what they have made up about their religion" (Q 3:24). "We shall say to those who have sinned, 'Taste the punishment of the fire, which you used to deny!' " (Q 34:42). They think that their wealth (q.v.) will save them (Q 45:10), and they challenge the Prophet to bring on the punishment, apparently because they do not believe in it (Q 29:53-5).

On the question of whether hell is eternal, the qurʾānic verses seem clear enough: "Their punishment is that upon them is the curse of God and of his angels and of all humanity. They will be in it eternally *(khālidīna fīhā):* their punishment will not be lightened nor will they be given any delay" (Q 3:87-8). They will be given "an enduring penalty" (*ʿadhāb muqīm,* Q 5:37); they will be in the fire "eternally, as long as the heavens and the earth exist, except as your lord wills…" (Q 11:107); no limit will be set after which they might die and by dying escape hell (Q 35:36). Yet the eternality of hell set up well-known problems for theologians such as the Muʿtazilīs (q.v.), who would not compromise God's uniqueness by admitting that another eternal entity might exist. Such theological disputes generated systematic creeds (q.v.), virtually all of which contain clauses that deal with particulars of the hereafter. Thus, Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal's (d. 241/855-6) *al-Radd ʿalā l-zanādiqa wa-l-jahmiyya* (in *Aqāʾid al-salaf,* 100-3) accuses Jahm b. Ṣafwān (d. 128/745-6) of relying upon two verses, "He is the first and the last" (Q 57:3), and "Everything will be destroyed except his face" (Q 28:88; see FACE OF GOD) to prove that heaven and hell are not eternal. Ibn Ḥanbal admitted that the heavens and the earth would pass away, but only because all the people had gone to the garden or the fire, which themselves were proven by numerous verses to be eternal. Other thinkers would not admit that

the eternality of garden and fire entailed the eternality of their inhabitants, rewards, and punishments. Relying upon the verse that says, "God does not forgive that anything should be associated with himself, but he forgives what is less than that" (Q 4:48), the Egyptian Ḥanafī author al-Ṭaḥāwī (d. 321/933) wrote in his *Bayān al-sunna wa-l-jamāʿa:* "If he wills [h]e punishes them in the fire in proportion to their offense in accordance with his justice. Afterwards he will withdraw them from it, in accordance with his mercy… and will send them to the garden" (cf. Elder, Ṭaḥāwī's *Bayān,* 139).

Innumerable texts elaborate upon the qurʾānic data, their order and approach varying according to the author's purpose. Al-Ghazālī's *al-Qawl fī ṣifāt jahannam wa-aḥwālihā wa-ankālihā* (in *Iḥyāʾ,* iv, 658-64) and the section on hell in Ibn Kathīr's (d. 774/1373) *Kitāb al-Nihāya* (ii, 172-358) conduct the believer through the infernal regions as (s)he will encounter them. Al-Ghazālī construes the qurʾānic names for hell as indicating separate parts of it, and he arranges them top to bottom: *"Jahannam,* then *saqar,* then *laẓā,* then *al-ḥuṭama,* then *al-saʿīr,* then *al-jaḥīm,* then *hāwiya"* (*Iḥyāʿ,* iv, 659). Among extra-qurʾānic details is his description of the final call: "Then will come the cry, 'O Adam (see ADAM AND EVE), send a contingent of your offspring to the fire!' And he will say, 'How many, O lord?' And he will say to him, 'From every thousand, 999 to the fire and one to the garden!' " (Ghazālī, *Durra,* 158). Ibn Kathīr supplements the Qurʾān with vast quantities of ḥadīth (see ḤADĪTH AND THE QURʾĀN), some of an authenticity he calls "remarkably poor" *(gharīb jiddan).* Both authors describe the tortures of hell in disgusting detail. From the poet Abū l-ʿAlā al-Maʿarrī and the mystic Ibn al-ʿArabī come further masses of detail, including pictures of Iblīs as both the king of hell and its fettered prisoner, forerunners of Dante's imprisoned Lucifer, buried in ice from his chest down (Asin Palacios, *Islam and the Divine Comedy,* 58, 92, and the references therein). Finally, let us not forget the prayers of the common people, taught to them by those close to God, in this case ʿAlī Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn, "I ask thee to have mercy on this delicate skin, this slender frame which cannot endure the heat of thy sun. How then will it endure the heat of thy Fire?" (from *al-Ṣaḥīfa al-sajjādiyya,* in Padwick, *Muslim devotions,* 283).

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Hereafter

see ESCHATOLOGY; RESURRECTION; PARADISE; HELL AND HELLFIRE; FIRE; LAST JUDGMENT

Heresy

Dissent from commonly accepted doctrine with a tendency towards sectarianism. Heresy, of course, only has meaning in light of orthodoxy, the elaboration of which in Islam seems to have begun as a traditionalist reaction to the politico-theological policies of the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Maʾmūn (r. 198/813-218/833; Lewis, Observations, 43 f.; Makdisi, *Ibn ʿAqīl,* 26 f.). As the Qurʾān is the foundational text of Islam, it is difficult to locate a strict concept of heresy within the Qurʾān itself. Nevertheless, as Muḥammad is not understood to proclaim a new message, but rather is seen as the successor of previous prophets (see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD), all of whom proclaimed the same message, it is possible to speak of deviations from "right belief" (see PATH OR WAY; ḤANĪF; RELIGION). The qurʾānic term that most directly conveys this concept is the fourth form of the verbal root *l-ḥ-d* (Q 7:180; 16:103; 41:40; 22:25), which connotes blasphemy (q.v.) of the names of God (Q 7:180) and disbelief in God's signs (Q 41:40) or Muḥammad's message (Q 16:103). Other qurʾānic terms that convey the concept of deviation from true belief are innovation (q.v.; *bidʿa,* Q 46:9); the first form of the verbal root *b-gh-y,* which, in a number of its attestations, implies insolence or disobedience (q.v.; cf. e.g. Q 2:90; 3:83, 99; 6:164; 10:23; see GRATITUDE AND INGRATITUDE); and the third form of the verbal root *n-f-q,* which denotes hypocrisy (see HYPOCRITES AND HYPOCRISY). But, as heresy, strictly speaking, must be defined in relation to orthodoxy (or vice-versa), it is only in the post-qurʾānic period of Islamic history that a formal concept of heresy took shape. (It is noteworthy that the Arabic term *zandaqa,* often translated as "atheism," which carries the sense of unbelief or "free thought," and which came to designate "heresy," is not attested in the Qurʾān.)

The development of the concept of heresy in Islam in its intellectual and literary expression can be seen in the transition from "books of refutation" *(kutub al-radd),* where religious doctrines (see CREEDS) are presented in contrastive format, to the progressive systematization of theological orthodoxy in the heresiographical works (i.e. literature of the *maqālāt* and the *firaq;* see THEOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN), of which the oldest known example seems to be the work of the scholar of the Muʿtazilī school of Baghdad, Abū l-Faḍl Jaʿfar b. Ḥarb al-Hamadhānī (d. 236/850; Laoust, Hérésiographie musulmane, 160; Monnot, *Islam,*

45 f.). Already in the previous century, the Muʿtazilīs (q.v.) had become famous for their attacks against ancient religions and their strong reactions to those with sympathies for non-Islamic beliefs (see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF), especially the defenders of doctrines considered impious, such as those of dualists and especially of Manichaeans (van Ess, Ibn ar-Rīwandī, 5 f.; Stroumsa, Muslim polemics, 767-70). In the fourth-fifth/tenth-eleventh centuries, the expansion of Ashʿarism marked the decline of Muʿtazilism, and with that development, the Manichaean spiritual center, the focus of doctrinal dissent in Iraq, was transferred from Baghdad to Samarqand during the caliphate of al-Muqtadir (r. 295/908-320/932). Subsequently, the Ghaznavids and later the Seljuqs, violent defenders of the new forms of nascent orthodoxy, decisively reduced this perceived danger to Islam by rooting out subversive ideas. As a result of their orthodox rule, the need to refute doctrinal opponents was no longer pressing (see DEBATE AND DISPUTATION; POLEMIC AND POLEMICAL LANGUAGE), and heresiography henceforth definitively supplanted the literature of refutation (Ritter, Philologika, 34 f.; Colpe, *Der Manichäismus,* 191 f.). Beginning with the sixth/twelfth century, heresiography largely lost its apologetic function and became an academic science of categorization that generated various encyclopaedic works on sects and heresies, the most outstanding example of which is al-Shahrastānī's treatise (for such works, see Vajda, Le témoignage; Monnot, *Islam,* 50-79). Apologetic or polemical literature, from this point on, devoted itself almost exclusively to aspects of Sunnī-Shīʿī controversy (see SHĪʿA; SHĪʿISM AND THE QURʾĀN).

In Islam, like elsewhere, the heretic is always the other, the one who offers a different exegesis of scripture and revelation. Heresiographical terminology became fixed only over many centuries. The Khārijī (see KHĀRIJĪS) interpretation of the duty of enjoining the good (*al-amr bi-l-maʿrūf,* see ETHICS AND THE QURʾĀN; GOOD AND EVIL) provoked the reaction of Muʿtazilīs who saw them as a group of rebels *(fiʾa bāghiya),* i.e. viewing them in terms of the qurʾānic root for rebellion or insolence towards God *(b-gh-y).* The ascetic of Balkh, ʿAbdallāh b. al-Mubārak (d. 181/797), represented the orthodoxy of "the people of moderation" *(ahl al-ʿadl)* in opposition to the deviation of "the people of immoderation" (*ahl al-baghī,* cf. van Ess, *TG,* ii, 409; iv, 704-6; v, 207). As noted above, other qurʾānic language used to designate religious opponents or altered doctrine include hypocrisy *(n-f-q)* or blameful innovation *(b-d-ʿ).* The Imāmī Shīʿites *(imāmiyya qaṭʿiyya)* later known as Twelver Shīʿites *(ithnā ʿashariyya),* were identified by the non-qurʾānic term *rāfiḍa* (pl. *rawāfiḍ,* literally "those who throw back or refuse"), first by the Zaydī Shīʿites. The term may have been applied by the Zaydī Muʿtazilī Bishr b. al-Muʿtamir (d. ca. 210/825), who reacted strongly against the Imāmī Shīʿites of Kūfa since they refused to recognize (i.e. threw back) the legitimacy of the armed revolt of Zaydī. It was later adopted by non-Shīʿites as a way to disparage the Shīʿī refusal to recognize the legitimacy of the three first caliphs (Friedlaender, The heterodoxies, 137 f.). It was probably in the second/eighth century, with the spread of the famous tradition attributed to the Prophet about the seventy-two (or seventy-three) sects, only one of which would be saved, as well as the diffusion of another tradition, which seems to complement the former, saying that "my community will never agree on error *(ḍalāl),*" that the term *ḍalāla* came to designate doctrinal error in Islam (see ERROR).

In contrast to the notion of heresy per se

often associated with blameful innovation *(bidʿa,* pl. *bidaʿ),* personal and thus aimless aspiration *(hawāʾ,* pl. *ahwāʾ)* or sacrilegious doubt, erroneous doctrine or heterodox position *(shubha,* pl. *shubuhāt),* this new understanding of error *(ḍalāl* or *ḍalāla)* constituted an intermediate degree between simple error *(khaṭaʾ),* that even a Muslim in good standing can commit (see SIN, MAJOR AND MINOR), and complete infidelity (*kufr,* see Dedering, Ein Kommentar, 42 f.; Laoust, *La profession,* 40, 172). At the same time, a new term, *zandaqa,* emerged in designation of the doctrines and practices of any kind of heretic *(zindīq,* pl. *zanādiqa)* in reference to both non-Muslims (especially gnostic and gnosticizing trends) and Muslims (heterodox, free-thinkers, libertine poets, political opponents of the caliphate, etc.; see Vajda, Zindīqs; Kraemer, Heresy; Chokr, *Zandaqa*). Such groups stand in opposition to "orthodox Muslims," henceforth identified as the people of the sunna (q.v.) and the community *(ahl al-sunna wa-l-jamāʿa),* the people of consensus *(ahl al-ijmāʿ),* conventionally called Sunnites. With the consolidation of Sunnī orthodoxy in the fourth/tenth century, heresiography came to employ certain set titles or *topoi* to designate those considered, rightly or wrongly, opponents of Sunnism: *bāṭiniyya* (Shīʿīs, particularly Ismāʿīlīs), *qadariyya* (supporters of free will; see FREEDOM AND PREDESTINATION), *ibāḥiyya* (free-thinkers and other antinomian groups), *dahriyya* (philosophers and other supporters of the eternity of the universe), *tanāsukhiyya* (believers in metempsychosis) and so on (Freitag, *Seelenwanderung;* Urvoy, *Les penseurs libres*). Similarly, scholastic and rationalist Shīʿite "orthodoxy," increasingly elaborated from the second half of the fourth/tenth century in the circle of al-Shaykh al-Mufīd (d. 413/1022) in Baghdad, came to designate the heretics of its own ranks by terms like *mufawwiḍa* or *ghulāt* (gnostic and esoteric trends) and *muqallida* or *ḥashwiyya* (rigidly traditionalist trends). The notion of the commoners or masses *(al-ʿawāmm* as opposed to the elite, *al-khawāṣṣ)* or the majority *(al-akthar* as opposed to the minority, *al-aqall),* designating the non-Shīʿī Muslims, convey, for Shīʿī authors, a sense of support for erroneous doctrines (Amir-Moezzi, *Le guide divin,* especially 33 f.).

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Hidden and the Hidden

Secret or mysterious matters and objects. The dialectics of "revealed" and "hidden" — of matters that can be known by all and matters that are known only to God, who at his discretion may share some of them with his elect (see ELECTION) — is an essential part of the theology of the Qurʾān (see REVELATION AND INSPIRATION). As with other theological issues dealt with in the Qurʾān, however, the view of "the hidden" reflected therein is not uniform. In qurʾānic parlance "the hidden" is usually termed *ghayb,* meaning "absence" — that is, a thing or things absent from human knowledge and concealed in God's intelligence (see KNOWLEDGE AND LEARNING; INTELLECT; IGNORANCE). Other terms used in the Qurʾān for this concept derive from the roots *b-ṭ-n, k-n-n, s-r-r,* all of which mean "to be hidden, concealed." *Ghayb,* however, is the term most commonly used, and it is often presented in the Qurʾān as God's exclusive domain: "With him are the keys of the unseen *(al-ghayb);* none knows them but he" (Q 6:59); "God will not inform you of the unseen" (Q 3:179); "None knows the unseen in the heavens and earth except God" (Q 27:65). But, side by side with God's exclusive knowledge of the hidden there is another view, expressed in other verses, suggesting that God may occasionally confer some of this hidden knowledge on his creatures. In one verse God is depicted as "knower… of the unseen, and he discloses not his unseen to anyone" (Q 72:26), yet the subsequent verse already voices a reservation: "save only to such a messenger (q.v.) as he is well-pleased with" (Q 72:27). This means that God may share his knowledge with his chosen prophets (see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD). In another verse a specific prophet is understood as being party to knowledge of the hidden. God turns to Noah (q.v.) and says: "That is of the tidings of the unseen, that we reveal to you…" (Q 11:49; cf. 3:44). The crack that these verses open up is extensively exploited in post-qurʾānic literature. It is obvious, however, that the tendency prevalent in the Qurʾān is the one that endows God with exclusive knowledge of "the hidden." Furthermore, several questions associated with this topic crop up in the Qurʾān and are comprehensively developed in the writings of later commentators: What does "the hidden" include? Who among God's creatures are privileged with knowledge of "the hidden"? Are they endowed with complete knowledge, equal to God's, or does God retain certain knowledge exclusively for himself?

The Qurʾān itself hardly ever describes the domains subsumed under the concept of *ghayb*. At one point the "hour," namely, the time of resurrection (q.v.), is presented as a "hidden" thing. "The hour is coming, I would conceal it that every soul may be recompensed for its labors" (Q 20:15; see LAST JUDGMENT; APOCALYPSE; REWARD AND PUNISHMENT). Elsewhere the Qurʾān itself is presented as emerging from a "hidden book" (*kitāb maknūn,* Q 56:78), an expression commonly interpreted as referring to the *umm al-kitāb,* "the essence," literally "the mother," of the book (q.v.), namely, the heavenly archetype of the Qurʾān (see HEAVENLY BOOK). Again, the fact that, except for these few attempts to allude to the domain of "the hidden," the Qurʾān

conceals more than it reveals left additional room for exegetical speculation. In their interpretation of verses Q 2:2-3 "… a guidance to the godfearing who believe in the unseen," in which "the unseen" or "the hidden" *(al-ghayb)* is presented as identical with the faith (q.v.) of the godfearing, commentators enumerate a list of tenets that are regarded as part of "the hidden." For example, in various traditions cited by al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923) it is stated that "the unseen" in which Muslims should believe includes "heaven (q.v.) and hell (q.v.), resurrection, the day of judgment — all being hidden things *(wa-kullu hādha ghayb)*." Other traditions cited by al-Ṭabarī add to this list the belief in angels (see ANGEL) and prophets, recompense, and the revelation by God of the holy scriptures (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* i, 101-2). An almost identical list of tenets is offered by Shīʿī commentators, except that they also include the belief in the coming of the redeemer (*al-mahdī,* Ṭūsī, *Tibyān,* i, 55; Ṭabarsī, *Majmaʿ,* i, 82 at Q 2:3; cf. Rāzī, *Tafsīr,* ii, 27; see SHĪʿISM AND THE QURʾĀN).

Common to things considered "hidden" is, according to some commentators, their concealment from the senses (*inna l-ghayba mā yakūnu ghāʾiban ʿan al-ḥāssati,* see e.g. Rāzī, *Tafsīr,* ii, 25). Furthermore, Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 606/1210) says that these things can be divided into those that can be discovered by means of an indication *(mā dalla ʿalayhi dalīl)* from God and those that cannot be so discovered (*mā lā dalīla ʿalayhi,* ibid.). Relying on this dichotomy, claims al-Rāzī, one can remove the contradiction apparent in the verses of the Qurʾān: those claiming God's exclusive access to the world of "the hidden" refer to the areas that cannot be discovered by means of an indication from God, whereas those speaking of God sharing his knowledge of "the hidden" with some of his creatures refer to things that can be discovered in this fashion (*Tafsīr,* ii, 27).

This dichotomy was highlighted in the discussions of Qurʾān commentators, particularly the Shīʿīs, concerning Q 31:34, which lists five items the knowledge of which is reserved to God alone: knowledge of the hour (of the last judgment); knowledge of future rainfall (*wa-yunazzilu l-ghayth,* see WATER); knowledge of the gender of the infant in the mother's womb (*wa-yaʿlamu mā fī l-arḥām,* see BIRTH; BIOLOGY AS THE CREATION AND STAGES OF LIFE); knowledge of people's fate (q.v.; see also DESTINY) and knowledge of an individual's place of death (*wa-mā tadrī nafsun mādhā taksibu ghadan wa-mā tadrī nafsun bi-ayyi arḍin tamūtu,* see DEATH AND THE DEAD). Shīʿī scholars often discussed the issue of the knowledge with which the imāms (see IMĀM) were endowed — a knowledge that was occasionally believed to exceed that of the prophets. On the basis of this verse, they distinguished between two kinds of knowledge, applicable to two sorts of "hidden things." In a tradition ascribed to the Imām Muḥammad al-Bāqir (d. ca. 114/732) it is stated that "there are two forms of knowledge: the knowledge [God] taught his angels, messengers and prophets, and [the knowledge] he withheld and confided to no one *(lam yuṭliʿ ʿalayhi aḥadan);* in this [latter form of knowledge] he brings into being what he wills (*yuḥdithu fīhi mā yashāʾu,* cf. ʿAyyāshī, *Tafsīr,* ii, 216; Qummī, *Baṣāʾir,* 111; Majlisī, *Biḥār,* 26, 102; cf. also Kohlberg, Imam and community, 30). Another text defines the higher of these two sorts of knowledge — that reserved for God alone — as "the hidden of the hidden" (*ghayb al-ghayb,* Ibn al-ʿArabī [attr.], *Tafsīr,* ii, 272).

These terminological distinctions made by Muslim scholars, both Sunnīs and Shīʿīs, are intended to overcome the con-

tradictory evidence inherent in the theology of the Qurʾān — between the transcendental God, who is remote from his world and its creatures, and the immanent God who reveals himself at least partly to his believers (see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF; GOD AND HIS ATTRIBUTES). The Qurʾān, being a divine book, is itself an example of a hidden thing that God shares with his creatures; in the book, however, the dialectic tension between "hidden" and revealed is embodied. A qurʾānic statement such as "that is of the tidings of the unseen, that we reveal to you," (Q 3:44) referring to the miraculous birth of Jesus (q.v.), clearly indicates that the Qurʾān incorporates topics belonging to the domain of "the hidden." This is a basic assumption, on which rests the qurʾānic distinction between the inner *(bāṭin)* and external *(ẓāhir)* aspect of the divine revelation embodied in the Qurʾān.

A major qurʾānic verse upon which this dichotomy — as well as the question of who are authorized to reveal God's words in the Qurʾān — is based is Q 3:7: "It is he who sent down upon you the book, wherein are verses clear *(āyāt muḥkamāt)* that are the essence of the book and others ambiguous (q.v.; *mutashābihāt*)… and none knows its interpretation, save only God. And those firmly rooted in knowledge *(al-rāsikhūn fī l-ʿilm)* say: 'We believe in it…'" Thus the Qurʾān presents some of its verses as identical with the heavenly book, and therefore clear, while others are obscure. It should therefore come as no surprise that commentators used this verse as a basis to distinguish between "hidden" and "revealed." The clear things were identified with those "which a person has no way of knowing; things the knowledge of which God kept to himself" *(mā lam yakun li-aḥadin ilā ʿilmihi sabīlun mimmā istaʾthara llāhu bi-ʿilmihi dūna khalqihi,* Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* iii, 174). This list of hidden things includes, for example (in a tradition cited by al-Ṭabari, ibid.), "the time of the reappearance of Jesus son of Mary (q.v.), the time of sunrise and sunset (see DAY, TIMES OF), the hour (of the day of judgment), the end of the world and other such things unknown to anybody."

While Sunnī and Shīʿī commentators are unanimous as to the content of the hidden and revealed things to which the Qurʾān refers, the Shīʿī tradition is unique in its attitude regarding the question of who are authorized to reveal the hidden secrets of the Qurʾān. In answering this question the Shīʿīs, in particular, adopt a different reading of the syntax of the above-mentioned verse, Q 3:7. In the Shīʿī tradition, the words "those firmly rooted in knowledge" *(al-rāsikhūn fī l-ʿilm)* are associated not with the words that follow them ("And those firmly rooted in knowledge say: 'We believe in it'," *wa-l-rāsikhūna fī l-ʿilmi yaqūlūna āmannā bihi*), but with the words that precede them *(wa-mā yaʿlamu taʾwīlahu illā llāhu wa-l-rāsikhūna fī l-ʿilmi),* leading to the following understanding of the passage: "And none knows its interpretation, save only God and those firmly rooted in knowledge." These last words were, unsurprisingly, interpreted as referring to the imāms, and thus another foundation was established for the idea that the imāms are not only party to some of the hidden things but can also reveal secrets that God concealed in the Qurʾān (cf. ʿAyyāshī, *Tafsīr,* i, 162-3; Ṭūsī, *Tibyān,* iii, 399).

Thus, the prevalent tendency in the Qurʾān is the one according to which God alone knows that which is hidden and that which is revealed *(ʿālim al-ghayb wa l-shahāda)*. Nevertheless, in other qurʾānic verses a more relative view is reflected — namely, that God may share his knowledge of the hidden things with

the prophets and, according to the Shīʿīs, also with the imāms.

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Hides and Fleece

The skins and fur of animals. There is only one qurʾānic passage referring to hides and fleece (Q 16:80): "God has appointed for you from your tents (*buyūt,* lit. "houses") a rest, and from the skins of the cattle *(julūd al-anʿām)* he has appointed for you houses which are light for you on the day you strike them and the day you set them up, and from their wools *(aṣwāf)* and their furs *(awbār)* and their hair *(ashʿār),* furnishings and comfort for a season." (Only these animal products will be discussed in the following. Human skin, to which the Qurʾān refers in connection with hell's fire [cf. Q 4:56; 22:20; 41:20-2; see HELL; FIRE], will not be treated.)

Among the various benefits which animals yield (God has created them to be at the disposal of humankind; see ANIMAL LIFE), the qurʾānic passage just cited calls special attention to hides, wool, furs and hair of animals as examples of God's beneficence towards human beings. These materials are extremely useful for humankind, especially for bedouins (see BEDOUIN). They guaranteed a more endurable life for the Arabs (q.v.) and enabled their survival since the absence of these materials could result in great hardship. The wool of sheep, and the fur and hair of goats and camels (see CAMEL) as well as the leather produced from their skins (the production of leather was an important branch of industry in the Ḥijāz; see PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QURʾĀN; ECONOMICS) were utilized in various aspects of daily life, which are also cited in the Qurʾān. They were used for producing tents (see TENTS AND TENT PEGS), including their finished borders, for weapons, especially shields, and for saddles, covers and other textile products (see INSTRUMENTS; MATERIAL CULTURE AND THE QURʾĀN), as well as for clothes (see CLOTHING). Household utensils in the narrower sense of the word were also produced (e.g. hollow vessels to contain water). It is mainly camel, sheep and goat that supplied the hides, fur, wool and hair of qurʾānic parlance. As cattle were primarily bred in southern Arabia where the soil was richer, products from cattle were less prevalent in the Ḥijāz (see GEOGRAPHY). As a consequence, cowhide leather sandals, for example, were exported from the southern part of the Arabian peninsula northwards.

In general, Arabic commentators on the Qurʾān limit their remarks when discussing Q 16:80. Al-Ṭabarī (*Tafsīr,* xiv, 153) explains *buyūt* as tents made of leather *(anṭāʿ),* and *fasāṭīṭ* as tents made of hair and wool. According to al-Zamakhsharī (*Kashshāf,* ii, 422), *buyūt* are made of skin *(adam)* and leather. It is only Ibn Kathīr (*Tafsīr,* iv, 509) who explicitly attributes wool, fur and hair to specific animal species: namely, to sheep, camels and goats.

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Highway Robbery

see THEFT; CHASTISEMENT AND PUNISHMENT

Ḥijāb

see VEIL; BARRIER

Ḥijr

An ancient ruin in northwestern Arabia located approximately three hundred kilometers northwest of Medina (q.v.) near the modern settlement of Madāʾin Ṣāliḥ. Attested once in the Qurʾān, it is associated in qurʾānic tradition with the Thamūd (q.v.; Q 7:73-9; 15:80-4; 26:141-59), said to have been a godless people who inhabited al-Ḥijr (Q 15:80; translated "rocky tract"), carving their dwellings in the surrounding mountain cliffs. They rejected the exhortations (q.v.) of the messenger Ṣāliḥ (q.v.) who had been sent to lead them to repentance (see REPENTANCE AND PENANCE) and, as a result of their rejection, were destroyed by an earthquake (see PUNISHMENT STORIES).

The site is universally identified with Hegra, mentioned by Strabo (16.4.24), Pliny (6.32.156) and Stephanus of Byzantium (*Ethnika* 260, 11-2), which served as the southern commercial and administrative center of the Nabatean kingdom. It is situated in the middle of a plain enclosed by towering sandstone cliffs, and in antiquity sat astride the lucrative caravan route that carried south Arabian spices north to the Levant. The earliest known archaeological evidence at the site consists of seven south Arabian (Minaean) inscriptions carved on reused stone blocks, and twenty-nine Liḥyānī graffiti, all of which date broadly to the fourth and third centuries B.C.E. (see ARABIC SCRIPT; GEOGRAPHY).

In the second or early first century B.C.E., following the collapse of the Liḥyānī dynasty at nearby Dedan in the al-ʿUlā oasis, al-Ḥijr was chosen by the Nabateans as their southern base of operations. The earliest pottery for which a date can be established that was found at the site are the distinctive Nabatean painted fine wares that date to this period. Nabatean al-Ḥijr seems to have reached its zenith during the first century C.E., when as many as eighty monumental sepulchral edifices were carved in the surrounding sandstone cliffs. Units of the third Roman legion stationed at al-Ḥijr after the Roman annexation of the Nabatean kingdom in 106 C.E. attest to the town's continued strategic importance during the second and third centuries C.E. The historical record is silent about the demise of the Nabatean/Roman settlement.

In spite of its traditional association with the Thamūd, al-Ḥijr and its surroundings have produced very little archaeological evidence of their presence. Surprisingly few Thamūdic inscriptions (about forty) have been found, and only one of these, a bilingual Nabataeo-Thamūdic inscription, has been dated (267 C.E.). By the seventh century, al-Ḥijr apparently had become an abandoned ruin. According to tradition, Muḥammad, while en route to the raid at Tābūk (9/631; see EXPEDITIONS AND BATTLES), is said to have paused amidst its ruins, forbidding his army to drink from its accursed wells (see WELLS AND SPRINGS). Nevertheless, al-Ḥijr, or Madāʾin Ṣāliḥ, "the cities of Ṣāliḥ," as the site later became known, did not cease to exist entirely. In the fourth/tenth century, al-Iṣṭakhrī mentions the existence of a small village.

With the establishment of the Darb al-Ḥajj, Madā'in Ṣāliḥ became an important stop along the Syrian pilgrimage route, and with the construction of the Ḥijāz railroad, served as a refueling station.

The modern exploration of Madā'in Ṣāliḥ commenced with C.M. Doughty's visit to the site in 1877. The most complete description of its ruins remains the work published by A. Jaussen and R. Savignac in 1909. Surveys by F. Winnett and L. Reed in 1962, and P. Parr in 1968, have added further knowledge of the archaeological history of the site. Additional archaeological and epigraphic work is currently ongoing by the Department of Antiquities in Saudi Arabia. See also ARCHAEOLOGY AND THE QUR'ĀN; EPIGRAPHY AND THE QUR'ĀN.

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Hijra see EMIGRATION

History and the Qur'ān

Introductory remark

This entry deals not with the Qur'ān as a source of historical information (for which see Paret, Geschichtsquelle, and, for instance, Faruqi, *Muslim historiography* or Sherif, *A guide*) nor with its influence upon world history but with its view of history as can be outlined by present-day historians and, secondarily, with its influence upon the development of later Muslim historiography. Although as a religious and metaphysical document, the Qur'ān is not meant to be a work of history, it deals to an astonishingly large extent with events of the past and is imbued with a deep sense of history in its various dimensions. Yet, all its different approaches to understanding the world are in perfect harmony with one another.

The historical terminology of the Qur'ān is mostly not the one characteristic of later Muslim historiography and, obviously, not the one that modern thought on history and historiography might wish to find in it. For instance, the word for "story" *(q-ṣ-ṣ),* while not always employed in the sense of "history," is the very commonly used qur'ānic equivalent for it, and the same applies to other historical terms. The distinction, favored by modern historians basing themselves on research and speculative theory, between what might be accepted as historically true and correct and what might be perceived as wrong or imagined data and theories likewise does not apply. Qur'ānic statements about the past and the entire historical process were not seen as (possibly fictional) "stories" (Norris, *Qiṣaṣ* elements) and certainly not as "myths" (Beltz, *Die Mythen*) or the like, whatever we might think about them today. Even if they were

chosen for the particular meanings they seem to contain, that is, for achieving a definite purpose (now often called "salvation history") and not just for presenting historical data as such, they were accepted as firmly established historical facts and seen as representing true past reality.

Our source can be only the Qur'ān itself. All the later information of ḥadīth (see ḤADĪTH AND THE QUR'ĀN) and exegetical works (*tafsīr,* see EXEGESIS OF THE QUR'ĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL) is indispensable for any understanding of the Qur'ān, and remains unconsciously present in the mind of everybody who studies the qur'ānic text. However, the reliability of these sources as a guide to the language and meaning of many passages of the Qur'ān remains far too uncertain to be accepted unquestioningly. In particular, the commentators' motivation for finding historical specificity in all contexts — the "historicization" of the qur'ānic text in the *tafsīr* enterprise (cf. Rippin, Tafsīr) — is more of a hindrance than a help for the historian.

The question of whether the Prophet's views of the historical process underwent changes during his lifetime does not, it seems, admit of a sufficiently well-grounded answer (for a systematic attempt to establish a chronological sequence in the Qur'ān's acquaintance with and views of biblical material, see Speyer, *Erzählungen,* 464-92 and passim). Although the information under discussion here is naturally provided in greater detail by the later revelations (see CHRONOLOGY AND THE QUR'ĀN), the underlying conceptualization of historical thought is seemingly rather uniform and consistent throughout the Qur'ān.

The historiographical climate in the Near East of the sixth and seventh centuries

The rich historical literature that existed among the Syriac-speaking Christians in the Near East was almost exclusively directed toward ecclesiastical history and the biography and martyrology of saints. Writings of this nature were certainly known to Christians in southern Arabia and, perhaps, central Arabia, but their historical details, we may guess, cannot have been of much interest to the Prophet (see ORALITY AND WRITINGS IN ARABIA; PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QUR'ĀN). However, their principal purpose "to demonstrate what God has done for us in his grace, and what we in our wickedness have presumed to do in opposition to him" (Brock, North Mesopotamia, 52), and to teach a moral lesson (Witakowski, *Syriac Chronicle,* 171) corresponds well to a very prominent aspect of the qur'ānic view of history (see ETHICS AND THE QUR'ĀN). Regrettably, we have no way of knowing how much if anything of this material could have been available to Muḥammad in some form or other. Likewise, the Qur'ān shows no specific acquaintance with Persian, or any other, historical literature.

The traditional Arab narratives of genealogical relationships and the storied happenings of the Arabian past and its "battle days" (*ayyām,* the word itself occurs with reference to the present but not to the past in Q 3:140), the south Arabian recollections of important, more recent events, the biblical information from the creation of the world as known and discussed by Jews (see JEWS AND JUDAISM) and Christians (see CHRISTIANS AND CHRISTIANITY) — all this constituted the stuff of history as reflected in the Qur'ān (see NARRATIVES). The problem here is not the high probability of oral transmission (see ORALITY) but the question of the possibility of circulation in some written form within the Prophet's orbit. A great reverence for anything written is obvious throughout the Qur'ān. It leaves itself open, however, to two contradictory interpretations; it may indicate either familiarity with "books" or, less likely, their

virtual unavailability (see ILLITERACY). If the references to the "scrolls" *(ṣuḥuf)* of past prophets (see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD) cannot be taken to indicate the actual presence of such works (see BOOK), if any existed, in their written form, the mention of "papyrus writings" *(qarāṭīs)* in such a context (Q 6:91) is quite likely to show the existence of actual books, as does the reference to "reading" and "writing" in Q 29:48; "reading" them was, of course, mainly a process of a literate person reading them aloud to his listeners (see LITERACY). Of particular significance is the repeated and much debated reference to the *asāṭīr al-awwalīn* (Q 6:25; 8:31; 16:24; 23:83; 25:5; 27:68; 46:17; 68:15; 83:13). It clearly means something like "stories of the ancients" and indicates the negative opinion held by Muḥammad's opponents of his revelations, in particular inasmuch as they dealt with past history. *Asāṭīr* corresponds exactly to Greek *historia* but is considered not to be identical with it etymologically. The word would later allow the reconstruction of a singular form *usṭūra* which, for instance, might be used in due course to translate something like Greek (heroic) myth (Aristotle, *Eth. Nicom.*, 1100a8, ed. Badawī, 74), but the pl. *asāṭīr* as used in the Qur'ān probably had no singular and is most likely to be connected with the root *s-ṭ-r* in the meaning of "to write." Thus, it could indicate an acquaintance with works of historical information, but again, no details as to the mode of such acquaintance are available to us. Later traditions explain the phrase as alluding to slander by Christians in al-Ḥīra or to Persian historical mythology circulating there, but it would be hazardous to project them into the qur'ānic passages (cf. Rosenthal, Asāṭīr al-awwalīn; see GENERATIONS).

In sum, it might be suggested with a certain degree of likelihood that particular views of history together with the historiographic material supporting them existed in some circles in the Arabian peninsula and found their reflection in the Qur'ān. This reflection was, however, of a general and commonplace nature, and possible lines of connection remain as yet concealed from us.

Past, present, and future are one in the historical process, leading to certain views on politics and society

The entire world in all its variety was created by the one creator at one particular moment (see COSMOLOGY; CREATION). It follows that oneness was the ideal state for it at all times and that to which it should always aspire. As the beginning was one, so the expected end of the world is one for everyone and everything. Whatever is and takes place in between these two definite points of created time, no matter how varied in detail, follows a set overall pattern. Thus the history of the past and of the future, including that of the present, is fundamentally uniform. No distinction between the three modes of time need be made by the observer of human history.

The ideal oneness was constantly interrupted by the tendency of the evil force of Satan (see DEVIL) to provoke splits among humanity. It proved invariably attractive to human beings and caused them to form self-contained rival groups. Thus, in the very center of events, there was always a "party of God" (*ḥizb Allāh*, Q 5:56; 58:22) and a "party of Satan" (*ḥizb al-shayṭān*, Q 58:19; cf. 35:6; see ENEMY). True and proven religious knowledge (*'ilm, bayyināt*, see KNOWLEDGE AND LEARNING) moreover, when it asserted itself in the world, also increased the tendency to form hostile associations (Q 2:253; 42:14). In fact, God had indeed good reasons for not wishing to interfere in the divisive process and thereby accelerate the reestablishment on earth of the desirable oneness of humanity (Q 5:48;

11:118; 16:93; 42:8); under certain circumstances, even a recourse to violence (q.v.) might be necessary and beneficial (Q 2:251). The result throughout history was constant fighting between contending groups. People would kill each other and be especially hard on the prophets who were sent to them to command justice (Q 3:21; see JUSTICE AND INJUSTICE; MURDER; FIGHTING; CORRUPTION). There were always at least two groups, believers in the true religion and non-believers (see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF), who fought each other, down to the time of the Prophet. The battles they fought had varying outcomes: "those days (of battle) we alternate between people" (*wa-tilka l-ayyāmu nudāwiluhā bayna l-nāsi,* Q 3:140), but would, it was hoped, end in the victory of the true religion. This desired final outcome was not yet achieved in the Prophet's lifetime. For as there was constant fighting in the past, so there is fighting going on in the present — no matter that fighting in the sacred month is a great sin (Q 2:217; see SIN, MAJOR AND MINOR). The Prophet himself had to admit eventually that fighting would be required to the end of the world before the new religion might fully succeed in its historical task of reestablishing complete unity (Q 4:76, 84, 90). Only at the final hour (see APOCALYPSE; LAST JUDGMENT) is the contest between good and evil (q.v.) among human beings to be decided once and for all. Change can come only as an internal process with people changing themselves; external intervention by God would be of no avail in this process (Q 13:11). Meanwhile, the splintering into groups will go on, and with it the fighting and the recurring destruction of human settlements as a punishment for acting against God's plan for the world (Q 7:4, etc.; see PUNISHMENT STORIES; CHASTISEMENT AND PUNISHMENT).

These basic insights dominate all historical development. Therefore, it is not surprising that a great variety of terms are employed in the Qur'ān to refer to the inborn human urge to form groups. Some are ordinary terms for subgroups such as *farīq, ṭā'ifa, fi'a,* or *fawj* (see PARTIES AND FACTIONS). It deserves notice that the terminology for tribal subgroups so highly developed in Arabian bedouin (q.v.) society is missing and even major tribal groups *(qabīla, sha'b, 'ashīra)* are mentioned very rarely, suggesting a general sedentary/urban perspective on history (see TRIBES AND CLANS). Other terms may have entered qur'ānic Arabic in a foreign, possibly religious context, such as *ḥizb* and even *shī'a* (q.v.); while this is not fully provable, it is clearly true with respect to *milla* (Jeffery, *For. vocab.*, 108 f., 190 f., 268 f.; see FOREIGN VOCABULARY).

The most prominent term from the historical viewpoint is *umma (*pl. *umam)*. The word was commonly used in the Semitic languages and no doubt existed in Arabic long before the Prophet's time but in its qur'ānic usage may have been influenced by religious notions (for a brief résumé of some of the scholarly discussion, see Humphreys, *Islamic history,* 95 f.; see COMMUNITY AND SOCIETY IN THE QUR'ĀN). It continued its long history throughout Islam to the present day, which resulted in its assuming shades of meaning not germane to the Qur'ān where (in addition to other unrelated meanings) it simply means associations of humans (or jinn [q.v.]) of any size, preferably large but also comparatively small. One *umma* may be more numerous than another (Q 16:92); the word may, for instance, indicate a minority group and, in the next verse, serve to gloss the foreign term *asbāṭ* that refers to the division of the Israelites into twelve tribes (Q 7:159 f.; see CHILDREN OF ISRAEL). While the number of *umam* actively making history was infinite, the original and desirable state was that of one and only one *umma* (Q 2:213;

5:48; 10:19; 11:118; 16:93; 21:92; 23:52; 42:8; 43:33). The prophets of the past tried in vain to reestablish the unified community *(umma wāḥida),* but it must and will be reestablished (for an authoritative third/ninth century Muslim interpretation of Q 2:213, see Gätje, *The Qur'ān,* 92-9). The destructive diverting of the flow of history caused by the permanent phenomenon in human societies of division into *umam,* especially the two irreconcilably hostile groups consisting of unbelievers and believers, must eventually come to an end. Other terms used for the human splintering process are not very different from *umma* and by and large tell the same story about such division as the driving force of history.

Associations of any kind are usually defined by some kind of ideology and characterized by highly conservative attitudes. They possess an unwillingness to change, which even divinely appointed messengers (see MESSENGER) prove unable to overcome. All of them "are glad with what they have" in the way of spiritual instruction (*kullu ḥizbin bi-mā ladayhim fariḥūna,* Q 23:53; 30:32) and are smugly content with their activities past and present (Q 6:108). Like the Meccans, they cling everywhere to their customary rituals (*mansak,* Q 22:34, 67; see MECCA; AGE OF IGNORANCE; SOUTH ARABIA, RELIGION IN PRE-ISLAMIC). Even at the very end, groups, like individuals, have their own "book" in which their deeds are recorded (Q 45:28; see HEAVENLY BOOK).

For the political organization of society, this has certain consequences. The original oneness of humanity is founded on the fact that humankind had its origin in one living being. Almost immediately after his creation, man was individuated sexually into man and woman, as, for instance, expressed in Q 4:1: "Fear your lord who created you from one soul and created from it its mate and spread out from them many men and women." Such sexual individuation, however, detracts from the historically exemplary status of human oneness as little as does the subsequent proliferation of individual human beings. The resulting formation of human clusters such as families, towns, and larger conglomerations required direction and guidance in real life (see FAMILY; CITY). From God being necessarily one, it logically followed that only one individual at a time could serve as head of kingdom and political authority (see KINGS AND RULERS; POLITICS AND THE QUR'ĀN). The Qur'ān when speaking about governance merely assumes this fact and has no occasion to be specific on this point. It was, of course, understood that the selection of a king was a grave responsibility as exemplified by the case of Saul (q.v.; Ṭalūt, Q 2:246 f.), that a good ruler would rely on the advice of select numbers of aristocrats *(naqīb, mala'),* as did Moses (q.v.; 7:155; cf. 5:12) or the Queen of Sheba (q.v.; Q 27:29; see BILQĪS), and that a tyrannical *(jabbār)* ruler would almost automatically stir up rebellious activities against him as happened to Pharaoh (q.v.) in his dealings with the Israelites. Against this background, all events in history have unfolded and taken, and then lost, their ephemeral place in the world.

Past history

a. Chronology

The various ways of calculating eras that were in use in the Near East at the time did not leave Arabia untouched, but the extent and the type of dating by years practiced in Mecca and Medina during the Prophet's lifetime are not known (see CALENDAR), although the older Arabic system of the year's division into months (q.v.) plays a prominent role and the abolition of the intercalary month (*nasī',* Q 9:37) was a far-reaching measure of lasting impact. The speed with which the *hijrī* era (see EMIGRATION) took root very soon after his death

adds more probability to the likelihood that Muḥammad and his environment were familiar with the need for approximate or precise historical dates. Incidentally, negative dating by counting units like years as desirable for the recording for past events was not known then and was, in fact, not conceptually possible before modern times. The Qur'ān contains no hint as to the existence of *ta'rīkh* as the term for chronology and, eventually, history and historiography. And, above all, while basic time reckoning as made possible by the creation of the sun (q.v.) and the moon (q.v.) was seen as a very important part of the established world order (Q 10:5; 17:12; see DAY AND NIGHT; DAY, TIMES OF), exact chronology was understandably not at the heart of qur'ānic historical thought. However, the Qur'ān reveals much concern with chronological knowledge. As we would expect, this concern often finds expression in connection with inherited biblical and other information.

The six days of the creation of the world (Q 11:7; 57:4) suggested a different length for divine, as against human, time reckoning. This is echoed in the ancient equation of one divine day with 1,000 human years (Q 22:47; 32:5; cf. *Ps* 90:4; 2 *Pet* 3:8; for the continuity of the tradition in the Near East, see, in particular, *Jubilees* 4:30, trans. Charles, 41n; and Witakowski, *Syriac chronicle*, 70 f.). Such a supernatural day may also be said to equate 50,000 years for measuring the time that angels (see ANGEL) and the spirit (q.v.; see also HOLY SPIRIT) require to climb the ladder to God's majesty (Q 70:4). From subsequent world history, it was known that Noah (q.v.) achieved longevity and spent 950 years among his people (Q 29:14), which, it may be noted, corresponds to his entire lifetime according to Genesis 9:29. Joseph's (q.v.) seven-year cycles (Q 12:47 f.) figure as a chronological fact as does the Israelites' sojourn of forty years in the desert (Q 5:26), among further dates in the biography of Moses (Q 26:18; 28:27, the latter passage involving other biblical episodes). Muḥammad seems to have worried about the dearth and inaccuracy of the data available to him. This becomes particularly clear in the discussion of the history of the Seven Sleepers (see MEN OF THE CAVE) where the Prophet had to acknowledge the lack of chronological information. He worried about the uncertainty of the length of time they spent sleeping in the cave. They themselves did not know it, and the indicated precise number of 309 years is also uncertain. In the end, it must be left to God to have the correct information as to the accurate duration of their miraculous sleep (Q 18:11 f., 19, 25 f.). For the history of the future so closely integrated in Muḥammad's worldview, any dates are left, understandably and wisely, unstated (see also below under "f").

Beyond these more or less specific data, a pervasive concern with relative chronology is transparent in the persistent use of the term "before" *(qabl-, min qablu)* to express relative chronology and bring some order into the course of events with respect to the sequence in which the history of divine revelation had unrolled. It was a convenient means to set the past clearly apart from the present. It took on a formulaic character and appears sometimes where it might as well have been left unstated, as when the jinn are stated to have been created before man (Q 15:27). "Those who were before you" or "before them" distinguishes one group from the other on the temporary level and at the same time suggests the overall unity of human history; both you and those before you were created by God (Q 2:21) and received revelations (Q 2:4; see REVELATION AND INSPIRATION). The phrase is used to indicate a historical sequence where such sequence had been

disregarded in the emotional fervor of the context, as when, in an enumeration of the prophets of the past, it appears that Noah is stated to have been earlier than Isaac (q.v.) and Jacob (q.v.; Q 6:84 f.), although in such enumerations the chronological sequence tends to be conspicuously disregarded (Q 50:12). It may be noted that it is always Noah who is defined according to relative time (Q 51:46; 53:52; 54:9). In connection with Abraham (q.v.), his chronological priority to the Torah (q.v.) and the Gospels (see GOSPEL) that were revealed "after his time" *(min ba'dihi)* constitutes a most important issue in the Qur'ān's developing construction of religious history (Q 3:65). "Before" — and occasionally "later" — clearly expresses the understanding of history as something unfolding over time.

The frequent reference to "the first" or "the former" *(awwalūn),* once also *al-aqdamūna* (Q 26:76), serves the same purpose. "First/former" often stands alone as, for instance, in *asāṭīr al-awwalīn,* or it may be attached to "(fore)fathers" or "generations" (*qurūn,* note the combination with "before you" in Q 10:13; 11:116, cf. also Q 20:128; 28:43). These terms also by themselves convey the idea of some event or condition in past history. The *awwalūn* had their written texts (*zubur,* Q 26:196; see PSALMS) and revealed writings (*al-ṣuḥuf al-ūlā,* Q 20:133; 87:18). They had their ways of doing things (*sunna,* Q 8:38; 15:13; 18:55; 35:43) and were gifted with preparedness *(khuluq)* for their actions (Q 26:137); this appears to be the meaning of *sunna* and *khuluq* here, although the context strongly suggests something not done by them but being done to them (Paret, *Kommentar,* 88). Most of what the *awwalūn* did was not right. They belittled their prophets (Q 15:10 f.; 43:6 f.) and were thoroughly misled in their attitudes (Q 37:71; see ASTRAY; ERROR), but the way they behaved is a thing of the past (*wa-maḍā mathalu l-awwalīna,* Q 43:8; cf. also *wa-mathalan mina lladhīna khalaw min qablikum,* Q 24:34). Whether the *awwalūn* were good or evil, very remote or comparatively near in time, the references to them serve the purpose of evoking the past as history to be noticed and remembered. Only God has no history in the human sense, as he is "the first and the last" (Q 57:3).

b. Historical memory

The physical abstraction of a particular brain function for remembering the past appears to have been unrealized in the Near East and thus one cannot expect to find it in any form in the Qur'ān. The common Semitic root *dh-k-r* which comes to mind first when dealing with the subject of memory appears in it many times, but it possesses various noticeably different meanings that do not always correspond to what is covered under "remembering." This applies not only to Arabic but also to the other Semitic languages as far back as the earliest records we possess (cf. Schottroff, *"Gedenken"*). In connection with "remembering" God's benefactions, *dh-k-r* is applied to historical events such as those that happened to Noah or the Israelites and Pharaoh (Q 2:47 f., 122; 7:69, 74); in this context, *dh-k-r* is basically remembering the past, although the hortatory implications of such remembrance are also clearly present. Giving thought and heeding is, indeed, the prime connotation of the root in the Qur'ān and also applies to the reciprocal remembrance between God and human beings (Q 2:200, 152), which is considered desirable. Where the fifth conjugation of *dh-k-r* occurs (Q 2:269; 3:7, etc.), for instance, commentators feel compelled, and with good reason, somehow to detect a combination of more than one connota-

tion. Thus for instance, al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923; *Tafsīr,* iii, 61, ad Q 2:269) has "being exhorted… and thus remembering." Not having the commentators' luxury of exposition by paraphrase, modern translators waver and show uncertainty in their choice of terms. Many opt for something like "take warning." Arberry offers a courageous or, perhaps, foolhardy example of sticking throughout to plain "remember," as he also does in connection with the occurrences of the noun *tadhkira* (e.g. Q 69:12). On the other hand, to give one more arbitrarily chosen example, Maḥmoud M. Ayoub (*The Qur'ān,* i, 268; ii, 20) opts for "reflect" (in Q 2:269) and "remember" (in Q 3:7).

Although no unambiguous testimony to the role of memory in the occupation with history thus appears to exist in the Qur'ān, we are justified in reaching the conclusion that the application of memory to the past was sensed to be a positive activity that was highly recommendable and constantly to be practiced. It is a great help in maintaining concern with historical events that should not be forgotten and strongly stimulates such concern. According to the sparse available evidence, however, it was not felt to be, and was not, a separate force of its own in the historical consciousness of the Qur'ān.

c. Biblical history

To assess the Qur'ān's historical understanding of information found in the Bible as well as in later Jewish or Christian elaboration, it is always necessary as a first step to identify and compare the source common to them and the Qur'ān. While Christian material would definitely derive from Christian sources, the material from the Hebrew Bible could, of course, have also been transmitted through Christian intermediaries. This question has not been fully settled to the satisfaction of all (cf. Rosenthal, in Torrey, *The Jewish foundation,* introduction) and possibly can only be decided, if at all, on a case by case basis.

The biblical information is often designated by Arabic roots in ordinary usage such as *n-b-'* (from which is derived *naba',* "information"), which may indicate reporting on past and contemporary (Q 15:49-51) as well as future happenings (Q 22:72), or the slightly more specialized *q-ṣ-ṣ* (from whence *qiṣṣa, qaṣaṣ,* "narration,") which is also occasionally found combined with *n-b-'* (Q 7:101; 11:100, 120; 20:99). Words that in later historiography were fundamental occur very sparely. *Ḥadīth* (lit. "event," "happening") thus may refer to the "story of Moses" (Q 20:9), parallel to *naba'* of Moses (Q 28:2 f.) or Abraham (Q 26:69, cf. 51:24); the plural *aḥādīth* indicates that what happened to past nations made their history a warning example (Q 23:44; 34:19). *Khabar* (pl. *akhbār,* lit. "tidings"), where it occurs, can hardly be understood as historical information (Q 9:94; 99:4).

Significantly, the true and real character of such historical information is repeatedly stressed. As the divine revelation received by Muḥammad is described as truthful (*bi-l-ḥaqq,* Q 5:48), thus the reports on the story of the sons of Adam (see ADAM AND EVE; CAIN AND ABEL), of Jesus (q.v.), and of the Seven Sleepers are marked as "true" (*al-ḥaqq;* Q 3:62; *bi-l-ḥaqq,* 5:27; 18:13), and the creation of the heavens and the earth by a wise and knowledgeable *(khabīr)* deity is a reality (*bi-l-ḥaqq,* Q 6:73). Stories such as those of Joseph and Moses in his dealings with Pharaoh are not freely invented fiction *(ḥadīthan yuftarā)* but a lesson *('ibra)* from history for those capable of understanding and those fearful of what might happen to them in the future (Q 12:111; 79:15-26).

The Qur'ān offers a long and coherent narrative only for Joseph (in Q 12) and, to a lesser degree, the Seven Sleepers (in Q 18). Its view of the consecutive unfolding and total expanse of biblical history has to be reconstructed from numerous, mostly brief passages scattered throughout it. Speyer *(Erzählungen)* has shown how such a reconstruction can be successfully accomplished and lead to a coherent picture of the relationship of the Qur'ān with the biblical tradition: History and time begin with the creation of the world and its inhabitants living on earth as well as the majestic bodies in the heavens; Satan, the fallen angel, simultaneously introduces the element of temptation and evil that was destined to pervade the entire future course of history. The totality of these activities establishes the existence and power of an almighty God giving history a lasting metaphysical imprint. What comes thereafter and continues throughout the ages, takes place on the human level. It is perceived as a seamless lesson in ethics and moral behavior, which is exemplified by the actions of Cain and Abel; the break with the past under Noah; and the powerful influences exerted by the patriarchs, first and foremost among them Abraham whose life, among many other important events, includes the instructive happenings surrounding Lot (q.v.) and his family.

The widening stage of history is illustrated by Joseph and glorified by the events that took place under Moses. The latter's attempts to set history on its right course are marred by such spectacular aberrations of man as the worship of the golden calf (see CALF OF GOLD) and the excessive accumulation of wealth by Korah (q.v.; Qārūn), which expose the ever-present danger of materialistic corruption. The imperatives facing royal leadership become tangible in the person of David (q.v.) and, with particular force, in the rule of Solomon (q.v.). All these events, and many minor episodes concerning other figures from the Bible, are widely separated in time but held together by an unbroken chain of divine messengers as the agents chosen to attempt to straighten the course of history with their unchanging message. That message would have saved the world long ago, if it had only been accepted and not violently rejected by humanity at successive stages. The singular suggestion is once made that the procession of ever new messengers following one another in irregularly spaced succession might have been halted at some time (Q 40:34), but it was branded as totally unreal and untrue. Rather, sporadic periods without messengers (sing. *fatra*, Q 5:19) might have occurred. The divine revelation does not deal with the history of all of the messengers (Q 4:164) as only God knows it all (Q 14:9). From the times of the Hebrew Bible, however, the prophetic succession continued uninterruptedly to the time of Jesus (q.v.) whose history illustrated a higher level of religious impact upon human thought and behavior. Narratives surrounding his birth and childhood bring the figure of his mother Mary (q.v.) to prominence and presage her importance as a model for female emulation. And Christian virtue as a factor in history found another expression in the tale of the Seven Sleepers, which was cherished throughout the Near East. Miracles (see MIRACLE) were accepted as true historical occurrences throughout this long period but with the clear implication that they were the preserve of the messengerial succession that reached its final conclusion with the prophet Muḥammad.

Since this world history is viewed from the Arabian peninsula, it is not surprising that a certain tendency to center it on that region as closely as possible is discernible.

An example would be the apparent placement in Arabia of Mount al-Jūdī where Noah's ark came to rest when the flood receded (Q 11:44; see JŪDĪ); at least, there is no indication to the contrary which would locate the mountain outside of it. There also is no sense that the story of the Seven Sleepers unfolded anywhere far from Arabia. On the other hand, the role of Egypt (q.v.) as located in a rather distant part of the world is taken for granted. And the inclusion of a geographical end of the earth in journeys reported in sūra 18 under the names of Moses and the "two-horned" Dhū l-Qarnayn (who presumably can be identified with Alexander the Great; see ALEXANDER) appears to hint at an awareness of global history. It fits the Qur'ān's general picture of the way the world was created and of the oneness of humankind. The history of the past is claimed to be a global phenomenon since those remote days known through Judaism and Christianity.

d. Pre-Islamic Arabian history

The means to assess the Qur'ān's adaptation of Jewish and Christian history are available to us in the Bible but a corrective is almost entirely lacking for a critical understanding of pre-Islamic Arabian history as mirrored in the Qur'ān. Occasional references in ancient Arabic poetry (see POETRY AND POETS) can be adduced in this connection to offer some corroboration. Archaeology in central and northern Arabia is far from the point where it could furnish secure and helpful data for the elucidation of qur'ānic statements, which, however, may anyway turn out to be beyond confirmation by archaeological evidence (see ARCHAEOLOGY AND THE QUR'ĀN).

Over the centuries, south Arabian high civilization, which by the time of Muḥammad also included significant contributions from Jews and Christians, had extended its influence to central Arabia. South Arabia's close ties with Ethiopia (see ABYSSINIA) just across a sea strait brought another part of the world within the ken of the Prophet's environment. While certain terms in the Qur'ān indisputably reflect these ties, historical reminiscences, as far as we can tell, are scarce. The quite detailed story of the Queen of Sheba (see Lassner, *Demonizing the queen*) did not come directly from south Arabia but is based upon the biblical tradition. The names of Saba' (Q 34:15) and Tubba' (q.v.; Q 44:37; 50:14) are mentioned in close connection with Solomon and other persons and events of ancient biblical times. In the case of Saba', however, flooding that resulted from (the breaking of) the dam (*sayl al-'arim* Q 34:16 [the latter a south Arabian word]; see AL-'ARIM), is mentioned as the cause of a devastating catastrophe that befell the Sabaeans and there can be no doubt that this was a reference to an actual event that had taken place in the Yemen (q.v.) in recent memory. It has been suggested (Müller, Mārib) that among several similar problems with the dam, the one referred to in the Qur'ān "occurred only at the beginning of the seventh century." If correct, this would put the event in the lifetime of Muḥammad (see "d" below) and thus be something rather singular in the cycle of reported divine warnings from the past. On the other hand, the event connected with an elephant in sūra 105, can, it seems, safely be connected to sixth-century southern Arabia, but it should be noted that the text of the Qur'ān does not give any clear hint as to location or date and furnishes no explanatory details to confirm the historical context (see ABRAHA; PEOPLE OF THE ELEPHANT). Thus it is not surprising that even in this case, an attempt has been

made to reinterpret it completely and divorce it from south Arabia (see De Prémare, Les éléphants).

Much more prominent are events mentioned in the Qur'ān, and no doubt viewed as historical, concerning seemingly more northern peoples and areas of the Arabian peninsula that we are not able to locate precisely. The historical reality of some of these has been doubted, sometimes even to the extent of suggesting, without convincing proof, that the names of Arabic prophets such as Ṣāliḥ (q.v.) and Hūd (q.v.) were free inventions. The historicity of the Thamūd (q.v.), however, is well attested, and assuming that the *aṣḥāb al-ḥijr* (Q 15:80) are to be equated with them, they were presumably known as located around al-Ḥijr in northern Arabia (see ḤIJR). The ʿĀd (q.v.) and "Iram (q.v.) of the columns" (Q 89:7) have so far remained historically less tangible. Many other figures that populate the qur'ānic references to Arabia (e.g. *aṣḥāb al-rass,* see PEOPLE OF THE DITCH; *aṣḥāb al-ayka,* see PEOPLE OF THE THICKET) totally escape identification. In the Qur'ān, their usual association with biblical figures would suggest a location in time of rather remote antiquity; nevertheless, they somehow give the impression of being close to Muḥammad's Arabian environment.

However great our ignorance of details, it is obvious that the qur'ānic vision of history has fully succeeded in flawlessly incorporating its post-biblical Arabian phase into the large picture of a succession of prophets and their rejection that was always accompanied by devastating occurrences. It is possible that attempts in this direction had already been made by Arabian residents belonging to earlier religious groups, but it seems more likely that this construction of an unbroken flow of history from the earliest past down to the present time as well as the place of Muḥammad was particular to the historical vision of the Qur'ān.

e. Contemporary history

Muḥammad saw himself as a crucial figure in world history and, like the biblical prophets, keenly felt his responsibility to be an observer and arbiter of his society. The Qur'ān therefore deals remarkably much with events concerning him personally and, to a very small extent, with historical happenings in more remote regions that took place in his time. Most contemporary events, however, are presented, as was appropriate in the context, in a form that, at least for us, is cryptic and makes their historical import hard to evaluate. The usefulness of these references for modern historians in reconstructing the actual biography of the Prophet is limited (see SĪRA AND THE QUR'ĀN). They have been correctly described as "obscure allusions" (Sellheim, Prophet, 38) and the possibility of accurate historical evaluation is now generally approached with a skepticism that differs only in degree, as is made clear, for instance, by the works of Schoeler (Charakter und Authentie) and Rubin *(The eye of the beholder)*.

Apart from the somewhat uncertain assumption that events to the south of Mecca and Medina (q.v.) on which the Qur'ān commented were contemporary (see "c" above), a larger historical context is mentioned expressly only in sūra 30. Divine support for the nascent community of Muslims is said to be expected from the Byzantines (q.v.; al-Rūm) gaining victory after their previous defeat. The unnamed enemy can safely be identified as the Persians, but another vocalization of the Arabic text could easily yield the opposite meaning that the Byzantines' victory was followed by their later defeat. Either meaning could be fitted in the historical context

as it is known to us; the greater likelihood, however, is on the side of the former alternative (Paret, *Kommentar,* 388). Be this as it may, the passage is a precious testimony to an awareness of events in the larger world outside Arabia and their integration in the Qur'ān's historical consciousness.

Beyond allusions to events, references are found to a few individuals by name such as Zayd (Q 33:37) and Muḥammad himself (Q 47:2; 48:29) or by supposedly transparent nicknames as Abū Lahab and his wife (Q 111:1, 4). The qur'ānic attestations of the names of certain localities, such as Mecca (also *Umm al-qurā* or "this place"), Medina (Yathrib), and the battle *(yawm)* at Ḥunayn (q.v.; Q 9:25 f.) are significant as giving a feel for the historical environment. Descriptions of contemporary warfare (e.g. Q 47:4, 35; see EXPEDITIONS AND BATTLES; WAR) contribute further to clarifying the situation in which contemporary events took place. Past events serve frequently as a foil for what happens among Muḥammad's contemporaries, who unfortunately used the behavior of their forefathers as an excuse for their own misdeeds (Q 7:28; cf. also 22:42 f.); and certain individuals of the past such as Abraham and Moses are held up to them as guides and examples *(imām, uswa),* again with a conspicuous lack of success (Q 2:104; 11:17; 33:21; 60:4, 6). The proper or improper conduct exhibited by women of the past such as the wives of Noah, Lot, and Pharaoh as well as Mary, the daughter of ʿImrān (q.v.; Q 66:12), is understood as being valid for the present (see WOMEN AND THE QUR'ĀN). All of it significantly illuminates the extension of past world history to the present.

f. The history of the future

The predictability of the future course of history is an urgent concern for Muḥammad. Indeed, it is the true core of his divine vocation. Full historical consciousness must take account of the future as it does of the past, although the succession of divine messengers has come to an end once and for all with the prophet Muḥammad.

There will be a day of judgment and an end to the world as hitherto known. To believe in it is equivalent to the belief in God (Q 2:8, 62; see FAITH; ESCHATOLOGY). As God created the world, he will surely bring it back (Q 21:104) after the end, the implication being that this will be in another form of incarnation and inspiritization in harmony with the known features of the afterlife. The events that will take place at the end are described colorfully and dramatically, but no date of any kind is given. The end of the world has its "definite term" *(ajal musammā)*. It may be near (Q 33:63), but only God has knowledge about when it will occur (Q 7:187; 79:42-46). A definite term, in fact, exists for everything in the world (Q 14:10; 46:3). But on the last day, the sinners do not know how long they had stayed in their graves (Q 20:102 f.; 30:55 f.; see DEATH AND THE DEAD), nor do those who were saved know with certainty the length of their stay on earth (Q 23:112 f.). The time for the condemned to spend in hell (q.v.) may be described merely as "long years" (*aḥqāb*, Q 78:23), but, in general, a root indicating long lasting or eternal sojourn (*kh-l-d,* see ETERNITY) is used to describe the final destination of human beings after resurrection (q.v.) in either paradise (q.v.) or hell (e.g. Q 2:39, 81 f.; see REWARD AND PUNISHMENT; DESTINY).

The Qur'ān's historical vision and its influence on Muslim historiography

It would seem futile to attempt establishing a connection between the techniques of Muslim historiography and the Qur'ān, and this has not been seriously considered (Cahen, L'historiographie arabe, 133, 140).

The *forms* of Muslim historical writing which largely determined its character did not have their model in the Qur'ān. Even the question of how its *view of history* might have exercised a lasting influence on later historiography and, perhaps, given it its "interpretative framework" is rarely asked (Humphreys, Qur'ānic myth, 274). The powerful historical consciousness embedded in the Qur'ān, however, continued to live on and made itself felt throughout the work of Muslim historians. Since the Qur'ān places an unmistakable emphasis on history and the historical process in describing and recommending to humans their necessary and appropriate behavior in the world, it is a fair assumption that the very fact of historiography becoming a conspicuous part of all Muslim intellectual activity had its origin or, at least, its ever-present stimulus, in the Qur'ān. Islam has been rightly deemed a historical religion and one inherently favorable to the study of history in all its aspects.

For the pre-Islamic history from the creation of the world to the time of Muḥammad the information presented in the Qur'ān inspired the contemplation of world history and offered suggestions as to how it might be pursued (Busse, Arabische Historiographie, 269) and remained basic for later historiography. It was elaborated in considerable length, and for the most part freely until more information from outside sources became available in the course of time. Universal history from the beginning to the present became a favored kind of historical writing, which at times was expanded to include the history of the future. One example, however, of Muslim historiography that goes against this trend towards the writing of universal history is the *Tajārib al-umam* of the fourth/tenth-century Miskawayh. This work deserves mention for its explicit rejection and omission of pre-Islamic history (and the Prophet's biography), a rejection which is basically incompatible with the critical spirit of the true historian (Rosenthal, *History,* 141 f.). Miskawayh's approach was evidently formed under the influence of intellectual developments that by his time had firmly established themselves in Muslim civilization but as a rule were unable to supplant the qur'ānic tradition of world history.

An unintended result of the qur'ānic view of history has derived from its original Arabia-centrism that came through rather undiluted by the wider outlook (see above under "c"). In combination with other factors, it contributed to viewing Islam and understanding its history as fundamentally unaffected by the larger world, and it tended to limit the principal concern of later historians to the history of the Muslim world. The treatment of any pre-Islamic history not within the Qur'ān's field of vision remained severely restricted. During Islamic times, non-Muslim history entered the historians' purview only to a small extent, and mainly inasmuch as it had direct bearing on the Muslim condition. However, since Islam expanded over a large part of the world, the scope of historical productivity did not fail to expand with it.

The Qur'ān taught the importance, for better or worse, of the individual as the principal human agent in history. That helped to prepare the soil for the tremendous growth of biography, one of the glories of Muslim historiography. An indispensable catalyst in this process was the desire to find an explanation for historical and autobiographical allusions and to reconstruct the biography of the Prophet as the model for all humanity and the source of the rapidly developing religion. All of this naturally required recourse to relent-

less interpretation of the text and an accumulation of additional material that could be accomplished only with the help of the scholarly disciplines that became known as *tafsīr* and ḥadīth. Nothing, however, contributed more and in more diverse ways to arousing a lasting interest in history than biography, and it clearly provided the earliest products of historical writing in Arabic, before further concerns took over to make biography still more essential as a subject of historiography.

The admission of miraculous happenings into the historical process may be considered a minor result of the qur'ānic view of history. That it remained sporadic and restricted to certain items, is remarkable mainly if compared to Christian historiography. Other concepts that lived on and could not be entirely discarded by later historians, for instance, were the possibility of a different time scale for remote historical events and of longevity in human beings. Longevity was suggested by Noah's life span (see above under "a"); nothing, however, is said about longevity in connection with the sage of the past named Luqmān (q.v.; Q 31:12 f.; cf. Heller and Stillman, Luḳmān). At any rate, the belief in the historical existence of extraordinarily long-lived individuals soon ceased to be of interest to historians and became more of a literary subject.

While the Qur'ān set such lines of thought and provided some basic material for the labors of future historians, without doubt the most profound impact of the qur'ānic view of history has been its stress on history as an example or lesson *('ibra),* most clearly stated at the end of Q 12 "Joseph" (Sūrat Yūsuf; Q 12:111). Historical information is not only educational but it is also consummate wisdom (*muzdajarun ḥikmatun bālighatun,* Q 54:4-5); no distinction in this respect can be made between past and contemporary history (Q 59:2). The usefulness of history and the need to learn from it constitute a persistent theme of all Muslim historians. The recognition of history as an infallible guide to how human beings ought, or ought not, to behave and act justifies and legitimizes their work. They generally assume that the preoccupation with history has no other acceptable purpose and useful effect. *'Ibar,* as the plural of *'ibra,* may eventually appear in the titles of historical works such as al-Dhahabī's (d. 748/1348) *al-'Ibar fī khabar man ghabar* ("The lessons of the reports of those who have passed away"), a strictly annalistic history from Muḥammad to the time of the author. Significantly, the more systematically conceived history of Ibn Khaldūn (732-808/1332-1406) bears the overarching title of *Kitāb al-'Ibar* ("Book of lessons"). The occupation with history and historiography as providing lessons for life and actions must be reckoned among the important gifts of the Qur'ān to the intellectual development of Islam.

Franz Rosenthal

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(Incidental sidelines on the subject can be found scattered over some of the vast historical literature dealing with early Islam, but no monographic treatment appears to exist, at least in Western scholarship [see the article by Mirza for an indication of increased contemporary Muslim interest in the topic]. The following references, including references given in the text above, are of greatly varying relevance.) Aristotle, *Ethica Nicomachea. Arabic. al-Akhlāq,* ed. 'A. al-R. Badawī, Kuwait 1979; M.M. Ayoub, *The Qur'ān and its interpreters,* 2 vols. to date, Albany 1984-; W. Beltz, *Die Mythen des Koran,* Düsseldorf 1980; S.P. Brock, North Mesopotamia in the late seventh century, in *JSAI* 9 (1987), 51-75; H. Busse, Arabische Historiographie und Geographie, in *GAP,* ii, 264-97; C. Cahen, L'historiographie arabe. Des origines au VII s. H., in *Arabica* 33 (1986), 133-98; R.H. Charles (trans.), *The book of Jubilees,* London 1902; K. Cragg, *The event of the Qur'ān,* London 1971, 1974, 166-79 and ch. 11

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Ḥizb Allāh/Shayṭān

see PARTIES AND FACTIONS

Holy Land

see SANCTITY AND THE SACRED; JERUSALEM

Holy Places

see SANCTITY AND THE SACRED; HOUSE, DOMESTIC AND DIVINE

Holy Spirit

An agency of divine action or communication. The Arabic phrase *rūḥ al-qudus,* as it appears in the Qurʾān, is regularly interpreted by translators to mean the 'holy spirit,' or the 'spirit of holiness.' The phrase occurs four times in the Qurʾān. In three of the four occurrences the text says that God "strengthened" *(ayyadnāhu)* Jesus (q.v.), son of Mary (q.v.), by the holy spirit (Q 2:87, 253; 5:110); in the fourth instance the holy spirit is identified as the one who has brought down the truth (q.v.) from God to his prophet (Q 16:102). This apparent personal identity of the holy spirit in the latter passage has prompted some Muslim commentators to identify the holy spirit by whom God 'strengthened' Jesus with Gabriel (q.v.), the traditional, angelic bearer of God's messages in the scriptures (see BOOK; SCRIPTURE AND THE QURʾĀN). For others the holy spirit in these passages is said to be identical with the created spirit from God, identified elsewhere in the Qurʾān as the agency by which God enlivened Adam (e.g. Q 15:29; see ADAM AND EVE), made Mary pregnant with Jesus (Q 21:91), and inspired the angels (see ANGEL) and the prophets (e.g. Q 17:85; see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD). To emphasize the created nature of this gift of God's beneficence, and in an effort to avoid theological misunderstanding, some modern interpreters of the Qurʾān prefer to translate the phrase *rūḥ al-qudus* not with the usual 'holy spirit,' but with periphrastic expressions such as 'God's holy bounty,' or even 'the blessed word of God.'

Philologically the Arabic phrase *rūḥ al-qudus* is cognate with the Syriac expression *rûḥâ d-qudshâ,* used in Christian Aramaic texts as the name of the third person of the Christian Trinity (q.v.): Father, Son, and Holy Spirit (see FOREIGN VOCABULARY). On the assumption that the purpose of the revelation in the Qurʾān is at least in part to correct what it presents as the excesses in the religious claims of the earlier People of the Book (q.v.; cf. e.g. Q 4:171), and further assuming that Christian doctrines in their Syriac expression historically lay within the purview of the Qurʾān, one might see a corrective, even a polemical intent in the Qurʾān's use of the phrase *rūḥ al-qudus* in the three passages cited above in which the text says that God 'strengthened' Jesus with the holy spirit (see POLEMIC AND POLEMICAL LANGUAGE; SYRIAC AND THE QURʾĀN). Correlatively, the fourth text (Q 16:102) implicitly claims a comparable role for the holy spirit in the prophetic career of Muḥammad, i.e. to bring the truth from God to him.

In the light of these considerations, it seems particularly apt to render *rūḥ al-qudus* as 'holy spirit,' assuming that in fact the Qurʾān intends to speak in these four passages of the same Holy Spirit as the one of whom the Christians speak. In these passages, as well as in other places in the sacred text, however, the Qurʾān's intention may be seen to be at least partially corrective, and critical of the deifying language used by the earlier People of the Book in regard to the Holy Spirit.

In one particularly significant passage the Qurʾān says that Jesus, son of Mary, is himself a "spirit" (q.v.; *rūḥun*) from God (Q 4:171). According to a number of Muslim commentators this identification derives from the fact that, according to the Qurʾān's teaching, Mary became pregnant with Jesus, not by means of any human intervention, but miraculously, by reason of the fact that God 'breathed' of his spirit into her (Q 21:91). Jesus, so conceived, and as a 'spirit' from God, is nevertheless, according to the Qurʾān, like Adam, a creature (cf. Q 3:59; see CREATION). Here, too, the Qurʾān's critique of current Christian teaching is apparent.

There are at least another sixteen places in the Qurʾān where the "spirit" *(rūḥ)* is mentioned without the qualification deriving from its association with the noun "holiness" *(al-qudus),* in the sense of Holy Spirit. From a consideration of these passages one acquires a fuller understanding of the Islamic conception of God's spirit as a created agency by means of which God communicates with angels and men. In five instances the text speaks of the 'spirit' in conjunction with God's "bidding" *(amr),* suggesting that the spirit comes at God's bidding (cf. e.g. Q 17:85) upon whomever he wills of his servant creatures to bring a warning (q.v.) to humankind (cf. e.g. Q 40:15). The angels play a role in bringing down the spirit at God's bidding (cf. Q 16:2). The spirit and the angels are present together, always ready to do God's bidding (Q 70:4; 78:38), and they were there on the Night of Power (q.v.; Q 97:4). A 'spirit' from God is parallel with "his word" *(kalimatuhu)* in Jesus, son of Mary (Q 4:171; see WORD OF GOD). In the case of Muḥammad, the Qurʾān says that it was "the faithful spirit" *(al-rūḥ al-amīn)* that was bringing the revelation down onto his heart (q.v.) so that he would become one of those to bring a warning (Q 26:192-4) from God to humankind. The characterization of the spirit as 'faithful' here highlights its creaturely status in the qurʾānic view. Finally, from this same perspective, when God sent his spirit to Mary, the Qurʾān says that it appeared to her in the form of a well-formed man (Q 19:17).

Since the Qurʾān often mentions the spirit in connection with the angels, some

Muslim commentators have speculated that the spirit is itself angelic in nature; others have wondered if the spirit is not the very content of the divine revelation. A number of western, scholarly discussions of the role of the spirit in the Qurʾān call attention to the numerous verbal parallels in the discourse one can find between what is said of the spirit in the Qurʾān and what is said of the spirit of God in the Bible and in extra-biblical, Jewish and Christian literature, especially in Aramaic/Syriac texts. These references in turn call attention to the high level of intertextuallity to be discerned in what the Qurʾān says of the spirit, which consequently heighten the reader's awareness of the interreligious dimension of the Qurʾān's intention, authoritatively to critique the doctrines of the earlier communities of the People of the Book about God's spirit.

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Holy War

see JIHĀD; EXPEDITIONS AND BATTLES

Homosexuality

Sexual attraction towards one of the same sex. References to homosexuality in the Qurʾān are few and oblique, and have been subject to considerable controversy in the exegetical and legal traditions. The subject is most directly addressed in the context of the story of the prophet Lot (q.v.), in which the men of his people are reproached for pursuing sexual behavior with men instead of women; such acts are labeled an abomination. Some commentators have found another condemnation of homosexual activity in two difficult verses (Q 4:15-6) more usually interpreted as referring to heterosexual fornication (see ADULTERY AND FORNICATION). In addition, the youths who are described as cupbearers (see CUPS AND VESSELS) in paradise (q.v.) have occasionally been understood as providing homosexual pleasures for its male denizens.

The people of Lot

The qurʾānic accounts of the visit of God's messengers to Lot, the inhabitants' demand for (sexual) access to them, and the subsequent destruction of the city by a rain of fire (see PUNISHMENT STORIES) conform in the aggregate rather closely to the narrative in Genesis 18:16-19:29. Only once is it said explicitly that the men of the city "solicited his guests of him" (Q 54:37, *rāwadūhu ʿan ḍayfihi,* a phrase paralleling that employed at Q 12:23 for the attempted seduction of Joseph [q.v.]), but in four other passages (Q 7:81; 27:55; cf. 26:165-6; 29:29) they are accused more generally of "coming with lust *(shahwa)*" to men (or males) instead of women (or their wives), an abomination *(fāḥisha)* said to be unprecedented in the history of the world (Q 7:80; 29:28). Among the later exegetes and authors in the "stories of the prophets" genre, who augmented the story with many vivid details, there was general agreement that the sin alluded to was anal intercourse between males; but neither the Qurʾān nor a series of more explicit but poorly attested prophetic ḥadīth allowed jurisprudents to reach any consensus on either its severity or the appropriate pen-

alty for those who committed it, determinations of the latter ranging from purely discretionary punishment *(taʿzīr)* to death (see CHASTISEMENT AND PUNISHMENT; LAW AND THE QURʾĀN).

Qurʾān 4:15-6

The first of these two verses specifies that women found guilty of "abomination" *(fāḥisha)* are to be confined in their houses until death or until God "provides a way for them"; the second verse prescribes for "two" (grammatically, either two men or a man and a woman) who commit the same offense an unspecified "chastisement" *(ādhūhumā),* unless they repent. Most exegetes believe that both verses refer to illicit heterosexual relations *(zinā)* and resolve the grammatical and logical complications in various ways; a minority view, however, first attributed to the Muʿtazilī (see MUʿTAZILĪS) exegete Abū Muslim al-Iṣfahānī (d. 322/934), would understand them as condemning, respectively, female and male homosexual relations. Mentioned only to be rejected throughout the medieval literature, this view has enjoyed more favor in modern times, notably in the works of Rashīd Riḍā (1865-1935) and Sayyid Quṭb (1906-66).

The youths of paradise

Qurʾānic descriptions of paradise refer twice to "immortal boys" (*wildān mukhalladūn,* Q 56:17; 76:19) and once to "young men" (*ghilmān,* Q 52:24) as attending the blessed as cupbearers. The exegetical literature never imputes a homosexual function to these figures, but literary works occasionally do so, mostly humorously, and some later legal texts discuss it seriously, usually drawing an analogy with the wine (see INTOXICANTS) they serve — permitted in paradise although forbidden in this world — as well as with the less ambiguous female houris (q.v.; see also SEX AND SEXUALITY; GENDER).

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Honesty

see VIRTUES AND VICES; LIE

Honey

Sweet viscous material produced by bees out of the nectar of flowers. Honey *(ʿasal)* appears only once in the Qurʾān (Q 47:15), in a description of paradise (q.v.) through which run rivers of the purest water (q.v.), milk (q.v.), wine (see INTOXICANTS) and honey. Additionally, in a second passage (Q 16:69, Sūrat al-Naḥl, "The Bee"), God inspired the bee to build homes in the mountains and trees and to feed on every kind of fruit, for from its belly would come a syrup of varied hues, "a cure for

humankind" (see ANIMAL LIFE; FOOD AND DRINK; ILLNESS AND HEALTH).

In the ḥadīth literature (see ḤADĪTH AND THE QURʾĀN), one account from the Prophet recorded by Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal (d. 241/855), states that the celestial river of honey emerges from a sea of honey as each of the other rivers flows forth from a sea of its own kind (*Musnad,* xv, 112-3, no. 19935; see COSMOLOGY); in another account, these rivers are said to spring from a mountain of musk. Ibn Kathīr (d. 774/1372) stresses the unimaginable purity of the rivers, for the honey river does not come from the bellies of bees, nor the river of wine from grapes that must be trodden on by the feet of man. Honey also appears in an "otherworldly" context in traditions on the ascension (q.v.) of the Prophet into the seven heavens (see HEAVEN AND SKY); al-Bukhārī (d. 256/870) preserves the account from Ānas b. Mālik (d. 179/795) that Muḥammad was offered three cups, one each of milk, honey and wine and he selected the first to drink. He was then told that he had chosen the sound path for himself and his people (Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* iv, 33).

The allusion to honey in the second qurʾānic passage became well known in subsequent Arabic literature owing to its stated power to cure. For example, in the digest of ʿAbd al-Malik Ibn Ḥabīb (d. 238/853), which combines both prophetic and Galenic medical features, a number of cures using honey are mentioned. He cites one saying attributed to the Prophet that "there is no better remedy for people than cupping and drinking honey." Ibn Ḥabīb also includes the famous "medical" tradition in which a man seeks the Prophet's advice for his son's strong stomach pains. Three times the man attempts to give his son honey to drink without success until the Prophet observes that the problem is with the boy's stomach, not the cure, for honey is one of God's remedies (cf. Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* iv, 51; Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* xiv, 141 ad Q 16:69). Ibn Kathīr uses this tradition in his own commentary to correct the view of al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923) that the phrase "a cure for humankind" refers to the Qurʾān; it is strictly true, concedes Ibn Kathīr, that the Qurʾān is a cure (see Q 17:82 "We reveal of the Qurʾān that which is a healing and mercy for believers") but in Q 16:69, the reference is clearly to honey (Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr,* iv, 501-2 ad Q 16:69). Ibn Māja cites the tradition that the Prophet once said, "You have two cures, in honey and the Qurʾān" (*Sunan,* ii, 1142, no. 3452). The same traditionist preserves the Prophet's view that no great affliction will befall anyone who takes honey three mornings every month. In al-Bukhārī's chapter on medical traditions, the dish *talbīna,* made of cereal, honey and milk, was said by the Prophet to soothe a sick person's heart (*Ṣaḥīḥ,* iv, 52); ʿĀʾisha (see ʿĀʾISHA BINT ABĪ BAKR) thought it a disagreeable food, but nevertheless useful. ʿĀʾisha is also the source of information on a Yemeni honey based beverage, *bitʿ,* which was evidently alcoholic, as the Prophet decreed that "every inebriating drink is forbidden."

In both the prophetic and Galenic divisions of the Islamic medical tradition, honey's medicinal value is fully acknowledged. The partially preserved medical work on dietetics of Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Tamīmī (d. late fourth/tenth century) contains an interesting section on honey and sugar, the former sweetening substance known in the Middle East from antiquity. Honey is said to have greater merits as a drug than as nourishment, is hot and dry in the second degree, and attains its best quality as spring-honey produced from absinthe or wormwood which most effectively clears obstructions in the liver and kidney (Marin and Waines, The balanced way). The later work on prophetic medicine by Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya

(d. 774/1372) reflects the essentials of the Galenic data with the addition of prophetic traditions and the advice that wild honey is better than domestic honey, a view based directly upon Q 16:69 (*al-Ṭibb al-nabawī,* 71-4, 286-7). In the medieval culinary tradition, honey was used in main dishes of meat and vegetable — often to offset the acidity of vinegar — in sweets together with sugar, and in well known "home remedies" such as stomachic *(jawārish),* the electuary *(maʿjūn)* and the classical oxymel or *sakanjabīn* (see also MEDICINE AND THE QURʾĀN).

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Honey of Paradise

see HONEY; PARADISE

Honor

Esteem due or paid to worth; manifestation of respect, or the good reputation which merits such respect. Several Arabic terms convey or assume this key qurʾānic concept. The root *ʿ-z-z* may denote the honor that ensues from the possession of power and strength; thus God is al-ʿAzīz (e.g. Q 36:5) as is Joseph's (q.v.) patron in Egypt (q.v.; Q 12:30). The root *k-r-m* may imply an honor expressed by generosity (see GIFT-GIVING; VIRTUES AND VICES), so that Q 17:70, *karramnā banī ādam,* may be translated as "We have honored Adam's (see ADAM AND EVE) progeny." God's provision *(rizq)* and reward *(ajr)* are often *karīm* (cf. Q 89:15; see BLESSING), signifying generosity and implying honor to both giver and recipient. The Qurʾān itself is *karīm* (Q 56:77) as were the dwellings of the Egyptians (*maqām karīm,* Q 44:26). The participle *mukram* is best translated as "honored," as at Q 36:27: "God has set me among the *mukramīn,*" and Q 51:24, which applies the same word to Abraham's (q.v.) guests. A third root is *w-f-y,* with the primary sense of "fulfillment," the fourth derived form of which may be rendered as "honoring" in such phrases as "he who honors his pledge" (*man awfā bi-ʿahdihi,* Q 3:76; cf. 2:40; see OATHS AND PROMISES; COVENANT; BREAKING TRUSTS AND CONTRACTS). Hebrew parallels are scarce — Arabic cognates of the root *k-b-d* (cf. *Exod* 20:12) do not connote honor — the most significant exception being *ṣ-d-q,* whose resonance of "faithfulness" and "righteousness" (cf. *ṣᵉdāqā* in the Hebrew Bible) appears in the Qurʾān. The roots *ʿ-r-ḍ, ḥ-s-b* and *sh-r-f* have early attestations, but are not used in the Qurʾān in this sense. Finally, the concept of honoring one's parents (q.v.) is conveyed through the triliteral root *ḥ-s-n* (*iḥsān*), Q 2:83; 4:36; 6:151; 46:15) or *b-r-r* ("dutiful," Q 19:14, 32; see FAMILY; KINSHIP).

The Qurʾān's engagement with a tribal nomadic context (see TRIBES AND CLANS; NOMADS) deeply infused with honor codes is reflected in a simultaneous affirmation and interrogation of pagan Arab concepts (see PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QURʾĀN). Al-Aʿshā, a contemporary of the Prophet, supplied in his panegyric to the sixth-century Jewish-Arab poet al-Ṣamawʾal a catalogue of honor-virtues

with clear qurʾānic parallels. The hero's father was "the most faithful of them in keeping his promise" *(awfāhum ʿahdan),* defended those to whom he had given protection (q.v.), was as generous as a rain-cloud, and would not sell his honor *(makruma)* to acquire dishonor (*ʿār,* Jones, *Early Arabic poetry,* 158, 161, 163). This honor-code is defined in terms of individual virtues which the Qurʾān partially accepts. Rejected, however, are forms of boastful extravagance (*tabdhīr;* see Izutsu, *Structure,* 69; cf. Q 17:26; see BOAST), and ritual revenge (Stetkevych, *Rithāʾ;* abolished by *qiṣāṣ* and forgiveness, Q 42:40; see BLOOD MONEY; RETALIATION). Collective, tribal honor (e.g. *Mufaḍḍaliyyāt,* 613, 636) is implicitly criticized (Q 49:13).

The Qurʾān identifies a sense of false honor as an obstacle to faith (q.v.); loyalty to ancestral ways and gods (see IDOLS AND IMAGES) is clearly figured as a sense of misplaced honor (Goldziher, *Muslim studies,* i, 18-9; see SOUTH ARABIA, RELIGION IN PRE-ISLAMIC). Q 25:60 condemns pagans who refuse to prostrate to God (see POLYTHEISM AND ATHEISM; BOWING AND PROSTRATION); the Quraysh (q.v.) elders who expected an exemption from this duty are presumably among those condemned (Tottoli, Muslim attitudes, 17, 19-20). Likewise, "*ʿizza* takes [a *munāfiq* — a hypocrite; see HYPOCRITES AND HYPOCRISY] into sin" when summoned to piety (q.v.; Q 2:206; cf. Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* iv, 245).

In sum, it may be said that while acknowledging some virtues, the Qurʾān effects a revolution in Arab mores by redefining honor as a heroic, self-denying loyalty to God (Q 49:13; see ISLAM) and to the believers (Q 3:140; Bravmann, *Spiritual background,* 69; see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF), rather than to the tribe (see ETHICS AND THE QURʾĀN; BROTHER AND BROTHERHOOD).

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Hoopoe

see ANIMAL LIFE

Hope

Desire or expectation of obtaining what is desired; also trust that a promise or event will come to pass. In the Qurʾān, the term is represented in Arabic by the following roots: *r-j-w* (twenty-six times), *ṭ-m-ʿ* (twelve times) and *ʾ-m-l* (two times). The sense of the term, of course, varies with the context. For example, the root *ʾ-m-l* is used both in the sense of a delusional hope in opposition to the will of God (Q 15:3) and in the sense of the hope of reward to be had from the performance of good deeds (q.v.; Q 18:46). *Ṭ-m-ʿ* is used diversely, as hope for forgiveness (q.v.; Q 26:51, 82), the desire to be admitted to paradise (q.v.; Q 7:46; 70:38; cf. Q 5:84, where the desire is to be placed among the good people, *al-qawm al-ṣāliḥīn*), as a longing for God alongside the fear (q.v.) of God (*khawfan wa-ṭamaʿan,* Q 7:56; 30:24; 32:16; this complex is most likely meant as a fear of God's punishment and longing for his reward in the life to come; cf. Q 17:57), but also as a deviant hope (e.g. the hope of slandering the wives of the Prophet [q.v.], Q 33:32).

The richest dimensions of the semantic field of hope are found in *r-j-w* in its conveyance of the deep longing of the human heart (q.v.) for God's mercy (q.v.; e.g. Q 71:13) and support in time of trial (q.v.; e.g. Q 4:104). This can also mean longing for God's reward for a life spent in pursuit of good deeds (Q 18:110; see REWARD AND PUNISHMENT) and, of course, the eschatological encounter with the living God at the end of time (Q 29:5; see ESCHATOLOGY). In all of this, one cannot underestimate the qurʾānic insistence on hope in God's mercy (Q 39:9; 2:218) and justice (e.g. Q 60:6; see JUSTICE AND INJUSTICE) at the end of time (see LAST JUDGMENT). It is in this sense that the believer's relation with God (see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF), i.e. salvation (q.v.), can be expressed as intimately linked with, if not actually dependent upon, one's hope in the almighty (Q 10:7). It is in this connection that those who demand other than what God bestows upon them, i.e. who do not accept God's ways but try to advance their own agenda, are considered bereft of hope in any final encounter with God (Q 10:15; 25:21; cf. 45:14). More specifically, there are those who believe in no final day of reckoning or resurrection (q.v.) at all (Q 25:40; 78:27). Thus, Shuʿayb (q.v.) urges the people of Midian (q.v.) to have hope, i.e. to believe, in the final day (*wa-rjū l-yawma l-ākhira,* Q 29:36). It is, then, an orientation of hope, not as a general longing for God, but as an expectation of final judgment, that determines one's moral character in this life (see ETHICS AND THE QURʾĀN). Indeed, the connection is made explicitly at Q 35:29 between the pious life and the expectation of prosperity (*tijāra,* literally "commerce").

In sum, the qurʾānic conception of hope is very much the essence of both faith (q.v.) and the moral order. Hope means messianic aspirations, in the sense of hope in the final reign of God, but also the expectation of a daily moral order. It is in that sense that hope is used to define the character of Abraham (q.v.), the archetype of Muslim belief (see ḤANĪF): "There was indeed in them [i.e. Abraham and those who were with him] an excellent model for you to follow, for those whose hope is in God and the last day…" (Q 60:6; cf. 71:13 where it is Noah [q.v.] whose people are warned about their failure to have hope). This association of the prophetic model (see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD) and hope culminates, for the Muslim believer, in the prophet Muḥammad (q.v.): "You have indeed in the messenger [q.v.] of God an excellent model for those who hope in God and the final day and who remember God" (Q 33:21).

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Horse see ANIMAL LIFE

Hospitality and Courtesy

Conventions of generosity, favor and respect to be observed while receiving and entertaining guests or in social relations in general. Although the Qurʾān places a great deal of stress on the need to be charitable to the poor (see POVERTY AND THE POOR; ALMSGIVING), the enormous emphasis on hospitality in Islamic culture seems to be derived from pre-Islamic Arab values

(see ARABS; PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QUR'ĀN) and draws its greatest validation in ḥadīth (see ḤADĪTH AND THE QUR'ĀN), where it is seen as an integral part of faith (q.v.). The practice of courtesy is enjoined in the Qur'ān and has received full elaboration in the Ṣūfī tradition as a method of purification as well as a way of life (see ṢŪFISM AND THE QUR'ĀN).

Hospitality in the Qur'ān and ḥadīth

The offering of hospitality was deeply rooted in the value structure of Arab society before Islam and continues to be important in Muslim society. The concept of "manliness" *(muruwwa),* as an emblem of one's sense of honor (q.v.) was embodied in a constellation of values that denoted the highest ethical standards of pre-Islamic Arab society and especially included lavish generosity and hospitality. The harshness of the desert environment and the serious risk of bodily harm encountered when traveling without the protection (q.v.) of one's tribe (see TRIBES AND CLANS; CLIENTS AND CLIENTAGE) were mitigated by the common courtesy of offering any traveler hospitality for at least three days. It is evident from even a cursory reading of the Qur'ān that stinginess, hoarding and ignoring the needs of the poor were considered major moral flaws (Q 69:34; 74:44; 89:18; 107:1-7; see ETHICS AND THE QUR'ĀN; EVIL DEEDS; ORPHANS). The Qur'ān speaks repeatedly of the need to be generous and to give charity (where the root is *n-f-q* or *ṣ-d-q,* Q 2:215, 274, 280; 13:22; 22:35; 35:29; 57:7; 58:12; 76:8; 90:14-6), preferably in secret (Q 2:271; 4:38; see MODESTY). Finally, in the Medinan period (see CHRONOLOGY AND THE QUR'ĀN) the institution of almsgiving (q.v.; *zakāt*) guaranteed some provision for the poor and wayfarers (Q 2:273; 9:60). Feeding a poor person is also offered as a means of expiation for failing to observe religious obligations (Q 2:184, 196; 5:89, 95; 58:4) and providing food for the poor became an integral part of the observance of the major Muslim feast days (see FESTIVALS AND COMMEMORATIVE DAYS), the breaking of the Ramaḍān (q.v.) fast (Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* 318-20; see FASTING) and the sacrifice (q.v.) during the pilgrimage (q.v.; Q 22:28).

The Qur'ān has little to say about the broader practice of hospitality — inviting and providing for the needs of guests — or the elaborate practices of courtesy for which Muslim societies are often famous. This gap is largely filled by ḥadīth and the sayings of eminent early Muslims, who extolled the offering of hospitality and the practice of courtesy, making them integral parts of the religion. When asked about "the best part of Islam," the Prophet is said to have replied, "Offering food and extending the greeting of peace *(tuṭʿim al-ṭaʿām wa-taqraʾ al-salām)* to those you know and those you do not know" (Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* 16, no. 12). Asked about the meaning of a "righteous pilgrimage" *(ḥajj mabrūr),* he replied, "Offering food and speaking kindly" (*iṭʿām al-ṭaʿām wa-ṭīb al-kalām;* Ghazālī, *Iḥyāʾ,* ii, 16). The Prophet is quoted as saying, "The angels do not cease to pray for blessings on any one of you as long as his table is laid out, until it is taken up" (Ghazālī, *Iḥyāʾ,* ii, 11; see ANGEL). Among the many sayings of pious early Muslims is one from the Prophet's grandson, al-Ḥasan (d. 49/669-70): "A man will have to give an account for every expenditure he makes for himself, his parents, and those in his charge, except what he spends on food for his brothers, for God is too shy to ask about that." Although the Qur'ān stipulates that God has determined the life-span of each individual, Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad assures us that God does not count the time one is at table with his "brothers," so one should prolong such gatherings (Ghazālī, *Iḥyāʾ,* ii, 11; see BROTHER AND BROTHERHOOD).

The book on eating in al-Ghazālī's (d. 505/1111) encyclopaedic work, *Iḥyāʾ ʿulūm al-dīn,* "Revival of the religious sciences" (trans. Bousquet, 109-13), contains a large number of ḥadīths and sayings *(akhbār)* that encourage hospitality and provide guidelines for all aspects of this etiquette: issuing invitations, accepting invitations, the manner of eating and ending the gathering. It is noteworthy that al-Ghazālī's work, though Ṣūfī in orientation, devotes far more space to the virtues of offering food and the etiquette of offering and receiving it, than to the virtues of fasting, a practice often associated with Ṣūfism. Indeed, al-Ghazālī says that one should not refuse an invitation to eat because one is fasting, and that one's reward for making a brother happy by accepting hospitality will be greater than the reward obtained by fasting (*Iḥyāʾ,* ii, 18). Typical among the many ḥadīths he cites are these: "There is no good in one who does not offer hospitality" (*Iḥyāʾ,* ii, 16); "among the things which expiate sins and increase in rank are offering food and praying at night while people are sleeping" (ibid.). A person should not deliberately show up at a person's house at meal time, but if he is offered food and senses that the host really does want him to eat, he should stay. If, however, he senses that the host is offering food out of a sense of obligation, despite his reluctance, the visitor should not eat (Ghazālī, *Iḥyāʾ,* ii, 12). The host obtains a spiritual reward through hospitality, and it became the practice of the early Muslims to be hospitable. Indeed, al-Ghazālī says, if the owner of the house is absent but you are sure he would be happy if you ate, go ahead and eat, for that is the way of the pious ancestors (*Iḥyāʾ,* ii, 13).

A host should not burden himself by going into debt in order to offer food to his guests (Ghazālī, *Iḥyāʾ,* ii, 14) — although in fact many do exactly that, so ingrained is the offering of hospitality in cultural mores. A hagiographic account of Shaykh Aḥmad Riḍwān of Egypt (d. 1387/1967) says: "The people knew no one equal to him in generosity in his day… He gave like one who has no fear of poverty, from all the wealth, food or clothing that God gave him" (Riḍwān, *Nafaḥāt,* 12). This reflects a description of the Prophet himself, whose generosity to even the most rude and demanding nomads (q.v.) prompted one man to urge his tribesmen to become Muslims: "For Muḥammad gives like one who has no fear of poverty" (Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* 1242, no. 5728).

There are stipulations concerning the type of person to whom hospitality should be extended. A person should invite only righteous people to share his food: "Feeding a pious man strengthens him for obedience, but feeding a depraved man strengthens him for depravity," while a ḥadīth relates that it is wicked to invite only the rich (Ghazālī, *Iḥyāʾ,* ii, 17). Conversely, acceptance of an invitation should not take into account the wealth of the host. Al-Ghazālī tells us that al-Ḥasan once greeted some people who were eating scraps in the road, and they invited him to join them. He agreed, in order not to be proud (see ARROGANCE), and later returned the courtesy by inviting them to a fine meal (ibid.). Al-Ghazālī's injunctions on eating and drinking include so many prayers and rules of etiquette that meals are literally transformed into religious rituals.

Hospitality in Ṣūfī life

Drawing upon qurʾānic concepts of God's generosity, early Ṣūfīs cultivated an attitude of absolute dependence on God and an expectation that he would provide for all their needs; in consequence, they often refrained from asking others for food. They were also deeply suspicious that food offered by others could be "doubtful," that is,

obtained through possibly illicit means or paid for with money earned in a dubious fashion (see ECONOMICS). Al-Hujwīrī (d. 465/1072) and al-Ghazālī cautioned that a Ṣūfī should never accept the food of a rich man (Hujwīrī, *Kashf,* 349; Ghazālī, *Iḥyāʾ,* ii, 16-7, 18-9). Muḥammad Aḥmad Riḍwān, father of the previously-mentioned Aḥmad Riḍwān, demonstrated the continuity of this early attitude when he refused to go to the homes of government officials and declined to accept invitations to eat, cautioning that "most food these days is doubtful" (Riḍwān, *al-Nafaḥa,* 104). In contrast, the giving of hospitality became an integral part of Ṣūfī practice. Al-Hujwīrī details the regulations for residents of a Ṣūfī convent *(khanqāh)* and requirements of offering hospitality to traveling Ṣūfīs and, for the traveler, of receiving such hospitality (*Kashf,* 341-7). In the Ṣūfī gatherings of modern Egypt, centers for devotion, spiritual retreats, and hospitality, the importance of offering food to travelers is reflected in the enormous concrete tables that are sometimes built into the very floors and are able to accommodate one hundred diners at a single sitting (Hoffman, *Sufism,* 154, 259, 263).

Al-Qushayrī (d. 465/1072) tells the story of a young man who was fasting and refused to break his fast to eat with Abū Yazīd al-Biṣṭāmī (d. 261/874) and two other shaykhs, although they promised him the spiritual reward of a month's or a year's fasting for the blessing of sharing this meal with them. The young man's failure to obey the desires of his spiritual superiors caused him to fall out of God's favor, become a thief, and lose his hand (Qushayrī, *Risāla,* 259, trans. Gramlich, 459-60; see CHASTISEMENT AND PUNISHMENT). This anecdote is intended to warn disciples of the dangers of disobedience to shaykhs but it also reflects the notion that food offered by a saint carries the saint's blessing *(baraka)* and should not be refused.

Hospitality is one of the most important aspects of the celebration of saints' days *(mawlid)* in modern Egypt. Many devotees of the family of the Prophet (q.v.; *ahl al-bayt,* which in Egyptian understanding includes most of the hundreds or thousands of saints buried in Egypt) set up hospitality stations *(khidma,* pl. *khidam, -āt)* in large canopied tents or simply on a cloth spread out on the sidewalk or in rented rooms in schools or other public buildings (Hoffman, *Sufism,* 111-2, 115-6). Visitors are invited to receive at least a drink and, often, a meal as well. Such gifts, called *nafḥa,* a term which means both "gift" and "fragrance," convey the *baraka* of the saint and may not be refused. Many poor people gravitate to the *mawlid* to take advantage of the charity, but the wealthy likewise eat, in order to receive the saint's *baraka,* regardless of whether one is hungry or not.

The meaning of food offering is interpreted according to the social context. When a shaykh offers food, he is offering his own *baraka,* and a blessing (q.v.) is conveyed to the person who eats it. A devoted follower of a shaykh may even wish to eat the shaykh's leftovers or drink from his cup. When a shaykh accepts an invitation to eat at someone's home, he brings *baraka* to the house when he enters, and he honors the host by partaking of his food. Hierarchy and submission are expressed not by the mere act of offering food, but by the dispensation and reception of blessing.

Courtesy and etiquette (adab)

The Qurʾān frequently enjoins the practice of courtesy: in speech — offering greetings (Q 6:54; 24:61), returning greetings with equal or greater courtesy (Q 4:86), using gentle words (Q 17:53; 35:10), returning evil with good (Q 23:96; 41:34), arguing with opponents in a pleasant manner (Q 16:125; 29:46; see DEBATE AND DISPUTATION),

quiet speech (Q 31:19); modest behavior (Q 24:30-31; see MODESTY); respect for privacy (Q 24:27); kindness to parents (q.v.; Q 2:83; 4:36; 6:151; 17:23; 46:15); and, in general, observing social conventions for politeness and moral rectitude (*al-maʿrūf,* e.g. Q 3:104; see GOOD DEEDS; VIRTUES AND VICES). As important as the giving of charity is in the Qurʾān, "kind words and forgiveness (q.v.) are better than charity followed by injury" (Q 2:263).

Given the fact that many pages of ḥadīth are devoted to *adab* and most of al-Ghazālī's four-volume *Iḥyāʾ* is conceived as an elaboration on the etiquette to be observed by a pious Muslim, little more can be done here than to emphasize its importance and centrality in Muslim life. The Qurʾān describes the servants of the Merciful (see MERCY) as those who walk lightly on the earth and return the speech of the ignorant with greetings of peace (Q 25:63; see IGNORANCE). Ḥadīths concerning the importance of good manners are abundant. Among the virtues extolled here are generosity (Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* 1294, 1321), modesty (Bukhārī, op. cit., 19, 1309), kindness to parents (Bukhārī, op. cit., 1283-5) and to children (q.v.; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* 1243-4), honoring one's guests (Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* 1312), avoiding harmful words and glances, and treating others in a manner in which one would like to be treated (Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* 17, no. 13). To these al-Ghazālī adds the virtue of silence and the danger of much talking. Good manners are of the very essence of faith, and much literature is devoted to elaborating on their importance.

Etiquette reached full elaboration in Ṣūfī literature. The *Kitāb al-Futuwwa* by al-Sulamī (d. 412/1021) is a Ṣūfī manual of etiquette that consists mainly of wise injunctions and short anecdotes illustrating the importance of altruism, generosity, and sensitivity to others. Relationships in the Ṣūfī orders are governed by a lofty code of ethics and a standard of courtesy that are essential to traveling the spiritual path. One must observe proper etiquette with God, with one's shaykh, with one's fellow-disciples, with the entire Muslim community, and with non-Muslims. Al-Qushayrī supplies a number of sayings emphasizing the centrality of *adab* to faith (*Risāla,* 220). Etiquette is intimately connected with morality *(akhlāq)* in Ṣūfī writings, and the Prophet's wife (see WIVES OF THE PROPHET), ʿĀʾisha (see ʿĀʾISHA BINT ABĪ BAKR), is quoted as saying, "His morals were the Qurʾān." The Qurʾān also commends Muḥammad as having an excellent character (Q 68:4) and, according to one ḥadīth, Muḥammad said, "I was sent only to perfect morality" (Malaṭāwī, *Ṣūfiyya,* i, 93-4). Shaykh Aḥmad Riḍwān said, "The people of God's presence are humble and speak softly, unlike the people of the world" (Riḍwān, *al-Nafaḥa,* 55).

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Hostages

Persons given or kept as a pledge, as for the fulfillment of a treaty (see OATHS AND PROMISES; CONTRACTS AND ALLIANCES). Hostages and hostage-taking in the twentieth-century meaning of those words do not occur in the Qurʾān nor in Islamic law in its classical handbook form (see LAW AND THE QURʾĀN). The closest qurʾānic attestation of the concept is the triliteral root *r-h-n* (*rahīn,* Q 52:21; *rahīna,* 74:38; *rihān,* Q 2:283), whence also the modern standard Arabic word for "hostages," *rahāʾin*. But the qurʾānic usage (lit. "circumscribed") connotes personal accountability or responsibility for one's actions, not the taking of another human being as insurance for the fulfillment of a promise: "every man is a pledge *(rahīn)* for what he has earned" (Q 52:21; cf. 74:38, "every soul is a pledge for what it has earned"); "if you are on a journey and cannot find a scribe, then a contracted pledge *(rihānun maqbūḍatun)* [should suffice]" (Q 2:283). The lack of qurʾānic approval and hence the dubious legality of hostage-holding (see CAPTIVES) may have contributed to the rather limited use of this practice even by religiously inspired terrorists who otherwise would not hesitate to resort to violence (see FIGHTING; WAR; EXPEDITIONS AND BATTLES; JIHĀD).

In the contemporary period hostage taking has not been justified with arguments derived from the Qurʾān but has been seen as a practical necessity, which would make difficult or perhaps even impossible the free passage of persons, especially tourists, foreign experts and foreign diplomats. When it is impossible for tourists, experts and diplomats to travel freely in the Muslim world, this does, of course, have serious economic consequences for the countries involved. It could certainly contribute to the weakening of those governments and regimes that the religious activists see as their enemies. To defeat a weakened enemy is expected to cost less Muslim blood (see BLOODSHED). The hostages themselves have, of course, committed no crime for which they could be punished by detention, sometimes under threat of death. According to some, their seizure could, nevertheless, be justified by practical considerations because indirectly it contributes to saving Muslim blood that otherwise might have been spilled in future battles against the enemies of Islam.

Ayatollah Khomeini of Iran and the Shīʿī Lebanese leader Ḥusayn al-Musāwī have not explicitly condemned hostage-taking, and such lack of condemnation is often understood as approval. On the other hand, a number of Lebanese clerics have condemned it as not in conformity with Islamic law. Even clerics who for practical reasons were ready to see hostage-taking as unfortunate but necessary, hesitated, which must at times have embarrassed hostage-holders who professed to be willing to die and to kill for the total and precise application of the laws of Islam. Nevertheless, hostages in Lebanon in the eighties of the twentieth century were usually freed only when it served Iran's purposes, and not on religious legal grounds. Similarly, political, rather than religious, reasons have often been behind the release (or non-release) of hostages within Iran itself, as well as in the Philipines, the Yemen and other parts of the Islamic world, regardless of whether the party holding the hostages is a recognized government or an opposition group.

See also POLITICS AND THE QUR'ĀN; VIOLENCE; TOLERANCE AND COMPULSION.

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Hot and Cold

Having, or characterized by, a high or low temperature. Hot and cold are two primary qualities that have a contrastive distribution in the Qur'ān, hot being associated with pain and discomfort, cold (generally) with comfort and relief. In most of its attestations, hot is expressed by *ḥarr* and *ḥarūr*. It indicates pain in both this world and the one to come. A verse illustrating both aspects is Q 9:81. God warns those reluctant to join the expedition (see EXPEDITIONS AND BATTLES) to attack Tabūk, "They said, 'Do not set out in the [mid-summer] heat.' Reply, 'The fire (q.v.) of hell (q.v.) is a more violent heat!' Were they only to understand."

The heat of the sun (q.v.) is oppressive. God has given humankind protection against it, both by a natural phenomenon, shade *(zilāl),* and by the product of their own industry, the clothing (q.v.; *sarābīl*) they wear (Q 16:81). Such protection against heat is presented as an example of the richness and diversity of divine gifts: sight as opposed to blindness (see VISION AND BLINDNESS), light (q.v.) to darkness (q.v.), shade as opposed to heat *(ḥarūr),* and life (q.v.) to death (Q 35:19-22; see DEATH AND THE DEAD). In the world to come, heat in various specific forms is among the pains of hell (see REWARD AND PUNISHMENT). The damned will be burnt in a scorching (*ḥāmiya,* Q 88:4; 101:11) fire, given boiling (*āniya,* Q 88:5) water, or scalding (*ḥamīm,* Q 6:70; 10:4; and passim) water to drink, or they have to endure the searing flame of hell (*sa'īr,* Q 31:21 and passim). The gold (q.v.) and silver hoarded by the wicked will be heated *(yuḥmā)* in the fire of hell, and used to brand them (Q 9:35). Those of the left hand (see LEFT HAND AND RIGHT HAND), i.e. those against whom judgment (q.v.) has been given, are exposed to the burning Samūm wind and scalding water (Q 56:41-2), whereas those in heaven (q.v.) give thanks that they have been preserved from "the pain of the Samūm" (Q 52:27; see LAST JUDGMENT).

Cold in the general sense is attested by the word *bard* — although in every case cited coolness is the appropriate connotation of the word — and *bārid,* cooling thing. Coolness brings relief from heat and pain, and is a source of comfort. Thus in hell, there is "no cooling *(bārid)* or agreeable thing" (Q 56:44). In it "the damned shall taste boiling water and putrid fluid, but no coolness *(bard)* and no drink" (Q 78:24). When Abraham (q.v.) is thrown into the fire, God addresses the flames, "Fire, be cool *(kūnī bardan)* and peaceable to Abraham" (Q 21:69). When Job (q.v.) has been put to the test, and the time for relief has come, he is told to scuff the earth with his foot, and a spring appears, "it is cooling *(bārid)*, it is drink" (Q 38:42; see WELLS AND SPRINGS; SPRINGS AND FOUNTAINS). While there are specific associations with cold that may be deadly, e.g. *ṣarṣar,* "an icy wind," such as destroyed the people of ʿĀd, (q.v.; Q 41:16; 69:6; 54:19) or unpleasant *barad,* "hail" (Q 24:43), and although clothing from the fur and skin of animals (*dif'*, Q 16:5) is by implication a protection

against cold and chill (see HIDES AND FLEECE), the overall message throughout the Qurʾān is that cold-coolness is desirable and brings solace, whereas hot-heat implies discomfort, and is an instrument of punishment. At this scriptural level there is no obvious association of hot and cold with the pathology of disease (see ILLNESS AND HEALTH), although there is a ḥadīth (see ḤADĪTH AND THE QURʾĀN) that makes this connection: "Fever is vapor of hell; extinguish it with water!" (q.v.; Burgel, Secular and religious features, 57).

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Hour, The

see ESCHATOLOGY; LAST JUDGMENT; APOCALYPSE; TIME

Houris

A feminine adjective for a white skinned woman (sing. *ḥawrāʾ,* pl. *ḥūr,* Lane, ii, 666) denoting the virgins of paradise (q.v.). The singular is not attested in the Qurʾān, but the plural form *(ḥūr)* occurs four times (Q 44:54; 52:20; 55:72; 56:22), three of which appear in connection with the adjective *ʿīn* (sing. fem. *ʿaynāʾ,* masc. *aʿyan*) meaning wide-eyed with a deep black pupil (Lane, v, 2218; and cf. Künstlinger, Namen und Freuden, 629-30). In three other verses (Q 37:48-9; 38:52; 55:56) the paradise virgins are described as *qāṣirāt al-ṭarf,* "of modest gaze" (Lane, vii, 2533). In all seven verses the paradise virgins are promised as a reward for God-fearing believers (see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF; REWARD AND PUNISHMENT) and sincere servants of God (cf. as well Q 2:25; 3:15; 4:57; 55:34-37; all Medinan sūras).

Possible origins of the idea

The possible origin of the idea of paradise virgins has been the focus of a number of studies. Berthels (Die Jungfraun, 263 f.; Jeffery, *For. vocab.,* 119) believes it is a borrowing of the Zoroastrian teaching about the *Daēnā* and the good deeds, whereas Andrae (*Mohammed,* 69 f.) suggests a direct borrowing from the Syriac Church Father, St. Ephrem (Beck, Christliche Parallel, 404 f., however, argues that Andrae has misunderstood St. Ephrem's text. See, more recently, Beck, Les houris and C. Luxenberg, *Syro-aramäische Lesart,* 221-41. The last-named work draws upon comparative philology to suggest a Syriac origin for the phrase and a meaning of "white grape," the eschatalogical fruit par excellence.). Some scholars propose a Pahlavi or an Aramaic origin (Jeffery, *For. vocab.,* 119 f.).

Houris in the Qurʾān

The paradise virgins are mentioned during the description of the pleasures of paradise: the believers are seated on couches lined with silk (q.v.) brocade, wearing fine garments (silk and embroidery), eating fruits and drinking wine (see INTOXICANTS; MATERIAL CULTURE AND THE QURʾĀN). In two occasions the verb "to wed" is used — "and we shall wed them [i.e. the God-fearing believers] unto fair ones *(biḥūrin ʿīnin)*" (Q 44:54, 52:20; and cf. 2:25, 3:15, 4:57). Of the paradise virgins, it is said that "neither man nor jinn (q.v.) has touched them" (Q 55:56; where *lam yaṭmithhunna* literally means "still not deflowered"; cf. Q 56:35-8; hereto, Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* xxvii, 106 f.); they are like hidden pearls (Q 56:23) or hidden eggs (Q 37:49). Al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923; *Tafsīr,* xxiii, 37) reports that Ibn

Zayd believes ostrich eggs are meant here concluding that their color is a yellowish white; other exegetes believe that pearls are intended (cf. Ibn Kathīr, *Ṣifa,* 103). The exegete Mujāhid b. Jabr (d. 104/722; Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* xxvii, 102; Ibn Kathīr, *Ṣifa,* 110 f.) explains the allusion to a yellowish hue by asserting that the paradise virgins are created from saffron. A tradition attributed to Ibn ʿAbbās (d. ca. 67/686) mentions that the houris are formed from four substances: musk, camphor, ambergris and saffron (Macdonald, Islamic eschatology, 353, 371). Q 55:72 describes the paradise virgins as closely guarded in pavilions (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* xxvii, 92-3; Ibn Ḥabīb, *Waṣf,* 16 f.; Ibn Kathīr, *Ṣifa,* 102; cf. Macdonald, Islamic eschatology, 353-5, 371-2).

Houris in tradition

Islamic tradition has detailed quite sensuous and fanciful descriptions of the paradise virgins and of the pleasures in paradise (Ibn Ḥabīb, *Waṣf,* 16; Muḥāsibī, *Tawahhum* 139, 158 f., 166, 177; Ibn Kathīr, *Ṣifa,* 96-8, 102-17, 152-9; Ibn Qayyim, *Ḥādī,* i, 341-92; ii, 2-7; Wensinck, *Concordance,* i, 526; Ṣaleḥ, *Vie future,* 38-41; Rosenthal, Reflections). The houris are mainly reserved for the pious (see PIETY) who have abstained from the pleasures of life (see ABSTINENCE), for those who have controlled their wrath (see ANGER), and for martyrs (see MARTYR). Each believer is promised two, seventy-two, five hundred, or even eight thousand houris. Traditional sources state that the houris are forever at the age of thirty-three and will always retain their virginity; all unpleasant physical functions of the body are non-existent in paradise (see MENSTRUATION). Mystical exegetical traditions understood the paradise virgins as metaphoric symbols (Ibn ʿAṭāʾ, *Nuṣūṣ,* 154; Ibn ʿArabī, *Tafsīr,* ii, 268, 284 f., 290 f.; see ṢŪFISM AND THE QURʾĀN).

Critical thinkers and rationalist exegetes have been bothered by the idea of these paradisiacal pleasures and have sought an intellectual explanation (cf. Rosenthal, Reflections, 249 f.; for the position of modern exegetes, see Ṣaleḥ, *Vie future,* 122-36; see EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: EARLY MODERN AND CONTEMPORARY). As early as the first part of the second/eighth century the promise of the paradise virgins was connected to the motivation for holy war (Jarrar, Maṣāriʿ al-ʿushshāq, 37-9): a martyr-to-be sees the houris in a vision and they invite him to their world. These traditions developed mainly within the circles of ascetic warriors and were transformed into popular narratives that share a common theme. The two facets of this theme are: death/paradise virgins or eros/death. Eros manifests itself as sexual love which strives for ultimate and permanent unification. Multiple religious traditions attest to the human longing to fulfill a desire for passionate love through reunion with "the sacred," to give these desires an eternal realization which transcends death, and allows the positive energy of eros to negate death (Jarrar, Martyrdom, 97-9, 103 f.). The motif of the paradise virgins coupled with martyrdom during holy war or jihād (q.v.) appears as well in medieval historical narratives and recurs in modern Islamic literature on jihād, especially in inspirational pamphlets, in the testimonies of martyrs and in commemorations from Iran and the Gaza Strip in Palestine (Jarrar, Martyrdom, 104-6).

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House, Domestic and Divine

Structure for human occupation; also an edifice dedicated to God. The house *(bayt, dār, sakan, ghurfa, maʾwā, mathwā, maskin)* is a key symbol in Islam. Its semantic field extends from ordinary dwellings and kin groups (see KINSHIP; FAMILY), to palaces, mosques and shrines, regions of the world and realms in the hereafter (see ESCHATOLOGY). Drawing upon the heritage of house symbolism developed in the ancient Near Eastern civilizations and the Bible, the Qurʾān established the basic lexicon for Muslim domestic space and its meanings and it has served as a first-order instrument for transforming ordinary human dwellings into sacred places (see SANCTITY AND THE SACRED; SACRED PRECINCTS).

Domestic space in the Qurʾān

Four primary Arabic words are used to designate domestic space in the Qurʾān: *bayt (*pl. *buyūt), dār (*pl. *diyār), sakan* and *ghurfa*. There are three additional terms derived from other verbal roots: *maʾwā,* "shelter, refuge," (from *awā*), *mathwā,* "dwelling" (from *thawā*), and *maskin,* "dwelling" (from *sakana*). Together, these terms occur in the Qurʾān 164 times, mainly in the Medinan sūras, but they also occur in about one-third of the Meccan sūras (see CHRONOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN). In addition, there are a few references to palaces *(ṣarḥ* and *qaṣr,* pl. *quṣūr)*. Other terms that connote the idea of dwelling are forms of the verb *bawwaʾa,* "to provide accommodations" and *mustaqarr,* "resting place" or "dwelling." (*Manzil,* which can mean "house" in Arabic, does not occur in the Qurʾān, though its plural *[manāzil]* occurs twice to describe phases of the moon [q.v.].)

Bayt is used in fifteen instances to denote the house of God, which is described variously as "the first house," "the ancient house," "the sacred house," the "forbidden house," "the frequented house" and "my (God's) house." Only once, however, is it identified explicitly with the Kaʿba (q.v.; Q 5:97) and twice with the "sacred mosque" (Q 5:2; 8:34-5). Indeed, the Qurʾān uses the term *bayt* more frequently to designate a holy place than either the name Kaʿba or the term commonly translated as "mosque" (q.v.; *masjid*). In several important instances, it links God's house with the figure of Abraham (q.v.; Ibrāhīm). It is "the first house created for the people," containing Abraham's place (*maqām,* Q 3:96-7). It is a place that was purified and dedicated for ritual purposes, particularly pilgrimage (q.v.; *ḥajj*) rites, by Abraham and his son (see ISHMAEL; ISAAC), who petitioned God to make them his submitters

(muslimīn) and to make their progeny into a submitting community (*umma muslima,* see Q 2:125-8). This story about the origin of the shrine and its rites probably first served as a claim by Muḥammad and his followers to the *ḥaram* area in Mecca after the emigration (q.v., *hijra*) in 622 C.E. — a claim contested by their Meccan opponents (see OPPOSITION TO MUḤAMMAD). The existence of this opposition is expressed in the Qurʾān itself, which in its polemics promises a place in hell (q.v.) for disbelievers (see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF) and those who would debar the pious from the sacred mosque area (see Q 8:34-6).

The existence of ordinary human dwellings and even their furnishings (see FURNITURE AND FURNISHINGS) is attributed to God's creative actions: "God made a dwelling place *(sakan)* for you from among your homes *(buyūt)*. He made homes for you from animal skins (see HIDES AND FLEECE; ANIMAL LIFE), so you will find them light when you travel and when you camp. [He made] furnishings and conveniences [for you] out of their wool, fur, and hair for a time… Thus does he bring his grace (q.v.) upon you to completion so that you submit" (*tuslimūn,* Q 16:80-3). On the other hand, the Qurʾān states that God abstained from creating for people luxurious houses with silver roofs *(suquf,* sing. *saqf),* stairways *(maʿārij),* doors *(abwāb),* beds *(surur)* and gold (q.v.) ornaments (*zukhruf,* see ORNAMENT AND ILLUMINATION), lest everyone become too worldly and disbelieve in God (Q 43:33-5; see MATERIAL CULTURE AND THE QURʾĀN).

The qurʾānic conception of the creation of human domestic space is congruent with a wider set of discourses about the sacred histories of the ancestors and the fates of their houses (see GEOGRAPHY; FATE). In these narratives (q.v.), having houses and wealth (q.v.) is not always a sign of blessing nor is lacking them a sign of divine ire. The crux of the matter rests on people's belief and their moral comportment (see ETHICS AND THE QURʾĀN). The peoples of ʿĀd (q.v.), Thamūd (q.v.), Sheba (q.v.) and Midian (q.v.) all had houses and prospered until they rejected God and his messengers or committed evil (see MESSENGER; GOOD AND EVIL). Consequently, they were each destroyed and their houses abandoned or ruined (for example, Q 7:74-9; 27:45-52; 46:21-5; 34:15-6; 7:85-92; see PUNISHMENT STORIES). In one instance God brings the house roof *(saqf)* down upon the heads of plotters (Q 16:26). In such accounts the Qurʾān implies that a similar fate awaits unbelievers in Muḥammad's own time, a threat that became a reality for unbelieving People of the Book (q.v.) mentioned in Q 59:2-4, whom most commentators identify with the Banū Naḍīr (q.v.), a Jewish clan forced out of Medina (q.v.) in 4/626 (see JEWS AND JUDAISM; EXPEDITIONS AND BATTLES).

Believers, on the other hand, enjoy divine blessings at home, as indicated in Q 16:80-3. Situations may arise, however, when they should be prepared to give up their homes and possessions and emigrate. Emigration, too, has its rewards as stated in Q 4:100: "Whoever emigrates in God's way (see PATH OR WAY) will find many a road and open opportunity in the land. Whoever leaves his house *(bayt),* emigrating to God and his messenger, and then death overtakes him, his reward is incumbent upon God."

There are several rules in the Qurʾān that are concerned with the houses of God, ordinary believers and the Prophet (see WIVES OF THE PROPHET). Occurring only in Medinan sūras, these rules commonly invoke distinctions between belief and disbelief and concepts of purity and impurity (q.v.), but they constitute neither a

detailed architectural code nor a rabbinic system of ritual prescriptions. Rules pertaining to ritual actions conducted at God's sacred house (Q 2:125-7, 196-203; 5:2; 22:26; see RITUAL AND THE QUR'ĀN) also include a prescription for pilgrimage itself: "God requires people to perform a *ḥajj* to the house if they are able to do so. If anyone disbelieves, God can do without his creations" (Q 3:97). Rules pertaining to Muslim homes in general treat matters of everyday social life as religious practices; ideas about God, right and wrong, purity, and blessing are conjoined to statements concerning visitation, eating and salutations (see Q 24:27-9, 61; see HOSPITALITY AND COURTESY; SOCIAL INTERACTIONS). Believers, for example, should obtain permission to enter a house and greet its inhabitants or they should leave if so told. This is of greater purity *(azkā)* for them. They are encouraged, however, to enter unoccupied dwellings (Q 24:27-9). These prescriptions for visitation occur together with statements about adultery (see ADULTERY AND FORNICATION), covering the body (see MODESTY) and marriage (see MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE), which suggests that Muḥammad and his followers recognized a linkage between the house, the body and sexual relations (see SEX AND SEXUALITY) — all were immured by ritual taboos, not unlike God's sacred house (see also Q 4:22). In divorce cases, the Qur'ān states that the woman shall remain in her house or where her husband resides for a prescribed period to see whether she is with child unless she is guilty of adultery. She shall neither be evicted nor leave the house during this time. These are said to be "God's limits" (*ḥudūd Allāh,* see BOUNDARIES AND PRECEPTS). Those who transgress them do wrong against themselves (Q 65:1, 6), implying an unfortunate destiny in the hereafter.

About one-third of the house terms in the Qur'ān are used to describe the abodes of the blessed and the damned in the hereafter. Paradise (q.v.) is called "the house" *(al-dār)* and also "house of residence" *(dār al-muqām),* "house of permanence" *(dār al-qarār),* "house of the god-fearing" *(dār al-muttaqīn),* "the final house" *(al-dār al-ākhira),* and "house of peace" *(dār al-salām)*. That paradise is conceived to be an actual home for the blessed is conveyed by passages such as those in Q 13:20-4, which describes families living in the paradisaical gardens (see GARDEN) being visited by angels (see ANGEL), who come through their doors and bless them. Individual dwellings in paradise are referred to by terms such as "shelter" *(ma'wā),* "lofty apartment" *(ghurfa),* "dwelling" *(maskin)* and simply "house" *(bayt)*. Wrongdoers, on the other hand, are consigned to hell (q.v.), which is also called "the evil house" *(sū' al-dār),* "the house of perdition" *(dār al-bawār)* and "the house of eternity" *(dār al-khuld)*. More frequently (in twenty-nine instances), the Qur'ān uses terms for "shelter" *(ma'wā)* and "dwelling" *(mathwā)* for their abode. This is evident in verses such as Q 3:151: "We shall cast terror into the hearts (see HEART) of those who have denied God by associating partners with him.… Their shelter *(ma'wā)* shall be the fire (q.v.). How bad is the dwelling *(mathwā)* of the wrongdoers!"

Lastly, the Qur'ān preserves traces of ancient Near Eastern cosmologies, wherein the created world was conceived as a large palace (see COSMOLOGY). It is said to have a heavenly ceiling *(samk* or *saqf)* raised by God, held up by invisible pillars, beneath which stretches an earthly carpet *(bisāṭ)* upon which his creatures roam (see Q 13:2; 21:32; 71:19; 79:28; see HEAVEN AND SKY). These notions, however, are not elaborated as a mythic narrative as they are in ancient Egyptian and Mesopotamian texts.

Ḥadīth literature (see ḤADĪTH AND THE QUR'ĀN) continued to build on the foundation of many of the domestic discourses that had been set forth in the Qur'ān. It used the same Arabic terms and added *manzil* to them. Ḥadīth elaborated upon the idea of the human dwelling as a sacred enclave, provided more details on how to perform pilgrimage to the house of God in Mecca and furnished more particulars about the dwellings of the blessed in paradise. The grave itself was described in one tradition as a house *(bayt)* of exile, loneliness and maggots (Tirmidhī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* 26) but the qur'ānic practice of using domestic terms in describing hell was discontinued.

The Qur'ān in domestic space

The Qur'ān is of central importance as an instrument used by Muslims to sanctify their homes (see EVERYDAY LIFE). Ḥadīths speak of the benefits that accrue to the dwelling and its inhabitants when particular verses, chapters or even the whole text is recited. Al-Tirmidhī (d. 279/892) relates ḥadīths stating that Satan (see DEVIL) and other malevolent beings will not approach houses where Sūrat al-Baqara (Q 2 "The Cow") and the Throne Verse (Q 2:255) are recited (Tirmidhī, *Ṣaḥīḥ, Thawāb al-Qur'ān,* 3). Al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505) cites a ḥadīth from Anas b. Mālik (d. 91-3/710-2) that asserts "good fortune increases in the house where the Qur'ān is recited and decreases where it is not" (*Itqān,* ii, 193). The Prophet's wife, ʿĀ'isha (see ʿĀ'ISHA BINT ABĪ BAKR), is reported to have said that houses where it is recited appear to the people of heaven as stars do to the people of earth (Suyūṭī, *Itqān,* i, 137). In cultural practice, passages from the Qur'ān are recited during house foundation rituals or when a new dwelling is occupied. Householders may arrange to have a complete recitation of the Qur'ān (q.v.; *khatma*) performed at home when someone dies or on other unusual occasions. In modern times, families switch on the radio to the Qur'ān station or play a cassette recording of qur'ānic recitation to make the day a propitious one or to sooth the soul of an ailing family member.

The use of qur'ānic inscriptions in Muslim homes has become perhaps as ubiquitous as it ever was in mosques (see EPIGRAPHY). The houses and palaces of medieval and Ottoman Cairo, which were until recently the best-preserved in the Muslim world, contain bands of Qur'ān inscriptions and poetry in their reception areas and great halls. The Throne Verse was the most widely used as was Sūrat al-Ikhlāṣ (Q 112, "Sincerity") and the *basmala* (q.v.). Today, even in common homes, it is not unusual to find the *basmala* or the exhortation "Enter it securely, in peace!" (Q 15:46) written over thresholds. The latter phrase affirms the symbolic relationship between the home and paradise, an idea that was used in earlier Islamic monumental architecture. Sitting room walls, where guests are received, are often decorated with individual verses or a framed poster of the entire text of the Qur'ān in miniature. A widespread practice among Muslims today is to place a finely rendered copy of the printed Qur'ān on a stand or in a velvet box for display in the guest room or living room.

The most highly developed use of the written Qur'ān in the sanctification of Muslim domestic space has emerged in Egypt and adjacent regions, where colorful murals (see ICONOCLASM) consisting of complexes of epigraphs, depictions of the Kaʿba in Mecca and the Prophet's mosque in Medina, human and animal figures, boats, trains and airplanes are painted on the houses of Muslims who have performed the *ḥajj*. This practice is attested as

early as the sixteenth century. Mural epigraphs commonly include verses dealing with the *ḥajj* itself (Q 3:96-7; 22:27) but they can also be stock qurʾānic phrases concerning God and the prophet Muḥammad that have entered popular speech such as the *basmala,* praise for God (Q 1:2) and his Prophet (Q 33:56) and statements invoking divine blessing and protection (e.g. Q 2:172; 3:160; 11:56, 88; 27:40; 48:1; 49:13). Thus, the Qurʾān participates in the transformation of the Egyptian pilgrim's house into a sacred place and helps articulate his or her individual experience in terms of powerful Islamic beliefs and symbols.

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Hūd

The first of the five Arabian prophets of the Qurʾān (for the other Arabian prophets, see ṢĀLIḤ; ABRAHAM; SHUʿAYB; MUḤAMMAD), from whom the eleventh sūra of the Qurʾān takes its name. His tale occurs four times in the Qurʾān, with only minor variations: Q 7:65-72, 11:50-60, 26:123-40, 46:21-6. In these narratives (q.v.), Hūd is explicitly called a messenger (q.v.; *rasūl*), whom God has sent to the people of ʿĀd (q.v.), who are portrayed as polytheists (see POLYTHEISM AND ATHEISM). Hūd persists in his faith despite his compatriots' accusations that he is a liar *(min al-kādhibīna)* and a fool (*fī safāhatin,* Q 7:66), and their refusal to forsake their idols (see IDOLS AND IMAGES) when he had no "clear proof" for his claim (Q 11:53). Hūd warns his people that if they do not heed his message, God will replace them with another people (*qawm,* Q 11:57). In Q 11:52, the people are promised bounteous rains in return for their repentance (see REPENTANCE AND PENANCE), and in Q 11:55, it is implied that the people of ʿĀd "contrived" against Hūd. God, however, rescues Hūd and those who followed him, destroying those who denied him (Q 11:58-9). In Q 46:24-5, the agent of the destruction of ʿĀd is described as a wind borne by clouds (see AIR AND WIND).

Early Islamic exegetes (see EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL) are more forthcoming with details about ʿĀd and "many-columned Iram" (q.v.), the city associated with ʿĀd, than they are about Hūd himself. Nevertheless, the exegetes do discuss his supposed name and genealogy, and also elaborate upon the qurʾānic account of the fate of his people: in addition to a drought, they are said to have suffered from "barrenness of wombs" (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* xii, 58; Ibn al-Jawzī, *Zād,* iv, 117; Qurṭubī, *Jāmiʿ,* ix, 51). (For one modern Western scholar's theory, see Horovitz, *Jewish proper names,* 29: "Perhaps the name 'Hūd' is an invention on the part of Mohammed, who, then, while looking for a name of the warner of the ʿĀd which should be in accord with names like 'Lūṭ' and 'Nūḥ,' may have made 'Hūd' out of 'Yahūd.') Both al-Thaʿlabī (d. 427/1035) and al-Kisāʾī, the unknown author of the "tales of the prophets" *(Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ),* provide some important details about him,

such as his pre-ordained birth, his early worship of one God, the content of his preaching to his fellow ʿĀdites, and even the names of some of his converts. If, as is usually assumed, such "tales of the prophets" reflect popular belief (in addition to their reliance upon exegetical material), then these narratives might indicate how most historical Muslims would have understood the allusive qurʾānic accounts about Hūd.

In al-Kisāʾī (*Tales,* 109-17), Hūd is depicted as an ardent monotheist from the very beginning, surrounded by resolute ʿĀdite polytheists. He was only rarely able to convince a few of his countrymen of his message. Ultimately, after years of such opposition, Hūd called upon God to punish the ʿĀdites for their wickedness. God responded by causing a four-year drought in ʿĀd, whereupon the king of ʿĀd — as was the custom — sent a delegation of seven notables, including a follower of Hūd named Marthad, to Mecca (q.v.) to ask God for release from their suffering (cf. Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* viii, 219). After a period of prolonged distraction by the hospitality of the pagan king of Mecca, the delegation made its way to the sanctuary but was refused entrance. In response to the pleas of the Muslim Marthad, God sent three clouds: one red, one white, one black. The last of these contained an angel who oversaw the "barren wind," which would be the final agent of ʿĀd's destruction. God commanded the leader of the delegation to choose one of the clouds to be sent to ʿĀd. Thinking it laden with rain, the leader chose the black cloud, which unleashed its destruction upon the land of ʿĀd and all who dwelt there, save the followers of Hūd. Al-Kisāʾī ends his account by noting that Hūd and his followers fled the destruction of ʿĀd to Yemen, where Hūd died and was buried in the Ḥaḍramawt. Al-Thaʿlabī (*Qiṣaṣ,* 60-5) adds some detail to this general account. In his (and al-Ṭabarī's; see Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh,* i, 231-44) version, it is a drought of three years that affects the ʿĀdites, who are described as giants and Amalekites; Hūd is in fact imprisoned by the king of Mecca at the request of his compatriots, though he escapes; and another Muslim follower of Hūd is named at Mecca: Luqmān ibn ʿĀd. Al-Thaʿlabī also provides an alternate version of the petition at Mecca involving varying requests from the ʿĀdite delegation (who boastfully request the same fate as that of their countrymen), Marthad (who requests goodness and righteousness) and Luqmān (q.v.; who requests a long life).

The tomb of Hūd has long been an important pilgrimage site in Yemen, located at the mouth of the Barhūt. The tomb and the pilgrimage practices associated with it are described in detail by medieval visitors like al-Harawī as well as modern authorities like Landberg (*Etudes,* 432-83) and Serjeant (Hūd). The prominence of the shrine in Yemen did not, however, prevent Muslims from claiming other locations for the tomb of Hūd, as in Mecca (Harawī, *Ishārāt*), Damascus (Rabaʿī, *Faḍāʾil,* 34-5) or somewhere in Palestine (Thaʿlabī, *Qiṣaṣ;* see PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QURʾĀN; GEOGRAPHY).

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Ḥudaybiya

A location on the road from Jedda to Mecca (q.v.) just outside the sacred territory. Here Muḥammad stopped while attempting to perform the pilgrimage (q.v.) in 6/628 and, through the agency of ʿUthmān, negotiated a truce with the tribe of Quraysh (q.v.) which would allow the Prophet and his followers to perform the pilgrimage the following year. This truce became known as the Pact of Ḥudaybiya. For further details, see MUḤAMMAD; EXPEDITIONS AND BATTLES; TREATIES AND ALLIANCES.

Andrew Rippin

Ḥudūd

see BOUNDARIES AND PRECEPTS

Hue of God

see BAPTISM

Human Being

see COMMUNITY AND SOCIETY IN THE QURʾĀN; ETHICS AND THE QURʾĀN; POLITICS AND THE QURʾĀN; SOCIAL INTERACTIONS; RELIGION; SOCIAL SCIENCES AND THE QURʾĀN; GENDER; FEMINISM; PATRIARCHY; FAMILY; KINSHIP; TRIBES AND CLANS; FREEDOM AND PREDESTINATION; FATE; DESTINY

Humor

That which pertains, or appeals, to the sense of the ludicrous, absurdly incongruous or comic. Humor in its relation to the qurʾānic revelation involves two major aspects: first, whether there is any humor in the Qurʾān and, if so, how it is constituted; secondly, whether the Qurʾān occurs in or forms the object of indigenous Islamic jocular literature (see LITERATURE AND THE QURʾĀN).

The issue of humor in the Qurʾān pertains to the general discussion of whether scripture can contain humor. In the Islamic case, the issue moreover implies the question of whether God has a sense of humor (see ANTHROPOMORPHISM; GOD AND HIS ATTRIBUTES). Considering God's omnipotence, any dogmatic dispute regarding his general capacity to experience and express humor appears irrelevant and, in fact, anthropomorphic imagery as attested in the ḥadīth has elaborated this trait of God's nature without clinging to strict dogmatic restraints (Gimaret, *Dieu à l'image,* 265-79; see ḤADĪTH AND THE QURʾĀN). No extensive treatment of the subject exists, but a sensitive reading of the qurʾānic text reveals passages which are not devoid of certain humorous elements. Mustansir Mir has attempted to show "that the Qurʾān does not regard humor as a contraband item" (Mir, Humor, 181). Discussing a number of instances, Mir argues that humor in the Qurʾān is used to convey a religious insight or to elucidate a theological teaching and mainly serves the purposes of characterization. The example Mir discusses in most detail is the episode of Moses (q.v.) being called to prophethood and his inability to understand the implication of this act: When God asks about his staff (see ROD), he gives a straightforward answer attempting to be exhaustive about the uses of his staff, while failing to recognize that God is about to reveal to him a miracle (q.v.; Q 20:17-21). Relying on the general definition of humor as the jocular resolution of conflicts, the contrast between the supposed and the real implied in this episode

might be understood to contain humor. In a similar vein, Mir discusses a number of passages (Q 7:43; 9:127; 18:60-4, 65-82; 19:3; 20:18; 33:20; 37:91-2; 47:20; 74:18-25; 86:75-83), ultimately extracting the humorous techniques of irony, satire, anticlimax and circumlocution (see FORM AND STRUCTURE OF THE QUR'ĀN; LANGUAGE OF THE QUR'ĀN; RHETORIC OF THE QUR'ĀN).

Given the dominant presence of the Qur'ān in the everyday life (q.v.) of the Islamic community, it is not surprising to see that it partakes in a humorous outlook on life as depicted in a large number of jocular texts (Marzolph, *Arabia ridens,* ii, 350, s.v. Koran). Stupid people are seen to "correct mistakes" in the qur'ānic text, to quote verses not verbatim but with equivalent wording or corresponding meaning as well as to suggest beautiful poetry (see POETRY AND POETS) deserving inclusion in the Qur'ān (see POLEMIC AND POLEMICAL LANGUAGE; OPPOSITION TO MUḤAMMAD). The misspelling of specific words often generates drastic humor, such as when the jester Ibn al-Jaṣṣās in an anecdote quoted in al-Ābī's *Nathr al-durr* (vii, 389) recites Q 3:192 misreading *akhzaytahu,* "you have annihilated him for good," as *akhraytahu,* understood as "you [God] make him continuously defecate." Often, qur'ānic verses are quoted in humorous contexts (such as by the stereotype *ṭufaylī*), and a number of texts expose jocular solutions to the dogmatic controversy of whether the Qur'ān should be regarded as eternal or created (*makhlūq,* see CREATEDNESS OF THE QUR'ĀN). Several anecdotes are of an almost blasphemous character (see BLASPHEMY), such as the erroneous naming of Q 89 (Sūrat al-Fajr, "The Dawn") as *sūrat al-farj* (i.e. female pudendum, Tawḥīdī, *Baṣā'ir,* iv, 91) or the islamicized version of an anecdote already known from the post-classical Greek *Philogelos* (no. 9), which culminates in the punch-line that Q 112:1 should not be recited because "it killed my donkey, so it probably is even more lethal for humans!" (Ibn al-Jawzī, Ḥamqā, 147). Even the latter instances, however, aim at exposing foolish belief or behavior rather than ridiculing the revelation itself. At the same time, they document that the use of qur'ānic verse in a jocular context in medieval Islamic literature was permitted with a high degree of tolerance. See also LAUGHTER.

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Ḥunayn

Name of a deep, irregular valley, one day's journey from Mecca on the road to al-Ṭā'if, where the Muslims fought a battle in Shawwāl 8/January 630, just a few weeks after the conquest of Mecca (see EXPEDITIONS AND BATTLES). The victory of *yawm Ḥunayn,* the "battle of Ḥunayn," is pre-sented in Q 9:25-7 (cf. Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* xiv, 178-88, ad Q 9:25) as a reminder that

victory (q.v.) can only come from God, for despite their large number, the Muslims were quickly routed by the enemy, until their panicked retreat was transformed into a successful rally by divine intervention.

Early Muslim historians agree that the battle of Ḥunayn was precipitated by the clans of Hawāzin and Thaqīf, who were associated with the city of al-Ṭāʾif, Mecca's (q.v.) chief rival for trade in the region (see TRIBES AND CLANS; ECONOMICS; GEOGRAPHY). Fearing that al-Ṭāʾif was next to be conquered by the Muslims, the clans decided to launch a pre-emptive strike against the Prophet, who marched out to meet them with 2,000 Meccans and 10,000 Helpers (*anṣār,* see EMIGRANTS AND HELPERS). Some of the Meccans who had recently submitted to Muslim rule are said to have been willing to fight to preserve the primacy of Quraysh (q.v.) rather than out of loyalty to the Prophet.

Upon arrival at the valley of Ḥunayn, the Muslims were ambushed and panic ensued. The Qurʾān, using the plural form, says, "then you turned back in retreat" (*thumma wallaytum mudbirīna,* Q 9:25). Various reports stress that the Prophet himself did not retreat, but rather, stood firm, with only a few supporters by his side. The definitive moment in the Muslim rally came when "God sent his calm (*sakīna,* see SECHINA) upon his messenger and the believers" (Q 9:26). The Prophet dismounted from his white mule and declared in concise *rajaz* (see LITERARY STRUCTURES OF THE QURʾĀN), "I am the Prophet, I do not lie; I am the son of ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib." Surprisingly, there is relatively little explanation of the "invisible forces" which God sent to defeat the enemy, although a few reports indicate that these were angels (see ANGEL). It is also reported that the Prophet threw a handful of dust or pebbles towards the enemy, which confused or blinded their vision.

The Muslims collected an enormous booty (q.v.) when the opposing army fled: 6,000 women and children, and thousands of animals. Jurists find a legal precedent in the Prophet's order that men not touch female captives (q.v.) until they had completed a menstrual period (see MENSTRUATION) or delivered a baby (see LAW AND THE QURʾĀN). After an unsuccessful siege of al-Ṭāʾif, the Prophet turned back towards Mecca, accepted allegiance from a delegation from Hawāzin and returned all their captives. The rest of the booty was divided among the Muslim fighters, including some recent converts from Quraysh whose hearts (see HEART) the Prophet wanted "reconciled" to Islam (Q 9:60). Some of the Helpers resented these distributions, suggesting that the Prophet had inclined towards his own people. Hearing this, the Prophet declared his affinity for the Helpers in a speech that moved them to tears, then returned with them to Medina (q.v.), by-passing Mecca and leaving authority over the upcoming pilgrimage (q.v.; *ḥajj*) to a delegate.

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Hunting and Fishing

Pursuing and killing animals of the earth (q.v.) and water (q.v.), respectively, for the purpose of nourishment, profit and/or

sport. There are only a few qurʾānic occurrences denoting hunting and fishing *(ṣayd),* all of which are found in Q 5 (Sūrat al-Māʾida, "The Repast"). The aim of the creation (q.v.) of animals by God is primarily their usefulness for humankind (see ANIMAL LIFE). As a consequence, it is principally permitted to kill and eat them or to use animal products (see HIDES AND FLEECE) if these animals and their products are clean *(ḥalāl);* indeed, they belong to the good things (*ṭayyibāt,* cf. Q 2:172; 7:157; 23:51).

Concerning hunting, the Qurʾān explicitly prohibits the killing of game when a Muslim is in a state of consecration (Q 5:95; cf. Q 5:96) and it declares game thus acquired as unacceptable (Q 5:1; see FORBIDDEN; PROHIBITED DEGREES; LAW AND THE QURʾĀN). Additionally, penalties are stipulated for intentional killing during a state of consecration: an offering must be delivered and expiation for this transgression may be the feeding of poor people or the equivalent in fasting (q.v.; Q 5:95; see ALMSGIVING; BOUNDARIES AND PRECEPTS). Only in this context does the Qurʾān speak about penalties and compensations for nonobservance of legal regulations in connection with the use of animals. The believer (see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF) is warned about encountering game while in a state of consecration; this is a severe test for humankind (cf. Q 5:94). Once a Muslim is not in a state of consecration, however, hunting is expressly permitted (Q 5:2). The Qurʾān has no further statements concerning hunting. No reference is made to hunting methods, the specific animals used to assist people in hunting, nor to the type of game pursued. The hunting of game by means of carnivorous hunting animals (the Qurʾān uses the lexeme *jawāriḥ;* in the Arabic literature of the Middle Ages, this lexeme is usually limited to designate hunting birds only) is, according to the Qurʾān, equal to ritual slaughtering (see CONSECRATION OF ANIMALS): "And if you teach any beasts of prey, training them as dogs and teaching them part of what God has taught you, then eat of what they catch on your account; make mention of the name of Allāh over it" (Q 5:4).

Contrary to game on land, aquatic animals and their consumption are permitted during a Muslim's state of consecration. Fishing is allowed (Q 5:96; cf. Q 16:14; 35:12, containing the allowance to eat food from both fresh and salt water). In spite of this general permission, the consumption of fish in the western part of the Arabian peninsula has remained an uncommon practice because fish are sparse in the interior of Arabia. Ancient Arabian poetry seldom refers to fish and, in qurʾānic times, Muslims were not yet familiar with the most common edible species of fish. In many regions of the Arab world the bias against fishing has persisted. The Qurʾān does not give prescriptions for fishing, although explicit reference is made to pearls and coral (q.v.), both animal products of the sea that are considered to be benefits from God (Q 55:22; see BLESSING). Unlike the absence of any qurʾānic mention of the individuals engaged in fishing for nourishment or profit, there is a qurʾānic reference to a pearl fisher *(ghawwāṣ):* although these pearl fishers are not humans, but devils diving for Solomon (q.v.; Q 38:37, cf. Q 21:82), this profession must have been well-known in qurʾānic times.

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Husband and Wife

see FAMILY; MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE

Hypocrites and Hypocrisy

Those who feign to be what they are not; the act or practice of such people. "Hypocrites" is the word generally used to translate the qurʾānic term *munāfiqūn,* the active participle of the third form of the root *n-f-q*. Its verbal noun, *nifāq,* is usually translated as "hypocrisy," even though this does not cover the full range of meanings conveyed by the Arabic term as used in the Qurʾān. The hypocrites are considered half-hearted believers who outwardly profess Islam while their hearts (see HEART) harbor doubt or even unbelief (see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF; FAITH). Therefore, they are — at best — not fully committed to the Prophet and his community (see COMMUNITY AND SOCIETY IN THE QURʾĀN), and may deliberately harm the interests of the Muslims. The etymology of *nifāq* and *munāfiqūn* is disputed, but they are often associated with the nouns *nafaq,* which means tunnel, and *nufaqa* and *nāfiqāʾ,* i.e. the burrow of a rat or a jerboa. This connotation of hiding underground and undermining is very apt, since this is precisely what the *munāfiqūn* are accused of, especially in post-qurʾānic usage. According to Serjeant (The *Sunnah jāmiʿah,* 11 f.), however, the original meaning of the term *munāfiq* was the one obliged to pay the *nafaqa,* a kind of tax (see TAXATION) exacted from all members of the *umma* in Medina (q.v.), including the Jews, at times of war (q.v.). Those who were reluctant to pay the *nafaqa* came to be regarded as uncommitted to the cause (see PATH OR WAY), and hence as hypocrites. Apart from *nifāq,* the Qurʾān mentions another, minor, form of hypocrisy, called *riyāʾ* (or, alternatively, *riʾāʾ*), which connotes an ostentatious display of piety (q.v.; Q 2:264; 4:38; 8:47; see Deladrière, Riyāʾ).

The concepts of *nifāq* and *munāfiq(ūn),* as well as various verbal forms of *n-f-q,* are mentioned in thirty verses, viz. Q 3:167; 4:61, 88, 138, 140, 142, 145; 6:35; 8:49; 9:64, 67, 68, 73, 77, 97, 101; 29:11; 33:1, 12, 24, 48, 60, 73; 48:6; 57:13; 59:11; 63:1, 7, 8; 66:9. Q 63 is even entitled Sūrat al-Munāfiqūn. Moreover, the insincere believers are frequently discussed without explicit use of this terminology. Thus Q 2:8-20 is considered by most commentators (see EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL; EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: EARLY MODERN AND CONTEMPORARY), e.g. al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923), al-Ṭūsī (d. 460/1067), al-Ṭabarsī (d. 518/1153), al-Zamakhsharī (d. 583/1144), al-Rāzī (d. 606/1210), al-Qurṭubī (d. 671/1272), Ibn Kathīr (d. 774/1373), *Jalālayn,* al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505), Sayyid Quṭb (d. 1966), al-Ṭabāṭabāʿī (d. 1982), to be a description of the hypocrites, though some (e.g. Muḥammad ʿAbduh) take it to refer to the Jews (see JEWS AND JUDAISM) of Medina, who were their allies. Since this is apparently the first reference to the hypocrites, many exegetes use this opportunity to expound their views on the issue and to define the phenomenon (see e.g. the lengthy exposé in Rāzī, *Tafsīr,* ad loc.). Others reserve this for their discussion of Q 63 (e.g. Ṭabāṭabāʿī, *Mīzān,* xix, 287-90).

Other apparent references to the hypocrites are Q 3:118-20, 152-8, 176-9; 8:49-55; 9:107-10. (For a complete list and discussion of these passages, see Maydānī, *Ẓāhirat al-nifāq*.) Traditionally, all passages referring

to the hypocrites have been considered Medinan (see CHRONOLOGY AND THE QUR'ĀN), both by Muslim commentators and by modern scholars. Accordingly both groups identify them as the Muslim opponents of Muḥammad in Medina, those who only half-heartedly accepted him and his message, and did so for worldly gain and in order to safeguard their position in the community, which they would otherwise have lost. When their expectations were not met, they turned against Muḥammad (see OPPOSITION TO MUḤAMMAD). According to Fazlur Rahman (*Major themes,* 160-1), however, hypocrisy was a feature already present among Muḥammad's adherents in Mecca: contrary to the commonly held view, he believes that Q 22:53-4, 29:1-10, and 74:31 date from the period before the emigration (q.v.; *hijra*) from Mecca to Medina. In Rahman's view, the hypocrites of Mecca were weak and fickle-minded people who succumbed to the pressure exerted by their pagan relatives and townsmen to abandon Islam. The accepted opinion, however, is that the term hypocrites did not include Muslims from Mecca, since they were all sincere and had no wealth or power to gain from joining Muḥammad (see Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr,* i, 47).

The Qur'ān does not mention any names, but a long list of Muslim hypocrites and their Jewish patrons and allies may be found in the biography of the Prophet (*sīra,* Ibn Isḥāq, *Sīra,* 351-63; Ibn Isḥāq-Guillaume 242-7; see SĪRA AND THE QUR'ĀN). Here, the undisputed leader of the Medinan dissenters is identified as ʿAbdallāh b. Ubayy b. Salūl (see Watt, ʿAbd Allāh b. Ubayy), whose political ambitions were thwarted by the arrival of Muḥammad (see the account in Ibn Isḥāq, *Sīra,* 411-3; Ibn Isḥāq-Guillaume 277-9). Ibn Ubayy was not only thought to have been involved in the slanderous accusations (apparently alluded to in Q 24:23-6) that almost ruined the reputation of the Prophet's wife ʿĀ'isha (Ibn Isḥāq, *Sīra,* 731-40; Ibn Isḥāq-Guillaume 493-9; see ʿĀ'ISHA BINT ABĪ BAKR; GOSSIP; WIVES OF THE PROPHET), he also sided with the Jews of Medina and the Meccan opponents of Muḥammad. According to the *sīra* literature, Ibn Ubayy promised to come to the aid of the Jews of Naḍīr (q.v.) if Muḥammad were to confront them, but he subsequently abandoned them in their hour of need. Q 59:11-2 is taken as a reference to this (see Ibn Isḥāq, *Sīra,* 652-5; Ibn Isḥāq-Guillaume 437 f.).

The hypocrites are described in the Qur'ān as follows: they pretend to believe in God's revelations but turn to the false deities they were ordered to abjure (see IDOLS AND IMAGES). When invited by Muḥammad to accept God and his messenger (q.v.), they turn away from him with aversion. But God knows what is in their hearts. They should be opposed and admonished (Q 4:60-3). For them will be a painful doom (see REWARD AND PUNISHMENT). They seek to lead the believers astray (q.v.). They attempt to beguile God, but it is he who will beguile them. They perform their prayer (q.v.) languidly and more in order to be seen by others than to worship God. They will go to hell (q.v.), along with the unbelievers, and will be in the deepest fire (q.v.), except those of them who repent and make amends, for the repentent will be counted among the believers and will be rewarded by God (Q 4:140-6). Their true feelings become apparent when they are called upon to fight and defend the community: they make up all kinds of excuses in order to avoid participation in warfare (Q 3:166-8; see FIGHTING; EXPEDITIONS AND BATTLES). This enables God to distinguish the true believers from the lukewarm ones. They look impressive and sound sincere, but they are like decorated blocks of wood.

Although a number of verses (viz. Q 3:167; 4:143) suggest that the hypocrites occupy an intermediary position between believers and unbelievers, they are often condemned together with the declared unbelievers. The Prophet and/or the Muslims are admonished to avoid both these groups which are headed for the same punishment, or to fight them (e.g. Q 9:68, 73; 66:9). Hypocritical men and women alike are cursed by God and will eternally taste the fire of hell, since all of them are transgressors, enjoining the wrong and forbidding the right, and being stingy (Q 9:67-8; 33:73; 48:6; and cf. 57:13; see GOOD AND EVIL; ETHICS AND THE QUR'ĀN). They converted only because they expected that God would enrich them (Q 9:74), but turned against Muḥammad at the first sign of adversity (Q 29:10-1). In their disappointment, they call Muḥammad's promises a delusion (Q 33:12; 8:49).

The hypocrites are sometimes called "those in whose hearts is a disease" (see ILLNESS AND HEALTH). At times these terms appear together (as in Q 33:12, 60), though often only the second epithet is mentioned; in such cases, many take the verse in question as an additional reference to the hypocrites (see *Jalālayn* on Q 2:10; 5:52; 9:125; 33:32; 47:20). The hypocrites do not believe, yet they are afraid that Muḥammad will receive a revelation (see REVELATION AND INSPIRATION) concerning them, in which their true feelings will be uncovered (Q 9:64). Although most verses featuring hypocrites appear to refer to the waverers and backsliders among the tribes of Medina, some specifically mention "the wandering Arabs (q.v.)," i.e. the Bedouin (q.v.) of the surrounding desert. Of them it is said that they are harder in disbelief and hypocrisy, and more likely to be ignorant of the limits revealed by God (Q 9:97-101).

The testimony of ḥadīth

The ḥadīth collections contain numerous traditions concerning the *munāfiqūn* that condemn them in no uncertain terms (for an inventory see Wensinck, *Concordance,* iii, 523-7; id., *Handbook,* 171; see ḤADĪTH AND THE QUR'ĀN). The *Ṣaḥīḥ*s of al-Bukhārī and Muslim each contain a section on the characteristics of the hypocrites, but the most rewarding source is *Ṣifat al-munāfiq* by al-Firyābī, which contains a large collection of logia attributed to the Prophet, his Companions and the subsequent generation (see COMPANIONS OF THE PROPHET). The hypocrites are compared with sheep going astray, joining first one flock, then another. The Prophet warned that they would be the worst plague to hit his community after his death. Various frequently cited traditions describe the characteristics of the hypocrite, e.g. "when he speaks, he lies (see LIE); when he makes a contract, he deceives (see BREAKING TRUSTS AND CONTRACTS); when he promises, he fails to fulfill his promise (see OATHS AND PROMISES), and when he litigates, he is dishonest." Among the authorities quoted by al-Firyābī, al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī takes pride of place. Al-Ḥasan is known to have held the view that the grave sinner is neither a believer nor an unbeliever but something in between, a hypocrite. The Muʿtazila (see MUʿTAZILĪS) developed this teaching of the intermediate position of the sinner, replacing the term *munāfiq* with *fāsiq*. (On the views of al-Ḥasan and his student ʿAmr b. ʿUbayd, see van Ess, *TG,* ii, 256 f., 263; v, 141 f., 148, 174.)

The status of the hypocrites in this world and the next

Even though the Qur'ān seems to be quite explicit on the fate of the hypocrites in the hellfire of the hereafter, this did not prevent (mostly sectarian) theologians from

discussing this matter. After all, strictly speaking, the hypocrites are not unbelievers, since, unlike the latter, they do pronounce the witness to faith (q.v.; *shahāda*) and observe the precepts of Islam, even if this is not backed up by belief in their hearts. For this reason, some theologians were prepared to make allowances for them and to accord them the status of believers, not only in this world, but also in the afterlife (see Ashʿarī, *Maqālāt,* 141; Baghdādī, *Farq,* 9).

As for the hypocrites' status in the present world, since outwardly they behave as true Muslims, it is difficult to tell them apart from the believers and to treat them differently. As long as they keep their views to themselves and do not abandon the precepts of Islam, they are to enjoy their full rights as Muslims: they inherit from Muslims (see INHERITANCE), may marry Muslim women (see MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE), share in the booty (q.v.) captured on military campaigns, and are entitled to a Muslim funeral (see DEATH AND THE DEAD). The moment they display their true colors, however, they should be invited to repent (see REPENTANCE AND PENANCE), and failure to do so may result in the death penalty (see Qurṭubī, *Jāmiʿ,* i, 194; Ibn Kathir, *Tafsīr,* i, 48 f.; van Ess, *TG,* v, 149; see CHASTISEMENT AND PUNISHMENT).

"Hypocrites" as a pejorative term for one's opponents

Using the term hypocrite soon became a convenient way of denouncing one's opponents and discrediting them. Thus the Shīʿīs in general (see SHĪʿISM AND THE QUR'ĀN), and the Ismāʿīlīs in particular, are called *munāfiqūn* by Sunnī authors, often in combination with an additional pejorative epithet, such as *zanādiqa* (heretics, freethinkers; see HERESY), *kāfirūn* (unbelievers), *mushrikūn* (polytheists; see POLYTHEISM AND ATHEISM) or *malāḥida* (heretics; e.g. Ibn Taymiyya, *Majmūʿ al-fatāwā,* xxvii, 525). All those who disagree with the *ahl al-ḥadīth,* too, are termed hypocrites. Of course every group calls its own opponents hypocrites, and the taxonomy varies between Sunnīs and Shīʿīs. Thus the Rawāfiḍ, who deny the legitimacy of the first three rightly-guided *(rāshidūn)* caliphs (see CALIPH), are called hypocrites by the Sunnīs, while they in turn apply this name to the ones who deprived ʿAlī of his rights (Van Ess, *TG,* i, 308; v, 98; see ʿALĪ B. ABĪ ṬĀLIB).

In modern times, too, various groups have been branded as *munāfiqūn,* even if they did not necessarily pretend to be Muslims. Thus the Freemasons, the Rotary Club, the Lions, the Communists and Jehovah's Witnesses — strange bedfellows, to say the least — are denounced by a modern Muslim commentator as hypocrites who are intent on destroying religion and society from within (Maydānī, *Ẓāhirat al-nifāq,* ii, 631-75). They are said to take their orders from "the Jews." Sayyid Quṭb talks about the importance of tracing the hypocrites in society so as to put a stop to their destructive activities. He, too, mentions a Jewish connection, and counts the Communists among the modern-day *munāfiqūn,* clearly indicating the politico-historical contextualizing of the word (see CONTEMPORARY CRITICAL PRACTICES AND THE QUR'ĀN).

"Hypocrites" are held responsible for every disaster that has befallen the Muslim community since the death of the Prophet and that has struck at its cohesion, from the creation of sects and the incorporation of Jewish and Christian practices to the reconquest of al-Andalus. They are described as a fifth column whose purpose is to undermine Islam and Muslim society, often at the orders of some foreign power.

An example of such paranoia is the claim of an unnamed Pakistani official that the success of the Spanish Christians — aided by hypocrites — in getting rid of the Muslims of al-Andalus inspired the government of India to send a fact-finding mission to Spain in order to find out how India can deal with its Muslim neighbor (see Maydānī, *Ẓāhirat al-nifāq,* i, 21 f.).

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I

Ibāḍīs

see KHĀRIJĪS

Iblīs

The devil, mentioned by name eleven times in the Qurʾān. Given its form, the word is likely a corruption of the Greek *diabolos* used in Christian writing to denote the adversary of humans, a sense which continues in the Qurʾān. For further discussion, see DEVIL.

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Iconoclasm

Opposition to the religious use of images. The term "iconoclasm," which literally means "image breaking," became a religious and socio-political movement in the eighth and ninth century C.E. The Byzantine empire (see BYZANTINES) under the pretext of its opposition to icons turned officially against many forms of spirituality, including the cults of saints and monasticism, for more than a century (726-843 C.E.; see MONASTICISM AND MONKS). Inasmuch as opposition to icons had been expressed long before the rise of Islam, any relationship between Byzantine iconoclasm and the Qurʾān must be seen as peripheral and coincidental, albeit cross-cultural.

On the evidence of its artistic history Islam may be called aniconic rather than iconoclastic (Grabar, Islam and iconoclasm, 51). It has opposed the creation of naturalistic-representational art, and has criticized the images themselves as irrelevant objects, unable to capture reality, and as temptations away from the requirements of a good life, rather than as evil per se (see GOOD AND EVIL). In no way does the Qurʾān argue about icons, in the doctrinal sense in which Byzantine theologians like Leontius of Neapolis (ca. 590-ca. 650 C.E.) and John of Damascus (ca. 655-ca. 749 C.E.) engaged themselves. The Qurʾān is preoccupied with the unbelief of pre-Islamic Arabs and their worship of and attachment to pagan deities and their idols (see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF; POLYTHEISM AND ATHEISM; IDOLS AND IMAGES;

IDOLATRY AND IDOLATERS; SOUTH ARABIA, RELIGION IN PRE-ISLAMIC). Deities are false gods (Q 21:52-4, 57) and idols (Q 53:19-20 regarding al-Lāt, al-ʿUzzā and Manāt; Q 71:23 regarding Wadd, Suwāʿ, Yaghūth, Yaʿūq, and Nasr [the gods of the people of Noah, q.v.]; Q 16:36 and 39:17 regarding *al-ṭāghūt,* or "false gods"). No distinction is made in the Qurʾān between a prototype and an image, a distinction made by Byzantine iconophiles in difference to the emperor Constantine V Copronymus (741-75 C.E.), who, with his fellow iconoclasts, equated the icon of Christ with Christ himself and for this they rejected his icon. Equally, if God is the one and only God, all other deities are false and idols simply represent this falsehood (Q 21:52; 25:3). Byzantine iconophiles, too, distinguished icons from idols, applying the latter only to pagan gods (cf. the definition of the second Council of Nicaea in Sahas, *Icon and logos,* 149-50). There would therefore seem to be a convergence here between iconophile and qurʾānic thought.

Deities and idols are themselves created beings (Q 25:3); thus, making and worshipping idols constitute acts of *shirk* in two ways: by worshipping (the Qurʾān makes no distinction between worship [q.v.] and veneration, Q 21:52) created things or beings, and by presuming to create them — a prerogative of God alone, "Who created the heavens and the earth in truth" (Q 6:73; see CREATION). The Qurʾān — with a most telling rhetorical question — stifles the potential claim to creativity by any artist: "Do you worship that which you have carved out… when God has created you and what you make?" (Q 37:96). Idol or image making compromises the uniqueness and unity *(tawḥīd)* of God who is "the creator, the shaper out of nothing, the fashioner" (*muṣawwir,* Q 59:24; see GOD AND HIS ATTRIBUTES). Those who worship idols become attached *(ʿākif)* and "are given up" to them (Q 7:138; 21:52; 26:71). If, indeed, there are four forces of Muslim social ethos — moralism, populism, factualism, historialism — which operate against images (Hodgson, Islām and image, 228-9), the Qurʾān seems to support all four (see COMMUNITY AND SOCIETY IN THE QURʾĀN; ETHICS AND THE QURʾĀN). The Qurʾān leads then to the rejection of "the pollution of the idols" and "any word of falsehood" (Q 22:30; see LIE). An interesting modification is the assertion that Abraham (q.v.) destroyed his kin's idols, but he left one "that haply they might have recourse to it" (Q 21:58). Similarly, an understanding of the human need for tangible manifestations may have played some role in Muḥammad's own concession to the intercession of the "daughters of Allāh" for the sake of his Meccan compatriots, implied in the so-called "satanic verses (q.v.)" of the Qurʾān (Q 53:19-20 and 22:52).

If the Qurʾān knows anything about Byzantine iconoclasm and the theological thinking that goes with it, this is nowhere immediately evident. A possible, albeit cursory, reference to the Christian devotion to icons may be found in Q 25:1-3. This is a praise to God "who… has chosen no son [a possible reference to the Christian belief in Jesus (q.v.) as the Son of God] nor has he any partner in the sovereignty… Yet they [the Christians?] choose beside him other gods who create nothing…, possess not hurt nor profit for themselves, and possess not death nor life, nor power to raise the dead" (Q 25:1-3) — a possible inference to populist Christian beliefs about the powers of icons (see CHRISTIANS AND CHRISTIANITY).

In response to the clear qurʾānic insistence that Jesus as a true prophet was not crucified (Q 4:157; see CRUCIFIXION; PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD), Muslims reject the cross and its veneration. In 103-4/721 Caliph Yazīd II (r. 101-5/720-4) decreed its destruction from all churches under his rule (Theophanes, i, 401-2). By

coincidence or imitation and only a short while later (108-9/726) emperor Leo III the Isaurian (717-41 C.E.) issued the first decree against icons. No wonder that the ninth-century iconophile chronographer Theophanes (i, 405:1; 406:25) branded him and all other iconoclasts as "Saracene-minded." Driven by dynamic monarchic ideas, iconoclasts aimed to bring Christian practice in line with its monotheistic-Semitic background. Paulicians, Jews and Muslims appear, fictitiously or historically, as actively involved in the iconoclastic movement, particularly during the first phase (726-87 C.E.). Modern Byzantinists may be divided on the issue of degree and nature of the Islamic involvement in Byzantine iconoclasm, but they hardly deny the fact of its existence. The opposite has also been suggested (Becker, Christlische Polemik), namely that Byzantine iconoclasm influenced Muslim attitudes towards icons. Byzantine sources point to a Jewish influence on Yazīd and his followers. Evidence has shown (Schick, *Christian communities*) that his edict gave the pretext not only to Jews and Muslims, but also to iconoclast Christians in the lands conquered by the Arabs, to destroy mosaics and icons. A curious historical irony remains, however, that the "iconoclast" Muslim world early on provided a haven for the most ardent Byzantine iconophiles to fight their imperial adversaries with impunity behind the security of Muslim borders (Sahas, *John of Damascus,* 12). Muslim sources, interested mostly in matters of Byzantine-Arab border warfare (see EXPEDITIONS AND BATTLES), bypass iconoclasm as an internal and "idolatrous" affair of Byzantium.

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Idolatry and Idolaters

Worship of a created thing as a god; those who engage in such worship. The Arabic root used most frequently in the Qurʾān in words and expressions suggestive of the

idea of idolatry is *sh-r-k*. That root commonly appears in Arabic in various words connected with the idea of "sharing, participating, associating," etc., and the basic level of meaning is often appropriate, too, in qurʾānic passages. For example, the noun *shirk* seems to mean something like "partnership" or "portion" in "do they [those upon whom you call beside God] have any *shirk* in the heavens?" (Q 35:40; 46:4; see HEAVEN AND SKY). The root has come to be connected with the idea of idolatry since, from the monotheist point of view, one of the things the idolater does is to "associate" other things (supernatural beings, ideas, people, institutions, as well as natural or man-made objects) with God as objects of worship (q.v.) or sources of power. The word *shirk* is used in that sense at Q 31:13: "Do not associate anything with God *(lā tushrik bi-llāhi)* for *shirk* is a grave evil."

Words and expressions involving use of the root *sh-r-k* are relatively frequent in the Qurʾān, generally in passages directed against opponents accused of associating others with God as objects of worship and prayers. *Shirk* itself occurs five times (Q 31:13; 34:22; 35:14, 40; 46:4); *sharīk* and its plural *shurakāʾ,* usually referring to those beings which the opponents (see OPPOSITION TO MUḤAMMAD) are accused of associating with God, forty times; the fourth verbal form *ashraka* in various tenses, moods and persons, usually referring to the act of associating something with God, seventy-one times; and its active participle *mushrik,* in its singular and plural, masculine and feminine, forms, forty-nine times. In English versions of the Qurʾān, Arabic words and phrases referring to those who commit *shirk,* such as *al-mushrikūn* or *alladhīna ashrakū,* are often understood or translated as "the idolaters." However, partly because *shirk* and idolatry are not semantic equivalents, the former may frequently also be translated by other terms, particularly "polytheism" (see POLYTHEISM AND ATHEISM). The *mushrik* acts as if there were divine beings other than God and may, therefore, be viewed as a polytheist as much as an idolater.

Outside the Qurʾān *shirk* is often used in a sense partly or wholly equivalent to that of "idolatry." Modern Arabic, however, regularly uses instead words or phrases such as *ʿibādat al-aṣnām* or *al-wathaniyya,* which, building upon one or the other of the two most common Arabic words for "idol" *(ṣanam* and *wathan),* are more parallel semantically to the English word and its equivalent in other European languages. Although both *ṣanam* and *wathan* occur in the Qurʾān, no expression based on them appears there to indicate the abstract idea of "idolatry." Another qurʾānic term that conveys the idea of something other than God being worshiped is *tamāthīl,* lit. "likenesses," as in Q 21:52, where it designates the objects of Abraham's [q.v.] father's worship (cf. Q 34:13, where the same word is used in reference to objects that the jinn [q.v.] create for Solomon [q.v.]). The word *andād* ("peers" or "equals") is also important in the way in which the charge of idolatry or polytheism is made against the *mushrikūn* in the Qurʾān (Q 2:22, 165; 14:30; 34:33; 39:8; 41:9). It often functions as a parallel to *shurakāʾ.* The opponents are attacked for setting up *andād* before or other than God *(dūna llāhi)*. Compare, for example, Q 39:8, which tells us that the opponents turn to God when they are distressed but forget him once he has responded to them and accept "equals" *(andād)* with him, with Q 29:61-5 (see below) which makes the same charge in different terms and accuses the opponents of *shirk*.

In the Qurʾān, therefore, the opponents to whom pejorative reference is made by expressions such as *al-mushrikūn* are accused of "associating" other beings with God as

objects of worship and prayer. That is the essence of *shirk* in the Qurʾān: it is not that the *mushrik* is unaware of God as the creator and controller of the cosmos or that he believes that God is simply one of a number of beings with equal or equivalent powers, but rather that in his behavior and attitudes he proceeds as if other beings, supernatural or perhaps sometimes human, have powers which a true monotheist would recognize as belonging to God alone. Sometimes, for example, the *mushrikūn* are accused of expecting that beings such as angels (see ANGEL) will intercede for them with God at the last judgment (q.v.) and that their intercession (q.v.) will succeed (e.g. Q 16:86, 18:52; 41:47). In the Qurʾān it is denied that such intercession will avail unless God permits it: the reliance which the *mushrikūn* place on these mediators will in fact lead to their damnation because by relying on them they are failing to be true monotheists.

Shirk in the Qurʾān, therefore, may be understood as an equivalent of idolatry in a partial and extended sense of that latter term that, at a basic level, implies the worship of, and attribution of power to, a concrete and inanimate object. Although Muslim tradition and, following it, much modern scholarship, regard as idolaters in that more basic sense, too, the *mushrikūn* who are attacked in the Qurʾān, it is at least questionable whether that view is justified. The Qurʾān itself says little which would unambiguously justify the conclusion that the *mushrikūn* used idols (statues or other sorts of images) to represent the beings that they are accused of associating with God. It is mainly the accusation that they treat things not divine as if they were — the charge that they associate other things with God — that lies behind the translation of *mushrik* as "idolater" as far as the Qurʾān is concerned.

The charge of "idolatry" in this sense (and probably in any sense) may be an element of inter-religious polemic (see POLEMIC AND POLEMICAL LANGUAGE). Polemically, the basic meaning of idolatry has been extended to cover diverse beliefs and practices viewed as erroneous, such as, for example, the use of icons and images as devotional aids or the view that angels and saints can intercede with God on behalf of the believer. Those who have been accused of idolatry because of their acceptance of such practices and views would deny that they were idolaters and, from the viewpoint of an observer not personally involved in the polemic, may be justified in offering such a denial. What looks like idolatry to one party seems like perfectly good monotheism to the other.

In Islam the charge of *shirk* is used polemically in the same way as that of the accusation of idolatry in branches of monotheism which use European languages, it being directed at other monotheists, often other Muslims, as often as at people who could legitimately be seen as idolaters in any real sense. That polemical sense of *shirk* should be borne in mind when considering the qurʾānic usage.

It is true that the Qurʾān itself sometimes goes beyond accusing the *mushrikūn* of acting like idolaters and polytheists and implies that they were so in the literal and basic sense. That may be understood as the polemical tactic of omitting comparative particles and phrases and of using language which portrays the opponents as really worshipping a plurality of gods and as being connected with idol worship. They are accused, for instance, of associating other gods with God (e.g. Q 6:22; 10:28) and of calling upon their associates "before" or "other than" God (e.g. Q 10:66; 16:86). As for their being connected with idols, it is notable that the words used to suggest the idea of "idol" tend to be *ṭāghūt* and *jibt* rather than the common Arabic

(plurals) *awthān* or *aṣnām*. In pre-Islamic monotheist usage the former pair of words had acquired connotations of idolatry by extension from more literal and basic meanings (see IDOLS AND IMAGES).

It is, however, in the traditional literature outside the Qurʾān (exegetical works *[tafsīr]* but also the traditional material on the life of the Prophet and accounts of pre-Islamic Arabia) that the *mushrikūn* of the Qurʾān have come to be portrayed more consistently as idolaters in the basic sense of the term. In the traditional material the idea, which we often receive in the Qurʾān, that the *mushrikūn* were fundamentally imperfect monotheists who allowed themselves to be misled into associating the worship of other beings with that of God, recedes. Instead they are presented much more as idolaters in a very literal and crude sense. The qurʾānic *mushrikūn* are depicted in extra-qurʾānic tradition as the Meccan and other Arab contemporaries of the Prophet whose religion consisted of worshipping idols and a multiplicity of gods. For example, Q 29:61-5 is a passage that accuses the opponents, although they will admit that God is the creator of the heavens and the earth and the source of the earth's fertility (see CREATION; COSMOLOGY), and although they will call upon God for protection (q.v.) in times of danger upon the sea, of lapsing into *shirk* in normal circumstances. It is a passage that contrasts *shirk* not really with mere monotheism *(tawḥīd)* but with true, pure monotheism *(ikhlāṣ)*. The passage does not explicitly refer to idols or to a belief in a plurality of gods as features of the opponents' religious ideas and behavior, but simply contrasts their theoretical and occasional *ikhlāṣ* with their practical and normal *shirk*.

In a gloss of this passage offered by al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923) in his Qurʾān commentary, however, we find a much more explicit identification of the opponents as worshippers of idols and gods other than God. Adapting Q 39:3, al-Ṭabarī tells us that these opponents think that by worshipping gods other than God they can achieve a closeness and a nearness to God *(yaḥsabūna annahum li-ʿibādatihim al-āliha dūna llāhi yanālūna ʿinda llāhi zulfatan wa-qurbatan);* when travelling on the sea they do not call for help from their gods and those whom they regard as equals of God *(ālihatahum wa-andādahum);* but, once God has brought them safely back to land, they associate a partner *(sharīk)* with him in their acts of worship and pray to their gods and idols *(āliha wa-awthān)* together with him as lords (see LORD).

The *shirk* attacked in the Qurʾān is thus portrayed as a literal and explicit idolatry and polytheism *(ʿibādat al-awthān wa-l-āliha)*. That particular gloss does not tell us precisely who these polytheists and idolaters were but in others, al-Ṭabarī and other traditional scholars frequently make it clear that the Qurʾān is referring to the idolaters and polytheists among the Meccans and other Arab contemporaries of Muḥammad. An example of this type of identification, to be found in the traditional biographical literature on the life of the Prophet as well as in the *tafsīr* literature, explains an obscure practice attacked in Q 6:136. That verse tells us that the opponents divide a part of their agricultural produce between God and their "associates" *(shurakāʾ)* but when they make the division they do so unfairly, favoring the "associates" at the expense of God. In a story that is intended to elucidate the verse and which uses some of the same terminology, a report in the *Sīra* of Ibn Isḥāq tells us that it concerns the tribe of Khawlān and an idol of theirs called ʿUmyānis (the reading of the name is uncertain). When Khawlān apportioned their "tithes" between God and ʿUmyānis they would favor the idol so that if any of the share destined

for the idol fell into that intended for God they would retrieve it and make sure that the idol received it; but if any intended for God fell into the portion of the idol, they would let it remain there and the idol would thus receive what was really God's. In this and similar stories the obscure qurʾānic *shurakāʾ* are identified as idols and the allusive and ambiguous qurʾānic verse is explained as referring to the Age of Ignorance (q.v.; *jāhiliyya*) as it was traditionally understood.

Traditional Islamic literature of various genres contains numerous such stories and elucidation. Sometimes they clearly relate to qurʾānic passages, sometimes they do not seem to have any relationship to a particular passage but could nevertheless be understood as exegetical in a very broad sense in that, taken as a whole, they illustrate and substantiate the traditional view that the *mushrikūn* of the Qurʾān were the idolatrous and polytheistic Arabs (q.v.) of the Ḥijāz and other parts of Arabia in the time of Muḥammad (see SOUTH ARABIA, RELIGION IN PRE-ISLAMIC). In such material *shirk* becomes equivalent to idolatry in its basic sense, not just a concept that overlaps with it and covers some of its extensions. In a report about the Prophet's destruction of idols in the vicinity of the Kaʿba (q.v.) at the time of his conquest of Mecca (q.v.), for example, we are told that Satan called out in woe, despairing that the people of that place would ever again pursue *shirk*.

Whole works came to be composed of such material illustrating and elucidating the religion of the idolatrous Arabs, the best known being the *Kītāb al-Aṣnām* "Book of Idols" attributed to Hishām b. al-Kalbī (d. 206/821). Where *shirk* in the Qurʾān can be understood as a partial equivalent of "idolatry" in some of the polemical senses of the English word, the traditional literature shows us that the *mushrikūn* were idolaters and polytheists of a crude and literal kind and thus makes *shirk* a parallel to "idolatry" in its most basic sense.

In Islam the word *shirk* has sometimes been used with reference to the religion of peoples who, from the monotheist point of view, might be regarded as idolaters in a literal sense — for instance, Hindus or adherents of African religions. More frequently, however, it has maintained the polemical tone which it has in the Qurʾān, for example when one group of Muslims accuses another of *shirk* on account of beliefs or practices which it considers incompatible with pure monotheism or when the Christian doctrine of the Trinity (q.v.) is described as *shirk* (see CHRISTIANS AND CHRISTIANITY).

Modern scholarship has generally accepted the image conveyed by the tradition of the qurʾānic *mushrikūn* as idolaters in a literal sense, and it has used the traditional material as a source of information about the religious ideas and practices which the Qurʾān was attacking. Some scholars, however, have been impressed by the difference in tone between the qurʾānic material pertaining to *shirk* and the *mushrikūn* on the one hand and that of the extra-qurʾānic material on the other, and have sought to account for it in various ways. For example, D.B. Macdonald (Allāh) wrote: "The religion of Mecca in Muḥammad's time was far from simple idolatry. It resembled much more a form of the Christian faith, in which saints and angels have come to stand between the worshippers and God." The relationship between the qurʾānic and the extra-qurʾānic material is complicated, however, by the fact that the latter, alongside its representation of the *mushrikūn* as Arab idolaters in the crude and basic sense, also presents some material which reports monotheist ideas and practices among the pre-Islamic Arabs. For example, we are told that there were individuals known as

*ḥanīf*s (see ḤANĪF) who had abandoned idolatry and turned to monotheism and that even the pagan Arabs maintained certain practices (such as the *talbiya,* the repeated invocation made by pilgrims as they enter the state of ritual purity) which were fundamentally monotheistic but had been corrupted by idolatrous and polytheistic accretions. Generally, these elements of monotheism are explained in the tradition as survivals of the pure monotheism that had been brought to Arabia in the remote past by Abraham (Ibrāhīm). Over time this monotheism had been corrupted by idolatry but elements of it still survived in the time of the prophet Muḥammad, whose task it was to restore it and cleanse it of the idolatrous accretions.

Most frequently, academic scholarship has sought to harmonize all this possibly inconsistent material by applying to it evolutionary theories of religion and suggesting that in the time of Muḥammad the Arabs were evolving out of a polytheistic and idolatrous stage of religion into a monotheistic one. In this scheme the career of the Prophet and the birth of Islam are seen as the culmination of a process which had been taking place for some time.

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Idols and Images

Physical representations — usually of deities or supernatural powers; also, any false god. Various words in the Qurʾān are understood by the commentators (see EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL), sometimes not unanimously, as referring to, or in some way connected with, such representations. The most obvious are two of the most common Arabic words for idols, *awthān* (sing. *wathan*) and *aṣnām* (sing. *ṣanam*), both of which occur in the Qurʾān only in their plural forms. The words *ṭāghūt* and *jibt* are often understood to refer to idols in general or to a particular idol, sometimes in other ways, and a similar uncertainty surrounds the words *nuṣub* and *anṣāb*. *Tamāthīl,* "likenesses," (pl. of *timthāl*), at one of its two occurrences seems to be similar in meaning to *aṣnām* and is often translated as "images." In addition, there are a few references to things which might be regarded as particular idols or images. The root *ṣ-w-r,* associated with the idea of shape, form and image, occurs most frequently in connection with God's fashioning of human beings (see BIOLOGY AS THE CREATION AND STAGES OF LIFE; CREATION) and not with idols or the representation of existing things.

Awthān (Q 22:30; 29:17, 25) and *aṣnām* (Q 6:74; 7:138; 14:35; 21:57; 26:71) appear nearly always in stories about past peoples, for example, in reports about Abraham's (q.v.) dealings with his father and his people. Both words clearly designate idols, and the latter is probably cognate with Hebrew *ṣelem*. Q 7:138, which concerns the Children of Israel (q.v.) after their escape from Pharaoh (q.v.), also illustrates a blurring of the distinction between idol and god: seeing that the people of the land to which they had come cleaved to their *aṣnām,* the Israelites demand of Moses (q.v.) that he make them a god *(ilāh)* like the gods of the people. There seems to be only one passage where *awthān* appears with reference to the contemporary situation addressed by the Qurʾān. Q 22:30 commands the reader or hearer to avoid "the filth of idols and the words of falsehood" (*al-rijs min al-awthān [wa-]… qawl al-zūr,* see LIE). To what, exactly, this phrase refers is not clear. Traditional commentators tend to gloss *al-rijs min al-awthān* simply as "idolatry," al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923; *Tafsīr,* xvii, 112) supplying *ʿibādat al-awthān*. They do recognize, however, a grammatical oddity in that the phrase is not a simple genitive construction (*iḍāfa,* see GRAMMAR AND THE QURʾĀN) like the succeeding *qawl al-zūr*. The context and comparison with other similar passages may suggest an aspect of dietary regulations.

Attempts by the traditional scholars to define *wathan* and *ṣanam* more precisely and to establish a difference in significance between those two words, and between them and words such as *timthāl,* are unconvincing and frequently contradictory. *Tamāthīl* occurs at Q 21:52 and 34:13. The former is part of the story of Abraham's destruction of the idols of his people, and *tamāthīl* here seems to be an alternative for *aṣnām* and *āliha,* both of which occur elsewhere in the story (cf. Q 21:59, 57; 26:71). In Q 34:13, however, it seems to have a more positive or at least neutral significance, appearing in a list of things which were made for Solomon (q.v.) by the jinn (q.v.): "Whatever he wished of large halls, images, deep dishes, and steady cooking pots" *(mā yashāʾu min maḥārība wa-tamāthīla wa-jifānin kal-jawābi wa-qudūrin rāsiyātin)*. Outside the Qurʾān, *tamāthīl* often seems to represent three dimensional images, for example in the phrase *tamāthīl wa-ṣuwar,* where the latter noun refers to pictures or two dimensional images.

These more explicit and common words for idols and images in Arabic are rare in

those qurʾānic passages which charge the contemporary opponents (see OPPOSITION TO MUḤAMMAD) labeled as *al-mushrikūn* with the sin of *shirk* (see POLYTHEISM AND ATHEISM; BELIEF AND UNBELIEF), a concept which has many points of contact with that of idolatry (see IDOLATRY AND IDOLATERS). Instead, when addressing the contemporary situation the qurʾānic polemic against "idolatry" *(shirk)* sometimes uses the less well known and more ambiguous words *ṭāghūt* and *jibt*. We are commanded to shun the *ṭāghūt* and to serve God (Q 16:36; cf. 39:17); the disbelievers are friends of the *ṭāghūt* and fight in their way (Q 2:257; 4:76); there are some who claim that what they believe has been revealed to the Prophet and to previous prophets (see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD; HYPOCRITES AND HYPOCRISY) but nevertheless desire to be brought to judgment to the *ṭāghūt* (Q 4:60); and those who have received "a part of the book (q.v.)" nevertheless believe in *al-jibt wa-l-ṭāghūt* and claim to be on a more correct path than those who believe (Q 4:51; see PATH OR WAY).

Both *ṭāghūt* and *jibt* (the latter is a *hapax legomenon,* occurring only at Q 4:51 where it is found in conjunction with *ṭāghūt*) are variously understood by the traditional commentators but tend to be connected with idolatry. In addition to being explained as referring to idols generically or to a particular idol or idols, these terms are sometimes understood as places such as temples where idols are to be found. Some, on the other hand, see them as referring to such things as soothsayers (q.v.), sorcerers (see MAGIC, PROHIBITION OF) or satans (see DEVIL). It seems clear that to some extent the words and concepts were puzzling to the commentators but that the association of them with the general idea of idolatry — or with features of the Age of Ignorance (q.v.; *jāhiliyya*) connected with idolatry — was not merely speculative.

Modern scholarship has suggested and illustrated various ways in which *ṭāghūt* and *jibt* may be derived from or related to similar words used in connection with the idea of idolatry in pre-Islamic Semitic languages (see FOREIGN VOCABULARY). It seems likely, for example, that the former is related to the Aramaic *ṭʿwt,* associated with the idea of error or wandering from the right path and used in the Jerusalem Talmud and Midrash Rabba with connotations of idolatry or the worship of gods other than God. *Jibt* has been linked with Ethiopic and even Greek vocabulary used in biblical passages referring to idols, images and false gods. The qurʾānic use of these two words, therefore, seems to continue earlier monotheistic usage and significance.

Nuṣub (Q 5:3; 70:43) and *anṣāb* (Q 5:90), connected with the verb *naṣaba* (to erect, set up), are similarly explained in a variety of ways but with a tendency to be associated with idols. At Q 5:3 the phrase "what has been slaughtered on the *nuṣub*" is part of a list of types of meat which are prohibited (see FORBIDDEN; PROHIBITED DEGREES). Commentators disagree on whether *nuṣub* is a singular or a plural form, and they offer a variety of interpretations, including idol or altar of an idol. At Q 70:43 (the unbelievers, on the day of resurrection, will rush from their graves to the *nuṣub*), the same ductus is sometimes read as *naṣb* although *nuṣub* is the accepted reading. Again it is sometimes interpreted to mean idol but sometimes in a more neutral way as "an object at which one aims." At Q 5:90 the *anṣāb* are listed together with wine (see INTOXICANTS), the game of chance called *al-maysir* (see GAMBLING), and divining arrows (see FORETELLING) as "filth of the work of Satan." Some see *anṣāb* as the plural of *nuṣub* and synonymous with

aṣnām, others attempt to distinguish between the two while still connecting *nuṣub* with idolatrous behavior.

Formations from the same root occur in several Semitic languages, with meanings such as pillar, monument, statue, image and perhaps altar. For example, the "pillar of salt" into which Lot's (q.v.) wife was changed in Genesis 19:26 is *neṣīb melaḥ* in the Hebrew, although forms with initial *m* are more common (*maṣṣēbāh, m-n-ṣ-b-t, m-ṣ-b-ʾ,* etc.). Outside the Qurʾān, in traditional accounts of pre-Islamic Arab idolatry (see SOUTH ARABIA, RELIGION IN PRE-ISLAMIC), *nuṣub* often seems to be understood as "idol" or "god." Stories tell how the Arabs would select a stone and set it up as a *nuṣub* which would be worshipped. The *anṣāb al-ḥaram,* however, are understood as stones marking the boundary of the sacred territory enclosing the Meccan sanctuary (see KAʿBA; MECCA; PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QURʾĀN), stones said to have been erected by Abraham.

There are a few passages which refer by name to entities that may be understood as idols, and are often so understood in the traditional literature, although they are not referred to in the Qurʾān by any of the words designating "idol." The golden calf (see CALF OF GOLD) is simply mentioned as "the calf" in the Qurʾān, although in commentary it is often identified as an idol or god. The five gods of the people of Noah (q.v.; Q 71:23; Wadd, Suwāʿ, Yaghūth, Yaʿūq and Nasr) are mentioned in the Qurʾān as "gods" while the extra-qurʾānic tradition counts them as idols. They are included in the lists provided by the tradition of idols of the Age of Ignorance *(jāhiliyya),* and information is supplied about their sites in Arabia, the tribes associated with them, and, sometimes, their forms. Names closely related to those of Wadd and Nasr are to be found in pre-Islamic epigraphy and literature while possible attestations of the other three are rarer and more questionable.

The three names al-Lāt, al-ʿUzzā and Manāt, which occur at Q 53:19-20 and widely in extra-qurʾānic tradition, notably in the different versions of the satanic verses (q.v.) story, are understood by Muslim tradition to be those of three idols or goddesses worshipped by the Meccans and other Arabs, and the traditional material provides details of their sites, the tribes associated with their cults, and stories about their destruction with the coming of Islam. The Qurʾān itself gives little if any information about them, not identifying them as idols or deities but rather insisting that they are mere names. It refers to them in a passage which is concerned with denying that God has daughters (other passages accuse the *mushrikūn* of regarding the angels [see ANGEL] as female offspring of God), refutes the idea that the angels will intercede for the opponents, and insists that it is those who do not believe in the next world who have given the angels female names. The relationship between this qurʾānic passage and the treatment of the three "idols" in the tradition is problematic. There is quite copious attestation in epigraphy and non-Muslim literature of names similar to those given in the Qurʾān and Muslim tradition. See also ICONOCLASM.

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Idrīs

A qurʾānic prophet (see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD) blessed with the virtues of piety (q.v.) and patience (see TRUST AND PATIENCE). There is no doubt that his uniqueness is the result of his ascent to a high station by the hand of God (Q 19:56-7; 21:85). Muslim tradition claims that he ascended to heaven while still alive and there he was awarded eternal life and a permanent home in the fourth heaven, although some traditions place him in the sixth heaven (see HEAVEN AND SKY). Indeed, the prophet Muḥammad meets him in heaven during his nocturnal journey (*isrāʾ,* see ASCENSION). Other traditions, however, maintain that Idrīs was put to death in heaven. Muslim commentators and modern scholars are united in the opinion that the name Idrīs originates from a language other than Arabic (see FOREIGN VOCABULARY). And, assuming that the identification of his original name would reveal more about this enigmatic figure, generations of scholars have offered many explanations about the origins of his name.

Muslim tradition has identified Idrīs with the biblical figure Enoch ben Jared, about whom it was said that "God took him" (*Gen* 5:24). At the same time, Idrīs was also identified with Hermes Trismegistus, the central character in the hermetic writings composed in the second or third century C.E., and with the planet Mercury. Yet, according to Muslim tradition, Idrīs was an antediluvian figure; God sent him to struggle with the giant children of Cain (*jabābīra,* see CAIN AND ABEL) who had sinned, and his importance to humanity is that he succeeded in saving human knowledge (see KNOWLEDGE AND LEARNING) and science (see SCIENCE AND THE QURʾĀN) during the flood and transmitting it to subsequent generations. Other traditions equated him with the prophet Elijah (q.v.); but this is the result of the confusion surrounding Enoch and Elijah in the period prior to Islam because of narratives asserting that they had both ascended to heaven.

Muslim tradition claimed that Idrīs was an initiator in many areas. Most of them maintain that he was the first prophet to be given thirty tablets *(ṣuḥuf,* sing. *ṣaḥīfa),* and the first to write with a stylus *(qalam)* and on a *ṣaḥīfa* (see INSTRUMENTS). He was also the first astrologer, the first to weave cloth and the first to wear clothes (see CLOTHING); before him, people had used only animal skins for clothing (see HIDES AND FLEECE). His war against the children of Cain was the first jihād (q.v.). There are traditions that even describe his image,

portraying him as a tall, fat man with a white mole.

With respect to the roles attributed to Idrīs by Muslim tradition, there is indeed a strong similarity between him and the figures with which he was identified. Hermes Trismegistus is, in effect, the incarnation of Thoth, the Egyptian god, the messenger and scribe of the gods. At the same time, some of the apocalyptic writings (see APOCALYPSE) gave Enoch eternal life in heaven based on the biblical account that God took him up to himself. During his sojourn in heaven, Enoch acquired the secrets of creation (q.v.), learned what would happen in the world in the future and the secret of the solar calendar (q.v.). He was the first to transmit heavenly knowledge to human beings. According to the Jewish book *Ben Sīrā*, Enoch was a "symbol of knowledge for all generations" (*Ben Sīrā* 44:16). Enoch's primacy also derives from his Hebrew name which means "initiation." With respect to the planet Mercury, the parallel between Hermes and Mercury is an ancient one. The Jewish Aggada identified Mercury with the sun's scribe (*BT Shabbat* 156:a). Enoch who, according to the Bible, lived to an age equal to the number of days in a solar year and who transmitted the secrets of the solar calendar to humankind, was also a scribe in the garden of Eden (*Jubilees* 4:23).

Despite the strong connection between Idrīs, Enoch, Mercury, and Hermes Trismegistus from the point of view of their common roles in human history, there is a great dissimilarity among their names. Generations of scholars have attempted to discover the origins of the name "Idrīs" both within and beyond apocryphal and hermetic literature. Casanova and Torrey maintained that the origin of the name Idrīs is from Ezra (q.v.) — which entered Islam in the Greek version of the name, Esdras — who also enjoyed a status of distinction in the apocalyptic literature. Albright claimed that Idrīs is a corruption of the last two syllables of Poimandres, the most important work of hermetic literature. Recently, Gil suggested that Idrīs is a corruption of the name Hermes, a name that reached the Arabs in the form of *hīrmīs*.

It may be possible, however, to discover the missing link between the name Idrīs and Enoch by means of the Qumran scrolls. These scrolls are based on the previously extant Enoch literature and excerpts of this apocalyptic literature in Hebrew and Aramaic were found in the twentieth century in caves in the Judean Desert. The Damascus Covenant scroll mentions a character called the "interpreter of the Torah" *(dōresh ha-Torah)*, whose name describes his occupation. The "interpreter" is identified with the "legislator" *(meḥōqeq)* and this links him to Enoch of the apocalyptic literature, who brought the secrets of the heavens to human beings. The connection between Hermes, whose name means "interpretation" *(hermeneia)*, and *dōresh* is clear. In the Damascus Covenant scroll, the "interpreter of the Torah" is also identified with "the star," the name used to refer to Mercury, although its full name in Hebrew is "the sun star." In view of the etymological connection between *dōresh* and Idrīs, and the similarity of their roles and those of Hermes Trismegistus and the planet Mercury, it is possible that the figure of the "interpreter of the Torah" contains the solution to the origin of the name Idrīs. Apparently, the apocalyptic literature of Enoch penetrated Islam in the era of the Prophet by means of the Manichaeans. Fragments of this literature which were discovered in the Qumran caves are the basis of Mani's *Book of giants*. After the death of Muḥammad, the Shīʿtes made extensive use of the apocalyptic literature

of Enoch and of Enoch himself, as well as the other antediluvian figures (see SHĪʿISM AND THE QURʾĀN). In later periods, hermetic literature was widely utilized by Muslim science. The many facets of Idrīs may thus be explained since, from the outset, Islam shaped the image of Idrīs under the influence of this earlier eclectic literature.

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ʿIfrīt

Mentioned once in the Qurʾān as designation of a jinn (q.v.), the word *ʿifrīt* (pl. *ʿafārīt*) gave rise to numerous interpretations. In the qurʾānic version of the story about Solomon (q.v.) and the Queen of Sheba (see BILQĪS), the former asks for somebody to fetch him the Queen's throne, whereupon an *ʿifrīt* of the jinn offers to bring it even before Solomon can rise from his place (Q 27:39). The duty is not given to him, however, but to somebody who is endowed with the knowledge of the scripture (see BOOK; SCRIPTURE AND THE QURʾĀN) and still surpasses the *ʿifrīt* in swiftness (Q 27:40).

As just stated, the word *ʿifrīt* is attested only once in the Qurʾān and is not found in Arabic poetry. Instead of *ʿifrīt,* several variants are recorded, especially *ʿifriya* and *ʿifr* (Qurṭubī, *Jāmiʿ,* xiii, 203; Ālūsī, *Rūḥ,* xxi, 197). Arabic philologists in general assign the word to the root *ʿ-f-r.* They explain it to mean either "strong, powerful, effective," or "cunning, wicked, impudent, evil, rebellious" or a combination of both of these notions. Al-Zamakhsharī (d. 538/1144; *Kashshāf*) connects the word to the basic meaning of the root *ʿ-f-r,* "dust," by explaining *ʿifrīt* as "the wicked, abominable one who casts his fellow into the dust" (cf. also *Lisān al-ʿArab,* iv, 586). Western philologists speculated about a foreign origin of the word. Jeffery (*For. vocab.,* 215; see FOREIGN VOCABULARY) follows them in claiming that the word may be derived from Pahlevi *āfrītan* "create," but this etymology is highly improbable and does not correspond to the broader cultural or linguistic context of the Arabic usage of the word. Instead, Fischer (Miszellen, 871-5) established an Arabic origin to be most likely by adducing several parallel Arabic word forms, thus confirming the Arabic philologists' assignation of the word to the root *ʿ-f-r.*

The exact qurʾānic meaning of *ʿifrīt* is difficult to establish. Ideas about *ʿafārīt* in folklore may have caused the majority of translators to take *ʿifrīt* in Q 27:39 as the proper name of a specific class of the jinn and to render the passage simply as "an ʿIfrīt of the Jinn(s)" or the like. This practice stands in marked contrast to the scholarly Islamic tradition which considers *ʿifrīt* to be a descriptive adjective used in Q 27:39

to designate a special quality of the mentioned jinn. None of the classical scholarly treatises about jinn (al-Shiblī, al-Suyūṭī, al-Ḥalabī), nor even al-Damīrī's *Ḥayāt al-ḥayawān,* mentions the *ʿafārīt* as a distinct species of jinn, nor can such a notion be deduced from a famous passage in al-Jāḥiẓ (*Ḥayawān,* i, 291), where a tradition is quoted according to which a jinn will be called *ʿifrīt* if he is stronger than a jinn that is called *mārid*. Only in writings that reflect popular belief do we find this notion of *ʿifrīt* as a distinct category of jinn. So we are told in al-Ibshīhī's *Mustaṭraf* (ii, 545-7; Fr. trans. ii, 325-32) that the *ʿafārīt* form a special kind of the demons (*shayāṭīn,* see DEVIL) and are dangerous for their habit of preying upon women. This is only one example of a great range of beliefs in various kinds of demons and spirits of the dead, beliefs which are still com-mon throughout the Arab world and which have come to be called by the qurʾānic word *ʿifrīt*.

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Ignorance

Lack of knowledge (see KNOWLEDGE AND LEARNING). The words ignorance, ignorant, etc., usually translate Arabic words derived from the root *j-h-l,* which appear twenty-four times in the Qurʾān. One of these words, *jāhiliyya,* is discussed in the article AGE OF IGNORANCE. The present article discusses the others and also briefly considers other roots that convey ideas related to ignorance.

The classical Arabic dictionaries define *j-h-l* mainly in contrast to *ʿ-l-m,* knowledge, but Goldziher, Izutsu and others have argued that in pre-Islamic literature *j-h-l* almost always refers to excessive and often fierce behavior rooted in pride (q.v.) and honor (q.v.). The pre-Islamic poet ʿAmr b. Kulthūm, for example, killed the king of Ḥīra when the latter's mother insulted his mother and sang, "Let no one act fiercely *(yajhalnā)* against us, for we shall be fiercer than the fierce *(fa-najhala fawqa jahli l-jāhilīna)*" (Zamakhsharī, *Kashshāf,* iii, 99). *J-h-l* here contrasts not with *ʿ-l-m,* knowledge, but with *ḥ-l-m,* the quality of self-control arising from a sense of strength. The highest virtue involved a proper balance between *jahl* and *ḥilm* and, while *ḥilm* was usually preferable, *jahl* had its place. The poet sings: "Although I be in need of *ḥilm,* of *jahl* I am at times in greater need" (Stetkevych, *Muhammad,* 8).

In the Qurʾān one can see three differences from the pre-Islamic concept of *jahl*. It loses all positive moral value and becomes an excessive and willful resistance to the truth (see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF). It is

never specifically contrasted to *ḥilm* and, in fact, has no clear and consistent antonym. It comes in some cases to mean simple lack of knowledge in contrast to *ʿilm,* a usage quite rare in the earlier period. The passages that come closest to expressing the *j-h-l/ḥ-l-m* contrast are probably Q 25:63 and 28:55. In the former the servants of God are described as "those who walk the earth modestly (or humbly, *hawnan,* see MODESTY) and who, when the insolent *(jāhilūna)* address them, say 'peace.'" Al-Zamakhsharī (d. 538/1144) illustrates *jāhilūna* with the verse from ʿAmr b. Kulthūm quoted above. Many of al-Ṭabarī's (d. 310/923) sources gloss *hawn* as *ḥilm* and al-Zamakhsharī describes "peace" in Q 28:55 as "a word of *ḥilm*" (*Kashshāf,* iii, 185).

J-h-l appears as willful excess in Q 27:54-5, where Lot (q.v.; Lūṭ) asks his neighbors, "Do you commit indecency (see HOMOSEXUALITY) with your eyes open?… Indeed, you are a people given to excess *(tajhalūna)*." Likewise in the stories of Noah (q.v.; Nūḥ, Q 11:29), Hūd (q.v.; Q 46:23) and Moses (q.v. Mūsā, Q 2:67; 7:138) the root refers to a forceful resistance to the prophet's message (see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD). This resistance may be maintained in the face of overwhelming evidence, as in Q 6:111: "If we sent angels (see ANGEL) to them and the dead (see DEATH AND THE DEAD) spoke… they would not have faith (q.v.), unless God willed, but most of them are given to *jahl (yajhalūna)*." In these usages, *j-h-l* seems close to *kufr* (active rejection of faith) though the roots appear together only once (Q 48:26); it is more often connected with idolatry (Q 7:138, 197-9; 39:64; 46:22-3; see IDOLATRY AND IDOLATERS) and at least once with *ẓulm* (injustice, Q 33:72; see JUSTICE AND INJUSTICE). Although often the context does not clearly dictate whether *j-h-l* means excessiveness or simple ignorance, in some places it certainly means the latter. A good example is Q 49:6: "If a corrupt person brings you news, check it, lest you harm people in ignorance *(bi-jahālatin)* and then regret it." Elsewhere such ignorance is the occasion for repentance (see REPENTANCE AND PENANCE) and (divine) forgiveness (q.v.; Q 4:17; 6:54; 16:119; possibly Q 11:46; 12:89). In these cases, as in the others, the moral concern is central (see ETHICS AND THE QURʾĀN; VIRTUES AND VICES).

Thus, from its connotations in the pre-Islamic period to those in the Qurʾān there is some degree of shift in the meaning of *j-h-l* from excessive behavior toward simple ignorance. The ḥadīth (see ḤADĪTH AND THE QURʾĀN) carry this further, since there *j-h-l* appears more often in the latter than the former meaning, at least judging by the listings in Wensinck's *Concordance*. Probably the shift in meaning was associated partly with the infrequency of *ḥ-l-m* in the Qurʾān (it appears only four times as a human characteristic), but is more likely due to the centrality of *ʿ-l-m* both in the Qurʾān and in classical Islamic culture. *J-h-l* could be seen first as causing or resulting from lack of knowledge and then as coming to refer primarily to this absence of *ʿilm*. This connection is suggested by a ḥadīth describing the signs of the last hour (see APOCALYPSE; LAST JUDGMENT): "*ʿIlm* will vanish, *jahl* will prevail, wine (see INTOXICANTS) will be drunk and people will fornicate (see ADULTERY AND FORNICATION) openly" (Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ, K. ʿIlm,* 22). The older meaning is still alive in some contexts, as is indicated by some contemporary usages of *jāhiliyya* (see AGE OF IGNORANCE).

Other roots which convey something like the idea of ignorance are *gh-f-l, n-k-r,* and *z-n-n*. *Gh-f-l* is unawareness or negligence and may refer to innocent unawareness, as when people have not yet received a divine message (Q 6:131, 156; 7:172; 12:3; see

BOOK; MESSENGER). More often, though, it involves culpable negligence of the unseen world (Q 30:7; see HIDDEN AND THE HIDDEN), the day of judgment (Q 21:97; 50:22) or the signs (q.v.; *āyāt*) of God (Q 7:146). This may result from active denial (Q 7:146), from desires (*hawā,* Q 18:28) or from satisfaction with worldly life (Q 30:7). It may be a manifestation of *kufr* (Q 21:97) or a sign that God has sealed people's hearts (Q 16:108; see HEART). *N-k-r* conveys the idea of not knowing something and thus finding it strange and repugnant. Abraham (q.v.; Ibrāhīm), for example, finds his visitors *munkarūn,* strange and suspicious (Q 15:62; 51:25). The root most commonly appears in the form *munkar,* unrecognized and morally wrong, usually contrasted to *maʿruf,* recognized and right (see GOOD AND EVIL). Elsewhere it connotes unheard of and terrible actions, including divine punishments. (e.g. Q 18:74; 22:44; see PUNISHMENT STORIES; CHASTISEMENT AND PUNISHMENT). In several passages it refers to the rejection of God's blessing (q.v.) or revelation (see REVELATION AND INSPIRATION), e.g. "They recognize *(yaʿrifūna)* the blessing of God, then deny it *(yunkirūnahā)* and most of them are *kāfirs*" (Q 16:83; cf. 40:81 etc.). *Ẓ-n-n* conveys the notion of guesswork as opposed to certainty. In a number of passages it refers to a correct opinion (e.g. Q 17:102; 72:12), but more often to a wrong and often ill-conceived opinion about God or God's actions. It is often contrasted with knowledge (*ʿilm,* e.g. Q 2:78; 4:157) and sometimes with truth (*ḥaqq,* Q 53:28), and is associated with idolatry (*shirk,* Q 10:36) and unbelief (*kufr,* Q 38:27), and at least once with *jāhiliyya* (Q 3:154). It characterizes those who willfully reject the truth in favor of their own opinions.

All of these terms show that, in the Qurʾān, ignorance is usually something more dynamic and dangerous than mere lack of knowledge and nearly always has moral implications which are of central concern.

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Iḥrām see PILGRIMAGE

Iʿjāz see INIMITABILITY

Ilāf

An infinitive of the Arabic root *ʾ-l-f* which has been explained in various ways by Muslim commentators of the Qurʾān as well as by modern scholars. It occurs in one qurʾānic chapter (Q 106:1-2), where it is annexed to the name Quraysh (q.v.), and is associated with the "journey of the winter and the summer" (see CARAVAN).

Most of the exegetical explanations are based on the view that *ilāf Quraysh* describes the manner in which the Meccan people of Quraysh conducted the winter and the summer journey. They revolve around the basic range of meanings of the root *ʾ-l-f,* which are "to resort habitually (to a place)," or "to become familiar (with a

thing)," or "take pleasure (with a thing or a person)." Accordingly, *ilāf Quraysh* was explained as denoting the keeping of Quraysh to their journeys or their preparations for that purpose. *Ilāf (*also *īlāf* and *ilf)* was also understood in the sense of "protection," i.e. of traveling with the guarantee of safety, and eventually became one of the names for the grants of security which the leaders of Quraysh (the sons of ʿAbd Manāf) reportedly obtained from the kings of the Byzantines (q.v.), the Persians, the Abyssinians (see ABYSSINIA) and the Yemenis (see YEMEN) — a grant of security which enabled them to conduct their journeys safely. Alternatively, it was explained that the security the Quraysh enjoyed in their journeys originated in their holy status as a people of God who dwelt in the sacred territory *(ḥaram)* of Mecca, near the Kaʿba (q.v.; see GEOGRAPHY). *Ilāf* here signifies protection (q.v.) granted by God, and this notion is supported by the variant reading *īlāf,* an infinitive of the fourth form, which denotes God's habituation of Quraysh to their journeys. The perception of the term *ilāf* in the sense of divine protection goes well with the subsequent verses (Q 106:3-4) in which the Quraysh are commanded to worship "the lord of this house (see HOUSE, DOMESTIC AND DIVINE) who has fed them against hunger (see FAMINE) and secured them from fear (q.v.)." In this manner the worship (q.v.) of God emerges as a token of gratitude for the *ilāf* which God has granted Quraysh (see GRATITUDE AND INGRATITUDE). The scope of the divine benefaction (see BLESSING; GRACE) inherent in the term *ilāf* was also expanded to the position of Mecca as a center of pilgrimage (q.v.) and trade (see ECONOMICS), from which the Quraysh were said to have benefited apart from the profits made abroad during their winter and summer journeys (see PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QUR'ĀN). Muslim exegetes (see EXEGESIS OF THE QUR'ĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL) explained further that, thanks to Mecca's central position, the Quraysh could even afford to stay in Mecca and forego their journeys. These interpretations of *ilāf* are evidently marked by the urge to elevate Mecca to the rank of a universal center.

The preposition *li* by which *ilāf Quraysh* is preceded has been explained in accordance with the above interpretations. It has been taken to denote wonder ("wonder ye at the *ilāf* of Quraysh") or as indicating cause or purpose (see GRAMMAR AND THE QUR'ĀN). In the latter sense the *li* is relevant to the notion of divine benevolence, and has been linked to the subsequent verses of the sūra ("for the *ilāf* of Quraysh… so let them worship, etc."). Since this sūra was once considered part of Q 105 "The Elephant" (Sūrat al-Fīl), the *li* — as indicating cause or purpose — has also been connected with the destruction of the People of the Elephant (q.v.; see also ABRAHA) and both chapters were taken to revolve around the idea of divine mercy (q.v.): "(God has destroyed the People of the Elephant) for the sake of the *ilāf* of Quraysh." The *li* was also explained as denoting a command and, in this case, the form *ilāf* was replaced in a variant reading (see READINGS OF THE QUR'ĀN) by a verbal form: *li-ya'laf,* or *li-ta'laf.* This reading probably takes verses 1 and 2 to denote: "Let the Quraysh keep to (the worship of God) just as they used to keep to the winter and summer journey." Thus, the message of the term *ilāf* has become purely religious: persistence in the worship of God.

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Illegitimacy

The state of having been unlawfully conceived. Although references to adultery (see ADULTERY AND FORNICATION) with clear legal bearings are frequent in the Qurʾān (see LAW AND THE QURʾĀN), and the ability to determine the paternity of a child is a major social concern of the Qurʾān (see COMMUNITY AND SOCIETY IN THE QURʾĀN; FAMILY; KINSHIP; INHERITANCE) — as exemplified by the parameters for a woman's "waiting period" for remarriage after divorce and widowhood (see MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE; WIDOW) — there is no unequivocal reference to illegitimacy in the sense of children (q.v.) conceived out of wedlock. One qurʾānic reference is the term *zanīm* (Q 68:13), meaning "one adopted among a people to whom he does not belong, base, ignoble, mean, son of an adulteress" (cf. Lane). In the commentaries and translations of Q 68:13 the term *zanīm* is normally interpreted as "baseborn, ignoble, mean" and only rarely as "son of an adulteress."

Al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923), in his commentary on Q 68:13 (*Tafsīr,* ad loc.), quotes a ḥadīth (see ḤADĪTH AND THE QURʾĀN) according to which the Prophet is asked about the meaning of the terms *ʿuṭull* and *zanīm* in Q 68:13. The Prophet is said to have explained *al-ʿuṭull al-zanīm* as "shameless, imprudent" *(al-fāḥish)* and as "ignoble, evil" *(al-laʾīm),* but not as an illegitimate child (see Wensinck, *Concordance,* ii, 345). The commentators also mention, however, the possible meaning "one whose father is not known and whose mother is a prostitute" (cf. Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr; Jalālayn;* Qurṭubī, *Jāmiʿ* ad Q 68:13). In any case, *zanīm* as "son of an adulteress," i.e. an illegitimate child, remains one of several possible interpretations. Even if *zanīm* refers to an illegitimate child in this verse, the term is also used disparagingly for a person of bad character with no associated legal context.

There are only a few sayings of the Prophet on illegitimacy that could have legal and theological bearings. Al-Qurṭubī (d. 671/1272; *Jāmiʿ,* on Q 68:13) quotes a ḥadīth according to which an increase in the number of illegitimate children is considered to be an omen of God's punishment (see CHASTISEMENT AND PUNISHMENT), as well as another tradition according to which the child of an adulterous union does not enter paradise (q.v.), and so forth (see also Wensinck, *Concordance,* v, 147). Al-Ṭabarī (*Tafsīr,* ad Q 68:13) gives another synonym for *zanīm,* i.e. *daʿī,* the plural form of which *(adʿiyāʾ)* also occurs once in the Qurʾān (Q 33:4-5); *daʿī* is usually interpreted as an adoptive child or a child without known parentage (cf. Lane). Owing to the lack of clear reference to illegitimacy in the Qurʾān, the subsequent legal arguments concerning an illegitimate child (normally called *walad al-zinā* or "child of adultery") do not seem to be derived directly from the Qurʾān (see Snouck Hurgronje, Rechtstoestand; id., Toelichting; Juynboll, *Handbuch,* 195 f.).

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Illiteracy

The inability to read or write any language. This inability puts a person at a disadvantage and is regarded as a defect in societies where culture transmission and human communication occurs through writing (Meagher, Illiteracy, 1766b). In considering the situation in Arabia at the time of the prophet Muḥammad (d. 632 C.E.), however, quite different categories have to be applied: the common cultural and historical property of the tribes (see TRIBES AND CLANS) — their knowledge, crystallized in Arabic poetry, genealogies, and stories of tribal battles — was retained almost exclusively in memory and transmitted orally (see ORALITY AND WRITINGS IN ARABIA). Writing and literacy (q.v.) played a minor role, even though the "art of writing" was already known among the Arabs and used, for example, by tradesmen and in cities. Yet the early Arabic sources on the history of Islam do provide some evidence that Muḥammad, especially as a statesman in Medina (q.v.), used scribes to correspond with the tribes. Likewise, though infrequently rather than constantly, he probably had them write down parts of the qurʾānic revelation (see REVELATION AND INSPIRATION) he had received. These would have been on separate pages, not yet in one single book (cf. the widespread ḥadīth, according to which the Prophet dictated, *amlā ʿalayhi,* qurʾānic verses to Zayd b. Thābit, who is well known in the Islamic tradition for the significant role he later played in the recension of the Qurʾān; Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* no. 2832, 4592; see also Hamidullah, *Sahifah Hammam,* 12-3; see COLLECTION OF THE QURʾĀN).

Whether or not the Prophet was able to read or write cannot be established from these historical-biographical references. The qurʾānic evidence in this respect is also equivocal and unclear. There is, on the one hand, the divine declaration in Q 29:47-8: "We have sent down to you the book (q.v.; *kitāb*)… Not before this did you recite any book, or inscribe it with your right hand, for then those who follow falsehood would have doubted." This would seem to indicate that Muḥammad did not read or write any scripture "before" he received the revelation. On the other hand, Q 25:5 points to attempts made by "unbelievers" (here polytheist Meccans; see POLYTHEISM AND ATHEISM) to discredit Muḥammad by claiming that he was not receiving a divine revelation but simply "writings of the ancients" (*asāṭīr al-awwalīn,* see GENERATIONS; HISTORY AND THE QURʾĀN) which he had written down or which he had had written down *(iktatabahā)* and which were dictated to him *(tumlā ʿalayhi)* at dawn and in the early evening (see INFORMANTS). It is notable, even if this sentence refers to the opponents of the Prophet (see OPPOSITION TO MUḤAMMAD), that the medieval commentators (see EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL) understand *asāṭīr al-awwalīn* (which occurs nine times in the Qurʾān) to mean "writings" or "stories (taken from writings)," explaining them as "narratives that they (i.e., the ancients) used to write down in their books" (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, ix, 366).

This understanding is supported by the derivation of the plural form *asāṭīr* from the Arabic singular *saṭr,* "line" (alternative plural forms *asṭur, asṭār* and *suṭūr,* cf. *Lisān al-ʿArab,* iv, 363); or the Semitic form *s-ṭ-r,* "to write" (cf. Sprenger, *Leben und Lehre,* ii, 395; Nöldeke, *GQ,* i, 16, n. 4; Fück, Das Problem, 6); but also from the singular *usṭūr,* an allegedly Ḥimyaritic loan-word,

which suggests "something written" *(maktūb)* or even a "book" (cf. Suyūṭī, *Itqān,* ii, 380, no. 2466, on the authority of Ibn ʿAbbās). Some other scholars of that time explain *asāṭīr* instead as a plural of the singular *usṭūra,* "tale, story" (e.g. *Jalālayn* ad Q 25:5). *Iktataba* seems to have two meanings, "to write down" (synonymous with *istansakha,* Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr,* vi, 157; and with *intansakha, Jalālayn* ad Q 25:5; cf. *Lisān al-ʿArab,* i, 698; likewise Paret's translation, "die er sich aufgeschrieben hat"), but also, in a possibly secondary meaning, "to ask somebody to write down" (cf. *Lisān al-ʿArab,* i, 698). Some translations refer to the latter meaning: "[which] he has caused to be written" (Yūsuf ʿAlī), "he has got [these tales] written" (Shakir) or "he has had written down" (Arberry). The phrase *tumlā ʿalayhi* seems to be unattested in Arabic in pre-Islamic times and may have been first used in the Qurʾān (cf. *Lisān al-ʿArab,* xv, 291). Many medieval commentators explain it as "[writings or tales] were read to him" (with *tumlā* in the meaning of *tuqraʾu;* cf Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* ix, 366; Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr,* vi, 158); others add "… in order to memorize them" (*li-yaḥfaẓahā,* in *Jalālayn* ad Q 25:5; *ḥattā tuḥfaẓa,* Qurṭubī, *Jāmiʿ,* xiii, 4) or "this means that they were written down for him while he was illiterate *(ummī)*" (Rāzī, *Tafsīr,* xxiii, 51). Relying on this explanation, some modern scholars translate it as "they were dictated before him" (Yūsuf ʿAlī) or "read out to him" (Shakir), "they are recited to him" (Arberry). Nevertheless, the older philological material as evident in ḥadīth (see ḤADĪTH AND THE QURʾĀN) clearly indicates that *amlā ʿalā* at that time just meant "to dictate to a writer." The Prophet, for example, "dictated" to Zayd b. Thābit; a transmitter reports that, in the middle of the first/seventh century or even before, he wrote with his own hand a ḥadīth of the Prophet, which a Companion of the Prophet (see COMPANIONS OF THE PROPHET) had "dictated" to him (Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad,* no. 6478); and apparently in the year 146/763, a juridical decision was fixed in writing by *imlāʾ,* "dictation" (Dārimī, *Sunan,* ii, 62, no. 2190; see furthermore *Lisān al-ʿArab,* xv, 291). Some scholars translate accordingly "they were dictated to him" (Pickthall), "sie werden… ihm diktiert" (Paret).

In fact, it is above all the term *ummī* — a favored qurʾānic epithet for the Prophet — which plays for Muslims a key role in designating Muḥammad's (il-)literacy. Muslim consensus tends in modern times to perceive *ummī* as merely meaning "unable to read and to write," i.e. "unlettered," and it seems that this understanding of the word was popular already in the Middle Ages. As one can imagine, a rendering like this is not only significant for the comprehension of the self-understanding of the prophet Muḥammad but is of central theological importance, as well. The core meaning — as well as the actual etymology — of *ummī* is problematic. This has caused both (medieval) Muslim and non-Muslim scholars to offer a range of interpretations without, however, actually solving the problem. In western publications, the widespread comprehension of *ummī* as "illiterate" is particularly controversial. Nonetheless, there are also some attempts by contemporary Muslim scholars to alter the image of an "illiterate" Prophet of Islam by emphasizing further possible meanings of the qurʾānic *ummī* (see for example, al-Baghdādī, Ummi prophet).

In the following it will become clear that the term *ummī* must be understood in the context of two other qurʾānic expressions, *umma,* "people, nation (of the Arabs, q.v.)" (see Haarmann, Glaubensvolk, 175), though it seems that *ummī* is not a direct derivative of *umma;* and, secondly, *ummiyyūn,* the plural of *ummī.* (The more specific meaning of *umma* in the religious

sense of "community [of the Muslims]," or the "not ethnically defined people of God," only became important during Muḥammad's time in Medina; for this usage, see COMMUNITY AND SOCIETY IN THE QUR'ĀN.) Furthermore, in qur'ānic usage, *ummī* and *ummiyyūn* do not represent a single meaning but a spectrum of ideas covering distinct but intimately connected sub-meanings. These include such significations as anyone belonging to a people, viz. the Arabs (i.e. a people not having a scripture); anyone not having a scripture (i.e. not reading [it]); anyone not reading a scripture (i.e. not being taught or educated [by something or somebody]). This means that only the particular context can precisely determine which aspect of the semantic field is to be preferred. Finally, a philological-historical examination of the terms does not confirm the traditional interpretation of *ummī,* which focuses simply on "illiteracy." Rather, this interpretation reflects a post-qur'ānic approach that seems to have evolved in some circles of Muslim learning not before the first half of the second/eighth century (cf. Goldfeld, The illiterate prophet, 58) and that has been further shaped under the influence of Muslim apologists.

Medieval Muslim commentators on ummī

The term *ummī* occurs twice in the Qur'ān as an attribute of the Prophet, "I shall prescribe it for… those who follow the messenger (q.v.), the *ummī* Prophet, whom they find described written down with them in the Torah (q.v.) and the Gospel (q.v.)" (Q 7:157); "Believe then in God, and in his messenger, the *ummī* Prophet" (Q 7:158). Nöldeke (*GQ,* i, 158-60) considers these two verses to be possibly Medinan insertions into the otherwise Meccan sūra (see CHRONOLOGY AND THE QUR'ĀN; FORM AND STRUCTURE OF THE QUR'ĀN). In Medinan sūras, the plural form *ummiyyūn* occurs signifying and characterizing two different groups of people, Arabs who have not been given the book (Q 3:20, 75; 62:2) and certain Jews (i.e. "those not knowing the book," Q 2:78; see JEWS AND JUDAISM).

Medieval Muslim commentators "are of different opinions" (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* iii, 316) concerning the meaning of *ummī* and its plural *ummiyyūn*. They basically present the following three explanations, of which the first is generally given priority: (a) *Ummī* is derived from *umma,* which means "people, nation (of the Arabs)." In pre-Islamic times, *umma* particularly signified or was even used synonymously for the "Arab people" (see e.g. Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* xxii, 88, ad Q 62:2), implying the secondary meanings of either "not being able to read or write" (i.e. "unlettered, illiterate, belonging to the common people") or "not having a holy scripture" (and so "not reading [it];" see SCRIPTURE AND THE QUR'ĀN). That is to say, on the one hand, the Arabs prior to Islam, in the time of inexperience and ignorance (*jāhiliyya,* see AGE OF IGNORANCE) concerning the one God, were a people *(umma)* who "did not write nor read" (Qurṭubī, *Jāmiʿ,* vii, 299; Shawkānī, *Tafsīr,* ii, 252 — both on Q 7:157): "We are an *ummī* nation, we do not write and do not count," according to a widespread saying of the Prophet. The Arabs were "unlearned" in terms of the use of script; they were an *umma ummiyya,* a nation which was still in the original state of birth *(ʿalā aṣl wilādatihā),* who had not learned writing or reading; and so the Prophet was *ummī,* i.e. "he did not use to write, read and count" (Sijistānī, *Nuzha,* 112; Qurṭubī, *Jāmiʿ,* vii, 298). On the other hand, the Arabs were "untaught" in terms of religion, they were *mushrikūn,* "pagans, heathens (see POLYTHEIM AND ATHEISM; SOUTH ARABIA, RELIGION IN PRE-ISLAMIC)," not having a holy book (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* iii, 214; *Jalālayn;* Rāzī, *Tafsīr,* vii, 227-228; also Zayd, *Tafsīr,*

106 [all four on Q 3:20]; Shawkānī, *Tafsīr,* i, 354, ad Q 3:75). Occasionally *ummī* is rendered as "illiterate" without any explanation. (b) The term is connected with *umm al-qurā* (Q 6:92; 42:7), "the mother of cities," an epithet for Mecca (q.v.) and thus indicates the "one originating from Mecca," i.e. Muḥammad (see, for instance, Qurṭubī, *Jāmiʿ,* vii, 299, ad Q 7:157). Al-Baghdādī (Ummi prophet, 40) states, "It is clear, that to say that Muḥammad being 'Ummi' means he was illiterate and not from Mecca, 'Umm-al-Qurā,' is falsity and clear blasphemy, and that those who repeat such an interpretation defy, without logical or divine proof, God's Divine Wisdom in choosing his best creation and most sublime invention to guide mankind." Generally speaking, this kind of explanation also focuses on the ethnic aspect of the question, since the inhabitants of Mecca were Arabs (see also GEOGRAPHY). (c) *Ummī* can be derived from *umm,* "mother," indicating a person "in an original state," as pure, natural and untouched as when delivered by the mother (e.g. Rāzī, *Tafsīr,* viii, 109, ad Q 3:75; Shawkānī, *Fatḥ,* ii, 252, ad Q 7:157). This would incorporate, metaphorically speaking, the meanings of "uneducated, untaught or illiterate," an understanding which seems to project onto early Islam certain Ṣūfī categories prevalent at the time of the commentators (Schimmel, *Mystical dimension,* 26, 218; see ṢŪFISM AND THE QURʾĀN).

In explaining the qurʾānic *ummī* as indicating the Prophet's illiteracy, medieval commentators maintain that the term originally included two meanings: firstly, the inability to read and write in general and, secondly, the inexperience or ignorance (q.v.) of the *kitāb* as a sacred [written] revealed text. Nevertheless, they do focus exclusively on "illiterate," possibly because Muḥammad, after he had received the qurʾānic revelation (e.g. Q 29:47) and had become the Prophet, could no longer be regarded as *ummī* in the second sense.

Once established and accepted as a tenet of the faith (q.v.), Muḥammad's illiteracy has never been understood by Muslims in a derogatory sense. In fact, it has been taken as a particularly convincing sign of the genuineness of his prophethood, one which makes him distinctive from all previous prophets. As al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923; *Tafsīr,* vi, 83, ad Q 7:157) explains, "there is no messenger of God known to be characterized in this way — I mean by *ummī* — except our prophet Muḥammad" God had sent him as his messenger at a time when he did not write or read from a book, i.e. when he was unable to read any previously revealed scripture (Q 29:48). Muḥammad was chosen by God while in this "natural condition" in order to pass on to the Arabs and all humankind the Qurʾān, for Muslims the unadulterated and final revelation. Al-Rāzī (d. 606/1210) formulates this idea in an exemplary way:

> If he [Muḥammad] had mastered writing and reading, he possibly would have been suspected of having studied the books of the ancients. Hence, he would have acquired all these branches of knowledge *(ʿulūm)* through this reading *(muṭālaʿa)*. So, when he passed on this mighty Qurʾān, which includes so many fields of knowledge, without having had any learning and reading *(min ghayr taʿallum wa-lā muṭālaʿa),* this was one of the miracles *(muʿjizāt)* [of his prophethood]…. God provided him with all the knowledge of the ancestors and of later generations *(ʿulūm al-awwalīn wa-l-ākhirīn),* gave him from among the branches of knowledge and truths, that which none of the human beings before him had ever achieved. In spite of this mighty power of mind and understanding, God made him [in the condition of] not having learned how to write, [a matter]

which can be easily learned [even] by people with the least mind and understanding (Rāzī, *Tafsīr,* xv, 23, ad Q 7:157). [Muḥammad was] a man, who had not learned from a master *(ustādh),* and who had not studied any book or attended any lecture of a scholar, because Mecca was not a place of scholars, and the messenger of God was not absent from Mecca for a long period of time, which would make it possible to claim that he learned [so] many sciences during that absence. God did open for him the gate of knowledge (see KNOWLEDGE AND LEARNING) and realization [of his prophethood], even though [he was unlettered]…" (ibid., xv, 29, ad Q 7:158).

Thus, the quality of the Prophet as being *ummī,* "illiterate," became a central feature of religiosity in Islam. In a manner similar to Christianity, where God reveals himself through Christ, "the word made flesh," and where the virginity of Mary is required to produce an immaculate vessel for the divine word, so God reveals himself in Islam through the word of the Qurʾān (see WORD OF GOD). And the Prophet of Islam "had to be a vessel that was unpolluted by 'intellectual' knowledge of word and script so that he could carry the trust in perfect purity" (Schimmel, *Mystical dimension,* 26-7).

Ummī *explained by Islamicists*

Non-Muslim specialists in the field also stress the derivation of *ummī* from *umma*. Although their arguments differ, they all agree in rejecting the meaning of "illiterate." One can summarize three points of view: (a) With *umma* in the sense of "people, nation [of the Arabs]," its derivatives *ummī* and *ummiyyūn* would signify somebody "belonging to the Arab *umma,* someone of Arab origin," or simply "an Arab" (e.g. Wensinck, Muhammed, 172; Nallino, *Raccolta di scritti,* 60-5). (b) On the basis of historical and etymological arguments, *ummī* is understood as meaning "untaught" (equivalent to Aramaic/Syriac *ʿālmāyā;* Hebrew *gōyīm*), "unlearned" in opposition to "learned, educated" (e.g. Geiger, *Was hat Mohammed;* Th. Khoury, *Der Koran,* ii, 30; Rubin, *Eye,* 24; Arberry translates "of the common folk," which may reflect both meanings). It is also regarded as comparable with the talmudic *ʿam hā-ʿāres,* an expression used by the Jews to indicate the "people" who are ignorant of the scriptures or who are not sufficiently well-versed therein, i.e. "laymen" or "people not knowing [the scriptures]" (e.g. Fleischer, *Kleinere Schriften;* Ahrens, Christliches im Qoran). (c) Nöldeke (*GQ,* i, 14) draws attention to the fact that *ummī* and *ummiyyūn* occur in the Qurʾān always as counterparts of *ahl al-kitāb,* "the People of the Book (q.v.)," "people who possess a holy scripture, who know it, who are well-versed therein." This observation has led others to conclude that if the meaning of "untaught, uneducated" were applied in strictly religious terms, i.e. "not having received a revelation," or "not being thoroughly familiar with it," *ummī* would mean "layman" or "heathen"; see for instance Sprenger, *Leben und Lehre,* ii, 401-2; Horovitz, *KU,* 51-3; id., *Jewish proper names,* 46-7; Buhl and Schaeder, *Das Leben,* 131).

Philological, historical and theological dimensions

Muslim and western scholars alike stress the philological and historical significance of deriving *ummī* from *umma* (cf. also Lane, i, 92). According to this approach, *ummī* and *ummiyyūn* are affiliated nouns (*nisba*s) of *umma*. *Umma,* in turn, stands for any group united by a common belief, common era or common place; every individual identified by this *nisba* is part of this entity and is expected to share its general features (Ibn Qutayba, *Taʾwīl,* 74-5). *Umma* refers in this context also to "a group who summon to the good" (*ummatun yadʿūna ilā l-khayri,*

Q 3:104), which is explained as *jamāʿat al-ʿulamāʾ… ay muʿallimūn,* "a group of scholars… i.e. teachers."

Most medieval scholars base their explanations on probably accurate historical knowledge that the Arabs did not read or write, though they abstain from any further philological clarification. In fact, it is the actual meaning of *umma* as evident from the Qurʾān, and the elucidation of the word's development within the framework of the Semitic languages, which provide the following important insights.

Umma occurs frequently in the Qurʾān and it indicates four different groupings: (a) Mainly a collectivity, thus an entire community, people joined together by linguistic and/or political ties, an aggregate of tribes or parts of tribes (see especially Nallino, *Raccolta di scritti*). This is shown by the fact that prophets were sent to different *umma*s (cf. Q 6:108; 10:47; 16:36, 84, 89; all third Meccan period); some of them believed, others did not (Q 16:36). (b) That which is united by the same belief, the original *umma wāḥida* of humankind (Q 10:19, third Meccan); God could have made humankind an *umma wāḥida,* if he had wanted to do so (see Q 43:33, second Meccan period; Q 42:8, third Meccan period; Q 5:48, Medinan period); a religiously defined unit, i.e. the sum of beliefs accepted by people (Q 43:22, 23, second Meccan period, referring here to the paganism of Mecca). This can be combined with Q 21:92-3; 23:52-3 (second Meccan period), where the identity of the Islamic *umma* in contrast to the *umma*s of earlier prophets seems to be established. (c) A group of individuals who break off from a people or from all humankind (Q 3:104, 110, Medinan). (d) Other meanings are, for instance, an entity of a species or an entire genus of animals (*umam,* Q 6:38, third Meccan period); a space of time, a meaning probably connected to the duration of an *umma,* a generation of people (Q 11:8; 12:45, third Meccan period); as well as an odd reference in which the word *umma* is applied solely to Abraham (q.v.; Q 16:120, third Meccan period).

As shown throughout, the qurʾānic usage of *umma* never indicates "common folk, unlearned people" as opposed to "learned people, scholars." This observation is supported, firstly, by the qurʾānic notion that each *umma* has its messenger (*rasūl,* Q 10:47; 16:36; also 13:38; 16:63; cf. Q 35:24, all third Meccan period), and each age its sacred book (Q 13:38, end of the third Meccan period). Only the Arabs were deprived of revelation (Q 36:6; 43:20-1, second Meccan period), so God chose a messenger from among them (Q 3:164, third Meccan period). Muḥammad became the warner (q.v.) in plain Arabic speech (Q 26:194, 195, second Meccan period), to whom the "Arabic Qurʾān" was revealed (Q 20:113; 43:3, second Meccan period; Q 12:2; 39:29; 41:2; 42:5, third Meccan period; see ARABIC LANGUAGE). This is further confirmed by expressions such as *Qurʾān mubīn* (Q 15:1, second Meccan period), *kitāb mubīn* (Q 26:2; 27:1; 43:2; 44:2, second Meccan period; Q 12:1; 28:2, third Meccan period; cf. Q 5:19, Medinan period), *āyāt bayyināt* (e.g. Q 22:16; 29:49; 57:9, Meccan) and derivatives of *fuṣṣila,* "to be divided into particular sections," a term that points to the process of the revelation of the Qurʾān. The Arabs became an *umma,* a people with a sacred text in their own language in which they were obliged to believe (e.g. Q 26:198, 199, second Meccan period).

This understanding is also confirmed by the Semitic context of the word. *Umma,* and its derivative *ummī,* comes from proto-Semitic *umma* (Aramaic *ummᵉthā;* Hebrew *ummā;* see Paret, Umma; Horovitz, *Proper names,* 46-7). To signify all other peoples in contrast to the people of Israel, the Israelites used *ummōt hā-ʿōlām,* "the peoples of

the world." (The phrase is not found in the Torah [q.v.], but often in the Midrash, which increasingly circulated during the third and fourth centuries C.E., a time which is important for the development of Old Arabic.) In Hebrew, *umma* signified a "nation of Gentiles," non-Jews — a notion implying "peoples who did not have a scripture and did not therefore read [it]."

According to Horovitz's citation of the Ṣafā inscription, it seems that the word *umma* found its way into Arabic at a relatively early period (see Paret, Umma; Horovitz, *Proper names,* 46-7). Presumably, the idea implied in the word was carried into Old Arabic as well. It is important to note that the Jewish designation of attributing the plural of *umma* to "other people," i.e. non-Jews, seems to have been extended in medieval Islam by Muslims to non-Muslims. This is shown by authors of the eighth/fourteenth and ninth/fifteenth centuries such as Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya and al-Qalqashandī who designate in this way the "opponents of Islam" who are divided into *umam,* or the "the nations of infidelity," *umam al-kufr* (cf. also Haarmann, Glaubensvolk, 178). The philological observation that in Old Arabic *ummī* as a *nisba,* at least in its plural form *ummiyyūn,* was also used to designate "non-Jews," is distinctly supported by historical information reported by Companions of the Prophet quoted in exegetical works. According to these accounts, shortly before Islam and during the lifetime of Muḥammad, Arabic speaking Jews called the Arabs *ummiyyūn,* either because "the Arabs did not have a religion" that was based on a written revealed text or because the Arabs "had given up their old [polytheist] belief for another, i.e. Islam" (see e.g. Rāzī, *Tafsīr,* viii, 108-9, ad Q 3:75).

Other quotations of early authorities confirm that the emphasis of the *umma* derivatives — *ummī* and *ummiyyūn* — was in early times primarily on the meaning of "belonging to people not having a scripture" and "belonging to a nation [of Gentiles]," though implying, in a secondary sense, "not having or not reading a revealed book." Al-Qurṭubī states that "The term *ummiyyūn* refers to all Arabs, i.e. those who did write and those who did not; [they were indicated thus] since they were not People of the Book" (*Jāmiʿ,* xviii, 91, ad Q 62:2; according to Ibn ʿAbbās). Further, "with *ummiyyūn* the Arabs are intended, i.e. both among those who used to master writing and those who did not, [they were called in this way] since they were not "People of the Book," [even though] *ummiyyūn* originally means "those who do not write and who do not read written material" (ibid., xviii, 91, ad Q 62:2). Earlier, al-Ṭabarī had made a similar assertion: "Muḥammad's people were named *ummiyyūn* since no book had been revealed to them. 'A Prophet from among the *ummiyyūn* was sent to them' means that… Muḥammad was [an?] *ummī* since he arose from among the Arabs" (*Tafsīr,* xii, 89, ad Q 62:2, on the authority of Ibn Zayd).

If these and similar explanations quoted in exegetical works are applied to the relevant qurʾānic passages, "Arabs not having a book" are therein clearly distinguished from peoples previously having received a written revelation: "And say to those who have been given the book and to the *ummiyyūn:* 'Have you surrendered?'" (Q 3:20); "… they [i.e. some Jews] say: 'There is no way over us as to the *ummiyyūn*.' They [the Jews] speak falsehood against God and knowingly" (Q 3:75); "It is he who has raised up from among the *ummiyyūn* a messenger from among them, to recite his signs to them and to purify them, and to teach them the book and the wisdom, even though before that they were in manifest error (q.v.)…" (Q 62:2). In Q 2:78 only a group of Jews is characterized by the term

and the perspective has changed. Accordingly, the term emphasizes the secondary meaning of not "reading" the holy scripture: "And there are some among them [the Jews] that are *ummiyyūn* not knowing the book, but knowing only fancies and mere conjectures."

Observations like these have led Wensinck (*Muslim creed,* 6; also Muhammed, 192) to draw attention to the apostle Paul writing to the Romans: "I speak to you Gentiles, inasmuch as I am the apostle of the Gentiles" (Romans 11:13) and to distinguish Muḥammad in a similar way as "the Arabian Prophet of the Gentiles, speaking to the Gentiles to whom no Apostle had ever been sent before." It is, however, more important to note that *al-nabī al-ummī,* if understood in the way shown here, can contribute essentially to the understanding of the early history of Muḥammad's prophethood, since it stresses both the "origin" (national-Arab) and the "originality" of the Prophet of Islam — who was not influenced, taught or pre-educated by (reading) any previous sacred scripture. Thus, it is the *ummī* messenger from among the *ummiyyūn,* i.e. the Arabs not having yet a divine scripture or reading it, whom Jews and Christians find "written down with them in their Torah and in the Gospel" (Q 7:157), and who is sent to be "a warner to the world" (Q 25:1, Meccan) and the messenger of God "to all people" (Q 7:158, possibly Medinan).

Within a more general framework, one should also bear in mind that the Qurʾān expressly calls Jews and Christians *ahl al-kitāb,* "People of the Book." This term implies the notion of designating people who had previously received a divine revelation in a written form (e.g. "We gave to Moses [q.v.] the book," Q 2:87) and, by this, of distinguishing them from Muslims. On the other hand, Muḥammad "teaches" from a single universal "book," the original *kitāb* which is preserved in heaven (Q 62:2; see HEAVENLY BOOK; HEAVEN AND SKY), through admonitions (see EXHORTATIONS) in "speech (q.v.) form" and "recitation" (the literal meaning of *qurʾān*). It is this orally dominated setting forth of the divine revelation to the public (see ORALITY), which highlights the distinctiveness of Islam and its Prophet as being different from previous religions and prophets, i.e. both the complex nature of the qurʾānic characterization of Muḥammad as *ummī* and the way in which Muslims have traditionally interpreted the term. This perspective might also clarify the emphasis which has always been laid in Islam on the believers' individual experience of listening to or "reciting" the Qurʾān aloud (see RECITATION OF THE QURʾĀN).

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ʿIlliyyūn

A term occurring twice in the Qurʾān (Q 83:19 and 18) that Western scholars have considered to be derived from the Hebrew *ʿelyōn,* "the highest" (Paret, ʿIlliyyūn). Many medieval and post-medieval Muslim commentators understand the term to connote the inscribed book where the deeds of the pious are listed (see RECORD OF HUMAN ACTIONS; HEAVENLY BOOK; PRESERVED TABLET). All the early commentaries, however, appear to interpret *ʿilliyyūn* as the name of a place high in heaven (see HEAVEN AND SKY). Suggestions about the specifics of where or what it is include: paradise (q.v.), up on high, the fourth heaven, the seventh heaven, above the seventh heaven, the heaven near God, the right leg of the throne (see THRONE OF GOD), the highest place where the spirits of the believers are, (near) *sidrat al-muntahā,* "the lote tree on the boundary" (Q 53:14). In his *Tafsīr,* al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923) concludes, as does the lexicographer al-Azharī, that the word is in the plural, because its meaning is higher than high; the book of the deeds of the pious is in the highest place, of which God alone knows the boundaries, which are not limited to the seventh heaven.

The earlier commentators (see EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL) apparently interpret the question asked in Q 83:19: "and do you realize what *ʿilliyyūn* is?" as rhetorical or as an exclamatory remark (see RHETORIC OF THE QURʾĀN; GRAMMAR AND THE QURʾĀN). Al-Qurṭubī (d. 671/1272; *Jāmiʿ,* ad loc.) states explicitly that it is said that *kitāb marqūm,* "an inscribed book (q.v.)," of Q 83:20 is not the explanation of *ʿilliyyūn*. Most later commentators, like al-Rāzī (d. 606/1210; *Tafsīr*) and al-Zamakhsharī (d. 538/1144; *Kashshāf*), however, understand Q 83:20 to explain the previous verse, and believe *ʿilliyyūn* to be the *dīwān* in which the deeds of the pious are recorded. Al-Bayḍāwī (d. ca. 716/1316; *Anwār*) and *Jalālayn* mention both possibilities. In modern times both interpretations are found (see EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: EARLY MODERN AND

CONTEMPORARY). The early lexicographers al-Khalīl and al-Azharī define it as the plural of *ʿilliyy,* the place in the seventh heaven to which the spirits of the believers are raised (see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF; RESURRECTION; SOUL). The occurrence of the term in the canonical ḥadīth (see ḤADĪTH AND THE QURʾĀN) is in accordance with the opinion of the early commentators.

In sum, it may be concluded that *ʿilliyyūn* certainly is related to the Hebrew *ʿelyon* and probably even derived from it, but the Hebrew word also may simply mean "uppermost, highest" and does not necessarily refer to heavenly realms or creatures. Nevertheless, it is interesting that at least once (Qurṭubī, *Jāmiʿ*) *ʿilliyyūn* is explained as referring to the highest assembly of angels (Q 38:69; see ANGEL).

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Illness and Health

States of physical ailment and soundness. *Maraḍ* is sometimes used in the Qurʾān to convey the literal meaning of physical illness, while at other times, it is used in a metaphorical sense. For the literal meaning, the verbal form *mariḍa* occurs only once with the first person pronoun — the speaker is the prophet Abraham (q.v.) — as its grammatical subject (Q 26:80). This verse attracted much attention from qurʾānic commentators because its apparent meaning contradicts the dominant doctrine of God's omnipotence (see POWER AND IMPOTENCE). Although the Qurʾān teaches that everything, bad or good, happens according to God's decree and will, commentators on the Qurʾān (see EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL) were reluctant to ascribe to God human misfortunes like illness. In addition to the aforementioned verbal form, the active participle *marīḍ* occurs five times (Q 2:184, 185, 196; 24:61; 48:17), as does its plural form *marḍā* (Q 4:43, 102; 5:6; 9:91; 73:20). The context always inclues the qurʾānic prescription to relieve sick people of certain religiously imposed constraints (i.e. fasting, q.v.), which they should otherwise observe.

The Qurʾān puts more emphasis on moral illness than on physical sickness (see ETHICS AND THE QURʾĀN). The verbal noun *maraḍ* is mentioned in the Qurʾān thirteen times referring to both disbelief (*kufr,* see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF) and hypocrisy (*nifāq,* see HYPOCRITES AND HYPOCRISY), as a disease *(maraḍ)* in the hearts (see HEART) of the disbelievers and the hypocrites. While the disease of disbelief *(kufr)* could be cured, hypocrisy *(nifāq)* is incurable because the hypocrites *(munāfiqūn)* pretend to be Muslim while they hide *kufr* in their hearts. The *munāfiqūn* are, according to the Qurʾān, born with an incurable sickness in their hearts which God has increased and they will be harshly punished in the afterlife because of their bad conduct (Q 2:10; see EVIL DEEDS). In many places, the Qurʾān refers to itself as cure *(shifāʾ)* to the diseases of the hearts: "O humankind!

There has come to you an exhortation (*mawʿiẓatun,* see EXHORTATIONS) from your lord, and a cure *(shifāʾun)* for what is in the hearts *(ṣudūr)*. For the believers, it is guidance *(hudā)* and mercy *(raḥma)*" (Q 10:57). "But for those in whose hearts *(qulūb)* is a disease, it increases their illness" (Q 9:125). The metaphor of *maraḍ* is, indeed, "one of the most important elements in the semantic constitution of *nifāʾ*" (Izutsu, *Concepts,* 182). Deafness and blindness (of the heart) are two other metaphors that present, in a very vivid style, the symptoms of such a disease: "For those who do not believe [in the Qurʾān], there is deafness in their ears (q.v.) and it is blindness for them" (Q 41:44; see HEARING AND DEAFNESS; VISION AND BLINDNESS; SEEING AND HEARING).

As a result of the qurʾānic emphasis on the moral and ethical diseases, Muslim theologians and jurists have paid considerable attention to the matter of human intention (q.v.; *niyya*). Al-Bukhārī (d. 256/870) opens his *Saḥīḥ* with the ḥadith, quoted in all the canonical collections, "Deeds are only judged by intention" *(innamā l-aʿmāl bi-l-niyyāt)*. While some theologians include deeds *(afʿāl)* in their definitions of faith (q.v.; *īmān*), others consider faith to be a matter of heartfelt belief *(taṣdīq)* only (cf. Ashʿārī, *Maqālāt,* i, 225-34). Ṣūfism has generated a great deal of literature about the divine position of the spiritually healthy human heart; it is considered "God's throne inside man" (Ibn ʿArabī, *Tadbīrāt,* 120-32; see ṢŪFISM AND THE QURʾĀN). Al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111) devotes a part of his *Iḥyāʾ* to explaining the wonders *(ʿajāʾib)* of the heart and how to clean and purify it, so that it will be ready to receive divine knowledge (see KNOWLEDGE AND LEARNING) directly from God.

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Illumination

see ORNAMENT AND ILLUMINATION

Ilyās

see ELIJAH

Images

see IDOLS AND IMAGES

Imām

A term (pl. *aʾimma*) used in the Qurʾān to mean the following: symbol, leader, model, ideal example, revelation, guide, archetype, and foremost. It appears in the Qurʾān seven times in the singular and five times in the plural form. The term *imām* has been interpreted and applied in various ways in Islamic history up to contemporary times and has been significant in shaping the politico-religious dimension of the Muslim *Weltanschauung*.

The Qurʾān's symbolic reference to the appointment of Abraham (q.v.) as an imām (leader) of humanity in Q 2:124 counsels that religious submission to the belief in the one unseen God — Islamic monotheism — is borne out of various trials (see TRIAL) in life resulting in the attainment of religious and moral integrity (see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF; ETHICS AND THE QURʾĀN). Q 46:12 and 11:17 refer to the revelations (see REVELATION AND INSPIRATION) received by Moses (q.v.) and Muḥammad as *imām* — books (see BOOK) of religious

guidance — while Q 36:12 uses the word *imām* to refer to the record of the deeds of every individual (see RECORD OF HUMAN ACTIONS), these deeds having consequences for the nature of life after death (see REWARD AND PUNISHMENT; FREEDOM AND PREDESTINATION). At the personal level, the Qurʾān urges all Muslims to pray for themselves and their families to become *imām* in faith — foremost in God-consciousness or piety (q.v.). Attainment of piety is seen as a sign of becoming an imām. The above mentioned usages of the term *imām* characterize the main features of religious experience in Islam. The following two sets of qurʾānic verses, Q 21:73; 28:5; 32:24 on the one hand and Q 9:12; 28:41 on the other, distinguish between two types of imām(s) in relation to religio-social leadership — the imāms *(aʾimma)* of guidance *(hidāya)* — religiously guided leaders who promote religious belief and righteousness, and the imāms of unbelief *(kufr)* and the fire (q.v.; *al-nār*) — immoral and unjust leaders who spread corruption (q.v.) on earth, rejecting belief in God and thereby drawing humanity to hellfire (see HELL). The Qurʾān cites the opposition of the prophets Lot (q.v.; Lūṭ) and Shuʿayb (q.v.) as representing the distinction between *aʾimma* of *kufr* and *al-nār* and *aʾimma* of *hidāya.*

Q 17:71 refers to the history of imāms among Adam's (see ADAM AND EVE) progeny. God raised prophets and righteous leaders among various groups of people who were charged with the task of conveying and upholding the message of monotheism. These figures will on the last day (see APOCALYPSE; LAST JUDGMENT) bear witness to the good deeds (q.v.) and sins (see SIN, MAJOR AND MINOR) committed by their communities in relation to the moral-theological aspects of monotheism (see also EVIL DEEDS; GOOD AND EVIL). The qurʾānic archetype of the imām as an exemplary religious-social-political leader, as presented in the narrative of the prophet Abraham (q.v.; Ibrāhīm), acquired a variety of meanings over time and has been applied eclectically by Muslims in their political and religious lives, with many sects or groups asserting the qurʾānic legitimacy of their derived politico-theological interpretations.

The Khārijīs (q.v.), the first sect of Islam, with its insistence upon the principles of human equality and the application of qurʾānic justice, called for the free election of a just and religiously steadfast Imām, to be chosen regardless of his tribal and racial background. Currently, the Ibāḍiyya of Oman and North Africa are the only surviving Khārijī sub-sect with a continuing tradition of an elected Imām. The Shīʿa (see SHĪʿISM AND THE QURʾĀN) reject the politico-religious leadership status of the first three caliphs of Islam, recognizing instead ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib (q.v.) as the first Imām, whose religious charisma and political leadership is transmitted genealogically. His descendants have the sole legitimate claim to the office of the imāmate. For the Shīʿa, the Imām is endowed with the inner *(bāṭinī)* meaning of the Qurʾān which was transmitted by Muḥammad to ʿAlī and Fāṭima (q.v.), his son-in-law and daughter, respectively, and from them to his blood descendants. For the Nizārī sect of the Ismāʿīlī Shīʿa, the current Aga Khan is the forty-ninth manifest/living *(ḥāḍir)* Imām. He is regarded by them as a personification of the Qurʾān. The Mustaʿlī branch of the Ismāʿīlī Shīʿa look upon their "guide" *(dāʿī muṭlaq)* as being the sole representative and religious teacher of their community since Imām al-Ṭayyib went into concealment *(ghayba)* in 524/1130. The Ithnā ʿAsharī Shīʿa, the "Twelvers," the majority of whom reside in Iran, Iraq and Lebanon,

revere the twelve descendants of Fāṭima and ʿAlī up to Imām Muḥammad al-Mahdī, who went into concealment *(ghaybah)* in 260/874, as the only infallible interpreters of the Qurʾān. Since then, the Twelver Shīʿīs have looked upon their religious scholars, *mujtahid*s and *āyatullāh*s, as religious leaders in lieu of the Imām until his return. For the Khārijīs and the Shīʿīs, Imāms hold both religious and political power simultaneously. They know the inner meaning of the Qurʾān, lead the Muslim community and interpret and apply Islamic law (see LAW AND THE QURʾĀN; POLITICS AND THE QURʾĀN).

Sunnī Muslims, as proponents of the social-religious principle of the followers of the tradition of the Prophet and community (*ahl al-sunna wa-l-jamāʿa,* see SUNNA), do not believe the Imām to be divine in status. For them, the term constitutes an archetypal reference to the personalities of the prophets Abraham and Muḥammad in their capacity as model prophets and statesmen, both representing unwavering adherence to the principle of monotheism and integrated religious, moral, social, and political leadership. Sunnī Muslims confer the title "Imām" separately upon the prayer leader in the mosque, and use it as an honorific title for just political leaders and accomplished scholars of the Islamic religious sciences.

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Īmān

see FAITH; BELIEF AND UNBELIEF

Immortality

see ESCHATOLOGY; RESURRECTION; ETERNITY; PARADISE; HELL AND HELLFIRE; FIRE; GARDEN; DEATH AND THE DEAD

Immunity

Release of or exemption from a duty. *Barāʾa,* a derivative of the Arabic root *b-r-ʾ,* is attested twice in the Qurʾān where it denotes the idea of immunity. In Q 54:43, it occurs in the sense of immunity or absolution. There, the rhetorical question arises: "Or [do you think] the sacred books (*al-zubur,* see BOOK; PSALMS) have given you immunity [from chastisement, see CHASTISEMENT AND PUNISHMENT]!" The major commentaries (see EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL) maintain that this verse admonishes the pagans of Mecca (q.v.), reminding them that they fare no better than earlier generations (q.v.) of more prominent pagans who have perished. The reference is to the generations of Noah (q.v.), Ṣāliḥ (q.v.) and Pharaoh (q.v.; Ṭabarsī, *Majmaʿ,* vi, 78; Abū Ḥayyān, *Baḥr,* viii, 182). This is also the meaning given to the verse by Blachère (*Le Coran,* v, 1076).

Barāʾa also occurs in the opening verse of sūra 9, commonly entitled Sūrat al-Tawba ("Repentance") but also known under other names, notably, Sūrat al-Barāʾa. "A declaration of immunity from God and his messenger (q.v.), to those of the pagans with whom you have contracted mutual alliances." The interpretation of the first verse of this late Medinan sūra has given rise to some difficulties. The traditional interpretation upheld by the most authoritative commentators including al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923), al-Ṭabarsī (d. 518/1123), al-Zamakhsharī (d. 538/1144), Ibn al-Jawzī (d. 597/1200), and al-Rāzī (d. 606/1210) explains this *barāʾa* on the basis of the subsequent verses according to which God and his Prophet will be unbound *(barīʾ)* in regard to unbelievers (see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF; POLYTHEISM AND ATHEISM; IDOLATRY AND IDOLATERS), who broke the truce they had made with the Prophet (see CONTRACTS AND ALLIANCES; BREAKING TRUSTS AND CONTRACTS). The breaking of the truce by the Prophet warranted a justification and the commentaries go to some length to explain the conditions where this is permissible (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* xiv, 95-6; Rāzī, *Tafsīr,* iv, 392-4; Ibn al-Jawzī, *Zād,* iii, 388-92; see Rubin, Study, 27-32). In the context of the Qurʾān, *barāʾa* thus also means the breaking of ties, dissociation and disconnection.

Another meaning for *barāʾa* is that of excommunication. This theme was developed by several groups of Khārijīs (q.v.) who repudiated those who, according to them, did not deserve the title of Muslim; the Ajārida excluded *(barāʾa)* children from Islam until they grew and became believers, while the Azāriqa excluded the quietists and those who recognized *taqiyya* (see DISSIMULATION). In Shīʿī doctrine (see SHĪʿISM AND THE QURʾĀN), *al-wilāya* — attaching oneself to the imāms — also entails *barāʾa,* the mental dissociation from the imāms' enemies (Goldziher, *Introduction,* 181-2; see IMĀM). In legal terminology *barāʾat al-dhimma* denotes freedom from any legal obligation. In classical Muslim administration, it is a receipt given by the treasurer *(khāzin)* to the taxpayer. *Barāʾa* has also been employed to denote written documents such as a license, certificate and diploma. In Morocco, *barāʾa* was a letter addressed to the community announcing an important event or sent for the purpose of exhorting or admonishing. The night of the *barāʾa* describes a religious festival in the night of mid-Shaʿbān.

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Impeccability

Not being liable to sin (see SIN, MAJOR AND MINOR), immunity from fault and error (q.v.). In Islamic theology, the single Arabic term, *ʿiṣma,* connotes both impeccability and the closely related notion of infallibility (not being liable to err). It refers, in the primary instance, to the prophets (see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD) and to the question of whether they are free from sin or not. Although neither the term nor the concept appear as such in the Qurʾān, the doctrine of impeccability is crucial, according to most theologians (see THEOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN), if only to ensure that the prophets could not have been able to lie (q.v.) when they asserted the fact of God's revelation (see REVELATION AND

INSPIRATION) to them and that they transmitted its text and message perfectly.

In fact, however, the sins of the prophets are more or less freely attested in the Qurʾān and ḥadīth (see ḤADĪTH AND THE QURʾĀN), if understood literally, and the earlier Muslims apparently admitted as much. Later the Shīʿa (see SHĪʿISM AND THE QURʾĀN), in their attempt to assert the absolute authority of their imāms (see IMĀM), developed the doctrine of *ʿiṣma* and argued that the imāms were *maʿṣūm,* incapable of error and sin. One early Shīʿī theologian even claimed that the imāms had to be impeccable and infallible, despite the Prophet himself having been liable to a degree of sin as recognized and admitted by the Qurʾān. In response to any given lapse of the Prophet, God, who was in constant communication with him, could immediately initiate corrective action by means of revelation. The imāms, being only generally and not specifically guided by God, must not be capable of any error at all.

Later doctrine of the mainstream Shīʿa, however, holds that the prophets are also immune to sin and error. In a similar manner with respect to the prophets (but not the imāms), the Muʿtazila (see MUʿTAZILĪS) maintained the impeccability of the prophets. Other groups as well, including the Sunnīs, generally tend to insist that the prophets were free of sin, particularly of grave sins. Nearly all Muslims deny that any of the prophets could have ever been a polytheist or have worshipped idols (see IDOLS AND IMAGES) — a sin that, according to the Qurʾān itself, God will never forgive (see POLYTHEISM AND ATHEISM; IDOLATRY AND IDOLATERS). In regard to other lesser sins and errors, however, there are problems engendered by explicit references in the Qurʾān (e.g. Q 48:2, for Muḥammad) which, if taken literally, must mean that, previous to the advent of their respective missions, if not afterward, at least some of the prophets were guilty of sin. Thus, for the Ḥanbalīs and other literalists, such sins are a reality and are not to be dismissed. Broadly speaking, however, Muslims follow the principle that, if such texts are subject to various interpretations, then, with respect to the prophets, only the best may be ascribed to them. Sin consists in opposing God and his commandments (q.v.) and in the consequent alienation from him. Hence, any act undertaken with the deliberate intent of contravening God's law (see BOUNDARIES AND PRECEPTS; LAW AND THE QURʾĀN) constitutes a serious and possibly grave sin. But an inadvertent lapse done in a moment of forgetfulness or simple negligence does not denote sin. By means of such reasoning, it is possible to attribute the best even to Adam — a prophet (see ADAM AND EVE) — and thereby to save him from having committed an act of opposing God's explicit order (as is, however, quite apparently admitted in Q 20:121; see ASTRAY; FALL OF MAN). Clearly, then, it is critical to identify the degree of sin or possible sin in each instance and the problem is not readily solved by simply eliminating the capacity for sin from the prophets in and of themselves, since, if they are not able to sin by the very nature of their being, they will also not be deserving of reward (see REWARD AND PUNISHMENT; FREEDOM AND PREDESTINATION). Impeccability (the *ʿiṣma*) of a prophet is therefore not an inherent quality, but rather a gift or a kindness *(lutf)* bestowed on him by God.

Perhaps the most frequently discussed case from the Qurʾān is that of Joseph (q.v.), a case which also displays a full range of the possible interpretations and nuances in respect to his ability to commit a sin and his having been saved from it. In Q 12:24, Joseph is said to have been sexually propositioned by the wife of his adopted master. The text states fairly clearly that "she coveted him and he coveted her." The verb

denoting the desire of each is the same and thus, if her transgression is undeniably sinful, about which almost all authorities agree, then his must be likewise. The sin in this case is complicated by the aspect of intention (q.v.) and motive. For Joseph actually to covet her sexually may be regarded as a sin in and of itself. The verse, however, continues immediately with the phrase "if he had not seen the proof of his lord," and hence the whole passage may be construed in such a way that Joseph would have coveted her (i.e. that as a human being he was naturally susceptible to sexual desire for an attractive woman; see SEX AND SEXUALITY; ADULTERY AND FORNICATION) but that God's sign intervened, precluding any impulse in that direction and thus preventing him from committing the sin it involved. The question was, however, frequently debated and there were those who "advanced" God's intervention and those who "delayed" it. Accordingly, depending on exactly how one understands Joseph's perception of God's timely proof, it is possible to exempt him from all taint of sin or, conversely, to allow that he came close to it, some commentators even claiming that he was stopped just as he began to remove his trousers and engage in the forbidden sexual act.

What is less obvious is the implication that Joseph was not infallible with regard to his knowledge of what he should and should not do (see KNOWLEDGE AND LEARNING; IGNORANCE). If he were perfectly infallible, he would not have needed God's reminder when the situation required it. A better example of this kind of infallibility, or lack thereof, is that of Moses (q.v.) when God conversed with him (Q 7:143) and Moses said to God, "Show yourself to me so that I may observe you." Here God, of course, rebuked Moses for asking, implying rather forcefully that God cannot be seen (see SEEING AND HEARING; GOD AND HIS ATTRIBUTES; FACE OF GOD; ANTRHOPOMORPHISM). For those authorities who accept the doctrine of the impossibility of actually seeing God because he is utterly immaterial and non-corporeal, that Moses would make such a request, if the passage is to be construed literally, must indicate his lack of infallibility. Accordingly, on his own, Moses would have been quite fallible in respect to his understanding and perception of religion and religious doctrine — an interpretation that is fraught with doctrinal difficulties and is generally avoided.

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Impotence

Weakness, inability to exert power. Impotence characterizes all entities in the Qurʾān except God. Countless formulas express the twin concepts of weakness of the creature *(ḍ-ʿ-f, f-q-r)* and strength *(q-d-r)* or self-sufficiency *(gh-n-y)* of the creator (see CREATION). Passages on the "stages of life" (e.g. Q 22:5; see BIOLOGY AS THE CREATION AND STAGES OF LIFE) portray the utter dependence of human beings upon God.

False gods are absolutely impotent, while the relative power of humans, jinn (q.v.) and angels (see ANGEL) depends upon harmony with God's will. False gods are idols (Q 37:95; see IDOLS AND IMAGES) or only names (Q 53:23). "O people!… Those to whom you pray besides God will never be

able to create a fly, even if they all worked together on it! And if the fly took something away from them, they could not get it back!" (Q 22:73). Even when the "deity" wrongly worshiped is a prophet (see JESUS; CHRISTIANS AND CHRISTIANITY), he has no power of his own. "Say: 'Who has any power at all over God if he wished to destroy the messiah *(al-masīḥ)* the son of Mary (q.v.), and his mother, and whoever is on the earth altogether?'…" (Q 5:17).

People and nations assume that their power is real; in fact, it is illusory and, without faith (q.v.; *īmān*), their deeds are vain and their doom certain. "Do they not see how many of those before them we destroyed — generations (q.v.) whom we empowered in the earth as we have not empowered you?" (Q 6:6; see PUNISHMENT STORIES; REWARD AND PUNISHMENT). Pagan fatalism is not a true perception of human impotence but a denial of God's power (see FATE; DESTINY; TIME). "There is nothing but our life in this world. We die, and we live, and we shall never be resurrected!" (Q 23:37; see RESURRECTION). Humans judge God by their own impotence: "Does the human being not see that we created him from sperm?… Yet he compares other things to us… He says, 'Who can revive bones that have rotted?' Say, 'He will revive them who created them the first time!…'" (Q 36:77-9; see DEATH AND THE DEAD). "The Jews have said, 'God's hand is tied.' Their hands (q.v.) are tied and they are cursed for having said so! Rather, his hands are spread wide, distributing bounty (see BLESSING) as he wishes…" (Q 5:64; see JEWS AND JUDAISM). Often God emphasizes human weakness with a challenge: "Do you see the water (q.v.) that you drink? Did you bring it down from the rain-cloud or did we?" (Q 56:68-9; see COSMOLOGY). Believers may wield the power of God, as at Badr (q.v.; Q 3:123), or lose it and realize their own impotence, as at Uḥud (Q 3:152-5; see EXPEDITIONS AND BATTLES). The stories of vanished nations (see HISTORY AND THE QUR'ĀN; GEOGRAPHY) prove, however, that even prophets are powerless to change some people (see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD). Without divine support, Muḥammad himself might have yielded a bit to his adversaries (Q 17:74; see OPPOSITION TO MUḤAMMAD).

An enduring theological dilemma arose from efforts to reconcile human impotence with human responsibility for sin (see SIN, MAJOR AND MINOR). "As for those who refuse to believe, it is the same to them whether you warn them or do not warn them (see WARNER): they will not believe. God has sealed their hearts (see HEART) and their hearing (see EARS; HEARING AND DEAFNESS), and over their eyes (q.v.) is a veil; and they shall have a great penalty" (Q 2:6-7; see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF; SEEING AND HEARING). "God does not place a burden upon a soul greater than it can bear…" (Q 2:286). The limits on human power are most fully discussed in the works on predestination and free will, *al-qaḍā' wa-l-qadar* (see FREEDOM AND PREDESTINATION; ETHICS AND THE QUR'ĀN).

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ʿImrān

The father of Mary (q.v.), mother of Jesus (q.v.). ʿImrān is attested three times in the Qurʾān and Āl ʿImrān is the title of the third sūra. The name occurs incidentally in two passages of the narrative sections (see NARRATIVES) which deal with the story of Mary and her mother, passages in which "the wife of ʿImrān" (Q 3:35) and "Mary, ʿImrān's daughter" (Q 66:12) are mentioned. The third passage, from which the title of the third sūra is taken, mentions "the family of ʿImrān" (Q 3:33) which God chose — along with Adam (see ADAM AND EVE), Noah (q.v.) and the family of Abraham (q.v.) — above all beings. The dominant exegetical trend understands the expression "the family of ʿImrān" as an allusion to Mary and Jesus, to whom long passages are dedicated in the rest of the sūra. A variant interpretation is, on the other hand, adopted by one of the first exegetes, Muqātil b. Sulaymān (d. 150/767), according to whom "the family of ʿImrān" of Q 3:33 refers instead to the family of Moses (q.v.) and Aaron (q.v.; *Tafsīr,* i, 271). This difference of opinion derives from the fact that in later Muslim traditions, the same name, ʿImrān, is also attributed to the father of Moses and Aaron, the biblical ʿAmrām. The source of the confusion between these two characters and their families might be traced to the Qurʾān, where, parallelling a Christian tendency to utilize earlier biblical figures as "types" for later ones, Mary (Ar. Maryam) and Maryam, the sister of Moses, seem to coincide (cf. Q 19:28, the verse in which the mother of Jesus is addressed as the sister of Aaron).

Traditions, ḥadīths (see ḤADĪTH AND THE QURʾĀN) and "stories of the prophets" *(qiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ)* legends do not contain relevant material about either of the two ʿImrāns. The exegetes (see EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL) explain that the two ʿImrāns are two different people, separated by a long period of time, one thousand and eight hundred years according to certain sources (Rāzī, *Tafsīr,* viii, 24). The father of Moses and Aaron is called ʿImrān b. Yaṣhar or ʿImrān b. Qāhith and is a figure about whom little is revealed, especially if compared to the numerous traditions that describe Moses and the other members of his family. As far as the father of Mary, called ʿImrān b. Māthān/Mātān, is concerned, it is only noted that he died before the birth of Mary.

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Incarnation

see ANTHROPOMORPHISM; JESUS; CHRISTIANS AND CHRISTIANITY; POLEMIC AND POLEMICAL LANGUAGE

Indifference

Apathy; lack of interest or enthusiasm. In his translation of the Qurʾān, ʿA. Yūsuf ʿAlī uses the word "indifference" only once, in Q 80:37. Of seven Arabic words potentially translatable as "indifference" (Badger, *Lexicon*), none occurs in the Qurʾān meaning precisely "indifference." The concept is, however, an important component

of the qurʾānic teaching about unbelief (*kufr,* see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF). The basic meaning of *kufr* is "'to ignore knowingly the benefits… one has received,' and thence, 'to be unthankful'" (Izutsu, *Concepts,* 119-20; see IGNORANCE; GRATITUDE AND INGRATITUDE). One meaning of *kufr* then is indifference to the bounty and blessing (q.v.) of God: "If you are grateful, I will add more (favors) unto you; but if you show ingratitude *(kafartum),* truly my punishment is terrible indeed" (Q 14:7); "Will they then believe in vain things, and be ungrateful *(yakfurūn)* for God's favors?" (Q 16:72). Whether contrasted with thankfulness or belief, *kufr* represents indifference to God's gifts (see GIFT GIVING) and favor (see GRACE).

Unbelief involves indifference to God's authority as sovereign over the day of judgment (see LAST JUDGMENT). *Taqwā,* derived from a root meaning "to guard (against)," or "to shield (from)," is the reverent awareness of the danger of unbelief and disobeying God (see FEAR; PIETY). Its opposite would be indifference to God's power (see POWER AND IMPOTENCE) and sovereignty (q.v.), leading to false security about the final judgment and the life to come (see ESCHATOLOGY). "O mankind! heed *(ittaqū)* your lord and fear a day when no father can avail aught for his son, nor a son avail aught for his father…" (Q 31:33). The people of Moses (q.v.; Mūsā) showed indifference to evidence he brought of the one God; the result was idolatry (Q 2:92; see IDOLATRY AND IDOLATERS). Others remained indifferent to the obvious testimony the ruins of civilizations provided to the destruction disobedience (q.v.) causes (Q 6:5-11; see GEOGRAPHY; PUNISHMENT STORIES). The people of ʿĀd (q.v.) reacted with indifference to the message of Hūd (q.v.): "It is the same to us whether you admonish us or… not. […] We are not the ones to receive pains and penalties" (Q 26:136-8; see REWARD AND PUNISHMENT; CHASTISEMENT AND PUNISHMENT). The worst kind of indifference is a heart (q.v.) which is veiled (Q 41:3-5; 17:45-6), sealed (Q 2:6-7; 9:93), locked (Q 47:24), rusted (Q 83:14), blind (Q 22:46), and rock-hard: "Thenceforth were your hearts hardened: they became like a rock and even worse. […] For among rocks there are some from which rivers gush forth; others when split asunder send forth water." (Q 2:74; cf. Ansari, *Qurʾanic foundation,* 93).

God warns the messenger Muḥammad against grieving over such people: "It is equal to them whether you pray for their forgiveness or not; God will not forgive them" (Q 63:6; see also Q 2:6; see INTERCESSION). Indifference to the plight of such people is warranted. Shuʿayb (q.v.) acts correctly in saying to his people, "I gave you good counsel, but how shall I lament *(āsā)* over a people who refuse to believe?" (Q 7:93). Noah (q.v.; Nūḥ) had to practice enlightened indifference toward his own son (Q 11:45-7). God commanded Moses, "Lament not *(fa-lā taʾsa)* over the rebellious people" (*al-qawm al-fāsiqīn,* Q 5:26). And the prophet Muḥammad was warned that he should not sorrow (Q 3:176; 5:41), lament (Q 5:68), be overwhelmed (Q 6:35), or kill himself with mourning (Q 18:6; 26:3) over his disbelieving people.

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Infallibility

see IMPECCABILITY; ERROR; PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD

Infanticide

The murder of an infant. As referred to in the Qurʾān, infanticide *(waʾd)* connotes the act of burying alive, and it means the killing of an unwanted infant, usually a girl, by the simple expedient of burying her soon after birth. The termination of the life of a helpless child (see CHILDREN) is condemned in Islamic law as prohibited and inexcusable (see PROHIBITED DEGREES; LAW AND THE QURʾĀN), and in passages referring to infanticide, the Qurʾān affirms the sanctity of life.

Female infanticide was common enough among the pre-Islamic Arabs to be assigned a specific term, *waʾd* (see PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QURʾĀN). Two dramatic passages in the Qurʾān refer to this act: "They give daughters to God (glory be to him), but they themselves would have what they desire. When the birth of a girl is announced to one of them, his face grows dark and he is filled with inward gloom. Because of the bad news he hides himself from men: should he keep her with disgrace or bury her under the dust? How ill they judge" (Q 16:57-8); "When the infant girl, buried alive, is asked for what crime she was slain… Then each soul shall know what it has done" (Q 81:8-9, 14). Five other verses refer to infanticide (Q 6:137, 140, 151; 17:31; 60:12). Two verses, Q 6:151 and 17:31, delineate poverty (see POVERTY AND THE POOR) as a reason for infanticide, declare that God will provide for the needy families *(narzuquhum),* and state that killing children is forbidden: "You shall not kill your children for fear of want. We will provide for them and for you. To kill them is a great sin" (Q 17:31; see SIN, MAJOR AND MINOR). Ḥadīth writings echo the qurʾānic verses in reaffirming that infanticide is a sin (see ḤADĪTH AND THE QURʾĀN).

Other cultures, notably that of Carthage, utilized infanticide for ritual purposes and often sacrificed sons. Greeks and Romans used infanticide as a form of birth control and, as in pre-Islamic Arabia, primarily disposed of infant girls. Daughters were deemed more expendable than sons for social and economic reasons (see ECONOMICS; COMMUNITY AND SOCIETY IN THE QURʾĀN). Society assigned women less social prestige than men (see SOCIAL RELATIONS; WOMEN AND THE QURʾĀN; GENDER; PATRIARCHY), and they were considered an economic drain, not an asset to families. Both parents evidently participated in infanticide, for the Qurʾān condemned not only fathers but also women for killing children (Q 60:12).

In the development of Islamic law *(fiqh),* the prohibition against infanticide became a juridical foundation for opinions on abortion (q.v.) and contraception (see also BIRTH CONTROL). Many jurists consider abortion, the killing of the fetus while still in the womb, the equivalent of infanticide and thereby prohibit it. While most jurists judged that contraception was permissible, Ibn Ḥazm (d. 456/1064), basing his ruling on a ḥadīth to the same effect, decided that contraception *(ʿazl)* was "hidden infanticide" *(al-waʾd al-khafī)* and thereby prohibited. Al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111) sets forth the distinctions among the three acts very clearly: "All that [that is, abstaining from marriage altogether, abstaining from intimate relations after marriage, or avoiding emission after penetration] is not the same as abortion or the burying of girls alive. These two things, in effect, constitute a crime against an already existing person, and that also has stages. The first stage of existence is that the sperm should lodge in the uterus, merge with the fluid of the woman, and become thus receptive to life; interfering with this process constitutes a crime (*jināya,* see SIN AND CRIME). If it

develops into a clot (see BLOOD AND BLOOD CLOT) and a little plump of flesh then the crime becomes more serious. If the spirit (q.v.) is breathed into it and the created being takes form, then the crime [of abortion] becomes more serious still. The crime is most serious after the fetus is born alive" (*Iḥyāʾ*, ii, 47 [Bk. 12. On marriage, chap. 3, sect. 10], trans. Farah, *Marriage and sexuality*, 109-10, cited in Giladi, *Children*, 109-10; see also BIOLOGY AS THE CREATION AND STAGES OF LIFE; BIRTH). Many contemporary Muslims feel that the injunction not to kill your children for fear of want inveighs against limiting family size through contraception for financial reasons, or, on a state level, for concerns of economic development.

Some scholars consider the qurʾānic prohibition of female infanticide to be the key aspect of the prophet Muḥammad's attempts to raise the status of women. Contemporary feminist interpretation of the Qurʾān have underscored the significance of this prohibition in defining a new Islamic ethic (see FEMINISM AND THE QURʾĀN) from the perspective of this new moral vision. The passages in sūras 16 and 81 that clarified that infanticide was not tolerated provided divine confirmation for the assertion that God valued the life of a female like that of a male.

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Informants

According to Muḥammad's detractors, the people who provided Muḥammad with the knowledge that he said came from God. The question of whether Muḥammad relied on informants bears upon discussions surrounding the origin of the Qurʾān. Many of the qurʾānic narratives (q.v.) must not have sounded new to the Meccan opponents of Muḥammad (see OPPOSITION TO MUḤAMMAD), and they used to say, gibing at him: "'This is nothing but falsehood he has forged, and other folk have helped him to it…'. They say: 'Fairy-tales (or, probably better: writings, *asāṭīr*, pl. of *usṭura*, from *saṭara*, "to write": see Horovitz, *KU*, 69-70) of the ancients (see GENERATIONS) that he has written down, so that they are recited to him at dawn and in the evening'" (Q 25:4-5). But the classical place where the question of the informants is treated in the qurʾānic commentaries is Q 16:103: "And we know very well that they say: 'Only a mortal is teaching him.' The speech of him at whom they hint is barbarous; and this is Arabic speech (see ARABIC LANGUAGE), manifest." The other places in the Qurʾān which provide occasion for the exegetes to treat this subject are the aforementioned Q 25:4-5, as well as Q 26:195; 41:14, 44 (Gilliot, Les "informateurs," § 15-9, 23, 25).

The framework and the common features of the narratives on the informants

All the narratives addressing this issue discuss the background of these informants, and maintain that they belonged to the class of the "deprived" or "have-nots," being servants or slaves (see SERVANT; SLAVES

AND SLAVERY), non-Arabs, Jews (see JEWS AND JUDAISM) or Christians (see CHRISTIANS AND CHRISTIANITY). Some of them are said to have possessed books (see BOOK), to have read them (see LITERACY), sometimes to have read the Torah (q.v.) and/or the Gospel (q.v.). Sometimes they are said to have been blacksmiths or sword sharpeners. The Qurayshī (see QURAYSH) opponents of Muḥammad said that these informants taught him or that they taught Khadīja (q.v.), who, in turn, taught Muḥammad.

According to the renowned exegete Muqātil b. Sulaymān (d. 150/767), "There was a servant of ʿĀmir b. al-Ḥaḍramī al-Qurashī. He was a Jew, not an Arab [or spoke bad Arabic, *aʿjamī,* see ARABS], he spoke Greek [or Aramaic], and his name was Abū Fukayha Yasār. As the Qurayshīs saw the Prophet speaking with him, they said: 'Indeed, he is being taught by Abū Fukayha Yasār'" (Muqātil, *Tafsīr,* ii, 487; Gilliot, Les "informateurs," § 12). Or "[…] the Apostle used often to sit at al-Marwa at the booth of a young Christian called Jabr, slave of the Banū l-Ḥaḍramī, and they used to say: 'The one who teaches Muḥammad most of what he brings is Jabr the Christian, slave of the Banū l-Ḥaḍramī'" (Ibn Isḥāq, *Sīra,* 260; Guillaume, *Life,* 180; Gilliot, Les "informateurs," § 13). Or, "according to Ṭalḥa b. ʿAmr [al-Ḥaḍramī, d. 152/769], Khadīja used to see frequently Khayr (or Jabr?), and the Qurayshīs said that a slave of the Banū l-Ḥaḍramī taught her and that she taught Muḥammad, so the verse [i.e. Q 16:103] was revealed" (Thaʿlabī, *Kashf,* part 1, f. 260^{r} *ult.*-260^{v}, l. 1-2; for the entire account, see Hūd b. Muḥakkam, *Tafsīr,* ii, 201, ad Q 25:4, according to al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī and Muḥammad b. al-Sāʿib al-Kalbī; Rāzī, *Tafsīr,* xxiv, 50-1; Ṭabarsī, *Tafsīr,* xviii, 87-8; Suhaylī, *Taʿrīf,* 173; Muir, *Life of Mahomet,* ii, 122-5).

The names of these servant/slave informants vary, but this could be due, in some cases, to copyists' mistakes. Some of these names are as follows: ʿAddās, Abū Fukayha Yasār (Nabt), Balʿām (but also Abū Maysara), Jabr (but also Khayr or Khabar), Yaʿīsh (but also ʿĀ'ish), ʿĀbis, ʿAns, ʿAbbās, Yuḥannas (Suyūṭī, *Muḥamāt,* 64, according to Qatāda: a slave of Ibn al-Ḥaḍramī; but Thaʿlabī, *Kashf,* part 2, 69^{v}, l. 9-10, according to al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī: ʿUbayd b. al-Ḥaḍramī al-Ḥabashī [?] the seer, which could mean an Ethiopian slave and seer of Ibn al-Ḥaḍramī; but Baghawī, *Tafsīr,* iii, 361, following Thaʿlabī, has: the seer ʿUbayd b. al-Khiḍr al-Ḥabashī), Mikhyas, Miqyas, then Yusr, but also al-Yusr or Abū l-Yusr, and finally Ibn Qammaṭa, or Ibn Qimṭa, etc. (Gilliot, Les "informateurs," § 32-52). It should be noted that most of these names are not semantically neutral but imply servitude, e.g. ʿAddās, Yasār, Yaʿīsh, Yusr (for ʿAddās, see Gilliot, Les "informateurs," 104, n. 132).

The apologetic features of these narratives

The early Islamic community and the classical sources have transformed these stories into apologetic motifs for the new predication. The Qurʾān itself does not name these informants and does not reject the existence of these men with whom the Prophet was in contact. The qurʾānic argument is based on the alleged "clarity" or "purity" of the qurʾānic Arabic (see INIMITABILITY; LANGUAGE OF THE QURʾĀN). But the Islamic tradition has developed the supposed "circumstances of the revelation (see OCCASIONS OF REVELATION)" of Q 16:103, and the other related verses (see above). So, when Muḥammad went to Ṭāʾif to seek help from the Thaqīf against his own tribe, ʿUtba and Shayba of the Banū Rabīʿa (from the Banū ʿAbd al-Shams, a tribe with close blood ties to Muḥammad; see KINSHIP; TRIBES AND

CLANS), moved by compassion for him, sent ʿAddās, their young Christian slave from Nineveh, to him with a bunch of grapes. When the Prophet said to him that Nineveh is "the town of the righteous man Jonah (q.v.), the son of Mattā [in the Bible Amittai]," continuing, "He is my brother. He was a prophet, and I am a prophet," ʿAddās "bent down before the messenger of God, kissing his head, hands, and feet" (Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh,* i, 1201-2; id., *History,* vi, 117; Ibn Isḥāq, *Sīra,* 280-1; Ibn Isḥāq-Guillaume, 193; Ibn al-Jawzī, *Wafāʾ,* i, 213-4; Zurqānī, *Sharḥ,* ii, 54-6; Nuwayrī, *Nihāya,* xvi, 281; Gilliot, Les "informateurs," § 32). In this instance, the process has been reversed, and the priority of Muḥammad's knowledge is emphasized: Muḥammad is not taught by the Christian slave; rather, the slave confirms, through his own knowledge, what Muḥammad already knows (from revelation; see REVELATION AND INSPIRATION; PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD).

Another related type of apologetic narrative is what we have called elsewhere "the topos Holy! Holy!," which is relevant not only to the hermit Baḥīrā (see below) and to Khadīja's cousin, Waraqa b. Nawfal, but also to ʿAddās (Rubin, *The eye,* 50-2, 103-12; Gilliot, Les "informateurs," § 27-31). According to al-Wāqidī (d. 207/823), Khadīja went to Waraqa to ask him about the angel Gabriel (q.v.) and he told her that he was "the great Nāmūs [Greek *nomos*] of God." Then she visited ʿAddās, who said: "Holy! Holy! How can it be that Gabriel is mentioned in that country whose inhabitants are idolaters? Gabriel is the great Nāmūs of God and he never went to anybody save a prophet" (Balādhurī, *Ansāb,* i, 111, no. 211 cited in Gilliot, Les "informateurs," § 27, 30; cf. Suhaylī, *Rawḍ,* i, 215; Sprenger, Aus Briefen, 413-4).

Some of these servants or slaves are also said to have been beaten by their masters because they praised Muḥammad or converted to Islam. This happened to Jabr, who was a Jewish (or Christian) slave of the Banū ʿAbd al-Dār. When, prior to the Prophet's emigration (q.v.) to Medina (q.v.), he heard Muḥammad reciting the chapter on Joseph (q.v.; Sūrat Yūsuf, Q 12), he recognized elements he knew from his own religion and secretly became a Muslim. When the Meccans were informed by Ibn Abī Sarḥ of Jabr's conversion, his masters tortured him in order to make him confess that he had supplied that information to Muḥammad. After the conquest of Mecca (see EXPEDITIONS AND BATTLES; MECCA), Muḥammad ransomed Jabr and emancipated him (Wāqidī, *Maghāzī,* 865-6; Gilliot, Les "informateurs," § 40. On Ibn Abī Sarḥ, linked in a "brothering" to ʿĀmir b. Luway, who is often identified with the "renegade" scribe of Muḥammad, see Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* xi, 533-5, no. 13555-6, ad Q 6:93; Gilliot, Les "informateurs," 88 n. 37; id., Poète ou prophète?, § 123).

The case of the hermit/monk of Buṣrā (Bostra)

The Islamic sources contain many variations on the theme of "Muḥammad's encounter with representatives of non-Islamic religions who recognize him as a future prophet" (Crone, *Meccan trade,* 219; Ibn ʿAsākir, *Taʾrīkh-sīra,* i, 335 f.). As we have seen, some of the informant slaves fall into this category, and so it is with the hermit Baḥīrā (Aram. Bekhīra, i.e. "the Elect") of Buṣrā (Bostra) in Syria (for a summary, see Trimingham, *Christianity among the Arabs,* 258 f.; Fahd, *Divination,* 82). The versions differ according to the transmitters; it is related that in his ninth, twelfth (the age of Jesus among the doctors; Luke 2: 42-9) or twenty-fifth/sixth year, Muḥammad was taken by his uncle Abū Ṭālib — in some versions accompanied by Abū Bakr and his client Bilāl — on a caravan journey, during which they encountered this monk (Ibn

Isḥāq-Guillaume, 79-81; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt,* i, 153-4; Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh,* i, 1123-5; id., *History,* vi, 43-6; Bayhaqī, *Dalāʾil,* ii, 24-8, according to Ibn Isḥāq; Abū Nuʿaym, *Dalāʾil,* 168-9; Masʿūdī, *Murūj,* no. 150 [called by the Christians Sirjis/Sirjīs; Zurqānī, *Sharḥ,* i, 362-3]; Ibn ʿAsākir, *Taʾrīkh-sīra,* i, 6-10; Ibn al-Jawzī, *Wafāʾ,* i, 131-3; Abū l-Fidāʾ, *Mukhtaṣar,* i, 172 [who does not speak of the encounter with the monk in the passages on the "second journey" with Maysara]; Nuwayrī, *Nihāya,* xvi, 90-3; Ṣāliḥī, *Subul,* ii, 140-2; Harawī, *Guide,* 43; Boulainvilliers, *Vie de Mahomed*, 202-7). Baḥīrā is also listed among those who were awaiting the coming of Muḥammad (McAuliffe, *Qurʾānic*, 106-9).

In some versions the monk is named Nasṭūr/Nasṭūrā (Ibn ʿAsākir, *Taʾrīkh-sīra,* i, 273, journey with Abū Ṭālib and Maysara; Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh,* 305; Suhaylī, *Rawḍ,* i, 211-2, saying that Nasṭūr is different from Baḥīrā and that Muḥammad was sent to Syria by Khadīja with her servant Maysara; Ḥalabī, *Sīra,* i, 216 f., "the second journey"; Nuwayrī, *Nihāya,* xvi, 95-7). Sometimes, generally in the oldest versions, the monk/hermit is nameless (Muqātil, *Tafsīr,* i, 112: the monk mentioned to Muḥammad by Salmān al-Fārisī; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt,* i, 153; Tirmidhī, *Sunan,* 50, *Manāqib,* v, 590-1, no. 3620; Ibn ʿAsākir, *Taʾrīkh-sīra,* i, 1-5, 344; Dhahabī, *Taʾrīkh,* 55-7, criticizing this tradition attributed to Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī), in an unnamed place (Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt,* i, 120); in others, an unnamed Jewish Rabbi of Taymāʾ (Ibn Shihāb, *Maghāzī,* 40; ʿAbd al-Razzāq, *Muṣannaf,* v, 318, without declaration of prophecy; cf. Suhaylī, *Rawḍ,* i, 205-6, according to al-Zuhrī. It should be noted that this ancient recital is more sober than others).

In nearly all of the versions (for references, see Rubin, *Eye,* 50-2), Muḥammad "is recognized as a future prophet on the basis that he is an orphan, that his eyes are red, that he sits under a certain tree, or because of a combination of these" (Crone, *Meccan trade,* 219-20). It is not impossible that the journey or journeys of Muḥammad to Syria were invented so that this "miraculous event" could take place (this seems to be Crone's opinion). But here, unlike in the accounts of the slave informants, the Islamic sources do not say that the opponents of Muḥammad accused him of borrowing parts of his message from the monk; the point of these stories is to prove that the "People of the Book (q.v.)" "had known of Muhammad's coming beforehand" (Wensinck, *Muhammad and the Jews,* 39). This is the reason why Nasṭūr (named by the Christians Sergius/Sarjīs; by others Felix, the son of Jonah, nicknamed Bohaïra; see Ganier, *Vie de Mahomet,* 121-2, 127-8, this time two monks, Bohaïra and Nestor) is associated with ʿAddās in the topos "Holy! Holy" (Suhaylī, *Rawḍ,* i, 116; Sprenger, Aus Briefen, 413-4; Gilliot, Les "informateurs," § 27).

Whereas in the Muslim tradition, Baḥīrā (Nasṭūr, etc.) became one of the guarantors of Muḥammad's prophecy, he was seen in the Christian polemic against Islam, both in Arabic and in Greek, as a heretical monk who taught Muḥammad. According to ʿAbd al-Masīḥ al-Kindī, he was a Nestorian (Tartar, *Dialogue,* 107-8, Arabic text; Muir, *The apology,* 23), while, according to others, he was a Jacobite or an Arian (for the entire account, see Abel, Baḥīrā).

The informants and their role in the constitution of the Qurʾān in the Meccan period

The motif of the "informant slaves" developed among those of the exegetes of the second half of the second/eighth century who were interested in the "circumstances of revelation" and who had a good knowledge of the literature concerning the Prophet's life. These included Muḥammad

b. al-Sāʿib al-Kalbī (d. 146/763), Muqātil b. Sulaymān (d. 150/767), but also, before them, Muḥammad b. Kaʿb al-Quraẓī (d. 118/736 or 120/737; Gilliot, Les "informateurs," § 11) and Ismāʿīl b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Suddī (d. 128/745; ibid., § 10). Although this theme is less common among those exegetes interested in prophetic biography in a more narrow sense, they sometimes dealt with it, e.g. Sulaymān b. Ṭarkhān al-Taymī (d. 143/760) and Ibn Isḥāq, (d. 150/767) and, before them, by al-Zuhrī (d. 124/742; ibid., § 9, 29, 34, 57, 59). On the other hand, the topos "Holy! Holy!" and the usual accounts on ʿAddās seem to have interested them considerably.

The Qurʾān, by its mention of someone who, according to the accusations of the Qurayshīs, had instructed Muḥammad, prompted the earlier exegetes to investigate this problem. Even if, considering the multiplicity of the variants, some of the names of these "informant slaves" were quite obviously made up, there is no reason to think that the exegetes should have invented everything, given that the basic theme does not place Muḥammad in a particularly favorable light. He may have received information from these "downtrodden" who, in the light of their social position, would have been more willing to talk with him than with the Qurayshī élite. As the land of Arabia was not "a closed box" (Smith, Events in Arabia, 467), there is nothing surprising in the suggestion that Muḥammad may have had contact with people from outside of his immediate milieu (see also FOREIGN VOCABULARY). There is no reason *a priori* to doubt that Muḥammad could have spoken with slaves, or Christians or others.

It should be noted that when scraps of memories or scattered information are integrated, the knowledge is reformulated again. As for the theme of the informants, it has been reshaped within an apologetic discourse. The doors had to be "bolted" in order to assert the "absolute novelty" of the new revelation. Muḥammad had to face the accusation of being instructed by one individual (Q 16:103), or by others. The answer to the accusation was that it could not be so since the person in question spoke bad Arabic, or even a foreign language, whereas the Qurʾān was said to be revealed in "clear" or "pure" Arabic. Furthermore, written sources provided by informants could not have instructed Muḥammad because he was thought to be illiterate (see ILLITERACY). These arguments, it seems, did not impress his contemporaries and countrymen, at least in the period before they came to accept his message.

All these traditions, despite their variants, have the following points in common: the informants were foreign; they were of low birth, slaves or freed men; some of them are said to have carried on the craft of blacksmith or sword sharpener; they could read, they had "books," they read the Torah or the Gospel or both; they had contact with the Prophet. Some accounts say that he took his message from them; others say that these people had been instructed by him.

All these accounts, in spite of their differences, are steeped in an initiatory atmosphere. This is interesting to note, especially in view of the connection between reading books and the trade practiced by some of them — working with metal. The word used for this work, *qayn,* is related to Hebrew, Syriac and Ethiopic words of the same root letters referring to singing and funerary wailing *(qayn/qayna)*. There is, it seems, in different cultures, a relation between the craft of the blacksmith, the occult, dance and poetry (Eliade, *Forgerons et alchimistes,* 83 f.; Lüling, Archaische Metallgewinnung, 133-48).

The initiatory atmosphere is strength-

ened by a tradition related by al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923), who introduces a connection between these narratives and the theme of the seven readings (*al-aḥruf al-sabʿa,* Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* xiv, 179, ll. 15-21, ad Q 16:103; Gilliot, Les "informateurs," § 9). Apparently, this last account has no connection with the others. However, these accounts have to do with the "originality" of the Muḥammadan revelation. To put the Prophet in contact with followers of another religion, who, moreover, were foreigners, who knew other languages, read the holy scripture and carried on a craft near to the demiurgic function of the poet, the great enemy of the prophet of Islam (see POETS AND POETRY; SOOTHSAYERS), was also an occasion to expose the Qurʾān to criticism. And that is what happened; the commentators tried to neutralize that effect because they could not ignore the traditions which were circulating on this subject in the framework of the "circumstances of revelation." Ultimately, all these accounts are used in an apologetic view whose climax is the topos "Holy! Holy!." The same ʿAddās — it does not matter whether he is the same or another, or whether the tradition has been invented or not — whom the Qurayshīs suspected to have instructed Muḥammad, recognizes him as a prophet.

The accusations against Muḥammad have been summed up by one of his greatest opponents, al-Naḍr b. al-Ḥārith: "This Qurʾān is naught but lies that Muḥammad himself has forged…. Those who help him are ʿAddās, a slave of Ḥuwayṭib b. ʿAbd al-ʿUzza, Yasār, a servant of ʿĀmir b. al-Ḥaḍramī, and Jabr who was a Jew, and then became a Muslim. […] This Qurʾān is only a tale *(ḥadīth)* of the ancients, like the tales of Rustam and Isfandiyār. These three are teaching Muḥammad at the dawn and in the evening" (cf. Q 25:4-5; Muqātil, *Tafsīr,* iii, 226-7; Ibn Isḥāq-Guillaume, 135-6; Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* xviii, 182, ad Q 25:5; Thaʿlabī, *Kashf,* part 2, f. 69ᵛ, l. 9-15; Nuwayrī, *Nihāya,* xvi, 220, 271; Gilliot, Muḥammad, 23-4, 25-6). The study of the reports about the informants leads to the conclusion that we cannot exclude the possibility that whole sections of the Meccan Qurʾān could contain elements originally established by, or within, a group of "God's seekers," in the milieu of the "deprived" or "have-nots" who possessed either biblical, post-biblical (see Luxenberg, *Die syro-aramäische Lesart des Koran*) or other information. People like Waraqa b. Nawfal and Khadīja may also have participated in that common enterprise under the direction of Muḥammad or another individual.

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Ingratitude

see GRATITUDE AND INGRATITUDE

Inheritance

Rules for the division of wealth (q.v.) among the heirs of a deceased Muslim man or woman.

Traditional Islamic perspective

Traditional Islamic sources indicate that the intergenerational transmission of property by means of a last will and testament *(waṣiyya)* was a common procedure prior to the rise of Islam and during the Meccan period (see PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QURʾĀN).

The emigration (q.v.; *hijra*) to Medina (q.v.) in 1/622 necessitated certain changes in the existing inheritance rules. By migrating to Medina, the Emigrants (*muhājirūn,* see EMIGRANTS AND HELPERS) effectively cut themselves off from their non-believing relatives in Mecca. For this reason, Muḥammad instituted a pact of brotherhood between the Emigrants and the Helpers (*anṣār,* see BROTHER AND BROTHERHOOD). According to this arrangement, Emigrants might no longer inherit from their relatives in Mecca, but they could inherit from Helpers in Medina and vice-versa (see Q 8:72). This arrangement was subsequently abrogated by Q 8:75 and Q 33:6 (see ABROGATION).

Pronouncements on inheritance, in the form of divine revelation and prophetic sunna (q.v.), were issued on numerous occasions during the Medinan period. In the early Medinan period *(fī awwal al-islām),* six verses regulating aspects of testamentary succession were revealed to Muḥammad (for convenience, hereinafter "the bequest verses"). Q 2:180 enjoins a person contemplating death to leave a bequest for

parents (q.v.) and relatives (see KINSHIP); Q 2:181 holds anyone who alters a last will and testament accountable to God; Q 2:182 encourages the reconciliation of parties who disagree about the provisions of a will; Q 2:240 permits a testator to stipulate that his widow (q.v.; see also MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE) is entitled to a maximum of one year's maintenance, on the condition that she remains in her deceased husband's home; and Q 5:106-7 establish that a last will and testament, to be valid, must be drawn up or dictated in the presence of two witnesses (see WITNESSING AND TESTIFYING). Under this regime, a person contemplating death continued to enjoy substantial freedom to determine who his or her heirs would be and how much they would inherit.

Following the battle of Uḥud in 3/625 (see EXPEDITIONS AND BATTLES), Muḥammad received a second series of revelations establishing compulsory rules for the division of property. Of several narratives circulated to explain the occasion for the revelation of these verses (*asbāb al-nuzūl,* see OCCASIONS OF REVELATION), the following is illustrative: The widow of Aws b. Thābit al-Anṣārī, who died at Uḥud, complained to the Prophet that the deceased's two paternal cousins unjustly had deprived her and her daughters of their inheritance. Muḥammad dismissed the woman "so that [he] might see what God would introduce" (Wāḥidī, *Asbāb,* 137-8). Shortly thereafter three verses were revealed: Q 4:7 affirmed the inheritance rights of both men and women ("To men a share of what parents and kindred leave and to women a share of what parents and kindred leave, whether small or large, a fixed share"; see WOMEN AND THE QUR'ĀN). Q 4:11-2 specified, *inter alia,* the exact fractional shares to which daughter(s), parent(s), sibling(s), and a husband or wife are entitled:

God commands you concerning your children (q.v.): a male is entitled to the share of two females. If they are females above two, then they are entitled to two-thirds of what he leaves. If there is one, then she is entitled to half. Each one of his parents is entitled to one-sixth of what he leaves, if he has a child. But if he does not have a child, and his parents are his heirs, then his mother is entitled to one-third. If he has brothers, then his mother is entitled to one-sixth, after any legacy he bequeaths, or debt. Your fathers and your sons, you know not which of them is closer to you in usefulness. A commandment from God. God is knowing, wise (Q 4:11). You are entitled to half of what your wives leave, if they do not have a child. But if they have a child, then you are entitled to one-fourth of what they leave, after any legacy they bequeath or debt. They are entitled to one-fourth of what you leave, if you do not have a child. But if you have a child, then they are entitled to one-eighth of what you leave, after any legacy you bequeath, or debt (Q 4:12a). If a man — or a woman — dies leaving neither parent nor child *(yūrathu kalālatan),* and he [sic] has a brother or sister, each one of them is entitled to one-sixth. If they are more than that, then they are partners with respect to one-third, after any legacy that is bequeathed, or debt, without injury. A commandment from God. God is knowing, forbearing (Q 4:12b).

This legislation subsequently was supplemented by Q 4:176:

When they ask you for a decision, say: God decrees for you regarding the person who dies leaving neither parent nor child *(al-kalāla):* If a man dies without a child, and he has a sister, then she is entitled to half of what he leaves. He is her heir if she does not have a child. If they (f.) are two, then

they are entitled to two-thirds of what he leaves. If they are brothers and sisters, then a male is entitled to the share of two females. God makes clear for you [lest] you go astray. God is all-knowing.

Whereas Q 4:12b awards siblings a maximum of one-third of the estate, Q 4:176 awards siblings anywhere from fifty percent of the estate to the entire estate. The apparent contradiction was harmonized by the Qurʾān commentators, who taught that the siblings mentioned in Q 4:12 are in fact uterine siblings, whereas the siblings mentioned in Q 4:176 are consanguine and/or germane siblings. The qualification of the siblings in the latter verse as consanguine and/or germane siblings is supported by a variant reading (*qirāʾa,* see READINGS OF THE QURʾĀN) attributed to Ubayy b. Kaʿb and Saʿd b. Abī Waqqāṣ (Zamakhsharī, *Kashshāf,* i, 486; Nīsābūrī, *Tafsīr,* iv, 200). In order for this explanation to work, it was important to establish that Q 4:176 was revealed subsequent to Q 4:12b; it is perhaps to this end that some commentators teach that Q 4:176 was the very last verse revealed to Muḥammad (Qurṭubī, *Jāmiʿ,* vi, 28; Bayḍāwī, *Anwār,* i, 245).

Q 4:11, 12 and 176 are traditionally referred to as "the inheritance verses" *(āyāt al-mīrāth);* together, they form the core of the *ʿilm al-farāʾiḍ* or "science of the shares," which imposes compulsory rules for the division of property. Certain redundancies in, and apparent inconsistencies between, the bequest verses and the inheritance verses were clarified by Muḥammad during the last two years of his life. It is related that, following the conquest of Mecca in 8/630, Muḥammad made a visit to the Companion (see COMPANIONS OF THE PROPHET) Saʿd b. Abī Waqqāṣ, who was sick and believed that he was about to die. When Saʿd asked the Prophet if he might bequeath his *entire* estate, Muḥammad responded, "a bequest may not exceed one-third" (*al-waṣiyya fī l-thulth,* Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* ii, 186; cf. Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* iii, 1250-3 [nos. 5-10]). This pronouncement strikes a balance between the compulsory and voluntary aspects of the *ʿilm al-farāʾiḍ:* a minimum of two-thirds of any estate is distributed among the heirs in accordance with the inheritance verses; a maximum of one-third may be used, at the discretion of a person contemplating death, for bequests. But might a parent or spouse receive a bequest of up to one-third of the estate *in addition to* the fractional share specified in Q 4:11-2? Apparently not, for Muḥammad is reported to have said on the occasion of his Farewell Pilgrimage (q.v.) in 10/632, "No bequest to an heir *(lā waṣiyya li-wārith),*" i.e. a person contemplating death may not leave a bequest for anyone who will receive a fractional share of the estate as specified in the inheritance verses (Ibn Hishām, *Sīra,* 970). Since the time of al-Shāfiʿī (d. 204/820), Muslim jurists have regarded this prophetic dictum as an indicator that the inheritance verses had abrogated the bequest verses (Shāfiʿī, *al-Risāla,* 69, par. 398).

The qurʾānic inheritance legislation was supplemented by additional narrative reports (*aḥādīth,* see ḤADĪTH AND THE QURʾĀN) attributed to the Prophet and his Companions, e.g. a Muslim cannot inherit from an unbeliever (see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF) and vice versa; a person who deliberately kills another may not inherit from him or her (see BLOODSHED; MURDER); a slave may not inherit from his or her master (see SLAVES AND SLAVERY); the illegitimate children of a couple whose paternity have been disputed by the procedure known as *liʿān* have no legal claim on the estates of their father and his relations (see ILLEGITIMACY); the patron and the manumitted slave inherit from one another, etc. (see CLIENTS AND CLIENTAGE).

During the first Islamic century, Muslim scholars worked out the details of the *ʿilm al-farāʾiḍ*. The earliest extant treatise on the subject is that of Sufyān al-Thawrī (d. 161/778) (Raddatz, Früislamisches Erbrecht, 26-78). The general principles of what became the Sunnī law of inheritance (see LAW AND THE QURʾĀN) are as follows: There are two classes of heirs, "sharers" *(ahl al-farāʾiḍ)* and agnates *(ʿaṣaba)*. The sharers are those persons for whom the Qurʾān specifies a fractional share of the estate (one or more daughters, a father, mother, or spouse — and, in the absence of children, one or more siblings). The agnates are persons related to the deceased exclusively through male links (see PATRIARCHY), arranged in a series of hierarchical classes, with a member of a higher class totally excluding any and all members of a lower class from entering the inheritance. Within each class, a person nearer in degree of relationship to the deceased excludes all others in a more remote degree, e.g. a son excludes a grandson. The agnates are called upon to inherit in the following order: 1. The male descendants of the deceased in the male line, a nearer excluding the more distant relatives from the succession; 2. the nearest male relative in the ascending male line with the provision that the father, but not the grandfather (and more remote ascendants) of the deceased inherits before his brothers; 3. the nearest male relative in the male line among the descendants of the father: first the full brother, then the half brother on the father's side, then the descendants of the full brother, then those of the half brother on the father's side; 4. the nearest male relative in the male line among the descendants of the grandfather; 5. The *mawlā*, i.e. the patron (or patroness), if the deceased was a freedman, and then his *ʿaṣaba*.

The division of an estate proceeds in two stages: the qualifying sharers take their qurʾānic entitlements; then the closest surviving agnate inherits whatever remains. For example, suppose that a man dies, leaving a wife, son and two brothers. The wife inherits 1/8 of the estate as a sharer. The son inherits the remaining 7/8 of the estate as the closest surviving agnate, totally excluding the brothers from the inheritance (although they might receive a bequest of up to one-third of the estate because they do not qualify as sharers, i.e. legal heirs). If, in addition to a wife, son and two brothers, the deceased also leaves a daughter, the son transforms his sister into a residuary heir *(ʿaṣaba bi-ghayrihā):* he inherits 7/12 of the estate and she inherits 7/24, after the wife takes her 1/8. In theory, the person contemplating death is powerless to affect the relative entitlement of the heirs; he or she may not, for example, stipulate that the bulk of the estate will devolve upon a son, daughter, wife or sibling.

The Imāmī Shīʿīs (see SHĪʿISM AND THE QURʾĀN), however, reject the systematic residuary entitlement of the *ʿaṣaba* as maintained by the Sunnīs. Instead of a principle of male agnatic succession, they rely on a criterion of nearness of relationship *(qarāba)* that applies equally to males and females and to both agnatic and uterine relations of the deceased. Their system gives priority in inheritance to an inner family (q.v.) consisting of the children, parents and siblings of the deceased, together with the spouse. These close relatives are regarded as the "roots" through whom are linked to the deceased the "branches" of the outer family, who stand next in priority in inheritance. No "branch" is excluded on the grounds of non-agnatic relationship to the deceased; every "root" is capable of transmitting its right of inheritance to its "branch" (Kimber, Qurʾānic law, 292, 322). The essential difference between Sunnī and Shīʿī law is expressed in a saying

attributed to Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq (d. 148/765), "The estate belongs to the nearest relation, and any [remoter] male agnate can eat dirt" (ibid., 322; also cited in Coulson, *Succession,* 108).

The *ʿilm al-farāʾiḍ* is justifiably renowned for its mathematical complexity. "Learn the laws of inheritance," Muḥammad is reported to have said, "and teach them to the people; for they are one-half of useful knowledge (see KNOWLEDGE AND LEARNING)." According to another version of this report, the Prophet said, "The laws of inheritance constitute one-half of all knowledge and are the first [discipline] to be forgotten" (Bayhaqī, *Sunan,* vi, 208-9).

Pious Muslims who devoted their attention to the text of the Qurʾān during the first century of Islam encountered a number of cases in which the application of one qurʾānic rule yielded a result that seemingly was at variance with another. Thus, Q 4:11 announces that "a male is entitled to a share of two females," a phrase which the early commentators (see EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL) understood as a general principle applying to all males and females of the same class and degree of relationship to the deceased (e.g. sons and daughters, brothers and sisters, mothers and fathers). This principle is contradicted, however, in the case of a childless man who dies leaving his wife and both parents: Q 4:11 assigns one-third of the estate to the mother ("if he does not have a child, and his parents are his heirs, then his mother is entitled to one-third"); and Q 4:12b assigns one-fourth of the estate to the widow ("they are entitled to one-fourth of what you leave, if you do not have a child"); this leaves five-twelfths of the estate for the father, who inherits as the closest surviving agnate. Clearly, the father's share is not twice as much as the mother's. The principle is again violated — even more severely — if a childless woman dies leaving her husband and both parents: Q 4:11 again assigns one-third of the estate to the mother; Q 4:12b assigns half of the estate to the husband ("you are entitled to half of what your wives leave, if they do not have a child"); this leaves one-sixth of the estate for the father, who inherits as the closest surviving agnate. Here the mother's share (one-third) is twice as large as the father's (one-sixth), turning on its head the qurʾānic rule that a male is entitled to the share of two females.

The problem reportedly was identified by Muḥammad's Companions. With regard to the second case, Ibn Masʿūd (d. 32/652-3) is said to have exclaimed, "God never saw me give preference to a mother over a father!" (Raddatz, Früislamisches Erbrecht, 37). According to Ibn Masʿūd the case was first resolved by the second caliph (q.v.), ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb (r. 13-23/634-44), who, when asked about a childless man who died leaving a wife and both parents, replied, "The wife is entitled to one-fourth, the mother is entitled to one-third of what remains [viz. one-fourth], and the father is entitled to whatever is left [viz. one-half]" (Ibn Shuʿba, *Sunan,* iii, 12-3, pt. 1, [nos. 6-8]; Bayhaqī, *Sunan,* vi, 228, ll. 4-6). Here, ʿUmar preserves the principle that a male is entitled to the share of two females (the father inherits half, the mother one-fourth) by interpolating the qurʾānic phrase that awards a share of the estate to the mother as if it reads "one-third of *what remains*" — which it does not. But the principle was saved at the expense of the explicit wording of the qurʾānic specification that the mother in this case should inherit one-third of the estate. The solution to the case in which a woman dies leaving her husband and both parents was resolved in an analogous manner, and is attributed variously to ʿAlī (d. 40/661; see ʿALĪ B. ABĪ ṬĀLIB), al-Ḥārith al-Aʿwar (d. 64/684), and

Zayd b. Thābit (d. 45/665). But these two cases commonly are known as the *ʿumariyyatān,* roughly, the two cases solved by ʿUmar.

A different problem arose in certain cases in which a person dies leaving a particular constellation of heirs, all of whom are sharers, and yet, when their fractional shares of the estate are calculated, the resulting sum exceeds one hundred percent of the estate. Suppose, for example, that a man dies leaving two daughters, both parents, and a wife. All six persons qualify as sharers, but the sum of the shares specified in the Qurʾān (2/3 for the daughters, 1/6 for the father, 1/6 for the mother, and 1/8 for the wife) equals 27/24 of the estate. The problem reportedly was recognized and resolved during the caliphate of ʿUmar, either by ʿUmar himself, by Zayd b. Thābit, or by ʿAlī. According to one report, ʿAlī was interrupted while delivering a sermon by someone who asked him how the estate should be divided in the case of a man who died leaving his father, mother, two daughters and a wife. Without a moment's hesitation, ʿAlī responded, "The wife's one-eighth becomes one-ninth" (Ibn Shuʿba, *Sunan,* iii, 19, pt. 1 [no. 34]; Bayhaqī, *Sunan,* vi, 253, ll. 4-5). In fact, the solution was to reduce the share of each heir on a *pro rata* basis in order to bring the sum total of the shares to one. In the present case, the shares become 16/27 (for the two daughters), 4/27 (father), 4/27 (mother) and 3/27 (wife), totaling one hundred percent (27/27). Although this procedure, known as *ʿawl* or proportional reduction, solved a mathematical conundrum, it created a hermeneutic problem, for the result of reducing the share of each heir on a proportional basis is that no heir receives the exact fractional share specified in the Qurʾān. The solution was contested. Late in his life, Ibn ʿAbbās (d. 68/687-8) is reported to have remarked, "Do you think that the one who counted the innumerable sands of Arabia did not count one-half, one-half, and one-third? When both halves are gone, where is the place for the one-third?" (Bayhaqī, *Sunan,* vi, 253, ll. 7-19).

Western perspectives

Since the end of the nineteenth century, Western scholars have accepted the general outlines of the traditional Sunnī account of the formation of the *ʿilm al-farāʾiḍ.* W. Robertson Smith, W. Marçais and G.-H. Bousquet developed what has been called "the superimposition theory:" In pre-Islamic Arabia, the right to inherit was limited to the *ʿaṣaba* or male agnates. The Qurʾān modified the tribal customary law of pre-Islamic Arabia (see TRIBES AND CLANS) by superimposing upon it a new class of legal heirs, the *ahl al-farāʾiḍ,* mostly females; the *ʿaṣaba* still inherit, but now only after the claims of the qurʾānic heirs have been satisfied. These two heterogeneous elements were fused together to form the *ʿilm al-farāʾiḍ.* The dual basis of the system accounts for its mathematical complexity.

The superimposition theory has recently been challenged. In fact, the Islamic sources suggest that the Muslim community's understanding of the qurʾānic inheritance legislation was the subject of controversy during the lifetime of Muḥammad and in the years immediately following his death. At the center of this controversy stands the figure of ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb and the word *kalāla,* which occurs only twice in the Qurʾān, once in Q 4:12b and again in 4:176 (see above). The commentators traditionally explain the meaning of this word as "a person who dies leaving neither parent nor child" or as "those who inherit from the deceased, with the exception of parent and child." In his discussion of the first qurʾānic appearance of *al-kalāla,* in Q 4:12b, al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923;

Jāmiʿ, iv, 283-6) provides a seemingly exhaustive treatment of its meaning in support of what had become the traditional understanding. Only when he comes to the second occurrence of the word *kalāla,* in Q 4:176, does al-Ṭabarī cite a series of vivid and colorful but little-known ḥadīths which point to early confusion regarding the reading *(qirāʾa)* of Q 4:12b and to a mystery surrounding the meaning of *kalāla:* On several occasions while the Prophet was still alive, ʿUmar reportedly queried him about the meaning of *kalāla* without receiving a satisfactory answer. On one occasion ʿUmar said that he would rather know the meaning of *kalāla* than possess the equivalent of the poll-tax of the fortresses of the Byzantine empire (see TAXATION). After becoming caliph, ʿUmar delivered a sermon in the mosque in Medina in which he announced his intention to issue a decree about this word and suggested that when he did, women would whisper about it in their private quarters; but he was dissuaded from fulfilling his promise by the sudden appearance of a snake, which he interpreted as a sign of divine intervention. Shortly before his own demise, ʿUmar is reported to have said, "If I live, I will issue a decree about it [viz. *kalāla*] so that no one who recites the Qurʾān will disagree about it." As he lay dying from a wound inflicted by an assassin, ʿUmar reportedly demanded that his companions bring him a document that he had written about *kalāla;* when they complied with his request, he erased the document — "And no one knew what he had written thereon" (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* vi, 43-4).

These narratives, which probably were put into circulation toward the end of the first century A.H., point to early uncertainty regarding the meaning of *kalāla*. Taking these narratives as his starting-point, D. Powers (*Studies,* 21-86, 143-88) has proposed three significant departures from the traditional understanding of the qurʾānic inheritance verses. First, Q 4:12b is traditionally read, "… *wa-in kāna rajulun yūrathu kalālatan aw imraʾtun…,*" and is understood as awarding a small fractional share of the estate to *uterine* siblings (see above). In place of the traditional reading, Powers has proposed: "*wa-in kāna rajulun yūrithu kalālatan aw imraʾtan…,*" and he argues that the word *kalāla* originally signified a female in-law, as its Semitic cognates do. Understood in this manner, the beginning of Q 4:12b would signify, "If a man designates a daughter in-law or wife as heir." If one accepts this line of argument, then Q 4:12b can be understood as awarding a small fractional share of the estate, not to exceed one-third, to one or more siblings (of any type) who have been *disinherited* in favor of a daughter in-law or wife, i.e. a female who is not related to the deceased by ties of blood. (This provision may be compared to the *actio ad supplendam legitimam* instituted by Justinian a century prior to the revelation of the Qurʾān.) Second, Powers argues that the award of a fractional share to a surviving spouse in Q 4:12a was originally intended to apply only in the exceptional case of a wife who had received no dowery (see BRIDEWEALTH), but that the exception was transformed into a rule during the generation following the death of the Prophet in connection with a general shift in focus from *heirs* to *shares* (compare *Novella* 53.6 of Justinian's code). Third, he argues that the bequest verses remained in force throughout the lifetime of Muḥammad and for at least a quarter of a century after his death, at which time the shift in the understanding of the two halves of Q 4:12 made it appear as if the bequest verses were incompatible with the newly emerging understanding of the inheritance verses. Muslim commentators harmonized the relationship between the bequest and inheritance verses by in-

voking the doctrine of abrogation, ostensibly the sign of a change in the divine will, in reality the sign of changed perceptions of the meaning of the divine word.

The thesis advanced by Powers eliminates many of the mathematical complexities associated with the *ʿilm al-farāʾiḍ*. Clearly, it is the share awarded to the surviving spouse that creates all of the above-mentioned mathematical problems: in cases of *ʿawl* or over-subscription, the removal of the share awarded to the surviving spouse has the effect of reducing the total size of the shares to one hundred percent; similarly, in the *ʿumariyyatān,* the removal of the surviving spouse from the equation has the effect of restoring the respective shares of the father and mother so that they inherit in a ratio of 2:1.

Powers calls this earlier stage in the understanding of the qurʾānic inheritance legislation "the proto-Islamic law of inheritance." Proto-Islamic law appears as a more or less complete system of inheritance that was intended to replace rather than modify the tribal customary law of pre-Islamic Arabia. Certain key features of proto-Islamic law bear a striking resemblance to the inheritance rules of Near Eastern provincial law and Roman law (see above; cf. Mundy, The family, 27-33; Crone, *Roman, provincial and Islamic law*): All three of these systems allow a testator to nominate a single heir of his or her choice; in the absence of a will, simple rules of intestacy take effect.

Another revisionist approach to the qurʾānic inheritance legislation recently has been advanced by R. Kimber (Qurʾanic law). Taking as his starting-point the equivocality of the inheritance verses, Kimber proposes an alternative interpretation of the syntax and meaning of Q 4:12b. Like Powers, he regards the qurʾānic inheritance law as a complete system, but whereas Powers sees the qurʾānic legislation as a modified version of Near Eastern provincial law, and traditional Islamic sources sees it as a reform of Arabian customary law, Kimber sees it as a reform of Jewish inheritance law. He also argues that Shīʿī inheritance law is closer to the original qurʾānic system than Sunnī inheritance law. For Kimber, the bequest verses and the inheritance verses, as originally understood, were not manifestations of two separate processes (testate succession and intestacy), but a means and ends to the same process, the disposal of an estate by last will and testament in accordance with the will of God. In the bequest verses, the testator is reminded in general terms of God's requirements; in the inheritance verses, these requirements are laid down in detail. The shift in emphasis from personal obligation to divine prescription proved so successful that it became practically unnecessary for Muslims to leave a last will and testament. In order for his explanation to work, however, Kimber must decree that Q 4:176 had in fact abrogated Q 4:12b, a view which no Muslim scholar has ever advanced.

The Islamic inheritance system

During the first centuries of Islamic history, Muslims living throughout the Near East found themselves subject to the *ʿilm al-farāʾiḍ,* which, to the extent that it was applied, resulted in the progressive fragmentation of wealth and capital. It is not surprising that proprietors found numerous ways to circumvent the "science of the shares," and they received important assistance in this regard from Muslim jurists who, distinguishing between *post mortem* and *inter vivos* transactions, taught that the inheritance rules take effect only on property owned by the deceased at the moment that he or she enters his or her deathbed illness and that proprietors are free, for the most part, to dispose of their property in

any way they wish prior to that moment (Yanagihashi, Doctrinal development, 326 f.). Thus a proprietor may shift assets to his desired heir or heirs by means of a gift (see GIFT-GIVING), acknowledgement of a debt (q.v.), sale or creation of a family *waqf,* on the condition that these legal actions conform to the requisite formalities. Thus, to understand how property passed from one generation to the next in Muslim societies, it is important to consider not only the *ʿilm al-farāʾiḍ,* but also the wider and more comprehensive Islamic inheritance system.

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Inimitability

An Arabic theological and literary term for the matchless nature of the qurʾānic discourse (Ar. *iʿjāz al-Qurʾān*). Although "inimitability" *(iʿjāz)* is not attested in the Qurʾān, it has a qurʾānic cognate, the fourth form verb *aʿjazahu,* "he found him to be without strength, or power, or ability; it frustrated his power or ability" (cf. Lane); *aʿjaza* and various derived forms occur sixteen times in the Qurʾān.

Of the four times the imperfect form of the verb *(yuʿjizu)* and the twelve times the active participle *(muʿjiz)* occur in the Qurʾān, none in context refers to the question of the human capacity to produce speech like that of the Qurʾān. Q 72:12, which employs the verb twice, is representative of most of the passages: "Indeed, we thought that we should never be able to frustrate *(lan nuʿjiza)* God in the earth, nor be able to frustrate him by [taking] flight."

Several passages specifically refer to humankind being unable to frustrate or render God's will impotent (e.g. Q 8:59; 9:2, 3; see IMPOTENCE). The third form *(ʿājaza)* occurs three times in the Qurʾān, with the meaning "to contend with someone or something in order to overtake or outstrip him/it." A cognate derived form in Q 22:50-1 provides an important qurʾānic background to the later theological doctrine of *iʿjāz al-Qurʾān* with the following dialectic: "Those who believe and do deeds of righteousness (see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF; GOOD DEEDS) — theirs shall be forgiveness (q.v.) and generous provision. And those who strive against our signs to void them *(saʿaw fī āyātinā muʿājizīna)* — they shall be the inhabitants of hell" (q.v.; cf. Q 34:5, 38). The linguistic expression and religious framework of contending with God and his messenger Muḥammad by challenging divine revelation (see REVELATION AND INSPIRATION; OPPOSITION TO MUḤAMMAD) was to become an important backdrop to subsequent theological disputes about the miracle of the Qurʾān (see CREATEDNESS OF THE QURʾĀN).

If the term *aʿjaza* and its cognate forms are left aside, however, several verses in the Qurʾān are framed as occasions when Muḥammad is commanded by God to challenge his detractors among the Arabs to produce sūras like those of the Qurʾān (Q 2:23-4; 10:38; 11:13; 17:88; 52:33-4). The Qurʾān contains no verse attesting that any hearer of the word of God (q.v.) recited by the Prophet ever met the challenge, although there are reports in early sources of several attempts to do so. The Challenge Verses, as they came to be called, were taken as theological warrants for the claim that the Qurʾān was a *muʿjiz(a),* the technical term in Islamic theology (*kalām,* see THEOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN) for "miracle" (q.v.). The inimitable Qurʾān was understood by the theologians *(mutakallimūn)* to be a miracle that served as an earthly sign and proof (q.v.) of Muḥammad's claim to be a prophet, akin to Moses' (q.v.) division of the Red Sea and Jesus' (q.v.) raising of the dead (see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD). Whether or not other miracles were necessary or even rationally possible for Muḥammad and whether or not religious functionaries besides prophets could perform miracles generated serious debates among Sunnī, Shīʿī, and Ṣūfī Muslims (see SHĪʿISM AND THE QURʾĀN; ṢŪFISM AND THE QURʾĀN).

In another sense, the Qurʾān quite clearly asserts that the recitations which constitute the Qurʾān in their most discrete form, the *āyāt* (sing. *āya*), are "signs" (q.v.) from God, that is, transcendent tokens in this world (q.v.; *al-dunyā*) of God's being and activity. The term *āya,* which also means "verse" of the Qurʾān, appears approximately 275 times in the Qurʾān, in such meaning as: "[the Jews at Sinai] disbelieved in God's signs" (*kānū yakfurūna bi-āyāti llāhi,* Q 2:61). Still another qurʾānic term that contributed to the early discourse on miracles as signs from God is the root *ʿ-j-b* and its derived forms. The tenth sūra of the Qurʾān, "Jonah" (Sūrat Yūnus), begins: "These are the signs *(āyāt)* of the wise book (q.v.). Was it a wonder *(ʿajab)* to the people that we inspired a man from among them…" (Q 10:1-2). In the theological literature on the miracle of the Qurʾān, the feminine form *ʿajība* (pl. *ʿajāʾib*) became a technical term for a particular wonder. For example, the fabled lighthouse of Alexandria, which was said to house a lens that made it possible to see the army leaving Constantinople, as well as the pyramids of Egypt, was classed as an *ʿajība*. In the *kalām* literature, an *ʿajība* generally referred to humanly produced wonders, such as strange and wonderful buildings and instruments, or the

beautiful works of great poets. By contrast, the term *muʿjiz* denoted divinely commissioned miracles and was thus restricted to religious figures, some said to prophets only. The term *ʿalam* (pl. *ʿalām, ʿalāmāt*), "a sign which offers guidance, as in navigation," also appears in the Qurʾān (e.g. Q 16:16; 42:32; 55:24), and the term is also used in *kalām* literature, but usually not to refer to divine miracles.

The qurʾānic and early Muslim context

Already in the time of the Prophet, controversy over the Qurʾān developed among those who heard it, especially among the Quraysh (q.v.) tribe in Mecca, indicating that the recitation of its verses had an effect on those who heard it. Part of the evidence for this is negative, in the form of the widespread opposition that Muḥammad and the qurʾānic recitations faced. Indeed, a prevailing theme of the earlier sūras especially, is the rejection of the Prophet and his recitations. The Qurʾān reports several accusations made against Muḥammad and the Qurʾān he recited and the manner in which he recited it. Of the unbeliever, the Qurʾān says: "he has been stubborn to our revelations" (Q 74:16), for humans have turned away from the Qurʾān in pride (q.v.) and said: "This is nothing other than magic from of old; this is nothing other than speech of mortal man" (Q 74:24-5). The Qurʾān specifies the kinds of accusations hurled at the Prophet by the skeptics among the Quraysh. In a variety of passages he is tauntingly called a soothsayer (*kāhin,* see SOOTHSAYERS), a poet (*shāʿir,* see POETRY AND POETS), a madman (*majnūn,* see INSANITY); his recitations are called fabrications, tales, legends, or fables — all of which could be imitated by humans (see Boullata, Rhetorical interpretation, 140). The Qurʾān itself denies that Muḥammad is a soothsayer, madman, or poet (cf. Q 52:29-31; 69:41-2). The rebuttal by Muslim theologians and literary scholars of these accusations during the next three centuries was closely related to the development of Arabic literary theory, which took qurʾānic language as the model for the purest, most eloquent Arabic speech (see ARABIC LANGUAGE; GRAMMAR AND THE QURʾĀN; LANGUAGE OF THE QURʾĀN; LITERARY STRUCTURES OF THE QURʾĀN). The counterclaim among theologians that the Qurʾān was a unique achievement, in language that was inimitable among humans, even the most eloquent Arabs, became part of the larger framework for the discussion of *iʿjāz al-Qurʾān*.

Some support exists for the belief that qurʾānic speech was unique among the linguistic productions of seventh-century Arabs (see ORALITY AND WRITINGS IN ARABIA). In Ibn Isḥāq's (d. 151/767) biography *(sīra)* of the Prophet (as edited by Ibn Hishām [d. 218/833]), al-Walīd b. al-Mughīra, a famous opponent of the Prophet, tells his fellow opponents of Muḥammad that "… his speech is sweet, his root is a palm tree whose branches are fruitful, and everything you have said [in criticism of the Prophet's recitations] would be known to be false" (Ibn Isḥāq, *Sīra,* i, 243 f.; Ibn Isḥāq-Guillaume, 121; see ʿAbd al-Jabbār, *Mughnī,* xvi, 268-9). A similar story is told about ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb before his conversion to Islam (Ibn Isḥāq, *Sīra,* i, 294 f.; Ibn Isḥāq-Guillaume, 156). The weight of opinion among Muslim scholars in early and medieval Islam, however, was that much of the speech in the Qurʾān was like *sajʿ* (the rhymed prose speech pattern of the *kāhin,* see RHYMED PROSE), which was characterized by assonance at the end of the verses.

The theological claim that the Qurʾān could not be imitated was a calque on the poetic *muʿāraḍa,* the competitive imitation or emulation of one poet or poem (usually a *qaṣīda*) by another poet, a cultural prac-

tice going back to pre-Islamic times (see PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QURʾĀN). A related concept is the *naqāʾiḍ* (polemical, repartee poems), which were offered with a stronger sense of contest and competition (Schippers, Muʿāraḍa). Insufficient textual evidence exists to ascertain how soon Muslims or non-Muslims attempted to emulate or, more negatively, to parody the Qurʾān, although the first/seventh-century false prophet, Musaylima (see MUSAYLIMA AND PSEUDO-PROPHETS), is said to have recited verses that attempted to imitate the Qurʾān. A few lines of imitation of the Qurʾān attributed to the early ʿAbbāsid Persian convert to Islam, Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ (d. ca. 139/756-7) indicate that by the second/eighth century the *muʿāraḍa* was a cultural form of honoring or challenging the qurʾānic style (van Ess, Some fragments). The linguistic association of the *muʿāraḍa* with theological discourse about the inimitability of the Qurʾān is found in major theological works of the fourth/tenth century. Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. al-Ṭayyib al-Bāqillānī (d. 403/1013), an Ashʿarī theologian, wrote a book on *iʿjāz al-Qurʾān* in which he mentions the attempts of poets to match the famous pre-Islamic *muʿallaqa* poem of Imruʾ al-Qays (d. ca. 540 C.E.) at the location of ʿUkāẓ. In comparison to any attempt to match the eloquence and style of the Qurʾān, he argues, the poetic devices of even a figure as great as an Imruʾ al-Qays are "within the orbit of human possibilities and are of a type mankind can match.… The composition of the Qurʾān, however, is a thing apart and a special process, not to be equalled, free of rivals" (quoted in von Grunebaum, *Tenth-century document,* 60).

Against this background, the Challenge Verses *(āyāt al-taḥaddī)* referred to above become the cornerstone of the doctrine of *iʿjāz al-Qurʾān*. Muḥammad challenged those who mocked the Qurʾān and who opposed him to produce speech as good as that of the Qurʾān. In Q 52:33-4, cited earlier, a series of rhetorical counterpoints are hurled at his accusers. He answers those who accuse him of fabricating the speech of the Qurʾān *(taqawwalahu)* by challenging them to bring a discourse like it *(bi-ḥadīthin mithlihi)* if they speak truly. In Q 11:13, in response to those who accused Muḥammad of forging the Qurʾān *(iftarāhu):* "Say, then bring ten sūras like it if you are truthful." Q 10:37 addresses directly the accusation that the Qurʾān is a forgery: "This Qurʾān could not have been forged apart from God, but it is a confirmation *(taṣdīq)* of what is before it and a detailing *(tafṣīl)* of the book (q.v.), wherein there is no doubt, from the lord (q.v.) of the worlds." Thereupon follows a more taunting challenge than Q 11:13 above: "Or do they say he has forged it? Say: then produce a sūra like it, and call upon whomever you can apart from God if you speak truly" (Q 10:38). Following the theme of inviting critics of the Qurʾān even to seek help in imitating the Qurʾān, the most frequently cited verse puts the challenge as follows: "Truly, if humankind and the jinn (q.v.) assembled to produce the like of this Qurʾān they could not produce the like of it, even if some of them helped others" (Q 17:88). That no one can ever match the speech of the Qurʾān, and that there are eschatological consequences (see ESCHATOLOGY) for those who try and fail is asserted in Q 2:23-4: "If you are in doubt concerning what we sent down to our servant [Muḥammad], then produce a sūra the like of it, and call upon your witnesses apart from God, if you are truthful. And if you do not [produce one] — and you never will — then fear the hell fire (q.v.), whose fuel is humans and stones, prepared for unbelievers."

Toward the end of his life, challenges to Muḥammad's religious leadership began to appear elsewhere in Arabia, beyond

Mecca. It was the period in which, according to the *Sīra* of Ibn Isḥāq, many individuals were converting to Islam and many tribes were sending delegations to pay homage to the prophet Muḥammad. As news of Muḥammad's final illness spread, many who had earlier submitted to Islam now began to apostatize (see APOSTASY) and rebel against Muḥammad's authority and the authority of his immediate successor as head of the Muslim community *(umma),* Abū Bakr. Those who rivaled Muḥammad, and even the Qurʾān, were labeled the arch-liars *(kadhdhābūn)*. Most notable of these were Musaylima b. Ḥabīb from the tribe of Ḥanīf, Ṭulayḥa b. Khuwaylid from the tribe of Asad, and al-Aswad b. Kaʿb al-ʿAnsī. With respect to the Qurʾān and the claims made about its inimitability, Musaylima is the most interesting and the one whose claims were refuted most vehemently in the later theological literature. Margoliouth (Origin, 485) argued that Musaylima had declared himself a prophet before Muḥammad had, though others disagree with this conclusion. The dispute has some bearing on whether Musaylima in history should be regarded as an imitator of Muḥammad and the Qurʾān or as a senior rival. Whatever conclusions may be drawn on the evidence (summarized in Watt, Musaylima), Ibn Isḥāq and al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923) record several occasions when Musaylima sought to approach Muḥammad, and indeed one occasion when he offered to rule half of Arabia leaving the other (western) half to Muḥammad, each serving as prophets of their respective areas (Ibn Isḥāq, *Sīra,* iv, 183; Ibn Isḥāq-Guillaume, 649). Groups that challenged Muḥammad's authority and scripture during his lifetime were among those who apostatized and against whom Abū Bakr was forced to send Muslim militias to stabilize a *pax islamica*. A year after the death of Muḥammad, Musaylima was killed at ʿAqrabāʾ by Muslim forces led by Khālid b. al-Walīd.

The intellectual environment of the discussion of the Qurʾān in early and medieval Islam

The earliest phase of the development of the doctrine of the inimitability of the Qurʾān is also difficult to reconstruct from extant sources. Given the challenges and opposition to the Prophet and the Qurʾān by many of his contemporaries, and the lengths to which later theologians went to emphasize the extraordinary linguistic qualities of the Qurʾān as proof of Muḥammad's prophethood, it seems quite likely that disputes about the nature of the Qurʾān as a sign of the authenticity of Muḥammad's mission took place during the first two centuries after the emigration from Mecca to Medina (*hijra,* see EMIGRATION). The earliest texts or fragments thereof that refer directly to the inimitability of the Qurʾān date, however, from the third/ninth century. Before reviewing that evidence, it will be useful to look briefly at the early intellectual and cultural environment of Islamic civilization as it conquered and was changed by the lands and religious communities it subsumed, from north Africa to central Asia.

Belief in divinely inspired prophets, raised from within and *sent* to their communities, was a common denominator of belief among the Jews, Christians, Zoroastrians, and other religious communities that were to come under Islamic rule in the first/seventh and second/eighth centuries. In this shared cultural and religious context, claims made about the validity of each community's scripture (see SCRIPTURE AND THE QURʾĀN) and the prophets who brought them became the subject of persistent controversy among Muslims, Christians, Jews and others, as well as among the

sectarian groups within the Muslim community itself (see POLEMIC AND POLEMICAL LANGUAGE; DEBATE AND DISPUTATION). Numerous texts exist that record the polemics and disputes, especially between Muslims and various Christian sects, such as the Nestorians, Jacobites, and Orthodox Christians, living under Islamic rule (see e.g. Griffith, Comparative religion). In the latter part of the third/ninth century, ʿAlī b. Sahl Rabban al-Ṭabarī composed a defense of Muḥammad's prophethood, *Kitāb al-Dīn wa-l-dawla,* arguing on the basis of prophetic miracles and signs, including the Qurʾān (Martin, Basrah Muʿtazilah, 177 and n. 8, 9). Also surviving is the text of a contrived polemical exchange in the first half of the third/ninth century between a Muslim and a Christian, ʿAbdallāh b. Ismaʿīl al-Hāshimī and ʿAbd al-Masīḥ al-Kindī, who were reportedly members of the court of the caliph al-Maʾmūn (r. 198-218/813-33). Again, the Prophet and the Qurʾān were the targets of this somewhat patronizing treatise against Islam. Neither treatise, however, has yet the sophistication of the language of the *kalām* texts on *iʿjāz al-Qurʾān* that have survived from the fourth/tenth and fifth/eleventh centuries. More directly evident in theological writing in defense of *iʿjāz al-Qurʾān* are those challenges that came from Muslim intellectuals themselves. Such critics were accused of *ilḥād,* "atheism." The most frequently cited atheist *(mulḥid)* in the *kalām* literature on the Qurʾān was Ibn al-Rāwandī (d. ca. 298/910-1), a philosophical theologian *(mutakallim)* who debated and wrote against many of those Sunnī theologians of the late third/ninth century who had written in defense of *iʿjāz al-Qurʾān* (cf. Kraus/Vajda, Ibn al-Rāwandī).

Another important context for the doctrine of the inimitable Qurʾān was the interest of Muslim scholars, beginning in the late second/eighth century, in literary criticism as it related to the style and linguistic qualities of the Qurʾān. A contemporary scholar of this genre also concludes that these early works of literary criticism "did not yet amount to a theory of the inimitability of the Qurʾān" (van Gelder, *Beyond the line,* 5). Among the better known and most influential works of this genre are *Maʿānī l-Qurʾān* by al-Farrāʾ (d. 207/822), *Majāz al-Qurʾān* by Abū ʿUbayda (d. 209/824), and *Taʾwīl mushkil al-Qurʾān* by Ibn Qutayba (d. 276/889). Still another matter that has some bearing on the growing theological and literary discourse about the inimitable Qurʾān was the sharp dispute over the createdness of the Qurʾān. The Muʿtazilīs (q.v.), though not the first, were strong defenders of the view that the Qurʾān, like all that was not God, was created by God in space and time. The theological dispute over this doctrine of *khalq al-Qurʾān* intensified in 218/833 when the caliph al-Maʾmūn ordered an inquisition (q.v.; *miḥna*) against any judge or court witness who failed to proclaim his adherence to the doctrine of the created Qurʾān. Ḥanbalī traditionalists and later the Ashʿarī theologians opposed the Muʿtazilī doctrine; over the next century after al-Maʾmūn they established the Sunnī dogma of the eternity of the Qurʾān. That the dispute over *khalq al-Qurʾān* is linked to the claim that the Qurʾān was inimitable is a problem in the history of Islamic thought of considerable interest (see Bouman, *Le conflit;* Larkin, Inimitability). The third/ninth and fourth/tenth centuries, then, were a time of intense theological speculation and disputation about the Qurʾān among Muslim schools of thought *(madhāhib,* sing. *madhhab)* and between Muslims and non-Muslim confessional communities. It was in this period that the theological problem of how to establish the

evidences of Muḥammad's prophethood *(tathbīt dalāʾil al-nubuwwa)* and how to establish the Qurʾān as the primary evidence of Muḥammad's prophethood developed their chief lines of argument.

Classical theories of iʿjāz al-Qurʾān

In his long, sometimes rambling, discussion of the miracles that established Muḥammad's prophethood, the Muʿtazilī theologian (al-Qāḍī) ʿAbd al-Jabbār b. Aḥmad (d. 414/1025) mentions third/ninth century *mutakallimūn* who wrote on the miracles that established the validity of Muḥammad's prophethood. From this and other sources it becomes clear that by the late third/ninth century, a new genre of literature on establishing the evidences of prophethood *(tathbīt dalāʾil al-nubuwwa)* had become popular among the *mutakallimūn* and other religious scholars. Abū l-Hudhayl (d. 227/841-2) is the earliest *mutakallim* named (ʿAbd al-Jabbār, *Tathbīt,* ii, 511). It is not yet possible to confirm on the basis of extant texts, though one may suspect, that Abū l-Hudhayl held that the Qurʾān was inimitable. His pupil and contemporary, Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm b. Sayyār al-Naẓẓām (d. ca. 230/845) propounded a theory that the Qurʾān *per se* was not inimitable; rather, it lay within the linguistic abilities of ordinary humans and speakers of Arabic to produce speech like that of the Qurʾān. According to Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Khayyāṭ (d. ca. 300/913), al-Naẓẓām argued that the Qurʾān was a proof *(ḥujja)* of Muḥammad's prophethood on the basis of its several passages that reported on things unseen or in the future (see HIDDEN AND THE HIDDEN). Al-Khayyāṭ says that al-Naẓẓām held the view that the linguistic qualities of the Qurʾān were not superior to ordinary human speaking abilities "in spite of Allāh's saying *(maʿa qawl Allāh):* Truly, if humankind and the jinn assembled to produce the like of this Qurʾān they could not produce the like of it, even if some of them helped others (Khayyāṭ, *Intiṣār,* 28; trans., 25; see Ashʿarī, *Maqālāt,* 225/7-13).

This argument required al-Naẓẓām to come to terms with this and the other Challenge Verses discussed above. In a later Muʿtazilī work that belongs to the theological commentary tradition of the Baṣran school of the Muʿtazila (probably late fifth/eleventh century), the following account is given of al-Naẓẓām's view: "Know that al-Naẓẓām took the position that the Qurʾān is a miracle only with respect to *ṣarfa*. The meaning of *ṣarfa* is that the Arabs were able to utter speech like that of the Qurʾān with respect to linguistic purity and eloquence *(al-faṣāḥa wa-l-balāgha)* until the Prophet was sent. When the Prophet was sent, this [characteristic] eloquence was taken away from them and they were deprived of their knowledge of it, and thus they unable to produce speech like the Qurʾān.… Subsequent writers came along and supported this school of thought, and they raised many specious arguments for it" (Br. Mus. Oriental 8613, fol. 17b [bot]-18a; see RHETORIC OF THE QURʾĀN). The theory of *ṣarfa* was rejected by al-Naẓẓām's one-time student at Baṣra, ʿAmr b. Bar al-Jāḥiẓ (d. 255/865). Half a century later, Abū Hāshim (d. 321-933), also of the Baṣran school of the Muʿtazila, and his followers during the next century, known as the Bahshamiyya, opposed the doctrine of *ṣarfa,* as well as did Abū Hāshim's contemporary and founder of the Ashʿarite school of *kalām,* Abū l-Ḥasan al-Ashʿarī, and the majority of Sunnī Muslims in the centuries to come. Nonetheless, the theory of *ṣarfa* found some acceptance in the fourth/tenth century among some of the *mutakallimūn* of the Baghdad branch of the Muʿtazila and the Imāmī Shīʿa (Martin, Basrah Muʿtazilah, 181). A lengthy

account of the dispute between ʿAbd al-Jabbār with the leader of the Imāmī Shīʿa in Baghdad and a strong proponent of the theory of *ṣarfa,* al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā (d. 436/1044), is recorded in the manuscript cited above (Br. Mus. Or. 8613, fol. 17b-28a). Some later proponents of the theory of *ṣarfa* after al-Naẓẓām also accepted theories of the Qurʾān's miraculousness that were based on its arrangement, order, and linguistic purity (see below).

Al-Jāḥiẓ is the earliest *mutakallim* and literary scholar whose writings in defense of the prophethood of Muḥammad and the superior stylistic attributes of the Qurʾān have been preserved to any degree. Among the most important of his works is the short treatise *Risāla fī ḥujaj al-nubuwwa,* "Treatise on the argument for [Muḥammad's] prophethood" and numerous short passages in his famous literary work, *Kītāb al-Ḥayawān*. Although the term *iʿjāz al-Qurʾān* does not appear in any of his works, other derived forms from the root *ʿ-j-z* do appear, such as *ʿajaza, ʿājiz,* and *muʿjiz* in passages that speak about the qualities of the Qurʾān (Audebert, *al-Ḥaṭṭābī,* 63 and n. 3). Regarding when *iʿjāz* became a technical term in theological and literary discussions, Bouman has concluded on reasonable grounds that it appeared after the death of Ibn Ḥanbal (d. 241/855) but before the death of the Muʿtazilī *mutakallim,* Abū ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad b. Zayd al-Wāsiṭī (d. 307/918-9), who wrote the earliest known work with *iʿjāz* in the title: *Kītāb Iʿjāz al-Qurʾān fī nazmihi wa-taʾlīfihi* (Bouman, *Le conflit,* 52, n. 4; Audebert, *al-Ḥaṭṭābī,* 58-64). Madelung and Abrahamov report that *al-Madīḥ al-kabīr* by the Zaydī-Muʿtazilī Imām al-Qāsim b. Ibrāhīm (d. 246/860) argues in support of the Qurʾān's inimitability (*iʿjāz,* Madelung, *Der Imām,* 125; Abrahamov, *Anthropomorphism,* 19), placing the origin of the term closer to the time when al-Jāḥiẓ flourished.

Al-Naẓẓām's doctrine of the qurʾānic miracle through divine intervention *(ṣarfa)* was refuted by his illustrious pupil, al-Jāḥiẓ. As mentioned above, some passages, including the treatise on the arguments for (primarily Muḥammad's) prophethood give some insight into his counter-argument to al-Naẓẓām's doctrine of *ṣarfa*. Al-Jāḥiẓ argued that the Qurʾān was inimitable on the basis of its composition *(taʾlīf)* and its structure or arrangement of words *(naẓm)*. Al-Bāqillānī (d. 403/1013) says that al-Jāḥiẓ was not the first to write on *naẓm al-Qurʾān,* and that his book had not added anything to what the *mutakallimūn* before him had written (Bāqillānī, *Iʿjāz,* 6; see Audebert, *Al-Ḥaṭṭābī,* 58 and n. 7). By al-Bāqillānī's time a century and a half later, however, the Muʿtazilīs and Ashʿarīs were in growing disagreement over that in which the inimitability of the qurʾānic language consisted. If he was not the first to articulate a doctrine of the inimitability of the Qurʾān, al-Jāḥiẓ was undeniably influential among later Muʿtazilīs and Ashʿarīs who defended inimitability as the chief characteristic of the miracle of the Qurʾān. Although he was criticized by later Ashʿarīs for the particular understanding he gave to the concept of *naẓm al-Qurʾān,* with al-Jāḥiẓ we see the early stages of the influence of literary criticism on *kalām* argumentation as well as the shaping of the general argument among most Sunnī and some Shīʿī intellectuals for the increasingly popular belief that the Qurʾān was inimitable.

Not all *mutakallimūn* regarded al-Jāḥiẓ's notion of an inimitable Qurʾān and al-Naẓẓām's concept of divine intervention as mutually incompatible. ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā al-Rummānī (d. 384/994) was a student of Arabic grammar and a Muʿtazilī *mutakallim* of the school founded in Baghdad by Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. ʿAlī al-Ikhshīdh (d. ca.

320/932). The Ikhshīdhiyya were fiercely antagonistic toward the Bahshamiyya, the Baṣran branch of the Muʿtazila that was led by Abū Hāshim b. al-Jubbāʾī (d. 321/933; see Ibn al-Murtaḍā, *Ṭabaqāt,* 100, 107). Al-Rummānī held that there were seven manifestations of the Qurʾān's inimitability. Among these, he included aspects of the overall argument, mentioned above, such as the fact that the Arabs were challenged to produce something like the Qurʾān but did not; that the Qurʾān achieved a degree of eloquence that surpassed what was a miracle customary *(naqḍ al-ʿāda)* even for the most eloquent Arabs; and that the inimitable Qurʾān was on a par with Moses parting the Red Sea and Jesus raising the dead to life. With al-Naẓẓām, al-Rummānī also counted the divine deterrence *(ṣarfa)* and the prophets' foretelling of unseen, that is future, events. Without comment on how he reconciled its apparent contradiction with *ṣarfa,* al-Rummānī dedicated the bulk of his *al-Nukat fī iʿjāz al-Qurʾān* to arguments for the inherent inimitability of the qurʾānic language, based on an analysis of ten rhetorical figures that make up its literary eloquence (*balāgha,* Rippin and Knappert, 49-59).

The sharpest opponents of Ibn Ikhshīdh and al-Rummānī among the Muʿtazila were the Baṣran school, now known as the Bahshamiyya, which in the early fourth/tenth century moved to Baghdad. Several distinguished followers of Abū Hāshim over the next two centuries defended his theories of the inimitable Qurʾān. The surviving works of ʿAbd al-Jabbār (*Mughnī,* xv and xvi; *Sharḥ,* 563-99) and a later commentary on a work by one of his pupils, Abū Rashīd al-Nīsābūrī, entitled *Ẓiyādāt sharḥ al-uṣūl,* carefully lay out the doctrine of the apologetic miracle of the inimitable Qurʾān according to the Baṣran school and the arguments they had with numerous opponents among the theologians, philosophers, atheists, and non-Muslim religious intellectuals. The rationalist concern of the Baṣran Muʿtazila was to preserve the logical effect of the prophetic miracle (Moses dividing the Red Sea, Jesus raising the dead, Muḥammad reciting an inimitable scripture) as providing indubitable proof that those who produced them were indeed prophets. Thus, the doctrine of the inimitability of the Qurʾān held by the Baṣran Muʿtazila was an argument against the popular belief that Ṣūfī masters, Shīʿī imāms (see IMĀM), magicians and sorcerers could perform real miracles and thus demand a following. The Muʿtazilī *mutakallimūn* generally did not deny that such figures existed or that they claimed to perform miraculous feats; they denied that what such religious figures produced were actually miracles like *iʿjāz al-Qurʾān*.

ʿAbd al-Jabbār set forth four conditions necessary for an act to be a true miracle. First, it must come either directly or indirectly from God. Second, it must interrupt the customary course of events *(naqḍ al-ʿāda),* e.g. temporarily parting the waters of the Red Sea. Third, humans must be unable to produce such miracles with respect to genus *(jins)* or attribute *(ṣifa)* — an implicit reference to Musaylima's attempt to gain a following by producing his own Qurʾān. Finally, a miracle must belong specifically to one who claims to be a prophet (ʿAbd al-Jabbār, *Sharḥ,* 559/15 – 561/8). The case for the *iʿjāz* of the Qurʾān was made to rest on its linguistic purity *(faṣāḥa)* and eloquence *(balāgha),* which by the tenth century had become the standard concepts of the stylistic miracle of the Qurʾān.

It has already been noted that despite their sharp criticism of the Muʿtazila on other grounds, traditionalists and Ashʿarī scholars agreed with the main lines of the Muʿtazilī doctrine of the apologetic miracle of the inimitable Qurʾān. A traditional-

ist contemporary of al-Rummānī and ʿAbd al-Jabbār, Ḥamd b. Muḥammad al-Khaṭṭābī (d. ca. 386/996) rejected the theory of *ṣarfa*. At the same time he refuted al-Rummānī's Muʿtazilī view that the Qurʾān contained rhetorical figures whose degree of eloquence was humanly unattainable (Audebert, *al-Ḫaṭṭābī,* 107-8). Al-Khaṭṭābī's text, *Bayān iʿjāz al-Qurʾān,* has been published and shows a much greater concern with the literary aspects of *iʿjāz* than the theological arguments of the Muʿtazilīs and Ashʿarīs, although in the long run it is difficult to separate the two kinds of argumentation in this literature (see Audebert, *al-Ḫaṭṭābī*).

The Ashʿarī theologians of the late fourth/tenth and the fifth/eleventh centuries further perfected the literary rationale for the claim that the Qurʾān was inimitable. Al-Bāqillānī, already discussed above, wrote several works on prophethood and miracles that have survived, most notably *Kitāb Iʿjāz al-Qurʾān*. In this work, al-Bāqillānī presents himself as a non-specialist in Arabic literary theory who wishes to show that humans cannot attain the level of stylistic achievement of the Qurʾān. Unlike the Muʿtazila, however, al-Bāqillānī denies that the theological ground of *iʿjāz* can be established by its demonstrable linguistic superiority (von Grunebaum, *Tenth-century document,* xviii, 54-5). It was ʿAbd al-Qāhir al-Jurjānī (d. 471/1078), a scholar of Arabic literature, who set the Ashʿarī theory of the stylistic miracle of the Qurʾān on its strongest intellectual footing. Al-Jurjānī's *Dalāʾil iʿjāz al-Qurʾān* presents strong arguments against ʿAbd al-Jabbār's Muʿtazilī theory of speech *(kalām),* thus establishing a distinct Ashʿarī theory of *iʿjāz*. Whereas al-Jāḥiẓ, al-Rummānī, al-Bāqillānī, ʿAbd al-Jabbār and others had based their theories of *iʿjāz* on the qualities of the inimitable composition *(nazm)* of words and phrases in the Qurʾān, thus resting the case for miracle solely on style and linguistics, al-Jurjānī argued that the overall composition of the Qurʾān, its meaning as well as its wording, was the true miracle (Larkin, *Theology of meaning*).

Following the fulsome and lively discussions of *iʿjāz al-Qurʾān* by scholars like ʿAbd al-Jabbār, Abū Rashīd al-Nīsābūrī, al-Bāqillānī, and al-Jurjānī in the fourth/tenth and fifth/eleventh centuries, the theologians and literary scholars of the late medieval and early modern periods refined the earlier arguments, rather than contributing new ones. In the twentieth century, a number of Muslim scholars, such as Muḥammad ʿAbduh, Sayyid Quṭb, and ʿĀʾisha ʿAbd al-Raḥmān (Bint al-Shāṭiʾ) have attempted to define that which characterizes the stylistic superiority of the Qurʾān over other Arabic literary works of art (Boullata, Rhetorical interpretation, 148-54). Among most modern writers, the primary concern has been with Arabic stylistics and linguistics as the true basis for the inimitability of the Qurʾān. The theological dimension of the theories of *iʿjāz al-Qurʾān,* which were so intensely disputed in the medieval period, appear to be less important in contemporary writing about the Qurʾān (see CONTEMPORARY CRITICAL PRACTICES AND THE QURʾĀN; EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL; EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: EARLY MODERN AND CONTEMPORARY).

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Injīl see GOSPEL

Innovation

The creation of, or belief in, something that has no precedent or support either in the texts of revelation or in juridical consensus (see REVELATION AND INSPIRATION; LAW AND THE QURʾĀN). Innovation is connoted by two Arabic terms *(bidʿa, muḥdath),* and derivatives of both roots, *b-d-ʿ* and *ḥ-d-th,* appear in the Qurʾān, but in the majority of cases they are not used in the sense of deviating from a set path or precedent. In Q 65:1, for instance, the verb *yuḥdith* is used — with God as grammatical subject — to mean "create" (probably *ex nihilo*) or "bring some new thing to pass" (see CREATION). Derivatives of *b-d-ʿ* are used in four verses, in only one of which the verb is employed in the sense of invention, namely, Q 57:27: "But monasticism (*rahbāniyya,* see MONASTICISM AND MONKS) they invented; we ordained it not for them." Its usage is largely congruent with the later definition of the term, since the context in which this statement was made was one where God sent down the prophets (see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD) and books (see BOOK), including Jesus (q.v.) and the Gospel (q.v.), but monasticism had neither divine sanction nor precedent. In Q 2:117 and 6:101, God is declared as the "originator *(badīʿ)* of the heavens (see HEAVEN AND SKY) and earth (q.v.)."

In later usage, the term *bidʿa,* when it appears alone, generally has a negative connotation. To designate a laudatory in-

novation, it was necessary to qualify the term, usually with the adjective *ḥasana* (good). Technically, innovation came to be distinguished according to the five legal norms (*al-aḥkām al-khamsa,* see PROHIBITED DEGREES) depending on whether or not it violates a revealed text, a juridical consensus or, even, according to al-Shāfiʿī (d. 204/820), a Companion's report (*athar,* see COMPANIONS OF THE PROPHET; ḤADĪTH AND THE QURʾĀN). The first is mandatory innovation *(bidʿa wājiba)* which is incumbent upon those who are able to undertake it. The performance of a mandatory act entails reward, but its omission entails punishment. Devoting oneself to religious scholarship — which includes the study of Arabic (see ARABIC LANGUAGE) in order to understand the Qurʾān and the sunna (q.v.), the study of grammar (see GRAMMAR AND THE QURʾĀN), of ḥadīth criticism, of law, and engaging in anti-sectarian discourse — is but one example of the obligation to carry out innovation. The second is the prohibited innovation *(bidʿa muḥarrama)* which is clearly embodied in all the theological and other beliefs of the sects that diverged from the Sunnī community (see THEOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN). Obviously, the commission of the prohibited is punishable (see CHASTISEMENT AND PUNISHMENT). The third type is the recommended innovation *(bidʿa mandūba),* such as in the construction of Ṣūfī hospices (*ribāṭ*s, see ṢŪFISM AND THE QURʾĀN) and colleges for religious education (*madrasa*s). The performance of a recommended innovation is rewarded, but its omission does not require punishment. The fourth is reprehensible innovation *(bidʿa makrūha),* such as embellishing mosques and decorating copies of the Qurʾān (see ORNAMENT AND ILLUMINATION). The reprehensible is rewarded when omitted, but is not punished when committed. The fifth and last type is permissible innovation *(bidʿa mubāḥa),* such as indulging oneself excessively in eating, in drinking or in wearing fancy clothing. Both the omission and commission of a permissible innovation are equally legitimate (see VIRTUES AND VICES).

When used negatively, *bidʿa* must be distinguished from various forms of heresy (q.v.) because the reprehensible innovator, unlike the heretic, does not intentionally aim to break ranks with the Muslim community or with the teachings of the faith (q.v.). Rather, his innovation, though deemed to be lacking any foundation in the Islamic authoritative sources, would nonetheless claim to be Islamic. This explains why in the vocabulary of Sunnism the sectarian groups were termed the "People of Innovation" or *ahl al-bidaʿ.*

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Inquisition

Act or process of questioning; judicial or official questioning before a jury, often with the connotation of pursuit of heresy (q.v.) and the punishment of heretics. Two Arabic roots appear in the Qurʾān with the sense of "inquisition:" the fifth verbal form of *f-q-d* and the eighth form of *m-ḥ-n*. *Tafaqqada* is attested once, at Q 27:20, where Solomon (q.v.) searches among the birds

for the hoopoe (see ANIMAL LIFE), who finally brings him news of the Queen of Sheba (q.v.; see also BILQĪS). The eighth verbal form of the root *m-ḥ-n* (whence also *miḥna,* discussed below) is attested twice (Q 49:3; 60:10) and lends itself to the title of a sūra, Q 60 (Sūrat al-Mumtaḥana, "She who is to be examined"). In both of the qurʾānic attestations, reference is made to the testing of conscience regarding faith (q.v.): in the first instance, those who lower their voices in the presence of the Prophet (see SOCIAL INTERACTIONS) are the ones whose hearts (see HEART) God has proven to righteousness *(amtaḥana llāhu qulūbahum lil-taqwā)*. The second verse, from which the name of Q 60 is derived, instructs the believers (see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF) to examine women who come to them seeking refuge. If they are found to be true believers, they are not to be returned to the unbelievers (*kuffār,* see POLYTHEISM AND ATHEISM) who, the verse continues, are not lawful (*ḥill,* see LAWFUL AND UNLAWFUL) for them. It is not, however, a sin (*junāḥ,* see SIN AND CRIME) for the believers to marry such women (see MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE; WOMEN AND THE QURʾĀN). This policy marked a modification of the truce of Ḥudaybiya, according to which the Muslims were to return all fugitives, male and female, but the polytheists were not required to give up renegades from Islam (see CONTRACTS AND ALLIANCES; EXPEDITIONS AND BATTLES). Q 60:12 contains the terms of the oath of allegiance (see OATHS AND PROMISES) that such women were to swear to Muḥammad: they were to ascribe no partner to God (see IDOLS AND IMAGES; IDOLATRY AND IDOLATERS), would not steal (see THEFT), commit adultery (see ADULTERY AND FORNICATION), kill their children (see INFANTICIDE), lie (q.v.), nor disobey Muḥammad (see DISOBEDIENCE; cf. Ibn Isḥāq-Guillaume, 509-10).

This qurʾānic connotation — of examining, and judging, the faith of the members of the Muslim community — was incorporated in the usage of the noun *miḥna* to denote the events which followed after the seventh ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Maʾmūn (r. 193-218/809-33) demanded in 218/833 that leading scholars *(ʿulamāʾ)* publicly proclaim their acquiescence in the doctrine of the createdness of the Qurʾān (q.v.). The *ʿulamāʾ* were threatened with confiscation, torture and even execution if they did not accede to the caliphal order. Though the *miḥna,* which lasted some nineteen years (218-37/833-52), was primarily conducted in the capital Baghdad, it was also enforced by caliphal representatives in a number of provinces of the Islamic empire. After al-Maʾmūn's death, the *miḥna* was continued, albeit with different degrees of rigor, by his successors al-Muʿtaṣim (r. 218-27/833-42) and especially al-Wāthiq (r. 227-32/842-7). The *miḥna* was halted by the tenth ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Mutawakkil (r. 232-47/847-61), whereupon — and till this very day — the uncreatedness or eternity of the Qurʾān came to be the majority doctrine. It should be pointed out that the *miḥna* was an exceptional episode in Islamic history and hardly resembled the duration and scale of the Christian inquisition of the Middle Ages.

Three views have been proposed to explain al-Maʾmūn's introduction of the *miḥna*. D. Sourdel *(La politique)* suggests that through the *miḥna* al-Maʾmūn sought to enforce the doctrine of the createdness of the Qurʾān as a means of uniting the two branches of Sunnī and Shīʿī Islam. A critique of this explanation rests on the current view that at the time of al-Maʾmūn both "branches" were doctrinally still evolving and, moreover, neither had an unambiguous position on the nature of the

Qurʾān. A second explanation, popular among writers of overviews of Islamic history, erroneously implies a (causal) link between the *miḥna* and the rationalist school of the Muʿtazila (see MUʿTAZILĪS) which happened to espouse the doctrine of the createdness of the Qurʾān. There were, however, other rationally-oriented movements which professed the very same view and, as J. van Ess (Ḍirār b. ʿAmr) has pointed out, al-Maʾmūn held some views which clashed with Muʿtazilī thinking. Making use of the fact that, uncharacteristically, al-Maʾmūn was quite dogmatic in demanding assent to the doctrine of the createdness of the Qurʾān by enjoining a peremptory and unequivocal yes/no answer of the men subjected to the *miḥna*, proponents of the third explanation are of the opinion that behind all this was al-Maʾmūn's resolve to have the *ʿulamāʾ* publicly acknowledge that it was not they, but the incumbent of the caliphal institution who had supreme authority on religious doctrine — of which the createdness of the Qurʾān was an example (see also POLITICS AND THE QURʾĀN; THEOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN; TRIAL).

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Insanity

Unsoundness or derangement of mind, especially without recognition of one's illness (see ILLNESS AND HEALTH), sometimes with the connotation of possession by a demon. Sixteen passages in the Qurʾān defend prophets (see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD; MESSENGER) from the accusation of being *majnūn*, "possessed by demons (see DEVIL), insane, mad." Unbelievers (see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF) of different peoples are shown in the Qurʾān to accuse a prophet of being *majnūn*, for which reason they consider his message to be a lie (q.v.). The accusation is either reported as direct speech of the unbelievers or as a refutation in the words of the respective prophet ("your prophet is not *majnūn*"). Instead of "he is (not) *majnūn*," in five cases the formulation "in him is a/no *jinna*" is used. These correlations are represented in Table A below.

All these verses were revealed in the Meccan period (see CHRONOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN). According to Nöldeke's classification, the *majnūn*-formulation belongs to the first (sūras 51, 52, 68, 81) and second (sūras 15, 26, 37 and 44) periods, the *bihi jinna*-formulation to the second (sūra 23) and third (sūras 7 and 34) Meccan periods. Like the punishment stories (q.v.), of which some of these verses are part, they serve to affirm the veracity of the prophet's mission against the suspicions of his adversaries, who would accuse a prophet of being either a liar (see LIE), a poet

	Unbelievers about Muḥammad	The people of Noah (q.v.) about Noah	Pharaoh (q.v.) about Moses (q.v.)	All peoples about every messenger
majnūn	Q 15:6; 37:36; 44:14; 52:29; 68:2, 51; 81:22	Q 54:9	Q 26:27; 51:39	Q 51:52
bihi jinna	Q 23:70; 34:8; cf. 7:184; 34:46	Q 23:25		

Table A

(see POETRY AND POETS), a sorcerer (see MAGIC, PROHIBITION OF), a diviner (see DIVINATION; SOOTHSAYERS), or a *majnūn*. These designations occur in various combinations: sorcerer *(sāḥir)* and *majnūn* (Q 51:39, 52); sorcerer and liar *(kadhdhāb),* or *sāḥir kadhdhāb* (Q 38:4; 40:24); poet *(shāʿir)* and *majnūn* (Q 52:29-30) or *shāʿir majnūn* (Q 37:36); diviner *(kāhin)* and *majnūn* (Q 52:29); diviner and poet (Q 69:41 f.). None of these groups can be assumed to tell the truth and they are therefore all incompatible with true prophethood, though their utterances might bear similarities to those of real prophets (see also MUSAYLIMA AND PSEUDO-PROPHETS).

The different renderings of the word *majnūn* in translations of the Qurʾān show that the main problem for its understanding is the question of whether the notion of demonic possession prevails in the word *majnūn* or if the medical notion of mental derangement is paramount. On the one hand, jinn (q.v.) figure prominently in Qurʾān, ḥadīth (see ḤADĪTH AND THE QURʾĀN) and later Islamic tradition while, on the other hand, Arabic poetry from the time of Muḥammad onward shows that the belief in an inspiring jinn had almost faded away and that the poets ascribed their poetic achievements exclusively to themselves, but never to a demon. In this context, it is important to note that Eichler (*Die Dschinn,* 23-4) has shown that the Qurʾān employs *bihi jinna* (or, negatively, *mā bihi jinna*) to denote a person subject to inspiration by jinn, and that this usage should be distinguished from *majnūn,* which signifies possession or madness. Moreover, *junūn,* "madness, insanity," was considered to be caused also by excessive emotions like love without the intervention of a demon. Even in the qurʾānic verses the notion of "possession" need not necessarily be dominant as the parallel between *sāḥir kadhdhāb* and *shāʿir majnūn* shows. Since, however, both aspects were obviously simultaneously present in early Islamic society, it is reasonable to assume that they were not considered to be contradictory. It therefore seems feasible to translate *majnūn* both as "madman, insane" as well as "possessed," though both translations do not exhaust the full meaning of the word. The word *jinna,* originally a plural noun designing a "group of jinn," has the same range of meanings and was thus considered by some commentators (cf. Ālūsī, *Rūḥ,* ix, 119) to be also a verbal noun synonymous with *junūn*.

Other expressions connected with the notion of insanity are Q 68:6 where the word *maftūn* is sometimes interpreted to mean "afflicted with madness" and Q 2:275 where the touch *(mass)* of Satan is generally held to cause insanity. The word *suʿur* in Q 54:24, 47 should be connected with *saʿīr,* "flame, fire (q.v.), hell (q.v.)," rather than considered an expression for non-demonic madness, as Dols (*Madman,* 218,

n. 38) and several lexicographers have assumed.

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Insolence and Obstinacy

Gross disrespect and unyielding adherence to an idea. Understanding "insolence" as an attitude or character flaw that leads to obstinate rejection may justify its joint examination with "obstinacy," which conveys the idea of stubbornness and aggression as well as arrogance (q.v.) and tyranny. This compound concept is often mentioned in the Qurʾān, always in connection with the manner in which divine providence reveals itself throughout human history (see HISTORY AND THE QURʾĀN; FATE). The Qurʾān presents tales of ancient groups of people (see GENERATIONS; GEOGRAPHY) who threw off all restraint, for they were too proud to listen to admonitions and too boastful (see BOAST) to accept the divine messages addressed to them by prophets and messengers (see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD; MESSENGER). Their pride (q.v.) made them behave in an ungodly way that manifested itself in their insolence and obstinacy. Their refusal to alter their ways culminated in severe punishment (see CHASTISEMENT AND PUNISHMENT; PUNISHMENT STORIES), for which no repentance was possible (see REPENTANCE AND PENANCE).

The Qurʾān uses several terms, derived from various roots, to describe the manner in which ungodly people acted: *ʿ-n-d (ʿanīd)* to express stubbornness, *k-b-r (istakbara, takabbara, mutakabbir)* to express arrogance, *ʿ-l-y (ʿālin, ʿuluww)* to express haughtiness, *ṭ-gh-y (ṭaghā)* to express tyranny, *ʿ-ṣ-y (ʿaṣā)* to express disobedience (q.v.), *ʾ-b-y (abā)* to express refusal and *j-b-r (jabbār)* to express oppression (q.v.). Of all the expressions, *istakbara* is the most common; the verb occurs about thirty times in the Qurʾān whereas the others each appear only five times or fewer.

The following analysis focuses on three major qurʾānic tales that examine acts of insolence and obstinacy, stimulated by pride: the tale of the ancient Arab tribes ʿĀd (q.v.) and Thamūd (q.v.), who refused to listen to the messengers sent to them and were consequently destroyed; Pharaoh (q.v.), who paid dearly for his tyrannical and ungodly acts; Iblīs (see DEVIL), who was too proud to bow to Adam (see ADAM AND EVE; BOWING AND PROSTRATION) and was therefore expelled from heaven (see HEAVEN AND SKY) and became a condemned figure.

ʿĀd and Thamūd

The story of the two tribes is detailed in Q 7:65 f. It is adduced in a sequence of stories about messengers who were sent to guide their people toward godfearing conduct: Hūd (q.v.) was sent to the people of

ʿĀd, and Ṣāliḥ (q.v.) was sent to Thamūd. Both tribes rejected the call addressed to them, and by so doing brought calamities upon themselves. ʿĀd is addressed with the words "Anger and wrath from your lord have fallen upon you… We cut off the remnant of those who cried lies to our signs and were not believers" (Q 7:71-2; see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF). Those who "waxed proud" (*istakbarū,* Q 7:76) among the people of Thamūd and did not believe, "the earthquake seized them, and morning found them in their habitation fallen prostrate" (Q 7:78). In Q 41:15-8 we find: "As for ʿĀd, they waxed proud *(istakbarū)* in the earth without right, and they said 'Who is stronger than we in might?'… then we loosed against them a wind (see AIR AND WIND) clamorous in days of ill fortune, that we might let them taste the chastisement of degradation in the present life… As for Thamūd, we guided them, but they preferred blindness (see VISION AND BLINDNESS) above guidance, so the thunderbolt of the chastisement of humiliation seized them for that they were earning." Here, as well as in other verses, pride is presented as the creator of disobedience; disobedience rooted in pride causes disbelief, and the latter leads to chastisement and tribulation.

Pharaoh (Firʿawn)

Pharaoh appears in the Qurʾān as a prototype of pride and the refusal to renounce disbelief and wrongdoing. His name is mentioned over seventy times in the Qurʾān, mostly as an oppressor (*ʿālin,* Q 10:83; 44:31; cf. 23:46), the one who tortured people (as indicated by the title *dhū l-awtād,* given to him in Q 38:12; cf. 89:10) and ordered the slaughter of newborn males (Q 2:49; 7:141; 14:6; 28:4; 40:25-6). He rejected the divine message brought to him by Moses (q.v.) and Aaron (q.v.; Q 10:75-6; 17:101; 27:13; 29:39; 40:24), considered himself God and tried to build a tower to reach the sky (Q 26:29; 28:38; 40:36). God chose to harden Pharaoh's heart (q.v.), since "God sets a seal on every heart proud, arrogant" (Q 40:35). His drowning (q.v.) in the sea (Q 2:50; 8:54; 10:90) is presented as the consequence of his behavior, for which no repentance is possible: "And we brought the Children of Israel (q.v.) over the sea; and Pharaoh and his hosts followed them insolently and impetuously till, when the drowning overtook him, he said, 'I believe that there is no god but he in whom the Children of Israel believe; I am of those that surrender.' 'Now? And before you did rebel, being of those that did corruption. So today we shall deliver you with your body (i.e. dead body), that you may be a sign to those after you. Surely many are heedless of our signs.'" (Q 10:90-2). In trying to explain why Pharaoh's repentance was rejected, an argument repeated by most commentators states that Pharaoh repented only after he faced his punishment; the commentators further explain that when the threat comes true and the penalty becomes real, penitence is no longer an option. To strengthen this claim, al-Qurṭubī (d. 671/1272; *Jāmiʿ,* viii, 377) connects these verses to Q 4:18 which deals with repentance after the encounter with death (see DEATH AND THE DEAD): "But God shall not turn towards those who do evil deeds (q.v.) until, when one of them is visited by death, he says, 'Indeed now I repent'." Q 40:84-5 also deals with repentance that comes too late: "Then, when they (i.e. the unbelievers) saw our might (i.e. severe punishment), they said, 'We believe in God alone'… but their belief [when they saw our might] did not profit them…" (cf. Rāzī, *Tafsīr,* ix, 161-2, who adduces seven different explanations for Pharaoh's rejected repentance).

Iblīs

Arrogance is the vice of Iblīs: After God created Adam, he ordered all the angels (see ANGEL) to bow down before Adam. Iblīs was the only angel who refused. He believed that he was superior to humankind: "I would never bow myself before a mortal whom you have created of a clay (q.v.) of mud molded" (Q 15:33). This belief created in him an extravagant pride (Q 2:34 and 38:74 use the verb *istakbara*) that drove him to rebel against God, and ultimately brought down God's condemnation upon him. He is expelled from paradise (q.v.) and is named *rajīm,* "cursed" (Q 38:77; see CURSE). At the end of time he will be thrown into the flames of hell (q.v.; Q 26:94-5; 15:43).

Conclusion: insolence and obstinacy versus Islam

The qurʾānic analysis of the story of Iblīs, of Pharaoh and of ʿĀd and Thamūd, focuses on the edifying aspect of the stories rather than on their historical elements. The historical identification of ʿĀd and Thamūd have been examined thoroughly by R.B. Serjeant (Hūd and other pre-Islamic prophets); the identity of Pharaoh has also been the subject of research (see articles in *EI²*); and the nature of Iblīs is discussed in several studies, such as in F. Rahman (*Major themes,* 121-31). When dealing, however, with their common denominator, insolence and obstinacy, the identity of these figures is beside the point; they should rather be treated as a means through which the Qurʾān clarifies the correlation between ungodly behavior and arrogance.

The motif of a messenger who exhorts people to adore the one God but finds only incredulity and insolence, is found repeatedly in the Qurʾān, each time with reference to a different event, but always at once aiming at Muḥammad's own mission. Through familiar stories of the ancient past, the Qurʾān confronts the people of Quraysh (q.v.) with persuasive pieces of evidence that leave no doubt as to the fate awaiting those who will not accept the divine call sent by Muḥammad. Furthermore, while elaborating on the consequences of insolence and obstinacy, the Qurʾān delivers the basic idea of Islam, that of belief in one God and self submission to him. Pride would not allow one to keep this attitude toward the sovereign God; rather, pride encourages refusal to obey (see OBEDIENCE) and creates insolence and obstinacy. In so doing it blocks the way to God and leads the people astray (q.v.).

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Inspiration

see REVELATION AND INSPIRATION

Instruments

Devices used by humans to assist them with their daily routines. There is not much literature dealing with material culture in the Qurʾān (see MATERIAL CULTURE AND THE QURʾĀN). Arthur Jeffery *(For. vocab.)* and others who investigated the origins of foreign words in the Qurʾān, note that many of the cultural terms were of

non-Arabic origin (see FOREIGN VOCABULARY). The borrowings for qurʾānic cultural (and religious) terminology came from other Semitic languages, such as Aramaic, Nabatean, Syriac, and Ethiopic, as well as from Persian and Greek. The studies dealing with foreign words in the Qurʾān, however, show that the identification alone of borrowings from other Semitic or from non-Semitic languages does not allow one to draw conclusions about the significance of their use in the Qurʾān. It is at least as important to know how far back the borrowing goes or if its occurrence in the Qurʾān was indeed an innovation. A panorama of the cultural environment of the Qurʾān is presented in Eleonore Haeuptner's study on material culture in the Qurʾān *(Koranische Hinweise),* which deals with the relationship between the references to material culture in the Qurʾān — not only in terms of individual words, but rather of subjects — and pre-Islamic Arab culture, as it is known from poetry and other sources such as ḥadīth and biographies (see PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QURʾĀN).

At least as important, perhaps, as the etymology of the material-cultural terms is the pattern of their occurrences. As in the case of vessels (see CUPS AND VESSELS), some terms for instruments or utensils in the Qurʾān occur exclusively in association with specific contexts. The word *ʿaṣā,* "staff," which is used several times, always refers to Moses' (q.v.) staff, whereas Solomon's (q.v.) staff is described as *minsaʾa* (see ROD). It is not clear, however, if the two words refer to staffs with different functions.

Other utensils, like chains and fetters, appear only in the context of punishment on the day of resurrection (q.v.; see also LAST JUDGMENT; REWARD AND PUNISHMENT). It also happens that synonyms are used together in the same context, like *aghlāl* and *salāsil* for "chains," and *mīzān* and *qisṭās* for "scale." Measuring instruments (*mīzān, qisṭās, mikyāl,* see WEIGHTS AND MEASURES) are used only metaphorically for justice (see JUSTICE AND INJUSTICE) or honesty. Writing materials *(ṣuḥuf, qirṭās, qalam, nuskha, raqq, lawḥ, midād, khātam, asfār,* and *kitāb)* are, with only a few exceptions, always associated with scripture, i.e. the Qurʾān or previous revelations and religious texts (see SCRIPTURE AND THE QURʾĀN; REVELATION AND INSPIRATION). Most words describing weapons are used in their concrete sense. In what follows, the main categories of material-culture terminology found in the Qurʾān are discussed.

Writing instruments and materials

Asfār (sing. *sifr*), "book, volume." The word is used in the parable which compares the Jews who refused the Torah (q.v.) obligations with a "donkey laden with books" (Q 62:5; see JEWS AND JUDAISM).

Khātam, "seal," is used metaphorically, referring to the Prophet *(khātam al-nabiyyīn),* the seal of the prophets (Q 33:40).

Kitāb, "book" (q.v.). Multiple occurrences which refer to the Qurʾān or other scriptures; People of the Book (q.v.; *ahl al-kitāb*) are the Christians (see CHRISTIANS AND CHRISTIANITY) and Jews who possess a holy book. The word also means a register where God keeps a record of all things (Q 6:38; 10:61; 11:6; 22:70; see HEAVENLY BOOK). *Kitāb* also denotes a "letter" (Q 24:33; 27:28).

Lawḥ, "board or plank." It is used only once in the singular form (Q 85:22) referring to the heavenly archetype of the Qurʾān (see PRESERVED TABLET). The plural form *(alwāḥ)* otherwise used has two meanings. It means at one place the planks of Noah's (q.v.) ark (q.v.; Q 54:13) and otherwise refers to Moses' tablets (Q 7:145, 150, 154; 54:13; 85:22).

Midād, "ink." Q 18:109 mentions a sea of ink as metaphor (q.v.) for God's speech (q.v.; see also WORD OF GOD).

Nuskha, "copy or exemplar." It occurs once in reference to the tablets of Moses (Q 7:154).

Qalam (pl. *aqlām*), "pen." The word is used to describe a writing utensil, probably made of reed (Q 31:27; 68:1; 96:4). Only in Q 3:44 does it refer to tubes, probably also made of reed, used by the pre-Islamic Arabs as lots for divination (q.v.; see also FORETELLING).

Qirṭās (pl. *qarāṭīs*), "parchment or papyrus." In both passages it refers to the material on which sacred texts were written down (Q 6:7, 91).

Raqq, "parchment" (Q 52:3).

Sijill, used in the Qurʾān in the sense of a scroll of parchment. The context is metaphorical: on the day of resurrection heaven (q.v.) will be rolled up like a scroll of parchment (Q 21:104; see APOCALYPSE).

Ṣuḥuf (sing. *ṣaḥīfa*), "pages of writing." The word is always used in the context of scripture (Q 20:133; 53:36; 74:52; 80:13; 87:18,19; 98:2; see also WRITING AND WRITING MATERIALS).

Measuring instruments

Kayl, a measure for volume (17 kilograms, cf. Heinz, *Islamische Masse,* 40). Together with *mīzān,* it is used metaphorically for honesty (Q 6:152; 7:85).

Mikyāl, a measuring vessel. Like *kayl,* it is used together with *mīzān,* in the metaphorical sense of justice (Q 11:84, 85).

Mīzān, "scale." The term is always used metaphorically, referring to honesty (Q 6:152; 7:85, 11:84, 85; 42:17). In Q 55:7, God sets the balance of all things, in the sense of norms not to be transgressed. In Q 57:25 God sent his apostles with the scripture and the scales of justice. The plural form *mawāzīn* occurs in the context of the day of resurrection, where the heavier scales symbolize good deeds (q.v.): "He whose scales are heavy shall dwell in bliss" (Q 21:47; 101:6).

Qaws, "bow." The word is used in the dual in Q 53:9 *(qawsayn),* not to describe the weapon it usually means but as a measuring unit of length. In older times the Arabs used bows and arrows as measuring references.

Qinṭār (pl. *qanāṭīr*), a large weight measure (100 raṭl, cf. Heinz, *Islamische Masse,* 24-7), it is used in its true sense (Q 3:75; 4:20). Al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923) provides several hypotheses as to its exact value (*Tafsīr,* vi, 243-50 [ad Q 3:14, where the plural form is used]).

Qisṭās, "balance," like *mīzān* used metaphorically for justice (Q 17:35; 26:182).

Trade instruments

Darāhim (sing. *dirham*), a silver currency unit (see Heinz, *Islamische Masse,* 1-8; see MONEY; NUMISMATICS). Used only in the plural form in Q 12 "Joseph" (Sūrat Yūsuf), where Joseph (q.v.) is said to have been sold for a few *darāhim* (Q 12:20).

Dīnār: a gold currency unit. It is used in the context of transactions with the People of the Book (Q 3:75).

Mithqāl, a weight measure (see Heinz, *Islamische Masse,* 1-8). It is mostly used as *mithqāl dharra,* "an atom's weight," or *mithqāl khardal,* "grain of mustard seed," to mean "the least" of actions, or of good and bad deeds (Q 4:40; 10:61; 21:47; 31:16; 34:3, 22; 99:7, 8; see EVIL DEEDS; GOOD AND EVIL).

Weapons

Asliḥa (sing. *silāḥ*), "weapon." It occurs four times in the plural form in a context dealing with the precautions to be taken by the Prophet to protect himself against attacks by the unbelievers (Q 4:102; see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF; OPPOSITION TO MUḤAMMAD; EXPEDITIONS AND BATTLES).

Maqāmiʿ (sing. *miqmaʿa*), "rod," as a beating instrument. It occurs as "iron rods" *(maqāmiʿ min ḥadīd)* in the context of punishment on the day of resurrection (Q 22:21).

Nuḥās, "brass, copper, bronze," is used in the Qurʾān in the sense of molten metal, as punishment for the unbelievers in hell (q.v.; Q 55:35).

Qaws, literally "bow," but, as noted above, in the Qurʾān the term is only used as a measure unit for length (Q 53:9; see under *Measuring instruments*).

Rimāḥ (sing. *rumḥ*), "lances," used in the context of hunting (Q 5:94; see HUNTING AND FISHING).

Sābighāt (sing. *sābigha*), "coats of mail" (Q 34:11).

Sard, "chain armor." It occurs only once, in Q 34:11, a passage mentioning David's (q.v.) skill as a maker of armor. Although Arabic sources derive it from *sarada,* "to stitch," it is more likely a borrowing from the Iranian *zard*.

Other instruments

Aghlāl (sing. *ghull*), "iron chains," is used only in the plural form and refers to the punishment of the unbelievers in hell, where they shall be fastened with chains (Q 36:8; 76:4).

Ankāl (sing. *nikl*), "fetters," is used in the plural form to describe punishment in hell (q.v.; Q 73:12).

Aqfāl (sing. *qufl*), "lock," is used only once, in the plural form in Q 47:24: "Are there locks upon their hearts (see HEART)?"

ʿAṣā (pl. *ʿiṣiyy*), "staff or stick," occurs in early sūras only in references to Moses striking the rock or the sea with his staff (Q 2:60; 7:107, 117, 160; 20:18; 26:32, 45, 63; 27:10; 28:31). Its use in the plural is restricted to the futile efforts of Moses' opponents.

Aṣfād (sing. *ṣafad*), "fetters," like *ankāl,* it is used in the plural form to describe punishment in hell (Q 14:49; 38:38).

Azlām (sing. *zalam*), "arrows." The word occurs in the prohibition of using divining arrows, which were consulted to settle disputes among pre-Islamic Arabs (Q 5:3, 90).

Dusur (sing. *disār*), occurs with reference to ships made of planks *(alwāḥ)* and *dusur,* which are a kind of nail, most likely wooden pegs (Q 54:13).

Ḥabl (pl. *ḥibāl*), "rope." In the first two occurrences (Q 3:103, 112), the word is used in a metaphorical sense to mean clinging or adhering to faith (q.v.) or to God. In the other passages (Q 20:66; 26:44; 111:5), rope in its concrete sense is meant. In Q 50:16 it is used in a composed form, *ḥabl al-warīd,* meaning "the jugular vein" (see ARTERY AND VEIN).

Khayṭ, "thread," is mentioned in the context of fast-breaking (see FASTING) during the month of Ramaḍān (q.v.). Muslims are allowed to break the fast during the night, until dawn, when one can distinguish a white thread from a black one (Q 2:187; see DAY, TIMES OF; DAY AND NIGHT).

Khiyāṭ, "needle," in Q 7:40 where it is said that the evildoers shall not enter paradise (q.v.) until "a camel (q.v.) passes through the eye of a needle."

Mafātīḥ (sing. *miftāḥ*), "keys," is used only once and in the plural form in Q 6:59: "He (God) has the keys of all that is hidden" (see HIDDEN AND THE HIDDEN).

Maqālīd (sing. *miqlād*), "keys." Like *mafātīḥ,* it occurs in the plural form and is used in the same metaphorical sense for God's knowing the secrets of all things (Q 39:63; 42:12).

Masad, "rope (of palm fibers tightly twisted)." The word is used together with *ḥabl (ḥabl min masad),* to emphasize its meaning. The rope referred to is an instrument of punishment in hell, like the chains mentioned elsewhere (Q 111:5).

Minsaʾa, "staff," from *nasaʾa,* "to lead." It occurs only once referring to Solomon's staff (Q 34:14).

Miṣbāḥ (pl. *maṣābīḥ*), "lamp" (q.v.), is used metaphorically for the stars (Q 41:12; 67:5). In Q 24:35, the Light Verse *(āyat al-nūr),* it is obviously an oil lamp since it is described as including a glass oil container.

Nuṣub, "standard," refers to the unbelievers on the day of resurrection rushing out of their graves as if to reach a banner (Q 70:43; see DEATH AND THE DEAD).

Salāsil (sing. *silsila*), "chains," occurs like *aghlāl* in the descriptions of the punishments which the unbelievers will suffer on the day of judgment (Q 40:71, 76:4). The singular form *silsila* is used once, in Q 69:32, where it refers to a seventy-cubits-long chain that will fasten the unbeliever in hell.

Sikkīn, "knife," occurs only once, in Q 12, when the female guests of Potiphar's wife wound themselves at the sight of Joseph's beauty (Q 12:31).

Sirāj, "lamp," is used as a metaphor for the sun (q.v.; Q 25:61; 71:16; 78:13). In Q 33:46, however, it symbolizes the Prophet's guidance of believers.

Ṣūr, "trumpet," is always used in connection with the day of resurrection (Q 6:73; 18:99; 20:102; 23:101; 36:51; 39:68; 50:20; 69:13; 78:18).

As this overview of the qurʾānic terminology for instruments demonstrates, such terminology occurs in a wide variety of contexts, with both concrete and metaphoric, earthly and eschatological (see ESCHATOLOGY), connotations.

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Intellect

As opposed to emotion or will, the power or faculty through which humans perceive and understand the world. The concept of *ʿaql,* "intellect," is probably one of the most controversial in the history of Muslim thought. The word *ʿaql* itself does not occur in the Qurʾān. The root *ʿ-q-l,* however, appears forty-nine times and always as a verb in the first form *(ʿaqala-yaʿqilu)* meaning "to understand, to recognize." Other meanings of the verb *ʿaqala,* such as "to tie (up)," e.g. a camel, "to arrest," "to pay blood money (q.v.)" are not found. In all but three verses the verb is in the second or third person plural, usually in formulae of admonition (see EXHORTATIONS) such as *a-fa-lā taʿqilūna, wa-laʿallakum taʿqilūna* or *fī dhālika la-āyatin li-qawmin yaʿqilūna.*

The cognitive process described by *ʿaqala* is based primarily on the human's ability to perceive, to reflect and to evaluate obvious facts. This meaning of *ʿaqala* is very close to that of the word *ʿaql* in pre-Islamic poetry. But in a noticeably large number of verses *ʿaqala* is related to the senses. Quite often it also has direct associations with the senses and the heart (q.v.; *fuʾād, qalb*), which in the qurʾānic semantic is not the seat of emotions, but an organ of perception and understanding. *ʿAqala* as the process of recognition which leads to belief (see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF) is taken in the Qurʾān to include sensory perception and the understanding of the heart, and it relies in any case on the use of the senses. It does not, therefore, correspond to our modern notion of reason, which is regarded as the capacity to attain knowledge through

thinking and mental reflection, being distinguished from knowledge achieved through sensual perception, i.e. sounds, smells, optical impressions or feelings.

The various manifestations of understanding in the Qurʾān, that is, all the different contexts in which the root *ʿ-q-l* makes its appearance, are part of the qurʾānic concept of *āya,* "sign." In the qurʾānic *Weltanschauung* all creation is an *āya,* i.e. a sign from God (see SIGNS). Nature (see NATURAL WORLD AND THE QURʾĀN) no less than civilization, human history (see HISTORY AND THE QURʾĀN) and divine writings (see BOOK), the pleasures of love and of food — everything that exists and takes place in the cosmos (see COSMOLOGY) and on earth (q.v.) is a revelation of God to humankind (see REVELATION AND INSPIRATION). God speaks to humankind through his signs, those that are spoken being manifested in the books of revelation, the unspoken ones through the world itself. The act of interpreting the signs is called in the Qurʾān *ʿaqala,* while the ways and means of doing so are as manifold and varied as the signs themselves. For example, in Q 30:21-4 four different kinds of expression for the recognition of signs are used in rapid succession. The expression used in the first of these four verses is *inna fī dhālika la-āyātin li-qawmin yatafakkarūna,* "There are truly signs therein for a people that thinks." In the next verse they are called signs "for those that have knowledge," then signs "for a people that listens" (*li-qawmin yasmaʿūna,* see SEEING AND HEARING; HEARING AND DEAFNESS), and finally signs "for a people that understands" *(li-qawmin yaʿqilūna)*. The four expressions here are not synonymous; they indicate different ways of attaining understanding, the intellectual *(tafakkara)* and the sensual *(samiʿa),* and ultimately *ʿaqala,* which embraces the ones already described. Neither here nor elsewhere in the Qurʾān does the term *al-ʿālimūna* denote people who have acquired great knowledge or learned a great deal, but rather people who are endowed with a special religious insight, however that may be defined; *ūlū l-albāb,* as it is also called. The difference between the two conceptual areas *ʿaqala* and *ʿalima* is that only the latter can also refer to God, insofar as God is "knowing" (*ʿalīm,* see GOD AND HIS ATTRIBUTES). *ʿAqala,* on the other hand, refers to a purely human activity, namely the understanding of divine signs.

According to qurʾānic precepts the reality of God can be understood and even physically perceived by all humans, by virtue of the comprehensible arguments and clear and self-evident facts (hence the emphasis on the clarity of the signs). Unbelief (see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF) is in the first place not attributed to a lack of will but to a lack of intellectual ability and perception — the unbelievers fail to see and understand the signs "in the world at large or in themselves" (Q 41:53). God gives signs, but it is up to the individual whether he or she recognizes them and accepts their guidance — *laʿallakum taʿqilūna.* This eventuality is the reason for the apparently incongruous *laʿalla,* "perhaps," one of the most common modal expressions in the Qurʾān (see LANGUAGE OF THE QURʾĀN). It has a firm place within the qurʾānic *Weltanschauung* and by no means for stylistic reasons alone: *laʿalla,* which may (like the word *ʿasā*) have the secondary meaning "that which is desired," expresses an individual's own responsibility, i.e. the possibility that he or she will remain in darkness (q.v.).

Thus *ʿaqala* has its very special and constantly reinforced function within the relationship between God and humankind. Whereas words like *shaʿara, faqiha* or *fakkara,* which likewise belong to the area of "understanding, grasping, reflecting on," are

used in other, general contexts, the activity described in the Qurʾān as *ʿaqala* relates solely to signs from God. In contrast to the concept of reason in the Enlightenment, the activity is not an end in itself; its goal is the reaction the signs are intended to elicit, namely praise (q.v.) of God (see GLORIFICATION OF GOD) and belief in him. These are the responses appropriate to humankind when confronted with God's message to all, which is made manifest through signs.

The noun *ʿaql* occurs in a somewhat different guise from its qurʾānic one in numerous ḥadīths (see ḤADĪTH AND THE QURʾĀN), particularly in some which are not regarded as canonical. There it is used in a general sense that does not refer to God's relationship to humankind (cf. the compilation of ḥadīths in Ghazālī, *Iḥyāʾ*, i, 83-9). Hence a general evaluation of intellectual understanding in Islam can only be established from post-qurʾānic sources. Although the Qurʾān's appeal to humankind's insight and its desire to — in its own words — "make clear" *(bayyana)* are indisputable, as is its description of ignorance (q.v.) as darkness and God as light (q.v.), the Qurʾān does not discuss, let alone glorify, *ʿaql* in terms of the human ability to attain all kinds of understanding through thought and reflection.

Starting from the Greek concept of *nous*, Islamic philosophy, theology and mysticism each developed their own content, meanings and connotations for the concept of *ʿaql* which were based only loosely on the *ʿaqala* of the Qurʾān (see PHILOSOPHY AND THE QURʾĀN; THEOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN; ṢŪFISM AND THE QURʾĀN). In the aftermath of the modern renaissance *(nahḍa)* of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries *ʿaql* became the cornerstone of a reformist, rationalistic conception of religion. Today, reference to the intellect is commonplace among Muslim authors of almost all persuasions (see also KNOWLEDGE AND LEARNING).

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Intention

Determination to act in a certain way. Although the closest Arabic equivalent, *niyya*, is not attested in the Qurʾān, it does exist in a very famous ḥadīth, albeit without the technical meaning developed later in the field of jurisprudence (*fiqh*, see LAW AND

THE QUR'ĀN). In the Qur'ān, the root *kh-l-ṣ* (*ikhlāṣ,* "sincerity"), used seventeen times in its active participial form, *mukhliṣ,* best approximates the notion of worthy and well-directed "intention." Sincerity is the foundation of all acts of worship (*'ibāda,* cf. Q 2:139; 39:2, 11, 14) acceptable to God and of all forms of prayer (*du'ā',* cf. Q 7:29; 10:22; also 29:65; 31:32; 40:14, 65; 98:5). The sincere servants of God are those whom he protects from being seduced by Iblīs (Q 15:40; 38:83; see DEVIL) or from committing sins (as he did with Joseph [q.v]; Q 12:24); they will all enjoy great happiness in the afterlife (Q 37:40, 74, 128). Sincerity of belief (see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF; HYPOCRITES AND HYPOCRISY) expresses itself in a full commitment to the performance of religious duties, which in turn makes it possible for the believer to receive God's protection (q.v.). Other qur'ānic terms, such as the fourth form of the root *r-w-d,* the fifth form of *y-m-m* and the fourth form of *ṣ-w-b* are occasionally glossed as "intention," but with a meaning apart from the religio-juridical one of *niyya*.

Taqwā, "seeking protection from God," is an essential qur'ānic term (cf. Rahman, *Major themes,* 29, 110, 127-8) that is very important in this context. Izutsu (*Concepts,* 196) explains the close relationship between "belief" and *taqwā* "in the form of an implication: if A then B." The Qur'ān clearly states that what is important is not the religious action in itself, but the internal piety (q.v.) of the hearts (*taqwā l-qulūb,* Q 22:32; see HEART). Because of its importance, piety of the heart is the basis for judging action. The Qur'ān strongly emphasizes that pretentious behavior counts for nothing because God is always watching the internal belief of everyone's heart. As all the secrets on the earth, in the heavens, and in between are well known to him, he knows what lies in people's hearts (*'alīmun bi-dhāti l-ṣudūri,* Q 3:119, 154; 5:7; 8:43; 11:5; 31:23; 35:38; 39:7; 42:24; 57:6; 64:4; 67:13; see HIDDEN AND THE HIDDEN; SECRETS).

The very famous ḥadīth referred to above, which is mentioned in all the canonical collections, uses the word *niyya* to convey the heartfelt intention behind religious action: "Actions are only judged on the basis of their intention. Every individual will only have [as a reward or punishment; see REWARD AND PUNISHMENT] what he has intended" (Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* vii, 55 [but it appears at least seven other times in the work]; cf. the first ḥadīth in Pouzet, *Une hermeneutique,* 74-89). Judging an action according to the intention behind it became the higher criterion in juridical application (cf. Wensinck, Niyya, 67). Good intention is taken into consideration by God, even if the action is not performed. Sinful intention, on the other hand, is not counted as long as the action is not performed (cf. Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr;* Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr,* ad Q 3:119).

Repentance *(tawba)* from sins is the way to turn back to God and to a state of right intention, the original meaning of *tawba* being to "turn back" or "return." God, in turn, returns his blessing *(yatūbu)* to the sincere penitent (see REPENTANCE AND PENANCE). This juridical definition of *tawba* is further specified to include repentance from bad thought, whether whispered by Satan *(waswasat al-shayṭān)* or emerging from desires of the soul *(waswasat al-nafs)*. Al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111; *Iḥyā' [Kitāb al-tawba],* v, 4) speaks about several aspects of repentance: attempting not to sin (see SIN, MAJOR AND MINOR), remorse for sins committed, observing good actions (see GOOD DEEDS), and the realization of one's own fallibility, and, lastly, the prophet Muḥammad's acts of abstention from amenities (which went above and beyond what is obligatory) because of his aware-

ness of their potential to distract one from the path towards the attainment of eternal reward (see PATH OR WAY). As for Ibn ʿArabī (d. 638/1240; *al-Futūḥāt,* i, 209), the semantic structure of *tawba* is more complicated, though it is basically set forth on the same ground, that is dealing with *niyya* as a religious responsibility.

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Intercalation

see CALENDAR

Intercession

Prayer or pleading with God on behalf of someone else. In addition to the references to those gods, humans or images who will be unable to intercede with God on behalf of humankind (cf. Q 19:87; 36:23; see IDOLS AND IMAGES) and the guilty (*al-mujrimūn,* Q 74:41) who will not benefit from the assistance of any intercessors (*al-shāfiʿīn,* Q 74:48), intercession *(shafāʿa)* is mentioned in the Qurʾān with respect to angels (see ANGEL) praying for the believers and the Prophet praying for erring but repentant Muslims. It has become a cardinal belief in Islam that Muḥammad will intercede for all Muslims on the day of resurrection (q.v.; see also LAST JUDGMENT), but this belief is not well supported by the Qurʾān. Still more controversial is seeking the intercession of deceased saints by praying at their tombs (see FESTIVALS AND COMMEMORATIVE DAYS), a practice that is very common but with no obvious foundation in the Qurʾān and seen by some critics as a form of polytheism.

Intercession in the Qurʾān

Concerning Muslims who had "acknowledged their wrong-doings, mixing a good work with another that was evil" (see GOOD DEEDS; EVIL DEEDS; GOOD AND EVIL; SIN, MAJOR AND MINOR), in Q 9:102-3 the Prophet is told to "pray on their behalf *(ṣalli ʿalayhim);* truly your prayers are a source of security for them." When the Prophet prays for other people, the verb in the Qurʾān is *ṣallā,* "to pray," and the preposition is *ʿalā,* "on." But when God is the actor, this same verb and preposition are used in the sense of "to bless." For example, "He it is who blesses you (pl.), as do his angels, that he might bring you out of darkness into light" (Q 33:43) or, in a particularly famous and important passage that lies at the heart of the Muslim practice of blessing the Prophet at every mention of his name and in their daily devotions, "God and his angels bless the Prophet; you who believe, bless him and give him the greeting of peace" (Q 33:56). One may infer from the qurʾānic verse instructing Muḥammad not to pray for "hypocrites" (see HYPOCRITES AND HYPOCRISY) who had died (Q 9:84) that the practice of praying for the dead at their funerals (see DEATH AND THE DEAD) was already in place in the time of the Prophet, which is also indicated by ḥadīth. The angels also seek forgiveness (q.v.) for *(yastaghfirūna li-)* those who believe (Q 40:7) and for all those on the earth (Q 42:5). The Qurʾān alludes to Muḥammad offering to pray for the forgiveness of the hypocrites, who rebuff his offer; the Qurʾān says that no matter how much Muḥammad prayed for their

forgiveness, they would never be forgiven (Q 63:5, 6; 9:80). The Qurʾān emphasizes that each person is responsible for his or her own self, and that Muḥammad is not responsible for the response of people to his message (Q 39:41).

Much more problematic is the notion of intercession *(shafāʿa)* on the day of resurrection. The Qurʾān repeatedly warns the Meccans that they will find no helper (e.g. Q 9:74, *wa-mā lahum fī l-arḍ min waliyyin wa-lā naṣīrin*) and none to hide them from God's wrath on the day of resurrection. The denial of help at the time of judgment appears to refer to the uselessness of the intercession of kin relations, patrons, wealth or idols at that time (see PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QURʾĀN; CLIENTS AND CLIENTAGE; KINSHIP). The entire emphasis in the qurʾānic account of the day of resurrection is on the overwhelming power of God, king of the day of judgment, and the lack of recourse at that time for those who did not heed the warning of the prophets in this life (see WARNER; PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD). "Then will the weak say to those who were arrogant (see ARROGANCE), 'We followed you, can you help us against the wrath of God?' They will reply, 'If God had guided us, we would have guided you. It makes no difference whether we rage or bear patiently, there is no way for us to escape'" (Q 14:21). "Then guard yourselves against a day when one soul shall not avail another, nor shall intercession *(shafāʿa)* be accepted for it, nor shall compensation be taken from it, nor shall they be helped" (Q 2:48; cf. 2:123). Yet this apparently categorical denial of intercession appears to be mitigated in other verses: "How many angels are in the heavens whose intercession will avail nothing except after God permits it to whomever he wishes and pleases?" (Q 53:26). "On that day intercession will not benefit anyone except those for whom the Merciful has granted it" (Q 20:109; cf. 34:23); "Who is there who can intercede *(yashfaʿu)* in his presence except by his permission?" (Q 2:255); "None shall have the power of intercession but the one who has taken an oath (*ʿahd,* see OATHS AND PROMISES; COVENANT) with the merciful" (Q 19:87). These verses have been taken by Muslims to indicate that the prophet Muḥammad will have the right to intercede for his people on the day of judgment (for further discussion on the intercession of Muḥammad, see Stieglecker, *Die Glaubenslehren,* 678-83).

Faith in Muḥammad's intercession is also based on Q 17:79, "You [Muḥammad] pray in the small hours of the morning *(tahajjada)* an additional prayer *(nāfila);* perhaps your lord (q.v.) will raise you to a praiseworthy station *(maqām maḥmūd)*." A ḥadīth (Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ* [trans. Siddiqi], 125, no. 371) identifies this praiseworthy (or exalted) station as one which allowed the Prophet to bring out of hell all whom he wished.

Muslim belief concerning intercession on the day of judgment

Al-Ghazālī (450-505/1058-1111) wrote in *Iḥyāʾ ʿulūm al-dīn,* "Revival of the religious sciences," (iv, 653) that God will accept the intercession of the prophets and the truthful *(al-ṣiddīqūn),* indeed even of the learned *ʿulamāʾ* and the righteous *(al-ṣāliḥūn)*. Everyone who has favor with God will be allowed to intercede for relatives, friends and acquaintances. The qurʾānic passage he solicits to justify this belief is Q 93:3-5, where the prophet Muḥammad is addressed: "Your lord has not forsaken you, nor is he displeased. Indeed, the hereafter will be better for you than the present. Your lord will give to you and you will be well-pleased." The pleasing gift of God to Muḥammad, according to al-Ghazālī, is the gift of intercession for his people. In one ḥadīth (Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* 135), the

Prophet raises his hands and weeps, saying, "My people *(ummatī),* my people!" God tells Gabriel (q.v.) to inform him: "We will satisfy you concerning your people, and will not grieve you."

Sunnī Muslims came to believe that even Muslims who had committed very grave sins would enter paradise by virtue of the Prophet's intercession as long as they had an ounce of faith. "On that day," says Muḥammad in another ḥadīth, "I will be the imām (q.v.) of the prophets and their preacher and the one who intercedes *(ṣāḥib al-shafāʿa)*." This intercession, however, occurs after sinners have been punished for their sins in hellfire (see HELL; FIRE); the Prophet engages in continuous intercession until the last soul is brought into paradise (q.v.). The people will frantically seek the intercession of Adam (q.v.), Abraham (q.v.), Moses (q.v.) and Jesus (q.v.), each of whom will decline, but Muḥammad will finally be the intercessor for all people (Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* 120-32).

The teaching of the Qurʾān in some 39 verses (e.g. Q 2:162) is that punishment in hellfire is eternal. Although the people of hell plead with those in paradise to help them, they cannot because there is a veil (q.v.) between them (Q 7:46; see also BARZAKH), and there is no indication that anyone may cross from one to the other. Muslim belief, however, considerably modified this belief: just as there are seven layers in the heavens, so are there seven layers of hell (a belief suggested by the various names given to hellfire in the Qurʾān), and only unbelievers would be consigned to the lowest layers or suffer eternally. Sinning believers will be in the upper layers, from which they will be rescued by Muḥammad's intercession. Muḥammad will be "leader of humanity on the day of resurrection" (Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* 132, no. 379), the one honored with opening the gate of paradise (ibid., 132-3). He is the first to intercede, and among all the prophets he has the largest following in paradise (ibid., 133-5). Muḥammad is quoted as saying, "There is for every apostle a prayer which is granted, but every prophet showed haste in his prayer. I, however, have reserved my prayer [to be] for intercession for my people on the day of resurrection and it will be granted, God willing, for every one of them who dies without associating anything with God" (ibid., 134, no. 389). His prayer somewhat mitigates even the punishment of his unconverted uncle, Abū Ṭālib, allowing him into the upper layers of hellfire (ibid., 138-9).

On the other hand, the Khārijites (see KHĀRIJĪS) and others who believe that no one has the ability to intercede with God cite Q 11:108 as an argument against the concept of intercession (see Gilliot, Le commentaire coranique, 194-9; see FREEDOM AND PREDESTINATION).

The intercession of the saints

All over the world Muslims visit the tombs of saints, seeking the blessing of their presence. They also seek their help in earthly matters. If a woman cannot conceive, if her child is ill, if a student wishes to succeed in his or her exams or for any number of reasons, people resort to saints, the "friends" of God, whether living or dead. Saints intercede before God and are channels of blessing (q.v.; *baraka*). Egyptian Muslims believe that the Prophet's grandson and granddaughter, al-Ḥusayn and Sayyida Zaynab, and al-Shāfiʿī (150-204/767-819), eponym of one of the four schools of Sunnī jurisprudence (see LAW AND THE QURʾĀN), preside over a heavenly court that decides the outcome of earthly events. People visit their shrines in Cairo (which are assumed to be their tombs) and seek their intercession. They even write letters to al-Shāfiʿī seeking redress for injustices (ʿUways, *Min malāmiḥ*). Many modern

Muslim reformers believe that such prayers at the tombs of saints are prohibited and smack of polytheism, that the dead saint is not present or able to hear petitions or intercede with God. Ibn Taymiyya (d. 728/1328) is well-known for his campaigns against such aspects of popular religion, but such attacks became far more prominent in the twentieth century.

One contemporary Ṣūfī shaykh of Egypt, Muḥammad Zakī Ibrāhīm (b. ca. 1905), has written extensively to defend the practice of seeking the intercession of saints. He interprets the "way to God" mentioned in Q 5:35, "Fear God and seek a way *(wasīla)* to him," as the intercession of godly people, both living and dead. He says that Muslims do not pray to the saints, as critics allege, but seek a way to God by means of their eternal essence *(maʿnā)* of faith, sincerity, love and purity. He quotes a ḥadīth from the collection of al-Tirmidhī (d. ca. 270/883-4) in which the Prophet instructs a blind man to pray, "Muḥammad, I ask your intercession *(astashfiʿu bika)* with my lord to return my sight." Since Muḥammad would be absent when the man was to utter this prayer, it is Muḥammad's eternal essence, not his temporal person, that is addressed in prayer. After Muḥammad's death, people prayed for rain both in the name of Muḥammad's uncle al-ʿAbbās and at the tomb of the Prophet. The majority of Muslims, the shaykh argues, even Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal (d. 241/855), the inspiration for the legal school of Ibn Taymiyya and the Wahhābīs, major critics of saint veneration, approved of seeking a way to God through the righteous dead. Muḥammad Zakī makes a distinction between *wasīla* and mediation *(wisāṭa)*, "which no Muslim believes is necessary." "When a person out of ignorance or error or habit or tradition says, 'Sīdī so-and-so,' he really means, 'Lord of Sīdī so-and-so.' He errs only in his expression, not in his faith. To call this idolatry is ignorance and means unjustly removing the majority of Muslims from the pale of Islam." Seeking the intercession of a righteous person does not imply worship of the intercessor. The interaction of the spirits of the dead with the living is underlined by ḥadīths concerning Muḥammad's meeting with the spirits of the former prophets during his ascension (q.v.) into heaven, and by his addressing the dead polytheists who were killed at the battle of Badr (q.v.). That dead Muslims are also alive and that the dead benefit from the deeds of the living are indicated by the Qurʾān itself (Q 3:170; 59:10). Furthermore, the blessedness of praying in shrines, especially during their anniversary celebrations, may be defended by reference to the many ḥadīths that indicate the particular blessedness of praying at certain places and times (Ibrāhīm, *Qaḍāyā l-wasīla,* 5-20).

Ibn Taymiyya and the Wahhābīs prohibited erecting edifices over graves, on the basis of ḥadīths forbidding plastering tombs, sitting on them or building over them (Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* 459). But, argues shaykh Muḥammad Zakī, for seven centuries before Ibn Taymiyya there was a consensus among the Muslims concerning its permissibility. Earlier prohibitions necessary to bring an end to idolatry (see IDOLATRY AND IDOLATERS) were later overturned by the Prophet himself. A dome, he says, is nothing but a strong roof. The Prophet and the first two caliphs were buried in ʿĀʾisha's (see ʿĀʾISHA BINT ABĪ BAKR) house, which had a roof. Many domes have been built over the Prophet's tomb, and no one objected. Objections to praying at tombs may be countered by pointing out that the Prophet's tomb is right next to the mosque, and according to Islamic tradition Ishmael (q.v.; Ismāʿīl) and other people were buried beneath the walls of the

Kaʿba (q.v.). If burial next to a place of prayer were forbidden, the Prophet would not have said that prayer in that place was better than any other. Furthermore, ʿĀʾisha lived and prayed in the room in which the Prophet, Abū Bakr, and ʿUmar were buried. Mosques, he concludes, have been built near graves to grant the dead the benefit of the *baraka* of the Qurʾān recitation (see RECITATION OF THE QURʾĀN), prayer (q.v.) and *dhikr* (invocation) taking place there, and so the virtuous dead may be a good example to the living (Ibrāhīm, *Qaḍāyā l-wasīla,* 34-45).

On the efficacy of praying at saints' tombs, shaykh Muḥammad Zakī provides the example of famous Muslims. Al-Shāfiʿī allegedly prayed regularly at the tomb of Abū Ḥanīfa (d. 150/767), and his requests were answered. The help *(madad)* of the dead is stronger than that of the living. God's favor (*karāma,* a word also used for a saint's miracle) does not end with the saint's death (Ibrāhīm, *Qaḍāyā l-wasīla,* 47).

The contemporary relevance of the notion of intercession *(shafāʿa)* is captured by *Qindīl Umm Hāshim,* a novelette by Yaḥyā Ḥaqqī published in Egypt in 1944. It portrays a young man whose family venerates the Prophet's granddaughter, Sayyida Zaynab, the oil of whose lamp is reputed to heal eye diseases. After studying ophthalmology in England, the young doctor has little patience with his family's superstitions, and tries to heal his blind cousin with modern techniques, only to find that it will work solely in conjunction with oil from the saint's lamp. This story beautifully portrays popular faith in the power of the intercession of saints and the need for modern science to find a connection with the sense of authenticity that is rooted in this faith.

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Interest

see ECONOMICS; TRADE AND COMMERCE; USURY

Intermediary

see INTERCESSION

Interpolation

see CHRONOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN

Intoxicants

Substances, generally containing alcohol, the consumption of which causes a state of inebriation. Although Islamic law includes opiates, narcotics and other drugs under the category of "intoxicants," the qurʾānic

terminology is limited to terms for strong drink: *sakar* (Q 16:67; cf. *sukārā,* "drunken," in Q 22:2; 4:43); *raḥīq* (the wine of the righteous in paradise, Q 83:25; but the Qurʾān emphasizes that the contents of the cups of paradise will not result in headaches or madness [*lā yunzifūna,* Q 56:19; cf. 37:47]); and the most often attestated term, *al-khamr* (lit. "wine"), mentioned six times in various contexts. Islamic jurisprudence ordinarily considers the qurʾānic usage of this term — particularly in Q 2:219 and 5:90-1 — to refer to intoxicants in general, and not solely to wine. Through the interpretative method of analogy *(qiyās),* the word *al-khamr* is taken to mean every intoxicant *(al-muskir)*. One of the reasons why the word *al-khamr* is used as the qurʾānic *terminus technicus* for all intoxicants lies in the Qurʾān's proximity to the Semitic and, more generally, the Mediterranean cultural region where wine *(al-khamr)* was both the main intoxicant and an important element of Christian liturgy (see CHRISTIANS AND CHRISTIANITY). This can be seen in the textual evidence of the Qurʾān itself, e.g. in Q 12 "Joseph" (Sūrat Yūsuf), where it is stated that one of the two prisoners to remain alive would pour out wine for his lord to drink (Q 12:41; see JOSEPH). The context of this verse indicates that "wine" may be understood, in a cross-cultural interpretation, as the Dionysian symbol of life, for the prisoner had just dreamt that he had distilled wine from grapes (Q 12:36), the meaning of his dream being that he would survive (see DREAMS AND SLEEP). Both symbolic and literal interpretation has been offered for qurʾānic imagery such as "and rivers of wine delicious to the drinkers" in paradise (q.v.; *al-janna;* see also GARDEN), mentioned in Q 47:15. The Qurʾān speaks about the act of drinking wine and other drinks from goblets (see CUPS AND VESSELS) in paradise within an elaborated context of material culture. Divans, seats, goblets filled to the brink, "wherefrom they get no aching of the head nor any madness" (Q 56:19), bodies decorated with jewelry, the conversations of the inhabitants of paradise: all this describes a qurʾānic ideal of beauty (q.v.) and perfected existence (see also MATERIAL CULTURE AND THE QURʾĀN; FURNITURE AND FURNISHINGS; INSTRUMENTS).

Yet, while Muslim mystics (see ṢŪFISM AND THE QURʾĀN) sang songs glorifying the divine wine that does not intoxicate, Islamic theologians and jurists (see THEOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN; LAW AND THE QURʾĀN) condemned, just as fervently, the earthly wine that does. For example, al-Zamakhsharī (d. 538/1144; *Kashhāf,* i, 261), in his identification of fermentation as that which leads to the transformation of a liquid into an intoxicating substance, extends the qurʾānic prohibition of *khamr* to include "all drinks that have an intoxicating effect" *("… wa-ʿinda akthar al-fuqahāʾ huwa ḥarām ka-l-khamr wa-kadhālika kull mā askara min kull sharāb").* Two passages are fundamental for the qurʾānic prohibition of intoxicants *(al-khamr):* Q 2:219 says: "They question you about strong drink and games of chance (see GAMBLING). Say: in both is great sin, and some utility for men; but the sin of them is greater than their usefulness…" and Q 5:90-1, "O you who believe! Strong drink and games of chance and idols (see IDOLS AND IMAGES) and divining arrows (see DIVINATION; FORETELLING) are only an infamy of Satan's (see DEVIL) handwork. Leave it aside in order that you may succeed. Satan seeks only to cast among you enmity and hatred by means of strong drink and games of chance, and turn you from remembrance of God and from [his] worship. Will you then have done?"

Islamic jurisprudence generally under-

stands the qurʾānic ban of intoxicants to have developed in stages. Commentators of the Qurʾān regularly claim (cf. e.g. Zamakhsharī, *Kashshāf,* i, 260; Ṣābūnī, *Tafsīr,* i, 270) that between the revelation of Q 2:219 and Q 5:90-1, Q 4:43, which forbids performing prayer (q.v.) in a drunken state, was pronounced (see OCCASIONS OF REVELATION; CHRONOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN). This verse reads as follows: "O you who believe! Do not draw near to prayer when you are drunken *(sukārā),* till you know that which you utter…" Therefore, Q 5:90-1 is considered to be the conclusive and final ban of intoxicants by the Qurʾān.

The etymology of the word *al-khamr* elucidates the precise nature of intoxicants. The linguist al-Zajjāj (d. 311/923; *Lisān al-ʿArab,* s.v. *kh-m-r*) defines *al-khamr* as that which covers the mind *(mā satara ʿalā l-ʿaql)*. Al-Zajjāj also adds that the cognate *khimār* means "the veil of woman," because it is something that covers a woman's head. The modern scholar Muḥammad ʿAlī al-Ṣābūnī repeats this definition of *khamr (li-annahā tastur al-ʿaql)*. The concept of "covering the mind" is understood metaphorically as the distortion of reason. Islamic legislation and jurisprudence takes this fact as fundamental in banning intoxicants, drugs and all that intoxicates the body or mind. In the books of Islamic tradition, alcohol is called "the mother of all evils" *(umm al-khabāʾith)*. Islamic law, pursuant to the relevant qurʾānic verses and to various ḥadīth (e.g. *al-khamr mā khāmara al-ʿaql*), strictly bans every association with alcohol, drugs and intoxicants in general, such as trafficking, producing, using as medicine, deriving profit, etc.

Finally, mention should be made of the mystical commentaries of the Qurʾān, which state that the drunkenness caused by *khamr* is but one sort of drunkenness *(sukr)*. These commentaries (e.g. al-Burūsāwī, *Tafsīr,* i, 341) point to the non-material forms of intoxication that can inflame the heart and soul (*sukr al-qulūb wa-l-arwāḥ,* see HEART).

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Invitation

The exhortation to heed the qurʾānic message. The Qurʾān issues its basic invitation *(daʿwa)* to all people: worship (q.v.) and serve the sovereign and unique God alone (Q 21:25) and practice true religion (Q 7:29; 9:33; see ISLAM; RELIGION). Invitations come through messengers (see MESSENGER) and prophets (see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD) to their peoples. Muḥammad is called to "invite to the way (see PATH OR WAY) of the lord with wisdom and beautiful preaching…" (Q 16:125; also 22:67;

23:73; 28:87). Other messengers and prophets issuing invitations include Noah (q.v.; Nūḥ; Q 71:1-26; 7:59-64), Abraham (q.v.; Ibrāhīm; Q 26:69-82; 37:83-98), Moses (q.v.; Mūsā; Q 7:103-29; 10:84-6), whose call is elaborately narrated (Q 20:9-44; 79:15-9), Elijah (q.v.; Ilyās; Q 37:123-32), Ṣāliḥ (q.v.; Q 7:73-9; 11:61-8), Hūd (q.v.; Q 7:65-72; 11:50-60; 46:21-6), Shuʿayb (q.v.; Q 7:85-93; 11:84-95; 29:36-7) and Jesus (q.v.; ʿĪsā; Q 3:49-57; 61:6). Solomon (q.v.; Sulaymān) invites "a woman ruling over" Sabaʾ (Bilqīs [q.v.], the Queen of Sheba [q.v.]) to submit to true religion (Q 27:22-44).

The invitations of prophets and messengers call people out of darkness (q.v.) into the light (q.v.); rescue them from evil (see GOOD AND EVIL), sins (see SIN, MAJOR AND MINOR), and pain; stress that thankfulness (see GRATITUDE AND INGRATITUDE) and obedience (q.v.) are necessary for increase in blessing (q.v.); and warn them that disobeying God requires punishment (Jabjub, *Daʿwa,* 91-3; see DISOBEDIENCE; REWARD AND PUNISHMENT; CHASTISEMENT AND PUNISHMENT; PUNISHMENT STORIES). Noah's largely unsuccessful inviting (Q 71:1-20) of his people, extending over more than nine hundred years (Q 29:14-5), can serve as an example. He begins by awakening fear *(tarhīb):* "O people, I am your clear warner" (q.v.; Q 71:2). Then he commands them to the sole worship of God, to reverent fear (q.v.) of God, and to obedience to himself as God's prophet (Q 71:3). Awakening their desire *(targhīb),* he promises forgiveness (q.v.) of their sins and postponement of life's end (Q 71:4). After stirring up fear *(tarhīb)* again and assuring them that judgment (q.v.) cannot be delayed (Q 71:4), he urges them to ask the lord for forgiveness (Q 71:10) with an appeal rooted in God's nature: "He is oft-forgiving; he will send rain to you in abundance…" (Q 71:10-1). Finally, he appeals to the goodness of God's creation (q.v.; Q 71:13-20; cf. Jabjub, *Daʿwa,* 296-8; see COSMOLOGY).

The Qurʾān also offers invitations not issued by prophets and messengers. An unidentified man from the outer reaches of the city invites his people to follow those who are sent to them (Q 36:20). God invites all to the house of peace (Q 10:25; see HOUSE, DOMESTIC AND DIVINE) and to the garden (q.v.) of bliss and forgiveness (Q 2:221). The seductive invitations of Satan (Q 31:21; 35:6; see DEVIL), Pharaoh (q.v.) and his troops (Q 28:41) and other unbelievers (Q 2:221; 40:41-4) compete with divine invitations (see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF; ENEMIES).

Many invitations relate to the final judgment, the day of summoning *(yawm al-tanādī,* Q 40:32; see LAST JUDGMENT; APOCALYPSE). God summons some to total destruction (Q 56:41-56), some to eternal bliss (Q 17:71) and all to his praise (q.v.; Q 17:52; see REWARD AND PUNISHMENT). The caller calls *(yunādī l-munādī)* and the dead come forth (Q 50:41-2; cf. Q 30:25; see DEATH AND THE DEAD). Unbelievers (see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF) are drawn to the inviter *(al-dāʿī)* irresistibly (Q 54:6-8). God will summon *(yunādī)* idolaters to produce their deities (Q 28:62-5, 74) and the idolaters will call, but their deities will not speak up for them (Q 28:64; see IDOLS AND IMAGES; IDOLATRY AND IDOLATERS; INTERCESSION). Every nation *(umma)* will be called to appear before its book (q.v.; Q 45:28). Satan will refuse to take the blame for those who are judged deserving of painful torment (Q 14:22).

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Iram

The name of a place or possibly a tribe. It is connected with the people of ʿĀd (q.v.) and thus, by extension, with the story of the prophet Hūd (q.v.). Iram is in fact mentioned only once in the Qurʾān, in Q 89:6-7: "Do you not see how your lord dealt with ʿĀd, [and with] Iram of the columns" *(a-lam tara kayfa faʿala rabbuka bi-ʿĀdin Irama dhāti l-ʿimādi)*. Some classical exegetes (see EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL) interpret Iram as being in apposition to — and thus synonymous with — the people of ʿĀd. For them, Iram designates an ancient tribe, and a subdivision of ʿĀd (argued most forcefully by Ibn Khaldūn; cf. Ibn Khaldūn-Rosenthal, i, 25-8). Furthermore, for some, Iram was the progenitor of the "Nabateans," that is, Aramaeans (e.g. Ṭabarī, Taʾrīkh, i, 220). The epithet "of the columns" *(dhāti l-ʿimādi)* is in this case understood as a tribal epithet "of the tent-poles" or, more recently, "people of trust" (Ahmed Ali, *al-Qurʾān*).

The vast majority of the exegetes, however, understand Iram "of the columns" to be a place: the capital city of the land of the ʿĀdites, destroyed by God's wrath (see PUNISHMENT STORIES). The most commonly supposed location of this city is in Yemen. According to this version, an ʿĀdite king named Shaddād built a city in the desert near Aden to rival paradise (q.v.): the description of Iram's opulence varies greatly, but it is always detailed. Before Shaddād and his people could relocate to his new city, however, God destroyed him and his people for their pride (q.v.; see also ARROGANCE), along with the city of Iram. This Yemen-based narrative generated its share of adventure-stories, such as the often-retold tale of Ibn Qilāba, a wandering shepherd who is said to have discovered the lost ruins of Iram during the reign of the Umayyad caliph Muʿāwiya (d. 60/680) or that of the discovery by two intrepid explorers of Shaddād's tomb carved into a mountain overlooking the sea. Others (such as al-Rabaʿī, *Faḍāʾil*, 20) prefer to identify Iram with pre-Islamic Damascus, perhaps influenced by its association with the biblical Aram and, no doubt, its plentiful columns. Still others (such as al-Zamakhsharī, *Asās*) identify Iram with Alexandria. The strength of the tradition of identifying Iram with a place rather than a people is attested by its inclusion in the main Arabic geographical dictionaries: Abū ʿUbayd al-Bakrī, Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī and Ibn ʿAbd al-Munʿim al-Ḥimyarī (see GEOGRAPHY; HISTORY AND THE QURʾĀN).

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Iraq

A region extending over the southern lands of Mesopotamia including the fertile lands between the Tigris and the Euphrates

rivers. Although the word Iraq does not occur in the Qurʾān (see GEOGRAPHY), a number of prophets (see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD) mentioned therein are believed to have come from Iraq (i.e. Abraham, q.v.), leading some recent Western scholarship to posit Iraq as the cradle of the Qurʾān (see Wansbrough, *QS,* 49-50; and id., *Sectarian milieu* for a more fully developed version of the theory; see also SOUTH ARABIA, RELIGION IN PRE-ISLAMIC). In post-qurʾānic times, the region played a central role in the shaping of religious doctrines that profoundly influenced the different exegetical tendencies.

The Muslim conquest of Iraq began during the caliphate of ʿUmar (r. 13-23/634-44) and ended with the defeat of the Sassanians in al-Qādisiyya in 16/637 and Nihāwand in 21/642. The garrison camps of Baṣra and Kūfa were established soon thereafter. Muslim Iraq was then ruled from these two cities which rapidly evolved into major towns becoming the cultural and administrative centers of Iraq.

At a very early date, Iraq became the scene of violent clashes among the various politico-religious parties. During the caliphate of Muʿāwiya (41-60/661-80), it was the center of opposition from the Shīʿīs (see SHĪʿISM AND THE QURʾĀN) and the Khārijīs (q.v.). The Umayyad dynasty gave Syria pre-eminence over Iraq. The ʿAbbāsids replaced the Umayyads in 132/750 and established their new capital, Baghdad, in Iraq, thus acknowledging Iraq's political, economic and social importance. This new era ushered in a period of economic development and cultural and artistic efflorescence. Iraq became a major center for the elaboration of the religious sciences (see TRADITIONAL DISCIPLINES OF QURʾĀNIC STUDY), including philology (see ARABIC LANGUAGE; FOREIGN VOCABULARY; LANGUAGE OF THE QURʾĀN), grammar (see GRAMMAR AND THE QURʾĀN), qurʾānic exegesis (see EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN, CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL), ḥadīth (see ḤADĪTH AND THE QURʾĀN) and law (see LAW AND THE QURʾĀN). A vast number of poets, historians, men of letters as well as scholars whose outstanding achievements included the fields of philosophy, medicine, mathematics and astronomy are associated with Baghdad, Baṣra and Kūfa (see PHILOSOPHY OF THE QURʾĀN; MEDICINE AND THE QURʾĀN; SCIENCE AND THE QURʾĀN). The coming of the ʿAbbāsids did not bring religious unity to Iraq. ʿAlid revolts and civil war between al-Amīn and al-Maʾmūn (194-8/810-3) brought severe disturbances to the region. Iraq also became the main center of the Muʿtazila movement (see MUTAZILĪS). The ensuing inquisition (q.v.) attempting to impose the pro-Muʿtazilī doctrine of the createdness of the Qurʾān (q.v.) added to the already existing tensions.

Al-Muʿtaṣim (r. 218-27/833-42) introduced into the capital large numbers of Turkish slaves and in 223/836 this caliph (q.v.) established a new capital up the Tigris at Sāmarrāʾ. The decay of central authority continued, exacerbated by the revolt of the Zanj (225-70/869-83) and by the repeated raids of the Qarmaṭīs. The break-up of the caliphate led to the emergence of a large number of successor states. A new era in which Iraq was controlled by the Shīʿī Buwayhid *amīr*s was ushered in 334/945 and extended until 447/1055. The fourth/tenth and fifth/eleventh centuries witnessed both the emergence of prominent Imāmī scholars and theologians and the promotion of popular Shīʿism reflected in the special veneration bestowed on the tombs of the Shīʿī imāms (see IMĀM). The arrival of the Seljuqs in 447/1055 established an essentially Sunnī regime. They encouraged the study of Islamic law and theology and formalized the institution of the *madrasa,* the

Islamic institution of higher learning. In 658/1258 the Mongol Hulagu invaded Iraq, sacked Baghdad and put to death the last ʿAbbāsid caliph. The period extending until the Ottoman conquest witnessed the political and economic decline of the province.

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Isaac

One of the sons of Abraham (q.v.). Isaac (Isḥāq), specifically named a prophet (Q 19:49; 37:112; see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD), is mentioned by name seventeen times in sixteen qurʾānic verses. In half of these, he is included in what appears to be a litany of remembrances of ancient prophets. Such remembrances are a common qurʾānic motif in which the prophethood and message of Muḥammad are set within a context of ancient and familiar prophets and divine messages, usually but not always paralleling the scriptural traditions of Judaism and Christianity (see SCRIPTURE AND THE QURʾĀN). The most common format in which Isaac appears in this litany of the prophets is "Abraham, Ishmael (q.v.), Isaac, Jacob (q.v.) and the tribes," often followed by additional prophets and personalities known from the Bible (Q 2:136, 140; 3:84; 4:163). In other references to the Abraham clan, the order is Abraham, Isaac and Jacob. In these references, Ishmael is either mentioned a few verses later in association with other familiar prophetic personages unrelated to Abraham (Q 6:84-6; 38:45-8), or is excluded entirely (cf. Q 12:6; 19:49; 29:27).

In these formulaic lists, Isaac, like the other ancient personages mentioned, is a true prophet who has received God's communication (*mā unzila [ʿalayhi],* Q 2:136; 3:84), inspiration/revelation (*waḥy,* cf. Q 4:163; see REVELATION AND INSPIRATION) or guidance (*hady,* cf. Q 6:84). The prophets of the Abraham family are exceptional individuals, true believers who are neither Jews nor Christians (Q 2:140) but rather ancient and pre-Islamic *muslimūn* or "those who submit [entirely] to the divine will" (Q 2:133; see ḤANĪF). In fact, the polemical argument of Q 2:130-41 (see especially 134, 141) suggests that the descendants of these Abrahamic prophets have passed away, but their example may still be emulated by those who would believe and submit to God's will by following the divine message communicated through Muḥammad, the last of the great prophets. Blessed by God (Q 37:113), Isaac is a result of the divine promise to Abraham and his unnamed wife who laughed when given the good news of his impending birth (Q 11:71; cf. 15:53; 51:28; *Gen* 17:15-21). When Abraham settled some of his progeny in a barren valley near God's sacred house (see HOUSE, DOMESTIC AND DIVINE), presumably in Mecca (q.v.), he prays that they will observe the proper ritual prayers (see PRAYER) and prosper, and he thanks God for giving him Ishmael and Isaac in his old age (Q 14:37-9). Isaac, along with Abraham's other progeny, is given to Abraham for his piety (q.v.) and unswerving

obedience to monotheism (Q 6:84; 19:49; 21:72; 29:27; and perhaps 37:112).

The character of Isaac is not developed in the Qurʾān and he remains a minor figure throughout, appearing almost entirely in formulaic lists or idiomatic expressions in relation to his father Abraham. This is not exceptional, for most ancient prophets in the Qurʾān are referred to as if the audience were already familiar with them and their stories. Little narrative development (see NARRATIVES) is provided, which is the case with Isaac.

The most controversial reference to Isaac is in association with the narrative of Abraham's "intended sacrifice" *(al-dhabīḥ)* in Q 37:99-113, in which Isaac is specifically mentioned but not strictly within the narrative. As a result, the qurʾānic exegetes argued over whether Isaac or Ishmael was the intended victim. At stake in this controversy was the merit understood to have accrued to the progeny of whichever son was willing to submit entirely to God's will through self-immolation. Such an act was seen as the epitome of submission (*islām,* cf. Q 37:103). The genealogical association of Jews and spiritual association of Christians with Isaac, in contrast to the common association of Arab Muslims with Ishmael, was therefore at issue. Most early Muslim exegetes understood Isaac to have been the son to whom the narrative referred. Since the early tenth century, however, most Muslims have thought that Ishmael was Abraham's intended sacrifice.

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Isaiah

Son of Amos and a prophet who was sent to Israel. Isaiah (in Arabic, Shaʿyā or Ashaʿyāʾ) is not mentioned by name in the Qurʾān, although exegetical works (e.g. Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* xv, 22-3; Māwardī, *Nukat,* iii, 229) mention him in connection with Q 17:4, "We decreed for the Children of Israel (q.v.) in the book (q.v.): 'You shall do corruption (q.v.) in the earth twice, and you shall ascend exceeding high.'" Isaiah is well known in the "stories of the prophets" literature (*qiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ,* see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD), especially for his predictions of the coming of Jesus (q.v.) and Muḥammad, but his life story was also seen as an illustration of how the acts of "corruption (q.v.)" mentioned in Q 17:4 demanded the coming of the prophet.

As told in Muslim literature, the life story of Isaiah encompasses three periods of prophecy. The account provided by al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923) is typical. In the first period, Isaiah was recognized as a prophet during the reign of Zedekiah (or Hezekiah, as in the Bible) and he prophesied the king's death. The second period of his prophecy occurred in the time of the siege of Jerusalem by Sennacherib (Sanḥarīb). After Isaiah announced that, because of God's hearing the prayer of Zedekiah, the king's death had been postponed for fifteen years, God destroyed all of the enemy

forces except Sennacherib and five scribes. After parading the commander around Jerusalem for sixty-six days, Zedekiah followed the command of God and allowed Sennacherib to return to Babylon (q.v.). So, the events became a "warning and admonition" of the strength of God. In the third period of Isaiah's prophecy, the people were leaving the ways of God in the wake of the death of the king and Isaiah warned them of their coming doom. This led to his martyrdom at the hands of his fellow Israelites. Isaiah fled when threatened and took refuge inside a tree. Satan, however, showed his enemies the fringes of his clothes and they cut down the tree, killing him in the process (see Gaster and Heller, Der Prophet; Ginzberg, *The legends*).

Isaiah's role in prophesying the coming of Muḥammad and Islam is an important element within his story. Al-Ṭabarī, for example, states plainly, "It was Isaiah who announced the advent of Jesus and Muḥammad" (*Taʾrīkh,* i, 638). Isaiah continues to play a central role in contemporary polemic, as may be seen in a book such as *Muḥammad nabī al-Islām* ("Muḥammad Prophet of Islam") by Muḥammad ʿIzzat Ismāʿīl al-Ṭahṭāwī. There, Isaiah's references to the desert (*Isa* 21:13, 40:3), to a "righteous nation" that will walk through the gates of Jerusalem (*Isa* 26:2) and to a "victor from the east" (*Isa* 41:2), etc., are all interpreted as giving biblical support to the inevitable rise (because it was a part of God's plan) of Islam.

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Ishmael

Pre-Islamic prophet, named in the Bible as the son of Abraham (q.v.) and Hagar and the eponymous father of the Ishmaelites (a confederacy of Arab tribes; see TRIBES AND CLANS). Ishmael (Ismāʿīl) is mentioned twelve times in as many verses of the Qurʾān. In most of these, he is listed among other prophets as part of a litany of remembrances in which the pre-Islamic prophets are praised for their resolute steadfastness (see TRUST AND PATIENCE) and obedience (q.v.) to God, often in the face of adversity (see TRIAL). The subtext of these litanies is Muḥammad's position as authentic prophet *(nabī)* or messenger (q.v.; *rasūl*) in the line of authentic prophets or messengers of God (see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD). Ishmael is generally listed in the following formula: "Abraham, Ishmael, Isaac (q.v.), Jacob (q.v.) and the tribes" (Q 2:136, 140; 3:84; 4:63), and in Q 2:133 as "Abraham, Ishmael and Isaac." In some lists, however, Ishmael is missing from the reference to Abraham, Isaac and Jacob (Q 6:84; 12:38; 19:49; 21:72; 29:27;

38:45) and in others he is found in association with other pre-Islamic prophets: al-Yasaʿ (Elisha?, q.v.), Jonah (q.v.) and Lot (q.v.; Q 6:86); Idrīs (q.v.) and Dhū l-Kifl (q.v.; Q 21:85); and al-Yasaʿ and Dhū l-Kifl (Q 38:48). This has led certain Western scholars to suggest, despite some evidence to the contrary, that the lists in which Ishmael is not associated with Abraham represent earlier Meccan material that recognized the prophethood of Ishmael but did not connect him with the Abraham family. Accordingly, the lists in which Ishmael is mentioned in association with the family of Abraham are considered by some to represent later Medinan material that had been more thoroughly influenced by biblical lore and tradition (see CHRONOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN; SCRIPTURE AND THE QURʾĀN).

Little additional information can be gleaned from the few references to Ishmael outside of the lists. He is named specifically as a messenger and prophet in Q 19:54, where he is also singled out as being true to his promise *(ṣādiq al-waʿd)*. The use of this expression suggests that this verse may in fact refer to a personage other than the Ishmael known from the Bible. In the following verse he is said to have ordained worship (q.v.) and almsgiving (q.v.) for his people.

Two verses associate Ishmael and his father Abraham with the Meccan Kaʿba (q.v.). Q 2:125 and 127 form part of a larger pericope in which Abraham, known in the Hebrew Bible as a founder of sacred shrines (cf. *Gen* 12:7-8; 13:3-4; 21:33), purifies with Ishmael the location of God's great Arabian shrine, referred to in the Qurʾān as "the house" (*al-bayt,* see HOUSE, DOMESTIC AND DIVINE). Because Ishmael is associated with Abraham's raising up its foundations (Q 2:127) as well as its purification (Q 2:125), he is clearly identified with this shrine — although secondarily — with Abraham appearing overwhelmingly as the central figure. A third verse, Q 14:39, seems to connect both Ishmael and Isaac with the Kaʿba in Abraham's prayer. This verse, however, may have been placed in association with the prayer of Abraham found in Q 14:37, which does indeed refer to God's house, during the redaction process (see COLLECTION OF THE QURʾĀN) because of its thematic parallel (see FORM AND STRUCTURE OF THE QURʾĀN).

Contrary to popular belief, Ishmael is nowhere identified in the Qurʾān as Abraham's intended sacrificial victim (*al-dhabīḥ,* see Q 37:99-111; cf. *Gen* 22:1-18). No name is provided in the qurʾānic narrative itself, while Isaac is mentioned immediately thereafter (Q 37:112-3). Two schools of interpretation developed, one supportive of Isaac and the other of Ishmael as the intended sacrifice. By the early tenth century, the Ishmael school became the most popular.

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Islam

The infinitive of the fourth form of the Arabic triliteral root *s-l-m* meaning "to submit," "to surrender," it also designates the monotheistic faith (q.v.) and practice observed by the followers of Muḥammad and exhorted by the Qurʾān.

Preliminary considerations

To restrict the notion of *islām* to that which emerges for the first time within the qurʾānic pronouncements, it is necessary to be clear about the problems that this limitation implies. It is misleading to gather and analyse all the verses that contain the forms *islām* or *muslim(ūn)* in an effort to arrive at an "objective" definition then deemed adequate to convey a qurʾānic Islam which can impose itself upon believers and researchers as the ultimate and obligatory referent. Particularly is this so if that definition is used to measure and to judge the changes and additions introduced over time in diverse historical and socio-cultural contexts. W.C. Smith *(Meaning and end)* already lamented the insufficiency of this exercise using the lens of a historian of religions who was interested in the identification of the origin and durable spiritual level which constitute the specific valence of each religion. Smith used this identification to distinguish the changing functions — positive and negative — assigned by the social actors to that which they universally call their religion. About twenty-five years ago, a student of Smith's explored, in a finely detailed study, the semantic shifts which the term *islām* has undergone over many centuries of exegetical amplification (J. Smith, *Historical and semantic*). This work complements the earlier investigations of Lidzbarski (Salām und islām), Künstlinger ('Islām,' 'muslim,' 'aslama' im Kurān), Ringgren *(Islam, ʿaslama and Muslim),* Robson ('Islam' as a term), Izutsu *(Ethico-religious concepts in the Qurʾān),* and W.C. Smith himself (Historical development).

Using careful philological analysis it should be possible to follow already at the qurʾānic stage the progressive elaboration of the notion of *islām* according to the chronological order of the verses in their original contexts (see CHRONOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN; FORM AND STRUCTURE OF THE QURʾĀN). Yet in the absence of complete accord about the chronological classifications proposed for the sūras and *a fortiori* for the verses, one may not employ this perspective except for the rare cases where there are relatively reliable and coherent indices upon which to base such judgments. One knows how the collective concurrent memories were construed during the first Islamic centuries and how this mythological and ideological appropriation informed what was to become the paradigm of the earthly history and the salvation history of the Muslim community (*umma,* see COMMUNITY AND SOCIETY IN THE QURʾĀN; HISTORY AND THE QURʾĀN). This historical-mythical paradigm still operates at the beginning of the twenty-first century with an ideological force that is sustained by the modern media. The historian needs, therefore, to employ strategies of intervention in order to disentangle the mythical, ideological and historical strands in the documentation ascribed to the period of the emergence and formation of that which continues to be universally and indiscriminately termed "Islam."

It is not clear whether academic historians see anything more than the satisfaction

of a scientific curiosity when they put themselves to the task of defining the distinctive traits of *islām* within the strict limits of the qurʾānic corpus (see CONTEMPORARY CRITICAL PRACTICES AND THE QURʾĀN). Against this attitude, there is that of traditionalist Muslim theologians who use the foundational text to shore up the doctrinal constructions necessary to reinforce the orthodoxy demanded of the believers (see THEOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN; EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL; EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: EARLY MODERN AND CONTEMPORARY). There is, however, a third position which seeks to open a new space of intelligibility within the reality of lived religion by circumventing the epistemological postulations implicit in the two preceding approaches. In the case of Islam, as in Catholic and Protestant theology, the "scientific" and the confessional perspectives are no longer adequate for defining the problematics and the themes favorable to an interactive research (cf. *Le dictionnaire de théologie*). From this third perspective, it suffices to establish that what can be called the qurʾānic stage, the instantiation of a new religion, is a complex historical process engaging simultaneously social, political (see POLITICS AND THE QURʾĀN), cultural, and normative factors. These are entangled with ritual, customs, ethics, familial structures (see FAMILY; TRIBES AND CLANS; KINSHIP), competing structures of the imagination and the collective interactive memory of such entities as Jews, Christians, Sabians (q.v.), polytheists (frequently termed "pagans"), and all cultural groups of the ancient Near East (see JEWS AND JUDAISM; CHRISTIANS AND CHRISTIANITY; POLYTHEISM AND ATHEISM; BELIEF AND UNBELIEF; PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QURʾĀN). All these modes and manifestations of the historical existence of such social groups in Arabia are not only present in the qurʾānic discourse but transformed. They have been sublimated, uprooted from their local conditions to constitute an "existential paradigm" of the human condition. Divested of its particularity, this qurʾānic paradigm is capable of producing and informing individual and collective existence within the most diverse cultural and historical contexts. As with the biblical discourse of the Hebrew Bible and the New Testament, the qurʾānic discourse generates the results obtained by combining mechanisms for precise linguistic articulation of the meaning with the diverse effects of changing historical situations. In both textual corpora the narrative, rhetorical, stylistic and literary processes are so complex and highly elaborated that recent methods of discourse analysis have yet to prove sufficient for the task of clarifying their interaction. These approaches — to say nothing of the classical theories of the inimitability (q.v.; *iʿjāz*) of the Qurʾān — have yet to explain adequately the genesis, the effects and the place of the Qurʾān within linguistic and semiotic usages (see SEMIOTICS AND NATURE IN THE QURʾĀN; LANGUAGE OF THE QURʾĀN).

The term "paradigm" is an appropriate designation for its qurʾānic manifestation because this manifestation became inscribed in a long history where the homologous paradigms of Judaism, Christianity, Zoroastrianism (see MAGIANS), and Manichaeism had already assumed a place within the cultural and religious space of the Mediterranean. The term "existential paradigm" is more natural and workable than that of "religion," for it frees the intellectual task from the conceptual constraint imposed by those systems of belief and nonbelief which shape in a subtle fashion, often unconsciously, the interpretation of the facts within each living religious tradition. Further, this terminology

allows the inclusion within the arena of critical assessment of all the inherited systems, paradigms or models of historical action produced by modern reason in its struggle to liberate itself from the oppressive dogmatics of traditional institutional religions. To follow the developments within the qurʾānic discourse of the social and linguistic construction of the categories of "believers" and "nonbelievers," as these relate to what would be called "Islam," is to establish the historicity of the new religion. It is to do this on the basis of the first pronouncements of that which the believing tradition would theorize under the name of "Word of God" (q.v.), revealed through Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh, imposing himself progressively by his action and by the qurʾānic discourse, as the Prophet (*al-nabī,* see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD) and messenger (q.v.; *rasūl*) of God. That is to say that the initial choice of the historical method to define Islam on strictly qurʾānic grounds is not innocent. It proceeds from a methodological and epistemological premise characteristic of modern reason and introduces a break with the axial vision, insisting that the entire qurʾānic discourse instilled the properly believing attitude in the heart (q.v.) of the first listeners. For all subsequent generations this Qurʾān-centric understanding of "Islam" creates the drama of the decision — to accept or reject the covenant of divine alliance (*mīthāq,* see CONTRACTS AND ALLIANCES) — on which would depend the realization of the entire individual existence of the Muslim person. Without having the benefit, as did western Christianity, of new possibilities for the emancipation of the human condition such as those opened by the existential paradigm constructed by modernity or by a more efficacious alternative than that presented by the traditional religions, Muslims continue to live the drama of that decision within a deadly violence where, additionally, the "unthinkable and unthought" of the two opposing paradigms are interpreted as mutually exclusive.

The theologies, the philosophies, and the still hesitant and partial problematics of the social sciences have begun to take charge of the historical drama of the human condition despite being complicated by the alternative opened by modernity: the choice is no longer simply between passing earthly existence in absolute fidelity to the debt of signification forged within the eternal covenant contracted with a living, merciful God and savior (or a wise founder like Buddha), or the radical refusal of that pact. It is not only between the fallibility of reason and the solitude of a destiny beyond the horizon of hope. Within the thought world of modernity, for many people God has become a useless hypothesis. This version of modernity insists that humans take responsibility for their destiny and substitutes an image of progress by science for the image of eternal salvation guaranteed by a loving and compassionate God.

Qurʾānic Islam

In a book issued in 1972 *(The spiritual background of early Islam. Studies in early Arab concepts),* M.M. Bravmann brought together fourteen articles which he had published between 1945 and 1971. With regard to the domain of Islamic studies, this work, as well as that cited earlier, is very representative of the epistemological attitude that governed historical writing in Europe and North America from the nineteenth century until the 1970s. The author does his utmost to rediscover the conceptual contents of the Qurʾān, namely terms like *islām, īmān* (see FAITH), *dīn* (see RELIGION), *dunyā* (see WORLD), *sunna* (q.v.), *sīra* (see SĪRA AND THE QURʾĀN), *ʿilm* (see KNOWLEDGE AND LEARNING), *bayʿa* (see OATHS AND

PLEDGES), etc., in the period of emerging Islam. Investigation of the etymologies of a semantically rich vocabulary is very useful as long as one does not content oneself with deceptive substrata. The danger of such research lies in the tendency to rest content with partial or fossilized meanings that are only poorly related to the living continuation of a no-longer extant language and society. This type of erudition has made progress, however, as can be illustrated with reference to the rich works of M.J. Kister and his followers on the transition from "*jāhiliyya* (see AGE OF IGNORANCE) to Islām." In this latter body of work one finds an orientation towards a social, political and cultural history that could finally make a historical-anthropological reading of the Qurʾān possible. (See also my remarks on the recent work of J. Chabbi, *Le seigneur des tribus. L'islam de Mahomet,* Paris 1997 in the article CONTEMPORARY CRITICAL PRACTICES AND THE QURʾĀN.) Aiming at such an objective is, in itself, a sign of immense progress toward a critical approach that can explain not only a nascent religion and its generative terminology but also the moment and the paradigm of human creativity in its struggle for conceptual emancipation.

Confining oneself to an examination of the occurrences of the word *islām* or *muslim* within the strict limits of the qurʾānic corpus avoids neither the fallibility of that exercise itself nor the methodological quandaries inherent in every quest for origins. This is even more the case when the mind remains focused on a definition of the religion that emerged subsequent to the qurʾānic corpus and its society and in which the paradigms forged within the anthropological scope were redefined. I have explained that the "closed official corpus" of the canonical codex (*muṣḥaf*, q.v.) poses methodological problems that are different from those linked to qurʾānic discourse at the time of its first oral enunciation (see COLLECTION OF THE QURʾĀN; CODICES OF THE QURʾĀN; ORALITY). Because it has never respected this differentiation, the philological exploitation of the "closed official corpus" concurs, though with greater care for chronological constraints, with the cognitive attitude of traditional Muslim exegesis *(tafsīr al-Qurʾān bi-l-Qurʾān)*.

M.M. Bravmann, for example, assures us that the word *islām* has meant confronting death (see DEATH AND THE DEAD), sacrificing one's life for a higher goal and thus, by extension, defending one's honor (q.v.), and giving oneself unconditionally to God (see PATH OR WAY; JIHĀD). These two motivations cannot be treated on the same level but must be interrelated. More complexly, then, the term means dying for the honor *(ʿirḍ)* of the clan because the mechanical solidarity in a command group appears in the Qurʾān both as a springboard from which to substitute the attachment to the clan with the quest for God and as an obstacle to this substitution.

Q 49:14 and 17 unveil this deceptive use of a semantic equation with the confrontation of death by opposing the word *islām,* which is stigmatized as an outward, tactical and revocable adherence to the noble cause of God and his messenger, to the word *īmān,* which signifies a sincere and definitive conversion of the heart to a cause that is differentiated from that of the clan (see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF; HYPOCRITES AND HYPOCRISY). This is why the expression "he submitted his face (q.v.) to God" *(aslama wajhahu lillāhi)* recurs often as a summons to give one's self only to God. The verb "to submit" *(aslama)* occurs twenty-two times; *muslim,* pl. *muslimūn* a total of forty-two times, including one instance of the dual and two attestations of the feminine plural, *muslimāt,* to designate female "Muslims"; *islām* appears seven

times. The contrast with the attestations of the various derivatives of the root letters *ʾ-m-n,* signifying "belief, faith," is striking: *īmān* (seventeen times), *āmanū* (258), *muʾminūn* (166, of which nineteen are the feminine plural, *muʾmināt*). Islam as the sacrifice of one's life is still demanded, as those who avoid going into combat are denounced according to a code of honor that opposes courage (q.v.), valiancy and the wish to die as a hero (see MARTYR) to cowardice, treason, and fleeing from battle (*qaʿada,* see WAR; EXPEDITIONS AND BATTLES; VIRTUES AND VICES).

One will note that these clear-cut definitions of *islām* and *īmān,* as well as of the conditions of the endeavor *(jihād)* for God, appear in two late sūras: in Q 49, which is classified as the 106th in the chronological order of revelation, and Q 9, classified as the 113th. The interrelation of the two concepts during the whole period of the revelation depended on the changing contexts and protagonists in Mecca (q.v.) and Medina (q.v.). In Mecca, where Muḥammad faced opposition from the polytheists, defined as those who "associated" anything with the one God *(mushrikūn),* it was necessary to stress the belief in a single God; facing the Jewish adversaries in Medina *(al-rabbāniyyūn),* however, it was important to construct a founding story for the new religious community in order to insert it into the biblical series of revelations (see SCRIPTURE AND THE QURʾĀN) that were made to Abraham (q.v.), to Moses (q.v.), and to Jesus (q.v.) son of Mary (q.v.; see also OPPOSITION TO MUḤAMMAD). It is in this Islamic re-appropriation of these great religious figures that the emerging religion takes on the dimension of a religious space for a community that has slowly become differentiated from other rival communities engaged in a mimetic combat over the control of the same symbolic capital. For the *mushrikūn,* this symbolic capital is centered on the Meccan pantheon while for Jews and Christians it is focused on the previous biblical revelations. In order to reshape the figure of Abraham, the Qurʾān uses the term *millat Ibrāhīm* rather than the word *islām,* whose signification is still in the course of construction. *Milla* refers to a group whose members necessarily share the same beliefs. This term will later be reused to designate the various confessional communities in the Ottoman Empire. In Q 3:67, Abraham is linked to the pure religion, Ḥanīfism (see ḤANĪF), that is devoid of any deviation: "Abraham was neither a Jew nor a Christian, but a *ḥanīf muslim*." Within this context in which a corrected and redressed version (quite different from the "altered" versions of the Christians and the Jews) of the history of the "People of the Book" (q.v.; see also BOOK) is constructed, the word *muslim* cannot be translated simply as "Muslim" in the now common meaning of the word, since it does not yet have a social and doctrinal basis. Its meaning in this passage is indeed a reference to that internal submission of faith which is contracted in the alliance *(mīthāq)* with God. In the frequently cited verses "religion, in the eye of God, is Islam" (Q 3:19); or "The will to profess a religion other than Islam will not be accepted" (Q 3:85), it is necessary to preserve the original, fundamental meaning of *islām* as an internalized religious attitude that is well symbolized by the conduct of the qurʾānic Abraham. To consecrate at this stage the equivalence of the Abrahamic *islām* with that which the sciences and institutions termed Islamic would later construe, is to relegate to the "unthinkable" all of the problems associated with the passage from the human experience of the divine (*"l'expérience humaine du divin,"* title of a work of M. Meslin) to the institutionalized, ritualized, religious orthodoxy of the "managers of the sacred" *(gestionnaires du sacré)*. In

order to avoid this long leap within the ideological instrumentalization of the religious reality, it is preferable to speak of the religion emerging at the level of the qurʾānic discourse in its initial mode of enunciation.

There is no room here to evaluate the role of the normative pronouncements which, already in the qurʾānic discourse, engage the experience of the divine with the trajectory of ritualization, of the sacralizing institution (see RITUAL AND THE QURʾĀN). Rather, I signal the importance of analyzing the process by which, at the level of the "closed official corpus," that institutionalization comes to function as the conceptualization of Islam that is exploited by the jurists (see LAW AND THE QURʾĀN), the theolgians, the exegetes, the mystics (see ṢŪFISM AND THE QURʾĀN) and all varieties of social actors.

It is worth remembering that, at the stage of its oral enunciation, the qurʾānic discourse attaches more importance to recitations of the foundation of a new collective memory, one that is prepared to receive a system of beliefs and of non-beliefs that is both similar to and differentiated from those of competing communities, than to the doctrinal development of orthodoxy. This was done by later generations. The literary composition of these stories has exerted a decisive semantic influence on Arabic vocabulary (see ARABIC LANGUAGE; GRAMMAR AND THE QURʾĀN). In its enhanced contents the language was fortified to support the new system of values and recast as a language that bears an earthly history which is entirely inscribed within the horizon of a history of salvation (q.v.) already familiar to the People of the Book. One should also bear in mind that these founding stories, as well as the indeterminate state of the conceptual tools within the qurʾānic stage, make possible many starting points for symbolic, semantic, conceptual and, finally, existential codes. It is necessary to verify, therefore, the degree of spiritual, ethical, social, juridical and political relevance for this coding that future actors will "choose," or which will be imposed upon diverse groups who constitute themselves as "interpretive communities." This type of investigation has been neither conceived nor adopted by the historians, the exegetes or the contemporary theologians of critical modernity. One can, *a fortiori,* absolve the medieval jurists of blame for not integrating this task, which was unthinkable to them, into their claim to root *(taʾṣīl)* legal qualifications *(aḥkām)* in the Word of God, which would transform profane and contingent behavior into the categories of licit or illicit works compatible with the notion of a final judgment (see LAST JUDGMENT; GOOD DEEDS; EVIL DEEDS; LAWFUL AND UNLAWFUL; RECORD OF HUMAN ACTIONS). Now, however, there is enough of the conceptual diversity necessary for the radicalization of a critique of Islamic reason that can be undertaken within a broader and more historically, sociologically and anthropologically sensitive perspective.

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Isma

see IMPECCABILITY

Ismāʿīlīs

see SHĪʿISM AND THE QURʾĀN

Isrāʾ

see ASCENSION; AQṢĀ MOSQUE

Israel

Ancestor of the people of Israel (Isrāʾīl), whose name appears most frequently in the Qurʾān within the title "Children of Israel" (q.v.; Banū Isrāʾīl). Only in two places does it occur separately (Q 3:93; 19:58). The commentators identify Israel with Jacob (q.v.; Yaʿqūb), the son of Isaac (q.v.; Isḥāq).

Q 3:93, which deals with Jewish dietary restrictions (see JEWS AND JUDAISM), makes allusion to a specific event in Israel's life. It is stated here that all food was lawful (see LAWFUL AND UNLAWFUL) to the Children of Israel save what Israel forbade for himself before the Torah (q.v.) was sent down. The commentators understood the verse in a polemical context saying that it proved to the Jews of Muḥammad's time that their dietary law was not the one which all believers should follow (see FOOD AND DRINK; FORBIDDEN). The exegetes disagree, however, about the kind of food Israel forbade, and whether or not this is endorsed in the Torah of Moses (q.v.). Some say that Israel's forbidden food is not forbidden in the Torah, and that the Children of Israel only avoid it in accordance with the individual precedent of Israel. Others say that God has forbidden in the Torah the same food which Israel forbade, but only to punish the Children of Israel for their sins, as is also stated elsewhere in the Qurʾān (Q 4:160; 6:146). This means that Israel's dietary restrictions are not incumbent on the rest of the believers, i.e. the Muslims.

As for Israel's forbidden food, some say that it was the sinew of the vein, which used to hurt Israel during the nights, and he decided to abstain from it in hope that God would cure him. Others say that he abandoned for that purpose his most favorite meal, i.e. the meat and milk of camels. A less current interpretation (Ibn Abī Ḥātim al-Rāzī, *Tafsīr,* iii, no. 3819) relates that he forbade the appendage of the liver and the two kidneys and the fat that is upon them, save what is carried on the back. These were the parts that had to be burned as an offering to God. This is a verbatim representation of a biblical sacrificial rite (e.g. *Exod* 29:13, 22, etc.), combined with the qurʾānic version of Jewish dietary law (Q 6:146). The mention of the "sinew of the vein" *(ḥirq al-nasā)* points to the biblical origin of Q 3:93, which is Genesis 32:25-33. This is the story of the changing

of Jacob's name to Israel following Jacob's nocturnal wrestling with the angel, during which the hollow of his thigh was touched by the angel in the sinew of the vein. For this reason the Children of Israel do not eat the sinew of the vein. Some of the Islamic traditions provide a detailed Arabic version of the story.

As for Israel's decision to forbid the food for himself, some commentators say that it was based on his own individual judgment *(ijtihād),* which prophets are allowed to have (see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD).

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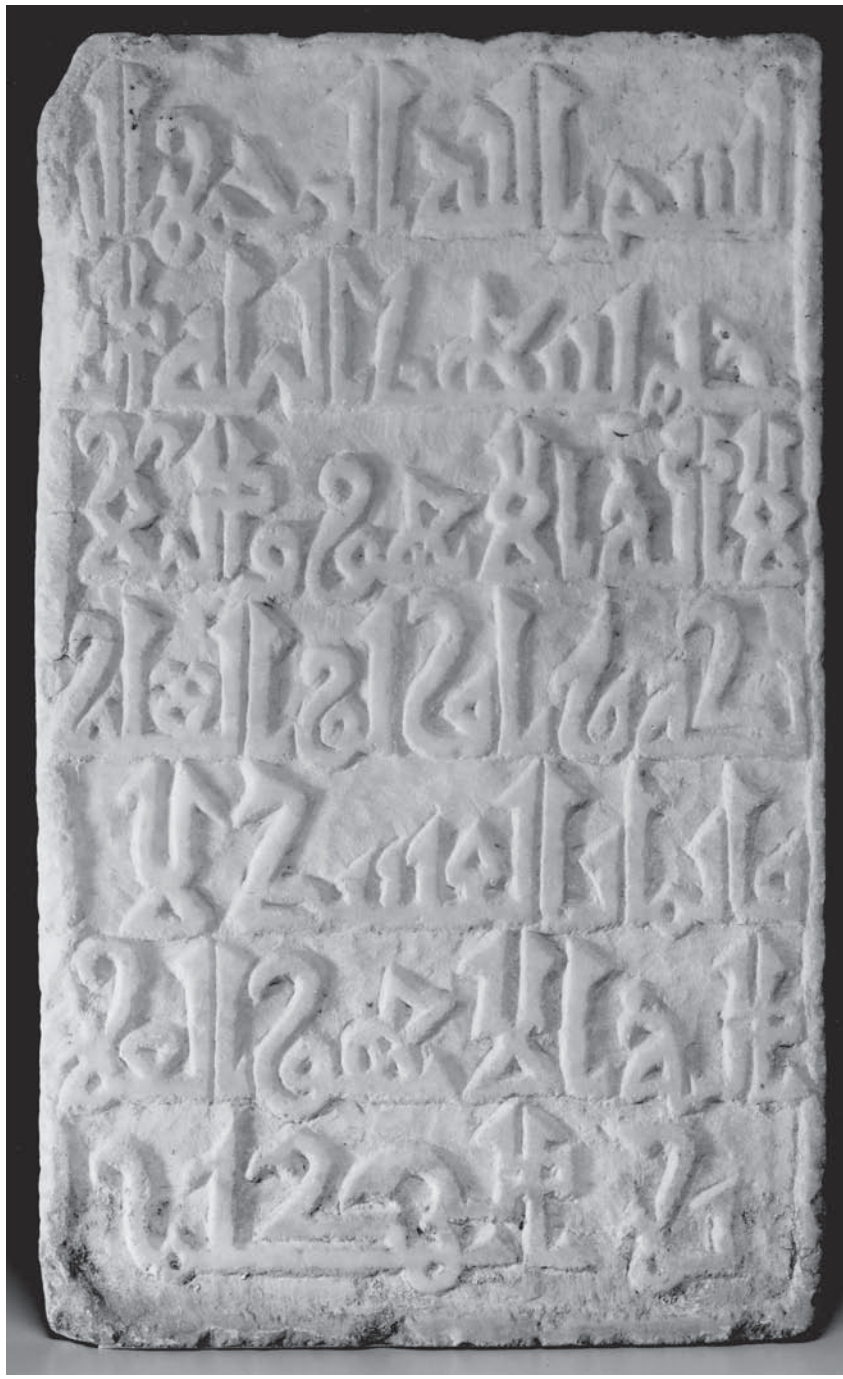
Ithnā ʿAsharīs

see SHĪʿISM AND THE QURʾĀN

FIGURES I–X

[1] Clockwise, from top.
Reverse of ʿUmayyad gold dinar, Damascus ca. 73/692-4. Center contains a modified form of the standard Byzantine cross-on-pediment symbol; margin is inscribed with "*bismi llāh lā ilāh illā llāh waḥda Muḥammad rasūl Allāh*." The earliest gold issue that is surely Arab, and the first coinage to contain the *shahāda*.
Obverse of first-issue ʿAbbāsid dinar dated 132/[749-50]. Inscription is the same as that of the ʿUmayyad dinar of 77/696-7 (see below), whereas the reverse center (not pictured) is inscribed with *Muḥammad rasūl Allāh*.
Obverse of ʿUmayyad gold dinar dated 77/[696-7]. Margin is inscribed with *Muḥammad rasūl Allāh arsalahu bi-l-hudā wa-dīn al-ḥaqq li-yuzhirahu ʿalā l-dīn kullihi* (cf. Q 48:29; 9:33); center is inscribed with "*lā ilāh illā llāh waḥda lā sharīk lahu*"; reverse center (not pictured) is inscribed with part of Q 112.
Obverse of al-Maʾmūn's anonymous coinage dated 207/[822]. The center is the same as that of the ʿUmayyad dinar of 77/696-7. Courtesy of the University of Pennsylvania Museum (Islamic Coins, S4-143980, S4-143981; coins were formerly on loan to the American Numismatic Society).



[II] 3rd/9th century Egyptian carved stone panel containing the *basmala* and Q 3:18: "In the name of God, the compassionate, the merciful. God is witness that there is no god save him. And the angels and the men of learning [are also witnesses]. Maintaining his creation in justice, there is no God save him, the almighty, the wise." No individual's name is inscribed on this panel. Courtesy of the Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC (S1993.8).

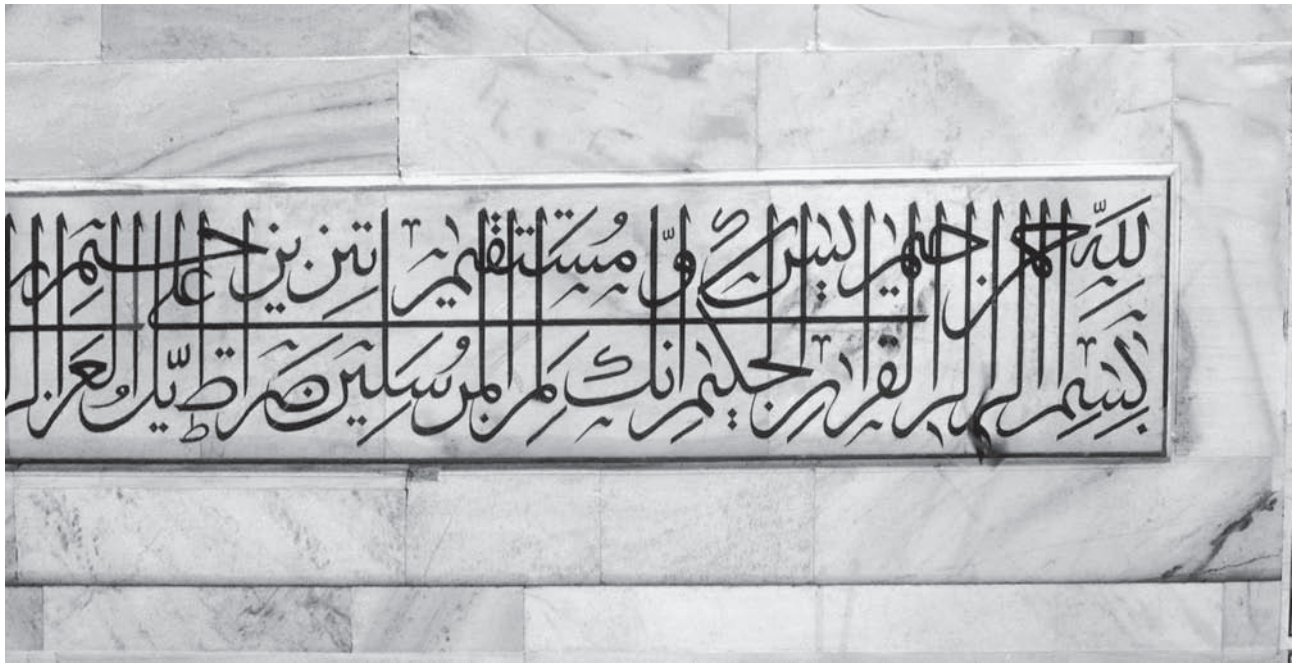
[III] Portion of stone-carved band with Q 9:18 on the south face of the southwest minaret of the Mosque of al-Ḥākim in Cairo, early 5th/11th century. The verse, which begins "the mosques of God shall be visited and maintained," is the most common inscription found on mosques throughout the Muslim world. Photograph courtesy of Jonathan Bloom and Sheila Blair.

[IV] Top row: Nishapur dinar, 450/1058-9 (under the Seljuk Tughril Beg). Obverse center is the same as that of the ʿUmayyad dinar of 77/696-7 (see plate I), with ʿ*adl* inscribed above, and *al-qāʾim bi-amr Allāh* below; outer margin is inscribed with a passage from Q 30:4-5 ("*lillāhi l-amr min qabl wa-min baʿd wa-yawmaʾidh yafraḥu l-muʾminūn bi-naṣri llāhi*"). Reverse margin reads *Muḥammad rasūl Allāh arsalahu bi-l-hudā wa-dīn al-ḥaqq li-yuzhirahu ʿalā l-dīn kullihi wa-law kariha al-mushrikūn* (cf. Q 48:29; 9:33); center is inscribed with *lillāh Muḥammad rasūl Allāh al-Sulṭān al-Aʿzam Shāhānshāh Ajall Rukn al-Dīn Ṭughril Beg.* Bottom row: Mosul copper, 585/1189-90, under the Zengid prince of Mosul, Masʿūd, and his overlord, the Ayyubid Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn. Obverse contains an allegorical figure of the moon. Reverse center begins with the *shahāda*. Images courtesy of the Smithsonian Institution, National Numismatic Collection, Douglas Mudd. Identification and transcription courtesy of Michael Bates of the American Numismatic Society.

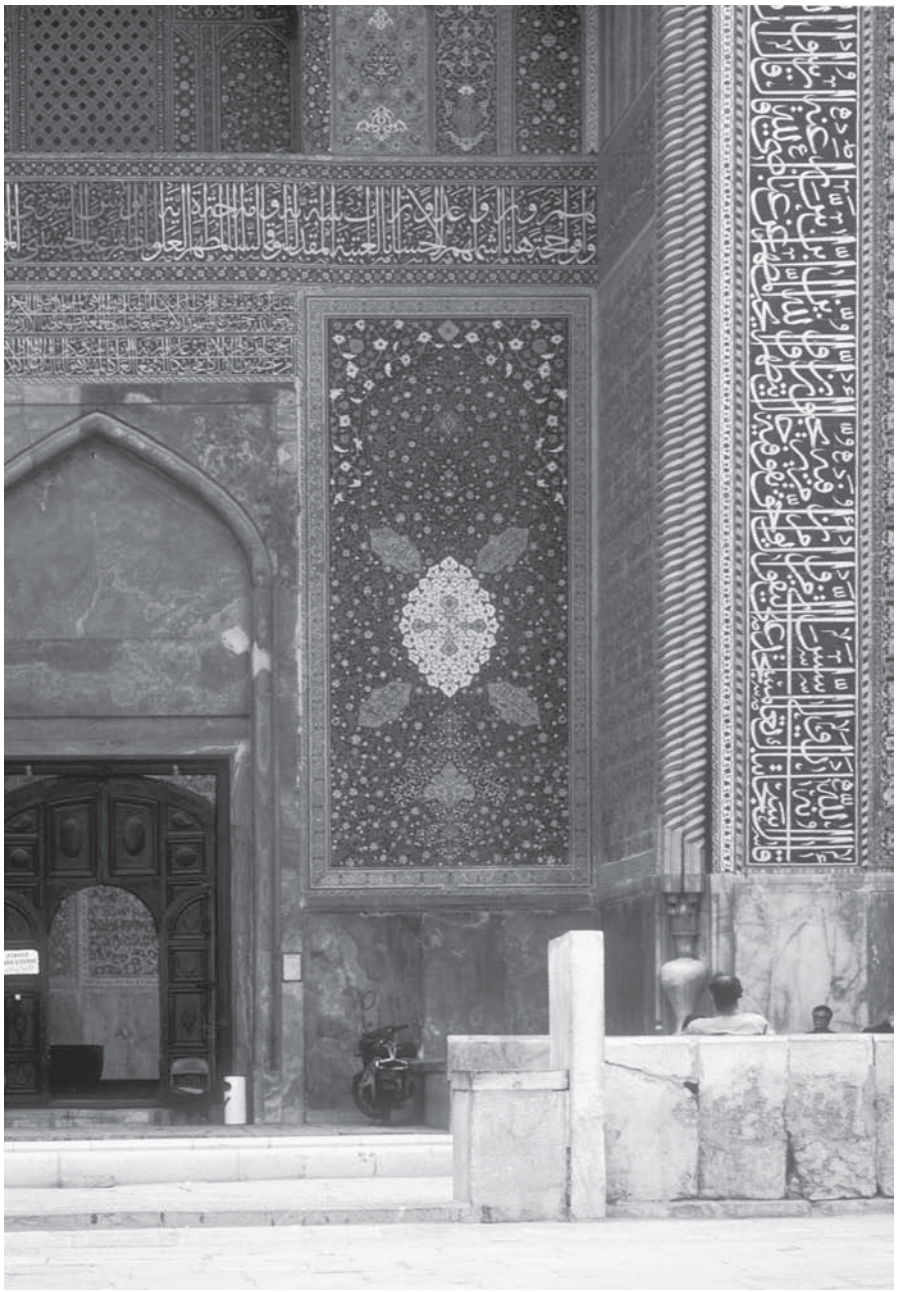
[v] The minaret of Jām (590/1193-4), built for the Ghūrid overlord Muḥammad b. Sām and located in central Afghanistan. The lower shaft is decorated with interlacing bands that contain all 98 verses of Q 19, Sūrat Maryam ("Mary"), certainly one of the most extensive qurʾānic inscriptions ever erected. The band at the top of the middle shaft contains Q 61:13 about God's present victory, while the band around the top of the upper shaft contains the profession of faith (*shahāda*). Photograph from a private collection.

[VI] Early 8th/14th century Iranian *miḥrāb*. The section shown here is inscribed with Q 59:22: "He is God, other than whom there is no other god. Knower of the invisible and the visible. He is the compassionate, the merciful." Courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. H.O. Havermeyer Collection. Gift of Horace Havermeyer, 1940 (40.181.4).

[VII] Top row: Granada dirham. Anonymous and undated (ca. 596-853/1200-1450), under the Naṣrids. Obverse is inscribed with the *shahāda*. Reverse reads *lā ghālib illā llāh tʿ Gharnāṭa* (*tʿ* presumably abbreviates *taʿālā*, "exalted be he"). Bottom row: Lahore gold mohur, 1015/1606-7. First regnal year of Jahāngīr: Obverse is inscribed with "*Allāh lā ilāh illā Muḥammad rasūl Allāh hūr darb 1115 Lā*" (cf. Q 37:35; 48:29). Reverse reads *ghāzī J̌ahāngīr Bādishāh Muḥammad Nūr al-Dīn sana 1*. Images courtesy of the Smithsonian Institution, National Numismatic Collection, Douglas Mudd. Identification and transcription courtesy of Michael Bates of the American Numismatic Society.



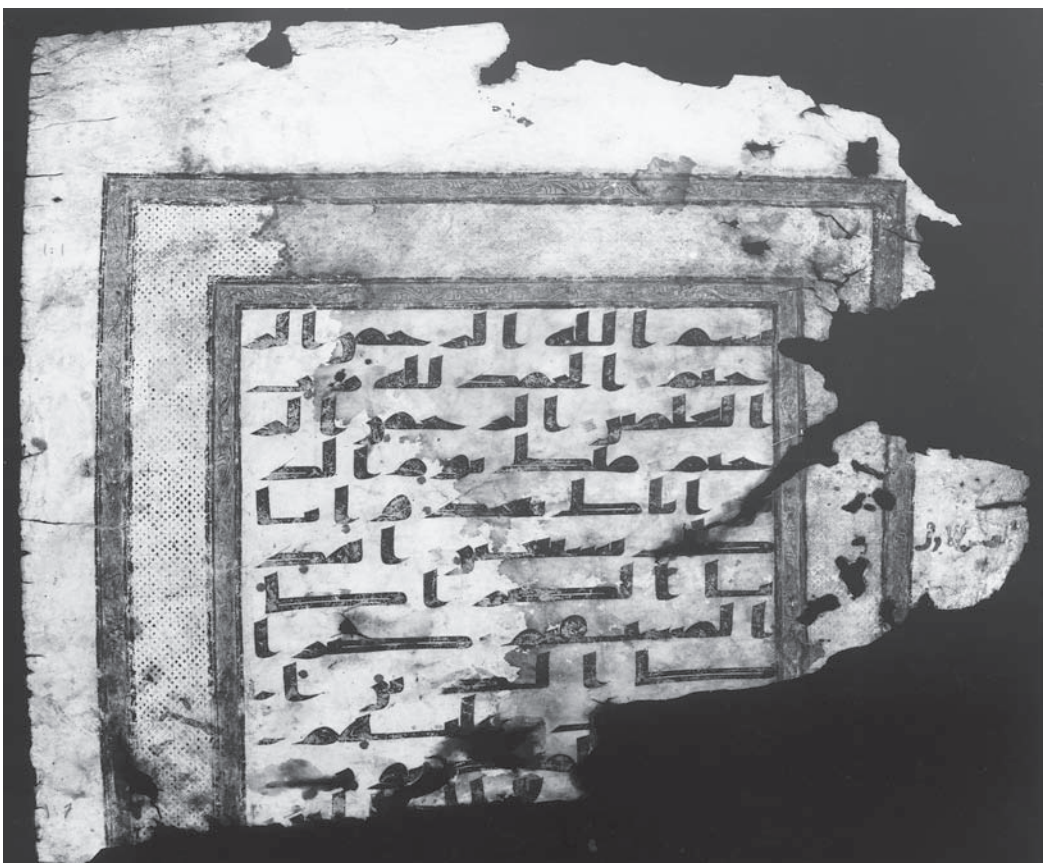
[VIII] Beginning of the inscription in *thuluth* by the hand of Amānat Khān Shīrāzī that frames the south archway of the Taj Mahal, 1048/1636-7: "In the name of God, the compassionate, the merciful. Yā Sīn. By the wise Qur'ān. Lo! You are of those sent on a straight path. A revelation of the mighty, the merciful ..." (Q 36:1-5). The south archway contains the first 22 verses of Q 36 and continues on the west, north and east archways. Photograph courtesy of Jonathan Bloom and Sheila Blair.



[IX] Band with Q 9:108 inscribed vertically in *thuluth* by ʿAlī Riḍā-i ʿAbbāsī, 1025/1616-7 at the beginning of the inscription in tile mosaic framing the entrance portal to the Imām Mosque (formerly the Shāh Mosque) in Iṣfahān. The verse mentions a mosque whose foundation was laid the first day. The inscription continues with a Shīʿite ḥadīth quoted on the authority of Ibn ʿAbbās that ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib is the Prophet's successor. Photograph courtesy of Jonathan Bloom and Sheila Blair.

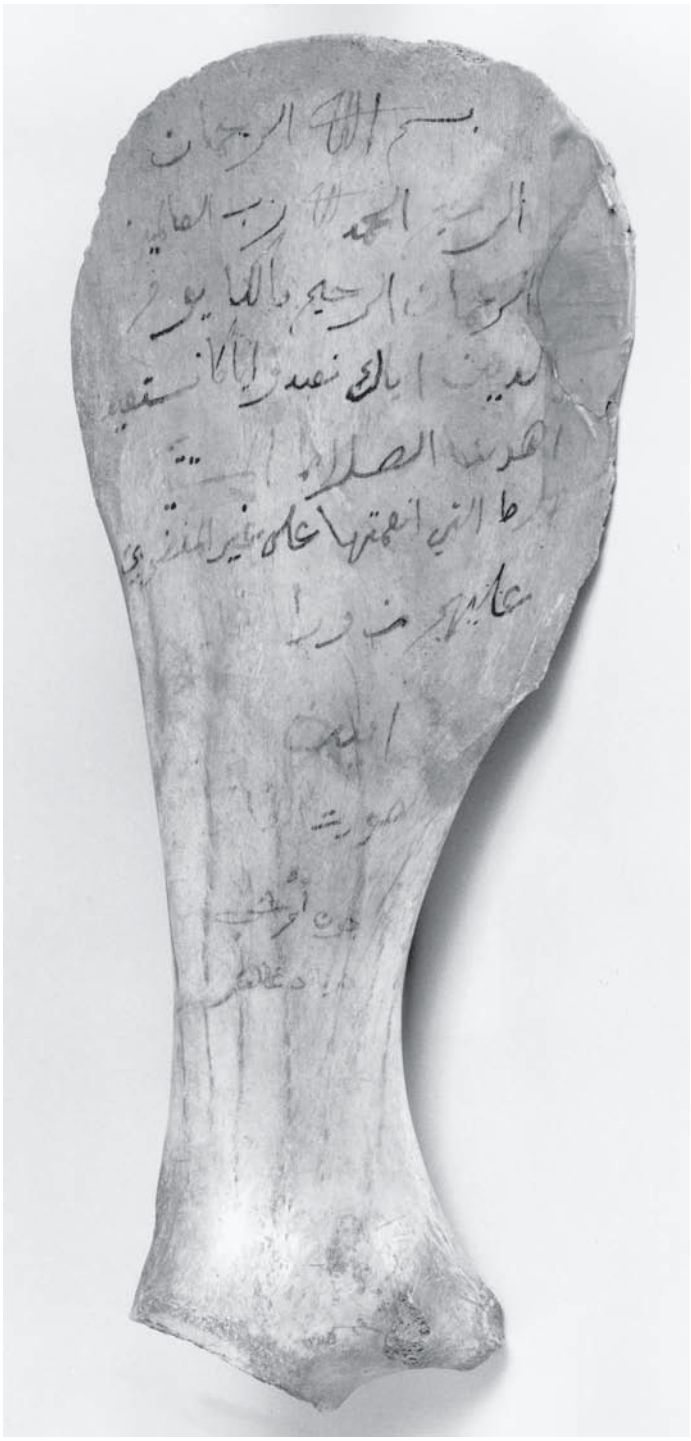
[x] Early 12th/18th century Persian silver battle standard with niello inlay. The little finger contains Q 61:13: "Help from God and near victory." The other fingers contain the Shīʿa invocation of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib. The twelve round cartouches in the outer circle on the hand proper contain the names of the twelve Imāms in *nastaʿlīq* script. The other side of this standard (not displayed here) is inscribed with the Throne Verse (Q 2:256), believed to have very strong protective power, and a poem imploring divine aid. Courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Gift of Dr. Marilyn Jenkins, 1984 (1984.504.2).

FIGURES I–IX



[1] Sūrat al-Fātiḥa from a monumental manuscript written in *kūfī* and lavishly illuminated, found in the Great Mosque of Sanʿā' (Sanʿā', Dār al-Makhṭūṭāt, inv. no. 20-33.1). Probably produced in Damascus at the end of the 1st/early 8th century. Courtesy of Hans-Caspar Graf von Bothmer, University of Saarbrücken.

[II] Sūrat al-Fātiḥa in *naskh* on a manuscript from the eastern Islamic world dating from 428/1037. Reproduced by kind permission of the Trustees of the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin (Is.1430, f. 1b).

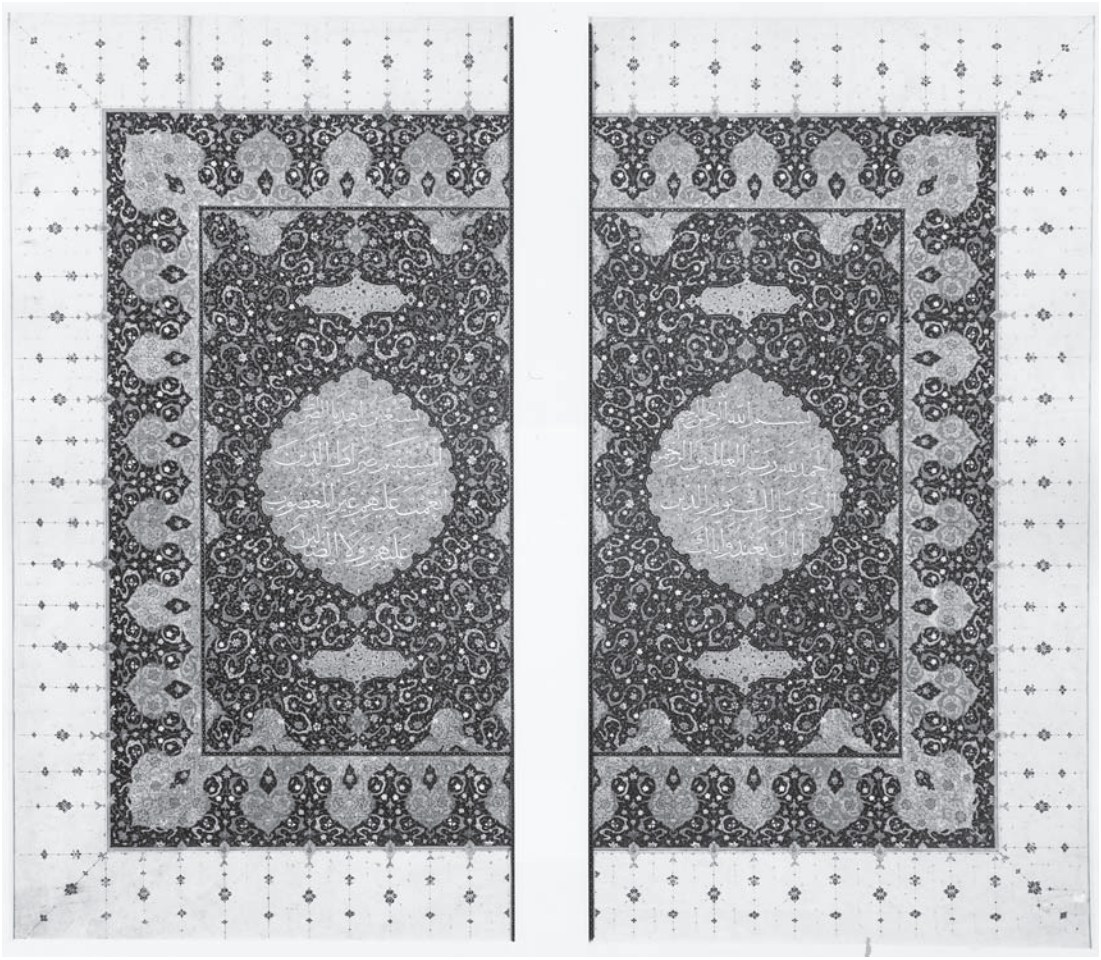


[III] Sūrat al-Fātiḥa inscribed upon the shoulder blade of a camel, undated. Courtesy of Princeton University Library, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections (Manuscripts Division, Islamic Third Series, no. 295).

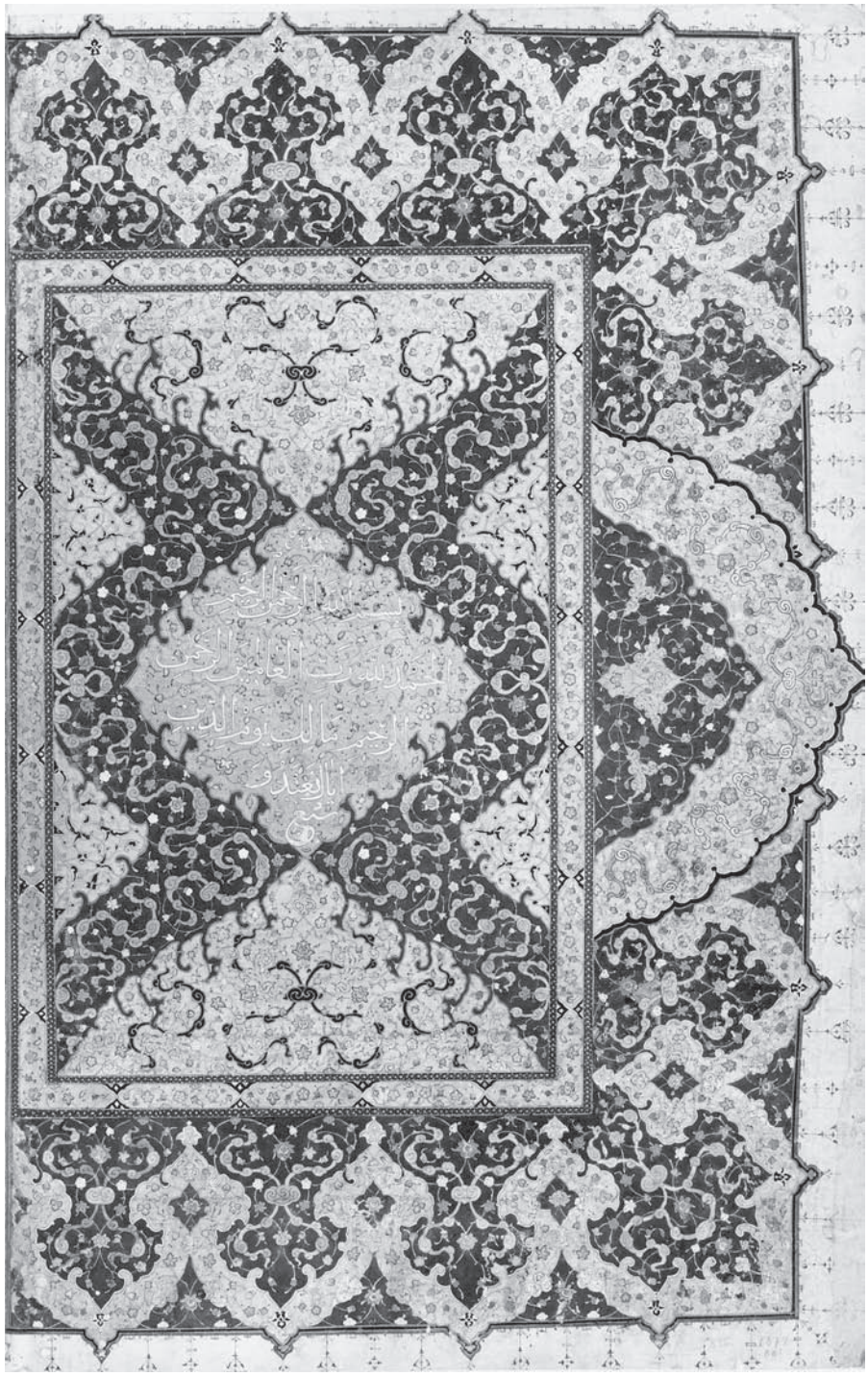
[IV A] Second half of Sūrat al-Fātiḥa in *rīḥān* from a 9th/15th century Persian manuscript of the Tīmūrid period by the hand of Ibrāhīm b. Shāh Rukh (grandson of Tamerlane). Courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Gift of Alexander Smith Cochran, 1913 (13.228.2).

[IV B] First half of Sūrat al-Fātiḥa in *rīḥān* from a 9th/15th century Persian manuscript of the Tīmūrid period by the hand of Ibrāhīm b. Shāh Rukh (grandson of Tamerlane). Courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Gift of Alexander Smith Cochran, 1913 (13.228.2).

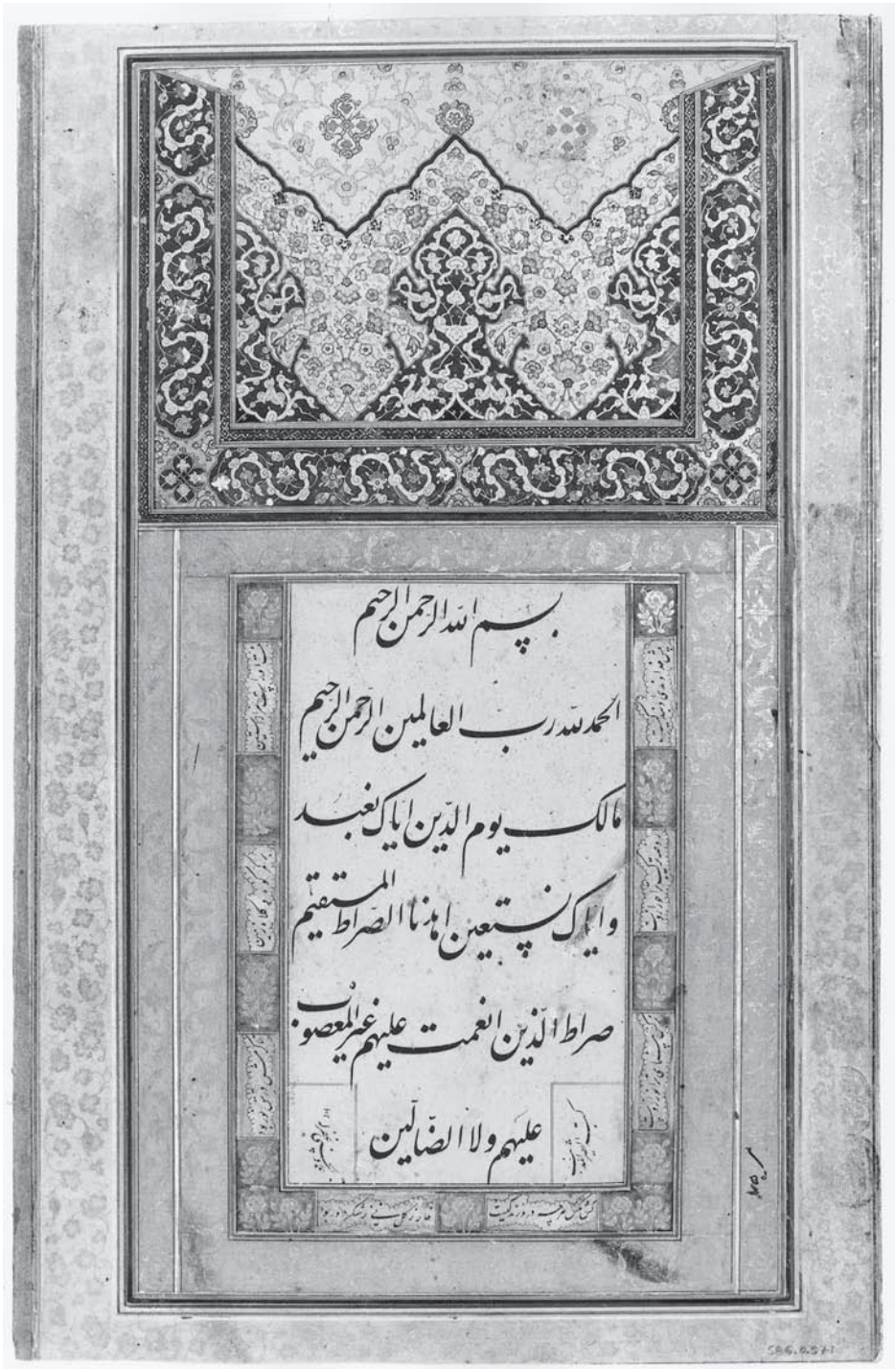
[v] Sūrat al-Fātiḥa in *thuluth* from a Turkish manuscript dating from 868/1454. Courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Rogers Fund, 1968 (68.179, folio 1).



[VI] Sūrat al-Fātiḥa in *naskh* from an Iranian manuscript, ca. middle 10th/16th century. Courtesy of the Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC (S1986.82.1b & 2a).



[VII] The first half of Sūrat al-Fātiḥa (Q 1:1-5) in *naskh* from a double-page Turkish frontispiece (second half of the 10th/16th century). Courtesy of the Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC (S1986.77.1b).



[VIII] Sūrat al-Fātiḥa in *nastaʿlīq* from a Persian manuscript, 1020/1611, by the hand of ʿImād al-Ḥasanī. Courtesy of the Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC (S1986.371).

[IX] Sūrat al-Fātiḥa in *naskh* from a double page Iranian frontispiece, 1206/1791-2. Courtesy of the Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC (S1986.87.1).

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Encyclopaedia of the Qurʾān

VOLUME THREE

J–O

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Jacob

Biblical patriarch, son of Isaac (q.v.), mentioned sixteen times by name in the Qurʾān and probably referred to by the name Isrāʾīl another two times (see ISRAEL). The form of the name in Arabic, Yaʿqūb, may have come directly from the Hebrew or may have been filtered through Syriac (Jeffery, *For. vocab.,* 291; see FOREIGN VOCABULARY); the name was apparently used in pre-Islamic times in Arabia (Horovitz, Jewish proper names, 152; id., *KU,* 152-3; see PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QURʾĀN). Most frequently, Jacob is mentioned simply within the list of patriarchs along with Abraham (q.v.) and Isaac, following Jewish tradition (Q 6:84; 11:71; 12:38; 19:49; 21:72; 29:27; 38:45), with Ishmael (q.v.) added on occasion (Q 2:136, 140; 3:84; 4:163; and perhaps 2:132). The narrative of the life of Jacob in the Qurʾān is primarily limited to his role in the Joseph (q.v.) story in which he orders his sons not to all go through a single gate into the city (Q 12:67; see Shapiro, *Haggadischen Elemente,* i, 55-6) and in which he becomes blind due to his sorrow (over Joseph, cf. Q 12:84). His sight, however, is restored when his face (q.v.) is touched by the shirt of Joseph (Q 12:93, 96; see VISION AND BLINDNESS; CLOTHING). Jacob's last words (*Gen* 49) are also echoed in Q 2:133, "… when he said to his sons, 'What will you serve after me?' They said, 'We will serve your God and the God of your fathers Abraham, Ishmael and Isaac, one God; to him we surrender'" (see POLYTHEISM AND ATHEISM; MONOTHEISM).

The observation that the Qurʾān appears to consider Jacob a brother of Isaac rather than his son (although on other occasions, it is clear that this type of confusion has not taken place, e.g. Q 2:132, "Abraham charged his sons with this and Jacob likewise") has become a motif in polemical literature. Based on passages "We gave him Isaac and Jacob" (Q 6:84; 19:49; 21:72; 29:27) and "We gave her the glad tidings of Isaac and, after Isaac, Jacob" (Q 11:71), the charge has been laid that there was a misunderstanding of the relationship between Jacob and Isaac. It is clear, however, that later Muslims were not the least bit confused on the issue, all recognizing that the relationship between the two as related in the Bible was accurate (Geiger, *Judaism and Islam,* 108-9; Speyer, *Erzählungen,* 170-1).

The biblical renaming of Jacob as Israel (thus providing the personal dimension of the idea of the "Children of Israel" [q.v.] as well as the territorial and tribal; see *Gen*

32:28) is likely reflected in the use of "Israel" in Q 3:93, "All food was lawful to the Children of Israel save what Israel forbade for himself (see FORBIDDEN; LAWFUL AND UNLAWFUL)" — which probably refers to the account of Genesis 32:33 — and in Q 19:58, "of those we bore with Noah (q.v.), and of the seed of Abraham and Israel." No further elaboration of this name change and its significance in genealogical terms can be noted in the Qurʾān.

When the story of Jacob is retold in the "stories of the prophets" literature *(qiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ),* the account of Jacob and Esau receives a good deal of attention even though it is unmentioned in the Qurʾān itself (e.g. Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh,* i, 354-60). The etymology of the name of Jacob is retold in these accounts as an etiological narrative that works as well in Arabic as it does in Hebrew: Jacob held on to Esau's heel (*ʿaqb* in Arabic) when the twins were being born, although the etymology of Esau as derived from "refusing," *ʿaṣā,* does not produce a fully meaningful narrative within the picture of their birth (cf. *Gen* 25:25-6; Ginzberg, *Legends,* i, 315; v, 274).

Andrew Rippin

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Jahannam

see HELL AND HELLFIRE

Jāhiliyya

see AGE OF IGNORANCE

Jail

see PRISONERS

Jālūt

see GOLIATH

Jealousy

see ENVY

Jerusalem

The holy city sacred to Judaism, Christianity and Islam, Jerusalem (Īliyāʾ, *bayt al-maqdis,* Ūrīshalayim, al-Quds) is not mentioned by name in the Qurʾān. As Islam is, however, deeply rooted in Judaism and Christianity (see JEWS AND JUDAISM; CHRISTIANS AND CHRISTIANITY), many stories with a biblical background are undoubtedly situated in Jerusalem and some of these stories have been included in the holy book of the Muslims (see NARRATIVES). Further, one must bear in mind that the designation *bayt al-maqdis* (lit. "house of the holy," from Heb. *Bēt ha-miqdāsh,* the Temple), has three meanings: first, the Jewish Temple and its successor, the Temple Mount *(al-ḥaram al-sharīf)* with the Dome of the Rock and the Aqṣā Mosque (q.v.); second, the city of Jerusalem; third, the holy land *(al-arḍ al-muqaddasa)* as a whole.

Based on relevant passages in the Qurʾān, Muslim tradition created an image of Jerusalem that combined Jewish and Christian elements with specifically Islamic ones. The main sources to be consulted in presenting this image are the vast corpus of Qurʾān commentaries (*tafsīr,* see EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL; EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: EARLY MODERN AND CONTEMPORARY) and the *faḍāʾil al-Quds* ("Virtues of Jerusalem") literature. By its very nature, the literary genre of *faḍāʾil al-Quds* is an expression of local pride, which explains why the authors active in

this field found more material in the Qurʾān in favor of Jerusalem than did the qurʾānic commentators *(mufassirūn)*. Likewise, they claimed exclusiveness for Jerusalem in passages for which the *mufassirūn* offered a variety of interpretations.

There are a number of instances in which there is general agreement — in both commentary *(tafsīr)* and *faḍāʾil*-literature — that certain qurʾānic passages allude to Jerusalem, rather than other places. This applies, for instance, to the identification of "the farthest mosque" *(al-masjid al-aqṣā)* in Q 17:1 with al-Ḥaram al-Sharīf in Jerusalem, which is said to have been the destination of Muḥammad's "night journey" *(isrāʾ)* and the scene of his ascension (q.v.; *miʿrāj*). It is the site of the Jewish Temple, which was destroyed by the Romans in the year 70 C.E. and reconstructed by the Muslims during the caliphate of ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb (r. 13-23/634-44). There is, however, disagreement as to whether Muḥammad prayed in the sanctuary or not. Had he done so, it would have been incumbent on Muslims also to visit Jerusalem when on the pilgrimage (q.v.; *ḥajj*) to Mecca (q.v.). Therefore, some theologians denied the idea of Muḥammad's praying in the sanctuary. According to others, however, confirmation of the belief in one God *(tawḥīd)* was revealed in Jerusalem when Muḥammad prayed with the prophets, his predecessors in office, in the sanctuary (see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD). General agreement likewise exists regarding the interpretation of Q 2:142-50, where the change of the direction of prayer (*qibla,* q.v.) is discussed. It has been accepted that the direction of prayer was Jerusalem before it was changed to the Kaʿba (q.v.) in Mecca.

The setting of many biblical stories incorporated in the Qurʾān is Jerusalem or the holy land, although the name is not explicitly mentioned. Jewish and Christian traditions — both apocryphal and canonical — such as those about the location of the last judgment (q.v.) in Jerusalem, have been adopted by Muslims. Q 50:41, "And listen for the day when the caller will call out from a place quite near *(min makānin qarībin),*" is said to refer to Jerusalem, the "place quite near" being the holy rock *(al-ṣakhra)* in the al-Ḥaram al-Sharīf. The angel Isrāfīl, standing on the holy rock, will call the dead to rise from their graves (see DEATH AND THE DEAD; RESURRECTION). It is a place appropriate for the purpose because it is next to heaven (see HEAVEN AND SKY). There is, on the other hand, an interpretation offered by al-Zamakhsharī (d. 538/1144; *Kashshāf,* ad loc.) according to which "a place quite near" means the feet of the dead or the roots of their hair.

Many other identifications of places are not as unequivocal as those just mentioned. There are numerous cases in which, in accordance with the generally accepted exegetical tendency to amass traditional interpretations, one or more sites in addition to Jerusalem have been proposed; in other words, these places compete with Jerusalem. Sometimes such competing sites are situated in the holy land, including Syria (q.v.) and Jordan. A rivalry on a higher level, however, is that between Jerusalem and the holy cities of Mecca and Medina (q.v.) or between the holy land and the rest of the world (see COSMOLOGY). The latter is present in the interpretation of Q 7:137, "And we made a people, considered weak, inheritors of land *(arḍ)* in both east and west — land whereupon we sent down our blessings (see BLESSING; OPPRESSED ON EARTH, THE)." The blessed land is Syria or, according to another interpretation, the whole world, because God conferred the kingdom of the world upon

David (q.v.) and Solomon (q.v.). Q 21:105, "Before this we wrote in the Psalms (q.v.; *al-zabūr*) after the message *(al-dhikr):* My servants, the righteous, shall inherit the earth," is, according to Speyer (*Erzählungen,* 285), the only word-for-word citation of the Bible (*Ps* 37:19; *Matt* 5:5; see SCRIPTURE AND THE QUR'ĀN). Although it undoubtedly refers to the holy land, other interpretations have been offered: It means paradise (q.v.), which is to be granted to the believers (see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF), but also this world, the universal kingdom of Islam (q.v.). The inheritance will come at the end of times, when Jesus (q.v.) descends from heaven to fight the unbelievers, subjecting the whole world to Islamic rule. The decisive battle will be fought in Jerusalem (see APOCALYPSE).

More often, Jerusalem competes with Mecca, as both are cities, and the holy land with the Ḥijāz. Q 17:60, "We granted the vision which we showed you," has been explained in two ways: It is the vision Muḥammad had after his return from the night journey *(isrā')*. When the Quraysh (q.v.) called him a liar (see LIE; OPPOSITION TO MUḤAMMAD; INSANITY), the Prophet had a vision of *bayt al-maqdis,* which enabled him to answer questions that the Meccans were asking in order to examine the veracity of his story. Another interpretation is that Muḥammad had a vision of the forthcoming conquest of Mecca at al-Ḥudaybiya (q.v.), when the Quraysh prevented him from entering Mecca to offer sacrifices at the Kaʿba (see EXPEDITIONS AND BATTLES). Q 2:114, "And who is more unjust (see JUSTICE AND INJUSTICE) than he who forbids that in places for the worship of God, God's name should be celebrated, whose zeal is to ruin them?" possibly refers to the destruction of the Temple either by Nebuchadnezzar or Titus. It has been interpreted, however, as referring to Mecca and the Kaʿba, when the heathens, before Muḥammad's emigration (q.v.; *hijra*), prevented him from worshiping at the Kaʿba. Another interpretation says that this happened at al-Ḥudaybiya. The olive tree *(zaytūn)* mentioned in Q 95:1, by which an oath (see OATHS) is sworn, has been explained both as meaning what it is, a valuable plant, and as denoting the hill on which *bayt al-maqdis* stands.

The rivalry between Jerusalem and Mecca is also apparent in the question about whether it was Isaac (q.v.) or Ishmael (q.v.) whom Abraham (q.v.) was ordered to slaughter as a sacrifice (q.v.). The story is recounted in Q 37:99-111, but the narrative leaves open the identity of the potential victim. If it was Isaac, Jerusalem would be the place of the sacrifice; otherwise, it would be Mecca or nearby Minā. Conversely, the account of the building of the Kaʿba in Q 2:125 is in favor of Ishmael, for he assisted his father, which proves his presence in Mecca.

Another example of Jerusalem's rivalry with Mecca may be found with the interpretation of the parable of the divine light (q.v.) in Q 24:35-6. It could be an allusion to candles lit in churches and monasteries (Paret, *Kommentar,* 360; see CHURCH; MONASTICISM AND MONKS), but another interpretation exists: the houses *(buyūt)* mentioned in Q 24:36, in which the light is lit, are four structures, all erected by prophets. These four are: the Kaʿba, built by Abraham and Ishmael, *bayt al-maqdis* built by David and Solomon, *masjid al-Madīna,* and *masjid qubā',* both built by Muḥammad; each can be deemed to be a "mosque (q.v.) founded on piety" (Q 9:108). Here, Jerusalem is put on a par with the holy places in the Ḥijāz. Al-Rāzī (d. 606/1210; *Tafsīr,* xxiv, 3, ad Q 24:36), however, cites another interpretation in the name of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, who identifies the houses, without explaining the plural, with *bayt al-maqdis* because it is illuminated by ten thousand candles.

Jerusalem competes not only with Mecca,

but also with the other world: *al-sāhira* mentioned in Q 79:14 is said to be the surface of the earth to which the dead will ascend on the day of resurrection. Some commentators define it geographically as the plain to the north of Jerusalem on which humankind will gather during the day of judgment. According to others, it is a plain destined for the gathering of the unbelievers, causing such fright as to prevent people from slumbering. Another exegetical tradition explains *al-sāhira* as the new earth *(al-arḍ al-jadīda),* which will replace this earth when the world comes to an end; and, finally, according to yet another understanding, it is hell (*jahannam,* see HELL AND HELLFIRE).

Also understood to have both eschatological and this-worldly connotations is the wall mentioned in Q 57:13: "A wall will be put up between them, with a gate therein, within it will be mercy (q.v.), and without it, all alongside, will be punishment (see REWARD AND PUNISHMENT)." The wall is understood to be the eastern wall of the al-Ḥaram al-Sharīf, above Wādī Jahannam (the Kedron Valley), the gate is Bāb al-Raḥma, the Gate of Mercy, one of the two entrances of the Golden Gate. According to some commentators, though, it is the partition between paradise and hell, a kind of purgatory, the gate where the elect will enter paradise (see BARZAKH; BARRIER). On the day of resurrection those raised from the dead will rush to a goal-post *(nuṣub),* mentioned in Q 70:43. This is understood by some to be the holy rock in Jerusalem, but by others to be a signpost *(ʿalam)* to which the believers — or an idol to which the polytheists (see IDOLS AND IMAGES; POLYTHEISM AND ATHEISM) — will rush on the day of judgment.

Rivalry exists on the local level between Jerusalem and other towns of Palestine and Syria. The town *(al-qarya)* mentioned in Q 2:58, whose gate the Israelites were ordered to enter with humility, is identified in the exegetical literature as Jerusalem or Jericho. When Jericho is mentioned, the remark is added that it is located not far from Jerusalem. But according to some commentators, it is the gate of Cairo or Egypt *(Miṣr).* Another example: "The one who passed by a town, all in ruins to its roofs" (Q 2:259) was either ʿUzayr (identified with Ezra, q.v.) or Jeremiah (who bewailed the destruction of Jerusalem) or the legendary al-Khiḍr (see KHAḌIR/KHIḌR). There are three proposals about the name of the town: first, Sābūr on the Tigris, situated between Wāsiṭ and al-Madāʾin; second, Jerusalem; and third, the town of "those who abandoned their homes, though they were thousands, for fear of death," mentioned in Q 2:243. There are various explanations of the holy land *(al-arḍ al-muqaddasa)* mentioned in Q 5:21: It is said to be Jericho, Jordan (al-Urdunn), and Palestine, or Ṭūr (Mt. Sinai; see SINAI) and its surroundings. According to others it is al-Shām (Syria or Damascus), or simply Jericho. Equally various are the locations given for the *rabwa* (lit. great or high place) in Q 23:50, where Mary (q.v.), the mother of Jesus, found shelter with her son: the Ghūṭa (plain) of Damascus, Jerusalem, Ramla, or Egypt, the latter apparently a reminiscence of the flight of Joseph, Mary and Jesus to Egypt (q.v.) as told in the Gospels (q.v.).

The Shīʿī viewpoint (see SHĪʿISM AND THE QURʾĀN) is especially evident in the various interpretations, found in both Sunnī and Shīʿī authors, of Muḥammad's vision mentioned in Q 17:60. Al-Māwardī (d. 450/1058; *Nukat,* iii, 253) and al-Ṭabarsī (d. 548/1154; *Majmaʿ,* xv, 66-7), following al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923; *Tafsīr,* xv, 110-3), give three interpretations of this vision: the first explains it as Muḥammad's vision during the *isrāʾ;* the second, as a vision while Muḥammad was sleeping (according to Ibn ʿAbbās, Muḥammad sees himself entering Mecca; see DREAMS AND SLEEP;

FORETELLING; VISIONS); and the third, also as a vision while sleeping (according to Sahl b. Saʿd, the vision is of people like donkeys climbing on the pulpits *[manābir]*). While al-Ṭabarī expresses a preference for the first explanation, al-Māwardī gives no such opinion. Shīʿī exegetes, such as al-Ṭabarsī and al-Ṭabāṭabāʾī (d. 1982; *Mukhtaṣar al-Mīzān*), stress that this passage has nothing to do with Jerusalem, nor with Mecca, but maintain that it refers to future events, the misdeeds of the Umayyads who deprived the ʿAlids of their legitimate claim to the caliphate (see CALIPH; POLITICS AND THE QURʾĀN): Muḥammad saw them climbing on his pulpit, behaving like apes.

Modern commentators such as Rashīd Riḍā *(Manār),* al-Mawdūdī *(Tafhīm),* al-Zuḥaylī *(Tafsīr)* and Tuʿaylib *(Fatḥ),* present the traditional interpretations on many of the verses already discussed. After making their own positions clear, however, they provide events and places in the context of the life of Muḥammad and the history of early Islam in Arabia rather than locating these in Jerusalem. To mention but a few examples: Those who, according to Q 2:114, prevented the pious from visiting the sanctuaries, and even tried to ruin them, were not Nebuchadnezzar or Titus, but the heathens in Mecca before the emigration *(hijra)*. Rashīd Riḍā derives the protection of synagogues and churches as practiced in Islam from Q 2:114 (see RELIGIOUS PLURALISM AND THE QURʾĀN). That Muḥammad prayed inside the sanctuary of *bayt al-maqdis* during his night journey is not contested in principle in modern *tafsīr;* it is no longer considered an issue of heated debate. The land promised to the pious in Q 21:105 is paradise, the wall with the gate in Q 57:13 will be put up in the other world, and *al-sāhira* in Q 79:14 belongs to the world to come or remains geographically undefined. Generally modern *tafsīr* prefers theological interpretation and the discussion of problems pertaining to the religious law *(sharīʿa)* to a consideration of problems in the history of the holy places and their basis in biblical lore (see LAW AND THE QURʾĀN; HISTORY AND THE QURʾĀN; THEOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN).

Finally, the close relation between Jerusalem and the Qurʾān found expression in the enumeration of merits earned by those who recite certain sūras (see RECITATION OF THE QURʾĀN): The person who recites Q 29 "The Spider" (Sūrat al-ʿAnkabūt) will receive for each verse the same recompense as those who conquered Jerusalem, and those who recite Q 5 "The Table Spread" (Sūrat al-Māʾida; see TABLE) and Q 30 "The Romans" (Sūrat al-Rūm; see BYZANTINES) will be compensated for each verse as those who visit Jerusalem (Firūzābādī, *Baṣāʾir,* i, 364, 369). See also SACRED PRECINCTS.

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Jest

see LAUGHTER; MOCKERY

Jesus

The first-century Jewish teacher and wonder worker believed by Christians to be the Son of God, he is named in the Qurʾān as one of the prophets before Muḥammad who came with a scripture (see BOOK; CHRISTIANS AND CHRISTIANITY; PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD). The qurʾānic form of Jesus' name is ʿĪsā. It is attested twenty-five times, often in the form ʿĪsā b. Maryam, Jesus son of Mary. The Qurʾān asserts that he was a prophet and gives him the unique title "the Messiah" (see ANOINTING). It affirms his virginal conception (see MARY; HOLY SPIRIT); cites miracles which he performed by divine permission (see MIRACLE); and states that God raised him into his presence. It probably also alludes to his future return. It denies, however, that he was divine (as noted, one of his qurʾānic identifications is as the "son of Mary"; see below for further discussion of this title) and attaches no significance to the cross. As traditionally interpreted by Muslims, it also denies that he was crucified (see CRUCIFIXION).

Inventory of the qurʾānic Jesus material

The relevant passages are listed here in chronological order in accordance with Nöldeke's classification (see CHRONOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN). For the sake of comparison, the order implied by the headings of the standard Egyptian edition of the Qurʾān is also given (see Robinson, *Discovering,* 72-96). For example N 58/E 44 indicates that according to Nöldeke the sūra in question was the fifty-eighth revealed but that it was the forty-fourth according to the standard Egyptian edition: Q 19:16-40, 88-95 (N 58/E 44); Q 43:57-65, 81-2 (N 61/E 109); Q 23:50 (N 64/E 74); Q 21:91-93 (N 65/E 73); Q 42:13-14 (N 83/E 86); Q 6:83-90 (N 89/E 55); Q 2:87, 135-141, 252-253 (N 91/E 87); Q 3:42-64, 81-85 (N 97/E 89); Q 33:7-8 (N 103/E 90); Q 4:156-159, 163-165, 171-172 (N 100/E 92); Q 57:26-27 (N 99/E 94); Q 66:10-12 (N 109/E 107); Q 61:6, 14 (N 98/E 109); Q 5:17-18, 46-47, 72-78, 109-118 (N 114/E 112); Q 9:30-31 (N 113/E 113).

There is widespread agreement that the first six passages cited above (i.e. those down to and including Q 6:83-90) were revealed in Mecca and the others in Medina. The chronological order, however, is only approximate and some of the earlier sūras have almost certainly been revised. The dating of the passages in Q 19 is particularly problematic. There is a tradition that the Muslims who emigrated to

Abyssinia (q.v.) recited part of this sūra to the Negus (Ibn Isḥāq-Guillaume, 150-3) which would make it quite early (see EMIGRATION). In any case, the reference in Q 19:17 to an angel (q.v.), 'our spirit,' appearing in visible form strongly suggests that the sūra is Meccan. Moreover, Q 43:57 implies that the Prophet's audience had already heard an extensive revelation about "the son of Mary" and Q 23:50 probably alludes to a specific element in this particular version of his story (cf. Q 19:22-6). Q 19:34-40, however, which has a different rhyme from the rest of the sūra (see FORM AND STRUCTURE OF THE QUR'ĀN), was almost certainly added later and the references to "the book" (Q 19:12, 16, 30, etc.) are probably late Meccan or early Medinan.

The name ʿĪsā, its origin and significance

The name "Jesus" (ʿĪsā) occurs twenty-five times: nine times by itself (Q 2:136; 3:52, 55, 59, 84; 4:163; 6:85; 42:13; 43:63) and sixteen times in conjunction with one or more other names or titles (Q 2:87, 253; 3:45; 4:157, 171; 5:46, 78, 110, 112, 114, 116; 19:34; 33:7; 57:27; 61:6, 14). It was probably absent from the original version of Q 19:16-40 and it is not found in sūras 23 or 61, but it is attested in the other twelve sūras listed above.

The qur'ānic spelling of Jesus' name is strikingly different from any currently used by Christians. The English form "Jesus" is derived from the Latin *Iesus* which in turn is based on the Greek *Iēsous.* It is generally held, however, that because Jesus was a Palestinian Jew, his original name must have been Hebrew and that the Greek *Iēsous* represents the Hebrew *Yēshūaʿ* which is an abbreviated form of *Yᵉhōshūaʿ* (or *Yᵉhōshuaʿ*). The original meaning of *Yᵉhōshūaʿ* was "Yahweh helps" but it was popularly understood to mean, "Yahweh saves." When the New Testament was translated from Greek into Syriac, *Iēsous* was rendered *Yēshūʿ,* although Syriac-speaking Nestorian Christians called him *Ishuʿ.* After the rise of Islam, the gospels (q.v.) were eventually translated from Syriac into Arabic and *Yeshūʿ* was rendered *Yasūʿ,* which is what Arab Christians call Jesus to this day.

The grounds for thinking that Jesus' original name was *Yeshuaʿ* are: 1) The Hebrew scriptures mention several people called *Yᵉhōshūaʿ, Yᵉhōshuaʿ* or *Yēshūaʿ,* including Moses' successor Joshua son of Nūn whose name is spelled in all three ways. In the Septuagint, these names are almost invariably rendered as *Iēsous* (Brown et al., *Hebrew and English lexicon,* 221). 2) By the first century, only the short form *Yēshūaʿ* was in use. 3) The New Testament refers to Moses' successor, Joshua, in Acts 7:45 and Hebrews 4:8, and in both instances it gives his name in Greek as *Iēsous.* 4) According to Matthew 1:21, an angel told Joseph in a dream that Mary would have a son, and added "Thou shalt call his name Jesus for it is he who shall save his people from their sins." As there is no play-on-words in the Greek, Matthew's readers were presumably familiar with the original Hebrew name and its etymology.

Western scholars, because of their conviction that Jesus' authentic Hebrew name is *Yēshūaʿ,* have been puzzled by the Qur'ān's reference to him as ʿĪsā. They have offered a number of explanations for this apparent anomaly. One suggestion is that *y-sh-ʿ,* the Hebrew consonants of *Yēshūaʿ,* have been reversed for some cryptic reason to give *ʿ-s-y,* the Arabic consonants of ʿĪsā. Those who favor this view note that in ancient Mesopotamia certain divine names were written in one way and pronounced in another; for example EN-ZU was read ZU-EN (Michaud, *Jésus,* 15). Scarcely more plausible is the suggestion that the Jews called Jesus "Esau" (Hebrew *ʿEsaw*) out of hatred and that

Muḥammad learned this name from them not realizing that it was an insult (see JEWS AND JUDAISM; POLEMIC AND POLEMICAL LANGUAGE). Admittedly, in Arabic Esau is usually written *ʿĪsū* and this might have been changed into *ʿĪsā* in order to assimilate it to other qurʾānic names ending in *-ā*. There is no evidence, however, that the Jews have ever called Jesus Esau. Moreover, the Qurʾān criticizes them for insulting Jesus' mother (Q 4:156), and Muḥammad's many Christian acquaintances would surely have corrected him if he had unwittingly adopted a Jewish insult against Jesus himself. A third suggestion is that Jesus' name has been altered deliberately to assimilate it to Mūsā (Moses, q.v.), with whom he is sometimes paired. There may be other examples of this phenomenon in the Qurʾān, for instance, Saul (q.v.) and Goliath (q.v.) are called Ṭālūt and Jālūt, Aaron (q.v.) and Korah (q.v.) are called Hārūn and Qārūn. A fourth suggestion is that, already before the rise of Islam, Christians in Arabia may have coined the name ʿĪsā from one of the Syriac forms *Yeshūʿ* or *Ishūʿ*. Arabic often employs an initial *ʿayn* in words borrowed from Aramaic or Syriac and the dropping of the final Hebrew *ʿayin* is evidenced in the form *Yisho* of the "köktürkish" Manichaean fragments from Turfan (Jefferey, *For. vocab*., 220; see FOREIGN VOCABULARY). Although there is no irrefutable evidence that the name ʿĪsā was in use in pre-Islamic times (see PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QURʾĀN), there was a monastery in Syria which may have been known as the *ʿĪsāniyya* as early as 571 C.E. (Mingana, Syriac influence, 84; see SYRIAC AND THE QURʾĀN; MONASTICISM AND MONKS).

While many Muslim scholars entertain the possibility that the qurʾānic form of Jesus' name reflects the usage of certain Christians in Muḥammad's milieu, others maintain that ʿĪsā was, in fact, the original form of Jesus' name. Sarwat Anis al-Assiouty (*Jésus,* 110-19) champions this view. Among the arguments which he adduces, the following merit consideration:

1) If Jesus' original name had been *Yēshūaʿ,* the final *ʿayin* would have been retained in Aramaic sources which mention him. In the Talmud, however, he is called *Yēshū*.

2) In Matthew 1:21, the angel states that it is Jesus himself, not Yahweh, who will save his people. Thus, far from supporting the derivation of *Iesous* from *Yeshuaʿ,* this biblical verse militates against it.

3) Josephus used the Greek name *Iēsous* to denote three people mentioned in the Bible whose Hebrew names were not *Yēshūaʿ, Yᵉhōshūaʿ* or *Yᵉhōshuaʿ*. They were Saul's son *Yishwī* (Anglicized as "Ishvi" in the RSV of I Samuel 14:49), the Levite *Abīshūaʿ* (mentioned in I Chronicles 6:4, etc.) and *Yishwah* the son of Asher (Anglicized as "Ishva" in the RSV of Genesis 46:17).

4) Around the middle of the second century, Justin Martyr penned his famous *Dialogue with Trypho the Jew*. Justin, a Christian who wrote in Greek and knew no Hebrew, argued at length that the Old Testament story of Joshua should be interpreted typologically as referring to Jesus. Under his influence, most Christians subsequently assumed that Jesus' Hebrew name must have been the same as Joshua's.

5) Jesus' name should be derived ultimately from the Hebrew verb *ʿāsā,* "to do," which also means "to bring about" in the sense of effecting a deliverance. This etymology would make better sense of Matthew 1:21 than the assumption that his Hebrew name was *Yēshūaʿ*. Moreover, in the first centuries of the Christian era, Nabatean pilgrims inscribed the name *ʿs* on rocks in the region of Sinai, and the name is also found in inscriptions in southern Arabia and the region between Syria

(q.v.) and Jordan (see ARCHAEOLOGY AND THE QUR'ĀN).

None of al-Assiouty's arguments is decisive and some of them are unsound. The Talmudic *Yēshū* may be a deliberate deformation of Jesus' name to ensure that his memory would be blotted out. Matthew 1:21 should be read in conjunction with Matthew 1:23, where Jesus is identified as Emmanuel, "God with us"; from the evangelist's viewpoint, therefore, it would have been entirely appropriate for his name to mean "Yahweh saves." Although Josephus furnishes important evidence for the wide variety of Hebrew names represented in Greek by *Iēsous,* it is noteworthy that none of these names begins with an *ʿayin*. Justin Martyr elaborated the Joshua/Jesus typology but he did not invent it; it was already implicit in Hebrews 4:8. It is true that the Hebrew verb *ʿāsā,* "to do," can mean "to bring about" in the sense of effecting a deliverance. In biblical passages where it has this latter meaning, however, the subject is invariably Yahweh (Brown et al., *Hebrew and English lexicon,* 795). Moreover, as the verb is not Aramaic and is not certainly found in south Semitic languages (ibid., 793) it is not relevant to the interpretation of the pre-Islamic inscriptions which the author mentions.

According to al-Rāghib al-Iṣfahānī (fl. fifth/eleventh cent.), some authorities took ʿĪsā to be an Arabic name and derived it from *ʿays,* "a stallion's urine" (Jefferey, *For. vocab.,* 219). As urine was used to bleach clothes, this bizarre suggestion probably arose among interpreters who were familiar with the tradition that Jesus' disciples were fullers. The *Lisān al-ʿArab* mentions two other Arabic derivations: from *ʿayas,* "a reddish whiteness," or from *ʿaws,* the verbal noun of *ʿawasa,* "to roam about." The former should perhaps be explained in the light of the ḥadīth (SEE ḤADĪTH AND THE QUR'ĀN) in which the Prophet describes Jesus as "ruddy *(aḥmar)* as if he had just come from the bath." The latter is probably linked with attempts to derive Jesus' title *al-Masīḥ* from *masaḥa,* "to pace" or "to survey." Ṭabāṭabā'ī (d. 1982) favors a tradition which derives *ʿĪsa* from *yaʿīsh,* "he lives," because the name of Zechariah's (q.v.) son, Yaḥyā (John; see JOHN THE BAPTIST), likewise has this meaning, and because in Q 3 the two births are announced in similar fashion. Nevertheless, several classical philologists thought that ʿĪsā was a Hebrew or Syriac name that had been Arabicized and this view was endorsed by a number of classical commentators (for a recent analysis in which a misreading of the unpointed Arabic is suggested, see Bellamy, Textual criticism, 6; see ARABIC LANGUAGE; ARABIC SCRIPT; COLLECTION OF THE QUR'ĀN).

By way of conclusion, it is worth summarizing the salient features of the debate about the origins of the qur'ānic form of Jesus' name. It is not certain that Jesus' original name was *Yēshūaʿ*. The view that it was, and that it connoted that he was the Savior, cannot be traced back to earlier than around 80 C.E., the time when Hebrews and Matthew were written. In any case, ʿĪsā, the qur'ānic form of his name, has no such connotations. The attempts to derive that form from an Arabic root are, however, far-fetched and show, if anything, that it had no obvious associations for the native speaker of Arabic. It is just possible that ʿĪsā was actually Jesus' original name, although it seems more likely that it is an Arabicized form of the name current among Syriac-speaking Christians as was recognized by a number of classical authorities. This Arabicized form may be pre-Islamic but there is no compelling evidence that it is. Nor are there grounds for thinking that its purpose is polemical.

References to Jesus as "the son of Mary" and "the Messiah"

The expression "the son of Mary" is attested twenty-three times. By itself, it occurs in only two Meccan verses: Q 43:57 and Q 23:50. In the other instances, which are all Medinan, it is invariably preceded by "Jesus," "the Messiah" or "the Messiah Jesus."

An Arabic name *(ism)* is often followed by a familial attribution *(nasab),* "the son of X." Moreover, the *nasab* may also be employed in isolation. Thus as regards its position, form and employment, "the son of Mary" resembles a *nasab*. In a *nasab,* however, X is normally the name of the person's father. Very occasionally, one encounters a *nasab* in which X denotes the person's mother; for example, "the son of the Byzantine woman," "the son of the blue-eyed woman," or "the son of the daughter of al-Aʿazz" (Schimmel, *Islamic names,* 9). Note, however, that in these examples X is not the mother's name but a *nasab* indicating her place of origin, a nickname drawing attention to one of her distinguishing features or her own *nasab*. This last type of *nasab* is employed when the maternal family is more distinguished than the paternal line: for instance the Aʿazz in the above-mentioned example was a vizier.

Because there is no exact parallel to the expression "the son of Mary," its origin and significance are disputed. It is attested only once in the New Testament, in Mark 6:3, where Jesus' townsfolk say, "Is not this the carpenter the son of Mary?" Some interpreters think this biblical passage merely implies that Mary was a widow whereas others detect an insult: a hint that Jesus was perhaps illegitimate. Neither explanation suits the qurʾānic context because Joseph is not mentioned in the Qurʾān, and among the Arabs an illegitimate child was called Ibn Abīhi, "son of his father." Nor need it be supposed that the Qurʾān imitated the usage of the Ethiopic church (*pace* Bishop, The son of Mary) for it is unlikely that Ethiopian Christians called Jesus "the son of Mary" (Parrinder, *Jesus,* 25-6) and although the Qurʾān contains a number of Ethiopic loan words they occur mostly in Medinan sūras. In the opinion of the present writer, during the Meccan period the expression was used merely for ease of reference. Bearing in mind that in the earliest reference to Jesus (Q 19:16-33) the principal character was Mary, with Jesus figuring as her unnamed child, the brief allusions to Jesus as Mary's son in the subsequent revelations concerning Jesus (those in Q 43 and 23) are entirely understandable. In the Medinan period, however, many of the revelations about Jesus were concerned with countering Christian claims about him. Hence, the expression "the son of Mary" took on polemical overtones; it was an implicit reminder that Jesus is not the son of God as the Christians allege (also, some suggest implausibly a reflection of Trinitarian doctrines with Mary as the mother of God; see TRINITY). The classical commentators do not distinguish between the Meccan and Medinan usage. They interpret the expression as a counter-thrust to Christian claims but also regard it as an honorific title because of the high status that the Qurʾān ascribes to Mary (see WOMEN AND THE QURʾĀN; GENDER).

The term "the Messiah" (al-Masīḥ) is attested eleven times and is found only in Medinan revelations. It occurs by itself three times; followed by "the son of Mary" five times; and followed by "Jesus the son of Mary" three times. There can be little doubt that it is derived ultimately from the Hebrew *Māshīaḥ,* which means "anointed" or "Messiah." In ancient Israel, kings and priests were consecrated by anointing their

heads with oil. After the Babylonian exile, there arose in some circles expectations of a future ideal Davidic ruler, God's anointed par excellence, an eschatological figure who would usher in an age of peace. Whereas the Jews maintain that this Messiah is yet to come, Christians claim that Jesus had this God-given role and that he was wrongly killed but will return in glory. In the Greek New Testament, *Messias,* the Hellenized transliteration of the Hebrew word, occurs only twice (John 1:41; 4:25). The New Testament writers showed a marked preference for the literal Greek translation *Christos,* "Christ." According to one tradition, Jesus was instituted as the Messiah when God anointed *(echrisen)* him with the Holy Spirit at his baptism (Acts 10:38; cf. Luke 1:15-22; 4:17-21). He is, however, frequently referred to as *Iēsous Christos,* "Jesus Christ," or *Christos Iēsous,* "Christ Jesus," almost as if *Christos* were an additional name rather than a title.

Arabic lexicographers regarded al-Masīḥ as a *laqab,* or nickname, and attempted to give it an Arabic etymology. Al-Fīrūzabādī (d. 817/1415) claimed to have heard no less than fifty-six explanations of this sort (Lane, 2714). Only those most frequently encountered in the classical commentaries will be mentioned here. It was widely held that it was derived from the verb *masaḥa,* which occurs five times in the Qurʾān: four times in instructions on performing ablutions by "wiping" various parts of the body with water (Q 5:6) or clean earth (Q 4:43; 5:6; see CLEANLINESS AND ABLUTION; RITUAL PURITY) and once in a reference to Solomon's (q.v.) "stroking" his horses (Q 38:33). Most of those who took this line thought that *masīḥ* was an adjective with the force of a passive participle and meant "touched" or "anointed." They variously suggested that Jesus was given this nickname because he was touched by Gabriel's (q.v.) wing at birth to protect him from Satan (see DEVIL); because he was anointed with oil, as were all the prophets; or because he was anointed with God's blessing (q.v.; cf. Q 19:31). Others held that *masīḥ* was an adjective with the force of an active participle. They claimed that he was given the nickname because he laid hands on the sick and healed them (see ILLNESS AND HEALTH); or because he washed men from their faults and sins (see SIN, MAJOR AND MINOR). This last explanation was generally frowned on because the Qurʾān insists on individual responsibility and denies that a person can count on anyone but God to save him (Q 2:286; 6:70; see FORGIVENESS; INTERCESSION; FREEDOM AND PREDESTINATION; SALVATION). Finally, there were those who maintained that although *masīḥ* had the force of an active participle it was derived not from *masaḥa* but from *sāḥa,* a verb meaning to travel about in the cause of religion (Q 9:2; see JOURNEY) and hence to be devout (Q 9:112; 66:5; see also FASTING). They alleged that Jesus received this nickname because of his itinerant lifestyle (see further Arnaldez, *Jésus fils de Marie,* 84-7).

The explanation why the lexicographers exercised such ingenuity in trying to account for the qurʾānic term, and why they put forward such diverse explanations, is that a *laqab* may be bestowed for a whole range of reasons. There are *laqab*s that are honorific titles but there are others that merely indicate a person's trade or physical characteristics so as to help identify him. Despite the *prima facie* plausibility of the etymologies mentioned above, however, it should be noted that those which seem to indicate qualities that Jesus shared with other prophets do not do justice to the fact that he alone is called al-Masīḥ in the Qurʾān. It seems likely that the first hearers of the revelations would have been aware that al-Masīḥ was a dignified title which the Christians held was uniquely applica-

ble to Jesus. Nevertheless, the qurʾānic title does not have precisely the same connotations as "Messiah" or "Christ" in the New Testament. Several of the New Testament writers stressed that Jesus was the Davidic Messiah, and two of them furnished genealogies tracing his "descent" from David through Joseph, despite the fact that they apparently believed in the virginal conception (Matthew 1:1-16, Luke 3:23-8). In the Qurʾān, on the other hand, the link between Jesus and David (q.v.) is tenuous (Q 5:78); Mary's betrothal to Joseph is not mentioned; and what is stressed is Jesus' descent from Adam (see ADAM AND EVE) via Noah (q.v.), Abraham (q.v.), ʿImrān (q.v.) and Mary (Q 3:33-45).

Jesus' conception and infancy and the description of him as "word" and "spirit"

In Q 19 God recounts that, while Mary was in seclusion, he sent his spirit to her in the form of a man who announced that, despite being a virgin, she would conceive a boy-child by divine decree (Q 19:16-21); that she conceived and withdrew to a remote place where her labor pains drove her in despair to the trunk of a palm tree (Q 19:22-3; see DATE PALM); that after she had given birth, her baby told her to refresh herself from the ripe dates and a stream which God had miraculously provided (Q 19:24-6); and that when she returned to her people he spoke up in her defense (Q 19:27-33). Q 3 includes a similar account of the annunciation (Q 3:42-7), although here God's agent is described as "the angels." Q 3 and 5 both allude to Jesus' speaking in the cradle (Q 3:46; 5:110).

In the biblical version of the annunciation, God's agent is named as Gabriel rather than the spirit (q.v.; Luke 1:26). Some Christians, however, may have regarded them as identical on the basis of Tatian's gospel harmony, the *Diatesseron,* in which Luke's account of the annunciation is followed immediately by Matthew's report of how Mary was found to be with child by the Holy Spirit. The miracle of the palm tree and the stream is mentioned in the Latin *Gospel of pseudo-Matthew;* and, according to the *Arabic infancy gospel* Jesus spoke while still a child in the cradle. Although these two apocryphal writings post-date the rise of Islam, Christians in Muḥammad's audience were probably familiar with the episodes to which they refer. The Qurʾān's reference to Mary's labor pains, on the other hand, may have been intended to counter the Christian belief in Jesus' divinity and Mary's perpetual virginity.

Most commentators identify the spirit who was sent to Mary as Gabriel, on the grounds that both designations appear to be used interchangeably elsewhere for the revelatory angel (Q 2:97; 16:102; 26:193; see REVELATION AND INSPIRATION). Gerock (*Versuch,* 36-46) claims that the Qurʾān regards Gabriel as Jesus' father. This interpretation can be ruled out because the Qurʾān defends Mary against the charge of unchastity (Q 4:156; see CHASTITY), although some of the classical commentators suggest that the effect of Gabriel's sudden appearance in human form was to arouse Mary's desire, as in an erotic dream, and thereby facilitate the descent of the maternal fluid into her womb (Robinson, *Christ,* 161, 187).

In Q 23:50, God states that he set the son of Mary and his mother as a sign (see SIGNS) and that he sheltered them on a hilltop "where there was both a cool place and a spring" *(dhāti qarārin wa-maʿīnin).* The suggestion made by some Christian authors that this is an allusion to the assumption of Mary which allegedly took place on a hill in Ephesus, is wide of the mark. The verse seems rather to refer back to the circumstances surrounding Jesus' birth, which were mentioned in Q 19 where Mary was

instructed to drink from a stream that appeared miraculously (Q 19:24-6; see SPRINGS AND FOUNTAINS). There is even a verbal echo of the infant Jesus' words to her, "refresh yourself," literally "cool your eye" (*qarrī ʿaynan*, Q 19:26). Other verses in Q 23 deny that God has taken a son (Q 23:91) and warn against appealing to another deity beside him (Q 23:117). It is clear therefore that neither Jesus nor Mary is to be regarded as a divine being. Together, however, they constitute a "sign:" probably a reference to the virginal conception, which, like the miraculous creation (q.v.) of the first man, points to God's power to raise the dead (compare Q 23:12-6; see DEATH AND THE DEAD; BIOLOGY AS THE CREATION AND STAGES OF LIFE).

Q 21:91-3 alludes to Mary and her son without naming them. Here, too, they are said to constitute a sign. The only new element is God's statement that she "guarded her chastity (*farjahā*, literally, her opening) so we breathed into her *(fīhā)* of our spirit" (Q 21:91). An almost identical statement occurs in Q 66:12, the only difference being that there God says that he breathed "into it" *(fīhi)*, "it" presumably being Mary's *farj*. In both instances, the probable reference is to God's creating life in her womb without her having sexual intercourse. Similar language is used elsewhere to describe how he gave life to the first man (Q 15:29; 32:9; 38:72). Some of the classical commentators, however, assumed that "our spirit" in Q 21:91 and 66:12 denoted Gabriel, as in Q 19:17. They therefore reasoned that Mary literally "guarded her opening" from Gabriel on the specific occasion of the annunciation and debated whether the reference was to her vulva (the usual meaning of *farj*) or to an aperture in her clothing. They cited reports alleging that she conceived after he blew up her skirt, down the neck of her chemise, into her sleeve or into her mouth (Robinson, Fakhr al-Dīn, 15).

There are two Medinan verses which clearly state that Jesus is God's word (see WORD OF GOD), namely Q 3:45 and Q 4:171. Moreover, it is sometimes held that Q 3:39 and 19:34 (a Medinan passage in Q 19) also imply this. As the context of these verses is Jesus' conception, birth and infancy, it is appropriate to discuss them at this point. Christian apologists often argue that they echo the teaching of John's Gospel, which states that God's divine Word *(logos)*, which was with him in the beginning and through whom he created all things, became flesh in Jesus Christ (John 1:1-18). We shall see, however, that although the Qurʾān calls Jesus "a word from God" it does not endorse the orthodox Christian view that he was the incarnation of a pre-existent divine hypostasis.

Q 3:39 recalls that the angels announced to Zechariah the good news (q.v.) of the forthcoming birth of John, who would "confirm the truth of a word from God." Arabic does not distinguish between upper and lower case letters, but as *kalima* lacks the definite article it should probably be rendered "word" rather than "Word." The classical commentators generally assumed that the "word" in question was Jesus. They cited a number of traditions in support of this, including one from Ibn ʿAbbās, which relates how John bowed down in reverence before Jesus when they were both babes in their mothers' wombs. Although some of the early philologists argued that in this context *kalima* denotes a "book" or "scripture," the traditional interpretation is preferable in view of Q 3:45, which recalls how the angels told Mary: "God announces to you good news of a word from him; his name will be the Messiah Jesus son of Mary…." Here *kalima* clearly refers to Jesus and, as the annuncia-

tion to Mary is the structural homologue of the earlier annunciation to Zechariah, it seems likely that *kalima* refers to Jesus there as well. Nevertheless, it should be noted that, whereas *kalima* is a feminine noun, the pronominal suffix attached to "name" is masculine. Thus the name "the Messiah Jesus son of Mary" is attributed to the male person indicated by the word, rather than to the word itself. Elsewhere in the Qurʾān *kalima* usually denotes a divine decree, and this seems also to be the case here. The classical commentators argued convincingly that Jesus is called a "word" primarily because, as was also the case with Adam, God brought him into existence merely by uttering the command "Be!" as is stated a few verses later in Q 3:59 (see COSMOLOGY).

Q 4:171 is more overtly polemical. The People of the Book (q.v.) are ordered not to exaggerate in their religion and to speak nothing except the truth about God. The Messiah Jesus son of Mary was only God's envoy (see MESSENGER) and "his word which he cast unto Mary" and a spirit from him. Here, Jesus and the "word" are even more closely associated because the verb "cast" is followed by the redundant feminine object pronoun. Nevertheless, as there is no suggestion that Jesus was God's sole envoy and, as "spirit" is indefinite, "his word" should probably be construed as "a word of his," without any implication of uniqueness. In any case, the polemical context and the insistence that Jesus is *only* an envoy, word and spirit, should caution Christian apologists from interpreting *kalima* in the light of orthodox Christian *logos* theology.

Q 19:34 contains the word *qawl*, which can mean either "word" or "statement." Two of the seven readers (see READINGS OF THE QURʾĀN), ʿĀṣim in Kūfa and Ibn ʿĀmir in Damascus, vocalized the crucial expression as *qawla l-ḥaqqi*, giving *qawl* an accusative ending. This is the reading found in Flügel's text and in the standard Egyptian edition of the Qurʾān, which are the basis of most English translations. If it is accepted, the expression introduces an exclamation and the verse should be rendered: "That is Jesus son of Mary — statement of the truth concerning which they are in doubt!" In which case, "statement of the truth" simply refers to the previous story and has no bearing on the qurʾānic teaching about Jesus as a word from God. The other five readers, however, favored *qawlu l-ḥaqqi*, with *qawl* in the nominative. This reading, which may well be the more original, can be construed in two ways: either as the predicate of a sentence whose subject has been omitted, namely "[It is] a statement of the truth" or as a nominal phrase in apposition to Jesus, namely "Word of Truth." In view of the fact that this verse is part of a highly polemical Medinan addition to the sūra and that the next verse denies that God has taken a son, the former interpretation seems the more probable.

The understanding of Jesus as God's word in the minimalist sense that he was brought into existence by God's command is in line with the teaching of the Nestorian Christians (O'Shaugnessy, *Word*, 24) as is the Qurʾān's stress on the similarity of the virginal conception and the creation of Adam (Robinson, *Christ*, 156-7). The statement that he was both a word and a "spirit" *(rūḥ)* from God (Q 4:171) is more difficult to interpret in view of the range of meanings ascribed to spirit in the Qurʾān. It may, however, reflect a thought-world akin to that of Psalm 33:6, where God's creative word and breath (Hebrew *rūach*) are treated as synonyms because an utterance is invariably accompanied by outbreathing.

His status and mission

The Qurʾān emphatically denies that Jesus was God, a subsidiary deity or the son of God (e.g. Q 5:17, 72, 116; 9:30; see POLYTHEISM AND ATHEISM). He was merely a "servant" (q.v.) of God (Q 4:172; 19:30; 43:59) and was required to pray and to pay alms (*zakāt,* Q 19:31; see ALMSGIVING; PRAYER). He and his mother needed to eat food (Q 5:75; see FOOD AND DRINK) and God could destroy them both if he wished (Q 5:17). He was nonetheless a "mercy (q.v.) from God" (Q 19:21), a "prophet" (*nabī,* Q 19:30) and an "envoy" (*rasūl,* Q 3:49, 53; 4:171; 5:75, 61:6), "eminent" in this world and the hereafter (see ESCHATOLOGY) and "one of those brought near" (Q 3:45).

Although Jesus was a sign for humanity as a whole (Q 19:21), his specific mission was to the Children of Israel (q.v.; e.g. Q 3:49; 43:59). God taught him the Torah (q.v.) and the Gospel (Q 3:48; 5:110) and supported him with the Holy Spirit (Q 2:87, 253; 5:110) — possibly an allusion to his baptism (q.v.) but most commentators assume that the reference is to Gabriel. Jesus attested the truth of what was in the Torah (Q 3:50; 5:46; 61:6); made lawful some of the things that were forbidden to the Children of Israel in his day (Q 3:50; see LAWFUL AND UNLAWFUL; FORBIDDEN); clarified some of the things that they disagreed about (Q 43:63); and urged them to worship God alone (e.g. Q 5:117). Like David before him, he cursed those of his people who disbelieved (Q 5:78).

He is credited with a number of miracles including creating birds from clay; healing a blind person and a leper; raising the dead; and telling the Children of Israel what they ate and what they stored in their houses (Q 3:49; 5:110). The miracle of the birds is mentioned in the apocryphal *Infancy Gospel of Thomas,* and the healings and resuscitations correspond to those narrated in the canonical gospels. From the qurʾānic perspective, however, none of these miracles implies that he possessed divine status or supernatural power; they were simply God-given signs of the authenticity of his mission, "clear proofs" which the unbelievers nevertheless dismissed as sorcery (Q 5:110; 61:6; see PROOF; BELIEF AND UNBELIEF).

A further miracle attributed to Jesus is that, at the request of his disciples, he asked God to send down "a table (q.v.) spread with food" (Q 5:112-5). The Arabic word translated by this phrase is *māʾida.* The lexicographers derived it from the verb *māda,* "to feed," but it is probably an Ethiopic loanword for it resembles the term used by Abyssinian Christians to denote the eucharistic table. Moreover, as Jesus speaks of the table as a "festival" for his disciples, there can be little doubt that the episode describes the institution of the Eucharist at the Last Supper; but, in accordance with traditional Christian typology, it appears to have conflated the Last Supper with the gospel feeding miracles and the Hebrew Bible story of how God sent down manna to the Israelites in the wilderness. Although the Qurʾān seems at this point to acknowledge the legitimacy of a specifically Christian ritual that originated with Jesus, the next verse makes clear that Jesus did not instruct people to worship him and his mother (Q 5:116). Moreover, the ritual is not linked with Jesus' atoning death. On the contrary, as God punishes whom he wills and forgives whom he wills, there can be no question of the participants enjoying a special status or gaining immunity from punishment (Q 5:18, 115; see REWARD AND PUNISHMENT).

The Qurʾān recognizes that God granted special favors to some of the envoys who preceded Muḥammad, in the case of Jesus by supporting him with the Holy Spirit and enabling him to perform miracles

(Q 2:253). Moreover, it singles out Noah, Abraham, Moses and Jesus as prophets with whom God established a strong covenant (q.v.; Q 33:7; compare 42:13). It urges the Muslims, however, to believe in all of God's envoys and not make a distinction between them (Q 2:136, 285; 3:84; 4:152) because they all taught essentially the same religion. Thus Jesus' name also figures in more extensive lists of messengers (Q 4:163; 6:84-6).

From the qurʾānic perspective, like the other envoys, Jesus was a precursor of Muḥammad. This is underscored in three ways. First, Jesus and Muḥammad are depicted as having had similar experiences. For instance, both were sent as a "mercy," both needed to eat food, both had "helpers" (*anṣār,* see APOSTLE; EMIGRANTS AND HELPERS) and both were suspected of sorcery (Robinson, *Christ,* 36-8; see INSANITY; SOOTHSAYERS; MAGIC). Second, God informs Muḥammad that he has inspired him in the same way as he inspired his predecessors including Jesus (Q 4:163; 42:13). Third, Jesus is said to have foretold the coming of an envoy called Aḥmad (Q 61:6), the heavenly name of Muḥammad.

The plot to kill him, his exaltation and future descent

According to Islamic tradition, when the Jews sought to kill Jesus, God outwitted them by projecting his likeness onto someone else whom they mistakenly crucified. Meanwhile, he caused Jesus to ascend to the second or third heaven (see HEAVEN AND SKY), where he is still alive. Jesus will return to kill the Antichrist (q.v.), and after a forty-year reign of peace he will eventually die and be buried in Medina (see APOCALYPSE). On the day of resurrection (q.v.), he will be a witness against the unbelieving People of the Book. It is questionable whether the qurʾānic data provides sufficiently solid foundations to bear the weight of this construction.

In Q 19 the child Jesus speaks of the day of his birth, the day he will die, and the day he will be raised alive (Q 19:33). From the similar statement about John (Q 19:15), and from subsequent verses that deal with eschatology (Q 19:37-9, 66), it has been inferred that Jesus will be raised alive at the general resurrection. There is not the slightest hint, however, that his death also lies in the future. On the contrary, given only this sūra, the assumption would be that it already lay in the past like John's.

Q 43 includes the cryptic assertion that "he" or "it" (the pronominal suffix *-hu* could mean either) is "knowledge for the hour" (Q 43:61). The classical commentators mention three traditional interpretations: (i) Jesus' future descent is a portent which will signal that the hour is approaching, (ii) the Qurʾān imparts knowledge concerning the resurrection and judgment (see LAST JUDGMENT), and (iii) Jesus' raising of the dead by divine permission brings knowledge that God has the power to raise the dead (Robinson, *Christ,* 90-3). Instead of *ʿilm,* "knowledge," Ibn ʿAbbās (d. ca. 67/686), Qatāda (d. ca. 117/735), and al-Ḍaḥḥāk (d. 115/723) allegedly read *ʿalam,* "sign, distinguishing mark," which would strengthen the case for the first interpretation, whereas Ubayy (see COMPANIONS OF THE PROPHET) allegedly read *dhikr,* "reminder," which would seem to lend weight to the second (see EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL). As Jesus is the subject of verse 59 and verse 63, it is probably he, rather than the Qurʾān, who is the subject of verse 61. Additionally, in view of the predominant concern with eschatology in verses 65-78, it seems likely that verse 61 alludes to Jesus' future descent rather than to his miraculous raising of the dead. Nevertheless, there is nothing to indicate that his future

descent requires him to have been spared death on the cross.

Q 3 contains two consecutive verses which have a bearing on this topic. First there is a reference to Jesus' unbelieving opponents, "And they plotted and God plotted, and God is the best of plotters" (Q 3:54). This is followed by a statement about what God said to him, "When God said, 'Jesus, I am going to receive you and raise you to myself…' " (Q 3:55). Muslim commentators usually assume that both verses refer to the same incident, namely the Jews' plot against Jesus' life and God's counter-plot to rescue him by having them crucify a look-alike substitute. Although there may be a close link between the two verses, the staccato nature of much qurʾānic narrative should be a caution against supposing that this is necessarily the case. Therefore each verse will be considered in turn.

The verb *makara,* "to plot, plan or scheme," and its derivatives, occur in thirteen sūras spanning Nöldeke's second and third Meccan periods, and in Q 8 and 3 which are Medinan. When human beings are the subject of this verb, they are usually unbelievers who plot against specific envoys of God including Noah (Q 71:22), Ṣāliḥ (q.v.; Q 27:50), Moses (Q 40:45), and Muḥammad (Q 8:30; 13:42), or against God's signs (Q 10:21) thereby hindering others from believing (Q 34:33). When God is the subject of the verb, the reference is invariably to his counter-plot, but the emphasis may be on his rescue of the envoy (Q 8:30; see PROTECTION), the immediate punishment of the unbelievers (Q 7:99, 27:50 f.; see CHASTISEMENT AND PUNISHMENT; PUNISHMENT STORIES), the recording of their misdeeds (Q 10:21; see RECORD OF HUMAN ACTIONS) or their eventual punishment in the hereafter (Q 13:42). Hence, in Q 3:54 the unbelievers' plot could have been an attempt on Jesus' life — either the final plot to kill him or one which took place earlier in his ministry (see Q 5:110, compare Luke 4:30 and John 8:59) — or an attempt to subvert his message. God's counter-plot could have entailed his rescue of Jesus, but it might equally well have been his punishment of the Jews by destroying Jerusalem (q.v.), or his preservation of Jesus' monotheistic teaching. It is true that Noah, Ṣāliḥ and Moses were all rescued by God and that the Qurʾān warns against thinking that he would fail his envoys (Q 14:47), which seems to strengthen the case for thinking that Q 3:54 implies that Jesus was delivered from death. On the other hand, the same sūra explicitly mentions the possibility of Muḥammad dying or being killed (Q 3:144) and states that the Muslims who were killed at Uḥud (see EXPEDITIONS AND BATTLES; FIGHTING; JIHĀD) are not dead but "alive with their lord" (Q 3:169). Thus Jesus' death, ostensibly at the hands of his enemies, cannot be ruled out on the basis of Q 3:54.

The interpretation of Q 3:55 hinges on the meaning of the present participle of the verb *tawaffā* (Robinson, *Christ,* 117-26), which was rendered above as "going to receive." The finite verb is attested twenty-two times and the imperative three times. When God is the subject it can mean to receive souls in their sleep (q.v.; Q 6:60; 39:42) but it more frequently means "cause to die." As this latter meaning is attested in Q 3:193 and as the Qurʾān uses the verb in other sūras when speaking about Muḥammad's death (Q 10:46; 13:40; 40:77), there is a *prima facie* case for construing God's words to Jesus to mean that he was going to cause him to die and raise him into his presence. Most of the classical commentators, however, took them to mean that he would cause Jesus to sleep and to ascend in that condition or that he would snatch him

alive from the earth. The minority, who conceded that the participle does mean "cause to die," nevertheless denied that Jesus was crucified. Some of them argued that the order of the verbs is inverted for stylistic reasons and that, although God has already caused Jesus to ascend, his death still lies in the future. Others held that God caused him to die a normal death, while his substitute was being crucified, and that he then caused him to ascend.

In Q 4, the Jews are criticized for boasting that they killed Jesus (Q 4:157-9). The interpretation of this passage poses a number of problems (Robinson, *Christ,* 78-89, 106-11, 127-41). First, there is the statement, "They did not kill him or crucify him." Traditionally, Muslim interpreters have held that this is a categorical denial of Jesus' death by crucifixion. It may simply mean, however, that although the Jews thought that they had killed Jesus, Muslims should not think of him as dead because, from the qurʾānic perspective, he is alive with God like the martyrs of Uḥud (Q 3:169, see above; see MARTYR).

The second problem centers on the clause *wa-lākin shubbiha lahum* (Q 4:157). Most of the classical commentators understood it to mean "but he [i.e. the person whom they killed] was made to resemble [Jesus] for them." In support of this they cited traditional accounts of how God projected Jesus' likeness (Arabic *shibh*) onto someone else. These accounts, however, are unreliable for they differ over the identity of the person in question, some saying that he was a loyal disciple of Jesus who volunteered to die in his place, others that he was Judas Iscariot or one of the men sent to arrest Jesus. The non-standard interpretation that regards the verb as impersonal and construes the clause as "but it was made to seem like that to them" avoids the need to identify any person onto whom Jesus' identity was projected.

A third problem is posed by the words "God raised him to himself" (Q 4:158). The verb is *rafaʿa* (compare the use of the participle *rāfiʿ* in the similar context in Q 3:55). The classical commentators invariably took it to mean that God caused Jesus to ascend bodily into the second or third heaven where Muḥammad allegedly saw him on the night of the *miʿrāj* (see ASCENSION). It is arguable, however, that it is simply a graphic way of saying that God honored him, for elsewhere the same verb is used to denote God's raising envoys in rank (e.g. Q 2:253), his exalting Muḥammad's reputation (Q 94:4) and the ascent of good works into his presence (Q 35:10; see GOOD DEEDS).

The final problem is the ambiguity of the words "his death" in Q 4:159. The classical commentators mentioned two principal interpretations: either it refers to the death of each individual Jew and Christian, because immediately before their death they will recognize the truth about Jesus, or it refers to Jesus' death, because he is still alive and all the People of the Book will believe in him when he descends to kill the Antichrist. A good case can be made for the former interpretation on syntactical grounds, for the whole sentence constitutes an oath used as a threat (see LANGUAGE AND STYLE OF THE QURʾĀN). Moreover, the reading "their death," which is attributed to Ubayy, supports this interpretation. Owing to the influence of the ḥadīths about Jesus' future descent, however, the view that the verse referred to Jesus' death gained widespread support.

The assertion that Jesus will be a witness against the People of the Book (Q 4:159) is unproblematic and accords with the qurʾānic teaching that God will raise a witness against every community (Q 16:89).

In Q 5:117, Jesus says to God, "I was a witness over them while I dwelt among them, and when you received me you were the watcher over them." The word rendered 'you received' is the first person plural perfect of *tawaffā*, a verb whose meaning was discussed earlier in connection with Q 3:55. It most probably refers here to Jesus' death or rapture before his exaltation, which already lies in the past. As the statement occurs, however, in a conversation that will take place on the last day, it is just conceivable that it refers to Jesus' future death after his descent to kill the Antichrist.

From the above analysis, it should be obvious that the qurʾānic teaching about Jesus' death is not entirely clear-cut. Three things, however, may be said with certainty. First, the Qurʾān attaches no salvific importance to his death. Second, it does not mention his resurrection on the third day and has no need of it as proof of God's power to raise the dead. Third, although the Jews thought that they had killed Jesus, from God's viewpoint they did not kill or crucify him. Beyond this is the realm of speculation. The classical commentators generally began with the questionable premise that Q 4:157-9 contains an unambiguous denial of Jesus' death by crucifixion. They found confirmation of this in the existence of traditional reports about a look-alike substitute and ḥadīths about Jesus' future descent. Then they interpreted the other qurʾānic references to Jesus' death in the light of their understanding of this one passage. If, however, the other passages are examined without presupposition and Q 4:157-9 is then interpreted in the light of them, it can be read as a denial of the ultimate reality of Jesus' death rather than a categorical denial that he died. The traditional reports about the crucifixion of a look-alike substitute probably originated in circles in contact with Gnostic Christians. They may also owe something to early Shīʿī speculation about the fate of the Imāms (see IMĀM; SHĪʿISM AND THE QURʾĀN).

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Jewels and Gems

see METALS AND MINERALS

Jews and Judaism

Terminology

The Arabic term denoting "Jews" is *yahūd,* which occurs seven times in the Qurʾān. The form *hūd* also denotes the same and appears in this sense three times. The singular, *yahūdī,* occurs once. From *yahūd/hūd* was derived the secondary verb *hāda,* which means "to be a Jew/Jewish." "Those who were Jews" *(hādū)* is mentioned ten times. This verb appears once with the complementary *ilā* (Q 7:156), in which case it denotes "to return to." It is put into the mouth of Moses (q.v.), who says to God: "We have returned *(hudnā)* to you." Obviously, this is a play on *yahūd,* on behalf of whom Moses is speaking here (see Paret, *Kommentar,* ad Q 7:156). Outside the Qurʾān the transitive *hawwada* is used in the sense of "he made him a Jew." The form *yahūdiyya,* which denotes "Judaism," or "the Jewish religion," is also non-qurʾānic (cf. Lane, s.v. *h-w-d*). In addition to *yahūd* and its derivatives, the Qurʾān addresses the Jews as "Children of Israel" (q.v.), which alludes to their ancestral origin. Sometimes the Christians (see CHRISTIANS AND CHRISTIANITY), too, are included in this designation. The Jews are called by this appellation to imply that the fate of the old Children of Israel is continued through their descendants. Apart from the ethnic designations, the Qurʾān addresses the Jews as "People of the Book" (q.v.). This is a religious evaluation of them, and refers to the fact that they had prophets sent to them with revealed scriptures (see BOOK; PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD). The Jews are not the only community with a revealed book. Q 6:156 mentions two par-

ties to whom the book was revealed before the Muslims, and they stand for the Jews and the Christians respectively.

Jews as believers

The image of the qurʾānic Jews is far from uniform (which, as an aside, is true concerning almost any other qurʾānic theme), and the attitude towards them is ambivalent. On the one hand, they are recognized as true believers, while on the other, they are rejected as infidels (see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF; FAITH). As for their image as believers, the passage stating this in the most explicit way is Q 2:62: "Those who have believed and those who have been Jews, and the Christians and the Sabians (q.v.; Ṣābiʾūn), whoever believes in God and in the last day (see LAST JUDGMENT) and does good (see GOOD DEEDS), their reward (see REWARD AND PUNISHMENT) awaits them with their lord (q.v.), and no fear (q.v.) shall be on them, neither shall they sorrow." A divine reward is promised here to the Jews as well as to the other monotheistic communities, provided they remain monotheists believing in God and the last judgment. The same statement is repeated almost verbatim in Q 5:69, but in Q 22:17 a significant change is noticeable. The monotheistic communities are not alone, the Persians (*majūs,* lit. Magians) and the Arab polytheists (*mushrikūn,* see POLYTHEISM AND ATHEISM; IDOLATRY AND IDOLATERS) being mentioned, too. Concerning all of them it is stated that "God will decide between them on the day of resurrection (q.v.)…" No automatic reward is mentioned here, which renders the message to the non-Muslim monotheists more reserved in comparison with the former passages.

Other passages, however, recognize Jews as believers only on the condition that they believe in the concrete Islamic message as represented in the Qurʾān. Jews who did accept the Islamic message are mentioned in several qurʾānic passages, in which, however, they are always an exceptional minority among a majority of sinful Jews. Q 4:162, for instance, refers to "those (of the Jews) who are "firmly rooted in knowledge (see KNOWLEDGE AND LEARNING)," and identifies them as those who believe in the Qurʾān as well as in the scriptures revealed to previous prophets. They are mentioned in contrast to the evil-doing Jews who take usury (q.v.), whom the Qurʾān denounces in the previous verse (see EVIL DEEDS). The same applies to Q 4:46, in which a minority of believers is mentioned among a majority of Jews refusing to obey the qurʾānic Prophet.

Passages employing the appellation "People of the Book" reveal similar nuances. In some verses, the People of the Book are recognized as believers on the mere basis of their monotheism. Most explicit is Q 3:64: "Say: O People of the Book, come to a word (which is) fair between us and you, (to wit) that we serve no one but God, that we associate nothing with him, and that none of us take others as lords beside God." As observed by W.M. Watt (*Muhammad at Medina,* 201), this passage offers the People of the Book a common framework of faith on the basis of monotheism and nothing else. The People of the Book are referred to in Q 16:43 as the people of the "reminder" (*dhikr,* another term for a revealed scripture) and, in this case, they are treated as authoritative experts on prophetic matters. The skeptic listeners of the qurʾānic Prophet are invited to consult them and learn that God indeed may send a mortal messenger (q.v.) as he did in the past. Even the qurʾānic Prophet himself is requested in Q 10:94 to consult "those who have read the book" before him, if he is in doubt concerning his own prophetic revelation. As potential partners in a common

system of monotheistic faith, the dietary laws of the People of the Book were proclaimed acceptable (see FOOD AND DRINK; LAWFUL AND UNLAWFUL; FORBIDDEN), and in one qurʾānic passage (Q 5:5), the Muslims were given permission to eat their food as well as to marry women from among them (see MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE). The Islamic fasting (q.v.) days were also introduced with reference to the fast of the previous communities (Q 2:183). Their places of worship (q.v.), too, are treated favorably in Q 22:40, which seems to refer to synagogues and churches, as well as to mosques (see CHURCH; MOSQUE; SACRED PRECINCTS). The verse states that God has protected them from being pulled down.

But other qurʾānic passages using the label "People of the Book" distinguish between the believers and non-believers among them, the believers being those accepting the qurʾānic message. For example, in Q 3:199 it is stated that "Among the People of the Book are some who believe in God and in what has been sent down to you (i.e. to the qurʾānic Prophet), and in what has been sent down to them, humbling themselves to God…" These believers are again an exceptional minority. This is indicated in Q 3:110, which says that some of the People of the Book are believers, "but most of them are ungodly" (*al-fāsiqūn,* see HYPOCRITES AND HYPOCRISY). The believers among the People of the Book are described in Q 5:66 as a "just nation" *(umma muqtaṣida)* among a majority of evil-doers.

Other passages provide vivid descriptions of the piety (q.v.) of the believers among the People of the Book and of their admiration for the qurʾānic revelation. In Q 3:113-4 they are described as an "upright community, reciting the signs of God (i.e. the Qurʾān; see RECITATION OF THE QURʾĀN) at the drawing on of night, prostrating themselves (see BOWING AND PROSTRATION), believing in God and the last day… and strive with one another in hastening to good deeds." In Q 17:107-9 we read: "Those who were given the knowledge before it (i.e. before the Qurʾān), when it (i.e. the Qurʾān) is recited to them, fall down upon their faces prostrating… and they fall down upon their faces weeping, and it increases them in humility" (see VIRTUES AND VICES). Elsewhere it is asserted that these believers will be rewarded twice over, thanks to their belief in their own revealed scriptures as well as in the Qurʾān (Q 28:52-4).

Jews as sinners

But the Qurʾān is engaged mainly in dealing with the sinners among the Jews and the attack on them is shaped according to models that one encounters in the New Testament. In the latter, the Jews are already accused of having persecuted and murdered their own prophets (Matthew 5:12, 23:30-1; Luke 11:47). The prophets whom they killed are said to have foretold the coming of Jesus (Acts 7:52) and the Jews are said to have persecuted Jesus himself, plotting to kill him (John 7:1; 18:12; Acts 9:29). They are also described as stirring up the gentiles against Jesus' apostles (see APOSTLE) and as conspiring to kill them, too (Acts 13:50; 14:2; 20:3; 26:2). The Jews are further accused of not keeping the Torah (q.v.), which had been given to them (Acts 7:53). The conviction of the Jews that they were God's chosen people is also refuted and it is stressed that God is not only of the Jews but also of the gentiles (Romans 3:29). On the other hand, a group of Jews who believed in the message of the apostles is also mentioned (Acts 14:1).

All these elements recur in the qurʾānic attack on the Jews. To begin with, the Jewish arrogance (q.v.) stemming from the conviction that the people of Israel (q.v.)

were God's chosen nation, is reproved in various ways. In Q 2:111, the Jews, as well as the Christians, are challenged to prove their claim that only they will enter paradise (q.v.). In Q 5:18 the qurʾānic Prophet is requested to refute the idea that the Jews and the Christians were no less than "the sons of God and his beloved ones." The qurʾānic Prophet is requested to tell them that if this were so, God would not have punished them as he did. The arrogant Jews seem also to be referred to in Q 4:49, which speaks about people who consider themselves pure, while only God decides whom to purify. Elsewhere (Q 62:6) it is maintained that if the Jews are really God's favorites, to the exclusion of other people, then they had better die soon. This is a sarcastic response to their unfounded conviction that paradise is in store for them (see also Q 2:94). The same arrogance is attributed to them in verses dubbing them "People of the Book." In these verses they are said to have believed that they would only spend a few days in hell (Q 2:79-80; 3:23-4; see HELL AND HELLFIRE). The Qurʾān replies that they have no monopoly on God's mercy (q.v.) and that God extends it to whom he wills (Q 57:29).

The Jews have lost their right to be considered a chosen people mainly because of their insubordination (see DISOBEDIENCE) and disbelief. The Qurʾān imputes to them the blame of persecuting and killing their own prophets (Q 3:181, 183), a sin that is usually mentioned with allusion to the Children of Israel (Q 2:61, 87, 91; 4:155; 5:70). The Christians, too, share some of the blame because they have rejected the prophets sent to the Jews. This is implied in Q 2:113 where the Jews and the Christians reject each other's religion as a false one. This they do in spite of the fact that they read "the book" which testifies to the relevance of all prophets sent by God. Likewise, in Q 4:151, the Qurʾān condemns unbelievers *(kāfirūn)* who have only believed in some prophets while rejecting others. It seems that the rift between Jews and Christians is also referred to in Q 23:53 (cf. Q 15:90-1), which condemns those who divide their religion into sects (*zubur,* see RELIGIOUS PLURALISM AND THE QURʾĀN; PARTIES AND FACTIONS). Apart from persecuting the prophets, the Jews are blamed for failing to keep the laws of their own Torah. In Q 62:5, those who have been given the Torah but do not act upon its stipulations are likened to an ass carrying books. The Torah, it is said elsewhere, contains guidance and light (q.v.) by which the prophets and the rabbis judged the Jews, but those who do not judge by what God has revealed are unbelievers (Q 5:44; see JUDGMENT; SCHOLAR). Elsewhere they are said to have believed only in parts of the book and to have disbelieved in its other parts (Q 2:85). The Christians, too, are suspected of ignoring their own law as is implied in Q 5:68, in which the People of the Book are warned against failing to observe the Torah and the Gospel (q.v.; *Injīl*). In fact, a party of the People of the Book is accused of deliberate rejection of the scriptures given to them by their prophets. They have cast them behind their backs, yet they expect to be praised for their assumed devotion to the Torah (Q 2:101; 3:187-8). But the Jews, or rather the People of the Book, were also offered a chance to be forgiven, on condition that they started observing the Torah and the Gospel and all of God's revealed scriptures. If they had, God would have blessed them with an abundance of food (Q 5:65-6).

The Qurʾān is also aware of the wrath of God, which resulted in various hardships that the Jews suffered in the course of their history (see TRIAL; PUNISHMENT STORIES). Their rigid dietary laws, for example, which the Qurʾān adopts in a passage

mentioned above, are interpreted elsewhere in the Qurʾān as a punishment from God inflicted on the Jews for oppressing the poor and for taking usury (Q 4:160-1; cf. 6:146; 16:118). The Qurʾān further claims that these restrictions were not yet prescribed in the Torah, in which all kinds of food were still permitted except for that which Israel (see JACOB) prohibited (Q 3:93). Apart from the dietary restrictions, the state of internal friction and discord, which divided the Jews into sects, was also seen as a sign of God's vengeance (Q 5:64; see CORRUPTION; ANGER). The key term conveying the idea of God's anger with the Jews is *ghaḍab,* "wrath." It occurs in a passage (Q 2:90) dealing with the Children of Israel, in which it is stated that they "were laden with wrath upon wrath" for their disbelief. In another verse (Q 5:60), which is addressed to the People of the Book, allusion is made to those whom God has cursed and with whom he has been angry *(ghaḍiba)* and turned into apes and pigs. Transformation into apes recurs elsewhere in the Qurʾān as a punishment inflicted on the Children of Israel for violating the Sabbath (q.v.; Q 2:65; cf. 7:166; see CHATISEMENT AND PUNISHMENT).

The Jewish anti-Islamic sins

In the qurʾānic purview, the sins committed by the Jews with respect to their own scriptures continued into Islamic times, bearing grave anti-Islamic implications. These come out in passages imputing to the Jews the distortion *(taḥrīf)* of the original text of their own sacred scriptures (Q 4:46; 5:13, 41-3; cf. Q 2:75; see SCRIPTURE AND THE QURʾĀN). This seems to be treated indirectly also in Q 2:79, which denounces those "who write the book with their own hands and then they say, 'This is of God,' in order to sell it at a small price…" (see SELLING AND BUYING). It is probably implied here that the Jews sold the believers forged copies of their scriptures (see FORGERY). In one verse (Q 3:78), the act of perversion is oral, performed by people who "twist" the book with their tongues, making the false claim that this is the true form of the book. In this context, the Jews are also accused of playing with (Hebrew?) words that bear a mischievous sense (Q 4:46; cf. Q 2:104). All this is designed to mislead and offend the Muslims and their Prophet. The distortion of the Torah goes hand in hand with the Jewish sin of rejecting those rulings of the qurʾānic Prophet that corresponded to their own laws. After having made him a judge, they refuse to follow his verdict, and the Qurʾān blames them for preferring the legal advice of others (Q 5:41-3; see LAW AND THE QURʾĀN). The Jews are also said to have plotted to conceal from the Muslim believers what God revealed to them, so as not to give the believers arguments which they might use against them (Q 2:76; cf. Q 4:37; 2:42; see DEBATE AND DISPUTATION). The sin of concealment is imputed mainly to the People of the Book (Q 2:146; 3:71). They are said to have made their scriptures into separate writings *(qarāṭīs),* much of which they concealed (Q 6:91). The message of the qurʾānic Prophet reintroduces those parts of the previous scriptures that the People of the Book attempted to conceal (Q 5:15). The Qurʾān promises the sinners guilty of concealment a severe curse (q.v.) from God (Q 2:159), which is the fire (q.v.) of hell (Q 2:174). When accusing the Jews of concealing the Torah, the Qurʾān apparently refers to those parts in their scriptures that foretold the emergence of Muḥammad (q.v.). This is supported by qurʾānic verses asserting that the description of the Islamic Prophet was recorded in the Torah and the Gospel as the "gentile" (*ummī,* see ILLITERACY) Prophet (Q 7:157) and that Jesus (q.v.) knew him as Aḥmad (Q 61:6).

The Jews, or rather the People of the Book, are also accused of rejecting the authenticity of the Qurʾān as the true Word of God (q.v.). On one occasion, they demand that the Prophet produce a book from heaven (Q 4:153; see HEAVENLY BOOK) and they seem to have in mind the written Torah of Moses. Their demand seems to be designed to annoy the Prophet who only receives sporadic oral revelations (see REVELATION AND INSPIRATION; ORALITY; ORALITY AND WRITING IN ARABIA). It implies that the People of the Book do not believe him to be a true prophet. In some other passages, their conduct is the result of sheer envy (q.v.). They are jealous of the believers who have been blessed with God's bounty as this emanates from the Qurʾān that has been given to them (see BLESSING; GRACE). Their rejection of the Islamic scripture out of jealousy has turned them into unbelievers *(kāfirūn)* in the eyes of the Qurʾān (Q 2:89-90, 105). Their frustration is described most vividly in Q 3:119, according to which, whenever the People of the Book meet the believers, they pretend to believe in the Qurʾān, but when they are alone they bite their nails in rage at the believers. Moreover, the jealous People of the Book are said to have tried to make the believers revert to unbelief (Q 2:109; see also Q 3:69, 99-100; 4:54; 5:59). They conspire to achieve this by pretending to believe in the Qurʾān in the morning and by disbelieving in it in the evening (Q 3:72), i.e. they attempt to convey the impression that they only stopped believing in the Qurʾān after having examined it carefully, and not out of spite. The rejection of the Qurʾān by the Jews seems also to be treated in Q 2:97-8. Here, the "enemies of Gabriel" (q.v.) are attacked and tagged as unbelievers *(kāfirūn)*. Implicit here is the idea that the Jews rejected the Qurʾān because it was brought to Muḥammad by the angel Gabriel, whom the Jews considered their enemy. The Qurʾān asserts that Gabriel brought down the Qurʾān by God's will and that whoever is an enemy to any of God's angels (see ANGEL) will be punished by God as an unbeliever. The main polemical argument used in response to the Jewish rejection of the Qurʾān revolves around the idea that this scripture confirms the message of the previous scriptures. This means that the People of the Book must believe in it as well as in their own scriptures. They cannot believe only in some of God's holy books and reject the others (e.g. Q 2:89-91).

The Jews are not just unbelievers but also idolaters. In Q 9:30-1 they are accused of believing that Ezra (q.v.; ʿUzayr) was the son of God, just as the Christians held that the Messiah was the son of God. The Qurʾān reacts to both tenets by asserting that one must associate nothing with God. This implies that the Jews and the Christians are associators *(mushrikūn)*, i.e. they associate idols with God in a polytheistic form of worship. Moreover, in Q 4:51, "those who have been given part of the book," who are probably the Jews, are said to have believed in the Jibt and the Ṭāghūt (cf. Q 5:60), which may imply a kind of idol worship (see IDOLS AND IMAGES).

The gravest aspect of the Jewish anti-Islamic sin is the hostility towards the Muslim believers. In this respect, the Qurʾān differentiates between them and the Christians. This comes out in Q 5:82, which states that the Jews as well as the associators *(alladhīna ashrakū)* are the strongest in enmity against the believers, while the Christians, particularly priests and monks, are the closest in love to the believers (see MONASTICISM AND MONKS). But in Q 3:186, the enemies of the Muslims are identified by the more comprehensive label "People of the Book" and here again they are coupled with the *mushrikūn*. Together they cause the believers to "hear much annoy-

ing talk" *(la-tasmaʿunna)*. Another aspect of the hostility attributed to the People of the Book is revealed in Q 3:75 in which some of them claim that they have no moral obligations with respect to the "gentiles" *(ummiyyīn),* and therefore do not pay their financial debts (see DEBT) back to them. (See also POLEMIC AND POLEMICAL LANGUAGE.)

The dissociation from the Jews

Another aspect of the image of the Jews as enemies of the believers is revealed in passages in which a tendency to dissociate from them, as well as from the Christians, is noticed. To begin with, in Q 5:51, the believers are warned against taking the Jews and the Christians for friends *(awliyāʾ,* see CLIENTS AND CLIENTAGE; FRIENDS AND FRIENDSHIP). It is stressed that the Jews and the Christians are each other's friends, and whoever associates with them becomes one of them. In Q 5:57, a similar injunction is given concerning the People of the Book. It is added that they, as well as the unbelievers *(kuffār),* have taken the religion of the believers for a mockery (q.v.) and a joke, and this is why the believers should not be friendly with them. The People of the Book are dealt with also in Q 42:15, where the qurʾānic Prophet is warned against following their evil inclinations *(ahwāʾ,* see GOOD AND EVIL). Instead of following them, he is directed elsewhere to adhere to the law *(sharīʿa)* that God has given him (Q 45:18). The law is based on what God has revealed to him, i.e. the Qurʾān, and since it confirms the scriptures revealed previously to the Jews and the Christians, the qurʾānic Prophet is requested to judge between the People of the Book according to it. But in so doing he must beware of their evil inclinations and be cautious of them, lest they seduce him from part of what God has revealed to him (Q 5:49).

Other passages draw a sharper distinction between the alternative recommended law and what is defined as the "evil inclination" of the People of the Book. Some of these passages deal with the issue of the direction of prayer (*qibla,* q.v.). In Q 2:145 it is stated that the People of the Book and the Muslims reject each other's *qibla,* and the qurʾānic Prophet is warned not to follow the evil inclinations of the former. Another verse, Q 2:142, indicates that the conflict over the *qibla* started when the Muslims abandoned their original *qibla,* i.e. the one to which the People of the Book were accustomed, and adopted another one, which caused the "foolish people" to wonder what made the believers change their former *qibla.* The final *qibla* sanctioned by the Qurʾān is the one directed towards the sacred mosque (in Mecca). Thus, the alternative *qibla* is Mecca (q.v.), which most probably was designed to replace the Jewish *qibla* of Jerusalem (q.v.), although the latter is never mentioned explicitly in the Qurʾān.

A more dogmatic definition of the recommended substitute for the "evil inclinations" of the Jews and the Christians is provided in Q 2:120. Here, the Jews and the Christians wish for the qurʾānic Prophet to embrace their respective religions, but God tells him to proclaim instead his adherence to the "right course" or "guidance" *(hudā)* of God. The same is repeated in Q 2:135 but the recommended substitute is defined here more concretely as the religion *(milla)* of Abraham (q.v.). The latter is said to have been a *ḥanīf* (q.v.), i.e. a non-Jewish and a non-Christian monotheist. The particularistic insistence on Abraham's non-Jewish and non-Christian identity comes out in explicit statements as, for example, in Q 2:140, where Abraham as well as Ishmael (q.v.), Isaac (q.v.), Jacob and the Tribes (i.e. Jacob's sons) are said to have been neither Jews nor Christians (Q 2:140).

Elsewhere, the non-Jewish/non-Christian identity is linked to Abraham through the assertion that the Torah and the Gospel were only revealed after him (Q 3:65). This statement is addressed to the People of the Book, most likely with the intention of refuting their own aspirations concerning Abraham, whose religious heritage they were probably claiming to have preserved. In other words, the image of Abraham has been appropriated from the Jews and the Christians and was turned into the prototype of the non-Jewish and non-Christian model of Islam. This is also the context of Q 3:67-8, which asserts that the people nearest to Abraham are the Muslim believers.

The punishment of the Jews

The response to the Jewish rejection of the Islamic message as described in the Qurʾān consists not only in various dogmatic maneuvers but also in military pressure (see JIHĀD; FIGHTING). The latter course is hinted at in Q 29:46, in which the qurʾānic Prophet is advised to dispute with the People of the Book in a fair manner, "except those of them who act unjustly." This implies that the evildoers among the People of the Book deserve harsh measures, perhaps even war (q.v.). Other passages give up the hope of ever convincing the Jews and elaborate on the punishment that they deserve for their unbelief. According to some verses, the punishment awaits the Jews in the indefinite future. This is implied, for example, in Q 3:20, which says that if the People of the Book turn their backs on the qurʾānic Prophet, he can do nothing but deliver his message, a verse which is taken to mean that it is God's business to deal with such people in his own time. This idea is even clearer in Q 2:109, in which the believers are urged to pardon and forgive (see FORGIVENESS) the People of the Book until God brings his command (concerning them).

But the Jewish-Muslim relationship as described in yet other verses is explicitly warlike. In one passage (Q 5:64), the military option seems to have been taken up by the Jews themselves. It is stated here that whenever they light the fire of war, God puts it out. In Q 2:85, which is addressed to the Children of Israel, allusion is made to certain hostile acts they carry out against some unidentified groups. Yet in other passages, the Jews are the party that comes under the Islamic military pressure and their military weaknesses are exposed. In Q 59:14, for example, it is observed that the People of the Book never fight the believers in one solid formation but only in sporadic groups, hiding behind the walls of their fortresses. They are divided among themselves and fight each other strongly. The People of the Book have suffered actual defeat, which is mentioned in Q 59:1-4. Here, they are described as being driven out of their houses, although they thought that their fortresses would defend them against God. In Q 59:11-12, the expulsion of the unbelieving People of the Book is mentioned yet again, this time with reference to the hypocrites *(munāfiqūn),* who have not kept their promise to help the People of the Book. A similar pattern of military defeat recurs in Q 33:26-7, which says that God has brought down the People of the Book from their fortresses and cast fear into their hearts (see HEART). The believers have slain some of them and taken others captive (see CAPTIVES). God bequeathed upon the believers their lands and possessions (see BOOTY; EXPEDITIONS AND BATTLES).

Apart from the military defeat of the People of the Book, the Qurʾān also refers very briefly to their social status under Islamic domination (see SOCIAL RELA-

TIONS; SOCIAL INTERACTIONS; COMMUNITY AND SOCIETY IN THE QUR'ĀN). They must be killed unless they pay tribute (the *jizya*, see TAXATION; POLL TAX) but even then, they remain socially inferior to the believers (Q 9:29).

The qur'ānic Jews and the life of Muḥammad

The concrete relationship between the qur'ānic Jews and the life of Muḥammad is provided in the realm of the biography of Muḥammad (the *sīra*, see SĪRA AND THE QUR'ĀN). One of the earliest biographies of Muḥammad is that of Ibn Isḥāq (d. 150/768), of which the best-known version is that of Ibn Hishām (d. 218/833). Ibn Isḥāq's compilation served as a model to later historiographers who quoted large portions of his accounts. His compilation contains numerous allusions to qur'ānic verses about the Jews. Most of them appear in the chapters about Muḥammad's stay in Medina (q.v.) and are associated with the history of the Jewish tribes of that city, namely, Qaynuqāʿ (q.v.), Naḍīr (q.v.) and Qurayẓa (q.v.). These tribes based their military power on fortresses built of stone, within which they lived, and thanks to which they retained predominance over their Arab neighbors. The arrival of the Jews in Medina is described in the sources as a prolonged process containing waves of refugees from Syria (q.v.) following the Babylonian and the Roman conquests of that area. Some traditions provide the Jews with a priestly pedigree originating in Moses' brother, Aaron (q.v.), but other traditions trace their origins to certain ancient Arab clans who are said to have converted to Judaism (see TRIBES AND CLANS).

Ibn Isḥāq incorporates Q 2:85 within a description of some pre-Islamic alliances formed between the Jewish tribes and the Arab inhabitants of Medina, the Aws and the Khazraj. The qur'ānic verse is addressed to the Children of Israel, accusing them of slaying their people and of turning a party from among them out of their homes, unlawfully going against their own. Ibn Isḥāq has associated this verse with the military clashes that broke out between the various Jewish/Arab alliances in pre-Islamic Medina (Ibn Isḥāq, *Sīra*, ii, 188-9). The first Jewish tribe defeated by Muḥammad was Qaynuqāʿ. Ibn Isḥāq adduces Q 3:12, which addresses "those who disbelieve," in reference to the fate of this tribe: they are told that they shall be vanquished and driven to hell together. Although this verse does not mention the Jews in particular, Ibn Isḥāq has nevertheless applied it to them, to illustrate God's wrath with the arrogant Jews of Qaynuqāʿ (Ibn Isḥāq, *Sīra*, ii, 201). Q 5:51, which does mention the Jews and warns the believers against taking them as friends, appears in Ibn Isḥāq (*Sīra*, iii, 52-3) within an account about a Muslim who dissolved his alliance with the Qaynuqāʿ out of fidelity to Muḥammad. The story implies that the Qur'ān encourages believers to sever their former pacts with the Jews. The tribe of Naḍīr was next to be attacked by the Muslim warriors and Ibn Isḥāq associates large portions of Q 59 (Sūrat al-Ḥashr, "The Gathering") with them. He asserts that most of this sūra was revealed in connection with the defeat of this Jewish tribe (*Sīra*, iii, 202-4; see OCCASIONS OF REVELATION). Another qur'ānic passage, Q 5:11, was connected with Naḍīr's plot to assassinate Muḥammad when he came to their premises in order to discuss a problem of blood money (q.v.; Ibn Isḥāq, *Sīra*, ii, 211-12). The verse itself bears no direct relation to the Jews, merely stating that God stopped some people from "stretching forth their hands" against the believers. By applying the verse to the Jews, Ibn Isḥāq betrays yet again his desire to illustrate

God's dismay with the Jewish anti-Islamic hostility by recourse to as many qurʾānic verses as possible. For the massacre of the tribe of Qurayẓa (q.v.), Ibn Isḥāq alludes to Q 33:26, which mentions the People of the Book whom God drove down from their fortresses. The Qurʾān says that they backed the unbelievers and that the believers killed some of them and took another part captive. The Qurʾān goes on to say that God made the believers heirs to the land and dwellings of the defeated People of the Book as well as to "a land that you have not yet trodden" (Q 33:27). The latter is taken by Ibn Isḥāq to be a forecast of the Islamic conquest of the Jewish settlement in Khaybar (Ibn Isḥāq, *Sīra,* iii, 261-2). In other exegetical compilations (*tafsīr,* see EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL), additional verses have been connected to the affair of Qurayẓa. Most noteworthy is Q 8:55-8, in which instructions are given for treating "those with whom you make an agreement, then they break their agreement every time" (see BREAKING TRUSTS AND CONTRACTS; CONTRACTS AND ALLIANCES).

Apart from the military clash between Muḥammad and the Jews of Medina, Ibn Isḥāq (*Sīra,* ii, 160-221) dedicates a lengthy chapter to the polemical discourse between the two parties, and here, too, numerous qurʾānic allusions are provided. In his introduction to this chapter, Ibn Isḥāq observes that the Jewish rabbis showed hostility to Muḥammad because God chose his apostle from the Arabs (q.v.). The rabbis were joined by hypocrites *(munāfiqūn)* from the Aws and the Khazraj who clung to the polytheism of their fathers. The Jewish rabbis used to annoy the Prophet with questions and introduced confusion so as to confound the truth (q.v.) with falsity (see LIE). The Qurʾān was revealed with reference to these questions of theirs. Further on, Ibn Isḥāq provides specific accounts with names of hostile Jews, about whom the various qurʾānic passages were allegedly revealed. These accounts impute to them the stereotyped qurʾānic sins of arrogance, jealousy, mockery, distortion of scriptures, etc. (see SIN, MAJOR AND MINOR).

In connection with the sin of concealing parts of scripture, as imputed to the Jews in Q 2:76, Ibn Isḥāq's traditions (see ḤADĪTH AND THE QURʾĀN) assert that the Jews concealed God's command to believe in Muḥammad's prophethood (*Sīra,* ii, 185; see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD). As for the qurʾānic allegation that the Jews did not judge "by what God revealed," i.e. that they falsified the laws of the revealed Torah (Q 5:41-3), Ibn Isḥāq has recorded a tradition dealing with the issue of the penalty of death by stoning (q.v.; *rajm*), which adulterers must incur (see ADULTERY AND FORNICATION; BOUNDARIES AND PRECEPTS). The Jews reportedly rejected this law while Muḥammad endorsed it. They also concealed the fact that this law was written in their own Torah. They did so out of jealousy so as not to admit that Muḥammad was a genuine prophet, well guided in the divine laws (Ibn Isḥāq, *Sīra,* ii, 213-14). The sin of ignoring the evidence of their own Torah is imputed to the Jews also in Ibn Isḥāq's report about the religion of Abraham. The report alludes to Q 3:23, which mentions the invitation to the book of God given to those who have received a portion of the scripture *(a-lam tara ilā lladhīna ūtū naṣīban mina l-kitāb yudʿawna ilā kitābi llāh),* that it might judge between them. The verse goes on to say that a party of them turned down the offer. Tradition relates that the verse was revealed following a debate that took place in a Jewish school *(bayt al-midrās)* between a number of Jews and Muḥammad. Muḥammad announced that his religion was that of Abraham but the Jews claimed that Abraham

was Jewish. When, however, Muḥammad asked them to let the Torah judge between them, they refused (Ibn Isḥāq, *Sīra,* ii, 201). The Jewish conviction that they were genuine holders of Abraham's religious legacy comes out also in a tradition about the changing of the *qibla* from Jerusalem to Mecca, which alludes to Q 2:142. The tradition identifies the "fools" of this verse (see IGNORANCE) with a delegation of Jews who came to Muḥammad claiming that following the true religion of Abraham means reverting to the *qibla* of Jerusalem (Ibn Isḥāq, *Sīra,* ii, 198-9). Another tradition makes it even clearer that both parties, Muslims and Jews, claimed to be holding the true religion of Abraham and accused each other of distorting it. The tradition says that in this context, Q 5:68 was revealed. It tells the People of the Book that they follow no good until they keep the Torah and the gospel (Ibn Isḥāq, *Sīra,* ii, 217). Thus it is clear that in Ibn Isḥāq's presentation, the idea of the religion of Abraham is not regarded as a newly introduced concept but merely as an old Jewish idea that acquired a new non-Jewish Islamic interpretation. This interpretation was considered closer to the genuine message of the Torah than the Jewish one.

Among the passages quoted in Ibn Isḥāq's reports about the Jewish-Islamic polemics, some make no direct reference to Jews. For example, Q 3:7 mentions "those in whose hearts there is perversity *(zaygh),*" equating them with those who follow those parts of the Qurʾān that are ambiguous (q.v.; *mutashābihāt*). They do so in order to mislead, and impose (their own) interpretation upon, the Muslims. Ibn Isḥāq identifies the perverts with some Jews of Medina and says that they used to examine the mysterious letters that open some of the qurʾānic chapters, trying to figure out what their numerical value meant (see MYSTERIOUS LETTERS; NUMEROLOGY). When they failed, they expressed their doubts concerning Muḥammad's prophethood (Ibn Isḥāq, *Sīra,* ii, 194-5). Another similar case is that of Q 2:6-7, in which anonymous unbelievers *(alladhīna kafarū)* are condemned. It is said about them that "God has set a seal upon their hearts and upon their hearing and there is a covering over their eyes (q.v.), and there is a great punishment for them" (see HEARING AND DEAFNESS; SEEING AND HEARING; VISION AND BLINDNESS). Ibn Isḥāq (*Sīra,* ii, 178) identifies these doomed unbelievers as the Jewish rabbis. He says that these rabbis are also referred to in Q 2:14, which speaks about devils (*shayāṭīn,* see DEVIL), with whom some unbelievers conspire against the Muslims. While the "devils" are the Jews, the unbelievers, according to Ibn Isḥāq (*Sīra,* ii, 179), are the hypocrites *(munāfiqūn)*. Q 2:170 refers to some stubborn people who refuse to become Muslims and insist on following the faith of their fathers. Here, too, according to Ibn Isḥāq (*Sīra,* ii, 200-1), the Qurʾān alludes to certain Jews whose names he specifies. Q 7:187 mentions some anonymous people inquiring when the "hour" shall come (see APOCALYPSE) and, again, Ibn Isḥāq (*Sīra,* ii, 218) says that they were the Jews and provides a list of their names. Even Q 112, which declares the undefined unity of God, without reference to any unbelievers, was revealed, according to Ibn Isḥāq (*Sīra,* ii, 220-1), in response to irritating questions posed to Muḥammad by certain Jews.

In various exegetical sources, other verses have been associated with the Jewish-Islamic conflict. For example, Q 58:8 condemns people who "hold secret counsels for sin" and greet the qurʾānic Prophet in a depraved manner. This was interpreted as referring to the Jews who reportedly greeted Muḥammad by saying *al-sām ʿalayka* ("destruction be upon you"), instead of *al-salām ʿalayka* ("peace be upon you").

On the other hand, Ibn Isḥāq is also aware of some Medinan Jews who converted to Islam and his report about them alludes to Q 3:113, which mentions an "upright" party among the People of the Book. He provides a list of their names — the best known of which being that of ʿAbdallāh b. Salām — and describes the dismay of the rabbis at their conversion to Islam (Ibn Isḥāq, *Sīra,* ii, 206). Ibn Salām's name recurs in later exegetical compilations *(tafsīr)* in association with other verses mentioning believers among the Jews or the People of the Book (Q 4:46, 162; 5:66; 10:94; 28:52-4). Ibn Salām is occasionally contrasted with Kaʿb b. al-Ashraf, a Jewish archenemy of the Prophet (of the tribe of Naḍīr), who was assassinated at the behest of Muḥammad. Ibn al-Ashraf's name, too, was read into the Qurʾān and it occurs, for example, in the commentaries on Q 3:75. That verse speaks of two types of people belonging to the People of the Book: those who pay back their debts to the believers in full and those who do not. Ibn Salām is mentioned as one of the former and Ibn al-Ashraf as one of the latter. Ibn al-Ashraf also figures in the exegesis of Q 3:186, in which the believers are said to have been hearing "much annoying talk" from the People of the Book. The commentators say that the verse refers to Ibn al-Ashraf who used to compose satirical anti-Islamic poetry (see POETRY AND POETS). His name is also included in the exegesis of Q 3:78, which speaks about those who "twist" the book, i.e. the Qurʾān, with their tongues. Q 4:51-2 mentions people whom God has cursed because they told the unbelievers that the latter's faith was better than the Islamic one. The exegetes say that the passage refers to Ibn al-Ashraf, who supported the Quraysh and their idols and reviled Muḥammad's religion (q.v.). The Prophet's doomed "enemy" *(shāniʾ)* of Q 108:3 is also identified with him (see ENEMIES; OPPOSITION TO MUḤAMMAD).

It may be noted in passing that some of the qurʾānic verses that refer to believers among the People of the Book did not remain confined to the Jewish sphere and appear also in a specific Christian context. For example, Q 28:54, which states that the believers among the People of the Book shall be granted their reward twice, was interpreted as referring to Ibn Salām as well as to Salmān al-Fārisī. The latter changed his faith from Christianity to Islam and became a celebrated Companion of the Prophet (see COMPANIONS OF THE PROPHET). The verse is also said to refer to believers among the Christians of Abyssinia (q.v.) who joined Muḥammad's warriors in Medina (Suyūṭī, *Durr,* v, 131-3; see EMIGRANTS AND HELPERS). This verse also inspired a ḥadīth that is attributed to the Prophet, which says that whoever embraces Islam from among the "people of the two books," will be rewarded twice and whoever embraces Islam from among the associators *(mushrikūn),* will be rewarded once (Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad,* v, 259). The same verse was eventually worked into the Prophet's letter to the Byzantine emperor (see BYZANTINES). The letter promises him a double reward in return for his conversion to Islam. The same letter contains also the verbatim wording of Q 3:64, which extends an invitation to the People of the Book to join the Muslims in a common monotheistic faith (e.g. Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* iv, 57 [56:102]).

Qurʾānic Jews and the Islamic community

The sinful Jews of the Qurʾān were eventually turned into a model of evil of which the entire Islamic community must beware. This emerges from the exegesis of qurʾānic passages that denounce people who became divided by inner conflicts and dissension (e.g. Q 3:105; 6:159). The verses instruct the qurʾānic Prophet to dissociate

from them and the commentators have identified them with the Jews, as well as the Christians. It was thus implied that the Islamic community should be cautious not to follow the Jewish and Christian precedent of discord. Such warning was intended mainly against heretical groups, like the Khārijīs (q.v.) and the Qadarīs who were accused of introducing Jewish models of schism into Islamic society, although the introduction of Jewish ideas is most commonly associated with the Shīʿīs, especially ʿAbdallāh b. Sabaʾ and al-Mukhtār (d. 67/687; see SHĪʿISM AND THE QURʾĀN). Verses dealing with the fate of unbelievers in hell (e.g. Q 18:103-6) were likewise interpreted as referring to the Jews with the same anti-heretical aim in mind (for details see Rubin, *Between Bible and Qurʾān,* 160-3, 208-12). In addition to those verses about the wrath *(ghaḍab)* of God in which the Jews are mentioned explicitly, various qurʾānic allusions to anonymous groups who have come under God's wrath were also interpreted as referring to the Jews (e.g. Q 1:7; 60:13). The punishment of transformation into apes and pigs, which the qurʾānic People of the Book incurred as a result of God's wrath, reappears in traditions about Jews of Islamic times. In some of these traditions, the Prophet himself is involved and he is said to have addressed them as "brothers of apes and pigs." Some traditions have applied the same punishment to certain heretical Islamic groups such as the Qadarīs (Rubin, *Between Bible and Qurʾān,* 213-32; see HERESY).

Numerous qurʾānic passages associated with the Jews emerge also in the discussions of their status as *ahl al-dhimma,* "people under protection" (i.e. of the Islamic community, the *umma,* see PROTECTION). Especially noteworthy is the qurʾānic passage that contains the term *dhimma* (Q 9:7-15). It deals with associators *(mushrikūn),* concerning whom the Qurʾān says that their protection remains valid as long as they remain loyal to the believers (see LOYALTY). If they break their oaths (see OATHS AND PROMISES) and revile the Islamic religion, then the believers must fight them. Muslim scholars applied this passage to the obligation of loyalty with which the Jewish and Christian *dhimmī*s must treat their Muslim protectors (Ibn Qayyim, *Dhimma,* iii, 1379 f.). Q 9:28 is also noteworthy. It proclaims that the *mushrikūn* are impure (*najas,* see PURITY AND IMPURITY) and therefore they should not approach the "sacred mosque." Muslim scholars took this statement as the scriptural basis for the injunction (usually attributed to the Prophet himself) to prevent Jews and Christians from entering the Arabian peninsula (Ibn Qayyim, *Dhimma,* i, 370-408).

Qurʾānic Jews and modern scholarship

Modern scholars have usually taken the qurʾānic treatment of the Jews as a point of departure for their historical analysis of Muḥammad's relations with the Jews of Medina. In so doing, they have followed the traditional Islamic approach, which sees in the Qurʾān an authentic collection of Muḥammad's prophecies. The scholars have adopted a historiographical narrative (see HISTORY AND THE QURʾĀN) about a so-called "break" between Muḥammad and the Jews of Medina, usually dated to shortly before the battle of Badr (q.v.) in March 624 C.E. The scholars defined Muḥammad's policy until the break as dedicated to attempts at gaining the support of the Jews. An extra-qurʾānic document known as the Constitution of Medina (recorded in Ibn Isḥāq, *Sīra,* ii, 147-50), which is relatively favorable to the Jews, was dated to this stage. The reason for the "break" with the Jews, according to the scholars, was the Jewish reluctance to

respond to Muḥammad's appeal. Consequently, the Prophet changed his attitude towards them and embarked on a military offensive against them. This narrative runs parallel to the supposed evolution of the idea of holy war (*jihād,* q.v.). The scholars have built into this narrative of escalating conflict the various qurʾānic verses about the Jews. Broadly speaking, verses relatively tolerant of the Jews were marked by the scholars as early Medinan (see CHRONOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN), assuming that they were revealed before the break. The break is reflected in qurʾānic passages about the military clash with the People of the Book, as well as in the verses about the new *qibla* and the non-Jewish/non-Christian identity of Abraham. In view of doubts raised more recently by some scholars, however, who suggested that the Qurʾān gained its final shape much later than in the days of Muḥammad and perhaps not even in Arabia (cf. Wansbrough, *QS;* see POST-ENLIGHTENMENT ACADEMIC STUDY OF THE QURʾĀN), the historicity of the supposed relations between Muḥammad and the Jews is no longer self-evident. One cannot rule out the possibility that at least some components of the narrative of the "break" with the Jews stem from post-conquest conditions that were projected back into Muḥammad's time.

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Jibrīl see GABRIEL

Jibt

A word of uncertain etymology, the noun *jibt* occurs only once in the Qurʾān, but is also used in poetry and prophetic traditions from the early Islamic centuries (see POETRY AND POETS; ḤADĪTH AND THE

QUR'ĀN). Generally, *jibt* has three possible meanings: it is used to describe any false object of belief or worship (see IDOLS AND IMAGES), an individual who exceeds all bounds of propriety (see MODERATION) or a state of oppression (q.v.) and injustice (*Lisān al-ʿArab,* ii, 164; *Tāj al-ʿarūs,* iii, 32; see JUSTICE AND INJUSTICE). It is mentioned in Q 4:51 in the context of condemning those People of the Book (q.v.) who gave credence to the unbelievers (see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF) and attempted to incite them against Muslims.

Some early authorities asserted that the word passed into Arabic from the language of the Ḥabasha (i.e. Ethiopic: that of the former inhabitants of today's Sudan and Ethiopia; see ABYSSINIA; FOREIGN VOCABULARY; cf. Jeffery, *For. vocab.,* 99-100; Suyūṭī, *Muhadhdhab,* 204), where, reportedly, it meant "sorcery" or "a demon" (see MAGIC; DEVIL). Other authorities maintained that the word was derived from the Arabic term *jibsun,* meaning "a person of ill repute and character" (Māwardī, *Nukat,* i, 494-5; ʿAbd al-Raḥīm, *Tafsīr,* i, 284). In the Qur'ān and in numerous theological works, *jibt* is most often correlated with the word *ṭāghūt (al-jibt wa-l-ṭāghūt),* an expression that means divination (q.v.), sorcery or idol worship (see IDOLATRY AND IDOLATERS). Some commentators on the Qur'ān (see EXEGESIS OF THE QUR'ĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL) claimed that *jibt* and *ṭāghūt* were the names of two idols worshipped by the Quraysh (q.v.) in Mecca (q.v.; Qurṭubī, *Jāmiʿ,* v, 248-9; Qāsimī, *Taʾsīr,* iii, 172). Others claimed that *jibt* referred to a specific person named Ḥuyayy b. Akhṭab while *ṭāghūt* referred to Kaʿb b. al-Ashraf, two Jewish leaders who, after the battle of Uḥud (see EXPEDITIONS AND BATTLES), went to Mecca in order to conspire with the Quraysh to destroy the Muslims in Medina (q.v.; Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* viii, esp. 461-5, 469-70 [ad Q 4:51]; Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr,* ad loc.; see JEWS AND JUDAISM; OPPOSITION TO MUḤAMMAD). Still other authorities maintained that *jibt* means sorcery or divination while *ṭāghūt* means a sorcerer or diviner (Zamakhsharī, *Kashshāf,* i, 274; Ibn ʿĀdil, *Lubāb,* vi, 420-2). The influential premodern jurist and theologian, Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 606/1210; *Tafsīr,* v, 103-4), asserted that the expression has come to describe any condition of extreme evil (see GOOD AND EVIL) and corruption (q.v.).

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Jihād

Struggle, or striving, but often understood both within the Muslim tradition and beyond it as warfare against infidels (see FIGHTING; WAR; BELIEF AND UNBELIEF). The term *jihād* derives from the root *j-h-d,* denoting effort, exhaustion, exertion, strain. Derivatives of this root occur in forty-one qur'ānic verses. Five of these contain the phrase *jahd aymānihim,* meaning "[to swear] the strongest oath," which is irrelevant to the present discussion (see OATHS), and not all the remaining verses refer to warfare.

Since the concept of jihād is related to warfare, discussions of the subject often contain explicit or implicit value-judgments and apologetics. In fact, the subjects of jihād and warfare in Islam are always treated as one. There are, however, two reasons to discuss them separately. First, jihād is a concept much broader than warfare. Secondly, the doctrine of warfare can be derived from the Qurʾān without resorting to the term jihād at all. Therefore, in this article the derivatives of the root *j-h-d* in the Qurʾān will be discussed first, followed by a survey of the doctrine of warfare as expressed in the Qurʾān.

The root j-h-d *and its derivatives in the Qurʾān*

The root *j-h-d* does not have bellicose connotations in pre-Islamic usage (see PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QURʾĀN). Judging by linguistic criteria alone (see LANGUAGE AND STYLE OF THE QURʾĀN), without having recourse to qurʾānic exegesis (see EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL), only ten out of the thirty-six relevant qurʾānic references can be unequivocally interpreted as signifying warfare. The rest are unspecified, some of them clearly denoting efforts or struggles other than fighting. The following guidelines help determine whether or not the term *j-h-d* in a given verse refers to warfare:

(a) when the term is juxtaposed with a military idiom, such as "shirkers" (*mukhallafūn, qāʿidūn,* Q 4:95; 9:81, 86) or "go on raids" (*infirū,* Q 9:41; see EXPEDITIONS AND BATTLES). Verses in which *j-h-d* is connected to "asking leave/finding excuses" *(istiʾdhān)* also seem to be dealing with warfare (Q 9:44; cf. 9:86, which combines both "ask leave" and "shirkers");

(b) when the content of the verse discloses its military significance (Q 5:54, where there is a linkage between harshness towards unbelievers, fearlessness and *j-h-d;* Q 60:1, where "enemies" [q.v.] and departing for jihād are mentioned);

(c) when the context of the verse indicates a military significance. Textual context is difficult to use because of the methods of assembling the text to which the history of the collection of the Qurʾān (q.v.) attests. As indicated in this history, verses that were revealed on different occasions (see OCCASIONS OF REVELATION; CHRONOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN) were placed in sequence. Sometimes, fully contradictory verses were placed together, apparently because they deal with the same topic (e.g. Q 2:190-3; 8:72-5). Occasionally, however, the continuity between sequential verses is clear and the textual context may be used to clarify the warlike intention of a verse (Q 9:41, the context being 9:38-41; Q 9:44, the context being 9:44-6; these two verses also fall under category (a) above; Q 9:88, the context being 9:87-92);

(d) when *j-h-d* in the third form is followed by a direct object. It denotes, literally, two parties, each trying to exhaust the other, hence the notion of combat (Q 9:73 = 66:9; but cf. Q 25:52, *wa-jāhidhum bihi jihādan kabīran,* where the Prophet is instructed to combat by peaceful means, namely, by the Qurʾān; see DEBATE AND DISPUTATION).

In sum, there are only ten places in the Qurʾān where *j-h-d* definitely denotes warfare. To these may be added four verses that establish the status of "those who believed, emigrated (see EMIGRATION) and exerted themselves" (*inna lladhīna āmanū wa-hājarū wa-jāhadū,* Q 8:72, 74; 9:20; cf. 8:75). Since warfare is strongly advocated in the Qurʾān, it stands to reason that references to the high status of the "strugglers" *(mujāhidūn)* are, in fact, references to warriors. It is clear, however, that in these verses the reference is to the Emigrants

(*muhājirūn,* see EMIGRANTS AND HELPERS). It may be pointed out that sometimes *j-h-d* occurs as the counterpart of *hijra,* "emigration," presumably the Muslims' emigration to Medina (q.v.; Q 2:218; 8:72-5; 9:20; 16:110, cf. 9:24). Strangely, there is no qurʾānic reference to the military contribution or warlike attributes of the Helpers (*anṣār,* i.e. those Medinans who helped the émigrés; such references do, however, abound in the historical and ḥadīth literature; see ḤADĪTH AND THE QURʾĀN).

There is one case where *j-h-d* is applied to an impious struggle, namely, the struggle of disbelieving parents (q.v.) to prevent their offspring (see CHILDREN; FAMILY) from adhering to the true religion (q.v.; Q 29:8).

But in many verses it is not possible to determine the kind of effort indicated by *j-h-d*. There are many commentators who leave the terms unspecified in these instances, whereas others interpret also these ambiguous cases as warfare against infidels (see commentaries to Q 2:218; 3:142; 5:35; 9:16, 19, 20, 24; 16:110; 29:6, 69; 47:31; 61:11). Still others understand the doubtful cases in one or more of the following ways: (a) combat against one's own desires and weaknesses (see SIN, MAJOR AND MINOR), (b) perseverance in observing the religious law (see LAW AND THE QURʾĀN), (c) seeking religious knowledge (*ṭalab al-ʿilm,* see KNOWLEDGE AND LEARNING), (d) observance of the sunna (q.v.), (e) obedience (q.v.) to God and summoning people to worship him, and so on (see e.g. Khāzin, *Lubāb,* v, 200; Ibn Abī Ḥātim, *Tafsīr,* ix, 3084). All these meanings, however, are never explicit in the Qurʾān. Also, the phrases denoting the "greater" jihād (i.e. one's personal struggle to be a better Muslim) that are common in later literature, namely, "struggle of the self" *(jihād al-nafs)* or "struggle with the devil" (*jihād al-shayṭān,* see DEVIL), do not occur in the Qurʾān (see THEOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN; ETHICS AND THE QURʾĀN; GOOD AND EVIL).

The qurʾānic concept of jihād was not originally connected with antagonism between the believers and other people. The semantic field of the root *j-h-d* as well as its use in the Qurʾān suggest another provenance. It may be an expression of the ancient and ubiquitous notion that the believers must prove to the deity their worthiness for divine reward (see REWARD AND PUNISHMENT; MARTYRS). This proof is achieved by enduring various kinds of hardships and self-mortification. Fasting and pilgrimage belong to this category as do celibacy and poverty. Conversely, hardships that befall the believers are understood as divine tests designed to provide the believers with opportunities to prove themselves worthy (see TRIAL). These ancient religious ideas found expression in the Qurʾān. God announces many times that he subjects the believers to tests and he reprimands those who are not able, or not willing, to endure (e.g. Q 2:155-6, 214; 3:142; 4:48; 47:4; see TRUST AND PATIENCE; JOY AND MISERY; PUNISHMENT STORIES). In Islam, in addition to giving the believers the opportunity to prove themselves, the tests also help establish the distinction between the true believers on the one hand, and the pretenders and the unbelievers on the other (see HYPOCRITES AND HYPOCRISY). The tests also help determine the relative status of the members of the community (see COMMUNITY AND SOCIETY IN THE QURʾĀN). One of the means of testing is jihād. In this capacity jihād may mean participation in warfare, but also any other effort made in connection with adherence to the true religion (see Q 3:142; 9:16; 47:31; cf. Q 9:24, 44, 88. Only Q 9:44 and 9:88 certainly refer to warfare, judging by the context. See also Q 4:76-7, 95-6; 9:90-4; 29:10-1; 47:20; 49:14-5; 57:10, 25.).

Sometimes not jihād but death (see DEATH AND THE DEAD) or battle *(qitāl)* "in the way of God" are explicitly mentioned as a test (Q 3:166-7; 47:4; cf. 3:154-5; 4:66; 33:11, 23-4).

Very little of the peaceful sense of *j-h-d* remained in Muslim culture and the understanding of jihād as war became predominant. Nevertheless, there are verses in the Qurʾān that attest to other significations. The best example is Q 22:78. By linguistic and contextual criteria, the phrase "exert yourself in the way of God as is his right" *(wa-jāhidū fī llāhi ḥaqqa jihādihi)* clearly does not refer to warfare, but to other forms of effort made by way of obedience to God. The verse is part of the doctrine of the "religion of Abraham" *(millat Ibrāhīm),* which regards the patriarch as the first, original Muslim (see Q 2:125-36; see ABRAHAM; ḤANĪF). Q 22:78 instructs Muslims to perform the religious duties originally prescribed to Abraham. While asking the believers to exert themselves and to do their utmost to this end *(jāhidū),* the verse points out that the requirement should not be deemed too much to ask, since God "has laid no hardship on you in your religion." The theme of war is not touched upon at all in this verse. In the same vein, Q 49:15 deals with definitions of belief and the phrase "those who strive" *(alladhīna… jāhadū)* apparently refers not to warriors but to those who perform all the divine ordinances (cf. Bayḍāwī, *Anwār,* ii, 277). Yet many commentators (including al-Ṭabarī, d. 310/923) insist that in these two cases the term refers to participation in warfare.

The warlike meaning of jihād thus predominates, to the extent that *q-t-l,* "kill," was sometimes glossed by *j-h-d* (e.g. Bayḍāwī, *Anwār,* i, 105, ad Q 2:190). This predominance is perhaps to be explained by the fact that in this sense of "war," jihād was given a legal definition, legal categories and regulations, aspects which were discussed at length by the jurists (who often, however, used the term *siyar* instead of jihād). Also the parallelism between the qurʾānic phrases jihād "in the way of God" *(fī sabīli llāh)* and *qitāl* "in the way of God" may have contributed to the equation of *j-h-d* with terms of warfare. In fact the phrase "in the way of God" itself came to mean "warfare against infidels," although it is not necessarily so in the Qurʾān (see e.g. "emigration in the way of God" in Q 4:100; 16:41; 22:58; 24:23).

The doctrine of warfare in the Qurʾān

Islam is a system of beliefs, ritual and law (see FAITH; RITUAL AND THE QURʾĀN) and its legal system covers all spheres of life, including warfare. Many rulings and attitudes relating to warfare are scattered throughout the Qurʾān, mainly in the Medinan sūras. Yet, derivatives of the root *j-h-d* are absent from the majority of these verses. Forms of the root *q-t-l* are used forty-four times in relation to warfare (although derivatives of this root are also used in other contexts). In addition, there are many verses relating to this subject in which neither *j-h-d* nor *q-t-l* occur.

The qurʾānic rulings and attitudes regarding warfare are often ambiguous and contradictory so that there is no one coherent doctrine of warfare in the Qurʾān, especially when the text is read without reference to its exegetical tradition. These contradictions and ambiguities resulted from historical developments and were later amplified by differences of opinion among exegetes. The Prophet led a dynamic career, having been at war for years with various enemies and under changing circumstances. Such variations and developments are doubtlessly reflected in qurʾānic verses and account for some of the contradictions. The course of these developments, however, is not clear, for

the same reasons that obstruct a decisive reconstruction of the Prophet's biography (see SĪRA AND THE QURʾĀN; MUḤAMMAD). In addition, differences of opinion eventually arose due to the various possibilities of interpretations. The language of the Qurʾān is often obscure and, even when not so, many terms, phrases and sentences have more than one possible meaning or implication. For example, the sentence "we have our endeavors *(aʿmāl),* you have yours" (Q 2:139; 42:15; cf. 10:41; 109:6) may be interpreted in several ways: (a) it enjoins tolerance towards other religions (see RELIGIOUS PLURALISM AND THE QURʾĀN), (b) it merely states a fact, (c) it constitutes a threat, or (d) it employs "endeavors" but means "reward for the endeavors," in which case it is also merely a statement of a fact, not an implied imperative. The first of these interpretations contradicts the qurʾānic order to initiate war against the infidels (Q 2:191, 193, 244; 8:39; 9:5, 29, 36 etc.; see e.g. Ibn al-Jawzī, *Nawāsikh,* 175-6, 440; Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* xi, 118-9). Another example is Q 2:190 (cf. 2:194). It contains the seemingly clear phrase "fight in the way of God those who fight you and do not trespass" (see BOUNDARIES AND PRECEPTS). This may be taken either as prescribing defensive war or as an instruction to refrain from harming non-combatants (see e.g. Jaṣṣāṣ, *Aḥkām,* i, 257). The former contradicts the above-mentioned qurʾānic order to initiate war. These are only two of a multitude of examples.

Commentators developed special techniques to deal with qurʾānic contradictions, chief among them abrogation (q.v.; *naskh*) and specification (*ʿāmm wa-khāṣṣ,* literally "general versus specific"). Abrogation seeks to replace the rulings of certain verses by others, on the grounds that the latter were revealed to the Prophet later than the former. Specification is designed to restrict or ban certain injunctions and prohibitions. This is done by establishing that the verse in question only applies to a definite group or to a specific event in the past. In contrast to abrogation, specification often occurs without the use of the technical terms *ʿāmm* and *khāṣṣ*.

A rarely applied, but very significant device, is the assignation of differing qurʾānic rules to different situations. Whereas the techniques of abrogation and specification aim at distilling one absolutely binding rule out of a number of possibilities, the technique of assignation leaves open a number of options and allows the authorities the power to decide which of the mutually-exclusive qurʾānic rules applies in a given situation. There are other exegetical devices used in order to resolve contradictions, such as denying linguistically possible implications (e.g. for Q 2:62), "supplementing" verses (*taqdīr,* e.g. for Q 10:41) and assigning appropriate contents to qurʾānic words (e.g. equating the term *silm/salm,* "peace," with Islam, for Q 2:208 and 8:61, see Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* ii, 322-5; x, 34).

The verses relating to warfare may be classified under the following headings: (a) the order to fight, (b) exhortations (q.v.), (c) the purpose of warfare, (d) conscription, (e) permission to retreat, (f) the treatment of prisoners (q.v.; see also HOSTAGES; CAPTIVES), and (g) booty (q.v.). There are also miscellaneous practical and tactical instructions. The first topic is covered by a large number of verses, whereas the rest are confined to a few verses each.

The order to fight involves the issue of attitudes towards the other. Muslim scholars considered more than one hundred verses as relevant to this topic. Even an address to the Prophet such as "you are merely a warner" (q.v.; Q 11:12) was sometimes understood as an implicit instruction to leave the infidels alone. Thus the verses expressing attitudes towards the infidels include explicit or implicit instructions to

the Prophet, or to the Muslims, which may be defined as follows: (a) to be patient and to stay aloof from the infidels (Q 2:139; 3:20, 111; 4:80-1; 5:99, 105; 6:66, 69, 70, 104; 7:180, 199; 10:99, 108-9; 11:121-2; 13:40; 15:3, 94-5; 16:82; 17:54; 19:84; 20:130; 22:68; 23:54; 24:54; 25:43; 27:92; 29:50; 30:60; 31:23; 32:30; 33:48; 34:25; 35:23; 37:174; 38:70; 39:15; 40:55, 77; 42:6, 48; 43:83; 44:59; 46:35; 50:45; 51:54; 52:31, 45, 48; 53:29; 54:6; 68:44, 48; 70:5, 42; 73:10-1; 74:11; 76:24; 88:22), (b) to forgive them or treat them kindly (Q 2:109; 5:13; 15:85; 43:89; 45:14; 60:8-9; 64:14; see FORGIVENESS; MERCY), (c) to tolerate them (Q 2:62, 256; 5:69, but cf. 3:19; 5:82; see TOLERANCE AND COMPULSION), (d) to preach or argue with them peaceably (Q 3:64; 4:63; 16:64, 125; 29:46; 41:34; see INVITATION), and (e) to fight them under certain restrictions (Q 2:190, 191-4, 217; 4:91; 9:36, 123; 16:126; 22:39-40). There are also qurʾānic references to treaties with infidels and to peace (Q 2:208; 4:90; 8:61; cf. Q 3:28; 47:35; see CONTRACTS AND ALLIANCES). All these are in conflict with the clear orders to fight, expressed in Q 9:5 and 9:29 (cf. Q 2:244). Q 9:5 instructs the Muslims to fight the idolaters *(mushrikūn)* until they are converted to Islam and is known as "the sword verse" (*āyat al-sayf,* see POLYTHEISM AND ATHEISM). Q 9:29 orders Muslims to fight the People of the Book (q.v.) until they consent to pay tribute (*jizya,* see POLL TAX), thereby recognizing the superiority of Islam. It is known as "the *jizya* verse" (*āyat al-jizya,* occasionally also as "the sword verse"). The Qurʾān does not lay down rules for cases of Muslim defeat, although there is a long passage discussing such an occurrence (Q 3:139-75, see also 4:104; see VICTORY).

A broad consensus among medieval exegetes and jurists exists on the issue of waging war. The simplest and earliest solution of the problem of contradictions in the Qurʾān was to consider Q 9:5 and 9:29 as abrogating all the other statements. Scholars seem sometimes to have deliberately expanded the list of the abrogated verses, including in it material that is irrelevant to the issue of waging war (e.g. Q 2:83, see Ibn al-Bārzī, *Nāsikh,* 23; Ibn al-Jawzī, *Muṣaffā,* 14; id., *Nawāsikh,* 156-8; Bayḍāwī, *Anwār,* i, 70; Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* i, 311; other examples: Q 3:111; 4:63; 16:126; 23:96; 25:63; 28:55; 38:88; 39:3). The number of verses abrogated by Q 9:5 and 9:29 is sometimes said to exceed 120 (Ibn al-Bārzī, *Nāsikh,* 22-3 and passim; also Powers, Exegetical genre, 138). Several verses are considered as both abrogating and abrogated, in turn, by others. The Muslim tradition, followed by modern scholars (see POST-ENLIGHTENMENT ACADEMIC STUDY OF THE QURʾĀN), associated various verses with developments in the career of the Prophet. It is related that, in the beginning, God instructed the Prophet to avoid the infidels and to forgive them. The Prophet was actually forbidden to wage war while in Mecca (q.v.). After the emigration to Medina *(hijra)* the Muslims were first permitted to fight in retaliation for the injustice (see JUSTICE AND INJUSTICE) done them by the Meccans (Q 22:39-40). Then came the order to fight the infidels generally, yet certain restrictions were prescribed. Eventually all restrictions were removed and all treaties with infidels were repudiated by Q 9:1-14, and the ultimate divine orders were expressed in Q 9:5 and 9:29. (There are many versions of this scheme, see ʿAbdallāh b. Wahb, *Jāmiʿ,* fol. 15b; Abū ʿUbayd, *Nāsikh,* 190-7; Bayḍāwī, *Anwār,* i, 634; Khāzin, *Lubāb,* i, 168; Shāfiʿī, *Tafsīr,* 166-73; Jaṣṣāṣ, *Aḥkām,* i, 256-63; cf. Ibn al-Jawzī, *Nawāsikh,* 230.) This evolutionary explanation relies on the technique of abrogation to account for the contradic-

tory statements in the Qurʾān. Although details are disputed, this explanation is not a post-qurʾānic development constructed retrospectively (see Firestone, *Jihād,* esp. chaps. 3-4). In addition to its obvious rationality, this evolution is attested in the Qurʾān itself (Q 4:77). Many exegetes, however, avoided the technique of abrogation for theological and methodological reasons, but achieved the same result by other means (e.g. Ibn al-Jawzī, *Nawāsikh*). Thus, in spite of differences of opinions regarding the interpretation of the verses and the relations between them, the broad consensus on the main issue remained: whether by abrogation, specification or other techniques, the order to fight unconditionally (Q 9:5 and 9:29) prevailed. Some commentators, however, argued that the verses allowing peace (Q 4:90; 8:61) were neither abrogated nor specified, but remained in force. By the assignation technique, peace is allowed when it is in the best interest of the Muslims (e.g. in times of Muslim weakness, see e.g. Jaṣṣāṣ, *Aḥkām,* ii, 220; iii, 69-70). In fact this was the position adopted by the four major schools of law (see Peters, *Jihād,* 32-7).

Exhortations to battle occur many times in the Qurʾān and the Prophet is told to urge his followers to fight (Q 4:84; 8:65). In addition to the verses that contain various instructions, there are those that promise reward to warriors and reprimand shirkers, threatening them with God's wrath (Q 2:154; 3:195; 4:74, 104; 9:38-9, 88-9, 111; 22:58-9; 33:23-4; 61:10-3; see also Q 3:139-75, which encourages the Muslims after a defeat). The verses that establish the distinction between true believers and hypocrites (see above) may also serve the same end.

In a few verses, the cause or purpose of Muslim warfare is mentioned as self-defense, and retaliation for aggression, for the expulsion from Mecca and for the violation of treaties (Q 2:217; 4:84, 91; 5:33; 9:12-3; 22:39-40; 60:9, cf. 4:89). In one case, defense of weak brethren is adduced (Q 4:75; see BROTHER AND BROTHERHOOD). On the basis of the "sword verse" (Q 9:5) and the "*jizya* verse" (Q 9:29) it is clear that the purpose of fighting the idolaters is to convert them to Islam, whereas the purpose of fighting the People of the Book is to dominate them. Many commentators interpret Q 2:193 and 8:39 ("fight them until there is no *fitna*") as an instruction to convert all the polytheists to Islam by force if need be (e.g. Khāzin, *Lubāb,* ii, 183; Jaṣṣāṣ, *Aḥkām,* i, 260). It appears, however, that *fitna* (see DISSENSION; PARTIES AND FACTIONS) originally did not mean polytheism, but referred to attempts by infidels to entice Muslims away from Islam. Such attempts are mentioned in many qurʾānic verses (e.g. Q 3:149; 14:30; 17:73-4; for Q 2:193 see e.g. Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* ii, 254; see APOSTASY). Thus the purpose of war in Q 2:193 and 8:39 would be not conversion of infidels, but the preservation of the Muslim community. Conversion as the purpose of Muslim warfare is also implied by some interpretations of Q 2:192 and 48:16. In later literature the formulation of the purpose of war is "that God's word reign supreme" *(li-takūna kalimatu llāhi hiya l-ʿulyā),* but in the Qurʾān this phrase is not associated with warfare (Q 9:40; cf. 9:33 = 61:9; 48:28).

The verses relevant to conscription are Q 2:216; 4:71; 9:39-41, 90-3, 120, 122; cf. Q 48:17. The verses implying that only a part of the community is required to participate in warfare prevail over those that stipulate or imply general conscription (see ʿAbdallāh b. Wahb, *Jāmiʿ,* fol. 16a-b; Ibn al-Jawzī, *Nawāsikh,* 438; Bayḍāwī, *Anwār,* i, 405; Shāfiʿī, *Tafsīr,* 140-1, 145, 148; Zuhrī, *Nāsikh,* 28-9; see also Paret, *Kommentar,*

215-6; id., Sure 9, 122). In post-qurʾānic legal idiom it is stated that warfare *(jihād)* is a collective duty *(farḍ ʿalā l-kifāya)*.

Permission to retreat occurs three times. In Q 8:15-6 retreat is forbidden unless it is intended to be temporary and is done for tactical reasons. These verses are considered by some scholars to have been abrogated by Q 8:65, which permits retreat only if the enemies outnumber the Muslims by more than ten times. This rule was, in turn, replaced by Q 8:66, which reduces the proportion to two to one (Bayḍāwī, *Anwār,* i, 361; Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* ix, 200-3; Ibn al-Jawzī, *Nawāsikh,* 415-8; Abū ʿUbayd, *Nāsikh,* 192-3). This issue is sometimes discussed in relation to Q 2:195 as well.

The taking of prisoners is forbidden in Q 8:67 (see also Q 8:70-1). This verse is considered as abrogated by Q 47:4, which allows the Muslims to take prisoners, to free them for no compensation at all or to do so in exchange for ransom (Qurṭubī, *Aḥkām,* iv, 2884-7; vii, 6047-9; Jaṣṣāṣ, *Aḥkām,* iii, 71-4; Abū ʿUbayd, *Nāsikh,* 209-16; Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* x, 42-4). Nowhere in the Qurʾān is there a reference to the permissibility (or otherwise) of executing prisoners. There is, however, disagreement among commentators regarding the apparent contradiction between Q 47:4 and the categorical order to kill the idolaters in Q 9:5 (Ibn al-Jawzī, *Nawāsikh,* 425-7; Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* x, 80-1; xxvi, 40-3; Qurṭubī, *Aḥkām,* vii, 6047-8; Jaṣṣāṣ, *Aḥkām,* iii, 390-2). Booty is discussed in Q 4:94; 8:1, 41, 68-9; 59:6-8 and other practical matters relating to war occur in Q 2:239; 4:101-3; 8:56-8, 60; 61:4.

In the legal literature qurʾānic verses are sometimes cited which appear to be irrelevant to the discussions. Thus Q 48:24-5 were adduced in the discussion of non-discriminating weapons (ballista, *manjanīq,* e.g. Ibn Abī Zayd, *Kitāb al-Jihād,* 70-1). Q 59:5 was used in the discussion of the permissibility to destroy the enemy's property (e.g. Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* xxviii, 32). Q 6:137 was adduced as proof that no enemy-children should be killed (e.g. Shāfiʿī, *Tafsīr,* 121).

Finally, the origins of the notion of the sacredness of Islamic warfare should be mentioned. Although jihād and warfare are disparate concepts, only partly overlapping, both are endowed with sanctity. The sanctity of jihād was discussed above. The sacredness of warfare derives, first, from the causative link between warfare on the one hand, and divine command and divine decree on the other. Another source is the association of warfare with divine reward and punishment. The roles of warring as a divine test and as a pledge that the believers give to God (Q 33:15, 23) add another dimension to the sacredness of warfare. Finally, God's direct intervention in the military exploits of his community sanctifies these exploits (Q 3:13, 123-7; 8:7-12, 17-19, 26; 9:14, 25-6, 40; 33:9-10, 25-7; 48:20-4; see BADR).

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Jinn

A category of created beings believed to possess powers for evil and good. Although their existence is never doubted, the jinn (Eng. "genie") are presented in the Qurʾān as figures whose effective role has been considerably curtailed in comparison to that accorded to them by various forms of pre-Islamic religion.

Unlike their rivals, the *rabb* and the *rabba,* the "lords" and "ladies," supernatural protectors and "allies" *(awliyāʾ)* of the tribes (see TRIBES AND CLANS) that God, in the fullness of his lordship, succeeds in making disappear (Q 53:23, "They are but names which you have named"), the jinn survive at the heart of the new religion. The Qurʾān limits itself to denying them the greater part of their powers — those, at any rate, that they could have claimed from the lord of the Qurʾān. In particular, they are shorn of their primordial function relative to humankind, that of uncovering the secrets (q.v.) of destiny *(ghayb),* thereby possessing knowledge of the future and of the world of the invisible (see HIDDEN AND THE HIDDEN; DESTINY; FATE). In the account of the death of Solomon (q.v.; Q 34:14), the jinn, having failed to grasp that the king is dead, continue to serve him in humility and abasement — thus demonstrating their ignorance of the *ghayb*. But the very fact that the Qurʾān dispossesses them, allows, at the same time, for recognition of their former role as mediators between the invisible world and humankind. The Qurʾān finds itself in the surprising position of having to come to terms with the jinn, i.e. subjecting them to its God, so powerful is the image they conjure up in popular imagination and local beliefs. In doing this, the text of the Qurʾān permits us to confirm part of what has been suggested concerning the way in which the desert Arabs (see ARABS; BEDOUIN; PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QURʾĀN) of the sixth century C.E. viewed their relationship to the jinn.

Regarded as having lost their faculty of familiarity with the invisible, the jinn were also seen as having lost their "power" or "faculty of action" (*sulṭān,* e.g. Q 55:33). *Sulṭān* is the exclusive preserve of the God of the Qurʾān, who dispenses it to whomsoever he wishes (Q 14:11; 59:6; etc.; see POWER AND IMPOTENCE). He never delegates complete mastery to anyone, however, since omnipotence remains one of

his exclusive properties (see GOD AND HIS ATTRIBUTES). One should consider this assertion about the reduction of the jinn's powers in the light of the qurʾānic denial of the powers attributed to magic (q.v.; *siḥr*). The qurʾānic allusions to magic seem to demand the presence of an initiator (himself human and dependent on a supernatural being) who "teaches" *(yuʿallimu)* it, that is — in this context — gives "guidelines" (*aʿlām;* cf. Q 2:102; 20:71). The people of Mecca called Muḥammad the "lying sorcerer" (*sāḥir kadhdhāb,* Q 38:4); he is denounced as "bewitched" (*masḥūr,* Q 17:47); he is said to be "possessed by jinn" (*majnūn,* Q 15:6; see INSANITY; LIE). In another passage it is the "satans, devils" (*shayāṭīn,* the equivalent of the jinn in the Qurʾān — see below) who "teach magic to men" (*yuʿallimūna l-nāsa l-siḥar,* Q 2:102). Nonetheless, a pervasive sentiment that the jinn still need to be appeased can be seen in the persistent ritual sacrifices to the jinn, which have been more or less openly admitted until very recently among the desert shepherds. This demonstrates that the powers denied the jinn are nevertheless understood to remain vital despite the passage of centuries (e.g. the sacrifice of the tent reported by Jaussen, *Coutumes,* 339; Wellhausen, *Reste,* 151 also quotes the slightly earlier observations made by Doughty in *Travels,* ii, 629).

Ethnographic research indicates that, despite the qurʾānic statements to the contrary, people continue to believe in the quietly disconcerting presence of these beings, who haunt the spaces to which people do not belong but through which they are nevertheless constrained to pass whenever going from place to place. Their vague hordes appear to be contained, rather than reduced to impotence, in those territories which belong to them and where humans are at constant risk of encountering them. An acknowledgment of divine omnipotence coexists in uneasy tension, within the minds of many Muslims, with the fear that the jinn remain as dangerous and as unpredictable to access as ever.

The jinn most often figure in the Qurʾān in the form of a collectivity. The other name applied to them is *shayāṭīn,* "satans, devils" (associated with the Eng. "demons"), a name whose semantic evolution from classical Greek is worthy of particular attention (see FOREIGN VOCABULARY). The equivalence between the terms jinn and *shayṭān,* already familiar in pre-Islamic Arabia, is confirmed in the Qurʾān with reference to the supernatural beings who are said to be in Solomon's service. They are indicated — indiscriminately — by both these terms: in Q 27:17, 39 and 34:12, 14 it is the jinn who serve Solomon; but in Q 21:82 and 38:37 they are called *shayāṭīn*. Parallel to the use of their designation in the plural, the "satans" come to acquire the status of a proper name, "the Satan" *(al-shayṭān),* a rebel against God (Q 17:27; 19:44) and an enemy *(ʿaduww)* of people (e.g. Q 17:53, and numerous other places in the Qurʾān; see DEVIL).

As regards Iblīs, the qurʾānic *diabolos* (lit. the Gk. term means "he who divides [by calumny]"; this is the Septuagint's translation of the Heb. *sāṭān* [derived from *Job* 1, "the adversary" or "the accuser" — in fact, he who proposes to put the just person to "the test"]), his qurʾānic attestations are far less significant than either the singular or the plural occurrences of *shayṭān*. Iblīs is of immediate interest in the context of the jinn, however, because he is identified as one of them in Q 18:50. Iblīs enters the qurʾānic discourse in the context of a particular narrative, that of his refusal to prostrate himself before Adam (see BOWING AND PROSTRATION; ADAM AND EVE). A.J. Wensinck (Iblīs) sees an origin of this account in the *Life of Adam and Eve* (Kautsch, *Apokryphen,* § 15; also in Riessler, *Altjüdisches Schrifttum*). It should be noted, though, that the more ancient "Vie Grecque d'Adam et

Ève," presented in Dupont-Sommer and Philonenko *(La Bible),* does not contain the passage in question; in the Latin version, however, the "devil" *(der Teufel)* does reject any obligation to prostrate himself before Adam and refuses to obey the command of the archangel Michael (q.v.). The incident is placed after the account of the fall of man from the garden of Eden. In the account contained in the Qurʾān, the order to prostrate comes directly from God without the archangel's (see ANGEL) intervention. Iblīs incurs divine wrath (see ANGER) upon his refusal and sees, at his own request, his punishment "deferred" *(inẓār* or *taʾkhīr)*. He is appointed the "great tempter" (*mughawwī* or *mughwī,* see TRIAL) of humankind until the resurrection (q.v.). In several passages in the Qurʾān this sequence is placed before the account of the fall *(hubūṭ)* of Adam, which is told only subsequently (see FALL OF MAN; GARDEN). This is a reversal of the order of the pseudo-epigraphical texts noted above, in which the fall precedes the devil's confrontation with God. Finally, it should be noted that the qurʾānic tempter of Adam in the garden of paradise (q.v.) is always called *shayṭān* and never Iblīs.

Does the juxtaposition of the two texts (that of the refusal on the part of Iblīs and that of the fall of Adam) imply a continuity of the account or its re-working in the canonical text? The question should at least be asked. In several cases, passages dealing with Iblīs are followed by the account of the fall (Q 2:34; 7:11; 15:31, 32; 17:61; 20:116; 26:95; 34:20; 38:74, 75). It is only in the single verse of Q 18:50 that Iblīs is designated expressly as a jinn. In the other passages he is depicted as a rebellious angel without, however, any explicit mention of his angelic nature; in fact, the text essentially states the following: the angels *(malāʾika)* prostrated themselves except Iblīs *(illā Iblīs)* who refused. In Q 38:76, Iblīs, of whom it has just been said (Q 38:73-4) that he alone among the angels refused, justifies his disobedience (q.v.) saying that he was created from *nār* (the usual translation, but not necessarily appropriate here, is "fire"), and therefore he should not have to prostrate himself before a creature "of clay" (q.v.; *ṭīn*). Does this mean that it justifies his status as a jinn? According to local traditions, the *nār* from which the jinn are created (see below) most certainly does not correspond to "fire" (q.v.), while in the ancient tradition of the Near East — and, *a fortiori,* in the Bible — angelic nature is clearly "igneous" (cf. the Seraphim, etc.; if this meaning prevails, then Iblīs could well be identified as an "angel," in the Near Eastern sense of the term).

The Qurʾān says nothing about the material from which the angels are created. The Islamic tradition regards them as being made from *nūr,* the "cold light of the night," that of the moon (q.v.), which is also the light of guidance and of knowledge (see KNOWLEDGE AND LEARNING), precisely the opposite of *nār,* which is diurnal and solar. As opposed to the jinn, who are incontestably figures from local beliefs, angels (*malak,* pl. *malāʾika,* lit. "envoys," from the root *l-ʾ-k*) are not a local construct: they are attested in Ethiopic and Hebrew, as well as in inscriptions from northeastern Arabia. Although there may have been particular, local understandings of "angels," the qurʾānic discourse on the subject is highly polemical. Perhaps, therefore, the qurʾānic "angels" should not be taken as referring to a local religion, as has sometimes been said in connection with a cult of the "daughters of Allāh" — alleged to be the angels (see below).

Despite the single occurrence in which Iblīs, the "devil" of the Qurʾān, is designated a jinn — could this be an interpolation? — he would seem, thanks to his specific narrative insertion (i.e. his refusal to prostrate to Adam; his corrupting mission is also biblical), to have origins clearly

distinct from those of the local jinn/*shayṭān*. It is only at a later date, in the post-qurʾānic Islamic tradition, that he is finally completely assimilated into *al-shayṭān,* the "Satan" of the Qurʾān as the prototype of all beings hostile to humankind. The two diabolical representations live on in Islamic tradition, enacting a complex destiny often in combination, or encounter, with other negative figures such as various sorts of dragons derived from the ancient Near Eastern traditions. The adventures ascribed to them subsequently have little to do with their itinerary as stated in the Qurʾān.

Even if the jinn of the Qurʾān are shown as deprived of part of their powers because they no longer manage to uncover the secrets of heaven, they can nonetheless raise themselves up to heaven's gates (cf. Q 15:18; 37:10; 72:8-9; see HEAVEN AND SKY). The account of the heavenly ascension of the jinn is obviously not commanded by God — unlike the routes taken by the angels, which, just like those taken by men, must be marked with signposts (e.g. Q 15:14; see also the term *sabab,* pl. *asbāb,* used to designate the obligatory routes for both men and angels at Q 18:84-5, 89, 92; 40:36-7; it should be noted that, for the angels, the *ʿurūj* is specifically a movement of "descending and re-ascending" at Q 15:14; 32:5; 34:2; 57:4; 70:4). But Islamic tradition has continued to recognize the jinn's ability to move in all spaces without needing to follow a trail. This mobility probably corresponds to an ancient local belief that has remained deeply embedded, namely that of the notion — vital in the society of sixth and seventh century Arabia — of movement from place to place and the concept of a route.

Can it therefore be said that the representation of the jinn contained in the Qurʾān is essentially defensive and, in some ways, in continuity with the past? The Qurʾān confirms the division of the earth into two territories — that of humankind and that of the jinn. The formula contained in the Qurʾān, *al-ins wa-l-jinn,* "the humans and the jinn" (also, *al-jinn wa-l-ins*), is clearly dominant in the statements the Qurʾān makes concerning the jinn for there are twenty examples of this conjunction of jinn and humanity (using the collective noun *jinn:* Q 6:112, 128, 130; 7:38, 179; 17:88; 27:17; 41:25, 29; 46:18; 51:56; 55:33; 72:5, 6; using the singular *jānn* employed as a collective noun: Q 55:39, 56, 74; using the plural form *al-jinna wa-l-nās,* "jinn and people [or tribes]": Q 11:119; 32:13; 114:6). The God of the Qurʾān is presented as master of the two spaces. But the ancient representation of the co-existence of this fundamentally bipartite division of the earth (q.v.) remains intact.

With regard to *shayāṭīn al-insi wa-l-jinni* at Q 6:112, "satanic men and jinn," it could be asked to what the "satanization" here evoked corresponds. Since the verse probably belongs to the Medinan period (see CHRONOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN) it can doubtless be compared to the various passages denouncing an "alliance" *(walāʾ)* between humans and the "demons" *(shayāṭīn),* a designation that should be regarded as another name for the jinn: the infidels adopt these "demons" as allies (Q 7:27, 30; cf. 17:27), but the alliance will in no case benefit them (Q 2:16; see CONTRACTS AND ALLIANCES; CLIENTS AND CLIENTAGE). There is also a series of occurrences where the alliance is with "the Satan," the term being used as a proper name. He is as much a betrayer of the cause of humankind as are the "demons," and will lead people to their damnation (see REWARD AND PUNISHMENT): Q 25:29 reflects this theme, that of *khadhūl,* the "abandonment"

of humanity by its pseudo-ally, the Satan (see ENEMIES). The same theme is to be found in Q 25:18 with the earlier deities designated periphrastically as "that which is adored apart from God" (see POLYTHEISM AND ATHEISM). These passages correspond to the evolution of the demonology proper to the Qurʾān, which ends up individualizing the satanic figure in a symbolic role that seems to condense together all the negative aspects of the "demons," variously named. Like an unavoidable figure of the anti-god he seems to remain capable of trapping humans (e.g. Q 27:24 or 58:19).

The theme of demonization and the accusation of pacts with the jinn apply specifically to the Medinan enemies of Muḥammad (see MEDINA; OPPOSITION TO MUḤAMMAD), the "impious" (*kāfirūn,* the ancient "ingrates" of tribal Arabia, "those who fail to recognize a benefit received"; see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF; GRATITUDE AND INGRATITUDE; BLESSING), the "hypocrites" (*munāfiqūn,* formerly used of "cowards," and, as noted by Watt, also the term used to designate Muḥammad's political enemies in Medina; see HYPOCRITES AND HYPOCRISY), or however they are named. It is a technique of qurʾānic polemical discourse (see POLEMIC AND POLEMICAL LANGUAGE) typical of the Medinan era, corresponding to conflict situations in which the religious argument often comes to the aid of the political (see POLITICS AND THE QURʾĀN; LANGUAGE AND STYLE OF THE QURʾĀN). This is in contrast to the Meccan period, in which Muḥammad is accused by his own of being "possessed by the jinn." The antithetical relationship between the jinn as negative allies and God as the only positive ally (*walī,* e.g. Q 4:45) lends itself to conjecture about a "cult" alleged to be devoted to the jinn. In particular, some qurʾānic passages that discuss the jinn utilize terminology similar to that concerning the "service" rendered to God: i.e. *ʿibādat al-jinn* (there is also a passage on the "service" devoted to Satan, Q 36:60). But, just like people, the jinn must adore God alone (Q 51:56). Just like humans they are subjected to the last judgment (q.v.; Q 37:158). Like the "people of the tribes" *(nās),* a number of them are destined for hell (q.v.; Q 11:119; for further references to the infernal destiny of the jinn, see Q 6:128; 7:38, 179; 32:13; 55:39).

In the Qurʾān, the theme of the nations that were destroyed because of their rebellion is also applied to the jinn (see PUNISHMENT STORIES). One passage (Q 6:130) attributes to the jinn, after the fashion of humans, "envoys from among you *(min-kum)*… who warned you" (see MESSENGER; WARNER), but this passage seems to have its origins in a form of rhetorical symmetry and nothing more is known about it (see FORM AND STRUCTURE OF THE QURʾĀN; RHETORIC OF THE QURʾĀN). The disappearance of the "nations" *(umam)* of the jinn is also associated — without providing any further detail — with that of the human "nations" that have disappeared (Q 41:25; 46:18; cf. Q 7:38, where disappearance is associated with "hell" *(nār)*; see GENERATIONS). This is probably an extrapolation of the Qurʾān's discourse, bringing the punishment of the impious, of the deniers and of those who fail to recognize the "signs" (q.v.; *āyāt*) of God to its logical conclusion. The jinn of the Qurʾān again lose ground with reference to their previous status. They are reduced to sharing the eschatological destiny of humankind (see ESCHATOLOGY).

In this type of passage it is impossible to distinguish that which has its origins in beliefs and practices evident in seventh-century Arabia from that which belongs to the Qurʾān's polemical discourse and the

controversy pursued with enemies in an attempt to confuse them by the force of words (cf. Q 2:14, where the hypocrites are with their "demons"; in Q 6:121, it is these demons who push "their minions", i.e. Muḥammad's adversaries, to "controversy" or "disputation," *mujādala,* see DEBATE AND DISPUTATION).

It is also no easy task to uncover the reality of the belief that is being fought over in the tangled Meccan passages about a "cult of angels" *(ʿibādat al-malāʾika)* — which seems to become confused with a cult of the jinn (Q 34:41; cf. also the "invocation," *ʿawdh,* addressed to the jinn in Q 72:6) — and about the representation of angels as "daughters" *(banāt)* of God (Q 6:100; 16:57; 37:149, 153; 43:16; 52:39). In Q 37:150-2 it is a question of a belief in the fact that the lord is said to have procreated angels of the female gender (q.v.), while in verse 158 of the same sūra, a form of "kinship" *(nasab)* is alleged between God and the jinn. In Q 6:100, the jinn are said to be "associates" *(shurakāʾ)* of God while the "daughters of God" are once again evoked. It appears that in this polemic, pseudo-angelized figures are being reduced to jinn, the pseudo-angelized figures who, in the final analysis, would seem to be the tribes' local protecting goddesses who are to disappear slowly but surely under a variety of disguises (see the remarks made by Wellhausen [*Reste,* 24] regarding the term "daughter of God," which he compares to the representation of the *Beney Elohim*). In all likelihood it is also a way of reducing them to a minor, subordinate role by declaring that, just like humans, they are "created beings." And yet their nature is stated to be different from that of humankind. The Qurʾān says that they are made from *nār*. The usual translation, "fire," probably makes no sense in the context. The image conjured up is that of a representation of wreaths of smoke and mirages of "the burning air of the solar day" and not that of flames. This metaphorical transposition could also be recognized in the numerous qurʾānic uses of the concept of *nār* (regarding the nature of the jinn, see Q 15:27, "created from the fire of *al-samūm*"; and Q 55:15, *min mārijin min nārin,* a difficult formulation which would make the jinn "unformed beings created from the reverberated heat" and not, as in some translations — such as that of Kazimirski — beings created from a "pure fire without smoke"; see, for an attempt at a more precise explanation of the two passages, Chabbi, *Seigneur,* 190 f.).

But this difference in nature that the Qurʾān is constrained to admit, can only permit the jinn to retain powers that enable them to outclass humans. Thus, although the jinn are no longer able to hear what heaven says about destiny, they are nonetheless still represented as being perfectly capable of rising up to heaven without divine assistance. The divine guard at the gates of heaven requires all of its powers, launching against them "fiery traces" *(shihāb),* to throw them back to earth and prevent them from collecting the secrets of the future (Q 37:10; 72:8-9). A further valiant deed could have been credited to a jinn of Solomon's court who is said to be *ʿifrīt* (q.v.), "very skillful and crafty." He suggested to his master that, in an instant, he could bring him the throne of the queen of Sheba (see BILQĪS); but the jinn does not have the time to demonstrate his powers (which are manifestly seen as effective) since his place is taken by a more suitable member of the king's retinue — one who "knew the scripture" — who accomplished the mission "in the twinkling of an eye" (Q 27:39-40).

In fact, therefore, the approach taken by the Qurʾān to the jinn seems to be para-

doxical. A final quotation will demonstrate another way in which the Qurʾān treats them: their persistent power can be perceived as a constant theme when the Qurʾān itself appeals to their testimony (see WITNESSING AND TESTIFYING) in order to convince men who refuse to believe. These are the "believing jinn," called to aid in attesting to the pre-eminence of a *qurʾān* (a verbal noun designating "the message faithfully transmitted" and not yet Qurʾān as a proper noun) that they have heard by chance and that they call "marvelous" (*ʿajab,* Q 72:1; see MARVELS; MIRACLE). If the jinn themselves are convinced, how could humans not be convinced? The reasoning must have been seen as incontestable.

A non-Arabic origin of the word *jinn* is not immediately traceable, even though it is cognate to the root *j-n-n,* present in most of the ancient Semitic languages, albeit as a designation of a garden or a cultivated place with trees (the Hebrew *gan;* this latter meaning is retained in Arabic, wherein the triliteral root *j-n-n* is used to designate a "cover" of vegetation). On the other hand, the Ethiopic *gānen* has the meaning of "demon, evil spirit." Sometimes this Ethiopic term is said to be of Syriac origin (Leslau, *Dictionary,* 198), from the root *g-n-n,* "recover, reside in, descend upon" (this is used of the Holy Ghost, see Payne Smith, *Dictionary,* 73; see HOLY SPIRIT). But Syriac (see SYRIAC AND THE QURʾĀN) does not appear to provide the negative meaning "possessed," a meaning well-attested in Arabic and Ethiopic. It is probable, therefore, that this latter meaning of *jinn* is a development specific to Arabic, which passed into Ethiopic. At any rate, the term *jinn,* with its derivatives *jānn, jinna, jinnī* (in the masculine, the feminine and the collective, respectively), is fully attested in the Arabic of the era of the Qurʾān. The representation and perception of the permanent encounter with, and the otherness of, these metamorphic beings lend support to their imaginary existence in the minds of people. The Qurʾān strives to turn to its God's advantage the fear inspired by the jinn and to annihilate the powers attributed to them by the pastoral and nomadic societies of western Arabia. Nevertheless, these strange creatures have continued to exist in a particularly intense manner in a wide variety of disguises in the collective imaginings of Islamic societies. They encountered and merged with other supernatural beings already long resident in the territories conquered by Islam. Some of these retained their original names such as, for instance, the *div* in Iran. Others would lose their identity, at least in appearance, and be assimilated with the figures, most surely negative, that can be definitively identified as jinn.

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Jizya see POLL TAX; TAXATION

Job

One of the prophetic figures preceding Muḥammad common to the Jewish, Christian and Islamic traditions (see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD). Job (Ayyūb) is mentioned in only four pericopes: Q 6:83-7 and 4:163 set him in the company of the prophets while Q 38:41-2 and Q 21:83-4 allude to his distinctive vocation and charisma.

In Q 6:83-90, together with Abraham (q.v.), Isaac (q.v.), Jacob (q.v.), Noah (q.v.), David (q.v.), Solomon (q.v.), Joseph (q.v.), Moses (q.v.) and Aaron (q.v.), Zechariah (q.v.), John (see JOHN THE BAPTIST), Jesus (q.v.), Elias (see ELIJAH), Ishmael (q.v.), Elisha (q.v.), Jonah (q.v.) and Lot (q.v.), he is included among those God has guided, chosen and preferred to ordinary humankind (see ELECTION), to whom he has given scripture (see BOOK; SCRIPTURE AND THE QUR'ĀN), authority (q.v.), prophethood and whose example is to be followed. In Q 4:163, Job is named among those to whom a revelation (see REVELATION AND INSPIRATION) has been given so that humans will not be able to claim ignorance (q.v.) of God's will. The names given include those mentioned in the pericope cited above — omitting Joseph, Zechariah, John, Elias, Elisha and Lot, but adding "the tribes" (*al-asbāṭ,* see CHILDREN OF ISRAEL; TRIBES AND CLANS), and two general categories subsuming all the other prophets, those mentioned to Muḥammad, and those not mentioned to him.

As for Job's special character, Q 38:41-2 presents Job calling to his lord, "Satan (see DEVIL) has indeed touched me with hardship and pain (see TRIAL)." God responds to his cry, "Scuff [the earth] with your foot. Here is [water] a place to cleanse yourself, [it is] cooling, it is drink." Job obeys. A spring appears in which he bathes and from which he drinks. His kin and "the like of them with them" are restored to him as an act of divine mercy (q.v.). God then (Q 38:44) commands him to strike "her" (the ellipsed pronoun in *fa-ḍrib bihi* has no explicit referent) with a sprig of leaves in order to keep an oath he has made (see OATHS). The pericope ends with a formula of praise — "How excellent a servant! Constantly was he turned [to God]" *(ni'ma l-'abdu innahu awwāb)* — which, in Q 38:30, celebrates the virtues of Solomon, the only other prophet to be honored with this formula. Q 21:83-4 likewise tells of Job's call to his lord, God's hearing of him, removal of the hurt upon him, restoration of what he had lost, and his praise of God as "most merciful of the merciful."

Both of the pericopes that indicate Job's special character are allusive, but the exegetical tradition (see EXEGESIS OF THE QUR'ĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL), as summarized by al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923; *Tafsīr,* ad loc.), supplies an inter-text in the light of which they may be understood. Job cried out because God had allowed Satan to put him to the test by destroying his livestock, slaying his kin, and afflicting him with a painful disease (see ILLNESS AND HEALTH). Because he remained faithful while put to the test, God heard his cry, healed him with a miraculous spring, and restored to him two-fold both his kin, and the property taken from him. The person to be struck with a sprig in Q 38:44 refers to his wife. She alone, during his illness, had not deserted him. But she was tempted by Satan, to whom she had urged Job to sacri-

fice a kid in order to be healed. Job swore an oath (see OATHS) that if cured, he would punish her with a hundred lashes. Because of her faithfulness, God alleviated this punishment, telling Job to strike her once with a sprig of one hundred leaves.

In the light of this inter-text, the status and role of Job in the divine economy of prophetic guidance is clear. These two pericopes present Job's distinctive charisma, that of patience in enduring undeserved suffering without challenging God to explain his wisdom (q.v.) in putting him to the test (see TRUST AND PATIENCE). The story of Job in the Qurʾān then is understood primarily as a reward narrative (see BLESSING), with an emphasis different from that of the story of Job in the Bible.

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John the Baptist

The New Testament herald of Jesus (q.v.) who also figures in the Qurʾān (see SCRIPTURE AND THE QURʾĀN). John the Baptist, son of Zechariah (q.v.), called in Arabic Yaḥyā b. Zakariyyā, is mentioned by name five times in the Qurʾān. In Q 3:39, John is described as noble, chaste and a prophet who will "witness the truth (q.v.) of a word from God," that is, Jesus (see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD; WORD OF GOD; WITNESSING AND TESTIFYING). Q 6:85 speaks of John along with Zechariah, Jesus and Elias (see ELIJAH) as being of the "righteous." Q 19:7 announces the forthcoming birth of John to Zechariah (see GOOD NEWS) with the remark that this name was being used for the first time (or that this was the first prophet by that name; cf. *Luke* 1:59-63). Q 19:12 conveys the command to John to be a prophet with a book (q.v.; usually taken by Muslim exegetes [see EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL] to mean that John confirms the Torah [q.v.], not that he brought a new scripture). Q 21:90 explains that John's birth was a response to Zechariah's prayer, and the curing of his wife's barrenness. The spelling of the name Yaḥyā for Yoḥanan is known from pre-Islamic times and is probably derived from Christian Arabic usage (see CHRISTIANS AND CHRISTIANITY). Muslim exegetes frequently trace the name to a root sense of "to quicken" or "to make alive" and connect this to the barrenness of John's mother and to his people's absence of faith, themes that are present in the Qurʾān.

Although the qurʾānic details of the story of John are few, extended discussions concerning him have arisen throughout Muslim history. For example, the idea that John was "chaste" *(ḥaṣūr)* provoked a good deal of debate (see ABSTINENCE; ASCETICISM).

In their discussions of Q 3:39, some exegetes understood this word to be intended in its sexual sense of being incapable of coitus ("he had a penis no bigger than this piece of straw," Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* vi, 377, a prophetic ḥadīth on the authority of Saʿīd b. al-Musayyab) or of abstaining from it. Other exegetes rejected that view, for it would suggest some sort of imperfection on the part of the prophet, and argued that the word means only that John was free from impure actions and thoughts, and that it does not preclude John's having been married (see MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE) and fathering children (q.v.).

The Muslim rendering of the birth, life and death of John have, in general, been elaborated on the basis of the Christian accounts. John, it is said, was born six months prior to Jesus. He became a prophet, traveled to Palestine, met and baptized Jesus in the Jordan river and departed with twelve disciples to teach the people (see APOSTLE; BAPTISM). At the instigation of Salome, Herod had John put to death prior to Jesus' death and ascension. Many of the accounts, however, have become confused and place John's life in the era of Nebuchadnezzar. This is especially evident in stories related to John's death (which is not mentioned in the Qurʾān). The Israelite king Josiah, it is said, killed John, the son of Zechariah, and Nebuchadnezzar attacked Jerusalem (q.v.) as a result. In these accounts, the king's action is motivated by his desire to marry his own niece, an action of which John disapproved. The conspiracy of the girl's mother then led to the death of John (cf. the story of Salome, *Matt* 14:1-11; *Mark* 6:16-29). Nebuchadnezzar invaded in order to solve problems that arose as a result of John's death (or God simply inspired him to do so). The source of this chronological confusion is likely found in the name Zechariah (a name which had already occasioned confusion within the biblical tradition) with a conflation taking place of the author of the biblical book of Zechariah, the Zechariah of Isaiah 8, the prophet Zechariah of 2 Chronicles 24:22 (who was killed by King Joash), and Zakariyyā, the father of John. Al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923), in recounting these traditions, indicates that he is well aware that many regard these stories as false and based on a historical error, there being 461 years between the lives of Nebuchadnezzar and John the Baptist.

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Jonah

One of the prophets mentioned in both the Bible and the Qurʾān (see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD). Jonah (Yūnus b. Mittai, Heb. Jōnā ben Amittai) is named

five times in the Qurʾān: Q 4:163 lists him together with Abraham (q.v.), Jesus (q.v.) and other prophets who have received revelations (see REVELATION AND INSPIRATION); as rightly-guided he is cited together with Zechariah (q.v.), Jesus and other prophets in Q 6:85-86; his people *(qawm Yūnus)* were, according to Q 10:98, the only ones who escaped divine punishment because they had repented (see PUNISHMENT STORIES; REPENTANCE AND PENANCE).

As told in the Qurʾān, the story of Jonah resembles in many details the account narrated in the biblical book of Jonah. Jonah, also called Dhū l-Nūn ("the man of the whale"), rebelled against God's mission, ran away in wrath, was swallowed by the fish, praised God, confessed his sin in the belly of the fish, and was thrown ashore (Q 21:87-8). This and the rest of the story is told in Q 37:139-48: When he was saved, he found shade under a tree, and was sent "to a hundred thousand or more." In Q 68:48-50, Muḥammad is admonished to wait with patience (see TRUST AND PATIENCE) for the command of the lord, and not to behave like "the man of the fish" *(ṣāḥib al-ḥūt),* who went away without God's permission.

Muslim tradition as expressed in qurʾānic commentary (*tafsīr,* see EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL) and the "tales of the prophets" *(qiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ)* embellished the short account given in the Qurʾān with many details, continuing Jewish and Christian teachings (see SCRIPTURE AND THE QURʾĀN; MYTHS AND LEGENDS IN THE QURʾĀN). There are two different versions of the story, one following in broad lines the biblical account, while the other has a somewhat different sequence of events. The first relates that Jonah delivered his message in Nineveh and went away in wrath when people did not follow him and divine punishment did not arrive promptly. He went on board a ship, was swallowed by the fish, cast ashore, and returned to Nineveh. Upon his arrival, he found that in his absence the inhabitants had repented and punishment had been suspended. So he settled there. According to other accounts, he took to wandering about as an ascetic, accompanied by the king of Nineveh who had renounced the throne, ceding it to a shepherd who had assisted Jonah on his way back to the city.

A full account of Jonah's biography has been provided by al-Kisāʾī (*Qiṣaṣ,* 296-301; Eng. trans. in id., *Tales,* 321-6). Jonah was born when his mother Ṣadaqa was far beyond the age of childbearing. In his early life he practiced asceticism (q.v.); then he married Anak, the daughter of Zakariyyā b. Yūḥannā, a rich merchant of Ramla. When he was called to prophethood he went to Nineveh, accompanied by his wife and two sons. He lost them as he crossed the Tigris. Jonah was rebuked while preaching in Nineveh and he left the city because of imminent punishment, watched the city from a nearby hill, went on board a ship, was swallowed by the fish and cast ashore, and was reunited with his family on his way back to Nineveh. Finding the inhabitants in a state of happiness he spent the rest of his life there.

The story of Jonah posed theological problems for Muslims, as it had for Jews and Christians. Jews took offence at the sending of an Israelite prophet to the pagans, whereas Christians saw in him the model of evangelization to the heathens. This is mirrored in Muslim tradition in a story with an obviously Jewish or Judeo-Christian background (see JEWS AND JUDAISM; CHRISTIANS AND CHRISTIANITY): King Hezekiah, on the advice of Isaiah (q.v.), ordered Jonah to bring back the tribes in exile who had been abducted by the king of Nineveh. Angry at the king,

Jonah went away, was swallowed by the fish, repented of his disobedience (q.v.), was cast ashore and then went to Nineveh to accomplish his mission. The inhabitants first rebuked him, but finally they let the Israelites go.

Another problem was Jonah's anger. He was angry because God had postponed punishment for Nineveh (*Jon* 4:1). This is likewise told in Q 21:87: "When he departed in wrath *(idh dhahaba mughāḍiban)*." Yet, this is rather vague, leaving open the reason for Jonah's emotional reaction (cf. e.g. Schwarzbaum, *Biblical and extra-biblical legends,* 112). As Muslims did not consider it acceptable for a prophet to show such an attitude toward God's orders (see OBEDIENCE), they offered alternative explanations: He was enraged at King Hezekiah who had ordered him to go to Nineveh on the advice of a prophet but, evidently, without any divine instruction. Another solution was to declare the obstinacy of the people of Nineveh as the cause of Jonah's wrath (see INSOLENCE AND OBSTINACY). A third explanation was his being angry at the urgency of his mission: The angel Gabriel (q.v.), who brought the orders, did not allow him any time for preparation, not even to put on his sandals. Jonah therefore went away in anger, seeking refuge on board a ship. His refusal to transmit the message was a grave offence, indeed. Another offence was his departure — without God's permission — from Nineveh because the punishment of its inhabitants was not forthcoming. In Q 68:48, Muḥammad is cautioned against making such an emigration (q.v.; *hijra*) without waiting for divine permission. Jonah repented in the belly of the fish, confessing that he was a sinner: "I was indeed wrong (*innī kuntu mina l-ẓālimīn,* Q 21:87)."

Another question with theological implications is the doubt (see UNCERTAINTY) Jonah had about God's omnipotence (see POWER AND IMPOTENCE; FREEDOM AND PREDESTINATION). Q 21:87, *fa-zanna an lan naqdira ʿalayhi,* may be translated "He imagined that we had no power over him." Two answers were found to avoid the accusation of unbelief (see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF): One was that Jonah did not expect imprisonment in the narrow belly of the fish, *qadara* meaning "to measure the size," not only "to have power." Another solution was to provide the phrase with a question mark. On the other hand, being swallowed by a fish was not the proper punishment of one who questioned God's omnipotence. God, however, granted Jonah a loan *(salaf)* because he had displayed piety (q.v.) and devotion before he was disobedient. God, therefore, was not ready to leave him to the devil (q.v.), and instead punished him by locking him up in the belly of the fish for some time. "Had it not been that he glorified God" *(fa-law lā annahu kāna min al-musabbiḥīn)* before he refused to obey God's orders "he would certainly have remained inside the fish till the day of resurrection" (q.v.; Q 37:143 f.). His imprisonment in the belly of the fish was not a punishment *(ʿuqūba),* but a correction (*taʾdīb,* see CHASTISEMENT AND PUNISHMENT; REWARD AND PUNISHMENT).

Because Jonah was impatient, he does not belong to the prophets of "inflexible purpose" (*ūlū l-ʿazm,* Q 46:35) praised for their patience. He was saved because he prayed when he was in distress (see PRAYER). Therefore, he is a model for the pious Muslim in case of need. He is likewise a model for the penitent. His mother conceived him, according to al-Kisāʾī (*Qiṣaṣ,* 296; *Tales,* 321), on the eve, i.e. the day before ʿĀshūrā, the Jewish Day of Atonement. This means that Jonah was destined for atonement. In Jewish life, the eve of the Day of Atonement had taken on the character of a festival (see FASTING; FESTIVALS AND COMMEMORATIVE DAYS). It was a Friday, as al-Kisāʾī adds, and it was on that day that the punishment of Nineveh was

cancelled (cf. Rāzī, *Tafsīr,* ad Q 10:98). It can parenthetically be remarked that the book of Jonah is read in synagogues during the Day of Atonement afternoon service.

The church fathers explained Jonah's sojourn of three days in the belly of the fish and his salvation as a prefiguration of the death and resurrection of Jesus. The length of his sojourn in the fish is, however, not mentioned in the Qurʾān. Muslim tradition narrates three days, though other figures have also been proposed, ranging from one day to one month or forty days.

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Joseph

The son of Jacob (q.v.; Yaʿqūb), whose story is told in Sūrat Yūsuf ("Joseph"), the twelfth sūra of the Qurʾān. This sūra is devoted to the story of Joseph (Yūsuf) and, as such, it is the Qurʾān's longest sustained narrative of one character's life. The sūra's

111 verses *(āyāt)* relate events in Joseph's life ranging from his youthful conversations with his father Jacob and his brothers (see BENJAMIN; BROTHER AND BROTHERHOOD), conversations that lead to Joseph's exile and imprisonment, to the resolution of the family's conflicts through divine guidance and inspiration (see REVELATION AND INSPIRATION). Q 12:3 announces that "the best of stories" *(aḥsan al-qaṣaṣ),* is to be related (see NARRATIVES). Qurʾān commentaries differ as to whether this is a direct reference to the story at hand or a more general statement on the nature of qurʾānic narrative. Those commentators who see Joseph's as the best of all stories give a multiplicity of reasons for its superiority (see MYTHS AND LEGENDS IN THE QURʾĀN). "It is the most beautiful because of the lessons concealed in it, on account of Joseph's generosity, and its wealth of matter — in which prophets (see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD), angels (see ANGEL), devils (see DEVIL), jinn (q.v.), men, animals, birds (see COSMOLOGY; ANIMAL LIFE), rulers (see KINGS AND RULERS; COMMUNITY AND SOCIETY IN THE QURʾĀN), and subjects play a part" (Thaʿlabī, *Qiṣaṣ,* ad loc.).

Throughout the sūra, there are interjections that exhort the believers to see the hand of God in human affairs and to recognize the power of true prophecy (Q 12:7, 56-7). Joseph can thus be seen as exemplifying the basic paradigm of the Qurʾān: he is a prophet *(nabī)* who is derided and exiled, but is eventually vindicated and rises to prominence. As such, he serves as a model for the life of Muḥammad and many of the qurʾānic commentaries (*tafāsīr;* see EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL) see this as a central theme and function of the sūra (see also OPPOSITION TO MUḤAMMAD). This interpretation is strengthened by the "occasions of revelation" (q.v.; *asbāb al-nuzūl*) tradition, which places the circumstance of Sūrat Yūsuf's

revelation at the point where Muḥammad is challenged by skeptics who doubt his knowledge of the narratives of the Children of Israel (q.v.; *banū Isrā'īl,* Bayḍāwī, *Anwār*). The sūra is one response to this challenge, and is thus greatly detailed and includes information not known from earlier tellings of the stories of Jacob's family.

In his commentary on the opening of the sūra, "These are the signs of the manifest book" (Q 12:1), al-Bayḍāwī offers an alternative reading to the simple meaning of the text. He explains it thus: "This is the sūra which makes plain to the Jews that which they asked… it is recorded that their learned men said to the chiefs of the polytheists, 'Ask Muḥammad why Jacob's family moved from Syria (q.v.) to Egypt (q.v.), and about the story of Joseph,' whereupon this sūra was revealed." On one occasion Muḥammad is asked for even greater detail, whereupon he reveals the names of the stars (see PLANETS AND STARS) that Joseph saw in his dream (cf. Zamakhsharī, *Kashshāf;* see JEWS AND JUDAISM).

Dreams (see DREAMS AND SLEEP) are central to this narrative. Joseph's dream of ascension to power, an ambition so bitterly resented by his brothers, is featured in Q 12:4-7. The king of Egypt's (see PHARAOH) dreams trouble him, they are "a jumble of dreams" *(aḍghāthu aḥlāmin),* and only Joseph can offer the true interpretation (Q 12:43-9). Here one can see the compression of narrative at work in the sūra. While in the Joseph narratives of the Hebrew Bible, both dream episodes — those of Joseph and those of the Pharaoh — have two dreams each, the Qur'ān tells of only one dream for each figure. The essence of their messages is conveyed through the manner in which these dreams are written and their expressed interpretations (see SCRIPTURE AND THE QUR'ĀN).

The two dream episodes are separated by that section of the narrative that has received the most exegetical and literary attention (both in Islamic and Western culture): the episode in which his master's wife attempts to seduce Joseph (Q 12:23-31). The reasons for Joseph's rejection of the unnamed older woman are not directly stated. Rather, it is related that he was led away from temptation when he saw the "proof of his lord" (*burhān rabbihi,* Q 12:24), variously interpreted as an image of the master of the house or as an image of his father Jacob. Other interpretations understand the interruption as a "call" of divine origin telling Joseph not to sin or as the actual appearance on the wall of qur'ānic verses warning against sin (see SIN, MAJOR AND MINOR; ADULTERY AND FORNICATION; SEX AND SEXUALITY).

Joseph's adventure with his master's wife and his subsequent encounter with "the women of the city" lead him to prison, a prison from which he is freed after he interprets the king's dream. The Qur'ān here emphasizes Joseph's innocence and sets the stage for the second half of the narrative to unfold. This latter half of Sūrat Yūsuf is focused on the dramatic encounters between Joseph and his family. Shuttling between their father Jacob and their brother Joseph, the brothers (who remain unnamed), seek a resolution of the family conflict. Before the brothers and their father enter Egypt together (Q 12:100) the conflict is resolved. Joseph assures his brothers that they will not be blamed and Jacob is told that his children are forgiven. As the narrative closes, the sūra exhorts the reader/listener to see the actions of God at work in this story, actions which are made manifest only through God's messengers (see MESSENGER).

Joseph's name appears in two sūras other than Sūrat Yūsuf. In a list of earlier prophetic figures, Joseph's name appears

between those of Job (Ayyūb) and Moses (Mūsā; Q 6:84). On this same theme of Joseph as one of the earlier messengers — and thus a predecessor of, and model for, Muḥammad — see Q 40:34, where it is stated that "Joseph brought you the clear signs (q.v.) before, yet you continued in doubt (q.v.) concerning what he brought you until, when he perished, you said 'God will never send forth a messenger after him'."

Neither Joseph's death nor burial is mentioned in the Qurʾān, but they do figure in Islamic legends. Al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923) relates a tradition that Joseph lived to the age of 120. He also cites the biblical tradition that tells of Joseph's death at an earlier age, "In the Torah (q.v.) it is said that he lived one hundred and ten years, and that Ephraim and Manasseh were born to him." The use of Joseph's coffin to ensure Egypt's fertility also appears in Islamic folklore. In his commentary on Sūrat Yūsuf, al-Bayḍāwī (d. ca. 685/1286) says, "… the Egyptians disputed about Joseph's burial place until they were on the verge of fighting, so they decided to place him in a marble sarcophagus and bury him in the Nile in such a way that the water would pass over him and thereafter reach all of Egypt. Then the Egyptians would all be on an equal footing in regard to him." From Egypt, Joseph's bones are carried to Syria (al-Shām). There are contending Islamic traditions as to Joseph's final burial place. One tradition places it in the Ḥaram al-Khalīl in Hebron (cf. Yāqūt, *Buldān,* ii, 498-9). Another situates it in the village of Balata (Yāqūt, *Buldān,* i, 710; al-Harawī, *Guide,* 61), near Nablus. As this brief overview demonstrates, the commentarial and folkloric traditions concerning Sūrat Yūsuf are particularly rich. While earlier Western scholarship focused on comparisons between this sūra and the Hebrew Bible's Joseph narratives, the more recent scholarship focuses on the literary qualities of the sūra and on the relevance of this narrative to the life of Muḥammad.

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Journey

Voyage, usually of some length, from one place to another. Terms to be translated as "journey, trip, travel," occur throughout the Qurʾān. Perhaps the most obvious, and most frequent, are derivatives of *s-f-r, s-y-r,* and *ḍ-r-b (fī).* Of this set, eight (Q 2:184, 185, 283; 4:43; 5:6 *[s-f-r];* 4:101; 5:106; 73:20 *[ḍ-r-b]*) concern legal prescriptions brought into play by the act of travel (see LAW AND THE QURʾĀN). For example, Q 2:184-5, "[fast; see FASTING] for a given number of

days, but if any among you is ill (see ILLNESS AND HEALTH) or on a journey *(ʿalā safarin),* [fast] on an equal number of other days." (Commentary on this passage appears limited; see Ayoub, *Qurʾān,* 193-5.) Q 2:283 addresses pledges of trust (see OATHS; CONTRACTS AND ALLIANCES); Q 5:106 finding sound witnesses (in executing bequests; see INHERITANCE; WITNESSING AND TESTIFYING); and Q 4:43 and 5:6 allowing travelers alternate forms of ritual cleansing (see CLEANLINESS AND ABLUTION) prior to prayer (q.v.). Q 4:101, "when you travel through the world *(wa-idhā ḍarabtum fī l-arḍ),* you occur no sin (see SIN, MAJOR AND MINOR) if you shorten the prayer," speaks to risks for the traveler in hostile territory. The last of the set, Q 73:20, recognizes the traveler's need to curtail reading of the Qurʾān (see RECITATION OF THE QURʾĀN; RITUAL AND THE QURʾĀN) when circumstances require it.

A second category reflects, more generally, movement in the name of God or, more properly, "upon the path of God" (*fī sabīli llāhi,* cf. Q 2:190, 218, 262, 273; 5:54; 22:9; 24:22; see PATH OR WAY). Q 9:41, on the arduous nature of service to God, is an example; so, too, is Q 4:94, in which the believer is told to display vigilance and humility when venturing into the world. Q 9:111 refers to those who "wander" in such manner; the term *sāʾiḥ,* here used in the plural, is understood by Arabic lexicographers to refer to ascetics (see ASCETICISM), specifically those devoted to fasting (see *Lisān al-ʿArab*). A final category appears to denote simply instances of movement from place to place: i.e. Q 3:156 *(ḍ-r-b),* which refers to the travel of unbelievers (see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF). Nearly all of the derivatives of *s-y-r* fall into this category, such as Q 12:109, "do they not travel through the world?" Two references to Moses (q.v.), Q 18:62 and Q 28:29, speak of his travel; and Q 34:18 *(al-sayr)* and Q 34:19 *(asfārinā),* in reference to the people of Sabaʾ (see SHEBA), treat distances or stages of journey.

A further term, *riḥla,* in Q 106:2, proved unsettling to the exegetes. It is one of four uses of derivatives of *r-ḥ-l;* the remaining three, Q 12:62, 70, 75, treat the saddlebags *(raḥl,* pl. *riḥāl)* of Joseph's (q.v.) brothers (see BROTHER AND BROTHERHOOD). The term *riḥla* occurs in Q 106 (Sūrat Quraysh — known also as Sūrat Īlāf) ostensibly in reference to the pair of journeys taken by the Quraysh (q.v.) at set points of the year, one in the cold, the second in the hot season (see SEASONS). Al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923; *Tafsīr,* ad loc) indicates that many of the early commentators (see EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL) understood that the Quraysh, for reasons of commerce ("they were merchants"; see SELLING AND BUYING; CARAVAN), underwent a winter *riḥla* to Yemen (q.v.; usually, the view is, because of the favorable weather) and a summer *riḥla* to Syria (q.v.). While his apparent preference lies with this reading, al-Ṭabarī cites an alternate view, that both journeys were confined to the Ḥijāz (see GEOGRAPHY; PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QURʾĀN). Later commentators would occasionally relate these journeys to the performance of the lesser and greater pilgrimages (*ʿumra* and *ḥajj,* respectively; see PILGRIMAGE). In sum, and particularly in later commentaries, the exegetes are uncertain as to the meaning of the term other than as a reference to journeys of some kind undertaken by the Quraysh. Further questions surrounding *riḥla* are treated by, among others, P. Crone (*Meccan trade,* 204-14) and F.E. Peters (*Muhammad,* 88-92). The first such problem concerns the relationship of Sūrat Quraysh to Sūrat al-Fīl ("The Elephant"; Q 106 and Q 105 respectively). Some early exegetes treat the two as a single sūra; al-Ṭabarī (*Tafsīr,* xxx, 197-8),

however, weighs in against this view (see I. Shahīd, Two sūras, for a modern counterview). Closely related problems arise in reference to *īlāf,* about which the commentaries are in frequent disagreement — both with regard to the reading (see READINGS OF THE QUR'ĀN; ORTHOGRAPHY; ARABIC SCRIPT) and the interpretation. If the frequently expressed view is correct, that it refers to arrangements permitted by God and executed by the Quraysh in order to create the proper conditions for safe passage, or, simply, the order created by God that allowed the Quraysh to survive, even thrive (see BLESSING; GRACE; MERCY), one is still left with the question regarding the nature of these journeys.

Riḥla takes on, beginning with the early Islamic tradition, the notion of travel as an act of piety (q.v.) and scholarship (see KNOWLEDGE AND LEARNING). In a well-known ḥadīth (see ḤADĪTH AND THE QUR'ĀN), the Prophet urges believers to seek "knowledge, wisdom" *('ilm)* even as far as China, if need be. Drawing, if indirectly, on this impulse, and joining it frequently to participation in the pilgrimage *(ḥajj),* Muslim authors crafted a genre of travel literature (see TRIPS AND VOYAGES). Premier examples of the genre are the works of Ibn Jubayr (d. 614/1217) and Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (d. 770/1377). I.R. Netton (Riḥla) provides a useful initial bibliography.

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Joy and Misery

The state of happiness and that of wretchedness, respectively. References to joy and misery are frequent in the Qurʾān, are expressed either directly or by implication, and pertain both to this world and the next (see ESCHATOLOGY). Pleasures of this world are neither condemned nor forbidden (q.v.; see also ASCETICISM; ABSTINENCE; WEALTH; POVERTY AND THE POOR; LAWFUL AND UNLAWFUL), but believers are to be mindful about the source of these pleasures (see GRATITUDE AND INGRATITUDE). Current wretchedness is not a sure sign of divine favor or disfavor (see BLESSING; GRACE; CURSE; REWARD AND PUNISHMENT; TRIAL): the true believer, however, is to assist those who are less fortunate (see ETHICS AND THE QUR'ĀN; COMMUNITY AND SOCIETY IN THE QUR'ĀN). While the joys and miseries of the present life are not absent from the qurʾānic discourse, it is the states of joy and misery experienced in the next life upon which the Qurʾān places its strongest emphasis (see REWARD AND PUNISHMENT).

Among the most recurrent themes is the relative worthlessness of the joys of this world in comparison with those of the hereafter, as in Q 57:20, "The present life is but the joy of delusion." The word rendered here as "joy" is *matāʿ,* which also occurs in the following passages: "Surely, this present life is but a passing enjoyment *(matāʿ)* and the hereafter is the abode [in which] to settle" (Q 40:39); "And those things you have been given are only a provision *(matāʿ)* of this life and its adornment, and whatever is with God is better and more lasting" (Q 28:60; also 13:26 and 42:36); and "The enjoyment *(matāʿ)* of this world is but little, and the hereafter is better for the one who is pious" (Q 4:77; cf. 9:38). Equally significant is the contrast between the pleasures, delights, and enjoy-

ments of this world and the punishment to be visited upon those who do not submit to God (see REWARD AND PUNISHMENT; HELL AND HELLFIRE; FIRE). The forgers of lies against God are promised "a little enjoyment *(matāʿ),* and for them is a painful chastisement" (Q 16:117; see CHASTISEMENT AND PUNISHMENT) or "A brief enjoyment. Then their abode is hell" (Q 3:197). Of like import are passages that emphasize accountability to God at the end of life. People who become rebellious after God has rescued them from the terrors of the sea are told, "O people, your rebellion (q.v.) is against yourselves — only a *matāʿ* of this world's life. Then to us is your return" (Q 10:23).

For the most part, words from the root *m-t-ʿ* have reference to material things rather than to the spiritual joys of the hereafter: they designate things that are useful, of benefit, that bring satisfaction, that meet needs or that inspire delight and pleasure. Such is the meaning of those verses that speak of a provision *(matāʿ)* for this world, as in Q 3:14: "Fair seeming to people is made the love of desires, of women, of sons (see CHILDREN), of hoarded treasures of gold (q.v.) and silver and branded horses and cattle and tilth (see ANIMAL LIFE; AGRICULTURE AND VEGETATION). This is the provision *(matāʿ)* of the life of this world." More basically, *matāʿ* indicates the necessities of life, those things which are required to sustain existence and which afford pleasure. There is mention of a " 'goodly provision' for you for a certain time" (Q 11:3), also of an "abode and provision for you for a time" (Q 7:24) and of "an enjoyment *(matāʿ)* for you and your cattle" (Q 79:33; 80:32). Firewood is both a reminder of God as provider of all things and a boon *(matāʿ)* to wayfarers in the desert (q.v.; Q 56:73) and the produce of the sea is characterized as a "provision for you and for the travelers" (Q 5:96; see HUNTING AND FISHING). Muslims are also warned of the desire of the unbelievers (see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF) that they be heedless of their weapons and their possessions (Q 4:102; see INSTRUMENTS; FIGHTING; EXPEDITIONS AND BATTLES). The material meaning is clear in such passages as that in which Muslims are commanded: "When you ask them [the Prophet's wives; see WIVES OF THE PROPHET] for something *(matāʿ)* ask them from behind a veil" (q.v.; Q 33:53).

The concept of *matāʿ* as material goods or possessions also appears in the story of Joseph (q.v.). Joseph's brothers fabricate an explanation for the disappearance of their young sibling by telling their father that they had left Joseph behind to mind their baggage *(matāʿ)* while they ran races and that he had been eaten by a wolf (Q 12:17). Later, when Joseph's brothers return to their father from their trip to buy corn in Egypt and open their things *(amtāʿ),* they find that their money has been returned to them (Q 12:65). In the same story, again, Joseph asserts (in reference to the king's missing drinking cup; see CUPS AND VESSELS) that he will hold responsible only him in whose possession the goods *(matāʿ)* are found (Q 12:79).

The essentially material nature of *matāʿ* is underlined also by the commands to make honorable provision for divorced women (Q 2:241; see MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE). The affluent man should do so according to his means and the person in more straitened circumstances according to his, in agreement with established custom (Q 2:236). Those who die should also leave a bequest to surviving wives that will offer provision for a period of one year without their being turned out (Q 2:240; see INHERITANCE).

Another set of meanings relating to joy is expressed in forms of the root *f-r-ḥ* which means "to be happy, delighted, cheerful,"

etc. The noun *farḥa,* signifying "joy," does not appear as such in the Qurʾān, but there are frequent occurrences of other words from this root that point to the experience of joy. One such is the verb "to rejoice." Uses of this verb may be divided into those which indicate positive causes for rejoicing and those which refer to negative causes. One affirmative reason to rejoice is the mercy (q.v.) of God: "and when we cause men to taste mercy they rejoice in it" (Q 30:36; 42:48); also "Say: let them rejoice in the grace and mercy of God. It is better than what they hoard" (Q 10:58). A major source of joy is the revelation (see REVELATION AND INSPIRATION): "Rejoice in what was sent down to you" (Q 13:36) and "on that day the faithful will rejoice in God's help" (Q 30:4, 5). God, indeed, controls all things for both good and ill "so that you do not grieve for what has escaped you nor rejoice in what he has given you" (Q 57:23; see FREEDOM AND PREDESTINATION). God both amplifies and diminishes the provision for men, and "they rejoice in this present life" (Q 13:26). Addressing those who refused to participate with the Muslims in battle, the Qurʾān says that those lost are not killed or dead, but are alive and have sustenance "rejoicing in the grace God has bestowed on them" (Q 3:170). Even mundane physical events are reason to rejoice as sailors do when they encounter a fair wind (Q 10:22; see AIR AND WIND).

Rejoicing can occur, however, for reasons that are not in themselves good. When this happens, the joy expressed is often equivalent to boasting (see BOAST), pride (q.v.), haughtiness, arrogance (q.v.) or ingratitude (see GRATITUDE AND INGRATITUDE). For instance, at the time of the emigration (q.v.; *hijra*) to Medina (q.v.), "those who were left behind rejoiced in tarrying" (Q 9:81). The present sent by the Queen of Sheba (see BILQĪS) to King Solomon (q.v.) earned him a rebuke, as he exulted in the gift instead of recognizing that what God had given was better (Q 27:36). Pride and arrogance were also involved in the case of Qārūn, biblical Korah (q.v.), the wealthy Jew whose people warned him: "Do not boast *(lā tafrah),* God does not love boasters *(fariḥīn)*" (Q 28:76). The fate of previous peoples shows their haughtiness and its consequences; when messengers came to them with clear arguments "they exulted in the knowledge they already had" (Q 40:83; see PROOF; KNOWLEDGE AND LEARNING) and what they had formerly mocked came to pass (see MOCKERY). When the unbelievers rejected what had been said to them but, nonetheless, experienced much good, "they rejoiced in what had been given them" (Q 6:44), but God seized them suddenly. When the fortunes of a man change for the good after his having suffered, he may become ungrateful: "Certainly, he is exultant, boastful" (Q 11:10). As for the unbelievers, "If something good happens to you, it grieves them, and if something bad happens to you, they take joy in it" (Q 3:120; see GOOD AND EVIL). In a nearly identical verse the unbelievers also take credit for the hardship that may afflict the believers, "and they turn away rejoicing" (Q 9:50). Pride in what they have is likewise characteristic of the various groups into which the Muslim community is divided, "each party rejoicing in what it has" (Q 23:53; 30:32; see PARTIES AND FACTIONS). Finally, it is made clear that rejoicing or exulting in the wrong things has serious consequences: "And do not think that those who exult in what they have done… are free from punishment" (Q 3:188). They will, indeed, endure the torments of hell because they "exulted in the land unjustly" (Q 40:75).

Quite similar in usage and meaning are some words from the root *b-sh-r,* meaning "to be joyous or to rejoice in good tidings." The Prophet is described in the Qurʾān as

a *bashīr* or bearer of good news (q.v.). Q 3:169 and 170 show that *faraḥ* and *b-sh-r* are synonymous terms in their meaning of rejoicing. Those who were killed in battle are joyous *(fariḥīn)* in what God has given them of his grace and rejoice *(yastabshirūna)* for those who have not yet joined them that they have neither fear (q.v.) nor grief. They rejoice *(yastabshirūna)* in God's favor and his grace (Q 3:171). Physical events are also a source of joy as, for example, when the rain falls (Q 30:48; see WATER; NATURE AS SIGNS). Of more spiritual import is revelation, which, as it comes, strengthens the faith (q.v.) of the believers, "and they are joyful" *(yastabshirūna,* Q 9:124). There is none more faithful to a promise than God (see OATHS; CONTRACTS AND ALLIANCES; BREAKING TRUSTS AND CONTRACTS); the believers are commanded "rejoice, therefore, in the bargain you have made" (Q 9:111). In the story of Lot (q.v.) there is an example of rejoicing in evil (Q 15:67) when the townspeople come to him demanding the messengers whom Lot has accepted as his guests. On the last and terrible day of judgment (see LAST JUDGMENT) there will be some faces that are bright, "laughing, joyous" (Q 80:39), while others will be covered with dust in gloom and darkness (q.v.). The unbelievers seek intercession (q.v.) with other than God though it is useless for them to do so. "When God alone is mentioned, the hearts (see HEART) of those who believe not in the hereafter shrink *(ashmaʾazzat),* and when those besides him are mentioned, lo! they are joyful" (Q 39:45).

Joy is also indicated by the word *naʿīm* from the root, *n-ʿ-m,* which means "to be happy, to be glad, to delight, to take pleasure in something, or to enjoy something." *Naʿīm* may be translated as "bliss," for it points to a particularly intense sense of joy, in fact, to the very pinnacle of delight and pleasurable feeling that humans may experience. In all seventeen of its occurrences in the Qurʾān, *naʿīm* is associated either with paradise (q.v.) or with the fate of the righteous on the day of judgment, as in Q 102:8: "On that day you will certainly be questioned about true bliss." There shall be judgment for the evildoers (see EVIL DEEDS) and rewards for the righteous of whom "you know in their faces the radiance of bliss" (Q 83:24); "Surely, the righteous are in bliss" (Q 82:13; 83:22). The concept figures most often in descriptions of paradise which refer to gardens of bliss or gardens of delight (e.g. Q 10:9; 22:56; see GARDEN) where the righteous may dwell eternally (see ETERNITY). "And when you look there, you see bliss and a great kingdom" (Q 76:20). There are closely related words from the same root that also point to things which give joy. *Niʿma,* meaning "blessing (q.v.), favor, or grace (q.v.)" and used in connection with God's beneficence to man, is found fifty times in the Qurʾān. There are also eighteen occurrences of verbs from the same root, all conveying the idea of blessing.

Another set of words that refers to joy comes from the root *s-r-r,* "to make happy, to gladden," yielding also the nouns happiness and gladness. For example, when Moses (q.v.) commanded his people to sacrifice a cow, he replied to their request for a description of it, saying that it was "a golden cow, bright in color, gladdening the beholders" (Q 2:69; see CALF OF GOLD). More significant is the use of the passive participle *(masrūran)* in connection with the judgment day. One who is given his book behind his back, although "he used to live among his people joyfully" will taste perdition and enter into burning fire (Q 84:10-3). In contrast, he who is judged righteous "will return to his people joyfully" (Q 84:9). God "will ward off the evil of that day from them and give them radiance and

gladness" (Q 76:11). Again the theme of judgment day is the context for the use of another term signifying joy, namely *fākih* (of the root *f-k-h*). The word is evidenced twice in predictions of the coming judgment, "The inhabitants of paradise today are busy in their rejoicing" (Q 36:55) and "The dutiful will surely be in gardens and in bliss, rejoicing because of what their lord has given them" (Q 52:17, 18). In Q 11:105 another term for happiness, *saʿīd*, is used in an eschatological context (cf. also Q 11:108): the state of contentment of those assigned a heavenly reward is explicitly contrasted with the misery of those who are consigned to the fire of hell (Q 11:106).

The Qurʾān speaks with great frequency of the reward, recompense or wage prepared for those who believe and are righteous (see JUSTICE AND INJUSTICE). The references are far too numerous to be detailed here, but they may be explored by reference to terms from such roots as *ʿ-dh-b*, *ʿ-q-b*, *th-w-b*, *j-z-y*, and *kh-r-j*. Reward and punishment are, indeed, among the very central themes of the qurʾānic message. As one of its consequences reward surely brings joy to those who receive it, since that reward is nothing less than an eternity in paradise, the ultimate joy to which the qurʾānic revelation urges humankind to aspire.

As with the understanding of joy, the concept of misery also has a double aspect, one related to worldly life and the other to the hereafter. In mundane terms, misery is a consequence of poverty and deprivation (see POVERTY AND THE POOR; DESPAIR; OPPRESSED ON EARTH, THE). The pursuit of righteousness requires choosing the uphill road, one element of which is to feed "the poor man *(miskīn)* lying in the dust" (Q 90:16). In addition to the eschatological sense that is found in Q 11:105-6 (mentioned above), derivatives of *sh-q-y* carry the sense of unprosperous (Q 20:2, 123; 19:48 and others), of adversity (Q 23:106), and of wretchedness (Q 87:11). The Qurʾān exhibits a humanitarian concern for the deprived, especially in the chapters generally held to belong to the first parts of the revelation. Among the actions that define a pious Muslim is the giving of wealth (q.v.) to "the near of kin (see KINSHIP), and the orphans (q.v.) and the needy and the wayfarer" (Q 2:177; see HOSPITALITY AND COURTESY; JOURNEY). In short, it takes notice of the misery of poverty and distress. Endurance in times of distress and affliction are another mark of the pious believer. In accord with its broad insistence upon God's sovereignty the Qurʾān underlines that it is he who delivered Noah (q.v.) and his people from their great distress and, indeed, is the deliverer from every distress (Q 6:64; 21:76; 37:76, 115). There is also mention of God's seizing people with misery and hardship (Q 2:214; 6:42; 7:94; see TRIAL; PUNISHMENT STORIES). All of these references have to do with poverty and the pain that accompanies it.

Undoubtedly, however, the greatest misery is otherworldly, that of hell, the place for which all are destined who do not heed the message of God. Some of the most graphic passages of the Qurʾān are devoted to descriptions of the miseries to be endured in hell. Its inhabitants will be roasted (Q 38:56), and will be made to suffer a blazing fire in which they must dwell forever. They will be paraded about Jahannam (hell) hobbling on their knees (Q 19:68). As for the unbeliever, "Hell is before him, and he is given oozing pus to drink (see FOOD AND DRINK); he drinks it little by little and is not able to swallow it; and death comes to him from every side; yet he does not die" (Q 14:16-7). "And whenever they try to escape from it, from anguish, they are turned back" (Q 22:22). The torments of hell are a recompense, wage or reward for

the evil of the evildoers and for the denials of those who disbelieved. By their deeds they have earned a mighty chastisement, a painful punishment. The promise of eternal misery to come is one of the most persistent and compelling of all qurʾānic themes.

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Judgment

Opinion or decision; pronouncement of such. Judgment is an integral part of the whole qurʾānic ethos and is intrinsically linked to creation (q.v.) itself, which is not just a random act but teleological and divinely ordained (see COSMOLOGY; FATE; FREEDOM AND PREDESTINATION). God, who is the sole source of creation and sustenance (q.v.; see also BLESSING; FOOD AND DRINK), is also the lord (q.v.) of the day of judgment (see LAST JUDGMENT). Consequently, the concept of God's final "judgment," which eventually became one of the tenets of faith (q.v.; *aqāʾid,* see also CREEDS), is found throughout the Qurʾān, with subsequent expansion and refinement by the exegetical tradition (see EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL). But judgment is not the prerogative of God alone. The Qurʾān, which acknowledges that in the course of their daily lives, humans, too, pass judgment, sets forth general (and, in certain cases, specific) guidelines by which humans should judge (see ARBITRATION).

The Qurʾān contains no unique term for judgment, human or divine. Rather, a range of vocabulary is employed to convey the concept: *ḥukm, qaḍāʾ, dīn, ḥisāb, raʾy, rashad/rushd* and others. Among these, *ḥukm* — a verbal noun of the verb *ḥakama (*from the triliteral root *ḥ-k-m)* meaning "to judge, give verdict or provide decision" — and its cognates occurs most comprehensively. One derivative, *ḥakam (*pl. *ḥukkām),* was historically associated with pre-Islamic judges or, rather, arbitrators (see PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QURʾĀN), a meaning apparent in the Qurʾān in the prescription of appointing an arbitrator *(ḥakam)* from each family in case of domestic disputes between husband and wife (Q 4:35; see FAMILY; MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE; LAW AND THE QURʾĀN). Wisdom (q.v.; *ḥikma*) and authority (q.v.; *ḥukm*) are also derived from the root letters *ḥ-k-m*. The correlation between judgment and wisdom is demonstrated in the description of God as both "the judge" *(al-ḥākim* and *al-ḥakam)* and "the wise" (*al-ḥakīm;* cf. Gimaret, *Noms divins,* 74, 347-9; see GOD AND HIS ATTRIBUTES). God is also described in the Qurʾān as "the best of judges" (*khayr al-ḥākimīn,* Q 7:87; 10:109; 12:80; cf. Gimaret, *Noms divins,* 74, 347-9) and "the most just of judges" (*aḥkam al-ḥākimīn,* Q 11:45 and 95:8; see JUSTICE AND INJUSTICE).

The term *ḥukm* occurs in the early Meccan verses (see CHRONOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN) where human judgment of the pagans is contrasted to the divine judgment (Q 5:50; see POLYTHEISM AND ATHEISM; IDOLATRY AND IDOLATERS). *Ḥukm* is also mentioned in the Qurʾān with regard to Muḥammad's prophetic authority to judge individuals (see PROPHETS AND

PROPHETHOOD). Moses (q.v.), David (q.v.), Jesus (q.v.) and others are mentioned in this context, together with the Torah (q.v.; Q 5:44) and the Gospel (q.v.; Q 5:47). In this respect, though, special emphasis is placed upon Muḥammad, and the Qurʾān is called the "Arabic code/judgment" (*ḥukm ʿarabī,* Q 13:37). Muḥammad was, in fact, invited to Medina (q.v.) because of his personal authority as a judge or arbiter in tribal disputes (see EMIGRATION; POLITICS AND THE QURʾĀN; TRIBES AND CLANS).

Derivatives of another triliteral root, *q-ḍ-y,* are also employed for judgment or decision in the Qurʾān; the verb *(qāḍa)* occurs frequently, referring primarily to an act of God, indicating his absolute power (cf. Q 6:58; 39:75; see Dāmaghānī, *Wujūh,* ii, 138; cf. Abū l-Baqāʾ, *al-Kulliyyāt,* 705a; see POWER AND IMPOTENCE). The judicial decision *(qāḍaʾ)* is generally considered as part of judgment *(ḥukm),* since whenever someone gives a verdict or a decree, judgment is invariably passed (cf. *Tāj al-ʿarūs,* s.v.). But in the Qurʾān, the verb *ḥakama* and its cognates usually relate to the Prophet's judicial activities (e.g. Q 4:105), while the verb *qaḍā,* from which the word for "judge" *(qāḍī)* is derived, mainly refers (with the exception of Q 10:71 and 20:72) not to the judgment of a judge, but to a sovereign ordinance of either God or the Prophet. Both verbs occur simultaneously in Q 4:65: "But no, by your lord, they can have no real faith until they make you a judge *(yuḥakkimūka)* in all disputes between them and thereafter find no resistance within their souls of what you decide *(qaḍayta),* but accept them with total conviction." The first verb *(yuḥakkimūka)* refers to the arbitrating aspect of the Prophet's activity, while the second *(qaḍayta)* emphasizes the authoritative character of his decision, raising it to a level of belief (*īmān,* see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF). While al-Zamakhsharī (d. 538/1144; *Kashshāf,* ad loc.) and al-Bayḍāwī (d. prob. 716/1316-7; *Tafsīr,* ad loc.) only stress the emphatic *lām* in the verse, al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923; *Tafsīr,* ad loc.) includes a reference to peoples' sincerity of belief as dependent upon whether God or the Prophet were appointed as judges in their affairs and their not feeling any uneasiness about the ensuing decisions. Al-Qummī (d. 328/939; *Tafsīr,* ad loc.), on the other hand, designates *yuḥakkimūka* as referring to ʿAlī (see ʿALĪ B. ABĪ ṬĀLIB) and the second verb *(qaḍayta)* to the Prophet's decision regarding ʿAlī's imāmate (*walāya;* see CLIENTS AND CLIENTAGE; FRIENDS AND FRIENDSHIP).

Muḥammad had been sent by God to teach humans how to act, what to do and what to avoid in order to be judged favorably in the reckoning on the day of judgment (see GOOD DEEDS; EVIL DEEDS; LAWFUL AND UNLAWFUL). In Islam, therefore, law is an all-embracing body of religious commandments (q.v.) and prohibitions (see FORBIDDEN; PROHIBITED DEGREES); it consists not only of a legal system, but also of rules governing worship (q.v.) and ritual (see RITUAL AND THE QURʾĀN). There is a recurrent insistence on the merits of forgiveness (q.v.) in the Qurʾān, with words such as *ʿafā, ṣafaḥa, ghafara* in Q 2:109; 3:134; 23:96; 42:37, 40, 43; 64:14, etc. (see also MERCY). Although a life (q.v.) for a life and an eye (q.v.) for an eye is ordained in the Qurʾān (see RETALIATION; BLOOD MONEY), there is a qualification pertaining to the action of those who voluntarily overlook the injustice done to them, a response which is regarded as atonement (q.v.) for their own actions.

Ethics (see ETHICS AND THE QURʾĀN) is an integral part of law, and the Qurʾān includes many ethical injunctions such as to judge with justice (Q 4:58; 5:42; 6:152), not to offer bribes (Q 2:188), to give true evidence (Q 4:135; 5:8; see LIE; WITNESSING AND TESTIFYING) and to give full weight

and measure (Q 17:35; 55:7-9; 83:1-3; see WEIGHTS AND MEASURES). Transactions and contracts are to be committed to writing and fulfilled, especially in relation to returning a trust or deposit *(amāna)* to its owner (e.g. Q 2:283; see BREAKING TRUSTS AND CONTRACTS; CONTRACTS AND ALLIANCES; SELLING AND BUYING). Judging others wrongly is abhorred in the Qurʾān as is judging others on the basis of suspicions (q.v.; *ẓann*). A different aspect of judgment is portrayed in Q 49:11-12, where believers are asked not to laugh (see LAUGHTER), label, defame or be sarcastic to others (see MOCKERY) as, in God's view, it is possible that those whom they judge are actually better than themselves. Explicit warning is given not to enquire curiously into the affairs of others as well as not to blame, set up one against the other, talk about each other or backbite (see GOSSIP), the last-mentioned of which is equated with eating the flesh of one's dead brother (see BROTHER AND BROTHERHOOD).

Dīn is another expression for judgment in the Qurʾān, although its etymology lends itself to two additional meanings: custom (see SUNNA) and religion (q.v.). Whatever their differences in origin and meaning, these meanings are conceptually related. Thus, *dayn,* which means debt (q.v.) due at a fixed time, semantically connects to *dīn* as custom or usage, which, in its turn, gives the idea of God-given direction (see ASTRAY; PATH OR WAY). Judging involves guiding someone in the right direction, often through rebuke and retribution. Arabic philologists often derive *dīn* from *dāna lahu* meaning to submit to the obligations imposed by God (for *dīn* in the sense of obedience [q.v.], see Jeffery, *For. vocab.,* 131-3; Izutsu, *God,* 219-29). "The judge" *(al-dayyān)* is one of God's names, which people also applied to ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib as the sage of the community (cf. *Lisān al-ʿArab,* s.v.; for *al-dayyān* as an attribute of God, cf. also Gimaret, *Noms divins,* 350-1).

Al-Bāqillānī (d. 403/1013; *Kitāb al-Tamhīd,* 345) distinguishes several possible meanings of *dīn,* including judgment in the sense of retribution, in the sense of decision *(ḥukm),* as well as of doctrine *(madhhab)* and the religion of truth (q.v.; *dīn al-ḥaqq*). The sense of judgment and retribution occurs frequently in the early sūras of the Meccan period: four times independently, and twelve as part of the expression "the day of judgment" *(yawm al-dīn)*. This is synonymous with "the day of reckoning" (*yawm al-ḥisāb,* Q 40:27; 14:41; cf. 37:20, 26, 53), "the day of resurrection" *(yawm al-qiyāma),* the "return" *(maʿād)* and "the hour" (*al-sāʿa,* see ESCHATOLOGY; APOCALYPSE). Many other names are given in the Qurʾān; as many as 1,700 verses refer to the resurrection (q.v.; cf. *Rasāʾil Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ,* iii, 286-7, which cites numerous names for the final day, such as *yawm al-faṣl, yawm al-tanādī, yawm al-āzifa*).

Eschatological judgment in the Qurʾān is inevitable (Q 3:9) and God is swift in dealing with the account *(ḥisāb)*. In Q 75:26-8 there is reference to an initial judgment occurring immediately after death, while other passages in Q 56 (Sūrat al-Wāqiʿa, "The Event"), speak of the inevitable event, alluding to the hour of judgment *(al-sāʿa),* when each soul will be evaluated according to what it has earned (see GOOD AND EVIL; RECORD OF HUMAN ACTIONS). At the final resurrection the whole present order gives way to a new one as portrayed in Q 14:48 (see DEATH AND THE DEAD). The rendering of accounts — required from all people — is to be given to God alone (Q 13:40; 26:113). God is "prompt in demanding an account" (Q 2:202, 3:19 and 199) of each person's actions, which will have been inscribed on a "roll." The day of judgment is described as the day when the

world will be rolled up like a scroll and nothing on the scales of God's judgment will be overlooked: an atom's weight of good will be manifest and so will an atom's weight of evil. If the good deeds outweigh the bad, people will receive their accounts in their right hands and receive their reward, while those whose deeds are unfavorable will receive them in their left hands and be punished (see REWARD AND PUNISHMENT).

"The Heights" (Q 7, Sūrat al-Aʿrāf) mentions those on the heights who hear and address the people of paradise (q.v.; Q 7:46-7; see PEOPLE OF THE HEIGHTS). It is only the sanctified, who, having perfected themselves, will enter paradise. Those who are not perfect will enter an intermediary state as they undergo final purification. "The Event" (Q 56, Sūrat al-Wāqiʿa) seeks to judge three types of souls: the companions of the left, the companions of the right and those that are foremost *(al-sābiqūn),* to be equated with those who are brought close to God's throne (*al-muqarrabūn,* see THRONE OF GOD). Clearly, there seems to be a fundamental difference of degree, between which some Shīʿa and the Ṣūfīs did not hesitate to distinguish (see ṢŪFISM AND THE QURʾĀN): those who achieve salvation (q.v.) and those who attain beatitude. In their view, salvation is the reward for the exoteric religion, while the aim of the esoteric path is the beatific vision (see FACE OF GOD; SEEING AND HEARING; VISION AND BLINDNESS; VISIONS).

Judgment invariably involves an evaluation of right or wrong, true or false and good or bad (see PAIRS AND PAIRING). Philosophically, it involves the rational faculty as observed by the authors of the *Rasʾāil Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ,* who regard "judgment on things as a product of the intellect (q.v.)." In the Qurʾān, this meaning is apparent in the word *raʾy,* used in numerous verses (e.g. Q 6:40) in which God asks people about their thoughts at the time when the wrath (see ANGER) of God will befall them and when the hour of judgment is near. *Raʾy* can be used in a variety of ways: seeing physically with one's eyes, considering or perceiving things with one's heart (q.v.) and even sensing things through one's beliefs (cf. *Lisān al-ʿArab,* s.v.; see KNOWLEDGE AND LEARNING). It can also connote a belief about something or someone and for wrong belief, God's judgment falls upon people as punishment (cf. *Tāj al-ʿarūs,* s.v.; see CHASTISEMENT AND PUNISHMENT). In the debates of the fourth/tenth century among the various legal schools, the *ahl al-raʾy* were those who were accused by the *ahl al-ḥadīth* of practicing analogical deduction *(qiyās)* by giving judgments according to their opinions, as they could not find an appropriate prophetic tradition to support their arguments (see ḤADĪTH AND THE QURʾĀN; TRADITIONAL DISCIPLINES OF QURʾĀNIC STUDY).

Another qurʾānic lexeme used in connection with judgment is *rashad/rushd.* In Q 4:6, God speaks of giving orphans (q.v.) their wealth when they attain "sound judgment" (*rushd,* see MATURITY). People differ with regard to the meaning of *rushd:* among the interpretations of the passage that he discusses, al-Ṭabarī (*Tafsīr,* iv, 252) relates that some consider it to be soundness of intellect and righteousness in religion. Al-Zamakhsharī (*Kashshāf,* i, 501) also mentions several traditions: Abū Ḥanīfa (d. 150/767) explained that *rushd* was informed guidance on all aspects of good actions, while Ibn ʿAbbās (d. 68/686-8) maintained that it was righteousness in using intellect and preserving wealth (q.v.), whereas Mālik b. Anas (d. 179/796) and al-Shāfiʿī (d. 204/820) held that it was righteousness in religion.

The notion of judgment raises the issue

of intercessory disputation on behalf of the soul (q.v.; Q 4:109), which invariably involves matters of repentance (*tawba,* see REPENTANCE AND PENANCE), intercession (q.v.; *shafāʿa*) and compassion *(raḥma).* Not all Sunnī schools accept the possibility of prophetic intercession *(shafāʿa),* and those who do argue about whether it applies only to Muḥammad or to all prophets. The Shīʿa, on the other hand, accept this doctrine without question and also extend it to the Imāms (see IMĀM; SHĪʿISM AND THE QURʾĀN). Although Q 4:64 elucidates the concept of intercession *(shafāʿa),* mentioning the Prophet's role, other verses, such as Q 16:111, speak of the "day that every soul shall come debating on its own behalf."

In conclusion, it may be said that although the final, eschatological judgment dominates the qurʾānic discourse, the concept is not absent from discussions of the present world, in which humans are called to judge fairly, and by what is best.

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Jūdī

Mount (Jabal) Jūdī, also written Djūdī (modern Turkish, Cudi), the name of a mountain mass and its highest point in SE Turkey, near the borders of Iraq (q.v.) and Syria (q.v.). Mount Jūdī is attested once in the Qurʾān, at Q 11:44, as al-Jūdī, the site where Noah's (q.v.) ark (q.v.) rested on dry land after the flood (see MYTHS AND LEGENDS IN THE QURʾĀN; SCRIPTURE AND THE QURʾĀN; GEOGRAPHY). There has been considerable disagreement about the actual site to which this story refers. Largely due to western Christian misinterpretation of the Hebrew *"hārê Arārāṭ,"* literally "*mountains* of Ararat" (*Gen* 8:4), as *Mount* Ararat (q.v.), the passage has been interpreted as referring to a single mountain since about the tenth century. Thus, the tallest mountain near the present-day border of Turkey with Armenia, once known as Masik, came to be named Mount Ararat and is generally identified today as the site of the ark's landing. In the Hebrew scriptures the name Ararat was actually the Hebrew rendition of Urarṭu, the name of the ancient kingdom that covered the territory of eastern Turkey, and included both mountains, today's Ararat and Jabal Jūdī. This extensive mountainous area has been known variously as Qardū in Aramaic and Syriac texts; Gordyene by Greek, Roman, and later Christian writers; and Kordukh in Armenian. The Jewish-Aramaic *Targum Onkelos,* possibly based on an earlier Babylonian tradition, translates the Hebrew of Genesis 8:4 as "ṭurē Qardū" ("mountains of Qardū") and later rabbinic sources have generally described Qardū as the mountains where the ark rested (cf. Ṭabarī, *History,* 366 n. 1137). The variant forms of this name led some scholars to connect Qardū wrongly with Kurd and Kurdistan, despite the difference between K and Q.

According to Yāqūt (*Muʿjam,* ii, 144-5),

Jūdī in the Qurʾān seems to have denoted a mountain in Arabia, a designation possibly based on earlier Arabian traditions (see PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QURʾĀN). The transfer of the designated locale from Arabia to upper Mesopotamia and the territory of Urarṭu must have taken place early during the Arab invasion of that region. Today, the areas around both Mount Ararat and Jabal Jūdī are filled with memorials and legends referring to the flood and the life of Noah (q.v.) and his family after they left the ark. This holds true about a particular structure, once a monastery, on the supposed site of Noah's worship of God after the flood. According to Le Strange, from the village of Jazīrat Ibn ʿUmar, Jūdī was visible to the east, with the "Mosque of Noah" on its summit and Qaryat Thamānīn ("the village of eighty") at the mountain's foot (*Lands,* 94). The village's name refers to one of several traditions about how many humans survived the flood in the ark, which vary between seven survivors (Noah, his three sons and their spouses) and eighty, including seventy-three descendants of Seth, son of Adam. This village is supposedly where Noah himself settled after the flood and although all the survivors except for Noah and his immediate descendants perished, all of today's humanity is descended from those seven or eight. Because of the qurʾānic reference to al-Jūdī and to its early identification with Noah, the mountain and its surrounding area became a pilgrimage site for Muslims, Jews and eastern Christians.

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Jug

see CUPS AND VESSELS

Jugular Vein

see ARTERY AND VEIN

Justice and Injustice

Equitable action according to God's will; action that transgresses God's bounds. One of the key dichotomies in the Qurʾān, it separates divine from human action, moral from immoral behavior (see ETHICS AND THE QURʾĀN). The Qurʾān uses several different words and metaphors to convey this moral balance. *ʿAdl* and *qisṭ* can be used to speak of justice as equitable action but justice can also be defined as correct or truthful action, in which case *ṣidq* or *ḥaqq* may be used. Metaphors (see METAPHOR) such as the balance (*mīzān,* see WEIGHTS AND MEASURES; INSTRUMENTS), inheritance (q.v.) shares *(naṣīb)* and even brotherhood (see BROTHER AND BROTHERHOOD) can describe the underlying principles of justice. The usual word for injustice in the Qurʾān is *zulm,* which has the sense of stepping beyond the boundaries of right action (see BOUNDARIES AND PRECEPTS), specifically, a *ẓālim* is one who does wrong to others or to himself. But human injustice can also be expressed in the larger sense of sinning, opposing God, or ascribing partners to God, for which there are many terms, such as *faḥshāʾ* and *baghy* (see SIN, MAJOR AND MINOR; POLYTHEISM AND ATHEISM; DISOBEDIENCE).

In post-qurʾānic Arabic, *ʿadl* became the technical term for justice and the Muʿtazilī theologians were known as *ahlu l-ʿadl*

wa-l-tawḥīd, "the people of justice and unity," for their defense of the doctrine of God's essential justice (see MUʿTAZILĪS; THEOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN). The Qurʾān also uses the term *ʿadl* but relatively rarely (only fourteen times in the sense of justice or equity) and in a much broader fashion. While God's words are described as *ʿadl* in Q 6:115, more common is the use of *ʿadl* or its verbal derivatives to mean equal treatment of wives or disputants (Q 4:3, 58, 129; 5:8; 42:15; 49:9; see WOMEN AND THE QURʾĀN; FAMILY; DEBATE AND DISPUTATION; SOCIAL INTERACTIONS). The qurʾānic range is demonstrated by the use of three synonyms for *ʿadl: qisṭ,* "equity," in the case of just witnesses (Q 5:8; cf. 4:135), *ṣidq,* "truthfulness," in Q 6:115 and *iḥsān,* "good deeds" (q.v.), in Q 16:90. Nowhere in the Qurʾān is God called *al-ʿadl,* although this is often listed as one of his most beautiful names (see GOD AND HIS ATTRIBUTES).

As for the many other qurʾānic terms that may denote justice, most continue the metaphor of symmetry and balance such as the *mīzān (*pl. *mawāzīn),* the "scales of justice," in which good deeds are weighed on the last day (Q 7:8-9; 23:102-3; 101:6-7; see LAST JUDGMENT). But scholars have argued that the idea of justice must be extended to include other metaphors; for instance, Khadduri (*Islamic conception,* 7) sees an abstract principle of equal rights in the declaration that the believers are brothers (Q 49:10). Further, Rahbar (*God of justice,* 231-2) points out that *ḥaqq,* "truth or reality," may also be translated as "justice." So, Q 16:3 *(khalaqa l-samāwāti wa-l-arḍa bi-l-ḥaqq)* should be interpreted as "He created the heavens and the earth with justice." Two of these metaphors are connected in Q 7:8, which reads, "The weighing on that day is just *(wa-l-waznu yawmaʾidhin al-ḥaqq).*" But here Arberry and Rahbar both translate *ḥaqq* as "true" even though al-Bayḍāwī *(Anwār)* and the Jalālayn gloss it as *ʿadl;* al-Qurṭubī *(Jāmiʿ)* regards the whole phrase as a metaphor for justice. The fact that the Arabic could support both readings indicates that the technical differentiation of *ʿadl* and *ḥaqq* is a post-qurʾānic development. Wagner (*La justice,* 13-4) has argued that the absence of a technical term for justice in the Qurʾān allows for a conception of justice which transcends human language.

A similar semantic range is found for injustice. *Jawr,* the technical word for injustice in classical theology, is not found in the Qurʾān; rather, several words are used to convey the sense of injustice. For example, Q 16:90 lists three terms as having a meaning opposite to *ʿadl:* "Surely God bids to justice *(ʿadl),* good deeds and giving to relatives; and he forbids indecency *(al-faḥshāʾ),* disobedience *(al-munkar)* and insolence *(al-baghy).*" Of these words, the first two are mentioned in dozens of other places in the Qurʾān. The last, while less common, is also listed as an antonym to *ʿadl* in Q 49:9. Another word indicative of injustice is *ṭāghūt* (in fourteen places this word, as well as other derivatives of *ṭ-gh-y,* are connected with unbelief, *kufr;* see e.g. Q 2:257; 5:64; see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF; INSOLENCE AND OBSTINACY; IDOLS AND IMAGES); *haḍm* is also placed in apposition to *zulm* in Q 20:112.

Ẓulm is most usually a general word for sin or transgression and so is found as a synonym for *zūr,* "falsehood" (see LIE), in Q 25:4 and for *mujrim,* "sinner," in Q 7:40-1 (see also Q 11:116). The transgressor *(ẓālim,* pl. *ẓālimūn)* is referred to over one hundred times. For example, in Q 2:35 Adam and Eve (q.v.) are warned that they will be among the *ẓālimūn* if they transgress God's command not to touch the tree; theft (q.v.; Q 5:38-9; 12:75) and lying (e.g. Q 6:21) also make one a *ẓālim* (Izutsu, *Concepts,* 164-72). But while *ʿadl* is never used in explicit reference to God, *zulm* is; in fact, Q 20:112 dem-

onstrates a technical usage of *zulm* to refer to God's actions, which are explicitly not unjust (also Q 3:108; 6:131; 11:117). Furthermore, the emphatic form *zallām* is only used as a negative description of God; it is found in five exhortations that declare that God is not unjust (e.g. Q 3:182). The common qurʾānic phrase "those who wronged themselves" (*anfusahum yazlimūn* in Q 2:57 and nine other places; *zalamū anfusahum* in Q 3:117 and five other places; see also *zālimun li-nafsihi* in Q 18:35; 35:32; 37:113) almost always refers to ancient peoples who were punished, or will be damned to hell, because they did not recognize God's prophets (see GENERATIONS; PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD; PUNISHMENT STORIES; HELL AND HELLFIRE). *Ẓalama nafsahu* in Q 2:231 and 65:1, however, refers to those who do not follow proper divorce proceedings (see MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE). In terms of God, therefore, injustice may be seen as the diametrical opposite of justice but in terms of human behavior, injustice is not a lack of justice as much as it is an active resistance of God's guidance. Q 65:1 specifies: "the one who transgresses the bounds of God has wronged himself" *(wa-man yataʿadda ḥudūda llāhi fa-qad ẓalama nafsahu)*.

Interestingly, the very words for just actions also share Arabic roots with metaphors for injustice. So Q 6:150 defines the unbelievers as those who make something else equivalent to their lord (*wa-hum bi-rabbihim yaʿdilūn,* see also Q 6:1, 70). *ʿAdala ʿan* means "to deviate from the right course," and so Lane (v, 1972) understands Q 27:60 as "they are a people who deviate" *(qawmun yaʿdilūn)*. Attempts to reconcile these divergent usages in the Qurʾān are attributed to very early sources (see, for instance, the explanation of ʿAbd al-Mālik b. Marwān [d. 86/705] in *Lisān al-ʿArab,* xi, 431-2; partial trans. in Khadduri, *Islamic conception,* 7-8). The *qāsiṭūn* also deviate from the right course in Q 72:14-5, where they are placed in opposition to the *muslimūn*.

Moving from semantics to the broad teachings of the Qurʾān, one can isolate three fields of moral action in terms of justice and injustice: human-human relations; human-divine relations; and God's own activity. As for the first category, specific areas addressed by the Qurʾān include both public and private affairs, such as fair measures in the market (Q 6:152; see MARKETS), fair testimony (Q 4:135; 5:8, 95, 106; 65:2; see WITNESSING AND TESTIFYING; CONTRACTS AND ALLIANCES), just recording of debts (Q 2:282; see DEBT), impartial judgments (Q 4:58; see JUDGMENT) and just treatment of co-wives (Q 4:3, 129; see CONCUBINES) and orphans (q.v.; Q 4:3, 10; 6:152). There are also general injunctions to act and speak in a just manner (Q 5:8; 6:152; 16:90; 49:9). These injunctions are cited extensively in books of Islamic law and works on ethics (see LAW AND THE QURʾĀN). The existence of these exhortations is itself qurʾānic recognition that human beings are unjust to one another, particularly when they are in positions of power (see POWER AND IMPOTENCE; OPPRESSION). Q 4:10 specifically refers to those who consume the assets of orphans unjustly *(zulman)* and Q 4:129 simply states: "You will not be able to be equitable *(taʿdilū)* among [your] wives."

God's justice in relationship to his creatures has already been mentioned in metaphors of the scales of justice and the many qurʾānic references to his judgment on the last day. But God also created the heavens (see HEAVEN AND SKY) and the earth (q.v.) with justice (Q 6:73 and eleven other places; see CREATION; COSMOLOGY), and his words of revelation continue that work of justice (Q 6:115; see REVELATION AND INSPIRATION; WORD OF GOD). In fact, God is intimately involved in all human actions

"for God in the qurʾānic conception interferes in the minutest details of human affairs" (Izutsu, *Concepts,* 166; see FREEDOM AND PREDESTINATION). Acts among humans, therefore, are not merely in terms of human justice but rather they are to occur within God's bounds *(ḥudūdu llāh).* Further, when speaking of divorce in Q 2:231 and 65:1, the Qurʾān uses language otherwise reserved for judgment day ("he wronged himself," *zalama nafsahu*) to describe those who would transgress God's rules.

The third category, God's own characterization as just, is dealt with primarily in terms of his right to judge humankind. The defense of this right is expressed in an account of history repeated throughout the Qurʾān. Not only did God create the heavens and the earth, he asked the souls (see SOUL) of all humankind to testify: "Am I not your lord?" (Q 7:172), thereby establishing his right to judge them, should they begin worshipping idols (SEE IDOLS AND IMAGES). According to the Qurʾān, human beings forgot that covenant (q.v.) and went astray (q.v.), despite the many prophets and warners (see WARNER) sent to remind them. In going astray, of course, they wronged themselves (*zalamū anfusahum,* see above). And as for the many peoples whom God destroyed for their wickedness, he would never have done so unjustly (*bi-zulm,* Q 6:131 and 11:117). As mentioned above, God's scales for weighing good deeds are just and he will not begrudge anyone *(lā yazlimu)* the weight of an ant (Q 4:40). The Qurʾān specifically complains about those who prefer the judgment *(ḥukm)* of the Age of Ignorance (q.v.) to the judgment of God (Q 5:50). The qurʾānic exhortation that believers render justice and be just in their actions, therefore, is part of their acceptance of this cosmology of justice.

Although, as noted above, the Qurʾān does not call God *al-ʿadl,* this epithet is found in lists of God's most beautiful names. In his treatise on these names, al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111) finds an elegant connection among the various qurʾānic images of justice and God's creative act. In allusion to Q 82:6-7 which reads: "your generous lord who created you and shaped you and wrought you in symmetry (*ʿadalaka,* see BIOLOGY AS THE CREATION AND STAGES OF LIFE)," he writes: "By creating these [bodily] members he is generous, and by placing them in their particular placement he is just.… He suspended the hands and arms from the shoulders, and had he suspended them from the head or the loins or the knees, the imbalance resulting from that would be evident.… What you should know, in short, is that nothing has been created except in the placement intended for it" (Ghazālī, *Names,* 93-4). By focusing on God's intended placement as evidence of his justice, al-Ghazālī both displays his orthodox theology (God's actions define justice, not the reverse) and also the lexical opposition of justice to injustice *(zulm),* literally "that which is out of place."

Al-Ghazālī's attempt to reconcile qurʾānic conceptions of justice and injustice is the product of centuries of theological speculation. Already in the years immediately following Muḥammad's death, Muslims witnessed vast examples of human injustice during the civil wars *(fitan)* that tore apart the early Muslim community. Questions naturally arose as to God's role in acts of human injustice. The Khārijīs (q.v.) argued that the grave sinner *(fāsiq)* was no longer a Muslim and must be combated with the sword in this world, while others said that God alone would punish the grave sinner at judgment day. These debates continued to ask whether human and divine acts are separate from one another. Muʿtazilīs began to argue that God was essentially just and therefore bound to do the better, while human

beings could commit injustices by acting against God's will. Others understood God's action and human action to be intimately connected, with nothing occurring outside of God's will. As a result, qurʾānic interpreters derived two distinctive notions of justice from the Qurʾān: Muʿtazilīs like al-Zamakhsharī (d. 538/1144) found that "God's justice implies 'human free will'" and their opponents, like al-Bayḍāwī (d. 716/1316-7), maintained "that God's justice lies in his dealing as possessor and Lord, and in making decisions according to his will" (Ibrahim, Concept, 14). Al-Bayḍāwī's position thus closely mirrors that of the Ashʿarīs, who held that God's actions were by definition just.

Islamic law also offers interpretations of qurʾānic justice but does so largely by maintaining a separation between divine and human justice. The classical legal handbooks were organized into two major categories, beginning with duties owed to God *(ʿibādāt),* followed by duties owed to other human beings *(muʿāmalāt)*. Such a categorization may have developed from a pseudo-Aristotelian conception of justice (Heffening, Aufbau, 107). Books of legal theory dealt primarily with questions of procedure and interpretation and only rarely with the relationship between divine and human justice. The qurʾānic conception of divine justice as invading all aspects of human interaction played, however, a key role in defining court procedure. At least in theory, the Islamic judge was only to render justice on the basis of the apparent evidence, and was not responsible for the actual truth of a case, since ultimately the plaintiffs were responsible to God (Heffening, Aufbau, 107). This also explains the wide use of oaths (q.v.) in the Islamic court to ascertain the truth of a matter (following the qurʾānic precedent in Q 24:4-9; see BREAKING TRUSTS AND CONTRACTS; CHASTITY). Yet unlike court function in Judaism, court punishments in Islam are not in lieu of eternal punishment. Rather, God reserves the right to exact further justice on the last day (see Q 5:37; 24:19). The legal principles of *istiḥsān* and *maṣlaḥa* have been used by medieval and modern reformers to argue that general qurʾānic injunctions to promote justice may override specific qurʾānic laws. The principle of *istiḥsān* is sometimes based on Q 39:55, "follow the best *(aḥsana)* of that which has been sent down to you" (see also Q 39:18). Likewise, the virtue of equity (*inṣāf,* a word not found in the Qurʾān) in Islamic ethical treatises may be seen as a continuation of principles of equity and justice in the Qurʾān.

The movement from the injustice of the Age of Ignorance *(jāhiliyya)* to the justice of the Muslim community, described in the Qurʾān, has become one of the central teachings of the Islamic religion. This movement is not merely a historical event, played out in the revelation of the Qurʾān to the Prophet but it is also the practical theology of the Qāḍī's court, the motivating force of proselytizers (see INVITATION) and the explanation of God's continued action in this world. This movement will be complete on the last day, when each soul will be rewarded for what it has earned, and there will be no injustice (Q 40:17).

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K

Kaʿba

A cube shaped building situated inside the Great Mosque *(al-masjid al-ḥarām)* at Mecca. Although the term *kaʿba* is attested only twice in the Qurʾān (Q 5:95, 97), there are other qurʾānic expressions that have traditionally been understood as designations for this structure (i.e. certain instances of *al-bayt* [lit. "the house," see HOUSE, DOMESTIC AND DIVINE]; as well as of *masjid* [see MOSQUE]). In Islamic tradition, it is often referred to as "the house (or sanctuary) of God" *(bayt Allāh),* and for the vast majority of Muslims it is the most sacred spot on earth. The name Kaʿba is generally explained as indicating its "cubic" or "quadrangular" *(murabbaʿ)* form.

Description

Its ground plan is an irregular oblong, the size of which has been variously stated: a reliable approximation is 40 feet (12 meters) long, 33 feet (10 m.) wide and 50 feet (15 m.) high. Its four corners are aligned approximately north (the "Iraqi" corner), east, south (the "Yemeni" corner) and west. Built into its eastern corner is a large black stone, known as *al-ḥajar al-aswad* or *al-rukn,* which is the object of special veneration when worshippers make the ritual sevenfold circumambulation *(ṭawāf)* around the outside of the Kaʿba (see WORSHIP).

The building has one door, situated towards the eastern end of the northeastern wall and raised about six feet (2 m.) above ground level. It is accessible from steps that are wheeled into place but worship takes place around and outside the Kaʿba. Entry inside, although highly prized, is not a required act, and access to the interior is limited. Adjacent to the northwestern wall is a semi-circular area known as *al-ḥijr,* demarcated by a low wall (sometimes referred to as *al-ḥaṭīm*) that does not quite touch the wall of the Kaʿba. The building is normally enclosed in an ornately decorated covering cloth known as the *kiswa,* which is renewed annually.

The Kaʿba in Islamic practice

The Kaʿba is the focus of the *ḥajj* (major pilgrimage) and the *ʿumra* (minor pilgrimage), in that each begins and ends with the ceremony of circumambulation (see PILGRIMAGE). The *ḥajj,* however, involves the performance of rituals at a distance from the Kaʿba, outside Mecca itself, and the law places a greater importance on some of those rituals — such as the "standing" *(wuqūf)* at ʿArafa (see ʿARAFĀT) and the

slaughtering of animals at Minā — than it does upon the circumambulation of the Kaʿba. To miss the *wuqūf* is usually counted as invalidating the *ḥajj,* while the day of slaughtering (10th of Dhū l-Ḥijja; see CALENDAR) is often identified with "the great day of the *ḥajj*" (Q 9:3; see SLAUGHTER). Wellhausen proposed that Muḥammad linked pre-Islamic *ḥajj* ceremonies that had nothing to do with Mecca (q.v.) and the Kaʿba, with those of the *ʿumra,* which were performed in Mecca around the Kaʿba, in order to give the Islamic *ḥajj* a greater association with Mecca.

Muslims must face towards the Kaʿba when performing the obligatory prayers (*ṣalāt,* see PRAYER) and certain other rituals such as the slaughter of animals for consumption or as religious offerings (see CONSECRATION OF ANIMALS; SACRIFICE). The dead are buried facing towards it (see DEATH AND THE DEAD). In other words, the Kaʿba marks the *qibla* (q.v.), the sacred direction that distinguishes Islam from other monotheistic religions. It figures large in traditions about pre-Islamic Arabia (the *jāhiliyya,* see AGE OF IGNORANCE) and the life of the Prophet (see SĪRA AND THE QURʾĀN), and ʿAlī (see ʿALĪ B. ABĪ ṬĀLIB) is sometimes reported to have been born inside it. It features only to a limited extent in Muslim eschatology (q.v.), which centers much more on Jerusalem (q.v.).

The Kaʿba and the Qurʾān

The expression *al-kaʿba* occurs only twice in the Qurʾān (Q 5:95, 97) and commentators naturally identify each as references to the Kaʿba at Mecca. In addition there are many other passages which are understood as alluding to it, using the term *al-bayt* (house or sanctuary), sometimes qualified by an adjective such as "sacred" *(ḥarām),* "ancient" *(ʿatīq)* or "visited" (? *maʿmūr,* Q 52:4).

Q 5:95 occurs in regulations which prohibit the *muḥrim* (a person who has entered the sacral state of *iḥrām* that is obligatory for anyone making *ḥajj* or *ʿumra*) from killing game (see RITUAL PURITY; HUNTING AND FISHING). It lays down that, if a *muḥrim* does intentionally kill a wild animal, he must provide as compensation *(jazāʾ),* from among the animals of the pasture *(al-naʿam),* an equivalent to the animal killed, "as an offering to reach the Kaʿba" *(hadyan bāligha l-kaʿbati)*. Q 5:97 tells us that God has made the Kaʿba, the sacred house *(al-kaʿba al-bayt al-ḥarām),* a support (? *qiyām;* commentators debate the precise meaning) for the people, together with the sacred month (see MONTHS), the (animal) offerings *(al-hady)* and the garlands (*al-qalāʾid;* which are placed on the necks of the offerings).

Some of the passages in which "the house" *(al-bayt)* is understood to mean the Kaʿba associate it with Abraham (q.v.) and, slightly less consistently, Ishmael (q.v.). Q 2:125 alludes to God's making "the house" a place of meeting (? *mathāba*) and sanctuary *(amn),* and commanding that Abraham's "standing place" *(maqām Ibrāhīm)* should be a place of prayer. It goes on to refer to God's ordering Abraham and Ishmael, "Purify my house for those who circumambulate, make retreat, bow and prostrate [there]" (*an ṭahhirā baytiya li-ṭāʾifīna wa-l-ʿākifīna wa-l-rukkaʿi l-sujūdi,* see BOWING AND PROSTRATION). That list of those for whom it is to be purified is repeated with a slight variant in Q 22:26 which recalls that God "prepared"(? *bawwaʾa*) for Abraham the place of the house and commanded him to purify "my house for those who circumambulate, stand, bow and prostrate [there]." Q 2:127 alludes to Abraham and Ishmael "raising the foundations" of the house *(wa-idh yarfaʿu Ibrāhīmu l-qawāʿida mina l-bayti wa-Ismāʿīlu)*. These verses are understood as referring to the building or rebuilding of the Kaʿba by

Abraham and Ishmael at God's command (see further below) and Q 3:96, which says that the first house established for humankind was that at Bakka *(inna awwala baytin wuḍiʿa lil-nāsi la-lladhī bi-Bakkata),* is also frequently interpreted as a reference to the origins of the Kaʿba.

Other qurʾānic references to the house associate it with *ḥajj, ʿumra* and animal offerings. Q 3:97 (following the immediately preceding mention of the "first house" at Bakka) states that in it are clear signs — the standing place of Abraham, that those who enter it have security, and that those of humankind who are able have the duty to God of the *ḥajj* of the house *(ḥajju l-bayti)*. Q 2:158 assures those who make the *ḥajj* of the house, or *ʿumra,* that there is no harm if they circumambulate al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa (see ṢAFĀ AND MARWA), which are among the signs (q.v.) of God *(inna l-Ṣafā wa-l-Marwata min shaʿāʾiri llāhi)*. Al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa are the names given to two small hills outside the "sacred mosque" *(al-masjid al-ḥarām)* in Mecca. Circumambulation of them, or rather passage between them (usually called *saʿy*), is part of the ritual required both for the *ḥajj* and the *ʿumra,* and the commentators explain in various ways why it might have been thought that making *ṭawāf* of them involved "harm."

Q 5:2 includes among a number of things which must not be profaned "those going to the sacred house, seeking merit and pleasure from their lord" *(yabtaghūna faḍlan min rabbihim wa-riḍwānan)*. Q 22:29, following a brief setting out of the duty of *ḥajj* in connection with the slaughter and consumption of animals, says that after the food has been eaten those taking part should end their (ritual) dishevelment, fulfil their vows and make circumambulation of the ancient house *(bi-l-bayti l-ʿaṭīqi)*. Q 22:33 indicates that the animals which are to be offered may be used until a certain time, after which they are to be brought to the ancient house (for slaughter).

Q 8:35 makes it clear that those who "disbelieve" also worship at the house, although their prayer *(ṣalāt)* is merely whistling and handclapping (*mukāʾan wa-taṣdiyatan,* see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF; MOCKERY). Q 106:3 urges that Quraysh (q.v.) should worship "the lord of this house" in gratitude for what he has done for them. In Q 52:4 there is an oath, "by the visited (?) house!" (*wa-l-bayti l-maʿmūri,* see OATHS). Sometimes this is understood not as referring to the Kaʿba itself but to its prototype in the highest heaven (see HEAVEN AND SKY), constantly circumambulated by angels (see ANGEL) beneath the throne of God (q.v.).

The frequent qurʾānic expression *al-masjid al-ḥarām* (Q 2:144, 149, 150, 191, 196, 217; 5:2; 8:34; 9:7, 19, 28; 17:1; 22:25; 48:25, 27) also sometimes seems to have the general sense of "sanctuary," just like *bayt,* and in commentary is occasionally equated with the Kaʿba. The most obvious example concerns the so-called *qibla* verses (Q 2:144, 149, 150) in which God orders the believers to turn their faces towards *al-masjid al-ḥarām*. These verses are understood as the revelation that specifies the *qibla* for Muslims. Some commentators argue that the precise direction of the *qibla* is the Kaʿba, or even a particular point of the Kaʿba, and this leads them to read *al-masjid al-ḥarām* here as equivalent to the Kaʿba.

Historically, the mosque containing the Kaʿba in Mecca, known as *al-masjid al-ḥarām,* is reported to have been built only after the death of the Prophet. The traditional scholars assert, however, that in pre-Islamic times the area around the Kaʿba was known as *al-masjid al-ḥarām* even though there was no building so-called. In this way they avoid the apparent anachronism involved in accepting that all of the Qurʾān had been revealed before the death

of the Prophet and that its references to *al-masjid al-ḥarām* apply to the same entity that bears that name in Islam, while yet agreeing that the mosque in Mecca post-dates the death of the Prophet.

The Kaʿba in Muslim tradition

Commentary on the above verses is concerned to relate them on the one hand to a large number of traditional stories concerned with the origins of the Meccan Kaʿba and the activity of Abraham in connection with it; and on the other with legal discussions of the *ḥajj,* the *ʿumra* and the rites associated with them (see LAW AND THE QURʾĀN). Thus, the discussions in works of commentary draw on, and are themselves reflected in, many other genres of Islamic literature — stories of the prophets (see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD), law books, local histories of Mecca, traditional biographical material on Muḥammad, and others.

As for its origins and pre-Islamic history, several reports say that the Kaʿba existed before the creation of the world as a sort of froth on the primordial waters from which God made the world. It was the place of worship for Adam (see ADAM AND EVE) after his expulsion from paradise (q.v.; see also FALL OF MAN; GARDEN), compensating him for his loss and allowing him to imitate on earth the circumambulation of the angels around the divine throne in heaven. *Bakka* in Q 3:96 is interpreted as a name of Mecca, various explanations of it being adduced. This "first house" was destroyed in the flood God had sent to punish the people of Noah (q.v.), although its "foundations" (*qawāʿid,* Q 2:127) remained.

Subsequently, in the time of Abraham, God commanded him to go to Mecca to rebuild it. Ishmael was already in Mecca, having previously been taken and left there together with his mother Hagar by Abraham. The father and son then fulfilled God's command. The black stone was revealed to them by an angel and placed in the wall where it is today. It was, say some reports, originally white but it become black because of the sins of the people of the Age of Ignorance *(jāhiliyya)* or, alternatively, as a consequence of the many fires which afflicted the Kaʿba. When the walls became too high for Abraham to reach, he stood on a stone which is often identified as the *maqām Ibrāhīm* ("standing place of Abraham") referred to in Q 2:125. After the building was finished that stone was placed outside the Kaʿba and, although it was subsequently moved around, it is still there near the Kaʿba today. Having completed the work, Abraham then summoned all of humankind, including the generations still unborn, to come to fulfil there the rituals which he himself had been shown by the angel Gabriel (q.v.). Some see the *maqām Ibrāhīm* as a stone on which Abraham stood to deliver this summons.

Prominent in these and other reports about the Kaʿba is the idea of the navel of the earth. The Kaʿba or *bayt* is described as the central point from which the earth was spread out. It is the point of the earth that is directly beneath the divine throne in the highest heaven, and each of the seven heavens has its analogue. Similarly, it stands above the center of the seven spheres beneath the earth. If any one of these *bayt*s were to fall, they would all fall one upon another down to the lowest earth *(ilā tukhūm al-arḍ al-suflā)*. In reports of this type the distinction between the *bayt* and the town of Mecca is often blurred so that Mecca, which is situated in fact in a valley, is sometimes referred to as a hill or mountain *(jabal Makka),* in accordance with the concept of the navel as a protrusion above the surrounding area. (For further material on this concept, see the article of Wensinck given in the bibliography.)

Having been instituted by Abraham as a

center of monotheism, the Kaʿba was then, over time, corrupted and it came to be the center of the polytheism (see POLYTHEISM AND ATHEISM) and idolatry (*shirk,* see IDOLATRY AND IDOLATERS), which dominated central Arabia in the centuries before the sending of the prophet Muḥammad (see PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QURʾĀN). Some remnants of Abrahamic monotheism survived but idols (see IDOLS AND IMAGES) were installed and worshipped in and around the Kaʿba. Muḥammad's preaching and activities eventually achieved the defeat of Arab paganism and the restoration of the Kaʿba as the sanctuary of the one, true God. It is against this background that the references to the futile *ṣalāt* of the unbelievers at the *bayt* (Q 8:35) and the call for Quraysh to worship "the lord of this house" (Q 106:3) are understood.

Issues involving the law discussed in connection with the qurʾānic verses cited above include whether *ʿumra* has the same obligatory status as *ḥajj* (Q 2:158; 3:97), the nature of the compensation to be offered by the *muḥrim* who has intentionally killed a wild animal (Q 5:95), the precise point of the *qibla* (Q 2:144) and the status of the *ṭawāf* or *saʿy* between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa (Q 2:158).

A non-traditional perspective

The unanimous traditional view is that the qurʾānic passages discussed above all originated with reference to the Kaʿba at Mecca and that the Meccan Kaʿba before Islam had the same central importance that it afterwards received in Islam. Qurʾānic commentary reflects those two presuppositions (see EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL). The qurʾānic text itself seems neither to substantiate nor disprove them. It may be noted, however, that the expression *al-masjid al-ḥarām* as the name of the place of worship in contention between the believers and unbelievers is much more common and more prominent in the Qurʾān than is *al-kaʿba,* and the traditional identification of *al-masjid al-ḥarām* as a pre-Islamic name for the area around the Meccan Kaʿba may be an attempt at harmonization. It is notable, too, that the sanctuary *(bayt)* associated in the text with Abraham is not explicitly identified there as *al-kaʿba,* apart from the reference in Q 5:97 to *al-kaʿba al-bayt al-ḥarām,* which could incorporate a gloss. The identification of the *bayt* with the Meccan Kaʿba is mainly a product of the literary tradition rather than of the Qurʾān itself. Muslim tradition itself suggests that there were other *kaʿba*s besides the Meccan one and some evidence from outside Muslim tradition suggests a link between the word *kaʿba* and a stele or bethel connected with the worship of Dusares in Nabataean Petra (Ryckmans, Dhu 'l-Sharā; see GEOGRAPHY). There are some grounds, therefore, for hesitation in face of the traditional understandings of the qurʾānic passages. How far one is prepared to question them will largely depend on one's views about the origins of the qurʾānic text and of the Muslim sanctuary at Mecca.

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Kāhin

see SOOTHSAYERS

Kalām

see WORD OF GOD; THEOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN; SPEECH

Keys

see INSTRUMENTS; HIDDEN AND THE HIDDEN

Khadīja

Khadīja bint al-Khuwaylid of the clan of Asad of the tribe of Quraysh (q.v.) was the Prophet's first wife, mother of all his children except one, and the first to believe in his mission. Inasmuch as she died three years before the emigration (q.v.; *hijra*) to Medina, and the revelations specifically addressed to the members of the Prophet's household (see FAMILY OF THE PROPHET; PEOPLE OF THE HOUSE; REVELATION AND INSPIRATION; OCCASIONS OF REVELATION) were vouchsafed in Medina (q.v.), Khadīja's name appears rarely in the exegetical literature (see EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL). Her role in the genres of biographies of Muḥammad (*sīra,* see SĪRA AND THE QURʾĀN) and "stories of the prophets" (*qiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ,* see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD) works, as well as in popular piety, however, has been immense.

Khadīja was an aristocratic, wealthy Meccan merchant woman who in two previous marriages had given birth to two sons and a daughter. As a widow, she obtained Muḥammad's services as steward of her merchandise in a Syrian trading venture, during which a young boy of her household named Maysara is said to have witnessed several miracles that foretold Muḥammad's rise to prophethood. The venture was a commercial success and, impressed by Muḥammad's good character and trustworthiness, Khadīja offered him marriage. Traditional sources indicate that the marriage proposal was extended by Muḥammad and his uncle Ḥamza b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib (q.v.) to Khadīja's father Khuwaylid b. Asad (Ibn Isḥāq-Guillaume, 82-3) or it was her uncle ʿAmr b. Asad who married her to the Prophet (Ibn Saʿd, i, 132-3). Most traditions place Muḥammad's age at that time at twenty-five and Khadīja's at forty. She bore her husband at least five children: four daughters (Zaynab, Umm Kulthūm, Fāṭima, Ruqayya) and one or possibly two sons (al-Qāsim, ʿAbdallāh; who, however, may be the same, while al-Ṭāhir and al-Ṭayyib are generally taken to be epithets of ʿAbdallāh; Ibn Isḥāq-Guillaume, 82-3). Khadīja's material, emotional, and spiritual support were crucial to the success of Muḥammad's mission. The exegetical literature on the Qurʾān generally links Q 93:8, "did he not find you needy and enrich you" with their marriage (see POVERTY AND THE POOR). Khadīja reported Muḥammad's first miraculous experiences and especially his call to prophethood to her Christian cousin Waraqa b. Nawfal who likened the event to Moses' (q.v.) receiving of the law (Ibn Isḥāq-Guillaume, 83, 107; see TORAH; COMMANDMENTS; there is also speculation

that this Waraqa may have furnished Muḥammad with details of Christian belief; cf. Sprenger, *Leben,* i, 124-34; see INFORMANTS; CHRISTIANS AND CHRISTIANITY). According to many traditions (see ḤADĪTH AND THE QUR'ĀN), she was the first to believe in God, his apostle (see MESSENGER), and the truth of the message, meaning that she was the Prophet's first follower and, after Muḥammad himself, the second Muslim. According to others his cousin ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib (q.v.) was the second Muslim and Khadīja the third (see FAITH; BELIEF AND UNBELIEF; COMPANIONS OF THE PROPHET). During her lifetime, she remained the Prophet's only wife (see WIVES OF THE PROPHET; MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE) and his mainstay in the battles against his Meccan enemies (Ibn Isḥāq-Guillaume, 111-14; see OPPOSITION TO MUḤAMMAD).

Khadīja's rank among God's chosen women, indeed her cosmological importance, is established in the exegetical literature on Q 66:11-2 and 3:42 (see WOMEN AND THE QUR'ĀN). In the context of Q 66:11-2, she is placed in association with Pharaoh's (q.v.) wife (Āsya) and Mary (q.v.) the daughter of ʿImrān (q.v.; the mother of Jesus, q.v.), both examples to those who believe, because of her great service to the Prophet's mission. Regarding Q 3:42, the angels' words to Mary that God had chosen her above the women of the worlds, Khadīja's name appears prominently in the exegetical debate on Mary's ranking both among the qur'ānic women figures and also in relation to three selected elite women of the Prophet's household, i.e. Khadīja herself, Muḥammad's later wife ʿĀ'isha (see ʿĀ'ISHA BINT ABĪ BAKR), and his and Khadīja's daughter Fāṭima (q.v.). Here, the larger number of traditions recorded in exegetical *(tafsīr)* and *qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā'* literature establish on the authority of the Prophet that Mary and Fāṭima, Khadīja and Āsya are the best women of the world and the ruling females in heaven (see HEAVEN AND SKY). While the traditions on ʿĀ'isha's inclusion in this group are fewer in number, many hagiographic accounts affirm that Mary and Āsya, Khadīja and ʿĀ'isha will all be Muḥammad's consorts in paradise (q.v.), where Khadīja's heavenly mansion is located between the houses of Mary and Āsya (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* vi, 393-400; Rāzī, *Tafsīr,* viii, 45-6; Bayḍāwī, *Anwār,* i, 155; Ibn Kathīr, *Qiṣaṣ,* ii, 375-83.)

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Khaḍir/Khiḍr

Islamic tradition identifies as al-Khaḍir (or Khiḍr), an otherwise unnamed "servant (q.v.) of God" who appears in Sūrat al-Kahf ("The Cave"; Q 18:60-82), in connection with Moses' (q.v.) quest for the "confluence of the two seas" (see BARRIER; NATURE AS SIGNS). Interpretations run a wide gamut. Al-Zamakhsharī (d. 538/1144; *Kashshāf,* ii, 703) asserts that Khiḍr lived from the time of Dhū l-Qarnayn (see ALEXANDER) to that of Moses; Sayyid Quṭb (d. 1966; *Ẓilāl,* iv, 2276-82) sets that tradition aside, calling him only "the

righteous servant." Moses and an unnamed companion (traditionally, Joshua son of Nūn) set out carrying a fish for food; mysteriously coming to life, the fish escapes into the sea. According to a ḥadīth cited by many exegetes (e.g. Ibn al-Jawzī, *Zād,* v, 119; see ḤADĪTH AND THE QURʾĀN) to explain the context of the journey, Moses rises to address the Children of Israel (q.v.) and someone asks him who is the most learned among them. When Moses answers that he himself is, God reveals that one yet more learned awaits Moses at the confluence of the two seas. Al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923; *Tafsīr,* viii, 251) adds that Khiḍr is also the most beloved and most firmly decisive.

The qurʾānic account, enhanced with certain exegetical details, continues as follows: God then tells Moses that he will meet this most learned servant at the place where his fish escapes. But Joshua fails to tell Moses that he has lost the fish so the two must retrace their steps to the spot where Khiḍr awaits. Moses asks Khiḍr to teach him what he knows, but Khiḍr warns that Moses will not have the patience to bear with him. Moses insists he will be a good student, agreeing not to question Khiḍr's actions. The travelers embark on a ship, which Khiḍr proceeds to scuttle (see SHIPS). Moses inquires how he could do such a thing, and Khiḍr warns the Prophet. Later as they walk along the shore, Khiḍr spots some boys playing and kills one of them summarily. Moses again confronts Khiḍr. Further along they come to a town whose inhabitants refuse to feed the hungry travelers. Nevertheless, Khiḍr repairs a portion of a wall on the point of collapsing. Again Moses takes exception, and that is the last straw: Khiḍr decides to explain his actions, but from then on Moses is on his own. Khiḍr had scuttled the boat to prevent a wicked king from commandeering it for evil purposes; he had killed the boy lest the child grieve his good parents by a wayward life; and he had rebuilt the wall so that the treasure that lay beneath would be safe until the two orphaned sons of the wall's owner could reach their majority and thus claim their inheritance (see ORPHANS; GUARDIANSHIP; INHERITANCE).

Exegetes discuss such questions as the origin of the guide's name, the identity of the seas, the nature of Khiḍr's learning, and his spiritual status. He got the name Khiḍr, "green," because, according to a ḥadīth cited by several exegetes (e.g. Qurṭubī, *Jāmiʿ,* xi, 12; Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr,* iii, 105), whenever he prayed, everything around him waxed verdant. Exegetes generally agree that Khiḍr's divinely infused knowledge was esoteric, whereas that of Moses was more exoteric (e.g. Abū Ḥayyān, *Baḥr,* vi, 139; see KNOWLEDGE AND LEARNING). Al-Ṭabarī (*Tafsīr,* viii, 251) among others suggests the two seas were the Persian in the east and the Greek in the west (see GEOGRAPHY). But of equal importance is the metaphorical view that Moses and Khiḍr were themselves the two "seas" since they both possessed oceans of knowledge, albeit of different kinds (Abū Ḥayyān, *Baḥr,* vi, 136; Zamakhsharī, *Kashshāf,* ii, 703; see METAPHOR). Many interpreters call Khiḍr a prophet, arguing that only prophetic revelation *(waḥy)* could account for his bizarre actions and that a ranking prophet like Moses would surely follow only a figure of greater stature (see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD; REVELATION AND INSPIRATION). Various exegetes gloss "mercy" (q.v.; Q 18:65) as *waḥy* or *nubūwwa* (Zamakhsharī, *Kashshāf,* ii, 705; Nasafī, *Tafsīr,* iii, 34). Ibn al-ʿArabī (d. 543/1148; *Aḥkām,* iii, 241) notes that the conditions Khiḍr imposed on Moses are understandable in that all Muslims must accept certain conditions in following the prophets. Muḥyī al-Dīn b. al-ʿArabī (d. 638/1240;

Fuṣūṣ, 202-5) parallels Khiḍr's actions with events in Moses' life: the scuttling of the ship with the infant Moses' rescue from the Nile, Khiḍr's murder of the boy with Moses' killing the Copt, and Khiḍr's not asking recompense for rebuilding the crumbling wall with Moses' drawing water at Midian (q.v.) without remuneration.

Khiḍr also appears in the various major versions of the "stories of the prophets" *(qiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ)* genre. These accounts have a sort of "midrashic" quality, spinning a narrative to fill in the gaps in the scriptural text (Kisāʾī), sometimes speculating on such details as the precise location of events and identities of individuals in the stories (Thaʿlabī). An extra-qurʾānic aspect of the Khiḍr legend is the story of his search for the water (q.v.) of life (q.v.), so that Khiḍr comes to share the immortality of Jesus (q.v.), Idrīs (q.v.) and Ilyās (see ELIJAH). Khiḍr's arrival at the spring (see SPRINGS AND FOUNTAINS) is naturally associated with his power to affect the spiritual "greening" of humankind. Ibn Kathīr (d. 774/1373; *Qiṣaṣ,* 342) intertwines Khiḍr's story with that of Ilyās and calls the two "brothers" (see BROTHER AND BROTHERHOOD).

The early exegete Muqātil b. Sulaymān (d. 150/767) explains Khiḍr's link with Ilyās etymologically. As the one person with greater knowledge than Moses, Khiḍr's learning was "expansive, all inclusive," from *wasaʿa,* "to be wide," which Muqātil claims is from the same root (see ARABIC LANGUAGE) as the name Ilyās. Muqātil has Moses find Khiḍr dressed in wool, whereupon Khiḍr recognizes Moses as prophet of Israel (q.v.). According to Muqātil, Khiḍr's knowledge exceeds that of Moses because God has given diverse gifts to various prophets — not, as others have said, because Khiḍr was a saint and therefore superior to a prophet in esoteric knowledge (Muqātil, *Tafsīr,* ii, 592-9). An editor later attached a ḥadīth to Muqātil's commentary, according to which Khiḍr is a *walī* (saint) whose knowledge comes through virtue (see ṢŪFISM AND THE QURʾĀN). Moses asks Khiḍr how he came to be gifted with immortality (see DEATH AND THE DEAD; ETERNITY), endowed with the ability to read hearts (see HEART) and see with God's eye (see ANTHROPOMORPHISM). Khiḍr responds that it is because he has obeyed God perfectly and neither fears nor hopes in any but God (Nwyia, *Exégèse,* 88-90; see FEAR; OBEDIENCE; HOPE). Al-Sarrāj (d. 378/988; *Lumaʿ,* 422-4) corrects the mistaken notion that *wilāya* (sainthood) is superior to *risāla* (being a messenger of God), a misinterpretation of Q 18:64 f. Moses' illumination far outstrips any that Khiḍr could have sustained.

Khiḍr's ongoing spiritual function becomes an important issue for certain Ṣūfī orders in particular, who regarded Khiḍr as an initiating *shaykh.* Muḥyī al-Dīn b. al-ʿArabī says he first met Khiḍr in Seville and received the Ṣūfī patched frock *(khirqa)* from him and calls him the fourth pillar along with Jesus, Idrīs, and Ilyās in the celestial hierarchy of initiation (Addas, *Red sulphur,* 62-5, 116-7, 144-5). Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. al-ʿArabī (d. 543/1148) observes that "anyone who wants to know without doubt that power and aid belong only to God must sail the sea," taking the ship Khiḍr scuttled as a symbol of spiritual poverty (*Aḥkām,* iii, 242; see POVERTY AND THE POOR). Jalāl al-Dīn al-Rūmī (d. 672/1273; *Dīwān,* poems 2521:10, 408:1-2) takes the metaphor further, identifying the ship as the body of the Ṣūfī that must be broken and purified by Khiḍr's love. Finally, Abū Ḥayyān (d. 745/1344; *Baḥr,* vi, 139) suggests the purpose of the whole story is guidance and incentive to travel on the search for knowledge (see JOURNEY), and instruction on the etiquette of the quest.

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Khalīl

see ABRAHAM; FRIENDS AND FRIENDSHIP

Khārijīs

The strongest opposition party in early Islam, their name (Ar. *khārijī,* pl. *khawārij*) is derived from the Arabic triliteral root *kh-r-j,* which has as its basic meaning "to go out," "to take the field against someone" and "to rise in revolt" (Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh,* ii, 32; trans. Morony, 37; see FIGHTING; JIHĀD). In the case in point, it means "to secede from the community." Although forms of *kh-r-j* appear numerous times in the Qurʾān with varied meanings, the group in question took its name from the usage in Q 9:46, where the root *kh-r-j,* denoting "to go out to combat," is opposed to the verb *qaʿada,* which denotes people who held back from the war (q.v.; see EXPEDITIONS AND BATTLES). The earliest Khārijīs were those who withdrew from ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib's (q.v.) army when he agreed to the arbitration (q.v.) at the battle of Ṣiffīn in 37/657 (see POLITICS AND THE QURʾĀN). Another name given to these first Khārijīs is al-Shurāt (lit. "the vendors") — meaning those who have sold their soul for the cause of God. This appears to have been the name they themselves used, and it has also been extended to their descendants (cf. Levi Della Vida, Khāridjites; Higgins, *Qurʾānic exchange*).

Early traditions state that a breeding-ground for the Khārijīs could be found among the Qurʾān readers (see READERS OF THE QURʾĀN), who displayed extreme piety (q.v.) and asceticism (q.v.). The earliest Khārijīs, just like the Arabs (q.v.) of Kūfa and Baṣra, were all bedouins (see BEDOUIN), who had migrated to the garrison cities (see CITY). In this respect there is little distinguishing information to provide other than that they were much less concerned with the system of genealogy based on kinship (q.v.). As a consequence of this stance, their doctrines had enormous appeal for minority groups within the newly emerging Islamic community (see HERESY; THEOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN).

The earliest of ʿAlī's opponents were called Ḥarūrīs, from Ḥarūrāʾ, the place in which some twelve thousand men had gathered, those who, in protest against the arbitration, had seceded as ʿAlī entered Kūfa in Rabīʿ I 37/Aug.-Sept. 658, after the conclusion of the arbitration agreement. Also among them were many who had initially accepted the arbitration but now acknowledged their mistake and no longer recognized ʿAlī as their leader. Their oath of allegiance was to God on the basis of "ordering what is good and prohibiting what is reprehensible" (on this concept, see M. Cook, *Commanding right;* see also GOOD AND EVIL; LAWFUL AND UNLAW-

FUL; ETHICS AND THE QURʾĀN; VIRTUES AND VICES, COMMANDING AND FORBIDDING). The Ḥarūrīs were initially secessionists, not rebels. They wished to secede from the community to protect their principles. They were also called Muḥakkima from their motto "No judgment (q.v.) but God's" *(lā ḥukma illā li-llāh)*. They accused those who supported the arbitration of having acted contemptibly toward God by appointing human arbitrators. People who shouted *"lā ḥukma illā li-llāh"* at the battle of Ṣiffīn most likely meant that ʿUthmān (q.v.) had broken God's law as revealed in the Qurʾān (see LAW AND THE QURʾĀN) and was therefore worthy of death, and not that the question between ʿAlī and Muʿāwiya should be left to the "arbitrament of war" (Watt, Kharijite thought, 217-8). They also held that Muʿāwiya was a rebel and that according to Q 49:9, rebels are outlaws who should be fought until they repent (see REBELLION; REPENTANCE AND PENANCE). Arbitration was thus a mistake because no one had the right to substitute a human decision for God's clear pronouncement (Barradī, *Jawāhir,* 120).

The rupture among ʿAlī's followers proved serious since it brought a wider dogmatic schism to the fore. The Khārijīs objected to the concept of personal alliance to the imām (q.v.). In their view, allegiance should be bound not to a particular person (see COMMUNITY AND SOCIETY IN THE QURʾĀN), but to the Qurʾān and the sunna (q.v.) of the Prophet, Abū Bakr (q.v.) and ʿUmar (q.v.). They denied that the right to the imāmate should be based on close kinship with Muḥammad (see SHĪʿISM AND THE QURʾĀN), for that was irrelevant in their eyes. These differences found military expression when the Khārijīs from Kūfa and Baṣra assembled in Nahrawān. After calling for a resumption of the war with Muʿāwiya, who had been acknowledged by some as caliph (q.v.) before the end of Dhū l-Qaʿda 37/April-May 658 (Hinds, Muʿawiya, 265), ʿAlī invited them to join him and to fight their common enemy. Faced with their refusal, ʿAlī decided to deal with it before carrying out his campaign to Syria (q.v.). The Khārijīs fought desperately but they were outnumbered by ʿAlī's followers and the battle turned into a one-sided massacre. The battle of Nahrawān (9 Ṣafar 38/17 July 658) set the seal on the division between Shīʿa (q.v.) and Khārijīs, and made the Khārijīs' split with the community irreparable.

Khārijī revolts

During the Umayyad period, several Khārijī revolts broke out in various Muslim lands, causing the caliphate to suffer material damage as well as a blow to its pride. Large sections of territory were removed from its administration. The Azāriqa, one of the main branches of the Khārijīs, threatened Baṣra, while other Khārijī groups who emerged from the region of Mawṣil (i.e. the high Tigris country between Mārdīn and Niṣībīn) endangered Kūfa (cf. Levi Della Vida, Khāridjites, 1075-6). The chief persecutors of the Khārijīs were the governors of Iraq, Ziyād b. Abīhi (d. 53/673) and his son ʿUbayd Allāh, who became governor there in the year 55/674. They proceeded against the Khārijīs with harsh measures and killed and imprisoned many of them. As the Umayyad caliphate began to collapse, the Khārijīs turned into a revolutionary movement. The small numbers of troops, which had previously characterized the Khārijī armies, swelled to powerful masses. During this late Umayyad period, the revolts of the Ibāḍīs, a moderate branch of the Khārijīs (who spread to the Maghrib, the Ḥaḍramawt and ʿUmān) constituted a greater menace to the caliphate than did the Azāriqī uprisings (cf. Lewicki, al-Ibāḍiyya, 650). After occupying the Ḥaḍramawt and Ṣanʿāʾ, the capital of southern Arabia, in 129/746-47, the Ibāḍi

army, under the command of Abū Ḥamza, took Mecca (q.v.) and Medina (q.v.). Abū Ḥamza was a skilled soldier, but also a scholar and a preacher who gave sermons from the Prophet's pulpit (see MOSQUE) that have been preserved in the Arabic chronicles (Darjīnī, *Ṭabaqāt*, ii, 266-72). The Ibāḍīs were defeated and, for the most part, massacred in the middle of Jumādā I 130/January 748. The Umayyad army reconquered Medina and then Mecca but were forced to conclude a peace treaty with the Ibāḍīs of the Ḥaḍramawt.

The Khārijī revolts continued after the ascension of the ʿAbbāsids. The Ibāḍīs and the Ṣufrites, another moderate branch of Khārijism, succeeded in establishing their rule in the Maghrib. Again in ʿUmān, the Ibāḍīs had some success in a revolt about 132/750. Towards the second half of the second/eighth century they rose up again and recommenced their activities in the region creating an imāmate, which continued to exist almost without interruption for over 1200 years. There were revolts in other regions that were successful for some years and then died down. In various districts around Mawṣil, in northern Iraq, sixteen revolts have been recorded in the years between the middle of the second/eighth and the middle of the fourth/tenth century; Sijistān and southern Khurāsān also witnessed Khārijī revolts.

Khārijī sects

The weakness of the Khārijī movement lay in its incapacity to preserve both religious and political unity. A number of schisms *(iftirāq)* resulting from dogmatic disputes as well as from political crises culminated in the formation of several theological and political subdivisions *(firqa)*. Some of the Khārijīs adopted political quietism and moderation, while others took to activism and extremism. The extremists followed Nāfiʿ b. al-Azraq or Ḥanẓala b. Bayhas. The Azāriqa (who met a violent end in Ṭabarīstan in 78-9/698-9) upheld the *istiʿrāḍ* (the indiscriminate killing of the non-Khārijī Muslims, including their children), submitted new recruits to a severe inquisition, disregarded the practice of the dissimulation (q.v.; *taqiyya*) of one's real belief, considered unbelief a grave sin and insisted on the eternal punishment for the grave sinner (see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF; SIN, MAJOR AND MINOR; ETERNITY). The Bayhasiyya were as fierce as the Azāriqa in that they approved of the killing of non-Khārijī Muslims and the taking of their goods (see BOOTY). The followers of Najda b. ʿĀmir represented a milder tendency. The Najadāt permitted dissimulation *(taqiyya)* and quietism, as they did not expect everyone to join with them in the fight against the unbelievers. Another branch of the Khārijīs were the ʿAjārida, who stem from ʿAbd al-Karīm b. ʿAjarrad. They insisted on the supremacy of divine law and on the upright conduct of individuals.

The most moderate branch of the Khārijīs — and today the only survivors — were the Ibāḍīs. They appeared in Baṣra in 65/684-5, when ʿAbdallāh b. Ibāḍ broke away from the Khārijī extremists over which attitude was to be adopted towards other Muslims and joined a group of quietists who had gathered around Abū Bilāl Mirdās b. Udayya al-Tamīmī. During the first half of the second/eighth century, Ibāḍism began to undergo a profound change: from being part of the Khārijī sect, it became an autonomous movement with a defined membership, doctrine and organized missionary activities. At present, Ibāḍīs form the main part of the population in the oases of Mzāb in Algeria, of Zawāra and Jebel Naffūsa in Tripolitania, on the island of Jerba in Tunisia and in

ʿUmān, while small groups are also found on the island of Zanzibar. Another moderate branch of the Khārijīs were the Ṣufriyya, whose teachings spread among the remote Berber tribes of the western Maghrib.

Khārijī doctrine

The Khārijīs made important contributions to Islamic thought, and to the formation of Islamic culture. A considerable amount of historical and theological material has been preserved by the Ibāḍīs (for a discussion of Ibāḍī exegesis of the Qurʾān, see Gilliot, Le commentaire coranique de Hūd b. Muḥakkam), but apart from this Ibāḍī material, the only source for the Khārijī thought is the Sunnī historical and heresiographical tradition. The religion of the Khārijīs had as its aim paradise (q.v.). They did not think of victory (q.v.) on earth (q.v.). They wished to save their souls (see SOUL) by fighting the impious with a total lack of consideration for themselves and others (see SALVATION). The core of the theological teaching of the Khārijīs was the conception of a righteous God who demands righteousness from his subjects (see JUSTICE AND INJUSTICE). Indeed, the earliest Khārijite propositions attempted to place the believer in a direct relationship to God. Khārijism attached great importance to religious principles that stressed the responsibility of the individual, such as the obligation of "promoting good and preventing evil" and the conception of the relationship between works and faith (q.v.). Anyone who committed a capital sin, failed to obey the divine law (see OBEDIENCE) or introduced innovations (see INNOVATION) was an infidel and was to be combated as long as he remained dissident. Moreover, if there were no repentance, the transgressor would be condemned to eternal punishment in hell (see REWARD AND PUNISHMENT; HELL AND HELLFIRE). This doctrine was used to support the Khārijī view that the killers of ʿUthmān could be justified in their act, and, for the Azāriqa, it became the theological basis for their action.

The obvious corollary of the doctrine of human responsibility was the doctrine of divine decree (*qadar,* see FREEDOM AND PREDESTINATION). Al-Ashʿarī (d. 324/935-6; *Maqālāt,* 93, 96, 104, 116) mentions some Khārijī groups that agreed with the Muʿtazila (see MUʿTAZILĪS) in affirming human free will, but the general attitude of the Khārijīs supported the doctrine of predestination. The debate on *qadar* emerged in the Ibāḍī community during the imāmate of Abū ʿUbayda (first half of the second/eighth century), who was conscious of the danger to the community of carrying rational argument and disputation too far (see DEBATE AND DISPUTATION). He fiercely opposed ʿAbdallāh b. Yazīd al-Fazārī for his rigidly rational reasoning and expelled Ḥamza al-Kūfī (cf. van Ess, *TG,* ii, 203-4) and ʿAṭiyya (cf. van Ess, *TG,* iv, 204), suspected to be followers of Ghaylān al-Dimashqī (cf. van Ess, *TG,* i, 73-5). According to Abū ʿUbayda, God is all-powerful and all-knowing (see GOD AND HIS ATTRIBUTES); he knows people's acts but he does not determine them. Thus the individual is responsible for his or her actions and will be judged for them (Darjīnī, *Ṭabaqāt,* ii, 233; Shammākhī, *Siyar,* 84-5; see LAST JUDGMENT; RECORD OF HUMAN ACTIONS). The Khārijī theological doctrine shared a number of features with Muʿtazilī theology as a result of a parallel development, since the center of Ibāḍism was still Baṣra at the time when the founders of Muʿtazilism were active there (Moreno, *Note,* 312-3). Khārijīs and Muʿtazilīs used the same arguments, often borrowed from each other, to substantiate

their doctrines. In general, the dogma of the Khārijīs resembled certain main points made by the Muʿtazilīs, as in the case of the doctrine of anti-anthropomorphism (see ANTHROPOMORPHISM) and the theory of the createdness of the Qurʾān (q.v.). This latter doctrine was well established among the early Ibāḍīs in the Maghrib, as shown by a treatise in which the Rustamid imām Abū al-Yaqẓān (r. 241-81/855-94) quotes early Ibāḍī scholars (Cremonesi, *Un antico documento,* 148 f.) on the matter. In ʿUmān, the doctrine was first introduced only at the beginning of the third/ninth century, though it was opposed until the sixth/twelfth century.

The question of the imāmate was central for the Khārijī movement, together with the related question of membership in the community, which depended on the acceptance of its specific doctrines. It was on this latter question that the movement split into various sects over minor differences. The Khārijīs were not anarchists: they upheld the necessity of an imām, but rejected imāms such as ʿUthmān, ʿAlī and Muʿāwiya, insisting upon the personal qualities of the imām and his duty to enjoin good and forbid evil. They held that the limitation of the imāmate to the Quraysh (q.v.) was not valid: the most meritorious Muslim should be elected whatever his ethnic origins might be. In other words, for the Khārijīs, personal merits overruled considerations of descent. In their view, leadership stems from personal excellence, and the confidence that the community placed in its imām constitutes his authority (q.v.). When an imām commits major sins, his followers should not immediately dissociate themselves from him *(al-barāʾa ʿanhu),* but call him to formal repentance (cf. Rubinacci, Barāʾa, 1027-8). If he repents, and does not continue in his errors, then he retains his imāmate; if he does not, then it is the duty of his followers to dissociate themselves from him and, if necessary, fight him. The Khārijīs supported the principle that any Muslim could be elevated to the supreme dignity of the imāmate, even if he were "an Abyssinian slave whose nose has been cut off" (Shahrastānī, *Milal,* 87; see ABYSSINIA; SLAVES AND SLAVERY). The Ibāḍī sources state that the imām must be male, an adult in full possession of his faculties and so on (see MATURITY; KINGS AND RULERS), but they do not regard a slave as eligible for the caliphate (Wilkinson, Ibadi Imāma, 538). The formulation of "even an Abyssinian slave" causes misunderstanding. It actually means that the Khārijīs held any qualified Muslim, even one of slavish origin, eligible to the imāmate — provided that he was of irreproachable character. Originally this "black slave" tradition was not a Khārijī statement nor was it concerned with the qualification of the imāmate. It expressed Sunnī quietism, which maintained that rulers must be obeyed however illegitimate they may be (Crone, 'Even an Ethiopian slave,' 60-1).

It should be added that the Ibāḍīs were also eminent jurists (see TRADITIONAL DISCIPLINES OF QURʾĀNIC STUDY). The Ibāḍī school is one of the oldest surviving schools of law. Its foundation was attributed to Jābir b. Zayd (d. ca. 100/718-9). The first jurists of the movement were trained at his "circle" *(ḥalqa):* Abū Nūḥ Ṣāliḥ al-Dahhān, Ḥayyān al-Aʿraj, Ḍumām b. al-Sāʾib, Jaʿfar b. al-Sammāk, and Abū ʿUbayda al-Tamīmī propagated the doctrine learnt from Jābir in secret meetings *(majālis),* at which the members of the sect discussed questions of law and dogma. The first Ibāḍīs lived in places where Islamic law began to develop, namely in Baṣra and Kūfa, but also in the Ḥijāz, in close contact with the learned experts of the time with whom they

exchanged opinions and teachings. Al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (d. 110/728) and Ibn ʿAbbās (d. 68/686-8) were teachers as well as personal friends of Jābir, and the first Ibāḍīs recognized the authority of the Sunnī traditionists (see ḤADĪTH AND THE QURʾĀN) who were among Jābir's pupils: Qatāda b. Diʿāma, ʿAmr b. Harim, ʿAmr b. Dīnār, Tamīm b. Ḥuwayṣ, and ʿUmāra b. Ḥayyān.

Some scholars have argued that the Ibāḍīs derived their law from the orthodox schools, introducing only such superficial modifications as were required by their own political and dogmatic tenets (Schacht, *Origins,* 260 f.). Recent studies on the Ibāḍī *madhhab* show, however, that from the beginning the Ibāḍīs took a line detached from Sunnī schools and thus contributed to the general development of Islamic jurisprudence (Ennami, *Studies in Ibāḍism,* chap. iv; Wilkinson, The early development, 125-44; Francesca, The formation; id., *Teoria e practica,* esp. chaps. 1-3).

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Khaybar

see EXPEDITIONS AND BATTLES

Kifl, Dhū al-

see DHŪ L-KIFL; EZEKIEL; ELIJAH

Kindness

see MERCY

King, Kingdom

see KINGS AND RULERS

Kings and Rulers

Royal male sovereigns and other political leaders. The Arabic term *malik*, "king," appears thirteen times in the Qurʾān (its plural form *mulūk* appears twice), and is derived from the root *m-l-k*, which connotes possession (q.v.), having power or dominion over someone or something (see POWER AND IMPOTENCE), or capacity, the ability to obtain something.

Other qurʾānic terms relevant to this subject include *mulk*, "dominion, power or kingdom," and *malakūt*, "dominion or kingdom." The former, which is attested many times in the Qurʾān, may be associated either with God or with human beings, while the latter, which appears only four times, is used exclusively in divine contexts, as in Q 6:75 when God shows Abraham (q.v.) "the kingdom of the heavens and the earth" (*malakūta l-samāwāti wa-l-arḍ*, see HEAVEN AND SKY; EARTH) or Q 36:83: "Glory be to him in whose hand is dominion *(malakūt)* over all things." The term *khalīfa* (derived from the root *kh-l-f*, which connotes succession or deputyship; see CALIPH), is attested twice in the Qurʾān, and in its application to David (q.v.) in Q 38:26, this term, too, strongly suggests rulership (Lewis, *Political language*, 44; see also Paret, Signification coranique; al-Qāḍī, The term "khalīfa"). The term *imām* (q.v.; pl. *aʾimma*), a title which, like *khalīfa*, was greatly preferred by many Muslim political thinkers to *malik* in the early centuries of the Islamic period, also appears in the Qurʾān, where it connotes leadership, and has sometimes been interpreted in a political sense (see POLITICS AND THE QURʾĀN; also, although attested in the Qurʾān, the term *sulṭān* never appears

there in the sense of governmental power, a sense that was to become prevalent in later centuries).

Although the words *malik* and *mulk* are used in the Qurʾān in both human and divine contexts, the scripture and its traditional interpreters (see EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL) distinguish between true, eternal sovereignty (q.v.), that of God, and the temporal power that God grants briefly to whom he wishes (see ETERNITY). Commentators on the verse Q 3:26, where God is addressed as "the possessor of sovereignty, [you] who give sovereignty to whom you wish, and take sovereignty away from whom you wish, and exalt whom you wish and humble whom you wish" *(mālika l-mulki tuʾtī l-mulka man tashāʾu wa-tanziʿu l-mulka mimman tashāʾu wa-tuʿizzu man tashāʾu wa-tudhillu man tashāʾ),* draw a specific contrast between divine and human sovereignty. For al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923), the verse emphasizes God's total control over the disposition of temporal power. "All that is in your hands and at your behest; no one in your creation (q.v.) can do anything about it," al-Ṭabarī writes (*Tafsīr,* vi, 301). As an illustration of God's ability to elevate and depose kings in ways that human beings would never consider possible, al-Ṭabarī (followed by several later commentators) cites the ḥadīth according to which Muḥammad purportedly promised his people that they would eventually gain sovereignty over the Persian and Byzantine empires (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* vi, 299-301; see also Rāzī, *Tafsīr,* viii, 4; see BYZANTINES; ḤADĪTH AND THE QURʾĀN).

Q 3:26 is significant in Muʿtazilī theology, since some Muʿtazilīs (q.v.), as a consequence of their emphasis on divine justice (see JUSTICE AND INJUSTICE), rejected the idea that God could bestow kingship on an unbeliever (see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF; for a discussion of this issue, see Ṭūsī, *Tibyān,* ii, 430-1; Zamakhsharī, *Kashshāf,* i, 350; and further Māwardī, *Nukat,* i, 381-2). While al-Ṭabarī gives precedence to interpretations of Q 3:26 that understand the verse as referring to temporal power, he and later commentators also record alternative opinions, including the view according to which *mulk* should be understood here in the sense of prophethood (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* vi, 300; Ṭūsī, *Tibyān,* ii, 429; see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD). In his treatment of this view, Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 606/1210) explains: "Prophethood is the highest rank of sovereignty, because the scholars (see SCHOLAR; KNOWLEDGE AND LEARNING) have a great deal of command over the interior aspects of people, and tyrants (see OPPRESSION) have command over the external aspects of people, whereas the commands of prophets are effective on the interior and exterior aspects" (Rāzī, *Tafsīr,* viii, 5; see also AUTHORITY and OBEDIENCE for discussion of another verse with theological overtones that had ramifications on later Islamic political history, namely Q 4:59, in which the believers are instructed to obey God, the messenger [q.v.] and "those of you who are in authority *[ūlī l-amr minkum]*").

In reference to God, the term *malik* is invested with sacrality: in Q 20:114, God is called "the true king" *(al-maliku l-ḥaqq;* see also Q 25:26, *al-mulku yawmaʾidhin al-ḥaqq)* and he is twice described as "the holy king" (*al-maliku l-quddūs;* the latter term is generally interpreted as meaning "pure, devoid of any impurity or deficiency"; see Bayḍāwī, *Anwār,* ii, 326, ad Q 59:23 and Ṭūsī, *Tibyān,* x, 3-4, ad Q 62:1). In Q 114:2, God is "the king of humankind" *(maliki l-nās).* In contrast to its use as a divine appellation, the term *malik,* when applied to earthly monarchs, often carries negative connotations in the Qurʾān. For example, in Q 27:34, the Queen of Sheba (q.v.)

remarks, "When kings enter a town, they ruin it and make the grandest of its people wretched." God may grant sovereignty to those whom he favors, such as David, Solomon (q.v.) and Joseph (q.v.; it is noteworthy, however, that the Qurʾān does not attach the title of "king" to any of these figures); and Saul (q.v.; of whom the term "king" is used). In order to fulfil the divine purpose, God may also confer kingship on negative characters, such as Pharaoh (q.v.; who is described as "the king" in Q 12:43, 50, 54, 72, 76), and the unnamed "king who confiscates every good ship (see SHIPS)" mentioned in Q 18:79 (on his possible identity, see Bayḍāwī, *Anwār,* i, 570-1; see also KHAḌIR/KHIḌR). As a woman, the Queen of Sheba — known to Islamic tradition as Bilqīs (q.v.) — of whom the term "queen" is not used in the Qurʾān but who is described as "a woman who rules over them" (*imraʾatan tamlikuhum,* Q 27:23), stands in a category of her own: for all her splendor, she is as an unbeliever and a woman subservient to Solomon (see WOMEN AND THE QURʾĀN).

God's sovereignty, unlike that of earthly kings, is absolute. He is repeatedly described as possessing "sovereignty over the heavens and the earth" *(lillāhi mulku l-samāwāti wa-l-arḍi).* In many instances, the phrase is interpreted as a reference to God's creative power: at Q 24:42, al-Bayḍāwī (d. 685/1286 or 692/1293) glosses the qurʾānic text with the explication "for he is the creator of them both, and of the essences, accidents and actions within them" (*Anwār,* ii, 26; see COSMOLOGY; THEOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN). Sometimes the description of God as possessing sovereignty over the heavens and the earth is meant to correct the errors of other religious groups, who may have failed to recognize that "God is powerful without qualification" (*qādir ʿalā l-iṭlāq;* Bayḍāwī, *Anwār,* i, 252, ad Q 5:17; see PARTIES AND FACTIONS). God's possession of sovereignty may also be presented as a challenge to the unbelievers and their gods (see IDOLS AND IMAGES; IDOLATRY AND IDOLATERS). Q 38:10 asks: "Or do they possess sovereignty over the heavens and the earth and what lies between them?" Q 4:53-4, a passage interpreted as a reference to the Jews (see JEWS AND JUDAISM), asks: "Or do they possess a portion of the sovereignty? If they did, they would not give the people so much as the speck on a date stone. Or are they jealous of the people for what God has given them of his bounty (see BLESSING; GRACE)? For we gave the family of Abraham the book (q.v.) and wisdom (q.v.), and we gave them great sovereignty." (See the interpretations of these verses in Ṭūsī, *Tibyān,* iii, 228; al-Bayḍāwī, *Anwār,* i, 213-4.)

The qurʾānic notion of God's sovereignty is also linked to the assertion of his uniqueness (see GOD AND HIS ATTRIBUTES). Twice the Qurʾān states, "He has no partner in sovereignty" (*lam yakun lahu sharīkun fī l-mulk,* Q 17:111; 25:2; in the former verse, *mulk* is interpreted by Bayḍāwī, *Anwār,* i, 554, simply as "divinity"). On the day of judgment (see LAST JUDGMENT), sovereignty will be God's (Q 22:56). Sovereignty is also among the phenomena that will be seen by those in paradise (q.v.): "And when you see, you shall see felicity and great sovereignty" (*wa-idha raʾayta thamma raʾayta naʿīman wa-mulkan kabīran,* Q 76:20; cf. the ḥadīth recounted in Bayḍāwī, *Anwār,* ii, 376).

On the earthly plane, kingship is depicted as a great but treacherous bounty that human beings, even those who receive divine favor, are naturally inclined to covet. For instance, Satan (see DEVIL) tempts Adam (see ADAM AND EVE; FALL OF MAN) with the prospect of imperishable sovereignty: "O Adam! Shall I show you to the tree of immortality (see ETERNITY) and sovereignty that never declines?" (Q 20:120, *yā Ādamu hal adulluka ʿalā shajarati l-khuldi wa-mulkin lā*

yablā). Joseph addresses God with gratitude (see GRATITUDE AND INGRATITUDE) for the sovereignty he has received from him (Q 12:101; see Quṭb, *Ẓilāl,* iv, 2029-30) and Solomon prays for kingship (Q 38:35). Those whom God leads astray (q.v.; see also FREEDOM AND PREDESTINATION) seem almost intoxicated by the power of kingship. In Q 2:258, for example, Nimrod (q.v.) argues with Abraham about the latter's God on the grounds that Nimrod himself received kingship. (For the reason given above in connection with Q 3:26, Muʿtazilī commentators also paid close attention to Q 2:258; see Zamakhsharī, *Kashshāf,* i, 304-5, where two explanations are given: that God gave Nimrod the wealth [q.v.], servants and followers that allowed him to become victorious [see VICTORY], but did not make him victorious directly; or, that God made Nimrod a king as a test for his servants [see SLAVES AND SLAVERY].) Similarly, Pharaoh boasts of his claim to the kingship (kingdom) of Egypt (q.v.; Q 43:51). In his commentary on this passage, Sayyid Quṭb (d. 1966) contrasts Pharaoh's kingdom of Egypt with the divine sovereignty over the heavens and the earth, and notes how the masses, whose eyes are dazzled by the accoutrements of Pharaoh's sovereignty, fail to perceive, in their hearts (see HEART), the insignificance of these royal trappings (*Ẓilāl,* v, 3193; for a Ṣūfī interpretation of the qurʾānic Pharaoh, see Böwering, *Mystical,* 190-2; see ṢŪFISM AND THE QURʾĀN).

However powerful kings may appear to be on earth, the Qurʾān makes clear that their authority in no way detracts from the overwhelming totality of God's power. The Qurʾān strongly implies the contingency and the brevity of human, worldly kingship (e.g. Q 40:29, "O my people! Today the kingdom is yours, who are triumphant in the earth; but who will come to our aid in the face of God's strength when it reaches us?"). Worldly power is invariably presented as part of God's creation, utterly contingent on him and at his disposal. This subordination of earthly rulership to divine power is often emphasized in the exegetical literature. For example, the Persian Shīʿī commentator Abū l-Futūḥ Rāzī (d. 525/1131 or later; see SHIʿĪSM AND THE QURʾĀN), in his discussion of Q 67:1, "Praise be to the one by whose hand is sovereignty, and he is powerful over all things" *(tabāraka lladhī bi-yadihi l-mulku wa-huwa ʿalā kulli shayʾin qadīrun),* interprets the phrase *bi-yadihi l-mulk* as follows: "Kingship *(pādshāhī)*… is by his command *(amr)* and power *(qudrat),* with 'hand' (q.v.) connoting strength and power, implying the sense of the administration and execution of affairs; the meaning is that sovereignty is his creation and at his disposal, such that he can bring it into existence and non-existence, increase it or decrease it, or modify it in various ways according to his wishes" (Abū l-Futūḥ Rāzī, *Rawḥ,* xi, 208; a similar view is given by Ṭūsī, *Tibyān,* x, 57, who describes God as *mālik al-mulūk,* "the possessor of kings"; see also Rāzī, *Tafsīr,* viii, 4, ad Q 3:26).

The Children of Israel (q.v.) are said to have received special divine attention, for they were at times favored with both prophethood and kingship. Moses proclaims: "O my people! Remember God's favor to you, how he made prophets among you and made you kings, and gave you that which he did not give to any [other] of his creatures" (*yā qawmi ʾdhkurū niʿmata llāhi ʿalaykum idh jaʿala fīkum anbiyāʾa wa-jaʿalakum mulūkan wa-ātākum mā lam yuʾti aḥadan min al-ʿālamīn,* Q 5:20; for the exegetical treatment of this verse, see below). David and Solomon both combine their service as prophets with the possession of *mulk*. Of David, Q 38:20 states, "We made his kingdom strong and gave him the wisdom and clear speech" *(wa shadadnā*

mulkahu wa-ātaynāhu l-ḥikmata wa-faṣla l-khiṭāb); similarly Q 2:251, "God gave him [David] the kingdom and the wisdom *(al-mulka wa-l-ḥikma)* and instructed him as to his will." Q 38:26 describes David also as a deputy or successor on earth *(yā Dāʾūdu innā jaʿalnāka khalīfatan fī l-arḍ),* a phrase for which al-Bayḍāwī (*Anwār,* ii, 186) records two interpretations: that it refers to kingship *(mulk)* on earth, or that it portrays David as a successor to earlier prophets. A reference to Solomon's kingdom appears in Q 2:102 and an extensive treatment of Solomon's career is given in Q 27. In Q 38:35 he prays to God for forgiveness (q.v.), and also for sovereignty (for the role of Solomon as "the proof of God for kings" in Ṣūfī tradition, see Böwering, *Mystical,* 64). While neither David nor Solomon is designated a king in the Qurʾān, their examples, and especially the proof-text Q 38:26, are routinely cited in discussions of the excellence of kingship and its divine origins in later Islamic mirror literature.

A somewhat more ambiguous case is that of Saul, known in the Qurʾān as Ṭālūt. The Israelites are told by their prophet (who is nameless in the qurʾānic account) that, in response to their request, God has sent them Saul as their king; yet the people reject Saul. Q 2:247: "Their prophet said to them: 'God has sent you Ṭālūt as a king *(malik).*' They said: 'How is it that he should have sovereignty over us, when we are more worthy of kingship than he is? For he has not been given an abundance of wealth.' He said: 'God has chosen him over you, and has increased him largely in wisdom and stature. God gives his sovereignty to whom he wishes.'" The commentators account for the Israelites' rejection of Saul by noting that he was poor, a shepherd, water carrier or tanner, and that he came from Benjamin's (q.v.) stock, among whom neither prophethood nor kingship had appeared (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* v, 306 f.; Rāzī, *Tafsīr,* vi, 184-5; Bayḍāwī, *Anwār,* i, 127-8). The prophet (on whose identity see Bayḍāwī, *Anwār,* i, 127) went on to tell them that the ark (q.v.; *tābūt*) would come to them as a sign of Saul's kingdom (Q 2:248).

The exegetical literature reflects an apparent intent in some circles to minimize any possibly positive qurʾānic emphasis on temporal kingship and this is most readily apparent in connection with the qurʾānic passages that treat the singular combination of prophethood and kingship enjoyed on occasion by the Israelites. In Q 5:20 (cited above), for example, Moses reminds his people of God's favor to them, in that he made prophets among them and made them kings. Al-Ṭabarī, followed by al-Ṭūsī (d. 460/1067) and others, records a number of interpretations, several of which suggest that the text indicates not that the Israelites were kings, but that they were masters — of themselves, their womenfolk (see GENDER), their possessions, and so on (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* x, 160-3; Ṭūsī, *Tibyān,* iii, 481; Bayḍāwī, *Anwār,* i, 253: "God delivered them out of slavery in Egypt and made them masters *[mālikūn]* of their persons and their affairs, and so God called them 'kings'"). Similarly, in his commentary on Q 27:15, "And we gave knowledge to David and Solomon, and they said: 'Praise be to God, who has favored us over many of his believing servants!'" *(alladhī faḍḍalanā ʿalā kathīrin min ʿibādihi l-muʾminīn),* al-Bayḍāwī (d. prob. 716/1316-7; *Anwār,* ii, 64-5) explicitly subordinates kingship to knowledge when he writes: "In this is a proof of the excellence of knowledge and the nobility of those who possess it, in that they [David and Solomon] gave thanks for knowledge and made it the basis of excellence, and they did not consider the kingship that they had also been given, though [that kingship] had not been given to anyone else." When, in the following verse (Q 27:16), the Qurʾān

states that Solomon inherited from David, al-Bayḍāwī (*Anwār,* ii, 65) describes his inheritance as "prophethood, or knowledge, or kingship" (see also Māwardī, *Nukat,* iv, 198).

The term *imām (*pl. *aʾimma)* suggests a person (or, in other contexts, a book, or a pattern) to be followed and in some instances in the Qurʾān the word may include the idea of political leadership. Perhaps most strikingly, God appoints Abraham as an *imām (*Q 2:124: *qāla innī jāʿiluka lil-nāsi imāman)*. For al-Ṭabarī (*Tafsīr,* iii, 18) this means that God intended that Abraham should be followed. Al-Māwardī (d. 450/1058) follows al-Ṭabarī's interpretation and notes its particular relevance to prayer (q.v.; *Nukat,* i, 185; for a fuller treatment of the verse's meaning from a Shīʿī perspective, see Ṭūsī, *Tibyān,* i, 446, where the exegete records views according to which God by this verse made the imāmate incumbent on Abraham; on the Shīʿī view that Abraham combined the functions of prophethood and the imāmate, see Momen, *Introduction,* 147, and for Shīʿī readings of the Qurʾān on the subject of the historical imāms, see Momen, *Introduction,* 151-3).

In two cases, the term *aʾimma* is followed by the phrase "who guide by our command" *(aʾimmatan yahdūna bi-amrinā)* — Q 21:73: "And we made them leaders who guide by our command, and we inspired them to do good deeds (q.v.), maintain prayer and almsgiving (q.v.), and they were worshippers (see WORSHIP) of us" and Q 32:24: "And we made among them [the Children of Israel] leaders who guide by our command" — which some commentators took to mean moral leaders, "leaders in goodness," while others understood it as a reference to prophets (Māwardī, *Nukat,* iv, 366). In Q 28:5, the Qurʾān states that God wished to make the oppressed (*alladhīna stuḍʿifū fī l-arḍ,* see OPPRESSED ON EARTH; JOY AND MISERY) into leaders (*aʾimma,* Māwardī, *Nukat,* iv, 234; Bayḍāwī, *Anwār,* ii, 77). In Q 9:12, the term *imām,* in the sense of a human leader, appears in a negative context: the reference there to "the leaders of unbelief" *(aʾimmata l-kufr)* is interpreted variously as referring to the leaders of the polytheists (see POLYTHEISM AND ATHEISM), the leaders of Quraysh (q.v.) or those who intended to oust the Prophet (Māwardī, *Nukat,* ii, 345; Ṭūsī, *Tibyān,* v, 214; see OPPOSITION TO MUḤAMMAD).

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Kinship

Relationship by blood or marriage. Although there is no single term that corresponds precisely to the English term "kinship," the Qurʾān contains a variety of what might be identified as "kinship terms": *qurbā* (near relative); *arḥām* (close kin, maternal kin); *ʿashīra* (clan, tribe; see TRIBES AND CLANS); *zawj* (husband); *zawja* (wife); *imraʾa* (wife, woman); *ṣāḥiba* (wife, companion, friend; the masc. sing., *ṣāḥib,* is also attested in the Qurʾān, but does not

have the familial connotation of the feminine form); *akh* (brother, friend; see BROTHER AND BROTHERHOOD; FRIENDS AND FRIENDSHIP); *ḥamīm* (solicitous relative, close friend); *ṣihr* (affine, relation through marriage); *nasab* (lineage, kindred, attribution) and many others.

In "the legal verses" *(āyāt al-aḥkām),* those that contain stipulations on a variety of matters, the Qurʾān also employs terms to set forth rules for marriage, divorce (see MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE) and inheritance *(mīrāth, turāth),* which are foundational to the *sharīʿa* (see LAW AND THE QURʾĀN). (In the case of marriage and divorce, the qurʾānic text contains primarily verbal forms: "to marry," *zawwaja, aḥṣana, nakaḥa,* etc., "to divorce," *ṭallaqa, zāhara, ṭalaqa;* the nominal forms that are prominent in the discourse of the *sharīʿa,* such as *nikāḥ, ṭalāq,* etc., are not as prevalent in the Qurʾān; but cf. for *nikāḥ* Q 2:235, 237; 24:33; for *ṭalāq* Q 2:227, 229; and, as the name of a sūra, Q 65, "Sūrat al-Ṭalāq.") As with all interpretations, the English glosses given here depend on particular judgments regarding "comparable" work done by words in two discourses.

The terms selected at random and cited above are among those used in the Qurʾān to urge or discourage certain kinds of behavior. Some are also used to specify particular rights and duties. But neither in the matter of moral exhortation and prohibition (see ETHICS AND THE QURʾĀN; SOCIAL INTERACTIONS; PROHIBITED DEGREES), nor in that of defining succession to property rights, are the people concerned necessarily connected by "biological links." For example, those who look after the affairs of orphans (q.v.) are urged to regard them as "brothers" (Q 2:220); qurʾānic inheritance rules affect people related by affinity *(muṣāhara);* and various kinship terms can convey the sense of "friendship," "solicitude," etc., which raises the question of how so-called primary meanings are to be determined.

There is an explicit assumption held by scholars since the nineteenth century that the people of the Ḥijāz (see GEOGRAPHY), among whom the Qurʾān was revealed, lived in a society that was essentially organized in "kinship" terms (see PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QURʾĀN). This assumption has serious implications for assessing the political, legal and moral reforms initiated by the Qurʾān (see POLITICS AND THE QURʾĀN; COMMUNITY AND SOCIETY IN THE QURʾĀN). One of the first to talk about pre-Islamic and early Islamic "tribal" society in detail was Smith (*Kinship and marriage,* 1885), a major figure in the history of both orientalist and anthropological thought. The idea of "kinship" as the organizing principle of "early" societies had been a continuous part of evolutionary social thinking since before his time. It has been increasingly problematized, however, in contemporary anthropology (see Needham, *Rethinking kinship*). Most recently, Schneider *(Critique)* has demonstrated the questionable character of assumptions about "kinship organization." Although they frequently draw on anthropology when discussing the society whose members first listened to the Qurʾān (see ORALITY; REVELATION AND INSPIRATION), orientalists do not appear to have taken these important developments in anthropological theory into account.

The nineteenth-century belief that the seventh-century Ḥijāz was a "kinship-based society" allowed orientalists to interpret and explain references to "kinship" in the Qurʾān as a continuation of or break from pre-Islamic (*jāhilī,* see AGE OF IGNORANCE) principles and values. Thus Smith maintains that kinship among pre-Islamic Arabs signified the blood shared by all the members of a tribe, the common substance that defined each individual's

responsibility for — among other things — exacting vengeance in the name of the tribe (see RETALIATION; BLOOD MONEY). Many others have echoed this view — even a century after Smith, including Bashīr *(Tawāzun al-naqāʾid),* Donner *(Early Islamic conquests)* and Crone (Tribes and states).

Smith argues that since all amicable social relations were conceived in terms of "common blood," the extensions of such relations had to be sealed by blood-rites. "The commingling of blood by which two men became brothers or two kins (sic) allies, and the fiction of adoption [see CHILDREN] by which a new tribesman was feigned to be the veritable son of a member of the tribe, are both evidences of the highest value that the Arabs were incapable of conceiving any absolute social obligation or social unity which was not based on kinship; for a legal fiction is always adopted to reconcile an act with a principle too firmly established to be simply ignored" (Smith, *Kinship and marriage,* 51). Smith does not notice the double meaning he gives to "kinship" here — the one being a "biological" link and the other a "cultural representation" of the latter — just as he fails to notice that the existence of rites of friendship and adoption in the Age of Ignorance *(jāhiliyya)* indicates that an absolute obligation could be extended to those who did not share "common blood" (see CLIENTS AND CLIENTAGE). The point is that what he calls "a legal fiction" is not a statement that refers to imagined kinship but what Austin *(How to do)* called a "performative act."

The notion of kinship, as expressed in a variety of terms (*qarāba, nasab, ʿashīra, qawm, ḥayy,* etc.), is not simply an instance of "culture hitching a ride on nature" (Crone, Tribes and states, 355), i.e. of rights and duties attributed to biological facts. As a notion, kinship articulates distinctive ideas of social relations, morality and cosmology (q.v.), through which certain cultural facts can be constructed. Marriages as well as adoption create jural relations with mutual rights and obligations between persons who do not share "common blood." These relationships are not confused with "blood relationships." Marriage, for example, is a voluntary contract that is best seen as articulating one aspect of the total set of gender relations (see Rivière, Marriage; see GENDER) — and that is precisely how it is envisaged in the Qurʾān, often in explicit contrast to the Age of Ignorance. The relationship between blood brothers in the Age of Ignorance was apparently free of the rights and obligations that were legally ascribed to kinship roles. (The Qurʾān, of course, rejects legal adoption — see Q 33:4, 37 — as it rejects rites involving human blood.) This means that "blood brotherhood" (like friendship) in the Age of Ignorance was based on what Levi-Strauss calls metaphor (similitude) as against metonymy (consubstantiation). When the Qurʾān repudiates the attribution of *nasab* between God and jinn (q.v.) it is both "similitude" and "consubstantiation" that are being denied (Q 37:158-9; see METAPHOR; SIMILES; GOD AND HIS ATTRIBUTES; FAITH; POLYTHEISM AND ATHEISM).

Crone agrees with conventional historians (including Watt, *Muhammad at Mecca; Muhammad at Medina,* whom she attacks) that Mecca was "a tribal" society — a society based on "kinship." "In social terms," she observes, "the protection [q.v.] that Muhammad is said to have enjoyed from his own kin, first as an orphan and next as a prophet, would indicate the tribal system to have been intact" (Crone, *Meccan trade,* 233). Her argument, however, is not logically necessary. Yet Crone's insistence that "the tribal system" was "intact" does raise interesting questions about the relationship of her "model" to her "data," because it is

not entirely clear how someone who denies the credibility of all traditional Islamic sources relating to Meccan society at the time of the Prophet is able to make such an assertion. The answer would appear to lie in her resort to the writings of nineteenth-century European travelers and twentieth-century ethnographers (cf. Crone, *Meccan trade,* 236) — a style of historical inference adopted by other orientalists (e.g. Donner, *Early Islamic conquests*), even when they have not, as the radical skeptics have, dismissed all early Islamic sources (see Donner, *Narratives,* for a sober survey). Contemporary ethnographic studies of tribes — pastoral as well as agricultural — are useful for thinking about early historical periods, not because one can extrapolate from present social arrangements, which are extremely diverse, to distant historical ones, but because they can sensitize one to problems that need to be addressed when speculating about Islamic history (see HISTORY AND THE QUR'ĀN). The idea that contemporary "tribes" are living fossils of ancient ways of social life belongs to a theory of social evolution that anthropologists have long ago demolished and abandoned.

The resort to the modern ethnography of tribes for purposes of historical reconstruction also plays a crucial part in Powers' *(Studies)* revisionist account of the origins of the Islamic law of inheritance. When Smith reconstructed pre-Islamic Arabian society he represented the Islamic rules of inheritance as a modification of pre-Islamic *(jāhilī)* ones. Smith's thesis eventually became the established orientalist view. It is this view that Powers has challenged on the basis of a re-reading of the inheritance verses (especially Q 4:12, 176), to which arguments about the syntax of a qur'ānic sentence and the meaning of the word *kalāla* are central (*kalāla* has been understood to mean "someone who has no parents or children, and therefore no direct heirs"; Powers translates it as "daughter-in-law"; see INHERITANCE; GRAMMAR AND THE QUR'ĀN). Powers' thesis is that the received Islamic system of inheritance *('ilm al-farā'iḍ)* is quite different not only from the pre-Islamic one but also from the proto-Islamic system of the Qur'ān that gave a far greater scope to the principle of testamentary bequests than the *sharī'a* allows. In evolutionary terms, the shift from the pre-Islamic system to the proto-Islamic one represents a double progress, (a) from the constraints of kinship to the freedom of contract (see CONTRACTS AND ALLIANCES; BREAKING TRUSTS AND CONTRACTS) and (b) from the principle of inheritance by seniority (brother to brother) to the principle of generational inheritance (father to son). Powers sums this up as "a transition from nomadism to sedentary life and from tribalism to individualism" (*Studies,* 210). The *'ilm al-farā'iḍ* is therefore seen as a backward move, a clumsy compromise in the interests of power.

According to Powers, the proto-Islamic system was distorted for political reasons by the Prophet's immediate successors who imposed the orthodox reading on the relevant verses (see READINGS OF THE QUR'ĀN; COLLECTION OF THE QUR'ĀN). The idea that the Prophet's most trusted Companions (see COMPANIONS OF THE PROPHET) and oldest converts would engage in a conspiracy against him concerning the proper meaning of a divine verse which inaugurated a new legal dispensation, one that was presumably in force during the Prophet's lifetime, seems, according to Powers' critics, far-fetched. (For this and other critical points relating to Arabic syntax and the etymology of *kalāla,* see Ziadeh, Review of Powers; see also ARABIC

LANGUAGE; LANGUAGE AND STYLE OF THE QUR'ĀN.) Some Muslim modernists (e.g. Arkoun, *Min al-ijtihād*), however, have received Powers' re-interpretation of the "kinship" *kalāla* with enthusiasm because it supports their desire to challenge what they see as the ideological manipulation of the qur'ānic text by jurists and theologians determined to impose traditional authority (q.v.) on all believers and to prevent the use of critical reason by the individual (see ISLAM; CONTEMPORARY CRITICAL PRACTICES AND THE QUR'ĀN).

So what does "kinship" mean in the Qur'ān? Certainly not "common blood," a Western idiom, because the Arabic for "blood" *(damm)* is never used in the Qur'ān to denote that which relatives share in common (see BLOOD AND BLOOD CLOT; BIOLOGY AS THE CREATION AND STAGES OF LIFE). From a Muslim exegetical perspective, signification must be sought in the connection between believer and text. For pious Muslims qur'ānic meanings are not mechanically determined by grammatical and lexical criteria or by some objective context (see OCCASIONS OF REVELATION). Far from being a simple injunction, piety (q.v.) and fear (q.v.) of God *(birr wa-taqwā)* on the part of attentive Muslims is understood to be a presupposition for arriving at the meanings of the Qur'ān, because the divine recitation evokes and confirms what is already in the heart (q.v.) of the faithful man or woman (see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF; RECITATION OF THE QUR'ĀN).

A number of themes emerge through the qur'ānic use of "kinship" terms. To begin with, any similitude and common substance between God and humans is strongly rejected (e.g. Q 5:18, and most famously in Sūrat al-Ikhlāṣ, "Sincere Devotion," Q 112; see ANTHROPOMORPHISM). God cannot be likened or compared to anything — particularly as everything is of his creation (q.v.). The Qur'ān does, however, recognize friendship between God and humans, but friendship in this case transcends the absence of similitude: for it was God who chose to make Abraham (q.v.) his friend *(khalīl)* because the latter had given his entire being to him (Q 4:125; see ḤANĪF). The faithful, on the other hand, are bound by their common faith and the union of their hearts, which makes them brothers to one another (Q 3:103; 49:10). God has endowed human beings in this world with bonds of descent and affinity *(nasaban wa-ṣihran)* — that is to say, with enduring relations that are inherited as well as voluntarily undertaken (Q 25:54). Thus one owes obedience (q.v.) to one's parents (q.v.) — and especially to one's mother (Q 31:14): parents are to be welcomed and honored, just as the prophet Joseph (q.v.) welcomed his mother and his father (Q 12:99-100). Indeed obedience to parents is a virtue (see VIRTUES AND VICES, COMMANDING AND FORBIDDING) even if they happen to be non-Muslims (Q 40:8), so long as this does not involve disobedience (q.v.) to God (Q 58:22). (See, for example, the widely used textbook on the prescribed relations between parents and children in Islam, Ṣāliḥ, *'Alāqāt al-ābā'*, 15-41.) But on the day of judgment (see LAST JUDGMENT) one stands alone before God surveying one's completed life (Q 23:101). All inherited and created bonds of life are there dissolved. One flees from all one's kin — including one's parents, brothers, spouse *(ṣāḥiba),* and children (Q 80:33-7). On that day any sense of kinship as common substance is proven meaningless. Only similitude links us together. Hence one must temper worldly attachments of every kind.

As understood by the faithful Muslim, the qur'ānic language of kinship articulates ways of behaving in this world in full

consciousness of God, rather than representing the traces of a secular society in the process of evolving from tribalism to individualism. See also FAMILY.

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Kitāb

see BOOK; PEOPLE OF THE BOOK; SCRIPTURE AND THE QURʾĀN

Knife

see INSTRUMENTS

Knowledge and Learning

Cognitive understanding and its acquisition. Concepts of knowledge and learning appear frequently in nearly all types of Islamic discourse. They are commonly subsumed under a variety of Arabic words such as *ʿilm, maʿrifa, fiqh, ḥikma* and *shuʿūr,* and the verbs and verbal derivatives of each, many of which find representation in the Qurʾān itself, at least in form if not in meaning.

The problem of defining knowledge and explaining its relationship to faith (q.v.) on the one hand, and to action and works on the other (see GOOD DEEDS; EVIL DEEDS; ETHICS AND THE QURʾĀN), became, for example, the subject of intense debate and eventual elaboration involving precision and technical complexity. One example is the great concern of the experts about establishing that human knowledge is contingent and temporally produced whereas that of God is not, although he somehow, despite the paradox, comprehends and is the author of what humans think (see INTELLECT; FREEDOM AND PREDESTINATION). For both philosophy *(falsafa)* and theology *(kalām)* a precise understanding of the nature of knowledge *(ʿilm)* is, in fact, for this and many other reasons an essential first premise to all subsequent reasoning (see PHILOSOPHY AND THE QURʾĀN; THEOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN). A major category of Islamic literature took up the theme of the enumeration of the sciences *(iḥṣāʾ al-ʿulūm),* that is, of laying out schematically all knowledge and explaining its value, ranks, and the relationship of one kind to the others. Religious scholars in Islam are "those who know" *(ʿulamāʾ,* sing. *ʿālim).* The search for knowledge *(ṭalab al-ʿilm)* is a duty for all Muslims, but especially for those who aspire to attain the status of a learned authority (q.v.). Seeking knowledge implies both finding and studying with a teacher and traveling to distant lands (even to China). Ṣūfī mystics (see ṢŪFISM AND THE QURʾĀN) sought to separate the process of knowing through intuitive perception *(dhawq)* and presence from discursive learning and rational or intellec-

tual reasoning — an effort that has led to an impressively sophisticated body of writings, both by the Ṣūfīs and by those who would deny their approach. Even earlier Muslims debated, as yet another example, the extent to which knowledge is confined to, or conveyed exclusively within, a natural language and its grammar (see GRAMMAR AND THE QUR'ĀN; ARABIC LANGUAGE; LANGUAGE, CONCEPT OF). For example, is what can be known in Arabic — the language of the Islamic revelation — different from Greek science and philosophy in part because of its linguistic home? Or does there exist a universal logic of thought that transcends (and is therefore superior to) particular expressions in use in a given culture? The ḥadīth (see ḤADĪTH AND THE QUR'ĀN), as yet one more category, already include numerous admonitions about the value of knowledge, its reward and the duty to seek it, to gather and preserve it, to journey abroad in search of it. In it teachers are accorded high honor; Muḥammad was a teacher; the angel Gabriel (q.v.) also (see TEACHING).

All these examples merely hint at the enormous importance of knowledge and learning in the Islamic world over time and place from the earliest period of post-qur'ānic Islam to the present (see TEACHING AND PREACHING THE QUR'ĀN). Every facet of Islamic thought was and continues to be affected by it. But it is doubtful that these concepts of knowledge or of learning and the characteristic value placed on them in Islam generally, come from the Qur'ān itself or find an echo there. It is, of course, always possible, and often done, to interpret the sacred text to draw on its amazing flexibility and thus yield almost any meaning from its words (see EXEGESIS OF THE QUR'ĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL; EXEGESIS OF THE QUR'ĀN: EARLY MODERN AND CONTEMPORARY). Nevertheless, given the original context for the Qur'ān, claiming as it does to represent the very words of God and not those of humans except secondarily, the perspective from which it speaks is not that of the community of Muslims. It does not reflect their later need to acquire or preserve knowledge.

In the world of the Qur'ān God alone knows (see GOD AND HIS ATTRIBUTES); truth (q.v.) is his. In it either humans do not know, even though they may think they know, or God causes a select few of them to possess a limited degree of knowledge and truth (see IGNORANCE; IMPECCABILITY). They know what he lets them know. This starkly different view of knowledge is perhaps best approached by observing a common theme in later Islamic thought of how to know God and, almost as important, how to express and verbally explain knowing God. One aspect of the problem is that God is infinite and no finite creature can know an infinite (see ANTHROPOMORPHISM). Knowing a thing implies comprehending the thing as it really and truly is. But that is impossible in relation to the infinite, unlimited, inexhaustible God. God cannot be known by humans; they will merely come to "acknowledge" him or "be aware" of him. Some authors make a distinction here between "knowing" (the verb *ʿalima*) and "recognizing" (the verb *ʿarafa*).

But, even so, is there any correspondence at all between the knowledge that God has and what knowledge the human possesses, acquires, or comes to know? Obviously, God himself does not learn, but does he teach? An important theme in Islamic writings concerns the relative worth of study and effort versus the spontaneous acquisition of inspired enlightenment (see REVELATION AND INSPIRATION; PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD). Should the seeker of knowledge — here the exact meaning of

knowledge can vary — read books and take instruction, or avoid both and prepare for the infusion of knowledge by grace through pious practice and exercise (see PIETY)?

In the Qurʾān the fact that God is all-knowing *(ʿalīm),* knows what humans do not, and knows the unseen *(ʿālim al-ghayb, ʿallām al-ghayb)* is stressed constantly (see HIDDEN AND THE HIDDEN). The term all-knowing *(ʿalīm)* appears literally again and again, often in combination with all-wise (*ḥakīm,* see WISDOM; JUDGMENT) but also with all-hearing (*samīʿ,* see HEARING AND DEAFNESS; SEEING AND HEARING). One phrase states clearly that "over and above every person who has knowledge is the all-knowing" (Q 12:76). In fact, every qurʾānic instance (thirteen in all) of the term "knower" (*ʿālim* [sing.]), which is the same word as that used later for the learned scholar, is followed by "unseen" *(ghayb)* and therefore refers unambiguously to God. It is true that there are references (five) to "those with knowledge" in the plural *(ʿālimūn, ʿulamāʾ)* and several expressions for humans "who know, understand, are aware" *(ūlū l-albāb,* for example, or *al-rāsikhūn fī l-ʿilm)*. Nevertheless, God's preponderance and omniscience is overwhelming, so much so as to bring into question what it means to assert that humans, even the prophets, know.

A further issue is how they come to know whatever it is that they know. Strictly within the Qurʾān, the terms for knowing and knowledge (*ʿilm, maʿrifa, fiqh, shuʿūr* and the various forms they take) seem to suggest not a degree or quantity, but an absolute, in which the known object is simply the truth — what truly is — in its ultimate reality and not some fact of ordinary perception. Common human knowledge in its mundane form lacks value in comparison. Thus, to have knowledge or to come to have knowledge implies becoming aware of the true nature of the universe as God's creation (q.v.) and of his role in it. In most cases, qurʾānic references to those who know or do not know indicate only whether or not the person or persons understands this truth and do not indicate an acquired or accumulated degree of learning. Those who have knowledge *(al-ʿulamāʾ)* are simply those who truly fear (q.v.) God (Q 35:28). Q 3:66 (among others) refers to those who argue about a matter about which they have no knowledge; only God knows what they think they know.

The opposites of knowledge are ignorance *(jahl),* which is not having guidance (*hudā,* as in Q 6:35; see ASTRAY; ERROR), supposition or conjecture (Q 53:28) and the following of personal whims in the absence of knowledge (as in Q 6:119 and 30:29), all of which denote a failure, often willful, to perceive and acknowledge the truth. Even the expressions for those who possess understanding *(ūlū l-albāb),* who are firmly grounded in knowledge *(al-rāsikhūn fī l-ʿilm)* or who come to know that which they formerly knew not *(mā lam yaʿlam, mā lam takun taʿlam),* indicate, not learning in the normal sense of that word, but having such knowledge, that is, of being wise in matters of religion (q.v.) and the affairs of God.

Given that knowledge does not depend on study and learning, it is fair to ask if the Qurʾān contains a concept of instruction as in either the teaching by God of humans or humans of other humans, leading some to become more learned than others. There are in fact several verses that, in accordance with the Qurʾān's fertile elasticity, can be construed in this manner. Most use the second — that is, transitive — form of the verb "to know" *(ʿalima),* thus to "teach" *(ʿallama)*. Important examples include "he taught Adam the names of all things" (Q 2:31; see ADAM AND EVE); "we have no knowledge except that which you taught us" (Q 2:32); "the most merciful

taught the Qurʾān; he created man and taught him the explanation *(al-bayān)*" (Q 55:1-4); "Lord… you have taught me [Joseph] the interpretation of events" (Q 12:101; see JOSEPH; DREAMS AND SLEEP; FORETELLING; DIVINATION; PORTENTS); and "we have been taught the language of the birds" (27:16; see ANIMAL LIFE). It is easy to see how these cases can be, as they have been, understood as proof that God acts as the teacher of humankind, at least of the prophets. In a closely parallel example, however, God instead "brings" or "bestows" *(ātā)* knowledge: "we have brought to David (q.v.) and Solomon (q.v.) knowledge" (Q 27:15); the sense is rather of God's *causing* the recipient to know something, not by instruction but by instantaneous revelation. "God revealed *(anzala)* to you the book (q.v.), and wisdom and caused you to know that which you previously knew not" (Q 4:113). This latter sense fits better the tone of the Qurʾān and of the power of God as expressed in it generally (see POWER AND IMPOTENCE). The slow accumulation of items of knowledge applies solely to humans learning from other humans. It involves a temporal and sequential process quite different from that of God. Accordingly, therefore, the first of these verses reads: "he caused Adam to have knowledge of the names of all things" and thus it does not imply a process of learning or that, despite his knowledge, Adam was "learned."

The cryptic words of Q 96:4-5, "he it is who taught by the pen; taught humankind *(al-insān)* what it knew not" suggest, however, the opposite since they indicate, if taken literally, a form of instruction that by its very nature must be sequentially ordered. The commentators note, however, that the verse may rather be read such that God taught the *use of* the pen, that is, writing itself. Nevertheless, the more common interpretation is that he taught *by means of* the pen and therefore quite possibly these verses point to some type of book learning (see BOOK; WRITING AND WRITING MATERIALS). A few isolated verses also mention learning or instruction in a situation involving humans imparting (or purportedly imparting) knowledge from one to the other. Two of these (Q 44:14 and 16:103), however, cite false imputations that Muḥammad had been taught what he knew by another man (a foreigner; see INFORMANTS; STRANGERS AND FOREIGNERS). One more verse (Q 2:102) speaks of a kind of sorcery or magic (q.v.) taught by devils (see DEVIL) for evil purposes, such as a spell to separate a man and his wife (see MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE; JINN).

Yet another verse (Q 9:122) contains a verb form that usually denotes quite clearly "to study" *(tafaqqaha)* and is there joined with the word "religion" *(li-yatafaqqahū fī l-dīn)*, in a phrase that would translate "that they may study (or become learned in) religion." The verse as a whole cautions the Muslims not to go to war (q.v.) altogether but to leave behind a contingent when the rest go out. But according to a widely accepted interpretation (credited by the commentary tradition to Ibn ʿAbbās [d. 68/686-8]), it applies specifically to a time when the Prophet was then actively receiving revelations and other instructions from God and, if none of the Muslims were to stay with him at home, none would come to know those aspects of the religion imparted to him in that interval. Subsequently, they could neither transmit it accurately to those not present nor insure its later preservation. And yet another view is that it is the party that goes out to war (not those who remain behind) that gains a deeper understanding and appreciation of religion — witnessing in this case how, by God's support, a few Muslims can defeat a much larger force of unbelievers (see EXPEDITIONS AND BATTLES) — and brings

that truth back with them to share with the others (see FIGHTING; JIHĀD). Both interpretations are related, for example, by Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 606/1210; *Tafsīr,* xvi, 225-7), among others. Thus, despite the use of this quite suggestive verb, given the context of the passage as a whole, the "study of religion" which is what some authorities would later have it imply, is not necessarily what was involved in this particular situation.

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Korah

A figure living at the time of Moses (q.v.) who is mentioned both in the Bible and the Qurʾān. He is described in Q 28:76-82 and briefly mentioned in two other verses. Korah (Ar. Qārūn) is introduced as one of the people of Moses, yet one who treated them unjustly (Q 28:76-82; see JUSTICE AND INJUSTICE; OPPRESSION). God accorded him such enormous treasures that "its very keys *(mafātiḥahu)* were too heavy a burden for a company of men" (Q 28:76) to carry. When people urged him to use his wealth (q.v.) for God's purposes and, with the world to come in mind (see ESCHATOLOGY), he would answer that the only reason he possessed his wealth was because of his knowledge (see KNOWLEDGE AND LEARNING). Finally, when Korah "went forth unto his people in his adornment" (Q 28:79) and his people argued about his fortune, God decreed his death, making the earth swallow him and his house (see PUNISHMENT STORIES; CHASTISEMENT AND PUNISHMENT). Two other verses mention the name of Korah. In the first of these (Q 29:39) he, along with Pharaoh (q.v.) and Hāmān (q.v.), arrogantly (see ARROGANCE) opposes the signs (q.v.) brought by Moses, while in the other he, along with Pharaoh and Hāmān, accuses Moses of being a lying sorcerer (Q 40:24; see SOOTHSAYERS; MAGIC; LIE; INSANITY).

As well as containing some elements that are similar to the biblical story of Korah (cf. *Num* 16; see SCRIPTURE AND THE QURʾĀN; MYTHS AND LEGENDS IN THE QURʾĀN), the Qurʾān mainly stresses the fact, which had already been highlighted in rabbinical literature, of his great wealth. A saying of Muḥammad, which reflects qurʾānic content, mentions his name along with those of Hāmān and Pharaoh as examples of people destined to go to hell (q.v.; Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad,* ii, 169). Exegetical traditions usually recount that Korah was Moses' cousin or, according to Muḥammad b. Isḥāq (d. 150/767), his uncle (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* xx, 105; see EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL). He was so handsome or his voice, while reciting the Torah (q.v.), was so beautiful that he was named the Enlightened *(al-munawwar)*. His appearance among his people is described with a wealth of detail, from his luxurious dress to the magnificence of his escort, consisting of three hundred maids, four thousand riding beasts with purple saddles or with seventy thousand or more soldiers. The keys of his treasures were the leather keys of his storehouses; they were no larger than a finger and so heavy that only forty men or forty camels or sixty mules could carry them.

Korah, envious of the prophethood of Moses and of the sacerdotal privileges of Aaron (q.v.; Abū l-Layth al-Samarqandī, *Tafsīr,* ii, 525; see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD), planned to get rid of Moses when the duty of the alms tax was revealed (see ALMSGIVING). He paid a woman to accuse Moses of adultery (see ADULTERY AND FORNICATION) but the woman, when examined by Moses, retracted her accusation and unmasked Korah's plan. Moses ordered the earth to seize Korah and, in spite of his pleas, he and his house were completely swallowed up (Muqātil, *Tafsīr,* iii, 357). Other traditions state that every day Korah sinks deeper into the earth by the height of a man and that he will continue sinking at this rate until the day of resurrection (q.v.). It is also said, however, that while sinking in the earth, one day Korah heard Jonah's (q.v.) voice in the belly of the whale and that he felt sorry when he learned of Moses' and Aaron's death; as a reward for this, God relieved him of the punishment (Majlisī, *Biḥār,* xiii, 253; see REWARD AND PUNISHMENT). Some other reports tell of Korah's knowledge of alchemy and they are usually linked to the qurʾānic statement about his knowledge. Some traditions specify that he was able to change lead and copper into silver and gold (q.v.) or that Korah learned the art of alchemy from his wife, who was Moses' sister (Kisāʾī, *Qiṣaṣ,* 229; see MEDICINE AND THE QURʾĀN; METALS AND MINERALS).

The origin of the Arabic form of the name of Korah *(Qārūn)* is unknown but seems to parallel the form of other names such as Aaron (*Hārūn,* Horovitz, *KU,* 131).

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L

Labor see MANUAL LABOR; BIRTH

Lactation

Production of milk for nursing a child; the act of nursing a child. Q 2:233, 4:23 and 65:6, all dating (according to Bell) from the Medinan period (see CHRONOLOGY AND THE QUR'ĀN), lay the foundations of an Islamic "ethics of breastfeeding" (the Arabic terms for which utilize derivatives of the triliteral root *r-ḍ-ʿ*). In the Medinan sūra Q 22:2, nurses *(kull murḍiʿa)* and nurslings *(mā arḍaʿat)* are mentioned in an eschatological context (see ESCHATOLOGY); the qur'ānic story of Moses' (q.v.) infancy (the Medinan Q 28:7, 12) includes references to nursing and wet nurses *(marāḍiʿ);* and, finally, weaning *(fiṣāl)* is described as part of the stages of life (the Medinan Q 46:15; cf. the Meccan Q 31:14; see BIOLOGY AS THE CREATION AND STAGES OF LIFE).

That breastfeeding is a maternal instinct is implied in Q 22:2 and, even more strongly, in Q 28:7-12. In Q 22:2, nursing mothers, who due to grief and anxiety neglect their own nurslings, are listed among the signs of the dramatic displacement that will shake the universe on the day of judgment (see LAST JUDGMENT; APOCALYPSE). Moreover, in Q 28:7-12, the love and care of Moses' mother for her nursling find emphatic expression. Q 28:12 shows that the Arabs (q.v.) of the early seventh century were aware that infants sometimes reject the milk (q.v.) of women other than their own mothers (see CHILDREN; PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QUR'ĀN).

Q 2:233 calls upon the nurslings' fathers to "provide reputably for their [e.g. their repudiated, lactating wives] food and clothing" during "two full years" (cf. Q 31:14: *wa-fiṣāluhu fī ʿāmayni*) unless both father and mother "by mutual agreement and consultation desire [weaning] (earlier)" (see PARENTS; FAMILY). This could be read as an effort to protect repudiated (see MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE) women who were nursing — and their nurslings — in a society which was becoming sedentary (see GEOGRAPHY; CITY) and experiencing increasing individualism as well as a transition from a matrilineal to a patrilineal family structure (Bianquis, Family, 614; Watt, *Muhammad,* 272-89; see PATRIARCHY; GENDER; WOMEN AND THE QUR'ĀN). Wetnursing (q.v.), in this context of the separation of the parents, is sanctioned by the

same verse. Q 65:6 explicitly refers, moreover, to the repudiated (divorced) wife who is being paid to nurse her own infant.

Q 4:23 mentions milk mothers and milk sisters among those with whom a man may not have sexual relations (see PROHIBITED DEGREES; SEX AND SEXUALITY). It thus adds a unique element to a long Semitic tradition of prohibitions of marriage by extending the range of incest beyond its definition in Judaism and Christianity (Héritier, *Deux soeurs,* 87-91; see also FOSTERAGE; SCRIPTURE AND THE QURʾĀN; JEWS AND JUDAISM; CHRISTIANS AND CHRISTIANITY). According to Watt, the principle that milk-relationship is on the same level as blood-relationship may be seen as a concession to matrilineal groups which, practicing forms of polyandry, avoided undue endogamy by making certain degrees of milk-relationship a barrier to marriage (Watt, *Muhammad,* 281; cf. Schacht/Burton and Chelhod, Raḍāʿ, 362; see also KINSHIP; BLOOD AND BLOOD CLOT).

Islamic rules concerning lactation, as formulated in works of qurʾānic exegesis, ḥadīth and *fiqh,* are based on the normative verses among the above-mentioned. These were interpreted against a background of circumstances and needs that sometimes differed from those of the early Muslim community (see COMMUNITY AND SOCIETY IN THE QURʾĀN). One example would be the growing importance of hired wet-nursing among urban higher social groups of the Muslim world in the high Middle Ages. Thus, Ibn al-ʿArabī (d. 543/1148; *Aḥkām,* 202-6) refers to no less than fifteen legal questions, the answers to which are based on Q 2:233. Such questions include, for instance, whether breastfeeding is a mother's right or duty and, assuming it is her duty, whether or not noble women are exempted from fulfilling it. Ibn al-ʿArabī further concludes that a mother's right to the custody of her child (*ḥaḍāna,* not mentioned in the Qurʾān) is based on Q 2:233 since the functions of — and therefore the right to — lactation *(raḍāʿ)* and *ḥaḍāna* cannot be separated (cf. Ilkiyā al-Harrāsī, *Aḥkām,* i/ii, 187).

Ḥadīth and qurʾānic commentaries, postulating a connection between the mother's milk and her husband's semen, explain Q 4:23 (explicitly referring to milk mother and milk sisters only) as intended to duplicate for milk relationships the list of those blood relatives with whom a Muslim man is forbidden to contract marriage (Giladi, *Infants,* 24-7).

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Ladder see ASCENSION

Lamp

Manufactured light-giving object. The most common reference to a lamp (Ar. *miṣbāḥ* and *sirāj*) in the Qurʾān is a metaphoric use (see METAPHOR) of the word *sirāj* to designate the sun (q.v.): "And we built over you seven firmaments (see HEAVEN AND SKY) and made a splendid light *(sirājan wahhājan)*" (Q 78:12-3; cf. Dāmaghānī,

Wujūh, i, 442); "And he made the moon (q.v.) a light among them and he made the sun a lamp *(al-shamsa sirājan)*" (Q 71:16); and "Blessed is he who made constellations (see PLANETS AND STARS) in the sky and made in it a lamp *(sirājan)* and a light-giving moon" (Q 25:61). On one occasion (Q 33:46), however, the prophet Muḥammad is referred to as a light-giving lamp (*sirājan munīran,* see NAMES OF THE PROPHET).

The most celebrated reference to a lamp *(miṣbāḥ)* is in Q 24:35, commonly know as the "Light Verse" (*āyat al-nūr;* cf. Dāmaghānī, *Wujūh,* ii, 231; see LIGHT; MATERIAL CULTURE AND THE QUR'ĀN).

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Land see GEOGRAPHY; CREATION

Language, Concept of

The uniquely human faculty of (primarily) verbal expression. In the Qur'ān, the concept of language is expressed by the word *lisān* (lit. tongue). The other common term for language, *lugha,* which is well-attested in classical and modern standard Arabic (see ARABIC LANGUAGE), does not appear in the Qur'ān; one encounters only the related words *laghw* and *lāghiya,* which express exclusively the connotation of "vain utterance."

There are twenty-five occurrences of the word *lisān* in the Qur'ān, fifteen in the singular and ten in the plural (*alsina;* the other plural, *alsun,* is not attested in the Qur'ān; cf. ʿAbd al-Bāqī). In all of its occurrences in the plural, *lisān* actually refers to the tongue as the organ of speech, a meaning found in six of its occurrences in the singular. While *lisān* designates the tongue as the organ of speech, speech (q.v.) itself and the act of speaking are designated by the verb *qāla* and its derivatives as, for example, in Q 20:27-8: "Unloose the knot upon my tongue that they might understand my words" *(wa-uḥlul ʿuqdatan min lisānī yafqahū qawlī)*. The common metonymy — one encounters it in more than one language — of the tongue, the organ of speech, being used to mean the language articulated by means of that organ, appears in the nine remaining occurrences of *lisān* in the singular.

As to other important developments, the most interesting is surely Q 14:4: "And we have sent no messenger (q.v.) save with the tongue of his people that he might make all clear to them" *(wa-mā arsalnā min rasūlin illā bi-lisāni qawmihi li-yubayyina lahum)*. The first part of this sentence is a restrictive clause offered as the premise to an argument whose conclusion constitutes a well known theological thesis: namely, that the Arabic of the Qur'ān is itself the very language of Muḥammad, that is to say, a hypothetical "dialect of Quraysh (q.v.)," hypothetical in the sense that it is not documented in an independent manner (see DIALECTS).

The second part of Q 14:4 is based on a common conception of language as an articulation of thought *(tabyīn)*. Thus, efficacy in preaching (see also Q 19:97 and 44:58, *yassarnāhu bi-lisānika,* "now we have made it easy by your tongue"; see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD; WARNER; GOOD NEWS) is linked to a language viewed either as a commonly-spoken vernacular or as a hypothetically-constructed linguistic vehicle. According to the theological thesis mentioned above, the qur'ānic language is indeed the vernacular of Quraysh. But for

many Arabists, the Arabic of the Qurʾān is very close, if not identical, to the pre-Islamic poetic *koiné,* itself a hypothetical construct (see POETS AND POETRY; LANGUAGE AND STYLE OF THE QURʾĀN; FORM AND STRUCTURE OF THE QURʾĀN). Some other linguists turn towards a third hypothesis: the late homogenization of both language forms (for a general overview, see Jones, Language). The use of the second verbal form, *bayyana,* with an explicit object in Q 14:4 (see Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* xvi, 616, for an example of classical commentary on this passage) suggests that *mubīn,* as an active participle of the fourth verbal form, *abāna* (see GRAMMAR AND THE QURʾĀN), may be similarly understood. See, for example, Q 26:195, where *lisān ʿarabī mubīn,* "a clear Arabic tongue," can be understood as "an Arabic tongue that makes [all things] clear" (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* xix, 112, for this signification). But the opposition found in Q 16:103 between a *lisān* qualified simply as *aʿjamī* and a *lisān* with the double qualification of *ʿarabī* and *mubīn* makes one understand the former qualifier as the antonym of the two latter ones. In other words, its possible translation as "barbarous" conveys the dual sense of non-Arabic *(ʿajamī)* and unclear *(aʿjam)*. For the exegetes' debates on the meaning of *aʿjamī,* see Wansbrough (*QS,* 98-9), who includes this notion of *ʿarabī* and *mubīn* as functional equivalents.

In the juxtaposition of terms found in Q 16:103, one notes a furtive slip from an objective state, the communicative function of any language, to a subjective state, the clarity bestowed only on Arabic. It is this shift of signification that supported the theological logo-centrism of the medieval period (for example, see Shāfiʿī, *Risāla,* 34-55; also Gilliot, *Elt,* chapters 3 and 4) and provided justification for the linguistic nationalism of the modern era *(qawmiyya* < *qawm)* and what the American linguist Ferguson has described as "myths about Arabic." See also ILLITERACY; INIMITABILITY; FOREIGN VOCABULARY; ARABS; ARABIC SCRIPT.

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Language and Style of the Qurʾān

The semantic field of "language" includes several triliteral Arabic roots: *l-s-n* (Dāmaghānī, *Wujūh,* ii, 200-1; see H. Jenssen, Arabic language, 132; see also LANGUAGE, CONCEPT OF), *k-l-m* (Yaḥyā b. Sallām, *Taṣārīf,* 303-5; Dāmaghānī, *Wujūh,* ii, 186-7), *q-w-l*, *l-ḥ-n* (Khan, *Die exegetischen Teile,* 276, on Q 47: 30: "the burden of their talk," *laḥn al-qawl;* Fück, *ʿArabīya,* 133; Fr. trans. 202; Ullmann, *Wa-ḫairu,* 21-2). It should be noted that *lugha* in the sense of manner of speaking (Fr. *parler,* Ger. *Redeweise*) is totally absent from the Qurʾān — although the root *l-gh-w* is attested, but with the meanings of "vain conversation" (Q 23:3), "to talk idly" (Q 41:26), "idle talk" (Q 19:62; see GOSSIP), or to be "unintentional" in an oath (Q 2:225; 5:89; Dāmaghānī, *Wujūh,* ii, 198; Ibn al-Jawzī, *Nuzha,* 531-2; see OATHS).

The Qurʾān asserts of itself: "this is plain/clear Arabic tongue/speech/

language *(lisānun ʿarabiyyun mubīnun)*" (Q 16:103), or that it is "in plain/clear Arabic tongue/speech/language" (Q 26:195). In any case, this was the meaning of these verses according to the exegetes (see EXEGESIS OF THE QURĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL), and most translations have followed their lead, which, as will be discussed below, is problematic. It should be noted that, in Arabic — as in English — the concept of "language" is multivalent, including both an oral and a written manifestation. As will be discussed below, the interplay between these two aspects of language in the formation of the qurʾānic corpus is only imperfectly understood, a situation that leads to contested explanations for certain features of the qurʾānic language (for more on this subject, see ORALITY).

Various general positions on the language and style of the Qurʾān

There are many opposing points of view on the language and style of the Qurʾān, as will appear through a selection of quotations taken from both Muslim and non-Muslim scholars (for reactions of Muslims through the ages, see below). The Muslim translator of the Qurʾān, M. Pickthall (d. 1935), a British convert to Islam, described the Qurʾān as an "inimitable symphony, the very sounds of which move men to tears and ecstasy" (Pickthall, vii). An earlier (non-Muslim) English translator of the Qurʾān, G. Sale (d. 1736) thought that: "The style of the Korân is generally beautiful and fluent, especially where it imitates the prophetic manner and scripture phrases. It is concise and often obscure, adorned with bold figures after the eastern taste, enlivened with florid and sententious expressions, and in many places, especially when the majesty and attributes of God are described (see GOD AND HIS ATTRIBUTES), sublime and magnificent" (*Preliminary discourse,* 66). For the Austrian J. von Hammer-Purgstall (d. 1856): "The Koran is not only the law book of Islam (see LAW AND THE QURʾĀN), but also a masterpiece of Arabic poetic art (see POETRY AND POETS). Only the high magic of the language could give to the speech of Abdallah's son the stamp of the speech (q.v.) of God" (Die letzten vierzig Suren, 25). For F.J. Steingass (d. 1903), the Qurʾān is: "[…] A work, then, which calls forth so powerful and seemingly incompatible emotions even in the distant reader — distant as to time, and still more so as to mental development — a work which not only conquers the repugnance with which he may begin its perusal, but changes this adverse feeling into astonishment and admiration" (Hughes/Steingass, Qurʾān, 526-7). Another translator of the Qurʾān, J. Berque (d. 1995), has tried to find a "diplomatic" solution in the face of the peculiar language and style of the Qurʾān, speaking of its "interlacing structure," "symphonic effects" and "inordinating junctions" (*jonctions démesurantes,* Berque, *Langages,* 200-7; cf. id., *Coran,* 740: "a triangular speech"; id., *Relire,* 33-4), showing with these unusual qualifications the difficulty he had in expressing a consistently positive judgment, such as, "It is not necessary to be a Muslim to be sensitive to the remarkable beauty of this text, to its fullness and universal value" (id., *Relire,* 129).

On the other hand, R. Bell (d. 1952) remarked that, for a long time, occidental scholars called attention to "the grammatical unevennesses and interruption of sense which occur in the Qurʾān" (Bell, *Commentary,* i, xx). Indeed the qurʾānic scholar and Semitist Th. Nöldeke (d. 1930) had already qualified the qurʾānic language as: "drawling, dull and prosaic" (Nöldeke, *Geschichte,* 107, on the sūras of the third Meccan period; cf. id., *De origine,* 55; id., *GQ,* i, 143, n. 2, written by Schwally: "Muḥammad

was at the very most a middle-size stylist"). For this German scholar, "while many parts of the Koran undoubtedly have considerable rhetorical power, even over an unbelieving reader, the book, aesthetically considered, is by no means a first-rate performance" (Nöldeke, Koran, 34). In Strassburg, he also wrote that "the sound linguistic sense of the Arabs (q.v.) almost entirely preserved them from imitating the oddnesses and weaknesses of the qurʾānic language" (Nöldeke, Sprache, 22; Fr. trans. *Remarques,* 34). J. Barth (d. 1914) was struck by "the disruptions of the relations" in the sūras (*Störungen der Zusammenhänge;* Studien, 113). The Iraqi English Semitist A. Mingana (d. 1937) thought that the style of the Qurʾān "suffers from the disabilities that always characterize a first attempt in a new literary language which is under the influence of an older and more fixed literature" (Syriac influence, 78; this older literature being for him Syriac; see SYRIAC AND THE QURʾĀN). For the specialist in Arabic literature and Ṣūfism (see ṢŪFISM AND THE QURʾĀN), R.A. Nicholson (d. 1945), "The preposterous arrangment of the Koran […] is mainly responsible for the opinion held by European readers that it is obscure, tiresome, uninteresting; a farrago of long-winded narratives (q.v.) and prosaic exhortations (q.v.), quite unworthy to be named in the same breath with the Prophetical Books of the Old Testament" (*Literary history,* 161; see FORM AND STRUCTURE OF THE QURʾĀN; SCRIPTURE AND THE QURʾĀN).

Other intellectuals waver between reactions of disgust and attraction in reading the Qurʾān. In this category may be placed J.W. Goethe (d. 1832): "The Koran repeats itself from sura to sura […] with all sort of amplifications, unbridled tautologies and repetitions which constitute the body of this sacred book, which, each time we turn to it, is repugnant, but it soon attracts, astounds, and in the end enforces reverence […]. The style of the Koran, in accordance with its contents and aim is stern, grand, terrible, here and there truly sublime" (Goethe, *Noten,* 33-5).

In fact, there are two conceptions of the Qurʾān. The first is theological and is proper to the world of Islam. It is a matter of beliefs, and because beliefs in the Islamic areas are obligatory, of dogmas (see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF; CREEDS). The other conception is anthropological, and because of the reason just mentioned, it is represented only outside of the world of Islam, although not only by non-Muslims: some Muslims, admittedly very few (and usually not living in Muslim countries), also maintain this conception of the Qurʾān. For those who subscribe to the first conception, the Qurʾān is the eternal speech of God (see WORD OF GOD; ETERNITY; CREATEDNESS OF THE QURʾĀN); for those who maintain the second position, the Qurʾān is a text which has a history. The same conceptual dichotomy is to be found concerning the language and the style of the Qurʾān. To remove any doubt and misunderstanding on this issue we will try to deal with each of these conceptions independently, setting apart the Islamic theological thesis from the hypotheses of the Arabists.

The theological thesis on the language of the Qurʾān

For clarity of exposition, we shall first introduce this thesis in a general and theoretical way, followed by a more detailed development of some points contained therein.

The general formulation of the theological thesis

By "theological thesis" is meant the position which imposed itself definitively in Islam around the fourth/tenth century, but which had already existed from the end of the second/eighth and the beginning of the third/ninth centuries, although not in

such a formalized, theoretical format. It begins with the assertion: The language of the Qurʾān is Arabic. But which Arabic (see DIALECTS)? This question found an answer in Islamic theology, wherein a special way of interpreting the qurʾānic text itself follows the qurʾānic statement: "And we never sent a messenger (q.v.) save with the language/tongue of his folk, that he might make [the message] clear for them" (*li-yubayyina lahum,* Q 14:4). The exegetes conclude from this verse that the language of the Qurʾān is that of Muḥammad and his Companions (see COMPANIONS OF THE PROPHET), understood as the dialect of Ḥijāz (see PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QURʾĀN), and more particularly of the Quraysh (q.v.). To that first identification, qurʾānic Arabic = the Ḥijāzī dialect or the dialect of the Quraysh *(al-lugha al-ḥijāziyya, lughat Quraysh),* they added a second one: the language of the Quraysh = *al-lugha al-fuṣḥā.* This last expression is the Arabic denomination of what the Arabists themselves call "classical Arabic."

That identification originates less in the qurʾānic text than in an Islamic conception of the Qurʾān, as it appears in the work of the philologist and jurist Ibn Fāris (d. 395/1004). In the Qurʾān itself *lugha,* with the meaning of language, or the feminine comparative *fuṣḥā* do not occur, but only the masculine of this last form: "My brother Aaron (q.v.) is more eloquent than me in speech [or, "speaks better than me"; *afṣaḥu minnī lisānan*]" (Q 28:34). This verse shows, however, that the *faṣāḥa* 1) is above all, a quality of the one who speaks, 2) that there are degrees in it, and 3) that it is only metonymically transferred from the locutor to the language, in this case by the means of a specification (in Arabic grammar *tamyīz;* here *lisānan* indicates eloquence "concerning" language).

We find an echo of the qurʾānic formulation in the following affirmation of a scholar of Rayy quoted by Ibn Fāris with a chain of authority (see ḤADĪTH AND THE QURʾĀN), Ismāʿīl b. Abī ʿUbayd Allāh Muʿāwiya b. ʿUbayd Allāh al-Ashʿarī (d. first half third/ninth cent.), whose father was the vizier and secretary of the caliph al-Mahdī: "The Qurayshites are the most refined of the Arabs by their tongues and the purest by their language *(afṣaḥ al-ʿarab alsinatan wa asfāhum lughatan).*" To that affirmation no justification is given, save a dogmatical one: "The reason is that God… has chosen and elected (see ELECTION) them among all the Arabs *(dhālika anna llāha… khtārahum min jamīʿ al-ʿarab wa-ṣṭafāhum),* and among them he has chosen the prophet of mercy (q.v.), Muḥammad" (Ibn Fāris, *al-Ṣāḥibī,* 52; Rabin, *West-Arabian,* 22-3).

The metonymy is again seen at work in the book of the grammarian Ibn Jinnī (d. 392/1002; *Khaṣāʾiṣ,* i, 260; see GRAMMAR AND THE QURʾĀN) saying of the language of the Ḥijāz: "it is the purest and the oldest *(al-lugha al-fuṣḥā al-qudmā).*" Here, it is true, a third idea appears, linking superority to precedence or antiquity. It is already in Sībawayhi (d. 177/793 or 180/796; *Kitāb,* ed. Derenbourg, ii, 37, l. 15; ed. Būlāq, ii, 40; ed. Hārūn, iii, 278): "the Ḥijāzī is the first and oldest language" (*wa-l-ḥijāziyya hiya l-lugha l-ūlā l-qudmā;* Levin, Sībawayhi's attitude, 215-6, and n. 61). Of course, this declaration could be a later interpolation. It is the qualification of a philologist, the counterpart of the concept of "the corruption of language" *(fasād al-lugha):* to say that language is subject to corruption is to aknowledge but also to condemn linguistic change, which is diachronic. Traditionally the linguistic superiority of the Quraysh has been seen as the consequence of their being at greatest remove from the non-Arabic speaking areas: "Therefore, the dialect [or, better, "manner of speaking," Fr. *parler,* Ger. *Redeweise*] of the Quraysh

was the most correct and purest Arabic dialect *(afṣaḥa l-lughāti l-ʿarabiyyati wa-aṣfaḥa),* because the Quraysh were on all sides far removed from the lands of the non-Arabs" (Ibn Khaldūn, *ʿIbar,* 1072; Eng. trans. Ibn Khaldūn-Rosenthal, iii, 343). But Ibn Fāris himself (*al-Ṣāḥibī,* 52) considers this superiority to be the product of the selection of the best elements of the different Arabic dialects, a selection made possible by the fact that Mecca (q.v.) was the center of an inter-tribal pilgrimage (q.v.; we shall see the interpretation given by Kahle to this conception).

The Qurʾān on its own language and style. Does the Qurʾān really say it is in "a clear Arabic tongue"?

As the Qurʾān is a very self-referential text (Wild, *Mensch,* 33), it has often been said that it was "somewhat self-conscious with respect to its language" (Jenssen, Arabic language, 132), providing commentary on its own language, style, and perhaps arrangement. Support for this view is drawn, first of all, from the apparent qurʾānic qualification of itself as being "plain/clear Arabic tongue/speech/language."

It would appear, however, that most of the occurrences of *lisān* in the Qurʾān refer to "tongue" as a vocal organ (Wansbrough, *QS,* 99; see also LANGUAGE, CONCEPT OF), like Q 39:28: "A lecture in Arabic, containing no crookedness (*ghayra dhī ʿiwajin,* without distortion)"; and in this case it can be related to a topos of prophetical communication (see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD; REVELATION AND INSPIRATION), reflecting the speech difficulties associated with the calling of Moses (q.v.; Exodus 4:10-7): "O my lord, I am not eloquent, neither heretofore, nor since you have spoken unto your servant, but I am slow of speech, and of a slow tongue" (verse 10). The Qurʾān, too, knows this story, as evidenced by Q 20:27, wherein Moses says: "And loose a knot from my tongue" (cf. also Q 28:34, "My brother Aaron is more eloquent than me in speech *[afṣaḥu minnī lisānan],*" which is a reversal of Exodus 4:14-5: "Is not Aaron thy brother? I know that he can speak well […]. And thou shalt speak unto him, and put words in his mouth and I will be with thy mouth [or: I will help you speak], and with his mouth."). Such is the case also for Q 19:97: "And we make it [this scripture] easy for your tongue *(yassarnāhu bi-lisānika)*." It should be noted that the same expression in Q 44:58 has been translated by Pickthall, with no apparent reason for translating the two passages differently, as: "[…] easy in thy language." This theme becomes a refrain in Q 54:17, 22, 40: "And in truth we have made the Qurʾān easy to remember" (see MEMORY). Such texts "could support the hypothesis that linguistic allusions in the Qurʾān are not to the Arabic language but rather, to the task of prophetical communication" (Wansbrough, *QS,* ibid.; cf. Robinson, *Discovering,* 158-9).

The Qurʾān says not only that it is in Arabic or Arabic tongue/speech/language *(lisān),* but it seems also to declare that it is in a plain/clear *(mubīn)* tongue/speech/language: "We have revealed it, a lecture *(qurʾānan)* in Arabic" (Q 12:2; 20:113); "We revealed it, a decisive utterance *(ḥukman)* in Arabic" (Q 13:37); "a lecture in Arabic" (Q 39:28; 41:3; 42:7; 43:3); "this is a confirming scripture in the Arabic language" *(lisānan ʿarabiyyan)* (Q 46:12); "in plain Arabic speech" *(bi-lisānin ʿarabiyyin mubīnin)* (Q 26:195; cf. 16:103; see Rippin, Foreign vocabulary, 226).

The reasons why the Qurʾān insists on the quality and value of its own language seem to be polemical and apologetic (see POLEMIC AND POLEMICAL LANGUAGE). The argument for its Arabic character, first of all, should be put in relation with Q 14:4: "We never sent a messenger save with the language/tongue of his folk *(bi-lisāni*

qawmihi), that he might make [the message] clear for them." This declaration, by stressing the language of this messenger (Muḥammad) and this folk (the Arabs), can be understood as a declaration of the ethnocentric nature of this prophetic mission, but also as a divine proof of its universality (Wansbrough, *QS,* 52-3, 98), challenging another sacred language, Hebrew (op. cit. 81), perhaps also Syriac, or more generally Aramaic (see INFORMANTS).

But in stressing that it is in Arabic, the Qurʾān answers also to accusations which were adressed to Muḥammad during the Meccan period (see OPPOSITION TO MUḤAMMAD): "And we know well what they say: Only a man teaches him. The speech of whom they falsely hint *(yulḥidūna ilayhi)* is outlandish *(aʿjamī),* and this is clear Arabic speech" (Q 16:103). The commentators explain *yulḥidūna* (Kūfan reading: *yalḥadūna;* Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* xiv, 180; see READINGS OF THE QURʾĀN) by "to incline to, to become fond of" (Muqātil, *Tafsīr,* ii, 487; Farrāʾ, *Maʿānī,* ii, 113), which is the meaning of the Arabic *laḥada*. But these explanations seem not to be convincing. Indeed, it has been shown elsewhere that the linguistic and social context to which this verse refers could be a Syriac one: the Arabic root *l-ḥ-d,* being probably an adaptation of the Syriac *lʿez,* "to speak enigmatically," "to allude to," like the Arabic root *l-gh-z* (Luxenberg, *Lesart,* 87-91; Gilliot, Coran, § 6; see also INFORMANTS).

The contrast of *aʿjamī,* often understood as barbarous or outlandish, with *ʿarabī*/ Arabic, becomes very significant, if we consider Q 41:44: "And if we had appointed it a lecture in a foreign tongue *(qurʾānan aʿjamiyyan)* they would assuredly have said: If only its verses (q.v.) were expounded *(fuṣṣilat)* [so that we might understand]? What! A foreign tongue and an Arab *(aʿjamiyyun wa-ʿarabiyyun)*?" (or, in the rendition of Arberry: "If We had made it a barbarous Koran […] Why are its signs (q.v.) not distinguished? What, barbarous and Arabic?"). *Fuṣṣilat* was undertood by an early exegete, al-Suddī (d. 128/745), as "clarified" (*buyyinat,* Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* xxiv, 127; Thaʿlabī, *Tafsīr,* not quoting al-Suddī: "whose verses are clear; they reach us so that we understand it. We are a people of Arabs, we have nothing to do with non-Arabs *[ʿajamiyya]*"; cf. Muqātil, *Tafsīr,* iii, 746: "Why are its verses not expounded clearly in Arabic?").

The expression "In plain/clear Arabic speech/tongue *(bi-lisānin ʿarabiyyin mubīnin)*" (Q 26:195; cf. 16:103) still needs more reflection, because the translation given here is — like most translations of the phrase — misleading from the point of view of morphology, and consequently of semantics. *Mubīn* is the active participle of the causative-factitive *abāna,* which can be understood as: "making [things] clear." Such an understanding of that expression is suggested by Q 14:4, which utilizes the causative factitive *bayyana:* "And we never sent a messenger save with the language/ tongue of his folk, that he might *make* [the message] *clear* for them *(li-yubayyina lahum)*."

But the adjectival opposition found in Q 16:103 between *aʿjamī* on the one hand, and *ʿarabī* and *mubīn,* on the other, was understood by the exegetes as "barbarous," i.e. non-Arabic *(ʿajamī)* and indistinct *(aʿjamī),* in contradistinction with clear/ pure Arabic (Wansbrough, *QS,* 98-9; see LANGUAGE, CONCEPT OF; for the opposing traditional view, variously expressed, i.e. "in clear Arabic/pure tongue," see Widengren, *Apostle,* 151-2, in relation to the question of a pre-Islamic Arabic translation of the Bible; Horovitz, *KU,* 75).

The consequence, according to the theologians, is that the Qurʾān must be in a "smooth, soft, and plain/distinct speech

(sahl, layyin, wāḍiḥ)": "In the Qurʾān there is no unusual/obscure *(gharīb)* sound-complex *(ḥarf)* from the manner of speaking *(lugha)* of the Quraysh, save three, because the speech *(kalām)* of the Quraysh is smooth, soft, and plain/distinct, and the speech of the [other] Arabs is uncivilized *(waḥshī),* unusual/obscure" (Abū l-ʿIzz Wāsiṭī, d. 521/1127, *al-Irshād fī l-qirāʾāt al-ʿashr,* quoted by Suyūṭī, *Itqān,* chap. 37, ed. Ibrāhīm, ii, 124). This dogma of the alleged superiority of the Ḥijāzī dialect did not have, in reality, great consequences in choosing among the various readings of the Qurʾān. In fact, "the home dialect of the Prophet has not occupied a particular place" in the qurʾānic readings (Beck, ʿArabiyya, 182), but, rather, the grammarians and exegetes tried to preserve a certain scientific autonomy in this respect (Gilliot, Précellence, 100; id., *Elt,* 135-64; 171-84). Some contemporary Muslim scholars have, for this reason, accused them of "distorting" the qurʾānic readings, e.g. the book entitled "Defence of the readings transmitted via different channels against the exegete al-Ṭabarī" (Anṣārī, *Difāʿ ʿan al-qirāʾāt al-mutawātira*…).

The superiority of the Arabic language and the excellence of the Arabic of the Qurʾān

The Muslim scholars of religious sciences (see TRADITIONAL DISCIPLINES OF QURʾĀNIC STUDY) and the ancient Arab philologists have spared no effort in enhancing the alleged superiority of the Arabic language over other languages: "Of all tongues, that of the Arabs is the richest and the most extensive in ways of expression *(madhhaban)*. Do we know any man except a prophet who apprehended all of it?" (Shāfiʿī [d. 204/820], *Risāla,* 42, no. 138/[modified] Eng. trans., 88; Fr. trans., 69; Ibn Fāris, *al-Ṣāḥibī,* 40-7; Goldziher, Sprachgelehrsamkeit, iii, 207-11). The Kūfan exegete, grammarian and jurist, al-Farrāʾ (d. 207/822), explains the superiority of the speech of the Quraysh in a particular way, namely as based upon the pilgrimage and their outstanding taste and capacity of selection: "[His fictive interlocutor saying] Sagacity and beauty came to them merely because the Arabs were accustomed to come to the sanctuary for *ḥajj* and *ʿumra,* both their women and men. The women made the circuit round the House unveiled and performed the ceremonies with uncovered faces. So they selected them by sight and thought after of dignity and beauty. By this they gained superiority besides those qualities by which they were particularly distinguished. [al-Farrāʾ answers] We said: In the same way they were accustomed to hear from the tribes of the Arabs their dialects; so they could choose from every dialect that which was the best in it. So their speech became elegant and nothing of the more vulgar forms of speech was mixed up with it" (a text of al-Farrāʾ in Kahle, *Geniza,* 345; Eng. trans. Kahle, Arabic readers, 70). In a word, the Quraysh through their sagacity in choice were prepared to become the "chosen people of God" in language, that is Arabic.

The Muʿtazilite theologian and man of letters, al-Jāḥiẓ (d. 255/867; see MUʿTAZILĪS) is no less explicit on this subject, using the example of poetry whose "excellence is limited to the Arabs and to those who speak the tongue of the Arabs, and it is impossible that [Arabic] poetry should be translated and it cannot be conveyed [into another language]." He explains that, in translation, the meter, the rhyme, the rhythm, arrangement *(nazm)* and verse would be destroyed. Of course, everybody, including al-Jāḥiẓ, is familiar with the difficulty of translating poetry. But for this theologian only the Arabs have poetry in the sense of the Arabic term *qaṣīda* (odes) and accord with its norms; his primary

point is the superiority of the Arabic language as a presupposition for the excellence of the qurʾānic Arabic (Jāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān,* i, 74-5; Gilliot, *Elt,* 86). We could, of course, continue to quote a number of philologists, exegetes and theologians on this matter drawn from all periods of Islamic history up to the present day; but these samples are sufficient to provide an insight into the essential features of this apologetic discourse.

The "Challenge Verses"

In the religious *imaginaire* on the language of the Qurʾān, the Challenge Verses (*āyāt al-taḥaddī:* Q 2:23; 10:38; 11:13; 17:88; 52:33-4; see Wansbrough, *QS,* 79-82; Gilliot, *Elt,* 84-6; Radscheit, *Herausforderung;* van Ess, *TG,* iv, 607-8; see also PROVOCATION; INIMITABILITY) have also played a major role in the elaboration of a conception of a *lingua sacra*. These verses continue to be an important theme of Muslim apologetics, although they might be better explained in the context of Jewish polemics. The objection of the adversaries of Muḥammad here seems to have had nothing to do with language, and the answer of the Qurʾān, "then bring a sūra like unto it," also appears not to refer to language (see SŪRAS). Three of these verses are a response to the accusation of forgery (q.v.) against Muḥammad: "He has invented it" (*iftarāhu,* Q 10:38; 11:13; *taqawwalahu,* Q 52:33). The framework indicates a "'rabbinical' test of prophethood" (Wansbrough, *QS,* 79): "Verily, though humankind and the jinn (q.v.) should assemble to produce the like of this Qurʾān, they could not…" (Q 17: 88). The audience was not at all impressed by the product given by Muḥammad, which they did not find particularly coherent — in any case, not as coherent as the other revealed books (Muqātil, *Tafsīr*, iii, 234; Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* xix, 10, ad Q 25:32; van Ess, *TG,* iv, 608; see BOOK): "Why is the Qurʾān not revealed unto him all at once? [It is revealed] thus that we may strengthen your heart (q.v.) therewith; and we have arranged it in right order" (*wa-rattalnāhu tartīlan;* Arberry: "better in exposition," Q 25:32).

But the same verbal noun *(nomen verbi), tartīl,* is problematic (Paret, *Kommentar,* 492). Several interpretations have been given by ancient exegetes: to proceed in a leisurely manner, pronounce distinctly, to recite part after part (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* xxix, 126-7, ad Q 73:4; Lane, *Lexicon,* i, 1028). Besides, it can be understood elsewhere as recitation or cantilation: "and chant the Qurʾān in measure" (*wa-rattili l-qurʾāna tartīlan,* Q 73:4; Arberry: "and chant the Koran very distinctly"; Andrae, *Ursprung,* 192: "and recite the Koran in equal sections"). But this last passage has been also understood as "and make the Qurʾān distinct," perhaps alluding to Muḥammad "at the labour in composition" (Bell, *Origin,* 97; id., *Commentary,* ii, 444). It could also refer to the style of the Qurʾān: "the sense of the word [in Q 25:32] is not exactly known, but it is likely to refer to the rhyme, the existence of which cannot be denied" (Mingana, Qurʾān, 545 b).

The adversaries of Muḥammad — but not only they — in fact, most of the Quraysh were not particularly impressed by the language or the content of his predication: "muddled dreams (see DREAMS AND SLEEP); nay, he has but invented it; nay, he is but a poet. Let him bring us a portent even as those of old [i.e. messengers] were sent [with portents]" (Q 21:5; Blachère, *Histoire,* ii, 232). Despite the original auditors' apparent skepticism as to the excellence of the qurʾānic language, Muslim exegetes, philologists, jurists and theologians (see THEOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN) opened the door to an elaboration of sacral representations and mythical constructions on the pre-eminence of the Arabic language and the supposed superiority and inimitability of the qurʾānic language,

sentiments which were not present *expressis verbis* in the Qurʾān.

The foreign words

But Q 41:44 became also a *locus classicus* in qurʾānic exegesis in the debate over the occurrence of foreign words in the Qurʾān (in addition to Rippin, Foreign vocabulary, 226, see Ibn al-Jawzī, *Funūn,* 186-93) and, with Q 16:103, on the informants of Muḥammad (see Madigan, *Self-image,* 199-200; see also INFORMANTS). Some ancient exegetes had general pronouncements on the issue: according to the Kūfan companion of Ibn Masʿūd, Abū Maysara al-Hamdānī (d. 63/682): "There are [expressions] in the Qurʾān from every language *(lisān)*" (Ibn Abī Shayba, *Muṣannaf,* [*Kītāb* 22. *Faḍāʾil al-Qurʾān, bāb* 7], vi, 121, no. 29953; Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* i, 14, no. 6/Eng. trans. *Commentary,* i, 13; Suyūṭī, *Itqān,* chap. 38, ed. Ibrāhīm, ii, 126; id, *Muhadhdhab,* 194, ed. al-Hāshimī, 60-1). The same words are also attributed to the Khurasānī exegete al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Muzāḥim (d. 105/723; Ibn Abī Shayba, ibid., no. 29952; Suyūṭī, *Muhadhdhab,* 194, ed. al-Hāshimī, 61). Or, according to another Kūfan, Saʿīd b. Jubayr (d. 95/714): "There is no language *(lugha)* on the earth which God has not revealed in the Qurʾān. And he [Ibn Jubayr or somebody else in the chain] said: the name of Jibrīl (Gabriel, q.v.) is the servant/man *(ʿabd)* of God, and the name of Mikāʾīl (Michael, q.v.) is the small servant/man of God" (see for this etymology Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* ii, 389-92, ad Q 2:97: *jabr* means *ʿabd,* servant/man). Wansbrough (followed, unfortunately, by Gilliot, *Elt,* 103), writes that the tradition of Ibn Jubayr was transmitted by Muqātil (*QS,* 218). It is indeed in Muqātil (*Tafsīr,* ii, 606), but it was added with a chain of authority by one of the transmitters of this book, ʿAbdallāh b. Thābit al-Tawwazī (d. 308/920; Gilliot, Muqātil, 41; see ḤADĪTH AND THE QURʾĀN). Or, according to Wahb b. Munabbih (d. 110/728): "There are only a few languages which are not represented in some way in the Qurʾān" (Suyūṭī, *Itqān,* chap. 38, ed. Ibrāhīm, ii, 135; id., *Muhadhdhab,* 213, ed. al-Hāshimī, 106-7; id., *Durr,* i, 335, l. 16-7, ad Q 2: 260, quoted from the qurʾānic commentary of Abū Bakr b. al-Mundhir, d. 318/930). But the tradition of Ibn Jubayr is also presented as one of the occasions of the revelation (q.v.) of the verse under discussion, Q 41:44 (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* xxiv, 127; Thaʿlabī, *Tafsīr,* ad Q 41:44), because of the word *aʿjamī,* linked by ancient exegetes to the theme of the informants (Muqātil, *Tafsīr,* iii, 745-6; Thaʿlabī, *Tafsīr,* quoting Muqātil; see Gilliot, Informants, 513). That which "is not of the speech of the Arabs" was not, however, to everybody's taste, and some ancient philologists who had extreme arabophile sentiments had hard opinions on this issue and condemned others: "some knowledgeable *(naḥārīr)* [philologists] sometimes introduce non-Arabic words as pure Arabic out of their desire to mislead people and make them fail" (al-Khalīl b. Aḥmad, d. 175/791, *Kītāb al-ʿAyn,* i, 53, quoted by Talmon, *Arabic grammar,* 122).

All this entirely contradicts the quasi-dogma of the "purity" of the Arabic of the Qurʾān, but a theologian can always find a solution to a seeming contradiction, namely by transforming its object into a quality or a "miracle" (q.v.): "Other books were revealed only in the language of the nation to whom they were adressed, while the Qurʾān contains words from all Arabic dialects, and from Greek, Persian, and Ethiopic besides" (Ibn al-Naqīb, d. 698/1298, in Suyūṭī, *Itqān,* chap. 38, ed. Ibrāhīm, ii, 127; Gilliot, *Elt,* 101; Rabin, *West-Arabian,* 19). It is possible that a tradition attributed to Muḥammad and transmitted from Ibn Masʿūd had an influence here on the theological representation of the superiority of the Qurʾān over the other revealed books: "The first book was

revealed from a single door, in a single manner (*ḥarf,* or, "genre, sound-complex"; this last, in other contexts, according to Rabin, *West-Arabian,* 9), but the Qurʾān was revealed in seven manners…" (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* ed. Shākir, i, 68, no. 67; Gilliot, Les sept "lectures." II, 56; id., Langue, 91-2).

The problems of qurʾānic grammar

Up until the present day, special books have been written by Muslims on this issue, particularly with the aim of finding a solution to the following problem: "What the grammarians forbid, although it occurs in the Qurʾān" (Ḥassūn, *al-Naḥw l-qurʾānī,* 12-114; Anṣārī, *Nazariyya;* see also GRAMMAR AND THE QURʾĀN), or related issues, like "The defence of the Qurʾān against the grammarians and the Orientalists" (Anṣārī, *al-Difāʿ ʿan al-Qurʾān*…).

The mythical narratives on the superiority of Arabic

Interpretrations of the passages of the Qurʾān that understand the language in a sacral and theological orientation, combined with ethnocentric Arab conceptions, have contributed to the elaboration of a hierarchy of languages, at the summit of which stands Arabic. Even if these ideas existed before, they were only systematically collected during the second half of the second/eighth and the third/ninth centuries. The constitution of an empire and the construction of a mythical conception of a common "perfect" language go together.

We find a statement about this hierarchy by the Cordoban jurist and historian ʿAbd al-Malik b. Ḥabīb (d. 238/852), for whom the languages of the "prophets" were Arabic, Syriac and Hebrew: All the sons of Israel (q.v.; i.e. Jacob, q.v.) spoke Hebrew (see also CHILDREN OF ISRAEL); the first whom God allowed to speak it was Isaac (q.v.). Syriac was the language of five prophets: Idrīs (q.v.), Noah (q.v.), Abraham (q.v.), Lot (q.v.) and Jonah (q.v.). Twelve of them spoke Arabic: Adam (see ADAM AND EVE), Seth, Hūd (q.v.), Ṣāliḥ (q.v.), Ishmael (q.v.), Shuʿayb (q.v.), al-Khiḍr (see KHAḌIR/KHIḌR), "the three in Sūrat Yā Sīn" (Q 36:14), Jonah, Khālid b. Sinān al-ʿAbsī, and Muḥammad. According to ʿAbd al-Malik b. Ḥabīb, Adam first spoke Arabic, but later this language was distorted and changed into Syriac (ʿAbd al-Malik b. Ḥabīb, *Taʾrīkh,* 27-8; Suyūṭī, *Muzhir,* i, 30-1/Eng. trans. Czapkiewicz, *Views,* 66-7; Goldziher, *Grammar,* 44-5; Loucel, Origine. IV, 167-8).

This last opinion is supported by a tradition attributed to an individual often cited on such matters, the cousin and Companion of Muḥammad (who was ca. 10 years old when Muḥammad died), namely Ibn ʿAbbās (d. 69/688): "His [i.e. Adam's] language in paradise (q.v.) was Arabic, but when he disobeyed his lord (q.v.), God deprived him of Arabic, and he spoke Syriac. God, however, restored him to his grace *(tāba ʿalayhi),* and he gave him back Arabic" (Ibn ʿAsākir, *Taʾrīkh,* vii, 407; Suyūṭī, *Muzhir,* i, 30; Loucel, Origine. IV, 167). It has been said that Adam "spoke 700,000 languages, of which the best was Arabic" (Thaʿlabī, *Tafsīr,* ad Q 55:4, from an anonymous source; Goldziher, *Grammar,* 45, quoting Baghawī, *Maʿālim,* presently still only in manuscript form; but the figure "700" in Baghawī, *Maʿālim,* iv, 266 has to be corrected!). The exegetes *(ahl al-taʾwīl)* explain the diversity of languages in the following way: God taught all the languages to Adam, but when his sons were scattered, each of them spoke one language, then each group that issued from them spoke its own language (Wāḥidī, *Wasīṭ,* i, 116; Nīsābūrī, *Tafsīr,* i, 220; Abū Ḥayyān, *Baḥr,* i, 145, ad Q 2:31).

These endeavors of the Muslim exegetes and theologians express a mimetic concurrence with trends found among the Jews

(see JEWS AND JUDAISM) and the Syrians; for the latter, however, Adam spoke Syriac/Aramaic (Grünbaum, *Beiträge,* 63). Other sources refer to seventy two, seventy or eighty languages in the world (Goldziher, *Grammar,* 45-6; Loucel, Origine. IV, 169-70: only for 72).

The influence of the theological representations appears in the desperate attempts of the jurists to give sense to a set of contradictory, or disparate, ideas or facts: at the beginning there was a single language which God taught to Adam (see KNOWLEDGE AND LEARNING), and it was, of course, the best one, Arabic (because the Qurʾān is in Arabic); there are several languages; the Arabic of the Qurʾān is the best Arabic; the Prophet was an Arab, and he belonged to the tribe of Quraysh (see TRIBES AND CLANS). One of the solutions found, with recourse to legends and argumentation, was the following: at the beginning God taught a single language to humankind; the other languages were taught only later to the offspring of Noah, after the flood (according to Abū Manṣūr ʿAbd al-Qāhir al-Baghdādī, d. 429/1037); according to Ibn ʿAbbās, the first to speak Arabic was Ishmael, which is interpreted as "pure Arabic," meaning the Arabic of the Quraysh, "because the Arabic of Qaḥtān and Ḥimyar [South Arabic] was spoken before Ishmael" (Zarkashī, *Baḥr,* ii, 16; Suyūṭī, *Muzhir,* i, 27, quoting him; Goldziher, *Grammar,* 44).

These mythical narratives on language which are quoted in different genres of literature (exegesis, historiography, *adab,* etc.), and, even up to the present, appear in popular books, play a major role in the linguistic *imaginaire* of the Muslims. They are as important as the arguments of the scholars, who, moreover, also quote them to confirm their line of argument and to establish it definitively in the minds of their readers (for the origin of speech according to the grammarian Ibn Jinnī, see Versteegh, *Arabic linguistic tradition,* 100-14; on al-Suyūṭī's [d. 911/1505] presentation, see A. Czapkiewicz, *Views,* 64-6).

The "creation" of a Prophet against his competitors (poets, soothsayers, orators, story-tellers, etc.)

The strategy of Muḥammad and of the first generations of Muslim scholars concerning poetry and poets had a reason other than the traditional tribal defense of honor (q.v.; *ʿirḍ;* Nahshalī, *Mumtiʿ,* 220-7: How the Arabs protected themselves and defended their honor with poetry; Jacob, *Beduinenleben,* 176-8; Farès, *Honneur,* passim), even if Muḥammad saw himself more and more as a supra-tribal chief and was concerned to defend his own reputation. This other reason was a linguistically theological one.

Not only had the Qurʾān to be sharply distinguished from poetry (Hirschberg, *Jüdische und christliche Lehren,* 27-32; Gilliot, Poète, 378-9, § 111, 116) and the rhymed prose (q.v.; *sajʿ*) of the Arab soothsayers (q.v.), but its superiority to poetry had to be demonstrated, an idea which was not obvious. Before the Arab poets, diviners (see DIVINATION; FORETELLING) and orators, Muḥammad had to "create" himself with the help of his supporters and to be "created" by the first generations of Muslim scholars. *The* Prophet whose language was excellent, "the most Arab of the Arabs," is depicted as, after his birth, having been placed in the care of another in order to be nursed (see LACTATION; WET-NURSING; FOSTERAGE) and brought up in clans whose Arabic was the "purest" (see also SĪRA AND THE QURʾĀN). According to the Companion Abū Saʿīd al-Khudrī, Muḥammad is supposed to have said: "I am the Prophet who does not lie (q.v), I am the son of ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, I am the one who speaks the best Arabic (or "the most Arab of the Arabs," *aʿrab al-ʿArab*). The Quraysh has procreated

me, I grew up in the tribe of Saʿd b. Bakr [his nurse Ḥalīma was of that clan]! [So you should not ask] from where this my manner of speaking comes *(fa-annā yaʾtīnī l-laḥnu)*" (Ṭabarānī, *Kabīr,* vi, 35-6, no. 5437; Ibn al-Sarrāj al-Shantarīnī, *Tanbīh,* 121-2; Gilliot, Poète, 385). Or: "Of you, I am the one whose Arabic is the best *(anā aʿrabukum),* I am from the Quraysh, my language is that of the Saʿd b. Bakr" (Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt,* i, 113; cf. Suyūṭī, *Khaṣāʾiṣ,* i, 63); "I am of the Arabs whose language is the most pure and understandable *(anā afṣaḥ al-ʿArab)*." This long translation is the nearest to the meaning of *faṣīḥ* at this time: whose Arabic is *"rein, verständlich,"* in opposition to the foreign languages, but also to the Arabic of the Arabs of the "frontiers" (Vollers, in his review of Nöldeke *[Zur Grammatik],* 126). Or: "I am the most eloquent creature" (Suyūṭī, *Muzhir,* i, 209-13; Wansbrough, *Qs,* 93-4). Or, more expressly in relation to the Qurʾān: "Love the Arabs for three reasons, because I am Arab, the Qurʾān is Arabic, and the speech of the people of paradise is Arabic" (Ibn al-Anbārī, *Īḍāḥ,* i, 21; Kahle, Qurʾān, 174, no. 28; 173, no. 22; cf. Muqātil b. Sulaymān declaring: "The speech *[kalām]* of the inhabitants of the sky is Arabic"; Ibn al-Sarrāj al-Shantarīnī, *Tanbīh,* 77. This declaration was included in a tradition attributed to Muḥammad which continues: "and their language when they are standing before God in the last judgment [q.v.]"; Kahle, Qurʾān, 173-4, no. 25).

It should be noticed that these declarations of (or sayings attributed to) Muḥammad on the best language pertain to the categories of the pride (q.v.; *fakhr*) of the ancient Arabs and their poetry, and that they can be extended to other fields, for instance in that other saying of Muḥammad transmitted from the Companion Anas b. Mālik: "I was made superior to people with four qualities: generosity (see GIFT-GIVING), bravery (see COURAGE), frequency of sexual intercourse *(kathrat al-jimāʿ),* great violence *(shiddat al-baṭsh)*" (Abū Bakr al-Ismāʿīlī, *Muʿjam,* ii, 621-2, no. 251; Ibn ʿAsākir, *Taʾrīkh,* viii, 69-70). These traditional tribal values of the ancient Arabs, and above all the quality of the language, were transformed into proofs of prophecy.

This was and still is a necessary presupposition to persuade the Arabs and the non-Arab Muslims of the so-called superiority and inimitability of the qurʾānic language, style and content (Gilliot, *Elt,* 73-93, but also chaps. four and five). Through lack of written Arabic texts at their disposal (see ORALITY AND WRITING IN ARABIA), they could only lean on the "thesaurus of the Arabs" *(dīwān al-ʿArab),* poetry, according to a celebrated declaration attributed again to Ibn ʿAbbās (Ibn al-Anbārī, *Īḍāḥ,* i, 99-101, no. 118, 120; taken up by Suyūṭī, *Itqān,* chap. 36, 281, ed. Ibrāhīm, ii, 67; Wansbrough, *Qs,* 217; Gilliot, Poète, 374-5; cf. Goldziher, *Richtungen,* 70). This ancient poetry became a benediction from the divine favor (see BLESSING; GRACE) because the "best language," Arabic, was destined to prepare the coming of a still "more excellent" language, tongue and speech, the language of the Qurʾān (Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī, *Zīna,* i, 92), the *lingua linguarum, scilicet Verbum Dei!*

But these scholars were conscious that the poet had been a dangerous competitor to the Prophet of Islam and to the text he presented as revelation (Gilliot, Poète, 331-2; 380-8). Indeed, according to the Baṣran philologist, also a specialist in ancient poetry and qurʾānic readings, Abū ʿAmr b. al-ʿAlāʾ (d. 154/771), in a statement transmitted by his pupil, the Baṣran philologist al-Aṣmaʿī (d. 213/828): "The poets occupied, among the Arabs (bedouins, see BEDOUIN) during the Age of Ignorance (q.v.), the rank occupied by prophets in the nations [which have received a revelation];

then the sedentaries entered in relation with them *(khālaṭahum)* and were taken on by poetry *(iktasabū bi-l-shiʿri),* and the poets lost their rank. And after that came Islam and the revelation of the Qurʾān, and poetry became vilified and qualified as falsehood *(bi-tahjīn al-shiʿr wa-takdhībihi)*. As a consequence, the poets lost their rank even further. At last they used flattery and fawning *(al-malaq wa-l-taḍarruʿ),* and people disdained them" (Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī, *Zīna,* i, 95; cf. Nahshalī, *Mumtiʿ,* 25). This ideological break between the "Age of Ignorance" — in another epistemological context the "savage thought" of C. Levi-Strauss — and Islam will lead Muslim scholars to a paradox: on the one hand, pre-Islamic poets and poetry are disparaged, but on the other hand their language, although it is, from their point of view, less sublime than the language of the Qurʾān, is extraordinarily praised because the verses of these poets are considered to be the best, sometimes the only evidence that can be quoted as support *(shawāhid)* for argumentation in the sciences of language (Baghdādī, *Khizāna,* i, 5-17/Fr. trans. Gilliot, Citations, 297-316). A certain nostalgia may be seen behind the laudatory break which al-Aṣmaʿī traces between "savage thought" on the one hand and "culture" — here, Islam — on the other when he declares: "Poetry is harsh *(nakid);* therefore it is strong and easy in evil (see GOOD AND EVIL), but if it is used in good, it becomes weak. For instance, Hassān b. Thābit was one of the best poets *(fuḥūl al-shuʿarāʾ)* in the Age of Ignorance, but when Islam came, his poetry was dropped *(saqaṭa shiʿruhu)*" (Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd,* ii, 6, l. 17-18; Goldziher, Alte und neue Poesie, 136; with some difference in Ibn Qutayba, *al-Shiʿr,* 170, l. 9-11). But al-Aṣmaʿī, like the other philologists, collectors of poetry, jurists, exegetes, etc., is "at the borders of the orality (q.v.) to which he wishes to put an end […]. The *ʿālim* [scholar] establishes a civilization of literacy and of its ways of thinking. As the builder of a culture he wants to control the relations between written science and knowledge which is orally transmitted" (Bencheikh, *Essai,* II).

But before poetry came to be controlled by philologists who were also jurists and specialists in the Qurʾān, traditions were employed to create a "united" language, or, better, the imaginary model of such a language, which had to be, more or less, in accordance with the "qurʾānic model." These prophetic, or alleged prophetic, traditions had to be recalled, produced, or coined, against or in favor of poetry, giving a certain status to poets and poetry, so that they would not be competitors to the Prophet and to the book he had delivered. Ancient poetry was necessary to explain, justify and enhance the alleged pre-eminence of the qurʾānic language; but it had also to be put in its "proper place," so that the Qurʾān should not be compared with human productions.

The philologists and theologians, in arranging and harmonizing the different and even contradictory traditions which circulated about the Arabic of the Qurʾān, the "eloquence" of the Prophet and of the Arabs — traditions whose enormous numbers, variety, contradictions and repetitions make the reader's head swim, so that one is tempted simply to believe them and stick to the reasoning of the theologians — have established the enduring conception of a *lingua sacra*. Not only believers, but also many Orientalists in their presentations of the Arabic and qurʾānic language have been influenced by the power of this conviction.

The hypotheses of the Arabists

A gulf lies between the theological thesis and the approach of a linguist, as it already appears in the following declaration

of one of the founders of the Arabists' school, F.L. Fleischer (d. 1888): "The question for us is not: What is the purest, the most beautiful and correct Arabic, but what is Arabic in general?" (Über arabische Lexicographie, 5).

What constitutes the strength of the theological thesis for believers is precisely what represents its weakness for the critical scholar: It is based only on the qurʾānic text and upon conviction, without any verification of another nature. The extant (and scanty) epigraphic material (see EPIGRAPHY AND THE QURʾĀN) that evidences a language close to classical Arabic, insofar as its graphemes and the hazards of deciphering them allow, comes exclusively from northern Arabia (see ARABIC SCRIPT; ORTHOGRAPHY). More precisely, it is from areas that were under the control of the Ghassān and the Lakhm, considered to be Arabs whose "linguistic habit was not perfect *(fa-lam takun lughatuhum tāmmat al-malaka)*" "because they had contact with non-Arabs *(bi-mukhālaṭat al-aʿājim)*" (Ibn Khaldūn, *ʿIbar,* 1072/Eng. trans. Ibn Khaldūn-Rosenthal, iii, 343).

Moreover, from the data preserved by the Arab grammarians and compiled by Rabin (*West-Arabian*, passim), it appears that pre-Islamic Arabic was heterogenous, but that a regional east-west differentiation could be seen in it (for a detailed list of the features, above all morphological and syntactic, see Blachère, *Histoire,* i, 70-5; Versteegh, *Arabic,* 41-6). Now, what the Arabs call *al-lugha al-fuṣḥā* and the Arabists term classical Arabic coincides with neither eastern nor western Arabic, although — taken as a whole — it is closer to the eastern sphere.

The different arabist hypotheses have their origin in the contradiction between the theological thesis and these data. These hypotheses can be reduced to two: one weak, the other strong. Moreover, they have in common the presupposition of a diglossic situation in ancient Arabia: i.e. the coexistence of, on the one hand, the various dialects of the Arab tribes, and, on the other, a common language (which, among other things, was the vehicle of poetry, and for that reason, has been termed poetic *koinê*). Poetic *koiné* pertains to the ancient Arabic linguistic type, whereas the dialects should be, if not entirely at least partly, of the neo-Arabic type. The difference between both is the presence of *iʿrāb* (case and mood endings) in the common language, its absence in the dialects.

But the Arabists do not agree on the origin of this *koiné*. For some — who think in terms of the Greek *koiné,* the basis of which is Attic Greek — it has a geographic origin: according to this hypothesis, this shared language began as an inter-tribal or super-tribal language, at the point of encounter of the two dialectical areas of Arabia, that is to say in central or north-eastern Arabia. For others — who consider it along the lines of the Homeric Greek model — it is a *Kunstsprache,* an artificial language of great antiquity, without any connection to the linguistic reality. The Arabists also do not agree on the interpretation of *iʿrāb*. For some, it is syntactic, even if they recognize that its functionality is weak, not to say non-existent (see the debate between Blau, Synthetic Character, and Corriente, Functional yield; id., Again on the functional yield). For others it is linked to the constraints of prosody and rhyme in an oral-formulaic poetry (Zwettler, Classical Arabic poetry).

In this context, the weak hypothesis is that of the majority of Arabists. For them the qurʾānic Arabic is, save for some "Ḥijāzī" peculiarities, basically the same as the Arabic of pre-Islamic poetry; hence the qualification of "poetic and qurʾānic *koiné,*" sometimes given to that language, and which is considered to be the basis of

classical Arabic (Blachère, *Histoire,* i, 82: "*koïnè* coranico-poétique").

The strong hypothesis is originally that of Vollers (d. 1909). He concludes that the Qurʾān was first delivered by Muḥammad in the vernacular of Mecca (q.v.), a west Arabian speech missing, among other features, the *iʿrāb* (Vollers, *Volkssprache,* 169; Zwettler, *Oral tradition,* 117-8, with discussion of this thesis; Versteegh, *Arabic,* 40-1), before it was later rewritten in the common language of poetry (Vollers, *Volkssprache,* 175-85). For Vollers this language, though it is the basis of the literary classical language, is primarily an eastern Arabic speech, fitted, among other features, with *iʿrāb*. More than the question of the *iʿrāb,* that of the "glottal stop" (*hamza,* Vollers, *Volkssprache,* 83-97) best summarizes the hypothesis of Vollers. It is said that the inhabitants of the Ḥijāz were characterized by the loss of the glottal stop *(takhfīf al-hamza),* contrary to the other Arabs who used the glottal stop *(taḥqīq al-hamza)*. And we know that the qurʾānic orthography attests the addition of the *hamza,* a mark of the realization of the glottal stop.

The hypothesis of Vollers was taken up again by P.E. Kahle (d. 1964), but in a modified form (he does not maintain that the Qurʾān was rewritten). He admits, without any further explanatory discussion, that the consonantal ductus (see CODICES OF THE QURʾĀN; COLLECTION OF THE QURʾĀN; MUṢḤAF), traditionally attributed to the caliph ʿUthmān (q.v.) represents the Arabic spoken in Mecca (Kahle, *Geniza,* 142), but for him the "readings" *(qirāʾāt, variae lectiones)* of that ductus express the influence of the poetic language. He based his hypothesis on a great number of traditions, more than 120, quoted in the *Tamhīd fī maʿrifat al-tajwīd* of al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Mālikī (d. 438/1046), in which people are exhorted to recite the Qurʾān, respecting the *iʿrāb* (Kahle, Qurʾān, 171-9). Since Kahle's contributions appeared, older works containing the traditions upon which he based his theory have been made available (e.g. Abū ʿUbayd, *Faḍāʾil,* 208-10, and passim; Ibn Abī Shayba, *Muṣannaf, [Kitāb* 22. *Faḍāʾil al-Qurʾān*, *bāb* 1*],* vi, 117-8, nos. 29903-19).

As Kahle remarks: "The recommendation to read the Koran with these vocalic endings presupposes that they were often not read" (*Geniza,* 145 n. 1). As some of these traditions were also known by the grammarian al-Farrāʾ (d. 207/822; Kahle, *Geniza,* 345-6 [Ar. text], 143-6 [Eng. trans.]; we should also add that some of the traditions were also known by Abū ʿUbayd al-Qāsim b. Sallām [d. 224/838] and by Ibn Abī Shayba [d. 235/849]), this reveals the existence of a problem in the second/eighth century.

Two interpretations of that issue are possible. The first, a minimalist understanding, is that there was a slackening in the recitation of the Qurʾān (q.v.) because of the non-Arab converts: in this case, these traditions are a call to order, reprimands, to stop a prevalent "lax reading" and to enforce an "exact reading" (Kahle, *Geniza,* 147). But the other possibility is that the grammarians and readers *(qurrāʾ, qaraʾa)* want to enforce on the community a reading and recitation consonant with an ideal Arabic that they have just established by the means of a large collection of data gathered from the bedouins and from poetry. Kahle inclines to this second interpretation, putting forward the concept he encountered in al-Farrāʾ (and which is also to be found in Ibn Fāris; see the translation of the text of al-Farrāʾ above), who presents the Arabic of the Ḥijāz, and thus of the Qurʾān, as a selection from the best of the various dialects (Kahle, Qurʾān, 179-82; id., *Geniza,* 145-6; id., Arabic readers, 69-70). To him the presentation of

al-Farrāʾ is an acknowledgment of the influence of poetic language on that of the Qurʾān, although he "antedated the influence of Bedouin poetry to an earlier period" (Kahle, *Geniza,* 146). Indeed, when it is released from its subjective elements, such a conception amounts to saying that the qurʾānic language borrows features from different dialects (Fr. *parlers*), in other words that it is an inter-language.

Whereas the hypothesis of Vollers caused a scandal in Muslim circles and prompted a debate among the Arabists (Geyer, Review; and notably Nöldeke, Einige Bemerkungen; id., Der Koran und die ʿArabīja), it seems that the hypothesis of Kahle has not really garnered much attention, with the notable exception of J. Fück (d. 1974), who rejected it (Fück, *ʿArabīya,* 3-4, n. 4/Fr. trans., 4-5, n. 4; see also Rabin, Beginnings, 25-9).

Now, however, things are changing with the progress in Arabic studies of sociolinguistics and of the history of linguistics. The Arabists today have gone beyond the diglossic representation of Arabic and are in favor of a polyglossic conception of Arabic and of a continuum, even of an inherent variation. In doing so they take up again, in some way, the conception that the most ancient Arab grammarians, notably Sībawayhi, had of Arabic. These last did not understand the *lughāt* ("dialects") as discrete varieties, but only as variants, good or bad, of one and the same language. In this context, the various "readings" *(qirāʾāt)* of the Qurʾān can be seen as the reflection of this linguistic variation. J. Owens has shown recently that the practice of the "major assimilation" (*al-idghām al-kabīr,* i.e. a consonantal assimilation between words) traditionally linked with the reader Abū ʿAmr (d. 154/770), did not imply linguistically the loss of the inflexional ending, but only the absence of short vowels, inflexional or not, at the ending. This means that "[Voller's] assumption that there was a koranic variant without case ending receives plausible support from the koranic reading tradition itself" (Owens, Idġām al-kabīr, 504).

Lastly, it should be noticed that none of the hypotheses of the Arabists challenges the following two assertions of the Muslim tradition: 1) the Qurʾān transmits the predication of the one Muḥammad, and 2) there exists an ʿUthmānic codex. This discussion of qurʾānic language would be enlarged if, on the one hand, the hypothesis of Wansbrough *(QS)* — i.e. that there was a slower elaboration of the qurʾānic text than is traditionally supposed — were taken into consideration, and, on the other, if, besides the "small variation" (different readings of the same ductus), the "great variation" (the existence of a non-ʿUthmānic codex) were also taken into account (Gilliot, Coran, § 29; id. Reconstruction, § 15).

From language to style

The link between qurʾānic language and the linguistic style of the Qurʾān itself is the notion of *bayān,* and it is not by chance that the founder of Bābism (see BAHĀʾĪS), ʿAlī Muḥammad (d. 1850) wrote a book intended to replace the Qurʾān, entitled *al-Bayān* (Bausani, Bāb). *Bayān,* a verbal noun *(nomen verbi:* distinctness; Fr. *le fait d'être distinct),* occurs only three times in the Qurʾān (Q 55:4; 75:19; 3:138; Bell, *Commentary,* ii, 329; Paret, *Kommentar,* 465; Blachère, ii, 74-5), e.g. Q 55:3-4: "He has created man. He has taught him utterance" (*al-bayāna;* or, "the capacity of clear exposition"; Arberry: "the Explanation"; Blachère: "l'Exposé"). Moreover, *tibyān* (exposition, explanation) occurs once (Q 16:89), and the active participle *(nomen agentis), mubīn,* twice qualifies the "Arabic tongue" (*lisān ʿarabī,* Q 16:103; 26:195; see LANGUAGE, CONCEPT OF). But twelve times *mubīn* qualifies "book" (*kitāb,* Q 5:15; 6:59; 10:61; 11:6; 12:1; 15:1; 26:2; 27:1, 75; 28:2; 34:3; 44:2), seven

times it modifies *balāgh* (Q 5:92; 16:35, 82; 24:54; 29:18; 36:17; 64:12), and twice *qurʾān* (Q 15:1; 36:29). In this context, *mubīn* can be interpreted as the active participle *(nomen agentis)* of the fourth (causative) verbal form, *abāna,* used with an implicit object, simply a synonym of the second verbal form, *bayyana,* meaning "making [things] distinct/clear." But *abāna* can also be seen as an implicitly reflexive causative, and in this case *mubīn* is interpreted as "showing [itself] distinct/clear," as suggested by the explicit reflexive in Q 37:117: "*al-kitāb al-mustabīn*" (the clear scripture). The high number of the occurrences of the root *b-y-n* and its derivatives indicates that *bayān* is a characteristic of speech.

Developed at length by Shāfiʿī (d. 204/820), the idea is that the Qurʾān says things clearly; jurist that he was, he demonstrates this theory beginning with the legal obligations (see BOUNDARIES AND PRECEPTS; LAW AND THE QURʾĀN; AMBIGUOUS; ABROGATION). But this is said with the underlying conviction that the Qurʾān expresses itself clearly because it is in Arabic (we should remember here that "Qurʾān" is qualified six times as "Arabic"; Shāfiʿī, *Risāla,* 20-40/Eng. trans. 67-80/Fr. trans. 53-68; Yahia, *Contribution,* 361-410; 368-71: on Jāḥiẓ; cf. Bāqillānī, *Intiṣār,* 256-71; Gilliot, *Elt,* 73; id., Parcours, 92-6). The central character of *bayān* in matters of style is attested by the fact that the phrase *ʿilm al-bayān* (see von Grunebaum, Bayān) competes with *ʿilm al-balāgha* for denoting Arabic rhetoric (which is not an oratorical art, but the art of all manners of speaking: poetical, oratorical, epistolary, etc.). But, for the most part — as opposed to *ʿilm al-maʿānī* — it designates the part of *ʿilm al-balāgha* which deals with the expression of the *maʿnā* i.e. the *latz,* in other words, stylistics. It should be noticed that the dogma of the inimitability of the Qurʾān was linked with the theme (almost an article of faith) of the "eloquency" *(balāgha)* of Muḥammad, which is in accordance with the theological representations on the "purity" of the language of Quraysh, and naturally the consummate "purity" of the language of the "chosen/purified *(al-muṣṭafā)*" one, Muḥammad, their kinsman, as seen above (see Rāfiʿī [d. 1937], "The inimitability of the Qurʾān and the prophetic eloquence" [in Arabic; *Iʿjāz al-Qurʾān wa-l-balāgha al-nabawiyya*], 277-342; on this book, see Boullata, Rhetorical interpretation, 148).

The theological thesis on the style of the Qurʾān

The theological thesis about the style of the Qurʾān, however, goes far beyond the proclamation of the alleged clarity of the qurʾānic discourse, this clarity itself being linked to the language in which it is formulated. Its core is certainly the dogma of the *iʿjāz al-Qurʾān* (van Ess, *TG,* iv, 609-11; see also INIMITABILITY). Two points should be emphasized here. First, the dogma of the Qurʾān's inimitability is to the style of the Qurʾān what the equation "language of the Qurʾān = the speech of the Quraysh = *al-lugha al-fuṣḥā*" is to its language; i.e. it, too, is the result of the intersection of a textual element (the so-called Challenge Verses) and of the Islamic conception of the Qurʾān as the speech of God *(kalām Allāh)*. Secondly, the "inimitability" is bound to the stylistic order through the clear theological affirmation of the Muʿtazilite theologian and philologist al-Rummānī (d. 384/994) on the *balāgha* of the Qurʾān: "Its highest [rank is such that it] incapacitates *(muʿjiz)* [anyone who attempts to reach it]; it is the *balāgha* of the Qurʾān" (*Nukat,* in Rummānī et al., *Rasāʾil,* 75). From this point of view, most books on Islamic rhetoric function as the "maidservant of theology" *(rhetorica ancilla theologiae),* as illustrated by the title of the book by the great rhetorician ʿAbd al-Qāhir al-Jurjānī (d. 471/1078): "The proofs of the

inimitability [of the Qurʾān]" (*Dalāʾil al-iʿjāz;* Abu Deeb, *al-Jurjānī;* Boullata, Rhetorical interpretation, 146-7).

The literary structure and arrangement or construction (*nazm,* a root which does not occur in the Qurʾān; see Abu Deeb, *Al-Jurjānī,* 24-38; for Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī: Lagarde, *Index,* no. 2564; Gilliot, Parcours, 100-6) of the Qurʾān is far from being self-evident. For this reason, Muslim scholars have not only dealt with this theme, but have composed works entitled *Nazm al-Qurʾān* (for this genre and a list of such books, see Audebert, *L'inimitabilité,* 58-9, 193-4; see also LITERARY STRUCTURES OF THE QURʾĀN). But the theological debate concerning the core of its "inimitability" and the question of its createdness or uncreatedness also played a role in the genesis of this genre (van Ess, *TG,* iv, 112; many Arabic studies on this theme have been published: e.g. on Zamakhsharī: Jundī, *al-Nazm al-qurʾānī*). Eventually, entire qurʾānic commentaries came to contain this word in their title, e.g. the Karrāmite of Nīshāpūr, al-ʿĀṣimī (Abū Muḥammad Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī, d. 450/1058), composed the *Kitāb al-Mabānī li-nazm al-maʿānī,* whose introduction has been published (Jeffery, *Muqaddimas,* 5-20; for the identification of the author, see Gilliot, Théologie musulmane, 182-3). This genre was also related to the principle of correspondence (*munāsaba;* see Suyūṭī, *Itqān,* chap. 62, ed. Ibrāhīm, iii, 369-89 *[Munāsabat al-āyāt wa-l-suwar];* id., *Muʿtarak,* i, 54-74; id., *Taḥbīr,* 371-7; for Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī: Lagarde, *Index,* no. 2479; Gilliot, Parcours, 106-9) between the sūras and between the verses (see also al-Suyūṭī's special book entitled "The symmetry of the pearls. On the correspondence of the sūras," which he seems to have compiled from his larger book "The secrets of revelation" *[Asrār al-tanzīl];* see Suyūṭī, *Tanāsuq,* 53-4). The qurʾānic commentary of Burhān al-Dīn Abū l-Ḥasan Ibrāhīm al-Biqāʿī (d. 885/1480) combines in his title the words "arrangement/construction" and "correspondence" *(nazm, tanāsub):* "The string of pearls. On the correspondence of the verses and sūras" *(Nazm al-durar fī tanāsub al-āyāt wa-l-suwar).*

Generally speaking, all of the elements of style to be found in all great literature are seen as unique and almost special to the Qurʾān because of the dogma of its inimitability. Even its weaknesses are viewed as wonderful, if not miraculous (see the introduction of Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* ed. Shākir, i, 8-12/Eng. trans. in *Commentary,* i, 8-12; Gilliot, *Elt,* 73-8).

The positions of the Arabists on the style of the Qurʾān

Some positions until recently

Read with eyes other than those of faith, qurʾānic style is generally not assessed as being particularly clear, and "much of the text… is… far from being as *mubīn* ("clear") as the Qurʾān claims to be!" (Puin, Observations, 107; cf. Hirschfeld, *New researches,* 6-7). Moreover, it does not arouse the general non-Muslim audience to such a degree of "enthusiam" (Sfar, *Coran,* 117-8, 100-1) as that of the Muslims who are alleged to have fallen down dead upon hearing its recitation (Wiesmüller, *Die vom Koran getöten;* cf. Kermani, *Gott ist schön,* chap. 4, "Das Wunder," 233-314; id., Aesthetic reception).

To understand this reaction of the non-believer, the Qurʾān should first be characterized as "speech" (Fr. *discours*) as opposed to such comparable "texts," i.e. the Hebrew Bible and the Gospels (q.v.; see also TORAH). To proceed so, it is possible to refer to a noteworthy opposition found within the Arabic linguistic tradition, that of two types of speech *(kalām),* the *khabar* and the *inshāʾ,* which is equivalent to the Austinian categories of "constative," as

opposed to "performative utterances" (Austin, *How to do things with words*). According to these categories, the Hebrew Bible and the Gospels present themselves as *khabar*s (narratives on the creation [q.v.] of the world, the history of the Jewish people, the life of Jesus), even if these texts, whether considered as historical or mythic, are also edifying. On the other hand, the Qurʾān presents itself as non-narrative speech (*inshāʾ;* cf. the traditional appellation: paranesis): the narratives (q.v.) it contains, often incomplete, are a type of argumentation by example (see NATURE AS SIGNS; MYTHS AND LEGENDS IN THE QURʾĀN).

The lack of a narrative thread and the repetitions in the Qurʾān, when they do not provoke a negative reaction, compel the specialist to search for another organizational schema of the text, beyond that which is immediately apparent. The need for an alternative pattern behind the ordering of the text appears above all in the problem of the structure of the sūras. Of course, the ancient Muslim scholars, being experts in the Arabic language, were well aware of the organizational infelicities in the qurʾānic text, but as men of faith they had to underscore the "miraculous" organization *(nazm)* of the entire text, and to find rhetorical devices to resolve each problematic issue, e.g. the *iqtiṣāṣ,* the "refrain" (Fr. *reprise*), when the passage was too allusive, incomplete or even truncated. In this case of the "refrain," the exegete had to refer to another verse in the same sūra or in another, from which the truncated passage is supposed to have been "taken" *(maʾkhūdh min),* or where it is "told accurately" (Ibn Fāris, *al-Ṣāḥibī,* 239; Suyūṭī, *Itqān,* ed. Ibrāhīm, iii, 302), e.g. "and we gave him his reward in the world, and lo! in the hereafter (see ESCHATOLOGY) he verily is among the righteous" (Q 29:27), has to be understood [as taken] from "But whoso comes unto him a believer, having done good works (see GOOD DEEDS), for such are the good stations" (Q 20:75; see REWARD AND PUNISHMENT). This phenomenon could perhaps be related to a variety of the *enthymema*.

For reasons which have been put forth above, it is sacrilegious in a Muslim milieu to compare the Qurʾān to poetry, but it is evident that the language of the Qurʾān can be studied by a linguist in the same way as poetic language. The poetics of Jakobson (Closing statements), is one example of how the expertise of a linguist may be applied to the Qurʾān, especially from the point of view of "parallelism," a central concept of that poetics.

In view of the position it has taken with respect to the Qurʾān, the religious thought of Islam has tended to impose a conception that became more radical over time. According to this conception, the Qurʾān is an original work that owes nothing to an external influence, be it local or foreign. The polemics against the orators (*khaṭīb*s) and soothsayers (*kāhin*s), as well as those against the appearance of loanwords in the Qurʾān and those surrounding the meaning of the adjective *ummī* (q.v.), as it is applied to Muḥammad in the Qurʾān (Q 7:157, 158; "illiterate" messenger as opposed to messenger "of the community"; see ILLITERACY), should be interpreted in this context. Concerning this last-mentioned debate, A. Jones maintains that "[T]he notion that *ummī* means 'illiterate' is neither early nor accurate. It can only mean 'of the *umma*' " (Oral, 58, n. 5). Contrary to the theological views concerning the style of the Qurʾān, Jones has shown, despite the scarcity of preserved materials, that the qurʾānic style owes much to previous Arabic styles. These previous styles can be summarized in the following four categories: the style of the soothsayer (Jones, Language, 33-7: *kāhin* utterances), of the orator (Jones, Language, 38-41: *khaṭīb*

utterances), of the story-teller (Jones, Language, 41-2: *qāṣṣ*), of the "written documentary style" in the Medinan material (Jones, Language, 42-4: a comparison between a part of the Constitution of Medina and Q 2:158, 196). In support of this thesis of Jones, the following declaration attributed to Muḥammad can be quoted: "This poetry is rhymed expression of the speech of the Arabs *(sajʿ min kalām al-ʿArab)*. Thanks to it, what the beggar asks for is given to him, anger is tamed, and people convene in their assemblies of deliberation *(nādīhim)*" (Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt,* i, 224; Goldziher, Higâʾ-Poesie, 59). Jones would argue that Muḥammad knew well the efficacy of rhymed prose, and for that reason he used it in the Qurʾān.

Finally, Jones provides two very helpful visual representations of the registers of Arabic at the rise of Islam (Jones, Oral, 57). Although practically nothing survives of these registers, he sketches the relationships between — and among — the literary prose registers, on the one hand (poets, soothsayers and preachers), and the dialects of the people, on the other. These charts are useful for conceptualizing the place of the Qurʾān within the linguistic streams of pre-Islamic Arabia (see also ORALITY AND WRITING IN ARABIA).

The question of the rhymed prose *(sajʿ)* in the Qurʾān still needs further research, because, as noticed a long time ago, Semitic literature has a great liking for it, and, as seen above, Muḥammad knew its effects very well: it "strikes the minds through its allusions, echoes, assonances and rhymes" (Grünbaum, Beiträge, 186). Later Muslim rhetoricians distinguished three or four types of rhymed prose in the Qurʾān: 1) *al-muṭarraf* (touched at the extremity), words having a different prosodic measure *(wazn)* at the end of the elements of the phrase, but similar final letters: Q 71:13-4 *(waqāran* vs. *aṭwāran);* 2) *al-mutawāzī* (parallel), with similar prosodic measure, i.e. the same number of letters, and the same final letters *(al-wazn wa-l-warī):* Q 88:13-4 *(marfūʿa* vs. *mawḍūʿa);* 3) *al-muwāzana* (cadence), final words with similar prosodic measure, but different endings: Q 88:15-6 *(masfūfa* vs. *mabthūtha);* 4) *al-mumāthala* (similarity), wherein all the words have corresponding prosodic measure in each member, but different endings: Q 37:117-8 (Ibn Abī l-Iṣbaʿ, *Badīʿ,* 108-9; Rāzī, *Nihāya,* 142-3; Ibn al-Naqīb, *Muqaddima,* 471-5; Nuwayrī, *Nihāya,* vii, 103-5; Garcin de Tassy, *Rhétorique,* 154-8; Mehren, *Rhetorik,* 167-8). In the best examples of the genre, each of the members (here *fawāṣil,* pl. of *fāṣila,* "dividers") have the same measure: Q 56:28-9, "*fī sidrin makhḍūdin/wa-ṭalḥin manḍūdin* (Among thornless lote-trees/And clustered plantains)." The second or third member can, however, be a little longer than the previous one (Q 69:30-3). But for the same rhetoricians, the contrary is not permitted, save when the difference is tiny (Q 105:1-2). For them the most beautiful rhymed prose is that whose members have only a few words, from two to ten; if otherwise, it is considered to be "drawling," as Q 8:43-4 (Mehren, *Rhetorik,* 166-7; on the dividers in the Qurʾān, from the traditional Muslim point of view, see Ḥasnāwī, *al-Fāṣila fī l-Qurʾān*).

There are still other valuable points of view and theses on the style of the Qurʾān which have not been presented here (for some discussion of these, see INIMITABILITY). Some examples are the discussions on the literary features and rhetorical devices (see Ṣammūd, *al-Tafkīr al-balāghī,* 33-46, and passim; see also LITERATURE AND THE QURʾĀN; LITERARY STRUCTURES OF THE QURʾĀN), and especially the interesting studies of A. Neuwirth on the relationship between liturgy and canonization of the text, "the structurally definable verse groups," contextuality, etc. (Neuwirth,

Einige Bermerkungen; id., Vom Rezitationstext/Fr. trans. Du texte de récitation; see also her article FORM AND STRUCTURE OF THE QUR'ĀN).

The ancient Christian or Syriac connection

Some scholars (unfortunately, too few) have drawn attention to the importance of the Aramaic or Syriac substratum in the formation of the Qur'ān, basing their hypotheses on the fact that Syro-Aramaic or Syriac was the language of written communication in the Near East from the 2nd to the 7th centuries C.E. and was also a liturgical language. The stylistic idiosyncrasies of the Qur'ān did not escape Th. Nöldeke (Nöldeke, Sprache/Fr. trans. *Remarques critiques*). In addition to his observations on the Syriac loanwords in the Qur'ān, which others, prior to him, had noted, A. Mingana noticed that the qur'ānic style "suffers from the disabilities that always characterize a first attempt in a new literary language which is under the influence of an older and more fixed literature," and that "its author had to contend with immense difficulties" (Mingana, Syriac influence, 78). But his observations led him to a hypothesis that is the opposite of the "credo" of Nöldeke which, until today, has been prevalent among most western scholars of Islam. This "credo" of Nöldeke is that, in spite of its "drawling, dull and prosaic" style (Nöldeke, *Geschichte,* 107), the Arabic of the Qur'ān is "classical Arabic." In his research, Mingana observed and emphasized the Syriac influences on the phraseology of the Qur'ān, and placed them under six distinct headings: proper names, religious terms, common words, orthography, construction of sentences and foreign historical references (see also FOREIGN VOCABULARY). Unfortunately, his remarks, although referred to by some scholars, were not taken into general account for two reasons: First, Mingana, too occupied with other works on Syriac, had no time to develop his hypothesis further. (His argument was further undermined by the fact that the material he had gathered in his article was not very important.) Secondly, the "dogma" of the Islamicists *(Islamwissenchaftler, islamologues)* on the "classicism" of the qur'ānic Arabic continued and still continues to impose itself as self-evident proof, in spite of numerous objections to their own thesis expressed by the supporters of the alleged *al-ʿarabiyya al-fuṣḥā* of the Qur'ān.

Without being particularly influenced by Mingana's article and having other concerns than this scholar, the German liberal Protestant theologian and Semitist G. Lüling wrote an important study which has also been overlooked and ignored (Ger. *totgeschwiegen*) by Islamicists and Arabists. This study, *Über den Ur-Qur'ān* ("On the primitive Qur'ān"), has recently been translated into English under the title *A challenge to Islam for reformation*, with the suggestive subtitle, "The rediscovery and reliable reconstruction of a comprehensive pre-Islamic Christian hymnal hidden in the Koran under earliest Islamic reinterpretation." The point of departure is not the Qur'ān, but Lüling's own scholarly orientation defined as promoting an "emphasis directed at self-criticism against the falsification of Christianity by its Hellenization resulting in the dogma of the trinity [sic, with a lowercase "t"] […], as well as against the falsification of the history of Judaism" (*Challenge,* lxiii, a passage not present in the German original). The theses of Lüling on the Qur'ān are as follows: 1) About one-third of the present-day qur'ānic text contains as a hidden groundlayer an originally pre-Islamic Christian text. 2) The transmitted qur'ānic text contains four different layers, given here chronologically: the oldest, the texts of a pre-Islamic Christian strophic hymnody;

the texts of the new Islamic interpretation; historically parallel to the second layer is the original purely Islamic material, which is to be attributed to Muḥammad (about two-thirds of the whole Qurʾān); and, finally, the texts of the post-Muḥammadan editors of the Qurʾān. 3) The transmitted Islamic qurʾānic text is the result of several successive editorial revisions. 4) The presence of the successive layers in the qurʾānic text can be confirmed by material in Muslim tradition (Gilliot, Deux études, 22-4; Ibn Rawandi, Pre-Islamic Christian strophic, 655-68). Of course, the theses of Lüling should be discussed, and not simply ignored, as has been the case until now (for more details on this work, see the reviews of Rodinson, Gilliot and Ibn Rawandi. For a second book of Lüling, *Die Wiederentdeckung des Propheten Muhammad,* see the reviews of Gilliot and Ibn Rawandi).

Recently, another Semitist scholar, Ch. Luxenberg, has taken up Mingana's thesis in his work on the Syriac influence on the Qurʾān and outlined the heuristic clearly. Beginning with those passages that are unclear to western commentators, the method runs as follows: First, check if there is a plausible explanation in qurʾānic exegesis, above all that of al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923), possibly overlooked by western scholars. If this does not resolve the problem, then check whether a classical Arabic dictionary, primarily Ibn Manẓūr's (d. 711/1311) *Lisān al-ʿArab,* records a meaning unknown to Ṭabarī and his earlier sources. If this turns up nothing, check if the Arabic expression has a homonymous root in Syriac, with a different meaning that fits the context. In many cases, Luxenberg found that the Syriac word with its meaning makes more sense than the Arabic term employed by the Qurʾān. It is to be noted that these first steps of the heuristic do not alter the consonantal text of the Cairene edition of the Qurʾān. If, however, these steps do not avail, he recommends changing one or more diacritical marks to see if that results in an Arabic expression that makes more sense. Luxenberg found that many instances of problematic lexemes may be shown to be misreadings of one consonant for another. If this method does not produce results, then the investigator should change one or several diacritical points and then check if there is a homonymous Syriac root with a plausible meaning. If there is still no solution, he checks to see if the Arabic is a calque of a Syriac expression. Calques may be of two kinds: morphological and semantic. A morphological calque is a borrowing that preserves the structure of the source word but uses the morphemes of the target language. A semantic calque assigns the borrowed meaning to a word that did not have the meaning previously, but which is otherwise synonymous with the source word (Luxenberg, *Lesart,* 10-15; Phenix and Horn, Review, § 12-4; Gilliot, Langue, § 4).

Of course, Luxenberg's work must be discussed by Semitists and Islamicists, and poses other complicated problems, e.g. on the history of the redaction of the Qurʾān. But some of his theses do appear convincing, at least to the present writers. For instance, Q 108 (Sūrat al-Kawthar), a text which has little meaning for a normal reader, and which is also a *crux interpretum* for the Islamic exegetes, has been convincingly deciphered by Luxenberg. Behind it can be found the well-known passage of 1 Peter 5:8-9: "Be sensible, watch, because your adversary the devil (q.v.) walks about seeking someone he may devour, whom you should firmly resist in the faith" (Luxenberg, *Lesart,* 269-76). We could mention also Luxenberg's treament of Q 96 (op. cit., 276-85). But his dealing with Q 44:54 and Q 52:20, concerning the supposed "virgins of paradise" (houris, q.v.) has already struck a number of those who have read

this book. Instead of these mythic creatures "whom neither man nor jinn (q.v.) has deflowered before them" (Q 55:56; Bell, *Commentary,* ii, 551), or "whom neither man nor jinni will have touched before them" (Pickthall), are the grapes/fruits of paradise "that neither man nor jinn have defiled before them": "Darin [befinden sich] herabhängende [pflückreife] Früchte, die weder Mensch noch Genius vor ihnen je bepfleckt hat" (Luxenberg, *Lesart,* 248-51; also discussed in the following reviews of Luxenberg's work: Nabielek, Weintrauben statt Jungfrauen, 72; Gilliot, Langue, § 4; Phenix and Horn, Review, § 30-4).

In support of the thesis of Luxenberg we could refer to the informants (q.v.) of Muḥammad in Mecca, some of whom, according to the Islamic tradition, read the scripture or books, or knew Jewish or Christian scriptures. There is also the fact that the secretary of Muḥammad, Zayd b. Thābit, certainly knew Aramaic or Syriac before Muḥammad's emigration (q.v.) to Yathrib (Medina, q.v.). In a well-known Muslim tradition, with many versions, Muḥammad asks Zayd b. Thābit to learn the Hebrew and/or Aramaic/Syriac script (see Lecker, Zayd b. Thābit, 267; Gilliot, Coran, § 9-12). The hypothesis has been expressed according to which these traditions proceed to a situation reversal: the Jew Zayd b. Thābit already knew Hebrew and/or Aramaic/Syriac script; this, however, was embarrassing for Muḥammad or for the first or second generation of Muslims because it could be deduced, as in the case of the informants of Muḥammad, that the Prophet had borrowed religious knowledge from his secretary, and consequently from the Jewish or Christian scriptures. So the origin of Zayd's literary knowledge (see LITERACY) may have come from an initiative, on the part of Muḥammad, to suppress these allegations (Gilliot, Langue, § 4). But the following text of the Muʿtazilite theologian of Baghdād, Abū l-Qāsim al-Balkhī (al-Kaʿbī, d. 319/931), which seems a confirmation of our hypothesis of a reversal of the actual situation, has recently become available:

> I [Kaʿbī], concerning that issue, asked people well-versed in the science of the life of the Prophet (*ahl al-ʿilm bi-l-sīra,* see SĪRA AND THE QURʾĀN), among whom were Ibn Abī l-Zināḍ, Muḥammad b. Ṣāliḥ (d. 252/866) and ʿAbdallāh b. Jaʿfar (probably Ibn al-Ward, d. 351/962) who impugned that firmly, saying: How could somebody have taught writing to Zayd, who had learned it before the messenger of God came to [Medina]? Indeed, there were more people who could write in Medina than in Mecca. In reality when Islam came to Mecca, there were already about ten who could read, and when it was the turn of Medina, there were already twenty in it, among whom was Zayd b. Thābit, who wrote Arabic and Hebrew […]" (Abū l-Qāsim al-Balkhī [al-Kaʿbī], *Qābūl al-akhbār,* i, 202; Gilliot, Coran, § 12).

Without his realizing it, Luxenberg's work falls within the tradition and genre of the readings *(qirāʾāt)* of the Qurʾān. It becomes still more obvious if we distinguish between "the small variation" (various readings of the same ductus) and "the great variation" (variations of the ductus, i.e. non-"ʿUthmānic" codices), on the one hand, and "a greater variation" (an Arabic/Aramaic transliteration of the ductus), on the other hand. The method of Luxenberg applied to passages of the Qurʾān which are particularly obscure cannot be brushed aside by the mere repetition of the Nöldeke/Spitaler thesis, or, as some would say, dogma (see Spitaler, Review of Fück, *ʿArabīya*). It must be examined seriously. From a linguistic point of view the undertaking of Luxenberg is one of the most

interesting. It will provoke in some Islamic circles the same emotion as did the hypothesis of Vollers formerly, because it amounts to seeing in the Qurʾān a kind of palimpsest. Such hypotheses, and the reactions they generate, push scholarship on the language and style of the Qurʾān continually to examine and question its acknowledged (and implicit) premises.

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Last Day

see ESCHATOLOGY; APOCALYPSE; LAST JUDGMENT

Last Judgment

God's final assessment of humankind. The subject of the last judgment *(yawm al-dīn, yawm al-qiyāma)* is one of the most important themes in the Qurʾān. It appears in many forms, especially in the first Meccan sūras (see CHRONOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN), which are dominated by the idea of the nearing day of resurrection (*yawm al-qiyāma,* see RESURRECTION) when all creatures, including jinn (q.v.) and animals (see ANIMAL LIFE), must be judged (see JUDGMENT).

Belief in the last judgment, with the concomitant belief in paradise (q.v.; *al-janna*) for those who performed good deeds (q.v.) and in hell (*jahannam,* see HELL AND HELLFIRE) for those who did not believe in God and did evil (see GOOD AND EVIL; EVIL DEEDS), became one of "the pillars of faith" (*arkān al-īmān,* cf. Q 4:136; see FAITH; BELIEF AND UNBELIEF), as these were called by later Muslim sources. Many sūras indicate that those who trust in God and in the day of resurrection are considered to be believers (Q 2:62, 126, 177; 3:114; 4:162; 5:69; 9:18) and those who refute these tenets are unbelievers, or those who have gone "astray" (q.v.; Q 4:136), and Muslims must fight them (Q 9:29; see JIHĀD; FIGHTING; WAR). The ḥadīth literature adds material to emphasize the importance, in Islam, of belief in the resurrection (*al-qiyāma,* al-Bayhaqī, *Shuʿab al-īmān,* ii, 5-72; see ḤADĪTH AND THE QURʾĀN).

Certain Western researchers suppose (Seale, Arab's concern, 90-1) that Muḥammad tried, at the beginning of his prophecy, to convince his audience that there was going to be a day of resurrection. Considering their reaction (Q 75:3-4; 79:10-1) to this concept, Muḥammad then warned them that there was going to be a day of judgment (Q 44:40). This line of thinking also maintains that the Meccans' refutation of Muḥammad's doctrine of resurrection and a day of reckoning — and their tendency to ridicule these issues — may explain the abundance of references to these themes in the Qurʾān, as well as the conflation of *yawm al-qiyāma* and *yawm al-dīn*. There is reason to believe that such qurʾānic abundance, supported by a flux of interpretations and ḥadīths elaborating the details of the last judgment, may have led P. Casanova to the following explanation for Muḥammad's failure to designate a successor: namely, Muḥammad was convinced that the end of the world was so close at hand that he himself would witness it, and, consequently, there was no need for him to name a successor (Casanova, *Mohammed*, 12; for a critical view, see Watt-Bell, *Introduction,* 53-4; see CALIPH).

Qurʾānic appellations of the day of the last judgment

The most frequently occurring terms that refer to the last judgment in the Meccan sūras are, as mentioned above, "day of resurrection" (*yawm al-qiyāma,* seventy times in Meccan and Medinan sūras) and "day of judgment" (*yawm al-dīn,* thirteen times: Q 1:4; 15:35; 26:82; 37:20; 38:78; 51:12; 56:56; 70:26; 74:46; 82:15, 17, 18; 83:11; and four times without *yawm,* Q 51:6; 82:9; 95:7; 107:1). In the Medinan sūras, the dominant terms are "the last day" (*al-yawm al-ākhir,* twenty-six times: Q 2:8, 62, 126, 177, 228, 232, 264; 3:114; 4:38, 39, 59, 136, 162; 5:69; 9:18, 19, 29, 44, 45, 99; 24:2; 29:36; 33:21; 58:22; 60:6; 65:2) and *al-ākhira* (115 times). This last term, however, is mostly used for "the life to come," "the last dwelling." Some exegetes explain this term as "the mansion of the last hour" (*dār al-sāʿa al-ākhira,* Nasafī, *Tafsīr,* ad Q 6:32) or "the upraising, resurrection, paradise, hell, reckoning and balance" (… *al-ākhira… ay al-baʿth wa-l-qiyāma wa-l-janna wa-l-nār wa-l-ḥisāb wa-l-mīzān,* Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr,* ad Q 2:4).

The "day of resurrection" *(yawm al-qiyāma)* is also termed *al-yawm al-ākhir,* "since it is the last day and there is no day after it" (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* i, 271).

Many terms or locutions appear in the Qurʾān that are explained by the majority of exegetes as synonymous with *yawm al-dīn*. The following are the most important of these designations: "the hour" (*al-sāʿa,* thirty-five times: Q 6:31, 40; 7:187; 12:107; 15:85; 16:77; 18:21, 36; 19:75; 20:15; 21:49; 22:1, 7, 55; 25:11; 30:12, 14, 55; 31:34; 33:63; 34:3; 40:46; 41:47, 50; 42:17, 18; 43:61, 66, 85; 45:27, 32 ; 47:18; 54:1, 46; 79:42); "dreadful day" (*yawm ʿaẓīm,* Q 6:15; 10:15); "the day of anguish" (*yawm al-ḥasra,* Q 19:39); "barren day" (*yawm ʿaqīm,* Q 22:55; "since after it there will be no night," cf. Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* i, 272); "the day of the upraising" (*yawm al-baʿth,* Q 30:56); "the day of decision" (*yawm al-faṣl,* Q 37:21; 44:40; 77:13, 14, 38; 78:17); "the day of reckoning" (*yawm al-ḥisāb,* Q 38:16, 26, 53; 40:27; see WEIGHTS AND MEASURES) and "the day when the reckoning will be established" (*yawma yaqūmu l-ḥisābu,* Q 14:41); "the day of encounter" (*yawm al-talāq,* Q 40:15); "the day of the imminent" (*yawm al-āzifa,* Q 40:18) and "the imminent" (*al-āzifa,* Q 53:57); "the day of invocation" (*yawm al-tanādi,* Q 40:32); "the day of gathering" (*yawm al-jamʿ,* Q 42:7; 64:9); "the day of the threat" (*yawm al-waʿīd,* Q 50:20); "the day of eternity" (*yawm al-khulūd,* Q 50:34; see ETERNITY); "the day of coming forth" (*yawm al-khurūj,* Q 50:42); "the terror" (*al-wāqiʿa,* Q 56:1; 69:15); "the day of mutual fraud" (*yawm al-taghābun,* Q 64:9; see LIE; HONESTY; MARKETS); "the indubitable" (*al-ḥāqqa,* Q 69:1, 2, 3; see TRUTH); "the clatterer" (*al-qāriʿa,* Q 69:4; 101:1, 2, 3); "the great catastrophe" (*al-ṭāmma al-kubrā,* Q 79:34); "the blast" (*al-ṣākhkha,* Q 80:33); "the promised day" (*al-yawm al-mawʿūd,* Q 85:2) and "the enveloper" (*al-ghāshiya,* Q 88:1).

Exegetes add some expressions which are said to refer to the day of the last judgment: "[fear] a day when no soul (q.v.) shall avail another" (*yawman lā tajzī nafsun ʿan nafsin shayʾan,* Q 2:123); "the day when some faces (see FACE) are whitened, and some faces blackened" (*yawma tabyaḍḍu wujūhun wa-taswaddu wujūhun,* Q 3:106); "a day wherein shall be neither bargaining nor befriending" (*yawmun lā bayʿun fīhi wa-lā khilālun,* Q 14:31; see FRIENDS AND FRIENDSHIP); "the day when their excuses shall not profit the evildoers" (*yawma lā yanfaʿu al-ẓālimīna maʿdhiratuhum*, Q 40:52), or "a day when no soul shall possess aught to succor another soul" (*yawma lā tamliku nafsun li-nafsin shayʾan,* Q 82:19). This list is far from exhaustive. Al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111), for example, gives more than one hundred names or epithets designating *yawm al-qiyāma* (Ghazālī, *Iḥyāʾ,* vi, 161; Fīrūzābādī, *Baṣāʾir,* v, 416-21; Ibn Kathīr, *Ashrāṭ al-sāʿa,* 83-4, citing ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq al-Ishbīlī's *Kitāb al-ʿĀqiba;* ʿAwājī; *al-Ḥayāt al-ākhira,* i, 45-55.

Creating a comprehensive vision

The qurʾānic material on the last judgment is very rich and colorful but the allusions in the holy book do not provide a comprehensive picture of all of its details. As the various phases of the day of resurrection (*yawm al-qiyāma*) are mentioned in different sūras, sometimes clearly, sometimes metaphorically (see METAPHOR), but generally without an arranged description of these phases, there was a need to reconstruct the qurʾānic vision of this theme in order to provide a complete picture. Such a task was performed by a number of Muslim authors, who drew upon one or more of the following categories to assist them in their efforts at elaborating upon the qurʾānic material: exegetical literature (*tafsīr,* see EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL), ḥadīth, prophetic biography

(*sīra,* see SĪRA AND THE QUR'ĀN), ascetic literature (*zuhd,* see ASCETICISM), the "tales of the prophets" *(qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā'),* material of Jewish and Christian origin *(isrā'īliyyāt),* and Ṣūfī writings (see ṢŪFISM AND THE QUR'ĀN). These genres contributed to the evolution of a new branch in the Muslim religious literature dealing with the day of resurrection *(yawm al-qiyāma),* including its preliminary signs (*ashrāṭ al-sā'a,* cf. Q 47:18), detailed descriptions of its events, the last judgment, the intercession (q.v.) of the prophets (see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD) and then the reward or punishment (see REWARD AND PUNISHMENT) of each human being according to his or her behavior on earth. This branch is generally known as *ahwāl yawm al-qiyāma* ("dreads of the day of resurrection"). One of the oldest treatises dedicated to this topic is the *Kitāb al-Ahwāl* of Ibn Abī al-Dunyā (d. 281/894; see also TRADITIONAL DISCIPLINES OF QUR'ĀNIC STUDY).

Time of the last judgment

The Qur'ān has a variety of allusions to the time of the day of judgment: (a) nobody, including the Prophet, can anticipate when it is expected to happen: only God knows its exact date (Q 7:187; 31:34; 33:63; 41:47; 43:85; 79:42-4); (b) "the hour" *(al-sā'a)* may be very close (Q 21:1; 33:63; 42:17; 54:1; 70:6-7; it is "as a twinkling of the eye or even nearer," *ka-lamḥi l-baṣari aw huwa aqrabu,* Q 16:77; cf. 54:50); (c) it will occur suddenly (*baghtatan,* Q 6:31; 7:187; 12:107; 22:55; 43:66; 47:18). Ibn Kathīr (d. 774/1373) gives a very detailed list of qur'ānic verses and traditions on this matter (*Ashrāṭ al-sā'a,* 26-35; Wensinck, *Handbook,* s.v. *s-w-'*).

Signs of the hour

A number of preliminary "signs of the hour" *(ashrāṭ al-sā'a)* are enumerated in the Qur'ān. On many occasions, and more especially in the Meccan sūras, the Qur'ān denotes signs that will presage and foretell the last judgment (see APOCALYPSE). Most of these signs are natural catastrophes and some of them appear collectively in Q 81:1-14: the sun (q.v.) will be darkened, the stars (see PLANETS AND STARS) will be thrown down, the mountains will be set moving, the pregnant camels (see CAMEL) will be neglected, the savage beasts will be mustered (see ANIMAL LIFE), the seas will be set boiling (or will overflow), the souls will be coupled (with their bodies), the buried female infant will be asked for what sin she was slain (see INFANTICIDE), the scrolls (q.v.; of deeds, good and bad) will be unrolled (see RECORD OF HUMAN ACTION), heaven will be stripped away, hell will be set blazing and paradise (see GARDEN) will be brought near. The mountains (will fly) like "tufts of carded wool" (Q 101:5) and graves will be overturned (Q 100:9; see DEATH AND THE DEAD; COSMOLOGY).

Later Islamic literary genres add other signs like the rising of the sun from the west; the appearance of the Antichrist (q.v.; *al-masīḥ al-dajjāl,* or simply *al-dajjāl*); the descent from heaven of the Messiah ʿĪsā b. Maryam (see JESUS; some reports attest that *al-mahdī al-muntazar* is ʿĪsā b. Maryam; Dānī, *Sunan,* v, 1075-80) who will fight the Antichrist, break the crosses (of the Christians; see CHRISTIANS AND CHRISTIANITY) and exterminate the pigs (*yaksiru* or *yaduqqu l-ṣalīb wa-yaqtulu l-khinzīr;* Dānī, *Sunan,* 239-40, 242; Ṣibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī, *Mir'āt,* i, 582-5; Ṣāliḥ, *Qiyāma,* i, 71-5; see JEWS AND JUDAISM; POLEMIC AND POLEMICAL LANGUAGE); the appearance of the *dābba* (the reptile or the beast of burden) mentioned in Q 27:82 (ʿAbd al-Razzāq, *Tafsīr,* ii, 84; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ, K. al-Fitan,* n. 2901; Nuʿaym b. Ḥammād, *Kitāb al-Fitan,* 401-5). Three countries (in the east, the west and Arabia; see GEOGRAPHY) will sink, and a fire from ʿAdan will drive

humankind to the gathering place *(al-maḥshar)*. Gog and Magog (q.v.; Yaʾjūj and Maʾjūj) will attack the entire world, but will be eliminated near Jerusalem (q.v.; Nasāʾī, *Sunan,* vi, 424 ad Q 27:82 gives a list of ten signs including the qurʾānic ones; Gardet, *Les grands problèmes,* 262, n. 6). The literature of apocalyptic portents (*fitan* and *malāḥim,* Fahd, Djafr; id., Malḥama; Bashear, Apocalyptic materials, and the literature cited there; id., Muslim apocalypses) abounds in prophecies about wars predicting the last judgment. As an aside, modern Aḥmadī (see AḤMADIYYA) *tafsīr* regards *al-dajjāl* as representing the missionary activities of the western Christian peoples, and Yaʾjūj and Maʾjūj as representing their materialistic and political authorities (*Tafsīr Sūrat al-Kahf,* 105).

The resurrection

In Q 39:67-75, there is a detailed description of the events of the resurrection (*al-qiyāma, al-baʿth, al-maʿād* or *al-nushūr;* cf. Izutsu, *God,* 90-4). The entire earth will be grasped by God's hand (q.v.) and the heavens will be rolled up in his right hand. The trumpet *(al-ṣūr)* shall be blown and all creatures, including angels (see ANGEL), will die, except those whom God wills. Then, it shall be blown again and they will be standing and looking on: "And the earth (q.v.) shall shine with the light of its lord (q.v.), and the book (q.v.) shall be set in place, and the prophets and witnesses (*al-shuhadāʾ,* see MARTYR; WITNESSING AND TESTIFYING) shall be brought, and justly the issue be decided between them, and they not wronged. Every soul shall be paid in full for what it has wrought; and God knows very well what they do. Then the unbelievers shall be driven in companies into hell until, when they have come forth, then its gates will be opened… It shall be said, 'Enter the gates of hell, do dwell therein forever!'… Then those that feared their lord shall be driven in companies into paradise, until, when they have come forth, and its gates are opened, and its keepers will say to them: '… enter in, to dwell forever'… And you shall see the angels encircling about the throne (see THRONE OF GOD) proclaiming the praise of their lord (see LAUDATION; GLORIFICATION OF GOD); and justly the issue shall be decided between them.…"

Such a description raises some questions in Islamic theology (the question of anthropomorphism [q.v.; *tajsīm*]: God's hand, his right hand; the questions of God's justice that arise if the identity of believers and unbelievers is known; see FREEDOM AND PREDESTINATION; JUSTICE AND INJUSTICE; THEOLOGY AND THE QURĀN) and provokes discussions in the eschatological literature, particularly about the identity of the creatures who will be exempted from dying after the first blow of the trumpet: the angel/angels Gabriel (q.v.; Jibrīl), Michael (q.v.; Mīkāʾīl), Isrāfīl, "the angel of death" *(malak al-mawt),* or God's throne-bearers and the fair females (*al-ḥūr al-ʿīn,* cf. Q 44:54; 52:20; 55:72; 56:22; Nasafī, *Tafsīr,* iv, 66; see HOURIS), or the martyrs (*al-shuhadāʾ,* cf. Q 3:169: *qutilū fī sabīli llāhi;* see PATH OR WAY), or the prophets (possibly Moses [q.v.; Mūsā]?) or the immortal boys (*wildānun mukhalladūna,* Q 56:17; 76:19); and the interval of time between the two trumpet-calls (forty days, weeks, months or years; cf. Qurṭubī, *Tadhkira,* i, 194-201). Since the ordering of events at this stage of the judgment day is not consistent and is sometimes even contradictory, many authors tried to arrange them (Ibn Kathīr, *Nihāya,* i, 270-373; ʿAwājī, *al-Ḥayāt al-ākhira*). Following these sources, an attempt of arrangement of these supposed events is presented below.

(a) "The blowing of the trumpet" *(al-nafkh fī l-ṣūr)*. This is attested ten times in the Qurʾān (also *nuqira fī l-nāqūr; nāqūr* is

attested once, at Q 74:8; *al-nāqūr = al-ṣūr;* Fīrūzābādī, *Baṣāʾir,* v, 113). In the Qurʾān, the identity of the blower is not revealed. In all the verses dealing with *al-nafkh fī l-ṣūr,* the verb appears in the passive tense. Traditions relate that the archangel Isrāfīl is appointed to this task (Ibn al-Jawzī, *Tabṣira,* ii, 309-11). He will stand at the eastern or western gate of Jerusalem (Īliyāʾ; Suyūṭī, *Durr,* v, 339) or at "the rock of Jerusalem" (*ṣakhrat bayt al-maqdis,* Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* xvi, 183) and blow. After the first blowing, generally called *nafkhat al-ṣaʿq,* "whosoever is in the heavens and whosoever is in the earth shall swoon *(ṣaʿiqa),* save those whom God wills" (Q 39:68). The exegetes explain the verb *ṣaʿiqa* in this context as "to die" (*māta, Lisān al-ʿArab,* s.v. *ṣ-ʿ-q;* Nasafī, *Tafsīr,* iv, 66; this meaning is peculiar to the usage of the tribes of ʿUmān, cf. Ibn ʿAbbās [attr.], *al-Lughāt fī l-Qurʾān,* 17). There were also discussions concerning the number of times the trumpet was blown. Most exegetes mention two, the blowing of the "swooning" *(nafkhat al-ṣaʿq)* and that of the resurrection *(nafkhat al-baʿth)*. Some, drawing upon Q 27:87-8, add a third blowing, "the terrifying" (*nafkhat al-fazaʿ,* ʿAwājī, *al-Ḥayāt al-ākhira,* i, 189-97). There are also traditions attributed to Muḥammad that he will be the first to be resurrected, but will be surprised to see Moses holding God's throne (Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* vi, 451; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* iv, 1844).

(b) The returning to life. It should be noted here that some believe that *al-baʿth,* the "returning to life," understood as the "resurrection of the souls and bodies" (Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr,* iii, 206), means the "corporal rising" from the graves (*al-maʿād al-jismānī,* Safārīnī, *Mukhtaṣar,* 387).

(c) "The gathering" *(al-ḥashr)*. Creatures, including humankind, jinn and animals, will be gathered (Q 6:38; 42:29; 81:5). Relying on Q 7:29 and 21:104, the exegetes explain that humankind will be gathered "barefoot, naked and uncircumcised" (*ḥufāt-an ʿurātan ghurlan,* see CLOTHING; CIRCUMCISION). The unbelievers will be gathered to hell prone on their faces (*yuḥsharūna ʿalā wujūhihim,* Q 25:34; cf. 17:97). Al-Bukhārī (d. 256/870; *Ṣaḥīḥ,* vi, 137) reports that Muḥammad replied to somebody who did not understand this situation, saying: "Will not the one who made the person walk on his feet in this world (see CREATION), be able to make him walk on his face on the day of resurrection?"

(d) "The standing" before God *(al-qiyām, al-wuqūf)*. All creatures, including angels and jinn, have to stand (cf. Q 78:38). The unbelievers will stand in the blazing sun, finding no shade anywhere (Q 56:42-3; 77:29-31; see HOT AND COLD).

(e) "The survey" (*al-ʿarḍ,* Q 11:18; cf. 18:48; 69:18). This term is likened in many sources to "a king surveying his army or his subjects." Al-Rāzī (d. 606/1210) rejects this interpretation and prefers to interpret *al-ʿarḍ* as "the settling of accounts with, and the interrogation" (*al-muḥāsaba wa-l-musāʾala,* Rāzī, *Tafsīr,* xxx, 110).

(f) The personal books *(kutub)* or sheets *(ṣuḥuf, ṣaḥāʾif al-aʿmāl)* containing all the acts of each person will be laid open (Q 17:13; 52:2-3; 81:10). The one "who is given his book in his right hand" will enter paradise, but "whosoever is given his book in his left hand" will roast in hell (Q 69:19-37). Some are given their books behind their backs; they will invoke their own destruction (Q 84:10-1). In some cases, God will change the evil into good deeds (Q 25:70).

(g) The balances of justice *(al-mawāzīna al-qisṭa)* will be set up (Q 21:47). "Whosoever's scales [of good deeds] are heavy, they are the prosperous [by entering paradise] and whosoever's scales are light, they have lost their souls [by entering hell]" (Q 7:8-9; 23:102-3; cf. 101:6-9).

(h) The creatures will bear witness against

themselves (Q 6:130). Their hands, legs, ears, eyes, tongues and skins will testify against them (Q 24:24; 36:65; 41:22; 75:14). The prophets will submit testimony against their peoples (Q 5:109). Jesus will be a witness against the misguided among the People of the Book (q.v., *ahl al-kitāb*) — the Jews who believed that they had already crucified him and the Christians who believed that he is the son of God (Q 4:159).

(i) "The investigation" *(al-musāʾala)*. God will interrogate the messengers (see MESSENGER) and the peoples to whom they were sent (Q 7:6). The messengers will be interrogated about the response they received from people to their message (Q 5:109). The investigation will also include angels (Q 34:40-1).

(j) The intercession *(shafāʿa)* in favor of somebody will not be accepted that day except from the one to whom God has given permission (see Q 2:254; 7:53; 10:3; 20:109; 21:28; 74:48). The exegetes make a connection between *al-kawthar* (Q 108:1), a river in paradise and *al-ḥawḍ,* Muḥammad's private basin outside or inside paradise, from which believers will be invited to drink. Traditions stress the superiority of Muḥammad to all other prophets since he alone has been given this privilege (ʿAwājī, *al-Ḥayāt al-ākhira,* i, 277-530). P. Casanova (*Mohammed,* 19-20) hypothesized that the first Muslim generation believed that Muḥammad, the last prophet, had to preside over the last judgment and to serve as their advocate in the presence of God. Shīʿī literature states that later the *shafāʿa* was bestowed on the Prophet's descendants, the imāms (Bar-Asher, *Scripture and exegesis,* 180-9; see IMĀM; SHĪʿISM AND THE QURʾĀN).

(k) A bridge *(ṣirāṭ)* will be set up above and across hell (Q 37:22-3) from one end to the other. Ḥadīth literature adds very rich descriptions of this bridge and the manner in which different kinds of people will cross it. The sinners will slope downward into hell and the believers will enter paradise.

Some details cited above led the exegetes and other Muslim scholars to accept the doctrine of predestination since the identity of sinners and believers is known before doomsday (Q 74:31). But it is at the day of judgment *(yawm al-dīn)* that the fate (q.v.) of each creature is made explicit.

Explanation of some eschatological terms

Some terms dealing with the last judgment raised problems, which the exegetes and lexicographers tried to solve. One of the early Meccan sūras, Q 75, is called *al-Qiyāma* ("The Resurrection") because the word appears in its first verse. This term is generally explained by the lexicographers as *yawm al-baʿth, yaqūmu fīhi l-khalqu bayna yaday al-ḥayy al-qayyūm,* "the day of returning to life, when all the creatures will rise before the ever-living, the one who sustains (see GOD AND HIS ATTRIBUTES)." It seems that this word, *qiyāma,* is not Arabic. Ibn Manẓūr (d. 711/1311) cites in the *Lisān al-ʿArab* an anonymous tradition that suggests that *qiyāma* is a borrowing from the Syriac/Aramaic *qiyamathā*. Al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505) repeats this assertion when he speaks about *al-qayyūm* (*Itqān,* 172). The "first judgment" or *al-qiyāma al-ṣughrā* is supposed to be *ʿadhāb al-qabr,* "the torment of the grave," also termed the punishment of *al-barzakh* (purgatory; see BARZAKH), which includes the interrogation of the two angels, Munkar and Nakīr. Many utterances attributed to Muḥammad and cited in the canonical corpus ascribe to the Jews the first allusions to *ʿadhāb al-qabr* (Nawawī, *Sharḥ,* v, 85-6).

In Arabic, the root *d-y-n (dīn)* poses some difficulties since it has three different etymologies and, in consequence, different connotations: (1) religion; (2) custom, usage *(al-ʿāda wa-l-shaʾn);* (3) punishment, reward *(al-jazāʾ wa-l-mukāfaʾa;* cf. *Lisān al-ʿArab)*

or judgment (*Ibn ʿAbbās… al-dīn: yawm ḥisāb al-khalāʾiq wa-huwa yawm al-qiyāma;* cf. Rāzī, *Tafsīr,* i, 29). This last connotation forms the basis of interpretations like the one — attributed to Qatāda (d. ca. 117/735) — that explains *yawm al-dīn* in Q 1:4 as "the day on which God will judge humankind according to their acts" (*yawm yadīnu llāhu l-ʿibāda bi-aʿmālihim,* ʿAbd al-Razzāq, *Tafsīr,* i, 37). The dominant meaning of *dīn* in Arabic is, however, "religion, religious law, custom" (Gardet, Dīn; id., *L'Islam,* 29-32). It seems that the sense "judgment" and "custom" is borrowed from the Hebraeo-Aramaic usage, which has its roots in Akkadian (*dīnum,* "judgment," *dayyānum,* "judge"). On the basis of this root, the meaning of "sentence" is presumed. The title *dayyānum* was given in Akkadian to a judge, king or god. The *dināti,* "laws," served as direction or guidance for the judges to pass sentence on each case (*Encyclopaedia biblica,* s.v. mishpaṭ). In view of this etymology, it seems that M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes (*Mahomet,* 449-58, especially 454-5) was correct when he translated *yawm al-dīn* as "the day when God gives a direction to each human being." See also LAW AND THE QURʾĀN.

The place of the last judgment

The Qurʾān does not identify explicitly the place of the last judgment. The Companions of the Prophet (q.v.; *ṣaḥāba*), his Followers *(tābiʿūn)* and later exegetes tried to find hints which could help to identify the precise location. For example, Q 57:13 was explained as referring to Jerusalem (Wāsiṭī, *Faḍāʾil,* 14-6, no. 14-7) and Q 50:41 to the rock of Jerusalem (ibid., 88-9, no. 143-5). The need for a satisfactory answer caused the Muslims to search the traditions of Judaism and Christianity, since both allotted Jerusalem a dominant role in eschatology (q.v.) and considered it as the scene of the envisioned end of days (Prawer, Christian attitudes, 314-25). In this context, it is worth remembering that, at the beginning of the second/eighth century, Jerusalem was generally recognized in Muslim circles as the third holy place in Islam (Kister, You shall only set; Neuwirth, Sacred mosque). Later, there emerged traditions of Jewish or Christian origin where the connection was made between verses of the Qurʾān pertaining to the end of days and Jerusalem: "Nawf al-Bikālī [the nephew of Kaʿb al-Aḥbār] reported to the caliph ʿAbd al-Malik (r. 65-85/685-705) that in a verse of the Bible, God said to Jerusalem *(bayt al-maqdis):* 'There are within you six things: my residence, my judgment place, my gathering place, my paradise, my hell and my balance *(inna fī kitābi llāhi l-munazzal anna llāha yaqūlu: fīka sittu khiṣālin, fīka maqāmī wa-ḥisābī wa-maḥsharī wa-jannatī wa-nārī wa-mīzānī)*' " (Wāsiṭī, *Faḍāʾil,* 23).

The Umayyad regime openly encouraged this view because it gave them legitimization to move the Muslim center of worship from Medina (q.v.), the city of the Prophet, to Syria (q.v.), which includes Jerusalem: Muʿāwiya b. Abī Sufyān (d. 60/680), the first Umayyad caliph, propagated the use of the term "land of ingathering and resurrection on judgment day" *(arḍ al-maḥshar wa-l-manshar)* with regard to Jerusalem (Wāsiṭī, *Faḍāʾil,* introduction, 20). At that time, the Muslims did not see any harm in absorbing Jewish and Christian traditions (Kister, Ḥaddithū ʿan banī isrāʾīl), particularly if the traditions reinforced the words of the Qurʾān or explained unclear matters (see AMBIGUOUS; DIFFICULT PASSAGES). One of the oldest sources to preserve such material is the *Tafsīr* of Muqātil b. Sulaymān (d. 150/768; here it should be noted that ʿAbdallāh M. Shaḥāta, the editor of the *Tafsīr,* chose to transfer from the text to the footnotes these and other traditions extolling Jerusalem, since "most of them are *isrāʾīliyyāt*" [Muqātil, *Tafsīr,* ii, 513-5], in

spite of the fact that they were included in the body of the text of three out of the four manuscripts which he had consulted for his edition). Here are some examples of such traditions: "God will set his seat on the day of the resurrection upon the land of Jerusalem"; "Jesus is destined to descend from heaven in the land of Jerusalem"; "God will destroy Gog and Magog in Jerusalem"; "The gathering of the dead and their resurrection will be in the land of Jerusalem"; "The *sirāṭ* (the narrow bridge over Gehenna) goes forth from the land of Jerusalem to the garden of Eden and hell" (see the English translation of these traditions in the appendix of Hasson, The Muslim view of Jerusalem). But this tendency of the early Islamic tradition to absorb Jewish and Christian material brought forth a reaction. The most vigorous representative of this reaction is Ibn Taymiyya (d. 728/1328), who attacked all the traditions connecting the resurrection day with Jerusalem (see his *Qāʿida*).

The last judgment in some previous religions

The Qurʾān supposes that, in genuine Judaism and Christianity, the belief in *al-ākhira,* the resurrection and punishment or reward, formed a basic part of the message of Moses (Mūsā) and Jesus (ʿĪsā, Q 12:101; 19:33; 20:14-6; 40:42-3). The Muslims think that the Jews, after "having perverted words from their meanings" (Q 2:75; 4:46; 5:13, 41; see FORGERY), removed the concept of the resurrection from the Bible (ʿAwājī, *al-Ḥayāt al-ākhira,* i, 116-23). Muslim tradition connects the punishment after death in the grave *(ʿadhāb al-qabr)* to a Jewish source (Nawawī, *Sharḥ,* v, 85-6). It is therefore worth reviewing similar ideas in previous religions and in Islam.

Most of the signs of the hour *(ashrāṭ al-sāʿa)* appear in the Hebrew Bible and in rabbinic literature; these are known as *ḥevlei mashiyyaḥ,* "the tribulations preceding the coming of the Messiah" (Grossman, Jerusalem, 295-303). Some examples of the similarities between the qurʾānic and biblical descriptions of these events are: the vision of the dry bones in Ezekiel 37; Yaʾjūj and Maʾjūj (Q 21:96) — the biblical Gog and Magog — "will swiftly swarm from every mound"; "signs of the hour" abound in *Isa* 24; and *Isa* 27:1, but especially 27:13, "… the great trumpet shall be blown, and they shall come which were ready to perish in the land of Assyria, and the outcasts in the land of Egypt, and shall worship the lord in the holy mount of Jerusalem," bring to mind *al-ṣūr* or *al-nāqūr,* particularly in view of the Muslim explanation that *al-ṣūr* is a horn (Tirmidhī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* iv, 620; Abū Dāwūd, ii, 537), the traditional Jewish *shofar*. The traditions explaining that the gathering and the last judgment must be in Jerusalem have their origin, perhaps, in this verse and in the *midrashim,* the homiletic interpretations of the scriptures. The blowing of the trumpet, the day of the lord, "a day of darkness and of gloominess," the earth which shall quake, the heavens which shall tremble, and the sun and the moon which shall be dark are mentioned in Joel 2. The gathering of all the heathen will be in the valley of Jehoshaphat: "for there will I sit to judge all the heathen round about" (*Joel* 4:12; see also *Amos* 5:18-20; *Zeph* 1; *Isa* 66:16, 24). To explain the prevalence of such imagery, H. Gressmann (*Ursprung*) claimed one century ago that there circulated, among many ancient peoples in the epoch of the prophets of Israel, prophecies about disasters (earthquakes, fires and volcanoes…) which would destroy the world and about a paradise with rivers of milk, honey and fresh water.

In the Book of Daniel 12:2, which retained a Persian influence and was very popular in the first century of Islam since many Muslims wanted to know the exact date of the last judgment, there appears

the idea of the resurrection and of everlasting life for some and everlasting shame and contempt for others. S. Shaked and W. Sundermann (Eschatology) very clearly show Zoroastrian and Manichean influences on eschatological material within Second Temple Judaism, Christianity and, later, on Islam. M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes (*Mahomet,* 405) claimed that, in the period of the emigration (q.v.; *hijra*) to Medina, the qurʾānic verses stopped reporting about the punishment of sinners on earth and began to mention the last judgment. While a similar sequence has been suggested for the Hebrew Bible, there is no consensus on this matter among scholars of the Qurʾān.

In the New Testament, the Revelation of John contains many elements of the resurrection, but they do not resemble the qurʾānic scheme. Gibb (*Mohammedanism,* 26-7) is certain that the doctrine of the last judgment in the Qurʾān was derived from Christian sources, especially from the writings of the Syriac Christian Fathers and monks (see SYRIAC AND THE QURʾĀN; MONASTICISM AND MONKS). Tor Andrae, who devoted considerable attention to possible Christian antecedents (see esp. *Der Ursprung des Islams und das Cristentum*), finds expression of the idea that nobody can determine the date of the last hour in Mark 13:32. Only God knows about that day or hour. Finally, many last judgment scenes appear, with some modifications, in early Christian apocalypses (Maier, Staging the gaze). Although the "beast" in *Hermas vision* 4, which represents a coming persecution, or the "leviathan" in Isaiah 27:1, which represents evil powers, are reminiscent of the *dābba* in Q 27:82 which became one of the "signs of the hour" *(ashrāṭ al-sāʿa),* Annemarie Schimmel correctly asserts that "the Koranic descriptions of Judgment and Hell do not reach the fantastic descriptions of, for example, Christian apocalyptic writing."

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Laudation

The act or instance of praising or extolling, the object of such praise often being God. More precisely, laudation *(ḥamd)* in the qurʾānic context refers to the specific formulaic phrase "praise belongs to God" *(al-ḥamdu li-llāh),* which occurs twenty-four times in the Qurʾān. Perhaps the most significant instance of this formulaic phrase appears in the opening chapter of the Qurʾān (see FĀTIḤA), directly following the *basmala* (q.v.). Here (i.e. Q 1:2), in the very first line of the Qurʾān, the phrase is assertive (*inshāʾī,* see FORM AND STRUCTURE OF THE QURʾĀN; LANGUAGE AND STYLE OF THE QURʾĀN) in its use, as the one uttering it creates a verbal expression of the actual praise (q.v.) he directs toward God. Given its prominent position in the text, this instance of lauding God becomes an essential and vital act for those who believe, a trial (q.v.) and test for those who submit (see FAITH; BELIEF AND UNBELIEF). In addition to this formulaic phrase, there are

several rhetorical variations of *ḥamd* that also point to the act of commending one's lord (q.v.), which occur in twenty-one other qurʾānic verses.

According to al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923; *Tafsīr*, i, 136), the phrase "praise belongs to God" means that gratitude belongs entirely to God alone for all the generous gifts he has bestowed upon his servants (see GRATITUDE AND INGRATITUDE; GIFT-GIVING; SERVANT). Praise may not be directed to anything that might be worshipped besides him nor to anything he has created (see CREATION; WORSHIP). Not only the praising of the speaker, but all possible praising belongs to God alone. Only God has the power to give his creation the sustenance, nourishment and the means through which one can achieve eternal salvation (q.v.; see also ETERNITY; BLESSING; GRACE). No one has the right to claim or demand what God freely gives; for this reason alone all praise belongs to him. In the revelatory proclamation (see REVELATION AND INSPIRATION), all praiseworthiness proceeds from him and to him it must return.

The exegetical literature (see EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL) debates the rather intricate relationship between *ḥamd*, "praise," *shukr*, "gratitude," and other forms of exaltation (for *subḥāna llāhi*, see GLORIFICATION OF GOD). Some traditions suggest that by giving praise to God one is thanking him for all he has given; others say praise means expressing one's subservience *(al-istikhdhāʾ)* or one's commendation *(thanāʾ)* to him. Others assert a more qualitative difference between praising and thanking: when one praises God one praises him for his most beautiful names and attributes (see GOD AND HIS ATTRIBUTES), but when one thanks him, one is thanking him for his munificence and favors. However that debate is decided, God orders his servants to extol him in terms befitting him. Praise belongs to him for all things, both beneficial and painful (see also GOOD AND EVIL).

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Laughter

Sound and/or facial expressions generally indicative of merriment. Laughter does not figure prominently in the Qurʾān: verb forms and participles derived from *ḍ-ḥ-k* occur just ten times compared to a stunning 179 appearances of its synonymous Hebrew cognates *s-ʾ-ḥ-q/ṣ-ḥ-q* in the Hebrew Bible. *B-s-m* for smiling appears just once and never the onomatopoetic *q-h-q-h* for strong laughter (an Arabic root form which, incidentally, more or less reverses and doubles the western Semitic onomatopoetic **-ḥ-q* from which the various triliterals for laughter seem to be derived). Laughter in the Qurʾān usually expresses disbelief in God and his messages/messengers (Q 11:71; 43:47; 53:60; see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF; MESSENGER). This is also apparent when the unbelievers laugh at and mock the believers (Q 23:110; 83:29). Laughter is thus closely linked with the subject of mockery (q.v.). Only once does it express harmless amusement (Q 27:19) and twice joy (Q 9:82; 80:39; see JOY AND MISERY). But while the joyful laughter of hypocrites (see HYPOCRITES AND HYPOCRISY) who stay behind instead of fighting (q.v.) for God's cause (see JIHĀD; PATH OR WAY) signals a sinful disobedience (q.v.) that equals disbelief, the laughing faces of those who achieved paradise (q.v.) are the

reward of dutiful belief (see REWARD AND PUNISHMENT).

The references to laughter predominantly reflect the initial experience of Muḥammad as well as any other prophet (as attested by similar references to laughter and mockery in the Hebrew Bible; see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD): their message is derided. The qurʾānic message counters this derision with eschatological threats (see ESCHATOLOGY). The last judgment (q.v.) will bring a reversal of fate (q.v.) and those who laughed sinfully will cry (Q 9:82; see WEEPING) and be laughed at by the believers (Q 83:34; for a similar threat of reversal in the New Testament, see *Luke* 6:25; for a corresponding prediction regarding mockery in the Qurʾān, see Q 9:79).

To explicate these overriding assessments, several verses and exegetical statements merit more detailed comments. First of all, the Qurʾān never categorically condemns laughter as such. Pellat's (Seriousness, 354) interpretation of Q 9:82 is clearly mistaken: the laughing hypocrites will be punished with prolonged crying for staying behind, not simply for laughing. The only verse to suggest that crying might generally be more appropriate than laughing is Q 53:57-62: "The approaching (hour) is imminent. None but God can avert it. Do you wonder at this news and laugh and will you not weep? You are raising your heads proudly [or, amusing yourselves: *wa-antum sāmidūna*]. Prostrate yourselves before God and worship!" Here (Q 53:60), it may be argued, it is not just the surprised laughter of disbelief in the last judgment that is inappropriate, but laughter in general, as opposed to crying (Ammann, *Vorbild und Vernunft,* 78). This can be interpreted as recommending a serious and more specifically pious attitude towards life instead of godless frivolity (see PIETY). But it remains open to debate whether, first, the recommendation holds true beyond the very moment of speaking or the limited period during which the revelation expected the end of the world to happen at any moment (see APOCALYPSE; REVELATION AND INSPIRATION); and, second, whether weeping should be limited to times of prayer (in the moderate sense of "There is a time for weeping and a time for laughing," *Eccles* 3:4) or cultivated as much as possible. The latter, rather extreme literalist view — that weeping should be cultivated as much as possible — was taken by the ascetic "weepers" *(bakkāʾ),* those mystics who denounced laughter and shed many tears during their devotional exercises (Meier, Bakkāʾ; see ṢŪFISM AND THE QURʾĀN; PRAYER). The minimalist view — that at least prayer is certainly not a time for laughing — found acceptance in several law schools (ʿAbd al-Razzāq, *Muṣannaf,* i, nos. 3760-8 and 3770-8; Ibn Abī Shayba, *Muṣannaf,* i, 387 f.; see LAW AND THE QURʾĀN).

The eschatological contempt for this world betrayed by Q 53:60 and best attested by its dismissal as mere play and amusement in Q 6:32 flourished in pious circles and especially among early ascetics who provided numerous dicta against laughter (Ammann, *Vorbild und Vernunft,* 74 f.), some of which found their way into ḥadīth collections and qurʾānic exegesis (see ASCETICISM; ḤADĪTH AND THE QURʾĀN; EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL). Thus, the "small" and "big" (i.e. sin) of Q 18:49 could be interpreted as laughter, or as smiling and laughing, respectively (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* ad Q 18:49; see SIN, MAJOR AND MINOR). But if such arbitrary embellishments are discounted, the one instance of qurʾānic reserve against laughter that is open to exegetical generalization is a far cry from the Bible's unconditional loathing (*Eccles* 7:6; *James* 4:9; *Sir* 21:20; *Eccles* 2:2; *Eph* 5:4; and, most instructive by comparison, *Luke* 6:25).

Q 53:60 is remarkable for another aspect that often goes unnoticed: it reflects the popular conception already attested in pre-Islamic Arabian poetry (see POETRY AND POETS; PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QURʾĀN) that laughter is caused by surprise *(taʿajjub)*. Much later medical and philosophical theories of laughter based on this conception seem to be indebted to theological debates rather than Greek authors (Ammann, *Vorbild und Vernunft,* 14-9; see THEOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN; MEDICINE AND THE QURʾĀN; PHILOSOPHY AND THE QURʾĀN). The debates were triggered by two verses. In Q 11:71-4, God's messengers reassure a frightened Abraham (q.v.); his wife Sara laughs, is told that she will give birth to Isaac (q.v.; Isḥāq) and Jacob (q.v.; Yaʿqūb) and, being old, she wonders at this strange thing *(shayʾ ʿajīb)*. Her surprise, in turn, is called into question by the messengers: "Do you wonder *(taʿjabīna)* at God's command?" This is one of the rare examples where doubt (q.v.) in a prophetic message is noted, but not condemned as sinful. The chronology of the biblical version of the story (*Gen* 18:10-5), in which Sara laughs *after* she hears the lord's announcement, makes clear the reason for Sara's laughter: she is surprised at the idea of giving birth at her age. But Muslim commentators, beginning with Muḥammad's cousin Ibn ʿAbbās (d. 68/686-8), were faced with a text that has Sara laughing *before* she even knows what to laugh at. There were three solutions to this problem (Ammann, *Vorbild und Vernunft,*19 f.; Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr* and Ṭabarsī, *Majmaʿ,* ad Q 11:71): some exegetes restored the Bible's sequence and meaning, others identified an earlier reason for surprised or joyful laughter, while a third group claimed that *ḍaḥikat* here actually means *ḥāḍat* — she menstruated (see MENSTRUATION). The last opinion is not supported by sound philological evidence and seems particularly ill-advised since there is no reason for surprise if Sara had already menstruated before she is told she will give birth, but it has been duly cited by lexicographers ever since its initial proposal. The etymological message of the biblical story — Isaac (Isḥāq) takes his name from his parents' laughter — is clear in Hebrew, but not in Arabic, and thus escaped Muslim commentators. The loss of this detail need not be greatly regretted since the value of this folk etymology has been doubted anyway: the name Isḥāq is probably of theophoric origin and expressed the wish that God should either laugh, that is, welcome the new-born or grown-up bearer of the name, or make him laugh, that is, happy.

This leads to Q 53:36-44, which contains the only theological statement about laughter in the Qurʾān (Q 53:43-4). It portrays God as the creator or ultimate cause of laughter and weeping: "Was it not prophesied to him what is [said] in the scrolls (q.v.) of Moses (q.v.; Mūsā) and Abraham […] that God is the end [of all], and that it is he who causes to laugh and to weep *(aḍḥaka wa-abkā),* and that it is he who causes to die and to live *(amāta wa-aḥyā)?*" It is in the context of God's primordial and eschatological roles of creator and terminator that God is credited with causing woman and man to laugh and to weep (see CREATION; FREEDOM AND PREDESTINATION). The verses, in fact, summarize how human destiny (q.v.) must be interpreted from the point of view of salvation history (see HISTORY AND THE QURʾĀN; SALVATION). The joy and grief expressed by laughter and tears, corresponding, in the final analysis, to life (q.v.) and death (see DEATH AND THE DEAD), are both sent by God. The exact wording conspicuously reverses the internal sequence of the two pairs: laugh — weep, die — live (see PAIRS AND PAIRING). There is more to this than just the formal exigency of rhymed prose (q.v.; *sajʿ*). Ending on a note of hope (q.v.), the final *aḥyā* suggests that the creator both

causes people to live in this world and revives them in the hereafter, that is, finally raises them from the dead. This may mean that at least believers have more reason to laugh than to weep, and it certainly invalidates the maximalist reading of the end of Q 53:60-2 (mentioned above), which would like to rule out laughter completely. For Muslim commentators, the theological question posed by this verse was whether God literally creates human laughter and weeping or only the reasons for it, such as joy and grief. The latter explanation was promoted by Muʿtazilīs (q.v.) bent on defending free will against the determinist causative phrasing of the verse. But there was one concession: irresistible laughter is God-sent laughter; thus the involuntary act is interpreted as willed by God (Ammann, *Vorbild und Vernunft,* 21 f.; Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr;* Ṭabarsī, *Majmaʿ;* Rāzī, *Tafsīr* ad Q 53:43).

In the Qurʾān (as opposed to the biblical portrayal), God is never portrayed as laughing, but in several ḥadīths he is (see Gimaret, *Dieu à l'image de l'homme,* 265-79). This portrayal also sparked theological objections, this time against the implied anthropomorphism (q.v.). One of the more fascinating arguments jointly refutes God's laughter and surprise by pointing out that only someone who originally did not know could wonder and laugh at something — whereas God is all-knowing (see GOD AND HIS ATTRIBUTES). Surprise and laughter here and elsewhere are both seen as prerogatives of humans and linked with their rational faculties (Ammann, *Vorbild und Vernunft,* 42 f. and 26 f.; Lecomte, *Traité des divergences,* 235 f.; Zamakhsharī, *Kashshāf,* ad Q 37:12; see INTELLECT).

The perplexing *fa-tabassama ḍāḥikan min qawlihā* of Q 27:19 is probably best understood as "he [Solomon] smiled amused at her [the ant's] word" (Ammann, *Vorbild und Vernunft,* 9 f.; see SOLOMON; ANIMAL LIFE). But it may also reflect a long-standing rule of Near Eastern etiquette attested by Christian, Persian and also pre-Islamic Arabic sources (see e.g. the verse by Aws b. Ḥajar about women who "laugh but smilingly," *mā yaḍḥakna illā tabassuman*). This rule of cultured laughter subdued to a mere smile was later attributed to the Prophet (Ammann, *Vorbild und Vernunft,* 88-109 and 47-61). There is no reason to believe that the ḥadīth in question was not fabricated. But it constitutes a respectable compromise between the Prophet's well-attested loud laughter in some instances and his ominous warning that "If you knew what I know, you would laugh little and weep much!" (Ammann, *Vorbild und Vernunft,* 48 and 65-68).

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Law and the Qurʾān

The Qurʾān has a curious function in Islamic law. It is doubtless considered the first and foremost of the four major sources of the law (i.e. the *sharīʿa*). Yet in substantive legal terms and in comparison with the full corpus of the *sharīʿa,* the Qurʾān provides a relatively minor body of

legal subject matter, although a few of the most central rulings that govern the life of Muslim society and the individual (see COMMUNITY AND SOCIETY IN THE QUR'ĀN; ETHICS AND THE QUR'ĀN) are explicitly stated in it, or derived from one or another of its verses. The centrality of the Qur'ān in the *sharī'a* stems more from theological and intellectual considerations of the law and less from its ability to provide substantive legal subject matter (see THEOLOGY AND THE QUR'ĀN).

The early legal history of the text

While it is true that the Qur'ān is primarily a book of religious and moral prescriptions, there is no doubt that it encompasses pieces of legislation strictly defined. In propounding his message, the Prophet wished to break away from pre-Islamic Arabian values and institutions, but only insofar as he needed to establish, once and for all, the foundations of the new religion (see ISLAM; PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QUR'ĀN). Pragmatically, he could not have done away with all the social practices and institutions that had prevailed prior and up to his time. Among the multitude of exhortations (q.v.) and prescriptions found in the Qur'ān, there are a good number of legal and quasi-legal stipulations. Thus legislation was introduced in select matters of ritual (see RITUAL AND THE QUR'ĀN), almstax (see ALMSGIVING; TAXATION), property (q.v.) and treatment of orphans (q.v.), inheritance (q.v.), usury (q.v.), consumption of alcohol (see INTOXICATION; WINE), marriage, separation, divorce (see MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE), sexual intercourse (see SEX AND SEXUALITY), adultery (see ADULTERY AND FORNICATION), theft (q.v.) and homicide (see MURDER; BLOODSHED).

Medieval Muslim jurists and modern scholars seem to agree that the Qur'ān contains some five hundred verses with explicitly legal content. In comparison with the body of qur'ānic material as a whole, the legal verses appear rather exiguous, conveying the impression that the Qur'ān's preoccupation with legal matters is nothing more than incidental. At the same time, it has frequently been noted by Islamicists that the Qur'ān often repeats itself both literally and thematically. If we accept this to be the case, it would mean that the relative size of the legal subject matter, where repetition rarely occurs, is larger than previously thought. And if we consider the fact that the average length of the legal verse is twice or even thrice that of the average non-legal verse, it is not difficult to argue that the Qur'ān contains no less legal material than does the Torah, which is commonly known as "The Law" (Goitein, The birth-hour, 24). Therefore, while qur'ānic law constitutes a relatively minor part of the *sharī'a,* the Qur'ān, in and by itself, is no less legalistic than the Torah.

The law of the Torah, Gospel and Qur'ān

This affirmation of significant legal content in the Qur'ān is crucial since it goes against conventional wisdom, which asserts that the Qur'ān acquired legal importance for early Muslims only toward the end of the first century A.H. (ca. 720 C.E.). Even in Mecca (q.v.), the Prophet already thought of the community he aimed to create in terms of a political and social unit (see POLITICS AND THE QUR'ĀN; SOCIAL RELATIONS). This explains his success in organizing the Arab and Jewish tribes (see TRIBES AND CLANS; JEWS AND JUDAISM; ARABS) in a body politic immediately after arriving in Medina (q.v.). The constitution that he drafted in this city betrays a mind very familiar with formulaic legal documents, a fact that is hardly surprising in light of the legal thrust of the Qur'ān and the role he had played as an arbitration judge (*ḥakam,* see JUSTICE AND INJUSTICE; MUḤAMMAD). In Medina, he continued to

play this role for some time, relying in his decisions, so it seems, on customary law and tribal practices hitherto prevailing. But from the Qur'ān we learn that at a certain point of time after his arrival in Medina the Prophet came to think of his message as one that carried with it the law of God, just as did the Torah (q.v.) and the Gospel (q.v.). Sūra 5, revealed at Medina, marshals a list of commands, admonitions and explicit prohibitions concerning a great variety of issues, from eating swine meat to theft (see FOOD AND DRINK; LAWFUL AND UNLAWFUL; PROHIBITED DEGREES; BOUNDARIES AND PRECEPTS). References to the Jews and Christians (see CHRISTIANS AND CHRISTIANITY), and their respective scriptures recur throughout. In Q 5:43 God asks, with a sense of astonishment, why the Jews resort to Muḥammad in his capacity as a judge "when they have the Torah which contains the judgment (q.v.) of God." The Qur'ān continues: "We have revealed the Torah in which there is guidance and light (q.v.), by which the prophets who surrendered [to God] judged the Jews, and the rabbis and priests judged by such of God's scriptures (see BOOK) as they were bidden to observe" (Q 5:44). In Q 5:46, the Qur'ān addresses the Christians, saying in effect that God sent Jesus (q.v.) to confirm the prophethood (see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD) of Moses (q.v.), and the Gospel to reassert the "guidance and advice" revealed in the Torah. "So let the people of the Gospel judge by that which God had revealed therein, for whosoever judged not by that which God revealed: such are sinners" (Q 5:47).

This is sufficient to show that the Prophet not only considered the Jews and Christians as possessing their own divine law but also as bound by the application of this law. If the Jews and Christians each have their own law, then what about Muslims? The Qur'ān here does not shirk from giving an explicit answer: "We have revealed unto you the book (viz. the Qur'ān) with the truth, confirming whatever scripture was before it… so judge between them by that which God had revealed, and do not follow their desires away from the truth… *for we have made for each of you* (i.e. Muslims, Christians and Jews) *a law and a normative way to follow.* If God had willed, he would have made all of you one community" (Q 5:48). But God did not wish to do so, and he thus created three communities with three sets of laws, so that each community could follow *its own* law. And like the Christians and Jews, the Prophet is again commanded (repeatedly throughout the Qur'ān) to judge by what God revealed to him, for "who is better than God in judgment?" (Q 5:49-50).

Sūra 5, or at least verses 42-50 therein, seems to have been precipitated by an incident in which certain Jewish tribes resorted to the Prophet to adjudicate among them. It is unlikely that such an event would have taken place any later than 5 A.H., since the repeated references to rabbis implies a context of time when there remained a substantial Jewish presence in Medina, which could not have been the case after this date. Be that as it may, the incident seems to have marked a turning point in the career of the Prophet, and from that point on he began to think of his religion as one that should afford the Muslim community a set of laws separate from those of other religions. This may also account for the fact that it is in Medina that the overwhelming bulk of qur'ānic legislation occurred (see CHRONOLOGY AND THE QUR'ĀN; OCCASIONS OF REVELATION).

Muḥammad and the caliphs and the law

Although the Qur'ān did not provide Muslims with an all-encompassing system of law, the evidence suggests that the Prophet

was strongly inclined to move in that direction. This inclination finds eloquent testimony in the stand of the Qur'ān on the matter of the consumption of date- and grape-wine. In the Meccan phase, wines were obviously permitted: "From date-palm and grapes you derive alcoholic drinks, and from them you make good livelihood *(rizqan ḥasanan)*. Lo! therein is indeed a portent for people who have sense" (Q 16:67). In Medina, the position of the Qur'ān changes, expressing a growing distrust toward alcoholic beverages. "They ask you (viz. Muḥammad) about wine *(khamr)* and gambling (q.v.; *maysir*). Say: 'In both there is sin (see SIN, MAJOR AND MINOR), and utility for people'" (Q 2:219). The sense of aversion increases further: "O you who believe (see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF), do not come to pray when you are drunken, till you know what you utter" (Q 4:43). Here, one observes a provisional prohibition against the consumption of alcohol only at times when Muslims intended to pray (see PRAYER). Finally, a categorical command is revealed in Q 5:90-1, whereby Muslims are to avoid alcohol, games of chance (see DIVINATION; FORETELLING) and idols altogether (see IDOLS AND IMAGES; IDOLATRY AND IDOLATERS). It is interesting that the final, decisive stand on alcohol occurs in sūra 5 which, as we have seen, marks a turning point in the legislative outlook of the Prophet.

This turning point, however, should not be seen as constituting an entirely clean break from the previous practices of the Prophet, for he already played the role of a judge, both as a traditional arbitrator as well as a prophet. The turning point only marked the beginning of a new process whereby all events affecting the nascent Muslim community had therefore to be adjudicated according to God's law, whose agent was none other than the Prophet. This is clearly attested to not only in the Qur'ān but also in the so-called Constitution of Medina, a document whose authenticity can hardly be contested.

That all matters should have been subject to the divine and prophetic decree must not be taken to mean that all the old problems encountered by the Prophet were given new solutions. Although a historical record of this early period is lacking in credibility (see HISTORY AND THE QUR'ĀN; ḤADĪTH AND THE QUR'ĀN), we may assert that, with the exception of what may be called the qur'ānic legal reform, the Prophet generally followed existing pre-Islamic Arab practices. Indeed, one might argue that while these practices constituted the bulk of prevalent norms, the qur'ānic legislation constituted nothing more than a supplement. It was not until later that pre-Islamic Arab practices were Islamicized by their inclusion under the rubric of prophetic sunna (q.v.).

Before the prophetic sunna came to play an important role in the law, and even while the conquests were underway and Medina was still the capital, there were mainly two sets of laws on the basis of which the leaders of the nascent Muslim community modeled their conduct, namely, pre-Islamic Arab customary law and the Qur'ān. The former was by and large the only "system" of law known to the conquerors, while the latter contained and symbolized the mission in whose name these conquerors were fighting (q.v.; see also EXPEDITIONS AND BATTLES). The importance of the Qur'ān and its injunctions for the early Muslims can hardly be overstated. Early Monophysite sources inform us that when Abū Bakr, the first caliph (q.v.; d. 13/634), deployed his armies to conquer Syria (q.v.), he addressed his generals with the following words: "When you enter the land, kill neither old man nor child.… Establish a covenant with every city and people who receives you, give

them your assurances and let them live according to their laws.… Those who do not receive you, you are to fight, conducting yourselves carefully in accordance with the ordinances and upright laws transmitted to you from God, at the hands of our Prophet" (Brock, Syriac views, 12, 200; see WAR). It is interesting to observe that in this passage the reference to the Qur'ān is unambiguous, although one is not entirely sure whether or not the "upright laws" might refer in part to legal ordinances other than those laid down in the Qur'ān. But even more interesting is the contrast drawn between the laws of the conquered nations and the law transmitted from God through the Prophet. Abū Bakr's orders to allow the mainly Christian inhabitants of Syria to regulate their affairs by their own laws is rather reminiscent of the Qur'ān's discourse in sūra 5, where each religion was to apply to itself its own set of laws. Here, Abū Bakr was implicitly and, later in the passage, explicitly adhering to the Qur'ān's letter and spirit, and in a sense to the personal stand adopted by the Prophet on this issue which is inextricably connected with the very act of revelation (see REVELATION AND INSPIRATION).

The early caliphs, including the Umayyads, considered themselves the deputies of God on earth, and thus seem to have felt free to dispense justice in accordance with the Qur'ān. Abū Bakr, in consonance with the wishes expressed in his speech to the army of Syria, seems to have adhered, as a rule, to the prescriptions of the Qur'ān. Among other things, he enforced the prohibition on alcohol and fixed the penalty for its violation at forty lashes (see CHASTISEMENT AND PUNISHMENT). While enforcing the law in this case indicates the centrality of the qur'ānic injunctions, it also demonstrates that beyond the very fact of the qur'ānic prohibition (see FORBIDDEN) there was little juristic experience or guidance to go by. For this punishment, deemed to have been fixed arbitrarily, was soon altered by ʿUmar and ʿAlī (see ʿALĪ B. ABĪ ṬĀLIB) to eighty lashes, the reasoning being, so it seems, that intoxication was deemed analogous to the offense of falsely accusing a person of committing adultery *(qadhf)*, for which the Qur'ān fixed the penalty of eighty lashes. ʿUmar was not only the first to impose the new penalty for inebriation but he is also reported to have forcefully insisted on strict adherence to the Qur'ān in matters of ritual, which became an integral part of the law.

The increasing importance of the Qur'ān as a religious and legal text manifested itself in the need to collect the scattered material of the book and thence to establish a vulgate (see COLLECTION OF THE QUR'ĀN; CODICES OF THE QUR'ĀN). ʿUthmān (q.v.), who followed in the steps of his two predecessors in enforcing the rulings of the Qur'ān, took it upon himself to discharge this task. The collection of the Qur'ān must have had a primary legal significance, for it defined the subject matter of the text and thus gave the legally-minded a *textus receptus* on which to draw. The monumental event of establishing a vulgate signified the beginning of what may be described as the textual attention accorded the Qur'ān (see TRADITIONAL DISCIPLINES OF QUR'ĀNIC STUDY; FORM AND STRUCTURE OF THE QUR'ĀN; LANGUAGE AND STYLE OF THE QUR'ĀN; GRAMMAR AND THE QUR'ĀN). This attention reached its zenith only centuries later, but the decades that followed the event determined the direction of what was to come.

During the ensuing decades, Muslim men of learning turned their attention to the explicit legal contents of the Qur'ān. The paucity of credible sources from this period does not allow us to form a comprehensive picture of the developments in qur'ānic studies. The scope of activities

that took place in connection with the development of the theory of abrogation (q.v.), however, may give us some clues as to the extent to which the Qur'ān played a role in elaborating Islamic jurisprudence.

Origins of the theory of abrogation

The rudimentary beginnings of the theory of abrogation seem to have arisen in response to the need for reconciling what appeared to the early Muslims to be seeming contradictions within the body of legal verses in the Qur'ān. The most immediate concern for these Muslims was neither theology nor dogma (see FAITH; CREEDS), for these were matters that acquired significance only later. Rather, their primary interest lay in how they might realize or manifest obedience (q.v.) to their God, a duty that was explicitly stressed in the Qur'ān. In other words, Islam meant, even as early as the middle of the first century, adherence to the will of God as articulated in his book. Thus it was felt necessary to determine what the stand of the Qur'ān was with regard to particular issues. Where there was more than one qur'ānic decree pertinent to a single matter, such a determination was no easy task. And to solve such difficulties, it was essential to determine which verses might be deemed to repeal others in the text of the Qur'ān.

The Companions of the Prophet (q.v.) are reported to have provided the impetus to such discussions. But the Muslim sources make relatively few references to the activities of the Companions in this field. It was the generation of the Successors that became most closely associated with discussions on abrogation, and with controversies about the status of particular verses (see EXEGESIS OF THE QUR'ĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL). The names of Ibrāhīm al-Nakha'ī (d. 95/713), Muslim b. Yasār (d. 101/719), Mujāhid b. Jabr (d. 104/722), and al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (d. 110/728) were among the most prominent in such discussions. Qatāda b. Di'āma al-Sadūsī (d. 117/735) and the renowned Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī (d. 124/742) also left writings that attest to the birth of the theory of abrogation, which by their time had already been articulated in writing. Though their original works were likely subjected to revision by later writers, the core of their thought has proven difficult to dismiss as inauthentic. Even if this core is reduced to a minimum, it nonetheless manifests an awareness on the part of these scholars of the legal thrust of the qur'ānic text. For it is clear that the treatises were exclusively concerned with the ramifications of those verses that had direct bearing on legal issues.

The theory of abrogation appears to have developed in a context in which some qur'ānic prescriptions contradicted the actual reality and practices of the community, thus giving rise to the need for interpreting away, or canceling out, the effect of those verses seen to be discordant with other verses more in line with certain practices. Whatever the case may have been, the very nature of this theory points up the fact that whatever contradiction or problem needed to be settled, it had to be settled within the purview of qur'ānic authority. This accords with the assertion that the Umayyad caliphs not only saw themselves as the deputies of God on earth, and thus the instruments for carrying out God's justice as embodied in the Qur'ān, but also as the propounders of the law in its (then) widest sense. In addition to fiscal laws and rules of war, they regularly concerned themselves with establishing and enforcing rules regarding marriage, divorce, succession, manumission (see SLAVES AND SLAVERY), pre-emption, blood money (q.v.), ritual and other matters. The promulgation of these rules could only have been carried out in the name of the lord on

whose behalf these caliphs claimed to serve as deputies.

The Qur'ān in legal theory

With the evolution of the doctrine of abrogation and other aspects of qur'ānic legal studies, legal theory *(uṣūl al-fiqh)* began to emerge during the second/eighth and third/ninth centuries. In this theory, the Qur'ān occupied a central role as the first source of the law, and this because, logically and ontologically, everything else either depends on or derives from it. Just as consensus and the inferential method of juridical *qiyās* were justified by means of prophetic sunna, this sunna, together with its derivatives, were justified by the Qur'ān. The explicit commands to obey the Prophet and to emulate his behavior ensured that the apostolic example (see MESSENGER) became a source of law which supplements, in substantive terms, the qur'ānic legal content, and guarantees, in theoretical terms, the authoritativeness *(ḥujjiyya)* of other legal sources subsidiary to it. The chain of authority thus begins with God's book in which his attribute of speech (q.v.; see also GOD AND HIS ATTRIBUTES; WORD OF GOD) not only manifests itself but is also made identical with the law.

Qur'ānic authority

The Qur'ān also guarantees the authoritativeness of the legal sources in epistemological terms. Metaphysically, God's existence is assumed to be apodictically demonstrated, which entails the certainty that the Qur'ān is an embodiment of God's speech. That the Qur'ān is known with certainty to embody one of the most essential of God's attributes does not necessarily entail the conclusion that its subject matter, as known to the post-apostolic community, is certain. It is after all acknowledged as conceivable that its contents, or portions thereof, may have been forgotten or distorted, just as the Christians and Jews are said to have corrupted their own scriptures (see CORRUPTION; FORGERY). As a safeguard against such distortions and omissions, or perhaps in defense of qur'ānic authenticity, among other things, legal theory developed the doctrine of multiple, recurrent transmission, known as *tawātur*. According to this doctrine, three conditions must be met for the *tawātur* transmission to take place. First, the channels of transmission must be sufficiently numerous as to preclude any possibility of error (q.v.) or collaboration on a forgery. Second, the very first class of transmitters had to have received sensory knowledge (see SEEING AND HEARING) of what the Prophet declared to be revelation. Third, these two conditions must be met at each stage of transmission beginning with the first class and ending with the present community.

The recurrent mode of transmission yields necessary, certain knowledge, so that the mind, upon receiving reported information of this type, need not even exercise its faculty of reasoning and reflection. Upon hearing recurrent transmissions of the verses, the mind has no choice but to admit the contents of the verses *a priori* as true and genuine. Unlike acquired knowledge, which occurs to the mind only after it conducts inferential operations, necessary knowledge is lodged in the mind spontaneously (see KNOWLEDGE AND LEARNING). Thus, upon hearing a verse, or for that matter any report, from a single transmitter, one is presumed to have gained probable knowledge of its contents and its authenticity. In order to reach a level of necessary knowledge, the verse must be transmitted a sufficient number of times and each time by a different transmitter. Thus, the Qur'ān's expansive assimilation in the Muslim community, in both

synchronic and diachronic terms, guarantees the certainty of its contents in the sense that its language is passed down through generations of Muslims in complete and accurate fashion (see TRUTH).

But does this guarantee certitude in construing the signification of its language? Qur'ānic legal language, the jurists admitted, suffers in many instances from ambiguity — a situation that gave rise to the taxonomy known as *muḥkam/mutashābih* (clear/ambiguous). According to this taxonomy, the Qur'ān contains univocal and equivocal language, the former having the epistemological status of certainty because it is capable of but one interpretation yielding a single, unquestionable meaning. The latter, however, is merely probable since it lends itself to be construed in more than one way. Thus, in theory, the qur'ānic language distinguishes itself from prophetic ḥadīth in that while it includes both *muḥkam* and *mutashābih* — a problem which also pervades the ḥadīth — its transmission is deemed to be ever certain, whereas the ḥadīth's transmission is considered to be often, if not dominantly, suspect (see ḤADĪTH AND THE QUR'ĀN).

Fashioned thus, the theoretical discourse was agenda-laden. In order to exclude probability from the mode of qur'ānic transmission, the text was to be defined by the very terms of the transmission that guaranteed its certainty. In other words, instead of including in the qur'ānic text material that could be defined as probable, the *textus receptus* was limited to that body of material that was considered to have undergone *tawātur* transmission. The admittedly insignificant material that boasted only probabilistic status, such as Ibn Mas'ūd's (d. 32/652-3) recension, was *a priori* excluded from the *textus receptus*. Dubious recensions were to be treated as equivalent to prophetic ḥadīths, the justification being that such Companions as Ibn Mas'ūd may have thought that the material they had heard from the Prophet was qur'ānic when in fact it was from the sunna.

Be that as it may, the qur'ānic text presented the jurist with no problem insofar as transmission and authenticity were concerned. Rather, the difficulty was with hermeneutics; i.e. how to interpret the qur'ānic language in the ultimate task of constructing legal norms. The aim of linguistic interpretation is to determine whether, for instance, a word is ambiguous, univocal, general, particular, constituting a trope, a command, etc. Each word is analyzed in light of one or more of these categories, one of the first being the category of tropes. The great majority of legal theorists maintain that most words in the Arabic language are used in their real sense and that metaphorical language is limited. Some jurists, however, such as Abū Isḥāq al-Isfarā'īnī (d. 418/1027), are reported to have taken the position that tropes do not occur in the Arabic language, the implication being that the Qur'ān is free of metaphors (see METAPHOR). A few others admit the existence of metaphors in the language but reject the claim that the Qur'ān contains any such words. The majority, however, hold the position that the Qur'ān does contain metaphors, and in support of this they adduce, among others, Q 19:4: "And the head has flared up with grey hair." It is obvious that the head itself does not "flare up" and that the metaphor issues from the substitution of fire (q.v.) for hair.

Words used in their real meanings are said to be either clear *(mubayyan, mufassar)* or ambiguous *(mujmal)*. The latter category encompasses all expressions the denotations of which are so general and imprecise that the hearer would be expected to understand neither the intention of the speaker nor the point being made. The ambiguity stems from the fact that the ref-

erent in the case of such words includes several attributes or different genera. In Q 17:33: "And he who is killed wrongfully, we have given power *(sulṭān)* to his heir," the term "power" (see POWER AND IMPOTENCE) is utterly ambiguous, since it could refer to a variety of genera, such as retaliation (q.v.), right to blood money, or even the right to pardon the murderer. This ambiguity explains why *mujmal* words tend to prevent texts containing them from having binding legal effect, for the ruling or the subject of that ruling derived from them would not be sufficiently clear as to enable Muslim jurists to understand what exactly is being commanded. It is only when such words are brought out of the realm of ambiguity into that of clarity by means of other clear "speech" that the legal effects of *mujmal* texts become binding.

Ambiguity is the result not only of the use of vague language, as evidenced in the aforementioned verse, but also of homonymous nouns that designate more than one object. An example illustrating the difficulty is the Arabic word *ʿayn,* which equally refers to an eye (see EYES), to the spring (see SPRINGS AND FOUNTAINS) from which water issues, and to a distinguished person of noble lineage. Furthermore, ambiguity may accrue to an otherwise clear expression by virtue of the fact that it is associated with an ambiguous statement. For instance, Q 5:1: "The beast of cattle is made lawful unto you (for food)" is, as it stands, fairly clear. Immediately thereafter, however, the verse continues with the statement: "except for that which is unannounced for you," thus rendering the earlier statement ambiguous, since what is unannounced cannot be known without further documentation.

Univocal language in the texts of revelation is known as *naṣṣ,* since its meaning is so clear as to engender certitude in the mind. When we hear the word "four" we automatically know that it is neither three nor five, nor any other number. To know what "four" means we have no need for other language to explain the denotation of the word. It is self-sufficiently clear. Against those few who maintained that the *naṣṣ* rarely occurs in connection with legal matters, the majority of jurists argue that univocal language is quite abundant in the texts.

Equivocal words

Words whose signification is not readily obvious are of two types, the first of which includes those whose meaning is so general *(ʿāmm)* that they need to be particularized if they are to yield any legal effects. The second type includes words with two or more possible meanings, one of which — the *ẓāhir* — is deemed, by virtue of supporting evidence, superior to the others. Words that equally include two or more individuals of the genus to which they refer are deemed general *(ʿāmm)*. Thus all plurals accompanied by a definite article are general terms, e.g. *al-muslimūn,* "the Muslims." Some jurists considered words of this kind to belong to the category of the general even when not accompanied by a definite article. In addition to its function of defining words, this article serves, in the Arabic language, to render words applicable to all members of a class. Accordingly, when the article is attached to singular nouns, these nouns will refer to the generality of individuals within a certain class. *Al-insān* or *al-muslim* thus refers not to a particular individual but, respectively, to human beings or to Muslims generally. Yet another group of words considered to be general is that of the interrogative particles, classified in Arabic as nouns.

A general word in the Qur'ān may be particularized only by means of relevant words or statements provided by the

revealed texts. By relevant is meant words or statements that apply to the same genus denoted by the general word. Particularization *(takhṣīṣ)* thus means exclusion from the general of a part that was subsumed under that general. For example, while in Q 2:238, which reads "Perform prayers, as well as the midmost prayer (see NOON)," the midmost prayer is specified, it cannot be said to have been particularized. Particularization would have applied if the verse had been revealed as saying "Perform prayers except for the midmost one."

A classic example of particularization occurs in Q 5:3, "Forbidden unto you (for food) is carrion," which was particularized by a prophetic report allowing the consumption, among others, of dead fish (see HUNTING AND FISHING). This example also makes clear that such reports, including solitary ones, can, at least according to some jurists, particularize the Qur'ān. Similarly, the Qur'ān can, as one can expect, particularize the sunna. Indeed, the vast majority of jurists held that statements in one of the two sources could particularize statements in the other.

There are at least two other types of particularization that apply to two different texts. The first type of particularization takes place when a proviso or a condition *(sharṭ)* is attached to, or brought to bear upon, a general statement. Q 3:97, for example, reads: "And pilgrimage (q.v.) to the house (see KA'BA; HOUSE, DOMESTIC AND DIVINE) is a duty unto God for mankind, for him who can find a way thither." It is plain here that the obligation to go on pilgrimage is waived in the case of those who have no means to perform it. The second type, on the other hand, is particularization by means of introducing into the general statement, not a condition, but a quality *(ṣifa)*. This is known as the qualification *(taqyīd)* of an unrestricted *(muṭlaq)* word or statement. For instance, in cases where a man swears not to resume a normal marital relationship with his wife *(zihār),* but later does, the penalty fixed in the Qur'ān is "freeing a slave" (Q 58:3). But the penalty for accidental homicide is "freeing a believing slave" (Q 4:92). The attribute "believing" has qualified, or particularized, the word "slave."

When a qualifying attribute is to be found nowhere in the texts, the unrestricted expression must be taken to refer to the general category subsumed under that expression. And when a qualified word appears without an object to qualify, the word must be taken to apply only to that case which is subject to the qualification. Some difficulties arise, however, concerning the extent to which the principle of qualification should be applied when an unrestricted word meets with a qualifying attribute. In Q 58:4, it is stipulated that the penalty for *zihār* is either "fasting (q.v.) for two successive months (q.v.)" or "feeding sixty needy persons." Unlike the general command to feed sixty persons, fasting here is qualified by the requirement that it be successive. Since these are two different types of penance (see REPENTANCE AND PENANCE), one relating to feeding, the other to fasting, the qualification applicable to the latter must not be extended to the former. But when the two penances (or rulings) are of the same nature, the attribute must be taken to qualify the unrestricted word or sentence. For instance, Q 2:282: "have witnesses (attest to the sale) when you sell one to another" is qualified by an earlier passage in the same verse stipulating "call to witness, from among you, two witnesses, and if two men are not available, then a man and two women" (see WITNESSING AND TESTIFYING; GENDER).

In this case, both the qualified and the unrestricted rulings are one and the same, and they pertain to a single case, namely, concluding a contract of sale (see SELLING

AND BUYING). But what would the interpretative attitude be in a situation where the qualified and unrestricted rulings are identical but the cases which give rise to them are different? Such is the case with *ẓihār* and accidental homicide. The penalty for the former is "freeing a slave" whereas for the latter it is "freeing a believing slave" (Q 58:3, 4:92). In such an event, the latter must be considered to qualify the former, a consideration said to be grounded in reasoning, not in the actual language of the texts. That is to say, in the contract of sale God made it clear in the language *(lafẓ)* of the Qur'ān that a witness of a certain sort is meant, but in *ẓihār* and accidental homicide there is no provision of specific language to this effect; the jurist merely reasons, on the basis of the text, that this was God's intention.

We have said that equivocal words are classifiable into two broad categories, one encompassing general terms *('āmm),* together with those that may be called unrestricted *(mufaṣṣal),* and the other including words that are capable of more than one interpretation. Through a process of interpretation, technically known as *ta'wīl,* one of the meanings, the *ẓāhir,* is deemed by the interpreter to be the most likely among the candidates, because it presents evidence that is absent in the case of the other possible meanings. An example of this sort of evidence would be language that takes the imperative *(amr)* or prohibitive *(nahy)* form, to mention the two most significant linguistic types in legal hermeneutics.

The jurists are unanimous in their view that revelation is intended to lay down a system of obligation and that the imperative and the prohibitive forms (whose prototypes, respectively, are "Do" and "Do not do") constitute the backbone of that system's deontology. Without coming to grips with the hermeneutical ramifications of these two forms, obedience to God can never be achieved. For it is chiefly through these that God chose to express the greatest part of his revelation.

Commands and prohibitions

Perhaps the most important question with regard to the imperative form was its legal effect. When someone commands another by saying "Do this," should this be construed as falling only within the legal value of the obligatory *(wājib)* or also within that of the recommended *(mandūb)* or the indifferent *(mubāḥ)?* The Qur'ān states "Hold the prayer" (Q 2:43), a phrase that was unanimously understood to convey an obligation. At the same time, the Qur'ān stipulates "Write (your slaves a contract of emancipation) if you are aware of any good in them" (Q 24:33), language which was construed as a recommendation. Furthermore, in Q 5:2, the statement "When you have left the sacred precinct, then go hunting" was taken to indicate that hunting outside the Ka'ba is an act to which the law is indifferent.

Adducing such texts as proof, a minority among the jurists held that the imperative form in qur'ānic language is a homonym, equally capable of indicating obligation, recommendation and indifference. Others maintained that it signifies only recommendation. The majority of jurists, however, rejected these positions and held the imperative to be an instrument for decreeing only obligatory acts. Whenever the imperative is construed as inducing a legal value other than obligation, this construal would have to be based on evidence extraneous to the imperative form in question. Conversely, whenever the imperative form stands apart from any contextual evidence *(qarīna),* it must be presumed to convey an obligation.

Once adopted by the majority, the position that the imperative form, in the

absence of contextual evidence, indicates obligation was given added support by arguments developed by a number of leading jurists. The chief argument (drawn, as would be expected, from both the Qur'ān and the sunna) is that when God commanded Muslims to perform certain acts, he meant them as obligations that can only be violated on pain of punishment: "When it is said unto them: Bow down, they bow not down! Woe unto the repudiators on that day" (Q 77:48-9).

A corollary of the determination of linguistic signification is that the jurist needs to reconcile conflicting texts relevant to a particular case whose solution is pending. He must first attempt to harmonize them so that each may be brought to bear upon a solution to the case. But should the texts prove to be so contradictory as to be incapable of harmonization, the jurist must resort to the theory of abrogation *(naskh)* with a view to determining which of the two texts repeals the other. Thus, abrogation involves the replacement of one text, which would have otherwise had a legal effect, by another one embodying a legal value contradictory to the first.

Elaboration of the theory of abrogation

The juridical justification for the theory of abrogation derives from the common idea, sanctioned by consensus, that the religion of Islam abrogated many, and sometimes all, of the laws upheld by the earlier religions (see SCRIPTURE AND THE QUR'ĀN; RELIGIOUS PLURALISM AND THE QUR'ĀN). It is a fundamental creed, furthermore, that Islam not only deems these religions legitimate but also considers itself to be the bearer of their legacy. That the Prophet repealed his predecessors' laws therefore goes to prove that abrogation is a valid hermeneutical instrument, one which is specifically approved in Q 2:106: "Such of our revelation as we abrogate or cause to be forgotten, we bring (in place) one better or the like thereof," and Q 16:101: "When we put a revelation in place of another, and God knows best what he reveals, they say: 'Lo, you are but inventing. Most of them know not.' " These verses were taken to show that abrogation is applicable to revelation within Islam.

It must be stressed that the wide majority of jurists espoused the view that it is not the texts themselves which are actually abrogated, but rather the legal rulings comprised in these texts. The text *qua* text is not subject to repeal, for to argue that God revealed conflicting and even contradictory statements would entail that one of the statements is false, which would in turn lead to the highly objectionable conclusion that God has revealed an untruth.

Why there should be, in the first place, conflicting and even contradictory rulings is not a question in which the jurists were very interested. That such rulings existed, however, was undeniable and that they should be made to abrogate one another was deemed a necessity. The criteria that determined which text abrogates another mainly revolved around the chronology of qur'ānic revelation and the diachronic sequence of the Prophet's career. Certain later texts simply abrogated earlier ones.

But is it possible that behind abrogation there are latent divine considerations at work mitigating the severity of the repealed rulings? Only a minority of jurists appears to have maintained that since God is merciful and compassionate he aimed at reducing hardships for his creatures (see MERCY). Abrogating a lenient ruling by a less lenient or a harsher one would run counter to his attribute as a merciful God. Besides, God himself had pronounced that "He desires for you ease, and he desires no hardship" (Q 2:185). Accordingly, repealing a ruling by a harsher one would contravene his own pronouncement. Their oppo-

nents, however, rejected this argument. They maintained that to say that God cannot repeal a ruling by another which involves added hardship would be tantamount to saying that he cannot, or does not, impose hardships in his law, and this is plainly false. Furthermore, this argument would lead to the absurd conclusion that he cannot cause someone to be ill after having been healthy or blind after having enjoyed perfect vision (see ILLNESS AND HEALTH; VISION AND BLINDNESS). They reject the aforementioned qur'ānic verse (Q 2:185) as an invalid argument since it bears exclusively upon hardships involved in a quite specific and limited context, namely, the fast of Ramaḍān (q.v.). They likewise reject their opponents' interpretation of the qur'ānic verse 2:106, which states that God abrogates a verse only to introduce in its place another that is either similar to, or better than it. What is "better," they argue, is not necessarily that which is more lenient and more agreeable but rather that which is ultimately more rewarding in this life and in the hereafter (see REWARD AND PUNISHMENT; ESCHATOLOGY). And since the reward is greater, it may well be that the abrogating text comprises a less lenient ruling than that which was abrogated.

Criteria for abrogation

If God's motives for abrogation cannot be determined, then these motives cannot serve to establish which of the two conflicting legal rulings should repeal the other. The criteria of abrogation must thus rest elsewhere. The first, and most convincing criterion may be found in an explicit statement in the abrogating text, stating, for instance, that it was revealed specifically in order to repeal another. The second is the chronological order of revelation, namely, that a later text, in point of time, repeals an earlier one. The difficulty that arises here is to determine the chronology of texts. The first obvious evidence is one that appears in the text itself, as with the previous criterion. But such explicit statements are admittedly difficult to come by. Most conflicting texts therefore have to be dated by external evidence.

The third criterion is consensus. Should the community, represented by its scholars, agree to adopt one ruling in preference to another, then the latter is deemed abrogated since the community cannot agree on an error. The very fact of abandoning one ruling in favor of another is tantamount to abrogating the disfavored ruling. A number of jurists, however, rejected consensus as having the capability to abrogate, their argument being that any consensus must be based on the revealed texts, and if these texts contain no evidence of abrogation in the first place, then consensus as a sanctioning instrument cannot decide in such a matter. To put it differently, since consensus cannot go beyond the evidence of the texts, it is the texts and only the texts that determine whether or not one ruling can abrogate another. If a ruling subject to consensus happened to abrogate another conflicting ruling, the abrogation would be based on evidence existing in the texts, not on consensus.

If consensus is rejected as incapable on its own of abrogating a ruling, it is because of a cardinal principle in the theory of abrogation which stipulates that derivative principles cannot be employed to abrogate all or any part of the source from which they are derived. This explains why consensus and juridical inference *(qiyās),* both based on the Qur'ān and the sunna, were deemed by the great majority of jurists, and in fact by mainstream Sunnism, to lack the power to repeal either prophetic reports or qur'ānic verses.

The other cardinal principle, to which resort is quite often made in jurisprudential

arguments, is that an epistemologically inferior text cannot repeal a superior one. Thus a text whose truth or authenticity is only presumed (= probable: *zannī*) can by no means abrogate another text qualified as certain *(qaṭ', yaqīn)*. On the other hand, texts which are considered of equal epistemological value or of the same species may repeal one another. This principle seems to represent an extension of Q 2:106 which speaks of abrogating verses and replacing them by similar or better ones. Hence, it is a universal principle that, like the Qur'ān, concurrent prophetic reports *(mutawātir)* may abrogate one another. The same rule applies in fact to solitary reports *(āḥād)*. Furthermore, according to the logic of this principle, an epistemologically superior text can abrogate an inferior one. Thus the Qur'ān and the concurrent sunna may abrogate solitary reports, but not vice versa.

Within the Qur'ān and the sunna, moreover, a text expressing a pronouncement *(qawl)* may repeal another text of the same species, just as a text embodying a deed *(fi'l)* may repeal another text of the same kind. Moreover, in conformity with the principle that a superior text may repeal an inferior one, the abrogation of a "deed-text" by a "pronouncement-text" is deemed valid. For the latter is equal to the former in that it represents a statement relative to a particular ruling, but it differs from the former in one important respect: namely, that a "pronouncement-text" transcends itself and is semantically brought to bear upon other situations, whereas the "deed-text" is confined to the very situation which gave rise to it in the first place. A "deed-text" bespeaks an action that has taken place; it is simply a statement of an event. A "pronouncement-text," on the other hand, may include a command or a generalization that could have ramifications extending beyond the context in which it was uttered. Q 6:135 and 155, taken to be "pronouncement-texts," enjoin Muslims to follow the Prophet. So does Q 33:21: "Verily, in the messenger of God you have a good example *(uswatun)*."

Since one qur'ānic verse can repeal another, it was commonly held that a verse may abrogate a prophetic report, particularly because the Qur'ān is deemed to be of a more distinguished stature. In justification of this view, some jurists further argued that since the Qur'ān is accepted as capable of particularizing the sunna, it can just as easily abrogate it. Other jurists, while adopting the position that the Qur'ān can repeal the sunna, rejected the argument from particularization. Particularization, they held, represents an imperfect analogy with abrogation — the latter entails a total replacement of one legal text by another, whereas the former does not involve abrogation, but merely delimits the scope of a text so as to render it less ambiguous.

Qur'ān and sunna

The qur'ānic abrogation of the sunna has also historical precedent to recommend it. One such precedent was the Prophet's peace treaty with the Qurayshīs (see QURAYSH) of Mecca (q.v.) whereby he agreed to return to Mecca all those who converted to Islam as well as those who wished to join his camp. But just before sending back a group of women who had adopted Islam as a religion, Q 60:10 was revealed, ordering Muslims not to continue with their plans, thereby abrogating the Prophet's practice as expressed in the treaty. Another instance of qur'ānic abrogation is found in verses Q 2:144 and 2:150, which command Muslims to pray in the direction of Mecca instead of Jerusalem (q.v.), the direction which the Prophet had earlier decreed to be valid (see QIBLA).

More controversial was the question of

whether the sunna can repeal the Qur'ān. Those who espoused the view that the Qur'ān may not be abrogated by the sunna advanced Q 2:106 which, as we have seen, states that if God repeals a verse, he does so only to replace it by another which is either similar to, or better than it. The sunna, they maintained, is neither equal to, or better than the Qur'ān, and thus no report can repeal a qur'ānic verse. On the basis of the same verse they furthermore argued that abrogation rests with God alone, and that this precludes the Prophet from having the capacity to abrogate.

On the other hand, the proponents of the doctrine that the sunna can abrogate the Qur'ān rejected the view that the Prophet did not possess this capacity, for while it is true that he could act alone, he did speak on behalf of God when he undertook to abrogate a verse. The central argument of the proponents of this view, however, revolved around epistemology: both the Qur'ān and the concurrent reports yield certitude, and being of equal epistemological status, they can abrogate each other. Opponents of this argument rejected it on the grounds that consensus also leads to certainty but lacks the power to repeal. Moreover, they maintained, the epistemological equivalence of the two sources does not necessarily mean that there exists a mutuality of abrogation. Both solitary reports and *qiyās,* for instance, lead to probable knowledge, and yet the former may serve to abrogate, whereas the latter may not. The reason for this is that these reports in particular, and the sunna in general, constitute the principal source *(aṣl)* from which the authority for *qiyās* is derived. A derivative can by no means repeal its own source and since, it was argued, the Qur'ān is the source of the sunna as well as superior to it, the sunna can never repeal the Qur'ān.

Another disagreement with far-reaching consequences arose concerning the ability of solitary reports to repeal the Qur'ān and the concurrent sunna. One group of jurists, espousing the view that solitary reports can abrogate the Qur'ān and concurrent sunna, maintained that their position was defensible not only by rational argument but that such abrogation had taken place at the time of the Prophet. Rationally, the mere notion that a certain solitary report can substitute for a particular concurrent sunna or a qur'ānic verse is sufficient proof that this sunna or verse lacks the certitude that is otherwise associated with it. Since certainty is lacking, the solitary report would not be epistemologically inferior to the Qur'ān and the concurrent sunna, and therefore capable of abrogating the latter. It was further argued that solitary reports had been commonly accepted as capable of particularizing the concurrent sunna and the Qur'ān, and that if they had the power to particularize, they must have the power to repeal. But the most convincing argument in support of this position was perhaps that which drew on the dynamics of revelation at the time of the Prophet. A classical case in point is Q 2:180, which decrees that "It is prescribed for you, when death approaches one of you, if he has wealth, that he bequeath unto parents and near relatives (see FAMILY; KINSHIP) in kindness." This verse, some jurists maintained, was abrogated by the solitary report "No bequest in favor of an heir." Since parents and near relatives are considered by the Qur'ān as heirs, Q 2:180 was considered repealed, this constituting clear evidence that solitary reports can repeal the Qur'ān and, *a fortiori,* the concurrent sunna.

The opponents of this doctrine rejected any argument which arrogated to solitary reports an epistemological status equal to that of the Qur'ān and the concurrent sunna. The very possibility, they argued, of

casting doubt on the certainty generated by these texts is *a priori* precluded. As they saw it, solitary reports, being presumptive to the core, can by no means repeal the Qur'ān or concurrent reports. Furthermore, any attempt at equating particularization with abrogation is nullified by the fact that particularization involves the substitution of partial textual evidence for other evidence by bringing two texts to bear, conjointly, upon the solution of a given legal problem. Abrogation, in contrast, and by definition, entails the complete substitution of one text for another, the latter becoming devoid of any legal effect. The example of *qiyās* served to bolster this argument: this method of legal inference is commonly accepted as capable of particularizing the Qur'ān and the sunna but it cannot, by universal agreement, repeal these sources. Finally, opponents of this doctrine dismissed the occurrence of abrogation on the basis of a solitary report in the case of bequests as an instance of faulty hermeneutics. The solitary report "No bequest in favor of an heir" did not, they insisted, abrogate the aforementioned qur'ānic verse. Rather, the verse was abrogated by Q 4:11 which stipulates that parents, depending on the number and the degree of relation of other heirs, must receive fixed shares of the estate after all debts have been settled and the bequest allocated to its beneficiary. The specification that the parents' shares are determined *subsequent* to the allocation of the bequest is ample proof that it is this verse which repealed Q 2:180, and not the solitary report. If anything, these jurists argued, this report served only to confirm the qur'ānic abrogation, a fact made clear in the first part of the report — a part usually omitted by those who used it to support their case for the abrogation of qur'ānic verses by solitary reports. In its entirety, the report reads as follows: "God has given each one his due right; therefore, no bequest to an heir." The attribution of the injunction to God, it is argued, is eloquent confirmation that the Prophet acknowledged and merely endorsed the abrogation of Q 2:180 by Q 4:11.

The Qur'ān in later legal discourse

The preceding outline represents the mainstream juristic discourse on the Qur'ān, discourse which was to dominate legal theory until the nineteenth century. Nonetheless, there were a number of theoretical attempts to formulate different legal concepts of the Qur'ān's function in law. The most notable and influential of these was al-Shāṭibī's (d. 790/1388) singular and creative doctrine.

Al-Shāṭibī's holistic theory

Going beyond the conventional, atomistic view of the Qur'ān, al-Shāṭibī presents us with a unique theory in which the text is seen as an integral whole, where one verse or part cannot be properly understood without reference not only to other parts but also to the particular and general circumstances in which the text was revealed *(asbāb al-nuzūl)*. Without such a referential approach, the meaning of the verses and the intention of God behind revealing them will not be intelligible to the human mind. All this, however, presupposes full knowledge of the linguistic conventions prevalent among the Arabs during the time of revelation (see ARABIC LANGUAGE; LANGUAGE, CONCEPT OF). God addressed the Arabs in a language they understood with reference to a reality that was specifically theirs, and since both language and reality may — and al-Shāṭibī implies that they do — differ from later usages and realities, the jurist must thoroughly ground himself in the linguistic and historic context of the Qur'ān's revelation.

Thus adequate knowledge of the Arabic

language and of the circumstances of revelation, coupled with a holistic reading of the text, can guarantee what al-Shāṭibī deems a reasonable, moderate, and middle-of-the-road interpretation. To be properly understood, a qur'ānic verse must be viewed in light of the verses that preceded it in time. Passages in the text revealed later must therefore be explained in terms of the earlier ones just as the entire Medinan revelation must be viewed in light of the Qur'ān's Meccan phase. And within each of the phases (Medinan and Meccan), the latter verses are to be interpreted only after full consideration is given to what was revealed earlier. An example of this general principle is the Meccan sūra, Sūrat al-An'ām (Q 6, "The Cattle"), which embodied a holistic structure of the universal principles *(uṣūl kulliyya)* of the law. Setting aside any part of it will lead to blighting the entire legal system. When the Prophet migrated to Medina (see EMIGRATION), Q 2, Sūrat al-Baqara ("The Cow"), was revealed in order to explicate the general principles of the law. Though some of these details appeared elsewhere, here are found specific laws of ritual, diet, crime, commercial transactions (see BREAKING TRUSTS AND CONTRACTS), marriage, etc. The universal principles established in Q 2 concerning the preservation of one's religion, life, mind, offspring and property are all confirmed in the sūra. Thus what was revealed in Medina subsequent to Sūrat al-Baqara must be viewed in its light. The significance of chronology here can hardly be exaggerated.

That the later sūras and verses explain what was revealed prior to them in time leads to a certain hierarchy in the Qur'ān, with the very early sūras being the most comprehensive. Even if a Medinan verse appears general in scope, there must always be a more general verse revealed earlier, the later verses always supplementing the earlier ones. The Meccan revelation thus constitutes the ultimate reference, particularly those parts of it revealed at the outset of the Prophet's career. These latter lay down the most general and universal principles, namely, the protection of the right to religion, life, thought, progeny and property. Later revelation, particularly the Medinan, may complement these principles, but they primarily provide explanations and details relative to these universals.

Whether or not the Qur'ān contains all the details of the law, God perfected for Muslims their religion by the time the last verse of the text was revealed. Citing Q 5:3, "Today I have perfected your religion for you," al-Shāṭibī argues that the Qur'ān contains all the basic elements of faith, spiritual and practical. It treated of all things and, conversely, nothing that is essential in religion and life stands outside its compass.

The logical consequence of this argument represents no less than a complete relegation of the prophetic sunna to a secondary status and al-Shāṭibī, to be sure, does reach this very conclusion. But though the Qur'ān lays down the foundations of the law and religion, no rulings should be extracted from it without consulting the sunna because the latter, just like the Medinan revelation, provides explanation of and detailed annotation to the Qur'ān. Nevertheless, al-Shāṭibī affirms the completeness and self-sufficiency of the latter and, in consequence, rejects the view that the sunna offers any substantive addition to the Qur'ān.

Al-Shāṭibī's position here is no doubt novel, signaling a total departure from the conventional view propounded in legal theory. He asserts that in the jurisprudent's reasoning about individual legal cases, the Qur'ān merits attention before the sunna.

The latter's demotion to second place here is the result of the higher degree of certitude the Qurʾān enjoys. While both sources *as a whole* are certain, the individual verses possess a degree of certitude higher than that enjoyed by individual prophetic reports.

The traditional doctrine of legal theory affirms that when the Qurʾān is ambiguous on a particular matter, or when it fails to address a given problem with exactitude and clarity, the sunna intervenes to determine the specific intent of the divine lawgiver. A case in point is the qurʾānic injunction to cut off the thief's hand. The sunna delimited the qurʾānic instruction by decreeing that the punishment can only be imposed when theft is accompanied by breaking and entering and when the value of the stolen goods exceeds a certain prescribed amount. In the same vein, the general qurʾānic permission for matrimony was narrowed down by the sunna in the form of a ban on marriage with the maternal or paternal aunt of one's wife. Al-Shāṭibī does accept the authority of the sunna in such cases, but only insofar as it complements the Qurʾān. The sunna, in his view, merely brings out and articulates the intention of the Qurʾān. If a jurist establishes the exact meaning of a verse, we cannot say, al-Shāṭibī analogically argues, that the ruling based on that verse stems from the authority of the jurist himself. He, like the sunna, functions only as an interpreter of what is ultimately the very word of God.

Al-Shāṭibī on competing evidence in legal cases

When the jurist is presented with two different or contradictory pieces of evidence, both of which enjoy the same degree of certainty — thus precluding the possibility of one superseding the other — the common practice was to choose the evidence that was more suitable to the particular case at hand, even though it might not be qurʾānic. Al-Shāṭibī sees no problem with doing so because the evidence in the sunna represents, in the final analysis, an explanation or reformulation of a general qurʾānic text. Put differently, the evidential competition is not between the Qurʾān and the sunna, but, ultimately, between two different or seemingly contradictory statements within the Qurʾān. The latter, al-Shāṭibī reaffirms, contains the essence of the *sharīʿa,* while anything else represents, so to speak, footnotes to the self-sufficient book. Here al-Shāṭibī's hypothetical interlocutor replies by citing a number of qurʾānic verses (such as Q 4:59, 5:92, 59:7) to the effect that the Prophet must be obeyed and that his sunna constitutes a source of authority equal to that of the Qurʾān. The specific directive to bow to the Prophet's authority clearly indicates that he did introduce injunctions unspecified in the Qurʾān. Several prophetic reports to the same effect are then cited, condemning those who make the Qurʾān their sole reference.

But al-Shāṭibī does not see how this evidence refutes his position. When the sunna clarifies a verse pertaining to a particular legal ruling, the same ruling ultimately remains grounded in the Qurʾān, not the sunna. Both God and the Prophet presumably bestow on it a certain authority. Distinguishing between the two sanctioning authorities does not entail differentiating between two different rulings. In other words, when the Qurʾān calls, as it does, upon believers to obey God and the Prophet, it is understood that the Prophet's authority derives, in the final analysis, from that of God. And since no distinction is being made between two different rulings belonging to a single case, then there is no proof that the sunna contains material that falls outside the compass of the Qurʾān.

A major role which the sunna plays vis-à-vis the Qur'ān is to privilege one verse over another in deciding a particular case of law. For instance, the Qur'ān generally permitted the consumption of good food and forbade that of putrid victuals without, however, defining the status of many specific types. The sunna then intervened to decide each kind in accordance with the principles regulated in the Qur'ān, by subsuming certain foods under one legal norm or the other. In this way, the meat of donkeys and certain predatory animals came to be prohibited. Similarly, God forbade the ingestion of inebriants but permitted non-alcoholic beverages. The rationale behind this prohibition was the effect of alcohol on the mind in distracting the Muslim from worshipping his lord, let alone its negative social effects. The sunna interfered here by determining to which of the two categories date-wine and semi-intoxicating beverages belong. On the basis of qur'ānic data, the sunna furthermore articulated the classic dictum that any beverage which inebriates when consumed in large quantities is prohibited even in small quantities.

Al-Shāṭibī on the subsidiarity of the sunna

But all this does not change the fact that the roots of the sunna ultimately lay in the book. Indeed, the sunna may contain some legal subject matter which is found neither in a terse statement of the Qur'ān nor even in its more ambiguous or indirect passages (see DIFFICULT PASSAGES). Yet, its subject matter still has its origins in the Qur'ān. It is al-Shāṭibī's fundamental assumption that each qur'ānic verse or statement possesses multifaceted meanings, some direct and others oblique. While a verse may exist in its own particular context and may appear to have an immediate, obvious meaning, this very verse may, at the same time, manifest another meaning that is identical to those found in other verses. Put differently, a group of verses may have one theme in common which happens to be subsidiary to the main meaning in each verse. The inductive corroboration of one verse by the others lends the common theme a certain authority that would reach the degree of certitude. But whereas this theme remains hidden in the linguistic terrains of the Qur'ān, the sunna reveals it in the form of a prophetic report. The result of one such case of corroboration is the well-known and all-important prophetic report "No injury and counter injury in Islam."

The Qur'ān, however, does provide what al-Shāṭibī characterizes as the most important foundation of the law, namely, the principles that aim to serve the interests of people, be they those of the individual or the community. For, after all, the entire enterprise of the *sharī'a* was instituted in the interests of Muslims whether these pertain to life in this world or in the hereafter. In order to safeguard these interests, the *sharī'a* seeks to implement the principles of public welfare. The sunna, in the detail it lends to particular cases, is none other than an extension and detailed elaboration of the all-embracing qur'ānic principles.

By relegating the sunna to a status subsidiary to the Qur'ān and by hierarchically and chronologically structuring qur'ānic material, al-Shāṭibī was aiming at achieving a particular result. He was of the opinion that Meccan revelation, with all its characteristic universality, is general and simple in nature, intended for an unlettered audience (see ILLITERACY). It is addressed to the community at large, to the legal expert and layman alike. Every Muslim, hailing from any walk of life, can comprehend it and can thus heed its injunctions without any intermediary. The Medinan revelation, on the other hand, came down to explicate, in some technical

detail, the universal principles laid down earlier. Hence, only the legal experts are equipped to deal with and understand the Medinan text. The complexity of its subject matter simply precludes the layman from confronting it directly.

The universality and generality of the Meccan revelation in effect means that it is devoid of mitigation and juridical license. The Medinan texts were thus revealed in order to modify and qualify the rigor that was communicated at an earlier point in time. Al-Shāṭibī reminds us at this stage that the Ṣūfīs set aside the Medinan licenses and adhered solely to the stringent demands of the Meccan sūras (see ṢŪFISM AND THE QUR'ĀN). He strongly insinuates that the Ṣūfīs attempted to impose their view of the law upon the general public of laymen. By insisting on the intellectual simplicity of the Meccan revelation, al-Shāṭibī was in effect arguing that laymen should be left alone to understand and comply with this revelation. He seems to say that if the Ṣūfīs choose to subject themselves to rigorous piety (q.v.), so be it. But it is not within their legitimate right to impose their will and perception of the law on the community of laymen. In these terms, he addresses himself equally to the jurisconsults who, he advises, must not make evident to the public any of their practices that are unusually strict. It is, therefore, for the purpose of achieving this end that al-Shāṭibī recast the traditional, mainstream qur'ānic methodology in a new form.

The Qur'ān in modern legal reform

It is to be stressed that of all traditional sources and legal elements, the Qur'ān alone survives largely intact in modern thinking with respect to the sources of law. The prophetic ḥadīth is being largely and progressively marginalized; consensus is being radically reformulated and recast to fit western principles of parliamentary democracy; *qiyās* has been largely abandoned; public interest *(maṣlaḥa, istiṣlāḥ)* and juristic preference *(istiḥsān)* are still being invoked, but they too are being laden with modern notions which would render them unrecognizable to a traditional jurist.

While it is true, however, that the Qur'ān survives intact in the sense that no change has been effected in the perception of its contents and authority (see CONTEMPORARY CRITICAL PRACTICES AND THE QUR'ĀN; EXEGESIS OF THE QUR'ĀN: EARLY MODERN AND CONTEMPORARY), it has, as have all the other sources, been stripped of the traditional interpretive tools that were employed in exploiting its positive legal repertoire. Thus, such notions as the ambiguous, univocal and metaphorical are no longer deemed pertinent for the modern legal interpretation of the text.

Much of the law of personal status in the Muslim world today still derives from the *sharī'a,* although certain changes and modifications in this law have taken place. The Qur'ān afforded a good deal of subject matter in the construction of family law, a fact which explains why the reformers have been reluctant to affect fundamental reform in a legal sphere that has been for centuries so close to the heart of Muslims.

But the fact remains that the modern law of Muslim states has no theoretical, religious or intellectual backing. Realizing the total collapse of traditional legal theory, *uṣūl al-fiqh,* a number of twentieth-century Muslim intellectuals have attempted to formulate a theoretical substitute for the traditional methodology of the law. The great majority of reformers have been unsuccessful in their quest to construct a new theoretical function for the Qur'ān. To varying degrees, they have intentionally or otherwise abandoned the traditional theoretical apparatus and yet at the same time have failed to locate a theoretical substitute

that is direly needed. Many have reduced the law to a fairly narrow utilitarian concept, thereby relegating revelation to a position subservient to utilitarian imperatives. One of the most notable reformers, and one in whose theory the Qur'ān plays a major role, is the Pakistani scholar and intellectual Fazlur Rahman (d. 1988).

Rahman's method

Rahman takes strong exception to the traditional theory and its authors, blaming them for a fragmented view of the revealed sources, especially the Qur'ān. In his opinion, both the traditional legal theorists and the exegetes treated the Qur'ān verse by verse, and the sunna, report by report. The lack of cross-reference to the textual sources was thus responsible for the absence of an effective *Weltanschauung* that is cohesive and meaningful for life as a whole. A central ingredient in the task of understanding the qur'ānic message as a unity is to analyze it against a background, and that background is the Arabian society in which Islam first arose. Thus a thorough understanding of the Meccan social, economic and tribal institutions becomes necessary in order to understand the import of revelation for the purpose of universalizing it beyond the context of the Prophet's career.

In an attempt to explain the significance of understanding the Qur'ān as a whole and within a situational context, Rahman takes the case of alcoholic beverages, declared prohibited by the traditional jurists. As we have already seen, the Qur'ān initially considered alcohol among the blessings of God, along with milk (q.v.) and honey (q.v.; Q 16:66-9). Later, when Muslims moved to Medina, some Companions urged the Prophet to ban alcohol. Consequently, Q 2:219 was revealed, stipulating a qualified prohibition of wine. Thereafter, on two successive occasions (Q 4:43, 5:90-1), wine was finally banned categorically.

From this gradual prohibition of alcohol, the jurists concluded that the last verse, Q 5:90-1, abrogated those which preceded it, and in an attempt to rationalize this abrogation they resorted to what Rahman terms the "law of gradation," according to which the Qur'ān sought to wean Muslims from certain ingrained habits in a piecemeal fashion, instead of commanding a sudden prohibition. Hence, it was necessary to support this law of gradation by other considerations in order to make the contradiction between the various verses intelligible. In the Meccan period, the Muslims were a small minority, constituting an informal community, not a society. It appears, Rahman says, that alcohol consumption in the midst of this community was in no way a common practice. But when the more prominent Meccans converted to Islam at a later stage, there were many who were in the habit of drinking alcohol. The evolution of this minority into a community and then into an informal state coincided with the growing problem of alcohol consumption; hence the final qur'ānic prohibition imposed on all inebriating substances.

It is thus necessary to draw from the isolated verses, which are particular and fragmented in nature, a general principle that embodies the rationale behind a certain ruling. The failure of the traditional jurists to elicit such principles, Rahman argues, has led to chaos. A telling example of this failure may be found in the case of polygamous marriage. In Q 4:2, the Qur'ān alludes to, and forbids, the guardians' abuse and unlawful seizure of the property of orphaned children with whom they were entrusted. In Q 4:127, the Qur'ān says that these guardians should marry the orphaned girls when they come of age rather than return their property to them. Accordingly, in Q 4:3 the Qur'ān says that

if the guardians cannot do justice to the orphan's property and if they insist on marrying them, then they may marry up to four, provided that they treat them justly. If they cannot afford them such a treatment, then they must marry only one. On the other hand, Q 4:129 stipulates that it is impossible to do justice among a plurality of wives. Like the case of alcohol, the Qur'ān is seemingly contradictory here: while it permits marriage to four wives if they can be treated with justice, it declares that justice can never be done in a polygamous marriage. But it must not be forgotten, Rahman asserts, that the whole qur'ānic discussion occurred within the limited context of orphaned women, not unconditionally. The traditional jurists deemed the permission to marry up to four wives as carrying a legal force, whereas the demand to do justice to them was considered to be a mere recommendation, devoid of any binding effect. With this interpretation, the traditional jurists turned the issue of polygamy right on its head, taking a specific verse to be binding and the general principle to be a recommendation. In "eliciting general principles of different order from the Qur'ān… the most general becomes the most basic and the most deserving of implementation, while the specific rulings will be subsumed under them" (Rahman, Interpreting the Qur'ān, 49). In accordance with this principle, Rahman argues, the justice verse in polygamous marriages should have been accorded a status superior to that of the specific verse giving permission to marry up to four wives. The priority given to the justice verse in this case is further supported by the recurrent and persistent qur'ānic theme of the need to do justice.

Rahman's "double movement theory"

The task of eliciting general principles from specific rulings in the Qur'ān and the sunna must be undertaken, then, with full consideration of the sociological forces that produced these rulings. Inasmuch as the Qur'ān gives, be it directly or obliquely, the reasons for certain ethical and legal rulings, an understanding of these reasons becomes essential for drawing general principles. The multifaceted ingredients making up the revealed texts, along with those ingredients making up the background of revelation, must therefore "be brought together to yield a unified and comprehensive socio-moral theory squarely based upon the Qur'ān and its *sunna* counterparts" (Rahman, Towards reformulating, 221). But it may be objected that the process of eliciting general principles in this manner is excessively subjective. In refuting this claim, Rahman invokes the fact that the Qur'ān speaks of its own purposes and objectives, a fact that should contribute to minimizing subjectivity. Furthermore, whatever difference of opinion results from the existing subjectivity should be of great value, provided that each opinion is seriously and carefully considered.

This process of eliciting general principles represents the first step towards implementing a new methodology of the law. This methodology consists of two movements of juristic thought, one proceeding from the particular to the general (i.e. eliciting general principles from specific cases), the other from the general to the particular. Hence the designation of Rahman's methodology as "the double movement theory." In the second movement, the general principles elicited from the revealed sources are brought to bear upon the present conditions of Muslim society. This presupposes a thorough understanding of these conditions, equal in magnitude to that required to understand the revealed texts against their background. But since the present situation can never be iden-

tical to the prophetic past, and since it could differ from it "in certain important respects," it is required that "we apply those general principles of the Qurʾān (as well as those of the sunna) to the current situation espousing that which is worthy of espousing and rejecting that which must be rejected" (Rahman, Interpreting the Qurʾān, 49). Just what the criteria are for rejecting certain "important respects" and not others is a crucial question that Rahman does not seem to answer decisively. For if these respects are important and yet are capable of being neutralized, then there is no guarantee that essential qurʾānic and sunnaic elements or even principles will not be set aside.

The weakness of Rahman's methodology also lies in the not altogether clear mechanics of the second movement, that is, the application of the systematic principles derived from the revealed texts and their contexts to present-day situations. Furthermore, the relatively few cases which he repeatedly cites in his writings on the subject do not represent the full spectrum of cases in the law, with the result that his methodology may be considered incapable of providing a scope comprehensive enough to afford modern Muslims the methodological means of solving problems different in nature than those he so frequently cites. What of those cases for which a textual statement is available but no information as to the context of its revelation? Or, still, how do modern Muslims address fundamental problems facing their societies when no applicable qurʾānic or sunnaic text can be located? That Rahman does not seem to provide answers for such questions may be a function of his interest in elaborating a methodology confined in outlook to the revealed texts rather than a methodology of law proper.

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Lawful and Unlawful

That which is legally authorized, and that which is not. Among its various legislative pronouncements, the Qurʾān declares certain objects and actions lawful or unlawful. The words *ḥalāl,* "lawful, allowed, permitted," and *ḥarām,* "unlawful, forbidden, prohibited," and cognate terms from the triliteral roots *ḥ-l-l* and *ḥ-r-m,* respectively, most often designate these two categories and are of relatively frequent occurrence. Qurʾānic declarations of lawfulness or unlawfulness are limited to a relatively few areas of the law as later elaborated by Muslim jurists: for the most part, ritual, family law and dietary matters (see RITUAL AND THE QURʾĀN; FAMILY; MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE; FOOD AND DRINK). On the other hand, the lawful/unlawful rubric also has non-legislative functions in the Qurʾān. Although the seemingly primary categories of *ḥalāl* and *ḥarām* were largely eclipsed by jurisprudential rubrics that were developed subsequently, the terms retained significance in ascetic thought (see ASCETICISM) and have recently become prominent in popular handbooks of religious law.

Vocabulary

Apart from denoting lawfulness, the root *ḥ-l-l* indicates an exit from the ritual state connected with the pilgrimage (q.v.) and re-entry into the profane state (*idhā ḥalaltum,* Q 5:2; see RITUAL PURITY). In this sense, too, it is the antonym of *ḥ-r-m* (see below). Concretely, it refers to dissolution (e.g. Q 66:2, metaphorically, of an oath; see BREAKING TRUSTS AND CONTRACTS; OATHS) and also alighting (e.g. Q 20:86, again metaphorically, of God's wrath; see ANGER). The most common means for indicating lawfulness in the Qurʾān is to use the causative verb *aḥalla,* "to make lawful," usually with God as the subject (e.g. Q 7:157, "He makes the good things lawful for them") but it is sometimes passive (e.g. Q 5:1, concerning certain livestock; see ANIMAL LIFE; BOUNTY). In one instance it occurs in the first person plural, in an address to Muḥammad (Q 33:50; see FORM AND STRUCTURE OF THE QURʾĀN; LANGUAGE AND STYLE OF THE QURʾĀN). Very occasionally, people are made the subject of this verb, to suggest that they wrongly deem something lawful (e.g. Q 9:37, though words derived from *ḥ-r-m* are more common in such accusations; see below). Finally, it should be noted that the intransitive verb *ḥalla,* "to be lawful," occasionally appears in the negative, to indicate that something is not lawful (e.g. Q 2:230, providing that one's wife ceases to be lawful, i.e. available for sexual intercourse, after divorce). The Qurʾān also employs the adjectives *ḥill* and *ḥalāl* to indicate lawfulness (e.g. in Q 5:5 and Q 8:69, respectively, concerning certain foods).

Words derived from the root *ḥ-r-m* not only connote God's making something unlawful but also frequently express the idea of sacredness (see SANCTITY AND THE SACRED), e.g. *al-shahr al-ḥarām,* "the sacred month" (Q 2:194; see MONTHS); *al-ḥaram,* "the sacred precinct," where the Kaʿba (q.v.) is located (Q 28:57); *ḥurum,* persons in the ritual state associated with pilgrimage (e.g. Q 5:1); and *ḥurumāt,* certain sacred ordinances or institutions (Q 2:194; 22:30). The *ḥ-r-m*-derived counterpart to *aḥalla* is the causative verb *ḥarrama,* "to make un-

lawful," and, as in the case of the former, God is frequently its subject (e.g. Q 2:173, concerning foods). The Qurʾān does not employ an intransitive verb derived from *ḥ-r-m,* making do instead with the passive of *ḥarrama* (e.g. Q 5:3, also concerning foods) and the related passive participle (e.g. Q 6:145, again concerning foods; the corresponding participial form from *aḥalla* is not found in the Qurʾān). A number of passages use *ḥarrama* in the first person plural and in most of these God recounts how he had previously made certain things, especially foods, unlawful for the Jews (Q 4:160; 6:146; 16:118; 28:12; see JEWS AND JUDAISM). The counterpart of the adjective *ḥalāl* is *ḥarām,* though they only appear together twice (Q 10:59; 16:116). There is no *ḥ-r-m*-derived equivalent to the form *ḥill* but in Q 21:95 the Kūfan tradition of variant readings (see READINGS OF THE QURʾĀN) substitutes the word *ḥirm* for *ḥarām* (see Jeffery, *Materials,* e.g. 62, codex of Ibn Masʿūd). Later legal theorists paired *ḥill* with the non-qurʾānic term *ḥurma* (e.g. Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī [d. 606/1210], *Maḥṣūl,* i, 15).

Especially in regard to dietary rules, *ḥalāl* and *ḥarām* parallel to a degree the Levitical categories of clean and unclean, respectively. As noted, though, *ḥalāl* and *ḥarām* also connote profaneness and sacredness, respectively, suggesting a potentially puzzling link between what is sacred and what is unclean. Possibly, a pre-qurʾānic connection existed between sacredness and ritual-related restrictions *(ḥarām)* on the one hand and the profane state and a general lack of restrictions *(ḥalāl)* on the other. Thus, the objects of qurʾānic prohibitions would have been assimilated to a category of ritually mandated restrictions rather than ritual impurity (see Heninger, Pureté). However that may be, the qurʾānic terms are paralleled to some extent by the Hebrew pair *mūtar* and *asūr,* meaning permitted ("loosened," semantically equivalent to *ḥ-l-l*) and forbidden (q.v.; Wansbrough, *QS,* 174).

Certain other terms in the Qurʾān also connote lawfulness and unlawfulness. A number of passages use the word *junāḥ,* "sin," in variants of the phrase "It is not a sin for you to…" as an indirect means of describing lawful activities (e.g. Q 2:198, permitting commercial activity while in the ritual state required of pilgrims; see MARKETS; SELLING AND BUYING; SIN, MAJOR AND MINOR). Rhetorically, passages employing *junāḥ* often imply that the activity in question might have been thought unlawful and hence required clarification. Commentators (see EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL) gloss the word *ḥijr* as meaning *ḥarām* in two passages. In Q 6:138, unnamed persons declare certain produce and livestock *ḥijr,* which means, according to the commentators, that it was declared *ḥarām,* "off-limits, or sacrosanct," in connection with a pagan rite (e.g. Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* xii, 139-40). In Q 25:22, the phrase *ḥijr maḥjūr* appears in the following sentence: "On the day they see the angels (see ANGEL), there will be no glad tidings then for the wrongdoers, and they will say *ḥijran maḥjūran*." Some commentators attribute the phrase in question to the angels and gloss it as meaning *ḥarām muḥarram,* that is, either paradise (q.v.) or the glad tidings (see GOOD NEWS) will be "strictly forbidden" to the wrongdoers (e.g. Bayḍāwī, *Anwār,* ii, 37). The phrase *ḥijr maḥjūr* also appears in Q 25:53, where it seems to refer concretely to physical separation (e.g. Bayḍāwī, *Anwār,* ii, 43), and the word *ḥijr* appears alone in Q 89:5, where it is traditionally understood to mean "intelligence" (e.g. Bayḍāwī, *Anwār,* ii, 401; see INTELLECT; KNOWLEDGE AND LEARNING). The word *suḥt* appears at Q 5:42 and twice

at Q 5:62-3, always in the phrase "eaters/eating of *suḥt*" *(akkālūna lil-suḥti, aklihimu l-suḥta),* an apparently derogatory reference to the Jews. The commentators took *suḥt* to refer either generally to unlawful gain or specifically to bribes accepted by Jewish judges (e.g. Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* x, 318-24, 447-8), thus connecting it with the remainder of Q 5:42, in which the Prophet is given permission to adjudicate Jewish legal matters. In Leviticus 22:25, a Hebrew cognate, *mashḥat,* refers to inherent "corruption" or "mutilation" which renders certain ritual offerings unfit (see CONSECRATION OF ANIMALS; CORRUPTION) but the more usual sense of the biblical Hebrew cognate is "destruction," which is how a related Arabic word is used at Q 20:61. According to Jeffery (*For. vocab.,* 165-6), *suḥt* means "unlawful" in a technical sense. He notes an interesting parallel with the Talmud (Shabb. 140b, discussing the principle of *bal tashḥīt* derived from *Deut* 20:19) but opts for a Syriac origin of the word (*sūḥtā,* "depravity, corruption"). The remainder of this discussion deals only with words derived from the roots *ḥ-l-l* and *ḥ-r-m*.

What is lawful and unlawful?

As noted above, qurʾānic declarations of lawfulness and unlawfulness pertain mostly to ritual, dietary law and family law. For example, Q 5:96 declares the hunting of land animals while in the ritual state for the pilgrimage to have been outlawed *(ḥurrima)* but fishing and eating the catch lawful (*uḥilla,* see HUNTING AND FISHING). In regard to dietary matters, the most prominent and oft-repeated rule provides that God has made unlawful *(ḥarrama)* carrion (q.v.), blood, swine flesh and what is consecrated to other than God (Q 2:173; 16:115; and with slight variations at Q 5:3 and 6:145). The largest number of rules that use this rubric concern family law. Q 4:22-4, for example, details which women have been made unlawful *(ḥurrimat)* to marry and which lawful *(uḥilla).* A noteworthy principle of Islamic commercial law at Q 2:275 provides that God made lawful *(aḥalla)* sales transactions and forbade *(ḥarrama)* usury (q.v.).

In contrast to the many overtly legislative passages which pronounce on lawfulness and unlawfulness, other passages employ the lawful/unlawful rubric to suggest that the Muslims are, perhaps, subject to fewer legal restrictions than previous communities. Several such passages use words derived from the roots *ḥ-l-l* and *ṭ-y-b* to suggest that God has begun to expand the category of the lawful, as in Q 5:5: "Today the good things *(al-ṭayyibāt)* have been made lawful for you *(uḥilla lakum)*" (see also Q 2:172-3 [with *ḥ-r-m*]; 5:4, 88; 7:157; 16:114). Other passages contain an implicit or explicit charge that certain human beings have mistakenly declared things lawful or unlawful (mostly the latter). These fall into three main groups: those in which people are enjoined not to outlaw what God has provided (Q 5:87; 6:140; 7:32; 10:59); those which generally complain that people have wrongly forbidden or made lawful unspecified things (Q 6:148; 9:29; 16:35, 116; 66:1); and those in which people are accused of wrongly outlawing (or permitting) certain specified things, mostly in connection with pagan practices (see generally Q 6:138-50; 9:37; see IDOLATRY AND IDOLATERS).

Finally, several passages use the lawful/unlawful rubric to suggest that the Jews labored under a more burdensome law than the Muslims, either because the former created unnecessary rules (Q 3:93) or because God wished to punish them (Q 4:160; 6:146; 16:118). The process of repealing this more onerous law imposed on the Jews apparently begins with Jesus (q.v.), who says in Q 3:50 that he has come as a confirmation of the Torah (q.v.), to make

lawful *(li-uḥilla)* some of the things which had previously been forbidden (*ḥurrima,* compare *Matt* 5:17-9, in which Jesus denies that he has come to relax the Law).

Post-qurʾānic developments

Early commentators, such as Ibn ʿAbbās (d. 68/687) and Muḥammad al-Kalbī (d. 146/763) are said to have recognized declarations of lawfulness and unlawfulness *(ḥalāl wa-ḥarām)* as one among several fundamental modes of qurʾānic discourse (Versteegh, *Arabic grammar,* 64, 106; see also Wansbrough, *QS,* 149, 173-4; see LITERARY STRUCTURES OF THE QURʾĀN). Exegetes and legal theorists, however, soon moved beyond this basic qurʾānic distinction. The commentator and grammarian al-Farrāʾ (d. 207/822), for example, differentiates between qurʾānic prohibitions (sing. *nahy*) which aim merely to inculcate proper etiquette *(adab)* and those which function to outlaw something (*nahy muḥarrim;* Kinberg, *Lexicon,* 863). This move marks the extraction of an abstracted and generalized concept of unlawfulness (and implicitly lawfulness), inferable from a text's language and capable of being applied and elaborated outside the confines of those qurʾānic passages that used the root *ḥ-r-m (*or *ḥ-l-l)*. Al-Shāfiʿī (d. 204/820), for example, applied this same *adab/taḥrīm* distinction to prophetic ḥadīth (Shāfiʿī, *Risāla,* par. 926-60; see ḤADĪTH AND THE QURʾĀN).

Scrutiny of the variously formulated legislative provisions in revealed texts, and speculation on their potentially disparate legal consequences, led jurists to a theory of gradations of legal obligation. More precisely, legal theorists developed a classificatory scheme of moral evaluations *(aḥkām,* sing. *ḥukm)* to which all human acts could be assigned: mandatory *(wājib),* recommended *(mandūb),* merely permitted *(mubāḥ),* disapproved *(makrūh),* and forbidden *(ḥarām* or *maḥẓūr)*. In a sense, the first four categories could be considered refinements of what is *ḥalāl* (Jackson, *Islamic law,* 118) but it is really only the outer categories of mandatory and forbidden that have the force of rules (Weiss, *The spirit,* 18-9), and they do not parallel the categories of *ḥalāl* and *ḥarām* (*ḥalāl*/lawful being a broader and different sort of category than *wājib*/mandatory). This graded scale eclipsed the fundamental qurʾānic binary of *ḥalāl*/*ḥarām,* which came to be applied only in much more limited fashion to certain things (e.g. wine [q.v.; see also INTOXICANTS]) and persons (e.g. potential spouses; Schacht, *Introduction,* 121 n. 2; see PROHIBITED DEGREES). Contrasting with these developments in speculative legal hermeneutics, there emerged a pietistic tendency to view the world as fundamentally divisible into realms of lawfulness and unlawfulness. This "scrupulosity" (for a good example of which, see Cooperson's description of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal [d. 241/845], *Arabic biography,* 112-8) may, perhaps, be considered a concern with ritual purity in the widest possible sense, but is in any event connected with the rise to prominence of the traditionists, part of whose "programme" was "to identify the categories 'forbidden' and 'invalid' " (Schacht, *Introduction,* 46). The great theologian al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111) may be said to have reconciled to some extent the legal-hermeneutical and ethical-ascetic uses of the lawful/unlawful rubric in Book xiv of his *Iḥyāʾ ʿulūm al-dīn* (Revivification of the religious sciences), the *Kitāb al-ḥalāl wa-l-ḥarām* ("Book of the lawful and the unlawful," Fr. trans. R. Morelon, *Le livre du licite et de l'illicite*). Al-Ghazālī criticizes the view that the world has become so corrupted that one is no longer in a position to observe the distinction between *ḥalāl* and *ḥarām.* He insists, rather, that scrupulosity *(waraʿ),* an even stricter standard than *ḥarām,* is still possible. Practicing *waraʿ*

requires that one avoid not only what is *ḥarām* but also many things (and actions) which, though technically *ḥalāl,* possess the quality of *shubha,* "dubiousness" (for the more usual technical legal meaning of which, see Rowson, Shubha). Al-Ghazālī's technically accomplished analysis represents an interesting application of speculative modes of juridical thinking to an antitheoretical, pietistic concern (see THEOLOGY AND THE QUR'ĀN).

In recent times, a number of popular books giving practical guidance on the application of Islamic law in everyday life take the categories of lawful and unlawful as their organizing principle. A prominent such work is *al-Ḥalāl wa-l-ḥarām fī l-Islām* (Eng. trans. *The lawful and the prohibited in Islam*) by Yūsuf al-Qaraḍāwī (b. 1926). In the introduction, al-Qaraḍāwī says that he is the first to author a work devoted entirely to the topic of *ḥalāl* and *ḥarām.* Whatever al-Ghazālī might have thought of that claim, al-Qaraḍāwī's work unleashed a virtual flood of books (some critical of al-Qaraḍāwī for his liberal views) devoted to distinguishing the *ḥalāl* from the *ḥarām* in daily life. Such works, including that of al-Qaraḍāwī, are now widely available in languages other than Arabic. Their contents derive, however, from the subsequently developed categories of classical Islamic law and, as such, they extend well beyond qur'ānic declarations of lawfulness and unlawfulness, to cover the full range of activities possible in contemporary life. See also LAW AND THE QUR'ĀN; ETHICS AND THE QUR'ĀN.

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Laziness

see VIRTUES AND VICES, COMMANDING AND FORBIDDING

Leader

see KINGS AND RULERS; IMĀM

Leaf

see WRITING AND WRITING INSTRUMENTS; SCROLLS; TREES

Learning

see KNOWLEDGE AND LEARNING

Leather

see HIDES AND FLEECE; ANIMAL LIFE

Left Hand and Right Hand

The terminal part of each arm, often with connotations of evil and good, respectively (see GOOD AND EVIL; HANDS). The left hand *(shimāl,* pl. *shamā'il, mash'ama)* and the right hand *(yamīn,* pl. *aymān, maymana)* appear in the Qur'ān in two contexts: first, the *ḥisāb,* a record or statement of personal

deeds to be given to every person on the day of judgment (*yawm al-dīn,* see LAST JUDGMENT; RECORD OF HUMAN ACTIONS); second, the placement of the resurrected (see RESURRECTION) before they are sent off to either paradise (q.v.) or hell (see HELL AND HELLFIRE). In this connection, the left hand or the left side is attested six times and the right hand or the right side fourteen times.

Those who refused to believe in the resurrection or persisted in their terrible sins (*al-ḥinth al-ʿazīm,* frequently explained as polytheism; see POLYTHEISM AND ATHEISM; SIN, MAJOR AND MINOR) will receive their record in their left hand (Q 56:41; 69:25) and will regret having relied on their wealth or power (*sulṭān,* Q 69:25-9). They are identified as *al-ḍāllūn al-mukadhdhibūn* (those who erred and denied Muḥammad's prophethood, Q 56:51; see ASTRAY; ERROR; OPPOSITION TO MUḤAMMAD). They will be punished (see REWARD AND PUNISHMENT) with burning winds (see AIR AND WIND) and boiling waters (see WATER) and will eat of a tree called Zaqqūm (Q 56:9, 41-56; see AGRICULTURE AND VEGETATION); they will be fettered with a chain seventy cubits long and will roast in hell (Q 56:92-4; 69:30-7; 84:10-25; 90:19-20). In contrast, those who followed their *imām* (q.v.; generally explained as prophets or holy books; see BOOK; PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD) and performed good deeds (q.v.) such as freeing a slave (see SLAVES AND SLAVERY), feeding an orphan (see ORPHANS) in famine (q.v.) or exhorting one another to show pity and compassion will be given their record *(kitāb)* in their right hand (Q 17:71; 90:12-8). Their reckoning will be easy (Q 84:7-9) and their light (q.v.) will run forward before them and by their right hands (Q 57:12; 66:8). Their abode will be paradise, there to be served by immortal boys while enjoying spreading shade, plentiful waters, abundant fruits and perfect virgins (Q 56:8, 27-40, 90-1; 69:19-24; see HOURIS). They include a group from among the pre-Muḥammadan believers *(al-sābiqūn)* and Muḥammad's followers (*al-ākhirūn,* cf. Muqātil, *Tafsīr,* iv, 219). They will ask one another about those who entered hell (*saqar,* Q 74:39-56; cf. 90:18 f.).

Exegetes (see EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL) deal extensively with these topics, using traditions attributed to the Prophet, to his Companions (see COMPANIONS OF THE PROPHET) or even to *quṣṣāṣ* (preachers and tellers of legends; see ḤADĪTH AND THE QURʾĀN). They make a connection between *aṣḥāb al-mashʾama* (Q 56:9) or *aṣḥāb al-shimāl* (Q 56:41) with those who will be given their records *(kitāb)* in their left hand, and *aṣḥāb al-maymana* (Q 56:8) or *aṣḥāb al-yamīn* (Q 56:38, 90-1) with those who will be given their *kitāb* in their right hand. The term *al-mutalaqqiyāni* recorded in Q 50:17-8 is explained as referring to the two "recording angels" sitting *(qaʿīd),* one on the right of each human being, recording his good acts *(ḥasanāt)* and one on the left recording his sins (Ibn al-Jawzī, *Tabṣira,* ii, 254). These records form the *ṣaḥāʾif al-aʿmāl,* which will be presented during the final reckoning and judgment. Exegetes tried to elaborate and complete the qurʾānic picture of the various elements that constitute this special phase of the last judgment. Since the qurʾānic references to this reckoning are abundant but not always sequenced, there were many attempts to assign a chronological order to the different stages of this critical process. The most prevalent accounts assert that after the resurrection each person will be escorted by his two recording angels (Qurṭubī, *Tadhkira,* i, 295-6). All will be gathered in the courtyards *(ʿaraṣāt al-qiyāma)*. Those who receive their *kitāb*s in their left hands or behind their backs (*warāʾa ẓahrihi,* Q 84:10; the explanation of receiving the book behind the back is that

the right hands of these people will be fettered to their necks and their left hands will be turned to their backs, Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr,* viii, 378-9 ad Q 84:7-10) will regret that death was not their final step and that now they must be judged (see JUDGMENT). Their good deeds will be annulled and their bad deeds (see EVIL DEEDS) will be doubled in order to double their penalty (Qurṭubī, *Jāmiʿ,* xix, 271-3 ad Q 84:7-10). Their reckoning *(ḥisāb)* will be discussed, that discussion being a sign of their imminent punishment. Those who receive their *kitāb*s in their right hands will undergo an "easy reckoning" (*ḥisāb yasīr,* Q 84:7) consisting merely of a simple *ʿarḍ,* God's review or inspection of the resurrected (Qurṭubī, *Tadhkira,* i, 382), and will rejoin their relatives in paradise. Al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (d. 110/728) speaks about three *ʿurūḍ,* the first and the second comprising elements of discussion *(jidāl)* and excuse *(maʿādhīr),* the third, the scattering of the sheets (*taṭāyur al-ṣuḥuf,* Ibn Kathīr, *al-Nihāya,* ii, 41). In some sources, these records *(kutub)* are connected with the *mawāzīn,* "balances" (recorded in Q 7:8, 9; 23:102, 103; 101:6, 8; see INSTRUMENTS; WEIGHTS AND MEASURES). The good deeds will tilt the balance and open the way to paradise. Those whose balance of good deeds is too light will be sent to hell (Schimmel, *Deciphering the signs,* 219-41).

There were attempts to interpret the qurʾānic verses dealing with *aṣḥāb al-yamīn* and *aṣḥāb al-shimāl* as references to specific persons or parties (see PARTIES AND FACTIONS). According to al-Zuhrī (d. 124/742), the first two brothers to receive their records will be the Companion Abū Salama b. ʿAbd al-Asad who will receive it in his right hand and the enemy of the Prophet, Sufyān b. ʿAbd al-Asad, who will receive it in his left hand (al-Nabīl, *Awāʾil,* 34, no. 82). Shīʿī sources (see SHĪʿISM AND THE QURʾĀN), citing a tradition attributed to the sixth imām Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq (d. 148/765), report that Q 69:19 refers to ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib (q.v.) as the first to receive his *kitāb* in his right hand and that Q 69:25 refers to Muʿāwiya b. Abī Sufyān or *al-Shāmī laʿanahu llāh,* "the Syrian, may God curse him," who will receive his *kitāb* in his left hand (Qummī, *Tafsīr,* ii, 384; Majlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār,* viii, 518, l. 11-12). A report attributed to ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib attests that the *aṣḥāb al-yamīn* in Q 56:27 are *atfāl al-muslimīn,* "children of Muslims" (ʿAbd al-Razzāq, *Tafsīr,* ii, 270; Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* xxvii, 179). Qatāda (d. ca. 117/735) reportedly interpreted *"min aṣḥābi l-yamīn"* in the verse "'Peace be with you' from those on the right hand" (*fa-salāmun laka min aṣḥābi l-yamīn,* Q 56:91) as meaning "from God" *(min ʿindi llāhi)* or "from his angels" (cf. Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* xxvii, 213); but al-Qummī (fl. fourth/tenth cent.; *Tafsīr,* ii, 350) reports that the reference is to *aṣḥāb amīr al-muʾminīn,* meaning the adherents of ʿAlī, the "prince of the believers."

The question of *qadar,* "predestination," (see FREEDOM AND PREDESTINATION) which forms part of the pillars of belief (*arkān al-īmān,* see FAITH; BELIEF AND UNBELIEF) is addressed by most exegetes when they deal with the question of *aṣḥāb al-yamīn* or *aṣḥāb al-shimāl*. Traditions report that Muḥammad appeared one day with two lists, one in each hand: the one in his right hand containing the names of those who will enter paradise, and the other, in his left hand, containing the names of those destined for hell (Tirmidhī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* no. 2067; Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad,* no. 6275). The records *(kutub)* will be distributed before they are examined and each group will be directed to their destiny (q.v.). Since one of the most beautiful names of God (*al-asmāʾ al-ḥusnā,* see GOD AND HIS ATTRIBUTES) is *al-ʿadl,* "the righteous," authors tried, each one according to his creed (see CREEDS) or sectarian affiliation, to harmonize the contra-

dictory qurʾānic statements. This trend led to the belief that the last judgment will be a mere formality. Generally, with the exception of the Muʿtazila (see MUʿTAZILĪS) and the Qadariyya (the group which held the position of free will), authors discussing the problem of the last judgment dealt more with the definition of a believer or unbeliever than with the matter of deeds themselves (Rippin, *Muslims,* 68-82; Gimaret, *Théories,* 335-6 [for the Muʿtazilites]).

According to Q 39:67, on the day of resurrection, "the heavens (see HEAVEN AND SKY) shall be rolled up in his right hand." Traditions add that the earth (q.v.) shall be rolled up in God's left hand (Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ, Ṣifat al-qiyāma,* no. 4995; see APOCALYPSE). Generally, this is taken to refer to God's power (see POWER AND IMPOTENCE), especially by the Muʿtazila and the negators of anthropomorphism (q.v.), but some circles, like the Ḥanbalīs and particularly the Wahhābīs, interpret it literally. Such interpretation led to the belief that God has two hands but that both are right ones, since the left hand is an epithet of created beings, and not of the creator (see CREATION): *inna li-khāliqinā yadayn kiltāhumā yamīnān, lā yasāra li-khāliqinā idhi l-yasāru min ṣifati l-makhlūqīn* (Ibn Khuzayma, *al-Tawḥīd,* 66; Ibn Fūrak, *Mushkil al-ḥadīth,* 37-8; Blachère, *Introduction,* 216-21; Gimaret, *Dieu à l'image,* 202-4; Abdel Haleem, *Understanding the Qurʾān,* 107-22). Saʿīd b. Jubayr (d. 95/714) attributed to Ibn ʿAbbās a tradition stating that the letter *yāʾ* at the opening of Q 19 *(kāf, hāʾ, yāʾ, ʿayn* and *ṣād)* stands for *yamīn* which is one of the names of God (*Lisān al-ʿArab,* s.v. *y m nʾ,* xiii, 459). According to a ḥadīth, the Kaʿba (q.v.) is considered to be the right hand of God since it is touched and kissed *(istilām)* during the pilgrimage (q.v.; *Lisān al-ʿArab,* op. cit.).

In many ancient cultures, the right side was considered better than the left side (*Gen* 48:13-20). It symbolized goodness and kindness, while the left represented evil, the sinister, the bad. In Latin, the term *sinistra* means both left and sinister. In the Bible, God's right hand represents his strong arm (*Exod* 15:15; *Isa* 62:8; *Ps* 118:15-6; 139:10). The Qurʾān itself (as discussed above) and later Islamic tradition attest to similar understandings of "left" *(shimāl)* and "right" *(yamīn)*. The *bayʿa,* "pledge of allegiance," must be performed with the right hand (see CONTRACTS AND ALLIANCES; OATHS); eating with the left is prohibited since this hand is used for cleansing after elimination and since Satan (see DEVIL) usually eats and drinks using his left hand (Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* no. 3763-6; see FOOD AND DRINK; RITUAL PURITY; LAWFUL AND UNLAWFUL). One should enter a mosque (q.v.) with the right leg and leave with left. During the prayer (q.v.), it is prohibited to expectorate in the direction of the *qibla* (q.v.) or the right side; while it is permitted toward the left side (ʿAbd al-Razzāq, *Muṣannaf,* i, 430-4). Until recently, it was customary in some Muslim countries to oblige left-handed children to use their right hand. This practice is based on the beliefs mentioned above and goes back at least to the first period of Islam: when Khālid b. al-Walīd received Abū Bakr's (q.v.) letter ordering him to leave Iraq (q.v.) for Syria (al-Shām) to support the Muslim forces there, his furious reaction was: "this [decision] was surely taken by the left-handed man," meaning ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb (q.v.; cf. Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh,* iii, 415). ʿUmar was, in fact, left-handed *(Lisān al-ʿArab,* iv, 565, *ʿ-s-r)*. Finally, it is worth mentioning that the Arabic root *y-s-r* means both "to be or become easy, prosperous," and "left, left side." In Q 87:8, *al-yusrā* is explained as paradise and in Q 92:10, *al-ʿusrā* is hell.

The terms *shimāl* and *yamīn* also represent north and south. In the archives of Mari,

the Old Babylonian royal city on the banks of the middle Euphrates river, the west Semitic *yamīna,* "right," designates the cardinal point south, and *simʾal,* "left," indicates north. This use of south and north is deduced from the designation, known only from Mari, of certain tribes as *dumu.Meš-yamīna* and *dumu.Meš-simʾal,* 'sons of the right' and 'sons of the left' respectively (Malamat, *Mari and the early Israelite experience,* 33, 67-8; cf. id., *Mari and the Bible,* 299). The term *semol,* spelled *s-m-ʾ-l,* appears in Genesis 14:15 and is generally translated as "north" — the north representing calamity (*Jer* 1:14). In later Jewish sources, the Devil is called Samaʾel or Semiʾel (see SAMUEL). The Arabic name for Greater Syria is al-Shaʾm or al-Shaʾām. Arab lexicographers explain that this name is derived from *shuʾm,* "bad luck, misfortune" (Bashear, Yemen, 351-3). But, might one also suppose that Shaʾm is an Arabic derivation of the West Semitic Simʾal = Shimʾal, particularly in the light of the clear etymology of al-Yaman (Yemen), another ancient Arabic designation of a geographic area and a cardinal point?

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Leg

see ANATOMY; ANTHROPOMORPHISM

Legends

see NARRATIVES; MYTHS AND LEGENDS IN THE QURʾĀN

Legion

see RANKS AND ORDERS

Legislation

see LAW AND THE QURʾĀN

Leper

see ILLNESS AND HEALTH

Letters

see MYSTERIOUS LETTERS; ARABIC SCRIPT

Liar

see LIE

Lie

To deceive; anything which deceives. The polemical context of the qurʾānic revelation and the discursive nature of qurʾānic

scripture make lying one of the most frequently mentioned sins in the Qurʾān (see SIN, MAJOR AND MINOR). Furthermore, the Qurʾān's oft-repeated references to itself as "the truth" (q.v.; *al-ḥaqq*) and the declaration that God created the entire world "with truth" (Q 46:3), make dishonesty a central characteristic of unbelief *(kufr)* and polytheism *(shirk),* such links sometimes being explicitly stated (Q 16:39; 29:17; see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF; POLYTHEISM AND ATHEISM; IDOLATRY AND IDOLATERS). Thus, the foremost liars in the Qurʾān are polytheists *(mushrikūn)* who make false claims about God and his prophets, among them the accusation that the prophets lie (see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD). Both sides in this polemic (see POLEMIC AND POLEMICAL LANGUAGE) use the same terms: the most common being *kadhaba, iftarā* and *ifk*. In the mouths of unbelievers such falsehoods are regarded as among the most serious of sins. In the Qurʾān, various forms of *kadhaba* are attested eighty-two times, *iftarā* sixty times, and *ifk* in the sense of "lie" thirteen times. Other terms include *zūr,* attested four times, and a form of *kh-r-q* that is used once with the meaning to "falsely attribute" (offspring) to God (*kharaqū,* Q 6:100; see GOD AND HIS ATTRIBUTES; CHRISTIANS AND CHRISTIANITY; ANTHROPOMORPHISM).

The gravity of lying is seen in the repeated question "who is more wicked than one who invents falsehoods about God…" *(wa/[fa]-man aẓlamu mimman iftarā ʿalā llāhi kadhiban)*. This question is posed nine times in this form (Q 6:21, 93, 144; 7:37; 10:17; 11:18; 18:15; 29:68; 61:7), and twice with derivatives of *k-dh-b* (Q 6:157; 39:32). This is usually directed at polytheists but Q 61:7, following an excursus on those who rejected Jesus (q.v.), seems directed at Jews (see JEWS AND JUDAISM). Commentators such as al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923), al-Zamakhsharī (d. 538/1144) and al-Rāzī (d. 606/1210) think that Jews and Christians may also be targets in other cases. These passages and others also show that lying in the sense of "freely inventing falsehoods" cannot in the qurʾānic context be wholly dissociated from "denying the truth" *(kadhdhaba)* as in "who is more wicked than one who invents falsehoods about God or *(aw)* denies the truth" (*aw-kadhdhaba bi-l-ḥaqq,* Q 29:68). Due to this, and to the fact that terms such as *kadhaba* and *kharaqa* may denote not only a false statement that the speaker knows to be false (and by which he means to deceive others), but also a false statement that the speaker thinks true, it is sometimes difficult to restrict the qurʾānic meaning of "lies" to "freely invented falsehoods"; for those who cling to what is simply false — or dress the truth with falsehood — (*bāṭil* in Q 2:42; cf. 29:68 and eleven other places) are also taken to task (see ERROR; ASTRAY). The hypocrites (*munāfiqūn,* see HYPOCRITES AND HYPOCRISY) are, in the case of Muḥammad's prophetic mission, the second most prominent liars after the polytheists. "God bears witness that the hypocrites are lying" (Q 63:1; see also Q 3:167 and 9:77; see WITNESSING AND TESTIFYING). Other notable liars include those who slander other people's wives (the scandal of ʿĀʾisha, Q 24:11-24; see ʿĀʾISHA BINT ABĪ BAKR; GOSSIP; WIVES OF THE PROPHET), Joseph's (q.v.) brothers and Potiphar's wife (Q 12:17, 23-8; see WOMEN AND THE QURʾĀN) and, of course, poets (Q 26:224-6; see POETRY AND POETS).

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Life

The vital force that distinguishes organic from inorganic matter. At the heart of the qurʾānic evocation of life are a paradox and two paradigms. The paradox arises from a dual attitude to, or sense of, "life" *(ḥayāt)*. On the one hand, life as an animating force in the body is perceived as utterly sacred. Humans are urged not to kill their children (q.v.) out of fear of being reduced to poverty (*imlāq,* Q 17:31; see POVERTY AND THE POOR). God promises that he will provide for both parent and child (see FAMILY; PARENTS) and warns that infanticide (q.v.) is a grievous sin (see SIN, MAJOR AND MINOR). The sanctity of life is stressed again a little later in the same sūra: "Nor take life *(al-nafs)* — which God has made sacred *(allatī ḥarrama Allāh)* — except for just cause" (*bi-l-ḥaqq,* Q 17:33; see BLOODSHED; MURDER; RETALIATION). Yūsuf ʿAlī's translation of *nafs* in Q 17:33 is closer to the corporeal sense intended than Arberry's which reads: "And slay not the soul *(al-nafs)* God has forbidden (q.v.), except by right *(bi-l-ḥaqq)*."

Life in the sense of living out one's corporeal existence is, however, paradoxically fraught with danger, illusion and deception. The Qurʾān exhibits an almost platonic rejection of the life of this world *(al-ḥayāt al-dunyā),* characterizing it as nothing but "play and amusement" *(laʿib wa-lahw)* and contrasting it with the reward of the righteous in the hereafter (Q 6:32; see GOOD AND EVIL; REWARD AND PUNISHMENT). There is a virtual repetition of the same words in Q 57:20 where this leitmotiv of *al-ḥayāt al-dunyā* as *laʿib wa-lahw* is further amplified by its being powerfully designated as "goods and chattels of deception" *(matāʿ al-ghurūr)*. In the emphasis placed by the text on a physical world of transitory illusion and deception, and the explicit contrast in Q 6:32 of this world and the next, there are obvious echoes of the lament in Ecclesiastes 1:2-3.

The first paradigm flows directly from God's qurʾānic designation as "the living" (*al-ḥayy,* Q 2:255; 3:2; 20:111; 25:58; 40:65; see GOD AND HIS ATTRIBUTES): God is the central focus of life *(al-ḥayāt)* in the Qurʾān. From him all else that is alive takes its being; by him everything is created *ex nihilo* (see CREATION; COSMOLOGY). To use Ibn Sīnā's (d. 428/1037) famous phrase, the production of all other life means that God is "the necessitating force behind existence" (*wājib al-wujūd,* Goichon, *Lexique,* 417-8). The Throne Verse (see THRONE OF GOD), which enshrines this concept in the Qurʾān, is rightly accorded considerable prominence and respect in Islam:

> God! There is no god but he, the living *(al-ḥayy),* eternal *(al-qayyūm)*. No slumber can seize him, nor sleep (q.v.). His are all things in the heavens (see HEAVEN AND SKY) and on earth (q.v.). Who is there who can intercede (see INTERCESSION) in his presence except as he permits? He knows what [appears to his creatures as] before or behind them. Nor shall they compass aught of his knowledge except as he wills. His throne does extend over the heavens and the earth, and he feels no fatigue in preserving them both. For he is the most high, the supreme [in glory] (Q 2:255).

This Throne Verse is "one of the most famous and beloved of the verses of the Qurʾān, frequently recited as a protection against harm or evil" (Netton, *Popular dictionary,* 45; see POPULAR AND TALISMANIC USES OF THE QURʾĀN; EVERYDAY LIFE, THE QURʾĀN IN). It is a verse which proclaims God's life, his self-subsisting and eternal nature, his vigilance, his divine ownership of his creation, his omniscience, his divine will (see FREEDOM AND PREDESTINATION), his transcendence and unknowableness, his

power, his glory (q.v.) and his unity. It thus encapsulates a lucid, thumbnail sketch of many of the most important divine attributes. Although they are articulated as separate epithets, "the living" *(al-ḥayy)* and "the eternal" *(al-qayyūm)* are logically to be identified as a unity according to the classical doctrine of the oneness of God (*tawḥīd,* see POLYTHEISM AND ATHEISM; ETERNITY). Commenting on this verse, Yūsuf ʿAlī (1872-1953) notes: "His Life is absolute Life, his Being is absolute Being, while others are contingent and evanescent…" (Yūsuf ʿAlī, *Holy Qurʾān,* 103, n. 297). For Islam and the Qurʾān, God is life and the creator and divine dispenser of life.

R. Arnaldez (Ḥayāt, 302) reminds us that "al-Zamakhsharī [d. 538/1144] states that *ḥayy,* in the technical language of the theologians, describes one who has knowledge and power" (see KNOWLEDGE AND LEARNING; POWER AND IMPOTENCE). This concentration of "life" and "power" is an ancient archetype of the divine as seen, for example, in the hieroglyphic portrayals of the deities in Egypt (q.v.; see Hornung, *Conceptions of God,* 199-200; but cf. 230-3). Further, such ancient archetypes portray an idea of "the creator's loving care" for his creation — rather than Aristotle's "unmoved" First Mover. In the Islamic paradigm, as well, the creator maintains (chosen) life by means both ordinary and extraordinary. Divine benefaction and sustenance *(rizq)* is mentioned frequently as are such acts of intervention as sending angels (see ANGEL) to fight on the side of Muḥammad at the battle of Badr (q.v.) in 2/624 (Q 3:123-5; 8:4, 9).

The verses in the Qurʾān which refer to life *(al-ḥayāt)* and to God as "the living" *(al-ḥayy),* were revealed in a particular historical milieu (see HISTORY AND THE QURʾĀN; CHRONOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN). Despite such barbarities as the burial alive of newly born female infants (see Q 17:31; Yūsuf ʿAlī, *Holy Qurʾān,* 703 n. 2214), the pre-Islamic notion of Mecca (q.v.) as a sanctuary for visitors and as a sacred territory (*ḥaram,* see GEOGRAPHY) together with the concept of sacred months (q.v.; Shaban, *Islamic history,* 3; Q 2:194, 217), illustrate an environment in which there was some attempt at respect for, and preservation of, life. Later under the new qurʾānic dispensation, blood revenge (*thaʾr,* see BLOOD MONEY) would be replaced by just retaliation (*qiṣāṣ,* see Q 2:178-9; 17:33), thus inaugurating a new "respect for life" and, theoretically, further diminution of bloodshed and life lost.

God's fundamental generative power whereby he creates new life *ex nihilo* is a basic leitmotiv of the sacred text. It is clothed with a basic biology (Q 23:12-16; see BIOLOGY AS THE CREATION AND STAGES OF LIFE) in which the human body is portrayed as developing, dying (see DEATH AND THE DEAD) and then being brought to life again (lit. *tubʿathūna,* Q 23:16) on the day of judgment (*yawm al-qiyāma,* see LAST JUDGMENT). The image here is of new, eternal life being born, or reborn, out of the distress, fires, convulsions and terrors of that last day, with a greater fire (q.v.), that of hell, as the final reward of the wicked (Q 52:13-4; see HELL AND HELLFIRE). While eternal life will be born out of the cataclysm of the last day, humankind's diurnal present life *(al-ḥayāt al-dunyā)* is likened in the Qurʾān to rainwater (*māʾ,* see WATER; NATURE AS SIGNS; BLESSING). This is sent down by God from the skies to refresh the earth (see AGRICULTURE AND VEGETATION), assist in the production of food and provide an, albeit ephemeral, earthly paradise (q.v.) which God will cause to pass (Q 10:24; see FOOD AND DRINK; GARDEN). It is this temporary aspect of the results of the life-giving water which is stressed here, together with the transient dimension of human life. There is a vivid

and obvious contrast that can be made between these images and the water imagery of the New Testament in which it is proclaimed "The water I give him will be a spring of water within him, that flows continually to bring him everlasting life" (John 4:14; see SCRIPTURE AND THE QUR'ĀN).

The first paradigm mentioned above is that of God's creative gift of life and of the individual's grateful return of that life to God at the moment of death. This life has, ideally, been enriched by faith (q.v.) and good works (Q 2:277; 9:19-20; see GOOD DEEDS) if paradise is to be the final destination of the individual (see GRATITUDE AND INGRATITUDE; GIFT-GIVING). In the beginning, God creates the first man, Adam (see ADAM AND EVE), from clay (q.v.), breathes into him his spirit (q.v.) and displays him to the angels for their admiration and respect (Q 15:26-39). There is an archetypical "gifting" at the beginning of human time of new life to a new creation. And God does not forget his creation but guides, sustains and cures the previous life he has instituted (Q 26:78-80; see ASTRAY; ILLNESS AND HEALTH), sends the final revelation, that of the Qur'ān as the last and ultimate guidebook to paradise (Q 31:3; see REVELATION AND INSPIRATION). On the last day, he will raise the old life to a new one (Q 26:81; see RESURRECTION). According to this paradigm, God, the archetypical and only creator and controller of life, gives life twice, first at birth and then by ultimately raising his creation to a new form of existence (Q 56:60-2).

The second paradigm interwoven into, and to be extrapolated from, the fabric of the Qur'ān is that of life as a journey (q.v.) from terrestrial to celestial life. Man's life involves much exertion and a hard toiling (*kādiḥ,* see WORK) towards his lord (q.v.) but the final encounter is assured (Q 84:6) after a journey from "stage to stage" (*ṭabaqan ʿan ṭabaqin,* Q 84:19). As Yūsuf ʿAlī puts it in his comment on the latter verse: "Man travels and ascends stage by stage. In Q 67:3 the same word in the form *ṭibāqan* was used of the heavens, as if they were in layers one above another. Man's spiritual life may similarly be compared to an ascent from one heaven to another" (Yūsuf ʿAlī, *Holy Qur'ān,* 1711 n. 6047).

During the life journey the human is tested (Q 2:155; 3:186; 47:31; 57:25; see TRIAL) and perhaps the archetypical "questing and testing" encounter in the Qur'ān, one which graphically illustrates that in such testing God's ways are not human ways, is the famous encounter between Moses (q.v.; Mūsā) and al-Khiḍr (see KHAḌIR/KHIḌR). This occupies a substantial section of the eighteenth sūra, Sūrat al-Kahf ("The Cave," Q 18:60-82). The essential nature of a human's life journey (a journey palely adumbrated in this qur'ānic encounter between Moses and al-Khiḍr but with a different objective) is that it is always a return to God, for reward or punishment. The created return to their source, the creator (Q 6:60, 72; 10:45-6).

Life, then, in the Qur'ān has both a macro and a micro dimension, if it is viewed in terms of a journey *(riḥla)*. From the global or macro viewpoint, all living beings, originating in, and created by, God, are journeying *en masse* in multifarious form towards the final cataclysm of the last day, a day of rebirth as well as destruction: "One day the earth will be changed to a different earth, and so will be the heavens" (Q 14:48; see APOCALYPSE). From a micro perspective, each human life has an individual path to tread and an individual salvation (q.v.) to achieve: the wicked will be reborn to new life in eternal torment and the just and the righteous, who have followed "the straight path" (*al-ṣirāṭ al-*

mustaqīm, see PATH OR WAY) articulated so clearly and so often in the Qurʾān, will be reborn to eternal bliss. It is a return and a rebirth to a new life which will be accomplished in profound haste, almost as if both return and rebirth were long overdue, or the divine cosmic patience with humanity had suddenly exhausted itself: "On that day we shall leave them to surge *(yamūju)* like waves on one another: the trumpet will be blown, and we shall collect them all together (Q 18:99).… The day whereon they will issue from their sepulchres in sudden haste *(sirāʿan)* as if they were rushing *(yūfiḍūna)* to a goal-post [fixed for them]" (Q 70:43).

In conclusion, earthly life, the return and the eschaton are, for the Muslim, different aspects of a single, multi-dimensional, eschatological frame (see ESCHATOLOGY). This is, as it were, our ultimate paradigm and ultimate paradox. Real life, for Islam, of necessity involves death coupled with a realizable eschatology whose basis is eternal life:

All of human history, then, moves from the creation to the eschaton. Preceding the final judgement will come signs (both cosmic and moral) signaling the arrival of the Hour as well as the specific events of the resurrection and assessment. Within this overall structure is the individual cycle which specifies the events of creation, death and resurrection. Part of the fatalistic determinism of the pre-Islamic Arabs was their sense that each human life is for a fixed term or ajal. It is immutably set; on the appointed day one's life comes to an end. This idea of an ajal is repeated in the Qurʾān, both for individuals [Q 6:2; 7:34; 16:61; 20:129] and for nations [Q 10:49, 15:4-5]" (Smith and Haddad, *Islamic understanding,* 5).

This remains the fundamental Islamic paradigm for both medieval and modern Islamic theology (see THEOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN), whatever the glosses of individual verses *(āyāt)* by contemporary exegesis (see EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: EARLY MODERN AND CONTEMPORARY). It is worth noting, however, that the medieval philosophers *(falāsifa)* often developed a different set of conceptions about the cycle of life, some of which appear difficult to reconcile with the basic theological positions of the Qurʾān (see Arnaldez, Ḥayāt, 303).

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Life after Death

see ESCHATOLOGY; RESURRECTION; PARADISE; HELL AND HELLFIRE; REWARD AND PUNISHMENT

Lifetime

see DESTINY; FATE; LIFE; DEATH AND THE DEAD

Light

The emanation from a light-giving body: the essential condition for vision (see VISION AND BLINDNESS; SEEING AND HEARING) — the opposite of darkness (q.v.). The Qurʾān is rich in references to light, both in the literal sense of the word as well as in symbolic and metaphoric senses (see METAPHOR; SYMBOLIC IMAGERY). The most common word for light is *nūr,* although *ḍiyāʾ* also appears on three occasions (also *miṣbāḥ* and *sirāj;* see also LAMP and FIRE).

Light as *nūr* most frequently appears juxtaposed to darkness *(ẓulumāt)*. This is most common in the phrase "From the darkness into the light" *(mina l-ẓulumāti ilā l-nūri)* which appears at least seven times in the Qurʾān (Q 2:257; 5:16; 14:1, 5; 33:43; 57:9; 65:11). In this context, light functions both as that with which one can see clearly in a literal sense and also as a metaphoric source of guidance and illumination, wherein darkness is akin to ignorance (q.v.) and being led astray (q.v.). In the first sense, light versus darkness is compared to having sight versus being blind (e.g. Q 13:16: "Say: Is the blind equal with one who sees or is darkness equal with light?"; this verse is repeated almost verbatim in Q 35:19). Elsewhere the direct connection between light and seeing versus darkness and not seeing is clearly evoked: "God took away their light and left them in darkness so they could not see" (Q 2:17), and the evocative "Or like the darkness in a deep ocean surmounted by crashing waves with dark clouds above — darknesses, one on top of the other. If he puts out his hand he can hardly see it. Therefore for anyone for whom God did not make a light, there is no light" (Q 24:40).

In its sense as guidance, light is very closely related to the important issues of revelation and prophecy (see REVELATION AND INSPIRATION; PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD). The Torah (q.v.) and Gospel (q.v.; *injīl*) are referred to as "guidance and light" *(hudan wa-nūrun)* in Q 5:44 and Q 5:46. This is repeated for the Torah again in Q 6:91: "Say: Who sent down the book (q.v.) that Moses (q.v.; Mūsā) brought as light and guidance for humankind *(nūran wa-hudan lil-nās)?*" Elsewhere, the word *ḍiyāʾ* is used for the revelation sent to Moses: "Indeed we gave Moses and Aaron (q.v.; Hārūn) the criterion (q.v.; *al-furqān*) and a light *(ḍiyāʾan)* and a reminder for those who do right" (Q 21:48; see MEMORY).

Light is also used to indicate the revelation received by Muḥammad (see NAMES OF THE QURʾĀN): "So believe in God and his messenger (q.v.), and the light *(nūr)* that we sent down" (Q 64:8); "And thus we sent to you a spirit (q.v.; *rūḥ*) by our command. You did not know what the book was nor faith (q.v.), but we made it a light *(nūr)* with which we guide whom we wish of our servants" (Q 42:52); "O humankind! Indeed a proof (q.v.; *burhān*) has come to you from your lord (q.v.). And we sent down to you a manifest light *(nūran mubīnan)*" (Q 4:174). The majority of instances, however, appear to use "light" *(nūr)* as a reference to prophecy rather than qurʾānic revelation: "There has come to you from God a light and a clear [or manifest] book *(kitābun mubīnun)*" (Q 5:15); "It is those who believe in him, honor him, help him, and follow the light that is sent down with him — it is they who will prosper" (Q 7:157). In one instance, Muḥammad is referred to explicitly as a source of light: "And an inviter to God by his leave, and a light-giving lamp *(sirājan munīran)*" (Q 33:46; see NAMES OF THE PROPHET).

The word *mubīn,* normally translated as "clear" or "manifest," has a special significance in instances where "light" refers to revelation and prophecy, since in Arabic *mubīn* and the root *b-y-n* mean not only "clear" but also "readily apparent." Thus phrases such as *kitāb mubīn,* "clear book" (as in Q 5:15 mentioned above) or the common *āyāt bayyanāt,* "manifest signs (q.v.), clear verses (q.v.)," carry a connotation of being "lit up" and clearly visible, not just "clear" in the sense of "easily understood."

Three verses refer to the light *(nūr)* of God: "And the earth will shine with the light of its lord" (Q 39:22); two are almost identical in their phrasing: "They wish to extinguish the light of God with their mouths, but God will not allow but that he would perfect his light, even though the unbelievers detest it" (Q 9:32; also Q 61:8; see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF). Commentators on the Qurʾān (see EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL) have understood this variously to refer to the glory (q.v.) of God or to his message.

Light also refers to the sun (q.v.) and moon (q.v.) where moonlight is called *nūr* and sunlight *ḍiyāʾ:* "He is the one who made the sun a light and the moon a light (*jaʿala l-shams ḍiyāʾan wa-l-qamar nūran,* Q 10:5). Elsewhere, the moon is referred to as light *(nūr)* while the sun is called a lamp (*sirāj,* Q 71:16; cf. 25:61; 78:13).

The most important reference to light is in Q 24:35: "God is the light of the heavens and the earth. The parable of his light is as a niche *(mishkāt)* in which is a lamp; the lamp encased in glass; the glass as if it were a shining star lit from a blessed tree, an olive, neither of the east nor of the west, whose oil would burn bright even if no fire touched it. Light upon light, God guides to his light whom he wishes, and God puts forth parables for human beings, and God is knowing of all things." The sūra of the Qurʾān in which this verse occurs is named Sūrat al-Nūr, "The Light," and the verse is popularly known as the Light Verse *(āyat al-nūr).* It has enjoyed a special significance in mystical commentaries on the Qurʾān (see ṢŪFISM AND THE QURʾĀN). Thus the early and influential Ṣūfī Sahl al-Tustarī (d. 283/898) sees this verse as a reference to the "light of Muḥammad" *(nūr Muḥammad),* which functions in its primordial sense as a veil to hide the inscrutable nature of God (Böwering, *Mystical,* 149-51). The Persian mystic Rūzbihān Baqlī al-Shīrāzī (d. 606/1209) took a particularly esoteric reading of this verse, speaking of a darkness of non-being *(zulmat al-ʿadam)* lying between the letters *kāf* and *nūn* of the word *kawn,* "existence," and untouched by the light of either letter (see ARABIC SCRIPT). *Kawn,* existence, is like an illuminated niche, lit up by the light of divine qualities (*ṣifāt;* see GOD AND HIS ATTRIBUTES). By looking at this niche we can see the light of the letters *kāf* and *nūn* of "existence" (Shīrāzī, *ʿArāʾis,* 81; cf. Bursawī, *Tafsīr,* vi, 152 f., for further discussion of this verse).

Light as an important religious concept became central to Ṣūfī practice and in the philosophy of virtually all Muslim neo-Platonists (see PHILOSOPHY AND THE QURʾĀN). It also occupied a central place in the Persian Islamic philosophical tradition commonly referred to as the illumination *(ishrāqī)* school, whose most famous exponent, Shihāb al-Dīn Yaḥyā al-Suhrawardī, was executed for holding heretical beliefs in 587/1191 (see HERESY; LITERATURE AND THE QURʾĀN).

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Lightning

see WEATHER

Lion

see ANIMAL LIFE

Lips

see ANATOMY

Listen

see HEARING AND DEAFNESS; SEEING AND HEARING

Literacy

The ability to read and, often, to write. Literacy (framed in contemporary Arabic by expressions such as *maʿrifat al-qirāʾa wa-l-kitāba, thaqāfa* and their derivatives) is in many cultures considered a primary requisite for learning and education. In Arabia at the beginning of the first/seventh century, however, oral transmission of knowledge, memorization and the spoken word had a long tradition and were highly appreciated among the tribes (see TRIBES AND CLANS; ORALITY AND WRITING IN ARABIA; MEMORY; SPEECH). Until that time, the use of writing and written matter — due also to the material conditions at that time — played a minor role (see MATERIAL CULTURE AND THE QURʾĀN). Apparently reflecting this situation, the Qurʾān seems to consider issues related to literacy of subordinate importance to those of its counterpart, illiteracy. Nevertheless, literacy is implied to a certain extent and acquires significance whenever mention is made of the holy book (q.v.; *al-kitāb, al-Qurʾān*), reading and teachings from holy scriptures *(kutub, ṣuḥuf),* knowledge and education in more general terms (see KNOWLEDGE AND LEARNING), or means of writing such as ink and pencil (see WRITING AND WRITING MATERIALS; INSTRUMENTS).

The qurʾānic statements concerning the theologically important question of whether the Arabian Prophet was literate or not remain ambiguous. In Q 25:5, for example, Muḥammad's opponents (see OPPOSITION TO MUḤAMMAD) discredit the Prophet by claiming that he was not receiving a divine revelation but was merely relying on "writings of the ancients (*asāṭīr al-awwalīn,* see GENERATIONS) which he has written down [or which he has had written down] *(iktatabahā)* and which were dictated to him *(tumlā ʿalayhi)* at dawn and in the early evening (q.v.; see also DAY, TIMES OF)." On the other hand, Q 29:48 addresses Muḥammad by stating "not before this [revelation] did you read/recite *(tatlū)* any book or inscribe it with your right hand, for then those who follow falsehood would have doubted." (For this question and for the possible meanings of *al-nabī al-ummī,* see Günther, Muḥammad, 7-12; see also UMMĪ; ILLITERACY.)

The five verses that are generally considered by Muslim tradition to comprise the first revelation to Muḥammad stress the written nature of religious knowledge:

Read/recite *(iqraʾ)* in the name of your lord who created. Created man of a blood-clot (see BLOOD AND BLOOD CLOT)! Read/recite [words of the holy scripture]! And your lord, the most generous, is the one [variant a:] who taught [the use of] the pen [variant b:] who taught by the pen. Taught man what he knew not [before]! (Q 96:1-5).

Although another tradition favors Q 74:1-5 as the first verses revealed, Q 96:1-5 nevertheless belongs to the very oldest parts of the *textus receptus* of the Qurʾān. This would mean that Islam, from its very beginning,

in a remarkably impressive way prioritizes the gaining of (religious) knowledge, learning and education.

Q 96:4-5, "who taught by the pen, taught man what he knew not" *(alladhī ʿallama bi-l-qalami; ʿallama l-insāna mā lam yaʿlam)* seems, according to a translation variant, to make an allusion to the "art of writing" as being a divinely granted human ability. The prepositional expression *bi-l-qalami* is then not to be understood as instrumental ("with the help of the pen") but as a kind of second object ("the pen," like in Q 2:282, with its allusion to God's teaching writing; see GRAMMAR AND THE QURʾĀN). This understanding, "who taught writing with the pen" *(ʿallama al-khaṭṭa bi-l-qalami),* is reported to have been found in the ancient Qurʾān codex of ʿAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr, who was a member of the commission appointed by the third caliph, ʿUthmān (r. 23-35/644-56), to collect officially and publish the text of the Qurʾān (cf. Jeffery, *Materials,* 229; see COLLECTION OF THE QURʾĀN; CODICES OF THE QURʾĀN). It would indicate that God is the one who taught humankind the script "and other things" they did not know before (*maʿa ashyāʾa ghayri dhālika,* Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* xii, 646) by teaching them the use of the pen. This understanding is reflected in the Qurʾān translations by Yūsuf ʿAlī, "He who taught (the use of) the pen," Shakir, "Who taught (to write) with the pen," and Paret (see also Nöldeke, Review, 723; and Paret, *Kommentar,* 515).

It is also possible (as a second variant), however, to understand the phrase as a general reference to knowledge of the revelation (see REVELATION AND INSPIRATION), which has been handed down by God to humankind through holy scriptures (Buhl, *Das Leben,* 137-8; Bell, *Origin of Islam,* 93-4; id., *Qurʾān,* ii, 635; Paret, *Kommentar,* 515; the translations by Arberry, "Who taught by the pen," and Pickthall, "Who teacheth by the pen" are in this vein). Such an understanding would associate the content of these — God's teachings — with the "guarded tablet" (*al-lawḥ al-maḥfūẓ,* Q 85:22; see PRESERVED TABLET; HEAVENLY BOOK), on which the revelation is preserved in heaven in written form (see also Fück, Das Problem, 1). It would refer to the heavenly archetype of the Qurʾān, whose "pages [are] highly-honored, uplifted, purified by the hands of scribes *(safara)* noble, pious" (Q 80:13-5; see also 85:21-2; 56:77-80; 98:2-3; 74:52; for *safara* meaning "scribes," "reciters" or "angels," see Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* xii, 445-6; Qurṭubī, *Jāmiʿ,* xix, 216; for the Semitic context of *safara* that clearly indicates the meaning of "scribes," see Horovitz, *Proper names,* 229; furthermore Jeffery, *Qurʾān,* 13, 15; Paret, *Kommentar* 502).

On the other hand, this passage could refer more specifically to the holy scriptures (see also Q 2:151; 4:113; 6:91; 55:1-4), which had emerged from the heavenly "tablet" and which had been revealed to prophets before Muḥammad (such as *ṣuḥuf Ibrāhīm wa-Mūsā,* the "scrolls of Abraham [q.v.] and Moses [q.v.]," in Q 87:18-9; also 2:53; 46:12; see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD). Jews and Christians had been reading these older scriptures (*yaqraʾūna l-kitāb,* Q 10:94), even though some among them had denied them when Muḥammad came to them (Q 2:101-2; see JEWS AND JUDAISM; CHRISTIANS AND CHRISTIANITY). (For the meaning of *kitāb* and *ahl al-kitāb* in the Qurʾān, see BOOK, PEOPLE OF THE BOOK, SCRIPTURE AND THE QURʾĀN; Augapfel, Das *kitāb*, also provides specific information; cf. Berg, Tabari's exegesis; Buhl, 'Die Schrift'; Künstlinger, Die Namen; Tisdall, 'The Book'.)

The term *talā,* "reading" and/or "reciting," occurs sixty-three times in the Qurʾān: the Children of Israel (q.v.) study the scripture (*tatlūna l-kitāb,* Q 2:44); Jews

read in the Torah (q.v.; Q 3:93); Jews and Christian read/recite their scripture (*yatlūna l-kitāb,* Q 2:113), some of them at night (Q 3:113; see DAY AND NIGHT). Reading the scripture in an accurate manner means to believe in God or, believe in it (i.e. the Scripture; Q 2:121). Biblical narratives, which provide exemplary instruction for believers, are reported to have been read, and it is said that they be read/"re"-cited: such narratives include the story of Cain and Abel (q.v.; Q 5:27), Solomon (q.v.; Q 7:175), Noah (q.v.; Q 10:71), Abraham (Q 26:69), Moses and the Pharaoh (q.v.; Q 28:3). Q 18:83 indicates that Muḥammad (or possibly Moses) is even directed to read/recite something relating to *dhū l-qarnayn* (generally understood to be Alexander the Great, but possibly here referring to the devil [q.v.]; see ALEXANDER) when asked about him. But reading or reciting is not solely a human activity: satans read/re-cite *(tatlū)* something about Solomon (Q 2:102).

Most times, however, *talā* refers in general terms to reading the holy scriptures *(kitāb, ṣuḥuf),* reciting verses of the Qurʾān, or reading the Qurʾān (Q 2:44, 113; 129, 151, 252; 3:58, 101, 108, 164; 6:151; 8:2, 31; 10:15, 16, 61; 13:10; 17:107; 18:27; 19:58; 19:73; 22:72; 23:66, 105; 27:92; 28:45, 53; 28:59; 29:45, 51; 31:7; 33:34; 34:43; 37:3; 39:71; 45:6, 8, 25, 31; 46:7; 62:2; 65:11; 68:15 like 83:13; 98:2; see RECITATION OF THE QURʾĀN). *Talā ʿalā* indicates more emphatically that God establishes a rule for people, which they learn by reading/reciting the teachings of the holy book (Q 4:127; 5:1; 22:30; 23:72; see LAW AND THE QURʾĀN; BOUNDARIES AND PRECEPTS; LAWFUL AND UNLAWFUL; FORBIDDEN; PROHIBITED DEGREES). In Q 68:15 and Q 83:13, an unnamed unbeliever is mentioned who, "when our signs (q.v.) are read/re-cited to him," will say "[these are only] 'writings of the ancients'." That the expression *asāṭīr al-awwalīn,* which is relevant in this regard as well, refers to "writings" can be understood, for example, from Q 68:37, "Or do you have a book in which you study!" (For further references, see ILLITERACY; for *yasṭurūna* meaning *yakhuṭṭūna, yaktubūna,* see Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* xii, 177-8.)

Another important term, *qaraʾa,* also indicates both "reading" and "reciting." Only the verses of Q 96:1-3 start with the imperative, *iqraʾ,* to introduce God's command to the Prophet to "repeat" verses of the revelation (see also Paret, *Muhammed,* 47-8). This mode of introduction, "re-cite" or "read," seems to express in one word the primary motive for the entire proclamation of the Qurʾān and its programmatic character: Muḥammad was called upon to speak aloud a holy text. If *qaraʾa* means "reciting," however, it would not necessarily imply a writing or the ability to read as prerequisites. If it refers to "reading," Muslim commentators have noted that Muḥammad was inspired by a scripture in a divine language (see LANGUAGE, CONCEPT OF), which would not require any knowledge of reading or writing profane language. (For the idea that it was a "writing" from which Muḥammad was ordered to "read," see the famous biography of the Prophet by Ibn Isḥāq [d. ca. 150/767]; see Ibn Isḥāq, *Sīra,* i, 236, n. 5; Ibn Isḥāq-Guillaume, 106; see also, Schoeler, *Charakter,* 59-117; for the etymology and the meaning of the word "Qurʾān," see NAMES OF THE QURʾĀN, ARABIC LANGUAGE; ARABIC SCRIPT, SCRIPTURE AND THE QURʾĀN; RECITATION OF THE QURʾĀN.)

Q 7:145 confirms that God had "written" *(kataba)* for Moses "an admonition (see EXHORTATIONS) of every kind, and a distinguishing of everything," and he had done so "upon the tablets," which he had handed over to Moses on Mount Sinai (q.v.) so that he would command his people according to those laws (see COMMAND-

MENTS). Q 5:110 states that God had taught Jesus (q.v.) the "book *(kitāb),* the wisdom (q.v.), the Torah and the Gospel" (q.v.; see also Q 3:48-9). The Qurʾān is taught by God as well (Q 53:5; 55:1-2). It is then the duty of God's messengers (see MESSENGER) to "read" God's signs to the people *(yatlū ʿalayhim āyātihi)* and to "teach them the book and the wisdom, and [to] purify them" (Q 3:164; also Q 2:129, 151; 4:113; 62:2; 65:4).

A warning of certain writings is given in Q 2:78-9; there are books written by some Jews who do not "read" (or consciously "ignore") the holy scripture but fabricate by themselves writings different from the holy text as revealed (see FORGERY): "And there are some among them (i.e. the Jews) who are not reading the holy scripture *(ummiyyūn),* who do not know the book but know only fancies and mere conjectures. But woe to those who write the book with their hands and then say 'This is from God,' that they may sell it for a small price. So woe to them for what their hands have written.…"

The books in which all the deeds of human beings are recorded until the day of judgment (see LAST JUDGMENT), and the idea that God "writes" *(kataba)* everything that people do, are mentioned many times (see RECORD OF HUMAN ACTIONS). For example, the Qurʾān warns that God "write[s] down what they (the people) send before and what they have left behind. [He has] taken account of everything in a clear register" (Q 36:12); his "messengers (i.e. the guardian angels) are writing down what you are devising" (Q 10:21; also 43:80); "everything that they have done is in the scrolls (of the former generations); and everything, great or small, is inscribed *(mustaṭar)*" (Q 54:52-3); God "writes down" *(wa-llāhu yaktubu)* everything that some people think up all night (or plot, *yubayyitūna*) "other than" what you [Muḥammad] say (Q 4:81; cf. also Paret, *Der Koran,* 68).

Sūra 68, entitled "The Pen," starts with the oath "[I swear] by the pen, and that which they inscribe" *(wa-l-qalami wa-mā yasṭurūna)*. This verse, possibly the second oldest verse in the qurʾānic revelation (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* xii, 645), lends itself to several explanations: it is understood to allude to (a) the art of writing or (b) the scripture of revelation or, again, to (c) the pen with which all the deeds and the fate of every person are recorded (Paret, *Kommentar,* 516). Medieval commentators draw special attention to the latter concept, i.e. that before heaven (see HEAVEN AND SKY), water (q.v.) and earth (q.v.), God created the pen which inscribes all happenings until the day of resurrection (q.v.; *awwālu mā khalaqa llāhu al-qalam*…, based on a prophetic saying; see e.g. Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* xii, 177-8). Incidentally, the idea of the many pens and seas of ink (*midād,* Q 18:109; cf. 31:27) also occurs in Jewish sources (cf. Strack/Billerbeck, *Kommentar,* ii, 587; Haeuptner, *Koranische Hinweise,* 99-100).

Writing as a way to fix juridical matters, however, is clearly favored in the Qurʾān. In Q 2:282-3, the need for people who are able to write, the importance of written documents, and the practices of writing and dictating become evident. Detailed instructions as to how to proceed are even given: "O believers, when you contract a debt (q.v.) one upon another for a stated term, then write it down! And let a writer *(kātib)* write it down between you justly. And let not any writer refuse to write it down, as God has taught him [i.e. the art of writing]. So let him write it down. And let the debtor dictate! […] And if the debtor be a fool, or weak, or unable to dictate himself, then let his guardian (see GUARDIANSHIP) dictate justly… […] And be not loath to write it down, whether it (i.e. the amount) be small or great…! That is more equitable in God's sight… But take

witnesses whenever you are trafficking one with another! And let neither a scribe nor a witness suffer harm. […] And if you are upon a journey, and you do not find a writer, then a pledge [?] in hand [should be required]" (cf. Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* iii, 117; Tyan, *Histoire,* i, 73; Schacht, *Origins,* 186; Nöldeke, *GQ,* i, 78-84; Buhl, *Das Leben,* 136-8; Khoury, *Koran,* iii, 249-54 for more detailed explanations and references).

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Literary Structures of the Qurʾān

Rhetorical, grammatical and linguistic devices utilized in the conveyance of meaning. The message of the Qurʾān is couched in various literary structures, which are widely considered to be the most perfect example of the Arabic language (q.v.; see also LANGUAGE AND STYLE OF THE QURʾĀN). Arabic grammars were written based upon the qurʾānic language (see GRAMMAR AND THE QURʾĀN), and, by the general consensus of Muslim rhetoricians, the qurʾānic idiom is considered to be sublime. This article is concerned with these literary structures and how they produce meaning in the Qurʾān in an effective way.

Muslim doctrine holds that the Qurʾān is inimitable, its inimitability (q.v.) lying not only in its matchless literary style (see FORM AND STRUCTURE OF THE QURʾĀN) but also in its religious content. As such, the Qurʾān is considered the avowed miracle (see MIRACLES) of the prophet Muḥammad, testifying to the truth (q.v.) of his prophethood and the enduring veracity of his message (see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD; MESSENGER). These doctrinal considerations frame classical Muslim considerations of the literary structures of the Qurʾān and their manner of generating religious meaning. It should be emphasized that these literary structures are not

deemed mere otiose embellishments of the text of the Qurʾān but are rather the factors that produce its powerful effect in the specific forms presented. If the form of a qurʾānic text is changed in any way, however small or seemingly innocent, the meaning is modified, often significantly. Take, for example, *"iyyāka naʿbudu"* (Q 1:5). By syntactically placing the pronominal object *(iyyāka)* before the verb *(naʿbudu)*, rather than after it (as the pronominal suffix *-ka*), the meaning of the qurʾānic verse is specified to be "only you do we worship." This is significantly different from "we worship you" *(naʿbuduka)*, which declares worship of God but does not exclude the possibility of worshiping other deities as well (see POLYTHEISM AND ATHEISM). Syntax, therefore, is an important element of the literary structures of the Qurʾān, for it helps to determine the specific meaning of the text.

A further example will highlight another aspect of the quality of qurʾānic literary structures: *"wa-lakum fī l-qiṣāṣi ḥayātun"* (Q 2:179), which means "and in retaliation (q.v.), there is life for you." Muslim rhetoricians have compared this qurʾānic verse with the pre-Islamic Arabian proverb, *"al-qatlu anfā lil-qatli,"* which means "killing is more likely to preclude killing" (see PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QURʾĀN; MURDER; BLOOD MONEY). Although the two statements are not exactly congruent, they both advocate the application of the death penalty in cases of murder, maintaining that such a punishment results in a safer society, as it both deters others and removes the murderer from the community (see COMMUNITY AND SOCIETY IN THE QURʾĀN; CHASTISEMENT AND PUNISHMENT). Attention has been drawn to the sound of the words in these two statements; the phonemes of the pre-Islamic proverb are difficult to pronounce in succession, alternating — as they do — between the sounds of *a* and *q* at opposite ends of the laryngeal uttering process, interposed between the repetitive dental cluster *tl*, whereas the phonemes of the qurʾānic verse, in contrast, flow easily on one's tongue. Phonology, therefore, is another important element in literary structures, for it governs and ensures the acoustic and phonic fluidity of the qurʾānic text, helping it to achieve good reception and deliver its meaning effectively (see RECITATION OF THE QURʾĀN).

As these examples demonstrate, the Arabic language forms the basis for the literary structures of the Qurʾān, and is the vehicle through which the intended meaning has been conveyed. The Qurʾān was revealed to the prophet Muḥammad in Arabic, as the text itself reiterates (e.g. Q 12:2; 20:113; 39:28; 41:3; 42:7; 43:3) and it is in Arabic that his contemporaries first heard the message, a message that affected both their hearts (see HEART) and minds (see INTELLECT). It is in Arabic that later generations of Muslim believers of all ethnic and linguistic backgrounds have continued to hear and recite the qurʾānic text, the text from which they have drawn guidance to shape their lives. To them a translation of the Qurʾān into any other language is not really the Qurʾān (lit. "recitation"; see ORALITY; ORALITY AND WRITING IN ARABIA), irrespective of its accuracy and faithfulness to the Arabic original. Furthermore, like other languages, Arabic has its own specific way of conveying meaning, which has been connected with particular cultural contexts; the Qurʾān's use of this idiom is notably unique and, for believers, miraculous. Muslims therefore celebrate this unique and inimitable Qurʾān, and aspire to retain the authentic association of language, culture and faith (q.v.) so central to their lives.

The qurʾānic text in the prophet Muḥammad's lifetime

According to tradition, the Qurʾān was revealed piecemeal to the prophet Muḥammad in about twenty-three years (between 610 and 632 C.E.). It was orally received and memorized (see MEMORY), and some qurʾānic passages were probably written down by his literate Companions (see COMPANIONS OF THE PROPHET) on flat stones, shoulder blades, palm leaves, parchment and other materials (see CODICES OF THE QURʾĀN; LITERACY). Although qurʾānic passages of different lengths were revealed intermittently — frequently with specific reference or in response to particular circumstances and events — and were thus not necessarily intended or taken as continuing where the previously revealed text had left off (see OCCASIONS OF REVELATION; CHRONOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN), it was the prophet Muḥammad who — according to tradition — instructed the early believers as to the proper placement of these passages in the larger (and growing) oral text that would become the holy scripture of Islam. By the end of Muḥammad's life in 10/632, the Qurʾān had 114 sūras ranging from the shortest — with three verses (Q 103, 108, and 110) — to the longest, with 286 verses (Q 2). Muslim tradition says that Muḥammad designated the position of every verse but one (Q 4:176), since that verse was revealed just before his death. His Companions chose the place for this verse based upon its meaning, context, and style (see Draz, *Introduction,* 15, n. 3).

The qurʾānic text after the prophet Muḥammad's death

When the oral Qurʾān was later "collected" by the Prophet's Companions in "book" form in ca. 28/650, the 114 sūras were arranged largely according to size, and not according to the chronological order of revelation; the longer sūras were placed first and the shorter ones followed in a generally descending order of length. The notable exception to this arrangement is Q 1, Sūrat al-Fātiḥa ("The Opening"), which, although it has only seven verses, was placed at the beginning of the qurʾānic codex. According to Muslim tradition, copies of the Qurʾān have normally been disseminated in this form since its initial collection (one revisionist theory of the collection and compilation of the Qurʾān is provided by John Wansbrough, who, in his *Qurʾānic studies,* argues that the Qurʾān did not attain its current form until about the end of the second/eighth and beginning of the third/ninth century; see COLLECTION OF THE QURʾĀN; MUṢḤAF).

One should keep in mind the originally oral character of the Qurʾān and the amount of time that elapsed before each of its sūras, especially the longer ones, were revealed in their entirety. Hence, it is necessary to look at the literary structures of the sūras (q.v.) to discover how each forms a unit, canonically constituting one chapter. Some pre-modern Muslim exegetes (see EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL) examined these structures, and offered theories of *nazm* (lit. "order") highlighting the verbal organization of the sūra's wording with regard to its syntax and rhetorical figures of speech (see RHETORIC OF THE QURʾĀN); others offered theories of *munāsaba* or *tanāsub* (lit. "relationship") about the linear relatedness of verses (q.v.) within the sūra, or even of one sūra and the next. But the treatment of the sūra as a unit was not really broached by Muslim scholars until the twentieth century, notably by Amīn Aḥsan Iṣlāḥī (1906-97) and Sayyid Quṭb (1906-66).

The sūra *as a unit*

In his *Tadabbur-i Qurʾān* (1967-80), Amīn Aḥsan Iṣlāḥī concentrates on the semantic

and thematic content of the sūra as a coherent unit. He finds that, semantically, the sūras are linked in complementary pairs and that the Qurʾān contains seven groups of sūras, each with a block of Meccan sūras and a block of Medinan ones, which deal, respectively, with theoretical and practical aspects of the block's theme. Iṣlāḥī's concept is insightful, if a little too schematized, but it does not give literary structures their due place in generating and conveying the meaning of the qurʾānic sūras in his systematized scheme.

In his *Fī zilāl al-Qurʾān* (1952-9), Sayyid Quṭb focuses on the coherent unity of each sūra — mostly with regard to its semantic and thematic qualities — but he does identify structural characteristics related to its diction, syntax, imagery and phonology that reflect the intended meaning and mood of the sūra. He finds that each sūra has a core or central point, a theme that he calls its *miḥwar* (lit. its "axis"), around which it revolves. In his view, the sūra may have one topic *(mawḍūʿ)* tightly bound to its theme or it may have more topics so bound; the theme may sometimes be double-lined (as in long *sūra*s), but each line *(khaṭṭ)* of the theme is then strongly bound to the other. For example, Sayyid Quṭb believes that Q 2 has a double-lined theme whose two lines are strongly bound together. The first thematic line revolves around the hostile attitude of the Jews (see JEWS AND JUDAISM) to Islam in Medina (q.v.) and their friendly relations with the Arabian polytheists and hypocrites (see HYPOCRITES AND HYPOCRISY). The second thematic line revolves around the corresponding attitude of the Muslims in Medina and their growth as a believing community prepared to carry the responsibility of God's call after Jewish rejection. Both lines are complementary and tightly bound together throughout the sūra, which eventually ends as it began: by exhorting (see EXHORTATIONS) human beings to belief in God (see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF), his prophets, his scriptures (see BOOK; SCRIPTURE AND THE QURʾĀN) and the metaphysical unseen world (see HIDDEN AND THE HIDDEN). From beginning to end, the several topics of the sūra are related to this double-lined theme.

In all circumstances, Sayyid Quṭb believes each sūra has a special atmosphere *(jaww)* integrating its topic or topics harmoniously and a musical rhythm *(īqāʿ mūsīqī)* consonant with its topic or topics. He maintains that both *jaww* and *īqāʿ mūsīqī* strengthen the effective delivery of its intended meaning. The aesthetic effects of the Qurʾān's literary structures are discussed at some length by Sayyid Quṭb in his books *al-Taṣwīr al-fannī fī l-Qurʾān* (1945) and *Mashāhid al-qiyāma fī l-Qurʾān* (1947), where he gives a detailed view of the manner in which the structures generate the intended meaning and deliver it with verbal beauty and psychological power.

Some Western scholars, on the other hand, have criticized the Qurʾān because they perceived it as lacking in certain literary virtues. None other than T. Nöldeke stated "dass der gesunde Sprachsinn der Araber sie fast ganz davor beewahrt hat, die eigentlichen Selsamkeiten und Schwächen der Koransprache nachzuahmen" (Zur Sprache, 22; Fr. trans. "Le bon sens linguistique des Arabes les a presque entièrement préservés de l'imitation des étrangetés et faiblesses propres à la langue du Coran," in id., *Remarques critiques,* 34). Thomas Carlyle (cf. Arberrry, *Koran,* i, 12), no mean admirer of the prophet Muḥammad as a hero, thought of the Qurʾān as "toilsome reading" and considered it to be "a wearisome, confused jumble, crude, incondite." R.A. Nicholson (cf. Arberry, *Koran,* ii, 9) referred to European readers of the Qurʾān who held that "it is obscure, tiresome, uninteresting; a farrago of

long-winded narratives and prosaic exhortations." W. Montgomery Watt (Watt-Bell, *Introduction,* 73) spoke of "disjointedness" as "a real characteristic of Qurʾānic style."

Yet Mohammed Marmaduke Pickthall, the first modern British Muslim to make an English translation of the Qurʾān (which he did not call "The Qurʾān," but pointedly entitled *The meaning of the glorious Koran* and subtitled "An explanatory translation") refers to the Qurʾān in his foreword as "that inimitable symphony, the very sounds of which move men to tears and ecstasy." Another Englishman, Arthur J. Arberry, who also translated the Qurʾān into English, offered his translation as only *The Koran interpreted* and devised "rhythmic patterns and sequence-groupings" in it to reflect certain aspects of its literary structures in Arabic. Although in his introduction Arberry admits (*Koran,* i, 24) that it is "a poor copy of the glittering splendour of the original," he later says that each "*sūra* will now be seen to be a unity within itself, and the Koran will be recognized as a simple revelation, self-consistent to the highest degree" (*Koran,* ii, 15-6). More recently, the works of Angelika Neuwirth have focused on the literary merit and integrity of whole sūras (cf. e.g. Neuwirth, Zur Struktur der Yūsuf-Sure; see also N. Robinson, *Discovering the Qurʾān*).

The study of the qurʾānic sūra as a unit with coherent unity is still in need of focused, philological elaboration in modern scholarship. With the possible exception of the German school of qurʾānic studies, the analytical tools and categories for such research, as well as the relevant technical methods and terminology, need to be developed and established, as has been achieved — however dissonantly — with the study of other scriptures and of other literary genres. Such a study will help better understand not only the sūra and its literary structures, but also — ultimately — the whole Qurʾān as a holy scripture with a singular message. The study of the macrostructure of the Qurʾān should build on the conclusions of studying its microstructures as manifested in the sūra and its individual, componential pericopes (see NARRATIVES; for an example of the contemporary German scholarship on the macro- and microstructures of the Qurʾān, see the *EQ* articles by Angelika Neuwirth, esp. SŪRAS; FORM AND STRUCTURE OF THE QURʾĀN; RHETORIC OF THE QURʾĀN).

The prose of the Qurʾān

As Arabic is the language of the Qurʾān, its use in a variety of literary forms should be closely examined. To be noted first and foremost is the fact that the qurʾānic text is written in prose. It is a very special kind of prose, to be sure, and it is unique in many ways; but it is definitely prose and not verse. Classical Arabic verse has regular meter and recurring rhyme as two of its basic features, which are partly responsible for its symmetry and harmony. These features are clear in the long tradition of the Arabic *qaṣīda,* the ode. The prose of the qurʾānic text, on the other hand, is not at all metrical; furthermore, its rhyme is neither regular nor constantly based on an identical rhyme-letter as in classical Arabic verse. It is often replaced by assonance, and, sometimes, completely ignored.

Muslim scholars have been reluctant to call the prose of the qurʾānic text *sajʿ,* "rhymed prose" (q.v.), possibly because this term is associated with the prose pronouncements of pagan priests and the prose utterances of fortune-tellers (see FORETELLING; DIVINATION) or soothsayers (q.v.) in pre-Islamic Arabia (see also POETRY AND POETS), as well as with the prose of later Arabic writings in Islamic history characterized by a degree of artificiality or mannerism. The term *sajʿ,* how-

ever, is not appropriate mainly because not all of the qurʾānic text is written in rhymed prose. Muslim scholars prefer to designate the prose of the qurʾānic text as one divided into *fawāṣil,* "rhetorical periods" (singular *fāṣila*). Each period in the text contains a semantic-grammatical unit forming an *āya,* "a verse," usually ending with rhyme or assonance echoing the rhyme or assonance of other verses in the proximate textual neighborhood. Sometimes, however, a rhetorical period ends without such rhyme or assonance.

An *āya* may be short and can consist of as few as one word (e.g. Q 69:1; 101:1) or even a couple of "mysterious letters" (q.v.) at the beginning of certain sūras (e.g. Q 20:1; 36:1). It may also be quite long and consist of as many as fifty words or more. When the *āyāt* are short, the effect of the rhymes or assonances in the text is powerful because, given their proximity to one another, they continue to ring in the immediate memory of the reader or listener and instill the meaning with persistence. When, however, the *āyāt* are long, the effect of the rhymes or assonances as such is less powerful on account of the distance between one and the next, thus possibly allowing for them to fade in the immediate memory; in these instances, however, their effect is usually reinforced through their inclusion within a brief rhyming phrase or clause tagged to the end of the *āya* as a coda, a device which can serve to remind the reader or listener of the preceding statement, pressing it home, and clinching the argument of the *āya*.

A few examples will suffice to demonstrate the nature of rhyme or assonance in both the short and long verses of the Qurʾān. Some examples of the short verses are as follows: 1. After the *basmala* (q.v.), Q 112 (in full) reads: (1) *qul huwa llāhu aḥad* (2) *Allāhu l-ṣamad* (3) *lam yalid wa-lam yūlad* (4) *wa-lam yakun lahu kufuwan aḥad*. Here the rhyme is *-ad*. To be noted is the fact that the final inflection of the rhyme-word is disregarded lest the rhyme be broken; otherwise, the final words would not rhyme and would read, respectively: *aḥadun, l-ṣamadu, yūlad,* and *aḥadun*. 2. Verses 9-11 of Q 93 read: (9) *fa-ammā l-yatīma fa-lā taqhar* (10) *wa-ammā l-sāʾila fa-lā tanhar* (11) *wa-ammā bi-niʿmati rabbika fa-ḥaddith*. Here the rhyme of verses 9 and 10 is *-ar* but it is ignored in verse 11. Examples of long verses are as follows: 1. Q 2:143 has forty-five words, ending with the coda *inna llāha bi-l-nāsi la-raʾūfun raḥīm,* the rhyme of which is *-īm,* echoing the majority of the other rhymes in the sūra, which consist of *-īm* and of the assonantal *-īn* and *-ūn*. There are, however, verses in this sūra that end in *-īr* (Q 2:148) or *-āb* (Q 2:165-6), or *-ār* (Q 2:167), as well as other consonantal endings, in which the rhyme or assonance of the majority of the verses of the sūra is ignored. 2. In the same sūra, verse Q 2:255 has fifty words and ends with the coda *wa-huwa l-ʿaliyyu l-ʿaẓīm*. The verse that follows, Q 2:256, which consists of twenty-four words, ends with the coda *wa-llāhu samīʿun ʿalīm*. Both verses rhyme in *-īm,* echoing most of the other rhymes and assonances in the sūra, and the coda in each reinforces and clinches the argument of the *āya*.

From the above, it can be observed that the verses of the qurʾānic text are of various lengths. In the longer sūras, the verses are usually long and in the shorter sūras they are usually short, but this is not an invariant rule. Even within a single sūra, the verses vary in length. Although they tend to be of a fairly similar length, they are not necessarily equal in length nor are they composed of parallel and corresponding syllables, as in metrical composition with prosodic feet, to produce the exact symmetry of versification. Nonetheless, the prose of the qurʾānic text has a certain rhythm to it, which varies from sūra to sūra

and even within one sūra, particularly if it is a long one. This rhythm is not that of a fixed meter but that of a unique composition that allows the topic at hand to qualify it and modify its cadences, using verses of varying lengths, mostly with rhymes or assonances and sometimes without. The topic of the sūra may gradually unfold different aspects of its major theme, and the verses of the sūra may accordingly have a different rhyme-letter for each aspect, especially in sūras of some length; but, again, this is not an invariant rule.

In sum, the prose of the Qurʾān is not totally rhymed prose, nor is it totally unrhymed free prose. It is a unique blend of both, with an important contribution by assonance, couched in a variety of short and long verses dispensed in sūras of various lengths. The different patterns of rhymes, assonances and free endings in the verses, as well as the different lengths and rhythms of these verses and the varying lengths of the sūras themselves, are all literary structures related to the meaning offered. In the final analysis, they comprise an essential element of the effective delivery of the total message of the Qurʾān.

Phonology

From the Arabic text of the Qurʾān, it is obvious that sound plays a major role in the effect its words produce, an effect that a translation of the Qurʾān into other languages fails to preserve, despite the best efforts of the translators. Arthur J. Arberry made a genuine effort in his English translation of the Qurʾān "to devise rhythmic patterns and sequence-groupings in correspondence with what the Arabic presents." Despite his commendable effort, he admits that, in the end, his interpretation is a poor echo of the original, as noted above.

The sound of Arabic words in the Qurʾān is an important element of literary structure in producing a rhetorical medium that delivers the meaning effectively. This element functions at different levels. At the level of vocabulary, there is what rhetoricians would come to describe as the "eloquence of the single word" *(faṣāḥat al-mufrad):* the individual words in the Qurʾān consist of letters that flow harmoniously without tongue-twisting difficulties or ear-jarring sounds, each word agreeing with common usage and the morphological rules of Arabic. These later rhetoricians also noted the "eloquence of composition" *(faṣāḥat al-murakkab)* with regards to the wording of individual verses: the order of words is such that their phonemes flow with ease from one word to the next in pronunciation and are aurally perceived with a pleasant sensation. Meanwhile, the construction follows the rules of correct syntax, allowing variations that cater to the rhetorical intention and effectiveness of semantic delivery. At the level of passages consisting of shorter or longer sequences within a sūra, the verses of varying lengths are threaded together by rhymes and assonances, their rhythms varying according to their topics and modulated according to their moods in order to produce maximum effect. At the level of the whole Qurʾān, which consists of short, middle-sized and long sūras, the total message leaves a phonological and semantic impression that is considered absolutely sublime and that has often been said to go beyond the exquisite harmony of music; this is "that inimitable symphony" according to Marmaduke Pickthall. Muslim rhetoricians have called this unique composition of the Qurʾān *nazm al-Qurʾān* (lit. "the order of the Qurʾān"), a reference to the beautiful fusion of its wording and meaning in accordance with principles of grammar, rhetoric, and phonology, briefly outlined above. Considering the Qurʾān's divine provenance to be a matter of faith and deeming its content transcendent and

its composition unique, Muslim theologians have considered it to be the prophet Muḥammad's miracle and declared it to be beyond human ability to imitate. By the early part of the third/ninth century, they developed the doctrine of *iʿjāz al-Qurʾān,* literally, the Qurʾān's incapacitation (of humans and jinn [q.v.]), but technically denoting the miraculously inimitable character of the Qurʾān. According to the theologians, the doctrine that human beings and jinn are incapable of imitating the Qurʾān has been proven by their continuing inability to meet its clear challenge to them to do so (Q 10:38; 11:13; 17:88; see Boullata, Rhetorical interpretation, 149-57).

Transtextuality

As in music, repetition plays an essential role in any literary text of poetic effectiveness. In the Qurʾān, it takes the form of repeated rhythms, rhymes, assonances, refrains, patterns of structure and variations on the same theme. It is meant to inculcate the qurʾānic message with power while employing a sublime language that seizes the heart and mind — without being enthralling or entrancing in the pejorative, incantatory sense of enslaving comprehension, spiritual absorption, and meaningful reaction.

Transtextuality allows several kinds of repetition, whereby a usage with strong associations of meaning in one part of the Qurʾān is encountered in another part or in other parts of it with echoes of the earlier usage, either at the intratextual level of the same sūra or at the intertextual level of all the sūras. Two obvious examples of refrains may be used to demonstrate this repetition at the intratextual level. The refrains are repeated several times, with a stronger effect each time as the text builds to a climax. The first example is Q 55, a sūra consisting of seventy-eight short verses, of which thirty are a refrain asking the rhetorical question: "Which then of the favors (see GRACE; BLESSING) of your lord (q.v.) will you two deny?" The first instance of this refrain occurs after verse 12, and appears thereafter following every verse or two; after verse 44, the refrain alternates with every verse until the end of the sūra. The sūra enumerates the bounties of God to the two kinds of creatures: human beings and jinn (see CREATION). It mentions God's creation of humankind, the jinn, the orderly universe and the world (see COSMOLOGY) with its wonders, blessings, gifts, bounties, and benefits that are granted to all out of his mercy (q.v.). One of these blessings is God's teaching of the Qurʾān. On the day of judgment (see LAST JUDGMENT), all creatures will be rewarded or punished according to their deeds (see GOOD DEEDS; EVIL DEEDS; RECORD OF HUMAN ACTIONS). The sūra describes the physical features of the reward and punishment (q.v.), leaving no excuse for anyone to deny the prior favors of the lord, which are incrementally stressed throughout the sūra, culminating in the climax, with the thirty repetitions of the rhetorical question.

The other example of refrains recurring throughout a single sūra is found in Q 77, which consists of fifty short verses, ten of which are a refrain in the form of a threat: "Woe on that day to those who deny" (see LIE; GRATITUDE AND INGRATITUDE). The day in question is *yawm al-faṣl,* "the day of decision," on which the physical features of the world will collapse and all creatures will be brought before God for judgment (see APOCALYPSE). The sūra begins with a succession of enigmatic oaths (q.v.) assuring everyone that what has been promised will indeed occur. Then it proceeds to a frightening description of the universe as it collapses. Creatures are reminded that God had created them and the world's benefits for them. They are reminded that

God had destroyed the evil-doers of yore (see GENERATIONS) and will punish all sinners (see SIN, MAJOR AND MINOR), whose tricks will not avail against them nor protect them from the blazing flames (see FIRE; HELL AND HELLFIRE). Meanwhile, the righteous will dwell amid shades and fountains, eating fruits and consuming and drinking what they desire, in just reward for their pious lives (see GARDEN; PARADISE; FOOD AND DRINK; PIETY). God's favors and his promised punishment throughout the sūra are punctuated by the repeated threat of woe to those who, on that day of decision, deny the truth of God's power, but will not be permitted to speak and excuse themselves. The repeated threats serve to highlight the fearful punishment and, in contrast, the blissful joy of reward (see JOY AND MISERY; HOPE).

Repetitions in the form of refrains like these two examples do not occur elsewhere in the qurʾānic text. There are, however, other kinds of repetition in the form of words or turns of phrase that are too many to enumerate, which contribute to that specific quality of the qurʾānic style, giving it a particular tone. That which was called coda above, namely a maxim that comes at the end of a verse clinching its purport, is an example of such a repetition, a refrain that occurs in the Qurʾān at both the intratextual and the intertextual levels. An example of such a coda is *wa-huwa l-ʿazīzu l-ḥakīm,* "And he is the mighty, the wise" (Q 29:42). This also occurs without the definite article but usually with *Allāh* ("God") instead of the pronoun *huwa* ("he"), as in Q 5:38: *wa-llāhu ʿazīzun ḥakīm,* "And God is mighty, wise." This coda occurs about forty times in the Qurʾān. Variations — with a different attribute of God (see GOD AND HIS ATTRIBUTES) — also occur, such as Q 44:42: *innahu huwa l-ʿazīzu l-raḥīm,* "Verily, he is the mighty, the merciful," or Q 67:2: *wa-huwa l-ʿazīzu l-ghafūr,* "And he is the mighty, the forgiving" (see FORGIVENESS). Among the many other codas is the one found in Q 2:20: *inna llāha ʿalā kulli shayʾin qadīr,* "Verily, God is powerful over everything," which also occurs without *inna* ("verily") and begins with *wa* ("and"), as in Q 2:284: *wa-llāhu ʿalā kulli shayʾin qadīr,* "And God is powerful over everything." The pronoun *huwa* or *hu* may also be substituted for *Allāh,* as in Q 30:50 and Q 41:39, respectively. This coda occurs about thirty times in the Qurʾān.

Another form of repetition in the Qurʾān is the telling of punishment stories (q.v.), in each of which a messenger is sent by God to a certain people to teach them, to turn them away from their evil deeds and to warn (see WARNER) them against God's punishment if they do not heed. When they persist in their evil ways, God's punishment is visited upon them in a variety of terrible ways. Such is the story of the messenger Hūd (q.v.) sent to the Arabian pre-Islamic group of people called ʿĀd (q.v.). Likewise, it is the story of the messenger Ṣāliḥ (q.v.) sent to a certain people of ancient Arabia called Thamūd (q.v.). Some of the stories have biblical equivalents, such as the story of the messenger Shuʿayb (q.v.) sent to the people of Midian (q.v.) or the story of Noah (q.v.) and his people or of Lot (q.v.) and his people or some aspects of the story of the prophet Moses (q.v.) and Pharaoh (q.v.). Q 26 contains a group of these punishment stories, some of which are repeated with variations in Q 54, Q 7, Q 11, Q 51, and elsewhere. Not only is the pattern of events in these stories generally parallel, but the wording is often similar, sometimes even identical in certain parts of the story (see Welch, Formulaic features). The oral nature of the original qurʾānic message is very evident in these stories, repeated in a variety of similar ways to suit different audiences in the Prophet's lifetime. Their purpose, then and later, is to

warn and threaten unbelievers, to convince them of the power of God and the certainty of his punishment, and to reassure those who believe in God and accept Muḥammad's message that he is truly God's messenger sent to the world as a warner and a bearer of good tidings (see GOOD NEWS) about a new religion and a new societal order. The rhetoric of thematic and verbal repetition in the stories inculcates this purpose strongly and helps instill the meaning effectively.

Imagery and figurative language

Metaphors (see METAPHOR) and other figures of speech abound in the Qurʾān. As in the scriptures of other world religions and in the literatures of all nations, figurative language is used to enhance the effect of what is said by making it beautiful, impressive, aesthetically striking, and semantically powerful. It persuades through literary devices that stir the imagination and appeal directly to the senses. On this count, the Qurʾān often offers dramatic uses of figurative language in its literary structures, as well as original and daring insights of unforgettable aesthetic and semantic effect.

There is much in the Qurʾān that continues to adhere to the literal usage of the Arabic language, that is, the use of words for what they have commonly been used to designate. Yet, as in other languages, there are some words whose figurative usage has become so common as to be accepted as normal literal usage. English words like leg, neck, and eye, which originally refer to parts of humans or animals, are no longer considered metaphorical when used in such expressions as "the leg of a table," "the neck of a bottle" and "the eye of a needle." In a similar manner, the Arabic word *sharīʿa,* which originally refers to a path leading to water sought for drinking, has come to refer metaphorically to religious law, as attested in Q 45:18 (see LAW AND THE QURʾĀN). This religious law is — if obeyed — the path leading to the quenching of spiritual thirst and the preservation of societal health and well-being, hence the connection of *sharīʿa* referring to Islamic law. Another similar qurʾānic use is the Arabic word *fatra,* which originally meant tepidity, but has been commonly used to mean interval of time between happenings; Q 5:19 reads: *qad jāʾakum rasūlunā yubayyinu lakum ʿalā fatratin min al-rusuli,* "Our messenger has come to you to make things clear to you after an interval between the messengers." Here *fatra* may also effectively be read — as originally intended in Arabic — to mean tepidity. The qurʾānic statement can then be understood as saying: "Our messenger has come to you to make things clear to you after the tepidity of [people's faith in earlier] messengers" (for further discussion, see Abu-Deeb, Studies in the *majāz*). Aside from these matters, however, the Qurʾān has an amazing abundance of fresh and vivid images and figures of speech in its literary structures, an abundance that has made a perceptive modern literary critic and exegete like Sayyid Quṭb argue that what he calls *taṣwīr fannī,* "artistic imagery," is indeed the preferred style of the Qurʾān (see Boullata, Sayyid Quṭb's literary appreciation). Classical rhetoricians and exegetes of the Qurʾān writing in Arabic, like al-Jurjānī (d. 471/1078) and al-Zamakhsharī (d. 538/1144), among others, have long drawn particular attention to this inherent quality of imagery in the qurʾānic style.

The primary instance to be noted is the fact that the Qurʾān speaks of God in anthropomorphic language (see ANTHROPOMORPHISM). Although it says of God *laysa ka-mithlihi shayʾun* (Q 42:11), "Nothing is like unto him," it speaks of the "hand of God" (e.g. Q 3:73; 5:64; 48:10) and sometimes speaks of "his hand" (e.g. Q 23:88;

36:83; see HAND[S]). Muslim theologians have long discussed such wording and often differ — each according to his theological school — about the explanation. But it appears evident that, linguistically, there is figurative speech here, the word hand metonymically referring to God's power (see POWER AND IMPOTENCE). The same applies to the "eye of God," as in *li-tuṣnaʿa ʿalā ʿaynī* (Q 20:39), i.e. "that you [Moses] may be formed before my eye," metonymically meaning under God's protection and according to his will (see EYES). In the same manner, the Qurʾān ascribes attributes to God, such as mercy (q.v.), knowledge (see KNOWLEDGE AND LEARNING), hearing (see HEARING AND DEAFNESS), sight (see VISION AND BLINDNESS; SEEING AND HEARING), speech (q.v.), love (see LOVE AND AFFECTION), justice (see JUSTICE AND INJUSTICE), power, generosity (q.v.), forgiveness, oneness, wisdom (q.v.), glory (q.v.), greatness and so on. God is also said to have sat on the throne (*thumma stawā ʿalā l-ʿarsh,* Q 7:54; 10:3; 13:2; 25:59; 32:4; 57:4 and elsewhere), with the word "throne" taken to be a symbol (see SYMBOLIC IMAGERY) of his omnipotence and majesty (see THRONE OF GOD).

Likewise, the afterlife (see ESCHATOLOGY) is described in the Qurʾān in terms of physical pleasure in paradise and physical pain in hell, denoting, respectively, reward and punishment for deeds done on earth (q.v.) in this life, and fulfilling God's promise of reward and his threat of punishment elaborated in the Qurʾān. The material joys of paradise are concurrent with the spiritual satisfaction of being near God, experiencing eternal peace and bliss, and delighting in the beatitude of salvation (q.v.). The material sufferings of hell are concurrent with the spiritual affliction of being exiled from God's presence, the frustrating experience of eternal self-blame and regret, and the permanent agony of being condemned to the misery of damnation. Jewish and Christian literature have parallel details of the afterlife, but the qurʾānic image is, on the whole, *sui generis*. This image can be culled from different, scattered texts of various lengths in the Qurʾān, most of them found in the Meccan sūras. Each text concentrates on specific scenes from paradise or hell, or from both, usually presented in a contrastive way. Each text, with its different details, adds to the total picture of the afterlife. In his *Mashāhid al-qiyāma fī l-Qurʾān,* Sayyid Quṭb surveys 150 scenes taken from eighty sūras of the Qurʾān, sixty-three of them from the Meccan period and seventeen from the Medinan period.

Perhaps even more graphic is the qurʾānic image of the last day, the time when history comes to a climax: the universe is dismantled, the dead are resurrected (see DEATH AND THE DEAD; RESURRECTION), the last judgment occurs, and an eternity (q.v.) in paradise or hell begins for those consigned to either according to their deeds. What happens on this last day is described in ominous words such as in Q 82:1-5: "(1) When heaven is cleft asunder, (2) When the stars (*al-kawākib,* see PLANETS AND STARS) are dispersed, (3) When the seas are burst, (4) And when the tombs are laid open, (5) Each soul shall then know its former and latter deeds." Or, Q 81:1-14, "(1) When the sun is rolled up, (2) When the stars *(al-nujūm)* are darkened, (3) When the mountains are made to move, (4) When the ten-month pregnant she-camels are abandoned (see CAMEL), (5) When the wild beasts are herded together, (6) When the seas are made to seethe, (7) When the souls are united, (8) When the female infant buried alive (see CHILDREN; INFANTICIDE) is asked, (9) For what sin she was killed, (10) When the scrolls (q.v.) are spread out, (11) When heaven is stripped off, (12) When hell is set ablaze, (13) And

when paradise is brought near, (14) Each soul shall then know what it has produced." Of grammatical note in these qurʾānic passages is the fact that the main verbs are used in the passive voice and without mention of the specific doer of the action, or that they occur in the seventh or eighth morphological verbal form, forms which usually denote passivity. This structure increases the perception of the passivity of the universe at the end of time as it obeys an omnipotent God who does not even need to be mentioned as the doer because he is known to be the only one with commensurate power and authority to act at that cosmic scale.

There are several other qurʾānic passages with such ominous, eschatological and cataclysmic scenes foreshadowing humans being brought to account on the last day, the day of resurrection and the day of judgment. The event is heralded by a terrible shout (*ṣayḥa,* Q 36:53), a thunderclap (*ṣākhkha,* Q 80:33), one blast of a trumpet (Q 69:13: *nufikha fī l-ṣūri nafkhatun wāḥida*) or two blasts (Q 39:68: *nufikha fī l-ṣūri […] thumma nufikha fīhi ukhrā*), and other portents (as mentioned above). The Qurʾān often gives this day a special, alarming attribute such as *al-ḥāqqa* (Q 69:1) or *al-qāriʿa* (Q 101:1) or *yawm al-faṣl* (Q 77:13). In order to magnify the unknown and unexpected dread of the day, it immediately follows this attribute with a rhetorical question or double question, asked in awe-inspiring tones, as in Q 69:2-3, "What is *al-ḥāqqa?* And what shall make you know what *al-ḥāqqa* is?" or Q 101:2-3, "What is *al-qāriʿa?* And what shall make you know what *al-qāriʿa* is?" or Q 77:14, "And what shall make you know what *yawmu l-faṣl* is?" In a similar way, the Qurʾān gives hell other names, such as *saqar* (Q 74:26) or *al-ḥuṭama* (Q 104:4) and follows that name with a rhetorical question, asking as in Q 74:27, "And what shall make you know what *saqar* is?"; and Q 104:5, "And what shall make you know what *al-ḥuṭama* is?" A menacing description is then provided, with terrifying details.

Among the other qurʾānic names of hell are *al-jaḥīm* ("the hot place"), *al-saʿīr* ("the blaze"), *laẓā* ("flame"), and *al-nār* ("the fire"). These very names evoke the physical torment of the damned by fire and burning, hence the qurʾānic image of hell's inmates asking those in paradise for water but being denied it (Q 7:50). To drink, they are given boiling water like molten lead *(ka-l-muhli),* scalding their faces (Q 18:29), or they are given festering liquid pus *(māʾin ṣadīdin)* which they can hardly swallow (Q 14:16-7). They are given to eat from the *zaqqūm* tree, whose bitter fruits are like heads of devils (Q 37:62-5; see AGRICULTURE AND VEGETATION). They burn in hell but do not die or live, and they are not consumed; whenever their skins are seared, they are given fresh skins so that they may continue to be tormented (Q 4:56). Their torment reaches to their very souls and they wish they could ransom themselves with all their earthly possessions and they feel remorse within them on seeing their punishment (Q 10:54; see REPENTANCE AND PENANCE). They bite their hands in regret and wish they had chosen the messenger's way (Q 25:27). They wish they could return to the world and be believers (Q 26:102), and they cry for help to the lord to be let out in order to do righteous deeds, but they will not be helped, for they had been forewarned (Q 35:37).

In contrast, the eternal reward of the good and just people is a place of physical pleasure and spiritual bliss; it is *jannāt al-naʿīm* ("the gardens of delight") or *jannāt al-firdaws* ("the gardens of paradise") or simply *al-janna* ("the garden"). Through it, rivers flow (Q 5:119), rivers of unpolluted water, rivers of milk (q.v.) unchanging in flavor, rivers of delicious wine (q.v.), and

rivers of clear honey (q.v.; Q 47:15). The inmates recline with their spouses on couches in pleasant shades, enjoying fruits and whatever they call for (Q 36:56-57). They are adorned with bracelets of gold (q.v.) and wear green garments of silk (q.v.) and brocade (Q 18:31). They are served by immortal youths carrying goblets, ewers, and cups filled from a pure spring (see SPRINGS AND FOUNTAINS); and they do not have headaches by drinking therefrom, nor are they intoxicated (see INTOXICANTS). They eat fruits and the flesh of fowls as they desire. They have fair wide-eyed maids who are like well-preserved pearls (see HOURIS). No vain or sinful talk do they hear, but rather greetings of peace (Q 56:17-26; see GOSSIP). They experience no fear (q.v.) or sorrow (Q 7:49) and they are happy forever (Q 11:108). Their faces are radiant, looking toward their lord (Q 75:22-3); for they are the *muqarrabūn*, "those brought near" (Q 56:11), in the gardens of delight.

Although these contrasting images can be filled out with further details from other qurʾānic passages on the afterlife, they suffice here to give an idea of the impressive imagery of the Qurʾān. They demonstrate some of the most striking aspects of the imaginative power of the Arabic language to paint large scenes. The literary structures of the Qurʾān, however, also use this imaginative power to paint small scenes. This usage is found in many of the Qurʾān's similes (q.v.), metaphors, and figures of speech of every kind. A few examples should give an idea of the wide-ranging qurʾānic employment of such figurative language. The following is one of the complex similes: The futility of praying to false gods who never respond (see IDOLS AND IMAGES) is likened to a man who stretches out his open palms to scoop water to his mouth but cannot bring any water to it (Q 13:14). One of the metaphors utilizes an oath, swearing by the personified morning as it begins: *wa-l-ṣubḥi idhā tanaffasa* (Q 81:18), meaning, "And by morning when it breathes." The vivid expressiveness comes not from the mere personification of morning, but from the ascription of breathing to the rise of day, denoting the resumption of life and movement after night's stillness. Another example of a metaphor appears when Zechariah (q.v.; Zakariyyā) describes his old age. In Q 19:4, he is reported as saying, "And my head is ablaze with hoary hair" *(wa-shtaʿala l-raʾsu shayban)*. The spread of white hair on his head with advancing age is portrayed as the spread of fire, which may first begin with one or two sparks then grows inexorably into a flame. The image is made more striking by its grammatical construction: the head itself is the subject of burning, not the hoary hair, which is added as an accusative of specification.

In conclusion, it can be said that the Qurʾān utilizes a wide variety of literary devices to convey its message. In its original Arabic idiom, the individual components of the text — sūras and *āyāt* — employ phonetic and thematic structures that assist the audience's efforts to recall the message of the text. Whereas scholars of Arabic are largely agreed that the Qurʾān represents the standard by which other literary productions in Arabic are measured, believing Muslims maintain that the Qurʾān is inimitable with respect to both content and style (see LITERATURE AND THE QURʾĀN). From a linguistic standpoint, moreover, an understanding of the harmony within and between the Qurʾān's literary structures will be further enhanced by continuing study of macro and micro units of the text.

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Literature and the Qurʾān

This article deals with two main topics: the Qurʾān as literature, which focuses on the literary aspects of the Qurʾān, and the Qurʾān in literature, which focuses on the use of the Qurʾān in various Islamic literatures: Arabic, Persian, Urdu, Punjabi, and Malay. For further and more comprehensive discussion of the utilization of the Qurʾān in various non-Arabic Islamic literatures, see the articles SOUTH ASIAN LITERATURE AND THE QURʾĀN; SOUTHEAST ASIAN LITERATURE AND THE QURʾĀN; TURKISH LITERATURE AND THE QURʾĀN; PERSIAN LITERATURE AND THE QURʾĀN; AFRICAN LITERATURE.

Qurʾān as literature

The literary study of the Qurʾān focuses on how the Qurʾān uses its form, i.e. its language, style, and structure (see LANGUAGE AND STYLE OF THE QURʾĀN; FORM AND STRUCTURE OF THE QURʾĀN) to convey its message or content, i.e. its worldview, values and norms (see ETHICS AND THE

QURʾĀN). The emphasis in such a study falls on the "how" rather than on the "what" of the qurʾānic presentation. The literary aspect of the Qurʾān has been, in one form or another, a subject of study since early times but generally the context of such treatment has been theological, confessional or didactic rather than literary (see THEOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN). The starting point in most such works on this topic is the challenge that the Qurʾān issues to the disbelievers, namely, to produce a work like the Qurʾān if they doubt its divine origin (see INIMITABILITY; REVELATION AND INSPIRATION; BOOK; WORD OF GOD). This approach is illustrated by the works of Abū Bakr al-Bāqillānī (d. 403/1012) and ʿAbd al-Qāhir al-Jurjānī (d. 471/1078) — *Iʿjāz al-Qurʾān* and *Dalāʾil al-iʿjāz,* respectively. Both al-Bāqillānī and al-Jurjānī seek to show that, as the word of God, the Qurʾān is inimitable and, since it cannot be replicated by any human being, in whole or in part, it constitutes a miracle (q.v.). As such, it is a proof (q.v.) of the authenticity of Muḥammad's prophecy (see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD) and, consequently, of the religion of Islam. Such works do not, in principle, attempt to isolate the literary aspect of the Qurʾān for independent consideration. In 1939, Sayyid Quṭb (d. 1966) wrote that while works on the rhetorical aspect *(balāgha)* of the Qurʾān do indeed exist (see RHETORIC OF THE QURʾĀN), no independent literary, i.e. artistic, study of the Qurʾān exists "to this day" (Quṭb, Taṣwīr, i, 206). In recent years, the literary aspect of the Qurʾān has received greater attention. A significant work in this connection is *Literary structures of religious meaning in the Qurʾān,* edited by Issa Boullata (see LITERARY STRUCTURES OF THE QURʾĀN). As Boullata (*Literary structures,* x) points out in his introduction, literary structures include such diverse elements as "diction, phonology, morphology, syntax [see GRAMMAR AND THE QURʾĀN], rhythm, rhetoric, composition and style, in addition to matters related to tone, voice, orality [q.v.], imagery, symbolism [see SYMBOLIC IMAGERY; METAPHOR], allegory, genre, point of view, intertextuality, intratextual resonance and other literary aspects — all of which are set within a historic epistemology and cultural ambiance." In combination with one another, these elements produce "the total meaning which it (the Qurʾān) contains and which many generations have tried to comprehend" (ibid.).

Historically, the atomistic style of exegesis (see EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL), which has dominated in qurʾānic studies, has militated against the development of a proper literary approach to the Qurʾān. In the atomistic approach, individual verses (q.v.) and verse segments become the focus of study, with little literary significance attached to the larger units of composition. Little wonder that this approach laid the Qurʾān open to the charge of disjointedness: the reader gets a strong impression that the Qurʾān moves from one subject to another quickly and arbitrarily, and perhaps without following any organizing principle. And it is no surprise that few studies of narrative — of plot, dialogue, characterization — in the Qurʾān consequently exist, for the very concept of narrative presupposes the existence of sustained presentation, which an atomistic approach does not allow (see NARRATIVES; MYTHS AND LEGENDS IN THE QURʾĀN).

One can argue that the charge of disjointedness against the Qurʾān is overstated. First, it obviously does not apply to many of the shorter sūras (q.v.; for example, to sūras 80-114), to a number of medium-sized sūras, and to many passages and sections in larger sūras. In many places, an easily identifiable principle of

composition is seen to impart unity to portions of the text, as in Q 56:7-44 and Q 37:72-148, where a brief opening statement in each case is followed by details. Second, a closer study of the Qur'ān can identify certain patterns of composition in it. Al-Zarkashī (d. 794/1391) has shown, for instance, that the Qur'ān follows certain rules of ordering with fair regularity. Thus, it nearly always mentions existence before nonexistence, the heavens (see HEAVEN AND SKY) before the earth (q.v.), place (see GEOGRAPHY; SPATIAL RELATIONS) before time (q.v.), darkness (q.v.) before light (q.v.) and night before day (see DAY AND NIGHT), hearing before sight (see SEEING AND HEARING), messenger (q.v.; *rasūl*) before prophet *(nabī)*, Jesus (q.v.) before Mary (q.v.), and the Meccan Emigrants before the Medinan Helpers (see EMIGRANTS AND HELPERS; see, for these and other details, Zarkashī, *Burhān,* iii, 233 f.). Rules are likewise respected in serial descriptions; Q 4:23-4, for example, lists, in order of increasingly distant relationships, the women a man is forbidden to marry (see PROHIBITED DEGREES). Third and most important, the Qur'ān, perhaps more than any other scripture, has a living context that is vital to understanding its message. This living context is comprised of the direct and immediate record of the life and struggle of Muḥammad (q.v.) and his followers in first/seventh-century Arabia (see PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QUR'ĀN), and, in many cases, includes, as background, unspoken assumptions, unstated questions and objections, unexpressed concerns, doubts, and reservations, knowledge of all of which was shared among the participants in a given situation (see OPPOSITION TO MUḤAMMAD; OCCASIONS OF REVELATION). Proper consideration of this living context shows that the Qur'ān possesses a high degree of coherence and continuity. It must also be noted that a number of modern scholars of the Qur'ān, Muslim and non-Muslim, have seen many patterns at work in the Qur'ān and have drawn attention to previously unnoticed compositional elements therein (see EXEGESIS OF THE QUR'ĀN: EARLY MODERN AND CONTEMPORARY; CONTEMPORARY CRITICAL PRACTICES AND THE QUR'ĀN).

Literary features

The Qur'ān has a rich repertoire of literary features, among the best known being rhymed prose (q.v.; *saj'*) and economy of expression, with its two subtypes of "ellipsis" *(ḥadhf)* and "terseness" *(ījāz)*. The rhythm of the Qur'ān is best appreciated when the Qur'ān is recited or chanted (see RECITATION OF THE QUR'ĀN). In the pages that follow, we will review selected literary features of the Qur'ān, to see how they are used to convey, enhance and set off its meaning-content.

Words. Individual words used in many places in the Qur'ān turn out, on closer examination, to have special significance in the contexts in which they occur. The prophet Jonah (q.v.), convinced that the people of Nineveh would never believe, decides to leave the city. The word used to describe his departure is *abaqa* (Q 37:140), a word which is typically used in Arabic for a runaway slave (see SLAVES AND SLAVERY). Jonah is no slave. But then he is indeed one — God's (see SERVANT). Being in the service of God, Jonah ought not to have decided on his own to quit prophesying but should have waited for God's command. The use of *abaqa* for Jonah, thus, transforms his departure from a simple physical act to one that is fraught with moral implications. Again, the city of Medina (q.v.), which is almost invariably so called in the Qur'ān, is designated by its pre-emigration name, Yathrib, only once, in Q 33:13. This is significant because in that verse the call "O people of Yathrib" is made by those

who would desert the ranks of the Muslims at a time of crisis, hoping that Islam would soon be wiped out and that Medina would revert to its earlier pagan status and to its pre-Islamic name, Yathrib (see HYPOCRITES AND HYPOCRISY; POLYTHEISM AND ATHEISM; IDOLATRY AND IDOLATERS). The use of "Yathrib" in Q 33:13, thus, graphically portrays the mentality of a certain group of people at a crucial juncture in the early history of Islam.

Two words used for the same object or phenomenon in the Qur'ān each appear to have contextual relevance. *ʿAṣā,* the general word for a rod (q.v.), occurs when the referent is the staff of Moses (q.v.; as in Q 2:60 and 7:117). But the word for an old man's staff is *minsaʾa,* and it is a *minsaʾa* on which Solomon (q.v.) leans just before his death (Q 34:14), the word indicating, without any further help from the context, that Solomon died an old man. Similarly, Q 10:5 uses the word *ḍiyāʾ,* which denotes bright light and also heat, for sunlight, but the word *nūr,* which is more general, for moonlight (see SUN; MOON).

In a large number of cases, sets of two or more words acquire their full meaning only when they are seen in a dialectical relationship with each other (see PAIRS AND PAIRING). An obvious category of examples is that of the divine attributes, of which one example should suffice (see GOD AND HIS ATTRIBUTES). Many verses speak of God as being powerful *(ʿazīz)* and wise *(ḥakīm):* since he is wise, he does not abuse his might; since he is mighty, his is not ineffectual wisdom (q.v.; see also POWER AND IMPOTENCE). A complementary relationship thus comes to exist between the attributes of *ʿazīz* and *ḥakīm*. On a higher level, the Qur'ān sometimes uses several words for one essential meaning — except that each word has a different nuance. A most interesting example occurs in Q 7:198. In describing expertly crafted idols (see IDOLS AND IMAGES) that look quite real, this verse employs three words for the verb "to see": *wa-tarāhum yanẓurūna ilayka wa-hum lā yubṣirūna* (see VISION AND BLINDNESS). A detailed analysis of the highly complex relationship between the three words — *raʾā, naẓara,* and *abṣara* — is not possible here, though a tentative English translation, "And you *notice* that they are *looking* at you, but they do not *see*," might suggest the degree of complexity.

In view of its concern with nuance, one can expect to find wordplay in the Qur'ān. Q 12:70 has an extended play on the word *saraqa,* "to steal" (see THEFT): Joseph's brothers are "accused" of stealing the king's cup (see CUPS AND VESSELS) but are, in fact, being accused of having "stolen" Joseph (q.v.) away from his father. In a similar manner, Q 2:61 plays on the word *miṣr,* which means both a "city" (q.v.) and "Egypt" (q.v.). Thus, Moses, unhappy at the wandering Israelites' (see CHILDREN OF ISRAEL; JEWS AND JUDAISM) demand for the good food to which they were accustomed in Egypt, says: "Go into some *miṣr* and you shall have what you have asked for!" As an indefinite noun, *miṣr* means "city," but as a diptote it is the name of the country, Egypt. The use of *miṣr* in the verse draws a contrast between the simple food eaten in the freedom of desert life and the more elegant food eaten in a state of servility in Egypt and, thus, the Israelites' demand is put in a political and moral context.

Imagery. Sayyid Quṭb (d. 1966) has argued that the distinctive literary feature of the Qur'ān is its ability to picture abstractions. A fine example is Q 24:35, the Light Verse, which states at the outset that God is the light of the heavens and the earth, then proceeds to give details of that light in terms of a similitude. Other examples of this phenomenon are found in the many passages that give graphic details of the cataclysmic last hour and have a truly epi-

cal quality (e.g. Q 39:67; 69:13-8; 82:1-4; see APOCALYPSE; LAST JUDGMENT). The frequent occurrence of similes, metaphors and parables in the Qurʾān gives evidence of the Qurʾān's tendency to create vivid imagery.

Although many of the qurʾānic similes are drawn from the everyday life of the Arabs (q.v.) and from the environment familiar to them, the contexts in which they appear radically change their function and quality. The Arabs had seen tree-stumps being blown around by a strong wind but they must have been struck by the description of the rebellious people of ʿĀd (q.v.) being destroyed by a fierce wind, their dead bodies drifting about "as if they were stumps of hollow date-palms" (Q 69:7; see also 54:20; see AIR AND WIND; PUNISHMENT STORIES). Q 54:7 depicts a scene of the last day, where human beings, raised from the dead (see DEATH AND THE DEAD) and in a state of confusion, are "as if they were locusts scattered all over" (cf. Q 101:4: "like moths scattered all around"). The mountains, which today seem immovable, will, on the last day, float around "like carded wool" (Q 101:5; see also 70:9). Q 29:41 says that those who rely on someone other than God rely on the spider's web — "the weakest of houses."

The metaphors of the Qurʾān, like its similes, use images that were familiar to the Arabs but acquire new significations in the Qurʾān. Q 2:187 calls husband and wife "garments" to each other, implying, on the one hand, that marriage protects one's chastity (q.v.), and, on the other, admonishing the marriage partners to remain faithful to each other (see MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE). And since the Arabs engaged in trade and commerce, several metaphors involving the notions of buying, selling, and giving a loan hark back to this context (e.g. Q 2:16, 141, 245; 9:111; 35:29; 57:11; see SELLING AND BUYING; DEBT; MARKETS).

Qurʾānic parables usually illustrate key ideas of the Qurʾān. There is a variety of such parables, which are often signaled by a phrase like "The parable of [such-and-such a person] is…." We may take as an example Q 2:17-8, which describes the attitude of those who refuse to accept the guidance they have been looking for when it is presented to them — ironically missing the opportunity for which they have been looking: "Their parable is that of a man who kindled a fire (q.v.); when it had lit up the surrounding area, God took away their light, leaving them in layers of darkness, unable to see as they are. Deaf (see HEARING AND DEAFNESS), dumb, blind — so they shall not return!" Q 2:264-5 makes the point that only acts of charity done to win God's pleasure will be rewarded in the hereafter (see ESCHATOLOGY; REWARD AND PUNISHMENT; GOOD DEEDS): condescension toward or harm of the recipient of a favor will wipe out a charitable act, just as the dust on a rock is wiped clean by rain, whereas charitable acts done in a true spirit of piety will grow, just as a garden on a height will grow and prosper even if it gets a drizzle.

Parallelism, chiasmus, and epanados. Various kinds of emphasis are produced through parallelism, which has an ABA'B' structure (as in Q 11:24: those who are blind and those who are deaf/those possessed of sight and those able to hear; see also Q 20:118-9; 28:73). Emphasis is also produced through chiasmus or reverse parallelism, which has an ABB'A' structure (as in Q 40:58: those who are blind and those who are sighted/those who believe [see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF] and do good deeds and those who do evil deeds [q.v.]). Some of these arrangements are quite elaborate and complex, as in Q 35:19-22, where parallel and chiastic structures interpenetrate. In the story of Joseph in the twelfth sūra, the plot is constructed on the principle of

chiasmus; as Mustansir Mir (The qur'ānic story of Joseph) has shown, the first half of the sūra builds a series of tensions which are then resolved in reverse order in the second half. In *epanados,* one returns to the idea with which one started *(reditus ad propositum),* highlighting, on the one hand, the importance of the reiterated idea and, on the other hand, the interconnectedness of the materials enclosed between the two occurrences of the idea. Q 17:22-39, thus, begins and ends with the prohibition of setting up false deities; and Q 23:1-11 enumerates a number of qualities of the true believers — those who will "achieve success" — the passage underscoring the importance of the prayer (q.v.) ritual by referring to it at the beginning (Q 23:2) and toward the end (Q 23:9; cf. a similar emphasis on prayer in the large section of Q 2:163-238, where prayer is mentioned at the beginning, in Q 2:177 and at the end, in Q 2:238).

Other devices. We will briefly note several other devices used in the Qur'ān, giving one example of each and indicating the purpose it serves in its context. Q 2:51 accuses all of the Israelites of worshipping the calf (see CALF OF GOLD) when only some of them had done so. This substitution of the whole for a part *(synecdoche)* underscores the principle of collective responsibility. God sends down rain from the skies but Q 45:5 says that God sends down *rizq,* "sustenance": by substituting effect for cause *(metonymy),* the verse focuses our attention on the actual products of the rainwater we consume, eliciting from us a response of gratitude (see GRATITUDE AND INGRATITUDE; BLESSING; GRACE). Q 4:102 asks the embattled Muslims to "take their guard *(ḥidhr)* and their weapons *(asliḥa)*." The verb for "take," *akhadha,* applies literally to "weapons," but only metaphorically to "guard." The use of one verb in two senses *(syllepsis)* indicates that the best way to take one's guard in a situation of war (q.v.) is to have one's weapons ready. Q 9:62, using the singular pronoun for God and Muḥammad when one would expect the dual, deliberately violates grammar for effect *(enallage),* implying that, in order to please God, the believers must first please his messenger by obeying him, for to obey Muḥammad is to obey God (see OBEDIENCE). Q 21:89-90 says that God granted Zechariah's (q.v.) prayer for a son, even though Zechariah was very old and his wife was sterile: "We granted his prayer and gave him John (see JOHN THE BAPTIST), and we made his wife fertile for him." The sequence, one feels, should have been: We granted his prayer; we made his wife fertile for him; and [having done so] we gave him John. The reversal of the expected sequence *(hysteron proteron)* in the verse suggests immediacy: Zechariah's prayer was granted without any delay at all, so much so that the detail itself, "We made his wife fertile for him," was not allowed to intervene between the prayer and its acceptance. In many verses, a series of divine attributes is presented without the use of the conjunction "and" *(wa),* as in Q 59:23: "He, God, is the one other than whom there is no god: King, possessor of glory, [source of] peace, giver of security, protector, mighty, dominant, proud." Such an omission of the conjunction *(asyndeton)* serves to emphasize the unity or integrality of all the divine attributes and their simultaneous existence in the same deity — and, by thus negating division or distribution of the attributes among several deities, to reinforce the doctrine of monotheism. In Q 21:63, Abraham (q.v.), tongue in cheek, rejects the charge of demolishing the idols of the temple, imputing the act to the chief idol, whom he had spared, and suggesting that the temple custodians ask the broken idols about the matter. This affirmation through denial *(apophasis)* enables him to

checkmate his opponents, for he means to drive home the point that a dumb piece of rock does not deserve to be deified.

Irony. Irony is created through a contrast between appearance and reality, for example, between a situation as it is or might develop and the situation as it appears to someone. In tempting Adam and Eve (q.v.) in the garden (q.v.) of Eden, Satan (see DEVIL) suggests to them that the fruit of the forbidden tree could transform them into angels but that God would not like them to become angels; hence the prohibition to eat of the tree (Q 7:20). But the angels have already bowed (see BOWING AND PROSTRATION) before man (Q 2:30-4) and acknowledged his supremacy, so that man's attempt to become an angel (q.v.) constitutes a descent, not an ascent, on his part (see FALL OF MAN). In the story of the People of the Garden (Q 68:17-33), the rich but niggardly owners of the orchard, upon seeing their orchard destroyed, think that they must have arrived at someone else's orchard, and so they exclaim, "We have lost our way!" (*innā la-ḍāllūna,* Q 68:26). But they do not realize that they have lost their way not in the literal sense but in the figurative — moral — sense. Upon realizing that it is their own orchard they have reached after all, they say that they are *maḥrūmūn* (Q 68:27), that is, deprived of the produce, not realizing that they have been deprived of God's blessings in this world and the next. The qur'ānic story of Joseph (Q 12), like the biblical, offers a dramatization of the thesis that God's purposes are inexorably fulfilled and irony is one of the principal means of establishing that thesis (see Mir, Irony in the Qur'ān).

Characterization and dialogue. Very few of the persons mentioned or referred to in the Qur'ān are actually named. In almost all cases, however, they are distinctive enough to be recognizable. The qur'ānic Moses is, of course, unmistakable, but so is the unnamed man who comes rushing in from the far end of the city to inform Moses of the Egyptians' plot to kill him (Q 28:20). The qur'ānic Joseph is easily recognizable but so is the unnamed Egyptian noblewoman who tries to seduce him (Q 12:23). A few points about characterization in the Qur'ān may be noted (comparisons with characterization in the Bible will be fruitful). First, there is very little physical description. This absence indicates that such detail is not a crucial element of character: people must not be judged on their appearance but on the strength of their deeds (cf. Q 49:13: "The noblest of you in the sight of God is the most pious one of you"; see PIETY). Second, the Qur'ān does not recount the day-to-day events and happenings in the lives of its characters, whom we encounter only at decisive moments when, through their speech or action, they reveal their true selves, or provide significant clues about their views, attitudes, and inclinations, and help us "place" them. Third, there are not only individual but also collective characters in the Qur'ān. In many places (e.g. in Q 11, "Hūd"), the Qur'ān speaks of small or large groups of people, even nations, as if they were a single personality speaking or acting in unison. Thus, in a dialogue, a prophet might be represented as addressing a number of courtiers or nobles who speak and act as if they were a single entity. The implication, of course, is that the view held in common, or the action done in concert, is more important than the individuality of the characters. Even in these cases, however, the group *qua* group is usually seen to have its distinctive identity. Thus, Joseph's brothers (in Q 12), the magicians of Pharaoh (q.v.; Q 7:113-26; 20:65-73; 26:41-51), and the People of the Garden (Q 68:17-32) have clearly identifiable personalities. Fourth, just as there are groups that look like individuals, so there are individuals

who represent types. It is true that qur'ānic characters are, as a rule, presented within the general framework of the conflict between good and evil (q.v.), but they are not abstractions. Regardless of their moral alignment, most characters come across as men and women of flesh and blood and display traits that are very much human. And while many of the qur'ānic characters are either "good" or "bad," they can hardly be called flat — in the sense in which E.M. Forster famously used the term. Moses, quite obviously, is a multidimensional figure, as are Abraham, Joseph, the Queen of Sheba (see BILQĪS), and Pharaoh's magicians, who all undergo some kind of change and development with time. (On dialogue in the Qur'ān, see DIALOGUES.)

Taṣrīf *as a narrative principle. Taṣrīf,* a word used in the Qur'ān to denote the changing patterns of movement of the winds (Q 2:164; 45:5) and also the diverse modes of presentation of the qur'ānic message (*nuṣarrifu,* as in Q 6:65; and *ṣarrafnā,* in Q 17:41; 46:27), may be called a qur'ānic narrative principle. Typically, the Qur'ān does not present, for example, a story all in one place but breaks it up into several portions, relating different portions in different places, often with varying amounts and emphasis of detail, as they are needed and in accordance with the thematic exigencies of the sūras in which they occur. The Qur'ān does not tell a story for its own sake but in order to shed light on the theme under treatment in a particular sūra. In doing so, it eliminates chronology (see CHRONOLOGY AND THE QUR'ĀN) as an organizing principle in narration, replacing it with the principle of thematic coherence, a principle that determines which portion of a story will be narrated in what place. In other words, the story told in a given sūra is likely to be sūra-specific. A number of Western writers — among them Angelika Neuwirth, Anthony Johns, Neal Robinson and Matthias Zahniser (see bibliography) — have attempted to see qur'ānic sūras as unities or as possessing thematic and structural coherence.

Repetition. The Qur'ān appears to be repetitive in respect of both thematic substance and formal expression. Muslim scholars who have dealt with this phenomenon have concluded that repetition in the Qur'ān, whether in form or substance, is usually quite significant and purposeful. At a basic level, repetition serves to put emphasis on a point, catching an overflow of meaning, as in Q 19:42-5, where Abraham, imploring his father to abandon the worship of idols, utters *yā abati* ("O my dear father!") no fewer than four times, the repetition indicating his deep love and concern for the salvation (q.v.) of his father. Sometimes, repetition is used to insure a cumulative impact, as when a series of verses or sentences, beginning with the same word or words create a crescendo effect, leading to a climactic point (e.g. Q 7:195; 52:30-43). One or more phrases repeated two or more times, say, at the beginning of a series of passages, may serve as a frame for presenting an argument or making a comment. Q 26:104-90 relates the stories of five prophets — Noah (q.v.), Hūd (q.v.), Ṣāliḥ (q.v.), Lot (q.v.) and Shuʿayb (q.v.) — and their nations. All five passages in this section have an almost identical beginning. The repetition in this passage may appear to be formulaic but in fact it highlights (here and in many similar passages, e.g. Q 7:59-102) several things: that the many prophets sent by God all preached the same essential message; that each of these prophets was a member of the nation he addressed, so that the people, who knew him to be truthful and thus had little reason to reject his message, opposed him out of sheer stubbornness (see LIE; TRUTH; INSOLENCE AND OBSTINACY); that

although each prophet sought to rectify the evil peculiar to his nation, all of them began their preaching by calling their peoples to the correct faith (q.v.), which is the foundation of all good conduct; and that Muḥammad the prophet should not grieve at his rejection by the people of Mecca (q.v.), for just as God has punished the rebellious nations of those prophets, so he will punish the Meccans if they continue to oppose him. The formal identity of expression in the several parts of the passage thus conveys a complex set of meanings.

At times the Qurʾān employs refrain. A celebrated example occurs in Q 55, where the verse "Which of the blessings of God will you, then, deny?" occurs no fewer than thirty-one times. According to Amīn Aḥsan Iṣlāḥī (1906-97), this sūra was revealed in Mecca at a time when Muḥammad's opponents adamantly refused to accept the Qurʾān, defiantly asking for the punishment with which they were threatened in case they disbelieved. The sūra, accordingly, uses the refrain to force their attention. As Iṣlāḥī puts it: "This stylistic feature of repeatedly drawing someone's attention to something is, of course, used only when the addressee is either so stubborn that he is unwilling to accept what goes against his wishes, or so obtuse that he cannot be expected to see reason unless he is held by the scruff of his neck and forced to pay attention to every single thing" (Iṣlāḥī, *Tadabbur-i Qurʾān,* vii, 119). In other words, the refrain in Q 55 serves to bring into relief the particular mentality of the Meccan disbelievers at a certain stage of Muḥammad's ministry. Iṣlāḥī notes that Q 54 was revealed in a similar set of circumstances, and that it, too, has a refrain ("How were my punishment and my threat?" see id., *Tadabbur-i Qurʾān,* vii, 119).

The classical works on the Qurʾān are important aids to understanding the Qurʾān. Yet, from an artistic or literary point of view, they have certain limitations; the principal one being that, in these works, the literary study of the Qurʾān rarely achieves independence of theological considerations. In this respect, the study of the Qurʾān as literature in the modern sense of the term is in its beginning stages. Such study will definitely be helped by insights gleaned from the study of the Bible as literature, though the differences between the two scriptures will require that each be approached essentially on its own terms (see SCRIPTURE AND THE QURʾĀN). The field of the literary study of the Qurʾān holds considerable promise and is one in which cooperation between Muslim and Western scholars can be quite fruitful.

Qurʾān in literature

There is no doubt that the Qurʾān exerted a tremendous influence on various Islamic literatures, just as it did in other areas of artistic and intellectual activity in Islamic civilization. Its influence on Arabic literature in particular was, as expected, the earliest, but also the most intensive and enduring: Arabic, after all, was the language in which the Qurʾān was revealed. But as Islam moved beyond its initial area of dissemination, both in the first centuries of its expansion but also in subsequent periods of commercial, military and missionary activity, the Qurʾān interacted with numerous linguistic and literary cultures.

Qurʾān in Arabic literature

Although Arabic, as a language and a literary tradition, was quite well developed by the time of Muḥammad's prophetic activity, it was only after the emergence of Islam, with its founding scripture in Arabic, that the language reached its utmost capacity of expression, and the literature its highest point of complexity and sophistication. Indeed, it probably is no

exaggeration to say that the Qurʾān was one of the most conspicuous forces in the making of classical and post-classical Arabic literature.

According to the Muslim scholars (both of the Qurʾān and of literature), the use of the Qurʾān in literature is to be clearly distinguished from the "imitation" of the Qurʾān, *muʿāraḍa,* deemed to be beyond the capability of human beings. Comparing the two phenomena, the literary scholar al-Thaʿālibī (d. 429/1039) has the following to say in the theoretical introduction to the earliest and most comprehensive book on the subject, his *al-Iqtibās min al-Qurʾān al-karīm* (Thaʿālibī, *Iqtibās,* i, 37-9; see also Gilliot, Un florilège coranique). He first dwells on the idea of the Qurʾān as God's most beautiful and majestic speech (q.v.) whose revelation sent shock waves among the eloquent Arabs of the time and made them admit humbly of its superiority, of their inability to produce anything like it, and hence of its being the Prophet's miracle — like Moses' rod and Jesus' ability to heal the sick and raise the dead. Understandably, he concludes, anyone who tried to imitate the Qurʾān after the spread of Islam failed; what people could do was "to borrow" from it (*iqtibās,* as in the book's title). Consequently, according to al-Thaʿālibī, whereas imitation of the Qurʾān was a breach of the distinctive status of the Qurʾān and the Prophet, unfeasible and foolish, borrowing from the Qurʾān protected the Qurʾān's and the Prophet's distinguished status, and was therefore both feasible and wise. It adorned the litterateurs' speech, beautified it, and made it more eloquent, elevated, and sublime. Thaʿālibī offers this as an explanation for the borrowing from the Qurʾān that was widely practiced by all involved in the various branches of literary expression, both oral and written, up until his own day.

Al-Thaʿālibī — writing in the late fourth/early eleventh century — was not only in favor of qurʾānic borrowing in literature but also completely oblivious to the issue of its legitimacy. Before him, only two religious scholars had expressed their aversion to it: al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (d. 110/728; see Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ,* i, 190) and al-Bāqillānī (d. 403/1012; see Zarkashī, *Burhān,* i, 483). Later, however (possibly as late as the eighth/fourteenth century), the question of the legitimacy of qurʾānic borrowing became a subject of discussion in the works of scholars of the Qurʾān, literature, and rhetoric (see Zarkashī, *Burhān,* i, 481-5; Suyūṭī, *Itqān,* i, 147-9; Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ,* i, 190-1; Macdonald/Bonebakker, Iḳtibās, 1092). Significantly, though, almost all of these scholars noted that, with the exception of the Mālikīs, the vast majority of the scholars found qurʾānic borrowing either permissible or commendable. While these authors themselves did not object to the *principle* of mixing the sacred (see SANCTITY AND THE SACRED) with the profane (q.v.), they examined and regulated its *suitability:* there were places where such usage could be considered befitting, and hence would be acceptable (e.g. in sermons, speeches, testaments); not unbefitting, and hence permissible (e.g. in love poetry, letters, stories); and unbefitting, and hence impermissible (e.g. in jest, vulgarity and profanity; and cf. Thaʿālibī, *Iqtibās,* chap. 16). In these judgments they seem to have been guided by matters of precedence and historical reality. For the scholars could not deny the numerous reports that the Prophet and some of his most venerable Companions (see COMPANIONS OF THE PROPHET) had used qurʾānic citations in their speech/ḥadīth (see ḤADĪTH AND THE QURʾĀN), as well as the fact that borrowing from the Qurʾān in literature was very widespread in the works of litterateurs, among them some of the most pious and strict religious scholars, such as al-Shāfiʿī (d. 204/820) and

ʿAbd al-Qāhir al-Baghdādī (d. 429/1037). All of this confirms — as is alluded to by al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505; *Itqān,* i, 147, l. 11-2) — that the theoretical discussion of the legitimacy of qurʾānic borrowing is a late phenomenon and that before that time the Qurʾān was used freely in literature.

What the scholars meant exactly by "borrowing" can be gleaned from the terms they used to describe this phenomenon. The first two terms which we encounter are rather peculiar and seemingly negative: they are *sariqa,* "theft or plagiarism" — as in the title of ʿAbdallāh b. Yaḥyā b. Kunāsa's (d. 207/822) now lost book, *al-Kumayt's [d. 126/744] thefts [*sariqāt*] from the Qurʾān* (Ibn al-Nadīm, 77/70-1/i, 155) — and *ikhtilās,* "theft or misappropriation" — as in al-Hamdānī's (d. 334/945) description of Bishr b. Abī Kubār al-Balawī's (d. after 202/817) Qurʾān-studded letters (Hamdānī, *Ṣifāt,* 86). The context of these terms, however, indicates that they meant something positive like "plucking" — a kind of stealthy, unexpected appropriation of qurʾānic materials which takes the readers/listeners (pleasantly) by surprise. After the fourth/tenth century, the terms for qurʾānic borrowing become more clearly neutral and more or less standardized: *intizāʿ,* "extraction," *taḍmīn,* "insertion" (a word taken over from the insertion of poetry or proverbs in prose), *iqtibās,* "borrowing," *ʿaqd* (used for the Qurʾān in poetry only), also *istishhād,* "citation," *talwīḥ/talmīḥ,* "allusion," *ishāra,* "reference," in addition to two more words which mean "extraction": *istinbāṭ* and *istikhrāj* (Tawḥīdī, *Baṣāʾir,* ii, 230; Thaʿālibī, *Iqtibās,* i, 193; Zarkashī, *Burhān,* 483; Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ,* i, 189, 194, 197, 199, 200; Suyūṭī, *Itqān,* i, 147; Jomaih, *The use of the Qurʾān,* 1-2). As understood by Muslim scholars, then, qurʾānic borrowing in literature occurs when litterateurs extract some material from the Qurʾān and insert it skillfully into their literary products in the form of citation, reference, or allusion.

The use of the Qurʾān in Arabic literature began as early as the lifetime of the Prophet, for we know that some of the new poet-converts to Islam, ʿAbdallāh b. Rawāḥa (d. 8/629), Kaʿb b. Zuhayr (d. 26/645), and Ḥassān b. Thābit (d. 54/674), used it extensively in their poetry (Khan, *Vom Einfluss des Qurʾāns;* see POETRY AND POETS). As the Islamic community expanded, this use grew conspicuously and was undertaken not only by Muslims but also by non-Muslims, like the Christian Umayyad poet al-Akhṭal (d. 90/709) and the Sabian ʿAbbāsid prose writer Abū Hilāl al-Ṣābī (d. 384/994). This was unavoidable for a number of reasons: the Qurʾān was not only a powerful religious guide and companion in ritual for the believers but also an equally powerful literary text for all of the residents of the Islamic realm, believers and non-believers alike. Its text and script (see ARABIC SCRIPT; ARABIC LANGUAGE; COLLECTION OF THE QURʾĀN; CODICES OF THE QURʾĀN) were standardized early enough to make it reasonably accessible even to non-native speakers of Arabic. From the earliest times, professional Qurʾān reciters roamed the empire, teaching and transmitting it (see TEACHING AND PREACHING THE QURʾĀN). Teachers in the informal schools made it a primary item in their curricula; scholars established disciplines of learning to investigate each aspect of it (see TRADITIONAL DISCIPLINES OF QURʾĀNIC STUDY); and the supremacy of Arabic as the language of state, society and civilization made it practically impossible to escape its impact. Indeed, before the end of the Umayyad period (132/750), the Qurʾān was identified by the chief secretary of the central chancery, ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Kātib (d. 132/750), as the first item in the required list of studies needed by the state's secretaries (al-Qāḍī, The

impact of the Qur'ān, 287), many of whom became leading figures of Arabic literature for centuries to come. This idea became rooted so deeply that it was repeated by scholars over and over again (see Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, i, 200-1). In the sixth/twelfth century a secretary to the Fāṭimids, Ibn al-Ṣayrafī (d. 542/1147), wrote an entire book entitled *Intizā'āt al-Qur'ān al-'azīm* (as yet unpublished) in which he listed the qur'ānic verses that could be used by the state's secretaries in the presentation of a multitude of topics. On another level, the Qur'ān seemed to be the only — or at least, the principal — factor of stability in the early, turbulent decades of Islam, when factionalism was rampant, there were conflicts galore and the search for the "true" Islam was taken very seriously in all the sectors of the community. This made the Qur'ān an indispensable reference for all those groups and, with that, it became an organic part of their consciousness. In addition, the Qur'ān — in this crucial formative period — was frequently memorized (see MEMORY), even when its study was accompanied by a written text, as indeed it still is today. This gave it, from the early days of Islam, a prominent mental presence in the minds of the people living in Islamic lands and it could not but become part of the literature they produced.

The main areas in which the Qur'ān exerted noticeable influence on Arabic literature are diction and themes; other areas are related to the literary aspects of the Qur'ān, particularly oaths (q.v.), metaphors, imagery, motifs, and symbols. As far as diction is concerned, one could say that qur'ānic words, idioms, and expressions, especially "loaded" and formulaic phrases, appear in practically all genres of literature and in such abundance that it is simply impossible to compile a full record of them (see SLOGANS FROM THE QUR'ĀN). For not only did the Qur'ān create an entirely new linguistic corpus to express its message, it also endowed old, pre-Islamic words with new meanings and it is these meanings that took root in the language and subsequently in the literature. Again, because in qur'ānic borrowing words can be taken out of their qur'ānic context, there are almost limitless contexts in which they may be used.

Qur'ānic themes also occur frequently in literature. Themes pertaining to God and his power/mercy (q.v.), to the Qur'ān with its many names (see NAMES OF THE QUR'ĀN), to prophethood and the stories of various prophets and messengers, to the relation of God to humans and of humans to God with various aspects, to the human condition from the Fall onward, to the Islamic experience and early history beginning with the mission of Muḥammad, and to many aspects of morality, ethics, law (see LAW AND THE QUR'ĀN), theology, cosmology (q.v.) and eschatology, are, among others, themes that many litterateurs used in their work. Such themes tended to occur in some genres more than others; one encounters them most frequently, for example, in elegies, self-praise, panegyric and its opposite, satire, and above all in ascetic, Ṣūfī and devotional literature (see ṢŪFISM AND THE QUR'ĀN).

The use of the literary aspects of the Qur'ān is more difficult to categorize: it could occur anywhere, sometimes in the most unexpected places, as in a poem on wine-drinking — hardly a positive activity in Islam (Zubaidi, The impact, 328; see WINE; INTOXICANTS). Other examples collected by Zubaidi (The impact, 325, 326, 334) indicate that images in literature derived from the Qur'ān can be coined through similes and metaphors as well as qur'ānic motifs, like the motif of exile from heaven, as in al-Farazdaq's (d. 110/728)

portrayal of himself after he had divorced his beloved wife: "She was my paradise (q.v.), from which I was exiled/Like Adam when he rebelled against his lord (q.v.; see also REBELLION)."

More frequently, qur'ānic characters with powerful symbolic values (like Joseph for beauty [q.v.], Abraham for faith, Pharaoh for persistence in disbelief, and so forth; see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF) are mentioned in literature to draw striking images of the ideas the litterateur wants to communicate. The most enduring of these symbolic characters is the devil, the arch-representative of disobedience and sin (see SIN, MAJOR AND MINOR), whose image is often portrayed vividly and in great detail in political and other literature, notably by ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Kātib (see al-Qāḍī, The impact, 304-6).

Initially, the insertion of qur'ānic material in Arabic literature happened effortlessly and without any particular purpose in mind, as manifested by the poetry of the Prophet's contemporaries (mentioned above). With the passage of time — but still quite early — as the litterateurs became more aware of the Qur'ān's great potential, they drew upon it with both more consciousness and more sophistication. They began to use it out of piety, to beautify their literary products, to render them more witty, forceful and effective (particularly in sermons, speeches and political literature), or to make them more convincing to their audiences, especially when dealing with controversial issues that could benefit from divine sanction, like sectarian beliefs (see Jomaih, *The use of the Qur'ān,* loc. cit.). The letters of the second/eighth century prose writer Bishr al-Balawī (see below) are a shining example of the degree of sophistication and complexity that qur'ānic borrowing reached, as we find, for example, in a letter describing his delight at the addressee's promise to give him money, and then his despair when this promise was rescinded (al-Qāḍī, *Bishr ibn Abī Kubār,* 161):

… when I mentioned [my need to you], you brightened up like dawn, rejoicing as if at good news (cf. Q 80:38-9), and you promised "a fair promise" (Q 20:86). So I spent my pension on account of your brightening up, and I became liberal with my children on account of your rejoicing, and I borrowed from my friends on account of your promise. But when I came to you requesting fulfillment, you frowned and showed displeasure (cf. Q 74:22), then you turned away in pride (cf. Q 74:23). Now the money is gone, hope (q.v.) is cut off, and I have despaired of [attaining] my ambition "as the disbelievers have despaired of those who are in the graves" (Q 60:13).

The use of the Qur'ān for ideological purposes and for propaganda also occurred early due to historical circumstances and it still occurs today. Its use for social and political criticism resonates in many literary works and has lately become particularly conspicuous in modern Arabic literature, as in the politically scathing poems of the contemporary Egyptian poet Aḥmad Maṭar, where one reads, for example (*Lāfitāt,* 11):

I read in the Qur'ān:
"The power of Abū Lahab will perish." (Q 111:1)
The submission media declared:
"Silence is golden."
[But] I loved my poverty . . . [So] I continued to recite:
"And he will perish." (Q 111:1)
"His wealth and gains will not exempt him." (Q 111:2)
My throat was confiscated,
For incivility.

And the Qurʾān was confiscated,
Because it spurred me to [incite] trouble.

The way in which qurʾānic materials were used in both poetry and prose varied greatly from one author to another and within the works of a single author, sometimes even within a single piece (see al-Qāḍī, The limitations). Not infrequently, qurʾānic words, expressions, parts of *āya*s and full *āya*s are cited verbatim; and sometimes more than one of these elements are juxtaposed in a literary text and linked together with some sort of a conjunction. More frequently than not, such qurʾānic citations are inserted in the text without an explicit introduction or antecedent statement indicating that the Qurʾān is being used. Explicit indication, however, does occur sometimes, and sentences like "as God, may he be exalted, said in his book" signal the author's departure from his words to those of the Qurʾān.

Since literal citation is costly for litterateurs, in that it forces them to make both syntactical and stylistic accommodations to their texts (the poets had to deal with the additional restrictions of meter and rhyme), the litterateurs, more often than not, tended to modify or rephrase qurʾānic materials before inserting them into their texts. This gave them greater freedom in their selection of qurʾānic materials, and kept their own stylistic preferences intact, all the while enabling them to achieve what they wanted from qurʾānic borrowing. In fact, modified borrowing could give their text greater force since, with the source of their borrowed segments obscured, they could easily appropriate those segments and, skillfully blending them into their own texts, convey the impression that the segments' words were their own. And, since modified borrowing in one instance did not bar literal citation in another, it became quite usual in the works of versatile writers to mix both ways, even within a single work.

The techniques used by authors to modify qurʾānic materials are numerous and can be studied on the level of syntax and style (see al-Qāḍī, *Bishr ibn Abī Kubār,* 99-109; id., The impact, 289-307). On the level of syntax, authors made changes in person (first to third, or second to third) and number (plural to singular, and vice versa). They used pronouns for qurʾānic nouns when they needed, and replaced the nouns with verbs from the same root. A qurʾānic definite noun could become indefinite, and a phrase in the imperative mood could be changed to the indicative if the syntax required such a modification. Changes of qurʾānic materials dictated by style are a little more complex and their detection requires familiarity not only with the qurʾānic text but also with the writer's style. If the writer tends to use parallelism in his work, he is likely to resort to amplification, where he would take, for example, a two-word qurʾānic expression, break it up, bring a synonym for each word, then add a conjunction in the middle, thereby ending with a pair of parallel expressions. To amplification also belongs a technique called analogy, where the writer takes a qurʾānic expression, adds to it one or more parallel expressions of his own, thereby amplifying the text analogically. Conversely, an author may also resort to reduction when brevity is the goal, as in invocations, for example. Of the techniques of reduction, one could mention coining. This consists of the creation of single-word terms that are summations of whole qurʾānic phrases. Another technique, grammatical translation, consists of taking one or more qurʾānic *āya*s of a particular mood (e.g. imperative) and then "translating" them into words (e.g. He ordered…), thereby causing the qurʾānic statements to be reduced. On a simpler level, a writer could, for stylistic purposes,

use synonyms or antonyms for qurʾānic words, re-arrange words and expressions in the borrowed sentences, and consciously change the length of the borrowed or added segments so as to accord with the author's preferences in musical cadence.

Finally, the use of the Qurʾān in literature also took the form of allusion or reference, whereby a writer makes incidental mention of some qurʾānic material which is so well-known as to evoke clear and strong associations, like, for example, Abraham's fire (Q 21:68-71), Lot's wife (Q 66:10), Joseph's shirt (Q 12:18), Moses' rod (Q 2:60; 7:107, 117, 160; 26:32, 45, 63; 27:10; 28:31), Ṣāliḥ's she-camel (Q 7:73, 77; 11:64-5; 17:59; 26:155-7; 91:13-4), or the People of the Cave (*aṣḥāb al-kahf,* Q 18:9-26; see MEN OF THE CAVE). Since this technique requires minimal accommodation from the writer and at the same time allows him optimal benefit from the Qurʾān's presence in the text, it was used very frequently in literature, particularly in poetry.

The Qurʾān is used slightly differently in Arabic poetry than in Arabic prose. This is due to two differences between poetry and prose: genre and historical origin. With the exception of the relatively recent free verse, the generic restrictions of meter and rhyme in Arabic poetry limited qurʾānic borrowing quantitatively and qualitatively. In comparison with prose writers, who could introduce their borrowed materials by statements indicating their source (e.g. "as God, may he be exalted, said in his book…"), cite verbatim entire *āya*s no matter how long, and relate in detail entire qurʾānic narratives, poets had to limit the number of *āya*s on which they could draw, cut them short except in rare instances, depend heavily on various techniques of reformulation and give precedence to allusion and reference over citation and leisurely tracing. Consequently, while a prose piece could have most of its sentences drawn from qurʾānic materials, like many of the sermons of Ibn Nubāta (d. 374/984; see Canard, Ibn Nubāta), a poem comprised entirely of qurʾānic references is considered a noticeable aberration and could be judged flatly as "bad" (Thaʿālibī, *Iqtibās,* ii, 57).

Another factor in the greater latitude of Arabic prose in qurʾānic borrowing is that, at the rise of Islam, it had shallow roots in the pre-Islamic literary tradition — in contrast with poetry, which was deeply entrenched in that tradition: the highly stylized, complex, and sophisticated poetic form, the ode *(qaṣīda),* had an extremely important social function as it reflected the Arabs' environment, activities, beliefs, and value system. Thus, when the Qurʾān became a part of the Arabs' new world, prose fell almost completely under its spell. Poetry resisted — despite the Qurʾān's hostile attitude towards pagan poets and poetry (see Q 26:224-6). This tension is particularly notable since the Qurʾān did not offer itself as a poetic work to replace the old poetic tradition but was rather an inimitable divine revelation (see Q 21:5; 37:36-7; 52:30-1; 69:40-1). As a result, the ode as a mono-rhymed, dual hemstitched form and segmented structure survived and remained, with variations, the basic form of poetic expression in Arabic literature until modern times, allowing the Qurʾān to influence its diction, themes, powerful images, motifs and symbols. Prose, on the other hand, allowed the Qurʾān to influence, in addition to the above, its very form and structure, style and rhythm, even to the point of creating new genres in it.

In the area of form, the Qurʾān generally influenced Arabic literary prose, contrary to poetry. Like each of the Qurʾān's sūras, a typical prose piece would begin with the Qurʾān-based formula "in the name of God, the merciful, the compassionate," called the *basmala* (q.v.); indeed, prose

pieces lacking the *basmala* are considered *batrāʾ,* "clipped" or "docked," indicating imperfection. In epistolary prose — the most pervasive genre in Arabic literature until the modern period — in particular, this beginning is often followed, after naming the sender and the addressee, by another Qurʾān-based formula "I praise [before you] God other than whom there is no god," as attested from the first/seventh century in the papyri and elsewhere (see e.g. Becker, *Papyri,* 58, 62, 68, 92, 96, 100). Still another qurʾānic formula is found at the ends of most letters: "peace be upon you," or briefly "peace." In a way, perhaps not unlike qurʾānic sūras, Arabic prose displayed a great deal of formal variety within a recognizable unity. Genres as diverse as letters, treatises, testaments, sermons, invocations, and incantations exist, and works from each of these genres vary in length and complexity. Yet, each would be recognizable as a letter, treatise, testament, etc. Perhaps this is what explains a rather peculiar phenomenon in Arabic literary prose, namely that a piece of it — usually a short one — would be composed exclusively of one or more qurʾānic verses.

On the level of structure, prose pieces often betray specific qurʾānic influence in that they build upon a qurʾānic concept, phrase, or word and allow those elements to dictate their structure. One example is the letters or sermons which begin with the qurʾānic formula *al-ḥamdu li-llāh* (thanks/praise be to God) or, less frequently, the almost synonymous and equally qurʾānic *subḥāna llāh* (see GLORIFICATION OF GOD; LAUDATION). Such prose pieces tend to be cyclical in structure since each section (or cycle) begins with the same formula, followed by what God is being praised for (see ʿAbbās, *ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd*, 161-2; al-Qāḍī, The impact, 295-6). This kind of writing was developed in the early second/eighth century and was so distinct and potent that it was given the name *taḥmīd (te deum)* genre. Similarly, letters or testaments which begin with the qurʾānic concept *ūṣīka bi-taqwā llāh,* "I counsel you to fear God," tend to have a spiral structure, in the sense that they are composed of successive pieces of advice that end only when the author has completed his treatment of the virtues he wishes to advocate (see VIRTUES AND VICES, COMMANDING AND FORBIDDING). A third example consists of letters or proclamations that begin with qurʾānic concepts and phraseology to the effect that God chose Islam to be his religion. Such prose pieces normally have a carefully constructed three-part "sequential" structure, the first of which discusses pre-Muḥammadan human history, the second the mission of Muḥammad, while the third discusses the main topic of the piece.

Stylistically, the Qurʾān greatly influenced Arabic prose. It is conceivable that one of the most conspicuous features of Arabic prose, parallelism *(izdiwāj),* i.e. repeating one meaning in two or more phrases, goes back to qurʾānic influence. More certainly, the fairly frequent tendency of prose writers to use antithetical pairing *(taḍādd)* has its origin in the style of the Qurʾān, where opposites are often juxtaposed (e.g. good/evil; believers/non-believers). Probably even rhymed prose *(sajʿ),* whose use flourished in mid- and late medieval times but was never completely absent from prose in other periods, had its roots in the Qurʾān's style, too (see Heinrichs and Ben Abdesselem, Sadjʿ, 734-6). This matter is somewhat problematic since *sajʿ* was condemned by the Prophet. Because, however, this condemnation is linked to the utterances of the pre-Islamic pagan soothsayers (q.v.; *kuhhān*) and is thus deemed unsuitable for supplication (*duʿāʾ;* see Wensinck, *Concordance,* ii, 431), its use outside this sphere was taken, in varying degrees, to be acceptable. Such was especially the case as the Qurʾān,

by example, rendered it implicitly permissible. All of the stylistic features that have been mentioned serve the musical cadence of sentences, an area in which the Qurʾān excelled, particularly at the ends of *āyas*. And here, again, Arabic prose followed in the footsteps of the Qurʾān, making musical cadence a stylistic value after which it constantly strives.

Finally, there are some genres of prose whose very existence would have been inconceivable had the Qurʾān not been their guiding light, in particular that of the sermon, which is almost entirely dependent on qurʾānic ideas, formulations and stories of ancient peoples (see GENERATIONS). On another level, there are two Arabic literary works whose foundational principle lies deep in the qurʾānic vision of the day of judgment and the fate of people in heaven or hell (see HELL AND HELLFIRE); without this vision they could not have been written. These are Ibn Shuhayd's (d. 393/1003) *al-Tawābiʿ wa-l-zawābiʿ* and al-Maʿarrī's (d. 449/1057) *Risālat al-ghufrān,* both of which consist of imaginary journeys undertaken by their respective authors to the afterworld where they encounter litterateurs and scholars and ask them about their salvation or about their condemnation to hellfire, in addition to discussing with them matters of art, language and literature. Al-Maʿarrī's other work, *al-Fuṣūl wa-l-ghāyāt,* must also be mentioned among the works whose *raison d'être* is the Qurʾān. This book, whose very title, "The book of paragraphs and endings composed as an analogy of the verses and sūras [of the Qurʾān]," speaks of its indebtedness to the Qurʾān, is an ascetical piety work devoted to the praise of God and the poet's expression of fear of him and hope in his forgiveness (q.v.). It is actually written as an imitation of the styles of the Qurʾān. Last but not least, no study of the Qurʾān in Arabic literature is complete without a pause at the Yemeni second/eighth-century prose writer mentioned above, Bishr b. Abī Kubār al-Balawī, who was "famous for stealing/appropriating the Qurʾān" (Hamdānī, *Ṣifat,* 86). Although only seventeen of his letters have survived, it is clear that the Qurʾān is the overpowering force behind them, driving them in diction, style, images, symbols, word-, phrase- and sentence-order, and in both their internal and external structures. Indeed the Qurʾān governs the totality of each letter in its artistic imagination and internal movements, as well as its details. Indeed, at the hands of al-Balawī, the use of the Qurʾān in literature became an art unto itself.

Qurʾān in Persian literature

The Muslim conquest of Persia in the first/seventh century led to the rise of a new literature, produced in Arabic by the converts to Islam. But the Pahlavi literary tradition continued to exist and prosper. The attempt of Firdawsī (d. 411/1020) to avoid the use of Arabic words in his *Shāhnāma,* a poetical recounting of Sasanian history down to the Muslim conquest of Iran, represents the will to assert the independence of the native literary tradition rather than the rejection of Arabic literature — with the Qurʾān at its center — as an alien tradition. Niẓāmī (d. 605/1209) in his romance *Haft paykar,* "Seven beauties," deals with a similar theme — the life-story of the Sasanian ruler Bahrām Gūr — but his work, though it draws heavily on that of Firdawsī, contains many references and allusions to the Qurʾān.

The Qurʾān influenced Persian literature in several ways. The qurʾānic literary feature of *sajʿ,* "rhymed prose," influenced not only the stylized prefaces and introductions that the authors wrote for their works but, in varying degrees, the general style of authors, as well. The literary genre known

as "mirrors for princes" came to include a treatment of qurʾānic themes and characters. Since study and knowledge of the Qurʾān were an important part of classical Persian culture in the Islamic period and since this culture was shared between the secular and religious sectors of society, the ability, in conversation and writing, to cite appropriately from the Qurʾān and to recognize such citations came to be viewed as a mark of sound general education. Reference to the Qurʾān can be expected to occur in almost all genres of literature — and in almost any writer's work. Abū Naṣr Aḥmad b. Manṣūr Asadī (d. before 423/1041) invented the *munāẓara* ("debate") poem (see DEBATE AND DISPUTATION). In one such poem (Browne, *Literary history,* ii, 150-2), Night and Day each claim to be superior to the other, both presenting a series of arguments, many of them based on the Qurʾān. Night argues, for example, that it was at night that Muḥammad departed for his heavenly journey (Q 17:1) and that it is the Night of Power (q.v.; *laylat al-qadr*), that, in the Qurʾān, is deemed better than a thousand months (q.v.; Q 97:3). Day retorts that fasting (q.v.) is observed during the day (Q 2:187), that the Friday prayer (q.v.) is performed during the day (Q 62:9) and that resurrection (q.v.) will occur at daytime. ʿUmar al-Khayyām (d. before 530/1135) is not a particularly religious writer. Yet, in one of his quatrains (*Rubaiyyat,* 210, no. 379), he justifies wine-drinking by claiming to have found in the Qurʾān a "luminous verse" on wine *(bar-gird-i payāla āyatī rawshan ast),* and, in another (ibid., no. 381), compares the wine-cup to Noah's ark (q.v.), saying that it will save one from the storm of sorrow (*ṭūfān-i gham,* see JOY AND MISERY). To ʿUmar al-Khayyām is also attributed a satirical quatrain, quoted by Browne (*Literary history,* ii, 254), in which the apparently cryptic *bal hum* is, as Browne explains (ibid., n. 2), a reference to Q 7:179 (vs. 178 in Browne) and Q 25:46 (vs. 44 in Browne), a qurʾānic comment to the effect that a certain type of people are "like animals, or rather even more misguided."

It is, however, in Persian mystical poetry that the influence of the Qurʾān, in terms of both substance and language, is most evident. The *Manṭiq al-ṭayr* of Farīd al-Dīn ʿAṭṭār (513-627/1119-1230) takes its name from Q 27:16 and the birds of the story are guided in their search for their king, Simurgh, by the wise hoopoe — the bird mentioned in the same sūra (Q 27:20; ʿAṭṭār makes use of the unmistakable wordplay on the hoopoe's Arabic name, *hudhud,* and the qurʾānic concept of *hudā,* "guidance"). Saʿdī's *Majālis-i panjgāna,* "Five sessions," are studded with qurʾānic quotations. Ḥāfiẓ (d. 791 or 792/1389 or 1390), addressing himself, swears "by the Qurʾān you have preserved in your breast" to support his claim of having written exquisite poetry (*Dīwān,* 280). Indeed, his poetry contains not only easily identifiable qurʾānic phrases but also subtle allusions to qurʾānic events and characters. *Gar man ālūda dāmanam chi ʿajab/hama ʿālam gawāh-i ʿiṣmat-i ūʾst,* "What is the wonder if my hem is soiled [i.e. if I am seen to be guilty] — the whole world bears witness to his/her innocence!" (ibid., 36) is a verse that is clear in itself but is also a powerful appropriation of a qurʾānic incident: in Q 12, the innocent Joseph is framed and Potiphar's wife, Joseph's would-be seducer, is allowed to go scot-free. The allusion enables Ḥāfiẓ to imbue his verse with the ironic overtones present in the qurʾānic narration of the incident.

But it is, perhaps, Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī's poetry that offers the most remarkable instance of the influence of the Qurʾān on Persian literature. Nicholson's index *(fihrist)*

of the qurʾānic verses that have been cited by Rūmī in his *Mathnawī* gives some idea of the Qurʾān's influence (*Mathnawī,* iv, 391-408). It is, however, not exhaustive, for Rūmī not only cites actual phrases and verses from the Qurʾān but also reworks them, gives a Persian rendition of them and makes subtle allusions to qurʾānic themes or characters. In the First Book *(daftar)* of the *Mathnawī* alone there are about two hundred explicit or implicit references to the Qurʾān, only a few of which we will note here. Emphasizing the need to surrender to God's will, Rūmī says: *ham-chu Ismāʿīl pīshash sar bi-nih,* "Lay down your head before [i.e. obey] God like Ishmael (q.v.)" (who willingly offered to be sacrificed by Abraham at God's behest; *Mathnawī,* i, 8; see Q 37:102-3). In one of the stories, the hare succeeds in ensnaring the mighty lion and then rushes off to inform the other animals: *sūi nakhchīran dawīd an shīr-gīr/kaʾbshirū yā qawmu idh jāʾa l-bashīr,* "That lion-catcher ran off to the animals, saying, 'Good news (q.v.) for you, my people, for one bearing good tidings has come' " (*Mathnawī,* i, 83). *Abshirū* is the greeting the people of heaven will receive (Q 41:30), whereas *idh jāʾa l-bashīru* evokes Q 12:96, wherein a harbinger informs Jacob (q.v.) in Canaan of the safety and well-being of his son Joseph in Egypt. Stressing the importance of listening over speaking, Rūmī first says that hearing is the proper path to speech and then writes an Arabic couplet, the first hemistich of which (*udkhulū l-abyāta min abwābihā/wa-ṭlubū l-aghrāḍa fī asbābihā,* "Enter houses by the door, and seek goals using the means proper to them") is a slightly modified version of Q 2:189, a verse criticizing certain pre-Islamic pilgrimage (q.v.) practices. Again, immortality is to be sought only through self-loss in God: *kullu shayʾin hālikun juz wajh-i ū/chūn naʾī dar wajh-i ū hastī majū,* "Everything is going to perish except his countenance; if you are not before his countenance, do not seek to have existence," a line clearly reliant on Q 28:88 (see FACE OF GOD). Rūmī keeps bringing his readers back to the Qurʾān, ensuring that their contact with the Qurʾān, whether on the level of thought or of language, is never broken. Not without reason did the poet ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Jāmī (d. 898-9/1492) call the *Mathnawī* the Qurʾān in Pahlavi.

Qurʾān in Urdu literature

Compared with Persian, Urdu is a young language, whose proper literary career did not start until the early eighteenth century. While it continued the historical legacy of the Perso-Arabic Islamic culture in India — it succeeded Persian as the court language of Mughal India — Urdu developed under certain peculiar circumstances. Unlike Persian, Urdu was strongly influenced in its formative phase by writings with a religious and moral orientation. In fact, the history of the development of Urdu as a language is closely linked with the history of Islamic reformism in India. Some of the figures in this broad reform movement whose writings contributed to the growth of Urdu as a literary language are the first translators of the Qurʾān into Urdu, Shāh Rafīʿ al-Dīn (1750-1818) and Shāh ʿAbd al-Qādir (1753-1813), who were sons of Shāh Walī Allāh al-Dihlawī (1703-73); Sayyid Aḥmad Khān (1837-98), the founder of the Aligarh Movement; Naẓīr Aḥmad (1831-1912), author of several edifying novels (one of these, *Tawbatuʾn-naṣūh,* takes its title from Q 66:8); and Alṭāf Ḥusayn Ḥālī (1837-1914), author of the powerful poem *Rise and ebb of Islam.* The writings of these authors reflect their preoccupation with Islamic, including qurʾānic, themes and motifs. There are, of course, writers in whose works such themes

and motifs receive a deliberately pronounced emphasis, as in the poetry of the eighteenth-century mystic Khwāja Mīr Dard (1721-1785), who is preoccupied with the transience of worldly existence and in the masterly prose of the twentieth-century reformist Abū l-Kalām Āzād, who frequently cites qur'ānic verses to support his arguments, inviting Muslims to base their thought and action on the Qur'ān.

References and allusions to the Qur'ān will, however, be encountered in all manner of Urdu literature. In Mīr Ḥasan's (d. 1786) *Siḥru l-bayān,* "The spellbinding story," one of the best known of the Urdu *mathnawī*s, the childless king is dissuaded from becoming a hermit by his courtiers who remind him of the qur'ānic injunction of *la taqnaṭū,* "Do not despair" (Q 39:53). In a *qaṣīda,* Sawdā showers praise on a ruler, saying that, compared with him, even Solomon would be dwarfed to an ant — an allusion to the story of Solomon and the ants in Q 27:18-9 (see ANIMAL LIFE). In a *ghazal,* Ibrāhīm Dhawq (1790-1854) says: "He who is not found to be a world-loving dog (q.v.) — the like of him will not be found among angels," which recalls Q 7:176. In another verse, he says that killing a tiger, lion or python is not as great a feat as is the killing of the *nafs-i ammāra* (the baser self that impels one to evil), to which allusion is made in Q 12:53. In his poetry, Ghālib (d. 1869) makes a number of allusions to the Qur'ān, most of them playful. In one place (*Dīwān,* 49), he says that one like him would have withstood the impact of the divine epiphany much better than Moses (according to Q 7:143, Moses fell down unconscious when, at his demand, God manifested himself on Mount Sinai; see SINAI), commenting wryly that a wine-drinker should be served only as much wine as he can take without losing his senses. He compares his dejection-filled heart to Joseph's dungeon — a reference to Q 12 (ibid., 9). One of his verses reads (ibid., 188): *waraq tamām hu'a awr madḥ bāqī hai/safīna chāhi'e is baḥr-i be-karān ke li'e,* "The sheet of paper is filled up, but there is still more praise to offer: a ship is needed to cross this boundless sea." This is a possible allusion to Q 31:27, according to which God could not be praised enough even if all the trees in the world were to become pens and all the seas were to become ink (see WRITING AND WRITING MATERIALS). In a few verses Ghālib cites portions of qur'ānic verses verbatim (e.g. ibid., 74, 214).

It is, however, Muḥammad Iqbāl's (d. 1938) poetry that bears the deepest imprint of the Qur'ān; this is true of Iqbāl's Persian as well as his Urdu poetry, but only the latter will be discussed here. Many of his verses appear to be adaptations of qur'ānic verses. For example, Iqbāl describes some of the qualities of a true Muslim in the following words (*Kulliyyāt,* 507): *ho halqah-i yārān to baresham ki tarah narm/razm-i ḥaq-o-bāṭil ho to fawlād hai mu'min,* "In the company of friends the believer is soft like silk (q.v.), but in the clash of truth and falsehood he is like steel." This instantly brings to mind Q 48:29. Alluding to Q 21:68-9, according to which Abraham was thrown into the fire by the king of his time (called Nimrod [q.v.] by tradition), Iqbāl points to the modern challenges to Islam, asking a question (ibid., 257): "Again there is a fire, there is Abraham's offspring, and Nimrod, too!/Is all of this meant to put someone to the test?" In a poem about Khiḍr (Ar. Khiḍr; the Islamic literary tradition gives this name to the man, referred to in Q 18:65, who was sent by God to initiate Moses into some of the mysteries of the divine administration of the universe; see KHAḌIR/KHIḌR), Iqbāl writes (*Kulliyyāt,* 256): *kashti-e miskīn-o jān-i pāk-o dīwār-i yatīm/*

ʿilm-i Mūsā bhī hai tere sāmne ḥayrat-firōsh, "The poor man's boat, the pure soul (q.v.), and the orphan's (see ORPHANS) wall! Even Moses' knowledge suffers from bewilderment before you." Here, the first hemistich, which consists of three two-word phrases, makes a compact reference to the three uncommon incidents which are narrated in Q 18:71-82, and which a surprised Moses witnessed in the company of Khiḍr. Iqbāl borrows or adapts from the Qurʾān a large number of terms and phrases, but these terms and phrases in his works are not, as they might have been in another writer's, embellishments, but are rather essential instruments of his thought. A full study of the impact of the Qurʾān on Iqbāl's poetry is yet to be made.

Qurʾān in Punjabi literature

Punjabi Ṣūfī literature shows definite signs of the influence of the Qurʾān. Addressing a wide but illiterate audience and using earthy language while drawing on scenes and events of daily life, Muslim mystics stress the need to worship God with a pure heart, live a simple, honest life, seek a wisdom higher than that found in dry books, shun empty ritualism (see RITUAL AND THE QUR'ĀN), abandon pride, greed and hypocrisy, and remember death and the day of judgment. These are broad Islamic themes but, in many instances, they have a definite qurʾānic basis, as a study of the works of major Ṣūfī poets will show. In a poem, Bullhe Shāh (d. 1172/1758) wonders why people are quarreling over God when God is closer to them than their jugular vein, a clear reference to Q 50:16 (see ARTERY AND VEIN). In more than one place, Bullhe Shāh says that all one needs to study is *alif,* the first letter of the Arabic alphabet and the first letter of the divine name, *Allāh.* This is a simple but dramatic way of highlighting the centrality of the doctrine of God in the Qurʾān — *Allāh* being, incidentally, the noun with the highest frequency in the Qurʾān. Implying that advice and guidance will be lost on a confirmed sinner, Sulṭān Bāhū (d. 1103/1691) says that rain will not benefit a stony heart, which reminds one of Q 2:264; and, again, that a stone is better than a heart that is forgetful of God, an obvious reference to Q 2:74. Bābā Farīd (569-665/1173-1266) says that one who has been misled by Satan will not listen even if words of wisdom and good counsel were shouted at him — a statement that brings to mind Q 2:17 (possibly also Q 7:175 and 58:19). Shāh Ḥusayn's (d. 1002/1593) frequent references to the transient nature of the world and of worldly pleasures are qurʾānic in their spirit. In a number of instances, Punjabi Ṣūfī poets cite short phrases from the Qurʾān, either in the original Arabic or in translation. A careful reader of these poets, especially of Sulṭān Bāhū, cannot fail to note the influence of the Qurʾān — both at the level of theme and at the level of language — on this literature.

Qurʾān in Malay literature

Islam arrived in the Malay world in the fourteenth century C.E. but, notwithstanding the works of a writer like the mystic Ḥamza Fansūrī (sixteenth-seventeenth centuries), Malay language and literature cannot be said to have been influenced by Islam or the Qurʾān in the same way as were some of the other Muslim languages and literatures. Like Malay society, Malay literature emphasizes uniformity and conventionality and tends to view assertion of individualism or originality and expression of spontaneous feeling as wayward and disruptive (anonymity of authorship is typical of classical Malay literature). This emphasis limited the stock of literary themes and devices available to a writer,

who was further limited by the social context of this literature. As essentially a palace literature, a literature of patronage, Malay writers depicted mostly the lives and exploits of rulers and aristocrats. The emphasis on conventionality also restricted the scope of foreign literary influence. Accordingly, classical Malay literature, even when it was influenced by Islam, largely retained its pre-Islamic thematic repertoire and structural framework. Thus, the well-known and predominant genre of prose romance called *ḥikāyat* continued to deal with the themes of the ancient Hindu epics. Even when heroes from Muslim history were introduced or substituted in stories, they were usually cast in the roles of familiar pre-Islamic figures, the *ḥikāyat* generally receiving only an Islamic varnishing. But instances of Islamic or qur'ānic influence on *ḥikāyat* literature do exist, as suggested by such titles as *Ḥikāyat Iblīs* and *Ḥikāyat nabī Yūsuf,* and — as clearly and significantly illustrated in the *Ḥikāyat mahārāja ʿAlī* — by the employment of qur'ānic terms, phrases and invocatory expressions (see EXHORTATIONS), by the treatment of such qur'ānic themes as God's ability to accomplish his purposes against all odds and the need for human beings to put their trust in God (see TRUST AND PATIENCE) and by the adaptive use of such qur'ānic stories as that of the prophet David (q.v.) and his wise son Solomon (Q 21:78-9) or that of Jesus' miraculous power to revive the dead (Q 3:49).

There is one other, and rather peculiar, way in which the Qur'ān influenced Malay literature. Classical Malay written literature, which no less than Malay oral literature was meant to be heard rather than read, acquired certain qualities associated with oral literature. Since Malay literature, in general, had to be chanted, the tradition of Qur'ān recitation, according to Sweeney (*Authors and audiences,* 32), gave a "definite Islamic flavor to the chant."

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Liturgical Calendar

see FESTIVALS AND COMMEMORATVE DAYS

Load or Burden

Something carried or borne, often with difficulty. The concept of load or burden appears in the Qurʾān approximately fifty times, in several forms, conveying a range of implications that can be classified as descriptive, metaphorical (see METAPHOR), and morally didactic.

As a term of physical description, variants of the radical *ḥ-m-l* frequently depict the load borne by animals such as cattle, donkeys and camels (Q 12:72; 16:7; 62:5; see CAMEL; ANIMAL LIFE); as the cargo aboard ships (q.v.; Q 23:22; 40:80) or related to natural elements such as clouds laden with rain (Q 51:2; see AIR AND WIND; NATURE AS SIGNS). It also applies, usually as the verbal noun *ḥaml,* to the bearing of children (q.v.; Q 7:189; 22:2; 65:6; see also BIOLOGY AS THE CREATION AND STAGES OF LIFE). Its usages, however, are not restricted to expressly material burdens, as, for example, angels (see ANGEL) are described as supporting the weight of the heavenly throne (Q 40:7; 69:17; see THRONE OF GOD).

As a metaphor, the Qurʾān may specify load or burden as a generalized onus, the significance of which depends on the

surrounding context. It alludes to the burdens *(awzār)* of war (q.v.; Q 47:4) or it contrasts two men, one who follows the straight path (see PATH OR WAY) while the other is a burden *(kall)* upon his master (Q 16:76; see SLAVES AND SLAVERY; CLIENTS AND CLIENTAGE). The term *iṣr* which occurs more rarely, refers at one point to the load placed by God upon those who accept his covenant (q.v.; Q 3:81) and elsewhere to the load that the Prophet will lift as a yoke, to relieve those who heed his message (Q 7:157). Another passage mentions the earth (q.v.) "throwing out its burdens" (*athqāl,* Q 99:2), an apocalyptic image which al-Bayḍāwī (d. ca. 700/1301; *Anwār,* ad loc.) interprets as the tombs yielding up their dead (see DEATH AND THE DEAD; APOCALYPSE). Likewise, the Qurʾān speaks of God opening up the breast (see HEART) of Muḥammad and "removing your burden which was breaking your back" (Q 94:2-3) which appears to indicate the anxious and vulnerable circumstances Muḥammad experienced at the outset of his mission in Mecca (q.v.; see also OPPOSITION TO MUḤAMMAD).

Finally, load or burden arises in a number of similar phrases that reflect a key teaching of the Qurʾān regarding the fundamental responsibility of each individual for his or her own moral and religious growth and integrity (see ETHICS AND THE QURʾĀN). The line "no one who carries a burden bears the load of another" occurs with slight variation six times (Q 6:164; 17:15; 24:54; 35:18; 39:7; 53:38) and in every instance it is accompanied by allusions, direct or indirect, to the day of judgment (see LAST JUDGMENT). The *Ǧalālayn* consistently offer a succinct gloss for "burden" *(wāzira)* in commenting on these passages, equating it with *āthām* or *dhunūb,* meaning sins or faults (see SIN, MAJOR AND MINOR). Likewise, they and other commentators emphasize the reference to the accountability of each single individual before God in the acquisition of eternal reward or punishment (see EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL; REWARD AND PUNISHMENT; ETERNITY).

One instructive variant on this theme recounts an incident when disbelievers called upon believers (see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF): "Follow our way; we shall carry the burden of your sins." In response, the Qurʾān not only refutes the fallacy of this presumption on the part of the disbelievers but adds that those who lead others astray (q.v.) by such claims "will carry their own loads and other loads besides their own" (Q 29:12-3). This passage offers a qualification of the statements that limit the moral responsibility of individuals to their own behavior by indicating that leading others astray by offering to bear their burdens, will reap a penalty of the sort that renders these deceivers an extra measure of culpability in much the fashion that they themselves had suggested.

Al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923) notes that this doctrine of individual moral accountability echoes the Prophet's recognition of the consequences of personal freedom in moral terms (see FREEDOM AND PREDESTINATION), just as his statement with regard to belief was formulated in his famous final declaration: "You have your religion and I have my religion" (Q 109:6; see FAITH; RELIGIOUS PLURALISM AND THE QURʾĀN). A number of ḥadīths (see ḤADĪTH AND THE QURʾĀN) elaborate upon these verses with accounts of a surprise encounter after one's death at which each individual soul will be confronted by a set of vivid forms, one beautiful and the other repulsive, which will identify themselves as the good and evil deeds (q.v.) performed during that person's lifetime (see also GOOD DEEDS; GOOD AND EVIL; RECORD OF HUMAN ACTIONS).

More recent schools of interpretation,

such as those represented in the twentieth century by al-Mawdūdi and Rashīd Riḍā, reflecting upon these same verses, have emphasized a reformist agenda. They point out, for instance, that the logic of strictly individualized merit and retribution serves to refute many aspects of popular piety (see FESTIVALS AND COMMEMORATIVE DAYS). They have been especially critical of elaborate funerary and memorial rituals, including the establishment of *waqf* endowments in support of such tomb-centered practices as well as the cult of saints and prayerful appeals for their intercession (q.v.).

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Loan

see DEBTS; ECONOMICS; USURY

Locust

see ANIMAL LIFE; PLAGUE

Lord

One who has power and authority. One of the most frequent nouns in the Qurʾān, "lord" generally refers to God but on a few occasions designates a human master. Three terms in the Qurʾān can be rendered into English as lord: *rabb, mawlā* and *walī*.

Rabb recurs 971 times in the Qurʾān, never as an isolated word with the definite article *(al-rabb)* but always as the first term in a genitive construct (i.e. the lord of the heavens and the earth), most often with a personal pronoun as suffix. *Rabb* conveys not only the meanings of lord and master but also of caregiver, provider, sustainer (cf. the Arabic verb *rabba,* "to be lord," and also "to bring up, to care for"). The word is used to express the universal lordship of God (cf. Q 4:1, the lord of all humankind *[al-nās]*) with special reference to his (but see GENDER for a discussion of the complexities of gender in Arabic grammar) creative act ("the lord of all the worlds/of the whole creation" [q.v.; *rabb al-ʿālamīn*], in forty-two instances); the lord of previous prophets ("the lord of Moses [q.v.] and Aaron [q.v.]," Q 7:122; 26:48; cf. 20:70; see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD); as well as the special relationship between the lord and the believer ("God is my lord," Q 19:36, "and Noah [q.v.] called unto his lord," Q 11:45; see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF). When in the plural *(arbāb),* the term indicates gods other than the one God and the opposition between the numerous gods and the one God is emphasized (Q 9:31: "they have taken their rabbis and their monks for their lords *[arbāb]* beside the God [*min dūni llāhi,* see JEWS AND JUDAISM; CHRISTIANS AND CHRISTIANITY; MONASTICISM AND MONKS]; and "… diverse lords… or the one God," Q 12:39; also Q 3:64; cf. Quṭb, *Ẓilāl,* 15; see POLYTHEISM AND ATHEISM).

The term *rabb* with reference to a human master is found in Sūrat Yūsuf ("Joseph," Q 12). In this lively and linguistically interesting narrative of Joseph's life (see NARRATIVES), the tension between loyalty to the human master and to the eternal lord is sustained by the consecutive use of the same term in both its meanings; Joseph (q.v.) says to the wife of his master (Potiphar): "Goodly has my master *(rabbī)* made my lodging" (Q 12:23), with the narrative continuing "and he [Joseph] would have succumbed had he not seen a proof of his

lord's truth *(burhān rabbihi)*" (Q 12:24). The link is even more evident in Joseph's own words to the king's messenger: "Go back to your lord (*rabbika,* "the king") … my lord *(rabbī)* [alone] has full knowledge of their [the women's] guile" (Q 12:50). *Rabb* as human master occurs again in Q 12 with reference to the Egyptian king in Q 12:41 and 42 (see PHARAOH).

The lordship and majesty of God over the whole creation are conveyed through expressions such as *rabb al-ʿālamīn,* as mentioned earlier, and also "the lord of the heavens (see HEAVEN AND SKY) and the earth (q.v.) and what is between them" (Q 26:24), "the lord of the east and the west and what is between them" (Q 26:28), "the lord of the seven heavens" (Q 23:86), and "the lord of the two easts and the two wests" (Q 55:17). Lordship expressed through creation implies not a once and for all action but a continuous process (Quṭb, *Ẓilāl,* 15-7): *rabb* is not only the originator but also that which preserves, manages and regulates this creation (Ibn al-ʿArabī, *Tafsīr,* 10).

In some instances the terms *rabb* and *Allāh* are found together so as to reiterate the identity and specificity of lordship and divinity: "My lord is God" (*rabbī Allāh,* Q 40:28), or "God is my lord" (Q 3:51; 19:36; 43:64), as well as "our lord is God" (Q 22:40; 46:13). Moreover, the use of *rabb* as lord could imply the correct relationship to be entertained between the creator and his creation, especially with the human being whose role as servant (q.v.; *ʿabd*) is to worship the creator (cf. Q 3:51; 89:28-9; cf. Abū Ḥayyān, *Baḥr,* 18; Qūnawī, *Iʿjāz,* 293). The majority of classical as well as modern exegetical *(tafsīr)* works (see EXEGESIS OF THE QUR'ĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL; EXEGESIS OF THE QUR'ĀN: EARLY MODERN AND CONTEMPORARY) provide explanations for the meanings of the term *rabb* in the Qur'ān. *Rabb* describes God as master, sustainer and owner of his creation (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* i, 141-3; Ālūsī, *Rūḥ,* i, 77-8), as the incessant caretaker of the whole universe (Quṭb, *Ẓilāl,* 15, Rashīd Riḍā, *Tafsīr,* 36). *Rabb* indicates the lord of creation by virtue of the act of bringing the world into existence out of non-existence (Rāzī, *Tafsīr,* i, 233-4; see COSMOLOGY). Accordingly, being creator, God is the only one worthy of lordship (*rubūbiyya;* Bayḍāwī, *Anwār,* ii, 123; Ṭabāṭabā'ī, *Mīzān,* i, 29-30). Elaborating on this aspect, mystical exegesis (see ṢŪFISM AND THE QUR'ĀN) identifies the term *rabb* with the level at which divine lordship, being related to the act of creation, can be known. Consequently, scholars such as Sahl al-Tustarī (d. 283/896), Ibn al-ʿArabī (d. 638/1240) and al-Qūnawī (d. 673/1274) distinguish the level of God as *rabb* (i.e. lord of creation) from that of God as *Allāh* which they consider to express divinity untouched by creation (Qūnawī, *Iʿjāz,* 296). Ṣūfīs such as Abū l-Ḥasan al-Nūrī (d. 295/907), or al-Muḥāsibī (d. 243/857) before him, express a similar concept by stressing the relation between *rabb* (master) and *marbūb* (subject) to indicate the first human cognitive stage of the majesty of God (see KNOWLEDGE AND LEARNING).

The modernist Egyptian scholar Maḥmūd Shaltūt, *shaykh* of al-Azhar during 1958-63, elaborates further on the lordship of God by linking it to three main aspects of divine providence. Firstly, God is the sole lord of the world through his physical creative providence, which not only caused the world to come into existence but also constantly preserves, nourishes and protects it. Secondly, God is lord as he provides humankind with the rational faculty which allows humans to identify the signs (q.v.) of God in the world and to distinguish good from evil (see GOOD AND EVIL). Thirdly, God is lord through revelation of the laws he communicated through inspiration to the prophets and which are

preserved in the scriptures as constant reminders to the whole of humankind (see REVELATION AND INSPIRATION; SCRIPTURE AND THE QUR'ĀN; BOOK).

In his seminal and controversial work *The foreign vocabulary of the Qur'ān* (136-9), the scholar Arthur Jeffery believed the qur'ānic use of the term *rabb* with reference to God to be the result of a linguistic borrowing from Aramaic or Syriac and also that the use of *rabb* to indicate "human chieftains" but also pre-Islamic gods was already attested by pre-Islamic poetry and inscriptions (ibid., 137; see FOREIGN VOCABULARY). It should nevertheless be added that there is evidence of the use of *rabb* or *rabbanā* as a title to address the pre-Islamic *kāhin,* "priest/officiant of sacrifices" (Fahd, *Divination,* 107-8; see SOOTHSAYERS). In a 1958 article, the French Islamicist J. Chelhod, applying criteria similar to those used in biblical textual criticism, analyzed the frequency of occurrence of the terms *rabb* and *Allāh* for a tentative chronology of the qur'ānic sūras. Chelhod noted that while the use of the term *rabb* clearly decreases in the Medinan sūras, that of *Allāh* increases considerably from the third period of Meccan sūras onwards. Such observations led Chelhod to posit some hypotheses (summarized in Böwering, Chronology, 329-30), which importantly link qur'ānic language and style (see LANGUAGE AND STYLE OF THE QUR'ĀN) to the inner chronology of the Qur'ān (see CHRONOLOGY AND THE QUR'ĀN).

The Qur'ān also uses *mawlā,* "tutor, trustee, helper, ally," carrying the connotation of protector to signify divine lordship (Q 47:11: "God is the *mawlā* of the faithful, the unbelievers have no *mawlā*"; also Q 2:286; 3:150; 6:62; 8:40; 9:51; 22:78; 47:11; 66:2). In other instances, however, *mawlā* is clearly used in a non-religious non-divine sense to indicate a friend, an ally (Q 16:76; 19:5; 44:41). *Walī,* one of the ninety-nine divine names (see GOD AND HIS ATTRIBUTES), occurs in several instances as lord in the sense of protector, guardian (Q 2:257; 3:68; 4:45; 7:155; 13:11), but also of friend (Q 5:55; 6:14; 42:9; 45:19; see FRIENDS AND FRIENDSHIP). It is also used, often in the plural form *(awliyā'),* with reference to a human protector or friend (Q 3:28, 175; 4:89, 144; 5:51; etc.).

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Lot

The prophet sent to the people of Sodom as mentioned in both the Bible and the Qur'ān. In the latter, he is attested twenty-seven times. Among the qur'ānic stories of divine punishment (see PUNISHMENT STORIES; CHASTISEMENT AND PUNISHMENT), that of Lot (Lūṭ) and Sodom is second in terms of quantity to that of Noah (q.v.) and the flood. As in the Bible, it continues, in Q 11:69-83, 15:57-77, and Q 29:31-5, the story of the three angels (see ANGEL) who visited Abraham (q.v.), announcing the birth of Isaac (q.v.), and of Abraham's

dispute with them on the fate of Sodom (*Gen* 18-9). More frequently it is an independent tale, the angels playing their part as Lot's guests: Q 7:80-4; 26:160-74; 27:54-8; 37:133-8; 54:33-7.

In many details, the story is the same as other qurʾānic tales of divine punishment: Lot was the brother *(akhū)* of his people (*qawm,* see BROTHER AND BROTHERHOOD), a messenger (q.v.; *mursal, rasūl*) who admonished his people to fear (q.v.) God; he demanded obedience (q.v.) and did not ask for remuneration. Like Noah, Hūd (q.v.), Ṣāliḥ (q.v.), Moses (q.v.) and other prophets (see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD), he was accused of being a liar (cf. Q 3:184; see LIE). His people were addicted to homosexuality (q.v.), held up travelers (see HOSPITALITY AND COURTESY; HIGHWAY ROBBERY), and practiced wickedness in their councils (see GOOD AND EVIL; SIN, MAJOR AND MINOR). In vain Lot tried to convert them, offering them his daughters for marriage (see MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE). He showed hospitality to the angels, protecting them from the obtrusiveness of his people. The evildoers (see EVIL DEEDS) tried to enter his house by force but were deprived of their eyesight by divine interference (see VISION AND BLINDNESS). When the inhabitants threatened to expel Lot from the city, he prayed to God for help. The angels told Lot and his family to leave the city at night, forbidding them to turn back. Punishment came at sunrise. Rain fell on the evildoers, the city was turned upside down, and stones *(ḥijāra min sijjīl)* hailed from the sky. According to other versions, the punishment was a cry, a sandstorm *(ḥāṣib)* or a convulsion from the sky *(rijz min al-samāʾ).* Lot and his family were rescued but his wife remained in the city and died. She was punished because she had conspired with the sinners. Like Noah's wife, she is an example of unbelieving wives who betrayed their husbands (Q 66:10; see WOMEN AND THE QURʾĀN).

In Muslim folklore the story has been developed extensively from biblical and extra-biblical Jewish and Christian tradition, much of which has been included in the exegetical tradition (*tafsīr,* see EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL). Lot's people lived in three cities, five cities according to some, of which Sodom was the capital. It was reduced to an ugly, evil smelling lake, which is obviously the Dead Sea. God made it "a sign for those who believe" (Q 15:77; see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF; SIGNS; GEOGRAPHY). The cities are called *al-Muʾtafikāt* because Gabriel (q.v.) tore them out of the earth, lifted them with his wing, turned them upside down, and crushed them on the ground, then stones were hurled on them. Lot's people, men and women alike, were the first of humankind to practice homosexuality. The men were married but had unnatural intercourse with their wives. Lot did not offer them his own daughters, for as a prophet he was the father of his community, the same as Muḥammad (whose wives have been called "mothers of the believers"; cf. Q 33:6; see WIVES OF THE PROPHET). In Arabic, homosexuality is *"lūṭiyya"* and unnatural intercourse of men with women is termed "minor *lūṭiyya*" (*lūṭiyya ṣughrā,* cf. Wensinck, *Concordance,* vi, 152; see SEX AND SEXUALITY). According to a ḥadīth (see ḤADĪTH AND THE QURʾĀN), *lūṭiyya* is forbidden on pain of death for both partners. Homosexuals will be stoned as stones killed Lot's people (see STONING; BOUNDARIES AND PRECEPTS). Abū Ḥanīfa (d. 150/767) taught that the transgressors should be thrown from a height *(al-lāʾiṭ yulqā min shāhiq),* and then stoned.

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Lote Tree

see AGRICULTURE AND VEGETATION; TREES; ASCENSION

Love and Affection

Feelings of personal attachment induced by kinship (q.v.) or sympathy. *Aḥabba* is the most used verb to express the idea of love. The lexical field of the concept "love" has other roots, however, such as *w-d-d,* among others. The verbal noun *ḥubb,* "love," is mentioned nine times in the Qurʾān. Love links humankind to God, human beings to one another and the individual to earthly life and its pleasures. As far as God's love is concerned, it focuses on persons but also on their qualities or their actions. In fact, the human being is often split between two contradictory attachments, one capable of leading to his damnation, the other to his salvation. And thus love is not dissociated from faith (q.v.) in the relationship with God or with humankind.

God takes the initiative in everything and his love anticipates that of human beings: "He will cause people to come whom he will love and who will love him" (Q 5:54). This divine love appears as a pure act of election (q.v.), especially in the case of a prophet (see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD) such as Moses (q.v.): "And I have projected upon you a love *(maḥabba)* on my part" (Q 20:39). Nonetheless, people attract God's love to themselves by their works and especially by imitation of the Prophet, but there can be no pretension of loving God on their own initiative. It is said thus to the Prophet: "Say: if you truly love God, follow me, God will love you" (Q 3:31). To say that one is loved by God is, in the view of the Qurʾān, all the more unacceptable in that such a pretension is part and parcel of a certain confusion of the human and the divine (cf. Q 5:18, "The Jews and the Christians have said: We are the sons of God and his well-beloved ones" *[aḥibbāʾuhu],* see JEWS AND JUDAISM; CHRISTIANS AND CHRISTIANITY).

The Qurʾān qualifies God as he who loves *(al-wadūd),* a name which, in the two places it occurs (Q 85:14; cf. 11:90, where the definite article is not used), is linked to the attributes of mercy (q.v.) and forgiveness (q.v.). In the same way it is the "all-merciful" *(al-raḥmān)* who places in the hearts (see HEART) of the believers (see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF) love of or attachment to him *(wudd)* by way of response to their faith and their works (cf. Q 19:96). If the name *al-wadūd* gives the clearest expression to the reciprocity of love between God and humans, other divine names also suggest on God's part a form of affection comparable to that of humans: He is the good, the merciful (*al-barr al-raḥīm,* Q 52:28), just as people are good towards their parents (q.v.; cf. Q 19:14, 32; see also FAMILY). He shows compassion as does the Prophet towards the believers: "He has at heart that which you suffer, he has care

for you, for the believers, compassionate *(raʾūf)* and merciful" (Q 9:128). This same compassion *(raʾfa)* can be found in the disciples (see APOSTLE) of Jesus (q.v.), although it is not clear whether the sentiment is directed towards God or towards creatures. It is doubtlessly both, since the tender care shown to John (q.v.; Yaḥyā) by God *(ḥanānan min ladunnā)* manifests itself in his filial piety (cf. Q 19:13, 14).

Love, in the sense of affection and compassion, thus appears as a movement by God towards humans that is reciprocated, and then a movement by a human being towards his fellow creature. The verb *aḥabba/yuḥibbu* often, however, indicates another type of relationship. God is said to love or not to love such conduct. Love, and its opposite, establishes from then on a law defining human actions according to the extent to which they conform or fail to conform to the divine will (see LAW AND THE QURʾĀN). God loves those who act for the best (*al-muḥsinūn,* five times; see GOOD DEEDS; GOOD AND EVIL) or the just (*al-muqsiṭūn,* three times; see JUSTICE AND INJUSTICE), in such a manner that whoever performs acts lovable to God attracts the divine love to himself: "those men who love to purify themselves and God loves those who purify themselves" (Q 9:108). On the other hand, God does not love qualities that clash with his nor does he love types of behavior contrary to his law, such as shown by the unjust (*al-ẓālimūn,* three times) or the transgressors (*al-muʿtadūn,* three times; see BOUNDARIES AND PRECEPTS), etc.

As we shall soon see, love or friendship between human beings is not fully recognized by the Qurʾān unless confirmed by faith. It is also worth noting that the term *ḥubb,* in the sense of human love, is only used once with an apparently negative connotation. In Q 12 (Sūrat Yūsuf, "Joseph"), love in all its various forms plays a complex role. Jacob's (q.v.) preference for Joseph (q.v.) and the jealousy (see ENVY) of the latter's brothers ("Joseph is more beloved *[aḥabbu]* of our father than are we," Q 12:8; see BROTHER AND BROTHERHOOD; BENJAMIN) are indirectly the cause of the love of the wife of al-ʿAzīz (see KINGS AND RULERS). But whether or not Joseph was sensitive to this, according to the divergent interpretations of the commentators (see EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL) on Q 12:24 (cf. De Prémare, Joseph, 63-5), the passionate type of love that grips the heart (cf. Q 12:30, *qad shaghafahā ḥubban*) is attributed only to women (see WOMEN AND THE QURʾĀN). Tempted afresh, Joseph calls on divine protection against the wiles of women and states that he would prefer *(aḥabbu)* prison to his inclination for woman (*aṣbu ilayhinna,* Q 12:33-4). Even if subsequent tradition places (greater) value on the love between Joseph and Zulaykha, we have to recognize that it is the love of Jacob for his son that guides the story, from beginning to end. By way of contrast, the legitimate attraction felt by the daughter of Jethro (Shuʿayb [q.v.]) for Moses is only barely hinted at (cf. Q 28:25-6). This also applies to the Prophet's attraction for Zaynab (Q 33:4; see WIVES OF THE PROPHET), another instance which illustrates how little attention the Qurʾān devotes to the love of a man for a woman or that of a woman for a man. In Q 33 (Sūrat al-Aḥzāb, "The Clans"), despite an entire passage being devoted to the Prophet's spouses, marital love is only alluded to in the command given to the Prophet to ensure that his wives experience joy (see JOY AND MISERY) and satisfaction (cf. Q 33:51). Several verses recall that in the beginning man and woman were a unique entity which marriage implicitly aims to re-establish (see MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE). Developing this idea, however, one verse qualifies the love between spouses as one of those mysteries of cre-

ation (q.v.) which lead to knowledge of God (see KNOWLEDGE AND LEARNING): "Among his signs (q.v.) he has created for you, out of your very souls (see SOUL), spouses so that you may find rest in them and he has placed between you love *(mawadda)* and mercy. Surely there are in that signs for people who reflect" (Q 30:21). Seen from this vantage point, the happiness obtained by or for wives and by the descendants issuing from this happiness is expressed by a term (*qurrat aʿyun,* "the freshness of the eyes") that emphasizes its paradisiacal nature (compare Q 25:74 and 33:51 with Q 32:17; see PARADISE). As a whole, the passages in Q 2 (Sūrat al-Baqara, "The Cow") and Q 4 (Sūrat al-Nisāʾ, "Women") that relate to marriage deal with the relationships between spouses in terms that are too legal to suggest bonds of love or affection. The reciprocal attraction between the future spouses is simply suggested in connection with re-marriage or a proposal of marriage (Q 2:232, 235), or with reference to the equality to be observed between the spouses (Q 4:3, 129). As the commentators emphasize in their interpretation of these latter verses, equality cannot relate to love that man cannot control. A further qurʾānic image of spouses is found in Q 2:187, in which the pair are portrayed as garments for each other (see CLOTHING).

The passages giving strong expression to the love between God and humans or between spouses thus occur infrequently in the Qurʾān. The term *ḥubb* (and verbal derivatives of *ḥ-b-b* such as *aḥabba*) is used much more often for that which occupies the human heart first and foremost, passion and worldly goods: "and you devote to material goods a terrible love" (Q 89:20; see WEALTH). Humans are inevitably pushed to the desire for things and persons rather than to the things or persons themselves: "Embellished for people is the love of desires, the desire of women, of children, of massed quintals of gold (q.v.) and silver, thoroughbred horses, flocks and crops. That is the joy of the life here below, but being with God is an excellent return" (Q 3:14). The opposition between the love of things and the return to God is contained in an element of the qurʾānic discourse that places faith in opposition to other attitudes (such as hypocrisy or disbelief; see HYPOCRITES AND HYPOCRISY). Thus the love of God is opposed to the worst of sins (see SIN, MAJOR AND MINOR): "There are people who choose, outside of God, rivals whom they love as the love of God, but the believers have a stronger love for God (*ashaddu ḥubban lillāhi,* Q 2:165).

In the same way that human beings are naturally borne towards sensual desires, "it is God who has made you love *(ḥabbaba)* the faith and has embellished it in your hearts and has made you detest *(karraha)* impiety, prevarication (see LIE) and disobedience" (q.v.; Q 49:7). Humanity thus finds itself split between two incompatible loves: the one that leads to faith and conformity with the divine will, and the other, which brings one to the nether world (cf. Q 2:216; see HELL AND HELLFIRE). The close link between faith and love also conditions love between human beings. One can only truly love believers, since love for unbelievers separates one from God and attracts one towards this world: "You will not find people who believe in God and the last day (see LAST JUDGMENT) and who [also] show their friendship (*yuwāddūn,* see FRIENDS AND FRIENDSHIP) towards those opposed to God and to the one he has sent" (Q 58:22). Here friendship *(mawadda)* links up again with the concept of *walāya,* "friendship, alliance, attachment" (see CONTRACTS AND ALLIANCES). Adopting unbelievers as friends or allies *(walī,* pl. *awliyāʾ)* is equivalent to lining up on the side of the enemies (q.v.) of God (cf. Q 60:1). God alone can

turn this hostility into friendship. But meanwhile one can show goodness and justice towards the unbelievers on condition that they show no hostility towards Islam (cf. Q 60:7-8). It is one of the duties incumbent on the one who calls on God to bring about the transformation of the enemy into a close friend (*walī ḥamīm,* cf. Q 41:34). In the same way, the relationships with the People of the Book (q.v.) are defined in terms of friendship and hostility. They cannot be adopted as *awliyāʾ* (cf. Q 5:51). A distinction is made, however, between the Jews and the Christians, "closer in friendship *(aqrabahum mawaddatan)* to the believers" (Q 5:82). True friendship thus rests on faith and a shared expectation of the world to come (see ESCHATOLOGY), so much so that on the day of the resurrection (q.v.) the unbelievers will find themselves without "a close friend" (*ṣadīq ḥamīm,* cf. Q 26:101; also Q 40:18; 70:10). It is in this kind of eschatological context that the Prophet appeals to love or friendship for one's relatives (*al-mawaddata fī l-qurbā,* Q 42:23). Al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923; *Tafsīr,* xxv, 15-7) lists four different interpretations of this expression, while showing preference for the first: 1) the Qurayshites (see QURAYSH) are invited to love the Prophet because of his kinship with all the clans of his tribe; 2) the believers should love the close kin of the Prophet (see FAMILY OF THE PROPHET); 3) they must love God in approaching him through their works; 4) they should also love their own kin. From an historical point of view the first two interpretations could, respectively, correspond to the Meccan and Medinan phases of the revelation (see CHRONOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN; OCCASIONS OF REVELATION; REVELATION AND INSPIRATION), while the second two minimize the importance of the love of the Prophet's family, the People of the House (q.v.; *ahl al-bayt*). Taken overall, these ancient commentaries show the many possible directions of love in the Qurʾān: love of God confirmed by works, love of the Prophet and his kin, love for one's own kin, which, in a sense, implies the whole body of believers, as is also said of the *walāya* (cf. Q 5:55; see COMMUNITY AND SOCIETY IN THE QURʾĀN). The presence of God, the source and finality of all things, gives direction to the entire discourse of the Qurʾān: love and friendship can only come from God and lead back to him. The loving relationship between man and woman is disregarded except on this condition. The ideal wives are called *qānitāt,* obedient and devoted, both to God and to their husbands (cf. Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* viii, 294, on the subject of Q 4:34). In the Qurʾān only the love and friendship of God extend beyond the limits of this world.

The few passages in the Qurʾān dealing with love have scarcely encouraged authors to extract from the Qurʾān the fundamentals of divine and human love. Traces of the affective side of love are found mainly in the sunna (q.v.; see also ḤADĪTH AND THE QURʾĀN). The Ṣūfīs themselves (see ṢŪFISM AND THE QURʾĀN), when quoting verses such as Q 2:165 or Q 5:54, are more likely to express their love for God in terms of the Arabic tradition, poetic and private. In his *Ḥaqāʾiq al-tafsīr,* al-Sulamī (d. 412/1021) is more preoccupied with bringing together the statements concerning love made by the spiritual masters than he is with commenting on Q 3:31. A commentator such as Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 606/1210; *Tafsīr,* iv, 204-8) gives an outline of a theory of love based on Q 2:165. But Ibn al-ʿArabī (d. 638/1240) in his *al-Futūḥāt al-makkiyya* (ii, 327-32; Gloton, *Traité,* 69-92) has especially illuminated the foundations of the metaphysical doctrine of love found in the Qurʾān. Yet — unless the present writer is mistaken — it seems that no author has attempted a synthesis of all the passages

in the Qurʾān dealing with love and its associated concepts.

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Lowly see OPPRESSED ON EARTH, THE

Loyalty

Being true to anyone to whom one owes fidelity. The idea or concept of "loyalty" occurs discursively in the Qurʾān and is dispersed under a variety of rubrics. Even though there is no single term that specifically deals with the theme of "loyalty," it nevertheless features in the discussions and exegesis of a number of verses (see EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL). The concept is most frequently encountered in relation to "pacts of mutual assistance" (*muwālā,* see CONTRACTS AND ALLIANCES; BREAKING TRUSTS AND CONTRACTS) and other formations of the Arabic root *w-l-y,* whose basic meaning is "friend/ally" (*walī,* see FRIENDS AND FRIENDSHIP). In an eschatological context (see ESCHATOLOGY), on the day of judgment (see LAST JUDGMENT), those who are consigned to hell (q.v.; see also REWARD AND PUNISHMENT) are said to have no "bosom" or "close" — i.e. "loyal" — friend (*ḥamīm,* e.g. Q 69:35; *ṣadīq,* Q 26:101) or intercessor (see INTERCESSION). The notions conveyed by terms like "friend," "close" and "ally" normally, however, occur as adjectives in the Qurʾān and are therefore not exact equivalents of the English noun, "loyalty."

Loyalty is not explicitly defined in the commentaries but it is frequently described and illustrated contextually. Two kinds of loyalty are discernable from various Qurʾān passages: (1) corporate loyalty that demands a commitment to the community of faith (q.v.; see also COMMUNITY AND SOCIETY IN THE QURʾĀN) and (2) individual loyalty displayed towards fellow Muslims as well as to non-Muslims, a phenomenon that is more ambiguous and complex (see ETHICS AND THE QURʾĀN). Corporate loyalty is framed by those passages of the Qurʾān that regulate the relationship between believers and unbelievers as well as those verses that define the covenantal relationship between the Muslim and God (see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF; COVENANT). The qurʾānic narrative unmistakably implies that inter-human conduct — irrespective of whether it occurs within the confessional community of Muslims or with outsiders — is largely contingent on the relationship between humans and God.

This theistic dimension casts its shadow on the themes of loyalty and friendship. Thus, the believers who fulfill God's will are clearly identified with God's cause and his people (see PATH OR WAY). Any partisanship and association with those who reject God's will shall have castigatory consequences depending on the extent to which such links are offensive to God and the cause of righteousness on earth. Showing affection or displaying dislike to any human being ought to be exclusively for the sake of God *(al-ḥubb lillāh wa-l-bughḍ lillāh),* a phrase frequently cited by commentators as a saying attributed to the Prophet (see ḤADĪTH AND THE QURʾĀN). Thus, the God of the Qurʾān mediates the

most intimate bonds of friendship, confidence, privacy and loyalty (see TRUST AND PATIENCE).

Explicit traces of Islam's founding history (see HISTORY AND THE QUR'ĀN; OCCASIONS OF REVELATION) are evident in qur'ānic narratives (q.v.) and norms that structure the notions of friendship and loyalty. The qur'ānic narrative reflects the vagaries of the intense inter-communal relationships between believers on the one hand, and polytheists, Jews and Christians on the other, as the nascent community of believers became a sizeable political entity in Medina (q.v.; see also JEWS AND JUDAISM; CHRISTIANS AND CHRISTIANITY; POLYTHEISM AND ATHEISM). Initially, qur'ānic pronouncements meticulously regulate the political relationships, but the moralizing discourse that colors these identities gradually grows and intensifies (see POLITICS AND THE QUR'ĀN; RELIGIOUS PLURALISM AND THE QUR'ĀN).

Prior to the normative influence of Islam (q.v.) in Arabia, alliances customarily were based on grounds of kinship (q.v.; *nasab*) while military and political strength depended on one's choice of political friends or allies (*walī,* pl. *awliyā',* see PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QUR'ĀN). The increasing hostilities between the Muslims and their Meccan opponents, exacerbated by the support of the Medinan Jews for Muḥammad's enemies (q.v.) correlate directly with the Qur'ān's prohibition and restriction of corporate loyalty and mutual help pacts *(muwālā)* between Muslims and non-Muslims (see OPPOSITION TO MUḤAMMAD). Verses in seven different passages repeatedly stress the fact that believers ought not to take unbelievers as their allies (Q 3:28; 4:89, 139, 144; cf. 5:51, 57, 80-1).

In one instance even the People of the Book (q.v.; Jews and Christians in this case), towards whom the Qur'ān generally shows deference, are deplored as potential partners in alliance since they are alleged to have loyalties with each other and they are suspected of harboring vengeful enmity towards the Muslim community (Q 5:51). In fact, the rhetoric becomes so intense that the verse even goes on to assert that those Muslims who transgress this prohibition and form such alliances are deemed to "be part of them," namely one of the Jews or Christians, a severe rejection that equates the identity of the offender with the ideological "other." The Qur'ān specifically prohibits loyalty treaties with non-Muslim parties when the latter are favored "in preference to believers" (*min dūni l-mu'minīn,* Q 3:28). In other words, if alliances with non-believers turn out to harm the interests of fellow Muslims then they are outlawed as a matter of principle. Only expediency (*taqiyya,* see DISSIMULATION) permits the continuation of loyalty treaties with unbelievers, especially if breaking such treaties would pose a genuine threat to the welfare and safety of Muslims.

Nevertheless, the Qur'ān does permit Muslims to show kindness as well as to exhibit virtuous conduct and justice to those non-Muslims who are not engaged in active hostility towards them (Q 60:8-9). While this passage has general implications, and could easily be viewed as also sanctioning corporate loyalty across religious boundaries, many commentators only permit its interpretation as reference to individual and private loyalty. Again, such relationships are subject to the caveat that they do not harm the general welfare of Muslims. Q 58:22 also reinforces the theme of individual loyalty found in Q 60:8-9. It, however, forcefully plays off loyalties based on kinship against loyalties based on faith. Q 58:22 deems it unimaginable that one can show "love" (q.v.) to

someone who is related by blood and kinship ties but who contests and disputes the divine message and prophecy (see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD). The inference is clear: bonds of faith outweigh loyalties based on family and kinship ties. Even though he is said to have lied three times (cf. Gilliot, Trois mensonges), the prophet Abraham (q.v.; Ibrāhīm) is cast as the paragon of loyalty toward the divine as in Q 53:37. Abraham's willingness to fulfill *(waffā)* his commitments to God, including his readiness to sacrifice (q.v.) his son (cf. Q 37:99-111) and his disavowal of his father's idolatry (cf. Q 6:74-84; see IDOLATRY AND IDOLATERS), turns him into God's loyal friend (Q 4:125; see ḤANĪF). In Q 2:40 the Children of Israel (q.v.) are reminded of their duty to fulfill their part of the covenant *(wa-awfū bi-ʿahdī ūfi bi-ʿahdikum)* as a sign of loyalty to God. Fulfillment *(īfāʾ)* of promises, contracts and agreements are crucial supplements to the Qurʾān's covenant-based worldview (see OATHS). There is also an isomorphic relationship between secular and cosmological loyalties because it is presumed that one who has a sound creed (see CREEDS) would also be better equipped ethically to fulfill worldly commitments and contractual obligations.

Some pre-modern and modern exegetes (see EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: EARLY MODERN AND CONTEMPORARY) are confronted by two major interpretative questions with regard to the exegesis of loyalty. Firstly, controversy exists about whether Q 60:8-9, which permits relations with non-hostile unbelievers, is abrogated by the later revelation of Q 9:5 (known as the "verse of the sword"; see ABROGATION; FIGHTING). The latter abrogates all agreements and treaties that Muḥammad had with non-Muslim political entities and fosters an uncompromising hostility towards all unbelievers. Secondly, if Q 60:8-9 is not abrogated, then does it sanction the tolerance of personal and individual loyalty across religious boundaries as opposed to the prohibition of corporate loyalty of a political nature?

The Persian exegete al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923) argues that Q 3:28 decisively prohibits believers from taking unbelievers *(kuffār)* as their "helpers *(aʿwān)*, protectors *(anṣār)* and partisans *(zāhirīn)*." Taking non-Muslims as protectors in preference to believers, he adds, is tantamount to affirming their religion, thereby strengthening the false beliefs of the enemy against those of the Muslims (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, iii, 228). Even though believers are admonished not to make pacts that favor unbelievers in "preference to fellow believers," most exegetes deem it acceptable to maintain strategic loyalties for the purpose of survival. In the view of a number of commentators, the struggle of belief against unbelief is a permanent one and thus there is an — albeit implicit — general rule that prohibits loyalty pacts. Therefore, al-Ṭabarī views the act of a Muslim displaying loyalty to non-Muslims to be an extremely displeasing and a hostile act against God, his Prophet and the believers at large. And any Muslim who shows loyalty to Jews and Christians, he goes on to say, has "declared war on the people of faith" (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, vi, 276).

Interestingly, the Shīʿī exegete al-Ṭabarsī (d. ca. 552/1157; see SHĪʿISM AND THE QURʾĀN) understands the Qurʾān's prohibition against alliances and friendships with non-Muslims to be for reasons of power. Seeking alliances and loyalty pacts with non-Muslims is tantamount to seeking a position of invincibility with those whose faith is unacceptable to God. Such alliances undermine the believers' faith in God and affect God's estimation of their

belief (Ṭabarsī, *Majmaʿ*, v, 261). The terms "Jews" and "Christians" generically represent all classes of unbelievers, towards whom hostility is obligatory and thus friendship and loyalty with them is, implicitly, outlawed (Ṭabarsī, *Majmaʿ*, vi, 119). Al-Ṭabarsī treats unbelief in an almost undifferentiated manner, because he maintains that all non-Muslims have "a single hand against the Muslims." He also believes that the summons to show virtuous and equitable treatment of non-Muslims in Q 60:8-9 was abrogated by the "verse of the sword." He concedes, though, that Q 60:8-9 allowed some Muslims during the Prophet's time to interact with their non-Muslim relatives who did not actively show hostility to Muslims. This specific verse permits loyalty affiliations with non-Muslims with whom Muslims have treaties, says al-Ṭabarsī, citing a general consensus that permits the demonstration of kindness to persons deemed to be subjects of the "territory of war" (q.v.; *dār al-ḥarb*).

The Andalusian exegete al-Qurṭubī (d. 671/1272) declares with unequivocal finality that unbelievers, Jews as well as those Muslims who espouse heretical tendencies (see HERESY), cannot be treated as friends and relied upon as loyal intimates (*Jāmiʿ*, iv, 178). He believes that Q 3:118 strictly forbade believers to take as loyal confidants *(biṭāna)* a person from another religion. "Every person," he adds, "who is contrary to your way of life *(madhhab)* and religion *(dīn)*, [surely] there is no need for you to converse with him." He goes so far as to say that appointing "protected persons" *(ahl al-dhimma)* as agents in transactions or as clerks and secretaries in government is not permissible. In his jeremiad he rails against the "ignorant and stupid governors and princes" of his day who had ignored the Qurʾān's teachings on these matters (Qurṭubī, *Jāmiʿ*, iv, 179). Al-Qurṭubī's vehemence stems from the prohibition found in Q 5:51 that severs loyalty pacts *(muwālā)* with unbelievers, a command he claims will remain in force "till the day of judgment" (Qurṭubī, *Jāmiʿ*, vi, 217). He went so far as to disallow the employment of non-Muslims even in instances that might be beneficial to the religion of Islam (Qurṭubī, *Jāmiʿ*, v, 416). Al-Qurṭubī's antipathy for alliances and interactions with non-Muslims was most likely fuelled by the common perception among the Muslim religious classes of his day that the rulers of his native Andalusia had capitulated to Christian political influences and had endangered the suzerainty of Islam in the Iberian peninsula.

For the modern revivalist commentator Sayyid Quṭb (d. 1966), the verses examined above suggest the impossibility of inter-religious political co-existence. For him, the Qurʾān mandates the "total isolation" of Muslims from other ideological communities (Quṭb, *Ẓilāl*, ii, 907). Employing a qurʾānic idiom, Quṭb says that Muslims are the only group that can legitimately be called "the party of God" *(ḥizāb Allāh)* as a model for universal moral rectitude (see PARTIES AND FACTIONS). Among world-views, he attributes this separatist understanding as unique to Islam, for it necessarily and inevitably anticipates an ideological confrontation with the anti-Islamic mores and norms of non-Muslim societies at large. This separatist imperative, in his view, makes it impossible for Muslims to give political loyalty to any other ideological group since doing so would be tantamount to apostasy (q.v.). Islam's tolerance for the People of the Book should not be confused with an endorsement of loyalty pacts. Quṭb argues that modern history — especially the history of colonialism, and the creation of the state of Israel that resulted in the dispos-

session and expulsion of the Palestinians from their native land — was achieved as a result of a hostile Christian and Jewish collusion. He saw this as conclusive proof that loyalty to such religious communities could be nothing but an anathema to Muslim sensibilities (Quṭb, *Ẓilāl,* ii, 907-17; id., *Maʿālim,* passim).

In his commentary on Q 60:8-9, Quṭb retreats from his earlier position, which was absolutely against loyalty pacts across religious boundaries. Here he concedes that God permits "mutual friendly relations" *(mawadda)* on an individual level towards those non-Muslims who do not show aggression towards Muslims. While reiterating the ban on loyalty pacts, he implicitly concedes that pacts may be possible with friendly non-Muslim entities (Quṭb, *Ẓilāl,* vi [xxviii], 3544). His rhetoric becomes conciliatory by arguing that Islam is a dogma *(ʿaqīda)* of love and it has no interest in conflict if there is no hostility directed at Muslims.

The Pakistani ideologue S. Abū Aʿlā Maudūdī (d. 1979) interprets the verses that deal with loyalty pacts in a functional manner. For him they serve as a reminder to Muslims not to become instruments in the service of enemies who, in the end, will undermine their existential interests. While Maudūdī's tone, unlike that of Quṭb, is subdued, he also argues that the Qurʾān prohibits friendship with hostile non-Muslims and taking them into confidence, while recommending kind and just treatment for those non-Muslims who do not demonstrate active enmity towards Muslims (Maudūdī, *Message,* ii, 19). Muḥammad Asad (d. 1992), the Austrian-born convert and Qurʾān commentator, states that the verses prohibiting loyalty pacts with non-Muslims cover both political and moral alliances. His interpretation is that those who deny the truth of the divine message are precluded from being real friends to believers in a corporate sense, while not ruling out friendship between individuals of different religions (Asad, *Message,* 252-3, n. 82). The Qurʾān, however, permits corporate loyalty pacts with those non-Muslims who are well disposed towards them (Asad, *Message,* 155, n. 73).

From this brief and select sample of exegetical materials it becomes apparent that the notion of loyalty is framed within the evolving narrative of the Qurʾān's discourses on the construction of the Muslim individual and corporate "self" in the mirror of the non-Muslim "other." Genuine loyalty can only occur among those who are ideologically of one's own kind, according to some Muslim exegetes. Most early commentators follow a strict chronological hermeneutic. One sees therefore an initial tolerance for loyalty based on kinship being gradually supplanted by a loyalty based on faith as the pax-Islamica grows in Arabia. Corporate inter-faith loyalty, in turn, can only occur under certain limited conditions, while there is some leeway for Muslims to maintain individual loyalties across the boundaries of faith. Theism and bonds of faith ultimately mediate loyalty. Loyalty to a fellow-believer reinforces one's belief in a common God which, in turn, creates a notion of community that transcends kinship and ethnicity.

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Luqmān

A personage whom the Qurʾān notes for his wisdom. Only Q 31, the sūra bearing his name, mentions this wise man, and it devotes eight of its thirty-four verses (Q 31:12-19) to Luqmān's wisdom (q.v.). At the time of Muḥammad, the Arabs may have known two Luqmāns: one, the son of ʿĀd (q.v.), renowned for intelligence, leadership, knowledge, eloquence and subtlety (Heller, Luḳmān, 811; see KNOWLEDGE AND LEARNING); the other, Luqmān the Sage *(al-ḥakīm),* famous for his wise pronouncements and proverbs (see PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QURʾĀN). The latter — if these two are not in fact one — appears in Q 31.

Luqmān's identity, however, is by no means certain. Muslim interpreters (see EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL) identify him as a Nubian, an Ethiopian or an Egyptian slave who worked as a carpenter or a shepherd. Some others place him among the Hebrews as the nephew of Job (q.v.), the son of Bāʿūrāʾ, son of Nāḥūr, son of Tāriḥ, the father of Abraham (q.v.; Ibrāhīm) who lived long enough to provide knowledge for David (q.v.; Dāʾūd) the king. The majority of interpreters agree that he was not a prophet and not an Arab (see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD; ARABS). Orientalists (see POST-ENLIGHTENMENT ACADEMIC STUDY OF THE QURʾĀN) have associated Luqmān with such figures as Prometheus, Lucian and Solomon (q.v.). He is identified with the biblical Baalam (= Ibn Bāʿūrāʾ), partly because the Hebrew *bālaʿ* and the Arabic *laqima* both meaning "to swallow." The modern commentator al-Qāsimī (d. 1914; see EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: EARLY MODERN AND CONTEMPORARY) also mentions this connection. Because his admonition, "lower your voice; for the harshest of sounds… is the braying of the ass" (Q 31:19), finds a counterpart in the Syriac sayings of Aḥiqār, Luqmān has also been identified with that legendary sage (see SYRIAC AND THE QURʾĀN). Finally, the contemporary scholar Mahmud Muftic shows that the Luqmān of the Qurʾān can be identified with the Greek physician and Pythagorean philosopher Alcmaeon (571-497 B.C.E.), a position also assumed by some Orientalists. Their names are clearly similar and the extant fragments of Alcmaeon's writing exhibit a striking similarity to the teachings of Q 31. Muftic finds in this sūra a physicians' oath that he thinks is superior to the oath of Hippocrates (460-377 B.C.E.; cf. Muftic, Which oath?; see MEDICINE AND THE QURʾĀN).

Two themes occurring prominently in the Luqmān section of Q 31 provide coherence for the sūra: (1) the greatness of the one God (see GOD AND HIS ATTRIBUTES) and the necessity of worshipping him exclusively and (2) the importance of being good to parents (q.v.) within the limits of a higher allegiance to God. Luqmān models ideal parenthood, instructing his son in a life of gratitude and exclusive worship (q.v.) of God (Q 31:12, 13; see GRATITUDE AND INGRATITUDE; CHILDREN; FAMILY). The striking shift from Luqmān's voice to God's voice in verses 14 and 15 focuses the reader's attention on the commands in the verses: be good (see GOOD AND EVIL) to parents; show gratitude to God and to them; and obey them unless they require worship of something other than God (see OBEDIENCE). The sūra closes with a warning: neither parent nor child can help each other on the day of judgment (Q 31:33; see

LAST JUDGMENT; INTERCESSION). A final verse stresses the greatness of God (Q 31:34). Whatever his more specific identity may have been, Luqmān stands out in the Qurʾān as a wise parent, exhorting his son to grateful worship of God, grateful obedience to his parents, personal piety (q.v.) and communal responsibility (see COMMUNITY AND SOCIETY IN THE QURʾĀN).

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Lust see VIRTUES AND VICES, COMMANDING AND FORBIDDING; DESIRE; SEX AND SEXUALITY

Lūṭ see LOT

M

Madness

see INSANITY

Madyan

see MIDIAN

Magians

Originally a term for the professional priesthood of the pre-Islamic religious institution in Iran, in qurʾānic usage it is presumably a term for all followers of that religion. The Arabic term translated as "Magians," *(al-majūs)* is attested once at Q 22:17, a late Medinan sūra (see CHRONOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN), where the list Jews (see JEWS AND JUDAISM), Christians (see CHRISTIANS AND CHRISTIANITY) and Sabians (q.v.) attested in Q 2:62, now also includes them. The etymology and history of the term and the question whether the Magians are People of the Book (q.v.) are the two large issues raised by this single attestation.

The old Persian *maguš* as the title for a professional priestly tribe is well attested in surrounding languages, Akkadian, Armenian, Hebrew, Aramaic, Syriac, Greek, Sanskrit and presumably old Sinitic (see FOREIGN VOCABULARY). These religious professionals appear to have traveled far beyond Iranian held lands. Their religious aura seems to have been widely recognized but they also played administrative, military and commercial roles. In the Sasanian dynasty a wider array of titles were used within the priestly bureaucracy but the special status of the title in its middle Persian forms survived. The older term, however, also was widely circulated, presumably because of the prominent Christian mention of the Magi in the birth stories of Jesus. It likely passed into Arabic through Syriac (see SYRIAC AND THE QURʾĀN; ARABIC LANGAUGE). Early Muslim commentators do not limit the term to professional priests and describe the Magians as worshippers of the sun (q.v.), an interpretation also attested in Sanskrit sources. Later commentators recognize that fire (q.v.) is the stereotypical object of worship by the Magians. The fire-cult is the hallmark of the Magian tradition for later heresiographers and in Islamic literature, especially within the Persianate context (see PERSIAN LITERATURE AND THE QURʾĀN).

The enumeration of apparently six forms of religion in Q 22:17 has been the primary focus of commentary (see EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL). The text lists believers, Jews, Sabians, Christians, Magians and those who associate

something else with God (see POLYTHEISM AND ATHEISM; BELIEF AND UNBELIEF; GOD AND HIS ATTRIBUTES). Debate on this and other passages has focused on the status of the intermediate four traditions. Are they to be classed with the believers or the associators or are they in an intermediate position (see FAITH)? While some have argued that there is only one true and five false religions here mentioned, the bulk of the tradition either recognizes that at least some members of the four named traditions are to be classed with the believers or the traditions themselves are the so-called religions of the book in addition to Islam (q.v.; see also RELIGION; RELIGIOUS PLURALISM AND THE QUR'ĀN). Whether the Magians were to be included among the People of the Book (q.v.) was debated since it appeared that the religion lacked a prophet (see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD) and a scripture (see BOOK), and there was also significant theological controversy concerning their identity as monotheists and their doctrine of the creation (q.v.) and the power of evil (see GOOD AND EVIL; THEOLOGY AND THE QUR'ĀN).

Apologists worked hard to counter these charges and to argue that they belonged in the category of religions of the book. The story of Alexander the Great's (q.v.) destruction of the original scripture became prominent and the attempts already made by the Sasanians to organize the remaining written tradition were consolidated. The legend of Zoroaster was remolded to present him along the lines of Islamic prophethood. In general, Islamic authorities have granted them partial status as a People of the Book (see LAW AND THE QUR'ĀN). Interestingly, Muslim authorities have also recognized the affinity that exists between the Magian priest and the Islamic judge, exercising a political and juridical role that depended on the close cooperation of religious functionary and ruler, a Persian ideal that became central to Islamic notions of the state (see KINGS AND RULERS; POLITICS AND THE QUR'ĀN).

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Magic

The art which claims to produce effects by the assistance of supernatural beings or by a mastery of secret forces in nature. The contrast between the rational and the irrational, of supreme importance to the human being, even in the present day, suggests the question: "Is magic credible?" The Qur'ān replies in the affirmative, both when speaking about magic — describing its deeds and consequences — as well as by concluding with two apotropaic sūras, which are often regarded as protective talismans (see POPULAR AND TALISMANIC USES OF THE QUR'ĀN), and thus confirmations of magic. To this could be added the various ḥadīths of the Prophet (see ḤADĪTH AND THE QUR'ĀN) in which something like magic is spoken of (see DIVINATION; FORETELLING; GAMBLING), or enchanting magical acts that affect the Prophet himself are described. Despite this apparent credibility of magic, it should be understood that normative Islam does not conceive of or admit to the existence of powers other than those of God (see POWER AND IMPOTENCE), or to a belief that one can accept help from anyone or anything other than God (see

BELIEF AND UNBELIEF; POLYTHEISM AND ATHEISM). Magic, therefore, is depicted as a distorted appropriation of fideistic values, wrongly understood or poorly expressed by demons, as the Qurʾān itself states numerous times.

In this, the religion of the pre-Islamic Arabs, who made sacrifices to the gods and the forces of nature, and who trusted magic without, however, experiencing the necessity of believing in a future life (see FATE; DESTINY; SACRIFICE; PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QURʾĀN) is totally different from the religion of Islam. I would therefore assert that the hypothesis, put forward by various scholars (Chelhod, *Introduction;* id., *L'arabie du sud,* for example), that Islam might derive from religions present in pre-Islamic Arabia should be rejected (see AGE OF IGNORANCE; SOUTH ARABIA, RELIGION IN PRE-ISLAMIC).

The Arabic word used for magic, *siḥr (*from *s-ḥ-r),* can be understood in both a restrictive and an expansive sense. The word appears twenty-eight times in the Qurʾān (Q 2:102; 5:110; 6:7; 7:116; 10:76, 77, 81; 11:7; 20:57, 58, 63, 66, 71, 73; 21:3; 26:35, 49; 27:13; 28:36, 48; 34:43; 37:15; 43:30; 46:7; 52:15; 54:2; 61:6; 74:24). *Siḥr* literally means "enchantment" and etymologically the word seems to indicate that type of seduction which affects a hypnotized person. It can also mean a circumlocution of an exaggeratedly rhetorical nature (thus one speaks of beautiful words giving rise to enchantment). The great theologian Ibn al-ʿArabī (d. 638/1240) defined magic as something that passes *(ṣarf)* from its true nature *(ḥaqīqa)* or from its natural form *(ṣūra)* to something else, something that is unreal, or merely an appearance *(khayāl)*.

From the root *s-ḥ-r* is derived the qurʾānic word for "witch" *(sāḥira* or *saḥḥāra;* masc. *saḥḥār);* the infinitive verbal form *saḥara* indicates "to bewitch, to fascinate"; the wizard or conjurer is termed *saḥḥār,* or *sāḥir* (some other Arabic terms for those who deal in magic, which do not occur in the Qurʾān, are *silʿāt,* "sorceress," and *quṭrubī,* "wizard"). The Persian *magu (*Gk. *magos)* was used by the Zoroastrian priests, and furnished the term *majūs* in Arabic, where it continued to indicate the Zoroastrian priests. It is in this same form that we find the word in the Qurʾān, used to specify the very same Zoroastrian priests (Q 22:17; see MAGIANS). To denote an astrologer, or fortune-teller, we have the word *kāhin,* from the triliteral root *k-h-n*. In pre-Islamic Arabia, the *kāhin* very closely resembled the figure of a priest (the term can be linked to the Hebrew *kōhēn,* which, for the most part, carries the meaning of "priest"). From the same root is derived the verbal noun *kahāna,* "premonition and prophecy," and *kahana,* "predicting the future" (Q 52:29: "Therefore, take heed *[fa-dhakkir]* because, by the grace of your lord, you are neither a fortune-teller *[kāhin]* nor possessed *[majnūn]*"; see LIE; INSANITY). But in pre-Islamic Arabia, it is very possible that the "prophetess" (or sibyl, *kāhina*) played the more important role, with her male counterpart, the *kāhin,* as *ʿarrāf* (deriving from *ʿirāfa:* having a knowledge of invisible things and future events), being relegated to the function of relocating lost or stolen objects (see GENDER; PATRIARCHY).

As they pronounced their oracles in rhymed prose (q.v.; *sajʿ*), the *kuhhān* were considered poets (*shāʿir,* pl. *shuʿarāʾ;* see POETRY AND POETS), with whom they were often confused in pre-Islamic Arabia. The verbal polemics among the Arab tribes of this period, occasioned by major feast days (see FESTIVALS AND COMMEMORATIVE DAYS), large markets (q.v.), or great pilgrimages (see PILGRIMAGE), were famous. Each of these tribes was guided by a judge (*ḥakam, ḥākim,* see JUDGMENT; JUSTICE AND INJUSTICE) who was often a poet fortune-

teller. Such poets would praise the feats of war (q.v.), the power and the honor (q.v.) of the tribe (see TRIBES AND CLANS), countering the self-praise of his opponents. Such contests for precedence and glory *(mufākharāt, munāfarāt)* generated a large body of poetic literature which has been the subject of study and authentication.

Various *kuhhān* enter the legends surrounding Muḥammad, as for example the magician Saṭīḥ, who is said to have lived six centuries and, after having predicted the advent of Islam, died on the very same day in which the Prophet was born. The Qurʾān, which more than once alludes to the accusations that Muḥammad engaged in "magic," attests to the fact that the Prophet himself was called *sāḥir* and *mashūr,* "bewitched," and even "poet" in the fortune-teller sense of the word (Q 10:2; 11:7; 21:2-3; 25:7-8; 34:43-7; 37:14-5; 38:4; 43:30-1; 46:7; 52:29-30; 54:2; 69:38-43; see OPPOSITION TO MUḤAMMAD; POLEMIC AND POLEMICAL LANGUAGE). Walīd b. Mughīra, one of the richest idol worshipers (see IDOLS AND IMAGES; IDOLATRY AND IDOLATERS) of Mecca (q.v.), was heard saying, upon hearing the Prophet: "In all this, I find only borrowed magic."

Despite the qurʾānic and Islamic denunciation, even renunciation, of magic, there are two main currents of "magic" in the Islamic world: that found in the Mediterranean region and that of central Asia. The first, based upon an ancient philosophical heritage, evinces the fruits of the indestructible Mesopotamian teachings of astrology, of numerology (q.v.), and talismanic arts (of which the Babylonians and the Chaldeans were perhaps the greatest inventors). Also evident here is an Egyptian influence (particularly in reference to Hermes Trismegistus, Ar. *Hirmis al-muthallath bi-l-ḥikma*), as well as the legacy of King Solomon (q.v.), the incontestable founding figure of great magicians. The second current gathers elements from Shamanism, Taoism and Hinduism, all of which are very rich in magicians, magical arts and magical texts. Whereas the Mediterranean culture gave rise to numerous theories and practices which penetrated European countries via various forms of translation (in particular that of alchemy, *al-kīmiyā*), the central Asiatic culture gave birth to great currents of mystic thought. This "mysticism" was studied by various Ṣūfī orders (see ṢŪFISM AND THE QURʾĀN), especially in some orders *(ṭuruq,* sing. *ṭarīqa)* of the Ḥurūfiyya, the Bektashiyya and the Miṣriyya, wherein it was adapted to the charisma of the particular order.

Let us now turn our attention to the last two sūras of the Qurʾān, Q 113 (Sūrat al-Falaq, "The Oncoming Dawn," or "The Crack"; *al-falaq* being the moment of separation between day and night) and Q 114 (Sūrat al-Nās, "Humankind"), which are known as the *muʿawwadhitān,* "the two seekers of refuge." Popular Muslim practice holds that by reciting them one is saved from curses through the search of a divine protector. According to the traditional Muslim chronology of revelation (see REVELATION AND INSPIRATION), they are, respectively, the twentieth and the twenty-first sūras (see CHRONOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN). As they were revealed in Mecca (q.v.), they are considered to be among the most ancient. The "darkness" (q.v.; *ghāsiq*) mentioned in the third verse of Q 113 ("from the evil of darkness as it spreads") is, according to the commentators, not evil in itself but a favorable moment for the propagation of evil, of malicious deeds (see EVIL DEEDS), of criminal acts (see SIN, MAJOR AND MINOR), of the actions of demons and sorcerers (see GOOD AND EVIL; NIGHT AND DAY). This is linked to the belief that the influence of magic was more easily diffused during the night. The fourth verse of the same sūra ("and from the evil

of the women who blow on knots") refers to the blowing upon knots made in the proper fashion (i.e. tied nine or eleven times), a magical practice much in use in Semitic circles, above all Canaanite, Mesopotamian, Egyptian and Hebrew, but also found in many tribes of central Asia. It was particularly popular in Jewish circles, despite its rigid prohibition in the Pentateuch (*Deut* 18:9-14; regarding this, one may turn to *Gen* 44:5; *Lev* 19:31; *Num* 22:7-11; *Ezek* 21:26-8, etc.; see JEWS AND JUDAISM). An allusion to this practice is found in the Sumerian *Maqlū (The Burnt Tablets),* where we read: "His knot is open, his witchcraft has been cancelled, and his spells now fill the desert." The blowing itself, the bad breath and the spit, are considered an enemy's curse. Along these lines, Babylonian writings define an "evil one" as "the one with an evil face, mouth, tongue, eye, lip, and saliva."

Well-known in Arabia long before the advent of Islam, these knots were used to tie good and evil forces in equal measure. As he left his house, an Arab would tie a knot around a branch of a hedge. If upon his return he discovered that the knot had been undone, he understood that his wife had betrayed him (see ADULTERY AND FORNICATION). A similar practice is followed today in the oases of the Sahara desert, where healers make eleven knots in a red or black woolen thread, reciting at each knot the appropriate invocations in a soft voice. They then wrap the thread around the head of anyone who wishes to be healed of eye discomfort.

Muslim tradition mentions a particular situation of this in relation to Muḥammad. A sorcerer had made eleven knots in a rope, reciting spell-like formulas in order to do harm to the Prophet, who then became ill. He returned to normal health only after having recited Q 113 and 114 eleven times. Q 113 relates above all to the evil spells used against one's physical state, against the healthy body, protecting it against that which could render turbid one's psyche, soul, and serenity (see ILLNESS AND HEALTH). It is believed to save one from the psychic disturbances inserted in human mortals by Satan (that occult persuader; see DEVIL), whether through demons (see JINN) or through other evil humans (see ENEMIES; for further discussion of the use of Q 113 and 114 as imprecations for deliverance from evil, see Graham, *Beyond,* 109).

The very first sūra of the Qurʾān, Sūrat al-Fātiḥa ("The Opening," see FĀTIḤA) is also considered a talisman of great potency. According to the traditional chronology, it is the fifth sūra revealed to the Prophet at Mecca (in the year 610 or 611). All of the letters of the Arabic alphabet (see ARABIC SCRIPT; ARABIC LANGUAGE) are contained therein, except seven *(f, j, sh, th, z, kh, z)*. These seven letters came to be called "the missing letters of Sūrat al-Fātiḥa" (*sawāqiṭ al-fātiḥa,* cf. Mandel Khān, *L'alfabeto arabo,* 177). Those who fashion talismans consider these letters rich in magical virtue and thus often use them in their charms.

The three sūras mentioned above were, for many centuries, used as talismans, written on pieces of paper and carried on one's person or enclosed in a specially shaped case. These cases were often made of silver (q.v.) and had an oblong shape, frequently in hexagonal sections. From the ninth/fifteenth century onwards, the cases were often made from hard stone and no longer had an inner space to enclose writings, thereby becoming imitations of the original case. Nevertheless, these cases became, in themselves, a sort of luck charm, even when they no longer contained verses from the Qurʾān (see EPIGRAPHY AND THE QURʾĀN).

In addition to the above-mentioned verses, which are held to be the most effective, other verses, of an apotropaic nature, were used to ward off danger. For example, Q 21:80, a short verse known as "the tunic of arms," or "the iron-shirted tunic," was carried into battle by soldiers, in the hope of avoiding the enemy's blows. Soldiers also made use of Q 67:22, to guard against being bitten by a possibly rabid dog (q.v.) or other animal (see AMULETS for further discussion of the use of qurʾānic verses for protection from harm).

The Qurʾān itself contains teachings related to other magical valences. Q 41:16-7 speaks of days full of misfortune. For Muslims, the lucky days are Monday, Thursday, and Friday. A popular tradition of al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923; *Tafsīr,* xxiv, 95) cites Tuesday as the day in which God created all that is detestable for humankind. For the Shīʿīs (see SHĪʿISM AND THE QURʾĀN) and for all who were drawn into their sphere, the last Wednesday of the month of Ṣafar (which is the second month of the Muslim calendar; see CALENDAR; MOON) was notoriously unlucky, and nicknamed "Black Wednesday." The months (q.v.) that were considered to be totally unlucky were — always in the Muslim calendar — the first month of the year, Muḥarram, and the second, Ṣafar. Islamic astrologers used Q 41:16-7 to support their belief that, according to the days of the week and the position of the stars (see PLANETS AND STARS), human beings experience lucky days and unfavorable days, as reported in full detail by Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 606/1210; *Tafsīr,* xxvii, 113).

Two qurʾānic prophets have long been associated with the realm of magic and the esoteric: Moses (q.v.) and Solomon. Narratives about Moses (Mūsā) may be found, with variations and repetitions, in sūras 2, 5, 7, 10, 18, 20 and 28, in addition to brief mention in other passages. In Q 20:56-70, the Qurʾān touches upon his "magic contest," in which, with the help of God, he is victorious over the magicians of Pharaoh (q.v.). Q 18:60-82 is understood to allude to another magical episode involving Moses, which post-qurʾānic tradition describes as having taken place on a journey in search of the fountain "of eternal youth."

Q 2:101-2 and its reference to Solomon (Sulaymān) is of particular importance because it speaks of the probable origins of magic on the earth. This was due to Hārūt and Mārūt, hung by their feet in the well of the Temple of Astarte in Babylon. According to a Hebrew legend, also present in the pre-Islamic milieu, Hārūt and Mārūt were two angels, condemned by God to live upon earth because they had become infatuated with a woman (cf. Thaʿlabī, *Qiṣaṣ,* 43-7 for an Islamic version of this story; see HĀRŪT AND MĀRŪT for further [Islamic and pre-Islamic] details on these figures). In the Hebrew environment, this brings to mind the "sons of Elohim," who loved the daughters of man and the fallen angel, masters of magic.

Al-Bayḍāwī (d. ca. 716/1316-7), using his concise and terse style, dedicates an entire page of his commentary to Hārūt and Mārūt, while al-Zamakhsharī (d. 538/1144), in his *Kashshāf,* devotes a page and a half. Even longer sections are to be found in the commentaries of al-Ṭabarī and al-Rāzī (see EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL). These commentators discuss another "magical" allusion in the Qurʾān, one found in Q 15:16-8; 37:6-10; 67:5 and 72:8-9: these passages recount how demons sometimes push forward towards the limits of a celestial judicial assembly, listen to what the angels and the blessed are saying, and then descend to earth to treacherously whisper

what they have heard to magicians and sorcerers.

In the short verses of Q 27:17; 34:12-4; and 38:34-40, the Qurʾān speaks repeatedly of Solomon, and of the magical powers which God bestowed upon him, offering him the aid of jinn. Narratives such as these contributed to the legends found in later European sources, in which Solomon appears as a great magician, endowed with a supernatural power over demons, the forces of nature and animals (see ANIMAL LIFE). He perfectly understood all their languages (see Mandel Khān, *Salomone* [in addition to SOLOMON] for further discussion of the powers of this qurʾānic figure). According to such tales, he even wrote magic procedures in various books, which he then had buried under his throne (or inserted into its base) and these books would one day be re-discovered, at least in part, and spread about by ordinary magicians.

Ḥadīths also speak widely of magic. Abū Saʿīd al-Khudrī (cf. Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* 75:33) makes specific reference in a ḥadīth to the protective value of the recitation of the Fātiḥa used as an act of exorcism. Al-Aswād b. Zayd remarked that he questioned ʿĀʾisha (see ʿĀʾISHA BINT ABĪ BAKR) about the use of magic as a cure for poisonous animal bites and she answered: "The Prophet authorizes its use against every sort of poisonous animal" (Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* 76:37). Also, according to ʿĀʾisha, the Prophet was able to perform exorcisms while invoking God (Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* 76:38, 2). According to a Companion of Muḥammad, Abū Qatāda (see COMPANIONS OF THE PROPHET), the Prophet stated: "Our good dreams (see DREAMS AND SLEEP; FORETELLING) come from God, and the bad ones from the demonic. When one of you has a bad dream, breathe three times once you are awake, and recite the talismanic sūras that protect us from evil, and your dream will not cause you any harm" (Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* 76:39, 1). An evil eye launched against the Prophet was also described in detail by ʿĀʾisha (Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* 76:47).

On the basis of the magic accepted by the Qurʾān and ḥadīth, there arose a series of eminent Islamic scholars, essayists, and authors of treatises upon specialized subjects of magic, some of whom were magicians themselves. Many books were written about the topic from a sociological or a psychological point of view. More popular works were composed about how to construct talismans, lucky charms, or an evil eye to circulate among people, using either praiseworthy "white" magic *(al-ṭarīqa al-maḥmūda)* or blameworthy "black" magic *(al-ṭarīqa al-madhmūma)*. The following are only the principal figures from this myriad of authors: In the third/ninth century there were Abū ʿAbdallāh Jābir b. Ḥayyān, a Ṣūfī alchemist and magician known as Geber in Europe, and Dhū l-Nūn Abū l-Fayḍ al-Miṣrī (d. 246/861), a great Ṣūfī master. Later came Ibn al-Nadīm Muḥammad b. Isḥāq, author of the *Fihrist* (fl. fourth/tenth cent.), Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111) one of the greatest Ṣūfī and Muslim theologians, and Abū l-Qāsim Maslama b. Aḥmad al-Majrīṭī (d. 398/1007), known in Europe as "pseudo Picatrix" (the "pseudo Hippocrates") who, along with Ibn Waḥshiyya (fl. prob. fourth/tenth cent.), was very well known in the occidental world, and from whose books "the secret alphabets" and the symbols used by alchemists were taken. In the sixth/twelfth century, one can count the famous theologian and exegete Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, whose studies are of exemplary balance, and Abū l-ʿAbbās al-Būnī (d. 622/1225), of whose works manuscripts abound (cf. Dietrich, al-Būnī). Of paramount importance is the first sociologist of Islam, the historian Ibn Khaldūn (d. 808/

1406), who in his writings dealt fully with magic and talismans. In the present day, both Yūsuf al-Hindī and Muḥammad al-Afghānistānī of Cairo have written much and gathered a large amount of information related to curses and evil spells as well as lucky charms.

Reading the texts of the many Muslims who busied themselves with magic, both of the authors cited here, and of many others, it becomes apparent that, in practice, the topic is subdivided into different fields: 1) the "science of letters," letters divided into the quadrants of fire, air, earth, and water (see COSMOLOGY; NATURE AS SIGNS); 2) the "mysterious letters" (q.v.) of the Qurʾān which open some sūras, and those "missing" in the first sūra; 3) the value of numbers; 4) the power of the ninety-nine exceptional and indescribable name-attributes of God (see GOD AND HIS ATTRIBUTES), in particular that of the secret name, the hundredth, to perform miracles; 5) the use of the names of demons in invocations related to black magic.

We also observe the construction and utilization of magical quadrants such as lucky charms for protection from the evil eye or as reinforcements in exorcisms. The culmination of this science is the production of lucky charms and talismans, for which the following are utilized: 1) texts from the Qurʾān; 2) the hand motif (*khamsa,* the five fingers), called "the hand of Fāṭima" in the West (for one example, see Figure x of EPIGRAPHY); 3) vegetative and related materials; 4) animal motifs; 5) hard, precious stones (see METALS AND MINERALS); and 6) tattooing.

Some scholars have seen a relation between knowledge of these values and those necessary for the spiritual evolution of the mystic of Islam, the Ṣūfī, who nears a greater comprehension of God by rising to the seven levels of spiritual evolution, symbolized by: 1) sound (see HEARING AND DEAFNESS); 2) light (q.v.); 3) number (geometry, construction, subdivision of luminosity; see MEASUREMENT; NUMBERS AND ENUMERATION); 4) a letter (the secret meanings of names, grammatical constructions; see GRAMMAR AND THE QURʾĀN); 5) word (*dhikr,* the recitation of the ninety-nine names of God, or the recitation of the Qurʾān [q.v.]); 6) symbol (see METAPHOR; SIMILE); 7) rhythm and symmetry.

One can note in summation that while the Qurʾān counters the human tendency to ascribe divinity, or divine attributes, to various supernatural beings, it does not deny the existence of such beings. Rather, while recognizing the human need to come to terms with the intangible — be it through dreams, fables or magic — the primary message of the Qurʾān is the affirmation of the submission of all of creation — visible and invisible — to the one God. See also SOOTHSAYERS.

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Magog

see GOG AND MAGOG

Maidens

see MODESTY; VIRTUE; SEX AND SEXUALITY; HOURIS

Maintenance and Upkeep

Preservation and repair of property, or, more commonly in the Qurʾān, the care for one's dependents. In Islamic law, *nafaqa* indicates the obligation to maintain one's dependents (see GUARDIANSHIP). The Qurʾān uses *nafaqa* of expenditures in general, even those against Islam at Q 8:36. It is enjoined by Q 2:215-6 for the benefit of parents (q.v.), relatives (see KINSHIP), orphans (q.v.), the poor (see POVERTY AND THE POOR) and wayfarers (see JOURNEY; similarly Q 17:26; 30:38). Repeated injunctions to do good to one's parents *(wa-bi-l-wālidayn iḥsānan)* have also been taken to require their maintenance (Q 4:36; 6:151; 17:23; 46:15). Q 2:240 calls for the maintenance of the widow (q.v.) for a year, apparently from the man's estate. Q 25:67 indicates that they do best whose expenditures are neither excessive nor stingy. In the context of divorce, finally, Q 65:6-7 enjoins husbands to allow their wives to live where they themselves do and not to be hard on them if they are pregnant (see MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE).

Later Islamic law (see LAW AND THE QURʾĀN) lays out the duty of maintenance in specific terms, which have the advantage of being more or less enforceable by temporal authority but necessarily lack the generous, free character of the qurʾānic injunctions. Jurisprudents agree that *zakāt* covers one's duty of maintenance toward non-relatives (see ALMSGIVING; COMMUNITY AND SOCIETY IN THE QURʾĀN). The duty of maintenance is laid especially on men but also, with reference to Q 2:233 and 65:7, on women toward their children (see WOMEN AND THE QURʾĀN; BIRTH). Maintenance specifically includes food (see FOOD AND DRINK), clothing (q.v.), shelter (see HOUSE, DOMESTIC AND DIVINE) and the provision of a servant (q.v.) if the beneficiary's social status requires it (see also SLAVES AND SLAVERY; SOCIAL RELATIONS). For men, it may also include *iʿfāf,* the provision of a licit sexual partner (see CONCUBINES; SEX AND SEXUALITY). Partly on the basis of Q 2:219, wives claim maintenance before parents or children, for they provide reciprocal favors. If a husband refuses to maintain his wife, she may ask the religious judge *(qāḍī)* to dissolve the marriage. Jurisprudents disagree over the relatives to whom one owes *nafaqa,* the Mālikīs going so far as to require maintenance of parents and children alone. See also WEALTH.

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Majesty see GOD AND HIS ATTRIBUTES

Majūs see MAGIANS

Male see GENDER

Malice see ENEMIES

Malikis (Mālikī) see LAW AND THE QURʾĀN

Manāt see IDOLS AND IMAGES

Manna see MOSES; FOOD AND DRINK

Manners see HOSPITALITY AND COURTESY

Manslaughter see MURDER; BLOODSHED

Manual Labor

Literally "work with one's hands," it often carries the implication of strenuous physical exertion. Manual labor is not a topic explicitly addressed in the Qurʾān though the term "forced laborer" *(sukhrī)* is mentioned once and the Qurʾān describes some of the ancient prophets (see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD) as having been able to achieve prominence by using forced and voluntary labor in great building projects (see ART AND ARCHITECTURE AND THE QURʾĀN; ARCHAEOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN).

The Qurʾān states that it is God who "raises some to levels above others so that some of them compel others to work for them" (Q 43:32; see SOCIAL INTERACTIONS; SOCIAL RELATIONS; COMMUNITY AND SOCIETY IN THE QURʾĀN). The point of this verse is not to justify forced labor. Rather, it is to deny that this kind of worldly power, although permitted by God, is an indication of God's favor (see BLESSING; GRACE; KINGS AND RULERS; POLITICS AND THE QURʾĀN; POWER AND IMPOTENCE; AUTHORITY). Accompanying verses state that even though Muḥammad was not the most successful man in Mecca (q.v.) or Medina (q.v.), God nonetheless chose him as his prophet. In Q 43:32, "the mercy (q.v.) of your lord (q.v.) is better than what they amass," the last term is understood as a reference to wealth (q.v.) and worldly success.

The qurʾānic description of Solomon (q.v.) regally commanding labor from jinn (q.v.) and satans (Q 21:82; 34:12-3; see DEVIL), perhaps as a form of punishment (*ʿadhāb,* Q 34:14; see CHASTISEMENT AND PUNISHMENT), contrasts sharply with the humble image he and other prophets assume in early Islamic literature. Only Moses (q.v.) is explicitly stated in the Qurʾān to have done work requiring physical strength (Q 28:26). Nevertheless, the "stories of the prophets" *(qiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ)* relate that all the prophets practiced a trade. Books on economics (q.v.) also discuss the professions of the prophets: a work attributed to al-Shaybānī (d. 189/804) relates that Solomon wove baskets, Noah (q.v.) was a carpenter and Idrīs (q.v.) was a tailor (Shaybānī, *Kasb,* 76).

The significance of the attribution of humble labor to the prophets can perhaps best be discerned in the story that David (q.v.) — who is described in the Qurʾān only as having been "taught by God" how to forge iron (Q 21:80) and that God "made iron soft for him" (Q 34:10; see METALS AND MINERALS) — actually worked the iron with his own hands in order to support himself after having been criticized for "eating from the state treasury" (Shaybānī, *Kasb,* 77). This echoes the criticism leveled against the Umayyad caliphs for drawing from the state treasury for all their

expenses, in contrast to the "rightly guided caliphs" who are said to have tried to support themselves (see CALIPH).

Similarly, a group of early Ṣūfīs (see ṢŪFISM AND THE QUR'ĀN) is criticized for refusing to earn a living, preferring to live on charity (see ALMSGIVING). The obligation to earn a living *(al-kash, al-iktisāb)* is particularly advocated by scholars like Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal (d. 241/855) who criticize any dependence on the support of corrupt governments (see LAW AND THE QUR'ĀN). To avoid forbidden earnings it may be necessary to engage in manual labor, these scholars argue, using examples of the prophets and Companions (see COMPANIONS OF THE PROPHET) to support their position that there is nothing inherently dishonorable in manual labor (Mattson, *Believing slave,* 220). Indeed, argues al-Shaybānī (*Kash,* 73), Muslims could not fulfill their ritual obligations (see RITUAL AND THE QUR'ĀN; RITUAL PURITY) if, among other things, some people did not make jars to carry water for ablution (see CLEANLINESS AND ABLUTION) and others did not weave clothes to cover the body for prayer (q.v.).

The issue of the honor (q.v.) or dishonor of manual labor is not prominent in the Qur'ān despite the great importance this issue assumes in the corpus of ḥadīth and early anti-Ṣūfī polemics (see ḤADĪTH AND THE QUR'ĀN). Similarly, the Qur'ān does not discuss the effect a woman's status will have on whether she is required to perform household chores, although this is an important legal issue in early Islam (Mattson, *Believing slave,* 192). The Qur'ān indicates that status differences based on family and tribal affiliation (see KINSHIP; TRIBES AND CLANS) were generally more important at the rise of Islam than considerations of profession. No doubt this can be attributed to the fact that the Ḥijāz at the rise of Islam was not as well developed as the urban centers of the Fertile Crescent, where sharp divisions of labor and hereditary professions were important aspects of society (see GEOGRAPHY; CITY; BEDOUIN; IRAQ; PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QUR'ĀN).

The issue of honor aside, early Muslim scholars admitted that it was generally difficult and tiring to earn a living. According to some commentators, one of the worst consequences of being removed from paradise (q.v.) for Adam (see ADAM AND EVE) was that he subsequently had to exhaust himself earning a living (Shaybānī, *Kash,* 75). The Qur'ān indicates that one of the rewards of paradise will be freedom from having to engage in tiring work (*al-naṣab,* Q 35:35; see also MAINTENANCE AND UPKEEP).

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Manuscripts of the Qur'ān

Within the handwritten heritage of the Islamic world (see ORTHOGRAPHY; ARABIC SCRIPT), the Qur'ān occupies by far the most conspicuous place — at least in terms of sheer volume. Until the present day, copyists, amateurs as well as professionals, have devoted much time and effort to transcribing the revealed text by hand. It is therefore no wonder that the topic "manuscripts of the Qur'ān" should cover a wide variety of cases: Qur'āns are found in one volume (*muṣḥaf,* q.v.) or sets *(rab'a)* from two to sixty volumes but also as excerpts, usu-

ally connected with prayers (see PRAYER). In all these cases, the manuscripts take the form of a codex, that is a book made up of one or many quires obtained by folding together a varying number of sheets of parchment, paper or perhaps also papyrus. Qur'āns are also found on other materials, like wood or textile, and in other formats, rolls or sheets, for instance, both being used as talismans. The following article will focus solely on the manuscripts in codex form. It should, however, be noted that the study of these manuscripts is unevenly developed: some aspects like illumination (see ORNAMENTATION AND ILLUMINATION) or calligraphy (q.v.) have already been well investigated while others, e.g. the early written transmission of the text, still await comprehensive studies. The bulk of the material, manuscripts without illumination or in more ordinary hands of later periods, have not even been examined or catalogued in spite of their importance for the study of a wide range of subjects, from popular piety to the diffusion of the book in the Islamic lands.

Modern printed editions (see PRINTING OF THE QUR'ĀN) tend to reproduce the features of "classical" Qur'āns — including even the catchwords — which were prevalent during past centuries. Yet, before this "classical" form was attained, the qur'ānic manuscripts underwent many changes, at a rather rapid pace, during the first centuries of Islam. As a consequence, this article will devote a great deal of attention to the early period, since it witnessed many variations and reforms and paved the way for the modern qur'ānic codex.

Pre-ʿUthmānic manuscripts

The first "manuscripts" are only known through the reports of early Muslim scholars. According to their sources, the text was initially written on shoulder blades from camels (for a later example, see Fig. III of FĀTIḤA), flat stones or pieces of leather during the Prophet's lifetime in order to preserve the revelations as they came (see OCCASIONS OF REVELATION). Even if the concept of "book" (q.v.; *kitāb*) was already familiar to the first Muslim community, there is no evidence that any codex with the text of the revelation was available before Muḥammad's death (see CODICES OF THE QUR'ĀN). Such a format is closed and therefore ill-adapted to a situation in which the Qur'ān was still receiving additions. The heterogeneous materials mentioned in the Muslim tradition suggest that these amounted to notes meant for private use, and hence quite different from a text which has been "published" in a sense close to the modern use.

Be that as it may, nothing from these early notes has been preserved — another argument supporting the idea that they were not considered manuscripts in the full sense of the word — and the later development of the qur'ānic codex left all these materials completely aside (see COLLECTION OF THE QURĀN). Shoulder blades with Qur'ān excerpts are known from later periods, but do not correspond to any attempt to have had the whole text recorded in that fashion. According to one Christian source, early Muslims did write the text of the Qur'ān on scrolls, in imitation of the Jewish Torah (q.v.; al-Kindī, *Risāla*). Here again, though, no material evidence has survived that would substantiate that claim; the parchment rolls with qur'ānic text published by S. Ory are *rotuli* and not *volumina* like the Torah.

Some time before the sixth/twelfth century, ancient copies of the Qur'ān gained the reputation of having been written by ʿUthmān (q.v.) or ʿAlī (see ʿALĪ B. ABĪ ṬĀLIB) or other prominent figures of early Islam: in some cases, as in Cordoba, the text in question contained only a few pages, while in Damascus, an entire copy

of such a Qur'ān was kept in the Great Mosque (al-Harawī, *Kitāb al-Ishārāt,* 15; Ṣ. al-Munajjid, *Études,* 45-60). Judging from the manuscripts that have survived, the attribution is often based on a note by a later hand but sometimes a colophon does seem to lend support to this claim. Ṣ. al-Munajjid has attempted to counter such claims, maintaining that the material involved is later, dating mainly from the third/ninth century (see for instance Topkapı Sarayı Museum, TKS A1, or Türk Islâm Eserleri Müzesi, TIEM 458 — both in Istanbul). Additionally, the above-mentioned colophons sometimes contain gross mistakes (in Istanbul, one example is found at the Topkapı Sarayı Museum, TKS Y 745: the copyist is supposed to be ʿAlī b. Abū *[sic]* Ṭālib; his name is written at a right angle to the normal disposition of the text). Original expressions of worship developed around these relics: in Cordoba, two servants took the bound volume with the leaves from a treasury in the Great Mosque; a third man, carrying a candle, walked in front of them. They all went to the place where the imām (q.v.) stood for prayer in order to lay the volume on a Qur'ān stand (al-Maqqarī, *Nafḥ,* i, 360; see RITUAL AND THE QUR'ĀN). A. Grohmann has compiled a list of dated early qur'ānic manuscripts (Problem, 216 n. 17): the oldest dates from 94/712-3 but this Qur'ān has never been published and there is considerable doubt about it. Qur'ānic palimpsests have also been said to antedate the ʿUthmānic edition (Mingana and Lewis, *Leaves*).

The Ḥijāzī and Umayyad codices

The earliest Qur'ān manuscripts and fragments do not contradict the information provided by the Islamic sources about the "edition" of an official recension of the Qur'ān by the third caliph, ʿUthmān (r. 23-35/644-56). Attempts to assign codex fragments to an earlier period have not been conclusive: the palimpsests published by A. Mingana and A. Lewis are certainly among the earliest fragments preserved, but nothing indicates that they necessarily predate many others. The same also holds for the two palimpsests sold at an auction in 1992. The oldest text on both is written in the so-called "Ḥijāzī" script, a designation coined by M. Amari in the middle of the nineteenth century — he spoke of "écriture du Ḥidjāz" — on the basis of Ibn al-Nadīm's (d. ca. 385/995) description of the earliest Arabic scripts:

> The first of the Arab scripts was the script of Makkah, the next of al-Madīnah, then of al-Baṣrah, and then of al-Kūfah. For the *alifs* of the scripts of Makkah and al-Madīnah there is a turning of the hand to the right and lengthening of the strokes, one form having a slight slant (trans. B. Dodge).

The study of the early Qur'ān manuscripts and fragments in the Paris collection enabled Amari to identify those fragments that demonstrated the various features noted by Ibn al-Nadīm. Unfortunately, his work has remained largely ignored, and research on these documents did not advance significantly until N. Abbott's contribution to the subject *(Rise of north Arabic script)*. The methodical publication in facsimile of these early Qur'āns was begun in 1998 (cf. Déroche and Noseda [eds.], *Sources de la transmission du texte coranique*).

The name of the script — Ḥijāzī — (like the designation "Kūfic") does not mean that these manuscripts were transcribed in the Ḥijāz. The bulk of the material presently known comes from three repositories of old qur'ānic codices, in Damascus, Fusṭāṭ and Ṣanʿā'. (The present locations of these codices also cannot be taken as a conclusive argument as to their origin,

which remains for the moment uncertain.) On the other hand, the fact that the collection in Qayrawān does not contain such material only has the value of an argument *e silentio*. A preliminary survey shows that the script varies widely — as if the peculiarities of the individual hands were of little concern to the scribes, the patrons or the readers. This diversity might be ascribed to regional habits, but this does not satisfactorily explain why, in manuscripts written by more than one scribe from the same region, the hands of the various copyists are so different from one another that they can be recognized at first glance (e.g. Bibliothèque nationale de France, BNF Arabe 328a f. 28a and b [for f. 28a see Fig. 1], or Dār al-Makhṭūṭāt, inv. no. 01-21.1). A common standard concerning the script had probably not yet developed, and it would thus be safer to speak of Ḥijāzī style, rather than Ḥijāzī script. For the sake of convenience, we shall use here the designation of Ḥijāzī codex.

The dating of this material relies mainly on paleographic arguments: slant and shape of the *alif,* elongation of the shafts, but also the similarities with the script of the earliest papyri as pointed out by M. Amari and later by A. Grohmann. So far, no direct evidence — for instance, a colophon — has been found. One could perhaps expect confirmation from a Carbon 14 analysis of the parchment, but, since the geographic provenience is not clear, such results could only be taken as an indication of its age. The dating to the second half of the first/seventh century can therefore only be tentative, and future research might throw light on the chronology of the Ḥijāzī codices. The defective writing of the *alif* (*qala* instead of *qāla* being the best known instance) adds weight, however, to the early dating of these manuscripts and fragments, some of which count the *basmala* (q.v.) as a verse (see Bibliothèque nationale de France, BNF Arabe 328a). With the exception of these peculiarities, most of the manuscripts currently known are very close to the canonical text. Some fragments of Ḥijāzī codices found in Ṣanʿāʾ are said to include some textual variants which were not recorded by later literature (see READINGS OF THE QUR'ĀN), and to offer an order of the sūras differing from the arrangements of both the canonical text and the codices of Ibn Masʿūd and Ubayy (Puin, Observations, 111; see FORM AND STRUCTURE OF THE QUR'ĀN).

In these Ḥijāzī codices [of Ṣanʿāʾ], the script is slender and regularly spread out on the page. The spaces between characters, regardless of whether the said character is part of a word or not, are always identical; as a consequence, words can be divided at the end of a line. Clusters of dots show the ends of verses but groups of five or ten verses do not seem initially to have been singled out. Vowels are not recorded and diacritical dots are used in varying degrees by the copyists; when two or more copied a text together, they do not appear to have agreed on common rules but dotted the letters according to their own habits (compare for instance Bibliothèque nationale de France, BNF Arabe 328a f. 7b and 38a). The number of lines varies from one page to another, even though the copyists used ruling. A blank space is left between sūras, but some of the fragments suggest that crude decorations in ink were already allowed (if they do not belong to a second stage of the Ḥijāzī codices). The sūra titles found on these manuscripts are often in red ink: they were added later. There are a few instances of division of the text into seven parts, with the indication within the written area itself — i.e. British Library, BL Or. 2165, where such division is indicated in green ink. This is in contrast to the later practice

of adding the indications of the textual divisions in the margins (the indications that do not appear in the margins are also additions but the shortness of these marks makes it impossible to date them, and thus to assess how much time had elapsed between their addition and the copying of the qur'ānic text itself).

The material available to us shows that early Muslims made a choice which was to shape the history of the Qur'ān as a manuscript: they adopted for their own scriptures the kind of book which was common at that time, namely the codex, and started copying the text in long lines — whereas in other book traditions of the Middle East the texts were arranged in columns. Most of the Ḥijāzī codices are in the then usual vertical format, except a few, which are in the oblong format that was to become the rule for Qur'ān codices during the second/eighth century: as the script of these latter manuscripts is more regular than in other Ḥijāzī codices, it has been suggested that they belong to a later stage of development — perhaps the end of the first/seventh or the beginning of the second/eighth century.

All of the earliest qur'ānic manuscripts that have come down to us were written on parchment. The amount of text on the few fragments of papyrus published by A. Grohmann is too small to establish whether Qur'ān codices on papyrus existed side by side with parchment ones or not: these fragments could just as well have come from extracts. As is the case with the script, the way in which the parchment was used to produce quires varies greatly from one manuscript to another — inasmuch as enough folios remain to allow a reconstruction of the original quires.

The anticipated use of the various Ḥijāzī codices cannot be determined: the size of many of them would suggest a public use, in a mosque (q.v.) for instance. Judging by the evidence of a Paris manuscript (Bibliothèque nationale de France, BNF Arabe 328a; see Fig. 1), these codices seem to have been cared for over a long period of time: some places of this manuscript where the ink appears to have faded have been written over by a hand which can not be dated to earlier than the end of the third/ninth century.

By the end of the first/seventh or beginning of the second/eighth century, a new trend was changing the appearance of the qur'ānic codex. As far as can be determined by the best reconstruction of the chronology of the qur'ānic scripts, it was the Umayyad period that witnessed the emergence of a style in which the letter forms were more regular and the shafts more vertical. This may be linked with the reforms of ʿAbd al-Malik who decided that the chancery of the empire should use Arabic instead of Greek and Persian, thus promoting the use of the Arabic script. On the other hand, one consequence of these administrative decisions could have been the emergence of the concept of specifically qur'ānic scripts. The script of the papyri of the first/seventh century and that of the Ḥijāzī codices have similarities; this will no longer be the case in the following period, and the gap between qur'ānic and secular scripts will widen. Another argument for the dating of this style to the Umayyad period are sūra headbands of a Qur'ān found among the Damascus fragments (Türk Islâm Eserleri Müzesi, TIEM ŞE 321) which are clearly related to the decorative repertory of the mosaics on the Dome of the Rock (see AQṢĀ MOSQUE). Ornament is thus making its way into the qur'ānic manuscripts (the evidence that is available today indicates that this is the first instance of the use of gold in qur'ānic ornamentation). Other experimentations are documented in this group of manuscripts and fragments: in some of them, as

was usual at that time, a blank line has been left between two sūras, but the place is highlighted by the use of colored inks (red and/or green) for the first lines of the beginning of the next sūra and sometimes also for the last lines of the preceding one. This is also when groups of ten verses begin to receive a special marker, in some cases only a letter with numerical value *(abjad)*. In one fragment (Bibliothèque nationale de France, BNF Arabe 330c), it is written in gold. Other attempts which can be attributed to this period or somewhat later are more puzzling: for example, calligrams with colored inks developing over the writing surface. The orthography itself was changing: it is far from homogeneous from one manuscript to another, and sometimes even changes within the same manuscript, but overall it does show an evolution towards the *scriptio plena*.

Another Qurʾān attributed to the Umayyad period is more difficult to evaluate: some fragments (Dār al-Makhṭūṭāt, inv. no. 20-33.1) are the only remnants of a large manuscript (51 × 47 cm), which originally contained about 520 folios. The impressive illuminations (particularly the two representations of a mosque) have no equivalent and the script foreshadows later developments; an elaborate frame surrounds the written area on the first folios of the text (for examples of these fragments, see Figs. 1 of FĀTIḤA and 1 of ORNAMENTATION AND ILLUMINATION).

The qurʾānic codex in early ʿAbbāsid times

Our knowledge of the Qurʾāns of the third/ninth century, which include a few dated manuscripts, is fairly developed. The earlier part of the ʿAbbāsid period, however, remains somewhat unclear as the information about it is still very scarce. Here again, the dating of Qurʾāns to the second/eighth century relies mainly on paleography. But, as compared with the evidence from the first/seventh century, we are on surer footing in this century, since more paleographic evidence has survived. The qurʾānic scripts of that period are traditionally known as "Kūfic," but "early ʿAbbāsid scripts" would be more accurate; the linking of any of them with the town of Kūfa remaining unclear. As a whole, the scripts bear witness to the emergence of a body of highly skilled scribes and a complex set of rules concerning the use of the various styles. In the eighties of the twentieth century, a tentative typology was created in order to classify the material: it defines six groups of scripts (called A to F), subdivided into a varying number of styles (for instance B II or D IV; see Déroche, *Abbasid tradition,* 34-47; id., *Catalogue, I/1. Aux origines de la calligraphie coranique,* 37-45). The terminology and results of this typology have been used here in order to provide clarity to the following account.

A major development of this period is the introduction of a system for the notation of the vowels. These are indicated through the positioning of red dots with respect to the consonant: an "a" — *fatḥa* — above the letter, an "i" — *kasra* — below it or a "u" — *ḍamma* — after it; the indefinite case ending *(tanwīn)* is noted by a duplication of the dot. Although it was reportedly invented by Abū l-Aswad al-Duʾalī (d. 69/688), this system does not seem to have been used before the end of the first/seventh century. Qurʾāns from the Umayyad period have red dots: but are they contemporaneous with the script itself? Since the dots were necessarily an addition (neither the ink nor paint nor the writing implement were those used for the copy of the unadorned orthography, i.e. *rasm*), doubt always remains about the time that elapsed between the copying of the text and the addition of the dots. The system was later perfected with the addition of dots for the glottal stop — *hamza* — (green

or yellow) and the consonantal duplicator — *shadda* — (yellow, orange or blue); sometimes their modern form is written with colored ink. The sign for the absence of a vowel — *sukūn* — is rarely indicated. Other signs were used in the Maghrib in order to note more accurately the pronunciation (see Nuruosmaniye Library 23, completed in Palermo in 372/982-3). This system remained dominant until the end of the fourth/tenth century and was apparently still used late into the tenth/sixteenth century for a Yemeni (?) Qur'ān. In the Maghrib, but also in qur'ānic manuscripts in Sūdānī script, the *hamza* was indicated by a dot until very recently (see Bibliothèque nationale de France, BNF Arabe 576, dated 1195/1781).

Early in the period under discussion here, some Qur'āns were still in the vertical format: the B I group of scripts could be typical for the early part of the second/eighth century (see Institute of Oriental Studies in St. Petersburg, IOS C 20 or Bibliothèque nationale de France, BNF Arabe 331) and bear witness to the transition from the Ḥijāzī codex — to which its somewhat slender script is probably related — to the early ʿAbbāsid one. Alongside this tradition, which was gradually fading out, another stouter kind of script (akin to that of Dār al-Makhṭūṭāt, inv. no. 20-33.1) came to be the qur'ānic script *par excellence*. It is commonly associated with the oblong format, although the change from the vertical format cannot have been motivated solely by script aesthetics. One reason for this shift — unrecorded in our sources, however — may have been a desire to give the Qur'ān a visual identity clearly different from that of the Torah (roll) or the Gospels (vertical codex; see GOSPEL). Another development which probably played a role in the horizontal lay-out of the Qur'ān, but about whose influence on this matter the sources are also silent, is the nearly contemporary controversy about writing down ḥadīth (see ḤADĪTH AND THE QUR'ĀN). During the period, the number of lines to the page became increasingly regular: this evolution may stem from a will to control the text more easily.

The earliest sūra titles contemporaneous with the copy of the text itself are found in manuscripts tentatively attributed to the second/eighth century, but such texts are not the rule. For, up until this time, the sūras were separated from each other by a blank space or by an ornament — ranging from very crude ones to highly sophisticated illuminations. The headband had not yet found its shape: some ornaments occupy irregularly the rectangular space of the line, others are already enclosed within an outer rectangular frame; the vignette also appears, sometimes at both ends of the headband (see Forschungs- und Landesbibliothek, FLB Ms. orient. A 462, ff. 6 b and 11 a). The origin of the vignette has been connected with the *tabula ansata* of classical Antiquity; but since the early sūra headbands are an-epigraphic and devoid of vignette, one wonders whether this explanation, borrowed from epigraphy (see EPIGRAPHY AND THE QUR'ĀN), can be applied to manuscripts. Coptic paragraph marks show that marginal devices were known to the copyists of the period. At any rate, the need for information led very soon to the introduction of the sūra titles into the Qur'āns. Depending on the manuscripts, these were noted either at the beginning or at the end of the sūra. In the former case, the sūra title is introduced by a formula including the word *fātiḥa* ("opening"), in the latter by *khātima* ("ending"; both can be developed in various ways and even combined). During the third/ninth century, it became the rule to indicate the title at the beginning of the sūra, without any introductory formula. The names given to some of the sūras vary from one

manuscript to another. The number of verses is generally given next to the title and the ends of the verses are usually, but not always, indicated. Only rarely do ornamental verse end markers number the individual verses with *abjad* numerals (see NUMBERS AND ENUMERATION; NUMEROLOGY): most copies distinguish only groups of five and ten verses.

The most impressive achievement of the period is a group of giant Qur'āns (Bibliothèque nationale de France, BNF Arabe 324 and Forschungs- und Landesbibliothek, FLB Ms. orient. A 462 contain fragments of one of them), dating probably from the second part of the second/eighth century (a Carbon 14 dating of one page suggested a date between 640 and 765 C.E.; the earlier date seems more in keeping with other data). They may have been inspired by earlier attempts, like the above-mentioned Dār al-Makhṭūṭāt, inv. no. 20-33.1. The manuscripts measure roughly 68 × 53 cm and have twelve lines of text per page — in one case, the figure is slightly more than double this amount: twenty-five lines on a single page. Reconstructions based on the state of the manuscripts indicate that they would have had more than 600 folios, each of them composed of the hide of one animal. In spite of their thickness, they seem to have been bound as single-volume Qur'āns. These manuscripts were much larger than any earlier Qur'ān that has been preserved, and their production would have required an extraordinary financial investment. They were most probably ordered for mosques, but their size suggests that they would have served a purpose other than simply recitation or reading (see RECITATION OF THE QUR'ĀN). We are told that ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb abhorred Qur'āns in small script and was delighted when he saw large copies. In spite of the anachronism of this anecdote, it draws attention to the fact that large copies were favored by Muslims of the first centuries. Since congregational readings, such as that during the Friday prayer (q.v.), do not require such massive volumes, they may have served an apologetic or political function.

There is no clear evidence that multi-volume sets existed before the beginning of the third/ninth century, even if some of the earlier manuscripts contain marginal indications of divisions into sevenths, for instance. But from the third/ninth century on, both the manuscripts and the texts attached to them – mainly endowment documents *(waqfiyyāt)* — indicate that multi-volume sets were common. Some of the scripts, like D I, actually seem closely connected with this kind of Qur'ān, their size demanding a full text of such magnitude that it would have been impossible to bind all the folios as a single book. This led to the appearance of boxes *(tābūt, ṣundūq)* which could keep all the volumes of a set together. In the case of Amājūr's Qur'ān, the endowment document *(waqfiyya)* of 262/876 states that two boxes were needed to store the thirty *juz'* (Déroche, Qur'ān of Amāğūr, 61). This manuscript had only three lines to the page — which means that the total number of folios was enormous. It seems that such multi-volume Qur'āns were the solution needed for the production of manuscripts in this period that were, in the end, as large as the second/eighth century giant Qur'āns described earlier. As a rule, wealthy patrons ordered them for mosques. Qur'ānic codices are also known to have been the property of individuals: a few are actually dated according to notes recording births or deaths in a family. These were usually single volumes written in smaller scripts like B II, for instance.

There is also a greater range of illumination to be found in Qur'āns from the early ʿAbbāsid period, which may be, however,

simply due to the fact that more material has been preserved than for the earlier period. Some Qur'āns have no decoration whatsoever, or minimal indication of titles and divisions in red, green or yellow, while others use gold for the same purpose. The most sophisticated manuscripts may have an opening page — without any text — that spans two folios (very few have more than two such pages), sūra headbands with a vignette in the margin and a variety of verse or group markers. The beginning of the text itself is sometimes set into a decorated frame. Some Qur'āns also have an illuminated double page at the end. Multi-volume sets offered as many opportunities as there were volumes in which to illuminate the beginning (and possibly the end) of each section of text (see the series of which Topkapı Sarayı Museum, TKS EH 16 is part). Gold is heavily used in illumination, but also for the copying of the text. In spite of earlier statements by Muslim scholars like Mālik b. Anas (d. 179/796) against the use of gold for that purpose, chrysography seems to have received wide acceptance. Even if the story reported by Ibn al-Nadīm (*Fihrist,* 9) that a Qur'ān in gold script was produced for ʿUmar II were a forgery, a famous manuscript of ʿAbbāsid times, the "Blue Qur'ān," is far from being the only instance of gold script used for copying the Qur'ān. Other refinements, like dyed parchment, were also in use: blue parchment has been mentioned, but yellow, pink and orange are also documented.

With the exception of a text by al-Jahshiyārī, who recorded an anecdote about silver binding in Umayyad times (*Kitāb al-Wuzarā',* 26; Latz, *Das Buch,* 79), we have no information about the bindings of qur'ānic manuscripts until the third/ninth century. From that period onwards, various collections, but mainly that of Qayrawān, have bindings of a distinctive shape: they are indeed closer to boxes than to any kind of binding previously known. The boards are made of wood and are covered with leather, often decorated; in front of the three outer edges, a continuous strip of leather glued onto the lower board protects the Qur'ān. When the upper board is down and the book is closed, a leather thong fastened to the gutter side of the lower board can be tied over a metal peg projecting out of the edge of the upper board: the manuscript can thus be kept tightly closed. Bindings of non-qur'ānic manuscripts are almost unknown for this period, making comparison impossible; but it has been suggested that the bindings described here were specifically made for the Qur'āns.

A century of change

During the fourth/tenth century, the appearance of the qur'ānic codex is altered by various developments, some of which were already in evidence by the end of the third/ninth century. The first one involves the scripts: a new style, connected to scripts already in use in non-qur'ānic manuscripts and administrative documents, received increasing acceptance as a qur'ānic script, only to be superseded — slightly later — by *naskhī* and *naskhī*-related scripts.

This new style is the last script to have been in use in qur'ānic manuscripts all over the Islamic world. While variants appear in the execution, it basically relies on well-defined aesthetics and a clear repertoire of letterforms. The names given to the more refined versions of this script — Persian Kūfic, Oriental Kūfic — are somewhat misleading: the earlier name of "Kūfic *naskhī*" is a better descriptive since the basic shapes are closer to the so-called "cursives." The earliest Qur'ān in this script is a multi-volume set copied on parchment before 292/905, possibly in a Persian speaking area; in addition to the

script, its vertical format foreshadows the changes of the next decades (Chester Beatty Library, CBL 1431). The new style was nevertheless also used in manuscripts with an oblong format, like the Qur'āns copied on parchment in Palermo in 372/982-3 (Nuruosmaniye Library 23; see Fig. 11 of ORNAMENTATION AND ILLUMINATION) or on paper in Iṣfahān in 383/993 (Türk Islâm Eserleri Müzesi, TIEM 453-6).

The calligraphic possibilities of the new style might explain why it remained in use for a considerable period of time. Whereas the last dated Qur'ān in early ʿAbbāsid script from the central Islamic lands was — according to the current state of our knowledge — written in 362/972, the latest dated qur'ānic manuscript in the new style was finished in 620/1223 (Mashhad, Āsitān-i Quds 84). One cannot exclude the existence of later copies since it remained a favorite script among illuminators, and was used, for instance, in titles. A short excerpt of the Qur'ān was even written in a highly ornamental variant of the script as late as 909/1503 (Topkapı Sarayı Museum, TKS R. 18 in Istanbul).

A major evolution of the fourth/tenth century was the use of so-called cursives, commonly called *naskhī,* as qur'ānic scripts. The earliest dated example of a *naskhī*-related script for a Qur'ān originates from Upper Mesopotamia or northern Syria; it is dated to 387/997. Somewhat later in the same century, a parchment fragment in the oblong format with the last sūras in an unmistakably Maghribī hand bears a colophon stating that the copy was ended in Rajab 398/March-April 1008. This evidence indicates a growing trend towards making the qur'ānic codex more legible to the ordinary people, and towards closing the gap between the script of the qur'ānic codices and that which was used in daily matters, a gap which had opened during the second half of the first/end of the seventh, beginning of the eighth century, but was gradually disappearing. It also documents the emergence of a split between the eastern and western parts of the Islamic world represented by the Maghribī script, which would become the hallmark of the manuscript production in the Maghrib and in Muslim Spain. Interestingly enough, the earliest Maghribī fragments show a greater respect for the material aspects of the qur'ānic codex tradition, namely the oblong format and the parchment. Once again the transition to the "modern" scripts was by no means a quick one, as is witnessed by the production of Qur'āns in the 'new style' during a long period, albeit in decreasing numbers; further research will have to investigate the possible use in the Maghrib of early ʿAbbāsid scripts after the end of the fourth/tenth century. Even if calligraphers of the early ʿAbbāsid period skilled in very small script succeeded in reducing the number of pages and the size of the Qur'āns, early manuscripts in *naskhī* (for instance British Library, BL Add. 7214; see Fig. 111) attained an even greater compactness, perhaps explaining the success of these last-named copies (which may also have been less expensive).

The development of grammar (see GRAMMAR AND THE QUR'ĀN) led to the invention of systems that were increasingly precise in order to note the correct pronunciation of the Qur'ān. The modern system of vowels was used on the Qur'ān of 292/905, but since the older system of red dots is also present on that manuscript, it is highly probable that the modern vowels are a later addition. The Palermo Qur'ān, on the other hand, is fully punctuated: vowels but also other orthoepic signs indicate the correct pronunciation. The modern system of vowels and orthoepics came into use during the fourth/tenth century. During this period, the modern signs

for *shadda* and *sukūn,* both in color, were associated with the red-dot vocalization. Modern vowels and orthoepics were written in color by the copyist of the "Nurse's Qur'ān" in Qayrawān in 410/1019-20: the document recording his work states that he vocalized the manuscript. The same 'Uthmān b. Ḥusayn al-Warrāq completed a thirty-volume Qur'ān in 466/1073-4, probably in eastern Iran: he also recorded that he added vowels and orthoepics — in color — to the text (Mashhad, Āsitān-i Quds 4316). The famous "Qur'ān of Ibn al-Bawwāb" contrasts with this practice: vowels and orthoepics are written with the same ink as the rest of the text (Chester Beatty Library, CBL 1431, dated 391/1000-1); this is also the case in the manuscript of 387/997. The western Islamic world followed another path, as will be shown below.

The second major development of the period is the introduction of paper, which gradually replaced parchment — at least in the east. The earliest datable Qur'ān on paper was completed by the end of the first half of the fourth/tenth century, almost a century later than the earliest non-qur'ānic Arabic manuscript on paper. The increasing use of this material also altered the appearance of the qur'ānic codex. The third development, perhaps connected with the second, has to do with the format of the text: a return to a vertical format is seen in this period. Even if, as evidenced by the Iṣfahān Qur'ān, it was possible to produce paper Qur'āns in the oblong format, the majority were now in the vertical format, thus suggesting that it was better adapted to the new material. All these changes did not go hand in hand, even if they seem somewhat interrelated, and they did not meet with general acceptance overnight. Their economic implications also need to be evaluated. Paper was less expensive than parchment, even if we do not know exactly how much cheaper it was. Should we assume that books became more affordable for a larger number of people, even though they remained a luxury, and that therefore their production pace had to increase? There were two ways in which the need for more manuscripts could be met: the first one being an increase in the copyist's speed, the second one an increase in the number of copyists. There is finally another question that arises: was the new style more legible for readers as well as faster for copyists, since it was easier to write?

The new vertical sizing also forced the qur'ānic manuscripts to adapt new formats for complete page illumination. It appears that this was not simply a matter of rotating the existing compositions by ninety degrees since the relationship between height and width had changed. Rather, this changed dimension of the illuminations is possibly the reason why compositions based either on a central circle or on the repetition of a small pattern in order to cover the surface became increasingly popular. Another evolution was the introduction of text into the illuminated opening pages: the earliest instances are not clearly dated (perhaps already at the end of the third/ninth century) but a few dated manuscripts of the fourth/tenth century include on the opening double page information about the number of sūras, verses, words and letters found in the Qur'ān.

Few manuscripts document the continued production of large Qur'āns during this period. Multi-volume sets, however, remain quite common. The Iṣfahān Qur'ān had four volumes and The Nasser D. Khalili Collection of Islamic Art Qur 89, which is perhaps slightly later, had originally seven; many had thirty. All are of a comparatively small size, particularly those composed by division into thirtieths *(juz')*. The "Nurse's Qur'ān" attests to the production of large-

sized Qurʾāns in the western part of the Islamic world. In 410/1019-20, the otherwise unknown scribe *(warrāq),* ʿAlī b. Aḥmad, wrote the thirty *juzʾ* of this Qurʾān in Qayrawān; he was also responsible for its vowel signs, illumination and binding. 552 pages of this work have been preserved: they measure 45 × 29 cm and have only five lines of text on a page. The set was kept in a large wooden box that contains an inscription commemorating its being donated to a mosque by Fāṭima, the nurse of the Zirid ruler al-Muʿizz b. Bādīs.

Towards the modern qurʾānic codex

Over the following centuries and down to the present day, Qurʾāns were written in a wide variety of the so-called "cursive" scripts, some of them — such as *nastaʿlīq* (see Topkapı Sarayı Museum, TKS HS 25, dated 945/1538-9) — used only in exceptional cases. A few styles were more frequently used for qurʾānic manuscripts than other documents. Even if copyists would also transcribe other texts with these styles, their designation as "qurʾānic" scripts retained its validity. In the central Islamic lands, the manuscripts of higher quality were most frequently written in the scripts which the literature about calligraphy calls *naskh (*also *naskhī), muḥaqqaq, rayḥānī (*also *rayḥān)* and *thuluth (*also *thulth).* Regional varieties of scripts emerged in other areas. In India, for instance, Biḥārī was in use during the late eighth/fourteenth and the ninth/fifteenth century. Classical styles could undergo regional modifications: the script typical of Chinese Qurʾāns of the ninth/fifteenth century has been described as a peculiar form of *muḥaqqaq* deriving from earlier Persian models. The Biḥārī might in turn have been imitated on the eastern coast of Africa, where the influence of India is known to have been felt (The Nasser D. Khalili Collection of Islamic Art Qur 706, dated 1162/1749).

The particular script usually remains homogeneous from the beginning to the end of a manuscript — this also applies to copies with alternating lines in two or three different styles. In some cases, the word *Allāh* or even entire sentences are highlighted: they are either written in larger letters or in ink different from that of the text itself (see for example John Rylands University Library, UL 760-773). Other manuscripts are more puzzling: in some, only the names *Aḥmad* (Q 61:6) and *Muḥammad* (Q 48:29) are written in larger letters (see Bibliothèque nationale de France, BNF Arabe 413 [see Fig. VI], and The Metropolitan Museum of Art, MMA Rogers Fund 1940). Such features could be related to specific forms of religious behavior, which still need to be investigated.

Page setting was seen by copyists and patrons as a way of enhancing the appearance of the text. At the beginning of our period, the Qurʾāns were apparently all written in long lines of identical height and length. Later, the copyists started playing with both elements, perhaps influenced by chancery traditions that are apparent in pilgrimage certificates from Saljūq times found in Damascus. An early example of this revised page setting is Chester Beatty Libray, CBL 1438, dated 582/1186 (see Fig. IV). In some Qurʾāns in Biḥārī script, the copyists used two sizes of script side by side, the larger one for the first and last lines of each page, the smaller one for the rest of the text (Leiden University Library [Oriental Department], Or. 18320 dated 811/1408-9). Later manuscripts document the use of various colors of ink in order to achieve a more complex effect on the whole page. In Persianate areas, but also in Turkey, a complex grid, usually with three larger lines framing two groups of smaller script written in black ink became popular; the larger lines, in white, blue, red or gold, contrast sharply with the rest. This page

setting is also known in Chinese Qur'āns where the difference between the lines is somewhat subdued — in terms of size as well as of color, black being used throughout the page. From the eleventh/seventeenth century onwards, Indian qur'ānic manuscripts feature a page setting which looks like that found in Qur'āns from Safavid Iran: the written surface, defined by a golden frame, is divided into identically-sized large bands in which the text is written, and which are separated from one another by smaller bands that could contain a translation. A second frame, close to the edge of the page and larger than the former one, marks off an area surrounding the text which may either be blank — with the exception of markers for the groups of verses or such indication — or contain a commentary to the Qur'ān.

It is obviously difficult to summarize here the "rules" of qur'ānic illumination: the material available is far too vast and offers many variations. The following, therefore, are only a few of what may be termed "general guidelines." One rule is strictly observed: the qur'ānic manuscript was never illustrated — to date, the only published example of an "illustrated" qur'ānic manuscript (Gottheil, Illustrated copy, 21-4) is a fake. Even if scholarly interest has been primarily focused on the works of master illuminators found on the most expensive manuscripts, one has to remember that many Qur'āns received an ornament of some kind, even if it was only a rubricated frame for the beginning of the text. The concept of the double-page played a major role in qur'ānic manuscripts, especially in their illumination: the artists tried to balance the composition, overcoming the physical division of the two pages and giving it an overall unity. Whatever its quality may be, illumination held more or less the same role and place which had been progressively agreed upon during the first centuries. The function of the ornament is primarily to indicate the beginning or the end of a part of the text: it can be the beginning of the manuscript and, since these Qur'āns have no title page, the ornament is meant to send a kind of signal or, with the help of qur'ānic quotations, to "name" the book. Q 56:77-80 is perfectly suited to this task: "That this is indeed a *Qur'ān* most honorable in a *book* (q.v.) well-guarded, which none shall touch but those who are clean." After the preliminary pages — one double-page or more of pure ornament, with or without writing — illumination occurs in various places: within the written surface are the divisions into verses or groups of verses but also the titles of the sūras. In the margins are indicators for the verse groupings (more developed than those already mentioned), for the various divisions of the text into equally-sized parts, or for the ritual prostrations (*sajda*, see BOWING AND PROSTRATION; RITUAL AND THE QUR'ĀN), and the vignettes corresponding to the sūra headings. The beginning and the end of the text itself can also be highlighted by an illuminated frame: for the beginning of single-volume Qur'āns, the main option is either to have the opening sūra, the Fātiḥa (q.v.), on a double page and the first verses of sūra 2 on the next one, or to have the Fātiḥa facing the beginning of sūra 2 on the same double page. In some early multi-volume Qur'āns, the Fātiḥa is repeated at the beginning of each *juz'*. The last sūras may also be set within a frame; some Qur'āns have additional illuminated pages with a prayer and/or a divination formula *(fāl-nāma)*. In some multi-volume qur'ānic manuscripts, a first-page illumination may provide the number of the volume within the series; the end of each volume may receive an ornament with Q 83:26.

The repertoire of ornamentation inher-

ited from the previous period relied mainly on geometric and vegetal forms. Illuminations were geometrically structured until the end of the ninth/fifteenth century, when more fluid forms of ornament were introduced. These broad orientations were translated in various ways in the different parts of the Islamic world: this is reflected in the studies on qurʾānic illumination which usually present the material according to periods and regions. Such categorizations are often decisive in determining the provenance of a Qurʾān. One should nevertheless be aware that some areas have not yet been sufficiently investigated, or offer various difficulties. This, for instance, is the case of India, where the existence of many centers of Qurʾān-production with local orientations, as well as lasting ties with Afghanistan or Iran may have confused the researchers, often unable — at least for the moment — to distinguish Qurʾāns copied in India from others imported from the north. For areas like China or Indonesia, the study of illumination is only beginning and, even if its features seem as a whole quite distinctive, it has to be remembered that some periods remain unexplored.

The early qurʾānic bindings that have been preserved were apparently meant to distinguish the Qurʾān from any other manuscripts. When this practice came to an end is not clear; bindings from the fifth/eleventh century indicate that Qurʾāns of that time were bound in the same manner as other manuscripts, but solutions had to be found in order to identify easily the sacred book of Islam. According to authors like al-ʿAlmawī (d. 981/1573), the etiquette concerning book storage recommended that Qurʾāns should be put on top of the pile. But this might have been insufficient (in medieval times, books were stored horizontally), hence the practice of using qurʾānic quotations in lieu of a title on the binding. The fore-edge flap was likely the primary place for such a quotation: stamping a text on bindings was not completely new, since some early bindings for Qurʾāns already had inscriptions on their boards — usually eulogies like *al-mulk li-llāh* ("God's is the dominion") — and later bindings of multivolume sets bore the number of each volume on the fore-edge flap: the Qurʾān in ten volumes completed in Marrakesh by ʿUmar al-Murtaḍā in 654/1256 bears witness to this practice (see British Library, BL Or. 13192). Mamlūk bindings show early instances of the use of qurʾānic verses thereon (Museum für Islamische Kunst, SMPK I. 5622). The stamping of texts was facilitated by the development of the binders' techniques which led to the introduction of plates in the stamping process: on later bindings, it became customary to have Q 56:77 on the fore-edge flap; Q 6:115 is more unusual in this place. On the boards, there was room for more developed texts: around the field, a series of cartouches could contain qurʾānic verses (Q 2:255 or 56:77-80; both appear on Chester Beatty Library, CBL 1545) or ḥadīth (see Türk Islâm Eserleri Müzesi, TIEM 423). Quotations also occur on the inner side of the board: Q 2:255, the "Throne Verse (see THRONE OF GOD)," and Q 33:56 (see Bibliothèque nationale de France, BNF Arabe 418). The use of precious metals and stones was continued: very ancient examples do not seem to have survived, but Ottoman bindings are well-known (Topkapı Sarayı Museum, TKS Inv. 2/2121; see MATERIAL CULTURE AND THE QURʾĀN).

Animal hides (mainly sheep and goats) were used as the raw material for parchment; the dimension of the final sheet was limited by the size of the species used. Paper technology allowed for the production of far larger sheets: the mobile form

technique limited their size to what craftsmen were able to handle in and out of the paste vat, while the fixed form, although not as efficient as the former in production levels, could help in the manufacture of very large sheets of paper. On the other hand, pasting was opening possibilities unknown to parchment users. The development of very large Qur'āns benefited from these technical advances during the seventh/thirteenth and eighth/fourteenth centuries. Both single and multi-volume qur'ānic manuscripts are involved: the Ölcaytu Qur'ān in thirty *juz'* has five lines of text on pages reaching 72 × 50 cm, and the pages of the so-called Baysonghur Qur'ān measure 177 × 100 cm. The latter has been related to an anecdote recorded by Qāḍī Aḥmad, showing Tīmūr despising a miniature Qur'ān written by a calligrapher who, a few months later, came back with a Qur'ān so huge that it had to be carried on a cart. In Mamlūk Egypt, a number of very large single-volume Qur'āns — they usually measure about 100 cm high or more — were ordered for the mosques by wealthy patrons. The use of multi-volume qur'ānic manuscripts is also better documented: those produced for sultans or emirs were part of the stipulations of the documents of religious endowments *(waqfiyya)* they established in Cairo. The texts of these legal documents show that readers were appointed for daily recitation of the *juz';* a keeper in charge of the manuscripts would also distribute them among the readers. Rashīd al-Dīn's provisions for his own tomb in Tabrīz included qur'ānic reading by three persons.

In the fourth/tenth century, some of the manuscripts begin to include "scientific information" about the text itself. Previously, such information had been limited to the sūra titles and possibly to their verse count. Now, on double page illuminations, global data about the text and its various components (sūras, verses, words, letters, and so on) are available. At the same time, concordances (in fact, methodical repertories of verse endings) often register an increasing wealth of information for each sūra: for example, the various verse counts and the relative position within the revelation. Together with the title, this information, which may also have been available in contemporary works of exegesis *(tafsīr),* found its way into qur'ānic manuscripts possibly during the fifth/eleventh century. As far as we know, Qur'āns with alternative readings (see READINGS OF THE QUR'ĀN) were produced during the sixth/twelfth century: The Nasser D. Khalili Collection of Islamic Art Qur 572 was provided in 582/1186 with abbreviations in red within the text and notes in the margins giving information about the correct recitation of the text and its variants. At the end of the manuscript, the qur'ānic text is followed by a series of short pamphlets on subjects like the recitation of the Qur'ān, the authorized readings (here, the Ten) as well as the differences in verse counts according to the various schools or the chronology of the revelations. This tradition of "scientific" Qur'āns, which were probably used for teaching purposes or as memoranda for scholars, was maintained over the centuries — as shown by the manuscript Bibliothèque nationale de France, BNF Arabe 448, dated 979/1572, which contains such information.

Qur'āns with interlinear translation were probably not meant for the same audience, although the situation is not always completely clear with respect to qur'ānic commentaries *(tafsīr),* which sometimes look like qur'ānic manuscripts. Assessing the date of the introduction of interlinear translations proves to be difficult: it is sometimes hard to be certain about the contemporaneousness of the qur'ānic text and translation — which latter is, *de facto,*

an addition. In many — but not all — instances, the page layout is planned so as to leave room for the interlinear translation. Among the earliest dated manuscripts of this group are Mashhad, Āsitān-i Quds 464 (translation into Persian, dated 584/1188) and Türk Islâm Eserleri Müzesi, TIEM 73 (translation into eastern Turkish, dated 734/1333-4). Qur'āns with marginal *tafsīr* can also be mentioned here: they were not necessarily meant for scholars, and they also often include an interlinear translation (usually below the line, rarely above it). Most seem to have been written in Iran and India after the tenth/sixteenth century, and the Persian commentary is written in the margins according to a carefully planned page layout. Qur'ānic manuscripts copied in India in Biḥārī script during the ninth/fifteenth century and provided with commentaries written in a more casual manner are among the early instances of the integration of such texts into qur'ānic manuscripts (see King Faisal Centre, Riyadh 2825). Commentaries added to a Qur'ān well after it had been written are clearly quite another case.

The manuscripts of the Qur'ān very often also contain other texts. As stated above, there are early examples of literature related to the correct reading of the text, as well as indications of its components (the number of sūras, verses, letters, etc.). Often at the end of the Qur'ān, there is the prayer that is recited upon the completion of the reading/reciting of the text. Its length and appearance vary: in luxury copies, it is written on a double page in gold letters, within an illuminated frame (see, for instance, Chester Beatty Library, CBL 1544 or Museum für Islamische Kunst, Inv. Nr. I. 42/68). Other prayers are also found in this position: in the manuscript at the Bibliothèque nationale de France, BNF Arabe 448, one of the earliest attributed to al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111), the prayer is adapted for magical operations (see MAGIC); a second prayer, which aids in falling asleep, is also provided. Other texts are also related to the Qur'ān, like the various divination formulas *(fāl-nāma)* found in numerous manuscripts (see Bibliothèque nationale de France, BNF Arabe 418; see Fig. VII).

The qur'ānic codex in the western Islamic world and in west Africa

In the handwritten tradition of the Qur'ān, regional developments can be recognized but nowhere do they seem so pronounced as in the western Islamic world. The first qur'ānic codices in Maghribī script were written as early as the end of the fourth/tenth century, but further study of the Qayrawān collection might show that distinctive Maghribī features — i.e. script, decoration, but also techniques — were already present at an earlier stage. The earliest fragments are written on parchment, a material which remained in use until the eighth/fourteenth century. They are of the oblong format, although most Maghribī Qur'āns are in a square format reminiscent of that used for a group of manuscripts of the second/eighth century. This square shape is found mainly in copies written on vellum, but small Qur'āns of the thirteenth/nineteenth century written on paper still preserve this peculiar format (see The Nasser D. Khalili Collection of Islamic Art Qur 434). Nevertheless, when paper became the material commonly used for copies of the Qur'ān, the manuscripts as a whole changed to the vertical format.

The script has many varieties, a small hand commonly known as Andalusī being used for single-volume Qur'āns; larger scripts are found in multi-volume manuscripts. For a long time, the vowels retained the red color which was the rule in early Qur'āns; dots were still in use on the

earliest Maghribī copies, but in the fifth/eleventh century the modern signs became the rule. For an extended period, dots were also used for the *hamza* (yellow; see Bibliothèque nationale de France, BNF Arabe 576, dated 1195/1781) and sometimes for the *waṣla* (green); other orthoepics, with their modern shape, are in blue (or sometimes in red).

Illuminations were produced over a long period of time according to patterns, some of which were already in use during the fourth/tenth century; in this respect, geometry played a major role with full page illuminations, and the inscriptions were only exceptionally integrated into the illuminated opening pages (see Istanbul University Library A 6754). Not infrequently, the text was followed by an illuminated page containing a prayer or a colophon written within a frame in a script very different from that of the qur'ānic text itself (see Bibliothèque nationale de France, BNF Arabe 385; see Fig. v). Gold and silver were also used in copying the text itself: Bibliothèque nationale, Smith-Lesouëf 217 contains a few folios of a delicate example of Maghribī chrysography, and a five-volume Qur'ān was written with silver ink on paper dyed purple (Bibliothèque nationale, BNF Arabe 389-392 are four such folios). The manufacture of dyed papers for qur'ānic manuscripts continued for some time, a fact to which some manuscripts on blue and green paper bear witness (see Bibliothèque Générale et Archives, BGA D 1304).

The large Qur'ān tradition was alive in the western Islamic world as shown by the above-mentioned "Nurse's Qur'ān" and by two volumes now in Istanbul (Türk Islâm Eserleri Müzesi, TIEM 359 and 360, 52 × 55 cm): their 994 remaining folios, with seven lines to the page (one line is roughly 6.5 cm high) and their richly illuminated sūra titles indicate that a colossal investment was needed to carry out this project.

Qur'ānic manuscripts in Sūdānī script are only known in recent times — from the second half of the eleventh/seventeenth century onwards. The Sūdānī is reminiscent of Maghribī scripts and is rather conservative. The vowels are often in red, the *hamza* being indicated by a yellow dot. Illuminations are usually geometrical and seem to rely only on colors — gold has so far not been reported. The beginning of the Qur'ān is often highlighted with a larger ornament in the shape of a frame; on top of it, outside the frame, there is sometimes the *basmala* (q.v.) and also the *taṣliya.* In other manuscripts, the ornament separates the first sūra from the second one. Other larger illuminations are usually found at the beginning of the second half of the Qur'ān (which in Sūdānī tradition is equivalent to Q 19:1), but also, in addition to that, at the beginning of the second and fourth quarters (see, for instance, Leeds University Library, Arabic ms. 301). Even if the divisions into seven and sixty parts *(ḥizb),* as well as the subdivisions of the latter into eight sections, are frequently indicated in the margins, in this handwritten tradition, the four parts are evidently of greater importance.

These qur'ānic manuscripts are also set apart by their traditional binding: the flap is oversized — its extremity almost reaching the back of the volume when it is closed — and terminates with a leather thong that can be rolled several times around the book in order to keep it closed. Moreover, in a number of cases the manuscript was provided with a leather pouch (in those instances in which it is missing, it may have been lost), which was intended as an external protection for the Qur'ān. These peculiarities may be related to another feature of Sūdānī manuscripts, namely the fact that they were written on

bi-folios or even folios that were left loose; with neither quires nor sewing, a very protective binding was the only solution against the folios being lost or mixed up.

Later developments

With the exception of the *juz'* (thirtieth) and the *ḥizb* (sixtieth), some of the divisions of the text into parts of identical size fell into disuse and were only rarely indicated in the margins of single-volume Qur'āns. Sets of four or seven volumes became rarer, even if some examples could still be found: a seven-part Qur'ān was written in India by the end of the twelfth/eighteenth century (The Nasser D. Khalili Collection of Islamic Art Qur 70), while four-volume sets are known in the Maghrib during the same period (see Bibliothèque nationale de France, BNF Arabe 586 or 6989). In contrast, the *juz'* became more important for organizing the text, even in single-volume Qur'āns. As early as the beginning of the ninth/fifteenth century, a Qur'ān in Biḥārī script in one volume is distinguished by the use of developed illumination in the margins of each opening corresponding to the beginning of a *juz'* (Leiden University Library Or. 18320, dated 811/1408-9), a practice which became common in later Iranian deluxe Qur'āns (see Chester Beatty Library, CBL 1542 or Staatsbibliothek, SB 10450). In less expensive copies only the middle of the text is indicated in this way (Bibliothèque nationale, BNF Arabe 418 or Chester Beatty Library, CBL 1544). Qur'ān sets in thirty volumes are plentiful, ranging from the more modest to gorgeous ones, and can be found from the Maghrib to China. This evolution may possibly be connected to a wider practice of Qur'ān reading. Other elements point in the same direction: in Iran, and also in India, according to historical records, copyists used a minute script in order to fit each *juz'* to the space available on a double page; the reader wishing to read a section of the text each day, in order to complete the reading within one month, thus had the daily reading in a concise format (for instance Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, BSB Cod. arab. 1118; see Fig. VIII). There are even instances of Qur'āns in the so-called *ghubār* script written on two pages, each being divided into fifteen areas corresponding to the *juz'* (see Sotheby's sale L00502, 10 October 2000, lot 26).

The *juz'* was evidently important in the religious customs, but also proved to be an extraordinary tool for the more efficient copying of the sacred text. Early in the twelfth/eighteenth century, Ottoman copyists apparently reached an optimal calibration of the Qur'ān and found a way of matching the *juz'* with the kind of quire they were commonly using, namely the classical ten folios quire. It followed from this that the subdivisions of the *juz'* matched a definite amount of folios. The clever use of the possibilities of extension or contraction of the Arabic script even resulted in every page finishing with a verse ending: hence the name *āyāt ber-kenār* for these Qur'āns written with fifteen lines to the page in a small format, on ca. 300 folios (that is, thirty quires of ten folios). It was perhaps a step towards a more efficient production process — to some extent reminiscent of similar moves in late medieval Europe, when the printing press was threatening the traditional book production. Illumination also became standardized to some extent, with a double opening page containing sūra 1 and the beginning of sūra 2, gilded frame for the text, floral markers for the *juz'*, and so forth. This presentation was highly successful, and modern printed editions still follow this model.

This development is certainly behind the further elaboration of the qur'ānic text. It was probably noticed at about the same time that the same words/groups of words

appeared in almost the same position on every opening. While keeping the text division previously described, some copyists succeeded in moving those words or groups so that they appeared on both pages of every opening on the same line and in a symmetrical position, highlighted in red ink. In the case of Q 26, whole verses were treated in this fashion. Attempts to trace this peculiar page layout back to specific milieus or to speculations on the qur'ānic text have so far been unsuccessful. Its diffusion was not restricted to the Ottoman empire (Türk Islâm Eserleri Müzesi, TIEM 469): it was also known in the Maghrib, where Ottoman influence was felt (National Library, NL 14.246, in Tunis).

Some manuscripts contain only selected parts of the Qur'ān. The excerpts are usually chosen because they may be recited during a prayer, but the choice is not always so simple to explain, as shown by a copy of Sūrat al-Fatḥ done in a highly sophisticated style (Topkapı Sarayı Museum, TKS R. 18, dated 909/1503). In the Ottoman empire, these small volumes were called *En'am,* since they usually begin with an extract from Q 6 (Sūrat al-An'ām), often following the Fātiḥa; the selection may vary but in many cases ends with the last sūras. Q 36 is also popular and is sometimes the first of the volume. In Iran and India, this sūra appears as the first in qur'ānic selections (followed by Q 48, 56, 67 and 78; see The Nasser D. Khalili Collection of Islamic Art Qur 280). Obviously, the choice was not restricted to these sūras, and a survey of this material would certainly give some insights into Muslim piety of later centuries — most of the manuscripts so far published seem to date from the tenth/sixteenth century or later.

Production and conservation

Matters of manuscript production are still largely ignored by scholars, as are the economic aspects. Is it lawful to sell or buy a Qur'ān? Is it permissible to copy the qur'ānic text for a fee? The debate about these issues arose at an early date and was quickly answered in the affirmative. Many anecdotes are told about the high prices commanded by copies written by famous calligraphers. But the cost of a more ordinary Qur'ān remains obscure, as does the importance of the diffusion of the qur'ānic manuscripts in the Islamic lands. For more recent times, a study of the archives and of what remains of the production may provide limited though very valuable answers, but it seems difficult to determine how much access the Muslims of the eleventh/seventeenth century, for instance, had to a copy of their sacred text. How much time was needed to copy a Qur'ān? Information found in the manuscripts themselves is scattered but could give more concrete data: according to the colophons of the *juz'* of an Egyptian Qur'ān dated 1175/1751, the copyist was writing a *juz'* in eight days (Bibliothèque nationale de France, BNF Arabe 515). Some Ottoman copyists indicate the number of Qur'āns they had so far transcribed.

The price of the manuscripts was high, and they were usually used over a long period of time. They were treated with reverence, and when they fell into decay special care had to be taken about their fate. Some scholars considered that the parchment or the paper could be reused for the preparation of the boards of a Qur'ān binding, while others insisted that the manuscript should be buried or burned. There are also instances of deposits, as in Qayrawān, Cairo or Damascus, which are close to the Jewish practice of the genizah.

Attempts have been made to relate the manuscripts to specific milieus (Whelan, Writing the word) or to correlate a change in the script with religious developments

(Tabbaa, The transformation), but the lack of comprehensive surveys of the material hampers such approaches. As a result, we still know too little about the role played by qur'ānic manuscripts within the Islamic world until a comparatively late period.

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Markets

Public places in which commercial transactions occur. The term *aswāq,* "markets," occurs in two places in the Qurʾān, but is used incidentally to indicate that the prophets were men who shared the same nature as those they were sent to teach: "What sort of a messenger is this who eats food and walks through the markets?" (Q 25:7); "And the messengers whom we sent before you all ate food and walked through the markets" (Q 25:20; see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD; FOOD AND DRINK; MESSENGER; IMPECCABILITY). The Qurʾān makes no reference to any particular market (see CITY; GEOGRAPHY; PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QURʾĀN). This is despite the fact that there were some very large markets in Arabia both during the pre-Islamic period and during the time of the revelation of the Qurʾān (see REVELATION AND INSPIRATION) and with which Muḥammad would have been very familiar. Aside from the famous market of ʿUkāẓ near Mecca (q.v.) and that of Medina (q.v.), there was the market of al-Ḥajar which was the biggest and richest oasis on the peninsula, that of al-Ḥīra, the capital of the Lakhmids and a vital caravan city between Persia and Arabia, and Dūmat al-Jandal, an oasis town on the direct route between Medina and Damascus and one of the principal markets of northern Arabia. The birthplace of the Qurʾān was initially Mecca and its second home was Medina, both prosperous commercial centers (but cf. P. Crone, *Meccan trade,* 133-48). That the Qurʾān was initially addressed to people who were engaged in commercial activities is clearly reflected in its ideas and language (see LANGUAGE OF THE QURʾĀN; LITERARY STRUCTURES OF THE QURʾĀN; OCCASIONS OF REVELATION). Only a few examples out of many will be given here.

The commercial language of the Qurʾān is not only used in illustrative metaphors but also to express fundamental points of doctrine (see METAPHOR; THEOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN). Thus, the last judgment (q.v.) is a reckoning or an accounting: "Then he that will be given his record *(kitāb)* in his right hand will say, 'Here, read my record' " (Q 69:19; see also Q 69:25); "Then he who is given his record in his right hand, soon will his account be taken by an easy reckoning" (*ḥisāb,* Q 84:7-8; see also Q 84:10 f.; see RECORD OF HUMAN ACTIONS; LEFT HAND AND RIGHT HAND). It is at this time that human actions will be weighed: "We shall set up scales of justice for the day of judgment" (Q 21:47; see WEIGHTS AND MEASURES; JUSTICE AND INJUSTICE); "Then he whose balance [of good deeds] will be found heavy, will be in a life of good pleasure and satisfaction" (*ʿīshatin rāḍiyatin,* Q 101:6-7; see also Q 7:8-9).

The Qurʾān often makes use of the concept of trade *(tijāra)*. Occasionally the meaning is prosaic: "Let there be among you traffic and trade *(tijāra)* by mutual goodwill" (Q 4:29). But more usually the meaning is metaphorical: "There are those who have bartered guidance for error (q.v.); but their trade is profitless" (Q 2:16); "Those who rehearse the book (q.v.) of God, establish regular prayer (q.v.; *al-ṣalāt*)

and send in charity (see ALMSGIVING) out of what we have provided for them, secretly and openly, hope for a trade that will never fail" (Q 35:29; see also Q 61:10). Similarly, the concepts of buying and selling are often used metaphorically, for example: "God has purchased from the believers their persons and their goods; for theirs in return is the garden (q.v.) of paradise" (q.v.; Q 9:111; see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF; FAITH; REWARD AND PUNISHMENT). Selling is used to express renouncing God's revelation: "Do not sell the covenant (q.v.) of God for a miserable price" (Q 16:95; see also Q 2:41; 3:77); "These are the people who buy the life (q.v.) of this world at the price of the hereafter" (Q 2:86; see ESCHATOLOGY); "Miserable is the price for which they have sold their souls" (Q 2:90; see also Q 2:175); "Those who purchase unbelief at the price of faith" (Q 3:177); "The signs (q.v.) of God have they sold for a miserable price" (Q 9:9).

In several places the Qurʾān stresses the need to give fair weight and measure: "My people, give just weight and measure" (Q 11:85); "Give weight with justice" (Q 55:9); "Woe to those that deal in fraud, those who when they have to receive by measure from people exact full measure, but when they have to give by measure or weigh for them, give less than is due" (Q 83:1-3; see also Q 6:152; 17:35).

Given Muḥammad's intimate concern with commercial affairs, it is perhaps not surprising that he is said to have been the first to appoint persons with jurisdiction over the markets (a post later to develop into that of the Islamic market inspector, the *muḥtasib*), who were to ensure the orderly and fair running of business transactions. He is reported to have employed Saʿīd b. Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣ as inspector of the market of Medina sometime after the conquest of Mecca (8/630; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istīʿāb,* ii, 621). Samrāʾ bint Nuhayk al-Asadiyya, a contemporary of the Prophet, is mentioned as frequenting the market of Medina, asking people to behave well there (ibid., iv, 183). It is likewise reported that Muḥammad enjoined ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib (q.v.) to "order good and forbid evil" (*al-amr bi-l-maʿrūf wa-l-nahī ʿan al-munkar;* Sergeant, A Zaidi manual, 11-2; see GOOD AND EVIL) — a qurʾānic injunction which eventually became synonymous with the *muḥtasib*'s duties — and that ʿAlī used to go round the markets every morning like a *muḥtasib,* ordering the merchants to give fair measure. See also SELLING AND BUYING.

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Marriage and Divorce

The social institution through which a man and a woman are joined in a social and legal dependence for the purpose of forming and maintaining a family (q.v.), and the regulated dissolution of such a union. Both marriage and divorce are legal issues extensively dealt with in the Qurʾān (see LAW AND THE QURʾĀN). Marriage

between a man and a woman is called *nikāḥ*. In most cases, the verb *nakaḥa,* "to marry," is used to denote men marrying women, but in one case, also women marrying men. Giving a woman away in marriage is *ankaḥa* when there is mention of a father or guardian (see GUARDIANSHIP), *zawwaja* when God is mentioned. The marriage partners are both called *zawj (*pl. *azwāj),* the husband also *baʿl (*pl. *buʿūla).* Divorce is called *ṭalāq;* the corresponding verb *ṭallaqa,* "to divorce," always occurs with men as the subject of the verb.

Marriage

Aims of marriage

(1) In the Qurʾān, marriage is, first of all, the favored institution for legitimate sexual intercourse between a man and woman (the secondary institution being concubinage; see CONCUBINES; SEX AND SEXUALITY). This is obvious from the different rules concerning marriage as well as behavior prescribed in dealing with the other sex (see SOCIAL INTERACTIONS), condemnation and punishment of illegal sexual intercourse (see ADULTERY AND FORNICATION) and the fact that even partnership between men and women in paradise (q.v.) is thought to have the form of marriage (e.g. Q 2:25; 44:54). Chastity (q.v.) is one of the cardinal virtues demanded of Muslims (see VIRTUES AND VICES, COMMANDING AND FORBIDDING). To marry is therefore desirable for every member of the community of believers, even for slaves (Q 24:32; see SLAVES AND SLAVERY). (2) Marriage is a means to strengthen the relationship between different individuals and groups of the community (see SOCIAL RELATIONS), and the prohibition of intermarriage is a means to prevent relationships between certain individuals and groups (Q 2:221; 4:24-5; 5:5; 24:3, 26; 60:10; see COMMUNITY AND SOCIETY IN THE QURʾĀN). (3) Marriage is seen as a necessary institution to secure the reproduction of the community and to guarantee the offspring an effective upbringing (Q 4:1; 7:189; 16:72; 17:24; see CHILDREN). (4) The marriage relationship is the most elementary form of society, the nucleus which is thought to guarantee for its individual members a harmonious life because of the physical and mental support which husband and wife give each other (Q 30:21). (5) Marriage serves as an institution to support or protect female members of the community who have lost the backing of their family, such as orphans (q.v.) and widows (Q 4:3, 127; see WIDOW; WOMEN AND THE QURʾĀN).

Marriage partners

There are rules concerning the choice of partners, largely formulated from the perspective of Muslim men (see PATRIARCHY; GENDER; FEMINISM AND THE QURʾĀN). Certain groups of people are forbidden (q.v.), others permitted, the criteria being religion, relationship, social status and moral behavior (see PROHIBITED DEGREES). Forbidden are: heathens (polytheists; Q 2:221; 60:10; see POLYTHEISM AND ATHEISM); close blood relatives (see BLOOD AND BLOOD CLOT; KINSHIP); the corresponding milk (q.v.) relatives (see FOSTERAGE); close in-laws; previous partners of ascendants or descendants; two sisters at the same time (Q 4:22, 23; see SISTER); and fornicators or adulterers (the latter may, however, intermarry or marry heathens; Q 24:3, 26). The fact that heathens (see IDOLATRY AND IDOLATERS; BELIEF AND UNBELIEF) and adulterers are prohibited as marriage partners for chaste Muslims carries the consequence that existing marriages must be terminated if one of the spouses falls into such a category (Q 60:10). Permitted are: Muslims, women of the People of the Book (q.v.), the parallel cousins from among the close relatives and slaves (even

for freemen and freewomen) provided they are chaste (Q 2:221; 4:24-5; 5:5; 24:32; 33:50).

Furthermore, the number of partners is mentioned in the Qurʾān: Men may marry up to four women at the same time, provided they think they are able to treat them equally (Q 4:3; for the syntactic problems of the verse cf. Motzki, Muḥṣanāt, 207-10). In view of the doubts which Q 4:129 expresses about an individual's ability to really meet this condition, some have argued that monogamy seems to be preferred to polygamy. Contrary to what Muslim commentaries claim (see EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL), polygamy does not seem to have been a prevalent social custom in pre-Islamic Mecca (q.v.) and Medina (q.v.; cf. Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* vii, 534 ad Q 4:3; Stern, *Marriage,* 62, 70; see PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QURʾĀN). Q 4:3's injunction to marry more than one woman at the same time appears to have been prompted by special historical circumstances in Medina: the unfair treatment of female wards by their guardians. The Prophet is granted special consideration concerning the number of wives he might take (see WIVES OF THE PROPHET): originally, there was no limit for him, but at a certain moment in his career in Medina, he was forbidden to marry again (Q 33:50, 52; see OCCASIONS OF REVELATION).

The contraction of marriage

The Qurʾān presupposes that a marriage is preceded by a marriage proposal, called *khiṭba* (Q 2:235), which the suitor has to make to the woman's guardian. The guardian of the woman draws up the marriage contract *(ʿuqdat al-nikāḥ)* on her behalf and must ensure that it is fulfilled (see CONTRACTS AND ALLIANCES; BREAKING TRUSTS AND CONTRACTS). He is, therefore, called "the one who has the marriage contract in his hand" (Q 2:237). Although mediated, the marriage is considered a legal agreement concluded between the man and the woman herself, called a *mīthāq ghalīẓ,* "firm bond," in Q 4:21. An important element of the marriage contract is the bridewealth (q.v.), which becomes the bride's property. In Muḥammad's time, the bridewealth was sometimes fixed at the betrothal, sometimes later (Q 2:236-7). The marriage is not definitely concluded until its consummation, through which all legal consequences become effective. A prerequisite of the consummation of marriage is that the partners have reached the marriageable age (Q 4:6), which most exegetes equate with the beginning of puberty (*ḥulum, ḥayāḍ;* cf. Motzki, Volwassen, 56-8).

The legal consequences of marriage

By the marriage contract, sexual intercourse between the partners becomes legitimate and both are entitled to inherit from each other (Q 4:12; for the shares, see INHERITANCE). Additionally, each marriage partner has certain obligations: The wife is obliged to grant her husband sexual intercourse whenever he wishes except during her menstruation (q.v.), the time of her obligatory fasting (q.v.) and during the pilgrimage (q.v.; *ḥajj,* Q 2:187, 197, 222-3), and she must accept her husband's authority (q.v.; Q 2:228; 4:34). The husband is liable to give to his wife the bridewealth due to her, which remains exclusively her own property (q.v.), and to provide clothes, food and lodging for her and their joint children (Q 2:233, 240; see MAINTENANCE AND UPKEEP). The financial gifts that the woman receives are the prime reason for her marital obligations mentioned above (Q 4:34; see also GIFT-GIVING).

A special feature or effect of marriage is that it makes a slave woman "chaste"

(muḥṣana), meaning that by a marriage to a Muslim (free or slave), sexual intercourse with others becomes prohibited for her (Q 4:25). Slaves are thus not necessarily considered to be chaste because they are deemed to be the property of their owners who can use them sexually, be it as concubines or by forcing them into prostitution (Q 24:33). Marriage curbs such power of the owner (see Motzki, Muḥṣanāt, 199-201).

A few early exegetes tried to find evidence in Q 4:24 for a form of marriage called *nikāḥ al-mutʿa,* "marriage of enjoyment," which differs considerably from the regular marriage described throughout the Qurʾān in that it is limited in time and legal consequences, and shows peculiarities which makes it appear close to prostitution (see TEMPORARY MARRIAGE). That such a type of marriage is meant in Q 4:24 is improbable, however, in view of the rules of marriage propagated by the Qurʾān as a whole (cf. Motzki, Muḥṣanāt, 201, 212; the subject is fully treated in Gribetz, *Strange bedfellows* and S. Haeri, *Law of desire*).

Divorce

Aims of divorce

According to the Qurʾān, divorce is a means by which the man purposely brings his marriage to an end — in contrast to the end of marriage by the death of one of the spouses. As described by the Qurʾān, marriage is intended to be long lasting and unbounded in time. This is suggested by labeling it a "firm bond" between a man and a woman and by the rules concerning divorce. The relation between the spouses should ideally be determined by love (q.v.) and understanding (*mawadda wa-raḥma,* Q 30:21; cf. 2:228) and important decisions concerning both should be made with mutual approval and consultation (Q 2:233). When this harmony does not develop, however, or fades away in the course of time, the Qurʾān allows or even advises spouses to bring the marriage to an end (Q 2:231), thus giving both individuals a chance for a new and perhaps happier relationship. This does not mean, however, that every tiny difference of opinion between the spouses should be solved by divorce. The Qurʾān admonishes the husband to treat his wife with equality, even if he does not love her (Q 4:19, 129); to forgive her when she had opposed him so that he had to discipline her (Q 4:34; see DISOBEDIENCE; FORGIVENESS; CHASTISEMENT AND PUNISHMENT; INSOLENCE AND OBSTINACY); and to try first to come to an agreement other than divorce (Q 4:129). If the spouses are not able to settle their dispute themselves, then the community is asked to intervene and to appoint two arbiters, one from each of the spouses' families, in order to mediate a reconciliation between the spouses (Q 4:35). There are, moreover, other measures to avert hasty divorces: First, there are two waiting periods of three months prescribed by the Qurʾān before the divorce is final (see WAITING PERIOD). These periods of physical separation between the spouses give the man the chance to rethink his decision and allow him to annul the divorce. Secondly, a man who, in a fit of anger, takes an oath not to have any sexual intercourse with his wife, is allowed a four-month period to break this oath which otherwise leads automatically to divorce (Q 2:226).

Types of divorce

In the Qurʾān, four types of divorce can be distinguished: two direct forms of divorce, *ṭalāq* and *ṭalāq* by *iftidāʾ,* and two procedures resulting in divorce, *īlāʾ (*or *ẓihār)* and *liʿān*.

(1) *Ṭalāq* is the declaration made by the husband to divorce his wife; it becomes

final only after his wife has completed three menstrual periods (or months), provided that the husband has not withdrawn his divorce in the meantime. He has the right to declare and withdraw a *ṭalāq* only twice. The wife does not have the right to divorce her husband in this fashion. The principal reason for this lack of equality is the bridewealth that the man would have given to his wife at marriage and that becomes her property. A divorce costs the man not only his wife but also the investment he has made to marry her. If the wife had the power to divorce, she would have power over his property, including herself. The husband may renounce his privilege by giving his wife the choice between divorce and continuation of marriage (Q 33:28; the Prophet is asked to do that), but he alone can declare her divorced. A definitive divorce has to be made public by declaring it before two witnesses (Q 65:2; see WITNESSING AND TESTIFYING). (2) The connection between bridewealth and divorce shows how it is possible for an unhappily married woman to receive a divorce from a husband who is not prepared to let her go generously: bargaining for it. The Qurʾān (Q 2:229) suggests this possibility through the term *iftadat,* "to ransom herself." (3) Q 2:226-7 and Q 58:2-4 deal with the case in which a man "swears his wife off," which means that he makes an oath (see OATHS) not to have sexual intercourse with her anymore. Such an oath is effective (although the *ẓihār* oath is disapproved of in the Qurʾān) and, if it is not broken in the course of the following four months, i.e. if the man does not resume conjugal intercourse, leads to divorce. (4) When a husband accuses his wife of adultery without being able to prove it by producing four witnesses, he must swear to the truth of his accusation four times and then call God's curse (q.v.) upon himself in case he is lying (see LIE). His wife escapes punishment by the same procedure if she swears that he is lying (Q 24:6-9). Since marriages between Muslims and adulterers are prohibited and the relationship between the spouses is irretrievably ruined by such an accusation, divorce seems to be the only logical consequence.

Legal consequences of divorce

Two sorts of consequences can be distinguished: those resulting from the declaration of divorce and those of the finalized divorce. If a menstruating woman is declared divorced after the consummation of the marriage, she must observe a waiting time *('idda)* of three menstrual periods. A woman who is not menstruating must wait for an interval of three (lunar) months. During this time she may not remarry. If the woman realizes during this interval that she is pregnant, she must inform her husband. For a pregnant woman the waiting time is prolonged until childbirth (Q 2:228; 33:49; 65:1, 4). During the waiting months, the woman has the right to stay in the house in which she is living and her husband must provide for her (Q 2:241; 65:1, 6).

After divorce has been finalized, the man cannot remarry his divorced wife until she has been married to another man (Q 2:230). The former husband has no further obligations towards the divorced woman, except if she has a baby. During the period of breast-feeding, which a mother is entitled to sustain until her child is two years old (see LACTATION), the former husband (or his heirs) must provide for the maintenance and clothes of the mother and child and pay her a wage for the breast-feeding (Q 2:233; 65:6). In the case of an unconsummated marriage, divorce obliges the man to compensate the

divorced woman (if the bridewealth was not yet fixed) or to pay her half of the bridewealth (Q 2:236-7).

Conclusion

The impact of the qurʾānic ideas and rules concerning marriage and divorce can only be understood by viewing them within the context of Arabian society during the sixth century C.E. Before Islam, Arabs (q.v.) married and divorced according to unwritten rules of customary law (for a sociological theory explaining the peculiarities of the Arab marriage system see Motzki, Dann machte, 613-8). These rules, however, were only elementary and could vary according to region or tribe. Whether they were observed depended on the authority of the individuals and groups involved. In such a system the powerless (see POWER AND IMPOTENCE) ran the risk of becoming losers; women (especially orphans and widows) and slaves were particularly vulnerable. The qurʾānic rules of marriage and divorce represented an important change in many respects. They provided a fixed set of norms for all Muslims, backed by divine authority and enforced by the community. Customary practices which were inconsistent with these norms were prohibited. In this manner, legal certainty was enhanced. Additionally, powerless individuals, such as women and slaves, were more effectively protected and their situation was improved by the qurʾānic rules and suggestions (see BOUNDARIES AND PRECEPTS). The fact that the bridewealth was given to the bride instead of to her male relatives, together with the possibility of intermarriage between Muslim slaves and (poor) free people, must even be considered revolutionary innovations in the Arab society of the time.

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Martyrs

Those who die (generally at the hands of others) for their faith. In a Sunnī Islamic context, martyrs are primarily those who fight unbelievers for the advancement of Islam, and sacrifice their lives for this (see FIGHTING; BELIEF AND UNBELIEF; SUICIDE). This represents a marked difference with the situation of the defensive martyrs of early Christianity, who voluntarily suffered death as the consequence of witnessing to and refusing to renounce their religion. Christian martyrs were killed by hostile authorities in a period when their religion had no prospect of earthly success, whereas the early Sunnī martyrs fell in battle during generally successful military campaigns (see EXPEDITIONS AND BATTLES; WAR; POLITICS AND THE QURʾĀN). Shīʿī martyrdom has a coloring of its own (see SHĪʿISM AND THE QURʾĀN). It was shaped by the case of the martyr *par excellence,* Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī (see FAMILY OF THE PROPHET; ʿALĪ

B. ABĪ ṬĀLIB; FĀṬIMA), who was killed at Karbalāʾ in a heroic, but predictably doomed battle against fellow Muslims (61/680). For Shīʿites, as for Christians, it is the spiritual victory in the face of a worldy defeat that matters. Moreover, they often emphasize the redemptive character of Ḥusayn's martyrdom, whereas the intercession (q.v.) of Sunnī martyrs plays but a marginal role.

Shahīd

The common Arabic word for martyr is *shahīd,* pl. *shuhadāʾ,* a term that abounds in Islamic literatures from tradition literature onwards (see ḤADĪTH AND THE QURʾĀN). *Shahīd* occurs frequently in the Qurʾān, but at first glance means only "witness" (see WITNESSING AND TESTIFYING; WITNESS TO FAITH) or "confessor." Under the influence of early Christian usage, however, traditionists and exegetes (see EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL) occasionally did interpret the qurʾānic *shahīd* as "martyr." The Greek *martys* and Syriac *sāhdā* had similarly developed semantically from "witness" via "confessor, testifier to the faith" to "martyr" (Goldziher, *MS,* ii, 350-1; Wensinck, *Oriental doctrine,* 147, 155).

Q 3:140, "God may know who are the believers and choose *shuhadāʾ* from among you," is embedded in a war-context; it is therefore no wonder that al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923) and the authorities he quotes (*Tafsīr,* nos. 7912-16) speak exclusively of martyrdom. Other verses give far less reason for such readings. Yet, in Q 4:69, "Those who obey (see OBEDIENCE) God and the messenger (q.v.) will be with those whom God has favored, prophets (see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD), just men, *shuhadāʾ* and the righteous…," both al-Ṭabarī (*Tafsīr,* ed. Shākir, viii, 532) and Muqātil (d. 150/767; *Tafsīr,* iv, 243) interpret *shuhadāʾ* as those "killed in God's way" (see PATH OR WAY). In Q 57:19, "the pious and the *shuhadāʾ* in their lord's sight" are martyrs according to Muqātil (*Tafsīr,* iv, 243); al-Ṭabarī mentions "those who fell in battle or died in God's way" as one of the possible interpretations (*Tafsīr,* xxvii, 134). The comments on the *shahīd*-verses in early Sunnī exegetical works (sing. *tafsīr*) are generally meagre: the verses about those who were killed in battle generated much more exegesis.

The Qurʾān on those who fell in battle

Without using the term *shahīd,* the Qurʾān speaks in several Medinan sūras of those who fight for the cause of God ("in God's way," *fī sabīli llāhi;* see JIHĀD) and are killed. Whoever trades this life for the life to come concludes a profitable deal and is promised "a great reward" (Q 4:74; see ESCHATOLOGY; REWARD AND PUNISHMENT). God buys from the believers their lives and their wealth (q.v.) in return for paradise (q.v.; Q 9:111). "And were you to be killed or to die in the way of God, forgiveness (q.v.) and mercy (q.v.) from God are better than what they amass. And were you to die or to be killed, it is to God that you will be gathered" (Q 3:157-8). As a matter of fact, *all* Muslims will be gathered, but those killed in action are privileged. They are often believed to enter paradise directly after having been killed, by virtue of a verse like this one: 'Those who die in the way of God, he will not let their works be lost. He shall guide them and set their minds aright; and shall admit them into paradise, that he has made known to them" (Q 47:4-6; cf. 9:111). The martyrs are thus spared the torment in the grave, the "intermediate state" (see BARZAKH) and the last judgment (q.v.). They are not even dead (see DEATH AND THE DEAD): "And do not consider those who have been killed in the way of God as dead; they are alive with their lord, well-provided for" (Q 3:169; cf. 2:154).

Commentary and ḥadīth on those who fell in battle

In connection with the qurʾānic verses mentioned above, the state and whereabouts of the martyrs and their reward in the hereafter are discussed in the biographies of the Prophet (see SĪRA AND THE QURʾĀN), in commentaries on the Qurʾān (sing. *tafsīr,* see EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL) and in tradition literature. In the early *tafsīr* works, the material is distributed throughout the discussions of a number of qurʾānic verses rather randomly, and in ḥadīth collections it is also scattered over many different places. Here, therefore, a thematic arrangement seems more appropriate than a verse-by-verse treatment. Some large clusters of relevant ḥadīth and *tafsīr* are to be found in Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* ad Q 2:154 (ed. Shākir, iii, 214-9); ad Q 3:169 (ed. Shākir, vii, 384-95); ad Q 47:4-6 (ed. Shākir, xxvi, 26 f.), and in ʿAbd al-Razzāq (d. 211/827), *Muṣannaf,* v, 263-6, no. 9553-62.

Historical martyrs

"Those who are killed in God's way" are said to be those fighters who fell at Uḥud (Ibn Isḥāq, *Sīra,* 604, 605; Eng. trans. Ibn Isḥāq-Guillaume, 400; ʿAbd al-Razzāq, *Tafsīr,* ad Q 47:4-6, no. 2873; Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* nos. 7913, 8205, 8214-15), or at Badr (q.v.; Muqātil, *Tafsīr,* ad Q 2:154, 47:4-6).

Among the Muslims fallen at Uḥud was the father of Jābir b. ʿAbdallāh. Muḥammad said to Jābir: "I will give you good news, Jābir. God has restored life *(aḥyāhu)* to your father who was killed at Uḥud…" (Ibn Isḥāq, *Sīra,* 605; Eng. trans. Ibn Isḥāq-Guillaume, 400; Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* no. 8214). The word *aḥyāhu* implies that he was brought back to life shortly after having been killed. ʿAbdallāh had asked the lord whether he could be sent back to the world to fight and be killed once more. In some traditions, this episode is presented as the "occasion for the revelation" (see OCCASIONS OF REVELATION) of Q 3:169 (Ibn Māja, *Sunan, muqaddima,* 13, 190; Tirmidhī, *Ṣaḥīḥ, tafsīr* ad Q 3, 18).

ʿAbdallāh was not the only person who wanted to go back to earth. According to the "birds-tradition" (see below) all martyrs so wish, and even the Prophet said he would like to be killed repeatedly in God's way (e.g. Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ, jihād,* 7; Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad,* ii, 231).

The prerogatives of martyrs

A prophetic tradition enumerates nine (or three, or six, or ten) prerogatives of a martyr. His sins (see SIN, MAJOR AND MINOR) will be forgiven with the first gush of blood (see BLOODSHED); he will be shown his abode in paradise; he will be dressed in the garment of belief; he will be married to the houris (q.v.); he will be protected against the torment of the grave; he will be safe from the great terror [i.e. the last judgment]; the crown of dignity, one ruby of which is better than this world, will be placed on his head (see METALS AND MINERALS); he will be married to seventy-two wives from among the houris; he will intercede for seventy of his relatives (Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad,* iv, 131, 200; ʿAbd al-Razzāq, *Muṣannaf,* 9559; Ibn Māja, *Sunan, jihād,* 16/2799; see KINSHIP).

The houris in paradise

During his ascension (q.v.), the Prophet saw in paradise an attractive "damsel with dark red lips." In response to his question, she told him that she was promised for Zayd b. Ḥāritha, his adoptive son (Ibn Isḥāq, *Sīra,* 270; Eng. trans. Ibn Isḥāq-Guillaume, 186). The text does not state that the woman was promised to Zayd because he was to be killed in battle, nor when he would obtain her. But in other texts the connection between martyrdom and the enjoyment of beautiful women in paradise is unmistakable. The above text

on the prerogatives of martyrs even mentions the houris twice. Another tradition promises only two women: "The blood of a martyr will hardly be dry on the earth, when his two spouses will already be rushing to meet him" (e.g. ʿAbd al-Razzāq, *Muṣannaf,* 9561; Ibn Māja, *Sunan, jihād,* 16/2798), but here it is clear that the martyrs will be united with them at the very moment of their death.

Do martyrs go to paradise immediately after death?

According to the last tradition, the martyrs are in paradise immediately after their death. Other texts support this belief. When the believers once admired a costly gown, the Prophet asked: "Do you admire this? By him in whose hand my life is, the napkins of Saʿd b. Muʿādh in paradise are better than this!" (Ibn Isḥāq, *Sīra,* 903; Eng. trans. Ibn Isḥāq-Guillaume, 608). Saʿd had died from a war injury and hence was a martyr, feasting in paradise.

More frequent, however, are comments that make a point of the martyrs abiding near paradise, but not *in* it. "They are with their lord, they are provided with the fruits of paradise and they feel its breeze, but they are not in it" (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* no. 2317). Or they are "by the Bāriq river, at the gate of paradise, in a round green tent, their provision from paradise coming out to them morning and evening" (Ibn Isḥāq, *Sīra,* 605; Eng. trans. Ibn Isḥāq-Guillaume, 400; Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* nos. 2323, 8210; Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad,* i, 266; van Ess, *TG,* iv, 525, Eklund, *Life,* 39). The only privilege of the martyrs, says al-Ṭabarī, is that in their "intermediate state" *(barzakh)* they will be provided with food from paradise, which will be given to no other believer before the resurrection (q.v.; Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* ed. Shākir, iii, 216).

Although the Qurʾān clearly speaks of paradise as the abode of those who fell, it does not say when they will arrive there. The exegetes may have sensed a theological difficulty: how were their blood-stained, mutilated bodies to be physically restored at the end of times, together with all other human beings, if they were in paradise already?

The frequently quoted "birds-tradition" (van Ess, *TG,* iv, 523-5; Eklund, *Life,* 16-20, 67-8) seems to aim at a compromise: the souls of the martyrs are close to God and may well visit paradise, but they do not stay there permanently before they are rejoined with their bodies. The text occurs in too many variations to cite all of them here; for this tradition, see the reference to the larger ḥadīth and *tafsīr* clusters above. In a simple form it runs as follows: "The souls of the martyrs are in the shape of white birds that feed on the fruits of paradise" (ʿAbd al-Razzāq, *Muṣannaf,* 9553). The souls (see SOUL) can be "in the shape of birds," or "like birds with God," "turned into green birds" or be just "birds." Or they are "in birds"; "in the bellies *(jawf)* of birds"; "in the crops *(ḥawṣala)* of green birds," etc. These birds eat *(taʾkulu)* or obtain necessary sustenance (*taʿlaqu,* Abd al-Razzāq, *Muṣannaf,* 9557) from the fruits of paradise, or forage *(tasraḥu)* wherever they want in paradise. But often they are said to "nestle in (golden) lamps that are hung *(muʿallaqa)* under the throne of God (q.v.)," and the throne is not in paradise. (*Muʿallaqa* may be inspired by the word *taʿlaqu* in an earlier version.) In many places (e.g. ʿAbd al-Razzāq, *Muṣannaf,* 9554), the lord appears and asks whether they desire anything else. Of course they do not, but, like Jābir's father, they would wish to go back into their bodies to fight and be killed again. This wish is refused, but in some versions the martyrs are comforted with the prom-

ise that their relatives on earth will be informed about their present state, which then results in the revelation of Q 3:169-70. In two versions of the "birds-tradition," they live in paradise after all "… in the shape of green birds in paradise" (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* no. 2322); and: "the souls of the martyrs are in round white tents in paradise, in each of which are two spouses" (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* no. 2324; see MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE; TENTS AND TENT PEGS). Or they get to know each other in white birds that eat from the fruits of paradise; their dwellings are near the 'lote-tree of the boundary' (*sidrat al-muntahā,* cf. Q 53:14; see AGRICULTURE AND VEGETATION; TREES), wherever that may be (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* nos. 2319, 8215).

Other traditions on martyrdom

Certain ḥadīth explain how martyrs should be buried, or what should be done about their debts (q.v.); but this is not the place to discuss such details which bear no relation to the Qurʾān (see Wensinck, *Handbook,* 146-8; Kohlberg, *Shahīd*).

In Sunnī Islam, martyrdom is connected with jihād. Since, after the expansionist first century of Islam, gradually, fewer and fewer battles against unbelievers were fought, there was less chance to take part in war, and hence to be killed in action. Therefore, and also to enable as many believers as possible to share in the blessing of martyrdom, the term *shahīd* was given a wider interpretation and was understood to encompass every sacrifice (q.v.) for God's cause, or any difficult act of whatever nature (see TRIAL). According to prophetic traditions, one could become a martyr by dying abroad, in an epidemic, in childbirth, by pleurisy or by drowning (q.v.), or by being killed in defence of one's family or one's property (q.v.; Kohlberg, *Shahīd*). And, last but not least, "the ink of the scholars is of more value than the blood of the martyrs" (Goldziher, *ms,* ii, 390; see WRITING AND WRITING MATERIALS).

Martyrdom in later times

In times and places where jihād was militarily revived, the idea of martyrdom was reactivated as well. During the Ottoman conquests in Europe, and during rebellions against European colonial powers, Muslim soldiers who fell in battle could rightly be called martyrs (see REBELLION). In writings about jihād, there was not always an interest in martyrdom. Ibn Taymiyya (661-728/1263-1328), for instance, a major source of inspiration for Islamists in our days, eagerly expands on jihād, but hardly ever refers to martyrdom.

The twentieth century saw the rise of militant Islamist groups, to whose concept of jihād the writings of Ibn Taymiyya contributed greatly (see EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: EARLY MODERN AND CONTEMPORARY). Perhaps the first modern Sunnī Muslim who explicitly preached martyrdom was the Egyptian Ḥasan al-Bannā (1906-49), the founder of the Muslim Brothers. In his *On jihād* he quotes the relevant qurʾānic verses and a host of traditions that extol the blessings of martyrdom, and ends his treatise with a sturdy, rhetorically impressive plea for it. Since he was murdered by the secret police, his followers had no difficulty in recognising him as a martyr. Martyrdom recurred as a topic in the publications of the Brothers, and the many who were executed by the Nasser regime in the fifties and sixties became martyrs themselves. Another famous Islamist martyr, who has had an enormous impact in militant circles, was the Egyptian Sayyid Quṭb. After years in prison, he was hanged in 1966. In his often reprinted Qurʾān commentary *Fī ẓilāl al-Qurʾān* he quotes the familiar traditions in reference

to Q 2:154, but adds an almost lyrical passage on martyrdom (Quṭb, *Ẓilāl,* i, 199-202; cf. ibid., iv, 314).

Modern Iran

In traditional Shīʿism, there was no clear connection between jihād and martyrdom. Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī (d. 61/680) was venerated for his ostentatious suffering rather than for his military prowess. Since the last Shīʿī imām (q.v.) was believed to be 'hidden,' there was no one who could lawfully proclaim a religious war. From the 1960s onwards a new, activist and reformist type of jihād was propagated, combined with a tendency towards active martyrdom. Leading figures in this movement were the sociology professor ʿAlī Sharīʿatī, and the Ayatollahs Ṭāleqānī and Muṭahharī (Abedi and Legenhausen, *Jihād*). After the Islamic revolution in 1979, the fresh ideological fervor was stained by the bloody reality. During the war with Iraq in the 1980s, masses of soldiers and child-soldiers were encouraged to seek martyrdom as cannon fodder and in mine fields, the "key of paradise" hanging around their necks.

Lebanon and Palestine

From 1982 on, the Shīʿī, Iranian-guided faction Ḥizballāh (lit. "party of God") organized suicide squads in Lebanon against Israel and the United States, motivated by the certainty that they would die as martyrs. Present-day individual suicide bombers in Palestine are the spiritual heirs of the Muslim Brothers, but are also influenced by a centuries-old popular tradition of glorifying death on the battlefield (Jarrar, Martyrdom). Although Sunnī legal scholars do not agree on how far one can go in *seeking* martyrdom, suicides invariably have been motivated by qurʾānic verses and traditions, prophetic as well as non-prophetic *(akhbār),* on the immediate reward for martyrs in paradise, with an emphasis on the heavenly brides. Traditions on martyrdom that slumbered for centuries have turned out to inspire modern militants, who only thirty years ago would still have fought under secular banners (see also OPPRESSION; OPPRESSED ON EARTH, THE).

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Mārūt

see HĀRŪT AND MĀRŪT

Marvels

Amazing, incredible matters and events. Besides the specific contents of qurʾānic verses employing the root *ʿ-j-b,* the *ʿajāʾib al-Qurʾān* ("marvels of the Qurʾān") came to refer to a vast genre of literature comprising travels (see JOURNEY; TRIPS AND VOYAGES), cosmography (see COSMOLOGY), biology (see BIOLOGY AS THE CREATION AND STAGES OF LIFE; SCIENCE AND THE QURʾĀN), and the supernatural (see MAGIC). Eight of the sixteen qurʾānic instances of this root in which it has this sense, are verbs (e.g. "Do you wonder?") and refer to surprise at God's actions; the rest are nouns, adjectives and adverbs. The words occur in some of the most influential passages of the Qurʾān: many announce God's sending of a warner (q.v.; e.g. Q 38:4); two concern Abraham (q.v.) and Sarah's reaction to the news of a new child (Q 11:72, 73; see GOOD NEWS); one refers to the Sleepers in the Cave (Q 18:9; see MEN OF THE CAVE); and another to Moses (q.v.), Khiḍr (see KHAḌIR/KHIḌR) and a fish (Q 18:63). But the *ʿajāʾib al-Qurʾān* do not refer to these narratives (q.v.) specifically; instead this genre came to signify God's creation (q.v.) and power (see POWER AND IMPOTENCE) as mentioned in the Qurʾān (see NATURE AS SIGNS), such as stars, planets (see PLANETS AND STARS), animals (see ANIMAL LIFE), seas, plants (see AGRICULTURE AND VEGETATION), rain, thunder, seasons (q.v.), eclipses, geography (q.v.), the human body, and so forth. All of creation, its entities and processes, was viewed as part of the 'signs' (q.v.) of God, demonstrating his existence, majesty and order for the world. Since the Qurʾān frequently calls upon the believers to pay attention to the signs, studying the features of creation, the marvels of the world, became one form of worship of and reverence for God.

Three of the most famous works of this genre are *ʿAjāʾib ʿulūm al-Qurʾān* ("The wonders of the sciences of the Qurʾān") by Ibn al-Jawzī (d. 597/1200), *Nukhbat al-dahr fī ʿajāʾib al-barr wa-l-baḥr* ("A cosmography of the wonders of the land and the sea") by Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Abī Ṭālib al-Dimashqī (d. 727/1327) and *ʿAjāʾib al-makhlūkāt* ("The wonders of creation") by Zakariyyā b. Muḥammad al-Qazwīnī (d. 682/1283). Al-Qazwīnī distinguishes between *ʿajīb* (marvel, wonder) and *gharīb* (strange), in that the former impairs the human being in his ability to understand the cause of anything, especially the familiar (such as the sun [q.v.] rising), while *gharīb* consists of unusual things (such as earthquakes). Thus, by contemplating even the everyday occurrences of life — the growing of plants, the digestion of food, the flowing of the tides — the believer marvels at the real, has a sense of wonder and amazement, and is thereby led to an awareness of the transcendence of God. Contemplation of the unusual or strange occurrences which rupture the normal pattern of events *(naqḍ al-ʿādati)* can serve to enhance this sense of wonder at the

creator's power even further. In an iterative fashion, recording such extra-qurʾānic marvels turned the believer's attention back to the unique and miraculous nature of the Qurʾān itself (see INIMITABILITY). Many writers, in order to expand their catalogues of wondrous things undertook great journeys (cf. e.g. the *Riḥla* of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa [d. 778/1377], entitled *Tuḥfat al-nazzār fī gharāʾib al-amṣār wa-ʿajāʾib al-asfār*).

The *ʿajāʾib al-Qurʾān* genre followed on an earlier group of writings known as *kutub al-ʿaẓama,* which aim at the glorification of God (q.v.; *taʿẓīm Allāh*) through the study of the world. The best known is *Kitāb al-ʿaẓama* of Abū al-Shaykh al-Anṣārī of Iṣfahānī (d. 369/979), considered the model for al-Ghazālī's (d. 505/1111) *Kitāb al-Tafakkur,* part of the latter's *Iḥyāʾ ʿulūm al-dīn*. Mention should also be made of the works entitled *Kitāb al-ʿAzama* by al-Muḥāsibī (d. 243/857; this work, however, has not survived intact; see van Ess, *Die Gedankenwelt,* 163-7 for a Ger. trans. of a segment that has survived), by al-Sijistānī, and Burhān al-Dīn Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad al-Ḥalabī al-Dimashqī (d. 956/1549).

See MIRACLES for discussion of the qurʾānic accounts of supernatural interventions in human affairs.

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Marwa

see ṢAFĀ AND MARWA

Mary

Mary (Ar. Maryam) the mother of Jesus (q.v.; ʿĪsā) is the most prominent female figure in the Qurʾān and the only one identified by name (see WOMEN AND THE QURʾĀN). Her story is related in three Meccan sūras (19, 21, 23) and four Medinan sūras (3, 4, 5, 66; see CHRONOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN), and the nineteenth sūra, Sūrat Maryam, is named for her. Overall, there are seventy verses that refer to her and she is named specifically in thirty-four of these (Smith and Haddad, Virgin Mary, 162). According to the qurʾānic accounts, signs of divine favor surrounded her from birth. As a young woman, she received the angels' (see ANGEL) message that God had chosen her and purified her, chosen her above the women of the worlds, followed by their annunciation of a child born from God's spirit (q.v.), a word from God (see WORD OF GOD) cast into Mary, whose name was Jesus son of Mary, the "anointed one" or Messiah, one of God's righteous prophets (see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD). The qurʾānic revelation celebrates Mary as an example for the believers because of her chastity (q.v.), obedience (q.v.) and faith (q.v.); it also affirms God's oneness by emphasizing the created nature of Mary and of her son Jesus (see GOD AND HIS ATTRIBUTES; CREATION).

Mary, Zechariah, Jesus, and John

In sūras 3, 19 and 21, Mary's story is intertwined with that of her guardian, the prophet Zechariah (q.v.; Zakariyyā). In sūras 19 and 21, the accounts of Zechariah's prayer for a child in old age and the glad tidings of the birth of John (Yaḥyā; Q 19:2-15; 21:89-90; see JOHN THE BAPTIST; GOOD NEWS) directly precede the passages on Mary's sinless conception of the prophet Jesus (Q 19:16-35; 21:91; see SEX AND SEXUALITY). In sūra 3, however, Zechariah's story (Q 3:38-41) is inserted between the verses on Mary's birth and childhood (Q 3:33-7) and the angels' message to Mary of God's special grace (q.v.) upon her, followed by their annunciation of the birth and prophethood of Jesus (Q 3:42-51). The angels' words announcing the birth of John to Zechariah (Q 3:39) are almost identical with those on the birth of Jesus to Mary (Q 3:45); and Zechariah's (Q 3:40) and Mary's (Q 3:47) questioning of the message, and the divine, or angelic, affirmation of God's omnipotence to Zechariah (Q 3:40) and Mary (Q 3:47) also bear strong similarities. Furthermore, the wording of God's praise and blessing on John (Q 19:12-5) is almost identical with Jesus' words of blessing about himself, spoken in the cradle (Q 19:30-3; see FORM AND STRUCTURE OF THE QUR'ĀN).

This close association between the figures of Zechariah and Mary on the one hand and those of John and Jesus on the other establishes a special place for Mary in the qur'ānic context of prophetic history. Some medieval Muslim theologians (see THEOLOGY AND THE QUR'ĀN) — especially of the short-lived Ẓāhirī school, such as Ibn Ḥazm of Cordoba (d. 456/1064) — even assigned the rank of "prophethood" *(nubuwwa),* as opposed to "messengerhood," (*risāla,* see MESSENGER) to Mary and also the mothers of Isaac (q.v.) and Moses (q.v.) and the wife of Pharaoh (q.v.). They justified this classification on the grounds that these women received knowledge (see KNOWLEDGE AND LEARNING) from God through word or inspiration (Ibn Ḥazm, *Milal,* 119-21; see REVELATION AND INSPIRATION). Consensus-based Sunnī theology, however, strongly rejected this position as a heretical innovation (q.v.; *bidʿa,* see also HERESY).

Mary's birth and service in the temple

The story of Mary's birth, early life in the temple, and divinely-decreed superior rank is related in sūra 3, revealed in Medina (q.v.). The qur'ānic verses affirm that Mary's special status began even before she was born. God privileged Adam (see ADAM AND EVE), Noah (q.v.), the family of Abraham (q.v.) and the family of ʿImrān (q.v.) with special status (Q 3:33). Before giving birth to Mary, her mother, the wife of ʿImrān, consecrated her unborn child to God's service (assuming that she was carrying a boy). Seeing that the baby was a girl, and knowing that service in the temple was a male prerogative, she was bewildered, since God had accepted the offering even though the child was female (see GENDER).

ʿImrān's wife named her daughter Mary and invoked God's protection (q.v.) upon her and her offspring against Satan (Q 3:35-6; see DEVIL). God accepted Mary graciously and made her grow up in a goodly manner, placing her in the charge of Zechariah (Q 3:37). Whenever Zechariah would enter upon her in her prayer room, he found miraculous sustenance with which God had provided her (Q 3:37). According to authenticated tradition, it was because of her mother's prayer for God's protection that both Mary and her son Jesus escaped "the pricking of the devil" at birth, which happens to all other human beings and is the reason why babies

cry when they are born (Ibn Kathīr, *Qiṣaṣ,* ii, 370-1, 461).

The exegetical literature (*tafsīr,* see EXEGESIS OF THE QUR'ĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL) and the genre of literature known as "tales of the prophets" *(qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā')* further relate that Mary grew up in the temple where she worshiped day and night until her unequalled piety (q.v.) and righteousness became known among the Israelites (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* vi, 402-3; see CHILDREN OF ISRAEL; JEWS AND JUDAISM). She lived in the *miḥrāb,* a secluded cell or upstairs chamber; the door to this chamber was always locked and only Zechariah had the key. He would lock her into the room but, as noted above, whenever he visited her, he found wondrous provisions: winter fruit during summer time and summer fruit during winter time (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* vi, 353-8; Kisā'ī, *Qiṣaṣ,* 328; Ibn Kathīr, *Qiṣaṣ,* ii, 373, 385; Baljon, *Koran interpretations,* 22, 65-6). Among the people who served with Mary in the temple, mention is made of Joseph, a carpenter, who is sometimes identified as Joseph son of Jacob and/or Mary's cousin on her mother's side (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* xvi, 49-50; Rāzī, *Tafsīr,* xxi, 202; Ibn Kathīr, *Qiṣaṣ,* 388, 390).

Mary's rank and purification

Following four verses that tell of the tidings to Zechariah of John's birth (Q 3:38-41), the relevant verses of sūra 3 further pursue the theme of God's special favor on Mary: (1) in the words of the angels, "God has chosen you and purified you and chosen you above the women of the worlds" (Q 3:42); (2) their exhortation to be "devoutly obedient toward your lord (q.v.), prostrate yourself, and bow down with those who bow down" (Q 3:43; see BOWING AND PROSTRATION); and (3) an indication that the right to her guardianship was settled by the casting of lots among quarrelling contestants (Q 3:44; see GAMBLING).

Exegesis has interpreted the "first choosing" in Q 3:42 (i.e. the first item in this tripartite divine message to Mary) as God's acceptance of Mary for his service, providing her in the temple with sustenance that freed her from all labor (see MANUAL LABOR) and granting her the ability to hear the angels' words. The "second choosing" (i.e. the third item in this divine message) is said to have consisted in God's gift of Jesus without a father, the child's words in Mary's defense from the cradle, the status of Mary and Jesus as a sign or miracle (q.v.; *āya,* see also SIGNS) for the world and God's guidance of Mary (Zamakhsharī, *Kashshāf,* i, 277; Rāzī, *Tafsīr,* viii, 45-6; Bayḍāwī, *Anwār,* i, 155).

On the question of Mary's rank above the women of the worlds, the exegetical debate is remarkable both for its intensity and the lack of consensus. At stake is Mary's ranking among the qur'ānic women figures but also, and perhaps more importantly, in relation to the elite women of Islam, especially the Prophet's wives Khadīja (q.v.) and ʿĀ'isha (see ʿĀ'ISHA BINT ABĪ BAKR) and his daughter Fāṭima (q.v.). The problem is addressed by questioning whether Mary's preeminence is absolute (over all other women and for all times) or relative (over the women of her own time). The larger number of traditions recorded in *tafsīr* and *qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā'* literature establish, on the authority of the Prophet (see ḤADĪTH AND THE QUR'ĀN), that Mary and Fāṭima, Khadīja and Āsya (the Pharaoh's wife) are the best women of the world and also the ruling females in heaven (see HEAVEN AND SKY; KINGS AND RULERS); traditions on ʿĀ'isha's inclusion in this group are fewer in number. While Āsya's and Mary's merit is established on the basis of Q 66:11-2, Khadīja's merit is seen in her great service to the Prophet's mission, and that of ʿĀ'isha in her status as Muḥammad's most beloved wife (see WIVES OF THE

PROPHET) and a prominent authority on his legacy after his death (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* vi, 393-400; Rāzī, *Tafsīr,* viii, 45-6; Ibn Kathīr, *Qiṣaṣ,* ii, 375-81; Rashīd Riḍā, *Manār,* iii, 300). According to some *qiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ* reports, Mary and Āsya, Khadīja and ʿĀʾisha share the privilege of being Muḥammad's wifely consorts in paradise (q.v.; Ibn Kathīr, *Qiṣaṣ,* ii, 375-83; see MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE).

This leaves the question of Mary's ranking in relation to the Prophet's daughter Fāṭima. In Muslim piety, especially Shīʿī piety (see SHĪʿISM AND THE QURʾĀN), the figures of Mary and Fāṭima are closely associated. Mary was one of four miraculous midwives who assisted Khadīja in Fāṭima's birth (McAuliffe, Chosen of all women, 26-7), Mary appeared to Fāṭima to console her during her last illness (Ayoub, *Redemptive suffering,* 50), both were visited by angels, and both received miraculous sustenance during childhood and the periods of isolation preceding the birth of their child, or children. Their association also involves attribution to both of a shared quality of purity (*ṭahāra,* see RITUAL PURITY), which meant freedom from menstruation (q.v.) and bleeding at childbirth (McAuliffe, Chosen of all women, 22-3; Ayoub, *Redemptive suffering,* 70-2, 75; see BIRTH; BIOLOGY AS THE CREATION AND STAGES OF LIFE), while their deepest tie lies in their joint image of mistress of sorrows (Ayoub, *Redemptive suffering,* 27, 30, 39, 48-50). Although according to the Qurʾān, Jesus was persecuted and rejected by his people but not slain, Shīʿī hagiography has recognized strong affinities between Jesus and Ḥusayn (Ayoub, *Redemptive suffering,* 35; see FAMILY OF THE PROPHET), as also between their holy mothers. In popular devotions (see FESTIVALS AND COMMEMORATIVE DAYS), Mary and Fāṭima, sacred figures of solace and hope (q.v.), are at times revered simultaneously (Smith and Haddad, Virgin Mary, 180-1). While some traditions — reported on the authority of the Prophet — award Mary and Fāṭima equal rank as the two reigning females in the celestial realm of the hereafter, most Shīʿī authorities rank Fāṭima above Mary; indeed, Fāṭima is sometimes referred to as *Maryam al-kubrā,* "Mary the Greater" (McAuliffe, Chosen of all women, 23-4, 26-7). In the Sunnī *tafsīr,* these notions are almost absent, while opinions are also largely divided on the exact meaning of Mary's purity *(ṭahāra)* or purification *(taṭhīr)*.

Most interpreters rely on those traditions which establish that, in the physical sense, Mary was a woman like all others. She is said to have begun menstruating during the time of her service in the temple, from which Zechariah removed her to his wife's care until she had regained physical purity, and to have been ten, or thirteen, or fifteen years old at the time of the angelic annunciation of the birth of Jesus, by which time she had completed two menstrual cycles (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* xvi, 45-6; Zamakhsharī, *Kashshāf,* iii, 7-8; Rāzī, *Tafsīr,* xxi, 196-201; Bayḍāwī, *Anwār,* i, 578-9; Kisāʾī, *Qiṣaṣ,* 328; Ibn Kathīr, *Qiṣaṣ,* ii, 385, 457). Traditions on the forty days of isolation that Mary is said to have observed after the delivery of her child "until she was healed of childbirth" further indicate to many interpreters that Jesus' birth was in its physical symptoms an ordinary event (Zamakhsharī, *Kashshāf,* iii, 11; Ibn Kathīr, *Qiṣaṣ,* ii, 393). Conversely, some interpreters have recorded traditions and/or their own scholarly opinions that Mary's purity included chastity as well as freedom from bleeding (Rāzī, *Tafsīr,* viii, 46; Bayḍāwī, *Anwār,* i, 155). According to the modernist Muḥammad ʿAbduh (d. 1905), it was this quality of purification that enabled Mary to serve in the temple while Fāṭima's equally miraculous freedom from the defilement of

menstruation was the cause of her honorific title *al-zahrāʾ,* "the radiant, luminous" (Rashīd Riḍā, *Manār,* iii, 300). In classical as well as modern sources, however, such readings have remained marginal to the consensus-based doctrine that Mary's purity was "ethical," meaning that it concerned her character and soul (see ETHICS AND THE QURʾĀN). While physically a woman like all others, she was free of all lowly character traits and exempted from all sin (see SIN, MAJOR AND MINOR). Sunnī exegesis thus came to define Mary's purity in terms of *ʿiṣma,* "sinlessness," the quality that Islamic dogma ascribes to God's prophets (see IMPECCABILITY). Nevertheless, to the scholars who interpreted her story, Mary's status remained *sui generis* because of the equally consensus-based Islamic doctrine that her physical nature was that of an ordinary woman (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* vi, 400; Zamakhsharī, *Kashshāf,* i, 277; Rāzī, *Tafsīr,* viii, 46; Bayḍāwī, *Anwār,* i, 155; Ibn Kathīr, *Qiṣaṣ,* ii, 374; Rashīd Riḍā, *Manār,* iii, 300). In the medieval sources, some prominence was awarded to the link between Mary's purity and her mother's prayer to God to protect her daughter and her daughter's offspring against Satan (Q 3:36; cf. Ibn Kathīr, *Qiṣaṣ,* ii, 370-1, 461). A few modernist qurʾānic interpreters have questioned whether Mary's holiness, quite apart from all considerations of her physical purity, would not qualify her for inclusion among men in the full sense of their status in Islamic doctrine, liturgy and law (Smith and Haddad, Virgin Mary, 173, 179; see FEMINISM AND THE QURʾĀN; EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: EARLY MODERN AND CONTEMPORARY).

Concerning the matter of Jesus' conception without a human father, consensus among classical and modern scripturalist scholars has consistently maintained that Mary was a virgin *(batūl)* when she conceived her child from God's spirit. While the term 'virgin' *(batūl)* does not appear in the Qurʾān, the devout often use it in reference to Mary. In Sunnī and especially Shīʿī popular piety, the title is also applied to Fāṭima (Smith and Haddad, Virgin Mary, 179-80). Exegetical literature largely disregards the question of whether Mary's virginity prevailed after Jesus' birth. While Mary's purification "from the touch of men" implied perpetual virginity to some religious scholars (cf. Rāzī, *Tafsīr,* viii, 46), the matter was not fully discussed, and some modern interpreters appear to deny that Mary retained her virginity beyond Jesus' birth (cf. Bahī, *Sūrat Maryam,* 14). Even though, however, some nineteenth and twentieth century modernist Islamic scholars on the Indian subcontinent have rejected the notion of Mary's motherhood while a virgin (Baljon, *Koran interpretations,* 69-70; Parrinder, *Jesus,* 69 f.; Smith and Haddad, Virgin Mary, 175), mainstream Islamic consensus has upheld the tenet of the virgin birth of Jesus.

God's spirit (rūḥ) *and a word* (kalima) *from God: Mary and the birth of Jesus*

The earliest and longest account of the events surrounding the birth of Jesus is found in the sūra of Mary (Q 19:16-33), revealed in Mecca, which relates the annunciation, Jesus' birth, and Jesus' first words.

> Mary had withdrawn from her family to an eastern place and was in seclusion. And we sent our spirit *(rūḥ)* to her, and it took the shape of a well-proportioned human. She said: "I take refuge with the Compassionate from you. [Go away] if you fear God." He said: "I am only your lord's messenger, that I give you a pure boy." She said: "How could I have a boy when no human has touched me and I am not an unchaste woman?" He said: "Thus. Your lord says: It is easy for me, and so that we make him

a sign for the people and a mercy (q.v.) from us. It is a settled matter" (Q 19:17-21).

Mary conceived and retired to a remote place where the pains of childbirth drove her to the trunk of a palm tree (see DATE PALM). In her despair she cried out that she wished she had died before this and been forgotten, but then she heard a voice from below her instructing her to cease grieving, drink of the little brook that God had placed beneath her, eat of the fresh ripe dates of that tree, be joyful and abstain from speaking with anyone. When she then brought her baby to her people, they accused her of unchastity, but Jesus in the cradle announced himself to them as God's blessed prophet whom God had charged with prayer, almsgiving and filial piety toward his mother (Q 19:22-33).

In Q 21:91, also of the Meccan period, Mary is called "She who guarded her shame. Then we breathed (or blew) into her of our spirit *(rūḥ),* and we made her and her son a sign for the worlds," while in Q 23:50, also of the Meccan period, the son of Mary and his mother are likewise revealed to be a sign from God. The third passage about God's spirit in the context of Mary's motherhood is found in Q 66:11-2, dated to Medina, "And God has given an example to those who believe… [in] Mary the daughter of ʿImrān who protected her shame and we breathed (or blew) into it [or her] of our spirit *(rūḥ)*. And she testified to the truth of her lord's words and his books and was of the devoutly obedient." According to Q 19:17, 21:91, and 66:12, Mary thus conceived Jesus from God's spirit.

In Q 4:171, Jesus is identified as "God's messenger *(rasūlu llāh),* his word that he cast into Mary and a spirit from him." Jesus was supported with the holy spirit (q.v.; *rūḥ al-qudus,* Q 2:87, 253; 5:110). The casting of God's spirit into Mary recalls the gift of God's spirit to Adam shaped from clay (q.v.; Q 15:29; 32:9; 38:72) while Jesus' support by means of the holy spirit recalls the strengthening of those in whose hearts (see HEART) faith is firmly established "with a spirit from himself" (Q 58:22). The Qurʾān speaks of the trusted spirit as the agent of God's revelation (Q 26:193; cf. 16:102). The spirit is mentioned together with, but separate from, the angels (Q 70:4; 78:38; 97:4) and as a gift conveyed by the angels to God's chosen servants (Q 16:2). In its role as conveyor of revelation, the spirit is identified as Gabriel (q.v.; Jibrīl, Q 2:97). In Mary's story, the spirit is the life-creating force of, or from, God. Qurʾānic commentary, however, has consistently differentiated between "our spirit sent to Mary in the form of a well-proportioned man" (Q 19:17) and "our spirit [of] which we breathed into Mary" (Q 21:91; 66:12), identifying the former with the angel Gabriel and the latter with the life substance with which God (directly) awakened Adam to life from clay, just as it (directly) awakened Jesus to life in Mary's womb (Rāzī, *Tafsīr,* xxi, 196, 200-1; xxii, 218; xxx, 50; Ṭanṭāwī, *Tafsīr,* 26, 30; Quṭb, *Ẓilāl,* iv, 2306).

The classical interpreters established that Gabriel was a means, or instrument, of God's creative power, whence they linked his agency with God's breathing, or blowing, of his spirit into Mary by developing the theme of Gabriel's blowing at Mary's garment or person (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* xvi, 48; Zamakhsharī, *Kashshāf,* iii, 8; Rāzī, *Tafsīr,* xxi, 201; Bayḍāwī, *Anwār,* i, 578-9; Kisāʾī, *Qiṣaṣ,* 328; Ibn Kathīr, *Qiṣaṣ,* ii, 387-8). In contrast to the usual course of nature *(kharq al-ʿāda),* the divine breath caused Mary to conceive. While the physical aspect of how this occurred was of interest to some medieval rationalist exegetes like al-Rāzī (d. 606/1209; *Tafsīr,* viii, 50-2) and a few modernist interpreters like ʿAbduh and Rashīd Riḍā (d. 1935; *Manār,* iii, 308), most

classical and modern interpreters have reckoned the physical manner of Mary's conception from the spirit a divine mystery beyond human understanding and, therefore, not of human concern (Bahī, *Sūrat Maryam,* 14; Quṭb, *Ẓilāl,* i, 396-7; iv, 2307).

A second angelic annunciation scene to Mary is related in Q 3:45-51, revealed in Medina, where it is preceded by the accounts of Zechariah's guardianship of Mary and Mary's special blessings in the temple, presented above. In Q 3:45, the angels announce to Mary that "God gives you glad tidings of a word *(kalima)* from him whose name is the Messiah *(al-masīḥ)* Jesus son of Mary, highly regarded in this world and in the hereafter (see ESCHATOLOGY), and one of those brought close [to God]." Similar to her words to the divine spirit/God's messenger in Q 19:20, Mary then questions her lord, "How shall I have a son when no man has touched me?" He said: "Thus. God creates what he wills. When he has decreed a matter he only says to it: 'Be!' and it is" (Q 3:47; see COSMOLOGY). The angels' glad tidings to Mary of a word *(kalima)* from God who is her son (Q 3:45) is reiterated in Q 4:171 which speaks of Jesus as "the Messiah Jesus son of Mary, God's messenger and his word that he cast into (or bestowed upon) Mary, and a spirit from him."

Qurʾānic exegesis has recorded different interpretations of the meaning of God's word *(kalima)* in the context of Jesus as a word from God (Q 3:45) and Jesus as his (i.e. God's) word which he cast into, or bestowed upon Mary (Q 4:171). The richest formulation of this theological debate is found in the *Tafsīr* (viii, 49-50) of the medieval rationalist theologian Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, whose arguments were at least partially based on older sources such as al-Ṭabarī's (d. 310/923) *Tafsīr* (vi, 411) but were also reiterated, with little change, by the nineteenth century modernist rationalist school of Muḥammad ʿAbduh (Rashīd Riḍā, *Manār,* iii, 304-5). To these exegetical authorities, the meaning of God's *kalima,* "word," in the context of Mary's conception of Jesus is multifaceted and in large part metaphorical (see METAPHOR). It connotes God's creative power and his (verbal) act of the creation of Jesus. But *kalima* also indicates the gospel (q.v.), the essence of Jesus' prophetic mission; elsewhere, Jesus himself is figuratively referred to as "God's word" by way of defining his mission, which is to clarify God's message anew and cleanse the record of past revelations from distortion (see FORGERY). Finally, *kalima,* the word, is said to be God's message to Mary *about* the birth of Jesus. To most modern and contemporary religious experts, however, who show little interest in the whole scholastic rationalist tradition, the theological problematic of Jesus as a word from God (Q 3:45) or (God's) word bestowed upon Mary (Q 4:171) is not an urgent concern, and they place it in the category of the Qurʾān's obscure *(mutashābih)* teachings, "a matter above human understanding and, therefore, none of man's concern" (e.g. Quṭb, *Ẓilāl,* i, 397; see AMBIGUOUS; DIFFICULT PASSAGES).

Membership in the created order

Both major accounts on the manner in which Mary conceived and bore her son Jesus (Q 19, Meccan, and Q 3, Medinan, quoted above) end with the affirmation of Jesus' full humanity. Speaking in the cradle, Jesus announces that

> I am God's slave. He has given me the book (q.v.) and has made me a prophet. He has made me blessed wherever I be and has charged me with prayer (q.v.) and almsgiving (q.v.) as long as I live, and filial piety toward my mother. And he has not

made me tyrannical and villainous (see OPPRESSION; ARROGANCE). And peace be upon me the day I was born and the day I die and the day I am resurrected alive (see RESURRECTION). Such is Jesus the son of Mary — to say the truth which they doubt. It is not for God to acquire (or to take to himself) any child. Praised be he (see GLORIFICATION OF GOD; LAUDATION)! When he decides a matter he only says to it: 'Be!' and it is (Q 19:30-5).

Jesus' apostleship, his prophetic career, and the special blessings from God which are outlined in greater detail in Q 3:48-58, at the end of the angels' annunciation to Mary of the birth of her son (Q 3:45-47), also conclude with the affirmation of his creaturedom: "Jesus is before God like Adam. He created him from dust then said to him: 'Be!' and he is" (Q 3:59). In the verses of Q 4:171-2 and Q 5:17, 72-3, 75-6, and 116-7, revealed in Medina, special emphasis is placed on Mary's and Jesus' full humanity, including refutation that they should form part of a "trinity" (q.v.).

In their interpretations, Muslim exegetes assert that the affirmation of God's oneness is the central issue and purpose of all the verses on Mary. Mary, God's handmaiden, and her son Jesus, God's slave and prophet, are not "gods" (Q 5:17, 72, 75-6, 116). The refutation of the notion of "three" (trinity) of Q 4:171 and Q 5:73 is the divinely-revealed correction of a blasphemous Christian association (see CHRISTIANS AND CHRISTIANITY) of Mary "the female consort" and Jesus "the son" with God, in a "family setting." The qur'ānic refutation of this blasphemy (q.v.) corresponds with the rejection of equally blasphemous pagan Arabian allegations that the angels were God's "daughters" whom God begat with the jinn (q.v.; in interpretation of Q 37:149-59; cf. 43:19-20) or that pagan deities were God's "daughters" (53:19-23; see SOUTH ARABIA, RELIGION IN PRE-ISLAMIC; POLYTHEISM AND ATHEISM; SATANIC VERSES).

Mary and Eve

In clarifying the nature of Jesus as fully human, the Qur'ān repeatedly likens Jesus to Adam because both are God's creations whom God brought to life by his divine word and decree. Ḥadīth has expanded this equation into a human tetragram where Mary parallels Adam, and Jesus parallels Eve. Just as Eve was created from Adam without a woman, so was Jesus created from Mary without a man (Ibn Kathīr, *Qiṣaṣ,* ii, 387). The Qur'ān-based Muslim doctrine that Adam's and Eve's disobedience (q.v.) was but a "slip" or "error" (q.v.), repented and forgiven (by the divine gift of prophethood; see REPENTANCE AND PENANCE; FORGIVENESS), has, however, precluded any other linkage between Eve and Mary in this context. It is only in some esoteric Ṣūfī (see ṢŪFISM AND THE QUR'ĀN) sources that the tetragram of Adam, Eve, Mary, and Jesus, placed into the context of God's self-revelation, has been said to signify God's forgiveness for the sin of Eve through Mary (Smith and Haddad, Virgin Mary, 182-3).

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Maryam see MARY

Massacre see MURDER

Master see LORD; SCHOLAR

Material Culture and the Qurʾān

In view of the all-encompassing significance of the Qurʾān in the faith (q.v.) of the Muslim community it is to be expected that its influence would be manifested in many spheres of life (see EVERYDAY LIFE, QURʾĀN IN). The holy book has had an impact not only through its cultic role but also as a venerated object and through its importance to other cultural practices. The Qurʾān's effect on material culture is an extension of the various functions it plays in devotional life and although some of these must have been prominent since the establishment of the faith in the seventh century, other uses have evolved over time and continue to be modified by the community's geographical expansion as well as by the broader development of its religious and visual culture.

Although one might assume that the Qurʾān had its greatest impact on the way of life of the Muslim community in the centuries that immediately followed its promulgation, evidence in the form of surviving manuscripts (see CODICES OF THE QURʾĀN) and of qurʾānic citations on objects or architecture suggests that in fact the opposite is true — that the importance of the Qurʾān in both religious and material terms has grown more complex and elaborate over time and indeed continues to evolve today (see ART AND ARCHITECTURE AND THE QURʾĀN; ARCHAEOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN; EPIGRAPHY AND THE QURʾĀN). The reasons for its escalating importance are not always discernible but we hope that our exposition will spark further inquiry into this question. Despite the subject's obvious importance, the various ways in which the Qurʾān has affected the material culture of the broad expanse of the Muslim community has yet to receive sustained analytical consideration. The following essay should thus be considered a preliminary sketch on this topic rather than a definitive statement about it.

In order to provide an outline of the major phases and issues involved, this essay will have a general introduction followed by both chronological and thematic divisions. Its first phase will cover the period in which the evidence is the most fragmentary, from the rise of Islam in the seventh century C.E. until the fifth/eleventh century, and will concentrate on the regions of the new faith's birth and early expansion — the Middle East, north Africa and Spain. The second period, the twelfth through fifteenth centuries, witnessed an increasing impact of the Qurʾān on material culture as well as a broad extension of Islam into new regions. Because of its abundance and complexity, evidence from this and the succeeding period will be treated within geographical regions and according to dynastic divisions. Dynasties that straddle these broad periods will be discussed in the epoch of their greatest importance. The final section, devoted to developments from the sixteenth century to

the present, will again be treated regionally. Special attention will be given to areas not well represented in earlier periods such as east and southeast Asia and sub-Saharan Africa.

Despite the broad chronological and geographical scope of this topic, certain aspects of the Qurʾān's connection with material culture are encountered in most regions, although their relative prominence probably fluctuated over time. In every region and period special care was given to the manufacture, use and preservation of individual copies of the Qurʾān (see MUṢḤAF) — be they manuscripts in codex, scroll or single-sheet format (see MANUSCRIPTS OF THE QURʾĀN) or, more recently, printed copies (see PRINTING OF THE QURʾĀN). Scholars have debated when and where the text first assumed the form it retains today and the scripts with which it was copied have been classified and analyzed (see ARABIC SCRIPT; ORTHOGRAPHY). Little attention has been given, however, to the importance of sectarian, regional or dynastic views for determining the various ways that the Qurʾān's text has been transcribed over the centuries nor has adequate attention been given to the question of whether a particular copy's physical features reveal the use for which it was intended. Many of the practices connected with the manufacture or preservation of Qurʾān copies are believed by modern scholars to have had a wider effect in stimulating the development of the book arts. It has often been suggested that there was a transfer of techniques or styles ranging from calligraphy (q.v.) to illumination (see ORNAMENTATION AND ILLUMINATION) and binding from the Qurʾān to other kinds of books but the possibility that Qurʾān manuscripts borrowed features from elsewhere has been little investigated.

It has often been noted that portions of the Qurʾān's text appear on certain kinds of portable objects and are inscribed on many architectural monuments but rarely has such an observation led to any sustained consideration of the reasons behind this use. Studies have explored the significance of the inscriptions belonging to specific buildings and a broader compilation of such texts accompanied by indices and interpretative essays published by E. Dodd and S. Khairullah has suggested that qurʾānic citations on religious architecture fulfill the communicative and symbolic role played by images in some other faiths (see ICONOCLASM). They acknowledge, however, that it is often difficult to provide a consistent explanation for the popularity or use of a specific sūra or verse in architecture (see SŪRAS; VERSES). R. Hillenbrand's evaluation of their findings has likewise concluded that in the case of mosques the selection and application of qurʾānic citations was often "surprisingly undirected."

The use of the Qurʾān's text on objects has been even less studied than its role in architecture. The reasons why portions of its text appear on some types of objects and not on others have not been clearly elucidated. Each quotation is not of equal importance; over time some usages became formulaic and probably were almost mechanical. Nevertheless, even the repeated use of a given text on a particular type of object or in a specific architectural context is potentially indicative of a deeper connection which links the object or structure in question to a facet of the Qurʾān's text or to its significance for religious practice and daily life.

Another virtually universal role of the Qurʾān is as a source of comfort and support for the individual believer in this life as well as in the next (see ESCHATOLOGY), although the history and development of such practices is often difficult to establish. The appearance of citations from the Qurʾān on tombstones or other funerary

structures is often the earliest sign of the presence of Muslims in a given region. Its text is also inscribed on a range of objects that functioned as amulets (q.v.) or talismans (see POPULAR AND TALISMANIC USES OF THE QUR'ĀN) intended to bring succor to an individual believer in daily life (see TRUST AND PATIENCE).

The formative period: seventh to eleventh centuries (*first to fifth centuries* hijrī)

The importance of the Qur'ān for the Umayyad period: 41-132/661-750

Most of the extant early Qur'ān copies derive from caches of manuscript pages, detached bindings and related religious materials that were discovered during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries in several mosques, including the Great Mosque of Qayrawān in Tunisia, the mosque of ʿAmr in Cairo, the Umayyad mosque in Damascus and the Great Mosque of Ṣanʿā' in the Yemen. The overwhelming majority of such Qur'āns survive only in a very fragmentary state, indicating that these copies were probably discarded because they had sustained damage that made them unsuitable for further use. The rather disorderly manner in which these fragments were preserved also tends to underscore the conclusion that initially the recited Qur'ān was of greater liturgical significance than its written version (see ORALITY; ORALITY AND WRITING IN ARABIA; RECITATION OF THE QUR'ĀN). Despite their wide geographic distribution, few of these Qur'ān fragments retain any documentation about their date and place of copying. Examination of these pages by a succession of scholars including B. Moritz, N. Abbott, A. Grohmann and F. Déroche has established that they derive from various early Qur'ān manuscripts but no consensus has emerged about either the date or geographical origin of these fragments. The initial hope that some might date to the seventh century has been largely, but not entirely, abandoned in favor of dates ranging from the eighth to tenth centuries.

The traditional recollection of the Muslim community that the Qur'ān's text was compiled in the mid-seventh century during the caliphate of ʿUthmān (q.v.; 23-35/644-656; see also COLLECTION OF THE QUR'ĀN) cannot be confirmed through manuscript evidence, and claims that certain extant copies were written by him or even were splattered with his blood are probably legends. A study by E. Whelan has established that as early as the late seventh century the preparation of Qur'ān manuscripts was entrusted to specialists who were both skilled calligraphers and persons respected for their religious knowledge. Links can also be made between the manuscript tradition and early monumental epigraphy because both textual and visual evidence demonstrates that calligraphers trained to copy the Qur'ān were responsible for designing the mosaic inscriptions in monuments erected with the patronage of the Umayyad caliphs ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān (r. 64-86/684-705) and his son al-Walīd (r. 86-96/705-15).

The reign of ʿAbd al-Malik marks the moment when the Qur'ān's importance as a symbol of the power and legitimacy of the new Muslim polity was made manifest not only to the Muslims themselves but also to their non-Muslim subjects and to their adversaries, the Byzantines (q.v.). The reforms that ʿAbd al-Malik instituted — whereby Arabic became the primary language of administration and governance (see ARABIC LANGUAGE) — also gave citations from the Qur'ān a new level of public prominence. This transition, which reached its climax in 77/696-7 with the minting of new epigraphic gold coins, probably began five years earlier in 72/691-2 (see MONEY). During these five

years the Qurʾān was used alongside texts or designs of Byzantine origin in various contexts. One of the first places in which the Qurʾān made its appearance is on the papyrus rolls produced in Egypt by the state-controlled factory. By 74/693-4 or 75/694-5, Arabic appeared alongside Greek in the *protokollon,* a text written on the first sheet in a papyrus roll. Both the Arabic text and its Greek translation consisted of phrases from different parts of the Qurʾān fused into a continuum. Usually the protocol text included phrases from Q 3:173; 6:163; 9:33, 61; 47:19; 61:1, 9 and most of Q 112. A key example of this transition between Byzantine traditions and the new Umayyad approach is the undated double-sided lead seal of ʿAbd al-Malik preserved in the Topkapı Sarayı, Istanbul and published by I. Artuk in 1952. In shape, structure and design it is modeled on the lead seals that Byzantine authorities affixed to important documents or various kinds of goods. In this case, the seal's obverse bears cartouches inscribed with the caliph's name and his titles (in Arabic) flanking a large letter "A" that, in turn, is framed by a pair of long-necked birds. The obverse's outer border bears short phrases reiterating key beliefs of the Muslim community from Q 6:163; 39:45; 48:29; and Q 49:19, a selection of texts similar to those used on ʿAbd al-Malik's reform coins (see NUMISMATICS) and his bilingual papyrus protocols. The border of the reverse carries a grapevine and its center combines a pair of lions with the name *Filasṭīn* (Palestine) in Arabic.

Qurʾānic phrases also appear on the gold dinars struck in Damascus and other cities after ʿAbd al-Malik's monetary reform in 77/696-7, and on silver dirhams struck from 79/698-9 onward (for an example of such coinage, see Fig. 1 of EPIGRAPHY). The caliph's use of the Qurʾān on coins elevated coinage to a position as signifier of sovereignty (q.v.) among Muslim rulers and led later dynasties to employ its text as a source for inscriptions appropriate to their own position and ambitions (see POLITICS AND THE QURʾĀN). Both the obverse and reverse of ʿAbd al-Malik's reformed coins have texts at their center and around their perimeter. The central text of the obverse consists of the three distinct citations that create the profession of the faith (Q 6:163; 39:45; 47:19; see WITNESS TO FAITH) and these texts overlap so that the last word of the first phrase also functions as the first word of the second phrase: "There is no God but *God; God* alone." The marginal text, composed of phrases from Q 48:29 and 9:33, establishes Muḥammad's prophetic mission. The central text of the coin's reverse carries Q 112:1-3 and reiterates a belief in God's unity, eternity (q.v.) and absolute singularity (see GOD AND HIS ATTRIBUTES; POLYTHEISM AND ATHEISM).

Monumental architecture

Extensive citation of qurʾānic passages on architectural monuments, one of the characteristics of structures built for Muslim patrons in many regions and periods, also begins with ʿAbd al-Malik. The earliest surviving example of this practice, the Dome of the Rock *(qubbat al-ṣakhrā)* in Jerusalem, bears a date (72/691-2) that probably documents the beginning of its construction. Those inscriptions with gold letters silhouetted against a dark blue ground were executed in glass mosaic or painted on embossed metal plaques. The outer face of the interior's octagonal ambulatory bears five distinct prayers each of which opens with qurʾānic citations affirming God's unity and eternity. Passages cited in one or more of these prayers include Q 6:112,163; 17:111; 39:45; 47:19; 57:2 or Q 64:1. The Prophet's role as divine messenger (q.v.) and intercessor (see INTERCESSION) is also reiterated using both Q 48:29

or Q 33:56 and extra-qurʾānic invocations. The mosaic inscriptions of the ambulatory's inner face augments these themes with praises of Jesus (q.v.), son of Mary (q.v.), and stresses his role as divine messenger, while also providing a refutation of Christian beliefs about the Trinity (q.v.; Q 4:171-2; 19:34-6; see CHRISTIANS AND CHRISTIANITY). Originally, inscribed metal plaques were probably situated at the building's four entrances but only two of them survive. The north door panel enunciates Muḥammad's missionary role and his links to earlier prophets (Q 2:136; 3:84 or Q 61:9; see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD), whereas the eastern one stresses God's omnipotence and eschatological themes (Q 2:255; 6:12, 101, 112; 3:26; 7:156).

The style of the script used in the Dome of the Rock's inscription and the presence therein of diacritical signs link it to scribal practices used in preparing manuscript copies of the Qurʾān; it is likely, therefore, that its designer or designers were among those who specialized in that exacting task. A qurʾānic scribe is mentioned as the designer of a mosaic inscription of the Great Mosque of Medina erected under the patronage of al-Walīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik between 88-91/706-10. This mosque's *qibla* (q.v.) wall was inscribed with Q 93 and Q 114, sūras that stress eschatological themes. Literary descriptions of the Medina mosque suggest that other sections of the Qurʾān, and possibly its entire text, were inscribed over its doors, around its courtyard and within the sanctuary. Qurʾānic inscriptions executed in mosaic were also included in the Great Mosque of Damascus, another important commission of al-Walīd.

Evidence from the Umayyad period demonstrates the wide influence of actions taken by members of that dynasty in defining the contexts in which qurʾānic citations would appear for several centuries. In order to have such a lasting impact, their actions must also have been in consonance with the preferences of their co-religionists. The fact that qurʾānic excerpts appearing on their papyrus protocols, personal seals, coins and monumental architecture are closely related variants reiterating the core tenets of Islam suggests that the Umayyad leaders' primary concern was to affirm and disseminate those beliefs.

Excursus on the importance of the Qurʾān for individual Muslims

During the second/eighth through fourth/tenth centuries brief excerpts from the Qurʾān also played a role in the more personal spheres of life and appear on seals, seal rings, amulets and tombstones. A third/ninth or fourth/tenth century amulet case inscribed with Q 112 was excavated in eastern Iran at Nīshāpūr. Tombstones from Egypt, Syria and north Africa believed to date from the eighth and ninth centuries are inscribed with a variety of short qurʾānic phrases. The earliest Syrian tombstones carry a variant of the profession of faith *(shahāda)* that combines the phrases from Q 6:163 and Q 47:19 that affirm God's absolute unity, phrases also contained in many papyrus protocols. A Tunisian tombstone of 270/883 contains Q 3:185, "Every soul shall taste of death," a text that became one of the standard citations on funerary monuments but Q 37:61, "For the like of this, let the workers work," popular in Egypt in the first Islamic centuries, is little used in later periods (see DEATH AND THE DEAD). A number of early tombstones from Egypt and Syria employ phrases that stress reliance on or trust in God such as *"ḥasbiya llāhu"* (Q 9:129; 39:38) or its close variant *"ḥasbunā llāhu"* (Q 3:173; 9:59). These phrases were also engraved on ring-stones where they may have had a talismanic function. A small lead dish attributed to the second/

eighth or third/ninth century in the Nasser D. Khalili Collection of Islamic Art (MTW 621) that may have served a medical-magical purpose is impressed with figures of birds and animals as well as the *basmala* (q.v.) and *ḥasbiya llāh* (Q 9:129; 39:38).

Use of the Qurʾān between 132/750 and 494/1100

During the first centuries of ʿAbbāsid rule from 132/750 to ca. 494/1100, links between the Qurʾān and broader aspects of culture appear to have intensified; trends begun under the Umayyads continued without interruption but new approaches were also formulated. One of the continuing practices is the striking of coins with qurʾānic citations and another is the custom of inscribing the Qurʾān on architecture. Monuments from this period suggest that the selections used for the latter purpose could convey very specific messages reflecting particular facets of the local religious landscape, as well as aspects of dynastic policy. Rulers whose subjects included significant numbers of Christians appear to have been particularly enthusiastic about developing special modes of honoring and displaying the Qurʾān. These features are present in monuments erected under the sponsorship of not only the ʿAbbāsids, but also of their rivals — the Umayyad rulers of Spain and the Fāṭimids of Egypt and Syria.

The ʿAbbāsids and the Qurʾān

Stress placed by the ʿAbbāsids on their kinship (q.v.) with the Prophet, a relationship that was a key factor in the establishment of their dynastic legitimacy (see KINGS AND RULERS; CALIPH; IMĀM), led them naturally to a close association with the Qurʾān. In addition to the inclusion of the Qurʾān on coins and in monumental architecture, practices initiated under the Umayyads and shared by most later Islamic dynasties, the early ʿAbbāsid period also laid the foundation for new approaches that would, in subsequent centuries, expand this book's roles in material culture. From the late third/ninth century onward the ʿAbbāsids included a Qurʾān associated with ʿUthmān himself in their court regalia; it was carried in processions and used in ceremonies. This practice probably stimulated other rulers to include Qurʾāns of unusual sanctity in their own religious and courtly rituals.

The debate over whether the Qurʾān was created or eternal (see CREATEDNESS OF THE QURʾĀN), which occupied religious scholars during the third/ninth through fourth/tenth centuries, was contemporary with important developments in calligraphy that made manuscripts of its text more legible. Baghdād appears to have been the locus of experiments whereby the Qurʾān was transcribed with cursive scripts previously used for a variety of secular needs, a practice traditionally linked with the names of calligraphers associated with the ʿAbbāsid court including Ibn Muqla (272-328/885-940), Ismāʿīl b. Ḥammād al-Jawharī (d. ca. 392/1002), and ʿAlī b. Hilāl al-Sitrī known as Ibn al-Bawwāb (d. ca. 413/1022). ʿAbbāsid support for the ʿUthmānic recension of the Qurʾān as revised by Ibn Mujāhid (d. 324/936) helped to promulgate more standardized versions of its contents and generally to increase the prestige of manuscript copies, even as the use of paper made such books more widely available. The earliest surviving Qurʾān manuscripts written on paper date to the mid fourth/tenth century and from that date onward some copies include charts that document the number of words, letters and diacritical signs in the Qurʾān's text. Certain specimens are believed to come from Iran but similar volumes, including copies in Dublin and Istanbul (Chester Beatty Library, CBL MS 1431; Türk Islâm

Eserleri Müzesi, TIEM 449) linked to Ibn al-Bawwāb, were probably produced in Iraq (the opening page of the Ibn al-Bawwāb Qurʾān in the Chester Beatty Library can be seen in Fig. II of BASMALA). A Qurʾān in the Khalili Collection (Qur 572) dated to 582/1186 appears to have been made for a scholar specializing in qurʾānic studies. It has not only the usual tabulation of the text's contents but also a full critical apparatus, including the ten canonical reading variants (*qirāʾa,* see READINGS OF THE QURʾĀN) and their transmitters as well as other particulars on the text's pronunciation during recitation.

Widespread acceptance of the views enunciated by religious scholars that the Qurʾān was the eternal speech (q.v.) of God (see also WORD OF GOD) had important consequences for the text's roles in many spheres of life, including material culture. From the second/eighth to the fourth/tenth centuries the Qurʾān was the focus of study by commentators who analyzed both its exoteric and esoteric significance (see EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL); practices that exploited the symbolic or magical power of the Qurʾān's text had a more profound impact on material culture than the more literal exoteric tradition (see ṢŪFISM AND THE QURʾĀN). The establishment of a finite and largely canonical text fostered new approaches that focused on the value of not only its constituent words but also on the mysterious letters (q.v.) placed at the beginning of many sūras. These and other key phrases or passages including the beautiful names of God *(al-asmāʾ al-ḥusnā)* were subjected to particular scrutiny.

Belief in the eternal nature of the Qurʾān also encouraged its use to safeguard persons and property through the development of a variety of magical-protective devices ranging from seals to rings, amulets and talismans, and these views were probably also instrumental in its citation on weapons, helmets, armor or other accoutrements of war (see INSTRUMENTS). Iraq had long been a center for the use of magical and protective rituals, but it was during the early ʿAbbāsid period that the Qurʾān appears to have usurped the role of other texts and materials in these procedures with the composition of treatises by the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Maʾmūn (r. 198-218/813-33) and by Jamāl al-Dīn Yūsuf al-Kindī (d. 256/870). One technique that gained popularity was the conversion of the Qurʾān's words, or even of its individual letters, into numbers that could, in turn, be used to create diagrams and formulas (see NUMEROLOGY). Among the Shīʿa (see SHĪʿISM AND THE QURʾĀN), knowledge about how to create amulets and talismans from qurʾānic extracts was attributed to the imāms and in particular to Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq (d. ca. 148/763). Although the intellectual foundations of these developments were laid in the early ʿAbbāsid period, most of the evidence about their implementation comes from later centuries.

The Umayyad rulers of Cordoba and the Qurʾān: 139-423/756-1031

The initial stages of the development of a distinctive approach to the copying and use of the Qurʾān in Spain probably coincided with the rule of the Umayyads at Cordoba, but the earliest surviving Qurʾān manuscript that can be firmly linked to this region dates to 382/1090. It is written on vellum in an angular script with rounded sub-linear components often described by modern authors as "Maghribī."

The Great Mosque of Cordoba, a structure erected in several phases between 169/785 and 483/1009, exemplifies the ways in which the rituals occurring in a religious structure could have a dynamic relationship with the qurʾānic texts inscribed upon it (see MOSQUE). Inscriptions

commemorating the mosque's renovation by al-Ḥakam in 354/956 include citations from the Qurʾān and are clustered around the *miḥrāb* and in the bays flanking it to the left and right. Those on the dome in front of the *miḥrāb* (Q 2:38; 31:22) urge the believer to be steadfast in his faith and those in the adjacent bay and on the walls of the *miḥrāb* chamber itself (Q 22:77-8) remind the worshiper of a Muslim's obligations to pray and give alms (see PRAYER; ALMSGIVING). Texts inscribed on the *miḥrāb*'s outer frame (Q 2:286; 3:8; 5:101-2) urge the believer to be steadfast in his faith and those in the adjacent bay (i.e. Q 7:43; 40:65), through which the caliph or imām entered the building, emphasize God's omnipotence, singularity and the absence of a consort or progeny. The latter comments were seemingly aimed at the Cordoban ruler's Christian subjects or competitors.

This theme is elaborated upon in texts inscribed on the approach to the *miḥrāb* that refer to the Qurʾān and to its superiority over the scriptures of the Christians and the Jews (see JEWS AND JUDAISM; SCRIPTURE AND THE QURʾĀN), including Q 3:3, 7, 19; 35:31. The date at which these texts were inscribed on the building is uncertain, but their presence has been linked to the fact that the Cordoba mosque also owned an unusually large and venerable Qurʾān, a few unbound pages of which were believed not only to have been copied by the caliph ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān but even to carry traces of his blood. The date and circumstances of this manuscript's arrival in Spain are obscure, but it eventually became the focus of a ceremony that appears to emulate aspects of the Christian liturgy current in medieval Spain. At the beginning of the prayer service the carefully wrapped Qurʾān was removed from a chamber along the *qibla* wall and carried by two men in a candlelight procession to the mosque's *miḥrāb*, where it was placed on a special stand and its text was read to the assembled worshipers.

If this elaborate ceremonial use of a venerated Qurʾān began in Spain's Umayyad period, the book's presence may even help to explain unusual features of the Cordoba mosque's construction and embellishment, including the presence of qurʾānic passages affirming the holy book's superiority over those of rival faiths. In the mid sixth/twelfth century Cordoba's ʿUthmānic Qurʾān was transferred to the Great Mosque of Marrakesh at the request of the Almohad ruler ʿAbd al-Muʾmin (r. 524-58/1130-63), where it continued to be the focus of veneration.

Egypt: third/ninth to sixth/twelfth centuries

Monuments connected with ʿAbbāsid patronage followed Umayyad precedents in their programmatic citation of the Qurʾān in architecture, and one of the best examples is situated in Egypt. Although normally a measuring device would not be considered a religious structure, the portions of the Qurʾān inscribed on the Nilometer *(miqyās al-nīl)* at Fusṭāṭ, essentially a stone-lined pit linked to the Nile that measured the height of its flood, stress its links to God's beneficence and generosity (see BLESSING; GRACE). According to historical accounts, in 247/861 the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Mutawakkil ordered the Nilometer, which was of Byzantine date, to be rebuilt, and he entrusted the task of providing it with appropriate citations from the Qurʾān to Abū l-Raddād, a muezzin *(muʾadhdhin)* and Qurʾān instructor attached to the mosque of ʿAmr in Fusṭāṭ. The latter claimed to have selected the texts and then to have carved them on marble panels, which were later integrated into the Nilometer's inner walls on two different levels. The lower set consists of four separate excerpts of equal length extolling

God's munificence in sending the rain that permits the vegetation to grow and sustains all life (Q 22:5, 62; 42:28; 50:9; see AGRICULTURE AND VEGETATION; WATER). The carved panels of these texts were set into the wall's four sides at the level that marked the height of the flood. As the level of the Nile rose, those panels were submerged, thereby linking their text with the example of God's bounty that they celebrated. A fifth text placed above the high-water mark enjoins man to offer gratitude for the rain that leads to the creation of rivers on which ships (q.v.) can sail to the sea (Q 14:32-3; see GRATITUDE AND INGRATITUDE).

The Fāṭimid dynasty of north Africa and Egypt (297-567/909-1171) both continued earlier practices such as inscribing the Qurʾān on their coins and devised new ways to use it in their celebrations and architectural monuments. A Qurʾān copy said to have been written by ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib (q.v.) that was housed in the mosque of ʿAmr was the focus of personal veneration by members of the dynasty. Carefully wrapped copies of the Qurʾān were also carried through Cairo and Fusṭāṭ during the processions that marked important holidays and festivals (see FESTIVALS AND COMMEMORATIVE DAYS).

The dynasty's claim to possess a special insight into the Qurʾān's significance by virtue of their kinship to the prophet Muḥammad raises the possibility that their use of the holy book could have reflected both esoteric interpretations of its text aimed at their supporters and exoteric ones intended for the general public. P. Sanders and others have suggested that the manner in which the Qurʾān is inscribed on the mosque of al-Ḥākim (completed ca. 401/1010) at Cairo reveals these dual goals. Texts on the building's exterior, notable for their legibility and visual prominence, include passages that remind Muslims of their religious duties (Q 9:18; 24:36-7). Although intelligible to the populace at large, these verses could also refer to the Ismāʿīlī mission. Those on the interior were probably intended primarily for perusal by supporters of the dynasty and may make indirect reference to the Fāṭimids and their religious role as guides for the community (Q 3:1-17; 6:1-7; 7:1-22; 8:1-13; 48:1-22). The same message was probably reinforced by a pair of white silk curtains embroidered in red with Q 62 and Q 63 that were suspended near the mosque's *miḥrāb* during the month of Ramaḍān (q.v.). Even the Fāṭimid placement on military banners of Q 61:13, a widely used verse about the divine source of victory (q.v.), may have had such a dual significance. Fāṭimid coins have the distinction of carrying two separate verses on their obverse, Q 9:33 and Q 5:55.

Iran: third/ninth to fifth/eleventh centuries

Qurʾānic inscriptions on Iranian architecture of the fourth/tenth and fifth/eleventh century generally reveal a building's intended function, but some ensembles are noteworthy for the way in which the selected texts can be linked to broader religious questions. One such structure is a domed square building in the city of Yazd now known as the "Twelve Imāms," erected in 429/1038 under the patronage of a local dynasty of Daylamī origin with Shīʿa leanings (the Kākūyids). This structure was probably intended to commemorate an event or person of religious importance. Its qurʾānic texts (Q 2:255, 163; 40:65) focus on God's omnipotence, uniqueness and omnipresence, and this has led S. Blair to suggest that it was intended to evoke the presence of the Twelfth Imām believed to be alive, yet in occultation.

Several sets of architectural inscriptions make reference to the beautiful names of God *(al-asmāʾ al-ḥusnā),* using either

qurʾānic or extra-qurʾānic texts demonstrating the growing popularity of these epithets. Three fifth/eleventh century tombs, one at Safīd Buland in the Farghānā valley and two at Kharraqān in western Iran between Hamadān and Qazvīn, refer to them by using Q 59:21-4, but a fourth monument, the north dome of the Great Mosque of Iṣfahān, dated to 481/1088, includes an extra-qurʾānic litany enumerating thirty-two divine epithets.

The ways in which extracts from the Qurʾān can be used to establish the function and interpretation of monumental architecture is demonstrated by the foundation inscriptions of the two large domes belonging to the Great Mosque of Iṣfahān. The *qibla* dome erected for Sultan Malikshāh by Niẓām al-Mulk in 479/1086-7 carries the opening sections of Q 23 that remind the individual Muslim of his religious duties, a selection that underscores that ruler's role as supporter of the faith. The northern dome built by the latter's rival Tāj al-Mulk in 481/1088 is inscribed internally with texts that extol the benefits of night prayer (i.e. Q 3:97; 17:78-9; see DAY AND NIGHT) and enumerate the divine attributes *(al-asmāʾ al-ḥusnā)*. This combination suggests that this chamber was the site of nocturnal vigils during which the holy names were recited or recollected.

The paucity of objects that survive from early Islamic Iran makes it difficult to judge the degree to which the Qurʾān appeared on personal effects during the second/eighth to fifth/eleventh centuries. Some ceramic vessels produced in eastern Iran or Transoxiana during the third/ninth through fourth/tenth centuries have carefully executed Arabic inscriptions written in a hand that resembles that used in contemporary Qurʾān manuscripts. Most of their texts consist of maxims with a practical bent but some are ḥadīth and a recently published bowl in the Ṭāriq Rajab Museum dated to 300/912 is inscribed with Q 68:51-2 (see Fig. 1). The Khalili Collection contains a number of amulets that have been attributed to the third/ninth or fourth/tenth century, on which citations from the Qurʾān are juxtaposed with schematically drawn animals. Some are small pendants, tubes or pierced disks probably intended to be worn, but others are spoons or spindle whorls. The portions of the Qurʾān most often cited are Q 1:2; 8:46; 12:21; 21:87; 105; 109; 112; 118.

Twelfth to fifteenth centuries (*sixth to ninth centuries* hijrī)

If in the first Islamic centuries citations from the Qurʾān on buildings, objects and documents suggest that it was used as a resource for the self-definition of the Muslim community, from the sixth/twelfth to the ninth/fifteenth centuries greater stress was laid on the holy book as a sacred object and on the Qurʾān as a support for the devotional life of the community. Citations of the Qurʾān on buildings and objects have a more consistently interpretive or programmatic character than in earlier centuries and reflect a more focused linking of its text with a building's function or the setting in which an object was used. These centuries also coincided with the rise of institutional Ṣūfism and many prominent Qurʾān calligraphers were affiliated with such groups. Most Ṣūfīs, particularly those with a Sunnī orientation, made study and recitation of the Qurʾān a cornerstone of their devotional life. Ṣūfī communities often commanded a substantial popular following that included rulers and highly placed officials who, in turn, constructed residences for Ṣūfīs. These residences, known variously as *ribāṭ*s, *khānqāh*s and *zāwiya*s, were often provided with endowments that financed the recitation, study and copying of the Qurʾān. The faith and practices of Islam were also carried to

new regions of Asia and Africa largely through an expansion of trade and cultural contacts, thereby expanding the geographical scope of the Qurʾān's impact.

In addition, the spread of Ṣūfism introduced a broad spectrum of the population to exoteric and esoteric interpretations of the Qurʾān that had previously been the concern of small clusters of scholars and ascetics (see ASCETICISM). The authors of commentaries and symbolic interpretations drew attention to passages that were both religiously charged and particularly eloquent, an emphasis that encouraged the repetition of those texts on buildings or objects. Inter-related concepts disseminated in this period held that God's reality is manifested in every letter, word, verse and chapter of the Qurʾān's text and that this essence could also be symbolically expressed in numbers. This view enunciated in the late fourth/tenth century by scholars including Ibn Baṭṭa (d. ca. 365/975) was popularized by Ibn al-ʿArabī (560-638/1165-1240) who focused particular attention on meanings and symbolic values of the attributes of God *(al-asmāʾ al-ḥusnā)* enumerated in Q 59:22-4 and extra-qurʾānic litanies.

These beliefs led to the creation of diagrams constructed with letters, words or their numerical equivalents that made a coded reference to key portions of the Qurʾān. The *Shams al-maʿārif* of Shihāb al-Dīn al-Būnī (d. 622/1225) was a popular compendium about the occult properties of the Qurʾān, the benefits to be derived from the use of the divine attributes *(al-asmāʾ al-ḥusnā)* and methods for arranging them in "magic squares." Although al-Būnī himself was born in north Africa and died in Cairo, the popularity of "magic squares" and other talismanic schemes was widespread and enduring.

Within the broad territorial expanse in which Islam was practiced and over the three centuries in question, it is possible to discern regional and dynastic divergences in the manner in which the Qurʾān interacted with material culture and in the degree to which it became a vehicle of personal piety or dynastic legitimization. The clearest distinctions are between the parts of the Muslim world that encouraged the development of new approaches to the study, transcription, decoration and use of the Qurʾān (Mesopotamia, Iran, the Levant, Anatolia, and Egypt) and those regions where the conservatism of the religious authorities appears to have slowed the pace of change (north Africa, Spain and the western Sudan). Special conditions also pertained in regions such as the Indian subcontinent, southeast Asia and China where Islam competed with well-established local faiths and their deeply ingrained cultural practices.

North Africa, Spain and the western Sudan

Manuscripts produced in north Africa and Spain during the sixth/twelfth to ninth/fifteenth centuries are notable for their conservatism. Their archaic features include transcription on parchment and a reliance on modes of decoration resembling those in Qurʾāns from earlier centuries. Simple unornamented sūra headings were used in north African manuscripts long after they had been replaced by more elaborate framed varieties in areas further east. The local preference for Qurʾāns in a square format that persisted into the ninth/fifteenth century may also have a religious foundation because it helped to distinguish them from other books in which a more vertical format was customary.

The persistence of archaic features in this region may be connected with the conservative views about the Qurʾān espoused by

the Mālikiyya, followers of Mālik b. Anas (d. 179/796), some of whom believed that Qurʾān manuscripts should not only be unornamented but even devoid of punctuation or sūra headings. Some Mālikīs considered the introduction of manuscript copies into mosques an unacceptable innovation because the books could challenge the liturgical primacy of the spoken and remembered text (see MEMORY).

Despite these scruples, the Qurʾān continued to be integrated into various spheres of daily activity even in areas where Mālikī views prevailed. Legends and ceremonies surrounding the ʿUthmānic codex of Cordoba suggest that some Qurʾān manuscripts acquired a liturgical role even in a region where the views of Mālik's followers had great prestige. Although under the Almoravids (r. 454-541/1062-1147) Mālikī religious authorities relegated study of the Qurʾān to a secondary position behind that of Islamic law (*fiqh,* see LAW AND THE QURʾĀN), that dynasty did not abandon the practice of inscribing the Qurʾān on their coins. Their approach is evident in the coins struck by the Almoravid Yūsuf b. Tāshufīn (r. 453-500/1061-1106). The obverse carries the usual profession of faith as well as his titles, but the reverse has Q 3:85, in which Islam is proclaimed as the only faith acceptable in God's eyes, conveying a more sectarian message.

The Almoravids' competitors and successors, the Almohads (524-668/1130-1269), made the Qurʾān a focus of their devotional life and also used it as an instrument of dynastic legitimization. An indication of the Almohad enthusiasm for the Qurʾān is the battle flag of Abū Yaʿqūb Yūsuf II captured after his defeat at Las Navas de Tolosa in 609/1212 (see Fig. III). The inscription on it, Q 61:10-2, encourages Muslims to undertake wars for the sake of the faith (see WAR; FIGHTING; JIHĀD), in return for which God will forgive them their sins (see SIN, MAJOR AND MINOR; FORGIVENESS) and admit them to the paradisiacal gardens (see GARDENS; PARADISE; REWARD AND PUNISHMENT). The Almohad's reverence for the Qurʾān is also evident in their treatment of the ʿUthmānic codex belonging to the Great Mosque of Cordoba mentioned above. In the mid sixth/twelfth century it was transferred to the Great Mosque of Marrakesh at the request of ʿAbd al-Muʾmin (r. 524-58/1130-63). There, he and his successors devised new ways to honor and use the precious volume. It was stored in a special chamber along the *qibla* wall from which it emerged during the prayer service, as if by magic, supported on an "X" shaped stand or *kursī* that rested, in turn, on a metal track along which it moved into and out of the prayer hall. The mechanism on which the Qurʾān and its support moved resembled the one used to transport the nearby *minbar* from its special storage chamber to the prayer hall and back again. Even when not in use, this Qurʾān had a special status, for it was provided with a binding ornamented with precious materials, wrapped in magnificent textiles and stored in a specially constructed chamber. After the demise of the Almohad dynasty, this manuscript is said to have passed into the hands of later north African rulers including the Marīnid Abū Yaʿqūb Yūsuf (r. 685-706/1280-1307). At times of crisis, the Marīnids carried the ʿUthmānic Qurʾān into battle wrapped in precious textiles and protected by a leather shoulder bag. The more recent west African habit of producing unbound Qurʾān manuscripts and of storing them in leather bags may also have some distant connection with this practice and with the memory that the most venerable leaves of Cordoba's ʿUthmānic Qurʾān were unconstrained by a binding.

Islam's penetration into the western sub-Saharan zone between the sixth/twelfth and ninth/fifteenth centuries was facilitated by the positive attitude toward the faith adopted by a number of regional rulers, but the manner in which Islam was disseminated in sub-Saharan Africa also had important reverberations for that region's material culture. In Africa persons versed in the principles of Islam and the text of the Qurʾān spread their knowledge primarily through oral instruction; indeed some influential Muslim scholars are said to have arrived in the area without any books. The knowledge that they transmitted was written by their students on small individual writing boards and then committed to memory. The importance accorded to oral transmission in the region may help to explain why so few Qurʾān manuscripts from there are known before the eighteenth or nineteenth centuries.

Evidence from Naṣrid Spain suggests that ambivalence existed there towards a wider integration of the Qurʾān into daily life. The Naṣrids made extensive use of the extra-qurʾānic phrase *lā ghāliba illā llāh,* "Victory comes only from God." It was inscribed on their weapons, on the walls of their palaces at the Alhambra as well as on their personal seals and talismans — places in which other dynasties of the period such as the Mamlūks or Ottomans might have used the nearly synonymous qurʾānic expression *naṣr min Allāh,* "Victory comes from God" (Q 61:13). The walls of the Alhambra were, however, also inscribed with quotations from the Qurʾān and a small leather pouch that is among the surviving personal effects of Muḥammad II, the last Naṣrid ruler of Granada, may well have once contained a miniature Qurʾān. Small square Qurʾāns appear to have been quite popular in ninth/fifteenth century Spain, suggesting that the custom of wearing a manuscript on one's person was not restricted to the dynastic family.

The Qurʾān in the east

During the sixth/twelfth to ninth/fifteenth centuries in the Levant, Anatolia, Iraq and Iran, the rising importance of the Qurʾān as a religious artifact is signaled by both literary and material evidence. Its centrality to religious practice is also evident in the endowments given to *madrasa*s and *khānqāh*s that supported specialists in the discipline of Qurʾān recitation or scribes who prepared manuscript copies, both of whom often had students under their tutelage. Some of the most splendid Qurʾāns appear to have been copied for members of dynasties that ruled in Iran, Anatolia, Syria and Egypt ranging from the Saljūqs and Ayyūbids to the Mamlūks, Mongols, and Tīmūrids. Many of these were large and elaborately decorated multi-volume sets intended for deposit in the monuments constructed by their respective patrons, particularly their tombs. Important mausoleums were often provided with teams of Qurʾān reciters whose perpetual chanting was believed to benefit both the living and the dead.

The importance of Qurʾān manuscripts to funerary rites is underscored by the fact that ornamented and inscribed "X" shaped reading stands described in their inscriptions as *raḥl* or *kursī* were placed in the tombs of important political or religious figures in Iran and Anatolia. Several examples dated to the thirteenth or fourteenth century are known, including three from the Konya region of Turkey.

Syria and Egypt are associated with a branch of study that sought to harness the power of the Qurʾān to enhance the health and well-being of the believers. This impulse led to the composition of treatises on "prophetic medicine" (*al-ṭibb al-nabawī,* see MEDICINE AND THE QURʾĀN), in which references to the Qurʾān and ḥadīth (see ḤADĪTH AND THE QURʾĀN) were combined with practical advice on a variety of topics affecting health (see ILLNESS AND HEALTH).

Some of the most respected authors of texts on this topic were Syrians primarily remembered for their religious knowledge, such as Shams al-Dīn al-Dhahabī (d. 748/1345) or Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya (d. 751/1350). Their work was continued by the Egyptian scholar al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505). The praise lavished on bees in the Qurʾān (Q 16:68-9), where honey (q.v.) is extolled as a source of healing, gave this natural product particular prominence in such treatises. This positive attitude probably led, in turn, to the creation of beehive covers inscribed with religious formulas. Although the most popular texts on prophetic medicine *(al-ṭibb al-nabawī)* were composed in the eighth/fourteenth or ninth/fifteenth century in Syria and Egypt, the publications of inscribed beehive covers attribute them to thirteenth/nineteenth century Iran. Sweets based on honey also play a significant role in the celebration of religious holidays, particularly in north Africa.

This period and region was also hospitable to the development of quasi-magical methods for harnessing the Qurʾān's curative power to alleviate the afflictions of daily life. Metal bowls inscribed internally or externally with selections from the holy book along with other prayers provide a point of intersection between medical treatment and religio-magical practices (see Fig. 11). The earliest dated examples bear the name of a Syrian ruler, Nūr al-Dīn Zanjī (r. 569-77/1174-81), and others are traditionally linked to the Ayyūbid ruler Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (i.e. Saladin; r. 564-89/1169-93); both also financed the construction of hospitals, the former in Damascus and the latter in Cairo. The academic scholarship of medicine associated with such institutions derives from the humoral tradition of Late Antiquity but that scientific tradition appears to have coexisted with the more popular approach exemplified in the magical-medical bowls. Their popularity is demonstrated by the vast numbers which survive, as well as by the fact that they were produced over a wide area including Iran, India, China and Indonesia and as late as the thirteenth/nineteenth century. In later centuries, qurʾānic citations were often augmented by other invocations, such as prayers to the imāms and talismanic devices, particularly "magic squares."

Syria

Evidence about the veneration accorded to some Qurʾān manuscripts and the new ways in which its text was used comes from Syria. A study by J.M. Mouton of the ʿUthmānic Qurʾān that occupied a place of honor in the Umayyad mosque of Damascus between the late eleventh and late nineteenth centuries C.E. demonstrates the extent to which it had become an object endowed with numinous powers rather than a book to be read. It was housed in a special container near the mosque's *miḥrāb,* displayed at regular intervals to the congregation for their veneration, and in times of crisis carried in procession through the city's streets for protection against invading armies or other dangers. Mouton has suggested that the transfer of this venerated Qurʾān from Tiberias to Damascus in 492/1099 and the ways in which it was subsequently used were stimulated by the presence of crusaders in the Levant and the resultant Muslim-Christian conflicts. He also documents how the Būrid and Ayyūbid rulers of Damascus encouraged the manuscript's cult so as to strengthen public support for their own governments. Another of their goals was to shift to the ʿUthmānic codex the popular veneration accorded to a Qurʾān ascribed to the hand of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib that had been deposited in the Damascus mosque during Fāṭimid rule.

The various roles played by the Qurʾān in the religious life of Ayyūbid Aleppo are documented in the inscriptions found on

monuments erected in that city during the sixth/twelfth and seventh/thirteenth centuries and published by Y. Tabbaa. The al-Sulṭāniyya *madrasa* was founded by the local ruler al-Ẓāhir Ghāzī (r. 582-613/1186-1216), who is buried on its premises. In addition to legal scholars, this institution supported a Qurʾān reciter who was to instruct others in his craft; these activities were expected to provide a benediction to the sultan buried within its precincts. Another Aleppo monument, the *khānqāh-madrasa* al-Firdaws erected with the patronage of al-Ẓāhir's wife Ḍayfa Khātūn (d. 641/1243) contains programmatic inscriptions from the Qurʾān amplified by other texts that reveal the structure's intended functions. The foundation text opens with Q 43:68-72, which details the joys awaiting the faithful in paradise. A long poetic inscription engraved around the building's courtyard describes the ecstatic rituals of nightly prayers and qurʾānic recitations that will ensure a spiritual reward for the building's Ṣūfī residents, who may have followed the teachings of al-Suhrawardī al-Maqtūl (d. 587/1191). The complex's mosque has a *miḥrāb* inscribed with Q 38:17-22, a text that depicts David's (q.v.) penitence in his *miḥrāb* and the wisdom (q.v.) granted to him by God to adjudicate disputes. This text suggests that the building's Ṣūfī residents arbitrated disputes brought before them in that chamber.

ʿAbbāsid Iraq and affiliated regions

Developments in ʿAbbāsid Iraq continued to exert a formative influence on regions within the dynasty's cultural sphere that persisted even after the latter's extinction in 656/1258 at the hands of Mongol invaders. Paradoxically the ʿAbbāsids' end served to canonize Iraqi traditions and to make them a point of reference, even as new cultural and artistic centers developed in other regions including Iran, Syria, Egypt and Anatolia. Iraq was also important as a center for the rise of institutionalized Ṣūfism, and many prominent Qurʾān calligraphers were affiliated with such groups.

The Qurʾān's centrality to the culture of the late ʿAbbāsid period is evident in the fact that the era's most celebrated calligrapher, Yāqūt al-Mustaʿṣimī (d. ca. 697/1298), an official secretary *(kātib al-dīwān)* of the last ʿAbbāsid caliph, gained his fame not through the execution of his official duties but through the copying of the Qurʾān. Copies allegedly written by Yāqūt are preserved in various collections, and calligraphers are known to have emulated his style in Iran during the fourteenth through seventeenth centuries as well as in Ottoman Turkey. The proliferation of these "Yāqūt" Qurʾāns underscores the role played by the self-conscious emulation of famous models in the practice of calligraphy. Other prominent Iraqi scribes and illuminators of the late ʿAbbāsid period found employment in Egypt under the Mamlūks (648-923/1250-1517), a dynasty that placed special emphasis on preserving the religious legacy of the ʿAbbāsid caliphate and under which the veneration of the Qurʾān was given particular prominence.

D.L. James' study of seventh/thirteenth and eighth/fourteenth century Qurʾāns has demonstrated that lavishly ornamented manuscripts were often produced by teams of specialists, a circumstance which underscores the high level of skill involved in their manufacture. Although the practice of creating especially lavish manuscripts probably arose in late ʿAbbāsid Baghdād, a beautifully calligraphed and illuminated specimen manuscript produced for the Zanjid ruler of the northern Jazīra, Muḥammad b. Zanjī (r. 594-616/1197-1219), demonstrates that even minor rulers aspired to own manuscripts of the highest

quality. The most impressive examples, however, were produced for the Īlkhānid Mongols, their close associates and successors, or for Mamlūk emirs and sultans in Syria and Egypt. A manuscript that may have been destined for the mausoleum of the Īl-Khān Ghazan, with its *muḥaqqaq* script and diacritics entirely in black, was copied by Aḥmad b. al-Suhrawardī, who was both a disciple of Yāqūt and a member of a famous family of Ṣūfīs from western Iran. There also are large-scale sets produced for the funerary complex of the Īlkhānid ruler Öljeytü (r. 703-16/1304-16) by three different teams of calligraphers and illuminators in Baghdād, Mawṣil and Hamadān.

The division of labor in the production of luxury Qurʾāns probably both reflected and encouraged an increasing specialization and professionalization of book production. This phenomenon may be linked to another development that occurred within the ʿAbbāsid cultural zone — the transfer of decorative modes from elaborate copies of the Qurʾān to other texts. This process is particularly striking in Iran and Anatolia but can also be documented in Mamlūk Egypt. The parallels between qurʾānic and non-qurʾānic manuscripts seem to be most evident with texts that are religious in character. Examples of this phenomenon include a sixth/twelfth or seventh/thirteenth century copy of the *Duʿāʾ al-munājāt,* a book of prayers attributed to the Imām Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn, from Iraq or Iran (now in the collection of G.I. Shaker). This volume has opening illumination and calligraphy comparable to Qurʾāns of the same period and region. Another case in point is provided by lavishly illuminated late seventh/thirteenth or early eighth/fourteenth century copies of the *Mathnavī al-Maʿnavī* of Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī (now in Konya and Vienna), a text sometimes described as a "Persian Qurʾān." The Rūmī manuscripts possess elaborate gold-illuminated frontispieces and headings at the opening of each section of the text. The transfer of decorative modes associated with Qurʾān manuscripts to other texts continued during the ninth/fifteenth century, especially in the Indo-Iranian cultural sphere, until the two traditions of book production effectively merged.

Mamlūk Egypt

By any measure, veneration of the Qurʾān was central to both personal and public piety in Egypt under the Mamlūks. A number of the Mamlūk sultans or their high officials devoted substantial resources to the support of activities connected with the recitation, study or copying of the Qurʾān. This focus not only explains why the Mamlūks commissioned substantial numbers of large, lavishly produced Qurʾāns but helps to explain why those manuscripts also had a broad impact on the portable arts and on the design and decoration of religious architecture. Enameled and gilded glass lamps from Mamlūk buildings inscribed with the Light Verse (Q 24:35) are the best-known examples of this interconnection, but other manifestations of this enthusiasm can be documented (for an example of a Mamlūk mosque lamp, see Fig. IV).

Baybars al-Jāshnikīr (r. 708-9/1309-10) gave evidence of his attachment to the Qurʾān during his career as emir and sultan. He made a substantial endowment to the al-Ḥākim mosque that included support for two instructors in the art of Qurʾān recitation, for a scribe to prepare Qurʾān copies and for twenty Qurʾān reciters. His mausoleum that overlooked one of Cairo's main streets was linked to a *khānqāh*. Daily recitation of the Qurʾān played an important role at both institutions. Qurʾān reciters attached to his

mausoleum performed this task in a window embellished with a grill taken from the caliphal palace in Baghdād. It is fitting that the earliest surviving Mamlūk Qurʾān was prepared for him. Its seven volumes, now in the British Library, were extensively illuminated by three painters and copied in gold by a Baghdād-trained calligrapher who may also have designed the prominently placed qurʾānic inscription (Q 24:36-8) on the funerary complex's street facade.

Craftsmen linked to Iraq also produced chests to store Qurʾāns of particular importance. One such chest, dated to 723/1322, made for the sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad and signed by one Aḥmad al-Mawṣilī, is now in the al-Azhar mosque. An undated box now in Berlin was made by a certain Muḥammad b. Sunqur al-Baghdādī. Both are square containers of metal-sheathed wood with inscriptions executed in silver inlay. Inscriptions on the Berlin box include Q 56:76-80, which both celebrates the Qurʾān's revelation (see REVELATION AND INSPIRATION) and stresses the need to protect the holy book from contamination (q.v.), a text widely used on either the binding or opening illumination of manuscripts from the ninth/fifteenth century onward. The presence of Q 59:22-4, which enumerates the divine attributes *(al-asmāʾ al-ḥusnā)*, on the box's lid underscores the container's shrine-like character.

Further evidence of the Qurʾān's importance to the Mamlūks is provided by the funerary *madrasa* and *khānqāh* founded by Barqūq al-Yalbughawī in 788/1386. Its endowment provided for the training of Qurʾān reciters and the study of qurʾānic commentaries, as well as for professional Qurʾān reciters attached to both its *khānqāh* and mausoleum. The design of the panels of this building's doors and its domed portal reflect the designs used in qurʾānic binding and illumination, underscoring the practical and aesthetic connections that existed between architectural decoration and the book arts in fourteenth century Cairo. *Kursī*s, platform stands designed to support large-scale Qurʾāns and to provide an elevated seat for a reader, were constructed for mosques, especially in Egypt, from the eighth/fourteenth century onward. The popularity of *kursī*s suggests that the liturgical use of large-scale Qurʾāns increased in the Mamlūk period.

Yemen

Despite the fact that the Yemen was one of the first regions to embrace Islam, the role of the Qurʾān in its religious and cultural life has so far been but little explored. Mosques and *madrasa*s constructed with the patronage of two local dynasties, the Rasūlids (626-858/1228-1454) and the Ṭāhirids (858-923/1454-1517) provide the best evidence about local attitudes toward the Qurʾān. A recent study of the ʿAmariyya Madrasa in Rada illustrates the ways in which citations from the Qurʾān — augmented by short litanies painted over the mosque's doors and on its walls and domes — articulate that building's meaning and functions. The ensemble is notable for the way it links litanies about God's power and omnipotence (Q 3:15-8; 9:18) with descriptions of the rewards that await the faithful in paradise. This theme is reiterated over doors linking the sanctuary to lateral chambers that probably served as classrooms where students were instructed in the Qurʾān, ḥadīth and *fiqh*.

Iran and central Asia

Strong regional differences are evident within this zone. Its western portions were tightly linked to the traditions of late ʿAbbāsid Baghdād but in eastern Iran,

central Asia and Afghanistan an idiosyncratic and rather archaic approach lingered until the Mongol invasion. In Afghanistan a mannered and angular script sometimes called "eastern Kūfic" was used in Qurʾān manuscripts; the major facades of religious buildings were embellished with even more elaborate versions of this script. Monuments erected in Afghanistan by members of the Ghūrid dynasty (r. 401-612/1011-1215) were practically wrapped in a blanket of inscriptions, many of which are qurʾānic. The most spectacular example, a 213 foot high minaret on the Harī Rūdh at the Ghūrid capital of Fīrūzkūh/Jām carries the entire text of Q 19 in eight pairs of intertwined vertical inscription bands executed in cut-brick, as well as Q 61:13-4 and the name of its patron Muḥammad b. Sām (r. 558-99/1163-1203; see Fig. V of EPIGRAPHY). The Ghūrid habit of displaying substantial sections of the Qurʾān or other religious texts on building facades gave their architecture a didactic character that is also evident in monuments erected by their subordinates and successors, the Delhi sultans.

Calligraphers trained in ʿAbbāsid Baghdād and broadly associated with the legacy of Yāqūt became established in western Iran during the late seventh/thirteenth and eighth/fourteenth centuries and their skills were transferred to subsequent generations. The career of Yaḥyā b. Naṣr al-Jamālī al-Ṣūfī exemplifies the way in which personal piety, calligraphic skill and the support of important patrons all served to enhance the prestige of Qurʾān manuscripts. Yaḥyā, a practicing Ṣūfī, modeled his writing on that of Yāqūt and is traditionally linked to the latter's student Mubārak Shāh b. Quṭb of Tabrīz. Despite his illustrious pedigree, Yaḥyā's calligraphic legacy was perpetuated largely through his association with the ruler of Shīrāz Jamāl al-Dīn Abū Isḥāq Injū (r. 743-54/1343-53). Both Abū Isḥāq and his mother Tashī Khātūn demonstrated a personal devotion to the Qurʾān and in particular to its manuscripts. In 751/1351 Abū Isḥāq erected a special structure (known as *Bayt al-maṣāḥif*) in the courtyard of the principal mosque of Shīrāz to house his Qurʾān collection. Its Qurʾāns were intended for mosque use and, possibly, also for study and emulation by scribes. The repository's foundation inscription was designed by Yaḥyā al-Ṣūfī. Tashī Khātūn was particularly devoted to the tomb and cult of the ʿAlid Aḥmad b. Mūsā al-Riḍā, locally known as Shāh-i Chirāgh, and she provided his funerary complex with Qurʾān manuscripts and endowed it with funds to ensure the holy book's perpetual recitation. Several Qurʾān manuscripts signed by Yaḥyā al-Ṣūfī survive, including a set from 745-7/1344-6 given by Tashī Khātūn to the Shāh-i Chirāgh shrine.

The calligraphic traditions of ʿAbbāsid Iraq, particularly those linked to the transcription of the Qurʾān, continued to shape scribal practice in Shīrāz and the other book production centers of Iran and central Asia during the Tīmūrid era and beyond. Two of Tīmūr's grandsons, Ibrāhīm Sulṭān b. Shāh Rukh and Baysonghur b. Shāh Rukh, attained renown for their skill as Qurʾān calligraphers. Ibrāhīm Sulṭān's residence in Shīrāz appears to have encouraged his emulation of the tradition of Yaḥyā al-Ṣūfī (for an example of Ibrāhīm's penmanship, see Figs. IVA and B of FĀTIḤA), whereas Baysonghur designed large-scale qurʾānic inscriptions for architectural monuments including the shrine of Imām ʿAlī al-Riḍā in Mashhad.

The Tīmūrid period was also marked by experiments in producing Qurʾāns of unusual dimensions. A certain ʿUmar al-Aqṭaʿ is said to have presented two Qurʾāns

to Tīmūr — one so small that it could be concealed under a ring-stone, and the other gargantuan. Tīmūr is said to have been unimpressed by the miniscule manuscript but delighted at the large one. Whatever the veracity of this account, other evidence demonstrates that both very large and very small manuscripts were produced during the ninth/fifteenth century. A white stone Qurʾān stand designed to hold a manuscript about two meters in height is situated at the center of the courtyard of the mosque of Bībī Khānum in Samarqand (see Fig. v of MOSQUE), and pages from a manuscript of similar scale often attributed to Tīmūr's grandson Baysonghur b. Shāh Rukh are preserved in several collections. Ninth/fifteenth century miniature manuscripts also survive.

South, southeast and east Asia

The eastward expansion of Islam from the sixth/twelfth to ninth/fifteenth centuries into the Indian subcontinent, as well as into China and the Indonesian archipelago, can be documented in historical sources, but it is often difficult to define the role played by the Qurʾān in the material culture of newly islamicized areas. This question is particularly perplexing for the Indian subcontinent, where colonies of Muslims were established along the coast of Sind as early as the second/eighth century and shortly thereafter in enclaves along India's western and eastern coasts. At present, however, monuments erected during the sixth/twelfth and seventh/thirteenth centuries by the Ghūrids or their representatives and successors, particularly the first Delhi sultans, provide the earliest tangible evidence for the role played by the Qurʾān in the region.

A series of buildings in Pakistan and India carry bold and even dramatic inscriptions from the Qurʾān or related ḥadīth in a manner reminiscent of monuments erected in Afghanistan with Ghūrid patronage. The best examples include the Ribāṭ of ʿAlī b. Karmak, dated ca. 572/1176 and situated near Multān, and mosques in Delhi and Jaunpur erected between the 580s/1190s and the early seventh/thirteenth century. A. Welch (Qurʾān and tomb) has suggested that qurʾānic inscriptions on the Great Mosque of Delhi, popularly known as Quwwat al-Islam, help to articulate that structure's meaning to both Muslims and non-believers. Its minaret, the Quṭb Manār, is inscribed with Q 48:6 and 2:256-8 which link God's omnipotence to the punishment awaiting hypocrites and idolators (see IDOLATRY AND IDOLATERS; HYPOCRITES AND HYPOCRISY). Within the mosque, however, the *qibla* facade with its freestanding arches is inscribed with texts that reiterate the basic tenets of the faith and remind Muslims of their religious obligations.

The extensive use of qurʾānic citations on mosques and tombs built by the first Delhi sultan, Iletmish, and his close associates may have grown out of the extensive use of texts in Ghūrid architecture, but the Indian examples are both more legible and more overtly didactic, suggesting that such mosques served as instructional aids to the faithful. The scanty physical evidence for the production of Qurʾān manuscripts in the Indian subcontinent during the sixth/twelfth to ninth/fifteenth centuries is often ascribed to the region's climatic conditions but other factors may also have inhibited the growth of scriptoria. Qurʾānic inscriptions and foundation texts on Indian monuments from the eighth/fourteenth and ninth/fifteenth centuries are executed in a mannered, even convoluted script known as *ṭughrāʾī* that has more in common with chancery scripts than with normal book hands, raising doubt about

whether their designers also copied Qurʾān manuscripts.

East Asia

Although some of the coastal cities of China had substantial colonies of Muslims from the second/eighth century onward, their customs and beliefs had little impact on the remainder of the population. That situation changed with the advent of the Yuan dynasty (1279-1368 C.E.), when Muslims held positions of power and authority second only to that of the Mongols themselves. The dispersal of Muslim soldiers and administrators throughout Yuan territory introduced Islam into new regions. Most of the physical evidence connected with the practice of Islam in Yuan China is in the form of Qurʾān manuscripts or inscriptions on architecture. It comes from two areas, the Mongol capital Khanbaliq (later Beijing), and from the province of Yunnan. There were exceptions to the general characterization of the Ming period (1368-1644 C.E.) as a time when Chinese Muslims were forcibly sinicized: for example, in the early Ming period some Muslims continued to copy Qurʾāns and sponsor religious institutions.

The oldest known Qurʾān in China, dated to 718/1318 and connected with the Dongsi mosque in Khanbaliq/Beijing, remains unpublished. Two ninth/fifteenth century Chinese Qurʾāns are in the Khalili Collection. One, Qur 934, is dated to 804/1401 and was copied in Khanbaliq for that city's principle mosque known as the Mosque on Niu Jie (Ox Street); the other, Qur 960, was copied in 875/1471 at the *Dār al-Ḥadīth Madrasa* in *Madīnat Yunnan* (probably Yunnanfu, later Kunming). These two specimens suggest that Chinese Qurʾāns had distinctive features. They resemble the Qurʾāns of the late ʿAbbāsid period in that they were written in the *muḥaqqaq* script and divided into thirty volumes, but their illumination contains floral elements of local origin and the doublures of their bindings were cloth covered.

The blending of Chinese and imported features seen in these eighth/fourteenth and ninth/fifteenth century Qurʾāns has an architectural parallel in the best preserved of China's historic mosques, the Great Mosque of Xian, described by J.S. Cowen as "a mosque in the guise of a Buddhist temple." The wall framing its *miḥrāb* is inscribed with parts of the Qurʾān that reiterate the principles of the faith and remind the faithful of their religious obligations (Q 19:18-9; 48:2-4, 11-2) and are executed in a script related to that found in Chinese Qurʾāns. The earliest phase of the present structure can be traced to 796/1392. Historical sources also link it to the patronage of Cheng Ho (1371-1433? C.E.), the powerful Muslim eunuch who served the Yung-lo emperor (r. 1403-25) as chief admiral of the Ming fleet. He directed a series of voyages that sought to expand Ming influence and cultivate trade with both insular southeast Asia and regions to the west. Some of his expeditions reached the Arabian peninsula and the eastern coast of Africa. These connections affected material culture in both the Near East and China, but the evidence in hand for China concerns the local replication of Near Eastern metalwork in blue and white porcelain, a phenomenon unconnected to the Qurʾān.

Despite the prominence and wealth attained by Cheng Ho there is also evidence from the Ming period that Chinese Muslims adjusted their practices to conform to local traditions. A Bukhāran, Shams al-Dīn ʿUmar, known as Sayyid-i Ajall (1211-79 C.E.), one of the most important Muslims in Yuan service, became the governor of the Yunnan province and his

descendants continued to be prominent there for several generations. Some of their tombs have been identified, but their inscriptions are in Chinese and make no reference to the Qurʾān.

Southeast Asia

The expansion of Islam to the regions of Malaysia and Indonesia was a gradual process accomplished largely through peaceful means. This situation is particularly striking in the islands that comprise Indonesia, where Islam was introduced through the actions of traders who brought to the region the traditions of their own homelands. These were often amalgamated to the prevailing local traditions already permeated with Hindu-Buddhist features. Among the earliest traders were Muslims from the Malabar and Coromandel regions of India, although it is uncertain whether they should be linked to the tombstones with Arabic inscriptions and occasional qurʾānic phrases dated to the fifth/eleventh-seventh/thirteenth centuries that have been discovered in coastal settlements along the Malay peninsula and in Sumatra.

Sixteenth to twentieth centuries (*tenth to fourteenth centuries* hijrī)

Many of the long established uses for the Qurʾān continued; its text was still inscribed on buildings and objects, although its citation on coins diminished — especially after Muslim countries adopted currencies modeled on those of Europe. Innovations of this period appear directed at the individual believer; manuscripts of the Qurʾān were more frequently provided with devotional aids such as commentaries, special prayers or supplementary instructions. Special anthologies were developed for personal use that contained only a few sūras or linked the Qurʾān with other religious texts. Another practice that gained strength in most regions was the use of amulets and talismans, in which extracts from the Qurʾān were combined with other symbols including "magic squares." Explanations given in a widely used magical compendium cited earlier, the *Shams al-maʿārif* of al-Būnī (d. 622/1225), had helped to popularize this practice, but further details and examples were provided by later treatises such as the *Shams al-āfāq* of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Bisṭāmī composed in 827/1423 (see MAGIC). Such diagrams appear to have been used over a wider geographical region and employed in more diverse ways during the tenth/sixteenth to thirteenth/nineteenth centuries. These devices were produced in a bewildering variety of forms and made from a wide range of materials. They include cases to hold texts or diagrams, small metal plaques or engraved stones worn around the neck or tied to the arm, magical-medicinal bowls from which curative potions were drunk, and even garments covered with densely written words and symbols. The latter could either be worn or carried folded in a pouch. Some garments may even have been intended for funerary use. More recently, talismanic texts or diagrams were written on leather, cloth or paper or even printed for mass distribution. Some types of materials are primarily associated with specific regions, but the diversity of these devices and the paucity of publications about them make it difficult to separate amulets or talismans into clear groups or to postulate their historical development; in some areas their production continued well into the fourteenth/twentieth century.

In order to better explore these themes, as well as to delineate local developments, the Qurʾān's role in material culture from the tenth/sixteenth to fourteenth/

twentieth centuries will be treated in three geographical zones with subdivisions where appropriate: a central zone comprising the Ottoman empire, Iran, central Asia and the Indian subcontinent, another devoted to Africa and a third encompassing east and southeast Asia.

Central Islamic regions

In the Mediterranean region, largely dominated by the Ottoman empire, and within the Iranian cultural sphere, where Islam had been firmly entrenched for centuries, this period brought incremental rather than dramatic change. Qurʾānic scribes followed well-established calligraphic traditions but manuscripts exhibit greater diversity with respect to their size, shape and critical apparatus. Innovations of this period shared by both the Ottoman Mediterranean and the Indo-Persian cultural sphere were a fondness for manuscripts executed in a minute script, the extensive production of talismanic devices incorporating portions of the Qurʾān believed to have protective powers, and the Qurʾān's use for prognostication (see FORETELLING; DIVINATION). The text continues to be inscribed on architectural monuments, often in programmatic ensembles that also include relevant ḥadīth. Portions of the Qurʾān also appear on diverse objects including banners used by armies and Ṣūfīs alike, swords, helmets, body armor, tomb furnishings and clothing. Although these practices are known to some extent in most regions, their popularity and the date of their first appearance vary from one locality to another.

Calligraphers working in Iran appear to have enjoyed great prestige over a wide area. Their methods of transcribing the Qurʾān were often emulated; ownership seals and other evidence demonstrate that Iranian manuscripts were prized among the Ottomans and in India. Many tenth/sixteenth century Iranian Qurʾāns have a demonstrable continuity with the calligraphic practices of late ʿAbbāsid Iraq in their juxtaposition of different hands in the text's transcription, but they also acquired new features including prayers to be recited before and after consulting the holy text, and they frequently end with a *fāl-nāma*. The latter tabulates the good or bad fortune associated with each letter of the alphabet to aid in interpreting auguries derived from a random consultation of the Qurʾān, a process known as *istikhāra*.

Shīrāz scribes appear to have been the most prolific producers of Qurʾān manuscripts during the tenth/sixteenth century, but their copies rarely contain any indication of the patron for whom they were commissioned. The same scribes also produced a wide variety of literary manuscripts that can be almost as lavishly decorated as their Qurʾāns. The two sets of manuscripts have some common features; the insertion of a pair of illuminated pages at the Qurʾān's midpoint (Q 18:1) is paralleled in Shīrāz copies of Firdawsī's *Shāhnāma.* The routine inclusion of a *fāl-nāma* in tenth/sixteenth century Shīrāz Qurʾāns may have some connection with the widespread bibliomantic use of the *Dīvān* of Ḥāfiẓ, a local poet.

The largest and most opulent Shīrāz Qurʾān manuscripts have extensive illumination shimmering with gold, blue and other colors. One copy, Khalili Qur 729, dated to 959/1552, that may have belonged to the Safavids and later entered the Mughal imperial library, employs the contrast of blue and gold in its delicately executed floral illumination, throughout the Qurʾān's text and in the appended "concluding prayer" *(duʿā-i khātim)*. Just as the Qurʾān was often juxtaposed with selected ḥadīth in the inscriptions on Safavid

religious architecture, panels containing ḥadīth frame both this manuscript's gilded covers and its opening pages.

A late thirteenth/nineteenth century Persian treatise in the Khalili Collection (Ms. 412) furnishes a more complete guide to qurʾānic bibliomancy than does the *fāl-nāma* commonly appended to the holy text. Detailed procedures for taking auguries are linked both to a technical manual on Qurʾān recitation and to a talismanic chart that invokes the names of the imāms and presents other kinds of devotional aids in tabular form. One chart links individual sūras of the Qurʾān with particular months of the year.

Iranian scribes also produced Qurʾāns in which the text is compressed into a very small space. Qurʾāns transcribed in this fashion took several different forms; some were miniature books of rectangular or polygonal, usually octagonal, format but in other cases the text was densely transcribed on a few pages of normal size, a single sheet of paper or a scroll. Usually their scribes used scripts known collectively as the *ghubār* (dust-mote) hands that are often said to have been developed for use with the pigeon-post but were probably also employed for the production of amulets worn or carried on the person. As amulet cases are known from the third/ninth or fourth/tenth century onward, the practice of making miniature Qurʾāns is likely to antedate the earliest literary references to their production, which link them to the patronage of Tīmūr (r. 771-807/1370-1405). A miniature octagonal Qurʾān now in the Khalili Collection (Qur 371) is dated to the ninth/fifteenth century and a hexagonal one in the Chester Beatty Library (Ms. 1517) may be from ninth/fifteenth century Turkey, but most published examples are from the tenth/sixteenth century or later. Although, as was mentioned earlier, miniature Qurʾāns were popular in Naṣrid Spain, their transcription in *ghubār* script is closely associated with Iran, whence this practice spread westward to the Ottoman empire and eastward to the Indian subcontinent.

Miniature octagonal Qurʾāns produced in Ottoman Turkey are often described in publications as *sanjaq* (Battle-standard) Qurʾāns, with the presumption that they were placed in metal cases and tied to military banners. The Ottomans also used scroll-format Qurʾāns for this purpose, and a tenth/sixteenth century example in the Topkapi Sarayı Museum retains not only its octagonal cylindrical case but also the red cord by which it was once tied to a staff.

In Iran, miniature Qurʾān codices in octagonal format and their associated cases appear to have been mainly carried or worn by individuals for their personal protection; their cases were often designed to be tied to the upper arm as part of a *bāzū-band* (a bracelet for the upper arm). Some Iranian scribes demonstrated their virtuosity by using several sizes of *ghubār* script in a single volume. Those working in the city of Shīrāz appear to have produced miniature Qurʾāns on a commercial basis during the tenth/sixteenth and eleventh/seventeenth centuries.

A miniature Qurʾān dated to 1085/1674-5 now on loan to the Kuwait National Museum (LNS 373 HS) was probably copied in India and has a bejeweled jade binding of Indian manufacture. This densely written rectangular manuscript was originally transcribed as a continuous text without illumination or internal divisions. Both were subsequently added, largely in the book's margins, as were prayers to be recited before and after consulting the manuscript, and a *fāl-nāma*.

The practice of wearing a miniature Qurʾān is also attested among the Tatar princes living within the Russian empire.

The collection of the Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg, includes a small rectangular silver case inlaid with turquoise and lapis lazuli and dated to 1002/1593-4 that was made for Uraz Muḥammad, a ruler of the Kasimov Khānate. This case, designed to be attached to a belt, is inscribed with Q 2:255, a verse widely believed to have protective powers.

By the mid-eleventh/seventeenth century the focus of Qurʾān production and study in Iran had shifted from Shīrāz to Iṣfahān, where the last phase of the Safavid period coincided with a revival of religious studies. The leading qurʾānic calligrapher of the late eleventh/seventeenth and early twelfth/eighteenth century was Aḥmad Khān Nayrizī, active between the 1080s/1670s and the 1150s/1740s. He produced monumental inscriptions for architecture but was particularly renowned for his Qurʾāns that were copied in a clear, confident *naskh;* many of them were provided with an interlinear gloss in Persian. Although Persian interlinear translations of the Qurʾān were first introduced in the tenth century, they became more common in the late Safavid period as part of a campaign to diffuse knowledge of the Qurʾān among a wider spectrum of the population. Most often included was the translation/gloss of ʿAlī Riḍā Ardakānī composed in 1084/1694-5. Many Qurʾāns also had marginal commentaries attributed to the Shīʿī imāms. The calligraphy and presentation of Nayrizī's Qurʾāns were widely emulated during the twelfth/eighteenth and thirteenth/nineteenth centuries.

During the period from the tenth/sixteenth to thirteenth/nineteenth centuries Iran also witnessed an expanded popularity for amulets and talismans in which sūras believed to offer protection against a wide variety of misfortunes and illnesses were combined with prayers to the imāms, other texts and symbols. The most elaborate Iranian talismans are transcribed onto sheets of parchment, perhaps gazelle skin, and were apparently folded and carried in cases. One is dated to 1337/1919 and others are probably from the thirteenth/nineteenth century. Some feature "magic squares" with thousands of units based on the mysterious letters that open certain sūras, selected qurʾānic texts, the divine names *(al-asmāʾ al-ḥusnā)* and other prayers, or their numerical equivalents.

A few talismanic garments have also been attributed to Iran, but the protection provided by metal magical-medicinal bowls appears to have been more appreciated locally; inscribed bowls were probably exported eastward from Iran to south and east Asia, where local variants were produced. Metal plaques used as arm amulets and inscribed with a variety of brief qurʾānic citations were popular in eastern Iran during the thirteenth/nineteenth century. A variant type employing some Hebrew letters and known from Iraq may be linked to that region's folk traditions.

Arms and various accoutrements of war ranging from swords to helmets, body armor and military banners were inscribed with texts from the Qurʾān in both the Ottoman empire and the Indo-Iranian world, but this practice is especially well-documented among the Ottomans, where it was well underway by the early tenth/sixteenth century.

The Ottoman realm

This discussion will have two parts: the first devoted to the ninth/fifteenth through the eleventh/seventeenth centuries and the second focusing on the twelfth/eighteenth through the fourteenth/twentieth centuries. The wide territorial expanse of the Ottoman empire and that dynasty's extraordinary longevity (ca. 680-1342/1281-1924) ensured that there was no single

Ottoman approach to the veneration of the Qurʾān and that its uses evolved with time. The fissiparous tendencies of such a large-scale state were, however, counterbalanced by the development, in the course of the ninth/fifteenth and tenth/sixteenth centuries, of a strongly hierarchical and centralized bureaucratic and military structure that was often mirrored in cultural life. The religious or aesthetic preferences of the sultans were often widely emulated by their subordinates.

Fifteenth to seventeenth centuries (ninth to eleventh centuries *hijrī*)

The Ottoman sultans saw themselves as leaders of the Muslim world and their approach to the Qurʾān synthesized and elaborated upon features developed by their predecessors, especially the ʿAbbāsid caliphs and their successors, including the Īlkhānid Mongols and the Tīmūrids. The sultans Bāyezīd II (r. 886-918/1481-1512) and Süleymān (r. 926-74/1520-66) were particularly influential in establishing a distinctive Ottoman approach to the Qurʾān's transcription and veneration. The main calligraphic tradition that took root at the Ottoman court derived from Irano-Iraqi precedents, in particular the calligraphic modes associated with Yāqūt and his successors; it also focused particularly on the transcription of the Qurʾān and other religious texts. A preference for the six canonical scripts as they were codified in the late ʿAbbāsid period is evident in both manuscript copies of the Qurʾān and in citations from it rendered in stone-cut inscriptions placed over mosque portals, as well as in the inscriptions, whether painted or executed in glazed ceramics, that were widely applied to the walls, vaults and domes of religious buildings, particularly tombs and mosques. The Qurʾān even appears in some parts of the Topkapi Sarayı, such as in the ceramic tile revetments of the bedchamber of Murād III (r. 982-1003/1574-95).

Ottoman court calligraphers created monumental qurʾānic inscriptions, manuscripts of the holy book as well as more specialized devotional tracts containing only a few sūras or even a single one. The calligraphic lineage that predominated in Ottoman court manuscripts of the Qurʾān began with the son of a Suhrawardī shaykh from Bukhārā, Shaykh Ḥamd Allāh also known as Ibn al-Shaykh (d. 926/1520). He was closely associated with Sultan Bāyezīd II as a *şehzade* both during the latter's residence in Amasya and in Istanbul, after he ascended the throne. In addition to Qurʾān manuscripts copied in *naskh* script, Shaykh Ḥamd Allāh also designed monumental qurʾānic inscriptions and produced devotional manuals focusing on individual sūras including Q 6, 18, and 78 that were often combined with other religious texts. Another seminal calligrapher, Aḥmad Qarāḥiṣārī (d. 963/1556), active during the reign of Sultan Süleymān, was particularly renowned for his design of large-scale inscriptions for architectural use, a skill that was also cultivated by his pupil and adopted son Ḥasan Çelebi (d. 1002/1593).

The hierarchical structure of Ottoman patronage linked the size of a Qurʾān donated to a religious institution with the status of its donor, with the largest ones reserved for the sultans themselves. Aḥmad Qarāḥiṣārī began to copy the largest known Ottoman Qurʾān, which measures 62 by 43 cm, for Sultan Süleymān but it remained unfinished at the scribe's death in 963/1556. Documents about this manuscript published by Filiz Çağman demonstrate that between 992/1584 and 1005/1596 subsequent sultans devoted substantial sums to its completion. The Ottoman association of the largest Qurʾāns with royal patronage may spring from the above-mentioned enthusiasm of Tīmūr

and his descendants for oversized Qurʾāns — a practice known to the Ottomans through literary sources as well as from actual manuscripts.

A religious anthology copied by Qarāḥiṣārī in 945/1547 (Türk Islâm Eserleri Müzesi, TIEM 1438) epitomizes the Ottoman use of calligraphy as the kinetic extension of devotional practice. It contains Q 6, the *Burda* of al-Buṣīrī, and assorted prayers and ḥadīth. This manuscript is also a virtuoso sampler, juxtaposing scripts with one another. Its opening pages contain invocations in three dramatic and distinct hands while the main body of the text is also transcribed in three different hands, large-scale *thulth,* medium-sized *naskh,* and fine *ghubār.* The manuscript uses a page scheme described by Ottoman sources as the "Yāqūt format," which juxtaposes a line in large-scale gold *thulth* at the top and bottom of the page with a densely written central panel in black *naskh* script.

The career of Ḥāfiẓ ʿUthmān Efendi (d. 1110/1698) exemplifies the varied skills required of Ottoman court calligraphers; he excelled both at composing monumental qurʾānic inscriptions and transcribing Qurʾān manuscripts. He also taught calligraphy at the court, where his students included Sultan Muṣṭafā II (r. 1106-15/1695-1703). Perhaps because of their varied responsibilities, court scribes were not always able to satisfy the needs of their patrons so that the latter sought manuscripts produced elsewhere; during the tenth/sixteenth century Qurʾāns from the Iranian city of Shīrāz appear to have been particularly popular in Turkey.

The 923/1517 conquest of the Mamlūk domains by the Ottomans generated a transfer of Syrian and Egyptian artisans to Istanbul; the new arrivals added a further dimension to the Turkish treatment of the Qurʾān. The Ottomans emulated the Mamlūk practice of protecting Qurʾān manuscripts of unusual sanctity with special chests; most of the surviving examples come from dynastic tombs. Ottoman Qurʾān chests often take the shape of miniature, domed buildings made from wood and embellished with inlays in contrasting colors or of different materials. They resemble architectural models and may have been designed, or even built, by court architects.

The most varied and extensive citations found on arms and various accoutrements of war occur on swords. The many traditions that were attached to the swords of the Prophet gave this weapon a special status among Muslims, although how that status was expressed in material terms varied from time to time and place to place. Literary traditions affirm that the ʿAbbāsids made use of swords believed to have belonged to the Prophet himself in their ceremonies and regalia, but few details about their physical appearance are known. A group of swords from the end of the Naṣrid period in Spain that survive in various Spanish collections have hilts inscribed with pious phrases, but these do not appear to have included qurʾānic citations. Some Mamlūk swords have inscribed blades but those texts are historical rather than qurʾānic.

An Ottoman sword dated to 914/1509 provides an example of the verses linked to weaponry. It is inscribed with the most frequently cited texts: Q 2:137, Q 61:3 (the Victory Verse) and Q 2:255 (the Throne Verse), reminders that God's support is sufficient against any adversary. More unusual is the evocation of the Men of the Cave (q.v.; *ahl al-kahf,* identified as the Seven Sleepers) and their dog (q.v.), Qiṭmīr. Their revival after a long sleep is viewed as a harbinger of the resurrection (q.v.). This assortment of texts contrasts with the simple, direct statement taken

from Q 65:3, enjoining trust in God and confidence in his oversight, inscribed on the blade of a sword dated to 940/1533-34 that was made for Sultan Süleymān. Qurʾānic passages are also frequently inscribed on helmets and body armor. The most popular verses on both groups of objects are again Q 61:13 and 2:255; both appear on an iron helmet inlaid with silver (now in Vienna) that is said to have belonged to Soqollu Meḥmed, vizier to three sultans between 972/1565 and 987/1579.

The practice of inscribing the Qurʾān on garments occurred in several regions, but the earliest and best-documented examples were made for members of the Ottoman court ranging from the sultans to their sons or high-ranking officials between the late ninth/fifteenth and early eleventh/seventeenth centuries. One served as a shroud, some were worn under armor in battle, and still others with particularly elaborate calligraphy or ornamentation may have been worn on ceremonial occasions. The association of these garments with leading members of the Ottoman court is reflected in the elaboration of their design and the quality of their calligraphy. The range of Qurʾān citations that are inscribed upon them defies easy categorization and suggests that some were produced for individual use at a specific moment.

Eighteenth to twentieth centuries (twelfth to fourteenth centuries *hijrī*)

It is during this period that the Qurʾān's use for prognostication began to shape its transcription and visual presentation. The bibliomantic use of the Qurʾān — in which a person opens the book at random and then seeks guidance from its text — often focused on key words or phrases of particular import. Some twelfth/eighteenth and thirteenth/nineteenth century Ottoman manuscripts used a variety of techniques to draw the reader's attention to portions of the text that were of special significance, such as by writing them in a contrasting color such as red. This highlighting of key phrases was often accompanied by other enhancements of the text's appearance. Sometimes each page of the text was treated as a discrete physical unit by ensuring that all its verses were complete, an approach that required a careful modulation of the spaces between words. A Qurʾān in the Khalili Collection (Qur 10) dated to 1124/1712 exemplifies this approach.

A group of calligraphers connected to the city of Shumnu/Shumen in Bulgaria during the middle of the thirteenth/nineteenth century, including Seyyid Meḥmed Şükrü, specialized in the production of Qurʾāns that augmented the significance of some pages through an even more complex procedure. In this case each half of a pair of facing pages had a mirror image relationship to the other. This symmetry extended even to individual words or phrases of particular importance, such as the epithets of God, so that when the book was closed the key words on one page were in alignment with those on the opposite side.

Banners carried by the Ottoman armies or used on their naval vessels were also inscribed with citations from the Qurʾān, in addition to other texts and symbols. Most of the extant examples are of thirteenth/nineteenth century date but they are believed to replicate designs used in earlier centuries. The portions of the Qurʾān cited include Q 4:95-6, 61:13 and Q 112. Symbols used include a schematic representation of the sword of the prophet Muḥammad and then ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib *(dhū l-faqār)* and of the standard carried by Ayyūb al-Anṣārī. Members of Ottoman dervish orders also carried similar banners on their pilgrimage to Mecca (see Fig. VI).

The Indian subcontinent

The establishment of the Mughal dynasty (932-1274/1526-1858) inaugurated the most brilliant phase of Islamic culture in the subcontinent. Many of its characteristic features were developed during the fifty year reign of that dynasty's third ruler, Akbar (962-1014/1556-1605), but this general rule does not apply to the role of the Qurʾān in the region's religious and cultural life. Akbar's personal interest in religious syncretism that culminated in his proclamation of a new era and a new faith, the *Dīn-i Ilāhī,* also led him to relegate the Qurʾān to a secondary role. Despite his well-documented fascination with manuscripts, Akbar is not known to have commissioned a single Qurʾān — although he did own a parchment copy attributed to the caliph ʿUthmān. Among Akbar's acts in 992/1584 that signaled the promulgation of the *Dīn-i Ilāhī* was the removal of the profession of faith *(shahāda)* from Mughal coins, thereby creating a rupture with a religio-political tradition that stretched back to the Umayyads. The text used in its place, *Allāhu akbar jalla jalāluhu,* "God is great, splendid is his glory," is ambiguous, for it simultaneously makes reference to God and to Akbar. The same phrase is also inscribed on Akbar's cenotaph at Sikandra, along with citation of the ninety-nine names of God, a combination that once again could be interpreted in more than one fashion. These texts are amplified by Akbar's eulogy, in Persian prose, inscribed on the exterior portal of his tomb complex. His mausoleum was completed during the reign of his son and successor Jahāngīr (1014-37/1605-27), who continued many of his father's religious practices.

Radical though they might have been, Akbar's actions did not mean that in the Mughal empire the Qurʾān disappeared from the public arena, much less from the devotional practice of the individual Muslim. His views about the Qurʾān failed to diminish enthusiasm for its use in amulets and talismans including "magical-medicinal bowls." Although no such metal vessels from his reign appear to have survived, they must have existed. One inscribed with his name and the title of one of his high officials, the Khān-i Khānān, was replicated in over-glaze painted porcelain by Chinese artisans; examples are preserved in both Malaysian and European collections.

The most significant use of the Qurʾān among the Mughals is its role in funerary or commemorative structures. By the sixteenth century the tombs of saintly personages were firmly established as the emotional locus of popular piety and the most important event of the liturgical calendar was the commemoration of a saint's death that was believed to mark the moment they attained unity with God, a union described as an *ʿurs* (mystical wedding; see MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE; MONASTICISM AND MONKS). The metaphorical interpretation of the tomb as a gateway to heaven is evident in the qurʾānic inscriptions placed on their portals; in some instances tomb inscriptions also allude to the heavenly union of the deceased with God.

Although these practices were formulated in conjunction with the tombs of Ṣūfī saints, they were also applied in monuments supported with royal patronage. For example at Fatehpur Sikri, Akbar's palace city near Agra, constructed between 979/1571 and 994/1585, the *Boland Darwaza* or principal gateway to the mosque-shrine complex that houses the tomb of Shaykh Sālim Chishtī (d. 980/1572) is inscribed with Q 39:73-5, 41:30-1 and 41:53-4, texts that describe the welcome awaiting the faithful at the gates of paradise. The most extensive epigraphic program of this

character on a Mughal monument is, however, that of the Tāj Maḥall, the funerary complex erected by Shāh Jahān for his wife, Arjumand Bānū Begum, known as Mumtāz Maḥall, following her death in 1040/1631, and in which he, too, was subsequently buried (for an example of this craftsmanship, see Fig. VIII of EPIGRAPHY).

Mughal sources describe the Tāj Maḥall as the *Rawẓa-i munavvara,* "The Illuminated Tomb," a name that reflects the building's white marble facing and that material's numinous associations. The black stone qurʾānic inscriptions inlaid on the two faces of its main (south) gate, the tomb chamber's external and internal facades and its cenotaphs convey the monument's significance and demonstrate how its architectural form and ornamentation were used to convey a message at once personal and religious that celebrates this tomb as the site of the paradisiacal *ʿurs* of Mumtāz Maḥall and Shāh Jahān.

Those inscriptions were designed, and probably selected by, a Persian-born calligrapher and religious scholar, ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq Shīrāz Amānat Khān. His scheme utilizes portions of the Qurʾān that describe the last days and the reception awaiting the believer in paradise; their placement evokes a litany recited in the course of a visit. An unusual aspect of his scheme is the fact that most of the sūras are cited in their entirety. The south face of its main gate is inscribed with Q 89, its northern side with Q 93, 94 and 95. The ensemble of texts inscribed on the tomb proper propels the visitor on a clockwise circumambulation of the exterior from south to west and on a counter-clockwise movement around the interior chamber from southeast to south. The exterior's four portals carry the majestic verses of Q 36 (known as *Yā Sīn*), widely recited to commemorate the dead; the doors within those portals are framed by Q 81, 82, 84, and 98 with their dramatic evocation of the world's end (see APOCALYPSE; LAST JUDGMENT). The tomb's interior chamber also has two levels of inscriptions. The upper one encircles the wall and concludes in the frame of the southeast niche; it contains Q 67 with its evocation of God's role as creator (see CREATION) and ultimate judge. The lower series consisting of Q 48 and 76, describing the eternal rewards awaiting the faithful, encircles the remaining niches and doorways from southeast to south. The south doorway, facing the cenotaphs, is surrounded by Q 39:53-4 describing God's compassion (see MERCY). The upper surface of Mumtāz Maḥall's cenotaph is inscribed with a prayer addressed to God recalling his promise of salvation (q.v.) that combines Q 41:30 and 40:7-8.

The reliance on the Qurʾān for the Tāj Maḥall's inscriptions demonstrates the degree to which Shāh Jahān (r. 1037-68/1628-57) had broken with the religious policies of his father and grandfather. Not surprisingly, he placed the profession of faith *(shahāda)* on his coins and sponsored more traditional forms of Islamic piety including Qurʾān recitations in his public audience chamber on the occasion of religious festivals. This trend was further augmented during the reign of his son Awrangzīb (1068-1118/1658-1707), who made the Qurʾān the foundation of his personal devotional life. A Qurʾān in the Khalili Collection (Qur 417) was copied in 1080/1669-70 by one of his daughters, Zīnat al-Nisāʾ, and probably illuminated by her Persian tutor, Muḥammad Saʿīd.

The revival of interest in the Qurʾān at the Mughal court was affected by the local religious climate, in particular by actions taken by members of the Naqshbandiyya Ṣūfī order. ʿAbd al-Bāqī Ḥaddād, an Iranian calligrapher active at Awrangzīb's court, is credited with introducing to India the practice of transcribing Qurʾāns within a small space. The cumulative effect of

these trends encouraged a broader interest in the Qurʾān in the region during the later seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Not only does the local production of its manuscripts increase but that text is used in a variety of physical contexts. These include the production of talismans and talismanic garments as well as the addition of religious texts to weapons, body armor and banners. These practices may well have reached India from Iran or even from the Ottoman empire, but they also acquired a local flavor. Indian talismanic garments normally contain the integral text of the Qurʾān instead of the combination of texts and symbols that predominate in Iran and Turkey. Many of the published Indian accoutrements of war were produced for local Deccani rulers during the twelfth/eighteenth century, and these often combine qurʾānic citations with Shīʿī litanies. The same combination of qurʾānic texts and Shīʿī prayers also appears on talismans that were produced in both Iran and India (for an example of this combination on an Iranian battle standard, see Fig. x of EPIGRAPHY).

East Asia

The reign of the Cheng-te emperor (1506-21 C.E.) exemplifies the manner in which Muslim eunuchs at the Ming court helped to integrate the Qurʾān into Chinese material culture. He is remembered for the way in which he delegated the administration of his empire to the eunuchs of the imperial household, many of whom were Muslim. It was through their control over palace workshops that some of the blue and white porcelain produced at the imperial kilns in Jingdezhen bear inscriptions in Persian and Arabic, including passages from the Qurʾān. Most of the objects follow Chinese traditions in form and function; those with the longest qurʾānic texts are vertical screens designed to be placed on a table, where they could have served in lieu of a *miḥrāb* for private devotions. One in the Percival David Foundation, London, is inscribed with Q 72:18-20 (see Fig. v). A fragment bearing a prayer in Arabic was recently excavated at the site of the Ming imperial kilns in Zushan.

Whether these goods for court use were linked to a broader production of inscribed objects or vessels intended for export to Muslim regions is not yet clear. A few other bowls from the Cheng-te reign preserved in Near Eastern collections and inscribed with Arabic texts may have been sent as gifts to Muslim rulers. The expanded production of bowls inscribed with qurʾānic passages occurs in the "Swatow porcelains" decorated in over-glaze enamels generally linked to the Wan-li reign (1573-1619 C.E.). Two series of magical-medicinal bowls now in Malaysian and European collections, one type directed at a Sunnī audience and another with Shīʿī prayers, are inscribed internally with selections from the Qurʾān as well as historical inscriptions that link their design to a high official at the court of the Mughal emperor Akbar. A third group focuses primarily on Q 2:256 and is non-sectarian. These three groups of bowls exhibit a broad range of quality, but in the best examples the accuracy of their inscriptions suggests that Muslims were involved in their production. The decoration of a fourth series of porcelain magical-medicinal bowls dating to the twelfth/eighteenth century combines a central "magic-square" with concentric rings of qurʾānic citations. The inscriptions on many of them appear to have been drawn rather than written, suggesting that artisans with no knowledge of Arabic were replicating a model supplied to them.

The question of how these vessels inscribed with the Qurʾān affected the material culture of China's Muslim population

is uncertain. Any broader examination of the role of the Qurʾān in China must take account of the manner in which Islam absorbed features from the region's dominant cultural traditions, particularly Confucianism. This current is epitomized by the hesitant approach of Chinese Muslims toward the printing and translation of the Qurʾān (see TRANSLATIONS OF THE QURʾĀN). Although excerpts from the Qurʾān had been either paraphrased or transliterated into Chinese since at least the sixteenth century, the first integral translations were produced only in the fourteenth/twentieth century. The knowledge of the Qurʾān was, for most Chinese Muslims during these centuries, limited to passages memorized for devotional use under the tutelage of their *ākhūnd*s.

Malaysia and the Indonesian archipelago

The character of Muslim practice in this region has always blended local traditions with imported features, but the source of the latter has varied over time. During the tenth/sixteenth and eleventh/seventeenth centuries connections were strong with the Muslims of Gujarat in western India, who brought with them connections to various Ṣūfī orders; more recently, links to the Arabian peninsula have assumed a primary importance. Initially, acceptance of Islam appears to have caused only limited changes in the island's material culture, although this perception may be shaped by a climate that precludes the preservation of organic materials such as manuscripts. One topic that deserves further investigation is the way in which the importance of textiles in the region's local social and ceremonial life led to their use in religious observances. The Khalili Collection contains a *selendang*, a kind of shawl worn draped around the head or shoulders, which is covered with densely written Arabic inscriptions that include the widely used "Victory Verse" (Q 61:13; see Fig. VII).

Studies of the religious life of the region have demonstrated the popularity of short religio-magical tracts that have a qurʾānic foundation, but are independent compositions often written in vernacular languages and distributed to believers by local religious figures with mystical tendencies (see also SOUTHEAST ASIAN LITERATURE AND THE QURʾĀN). The twelfth/eighteenth and thirteenth/nineteenth century Qurʾāns from Malaysia or Indonesia are generally copied in a form of *naskh* and written on European paper. Their illumination contains luxuriant foliage embellished by finials that derives from local decorations in other media. A Qurʾān in the Shaker Collection may have been written primarily with a brush rather than a pen.

Africa

The religious and cultural traditions of Muslim Africa can be divided into three broad geographic zones. The first, which stretches along the Mediterranean from Egypt to Morocco, has been covered in earlier sections of this essay so here attention will be focused on sub-Saharan west Africa and on the continent's eastern portion, a region that includes the Sudan, Somalia and the eastern littoral as far as Mozambique, often called the "Swahili coast." These western and eastern regions differ in their approach to religious architecture, in their modes of transcribing the Qurʾān, and also in the manner in which the sacred text was integrated into the activities of daily life (see also AFRICAN LITERATURE). Many roles assumed by the Qurʾān in west Africa bear the impress of the religious and cultural traditions of north Africa, particularly Morocco, whereas customs along the Swahili coast often display a close affinity to the practices of south Arabia.

West Africa

It is often said that in Africa, Islam develops distinctive features in response to local traditions and rituals. One distinctive regional tradition, copying the Qurʾān on loose folios or even a collection of single sheets that are then stored and carried in a leather pouch, probably derives from north Africa, where texts from the seventh/thirteenth century mention the storage and transportation of Qurʾāns in leather bags. The earliest surviving west African manuscripts of this type appear to date from the eleventh/seventeenth century, and they continued to be produced into the thirteenth/nineteenth century. The script with which the text was transcribed in west Africa also is rooted in north African scribal practice.

Other west African approaches to the Qurʾān appear to derive from local needs and customs including a fondness for linking portions of its text with specific designs or images, creating an iconographic whole that can be used in conjunction with particular rituals. A good example of such a fusion are the talismans that combine a highly stylized image of Burāq, the Prophet's mount during his heavenly ascension (q.v.), not with Q 17:1 (where that event is described), but rather with the ever popular Q 2:255. In Sierra Leone these text-image hybrids were customarily affixed to the doorways of houses to protect the inhabitants against nefarious forces or evil spirits.

Three printed talismans purchased ca. 1970 C.E. at Mopti in Mali and published by G.C. Anawati (Trois talismans musulmans) offer a more elaborate fusion of text and image than this simple Burāq amulet, and were intended to provide protection against a wider variety of difficulties. One features a circular device, possibly symbolic of a cave, containing the names of the Seven Sleepers and their dog Qiṭmīr (mentioned in Q 18) that is framed by Q 2:255 and is accompanied by seven additional verses of particular potency (Q 9:51; 10:107; 11:6, 56; 29:60; 35:2; 39:39). A second, said to offer protection during voyages by ship, has the drawing of an oblong object, possibly a boat, and a "magic square" filled with the numerical equivalents of selected divine attributes *(al-asmāʾ al-ḥusnā)*. The accompanying qurʾānic citation links fragments taken from a number of verses and culminates in the mysterious letters prefaced to several sūras. The third talisman, intended for protection against the maladies of love, has a square of nine units divided by diagonal lines into a series of triangular compartments. This frame is composed with the words of Q 94, and the Prophet's name is inscribed at the intersections of four sets of lines (see NAMES OF THE PROPHET). A simpler version of this design, focusing only on the word *Allāh,* was used ca. 1980 C.E. in Ghana by the Imām of Techiman to decorate cloth for ceremonial use.

Copying and memorizing the Qurʾān was the foundation of education for the Muslims of both west and east Africa, a circumstance that helped to link the symbolic language of the two zones (see TEACHING AND PREACHING THE QURʾĀN). Even the materials used in that transfer of knowledge gained a power and prestige of their own. Children customarily copied the Qurʾān onto hand-held writing boards with pen and ink. After a given section of the text had been memorized, the board was washed to prepare it to receive the next installment; the resulting mixture of ink and water was prized for its curative and protective powers. Writing boards were also decorated with various abstract patterns and those designs were, in turn, transferred to other objects. Among the Hausa of Nigeria, persons skilled in qurʾānic calligraphy were often called upon

to prepare patterns for embroideries and other decorations.

The writing board itself can even become a kind of symbolic replacement for the Qurʾān. Its distinctive outline of an upright rectangle with an arrow-shaped handle protruding from one narrow side appears in architectural decoration and on portable objects. The fusion between the Qurʾān's text and the manner in which it was transmitted is epitomized in an elaborately decorated writing board from Omdurman in the Republic of the Sudan (see Fig. VIII). Its central zone is inscribed with Q 97, which describes the Qurʾān's revelation on the Night of Power (q.v.), an event linked to 27 Ramaḍān and celebrated with considerable pomp in the region.

East Africa

Most of the east African objects in western collections are linked to the epic struggles centered in the present Republic of the Sudan between the British army and the Mahdiyya movement led by Muḥammad Aḥmad al-Mahdī (d. 1313/1895) and his successor Khalīfa ʿAbdullāhī (d. 1317/1899). Those objects coupled with contemporary descriptions and photographs demonstrate the varied ways in which the Qurʾān served to bolster the Mahdī and his army. They recited it as they went into battle, followed banners inscribed with its text, carried swords with qurʾānic inscriptions and wore armor festooned with qurʾānic phrases and other prayers inscribed on leather-covered amulets or written on miniature writing boards.

There are too few published east African Qurʾāns to support broad conclusions. One in the Khalili Collection, Qur 706, dated to 1162/1749, appears to have been made by a professional scribe for a religious scholar because it also contains supplementary texts about techniques of recitation, as well as selected ḥadīths and prayers. Its *naskh* script has some affinities with hands used in western India; the manuscript was once in Zanzibar. An example dated to 1296/1879 in the Safwat Collection appears to have been copied by its owner for his personal use in the region of Ḥelwān on the Egyptian-Sudanese border. Its *naskh* script resembles scholarly hands used in Egypt, but its boldly executed red and black illumination must spring from local traditions.

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Mathānī see OFT-REPEATED

Maturity

Full physical and mental capacity. The notion of maturity *(ashudd, rushd)* has reference to a person who has attained complete natural development, who is fully grown and capable of assuming the responsible management of his or her own affairs.

Physical maturity

The common word indicating physical maturity is *ashudd,* from the root *sh-d-d* meaning "to strengthen." It occurs eight times in the Qur'ān, in every instance in conjunction with some form of the root *b-l-gh,* which in itself connotes "coming of age." The same root also yields words that signify eloquence in speech, thus suggesting a connection between maturity and the ability to express oneself forcefully and elegantly. An individual who has passed puberty and achieved majority is *bāligh*. In two instances, Q 6:152 and Q 17:34, a phrase with derivatives of these two roots has reference to guardianship (q.v.) over the property (q.v.) of orphans (q.v.). Guardians are commanded not to appropriate the wealth (q.v.) of orphans and to act with regard to it only in a proper ("the best") manner until the minor comes of age, at which time his property must be turned over to him, if he be found capable of managing it. The legal schools extended the same rule to the guardianship of a father over the property of his own children (q.v.; see also FAMILY; LAW AND THE QUR'ĀN).

Exceptions to the absolute prohibition of a guardian's use of a ward's wealth are allowed, however, as in Q 4:6, where something like a wage for the guardian's efforts in overseeing the property of his ward seems to be permitted for those who do not enjoy great wealth of their own. Important is that the guardian should act always in the best interest of the ward and not waste the latter's resources recklessly or foolishly. There is a specific warning against speedily devouring a ward's wealth in order to utilize it all for the guardian's purposes before the ward comes of age and is entitled to his or her property.

The connection between maturity and the control of property is also made in the story of Moses' (q.v.) encounter with one of the servants of God to whom had been "granted mercy (q.v.) from us and to whom we had taught knowledge (see KNOWLEDGE AND LEARNING) from ourselves" (Q 18:65), a figure who is usually identified with Khiḍr (see KHAḌIR/KHIḌR). The explanation for Khiḍr's restoration of a broken-down wall in a city that had received him and Moses ungraciously lay in a treasure buried beneath the wall. The treasure belonged to two orphaned boys whom God intended should reach their maturity and thus be able to claim their treasure.

According to the legal schools, the indications of maturity are the physical developments that normally accompany puberty. In the case of boys they are the appearance of pubic hair and the occurrence of nocturnal emissions, while in girls they are

the onset of menstruation (q.v.), the consummation of marriage and the fact of the woman's having lived with her husband for a period of time (see MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE). Pregnancy is also an evidence of maturity in girls.

There is disagreement among the legal schools about the age at which maturity is achieved if the usual physical signs are absent. The majority holds that age fifteen marks the passage to maturity. If the signs of puberty are present, some would allow the age to be pushed back as far as nine years but no farther. Abū Ḥanīfa (d. 150/767) allows a guardian to maintain custodianship of a ward's property until age twenty-five if the latter is deemed incompetent to manage it properly alone. In such a case the criterion for determining maturity is clearly not solely physical.

The age of maturity is made somewhat unclear by certain other considerations. For example, a child is considered to have achieved the power of discrimination by the age of seven, discrimination being certainly one of the aspects of maturity. Seven is the age at which boys must begin to fulfill the religious duties, such as prayer (q.v.), that are incumbent upon adult Muslims. In cases in which there is dispute between parents about the custodianship of a child who has reached seven years, the child is held to have sufficient powers of discrimination to be able to choose with which of the parents he will live. There is a similar ambiguity about maturity in connection with the age of marriage. Although betrothal may occur at any age through the action of a child's custodian, the consummation of a marriage is presumably an occurrence that marks the full development of an individual. Pregnancy is, therefore, an indication of maturity.

There are some matters for which maturity is a necessary condition. The disposition of one's self or one's property cannot be made until maturity is reached, the responsibility before that time falling upon the custodian or guardian of the immature person. Guardianship of a minor is, therefore, restricted to those who are of full age and free (see SLAVES AND SLAVERY). A *walī* or guardian who provides a marriage partner for a minor child must be a person of full age. Similarly it is only a person of full age who may adopt a child, though a woman must also have the consent of her husband to do so. Maturity is also a necessary but not a sufficient condition for one who wishes to enter into a contract (see CONTRACTS AND ALLIANCES). The primary requisite for a witness in a criminal case is that he should be a male Muslim of good character who has reached either puberty or the age of fifteen (see WITNESSING AND TESTIFYING; SIN, MAJOR AND MINOR). In general, as these examples show, maturity is a necessary condition of legal competence in the purview of Islamic law.

Mental maturity (rushd)

In the verses that deal with the management of the property of orphans, guardians are commanded to test the orphans before turning their property over to them (Q 4:6). The basis for delivering the property is "if you find in them *rushd*," i.e. sound judgment (q.v.) or mental competence for the handling of their own affairs (see INSANITY). The negative expression of the same point is made in Q 4:5 where the command is given "make not over your property… to the weak of understanding." Mental competence is also associated with attaining full age in the story of Joseph (q.v.) where it is said of him "and when he reached his maturity we gave him wisdom and judgment" (Q 12:22). Precisely the same is said of Moses (Q 28:14). Māwardī (d. 450/1058) and other classical

exegetes (see EXEGESIS OF THE QUR'ĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL) insist that mental maturity (glossed as *ʿāqil*) be a requirement for the caliphate (cf. al-Qāḍī, Term; see also CALIPH; IMĀM).

Spiritual maturity

A verse that enjoins loving treatment for one's parents (q.v.; Q 46:15; see also SOCIAL INTERACTIONS; KINSHIP), indicates that a true realization of God's goodness comes when one "attains maturity and reaches forty years of age." At that time a person begins to thank God for the blessing (q.v.) bestowed upon the parents and himself, to ask that he may do good that pleases God, to pray for the well-being of his offspring, and to affirm his submission to God (see GRATITUDE AND INGRATITUDE; GOOD AND EVIL). Full spiritual realization, thus, seems to come long after physical maturation.

Maturity as proof of God's creative power

In two verses of the Qurʾān (Q 22:5 and 40:67) the attainment of maturity is presented as an argument for God's sovereignty over the world as its creator (see CREATION; COSMOLOGY). He is described as the one who created people from dust, effected their development in the womb and brought them forth as babies so that they might achieve their maturity (see BIOLOGY AS THE CREATION AND STAGES OF LIFE). The creative process and its stages are offered as a proof (q.v.) against those who deny the resurrection (q.v.). The God who brought the human race into being can restore what has apparently been lost. In Q 40:68, immediately following the description of a human being's development through the stages of life, the point is driven home by the statement "He it is who gives life (q.v.) and causes death (see DEATH AND THE DEAD), so when he decrees a thing, he only says to it, 'Be,' and it is."

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Maymūna see WIVES OF THE PROPHET

Measurement

Finding the magnitude of a physical quantity such as length, area, volume, weight, and time. The full meaning of the term 'measurement' covers five constituent parts: (i) the quantity to be measured, (ii) the act of measuring, (iii) the measuring instrument (see INSTRUMENTS), (iv) the magnitude (measure) of the quantity measured, and (v) the unit of measurement. The present discussion touches upon each of the five components, with the understanding that the qurʾānic mention of any one of them would imply their totality, i.e. the actual performance of a complete measurement. It should be noted that the actual measurement of length, area, volume and weight is done on a material object or a substance. In the case of time, the measurement is of an event whose duration is to be calculated.

The usual Arabic equivalent of 'measurement' is *qiyās* (or *qays, qaws*) from the roots *q-y-s* and *q-w-s* (Lane, ii, 2577-8, 2574-5),

but this noun and all other words that could be derived from these roots, except the word *qaws* ('bow'), are absent from the Qurʾān. There are some words, however, derived from the root *q-d-r* which are synonyms to those derived from the previous two roots *(q-y-s* or *q-w-s);* examples of these are: *qaddara,* corresponding to *qāsa,* 'to measure', and *miqdār,* corresponding to *miqyās,* 'a measure' (Jawharī, *Ṣiḥāḥ,* iii, 967). Such words from the root *q-d-r* are found in various verses and imply measurements of length, volume, weight and time. Beside these, there are other words connected with the different types of measurements and these are derived from various roots: *dh-r-ʿ, q-w-s, ṭ-w-l* and *ʿ-r-ḍ* for length; *m-s-ḥ* for area; *k-y-l* and *ṣ-w-ʿ* for volume; and *w-z-n, th-q-l* and *kh-f-f* for weight measurements.

Measurement of length

In the following qurʾānic passages we find words derived from the roots *q-d-r, dh-r-ʿ, q-w-s, ṭ-w-l* and *ʿ-r-ḍ*. Q 34:18 reads "We measured *(qaddarnā)* the [length of the] journey (q.v.) between them (i.e. the cities)," where the act of measuring is to be understood metaphorically (see METAPHOR). In Q 34:11, however, the verb is used in the literal sense: "measure *(qaddir)* the link [i.e. of armor; see DAVID]." Q 69:32 utilizes both *dhar*ʿ ('a measure of [length]') and *dhirāʿ* ('a cubit'): "a chain [i.e. of the inhabitants of hell; see HELL AND HELLFIRE; REWARD AND PUNISHMENT] whose measure is seventy cubits." *Qāb* ('a measure') and *qawsayn* ('two [Arabian] bows'; equivalent to two cubits; see *Tāj al-ʿarūs,* iv, 235) appear in Q 53:9: "He [Gabriel, q.v.] was (at a distance) whose measure is two bows or nearer" (see ASCENSION; VISIONS). As an expression, the length of 'two bows' commonly connotes a short distance.

Q 17:37 utilizes *ṭūl,* a term that ordinarily signifies length, to indicate "height": "You will never reach the mountains in height." The vast difference between the height of the mountains and human height is emphasized by this uncharacteristic use of *ṭūl.*

Finally, the notion of 'breadth' is indicated by the term *ʿarḍ:* "a paradise (q.v.) whose breadth is as the breadth of the heaven(s) and the earth" (Q 57:21; cf. 3:133; see HEAVEN AND SKY; EARTH). The word 'breadth' is used rather than 'length', as it is actually the ratio of breadth or width to the greater length of, for example, a rectangular figure, that convey an idea of great magnitude. This verse illustrates the vast expanse of paradise in breadth (and, of course, in length), whose dimensions are known to God alone, a theme taken up in ḥadīth literature, as well.

Measurement of area

There are three qurʾānic passages that include words derived from the root *m-s-ḥ,* a root which has the connotation of passing one's hand over an area, as also in ablutions (see CLEANLINESS AND ABLUTION) and anointing. The term for "area" *(misāḥa),* although derived from this root, eventually came to have a meaning independent of the actual act of wiping one's hands over a surface. "Wipe (with your wet hands) your heads and feet to the ankles… and wipe *(imsaḥū)* your faces and hands with it (i.e. clean soil or earth)" (Q 5:6). Q 4:43 also contains this second injunction. Q 38:33 reads as follows: "Then he began wiping (or stroking; *masḥan*) the shanks and necks (i.e. of the horses)." In these verses, the various forms of *m-s-ḥ* imply passing (one's hand) over a surface (e.g. face, neck). One can say that this action, on a larger scale, can be taken to resemble the surveying of a plot of land in order to obtain its area, but of course, in that case, an actual 'measurement' of certain quantities (e.g. length and breadth) is done, from which the precise area is calculated. By such extrapolation the Arabic term *massāḥ* corresponds to 'a surveyor' and *misāḥa* means 'area.' Yet,

despite the presence of qurʾānic terminology related to the Arabic word for "area" *(misāḥa),* there is no Qurʾān reference to an actual measurement of area, whether in the real or metaphorical sense.

Measurement of volume

A number of qurʾānic verses containing words derived from the roots *k-y-l, q-d-r,* and *ṣ-w-ʿ* signify meanings associated with the measurement of volume. The words derived from the root *k-y-l* are: *kāla,* to measure the volume or to give a measure of volume (cf. Q 17:35; 83:3); *iktāla, yaktālu* (in the form *naktal*), to receive a measure of volume (Q 12:63; cf. 83:2); *kayl,* a measure of volume (Q 6:152; 7:85; 12:59-60, 63, 65, 88; 17:35; 26:181), together with the special measure, *kayl baʿīr,* camel's load (Q 12:65; see CAMEL; LOAD); and *mikyāl,* a measure of volume (Q 11:84, 85). This vocabulary specifically connotes an act of measurement and the use of a vehicle or vessel of measurement (see CUPS AND VESSELS). One example of such a vessel is a "cup" or "goblet." Q 12:72 speaks of the *ṣuwāʿ* or drinking cup, a word derived from the root *ṣ-w-ʿ*. (A related but non-qurʾānic term, *ṣāʿ,* signifies either a measuring vessel of a specific capacity or a unit of volume measurement.)

The words derived from the root *q-d-r* are *qaddara,* to measure the volume (Q 76:16) and *qadar,* a measure of volume (Q 13:17; 23:18; 43:11). The passages just cited vary in the degree of measurement specificity which they convey.

Measurement of weight

The words included in qurʾānic verses dealing with the measurement of weight are derived from the roots *w-z-n, th-q-l, kh-f-f* and *q-d-r*. Words derived from the root *w-z-n* include *wazana,* 'to weigh' (Q 83:3; cf. the imperative *zinū* in Q 17:35 and 26:182, and the verbal noun *wazn* at Q 7:8; 18:105; 55:9). In Q 7:8 and 18:105 the 'weighing' is that of the deeds of people at the day of judgment (see LAST JUDGMENT; GOOD DEEDS; EVIL DEEDS; RECORD OF HUMAN ACTIONS), and thus a metaphorical use, while in Q 55:9, the act of weighing is a real one. Another derivative of *w-z-n* is *mīzān (*pl. *mawāzīn),* which has three different meanings in the Qurʾān: firstly, it is used as a symbol of justice (Q 42:17; 55:7; 57:25; see JUSTICE AND INJUSTICE). Secondly, it means 'a weight' either literally as in Q 6:152; 7:85; 11:84-5; 55:9, or metaphorically, when speaking of those whose good deeds are heavy or light in comparison with their bad deeds (Q 7:8-9; 23:102-3; 101:6, 8). An expanded translation would be: "those whose weights on the scales or balances are heavy or light," in keeping with the figurative use of *mīzān* in the passages. Lastly, *mīzān* means the instrument for measuring weight, i.e. a balance or a scale used in the real sense (Q 55:8), or metaphorically, as in Q 21:47, "We set up the just balances for the resurrection (q.v.) day." In three successive verses in Q 55 (Sūrat al-Raḥmān; Q 55:7-9), the same word *(mīzān)* has the three meanings: 'justice,' 'a balance or a scale' and 'a weight', respectively. Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 606/1210; *Tafsīr,* xxix, 91) gives also the alternative meanings: *mīzān* (a balance or a scale), *wazn* (weighing) and *mawzūn* (the weighed object). In Q 17:35 and 26:182, *qisṭās* (a synonym of *mīzān,* 'a balance') is used in the real sense.

The words derived from the root *th-q-l* are *thaqula,* 'to be heavy' (Q 7:8; 23:102; 101:6) and *mithqāl,* 'weight' (Q 4:40; 10:61; 21:47; 31:16; 34:3, 22; 99:7-8). From the root *kh-f-f* comes *khaffa,* 'to be light' (Q 7:9; 23:103; 101:8), while *q-d-r* yields *miqdār* (Q 13:8), *qadar* (Q 15:21; 42:27; 54:49) and *qadr* (Q 65:3); these last three all mean 'a

measure' of weight but are often used metaphorically (see FATE; DESTINY; FREEDOM AND PREDESTINATION).

There are other words mentioned in the Qurʾān that represent certain weights. In Q 3:75, *qinṭār* (= 100 pounds) is used as a symbol for heavy weights, in contrast with the small weight of the *dīnār* (about 4 g; see MONEY). The *dirham* (pl. *darāhim*), which is equivalent to about 3 grams, is also attested (Q 12:20), although this verse actually refers to *dirham*s in its commercial connotation (see SELLING AND BUYING).

Measurement of time

Terminology for the measurement of intervals or duration of time is found in several qurʾānic verses. Four of these contain words derived from the root *q-d-r:* "God measures (or determines the measure of; *yuqaddiru*) the night and the day" (Q 73:20; see DAY AND NIGHT; DAY, TIMES OF); "a day whose measure *(miqdar)* is a thousand/fifty thousand years" (Q 32:5; 70:4; see DAYS OF GOD); "to a known measure (or term; *qadar*)" (Q 77:22). In four other verses (Q 3:30; 18:12; 57:16; 72:25), the Arabic word *amad* is used, corresponding to 'a term' or 'an interval of time' or 'a measure of time.' Among the verses just cited, in Q 32:5 and 70:4 the 'measure' or 'magnitude' of time is given; in Q 18:12, 73:20 and 77:22 it is known to God alone; while in Q 3:30, 57:16 and 72:25, it is described as a long measure of time.

One of the units of time measurement is the year *(sana)* mentioned in Q 32:5 and 70:4. The other is "a day" *(yawm),* mentioned in the same verses. One should, however, differentiate between the word 'day' *(nahār)* of Q 73:20 meaning 'daytime' or 'daylight' and the *yawm* used in Q 32:5 and 70:4, which denotes the sum of the durations of nighttime *(layl)* and daytime or daylight (*nahār,* see NOON; CALENDAR; PRAYER). The word *sāʿa* 'hour' is mentioned in 48 verses; and in 40 of these, it is used as an expression for the time of the beginning of the day of resurrection. In one verse (Q 9:117), it is described as the 'hour of hardship,' thus meaning an unspecified period of time. In the remaining 7 verses (Q 7:34; 10:45, 49; 16:61; 30:55; 34:30; 46:35), however, it can be taken to mean the unit of time (i.e. the hour); note the expression 'hour of daylight' (Q 10:45; 46:35).

Accuracy of measurement

A number of qurʾānic verses contain commands to perform measurements of volume and weight in an accurate manner by giving full (or complete) measurements. These will require the use of accurate measuring instruments (a balance or a scale with the correct counterweights and a vessel of the correct volume or capacity). Also there must be no manipulation of the measuring instruments that would result in 'giving short' *(yunqiṣ)* measurement of volume or weight, or 'giving less than due' *(yukhsir)* of the measured volume or weight (see CHEATING). Justice *(qisṭ)* is also to be observed when performing the measurements, and is achieved by giving or receiving no more and no less than due of the measured quantity. Such commands are the following: "Give full measurements of volume and weight" (*awfū l-kayla wa-l-mīzāna,* Q 7:85), "give full measurements of volume and weight with justice *(qisṭ)*" (Q 6:152; cf. 11:85), "perform your weighing with justice and do not give less weight than due" (Q 55:9), "do not give short measurements of volume and weight" (Q 11:84), and "give full measurement of volume, and be not of those who give less (volume) than due" (Q 26:181). As mentioned in the introductory section of this article and as also indicated by al-Ṭabarsī

(d. 518/1153; *Majmaʿ*) in his commentary on the verses Q 7:85 and 11:85, the words "volume" and "weight" mentioned above connote the substance (or object) whose volume or weight is to be measured. In the injunction to "weigh with the right (accurate) balance" (*al-qisṭās al-mustaqīm,* Q 17:35; 26:182), Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (*Tafsīr,* xx, 206) defines *al-qisṭās al-mustaqīm* as the well-leveled balance that does not tilt to either side. Finally, in Sūrat Yūsuf (Q 12, "Joseph"), there are two verses containing statements in accord with the command of giving full measurement of volume. In Q 12:59, Joseph (q.v.) tells his brothers (see BROTHER AND BROTHERHOOD): "Do you not see that I give full measurement of volume?" And in Q 12:88, his brothers say to him: "Give full measurement of volume to us."

While emphasis in the verses just cited is on the measurements of volume and weight, where these cover numerous commodities in everyday life, it is reasonable to assume that the other types of measurements (i.e. of length, area, and time) were expected to be performed accurately as well.

Measurement and Muslim society

Measurement of length, area, volume, weight, and time were implemented in the everyday life of traditional Muslim society. These measurements were required in such matters as commerce, selling and buying (e.g. food, drink, clothing [q.v.]; see also FOOD AND DRINK), housing, and land surveying. They are also required in observing the rules of the Islamic law (*sharīʿa,* see LAW AND THE QURʾĀN) connected with prayers *(ṣalāt),* almsgiving (q.v.; *zakāt*), land taxation (*kharāj,* see TAXATION), and inheritance (q.v.; *irth*); all need some kind of measurement, using the appropriate measuring instruments and units (see, for example, Māwardī, *Aḥkām*). As an example, prayers require measurement of time and land taxation needs measurements of area, volume and weight.

In addition to the units mentioned in the Qurʾān *(dhirāʿ, ṣāʿ, qinṭār and sāʿa),* a variety of other units, related to those mentioned above, have been used in different countries at different times. Example of these are *"qaṣaba"* for length, *jarīb* and *faddān* for area, *qisṭ* and *wasq* for volume, *ūqiyya* (ounce) and *raṭl* (pound) for weight (see Hinz, *Islamische Masse und Gewichte*), and *daqīqa* (minute) for time measurements.

An official 'Bureau of Standards' (*dār al-ʿiyār;* see Ibn Mammātī, *Qawānīn,* 333-4 and Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* ii, 242-3) was established early on in Islamic polities in order to issue 'legal' standard glass coin weights and heavy weights and measuring vessels *(dīnār, dirham* and *fals* [coin weights]; *ūqiyya* and *raṭl* [weights]; and *qisṭ* [vessels], together with their fractions of 1/4 or 1/3 or 1/2; see Miles, *Early Arabic glass weights;* Balog, *Umayyad, ʿAbbasid and Tulunid glass weights;* and Morton, *Catalogue)*. These standards were used by the market inspector *(al-muḥtasib)* to check the accuracy of the weights of coins and of heavy weights as well as that of the capacities of measuring vessels in circulation in the market place (see ECONOMICS). The master standards were kept in the bureau.

In medieval societies, by the orders of the rulers (caliphs) or their representatives (see CALIPH; KINGS AND RULERS), certain words and pious legends were inscribed on volume and weight standards (Miles, *Early Arabic glass weights;* Balog, *Umayyad, ʿAbbasid and Tulunid glass weights;* Morton, *Catalogue*) in order to comply with the qurʾānic commands of giving full measurements of these quantities (see EPIGRAPHY AND THE QURʾĀN; MATERIAL CULTURE AND THE QURʾĀN; EVERYDAY LIFE, QURʾĀN IN). These include the word *"wāfi,"* meaning 'full capacity' or volume if inscribed on

measuring vessels and 'full weight' when inscribed on weights. Others are pious legends such as the verse Q 26:181 (mentioned above) and the two statements: *"al-wafāʾ lillāh"* and *"amara Allāh bi-l-wafāʾ,"* which, respectively, have the implicit meanings: "give full measurements of volume and weight as commanded by God" and "God commands [you] to give full measurements of volume and weight." See also WEIGHTS AND MEASURES; TIME; SPATIAL RELATIONS.

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Mecca

The city (q.v.) in the Arabian peninsula that was the birthplace of Muḥammad, which, due to the presence of the Kaʿba (q.v.) therein, is revered as one of the "holy cities" in Islamic culture. A description of Mecca based strictly upon the Qurʾān could lead to the radical revision of a large number of stories from classical Arabic sources, which are most often of a mythical or legendary kind (see GEOGRAPHY; HISTORY AND THE QURʾĀN). It can be argued that the historiographical elements provided by these sources with respect to Mecca, a city of great religious and political importance, should only be considered insofar as they are corroborated by the Qurʾān, in some shape or form. All elements which the Qurʾān ignores, such as the retrospective emphasis on the site at Mecca or its position as the "center of the universe" should be avoided because they refer to an intellectual framework that belongs to later stages in the evolution of the corpus of Islamic beliefs and representations.

Mecca is explicitly mentioned only twice, in two relatively late passages of the Qurʾān (Q 48:24 *[makka]* and Q 3:96, spelt *bakka;* see CHRONOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN). These may well be derivations from a more complete rendering of the name, which would be recognized in the *Macoraba* mentioned by Ptolemy. Several other passages make reference to the city or its surroundings, such as Q 14:37, "a valley without cultivation." It will be noted, too, that Medina (q.v.), another qurʾānic place of tremendous importance, is in a similar position, as it is named on only three occasions: Q 33:13 *(Yathrib),* Q 33:60 and Q 9:120. The presence of these place references in the text of the Qurʾān indicates that the tribal tradition reported in the ancient historical writing of the ʿAbbāsid period can be cautiously taken as a general framework for analysis, particularly when this tradition is not distorted by a perspective of Islamic aggrandizement, such as an overestimation of the role of the family or clan of Muḥammad (see FAMILY OF THE PROPHET; PEOPLE OF THE HOUSE).

Initially it was only the tribe of Quraysh (q.v.; see also TRIBES AND CLANS) which

lived in the city of Mecca, and of which Muḥammad was a member, that was the intended recipient of the Qurʾān's message. The very short sūra Q 106 (Sūrat Quraysh) sets out the fundamental elements of the dialogue between the *rabb,* the divine being (who will be given several names during the course of the revelation; see LORD; GOD AND HIS ATTRIBUTES), Muḥammad (most often represented as "you") and the tribe (referred to as "they" or "you," for example, "their assembly…" of Q 38:6, *al-malaʾu minhum*). This dialogue was to last for the entire period preceding the expulsion of Muḥammad, which would take place in 622 C.E. (the date according to post-qurʾānic tradition), and which is clearly indicated in Q 47:13: *qaryatuka allatī akhrajatka,* "your city, which has expelled you…." *Qarya* is the general term used in the Qurʾān for a "place of fixed abode" in contrast to the nomadic world (see NOMADS; BEDOUIN). In the Medinan period of the qurʾānic revelation (see REVELATION AND INSPIRATION), *umm al-qurā,* the "mother of the cities" (Q 42:7; 6:92), indicates Mecca, which Muḥammad has been given the task of converting. In numerous other passages, this term is applied to rebel cities (singular or plural), which have been punished by God, according to the Qurʾān (see PUNISHMENT STORIES; GENERATIONS). This is a warning and an example of the fate that is promised to the inhabitants of Mecca if they continue to reject the divine command addressed to them.

The Quraysh, who are named only once in the Qurʾān (Q 106:1), are immediately summoned to "worship" (q.v.; *ʿibāda*) the "lord" *(rabb)* of the "house" (*bayt,* see HOUSE, DOMESTIC AND DIVINE) from which we can conclude that this house was located in their city. Q 48:24, gives the precise location of this sacred place, which is situated "in the lower regions of Mecca" *(baṭn makka),* that is in the lowest part of the town, into which the rainwater runs and wherein are located the famous wells of Zamzam (these are not, however, mentioned in the Qurʾān; see SPRINGS AND FOUNTAINS). The *bayt,* the Meccan "house" of the supernatural, is correctly identified as the Kaʿba. This is apparent from two late references, Q 5:95 and 5:97; the latter uses the specific expression *bayt* for it. The fact that it is shared with non-Muslims — thus showing that the cult surrounding it dates from an earlier time — can be read in Q 8:34-5, which criticizes the tribal ritual (see SOUTH ARABIA, RELIGION IN PRE-ISLAMIC). Those who do not render thanks to God, the *kāfirūn* or the idolaters *(mushrikūn),* those who associate others with God (in other words, those who refuse to listen to the message conveyed by Muḥammad; see GRATITUDE AND INGRATITUDE; IDOLATRY AND IDOLATERS; POLYTHEISM AND ATHEISM), are not, however, formally excluded from the rituals connected to the Kaʿba until the very end of the Medinan period (Q 9:28). In any event, the word *bayt* does not indicate a temple, as one reads all too often, but a collection of sacred pre-Islamic stones, around which were made a series of "turns" *(ṭawāf),* to which the Qurʾān alludes elsewhere (Q 22:29 and Q 2:158). The black stone, which would have been the principal sacred stone, is not mentioned in the Qurʾān.

The Meccan tribe, according to Q 106, ought therefore to give due recognition to the "lord of the house" for the protection (q.v.) he bestowed upon them: preserving them from famine (q.v.) and from fear (q.v.; *takhaṭṭuf,* i.e. from attacks on their town, cf. Q 28:57; 29:67), ensuring the success of their (commercial) voyages in winter and in spring *(ṣayf),* the establishment of "alliances (with the tribes)" (*īlāf,* see CONTRACTS AND ALLIANCES) which he had allowed them to conclude (another mention of the

protection of caravans afforded by the divinity is in connection with the Sabaean Yemenites, Q 34:18-9; see CARAVAN; YEMEN; SHEBA). Primitive worship undoubtedly included the sacrifice (q.v.) of large domesticated animals (*naḥr,* dromedaries; see CAMEL; CONSECRATION OF ANIMALS) at the actual site at Mecca, as another very early verse (Q 108:2) indicates (other later passages describe the sacrifices as taking place *intra muros,* within the walls, viz. Q 22:33; 5:95, 97). The place of sacrifice was to be found in the immediate vicinity of the "house," in all likelihood on the small hill of al-Marwa (see ṢAFĀ AND MARWA). Although the Qurʾān does not give an exact location, the fact is touched upon in Muslim tradition. The Qurʾān mentions the high hills of al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa as places which are "marked out" (*shaʿāʾir,* Q 2:158), indicating that they were designated places of ritual. This would have consisted of a *ṭawāf,* circumambulation, culminating finally in the sacrifice at al-Marwa.

The sacrifice at the close of the pilgrimage (q.v.) was transferred, however, to the valley of Minā during the lifetime of Muḥammad himself, in the ceremonies at the end of the year 10/632, which took place shortly before his death (see FAREWELL PILGRIMAGE). This move was a political decision — to bring together in a single trip two pilgrimages that had been hitherto separated, both in time and location, that is the pilgrimage of the people of Mecca and of other places in western Arabia and the pilgrimage of the surrounding nomads. Thus the "holy month" (in the singular; see MONTHS) is mentioned several times in the Qurʾān, when dealing with the rites of the Kaʿba (Q 2:196, 217); this may be a reference to the rites of spring of the seventh month (Rajab), which took place exclusively on the site of Mecca. On the other hand, it is the bedouin ritual (of autumn), *ʿarafāt,* which is clearly intended in Q 2:197-9. The nomads' religious calendar had three holy months when they were forbidden to mount their normal raiding parties (see FIGHTING; WAR): the eleventh and twelfth months of the current year and the first month of the following year. Q 9:2, 5, 36 mention four holy months, thus adding the holy period of those who lived in a settled location to the three successive months of the nomads. As for the seasonal separation of the "intercalary month" *(nasīʾ),* clearly an anti-bedouin measure, this was proclaimed only at the very end of the Medinan period, when the Medinan tribal confederation had gained effective control of the entire region (Q 9:37).

The very early qurʾānic passages of Q 106 and Q 108 are typically local in nature. One cannot yet discern any biblical influence, not even monotheism (see SCRIPTURE AND THE QURʾĀN). The Meccans are simply told not to mistake their protector. The theme of Mecca as a secure city, benefiting from effective protection, is repeated throughout the Meccan period, using a terminology which is to recur constantly: *ḥaram āmin,* an inviolable and secure place (Q 28:57; 29:67; the "protected city," *al-balad al-amīn,* of Q 95:3 certainly refers to Mecca, as does the city "which [God] made inviolable," *ḥarramahā [al-rabb],* of Q 27:91). The same theme recurs in the Medinan period with the settling in the Meccan valley of Abraham (q.v.) and his family, including his sons Ishmael (q.v.) and Isaac (q.v.), in Q 14:35-9. Furthermore, it is in accordance with this ban, which preserves the city of Mecca from any violence, that the Muslims from Medina (who had entered the city in 630 C.E. to take control of it, following an agreement with the leading ʿAbd Shams clan) are asked to restrain their passions as fighters and plunderers (Q 2:190-5; see BOOTY).

Interest in Mecca, which seemed to have

diminished during the first part of the exile of Muḥammad to Medina (see EMIGRATION), was rekindled in the light of several political and religious episodes. They were centered on the presence of the Meccan "house" as a focal point for the developing religion, and functioned as a pretext for reaching a political settlement with the tribe of Quraysh. First of all there was the matter of the *qibla* (q.v.), the correct direction to face while praying, reported in Q 2:142-51. The change of the *qibla* was the result of the break with the Jews of Medina (see JEWS AND JUDAISM). Although the previous direction for prayer was not definitely Jerusalem (q.v.) but more probably a picture of the mountain of Moses (q.v.) and the holy valley around it (Q 79:16, etc.; see SINAI), the new direction imposed by the Qurʾān was absolutely unambiguous. The formula *al-masjid al-ḥarām,* already seen in Q 17:1, refers to the site of the Kaʿba at Mecca. Repeated several times in the passage on the *qibla* (Q 2:144, 149, 150) it becomes a customary Medinan formula when referring to the Meccan ritual pilgrimage. It would perhaps be better in etymological terms, nevertheless, to translate *masjid* as signifying "place of prostration" (see BOWING AND PROSTRATION) rather than "mosque" (q.v.).

The second episode to advance Mecca is that which the Qurʾān calls *al-fatḥ,* both a divine "victory" (q.v.) and a divine "gift" (see GIFT-GIVING). It refers to an agreement reached in the year 628 C.E., called the pact of al-Ḥudaybiya in Muslim historiography. The relevant passages in the Qurʾān refer to a "vision" (*ruʾyā,* see VISIONS). This foretold that Muḥammad and his followers would make a pilgrimage to Mecca, even though the Meccans denied them access to the city (Q 48:27). The subsequent unfolding of events and the happy ending are described, which allow the simultaneous emergence of both a political compromise and the completion of the ritual pilgrimage and sacrifice on the site at Mecca *intra muros* (Q 48:10, 18, 24, 25). Other passages recall the episode *a posteriori* (Q 8:34; 5:2; 22:25, 27-9, 33). In Q 22:29, 33 there appears a previously unknown phrase, which describes the Kaʿba as *al-bayt al-ʿatīq,* the "ancient house."

The most remarkable new development with regard to Mecca during the Medinan period concerns the position and behavior ascribed to Abraham by the Qurʾān. First and foremost a biblical prophet, by the end of the Meccan period Abraham has become the leading exponent of monotheism in the face of the conflict against idols (see IDOLS AND IMAGES) in his father's land (Q 21:51-70). He is thus portrayed in Medinan passages of the Qurʾān as the founder of the Kaʿba, the first divine "house" on earth, and then as the originator of the Meccan ritual *intra muros* (cf. Q 2:125-8; 3:96-7; 22:26-8; it is later tradition which attributed the exterior rituals, which are of nomadic origin, to Abraham). The formula *maqām Ibrāhīm,* "the place which Abraham holds," of uncertain meaning, is mentioned twice (Q 2:125; 3:97). It is possible that, originally, it actually indicated the entire site of Mecca. Muslim tradition probably prescribed the precise limits of its meaning by a particular story, one which described a rock situated to the east of the Kaʿba in which there is a deep footprint of the patriarch, which was made when he built the divine "house" here.

Thus Abraham (and his family) became the first to "submit to God" *(muslim).* The primordial religious "voice," called by Abraham *(millat ibrāhīm),* and "hanifism" *(ḥanīfiyya),* the religion of the "pure" (the meaning of *ḥanīf* [q.v.], first used in Q 3:67, is uncertain) are presented as directly pro-

ducing the Islam of Muḥammad. Furthermore, according to Q 2:129, Abraham himself asks God to send a "messenger" (q.v.; *rasūl*) to the Meccans to provide them with revelation. This spectacular development results directly from the ideological break with the Jews of Medina, which had become irreparable. Ishmael became associated with the actions of his father at Mecca without being really assigned a precise role, nor is there any independent story about him in his own right. Later Muslim thought was to develop its portrayal of the role of Ishmael at Mecca considerably, in particular his dramatic arrival in the valley of Mecca with his mother Hagar. As for the sacrifice of Abraham mentioned in Q 37:107, the historiographical tradition and Muslim exegesis place it in the valley of Minā. Before Ishmael was brought into this, there was some doubt concerning the identity of the sacrificial victim. The Qurʾān, however, is devoid of these anecdotal developments (see NARRATIVES).

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Media and the Qurʾān

The Qurʾān has been embodied and circulated in an ever-expanding variety of media forms during the modern period. The material qualities of these different media technologies have had an impact both on the ways the revealed text has come to be used, and the structures of knowledge and authority (q.v.) that those usages serve to uphold. Any inquiry into these transformations must begin with the premise that media practices are not determined by the physical qualities of technological forms but, rather, are always structured by cultural processes. In the case of the Qurʾān, these processes include the standards of usage and interpretation that Muslims have attempted to apply to the shifting set of media environments they have encountered so as to sustain and enrich the traditions they have inherited. They also include the limits and uneven results of those attempts.

Historians of Islam have often been puzzled about why Muslim societies adopted printing technology so late in its development (see PRINTING OF THE QURʾĀN), and especially about why Muslim scholars historically expressed reticence in regard to its use for the Qurʾān. Despite the fact that presses, operated by Christians and Jews, had become commonplace in the urban centers of the Ottoman Empire by the mid-sixteenth century, it was not until three centuries later that Muslims began to make extensive use of the technology; and even then, its application to the Qurʾān continued to provoke considerable opposition. This reluctance to adopt printing technology has often been taken as evidence either of an attempt by religious authorities to retain their monopoly over the dissemination of knowledge, or of a

more general traditionalism or conservatism characteristic of Muslim societies — a resistance to the innovations of the modern world apparent in everything from dress styles to forms of government (see POLITICS AND THE QUR'ĀN). An entire generation of Orientalists came to see the Muslim response to print technology as an attempt to resist the forces of historical change by a society whose ability to shape its own history was beginning to wane in the face of expanding European power. The fact that the printing press provoked similar reactions and resistances in Europe at the time of its first appearance was often forgotten in such accounts, a historical amnesia no doubt indebted to the triumphalist account of Western historical progress.

Much of the earlier scholarship concerning the use of new media technologies for the reproduction and dissemination of the Qur'ān assumed the history of the Bible as normative, and viewed those instances where Muslim practice diverged from that norm as historical distortions requiring explanation. As a number of recent scholars have pointed out, however, the Qur'ān cannot easily be assimilated to the generic category of scripture, a category founded on biblical scholarship and thus of limited applicability to other religious traditions (see BOOK; SCRIPTURE AND THE QUR'ĀN). New media technologies have posed different problems for Muslim scholars than they have for their Christian counterparts, a difference owing to the distinct ways revelation has been conceptualized within the respective traditions (see REVELATION AND INSPIRATION). By exploring some of the concerns expressed by Muslims in regard to the use of diverse media forms for the reproduction and dissemination of the Qur'ān, we can perhaps gain further insight into the kind of historical object the Qur'ān has been for Muslims in the modern period.

Print

In order properly to frame the question of media and the Qur'ān, a few observations on the concept of revelation within the Islamic tradition will be useful. As an audition not heard by the ear but received (silently, as it were) by the heart (q.v.) of the prophet Muḥammed, the Qur'ān presupposes and demands an epistemology that defies and challenges ordinary ways of knowing. Insofar as the Islamic account of revelation combines and interconnects the ear, heart, voice, and text, any attempt to apprehend the Qur'ān through a single sensory modality will necessarily be inadequate (see ORALITY). For this reason, the Qur'ān always exceeds its specific textual embodiments. Within both scholarly and non-scholarly contexts, the written text has tended to remain subordinated to a complex of oral and recitational practices (see RECITATION OF THE QUR'ĀN), more an *aide mémoire* than the thing itself (see ORALITY AND WRITING IN ARABIA; ORTHOGRAPHY; ARABIC SCRIPT), whose primary locus is in the human heart. These practices, and the structures of discipline and authority that uphold them, ensure the Qur'ān's correct reproduction and reception, its proper embeddedness in hearts, in voices, as well as in written texts. Indeed, prior to the adoption of the printing press, even the production of manuscript copies generally required the vocalization of the text as an intermediary step along the process, understood as a necessary condition of its accurate reproduction in textual form (see MANUSCRIPTS OF THE QUR'ĀN). In fact, when the Egyptian standard edition of the Qur'ān was produced in the 1920s, the scholars entrusted to ensure its accuracy relied not on manuscript versions, but on

the study of different traditions of recitation (cf. as-Said, *Recited Qur'ān;* Weiss; Modern phonographic collection; see also READINGS OF THE QUR'ĀN). In short, the Qur'ān's various verbal and textual instances have always remained thoroughly interwoven and interdependent, the revealed word never reducible to a stable, self-sufficent object, such as a book (see WRITING AND WRITING MATERIALS). In light of this fact, Muslim concerns about the application of new media technologies to the Qur'ān did not simply reflect the privileging of the human voice within Islamic epistemologies, as some scholars have argued. Such technologies posed a broader challenge: namely, how can the practical and institutional conditions that ensure an ethical response to divine revelation be upheld across new and rapidly changing media environments?

Not surprisingly, one of the worries expressed by early modern scholars in regard to the printing press was that the mass dissemination of printed copies of the Qur'ān would lead to its circulation to locations where proper moral comportment was not upheld, as well as into the hands of nonbelievers (see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF) where the text would not be treated with the required respect and care. In its capacity to reproduce versions of the Qur'ān in vast, seemingly infinite quantities, the printing press threatened to unleash the sacred text from the structures of discipline and authority that governed its social existence and ensured its ethical reception. In addition, Muslims must have been rather horrified by the first highly flawed, and generally poor quality copies of the Qur'ān printed by Europeans. It is worth remembering here that, contrary to our usual assumptions, accuracy was not one of the qualities generally ascribed to the early printing presses in Europe. Indeed, the "stigma" of — i.e. the lower status accorded to — printed books earned them a reputation in some circles of the later Renaissance as being less faithful to the original than were those produced by hand in late-medieval and early modern *scriptoria*. For Muslims, the possibility of mistakes remained an ongoing concern as long as the structures of expertise, supervision, and authority, as well as the technological means, remained inchoate. Outright opposition to the printing press, however, became increasingly unsustainable by the early nineteenth century, as Muslim societies were gradually being reorganized in accord with Western social and political models. As a technology central to the exercise of power and the organization of political life within modern societies, the press came to be viewed as an instrument essential to any reform project. The fact that Christian missionaries made extensive use of the press in order to disseminate the Bible provided a further incentive for Muslim reformers to adopt printing technology. Thus, once Muslims saw that the benefits afforded by such mass duplication (in making the Qur'ān universally available) outweighed the dangers, Muslim presses begin to reproduce printed versions in large numbers. This occured in the mid-nineteenth century both in czarist Russia and British controlled India, and somewhat later in the century in different regions of the Middle East.

Phonograph

The phonograph raised a rather different set of questions for Muslims when it was first introduced into Islamic societies. Snouck Hurgronje provides an account from 1915 of an early appearance of the phonograph in Java, Indonesia. The first phonographs on the island were operated by itinerant performers who, for a fee,

would set them up in public locations and demonstrate their use with records of both musical selections and recited verses of the Qurʾān. In the incident recounted by Hurgronje, one such demonstration was attended by a Javanese scholar, Sayyid Othman, who subsequently produced a *fatwā* on the permissibility of listening to phonographic records of the Qurʾān (see LAWFUL AND UNLAWFUL). His discussion of the issue is worth examining as it reveals a style of reasoning that reappears throughout the modern historical period in debates about the technological mediation of the Qurʾān. The *fatwā* begins with the assertion that it is acceptable for Muslims to attend demonstrations involving the phonographic reproduction of the Qurʾān as long as the conduct of those in attendance remains decent, and as long as the act of listening does not produce sensual excitement or lead to temptation. It is forbidden, however, to use the device in a place of amusement, or where non-Muslims are present, as the qurʾānic verses may "produce derision and mockery (q.v.)," and hence serve as an agent of unbelief (Hurgronje, Phonograph, 163). Up to this point, Sayyid Othman's argument bears considerable similarity to those put forth by much earlier scholars in regard to the printing press on the need to ensure that certain ethical norms be followed in the distribution and use of printed versions of the Qurʾān. The next part of the *fatwā,* however, responds to the question of whether one receives divine reward for listening to the Qurʾān reproduced phonographically, a question specific to phonic, but not print, technologies. Here, Sayyid Othman notes that, insofar as "the sounds of the Qurʾān are no longer produced by the organs of speech destined for each one of them… [and therefore] do not possess the peculiar, legally demanded, qualities," no divine reward will accrue to their listener (Hurgronje, Phonograph, 163). Here we see an attempt to define authoritatively the limits of phonographic technology for the reproduction of the Qurʾān, an attempt grounded in an (implicit) theory of mediation. In the passage from human voice to vinyl disk to mechanically reproduced sound, certain qualities essential to the recitation as an act of worship (q.v.) are lost. Admittedly, Sayyid Othman's opinion on this matter was not (and is not today) universally shared (Hurgronje mentions a dissenting view from a scholar in Singapore; Phonograph, 164-5). It is in the kind of questions the Javanese scholar asks, however, that we find the outline of an Islamic tradition of inquiry into questions of media technology, a tradition that has played a key role in defining the interpretive conventions and norms of use for new media forms in Muslim societies.

Radio

This tradition can be further elaborated by reference to an early disagreement over the use of the radio for broadcasting qurʾānic recitation. In the 1950s, a broadcasting system was established in Nigeria with the transmission of qurʾānic recitation included in the programming content. Concerned with the moral and legal probity of the practice, the then Emir of Kano sent out requests to scholars for *fatāwā* on whether such programming was permitted by the Islamic *sharīʿa* (see LAW AND THE QURʾĀN). Among the *fatāwā* he received opposing the broadcasts, one by the Emir Jaʾafaru Ishaq of Zaria argued that by inserting segments of recitation between non-religious programs on sports or news, the broadcasts violated the injunction stipulating that the Qurʾān must always be placed within contexts suitable to its divine and revered status. In other words, it is the structure of the medium

itself (the serial ordering of radio programming) that elicits his concern, not the context of reception foregrounded by Sayyid Othman in regard to the phonograph. In another *fatwā,* a Senegalese Ṣūfī shaykh (see ṢŪFISM AND THE QURʾĀN), Ibrahim Niass, countered this claim by emphasizing the self-contained and independent quality of each program on the radio, and thus the immunity of the recitation segment from the corruptions of the programs that preceded and followed it. In short, while the opinions of these scholars diverged sharply, their reasoning exhibits a shared set of concerns about the suitability of certain media contexts for the Qurʾān in light of the respect demanded by the revealed word. It is in this sense that these viewpoints — as well as those mentioned above in relation to print and phonographic technology — exemplify a shared tradition of reflection on the topic of media and the Qurʾān. And while today there are few Muslim scholars who oppose the broadcasting of qurʾānic recitation programs, and indeed, most argue that more air time should be given to such religious topics, it is not unusual to find requests for *fatāwā* on the ethical distinction between live and mediated auditions.

Cassettes and CDs

The dissemination of the Qurʾān via new media forms is not a process determined by scholarly debate alone. Popular media practices are also largely shaped by the ordinary users of those technologies. For example, one of the most popular media forms for the audition of qurʾānic recitation in recent years has been the cassette tape and, more recently, the CD ROM. Commecially produced recordings of famous reciters, such as ʿAbd al-Basīṭ ʿAbd al-Ṣamad (Egypt), Hajjah Maria Ulfah (Indonesia), and Mustafa Ozcan Gunesdogdu (Turkey), have become ubiquitous throughout Muslim societies. People listen to these tapes and CDs in all sorts of situations and locations, alone in their homes, in stores, cafes, and barbershops, as well as in taxis, buses, and other forms of public transportation (see EVERYDAY LIFE, QURʾĀN IN). For some of those who listen to them, Qurʾān tapes represent an Islamic alternative to other kinds of commercialized popular entertainment. Indeed, as opposed to recordings of popular music, these tapes and CDs tend to bring with them some of the norms of sociability associated with the mosque (q.v.), such that when they are played in a public location, like a store or bus, they produce an environment wherein certain styles of speech and comportment become marked as inappropriate, and are likely to draw public censure from others present. A heated argument between customers at a café in Cairo or Fez, for example, may well elicit the comment, "Show some respect while the Qurʾān is being recited!" Practices such as these reflect popular sensibilities more than the pronouncements of scholars.

"Qurʾānic commodities"

The rendering of the Qurʾān in the form of popular media commodities, such as recitation tapes, raises several important and interesting issues. As a number of scholars have noted, the omnipresence of the Qurʾān, embedded in multiple artifacts and media technologies, has affected the sense of sacredness the text elicits, the sensibilities and emotions that constitute a human response to God's word. Insofar as the printed Qurʾān, *muṣḥaf* (q.v.; pl. *maṣāḥif*), recorded qurʾānic recitations, and a variety of objects bearing qurʾānic verses are produced, marketed and displayed in a manner similar to other commodities, they have become connected to forms of consumption and pleasure not previously integral to qurʾānic practices of interpretation

(see EXEGESIS OF THE QUR'ĀN: EARLY MODERN AND CONTEMPORARY), memorization (see MEMORY), and recitation. For example, since Qur'ān tapes are often played at the same times and in the same locations as other popular entertainment media, recordings of qur'ānic recitation have come to function as a kind of background sound, one that signals the religious commitment of the store owner or taxi driver, but does not demand the sort of attention traditionally associated with practices of recitation. Moreover, in much of the Middle East and south Asia today, *maṣāḥif* are sold not only in bookstores, but also in shops that carry household goods, stationery, clocks, and other kinds of merchandise. The fact that the text is placed among a jumbled assortment of commercially available artifacts in a store suggests that the distinction the *muṣḥaf* may be accorded by those who purchase it (evident, for example, in the care with which it is displayed in the home) may not carry over to contexts of commercial display and sale. In other words, the kind of respect shown to the *muṣḥaf* may be increasingly context dependent, as consumers come to distinguish between commercial and religious contexts, as well as public and private ones (Starrett, Religious commodities, 158-60).

Beyond printed copies of the Qur'ān, qur'ānic verses now adorn a vast assortment of religious commodities, such as wall plaques, brass trays, posters, stickers, and greeting cards, as well as newspapers, magazines, calendars and other printed materials (see MATERIAL CULTURE AND THE QUR'ĀN). People commonly use these decorative items inscribed with verses to adorn the walls of their houses (see HOUSE, DOMESTIC AND DIVINE) or shops, or the windows and dashboards of their cars. Taxi drivers in the Middle East frequently carry a small *muṣḥaf* mounted on the dashboard. Indeed, the development of a market in what might be called "religious commodities" has driven the creation of ever-new qur'ānic artifacts over recent years. Computer games geared to help children memorize verses of the Qur'ān and learn about the lives of the prophets are now available in multiple languages (see COMPUTERS AND THE QUR'ĀN; NARRATIVES; PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD); phone services allow callers to hear a sūra (see SŪRAS) of their choosing for a small fee; video tapes of well-known Qur'ān reciters are easily found (though, for the time being, they remain far less popular than audio versions); key chains, amulets (q.v.), clocks, lighters, bumper stickers, all bearing qur'ānic inscriptions, abound (see POPULAR AND TALISMANIC USES OF THE QUR'ĀN).

In many countries where Muslims predominate, newspapers have adopted certain qur'ānic verses as mottos. Newspaper articles on practically any topic may begin with a segment of qur'ānic verse. In addition, it is now common for newspapers to dedicate considerable space to discussing the meaning and theological importance of particular verses (q.v.). Occurring in these very different practical contexts, these heterogeneous usages of qur'ānic language mediate distinct patterns of response from Muslims, as consumers, worshippers, or national citizens. In this regard, the sociologist Fariba Adelkhah notes that the feeling of mourning that Shī'ite Muslims (see SHĪ'ISM AND THE QUR'ĀN) have traditionally associated with the Qur'ān has been attenuated to a certain extent by the text's wide circulation and general ubiquity in contexts of everyday life (Adelkhah, *Being modern,* 108). Similarly, the prefacing of all forms of public oratory with either the *basmala* (q.v.) or other qur'ānic expressions has become so standardized since the Iranian revolution that it is now made the

object of popular jokes. A popular example from contemporary Tehran goes as follows: when a farmer is now asked what he uses to fertilize his fields, he responds, "In the name of God, sh*t!"

It would be wrong, however, to conclude from these observations that the Qur'ān is simply being rendered another form of commodified popular entertainment. Despite the reproduction and dissemination of "qur'ānic commodities" within commercial domains, and the extensive recourse to qur'ānic citations within modern political and social life, we continue to find the establishment of certain normative standards of use informed by ideas of the respect and distinction owed to the divine word (see WORD OF GOD). Thus, while qur'ānic verses may be imprinted on many household items, they are usually not applied to those used in activities that would compromise their purity, such as cooking, eating, or cleaning. Likewise, as decorative objects, *maṣāḥif* and other popular religious artifacts bearing qur'ānic verses will usually be displayed in a manner that respects their high status and value, placed above other artifacts that may be hanging on a wall, for example, or set apart from surrounding objects of display. When mounted on the dashboard of a car, *maṣāḥif* are ordinarily placed in a central location, and enclosed in a protective box covered in velvet or some other attractive material.

This proliferation of such "qur'ānic commodities" has been met with a variety of responses from Muslim scholars and intellectuals: while for some it is seen as evidence of a renewed religiosity among Muslims, for others, including many of those religious scholars *('ulamā')* trained in traditional institutions (see TRADITIONAL DISCIPLINES OF QUR'ĀNIC STUDY; TEACHING AND PREACHING THE QUR'ĀN), it represents a kind of commercialization inappropriate for the Qur'ān. Differences of opinion aside, insofar as the ability of the *'ulamā'* to direct the course of development within Islamic societies has been gradually attenuated as these societies have adopted secular legal and political structures, the *'ulamā'* frequently find themselves having to adjust to these new conditions. In short, attempts by the scholarly community to direct the introduction of the new media technologies, to define their uses and epistemological and ethical limits, while not entirely without effect, are often severely limited by the marginalization of this community from social and political power.

Internet

Perhaps the impact of new media forms on the Qur'ān is nowhere more visible today than on the internet. The Qur'ān is available online through thousands of different websites. It can be found in both text and audio formats, as well as in numerous translations (see TRANSLATIONS OF THE QUR'ĀN). Insofar as the internet medium offers new techniques for accessing the Qur'ān and related materials, it makes possible new kinds of reading practices. For example, internet versions of the Qur'ān can be accessed and explored via keywords, subjects or themes, or personal names. Moreover, those accessing the Qur'ān online through one of the many websites that make it available will often find themselves at the nexus of a vast body of secondary sources of information (scholarly guides, commentaries, speeches, sermons, audio versions) on the particular verse or chapter they have chosen to read. Some of the translations of the Qur'ān found within this domain incorporate short glosses or commentaries within the text itself, thereby redefining the text's traditional boundaries. Given the novelty of these practices, many of the ethical,

theological, and practical issues raised by such a "virtual Qur'ān" have received little scholarly attention. Not surprisingly, within the advice sections and chat rooms of Islamic websites it is not uncommon for visitors to raise such questions as: Must one approach a virtual Qur'ān in a state of ritual cleanliness (see CLEANLINESS AND ABLUTION; RITUAL PURITY)? If one moves sections of text around on the screen, is one commiting an offense to the divine word? It remains to be seen as to what kinds of norms will develop in relation to the use of the Qur'ān within the internet. What is clear, however, is that the technical and practical operations that this medium makes available will certainly generate new uses and interpretive possibilities for those who avail themselves of it. As has been the case with other media forms, the task for Muslims will be to ensure that the ethical and epistemological conditions essential to the ways the text positions itself within Islamic traditions are upheld.

Media, authority, knowledge

The availability of the Qur'ān in ever-new media forms has also influenced the sociology of religious knowledge in Muslim societies (see SOCIAL SCIENCES AND THE QUR'ĀN). As the anthropologist Dale Eickelman and others have noted, the mass reproduction and diffusion of the Qur'ān, together with the advent of universal modern literacy (q.v.), has enabled recent generations of Muslims to engage with the text in ways that had previously been available only to scholars (see SCHOLAR). Muslims increasingly study and interpret the text outside the institutions of religious knowledge that had previously secured the authority of particular readings. Moreover, individuals now bring forms of literacy acquired in secular public schools to their reading of the Qur'ān, an innovation that has lead to a proliferation of new interpretive and citational practices (see CONTEMPORARY CRITICAL PRACTICES AND THE QUR'ĀN; LITERATURE AND THE QUR'ĀN). One result of this has been what some scholars have labeled a "democratization" of religious knowledge, a transformation often compared to that associated with the advent of Protestant Christianity in Europe during the sixteenth century. This process is evident in the proliferation of sites of Islamic authority (e.g. Islamic research institutes, preaching organizations, popular Islamic media-intellectuals), in the multiplicity and heterogeneity of media forms involved in the production and circulation of Islamic knowledge, and in the relocation of scholarly arguments outside the traditional institutions of religious learning into a wider public arena. Such a shift was already evident in Egypt as early as the 1920s, in such practices as the publication of Muḥammed ʿAbduh's *tafsīr* in the pages of the journal *al-Manār* (as collected and edited by his student, Rashīd Riḍā), one of the new popular Islamic media forms that emerged at the time and that was geared to a broad, non-specialist audience. Indeed, as mentioned above, it is now common to find theological debates taking place within media oriented toward a general public, in newspapers, popular magazines, or booklets sold inexpensively in bookstalls and on sidewalks (see THEOLOGY AND THE QUR'ĀN). In addition, many of the most influential Muslim thinkers and activists today have never received training within traditional centers of Islamic learning, but are instead essentially self-taught. As these examples suggest, the structures of Islamic authority have undergone considerable change as they have become increasingly dependent on the institutions and media practices of national and transnational public spheres.

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Medicine and the Qurʾān

There is very little in the Qurʾān that is strictly medical in content. The most direct reference is in Q 16:69, which states that the drink *(sharāb)* produced by bees, i.e. honey (q.v.), is "healing" *(shifāʾ)* for people (see ILLNESS AND HEALTH). The word *shifāʾ*, "health," is further attested three times but in contexts where it is often understood in the meaning of remedy against ignorance (q.v.; *jahl*) of God and the revelation (see REVELATION AND INSPIRATION). The word illness *(maraḍ)* is attested thirteen times but in all these cases it refers to the heart (q.v.), and is traditionally interpreted to denote religious doubt and not any actual physical ailment. Sick people *(marīḍ,* pl. *marḍā)* are referred to in connection with religious duties and illness is in these cases presented as a valid excuse not to perform a particular duty. In addition to these direct references, there are in the Qurʾān injunctions that have been given a medical interpretation. Among these are the dietary instructions and the requirement to fast regularly (see FOOD AND DRINK; FASTING).

In the first/seventh century, Muslims became acquainted with Greek medical views and gradually the medicine of Hippocrates and Galen gained a position of authority. The Muslim physicians and medical theorists systematized it and elaborated on the Greek theory and the resulting synthesis is usually called Islamic or Graeco-Islamic medicine. It is not, however, in any way Islamic in character but is based solely on teachings of the Greek masters and their Muslim counterparts such as Ibn Sīnā (d. 428/1037) and al-Rāzī (d. 313/925). Despite its high status,

Graeco-Islamic medicine was not the only medical system applied to the treatment of illnesses; people resorted to a variety of alternative treatments based on home remedies and local curing traditions. One alternative approach was expressed in the so-called Prophet's medicine *(al-ṭibb al-nabawī)*, which was developed by scholars of the religious sciences and was based on the Qurʾān and the sunna (q.v.) of the Prophet. The authors of the Prophet's medicine showed that medical principles could be found in the Qurʾān and that the medical views that the Prophet had expressed were not in contrast with the current medical theory. The authors did not deny the achievements of the physicians working within the established medicine of the period but often referred to a number of authorities in the field. What they wanted to achieve by developing the Prophet's medicine was a further improvement and elaboration that would give medicine a clearly Islamic character.

The development of the Prophet's medicine

From fairly early on, Muslims showed an interest in finding out what had been the Prophet's view on illnesses and how he had treated them. The major collections of the Prophet's sayings that were compiled in the third/ninth century (see ḤADĪTH AND THE QURʾĀN) include ḥadīths that have a medical content. Among them are the general injunctions to treat the sick but some of them also contain more specific instructions or advice. These sayings mainly reflect the contemporary medical views of the Arabs (q.v.) and either accept or reject the traditional cures, while some of them refer to the changes that Islam had brought to curing practices and even to the concept of illness. Sayings such as "The Qurʾān is the best medicine" and "Rise to pray, for prayer (q.v.) is a cure" introduced new religious therapies, whereas the saying "Do not curse fever; it removes sins like fire removes dross from iron" indicated that illnesses should not be seen as meaningless suffering but as an atonement (q.v.) and, as such, as something positive (Ibn Māja, *Sunan, Ṭibb,* nos. 3458, 3469, 3501). These ḥadīths were usually put together in special chapters, e.g. al-Bukhārī's (d. 256/870) *al-Ṣaḥīḥ* has a chapter on the sick *(Kitāb al-marḍā)* and a chapter on medicine *(Kitāb al-ṭibb)*. In Ibn Māja's (d. 273/887) *Sunan,* all the medical ḥadīths are assembled in one chapter on medicine *(Kitāb al-ṭibb)*.

These medical sayings aroused further interest among some scholars and they started to compile specialized collections, where only medical sayings were included. These collections formed the beginning of the literary genre known as the Prophet's medicine *(al-ṭibb al-nabawī)*. The earliest surviving books entitled *al-Ṭibb al-nabawī* date from the fourth/tenth and fifth/eleventh centuries. The largest of them was compiled by Abū Nuʿaym al-Iṣfahānī (d. 430/1038) and it contained as many as 838 medical ḥadīths. He was able to expand the number of ḥadīths by including several variants of a ḥadīth as independent items; thus he had no less than twenty-six entries containing a variant of the saying "for every illness there is a cure." The interest for medical ḥadīths was not confined to Sunnī scholars but also Shīʿī scholars collected them (see SHĪʿISM AND THE QURʾĀN). They concentrated on the medical sayings of the imāms (see IMĀM) and usually titled their collections "Medicine of the imāms" *(Ṭibb al-aʾimma)*. One of the earliest compilations was written by the brothers Abū ʿAttāb ʿAbdallāh and al-Ḥusayn b. Bisṭām b. Shāpūr and has been dated to the fourth/tenth century.

These early collections were mere compilations of medical ḥadīths and they did not contain any attempts to analyze the medical advice or opinions expressed in the say-

ings. The most interesting aspect of these collections was their arrangement: the ḥadīths were arranged in chapters by subject and the chapter division followed that of the contemporary standard medical books. The next stage of development occurred in the seventh/thirteenth century, when ʿAbd al-Laṭīf al-Baghdādī (d. 629/1231) took up in his "Forty medical traditions" *(al-Arbaʿīn al-ṭibbiyya)* some of the Prophet's sayings and commented on their medical content. Al-Baghdādī was not only a ḥadīth scholar but also a practicing doctor, well acquainted with the medical theories of the day. About a century later, another doctor, the oculist ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn al-Kaḥḥāl b. Ṭarkhān (d. 720/1320) commented upon a large number of medical sayings in his book "The prophet's rulings on the art of medicine" *(al-Aḥkām al-nabawiyya fī l-ṣināʿa al-ṭibbiyya)*. He also listed eighty-three simple drugs or foodstuffs that were mentioned in the ḥadīth material.

Al-Baghdādī and al-Kaḥḥāl b. Ṭarkhān proved that the Prophet's advice and instructions were acceptable in the light of contemporary medical theory. Their commentaries still concentrated on individual ḥadīths but formed a basis for further development, where the Prophet's medicine was presented in a systematic manner including both theoretical discussion and practical advice. This new stage is apparent in the texts of two eighth/fourteenth century scholars Muḥammad al-Dhahabī (d. 748/1348) and Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya (d. 751/1350), both entitled *al-Ṭibb al-nabawī*. In addition to presenting and analyzing ḥadīths dealing with particular cures or illnesses they tried to place these sayings in a wider medical framework and therefore took up issues related to medical theory, such as the elements, humors and general causes of illnesses. In this discussion they did not only refer to the Prophet's sayings but also quoted qurʾānic verses and interpreted them in order to support their argumentation.

Both al-Dhahabī and Ibn al-Qayyim were acquainted with the current Graeco-Islamic medicine and admitted its achievements, but they wanted to show that it was not necessary to refer to non-Islamic authorities such as Hippocrates or Galen. It was perfectly possible to create a medical practice that was based on Islam, on the guidance of the Prophet and the Qurʾān. The texts of the two authors differ from each other in their treatment of the subject. Al-Dhahabī's text forms a small medical handbook presenting the basic theoretical issues, albeit in a very concise manner. In the practical section of the book he chose to discuss some common illnesses and their cures, disregarding the fact that not all of them were mentioned in the ḥadīth material. Ibn al-Qayyim also presented the main theoretical issues but confined himself to discuss in detail only those illnesses of which the Prophet had spoken. He was very much concerned with the religious implications of the Graeco-Islamic medicine and discussed these matters much more thoroughly than al-Dhahabī, who showed a more unquestioning acceptance of the current medical theory. This makes Ibn al-Qayyim's text far more interesting and useful for an analysis of the special features of the Prophet's medicine. He attempted to solve the problematic issues in a manner that secured an adherence to the teachings of Islam but also made it possible to follow the guidelines of the accepted medical theory.

Anti-medical views

The development of the Prophet's medicine can be seen as a reaction to the anti-medical views present in the Muslim community. The early ascetics (see ASCETICISM) stressed complete reliance on

God alone *(tawakkul)* and the extreme forms of reliance prevented the ascetic from any form of action. The wider community of Muslims never accepted the most extreme practices but it seems that even people outside ascetic circles shared the idea that medication meant meddling with God's divine purpose (see FREEDOM AND PREDESTINATION). According to a tradition, Abū al-Dardā', one of the Companions of the Prophet (q.v.), had refused treatment: "A doctor with his medicine and medicaments cannot protect me against what God has foreordained for me" (Dhahabī, *Ṭibb,* 152). Some scholars of the religious sciences claimed that a person who resorted to medication acted against the qur'ānic injunction: "In God let the believers put all their trust" (Q 9:51; Reinert, *Die Lehre,* 207-13; see TRUST AND PATIENCE; BELIEF AND UNBELIEF). Other scholars refuted these arguments by referring to abundant ḥadīth material that attested the Prophet's approval of medicine. One of the most explicit sayings is: "Servants (see SERVANT) of God, use medicaments! God did not give an illness without giving it a cure" (Ibn Māja, *Sunan, Ṭibb,* no. 3436).

It may be that especially the earliest collections of medical ḥadīths were assembled in order to counter the anti-medical views. The numerous sayings showed that the Prophet had not only advised others to be treated but also that he himself had received medical treatment. The Muslim community accepted medication as the sunna of the Prophet and refused the view that medical treatment was an action indicating a weakness in belief. Quite the contrary, by resorting to medication an individual proved his reliance on God and belief in God, because he accepted the medicaments as God's gift (see GIFT-GIVING) and wisdom (q.v.; Ibn al-Qayyim, *Ṭibb,* 10).

Another issue that made medicine controversial was the theological problem of causality (see THEOLOGY AND THE QUR'ĀN). The speculative theologians, both Muʿtazilīs (q.v.) and Ashʿarīs, held the view that God directly created all events (see CREATION) and that the nexus between cause and effect was not real but only apparent. According to them, illnesses were accidents *(aʿrāḍ)* created by God and an individual remained ill as long as God continuously recreated the illness in him or as long as he did not order it to disappear (cf. Wolfson, Philosophy, 522-43). Medicaments were useless because they did not have any natural properties that would affect the illness. This attitude made some theologians reject medication and it was possibly the motive that led the Muʿtazilī scholar Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh al-Iskāfī (d. 240/854) to ignore his doctor's advice. Al-Iskāfī consulted a doctor, got a prescription but decided to take drugs that were considered to have an effect opposite to the prescribed ones. He did not, as he may have believed would happen, get well in spite of the wrong medication, but, instead, his condition deteriorated and he soon died (Rosenthal, *Defence,* 524).

The Ashʿarī scholars accepted the view that the perceived connection between a cause and an effect is not something that occurs independently but is each time created by God. It was God's custom *(ʿāda)* always to create a sequence in the same way and therefore a pattern emerged which looked like causality. Al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111) illustrated the doctrine by explaining that when cotton was brought into contact with fire, it was not the fire that caused the cotton to burn. It was God who created the burning at the time when the cotton touched the fire. The fire did not have any natural ability to burn nor cotton the ability to be burned. The burning would not have taken place if

God had not created it (Wolfson, *Philosophy,* 544).

The practical consequences of this theory did not lead the Ashʿarīs to reject medicaments. Al-Ghazālī argued that medicaments could be used, because medication and recovery formed a sequence that was constantly created by God. Medicaments could be used but an individual should remember that the drugs did not have any inherent curing properties. It was actually God who created the recovery each time a drug was used (Ghazālī, *Iḥyāʾ,* iv, 250-1).

In contrast to the ascetics and speculative theologians, the traditionalist scholars did not have scruples in accepting medication. They supported their positive attitude by referring to ḥadīths that illustrated the Prophet's acceptance of medical treatment. They did not share the theoretical view that causality did not exist but maintained that, in a causal connection, God acted through intermediary causes. This meant that God had created intermediaries with effective qualities. These were means *(asbāb)* that God had intended people to use and benefit from. Among these were medicaments, which God had endowed with natural capacities that made them effective factors in curing illnesses (Perho, *Prophet's medicine,* 70-5).

The authors of the Prophet's medicine, according to whom medication was an effective way to combat illnesses, belonged to the traditionalist school. Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya referred to the fate of the people of ʿĀd (q.v.; Q 46:21-7) and stated that it was the wind (see AIR AND WIND) that destroyed them, i.e. God had used the wind as an intermediary of destruction and the capacity to destroy was in the wind's character (see PUNISHMENT STORIES). The Qurʾān could be seen to attest that God had placed in all created things qualities *(ṭabāʾiʿ)* and capacities *(quwan)* that could influence other created things. God created medicaments and he had given them qualities and capacities that could be used to cure illnesses; the causal nexus between medication and cure was true and not only apparent (Ibn al-Qayyim, *Ṭibb,* 9, 130).

Further, Ibn al-Qayyim found the three purposes of medicine, i.e. the restoration of health, its preservation and the prevention of illness, all attested in the Qurʾān. He quoted the verse that allows a traveler to postpone his fasting (Q 2:184) and explained that if a traveler would add fasting to the hardships caused by travel conditions, he would endanger his health (see JOURNEY; TRIPS AND VOYAGES). The qurʾānic permission of postponement presented the medical principle of preserving health. The principle of restoring health was evident in Q 2:196 allowing a person who did not participate in the actual pilgrimage (q.v.) to compensate for it by fasting or giving alms (see ALMSGIVING). According to Ibn al-Qayyim, he could then shave his head like a pilgrim and the shaving was in his case good for his health, because it opened pores and allowed harmful substances to leave the body. Here Ibn al-Qayyim referred to the contemporary medical principle of releasing corrupt substances from the body in order to restore health. The third objective of medicine was to prevent illnesses from occurring and this principle Ibn al-Qayyim saw reflected in Q 4:43, where a sick person is advised to perform his ablutions (see CLEANLINESS AND ABLUTION) with sand instead of water (q.v.). According to Ibn al-Qayyim this provision was made to prevent the individual from exposing himself to water that may contain substances that could worsen his condition. This Ibn al-Qayyim saw as God's guidance for the prevention of illnesses (Ibn al-Qayyim, *Ṭibb,* 2-3).

Theory in the Prophet's medicine in the eighth/fourteenth century

According to the Graeco-Islamic theory, all things are composed of four elements: fire (q.v.), air, water and earth (q.v.). In humans, these elements are present in the form of four humors: yellow bile, blood, phlegm and black bile. In a healthy individual the humors are in balance, whereas an illness is seen as an imbalance that should be rectified either by a diet or actual medication. Life is maintained by the innate heat *(ḥarāra gharīziyya),* which is contained in the heart and nourished by spirits (Gk. *pneumata,* Ar. *arwāḥ*). There are three types of spirits: natural, animal and psychic spirits, which support the corresponding faculties that govern the various physiological processes in the body. Natural spirit originates in the liver, animal spirit in the heart and psychic spirit in the brain. The spirits and faculties reach the various organs through veins, arteries and nerves and maintain life in the organ and enable it to function (see ARTERY AND VEIN). For example, the psychic spirit and the psychic faculty are carried from the brain by nerves to the organs and enable humans to perceive and move.

This theory was not only known and appreciated by the medical profession but it seems that it received a wide recognition in society. One indication of this is the fact that even the scholars of religious learning, al-Dhahabī and Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya who formulated the theory of the Prophet's medicine, considered it a valid description of human physiology. In the Prophet's medicine, the Graeco-Islamic views of physiology were not usually discussed in very great detail but the theory was cursorily presented indicating that it was generally known and widely accepted.

In some cases, the authors referred to the Qur'ān and pointed out that certain aspects of the theory were, in fact, confirmed in the revelation. For example, in discussing fetal development al-Dhahabī accepted the Graeco-Islamic view that the fetus originated in a mixture of male and female semen (see BIOLOGY AS THE CREATION AND STAGES OF LIFE). In his opinion this was also attested in the Qur'ān and he quoted the verse "We created man of an extraction of clay (q.v.), then we set him, a drop *(nutfa),* in a receptacle secure" (Q 23:12-3). The traditional interpretation identified the word *nutfa,* "drop," as male sperm but al-Dhahabī ignored this and spoke of both male and female semen. He claimed that "from the fluid of the man are created the basic organs and from the fluid of the woman is created the flesh" (Dhahabī, *Ṭibb,* 215). By broadening the meaning of the word "drop" to include also female semen, al-Dhahabī was able to show that there was no contradiction between the accepted medical theory and the Qur'ān.

Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya took up the Graeco-Islamic idea of elements as the basic components of the human being and compared this view to the information given in the Qur'ān. He could find three of the four elements attested in the Qur'ān: water, earth and air (Ibn al-Qayyim, *Ṭibb,* 15). Water is mentioned in Q 25:54: "And it is he who created of water a mortal *(bashar)*." The element earth is referred to in a number of verses according to which God created man of dust *(turāb),* e.g. Q 18:37. A combination of water and earth is indicated when it is said that man was created from clay *(ṭīn),* e.g. Q 6:2. The presence of air is attested in Q 55:14: "He created man of a clay like potter's." This clay *(ṣalṣāl)* is dried clay and, therefore, its ingredients are not only earth and water but also the air that dried it.

Ibn al-Qayyim accepted that these three elements were present in man, but he rejected the fourth element, fire. The Qur'ān

says explicitly that the devil (q.v.; Iblīs) was created from fire whereas humans were not (Q 7:12), therefore it was impossible that fire would be an element in them. The question, however, of the original four elements and their presence in human beings was a rather distant theoretical issue, whereas the humors and their characteristics had a more important role in practical medicine. Even though Ibn al-Qayyim did not accept the presence of fire in man, he did not doubt the existence of all the four humors. He also accepted that heat was an observable characteristic in the body, it was just not caused by fire. Therefore, in spite of his rejection of fire as an element, he accepted the correctness of the Graeco-Islamic humoral theory and approved of its use in the diagnosis and treatment of illnesses.

Causes of illnesses

The authors of the Prophet's medicine accepted that God as the creator was also the ultimate cause of all illnesses. They did not think that illnesses were God's punishment but that they were God's warning and guidance (see ASTRAY; CHASTISEMENT AND PUNISHMENT). The Prophet's saying: "The fever is a breath of hell (see HELL AND HELLFIRE)," indicated that God had created fever in order to warn people about the torments of hell. Illness could also be God's gift, a chance to atone for sins (see SIN, MAJOR AND MINOR) through patient suffering (q.v.) and this was attested by the Prophet's saying: "One day's fever corresponds to one year's atonement" (Ibn al-Qayyim, *Ṭibb,* 22-3). Incurable diseases were trials (see TRIAL) sent by God and if a person succumbed to them, his death was that of a martyr (q.v.; Ibn al-Qayyim, *Ṭibb,* 214; Dhahabī, *Ṭibb,* 189).

God created illnesses through intermediary causes and these were the physical causes that could be observed. Similarly, God also created the cure for an illness, but also this occurred through secondary causes, i.e. through the use of medicaments and therapies. Medicaments were means given by God for the benefit of the people. The Prophet's words "For every illness there is a cure. God did not give an illness without giving it a cure," were seen as an encouragement to study medicine, to determine the causes of illnesses and to search for methods of curing. The authors of the Prophet's medicine stressed that in this process of searching, the medical practitioners should also pay attention to the medical knowledge of the Prophet. The physicians should look for help in the spiritual cures that God had revealed to the Prophet and learn how reliance on God or turning to God in prayer could be used to cure illnesses of the soul (q.v.). But also the cures that the Prophet had recommended for physical illnesses should be studied, because God may have given him useful information concerning causes of illnesses, medicaments and curing methods (Ibn al-Qayyim, *Ṭibb,* 7; Dhahabī, *Ṭibb,* 52).

The authors of the Prophet's medicine accepted the Graeco-Islamic view that the physiological cause of an illness was an imbalance of the four humors. The imbalance was caused either by an abnormal increase of one of the humors or by corruption of the humors. These changes were again caused by external factors such as corrupted air, unsuitable diet, imbalance in rest and motion of the body, imbalance in the soul, too much or too little sleep, and abnormalities in excretion and retention of bodily fluids (Ibn al-Qayyim, *Ṭibb,* 4-5; Dhahabī, *Ṭibb,* 22). These six factors were the so-called six non-naturals of the Graeco-Islamic theory and their role in preserving health and correcting imbalances was decisive.

In addition to these causes, the authors of the Prophet's medicine also recognized

witchcraft (*siḥr,* see MAGIC) and the evil eye (*ʿayn,* see EYES) as etiological factors. The major authorities of the Graeco-Islamic medicine did not usually recognize these factors but the religious scholars were convinced of their existence (see TRADITIONAL DISCIPLINES OF QUR'ĀNIC STUDY). According to them, the existence of the evil eye was attested in the Qur'ān: "The unbelievers wellnigh strike you down with their glances" (Q 68:51; see SEEING AND HEARING; VISION AND BLINDNESS). The effect of the evil eye and witchcraft was based on the influence of spirits. The Graeco-Islamic theory taught that in the human body there were three types of spirits (Gk. *pneumata,* Ar. *arwāḥ*) that supported various physical functions. In the Prophet's medicine these spirits gained some new characteristics and powers: the spirits could be either good or evil (see GOOD AND EVIL; SPIRIT; JINN) and their effect could be projected onto other people. If a person's humors were badly imbalanced, the evil spirit could gain power over his soul. It could then further damage both the soul and body but it could also damage other persons because the affected individual could send the evil influence towards others and cause an illness in them.

Ibn al-Qayyim considered the evil eye to be an illness that its possessor could not control. The envy (q.v.) the person felt was the cause of the evil eye and he could not prevent the damage it caused. The only way to cure the disease was to eradicate the feeling of envy from the soul. When a believer accepted that God was the one who determined what each individual had or did not have, he would see the wrongness of being envious. He should follow the example of the Prophet, who said: "Whatever God wills. There is no might except in God." By strengthening his faith in God, a person could prevent the evil spirits from gaining power, because if a person allowed God to fill his heart, the evil influences of witchcraft and the evil eye would not affect him (Ibn al-Qayyim, *Ṭibb,* 98-101; 127-33).

Ibn al-Qayyim also ascribed some incurable illnesses, such as epilepsy and plague, at least partially to evil spirits. In this way he was able to explain why the Graeco-Islamic medicine provided only insufficient treatment. The evil spirits did not respond to ordinary medicaments and therefore the physicians were unable to cure the diseases the spirits caused. They were unaware of the merits of the religious cures, such as prayer, recitation of the Qur'ān (q.v.) and almsgiving. If the physicians accepted the guidance of the Prophet's medicine in this matter, they would learn the complete etiology of diseases and understand the benefits of religious cures. These cures strengthened the good spirits that also resided in people and the good spirits would then fight against the evil spirits and diminish their influence (Ibn al-Qayyim, *Ṭibb,* 30-1; 51-4).

The problem of contagion (ʿadwā)

The Graeco-Islamic medical theory recognized that certain illnesses were contagious, i.e. they could be transmitted from a sick person to a healthy one. According to the theory, epidemics, such as plague, began when people inhaled air that was corrupted by stagnant water, decaying cadavers or drought. The contagious disease caused the sick persons to discharge damaging vapors that corrupted the surrounding air and when a healthy person inhaled this air, it reached his spirit (Gk. *pneuma,* Ar. *rūḥ*) and corrupted it. The spirit got into the blood (see BLOOD AND BLOOD CLOT) and the body lost its temperamental balance, causing the person to develop the symptoms of the disease. All contagious diseases did not spread through miasma, corrupted air, but through touch or, as in the case of pink eye (ophthalmia, *ramad*),

through eyes. A person suffering from ophthalmia did not corrupt the surrounding air but his sight rays *(shuʿāʿ baṣarī)* were corrupt and could damage a healthy eye (Qusṭā b. Lūqā, *Iʿdā'*, 24-6; Dols, *Black death*, 88-92).

The existence of contagious diseases was acknowledged in the medical literature, but the scholars of religious sciences did not find it easy to accept contagion. If it was God who caused illnesses, how could a sick person independently infect a healthy person? Especially speculative theologians who rejected causality found it impossible to accept contagion. But even the traditionalist scholars who recognized the reality of the causal nexus, linking cause and effect, encountered problems in the question of contagion. As usual, they studied the opinions of the Prophet but had to admit that the ḥadīth material did not provide a clear answer. The ḥadīths were contradictory, some stating that the Prophet had denied contagion: "There is no contagion *(ʿadwā)*, no augury, no owl, and no snake" (Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ, Ṭibb, bāb* 45; see FORETELLING; DIVINATION; SOOTHSAYING). This ḥadīth connected contagion to other pre-Islamic beliefs: reading omens (see PORTENTS) in birds' flight, believing that the dead could reside in owls, or thinking that stomach pain was caused by a gnawing snake (Ibn Ḥajar, *Fatḥ al-bārī*, x, 132, 165; Juynboll, *Authenticity*, 140 n. 5). The ḥadīths rejecting contagion were contradicted by others showing that the Prophet had recognized the contagious character of some diseases: "Do not take a sick one to a healthy one" (Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ, Ṭibb, bāb* 54).

The authors of the Prophet's medicine tended to accept the existence of contagion but they were aware of the ambiguous nature of the ḥadīth material. Al-Dhahabī presented both types of ḥadīths, those that recognized contagion and those that rejected it. He admitted that contagion did exist and was caused by miasma, corrupted air. A person could contract an illness by being in contact with people suffering from specific illnesses. He reminded people, however, that they should not fear contagion because God predestined all illnesses and epidemics. He seemed to connect an overt fear of catching a contagious illness to the pre-Islamic belief that some people were ill omened and therefore best avoided (see FATE; DESTINY). This kind of excessive fear was what the Prophet had meant when he said, "There is no contagion" (al-Dhahabī, *Ṭibb*, 167-8, 187).

Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya expressed his acceptance of contagion in a much more unequivocal manner. In his opinion, God had given some diseases an ability to be transmitted. These transmittable *(naqqāla)* illnesses spread from person to person through miasmatic air, as was explained in the current medical theory. To support his view, he quoted several ḥadīths that seemed to accept the existence of contagion. He admitted that many scholars considered it difficult to establish the Prophet's opinion on the question and saw the ḥadīths to be contradictory. Ibn al-Qayyim did not share this view but stated that the contradiction was only apparent and was based on the scholars' imperfect understanding of their content. He then gave a number of suggestions that would solve the conflict and maintained that the Prophet's basic view had been to recognize the transmittable character of some illnesses (Ibn al-Qayyim, *Ṭibb*, 116-21).

The term *naqqāla*, "transmittable," that Ibn al-Qayyim used to characterize contagious illnesses was carefully chosen. Ibn al-Qayyim used it to differentiate the medically defined contagion from the one about which the Prophet had said: "There is no contagion *(ʿadwā)*." When he limited the

Prophet's rejection to a particular pre-Islamic, non-medical belief in contagion, it was possible to accept the general medical views of transmissibility of illnesses. Like al-Dhahabī, also Ibn al-Qayyim stressed that even though contagion existed, people should not think it was the sole cause of illnesses. Contagion was a cause created by God and to deny its existence was to deny God's law, but to think that contagion alone caused an illness would be idolatry (*shirk*, see IDOLATRY AND IDOLATERS) because it would equate contagion with God. God had created the causal nexus between contagion and illness but he was able to remove the causality if he so desired. Everything that happened was ultimately subject to God's will; therefore an exaggerated fear of contagion indicated that a person believed more in contagion than in God and this could damage the soul and endanger salvation (q.v.; Ibn al-Qayyim, *Miftāḥ*, 269).

Interdependence of body and soul

The Graeco-Islamic medicine represented a holistic approach to health and illness, where both physical and emotional balance were seen as prerequisites of health. In order to maintain health, it was important that a person followed a life-style suitable to his or her temperament. Apart from suitable diet and physical activities, people should avoid excessive emotions because these could affect the balance of the body and lead to serious physical symptoms. Excessive emotions were seen as illnesses of the soul *(amrāḍ al-nafs)* and included emotions such as anger (q.v.), worry and passionate love (see LOVE AND AFFECTION). In order to cure a patient suffering from the symptoms caused by these emotions, the physicians had to realize that the patient's emotions were out of balance and treat both the emotional and physical balance of the patient.

Because the health of the soul and the health of the body were understood to be closely linked, the physicians not only prescribed suitable diets but also gave advice on proper ethical and moral behavior (see ETHICS AND THE QUR'ĀN; VIRTUES AND VICES, COMMANDING AND FORBIDDING). The purpose of these instructions was to prevent emotional disturbances. Muḥammad b. Zakariyyā al-Rāzī (d. 313/925) stated that in order to preserve emotional balance, a person should endeavor to live quietly without quarrelling with people, be just and honest, help others and feel sympathy towards them (Rāzī, *Ṭibb*, 91-2). The physicians' view on a balanced, good way of life was based on the teachings of philosophers and did not contain any religious references. The scholars of religious sciences did not usually approve of the physicians' general philosophical advice but wanted to define the best way of life in more religious terms. The Ḥanbalī scholar Ibn al-Jawzī (d. 597/1200) wrote a book that had the same title as al-Rāzī's book, namely *al-Ṭibb al-rūḥānī*, "Spiritual medicine." The choice of title indicated that he wanted to counter the physician's advice by his own. Ibn al-Jawzī agreed that emotional balance was a crucial factor in health and his advice on preserving that balance was in many ways close to that of al-Rāzī. The significant difference was his choice of vocabulary that gave the advice a religious content. He recommended that people should defeat their passions and avoid what God has forbidden (q.v.), treat others with fairness (see JUSTICE AND INJUSTICE) and help them with advice when needed. The body should be among people but the soul *(qalb)* should be with God (Ibn al-Jawzī, *Ṭibb*, 66-7).

The authors of the Prophet's medicine shared the Graeco-Islamic holism and warned against the dangers of uncontrolled emotions. Al-Dhahabī pointed out

that anger heated the body and dried it, whereas worry and grief could cause fever. He found that also the Qur'ān advised people to avoid excessive emotions: "Do not exult; God loves not those that exult" (Q 28:76; see BOAST; ARROGANCE) and "A garden (q.v.) whose breadth is as the heavens and earth, prepared for the godfearing who… restrain their rage" (Q 3:133-4). According to al-Dhahabī, the Prophet had been exemplary in his avoidance of excessive emotions and he illustrated this by quoting ḥadīths in which the Prophet had shown restraint or advised Muslims to do so (Dhahabī, *Ṭibb,* 45-7).

Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya also stressed the interdependence of body and soul. Following the current medical views, Ibn al-Qayyim advised against emotional imbalance and recognized the physical damages caused by excessive emotions — emaciation, fevers, in severe cases even death. His main concern, however, was not to restore the emotional balance in order to cure the physical symptoms but, instead, he considered the physical suffering a transitory matter that could be endured. The more serious danger that the illnesses of the soul entailed was the danger they posed to the individual's salvation and eternal life (see ETERNITY).

Ibn al-Qayyim based his view about the seriousness of these diseases on the fact that they were mentioned in the Qur'ān as something leading to sin and loss of faith (q.v.). The diseases of the soul *(nafs)* were the diseases of the heart *(qalb)* referred to in the Qur'ān. These illnesses could be divided into two groups: disease of doubt *(shakk)* and disease of lust *(shahwa)*. The disease of uncertainty (q.v.) and doubt was referred to in the verse: "What, is there sickness in their hearts, or are they in doubt, or do they fear that God may be unjust towards them and his messenger (q.v.)? Nay, but those — they are the evildoers" (Q 24:50; see EVIL DEEDS). It is also attested in two other verses, namely Q 2:10 and Q 74:31. The disease of lust was mentioned in the verse: "Wives of the Prophet (q.v.), you are not as other women. If you are godfearing, be not abject in your speech, so that he in whose heart is sickness may be lustful; but speak honorable *(maʿrūf)* words" (Q 33:32). The diseases of the heart were specified to include the excessive emotions that the Graeco-Islamic medicine categorized as illnesses, namely passionate love, worry and grief (Ibn al-Qayyim, *Ṭibb,* 2).

The dangers of excessive emotions

According to Ibn al-Qayyim, indulging in excessive emotions endangered the salvation of an individual because the emotions were a sign that the person did not really trust in God. Al-Rāzī, the physician, pointed out that it was foolish to grieve for losses because everything in the world perishes (Rāzī, *Ṭibb,* 67-8). In Ibn al-Qayyim's opinion excessive grief was not only folly but also an act of disobedience (q.v.). He reminded his readers that everything that God had created was God's property (q.v.) and whatever humans possessed (see WEALTH; POSSESSION) was only lent to him by God. Inasmuch as God possessed everything, a person did not have the right to consider anything his or her own and instead of grieving for a loss, should accept it as the will of God and remain patient. This he saw recommended in the Qur'ān: "Who, when they are visited by an affliction, say, 'Surely we belong to God, and to him we return'; upon those rest blessings (see BLESSING) and mercy (q.v.) from their lord (q.v.), and those — they are the truly guided" (Q 2:156-7). Despair (q.v.) could lead a believer to think that God was unjust and he could end in losing his faith. In this way succumbing to temporal grief would lead to eternal punishment, whereas

patience in adversity would assure eternal happiness in paradise (q.v.; Ibn al-Qayyim, *Ṭibb,* 147-57; see also REWARD AND PUNISHMENT).

The Graeco-Islamic medical theory considered passionate love *('ishq)* an imbalance of the soul, which then damaged the physical functions of the body. In the most serious cases it could weaken the innate heat and cause death. The Prophet's medicine also recognized the physical effects of passionate love but more attention was paid to the spiritual damage the illness caused. Ibn al-Qayyim warned that an unchecked passion could develop into idolatry *(shirk)* if the lover was so obsessed with the desire of his beloved that his love for God was replaced by his passion for the beloved. The passionate desire for a created being would expel from his heart the love for his creator and this would mean that he had abandoned Islam. The physicians were concerned with the physical effects of the illness and the danger it posed to the patient's survival. For Ibn al-Qayyim, it was more important that the patient realized the threat the excessive emotion posed to the eternal life of his soul. The purpose of the recommended therapies was to make the patient see that he had to regain emotional balance in order to save his soul (Ibn al-Qayyim, *Ṭibb,* 207-8, 212-3).

Medicaments and other curing methods

According to the medical theory, illnesses were the results of humoral imbalance and curing meant reestablishment of the balance. Changing the patient's diet often did this, but if this was not sufficient, drugs were administered. The purpose of the drug therapy was to counter the corrupted humor and evacuate it from the body. The drugs were chosen in accordance with the allopathic principle, i.e. the drug used had a quality that was opposite to that of the disease. If a disease was deemed to be hot, a drug that was temperamentally cold should counter it. The basic drugs were simple, consisting of only one herb, fruit or other foodstuffs or minerals but the physicians could also prescribe compound drugs consisting of a large number of ingredients.

The authors of the Prophet's medicine accepted the allopathic principle and in their lists of simple drugs and foodstuffs they recorded the temperament of the substance and listed the complaints against which it could be used. Their descriptions of these qualities tallied well with the standard medical opinions and they obviously based them on information given in Graeco-Islamic medical books. For the most part, their lists consisted of drugs mentioned in the ḥadīths or the Qur'ān (see METALS AND MINERALS; AGRICULTURE AND VEGETATION) but also other, generally known drugs were included. The ḥadīths the authors quoted in their lists of drugs were rarely medical in content and it seems to have been sufficient that a medical item was mentioned by the Prophet: "The believer, who recites the Qur'ān, is like a lemon: pleasant to taste and pleasant to smell" (Ibn al-Qayyim, *Ṭibb,* 218; Dhahabī, *Ṭibb,* 52). Even though the content of the ḥadīth did not point to any medical use of the item mentioned, it proved that the Prophet had not rejected its use. The same applied to verses of the Qur'ān, e.g. the verse referring to the pomegranate as one of the benefits bestowed by God (Q 55:68) was quoted in connection with presentations of the fruit's medical properties (Ibn al-Qayyim, *Ṭibb,* 243; Dhahabī, *Ṭibb,* 89).

The authors of the Prophet's medicine also accepted the use of compound drugs, even though the ḥadīths showed that the Prophet had favored simple drugs. They based their acceptance on the Graeco-Islamic medical view that the patient's habits and circumstances should be taken

into account when determining a suitable treatment. Ibn al-Qayyim pointed out that the Muslims of the early community (see COMMUNITY AND SOCIETY IN THE QUR'ĀN) had led a simple life and followed a simple diet. Therefore, also their humoral imbalances could be treated with simple drugs. In contrast, city (q.v.) dwellers were used to a more complex diet and, consequently, their illnesses were also more complex. If a physician deemed that simple drugs were not sufficient to treat an illness, he should, in that case, prescribe compound drugs (Ibn al-Qayyim, *Ṭibb,* 5-6, 57; Dhahabī, *Ṭibb,* 50, 143).

Apart from drugs, the Graeco-Islamic medicine further recognized cupping, venesection and cautery as efficient methods of curing. Cupping and venesection were used to evacuate corrupted humors, whereas cautery — burning with hot iron — was used to treat pains, tumors and bleeding wounds. All these methods were also accepted in the Prophet's medicine, although the ḥadīth material gave, once again, conflicting evidence of the Prophet's opinion regarding venesection and cautery. Limiting the applicability of those ḥadīths that rejected venesection and cautery solved the problem. Ibn al-Qayyim stated, referring to the authority of physicians, that venesection should not be used in hot climates — as in the Ḥijāz — or during hot seasons. The Prophet's rejection of venesection meant that it should not be used in circumstances that might harm the patient (Ibn al-Qayyim, *Ṭibb,* 41-2). Similarly, traditions rejecting cautery did not make the method forbidden but limited its use to medically accepted purposes. What the Prophet had rejected were the superstitious beliefs that some people had regarding the method (Ibn al-Qayyim, *Ṭibb,* 50; Dhahabī, *Ṭibb,* 182-3).

The Graeco-Islamic medicine accepted the use of wine (q.v.) in the treatment of illnesses because it was considered to have a high nutritious value. The scholars of Islamic law held wine to be forbidden basing their view on Q 5:90-1 (see INTOXICANTS) and therefore the authors of the Prophet's medicine could not accept its medical use. They did, however, admit that wine had beneficial qualities and had proved to be able to cure some illnesses. They rejected wine because God had forbidden it and to use something God had forbidden would damage the believer's soul and endanger his salvation. Taking up the interdependence of body and soul, Ibn al-Qayyim added that it was important to choose a curing method and medication that the patient could accept and trust. If a physician prescribed a drug that his patient knew to be a substance God had forbidden, the patient could not believe in its curative powers and, as a result, the medicine would not cure him. The anxiety caused by disobedience to God's commands could actually make the patient's condition worse (Ibn al-Qayyim, *Ṭibb,* 123-4; Dhahabī, *Ṭibb,* 75-6; see COMMANDMENTS; BOUNDARIES AND PRECEPTS).

Divine medicaments

A special feature of the Prophet's medicine was its promotion of curing practices that had been recommended by the Prophet or could be found in the Qur'ān. The authors called them divine medicament *(adwiya ilāhiyya)* or the Prophet's medicaments *(adwiya nabawiyya)* and they were prayer *(ṣalāt),* patience *(ṣabr),* fasting *(ṣawm),* jihād (q.v.), the Qur'ān itself and incantations *(ruqan,* sing. *ruqya).* These medicaments could be used to cure physical disorders and their efficiency as cures was based on their spiritual and physical influence. For example, the ritual prayer was seen both as a physical exercise, where the performer moved his joints and relaxed his inner organs, and as a religious act that directed

the performer's thoughts towards the hereafter (see ESCHATOLOGY), away from pain, strengthening his soul and faculties (Dhahabī, *Ṭibb,* 201; Ibn al-Qayyim, *Ṭibb,* 164).

The use of the Qur'ān as a medicament was based on Q 17:82: "And we send down, of the Qur'ān, that which is a healing and a mercy to the believers." According to Ibn al-Qayyim and al-Dhahabī, the Qur'ān was the perfect cure for all diseases, both those of the body and those of the soul. The book could be used as a curing object by bringing it into contact with the diseased part of the body, either by placing it on the painful spot or, in the case of eye diseases, letting the eye gaze at the Qur'ān (Ibn al-Qayyim, *Ṭibb,* 272; Dhahabī, *Ṭibb,* 202). In explaining the efficiency of the Qur'ān as medicament, Ibn al-Qayyim again referred to the patient's need to believe in the cure; as in the use of any other medicament, in the use of the Qur'ān it was also required that the patient believed firmly in the benefits of the cure. Only in that case could the disease be defeated (Ibn al-Qayyim, *Ṭibb,* 272).

The verses (q.v.) of the Qur'ān could also be used as cures. The authors instructed that a verse could be written in ink, either on a paper or directly on the inside of a vessel and then the text was dissolved in water. The patient then drank the water as a medicine. It was also possible simply to recite a verse or recite it over water, which was then drunk by the patient or was sprinkled over him. Some verses had specific uses — Q 6:98, for instance, could be used against toothache, Q 12:111 and Q 46:35 in cases of difficult birth (q.v.), and Q 11:44 against nosebleed. The authors indicated that the verses should be written in this way only to cure actual illnesses and should not be used as protective amulets (q.v.; Dhahabī, *Ṭibb,* 197-9; Ibn al-Qayyim, *Ṭibb,* 277-8; see also PROTECTION).

Written cures did not necessarily have to consist of qur'ānic verses; other texts were also permissible. Al-Dhahabī stressed that these texts should be seen as supplications to God and, therefore, they should be texts with meaning and should not contain anything non-Islamic (Dhahabī, *Ṭibb,* 165). Ibn al-Qayyim and al-Dhahabī rejected the use of protective amulets that were very popular in the contemporary society. Magic was taken seriously and scholars like Ibn Khaldūn (d. 808/1406) considered the art of talismans and letter magic as sciences (Ibn Khaldūn, *Muqaddima,* iii, 156-227; see MYSTERIOUS LETTERS; NUMEROLOGY; POPULAR AND TALISMANIC USES OF THE QUR'ĀN). Physicians used charms as a part of their therapy and the magic squares or geometric symbols they used were based on ancient magical traditions. Ibn al-Qayyim and al-Dhahabī advised against relying on this type of charm and, instead, guided people to base their incantations on qur'ānic verses or simple devotional texts.

The later development of the Prophet's medicine

The books of Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya and al-Dhahabī presented the Prophet's medicine in a systematic manner combining the ḥadīths and current medical theory. The authors did not want to reject the established Graeco-Islamic medicine but they wanted to add an Islamic dimension to current medical practices. In the authors' opinion, the Graeco-Islamic medicine would benefit from the inclusion of the special knowledge that God had given to his Prophet. The divine medicaments — prayer, fasting, incantations, etc. — were treatments that the physicians should study and adopt. The authors did not uncritically promote everything that the Prophet had recommended but reviewed the instructions in the light of Graeco-Islamic theory and then either accepted the Prophet's guidance or re-

jected it as having been applicable only in the environmental conditions of the Ḥijāz in the Prophet's time.

Ibn al-Qayyim's and al-Dhahabī's books influenced some of the later authors of the genre. The Ḥanbalī scholar Jalāl al-Dīn Yūsuf b. Muḥammad al-Surramarrī (d. 776/1374) wrote "The book on curing pains in the medicine of the people of Islam" *(Kitāb Shifāʾ al-ālām fī ṭibb ahl al-Islām)* and followed in the arrangement of his material the model set by al-Dhahabī. The Ḥanafī scholar Ibn Ṭūlūn al-Dimashqī (d. 953/1546) quoted both al-Dhahabī and Ibn al-Qayyim extensively in his book "The thirst-quenching spring of the Prophet's medicine" *(al-Manhal al-rawī fī l-ṭibb al-nabawī)*. He arranged his material in accordance with *al-Mūjaz* written by Ibn al-Nafīs (d. 687/1288), one of the major scholars of Graeco-Islamic medicine in the later period.

The Shāfiʿī scholar Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505) compiled medical ḥadīths in his work "The correct method and the thirst-quenching spring of the Prophet's medicine" *(al-Manhaj al-sawī wa-l-manhal al-rawī fī l-ṭibb al-nabawī)*. He continued the tradition set by the early collections and simply assembled ḥadīths under headings taken from medical books, leaving them unglossed. He did not discuss the ḥadīths nor did he present any details of the medical theory. There is, however, some indication that he may have studied the works of the earlier authors of the Prophet's medicine, even though he did not refer to them in his book on medical ḥadīths. In the commentary on the Qurʾān, *Tafsīr al-Jalālayn,* which al-Suyūṭī completed, he commented on the verse "He was created of gushing water" (Q 86:6) and stated that the water *(māʾ)* issued from both the man and the woman *(dhī indifāq min al-rajul wa-l-marʾa)*. This interpretation was not traditional (cf. Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* ad loc.) but indicates that al-Suyūṭī was aware of the medical views on this issue. His commentary reflects very closely the idea of male and female semen expressed by al-Dhahabī in his book *al-Ṭibb al-nabawī*.

The influence of the Prophet's medicine on practicing physicians and the treatments they recommended is difficult to determine. The Prophet's medicine seems to have remained a genre adopted by the religious scholars, whereas the standard medical literature of the period from the eighth/fourteenth to the eleventh/sixteenth centuries was dominated by Graeco-Islamic medicine. There are, however, some texts written by physicians indicating that the Prophet's medicine was indeed used and its recommendations applied. One of these was written by Mahdī b. ʿAlī al-Ṣanawbarī (or al-Ṣubunrī) al-Yamanī (d. 815/1412) and it was titled "The book on mercy in medicine and wisdom" *(Kitāb al-Raḥma fī l-ṭibb wa-l-ḥikma)*. Another was written by Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Azraqī (d. after 890/1485) with the title "The book on the benefits of medicine and wisdom made accessible" *(Kitāb Tashīl al-manāfiʿ fī l-ṭibb wa-l-ḥikam)*. Nothing much is known of the authors but they seem to have been physicians practicing in Yemen. Their texts are usually classified as belonging to the Prophet's medicine, even though references to Graeco-Islamic authorities abound. Al-Azraqī actually listed standard Graeco-Islamic medical books as his major sources and the only book on the Prophet's medicine he quoted was Ibn al-Jawzī's *al-Luqaṭ*.

Al-Azraqī's book contains very few references to the Prophet or to the Qurʾān and the treatments recommended by the Prophet are only listed as one of the alternatives. There is no attempt to discuss any of the religious issues taken up by earlier authors of the Prophet's medicine. The same applies to al-Ṣanawbarī's book and,

although he quoted more ḥadīths than al-Azraqī, he was not concerned with the theological implications of the medical theories. Al-Ṣanawbarī supported the medical view of the four elements and, in contrast to Ibn al-Qayyim, did not reject the status of fire as one of the elements, but actually claimed that the Prophet had accepted it: "God created man from four things, from water, clay, fire, and wind. If the water dominates, the person is a scholar (q.v.) or noble. If the clay dominates, he sheds blood (see BLOODSHED), is evil and insolvent in this world and the hereafter. If the fire dominates, he is oppressive or tyrannical (see OPPRESSION). If the wind dominates, he is a liar (see LIE)" (Ṣanawbarī, *Raḥma,* 3-4). Al-Ṣanawbarī did not give any reference to the source of the ḥadīth and it cannot be found in the major collections (cf. Wensinck, *Concordance,* s.v. *khalaqa*). Al-Ṣanawbarī obviously felt the need to provide the ḥadīth to prove his point, but he did not further discuss the issue.

In the eleventh/sixteenth century, Dā'ūd al-Anṭākī (d. 1008/1599) wrote a medical handbook, "Memorandum for those who understand" *(Tadhkirat ūlī l-albāb),* which represents the views of the Graeco-Islamic school. In the book, he stressed the importance of medicine and claimed it to be the most important of the sciences, one that enjoys a position more noble than the religious sciences (see SCIENCE AND THE QUR'ĀN). He supported this by quoting ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib's (q.v.) words: "Knowledge is of two types; the knowledge of religions and the knowledge of bodies" (see KNOWLEDGE AND LEARNING). According to al-Anṭākī, ʿAlī had added: "and the knowledge of bodies has precedence over knowledge of religions" (Anṭākī, *Tadhkira,* i, 11).

Otherwise, al-Anṭākī's references to ḥadīths are rare and quotations from the Qur'ān non-existent. Interestingly, the only chapter with a larger number of ḥadīths is that on plague *(ṭāʿūn).* The plague was endemic in the Middle East and the death toll was high each time an epidemic broke out. In addition to countering the plight medically, society also responded by stressing observance of religious duties and encouraging recitations of the Qur'ān and the ḥadīths (cf. Dols, *Black death*). This must have made those sayings of the Prophet that dealt with plague very well known, and thus al-Anṭākī included them in his handbook. He not only quoted them but also discussed their meaning. His opinions did not present anything controversial but followed the mainstream views (Anṭākī, *Tadhkira,* iii, 217-9).

Al-Azraqī, al-Ṣanawbarī and al-Anṭākī presented talismanic cures alongside allopathic herbal or dietetic treatments. Al-Anṭākī devoted a separate chapter to talismans and gave instructions on how to prepare them and explained the meanings of the symbols. Al-Azraqī and al-Ṣanawbarī included talismans in the presentation of cures for various diseases. They also provided instruction on how to write them, but they did not discuss their meaning or underlying systems. When compared to the written texts that Ibn al-Qayyim and al-Dhahabī recommended for curing some illnesses, the talismans of the three physicians look very different. They do not generally consist of qur'ānic verses or known prayers but contain symbols, numbers and letters reflecting a magical tradition older than Islam. Al-Ṣanawbarī did occasionally recommend the use of qur'ānic verses as well, but a verse alone did not usually suffice. For example, as one of the cures of small-pox *(judarī)* he recommends that part of the verse Q 2:243 be read over seven grains of barley — over each grain three times. The last quoted word "die" is repeated twice followed by an incantation (Ṣanawbarī, *Raḥma,* 100).

The medical books of these three authors reflect the contemporary medical practices that sought to ease the sufferings of the sick by diets, medicaments, religious cures, and talismans. The books are concise handbooks that do not dwell very much on the theoretical aspects of medicine but offer practical advice. There was an obvious need for such books, as al-Azraqī himself stated: "When I saw that [today] there are very few people who concern themselves with medicine but those who seek help from it are many, and this art being buried under the great and common need for it on the part of the people, it appeared to deserve special devotion since no human being can avoid it.… This, then motivated me to collect certain materials concerning this art" (Azraqī, *Tashīl,* 2-3; Eng. trans., Rahman, *Health,* 45). The interest in illnesses and their cures remained strong and when printing was introduced the books of al-Ṣanawbarī and al-Anṭākī became popular reference works for home remedies (cf. Gallagher, *Medicine and power,* 26-7; Gallagher accepts the mistaken ascription of *Kītāb al-Raḥma* to al-Suyūṭī).

Contemporary development

When the Europeans gave up the humoral theory as the basis of human physiology in the nineteenth century C.E., its support in the Islamic world started to wane as well. The strong European presence in the Middle East enabled the elites to become acquainted with the scientific progress made in Europe, and they increasingly resorted to the services of European physicians. The local practitioners continued to treat the masses of the population, among whom the traditional medicine still retained its status. In the areas that were colonized by the Europeans, the situation started to change rapidly because the colonial masters supported Western medicine as the only legitimate practice and considered all other forms to be charlatanry or quackery. The medical education was standardized to follow Western models and gradually the humoral theory fell into oblivion. The Graeco-Islamic medicine and the Prophet's medicine survived as folkloric ideas and influenced home remedies and dietary customs (Gallagher, *Medicine and power,* 83-96).

In the Indian subcontinent the Graeco-Islamic medicine — which was there called Unani medicine, i.e. Greek medicine — resurfaced in the twentieth century C.E. and in the independent states of India and Pakistan it has, with the help of government-funded research, become a competitive and serious alternative to Western medicine. Also elsewhere in the Islamic world, the recent years have shown an increasing interest in the holistic approach that the Graeco-Islamic medicine provides. It is seen as an alternative to the symptom-centered Western medicine and its dietary and herbal therapies are gaining support among people who have seen that the expensive Western chemical drugs are not necessarily more effective in combating illnesses.

The Prophet's medicine has also benefited from the growing interest in alternative medical practices. The medical sayings of the Prophet have not been forgotten but form a part of the popular medical wisdom that offers simple household remedies for common ailments. In addition, old treatises of the Prophet's medicine have been reprinted. Currently, one of the most readily available texts is Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya's *al-Ṭibb al-nabawī.* In some cases, the editors not only printed the treatise, but also supplied footnotes that explain the eighth/fourteenth century medical concepts to the modern readers and provide modern medical views on the illnesses and treatments discussed in the text.

There are also contemporary books on

the Prophet's medicine but usually they do not promote the humoral concepts presented in the older text. Instead, they interpret the ḥadīths in the light of modern medical knowledge. This is due to the background of the authors who are typically physicians trained in Western medicine. In their way, they are doing the same as their early predecessors did: namely, trying to combine the Prophet's medical guidance with contemporary medical theory. Some of these books can be seen as apologies intended to prove the superior knowledge of the Prophet also in medicine. Book titles such as "The inimitability of the Prophet's medicine" *(I'jāz al-ṭibb al-nabawī)* indicate this approach.

There are, however, contemporary books that have more ambitious goals. One of the most substantial of these is *al-Ṭibb al-nabawī* written by Maḥmūd Nāẓim al-Nasīmī (d. 1986). Maḥmūd al-Nasīmī was a physician well acquainted with the modern developments of medicine. In his book, he takes up contemporary issues, such as birth control (q.v.) and organ transplants, and discusses thoroughly the ethical and religious implications of the practices. In his argumentation, he regularly refers to the Qur'ān, ḥadīths and Islamic legal literature (see LAW AND THE QUR'ĀN). After presenting various arguments on a particular medical issue, he proceeds to give a ruling, which he himself calls a *fatwā,* a term that belongs to Islamic jurisprudence *(fiqh)*. His method is apparent in his discussion of smoking. He first analyzes the opinions of the jurists who gave their rulings in the eleventh/seventeenth century when the use of tobacco spread to the Middle East. He concludes that the scholars considered smoking as forbidden *(ḥarām)* or abominable *(makrūh)* on the basis that it was addictive, it smelled bad and was expensive. Al-Nasīmī continues by giving a detailed account of the health risks that modern medical opinion connects with smoking, also taking up aspects such as second-hand smoke and the effects of smoking on the fetus. His ruling is that the extensive health risks make smoking forbidden *(ḥarām)* or at least abominable *(makrūh)*. He supports this ruling by quoting the qur'ānic injunction against suicide (q.v.; Q 4:29). He also quotes a ḥadīth according to which all those who eat poison on purpose will suffer eternally in hell (Nasīmī, *Ṭibb,* i, 343-73).

Al-Nasīmī clearly wanted to formulate an Islamic opinion on various medical issues and practices that have ethical implications. Some may see the Prophet's medicine as an alternative holistic approach to illnesses, in line with the Graeco-Islamic or Unani medicine. But al-Nasīmī is a representative of a viewpoint that does not want to revive the Prophet's medicine as an independent, special medical system based on humoral principles but rather wants to use it as a tool to formulate an Islamic medical approach. In this, he is following in the footsteps of Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya and Muḥammad al-Dhahabī, who wanted to situate their contemporary medical practices within an Islamic framework. The modern authors have the same ambition of extending the applicability of Islamic norms to medicine and assuring that modern medicine does not exceed the bounds of what is considered ethically sound.

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Medina

One of the primary settlements of the Ḥijāz in Muḥammad's time, to which he emigrated (see EMIGRATION) from Mecca (q.v.), and where he died. The town of Medina is mentioned in the Qurʾān only in passing (see below). If based solely on the qurʾānic data, therefore, any entry concerning Medina would be unduly short because our knowledge of pre- and early Islamic Medina derives almost entirely from other, and usually much later, source material. On the other hand, Medina is the setting for much of the qurʾānic message, and the later period of Muḥammad's prophetic career as well as the beginnings of Islam are unlikely to be understood without a proper knowledge of the town, its settings and its inhabitants.

Medina, one of the major settlements of the Ḥijāz and some 350 km to the north of Mecca, was in pre-Islamic times commonly called "Yathrib" (the *Iathrippa* of the Greek geographers). As such, the town is named in Q 33:13 where the Medinan Muslims are addressed as "people of Yathrib" *(ahl yathrib)*. This name is also present in pre-Islamic poetry and in the so-called "Constitution of Medina," and it remained current in later Arabic poetry as well (see PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QURʾĀN; POETRY AND POETS). The term *al-madīna,* which means simply "the town" in Arabic, appears as the designation for Yathrib in Q 9:101, 120, 63:8 and quite possibly in Q 33:60; in other instances, however, the noun *al-madīna (*pl. *al-madāʾin)* is not used as a proper name but refers to other cities (e.g. Q 7:123; 12:30; 15:67, etc.; see CITY). The origin of the name "Medina" for the settlement of Yathrib is uncertain, though it seems more likely that it derives from the Aramaic term for town/city/settlement *(madīṭā)* than that it is an abbreviated form of the Arabic epithet "the town of the

Prophet" *(madīnat al-nabī),* as later Islamic tradition has it. The town was also given many honorific epithets, which were reckoned as names as well. The most prominent among these is *al-ṭayba,* "the perfumed" or also "the healthy." In the modern age, the name of Medina is commonly extended to *al-madīna al-munawwara,* "Medina the illuminated," whereas in former centuries one often spoke of *al-madīna al-sharīfa,* "the noble city" (or also "Medina the noble").

Early Islamic Medina

As stated above, there is next to no information about the town, its history and topography in the Qurʾān itself. Any account of Medina in pre- and early Islamic times must therefore be based on later literary sources. The earliest local history, now lost but amply cited in later works, was written by Ibn Zabāla (d. ca. 200/815). Although these sources provide a wealth of material, we encounter here the general predicament of early Islamic history, namely that the historicity of this information proves very hard to establish and evaluate (see HISTORY AND THE QURʾĀN). Much of what we can say about pre- and early Islamic Medina is thus hypothetical. Although some studies of recent years, especially those by M.J. Kister and M. Lecker, make thorough use of the material available, their results — as valuable as they are for the details that they offer — must, on the whole, be seen as conjectural; topographical and genealogical features can be reconstructed more easily than strictly historical events and developments. Of little help so far have been archaeological records of Medina and its surroundings, mainly because there is little opportunity for fieldwork focused on pre- and early Islamic history in the Ḥijāz (see ART AND ARCHITECTURE AND THE QURʾĀN; ARCHAEOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN).

At the time of the Prophet, the Medinans were essentially living off of their agricultural production (see AGRICULTURE AND VEGETATION), and local dates (see DATE PALM) were among the most cherished products. The hot climate, however, is described as unhealthy and the vast lava-fields outside the town diminished the size of the arable land. Although a number of markets (q.v.) existed there, Medina cannot be regarded as a town of commerce like, for example, Mecca. The settlement itself was a loose grouping of living quarters or zones, interspersed with groupings of palm groves and fields, with the individual living quarters often fortified by strongholds *(āṭām)*. Medina extended over a large area (of several square miles) and thus covered a wider — but less densely populated — area than does the modern town; no city walls are known from before the fourth/tenth century.

The population of pre-Islamic Medina consisted of pagan Arab and Jewish clans (see JEWS AND JUDAISM; TRIBES AND CLANS), with only a marginal presence of other monotheists (see SOUTH ARABIA, RELIGION IN PRE-ISLAMIC; POLYTHEISM AND ATHEISM; IDOLATRY AND IDOLATERS). It is not known with certainty whether the Jews had come from Palestine or whether they were Arab proselytes. Some smaller Arab tribes do, however, appear to have been either affiliated with Jewish tribes, or converts to Judaism, and the sources report cases of Arab-Jewish marriages (see MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE). Furthermore, the literary heritage of the Medinan Jews, Arabic poetry, indicates that they were an integral part of the local culture (see ARABIC LANGUAGE). The intricate and still partly obscure history of the Medinan Jews has been much researched especially as

they were a constant and dominant factor in pre- and early Islamic Medinan society (for further discussion, see NAḌĪR, BANŪ AL-; OPPOSITION TO MUḤAMMAD; QURAYẒA). The two Arab super-clans known as Aws and Khazraj constituted the most important pagan faction in Medina. These groups had emigrated in pre-Islamic times from Yemen to Medina, where they eventually overcame the previously dominant Jewish faction. The result was a sort of unstable stalemate that lasted until the Prophet's arrival in Medina (see POLITICS AND THE QUR'ĀN). The Arab clans, in any case, were also engaged in inner conflicts that often resulted in feuds and mutual bloodshed (q.v.).

This much can be said on the basis of the source material, yet much else remains in the dark. For example, scattered notices are encountered in later writings about the ties of the Medinan Jews with Sasanid Persia and Yemen (q.v.). Yet it is impossible to detail what these ties might have looked like and what influence they could have exerted. It seems clear, though, that Medina (and central Arabia in general) was not cut off from the centers of post-Hellenistic culture. Such contact is surmised from the commercial ties (see SELLING AND BUYING; CARAVAN) of the Ḥijāz with Syria (q.v.) and the pervasive presence of monotheistic ideas throughout the area in pre-Islamic times. Moreover, it is difficult to imagine that the Medinan Jews and other monotheists would not have had any contact with their coreligionists elsewhere, although substantial information is lacking in that regard.

When the Prophet came to Medina in 622 C.E., the town was divided between the various pagan and Jewish clans. According to Islamic tradition, Muḥammad was invited by deputies of the Aws and Khazraj to settle in Medina and to act as an arbiter of internal affairs. Once Muḥammad arrived in Medina, most members of the Aws and Khazraj became Muslims and were henceforth known as the Prophet's "Helpers" *(al-anṣār)* although some continued to oppose him in secret (see EMIGRANTS AND HELPERS). Muḥammad settled first at Qubā', at the southern fringe of Medina, and there he also erected the first mosque (q.v.) of Islam. Although the Prophet enjoyed the support of the Arab clans he avoided becoming too closely affiliated with them and tried to remain aloof from their societal bonds (see COMMUNITY AND SOCIETY IN THE QUR'ĀN). Rather, he tended to rely upon his fellow Emigrants *(al-muhājirūn)*, which brought about misgivings between the Medinan Helpers and the Meccan Emigrants and resulted in a tension between both groups that was not resolved until much later in Islamic history.

The decade following the Prophet's move from Mecca to Medina is commonly dubbed "the Medinan period" (see CHRONOLOGY AND THE QUR'ĀN). According to the accounts in the classical sources, the outline of events during that time is fairly well known and there is no need to repeat it here (see Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*). It is important, however, to note that Muḥammad first adopted a conciliatory policy among the Arab clans and towards the Jews (as is shown by the so-called "Constitution of Medina"), yet after growing troubles in Medina and the overt enmity of the Meccans he switched to a more resolute attitude that made him send raids and engage in greater battles, in Medina itself (against the Jews) as well as in its surroundings (e.g. against the Meccans at Badr [q.v.] and Uḥud; see EXPEDITIONS AND BATTLES). The outcome of the Prophet's determination was, especially after the capture of Mecca and the defeat of the Medinan Jews, the formation of the first Islamic

community. In the view of many modern Muslims, this Medinan period saw the creation — and at the same time the apogee — of the true Islamic state, whose exemplary character is seen as the model for all future Islamic societies.

For Islam as a religion, Medina was the place where almost all decisive elements of the Islamic creed (see CREEDS; FAITH) took definite shape. The longer Medinan sūras of the Qurʾān have been deeply influential in the formation of Muslim life. Many details of ritual (e.g. fasting [q.v.] and the direction of prayer; see QIBLA; RITUAL AND THE QURʾĀN) were introduced during Muḥammad's Medinan years, and his discussions with the Medinan Jews on theological matters helped to formulate and clarify his message (see THEOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN). The Prophet's presence in Medina also conferred, in the eyes of later Muslims, a unique sacredness on the town, and the later legal authority Mālik b. Anas (d. 179/796) would not mount a donkey in the town because he would not allow its hooves to trample upon the soil that contained the Prophet's sepulchre.

Medina in later Islamic history

After the death of Muḥammad in Medina the town did not immediately lose its political importance. Nonetheless, events soon turned the attention of the Muslims away from the Ḥijāz. Shortly after Muḥammad's death, ʿAlī (see ʿALĪ B. ABĪ ṬĀLIB) had shifted the center of governance to Kūfa and, after some twenty years of caliphal presence in Medina (see CALIPH), the Umayyads moved the capital of the Islamic polity to Syria. Politically, Medina was thus cast at the margins of Islamic history, where it has remained ever since. One major revolt against Umayyad caliphal power in the first century was launched in Medina in 63/683 but it was crushed and Medina was looted. In the following century, we hear of Shīʿī uprisings which were likewise subdued (see SHĪʿISM AND THE QURʾĀN). Until modern times, the only events of a political nature were short-lived conflicts between the governors of Medina, the emirs of Mecca, and other local potentates during the Ayyūbid and Mamlūk periods. The local powers, however, were always weak and the region largely depended upon the Yemenite Rasūlids and the Mamlūk sultans, before it became part of the Ottoman empire and, finally, of the Wahhābī kingdom (see WAHHĀBĪS).

In contrast to the insignificance of Medina as a center of power, the town has always, albeit in varying degrees, remained a center of both scholarship and devotion. As a locus of devotion, Medina is second only to Mecca. In fact, the sepulchre of the Prophet in Medina — the Muslim "holy tomb" *par excellence* — has led some Muslim scholars to prefer Medina over Mecca because "the spot of the Prophet's tomb is nobler than the Kaʿba (q.v.) and the Throne of God (q.v.)" (al-Samhūdī, *Wafāʾ*, i, 28). "The visitation of the Prophet" *(ziyārat al-nabī),* i.e. the visitation of his sepulchre, grew over the centuries into an almost obligatory sequel to the pilgrimage to Mecca (see VISITING; FESTIVALS AND COMMEMORATIVE DAYS). The resurgence of Sunnism in the central Islamic lands from the sixth/twelfth century onwards, together with the newly defined role of the Prophet as intercessor (see INTERCESSION), further bolstered the importance of Medina. In addition, the Medinan Baqīʿ cemetery, arguably the most significant single burial area in Islam (largely destroyed by the Wahhābīs in modern times), has been an important site of visitation for both Sunnīs and Shīʿīs.

As a center of scholarship and intellectual activities, Medina remained over the centuries a place of learning. In the second Islamic century, Medina hosted a range of important jurisprudents (e.g. Rabīʿat al-

Raʾy; Mālik b. Anas, eponym of the "Medinan" tradition of law; see LAW AND THE QURʾĀN), *sīra* scholars (e.g. Mūsā b. ʿUqba; Ibn Isḥāq; see SĪRA AND THE QURʾĀN), and traditionists (e.g. al-Zuhrī; Hishām b. ʿUrwa; see ḤADĪTH AND THE QURʾĀN). From the fourth to the seventh Islamic centuries, Medina proved to be the most significant link for the transmission of knowledge from the eastern part of the Islamic world to the western (al-Andalus). From the early Mamlūk period onwards, the town finally developed into an important center of scholarship and mysticism. Many secular rulers and pious persons endowed a number of sites of learning and other facilities in Medina. In the later Mamlūk age and during the Ottoman period, Medina seriously rivaled Cairo and Damascus as a place of learning; the distance of Medina from the centers of political power seems to have favored this development. Among the most famous scholars who were active in Medina are Ibn Farḥūn (d. 799/1397), al-Sakhāwī (d. 902/1497), al-Samhūdī (d. 911/1506) and Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī (d. 1101/1690). Finally, the importance of Medina for Islamic culture and devotion in general gave rise to the Arabic poetical genre of "praising Medina" or "longing for Medina" *(al-tashawwuq ilā l-madīna)*. This interesting genre, which is closely connected to poetry in praise of the Prophet, has been little studied and appreciated by modern scholarship.

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(Pre- and early Islamic Medina is discussed in most of the better-known writings dealing with the Prophet's life; the same holds true for early legal compendia [of the *siyar* type], Qurʾān commentaries, and ḥadīth anthologies. For the later ages, there is much material in history books, geographical and biographical dictionaries, and travel literature, e.g. by Ibn Jubayr and Ibn Baṭṭūṭa. Most modern biographies of Muḥammad and general monographs about early Islam also contain accounts of pre- and early Islamic Medina. The best sources for our knowledge of Medina in general derive, however, from Arabic town histories.)

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Memory

The power, function or act of reproducing and identifying what has been learned or experienced; the faculty of remembering. The Qurʾān presents memory not as a faculty or storehouse but as a primary mode of divine-human interaction. The primary qurʾānic words related to memory are based upon the radical *dh-k-r: dhikr, dhakara, dhikrā, tadhkira,* and *tatadhakkara;* depending on context, the primary sense of remembrance, reminder, contemplation, taking heed, or recitation (see RECITATION OF THE QURʾĀN) is meant by these Arabic words. The believer is enjoined to remember and the object of remembrance varies widely and includes, for example, God, the lord (q.v.), the name of God (see GOD AND HIS ATTRIBUTES), the final day (see ESCHATOLOGY; LAST JUDGMENT), God's bounty or grace (q.v.; *niʿma,* see also BLESSING), compassion (*raḥma,* see MERCY), sacrifice (q.v.; Q 22:36), the stories of the prophets (see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD), and the signs (q.v.; *āyāt*). Remembrance is a central human obligation, yet it is also an expansive concept, one that partially overlaps with other obligations and promises. Qurʾānic injunctions to remember are linked to injunctions to perform the ritual prayer (q.v.; *ṣalāt*), the *zakāt* (see ALMSGIVING) and the pilgrimage (q.v.; *ḥajj*, Q 2:198), to recount the stories of the prophets and the praises of God (see LAUDATION; GLORIFICATION OF GOD); to aspire to God and the last day (Q 33:21), to fear God (Q 7:205; see PIETY; FEAR), to be grateful (see GRATITUDE AND INGRATITUDE), to be patient in suffering (q.v.; Q 38:17; see also TRUST AND PATIENCE), to heed God's warnings (see WARNING), to take heart in God's promises, to be in a state of awe or trembling of the heart (q.v.; Q 8:2; 22:35) and to keep the faith (q.v.; Q 33:41). The Qurʾān commonly enjoins the hearer to remember and to remind others of the figures of earlier prophetic cycles.

Remembrance is at the center of a web of metonymy attaching it to a range of concepts, each of which is a partial extension of *dhikr* even as *dhikr* serves as an extension or instantiation of the pair concept. In the case of remembrance and revelation (see REVELATION AND INSPIRATION), for example, the message of the Qurʾān is continually called a *dhikr* or *dhikrā* and the Qurʾān is given the epithet "that which contains or embodies remembrance" (*dhī l-dhikri,* Q 38:1). The Qurʾān is both the occasion or catalyst for *dhikr* as well as what should be recalled, the object of *dhikr*. It is the object of *dhikr* in another sense as well, the object of reminder that can be meditative (one mentions or recalls *dhikr* for oneself) or social (proclamation or recitation as a reminder for others). In the case of the prophets, remembrance opens onto a series of temporal and semantic frames: God has made the Qurʾān easy to remember (Q 54:17-40); the Qurʾān enjoins the believer directly to remember the prophets; the Qurʾān itself which tells their story is a reminder; the believer is commanded to remind others of the Qurʾān and its stories; and the prophets themselves should serve as a reminder, even as their stories depict them reminding their peoples or urging them to remember. Each new act of remembrance is an enactment of the acts of remembrance that occurred with previous revelations, all of which are drawn up into the Qurʾān as articulations in a collapsing telescope. The People of the Book (q.v.) are called *ahl al-dhikr* (Q 16:43; 21:7). The qurʾānic revelation is nothing but a "reminder to all beings" (Q 38:87; 81:27).

Dhikr overlaps with other central qurʾānic concepts in equally robust fashion. The injunction to "be patient and remember"

(cf. Q 38:17-8) links patience and *dhikr* in a manner that can suggest that one will result in the other, that they are aspects of a single act, or that they are two distinct acts. The same injunction goes on to make a dyad of the remembrance of a prophet (in this case the prophets David [q.v.] and Job [q.v.]) and the patience modeled by the prophet as an example to those who remember him.

The mutual implication of *dhikr* with the qurʾānic obligations is also shown in the case of prayer, for which it is both occasion and catalyst: "When you have carried out the prayer, remember God standing and sitting and on your side" (Q 4:103). Yet the postures of the body can also become, more generally, the moment of *dhikr:* another verse employs the same formula ("standing, sitting, and on your side") in a context unconnected to ritual prayer (Q 3:191). *Dhikr* should not only be embodied through its connection to the physical positions and postures, but it is also closely tied to the act of articulating the praises of God, *tasbīḥ,* as an expression of frequency: "And remember your lord often and recount his praises by evening (q.v.) and by the break of day" (Q 3:41; see DAWN) or morning (q.v.) and afternoon (q.v.; Q 7:205; 76:25), even as the times of day (see DAY, TIMES OF) are clearly then reinforced by the prayer as a form of *dhikr*. Remembrance also serves as a link among obligatory rituals (blessings over sacrifice, *ṣalāt,* and *zakāt,* see RITUAL AND THE QURʾĀN) as well as a link among those practices and divine-human and human-human relational obligations such as the injunction to have a heart that trembles at the mention of God (Q 22:35; see ETHICS AND THE QURʾĀN; COMMUNITY AND SOCIETY IN THE QURʾĀN).

The Qurʾān commonly states that it is only those with a spiritually discerning intellect (q.v.; *ūlū l-albāb*) who heed and dwell upon the signs *(tatadhakkara)* and allow those signs to serve as a reminder, to instigate the act of remembrance (e.g. Q 3:190-1). The signs are commonly the creation (q.v.) of the heavens and earth (q.v.; see also HEAVENS AND SKY), the alternation of day and night (q.v.), and polarities of odd and even, male and female (see GENDER; PAIRS AND PAIRING), or verses (q.v.) of the Qurʾān. Yet neither the signs by themselves nor the ability to heed them can guarantee a successful act of remembrance. As with all human activity, God's will serves as a cause or at least a primary condition: "They do not remember except by the will of God" (Q 74:56; see FREEDOM AND PREDESTINATION). Another injunction, "Remember God when you forget" (Q 18:24), sharpens the paradox of "remembering to remember" that would be explored in depth by theologians such as al-Muḥāsibī (d. 243/857). Remembrance also forms a dyad with awe (Q 8:2), gratefulness (cf. Q 5:110), faith ("You who keep the faith and remember God often," Q 33:41), and hope (q.v.; "And seek the grace of your lord and remember God that you might prosper," Q 62:10).

Dhikr is a key factor in forgiveness (q.v.), promised for those who, "when they have committed a shameful act or oppressed themselves, remember God" (Q 3:135), even as prohibited acts (wine [q.v.], gambling [q.v.]; see FORBIDDEN) prevent a believer from remembering. Whoever turns away after being reminded of his lord will suffer great pain (Q 72:17). To those who remember God, God also promises reciprocity: "Remember me. I will remember you" (Q 2:152). Remembrance is at the heart of the covenant (q.v.) between God and the human being: "Children of Israel (q.v.), remember my bounty to you and keep faith with my covenant" (Q 2:40). The qurʾānic concept of *dhikr* interacted throughout Islamic civilization with the poetic notion, especially the

remembrance of the beloved in love poetry (see LOVE AND AFFECTION). In Ṣūfism (see ṢŪFISM AND THE QUR'ĀN) both concepts were merged into ritual practice, with the meditative use of the *dhikr,* that is a meditative utterance, most often a qur'ānic quote, the *tahlīl* (*lā ilāha illa llāh,* "there is no god but God"), or a divine name or names, repeated aloud or silently. The ritual use of *dhikr* was matched by a developed theological understanding of it.

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Men of the Cave

Name given to the protagonists of a long qur'ānic passage containing a version of the story of the seven sleepers of Ephesus. The Qur'ān states that the Men of the Cave *(aṣḥāb al-kahf)* and of al-Raqīm (see below) were among God's signs, and says they were youths who took refuge in a cave (q.v.) and invoked God's mercy (q.v.; Q 18:9-10). God made them and their dog (q.v.) fall into a deep sleep (q.v.) for many years and then woke them from their slumber. The Qur'ān explains that they were pious youths fleeing from the idolatry (see IDOLATRY AND IDOLATERS) of their people and that they found refuge in a cave (Q 18:11-7). When the youths awoke they were under the impression that only a day or so had passed, and decided that one of them should take some coins and go to buy food in the town. God used them to demonstrate to the inhabitants of the town that there is no doubt concerning the hour (see APOCALYPSE; LAST JUDGMENT; ESCHATOLOGY). The inhabitants of the town argued about building a place of worship dedicated to the youths (Q 18:18-21). The final part of this passage recounts the arguments among the people about how many youths were in the cave: people will insist variously that, in addition to the dog, there were three or five or seven people (see NUMBERS AND ENUMERATION). Muslims are instructed not to dispute these questions with anybody since only God really knows how many of them were there and the length of time that they spent asleep in the cave which, it is stated, was a total of 309 years (Q 18:22-6). The sūra containing this episode (Q 18) is entitled Sūrat al-Kahf ("The Cave").

Later traditions (see ḤADĪTH AND THE QUR'ĀN; EXEGESIS OF THE QUR'ĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL) added particulars that elaborated upon the qur'ānic contents. According to Wahb b. Munabbih (d. ca. 112/730), the youths adopted their faith from a Christian apostle (see CHRISTIANS AND CHRISTIANITY) and found refuge in a cave while they were fleeing from their king who regarded them as having caused his son's death (ʿAbd al-Razzāq, *Tafsīr,* i, 397-8). Other accounts state that the youths were believers in God, sons of notables of their town or even princes. Upon the Roman emperor Decius' entrance into their town — usually referred to as Ephesus or Tarsus — they and their dog escaped into a cave to avoid both the idolatry of their fellow citizens and the emperor's persecution. The emperor, instead of capturing them in the cave, had the entrance walled up, erecting on the spot a tablet in which their story was told. This tablet was made of lead or stone and put

into a box of copper and, according to some traditions, was prepared by two believers belonging to the house of Decius. God caused the youths and their dog to fall asleep in the cave and 309 years later, the Roman emperor Theodosius, exasperated by Christian disputes about the resurrection (q.v.), asked for a clear sign from God. It thus happened that a shepherd reopened the entrance of the cave and at that moment God raised them up. One of the youths was sent to buy food in the town and he wandered dazed and confused since he was convinced that he had only been asleep for one day (Thaʿlabī, *Qiṣaṣ,* 380-4). When the inhabitants of the town saw his coins they immediately suspected that he had found a treasure but later discovered the truth when the youth took them to the cave and they were able to read the inscription on the tablet.

Other exegetical reports attempt to elucidate some of the more controversial qurʾānic passages. Several solutions are proposed for the mysterious name al-Raqīm (Q 18:9): it was the name of the valley, of the town, of the dog or, even better, of the one or two tablets bearing the names and story of the Men of the Cave (cf. Māwardī, *Nukat,* iii, 286-7). The youths are usually numbered as seven but some traditions state that there were more. The various estimates of their number mentioned in the Qurʾān are attributed in the exegetical tradition to differing Christian opinions about the matter. The reports — as is common in qurʾānic exegesis *(tafsīr)* — also include full descriptions and the names of all the characters of the story, i.e. the dog, the town, the month and even the cave. The great popularity of this qurʾānic story is also attested by the numerous and varied localizations of the cave and by the sanctuaries relating to the Men of the Cave all over the Muslim world as is attested in geographical literature (Kandler, *Die Bedeutung,* 82-98; Hernández Juberías, *La península imaginaria,* 137-61).

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Menstruation

The monthly flow of blood from the uterus. Menstruation is explicitly mentioned by the Qurʾān in two contexts: ritual purity (q.v.) and the law of marriage and divorce (q.v.). In the context of ritual purity, menstruation is one of a fairly broad set of bodily functions (also mentioned within the text of the Qurʾān are excretion and sexual activity, Q 4:43; 5:6; see SEX AND

SEXUALITY) requiring ablutions in order to restore the state of *ṭahāra* required for prayer (q.v.) and other rituals (see RITUAL AND THE QUR'ĀN; CLEANLINESS AND ABLUTION). Menstruation is categorized in Islamic law as a cause of major impurity analogous to that entailed by sexual intercourse (see LAW AND THE QUR'ĀN). In the context of marital law, the menstrual period provides evidence that a widowed or divorced woman is not pregnant by her previous husband and provides the unit of measurement for the waiting period (q.v.), or *'idda,* that must expire before she may contract another marriage.

Despite the complexity of Islamic law relating to menstrual purity, the Qur'ān touches on the subject only once. "They ask you about menstruation *(al-maḥīḍ),*" states Q 2:222, "say, it is an *adhan*. Remain aloof from menstruating women and do not approach them until they become pure again; when they have purified themselves, go to them as God has instructed you. Indeed, God loves those who repent (see REPENTANCE AND PENANCE) and those who purify themselves." The word *adhan,* derived from a root meaning "to cause harm to," is semantically very open; it has been translated with English words as diverse as "hurt," "pollution," "strain" and "nuisance." The word is used nine times in the Qur'ān, to refer to inconveniences and incapacities as diverse as ailments of the scalp (Q 2:196), rain during (outdoor) prayer (Q 4:102) and scornful patronage directed towards the objects of charity (Q 2:262, 263, 264; see ALMSGIVING; PATH OR WAY). In verse Q 2:222 both the nature of the harm involved and the identity of the person suffering it are unspecified.

Many exegetes interpret it in terms of the "dirtiness," smelliness and general offensiveness of menstrual blood; this is the dominant opinion in medieval commentaries, particularly those based closely on transmission from early Muslim authorities (see EXEGESIS OF THE QUR'ĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL). Others, particularly modern interpreters, focus on the indisposition of, or possible harm to, the menstruating woman herself (see EXEGESIS OF THE QUR'ĀN: EARLY MODERN AND CONTEMPORARY). This harm is often understood in medical terms (see MEDICINE AND THE QUR'ĀN). Thus, the Egyptian modernist Muḥammad Rashīd Riḍā (d. 1935; *Manār,* ii, 359) writes that "[even] if the man escapes from… harm the woman can scarcely escape it, because intercourse disturbs her reproductive organs for something that they are neither ready nor prepared to do, because they are occupied with another natural function, which is the expulsion *(ifrāz)* of the… blood." Similarly, the Shī'ī (see SHI'ĪSM AND THE QUR'ĀN) commentator Muḥammad al-Sabzawārī (d. ca. 1297/1880; *Jadīd,* i, 266) writes, "Menstruation's being a 'harm' may be from the point of view of the woman's state, because she experiences weakness and is overcome with lassitude when the bleeding occurs and suffers a great deal of hardship and discomfort.… It may possibly also be from the point of view of [the menstrual blood's] being ill-smelling and substantively impure *(najis);* the man may be repelled by it, and the woman may [thus] be harmed, even if [only] psychologically.…" In contrast, the Egyptian revivalist Sayyid Quṭb (d. 1966; *Ẓilāl,* ii, 241-2) understands the prohibition of marital intercourse during menstruation in terms of the *fiṭra,* the fundamental human constitution. Only in the period of purity (when the woman is not menstruating) can intercourse achieve both the natural desire for physical pleasure and the fundamental aim *(ghāya fiṭriyya)* of sexual intercourse, which is the continuation of the species (see BIOLOGY AS THE CREATION AND STAGES OF LIFE). Finally, some com-

mentators also note that the word *adhan* is used elsewhere in the Qurʾān specifically to refer to minor and insignificant hardships (cf. Q 3:111), thus minimizing the harm or offense associated with menstruation.

The main legal issue in the interpretation of Q 2:222 is the degree of avoidance implied by the verse's injunction to "remain aloof from" *(iʿtazilū)* menstruating women. Although the most obvious literal reading of the verse itself would suggest complete separation from menstruants, the tradition of occasions of revelation (q.v.; *asbāb al-nuzūl*) suggests a much more limited form of avoidance. According to this tradition, the verse was sent down in response to the questions of Companions of the Prophet (q.v.) who observed that the Jews (or, in other versions, the pagan Arabs [q.v.] or the Zoroastrians; see JEWS AND JUDAISM; PEOPLE OF THE BOOK; PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QURʾĀN) would not share food with a menstruating woman or remain in the same house with her. When the verse was revealed, the Prophet clarified it by saying, "Do anything but have sexual intercourse [with them]." Hearing of this, the Jews exclaim, "This man does not want to leave a single thing in which he does not contradict *(khālafa)* us!" (In some versions, the questioners then wonder if they can have sexual intercourse during menstruation, which the Prophet emphatically forbids.) This narrative frame reverses the initial impact of the verse itself, from an injunction to avoid menstruating women to an injunction to limit their exclusion. (Many commentators suggest that the word *maḥīḍ* should be read as a noun of place, and that the verse should actually be understood to enjoin avoidance of the place of menstruation, i.e. the genital area, rather than of the menstruating woman herself.) The avoidance of sexual intercourse, but not of commensality or other physical contact, is often seen to manifest the moderate "middle path" of the Islamic dispensation (cf. Q 2:143), striking a balance between the Christians (who allowed intercourse with menstruating women; see CHRISTIANS AND CHRISTIANITY) and, variously, Jews, Zoroastrians and pagans (who shunned them altogether; see POLYTHEISM AND ATHEISM; SOCIAL INTERACTIONS; SOCIAL RELATIONS). See also CONTAMINATION.

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Merchandise

see SELLING AND BUYING

Mercy

Forbearance from inflicting harmful punishment on an adversary or offender; disposition to exercise compassion or forgiveness. The term "mercy" *(raḥma),* with its cognates and synonyms, is omnipresent in the Qurʾān; and derivatives of the

triliteral root *gh-f-r* which carry many of the same connotations are also attested throughout the Qurʾān. Muḥammad, for example, is characterized as a merciful man (Q 9:128) and believers are exhorted to show mercy and kindness in their daily lives (as at Q 7:199; 17:23-4; 42:43; 64:14; 90:17). "Compassion and mercy" are singled out as admirable characteristics of the followers of Jesus (q.v.; Q 57:27; see also CHRISTIANS AND CHRISTIANITY). Muslims are "strenuous with infidels, but merciful among themselves" (Q 48:29; see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF; POLYTHEISM AND ATHEISM; JIHĀD).

Mercy as an attribute of God

Overwhelmingly, though, the Qurʾān focuses upon mercy as an attribute of God (see GOD AND HIS ATTRIBUTES). He is *ahl al-maghfira,* "the source [or owner] of forgiveness" (Q 74:56), "who forgives sin and accepts repentance" (Q 40:3), "merciful and loving" (Q 11:90), "the most merciful of those who show mercy" (Q 7:151; 12:64; 21:83; compare Q 7:155; 23:109, 118). In fact, humans are exhorted to be merciful precisely because they hope for mercy from him (see Q 24:22). With the exception of the ninth sūra, every chapter opens with an invocation of God as "the merciful, the compassionate" *(al-raḥmān al-raḥīm)* and that phrase occurs, along with variant statements of the same concept, dozens of times within the text itself. Commentators early and late (see EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL; EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: EARLY MODERN AND CONTEMPORARY) have sought to understand the distinction between *raḥmān* and *raḥīm,* both of which are derived from *r-ḥ-m,* the same Arabic root from which *raḥma* comes. Classical commentators frequently argued that *raḥmān* is stronger, more inclusive, than *raḥīm* (see, for example, the discussions at Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* i, 42-3 and Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr,* i, 17-21, where various authorities are cited to the effect that the mercy associated with the former applies to all creatures, whereas the latter is bestowed only upon believers, or that, while both operate in this world, only the former extends into the world to come). Modern orientalist exegesis tends rather to view the two terms as paronomastic repetition, sometimes translating them together as "all-merciful" (thus, for example, Paret, *Kommentar,* 11.)

In fact, as attested upwards of forty times (as at Q 17:110), "the Merciful" *(al-raḥmān)* serves as an alternate name for God. Sūra 55 is titled "The Merciful" and the great classical commentator al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923) maintained that, unlike *al-raḥīm,* the title *al-raḥmān* belongs uniquely to God and cannot legitimately be given to any creature. *"Al-raḥmān,"* declared the early ascetic and traditionist al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (d. 110/728; see ḤADĪTH AND THE QURʾĀN), "is a forbidden name" (see Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* i, 45-6; compare Nöldeke, *GQ,* i, 112-3, 121; Q 40 [Sūrat al-Muʾmin], "The Believer," is sometimes known as Sūrat Ghāfir ["Forgiving One"], from *ghāfir,* another attribute of God with connotations of mercy or forgiveness, found in Q 40:3). As the uniquely merciful, God wants to make things easy, not difficult, for humans (see Q 2:185). "Both his hands are outstretched" (Q 5:64; compare Q 110:3). Accordingly, he makes allowance for their weaknesses and for the constraints under which they live (Q 2:263; 4:25, 43, 98-9; 5:3, 6, 45; 6:145; 9:91-2; 16:106, 115; 20:73; 24:33; 58:12; 73:20), is indulgent with human frailties like ignorance (q.v.; Q 4:17; 16:119; 33:5) and is patient with their sins (Q 22:48; 24:14, 20; see SIN, MAJOR AND MINOR). Indeed, were God to punish humans according to what they deserve, none would remain alive (Q 16:61; 35:45; see CHASTISEMENT AND PUNISHMENT; PUNISHMENT STORIES;

REWARD AND PUNISHMENT). His provision of material blessings (see BLESSING; GRACE) such as rain, the seasons (q.v.), the winds (see AIR AND WIND), the alternating of night and day (see DAY AND NIGHT), the oceans, and the celestial bodies (see PLANETS AND STARS), is emblematic of his kindness and mercy toward humankind (see, for example, Q 2:22, 29, 164, 243; 14:32-4; 16:2-8; 17:66; 22:65; 25:47-8; 27:63; 28:73; 30:46, 50; 42:28, 32-4; compare Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, i, 43; see NATURE AS SIGNS; COSMOLOGY; WATER). Even more importantly, divine revelation (see REVELATION AND INSPIRATION) is a mercy from God (as at Q 2:121-2; 6:153, 157; 7:63; 11:118-9; 17:86-7; 18:65; 36:5-6) and it is by his mercy that the righteous are not led astray (q.v.; Q 4:113; 12:53). It is also through his mercy that they are delivered from destruction at the hands of the wicked or from the consequences of their own errors (for various examples, see Q 2:37, 47, 63-4; 7:72; 11:43, 47, 58, 66, 94; 20:121-2; 54:34-5; see ERROR).

But God's mercy is not bestowed indiscriminately (see JUSTICE AND INJUSTICE). Revelation is not given to everybody. Not everyone is saved (see SALVATION). He recompenses all people according to their works (Q 11:111; 14:51; see GOOD DEEDS; EVIL DEEDS; RECORD OF HUMAN ACTIONS). Whereas the righteous merit his forgiveness, the wicked earn his wrath (see ANGER). At the final judgment (see LAST JUDGMENT), people will "see their works, so that whoever does an atom's weight (see WEIGHTS AND MEASURES) of good will see it and whoever does an atom's weight of evil will see it" (Q 99:6-8; compare Q 3:115). The wicked will confess their sins but will nonetheless be consigned to the flames of hell (Q 67:11; see HELL AND HELLFIRE). "God will show them their works, and they will sigh regretfully, yet they will not escape the inferno" (Q 2:167). There, their punishment "shall not be lightened nor shall they be helped" (Q 2:86). No individual will be wronged; God is not unjust (Q 3:25). But, for believers, his verdict will be more than just. For he accepts repentance (see, for example, Q 4:16; 24:5; 42:25; cf. 2:192; 9:102-4; 27:11; 39:53-4; see REPENTANCE AND PENANCE), and the Qurʾān exhorts humankind to seek his mercy (see, for example, Q 2:199; 4:106; 17:24; 27:46; 47:19; 71:10) as earlier prophets (see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD) and others have done (e.g. Noah [q.v.], at Q 11:47; 71:28; Moses [q.v.], at Q 7:151, 155; David [q.v.], at Q 38:24; Solomon [q.v.], at Q 38:35; cf. 27:19). Even the angels (see ANGEL) of the divine court implore forgiveness for the righteous faithful (see Q 42:5). Believers should strive, even vie, to gain his mercy (Q 57:21). To receive it is far greater than to amass material treasure (Q 3:157; 6:16; 43:32). "God will pardon the worst of their deeds, and reward them for the best of what they have done" (Q 39:35). "We shall accept from them the best of what they have done and overlook their misdeeds" (Q 46:16). Whoever repents, believes, does good works, and follows right guidance will be forgiven (Q 20:82; compare, for example, Q 7:204; 8:2-4; 39:9). God will give believers "a double portion of his mercy" (Q 57:28) and overcompensate their good deeds (Q 4:40; 6:160; 10:26; 64:17). But he will not accept deathbed repentance (Q 4:18; 6:158; 23:63-7, 99-101; 38:3; 40:84-5; 44:10-14). Nor does he admit human or angelic intercession (q.v.; Q 2:123; 3:192; 4:109, 123; 10:27; 39:54; 44:41-2), except by his own appointment (Q 10:3; 19:87; 43:86; 53:26; 63:5-6; believers are sometimes expressly forbidden to pray for the unrighteous; see, for example, Q 9:84, 113-4). No soul can bear the burden of any other soul (Q 17:15; 39:7) and, on the day of judgment, family and other human relationships will count for nothing (Q 23:101; 35:18; 66:10; 70:8-15).

Several passages affirming God's disposition to forgive simultaneously stress the swiftness and severity of his punishments. "Tell my servants that I am the forgiving, the merciful one, and that my punishment is the painful punishment" (Q 15:49-50; compare Q 5:98; 6:147, 165; 7:167; 13:6; also Q 3:4, 11; 5:2; 17:57). And, in fact, the eminent traditionist and exegete Ibn ʿAbbās (d. ca. 68/688) maintained that the very meaning of God's title *al-raḥmān al-raḥīm* is that he "is gentle with those to whom he wishes to exercise mercy, and distant and severe with those whom he wishes to treat with rigor" (cited in Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* i, 44). For God does not love the unbelieving and unrighteous (Q 2:276; 3:32, 57, 140; 4:107); indeed, he is their "enemy" (Q 2:98; see ENEMIES). "Who despairs of the mercy of his lord except those who have gone astray?" (Q 15:56; see DESPAIR). And, though God may forgive anything else (even apostasy [q.v.]; see Q 3:85-91, 106; 4:137), he will not show mercy to those who persist in the worship of any god but himself (Q 4:48, 116; see IDOLS AND IMAGES; IDOLATRY AND IDOLATERS). Moreover, the Qurʾān's portrayal of God as merciful is further complicated by its insistence upon predestination (see, for example, Q 15:4-5; 16:35; 18:57-8; 26:200; 81:27-9; see FATE; FREEDOM AND PREDESTINATION) and upon his role in fostering a disposition to evil among the wicked (as at Q 2:7, 10, 15; see GOOD AND EVIL; DESTINY). The Qurʾān emphasizes God's sovereign freedom to bestow or withhold his mercy and to favor wherever he will (e.g. at Q 2:105; 4:48-9; 6:83-8;10:107; 33:17; and many other places). See also FORGIVENESS.

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Merriment

see LAUGHTER; JOY AND MISERY

Messenger

One who comes bringing information. The main word for messenger in the Qurʾān is *rasūl,* denoting "one sent with a message," which occurs 236 times and its plural, *rusul,* ninety-five times. *Mursal (*pl. *mursalūn),* the passive participle of a verb from the same root letters, and which also means "one sent with a message," occurs thirty-six times. Both *rasūl* and *mursal* usually refer to a human agent whom God sends to guide a people by communicating to them in a language they understand (Q 14:4; see LANGUAGE, CONCEPT OF; ARABIC LANGUAGE; REVELATION AND INSPIRATION). The central message of these messengers is to shun false gods (see POLYTHEISM AND ATHEISM; IDOLATRY AND IDOLATERS; IDOLS AND IMAGES), the powers of evil (see GOOD AND EVIL; DEVIL) and injustice (see JUSTICE AND INJUSTICE), and to worship (q.v.) the one true God (Q 16:36; see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF). Muḥammad, through whom God revealed the Qurʾān and through whom God guides all humankind, represents the model and final *rasūl* of God (Q 33:21, 40).

Arabia before and at the time of Muḥammad (see PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QURʾĀN) was acquainted with the term *rasūl*. Al-Hamdānī (d. ca. 334/945) cites traditions about south Arabian tomb inscriptions that identify Hūd (q.v.) and

Shuʿayb (q.v.) but also Ḥanẓala b. Ṣafwān as messengers of God (see ARCHAELOGY AND THE QURʾĀN). One of the inscriptions even designates Ḥārith b. ʿAmr the *rasūl* of the *rasūl Allāh,* Shuʿayb (Hamdānī, *al-Iklīl,* 134, 136, 139, 142). Musaylima (q.v.) — another Arabian prophet — referred to himself as "the messenger of Allāh" in a letter to Muḥammad (Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh,* i, 1749).

While the Qurʾān states that it has not narrated the stories of all the messengers sent by God (Q 40:78; see NARRATIVES), it identifies — among a long line of prophets preceding Muḥammad (see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD) — some as messengers *(rusul)* by name: in the biblical tradition, Noah (q.v.; Nūḥ), Lot (q.v.; Lūṭ), Ishmael (q.v.; Ismāʿīl), Moses (q.v.; Mūsā) and Jesus (q.v.; ʿĪsā); Shuʿayb, messenger to his people the Midianites (see MIDIAN); and the Arabians Hūd and Ṣāliḥ (q.v.), sent to their respective tribes, ʿĀd (q.v.) and Thamūd (q.v.). In Q 37:123 and 139 respectively, Elijah (q.v.; Ilyās) and Jonah (q.v.; Yūnus) are included as among the *mursalūn*. Although whether the Qurʾān reveals a clear distinction between the roles of prophets and messengers is disputed, generally speaking, prophets are found exclusively among the People of the Book (q.v.), that is in the biblical tradition (see SCRIPTURE AND THE QURʾĀN), and messengers are depicted as closely connected with a people/community (*qawm, ahl, umma,* see COMMUNITY AND SOCIETY IN THE QURʾĀN). The non-biblical messengers, Hūd, Ṣāliḥ, and Shuʿayb are sent to specific communities but are never referred to as prophets. Al-Bayḍāwī (d. ca. 716/1316-7; *Anwār,* ad Q 22:52) distinguishes prophets who bring no divine law *(sharīʿa)* from messengers who bring divine law (see LAW AND THE QURʾĀN) and a holy book (q.v.). But no clear qurʾānic evidence supports this distinction. The Qurʾān designates neither Abraham (q.v.; Q 87:19; 53:36-37) nor David (q.v.; Q 17:55; 4:163) specifically as messengers, yet they are both connected with scriptures. The Qurʾān designates Moses, Jesus and Muḥammad as both prophets (Q 6:83-9; 3:68) and messengers (Q 7:104; 3:49; 3:144). Ibn Kathīr (d. 774/1373; *Tafsīr,* ad Q 4:163) says reports differ but one well-known tradition enumerates 124,000 prophets, among them 313 messengers.

Several sūras of the Qurʾān contain a series of stories of similar structure featuring all or most of a set of seven messengers (see FORM AND STRUCTURE OF THE QURʾĀN): Noah, Hūd, Ṣāliḥ, Lot, Shuʿayb, Abraham (Ibrāhīm), and Moses. The fact that among these messengers the Qurʾān fails to designate only Abraham as a *rasūl* may suggest his status as a messenger is assumed. Q 26:10-191 contains all seven narratives; and an incomplete set of these narratives occurs in Q 7:59-93; 11:25-123; 37:75-148; 54:9-42. In most of these, the messenger declares a message; his people reject him; God rescues him along with his faithful followers; and some calamity punishes those who reject the message (see PUNISHMENT STORIES). These accounts support the notion that messengers are distinguished from prophets by their association with a people/community. This structure coincides closely with the experience of Muḥammad, providing him comfort, reassuring his supporters and warning his opponents (see OPPOSITION TO MUḤAMMAD). In Q 26, for example, each separate account ends with this reassuring refrain, "Surely in this there is a sign; yet most of them do not believe. Your lord is the mighty one, the merciful" (e.g. Q 26:67-8).

While the calls of the messengers and any personal struggles they may have had are left out of the qurʾānic stories, their nature and role are strikingly consistent and may be fairly summarized as follows. These merely human agents (Q 16:43; 25:20) come

to announce (see GOOD NEWS) and warn (Q 18:56; see WARNING) and must be obeyed (Q 4:64; see OBEDIENCE). Although some messengers are higher in rank than others (Q 2:253), the faithful believe in all of them and do not distinguish among them (Q 2:136; 4:150-2). Just as every city (q.v.) has a "warner" (*nadhīr,* Q 35:24; cf. 26:208) and a guide (cf. Q 13:7) and every people will have a "witness" (*shahīd,* see WITNESSING AND TESTIFYING) on the day of judgment (Q 16:84, 89; 4:41; see LAST JUDGMENT), so every people will have received a messenger (Q 10:47; 28:59) to proclaim the oneness of God and warn against idolatry and injustice (Q 16:36; 17:15). Messengers proclaim God's word in their own people's language (Q 14:4) and only perform miracles (q.v.) with God's permission (Q 40:78). The coming of a messenger precipitates a crisis in which some reject and others accept the challenge to believe in and obey God and his messenger. Unbelievers consistently mock them (Q 15:11; see MOCKERY) and accuse them of falsehood (Q 2:87; 23:44; see LIE). All messengers are affected by Satan (Q 22:52) and, if repentant, can be forgiven (cf. Q 27:10-12; see REPENTANCE AND PENANCE; FORGIVENESS). Like prophets (Q 2:61, 91; 3:21, 112, 181; 4:155), messengers may even be killed (Q 2:87; 5:70; see MURDER). But they will be avenged (Q 30:47). Messengers are so closely linked with the divine that obedience to them amounts to obedience to God (Q 4:80). References to messengers before Muḥammad occur almost always among Meccan verses (see CHRONOLOGY AND THE QUR'ĀN) — the exceptions being references to Moses and Jesus (Q 61:5-6).

The Qur'ān terms some messengers *ūlū l-ʿazmi,* "gifted with determination," but these are not named (Q 46:35). Post-qur'ānic interpretation considers *ūlū l-ʿazmi* to mean exalted messengers. The angels are also called *mursalūn* (Q 15:57; 51:31) and *rusul* (Q 10:21; cf. 42:51). Royal messengers are designated by both terms (Q 12:50; 27:35). The feminine plural of *mursal, mursalāt,* possibly designates winds in Q 77:1 (see AIR AND WIND). The Qur'ān never uses *rasūl* to designate disciples of Jesus (Q 3:52-3; 61:14; 5:111). It calls them *ḥawāriyyūn,* "apostles" (see APOSTLE). These helpers and followers of Jesus profess to be *muslim* (Q 3:52; 5:111) and ask him to bring down a table from heaven to strengthen their faith (Q 5:112-3).

Muḥammad is called "the messenger of God" (Q 7:158; 48:29). God sends him to a people never previously visited by a messenger (cf. Q 28:46; 32:3). Like other messengers, he must "rise and warn," communicating the proper social and ritual responses to God's oneness (Q 74:2). Muḥammad's mission extends to all creatures (*lil-ʿālamīn,* Q 21:107), he being both "the messenger of God" and the "seal of the prophets" (Q 33:40). The phrase "God and his messenger" occurs at least eighty-five times, all but one (Q 72:23) in Medinan passages (Q 7:158 being a Medinan verse). The phrase links obedience and disobedience (q.v.) to God with obedience and disobedience to Muḥammad twenty-eight times — all in Medinan passages, e.g. Q 5:92. No such linkage exists in passages where Muḥammad is referred to as a prophet *(nabī).*

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Messiah see JESUS

Metals and Minerals

Substances that have luster, are opaque and may be fused, and chemical elements or compounds occurring naturally as a product of inorganic processes. The Qurʾān does not utilize the generic term for both metal and ore *(maʿdin),* but references the two most widespread metals in common use on the planet: iron *(ḥadīd),* which is mentioned six times, and copper, *(nuḥās)* mentioned once, as well as molten copper *(qiṭr),* mentioned twice. Iron, which gives its name to Q 57 (Sūrat al-Ḥadīd) and which God sent down to earth, possesses great strength and is very useful to humankind (Q 57:25); it comes in the shape of lumps (Q 18:96); truncheons are made from it (Q 22:21) and God made it malleable for David (q.v.; Q 34:10). Copper will be hurled at the guilty on the day of judgment (Q 55:35; see LAST JUDGMENT); Dhū l-Qarnayn (see ALEXANDER) poured molten copper on a dam between two mountains (Q 18:96) and God had this metal flow from a spring (see SPRINGS AND FOUNTAINS) for Solomon (q.v.; Q 34:12). The exact nature of the molten metal called *muhl,* which appears three times — in connection with the sky (Q 70:8), the tree of Zaqqūm (Q 44:45; see TREES) and the potion for wrongdoers in hell (Q 18:29; see HELL AND HELLFIRE; REWARD AND PUNISHMENT; FOOD AND DRINK) — is unknown. As to precious metals, gold (q.v.; *dhahab*) is attested seven times in the Qurʾān, and silver *(fiḍḍa)* six times; they are twice used in conjunction. Gold is mentioned as being hoarded (Q 3:14; 9:34), and as a material from which bracelets (Q 18:31; 22:23; 35:33; 43:53) and dishes (Q 43:71) are made. The Qurʾān notes that silver, too, is hoarded together with gold, and that vases, flasks and bracelets are made (Q 76:15, 16, 21) from it (see CUPS AND VESSELS; INSTRUMENTS).

The mineral mentioned most frequently in the Qurʾān is stone (q.v.; *ḥajar,* pl. *ḥijāra*), spoken of twelve times. Moses (q.v.) hit the stone with his stick (see ROD) and twelve springs gushed out (Q 2:60; 7:160; see SPRINGS AND FOUNTAINS); stones will feed the fire of hell (Q 2:24; 66:6); although stones are hard, some may split and others may break up (Q 2:74); there are also stones that God sends from heaven (Q 8:32; 11:82; 15:74; 17:50; see HEAVEN AND SKY), as well as those that Abraham's (q.v.) messengers (see MESSENGER) throw at the guilty and those that flights of birds throw on enemies (q.v.; Q 51:33; 105:4; see ABRAHA). The second mineral named in the Qurʾān is clay (q.v.; *ṭīn*), mentioned ten times in connection with the creation (q.v.) of humans by God. Two other mentions are in relation to the building of a tower by Pharaoh (q.v.; Q 28:38) and to the stones that Abraham's messengers throw (Q 51:33). There are two kinds of clay: clinking clay *(ṣalṣāl)* such as pottery (Q 55:14), extracted from malleable mud (*min ḥamaʾin masnūnin*, Q 15:26, 28, 33), and hard clay named *sijjīl (*from the Latin *sigillum* or from the Aramaic *sgyl),* with which some of the stones thrown from heaven are made (Q 11:82; 15:74; 105:4).

Concerning precious minerals, the Qurʾān knows but three: ruby *(yāqūt),* coral (q.v.; *marjān*) and pearls *(luʾluʾ),* which are compared to the ephebes and the houris (q.v.) of paradise (q.v.; Q 52:24; 55:58; 76:19); coral and pearls come from the seas (Q 55:22) and pearls will be used for adorning the believers (see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF) in paradise (Q 22:23; 35:33).

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Metaphor

Literary device that conveys semantic equation without a linking participle such as "like" or "as." Metaphor *(istiʿāra)* is the subject of much discussion and classification in the science of Arabic rhetoric (cf. Bonebakker, Istiʿāra); this article will of necessity confine itself to major classifications and to uses that relate to how religious scholars (see EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL) have sought to understand metaphor's appearance and use in the Qurʾān.

Definition

Metaphor is an example of figurative language *(majāz)* as opposed to "literal" or "true" expression (*ḥaqīqa,* cf. Reinert, De Bruijn and Stewart-Robinson, Madjāz). Within the realm of figurative language, metaphor, like its close associate, simile (*tashbīh, tamthīl,* see SIMILES), refers to joining or linking two or more concepts for purposes of comparison or semantic equation. Arab rhetoricians detail numerous subcategories for both metaphor and simile; nonetheless, their basic distinction between the two resembles that found in the Western rhetorical tradition. In both, simile achieves comparison by means of a linking particle that suggests similarity: "as, like," etc. (e.g. "in battle, this man fights like a lion"). Metaphor, however, denotes semantic equation; its semantic overlap or "borrowing" *(istiʿāra)* is direct and does not rely on linking particles (e.g. "in battle, this man is a lion").

As in most rhetorical traditions, Muslim scholars and critics debated the merits and limits of metaphor. They agreed that to the extent that metaphors link or equate concepts not commonly associated, they may create images of striking semantic impact and aesthetic force. One can, however, push metaphors too far. Far-fetched metaphors, when they are unbelievable or ridiculous, distort or dilute meaning. The pre-modern Arabic poetic tradition contains much discussion of the semantic and artistic appropriateness of metaphors that poets created, especially those of the "new school" (cf. Khalafallah, Badīʿ; see POETRY AND POETS). Representatives of this school, such as Abū Tammām (d. 231/845) and al-Buḥturī (d. ca. 284/897), became famous for formulating rhetorically embellished metaphors and other forms of figurative language that were considered either brilliantly daring or shockingly outrageous by their various admirers and opponents. Critics, however, also recognized that continuous use usually lessens the aesthetic force of metaphors so that they become trite: the above-mentioned "he is a lion in battle" is an example of such an over-used metaphor.

Between these two poles of the far-

fetched and the hackneyed falls the metaphor whose appearance measurably enriches, perhaps almost imperceptibly, the aesthetic power, eloquence, and grace of a text: "And, out of kindness, lower to [your parents] the wing of humility" (Q 17:24). The appearance of this third class of metaphor in the Qurʾān is for Muslim scholars one of the text's proofs of inimitability (q.v.; *iʿjāz,* cf. Von Grunebaum, Iʿdjāz; Baqillānī, *Iʿjāz,* 69-112; Jurjānī, *Dalāʾil,* 66-73, 262 f.). As al-Jurjānī states, "Speech does not deserve the term eloquent unless meaning precedes expression, and expression meaning" (Jurjānī, *Dalāʾil,* 267). This is what a good metaphor does.

Al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505) mentions several definitions of metaphor in his *Itqān*. He settles on the following: "The essence of metaphor is when a word is borrowed from something for which it is known and applied to something for which it is not known." In other words, metaphor occurs when a concept is borrowed from its customary semantic domain and applied to a semantic domain in which it is not usually employed. For example, in the qurʾānic verse cited above, "wing" is "borrowed" from its usual determination as the limb of a bird that enables it to fly and then applied to prescribe one aspect of children's respect for their parents. The power of this metaphor is enhanced by its denotation that, as a sign of humility, the respectful child "lowers his wing," a symbol of independence. "The purpose of metaphor," al-Suyūṭī (*Itqān,* ii, 780-1) continues, "is to reveal an aspect that is hidden, to emphasize something that is not sufficiently clear, to exaggerate, or to achieve the joining or overlap (of concepts)."

Use and interpretation

The Qurʾān is replete with metaphors. It is useful to distinguish, however, between two types. On the one hand, there are metaphors whose import is mainly stylistic and figurative — such as "wing of humility" or "the morning (q.v.), when it takes breath" (Q 81:18; see AIR AND WIND) — and which may be taken as examples of the *iʿjāz* or inimitable style of the Qurʾān. On the other hand, there are expressions that may or may not be deemed as metaphorical, depending on the theological stance or persuasion of the commentator. Prominent examples of this second category are qurʾānic expressions attributing physical attributes or mental or emotional operations to God (see ANTHROPOMORPHISM). Such metaphors became the subject of much theological controversy between the Muʿtazila and their opponents (see Gimaret, Muʿtazila; see also MUʿTAZILĪS). Examples are the Qurʾān's attribution to God of such physical attributes as "face" (q.v.), "hand" (q.v.) or "thigh"; such emotional states as "mercy" (q.v.) or "wrath" (see ANGER); or qurʾānic representations of God's agency or acts by means of physical description (God's creation of Adam, or his descent to his throne, for example; see THRONE OF GOD; CREATION; ADAM AND EVE). At issue here is the question of whether such attributions were "metaphorical" or "real." On the one hand, there was the theological position of the Muʿtazila, who held that God transcended physical representation; hence, references in the Qurʾān to divine possession of physical attributes or human emotions were "metaphorical" (Gimaret, Muʿtazila, 788-9). Other theological schools, such as the Ḥanbalīs and the Ẓāhirīs, however, believed that literal meanings in the Qurʾān should be upheld as true. The position that the Ashʿarīs developed was intermediate; they held that one should take the literal meaning of the Qurʾān "without asking how" *(bi-lā kayf)*. Of particular interest for the topic of metaphor is that this provides a case study of how even deciding what is

literal and what is metaphorical may easily develop into a matter of heated theological controversy, especially when the literal truth of a religious text is a principle of faith (q.v.; see also THEOLOGY AND THE QUR'ĀN).

At times, theological controversies are less often unequivocally resolved than made moot through prolonged discussion. Passions burn brightly for a time but their flames eventually ebb, in the same way, perhaps, that metaphors too often used become banal. Hence, by the time of al-Suyūṭī, the Qur'ān's reference to God's possessing physical attributes, such as a face or hand, is categorized as an example of the ambiguous (q.v.) or multivalent verses in the Qur'ān rather than a topic for elaborate theological discussion (Suyūṭī, *Itqān,* i, 639-70). In this context, he specifically cites Q 3:7:

> He it is who sent down the book (q.v.) to you. In it are verses (q.v.), decisive — they are the mother of the book — and others multivalent. As for those in whose hearts (see HEART) is deviancy, they follow that which is multivalent in it, desiring dissension, and desiring its interpretation. Yet no one knows its interpretation except God, and those who are firmly rooted in knowledge (see KNOWLEDGE AND LEARNING) say, "We have faith in it, for it is all from our lord (q.v.)." Yet none remember except those who are possessed of prudent minds (see MEMORY; INTELLECT).

In his discussion of the clear and decisive *(muḥkam)* and multivalent or ambiguous *(mutashābih)* verses, al-Suyūṭī adopts an exegetical stance that by his time had become standard among mainstream Sunnī commentators. This approach holds, in essence, that however one may define certain verses or parts of the Qur'ān as ambiguous, one should understand their meaning in the context of the verses that are perceived of as clear and decisive (see Ayoub, *Qur'ān,* ii, 20-46). An instance of this approach as applied to metaphor lies in the verse itself, where the meaning of the phrase "mother of the book" is defined by the term *muḥkam*. In other words, it does not refer to a literal "mother" but rather to "clear and decisive meaning." Interestingly, this exegetical approach is to a large extent a mirror image of al-Suyūṭī's definition of metaphor cited above: "The essence of metaphor is when a word is borrowed from something for which it is known and applied to something for which it is not known." Instead of moving from the known to the unknown, as one does to create a metaphor, the traditionalist commentator determines the semantic intent of an ambiguous phrase, such as appearances of metaphorical usage, through reference to known clear and unequivocal expressions that envelop an otherwise too open semantic field. The goal here is to restrict interpretation that may transgress the boundaries of accepted faith.

If traditionalist commentators restrict the limits of interpreting metaphor through reliance on non-figurative verses of the Qur'ān, the Islamic philosophers did the same by relying on rational interpretation (see PHILOSOPHY AND THE QUR'ĀN). Typical of this approach is Ibn Rushd (Averroes, d. 595/1198) in his work *Faṣl al-maqāl,* "The decisive treatise." Similar to the approaches of Ibn Sīnā (Avicenna, d. 428/1037) and al-Fārābī (d. 339/950) and following an hermeneutical tradition that can be traced back to Plato and the Stoics, Ibn Rushd distinguishes among classes of human intellectual ability and their resultant capacity to "assent" to the truth value of a text. For him, "demonstration," i.e. reliance on syllogistic argument, is the clear path to truth (q.v.). Nonetheless, he recognizes that relatively few individuals

have the intellectual capacity to master philosophy and thus employ demonstration effectively. Religion, however, must be accessible to all. Hence metaphors and other rhetorical devices (see RHETORIC OF THE QUR'ĀN) are a necessary component of a religious text such as the Qur'ān so that it may convince all types of people to believe in its message. As Ibn Rushd (*Faṣl,* 46, also 30-1; Eng. trans. 59, 49) states:

God has been gracious to those of his servants who have no access to demonstration, on account of their natures, habits, and lack of facilities for education. He has coined for them images and likeness of these things, and summoned them to assent to those images that come about through the indications common to all men, that is, dialectical and rhetorical indications.

The presence in the Qur'ān of such rhetorical devices as metaphors is thus for philosophers a necessary communicative tool. Their eloquence and beauty are doubtless proof of the holy text's inimitability, but they are also intrinsic to its natural functionality: they are needed to promote assent and to inspire belief among the general populace.

A third exegetical stance toward metaphors in the Qur'ān also became prominent. This approach did not seek to delimit the interpretation of metaphors, but rather to better understand their import through elaboration or meditation. Prominent examples of this trend are the mystics (see ṢŪFISM AND THE QUR'ĀN), yet many groups (Ismā'īlīs, *ḥurūfī*s, etc.) whose vision of Islam encompasses an esoteric dimension have also embraced it. A well-known mainstream example of this trend is al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111). For him, the symbolic language of the Qur'ān was an object of profound reflection, a pathway that enabled believers to bridge the physical world of human activity to the spiritual realm of divine truth. An example of his approach is his treatise *Mishkāt al-anwār,* "The niche for lights." This work is based mainly on Q 24:35, the Light Verse:

God is the light (q.v.) of the heavens and the earth; the likeness of his light is as a niche wherein is a lamp (q.v.) — the lamp is in a glass, the glass as it were a glittering star — kindled from a blessed tree, an olive that is neither of the east nor of the west whose oil wellnigh would shine, even if no fire touched it; light upon light; God guides to his light whom he will. God strikes similitudes for humans, and God has knowledge of everything.

Typical of al-Ghazālī's method is his discussion of the metaphor: "God is the light of the heavens and the earth." Al-Ghazālī proceeds to distinguish among three levels in regard to the meaning of light. The first is that of physical phenomenon whereby the human eye sees the earth by means of the light of the sun. The second is the mental plane, whose eye is the faculty of intelligence as illuminated by the light of the truth found in the Qur'ān itself. Finally, there is the spiritual dimension, where gnostic intuition is illuminated by the rays of the light of the divine presence. For al-Ghazālī , a mature believer is someone who attains perception of each of these levels of knowledge (Ghazālī, *Mishkāt al-anwār,* 41-64; Eng. trans. 79-121; see MATURITY).

It is clear that the theological or hermeneutical issues that the presence of metaphors in the Qur'ān may provoke can be just as significant as their rhetorical or aesthetic effects — as important as these latter are. This suggests the pertinence of the idea that much of how one understands a text depends on the exegetical approach or

theological stance that one brings to its study. See also LANGUAGE AND STYLE OF THE QUR'ĀN; LITERARY STRUCTURES; SYMBOLIC IMAGERY.

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Meteor see PLANETS AND STARS

Michael

An angelic being, Michael (Ar. Mīkāl; also Mīka'īl; Mīkā'il; Mīka'il) is mentioned by name only once in the Qur'ān (Mīkāl, Q 2:98) in a verse affirming belief in God's angels (including Gabriel; see ANGEL; GABRIEL) and apostles (see MESSENGER) as a requirement of faith (q.v.) for the community of believers (*mu'minīn,* see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF; COMMUNITY AND SOCIETY IN THE QUR'ĀN). The role of Michael, however, is elaborated in ḥadīth and qur'ānic interpretation (see ḤADĪTH AND THE QUR'ĀN; EXEGESIS OF THE QUR'ĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL). This angel, whose ontological status seems to be (along with Gabriel) higher than that of other angels, appears in several types of literature in the Islamic world: the traditional histories of Muḥammad and the prophets (see SĪRA AND THE QUR'ĀN; PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD) as well as cosmological, mystical and eschatological literature (see COSMOLOGY; ESCHATOLOGY; ṢŪFISM AND THE QUR'ĀN).

Many versions of Muḥammad's night journey *(al-isrā')* and ascension (q.v.) to the throne (*al-miʿrāj,* see THRONE OF GOD), based on Q 17:1, describe Michael and Gabriel as appearing to Muḥammad, preparing him for his journey. Al-Ṭabarī's (d. 310/923) narrative has Gabriel asking Michael to bring a basin of water from Zamzam so that Gabriel can purify the Prophet's heart (q.v.; *Tafsīr,* ad Q 17:1). Gabriel cuts open the Prophet's chest, washes his heart three times with the three (successive) basins of water brought by Michael, removing all malice and inserting the qualities of gentleness, knowledge (see KNOWLEDGE AND LEARNING), faith, certitude and submission. This sūra serves as a basis for the Islamic belief in the Prophet's protection from sin (see IMPECCABILITY). Michael also figures in versions of the "tales of the prophets" *(qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā')* literature. In a story clearly meant as a teaching on the virtue of trust in God alone (*tawakkul,* see TRUST AND PATIENCE; FEAR; PIETY), Abraham (q.v.) refuses the aid of all the archangels, including Michael, who visited him when he was cast into the fire

(q.v.) by Nimrod (q.v.). Michael is also credited with giving aid to the faithful Muslims during the battle of Badr (q.v.).

The medieval cosmographer al-Qazwīnī (d. 682/1283) uses Qurʾān, ḥadīth and later anecdotes to describe fourteen kinds of angels (*ʿAjāʾib al-makhlūqāt* in Damīrī, *Ḥayāt,* i, 94-107). According to al-Qazwīnī, Michael is charged with providing nourishment for bodies (see FOOD AND DRINK) and knowledge for souls (see SOUL). He stands at the "swelling sea" (Q 52:6) in the seventh heaven (see HEAVEN AND SKY) and, if he were to open his mouth, the heaven would fit within it like a mustard seed in the ocean. Al-Qazwīnī also quotes a ḥadīth in which Muḥammad declares that "every prophet has two viziers from the inhabitants of heaven and two from the inhabitants of earth; my two from heaven are Gabriel and Michael."

Saʿīd al-Dīn Farghānī (d. ca. 700/1300) expands on Ibn ʿArabī's (d. 638/1240) discussion of angels in the *Futūḥāt al-makkiyya,* connecting the archangels to four fundamental attributes of God: life (q.v.), knowledge, will and power (see Murata, Angels; see also GOD AND HIS ATTRIBUTES; POWER AND IMPOTENCE). Michael manifests will, having been placed in charge of distributing the formal and supra-formal sustenance upon which continued existence depends. This sustenance includes spiritual food, such as knowledge and understanding, imaginary food, such as position and honor, and sensory food, such as the bounties (see BLESSING; GRACE) of the earth (q.v.).

Eschatological literature includes Michael in a number of narratives. The *Kitāb Aḥwāl al-qiyāma* describes God commanding the stages of the final annihilation of the created order (see CREATION; APOCALYPSE), affirming the qurʾānic assertion that all will perish but the face of God (q.v.; Q 28:88; 55:26-7); among the last to perish is Michael (along with the angel of death, Isrāfīl; see DEATH AND THE DEAD; for references to the *Kitāb Aḥwāl al-qiyāma,* see Smith and Haddad, *Islamic understanding,* 71, 81). Some narratives have Michael and Gabriel operating the balance, the *mīzān,* the principle of justice, upon which the good and bad deeds of individuals will be weighed (see GOOD DEEDS; EVIL DEEDS; JUSTICE AND INJUSTICE; WEIGHTS AND MEASURES; INSTRUMENTS). Although mentioned only once in the Qurʾān, Michael's pairing with Gabriel provided the basis for his (exalted) status in later literature.

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Midian

The name of a geographic locale and of a people mentioned in the Qurʾān. In postqurʾānic Islamic tradition and in the Hebrew Bible, Midian (Ar. Madyan) is also the name of one of Abraham's (q.v.) sons through Keturah (cf. *Gen* 25:2), the eponymous ancestor of the Midianites. The

origin of the name is unknown. Mendenhall *(Studies)* notes that the Hebrew *midyān* (from the root *mady-*) is non-Semitic and may be a cognate to the later term, *māday,* from which Medes is derived. In the Septuagint, the word is found as Madian or Madiam. The biblical Midianites were linguistically and culturally an Arab people associated with camel (q.v.) nomadism, caravan (q.v.) trading and shepherding (see NOMADS; BEDOUIN; ARABS). Most Midianite names mentioned in the Hebrew Bible occur also in pre-Islamic Arabic inscriptions (see EPIGRAPHY AND THE QUR'ĀN; PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QUR'ĀN), with the Midianite priest and father-in-law of Moses (q.v.), *Yitro* (Eng. Jethro), also rendered as *Yeter* (orig. Ar. *Yatru?; Exod* 3:1; 4:18; 18:1, 2, 5, 6, 12, etc.), retaining the old Arabic nominative case ending which is rare in Hebrew names (cf. the Ar. *Geshem/Gashmu* in *Neh* 2:19; 6:1, 2, 6). Archaeological evidence in the northern Ḥijāz east of ʿAqaba (see GEOGRAPHY) seems to confirm biblical portrayals of Midian/Madyan as an important political entity that emerged in that vicinity during the thirteenth century B.C.E. Midian successfully projected its political and military power over Israelites, Moabites and other peoples in areas corresponding to today's Jordan, Israel and Palestine. The name is attested in Greek and Latin sources and turns up well into the period of Islam's emergence in the seventh century C.E., although the powerful Midianite polity may have died out as early as the tenth century B.C.E. Later biblical references seem to be geographical or genealogical in nature rather than political.

Arab geographers generally locate Midian in the northern Ḥijāz west of Tabūk, although a variant tradition associates it with Kafr Manda near Tiberias, close to where the Druze (q.v.) today locate the grave of their major prophet, Shuʿayb (q.v.).

In the Qurʾān, the people of Midian are one of the ancient but no longer existing peoples *(al-umam al-khāliya),* destroyed because they refused to listen to the warnings of their divinely-sent prophets (see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD; PUNISHMENT STORIES; WARNING). The Qurʾān echoes the biblical portrayal of Midianite trading in its criticism of their dishonesty in commercial transactions (Q 7:85; 11:84; possibly also Q 11:95; see ECONOMICS; WEIGHTS AND MEASURES). The name Madyan, which occurs in the Qurʾān ten times, refers either to a geographical place to which Moses fled (Q 20:40; 28:22-3) or to a people or folk to whom the prophet Shuʿayb was sent (Q 7:85-93; 9:70; 11:84-95; 22:44; 29:36-7). The former set of references parallels the biblical Midian of Exodus while the latter most likely reflects indigenous pre-Islamic Arabian tradition (see MYTHS AND LEGENDS IN THE QUR'ĀN). The two separate trajectories of traditional lore are joined in the Qurʾān because of their common reference to Midian. That connection became embellished in the later exegetical tradition where the prophet Shuʿayb becomes Moses' father-in-law (Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh,* i, 443; id., *History,* iii, 30-1; Thaʿlabī, *Qiṣaṣ,* 145, 154; Kisāʾī, *Qiṣaṣ,* 191, 207-8), and the Midianites are the people whom King Saul (q.v.) was commanded to proscribe (Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh,* i, 561; id., *History,* iii, 141-2; cf. 1 *Sam* 15), etc.

The qurʾānic Midianites are also closely connected with the "people of the tanglewood" (or "thicket," *aṣḥāb al-ayka,* Q 15:78-9; 38:13; 50:14; see PEOPLE OF THE THICKET). Shuʿayb is sent to both (Q 26:176-89) and both also exhibit dishonest trading practices. Beeston (The 'Men') suggests that both qurʾānic designations refer to the same group, who are designated either by their ethnic or kinship (q.v.) identity as Midianites or by their religious association with the vegetation deity, *dhū l-sharā*

(Greek Dusares) as the "people of the tanglewood." The latter association must of course be much later than the probable historical dating for the strong Midianite polity of the early Iron Age. Thus the long-lived legend of the ancient Midianites may have been conflated with the great Nabatean civilization that flourished and then died out in the general vicinity a millennium later.

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Miḥrab

see QIBLA; ART AND ARCHITECTURE AND THE QURʾĀN; MOSQUE

Milk

Fluid secreted from the mammary glands of female mammals for the nourishment of their young. The two verses in which the Arabic word for milk, *laban,* occurs are Q 16:66 and 47:15. They have distinct contextual references, though they share the sense of belonging to the signs (q.v.) of God's bounty (see BLESSING) toward humankind and of being a reward for believers' acknowledgment of the divine economy (see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF; REWARD AND PUNISHMENT). The first verse refers to terrestrial existence. "In cattle (see ANIMAL LIFE) too you have a worthy lesson. We give you to drink of that which is in their bellies… pure milk, pleasant for those who drink it" (see FOOD AND DRINK). The second verse is one of the many descriptions of the afterlife (see ESCHATOLOGY). "The likeness of paradise (q.v.) which the righteous have been promised. There shall flow in it rivers of purest water (q.v.), and rivers of milk forever fresh; rivers of wine (q.v.; see also INTOXICANTS) delectable to those who drink it and rivers of clearest honey" (q.v.). The famous ḥadīth scholar and historian al-Dhahabī (d. 748/1348) noted in his work on prophetic medicine (see MEDICINE AND THE QURʾĀN) that the best fresh milk is human milk drunk directly from the breast (see LACTATION; WET-NURSING). He further observed that all milk in time loses its freshness and becomes sour; hence God described the milk of paradise as "forever fresh."

In traditions reported by Abū Dāwūd (d. 275/889) and al-Tirmidhī (d. ca. 270/883-4) from Ibn ʿAbbās (d. 68/686-8), the Prophet said that whomever God has given milk should bless God saying, " 'May he give us more,' for I know of no food or drink to replace it." Another story, found in the six so-called canonical collections of traditions (see ḤADĪTH AND THE QURʾĀN) from the Companion Anas (d. 91-3/710-12; see COMPANIONS OF THE PROPHET), recalls some people suffering from a stomach disorder for which the Prophet recommended they drink the milk and urine of she-camels, a remedy that cured their ailment (see ILLNESS AND HEALTH). The same remedy is found unattributed in the early compendium by Ibn Ḥabīb (d. 238/853) of medical folklore and Galenic data and likely belongs to traditional Arab practice

(see PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QUR'ĀN). Of the various kinds of milk available, sheep, goat, donkey, buffalo, camel, and cow's milk appear especially favored next to that of the human breast. Ibn Ḥabīb also preserves a statement he attributes to the Prophet in which the milk of cows is described as a marvel, their butter as a remedy and their meat as a medicine. In a tradition related by al-Nasā'ī (d. 303/915) from Ibn Mas'ūd (d. 32/652-3), the Prophet said, "God did not bring down any disease without also creating a remedy for it; so drink the milk of cows, for they feed off all kinds of plants." This implied that there were different milks for different ailments to which Ibn Ḥabīb added the detail that owing to this characteristic of cow's milk, it was a cure for every ailment except senility and old age *(haram)*.

The only cautionary note concerning milk in general is found in a tradition preserved by al-Bukhārī (c. 256/870) and Muslim (d. ca. 261/875) from Ibn 'Abbās that the fat of milk was bad for anyone with a fever or headache owing to the swiftness with which the milk is turned into bile. It is possible that this reflects the traditional notion, expressed by al-Ḥārith b. Kalada (d. 13/634-5), that milk is good for pains so long as it is drunk with the fat removed *(laban makhīḍ)*. Finally, an interesting "ethnographic" item has been passed down by Abū Hurayra (d. ca. 58/678) — found in both al-Bukhārī and Muslim — concerning women of the Children of Israel (q.v.; Banū Isrā'īl) who lost their fear of mice because the tiny rodent was believed to drink goat's milk but would not touch camel's milk, and Jews neither ate camel (q.v.) meat nor drank its milk (see JEWS AND JUDAISM; FORBIDDEN; LAWFUL AND UNLAWFUL).

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Miracles

Supernatural intervention in the life of human beings. When defined as such, miracles are present in the Qur'ān in a threefold sense: in sacred history, in connection with Muḥammad himself and in relation to revelation. Although an almost indispensable attribute of prophecy, Muḥammad was not thought to have been granted any miracles in the traditional sense as they were not, *ipso facto,* sufficient to convince unbelievers (see PROOF; BELIEF AND UNBELIEF). In the Qur'ān, the concept of miracle takes on a cosmological and eschatological dimension (see COSMOLOGY; ESCHATOLOGY), and the supreme miracle is finally identified with the Qur'ān itself: divine speech in human language (see WORD OF GOD). The threefold sense of the miracle corresponds to the three meanings of the word *āya (*pl. *āyāt),* a qur'ānic term which indicates the "verses" (q.v.) of the book (q.v.), as well as the "miracle" of it and the "signs" (q.v.), particularly those of creation (q.v.). The term *āya* is often followed or replaced by its nominalized qualifier, *bayyina* (pl. *bayyināt*), i.e. "a clear sign," a designation which underlines the relation between miracles and the Qur'ān, which is itself qualified by *bayān,* ("clear, evident speech"). At times the sense of astonishment and wonder which the concept of "miracle" evokes may be rediscovered in the term *'ajab,* a word used with regard to

the attitude of humans, positive or negative, when faced with the supernatural or revelation (see REVELATION AND INSPIRATION; MARVELS).

Miracles in sacred history

There are few biblical or Arab prophets (see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD) in whose stories (see NARRATIVES) miracles do not play a part. Adam (see ADAM AND EVE) had no one to convince and was not favored by a single miracle, nor did he perform any. This shows that, first and foremost, the miracle is intended, if not to convince, then at least to confute unbelievers who deny the truthfulness of a given prophet (see LIE). The oven *(tannūr)* out of which the water burst and announced the flood is an appropriate sign for Noah (q.v.; Q 11:40; 23:27). Hūd (q.v.), the prophet of the ʿĀd (q.v.), had no particular sign, thus prefiguring Muḥammad. To his people who rebuked him for not producing a miracle *(bayyina)* he answered: "Are you surprised that a message *(dhikr)* has come to you from your lord (q.v.), through a man of your own people, to warn you?" (Q 7:69; see WARNER). In contrast, the mission of Ṣāliḥ (q.v.) was confirmed by a she-camel with its young appearing miraculously from a mountain. By cutting the she-camel's hamstrings, the prophet's opponents brought forth their punishment (Q 7:73; 11:64; 54:27-9; 91:11-5; see PUNISHMENT STORIES; CHASTISEMENT AND PUNISHMENT). For these three peoples, divine punishment arrived in the form of a sudden, natural catastrophe.

The story of Abraham (q.v.) is marked by several miracles. God commands the blazing fire (q.v.) into which he was thrown to become "coolness and a means of safety" (Q 21:69). A sacrificial animal is sent to replace his son who was about to be killed (Q 37:107; see SACRIFICE; CONSECRATION OF ANIMALS). In some of the prophet narratives, it is worth noting that the miraculous apparition may simultaneously bring life and death (Q 11:69-73; 15:51-6; 37:112): angels (see ANGEL) announce the birth of Isaac (q.v.) at the same time as the punishment of Lot's (q.v.) people. God's insistence on the total destruction of the city by a cry, a shower of rocks or a complete upending emphasizes dramatically the miracle of divine protection afforded to Lot and his family (Q 11:81; 54:37). The list of peoples annihilated is rounded off by the "Companions of the Wood" (*aṣḥāb al-ayka,* see PEOPLE OF THE THICKET), identified as the Midianites (see MIDIAN) and destroyed either by a cry or by an earthquake, although their prophet Shuʿayb (q.v.) was still not favored with a particular miracle (cf. Q 7:88; 11:84, 94; 15:83; 29:36).

Moses (q.v.), the most frequently mentioned prophet in the Qurʾān, is one with a twofold mission, to both Pharaoh (q.v.) and the Children of Israel (q.v.). He is also accompanied by the greatest number of miraculous events of all of the qurʾānic prophets. Rescued from the waters, spared from the massacre of the male infants and restored to his mother as a result of divine protection (q.v.; Q 20:37-41; 28:7-13), God speaks to him from the "bush." It is then that he receives the two signs of his mission: the staff (see ROD), which becomes a serpent when it is cast down before the magicians but regains its normal shape when held again, and his hand, which is white, but not infected by leprosy. These signs were intended to persuade Pharaoh to allow the Children of Israel to leave Egypt (q.v.). Only the magicians (see MAGIC) are convinced by the miracle of the staff, which devours their own staffs when transformed into snakes (Q 7:115-26; 20:65-76; 26:38-51). This story shows the difference, despite appearances, between miracles and magic, between divine intervention and human manipulation. Only

the eyes of faith (q.v.), however, can see this difference. This story also shows the soteriological function of the miracle: when they behold this, the magicians become believers and prefer the world to come, declaring that they are ready to face the earthly punishment of Pharaoh. There is also a clear parallel with the qurʾānic term for its revelations — the *āyāt* — considered as magic by the Quraysh (q.v.). Pharaoh deals with magical portents (Q 27:12), the signs called *āyāt bayyināt* (Q 17:101) or *āyāt mufaṣṣalāt,* all of which are expressions that could be applied to the revelations that Muḥammad receives (cf. Q 11:1; 41:3, etc.).

Among the "nine" signs of Moses there are five plagues of Egypt (rather than the biblical ten). They are qualified as *mubṣira* or *baṣāʾir* because they should awaken inner meditation in those for whom they are destined, the audience and readers of the story. The confrontation between Moses and Pharaoh is brought to a close by the destruction wrought in the crossing of the Red Sea (e.g. Q 20:77-8; 26:60-8), an episode often recounted in the tales of peoples who have been destroyed. The miracles with which the Children of Israel are favored in the Sinai (q.v.) desert are both a testimony to their being a chosen people (see ELECTION) and an adverting to the perils of straying (see ASTRAY; ERROR): the manna (see FOOD AND DRINK) and the quails, the protective cloud (see SECHINA), the twelve springs (see SPRINGS AND FOUNTAINS) which Moses makes gush forth when he strikes the rock with his staff (Q 2:57; 7:160; 20:80). Should we consider as miraculous the revelation of God on the mountain, a vision which terrified Moses (Q 7:143), the "resurrection" of the Children of Israel, struck down because they demanded to see God (Q 2:55), the mountain rising in front of them at the time of the covenant (q.v.; Q 2:63, 93; 4:154) or the tablets given to Moses on Mount Sinai (Q 7:145; see COMMANDMENTS)? In all these instances, the miracle is always closely related to eschatology and revelation.

Miracle and revelation are also clearly distinguished from their opposites, as in the episode of the golden calf (see CALF OF GOLD), where both occur simultaneously. The personage that the Qurʾān calls al-Sāmirī brings the statue to life by throwing onto it a handful of earth which has been touched by the shoe of Gabriel's (q.v.) horse. This individual thus possesses certain knowledge (see KNOWLEDGE AND LEARNING) of the life-giving power of something bearing the mark of the spirit (q.v.; see also HOLY SPIRIT). By appropriating for himself miraculous power, however, contrary to the will of God and without the knowledge of the prophet, he merely works an "anti-miracle" and leads men astray (Q 20:87-8, 96). Likewise the case of Korah (q.v.; Qārūn), who claims to owe his wealth "to a knowledge" he possesses, of which he boasts (see BOAST). In the end he is swallowed up by the earth, just as Pharaoh is swallowed up by the waves (Q 28:76-81).

The story of the cow which Moses commands the Children of Israel to sacrifice so that a murder (q.v.) victim, touched by a part of the animal, may come back to life to identify his murderer, is clearly meant as a symbol of resurrection (q.v.). It should be understood to have an inner meaning, as it shows the hardening of hearts (see HEART), a theme that is touched upon immediately afterwards (Q 2:67-74). The fish which comes back to life "at the meeting of the two seas" (see BARZAKH) leaps from the basket and "makes its way back into the sea in an amazing manner *(ʿajab)*" in order to show Moses and his servant that they have reached the place where they must stop, clearly assumes a similar meaning (Q 18:63). It may be observed that the term *ʿajab* is spoken not by the prophet, but by

his young servant. In the remainder of the story, the mysterious servant, traditionally called al-Khaḍir (see KHAḌIR/KHIḌR), whose disciple Moses becomes at one point, does not perform any miracles as such; Moses does not need them. By his presence at events, he merely points out to Moses the knowledge that God has given him as a gift. Here the miracle is quite simply the knowledge given to certain men, inspired directly by God, linking the miraculous directly to revelation (Q 18:62-82).

In Q 2 (Sūrat al-Baqara, "The Cow"), the Qurʾān again retells a biblical story (see SCRIPTURE AND THE QURʾĀN), with the accession of Saul (q.v.; Ṭālūt) to the throne confirmed by a miraculous sign: the return of the ark (q.v.) of the covenant, carried by angels (Q 2:248). His successors, David (q.v.) and Solomon (q.v.), are also granted miraculous powers: the former is given expertise with iron (see METALS AND MINERALS) and the mountains glorify God (see GLORIFICATION OF GOD; LAUDATION) with him; the demons (see DEVIL), jinn (q.v.) and winds (see AIR AND WIND) obey the latter (Q 34:10-3; 38:36-9) and he is taught the "language of the birds" (Q 27:16; see ANIMAL LIFE). Endowed with these powers by virtue of their position, both David and Solomon are tested in the exercise of their kingship by supernatural intervention (see KINGS AND RULERS). Two angels appear before David in his private chamber as litigants to remind him of his sin with regard to his general, and a "body" is placed on Solomon's throne to remind him that he is only king by divine delegation (Q 38:21-4, 34). Solomon does likewise with the Queen of Sheba (see BILQĪS) by having her throne moved. It is not Solomon himself who carries out this miraculous deed, but one of his companions, traditionally named as Āṣaf b. Barakhyā. Endowed with a "certain knowledge of the book," he is more powerful than the jinn. In this story, the miracle is not performed by the prophet, who simply thanks God, but by a man acting on his authority (q.v.) and in accordance with revelation (Q 27:40). Theologians and Ṣūfīs were later to find in this story the model for the miracles of the saints as a continuation of those of the prophets (see ṢŪFISM AND THE QURʾĀN).

The Qurʾān also mentions the miraculous cure of Job (Q 38:42-4) as well as the incident in which Jonah, having been swallowed by the whale, is cast up on land where there is the plant (*yaqṭīn,* a squash or something similar) with which God covers him to protect him from the sun (Q 37:139-46). In these two instances, the miracles of the cure and the protection are examples of the grace reserved for those who have been chosen after being put to the test (see TRIAL).

As was the case with Isaac (q.v.), the births of the last two prophets of the Children of Israel, John (see JOHN THE BAPTIST) and Jesus (q.v.), are announced, respectively, to Zechariah (q.v.) and Mary (q.v.) by angels (Q 3:39 and Q 3:45-6) or directly by God and the spirit (Q 19:7, 17-21). At the time of the birth of Jesus, Mary, who miraculously receives sustenance in Zechariah's chapel in the temple (Q 3:37), has to shake the trunk of a withered palm tree to have fresh dates fall from it, while underneath runs a stream (according to one meaning of *sarī,* Q 19:24-5). Jesus speaks from the cradle (Q 19:29-30) and, as the human manifestation of the creative power of the word *(kun),* is constantly performing miracles. He proclaims to his people: "I bring you a sign/miracle on behalf of your lord; I will make for you a bird from clay with God's permission *(bi-idhni llāh),* I will cure the blind and the leper, I will resurrect the dead (see DEATH AND THE DEAD) and I will tell you what you eat and what you store in your homes. This will be a sign for

you if you are believers" (Q 3:49; also Q 5:110). This passage, while stressing the specific calling of Jesus, also defines the conditions and the limits of the miracle: the prophet does not act on his own accord, and the miracle is only useful to someone who believes; likewise, the verses of the book are only understood by those who recognize the truth (q.v.) that is in them. The cognitive purpose of the miracle is made clear in the story of the food from heaven (*māʾida,* see TABLE), which Jesus asks God to send down at the request of the apostles (see APOSTLE). He answers their request by praying that this may be a commemoration *(ʿīd)* and a sign *(āya),* but he first of all questions their faith. The disciples justify themselves by saying that they wanted peace of mind (Q 5:113-4). Jesus leaves this world as miraculously as he entered it because he is taken up by God (Q 4:158).

Abraham does likewise. When he has asked God to let him see the resurrection of the dead, the response is: "Don't you believe?" Next he is commanded to sacrifice four birds, cut them up and scatter them. When he summons them, the birds are made whole again and restored to life (Q 2:260). Here, the miracle involves contemplation of the mystery; it has the sole function of elevating the intellect (q.v.) to a different plane of understanding, bringing the peace, that is, of heartfelt certainty.

Neither the distinction between the miracles of the prophets and those of the saints, nor the respective terms used to describe them *(muʿjizāt, karāmāt)* are from the Qurʾān. Among non-prophetic miracles, the Qurʾān mentions some *āyāt* (Q 18:9, 17) with regard to the Men of the Cave (q.v.). Likewise, the man who wonders about resurrection and whom God makes die and then resurrects one hundred years later is identified variously as Ezra (q.v.; ʿUzayr), as al-Khaḍir, or as someone who does not believe in resurrection (Q 2:259). The miracle is an exemplum and is convincing when God wishes it to be.

Prophetic and saintly miracles in extra-qurʾānic literature

Theological treatises ascribe a general pattern of development to prophetic miracles, as evidence of prophecy and in order to distinguish them from the miracles of the saints *(karāmāt)*. For Ashʿarī and Ṣūfī writers (see THEOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN), the stories in the Qurʾān about individuals who are not prophets, such as Mary, the Men of the Cave, al-Khaḍir or Āṣaf b. Barakhyā, serve as proof of the existence of miracles by the saints. ʿAbd al-Qāhir al-Baghdādī (d. 429/1037) describes how miracles are an indispensable part of prophecy and sets out the miracles of the main prophets in the Qurʾān up to Muḥammad (cf. his *Uṣūl al-dīn,* 169-85). In his work on the distinction between prophetic and saintly miracles *(Kitāb al-Bayān ʿan al-farq bayna l-muʿjizāt wa-l-karāmāt wa-l-ḥiyal wa-l-kahāna wa-l-siḥr wa-l-nāranjāt),* al-Bāqillānī (d. 403/1013) discusses theological controversies on the subject in an abstract manner, without recounting the stories of the miracles. The same applies to al-Juwaynī (d. 478/1085) who, on the subject of prophecy, devotes several passages to prophetic miracles, without giving a single example from the Qurʾān (cf. *al-Irshād,* 178-205 [Ar. text], Fr. trans. 266-305). This is also the case with Qāḍī ʿAbd al-Jabbār (d. 415/1025; cf. *al-Mughnī,* vol. xv *al-Tanabbuʾāt wa-l-muʿjizāt*).

Theologians are, however, inclined to follow the Qurʾān by linking the question of miracles *(muʿjizāt)* with the insuperable nature of the text of the Qurʾān *(iʿjāz),* the main proof of its divine origin (cf. Antes, *Prophetenwunder,* 21-8; Gimaret, *La doctrine d'al-Ashʿarī,* 459-66). In his general study of Islamic dogma, Hermann Stieglecker sets out the positions of Sunnī theologians re-

garding miracles and then devotes a long passage to the prophetic figures of Islam. His description of Muḥammad's life is followed by an extensive discussion of the miraculous nature of the Qurʾān and the subject of its inimitability (q.v.; *iʿjāz;* cf. *Die Glaubenslehren des Islams,* 161-9, 189-338, 372-408, and under the index entries Wunder, Wundercharakter des Qurʾān). Richard Grämlich does likewise in his study of the miracles of the saints. His presentation makes clear, in particular, the twofold aspects of divine power and divine favor in miracles and the distinction made by Ṣūfīs and theologians between *muʿjizāt* and *karāmāt*. He also discusses miracles in the Qurʾān that are not prophetic (cf. *Die Wunder der Freunde Gottes,* 16-81; on the miracles in the Qurʾān as models for the miracles of the saints, see D. Gril, Les fondements scripturaires).

Supernatural intervention in sacred history thus occurs in many forms. The miracle shows either divine omnipotence (see POWER AND IMPOTENCE) — with its fate of punishment and destruction, whether of peoples or individuals — or (divine) favor, bestowed above all on the prophets or others who have been chosen. Angels, the messengers (see MESSENGER) of the unseen (see HIDDEN AND THE HIDDEN), are often its heralds or its vehicle. The favor (see GRACE; BLESSING) is often portrayed as sustenance (q.v.) or protection (q.v.). The miraculous powers which the prophets or their followers receive may only be exercised with divine permission. Once this is granted, nothing can prevent their effectiveness; it is this, among other things, which sets them apart from magic. The miracles of resurrection, demonstrations of favor and omnipotence are intended to enable perception of divine action and to make a proclamation of the advent of the world to come. The miracle shares this eschatological function with revelation. The prophetology and cosmological teaching undergirding these stories in the Qurʾān demonstrates to us the small role of the miracle that it permitted to its very first auditor, Muḥammad himself.

The Prophet and miracles

While the attitude of earlier prophets, especially their endurance when put to the test is constantly recalled to Muḥammad as a model to follow and a source of comfort, the miracles which served to confirm and authenticate their missions are denied him. In more than one passage of the Qurʾān we find him vainly asking God for a sign to convince his people: "If you could wish for a passage opening into the ground or a ladder up to the sky in order to give them a sign! If God had wanted to he would have gathered them all on guidance. Therefore do not be among those who are ignorant" (Q 6:36; see IGNORANCE). Elsewhere are listed miracles sought by the Prophet: the simple descent (from heaven) of a book or an angel (Q 6:7-8), the outpouring of a spring or a stream in a garden, a downpour from the skies, a house full of treasure, and his being transported to heaven (Q 17:90-3). This last request appears in the sūra that begins with a reference to the journey by night (see ASCENSION). This shows that "the greatest signs" that the Prophet must contemplate during the course of his ascension are intended for him rather than for the unbelievers. The Qurʾān thus explains the relative pointlessness of miracles: since God has not given faith to the unbeliever, he is incapable of belief (see FREEDOM AND PREDESTINATION). Furthermore the refusal of divine signs and the coming of angels risks provoking divine punishment (e.g. Q 25:20-2). Like others before him, Muḥammad is accused of untruthfulness and magic (Q 54:2; 74:24, etc.) and his people challenge him to bring about the punishment

that he proclaims. Confronted by such accusations, he is reminded of the pointlessness of miracles. Instead of this he must assert his own human nature (see IMPECCABILITY) and repudiate all miraculous power (e.g. Q 6:50), but proclaim instead the revealed character of his inspiration and actions. This abolition of miracles is only an apparent contradiction of the prophetic models set forth as examples for him. The humanity and the weakness of other prophets, especially at the time of the miracles, receive great emphasis: the fear of Abraham during the visit of the angels (Q 51:28) or the fear of Moses confronting the magicians (Q 20:67). Jesus, as we have seen, only performed miracles with divine sanction (Q 3:49, 79; 13:38).

Nonetheless, the miracle is not completely absent from references to the life of the Prophet and his Companions (see COMPANIONS OF THE PROPHET). Angels intervene to help believers at Badr (q.v.) and Ḥunayn (q.v.; Q 3:124-6; 8:9-13; 9:25-6). Although the Qurʾān does describe a magical action of the Prophet (*ramā,* i.e. his throwing of stones in the face of the enemy at Badr, thus, according to tradition, causing the defeat of the Quraysh), it immediately denies the efficacy of this act, just as it lays bare the actions of the believers: "You have not killed them; it is God who has killed them, you did not advance, when you advanced; God advanced *(ramā)*…" (Q 8:17). For the majority of religious commentators (see EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL), the splitting of the moon (q.v.) mentioned at the beginning of Q 54 (Sūrat al-Qamar, "The Moon") is indeed a miracle received by the Prophet to convince the Quraysh: "The hour is approaching and the moon is split asunder. But if they see a sign, they turn away or say: transient magic!" (Q 54:1-2). These verses, as we can see, lay particular stress upon the meaning of the sign and the charge of magic, and thus upon the pointlessness of the miracle for the unbelievers. Muḥammad does not perform miracles himself: this makes the divine act appear all the more striking, and indicates that the signification of the miracles of earlier prophets may be rediscovered in the revealed book and its verses and signs.

Miracles and revelation

At the same time as miracles are refused to the Prophet, the gauntlet is thrown down to jinn and men to produce a similar book or even ten sūras (Q 17:88; 11:12-3); elsewhere, the challenge is to produce a single sūra (Q 2:23; 10:38; see PROVOCATION). These passages have led theologians to say that the miracles of the Prophet are characterized by challenge *(taḥaddin),* and to elaborate the doctrine of the inimitable nature of the Qurʾān *(iʿjāz)*. As a miracle is a display of omnipotence as well as of divine favor and mystery, the Qurʾān calls upon the Prophet and his followers to recognize its "miraculous" nature from the evidence of its signs and verses: "But it [the Qurʾān] provides clear signs *(āyāt bayyināt)* in the breasts of those who have received knowledge. Only the unjust dispute our signs; they say, why are [miraculous] signs not sent down to him by his lord. Answer, the signs are close to *(ʿinda)* God and I am only one who gives a clear warning" (Q 29:49-50; see also Q 6:109). On the one hand, the Qurʾān contains all the signs and nothing has been omitted from it (cf. Q 6:37-8; 18:54); on the other, the signs are close to *(ʿinda)* God, as well as "in the breasts." The miracle of the Qurʾān is therefore of the interior kind. The miracle, however, is also in creation, since it reveals in its many signs, which the Qurʾān has enumerated in a great number

of verses, the action and unity of God. In more than one passage, the response to a request for a miracle by the Prophet is a call to contemplate the signs of creation (e.g. Q 10:20 f.; 13:7 f.; see NATURE AS SIGNS). These signs are often symbols of resurrection just as the miracle foreshadows the world beyond, whether via the annihilation of the unjust or by the contemplation of the other world, where the extraordinary is ordinary (see REWARD AND PUNISHMENT). In addition to this traditional view of the miracle of the Qurʾān, it should also be noted that one trend in modern qurʾānic exegesis is the examination of the Qurʾān for predictions of the scientific discoveries of recent times — the so-called *tafsīr ʿilmī*. For more on this topic, see EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: EARLY MODERN AND CONTEMPORARY; SCIENCE AND THE QURʾĀN.

But for the person who knows how to read the world, the ordinary signs of earthly life reveal the spiritual realm, just as the multiplication of a grain seven hundredfold foretells the reward of almsgivers (see ALMSGIVING) in the next world (Q 2:261). This is why the Qurʾān is astonished at the astonishment of men who have difficulty believing that a divine reminder should be given to them via a human intermediary. Thus prophecy and revelation are indeed "the miracle" in the true meaning of the word (Q 7:63, 69; 10:2; cf. 38:4-5; 50:2). Jinn describe the Qurʾān as "marvelous" *(ʿajab)* to indicate the difference between their inspiration and that of prophecy. In the same way, unbelievers marvel at resurrection while it constantly takes place before their eyes (Q 13:5). Granted or denied, the miracle is indeed at the center of qurʾānic discourse, of the prophetology, of the cosmology and of the eschatology of the sacred text.

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Mischief

see CORRUPTION

Misery

see JOY AND MISERY

Misguidance

see FREEDOM AND PREDESTINATION; ASTRAY; ERROR; GUIDANCE

Mission

see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD

Mīthāq

see COVENANT

Mockery

Insulting or contemptuous action or speech. Mockery *(h-z-ʾ, s-kh-r)* figures regularly in the Qurʾān. The nouns and verb forms derived from *h-z-ʾ* appear forty-three times, those derived from *s-kh-r* fifteen times. Both are used synonymously as is attested by Q 6:10 and Q 21:41. Mockery in the Qurʾān usually expresses disbelief (see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF) in God and is thus closely linked with the subject of disbelieving laughter (q.v.). It does so in a more or less formulaic way and in a manner that underlines the assumed universality of Muḥammad's prophetic experience: God's prophets are derided (*wa-mā yaʾtīhim min rasūlin illā kānū bihi yastahziʾūna,* "No messenger [q.v.] came to them whom they did not mock"; Q 15:11; also Q 36:30; 43:7; see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD). The formula *ittakhadha huzuwan,* "He took in mockery," typically describes God's signs (q.v.) and his messengers as being the objects of mockery (e.g. Q 2:231; 18:56, 106; 21:36; 25:41; 31:6; 43:35; 45:9). In Q 5:57-8, it is the believers' religion (q.v.) and prayer (q.v.) that become the objects of mockery and playful joking *(huzuwan wa-laʿiban)*. Only once do the unbelievers suspect their prophet Moses (q.v.) of mocking them (Q 2:67) — as if their roles were reversed.

The Qurʾān counters such ridicule with threats of past and future revenge (see VENGEANCE): God will punish the mockers with hell (see HELL AND HELLFIRE) at the last judgment (q.v.) and — lest this should not impress the unbelievers — has already done so before in specific cases (see PUNISHMENT STORIES; REWARD AND PUNISHMENT). The most common formula for this is the strangely suggestive phrase *wa-ḥāqa bihim mā kānū bihi yastahziʾūna,* "They shall be/were encompassed by that at which they mocked" (future: Q 11:8; 39:49; 45:33; past: Q 16:34; 40:83; 46:26). A variant substitutes *wa-ḥāqa bihim mā…* with *fa-sawfa yatīhim anbāʾu mā…* "News (q.v.) shall reach them of that…" (Q 6:5; cf. 26:6), with *kadhdhabū bi-l-ḥaqq,* "They denied the truth (q.v.)," as the preceding misdemeanor (see LIE). The complete argument runs thus: "Messengers indeed were mocked *(h-z-ʾ)* before you. Then those that scoffed at them *(s-kh-r)* were encompassed by that at which they mocked *(h-z-ʾ)*" (Q 6:10; 21:41). The idea of retaliation (q.v.) is best expressed in instances of exact reversal: God will mock the mocking hypocrites (see HYPOCRITES AND HYPOCRISY) and whoever ridicules the believers (Q 2:15; 9:79). A prophet like Noah (q.v.) can say the same: "If you scoff at us we shall surely scoff at you as you scoff now!" (Q 11:38) — God's punishment is imminent. As for the mocking hypocrites, their excuse — "We were only chatting and joking *(l-ʿ-b)*" — will not be accepted (Q 9:64-6). The qurʾānic discourse does not allow for anything beyond truth and its denial; the realm of play, fiction and joking remained ontologically incomprehensible and morally suspect in relation to these narrow premises.

There are three explicit orders regarding mockery, all of them prohibitive. The first warns the believers against befriending those who ridicule their religion and their call for prayer (Q 5:57-8); believers must not stay when their companions start to mock God's signs (Q 4:140 with a probable reference back to Q 5:57-8). The provision is, of course, a variant of the universal wisdom to avoid bad company. The simple "Do not take God's signs/verses (q.v.) in mockery"

of Q 2:231 seems more loaded when interpreted in its context. This passage falls, in fact, in the middle of the rules of divorce and remarriage (see MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE). This might well mean that they are not to apply God's rules in jest, thus pointing to an unspoken fear: that a body of rules accommodating whims invites men to treat divorce as a joke and thus abuse God's revelation (see REVELATION AND INSPIRATION). Q 49:11, finally, forbids all believers, male and female, to ridicule each other as the person mocked at may be better than his or her mocker. The prohibition is uttered in a series of rules against anything likely to split the Muslim community (see COMMUNITY AND SOCIETY IN THE QUR'ĀN; COMMANDMENTS; BOUNDARIES AND PRECEPTS). They jointly constitute a call for peace and harmony among the believers who are idealized as brothers (Ammann, *Vorbild und Vernunft,* 35-7; see BROTHER AND BROTHERHOOD). Further occurrences of *h-z-'* and *s-kh-r* are to be found in Q 2:212; 9:79; 13:32; 15:95; 23:110; 30:10; 37:12-4; 38:63; 39:56.

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Moderation

The action or an act of moderating, i.e. to abate the excessiveness of an act, to render less violent, intense, rigorous, extreme or burdensome. This concept appears in various contexts in the Qurʾān. For instance, Q 17:33 calls for the self-restriction of those who have been given the right to avenge the death of one's kin (see BLOOD MONEY; VENGEANCE; RETALIATION), and Q 17:110 advises neither to utter the prayer (q.v.) aloud nor in a silent voice "and to seek a way between that" (cf. Q 49:3; 7:205).

The moderation of God's punishment (see CHASTISEMENT AND PUNISHMENT; REWARD AND PUNISHMENT) is expressed eleven times in the Qurʾān by the adjective *ḥalīm,* forbearing or clement (see GOD AND HIS ATTRIBUTES; MERCY). Q 2:225 and 235 conclude that God is "forgiving and forbearing" *(ghafūrun ḥalīmun),* since he does not judge the fulfillment of the believers' oaths (q.v.) and their promises by what they have expressed unintentionally (see BREAKING TRUSTS AND CONTRACTS). Al-Zamakhsharī (d. 538/1144) explains God's forbearance *(ḥilm)* as suspension of punishment *(lā yuʿāliju bi-l-ʿuqūba)* and mildness from tyranny (*ḥalīm ʿan al-jāʾir,* see OPPRESSION; KINGS AND RULERS), a fact that itself is part of God's promise to mankind (*Kashshāf,* i, 394, 473, 510). *Ḥalīm* also appears as an attribute of three outstanding humans. Abraham (q.v.; Ibrāhīm, Q 9:114, 11:75), the son he is about to offer (Q 37:101), and — in an ironic allegation used by his adversaries — the prophet Shuʿayb (q.v.; Q 11:87) are considered *ḥalīm,* "patient, not rushing to take revenge if wronged" (*Jalālayn,* ad Q 11:75). These passages together with evidence from pre-Islamic poetry (see PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QUR'ĀN; POETRY AND POETS) led Goldziher to conclude that *ḥilm* in the sense of calmness, moderation, and resistance to the vengeful ways of pre-Islamic tribal society is a central virtue in Islam (see VIRTUES AND VICES, COMMANDING AND FORBIDDING; COMMUNITY AND SOCIETY IN THE QUR'ĀN; ETHICS AND THE QUR'ĀN). He assumed that *ḥilm* and not knowledge *(ʿilm),* should be considered the opposite of the pre-Islamic 'Age of Ignorance' (q.v.;

jāhiliyya, see also IGNORANCE), understood by Goldziher as the passionate "era of barbarity" (*MS,* i, 221 f.).

Moderation as a principle of human action expressed in the roots *q-ṣ-d* and *w-s-ṭ* appears in six verses. The value judgment on this principle is ambiguous. In Q 31:19, Luqmān (q.v.) calls on his son to be moderate in his walk and to lower his voice because God loves no one who is pompous and boastful (Q 31:18; see BOAST; ARROGANCE). The invitation is expressed through the imperative of the verb *qaṣada* that originally means "to direct oneself towards something" and the verse could have been understood as a demand "to straighten one's walk" (on this and the connection to the Aramaic Aḥiqār texts, cf. Horovitz, *KU,* 136). The derived meaning of "following the middle course" is more directly expressed through the eighth form of this verb. Q 5:66 mentions a "moderate community" *(ummatun muqtaṣidatun)* among the People of the Book (q.v.) who have not engaged in the trespassing of their peers (see BOUNDARIES AND PRECEPTS). In Q 35:32 a moderate part is also considered among the chosen group of God's servants. Its place is between those who wrong themselves and some who outdo each other in good deeds (q.v.). Q 31:32 connects a moderate attitude with negative associations. Those who are *muqtaṣid* seem to lack commitment in their belief. Q 68:28 and Q 2:143 express, however, the positive connotations of a "middle position" *(awsaṭ* and *wasaṭ)*. This is most explicit in the latter verse where the believers are described as a "community in the middle" *(ummatan wasaṭan)* because they serve both as witnesses against the people *(shuhadāʾ ʿalā l-nās)* and they accept the Prophet as a witness for themselves (see WITNESSING AND TESTIFYING).

The exegetical literature connects the two concepts of a well-balanced middle with that of a mediator. It refers to the usage among the Arabs (q.v.) and translates the word *wasaṭ* in Q 2:143 as *khiyār,* "choice, option." There is little explanation for what this means. Al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923; *Tafsīr,* iii, 142), for instance, starts at a different point and argues that *wasaṭ* stands for the middle of two extremes and describes the moderation of the Muslim believers: "They are neither exaggerators *(ahl al-ghuluww)* in respect to religion, (…) nor those who reduce something *(ahl al-taqṣīr)*." Al-Ṭabarī interprets *wasaṭ* therefore as *ʿadl,* "equity," and concludes that this is what *khiyār* means. The identification of *wasaṭ* with *ʿadl,* "justice," already appears in the ḥadīth (Tirmidhī, *Ṣaḥīḥ, tafsīr al-Qurʾān,* 3, 8; see ḤADĪTH AND THE QURʾĀN) and is later supported by various arguments (Rāzī, *Tafsīr,* iv, 108 f.). The same interpretation is also applied to *muqtaṣid* (Bayḍāwī, *Anwār,* i, 266 f.). For Sayyid Quṭb (d. 1966; *Ẓilāl,* i, 130 f.), the *ummatan wasaṭan* of Q 2:143 expresses the central place of the Muslim community among humankind. The Muslim community is endowed with *ʿadl,* understood as equitable justice *(qisṭ)* and demonstrates it towards humankind (see JUSTICE AND INJUSTICE). The moderation of one's commitment, however, was, following Q 31:32 and 35:32, seldom regarded as an exemplary behavior and al-Ghazālī's (d. 505/1111) book *al-Iqtiṣād fī l-iʿtiqād,* for instance, does not argue for a moderation of one's convictions but refers to the moderate depth of instruction in the Muslim creed (see CREEDS) within this book.

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Modesty

Evincing decorum in one's actions and dress. The Qurʾān enjoins Muslims to observe modesty in their clothing and honesty in their behavior. It is said in Q 7:26 "We have sent down raiment (see CLOTHING) to hide your nakedness (see NUDITY) and splendid garments, but the raiment of piety (q.v.) is the best." Instead of specifying or requiring any particular form of clothing or covering for Muslims (see VEIL), the Qurʾān sets forth fairly broad statements of principle regarding modesty. Q 24:31 states "Tell the believing women… not to display their adornment except that part of it which appears outwardly" (see WOMEN AND THE QURʾĀN; BELIEF AND UNBELIEF). Q 24:30 reads "Tell the male believers to avert their eyesight…" and Q 33:59, "O Prophet, tell your wives and daughters and the women of the Muslims to let down over them a part of their outer garments; it is more suitable *(dhālika adnā)* that they will thus be recognized and not molested" (see WIVES OF THE PROPHET; FAMILY OF THE PROPHET). The term *hawn* means modesty or humility in Q 25:63: "The servants of [God], most gracious are those who walk in the earth in humility, and when the ignorant (see IGNORANCE) address them, they say "Peace!" (see ARROGANCE). *Istaḥā* means "in a bashful way" in Q 28:25: "Afterwards one of the [damsels] came back to him, walking bashfully *(ʿalā stiḥyāʾin)*…" In the absence of qurʾānic specification, it is the responsibility of divergent schools of law (see LAW AND THE QURʾĀN) to define the way such principles should be interpreted and executed on the basis of textual indicators, analogy, or other methods of legal reasoning such as *istiḥsān* and *istiṣlāḥ* (see EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL; TRADITIONAL DISCIPLINES OF QURʾĀNIC STUDY).

The Qurʾān teaches extreme simplicity with regard to dress. At the time of the Prophet, the basic articles of clothing for both male and female consisted of an undergarment, a body shirt, a long dress, gown, or tunic, and an outer garment such as a mantle coat or wrap, footgear consisting of shoes or sandals, and a head covering. As underwear would interfere with the circulation of air, it is said that originally none was worn, a practice that may have been common before the coming of Islam. The *izār* (undergarment) and the *sirwāl* (under-drawers) were worn, however, at the time of the Prophet. We may consider undergarments as one of the accommodations to the new moral sensibilities since they were an effective mark of modesty (see ETHICS AND THE QURʾĀN; PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QURʾĀN).

A central concept in Sunnī law concerning dress is the *ʿawra*. The *ʿawra* is that part of the human body that is to be covered in ordinary public settings. The term is perhaps best translated as "the modesty zone," meaning that part of the body the covering of which is required for purposes of public modesty or decency. Since indecent exposure is one of the factors that, according to most jurists, invalidate a prayer (q.v.), it was

necessary for the Muslim jurists to clarify the concept of indecent exposure. It is in this connection that they go to great lengths to explain what constitutes the *ʿawra*. Generally speaking, the *ʿawra* that must be covered in the ritual prayer is identical with the *ʿawra* that must be covered in ordinary public settings, although a few authors draw a distinction between an "*ʿawra* in prayer" and an "*ʿawra* outside of prayer." In addition to those sections of the law books that deal with ritual prayer, the subject of dress emerges in discussions of *nazar,* "looking," which are found in the "Book of marriage" in the Shāfiʿī, Mālikī, and Ḥanbalī schools (see MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE; CHASTITY; ABSTINENCE; ADULTERY AND FORNICATION). Within Ḥanafī law books, however, the subject of *nazar* is placed variously under "Book of preference" *(kitāb al-istiḥsān),* "Book of abominations" (*kitāb al-karāhiya,* see SIN, MAJOR AND MINOR) or "Book of forbidding and permitting" (*kitāb al-ḥaẓr wa-l-ibāḥa,* see LAWFUL AND UNLAWFUL; FORBIDDEN). Under these headings are placed the discussions of what parts of the body may be seen and what parts may not be seen.

As a whole, the Ḥanafī, Shāfiʿī and Mālikī schools all agree that the entire body of a free woman is her *ʿawra* except her face and palms. The Ḥanbalī school is the only school that regards the palms of a free woman as part of her *ʿawra*. The four schools also agree that the area between the navel and the knees is the *ʿawra* of a man. Most Shāfiʿīs and all Mālikīs and Ḥanbalīs exclude the navel and the knees from a man's *ʿawra,* while the Ḥanafī jurists agree that the navel is not part of the *ʿawra* but the knee is. The Ḥanafīs generally regard the *ʿawra* of the slave woman the same as the *ʿawra* of the man, although some regard a slave woman's bosom *(ṣadr)* as part of the "*ʿawra* in prayer," not as part of the "*ʿawra* outside prayer" (see SLAVES AND SLAVERY).

According to the Mālikīs and Ḥanbalīs, a man is allowed to look at and touch the entire body of a child who is not yet seven years old (see CHILDREN; MATURITY). According to the Shāfiʿīs, a man is allowed to look at the whole body of free female children except what is between the navel and knees. The Ḥanbalīs hold that a man is allowed to look at the head, face, neck, hands, shanks and feet of free female minors under the age of nine. The Ḥanafīs say that there is no rule of *ʿawra* for a little child's body since there is no fear of temptation in the looking and touching.

The voice of a woman is sometimes considered part of the *ʿawra*. Concerning the voice of a free adult female stranger (see STRANGERS AND FOREIGNERS), there are different opinions among the Ḥanafī jurists. In the opinion of al-Ḥaskāfī (d. 1088/1677), the voice of a woman is not *ʿawra*. The opposing view is expressed in the succinct phrase, "The melody of the woman is *ʿawra*" *(naghmat al-marʾa ʿawra)*. Ibn ʿĀbidīn (d. 1258/1842) says that it is recorded in *al-Kāfī,* authored by al-Marwazī al-Ḥākim al-Shahīd (d. 334/945): "Do not follow (a woman) in public, because her voice is *ʿawra*" (Ibn ʿĀbidīn, *Ḥāshīya,* 406). One of the conditions that allow women to visit a mosque (q.v.) is that women are forbidden to raise their voice during the prayer. For the Prophet said: "Glorification of God (q.v.) is for men, tapping the hands is for women" *(al-tasbīḥ lil-rijāl wa-l-tasfīq lil-nisāʾ)*. If the imām (q.v.) has to be warned of an error, men should say *subḥān Allāh,* "God be glorified," but women should only tap their hands. See also SEX AND SEXUALITY.

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Monasticism and Monks

From well before the rise of Islam, and then well into the later Middle Ages, monasticism was a distinctive feature of Christian life, both in the milieu in which Islam was born (see CHRISTIANS AND CHRISTIANITY; SOUTH ARABIA, RELIGION IN PRE-ISLAMIC), and in the Christian communities subsequently integrated into the world of Islam. Accordingly, from the perspective of its relationship to Islam, one must consider the phenomenon of Christian monasticism under three headings. In the first place, there is its presence in the Arabic-speaking communities before and up to the time of Muḥammad (see ARABS; ARABIC LANGUAGE). Then, there are the passages in the Qurʾān that mention "monks" (three times) and "monasticism" (once). Finally, "monks" and "monasticism" are discussed in the Islamic texts that both interpret the Qurʾān and set the boundaries of Islamic life in later times.

Already by the fifth Christian century monks and their monasteries were plentiful on the borders of Arabia. From the deserts of the Sinai (q.v.) peninsula northward into Syria/Palestine (see SYRIA), eastward along the edge of the Syrian desert into Mesopotamia and southward into IraQ (q.v.), monastic communities flourished. Monastic institutions were at the heart of Christian church-life in nearby Egypt (q.v.) and Ethiopia (see ABYSSINIA). In a number of places, such as the monastery of St. Euthymius in the Judean desert, the monks actively fostered the growth and development of Christianity among the neighboring Arab tribes, who then had the monastery as the center of their religious life. Similarly, the shrines of St. Simeon the Stylite at Dayr Samʿān/Telanissos and of St. Sergius at Ruṣāfa/Sergiopolis in Syria regularly attracted large numbers of Arab tribesmen among their frequent visitors. On the borders between the territories of the Byzantine Romans and the Arab tribes of Arabia proper, the Ghassānid tribal federation, allies of the Byzantines (q.v.), presided over a widely distributed population of monks and monasteries to an extent that a closer examination of texts and archeological data are only lately revealing (see ARCHAEOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN). Similarly, on the northeastern frontier between the territories controlled by the Persian Sasanids and the tribesmen of Arabia, in the territories of the Lakhmid allies of the Persians, centered near the city of Ḥīra in lower Mesopotamia, monastic communities flourished. Natively Arabic-speaking monks seem to have made up a large part of these monastic populations, usually with a Syriac theological and liturgical heritage (see SYRIAC AND THE QURʾĀN); Arab pastoralists regularly sojourned among the Syriac-speaking Arameans of the area.

From these monastic centers on the near periphery of Arabia, in the fifth and sixth centuries monks and monasticism penetrated into Arabia proper. Remains of their establishments have been uncovered along the southern coasts of Arabia as well as in cities in the interior such as Najrān (q.v.). A few Syriac texts speak of the activities of monks in Arabia, and a number of pre-Islamic and early Islamic Arabic texts similarly record their presence. Poets, for example, in the classical *qaṣīda*s sometimes mention the lights burning in the cells of monks in the dark of night (cf. Cheikho, *Le christianisme*). More helpfully, the biographical traditions concerned with Muḥammad's early years mention several encounters between monks and the young prophet-to-be, most famously his encounter with the monk Baḥīra, who reportedly recognized the sign of prophecy on his

body (see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD). A monk Fīmiyyūn is also named in the *sīra* (see SĪRA AND THE QUR'ĀN) in connection with the establishment of Christianity in Najrān (see Ibn Isḥāq, *Sīra,* i, 31). And the early Persian Companion of Muḥammad (see COMPANIONS OF THE PROPHET), Salmān, is said to have come to the profession of Islam due to his earlier association with monks, one of whom had premonitions about the coming of Muḥammad and Islam (see Ibn Isḥāq, *Sīra,* i, 217-8). These and other mentions and allusions in Arabic texts to monks and monasticism in the world in which Islam was born testify to their common presence among the Christians known to Muḥammad and the Qur'ān. They do not suggest a wide and well-established monastic presence in the Ḥijāz and its environs, in the heart of Arabia. But by Muḥammad's day monks and monasticism were certainly known to be an integral feature of Christian life, and monks may well have been prominent among the Christians actually known to Muḥammad.

In the Qur'ān, "monks" *(ruhbān)* are mentioned three times (Q 5:82; 9:31, 34) and "monasticism" *(rahbāniyya)* once (Q 57:27). In general, one may say that the Qur'ān's attitude to monks mirrors its ambivalent attitude towards Christians at large. On the one hand, the Qur'ān says that the reason Muslims will find those claiming to be Christians "closest in affection to the believers" is that "there are among them priests *(qissīsīn)* and monks, and they are not arrogant" (Q 5:82; see ARROGANCE). On the other hand, the Qur'ān also says that Jews (see JEWS AND JUDAISM) and Christians respectively "take their rabbis *(aḥbār)* and monks as lords (*arbāb,* see LORD) besides God" (Q 9:31). And the text goes on to say, "many of the rabbis and monks devour the wealth (q.v.) of the people unjustly and turn [others] from the way of God" (Q 9:34; see PATH OR WAY). While in the many translations and interpretations of the Qur'ān into western languages there are a number of variations in rendering the technical terms in these passages, usually due to lexical or exegetical considerations, the sense of the judgments about the monks remains the same in all of them.

In one passage the Qur'ān addresses the institution of monasticism itself but there is significant disagreement among commentators and translators, both medieval and modern (see EXEGESIS OF THE QUR'ĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL; EXEGESIS OF THE QUR'ĀN: EARLY MODERN AND CONTEMPORARY), Muslim and non-Muslim, about what the text actually says (cf. Beck, Das christliche Mönchtum). In one understanding, the text speaks of the followers of Jesus (q.v.), of whom God says, "We put into the hearts (see HEART) of those who followed him mercy (q.v.), compassion, and monasticism; they innovated/renovated/invented it; we prescribed for them only to please God, but they did not exercise a proper compliance. So we provided their reward for those of them who believed; many of them are sinful" (Q 57:27; see REWARD AND PUNISHMENT; SIN, MAJOR AND MINOR). On this reading monasticism is understood to be something initially instituted by God; subsequently Jesus' followers re-invented it and introduced innovations into it. Alternatively, most Muslim interpreters have understood the verse to say, "We put into the hearts of those who followed him mercy and compassion. Monasticism they invented — only to seek to please God. We did not prescribe it for them. And they did not exercise a proper compliance. So we provided their reward for those of them who believed; many of them are sinful." On this reading monasticism is understood to be a human innova-

tion totally, not something mandated by God. Most interpreters favor some form of the second reading, regarding the first one to be the product of a faulty grammatical construction on the part of those who would accept it (see esp. Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr;* Zamakhsharī, *Kashshāf,* ad Q 57:27; cf. Gimaret, *Jubbāʾī,* 787; see GRAMMAR AND THE QURʾĀN). Nevertheless, some earlier Muslim exegetes and some modern scholars have in fact entertained the theoretical possibility of some form of the first reading (cf. McAuliffe, *Qurʾānic,* 260-84).

Traditionally, Muslim scholars have considered monasticism to be an instance of the Christians' putting religious burdens on people beyond what God has mandated and then not being able to support them. By way of contrast, the prophetic tradition (*ḥadīth,* see ḤADĪTH AND THE QURʾĀN) according to which, "There is no monasticism in Islam," gradually gained currency among Muslims. While many scholars have questioned the authenticity of this tradition, it is nevertheless widely reported and accepted. Similarly, another controversial prophetic tradition says, "The monasticism of this community is jihād (q.v.)." These traditions seem to have come into prominence in the context of debates among Muslim scholars in the early centuries about the legitimacy of Ṣūfism (cf. Massignon, *Essay,* 99; see ṢŪFISM AND THE QURʾĀN). Muslim scholars have also been careful to point out that the disapproval of monasticism should not be mistaken for a disapproval of the hermit's way of life (see ASCETICISM), or the practice of a religious retreat, including sexual abstinence (q.v.), undertaken for a time for legitimate religious reasons. Rather, what is rejected in monasticism, according to many scholars, is the commitment to lifelong celibacy that the Christian institution entails. Celibacy is seen by some commentators to be the innovation introduced by Christians into what Muslims could consider to be an otherwise acceptable, even divinely instituted, monasticism.

After the rise of Islam and the consolidation of the territories of the Christian, ecclesiastical provinces of Alexandria, Antioch and Jerusalem under Muslim rule, Christian monks writing in Syriac, Greek and Arabic were the first to call attention to the doctrinal and moral challenges of Islam to Christians (see ETHICS AND THE QURʾĀN; THEOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN). Monks were also the first Christians to adopt Arabic as an ecclesiastical language, to write theology in Arabic and to translate the Christian Bible and other classical Christian texts into Arabic. In the agreements drawn up to govern the relationships between Muslims and Christians in early Islamic times, monks were often exempted from the payment of the poll tax (q.v.; *jizya*), and often the authority of the Prophet himself was claimed for this dispensation. Monasteries were often considered to be privileged places by Muslims and Christians alike, where help could be sought and interreligious conversations could take place. Some of them claimed to have patents offering them special protection. Contrariwise monks and monasteries were sometimes targets of anti-Christian attacks. In Arabic secular literature from the early period a genre of poetic writing often called *diyāriyyāt,* or "monastic poems," developed that celebrated monasteries as places of revelry. See also CHURCH; INFORMANTS.

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Money

Measure of value or medium of exchange. Money as such is barely attested in the Qurʾān. A small number of terms refer to coins of indistinct weight and fineness. Some other words denote vague units of weight (see WEIGHTS AND MEASURES) or have no monetary significance, though they often appear as monetary terms in later classical Arabic (see ARABIC LANGUAGE). Words or phrases identifying definite units of value are absent.

The phrase *darāhim maʿdūda,* "a counted number of silver coins," in Q 12 (Sūrat Yūsuf, "Joseph"; Q 12:20) indicates silver coins of no particular weight and fineness. Al-Zamakhsharī (d. 538/1144; *Kashshāf,* ad loc.) emphasizes here that the term *darāhim* means "not gold (q.v.) coins" *(ay lā danānīr)*. Most early commentators speculate on the number of coins implied, suggesting numbers from twenty to forty. The verse agrees generally with the Hebrew Bible where Joseph (q.v.) is sold for twenty shekels (see SCRIPTURE AND THE QURʾĀN). The qurʾānic reference, however, is anachronistic since it refers specifically to coins and not standard weights of silver. Modern scholarship places the historical figure of Joseph in the early second millenium B.C.E., long before the invention of coinage in the seventh century B.C.E.

The term *wariq,* sometimes read *warq,* in Q 18:19 also refers generally to silver coins. It may derive from the thin silver drahms of the Sasanians, particularly the later Sasanians. These coins resemble leaves, familiar from the cognate *waraq*. Wahb b. Munabbih (d. ca. 114/732) equates it with *darāhim* (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* viii, 197). Ikrima (d. 105/723-4), Ibn Isḥāq (d. ca. 150/767) and ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUbayd b. ʿUmayr use it in a lengthy exegetical story to mean coins plainly identifying the king who struck them (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* viii, 197-203).

Other terms mark only standard weights or vague units of weight. The sole attestation of *dīnār* appears as a fraction of *qinṭār* (Q 3:75). Since the term derives from the Roman *denarius* and Byzantine *dinarion,* it may refer to a weight of gold. The reference differs somewhat from later classical Arabic where *dīnār* refers variously to a denomination of Muslim gold coins, a standard unit of weight corresponding to the weight of this denomination or a gold coin of any standard.

Mithqāl refers to the abstract concept of weight or a vague but very light unit

of weight. It appears in a number of verses as an indication of a very small weight — glossed variously as of an ant, or an atom or a mite (*mithqāl dharratin,* Q 4:40; 10:61; 34:3, 22; 99:7, 8) — or, specifically, as the weight of a mustard seed (*mithqāl ḥabbatin min khardalin,* Q 21:47; 31:16; see SCIENCE AND THE QURʾĀN; NATURE AS SIGNS). In contrast, the term later usually identifies a standard weight corresponding to the weight of Sasanian drahms or Muslim dinars, slightly more than four grams, or to Sasanian drahms themselves.

No other terms in the Qurʾān shed any light on the existence or use of money. The term *ʿayn* occurs without any monetary sense though in later Arabic it often signifies gold, gold coins or ready cash. References to gold *(dhahab)* and silver *(fiḍḍa)* usually appear in connection with bracelets, vessels and platters (see INSTRUMENTS; CUPS AND VESSELS; FURNITURE AND FURNISHINGS; MATERIAL CULTURE AND THE QURʾĀN; METALS AND MINERALS).

The language of the Qurʾān reflects generally the monetary situation of the Ḥijāz of the early seventh century C.E. (see GEOGRAPHY; HISTORY AND THE QURʾĀN). Coinage circulated in small quantities from the neighboring lands of Syria and Iran but played a very minor role in its commerce (see CARAVAN; SELLING AND BUYING). It was only loosely tied, if at all, to any system of weights and measures. See also NUMISMATICS; EPIGRAPHY AND THE QURʾĀN.

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Monks

see MONASTICISM AND MONKS

Monotheism

see GOD AND HIS ATTRIBUTES; POLYTHEISM AND ATHEISM

Months

The portions into which the year is divided, each one corresponding approximately to the length of a complete revolution of the moon (q.v.). As with many qurʾānic notions, it is extremely difficult, if not impossible, to isolate the original meaning of the word "month" from its later exegetical elaboration (see EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL). Despite efforts to identify this original meaning either contextually or by reference to parallel passages, the influences and stereotypes of this rich exegetical tradition impinge heavily upon attempts to understand this qurʾānic word. The only way to avoid these influences and stereotypes is to become a "clean slate" and to approach this term without any prior knowledge of the developed exegetical tradition, an epistemological stance that is difficult or impossible to achieve.

The term "month" *shahr (*pl. *shuhūr* and *ashhur)* occurs twenty-one times in the text of the Qurʾān: four times in what are generally believed to be "Meccan" sūras and seventeen times in the ones which are

usually associated with the "Medinan" period of Muḥammad's life (cf. Amir-Ali, The "month"; see CHRONOLOGY AND THE QUR'ĀN). In the four Meccan sūras only the singular grammatical form is used, although in two instances it refers to more than one month. In the sūras from the Medinan period it appears in the singular, dual and two different forms of the plural. Perhaps the earliest sūra to mention the term is Q 97:3, which deals with the famous night of revelation or of the divine determination (*laylat al-qadr,* see NIGHT OF POWER). In Q 46:15, the singular form appears in the phrase "thirty months." Finally, in a rather obscure passage from Q 34:12, God gives Solomon (q.v.; Sulaymān) power over the winds (see AIR AND WIND), which "made a month's journey in the morning and a month's journey in the evening." In the sūras from the Medinan period the word "month" is usually associated with various religious rites (e.g. the slaughter of sacrificial animals and the minor and greater pilgrimages, that is the *ʿumra* and the *ḥajj;* see PILGRIMAGE; CONSECRATION OF ANIMALS; SACRIFICE) as well with the fast (see FASTING) of Ramaḍān (q.v.). In such contexts, it is often qualified by the epithet "sacred" or "holy" (*al-shahr al-ḥarām,* e.g. Q 2:194, 217; 5:2, 97).

It is often argued that some of these passages, namely Q 5:2 and 97, refer to an ancient religious festival and pilgrimage which the pagan tribes of Arabia celebrated in Rajab (Wellhausen, *Reste,* 98-101; see PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QUR'ĀN; SOUTH ARABIA, RELIGION IN PRE-ISLAMIC). Originally observed in spring, Rajab was the month of the *ʿumra* pilgrimage, during which pre-Islamic Arabs (q.v.) abstained from warfare (see WAR) and brought sacrificial animals to the Meccan sanctuary (ibid., 94; Kister, Rajab, 191-2; see GEOGRAPHY; MECCA; SACRED PRECINCTS). Whether the festival of Rajab also involved a period of obligatory fasting remains unclear. The special place, however, of this month in Muslim popular piety, which appears to be a carryover from the pagan Arabian past (see AGE OF IGNORANCE), is richly attested by Muslim literature and ethnographic evidence from various areas of the Muslim world (Kister, Rajab, 191-2). At the same time, Q 9:5 mentions several sacred months (*al-ashhur al-ḥurum,* cf. Q 2:197); furthermore, Q 2:197 specifies that the *ḥajj* should take place "in months well known." These statements caused some confusion among Muslim interpreters who could not understand why the plural form (and not the dual or the singular) was used in these passages. Those who held that two Arabian "sacred" months are implied, namely Rajab, which initially was the season of the lesser pilgrimage *(ʿumra)* and Dhū l-Ḥijja, which was the month of the *ḥajj* proper, were unable to explain why the dual form of the word *shahr* was not used here. Others, such as al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923) and Ibn Kathīr (d. 774/1373), considered the plural form to be a reference to the months that immediately precede Dhū l-Ḥijja, namely Shawwāl and Dhū l-Qaʿda, all of which formed a triad of holy months (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* ii, 541; cf. Ali, *Holy Qur'ān,* 79, n. 217). This explanation is tenuous. While the sacredness of Dhū l-Qaʿda is abundantly attested by both the pre-Islamic and early Islamic traditions, Shawwāl did not play any special role in either. Nor was it protected by the taboo against violence which was associated with the four sacred months mentioned in Q 9:36 (see MURDER; FIGHTING; BLOODSHED). Most Muslim commentators agreed that the passage in question refers to Dhū l-Qaʿda, Dhū l-Ḥijja, al-Muḥarram and perhaps also to Rajab.

A number of Western scholars accepted this explanation (see POST-ENLIGHTENMENT ACADEMIC STUDY OF THE QUR'ĀN). They

provided different reasons, however, for the sacredness of these months. J. Wellhausen (*Reste,* 88) argued that before Islam most of Dhū l-Qaʿda was occupied by annual festivities and fairs at ʿUkāẓ and Majanna, whereas the first two weeks of Dhū l-Ḥijja were dedicated to the annual fairs and pilgrimage rites at Dhū l-Majāz, ʿArafa, and Minā. As for al-Muḥarram, in Wellhausen's view, it was the first month of the ancient Arabian calendar (q.v.), which was originally celebrated in autumn with the annual *ḥajj*. He also argued that Rajab was its spring counterpart, corresponding to the Jewish Passover (ibid., 98-9; see JEWS AND JUDAISM). Over the centuries, both months gradually moved from their original places due to the inability of pre-Islamic Arabs to keep proper record of time (q.v.). Thus, by the time of Muḥammad's life Rajab was celebrated in autumn, while the *ḥajj* now took place in spring. According to Wellhausen, the month of the *ḥajj* eventually turned into three consecutive months due to local differences in time-reckoning as well as the desire on the part of the Quraysh (q.v.) to accommodate all prospective pilgrims from across Arabia. Interesting as this explanation is, it seems rather far-fetched and fails to account for the fact that al-Muḥarram is a relatively late name of the month of Ṣafar I (see e.g. *Lisān al-ʿArab,* iv, 463), which together with Ṣafar II and the other "paired" months of the Arab calendar formed what Wellhausen described as the "Wintersemester" (ibid., 97). Unless it can be determined when and why Ṣafar I became a sacred month, it is difficult to accept Wellhausen's thesis without serious reservations (see SANCTITY AND THE SACRED).

Q 9:36 is also significant in that it stipulates twelve as the proper number of the months of the year, which it describes as being part of "the right" or "true" religion (q.v.). Furthermore, the verse that follows (Q 9:37) contains what some scholars regard as the prohibition to "postpone" or "transfer" *(nasīʾ)* the sacred month from its usual place. The exact meaning of this passage and especially of the term *nasīʾ* mentioned here still eludes both Muslim and Western researchers. A. Moberg (An-Nasīʾ) suggested a compelling solution to this problem. In elaborating on the Muslim exegetical tradition Moberg argued that the verse in question refers to the intercalation of an additional month every two or three years by the pre-Islamic Arabs who strove to keep their lunar calendar in line with the seasonal one. According to Moberg, this practice was necessitated by the particularity of the lunar calendar, whose months total an average of about 354 days per year as opposed to the 365 days of its solar/seasonal counterpart. The difference of approximately eleven days per year was made up by the intercalation, which, according to some Muslim authors, was entrusted to certain members of the Banū Kināna tribe (see TRIBES AND CLANS). As a result, pre-Islamic Arabs found themselves living by a combined lunar-solar calendar, which facilitated their trade with the agricultural populations of the Fertile Crescent and Mesopotamia (see IRAQ; CARAVAN), who, quite naturally, relied on a seasonal calendar (Paret, *Mohammed,* 19-20; Beeston, *Epigraphic,* 18-9).

In consequence of the intercalation, the Arab tribes faced the problem of how to deal with three successive sacred months, which had been traditionally associated with the *ḥajj,* namely Dhū l-Qaʿda, Dhū l-Ḥijja, and al-Muḥarram. Since the intercalary month was inserted after the last month of the year (i.e. Dhū l-Ḥijja), they could treat it as profane and thus engage in raids and warfare against their neighbors (see EXPEDITIONS AND BATTLES). Alternatively, they could declare it sacred and

hence observe "God's peace," as required by Arabian custom. In the former case, the succession of three holy months would be interrupted and the original sacred month would be separated from its two predecessors by an intervening profane month. In the latter case, however, the original sacred month (Dhū l-Qaʿda) would lose its sacred status and that would be transferred *(nasaʾa)* to the intercalated month.

That neither solution was satisfactory for the fledgling Muslim community is attested by Q 9:37, which, according to the tradition, was revealed during the last year of the Prophet's life. Whether the practice condemned by Q 9:37 involved actual manipulation of the calendar in the form of intercalation or was simply the realignment of sacred and profane months within a year is a moot point (see e.g. Effendi, Mémoire; Fück, Zur an-nasīʾ; Plessner, Review). Later, F.C. de Blois (Taʾrīkh) suggested that a prototype of this practice can be found in an early Sabaean inscription (see ARCHAEOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN). There, a Sabaean community asks God's forgiveness for deferring certain ritual activities until a later date. If we accept the traditional dating of Q 9:37, which places it in the tenth year after the emigration (q.v.; *hijra*) of the Prophet from Mecca to Medina (q.v.), i.e. shortly before the Prophet's death, it can be argued that the prohibition of the *nasīʾ* was occasioned by the desire on the part of the Muslim community and its leader to dissociate themselves from the practices of their pagan neighbors and to reassert themselves as a totally new religious community (see ISLAM). This line of argument could further suggest that it also marked the rupture with the Judaic tradition, whose adherents practiced intercalation to keep their religious holidays within the same season. Seen from this perspective, the prohibition of intercalation may fall into the same category as the relocation of the fast of the ʿĀshūra to Ramaḍān or the change of the direction of the prayer from Jerusalem (q.v.) to the Meccan sanctuary (see KAʿBA; QIBLA). In other words, it may constitute either conscious or unconscious assertion of a separate identity by the new religious community and its leader.

A review of qurʾānic passages that contain the word "month" reveals that it is often linked to the lunar calendar. Thus, in Q 2:185, the word *shahr* seems to denote the new moon that signals the beginning of a new calendar month. This usage is richly attested by Arab lexicographers who trace the etymology of the word to the root *sh-h-r,* "to be apparent," or "to manifest one/itself" (*Lisān al-ʿArab,* iv, 431-3; cf. Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* i, 552). This meaning is further confirmed by epigraphic evidence from south Arabia, where *sh-h-r* was "a synonym for the first day of the calendar-month" (Beeston, *Epigraphic,* 8; see EPIGRAPHY AND THE QURʾĀN; ARABIC SCRIPT). In many verses, the new moon is expressly described as the measurement of time *par excellence*. A typical example is Q 2:189: "They will question you concerning the new moons *(al-ahilla)*. Say: 'They are appointed times for the people, and the pilgrimage.'" This and other similar verses indicate that the beginning of the month or of the year must be established by an actual observation of the new moon (Q 10:5; cf. 71:16). According to Ibn ʿAbbās (d. 69/688), the meaning of this verse is that "by means of it (i.e. the new moon) [the people] determine the affairs of their religion, the waiting periods of their wives, the time of their pilgrimage and the due dates for their debts" (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* i, 580; see DEBT; WAITING PERIOD; MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE). This commentary conveniently demarcates the spheres of human activities that are to be regulated by lunation. In another exegetical statement "the

affairs of their religion'' are specified as "the periods of fasting and of breaking the fast.'' They are to be determined by the "observation of [the moon's] waning and waxing'' (ibid., 581; cf. Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr,* i, 503).

Q 10:5 and 36:39 give us an insight into how pre-Islamic Arabs and the first Muslims reckoned their time. These verses refer to the system of twenty-eight lunar mansions *(manāzil),* i.e. stars, groups of stars or spots on the sky in which the moon "is located on each successive night of the sidereal (not the synodic) month'' (de Blois, Taʾrīkh, 260; see STARS AND PLANETS). Whereas later Muslim astronomers abandoned this system in favor of more precise astronomical calculations, it has survived until today and lies at the foundation of agricultural calendars in many Arab countries and their neighboring areas.

One consequence of the qurʾānic injunction to use the moon for keeping time is the practice of watching for the new crescent to determine the beginning and the end of Ramaḍān. Of all Muslim schools of law (see LAW AND THE QURʾĀN) and sects (see THEOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN) only the Ismāʿīlīs (see SHīʿISM AND THE QURʾĀN) rely on mathematics to calculate the length of their months (see SCIENCE AND THE QURʾĀN; MEASUREMENT). All other Muslim communities insist that the beginning and end of the new month, especially of Ramaḍān, be determined by the sighting of the new crescent. The importance of Ramaḍān for the Muslim ritual is attested by the fact that it is the only month of the calendar that is explicitly mentioned in the Qurʾān (Q 2:185; see FESTIVALS AND COMMEMORATIVE DAYS; RITUAL AND THE QURʾĀN). Commentators add that, apart from its sacred status as the month of fasting, the holiness of Ramaḍān springs from its being the month of revelation (*inzāl al-Qurʾān,* see REVELATION AND INSPIRATION). The night in which, according to the tradition, the whole of the Qurʾān was revealed to Muḥammad falls on 27 Ramaḍān. Commentators consider it especially propitious, since Q 97:3 describes this night *(laylat al-qadr)* as being "better than a thousand months.''

Another important religious activity associated with a calendar month is the pilgrimage *(ḥajj),* which takes place during the month of Dhū l-Ḥijja. This month is second in the previously-discussed triad of sacred months, which were respected by many Arab tribes before Islam. According to commentators, their sacred functions are evident from their names. Dhū l-Qaʿda is interpreted as the period of "sitting still,'' when the warlike bedouins (see BEDOUIN) of Arabia stayed in their tents and abstained from raiding and fighting their neighbors (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* ii, 589). The name of Dhū l-Ḥijja is indicative of its function as the month of pilgrimage, although the actual ritual activities are limited to four days, i.e. seventh — tenth, but in practice continue until the thirteenth. The name of al-Muḥarram ("the sacred'' or "protected'') speaks for itself (see PROTECTION; FORBIDDEN). It is the month of peace, whose sanctity is assured by God himself. Likewise, the name of Rajab also connotes the idea of veneration and reverence (Lane, iii, 1033 and *Lisān al-ʿArab,* i, 411). Its special status is further accentuated by its numerous honorific epithets, such as "the deaf'' *(al-aṣamm),* because no rattling of swords or other weapons was heard during it, or "the one that pours forth [divine mercy]'' (*al-aṣabb,* see PIETY; MERCY). Before Islam, it was celebrated by the sacrifice of the first-born of the flock — a practice that was abolished by the Prophet in a special ḥadīth. Despite this prohibition, many Muslims hold Rajab in high regard and mark it by fasting on certain days and by slaughtering sacrificial

animals (Kister, Rajab; see SLAUGHTER).

Finally, a substantial body of traditions exalts the eighth month of the Muslim calendar, Shaʿbān, which many consider to be a month of voluntary fasting. The night of the fifteenth of Shaʿbān is regarded as the holiest time of the whole month. A number of ḥadīths recommend that one should spend it in "vigil prayer and supplication, and the morrow in fasting" (Kister, Shaʿbān, 23-4; see BOWING AND PROSTRATION; VIGILS). Furthermore, some commentators identify it with the "blessed night" *(layla mubāraka)* of Q 44:3, which is considered to be the night of the remission of all sins (see SIN, MAJOR AND MINOR; FORGIVENESS). Hence its popular name, "the night of acquittance" *(laylat al-barāʾa)*. Some Muslims mark it with special prayers and supplications in the hope of obtaining divine rewards that are promised "to those who exert themselves in devotion during this night" (ibid., 27). At the same time, many commentators rejected this tradition, arguing that *laylat al-barāʾa* was the night of revelation and thus is identical with *laylat al-qadr* of Q 97:1. Although the Qurʾān itself is silent about the special status of the months just discussed, except for Ramaḍān, their importance is thrown into sharp relief in the famous ḥadīth that quotes the Prophet as saying "Rajab is the month of God, Shaʿbān is my month, and Ramaḍān is the month of my community" (ibid., 37).

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Moon

The satellite of the earth, which takes a little less than one solar-calendar month to complete its revolution. In the Qurʾān, the general Arabic term for moon *(qamar)* occurs twenty-seven times, usually paired with the sun (q.v.; *shams*). Sūra 54 is entitled "The Moon" (Sūrat al-Qamar), in reference to the moon seeming to split in two at the time the Meccans began to persecute the Muslims (see MECCA; OPPOSITION TO MUḤAMMAD). The new or crescent moon *(hilāl)* appears only once (in its plural form, *ahilla,* Q 2:189), and neither the term for the full moon *(badr)* nor that for the night when no moon is visible (i.e. *sirār*) is mentioned.

The moon has a multi-faceted role in Islamic culture: its phases define the Muslim (*ḥijrī,* see EMIGRATION) calendar (q.v.) of twelve months (q.v.); the sighting of the new moon during Ramaḍān (q.v.) begins the fasting (q.v.) month; the moon's positioning in the sky can be used to mark time (q.v.); lunar symbols abound in Islamic mysticism and esoterica; and the lunar eclipse has theological significance (see THEOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN; ṢŪFISM AND THE QURʾĀN). There is a rich vocabulary in

classical Arabic for the moon and the days of the lunar month (Ibn Sīda, *Mukhaṣṣaṣ,* ix, 26-32). Every three nights of the lunar month were grouped together under a special name. In Arabic poetry, the moon, especially the crescent moon, figures prominently (Tīfāshī, *Surūr al-nafs,* 65-80). As an important Islamic symbol, the crescent moon dates back to the Umayyad period and is currently used on the flags of many Muslim countries (see EPIGRAPHY AND THE QUR'ĀN).

The qur'ānic allusions to the moon are varied. It appears in a dream (see DREAMS AND SLEEP) of Joseph (q.v.; Q 12:4), as well as in the story of Abraham's (q.v.) conversion (Q 6:77; see IDOLATRY AND IDOLATERS; ḤANĪF). It is the object of oaths (q.v.; e.g. Q 74:32; see FORM AND STRUCTURE OF THE QUR'ĀN). As one of the signs (q.v.) of God's beneficence to humankind (e.g. Q 14:33; see GRACE; BLESSING; COSMOLOGY; NATURE AS SIGNS), the moon, too, prostrates to God (Q 22:18; see CREATION; BOWING AND PROSTRATION; GLORIFICATION OF GOD). God placed the moon in the heavens (see HEAVEN AND SKY) as an aid to humans: while it functions as a light (q.v.; Q 71:16), its primary use is to mark time (cf. Q 2:189; 6:96; see DAY AND NIGHT; DAY, TIMES OF).

Of the twelve lunar months, only Ramaḍān is mentioned by name in the Qur'ān (Q 2:185). In pre-Islamic Arabia an intercalary month *(nasī')* was added to bring the shorter lunar calendar of 354 days into alignment with the seasons (q.v.), but this was expressly forbidden in the Qur'ān (Q 9:37) and in statements of Muḥammad (see PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QUR'ĀN). The rationale ordinarily given for this ban is that holy months, such as Ramaḍān, could then be confused with ordinary months. Each month began with the first sighting of the crescent moon, resulting in elaborate rules in legal texts for determining the beginning of the fasting month (see LAW AND THE QUR'ĀN). By the ninth century, al-Khwārizmī compiled a table showing lunar crescent visibility for the latitude of Baghdād. Despite such astronomical models for predicting the lunar crescent, religious law stipulated that the new moon be physically seen by a male Muslim of good standing.

An alternative lunar calendar was provided by charting the nightly progression of the moon vis-à-vis the stars for a full lunation, a period of about twenty-seven and one-third days. This system of twenty-eight lunar stations *(manāzil al-qamar)* is elaborated in Islamic astronomical and astrological texts, but is not specifically mentioned in the Qur'ān. Another pre-Islamic calendar plotted months by noting the number of days after the crescent moon until the moon conjoined with the Pleiades *(thurayyā)*. While commentators often associate Sūrat al-Najm ("The Star," Q 53), with the Pleiades, there is no specific mention of this conjunction calendar in the Qur'ān or ḥadīth (see ḤADĪTH AND THE QUR'ĀN).

Although Muḥammad condemned the use of stars for prediction (see FORETELLING; DIVINATION; PLANETS AND STARS) — an interdiction against the so-called *anwā',* which Arab scholars linked to the lunar stations — and worship of the sun or moon is forbidden in the Qur'ān (Q 41:37; see IDOLS AND IMAGES; SOUTH ARABIA, RELIGION IN PRE-ISLAMIC), the moon has a variety of symbolic associations in Islamic esoterica and mysticism. As one of the seven "planets" *(al-kawākib al-sayyāra),* the moon figures prominently in astrology, especially when it enters zodiacal houses and lunar stations. The moon was considered cold and wet in the humoral system and was generally linked in esoteric lore with the lungs in the body, the faculty of intelligence (see INTELLECT; KNOWLEDGE AND LEARNING), salty food, saffron,

camphor (q.v.), white sandalwood incense, silver and chrysolite. The waxing and waning of the moon were believed to influence the growth of plants and animal hair, milk and egg production, the movements of animals and even the flavor of meat (Qazwīnī, *ʿAjāʾib,* 48-52). Religious mystics used the moon as a symbolic metaphor for the prophet Muḥammad. Some of the divine names of God (see GOD AND HIS ATTRIBUTES), e.g. "the knowing" *(al-ʿalīm)* and "the creator" *(al-khāliq),* are particularly associated with the moon. There is a single reference in the Qurʾān (Q 75:8) to the moon being eclipsed *(khasafa)* on the day of judgment (*yawm al-qiyāma,* see LAST JUDGMENT; APOCALYPSE). Legal texts record a special prayer for both lunar and solar eclipses. In Arab folklore there was much speculation about the meaning of an eclipse, including a widespread story that a fish had swallowed the moon.

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Morality see ETHICS AND THE QURʾĀN

Morning

The early part of the day (see DAY AND NIGHT). Morning as a part of the day is mentioned on several occasions in the Qurʾān. Three sūras are named after particular times or phenomena of the morning: Sūrat al-Fajr ("Dawn," Q 89), Sūrat al-Ḍuḥā ("Forenoon," Q 93) and Sūrat al-Falaq ("Daybreak," Q 113). In English, as in other Indo-European languages, uncertainty exists as to which time span the term "morning" actually covers. In these languages, morning is often interpreted as denoting "the first part of the day, until noon (q.v.)," "from sunrise (see DAWN) to noon," or also "the time from midnight to noon." The word that is frequently used in Modern Standard Arabic as an equivalent of the English "morning" is *ṣabāḥ.* Words that are derived from the Arabic root *ṣ-b-ḥ* form, however, only one part of a larger number of words that are used in the Qurʾān to describe the morning time.

Terminology

In the Qurʾān, morning or parts of it are described by a number of lexical expressions: the Arabic *bukra* (Q 19:11, 62; 25:5; 33:42; 48:9; 54:38; 76:25) and *ibkār* (Q 3:41; 40:55) designate the early morning, or the first part of the day, between the time of the prayer (q.v.) of the daybreak and sunrise (Lane, s.v. *bukra*). The term *ḍuḥā* (Q 7:98; 20:59; 93:1; 79:29, 46; 91:1; 93:1) describes the early part of the forenoon, after sunrise: according to some, this is when the sun (q.v.) is yet low, according to others, when the sun is somewhat high (Lane, s.v. *ḍuḥā*) or up to the moment when the sun has traversed the diurnal arc (Pellat, Layl and nahār). According to al-

Hamadhānī (d. 319/932; *Alfāẓ,* 287), *ḍuḥā* follows *al-ghadāt*. The term *fajr* (Q 2:187; 17:78; 24:58; 89:1; 97:5) is often rendered as "daybreak," "dawn," or "the light of morning" (Lane, s.v. *fajr*). The term *falaq,* "daybreak, the bright gleam of dawn," is derived from the Arabic root *f-l-q,* "to split, cleave." It occurs in one passage of the Qurʾān (Q 113:1) in the phrase *rabb al-falaq,* "lord (q.v.) of the daybreak." Words derived from the root *gh-d-w* like *ghadāt* and *ghuduww* (Q 6:52; 18:28; also Q 7:205; 13:15; 40:46) again denote the first part of the day, the period between the time of the prayer of daybreak and sunrise. Before the terms that describe the times of prayer were standardized, for some time after Muḥammad's death *ghadāt* was sometimes used as an alternative term to describe the morning prayer, which later became commonly described as *ṣalāt al-fajr* (cf. Wensinck, Mīḳāt). The words *saḥar* (Q 54:34) and *asḥār* (Q 3:17; 51:18) are related to the Semitic **šaḥr* which, in various forms, is used to denote "dawn" in a number of Semitic languages (Mustafa, Morgenanbruch, 113). The Arabic word *ṣubḥ* is commonly rendered as "daybreak, dawn, or forenoon," counted from sunrise to noon or, according to some, from midnight to noon or from the beginning of the latter half of the night to the time when the sun declines from the meridian (Lane, s.v. *ṣubḥ*). *Ṣubḥ* (Q 11:81; 74:34; 81:18; 100:3) and other words derived from the root *ṣ-b-ḥ* (*ṣabāḥ,* Q 37:177; *iṣbāḥ,* Q 6:96) occur in a number of qurʾānic phrases describing the morning time. Verbal forms of the root *ṣ-b-ḥ,* like *ṣabbaḥa* (Q 54:38), *aṣbaḥa* (e.g. Q 29:37) or *muṣbiḥīna* (Q 15:83) are rendered as "to enter upon the time of morning" or "morning prayer" (Q 30:17). They also have the sense of "to come to be in the morning," as in Q 67:30 (Lane, s.v. *aṣbaḥa*).

On the other hand, several metaphorical expressions (see METAPHOR) are used to describe the morning as, for example: by the night when it journeys on (*wa-l-layli idhā yasrī,* Q 89:4; see OATHS); at the declining of the stars (*idbār al-nujūm,* Q 52:49); the rising of the sun (*ṭulūʿ al-shams,* Q 50:39); the first part of the day (*wajh al-nahār,* Q 3:72); after sunrise until midday, or at sunrise (*ishrāq,* Q 38:18); at sunrise (*mushriqīna,* i.e. entering upon the time of sunrise; Q 15:73; cf. Q 26:60). The word *tasraḥūna,* to pasture in the morning (Q 16:6), may also be interpreted as a metaphorical description of the morning time.

Morning as a part of the day

Ancient oriental systems of belief describe the morning as the time at which humankind is transferred from the realm of darkness (q.v.), chaos and death (see DEATH AND THE DEAD) to the realm of light (q.v.), life (q.v.) and justice (Görg and Lang, *Lexikon,* ii, 46; Gurney, *Hethiter,* 150; see JUSTICE AND INJUSTICE). In the Hebrew Bible (*Ps* 46:6), morning is the time when God supports the believers (see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF). In the Qurʾān, morning marks the end of the dark night, as in Q 97:5 where the dawn *(fajr)* heralds the end of the Night of Power (q.v.; *laylat al-qadr*). For the Arabs (q.v.) in pre-Islamic times, however, the morning was not necessarily the beginning of the full or official day (Fischer, "Tag und Nacht," 749, 756; see also DAY, TIMES OF).

In the qurʾānic narrative, morning is the time of rest (Q 18:62; *ghadāʾ,* the morning meal, signifies a period of rest after a long journey) or of important activity, e.g. when Muḥammad leaves his household to prepare for a battle against the unbelievers (see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF; EXPEDITIONS AND BATTLES) in the morning (Q 3:121). As in the Bible (e.g. *Ps* 104:23), morning is represented in the Qurʾān as the time when

daily work, e.g. harvesting the garden (q.v.), begins (Q 68:21-5). In the same pericope, however, morning is the time of chastisement (see CHASTISEMENT AND PUNISHMENT), when the fruit that the unbelievers intend to gather have been taken away by God overnight to send them a sign of his power (see POWER AND IMPOTENCE) and a warning (q.v.; Q 68:26-33). There are other episodes that identify morning as the time in which God inflicts or threatens to inflict evil upon the unbelievers (Q 7:98; 37:177; see PUNISHMENT STORIES; GOOD AND EVIL). In Q 54:38, Q 11:81 and Q 15:73, morning is denoted as the time of chastisement of the people of Lot (q.v.) who had previously disputed the warnings of God. The punishment of the tribe of Thamūd (q.v.), who had ignored God's message that was brought to them by Ṣāliḥ (q.v.), also comes in the morning (Q 7:78; 11:67). This pattern is repeated in the passages on the punishment of the Madyan (q.v.; Q 29:37; see MIDIAN) and the people of al-Ḥijr (Q 15:80; see ḤIJR). The consequence of the punishment of the people of Lot will become visible in the morning (Q 15:66) and Q 46:25 also determines morning as the time when the results of the punishment of the tribe of ʿĀd (q.v.) become manifest. At the same time, morning is the time of mercy (q.v.) when the folk of Lot are exempted from the punishment brought upon them (Q 54:34). The regular return of the sun after night is attributed to God as one of his marvelous creations (Q 79:29; see CREATION; SIGNS; MARVELS; BLESSING). He is mentioned as the one who splits the sky into dawn (*fāliq al-iṣbāḥ,* Q 6:96) and the epithet "lord of the daybreak" (*rabb al-falaq,* Q 113:1) is used in the same sense.

Morning as a metaphor

In Q 79:46 the term *ḍuḥā* stands for a short period of time stating that those who are called up from their graves to final judgment (see LAST JUDGMENT) will feel that only an evening (q.v.) or its forenoon, i.e. a much shorter period of time (q.v.) than in reality, will have passed since they had been buried. Another occurrence of morning as a measure of time may be found in Q 34:12 where the giant morning stride of Solomon (q.v.) equals a month's journey (q.v.). *Ghadāt (ghuduww)* in combination with *ʿashī, aṣīl,* or *āṣāl* (evening) denotes the constancy of religious service or of another activity or phenomenon (Q 6:52; 18:28; 7:205; 13:15; 24:36; Hamadhānī, *Alfāẓ,* 291). The terms *bukra* and *ibkār, ishrāq* (or *mushriqīna*) and *ṣubḥ* (or *muṣbiḥīna*) also occur in conjunction with words denoting evening to suggest constancy of a particular activity. In Q 16:6, bringing the cattle home in the evening and driving it to pasture in the morning *(tasraḥūna)* again stands for a recurrent activity that illustrates the beauty of God's creation. In Q 3:72, morning, i.e. the beginning of the day *(wajh al-nahār),* and evening *(ākhirahu)* denote two different times in which the Jewish people (see JEWS AND JUDAISM) shall act in a different manner, namely believe and disbelieve in the holy scripture. In some passages (e.g. Q 28:18), morning appears as a narrative means of indicating the beginning of a new episode of a particular story (see LITERARY STRUCTURES OF THE QUR'ĀN). This usage of morning is known also from the Bible (Görg and Lang, *Lexikon,* 846).

Divine service, religious and everyday life

Morning is mentioned as one of the times of the day at which prayer (*ṣalāt al-fajr,* e.g. Q 24:58) and glorification of God (q.v.; *tasbīḥ,* e.g. Q 30:17; 33:41; 38:18; 48:9) must be performed. Q 51:18 promises paradise (q.v.) to those who asked God for forgiveness (q.v.) during the morning prayer (see

Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* v, 227 [ad Q 2:238] for an exposition on the advantages of the morning prayer). Q 17:78 calls upon the believers to recite the Qurʾān in the morning (see RECITATION OF THE QURʾĀN). Commentators of the Qurʾān state that during this recital of the Qurʾān the angels (see ANGEL) are present (Sawār, *Qurʾān,* 74). Q 7:205 demands that believers shall remember God in the morning.

Morning marks the beginning of the ritual practice of fasting (q.v.) during the month of Ramaḍān (q.v.). In Q 2:187 the believers are instructed to resume fasting when a white thread is clearly distinguishable from a black one at dawn. In several cases, morning is part of formulaic evocations (Q 74:34; 81:18; 89:1; 91:1; 93:1). This again may be understood as a reference to the creative powers of God.

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Moses

The most prominent pre-Islamic prophet in the Qurʾān and in extra-qurʾānic Islamic tradition (see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD). Moses' name (Mūsā) is attested 136 times in the Qurʾān, in passages of varying length and narrative complexity. The qurʾānic narratives dealing with Moses and the allusions to him far exceed those relating to other figures of the Islamic history of salvation (q.v.), including Abraham (q.v.). The references to Moses are spread throughout the Qurʾān, with mentions already in the Meccan sūras. Most narratives (q.v.) about Moses, however, date from the Medinan period of revelation (see CHRONOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN), when Muḥammad came in close contact with Jews (see JEWS AND JUDAISM).

The topics in the qurʾānic account of Moses go back to biblical and post-biblical narratives. The details in the Qurʾān and in early Islamic exegesis testify to the great influence of Jewish Haggada on Muḥammad and early Islam (see SCRIPTURE AND THE QURʾĀN). This does not mean, however, that the qurʾānic Moses fully corresponds to the Moses of Jewish tradition. The Qurʾān has its own point of view and its own interpretation of the older narrative material. The essential feature of the allusions to the past is a typological interpretation of the earlier narratives, by which the biography of Moses is seen in the light of the biography of Muḥammad (q.v.). The Qurʾān reminds its audience of Moses' deeds and the events connected with him, associating these deeds and

events with the circumstances in Muḥammad's life (see OCCASIONS OF REVELATION; REVELATION AND INSPIRATION). There are two major themes that emerge in the story of Moses: God as creator (see CREATION) and lord (q.v.; *rabb*), and a typological pattern that draws parallels to Muḥammad. As in all of the qurʾānic stories of the prophets, emphasis is placed upon Moses' monotheism (see POLYTHEISM AND ATHEISM) and his role as a divine messenger (q.v.): he has to endure accusations of lying (see LIE), as well as oppression (q.v.) and hostility at the hands of the unbelievers (see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF) and evildoers (see EVIL DEEDS) to whom he is sent until he and his followers are rescued and his enemies (q.v.) destroyed by God (see PUNISHMENT STORIES). In the qurʾānic purview, such details of the story of Moses prefigure Muḥammad's biography (see SĪRA AND THE QURʾĀN). Although in most cases the qurʾānic verses address Muḥammad directly, their contents are to serve as a reminder to the Qurʾān's audience, as the conclusion to a long passage relating the story of Moses demonstrates: "Thus do we recount to you some of the stories of the past. And we have caused to come to you from us a reminder" (Q 20:99; see MEMORY).

Moses' infancy

The Qurʾān tells of Moses' infancy, when God suggests to Moses' mother that she leave him in a box *(tābūt)* in the sea. She does this, and the sea throws it upon the shore, where the family of Pharaoh (q.v.) finds him. The wife of Pharaoh (and not, as in the Bible, his daughter) protects the child. Moses is therefore brought up among the people of Pharaoh as a child and remains for years among them (Q 26:18). Moses' sister follows the child and watches Moses from afar, without Pharaoh's people being aware. Since Moses refuses the milk (q.v.) of the nurses (see LACTATION; WET NURSING), his sister says to the people of Pharaoh: "Shall I show you a household who will rear him for you and show good will to him?" (Q 28:12). In this way, she directs the people of Pharaoh to his natural mother, who suckles him. God restores Moses to his mother, that she might be comforted and might know that the promise of God is true (Q 20:37-40; 28:7-14; see TRUST AND PATIENCE).

Moses' killing of the Egyptian

Moses' break with the polytheistic background of his childhood comes about when he reaches maturity (q.v.) and is given jurisdiction and knowledge (Q 28:14; cf. 26:21; see KNOWLEDGE AND LEARNING): "He entered the city at a time when its people were not paying attention, and in it he found two men fighting, one belonging to his faction and the other to his enemies. The one who belonged to his faction called him to help against the one who belonged to his enemies, so Moses struck him and finished him. He said: 'This is the work of Satan *(hādhā min ʿamali l-shayṭāni)*. He is clearly an enemy who leads astray (q.v.; *muḍill*)'" (Q 28:15). God forgives Moses (Q 28:16). When early theology (see THEOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN) discussed the origin of sin (*maʿṣiya,* see SIN, MAJOR AND MINOR), the Qadariyya-Muʿtazila quoted Q 28:15 as evidence that "leading astray" *(iḍlāl)* is not from God (Ritter, Studien, 72; see ERROR; MUʿTAZILĪS; FREEDOM AND PREDESTINATION; JUSTICE AND INJUSTICE). This verse provides a starting point for the Muslim discussion of causality (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* ad loc.; Rāzī, *Tafsīr,* xxiv, 201; see also DEVIL). Moses' break with Pharaoh and his people is cemented (cf. Q 26:19). Pharaoh's council *(al-malaʾ)* — Moses' later oppo-

sition — take counsel against him, to kill him (Q 28:20) and he goes forth from Egypt (q.v.) afraid (Q 28:21).

Moses' flight to Midian

On his flight from Egypt Moses comes to Midian (q.v.; Madyan; Q 28:22-8). There he helps two women, the daughters of an old man *(shaykh kabīr),* to water their flocks. Their father says to Moses: "I wish to marry you to one of these two daughters of mine, on condition that you hire yourself to me for eight years, and if you do complete ten, that is of your own will…" (Q 28:27). Although the Qurʾān does not mention the name of the old man who hired Moses, commentators (see EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL) identify him as Yathrā (Jethro; cf. *Exod* 3:1; 4:18; 18:1 f.) or the qurʾānic prophet Shuʿayb (q.v.; Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* ad loc.; Rāzī, *Tafsīr,* xxiv, 206 f.).

Moses' election and mission to Pharaoh

When Moses fulfills his term, he goes out with his household. In the holy valley of Ṭuwā (q.v.) he receives a divine message and mission: "He perceived on the side of the mount a fire (q.v.)…" (Q 28:29). "When he came to it he was addressed: 'O Moses, I am your lord. Take off your sandals, for you are in the holy valley Ṭuwā. I have chosen you, so listen to what is inspired. I am God. There is no God but I. Serve me and establish the prayer for my remembrance…" (Q 20:11-17; cf. Q 28:30; 79:16). Commentators explain that Moses' sandals were made from the skin of the carcass of an ass, i.e. one that was not slaughtered; therefore, Moses was ordered to take them off (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* ad loc.). The order Moses received, when he came to the fire and was called "from the tree" (*shajara,* Q 28:30), marks the beginning of Moses' prophetic mission. He is sent with two proofs *(burhānān)* to Pharaoh and his council of nobles *(malaʾ),* namely the sign *(āya)* of his staff (see ROD) that was transformed into a serpent and the sign of his hand that became white (Q 20:17-23; 28:31-2; see PROOF; SIGNS; MIRACLES). God orders Moses to tell Pharaoh: "Go to Pharaoh! He has rebelled (see REBELLION; ARROGANCE). And say: Do you have any desire to purify yourself, and that I should guide you to your lord in fear (q.v.)?" (Q 79:17-9). Moses' brother Aaron (q.v.) is sent to Pharaoh together with Moses; in this mission, they are given authority (q.v.; *sulṭān,* Q 23:45; 28:35; cf. 4:153; 11:96). Al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923; *Tafsīr,* ad loc.) explains Moses' authority *(sulṭān)* as the signs *(āyāt)* and evidences *(bayyināt)* that God gave him.

Moses' signs and evidences

The signs *(āyāt)* and evidences *(bayyināt)* of Moses' prophethood are significant elements of the typological schema of the qurʾānic story about him (Q 2:92; 7:103, 105; 11:96; 14:5; 17:101; 23:45; 28:36; 29:39; 40:23; 43:46-7): as al-Ṭabarī (*Tafsīr,* ad loc.) explains, these are an argument *(ḥujja)* of Moses' truthfulness *(ṣidq)* and prophethood *(nubuwwa)*. Pharaoh and the nobility *(al-malaʾ)* of his people (*qawm,* Q 7:127) — a type of council or assembly — reject, however, these signs and proofs: "Then… we sent Moses with our signs *(bi-āyātinā)* to Pharaoh and his council of nobles *(malaʾihi)*…" (Q 7:103; cf. Q 11:97; 23:46; 28:32; 43:46). "Moses said: O Pharaoh, I am a messenger from the lord of the worlds… I came to you with an evidence *(bayyina)* from your lord, so send forth with me the Children of Israel (q.v.). [Pharaoh] said: If you came with a sign, bring it, if you are one of those who speak the truth. So [Moses] threw his staff, and lo, it was a serpent manifest. And he drew forth his hand, and lo, it was white to the onlookers.

The nobility of Pharaoh's people *(al-malaʾ min qawmi firʿawn)* said: 'Surely this is a knowing magician…'" (Q 7:104-9; cf. 26:30-5; see MAGIC). There are nine signs that Moses brings to Pharaoh and his people (Q 17:101; 27:12). According to early commentators, these are: flood, locusts, vermin, frogs, blood, Moses' staff, Moses' hand, destruction, and the sea (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* ad loc.).

The underlying narrative of these qurʾānic passages is the biblical account of Moses' and Aaron's encounter with Pharaoh, the miracles they perform, the calamities they bring down upon Egypt and Israel's exodus from Egypt. The qurʾānic version of this narrative is, however, remodeled in accordance with its typological interpretation of the story of Moses. Moses' signs and proofs correspond to Muḥammad's signs and proofs. Pharaoh's council of nobles corresponds to the leading clan representatives *(malaʾ)* of Mecca (q.v.; see also TRIBES AND CLANS), Muḥammad's opposition (Q 38:6; see COMMUNITY AND SOCIETY IN THE QURʾĀN; OPPOSITION TO MUḤAMMAD), above all the leader of the Banū ʿAbd Shams, Abū Sufyān, and the leader of the Banū Makhzūm, Abū Jahl, both archenemies of Muḥammad.

Moses' patience

After Moses shows his signs and evidences, whereupon the defeated magicians of Pharaoh are cast down, prostrate themselves and proclaim their faith in God and Moses' and Aaron's message (Q 7:113-26), the nobility of Pharaoh's people *(al-malaʾu min qawmi firʿawni)* say to Pharaoh: "'Will you leave Moses and his people to cause corruption (q.v.) in the land, so that he may forsake you and your gods?' He said: 'We shall kill their sons, and keep their females alive, and over them be victors.' Then Moses said to his people: 'Seek help in God and endure patiently *(wa-ʾṣbirū)*! The earth belongs to God, he makes whomsoever he wants of his servants inherit it, and the end result *(al-ʿāqiba)* is to those who are piously in fear of God.… It may be that your lord will destroy *(an yuhlika)* your enemy…'" (Q 7:127-9; cf. Q 2:49; 14:6). Patience *(ṣabr)* is another keyword of the typological pattern. Before Moses and his people are rescued and their enemies defeated, they have to be patient. This corresponds to Muḥammad's biography. According to Islamic exegesis and historiography Muḥammad and his followers in the Meccan period had to endure the hostility of the Meccan "nobles" *(malaʾ)* patiently. When they had to migrate to Medina (q.v.; see also EMIGRATION), they were allowed to fight against the Meccan Quraysh (q.v.), Muḥammad's own clan, and were victorious over them by the help of God (see also EXPEDITIONS AND BATTLES; VICTORY). According to the early Qurʾān commentators, the turning point was the revelation of Q 22:39-41: "Permission is given to those who fight because they have been wronged, God is well able to give them victory. Those who have been driven out of their houses without right only because they said God is our lord…" Early commentary maintains that this was the first revelation to allow armed fighting (q.v.; *qitāl*) and war (q.v.; *ḥarb*) against unbelievers (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* ad loc.; see also JIHĀD). Until these verses (q.v.) were revealed, Muḥammad "had simply been ordered to call men to God and to patient endurance *(ṣabr)* against insult… The Quraysh had persecuted his followers, seducing some from their religion, and exiling others from their country…" (Ibn Isḥāq, *Sīra,* i, 467; Ibn Isḥāq-Guillaume, 212).

Patience (*ṣabr,* Q 14:5-6) is combined with thankfulness (*shukr,* see GRATITUDE AND INGRATITUDE): "We sent Moses with our signs *(āyāt)*: 'Bring your people from the

darkness (q.v.) to the light (q.v.), and remind them of the days of God (q.v.; *ayyām Allāh*).' Therein are signs for everyone who is patient and thankful *(ṣabbār shakūr).*" Commentators explain that people have to be patient when they are tested (*ubtuliya,* see TRIAL), and thankful when God bestows favor (*niʿma,* see GRACE; BLESSING) upon them (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* ad loc.). Moses and his people, therefore, were obliged to be patient before their rescue, and to be thankful after they were rescued by God's favor.

Moses' deliverance and Pharaoh's destruction

The qurʾānic story of Moses reaches its peak at the rescue, or deliverance (q.v.; *najāt*), of him and his people and the punishment (see CHASTISEMENT AND PUNISHMENT) and destruction *(halāk)* of Pharaoh and his army *(jund)* by drowning (q.v.): "So we took vengeance (q.v.) on them and drowned them in the sea, for having counted our signs false, and having been neglectful of them. And we caused the people who had been oppressed (see OPPRESSED ON EARTH, THE) to inherit the east and the west of the land on which we had bestowed blessing. The good word of your lord was fulfilled upon the Children of Israel for their patience. And we destroyed what Pharaoh and his people had been constructing and embellishing" (Q 7:136-7). Pharaoh's council of nobles *(malaʾ),* who "thought themselves great" were also destroyed: "They accused them [i.e. Moses and Aaron] of lying, and were among those who were destroyed" (Q 23:45-8). While God drowned Pharaoh and his army, he rescued Moses and his followers who had passed through the sea: "When we divided the sea for you and delivered you and drowned the people of Pharaoh before your eyes" (Q 2:50; cf. Q 7:138; 8:54; 10:90; 17:103; 26:52-68; 43:55; 44:23-4). Q 44:23-31 (cf. Q 26:52) tells the history of Moses' departure from Egypt. God told Moses: "Set out by night with my servants. You are going to be followed. And leave the sea gaping wide. They are an army *(jund)* to be drowned." Q 26:63-6 (cf. also Q 20:77-8) is more detailed with regard to Moses' dividing the sea: "We inspired Moses: 'Strike the sea with your staff, and it separated *(infalaqa).*' Each part became like a mighty cliff. We brought thither the others. We delivered Moses and those with him, all of them. Then we drowned the others." The drowning of Pharaoh and his people is a *topos* for God's helping the believers to triumph, giving them power and bringing about the defeat and destruction of the unbelievers, especially the unbelieving sovereign (see KINGS AND RULERS). ʿAbbāsid propaganda used this *topos* against the Umayyads. In the year 132/750, when the last Umayyad caliph (q.v.) Marwān b. Muḥammad was defeated at the river Zāb, the pontoon bridge was cut. Al-Ṭabarī (*Taʾrīkh,* iii, 41; Eng. trans. J.A. Williams, *History,* xxvii, 164 f.) reports: "More were drowned that day than were slain in battle." The victorious ʿAbbāsid, ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī, then recited Q 2:50 and someone else recited verses reviling Marwān: " now the oppressor is the oppressed… a Pharaoh in persecution.…"

Besides Pharaoh the Qurʾān mentions two other enemies of Moses who were also destroyed, Korah (q.v.; Qārūn) and Hāmān (q.v.; Q 29:39-40).

God speaks to Moses and Moses wants to see God

After the deliverance of Moses and the Children of Israel and their departure from Egypt, God "appointed for Moses forty nights" (Q 2:51); in the meantime Aaron replaced Moses among his people (Q 7:142). "When Moses came to our appointment, and his lord spoke to him *(kallamahu rabbuhu),* he said: 'My lord, show me [yourself] that I may gaze upon you.'

He replied: 'You will not see me. But gaze upon the mountain, and, if it stands still in its place, then you will see me.'" When God revealed himself to the mountain, he sent the mountain crashing down, and Moses fell down senseless. When he recovered, he said: "Glory unto you (see GLORIFICATION OF GOD; LAUDATION)! I turn to you repentant (see REPENTANCE AND PENANCE), and I am the first of the believers" (Q 7:143).

While early commentators explained these verses by reference to earlier biblical and extra-biblical narratives (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* ad loc.), theologians raised the following questions: How did God speak with Moses, and what does God's speaking *(kalām)* mean (see WORD OF GOD; SPEECH)? Did God speak only to Moses, or also to others? Does Moses' request for seeing God with his eyes *(ruʾya)* mean that it is possible to see God (see SEEING AND HEARING; ANTHROPOMORPHISM)? Why did Moses ask God to see him with his eyes (q.v.) though he undoubtedly knew that it is impossible to see God in this world (*dunyā,* see FACE OF GOD; ESCHATOLOGY)? Is the ability to see God *(ruʾya)* only impossible in this world, or is it also impossible on the day of resurrection (q.v.) and in the hereafter? They discussed also whether Moses' request to see God was a sin *(dhanb),* since Moses returned repentant *(tāba)* from it (Rāzī, *Tafsīr,* xiv, 186 f.). After Moses' "returning" *(tawba)* from his request to see God, God says to Moses: "I have chosen you above humankind by my message and by my speaking *(bi-kalāmī)*. So hold what I have given you and be thankful. And we wrote for him, upon the tablets *(alwāḥ),* a lesson to be drawn from all things… then [told him]: 'Hold it fast, and command your people, to take the best of it…'" (Q 7:144-5; see PRESERVED TABLET; COMMANDMENTS). Q 4:164 also reports God's speaking to Moses: "and to Moses God spoke directly *(kallama… taklīman)*" (cf. Q 7:144). Therefore commentators hold that God's speaking to him is a special favor that distinguishes Moses from all other prophets (Rāzī, *Tafsīr,* xii, 87). At the time that God spoke to Moses, the Children of Israel constructed the calf of gold (q.v.) and worshiped it (Q 7:148-9; 20:85-91). "When Moses returned to his people, angry and sad… he cast down the tablets *(al-alwāḥ)*… (Q 7:150; cf. 20:86). "When Moses' anger (q.v.) calmed down, he took up the tablets…" (Q 7:154).

Moses' kitāb *and* furqān

Q 2:53 speaks of the "book" (q.v.) or "scripture" (*kitāb,* cf. Q 2:87; 6:154) of Moses: "When we gave Moses the scripture and the criterion (q.v.; *al-furqān*), in the hope that you might be guided" (cf. Q 2:87; 6:154; 11:17, 110; 17:2; 19:51; 21:48; 23:49; 25:35; 28:43; 32:23; 41:45; 46:12). Some early commentators gloss *kitāb* and *furqān,* explaining *furqān* as the separation *(farq)* and distinction *(faṣl)* between true *(ḥaqq)* and false *(bāṭil);* with this gloss, they interpret *furqān* in the sense of "criterion." This exegesis is al-Ṭabarī's and Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī's (d. 606/1212) starting point for a more complex interpretation. Al-Ṭabarī explains the *kitāb* as the *tawrāt* (see TORAH), which "we wrote for him *(katabnā lahu)* upon the tablets *(al-alwāḥ)*" (Q 7:145), given to Moses by God. This scripture *(kitāb)* is the *furqān,* in so far as God "separated" *(faraqa)* true from false by this scripture. Furthermore, the Torah *(tawrāt),* in so far as it is "separation" *(furqān)* of true and false is guidance (*hudā,* cf. Q 7:154: "the tablets, and in their inscription there is guidance") for those who follow what is contained theirein (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* ad loc.). Al-Rāzī (*Tafsīr,* iii, 73) explains the "separation" *(furqān)* of true and false as part of the *tawrāt,* namely as the "roots *(uṣūl)* and branches *(furūʿ)* of religion *(dīn)*." Other early commentators explain *furqān* according to the qurʾānic typology. They liken

Q 2:53 with Q 8:41: "and what we sent down to our servant on the day of the *furqān,* the day the two parties met." "The day of the *furqān*" is explained as an allusion to "the day of Badr," i.e. the day of the battle of Badr (q.v.) where God "separated" *(faraqa)* true and false: i.e. with Muḥammad on one side and the Meccan polytheists on the other. God separated "the two parties" by saving and rescuing Muḥammad and giving victory *(naṣr)* to him and defeat to the Meccan polytheists (see PARTIES AND FACTIONS). On this basis commentators draw a parallel to the *furqān* given to Moses: just as God "separated" Muḥammad and the polytheists, so he "separated" Moses and Pharaoh, proceeding in the case of the former as he had with the latter (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* ad loc.). The victory *(naṣr)* distinguishes between the one who speaks the truth *(ṣādiq)* and the one who lies (*kādhib,* Rāzī, *Tafsīr,* iii, 73).

Moses' guidance

The contrasting concepts of guidance *(hudā)* on the one hand and leading astray *(iḍlāl)* on the other are also associated with a qurʾānic typology. Since at "the day of Badr" one of Muḥammad's archenemies, Abū Jahl, led the Meccan polytheists, Muḥammad is paralleled to Moses. Abū Jahl, moreover, reminds one of Pharaoh, "who led his people astray *(aḍalla),* and did not guide *(mā hadā)*" (Q 20:79). Moses' scripture, on the other hand, was light *(nūr)* and guidance *(hudā)* for the people *(al-nās),* namely his people (*qawm,* e.g. Q 2:67; i.e. the Banū Isrāʾīl, cf. Q 6:91; 17:2; 23:49; 28:37; 40:53-4). In Q 2:47 and Q 2:49 the people of Pharaoh are contrasted to the people of Moses. While Moses is the type who brings God's guidance to his people, his enemy Pharaoh is the anti-type, who leads his people astray *(iḍlāl)*. As Q 11:98 states: "He shall precede his people on the day of resurrection" (see LAST JUDGMENT). In early theology Pharaoh's leading astray is also used as a paradigm: since guidance *(hudā)* comes from God (e.g. Q 2:38; 92:12-13) the question arose as to whether leading astray *(iḍlāl)* also comes from God. The early Qadariyya-Muʿtazila held that "guidance is from God and leading astray is from man." In one of the oldest documents of early theology, the Pharaoh of the qurʾānic story of Moses is the example for the "leading astray of man" (Ritter, Studien, 71; Schwarz, Letter, 23).

The pages of Moses

Q 87:18-9 mentions the "first" or "former pages" *(al-ṣuḥuf al-ūlā)* of Moses: "Verily this is in the first pages, the pages of Abraham and Moses" (cf. Q 20:133; see also ORALITY AND WRITING IN ARABIA). Some commentators identify that which "is in the first pages" with the preceding verses, Q 87:14-7: "Prospered has he who purifies himself (see CLEANLINESS AND ABLUTION), makes mention of the name of his lord and prays (see PRAYER). No, you prefer the world *(dunyā),* but the hereafter is better and more lasting." The exegesis of other commentators follows a more restricted method of interpretation, namely that Q 87:18-9 refers only to the immediately preceding verse, i.e. Q 87:17: "But the hereafter is better and more lasting." Commentators also explain the "pages of Moses" *(ṣuḥuf Mūsā)* as part of those "former pages," namely the pages of all other former prophets. None of these interpretations, however, necessitates a difference between "the pages of Moses" and the "book of Moses" *(kitāb Mūsā)* or the Torah (*tawrāt,* Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* ad loc.; Rāzī, *Tafsīr,* xxxi, 135-6).

Moses and the servant of God whom God had taught of his knowledge

Q 18:60-82 refers to a journey in which Moses, accompanied by a boy *(fatā),* searches for "the meeting place of the two seas" (see BARRIER): "When they reached

the meeting place of the two seas they forgot their fish and it took its way in the sea freely" (*saraban,* Q 18:61). When Moses noticed that they forgot the fish, he said: "This is what we have been seeking." On their way back to the place whence they had come they found "one of our servants *(ʿabd min ʿibādinā),* upon whom we had bestowed mercy (q.v.; *raḥma*) and taught knowledge" (*ʿilm,* Q 18:64-5). The narrative commentary combines the story of the fish with the *topos* of Moses boasting of knowledge. When Moses was preaching, someone asked: "Who of the people knows best?" Moses replied: "I do," not attributing knowledge to God. Therefore God tells him that there is a servant of God at "the meeting place of the two seas" (Q 18:60), who knows more than Moses. When Moses asks how to find him, God replies: "Take a fish and put it in a basket. When you miss it, he will be there" (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* ad loc.; id., *Taʾrīkh,* i, 417; Brinner, *History,* iii, 6). When Moses finds the servant of God whom God had taught of his knowledge, Moses says to him: "'May I follow you, so that you may teach me the right conduct which you have been taught?' He says: 'Lo! You cannot bear with me'… 'If you go with me, do not ask me anything until I myself mention it to you" (Q 18:66-70). Then the Qurʾān reports the story of the three deeds of the unnamed servant of God. Moses is not able to suffer the deeds to occur without interpretation, since he lacks the knowledge to understand (Q 18:71-82). Commentary and tradition (*ḥadīth,* see ḤADĪTH AND THE QURʾĀN) identify Moses' boy companion *(fatā)* with Yashūʿ b. Nūn, the biblical Joshua, Moses' servant (*Exod* 24:13; *Num* 11:28). The servant *(ʿabd)* of God who was endowed with knowledge is identified as al-Khiḍr, "the green man, the green" (see KHAḌIR/KHIḌR). His knowledge, which was superior to that of Moses, raised the question of their relationship. Muslim scholars discussed the type of knowledge he had and whether or not he was a prophet (Rāzī, *Tafsīr,* xxi, 126 f.; Brinner, *History,* iii, 1 n. 1; Franke, *Begegnung,* 70 f.; 306-14).

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Mosque

A Muslim place of prayer (q.v.). The English word "mosque" derives, via the French

mosquée, the Old French *mousquaie,* the Old Italian *moschea* and *moscheta,* and the Old Spanish *mezquita,* from the Arabic word *masjid,* meaning a place of prostration (*sajda,* see BOWING AND PROSTRATION) before God. The word *masjid* (and its plural *masājid*) appears twenty-seven times in the Qurʾān, fifteen times in the phrase *al-masjid al-ḥarām,* "the holy mosque," where it presumably refers to the sanctuary surrounding the Kaʿba (q.v.) in Mecca (q.v.). The word *masjid* is used once in the phrase *al-masjid al-aqṣā,* "the furthest mosque" (Q 17:1). In Muḥammad's lifetime this probably referred to a place of prayer in heaven (see ASCENSION), although later commentators have universally understood this phrase to refer generally to the sanctuary of Jerusalem (q.v.) and specifically to the mosque erected at the south end of the Temple Mount. Other uses of the word *masjid* in the Qurʾān indicate that it could be applied to any place where God was worshipped, whether in Islamic or pre-Islamic times, as, for example, the tomb of the Seven Sleepers mentioned in Q 18:21 (see MEN OF THE CAVE). Later authors agreed that the concept of the *masjid* was not specific to Islam; the historian al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923) mentions that King David (q.v.), for example, had a *masjid* (Pedersen, Masdjid). The word *muṣallā,* referring specifically to a place for *ṣalāt,* or prayer, appears only once in the Qurʾān (Q 2:125), where God made the *maqām Ibrāhīm,* "station of Abraham," in Mecca "a place of prayer" (see ABRAHAM). Whereas any place where ritual worship (q.v.) is performed would technically be a *muṣallā,* the word has taken on a special meaning in Islam as a large undifferentiated space, usually outside the city, where the extraordinary *ṣalāt*s are performed (see RITUAL AND THE QURʾĀN). These include the festival prayers (see FESTIVALS AND COMMEMORATIVE DAYS) marking the end of the holy month of Ramaḍān (q.v.) and the tenth day of Dhū l-Ḥijja, when animals are also slaughtered (see SLAUGHTER; CONSECRATION OF ANIMALS) in commemoration of Abraham's (Ibrāhīm's) sacrifice (q.v.), as well as the extraordinary prayers for rain. In later times, particularly in Persian-speaking lands, the festival *muṣallā* is normally known by the Persian name *ʿīd-gah,* "festival place." The word *muṣallā* has also taken on a secondary meaning in some regions of the Muslim world as "the covered part of a mosque." *Jāmiʿ,* a third word commonly applied in later times to congregational mosques, does not appear in that form in the Qurʾān but derives from the later usage *masjid al-jāmiʿ,* "congregational mosque," which itself was also transformed into such phrases as the Persian *masjid-i jumʿa,* "Friday mosque" and the Urdu *jamaʿ masjid,* "congregational mosque." In modern usage, the word *masjid* (Turkish *mescit*) is sometimes used to refer to a small mosque for daily prayer, while the word *jāmiʿ* (Turkish *cami;* Ottoman *cāmiʿ*) is understood to refer to a congregational mosque for communal worship on Friday (see FRIDAY PRAYER).

The Qurʾān gives absolutely no indication of what, if any, form a *masjid* should take, and perfectly valid worship may be performed after ablution (see CLEANLINESS AND ABLUTION) virtually anywhere, using only the most minimal markings on the ground or a mat or rug. When Muslims gather in groups for communal worship, they line up in rows facing the *qibla* (q.v.), or direction of prayer, and repeat a series of prayers and, following the imām (q.v.) or prayer leader, perform a series of prostrations. Starting from these modest beginnings, over the centuries Muslims have built praying-places of great power and beauty that count among the finest examples of world architecture (see ART AND ARCHITECTURE AND THE QURʾĀN). This article will discuss the history and development of such structures and their

constituent elements as they evolved over the centuries.

Early history and constituent parts

It is generally accepted by both Muslim and non-Muslims alike that the simple house erected by the prophet Muḥammad after he emigrated from Mecca to Medina (q.v.) in 622 (see EMIGRATION) played a key role in the evolution of the mosque. According to later accounts, this building was a roughly-square building with mud-brick walls approximately 100 cubits (ca. fifty meters) to a side. Several doors led to the interior, which comprised an open court with several small rooms along the eastern wall in which the Prophet and his wives lived (see WIVES OF THE PROPHET). Porticoes supported on palm-trunks and thatched with palm fronds running along the north and south walls provided shade for the activities of Muḥammad, his family and his Companions (see FAMILY OF THE PROPHET; PEOPLE OF THE HOUSE; COMPANIONS OF THE PROPHET). Until Muḥammad broke with the Jews (see JEWS AND JUDAISM) in Rajab or Shaʿbān 2/December 623-January 624 and the *qibla,* or direction of prayer, was changed from Jerusalem to Mecca (Q 2:136), the northern portico, known as the *mughaṭṭa,* or "covered area," was used for prayer and the southern portico, known as the *ṣuffa,* "row (of columns)," was used for accommodating Muḥammad's dependents and guests, who were known as the *ahl al-ṣuffa* (see HOSPITALITY AND COURTESY; COMMUNITY AND SOCIETY IN THE QURʾĀN). After the *qibla* was shifted to Mecca, these arrangements were reversed, with the larger covered area on the south and the smaller one on the north. Following this precedent in later times, the mosque might provide temporary lodging for travelers and scholars (Grabar, *Formation,* 105-38; Hillenbrand, *Islamic architecture,* 30-128).

On Fridays, the Prophet would lead noon (q.v.) congregational worship in the court, his position marked by his lance *(ʿanaza)* thrust in the ground. He would address the community of believers from a raised seat, or pulpit, made from tamarisk wood, which was moved into position as needed. Although the *minbar* is not mentioned in the Qurʾān, the Prophet's seat was derived from the pre-Islamic judges' seat and symbol of authority (Becker, Die Kanzel). The *minbar* is the only common feature of the later mosque to have been used by the Prophet. The earliest *minbar*s had only two or three steps, but the earliest example to survive is a teakwood specimen with many steps from the ninth century in the Great Mosque of Qayrawān, now in Tunisia.

Following Muḥammad's death in 632, he was buried under the floor of one of the living rooms to the side of the court. The Prophet had disapproved of any monumental commemoration of the dead (see DEATH AND THE DEAD) but his grave was eventually surrounded by a low screen and covered with a dome as the building was expanded. Although the grave became the focus of popular veneration, it was never allowed to become a focus of prayer (see INTERCESSION). In later times, bodies were not buried under mosques but tombs of important individuals were sometimes erected adjacent to them. In other cases, when the tomb of a particularly holy figure in some cemetery became the focus of popular veneration, a mosque might eventually be built to accommodate worship there.

Muḥammad's immediate successors, the caliphs (see CALIPH), continued to use the house-mosque in Medina and it was expanded to accommodate the increased numbers of believers. As a result of the rapid expansion of the faith throughout Arabia and into Iraq (q.v.), Syria (q.v.) and Egypt (q.v.), believers resident in these

regions needed places for communal worship. In some regions, such as Syria, existing churches (see CHURCH) provided sufficient and suitable space, and they were either appropriated or divided between the Christians and Muslims. In other regions, such as Egypt or Iraq, where suitable buildings were lacking in the required places, new structures were erected. In Jerusalem, according to the European pilgrim Arculf, the Muslims had erected a massive but rather crude structure at the southern end of the Temple Mount (see AQṢĀ MOSQUE) by ca. 50/670 (Creswell, *Muslim architecture;* id., *A short account*). According to much later accounts, the first mosque in Egypt was built at Fusṭāṭ; it was a small structure measuring 50 × 30 cubits (25 × 15 meters) with a very low roof supported on multiple columns or piers. In Iraq, where the new towns of Kūfa and Baṣra were founded in 19/640, the first mosques were marked out by a ditch or low wall and orientated towards Mecca. The Mecca-facing, or *qibla,* part of the mosque might be covered with a palm-thatch roof supported on multiple columns or piers to provide shade. As Muslim power was consolidated in the following decades, these makeshift and temporary structures were rebuilt with more durable materials, but the many-columned ("hypostyle") system of supports was maintained.

The second and fourth caliphs, ʿUmar (q.v.) and ʿAlī (see ʿALĪ B. ABĪ ṬĀLIB), were murdered in mosques and the third, ʿUthmān (q.v.), was murdered while reading the Qurʾān, so it was thought necessary to provide some sort of protection for the ruler when he attended the mosque. This screened enclosure, which allowed the ruler to be seen but not approached, was known as the *maqṣūra*. The eighth/fourteenth-century historian Ibn Khaldūn ascribed the introduction of the *maqṣūra* to the first Umayyad caliph Muʿāwiya (r. 41-60/661-80) or to one of his successors, Marwān I (r. 64-5/684-5), but the sources are in some disagreement about the date. The first examples were made either of brick or wood, and the oldest to survive is the magnificent wooden example from the fifth/eleventh century also in the Great Mosque of Qayrawān. In later centuries, when the Islamic rulers participated with less frequency in Friday worship, the *maqṣūra* came to serve less of its original practical function, although it and the area immediately around the *miḥrāb* and *minbar* remained the focus of the mosque's interior decoration. The Ottoman sultans later introduced a royal loge, *hünkar mahfil,* into their mosques. Unlike the centrally-placed *maqṣūra,* the Ottoman loge was placed to the side of the mosque and in some instances, such as the Selīmiye mosque (Selīm II, r. 974-82/1566-74) in Edirne, raised on the second floor (see Fig. VIII).

With the establishment of the Marwānid branch of the Umayyad family and the shift of the capital from Arabia to Syria, the caliphs ʿAbd al-Malik (r. 65-86/685-705) and al-Walīd (r. 86-96/705-15) embarked on an ambitious program of construction in the major cities of the realm. The "sacred mosque" *(al-masjid al-ḥarām)* in Mecca and the Prophet's mosque in Medina, which had already been enlarged several times to accommodate larger numbers of Muslims, were completely rebuilt, as was the mosque of Damascus, which the Muslims had heretofore shared with the Christians of that city. The Umayyad mosque of Medina is known only through later texts (Sauvaget, *Mosquée omeyyade*) but the Damascus mosque, despite a disastrous fire in the late nineteenth century, survives largely intact. Built within the walls of a Roman temple enclosure, the Damascus mosque was one of the most ambitious architectural projects of the time. Like the Dome of the

Rock in Jerusalem, the mosque used the forms and motifs of late antique architecture, such as basilical halls with columns, arches, gables, domes, mosaics and marble revetments, to create a new Islamic architecture. On the south, slightly less than half the enclosed space was covered as a prayer hall; the rest was left open as a courtyard.

The most notable feature of the Damascus as well as the Medina mosque was the introduction of the *miḥrāb,* a semicircular niche in the center of the *qibla* wall (Whelan, Origins). Although the origins and meaning of the *miḥrāb* remain a matter of intense speculation, the form seems to have had a commemorative function, to judge from a slightly earlier silver *dirham* decorated with a niche enclosing an upright that has been interpreted as the Prophet's spear (Miles, Mihrab and ʿAnazah). In any event, the *miḥrāb* immediately became a distinguishing feature of virtually all mosques (Papadopoulo, *Le mihrab*) and the *minbar* was, from an early date, placed to the right of the *miḥrāb*.

At Damascus, the area immediately in front of and beside the *miḥrāb,* which presumably comprised the caliph's *maqṣūra,* was architecturally emphasized by a massive gabled bay and dome (see Fig. 1). Comparable but more modest forms were used to emphasize the *miḥrāb* area at Medina. The interior walls of the Damascus and Medina mosques were decorated with mosaics and inscriptions (see EPIGRAPHY AND THE QURʾĀN); the surviving mosaics at Damascus show a riparian landscape with houses and pavilions which perhaps depicts paradise (q.v.) as it is described in the Qurʾān, but few, if any, other mosques had such specific decoration.

The disposition of some mosques, such as those in Aleppo, Diyār Bakr and Ḥarrān, may have been based more or less closely on the example of the Damascus mosque, but the Umayyads do not seem to have established a standard mosque type. Rather, the Umayyad idea of a mosque appears to have comprised a rather flexible association of constituent parts, which should include (in decreasing order of importance): orientation towards Mecca, a *miḥrāb* in the *qibla* wall, open and covered spaces, arcades surrounding the courtyard, domes or raised roofs in the area near the *miḥrāb,* and a *maqṣūra*. Some or all of these features can be seen in smaller mosques of the Umayyad period, such as at Qaṣr al-Ḥayr al-Sharqī, Jabal Says, etc.

The ʿAbbāsids, who seized power from the Umayyads in 132/749, appear to have had no doctrinal objection to the mosque as it had evolved under Umayyad patronage — although the ʿAbbāsids did claim that the Umayyads' excessive elevation of the *minbar* was wrong. The ʿAbbāsids consequently ordered *minbar*s reduced in size but as the Qayrawān *minbar* (mid-third/ninth century) still has many steps, the order seems not to have been effective. Literary sources indicate that the ʿAbbāsids established mosques in the second half of the second/eighth century at Baghdād, their new capital in Iraq, as well as in other cities. None has survived intact, but they do not appear to have deviated from the Umayyad norm in any significant way. By the early third/ninth century, however, many ʿAbbāsid mosques began to have a single tower located next to the entrance in the wall opposite the *miḥrāb*.

These towers are traditionally understood to have been places from which the call to prayer *(adhān)* was given by the muezzin *(muʾadhdhin)* but there is no evidence to suggest that these towers were erected for this purpose (Bloom, *Minaret*). In early Islamic times, the first call to prayer was normally given from the doorway or the roof of the mosque; Shīʿīs in particular continued to follow this practice (see SHĪʿISM AND THE QURʾĀN). Under the later Umayyads, sev-

eral mosques had a small structure on the roof, known epigraphically as *mi'dhana* (place for the *adhān*), which was presumably meant to protect the muezzin from the elements. Only the mosque of Medina had four towers in Umayyad times, and these do not seem to have been used for the call to prayer. If, in later times, towers were often used for the call to prayer, the tower seems to have been introduced into the mosque simply to indicate its presence from afar. Such an interpretation would coincide with the most common Arabic name for these towers, which is *manāra,* "a place or thing that gives light" (cf. Hebrew *menorah*), whence (via the Turkish *minare*) the English word "minaret."

Like the mosque itself, there was no particular shape the minaret needed to take: the square and battered third/ninth-century tower of the Great Mosque of Qayrawān was modeled on a nearby Roman lighthouse (see Fig. II), while the contemporary towers attached to the mosques of al-Mutawakkil and Abū Dulaf at Sāmarrā' in Iraq are helicoidal spirals, a form invented by 'Abbāsid builders. In Syria, square stone towers became common, while in Iran, cylindrical and polygonal towers of astonishing height showed off the talents of Iranian builders, particularly in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

As ablution *(wuḍū')* is required before ritual worship, many mosques are known to have been provided with facilities for washing, although few such installations have survived the centuries. The ninth/fifteenth-century Egyptian historian al-Maqrīzī (d. 845/1442) preserved a description of the late third/ninth-century ablution pavilion in the courtyard of Ibn Ṭūlūn's mosque in Cairo (which was, incidentally, surmounted by a place for the muezzins). A magnificently-decorated sixth/twelfth-century ablution pavilion has been preserved from the original Almoravid mosque of Marrakesh, although the mosque itself has not survived (Meunié and Terrasse, *Nouvelles recherches;* see Fig. III).

Other elements of mosque furniture include the *dikka,* a platform sometimes found in congregational mosques (for one example, see Fig. VI). They are used on Fridays by muezzins giving the third call to prayer before the *ṣalāt* in the mosque, as well as by "repeaters" *(muballigh)* to enable the entire congregation to hear in the pre-loudspeaker age. Reading-stands *(kursī)* held the large manuscripts of the Qur'ān that were often presented to mosques as pious gifts; some also provided a seat for the reader. Most *kursī*s were made of wood, elaborately carved and inlaid with colored woods and bone or ivory, but other materials were used. Perhaps the largest is the stone reading stand in the courtyard of the mosque of Bībī Khānum in Samarqand (see Fig. V). It is thought that it was made to hold the enormous manuscript of the Qur'ān whose pages measure over 1 × 2 meters, of which several leaves survive. From an early date, lamps (see LAMP) and candlesticks were installed in mosques to provide light (q.v.) at night. Some were made of metal elaborately decorated with piercing and inlaying (Behrens-Abouseif, *Metal lamps*), while others, particularly in the Mamlūk period, were made of glass enameled with intricate inscriptions and designs (Wiet, *Lampes et bouteilles;* for one example of the latter, see Fig. IV of MATERIAL CULTURE AND THE QUR'ĀN). Some enameled glass Mamlūk lamps were inscribed with the Light Verse (Q 24:35), a particularly felicitous choice. Mats or carpets often covered the floors of mosques to prevent the worshiper from getting dusty. The Prophet is said to have initiated the custom of praying on a carpet, although some Muslims reject this practice as a later innovation.

Types of mosques

During the first centuries of Islam, Muslims carried the flexible idea of the hypostyle mosque from its homeland in Syria and Iraq throughout the Muslim world. Before ca. 400/1000, hypostyle or "Arab-type" mosques were erected everywhere from Spain and Morocco in the west to Iran and central Asia in the east. While all share general features of planning and orientation, Muslim patrons and builders were sufficiently flexible to accommodate local traditions of construction and decoration. Thus, the mosque of Cordoba in Spain, begun by Umayyad emigrants from Syria in the late second/eighth century, used a distinctive two-tiered system of supports and mixed construction of recycled stone and brick to support tile-covered gabled roofs. The third/ninth-century builders of the mosque at Qayrawān continued local Tunisian traditions of fine ashlar construction, using recycled antique stone columns and capitals to support a flat timber roof. In most of Iran, brick, whether sun-dried or fired, became the major material of construction for supports and coverings; the scarcity of wood had led Iranian builders in previous centuries to develop ingenious techniques for covering large spaces with brick vaults. In some areas of Iran and Anatolia, on the other hand, where timber continued to be available after the Muslims first settled the region in the late fifth/eleventh century, builders developed a timber-framed hypostyle mosque. Two examples are the small village mosque at Abyāna (Iran; before 1103 C.E.) or the Eşrefoğlu mosque at Beyşehir (696/1296), although this structure, like many other Anatolian mosques, is enclosed in stone walls. In the Maghrib the hypostyle type of mosque became typical, and its popularity excluded virtually all other types.

The inherent flexibility and adaptability of the hypostyle mosque made it so popular in such a wide variety of situations over such a long period that the name "Arab-type" mosque, which is sometimes used, is patently unsuitable. The plan, with some variation, is found for example in an early mosque in west Africa (e.g. the eighth/fourteenth-century Djingere-Ber mosque at Timbuktu) as well as a modern one in the same region (the Great Mosque of Mopti built in 1935). It is also found in east Africa (e.g. the Great Mosque, Kilwa Kisawāni; begun in the sixth/twelfth century), India (the Quwwat al-Islam mosque, Delhi; begun 592/1196), China (e.g. Yangzhou mosque, Jiangsu Province; begun 673/1275[?]) and southeast Asia (e.g. Masjid Agung, Demak; founded 881/1477); and modern architects continue to exploit its structural possibilities, as in the Mosque of the King (Marbella; 1981) or the King ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz mosque (Casablanca; 1983; Frishman and Khan, *The mosque*).

Most mosques surviving from the early centuries of Islam are large structures intended for congregational worship, but several smaller mosques also survive from the second/eighth century and later. Found in such cities as Toledo (Spain), Qayrawān and Sūsa (Tunisia), Fusṭāṭ (Egypt), Termez (Uzbekistan), and Balkh (Afghanistan) as well as in rural areas of Arabia and central Asia, this type of mosque is characterized by nine square units arranged in a 3×3 grid, with four columns or piers supporting the roof. The germ of the type is found in the Umayyad mosques of Khān al-Zabīb, Umm al-Walīd and Qaṣr al-Ḥallābāt. The widespread popularity of this "nine-bay" plan suggests that it, like the hypostyle mosque, was diffused from some central source (King, Nine bay).

The hypostyle mosque, whether large or small, may have been the most common type in early Islamic times, but literary evidence suggests that other types of struc-

tures were also used where available. In Iran, where free-standing domed chambers and vaulted halls had been essential elements of the architectural vocabulary in pre-Islamic times, it is possible that pre-existing domes and *īwān*s (a barrel-vaulted hall open at one end) would have been adapted for use as mosques, much as how, in Syria, basilicas had been transformed into mosques. The crucial archaeological evidence for this transformation is lacking, however, perhaps because many of these structures were built of mud-brick, and fell into dust once abandoned. The undated domed mosques at Yazd-i Khwāst and Qurva may be recycled older buildings. The prayer hall of the Iranian mosque at Nayrīz (perhaps begun 363/973) is a large single *īwān* which has a *miḥrāb* at one end and is open to the courtyard at the other.

In the late fifth/eleventh century, however, the Saljūq rulers of Iran, who made their capital at Iṣfahān, transformed the third/ninth-century hypostyle mosque of that city by removing many of the columns in the area immediately in front of the *miḥrāb* and inserting a huge freestanding brick dome in their place. The building of the Iṣfahān dome in 479-80/1086-7 by the powerful vizier Niẓām al-Mulk during the reign of Malik-shāh has been shown to have been directly inspired by Malik-shāh's restoration of the *maqṣūra* dome in the Damascus mosque, which had been destroyed by fire a few years before (Blair, Surveyor). While the idea of the great dome may have been inspired by the precedent of Damascus, the form this new dome took was dependent on earlier buildings in central Iran, such as the freestanding domed tomb in Yazd known as the Twelve Imāms (429/1038). Indeed, the Iṣfahān dome was initially freestanding within the hypostyle hall, but such a structure was both structurally unstable and visually awkward, so a massive *īwān* was soon erected in front of it. This *īwān* physically and visually linked the courtyard to the *maqṣūra* dome, and the flanking hypostyle halls were connected to the new parts. The *īwān*'s court facade was embellished by a high rectangular frame, known as a *pīshṭāq,* which was, perhaps at a later date, flanked by slender towers. By the early sixth/twelfth century, three other *īwān*s had been erected at the midpoints of the three other sides of the court, so that the mosque had taken on an entirely new aspect. In place of the hypostyle halls surrounding the spacious courtyard, there was now a massive arched *īwān* in each of its four sides; that on the *qibla* side terminated in a huge dome over the *miḥrāb*.

The prestige of the mosque in Iṣfahān (see Fig. IV), which was the Saljūq capital, coupled with the inherent flexibility of the four-*īwān* plan, which had been used for centuries on a much smaller scale in residential and palatine architecture, led builders throughout the Saljūq realm to copy the developments at Iṣfahān. Older hypostyle mosques were transformed by the addition of a dome and one or more *īwān*s (e.g. Ardistān), and new mosques were built from scratch using the new plan (e.g. Zawāra). Indeed, by the eighth/fourteenth century, the four-*īwān* mosque had become *the* Iranian mosque type, and such plans were used in various scales from the modest (Varamīn, 722/1322 and later) to the mammoth (Tīmūr's mosque of Bībī Khānum in Samarqand, 802-3/1399), where even the lateral *īwān*s were domed. The four-*īwān* type continued to be the most popular in later periods in Iran and central Asia, as for example in the Kalān mosque (920/1514) in Bukhārā or the Masjid-i Imām (formerly Masjid-i Shāh) erected by the Safavid Shāh ʿAbbās between 1021/1612 and 1040/1630 in Iṣfahān.

As Iranian cultural norms were prevalent in most of the eastern Islamic lands in the

period after ca. 650/1250, the Iranian combination of an *īwān* leading to a dome over the *miḥrāb,* or even the four-*īwān* type plan, was widely disseminated, although, like the hypostyle mosque before it, its features were often creatively reinterpreted, as at the Ūlū Cāmiʿ (621/1224) at Malaṭya in southeast Anatolia, where the courtyard is very small, and the mosque of Baybars I (665/1266) in Cairo, where the *īwān* is a sort of hypostyle hall and the dome was built of wood.

The Iranian type of four-*īwān* mosque was used on the Indian subcontinent, as for example at Thatta (1054/1644), but the essential features of the plan were more commonly adapted to create a new Indian type of mosque more suited to the climate. Like earlier Hindu temples, this type of mosque is often raised on a high plinth. It comprises a vast walled court with minarets set at the exterior corners and massive portals on the main and lateral axes. On the exterior, these are approached by flights of steps and are topped with small minaret-like towers and open pavilions. Within the court, which often has no surrounding arcade, the prayer hall occupies most but not all of the *qibla* wall's width. Projecting into the court, the fairly shallow prayer hall comprises a central *īwān*-like portal leading to a dome chamber over the *miḥrāb* and *minbar*. This *īwān* and dome unit is usually flanked by smaller versions of it, other domed bays and towers linked together behind a screen-like facade. An early example is found at the Atala mosque at Jaunpur (810/1408; see Fig. VII); a later one is the Badshahi mosque at Lahore (1084/1673), said to be the largest mosque in the subcontinent.

Another distinctive type of mosque, characterized by a single large dome, developed in Anatolia, particularly under the Ottomans (r. 1281-1924 C.E.). After the region was opened for Muslim settlement following the Battle of Manzikert in 463/1071, the first mosques erected, such as the ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn mosque in Konya (550-617/1155-1220), were hypostyle structures. Perhaps in response to the severe Anatolian winter climate, these mosques had no courtyard, or only a vestigial one. Most early Anatolian mosques were, therefore, closed halls resting on a multitude of columns, sometimes fronted by courtyards akin to the forecourts of some Byzantine churches. Indigenous Byzantine experience with building domed and vaulted churches in stone, combined with the knowledge of Iranian traditions of building brick vaults and domes brought by the Saljūqs, undoubtedly encouraged local builders to experiment with the covering of mosques with domes and vaults; the subsequent history of the mosque in Anatolia, particularly under the Ottomans, is dominated by the desire to create a unified prayer space under a domical covering.

Scholars have debated the origins of the mature type of Turkish domed mosque. Some see its origins in the simple, single domed mosque preceded by a portico, such as the Mosque of Ḥacī Özbek at Iznīk (734/1333), while others see it in the more complex organization of domed and vaulted elements characteristic of the Bursa-type or *zāwiya* (Turk. *zaviyelī*) mosque usually associated with a dervish cloister, in which a domed central space precedes a vaulted or domed *īwān*-like prayer hall and is flanked by corresponding *īwān*-like spaces to the left and right which could be used for teaching, etc. (see ṢŪFISM AND THE QUR'ĀN). Other vaulted or domed chambers in the corners, often furnished with fireplaces, could be used for lodging itinerant dervishes. This completely covered mosque type, well suited to the harsh Anatolian climate, is exemplified by the Yeşil Cāmiʿ (815-22/1412-19) at Bursa.

In the ninth/fifteenth and tenth/six-

teenth centuries the Ottoman sultans sponsored a series of immense domed congregational mosques which combined various trends, including the single domed space (as at Iznīk), the completely covered space (as at Bursa), the large dome before the *miḥrāb* (as in Iranian mosques) and the open arcaded forecourt (as in the Great Mosque of Damascus or Byzantine churches). These buildings were the centerpieces of large religious and charitable foundations. The earliest examples, such as the Üç Şerefeli mosque in Edirne (841-51/1437-47), have vast central domes with low subsidiary spaces, but the best known examples represent creative responses to the models of Byzantine architecture, primarily the great church of Hagia Sophia in Istanbul, which had been founded by the emperor Constantine in the fourth century C.E. and rebuilt in the sixth century by the emperor Justinian. Immediately after the conquest of Constantinople in 857/1453 by the Ottoman emperor Meḥmed II the church was converted into the city's first congregational mosque by the addition of a *miḥrāb, minbar* and minarets. The Süleymāniye mosque in Istanbul (964/1557), the masterpiece of Ottoman architecture by the great architect Sinān, for example, follows the model of Hagia Sophia by using an immense central dome buttressed at either end by semi-domes. The many windows create a highly centralized space, which contrasts with the strongly directional space of the prototype. Unlike many mosques of earlier times, in which the exterior facade was often neglected in favor of a focus on the interior or courtyard, the exteriors of the imperial Ottoman mosques were clearly meant to be monumental, presenting cascades of domes and semi-domes punctuated by slender minarets. The central mass is often enveloped in the domes of the adjacent religious and charitable foundations, which frequently included the tomb of the founder.

The power and prestige of the Ottoman empire in the Balkans, north Africa and the Near East encouraged the construction of similar if somewhat simpler mosques (and complexes) in the capital cities of the Ottoman empire. Sometimes these structures incorporated local architectural motifs and techniques, such as the striped masonry used in the Sulaymāniyya complex at Damascus, completed in 962/1554-55, or the ogee windows of the tenth/sixteenth-century mosque of Sinān Pasha in Cairo. In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries C.E., the Ottoman type of domed mosque has been adapted throughout the world and has become one of the most popular designs for new mosques. These can range from banal copies of Sinān's masterpieces in reinforced concrete to inventive reinterpretations in modern materials, such as Vedat Dalakoy's State Mosque (1970-86) in Islamabad, Pakistan, or Skidmore, Owings and Merrill's Islamic Cultural Center (1987-91) in New York (Holod & Khan, *Contemporary mosque*).

Distinct types of mosques have also developed in other areas of the Islamic world. In Indonesia, for example, the Java-type mosque is set in a courtyard surrounded by a stone wall. It has a veranda on the front, and is characterized by a square plan, raised foundations, tapering roof two to five stories high, and a projecting *miḥrāb*. In China, many mosques, particularly those built under the Ming emperors, are reminiscent of indigenous Chinese temples. Other distinct styles have also evolved in east and west Africa.

Decoration of mosques

Virtually all media of Islamic art are represented in the decoration of mosques, with the one proviso that Islam forbids the representation of animate beings (i.e. humans

and animals) in such situations where they might be taken as objects of devotion, as in mosques. Thus, one rarely, if ever, finds pictorial or sculptural representations in mosques, whose main decoration has consisted of inscriptions, often from the text of the Qurʾān, and vegetal and geometric designs. In the early period, the interior decoration of major Umayyad mosques, such as those in Mecca, Medina, Jerusalem and Damascus, adapted the techniques and many of the motifs of Byzantium, so colored and gold glass mosaic was popular. In later times, carved and molded plaster, carved and painted wood, glazed ceramic tile and marble paneling were commonly used media of decoration.

In many times and places, the interior of the mosque has been more important than the exterior, and the decoration has been concentrated largely on the inside. This may have resulted from the idea that the mosque is centered around the courtyard, and consequently the building is planned and intended to be seen from the courtyard outwards. The result is that exteriors were neglected, often irregular, and hardly distinguished from the surrounding urban fabric. At first, doorways were simple affairs with no great decoration, but eventually they became places of some importance, perhaps following the lead of the portals to the "sacred mosque" *(al-masjid al-ḥarām)* in Mecca, which were monumentalized at an early date, and eventually projected from the mosque wall itself. The earliest fancy portal to survive is the Bāb al-Wuzarāʾ, "Vizier's Gate" (241/855-6) at the Great Mosque of Cordoba, in which the doorway has been embellished with inscriptions and carving (Brisch, Zum *Bāb al-Wuzarāʾ*). Congregational mosques of the Fāṭimid period emphasize the doorways, probably because of the Fāṭimid aversion to building minarets. The triple-arched portal of the Great Mosque at Mahdiyya (308/921), the first Fāṭimid mosque in Tunisia, is modeled on a late antique triumphal arch (Bloom, The origins). Archaeologists working in Iṣfahān in the 1930s discovered a large portal in baked brick and carved plaster. On the basis of its style, it has been identified as the portal of the Jurjir mosque built by the Būyid vizier Ibn ʿAbbād in the third quarter of the fourth/tenth century (Blair, *Monumental inscriptions,* 52-3).

Qurʾānic inscriptions in mosques were usually prepared as coherent programs of decoration, although few complete programs have survived and the meaning is usually inferred from surviving fragments. The mosaic inscriptions in the Great Mosque of Damascus, for example, are known to have focused on eschatological texts about the day of judgment (sūras 78 and 79 of the Qurʾān; Finster, Die Mosaiken; see ESCHATOLOGY; LAST JUDGMENT; APOCALYPSE), while the stucco inscriptions carved in the walls of the mosque of al-Azhar in Cairo (founded 363/972) used verses such as Q 21:101-7 to describe the paradise that awaited the true believers (see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF). Other decorative programs seem to have been somewhat less selective: medieval sources assert that the carved wooden friezes running under the ceiling of the mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn in Cairo (265/879) repeated the whole text of the Qurʾān, and the inscriptions in the mosque of al-Ḥākim, also in Cairo, contain the opening verses of many different chapters (Bloom, Mosque of al-Hakim).

Nevertheless, specific qurʾānic verses were inscribed in appropriate situations. The most common qurʾānic text used for inscriptions in mosques is Q 9:18, which states that God's mosques should be reserved for good Muslims who believe in God, pray, pay alms (see ALMSGIVING), and

worship God alone (Dodd and Khairallah, *The image;* Blair, Mosque inscriptions). The text, one of the few in the Qurʾān to actually mention mosques and what should be done within them, quickly became popular in congregational mosques. Other qurʾānic citations commonly found in mosques include the Throne Verse (Q 2:255; see THRONE OF GOD), which extolls God's majesty and is often used around domes, the Light Verse (Q 24:35-8), which describes God as the light (q.v.) of the heavens (see HEAVEN AND SKY) and the earth (q.v.), and Sūrat al-Fatḥ ("Victory," Q 48; see VICTORY). Although the Light Verse is often associated, because of a mistranslation, with the common motif of a lamp in a niche, certain verses were often associated with specific parts of mosques. *Miḥrāb*s often contained verses Q 17:78-9, which mention prayer and vigil (see VIGILS).

Qurʾānic verses were also selected to give a particular inscription a specific ideological position. An inscription once on the exterior of the mosque of al-Ḥākim (380-405/990-1013) quotes Q 28:5, which uses the word *aʾimma,* the plural of *imām,* the title by which the Fāṭimid rulers styled themselves. Similarly, an inscription on one of the same mosque's towers cites Q 11:73, containing the phrase *ahl al-bayt* ("people of the house"), which the Fāṭimids interpreted as a direct reference to themselves as the descendants of the Prophet (Bloom, Mosque of al-Hakim). Similarly, the portal of the Jurjir mosque in Iṣfahān (ca. 350/960) is inscribed with Q 3:18, in which the use of the word *qisṭ* may have been chosen to advertise the building's function as a Muʿtazilite foundation (Blair, The octagonal pavilion; see MUʿTAZILĪS). As sectarian struggles increased over the course of the fourth/tenth and fifth/eleventh centuries, such pointed uses of qurʾānic inscriptions only increased, but in later times verses with more general application came to be expressed in monumental tiled and painted inscriptions.

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Mosque of the Dissension

Scene (and symbol) of opposition to Muḥammad in Medina (q.v.) in 9/630, to which allusion is made in Q 9:107: "And those who have taken a mosque (q.v.) in opposition (*ḍirāran,* see OPPOSITION TO MUḤAMMAD) and unbelief (see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF), and to divide the believers, and as a place of ambush for those who fought God and his messenger (q.v.) aforetime, will swear 'We desire nothing but good'; and God testifies they are truly liars (see LIE)." This obscure incident took place in Qubāʾ, in upper (i.e. southern) Medina (see Lecker, *Muslims,* map. 2), sometime after Rajab 9/October 630 (the date of the expedition of Tabūk; see EXPEDITIONS AND BATTLES). The mosque (q.v.) to which the passage alludes has various designations: "mosque of the dissension" or "mosque of the opposition" (*masjid al-ḍirār;* less commonly, "mosque of division" or "mosque of hypocrisy" *[masjid al-shiqāq/al-nifāq];* see HYPOCRITES AND HYPOCRISY; CORRUPTION; PARTIES AND FACTIONS).

Although the accounts of the incident agree about the outline of the events, they do reveal some significant differences. The essential outline of events is as follows: well after Muḥammad's emigration (q.v.) from Mecca (q.v.), a group of "dissenters" established a mosque in lower Medina, rivaling a mosque already in place. As Muḥammad became more firmly established in Medina, the political leadership of lower Medina came under his control. Sometime after the erection of the mosque, but still within the Prophet's lifetime, and as the political opposition to Muḥammad decreased, the "mosque of the dissension" burnt to the ground.

Despite the qurʾānic assertion that the builders of the "mosque of dissension" erred, the report transmitted by Saʿd b. Jubayr (d. 93/714), is sympathetic to these builders: "The [clan of] ʿAmr b. ʿAwf built a mosque and their nephews, the [clan of] Ghanm b. ʿAwf [in some versions: the so-and-so; ʿUmar b. Shabba, *Taʾrīkh,* i, 53], envied them. They said: 'We, too, built a mosque and invited the messenger of God to lead our prayer (q.v.) in it as he did in the mosque of our companions. Perhaps Abū ʿĀmir will pass by and lead our prayer in it'. When the Prophet was about to set out to go to them, he had a revelation [prohibiting him to go]" (Balādhurī, *Ansāb,* i, 282; trans. Lecker, *Muslims,* 76-7). In the context of this report, it is noteworthy that Saʿīd b. Jubayr adopts an anti-Khazrajī position in the dispute between the tribe of Aws (specifically the ʿAmr b. ʿAwf) and the tribe of Khazraj (see TRIBES AND CLANS) over the identification of another mosque, that founded upon piety (q.v.; Q 9:108). From the account of ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr (d. bet. 91/711 and 101/720), it could be inferred that the mosque of "dissension" was built before the battle of Badr (q.v.), that is, several years before its destruction in the year 9/630 (Balādhurī, *Ansāb,* i, 283; ʿUmar b. Shabba, *Taʾrīkh,* 54-5; Lecker, *Muslims,* 81-5). According to yet a third account, ascribed to Ibn ʿAbbās (d. 68/687-8), this mosque was built by order of the great opponent of Muḥammad, Abū ʿĀmir (the "monk"), as a "hostile stronghold" for a Byzantine expedition force (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* xiv, 270, no. 17187; Lecker, *Muslims,* 85-7; see BYZANTINES).

The account of the exegete Muqātil b.

Sulaymān (d. 150/767), while agreeing with the outline of the accounts found in the other versions, adds a number of details to their testimony (Muqātil, *Tafsīr,* ii, 195-8; trans. Lecker, *Muslims,* 87-91). It reinforces the idea that we have here a case of local competition between two mosques in Qubāʾ (Sprenger, *Moḥammad,* iii, 34 n. 1 speaks of "Concurrenz-Bethaus") and that the twelve "hypocrites" *(munāfiqūn)* built this mosque in an attempt to harm the mosque of Qubāʾ (Lecker, *Muslims,* 95). Most of these "hypocrites" belonged to an ʿAmr b. ʿAwf clan (Ibn Isḥāq, *Sīra,* 356-9; Ibn Isḥāq-Guillaume, 243-4; Lecker, *Muslims,* 101 f.; for the list of the names of these individuals, see Ibn Isḥāq, *Sīra,* 907; Ibn Isḥāq-Guillaume, 609-10; they are also found in Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* xiv, 468-9, no. 17186; Muqātil, *Tafsīr,* ad loc.; Thaʿlabī, *Tafsīr,* ii, f. 161^{v}, l. 20-3; ed. Ibn ʿĀshūr, 92^{v}, l. 16-9).

The event of the mosque of the dissension is important because it reveals that in 9/630 many of the "Muslims" in Qubāʾ — i.e. those who had "submitted" (either by accepting Islam or by coming under the political leadership of Muḥammad) — were still opposed to the authority (q.v.) of Muḥammad as a prophet or as a leader (see POLITICS AND THE QURʾĀN). Members of the most important families of the ʿAmr b. ʿAwf (the tribe of Abū ʿĀmir) or perhaps others entertained the hope that their exiled military and spiritual leader Abū ʿĀmir might return (Lecker, *Muslims,* 145; see also MUSAYLIMA). This mosque was not only a gathering place for the supporters of this noteworthy man (termed "the sinner" by Muḥammad) but was also a symbol of their tribe's autonomy from Muḥammad's territorial base in lower Medina (the *sāfila*). Muḥammad, acting with resolution (he let this mosque burn), humiliated them and reduced the prestige of the most influential men of Qubāʾ (Lecker, *Muslims,* 146). Ironically, Mujammiʿ b. Jāriya, one of the twelve "builders" and the imām (q.v.) of this mosque, became the imām of the Qubāʾ mosque and the apologetic literature attests that the second caliph (q.v.), ʿUmar, forgave and rehabilitated him (Thaʿlabī, *Tafsīr,* ii, f. 162^{r}, l. 9-18; ed. Ibn ʿĀshūr, 93^{v}; Ibn Isḥāq, *Sīra,* 358; Ibn Isḥāq-Guillaume, 244; Lecker, *Muslims,* 152-3).

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Moth

see ANIMAL LIFE

Mother

see PARENTS; FAMILY

Mother of the Book

see BOOK

Mount Ararat

see ARARAT

Mount Sinai

see SINAI; MOSES

Mountains

see NATURE AS SIGNS; GEOGRAPHY; COSMOLOGY

Mourning

see BURIAL; DEATH AND THE DEAD; WEEPING

Mouth

see ANATOMY

Mud

see CLAY

Muḥammad

The Muslim Prophet to whom God's revelation was "sent down" (*nuzzila,* Q 47:2; see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD; REVELATION AND INSPIRATION). On three occasions the name is followed by the title "messenger" (q.v.; *rasūl*), i.e. God's messenger (Q 3:144; 33:40; 48:29).

Names and appellations

When, however, the Qurʾān addresses the Prophet directly in the second person, he is not referred to as "Muḥammad," but is called by various appellations that indicate his relation to God. Here, apart from *rasūl,* the title most frequently used is *al-nabī,* "prophet" (Q 8:64; 66:8, etc.). The appellation "servant" (q.v.; *ʿabd*) of God is also used most probably with reference to the Prophet (Q 17:1; 25:1; 39:36; 72:19). Other epithets allude to the purposes of his mission, the most frequent being *bashīr,* "announcer," and *nadhīr,* "warner" (q.v.; e.g. Q 2:119, etc.), as well as *mudhakkir,* "reminder" (Q 88:21). In Q 33:45-6, a series of titles is provided: *shāhid,* "witness" (see WITNESSING AND TESTIFYING), *mubashshir,* "bearer of good tidings" (see GOOD NEWS), *nadhīr, dāʿī,* "one who calls [unto God]" (see INVITATION), and *sirāj munīr,* "light-giving lamp" (see LIGHT; LAMP).

More particular designations are derived from his state at the time of the address (see OCCASIONS OF REVELATION). Thus the Qurʾān addresses him as *al-muzzammil,* "the enwrapped" (Q 73:1) and *al-muddaththir,* "the shrouded" (Q 74:1) when prompting him to rise and accomplish his mission. This pair of appellations probably symbolizes withdrawal and reluctance. See also NAMES OF THE PROPHET.

Revelation

The revelation of the divine message, which the qurʾānic Prophet is supposed to deliver, is described in a variety of terms depicting the content as well as the process of revelation. What is revealed to the Prophet is most frequently called *qurʾān* (e.g. Q 6:19; 20:2, etc.), which the Prophet is supposed to "recite" (*li-taqraʾahu,* Q 17:106; *an atluwa,* Q 27:92; see ORALITY; RECITATION OF THE QURʾĀN), or "chant" (*rattil,* Q 73:4). But the latter command may also

be understood in a different sense (Paret, *Mohammed,* 492). The Qurʾān is not only recited by the Prophet but is also being recited to him during revelation (Q 75:18; cf. Q 87:6).

The revelation received by the Prophet is most frequently described as a *kitāb,* a "book" (q.v.; Q 4:105; 5:48, etc.). It is recited to him during revelation (Q 28:2-3) and he, in turn, is supposed to recite it (Q 18:27; 29:45). The plural, *kutub* ("books"), also appears as something recited *(yatlū)* by the Prophet, and as contained in purified pages (*ṣuḥuf muṭahhara,* Q 98:2-3; see WRITING AND WRITING MATERIALS). In this case the "books" are probably separate units of revelation.

Indeed, the Qurʾān refers more than once to separate units of revelation. The name most frequently used for them is *āyāt,* "signs" [q.v.; of God], which form part of the *kitāb* (Q 10:1, etc.; see also VERSES). They also stand for something that is revealed to him (Q 2:99), or recited *(natlūhā)* to him (Q 2:252; 3:108; 45:6; cf. 3:58), and the Prophet, for his part, is also expected to recite *(yatlū)* them to his audience (see Q 2:129, 151; 3:164; 28:45; 62:2; 65:11).

Another unit, which the Prophet is expected to recite, is *nabaʾ* (pl. *anbāʾ*), "report, tidings" (see NEWS). This term usually signifies stories about past generations (q.v.), mainly of biblical origin (see NARRATIVES). For example, the Prophet is instructed to recite *(utlu)* the *nabaʾ* of the two sons of Adam (Q 5:27; see ADAM AND EVE; CAIN AND ABEL), the *nabaʾ* of Noah (q.v.; Q 10:71) and of Abraham (q.v.; Q 26:69). Again, such stories are also recited to the Prophet upon being revealed to him, as is the case with the *nabaʾ* of Moses (q.v.; Q 28:3). These units are also being "related" *(naquṣṣu)* to him upon being revealed (Q 7:101; 11:100, 120; 18:13; 20:99). They are also referred to as *anbāʾ al-ghayb:* "stories of the unseen" (see HIDDEN AND THE HIDDEN), because the Prophet did not witness them in person (Q 3:44 of Mary [q.v.]; Q 11:49 of Noah; Q 12:102 of Joseph [q.v.]).

Stories of past generations recited by the Prophet may also be described as *dhikr,* as with the story of Dhū l-Qarnayn (Q 18:83; see ALEXANDER). This form is the infinitive of *dhakara,* to "mention," or to "remind," so that *dhikr* is an "allusion" to a story (see MEMORY). Nevertheless, the same term is also the name of the entire revelation (Q 16:44, etc.), probably because it alludes quite frequently to stories of past generations. In fact, the injunction *udhkur fī l-kitāb,* "mention in the book," is frequently used in passages prompting the qurʾānic Prophet to recount stories about previous prophets (Q 19:16, 41, etc.).

The primary stage of revelation that precedes public recitation of texts is represented by the verb *awḥā,* which is frequently used in the Qurʾān to describe the act of communicating divine texts to the Prophet. The *kitāb* is communicated to him in this way (Q 35:31), as well as the Qurʾān (Q 12:3) and the stories of the unseen (*anbāʾ al-ghayb,* cf. Q 3:44; 11:49; 12:102). That the verb *awḥā* describes the initial stage of revelation is indicated in several passages in which the Prophet is expected to recite what has been revealed *(awḥaynā; ūḥiya)* to him (Q 13:30; 18:27; 29:45), which means that an intimate process of revelation has preceded actual recitation. Instructions as to how revelation should be received are given to the Prophet in Q 20:114, where he is advised not to "hasten" *(lā taʿjal)* with the Qurʾān before the completion of revelation *(waḥy)*. More specific directions are given in Q 75:16-9 where he is instructed not to move his tongue with (revelation) to hasten it, and wait with its recitation till it is recited to him (in full).

The revelations received as *waḥy* by the

Prophet originate in a person, an angel (q.v.), described as "terrible in power," who stood on the "higher horizon" and then drew nearer and nearer (Q 53:4-10). Elsewhere he is described as "having power, with the lord of the throne (see THRONE OF GOD) secure, obeyed moreover trusty," and the Prophet "saw him" *(raʾāhu)* in the clear horizon (Q 81:20-1, 23). The heart (q.v.; *al-fuʾād)* of the Prophet once "saw" *(raʾā)* this mighty person near a (celestial?) lote-tree called *sidrat al-muntahā* (Q 53:11-8; see AGRICULTURE AND VEGETATION).

The most prevalent verbs, however, which describe the imparting of texts to the Prophet are various derivatives of *n-z-l*, "to come down." For example, in Q 17:106 the Prophet is expected to recite the Qurʾān that was sent down successively *(nazzalnāhu)* to him. What was sent down to him this way is called in one instance *furqān* (Q 25:1; see NAMES OF THE QURʾĀN), which is also the name of what was given to Moses (Q 2:53). The process of sending down ends at the Prophet's heart *(ʿalā qalbika),* and is carried out by an intermediary called Jibrīl, the angel Gabriel (q.v.; Q 2:97), or *al-rūḥ al-amīn,* "the faithful spirit" (Q 26:193-4); elsewhere he is called *rūḥ al-qudus,* "the holy spirit" (Q 16:102; see HOLY SPIRIT).

The beginning of the process of sending down revelation seems to be indicated in Q 44:2-3 where it is stated that the *kitāb* was sent down during a "blessed night." Elsewhere this night is called *laylat al-qadr* (Q 97:1; see NIGHT OF POWER), and in yet another passage, the sending down of the Qurʾān is said to have taken place in the month of Ramaḍān (q.v.; Q 2:185). The sending down of the *kitāb* is praised as a grand manifestation of God's bounty (see BLESSING) to the Prophet, which has provided him with knowledge (see KNOWLEDGE AND LEARNING) that he did not have before (Q 4:113; 42:52). The Prophet himself has not asked for this favor (Q 28:86), and had it not been for God's mercy (q.v.), he might have withdrawn the revelation altogether (Q 17:86-7). God's benevolence, however, which emanates from the revelation of the book, also envelops the believers (see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF). The Prophet is expected to teach them the book, thus providing them with knowledge that they do not have yet (Q 2:151; 3:164; 62:2). The book is also the means by which the Prophet is expected to decide in matters on which the believers are disagreed (see JUDGMENT) and guide them to the right path (Q 16:64, 89; see PATH OR WAY; ASTRAY). Therefore the sending down of the book indicates God's compassion *(raḥma)* unto them (Q 16:89), as does also the sending of the Prophet himself as a messenger to all beings (Q 21:107).

Aims of the mission

The mission of the qurʾānic Prophet has a dominant apocalyptic aspect, as his role is to warn the unbelievers of their eschatological punishment (see APOCALYPSE; ESCHATOLOGY; REWARD AND PUNISHMENT). This aspect comes out in passages describing the aims of revelation. Thus in Q 38:70, the essence of what is revealed *(yūḥā)* to the Prophet is focused on his mission as a warner *(nadhīr)*. In Q 6:19, the Prophet says that the Qurʾān was revealed *(ūḥiya)* to him so that he "may warn you thereby," and in Q 21:45, he says that he warns only by the *waḥy*. Likewise, the book *(al-kitāb)* is said to have been sent down so that the Prophet may warn by it (Q 6:92; 7:2, etc.). What he is expected to warn of is the hour (e.g. Q 79:42-5, etc.), or the day of judgment (see LAST JUDGMENT) that the Qurʾān calls by various names (e.g. Q 14:44; 19:39; 40:18, etc.). Some passages do not explicitly refer to the eschatological future and focus instead on examples from the history of some extinct communities (see

HISTORY AND THE QUR'ĀN; GEOGRAPHY). Here the Prophet is requested to warn his contemporaries of the calamity that befell the peoples of ʿĀd (q.v.) and Thamūd (q.v.; e.g. Q 41:13-6, etc.).

Other passages in which the Prophet is addressed directly bring out the monotheistic message in his mission. He is demanded to proclaim *(iqraʾ)* the name of his lord (q.v.; Q 96:1), or praise *(sabbiḥ)* his name (Q 56:96; 69:52; 87:1; see LAUDATION; GLORIFICATION OF GOD) or declare *(udhkur)* it (Q 73:8; 76:25). In other passages he is instructed not to worship idols apart from God (Q 17:22, 39; 26:213; 28:88), and not to be one of the *mushrikūn,* i.e. those who associate other deities with God (Q 12:108; 28:87, etc.; see IDOLS AND IMAGES; IDOLATRY AND IDOLATERS; POLYTHEISM AND ATHEISM).

Scope of the mission

The scope of the mission of the qurʾānic Prophet changes between universal and local. The latter comes out in passages in which the Prophet is supposed to warn his own people *(qawm)* in his own language *(bi-lisānika),* namely Arabic, thus making his message easy to understand (Q 19:97; see also Q 44:58). The local scope of the Prophet's mission is further evident in the statement that every messenger was sent to address his people *(qawm)* by their own language (Q 14:4). The same is implied in the idea that the Prophet has been sent to a *qawm* to which a warner was never sent before (Q 28:46; 32:3; 36:6; see also Q 34:44). His audience is even smaller in a passage commanding him to warn his closest clan (*ʿashīra,* Q 26:214). In another passage he is said to have been sent to a community *(umma)* that has been preceded by other nations (Q 13:30), which seems to mean that his audience is Arabian, and is different from previous nations (Jews and Christians). Moreover, in Q 62:2 he is presented as a messenger belonging to the *ummiyyūn,* i.e. the gentiles, to whom he has been sent to teach the book and the wisdom (q.v.). This corresponds to further passages in which he is presented as one of his own audience (*minkum, min anfusikum;* see Q 2:151; 9:128, etc.). Above all, he is said to have received an Arabic Qurʾān so that he may warn Umm al-Qurā (Q 42:7; see also Q 6:92, 90:1-2), which is probably Mecca (q.v.), and those who dwell around it. God himself, whom the Prophet is commanded to worship, is described as local, namely, "the lord of this town which he has made sacred" (Q 27:91). This again may be a reference to Mecca.

On the other hand, other passages, of a clear universal orientation, imply that the Prophet has been sent as a messenger, or to warn and bear good tidings, to all humankind *(lil-nās),* or all beings *(lil-ʿālamīn)* or human beings *(bashar),* without confining the audience to a specific group (Q 4:79; 7:158; 21:107; 25:1; 34:28; 74:36). When a specific group is nevertheless indicated, it is the People of the Book (q.v.), to whom the Prophet has come in order to warn and display many things that they have been concealing of the book (Q 5:15). He has come to them after an interval *(fatra)* between the messengers (Q 5:19), and is expected to judge them according to the book that has been revealed to him (Q 5:42-3, 48, 49; see also Q 4:65, 105). This is based on the idea that the Qurʾān can clarify for the Children of Israel (q.v.) most of the matters they dispute (Q 27:76). Apart from human beings, the Qurʾān also affects the demons *(jinn),* who listen to its recitation and become believers (Q 46:29-31; 72:1-2).

The faith of the qurʾānic Prophet

The qurʾānic Prophet was the first of his people to become a Muslim, one who has deserted *shirk* (i.e. the worship of deities

other than God, considered as his "associates"). This is stated in Q 6:14: "Say: 'Shall I take to myself as protector other than God, the originator of the heavens (see HEAVEN AND SKY) and of the earth (q.v.; see also CREATION), he who feeds and is not fed?' Say: 'I have been commanded to be the first of them that became a Muslim *(aslama)*.' Be you not of the associators *(lā takūnanna mina l-mushrikīna)*." The battle against *shirk* that underlies the Prophet's monotheistic thrust also emerges in Q 6:162-3: "Say: 'My prayer (q.v.), my ritual sacrifice (q.v.), my living, my dying — all belongs to God, the lord of all being. He has no associate *(sharīk)*. Thus have I been commanded and I am the first of those who have become Muslims.'" The abandonment of *shirk* means the purification *(ikhlāṣ)* of one's faith (q.v.); it is this that has made the Prophet a Muslim: "Say: I have been commanded to serve God, purifying my religion (q.v.) for him, and I have been commanded to be the first of those who have become Muslims" (Q 39:11-2).

The qurʾānic Prophet and previous prophets

Although the Prophet is the first Muslim among his people, previous prophets are also described as fighting against *shirk* and are hence designated as Muslims. This is the case with Noah who is one of "those who became Muslims" (Q 10:72), while Moses is the "first of those who became believers" (Q 7:143). This reveals the notion that the Prophet is a link in a chain of prophets sent to previous communities. In fact, he is the final link, as indicated in the title *khātam al-nabiyyīn*, "seal of the prophets," by which the Qurʾān designates Muḥammad (Q 33:40). Muḥammad, so the Qurʾān states, is only a messenger following other messengers who passed away before him (Q 3:144). In this respect he is like any other messenger in that chain, for example, Jesus (q.v.), about whom it is also stated that other messengers passed away before him (Q 5:75). As a link in a successive chain, the Prophet appears in the list of prophets with whom God made a covenant (q.v.; Q 33:7) and here, apart from the Prophet himself, the other prophets mentioned are Noah, Abraham, Moses and Jesus.

The affinity between the Prophet and the previous ones comes out in the idea that all of them experienced the same process of revelation. This is stated in Q 4:163: "We have revealed to you *(awḥaynā ilayka)* as we revealed to Noah and to the prophets after him, and [as] we revealed to Abraham, Ishmael (q.v.), Isaac (q.v.), Jacob (q.v.), and the tribes (see ISRAEL), Jesus and Job (q.v.), Jonah (q.v.) and Aaron (q.v.) and Solomon (q.v.) and we gave psalms (q.v.) to David (q.v.)…." The book that was revealed to the Prophet is not unique to him either, as other prophets were also sent with "the book" that was designed to guide them and resolve their disputes (Q 2:213). The goals of revelation are also common to all prophets, including the Prophet. He was sent to give warning as well as good tidings *(bashshir)* to the believers (e.g. Q 2:25, etc.), and the same is applicable to the previous messengers who were also sent to warn the evildoers and bear good tidings to the righteous (Q 6:48, etc.; see GOOD DEEDS; EVIL DEEDS; GOOD AND EVIL). The model of the previous prophets is continued in the career of the Prophet, and this comes out most clearly in what is known as the "punishment stories" (q.v.; for which see e.g. Watt-Bell, *Introduction*, 127 f.). They describe the events in the lives of prophets such as Ṣāliḥ (q.v.) in terms identical to those used for the experience of the Prophet (ibid., 133-4). In one case (Q 73:15), the parallelism is explicitly drawn, where it is stated that God sent the Prophet in the same manner as a messenger (i.e. Moses) was sent to warn Pharaoh (q.v.).

As a result of the affinity between the Prophet and the other prophets, the religion revealed to all of them is one and the same (Q 42:13). Hence the Qurʾān urges the Muslims to believe in all that was sent down to each one of the prophets and not make division among any of them (Q 2:136, 285; 3:84). It follows that the message of the book that was revealed to the Prophet is essentially the same as that of the books revealed to previous messengers. Therefore, the Qurʾān asserts several times that the book that was sent down to the Prophet "confirms *(muṣaddiq)* what was before it" (Q 35:31; cf. 3:3; 5:48; 6:92). In one case, the Arabian provenance of the Prophet's book is declared (Q 46:12; see ARABS; ARABIC LANGUAGE) and here the Qurʾān points out a specific book that has preceded the Arabian one, namely, the book of Moses (see also Q 46:30). In the same way, Jesus is said to have confirmed the Torah (q.v.) that had been revealed before him (Q 3:50; 5:46; 61:6).

The messianic position of the qurʾānic Prophet

In some passages, however, the Prophet occupies a distinguished position among the prophets, and the covenant God makes with them revolves exclusively around his own person, which thus acquires a messianic position. To begin with, in Q 3:81 God establishes a covenant with the prophets to the effect that when a messenger comes and confirms the book that is with them, they should believe in him and support him. This seems to mean that all prophets, as well as their respective peoples, must join the Prophet whenever he appears. Moreover, the description of the qurʾānic messenger is said to have been written in the scriptures of the Jews and the Christians (see SCRIPTURE AND THE QURʾĀN; CORRUPTION; FORGERY), namely, the Torah and the Gospel (q.v.), where he is described as *al-nabī al-ummī*, "the gentile prophet" (cf. Rubin, *The eye,* 23-30; see UMMĪ; ILLITERACY), and God's mercy is promised to those among them who follow him (Q 7:157-8). A more specific name of the qurʾānic messenger as described in the scriptures of the previous prophets is Aḥmad, about whom Jesus brings to the Children of Israel the good tidings (Q 61:6). Taken together, these passages build up a messianic image of the Prophet behind whom humankind is supposed to unite as one community of believers (see COMMUNITY AND SOCIETY IN THE QURʾĀN).

The religion of Abraham

The universal link of the Prophet, which is based on the identity of the message he shares with the prophets of the Children of Israel, or the People of the Book, is absent from other passages that establish a direct connection between the Prophet and Abraham. Thus in Q 3:68 it is declared "those standing closest to Abraham are those who followed him and this Prophet, and those who believe." The qurʾānic Prophet is explicitly instructed to follow what is called the "religion" *(milla)* of Abraham, and such passages surely exclude the religion of the Jewish and Christian prophets from the scope of the Prophet's faith (see JEWS AND JUDAISM; CHRISTIANS AND CHRISTIANITY). Abraham himself is declared to have preceded the revelation of the Torah and the Gospel (Q 3:65), and to have been neither Jewish nor Christian, but a *ḥanīf* (q.v.), a Muslim and not a *mushrik,* "associator" (Q 3:67). As the latter designation stands mainly for Arabian polytheists (see SOUTH ARABIA, RELIGION IN PRE-ISLAMIC), following the religion of Abraham means dissociation not only from the Jewish and Christian religious legacy but also from the Arabian one. The Prophet is explicitly demanded to follow the religion of Abraham in Q 16:123, while the rest of the believers are ordered to do the same in Q 3:95. In

Q 2:135 the believers who adhere to the religion of Abraham are thus refraining from becoming Jews or Christians. In another passage the Prophet is merely instructed to become a *ḥanīf* and here the demand is designed to prevent the Prophet from being a *mushrik* (Q 10:105). Although Abraham's name is not explicitly mentioned, the demand again is probably to follow Abraham's model. The same applies to Q 30:30 where the Prophet is urged to become a *ḥanīf* and adhere to the religion which is God's "original creation" *(fiṭra),* upon which he created humankind. The relation between the idea of the "original" religion and Abraham is clear from other passages describing Abraham's natural monotheism (Q 6:79).

The particularistic trend of the passages which create a direct connection between Abraham and the Prophet again seems to confine the scope of the message of the Prophet to the Arabian sphere, because Abraham himself, when linked to the Prophet, features in a clearly local context. This is the case in Q 2:127-9, where Abraham and Ishmael "raise up" the foundations of the house (the Kaʿba [q.v.]), and then Abraham prays to God to send from among his descendants a prophet who will teach them the book and the wisdom.

The qurʾānic Prophet between God and man

As a messenger of God, the Prophet is a chosen person, because God "chooses *(yaṣṭafī)* messengers of the angels and of humankind" (Q 22:75). The Qurʾān is therefore described as the "speech (q.v.) of a noble messenger" (Q 69:40). As God's chosen messenger, the Prophet is the recipient not only of his revelation but also of his infinite supervision, compassion and protection (q.v.). This is noted in passages such as that in which God is said to have never forsaken the Prophet (Q 93:3), and to have exalted his fame (Q 94:4), or raised him up to a laudable position (*maqām maḥmūd,* Q 17:79). God's compassion towards the Prophet comes out in the statement that God himself, as well as the angels, pray for the Prophet's peace (Q 33:56). For his part, the Prophet is instructed to ask for God's pardon (Q 4:106; 47:19; see FORGIVENESS), and is in fact granted complete forgiveness for all sins (Q 48:2; see SIN, MAJOR AND MINOR). God's guidance is also secured for the Prophet (Q 93:7), as well as his benefaction. God thus has improved the socio-economic status of the Prophet (Q 93:6, 8), and gave him "abundance" (*al-kawthar,* Q 108:1), as well as the "oft repeated" (q.v.; *mathānī*) and the great Qurʾān (Q 15:87). God has also alleviated from him the burden of fears and anxieties (Q 94:1-3). God's guidance is also manifest in the ritual sphere (see RITUAL AND THE QURĀN), and it is he who instructs the Prophet on when to pray (e.g. Q 20:130; 40:55; 50:39-40), and on what the direction of prayer (*qibla* [q.v.]) should be (Q 2:144). The fact that the Prophet has become the first Muslim among his community is the result of God's ritual guidance. The Prophet is ordered to say (Q 6:162-3): "My prayer, my ritual sacrifice, my living, my dying — all belongs to God, the lord of all being. No associate has he, so I have been instructed, and I am the first of those who have become Muslims" (cf. Q 6:14).

The qurʾānic Prophet and the believers

God's mercy on the Prophet is extended to the community that is supposed to follow the Prophet and support him, and it is God who has consolidated the believers behind the Prophet. The Prophet could not have achieved this alone (Q 8:63). God's mercy for the Prophet generates the Prophet's mercy for the believers, or as stated in

Q 3:159: "It was by God's mercy that you were gentle to them…." In the subsequent part of the same passage, God advises his messenger to pardon the believers and ask forgiveness for them, and to consult them in his affairs. Accordingly, the Prophet is described as "a messenger from among yourselves; your suffering (q.v.) is grievous to him, and he is anxious for you, gentle and compassionate to the believers" (Q 9:128). Forgiveness of sins, which emanates from the Prophet's presence, is particularly emphasized. Thus in Q 4:64 it is stated: "… If, when they wronged themselves, they had come to you and prayed for God's forgiveness, and the messenger had prayed for forgiveness for them, they would have found God forgiving, compassionate" (see GOD AND HIS ATTRIBUTES). The Prophet's mercifulness towards the believers is also manifest in his function as a "witness" *(shahīd)* for his community (Q 2:143; 22:78). This seems to be an eschatological role, as is indicated in passages describing the last judgment in which the Prophet is a witness for his community while the other communities have their own witnesses, their prophets (cf. Q 4:41; 16:89; see also Q 16:84; 28:75). His role as a *shahīd* probably means that he gives evidence as to the identity of both the righteous among his people, and of the evildoers. For their part, the believers are expected to take the Prophet as their model *(uswa)* in their devotion to God and in hoping for his reward at the last judgment (Q 33:21). Their love for God is the reason why they must follow the Prophet, which is the only way to gain God's love and mercy in return (Q 3:31; see LOVE AND AFFECTION). From this affinity between God and his messenger follows the need to obey them both (Q 3:32; 4:59), because to obey the Prophet means obeying God (Q 4:80; see OBEDIENCE). Similarly, pledging allegiance *(bayʿa)* to the Prophet means pledging allegiance to God (Q 48:10) and God is indeed pleased with those who pledge allegiance to his Prophet (Q 48:18; see CONTRACTS AND ALLIANCES). Women, too, pledge allegiance to him and when they do they must follow strict religious and moral codes and obey him (Q 60:12; see ETHICS AND THE QURʾĀN; VIRTUES AND VICES, COMMANDING AND FORBIDDING; WOMEN AND THE QURʾĀN). Apart from obedience, the believers are expected to be more loyal to their Prophet than to their own selves (Q 33:6), and treat him with due respect (see LOYALTY). This means that when they are in his presence they cannot withdraw without first asking his leave (Q 24:62-3), and they are not permitted to raise their voices above his (Q 49:1-5, 7; see SOCIAL INTERACTIONS). As the believers' model of devotion, the Prophet is also the source of their law, which he gives to them through a revelation (see LAW AND THE QURʾĀN). Thus in Q 6:151-3 he is commanded to tell them: "Come, I will recite what your lord has forbidden (q.v.) you.…" This is followed by a list of legal and moral regulations (see BOUNDARIES AND PRECEPTS).

The Qurʾān does not only deal with the duty to obey the Prophet but also with his own individual status among the believers. This is apparent mainly in verses defining his share in the spoils of war as compared with the shares of the rest of the believers (see BOOTY). In Q 59:7 the spoils belong to God and his messenger, as well as to his kinsmen (see FAMILY OF THE PROPHET; PEOPLE OF THE HOUSE) and needy Muslims (see POVERTY AND THE POOR), and the Prophet is given complete authority to distribute the booty: "Whatever the messenger gives you, take; whatever he forbids you, give up." Similarly, in Q 8:1 it is stated that the spoils *(anfāl)* belong to God and

the messenger. In Q 8:41, however, only one-fifth of the booty belongs to the Prophet and the needy, and the rest is distributed among the participating warriors.

Reference is also made to the status of the Prophet's wives among the believers (see WIVES OF THE PROPHET). They are proclaimed as equal in status to the mothers of the believers, which means that they cannot become wives to the believers after the Prophet (Q 33:6). Special moral obligations are prescribed to them as wives of the Prophet, and their conduct must be immaculate. If they wish to remain his wives and not be divorced (see MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE), they must undertake not to behave indecently, remain in their homes, not display their finery, as was the custom in the first Age of Ignorance (q.v.; *jāhiliyya*) and they have to pray and give alms (see ALMSGIVING) and obey God and his messenger. God will reward them twice over for all this (Q 33:28-34). Instructions to the believers as to how to behave in the Prophet's household are also specified. The believers should not call uninvited, nor linger after meals. They have to ask his wives for any object they want only while standing behind a curtain (Q 33:53; see VEIL; BARRIER). Nevertheless, allusion is made also to some obscure domestic problems that the Prophet had with two of his wives (Q 66:1-5), as well as to a group of persons who "came with the slander *(ifk)*" (Q 24:11 f.; see GOSSIP). The nature of the slander is not disclosed in the Qurʾān, but Muslim tradition associates it with ʿĀʾisha (see ʿĀʾISHA BINT ABĪ BAKR). In contrast to the qurʾānic proclamation that the Prophet's wives are the mothers of the believers, the Qurʾān declares that Muḥammad is not the father of any of the believers (Q 33:40), meaning that he can marry their women after them. This statement is made in connection with the affair of Zayd (b. Ḥāritha), Muḥammad's adopted son, the only contemporary of Muḥammad — apart from the Prophet himself — who is mentioned by his proper name in the Qurʾān. It is stated that after Zayd accomplished what he would of his wife, God gave her in marriage to the Prophet, and the Qurʾān asserts that it is lawful for the believers to marry the wives of their adopted sons (Q 33:37; see LAWFUL AND UNLAWFUL).

The qurʾānic Prophet and the unbelievers

The relationship between the Prophet and the unbelievers occupies the bulk of the qurʾānic passages dealing with his prophetic mission, and many aspects of the negative reaction of the unbelievers to his message are described (see OPPOSITION TO MUḤAMMAD). Their disbelief is depicted in some chapters as a refusal to listen to him. In one passage the unbelievers say: "Our hearts are veiled from what you call us to, and there is heaviness in our ears (see HEARING AND DEAFNESS), and between us and you there is a veil" (Q 41:5). In another instance they almost strike him down with their glances when they hear him preach (Q 68:51). Scornful reactions are also typical when the Prophet reproaches them for worshipping deities other than God (Q 21:36; 25:41-2; see MOCKERY). The Qurʾān emphasizes the unbelievers' stubbornness (see INSOLENCE AND OBSTINACY) when stating that even if God sent the Prophet "a book on parchment which they can touch with their hands," they would still not believe in him (Q 6:7).

Disbelief is often focused on a specific article of the faith preached by the Prophet, namely resurrection (q.v.) and the last judgment, which the unbelievers usually reject as an impossible process (Q 17:49, 98; 21:38, etc.). The unbelievers also make specific demands as a condition for their belief in the qurʾānic Prophet. In

Q 10:15 they ask him to change the contents of his revelations and make them more agreeable, and in Q 2:120 (see also Q 2:135) the Jews and the Christians ask him to follow their religion. The disbelief of the Jews, or the People of the Book, is especially condemned. They have rejected the Prophet despite the fact that the book revealed to him confirms their own scriptures. They are accused of deliberately ignoring the injunctions of their own book [i.e. to believe in the Prophet] (Q 2:89, 91, 101; see also Q 4:47).

Active persecution by the unbelievers is also addressed in the Qurʾān, particularly their threat to expel *(akhraja)* the Prophet from his homeland (Q 17:76). In Q 8:30 this is one of a series of other options contemplated, such as confining him or even killing him. In Q 9:13 the scheme to expel the messenger is coupled with the violation of oaths taken by the unbelievers, two offences that justify waging war on them (see BREAKING TRUSTS AND CONTRACTS). The threat of expulsion recurs in stories about previous prophets (Q 14:13) such as Shuʿayb (q.v.; Q 7:88) and Lot (q.v.; Q 7:82; 26:167; 27:56), where it again forms a major component of persecution. Expulsion, however, is not merely a threat but is also an accomplished fact that emerges in the reference to "your city which has expelled you" (Q 47:13). The Prophet and the believers suffer expulsion from the homeland, as indicated in Q 60:1. Here, "expelling the messenger and you [i.e. the believers]" features as one of the offences of the unbelievers, and in Q 2:217 those expelled are the inhabitants of the sacred mosque (q.v.; see also SACRED PRECINCTS). Expelling them and denying them free access to the sacred mosque are denounced as offences worse than fighting (q.v.) during the forbidden months (q.v.). The believers who have been expelled are ordered to kill their foes "wherever you come upon them and expel them from where they have expelled you…" (Q 2:191), which again makes expulsion a cause for war (q.v.). The same offence of forced expulsion is also a reason for the believers to dissociate from unbelievers guilty of this offense, or of assisting others in it (Q 60:9).

Not only does the Qurʾān refer to the existence of disbelief but it also reveals the various reasons for it, which stem from different sources. In one case its origin is fear; the unbelievers say that if they follow the Prophet they will be snatched from their land (Q 28:57). Those who speak here are probably the people of Mecca, to whom God immediately answers that he has established for them a "secure sanctuary *(ḥaraman āminan),* into which are brought the fruits of everything" (Q 28:57; cf. Q 8:26; 29:67). The message of the Prophet stands here in clear contrast to the Arabian values on which the security of the people of Mecca rested. The disbelief of the contemporaries of the Prophet is often coupled with doubts as to the authenticity of his message, i.e. whether he truly is the messenger of God. These doubts originate with presumed faults in his personality and message. The personal accusations against the Prophet are often based on the claim that he is but human, and God does not usually send humans as his messengers, only angels (Q 17:94; 21:3). The Jews also held this point against him (Q 6:91), and similar reservations were also held about previous prophets by their contemporaries (e.g. Q 11:27, Noah; Q 26:154, Ṣāliḥ; Q 26:186, Shuʿayb). Even as a human being the social status of the Prophet is not elevated enough to be a prophet (see SOCIAL RELATIONS). This claim by the unbelievers is indicated in Q 43:31: "They say: 'Why was this Qurʾān not sent down to some distinguished *(ʿazīm)* man of the two cities?'"

As a result of the notion that a messenger of God must be an angel, the demand is

often raised by the unbelievers that the Prophet produce signs from heaven, i.e. miracles (see MIRACLE). He is asked either to produce an unspecified sign *(āya)* himself (Q 7:203), or have one sent down to him from God (Q 13:7, 27). In Q 11:12 he is requested to have a treasure sent down to him, or an angel escorting him (see also Q 6:8-9; 25:7-8). A prolonged series of specific signs is required in Q 17:90-3: that a stream be made to gush forth (see SPRINGS AND FOUNTAINS); that he produce a garden (q.v.) of palms and vines with rivers flowing through it; that he make heaven fall; bring God and the angels as a surety; produce a house of gold (q.v.) ornamentation; go up to heaven and bring down a book that can be read. The People of the Book (Q 4:153) also ask for a real book from heaven, and the Jews expect to see a sacrifice that will be devoured by fire (q.v.; as a sign of its acceptance by God; Q 3:183).

Failing to produce proofs of his divine person, the Prophet is accused of being a sorcerer (Q 10:2; 11:7, etc.; see MAGIC) and a poet possessed by jinn (q.v.; *majnūn,* Q 37:36; 44:14; see also INSANITY; POETRY AND POETS). His prophetic message, too, is not accepted as divine, and is rejected as a "hotchpotch of dreams" (Q 21:5; see DREAMS AND SLEEP). The unbelievers usually mention such faults when refusing to abandon the worship of their deities (Q 37:36). His messages are often rejected as forged (Q 11:35; 46:8) or plagiarized (see FORGERY). In the latter case, his sermons are denounced as "fairy-tales of the ancients" that have been dictated to him (Q 25:4-6; see also Q 6:25-6, etc.), or have been learnt from a human master (Q 74:25; see also Q 44:14), whose origin is said to be non-Arab (Q 16:103; see INFORMANTS; see also Ahrens, *Muhammed,* 42-4). They too, so the unbelievers claim, can do the same (Q 8:31). His message, however, is also denounced as being an innovation previously unheard of in other religions (Q 38:7), one which deviates from the forefathers' religion (Q 34:43). The criticism in this respect is mainly directed against the clear dissimilarity between the structure of the Prophet's sermons and those of previous prophets. Thus in Q 28:48 the unbelievers wonder why the Prophet has not received a revelation like that of Moses, and in Q 25:32 they ask why the Qurʾān was not revealed to the Prophet all at once.

Divine protection

A large space is allotted in the Qurʾān to God's defense of the Prophet against the various aspects of rejection, providing the main basis on which rests the status of the Prophet as a messenger of God. In general, the Qurʾān asserts the absurdity of disbelief by stressing that it arose in spite of the unbelievers' original desire for guidance. Thus in Q 35:42 the unbelievers swear that if a warner came to them they would be more rightly guided than any other nation, and in Q 6:157 they swear that if a divine book was revealed to them they would be more rightly guided than any other nation (see also Q 37:167-70). God sets out to legitimize the authority of his messenger as an exclusive source of guidance, and for this a variety of arguments are set forth in defense of the authenticity of his message. In response to attacks on the mental integrity of the Prophet, God addresses the unbelievers saying: "Your comrade is not astray, neither does he err (see ERROR), nor does he speak out of caprice" (Q 53:2-3). In calling him "your comrade" *(ṣāḥibukum),* the Prophet is made one of their own kind, whose integrity must be well-known to them. In this manner God also addresses the unbelievers in Q 34:46, telling them that "no madness *(jinna)* is in your comrade" (cf. Q 7:184), and again in Q 81:22: "Your comrade is not possessed *(majnūn)*."

The origin of the Prophet's integrity and mental fitness is God's mercy *(niʿma)* which prevents him from being a *kāhin,* "soothsayer," or possessed (Q 52:29), and indeed God repeatedly asserts that he is neither a *kāhin,* nor a poet or possessed (Q 68:2; 69:40-2, etc.). To this context seems also to belong the frequent qurʾānic insistence that the Prophet is not expecting a reward or a wage *(ajr)* for his messages (e.g. Q 25:57; 34:47; 38:86), which means that he is delivering the word of God and not his own. A more straightforward statement about the authenticity of his revelation is repeated in numerous passages asserting that the Prophet was sent "with the truth" (*bi-l-ḥaqq;* cf. Q 2:119, 252; 4:170; 9:33; 35:24, etc.; see TRUTH), and that God and the angels bear witness to the truth of his message (Q 4:166; 13:43, etc.). The fact that the Qurʾān confirms the previous scriptures, and mainly the stories about earlier prophets, is also invoked in support of its authenticity (Q 12:110-1). Similarly, when the Prophet is himself beset by doubts as to the genuine nature of what has been revealed to him, he is advised to consult those who are well versed in previous scriptures — and thus know that the Qurʾān and those scriptures are alike (Q 10:94).

The Qurʾān also answers more specific aspects of the doubts raised by the unbelievers as to the authenticity of the Prophet's message. To the charge of plagiarism God responds by pointing to the Arabic language of the Qurʾān, which excludes the possibility of a non-Arab master teaching the Prophet, as insinuated by his opponents (Q 16:103). The Arabic language renders the Qurʾān clear to the audience (Q 12:2; 41:3) who would not have accepted a non-Arabic revelation that could not have been understood (Q 26:195, 198-9; 41:44). Perhaps the assertion that the Prophet did not read any book before the revelation of the Qurʾān or write it down (Q 29:48) is also designed to refute the charge of plagiarism. The human nature of the Prophet, which is held against him by his opponents, is admitted by God himself, who orders his messenger to say that he is merely a human being who (nevertheless) receives revelations (Q 18:110; 41:6; see also IMPECCABILITY). God stresses that the mortality of the Prophet does not prevent him from being a messenger of God, and to prove this, God tells his Prophet to remind the unbelievers that other prophets were mortals too. Thus God advises his Prophet to say that Moses received revelations as a human being (Q 6:91), and that messengers to older communities were also merely humans (*rijāl,* Q 12:109, etc.). The same argument is followed when the Qurʾān asserts that the Prophet is not an innovation among other messengers (Q 46:9). Moreover, a messenger of God always remains mortal, and he is not permitted to have other people worship him as a god (Q 3:79). While the human nature of the Prophet is acknowledged, however, the divinity of his message is emphasized. To prove this, God advises the Prophet to challenge the unbelievers who claim that the Qurʾān is forged to produce one or ten chapters (*sūra*s) similar to the qurʾānic ones, if they can (Q 10:38; 11:13), or a story *(ḥadīth)* like it (Q 52:33-4; see INIMITABILITY; PROVOCATION). Due to the Qurʾān's divinity the human qurʾānic Prophet has no control over its contents, nor of the time of its revelation. This point is made when people demand that he change his message into a more agreeable one, to which he is prompted to say: "It is not for me to alter it of my own accord; I follow nothing except what is revealed to me… Had God willed it, I would not have recited it to you… I have been living among you a lifetime before it…" (Q 10:15-6).

The constant human nature of the

Prophet prevents him from complying with the demands for miracles, and when this demand is made, God commands his messenger to say that the unseen *(ghayb)* belongs to God alone (Q 10:20). This seems to mean that he is but a mortal messenger who cannot perform supernatural acts of his own volition. Only God has the power to produce signs, as the Qurʾān itself states elsewhere (Q 6:37, etc.), and it is for him to decide whom he wishes to guide (Q 13:27). Previous prophets are put in the same situation when commanded to produce signs, and they too answer that they are but mortals and that they can only produce miracles with God's permission (Q 14:10-11). Besides, the Qurʾān says that the unbelievers had a chance to draw a lesson from previous scriptures which they know (and not wait for fresh signs; cf. Q 20:133). The same reply, namely, that the Prophet has no knowledge of the unseen, is given when demands are made for signs of the approaching hour, i.e. the end of the world, about which the Qurʾān warns quite often (Q 7:187-8; 72:25-7). The demand to produce signs sent by God may take the form of a request to bring down from heaven a written text *(kitāb)* that humankind can read (see above). To this the Prophet is again directed to say: "I am but a mortal, a messenger" (Q 17:93). Elsewhere he is advised to say that he is not an angel, which also seems to be in response to the request for signs (Q 6:50; cf. Q 11:31, Noah). Nevertheless, the Prophet himself does get a chance to see God's signs, as stated in Q 17:1: "Glory be to him who carried his servant by night from the sacred mosque to the further mosque which we have blessed all around, that we might show him some of our signs…."

Apart from defending his authenticity in the eyes of the unbelievers, God directly helps the Prophet himself, which is designed to encourage him and offer him various kinds of comfort and moral support (see CONSOLATION). To begin with, comfort is offered through the statement that God exempts the Prophet from responsibility for the unbelievers, saying that his mission is only to deliver the message (Q 5:99), and that he is not supposed to be the guardian of the unbelievers (Q 6:107; 10:108; 17:54, etc.). God himself undertakes the responsibility for them (Q 42:6). To emphasize this point God says that the Prophet cannot guide the dead (see DEATH AND THE DEAD), the blind (see VISION AND BLINDNESS) and the deaf (Q 27:80-1; 30:52-3; 35:22), neither can he force them (to repent; Q 50:45; see TOLERANCE AND COMPULSION; REPENTANCE AND PENANCE). To comfort the Prophet and encourage him, God tells him that he is aware of the distress that the words of the unbelievers have caused him (Q 15:97), and advises him not to let his soul be wasted in regrets for the unbelievers (Q 35:8). Although the Prophet tends to consume himself with anguish over their disbelief (Q 18:6; 26:3), God tells him not to let the unbelievers torment him by what they do or say (Q 3:176; 5:41; 10:65; 15:88; 16:127; 27:70). God states that the Qurʾān has not been revealed to him to make him miserable (Q 20:2), nor to disquiet his heart (Q 7:2). In a series of passages God encourages the Prophet to bear patiently *(iṣbir)* the hardships and adhere to his prophetic mission (see TRUST AND PATIENCE). For example, in Q 10:109 he is urged to endure his sufferings patiently and to follow what is being revealed to him (cf. Q 43:43). In Q 20:130 he is told to bear patiently what the unbelievers say, and continue proclaiming the lord's praise day and night (see also Q 52:48-9, etc.). In other passages God demands that the Prophet patiently endure his sufferings along with those who call to their lord in the morning (q.v.) and evening (q.v.), and not yield to the temptations of worldly pleasures

(Q 18:28; cf. Q 20:131). When urging his Prophet to endure the hardships, the example of previous prophets is often adduced. Thus, in Q 46:35 he is entreated to be as patient as other prophets previously were, and in Q 38:17 he is told to exercise patience with what is being said to him and remember David the man of might. Conversely, he is told to be patient and avoid bad examples such as that of the "man of the whale" (Yūnus, i.e. Jonah; Q 68:48-50).

The example of previous messengers plays a central role in the encouragement of the Prophet (Q 11:120; cf. Q 23:44; 51:52-4). They too, God says, were rejected as liars by their respective peoples (Q 3:184; 6:33-4; 35:4; 41:43), and when they were almost overtaken by despair (q.v.), God rescued them, and the unbelievers suffered his retribution (Q 12:110; 38:14). Likewise, previous messengers were mocked (Q 6:10; 13:32; 21:41) and had enemies (q.v.), but God was their savior (Q 25:31). As for the signs demanded from him by the unbelievers, God says that such signs would be useless just as they were useless to previous prophets who were commanded to produce them (Q 2:118; 21:5-6). The Prophet can, of course, try and seek out a hole in the ground or a ladder in heaven if he were distressed because the unbelievers have turned away from him, but in the end it is God alone who can turn them into believers (Q 6:35).

In many passages God advises the Prophet how to remain on his own path when under pressure from different quarters. In some cases the Prophet is simply advised to part company with the unbelievers to avoid open confrontation. Thus in Q 73:10 God tells him to "forsake them *(wa-uhjurhum)* graciously," and in Q 43:89 he is told to turn away from them *(isfaḥ ʿanhum),* and the same is suggested to him in other passages (Q 51:54, *tawallā ʿanhum;* Q 15:94; 32:30, *aʿriḍ;* Q 15:3; 43:83, *dharhum*). In some instances God prompts him to tell the unbelievers that his own religion will remain different from the one they follow, as for example in Q 10:104: "I do not worship those you worship apart from God" (see RELIGIOUS PLURALISM AND THE QUR'ĀN). Similarly, in Q 10:41 God says: "If they say that you lie, tell them: 'I have my work and you have your work. You have nothing to do with what I do, and I have nothing to do with what you do'" (see also Q 26:216). The same quietist policy is suggested to the Prophet in passages advising him to rely on God and await his final judgment. Thus in Q 22:68-9 God tells him: "And if they should dispute with you, say: 'God knows very well what you are doing, God shall judge between you on the day of resurrection.…'" Elsewhere he is advised to say, when the people turn their backs on him: "God is sufficient for me, there is no God but he, in him I have put my trust" (Q 9:129; cf. Q 27:79; 33:48). Similarly, he is advised to debate with the unbelievers in a gentle and a refined manner (Q 16:125; 23:96; see DEBATE AND DISPUTATION).

When the unbelievers demand of the Prophet that he abandon his religion and follow them instead, God again advises him on how to stay firm. In one particular instance the Prophet and his followers are challenged to become Jews and Christians, in which case, staying firm means following the religion of Abraham (Q 2:135). In more general terms, the unbelievers would like to see the Prophet following their "evil inclinations" *(ahwāʾ),* and here God encourages him not to follow their *ahwāʾ* and adhere to his own *sharīʿa* (Q 45:18; 5:48-9; see also Q 42:15). In more explicit terms, God demands that he "not obey" the unbelievers and the *munāfiqūn,* "hypocrites" (see HYPOCRITES AND HYPOCRISY), and only follow what is being revealed to him (Q 33:1-2).

A unique case is Q 17:73-5 in which the unbelievers come near to tempting the Prophet away from that which has been revealed to him, inciting him to forge a more agreeable revelation, following which they will take him as their friend (see FRIENDS AND FRIENDSHIP). It is only thanks to God's intervention that he remains firm, and the Qurʾān asserts that if he had inclined to them God would have punished him severely. A similar situation of a distorted revelation is described in Q 22:52 with reference to previous prophets: Each one of them was subjected to the temptation of Satan who cast words of his own into their recitation. The Qurʾān, however, asserts that God annuls what Satan casts and confirms his own signs.

In other passages God's protection of his messenger is more active which implies a more militant clash between the Prophet and the unbelievers. To begin with, in Q 5:67 God grants him immunity from the people to help him deliver his message safely. When the unbelievers expel the Prophet, God sends him his sechina (q.v.; *sakīnatahu*) and supports him with unseen legions. This event occurs when the Prophet and a companion of his are hiding in a cave (q.v.) and he reassures his friend that God is with them (Q 9:40). To help the Prophet endure his expulsion, God promises him in a special vision *(ruʾyā)* that he and the believers will enter the sacred mosque and there perform the rituals (Q 48:27). A similar promise is perhaps made in Q 28:85: "He who imposed the Qurʾān on you will surely restore you to a place which will be home." In direct military clashes with the unbelievers, God actually fights for him (Q 8:17), and grants him victory (q.v.; *fatḥ,* Q 48:1). God's protection and aid emanate from his mercy and bountifulness towards the Prophet, which avert all attempts at injuring him (Q 4:113), and as a result of this God has rid him of those who mock him (Q 15:95), and promises to rid him of those who do not believe (Q 2:137). His foes are explicitly warned about God's wrath, as in Q 17:76, where those who plot to expel him from the land are warned of a swift destruction. Likewise, God took vengeance on the foes of previous prophets (Q 30:47). Fighting angels inflict God's wrath on the Prophet's foes, smiting them above the necks (Q 8:12-13). The angel Gabriel (q.v.) too is his protector, alongside the righteous among the believers and the other angels (Q 66:4). But God's retribution usually awaits the foes in hell (see HELL AND HELLFIRE). The fate of hell awaits those who assault the Prophet during prayer (Q 96:9-19), and those who make a breach with him (Q 4:115; 59:4; cf. Q 47:32). In response to such opposition, the Qurʾān sets clear limits to God's mercy as emanating from the Prophet, and explicitly excludes the unbelievers from it. Thus in Q 9:113 it is stated that "It is not for the Prophet and the believers to ask pardon for the associators, even though they may be near kinsmen (see KINSHIP), after that it has become clear to them that they will be the inhabitants of hell." For his part, the Prophet is commanded to wage holy war on the unbelievers, as stated in Q 9:73 and in Q 66:9: "O Prophet, struggle *(jāhid)* against the infidels and the hypocrites and be harsh with them; their refuge is hell — an evil homecoming" (see also Q 25:52; see JIHĀD). God's help to the Prophet also encompasses the entire community of believers, and his help is therefore described in several passages as being extended to them collectively. Thus in Q 8:26 God says: "Remember when you were few and abased in the land (see OPPRESSED ON EARTH, THE), and were fearful that the people would snatch you away; but he gave you refuge and assisted you with his help, and provided you with

the good things, for which you might be haply thankful." Divine help is usually given to the believers on the battlefield, as seems to be the case in Q 3:13: "There has already been a sign for you in the two companies which encountered each other, one company fighting in the way of God and another unbelieving; they saw them twice the like of them, as the eye sees, but God assists with his help whom he will…." A specific designation of the place in which God helped the believers is provided in Q 3:123: "God helped you at Badr (q.v.) when you were abject…."

The Qurʾān and Muḥammad's sīra

The Qurʾān contains numerous allusions to events in the Prophet's life without placing them in a concrete context. Apart from issues already mentioned above there are many more allusions to incidents and experiences, most of which gain their context outside of the Qurʾān, in the realm of the *sīra,* i.e. Muḥammad's biography. Here the qurʾānic allusions to the Prophet's life and prophetic experience reappear as embedded in a clear chronological sequence of events. It is impossible to survey here all the qurʾānic allusions that are found in the *sīra;* only some of them will be highlighted.

One of the earliest *sīra* compilations in which a massive presence of qurʾānic allusions exists is by Ibn Isḥāq, whose *sīra* of Muḥammad is available in several recensions, the most famous of which is Ibn Hishām's (d. 218/833). Here the general narrative framework — which is retained in every other biography of Muḥammad — is as follows: The life of the Prophet is divided into two major phases, Meccan and Medinan, which corresponds to the traditional division of the Qurʾān into Meccan and Medinan periods. The Meccan period spans from Muḥammad's birth until his emigration (q.v.) to Medina (q.v.). The episodes covering this phase describe his birth and his early years in Mecca, his first revelation, the beginning of his public preaching, his persecution by his fellow Quraysh tribesmen, and his emigration to Medina. The Medinan period consists of episodes describing his arrival there, the consolidation of his relations with the local Arab tribes, his struggle against the local Jews, and primarily his campaigns and battles *(maghāzī)* against Mecca (see EXPEDITIONS AND BATTLES). These clashes culminated in the fall of Mecca, and in the eventual spread of Islam throughout Arabia. This sequence of events has a well-established chronological framework: The Meccan period begins with what is known as the "Year of the Elephant," in which, according to most traditions, Muḥammad is said to have been born (with reference to sūra 105, "The Elephant"; see ABRAHA). His first revelation is said to have occurred when he was forty, his emigration is dated to ten years later (622 C.E.), and the fall of Mecca is dated to 8/630, while Muḥammad's death is said to have taken place in 11/632.

The Meccan period

For the Meccan period the *sīra* uses qurʾānic passages that have been embedded in traditions describing Muḥammad's first revelation, first admonitions, and especially his persecution by the unbelievers (for details see Rubin, *Eye,* 103-66). For the first revelation the most prevalent passage that has been selected is Q 96:1-5: "Recite in the name of your lord who created…." For the subsequent event of the temporary lapse of revelation, Q 93:3 was chosen: "Your lord has not forsaken you nor does he hate [you]." For his first public sermon, Q 26:214 was adduced: "And warn your nearest relations…." Several qurʾānic passages appear in *sīra* descriptions of Muḥammad's persecution by the Meccans, e.g. sūra 111 in which Abū Lahab is cursed

and promised punishment in hell. Abū Lahab is the designation of an uncle of Muḥammad and in the *sīra* he leads a strong opposition against the Prophet for which this chapter is said to have been revealed as divine retribution. Other passages that appear in the context of persecution describe the exchange of accusations between the Prophet and his opponents (e.g. Q 41:3-4; 13:31; 25:7-8; 17:90-3; 16:103). One of them, Q 38:4-8, is embedded in traditions describing the role of Abū Ṭālib, another of the Prophet's uncles, in helping his nephew confront the unbelievers. The passage about the Prophet and his companion in the cave (Q 9:40) appears in the descriptions of Muḥammad's journey *(hijra)* from Mecca to Medina, the companion being Abū Bakr (see COMPANIONS OF THE PROPHET).

The Medinan period

The Medinan period revolves around Muḥammad's campaigns against the Meccans as well as against the Jews, and in some cases the links between them and the Qurʾān are obvious, because the names of some campaigns are explicitly mentioned in scripture. This applies to Badr (2/624), which is mentioned in a passage describing angels assisting the fighting believers (Q 3:123-8), and to Ḥunayn (q.v.; 8/630). The latter location is mentioned in a passage again describing how the sechina as well as unseen legions (of angels) help the fighting believers (Q 9:25-6). In other cases the link is only revealed through the traditions (see ḤADĪTH AND THE QURʾĀN), while in the Qurʾān explicit links are missing. Thus there are additional passages linked in traditions to Badr, mainly Q 8:1-19 in which the division of spoils is discussed, and the help of angels smiting the unbelievers is described yet again. The connection with other campaigns is revealed through traditions only. Passages that are linked to the battle of Uḥud (3/625), for example, are Q 3:121-2, in which the Prophet lodges the believers in their ditches for the battle, and "two parties" of the believers are about to lose heart. The praise of martyrs (q.v.; *shuhadāʾ*), whom the Qurʾān describes as "living with their lord" and rejoicing in his bounty (cf. Q 3:169-71) is also linked to the believers who fell at Uḥud. The expulsion of the Jewish tribe of al-Naḍīr (see NAḌĪR, BANŪ AL-) from Medina is reported with reference to Q 59:1-3 which describes the expulsion of the unbelieving People of the Book from their habitations. They thought that their fortresses would defend them but God defeated them in the end. A link to the Battle of the Ditch (see PEOPLE OF THE DITCH) and the subsequent campaign against the Jewish tribe of Qurayẓa (q.v.; 5/626-7) is found in traditions about Q 33:9-27. Here the Qurʾān describes hosts of confederates *(aḥzāb)* coming against the believers whom God defeats by means of winds (see AIR AND WIND) and unseen legions (of angels).

Special reference is made to the role of the hypocrites *(munāfiqūn)* in spreading doubts among the Medinan believers, "people of Yathrib," and in inducing them to retreat. The faithful believers who have remained firm are praised, and the passage concludes with the defeat of the People of the Book who supported the confederates. They are brought down from their fortresses and the believers slay some of them and take others as captives. God bequeaths their lands and possessions to the believers. To the Jews of Qurayẓa are also linked the verses of Q 8:55-8 in which those who have broken their compact with the Prophet are severely criticized. The affair of al-Ḥudaybiya (6/628) and the subsequent campaign against the Jews of Khaybar are linked to the bulk of sūra 48. In it the believers pledge allegiance to the Prophet

"under the tree," and God rewards them with a swift victory and many spoils.

Among the remaining qurʾānic allusions in the *sīra,* sūra 9 may also be mentioned. It is connected to events that took place during Muḥammad's campaign to Tabūk (9/630) as well as during Abū Bakr's pilgrimage (q.v.) to Mecca (9/631). Problems with opposing groups within Medina (led by Abū ʿĀmir and others) are also connected to this sūra, mainly to Q 9:107 in which reference is made to "those who have taken a mosque in opposition and unbelief, and to divide the believers…" (see MOSQUE OF THE DISSENSION). The final stages of his career, when most of the pagan Arabs became Muslims and delegations came from all over Arabia to pledge allegiance to the Prophet in Medina, are connected to Q 110 (Sūrat al-Naṣr, "Succor"). In it (Q 110:2) the Prophet sees "men entering God's religion in throngs." Muḥammad's farewell sermon which he delivered during his last pilgrimage to Mecca (10/632; see FAREWELL PILGRIMAGE), a few months before his death, has also many qurʾānic links, e.g. Q 5:3: "Today I have perfected your religion for you, and I have completed my blessing of you and I have approved Islam for your religion."

The chronology of revelation

The link between the Qurʾān and the life of Muḥammad as established in the *sīra* has provided the Qurʾān with a concrete context of revelation, or *asbāb al-nuzūl,* as this came to be known among Muslim Qurʾān exegetes. Since the mid-19th century C.E., scholars investigating the history of the Qurʾān have followed the *sīra* framework which the Qurʾān has acquired, and developed the traditional *asbāb al-nuzūl* into an elaborate chronology of revelation (see CHRONOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN). They divided the qurʾānic passages not only into Meccan and Medinan periods, but also into "early Meccan," "late Meccan," and so on. Not all of the scholars have shown the same degree of dependence on Islamic tradition and some, like Bell, gave more weight to textual considerations of style and form (see FORM AND STRUCTURE OF THE QURʾĀN; LANGUAGE AND STYLE OF THE QURʾĀN). All of them, however, have treated the Qurʾān as the prophetic creation of the historical Muḥammad, and as a key to the study of his own spiritual development. The relationship between the qurʾānic text and the historical Muḥammad is, however, far from clear. Some, like John Wansbrough, have not even accepted the Arabian provenance of the Qurʾān. Above all, it should especially be borne in mind that the *sīra* and the *asbāb al-nuzūl* traditions are all part of ḥadīth material, the historical authenticity of which has been shown to be very problematic. A reconstructed chronology of revelation based on this material must therefore be taken with the utmost caution.

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Muḥkamāt wa-Mutashābihāt

see AMBIGUOUS; EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL; VERSES

Mule

see ANIMAL LIFE

Muʾminīn

see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF

Murder

The unlawful killing of a human being with malicious forethought. The Qurʾān uses the verb *qatala* to denote "kill" as well as "murder." In the latter sense it is used to describe both infanticide (q.v.), as in Q 6:140: "Lost are they who slay their children (q.v.) out of folly and ignorance (q.v.)," and the intentional killing of another without legal right, such as in Q 5:32: "Whosoever kills another — unless for murder or highway robbery (*fasād fī l-arḍ,* see THEFT; CORRUPTION) — it is as though he has killed the entirety of humanity." The penalty for the latter is the death of the murderer at the option of the victim's next of kin, as in Q 17:33: "Nor take life — which God has made sacred — except for just cause. And if anyone is mur-

dered, we have given his heir authority [to demand *qiṣāṣ* or to forgive]." If they choose not to exercise this right, they are entitled to compensation, *diya,* as in Q 2:178, "If any remission is by the deceased's heir [lit. "brother"; see INHERITANCE], then reasonable demands are granted and generous compensation is his due" (see BLOODSHED; BLOOD MONEY; KINSHIP; BOUNDARIES AND PRECEPTS).

According to the Qurʾān, intentional murder is second only to associating other deities with God in terms of its sinfulness (see SIN, MAJOR AND MINOR; IDOLATRY AND IDOLATERS). Indeed, it is the only sin other than polytheism (see POLYTHEISM AND ATHEISM) for which the Qurʾān explicitly threatens eternal damnation (see ETERNITY; ESCHATOLOGY), at least in cases where the victim is a believer in God, as in Q 4:93, "Whosoever intentionally kills a believer is punished in hell (see HELL AND HELLFIRE), to dwell therein forever, with the anger of God and his curse (q.v.); and God prepares for him an awful punishment" (see REWARD AND PUNISHMENT). The best reading of the Qurʾān, however, would also extend this threat to include the intentional murder of any person, simply by virtue of the victim's humanity. This non-sectarian reading of the absolute immorality of murder (see ETHICS AND THE QURʾĀN) is based on the general language of Q 5:32, which states in full: "Whosoever kills another — unless for murder or highway robbery *(fasād fī l-arḍ)* — it is as though he has killed the whole of humanity. And, whosoever saves a life (q.v.), it is as though he has saved the whole of humanity."

This verse appears at the end of the story of Cain and Abel (q.v.), and the Qurʾān describes this rule as having been decreed for the Children of Israel (q.v.). None of the commentators (see EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL), however, suggest it is limited to that group but, instead, assume that its significance also extends to Muslims. One report attributed to al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (d. 110/728) explains this extension as follows: "Why should the blood of Jews (see JEWS AND JUDAISM) be more precious to God than our blood?" (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* x, 239, ad Q 5:32). According to the Qurʾān, Cain killed Abel because he was jealous when his sacrifice to God was rejected but Abel's was not. When Cain resolved to kill Abel and informed him of that intention, Abel appears in the Qurʾān to accept calmly his brother's decision, announcing that he would rather die than kill his own brother unlawfully (see LAWFUL AND UNLAWFUL; BROTHER AND BROTHERHOOD). Indeed, Abel's apparent willingness to submit to his brother's plan gave pause to interpreters of the Qurʾān who argued that Abel must have defended himself. Accordingly, they agreed that he only meant that he would not kill his brother in self-defense for fear of killing him unlawfully. Alternatively, some argued that self-defense might not have been allowed at that time.

The classical commentators do not give an explicit answer about the relationship of Q 4:93, where the threat of eternal punishment for murder is expressly associated with the murder of a believer (see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF; COMMUNITY AND SOCIETY IN THE QURʾĀN), to the more general language of Q 5:32, except by explaining how it is possible to equate the murder of one person with the murder of all humankind. Indeed, this latter problem occupies most of the attention of the commentators. Al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923; *Tafsīr,* ad Q 5:32) reports several different opinions on the meaning of this seemingly problematic analogy, beginning with an opinion attributed to Ibn ʿAbbās (d. 69/688). According to this report, *nafs,* "person," as used in Q 5:32, does not mean a generic person, but rather connotes either a prophet (see

PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD) or a religious leader (imām, q.v.). Most opinions al-Ṭabarī reports, however, suggest that the analogy is conceptual, viz. the sin of intentional murder should be deemed as monstrous as killing the whole of humanity. Al-Ṭabarī accepts this position mainly on the corroborating evidence of Q 4:93, which conclusively establishes the monstrosity of even one intentional murder. Al-Rāzī (d. 606/1209; *Tafsīr,* ad Q 5:32) further develops this argument, saying that the analogy has three plausible interpretations. The first is that humans should deem the intentional killing of even one of them as heinous as killing all of them; the second is that humans should act just as urgently to prevent the murder of one person as they would to prevent the murder of their species; and the third is that someone who is prepared to kill another intentionally for worldly gain, is prepared to kill again, and thus represents a threat to all humanity.

The question unanswered by al-Rāzī and al-Ṭabarī, however, is why the sin of murdering one person is morally comparable to killing all humanity. Al-Zamakhsharī (d. 538/1144; *Kashshāf,* ad Q 5:32) tries to explain why this is so. He argues that all human beings share certain common attributes, namely dignity *(karāma)* and a personal right to life *(ḥurma)*. An intentional murder does more than kill a single life; it also destroys a being whom God has honored and to whom God has granted this right to bodily integrity, thereby insulting something that God has honored. Thus, the relevant aspect of the analogy comes from the spiritual dignity humans enjoy as God's privileged act of creation (q.v.). Intentional murder, then, is not simply a despicable act for a fleeting gain; it is also a direct assault on God's creative plan (see also COSMOLOGY).

This last notion, while only implied by al-Zamakhsharī, is made explicit by al-Ṭabāṭabā'ī (d. 1982). He argues that humanity, although characterized by plurality, is united by a common essence that each member of the group enjoys. It is this trait of humanity that God wants to preserve throughout time. Intentional murder is then a direct interference with God's plan to preserve the human race (see also WAR; JIHĀD; HOSTAGES; DEATH AND THE DEAD).

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Mūsā see MOSES

Musaylima

Musaylima b. Thumāma b. Kabīr b. Ḥabīb b. al-Ḥārith b. ʿAbd al-Ḥārith, a leader of the Banū Ḥanīfa and rival of the Prophet. Muslim sources derisively nickname him "Musaylima the liar" (*al-kadhdhāb,* see LIE). Musaylima is a diminutive form of Maslama; this can be deduced from a verse of ʿUmāra b. ʿUkayl (Mubarrad, *Kāmil,* iii, 26).

The basis of the rivalry between Muḥammad and Musaylima was the latter's claim to prophethood (see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD). Musaylima made his people believe that he was receiving revelation from God the Merciful (*al-Raḥmān,* see GOD AND HIS ATTRIBUTES) through the angel Gabriel (q.v.). It is essential to stress that

Musaylima never denied the prophethood of Muḥammad; he rather claimed that he was destined to share this mission with him. In all their encounters, Muḥammad categorically rejected the quest of Musaylima to share his mission or be appointed Muḥammad's successor after his death (see CALIPH; POLITICS AND THE QUR'ĀN; COMMUNITY AND SOCIETY IN THE QUR'ĀN). The letters exchanged between them bear clear evidence of their contrasting attitudes. Musaylima wrote to Muḥammad using the title "Messenger (q.v.) of Allāh" and claimed that God bestowed on him partnership in prophethood *(fa-innī qad ushriktu fī l-amri maʿaka)*. "Half of the earth (q.v.) was given to Quraysh (q.v.) and the other half was allotted to us (i.e. to Banū Ḥanīfa), but Quraysh are people who exceed their bounds." In his response, the Prophet addresses Musaylima as "the liar," asserts that the earth (in its entirety) belongs to God who gives it "as heritage to whomever he pleases of his servants" (Bayhaqī, *Maḥāsin,* i, 49; see GEOGRAPHY; COSMOLOGY).

Early traditions (see ḤADĪTH AND THE QUR'ĀN) may help establish the period of Musaylima's activity and his connections with Mecca (q.v.). According to reliable sources, he married Kayyisa bint al-Ḥārith of the Meccan aristocratic clan of ʿAbd Shams (see TRIBES AND CLANS). Musaylima was her second husband. The Prophet met Musaylima in Medina (q.v.) several times (it is reported that when Musaylima arrived in Medina for the first time accompanied by a unit of Banū Ḥanīfa warriors, he stayed in Kayyisa's grove). In reference to the impertinent demands of Musaylima, Muḥammad refused to give him "even a splinter of a palm branch" which he held in his hand. At a later meeting with a delegation of Banū Ḥanīfa, the members of the delegation decided to embrace Islam, but changed their minds after returning to Yamāma, and aligned themselves with Musaylima instead. Musaylima was held in high esteem: his companions called him "the merciful one of Yamāma" *(raḥmān al-Yamāma)*. Also, as befitted the usual manner in which holy persons, soothsayers (q.v.) and prophets appeared, he was veiled and disguised. There are many common features and methods in the prophetic careers of Musaylima and Muḥammad. Like Muḥammad, Musaylima claimed to be the recipient of divine revelation (see REVELATION AND INSPIRATION). Further, he claimed to heal the sick (see ILLNESS AND HEALTH) and work miracles (see MIRACLE). Naturally enough, Muslim tradition describes his claims to such powers as totally baseless.

In Yamāma, Musaylima succeeded in gaining the support of many tribal groups who came under his control after the death of Hawdha, the former chief of the area in the service of Persia. In the last years before the Prophet's death, he attempted to establish a social order based on an alliance (see CONTRACTS AND ALLIANCES) between the people of Yamāma and tribal groups which moved to Yamāma and settled there. Musaylima erected a safe area *(ḥaram)* in which certain places inhabited by his allies *(qurā al-aḥālif)* were included. According to Muslim sources, the *ḥaram* was managed in a corrupt way and the Banū Usayyid, who served as its guardians mistreated other groups. When these groups complained, Musaylima did not redress the injustice. Instead, he read to them "the answer he got from heaven," meaning a verse from his Qur'ān: "(I swear) by the darkness of the night and by the black wolf, the Usayyid did not violate [the sanctity] of the *ḥaram*" (see SANCTITY AND THE SACRED; JUSTICE AND INJUSTICE). When the Usayyid continued their transgressions, another verse was released: "[I swear] by the dark night and by the softly treading

lion, the Usayyid cut neither fresh nor dry."

The death of the prophet Muḥammad raised the hopes of the community of Musaylima. In one of the speeches said to have been delivered in that period and which was directed to the Banū Ḥanīfa, Musaylima stressed the qualities of his people and his land in comparison with Quraysh and Mecca: "What made Quraysh more deserving of prophethood than yourselves? They are not greater in number than you; your land is wider than their land. Gabriel (Jibrīl) descends from heaven like he used to descend to Muḥammad." Musaylima claimed that the revelation transmitted to Muḥammad had ceased with his death and henceforth it would be transmitted to him alone. The feeling that he was now the sole prophet is expressed in a verse attributed to Musaylima:

O you, woman, take the tambourine and play,
and disseminate the virtues of this prophet!
Passed away the prophet of Banū Hāshim,
and rose up the prophet of Banū Yaʿrub
(Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāya*, vi, 341).

Musaylima's adherents grew in number and prestige. The situation in Yamāma inspired a feeling of security and peace (q.v.). This feeling was, however, shaken by the unexpected arrival of a former soothsayer (see DIVINATION; FORETELLING), who claimed that she had been granted revelations from heaven. Her name was Sajāḥ bt. al-Ḥārith. She was a Christian of the tribe of Tamīm but lived among the Christian Arabs of Taghlib (see CHRISTIANS AND CHRISTIANITY; ARABS). According to some sources, the forces led by Sajāḥ intended to attack the troops of Abū Bakr under the command of Khālid b. al-Walīd who set out to crush the apostasy (q.v.; *ridda*) of the tribes after the Prophet's death. In her forces were warriors from her people and others who joined them. After some skirmishes, she decided to fight Musaylima and conquer Yamāma. Musaylima invited her to meet him in order to negotiate a peaceful solution. He recognized Sajāḥ as his partner in prophethood and declared that the land allotted by God to Quraysh would be transferred to Sajāḥ and her people. The other half would belong to Musaylima. Moreover, Musaylima granted Sajāḥ the crops Yamāma had produced that year and promised her the crops of the next year. Sajāḥ returned to the Jazīra after a few days. (Some reports maintain that Musaylima married Sajāḥ, but differ as to whether she remained with him until his death, or if he cast her off soon after their marriage; cf. Vacca, Sadjāḥ.)

Abū Bakr became aware of the rising authority of Musaylima and decided to send Khālid b. al-Walīd at the head of the Muslim army to fight Musaylima and his forces. He wrote a letter to Khālid b. al-Walīd, stressing the power of the Banū Ḥanīfa and their courage. The bravery of Banū Ḥanīfa is said to have been mentioned in Q 48:16. On his way to fight Musaylima, Khālid b. al-Walīd informed his army of Abū Bakr's letter concerning Banū Ḥanīfa. In the clashes with the Banū Ḥanīfa, a division of the army that came from those Medinans who had assisted Muḥammad in his emigration (q.v.) from Mecca (the Anṣār, see EMIGRANTS AND HELPERS) attacked Yamāma and fought bravely together with the Meccans who had fled with Muḥammad (the Muhājirūn). They were summoned to help out in dangerous situations in the bloody battle of ʿAqrabāʾ. At the outset, the Banū Ḥanīfa succeeded in repulsing the bedouin (q.v.) attacks. The solution of Khālid was to put the bedouin fighters of the army behind the lines of the well motivated and stead-

fast warriors of the Emigrants (Muhājirūn) and Helpers (Anṣār). Cases of exemplary bravery on the part of these groups are recorded in the sources. Eventually, Waḥshī killed Musaylima with his javelin in a place dubbed in the Muslim sources as "the Garden of Death." According to some far-fetched traditions, Musaylima was 140 or 150 years old when he died in 11/632.

The intense loyalty of Musaylima's followers can be gauged from the various stories that have been passed down. A woman who heard about his death exclaimed, "Alas, prince of the believers!" *(wā amīr al-muʾminīnāh)*. A wounded warrior of the Banū Ḥanīfa, in his agony, asked a Muslim warrior to kill him in order to put him out of his misery. Upon hearing of Musaylima's death, he remarked: "A prophet whom his people caused to perish" *(nabiyyun ḍayyaʿahu qawmuhu)*. The Muslim warrior, enraged by these words, gave him the *coup de grâce*.

The belief in the prophethood of Musaylima survived among his believers in the first decades of Islam. His adherents used to gather in the mosque of the Banū Ḥanīfa in Kūfa and the call *lā ilāha illā llāh wa-Musaylima rasūlu llāh* was heard from the minaret. ʿAbdallāh b. Masʿūd ordered the detention of the followers of Musaylima. Some repented and were released. Those who clung to their faith were executed.

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Muṣḥaf

A non-qurʾānic term (pl. *maṣāḥif*) denoting the written corpus of the Qurʾān; in both classical and modern contexts this term creates a theological distinction between the individual's copy of the Qurʾān and the hypostatized notion of God's speech (q.v.; see also HEAVENLY BOOK; PRESERVED TABLET; WORD OF GOD; BOOK). The term stems from the same root as the word *ṣuḥuf,* "pages, books," which the Qurʾān sometimes uses for documents of superhuman origin (for lexicographical details see Burton, Muṣḥaf, 668-9; see also INSTRUMENTS; WRITING AND WRITING MATERIALS). Several issues are connected with the written corpus of the Qurʾān: its origin; the history and art of writing down the Qurʾān (see COLLECTION OF THE QURʾĀN; CODICES OF THE QURʾĀN; CALLIGRAPHY; ARABIC SCRIPT; ART AND ARCHITECTURE AND THE

QUR'ĀN; ORNAMENTATION AND ILLUMINATION); its orthography (q.v.) and reading signs; and the etiquette of using the *muṣḥaf* (see MANUSCRIPTS OF THE QUR'ĀN; EVERYDAY LIFE, QUR'ĀN IN; RITUAL AND THE QUR'ĀN). The following will treat only the first issue; for the other aspects see the respective entries (see also TEXTUAL HISTORY OF THE QUR'ĀN).

The question of how the written corpus of the Qur'ān came into being is disputed among Muslim and Western scholars (see POST-ENLIGHTENMENT ACADEMIC STUDY OF THE QUR'ĀN). The dispute results from a difference in opinion concerning the reliability of the sources that can be used to answer the question (see CONTEMPORARY CRITICAL PRACTICES AND THE QUR'ĀN). No text or partial text of the Qur'ān can be reliably dated to the lifetime of Muḥammad: to date, there is no textual evidence that the Prophet himself or scribes whom he may have used penned any of the oldest surviving qur'ānic manuscripts (see ILLITERACY). Early manuscripts of the Qur'ān are rare and their dating is controversial (see CHRONOLOGY AND THE QUR'ĀN). The text itself does not contain clear indications as to its compiler. The view that the written corpus of the Qur'ān is a reliable collection of revelations received by Muḥammad is, therefore, essentially based on the Islamic tradition (see INIMITABILITY; REVELATION AND INSPIRATION; EXEGESIS OF THE QUR'ĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL). Many Western scholars doubt the reliability of this tradition, at least as far as the first Islamic century is concerned (see INFORMANTS). Nevertheless, most of them accept the gist of the reports on the collection and edition of the Qur'ān as historically true.

According to current Muslim opinion, the written corpus of the Qur'ān as it exists now — and as it is also attested in manuscripts dating at least from the third/ninth century, possibly even from earlier times — came into being as follows: When the Prophet died, there was no complete and definitive collection of the revelations that had been authorized by him. More or less extensive pieces of qur'ānic revelation had been committed to memory by his followers (see ORALITY; MEMORY); and several individuals had written some of the revelation down on various materials. Shortly after his death, the first collection of these written and memorized records of the revelation was made by order of the first caliph (q.v.), Abū Bakr (r. 11-13/632-4) and it was written on leaves *(ṣuḥuf)*. The reason given for this collection and compilation was the death of several Companions (see COMPANIONS OF THE PROPHET). These men, who were famous for their knowledge of the Qur'ān, had died during the wars of apostasy (q.v.; *ridda*) and people were afraid that with further deaths parts of the Qur'ān might become lost. Abū Bakr gave Zayd b. Thābit, a former scribe of the Prophet, the task of collecting all of the Qur'ān that was available. When Abū Bakr died, the leaves on which Zayd had written the Qur'ān passed to the caliph's successor, ʿUmar (r. 13-23/634-44); and, after his death, to his daughter, Ḥafṣa (q.v.), who was also one of the widows of Muḥammad (see WIVES OF THE PROPHET). Some twenty years after Abū Bakr's collection, during the caliphate of ʿUthmān (r. 23-35/644-56), dissension between followers of other collections of the Qur'ān induced the caliph to issue an official collection of the Qur'ān, to deposit a copy in the most important administrative centers of the empire and to suppress other existing collections. This canonical version was again edited by the Medinan Zayd b. Thābit, helped by three men from Quraysh (q.v.), on the basis of the collection he had already made at Abū Bakr's request, and which Ḥafṣa put at the disposal of the committee. This caliphal

edition of the Qurʾān, *al-muṣḥaf al-ʿuthmānī*, quickly achieved universal acceptance, becoming the *textus receptus* among Muslims. Such, in summary, is the traditionally accepted Muslim view of the origin of the written corpus of the Qurʾān. It is based on two reports that are transmitted in a large number of sources. Alternative accounts, which are also found in Islamic sources (see Schwally, Sammlung, 15-8, 50-4; Burton, *Collection,* 120-8; 138-59), found no permanent recognition.

Some Western scholars have challenged the Muslim view about the history of the *muṣḥaf*. F. Schwally rejected the historicity of the first collection, that made at the behest of Abū Bakr. Others considered the Islamic narrative on this double collection completely fictitious and provide various suggestions for the date of origin of the written corpus: the time of the caliph ʿAbd al-Malik (r. 65-86/685-705, Casanova, *Muḥammad;* Mingana, Transmission of the Ḳurʾān; Crone and Cook, *Hagarism*), or the third/ninth century (J. Wansbrough, *QS*), or the time of the Prophet himself (Burton, *Collection*). According to most of these scholars, the traditional reports concerning the collection and edition of the Qurʾān were fabricated during the third/ninth century. A recent study (Motzki, Collection) shows, however, that the two traditions upon which the current Muslim understanding of the history of the *muṣḥaf* is based have Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī (d. 124/742) as an undeniable common link (see ḤADĪTH AND THE QURʾĀN), and both were already in circulation by the first quarter of the second/eighth century. The content of these traditions probably goes back to the last decades of the first/seventh century. Accordingly, an official written corpus must have already existed in the second half of the first/seventh century. This suggests that the time of ʿUthmān may indeed be a reasonable date of origin for the *textus receptus* of the Qurʾān, a conclusion that is corroborated by several reports about ʿUthmān, which seem to be independent of each other. Yet, what the early dating of these traditions means for the reliability of the details they report still needs to be investigated.

The above-mentioned traditions suggest that before the official edition of the Qurʾān was promulgated, several written compilations of codices of the Qurʾān existed, which were made or owned by different Companions. Although they became obsolete after the emergence of the official version and allegedly were suppressed, there are reports of scholars who, as late as the fourth/tenth century, claim to have seen manuscripts based on Companion codices (Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist,* 29). Variants of these *maṣāḥif* from the *textus receptus* were collected and discussed as early as the beginning of the second/eighth century (see Motzki, *Origins,* 110-11), a practice continued in subsequent centuries (see READINGS OF THE QURʾĀN). The reliability of the alleged variants is difficult to ascertain. According to Burton (*Collection,* 211) they are fictitious and contribute nothing to the understanding of the history of the written corpus. In view of the early date of some reports concerning the Companion codices, however, the issue requires further study.

According to Islamic tradition and as evidenced in the earliest extant manuscripts of the Qurʾān, the first copies of the *muṣḥaf* were devoid of diacritical points, vowel signs, markers to indicate the end of the verses and of the sūras (q.v.), and the names of the sūras (see RECITATION OF THE QURʾĀN; FORM AND STRUCTURE OF THE QURʾĀN; ARABIC LANGUAGE; ARABIC SCRIPT). Although these devices to make the reading of a text unambiguous (see AMBIGUOUS; DIFFICULT PASSAGES) and to facilitate its use developed only in the course of the first Islamic centuries (see

GRAMMAR AND THE QURʾĀN), the question of the permissibility of adding diacritical points *(naqaṭa)* and vowels *(shakala)* to the *muṣḥaf* was already being discussed by scholars during the first half of the second/eighth century (see Ibn Wahb, *Jāmiʿ*, 26).

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Mushrikūn

see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF; POLYTHEISM AND ATHEISM

Music

see RECITATION OF THE QURʾĀN; RECITERS OF THE QURʾĀN

Muslim

see ISLAM

Mutawātir

see TEXTUAL CRITICISM OF THE QURʾĀN

Muʿtazila

A religious movement in early Islam, the Muʿtazila became the dominant theological school in the third/ninth and fourth/tenth century (see THEOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN). The movement was allegedly founded by Wāṣil b. ʿAṭāʾ (d. 131/728-9) who was towards the end of his life joined by ʿAmr b. ʿUbayd (d. 143/760 or 144/761), a prominent disciple of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (d. 110/728). Most issues related to the incubation phase of the movement as well as the original meaning of the term Muʿtazila — which has the sense of "those who dissociate themselves, who keep themselves apart" — remain enigmatic. Later sources offer a number of different explanations, sometimes blatantly tendentious. It was apparently Abū l-Hudhayl (d. ca. 227/841) who first defined the five principles of the Muʿtazila — the principle of God's unity (*tawḥīd,* see GOD AND HIS ATTRIBUTES), of God's justice (*ʿadl,* see JUSTICE AND INJUSTICE), of the promise and the threat (*al-waʿd wa-l-waʿīd,* see REWARD AND PUNISHMENT), of the intermediate state of the Muslim sinner (*al-manzila bayn al-manzilatayn,* see SIN, MAJOR AND MINOR) and the principle of enjoining what is good and forbidding what is evil (*al-amr bi-l-maʿrūf wa-l-nahy ʿan al-munkar,* see GOOD AND EVIL; VIRTUES AND VICES, COMMANDING AND FORBIDDING) — as indispensable to Muʿtazilī identity. Later authors differentiate between two periods of Muʿtazilism following the incubation phase. In the early phase (ca. 200-35/815-50), when Muʿtazilism was at the height of its political influence and public prestige, the representatives of the movement displayed great diversity on the doctrinal level. In the second, scholastic phase Muʿtazilī thought was systematized. Coherent theological frameworks were formulated by Abū l-Qāsim al-Kaʿbī al-Balkhī (d. 319/913),

who was identified with Baghdād, and by Abū ʿAlī al-Jubbāʾī (d. 303/915), who was identified with Baṣra; the latter was followed by his son Abū Hāshim (d. 321/933), the founder of the so-called Bahshamiyya or Bahāshima. The last innovative school within Muʿtazilism originated with Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī (d. 436/1044), who developed independent theological views that set him apart from the school of Abū Hāshim. Despite much criticism by the Bahshamiyya and later heresiographers that he introduced philosophy (see PHILOSOPHY AND THE QURʾĀN) under the cover of theology, Abū l-Ḥusayn's views were successful to the extent that his school established itself side by side with the Bahshamiyya. In some areas the Muʿtazila persisted until the Mongol invasion at the beginning of the seventh/thirteenth century. Muʿtazilism was also adopted by the Zaydiyya and the Twelver Shīʿa (see SHĪʿISM AND THE QURʾĀN) and determined their respective theological outlooks for centuries to come.

The nature of the Qurʾān

Because of their uncompromising interpretation of God's unity *(tawḥīd)* as expressed in Q 27:26, Q 112, etc., the Muʿtazilīs were strictly opposed to the admission of anything co-eternal with God (see ETERNITY). This applied first and foremost to God's essential attributes, which must be identical with him and not different eternal attributes or entitative determinants. This also applied in their view to the Qurʾān — the speech of God (*kalām Allāh,* see WORD OF GOD; SPEECH) — that cannot possibly be co-eternal with God but was necessarily created in time (see CREATEDNESS OF THE QURʾĀN). Thus they accused those denying that the Qurʾān had been created of asserting its eternity and of destroying God's unity by claiming that something was co-eternal with him. Among the standard Muʿtazilī arguments was Q 2:106, which was also the qurʾānic basis for the doctrine of abrogation (q.v.). The centrality of this doctrine for the Muʿtazilīs can be seen from the numerous titles of works on *khalq al-Qurʾān* listed by Ibn al-Nadīm (fl. fourth/tenth cent.) in the section of his *Fihrist* devoted to the Muʿtazila (Ibn al-Nadīm-Dodge, i, 388-9, 391, 393, 395, 396-7, 401, 412, 414-6, 418, 425, 429-30). It was basically this insistence of the Muʿtazilīs — on the createdness of the Qurʾān, in the sense of its temporality, and their accusation that the opponents, in fact, held to the eternity of the Qurʾān — which provoked the traditionists to combine their denial of the createdness of the Qurʾān with the affirmation of its eternity or pre-existence. This line of argumentation was first formulated by Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal (d. 241/855). In the pre-*miḥna* period (see INQUISITION), by contrast, the conflict over the nature of the Qurʾān was not concerned with the question of its temporality versus its eternity. Rather, the discussion was whether God speaks in a literal sense, i.e. whether the Qurʾān is the speech of God, as the upholders of an anthropomorphic concept of God held (see ANTHROPOMORPHISM), or whether God does not speak in a literal sense but rather creates the sound of speech which can be heard, as was the view attributed to Jahm b. Ṣafwān (d. 128/745). Both positions implied the temporality of the Qurʾān. Another discussion on the nature of the Qurʾān in the pre-*miḥna* phase associated with Abū Ḥanīfa (d. 150/767) and Imām Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq (d. 148/765) revolved around the issue of whether the Qurʾān, in accordance with the commonly accepted dogma that everything besides God is created, is also created (see CREATION). Whereas Imām al-Ṣādiq reportedly rejected this conclusion, arguing that the

Qurʾān is neither creator nor created, but rather the speech of God, Abū Ḥanīfa apparently accepted the argument and held that the Qurʾān indeed is created. Again, those who denied the createdness of the Qurʾān in this second discussion refrained from combining their view with the notion of the uncreatedness or even eternity of the Qurʾān. It was therefore only after the *miḥna* and as an immediate result of the Muʿtazilī argumentation on this issue that the conflict turned on the question of the createdness of the Qurʾān, in the sense of its temporality, versus its uncreatedness in the sense of its eternity. A further difference to the pre-*miḥna* period was that, unlike the Jahmiyya, the Muʿtazilīs did not deny that God really speaks, and they affirmed that the Qurʾān is indeed the speech of God. The difference between human and divine speech is that God, because of his omnipotence (see POWER AND IMPOTENCE), does not need instruments when he produces speech. It was only Muʿammar (d. 215/830) among the Muʿtazilīs who deviated from this view. According to him, God does not actually speak nor does he have actual speech. He also maintained that the Qurʾān is brought forth *(muḥdath)* — not truly created — by the substratum in which it inheres. For the Qurʾān is an accident and God does not create accidents.

The majority of the Muʿtazilīs, like almost all theological schools, considered the Qurʾān as the principal miracle confirming Muḥammad's prophethood (see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD; MIRACLE). The proof of its miraculous character was human inability to match the Qurʾān despite the challenge to do so (e.g. Q 10:38; 11:13; 52:33-4; also Q 2:23-4; 17:88; see INIMITABILITY). They differed among themselves, however, on the question of why those who were challenged were unable to match it. While some Muʿtazilīs maintained that the miraculous inimitability of the Qurʾān arises from its intrinsic quality, others denied this and argued that it is due to God's preventing humankind from matching it. The latter position was known as the doctrine of prevention *(ṣarfa)*. The view that God deprived the people of the power to match the Qurʾān is usually ascribed to Abū Isḥāq al-Naẓẓām (d. around 221/836), who was apparently the first to consider the Qurʾān a miracle. Another early representative of the *ṣarfa* doctrine was al-Jāḥiẓ (d. 255/869), who also composed a book on the choice and arrangement of words in the Qurʾān *(Kitāb fī l-iḫtijāj li-nazm al-Qurʾān),* as did Ibn al-Ikhshīd (d. 326/937; *Kitāb Naẓm al-Qurʾān,* see FORM AND STRUCTURE OF THE QURʾĀN; LITERARY STRUCTURES OF THE QURʾĀN; LANGUAGE AND STYLE OF THE QURʾĀN). Al-Jāḥiẓ' contemporary ʿAbbād b. Sulaymān (d. ca. 250/864) and the latter's teacher Hishām al-Fuwaṭī (d. ca. 218/832) are reported to have still denied that the Qurʾān is to be considered as a miracle proving Muḥammad's prophetic mission, although both subscribed to the doctrine of *ṣarfa* (van Ess, *TG,* iv, 7, 41, 609). The *ṣarfa*-doctrine was held by most of the representatives of the school of Baghdād. The majority of the later Baṣran Muʿtazilīs rejected the doctrine of prevention, arguing that the inimitability of the Qurʾān was based on the rhetorical uniqueness of the book (q.v.) and the excellence of its style (see RHETORIC OF THE QURʾĀN). ʿAbd al-Jabbār (d. 415/1025), for example, who devotes an entire volume of his *Mughnī* to the issue of *iʿjāz,* explains the miraculous inimitability of the Qurʾān with its intrinsic stylistic excellence and its eloquence *(faṣāḥa)* and argues against the doctrine of prevention. The earliest Muʿtazilī treatises on the issue of the miraculous inimitability of the Qurʾān were composed as early as the second half of the second/eighth century by two students of al-

Jubbāʾī: Muḥammad ʿUmar al-Bāhilī (d. 300/913) wrote a treatise entitled *Kitāb Iʿjāz al-Qurʾān;* and Muḥammad b. Zayd al-Wāsiṭī (d. 306/918) wrote *Kitāb Iʿjāz al-Qurʾān fī nazmihi wa-taʾlīfihi*. Neither of these is preserved. The earliest extant independent Muʿtazilī treatise on this issue carrying the word *iʿjāz* in its title was written by ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā al-Rummānī (d. 384/994; *al-Nukat fī iʿjāz al-Qurʾān,* in Rummānī et al., *Rasāʾil*).

Qurʾānic exegesis

Among the extant Muʿtazilī commentaries on the Qurʾān, al-Zamakhsharī's (d. 538/1144) *al-Kashshāf ʿan ḥaqāʾiq al-tanzīl* is the most renowned. Its popularity was grounded in its mostly philological character; by contrast, it rarely provides theological argumentation, although al-Zamakhsharī was familiar with the last two school traditions within Muʿtazilism, the followers of Abū Hāshim al-Jubbāʾī and those of Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī. Most of the earlier Muʿtazilī commentaries, which were apparently much more representative of the Muʿtazilī tendency, are lost. In some cases, only titles of works are preserved; for other commentaries, substantial portions are preserved in the writings of later authors. According to Ibn al-Nadīm, Ḍirār b. ʿAmr (d. 180/796?) composed two exegetical works, a commentary *(tafsīr)* and an interpretation *(taʾwīl)* of the Qurʾān (Ibn al-Nadīm-Dodge, i, 416-7). It is not clear whether these two titles refer to two different works or to one and the same, nor whether the(se) work(s) constituted complete Qurʾān commentaries or only dealt with selected passages. Among the Muʿtazilīs of the early third/ninth century, Ibn al-Nadīm reports that Bishr b. al-Muʿtamir (d. 210/825-6) composed a *Kitāb Taʾwīl mutashābih al-Qurʾān,* and Jaʿfar b. Ḥarb (d. 236/850) authored a *Kitāb Mutashābih al-Qurʾān,* both of which are lost (Ibn al-Nadīm-Dodge, i, 80, 391, 411). The latter-mentioned work was consulted by the Muʿtazilī Ibn al-Khallāl when he composed his *Radd ʿalā l-jabriyya al-qadariyya fī mā taʿallaqū bihi min mutashābih al-Qurʾān al-karīm* during the fourth/tenth century (van Ess, *TG,* vi, 288, no. 3). Ibn al-Nadīm further reports that Abū l-Hudhayl composed a book on *Mutashābih al-Qurʾān* (Ibn al-Nadīm-Dodge, i, 80; cf. also van Ess, *TG,* iii, 265 f.; v, 367-9, no. 55), traces of which are apparently preserved in ʿAbd al-Jabbār's *Mutashābih al-Qurʾān,* in al-Faḍl b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṭabarsī's (d. 548/1153) *Majmaʿ al-bayān fī tafsīr al-Qurʾān* and Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Sharīf al-Raḍī's (d. 406/1015) *Ḥaqāʾiq al-taʾwīl.* Abū l-Hudhayl apparently defined in this work the criteria that need to be applied in Qurʾān exegesis. On the issue of how knowledge can be gained from the Qurʾān, he addressed the question whether passages of the Qurʾān that are formulated in a general manner may be restricted to a particular group of people. The issue was raised by the Murjiʾīs, who denied that qurʾānic verses that speak about the fate of the unbelievers (see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF) and the eternal punishment in hell (see HELL AND HELLFIRE) in a general manner are to be applied to Muslims also. As a Muʿtazilī, Abū l-Hudhayl believed in eternal punishment for grave sinners and therefore argued that general qurʾānic statements are to be understood in a general manner as long as there is no indication to the contrary. Abū ʿAlī al-Jubbāʾī later on adopted and further elaborated Abū l-Hudhayl's view, whereas his son Abū Hāshim took the opposite view. During the second quarter of the third/ninth century, Qāsim b. Khalīl al-Dimashqī (al-Dimishqī), who, according to al-Kaʿbī, was a student of Abū l-Hudhayl, wrote a commentary of which no traces are preserved (Ibn al-Nadīm-Dodge, i, 393;

van Ess, *TG,* iv, 236-7). Extensive systematic commentaries on the Qurʾān were composed by Abū Bakr al-Aṣamm (d. 201/816), Abū ʿAlī al-Jubbāʾī (d. 303/915), Abū l-Qāsim al-Kaʿbī al-Balkhī (d. 319/931) and by Abū Muslim Muḥammad b. Baḥr al-Iṣfahānī (d. 322/934; cf. Ibn al-Nadīm-Dodge, i, 76), whose *Ǧāmiʿ al-taʾwīl li-muḥkam al-tanzīl (*or *Ǧāmiʿ ʿilm al-Qurʾān)* is reported to have consisted of 14 or 20 volumes, or even more (Sezgin, *GAS,* i, 42-3; Kohlberg, *Medieval Muslim,* 203-4, no. 231). Although, again, none of these *tafsīr* works is preserved, ample quotations from them survive in the extant works of later authors, such as *al-Tafsīr al-kabīr* of Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 606/1210), the Imāmī exegetical works of Abū Jaʿfar al-Ṭūsī (d. 459/1067; *al-Tibyān fī tafsīr al-Qurʾān*) and of al-Ṭabrisī *(Majmaʿ al-bayān)* and, most importantly, al-Ḥākim al-Jushamī's (d. 494/1101) *al-Tahdhīb*. Al-Aṣamm apparently dealt in his commentary on the Qurʾān with historical and philological issues as well as with doctrinal matters (van Ess, *TG,* ii, 403-7; v, 198-202 [texts nos. 15-21]). The work was consulted by Abū ʿAlī al-Jubbāʾī and fragments of it are preserved in Abū Manṣūr al-Māturīdī's (d. 333/944) *Taʾwīlāt ahl al-sunna,* in Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Thaʿlabī's (d. 427/1035-6) *al-Kashf wa-l-bayān fī tafsīr al-Qurʾān* and particularly in *al-Tahdhīb fī l-tafsīr* of al-Ḥākim al-Jushamī (d. 484/1091); the latter usually gives al-Aṣamm's view together with those of Abū ʿAlī al-Jubbāʾī and Abū Muslim al-Iṣfahānī. Al-Aṣamm's commentary is also often quoted by Abū l-Futūḥ al-Rāzī (first half sixth/twelfth century), by his contemporary al-Ṭabarsī and later on by Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, although it may be assumed that those later authors received al-Aṣamm's commentary through intermediary sources. No mention of al-Aṣamm's *Tafsīr* is to be found, by contrast, in al-Ṭabarī's (d. 310/923) *Ǧāmiʿ al-bayān ʿan taʾwīl āy al-Qurʾān,* although the possibility that the latter was familiar with the work cannot be excluded, nor is there any mention of his commentary in ʿAbd al-Jabbār's *Kitāb Mutashābih al-Qurʾān* or in Abū Jaʿfar al-Ṭūsī's *al-Tibyān*. To judge from the preserved fragments, al-Aṣamm endeavored to develop a comprehensive qurʾānic theology, dealt with the issue of abrogation, and formulated an original view on the distinction of clear *(muḥkamāt)* and ambiguous (q.v.) verses *(mutashābihāt),* both of which can be grasped rationally; the only difference is that in the latter case deeper reflection is called for. Quotations from the multi-volume commentary of al-Kaʿbī are preserved in the *Amālī* of al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā (d. 436/1044) and possibly in the *Kitāb al-Tawḥīd* of al-Māturīdī (d. 333/944). In particular, later commentaries preserve ample quotations and paraphrases of Abū ʿAlī al-Jubbāʾī's exegesis; this is especially true of *al-Tibyān* of Abū Jaʿfar al-Ṭūsī and *Majmaʿ al-bayān* of Abū ʿAlī al-Ṭabrisī among the Imāmīs, of *al-Tafsīr al-kabīr* of Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī and, most significantly, of *al-Tahdhīb fī l-tafsīr* of the Muʿtazilī, later Zaydī, scholar al-Ḥākim al-Jushamī, which still awaits critical editing. On the basis of this material, Daniel Gimaret *(Ǧubbāʾī)* and Rosalind W. Gwynne *(The "Tafsir")* have tried to reconstruct Abū ʿAlī's commentary. Against the exegeses of Abū ʿAlī al-Jubbāʾī and Abū l-Qāsim al-Kaʿbī, Abū l-Ḥasan al-Ashʿarī (d. 324/935) wrote his *Tafsīr al-Qurʾān wa-l-radd ʿalā man khālafa l-bayān min ahl al-ifk wa-l-buhtān wa-naqd mā ḥarrafahu l-Ǧubbāʾī wa-l-Balkhī fī taʾlīfihimā* (Sezgin, *GAS,* i, 604 no. 10), of which only the introduction *(muqaddima)* and fragments are preserved.

Of the apparently very large commentary, *al-Ǧāmiʿ fī ʿilm (*or *tafsīr) al-Qurʾān,* of ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā al-Rummānī (d. 384/994), a fol-

lower of the school of Ibn Ikhshīd, who himself had abridged the commentary of al-Ṭabarī (Ibn al-Nadīm-Dodge, i, 76), only a small portion is extant in manuscript (Sezgin, *GAS,* viii, 112-3). It was highly regarded by later authors and has been used extensively by al-Ṭūsī in his *Tibyān,* the latter being, according to Daniel Gimaret, "un plagiat pur et simple de celui de ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā ar-Rummānī" (Gimaret, *Jubbāʾī,* 23). A contemporary of al-Rummānī, Abū ʿAlī al-Fārisī (d. 377/987), composed a work entitled *Kitāb al-Tatabbuʿ li-kalām Abī ʿAlī al-Jubbāʾī fī l-tafsīr,* which is lost (Sezgin, *GAS,* viii, 110). Also lost is a work of Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Khallāl al-Baṣrī (alive in 377/987) entitled *Mutashābih al-Qurʾān,* excerpts of which are preserved in writings of Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 664/1266) (Kohlberg, *Medieval Muslim,* 292-3, no. 457). Various exegetical works authored by representatives of the Bahshamiyya, notably of ʿAbd al-Jabbār, are extant; to these belong his *Tanzīh al-Qurʾān ʿan al-maṭāʿin,* which was published twice before the discovery of its author's *summa theologica* during the 1950s in Yemen (Cairo 1326, 1329) and his *Mutashābih al-Qurʾān* which is concerned with the ambiguous verses, i.e., those that apparently convey meanings incongruent with Muʿtazilī positions. By contrast, ʿAbd al-Jabbār's most extensive commentary, apparently entitled *al-Muḥīṭ,* seems to be lost. The most significant Muʿtazilī work of exegesis after ʿAbd al-Jabbār was *al-Tahdhīb fī l-tafsīr* of al-Ḥākim al-Jushamī, a student of Abū Ḥāmid Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Isḥāq al-Najjār (d. 433/1041), who in turn was a student of ʿAbd al-Jabbār.

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Mysterious Letters

The alphabetic characters of the Arabic language (q.v.) that appear in non-verbal combinations at the beginning of certain sūras (q.v.) of the Qurʾān, just after the *basmala* (q.v.). The gift of "letters" came to

the Arabian peninsula by way of a slow evolution of orthographies (see ARABIC SCRIPT; CALLIGRAPHY; ORALITY AND WRITING IN ARABIA). While the whole story is quite complex, the cursive consonantal alphabet of twenty-eight letters in which the Qurʾān was recorded was derived from a form of the Nabatean script, which in turn had descended from Syriac/Aramaic forms (see SYRIAC AND THE QURʾĀN). It ultimately sprang from the same common ancestor whose innovation around 1500 B.C.E. gave rise to the Hebrew alphabet and the south Arabian alphabets that first recorded the exploits of the kings of Sabaʾ (see SHEBA) and Ḥadramawt (see PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QURʾĀN; KINGS AND RULERS). Indeed, with the exception of the far-eastern symbols and syllabaries still in use in China and Japan, every language on the earth is written today with forms that are related in some way to this alphabetic family.

One could hardly say too much regarding the impact of the Qurʾān culturally and literarily on the Arab peoples (see ARABS; LANGUAGE AND STYLE OF THE QURʾĀN). The Qurʾān is considered the epitome of the Arabic language, and the works of the classical grammarians and exegetes (see EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL) who examined the inimitability (q.v.; *iʿjāz*) of the Qurʾān laid the groundwork for the rules of Arabic grammar (see GRAMMAR AND THE QURʾĀN). Eventually the Qurʾān was credited with a stabilization of speech (q.v.) and orthography (q.v.) that enabled increased expression, and a consequent advancement of learning (see KNOWLEDGE AND LEARNING). But it must be remembered that a substantial portion of the works of the early grammarians was devoted to attempting to explain those qurʾānic passages that fall outside of the purview of the normative "rules" of Arabic grammar. At an even more basic level, qurʾānic orthography is itself archaic (cf. Nöldeke, *GQ*, iii, 26 f.), and, in fact, can *not* be said to have become "standard." One mystery in the Qurʾān that endures is the existence of seemingly inexplicable combinations of letters that appear at the beginning of twenty-nine of the sūras. They are referred to as "the isolated/disconnected letters" *(al-ḥurūf al-muqaṭṭaʿa)* or "the opening letters" *(ḥurūf al-fawātiḥ)*. These "mystery letters" themselves and the sūras they precede are given here for reference: *alr*, Q 10, 11, 12, 14, 15; *alm*, Q 2, 3, 29, 30, 31, 32; *almr*, Q 13; *almṣ*, Q 7; *ḥm*, Q 40, 41, 43, 44, 45, 46; *ḥmʿsq*, Q 42; *ṣ*, Q 38; *ṭs*, Q 27; *ṭsm*, Q 26, 28; *ṭh*, Q 20; *q*, Q 50; *khyʿṣ*, Q 19; *n*, Q 68; *ys*, Q 36.

Before presenting contemporary and traditional explanations of these letters, mention must be made of the orthography of the mysterious letters in the context of the Arabic script, particularly that of the seventh century. There are eighteen Arabic graphemes *(alif, bāʾ, jīm, dāl, rāʾ, sīn, ṣād, ṭāʾ, ʿayn, fāʾ, qāf, kāf, lām, mīm, nūn, hāʾ, wāw, yāʾ)*, fifteen in the non-final position (identical *bāʾ/nūn/yāʾ* and *fāʾ/qāf*), expressing a total of twenty-eight sounds (for further details, see ARABIC SCRIPT). In the earliest Arabic script, there were no dots to indicate the difference between letters that were represented by the same grapheme, but had different sounds: a *bāʾ* ("b") and a *tāʾ* ("t"), without the presence of, respectively, the single dot below or the double dots above the hooked form of the letter, become indistinguishable. The fourteen letters that compose the mysterious letters represent every consonantal form in Arabic as exemplified in this early script (in which *wāw, fāʾ* and *qāf* were the same grapheme, as were *dāl, dhāl* and *kāf*). Thus, the mysterious letters comprise — comprehensively — the graphemes of the Arabic script of the seventh century: the five that represent only one letter *(alif, lām, mīm, nūn, hāʾ)*, as well as

the other nine *(yāʾ, ḥāʾ, rāʾ, sīn, ṣād, ṭāʾ, ʿayn, qāf, kāf)*. It is not unreasonable to assume, therefore, that these mysterious letters were intended to represent the Arabic alphabet (see Welch, al-Ḳurʾān, 414), shedding new light on passages such as Q 16: 103, which state that the revelation of the Qurʾān is "clear Arabic tongue/speech" *(lisānun ʿarabiyyūn mubīnun)*. But this theory does little to explain the reason for the placement of the letters at the head of their respective sūras (see also UNITY OF THE TEXT OF THE QURʾĀN). While Muslim scholars have developed a variety of explanations for these letters, a number of Western scholars have also set themselves the task of explaining both the meaning of the letters themselves, as well as the reason for their placement at the beginnings of these particular sūras.

Traditional explanations

To the faithful Muslim, these letters are part of the divine revelation of the Qurʾān itself (see REVELATION AND INSPIRATION). In the recitation of the Qurʾān (q.v.), these "openers" or "beginnings" of the sūras *(fawātiḥ al-suwar; awāʾil al-suwar)* are recited as letters of the alphabet (i.e. Q 2:1 is read *"alif lām mīm"*). A variety of explanations for the letters has been proffered in the classical commentaries: these letters are the names of the sūras or markers for the separation of the sūras, names of God or abbreviations of his names (i.e. *alr* standing for *al-raḥmān, alm* for *al-raḥīm* or *Allāh laṭīf majīd* ["God, gentle, glorious], etc.; cf. Welch, al-Ḳurʾān, 412; Robinson, Discovering, 320 n. 10; see GOD AND HIS ATTRIBUTES), oaths (q.v.) by which God proclaimed. Traditional sources also suggest that the letters are mystical signs with symbolic meaning (see ṢŪFISM AND THE QURʾĀN) based upon the numerical values assigned to the letters (see NUMBERS AND ENUMERATION; NUMEROLOGY), or, alternatively, suggest that the letters were a means of attracting the attention of the Prophet or his audience (cf. Suyūṭī, *Itqān,* iii, 21-30).

One theory that has gained interest and adherents among Muslims in more recent times concerns the claimed existence of multiple patterns of the number "nineteen" hidden in the text of the Qurʾān (cf. Khalifa, *Quran*). This is said to be an experientially provable sign of the inimitability of the Qurʾān, the inexpressible and unrepeatable quality of the Qurʾān's style. Some of these findings, while interesting, seem somewhat contrived, e.g. the assertion that "nineteen" can be found in the mysterious letters because twenty-nine sūras (by one calculation) in the Qurʾān begin with them, fourteen different letters from the alphabet are used (again, depending on whether one counts the single letters *ṣād, qāf* and *nūn* which occur before three sūras) and there are fourteen different combinations of these disconnected letters in the beginning of the sūras. The sum of these numbers is fifty-seven (29 + 14 + 14 = 57). Fifty-seven is a multiple of nineteen ($3 \times 19 = 57$).

Although, as can be seen from the preceding paragraphs, Qurʾān commentators have put forth many explanations for these mysterious letters (one of the most popular and enduring — although lacking any consensus — being that these mysterious letters are contractions of words or phrases; see Watt-Bell, *Introduction,* 64), most classical and contemporary Muslim scholars maintain that the full signification of these letters is known only to God (Welch, al-Ḳurʾān, 412).

Contemporary theories in western scholarship

Non-Muslim theories have varied widely, but tend to fall in two categories: abbreviationist and redactional. (Other recent, but less tenable, proposals include the theories that they are mystical symbols used as battle cries, or that they are mnemonic devices

which summarize the contents of the sūras; Robinson, *Discovering,* 320 n. 10; Watt-Bell, *Introduction,* 64). Proponents of abbreviationist positions have tended to view the mysterious letters as independent of the original qurʾānic text. In this category may be listed Hans Bauer (Anordnung), who proposed that the letters stood for various catchwords, and Eduard Goosens, who has argued that the letters are contractions of earlier, now defunct, titles of the sūras. James Bellamy (Mysterious letters) proposed an abbreviation theory that is less arbitrary than the others: following the suggestions of classical qurʾānic commentators that the majority of the mysterious letters are abbreviations for *al-raḥmān* and/or *al-raḥīm,* Bellamy posits that most of the mysterious letters stand for these names of God in the *basmala* and that all of the other mysterious letters (with some emendations, which he elaborates upon in a later article; see his Proposed emendations, 572-3) are abbreviations for the *basmala*. In his view, these abbreviations were introduced (in the Meccan period, by the Prophet's scribes) at the beginning of 29 sūras instead of the *basmala,* and that later scribes did not understand the abbreviation and inserted the *basmala* in addition to the mysterious letters. Welch (al-Ḳurʾān, 413), however, argues that Bellamy's theory is not entirely consistent with the textual evidence concerning the chronology of the Qurʾān which would suggest that the letters are more likely from the Medinan period (see CHRONOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN), and does not explain the relationship of the letters to their immediate contexts (i.e. why are they placed at these twenty nine sūras, and not others?).

The other category of theories, the redactional, examines the mysterious letters as a means for ordering the qurʾānic text (see FORM AND STRUCTURE OF THE QURʾĀN), and tends to see these opening letters as part of the original corpus (see MUṢḤAF). Although, as mentioned above, Bauer (Anordnung) believed the letters to be abbreviations of catchwords, he provided statistical support for the theory that the letters influenced the final arrangement of the Qurʾān (cf. Welch, 413-4 for a discussion of Loth and Schwally's contribution to the development of this theory). Bell saw both the mysterious letters and the *basmala* as part of the original corpus, albeit revised: he argued that they were early Medinan revisions adapting the sūras for inclusion in the written scripture (Welch, al-Ḳurʾān, 414; Watt-Bell, *Introduction,* 63-4, 138, 143). The current form of this redactional theory centers on the observation that the qurʾānic sūras are not strictly arranged from longest to shortest, even with the exclusion of the opening sūra (Sūrat al-Fātiḥa; see FĀTIḤA) and the two concluding sūras. It has been proposed that exceptions were made to the "decreasing-length" ordering for groups of sūras beginning with the same mysterious letters. In a recent study, however, Neal Robinson (*Discovering,* 260-70) has clearly demonstrated some problems with this theory: 1) there are some exceptions to the "decreasing-length" rule that cannot be accounted for even by the intervening sūras that begin with the mysterious letters and 2) not all the sūras that begin with the same letters are arranged together. While not entirely discounting the value of the sūra length and the presence of the letters in ordering the sūras, Robinson suggests that other factors (such as the repetition of key words or phrases in consecutive sūras) were taken into account by the redactors of the qurʾānic corpus.

But proponents of this theory have not only attempted to explain the discrepancies of the "decreasing-length" ordering of the sūras. They have also tried to explain what the individual letters stand for. In his

ground-breaking study, Theodor Nöldeke (*GQ,* 215 f.) argued that the letters were abbreviations standing for the names of people whom Zayd b. Thābit had consulted for the readings of the sūras (see READINGS OF THE QURʾĀN; RECITERS OF THE QURʾĀN). He later believed that they were merely mystical and meaningless symbols attempting to imitate the heavenly book (q.v.; see also BOOK) the Prophet would have beheld (for further discussion of this change in Nöldeke's thinking, which was effected by Loth's argument of a Jewish Kabbalistic influence on Muḥammad in the late Meccan and early Medinan periods, see Welch, al-Ḳurʾān, 412; see also JEWS AND JUDAISM). Hartwig Hirschfeld expanded on Nöldeke's initial theory and attempted to identify the sources themselves, suggesting that the letters stood for the following individuals: *m* = Mughīra; *ṣ* = Ḥafṣa; *r[z]* = al-Zubayr; *k* = Abū Bakr; *h* = Abū Hurayra; *n* = ʿUthmān; *ṭ* = Ṭalḥa; *s* = Saʿd (b. Abī Waqqās]; *ḥ* = Ḥudhayfa; *ʿ* = ʿUmar/ʿAlī/Ibn ʿAbbās/ʿĀʾisha; *q* = al-Qāsim b. Rabīʿa. The principal weakness of the Nöldeke/Hirschfeld theory, as with all the theories put forth on the issue, is that it does not — indeed, cannot — prove its case. The ability to produce identifications of the letters, whether they are names or whole words, does not prove that the identifications are correct. The catalogue of various identifications stands as a tribute to the imagination of the researchers rather than as a secure solution.

My own work on this issue has surfaced a previously undetected and potentially important detail about the mysterious letters. I observed that the patterns themselves produce a set ranking within the letters. Comparing the eleven different multiple-letter combinations in which thirteen different letters appear reveals that the order of the letters is not random or arbitrary. One would not expect this to happen if the letters stood for sentences or words; such a system would not have been likely able to prevent violations in a ranking. Thus, for example, the *mīm* never appears before the *sīn,* which in turn never appears before the *ʿayn;* the *lām* never appears before the *alif,* etc. (for a more detailed discussion of this "ranking" of the letters, see Massey, New investigation, 498-9). For this observation to hold true, however, some explanation is needed in the matter of Q 42, which begins with the pattern *ḥmʿsq*. At first glance, it seems that this violates the order (insofar as the *mīm* appears before the *sīn*). But the verse divisions have generally separated this cluster into *ḥm* and then *ʿsq*. In this case there are actually two separate patterns here. Another possibility is that, given the location of the sūra in the middle of six other sūras with the *ḥm* pattern, the *ḥm* has been added later by analogy.

Quite significantly, the set ranking I have observed goes well beyond the statistical possibility of a random production. Calculating the odds for such patterns if only two letters are used shows that there are about even odds of a random selection succeeding in having an inviolate pattern (156 possible patterns with seventy-eight [1/2] of them not violating any given pattern). When the pattern length is extended to three, however, the chance of randomness quickly diminishes (1716 possible patterns with only 286 of them [1/6] not violating any given pattern). In the case of the mysterious letters there are four cases of two letter patterns, four cases of three, four cases of four and one case of five. In this particular case, statistical analysis argues strongly against randomness. If the letters are not random, one can rule out the possibility that they are words or sentences. While such structures would have semantic intentionality, they would not

prevent the violation of an ordered list of letters. Also ruled out is the theory that the letters are nothing other than the imitation of celestial characters or nonsense letters. This observation, I would argue, lends strong support to the Nöldeke/Hirschfeld theory. If the letters are an ordered list, the best candidate for referents is the names of people who, for some reason, are being ranked by the person who has put down the letters.

The letters, then, constitute a form of critical textual apparatus (see TEXTUAL CRITICISM OF THE QUR'ĀN). According to reliable accounts from the early history of Islam, when Zayd b. Thābit, at the order of ʿUthmān (q.v.), compiled the Qurʾān (see MUṢḤAF; COLLECTION OF THE QUR'ĀN; CODIFICATION OF THE QUR'ĀN;), he used several sources. For those sūras that had either more than one source (or perhaps whose reading is supported by more than one source over and against other variant readings which he chose to reject), he acknowledged those sources by listing one-letter abbreviations of them, in his own perceived rank of importance and reliability. He was never inconsistent in his own ranking of the sources, hence the order we can now find among the mysterious letters was produced. Whether or not Hirschfeld has correctly identified the letters with the names for which they stand can simply never be known. He has astutely produced parallels for the letters from strong candidates of the period, but he may or may not be right. The names may all be scribes who never showed up in the tradition or any early literature. But the discovery of the ranking of these letters tips the scales in the direction of an ordered list of names. If this is a catalogue of sources the ʿUthmānic Qurʾān has carefully built into it an early attempt to assure the readers of the credibility of the text from which they were reading. It is possible, as some have suggested, that the letters that appear alone *(ṣād, qāf, nūn)* may not have the same purpose as the collections themselves. *Nūn* in particular has the story of Jonah (q.v.) and the great fish *(nūn)* as a cogent explanation of this letter.

Conclusion

Adequate explanation both for the meaning of the "mysterious letters" and why they occur before the 29 sūras in which they appear has yet to appear. Although a number of reasonable theories of the significance of these mysterious collections of letters has been proposed — abbreviations for the *basmala,* or for some of the divine names, or for various individuals (possibly reciters of the Qurʾān) — none is definitive. The inconsistencies with the observation that they appear largely before sūras that interfere with the "decreasing sūra-length" organization of the Qurʾān have yet to be explained satisfactorily. Finally, further study is needed about the fact that they represent, comprehensively, the graphemes of the earliest Arabic script.

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Myths and Legends in the Qurʾān

Myths are narratives that serve to explain and describe the experienced world by laying bare its archetypal patterns (see COSMOLOGY); they are often staged in a cosmic or supernatural framework so as to manifest binding truths, to generate meaning and provide guidance. Legends, raising no such universal claim, may be understood as narratives of pious imagination celebrating an exemplary figure.

Are there myths and legends in the Qurʾān? Even today, this is a controversial question, since the term "myth," in particular, is sometimes thought to be irreconcilable with the concept of revelation (see REVELATION AND INSPIRATION). The reasons for such hyper-sensitivity are historical; to quote Jaroslav Stetkevych (*Golden bough,* ix):

> Within the premises of (the) Arabian stance — begun with the Qurʾān's instant, and almost total, doctrinal impact — Arabic cultural history with all its anthropological constructs, was supposed to have begun and thereafter forever to unfold in the clarity of broad daylight, as it were. All "falsehood" and all "truth" were forever absolutely differentiated into some timeless pre-revelation (the age of the Jāhilīyah) that was followed by an equally timeless revelation (the Qurʾān), that is, into that which exists not and that which exists: *al-bāṭil* and *al-ḥaqq*.

The two terms, myth/legend and revelation, once taken as indicators of different degrees of truth (q.v.), emanating from sources of unequal credibility, become mutually exclusive: Myths under such a perspective cannot be easily accepted as powerful expressions of significant human experience deemed worthy of transmittal to later generations because of their archetypal evidence and universal validity, but are, rather, suspected of representing deviance and willful ignorance *(jāhiliyya)*. Their re-use as a prop for scriptural events — a common practice in Christian iconography — occurred, although to a lesser degree, in the later haggadic elaboration of qurʾānic narrations (see EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL). Events related in the Qurʾān itself, are, however, considered "true" and sufficient to represent the past (see HISTORY AND THE QURʾĀN). Non-qurʾānic pre-Islamic narratives are held to be devoid of meaning, as they were superseded by the only meaningful revelation (see SOUTH ARABIA, RELIGION IN PRE-ISLAMIC).

But the concepts of "myths and legends" cover not only ancient "pagan" narrative but have been redirected as terms to denote narratives informed with a particular hermeneutic code. It is their intrinsic ability to recall archetypal patterns of interaction that invites the listener to identify with or find guidance through particular figures. "Myth" and "legend," understood as hermeneutically distinguished genres of narrative, are to be found in all kinds of literature, irrespective of their profane or sacred character (see LITERATURE AND THE QURʾĀN). As diverse studies in the Hebrew Bible and the New Testament alike have shown (Alter and Kermode, *Literary guide;* Alter, *Biblical narrative;* Frye, *The great code*), mythic and legendary narratives figure amply in the two older monotheistic scriptures. The dynamics of their immanent mythopoiesis provides narrative texts with significant subtexts adding surplus meaning to the plot, thus proving not only effective with pre-revelation

audiences, but also particularly fit to serve the aims of revelation itself.

Although this article focuses on the Qurʾān, it will be necessary to survey particular aspects of the problematic in the broader framework of scripture in general (see LITERARY STRUCTURES OF THE QURʾĀN). Not only does the Qurʾān typologically represent a manifestation of monotheistic scripture and thus partake in the hermeneutical characteristics of a sacred canon, the Qurʾān also displays, even more perspicuously than the two other scriptures, the process of the emergence of a scripture. If this is true, a comparison between the treatment of myth(s) and legends in the Qurʾān on the one hand, and in the two other monotheistic scriptures on the other, promises to throw important light on the particular developments of the Qurʾān. Subsequently, an attempt at a typology of myths and legends in the Qurʾān will be undertaken through consideration of a selection of significant cases. Since the qurʾānic narrative is often inconsistent, i.e. sophisticated structures appearing alongside fragmented panels of mythic images, it is important to discuss not only complete narrative units but also overall mythical visions looming under dispersed single elements. As against the positive evidence of mythopoiesis in the Qurʾān, the anti-mythic tendencies, which likewise exist, will also be considered.

Scripture and myth

Scripture as a medium of the demythification of the world

Myth, in the narrow sense of a narrative about personified or demonized supernatural powers working in individual or collective human life, is of course incompatible with the scriptural concept of one exclusive divine agent in nature and history. In fact, scripture as such has been credited as the medium of demythification *par excellence*. It has been noted of the three monotheistic religions that their scriptures do not, in the way mythic thinking does, refer back to an archaic sacred order, anchored in a primordial beginning that needs to be restored, but refer to events that themselves are part of an extended continuous nexus of happenings. This is particularly true for Christianity and Islam, two religions that are based on events that are understandable only in view of what preceded: neither initiates traditions but rather presupposes them. It is noticeable that in both religions human history receives a new evaluation through the central event that necessarily judges the preceding era to be of inferior quality and that promises to have an imprint on all further history. The basic structure of past, present and future thus cannot be viewed in a symmetrical way since the theological evaluations are unequal (Zirker, *Christentum*, see TIME).

The fact that scripture dissolves premonotheistic, iterative or circular patterns of memory (q.v.), that it tends to "historicize" memory, becomes most evident from its re-interpretation of the myth-imprinted "pagan" world submitted to ever repeating cyclical processes of seasonal change (see FATE; DESTINY; GENERATIONS; GEOGRAPHY). In contrast, the scriptural worldview reflects the process of an evolution in linear time. Monotheistic scripture marginalizes cosmic experience, the impact of the powers of nature as manifest in the seasonal cycle, in favor of historical experience, presenting decisive communal events as unique manifestations of divine power (see POWER AND IMPOTENCE; FREEDOM AND PREDESTINATION). Scripturally institutionalized feasts (see FESTIVALS AND COMMEMORATIVE DAYS) thus no longer serve to mark the yearly changes of seasons (q.v.) but commemorate outstanding events

worked by the divine agent in the community in the past. Scriptural demythification thereby touches a realm of human life that is vital for the coherence of a society: i.e. rituals and feasts (see RITUAL AND THE QUR'ĀN). Once having placed a taboo upon viewing spirits and demons (see JINN; DEVIL) as potent agents in the drama of the seasonal cycles, scripture has to provide etiological substitutes to give meaning to the feasts as well as to inspire the effervescence and the perception of renewal that make up the festal atmosphere (Assmann, Fest). This reconstruction has been, in the Islamic context, carried out in a particularly rigorous way. Whereas the two other monotheistic religions kept the time frame of older seasonal feasts and co-opted their essential symbols, enriching and reshaping them according to the new salvation-historical meaning of the individual feast — thus preserving a mythic subtext to be reclaimed whenever desired, Islamic festivals have fared differently. Though strikingly conservative in terms of ritual procedure, i.e. continuing many of the ancient pre-Islamic ritual performances clearly informed by the symbolism of changing seasons (Wellhausen, *Reste*), Islam has strictly dissociated them from their ancient Arabian precedents through a new calendar (q.v.) which bears no relation to the seasonal cycle, thus dismissing any mythic association emanating from that source (Neuwirth, Three religious feasts). Moreover, the Islamic rites were given new meanings commemorating historical events crucial to the community's identity, or were reinterpreted as mere acts of worship (q.v.) divinely imposed through the words of earlier prophets (see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD).

But myth is not exclusively about supernatural powers working in nature (see MIRACLE); it is also about extraordinary human figures, excelling in strength, courage (q.v.), shrewdness, endurance and other heroic faculties. In the Hebrew Bible not a few characters of heroic standing have survived scripturalization, i.e. integration into a vision dominated by divine will: they appear to act autonomously rather than being directed by a divine force behind them. Although not consistently designated as heroic but responding to diverse challenges of human acting and suffering, and never totally severed from divine will or providence, major biblical figures, primarily Moses (q.v.) and David (q.v.), and to a lesser degree also Abraham (q.v.), Jacob (q.v.), Joseph (q.v.) and Solomon (q.v.) as well as more episodic figures like Samson, Ehud and Judith have retained a heroic image. As against that, few heroic figures would be found in the Qurʾān. Not only are the protagonists of narratives from the ancient Arabian lore absent, but also most of the biblical figures that do play a role in the Qurʾān are not represented as heroes either. Their appearance has been changed: as they do not receive a consistent portrayal, nor are their stories continuously followed over a span of time long enough to display character development, but are, rather, presented episodically in very diverse contexts, these figures are not developed enough to impress as heroes (see the discussion of Solomon and David below). Others, like the Arabian Hūd (q.v.), Ṣāliḥ (q.v.) and Shuʿayb (q.v.), do not act autonomously but remain throughout performants of the divine will, so that their actions seem to lack momentum, making it difficult for the reader to associate them with those key figures contained "in kindred structures and symbolic systems that range from Gilgamesh and the Hebrew Bible to Homer and Vergil" (Stetkevych, *Golden bough,* ix). Still, in the Qurʾān some figures do acquire heroic dimensions such as Noah (q.v.; Nūḥ), Abraham (Ibrāhīm), Joseph

(Yūsuf) and, most especially, Moses (Mūsā).

Qurʾānic scripture and story-telling

Scriptural demythification, which is particularly strong in the Qurʾān, also touches upon another vital need: the transmission of knowledge, particularly the practice of story-telling. Qurʾānic narrative has hitherto usually been considered as a continuum. Its continuous treatment of prophetic episodes with similar, sometimes identical, messages led scholars to the conclusion that there is something like "the qurʾānic narrative," attesting a cyclical concept of revelation (Paret, Geschichtsbild). Although Horovitz, in his groundbreaking study on qurʾānic narrative, strictly committed himself to Nöldeke's periodization, scholars after him have ordinarily failed to acknowledge, or even rejected, any substantial development in the qurʾānic representation of prophets and messengers (see MESSENGER) except in terms of increasing detail. In general the Qurʾān has been judged to evidence no serious interest in history. Fred Donner (*Narratives of origin,* 84) states:

> The purpose of stories in the Qurʾān, then, is profoundly different from their purpose in the Old Testament; the latter uses stories to explain particular chapters in Israel's history, the former to illustrate — again and again — how the true Believer acts in certain situations. In line with this purpose, qurʾānic characters are portrayed as moral paradigms, emblematic of all who are good or evil.… [The Qurʾān] is simply not concerned with history in the sense of development and change, either of the prophets or peoples before Muḥammad, or of Muḥammad himself, because in the qurʾānic view the identity of the community to which Muḥammād was sent is not historically determined, but morally determined.

This view, which relies on a macrostructural reading of the Qurʾān, not surprisingly conforms with the image of the Qurʾān that became dominant in Islam itself after the official canonization of the corpus by ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān (see COLLECTION OF THE QURʾĀN; CODICES OF THE QURʾĀN; ʿUTHMĀN): the Qurʾān was no longer perceived as a communicational process but as the time-transcending divine word (see WORD OF GOD) transmitted by the prophet Muḥammad, the final figure in a series of impeccable (see IMPECCABILITY) superhuman messengers bearing an identical message. This a-historical perception has recently been adopted by a number of modern scholars, inspired by postmodern methodological approaches no longer concerned with philological-historical problems (see CONTEMPORARY CRITICAL PRACTICES AND THE QURʾĀN; POST-ENLIGHTENMENT ACADEMIC STUDY OF THE QURʾĀN). To view the Qurʾān in such a "holistic" way — in accordance with its later Islamic reading — is, however, only one possible way of reading it, since the a-historical image of the Qurʾān covers another, more complex, layer of understanding that can be laid bare only through an acute micro-structural reading (see FORM AND STRUCTURE OF THE QURʾĀN).

To do justice to qurʾānic narrative, one has to look for earlier narrative traditions familiar to the community that may have influenced the qurʾānic narrative style (see LANGUAGE AND STYLE OF THE QURʾĀN; ORALITY AND WRITING IN ARABIA; NARRATIVES; SCRIPTURE AND THE QURʾĀN). Given the fact that the early sūras (q.v.) display a linguistic and stylistic character very close to the enunciations of pre-Islamic soothsayers (q.v.; *kāhin,* pl. *kahana*) whereas

later sūras come close to monotheistic liturgies with pericopes of scriptural readings in their central part (for further discussion, see FORM AND STRUCTURE OF THE QUR'ĀN), one arrives at the conclusion that qur'ānic narratives partake in diverse discourses and thus constitute at least two distinct groups: texts that still mirror the principle of a highly emphatic, succinct and sometimes enigmatic presentation current in *saj' al-kahana* (see RHYMED PROSE) on the one hand, and texts more inclined towards a lively episodic presentation displaying sophisticated narrative strategies, on the other. The former genre is more formalized and thus limited in its narrative range, relying strongly on repetition, parallelism and anaphors, etc.; the latter is flexible, tending towards detail and diversity. Whereas the former drives home one particular message, there are far more complex intentions behind the second.

Due to the new qur'ānic worldview, which staged past and present events as part of the drama of a series of divine interventions in human interactions, the orally transmitted scenarios of Arabian memory (see ORALITY; ARABS), whose protagonists were committed to worldly, often heroic, aims were widely marginalized — if not dismissed as a whole — or re-interpreted to fit the new paradigm. In the words of Stetkevych (*Golden bough,* 10):

> The knowledge of the communal Arabian past and its inheritors' creative and re-creative self-knowledge within it were definitely not furthered by the concrete, a-historical and anti-mythical doctrinal stance that relegated mythic materials to anecdotal and "catechistic" functions.… The problem with a number of (these) nuclei of myth was that in their survival in the new code, that is, through their co-optation by the Qur'ān (and the subsequent dogmatizing tradition), they were put to the service of a rhetoric that was almost inimical to "narrative" itself — this despite the qur'ānic claim that there they are being told in the best of narrative ways. That is, in the Qur'ān, narrative and indeed everything else is subordinated to the overarching rhetoric of salvation [q.v.] and damnation.… [see REWARD AND PUNISHMENT] Rarely do we sense in the Qur'ān a self-sufficient and self-justifying joy in storytelling, indeed, rarely, if at all, does the Qur'ān allow for the formation of "themes" in the literary terminological understanding, that is, of descriptive (of imagist) units that possess their own formal and thematic circumscription and "sufficiency" and are not intruded upon by a stylistically disruptive rhetoric. Rather than themes in the literary sense, the Qur'ān, therefore, knows primarily rhetorically subordinated motifs.

What Stetkevych has labeled "rhetorics" is, however, deeply rooted in the qur'ānic message as such and thus from a different perspective should be viewed as complementary. It is true that qur'ānic storytelling does not express an authorial stance such as is that which Alter finds realizable in biblical narrating (*Biblical narrative,* 184):

> Perhaps the most distinctive feature of the role played by the narrator in the biblical tales is the way in which omniscience and inobtrusiveness are combined.… In the Bible… the narrator's work is almost all récit, straight narration of actions and speech, and only exceptionally and very briefly discourse, disquisition on and around the narrated facts and their implications. The assurance of comprehensive knowledge is thus implicit in the narratives, but it is shared with the reader only intermittently and at that quite partially. In this

way, the very mode of narration conveys a double sense of a total coherent knowledge available to God (and by implication, to His surrogate, the anonymous authoritative narrator) and the necessary incompleteness of human knowledge, for which much about character, motive, and moral status will remain shrouded in ambiguity.

As against the meticulous shaping of personages and the sophisticated coding and de-coding of their motives, which characterize biblical narrative, qurʾānic narrating pursues complex "para-narrative" aims. Narratives, at least insofar as they are unfolded to some extent and recall plots already known from biblical literature, are presented as excerpts or messages from the book (q.v.; *al-kitāb*), which is clearly taken to be a corpus of literature apart from the rest of the known stories that are currently available through oral tradition. This remoteness of "*kitāb*-generated" narrative certainly has a strong bearing on the style of the stories presented as *kitāb* readings. It forces on them a distinct linguistic code that, on the one hand, confers on the diction a highly stylized form (rhymed prose resulting in somewhat forced syntactic structures; see GRAMMAR AND THE QURʾĀN), serving to distinguish it from profane narrative. On the other hand, it implants these narratives with the new message of the imminent eschatological catastrophe (see ESCHATOLOGY; CATASTROPHE), which brings the narrative close to an exhortative appeal (see EXHORTATIONS) or, later, a sermon. It is exactly the discursive elements so marginal in biblical narrative that matter primarily in the qurʾānic narrative: the explicit presentation of the moral or theological implications for the community that can be deduced from the narrated facts or speeches (see ETHICS AND THE QURʾĀN; THEOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN). To fulfill this purpose, a stylistic device unknown to the Bible has been created to accommodate the particular moral or theological deductions from the qurʾānic discourse, the clausula (see Neuwirth, *Studien*). This stylistic device consists in a particular closure of the long verses of late Meccan and Medinan times (see CHRONOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN): the last sentence of a verse does not partake in the main strand of communication, but presents a comment on its contents indicating divine approval or disregard of the fact reported, e.g. "Truly you are of the faulty" (*innaki kunti min al-khāṭiʾīn,* Q 12:29; see SIN, MAJOR AND MINOR; VIRTUES AND VICES, COMMANDING AND FORBIDDING). It may also refer to one of God's attributes (see GOD AND HIS ATTRIBUTES), e.g. "Truly he is the hearer, the seer" (*innahu huwa l-samīʿu l-baṣīr,* Q 17:1; see SEEING AND HEARING), which, in the later stages of qurʾānic development, have become parameters of ideal human behavior. This comment is clad in a widely formalized shape and is thus easily identifiable.

Qurʾān and history

How does the Qurʾān view prior history? Keeping the canonical process in mind, we have to ask the question on two different levels, distinguishing between two subsequent paradigms. The Qurʾān, in the beginning of its development, encodes history in the discourse of the *umam khāliya,* the accounts about the dispatchment of messengers to previous communities who called their people to worship and obey one God but who failed to convert their communities (see OBEDIENCE; PUNISHMENT STORIES). Here, the Qurʾān "pans over a landscape where time is less a chronology than a continuum" (Khalidi, *Arabic historical thought,* 8). The scenarios are mostly, though not exclusively, Arabian (see PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QURʾĀN). The early qurʾānic messenger stories have replaced a previously existing culture-

specific, coherent pre-Islamic Arabian myth. In Stetkevych's words (*Golden bough,* 3):

Arabia and the Arabia-nurtured and Arabic-speaking world [see ARABIC LANGUAGE] has most stubbornly denied itself the acknowledgment of a "mythological conditioning." An earnestness, and even somberness, of rigorous theological dogma came to reign with an almost puzzling… march through more than a millennium of history. It succeeded from the first qurʾānic moment in almost suppressing or banishing into unusually reclusive layers of subconsciousness that part of the counter-dogmatic Arabian cultural "self" which, under conditions of a less stable doctrinal rigor, would have had the strength to lead that culture to its remythologizing, or to an awareness of its "mythological conditioning." In this respect even more inhibiting than the suppressions and condemnations that came forth from the doctrinal apparatus which had formed itself around the newly-arrived Arabian sacred text and which soon succeeded in forming its own cultural code was the co-optation by that new code of much of the most centrally autochthony-determining materials of the old code.

The significance of the stories about the Arabian messengers lies in their endurance *(ṣabr)* and obedience in calling humans to accept divine guidance: every community should have been warned through a revelation in order to be spared temporary or eschatological punishment (see TRUST AND PATIENCE; WARNER). It is noteworthy that the qurʾānic virtue is no mere endurance, but

presupposes triumph. It is an outlasting of evil, rather than its transmuting. Its task is to outstay all opposition so that the good of prophecy is not overcome by the enmity of unbelief [see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF]. Its endurance keeps the cause from capitulation, so that it may anticipate the victory other factors will achieve. It is not, broadly, a suffering which in itself and of itself makes the fabric of the triumph that is to be. This calls for other forces whose opportunity tenacity ensures (Cragg, *Event,* 158).

It is sober, pragmatic thinking and acting, *ḥilm,* self-denying dedication to the divine message, *islām,* that is portrayed here — the reversal of *jahl,* heroic unrestraint (see ISLAM; FAITH; IGNORANCE). In fact, *jahl* in the Qurʾān itself was to become the label of the pre-Islamic epoch that was termed *jāhiliyya* (see AGE OF IGNORANCE).

Thus *jahl/jāhilīya* had to have been a singularly important concept (or state) in archaic Bedouinity [see BEDOUINS] to have deserved such a stupendous "transfer" into its new terminological prominence — and into its paradoxical semiotic self-denial. We must, therefore, entertain the strong notion that its denial by the new Arabia that emerged with Islam also meant Arabia's denial of myth as its cultural, autochthony-defining ingredient. For myth, all myth, is hardly conceivable without the presence of *jahl* somewhere near its very core. This *jahl,* however, also in its archaic Arabic understanding, is above all that kind of heroism that also contains its own tragic flaw (Stetkevych, *Golden bough,* 10).

The predicament of the ancient messengers whose message is rejected is shared by the Prophet himself (see OPPOSITION TO MUḤAMMAD). The contents of revelation in the *umam khāliya* discourse (i.e. the stories of earlier nations destroyed because of their unbelief) thus does not have a history; the bearers of the revelation and their addressees do not form a chain of succession.

History and revelation repeat each other following the same pattern.

This discourse has, however, to be differentiated from a grand narrative that emerges at a later stage in the Qurʾān. What is usually upheld to apply to the Qurʾān as such: the renunciation of a chronological frame for the events of pre-qurʾānic history, the repetitiveness of the qurʾānic narrative — "events are arranged in clusters, repetitive in form" (Khalidi, *Arab historical thought,* 8) — as a sign of the insistence of an identical message, the total disregard for mythic primacy, etc., on closer gaze, does not hold true except for the first paradigm. Here, "the whole history is present at once to God." But the situation successively changes substantially when a new paradigm is adopted, switching the focus from the deserted sites of the real homeland to the orbit of the messengers of the People of the Book (q.v.; *ahl al-kitāb*), the prophets *(anbiyāʾ),* whose discourse as intermediaries between God and man is much more sophisticated. Overtly, they form a prophetical succession and their activities taken together not only constitute a scenario of historical episodes, but, more and more, betray a tendency to chronology. Their communications and actions prove rich in experiences and fit to exert a mythopoeic impact on the self-understanding of the emerging community itself; indeed, these activities not seldom provide the matrix for the prophet's and his community's behavior in certain situations of crisis, and more often the matrix of their understanding of their own predicament (Neuwirth, Erzählen). It is no longer the projection of present experience onto the image of the past that was representative for the earlier discourse, but the converse: experiences of the past provide a model for the understanding of the present. The entrance of the qurʾānic community into the orbit of those earlier societies endowed with a scripture is presented as an event of seismic proportions: "If we sent down this Qurʾān upon a mountain, you would see it humbled, shattered by the fear of God" (Q 59:21; Khalidi, *Arab historical thought,* 7). This degree of self-confidence would not have been feasible in the earlier stages; it marks a caesura in arranging history that should not be ignored.

> The wide canvas from Adam [see ADAM AND EVE] to Jesus [q.v.] depicts for Muḥammad's people the meaning and destiny of their own cause. Biblical material, in independent shape, is rehearsed in lively corroboration of qurʾānic authority. All prophecy accumulates towards it, so that revelation may culminate. Other Scriptures are mentors, not masters. It is the ruling theme of prophecy as crisis which they consistently serve. The patriarchal retrospect witnesses to a continuity of truth and multiplies the signs by which the Meccan/Medinan situation must be read both in conflict and prosperity (Cragg, *Event,* 171).

Consequently, it is little surprising to find a particular hermeneutic trait familiar from the Hebrew Bible (see TORAH) and especially the Gospels (q.v.) prominent again in qurʾānic narrative: typology (Busse, Herrschertypen). "Types" are exemplary representations in scripture of still more momentous events or more significant figures yet to come. Thus the divine trials (see TRIAL) of the past are to be considered "types" of the last judgment (q.v.) that will supersede everything preceding it, the dispatch of earlier prophets in a way "prefigures" Muḥammad's activities. This device is crucial for the qurʾānic image of history:

> It is this historical review of the past in the present which gives to the Qurʾān and Islam the characteristic quality of *Jihād*

[q.v.], or struggle, in the deepest and non-technical sense of that term. The very sequence of the prophets is a sequence of law and claim, of insubordination and nemesis. The logic within it is the unremitting necessity of struggle and the necessary sinews of strength. To bring a divine message is to incur a human enmity and so, in turn, to enter a trial of stamina and resolve, of the will and the means to outstay the opposition.… In this logic, suffering is present as a preliminary to its redress. It is that which has to be endured before it can be terminated. It bears the odds until they can be evened and reversed. The successful eventuality is held open by the refusal to be denied it, and this demands persistence and non-compromise.… Existence is poised, so to speak, between prophecy and eschatology, in that the prophetic address to humanity must have, in token and in fact, that writ of success which eschatology brings to final authenticity in the last judgment. The utter unambiguity of the eschatological must belong suitably and surely with the interim evidence of prophetic standing in time and in power (Cragg, *Event,* 171-2).

Reflexions of myth and mythopoiesis in the Qurʾān

Virtual myths of history

In the following an attempt will be undertaken to classify myths and legends in the Qurʾān as to their cultural contexts. (Myths and legends are not taken to be mutually exclusive: viewing the stories about earlier prophets as legends does not preclude taking note of their mythical elements.) A historical classification following the biblical succession of "scripturalized myths" does not appear too promising in view of the non-historical disposition of the Qurʾān and the absence of the notion of a linear historical process leading up to the present of the listeners. The "atomism of time" that underlies the qurʾānic vision of history, "which is typological in nature and focused on the history of the prophets," has been noted (for more, see Böwering, Chronology, 319 f.). The myth of man's first transgression, the story of Adam (*Gen* 1:3), in the Qurʾān does not serve to initiate history as an unpredictable and ambiguous process of divine-human interaction, but rather constitutes one exemplary episode of the "anthropological constant" of human vulnerability to being seduced. Except for the expulsion from the garden, however, this does not bear grave consequences for the fate of humankind (see FALL OF MAN). The myth, which is introduced at a rather late stage of qurʾānic development and is presented in diverse contexts, serves to demonstrate changing insights into the nature of evil: it is less a myth of beginning than a debate about evil (see GOOD AND EVIL). The account will therefore be treated in its typological context (see "Transgressions" below).

Noah

Similarly, the biblically prominent myth of the renewal of the world after the flood (*Gen* 6:5-8) in the Qurʾān does not appear in its mythical-historical setting as the closure of a period of immediate divine interventions into creation (q.v.) as a whole. This story is related (or alluded to) within the two discourses of the destroyed peoples *(umam khāliya)* and of the prophets *(anbiyāʾ)*. First conveyed as the initial account of a chain of punishment legends in Q 54:9-17 (followed by stories about ʿĀd [q.v.], Thamūd [q.v.], Lot [q.v.], and the people of Pharaoh [q.v.; Firʿawn]) and, subsequently as a story filling a complete sūra, Q 71 (Sūrat Nūḥ, "Noah"; Q 71:1-28), the legend of Noah is introduced in isolation from a particular salvation-historical beginning, although the event is obviously imagined as preceding all the other stories in time. It is

shaped after the pattern of the punishment stories that emerge during the first Meccan period. Accordingly, both the flood and the ark (q.v.) are devoid of mythical dimensions, being reduced to mere instruments of individual punishment and salvation respectively. The story continues to be remembered through the entire Meccan period, not only in extended lists of punishment stories (Q 7:69; 11:89; 14:9; 38:12; 50:12; 51:46), but also in narrative form. In Q 37:75-9 it is followed by a story about Abraham's confronting his unbelieving community and other episodes of the history of the Children of Israel (q.v.; Banū Isrāʾīl); in Q 26:105-22 it is followed by stories about ʿĀd, Thamūd, the people of Lot, the "People of the Thicket" (q.v.; *aṣḥāb al-ayka*), always presenting Noah as a member of his people (*akh,* Q 26:106) who tries to convert them. None of these reports, however, dwell on the mythical dimension of the story as the first major caesura in history.

Noah receives new momentum after the change of paradigm and the new orientation to the *kitāb* tradition of the Children of Israel. The viewing of the prophets as a chain of succession within the orbit of scripture gives each one an individual significance. This change is reflected in a particularly extensive version of Noah's story in Q 11:25-49, followed by kindred stories of ʿĀd and others. Here, both the preparation of the ark *(fulk)* and the selection of the animal species are mentioned (see ANIMAL LIFE). The cosmic dimension of the flood is alluded to, the final blessing on Noah sounding as if the event was meant as a caesura in salvation history (an echo of this version appears in Q 10:71-4). At this later stage of the canonical process, when the world of the book has replaced the scenario around the sanctuary of Mecca (q.v.), Noah ascends from his stance as a mere warner *(rasūl)* to become a prophet *(nabī)* in the line of Adam — (Noah) — Abraham — Jesus. In this context, the longevity (Noah remained among his people 950 years; Q 29:14) and genealogical relations in general occasionally gain momentum: thus the Children of Israel are presented as the "seed of those whom we carried with Noah" (*dhurriyyata man ḥamalnā maʿa nūḥ,* Q 17:3; cf. 19:58). In still later, Medinan sūras, like Q 33:7, when the Prophet himself has entered the rank of the prophets *(anbiyāʾ)* and prophets are viewed as partners in a covenant (q.v.), Noah appears here as the first: *(wa-idh akhadhnā mina l-nabiyyna mīthāqahum wa-minka wa-min nūḥ)*. A structuring of prophetical history is in the making and it is this period of time into which Q 19:58 fits: "These are those whom God blessed from the prophets from the seed of Adam and of those we carried with Noah [on the ark]" *(ūlāʾika lladhīna anʿama llāhu ʿalayhim min al-nabiyyīna min dhurriyyati ādama wa-mimman ḥamalnā maʿa nūḥ…)*. This development reaches its climax in Q 3:33: "Truly God preferred Adam and Noah and the family of Abraham and the family of ʿImrān above all the creatures" *(inna llāha ṣṭafā ādama wa-nūḥan wa-āla ibrāhīma wa-āla ʿimrāna ʿalā l-ʿālamīna)*. Accordingly, the divine commandments (q.v.) have been transmitted through that line of succession: Q 42:13, "He ordained for you the religion (q.v.) that he commended to Noah and which we inspire in you" *(sharaʿa lakum mina l-dīni mā waṣṣā bihi nūḥan wa-lladhī awḥaynā ilayka)*.

Still, Noah remains part of two traditions, that of an episodic warner (in Medinan sūras; Q 9:70; 22:42) — one of many — whose people *(qawm)* vanishes and who thus would have no spiritual survival and that of a prophet *(nabī)* whose reception is secured through his participation in a succession of prophets who belong to the scriptural, i.e. biblical, tradition. What is most striking in the

Noah-legend is the lack, or at least the fading appearance, of the essentially mythical characteristics of the story. Thus, the catastrophic uniqueness of the event, the vehemence of the divine wrath (see ANGER) inducing the creator to annihilate humankind, the universality of the catastrophe, are nowhere expressed. The historical dimension, the total renewal after the drowning (q.v.) of humankind is not dramatized, the divine re-acceptance of humankind being only partial (Q 11:48; to say nothing of the conclusion of a new covenant between God and man). Not surprisingly, the age before the diluvium is not marked as it is in the Bible and in later Islamic historiography (al-Azmeh, *Ibn Khaldun*) by particular physical anomalies, such as the existence of fabulous creatures and miraculous qualities in humans, thus appearing as an epoch which does not yet partake of the historical period proper, but demands a new, a second beginning. In the Qurʾān the flood has no such function.

David and Solomon — virtual cultural heroes?

Nor does the "Solomonic mythic florilegium" (see DAVID; SOLOMON), which in the Qurʾān reflects post-biblical rather than biblical knowledge, constitute a consistent story. It focuses on the two heroes' power over the animal and spirit world, as well as natural phenomena: David is lord of the birds (Q 38:17-9), he commands the mountains (Q 38:18; 34:10); Solomon understands the language of the birds (Q 27:16) and of the ants (Q 27:18-9), he commands the wind (Q 21:81; 34:12; 38:36; see AIR AND WIND), and is in control over the demons *(shayāṭīn)* and jinn (Q 21:82). At the same time, both are in the rank of prophets *(anbiyāʾ),* a merit that in David's case is underlined by his receiving the psalms (q.v.; *zubur,* Q 17:55), his competent judgment (q.v.; Q 38:21-6; cf. *2 Sam* 2:1-15) and his just government (see JUSTICE AND INJUSTICE; AUTHORITY), which qualifies him to be called a *khalīfa* on earth (Q 38:26; see CALIPH). In Solomon's case this rank is evidenced by his being granted command over nature and demons. Yet, both remain symbolic figures (see SYMBOLIC IMAGERY), Solomon's essential fame being due to his miraculous relationship with animals and demons with particular supernatural faculties — a privilege that, however, does not distract him from his devotion to the one God. His faithfulness is particularly manifest in the episode with the Queen of Sheba (see BILQĪS). When her throne is transferred to his palace by the *ʿifrīt* (q.v.), he understands the miraculous act not as his personal triumph but as a trial *(fitna)* to prove his gratefulness (Q 27:40; see GRATITUDE AND INGRATITUDE). His aesthetically stunning palace *(ṣarḥ)* with fittings so fine that they produce a "trompe d'oeil" — the Queen takes the brilliant floor to be a water pool — becomes the reason for the conversion of the Queen to the worship of the one God, thus constituting an "antitype" to the building erected by Pharaoh (also *ṣarḥ*) with the blasphemous intent to have a view on the God of Moses (see BLASPHEMY). There are some hints at the conception of both figures as innovators: David is instructed to make coats of mail (Q 21:80; 34:10-11), and Solomon is knowledgeable about a source of metal (Q 34:12); yet their story is hardly apt to serve as an etiology for the human attainment of control over material resources and individual technical inventions; nor do the related facts mark initial achievements sufficient to portray the protagonists as cultural heroes.

Moses' exodus *(isrāʾ)*

The only qurʾānic narrative that could be viewed as a myth of history is the report of the exodus of Moses, which, in Jewish

tradition, signifies the deliverance of the Israelites from slavery; for the Muslim community, this exodus becomes a prototype for the believers' taking refuge from oppressive unbelieving rulers (see OPPRESSION; OPPRESSED ON EARTH, THE). The event of the exodus *(isrāʾ)* has certainly effected a strong influence on the Prophet's own experience of his emigration (q.v.; *hijra*); moreover, before that event, it served as a pattern of finding spiritual relief *(isrāʾ)* in a situation of social suppression in Mecca that had become unbearable to the believers (Neuwirth, Remote temple). Still, the story is not reflected through a full-fledged narrative but is only briefly evoked (i.e. Q 20:77; 26:15-7; 37:115-6). It does not, moreover, represent the decisive turn in the history of Moses' people. It is worth noting that in the qurʾānic story of Moses, the exodus is rivaled by another solution for the oppressed Children of Israel since the salvation of Moses' people is also portrayed in terms of a typological reprise of the flood story (Busse, Herrschertypen, 75). Thus, the invitation to Noah and his family to settle after the flood (Q 23:29) finds its analogy in Q 17:104, where the Children of Israel are given (cf. also Q 7:137; 26:59) the land of Egypt (q.v.) with all its gardens (see GARDEN), springs (see SPRINGS AND FOUNTAINS), fields and treasures (Q 26:57-8; 44:25-8; see BLESSING; GRACE; WEALTH). It is perhaps not the change of real place (as in the exodus) that matters. In the qurʾānic view the promised land may be anywhere that it is possible for the believers to live uncompromised — whether the place is purged of unbelievers through a divine trial, or whether the unbelievers have no further access to the believers after the latter have found refuge by an emigration *(hijra)*. Indeed, an "exodus," an *isrāʾ,* may even be performed spiritually, as shown in the example of the Prophet's night journey (see ASCENSION) — his nocturnal translation to the Jerusalem (q.v.) temple (Q 17:1; see AQṢĀ MOSQUE).

Power and violence

Local history inscribed with God's terror: *al-umam al-khāliya*

There appears to be one single — though variegated — archetypal paradigm in the Qurʾān that has retained its cathartic power throughout the development of the corpus: the story of the annihilated nations, *al-umam al-khāliya* (see PUNISHMENT STORIES). This archetypal topic, which in the Qurʾān has taken the place of the biblical myth of the destruction of the Babylonian tower, is about human hubris resulting in a divine retaliation that annihilates the community and destroys their ambitious project of self-sufficient existence. In the Qurʾān it is not one event but a cycle of similar happenings that demonstrates this pattern. Repeatedly, ancient communities have waxed proud in view of their social success, their wealth, sometimes their luxuriously built residences, their security and fame (see PRIDE; ARROGANCE). Being reminded by a divine messenger (see SHUʿAYB, ṢĀLIḤ, HŪD) of God's claim to worship and thanksgiving they defy and mock the warning (see MOCKERY). They are then overtaken by God's punishment and destroyed. The enigma of the still visible ruins and the vague memory of formerly flourishing communities in the broader neighborhood of the listeners have thus been given an explanation: Not unfavorable social conditions (as presupposed for the deserted living spaces recalled in the amatory introduction of the pre-Islamic *qaṣīda*) or changes in the area's balance of power, but a dramatic divine intervention, an outburst of divine wrath, caused the disappearance of the once glo-

rious cities (see CITY). The two most expressively presented concepts in these punishment stories are human hubris on the one hand, unfolded in "quotations" of the unbelievers' words of rejection, and divine wrath on the other, manifest in the rapidity, the suddenness of destruction often initiated by a divine sign, a seismic scream, or brought about by a vehement storm, an earthquake and the like.

Horovitz *(KU)*, who first examined the punishment stories, classified them as "legends." They deserve, however, to be considered as archetypes: human hubris, entailing blasphemy, leads to divine retaliation. What is missing from the stories is the expression of a fatal human intent to rival God — as is characteristic of the biblical tower-builders. The qurʾānic city-dwellers do not seek a confrontation with God: not being monotheistic believers they treat the divine warning rather indifferently, reacting (if at all) with arrogance and annoyance. The qurʾānic narrative, thus, as far as the contest between the peoples and their messengers is concerned, remains largely devoid of dramatic effects. The ever-recurrent typological pattern is overwhelming; it is due to an interpretation of history informed by the experience of the Prophet and his community (see OCCASIONS OF REVELATION): "Just as the qurʾānic emphasis on the atomism of time had frozen the flux of time into that of reiterated instants of God's action, so its typology of history had collapsed the rich variety of past events into a regularly recurring pattern" (see Böwering, Chronology, 319). This certain loss in terms of quantitative knowledge of historical facts may be viewed, however, as a gain in expressiveness in the process of conveying the message. It is God's role that retains highly dramatic traits; the divine figure appears sometimes strikingly close to that of a mythic agent: "And their [i.e. the Thamūd's] lord doomed them for their sin and razed [their dwellings]" (*fa-damdama ʿalayhim rabbuhum bi-dhanbihim fa-sawwāhā,* Q 91:14), "and your lord poured on them the disaster" (*fa-ṣabba ʿalayhim rabbuka sawṭa ʿadhāb,* Q 89:13). This highly metaphoric speech (see METAPHOR) is made possible by the linguistic medium of *sajʿ*, which would be ill-suited to accommodate complex narratives. One has to keep in mind that the historical and temporal scope of the Qurʾān cannot be viewed in isolation from the Qurʾān's rhetorical tradition, whose *kāhin*-speech models are undeniable (see RHETORIC OF THE QURʾĀN). *Kāhin* speech is shrouded in mystery; rather than revealing facts, it encodes them. Since the situation in antiquity is typologically close to that of the believing group around the Prophet, the vacuum is filled with rejoinders from their experience. Thus the current situation acquires surplus meaning by being underscored with an archetypal dimension whose pattern even appears inscribed into the landscape of the broader homeland.

Although the stories about the flood, on the one hand, and the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah (see LOT) and the punishment of Pharaoh, on the other, are not geographically associated with the Arabian peninsula (belonging, rather, to the cycle of biblical stories situated in the Holy Land or its surroundings, a cycle which at a later stage of the qurʾānic development becomes dissociated from the punishment stories), they reveal in the early sūras the pattern of the Arabian retaliation (q.v.) legends. In summary, one may note that the punishment stories provide a pattern for the initial lack of success experienced by the Prophet and his community in Mecca. Worldly values held by the unbelieving elites and an endangered and isolated stance on the part of the messenger,

make up the ever-repeated pattern without generating a linear relation between them (for a reconstruction of the pre-Islamic myth wrought about the ancient people of Thamūd, see Stetkevych, *Golden bough*).

Trangressions of boundaries

The first act of disobedience as a double etiology: Man's exile from paradise, Satan's representation of evil

An explicit divine interdiction was violated by the first man, Adam, and his unnamed wife: despite a divine injunction not to approach a particular tree in paradise (q.v.), they both tasted the forbidden (q.v.) fruit (see AGRICULTURE AND VEGETATION). Through this act they became aware of their nakedness (see NUDITY). Shocked by this new awareness that is felt as shameful exposure, they feel the need to cover themselves (see MODESTY). Soon afterwards, they are called on by God to render account for their transgression (see BOUNDARIES AND PRECEPTS). Instead of being cursed and condemned to hard work and painful childbearing as in the biblical precedent, they are treated rather gently. They are sent "down" from paradise *(ihbiṭū)* to settle on earth (q.v.) — not, however, to their fatal detriment, since this punishment is immediately followed by a new offer of divine guidance (Neuwirth, Negotiating justice; see also ASTRAY). Nor is the news of their mortality, which is disclosed to them together with the news of their exile (Q 20:117), momentous since it is alleviated by the simultaneous assurance of their ultimate resurrection (q.v.).

It is true that the story serves *inter alia* to explain the existence of humankind on earth; this is not, however, in any striking contrast to their sojourn in paradise since, in the qurʾānic understanding, their terrestrial habitat is decent if not luxurious. More often, the story is adduced to demonstrate the dangerous nature of Satan — his obsequiousness exposing man's nakedness (Q 7:27), his insincerity in promising benefits he will not deliver (Q 7:22). Satan, who from the beginning of the qurʾānic reception of the story (Q 20) is instrumental in the couple's transgression, is only in the last report (Q 7) ultimately to blame. It is obviously not the etiological dimension that caused the story to be repeatedly presented in the Qurʾān, since a few virtual etiologies (which, in the biblical report support the significance of the narrative as a cultural myth) remain undeveloped in the Qurʾān, such as the fact of the first couple's achieving a mature perception of themselves, their learning about their sexuality (see SEX AND SEXUALITY) and their inventing the custom of clothing (q.v.). The telos of the story, rather, points to theodicy. It is true, the first couple were not substantially blamed and punished for their disobedience (q.v.), yet the pattern of "transgression followed by rendering account" — a particularly effective archetype — has been established as the primordial pattern of human-divine interaction (see RECORD OF HUMAN ACTIONS). In the qurʾānic understanding the regret of the perpetrator saves him from a hard punishment (see REPENTANCE AND PENANCE).

Satan, under the name of Iblīs, was viewed in the beginning as the tester, the agent of legitimate challenge to humans. He was delegated to perform this task during a debate with God that arose after he had shown his defiance of blind obedience (q.v.), refusing to bow down before a being — namely Adam (Q 15:33) — other than his divine lord (q.v.). Indeed, the transition of created beings from submissive creatures to autonomous agents in the interaction with the Divine, belonging to Adam in biblical tradition, in the Qurʾān is Iblīs' achievement whose tragic consequences he takes upon himself. It is only through his work that the elect community, who is not liable to fall victim to his seduc-

tion, becomes distinguishable from the unbelievers. Whereas God himself in the first debate scene agreed to the project proposed by Iblīs (Q 15:41), in the further development of the community Iblīs' image — once his persona has merged with that of Satan *(al-shayṭān)* — darkens considerably: in the end he appears as the enemy of humans, the personification of evil *par excellence*. He and his escorts will therefore be annihilated in hellfire so as to re-establish justice at the end of times (see HELL AND HELLFIRE). Iblīs is, however, rehabilitated in later Islamic tradition. Although the qurʾānic account of creation does not culminate in human acquisition of knowledge (see KNOWLEDGE AND LEARNING) as a fruit picked from the forbidden tree at Iblīs' instigation, still Iblīs is raised — in the profane tradition — to the rank of the seducer, the permanent agent of provocation through whom a substantial broadening of horizons of experience becomes possible. He enjoys an equally unique position in at least one branch of Ṣūfī tradition (see ṢŪFISM AND THE QURʾĀN) that has strongly influenced literature, where Iblīs is acknowledged as the sole figure possessing knowledge about the true will of God. His ongoing influence — not only as an ambivalent, but as a tragic figure as well — continues to manifest itself in diverse forms (Awn, *Satan's tragedy;* Shaikh, *Der Teufel*).

The elect space: From Mecca to Jerusalem

The mythical notion of a space that excels over all other space is traceable in the Qurʾān, though it is widely modified to suit the framework of a religion of revelation. While there is a strong notion of Mecca's excellence in the early sūras (Q 90:1; 95:3; 105; 106), the focus during the Meccan era switches to Jerusalem, which first enjoys the unique rank of being the point of orientation in the prayer (q.v.) of the early Muslim worshippers (see QIBLA). Although the Qurʾān itself does not explicitly mention Jerusalem by name, the adoption of the rite to pray towards it clearly presupposes its high rank in the community. The night journey *(isrāʾ)* of the Prophet in a miraculous way transferred him temporarily to the "remote temple" (Q 17:1, *al-masjid al-aqṣā*), the destination of the prayers of the community. During the later Meccan activities of the Prophet, Jerusalem with its temple becomes the prototype of a holy city. In Medina (q.v.) it served as the model for the perception of a religious center, after which the new Islamic holy city was shaped. Mecca, which takes over as the space of origin for Islam, is thus not only a place from which the Islamic ritual originated, but also — in analogy to Jerusalem (cf. *Isa* 2:3: For out of Zion shall go forth the Torah and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem) — the birthplace of Islamic verbal worship, as indicated in Q 2:129: "Our lord! And raise up among them a messenger from them who will recite to them your signs and teach them the book and the wisdom and enrich them. Truly you are the mighty, the wise" (*rabbanā wa-bʿath fīhim rasūlan minhum yatlū ʿalayhim āyātika wa-yuʿallimuhumu l-kitāba wa-l-ḥikmata wa-yuzakkīhim innaka anta l-ʿazīzu l-ḥakīm;* see Neuwirth, Spiritual meaning). As the place at which all Muslim prayers converge, Mecca is the center of the earth, the *omphalos mundi*.

Love and sexuality

Joseph and Zulaykha

The myth of the woman who, through her seduction of the man, brought mischief into the world does not exist in the Qurʾān (see GENDER; WOMEN AND THE QURʾĀN). Eve was not instrumental in Adams's transgression and is thus not considered responsible for Adam's predicament. Still the notion of a devious behavior innate in women is confirmed in the Qurʾān, labeled

kayd al-nisāʾ, which is explicitly and *par excellence* attributed to the unnamed wife of Potiphar, the Egyptian official in whose house Joseph (q.v.) was lodged. Although she does not succeed in seducing Joseph and leading him astray from his way as a chosen one of God (see ELECTION), she does exercise some power over him. Being sexually attracted to her and thus distracted from his exclusive devotion to God, he finds the strength to resist her only through divine intervention (Q 12:24). Still, she is not categorically derogated in the Qurʾān; rather, unlike the situation in the biblical story, she is given the opportunity to repent and acknowledge her moral failure. This opens the way for her post-qurʾānic rehabilitation and elevation to the rank of Joseph's beloved and, later, wife. It is worth noting that though her behavior in the Qurʾān appears to be an attempted act of *zinā* (see ADULTERY AND FORNICATION), she is not actually accused of such a transgression of the limits set to female freedom (see BOUNDARIES AND PRECEPTS). In view of her positive image in the Qurʾān, it is not surprising that she could be accepted in Ṣūfism as a female icon.

The virgin mother: Mary

A reverse projection of the seductress is the virgin mother, Mary (q.v.; Maryam). She, again viewed from the outward appearance of her fate, manifests a case of transgression of the limits of female freedom, although is herself innocent. Having borne a child outside of marriage, she is rescued from the wrath of her relatives by a miracle: her baby son is endowed with the power of speech (q.v.) and speaks on her behalf. He presents himself as God's elect, a rank also enjoyed by John (Yaḥyā; see JOHN THE BAPTIST), the son of Zechariah (q.v.; Zakariyyā), whose birth was likewise accompanied by miraculous circumstances. Mary is the only female figure in the Qurʾān presented by name; she also has the privilege of being personally addressed by God's word through an angelic messenger (see WORD OF GOD; HOLY SPIRIT; GABRIEL). In the Qurʾān, Mary is not presented as a suffering woman as she is in Christianity (see CHRISTIANS AND CHRISTIANITY) since she does not have to see her son suffer (see SUFFERING; CRUCIFIXION). In Islam the prototype of the suffering woman is, in later tradition, embodied in Fāṭima (q.v.), the daughter of the Prophet. Thus, the role that, according to Christian understanding, Mary plays in the eschatological realm is, in Islam, taken over by Fāṭima, although with a marked difference:

> Only Mary has a necessary role in the scheme of redemption. Fatima plays a more active role at the End of Days than does Mary, but there is no suggestion in Islam that redemption would be impossible without her. According to the (Shiʿite) Islamic view of redemption as the fulfillment of human life through suffering, Fatima, as the greatest sufferer on earth, will enjoy the greatest rewards on the day of resurrection (Sered, Rachel, Mary, Fatima, 136).

Paradisiacal distributions of the genders

What is not stressed in the narratives is, however, presupposed in the qurʾānic worldview: it is male dominance that "informs life on earth and life in heaven.… While the Qurʾān assures women of faith that they will go to heaven [Q 4:124; 16:97] it offers them no insight as to what their place in heaven will be" (Combs-Schilling, *Sacred performances,* 61). Paradisiacal space — this has been lamented over and over by Muslim feminists (see FEMINISM AND THE QURʾĀN) — seems to be equipped solely for the believer of the male sex. It is true that the depictions of paradise, which appear in the early sūras and portray banquet scenes with the believers being served

by beautiful youths and enjoying the company of (or being married to) beautiful young girls, labeled *ḥūr ʿīn* (see HOURIS) for the striking beauty of their eyes, reflect a purely male imagination of ultimate happiness (Q 55:56-8; 44:54). These descriptions of the qurʾānic *janna* (lit. "garden") have been discussed in detail by Horovitz *(Koranische Paradies),* who suggests that they reflect magnifications of festal banquets familiar in the circles of tribal elites and well-known to the listeners of the Qurʾān from their representation in ancient Arabic poetry. They may thus be understood as static tableaux of both natural and sensual consummation and spiritual bliss. Andrew Rippin (Commerce of eschatology, 134), in contrast, has viewed these images as a "fundamental appreciation of ideal human nature as the monotheistic tradition conceives it."

The images of the garden have been interpreted by anthropologists, — who view them through their exegetical amplifications — however, primarily under the aspect of sexual satisfaction:

> With the *ḥūrī,* sexual satisfaction is never ending, and not marred by fear as it is on earth. Men have nothing to fear from the *ḥūrīs,* for they have no personalities, no individual desires, no chance for roaming; the Qurʾān guarantees their virginity, that they will not have been touched by man nor jinn when the believing male enters them, and they will be permanently attached to the man to whom they are given (Combs-Schilling, *Sacred performances,* 95).

Whereas earlier sūras insist on these projections into the eternal sphere of earthly bliss understood on the basis of male experience, later texts modified the image. Their explicit mentioning of female participation in paradisiacal recompense (Q 43:70-3) reflects a new understanding of earthly and heavenly life on the side of the listeners. Meanwhile, a community had been established, where women — not least in the Prophet's own household (see WIVES OF THE PROPHET; FAMILY OF THE PROPHET) — played vital roles. The issue of transcendent happiness was no longer taken as part of a symbolic realm, but debated in its details and fleshed out to form a reference text for the believers. The "impressionist," somewhat enigmatic and highly symbolic text of the old *janna*-descriptions was transformed into a reference text where, ritually and legally, in terms of justice and morals, everything should be spelled out unambiguously.

It may be helpful for understanding the contextuality and historical conditions for the qurʾānic descriptions of *janna,* to remember that the Prophet himself may have had a more complex and positive appreciation of women.

> Early Islam exhibits much the same trajectory in the definition of the female as does early Christianity… Islam has its ʿA'isha [see ʿĀʾISHA BINT ABĪ BAKR] just as Christianity has its Mary Magdalene. Both are highly charged sexual and sensual females — the one suspected of adultery in the desert, the other confirmed of prostitution — and yet each is valued as somehow intrinsically pure and good in the eyes of the founder of the faith, Muhammad or Jesus. It seems plausible that these founders did not dichotomize sexuality and spirituality in the ways that their followers did, and in fact found them persuasively combined in these women. Yet their esteem for that combination was not to endure. Neither ʿA'isha nor Mary Magdalene became the dominant image of the proper female in the respective cultural traditions that arose out of the two faiths. Muslims on the whole find blasphemous the notion that it might have been good for ʿA'isha… to have become a public model for other

women, while Christians on the whole find blasphemous the notion that Jesus might have exchanged sexual tenderness with Mary Magdalene.… Yet it could be argued that the founders of the two faiths were broader in their understanding of the possible combinations of faith, womanhood, and sexuality than the majority of their followers, and that they made that acceptance clear — Muhammad by dying in ʿA'isha's arms and Jesus by first appearing after his crucifixion to Mary Magdalene, whom he authorized to go and tell the male disciples the earthshaking news that he still lived. These events are recorded in the hallowed texts. Yet the dominant cultural perspectives that have developed in the contexts of these faiths for the most part leave by the wayside these two women as embodiments of proper womanhood and instead concentrate the collectivity's attention and definitions on immaculate conception and virginal mothers (Combs-Schilling, *Sacred performances,* 91-2).

Fates of the hero

There are a few figures in the Qurʾān who acquire heroic dimensions, the most prominent being Abraham, Joseph, Moses (see for his appearance in Q 18, Jung, Four archetypes), and Jesus (see Bauschke, *Jesus*). Their stories are not devoid of archetypal traits as the following selected examples may illustrate.

Abraham, destroyer of idols

Abraham is the protagonist of a most diversified narrative reported in several qurʾānic texts (Q 6:74-84; 19:41-50; 21:51-73; 26:69-86; 29:16-27; 37:83-98; 43:26-7; 60:4). The earliest achievement in his career is the smashing of the idols (see IDOLS AND IMAGES), i.e. the destruction of the old order, thus making a new order possible. The incident, which is not biblical but midrashic, portrays him as a cultural hero. A debate with an unbelieving ruler usually identified with Nimrod (q.v.; Q 2:258-60) and the destruction of the idols of his father (Q 6:74-84; 19:41-50; 21:57-8; 26:16-27; 37:93; see IDOLATRY AND IDOLATERS), which is followed by his being sentenced to be burnt alive — a fate from which he is saved by God (Q 21:68-9; 29:24; 37:97-8), leads to his expulsion from his homeland. Abraham performs a *hijra,* a secession from his father and his homeland to encounter God in a new land where he will raise his family (Q 19:48-9; 21:71; 29:26). Though a number of further encounters with God are recalled in the Qurʾān (his intimate relationship with the divine lord earns him the title of a friend of God, *khalīl Allāh;* see FRIENDS AND FRIENDSHIP), it is his early identification as a monotheist (*ḥanīf,* q.v.) in a pagan world, that elevates him to his unique rank, in the Qurʾān and later in Islam, as the founder of monotheistic worship. With his emigration he sets an example for the believer who, when living under persecutors of religion, chooses emigration. He becomes the prototype of the prophet Muḥammad and, as such, rightly figures prominently in the text of the Muslim ritual prayer.

Abraham and sacrifice

The subverted approach to the problem of succession: not by the son's replacing the father, but the father's preparedness to annihilate his son is reflected in the Qurʾān in the episode of Abraham's sacrifice (q.v.) of his son (Q 37:102-13). Unlike the biblical case, in the Qurʾān the son voluntarily sacrifices himself (Q 37:102) but the father is spared the enactment of the sacrifice through divine intervention. The story, which is the central etiology of the Islamic pilgrimage (q.v.; *ḥajj*), a ceremony believed to have been initiated by Abraham, has

been interpreted by anthropologists in terms of a corroboration of patriarchy (q.v.).

The Ibrāhīm myth powerfully undergirds the rightful domination of father over son, of senior men over junior men, of all males over females and children — of patriarchy. Ibrāhīm (Islam's archetypal father) submitted to God's demand even to the point of trying to kill his own son, and the son, because he was faithful and loyal (Islam's archetypal son) actively cooperated with the father's attempt at his own sacrifice; the son knowingly submitted to what was to be his death at this father's hands.… Islam's myth both transcends and reinforces patrilineality, the inheritance [q.v.] of goods and position through the male line. Transcendence comes because, as told in the Qurʾān, the prophet Ibrāhīm had to deny his own father in order to remain faithful to the one God (Ibrāhīm's father rejected monotheism and forced the fissure between father and son). Yet the Qurʾān also reinforces patrilineality by portraying the ultimate sacrifice that God demands of humans as the sacrifice of the most precious tie on earth… the fundamental patrilineal connection. The myth of sacrifice ennobles that bond over all others. So at the same time that the Qurʾān underlines the limits of patrilineal affiliation (Muslims must deny it if it threatens the faith), it reinforces patrilineality, for it was the father in connection with the son that made for connection to the divine and won for father and son — and by extension also humanity — long life on earth and eternal life thereafter. According to tradition, Ibrāhīm and his son walked away from the place of sacrifice and went on to establish some of the holiest places in Islam (Combs-Schilling, *Sacred performances,* 57 f.).

Moses — prophet and leader of his people

The closeness of the Islamic Prophet to Moses is attested already in early sūras. Q 52 and Q 95 start with an oath (see OATHS) by Mount Sinai (q.v.) and the sanctuary of Mecca, the scene of Muḥammad's own activity. Moses is evoked in Meccan sūras more than 120 times, more often than any other biblical figure. This is not surprising since Moses is the Israelite prophet *par excellence*. To him God had spoken with an intimacy unrivaled by any other messenger. He had been granted the Torah and, by leading the exodus out of Egypt, had shaped the destiny of the Israelites in most significant ways. It is worth noting that Moses is portrayed first as a messenger sent to an unbelieving ruler, Pharaoh. But unlike the rest of the early warners, he is uniquely equipped for his task: he was called by God at a sacred place (*al-wādi l-muqaddas ṭūwan,* Q 20:12; cf. 79:16) where he was allowed to hear the voice of God himself — a point elaborated in later reports (Q 20:13; see ANTHROPOMORPHISM) — and was ordered to perform (and endorse) the ritual prayer (q.v.; *aqimi l-ṣalāta,* Q 20:14). It is this particular authorization and his subsequent delivery from fear (q.v.) and anxiety (*ishraḥ lī ṣadrī,* Q 20:25) that give him the strength to speak out in front of Pharaoh, the stubborn denier of the oneness of God (see INSOLENCE AND OBSTINACY). Moses is thus a prefiguration of the Prophet himself, who also was granted an intimate encounter with God, experiencing a vision — according to one interpretation — of God himself seated on his throne (Q 53:6-7: *dhū mirratin fa-stawā wa-huwa bi-l-ufuqi l-aʿlā;* see VISIONS; THRONE OF GOD), a supernatural experience which, like Moses', was staged in a particularly exalted place, near "the garden of promise" (*jannat al-maʾwā,* Q 53:15). Like Moses, Muḥammad

experienced a widening of the breast (Q 94:1: *a-lam nashraḥ laka ṣadraka*) during the early phase of his prophetic activity.

Later portrayals of Moses complement his fate before his divine call to prophethood without embellishing his ambivalent personality: while still in Egypt, he unintentionally killed a person, and is thus obliged to hide. It is on his way back from his refuge in Midian (q.v.) that he receives the divine call. The emphasis remains on his debates with the powerful ruler, Pharaoh, whom he is unable to convince, and who prevails over the messenger. Not unlike other stubborn unbelievers, Pharaoh is punished in this world and awaits punishment in the next. As in previous retaliation legends, in this case, too, the believers are saved, with a miraculous passage through the sea. The exodus *(isrāʾ),* which typologically resembles the *hijra,* is, however, not compared to that latter event. Moreover, it serves as a prototype for the Prophet's and the Meccan believers' spiritual exodus (Q 17:1) out of their local situation of distress; i.e. by imagining the Holy Land and orienting themselves in their prayers towards Jerusalem. Moses' role as a leader and lawgiver of his people is often evoked but rarely presented (see LAW AND THE QURʾĀN) — his trial of the culprits of the blasphemous veneration of the golden calf (Q 2:51-4; 20:87 f.; see CALF OF GOLD) is the only example of his practicing the ethical injunction to command the good and forbid the wrong (*al-amr bi-l-maʿrūf wa-l-nahy ʿan al-munkar,* see VIRTUES AND VICES, COMMANDING AND FORBIDDING).

Moses has also left traces in Islamic ritual, since his receiving the tablets of the law on Mount Sinai became significant for the Islamic festal calendar, with Ramaḍān (q.v.) having its prototype in the Mosaic Day of Atonement (see FASTING; ATONEMENT).

In the Medinan Sūrat al-Baqara ("The Cow"; Q 2), the sūra that contains the promulgation of the fast of Ramaḍān (Q 2:187-90), one of the main themes carries the motifs of the Moses story connected with the Day of Atonement. "Moses' stay on Mount Sinai, the sin of the golden calf, God's forgiveness [q.v.] and bestowal of the book… are repeated in sūra 2 with much emphasis" (cf. Goitein, Ramaḍān, 190). There is also a hint as to the time of the implementation of the Mosaic rule of fasting: the mention of the bestowal of the revelation together with that of *al-furqān* (lit. "decision, redemption, liberation") in Q 2:185 (*bayyinātin mina l-hudā wa-l-furqāni;* cf. Q 44:1-4; see CRITERION) — recalls the text commemorating the battle of Badr (q.v.; Q 8:41: *wa-mā anzalnā ʿalā ʿabdinā yawma l-furqāni yawma ltaqā l-jamʿān,* "what we revealed to our servant on the day of discernment, the day the two groups met"). In this latter context, *furqān* connotes a decisive, liberating victory over threatening enemies. It is both experiences — as K. Wagtendonk *(Fasting)* has concluded — the decisive military victory of the Muslim community and the bestowal of the book upon them, that have given rise to the institution of the month of fasting in Islam. This is very much in accordance with the case of Moses (Q 2:53: *wa-idh ātaynā mūsā l-kitāba wa-l-furqāna,* "when we gave Moses the book and the criterion"), the central figure of the founding legend of Jewish fasting on the Day of Atonement, who likewise brought his people a twofold blessing, political liberation and divine revelation (see POLITICS AND THE QURʾĀN).

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N

Nabī

see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD; MUḤAMMAD

Nadhīr

see WARNER

Naḍīr (Banū al-)

One of several Jewish clans of Medina (q.v.) in pre- and early Islamic times (see JEWS AND JUDAISM; TRIBES AND CLANS; PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QUR'ĀN). In the Islamic tradition, they are usually considered part of the triad of important Medinan Jewish clans that also includes the Banū Qaynuqāʿ (see QAYNUQĀʿ) and the Banū Qurayẓa, though often only the Naḍīr and the Qurayẓa (q.v.) are mentioned. The latter two were sometimes called *al-kāhinān,* "the two priest clans" and Arabic sources provide an Arabicized "Israelite" genealogy of the Naḍīr reaching back to Aaron (q.v.; Hārūn).

The actual origin of the Naḍīr is obscure, as is the derivation of their name. A number of persons belonging to them are known by name from the Arabic sources and some of these play an important role in Muḥammad's Medinan period (see CHRONOLOGY AND THE QUR'ĀN). Among the latter are the poet Kaʿb b. al-Ashraf, who mocked (see MOCKERY) the Prophet and was then assassinated in a nocturnal raid to Khaybar (see EXPEDITIONS AND BATTLES); Sallām b. Abī l-Ḥuqayq, likewise assassinated in Khaybar; and Ḥuyayy b. Akhṭab, the father of Ṣafīya, who eventually was one of Muḥammad's wives (see WIVES OF THE PROPHET). The Naḍīr, we are told, supported the Meccan allies against the Muslims, e.g. by sheltering Abū Sufyān and inciting the Meccans (as well as other Jewish clans) to oppose the Prophet (see OPPOSITION TO MUḤAMMAD).

The story of the Naḍīr and the exact chronology of events cannot, from today's perspective, be reconstructed with certainty. The most common version is as follows: After growing tensions, Kaʿb b. al-Ashraf was killed in 3/625. Then, after the battle of Uḥud (q.v.), the Naḍīr attempted to assassinate Muḥammad by having a rock fall upon him. The plot failed but the Muslims laid siege to their quarter in late 3 or 4/625. After about two weeks and possibly without any serious fighting (q.v.), the Naḍīr capitulated; they had lost their spirit when Muḥammad ordered their palms (see DATE PALM) to be destroyed, reference to which is found in Q 59:5, according to

Muslim exegetes (see EXEGESIS OF THE QUR'ĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL). The Naḍīr agreed to leave Medina for Khaybar on the condition that they carry away their movable belongings but surrender their lands and dwellings. When the Muslims conquered Khaybar in 7/628, the Naḍīr were expelled again and this time left for Syria (q.v.). In Khaybar, Ṣafīya was taken captive; the Prophet freed her, she converted to Islam and was married to him.

This "orthodox" account of the conflict with the Naḍīr is, if studied in detail, not without serious drawbacks. Other sources report diverse motives for the siege (e.g. the Naḍīr breaking a treaty with the Muslims), and the sequence of events remains confused; even the second expulsion of the Naḍīr from Khaybar is questionable. The actions of prominent members of the Naḍīr cannot be fully individualized, and some later descendants of the Naḍīr whose existence is ascertained for the first Islamic centuries remain completely obscure.

Although the Naḍīr are not named in the Qur'ān, a number of passages are often said to refer to them or to one of their members, e.g. Q 2:84 f., 178, 256; 4:51, 60; 5:11, 42. Q 59:2-15 is, however, by far the most important passage. These verses relate, according to the majority of sources, to the siege and expulsion of the Naḍīr. Although these verses do mention some details of what is reported in the "orthodox" version (e.g. the destruction of the palm trees), the bulk of this passage deals with the partition of the booty (q.v.) among the Muslims (Q 59:6-10). In any case, the general vagueness of Q 59:2-15 also supports those existing reports that differ from the "orthodox" version of what, exactly, happened to the Naḍīr and why. It seems significant that some early exegetes did claim — due to the use, in Q 59:2, of the ambiguous term *al-ḥashr,* which might mean a grouping together of people (such as for a siege or for an expulsion) or the congregation of humankind on the last day (see LAST JUDGMENT) — that these verses do not refer to a historical event at all, but rather to the fate of the Jews at the end of time (see ESCHATOLOGY; APOCALYPSE).

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Nafs

see SOUL; SPIRIT; LIFE; ANATOMY

Najrān

A major Arab urban center of pre-Islamic south Arabia, not attested by name in the Qurʾān, but probably alluded to in Q 34:18 and 85:10. The dominant group of the city was the tribe of Balḥārith, the chief clan of whom was Banū ʿAbd al-Madān (see TRIBES AND CLANS; ARABS; PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QURʾĀN). Najrān was both an agricultural and an industrial center producing cereals, fruits, vegetables, leather and textiles (see HIDES AND FLEECE; HUNTING AND FISHING; CITY; AGRICULTURE AND VEGETATION). It was also a caravan (q.v.) city, at which the celebrated spice route bifurcated, running through Yamāma into Mesopotamia and through the Ḥijāz into Syria (q.v.; Bilād al-Shām; see also GEOGRAPHY). But the flourishing caravan city became involved in religion — Judaism, Christianity, and Islam — which changed the course of its life and history (see JEWS AND JUDAISM; CHRISTIANS AND CHRISTIANITY).

Christianity reached it in the fifth century, and soon Najrān became an episcopal see and the main center of Christianity — predominantly Monophysite — in the Arabian peninsula. Around 520 C.E., Yūsuf, the Judaizing king of Ḥimyarite south Arabia (see YEMEN; SOUTH ARABIA, RELIGION IN PRE-ISLAMIC), persecuted the Christians of the region and some four hundred Najrānites were killed, both men and women, including their chief, al-Ḥārith/Arethas. Shortly thereafter, the Ethiopians (see ABYSSINIA) restored Christianity and this ushered in the golden period of Najrān as an Arabian martyropolis, "the city of martyrs," and the holy city of the Arabs for one hundred years. A great martyrion was built, Kaʿbat Najrān, which became a pilgrimage center for the Christian Arabs. The cult of relics was given an impetus, and martyria were constructed both in south Arabia and in Syria (Bilād al-Shām) among the Monophysite Ghassānids, relatives of the Balḥārith of Najrān. Its martyrs were canonized by the universal Church, which celebrates their feast on the 24th of October.

The rise of Islam in the seventh century profoundly affected the fortunes of Najrān. The two phases of its encounter with Islam, first the dialogue and then the confrontation, represent the earliest chapter in the history of Muslim-Christian relations. The first friendly encounter is reflected in the figure of Quss, said to have been the bishop of Najrān. It is not altogether incredible that he was such and that Muḥammad did indeed hear him preach at ʿUkāẓ. Najrān is implied in a qurʾānic verse (Q 34:18) either as one of the "blessed cities" or those "clearly visible" while a tradition attributed to Muḥammad (see ḤADĪTH AND THE QURʾĀN) considers it one of the protected, guarded cities. An echo of the martyrdom in Najrān may possibly be audible in a qurʾānic verse, Q 85:10 (and not in the allusion to the People of the Ditch [q.v.] of Q 85:4-9, as is often thought).

The Muslim conquest of south Arabia put Islam and Najrān on a collision course. A delegation reached the prophet Muḥammad from Najrān in Medina (q.v.) in 10/630. The objurgation (*mubāhala,* see CURSE; OATHS) was averted when the delegation withdrew from the contest, and Muḥammad concluded a treaty with them. In this treaty, the Najrānites were assured of their freedom of worship (q.v.) but they had to pay an annual tribute (see TAXATION; CONTRACTS AND ALLIANCES; RELIGIOUS PLURALISM AND THE QURʾĀN). This treaty was the first of its kind between the nascent Muslim state and a Christian one, the city-state of Najrān. Soon, during the caliphate of ʿUmar, the Najrānites were ordered to vacate their city, which

they did, settling in Iraq (q.v.) in al-Najrāniyya, a locale not far from Kūfa.

Christianity, however, did not entirely vanish from Najrān but lingered into early Islamic times. Part of Balḥārith apparently remained and did not emigrate. In due course, Christian Najrān did vanish and became a toponym denoting a heap of ruins, called Ukhdūd (q.v.), while another Najrān, Muslim Najrān, arose to the north-west of Ukhdūd, and whose Arabs still call themselves Balḥārith; today, both lie in the district of ʿAsīr in Saudi Arabia.

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Nakedness

see NUDITY

Names of God

see GOD AND HIS ATTRIBUTES

Names of the Prophet

The proper personal name as well as the titles and other additional names Muḥammad (q.v.) has claimed, or by which Muslims have recognized him.

The personal name of the Prophet

According to the rules of Arabic nomenclature, the full personal name of Islam's founder was Abū l-Qāsim Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh al-Hāshimī al-Qurashī. The *kunya* Abū l-Qāsim recalls that he was the father of a boy called al-Qāsim, who died at an early age. Some ḥadīths (see ḤADĪTH AND THE QURʾĀN) sought to limit the use of this *kunya,* after the time of Muḥammad (Déclais, La *kunya*). The name Muḥammad, "worthy of praise," had been used before Islam, albeit rarely (recently some western scholars have interpreted the belabored attempts to find attestations of "Muḥammad" in the Age of Ignorance [q.v.; *jāhiliyya*] as evidence that Muḥammad was not, in fact, the Prophet's given name). Ibn Saʿd collected several pious traditions, according to which five people (including an *usquf,* bishop) had been given this name before Islam. Their parents hoped that each would be the awaited prophet (see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD). For his part, al-Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ (d. 544/1149) indicates that there were others who were called Muḥammad (*al-Shifāʾ,* 230) when he states: "God prevented those with this name from claiming to be prophets or others declaring them to be so or some cause manifesting itself in them which might make anyone consider the merits of their case." ʿAbdallāh is the name traditionally ascribed to Muḥammad's father. The other names indicate that he belonged to the Hāshim clan of the Quraysh (q.v.) tribe (see TRIBES AND CLANS; FAMILY OF THE PROPHET).

The Qurʾān mentions the name Muḥammad four times (Q 3:144; 33:40; 47:2; 48:29). In another verse (Q 61:6) the name appears as Aḥmad and its meaning is disputed. In this verse, Jesus (q.v.) states: "I announce a messenger (q.v.) who will come after me, whose name will be Aḥmad." The majority of commentators have regarded it as a

proper name but it may be simply a superlative adjective: "whose name will be most deserving of praise" (a reference to the meaning of Muḥammad). In the reading of Ubayy b. Kaʿb, this verse is rather different: "I announce a prophet whose community (see COMMUNITY AND SOCIETY IN THE QURʾĀN) will be the final one and by whom God will put the final seal on prophets and messengers" (Paret, *Kommentar,* 476). Be that as it may, Aḥmad has become a proper name among Muslims. The expressions *al-rasūl,* "the messenger" (Q 2:143; 3:32, 86, etc.), and *al-nabī,* "the Prophet" (Q 3:68; 5:81, etc.), indicate his mission and serve as actual proper names in the same way as "Christ" is used to describe Jesus of Nazareth by Christians (see CHRISTIANS AND CHRISTIANITY).

The names and titles of the Prophet in the ḥadīth collections

Mālik b. Anas (d. 179/796) concluded his *Muwaṭṭaʾ* with a section entitled "Chapter on the Names of the Prophet," which contains the following single ḥadīth of Jubayr b. Muṭʿim: "The Prophet said: 'I have five names. I am Muḥammad; I am Aḥmad; I am al-Māḥī, because through me God abolishes unbelief; I am al-Ḥāshir because men will be gathered behind me (at the end of time); I am al-ʿĀqib ("the last").'" Al-Bukhārī (d. 256/870; *Ṣaḥīḥ, Kītāb al-Manāqib*) has a section entitled "The Names of the Prophet." He quotes Q 33:40, 48:29 and Q 61:6, cites the abovementioned ḥadīth of Jubayr and adds the following ḥadīth of Abū Hurayra (d. ca. 58/678): "The messenger of God has said: 'Do you not admire how God has turned away from me the insult and the curse of the Quraysh? They insult a *mudhammam,* they curse a *mudhammam,* whereas I am a *muḥammad*.'" He ends with a parable upon "the seal of the prophets" and a ḥadīth on the Prophet's *kunya*. Muslim *(Ṣaḥīḥ, Kītāb al-Faḍāʾil)* has the same heading, under which he quotes the ḥadīth of Jubayr and the following one by Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī: "The messenger of God told us some of the names he had. He said 'I am Muḥammad and Aḥmad and al-Muqaffī (the one who comes after the others; cf. Q 2:87; 5:46; 57:27) and al-Ḥāshir and the Prophet of repentance (see REPENTANCE AND PENANCE) and the Prophet of mercy (q.v.).'" The *Musnad* of Ibn Ḥanbal quotes the same ḥadīths in the sections dedicated to Jubayr (iv, 80-4), to Abū Hurayra (ii, 244), to Abū Mūsā (iv, 404, with the variant "Prophet of battles" [see EXPEDITIONS AND BATTLES] instead of "Prophet of mercy"), and to Ḥudhayfa b. al-Yamān (v, 405). In the same way, he recounts from ʿAwf b. Mālik (vi, 25) how the Prophet proclaimed his titles before a Jewish assembly that refused to recognize him (see JEWS AND JUDAISM): "By God, I am al-Ḥāshir, I am al-ʿĀqib, I am the chosen Prophet *(al-nabī al-muṣṭafā)* whether you believe it or not!"

These lists have become a traditional, canonical set of information, as can be shown by Ibn Saʿd (*Ṭabaqāt,* i, 104), Ibn Ḥazm al-Andalusī (*Jawāmiʿ,* 19) or again by al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111; *Iḥyāʾ, K. al-ʿĀdāt, ādāb al-maʿīsha wa-akhlāq al-nubuwwa*). Strictly speaking, these names are actually titles that define Muḥammad's mission. Their occurrence in collections of ḥadīth serves a dual purpose. Faced with the Arabs (q.v.) of Medina (q.v.) and the earlier religions (see SOUTH ARABIA, RELIGION IN PRE-ISLAMIC), it is an affirmation that the Prophet of Islam was entrusted with a definitive and universal mission. And it perhaps also seeks to restrain the enthusiasm of the devout by restricting the names of the Prophet to ten or fewer.

Devotional litanies

In the *Musnad* of Ibn Ḥanbal, the ḥadīth of Abū Mūsā is introduced thus: "The mes-

senger of God told us his names. We have retained some of them but not others." This is an implicit admission that the Prophet had more names that are not known to us. There is nothing to prevent the faithful from seeking to find them once more and reciting them in certain instances, as in devotion. This is why lists appeared of what are called *al-asmāʾ al-sharīfa,* "the noble names," some comprising ninety-nine names, i.e. the same number as "the beautiful names" of God (see GOD AND HIS ATTRIBUTES), some with fewer, some with many more (cf. Epalza, Los nombros; Schimmel, *And Muḥammad,* 105-22). One example of the popular devotion that centered around the names of the Prophet (often taking the form of "litanies") is evidenced by the 201 names of Muḥammad contained in the list compiled by Imām al-Juzūlī (d. 869/1465; an Ar. version, with commentary, is found in al-Sharnūbī's *Sharḥ;* for an Eng. rendition of a similar list, see Ebied and Young, List; Rudvin, Supplementary note).

This phenomenon occurred at the same time as the establishment of the feast of the birth of the Prophet (*mawlid nabawī,* see FESTIVALS AND COMMEMORATIVE DAYS) in the seventh/thirteenth century; on this occasion, in fact, the faithful recited panegyrics in praise of the Prophet, in particular, the well-known *Burda,* "The Prophet's mantle," of the poet al-Buṣīrī (609-93/1213-95). Curiously, it was in this same period that devotion to the name of Jesus was becoming widespread in Christendom, particularly under the influence of St. Bernard (Noye, Jésus, 1115-20).

Certain scholars, such as al-Ghazālī (cf. Epalza, Los nombros, 152 n. 13, citing the thesis of F.M. Pareja, *Mahoma en el Islam,* Rome 1946, 67-8), criticized those who gave the Prophet names other than those that had been given him by his family and opposed the veneration of the names of the Prophet, a practice that, to them, seemed to involve a dangerous confusion with devotion to the names of God. Others, seeing these additional names as an established traditional collection, sought to understand and explain it. Thus al-Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ, an important figure in Andalusian Mālikī literature (see LAW AND THE QURʾĀN), dedicates eighteen pages of his popular work *al-Shifāʾ bi-taʿrīf ḥuqūq al-muṣṭafā,* "The healing through recognizing the rights of the chosen one," to the names of the Prophet (al-Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ, *Shifāʾ,* i, 228-46). In an initial chapter, he lists them as follows: Firstly, those laid down in the ḥadīths of Jubayr, Naqqāsh, Abū Mūsā and Makkī (who talks of "ten names," including Ṭā-Hā and Yā-Sīn, the initial letters of Q 20 and Q 36, respectively; it may be noted here that an exegetical trend existed wherein names of the Prophet were derived from the so-called "mysterious letters" [q.v.]). Secondly, there are those designations found in the Qurʾān itself, such as: *shāhid,* "witness" (see WITNESSING AND TESTIFYING); *mubashshir,* "bearer of glad tidings" (see GOOD NEWS); *nadhīr,* "warner" (q.v.); *dāʿī ilā llāh,* "caller to God" (see INVITATION); *sirājan munīran,* "shining lamp" (Q 33:46; see LAMP; LIGHT); or *al-ʿurwa al-wuthqā,* "the firmest handle" (Q 2:256); *al-nabī al-ummī,* "the Prophet coming from a pagan milieu" (Q 7:157-8; see ILLITERACY; LITERACY; UMMĪ; POLYTHEISM AND ATHEISM), etc.; or "in the earlier books of God, in the books (see BOOK) of the prophets, in the ḥadīths of his messenger, in the general practice of his community," as *al-muṣṭafā,* "the chosen one"; *al-ḥabīb,* "the beloved" (see LOVE AND AFFECTION); *sayyid waladi ādam,* "the lord (q.v.) of the sons of Adam" (see ADAM AND EVE), etc. Next, there are the names of supposed biblical origin, such as *al-mutawakkil,* "he who trusts" (see TRUST AND PATIENCE); *al-mukhtār,* "the chosen one";

muqīm al-sunna, "he who re-establishes the sunna (q.v.)"; *al-muqaddas,* "the holy one"; *rūḥ al-qudus,* "the spirit of holiness" and *rūḥ al-ḥaqq,* "the spirit of truth," "which is the meaning of Paraclete in the Gospel" (al-Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ, *al-Shifāʾ;* see HOLY SPIRIT; SPIRIT; TRUTH; GOSPEL). Finally, there are some names taken from earlier books, such as *mādh mādh,* which means *ṭayyib ṭayyib,* "twice good," the result of a midrashic interpretation of the Hebrew *ṭōv me ʾōd,* "very good," of Genesis 1:31. Other names are taken from Syriac (see SYRIAC AND THE QURʾĀN; SCRIPTURE AND THE QURʾĀN), such as *munḥaminnā,* "the comforter"; and from the Torah (q.v.), such as *uḫīd,* meaning "the man with the rod of fire" (cf. the Syriac *aḥīd kul,* "pankrator," and *Ps* 2:9; *Rev* 19:15) and taken to be an allusion to the "flexible sword" of Muḥammad. Al-Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ concludes: "In these books, there are many indications, titles and signs regarding him and, God willing, we will be satisfied with those we have mentioned."

The following chapter of al-Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ's book concerns "the honor (q.v.) which God has heaped upon the Prophet, by granting him some of his [i.e. God's] beautiful names and bestowing upon him some of his attributes." Indeed, if some prophets had one or two names in common with God, Muḥammad may be reckoned to have had some thirty. Al-Qāḍī ʿĪyāḍ lists these and shows how the Qurʾān allows them to be attributed to the Prophet; *nūr,* "light," from Q 5:15 is but one example. Sometimes the justification comes from both the Qurʾān and the Bible: thus it is with *ʿazīm,* "great," from Q 68:4 and Genesis 21:18 (wherein, referencing Ishmael [q.v.], God says he "will make of him a great nation"). Sometimes, however, the explanation for a particular designation is taken from the Bible in spite of an explicit qurʾānic denial of the attribute to the Prophet; thus, although Q 50:45 states that Muḥammad is not *jabbār,* "a powerful hero, tyrant," he may be given this name because of Psalm 45:4, which invites the royal hero (*gibbōr* in Hebrew) to draw his sword and impose his law (see KINGS AND RULERS; OPPRESSION). The author concludes by warning against any danger of anthropomorphism (q.v.): "just as the being of God is unlike that of other beings, so his attributes do not resemble those of his creatures (see CREATION)."

Esoteric meditations

The faithful can express their devotion to the beloved by reciting a litany of his names and qualities. They may also focus their meditation on one or two of the names and draw from them knowledge (see KNOWLEDGE AND LEARNING) hidden from the eyes of the profane (q.v.). Here, we will make do with a few references to a field which is *ipso facto* without limit.

The direct relationship between God and the name of Muḥammad should be stressed. Ḥassān b. Thābit, "the poet of the Prophet," is thought to have composed the following verse: "[God] has shared his name with him to heap honor upon him, because the master of the throne (see THRONE OF GOD) is *maḥmūd* and he is *muḥammad*" (al-Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ, *Shifāʾ,* i, 237). The authors of stories concerning the Prophet were certain that the name of the Prophet was written upon the divine throne itself. Many have been pleased to note the proximity of the names Allāh and Muḥammad in the words of the *shahāda* (see WITNESS TO FAITH). Consequently, it became acceptable to apply the usual process of esoteric interpretation to the name of the Prophet. Several exegetes (see EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL; ṢŪFISM AND THE QURʾĀN) noted that the four consonants of his name resulted from the following four words *Majd,* "glory" (q.v.), *raḤma,* "mercy," *Mulk,* "royalty," and

Dawām, "perpetuity" (see ETERNITY). The very shape of these Arabic letters *(m-ḥ-m-d),* when written together, call to mind the silhouette of a prostrate human being (see BOWING AND PROSTRATION), forming the model upon which Adam was created (Ḥallāj, *Ṭawāsīn*). This opinion was developed at length by Ibn al-ʿArabī (d. 638/1240; *La profession,* 114-27), who also advises: "This chapter, which we have devoted to the composition of the letters of the name of the chosen one, is not known by the doctors of religious law and escapes their knowledge, except if God wishes it." Furthermore, the resources of Arabic calligraphy (q.v.) have been used to illustrate the name of Muḥammad in a wide array of styles (see also ARABIC SCRIPT). Still others have based their poems and meditations upon a ḥadīth *qudsī* in which God speaks thus: *anā aḥmad bi-lā mīm,* "I am Aḥmad without the letter *mīm,*" or, put in another way: "I am *aḥad* [the one and only]," says God. *Aḥmad* is therefore the messenger who is a guide towards the one and only God (cf. Schimmel, *And Muḥammad,* 257-9). To be sure, these considerations go beyond the qurʾānic text itself. Nevertheless, they demonstrate how Islam turned its prophet into a quasi-supernatural personality.

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Names of the Qurʾān

The Qurʾān calls itself by a variety of names, which throw light on the various aspects under which it presents itself. A study of the names of the Qurʾān thus becomes part of the exercise in understanding the qurʾānic phenomenon. Scholars number differently the names the Qurʾān uses for itself. According to al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923), the divine revelation (*tanzīl,* see REVELATION AND INSPIRATION) has four names: *qurʾān, furqān, kitāb,* and *dhikr*. Al-Ṭabarī hastens to add that, in the Arabic language (q.v.), each of these four names has "a meaning and an aspect" quite distinct from the meanings and aspects of the other three — implying that the distinction is retained in the Qurʾān.

To these four names, al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505) adds *tanzīl,* which, in fact, occurs in the opening part of al-Ṭabarī's statement just quoted. Al-Zarkashī (d. 794/1392; *Burhān,* i, 272-82) quotes Abū l-Maʿālī ʿUzayzī as saying that the Qurʾān has fifty-five names (al-Zarkashī and, following him, al-Suyūṭī [*Itqān,* i, 50-2], give brief explanations of many of these); he quotes another writer as saying that the Qurʾān has more than ninety names. The difference in the numbering is due to the fact that some writers consider only the best-known names (and so may count only a few substantives as names) while others also regard as names the many adjectives or phrases that are descriptive of the Qurʾān.

It is probably best to take a moderate view of the matter. The figure of ninety odd names seems too large and the figure of four or five too small. It is true that certain names of the Qurʾān are very well-known and come to mind immediately but their meanings are explained, illustrated, and qualified in a significant way by at least a small number of other words and phrases, which, too, may properly be termed names of the Qurʾān. All such designations will be so treated in this article. After examining the five names that make up al-Suyūṭī's principal list, we will look at a number of less well-known names, focusing, in both categories, on substantives. Next we will consider adjectives that are used, whether attributively or predicatively, to describe the Qurʾān.

Qurʾān

A proper name *(ʿalam)* of the Islamic scripture, the word *qurʾān* is originally a *maṣdar* (verbal noun), and is used in this sense in Q 75:17, 18: "It is our responsibility to collect it and recite it *(qurʾānahu);* so, follow its recitation *(qurʾānahu)* when we recite it." It is sometimes used as an indefinite and sometimes as a definite noun, and may refer to a part (Q 72:1) or the whole (Q 6:19) of the scripture; in several places, qualifying adjectives meaning "noble" (*karīm,* Q 56:77; *majīd,* Q 85:21; *ʿajab,* "marvelous," Q 72:1) are used. It has, however, also been suggested that *qurʾān* was not always understood to be a proper name for the Muslim holy book, and that it has its origins in the Syriac *qeryānā* (see Jeffery, *For. vocab.,* 233; see also FOREIGN VOCABULARY; INFORMANTS).

The triliteral Arabic root letters that form the word *qurʾān (q-r-ʾ)* have the sense of "to collect." The Qurʾān, literally "recitation" or "reading," is so called because, in reading or reciting it, one joins — or collects — a number of letters and words, reciting or reading them in sequence (see RECITATION OF THE QURʾĀN; ORALITY). The meaning of "collection" has led scholars to see thematic and structural significance in the scripture (see FORM AND STRUCTURE OF THE QURʾĀN). According to some theologians, the name Qurʾān draws attention to the fact that the scripture contains ("collects" in itself) the essence of all the revealed books (see BOOK) — or rather the essence of all knowledge (see KNOWLEDGE AND LEARNING; in al-Rāghib's words: *li-kawnihi jāmiʿan li-thamarati kutubihi bal li-jamʿihi thamarata jamīʿi l-ʿulūmi*). Supporting evidence for this idea is found within the scripture, according to which the Qurʾān offers an elucidation (*tafṣīl,* Q 12:111) or exposition (*tibyān,* Q 16:89) of all things. Referring to the same meaning of "collection," others have argued that the Qurʾān is a well-structured discourse in that its verses (q.v.), passages, and sūras (q.v.) are well-knit or well-composed — or "collected" — rather than disconnected or "uncollected" (see LITERARY STRUCTURES OF THE QURʾĀN). This view, they maintain, must constitute one of the assumptions in reading and interpreting the Qurʾān, and, furthermore, that one's study of the

Qur'ān must be guided by the principles that underlie the composition or structure of the Qur'ān.

The Qur'ān is an Arabic *('arabī)* Qur'ān (Q 12:2) — for Arabic was the language of the people to whom Muḥammad was sent as a prophet and to whom the Qur'ān was first addressed (see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD): "We never sent a prophet except in the language of his nation, that he may make [matters] plain for them" (Q 14:4). Every prophet, therefore, speaks and presents his message in the language of his people. But according to the classical commentators verses like Q 12:2 do not necessarily suggest that the Qur'ān was addressed to the Arabs (q.v.) only, for the thrust of such verses is that the Arabs, since they were being addressed in their own language and so understood the Qur'ān without any difficulty, had no excuse for not accepting its message. Wordplay may also be involved in calling the Qur'ān Arabic. The root of the word *'arabī* has the meaning of clarity and lucidity — a meaning that is indicated in Q 16:103, where this word is contrasted with *a'jamī,* "non-Arabic," which in this context has connotations of lack of clarity or lucidity (but for another conception of the linguistic milieu of the Qur'ān and the first qur'ānic audience, see LANGUAGE AND STYLE OF THE QUR'ĀN).

An interesting use of the word Qur'ān occurs in Q 15:91, where it seems to have been used for the Jewish scriptures — "those who tore the Qur'ān to shreds," a reference, according to the commentators, to the Jews' (see JEWS AND JUDAISM) violations of the commandments of the Torah (q.v.; cf. the ḥadīth, cited by al-Suyūṭī, in which the Prophet called the Psalms [q.v.; *zabūr*] of David [q.v.], *qur'ān*). *Qur'ān,* in this larger, generic sense of "scripture" would be analogous to the word *islām* (q.v.) in its generic or perennial sense (cf. Q 3:19; also Q 2:133, and other verses, where several prophets before Muḥammad are called *muslimūn*).

Furqān

Furqān, a word of non-Arabic origin, means "that which sets apart or distinguishes," and is usually translated as "distinction" or "criterion" (for an Aramaic derivation meaning "deliverance, redemption," see Jeffery, *For. vocab.,* 225-9). In Q 8:41, the word designates the battle of Badr (q.v.; in the year 624 C.E.), because it clearly marked off the party of truth (q.v.) from the party of falsehood (see LIE). In Q 21:48 it is used for the Torah (also Q 2:53, the *wāw* between *al-kitāb* and *al-furqān* being exegetical), and in Q 25:1 (also Q 2:185), for the Qur'ān. According to Amīn Aḥsan Iṣlāḥī (1906-97; *Tadabbur-i Qur'ān,* i, 169, ad Q 2:53), the revealed scriptures are called *furqān* in four senses: first, they offer a detailed account of the divine commandments (q.v.) and injunctions; second, they distinguish between truth and falsehood, and between the lawful and the unlawful (see LAWFUL AND UNLAWFUL); third, they are absolutely clear as to their intent and purpose; fourth, they afford human beings the wisdom (q.v.) that enables them to go through life with a full understanding of the distinction between good and evil (q.v.), and between right and wrong.

The two words so far discussed, *qur'ān* and *furqān,* are regarded by al-Ālūsī (d. 1270/1854; *Rūḥ,* i, 10) as the two most fundamental names of the Qur'ān: all other names are reducible to these two. According to al-Ālūsī, these two names are often taken by Ṣūfīs (see ṢŪFISM AND THE QUR'ĀN) to represent, respectively, knowledge in a compact form and knowledge in a detailed form: *qur'ān* stands for "esoteric knowledge of divine origin that is summative in character and is a compendium of all the truths" *(al-'ilm al-ladunnī l-ijmālī*

l-jāmiʿ lil-ḥaqāʾiq kullihā), whereas *furqān* is "detailed knowledge that serves to set truth apart from falsehood" *(al-ʿilm al-tafṣīlī l-fāriq bayn al-ḥaqq wa-l-bāṭil)* — and the Islamic scripture contains both types of knowledge. With this distinction between *qurʾān* and *furqān* in mind, he cites Ibn al-ʿArabī (d. 638/1240) as saying that while *qurʾān* includes *furqān,* the opposite is not true, for the whole *(qurʾān)* may be said to contain parts *(furqān),* but the parts may not be said to contain the whole. This may serve to show why, in al-Ālūsī's view, *qurʾān* and *furqān* are the most fundamental of all the names of the Qurʾān.

Kitāb

The word *kitāb,* as used in the Qurʾān, has several meanings, many of which become constituent elements of the meaning of the name *kitāb* as used of the Qurʾān. These meanings are: revealed scripture (Q 2:44); authoritative document (Q 37:157); the Preserved Tablet (q.v.) that is in the heavens (see HEAVEN AND SKY) and that contains a record of everything that has happened or will happen (cf. Q 6:59); deed-scroll (Q 69:19, 25; see RECORD OF HUMAN ACTIONS); divine decree (Q 8:68); legal injunction (Q 98:3); and epistle or written message (Q 27:28). As a book that has been revealed (for example, Q 14:1, *kitābun anzalnāhu ilayka,* "a book that we have sent down to you [Muḥammad]"), the Qurʾān is an authoritative message from God, containing as it does a series of prescriptive laws. In many verses, the word *kitāb* is used for pre-qurʾānic scriptures — as, for example, in Q 2:87 (Torah) and Q 19:30 (Gospel; see GOSPELS). The designation of the Qurʾān as *kitāb* thus makes it part of a larger tradition of revealed scriptures.

By calling itself a book — *kitāb* (Q 2:2 and elsewhere) — the Qurʾān makes a break with the oral tradition of Arabia (see ORALITY AND WRITING IN ARABIA). In contradistinction to the Jews and Christians (see CHRISTIANS AND CHRISTIANITY), who possessed scriptures and so were called *ahl al-kitāb,* "People of the Book" (q.v.; e.g. Q 3:65; see LITERACY), the idolatrous Arabs (see POLYTHEISM AND ATHEISM; SOUTH ARABIA, RELIGION IN PRE-ISLAMIC), who did not have a scripture, were called *ummiyyūn,* "unlettered ones" (see UMMĪ; ILLITERACY). While *ummiyyūn* was an identifying title of these Arabs, and, as such, was value-neutral, in certain religious contexts it did connote — and the Arabs themselves understood it to connote — inferiority of status, the People of the Book being viewed as enjoying, by virtue of their possession of scriptures, an elevated status. This explains why, for example, toward the end of the Meccan period of Muḥammad's ministry (see CHRONOLOGY AND THE QUR'ĀN), the Quraysh (q.v.) sought to enlist Jewish and Christian "scriptural" support in their attempt to upstage Muḥammad by challenging qurʾānic pronouncements about biblical history and personages (see SCRIPTURE AND THE QUR'ĀN; NARRATIVES; MYTHS AND LEGENDS IN THE QUR'ĀN) — a fact that forms part of the background of such sūras as Q 18 (Sūrat al-Kahf, "The Cave"; see MEN OF THE CAVE) and Q 19 (Sūrat Maryam, "Mary" [q.v.]). With the advent of the Qurʾān — or rather the Qurʾān as *kitāb* — therefore, the Arabs came to possess a scripture similar to the Jewish and Christian scriptures, and were raised to the level of the Jews and Christians.

More important, the name *kitāb* highlights the function of scripture as law, for that which is written down is deemed to have at least three distinctive qualities (see LAW AND THE QUR'ĀN). The first of these is clarity: a piece of writing is supposed to be free from ambiguity (cf. the word "graphic"; see ORTHOGRAPHY). The second is objectivity: a document, having an

independent existence, serves as a check against subjective and arbitrary interpretation of the law — a function that, for example, the Twelve Tables were meant to perform in Rome during the early Republic when the plebeians agitated against patrician excesses. The use of *kitāb* in Q 68:37, "Do you have a book in which you read?" *(am lakum kitābun fīhi tadrusūn)* has this meaning of objectivity. The third is definitiveness: the written word has always enjoyed a putative authoritative status. As *kitāb,* then, scripture becomes a reliable source of knowledge and wisdom (Q 2:159; 35:40; in Q 10:1 and elsewhere, the Qur'ān is called *al-kitāb al-ḥakīm,* "the wise book"), a book that deserves to become one's object of study and reflection (Q 38:29; see TEACHING AND PREACHING THE QUR'ĀN), and an adjudicator of matters (Q 2:213; cf. 4:105). Q 46:30 parallels the Qur'ān — "a book that has been revealed after Moses (q.v.)" — with the Torah, highlighting the status of the Qur'ān as the law.

By calling itself *kitāb,* then, the Qur'ān claims to be a source of authority (q.v.). This explains the use of the plural *kutub* in the sense of "laws" in Q 98:3. Incidentally, when Muslim jurisprudents discuss the sources of Islamic law, they often use the word *al-kitāb* to designate the first source, the Qur'ān, probably because of the legal connotations of that word.

But the Qur'ān calls itself not just a book, but "the book" (*al-kitāb,* cf. the early Christian designation *ta Biblia,* literally "the books," for the scriptures). This serves to emphasize the status of the Qur'ān as an indispensable source of knowledge and guidance (see ASTRAY). *Al-kitāb,* in Q 2:2 for example, may also signify that the Qur'ān, being the final revelation from God, supersedes all other previous scriptures and that now it alone has the status of being the book.

In Q 39:23, the Qur'ān is described as *kitāban mutashābihan mathāniya*. *Mutashābih,* literally "resembling," implies that the contents of the Qur'ān are similar to, and concordant with, one another. In other words, the Qur'ān is marked by consistency, and, in spite of its considerable diversity of theme and variation of style, it possesses organic unity. As for *mathānī,* it is usually interpreted as "oft-repeated (q.v.) ones," which would be a reference to the fact that the Qur'ān frequently repeats its contents in order to fix these firmly in the minds of its listeners or readers.

Q 41:41 calls the Qur'ān *kitābun ʿazīzun,* "a mighty book." The Arabic word *ʿazīz,* usually translated "mighty," connotes unassailability. The Qur'ān is a book that — as the very next verse explains — is secure against any incursions of falsehood: "Falsehood does not encroach upon it from the front or from behind" *(lā yaʾtīhi l-bāṭilu min bayni yadayhi wa-lā min khalfihi)*.

In a sense, the name *kitāb* is a complement of the name *qurʾān*. As ʿAbdallāh Drāz says *(Nabaʿ, 13), qurʾān* and *kitāb* together represent the fact that the Islamic scripture is both recited and written, and, furthermore, that the scripture can be properly recited and written only when it is preserved in both *ṣudūr,* "human breasts," and *suṭūr,* "documentary form" — which in turn means that memory (q.v.) and document shall reinforce each other in the project of preserving the integrity of the divine word. And, Drāz concludes, this is exactly how the universal Muslim community fulfilled its mission or responsibility in this regard (for more on *kitāb,* see Jeffery, *Qurʾān* and, more recently, Madigan, *Self-image*).

Dhikr

Literally "remembrance," *dhikr* is used of the Qur'ān in several places, for example in Q 38:8, which reports an objection raised by certain opponents of Muḥammad (see

OPPOSITION TO MUḤAMMAD): "Has the remembrance been sent down upon him [Muḥammad] from among all of us?" *(a-unzila ʿalayhi l-dhikru min bayninā);* the words *dhikrā* and *tadhkira* (as in Q 6:90 and Q 69:48, respectively) are also used. In Q 43:44, where the Qurʾān is called "a *dhikr* for you and your people" *(dhikrun laka wa-li-qawmika), dhikr* acquires the additional meaning of exaltation and honor. The Qurʾān is called "the wise remembrance" (Q 3:58), "a blessed remembrance" (Q 21:50), and "a remembrance for the entire world" (Q 68:52). Not only is the Qurʾān itself a remembrance, the act of taking remembrance by it, too, has been made easy (Q 54:17, 22, 32, 40), so that no one might claim that the Qurʾān remained a closed book.

Dhikr is of two main types: verbal, *dhikr bi-l-lisān,* literally, "remembering by means of the tongue," and mental, *dhikr bi-l-qalb,* literally "remembering by means of the heart (q.v.)." Both are mentioned in the Qurʾān — for example, the first in Q 68:51: *lammā samiʿū l-dhikra,* "when they hear the remembrance," and the second in Q 3:135: *dhakarū llāha fa-staghfarū li-dhunūbihim,* "They remember God, and then they seek forgiveness (q.v.) for their sins (see SIN, MAJOR AND MINOR)." In a verse like Q 38:1: "By the Qurʾān, one of remembrance" *(wa-l-qurʾāni dhī l-dhikri),* the two meanings are combined. To call the Qurʾān *dhikr,* therefore, is to say that the text of the Qurʾān ought to be recited by the tongue and its teachings kept in mind. Thus both the development of the Islamic art of qurʾānic recitation and the popularity of the Muslim practice of memorizing the text of the Qurʾān may be seen as the unfolding, in history, of the idea of the Qurʾān as *dhikr*.

Furthermore, *dhikr* as a name of the Qurʾān signifies that the scripture reminds human beings of certain truths of which, at some level, they are already aware. This implies that the message of the scripture is not alien to human nature (what the Qurʾān calls *fiṭra* in Q 30:30), or that the truths introduced by the scripture are not inconsistent with the truths of which human beings have an instinctive understanding. In turning to the Qurʾān and accepting its message, therefore, human beings will only be responding to the call of their *fiṭra*. Thus, the sending down of scripture by God does not constitute an imposition on human beings, but rather is to be understood and appreciated as valuable help in giving direction to human life.

Tanzīl

Tanzīl (Q 26:192 and elsewhere) is usually translated "revelation" but, strictly, the word denotes sending something down in portions or installments, as opposed to sending it down all at once. Q 25:32 quotes an objection of the opponents of the Qurʾān: "Why was the Qurʾān not sent down *(nuzzila)* upon him [Muḥammad] all at once?" In light of this objection, the name *tanzīl* acquires some significance, for the Qurʾān does address the objection. To begin with, Q 17:106 contains, besides the word *tanzīl,* the phrase "And a Qurʾān which we have divided into parts, so that you may recite it to people at intervals" *(wa-qurʾānan faraqnāhu li-taqraʾahu ʿalā l-nāsi ʿalā mukthin)*. Q 16:102 may be taken to explain the wisdom behind *tanzīl*. According to this verse, *tanzīl* may have a threefold significance: first, it strengthens the believers by offering repeated and variegated expositions of the qurʾānic message; second, it provides for the believers, that is, the first-generation Muslims, guidance on matters and issues as they arise during their struggle to establish Islam in Arabia; and third, it reassures them by informing them that, like other believing nations in the past, they, too, will eventually meet

with success in this world and in the next (see also Q 16:89; see ESCHATOLOGY; REWARD AND PUNISHMENT).

Additional designations

The Qur'ān uses a number of other names for itself, and these, too, have formed the basis for extended exegetical and theological reflection:

Kalām Allāh, "The word/speech of God" (Q 9:6; 48:15). This name is also used for the Torah (Q 2:75). Divine revelation is called *kalām Allāh* in order to distinguish it from the speech of humans, jinn (q.v.), and angels (see ANGEL). The essence of the word *kalām* is *lafẓ,* "word," and this, according to some scholars, is proof that the revelation a prophet receives from God takes verbal form. Historically, it is this name — *kalām Allāh* — which gave rise to the theological issue of the createdness of the Qur'ān (q.v.) leading Muslim theologians to distinguish between various meanings of the word *kalām* as applied to divine revelation.

Waḥy, usually translated "revelation," literally means "quick intimation" *(ishāra sarī'a)* — which intimation, as al-Rāghib al-Iṣfahānī (fl. early fifth/eleventh cent.; *Mufradāt,* s.v. *w-ḥ-y*) explains, may take the form of word, sound, or gesture ("intimation" would seem to be a better word than Bell's [Watt-Bell, *Introduction,* 21] "suggestion," the connotations of which are somewhat different from those of the Arabic word). As a technical term, *waḥy* carries special importance because it is used in the Qur'ān both for the process and for the content of revelation (the same might be claimed for *tanzīl,* but the use of *waḥy* in the Qur'ān is more nuanced). The dual nature of *waḥy* can be seen in a verse like Q 53:4, "This is but a revelation that is being revealed" *(in huwa illā waḥyun yūḥā).* Q 42:51 identifies four ways in which God speaks to a human being *(an yukallimahu llāhu),* two of them involving *waḥy,* namely: God speaking to a person *waḥyan,* and a messenger (q.v.; that is, an angel) conveying *(yūḥī)* to a person whatever is willed by God. Q 2:97, which mentions Gabriel (q.v.) as the one who brought the Qur'ān to Muḥammad, would seem to establish the second of those two ways as the one in which Muḥammad received the scripture. Thus, *waḥy* as a name of the Qur'ān specifies the mode in which revelation was conveyed to Muḥammad. But the important point is that *waḥy* is identified in Q 42:51 with the speech, *kalām,* of God. Since *kalām,* as we have already noted, is verbal in character, the name would seem to lend support to the verbal conception of revelation. Furthermore, since *waḥy* is quick intimation, it is implied that a prophet's reception of revelation from an angel is virtually immediate — with the attendant implication that a prophet's revelation is unadulterated or uncompromised either by his own thought or imagination or by the intervention of any demonic power (see DEVIL; this last idea would in turn refute the objection, made by Muḥammad's opponents that, like the soothsayers [q.v.] of Arabia, he received revelation through the medium of jinn).

Hudā, "guidance" (Q 27:77). The Qur'ān is so called because it guides to the right path, clearly distinguishing it from the wrong path. The name implies that the choice to accept the *hudā* rests with human beings, the Qur'ān simply pointing the way (e.g. Q 76:3). For similar reasons, the Qur'ān is called *maw'iẓa,* "advice, admonition" (Q 10:57; see EXHORTATIONS; WARNING).

Nūr, "light" (q.v.; Q 4:174). The Qur'ān brings human beings forth from darkness (q.v.) and ignorance (q.v.) and sets them on the well-lit path of guidance (Q 5:15-6). The phrase actually used in Q 4:174 is *nūran mubīnan,* "clear light," which implies that

the light of the scripture is both unmistakable and easily accessible.

Baṣā'ir, "insights" (Q 7:203). The Qur'ān is a treasury of special insights, which, to interpret the Arabic word literally, help the listener or reader to "see" the truth (see SEEING AND HEARING; VISION AND BLINDNESS).

Ḥikma, "wisdom" (Q 17:39). The Qur'ān both contains and teaches wisdom. In Q 54:5 it is called *ḥikma bāligha,* "consummate wisdom," because it contains divine wisdom, which is the highest form of wisdom.

Raḥma, "mercy" (q.v.; Q 27:77). God, the creator of all, is the guide of all (Q 7:54: *a-lā lahu l-khalqu wa-l-amr,* "Behold, to him belong creation and command"). But guiding humanity, or furnishing it with a code of conduct, is a manifestation of the mercy of God. It is on account of his mercifulness that God has decided to save human beings by showing them the right course of action (see SALVATION). In Q 17:86-7, cessation of revelation is equated with denial or withholding of mercy.

Bashīr, "giver of good tidings" and *nadhīr,* "warner" (Q 41:4; see GOOD NEWS; WARNING). The Qur'ān promises reward to those who accept its message and threatens with punishment those who reject that message.

Rūḥ, "spirit" (q.v.; Q 42:52). The scripture is a life-giving force, and those who live by it will have true life (cf. *Deut* 8:3: "One does not live by bread alone, but by every word that comes from the mouth of the lord").

Aḥsan al-ḥadīth, "the finest discourse" (Q 39:23; see INIMITABILITY). The Qur'ān excels, both in point of beauty of style and in point of wisdom of content, any other discourse. In Q 12:3, the qur'ānic story of Joseph (q.v.) is called *aḥsan al-qaṣaṣ,* "the finest story."

Shifā', "cure, remedy" (Q 10:57; 17:82; see ILLNESS AND HEALTH). The Qur'ān treats the maladies of the heart and the soul (q.v.), purging people's inner selves of ignoble traits.

Muhaymin, "supervisor, protector" (Q 5:48). The Qur'ān "watches over" the other scriptures in the sense that, on the one hand, it contains the essence of their teachings and completes those teachings, and, on the other hand, provides the yardstick by which the authenticity and validity of those scriptures may be judged (see *muṣaddiq,* below).

Ḥabl Allāh, "the cord of God" (Q 3:103). The word *ḥabl,* "rope, cord," is an Arabic metaphor (q.v.) for covenant (q.v.). The Qur'ān is God's *ḥabl* because it at once constitutes and explains the terms of the covenant that God makes with humanity. The salvation of human beings, therefore, depends on their fulfillment of the covenant with God.

Balāgh, "communication" (Q 14:52). The Qur'ān, according to this verse, is *balāghun lil-nās,* "a communication for people." The name implies, first, that the Qur'ān has been communicated to humanity fully and accurately — in the very form in which it was sent down by God — and, second, that human beings, once they receive it are responsible for deciding what their relationship to it shall be.

Finally, a number of adjectival names are used to describe the Qur'ān in various contexts. A brief review of some of them follows (some of them were noted in the discussion above, but will be dealt with here from a more general point of view).

Mubīn, which can mean both "clear (in itself)" and "that which clarifies," implies (as in Q 12:1 and Q 36:69) that the language of the Qur'ān, being standard Arabic, is neither convoluted nor ambiguous (q.v.), and, consequently, generously yields its true meaning to those who come to it on its terms (Q 5:15-6). The use of the word implies that those who are being addressed by

means of it — the first addressees, that is — cannot reject it on the grounds that they are unable to understand it (see DIFFICULT PASSAGES).

Karīm, "noble" (Q 56:77). The Qur'ān is "noble" because it comes from a noble source, and, being noble, it deserves to be treated with reverence. The same may be said of *majīd,* "glorious, illustrious" (Q 85:21) and *ʿalī,* "exalted" (Q 43:4). In Q 80:13-4, the Qur'ān is called *ṣuḥuf,* "sheets/scriptures," that are *mukarrama,* "honored," *marfūʿa,* "exalted," and *muṭahhara,* "made pure."

Mubārak, "blessed" (Q 21:50; 38:29). The scripture is a source of blessings (Ar. *barakāt*) which, following Q 7:96, "blessings of the heaven and the earth" *(barakātin min al-samāʾi wa-l-arḍi),* can be interpreted as material as well as spiritual; compare with Q 5:66, which says that had the People of the Book upheld the Torah and the Gospel, "they would have eaten from above [their heads] and from under their feet," that is, they would have enjoyed material prosperity (see BLESSING; GRACE; WEALTH).

Ḥakīm, "wise" (Q 41:42). The word is used in the Qur'ān for both God and the scripture. This means that the Qur'ān, being the word of God (q.v.), reflects the attributes of the one who sent it down; both the word and its speaker are full of wisdom (see GOD AND HIS ATTRIBUTES). *Ḥakīm* also has the connotations of "solidity, firmness, decisiveness," and suggests that the Qur'ān is free from such weaknesses as vagueness, ambiguity, and doubt (q.v.; cf. *qawl faṣl,* "decisive word," in Q 86:13), and also that it has been made secure against any "interference" such as textual corruption (see FORGERY; CORRUPTION; COLLECTION OF THE QUR'ĀN; TEXTUAL CRITICISM OF THE QUR'ĀN).

Qayyim, "right, straight" (Q 18:2). This word is contrasted in the verse with *ʿiwaj,* "crooked, aberrant" (cf. Q 18:1). *Qayyim* (like *al-qayyūm,* which is used in Q 2:255 as an attribute of God) is one who or that which sustains not only himself or itself but also someone or something else. Al-Rāghib al-Iṣfahānī explains the word thus: "well-established [in its own right] and setting in order people's affairs as they pertain to this world and the next" (*thābit muqawwim li-umūr maʿāshihim wa-maʿādihim, Mufradāt,* ad loc.). Being *qayyim,* then, the Qur'ān both represents the straight course and ensures that those who follow it will stay on that course.

Muṣaddiq. The Qur'ān is "a *muṣaddiq* of that which precedes it" *(muṣaddiqan li-mā bayna yadayhi),* namely, the previous scriptures (Q 2:97). The Arabic word can mean "that which confirms (something else) to be true and correct," and this is the general interpretation of the word when it occurs in such a context. This, however, is not very convincing since the Qur'ān's confirmation of the previous scriptures would leave the matter of its own authenticity hanging in the balance — a thought that ill suits the contexts in which the Qur'ān is called a *muṣaddiq* of the earlier scriptures. A more plausible interpretation, one offered by Amīn Aḥsan Iṣlāḥī (*Tadabbur-i Qur'ān,* ad loc.), is that *muṣaddiq* in these contexts means "that which actualizes." In other words, the Qur'ān represents the materialization of the prophecies that were made in the early scriptures. The first meaning, "to confirm (something else)," would still be valid, but will have to be restated: the Qur'ān confirms those contents or parts of the early scriptures that agree with the Qur'ān's own outlook. In either case, the name *muṣaddiq* establishes an important connection between the Qur'ān and the earlier scriptures.

Conclusion

The foregoing makes it plain that a study of the names of the Qur'ān should be of

considerable interest to a student of the Islamic scripture. The pre-Islamic Arabian practice of assigning many names to a being, entity, or phenomenon might explain, in part, why the Qur'ān, too, uses so many names for itself (see PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QUR'ĀN). But the practice, whether by the pre-Islamic poets (see POETRY AND POETS) or by the Qur'ān, was not indulged in for its own sake; rather, it was aimed at elucidating, from as many angles as possible, the nature and attributes of the thing in question. With the Qur'ān, however, the practice is raised to a higher level: the many different names of the Qur'ān not only represent so many facets of the Islamic scripture, but they also make up, when seen in relation to each other, a coherent and meaningful statement in their own right, shedding light on the ethos, orientation, and function of the scripture. We will conclude by offering a few observations.

First, an analytical look at the names (both substantives and adjectives) of the Qur'ān will indicate that they underscore different aspects of the Islamic scripture. For example, some names *(kalām Allāh, waḥy)* speak to the origin of the Qur'ān, maintaining that it comes from God — and that it is not, therefore, the product of the Prophet's mind or the concoction of a soothsayer (see OCCASIONS OF REVELATION). Others *(bayān, mubīn, ʿarabī)* claim linguistic purity and excellence for the Qur'ān (see LANGUAGE, CONCEPT OF), implying that the Qur'ān presents its meaning with the utmost clarity, such that it cannot be rejected or disregarded on the grounds of incomprehensibility or ambiguity. Still others *(hudā, ḥikma)* draw attention to the function and purpose of the Qur'ān: this is a book that guides to the right path and furnishes the wisdom that is needed to lead a successful life. Some names *(kitāb, kalām Allāh),* since they are used of other scriptures as well, stress that the Qur'ān is part of the series of divine dispensations that have come from God to prophets (e.g. Q 4:163 says that God gave Muḥammad *waḥy* in the same way in which he gave *waḥy* to Noah [q.v.] and other prophets). Other names *(muhaymin, muṣaddiq)* point to the distinction of the Qur'ān among the scriptures. The name *kitāb* endows the Qur'ān with authenticity, while the name *dhikr* stresses the consonance of the qur'ānic teaching with human nature.

Second, most of the names of the Qur'ān will be found to occur throughout the period of Muḥammad's revelation, which lasted for about twenty-two years. Take, for example, the five names discussed in the beginning. While some of them occur more frequently than others, all of them occur in both Meccan and Medinan sūras, an indication that the manifold conception of the Qur'ān had started taking shape quite early.

Third, it appears that the listener or reader of the Qur'ān is meant to keep in mind the interrelation of the names. This becomes clear from the fact that the names are frequently used in conjunction with, or in close proximity to, one another. We have already noted that substantive names are frequently qualified by adjectival ones. A few additional examples may be noted. *Tanzīl al-kitāb (*where *tanzīl* is a *maṣdar)* occurs more than once. *Mawʿiẓa, shifāʾ, hudā,* and *raḥma* occur together in Q 10:57. Q 17:106 may contain a possible word-play — *wa-qurʾānan faraqnāhu,* "and a Qur'ān that we have given in detail" — where *faraqnā,* from the same root as *furqān,* implies that the Qur'ān-as-collection is identical with the Qur'ān-as-distinction (see above).

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Nāmūs

Term found in early Muslim traditions on the Prophet's life (*sīra,* see SĪRA AND THE QURʾĀN), but not explicitly mentioned in the Qurʾān. Its original meaning was "the revealed law." The word was later interpreted as a designation for the angel Gabriel (q.v.; Jibrīl).

In an early Arabic translation of a gospel fragment, the Greek expression *en tō nomō autōn* (*John* 15:25), which means "the law of the Jews," i.e. the Torah (q.v.), is rendered as *fī l-nāmūs* (Ibn Isḥāq, *Sīra,* 150). This rendering is based on a Palestinian Syriac translation of the gospel (q.v.; Guillaume, Version, 292; see SYRIAC AND THE QURʾĀN).

In the *sīra* traditions the word *al-nāmūs* occurs most prominently in the Khadīja — Waraqa story, of which several versions were transmitted and which is part of the reports about Muḥammad's call to prophecy (see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD; INFORMANTS). Waraqa, a cousin of Muḥammad's first wife Khadīja (q.v.), is said to have become a Christian (see CHRISTIANS AND CHRISTIANITY), to have studied with Jewish and Christian scholars (see SCHOLAR; JEWS AND JUDAISM) and to have translated some texts of the gospels into Arabic (the rarer variant "Hebrew" seems to be a transmission error) and to have written them down. After having been informed about Muḥammad's revelations, Waraqa, in one of the versions, says: "This is the *nāmūs* which was sent down upon Moses" (q.v.; *hādhā l-nāmūs alladhī unzila ʿalā mūsā;* ʿAbd al-Razzāq, *Muṣannaf,* v, 323; Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* i, 4-5; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* i, 142). This immediately suggests that, in this case as well, *al-nāmūs* is adopted from the corresponding Syriac word meaning "the revealed law" for, according to the Bible and the Qurʾān, this is what Moses and Muḥammad received.

Recent studies have shown that the famous version of the story of Muḥammad's call to prophecy, at least its essential elements, most probably goes back to the Meccan storyteller *(qāṣṣ)* ʿUbayd b. ʿUmayr (d. 68/687-8; Schoeler, *Charakter und Authentie,* 59-117; Juynboll, Early Islamic society, 160-71). This version was already a combination of different reports and narrative motifs, which must have circulated independently at that time or even earlier (see ORALITY AND WRITING IN ARABIA). This assumption is corroborated by versions of the story which do not contain the vision of an angel (q.v.), and which seem to be independent of the narration that goes back to ʿUbayd b. ʿUmayr. In one of these versions, Waraqa says: "This is a *nāmūs* like the *nāmūs* of Moses" (*fa-hādhā nāmūs mithla nāmūs mūsā;* Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt,* i, 195; Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad,* i, 312). The reference to the *nāmūs* of Moses seems, therefore, to belong to the original kernel of the story and must have meant God's law revealed to Moses.

The Syriac word put into the mouth of an Arab Christian suggests that the original Muslim narrator of the story, who lived in the first half of the first/seventh century but cannot be identified any further, was

acquainted with the Christian expression. This does not hold for later transmitters and, in the course of time, the interpretation of the term changed. The fact that the Khadīja-Waraqa story came to be prefaced with narrations about visions of the angel Gabriel, contributed greatly to the development of the idea that *al-nāmūs* referred to this angel. This became, for Muslim scholars, the common understanding of the term *al-nāmūs* in the Khadīja-Waraqa story.

The change of meaning left both Muslim and Western scholars with a problem. Neither in the Qurʾān nor in the biblical book of Exodus is it said that Moses received his revelations through an angel. Muslim scholars solved the problem by generalizing Muḥammad's experience of revelation (cf. Q 2:97), claiming it for all prophets (see REVELATION AND INSPIRATION). Furthermore, Muslim scholars asserted that *al-nāmūs* is a word "applied to Gabriel by the people of the book" (Lane, 2854; see PEOPLE OF THE BOOK). Some Western scholars presumed that the idea of the *nāmūs* as an angelic being who came to Moses and other prophets had a Christian origin: in their purview, this interpretation resulted from a confusion of the terms *nomos* and *prophetēs,* which were used in conjunction in eastern Christian liturgical formulas (Baumstark, Das Problem, 565-6), and which were also closely related to one another in the Gnostic literature of Palestinian origin (Andrae, *Der Ursprung,* 204). The development of the meaning described above, however, makes such speculations superfluous. In later Muslim philosophical literature, the term *al-nāmūs* is used with the meaning of "the divine law" (Plessner, Nāmūs, 954-5; see LAW AND THE QURʾĀN).

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Narratives

Stories of individuals and communities of the past, of varying length, many of which appear in numerous renditions throughout the qurʾānic text, but are found predominantly in the Meccan sūras of the Qurʾān (see CHRONOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN). Although the Qurʾān does relate the tales of prophets (see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD) and other notable persons, tales that presumably were already familiar to the first auditors of the Qurʾān (see ORALITY AND WRITING IN ARABIA; SOUTH ARABIA, RELIGION IN PRE-ISLAMIC), the stories that are characterized as "narratives" contain certain requisite structural features (Q 21, Sūrat al-Anbiyāʾ, takes its name — "The

Prophets" — from the fact that it is comprised of tales of various prophets, many of which fall within the parameters of this literary genre; see FORM AND STRUCTURE OF THE QURʾĀN). The proportion of the narratives in the Qurʾān is very large: 1453 verses (Sherif, *Guide,* 46), or about a quarter of their total number (ca. 6000; Abū ʿAmr al-Dānī, in Suyūṭī, *Itqān,* i, 232). They consist of accounts concerning prophets or so-called prophets, messengers (25 of them fall into these two categories; Suyūṭī, *Itqān,* chap. 69, iii, 67; see MESSENGER), sages, historical, historico-mythical or mythical celebrities of ancient times (see MYTHS AND LEGENDS IN THE QURʾĀN; HISTORY AND THE QURʾĀN). Before discussing the narratives themselves, an overview of the Arabic terminology for "narratives," as well as an outline of the qurʾānic passages that are termed as such, is in order.

The semantic field of narratives in the Qurʾān

The following list is an overview of the most important Arabic words used within the semantic field of "narratives" in its broadest sense: *qiṣṣa* or *qaṣaṣ* (story, narrative); *sīra* (lit. "way of acting," it is also used for "battles," "story," or "biography"; see SĪRA AND THE QURʾĀN); *ḥadīth* (denotes primarily a saying or an account of an action of the Prophet, and, secondarily, of his Companions [see COMPANIONS OF THE PROPHET], but also means "narrative," "speech," etc.; see ḤADĪTH AND THE QURʾĀN); *ḥikāya* (the verb from which it derives means "to relate," thus, "narrative," "story"); *samar* (literary entertainment, mostly at night); *khurāfa* (incredible tale, legend); *usṭūra* (history without foundation, legend; in present usage, sometimes also myth); *riwāya* (the verb means to recite, transmit a story, a poem; thus, a transmission or version; nowadays, a novel); *nādira* (short, witty, subtle and amusing anecdote); *khabar* (information, statement, narrative, piece of history); *mathal* (parable); *maqāma* (appears in the 4th/11th cent.; assembly, Fr. "séance"; for further discussion of these terms, see Abdel-Meguid, Survey).

Qiṣṣa does not appear in the Qurʾān. *Qaṣaṣ,* which lends itself to the name of a sūra (Q 28, Sūrat al-Qaṣaṣ, "The Story"), is used with a sense relevant to the present discussion four times (three of which contain permutations of the corresponding verb): at Q 3:62, "This is the true story" (concerning Jesus [q.v.]); Q 7:176, "So relate the story" (order given to Muḥammad; this "story" is glossed as both "the Qurʾān" [Muqātil, *Tafsīr,* ii, 75] and "the recitation" [Dāmaghānī, *Wujūh,* ii, 159]; see RECITATION OF THE QURʾĀN); Q 12:3: "We will relate to you the fairest of stories" (i.e. the tale of Joseph [q.v.]; here, Qatāda (d. 118/736) notes that *"qaṣaṣ"* means: "From the past books *[min al-kutub al-māḍiya]* and the ancient decrees of God about the nations *[wa umūr Allāh al-sālifa fī l-umam]*"; Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* ed. Shākir, xv, 551-2, no. 18772; Ibn Abī l-Zamanīn, *Tafsīr,* ii, 315); Q 28:25. The verb *qaṣṣa* (to tell a story, to relate; see above) is attested, among other places, at Q 11:100: "the cities whose tidings *(anbāʾ)* we relate *(naquṣṣu)* to you (see CITY; PUNISHMENT STORIES)"; Q 11:120: "We relate to you tidings *(anbāʾ)* of the messengers"; Q 18:13 (where it is used with *nabaʾ*); Q 20:99 (with *anbāʾ*); Q 40:78; Q 4:164; Q 7:7. It is used in the third person singular imperfect at Q 6:57 (subject: God himself) and at Q 27:76 (subject: the Qurʾān). In Q 16:118, the verb is in the perfect, and the subject is God (here, Blachère offers the following translation: "ce que Nous t'avons énuméré").

Ḥadīth, pl. *aḥādīth,* also occurs in the Qurʾān with the meanings of talk, saying, discourse, story, tale (Q 31:6; 12:6; 23:44, etc.; Hirschberg, "Gottes-Schriften,"

79-80; Horovitz, *KU,* 7). *Usṭūra* is mentioned 9 times, but only in the plural *(asāṭīr),* and always in the construct *asāṭīr al-awwalīn* (Q 6:25; 8:31; 16:24; 23:83; 25:5; 27:68; 46:17; 68:15; 83:13), usually translated as "tales/fairy tales of the ancients" (see GENERATIONS). But if we consider Q 25:5, where the opponents of Muḥammad (see OPPOSITION TO MUḤAMMAD) say "*asāṭīr* of the ancients that he has written down, so that they are recited to him at dawn and in the evening," the word could be also understood as "writings" or "scriptures" (see BOOK). Probably derived from Syriac (see SYRIAC AND THE QUR'ĀN; FOREIGN VOCABULARY), it is found also in the Sabean *sṭr* (lit. inscription). The Qur'ān uses also the verb *saṭara* in the meaning of "to write" (cf. Q 17:58; 33:6), as did the ancient poets (Nöldeke, *GQ,* i, 15-7; Horovitz, *KU,* 69-70; Hebbo, *Fremdwörter,* 30-1; see POETS AND POETRY). Al-Naḍr b. al-Ḥārith (see INFORMANTS), who was in close contact with the Christians of al-Ḥīra (see CHRISTIANS AND CHRISTIANITY), is reported to have said: "Muhammad cannot tell a better story than I and his talk is only of old fables which he has copied as I have" (Ibn Isḥāq, *Sīra,* 235, Eng. trans. Ibn Isḥāq-Guillaume, 162). *Khabar* (pl. *akhbār*) occurs 5 times in the Qur'ān with the meaning of "news, information, tidings of" (Q 27:7; 28:29; 9:94; 47:31; 99:4).

Although not one of the more common Arabic words for "narratives," to this list we should also add *naba'* (pl. *anbā';* story, information, or tiding, and which appears in Q 5:27; 6:34; 7:175; 9:70; 10:71; 14:9; 26:69; 27:22; 28:3; 38:21; 64:5; 68:2, etc.).

Distribution of the narratives in the Qur'ān

A single story is the focus of some sūras: Q 105 ("The Elephant," which alludes to the story of Abraha [q.v.]; for a discussion of this sūra, see Neuwirth, *Studien,* 36, 234; Marshall, *God,* 40-2; Blachère, no. 41. For all the references to Blachère below, note that Blachère, nos. 1-48 correspond to the first Meccan period, 49-70 to the second, 71-92 to the third, and 93-116 to the Medinan; see CHRONOLOGY AND THE QUR'ĀN.); Q 71 ("Noah"; Blachère, no. 53; Marshall, *God,* 90-3), in which there is an "arabization" of the pantheon of the opponents of Noah (q.v.): "Do not leave your gods, and do not leave Wadd or Suwā'…" (Q 71:23; Paret, Geschichtsquelle, 36-7; Fahd, *Panthéon,* 132-4, 154-6, 182-97, on the "five noachic idols"; see IDOLS AND IMAGES; IDOLATRY AND IDOLATERS; POLYTHEISM AND ATHEISM); Q 12 ("Joseph"; Blachère, no. 79), the longest narrative of the Qur'ān (see de Prémare, *Joseph et Muhammad*), but this, contrary to Q 105 and 71, ends with peroration (Horovitz, *KU,* 1); Q 28 ("The Story"; Blachère, no. 81) tells of Moses (q.v.), Aaron (q.v.) and Hāmān (q.v.; Q 28:2-46), adding an account on Korah (q.v.; Q 28:76-82; cf. Q 40:24; 29:39; 'Abbās, *Qaṣaṣ,* 416-9), probably because it was omitted in the preceding section on Moses (Bell, *Commentary,* ii, 53), which reads like a summary of Numbers 16. Some exegetes see a connection in the ordering and the themes of Q 26:18-9 and Q 27:7 (both on Moses), and Q 28:2-46, viewing this latter section as a commentary on the two earlier passages (Suyūṭī, *Tanāsuq,* 108).

Some narrative pieces, which, although in the redaction of the Qur'ān we possess (see COLLECTION OF THE QUR'ĀN; CODICES OF THE QUR'ĀN), have been integrated into sūras containing non-narrative materials, can be isolated from their position in the sūra and appear to be originally independent units: Q 89:6-14 (Blachère no. 42; Marshall, *God,* 46-7), which discusses 'Ād (q.v.), Iram (q.v.) of the pillars, Thamūd (q.v.) and Pharaoh (q.v.; on Iram see Horovitz, *KU,* 89-90). This segment has the same formulaic introduction as Q 105 ("Have you not seen how your lord did with…"). In

Q 38:67-88 (Blachère, no. 61), on Adam (see ADAM AND EVE), the angels (see ANGEL) and Iblīs (q.v.), the unity of the passage can be seen not only from the common subject, but from the rhymes in *īm, īn, ūn, ūm* (Nöldeke, *GQ,* i, 131; see RHYMED PROSE), and from introductory and conclusive formulas that both contain the word "tiding" *(naba')*. Q 14:1-21 ("Abraham"; Blachère, no. 78) can be isolated as a unity, although its limits are not as clear as in the preceding examples. The same thing could be said of Q 40:23-56 (Blachère, no. 80), on the incredulity of Pharaoh, because the following passage, Q 40:57-85, with rhyme in *īn* and *ūn,* has no relation to it (Nöldeke, *GQ,* i, 153; Horovitz, *KU,* 2).

In addition to these whole or partly closed narrative pieces we find other passages that are composed entirely of several stories, or which are built around a core of stories. Q 20 "Ṭā Hā," also called "the son of Moses"; Biqāʿī, *Maṣāʿid,* ii, 267; Kandil, Surennamen, 51; Blachère, no. 57) contains two stories, on Moses (Q 20:9-99) and Adam (Q 20:115-28), but it should be added that Q 20:1-113 appears as a textual unity, whose introduction is Q 20:1-8, the eschatological conclusion (see ESCHATOLOGY) being contained in Q 20:100-13. Q 20:115-35 seems to be an addition, as suggested by the content of Q 20:114: "So exalted be God, the true king.…"

On the other hand, we also have a set of stories in Q 54:9-42 (Blachère, no. 50): Noah (Q 54:9-17), the people of ʿĀd (Q 54:18-22), Thamūd (Q 54:23-32), Lot (q.v.; Q 54:33-40) and Pharaoh (Q 54:41-2). But Q 54:1-8 and Q 54:43-55 are in an inner relationship, which is the eschatological theme ("The hour has drawn nigh," Q 54:1; "The Hour" is another name for this sūra, now called "The Moon" [Sūrat al-Qamar]). This is why some exegetes (see EXEGESIS OF THE QUR'ĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL) say that Q 54 is related to the end of the preceding sūra, Q 53:57: "The imminent is imminent" (Rāzī, *Tafsīr,* xxix, 28), or that it develops and elucidates the end of the same sūra (Biqāʿī, *Naẓm,* vii, 339, ad Q 54:1; id., *Maṣāʿid al-nazar,* iii, 39-40). In the same way, Q 26:10-189 (Blachère, no. 58; Marshall, *God,* 93-7) has a set of seven stories, to which Q 26:1-9 is the preamble, and Q 26:190-227 the conclusion: Moses (Q 26:10-68), Abraham (q.v.; Q 26:69-104), Noah (Q 26:105-22), Hūd (q.v.) and the people of ʿĀd (Q 26:123-40), Ṣāliḥ (q.v.) and Thamūd (Q 26:141-59), Lot (Q 26:160-75) and the People of the Thicket (q.v.; Q 26:176-89). See also Q 15:26-48 (Blachère, no. 59), on Adam and Iblīs, with a brief description of hell (see HELL AND HELLFIRE) and paradise (q.v.); Q 15:49-60, about Abraham: "Tell my servants (Q 15:49)… And tell them of the guests of Abraham" (Q 15:51); Q 15:61-75, on Lot; Q 15:76-9, on the People of the Thicket; and Q 15:80-4, on Ḥijr (q.v.; Horovitz, *KU,* 2).

In Q 19 ("Mary"; Blachère, no. 60), the two parts: Q 19:2-74 (composed only of stories) and Q 19:75-98, were probably not together initially, as seen from the difference in the rhyme scheme. In the narrative part (Q 19:2-63), we find some of the earliest qurʾānic mentions of New Testament figures: Mary (q.v.; in Q 19:28, Mary is called "the sister of Aaron"; later, at Q 3:35 and 66:12, she is likewise considered the daughter of ʿImrān [q.v.]; Horovitz, *Jewish proper names,* 10), Zechariah (q.v.), John the Baptist (q.v.) and Jesus (Q 19:2-40; Nöldeke, *GQ,* i, 130), followed by accounts of Abraham (Q 19:41-50), Moses, Ishmael (q.v.) and Idrīs (q.v.; Q 19:51-8). Q 38 ("Ṣād," also named "The Son of David"; Ibn al-Jawzī, *Zād,* vii, 3; Kandil, Surennamen, 51; Blachère, no. 61), one of whose narrative passages is discussed above, is constructed similarly: introduction (Q 38:1-11); stories: Q 38:12-6 (destroyed nations), Q 38:17-28

(David [q.v.]), Q 38:29-40 (Solomon [q.v.]), Q 38:41-4 (Job [q.v.]), Q 38:45-9 (mention of Abraham, Isaac [q.v.], Jacob [q.v.; in five qurʾānic verses he is seen as the son of Abraham, and not his grand-son; cf. Q 21:72; 29:27; 6:84], Ishmael, Elisha [q.v.], Dhū l-Kifl [q.v.]); and, finally, a conclusion on the believers and unbelievers in the afterlife (Q 38:50-66; Horovitz, *KU,* 2-3; for the rest of the sūra [Q 36:67-88], see above).

The construction of Q 18 ("The Cave" or "People of the Cave"; Blachère, no. 70) does not use the same mode of closure: introduction (Q 18:1-8), stories (Q 18:9-98), conclusion on the fate of the unbelievers and believers (Q 18:99-110). The stories are of: the Seven Sleepers (Q 18:9-26; see MEN OF THE CAVE), the master of the garden (Q 18:32-44; cf. Isaiah 5, the Song of the Vineyard; Luke 12:16-21; Hirschfeld, *New researches,* 87-8; Sabbagh, *Métaphore,* 217-18, §385, 265; Lohmann, Gleichnisreden, 88-96; cf. Q 68:17-33, "the masters of the garden"; Andrae, *Mohammed, sein Leben,* 70; id., *Mahomet,* 85 [Fr. trans.]; ʿAbbās, *Qaṣaṣ,* 419-23), Moses and the servant of God (Q 18:60-82), Dhū l-Qarnayn (lit. "the possessor of the two horns"; Q 18:83-98, with an evocation of the tale of Gog and Magog [q.v.]; Horovitz, *KU,* 150; see ALEXANDER). As we see here, Q 18:27-31 and Q 18:45-50 interrupt the set of stories. Q 27 ("The Ant," or the sūra of Solomon; Blachère, no. 69; Suyūṭī, *Itqān,* chap. 17, i, 194; Kandil, Surennamen, 51) also varies from the pattern. After the introduction (Q 27:1-6) we do find narrative sections: Moses (Q 27:7-14), David, Solomon, the hoopoe (see ANIMAL LIFE), the Queen of Sheba (Q 27:15-44, Lassner, *Demonizing;* Gilliot, La reine de Sabaʾ, légende ou réalité?; Norris, Elements, 256-7; see BILQĪS), Thamūd (Q 27:45-53), Lot (Q 27:54-8). But the rest of the sūra (Q 27:59-93) cannot be seen as the conclusion of the preceding stories; it is too long for that, and it has a hymnic, a polemical (see POLEMIC AND POLEMICAL LANGUAGE) and an eschatological content.

On the other hand, the major part of Q 11 ("Hūd"; Blachère, no. 77; Marshall, *God,* 97-105) deals with stories (Q 11:25-100), and is followed by eschatological reflections related to them (Q 11:101-17). The introduction (Q 11:1-24), however, appears not to have a close internal relationship to these two parts. The narrative sections are: Noah (Q 11:25-49), Hūd (Q 11:50-60), Ṣāliḥ (Q 11:61-8), Abraham (Q 11:69-83), Shuʿayb (q.v.; Wansbrough, *QS,* 21-5, 28-9) and the Midianites (Q 11:84-95; see MIDIAN) and Moses (Q 11:96-8). Q 29 (Blachère, no. 83) has various accounts: on Noah (Q 29:14-5), Abraham and Lot (Q 29:16-35), Midian, Shuʿayb, ʿĀd, Thamūd, Korah and Pharaoh, Hāmān and Moses (Q 29:36-40; Horovitz, *KU,* 23). In Q 7 (Sūrat al-Aʿrāf, "The Battlements"; Blachère, no. 89; Marshall, *God,* 106-14; see PEOPLE OF THE HEIGHTS) the narrative sections are predominant: Iblīs, Adam and his wife (Q 7:11-25; Hirschberg, Sündenfall, 33-6), Noah, Hūd, Ṣāliḥ, Lot and Shuʿayb, and the destroyed cities (Q 7:59-102), Moses, the magicians (see MAGIC) and the five scourges of Egypt (q.v.; Q 7:133), etc. (Q 7:103-62), the transgressors of the Sabbath (q.v.) transformed into monkeys (Q 7:163-8; Speyer, *Erzählungen,* 313-4, 340-1; see JEWS AND JUDAISM), reminder of the signs (q.v.) of God towards humankind (Q 7:169-74), reminder of the tidings *(naba)* of God (Q 7:175-6); but neither the long interruption in the text (Q 7:26-58), nor the end of this sūra (Q 7:177-206) are in an inner relation with these narratives. And in the introduction, we find only a brief allusion to them, in Q 7:4: "How many a city we have destroyed" (see Q 7:1-10; cf. Suyūṭī, *Tanāsuq,* 87, in which the relation between Q 6:6, "how we destroyed before them many a generation," and the beginning of Q 7

is stressed; see Horovitz, *KU,* 3). Q 2 (Blachère, no. 93) also contains several stories or legends: Adam (Q 2:30-9), Moses (Q 2:49-70; Marshall, *God,* 126-7; the name of the sūra "The Cow" is taken from Q 2:68 f.; cf. Numbers 1-10); Saul (q.v.), David (q.v.) and Goliath (q.v.; Q 2:243-52; Horovitz, *KU,* 106, 123; Jād al-Mawlā, *Qiṣaṣ,* 174-89).

Even if narrative sections do not comprise the major part of the entire text of other sūras, they do constitute an important part of some: Q 51:24-46 (on Abraham and his guests, Moses and Pharaoh, ʿĀd, Thamūd and Noah; Blachère, no. 49; Marshall, *God,* 48-9); Q 37 (Blachère, no. 52), on Noah (Q 37:75-80), Abraham and Isaac (Q 37:83-113), Moses and Aaron (Q 37:114-22), Elijah (Q 37:123-30), Lot (Q 37:133-8), Jonah (q.v.; Q 37:139-48); Q 44 (Blachère, no. 55), on Pharaoh (Q 44:17-33); Q 21 ("The Prophets"; Blachère, no. 67), on Moses and Abraham (Q 21:48-73), Lot, Noah, David, Solomon, Job, Jonah, Zechariah, John, with mention of Ishmael, Idrīs, Dhū l-Kifl, and allusion, without their names, to Mary and Jesus (Q 44:74-91; Horovitz, *KU,* 3); Q 36 (Blachère, no. 62), the parable/story of the inhabitants of the ungodly city who did not listen to the words of the three apostles (Q 36:13-29; often related to tales about disciples of Jesus at Antioch [see APOSTLE]; Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh,* i, 789-93; id., *History,* iv, 167-70; Masʿūdī, *Murūj/Prairies,* §127-8, 722; in particular, the figure of Ḥabīb the Carpenter, perhaps to be identified with Agabus, is often connected to this story; Vajda, Ḥabīb al-Nadjdjār; Grimme, *Mohammed,* ii, 97; Ahrens, *Mohammed,* 143-4; Bell, *Commentary,* ii, 138-9; Horovitz, *KU,* 19-20; Fück, Zum Problem, 74; Blachère, 250, n. 12: "Parabole des citadins impies"; Norris, Elements, 255-6); Q 34:10-9 ("Sheba"; Blachère, no. 87), on David, Solomon and al-ʿArim (q.v.; the last named possibly refers to the breaching of the dam of Mārib; Bell, *Commentary,* ii, 116); Q 6:74-83, on Abraham and his father Āzar (q.v.; Horovitz, *KU,* 85-6; Blachère, no. 91); Q 5 ("The Table"; Blachère, no. 116), on the two sons of Adam (Q 5:27-32; Cain and Abel [q.v.] are not named; cf. *Gen* 4:3-16), Jesus and the "table" (q.v.; *māʾida,* probably an Ethiopic derivative; Jeffery, *For. vocab.*, 255-6), etc. (Q 5:110-6, the "table" from which the sūra takes its name is often understood as a reference to the Eucharist; Norris, Elements, 255).

In other sūras the narrative sections are reduced to a few verses. This is the case in Q 69:4-12 (Blachère, no. 24), which references Thamūd, ʿĀd, Pharaoh, the subverted cities *(al-muʾtafikāt),* and the ark (q.v.; of Noah). Q 17 ("The Night Journey," also called "The Sons of Israel"; Blachère, no. 74; see ASCENSION) mentions Adam, the angels and Iblīs (Q 17:61-5), Moses and Pharaoh (Q 17:101-4). Some sūras have only allusive verses: Q 85 (Blachère, no. 43), to "the People of the Ditch" (q.v.; *aṣḥāb al-ukhdūd,* Q 85:1-7, this could be an allusion to the persecution of the Christians of Najrān [q.v.] by the Jew Dhū Nuwās; Muqātil, *Tafsīr,* iv, 647-8; this interpretation, and others, are seen in: Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* xxx, ed. ʿAlī, 131-5; Bell, *Commentary,* ii, 517-8; Horovitz, *KU,* 92-3), Pharaoh and Thamūd (Q 85:17-20; Marshall, *God,* 44-5); Q 53:50-4 (Blachère, no. 30; Marshall, *God,* 47), to ʿĀd, Thamūd, Noah, the subverted city *(al-muʾtafika);* Q 44:37 (Blachère, no. 55), to the people of Tubbaʿ (q.v.; Horovitz, *KU,* 102-3; for the longer narrative section of this sūra, see above). Finally, it should be noted here that the pericope of Sūra Luqmān (Q 31; see LUQMĀN) which deals with that legendary hero (Q 31:12-19; Blachère no. 84) pertains more to the genre of wisdom-literature than to that of narratives (Horovitz, *KU,* 132-6).

Still other verses contain a mere enumeration: Noah, the People of the Well/Ditch (*aṣḥāb al-rass,* see PEOPLE OF THE DITCH), Thamūd, ʿĀd, Pharaoh, Lot, the People of the Thicket and the people of Tubbaʿ (Q 50:12-4; Blachère, no. 56); Noah, ʿĀd, Pharaoh (in Q 38:12 Pharaoh is termed "he of the tent-pegs" [see TENTS AND TENT PEGS]; cf. Q 89:10; Muqātil [*Tafsīr,* iii, 638] describes some form of punishment supposedly practiced by him; Bell [*Commentary,* ii, 537] suggests boundary-posts or a form of punishment; Speyer [*Erzählungen,* 283] sees in it an allusion to the construction of the Tower of Babel attributed to Nimrod [q.v.]; Horovitz [*KU,* 130] thinks this eponym refers to constructions undertaken during his reign; see Q 28:38; Norris, Elements, 249), Thamūd and Lot (Q 38:12-4; Blachère, no. 42; see the discussion of the longer narrative section of this sūra above); the destruction of ʿĀd, Thamūd, the People of the Ditch, and other generations (Q 25:38; Blachère, no. 68); the people of Noah, of Abraham, of Lot, of Midian (Horovitz, *KU,* 138) and Moses, ʿĀd and Thamūd (Q 22:42-5; Blachère, no. 109; Marshall, *God,* 119-24); Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Noah, David, Solomon, Job, Joseph, Moses, Aaron, Zechariah, John the Baptist, Jesus, Elijah, Ishmael, Elisha, Jonah, Lot (Q 6:83-7; Blachère, no. 91); see also Q 4:163-5 (Blachère, no. 102); Q 9:70 (Blachère, no. 115). The Qurʾān's transition from long narrative passages to such mere enumerations of narrative motifs is represented by passages which are very formulaic and concise, elliptical versions of stories, such as Q 21:74-91 (see above; Horovitz, *KU,* 3).

The reader of the Qurʾān is struck by the fact that the narratives and particularly the punishment stories occupy less space in the Medinan sūras than in the Meccan (Horovitz, *KU,* 25-7). In the Medinan period only a few brief narratives or set phrases (e.g. Q 2:246-51, where Muḥammad's new situation as a military leader is mirrored in the lives of Saul and David; Marshall, *God,* 162; Q 5:20-6, etc.), often in reference to punishment stories, "constitute the rather meagre narrative clothing of the believer-unbeliever relationship in Medina" (Marshall, *God,* 161). One explanation for why there is this difference in the pre- and post-emigration (*hijra,* see EMIGRATION) material could be the changed religious situation; yet another may be that Muḥammad's authority was better accepted in Medina (Marshall, *God,* 163), and that he therefore had to turn his attention to the legal matters involved in organizing a city: i.e. visions figured more prominently in the first stage of his mission, whereas practical matters absorbed much of the later part.

Categorization of the narratives

In a well known tradition, Muḥammad was taught to recite the Qurʾān according to seven *aḥruf* (pl. of *ḥarf,* edge, letter, word, aspect, etc.; Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* ed. Shākir, i, 43, no. 40; 50, no. 47; id., *Commentary,* i, 21 [Eng. trans.]; see READINGS OF THE QURʾĀN). This has been most commonly interpreted as dialects (q.v.), readings, etc. But, there are other understandings of *"ḥarf,"* which seem to be a summary of the essential genres contained in the Qurʾān: "The Qurʾān was sent down according to seven *ḥarf*s: command and prohibition (see COMMANDMENTS; FORBIDDEN), encouragement of good and discouragement of evil (see GOOD AND EVIL), dialectic [a better rendition of *jadal* is controversy; see DEBATE AND DISPUTATION], narrative, and parable *(qaṣaṣ wa-mathal)*" (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* i, 58-70; id., *Commentary,* i, 29; Gilliot, Les sept "lectures," 20-1; in other versions, "narrative" *[qaṣaṣ]* is replaced by "ambiguous" *[mutashābih];* see AMBIGUOUS). Yet other interpretations understand the seven

*ḥarf*s to be: "[…] Permitted and prohibited, command and prohibition, relation *(khabar)* of what was before them and will be after them, the exposition of parables" (Abū ʿUbayd, *Gharīb al-ḥadīth,* iii, 160). This seems to be a primitive attempt to classify the essential genres contained in the Qurʾān. In some versions, where "narrative" is replaced by "ambiguous," the question arises as to whether or not the narratives were "ambiguous" (Suyūṭī [*Itqān,* chap. 43, iii, 4] takes qurʾānic legal passages [see LAW AND THE QURʾĀN], as well as "promise and threat," or eschatological discussions, to be "well established," *muḥkam;* narratives and parables are termed "ambiguous," *mutashābih;* ʿAbd Rabbih [*Buhūth,* 57] writes that narratives do not pertain to *mutashābih,* but he does not provide any further explanation), that is, in need of an interpretation. In this context the contrasting pair *muḥkam/mutashābih* (lit. clear/ambiguous) refers to the difference between legal proscriptions and prescriptions that must be obeyed, and the narrative materials, which are a matter of warning (see WARNER) and inquiry, or "the object of belief but not of conduct" (Abū ʿUbayd, *Nāsikh,* 3-4, according to Ibn ʿAbbās; Wansbrough, *QS,* 150-1). Be that as it may, the narratives appeared very early as one of the major components of the Qurʾān.

As for a classification of the narrative materials, we can distinguish between the stories of the prophets and messengers, the punishment stories (Watt-Bell, *Introduction,* 127-35; Welch, Formulaic features of the punishment-stories), which include large portions of the preceding category, and the other stories (see above under *Distribution of the narratives in the Qurʾān*).

Formulaic features in the narratives

It is well known that a wide variety of formulaic elements occur throughout the Qurʾān (see LANGUAGE AND STYLE OF THE QURʾĀN; GRAMMAR AND THE QURʾĀN). This is in keeping with its basically oral nature (see ORALITY), but perhaps is also a consequence of its reshaping. Such formulaic elements include introductory statements, refrains (e.g. "O which of your lord's bounties will the two of you deny?" in Q 55; see EXHORTATIONS), and repeated rhyme phrases, etc. (Nöldeke, *GQ,* i, 29-30; Wansbrough, *QS,* 25-7; Crapon de Crapona, *Coran,* 215 f.; Neuwirth, *Studien,* 175-8). The accounts of the Qurʾān also contain formulaic features, which are, in the words of Welch (Formulaic features, 77), "repeated elements that convey added force to passages that are already powerful in their warnings" to those who reject the supposed "messengers" of God.

The great deeds of God in history, in creation (q.v.) and in the universe (see COSMOLOGY) are his signs *(āyāt)*. This is the reason why we find so many transitions in the Qurʾān from descriptions of creation to narrative sections, as is the case in the Psalms (*Ps* 68, 105, 106, etc.), with which the Qurʾān shares so many features, stylistic forms, and themes in common (Paret, Geschichtsquelle, 38; indeed, these similarities have led some scholars to speak of "Semitic" rhetorical structures; Meynet et al., *Rhétorique sémitique;* Cuypers, Structures rhétoriques dans le Coran, 109, 191-3; id., Structures rhétoriques des sourates 105 à 114, 192-3). This creation-narrative transition results in a peculiar type of ellipsis, in which short words (like *idh* [usually translated as "when"] and *wa-idh* ["and when"]) introduce something new in the development of the text, indicating that "something happened/will happen." *Wa-idh* is the most frequent sign of this type of transition: Q 2:30, 34; 18:16, 50, 60; etc. Almost always this formula introduces legends or legendary features (Nöldeke, *Neue Beiträge,* 17; Horovitz, *KU,* 4). *Idh* occurs

only rarely in this function: Q 12:4; 27:7. These words are followed by the perfect, often of verbs expressing a mode of speaking *(qāla, nādā),* a fact which shows that, for the Qurʾān, it is not so much the events that are important, as the rendering of the words (Horovitz, ibid.; see SPEECH). The following are examples of other transitions:

One formula appears twice in the early period: "Have you not seen how your lord did with…" (Q 105:1; 19:6; also in Q 25:45, but here it is related to a natural phenomenon). A shorter (Medinan) formula: "Have you not regarded" (*a-lam tara ilā,* Q 2:243, 246, 258) is used in narrative sections, whereas a slight variation *(a-lam tara anna)* is frequent in hymnic descriptions (Horovitz, *KU,* 4-5).

The interrogative expression, "Have you received the story…" (*Hal atāka ḥadīth,* Q 85:17; 20:9; 51:24; 79:15; also in other contexts, such as the eschatological one of Q 88:1) is close to "Are there not come to you the tidings…" (*a-lam yaʾtikum nabaʾ,* Q 64:5; 14:9). A recurrent formula in the punishment stories is: "[So and So] cried lies" (*kadhdhabat,* Q 91:11; 69:4; 54:9, 18:23, 33; 26:105, 123, 141, 160; 38:12; 40:5; 50:12; see LIE).

Other formulas have as a common feature God speaking in the first person plural, as "Surely we have sent" *(laqad arsalnā),* "We have sent" *(innā arsalnā),* or "when we sent" (*idh arsalnā,* cf. e.g. Q 73:15; 71:1; 36:14; 23:23; 27:45; 2:151 ["as also we have sent," *kamā arsalnā*]); "we gave" *(wa-laqad ataynā)* or "we gave him" *(ataynāhu),* with an object (science, judgment [q.v.], wisdom, etc.; cf. Q 21:48, 51, 74, 79; 27:15; 31:12; 34:10); "we will recite to you something of the tidings of…" (*natlū ʿalayka min nabāʾi,* Q 28:3). See above for "we relate" (*naquṣṣu;* Horovitz, *KU,* 5).

"To recite" *(talā)* and " to inform" *(nabbaʾa,* see above under *nabaʾ),* however, are used mostly in the imperative: Q 26:69; 10:71; 7:175; 5:27. This is also the case for "to mention/remember" *(dhakara):* "and mention in the book" (Q 19:16, 41, 51, 54, 56); "and remember our servant" (Q 38:17, 41, 45); "and make mention of/remember" (Q 38:48; 46:21; Horovitz, ibid.). Another imperative is "Propose to them the parable/example of…" (*wa-ḍrib lahum mathalan,* Q 18:32; 36:13; cf. 16:112; 66:10, in which the subject is God, but neither of which is an imperative; Horovitz, ibid.). For the formulas particular to the punishment stories, see Horovitz, *KU,* 6 and Welch, Formulaic features.

It should be noted also that special formulas occur at the ends of legends in some sūras: "Now we have made the Qurʾān easy for remembrance" *(wa-laqad yassarnā l-qurʾāna lil-dhikri);* "Is there any who will remember" (*fa-hal min mudhakkir,* Q 54:17; cf. Q 54:22, 32, 40; or only with the end of this formula, Q 54:51); "Surely in that is a sign, yet most of them are not believers" (Q 26:8, 67, 103, 121, 139, 158, 174, 190). These *loci* belong to the broader genre of "sign-passages," an expression of R. Bell (Watt-Bell, *Introduction,* 123-7; Wansbrough, *QS,* 5-6).

Main characteristics of the narratives, their literary and theological effect

Most of these narratives present mythical characters of stereotyped figures. Their repetition throughout the Qurʾān, above all in the Meccan sūras, in long, middle-sized and short sections, or allusive passages, had and still has an effect on the listener or reader. Their binary oppositional form, peculiar to the myths, puts the listener/reader in a state of ethical or theological decision or choice concerning his or her own status (Gilliot, De l'impossible censure du récit légendaire; see ETHICS

AND THE QURʾĀN; THEOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN). Some of these binary oppositions are: good vs. evil; staying on the right path *(hudā)* vs. straying from it (*ḍalāl,* see ERROR; ASTRAY); believers vs. unbelievers; submission *(islām)* to God vs. "rebellion" (q.v.; see also DISOBEDIENCE; CORRUPTION); hero vs. anti-hero; "messenger" or "prophet" (or king; see KINGS AND RULERS) vs. Pharaoh or "tyrant" (Gilliot, Récit, mythe et histoire, 280-3; see OPPRESSION; POLITICS AND THE QURʾĀN); good cities vs. subverted or destroyed cities (see PAIRS AND PAIRING). Muslim exegetes, with the help of extra-qurʾānic traditions, use these passages to establish a real typology of submission to God and rebellion against him, adding many other narratives or details, so that the allusive text of the Qurʾān might be "completed" (Gilliot, Mythe, récit, histoire du salut, 241), and, above all, so that these narratives — particularly the accounts about the prophets and messengers — may appear as a *preparatio prophetica,* i.e. a preparation and anticipation of the character and deeds of the prophet Muḥammad (Gilliot, Récit, mythe et histoire, 278-9). It is therefore no wonder, given the importance of the narratives in the Qurʾān, that the tales/stories of the prophets became a genre in its own right in Arabic Islamic literature, which had its beginnings towards the end of the first/sixth century (Khoury, *Légendes prophétiques*). These traditions, like those contained in the qurʾānic commentaries (there is much overlap between the accounts found in these two literary genres), are borrowed from the Jewish, Christian, Arabic, Hellenistic, Persian, etc., lore of the Middle East, but they are chosen, reinterpreted and adapted according to the *Weltanschauung* of Muḥammad, the Qurʾān and Islam (q.v.).

But the Qurʾān itself, whose narrative passages evince a familiarity with the aforementioned lore of the Middle East (leading some to the conclusion that Muḥammad, his informants and Companions probably, in several cases, had Aramaic books and oral traditions at their disposal; Luxenberg, *Die syro-aramäische Lesart,* passim) already manifests this same process. These accounts, however, most of which are not long (that of Q 12, on Joseph, is the longest one), have been established according to a new situation, a new representation of God, the universe, creation, prophets, and humankind: "In speaking of the Biblical prophets, Muḥammad more than once fashioned his narrative on the contemporary situation in Mekka and Yathrib" (Rezvan, Qurʾān, 41b, with examples). The characters presented in these stories are anticipations of Muḥammad, particularly the character of Abraham, who appears as a "Muḥammadan Abraham" or "a biblical Muḥammad" (Fück, Zum Problem, 77, probably referring to Snouck Hurgronje, *Het Mekkaansche Feest,* 23-30 [Fr. trans. in id., *Selected works,* 186-93]; C.H. Snouck Hurgronje, La légende qorânique d'Abraham). One could even say that in the narratives on the prophets, Muḥammad "substitutes his person to that of the ancient prophets" (Ahrens, *Muhammed,* 139; Nöldeke, *GQ,* i, 119-20). With the psychological and theological evolution of Muḥammad, the individuality of the different messengers becomes more and more indistinct, and the similarities with the Arabian prophet greater (see Q 6:84-90, with a mere list: Isaac, Jacob, Job, Joseph, Moses, Aaron, Noah, David, Solomon, Zechariah, John, Jesus, Elijah, Ishmael, Elisha, Jonah, Lot, but this time without the "Arab prophets," Hūd, Ṣāliḥ, Shuʿayb; Blachère, no. 91). At the same time, their adversaries express the peculiarities of the contemporary opponents of Muḥammad (R. Paret, Geschichtsquelle, 36). This treatment of the prophets in the Qurʾān has led at

least one scholar to speak of the "monoprophetism" of the Qurʾān and of Islam (A.-L. de Prémare, L'islam comme monoprophétisme), meaning that all the prophets are seen as Muḥammad saw himself in his conception of prophecy and in his life (cf. the allegation that the Arabian prophet had been foretold in the Hebrew and Christian scriptures in Q 7:157; Wansbrough, *QS,* 63-5). This is the consequence of Muḥammad's claim of finality, or completion (Ger. *Totalitätsanspruch;* Beck, Monotheistische Religion, 68), with respect to the preceding religions. These prophet narratives can therefore be considered one of the most important vehicles of qurʾānic and Islamic theology and ethics.

The narratives of the Qurʾān have, until the present day, continued to be very popular in Islam. Those on the prophets are especially so: they are presented in special books (even for children), together with the post-qurʾānic traditions about the prophets. Even if a number of contemporary Muslim scholars try to "purify" (censure) the Islamic exegetical literature of such "Judaica" (Abū Shahaba, *al-Isrāʾīliyyāt;* Rabīʿ, *al-Isrāʾīliyyāt fī Tafsīr al-Ṭabarī*), these "fairy tales" continue to be prized as narrative entertainment ("the pleasure of the text") and for the religious and ethical messages they convey. In fact, the passages described as narrative consist "not so much of narrative as of *exempla*" (Wansbrough, *QS,* 18), a remark which corresponds to the "fragmentary character of Muslim scripture" (ibid.; see SCRIPTURE AND THE QURʾĀN).

Today, debate occasionally arises among Muslim scholars concerning the literary qualification of qurʾānic narratives. All, or nearly all, are agreed upon the "inimitable" qualities of the Qurʾān, both in content and in style (Muṣṭafā, *al-Iʿjāz;* ʿAbd Rabbih, *Buḥūth,* 141-90; see INIMITABILITY). But some have insisted that the purpose of the narrative passages is not primarily "historical," but, rather, that the Qurʾān utilized the "narrative art" to convey its theological, social and ethical message (see CONTEMPORARY CRITICAL PRACTICES AND THE QURʾĀN; EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: EARLY MODERN AND CONTEMPORARY). For instance, M.A. Khalaf Allāh (born in 1916) wrote a thesis on the qurʾānic narratives, which he submitted in 1947 to the Fuʾād 1st University (now Cairo University), in Cairo. Under pressure from scholars of al-Azhar, it was refused. But the text was reworked by its author and published as a book in 1951 (Khalaf Allāh, *al-Fann al-qaṣaṣī;* Jomier, Quelques positions). The book takes a psychological approach towards the narratives (see also Naqra, *Sikūlūjiyyat al-qiṣṣa*), looking at the relations of Muḥammad and other prophets with their societies (see COMMUNITY AND SOCIETY IN THE QURʾĀN). It is also an apologetic work. Some suspected him (Khaṭīb, *al-Qaṣaṣ al-qurʾānī,* 275-348, where even the symbolism is rejected; ʿAbd Rabbih, *Buḥūth,* 215-61) of doubting, or bringing into question, the "historicity" of the qurʾānic accounts. While the work of Khalaf Allāh would not be a locus of controversy in European or North American universities, the standard insights of form criticism remain unacceptable in most Muslim institutions of higher learning. To apply the term 'myths' to the qurʾānic narratives, to speak of myths in the sense that historians of religion use the term in defining the generative and foundational elements of religion, is anathema in such institutions.

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Nāsikh wa-Mansūkh

see ABROGATION

Nasr

see IDOLS AND IMAGES

Nation

see COMMUNITY AND SOCIETY IN THE QURʾĀN; POLITICS AND THE QURʾĀN

Nature as Signs

Creation, i.e. natural phenomena, as indications of God's existence and power. In Islamic belief the Qurʾān is God's final message *(risāla)* conveyed by God's last messenger (q.v.; *rasūl*) and Prophet (*nabī,* see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD), Muḥammad, to all humankind. Not only is it a final, yet primary, message but it is also a lucid and enlightening message, a *Qurʾān mubīn* (Q 15:1; see NAMES OF THE QURʾĀN) which distinguishes the good from the bad (*qawl faṣl,* Q 86:13), and which was revealed in the Arabic language (q.v.; Q 12:2). Elaborating some general semiotic principles, Roman Jakobson (Language in relation) insists that all messages are composed of signs. The Qurʾān has no problems with this idea and, indeed, over and over again, articulates a fundamental semiotics of its own: it does not have the sophistication of the complex theories offered by a C.S. Peirce (1839-1914; *Collected papers*) or an Umberto Eco *(Theory of semiotics)* but in scope and breadth it has every claim to being their equal: God proclaims, for example, that he will show humankind his signs (q.v.; lit. *āyātinā*) on the furthest horizons as well as deep within themselves (Q 41:53). People, such as the prophet Joseph (q.v.; Yūsuf) and his brothers (see BROTHER AND BROTHERHOOD), can be signs for those who seek, or enquire after [the truth] (*al-sāʾilīn,* Q 12:7). The very heavens (see HEAVEN AND SKY) and earth (q.v.) are alive with the signs of God:

> Behold! In the creation (q.v.) of the heavens and the earth; in the alternation of the night and the day (see DAY AND NIGHT); in the sailing of the ships (q.v.) through the ocean for the profit of mankind; in the rain which God sends down from the skies, thereby giving life to an earth that is dead (see AGRICULTURE AND VEGETATION); in the beasts of all kinds that he scatters through the earth (see ANIMAL LIFE); in the change of the winds (see AIR AND WIND), and the clouds which they trail like their slaves between the sky and the earth; — (Here) indeed are signs for a people that are wise (*la-āyātin li-qawmin yaʿqilūna,* Q 2:164; see also Q 3:190).

It is clear from this brief quotation that natural phenomena comprise a large portion of the divine signs and it is with these that this article will deal. According to the Qurʾān, nature itself praises God (Q 24:41;

see PRAISE; LAUDATION; GLORIFICATION OF GOD).

We will examine firstly the classical Empedoclean elements of fire (q.v.), air, water (q.v.) and earth and then move from terrestrial phenomena, in terms of the semiotics of the flora and fauna of the Qurʾān, to an appraisal of the celestial phenomena, before concluding with a survey of the semiotics of nature in qurʾānic eschatology (q.v.).

The Empedoclean elements: The semiotic substratum

The pre-Socratic philosopher Empedocles (d. ca. 433 B.C.E.) held that the phenomenal world derived from the four key elements of fire, air, water and earth which would combine in varying proportions to produce all that we see around us. While the Qurʾān adheres to no such tidy theory, it is nonetheless clear that the four elements figure largely in a variety of forms and, importantly, denote or signify numerous salutary messages for the believers.

Fire

While fire is clearly a sign, reminder or memento *(tadhkira)* of God's providence to humankind (cf. Q 56:73), being in A. Yusuf Ali's words "an emblem of man's earliest civilisation" and standing "as a symbol of physical comfort and convenience to man [see BLESSING; GRACE], of the source of spiritual light [q.v.], and also of the warning to Evil [see GOOD AND EVIL] about its destruction" (Yusuf Ali, *Holy Qurʾān,* 1492, n. 5255), there can be little doubt that, for the majority of Muslims, fire *(al-nār),* primarily represents — indeed is! — hellfire (see HELL AND HELLFIRE; REWARD AND PUNISHMENT): and in harmony with his destined domain, Iblīs (see DEVIL) himself was created from fire. The wicked and the unbelievers (*kāfirūn,* see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF) are destined for hellfire where they will burn in appalling torment (see e.g. Q 40:70-2). Islamic eschatology, as Smith and Haddad *(Islamic understanding)* show, developed a vision of seven layers of *al-nār* with "each descending one an abode of increased torment." Thus "the purgatorial fire *(jahannam)*" will be reserved for grievously sinful Muslims (see SIN, MAJOR AND MINOR) while "the blazing fire *(saʿīr)*" will be for the Sabians (q.v.). Fire in the Qurʾān, then, in addition to being a gift (see GIFT-GIVING), may also signal pain, torment and loss. The latter, perhaps, constitute its primary signification.

Importantly, however, fire in the Qurʾān signifies presence, both divine and human (cf. Yusuf Ali, *Holy Qurʾān,* 791, n. 2541). For the prophet Moses (q.v.; Mūsā) the burning bush was a sign of God's presence and majesty (Q 20:10-12; see SECHINA). Immediate acknowledgement of that sacred presence was required in the divine command that Moses should remove his shoes (Q 20:12; compare *Exod* 3:1-5). God's voice "blazed forth" in the middle of nature itself, epitomized by that fire.

Finally, fire, paradoxically, signifies both danger and security in the Qurʾān: danger, because the giant-king Nimrod (q.v.) attempts to burn the prophet Abraham (q.v.; Ibrāhīm) to death in a fire (cf. Q 21:68-9, compare Daniel 3:16-50); security, because God commands the fire to be cool and to become a place of peace and safety *(salāman)* for Abraham.

Air

The standard Arabic word for "air, atmosphere, wind, weather, climate," is *al-hawāʾ (*pl. *ahwiya, ahwāʾ;* cf. Gk. *aēr).* It is in its synonyms, however, and especially in words for wind like *rīḥ (*pl. *riyāḥ)* which imply air, that we may best seek and survey this second Empedoclean element in the text of the Qurʾān. Wind is a sign of divine providence and bounty and, as A. Yusuf Ali

puts it (*Holy Qur'ān,* 1663, n. 5864), the winds "are powerful factors in the government of the physical world… [and] point to the power and goodness of God" (see POWER AND IMPOTENCE; MERCY). The winds are both subject at all times to his will (cf. Q 42:33) and powerful implements of that will: they drive the rain-bearing clouds, reviving dead lands with a fruitful harvest in a manner akin to the forthcoming day of resurrection (q.v.; Q 7:57, see also Q 15:22; 30:48, 51). Q 77 is entitled Sūrat al-Mursalāt, which means literally "those who have been sent." Watt (*Companion,* 289) notes that the oath (see OATHS) that comprises Q 77:1-5 ("By the emissaries [winds] in succession, by the raging hurricanes") has been variously interpreted. It is possible that the first three verses are a reference to rain clouds while the fourth and fifth describe destroying winds. But he is aware that all the verses may be interpreted as referring to angels (see ANGEL). If the reference in Q 77:5 ("those who bring down a reminder") is indeed to the broadcasting of a reminder or message (*dhikr,* see MEMORY) by the winds, then A. Yusuf Ali's (ibid.) comment has some merit: "They literally carry sound, and therefore Messages, and metaphorically they are instrumental in making God's Revelation accessible to hearers." Fanciful or not, it is clear from the above that the air, in the form of the winds, serves as a major vehicle of God's power and bounty, and implies a less fearsome aspect of his natural creation than the terrible *nār*.

Water

Just as God has absolute power over the winds (cf. Q 42:33) so too he is lord of water: if he wished he could make it immediately undrinkable by rendering it bitter or salty *(ujājan)* (Q 56:70; see also Q 11:7; see THRONE OF GOD). In a phrase that might variously have won the approval of both Empedocles and Darwin (although, of course, the Qur'ān does not teach evolution; see BIOLOGY AS THE CREATION AND STAGES OF LIFE), God states in the Qur'ān: "And we have made everything which lives out of water" (*wa-ja'alnā min al-mā' kulla shay'in ḥayyin,* Q 21:30; see also Q 24:45). People themselves are essentially a creation by God from, or out of, water (Q 25:54). Water, then, participates in a fundamental qur'ānic semiotics of divine creation.

Abdel Haleem *(Understanding)* reminds us that there are more than sixty references to water in the Qur'ān, more than fifty to rivers and more than forty to sea. The sacred text itself insists that in the rain (lit.: "in what God sends down from the heavens in the way of water") "are signs for a people who understand" (*āyātin li-qawmin ya'qilūna,* Q 2:164). The signs involve God's power and providence and may be divided semiotically into three major images and three simple signs, which build on these images: all together they constitute a kind of unstated covenant (q.v.) between God and man. It is not formally articulated in the style, for example, that the covenant is formulated in Genesis 15:18-21 and 22:15-8 between Yahweh and Abraham, but in its own way it is just as powerful.

Firstly, terrestrial life itself *(al-ḥayāt)* is likened to the rain that has a transitory effect on the parched earth: new plant life springs up but ultimately the earth absorbs the rainwater leaving only a more lasting aridity (Q 18:45). In the following verse, the Qur'ān points or signifies its own moral: money and heirs will pass but the merit derived from good deeds (q.v.) will endure in the sight of God (Q 18:46).

Secondly, water is a symbol and sign of life itself, terrestrially, but also, by extension, a sign of the divine life of God who has power over it. The Qur'ān asks what would happen if, one day, someone awoke

to find that his water had vanished. Who could replace that flowing water? (Q 67:30; see also Yusuf Ali, *Holy Qurʾān,* 1583, n. 5591). There are interesting analogies to be drawn here (but not pressed overmuch) with John 4:13-4, where we read of the encounter by the well of Jesus (q.v.) and the Samaritan woman to whom God promises water that will quench every thirst and flow continually.

Our third major qurʾānic image, particularly apposite in its linkage of divine message and water, is that of the sea *(al-baḥr)* transformed into ink *(midādan)* and its never being sufficient to write out the words of God (lit. *kalimāt rabbī*) even if replenished with another sea of ink like it (Q 18:109; see WORD OF GOD; WRITING AND WRITING MATERIALS; INSTRUMENTS).

Building particularly on the last image of water as transformed into the inky vehicle for the divine message, we may now note that the Qurʾān tells us that God provides two kinds of water for the benefit of humankind: sweet fresh water and salt sea water (see Q 25:53; 35:12; see BARZAKH; BARRIER). Water is a divine gift to man (cf. Q 23:18-9; 50:9-11; 80:25). This is our first "simple sign," water as a sign of divine bounty.

Just as with water, humans are free to accept or reject the message of God, for there should classically be no compulsion in religion (cf. Q 10:99, see also *lā ikrāha fī l-dīn:* Q 2:256; see TOLERANCE AND COMPULSION; RELIGIOUS PLURALISM AND THE QURʾĀN). In which case, pursuing our metaphorical (but, nonetheless qurʾānic; see METAPHOR) identification of water as an inky vehicle for the divine message, that water may "become" our second and third "simple signs": it may be a sign of divine reward or a sign of divine punishment. The righteous will drink from the bounteous rivers *(anhār)* of paradise (q.v.; cf. Q 47:15); the wicked will drink boiling water *(ḥamīm)* in hell and resemble thirsty camels (see camel) whose thirst cannot be slaked *(al-hīm)* in their anguish (Q 56:54-5; see FOOD AND DRINK).

The covenant which may be deduced or extrapolated from all these watery images, real and metaphorical, is a very simple one; its spirit infuses the whole Qurʾān: God tells the believers that, if they show gratitude (see GRATITUDE AND INGRATITUDE) for the multifarious examples of his terrestrial bounty (an example of which is water), by doing good deeds, then they will assuredly receive a full reward in paradise. Ingratitude or contempt for that same bounty equals disbelief *(kufr)* and will plunge the ingrate into the fires of hell.

Earth

The Qurʾān refers much more to "the earth" *(al-arḍ),* i.e. this terrestrial world, by comparison with the heavens or skies *(al-samāwāt),* than earth *qua* earth in the stark, elemental Empedoclean sense. Thus there are references to the creation of the heavens and the earth (Q 2:164; 3:190) and that creation is indeed one of the signs *(āyāt)* of God, a semiotic indicator to those with real insight of God's majesty and power. The earth is full of God's signs (Q 51:20) and God is the lord of the heavens and the earth (*al-samāʾ wa-l-arḍ,* Q 51:23). That spacious earth (Q 29:56; also Q 15:19), provisioned by God (Q 77:27) as a gift to man (see Q 78:6-16) to be managed by man (Q 67:15), will one day be changed out of all recognition, at the end of time on the last day (Q 14:48; see LAST JUDGMENT; APOCALYPSE). On that terrible day of resurrection even the most hidden deeds (see EVIL DEEDS), which have been performed on the earth, will be made known (see Q 99:1-8; also Yusuf Ali, *Holy Qurʾān,* 1771, n. 6238; see RECORD OF HUMAN ACTIONS).

Much closer to the Empedoclean sense of earth *qua* earth, as opposed to *the* earth, is

the Arabic word *ṭīn* meaning "clay" (q.v.) or "soil." In that great primal act of disobedience (q.v.), pride (q.v.) and rebellion (q.v.), Iblīs refuses to bow down before God's new creation, Adam (see ADAM AND EVE; BOWING AND PROSTRATION), as a mark of respect, proclaiming: *anā khayrun minhu: khalaqtanī min nārin wa-khalaqtahu min ṭīnin,* "I am better than he is: You created me from fire and you created him from clay" (Q 7:12; see also Q 2:34; 17:61; 38:71-6).

In addition to *ṭīn,* the Qurʾān also uses other Arabic words for the same event, which are closer to the Empedoclean elemental sense than *arḍ:* "Behold! your lord said to the angels: 'I am about to create man, from sounding clay, from mud molded into shape'" (*min ṣalṣālin min ḥamaʾin masnūnin,* Q 15:28; see also Q 15:33).

Terrestrial phenomena: The semiotics of the flora and fauna of the Qurʾān

Moving now from the four classical, simple Empedoclean elements of antiquity, fire, air, water and earth, out of which all natural phenomena were believed to be composed, we find that the Qurʾān is rich in the names of the more complex or compound natural structures or phenomena like trees (q.v.) and animals. These will be adumbrated here: several signify God's bounty to the earth, which he himself has created.

The Qurʾān mentions and symbolically utilizes a variety of trees (see SYMBOLIC IMAGERY). Some like the mysterious lote or lotus tree, *sidrat al-muntahā,* which grows in paradise, signify gardens (see GARDEN) and blessedness, especially when shorn of their thorns (Q 53:14; see also Q 56:28). A. Yusuf Ali (*Holy Qurʾān,* 1444, n. 5093) succinctly comments on the symbolism of this tree: "The wild Lote is thorny; under cultivation it yields good fruit and shade, and is symbolic of heavenly bliss.… The symbolism here is that the farthest Lote-Tree marked the bounds of heavenly knowledge as revealed to men (see KNOWLEDGE AND LEARNING), beyond which neither angels nor men could pass."

The lote tree, however, has a terrestrial as well as a celestial dimension. Besides being a sign of eternal life in paradise (see ETERNITY), it could also be a product and sign of terrestrial destruction and decay (see PUNISHMENT STORIES). The collapse of the Maʾrib dam in the sixth century C.E. in Sabaʾ (immortalized in the Qurʾān under the rubric of *sayl al-ʿarim,* "the flood of the dam," but recorded even before the revelation of the Qurʾān in the epigraphic south Arabian inscriptions, see CIH 541 in Conti Rossini, *Chrestomathia,* 73, 1.43; see also CIH 540 in ibid., 71, 1.6; see SHEBA; AL-ʿARIM; PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QURʾĀN) left in its wake, according to the Qurʾān, only two gardens "Producing bitter fruit and tamarisks, and some few (stunted) lote-trees" (Q 34:16; see GEOGRAPHY; EPIGRAPHY AND THE QURʾĀN).

Other trees of paradise named in the Qurʾān are the *ṭalḥ:* it is not entirely clear what kind of trees these are here but they are mentioned after the thornless lote trees (Q 56:29) and signify yet more examples of the joys and beauties of the plant life in the paradisiacal garden. A. Yusuf Ali (*Holy Qurʾān,* 1487, n. 5238) hazards that they may be a species of acacia tree and Arberry *(Koran)* has no hesitation in actually translating the word as acacias (Lane and Penrice, *Dictionary,* define *ṭalḥ* as a collective noun meaning a kind of acacia *[acacia gummifera]* but also as a banana tree). Both the thornless lote trees and these acacias are part of the furniture of paradise and, it hardly needs to be stressed here, the most common word for the latter in the Qurʾān has a particular semiotic significance in terms of visual beauty (q.v.): it is *al-janna,* the garden, a constant motif in qurʾānic

eschatology. Thus we are told that it is in "gardens of ease [happiness or bliss]" *(jannāt al-naʿīm)* that the above-named trees will be found (Q 56:12).

All nature, then, is deployed in the qurʾānic imagery of paradise to indicate a state of bliss to which the believer should aspire and towards which that person should work with sound belief and good deeds (see FAITH; JOY AND MISERY). The celestial paradise is made credible by reference to terrestrial natural images with which the recipients of the qurʾānic message are already familiar.

Of course, not all the trees mentioned in the Qurʾān signify blessedness. The text offers us a short simile in which an "evil word" *(kalima khabītha)* is said to resemble an "evil tree" (*shajara khabītha,* Q 14:26; see GOSSIP). Perhaps the most famous of the "evil trees" mentioned in the Qurʾān is the tree of Zaqqūm (q.v.), "the cursed tree" (*al-shajara al-malʿūna,* Q 17:60; see also Q 37:62-6; 44:43-6; 56:52). This tree, which is "bitter" and "pungent" (see Yusuf Ali, *Holy Qurʾān,* 711, n. 2250), represents all that is unpleasant in the way of plant life. Netton has defined it (*Popular dictionary,* 264) as follows:

> Bitter smelling and fearsome tree in the pit of Hell with flowers which resemble demonic heads. The stomachs of sinners obliged to eat from this tree in Hell will be badly burned.… The Zaqqūm tree with its bitter fruit and foul smell was not only associated with the infernal regions of Hell but also with Arabia.

Again, then, a powerful semiotic (and olfactory!; see SMELLING) link is made between actual and perceptible terrestrial phenomena on the one hand, and threatened potential phenomena that may be encountered in another life, on the other.

Turning now from the semiotics of the principal flora of the Qurʾān to the fauna, we note firstly that there are two general statements made about animals in the Qurʾān. The first of these is that the creeping animals *(dābba)* and flying birds are all said to form "communities" *(umam)* like humankind (Q 6:38; see COMMUNITY AND SOCIETY IN THE QURʾĀN). The extensive intertextual weight borne in Islam by such a word as *umma* needs no underscoring. Suffice it to say that here the word signifies *inter alia* a divine ordering or harmony of creation "in groups" where mutual cooperation *(taʿāwun)* and generosity are expected. The semiotic antitheses of these virtues are numerous and include "self-centeredness," "individuality," "isolation," and the selfishness and greed born of such attitudes and lifestyles: the Qurʾān (e.g. Q 89:17-20) condemned them all (see also ETHICS AND THE QURʾĀN).

Here the parable of the two men in Q 18 (Sūrat al-Kahf, "The Cave"; Q 18:32-44) is instructive. The proud, selfish arrogant man, who has two well-endowed gardens that are eventually ruined, is in sharp contrast to his humbler neighbor whom he clearly despises. But in his fall from material wealth (q.v.) the proud man equates his selfish attitudes with polytheism itself (Q 18:42; see POLYTHEISM AND ATHEISM). In this parable, then, the Qurʾān signals in the most lucid way that selfishness and greed lead to ruin and that divine protection (q.v.) is to be had in the *umma* whose characteristics are generosity, mutual respect and cooperation. The two gardens in the parable, of course, are twin images or signs of God's gift of paradise to humankind. But that gift has to be earned even though, in the parable, it is "given" almost gratuitously. From the point of view of the semiotics of nature in the Qurʾān and its ubiquitous didactic aspect, it is instructive to note that the parable of the two men in Q 18 follows on immediately from a vivid

description of the paradisiacal garden (lit. "the gardens of Eden," *jannāt ʿadnin,* Q 18:31), couched in the most physical — indeed natural — terms. The semiotic lesson is clear: Nature is an image of the garden of paradise itself. Nature misused, abused or taken for granted, signals contempt for the divine creator who will assuredly punish such attitudes and actions.

It comes as no surprise then, to learn that those who reject the signs of God, which are clearly present in the whole of nature (cf. Q 41:53), are specifically regarded as deaf *(ṣumm)* and dumb *(bukm)* and living in darkness (q.v.; Q 6:39; see vision and blindness; hearing and deafness).

The second major general statement about animals in the Qurʾān is that they have been created for the service of humankind whether they be cattle *(anʿām),* horses *(khayl),* mules *(bighāl)* or donkeys (*ḥamīr,* Q 16:5-8). The cattle provide warmth and food and foster a sense of beauty as they are driven backwards and forwards to pasture. The equines are for both riding and ornament *(zīna)*. The semiotics of these verses are abundantly clear and need little further emphasis: as with the "good" trees and plants, the animal kingdom as it flourishes on earth is a sign of God's bounty to humankind and it is designed for the latter's use (see also HIDES AND FLEECE; HUNTING AND FISHING). The ethic which pertains is very similar to that in Genesis 1:26-8 in which man is placed in command of all the wildlife on earth.

There are numerous references to animals, birds and insects in the Qurʾān; some give their names to whole sūras: e.g. Q 2, "The Cow" (Sūrat al-Baqara); Q 6, "The Cattle" (Sūrat al-Anʿām); Q 16, "The Bee" (Sūrat al-Naḥl); Q 27, "The Ant" (Sūrat al-Naml); Q 29, "The Spider" (Sūrat al-ʿAnkabūt); and Q 105, "The Elephant" (Sūrat al-Fīl). Elsewhere, there are references to camels (e.g. Q 7:73), birds (e.g. Q 67:19) and the small creeping animal *(dābba)* which gnawed through the staff of the prophet Solomon (q.v.; Sulaymān) after the latter's death (Q 34:14) and which is variously translated as "worm of the earth" (A. Yusuf Ali), and "the Beast of the Earth" (Arberry). All of these signify, to one degree or another, God's creative presence, power and majesty. Perhaps, however, the most dramatic and starkest of all the animals mentioned in the Qurʾān, in terms of any identification with sign, is the "she-camel" *(nāqa)* in Q 7:73-84. The prophet Ṣāliḥ (q.v.) is sent to the Arabian tribe of Thamūd (q.v.). Ṣāliḥ orders the tribe to worship the one true God and identifies, as a sign of the covenant God makes with them through him, a she-camel. This is to be left unharmed and permitted to graze at leisure. But Ṣāliḥ's message is rejected, the she-camel is hamstrung and the tribe of Thamūd, in turn, is hit by an earthquake. The she-camel, originally a sign of true belief, covenant, blessing and good order becomes a symbol of divine vengeance and destruction. Thus good signs in the Qurʾān can, Janus-like, turn into symbols of doom.

Celestial phenomena: The semiotics of the heavenly spheres

Q 41:53 proclaims that God's signs are visible in nature and elsewhere, in the furthest lands of the earth *(fī l-āfāqi),* and nowhere is this more evident or ubiquitous than in the qurʾānic contrast between light and darkness (see PAIRS AND PAIRING). Light is a clear sign of God's transcendence, as in the famous and poetic Light Verse, Q 24:35: "God is the light *(nūr)* of the heavens and the earth. The parable of his light is as if there were a niche and within it a lamp (q.v.): the lamp enclosed in glass: the glass as it were a brilliant star.…"

God is the creator of both light and darkness (Q 6:1) but the latter, as with many

other world religions, can be a sign of evil and isolation from God. Those who reject God's signs are characterized, not only as being deaf and dumb, but as being "in darkness" (*fī l-zulumāt,* Q 6:39). The very alternation of day and night is a set of two signs: a reminder of God's presence, a divinely appointed calendar (q.v.). And if the "sign of the day" *(āyat al-nahār)* is designed for sight or enlightenment (Q 17:12), then, by analogy, the purpose of the "sign of the night" *(āyat al-layl)* is abundantly clear.

As with some of the fauna mentioned in the Qurʾān which we have surveyed, the natural phenomena of the heavens give their names to a number of different sūras in the Qurʾān: for example, we note Q 53, "The Star" (Sūrat al-Najm; see PLANETS AND STARS); Q 54, "The Moon" (q.v.; Sūrat al-Qamar); Q 85, "The Constellations" or "The Signs of the Zodiac" (Sūrat al-Burūj); Q 89, "The Dawn" (q.v.; Sūrat al-Fajr); Q 91, "The Sun" (q.v.; Sūrat al-Shams); and Q 113, "Daybreak" or "The Dawn" (Sūrat al-Falaq; see DAY, TIMES OF).

It is interesting that some of these natural celestial phenomena whose names figure above as sūra titles, also feature as oaths in the sacred text (see LANGUAGE AND STYLE OF THE QURʾĀN; LITERARY STRUCTURES OF THE QURʾĀN). For example: "By the star when it goes down" (Q 53:1); "By the break of day" (Q 89:1); "By the sun and his (glorious) splendor, by the moon as she follows him" (Q 91:1-2). All of celestial nature thus constitutes a body of powerful signs, witnessing to God's creative power and bounty to humankind. As such, the above are powerful oaths indeed. In Q 113 refuge is sought with "the lord of the dawn" from, *inter alia,* "the evil of dusk at nightfall as it spreads" (*sharri ghāsiqin idhā waqaba,* Q 113:3). Here is that vivid contrast again between light as a sign of God and goodness, and darkness as a symbol of evil.

Conclusion: The semiotics of nature in qurʾānic eschatology

On the last day we are told in the Qurʾān that the heaven will be split and the stars put out while the mountains are scattered (Q 77:8-10), and that the sun will become dark, the stars will be dispersed and fall, the mountains will disappear and the seas will boil and be poured forth (Q 81:1-14; 82:1-5). All these cataclysmic signs will be the most lucid natural evidence that an Islamic *parousía* is nigh. Not only that but they will signal in the most terrible way the dawn of real self-knowledge for each individual (Q 82:5).

The semiotics of nature in the Qurʾān may be condensed into a simple fundamental truth: Nature is a body of created signs that reveal God's bounty, mercy and creative goodness to humankind. But the beauty with which God has endowed the earth is also a test: "That which is on earth we have made but as a glittering show for the earth *(zīnatan lahā),* in order that we may test them — as to which of them are best in conduct" (Q 18:7; see TRIAL).

Nature itself, then, shares in the general qurʾānic predilection for "questing and testing" (see especially Q 18, Sūrat al-Kahf; see also Netton, Towards a modern *tafsīr*). Nature can be a prime semiotic feature in the lesser testing of humankind on earth (see Q 18:7 above); its eschatological destruction will inaugurate the greater test of the last judgment.

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Neck

see ANATOMY

Necklace

see ʿĀʾISHA BINT ABĪ BAKR

Needle

see INSTRUMENTS

Neighbor

see HOSPITALITY AND COURTESY

News

Report of [recent] events. News in the Qurʾān centers around words derived from the root *n-b-ʾ,* especially the verb *nabbaʾa/yunabbiʾu,* meaning "to inform," which occurs forty-nine times, its synonym *anbaʾa/yunbiʾu,* occurring four times, and the noun *nabaʾ,* meaning "a piece of news," which, with its plural *(anbāʾ),* appears twenty-nine times. There is also a single appearance of *istanbaʾa/yastanbiʾu,* meaning "to ask for news" (Q 10:53). A completely different root, *kh-b-r,* provides seven occurrences of nouns meaning "news" or "information," *khubr, khabar,* and the plural of the latter, *akhbār*.

Qurʾānic references to news cover a considerable number of different meanings. Perhaps the most prevalent is the "great news" (*al-nabaʾ al-ʿazīm,* Q 78:2; cf. Q 3:15; 10:53; 34:7; 38:67, 88) of the coming day of judgment (see LAST JUDGMENT), one of the main bases of the prophet Muḥammad's teaching (see ESCHATOLOGY). This includes the frequently reiterated idea that God will inform all at the judgment of that which they used to do (Q 5:48, etc., often repeated; see RECORD OF HUMAN ACTIONS) and what they did not do (Q 75:13). In particular, God admonishes Jews (Q 62:8; see JEWS AND JUDAISM), Christians (Q 5:14; see CHRISTIANS AND CHRISTIANITY), hypocrites (Q 9:94, etc.; see HYPOCRITES AND HYPOCRISY) and unbelievers (Q 6:5; 26:6; see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF) that they will be informed at the judgment of their former actions. Furthermore, the prophet Muḥammad is particularly singled out as the bearer of various kinds of news. Thus, he informs his hearers about God and the afterlife (Q 3:15; 10:53; 15:49; 18:103). Muḥammad also imparts information from the unseen (see HIDDEN AND THE HIDDEN) concerning the fate of earlier peoples and their prophets (Q 5:60; 6:34; 7:101; 11:100, 120; 22:72; see GENERATIONS; PUNISHMENT STORIES; PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD), specifically giving stories or details about Adam (Q 5:27; see ADAM AND EVE; CAIN AND ABEL), Noah (q.v.; Q 10:71; 11:49), Abraham (q.v.; Q 15:51; 26:69), Joseph (q.v.)

and his brothers (Q 12:102; see BENJAMIN; BROTHER AND BROTHERHOOD), Moses (q.v.; Q 7:103; 20:99; 28:3), David (q.v.; Q 38:21), Dhū al-Qarnayn (Q 18:91; see ALEXANDER), Mary (q.v.; Q 3:44) and the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus (Q 18:13; see MEN OF THE CAVE). Such information is described as "news of the unseen" *(anbāʾ al-ghayb),* indicating that God has miraculously transmitted it to the Prophet (Q 3:44; 11:49; 12:102; see KNOWLEDGE AND LEARNING). Indeed, as if to emphasize this point, God reminds the Prophet that he was not an eyewitness to these ancient events but God is providing him with precise information about them (Q 3:44; 12:102). On the other hand, some news about past peoples should be common knowledge, for it has been given before (Q 9:70; 14:9). Perhaps even closer to the common notion of prophecy as extrasensory perception and precognition is Muḥammad's divinely conveyed knowledge about certain contemporary matters (Q 9:64, 94; 26:221; 66:3; see FORETELLING; DIVINATION). That various earlier prophets are also described as having such miraculous knowledge reinforces the concept of prophethood in general (Q 2:33; 3:49; 12:15, 36-7, 45; 18:68, 78). The ability of the prophets to give news of the unseen is contrasted with the inability of the angels (Q 2:31; see ANGEL) and the unbelievers (Q 6:143) to do the same.

Beside the more frequent qurʾānic usage of news to indicate divinely inspired information, the concept also refers occasionally to ordinary reports (Q 27:7, 22; 28:29; 33:20; 47:31; 49:6; 66:3). These include the interesting qurʾānic admonition to investigate ordinary news before acting on it, lest one make a regrettable mistake by a rush to judgment (Q 49:6). Associated with this concept is the idea that every piece of news has a final resting place (Q 6:67), which could be read as implying that a specific truth underlies every action, suggesting a positive view of reality. An equally positive view explains the verse as meaning that every piece of news about the afterlife will eventually be fully realized and fulfilled. See also GOOD NEWS.

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Niche see LIGHT

Night see DAY AND NIGHT; DAY, TIMES OF

Night Journey see ASCENSION

Night of Power

The night during Ramaḍān (q.v.) when, according to classical exegesis, the Qurʾān was sent down. The phrase "Night of Power" *(laylat al-qadr)* appears in Q 97:1, and lends itself to the name of the sūra (Sūrat al-Qadr). Its Meccan or Medinan origin is in dispute, although it is usually associated with the early Meccan period (see CHRONOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN). This night is described as a night better than a thousand months (q.v.) in which angels (see ANGEL) and the spirit (q.v.; *rūḥ,* i.e. Gabriel [q.v.], other high angels, etc., cf. Rāzī, *Tafsīr,* xxxiii, 32) descend by leave of their lord from every command (*amr,* cf. Q 16:2), and there is said to be a peace that lasts until the break of dawn. The "blessed" night during which God sent down the Qurʾān (Q 44:3; cf. 2:185; see REVELATION AND INSPIRATION; BOOK) is believed to be the night of *qadr* (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* xxv, 64).

Commentators have understood *qadr* as either power or empowerment *(qudra),* or divine determination *(qadar)* or fate (q.v.; Sells, Sound, 255 and n. 50; see also DESTINY; FREEDOM AND PREDESTINATION).

Muslim commentators (see EXEGESIS OF THE QUR'ĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL), following Ibn ʿAbbās (d. 68/686-8), have suggested that the Qur'ān was sent down from the Preserved Tablet (q.v.; cf. Q 85:21-2; see also HEAVENLY BOOK) to the lowest heaven (see HEAVEN AND SKY) on this night and then revealed by Gabriel to Muḥammad over a period of twenty or twenty-three years (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* xxx, 166; cf. Ibn Isḥāq-Guillaume, 111-2); or, following al-Shaʿbī (d. ca. 103/721), that this night was the occasion of the first revelation (Ṭabarsī, *Majmaʿ,* ix, 516-21; Rāzī, *Tafsīr,* xxxiii, 27-8; cf. Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* xxx, 166); or, as noted by Sells (Sound, 244-5; cf. Burckhardt, *Introduction,* 43-4), following ʿĀ'isha (see ʿĀ'ISHA BINT ABĪ BAKR) and ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUmar (d. 73/693), that the Qur'ān would have been revealed to Muḥammad not verbally but in an experience in which the words were inchoate (see ORALITY; FORM AND STRUCTURE OF THE QUR'ĀN). Wagtendonk, Wensinck and Lohmann discuss its possible role as a new year's festival in pre-Islamic times. Bell (*Commentary,* ii, 563-4) alludes to the Christian feast of the eve of the Nativity (see CHRISTIANS AND CHRISTIANITY). Plessner, following Goïtein (Zur Entstehung, 189 f.), discusses its parallel with the Jewish holiday of the Day of Atonement (ʿĀshūrā', see FASTING; JEWS AND JUDAISM). For al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923; *Tafsīr,* xxv, 64), Ramaḍān was a propitious period for revelations (other religious traditions; see FESTIVALS AND COMMEMORATIVE DAYS).

Classical interpreters debated over which night constitutes the night of *qadr* but most believed, following Ibn ʿUmar, that it could fall on several odd-numbered nights in the last ten days of Ramaḍān (Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* 381-2; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* ii, 822-4); moreover, following ʿĀ'ishā and Abū Saʿīd al-Khudrī (d. 74/693), it is associated with the Prophet's retreats to the mosque (q.v.) for vigils (q.v.; *iʿtikāf*) during the last ten days of Ramaḍān (Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* 824, 828; Tirmidhī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* v, 158-9). Due to uncertainty over the exact night, retreats to the mosque where vigils are held take place on several or all of these nights.

Present-day Shīʿī tradition celebrates this night along with the death of ʿAlī (the 19th, he is wounded; the 21st, he dies; the 23rd, the night of *qadr* proper; see SHĪʿISM AND THE QUR'ĀN). In popular tradition, this night is associated with a number of wonders (found in ḥadīths; see ḤADĪTH AND THE QUR'ĀN; MARVELS; MIRACLE): forgiveness (q.v.) of one's sins (see SIN, MAJOR AND MINOR), prostration of everything on earth (see BOWING AND PROSTRATION), determining every person's destiny for the upcoming year, direct entry into paradise (q.v.) for whoever dies on this night (see DEATH AND THE DEAD), granting of wishes (see WISH AND DESIRE), or, following al-Shaʿbī (d. 100/718-9), angels greeting every pious (see PIETY) human being (cf. Bousquet, Iʿtikāf; Qurṭubī, *Jāmiʿ,* xxviii, 134).

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Nightmare

see DREAMS AND SLEEP

Nimrod

Abraham's antagonist. Nimrod was, as is told in the Bible, the first potentate on earth. His empire included Babel and the surrounding countries (*Gen* 10:8-12). According to Islamic tradition, Abraham (q.v.) was his contemporary. Although Nimrod (Ar. Namrūd) is not named in the Qur'ān, he is, according to the exegetical literature (*tafsīr,* see EXEGESIS OF THE QUR'ĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL), the qur'ānic tyrant who pretends to be able to give life (q.v.) and death (see DEATH AND THE DEAD), a claim which Abraham successfully refutes (Q 2:258). Nimrod is also said to have been the one who tried to burn Abraham in a furnace, from which he was saved by God's command: "O fire (q.v.)! Be cool!" (Q 21:67-9).

In Islamic tradition, as expounded in exegetical *(tafsīr)* and "stories of the prophets" *(qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā')* literature, the story of Nimrod and Abraham is richly adorned with elements taken from extra-biblical Jewish and Christian sources (see JEWS AND JUDAISM; CHRISTIANS AND CHRISTIANITY; SCRIPTURE AND THE QUR'ĀN). It resembles the story of Pharaoh (q.v.) and Moses (q.v.) as told in the Qur'ān. Like Pharaoh, Nimrod ordered all children who were still nursing (see LACTATION) to be killed when he was informed — either in a dream (see DREAMS AND SLEEP) or by the astrologers — that a child was going to be born who would contest his claim to be God. He distributed food to his subjects, dismissing, however, without supply those who refused to confess his deity. Abraham's dispute as told in Q 2:258 allegedly occurred when he appeared before the king to obtain his family's ration. Naturally, he went away empty-handed, but miraculously brought home excellent food. According to another version the dispute took place when Abraham was summoned because he had destroyed the idols.

The building of the tower of Babel has also been ascribed to Nimrod; he wanted to see Abraham's God, a parallel to Pharaoh's high palace built for the same purpose (Q 28:38). Nimrod's tower was destroyed by a heavy storm: "God took their structures from their foundations" (Q 16:26). As a result, human language was confused. Another version says that Nimrod erected a high building to look down on Abraham in the furnace. The high building sometimes is said to be the pyramids. In fact, the names Pharaoh and Nimrod are exchangeable. Nimrod even went so far as trying to kill Abraham's God: He rose to the sky in a chest lifted by eagles and fancied that he had killed God when the arrow he had shot returned smeared with blood. His death was as painful as that of Titus the conqueror of Jerusalem as told in the Talmud (*Gittin* 56b): a gnat penetrated into his brain,

tormenting him for four hundred years, the same length of time he had ruled as an ungodly king. See also NARRATIVES; MYTHS AND LEGENDS IN THE QUR'ĀN.

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Noah

One of the major prophets of Islam, Noah (Ar. Nūḥ, Heb. Nōaḥ) is an equally important figure in Judaism and Christianity (see SCRIPTURE AND THE QUR'ĀN), where, however, he is not considered a prophet (see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD). His biblical story, probably reflecting ancient Near Eastern precedents, occurs in Genesis 6-10 and in later Jewish texts. In the Qur'ān and in later Islamic tradition he is numbered among the prophets of warning (see WARNER), along with the Arabian prophets Hūd (q.v.) and Ṣāliḥ (q.v.), as well as the biblical Lot (q.v.; Lūṭ), Jethro (Shu'ayb, q.v.) and Moses (q.v.; Mūsā), conveying God's threats of punishment to their sinful peoples (cf. Q 9:70; 22:42; 25:37-8; 26:105; see PUNISHMENT STORIES; NARRATIVES).

Noah is attested in twenty-six sūras in the Qur'ān; Q 3:33 links him with Adam (see ADAM AND EVE), the descendants of Abraham (q.v.) and of Amram ('Imrān, q.v.), the father of Moses and Aaron (q.v.). The contents of Q 71, which bears his name, consist primarily of Noah's recounting to God how he continually urged his people to repent (see REPENTANCE AND PENANCE) their sins (see SIN, MAJOR AND MINOR) while both warning them of the consequences of God's punishment and conveying to them God's promise of reward if they repented (see REWARD AND PUNISHMENT). The people did not accept his warnings and instead urged him to worship their pagan gods (see POLYTHEISM AND ATHEISM). This account ends with their being drowned in the deluge, being cast into the fire (q.v.) and Noah's asking God not to leave any unbelievers in the land; a similar account occurs in Q 23:23-30. Some stories in the Qur'ān stress the vilification and mistreatment Noah suffered as his people's response to his warnings of divine punishment for their misdeeds. Here he is viewed as the prototype of the prophet Muḥammad, suffering the same hatred and threats of physical harm that the Prophet was later to experience from his Meccan compatriots (see OPPOSITION TO MUḤAMMAD). This is mentioned clearly in Q 14:9; 22:42; 51:41-6; 54:18, 23, which link Noah with the earlier prophets Hūd and Ṣāliḥ, reassuring Muḥammad by telling him that they, too, had been denied, vilified and mistreated by their people. Some elements of the qur'ānic account seem to parallel certain Jewish post-biblical midrashic embellishments of the Bible story, in which Noah appears as a prophet and admonisher: his people laugh at his building the ark, and the unbelievers of his family are punished with hot water (*Tal. Sanhedrin* 108a-b; *Gen Rabba,* xxix-xxxvi). This last element in the story is reflected in qur'ānic and later Islamic texts, where the deluge *(ṭūfān)* sent by God begins with the *tannūr* (oven, cauldron, furnace or kiln) gushing

forth with boiling water (Q 11:40; 23:27). Again, unlike the biblical account, Q 11:44 relates that after the deluge, the ark came to rest on the mountain al-Jūdī (see JŪDĪ) instead of the biblical "mountains of Ararat" (q.v.; *Gen* 8:4).

Later writers

Islamic Qurʾān exegetes, ḥadīth scholars and the authors of the literary genre of "tales of the prophets" *(qiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ)* expand and embellish the stories found in the Qurʾān and others found in the Bible (see EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL; ḤADĪTH AND THE QURʾĀN). Using a variety of approaches, they base their work on the early biographers of Muḥammad, who tell of the many prophets before Muḥammad who were sent to their own peoples, beginning from creation (q.v.). A number of these biographical works, such as that of Ibn Saʿd (d. 230/845; *Ṭabaqāt*), which is based on earlier sources such as Ibn Isḥāq (d. ca. 150/767) and Ibn Hishām (d. 213/828 or 219/833), contain "tales" of various prophets. Ibn Saʿd tells of Noah's genealogy from Adam down to his father Lamech (Lamak), saying that because there was no one in those eras who prohibited forbidden (q.v.) acts, God made that Noah's task. Noah had preached to his people for 120 years without success and was commanded by God to build the ark when he was 600 years old. Differing from several other accounts, Noah had four sons (not the biblical three), the fourth being Canaan (Kanʿān), also called Yām by the Arabs, whereas in the Bible, Canaan is a son of Ham. Based on Q 11:43, some tales relate that Canaan refused to enter the ark, claiming that he could save himself from the deluge by climbing to the top of the highest mountain, but perished in the ever-rising water. We also learn that Noah's wife was one of the unbelieving people as was the wife of Lot. Both had married righteous men to whom they were unfaithful (Q 66:10), so when Noah asked God to have mercy on Canaan, God refused, saying that, as the offspring of his wife's deception, he was not his kindred (cf. Q 11:46).

In his *Ṣaḥīḥ,* al-Bukhārī (d. 256/870) relates that when Noah's people appear before God on the day of judgment (see LAST JUDGMENT) and are asked whether he had conveyed God's message to them, they would say that he had not, although Noah had previously told God that he had done so. When God asks him who would act as his witness regarding this matter, Noah answers that Muḥammad and his people would bear witness for him (see WITNESSING AND TESTIFYING). Noah came out of the ark on the tenth of Muḥarram, the ʿĀshūrāʾ, which therefore became a day of fasting (q.v.) for both humans and animals who had been in the ark for six months. Noah's wife is named Amzūra by al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923) and joins Noah in the ark. But the later writer al-Bayḍāwī (d. ca. 685/1286) calls her Wāliya and, although in Q 66:10 she is simply referred to as a nonbeliever, here (and in some other accounts), she is left behind or drowned because she had said that Noah was *majnūn* ("insane"; see INSANITY) when he spoke to his people. For many scholars, the tales claiming that Noah's wife, otherwise said to have come out of the ark with him, was left behind or was drowned, raise the issue of how many humans were actually saved from the deluge. These numbers vary from seven, excluding her — Noah, his three sons and their wives — to eight, with her. In another version, however, the total number of those saved was eighty, including the pious children of Adam's son Seth.

The historian and Qurʾān exegete al-Ṭabarī, in his *Taʾrīkh,* tried to coordinate biblical figures like Noah with the semimythical early Persian rulers (see MYTHS

AND LEGENDS IN THE QUR'ĀN). He states that "some people" claim that Noah lived during the reign of the evil king Bīwarasb, also known as al-Ḍaḥḥāk. Though he admits that the Persians did not know the story of the deluge, al-Ṭabarī, in the story of the Iranian king Afarīdūn, says that he mentions him only because "some people" say that he was Noah; he later claims that Afarīdūn's story resembled that of Noah. Al-Ṭabarī also tells of Noah's long life, saying that for 950 years he had called the people to God but whenever one generation passed away, the next one followed in unbelief. He also recounts that the oven from which the boiling water poured forth had belonged to Eve and came into Noah's possession, either in India, according to one tradition, or in Kūfa in Iraq, according to another tradition transmitted by al-Ṭabarī. We also read in this work the biblical story of the raven and the dove sent forth by Noah, which is not found in the Qur'ān.

Al-Ṭabarī's works served as a significant source for the important later *qiṣaṣ* work *ʿArāʾis al-majālis* of al-Thaʿlabī (d. 427/1036), much expanded with additional and different tales, most of them about many more prophets, including others from non-qur'ānic sources. We are told that Noah planted teak trees that he cut down to use for building the ark after they had grown for forty years. Al-Thaʿlabī relates that during those years Noah ceased calling the people to God and that God made the women barren so no children were born during that time. God told Noah to build the ark with "its head like the head of a cock, its middle like the belly of a bird, and its tail inclining like the tail of a bird." The tales of al-Kisā'ī (dates unknown) include the story of Noah in a style that may seem to reflect folk literature. He writes of an evil king, a great-grandson of Enoch, son of Cain (see CAIN AND ABEL), who ruled the land where Noah lived and "was a mighty tyrant and the first to drink wine (q.v.), gamble (see GAMBLING), sit on thrones (see KINGS AND RULERS), commission work in iron, brass and lead (see METALS AND MINERALS), and to adopt clothing spun with gold (q.v.)." He and his people worshipped idols (see IDOLS AND IMAGES), the names of which resemble some of the pagan gods mentioned in the Qur'ān. This caused Noah to withdraw to the wilderness until God had Gabriel (q.v.) send Noah as a prophet to his people. In his *Qiṣaṣ,* the Andalusian al-Ṭarafī (d. 454/1062), in a chapter on Noah's story, relates that, although Q 29:14 says that Noah lived for "a thousand years minus fifty," earlier writers are quoted as maintaining that was only his age at the time of the deluge, saying variously that he actually lived to be 1550 or 1650 years old. Al-Ṭarafī also relates many conversations between Noah and God.

In some *qiṣaṣ* tales, the sinful people of Noah's time, rejecting the divine warnings that he relays, are said to have descended from the union of the offspring of Cain with those of Seth. Thereupon God commanded Noah to build the ark (*fulk,* lit. "boat"), in order to save himself and other believers from the deluge with which God would punish the rest of humankind. In some versions of this tale, Noah built the ark unaided (using the wood of trees he himself had planted many years earlier), while in others he was helped by his sons. He was mocked (see MOCKERY) and attacked by the people of his town, who refused to believe his dire predictions of doom; like his wife, some of them even called him *majnūn* (Q 54:9). The *qiṣaṣ* literature gives us the dimensions, form and arrangements of the vessel. In al-Kisā'ī's version of one such tale, we are told that Jesus (q.v.), at the urging of the apostles (see APOSTLE), called upon Shem (Sām),

the long-dead son of Noah, to rise from his grave and provide Jesus with information about the ark. We learn that its lowest level was for the animals, its second level for the humans, and the upper one for birds. The ants were the first creatures to enter the ark and the donkey the last, slowed down because Iblīs, the devil (q.v.), was holding on to his tail. Another unwanted figure who was saved from destruction was the giant Og (ʿŪj), son of ʿAnaq (Heb. for "giant"), who was too tall for the water to reach his head. The idea of his height is probably based on the biblical mention of Og being one of the last of the Rephaim, a people of giants (*Deut* 33:11, et al.).

Al-Kisāʾī states that the name Nūḥ means "he wailed (for his people)" from the verb *nāḥa,* whereas Jewish tradition derives it from the Hebrew *niḥam,* "he gave comfort." After the deluge the peoples of the earth became divided among Noah's three sons: Sām's descendants were the Arabs (q.v.), Persians and the Byzantines (q.v.; Rūm), the "good" nations; Yāfith (Japheth) was the ancestor of the Turks, Slavs and Gog and Magog (q.v.), possessing no good qualities. Because Ham (Ḥām) disobeyed the prohibition of intercourse while on the ark and had slept with his wife, his children were born black and all the black peoples of the earth are their descendants. In another version, blackness resulted from Noah's cursing Ham upon learning that, unlike his brothers, Ham had laughed when he saw his sleeping father's nakedness. The *Musnad* of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal (d. 241/855) quotes the Prophet relating the testament of Noah to his sons, for example, forbidding idolatry (*shirk,* see IDOLATRY AND IDOLATERS) and pride (q.v.; *kibr*).

In Christian theology, Noah symbolizes the just man, providing an example of faith and submission to God, and becoming a prefiguration of Jesus. Elements of the story of Noah, the deluge, the ark and the dove are all incorporated into Christian symbolism. In Judaism Noah occupies a middle stage between Adam and Abraham, as a righteous and blameless man who walked with God and was saved from the flood to become the progenitor of a new human race. God's covenant with Noah (*Gen* 9:8-17) was expanded by the rabbis into the Noachide commandments, incumbent upon all humanity.

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Nomads

Peoples who make and remake their settlements in a variety of places, often depending upon climactic conditions. Nomads

(aʿrāb) are the non-urban population of the Arabian peninsula, attested ten times in the Qurʾān.

Oasis-town and countryside

By the time of the Prophet, the Near Eastern social trichotomy of peasants, townspeople and nomads had developed into the dichotomy of nomads and urbanites in northern and central Arabia (see CITY; PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QURʾĀN). This was the result of the "bedouinization of Arabia," a social process which had set in with the emergence, since the first half of the first millennium B.C.E., of the bedouin (q.v.) — belligerent tribes led by a tribal aristocracy that practiced large-scale camel herding (see CAMEL). The bedouin dominated large territories due to their enhanced mobility, and brought small-stock breeders and farmers into submission. They cooperated with the oasis towns in long-distance trade. Sedentary tribes like the Hudhayl (see TRIBES AND CLANS) adopted the social organization, attitudes, values, literary forms and the inter-tribal language of this literature from the bedouin (thus creating what became known as the *Dīwān Hudhayl*). The trade goods exported from Mecca to Syria were basically the products of Mecca's nomadic environment: leather, textiles and livestock (Q 16:5-7; 16-80; see HIDES AND FLEECE). Q 16:80 still presupposes the archaic, round tent made of leather *(ṭirāf, qubba),* attested as early as the seventh century B.C.E. (i.e. on the reliefs of Ashurbanibipal), instead of the now common rectangular black tent made of goat-hair *(bayt al-shaʿr),* already mentioned in the Bible in connection with north Arabian tribes of the fifth through third centuries B.C.E. (*Song of songs,* 1:5).

The qurʾānic attitude towards the nomads

The tribes in the vicinity of Medina (q.v.) are blamed for insufficient zeal to fight in the Prophet's wars (Q 9:90, 120; 48:11, 16; see EXPEDITIONS AND BATTLES; JIHĀD). Their orthodoxy is doubtful: "The nomads *(al-aʿrāb)* are the worst in unbelief (see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF) and hypocrisy (see HYPOCRITES AND HYPOCRISY)…" (see Q 9:97-101). These nomads say that they believe, but the Prophet is told to say to them "You do not believe, but you [only] say 'We submitted'; For faith (q.v.) has not entered into your hearts" (49:14; see HEART). The conflict which surfaced here is one between attitudes that are fundamentally irreconcilable: the Prophet demands submission to his faith and allegiance to his politics once and for all (see POLITICS AND THE QURʾĀN) while the nomads are accustomed to a political system in which allegiances, intra-tribal as well as inter-tribal, are open to constant renegotiation (see CONTRACTS AND ALLIANCES; BREAKING TRUSTS AND CONTRACTS). The Prophet acts as leader of a theocratic state-to-be, in which citizenship of a totally egalitarian nature is acquired by conversion, i.e. an individual act. In the nomads' world, kinship (q.v.) and the collective decision of the clan or tribe are the highest authorities — whereas all freeborn males of a single tribe may regard themselves as equals, they might not hold other tribesmen (not to speak of peasants) in similar esteem (see COMMUNITY AND SOCIETY IN THE QURʾĀN). Muḥammad himself was an urbanite; the sphere of the nomads represents the spatial and social opposite of the town (Q 33:20). None of the prophets (see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD) whom he cites as his predecessors was sent to nomads; their destinations were always oases and towns (see PUNISHMENT STORIES; NARRATIVES). Although he claims that the Qurʾān is revealed in clear Arabic (Q 12:2; 13:37, etc.; see ARABIC LANGUAGE; REVELATION AND INSPIRATION), its orthography (q.v.) is not that of the literary language of the

nomads (the language of classical Arabic poetry; see POETRY AND POETS). It is written down, rather, in the *koiné* of the west Arabian caravan (q.v.) towns (see ORALITY AND WRITING IN ARABIA). The term *ʿarab,* which never ceased to denote "nomad," had acquired the status of an ethnonym used by the Arabs themselves, as seen in the 328 C.E. funeral inscription of Imruʾ al-Qays from al-Namāra (*RCEA* 1); hence the ambiguity in the term *ʿarabī* and the irony contained in its application to the language of the Qurʾān. See also ARABS.

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Noon

The middle of the day. In the Qurʾān, the Arabic word *zuhr* does not designate solely a time of day (see DAY, TIMES OF). Reference to derivatives of *z-h-r* is only made in the particular context of the noon observance of the ritual prayer (q.v.; *ṣalāt*) and the time prior to which it must not start; according to some interpretations, the "middle prayer" (*al-ṣalāt al-wusṭā,* Q 2:238) also alludes to noontime. Beyond the legal aspects of the noon prayer, however, discussion of the term involves issues of time and punctuality. It is in this respect that the institution is particularly significant as its point of reference is the sun (q.v.) at its zenith. The connection between noon prayer and the concept of time in general is clearly evidenced, among other indications, by the feminine form of verbs or adjectives associated with it, caused by the omission of the feminine noun, "prayer" (e.g. *wa-lammā kānat il-zuhr;* Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* ii, 98).

Noontime, like other prayer times, serves as the temporal anchor for various events, which go beyond the scope of this article. Suffice it to mention the rather interesting connection between noon and death (see DEATH AND THE DEAD), such as that of al-Maʾmūn (Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāya,* x, 280), to funerals (Baghdādī, *Taʾrīkh Baghdādī,* ix, 468), or to obituaries (Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Wafāyāt,* i, 362). Noon served Gabriel (q.v.) more than once as the time in which he appeared to the Prophet: once when the direction of the prayer was changed (Ibn Ḥibbān, *Thiqāt,* i, 151; see QIBLA), another in the context of Qurayẓa (q.v.; ibid., i, 274). It was the time for many battles in history, such as the one waged against Abū Jahl (Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāya,* iii, 336), that against Quraysh (q.v.; ibid., iv, 14), and the battles of the first *fitna* (Qalqashandī, *Maʾāthir,* i, 95), among others (see EXPEDITIONS AND BATTLES; FIGHTING).

Segments of time connected with noon and the noon prayer often serve to indicate a definite time or period (Shāfiʿī, *Aḥkām,* i, 260) as well as its shortness or brevity (Abū Nuʿaym, *Ḥilya,* ix, 142). Whereas for the polytheists (see POLYTHEISM AND ATHEISM) the day of judgment (see LAST JUDGMENT) will continue for fifty thousand years, for the believer it will only last as long as the time between noon and evening (q.v.) prayer (Shawkānī, *Tafsīr,* v, 289).

Noon prayer

The origin of the name of the noon prayer is explained as derived from "the heat of the sun" *(ẓahīra),* "the time most suitable

(lit. apparent) for prayer" *(azharu awqāt al-ṣalāt),* or "the first prayer ever made public (lit. apparent) and prayed" (*awwalu ṣalāt uzhirat wa-ṣulliyat, Lisān al-ʿArab,* iv, 527). This prayer was also called *ṣalātu l-hajīri,* "midday heat," by the Prophet (*Lisān al-ʿArab,* v, 254). Historically speaking, the noon prayer is not one of the first in Islam but rather followed the night, dawn (q.v.) and evening prayers (Q 30:17-8; 50:39-40; 76:25-6; see DAY AND NIGHT). It was not in existence at the time of Solomon (q.v.; Qurṭubī, *Jāmiʿ,* xv, 195), but, according to some, it was the first to be made by Muḥammad (Suyūṭī, *Durr,* vii, 136) with Gabriel, immediately following the night journey (*isrāʾ,* Ālūsī, *Rūḥ,* xv, 6; see ASCENSION), or, according to another version, was given in the morning of that day (Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāya,* iii, 118).

The noon prayer is the one most valued *(aʿjab)* by the Prophet, as he used to spend the most prolonged period of time in performance of it (Qurṭubī, *Jāmiʿ,* ii, 224). For Muslims, on the other hand, it is the hardest *(ashaqqu ʿalā l-muslimīna),* perhaps because the Prophet used to conduct it at the hottest time of the day (*hājira,* Suyūṭī, *Durr,* i, 720); the hypocrites, by contrast, find the dawn and night prayers the hardest (Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* i, 73; see HYPOCRITES AND HYPOCRISY). It was so important for ʿUmar that he ordered the man responsible for the pilgrimage (q.v.) to open all ceremonies with it (Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt,* v, 364). Its primary value, however, is not accepted by everyone: for example, al-Bukhārī (d. 256/870; *Ṣaḥīḥ,* i, 72-5), who dedicates a paragraph to the issue of the "virtues of" each of the other prayers, fails to do so with regard to the noon prayer.

Composition

The noon prayer consists of four *rakʿa*s (see BOWING AND PROSTRATION), the first two of which the Prophet used to prolong (Ibn Taymiyya, *Iqtidāʾ,* i, 102). Jurists prohibit the addition of a fifth *rakʿa* or the repetition of the prayer except in extraordinary circumstances (id., *Majmūʿ,* xxiii, 260). On the other hand, it is reported that in certain cases the Prophet himself would be content with two *rakʿa*s only (id., *Kutub,* xxiv, 190), or that sometimes he would have four *rakʿa*s before the prayer itself (Qurṭubī, *Jāmiʿ,* ii, 224) and two following it (Ghazālī, *Asrār,* 296). The noon prayer is therefore one of three that could be shortened (Shāfiʿī, *Aḥkām,* 179). Sometimes the Prophet would recite in its course Q 84:1 *(idhā l-samāʾu nshaqqat)* or Q 87:1 *(sabbiḥi sma rabbika l-aʿlā).*

Time of prayer

Noon prayer must not be made before its earliest mandated time (Ibn Taymiyya, *Minhāj,* vi, 202) and perhaps the fear of breaking this prohibition made ʿUmar establish the ruling that this prayer be performed when an object's shadow is one foot long (id., *Iqtidāʾ,* iv, 196). As a general rule the Prophet used to make it at noon (*bi-l-hājira,* Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* i, 446) but its temporal boundaries were set by Gabriel. The angel, on two consecutive days, prayed it with the Prophet: the first time was at the earliest possible moment, i.e. when the sun moves from the zenith and casts a shadow of a given object as thin as a shoelace (Ibn Taymiyya, *ʿUmda,* iv, 150), when the sun had just declined *(dalaka)* from the center (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* xv, 137), or disappeared from the "belly" of the sky (*zālat ʿan baṭni l-samāʾ,* Shāfiʿī, *Aḥkām,* iii, 248). A much more forgiving phrasing for this earliest permissible moment for the performance of the prayer is given by al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111; *Asrār,* 299): when the movement of the sun is apprehended by the senses. On the next day, Gabriel set the

latest time permissible as the time at which the shadow of the object equals its length (Ibn Taymiyya, *ʿUmda,* iv, 150), the time that is defined by the evening prayer (Shāfiʿī, *Aḥkām,* iii, 253). Once this moment has passed and the noon prayer has not been prayed, it is considered a sin (*fisq,* see SIN, MAJOR AND MINOR) and, being equivalent to the sins of adultery (see ADULTERY AND FORNICATION) or theft (q.v.), bars the believer from entering heaven (Ibn Taymiyya, *Kutub,* vi, 427; see REWARD AND PUNISHMENT; CHASTISEMENT AND PUNISHMENT). Some lawyers set the final period for the noon prayer as the setting of the sun (Qurṭubī, *Jāmiʿ,* viii, 75). These parameters are not all that rigid as far as the season of the year is concerned: in summer the required length of shadow is three to five feet, whereas in winter it is seven (*Lisān al-ʿArab,* xii, 470). This is also true for the weather: in winter, due to clouds, one may set the prayer time earlier *(taʿjīl)* than the above decree (Ibn Taymiyya, *Iqtidāʾ,* i, 133). On the other hand, some advocated the permissibility of postponing the noon prayer until after sunset because of the heat (Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* i, 198).

Relation to other prayers

Many identify the noon prayer as the "middle prayer" referred to in the Qurʾān, because it is "in the middle of the day" (Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāya,* i, 292). It is sometimes counted along with the afternoon prayer *(al-ʿaṣr)* as belonging to the evening (*al-ʿishāʾ,* Rāzī, *Mukhtār,* i, 183), without conceding the separate identity of each prayer: joining the noon prayer to that of the afternoon is judged to be a breach, and is typical of the Shīʿīs and the Rawāfiḍ (Ibn Taymiyya, *Minhāj,* v, 175; see SHĪʿISM AND THE QURʾĀN). In rare cases it is allowed, as when the Prophet himself did so at ʿArafāt (q.v.; id., *Jawāb,* vi, 372). The Friday prayer (q.v.) is made around noon time, and is sometimes referred to as "the abridged noon (prayer)" (*al-ẓuhr al-maqṣūra,* id., *Majmūʿ,* xxiv, 190) but in spite of this similarity, different rules apply to each (id., *Kutub,* xxiv, 190), e.g. the rules of the call to prayer (*adhān,* id., *ʿUmda,* iv, 98).

Action

Like other prayers, the noon prayer pardons sins that were committed during the time between the dawn prayer and its performance (Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāya,* ii, 463). It is also a reference point to phenomena and actions that are not necessarily of a religious nature. Often the structure of such an indication is "the Prophet prayed the noon-prayer then…" (Ibn Qānī, *Muʿjam,* i, 249), or the time at which the subject arrived at a given place is given in relation to the time of the noon prayer (Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya, *Zād,* ii, 233; see JOURNEY; TRIPS AND VOYAGES).

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Nose see ANATOMY

Nudity

The state of being devoid of clothing (q.v.). In general, the Qurʾān enjoins modesty (q.v.) and evokes nudity only negatively. Q 24:30-1 insists upon physical modesty for both men and women, while the narrative of Adam and his spouse in Q 7:19-27 (see NARRATIVES; ADAM AND EVE) associates nudity with the first human act of disobedience (q.v.).

As in the Hebrew Bible, the first couple's nudity is made manifest — the specific manner is disputed by the exegetes — after they partake of the fruit of the forbidden tree. Q 7:22 states, "So by deceit he [i.e. Satan; see DEVIL] brought about their fall (see FALL OF MAN): when they tasted of the tree, their *sawʾāt* became apparent to them, and they began to sew together the leaves of the garden over their bodies. And their lord called unto them: 'Did I not forbid you that tree, and tell you that Satan was an avowed enemy (see ENEMIES) unto you?' " The word *sawʾāt* is derived from the Arabic root meaning "to be bad, evil," and is sometimes interpreted to mean that Adam and Eve realized their error (q.v.) or "saw the evil of their [ways]." Following this interpretation, some English translations render the word as "shame" or "evil intentions." More concretely, the word *sawʾāt* is understood to refer to the genitals (*farj, ʿawra,* see SEX AND SEXUALITY). Certainly the idea of physical nakedness is implied by the qurʾānic text, in which the couple's reaction to the sudden manifestation of their *sawʾāt* is the fashioning of garments. For some exegetes, the word denotes the physical genitals while retaining connotations of moral negativity (see ETHICS AND THE QURʾĀN). Thus, the medieval Andalusian exegete al-Qurṭubī (d. 671/1272; *Jāmiʿ,* vii, 181) states that the private parts bear the names *sawʾa* and *ʿawra* because people find it unpleasant to display them *(li-anna izhārahu yasūʾu ṣāḥibahu)*. Jurists derived from this verse the legal principle (see LAW AND THE QURʾĀN) that it is undesirable *(qabīḥ)* to expose one's genitals, and that in the absence of any other suitable material it is incumbent on one to fashion clothing of leaves.

Exactly how Adam and Eve's nakedness "became apparent" is not specified in the Qurʾān; a widely-reported tradition attributed to the Prophet's Companion Ibn ʿAbbās (d. 68/686-8; see COMPANIONS OF THE PROPHET) states that in the garden (q.v.) they were covered with a coating that then receded from their bodies and remained only on the tips of their fingers and toes, forming the nails. The "nakedness" of Adam and his spouse is not merely a physical but a moral denudation; the passage continues by evoking God's mercy (q.v.) in providing clothing and adornment for humankind, and concludes by stating "the garment of consciousness of God *(libās al-taqwā)* is best" (Q 7:26; see PIETY; KNOWLEDGE AND LEARNING).

The words *sawʾa* and *ʿawra* are used elsewhere in the Qurʾān to refer, not to nudity *per se,* but to other states of exposure, vulnerability and intimacy. In Q 5:31, God sends a raven to show Cain how to cover the shamefully exposed body *(sawʾa)* of his murdered brother (see CAIN AND ABEL). In Q 33:13, unwilling warriors make the excuse that their houses are exposed to attack (*inna buyūtanā ʿawra,* see FIGHTING); and

Q 24:58 refers to three times of the day (see DAY, TIMES OF) when it is customary to withdraw into privacy (as well as, according to many commentators, to undress) as *ʿawrāt*.

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Nūḥ see NOAH

Numbers and Enumeration

Words representing amounts and the designation of the number of objects. The Qurʾān makes full use of a range of Arabic words denoting numbers and counting. In doing so, it employs the number words both in terms of literal counting and of representative images and symbols (see SYMBOLIC IMAGERY), many with an ancient heritage. Words are employed for each of the cardinal unit numbers and occasional higher numbers, including 10, 11, 12, 19, 20, 30, 40, 50, 60, 70, 99, 100, 200, 300, 1,000, 2,000, 3,000, 5,000, 50,000, and 100,000. The number words "one" and "two," although numerically indicated through grammar in Arabic (along with the generic plural, of course), are used both for emphasis and counting purposes. Of the ordinal numbers, 2nd, 3rd, 4th, 5th, 6th and 8th appear in the text. Fractions also figure significantly, primarily because of their legal usage in matters of inheritance (q.v.) as dealt with in Q 4; 1/2, 1/3, 2/3, 1/4, 1/5, 1/6, 1/8, and 1/10 are all employed.

In terms of mathematical concepts, the Qurʾān makes use of addition, subtraction, multiplication, division and ratios. "Addition" is conveyed by words related to *zāda*, which is, however, often best understood simply as "increase." In a passage such as Q 18:25, "And they tarried in the cave (q.v.) three hundred years, and they added nine more," specific addition of numbers is suggested. A sense of subtraction is found in the word "less" as expressed through the use of the word *illā* as in Q 29:14, "We sent Noah (q.v.) to his people, and he tarried among them a thousand years less fifty." Mathematical multiplication may be conveyed by *kaththara* in Q 7:86, "You were few and he multiplied you," and by *yadhraʾu* in Q 42:11, "He has appointed for you, of yourselves, pairs, and pairs also of the cattle, therein multiplying you," although both of those may be taken in the sense of "reproduce" rather than mathematical multiplying. Doubling things specifically uses *ḍāʿafa* (and *ḍiʿf* for "a double") but this is also often taken with a more generic sense of "multiply" as in Q 64:17, "If you lend God a good loan (see CONTRACTS AND ALLIANCES; DEBT), he will multiply it for you." Division in the sense of separating things into parts is conveyed via words related to *qasama*, as in Q 54:28, "And tell them that the water is to be divided between them, each drink for each in turn." A sense of ratios emerges in passages having to do with odds in battle (see VICTORY; FIGHTING; WAR) such as Q 8:66, "If there be a hundred of you, patient men, they will overcome two hundred; if there be of you, a thousand, they will overcome two thousand by the leave of God." Note may also be taken of the idea of "odd," *watr*, and "even," *shafʿ*, employed in Q 89:3, although these terms appear outside a mathematical context. "Pairs," *mathnā*, is an elaboration of "two" and is used in counting sequences, for example, in Q 4:3, "Marry such women (see MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE; WOMEN AND THE QURʾĀN) as seem good to you, in pairs, triples or

quadruples" (also see Q 35:1 for the wings on angels; see ANGEL).

Counting itself — that is, doing mathematical reckoning — is quite frequently conveyed through *ʿadda,* "to number," and its derivatives, e.g. Q 9:36, "the number of months (q.v.) with God is twelve," and Q 19:84, "We are only numbering them for a number" in reference to the unbelievers (see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF). The root is also used in the sense of an indefinite number (i.e. "many") of items (Q 10:5, "the number of years"). The root *aḥṣā* is also used in a similar manner as in Q 36:12, "Everything we have numbered in a clear register." The use of both roots *(ʿ-d-d* and *ḥ-ṣ-w)* in Q 19:94 should be noted, "He has indeed counted *(aḥṣā)* them and he has numbered *(ʿadda)* them," in reference to all those in "the heavens (see HEAVEN AND SKY) and the earth (q.v.)." Another word, *ḥasiba,* and its derivatives convey a more general sense of "calling to account" with God as the reckoner.

On several occasions things are enumerated in the Qurʾān, simply for the purposes of counting, as in the debate regarding how many sleepers there were in the cave (Q 18:22; see MEN OF THE CAVE) or the presence of God being counted as one extra in groups who conspire secretly (Q 58:7).

The Qurʾān's vocabulary of numbers includes senses derived from the widespread Near Eastern symbolic value of numbers which undoubtedly permeated pre-Islamic culture as well as having been fully incorporated within the biblical tradition (see PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QURʾĀN; SCRIPTURE AND THE QURʾĀN). The social values, however, conveyed through number symbolism in the Qurʾān are less obvious than in other ranges of symbolism (e.g. as found in colors [q.v.]). For example, the symbolism of "seven" days in a week does not seem to convey a great deal about the social values of seventh century Arabia when it is employed in the Qurʾān. Rather, it speaks more significantly of the ancient heritage of such symbols whose actual social value has perhaps been lost but which provide a structuring to human experience nevertheless (see COMMUNITY AND SOCIETY IN THE QURʾĀN).

"Three" *(thalātha)* is a number of plurality, perhaps reflected in the fact that "two" can be indicated through the grammatical dual in Arabic whereas a separate word must be used for "three" (see GRAMMAR AND THE QURʾĀN; ARABIC LANGUAGE). Duality — whether expressed by the grammatical ending or by the word *ithnān* — is natural and perfect, whereas "three" indicates a collection of things (in common with the units up to ten), as is suggested by the use of the plural noun in grammatical construct case following the number word when enumerating things. The natural and perfect nature of "two" is reflected by the use of duality in the case of the animals going into Noah's ark (Q 11:40, "Embark on it two of every kind"; see ANIMAL LIFE) and in the description of creation (q.v.; Q 13:3, "And of every fruit he placed there two kinds"; see AGRICULTURE AND VEGETATION). There is also the qurʾānic injunction to have two male witnesses for contracts (although note one man and two women; Q 2:282; see WITNESSING AND TESTIFYING; CONTRACTS AND ALLIANCES). Duality is, at the same time, opposed to oneness — whether expressed in the word *wāḥid* or *aḥad* — quite clearly: "Take not to you two gods. He is only one God" (Q 16:51; see GOD AND HIS ATTRIBUTES). "Three," on the other hand, may be a number of pain and grief (see JOY AND MISERY; SUFFERING), especially as opposed to unity. Q 77:30 speaks of the punishment of the judgment day (see ESCHATOLOGY; REWARD AND PUNISHMENT; LAST JUDGMENT) in saying, "Depart to a triple-massing

shadow," the three-ness of this shadow being an emphasis on its awfulness (see DARKNESS). "Three veils" encircle the child in the womb according to Q 39:6 (see BIRTH). Fasting (q.v.) for three days overcomes legal problems (Q 2:196; 5:89). The people of Ṣāliḥ (q.v.) can enjoy their homes for three days before punishment comes (Q 11:65; see PUNISHMENT STORIES). And, of course, the idea of worshipping three gods is firmly condemned (Q 4:171; see CHRISTIANS AND CHRISTIANITY; POLYTHEISM AND ATHEISM).

Attention has been drawn in scholarship to the symbolism of "four," *arbaʿ,* and its multiples in Arab historical narratives and the resultant lack of precision in associated historical details. The grounding of those symbols is to be found in the Qurʾān. The role of "forty" is especially prominent but this is founded upon the widespread symbol of "four" as representing "perfection, completion and culmination." "Forty" becomes a major chronological unit, building upon the formative one of Muḥammad as forty years old when he began to receive revelation (see REVELATION AND INSPIRATION), an age likely selected as reflective of Q 46:15 and its association of the age of forty with maturity (q.v.) and religious wisdom (q.v.). Of "four" and "forty," it has been suggested that they are "the numbers which determine or express the extent to which certain deeds arouse divine approbation or ire or simply demonstrate the hand of God at work in the world" (Conrad, Abraha, 231). The qurʾānic material, however, adds an extra level of specification to the symbol of "four," and, in doing so, stays within Near Eastern patterns. "Four" is the number of perfection, completion and culmination, specifically of the "material order," as reflected in ideas of the four elements of existence, the four directions of the compass, the four corners of the earth (q.v.), the four phases of the moon (q.v.), the four seasons (q.v.), and so on. "Four" in the Qurʾān is the number used in the context of legal requirements (see LAW AND THE QURʾĀN), certainly reflecting ideas of the wholeness and perfection of material culture but defining that material culture primarily in legal terms, as is appropriate to the Islamic social world (see MATERIAL CULTURE AND THE QURʾĀN). A man may marry up to four wives (Q 4:3); four witnesses are required to the accusation of adultery (Q 4:15; see ADULTERY AND FORNICATION); if there are not four witnesses, then an oath uttered four times suffices (Q 24:4-9, with, note, the fifth oath to say that he is not a liar; see LIE; OATHS); there are four months that are sacred (Q 9:2, 36).

"Four" related to a period of time has legal status as well: four months of abstention from one's wife for divorce (Q 2:226; see ABSTINENCE) and widows (see WIDOW) are to wait four months plus ten days before remarrying (Q 2:234) — the perfection of the number "ten" being added to the legal number "four." No other number used in the Qurʾān predominates in its legal application in the way that "four" does. "Four" as the symbol of legality continues in later Islam with the four schools of law and the four righteous caliphs (see CALIPH). Certainly, other instances of the use of "four" do not have a specific legal overtone: creation is separated out into two days plus four, and in the latter four, God "ordained therein its diverse sustenance" (Q 41:10) — that is, the creation of the material world.

"Five," *khamsa,* on the other hand, is half a group — that is, half of "ten" — and despite its later significance in Islam in the ideas of the "five" daily prayers (see PRAYER), the "five" ritual pillars, and the five "pillars" of the creed (see CREEDS; FAITH), it is not used in the Qurʾān with any such reference. The enumeration of

rituals is not supported through a symbolic use of the number in the Qurʾān. "Five" is used in expressions of large numbers (5000 swooping angels in Q 3:125; one day is 50,000 years in Q 70:4; see DAYS OF GOD), and overall the number simply appears to convey a significantly large quantity.

The number "six," *sitta,* relates only to the number of days of creation in the Qurʾān; this is significant in that "six" is sometimes spoken of as a number symbolic of "incompleteness" because it is one less than the heavenly number of "seven." The Qurʾān does not use "six" apart from the creation story, and it speaks of those six days without giving any importance to the seventh day that follows it which, in the biblical tradition, completes the process. "Six" seems to have lost its symbolic value in the Qurʾān and is entirely subsidiary to Near Eastern creation traditions. It is also polemically charged — that is, it is used with an emphasis on the rejection of the day of rest, as in Q 50:38 and its "And no weariness touched us," along with the insistence upon creation being associated with God being on his throne (see THRONE OF GOD; SABBATH).

"Seven," *sabʿa,* like "three," is a prominent number of plurality but it clearly has a symbolic value deeply imbedded in the notion of the seven stars or planets from ancient Babylonian times (see PLANETS AND STARS). Virtually all the uses of "seven" in the Qurʾān relate to cosmography in one way or another (see COSMOLOGY). The seven heavens or firmaments (Q 17:44), seven gates to hell (Q 15:44; see HELL AND HELLFIRE), seven oceans (Q 31:27), and the motif of seven in the story of Joseph (q.v.) and the interpretation of the dreams (Q 12:43-8) all reflect this (see DREAMS AND SLEEP). "Seven" is the number of the supra-mundane world.

Such values continue in later Muslim tradition. Ibn ʿAbbās, while still a youth, is reported to have said to ʿUmar (see COMPANIONS OF THE PROPHET; ḤADĪTH AND THE QURʾĀN):

> God is odd in number and he likes odd numbers. Days of the universe turn around seven, he created our sustenance out of seven, he created man out of seven, above us he created seven skies, below us he created seven layers of the earth, he gave us the seven oft-repeated (q.v.; *mathānī*), he forbade marriage with seven relatives in scripture (see PROHIBITED DEGREES), and he divided the legacy into seven parts, he confined the numbers of bows of our bodies [in prayer] to seven (see BOWING AND PROSTRATION), the messenger of God walked around the Kaʿba (q.v.) seven times and between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa (see ṢAFĀ AND MARWA) seven times, he threw seven stones [at Minā], and the night of glory (see NIGHT OF POWER) is one of the last seven nights of Ramaḍān (q.v.; Suyūṭī, *Itqān,* iv, 206-7).

"Seven" used in the form of "seventy" is generally interpreted simply as "a large number" (see Conrad, Seven, 46; and references including Ibn Khaldūn who says that "seventy" is used by the Bedouin [q.v.] to mean "many").

"Eight," *thamāniya,* is used five times, plus once as "the eighth" in a counting sequence (Q 18:22), once as "an eighth" in matters of inheritance (Q 4:12) and once as "eighty" for the number of lashes for bearing false witness (Q 24:4). There appears to be no unifying symbolic value in the qurʾānic use of "eight."

"Nine," *tisʿa,* being one less than "ten" is used with the sense of one remaining to be added or to bring completion. Moses (q.v.) received nine clear signs before Pharaoh (q.v.; Q 17:101; 27:12); nine people did cor-

ruption (q.v.) in the city of Thamūd (q.v.) and conspired against the tenth person who was Ṣāliḥ. Also note the use of "ninety-nine" in Q 38:23, the only time a combination of tens and units that equals more than the number nineteen is used in the Qurʾān; again, it is counted as one less than a hundred, suggesting that something is lacking, just as in the relationship between "nine" and "ten".

Arabic uses a decimal numeration system, as reflected in digits that are multiples of ten and the existence of separate words for one hundred and one thousand. "Ten," *ʿashr,* as a basic number of counting, seems a reasonable extrapolation from the physiological fact that humans have ten fingers upon which to count. The Qurʾān uses "ten" to reflect this, in that it is the number of counting and of transaction (see SELLING AND BUYING), and of dealing with gifts (see GIFT-GIVING) and with people. "Ten" carries a good value. One good deed brings ten like it (Q 6:160; see GOOD DEEDS); feeding ten people expiates an oath (Q 5:89); the bringing of ten sūras like the Qurʾān is the challenge put forth (Q 11:13; see INIMITABILITY; PROVOCATION); ten is three plus seven for the days of a fast in lieu of an offering on the pilgrimage (q.v.) both major and minor (Q 2:196, *ḥajj* and *ʿumra*).

From eleven through nineteen, the singular noun is used following the counting number in Arabic. There is a sense of a "heap" here, a plurality of things becoming one undifferentiated group when eleven is reached. Eleven itself is used only once in the Qurʾān, in the eleven stars that bow down to Joseph (Q 12:4). "Twelve," on the other hand, is used five times, in reference to fountains (Q 2:60; 7:160; see SPRINGS AND FOUNTAINS), chieftains (Q 5:12), tribes (Q 7:160) and months (Q 9:36). It certainly conveys a sense of completion and perfection, suggesting that "twelve" is not always meant literally but sometimes signifies that a full complement is found in the group being counted. Most interesting is the assertion that God declares there to be twelve months. The resultant sense of a divine legitimatization for such an aspect of human culture is striking.

"Nineteen" is famous because of its use in expressing the number of angels in Q 74:30 and may be understood as the sum of "seven" and "twelve," two numbers of ancient symbolic value. While some have suggested that the number "nineteen" has been used merely for rhyme purposes in the verse (see LANGUAGE AND STYLE OF THE QURʾĀN; RHYMED PROSE), the usage of this number drew attention early in Islam, and traditions emerged regarding, for example, the use of nineteen letters within the *basmala* (q.v.; also see Wensinck, *Handbook,* 12a, for the traditions on "nineteen" as the number of words in the call to prayer, *adhān*). The number continues to fascinate, especially because of the recent work of the late Rashid Khalifa in the United States and his attempt to prove the miraculous character of the Qurʾān via the numerical significance of "nineteen" (see MYSTERIOUS LETTERS). The Internet has become the current forum for the discussion of his ideas through his mosque community in Tucson, Arizona, called the United Submitters International (see www.submission.org). As is common with such attempted numerical proofs, the results are based upon both the characteristics of numbers themselves and statistical analysis of dubious validity (see Gardner, *The new age,* 170-4: i.e. the "demonic" 666, etc.).

The Qurʾān, not unexpectedly, uses the symbolic language of the Near Eastern monotheist culture. The Arabic of the

seventh century participates fully in those kinds of symbolic representations, although the values which they convey (for example, the auspiciousness of "seven" as reflected in its cosmographical usages in the very ancient world) are deeply embedded and not necessarily explicitly stated. The Qurʾān also uses these symbols with its own particular emphases, as in the legal character of the number "four" within the context of material culture. See also NUMEROLOGY.

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Numerology

Study of the occult signification of numbers. Number symbolism is built into the Arabic alphabet since each letter in the Old Semitic *abjad* ordering had a numerical equivalent (see Table 1 below; see ARABIC SCRIPT). Muslims practiced gematria in divination (q.v.) and healing (see MEDICINE AND THE QURʾĀN) as well as in qurʾānic exegesis (see EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL). In Islamic cosmology (q.v.) the alphabet numbers were linked to stars and planets (see PLANETS AND STARS), the four humors, names of God (see GOD AND HIS ATTRIBUTES), angels (see ANGEL), demons (see DEVIL) and a large variety of esoteric phenomena. The first nine numbers were aligned in a magic square, known as *budūḥ* or Geber's Square, which added up to 15 in all directions:

4	9	2
3	5	7
8	1	6

Originally from ancient China, Arab scholars attributed this square to Adam (see ADAM AND EVE) and commonly wrote it on amulets (q.v.) as a protection against evil spirits and misfortune. Magic squares were also constructed for names, such as one that adds up to 66, the numerical sum of the letters in "Allāh."

In qurʾānic interpretation Muslim scholars noted that half, or fourteen, of the letters of the Arabic alphabet appeared at the beginning of sūras (see MYSTERIOUS LETTERS). These were called *ẓāhir*, "visible," or *nūr*, "light"; the remaining letters were *bāṭin*, "hidden," or *ẓulma*, "dark." Some Ṣūfīs (see ṢŪFISM AND THE QURʾĀN) interpreted the fact that b (= 2) was both the first letter in the Qurʾān (from *bismillāh*, see BASMALA) and in the Hebrew Bible *(bʿreshit)* as an allusion to the created world (see CREATION). The repetition of certain numbers in the Qurʾān held special interest. For example, seven was the number of creations (Q 78:12), heavens (Q 23:86; see HEAVEN AND SKY), lands (Q 65:12; see EARTH), seas (Q 31:27), gates (Q 15:44), cows and years in Joseph's (q.v.) vision (Q 12:46, 47; see VISIONS; DREAMS AND SLEEP) as well

as the number of verses in the opening sūra of the Qurʾān, the Fātiḥa (q.v.), and words in the *shahāda* (see WITNESS TO FAITH). The seven letters that do not appear in the Fātiḥa were thought to be magically powerful (see MAGIC). Seven was also the number of days in a week, geographical zones, planets, stages of man (see BIOLOGY AS THE CREATION AND STAGES OF LIFE) and much more in Islamic belief and practice.

The Brethren of Purity *(ikhwān al-ṣafāʾ)* of fourth/tenth century Baṣra applied Pythagorean and Neoplatonic number theory in order to better understand the principle of unity at the center of Islamic belief. In their view, God relates to the world as one relates to other numbers. Of special interest was the perfect number (equal to the sum of its parts) 28, because it represents the letters in the Arabic alphabet, the lunar stations (see MOON), and vertebra in the backbone. This was also the sum of the top row and right column of the *budūḥ* (see above). See also NUMBERS AND ENUMERATION.

Daniel Martin Varisco

Table 1
The numerical value of Arabic letters in the *abjad* ordering of the letter values

ʾ	1	fire (q.v.; hot and dry)	s	60	air (hot and wet)
b	2	earth (cold and dry)	ʿ	70	water (cold and wet)
j	3	air (hot and wet)	f	80	fire (hot and dry)
d	4	water (q.v.; cold and wet)	ṣ	90	earth (cold and dry)
h	5	fire (hot and dry)	q	100	air (hot and wet)
w	6	earth (cold and dry)	r	200	water (cold and wet)
z	7	air (hot and wet)	sh	300	fire (hot and dry)
ḥ	8	water (cold and wet)	t	400	earth (cold and dry)
ṭ	9	fire (hot and dry)	th	500	air (hot and wet)
y	10	earth (cold and dry)	kh	600	water (cold and wet)
k	20	air (hot and wet)	dh	700	fire (hot and dry)
l	30	water (cold and wet)	ḍ	800	earth (cold and dry)
m	40	fire (hot and dry)	ẓ	900	air (hot and wet)
n	50	earth (cold and dry)	gh	1000	water (cold and wet)

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Numismatics

The subdiscipline of history that deals with coins as historical evidence. For Islamic coins, the use of qurʾānic inscriptions is an indicator of the issuing authority's religious belief and political loyalties (see POLITICS AND THE QURʾĀN).

Muslims in the Ḥijāz had used Roman and Persian coins, so it was natural, when they had conquered a large part of the Roman empire and the entire Sasanian empire of Iran, to allow similar coins to be minted in Egypt (q.v.), Syria (q.v.), and Iran. Only in Iran were Arabic inscriptions added under the early caliphs (see CALIPH). These were limited to simple brief religious statements added to the Persian images and inscriptions of the prototypes. The earliest, and most common, was *bism Allāh* ("in the name of God"; see BASMALA), and there are a variety of others (Gaube, *Arabosasanidische Numismatik,* plates 2-4), all merely slogans, in many cases used only by one governor, such as *bism Allāh rabbī* (on the coins of Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān, r. 47-55/668-75) or *bism Allāh al-ʿazīz* (on the coins of a certain ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, 65/685-6).

Qurʾānic inscriptions do not appear until after ʿAbd al-Malik's conquest of the eastern caliphate in 72/691 (Crone and Cook, *Hagarism;* Whelan, Forgotten witness). In the same *hijrī* year, 72 (see CALENDAR; EMIGRATION), the mint of his capital Damascus began producing gold coins of Roman type and silver Persian-type coins with the *shahāda,* the Islamic creed (see WITNESS TO FAITH; CREEDS), which is not recorded before this date. The same formula appears among the inscriptions of the Dome of the Rock, built in 72/691, and on most Persian-type coins of the eastern caliphate beginning in 72 and 73 A.H. The *shahāda* does not appear as such in the Qurʾān, but it is composed of elements drawn from the Qurʾān: "There is no god but God" (*lā ilāha illā llāhu,* Q 37:35, and 47:19); "he alone" (*waḥdahu* applied to God, Q 7:70 and three other places); "He has no associate" (*lā sharīka lahu,* Q 6:163); and "Muḥammad is the messenger (q.v.) of God" (*Muḥammadun rasūlu llāhi,* Q 48:29). This formula, "There is no god but God alone, none is like unto him, Muḥammad is the messenger of God," remained a standard inscription on most Islamic coins for centuries, at least until the fall of the ʿAbbāsid caliphate in the seventh/thirteenth century, and thereafter, usually abbreviated to the first and last elements, into the twentieth century in some countries. In numismatic publications it is often called the *kalima,* perhaps an Anglo-Indian terminology.

The first two-thirds of the *shahāda* form the central obverse inscription of the first Islamic coins (without images, bearing only Arabic inscriptions), which were gold dinars minted in Damascus in 77/697, and silver dirhams beginning two years later (see MONEY; Fig. 1 of EPIGRAPHY). The central reverse inscription was Q 112:1-4, nearly the entire text of Sūrat al-Ikhlāṣ: "God is one, God is the eternal (see ETERNITY); he does not beget and he was not begotten, and there is nothing like him." The middle phrase suggests that the intended audience for this statement were the Christians, those of Rome and also those whom the Muslims ruled (see CHRISTIANS AND CHRISTIANITY; BYZANTINES). This inscription was standard only for the duration of the Umayyad caliphate, until 132/750, but it was used occasionally later, as late as the fifth/eleventh century; it would be interesting to examine the varied circumstances in which it was revived. These central inscriptions were arranged in horizontal lines on both faces. One of the two circular inscriptions that surrounded the central lines was another qurʾānic verse, "Muḥammad is the messenger of God, who sent him with guidance and the religion of truth to make it supreme over every religion, even if the polytheists detest it" (see POLYTHEISM AND ATHEISM). The first phrase, which completes the *shahāda,* is Q 48:29, while the rest

is Q 9:33 or the identical Q 61:9. Here again, the statement is directed to the non-Muslims within and outside the caliphate. This sentence also became a standard part of the inscriptions on all coins until the fall of the caliphate, and for a long time thereafter in Egypt and some other countries. The other outer circular inscription stated that the coin was struck in the name of God, and continued with the *hijrī* date in words, as well as the name of the issuing mint on silver dirhams. With this latter exception, coin inscriptions at the beginning were exclusively religious, justifying the term "Islamic" which was applied to them in medieval and modern times.

These were the main standard inscriptions of the Sunnī caliphates. Early rebels against them added two more qurʾānic inscriptions. The Khārijīs (q.v.), in the rebellions of the 70s/690s and again in those at the end of the Umayyad era, added the statement *lā ḥukm illā lillāh,* "There is no judgment (q.v.) but God's," which is not literally qurʾānic but parallels *ini l-ḥukm illā lillāh* found in three places in the Qurʾān (Q 6:57; 12:40, 67), as well as many other references to God's judgment. The partisans of the rule of the Prophet's family (see FAMILY OF THE PROPHET; PEOPLE OF THE HOUSE; SHĪʿISM AND THE QURʾĀN) used another verse, Q 42:23, "Say: I do not ask of you for it any recompense except love of kin (see KINSHIP)," which appears on the coinage of ʿAbdallāh b. Muʿāwiya (r. 129/746-7) who claimed the caliphate for himself and that of Abū Muslim (d. 137/755) who fought for the ʿAbbāsids (Wurtzel, Coinage), as well as on ninth-century coins of the Zaydī imāms (see IMĀM).

With the victory of the ʿAbbāsid family, the central caliphal mint was transferred to Iraq, and the central reverse inscription of the Umayyads was replaced by the conclusion of the *shahāda,* "Muḥammad is the messenger of God," words which now appeared twice on the coins. This remained the standard central reverse inscription of most Islamic coins. The other inscriptions stayed the same, until, in 145/763, al-Mahdī, the governor of Khurāsān and the future caliph, was the first person allowed to put his name on dirhams (in an executive formula that replaced the normal reverse center inscription). Within a few years, it had become quite common for various individuals to be named on silver and then on gold coins, but the caliph al-Maʾmūn (r. 196-218/811-33) put a stop to this, restoring the completely anonymous, purely religious, inscriptions of the beginning of the ʿAbbāsid caliphate, and otherwise standardizing the coinage, making gold and silver coins alike in arrangement and epigraphy at all mints throughout the caliphate (see EPIGRAPHY AND THE QURʾĀN). He also made two additions to the former inscriptions, both of which remained standard for the duration of the ʿAbbāsid caliphate. In 193/809, when his father died leaving him as governor of the eastern caliphate on behalf of his brother the caliph, the single word *lillāh* was added to all coins issued in his realm in the space above the reverse inscriptions. This word, or rather prepositional phrase, has a clear meaning, either "for God" or "belonging to God," but its significance is not obvious. Does it apply to the coin or to the caliph who authorizes it? Whatever its import, it was probably put on the coins as an indication of al-Maʾmūn's piety in contrast to his brother al-Amīn (r. 193-8/809-13), whom he ultimately defeated in civil war. This victory was celebrated by the addition of another qurʾānic inscription, Q 30:4-5, "God commands *(lillāhi l-amru),* in the past and in the future; and on that day the believers will

rejoice in God's victory (q.v.)," placed on the obverse of all coins as a second outer circular inscription (El-Hibri, Coinage reform). Al-Muʿtaṣim (r. 218-27/833-42), al-Maʾmūn's successor, retained all these standard inscriptions, but with one important addition: his own caliphal title, *al-Muʿtaṣim bi-llāh,* placed below *Muḥammad rasūl Allāh* on the reverse. His successors followed the same practice, and sometimes added other names: their son and anticipated successor most commonly, but also, with increasing frequency, the names of certain distinguished *wazīr*s, powerful generals, and autonomous provincial governors. Legally, the powerful Sunnī dynasts of the fourth/tenth century onwards were in the latter category. Although they were named on the coins and controlled their minting, they always named the caliph as overlord and included all the elements mentioned above on their coinage: the "Victory Verse" around the outer edge of the obverse, with "struck in the name of God" followed by the denomination, mint city, and date as the inner circular inscription; the first part of the *shahāda* as the central element of the obverse, sometimes abbreviated; on the reverse, *lillāh* above "Muḥammad is the messenger of God," with the "prophetic mission" verse (Q 9:33 or the identical Q 61:9) around the edge.

Rebels against the caliphate, and Islamic dynasties outside the ʿAbbāsid caliphate, often used different inscriptions to proclaim their ideology and differentiate themselves from the Sunnī ʿAbbāsids. The pro-ʿAlid Abū l-Sarāyā exhorted his troops on dirhams of Kūfa (199/814-15) with the verse "Indeed, God loves those who fight in his path in ranks, as though they were a building well-compacted" (Q 61:4; see FIGHTING; PATH OR WAY). In place of the usual outer circular inscriptions ʿAlī b. Muḥammad, the *ṣāḥib al-Zanj,* used the beginning of Q 9:111: "God has purchased from the believers their persons and their goods, in return for paradise (q.v.) if they fight in the path of God," a stirring call to arms; and on the reverse, "And those who fail to judge according to God's revelation, they are the unbelievers" (*kāfirūn,* cf. Q 5:47; see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF), justifying his war against the Muslims around him (Miles, Ninth century hoard, 71-4, 131-3). The Zaydī imāms in Daylam and Ṭabaristān used several qurʾānic verses at one time or another, including Q 42:23, the so-called "kinfolk verse," mentioned above; Q 22:39, "Permission [to make war (q.v.) is given] to those who are oppressed, and surely God is able to give them victory" (*wa-inna llāha ʿalā naṣrihim la-qadīrun,* see OPPRESSION; OPPRESSED ON EARTH, THE); the end of Q 33:33, "God only wants to remove pollution from you, O people of the house, and to purify you thoroughly"; and Q 17:81, "Say, the truth (q.v.) is come and falsehood has vanished, for falsehood indeed is bound to perish" (Miles, al-Mahdi al-Ḥaqq; Stern, Coins, 211-19). This latter verse was widely employed, being found on some of the coins of the Idrīsids in eighth century Morocco (Eustache, *Corpus*) and on many coins of Yemen, having been introduced there in 297/910 by the Zaydī imām al-Hādī ilā l-Ḥaqq (Bikhazi, Coins).

Outside the ʿAbbāsid caliphate, the Fāṭimids proclaimed their descent through the addition of *ʿAlī walī Allāh* after *Muḥammad rasūl Allāh,* and through various other references to ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib (q.v.) and Fāṭima (q.v.), but did not employ any new qurʾānic verses. As heirs of the Aghlabids, who followed ʿAbbāsid practice in effect when they became autonomous, the Fāṭimids took no notice of al-Maʾmūn's innovations but employed all the standard inscriptions of early ʿAbbāsid coinage (Lane-Poole, *Catalogue,* iv, 275) plus ʿAlid additions. In

Spain, the Umayyad emirs retained the inscriptions of caliphal Umayyad dirhams to the letter, and when they declared themselves caliphs, merely substituted their names and titles for the former Umayyad reverse, Q 112:1-4. The first new qurʾānic inscription in the Maghrib was introduced by the Almoravids whose standard obverse marginal inscription was Q 3:85, "And whoever desires a faith (q.v.) other than Islam, it will not be accepted from him, and in the end he will be among those who perish." Subsequently a great many different qurʾānic verses and references were used by the Almohads and their successors; Hazard (*Numismatic history,* 36-40) lists 61 different verses and phrases used in north Africa, which are keyed back to the issues on which they appear on pages 365-71. In fourteenth-century Spain, the Naṣrids of Granada, facing extinction by the Christians, used the verse "Say: O God, master of dominion, you give dominion to whom you wish and strip dominion from whom you wish, and you exalt whom you wish and humble whom you wish — in your hand is all good" (Q 3:26).

After the fall of the ʿAbbāsid caliphate, the Īlkhāns and their successors, although their coinages were very diverse, introduced a few exceptional inscriptions which were used briefly under Ölceytü and Abū Saʿīd. Ölceytü's coinage (between 703-9/1304-10) bore two qurʾānic verses not used elsewhere on coins, the long first half of Q 48:29, and most of Q 24:55, as well as phrases indicating his new Sunnī allegiance, whereas before he had designated ʿAlī as *walī Allāh* and named the twelve imāms. Abū Saʿīd, on his issue of 718-21/1319-22, used the end of Q 2:137, "God will suffice you against them, for he is the all-hearing, the all-knowing" (see SEEING AND HEARING; GOD AND HIS ATTRIBUTES), forming the words into an arch resembling a *miḥrāb* (see MOSQUE) enclosing the abbreviated *shahāda* (Lane-Poole, *Catalogue,* vi, lvi-lvii, 46, 62).

The use of long qurʾānic quotations went out of style in the early modern era. The Ottomans scarcely ever employed religious inscriptions on their coinage. The Shāhs of Iran at most used the *shahāda* with the addition of *ʿAlī walī Allāh* and the twelve imāms; the Mughals did the same, without the Shīʿī additions. More often, both empires filled the coin faces with Persian verses and long titulature. In Yemen, coins issued by the Zaydī imāms continued to bear ʿAbd al-Malik's *shahāda* past the middle of the twentieth century.

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Nūn, Dhū al- see JONAH

Nurse see FOSTERAGE; WET-NURSING

O

Oaths

Solemn assertions or promises. In English the word "oath" has various related senses. One usually involves using the name of God, or of some other revered or dreaded being, object or place, in order to give force and solemnity to an utterance (an assertion, promise, denial, curse, etc.). Oaths of this type, where a statement includes a phrase such as "by God," "by the stars when they set," "by this land," etc., are common in the Qurʾān. Many such oaths occur in sūras traditionally regarded as having been among the earliest to be revealed, and their compressed grammar and unusual vocabulary pose difficulties of comprehension (see GRAMMAR AND THE QURʾĀN; LANGUAGE AND STYLE OF THE QURʾĀN). Understood as communications of God himself, there are nevertheless examples (e.g. Q 4:65; 16:63) where they are made "by God" *(tallāhi)* or "by your lord" (q.v.; *wa-rabbika*). The fact that God uses oaths in the Qurʾān is taken to be among the proofs of its inimitability (q.v.; cf. Suyūṭī, *Muʿtarak,* i, 449-55).

The interpretation of oaths to natural phenomena, such as stars (see NATURE AS SIGNS; PLANETS AND STARS), which occur in early sūras (see CHRONOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN), has posed problems for exegetes (see EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL; see also Kandil, Schwüre; Neuwirth, Images). Muqātil (d. 150/767) explains the oath of Q 53:1 ("by the star when it sets") as referring to the time that elapsed between revelations; the Qurʾān itself is therefore called *"najm"* (*Tafsīr,* iv, 159; cf. Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya, *Tibyān,* 161; al-Farrāʾ, *Maʿānī,* iii, 94). Later exegetes, such as al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505; *Itqān,* iv, 53-9), explain these oaths as following the custom of the Arabs (q.v.): as the Qurʾān was revealed in the language of the Arabs, it adopted their formulaic expressions (see ARABIC LANGUAGE; LANGUAGE, CONCEPT OF). The problematic is further complicated when the style of these formulaic expressions is examined: for, stylistically, these oaths have been understood to be akin to the rhymed prose (q.v.) of the pre-Islamic soothsayers (q.v.; see Ibn al-Naqīb, *Muqaddima,* 238-9; cf. Nöldeke, *GQ,* i, 60, 75; Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums,* 135; see also POETRY AND POETS), yet the Qurʾān denies that Muḥammad is a soothsayer.

Finally, sometimes these oaths appear in the reported speech of, for example, Abraham (q.v.; Q 21:57: "By God, I shall set snares for your idols"; see IDOLS AND

IMAGES) or the sons of Jacob (q.v.) in Egypt (q.v.; Q 12:73: "By God, you know that we did not come to commit evil in the land…").

A second type of oath is typically a statement or promise guaranteed by calling upon a revered being or object as a witness, usually made to another person or party, often in a formal legal or quasi-legal context (see WITNESSING AND TESTIFYING; LAW AND THE QUR'ĀN). It is common to distinguish between an oath in this sense and a vow, a promise to do or avoid something, which may be made directly to God or some other being and may be made privately and internally. Inasmuch as the words of a vow, however, tend to follow fixed formulae, may involve other human beings, and may invoke the name of the being to whom it is being offered, the distinction between an oath and a vow is not always clear. There are some cases in the Qur'ān — and outside it — where derivatives of the root *y-m-n* (usually understood in connection with oaths) may be equally understood as referring to vows (see the discussion of *al-laghw fī aymānikum* below).

Vocabulary and types of oaths

The most common words indicating swearing and oaths in the Qur'ān are derivatives of the roots *y-m-n, ḥ-l-f,* and *q-s-m*. They seem to be used interchangeably and often jointly in expressions such as "oaths which you have sworn" (*aymānikum idhā ḥalaftum,* e.g. Q 5:89) or "they swear a solemn oath by God" (*aqsamū bi-llāhi jahda aymānihim,* e.g. Q 6:109). The root *q-s-m,* which is associated with the notion of dividing and apportioning, as well as with swearing and oath taking, is used both in connection with the oath as a forceful statement (Q 56:75-6: "I swear *[fa-lā uqsimu]* by the setting of the stars and that indeed is a mighty oath *[qasam],* if only you knew"), and with it in relation to legal matters (Q 5:106-7 recommends that when making a will two just men should be chosen as witnesses and asked to swear — *yuqsimān* — that they will not act corruptly). The references in Q 2:67-71 to the cow which God commanded the people of Moses (q.v.) to slaughter are sometimes explained by exegetes in connection with the group oath known in Islamic law as the *qasāma,* which is not attested by name in the Qur'ān.

On the other hand, *nadhara* and *nadhr,* understood more in connection with vows, occur independently and on some occasions clearly refer to the promising of a pious act to God: in Q 19:26 Mary (q.v.; Maryam) says, "I have sworn/vowed a fast *(nadhartu … ṣawman)* to God" (see FASTING); in Q 3:35 ʿImrān's (q.v.) wife, pregnant with Mary, says to God, "I have sworn/vowed *(nadhartu)* to you what is in my womb as a consecrated offering."

The *bayʿa* (giving allegiance or entering a contract of clientage) may also be understood as a form of oath (see CONTRACTS AND ALLIANCES). The noun *bayʿa* itself does not occur in the Qur'ān but there are a number of cases where the third form of the verb is used, and Q 48:10 makes it clear that it involves a ritual acceptance of God's representative as one's patron (see CLIENTS AND CLIENTAGE): "Those who offer allegiance to you *(yubāyiʿūnaka)* do so to God. God's hand (q.v.) is over theirs [an allusion to the hand clasp involved in such contracts]. Whoever betrays his oath *(man nakatha)* only betrays himself but whoever fulfils what he has contracted to God *(awfā bimā ʿāhada ʿalayhu llāha),* he will grant him a tremendous reward."

Two other procedures mentioned in the Qur'ān are related to swearing oaths and making vows. They involve a man renouncing sexual relations with a woman or women who would normally be available to him. Q 2:226-7 says that those who swear

or vow not to have relations with their wives *(lilladhīna yuʾlūna min nisāʾihim)* should wait for four months. If they revert *(fāʾū)* [i.e. resume relations?], God is forgiving and merciful; if they decide on divorce, he is all-hearing and all-knowing" (see MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE; ABSTINENCE; CHASTITY). Outside the Qurʾān the word *īlāʾ* is used with reference to a vow of (temporary) abstention from a certain woman or women. If the abstention lasts longer than four months, the man must either divorce the woman or resume relations with her (see SEX AND SEXUALITY). The vow is made invoking one of the names of God (see GOD AND HIS ATTRIBUTES) and is subject to an act of atonement *(kaffāra)* if broken. Some commentators say explicitly that *yuʾlūna* means *yaḥlifūna*.

Q 33:4 and Q 58:2-3 refer unfavorably to the practice whereby a man makes a wife sexually unavailable to him by *ẓihār* — a noun which does not occur in the Qurʾān, but is implied in the use of the related verb form in such phrases as *azwājakumu llāʾī tuẓāhirūna minhunna* (Q 33:4) and *alladhīna yuẓāhirūna minkum min nisāʾihim* (Q 58:2). Commentators explain that this practice involved the man putting the woman in the category of those prohibited to him for sexual relations (see PROHIBITED DEGREES) by saying to her, "You are to me as the back *(ẓahr)* of my mother," where "back" has a sexual connotation. Although this is not strictly an oath or vow, it does involve the use of a ritual formula and is subject to acts of atonement (listed in Q 58:3-4) which are more severe than those laid down in Q 5:89 for the breaking of (other?) types of oath.

Vocabulary used in connection with the breaking of oaths includes *n-k-th* (explained as metaphorical use [see METAPHOR] of its literal association with unraveling or untwisting the fibers of a garment or a wooden toothpick, *siwāk*) and *n-q-ḍ*. *Ḥ-n-th*, which is used outside the Qurʾān often as a technical term in connection with breaking or incurring liability for oaths (see BREAKING TRUSTS AND CONTRACTS), but also more generally in the sense of "sin" (see SIN, MAJOR AND MINOR), occurs twice: in the story of Job (q.v.; Q 38:44) we are told that God ordered him *lā taḥnath*, which some commentators understand as "do not break your oath," while in Q 56:46 persisting in *al-ḥinth al-ʿaẓīm* is mentioned as the sin of those consigned to hell (see HELL AND HELLFIRE).

The opponents' oaths

Many references concern the oaths that the opponents (*mushrikūn, munāfiqūn* [see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF; POLYTHEISM AND ATHEISM; IDOLATRY AND IDOLATERS], "People of the Book" [q.v.], and others; see also OPPOSITION TO MUḤAMMAD) make, falsely, insincerely, or for worldly gain. "[The *munāfiqūn*] would come to you swearing by God that that they only wanted benificence and reconciliation *(iḥsānan wa-tawfīqan)*" (Q 4:62); "on the day when God will raise them all together they will swear to him as they swear to you… but they are liars" (Q 58:18; see RESURRECTION; LIE); "the *mushrikūn* swear by God one of their strongest oaths that they will believe if a sign (see SIGNS) comes to them. Say: The signs are with God alone…" (Q 6:109). "Those who barter God's covenant (q.v.) and their oaths for a small price" (Q 3:77) is often associated with the Jews (see JEWS AND JUDAISM) and sometimes understood to refer to the swearing of a false oath *(yamīn fājira)* in order to obtain property illegitimately. Satan (see DEVIL) is reported to have sworn to Adam and Eve (q.v.; *qāsamahumā*) that he was a good adviser to them (Q 7:21).

Q 68:10 refers to the unidentified opponents as *ḥallāf mahīn*, "despicable swearer of oaths." Subsequently (Q 68:17-33), their

fate is compared to that of the unspecified "owners of the garden" (q.v.; *aṣḥāb al-janna*) who swore *(aqsamū)* to harvest it on the next morning. They failed, however, to make *istithnāʾ* — understood to mean that they omitted to say *in shāʾa llāh,* "God willing," after swearing. While they slept, an affliction sent by God befell the garden, and when they came to harvest the fruit they found that there was none left. Mutual recriminations and recognition of guilt followed. The parable has been read as a warning against pride (q.v.) or complacency (Speyer, *Erzählungen,* 426).

In two passages (Q 58:16 and 63:2) the hypocrites *(munāfiqūn)* are accused of making their oaths a *junna,* "shield, armor," and turning others from the way of God (see PATH OR WAY). These are interpreted as referring to the oaths or the *ḥilf* which the hypocrites of Medina (q.v.) had made with the Muslims, claiming that they were believers, in order to deflect the Muslims from the way of God, i.e. from the putting into practice of God's commands regarding the People of the Book and the unbelievers, to which they should really have been subject.

There are other allusions — especially in Q 9 — to agreements guaranteed by oath between the qurʾānic community and its opponents (see COMMUNITY AND SOCIETY IN THE QURʾĀN), although here too the emphasis is on the possibility or likelihood that the opponents will break them. Q 9:12-3: If the *mushrikūn* with whom you have made an agreement "undo their oaths after their agreement *(in nakathū aymānahum min baʿdi ʿahdihim)* and attack your religion, fight the imāms (see IMĀM) of *kufr.* They have no oaths *(innahum lā aymāna lahum)*.... Will you not fight a people who have undone their oaths...." Traditional commentators associate the first twenty-nine verses of Q 9 with the period following the conquest of Mecca (q.v.), when agreements previously made between the Prophet and non-Muslims in Arabia were ended — after a period of four months' grace — and non-Muslims were barred from the Meccan sanctuary (see KAʿBA; POLITICS AND THE QURʾĀN).

The binding and loosing of oaths

There are so many such references to the opponents swearing oaths (often "by God") that the qurʾānic texts must reflect a society in which the swearing of oaths was a stock feature of speech (see PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QURʾĀN). Q 2:224, "Do not make God an *ʿurḍa* to your oaths..." (see further below), and Q 5:89, "preserve *(wa-ḥfaẓū)* your oaths," are sometimes interpreted as injunctions against prolixity in the making of oaths. As in other societies where oath taking is an important part of everyday life, tension must have existed between, on the one hand, the idea that oaths were solemn undertakings which, once entered into, had to be kept and, on the other, an awareness that it was often impossible to keep an oath. In the latter case some way out had to be found. Various qurʾānic passages, taken together, seem to illustrate this tension.

The verses which stress most strongly the need to honor oaths are probably Q 5:89 (where *wa-ḥfaẓū* is more usually understood as "keep" in the sense of "fulfil") and Q 16:91-2, 94. The latter repeat an injunction to fulfil the covenant of God *(ʿahd Allāh)* when it has been entered into *(idhā ʿāhadtum)* and not to break oaths *(lā tanquḍū l-aymāna)* after they have been affirmed. Breaking them is then likened to a woman who ruins her thread by untwisting *(n-k-th)* it, thus weakening it. A possible motive for breaking them is suggested by the phrase, "[Do not] take your oaths as a deception *(dakhalan)* between yourselves, one party

(ummatun) being more numerous than another" *(tattakhidhūna aymānakum dakhalan baynakum an takūna ummatun hiya arbā min ummatin)*. Q 16:94 then echoes the first part of that last phrase, "Do not take your oaths as a *dakhal* between you."

Dakhal is generally glossed by words meaning "trick" or "deceit," and a tribal practice of the Age of Ignorance (q.v.; *jāhiliyya*) is suggested as the reason why the oaths in question were sometimes broken: one of the contracting parties (a tribe or other social group) was induced to abandon the other by the appearance of a third party which was bigger and stronger (*arbā* is understood as meaning "more numerous"). Nevertheless, the passage is understood to contain a general principle: al-Ṭabarī, (d. 310/923; *Tafsīr,* xiv, 163-9), while not ruling out that there may have been an occasion of revelation (see OCCASIONS OF REVELATION) about which it is impossible to be certain, nevertheless considers the ruling contained therein to be generally applicable *(wa-inna l-āya kānat qad nazalat li-sabab min al-asbāb wa-yakūna l-ḥukm bihā ʿāmman fī kull mā kāna bi-maʿnā al-sabab alladhī nazalat fīhi)*.

Q 2:225 and 5:89, while they reassure us that God will not hold us responsible for *al-laghw* ("slips," but see below) in our oaths, nevertheless stress that he will hold us responsible "for what your hearts (see HEART) have acquired" (Q 2:225) or "for that which you have contracted oaths" (Q 5:89).

Nevertheless, both of those verses recognize the possibility of *al-laghw* in an oath: God will not hold us liable for *al-laghw* in our oaths *(lā yuʾākhidhukumu llāhu bi-l-laghwi fī aymānikum)*. The commentators disagree on the precise meaning of *al-laghw fī l-aymāni* but they agree that it refers to oaths which, because of the mental or physical state of the one swearing — for example he may be angry, making a joke, or involved in bargaining — or because the words used are inappropriate, are not binding.

Other than appealing to the circumstances in which it had been made, the other obvious way out of an oath which had been sworn but which could not be kept is the *kaffāra* (see ATONEMENT), various forms of which are set out in Q 5:89. Commentators and jurists differ regarding whether a *kaffāra* is necessary in the case of *al-laghw fī l-aymān*.

Oaths (or vows) of abstention, made for ascetic or other reasons (see ASCETICISM), may have been a particular problem. The reference to *al-laghw* in Q 5:89 follows the previous verse's command to "eat of what God has given you as lawful and good" (see LAWFUL AND UNLAWFUL; FOOD AND DRINK), while that in Q 2:225 follows the injunction, "Do not make God an *ʿurḍa* to your oaths." This latter verse raises questions of interpretation. It is often understood to mean that if there is the possibility of performing a good deed (see GOOD DEEDS), you should not avoid doing so on the grounds that you have sworn something which you would have to violate in order to perform the good. If you have sworn such an oath, then you should violate it and make an act of atonement. Another interpretation cites the example of someone who declares that something God has made permissible is forbidden (q.v.) to him. This procedure of *taḥrīm al-ḥalāl* is also sometimes mentioned in discussions of the meaning of *al-laghw*.

The Prophet himself is understood as having sworn such an oath. Q 66:1 reads, "O Prophet, why do you declare forbidden what God has made lawful for you, seeking the pleasure of your wives (see WIVES OF THE PROPHET)…?" The following verse then goes on to say that God has made

incumbent upon you (plural) the expiation (?) of your oaths *(taḥillat aymānikum)*. Commentators explain these verses as references to an incident in which the Prophet undertook to avoid something which was not contrary to God's law. Many versions talk of his expressing his determination to avoid sexual relations with a slave girl out of deference to one or two of his wives. Others refer to a certain drink or to honey (q.v.). God then made clear that it was not right that he should declare *ḥarām* what God had made *ḥalāl*.

Although Q 66:1 has a singular vocative addressed to the Prophet while Q 66:2 is understood as addressed to the Muslims in general, the reports about the Prophet's "declaring forbidden" tend to agree that it involved an oath. Whether the *taḥrīm* was in itself an oath, or whether it was made together with an oath, many reports refer to the Prophet's "swearing" *(ḥ-l-f* and *y-m-n)* and to his having to make a *kaffāra*. Some, interpreting the *taḥrīm* as a renunciation of sexual relations, use the noun *īlāʾ* and the verb *ālā*.

Questions concerning oaths and vows occupy considerable space in the classical works of Islamic law, and the qurʾānic materials are taken into account in the discussions. Typically oaths and vows are discussed under the heading *kitāb al-aymān wa-l-nudhūr* although *īlāʾ* and *ẓihār* are usually discussed mainly in the sections on divorce *(kitāb al-ṭalāq)*. For discussion of taking oaths *on* the Qurʾān, see EVERYDAY LIFE, QURʾĀN IN; POPULAR AND TALISMANIC USES OF THE QURʾĀN; RITUAL AND THE QURʾĀN.

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Obedience

Act or fact of complying with the demands of one in authority (q.v.). The idea of obedience, with its concomitant concepts of legitimate authority and power to command, occurs with considerable frequency in the Qurʾān. Though several different Arabic expressions convey the idea of obedience, derivatives of the root *ṭ-w-ʿ*, especially the verb *aṭāʿa/yuṭīʿu,* predominate, as exemplified in the longest sustained passage on obedience (Q 24:47-56). While

aṭāʿa/yuṭīʿu normally means, "to obey," it sometimes bears the less insistent meaning of "to heed" (Q 3:168). The verb *ittabaʿa/yattabiʿu* carries the meaning "to obey" (as perhaps in Q 3:31, 53) with even less frequency, as it normally means "to follow," often in a negative sense. Verbs of the root *s-l-m,* especially *sallama/yusallimu* and *aslama/yuslimu,* give the meaning "to submit" but these connote a relatively passive initial act of submission and usually lack the element of putting obedience into active practice found in the verb *aṭāʿa/yuṭīʿu,* the sense of which they only occasionally approach (as perhaps in Q 3:20; 4:65).

Obedience demanded in the Qurʾān is primarily to God and the prophet Muḥammad (eleven occurrences together of *aṭāʿa/yuṭīʿu* in the imperative). Only one verse (Q 4:59) adds obedience to "those having authority among you," who are best explained as appointees of the Prophet representing his authority in his absence, although other explanations have been offered (see CALIPH; KINGS AND RULERS; IMĀM). Obedience to God and his Prophet means unquestioning submission to God's commands mediated through the Prophet (Q 4:65; 33:36). It is, however, somewhat tempered by the instruction to the Prophet to consult with his followers before deciding on an action (Q 3:159; cf. Q 4:83; 42:38).

Several other types of obedience also appear in the Qurʾān. Obedient wives (see MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE) are said to deserve kind treatment (Q 4:34) and the Prophet's wives (see WIVES OF THE PROPHET) in particular are told to obey God and his Prophet (Q 33:33), while two verses imply that children (q.v.) should obey their parents in all cases except where the latter oppose them in religion (Q 29:8; 31:15; see FAMILY; KINSHIP). Conversely, the Qurʾān warns the Muslims not to obey devils (Q 6:121; see DEVIL), unbelievers (Q 3:149; see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF), some People of the Book (q.v.; Q 3:100) and counsels the Prophet not to heed those who try to prevent worship (q.v.; Q 96:19), various stripes of unbelievers (Q 13:37; 18:28; 25:52; 68:8, 10), hypocrites (Q 33:1, 48; see HYPOCRITES AND HYPOCRISY), sinners (Q 76:24; see SIN, MAJOR AND MINOR), and most people (Q 6:116). The Muslims are also warned not to try to get the Prophet to obey their wishes (Q 49:7).

Thus, the Qurʾān provides a rather simple doctrine of obedience, giving a chain of command from God to the Prophet to the Muslims, in which no contradiction or immediate difficulty is visible. Nevertheless, there clearly seems to be a development of the doctrine when the relevant verses are placed in their probable historical context (see CHRONOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN) according to the Prophet's biography (see SĪRA AND THE QURʾĀN) and the alleged dates and occasions of revelation (q.v.). First, most of the commands to the Prophet not to heed unbelievers fall in passages attributed to the Meccan period. This suggests that the situation of Islam was not yet securely established, so that intrusive outside influences were to be feared and that such reminders were needed to avoid the temptation of taking an easier path of compromise. Also, no calls to obey the prophet Muḥammad personally occur in Meccan passages of the Qurʾān at all, perhaps because the Prophet's authority was already accepted by his small following on a firsthand basis. In verses attributed to the Meccan period, only certain of the former prophets command their followers to be obedient to them personally (see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD). These prophets include Noah (q.v.; Nūḥ), Hūd (q.v.), Ṣāliḥ (q.v.), Lot (q.v.; Lūṭ), Shuʿayb (q.v.), Aaron (q.v.; Hārūn) and Jesus (q.v.; ʿĪsā; cf. Q 20:90; 26:108, 110, 126, 131, 144, 150, 163, 179; 43:

57, 63; 71:3). If a need to obey Muḥammad is discoverable in such verses, it is only by implication, for no connection is made explicit there.

Rather, all of the direct calls for obedience to God and his Prophet come from passages considered Medinan, starting in 1/622 but mostly dating from 4/626 and later. When Muḥammad moved from leading a small religious group trying to establish itself at Mecca (q.v.) to actually founding a polity and eventually a sovereign city-state at Medina (q.v.), obedience to him personally grew in importance as a theme (see POLITICS AND THE QUR'ĀN). As the Muslims became more numerous and started to be drawn from more diverse ethnic groups than the Quraysh (q.v.) alone, the need for personal obedience to the leader became more obvious (see COMMUNITY AND SOCIETY IN THE QUR'ĀN). This was especially the case when fighting (q.v.) was prescribed by qur'ānic revelation (traditionally first in Q 22:39-40), requiring obedience to military commands. The command to fight was revealed either just before the second oath of al-ʿAqaba in 621 C.E. (see OATHS; CONTRACTS AND ALLIANCES) or right after the emigration (q.v.; *hijra*) in 1/622 (see also WAR; EXPEDITIONS AND BATTLES; JIHĀD).

Thereafter, the various oaths of allegiance *(bayʿa* or *mubāyaʿa)* mentioned in the *sīra* and the ḥadīth (see ḤADĪTH AND THE QUR'ĀN) constitute important milestones in the institutionalization of obedience to the Prophet in his lifetime. The few chronological indications in these sources usually connect such oaths with the two oaths of al-ʿAqaba in 620-1 C.E. and the oath of al-Ḥudaybiya in 6/628. Only the latter, however, has a clear chronological connection with qur'ānic verses — namely Q 48:10 and 48:18, wherein the allusions to a formal oath of allegiance clearly refer to al-Ḥudaybiya and are one of the best-established chronological indications in the Qur'ān. Other allusions to formal oaths of allegiance in Q 60:12 and Q 9:111 are later, attributable to 8/629 and 9/630 respectively. The covenant (q.v.; *mīthāq*) of Q 5:7, involving a promise of "We hear and obey," must likewise refer to a contractual obligation of obedience by the believers but the verse most likely postdates al-Ḥudaybiya. Cognate verses, however, containing the phrase "We hear and obey" (Q 2:285; 24:51; cf. Q 64:16) may be earlier in date. Whatever the details, one sees a formalization of vows of obedience in the form of a personal oath of allegiance to the Prophet as the Medinan polity grew. On the other hand, long, late passages such as Q 9:38-57 and Q 9:81-106 suggest the continuing difficulty that the Prophet had in enforcing compliance.

Later exegesis (see EXEGESIS OF THE QUR'ĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL; EXEGESIS OF THE QUR'ĀN: EARLY MODERN AND CONTEMPORARY) mostly equates obedience to God and the Prophet with obedience to the Qur'ān and the sunna (q.v.) of the Prophet. Passages most often quoted in support of this include Q 4:58-69, 5:44-50 and 33:36 as well as many ḥadīths. Pro-government interpretations are rare, as exegetes eventually do not consider Muslim polities legitimate successors of the Prophet, whatever the pretensions of the regimes themselves may have been. See also DISOBEDIENCE.

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Obscenity

see CURSE

Obstinacy

see INSOLENCE AND OBSTINACY

Occasions of Revelation

Reports, transmitted generally from the Companions of Muḥammad (see COMPANIONS OF THE PROPHET), detailing the cause, time and place of the revelation of a portion (usually a verse; see VERSES) of the Qurʾān. Underlying the material transmitted as "occasions of revelation" *(asbāb al-nuzūl)* are certain understandings about the process of qurʾānic revelation (see REVELATION AND INSPIRATION). The Qurʾān is understood to have been revealed piece by piece over the period of some twenty-two years of Muḥammad's preaching career. Muslim exegetes (see EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL) have thus approached the Qurʾān through the framework of the life of Muḥammad, for example speaking of it as having different characteristics during the time Muḥammad was in Medina (q.v.) as compared to when he was in Mecca (q.v.). They also maintained that pieces of it were revealed in response to, or as reflections of, certain situations in the life of Muḥammad. Both the structure and the contents of the Qurʾān provided evidence to them of these conceptions (see LANGUAGE AND STYLE OF THE QURʾĀN; FORM AND STRUCTURE OF THE QURʾĀN). The apparent conflict between these ideas and the normative Muslim notion that the Qurʾān is the eternal word of God (q.v.; see also ETERNITY) seems to have occasionally surfaced; it is found both as a motif of argument between those who professed the Qurʾān's eternality and those who supported the opposing doctrine of the Qurʾān as the created word of God (see CREATEDNESS OF THE QURʾĀN) and as a topos of inter-religious polemic. Ultimately, however, any conflict was resolved by the dogmatic assertion that there is no conflict and that God always acts in the best interests of his creation (q.v.). For example, the fifth/eleventh century author of *Kitāb al-mabānī li-nazm al-maʿānī* (40) simply states that the Qurʾān was revealed according to the needs of the situation but that the arrangement of the text as it stands today mirrors that found in the eternal "heavenly tablet" (on the author of this text, see Gilliot, Sciences coraniques, 57-60; see PRESERVED TABLET; BOOK; HEAVENLY BOOK).

Working on the basis that the text was revealed in certain circumstances, it was apparent to the exegetes, then, that the correct interpretation of a given verse could depend upon knowing those circumstances. This led to the identification and compilation of exegetical reports which talked about the revelation of a given verse; knowledge of those reports was asserted to be the key to all interpretation (although such claims are central to each and every approach to qurʾānic exegesis). Historically, it is not certain how the compilation of the *asbāb al-nuzūl* occurred. The reports may have originated within the context of the life story of Muḥammad

(see SĪRA AND THE QUR'ĀN); they may have been found among the stock of material used by the popular preachers in early Islam (see TEACHING AND PREACHING THE QUR'ĀN); they may have been a part of the documentation used by legal scholars to understand how a qur'ānic law was to be applied (see LAW AND THE QUR'ĀN); or they may have been a form of exegesis in and by themselves.

Fundamentally, as the material has been discussed and collected by Muslim exegetes, the *sabab* is differentiated by its literary character. A *sabab* is a report in which something or someone is characterized as having been involved in some way in the life of Muḥammad. The report will describe an event or situation and will state, "then the verse was revealed" *(fa-nazalat al-āya),* connecting a particular qur'ānic text to the situation. A typical example is as follows:

"They are asking you about wine [q.v.] and *maysir* [a type of gambling, q.v.]. Say: in them both is great sin [see SIN, MAJOR AND MINOR] and uses for the people, but their sin is greater than their use." This verse [Q 2:219] was revealed about ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb and Muʿādh b. Jabl and a group from the Anṣār ["Helpers"; see EMIGRANTS AND HELPERS] who came to the Prophet and said, "Give us a ruling about wine and *maysir* for the two of them are destroyers of the intellect [q.v.] and plunderers of property [q.v.]." So God revealed this verse (Wāḥidī, *Asbāb,* 64-5).

Such reports were an integral part of all exegesis, although in the early centuries the material was not separated out in any way — neither by technical terminology nor by literary form. The book of Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Aḥmad al-Wāḥidī al-Nīsābūrī (d. 468/1075), *Kitāb Asbāb nuzūl al-Qur'ān,* collected together as many reports as the author could find, listing material relevant to sections of eighty-five sūras of the Qur'ān. This work is both the most famous of the genre devoted to gathering such material, and also one of the earliest (it is, at the very least, the work which firmly established the genre). Al-Wāḥidī's work may be seen as emerging at the time of the rise of traditionalism within Islamic learning in general, a period in which the authority of tradition, rather than reason, was judged to be supreme (thus making sense of al-Wāḥidī's explicit and polemical claim that the *asbāb* are the key to exegesis).

Several other works exist from the centuries after al-Wāḥidī which attempt either to gather more material or to refine the criteria used for collection. Among the works are those of al-ʿIrāqī (d. 567/1171), who attempts to distinguish the occasions of revelation from the stories of the prophets (*qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā'*, see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD), two genres which al-Wāḥidī often conflates; al-Jaʿbarī (d. 732/1333), whose work provides an edited version of al-Wāḥidī's text; Ibn Ḥajar (d. 852/1449), who provides a compendium of reports from classical *tafsīr* sources; al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505), who both supplements al-Wāḥidī's sources (and thus has material on sections of 102 sūras) and eliminates reports he considers inappropriate; and al-Ujhūrī (d. 1190/1776), whose work gathers together material from various of the "sciences" *(ʿulūm)* of the Qur'ān including the "occasions of revelation" (see TRADITIONAL DISCIPLINES OF QUR'ĀNIC STUDY). Other anonymous or unidentified works exist in the manuscript libraries of the world and a few modern works have been published, but overall the inventory of texts devoted to the topic is fairly slim as compared to such other exegetical genres as abrogation (q.v.), *al-nāsikh wa-l-mansūkh*.

Within general exegetical texts, the *asbāb al-nuzūl* reports are usually integrated and

not distinguished from other material. When they are cited, they perform a number of exegetical functions. Central to these functions is the reports' capacity to embed lexical glosses, resolve literary figures, support variant readings (see READINGS OF THE QURʾĀN), provide narrative expansion (see NARRATIVES) and clarify contextual definition for narrative and legal purposes.

Lexical glosses are easily incorporated in a story such that the wording of a qurʾānic verse is restated:

They said, "Oh Prophet of God, is charity given secretly better or charity given openly [see ALMSGIVING]?" So God revealed the verse [Q 2:271], "If you expose charity, it is still good. If you hide them and give them to the poor, that is better for you and will act as an atonement [q.v.] for you from your bad deeds" (Wāḥidī, *Asbāb,* 82; see EVIL DEEDS).

Here the qurʾānic *abdā (tubdū),* "expose," is glossed as *ʿalāniya,* "give openly," and *akhfā (tukhfū),* "hide," as *sirr,* "secretly." In other contexts, this type of glossing facilitates the restatement in literal language of the meaning of a qurʾānic metaphor (q.v.) or the provision of a word left out by ellipsis. Different reports can also be cited in order to support different readings of the text.

Narrative expansion seems to reflect the needs of the qurʾānic storyteller and his audience. Many of the *asbāb al-nuzūl* reports answer the questions of curious people who will ask, "Who was it who said that?" or "Why did somebody do that?"

ʿAlī [see ʿALĪ B. ABĪ ṬĀLIB] had only four dirhams. He gave away one of the dirhams at night, one at day, one secretly and one publicly. The Prophet said to him, "What has made you do this?" He said, "I did it so that I would be worthy of God who has made a promise to me." The Prophet said to him, "Now that is yours." So God revealed the verse [Q 2:274], "Those who give their possessions at night and at day, secretly and in public, they will have their reward with their lord" (Wāḥidī, *Asbāb,* 86; see REWARD AND PUNISHMENT).

Such a report clarifies who it was who did the action with those specific characteristics (why are only these four types of giving specified, it may have been wondered). Noticeable in this particular instance are the possibilities for ideological argumentation on the basis of the *asbāb al-nuzūl* reports. For example, this story would support the Shīʿīs (see SHĪʿISM AND THE QURʾĀN) and their claims about ʿAlī.

While reports may well have additional implications in the legal realm, the impetus and relevance of the reports seem to lie primarily elsewhere. For example, when the Qurʾān proclaims in Q 2:189, "It is not piety to enter houses from their rear," it is difficult for the curious listener not to wonder just who it was who would have done such a thing (it was the pagan Arabs, although the circumstances under which they would have done so have varying interpretations; see PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QURʾĀN). Likewise, when the Qurʾān states in Q 2:116, "They say, 'God has taken a son; glory be to him!'" a *sabab* can answer the question of who "they" were who said such a thing (it was the Jews of Medina and the Christians of Najrān [q.v.], according to Wāḥidī, *Asbāb,* 36; see JEWS AND JUDAISM; CHRISTIANS AND CHRISTIANITY).

Delimitation of the context of a given verse can in itself serve a number of functions. Sometimes, it is necessary to be able to assert the limits to a qurʾānic pericope in order to avoid misinterpretation of the following verses. In that sense, the *asbāb* function as indicating paragraphs within the

otherwise unpunctuated text. This can prevent interpretations that could have serious legal implications. One such example may be seen in Q 2:114-5. The first verse deals with the destruction of mosques (in some *asbāb* reports this is specified as the Christians destroying the temple in Jerusalem [q.v.], Wāḥidī, *Asbāb,* 33; see MOSQUE); verse 115 then goes on to say "To God belongs the east and the west; wherever you turn, the face of God (q.v.) is there." There are some interpreters, then, who suggest that these two verses go together; that is, Q 2:115 refers to situations in which a mosque has been destroyed and thus the *qibla* (q.v.) cannot be determined (Qurṭubī, *Jāmiʿ,* ii, 83). A great majority of reports, however, separate the context of the two verses and, for the latter, speak of a situation in which some people at the time of Muḥammad were traveling (either with or without the Prophet; the story varies; see JOURNEY; TRIPS AND VOYAGES) and they stopped for prayer (q.v.). Because it was cloudy, dark or foggy they could not determine the *qibla*. Everyone prayed in the direction that they thought best but in the morning the error became clear. Then this verse was revealed. While this situation may be thought to follow the same principle as that of the destroyed mosque in Q 2:114, the report makes it clear that the ruling of verse 115 is not limited by the specific situation of verse 114 and has more general applicability (see Suyūṭī, *Lubāb,* 26-7, for one example). As is characteristic of the *asbāb al-nuzūl* literature, however, another series of reports is found which provides a radically different situation for the revelation of Q 2:115, separating it even further from verse 114. These reports all relate to the permission given to perform the supererogatory prayer while riding a camel regardless of the direction being faced (see Wāḥidī, *Asbāb,* 35, for one example).

Overall, but perhaps best understood as their primary function, the *asbāb al-nuzūl* reports serve to "historicize" the Qurʾān; they ground the text firmly in the life of Muḥammad and make an otherwise context-vague text very much a part of the seventh century Ḥijāz (see HISTORY AND THE QURʾĀN; CHRONOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN). Regardless of what the report might say in terms of the details, this specificity always underlies the story, regardless of how trivial or how complex it may be. Muslim exegetes express this sense by pointing out the way in which the material demonstrates that the Qurʾān really is revelation: the *sabab* is the proof of God's concern for his creation. Al-Suyūṭī (*Itqān,* i, 83) explains this by saying that the *sabab* is the "rope" — that being one of the root senses of the word *sabab* itself — by which human contemplation of the Qurʾān may ascend to the highest levels even while dealing with the mundane aspects of the text.

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Ocean see WATER

Odors and Smells

Aromas — both pleasant and unpleasant — detected with the olfactory sense. In contrast to the many references to the senses of hearing and sight (see SEEING AND HEARING), smell is rarely mentioned in the Qurʾān. Two words from the root *r-w-ḥ* are used in this respect: *rīḥ* and *rayḥān*. The former appears nearly always with the meaning of "wind" (see AIR AND WIND), but on one occasion (Q 12:94) it is said that Joseph's (q.v.) father (see JACOB) perceives his son's scent *(rīḥ)* in the shirt brought to him by his brothers (see BROTHER AND BROTHERHOOD). As for the latter word, it occurs in Q 55:12, in the context of a description of God's creation (q.v.): "Fruits, and palm-trees (see DATE PALM) with sheaths, and grain in the blade (see GRASSES), and fragrant herbs *(rayḥān)*" (Q 55:11-2; see AGRICULTURE AND VEGETATION). The sweet odor which characterizes herbs such as basil-royal, common sweet basil or ocimum basilicum (see Lane, s.v. *rayḥān*) is considered here as one of God's gifts to humankind (see BLESSING). Herbal fragrances are, however, absent from the abundant references to heavenly gardens (see GARDEN), where other and more precious odors can be found.

Although the Qurʾān does not mention general Arabic terms for perfumes, such as *ṭīb* or *ʿiṭr,* it does mention that, in paradise (q.v.), "the pious shall drink of a cup (see CUPS AND VESSELS) whose mixture is camphor" (q.v.; Q 76:5) and "they are given to drink of a wine (q.v.) sealed whose seal is musk" (Q 83:25-6; see INTOXICANTS). In the ḥadīth literature (see ḤADĪTH AND THE QURʾĀN), camphor, which is distilled from the camphor tree, is repeatedly referred to in the context of funeral ceremonies (see DEATH AND THE DEAD). In the biographical texts about Zaynab, the daughter of the Prophet (see FAMILY OF THE PROPHET; PEOPLE OF THE HOUSE), Muḥammad, upon her death, is depicted as having ordered Zaynab's corpse washed. In these accounts, the body was afterwards perfumed with camphor (cf. Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* i, 316-7). In Islamic culture, musk, a perfume derived from animal products, has been traditionally considered as the best and most expensive of all perfumes; in the ḥadīth literature, it is used to perfume the Prophet's head. The ḥadīth literature also describes the sand of the rivers in paradise (see WATER OF PARADISE) as being made of musk. Both camphor and musk, which were not known in classical antiquity, are of east Asian origins. Shortly before the advent of Islam they are documented in the Sasanid empire and in Byzantium (see BYZANTINES). Musk was mentioned in pre-Islamic Arabic poetry (see PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QURʾĀN; POETRY AND POETS), as is attested in the poems by Imruʾ al-Qays. The presence of musk in the Qurʾān was to give this perfume a heightened status among other fragrances, enhancing its aromatic qualities with an added religious prestige. Musk and

camphor were also used for pharmaceutical recipes and, in the luxurious and cosmopolitan kitchen of the ʿAbbāsid caliphs, for cookery (see MEDICINE AND THE QURʾĀN; FOOD AND DRINK).

On a more common level of consumption, good smell *(al-rīḥ al-ṭayyib)* could be obtained through other and less expensive perfumes. There was a general appreciation of the well-being that is derived from good smells and odors. Well-known traditions speak of the love of the Prophet for three things in this world: prayer (q.v.), women (see WOMEN AND THE QURʾĀN) and perfume. According to ʿĀʾisha (see ʿĀʾISHA BINT ABĪ BAKR), the Prophet was preceded by his scent and his favorite perfumes were musk and amber. Perfuming the body was, according to the ḥadīth, a part of bodily hygiene (see CLEANLINESS AND ABLUTION), which includes bathing, the use of a toothbrush, hair care, etc. While perfumes were accepted for both women and men, many traditions discourage the former from using them both within and outside the home, except when it is for the pleasure of their husbands.

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Offspring

see FAMILY; GENERATIONS

Oft-Repeated

One of the names of the Qurʾān (q.v.) or of parts of it. The Arabic form *mathānī* is the plural of *mathnā* or *mathnāt,* and is a derivative of the root *th-n-y,* which signifies repetition, duplication. In Q 39:23, the form *mathānī* occurs within the following description of the Qurʾān: "God has sent down the fairest discourse as a book (q.v.), similar in its oft-repeated *(mutashābihan mathāniya),* whereat shiver the skins of those who fear (q.v.) their lord (q.v.)…."

The most prevalent explanation is that the scripture has been called *mathānī* because its various themes — religious duties, laws and regulations (i.e. Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* i, 103; see LAW AND THE QURʾĀN; BOUNDARIES AND PRECEPTS), stories of previous prophets (i.e. Suyūṭī, *Itqān,* i, 184; see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD; NARRATIVES), allusions to the reward awaiting the righteous in paradise (q.v.) and of the punishment of the sinners in hell (see HELL AND HELLFIRE; REWARD AND PUNISHMENT; SIN, MAJOR AND MINOR) — are repeated *(yuthannā)* throughout its chapters. Less frequently encountered explanations are that the Qurʾān is recited repeatedly and the audience never finds it boring (see RECITATION OF THE QURʾĀN). Another explanation takes *mathānī* as denoting the praise *(thanāʾ)* of God that is reiterated in the Qurʾān (see GLORIFICATION OF GOD; LAUDATION).

The term *mathānī* does not, however, always denote the entire Qurʾān: it is also explained as standing only for certain parts of scripture. This meaning is seen in the explanation that the term stands for the suffixes of the verses (Māwardī, *Nukat,* v, 123), which would be an allusion to the repetitive rhymed form of the verses (q.v.; see also LANGUAGE AND STYLE OF THE QURʾĀN; FORM AND STRUCTURE OF THE QURʾĀN).

More prevalent is the identification of the term with qurʾānic chapters or groups of chapters. This is the case in traditions stating that *mathānī* are the sūras (q.v.) that come next *(thanā)* in terms of length to the sūras containing at least a hundred verses. Twenty to twenty-six sūras are included in this group.

The perception of the term *mathānī* as standing for some chapters of the Qurʾān underlies also the interpretations of Q 15:87, in which God says to the qurʾānic Prophet: "We have given you seven of the *mathānī* and the glorious Qurʾān." Muslim exegetes (see EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL) have offered a variety of interpretations for the "seven of the *mathānī,*" most of which hold that seven *mathānī* out of the entire Qurʾān are meant. The closing phrase, "and the glorious Qurʾān," is explained as denoting the rest of the Qurʾān that has been given to the qurʾānic Prophet in addition to the seven *mathānī*.

The seven *mathānī* are defined in two major ways. First, the seven longest chapters of the Qurʾān. Muslim exegetes explain that they were named *mathānī* because of their repetitive treatment of various subjects, such as legal matters, stories, parables and admonitions (see WARNING). The second definition is the seven verses of the opening chapter (Q 1, Sūrat al-Fātiḥa; see FĀTIḤA) of the Qurʾān. Muslim exegetes explain that the verses of the Fātiḥa have been called *mathānī* because they are repeated *(tuthannā)* daily in every prayer (q.v.; cf. Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* i, 103). A different explanation is that the Fātiḥa was called *mathānī* because God gave it exclusively *(istathnāhā)* to the qurʾānic Prophet, and withheld it from all other prophets (see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD). Yet another interpretation is that this sūra has been divided into two *(ithnān)* parts, one containing the praise of God and the other, the entreaty of his servants. Another explanation is that some words and phrases are repeated in it, etc. An interpretation appearing only in relatively late commentaries identifies the seven *mathānī* with the seven *ḥawāmīm,* i.e. the sūras opening with the letters *ḥāʾ* and *mīm* (see MYSTERIOUS LETTERS).

There is also an interpretation that places the seven *mathānī* outside the scope of the Qurʾān, and is included in a tradition of Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq (d. 148/765), the sixth Shīʿī imām (q.v.; see also SHĪʿISM AND THE QURʾĀN). He reportedly said that the seven *mathānī* are seven exclusive virtues *(karāmāt)* by which God has honored his Prophet: (1) righteousness, (2) prophethood, (3) mercy (q.v.), (4) compassion, (5) love (see LOVE AND AFFECTION), (6) friendship (see FRIENDS AND FRIENDSHIP), (7) sechina (q.v.; Māwardī, *Nukat,* iii, 171). Other Shīʿī traditions identify the seven *mathānī* with seven Shīʿī imāms (ʿAyyāshī, *Tafsīr,* ii, 269-70).

Nevertheless, some exegetes held that the "seven of the *mathānī*" and the "glorious Qurʾān" are identical, being merely different designations of the one and the same object that was given to the qurʾānic Prophet. The clause "and the glorious Qurʾān" was explained as providing additional praise to the object described as "seven of the *mathānī*." From the syntactical point of view it was explained as a shortened or condensed form signifying: "… and [they, i.e. the seven *mathānī,* are] the glorious Qurʾān."

The object designated as "the seven *mathānī*" and as "the glorious Qurʾān" is explained in a variety of ways. Some exegetes identify it again with the Fātiḥa, in which case "the glorious Qurʾān" features as a name of this particular chapter, the seven verses of which constitute the seven *mathānī*. Yet other traditions say that the

object named "the seven *mathānī*" and "the glorious Qurʾān" is actually the entire Qurʾān. In this case the seven *mathānī* are taken as signifying seven repetitive aspects of the Qurʾān's contents: (1) commands (see COMMANDMENTS), (2) prohibitions (see FORBIDDEN), (3) good tidings (see GOOD NEWS), (4) warnings (see WARNER), (5) parables (q.v.), (6) divine mercy, (7) stories of past generations (q.v.).

In accordance with the notion that the seven *mathānī* are the entire Qurʾān, some exegetes say that their number denotes the seven *asbāʿ*, i.e. the seven parts into which the Qurʾān is divided, or its seven volumes.

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Old Age

see YOUTH AND OLD AGE; BIOLOGY AS THE CREATION AND STAGES OF LIFE

Olives

see AGRICULTURE AND VEGETATION

Omens

see PORTENTS; DIVINATION; FORETELLING

Omnipotence

see POWER AND IMPOTENCE

Opponent

see ENEMIES

Opposition to Muḥammad

Resistance to the political and religious authority (q.v.) of Muḥammad. The Qurʾān is very much a document that shows the struggle of a new faith (q.v.) coming into existence, and the career of Muḥammad is very much the story of a man who eventually defeated all odds when shaping the first community of believers (see COMMUNITY AND SOCIETY IN THE QURʾĀN). Additionally, the qurʾānic concept of prophecy (see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD) is profoundly marked by the experience of opposition (see Q 25:31; 40:5). The fact of being opposed both theologically and politically (see POLITICS AND THE QURʾĀN; THEOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN) has marked Islam from its beginnings, and the successful effort to overcome opposition was an important factor in its development which led to a self-confident religion of great appeal to possible converts.

Theological opposition was leveled against the tenets of the new faith as preached by the Prophet; political opposition was directed first against the social and economic consequences of nascent Islam in Muḥammad's hometown (see MECCA), then against the claim to hegemony of the quickly expanding Muslim community in Medina (q.v.). The most serious theological opposition came from Jews (see JEWS AND JUDAISM), while the Meccan pagans were hardly able, as far as we know, to counter Muḥammad's monotheistic vision (see below; see POLYTHEISM AND ATHEISM; SOUTH ARABIA, RELIGION IN PRE-ISLAMIC). The Christians (see CHRISTIANS AND CHRISTIANITY), who are generally portrayed in a more favorable light in the Islamic sources, appear less eager to enter into discussions with the Prophet (see DEBATE AND DISPUTATION)

and are more frequently reported as having been persuaded by the new message. Active political and military opposition against Muḥammad and his followers was primarily the work of the Meccans (see EXPEDITIONS AND BATTLES; FIGHTING); the Jewish tribes in Medina and Khaybar opposed the Prophet without resorting to open aggression (although not a few sources tend to stress that the Jews either provoked the Muslims or took active measures against them). Even Muḥammad's own family (see FAMILY OF THE PROPHET) were guilty of opposing him (cf. Q 111:1-5, and commentaries on this sūra).

Muḥammad, who acted both as prophet and founder of a new religion and as a political and military leader of his supporters, was, naturally, the main target of the opponents of early Islam, no matter how their hostile intentions were defined. With the concerns of faith and the duties of the believers inextricably linked in his person, opposing the Prophet meant opposing God, or, put differently: "Whosoever obeys the messenger, thereby obeys God" (Q 4:80; see also Q 4:152; 58:5; 59:7). As a result of the opposition that arose against his person, Muḥammad suffered, during his years in Mecca, from humiliation, derision (see MOCKERY) and from being treated either like a madman (see INSANITY) or an outcast. Some people would even fling pebbles at him while he was praying and others kicked stones at him so that he had to run away with bleeding feet. During the Medinan period (see CHRONOLOGY AND THE QUR'ĀN), he had to survive various attempts at his life, be it the poison of a Jewish woman or the drawn sword of a bedouin (q.v.; it is nevertheless difficult, as a perusal of the relevant sources shows, to link the specific events as reported in Islamic tradition and *sīra* literature with the rather vague qur'ānic allusions to such attempts: Q 5:11; 8:30, 71; 16:127; 48:20; see SĪRA AND THE QUR'ĀN).

Muḥammad's reaction against his opponents varied in time and according to the possibilities within his reach. In the Meccan period, he was satisfied — due to the lack of effective means and a large group of followers — to merely censure the activities of his opponents and to turn his back on them in patience and to leave their punishment to God (see TRUST AND PATIENCE; PUNISHMENT STORIES). This attitude becomes obvious from numerous qur'ānic verses that are traditionally reckoned to belong to Meccan sūras (e.g. Q 6:66-70; 10:108; 13:43; 15:89-99; 16:125-8, etc.). Also, the so-called "punishment stories" (*Strafl egenden;* see the list in Watt-Bell, *Introduction,* 132) were to provide the Prophet with fitting examples of what had happened in earlier times and in analogous situations. Once in Medina, however, and with military means at his disposal, the Prophet did not limit himself anymore to simply accusing and warning (q.v.) his opponents, but called his followers to actively fight for the cause of Islam (Q 2:190-3, 216; 3:146; 4:75 f., 84, 89 f.; 8:39, 65; 9:13 f., 29, 123; 47:4; 61:4) and was himself ordered to be the first in line (Q 9:73; see JIHĀD). The cause of Islam was thus no longer the cause of God alone, and Muḥammad exhorted the members of his community: "O believers! Fight the unbelievers who are in your vicinity and let them find you ruthless! And know that God supports the godfearing" (Q 9:123; see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF) — a sentiment very much in contrast to Muḥammad's passive stance during his former stay in Mecca. The transfer of power from God's hands into those of humans, that is, the switch from relying on eschatological punishment to settling matters in this world, seems complete (see ESCHATOLOGY).

As mentioned above, the two main groups of opponents during the career of Muḥammad were the Meccan pagans and the Jews. Both were eventually subdued by more or less violent means (see below). The Christians — much fewer in number than the Arabian Jews — never posed the same threat to the Prophet's community, and the encounter with the Christian population in northern Arabia (see PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QURʾĀN) and southern Syria (q.v.) in the last years of Muḥammad's lifetime generally did not lead to bellicose events; any conflicts were settled peacefully, e.g. by contracts (see CONTRACTS AND ALLIANCES). The same may be said of the bedouin tribes of the Ḥijāz (*al-aʿrāb,* see ARABS), who often opposed the Prophet's efforts to rally them to his cause (e.g. Q 48:11, 16) and thus, for a long time, were not an integral part of the nascent Islamic community (see Q 9:97-9). Also, tensions among the inhabitants of Medina had led to the formation of an, as it were, intra-Islamic group of opponents (a considerable part of whom were Jewish converts) known as "the hypocrites" (*al-munāfiqūn,* see HYPOCRITES AND HYPOCRISY; MOSQUE OF THE DISSENSION). Even though they feature prominently in the Medinan sūras (e.g. Q 59:11 f.; 63:1-8, but also 9:74, 106), their role can only be reconstructed from the extant sources with difficulty; nevertheless, their influence on the course of events in Medina as well as their potentially detrimental activities do not appear very threatening, at least when compared to those of the Meccans and the Jews.

The Meccan pagans

From the beginning of his prophetic mission, Muḥammad had to cope with the fierce opposition of many of his Meccan compatriots. Curiously, the qurʾānic data suggest that their opposition was primarily directed against elements of monotheist belief (Q 6:25), such as the resuscitation of the dead (see RESURRECTION), the day of judgment (see LAST JUDGMENT) or the denial of the existence of Arabian deities. In Islamic tradition, however, the pagans hardly figure as opponents on religious grounds. The few pagan "priests" (*kuhhān,* see SOOTHSAYERS) who appear in *sīra* literature and related genres are not depicted as Muḥammad's opponents but rather foretell or announce his prophethood. The Meccan leaders, on the other hand, are shown as being driven by the interest to preserve the status quo of the Meccan hierarchy, as well as by economic considerations (in order to save their sources of income which depended on pagan festivities); this is in accordance with the Qurʾān, which often censures their material greed (e.g. Q 89:17-20; 104:1-3; see WEALTH; MARKETS; SELLING AND BUYING; CARAVAN). When speaking, however, about the Meccan period as represented in the Qurʾān, W.M. Watt rightly observes: "There are virtually no factual details about the persons who accepted Islam, and only a modicum of general information about the opponents. Most of this last is about the verbal arguments between these and Muḥammad" (Watt, *Mecca,* 81).

What the Qurʾān does, in fact, convey is the sense of oppression Muḥammad must have felt in Mecca, coupled with an inability to counteract such adversities and even a fear of giving in to the pagans (Q 17:73 f.; see SATANIC VERSES). Over the years, Muḥammad's followers grew in number; with this, the opposition of the Meccans became less restrained. Some Muslims resorted to leaving their hometown and went into exile in Ethiopia (see ABYSSINIA). The Prophet himself first tried to gain a foothold in nearby Ṭāʾif but, when this had failed, he reached an agreement with the people of Medina at ʿAqaba. Thus the emigration (q.v.) of the Prophet to Medina

was, initially, the outcome of the Meccans' opposition (Q 47:13). Many of his followers accompanied Muḥammad, and the Qurʾān alludes in a number of verses not only to the general hardships endured by the early Muslims (Q 2:155, 3:120, 3:186, 60:2), but also to the painful experience of losing one's home and possessions: "And those that emigrated in God's cause (see PATH OR WAY) after they were wronged, we shall surely lodge them in this world in a goodly lodging; and the wage of the world to come is greater, did they but know" (Q 16:41; see also Q 4:100 f., 16:110, 22:39, 60:8 f.).

The Medinan period brought about the change from putting up with pagan opposition to striking back. Muslims and Meccans met each other in various skirmishes and bigger clashes, several of which are described at length in the Qurʾān, although even among the "orthodox" non-qurʾānic sources, there is no complete unanimity — with the exception of Q 3:123 (battle of Badr), Q 33:20-5 (War of the Ditch; see PEOPLE OF THE DITCH; EXPEDITIONS AND BATTLES) and Q 9:25 f. (battle of Ḥunayn [q.v.]) — as to which verses refer to which event. The early *tafsīr* works in particular, e.g. those by Mujāhid (d. 104/722) and Muqātil (d. 150/767), often yield accounts different from the later accepted versions. Up to the decisive treaty of al-Ḥudaybiya, traditionally associated with Q 48 (Sūrat al-Fatḥ, "Victory"), however, the Meccan opposition had gradually lost much of its force, and the Muslim conquest of Mecca largely put an end to the Meccan opposition (Q 110, Sūrat al-Naṣr, "Succor").

The Arabian Jews

Muḥammad encountered the opposition of Jews while still living in Mecca, although non-verbal conflict broke out only when he was in Medina. Aside from the pagans, Muḥammad appealed particularly to the Jews (Q 2:40-8), despite knowing that their aversion was the greatest: "That because God has sent down the book (q.v.) with the truth; and those that differ regarding the book, are showing strong enmity [?]" (Q 2:176; cf. Paret, *Mohammad*, 28; see PEOPLE OF THE BOOK). And although the Qurʾān repeatedly stresses that putting in doubt elements of faith and resorting to dispute is merely a general human trait (Q 18:54; 22:3, 8), the Jews — both in the Qurʾān and the Islamic tradition — are portrayed as having been the most tenacious antagonists of Muḥammad (although the Christians, too, had a share in that; cf. Q 2:139; 3:65). In *sīra* literature, already in the pivotal account by Ibn Isḥāq (d. 150/767), we normally find one or more lengthy chapters that deal with Muḥammad's theological discussions with the Jews, together with indications of which qurʾānic verses were either the subject or the result of those disputes; such discussions, both with Jews and other opponents, are reflected variously in the Qurʾān, in particular in the verses which start with the phrase "They question you about…" (e.g. Q 2:217, 219; 5:4; 7:187; 17:85; 18:83, etc.). Inevitably, the Prophet is depicted as defeating the arguments of his opponents, who then take to cheating (q.v.) or will not argue on the accurate record of their revealed scriptures (Q 2:75; see also 2:89-91, 101; see FORGERY).

In Medina, when Muḥammad distanced himself from pagan opposition, the Jewish opposition soon became a major preoccupation. After initial and intense follow-ups to the disputes in Mecca, between the years 2/624 and 5/627 the Muslim community got rid of the three major Jewish tribes: they expelled the Jewish Banū Qaynuqāʿ and Banū l-Naḍīr from Medina, while the Banū Qurayẓa were killed and enslaved (see NAḌĪR, BANŪ AL-; QAYNUQĀʿ;

QURAYẒA). The qurʾānic verses traditionally associated with these events by the Muslim scholars are Q 33:26 f. and Q 59:1-15. Moreover, during the same period some leaders of the Jewish opposition, notably Kaʿb b. al-Ashraf, were assassinated either in Medina or Khaybar; the latter town was conquered in 7/628. In the sources it remains unclear, however, whether at that point there were no Jews left in the Ḥijāz or whether some Jewish settlements (e.g. Fadak) persisted.

Finally, it must be remarked that a reconstruction of the events relating to the opposition to Muḥammad and their relevant chronology relies heavily on the information provided in the vast Islamic tradition, as well as on the commonly accepted chronology of qurʾānic verses. Many studies in recent years have shown that the historical value of this tradition cannot always be trusted (see COLLECTION OF THE QURʾĀN; ḤADĪTH AND THE QURʾĀN; POST-ENLIGHTENMENT ACADEMIC STUDY OF THE QURʾĀN). On the other hand, by no means should Islamic tradition be considered irrelevant, as it might be utilized either in tracing the ideological differences within early Islam or in unearthing accounts which do not fit the "canonical" Islamic view (as developed from the late second/eighth century onwards); it could thus deepen or change our future understanding of early Islamic history.

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Oppressed on Earth, The

Those with no political or other power; the downtrodden. Several verses of the Qurʾān refer to those who are "weak" (*ḍaʿīf,* pl. *ḍuʿafāʾ,* and other derivatives of *ḍ-ʿ-f;* Q 2:266, 282; 4:9; 9:91; 11:91; 14:21; 40:47) or those who are "deemed or made weak" (*mustaḍʿaf,* pl. *mustaḍʿafūn,* as well as the tenth verbal form of *ḍ-ʿ-f;* Q 4:75, 97-8;

7:75; 8:26; 28:4-5; 34:31-3). R.B. Serjeant (The *ḍaʿīf,* 33) has argued that the qurʾānic term *ḍaʿīf* does not simply mean "weak," but rather usually refers to "persons without the capacity to fight for and defend themselves" (see FIGHTING; OPPRESSION). By extension, it refers to the peasants and shepherds (see POVERTY AND THE POOR), to women (see WOMEN AND THE QURʾĀN) and children (q.v.), to clients (see CLIENTS AND CLIENTAGE) and slaves (see SLAVES AND SLAVERY), and to all those who do not bear arms and are dependent on others for their protection. The term *mustaḍʿaf* often has connotations similar or identical to those of the *ḍaʿīf* (ibid., 36) but especially those of degradation and debasement and often also of persecution. Q 28:4-6 describes Pharaoh's (q.v.) persecution when "he had exalted himself in the land and had divided its inhabitants into sects (*shiyaʿan,* see SHĪʿA), abasing *(yastaḍʿifu)* one party of them, slaughtering their sons and sparing their women, for he was of the workers of corruption (q.v.). Yet we desired to be gracious to those that were abased in the land, and to make them leaders (*aʾimmatan,* see KINGS AND RULERS; IMĀM), and make them the inheritors, and to establish them in the land." A tradition in al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923; *Taʾrīkh,* i, 1563 f.; also Serjeant, The *ḍaʿīf,* 34 f.) characterizes the earliest followers of Muḥammad as "the weak *(al-ḍuʿafāʾ),* the poor, the young, and women." In Q 8:26, in what is often understood by the exegetes to refer to the condition of the earliest Muslims in Mecca (q.v.) before the migration (see EMIGRATION) to Medina (q.v.), God reminds the believers of God's favor on them at a time "when you were few and abased in the land *(mustaḍʿafūna fī l-arḍ)*… he gave you refuge and confirmed you with his help." In Q 4:75, the believers are reproached for not fighting "in the way of God (see PATH OR WAY), and for the men, women, and children who, being abased, say, 'Our lord, bring us forth from this city (q.v.) whose people are evildoers *(ẓālim)*."

Those who are thus abased or oppressed are expected to migrate from the land where they have been persecuted. To have the ability to migrate from such a land and yet not do so is enough to imperil one's salvation (q.v.), as the Qurʾān's strong admonition of those who falsely claim the status of the *mustaḍʿafān* makes clear (Q 4:97-9). This admonition refers, according to many exegetes (see EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN, CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL), to those people in Mecca who had converted to Islam but had not migrated to Medina even though they had the ability to do so. Many of them were forced to participate in the battle of Badr (q.v.) on the side of the Meccans and against the Muslims of Medina (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* ix, 100-12). The status of those killed while fighting on the side of the unbelievers, or those who died while still in Mecca was held by many exegetes to be the same as that of the unbelievers themselves, even though they claimed to have been coerced (cf. ibid., ix, 102 [no. 10259], 104 f. [no. 10263]; see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF; HYPOCRITES AND HYPOCRISY). Those, however, who were entirely lacking in any means to migrate — and who were, therefore, genuinely powerless — were excused. The famous scholar and Qurʾān exegete Ibn ʿAbbās (d. 67-8/686-8) claimed, together with his mother, to be among such *mustaḍʿafūn* in Mecca (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* ix, 106 f.), though the exegetes found it more difficult to extend the same justification to his father, al-ʿAbbās — the uncle of the Prophet (see FAMILY OF THE PROPHET) and the progenitor of the ʿAbbāsid dynasty — who had fought on the side of the pagan Meccans under what he reportedly claimed were circumstances

of coercion (cf. ibid., ix, 106, no. 10265).

The *mustaḍʿafūn* in the Qurʾān include believers as well as unbelievers. Though their status as *mustaḍʿafūn* is defined by their dependence on others and/or by their lowly and persecuted condition in society, the Qurʾān pointedly notes that each individual bears sole responsibility for his or her moral conduct and is to be held accountable for it (see ETHICS AND THE QURʾĀN; FREEDOM AND PREDESTINATION; on children as *mustaḍʿafūn* in the sense of not bearing such responsibility, however, cf. van Ess, *TG,* i, 277). To argue, like those of the *ḍuʿafāʾ/mustaḍʿafūn* who are consigned to hell (see HELL AND HELLFIRE), that they had merely followed their leaders in error (q.v.) would be as futile as to call upon the latter for any help on or after the day of judgment (cf. Q 14:21; 34:31-3; 40:47-8; see LAST JUDGMENT; INTERCESSION).

Many modern Muslims have seen in God's promise to establish the *mustaḍʿafūn* on earth, and to make them its leaders, a qurʾānic sanction for revolutionary activism (see REBELLION). Franz Fanon's *The wretched of the earth* was translated by ʿAlī Sharīʿatī in the early 1960s as *Mostaḍẓʿafīn-i zamīn,* thus contributing to the social revolutionary connotations of this qurʾānic term, which now came to be understood as "the oppressed" and the disinherited in the sense, primarily, of being economically exploited (see ECONOMICS). Ayatollah Khomeini's speeches before and immediately after the Iranian revolution of 1979 were laced with references to the *mustaḍʿafūn* in this sense, and he often spoke of them as the main supporters of the revolution and thus as the people deserving to be its principal beneficiaries. A "Mustaḍʿafūn Foundation" *(bunyād-i mustaḍʿafīn)* was established in 1979 (as the successor to the powerful Pahlavī Foundation) to appropriate the properties belonging to those associated with the overthrown regime and to redistribute them among the poor; and the *mustaḍʿafūn* were prominent among those mobilized for participation in the Iran-Iraq war (1980-88). E. Abrahamian (*Khomeinism,* 52) has argued, however, that after the revolution, Khomeini came to moderate considerably his earlier rhetoric about a class struggle between the oppressed and their wealthy exploiters, and spoke increasingly of the need for harmonious ties between the middle and the lower classes; the term *mustaḍʿafūn* now "became — like the term sans culottes in the French Revolution — a political label for the new regime's supporters and included wealthy bazaar merchants."

In the context of the struggle against apartheid in South Africa, qurʾānic references to the *mustaḍʿafūn* became the basis of an Islamic variant of "liberation theology," with the prophet Muḥammad and indeed all the other prophets being seen as having struggled on behalf of the oppressed and the exploited. Where earlier understandings of the qurʾānic references to the *mustaḍʿafūn* seem to suggest that people would be judged in the hereafter on the basis of their conduct (see RECORD OF HUMAN ACTIONS; ESCHATOLOGY), and irrespective of their social standing in the world, certain contemporary religious intellectuals in South Africa have argued that the solidarity of the oppressed transcends differences of faith, and that the Qurʾān comes down on the side of the *mustaḍʿafūn* even when they are not believers (Esack, *Qurʾān, liberation and pluralism,* 98-103 and passim; see also POLITICS AND THE QURʾĀN).

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Oppression

Unjust or cruel exercise of authority or power. There is no single word in the Qur'ān that perfectly translates the term "oppression." An array of words, such as *baghy* (attested seven times), *qahr* (ten times), *ṭughyān* (nine times; cf. Izutsu, *Structure,* 140-2), *ʿudwān* (seven times; cf. Izutsu, *Structure,* 161-4), *istiḍʿāf* (five times) and the most frequently attested, *ẓulm* (ca. twenty times; cf. Izutsu, *Structure,* 152-61), all share an essential semantic aspect of this concept: i.e. exceeding the appropriate limits of behavior in dealing with others, while violating their essential human rights. The qur'ānic portrayal of the behavior of Pharaoh (q.v.) and his people, *al-mala',* conveys perfectly the image of the oppressive ruler and the oppressive class on the one hand, and the oppressed subjects on the other. Similar models are conveyed in all the qur'ānic stories of the prophets and their peoples (see NARRATIVES; PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD), such as those of the people of ʿĀd (q.v.) and Thamūd (q.v.), of Noah (q.v.), Lot (q.v.), Abraham (q.v.) and Jesus (q.v.), where people are categorized as either *mustakbirūn* (lit. "proud, arrogant"; see ARROGANCE; PRIDE; cf. Izutsu, *Structure,* 131-44 for a discussion of the various aspects of haughtiness) or *mustaḍʿafūn* ("downtrodden"; cf. Q 7:75, 137, 150; 14:21; 28:4; 34:31-3; 40:47; and others; see OPPRESSED ON EARTH, THE). The former always deny God's revelation (see REVELATION AND INSPIRATION) and persecute the prophets and their followers, who are the *mustaḍʿafūn*. This is also the case of the prophet Muḥammad with the people of Mecca (q.v.; Q 8:26; cf. 4:75; see OPPOSITION TO MUḤAMMAD). In all such cases, the earth (q.v.) will be inherited by the oppressed, God promises (Q 28:5).

But Pharaoh exceeded even the limits of denying the divine message and persecuting Moses (q.v.) and his followers when he claimed divinity and the exercise of divine authority on earth. His image in the Qur'ān is that of the tyrannical ruler par excellence (Q 79:17; cf. 22:24, 34), who causes corruption (q.v.; Q 28:5), misleads his people (Q 20:79; see ASTRAY; ERROR) claims to be god (Q 29:40; 28:38) and demands the absolute submission and unquestioned obedience (q.v.) of the people (cf. Q 40:29). His actions cause the division of the people into the following groups (*shiyaʿ,* sing. *shīʿa,* Q 28:4; see SHĪʿA): on the one hand are the aristocrats *(al-mala'),* who are the privileged and ostentatious *(al-mutrafūn)* and, accordingly, the arrogant oppressors *(al-mustakbirūn);* on the other are the *mustaḍʿafūn* or the oppressed, those who have lost power, been marginalized, despised and persecuted. It is understandable, then, why the Qur'ān uses the same word to denote God's attribute (see GOD AND HIS ATTRIBUTES) of supreme power (*al-qāhir,* see POWER AND IMPOTENCE) and to refer to Pharaoh's oppressiveness. When Pharaoh responds to the conviction of his *mala'* that he must act against the people of Moses, the Qur'ān states: "Their male children will we slay; [only] their females will we save alive; and we have over them irresistible power" (*qāhirūn,* Q 7:127). The connotation of *qahr* in this specific context is very close to "oppression." This qur'ānic passage, therefore, lends itself to an

argument that *qāhr* may most closely denote the concept "oppression." The verbal form *taqhar* is used by the Qurʾān in the context of advising the prophet Muḥammad and, as a matter of fact, all Muslims, not to mistreat orphans (q.v.; Q 93:9). When related to humans, the nominal form *qāhir* refers, then, to someone claiming to be God (who alone is *al-qāhir* and *al-qahhār*) who performs massive mistreatment, i.e. oppression against others. In modern times, the categorization of the enemy — be it America or Ṣaddām Ḥusayn, or the apartheid political regime of South Africa — as the "oppressor" came to be a very effective ideological weapon in sacralized struggle (see JIHĀD).

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Oral Transmission

see READINGS OF THE QURʾĀN; ORALITY; ORALITY AND WRITING IN ARABIA; COLLECTION OF THE QURʾĀN

Orality

The quality of spoken, as opposed to written, communication. The Arabic Qurʾān emerged against the backdrop of a long history of oral poetic composition and recitation (see POETRY AND POETS; ORALITY AND WRITING IN ARABIA). It is a composite text consisting of oral recitations born in an oral culture of great refinement and long tradition. It is hard to over-emphasize the importance of oral poetry among the northern Arab tribal nomads (q.v.) of the pre-Islamic world (see PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QURʾĀN; ARABS; BEDOUIN). Their major art form was the spoken word of poetry, and in particular their three-part ode, or *qaṣīda*. The recitative chanting of their poetry was their music and the highest expression of their eloquence. Every tribe had a poet who could compose and recite verses in praise of it or in denigration of its opponents. Perfection of oral poetic composition and recitation was something much admired and much desired. It was in this oral poetic milieu that the qurʾānic recitations arose and became a new standard of oral literary and religious excellence and beauty (el Tayib, Pre-Islamic poetry; Zwettler, *Oral tradition,* 3-88; see RECITATION OF THE QURʾĀN).

Although the Qurʾān has had a rich and central role in the history of Muslim piety and faith as "sacred book," it has always been preeminently an oral, not a written text — as strikingly so as any of the world's great religious scriptures except the Vedas. In the history of Islamic piety and practice, the role of the written scriptural text has always been secondary to the dominant tradition of oral transmission and aural presence of the recited text. The qurʾānic revelation (see REVELATION AND INSPIRATION) recognized by Islamic tradition as the first given to Muḥammad, Q 96, begins: "Recite *(iqraʾ)* in the name of your lord (q.v.) who created." This signals clearly that the revelations were from the outset meant to be oral repetitions of the revealed word of God himself (see WORD OF GOD; SPEECH). The Prophet is quoted in one ḥadīth (see ḤADĪTH AND THE QURʾĀN) as saying, "Embellish the recitation *(al-qurʾān)* with your voices, for the beautiful voice increases the beauty of the Qurʾān"

(al-Dārimī, *Sunan,* 23.33.14; cf. 13). This underscores the centrality of the oral and aesthetic dimensions of the Qurʾān in Muslim tradition. As Stanley Lane Poole put it, "from first to last the Koran is essentially a book to be heard, not read" (Zwemer, Translations, 82; although note that this judgment is anachronistic, in that there was no "book" of the Qurʾān until long after the early revelations to be recited were proclaimed by the Prophet; see MUṢḤAF; COLLECTION OF THE QURʾĀN; CODICES OF THE QURʾĀN; BOOK; MANUSCRIPTS OF THE QURʾĀN). In Muslim tradition, the highly developed system of rules for proper recitation *(tajwīd)* "is believed to be the codification of the sound of the revelation as it was revealed to the Prophet.… Thus the sound itself has a divine source and significance, and, according to Muslim tradition, is significant to the meaning" (Nelson, *Art,* 14). The only way to understand the Qurʾān and its place in Muslim history and contemporary life is to grasp the centrality of its role as oral text *par excellence*.

There can be little argument that the scripture *(al-kitāb)* of Muslims has been functionally a "spoken book" — the divine "word" itself, the very discourse of God *ipsissima vox,* given to Muḥammad as "an Arabic recitation" (*qurʾān ʿarabiyy;* cf. i.e. Q 12:2; 20:113; see ARABIC LANGUAGE). This has lent immense importance to the Arabic text of the Qurʾān, its verbatim memorization, and its artful and reverent recitation — so much so that the rejection of recitation of any translation of the Qurʾān (above all in the daily worship rituals, or *ṣalāt,* see PRAYER; RITUAL AND THE QURʾĀN; TRANSLATIONS OF THE QURʾĀN) has been almost total in Islamic societies.

Theologically, the Qurʾān as "word of God" in Islam compares not to the Bible in the Christian tradition (see SCRIPTURE AND THE QURʾĀN) but to the person of the Christ as the *logos tou theou,* the divine Word (Söderblom, *Einführung,* 117; cf. Graham, *Beyond,* 217 n. 3; Kermani, *Gott,* 465 n. 195; see CREATEDNESS OF THE QURʾĀN): the closest comparable Muslim practice to the Eucharist would consequently be either the ubiquitous practice among Muslims of oral recitation of the Qurʾān or that of learning the text by heart, *ḥifẓ al-Qurʾān* (Smith, Some similarities, 52, 56-7; see MEMORY). One of the most respected religious titles a Muslim can bear is that of *ḥāfiẓ(a),* one who knows the entire Qurʾān by heart. Qurʾān recitation and memorization have always been central to deep spirituality as well as to everyday life in Muslim societies: "The discipline of qurʾānic memorization is an integral part of learning to be human and Muslim" (Eickelman, *Knowledge,* 63; see EVERYDAY LIFE, QURʾĀN IN).

Historically, the original meaning of the very word *qurʾān* testifies to this fundamental orality of the text from its inception: the qurʾānic revelations were oral texts meant to be rehearsed and recited, first by Muḥammad (as witness the more than 300 occurrences of *Qul!,* "Say! [oh Muḥammad]," before particular passages of the sacred text), then by the faithful to whom Muḥammad was to recite them. They were explicitly not revealed as "a writing on parchment" (Q 6:7; see WRITING AND WRITING MATERIALS). The word *qurʾān* is a verbal noun form derived from the root *q-r-ʾ,* "to recite, read aloud," and hence the proper translation of *al-qurʾān* is "the Reciting" or "the Recitation" (Graham, Earliest meaning). The Arabic word *qurʾān* is not attested prior to the Qurʾān itself and it was likely derived from, or influenced by, the Syriac cognate word *qeryānā,* "lection, reading," used by Syriac-speaking Christian communities (see CHRISTIANS AND CHRISTIANITY) both for the oral liturgical reading from scripture *(lectio, anagnosis)* and

for the scripture passage that is read aloud *(lectio, perioché, anagnøsma)* in divine service (Bowman, *Holy scriptures;* A. Neuwirth and K. Neuwirth, *Sūrat al-fātiḥa;* cf. Graham, *Beyond,* 209 n. 36; see FOREIGN VOCABULARY; NAMES OF THE QUR'ĀN). Both the Muslim and Christian usages have parallels also in the rabbinic use of the Hebrew cognates *qerī'ā* and *miqrā'* to denote the act of scripture reading and the pericope read aloud, respectively (J. Horovitz, Qur'ān, 67; Nöldeke, *GQ,* i, 32; Graham, *Beyond,* 209 n. 37). In the qur'ānic text itself, there are a number of uses of the word *qur'ān* that can best be taken as verbal-noun *(maṣdar)* usages: e.g. "the dawn (q.v.) recitation" in Q 17:78 and "…Ours it is to collect and to recite it *(qur'ānuhu),* and when we recite it, follow the recitation of it *(qur'ānahu)*" (Q 75:17-8). These readings are bolstered in the ḥadīth at various points, such as when Muḥammad speaks well of whoever "is constantly mindful of God during [his] reciting" (*qur'ān,* Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad,* iv, 159). Other examples: when Muḥammad explains to a companion who witnessed a horse trying to bolt during his night recitation, "That was the divine presence (*sakīna,* see SECHINA) that descended with the reciting" (*al-qur'ān,* Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* 66.11), and the report that Muḥammad "raised his voice in the recitation *(qur'ān)* in his prayer" (*ṣalāt,* Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* 4.145; cf. 4.149, 154; 6.232-37).

These examples of the early understanding of *qur'ān* as a verbal noun remind us of the strong historical basis for the ongoing orality of the Qur'ān in Muslim usage down the centuries to the present moment. This orality has always been a striking element in both Muslim religious practice and even in quotidian life in Islamic societies, where the use of qur'ānic formulae has been a permeating reality of everyday speech, even down to small repeated phrases that have passed into everyday usage (see SLOGANS FROM THE QUR'ĀN). One thinks of the *basmala* (q.v.) and Fātiḥa (q.v.), or the many qur'ānic phrases such as *mā shā'a llāhu* (Q 18:39) or *al-ḥamdu lillāhi* (Q 1:2; see LAUDATION) as only the most evident (for examples of such usages, see Piamenta, *Islam in everyday speech,* 10, 73, 75, 86-7; Jomier, La place du Coran). The five-times-daily ritual of prayer *(ṣalāt)* is the most obvious place to look for daily recitation of the Qur'ān, since without some qur'ānic recitation the *ṣalāt* is legally invalid (see LAWFUL AND UNLAWFUL). But well beyond penetration of qur'ānic phrases into everyday speech and the formal demands of the rites of daily worship, the recited word of scripture has always been prominent in Muslim communities. Recitation of the Qur'ān is woven into the very fabric of life in Muslim communities. A ḥadīth has Muḥammad say, "the most excellent form of worship (q.v.; *'ibāda*) among my people is reciting the Qur'ān" (Ghazālī, *Iḥyā',* 1.8.1). Qur'ān recitation has been a, if not the, major form of entertainment in Muslim societies, and it has for centuries been raised to an art form (see Nelson, *Art;* Kermani, chap. 3). Qur'ān memorization, recitation, and study have formed the core of Muslim education at all times and around the world in Islamic societies (see TEACHING AND PREACHING THE QUR'ĀN). Centuries ago, Ibn Khaldūn (d. 784/1382; *Muqaddima,* iii, 260; Ibn Khaldūn-Rosenthal, iii, 300; cf. Graham, *Beyond,* 215 n. 35) noted that "teaching the Qur'ān to children is one of the marks of the religion that Muslims profess and practice in all their cities," and a still older ḥadīth text claims that "knowledge shall not perish so long as the Qur'ān is recited" (Dārimī, *Sunan,* 1.18.8; see KNOWLEDGE AND LEARNING).

In sum, the oral presence of the Qur'ān is a constant source of inspiration to Muslims in all walks of life. Al-Ghazālī

(d. 505/1111; *Iḥyāʾ,* 1.8.1) put it well: "Much repetition cannot make it [the Qurʾān] seem old and worn to those who recite it." The importance and power of the oral qurʾānic word are captured in the hyperbolic and metaphorical, but still acute, observation of the modern Iranian scholar, Muḥammad Taqī Sharīʿaṭī-Mazīnānī, about the aural impact of the recited text: "The Qurʾān was a light [q.v.] that extended through the opening of the ears into the soul; it transformed this soul and as a consequence of that, the world" (as cited in Kermani, *Gott ist Schön,* 44). See also LANGUAGE AND STYLE OF THE QURʾĀN.

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Orality and Writing in Arabia

Transmission of knowledge through the spoken and written word. In pre-Islamic Arabia, culture was largely transmitted orally, with writing being used for practical matters of daily life (i.e. trade; see SELLING AND BUYING) — although there was an awareness of Jewish and Christian scriptures (see SCRIPTURE AND THE QURʾĀN; PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QURʾĀN). Apart from a couple of inscriptions and some defectively written graffiti, no primary sources exist for pre-Islamic Arabic writing (see EPIGRAPHY AND THE QURʾĀN; ARCHAEOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN). Oral sources, by their very nature, are transient. We are thus left to glean what we can about orality (q.v.) and writing/script from secondary Arabic sources that were committed to writing long after Arabic script (q.v.) was fully developed. It may be said, however, that the interplay of orality and writing in this milieu shows up most clearly in the Qurʾān itself (see LANGUAGE AND STYLE OF THE QURʾĀN; FORM AND STRUCTURE OF THE QURʾĀN).

Orally-transmitted attestations of writing and scripture in pre-Islamic Arabia

There were four kinds of oral literature in pre-Islamic Arabia: those of the poet (*shāʿir,* see POETRY AND POETS), the soothsayer (*kāhin,* see SOOTHSAYERS), the orator *(khaṭīb)* and the story-teller *(qāṣṣ).* The advent of Islam was very unfavorable to *kāhin* material and to pre-Islamic *khaṭīb* material, and the little that has survived

has nothing to tell us about writing, a subject to which neither the *kāhin* nor the *khaṭīb* was likely to have referred in the first instance.

Poetry

We are more fortunate in what we can draw together from the surviving corpus of pre-Islamic poetry. It contains a fair number of references to writing, usually based on the convention by which the traces of an almost effaced, long deserted campsite are compared to written material. Both epigraphic and documentary writing are mentioned. Very rarely does the same poem refer to both. Thus the *Muʿallaqa* of Labīd has: "the stones there contain writings " (*ḍamina l-wuḥiyya silāmuhā,* l. 2) and "writings whose texts have been renewed by their pens" (*zuburun tujiddu mutūnahā aqlāmuhā,* l. 8).

The majority of references must be assumed to refer to a script for Arabic writing, though its form is uncertain; but there are some passages that might possibly refer, explicitly or implicitly, to south Arabian forms of writing. This possibility can be seen in a passage from Labīd's *Qaṣīda nūniyya:*

… ka-annahā
zuburun yurajjiʿuhā walīdu yamāni
mutaʿawwidun laḥinun yuʿīdu bi-kaffihi
qalaman ʿalā ʿusubin dhabulna wa-bāni
… as though they were
writings over which the Yemeni lad moved back and forth
in his accustomed way, clever, his hand moving
a pen over dried palm-fronds or over pieces of a *ben*-tree

Not only does *walīdu yamāni* point to the south, the terms *zubur,* "writings," and *ʿusub,* "palm-fronds," would appear to have south Arabian origins (see WRITING AND WRITING MATERIALS).

The corpus of poetry contains a fair number of references to Jews and Christians (see JEWS AND JUDAISM; CHRISTIANS AND CHRSTIANITY) but references to their scriptures are difficult to find. There are some references to the Christian anchorites (see ASCETICISM; MONASTICISM AND MONKS) using lights for their devotions at night (and, by implication, reading), as in the *Muʿallaqa* of Imruʾ al-Qays (lines 39 and 72). Once, however, Imruʾ al-Qays has part of a line referring specifically to Christian writings: "like a line of writing in the books of monks" *(ka-khaṭṭi zabūrin fī maṣāḥifi ruhbāni);* and al-Aswad b. Yaʿfur refers to Jewish written material: "the letters of two Jews from Taymāʾ or the people of Madyan [see MIDIAN] on/their parchments which they recite with accomplishment" *(suṭūru yahūdiyyayni fī muhraqayhimā/mujīdayni min Taymāʾa aw ahli Madyan).*

The accepted view is that these references to writing were part of poetic convention and that the bedouin (q.v.) tribesmen themselves were little concerned with writing, and there seems to be no reason to doubt this. That the illiterate poet Ṭarafa should liken his camel's cheek to "Syrian parchment" seems typical of the convention (see LITERACY; ILLITERACY). Nor does there seem to be an exception in the case of the poet — or two poets — known as al-Muraqqish (probably meaning "the one who puts black on white"). The name is thought not to derive from him acting as a scribe but to be a soubriquet that stems from part of a line that runs: "the traces resemble what a pen has inscribed on the back of the /parchment" *(wa-l-rusūmu ka-ma * raqqasha fī zahri l-adīmi qalam).*

Stories

Moving on from the evidence of poetry to the story-tellers' material, very little is to be found in the background stories that accompany most of the surviving poems or

in the legends of the "days of the Arabs" *(ayyām al-ʿarab)*. Even then, the stories that have come down to us are at best problematical, as they were susceptible to recasting and accretion down to ʿAbbāsid times; and some of them, such as the placing of copies of the *muʿallaqāt* on the Kaʿba (q.v.), appear to be total fiction. Nevertheless, it is interesting to note two points from the famous story of the poets al-Mutalammis and Ṭarafa preserved in the *Kitāb al-aghānī* of Abū l-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī, in which they are portrayed as being sent off by the ruler of al-Ḥīra to the governor of al-Baḥrayn, each with a note telling the governor to execute the bearer of the note. In one way, the story hinges on the illiteracy of the two poets; in another, there is the assumption that literates who did not already know the contents of a message would be able to read it.

Extent of literacy in pre-Islamic Arabia

Overall, the background material seems to indicate that there was a certain amount of literacy in the settlements (see CITY), particularly the key centers of al-Ḥīra, Medina (q.v.) and Mecca (q.v.). This is plausible, though any direct evidence from the period is lacking. There is, for example, nothing to link Labīd's Yemeni youth with any particular place. It is not unreasonable, however, to suggest that his main concern was with documents and that the most likely place where documents would be produced was a settlement. But even if most of those employed in writing lived in settlements it is unlikely that they were numerous. It is also reasonable to assume that writing in Arabic script was for practical purposes, with other languages and scripts being used for religious purposes. Culturally this would have mattered little in pre-Islamic times, for the same sources make it clear that cultural material (that of the poets, soothsayers, orators and story-tellers) was orally transmitted.

There are other problems about the role of writing among the Arabs in the early seventh century C.E. to which we have no clear answer. One must accept the generalization that the crucial function of a script, whether alphabetic or not, is to convey a version of the spoken word in a form that can be recognized and understood by a person with knowledge of that script and of the language that it encodes. It is not clear, however, how this applied in early Arabic documents. Any document that has come down to us through traditional sources is now written in a fairly high register, and with no obvious colloquial features (see DIALECTS; GRAMMAR AND THE QURʾĀN). This may not be far from the mark; but, as is usual in Arabic sources, there is a total failure to pay any attention to the gradations of register between the four literary forms: *shāʿir — kāhin — khaṭīb — qaṣṣ*. Nor is there any sign of dialect. This simply does not tally with what we find in papyri, in which colloquialisms, a sign of dialect, are to be found from the earliest surviving documents onwards.

The traditional view is that Arabic script was defective until roughly the end of the seventh century C.E. This is certainly true of graffiti, but that is hardly germane to the discussion. The graffiti and the traditional view might also incline us to the view that the script functioned largely at an *aide-mémoire* level. Again it would appear that we are being pointed in the wrong direction. Labīd's vignette about the Yemeni youth and the story of al-Mutalammis and Ṭarafa seem to point to a fairly extensive use of writing, whether or not the script was fully formed.

Earliest literary evidence from the Islamic period

It is against this background that we should consider the implications of the surviving

papyri and in particular of the earliest extant Islamic document, a papyrus from upper Egypt, now preserved in the Austrian State National Library and known as PERF 558 (for more on this papyrus, see Gruendler, *Development,* 157; Jones, Dotting). It has texts in both Arabic and Greek, and each bears a date: in Arabic "the month Jumādā I of the year 22" and in Greek "the thirtieth day of the month of Pharmouthi of the Indiction year 1" (25 April 643).

This invaluable dating is not the only important thing about PERF 558. The script is more advanced than we might expect if we accept the traditional accounts of the development of Arabic script (q.v.). The Arabic text is written in a clear cursive hand; and it contains a fair sprinkling of dots. There are dotted forms of six letters (*jīm, khāʾ, dhāl, zāy, shīn* and *nūn,* all of which are also to be found without dots); there are some long vowels (*ā, ī,* and *ū* are all to be found, though medial *ā* is most frequently omitted); and there are some examples of *alif maqṣūra*.

The script of PERF 558 is rightly characterized by Beatrice Gruendler (*Development,* 135) as being a "fairly developed script." She adds "the first cursive impulse must therefore be expected several decades earlier." This also seems a fair judgment. A period of several decades, however, dating back from 643 C.E. takes us back into the pre-*hijra* period (see EMIGRATION). We are thus forced to conclude that the traditional accounts of the development of Arabic writing, and of the diacritics in particular, i.e. that in the seventh century the Arabic script functioned at a primarily *aide-mémoire* level, must be wrong so far as a cursive form of Arabic is concerned.

There is another scrap of evidence that we might reasonably consider as providing some corroboration of this view. There is a hemistich in Labīd's *qaṣīda mīmiyya* beginning *ʿafā l-rasmu am lā* that runs: "There is a trace of Asmāʾ that has become dotted like a sheet of writing" *(li-Asmāʾa rasmun kal-ṣaḥāfati aʿjamā)*. It is true that Labīd lived for almost forty years in the Islamic period, but his language and thought are very traditional and again take us back to the earlier part of the seventh century C.E.

A full use of the script is also indicated by some material found in the literature on the Prophet's biography (*sīra,* see SĪRA AND THE QURʾĀN). There are no cogent reasons, for example, to reject the authenticity of the treaty documents now known as the Constitution of Medina, or to believe that these were not committed to writing at the time that they were drawn up. Equally, writing plays a crucial role in the story about the expedition to Nakhla in Rajab of 2 A.H., in which the sealed orders were issued to the leader of the Muslim raiding party.

Finally the Qurʾān shows itself to be strongly in favor of the use of writing for practical purposes. The key passages are a very lengthy one, Q 2:282-3, concerning the recording of debts (q.v.) and other transactions, and the much shorter Q 24:33, about writing documents. It would seem that these stipulations about the writing of documents are possible because there was a pre-Islamic *sunna* of writing for practical purposes, and, on the evidence of the papyri, writing was a tradition of accomplished scribes.

The writing of the Qurʾān (see ORTHOGRAPHY; MANUSCRIPTS OF THE QURʾĀN) is another matter, for its original mode of delivery was oral (see RECITATION OF THE QURʾĀN). Thus any written version is a secondary form, as the text depicts in a narrative (see NARRATIVES) about Moses (q.v.; Q 6:91). Given, however, that there was knowledge of copies of Jewish and Christian scriptures, the psychological pressure for the nascent Islamic community to have written copies of its own scripture must have been irresistible

(see CODICES OF THE QUR'ĀN; COLLECTION OF THE QUR'ĀN). Tradition has it firmly that at least some of the Qur'ān was committed to writing during Muḥammad's lifetime, although there is no agreement about when the copying started or how much of it was copied during his lifetime — though most references are linked to the final years of his residence in Medina. This writing is said to have been done by a small group of scribes, known as the "scribes of the revelation" *(kuttāb al-waḥy)*. The authenticity of this material is disputed but even if it is rejected, it is likely to echo something of what happened.

This takes us back again to the form of writing used. It has always been thought that the development of the Kūfic form of Arabic script — without any diacritical dots — was a concomitant of the Qur'ān's being committed to writing. That may be so, but it would then point to a two-track evolution of Arabic script in the seventh century C.E.: Kūfic basically as a form of *aide-mémoire* to go with the oral text, while a more cursive form, which used dots at the whim of the writer, was employed for more practical documents.

Orality, writing and the Qur'ān

There is a remarkable contrast between the scanty gleanings set out above — i.e. the degree of literacy in the Arabia of Muḥammad's day, the function and nature of the Arabic script, and the evidence for the writing down of the Qur'ān during Muḥammad's lifetime (including the script in which it would have been recorded) — and what we find attested in the Qur'ān itself. First, the appurtenances of writing, though not frequently mentioned, are pretty well represented in the qur'ānic vocabulary: *qalam, raqq, qirṭās, sijill, lawḥ, ṣuḥuf, zubur, midād,* etc. Unfortunately there is nothing about the script beyond the odd phrase such as *kitāb masṭūr* (Q 52:2) and *kitāb marqūm* (Q 83:9, 20), which do not add to our overall knowledge.

The riches about writing, however, lie with the single root *k-t-b,* which is a key item in qur'ānic vocabulary. There are over fifty examples of the verb *kataba,* which are fairly evenly split between the concrete "to write" and the abstract "to prescribe." This is overshadowed, however, by the use of *kitāb,* which is the tenth most common noun in the text, with over 250 occurrences.

There are no real surprises about the meanings of *kitāb,* though perhaps they have a greater range than most of the central items of qur'ānic vocabulary. In over 200 of the occurrences it means what is normally translated as "scripture," with most of the rest meaning "document," "record" or "decree," with a couple examples each of "letter" and "fixed time" rounding off the meanings. Usage and context show, however, that when *kitāb* means "scripture" it is hardly ever concrete in sense.

There is, for example, the fact that *qur'ān,* "recitation," and *kitāb,* "scripture," are to some extent interchangeable. The most striking instance is the phrasing of Q 15:1, "These are the signs of the scripture and of a clear recitation" *(tilka āyātu l-kitābi wa-qur'ānin mubīn),* and Q 27:1, "These are the revelations of the recitation and a clear scripture" *(tilka āyātu l-qur'āni wa-kitābin mubīnin)*.

Also Q 46:29 has "Who listened to the recitation" *(yastami'ūna l-qur'āna),* while the following verse has "We have heard a scripture" (*innā sami'nā kitāban,* Q 46:30). There are also a number of verses which refer to the "scripture" being recited (see Q 2:44, 113, 121; 17:93; 29:51; also Q 29:48 quoted below).

There are, however, other passages that show that the essential relationship between the two words is more complex, with *kitāb* apparently referring to a heavenly exemplar and *qur'ān* to an earthly

recitation (see HEAVENLY BOOK; PRESERVED TABLET). Thus in Q 41:3 we find "A scripture whose signs are expounded as a recitation in Arabic" *(kitābun fuṣṣilat āyātuhu qurʾānan ʿarabiyyan),* and in Q 43:2-3, "By the clear scripture — we have made it a recitation in Arabic" (*wa-l-kitābi l-mubīni innā jaʿalnāhu qurʾānan ʿarabiyyan;* see also NAMES OF THE QURʾĀN).

On the basis of these and similar passages, particularly with the phrase *kitāb mubīn* (Q 12:1; 26:2, etc.; cf. 5:19; 13:1), one can make a good case for arguing that "divine message" would give a clearer indication of the meaning of *kitāb* than "scripture" does. God does not transmit the divine message to his messengers in writing. The use of the verb *awḥā,* "suggest, inspire," is perhaps the clearest indication of that.

That the committing of the divine message to a written form is a secondary stage after the revelation is indicated most clearly by Q 6:91, "Say, 'Who sent down the scripture which Moses brought as a light (q.v.) and a guidance to the people? You put it on parchments, revealing them, but concealing much'" *(qul man anzala l-kitāba lladhī jāʾa bihi mūsā nūran wa-hudan lil-nāsi; tajʿalūnahu qarāṭīsa, tubdūnahā wa-tukhfūna kathīran).*

In one passage, Q 29:48, a verse denying that Muḥammad had had a revelation before the Qurʾān, writing may be seen as having the same standing as recitation: "You did not recite any scripture before this nor did you write it with your right hand" (*wa-mā kunta tatlū min qablihi min kitābin wa-lā takhuṭṭuhu bi-yamīnika;* see OPPOSITION TO MUḤAMMAD; UMMĪ; LEFT HAND AND RIGHT HAND). The Prophet is never, however, given the command to "write," though from time to time he is told to "recite," and frequently, of course, the instruction is "say."

Nevertheless, the importance of written scripture is acknowledged in such early passages as Q 52:2-3: "By a scripture inscribed on unrolled parchment" *(wa-kitābin masṭūrin fī raqqin manshūrin)* and Q 87:18-9: "This is in the ancient scrolls (q.v.), the scrolls of Abraham (q.v.) and Moses" *(inna hādhā la-fī l-ṣuḥufi l-ūlā ṣuḥufi Ibrāhīma wa-Mūsā).*

It is several times acknowledged that the People of the Book (q.v.), as the Jews and Christians are generally known, have written versions of the scripture, and what they do with them is commented on very adversely in Q 2:79 (see POLEMIC AND POLEMICAL LANGUAGE; CORRUPTION; FORGERY).

In the end, none of the passages containing the root *k-t-b* can be said directly to encourage the writing of the divine message, but there is one verse, Q 25:5, that indicates that the Meccans linked writing to the revelation, in a pejorative way: "They say, 'Fables of the ancients that he has had written down; and they are dictated to him morning and evening'" (*qālū asāṭīru l-awwalīna ktatabahā fa-hiya tumlā ʿalayhi bukratan wa-aṣīlan;* see INFORMANTS). It is not fanciful to think that this priority of the oral over the written would have influenced early believers in one direction, while a very natural desire to have written copies would have pulled them in the opposite way.

On the other hand, the Qurʾān is strongly in favor of the use of writing for practical purposes. The key passage is a very lengthy one, Q 2:282-3, concerning the recording of debts and other transactions, which contains no less than eight places in which a form of *kataba* is used and one of *amalla,* "to dictate." One should also note the much shorter Q 24:33: "Such of those whom your right hands possess who seek the document, write it for them if you know some

good in them" *(wa-lladhīna yabtaghūna l-kitāba mimmā malakat aymānukum fa-kātibūhum in ʿalimtum fī-him khayran)*. The meaning of "the document" in this verse is disputed, but however it is interpreted it is clear that writing is stipulated for a practical purpose, and this is precisely the same thrust that we see in Q 2:282-3.

Conclusion

Although the Qurʾān reflects a prejudice for an oral — as opposed to a written — preservation of scripture, papyri from the early Islamic period show a highly developed script. This evidence, together with material found in the *sīra* — and even the Qurʾān itself — lend support to a theory of a pre-Islamic development of Arabic script with diacritics. These two trends (oral preservation of culture, but the utilization of writing in mundane matters) indicate a two-fold development of the Arabic script: one (Kūfic, mentioned above) that served as a memory aid in the preservation of orally-transmitted culture and scripture, and a more differentiated one used in the transactions of daily life.

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Original Sin see FALL OF MAN

Ornamentation and Illumination

From early times written copies of the qurʾānic text were embellished with various kinds of ornament that served to divide the text into manageable units, enhance readability, and enliven the visual qualities of the page and the book. Like the Torah of the Jews but unlike the Bible of the Christians, the Qurʾān was never illustrated with pictures, but rather embellished only with non-figural, nonrepresentational decoration. In contrast to the study of western manuscripts, where the term *illumination* encompasses both figural and non-figural decoration, scholars of Islamic art usually make a careful distinction between *illuminated* manuscripts, which were decorated only with non-representational geometric and vegetal designs, and *illustrated*, i.e. pictorial ones (see ICONOCLASM).

General considerations

Charting the origins and development of qurʾānic illumination is difficult since early manuscripts (i.e. those produced before the end of the third/ninth century) were never signed or dated (see MANUSCRIPTS OF THE QURʾĀN). Later manuscripts, in contrast, were often signed and dated by the calligrapher and sometimes even by the illuminator(s). In addition, otherwise-undated manuscripts can sometimes be

dated by later inscriptions, such as endowment records *(waqfiyya)* or other external evidence. One of the benchmarks for dating early manuscripts in the so-called Kūfic, or angular, script, for example, is the multi-volume Qurʾān manuscript endowed by Amājūr, governor of Damascus for the ʿAbbāsids, in 262/876 to a mosque in Tyre (Déroche, Qurʾān of Amāǧūr; see CALLIGRAPHY; ARABIC SCRIPT).

While it is unquestionably true that the general picture over the course of the centuries reveals a development from plain to ornately embellished manuscripts, it is often simplistically — but wrongly — assumed that the earliest copies of the text were always plain and that later examples carried increased amounts of ornament. This assumption is easily disproved by the discovery of at least one palimpsest, that is a reused parchment page, in Ṣanʿāʾ (Dār al-Makhṭūṭāt, MS 00-27.1), in which an unornamented version of the qurʾānic text in Kūfic script replaced an earlier one in a similar script embellished with ornamental headings. A cursory examination of the nearly 40,000 fragments from 1,000 early parchment manuscripts of the Qurʾān accidentally discovered in 1972 in the ceiling of the Great Mosque of Ṣanʿāʾ indicated that just one-eighth of them were illuminated (von Bothmer, Meisterwerke Islamischer Buchkunst).

In the fourth/tenth century, paper gradually began to replace parchment as the main medium for Qurʾān manuscripts, spreading from the east, where it was first used, to the west, where parchment remained the preferred support well into the seventh/thirteenth century. Coincident with this change of material was a shift in format from horizontal ("landscape") to vertical ("portrait"), as well as an increase in the amount and variety of the illumination, which was undoubtedly easier and therefore cheaper to execute on the new medium. The reverence universally accorded to the Qurʾān meant that calligraphers and illuminators used the finest materials for their work, and many Qurʾān manuscripts made in later centuries contain superb illumination, reckoning them among the finest works of art ever produced in the Islamic lands. Western scholars, accustomed to paying more attention to images than words or nonrepresentational decoration, however, have often neglected the study of qurʾānic illumination and decoration, and it is only in recent years that scholars, both Muslim and non-Muslim, have begun to address the subject with the care it deserves. Such careful study may help to localize and date particular manuscripts as well as to reveal how manuscripts of the Qurʾān were actually read and used.

Ornament was used in manuscripts of the Qurʾān to separate individual verses *(āyāt),* groups of verses, chapters (*sūra*s) and divisions such as sevenths and thirtieths which allowed the text to be read over the course of a week or a month. As these divisions, as well as the titles of the sūras (see SŪRA), were not considered to be part of the revealed text, they were almost always differentiated in some way, whether by size, script, color, or illumination. Ornament was also used to frame and enclose the full text or individual volumes of it with decorative frontispieces and finispieces. In addition, volumes were protected by bindings of leather and pasteboard which themselves could be ornamented with tooling, stamping, gilding, and other fancy techniques. In later copies of the Qurʾān, similar or complementary designs were used on the pages and the binding, but as few, if any, early manuscripts of the Qurʾān have survived attached to their original bindings, it is still impossible to discuss the relationships between the decoration of text and binding in the early period.

Given these problems of establishing the chronology of early Qurʾān manuscripts, the following article is arranged typologically according to the size of the division marked by the ornament. It does not consider the variously colored dots found in early manuscripts of the Qurʾān; although they may appear decorative, they were used to indicate vocalization of the text (Dutton, Red dots [parts I and II]). This discussion moves from smallest to largest, beginning with markers used to separate verses (q.v.) and culminating in full and double pages of illumination with and without text. Within each section, examples are generally presented chronologically. A final section investigates the growing division of labor that accompanied the increased decoration of the qurʾānic text. For a discussion of the modern printed Qurʾān, however, see PRINTING OF THE QURʾĀN.

Verse markers and marginal ornaments

The division of the qurʾānic text into 114 sūras with approximately 6200 verses is very old and the subject of occasional disagreement, principally on the placing of divisions between the verses, not on the contents of the text or the order of the verses themselves (see CODICES OF THE QURʾĀN), which is generally thought to have been established during the reign of the caliph ʿUthmān (q.v.; r. 644-56; see also COLLECTION OF THE QURʾĀN). Division into verses is marked by the occurrence of rhyme or assonance (see RHYMED PROSE; FORM AND STRUCTURE OF THE QURʾĀN; LANGUAGE AND STYLE OF THE QURʾĀN); differences occur because of variants in reading (see READINGS OF THE QURʾĀN) and decisions about whether or not a particular rhyme marks the end of a verse. Another divergence occurs over whether or not the *basmala* (q.v.) is counted as a verse. The publication of the standard Egyptian edition of the Qurʾān in 1924 under the aegis of al-Azhar has provided a standard numbering system that is used by many scholars today. The divisions found in medieval manuscripts, therefore, do not necessarily correspond to those used at the present time, and it is possible that a close study of the variations of the verse markings used in different copies might help to establish localizations and chronologies for particular groups of manuscripts.

As calligraphers writing in the early Kūfic scripts did not generally differentiate between the internal spaces between the unconnected letters of a single word and the spaces between different words, let alone between sentences, division between verses might be indicated by something as simple as a series of diagonal slashes made by the calligrapher after writing the last word of a verse or by a gold circle or pyramid of three or six circles added by the calligrapher or someone else after the entire page had been copied. The celebrated calligrapher Ibn al-Bawwāb (d. 413/1022) discreetly marked the end of verses with three small dots in the copy of the Qurʾān he penned in the rounded *naskh* script in 391/1000-1, but did not otherwise interrupt the flow of his writing (Rice, *Unique Ibn al-Bawwāb manuscript*). Several centuries later, the Baghdādī calligrapher Yāqūt al-Mustaʿṣimī (fl. seventh/thirteenth cent.) typically used gold rosettes punctuated with blue dots to separate individual verses, and this style was later adopted by many calligraphers in Mamlūk Egypt, Ottoman Turkey, and elsewhere. Sometimes calligraphers left spaces for these verse markers; sometimes they wrote the text in an unbroken line, returning to add the verse markers above the line of script. A gold marker, whether a single rosette or a pyramid of circles, eventually became the standard indicator of the end of an individual verse.

To make it easier for a reader to locate a particular verse, especially in the longer chapters with hundreds of verses, calligraphers normally marked groups of five and ten verses. The standard marker for five verses was a teardrop shape, derived from the Arabic letter *hāʾ,* the alphanumeric *(abjad)* symbol for "five" (see NUMEROLOGY). As the alphanumeric symbol for "ten" — the letter *yāʾ* — would have been visually inappropriate, the standard marker for ten verses was a circle, often inscribed with the appropriate alphanumeric symbol for the decade (e.g. *sīn* for sixty). Since the alphanumeric system used in the Islamic west differed slightly from that used in the central and eastern lands, the way these systems count tens of verses can be an important means to distinguish manuscripts produced in the different regions. For example, the famous "Blue Qurʾān," written in gold on blue-dyed parchment, was once routinely attributed to ʿAbbāsid Merv and Persia. The manuscript, however, uses the western system of alphanumeric counting, where sixty is indicated by the letter *ṣād,* making an attribution to Qayrawān in Tunisia or elsewhere in the Maghrib much more likely (Bloom, Al-Maʾmun's Blue Koran).

To further facilitate finding one's place in the text, illuminators normally placed larger markers for groups of five and ten verses in the outer margin of the page at a place corresponding to where the group of verses ended in the text. Sometimes these markers repeat the teardrop or circular shape of the ornament found in the text; sometimes they stand in place of it. The teardrop shape is typically inscribed with the word *khams* (five), whereas the circular motif corresponding to the decades is normally inscribed with the number spelled out (e.g. *sittīn,* "sixty"). Sūras with many short verses, typically those revealed earlier in Mecca (q.v.), can require as many as six or seven marginal devices on a single page, thereby leading the illuminator to fill the outer margin with an alternation of oval and circular decorative motifs (e.g. Afarvand, *Gulchīnī,* 50).

Calligraphers and illuminators also came to use the outer margins to display other kinds of information, such as places in the text when bowing of the head *(rukūʿ)* or prostration *(sajda)* is indicated (see BOWING AND PROSTRATION; RECITATION OF THE QURʾĀN). Marginal notations were also employed to indicate division of the text into thirtieths *(juzʾ/ajzāʾ;* Pers. *sīpāra),* sevenths *(subʿ/asbāʿ)* and sixtieths *(ḥizb/aḥzāb),* which facilitated reading over the course of a month or a week. Such marginal notations do not appear in the earliest manuscripts of the Qurʾān, but became increasingly common from the fourth/tenth century onwards. For example, a manuscript of the Qurʾān made at Palermo in 372/982-3 has marginal ornaments outlined in black ink with red or green paint showing divisions into thirtieths, tenths, ninths, sevenths, and fifths (see Fig. 11). The *sajda*s are similar in form, but are written in gold; and the sixtieths are indicated by a circle containing the word *ḥizb* written in gold between two vegetal motifs against a red-hatched ground (Déroche, *Abbasid tradition,* no. 81). One fifth/eleventh-century scholar considered *sajda*-markings irreverent additions to the holy text, a clear indication that they had become common by his time (Rice, *Unique Ibn al-Bawwāb manuscript,* 17 n. 1).

Another use for the margin was to allow the calligrapher to correct mistakes he had made in transcription. For example, when copying folio 137b of his Qurʾān manuscript, Ibn al-Bawwāb inadvertently left out the hundreth verse of sūra 17. When he discovered his mistake, he corrected the omission by adding the missing verse in a rectangular *tabula ansata* in the margin. To

show the reader where to insert the missing verse, the calligrapher added a gold rosette in the space he had left for the circular marker he normally used to indicate the end of ten verses (Rice, *Unique Ibn al-Bawwāb manuscript,* 13 and pl. VIIIb). Similarly, after Yāqūt al-Mustaʿṣimī had inadvertently omitted the word *nutfa* (sperm) from Q 23:13 in a manuscript he completed in Jumādā I 685/June-July 1286, he added the missing word vertically in the inner margin, with a little arrow in the text showing where it should be inserted. When the manuscript was ruled, the outer bands had to be interrupted to enclose the missing word (Afarvand, *Gulchīnī,* 50).

Chapter divisions

There was great variation in the way illuminators could separate one chapter, or sūra, from another. The simplest was just to leave a blank line, but more often illuminators added vegetal or geometric decoration (illumination) and/or information about either the following or the preceding sūra. This information normally would include the sūra title, the number of verses in it, the place where it was revealed (either Mecca or Medina), the chronology, or a combination of any of these (Déroche, *Abbasid tradition,* 23). To call attention to this information, illuminators often wrote it in another color, typically gold, enclosed it in a box, and extended it into the outer margin with a palmette. The Palermo Qurʾān manuscript mentioned above has sūra titles in gold with no further ornament, but Ibn al-Bawwāb's manuscript has elaborate titles in rectangular frames with fantastic palmettes sprouting into the outer margin (see Fig. IV). His style was continued by Yāqūt and many later calligraphers. The palmette extending into the margin, which is already found in many manuscripts of the Qurʾān written in kūfīc script, served to indicate where a new chapter began without requiring the reader fully to open the book. This reader-friendly feature undoubtedly explains why this archaic motif persisted for many centuries.

At the end of the qurʾānic text, where the chapters are short, there might be as many as five or six chapter divisions on a double-page spread in a manuscript with many lines of writing on each page. This concentration of ornament could threaten visually to overwhelm the text, but a skilled artist adjusted his decorative scheme to escape such pitfalls. To avoid cluttering the pages at the end of his Qurʾān manuscript, Ibn al-Bawwāb, for example, did not frame his chapter titles as he had done elsewhere, but left them plain (James, *Qurʾāns and bindings,* no. 18).

Titles are normally written at the beginning of a sūra, but sometimes they were placed at the end. This was the case with a celebrated five-volume manuscript endowed to the Almohad mosque of the Qaṣba in Tunis during the reign of the Ḥafṣid sultan Abū Fāris in Ramaḍān 807/March 1405. The text was copied in silver ink on purple paper, but the chapter titles were written afterwards at the end of the chapter in gold ink with gold rosettes in the margins. In some cases, the calligrapher did not leave enough space for the full text of the title, and he had to squeeze it into the available space (Déroche, *Les manuscrits du coran. Du Maghrib à l'Insulinde,* nos. 305-308).

Fully-decorated text pages

To enhance further the visual qualities of the text page, calligraphers and illuminators increasingly enclosed the text block on each page within a decorative frame. By doing so, they vastly increased the labor and cost of production, especially on multi-volume manuscripts with five or seven lines of text per page that might run to many thousands of folios. The typical

frame comprised a series of lines of varying width and color — usually black, blue, and gold — ruled around the text block after it had been written. Such frames become relatively common in Persian, Turkish, and Indian manuscripts made from the seventh/thirteenth century onwards, but they are not normally found in early Kūfic manuscripts of the Qurʾān. One notable exception is a unique chrysographic (written in gold) manuscript in two volumes, most of which is in the Nuruosmaniye Library, Istanbul (see Fig. III). Each parchment page is framed with a decorative band of white fillets enclosing gold, green, and red dots; the outer margin of each page has a fantastic winged palmette sprouting golden pine cones and pomegranates (Déroche, *Abbasid tradition,* no. 41).

Equally unusual is the decorative treatment found in a dispersed manuscript on paper often known as the Qarmathian Qurʾān, conventionally dated to sixth/twelfth-century Iran. Each text page has four lines of an extremely attenuated form of the distinctive script variously known as Qarmathian, eastern Kūfic, New Style, or *warraq* enclosed within a rectangular frame from which half-palmettes extend from the corners into the outer margins (see Fig. V). The letters of the text are themselves enclosed in reserve panels, and the remaining surface of the text block is entirely filled with spiraling vegetal arabesques traced in pale ink. Each double spread is worked in matching colors, indicating that the manuscript was meant to be seen as a succession of double-page spreads. The production of the 4500 pages that this thirty-volume manuscript originally contained would have been an extraordinarily time-consuming and expensive undertaking in which the decoration was virtually as important as the calligraphy itself (Saint-Laurent, Identification).

Rulings and other forms of decoration were sometimes added to earlier manuscripts that were deemed too plain for later taste. For example, at some indeterminate date the Kūfic letters on an undecorated parchment page in Washington, DC (Freer Gallery of Art, 45.16) were enclosed by reserve panels and the background tinted blue (Atıl, *Art of the Arab world,* no. 2). At the same time, spurious attributions to famous figures in Islamic history, such as ʿUthmān or ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib (q.v.), were often added. The Ottomans, whose libraries contained an enormous quantity of earlier manuscripts transcribed by master calligraphers across the Islamic lands, often added decoration in the current Ottoman taste. For example, in 962/1554-5 the noted illuminator Qarā Memi sumptuously decorated a manuscript that had been copied by the Īlkhānid calligrapher ʿAbdallāh Ṣayrafī in 745/1344-5; the manuscript was also rebound at this time for the treasury of the Ottoman vizier Rüstem Pasha (Atıl, *The age of Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent,* no. 14).

From an early date, full pages of decoration were typically found at the beginning and the end of manuscripts of the Qurʾān. In particular, the opening double page containing Sūrat al-Fātiḥa ("The Opening," Q 1; see FĀTIḤA) and the first verses of Sūrat al-Baqara ("The Cow," Q 2) gave artists opportunities to display their mastery of many different types of decoration. Because the outer pages of a volume are more subject to wear and disintegration, they are the ones most often lost from early manuscripts. One rare survival, found in the Great Mosque of Ṣanʿāʾ, shows the Fātiḥa (with no title) enclosed in a broad multicolored frame with hatching between solid bands (see Fig. I of FĀTIḤA). One may imagine that the facing page in this manuscript would have contained the first verses of Q 2 in a similar frame. Writing in his small *naskh* script, Ibn al-Bawwāb found

that the Fātiḥa occupied only four lines, so his opening page also contains the first six verses of chapter 2 (see Fig. IV), which is continued on the facing page. To balance the copious ornament on the right-hand page, he expanded the marginal ornament on the left page. This arrangement seems to have become standard by the fifth/eleventh century (i.e. see Fig. II of FĀTIḤA).

In an attempt to create increasingly impressive opening pages, calligraphers from the ninth/fifteenth century onwards either spread the short text of the Fātiḥa over both opening pages (see Figs. IV A and B of FĀTIḤA) or put the Fātiḥa on the right-hand page and a corresponding number of verses from the beginning of Q 2 on the left-hand one. In either case the illuminator surrounded the small text blocks with large and elaborate frames of vegetal and geometric decoration, containing cartouches inscribed with such information as the title, verse count, and place of revelation. By the tenth/sixteenth century these decorative frames came to overwhelm the text itself, which might be inscribed in lobed oval cartouches worked into the overall decorative composition (see Figs. VI A and B).

One of the most magnificent examples of Ottoman illumination is the frontispiece to a manuscript transcribed by Aḥmad Qarāḥiṣārī in 953/1546-7 for Sultan Süleymān the Magnificent. The calligrapher and the illuminator, Qarā Memi, worked together closely, for the first and last lines on each page of the opening double page have been written not in the small *naskh* used for the rest of the text but in a majestic *thuluth* that frames the small text block. In addition to traditional motifs such as arabesques and cloud-bands, the illumination also contains naturalistic plants and flowers that revolutionized the decorative vocabulary of the age. In addition, the entire book was bound in cloth of silver over a pasteboard core and decorated with gold plaques inlaid with rubies, turquoises, and pearls, making it one of the most sumptuous copies of the Qurʾān to have survived (Atıl, *The age of Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent,* no. 9).

This was a unique manuscript commissioned by a royal patron, but such elaborate opening pages became the norm, even for commercial production. In Iran, the city of Shīrāz emerged as a center for the mass-production of manuscripts with elaborate frontispieces; to speed up production, the basic decoration was done with a template and the calligraphy and finer details added by hand (Bloom and Blair, *Islamic arts,* 337).

Decorative pages

Another way that manuscripts of the Qurʾān could be decorated was to add frontispieces and finispieces, or purely decorative pages set at the beginning and end of the text or of individual volumes. The thickness of the parchment used in early manuscripts and the few lines written on a single page of a large luxury manuscript meant that many early Kūfic copies of the Qurʾān, particularly those in a horizontal format, were produced as multi-volume sets, typically containing as many as thirty or sixty volumes. Each volume probably had a decorative double-page frontispiece, to judge from the many full pages of illumination found in museum collections around the world. The horizontal format of the codex led illuminators to decorate their pages with rectangles filled with strapwork ornament executed in gold and color, typically with an elaborate palmette projecting into the outer margin. These strapwork patterns are comparable to those found on early bookbindings from the Great Mosque of Qayrawān (Marçais and Poinssot, *Objets kairouanais*) and Ṣanʿāʾ (Dreibholz, Some aspects).

In addition to the many frontispieces with geometric decoration, there is one representational example known: an extraordinary, but very fragmentary, double frontispiece discovered in the Great Mosque of Ṣanʿāʾ (see Fig. 1). It depicts two buildings with arcades and hanging lamps that are generally accepted to represent mosques. As the date and provenance of these pages remain a matter of lively scholarly debate, it is difficult, if not impossible, to draw further conclusions about what mosques, if any specific ones, these images are meant to represent, although it has been commonly assumed that they are meant to represent either Mecca (q.v.) and Medina (q.v.) or Medina and Damascus (von Bothmer, Architekturbilder im Koran; see also AQṢĀ MOSQUE).

With the shift to vertical-format manuscripts on paper, full pages of non-representational geometric decoration, often known as "carpet" pages, began to proliferate. Ibn al-Bawwāb provided his manuscript with two sets of such pages, one before the beginning of the text (fols. 8b-9a) and the other after the end (fols. 284b-285a). Both are based on strapwork designs of intersecting circles. The apparent simplicity of the designs is belied by the complexity of the execution, making them early masterpieces of the illuminator's art. In addition to these non-representational pages, Ibn al-Bawwāb provided his manuscript with several other sets of double frontispieces and finispieces with text specifying the numbers of elements — chapters, verses, words, letters, diacritical marks, etc. — according to the particular reading (that of the Kūfans following ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib) adopted in the manuscript. The words have been written in various decorative scripts and enclosed within elaborate arabesque frames.

Perhaps the greatest examples of the illuminator's art are found in the large-scale multi-volume manuscripts produced for the Īlkhānids and Mamlūks in the eighth/fourteenth century. In the frontispieces to these manuscripts, the space normally occupied by the text block is filled with a geometric strapwork pattern, often generated from a central star polygon. The interstices between the strapwork bands are filled with exquisite arabesques, typically worked in gold and ultramarine blue, the whole enclosed by an arabesque frame with palmettes projecting into the outer margins. In their complexity and subtlety these magnificent double pages represent the epitome of Islamic illumination. The combination of gold and ultramarine blue remained perennially popular for illumination, ranging from verse markers and chapter titles to full pages. This choice is not surprising since these two pigments were the most expensive in the artists' palette and signified the reverence in which illuminators — and their patrons — held the holy scripture.

Because of the rectangular format of the page, Īlkhānid and Mamlūk illuminators were often led to divide the rectangular field into a central square field (which was easier to fill with a star motif) sandwiched between horizontal bands above and below. Sometimes the central motif was inscribed with an appropriate qurʾānic verse, such as Q 41:42 ("It is sent down by one full of wisdom worthy of all praise"), as on a manuscript illuminated by Abū Bakr, who was known as Ṣandal, in the opening years of the eighth/fourteenth century (James, *Qurʾāns and bindings,* no. 25). In other manuscripts a larger selection (e.g. Q 56:77-80 or Q 26:192-7) might also be written in the four bands across the top and bottom of the opening double pages. By contrast, in the Maghrib where square-format parchment manuscripts of the Qurʾān remained

popular for centuries, a distinctive form of carpet page decoration developed, with a square field enclosing overall strapwork patterns, often reserved in white against a gold ground.

In other types of books, the opening folio (1a) might contain a rosette with the title of the work, the name of the author, or the name of the patron who commissioned the manuscript, but, as the Qurʾān does not have a title, calligraphers and illuminators had to find other solutions. One was to inscribe the opening rosette with an appropriate qurʾānic citation such as Q 56:79: "Which none shall touch except those who are clean" (see CLEANLINESS AND ABLUTION; RITUAL PURITY). For example, Q 56:79 was inscribed in a rosette on the recto of the first folio of a multi-volume manuscript made at Marāgha in 738/1338 (James, *Qurʾāns and bindings,* no. 47). On other manuscripts the central rosette was inscribed with Q 17:88: "If the whole of mankind and the jinn (q.v.) were to gather together, they could not produce the like of this Qurʾān…" (Déroche, *Manuel de codicologie des manuscrits en écriture arabe,* 255).

Calligraphers and illuminators

In early times the illuminator and calligrapher may have been one and the same person. Ibn al-Bawwāb, for example, not only copied his manuscript but was also responsible for the fine and extensive program of illumination. We know this because he sometimes used the same tools (a pen, not a brush) and materials (ink, not color) for the illumination that he had used for the calligraphy. As manuscripts became increasingly large and complex, however, there was a corresponding division of labor between calligrapher and illuminator, and illumination became a distinct specialty, itself eventually divided into subspecialties such as outlining or gilding. One of the first known instances of an illuminator signing his work is found in a Qurʾān manuscript made at Bust (now in Afghanistan) in 505/1111-12 (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, BNF Arabe 6041). A certain ʿAlī b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān signed his work in the middle of the gold strapwork decoration on the final page above the colophon bearing the signature of the calligrapher, ʿUthmān b. Muḥammad (Lemaistre, *Splendeur,* no. 36). By Īlkhānid and Mamlūk times the division of labor had become even greater, a development that is no surprise considering the size and magnificence of the finest manuscripts. For example, in the seven-volume manuscript copied by Muḥammad b. al-Waḥīd for the Mamlūk emir (later sultan) Baybars al-Jashankīr in 704-5/1304-6, three separate artists worked on the decoration. Two masters — Abū Bakr, known as Ṣandal, and Muḥammad b. Mubādir — did the illumination *(tadhhīb),* and a third — Aydughdī b. ʿAbdallāh al-Badrī — did the outlining *(zammaka)*. Colophons and signatures clearly show that there was a hierarchy in these positions, for in a manuscript completed a decade later on 27 Ramaḍān 713/15 January 1314 for the Mamlūk sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad by the Ayyūbid prince and calligrapher Shādhī, Aydughdī had been promoted to illuminator and was himself assisted by the "left-handed draughtsman," ʿAlī b. Muḥammad (James, *Qurʾāns of the Mamlūks,* nos. 1 and 6).

Īlkhānid calligraphers and illuminators typically worked in steady teams. Aḥmad al-Suhrawardī, for example, was repeatedly paired with the illuminator Muḥammad b. Aybak b. ʿAbdallāh, and the calligrapher Arghūn al-Kāmilī worked with the designer *(naqqāsh)* Muḥammad b. Sayf al-Dīn. These teams typically worked on the multi-volume manuscripts from beginning to end. Aḥmad al-Suhrawardī

and Muḥammad b. Aybak, for example, worked in this way on the thirty-volume "anonymous Baghdād" Qurʾān (now dispersed; see Fig. VII), the former doing the copying first and the latter then illuminating the text. The dated colophons indicate that there was some overlap, for the calligrapher was completing the writing of the last volumes when the illuminator began decorating the first ones. The calligrapher worked twice as fast as did the illuminator: transcribing a *juzʿ* took a month and a half, while illuminating it took slightly less than three months. In total, it took seven years (701-7/1301-8) to produce the thirty-volume large-format manuscript (James, *Qurʾāns of the Mamlūks,* no. 39).

Few later patrons had the wealth or inclination to commission such splendid copies of the Qurʾān, so later examples are more often smaller and copied in fewer volumes with illumination concentrated in only a few places. Nevertheless, wealthy segments of society always desired fine copies of the Qurʾān, and several centers of commercial production emerged. A tenth/sixteenth-century visitor to Shīrāz, for example, described commercial production there, in which small family businesses employing fathers, sons, and even daughters as scribes, illuminators, and binders, produced a thousand books a year. Most of the artists were anonymous, but the biography of one famous calligrapher-illuminator, Rūzbihān Muḥammad, can be established. Having learned his art from his father, a calligrapher, and his grandfather, an illuminator, Rūzbihān had a long career spanning some thirty-five years, 920-54/1514-47. Similarly, from the twelfth/eighteenth century onwards, the town of Shumen in Bulgaria became a center for the almost-industrial production of elaborately decorated manuscripts of the Qurʾān, a cottage industry that ended only with the advent of commercial lithography in the late thirteenth/nineteenth century (Stanley, Shumen).

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Orphans

Children (q.v.) who have lost their parents, generally to death. *Yatīm (*pl. *yatāmā),* a term designating a fatherless minor child (al-Rāghib al-Iṣfahānī, *Mufradāt; Lisān al-ʿArab,* s.v.), appears throughout the Qurʾān more than twenty times. Early verses from the first Meccan period (see CHRONOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN), celebrating God's providence towards the orphan Muḥammad (Q 93:6), warn against oppressing orphans as such (Q 93:9) and identify those who turn away the orphan as unbelievers (Q 107:2; see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF). Later verses from the same period rebuke the unbelievers for not honoring the orphan (Q 89:17), exhort them to feed "on a day of famine (q.v.) an orphan of kin…" (Q 90:14-5; see KINSHIP) and refer to the reward reserved in the hereafter (see REWARD AND PUNISHMENT; ESCHATOLOGY) for believers who "give food for the love of him [i.e. God] to the poor (see POVERTY AND THE POOR), the orphan and the prisoner" (Q 76:8-9; see PRISONERS). These exhortations (q.v.) can be seen not only as a reaction against the injustice (see JUSTICE AND INJUSTICE) and violence to which widows (see WIDOW) and orphans were subjected by the Meccans (Roberts, *Social laws,* 44) but also as aimed at strengthening unity among the Muslim converts in the face of a growing threat from outside as well as from within the group (O'Shaughnessy, Qurʾānic view, 37; see OPPOSITION TO MUḤAMMAD; COMMUNITY AND SOCIETY IN THE QURʾĀN).

Rules concerning the fair and just way Muslims, who serve as guardians of orphans, should deal with their property (q.v.) are laid down by verses from the second and third Meccan periods (see ETHICS AND THE QURʾĀN). Fair treatment of orphans ranks as one of the primary moral obligations for Muslims (Q 17:34; 6:152; see Azhary-Sonbol, Adoption, 55). An example for the right treatment of orphans' wealth (q.v.; in the spirit of the abovementioned verses) where God himself serves as the guardian, can be read in the narration of God's servant (al-Khiḍr, according to Qurʾān commentaries) who, as one of his enigmatic acts, sets up a wall about to fall down, explaining that "it belonged to two orphan youths… and under it was a treasure belonging to them… and your lord (q.v.) wished that they should reach full age, and bring forth for themselves their treasure as a mercy (q.v.) from your lord" (Q 18:77, 82; see KHAḌIR/KHIḌR; MYTHS AND LEGENDS IN THE QURʾĀN).

In the early Medinan period, probably against the background of the battles of Badr (q.v.) and Uḥud which left large numbers of Muslim children orphaned (O'Shaughnessy, Qurʾānic view, 35, 37; Azhary-Sonbol, Adoption, 55; see EXPEDITIONS AND BATTLES), the Qurʾān reemphasizes, as part of the religious duties of Muslims, the importance of deeds of beneficence towards the orphan (e.g. Q 2:83, 177; 4:36; cf. *Exod* 22:21-3; *Deut* 24:17; 27:19; for comparison with Christian sources see O'Shaughnessy, Qurʾānic view,

36 n. 16) and encourages the believers to extend practical help to orphans by contributing to their welfare (Q 2:215) and by providing for them when inheritances and spoils are divided (Q 4:8; 8:41; see INHERITANCE; BOOTY). It also warns "those who consume the property of orphans wrongfully" that they will be punished in the hereafter with "fire (q.v.) in their own bellies" (Q 4:10; see HELL AND HELLFIRE) and gives guardians concrete instructions on how to handle the affairs of fatherless children and particularly how to protect their wealth and property rights (Q 2:220; 4:2, 6; Q 4:5 may also be understood as referring to orphans; see Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* ad loc.). Two Medinan verses (Q 4:3, 127, the latter explicitly) connect the treatment of orphans with the marriage of guardians (see Watt, *Medina,* 276, 281; id., *Prophet and statesman,* 154; Azhary-Sonbol, Adoption, 56; see MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE). The just treatment of orphans, a motif which receives much attention in the Qurʾān, has had a long-term impact on later Islamic ethics, law and practice (Chaumont and Shaham, Yatīm; Roberts, *Social laws,* 42-3; Azhary-Sonbol, Adoption, 55-7). See GUARDIANSHIP for a further discussion of the qurʾānic provisions for the protection of orphans.

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Orthography

Lit. "correct writing," it has a three-fold nuance: a) the art of writing words with the proper letters, according to standard usage; b) correct spelling, or, alternatively, mode of spelling; c) grammar treating of letters and spelling. The history of the formation of a "standard" qurʾānic orthography is the focus of this article; the particularities of qurʾānic spelling, letters and grammar are treated in greater detail elsewhere (see ARABIC SCRIPT; ARABIC LANGUAGE; GRAMMAR AND THE QURʾĀN; LANGUAGE AND STYLE OF THE QURʾĀN; INIMITABILITY; MYSTERIOUS LETTERS). The orthography of the Qurʾān — as a system of rules ensuring the uniformity of the text's written transmission — underwent several stages of development. Its history is inextricably bound with that of Arabic grammar and the traditional disciplines of qurʾānic study (q.v.; *ʿulūm al-Qurʾān*), primarily those of the readings of the Qurʾān (q.v.; *ʿilm al-qirāʾāt)* and the recitation of the Qurʾān (q.v.; *ʿilm al-tajwīd*), as well as the most important events that affected the Muslim community and the caliphate.

Muḥammad left no fixed text of the revelation (see MUṢḤAF), and Arabic writing at that time conveyed only consonants (see CALLIGRAPHY). Furthermore, the script was ambiguous, as the same sign could indicate several letters. Memorization remained the main method of preserving the sacred text (see MEMORY). The sources have retained traces of resolute opposition to the very idea of a written record of the text as doomed to reproduce mistakes (see

ORALITY; ORALITY AND WRITING IN ARABIA). The characteristic features of this period, in which the Qurʾān existed in both written and oral form, determined the difficulties that Muslim authorities encountered as they developed rules for recording a uniform text of the Qurʾān. The text attested in early qurʾānic fragments served, indisputably, only as an aid for recitation from memory. In codifying the sacred text (see CODICES OF THE QURʾĀN; COLLECTION OF THE QURʾĀN), it was imperative for the Muslim community to complete several tasks: to develop a graphic form of the qurʾānic text *(rasm* or *khaṭṭ, kitāb, kitāba, kataba)* acceptable to all authorities; to introduce a system of diacritics *(ʿajm, iʿjām, naqṭ)* and vocalization *(shakl, ishkāl, tashkīl, ḥarakāt,* sometimes also *naqṭ)* and to establish a single vocal form *(ḍabṭ* or *lafẓ, nuṭq);* and to establish uniform rules for recitation *(qawāʿid al-qirāʾāt),* because even after the solution of the first two problems the possibility of ambiguity remained (see AMBIGUOUS).

In order to create a unified redaction of the qurʾānic text, it was imperative to investigate the basic grammar of Arabic and to develop an apparatus for the written representation of the text. In addition, political will and authority (q.v.) were needed (see POLITICS AND THE QURʾĀN). According to Muslim tradition, the political will and authority needed for the task were provided, initially, by the rightly-guided caliphs (see CALIPH): Abū Bakr (q.v.; *al-ṣuḥuf al-bakriyya*), ʿUmar, ʿUthmān (q.v.; *rasm ʿuthmānī*) and ʿAlī (see ʿALĪ B. ABĪ ṬĀLIB). Later, the initiative passed to two outstanding Iraqi governors, Ziyād b. Abīhi (d. 53/673) and al-Ḥajjāj (d. 95/714), and the protection of two influential *wazīr*s in the caliphate, Ibn Muqla (d. 329/940) and Ibn ʿĪsā (d. 335/946).

As consonantal roots in Arabic can be vocalized in diverse fashion, various systems developed in centers of Muslim scholarship, primarily the Iraqi cities of al-Kūfa and al-Baṣra. At that time, famed "readers" *(al-qurrāʾ)* were also famed grammarians, for example Ibn Abī Isḥāq al-Ḥaḍramī (d. 118/735-6) or Abū ʿAmr b. al-ʿAlāʾ (d. 154/770; see RECITERS OF THE QURʾĀN). The generation of the Prophet's grandchildren and great-grandchildren gradually succeeded in creating an elegant system of diacritics, which permitted a shift from a *scriptio defectiva* to a *scriptio plena*. A tradition insistently connects the first stage of this process with Abū l-Aswad al-Duʾalī (or al-Dīlī; d. 69/688). This man, from the circle around ʿAlī, is known as the founder of Arabic syntax *(ʿilm al-naḥw)*. Tradition connects Abū l-Aswad's work first with an initiative of ʿAlī and, later, with instructions from the noted Umayyad governor and sworn brother of Muʿāwiya (d. 60/680), Ziyād b. Abīhi, who ruled the entire eastern section of the caliphate.

The concrete individuals are less important than the way the tradition treats their roles, particularly those of ʿAlī and Ziyād b. Abīhi. The former must have understood the importance of furthering the unification of the qurʾānic text, both for the cause of Islam (q.v.) and for his own reputation. As for Ziyād, a faithful servant of the Umayyads famed for his intelligence and decisiveness, he was precisely the man to grasp, on the basis of state and dynastic interests, the imperative of continuing work on the text of the scripture. It is possible that, at this stage, the heart of the matter was the necessity of using already existing diacritical marks in copying the Qurʾān.

The tradition no less insistently foregrounds the role of another equally powerful, decisive and intelligent Umayyad governor, al-Ḥajjāj. He instructed his

clerks, Naṣr b. ʿĀṣim (d. 89/707) and Yaḥyā b. Yaʿmur (or Yaʿmar; d. 129/746), to complete the development of a system to designate long and short vowels as well as a number of additional elements in the writing system. It is important to note that this provoked opposition, especially in Medina (q.v.). Progress toward a *scriptio plena* threatened to reduce the influence of qurʾānic readers *(qurrāʾ),* who knew the text by heart and were recognized by society as the main bearers of the tradition.

The maturation of a writing system and the establishment of a grammatical system were largely completed by the end of the ninth century. At that time, Khalīl b. Aḥmad (d. 170/786-7 or 791) developed and introduced additional diacritical signs. His famous pupil Sībawayhi (d. ca. 189/796), the grammarians al-Aṣmaʿī (d. 213/828), Abū ʿUbayda (110-210/728-824-5), Abū Zayd al-Anṣārī (d. 215/830-1), pupils of the above-noted Abū ʿAmr b. al-ʿAlāʾ, and al-Farrāʾ (d. 207/822) created works which successfully codified the elements of language and established an orderly grammatical system. Sībawayhi's *Kitāb* contains an enormous number of qurʾānic examples. The grammar was created for the sake of the Qurʾān, but also relied upon it.

In the ninth century, the center of scholarly activity shifted to Baghdād, where the beginning of the tenth century witnessed several attempts to achieve a new level of unification in the qurʾānic text. The main role fell to Ibn Mujāhid (245-324/859-935), who worked in Baghdād and enjoyed the successive protection of two extremely influential grand *wazīr*s, Ibn Muqla and Ibn ʿĪsā. Ibn Mujāhid's work, *al-Qirāʾāt al-sabʿ,* pretended to near official status and established a system of permissible qurʾānic "readings." The system proposed in the work relied on the consonantal basis of the "ʿUthmānic version" and limited the number of variant vocalizations to seven; these belonged, correspondingly, to seven authorities of the eighth century. For each tradition, two slightly different variants *(al-riwāyāt)* were noted. All of them were acknowledged as equally lawful; the use of other variants *(al-ikhtiyār),* however, was forbidden. Although this system gradually became very widespread, others continued to exist. These were known as "three after seven" and "four after ten." In practice, however, only two of the systems noted by Ibn Mujāhid became widespread: the Kūfan, "*Ḥafṣ* (d. 246/860) *ʿan ʿĀṣim* (d. 127/744)," and, to a lesser degree, the Medinan, "*Warsh* (d. 197/812) *ʿan Nafiʿ* (d. 169/785)." The "battle of the readings" was accompanied by pointed polemics which, in sum, reflected serious ideological and political disagreements within the Islamic community.

Even after Ibn Mujāhid, however, it remained possible to understand the sacred text in more than one way. The system that had been developed did not provide for anything analogous to punctuation. The science of qurʾānic recitation *(ʿilm al-tajwīd),* which codifies the rules for reading the Qurʾān *(qawāʿid al-qirāʾāt),* provided a framework for solving the problem. The history of how the tradition of *ʿilm al-tajwīd* took shape, which is linked both to *ʿilm al-qirāʾāt* and the etiquette of reading, remains unwritten. It was closely tied to the mystical-ascetic movement in Islam later to be termed *al-taṣawwuf,* which emerged in the second half of the eighth and beginning of the ninth centuries (see ASCETICISM; ṢŪFISM AND THE QURʾĀN). Tradition holds that the first to write a special work on *ʿilm al-tajwīd* was a contemporary of Ibn Mujāhid, Mūsā b. ʿUbayd Allāh b. Khāqān al-Baghdādī (d. 325/936). The set of fifteen pausal signs employed by

qurʾānic readers went back to the detailed system developed and introduced by Khalīl b. Aḥmad. As the eighth book of al-Ghazālī's (d. 505/1111) *Iḥyāʾ ʿulūm al-dīn* indicates, by the twelfth century this system had already been worked out in detail and accepted by the community. The rules for reading the Qurʾān *(qawāʿid al-qirāʾāt)* described in detail questions of the assimilation and dissimilation of consonants, the influence of consonants on the pronunciation of the following vowel and the accentuation of phrases in accordance with meaning, etc. The placement of pauses *(waqf wa-ibtidāʾ)* was especially important, for pause indications fulfilled the role of punctuation, guaranteed the intelligibility of each verse's *(āya)* semantic content and bound them into a whole (see VERSES; FORM AND STRUCTURE OF THE QURʾĀN; SŪRA). Despite the complexity of the resulting system, it still serves only as a reminder and requires a thorough knowledge of the rules.

Although by the fifth/eleventh and sixth/twelfth centuries the basic problems involved in unifying the sacred text had been solved, centuries would be required to complete the process. Among the many events that took place during that time, we note two, which played a special role. In 1202/1787 the full Arabic text of the Qurʾān was printed for the first time in Russia (see PRINTING OF THE QURʾĀN). The edition differed in a basic fashion from European editions, primarily because it was Muslim in character: the text was prepared for printing by Mullah ʿUthmān Ismāʿīl. In 1216-7/1801-2 the St. Petersburg Arabic typeface was transferred to Kazan, where the Muslim printing press was opened, and where, beginning in 1217/1802, this text of the Qurʾān was published many times. The so-called "Kazan Qurʾāns," viewed as the first Muslim edition, spread widely in the East and were reproduced numerous times. It is possible that this edition played a decisive role in the centuries-long process of standardizing qurʾānic orthography.

The final stage of the work on the unification of the qurʾānic text is connected with the appearance in Cairo in 1342/1923-4 of a new edition of the text; it represents now the final step in canonizing the orthography, structure of the text and rules of reading. Drawn up by a special panel of Muslim scholars it was based on one of the "seven readings" *(Ḥafṣ ʿan ʿĀṣim)*. The members of the panel relied in their work not on an analysis of early manuscripts, but on contemporary Muslim works on the issue of "readings" *(al-qirāʾāt)* as well as on the living tradition of prominent Qurʾān reciters (Saʿīd, *Recited Koran*). This undoubtedly narrows the significance of the work. Nonetheless, the Egyptian edition, today accepted throughout the Muslim world, as well as by European scholars, represented a significant step forward. Together with the encyclopedia of qurʾānic readings (Kuwait, 1402-5/1982-5), it forms the nucleus of a critical edition. Still, the appearance of the Egyptian edition did not eliminate all other traditions of textual transmission. In the western Muslim world and in Zaydī Yemen, traditions remain which go back to a different transmitter of the text, Warsh. Today, publications of the Qurʾān in this transmission appear not only in North Africa but in Cairo and Riyadh as well.

Although an analysis of extant copies of the Qurʾān confirms the outline of the traditional history of qurʾānic orthography and the text in general, they also clearly demonstrate that new light may be shed on the current understanding of the history of the consolidation of the text of the Qurʾān (see MANUSCRIPTS OF THE QURʾĀN).

Qurʾānic fragments dated to the first/seventh — third/ninth centuries preserve a large number of mixed and transitional variants, whether one examines orthography, the numeration of verses *(āyas)* or known systems of variant readings. Either all of these variants and systems were artificial from the start, or they arose after the manuscripts of the early period were copied and reflect a higher level of uniformity and regularity in the copying of Qurʾāns.

The orthographic discrepancies preserved in the early manuscripts affect, for the most part, the writing of long vowels and the *hamza* (for examples of these orthographic discrepancies, see Rezvan, Qurʾān, 45-6 [Tables 11-13]). In the first place, one encounters the omission of *alif*s in various noun and verb forms. In many cases the *hamza* was conveyed where required by *alif, wāw* or *yāʾ* or simply omitted. Early qurʾānic manuscripts may preserve traces of discrepancies rooted in the morphological systems of the eastern and western Arabian dialectal groups. These manuscripts also display several vocalization systems based on the use of dots of various colors, as well as different systems of *tajwīd* marks which preceded those established in the fourth/tenth — sixth/twelfth centuries. Careful description and study of early manuscripts and the creation of a detailed data-base of early copies by paleographers, linguists and historians may furnish material for reconstructing the early history of qurʾānic orthography from a perspective different than that conveyed by the traditional accounts.

Efim Rezvan

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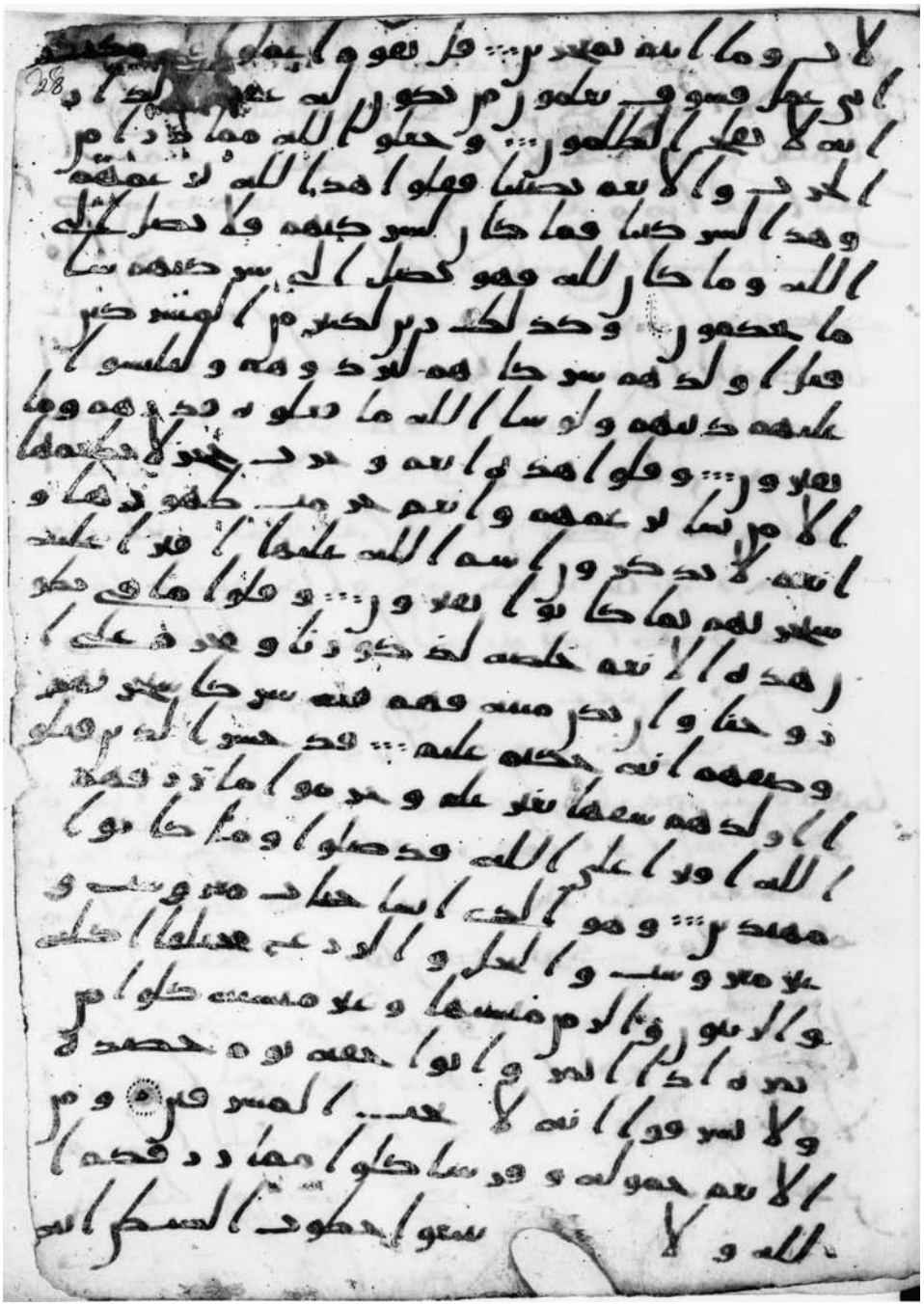
Ostentation

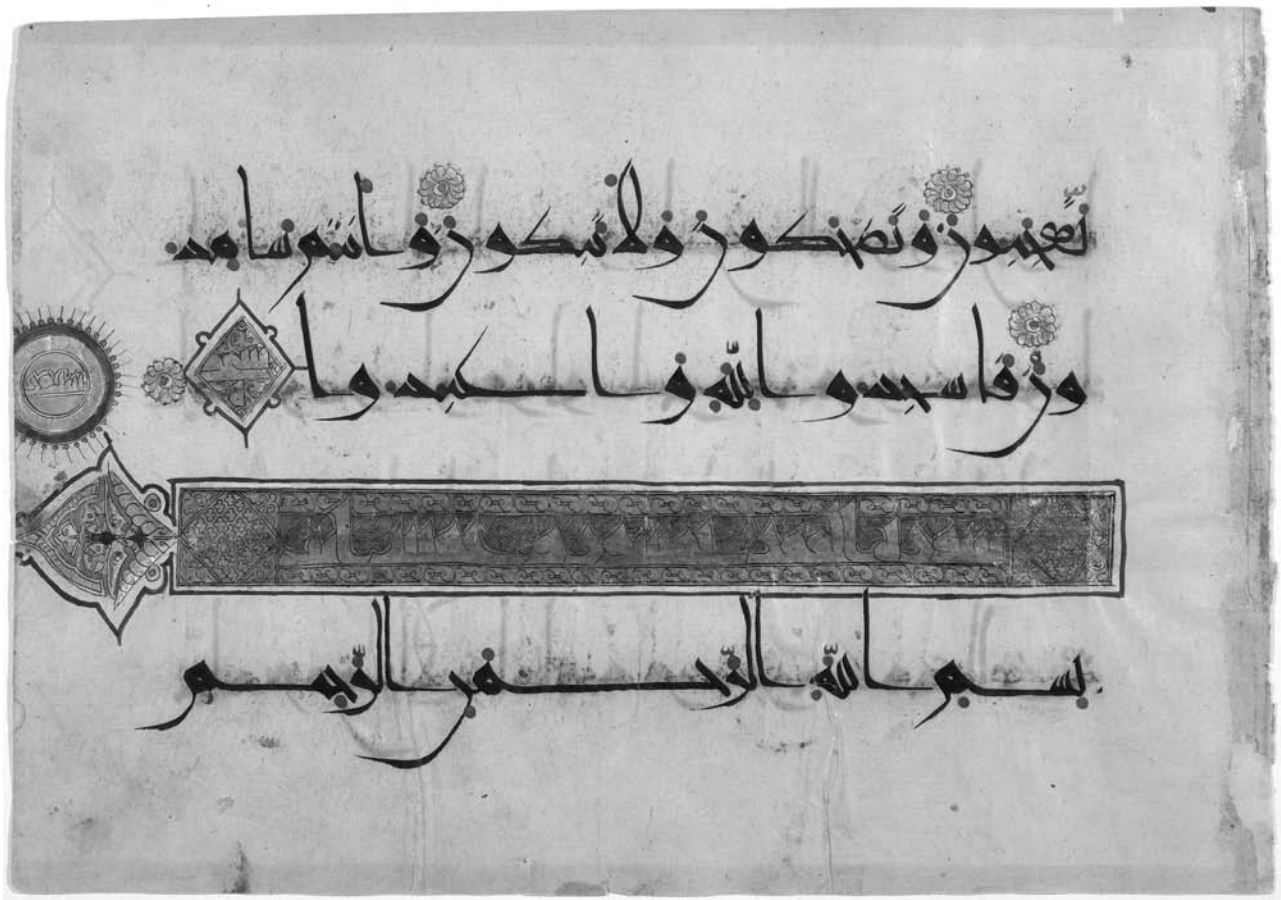
see AGE OF IGNORANCE

Oven

see INSTRUMENTS; HELL AND HELLFIRE; NOAH



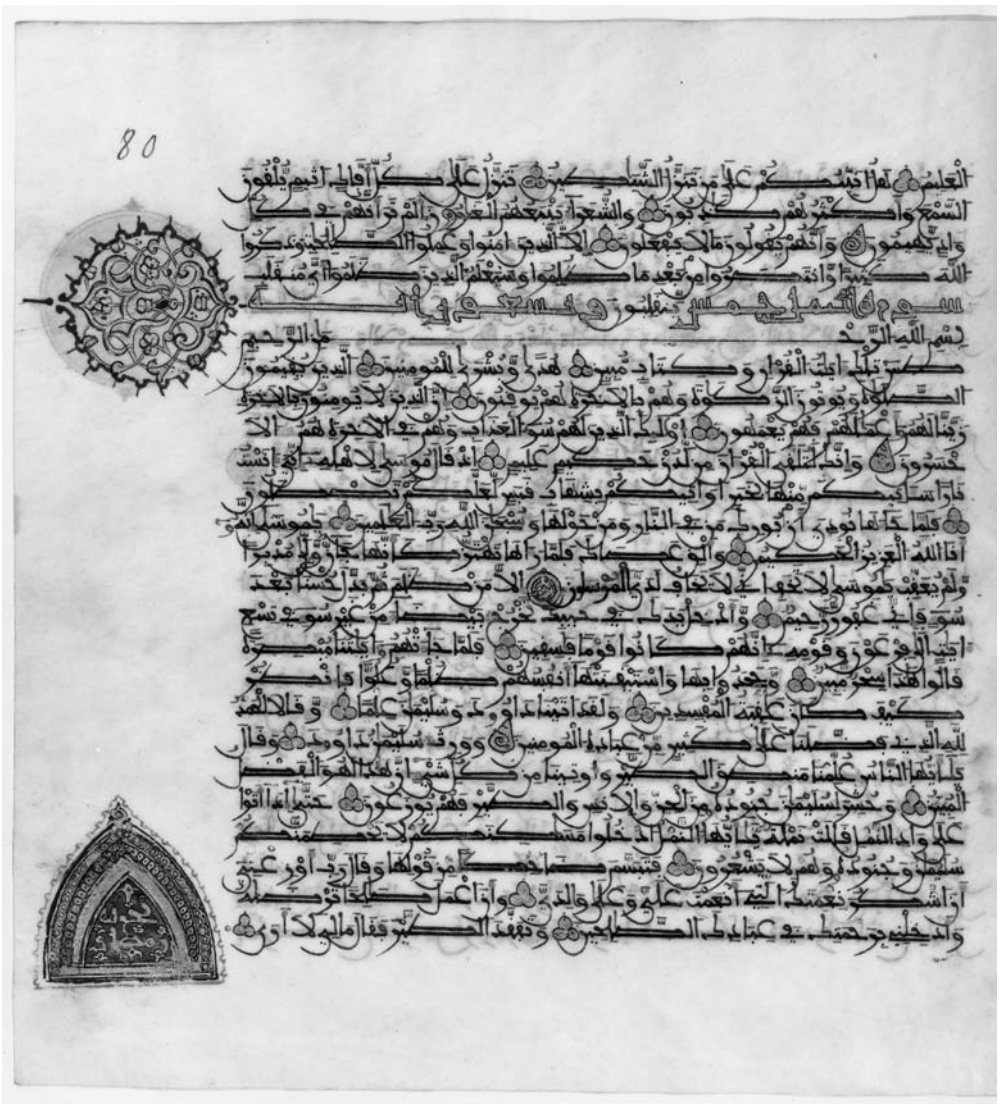
[1] Early Ḥijāzī qurʾānic codex (second half of the first/seventh century) on parchment containing Q 6:134-42. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris (BNF Arabe 328, f. 28a).



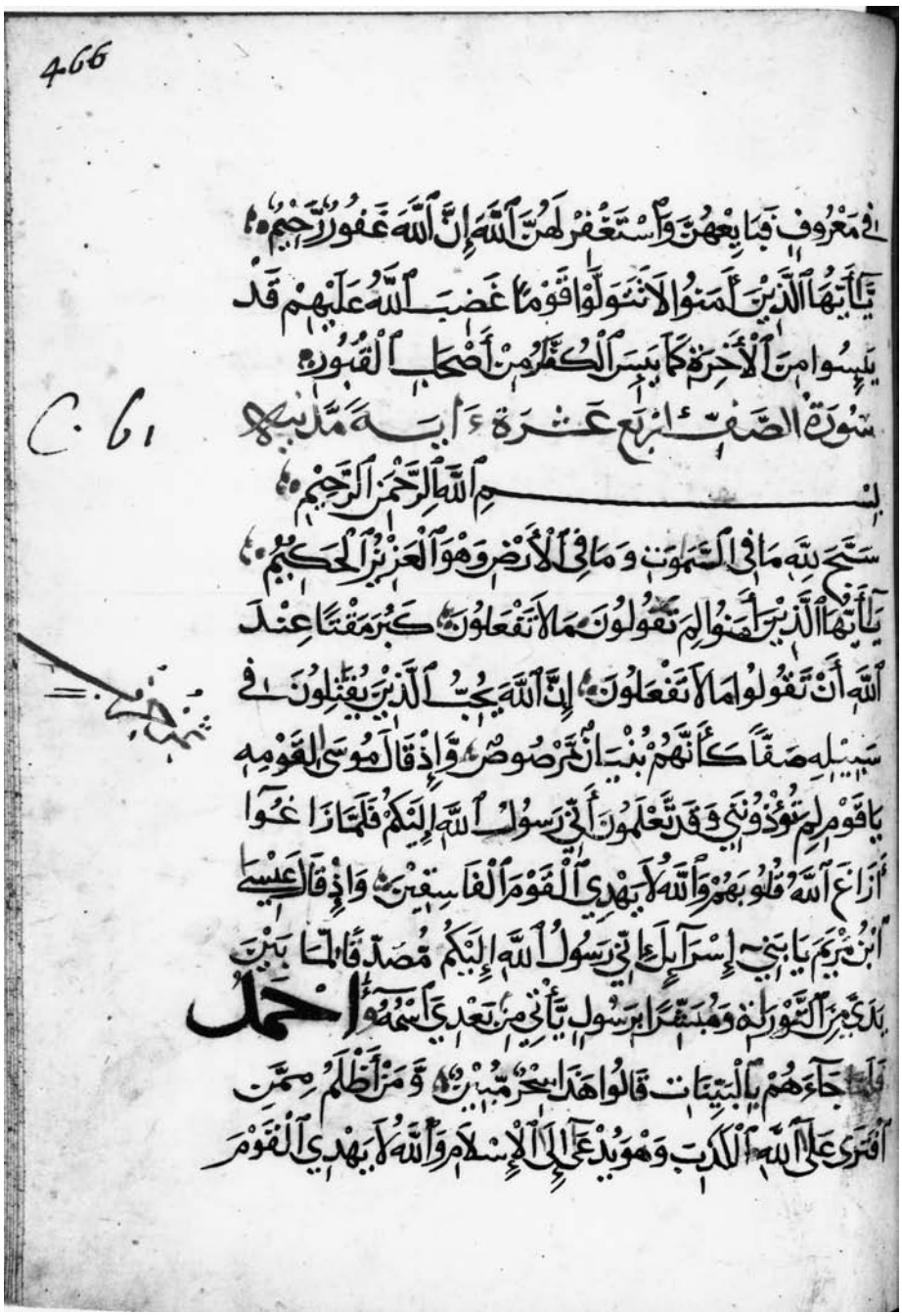
[II] Qur'ānic codex in New Style script (Iṣfahān, 383/993). Q 53:59-54:1 is shown here. Courtesy of The Nasser D. Khalili Collection of Islamic Art, London (KFQ 90r).

[III] Early qur'ānic manuscript in *naskh* script (dated 427/1036) exemplifying the degree of compactness such manuscripts attained. Q 16:31-72 is seen here. Courtesy of the British Library, London (BL Add. 7214, f. 32b).

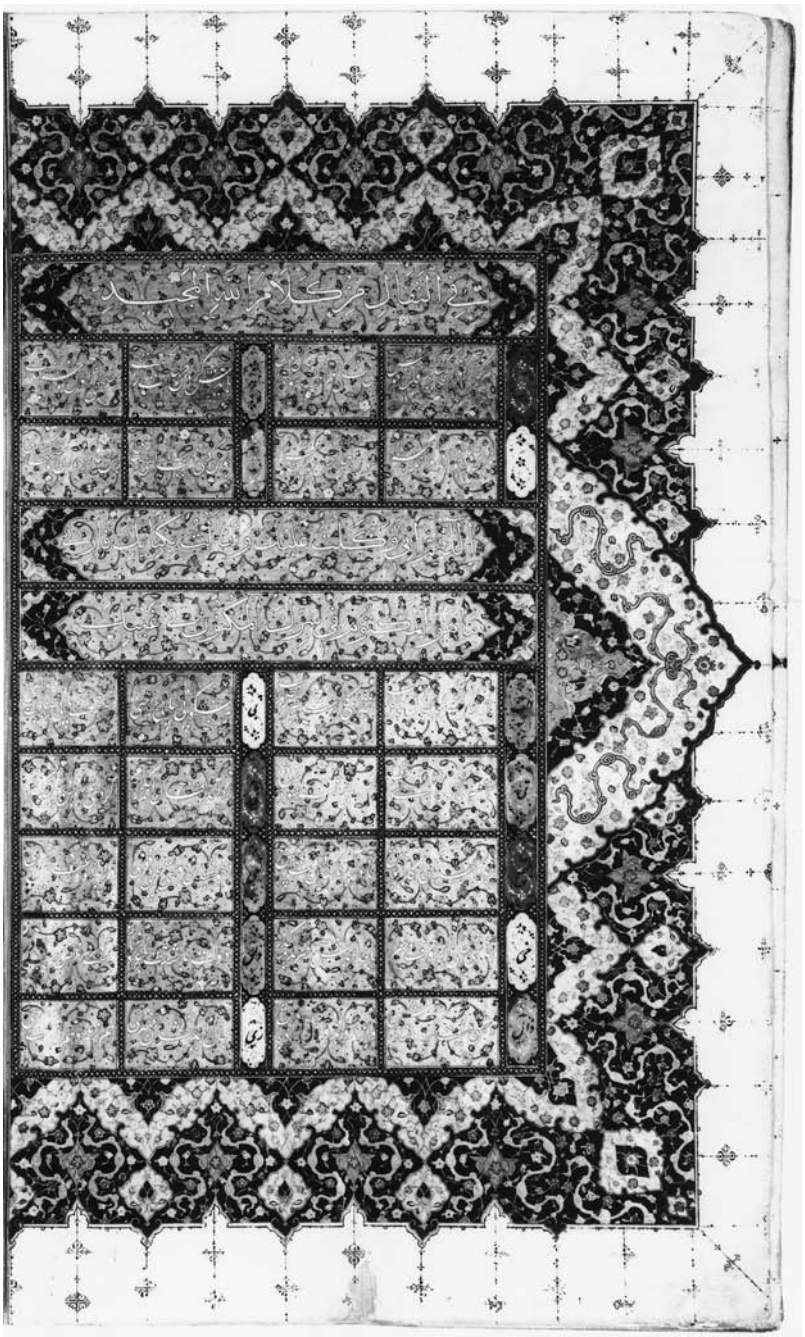
[IV] Example of a qur'ānic manuscript in which the lines of script alternate in height and length (dated to 582/1186). Q 18:93-110 is shown here. Reproduced by kind permission of the Trustees of the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin (CBL 1438, f. 109a).



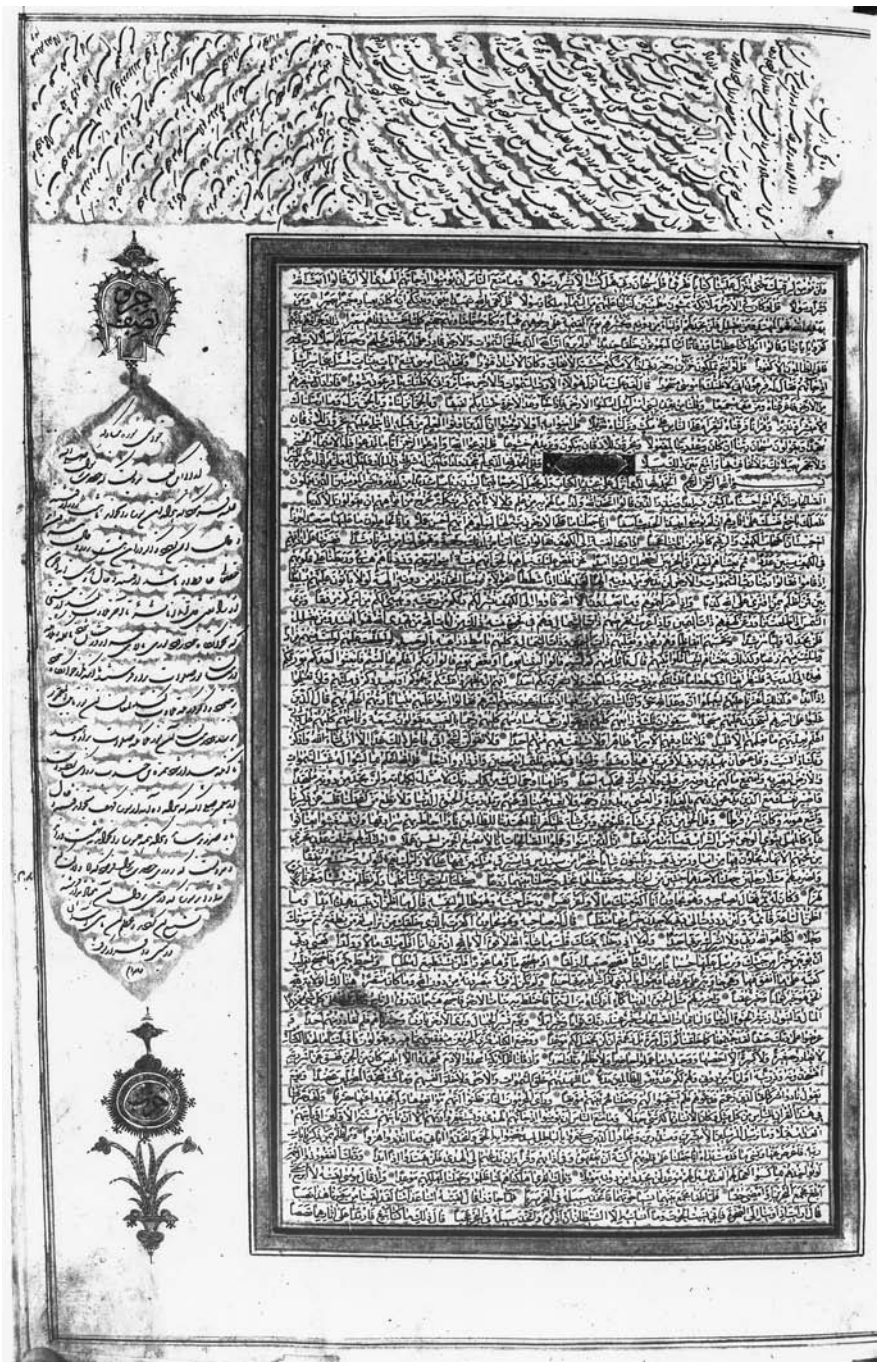
[v] Qur'ān manuscript from the western Islamic world (on parchment, dated 703/1304), with a marginal ornament indicating the daily readings for the month of Ramaḍān in the lower part of the margin. The text contains Q 26:220-27:20. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris (BNF Arabe 385, f. 80a).



[VI] Example of a qur'ānic manuscript (dated 923/1517) in which "Aḥmad" of Q 61:6 appears in larger writing. Q 60:12 – 61:7 is shown here. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris (BNF Arabe 413, p. 466).



[VII] Elaborately decorated Qur'ān finisboard (end tenth/sixteenth century) containing directions for divination. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris (BNF Arabe 418, f. 449b).



[VIII] Later Iranian Qur'ān manuscript (dated to 1126/1714) in a minute hand, in which an entire *juz'* (a thirtieth of the Qur'ān) appears on two facing pages (here, only one such page – containing a *ḥizb*, or a sixtieth of the Qur'ān – is shown). In the margin, there are accounts in Persian about Muḥammad's life and commentaries by the sixth imām, Ja'far al-Ṣādiq. Courtesy of the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich (BSB Cod. arabe 1118, f. 17v).

[1] Polychrome slip-painted bowl inscribed with Q 68:51-2 (Samarqand [?], 300/912). Courtesy of the Ṭāriq Rajab Museum, Kuwait (CER5825R).

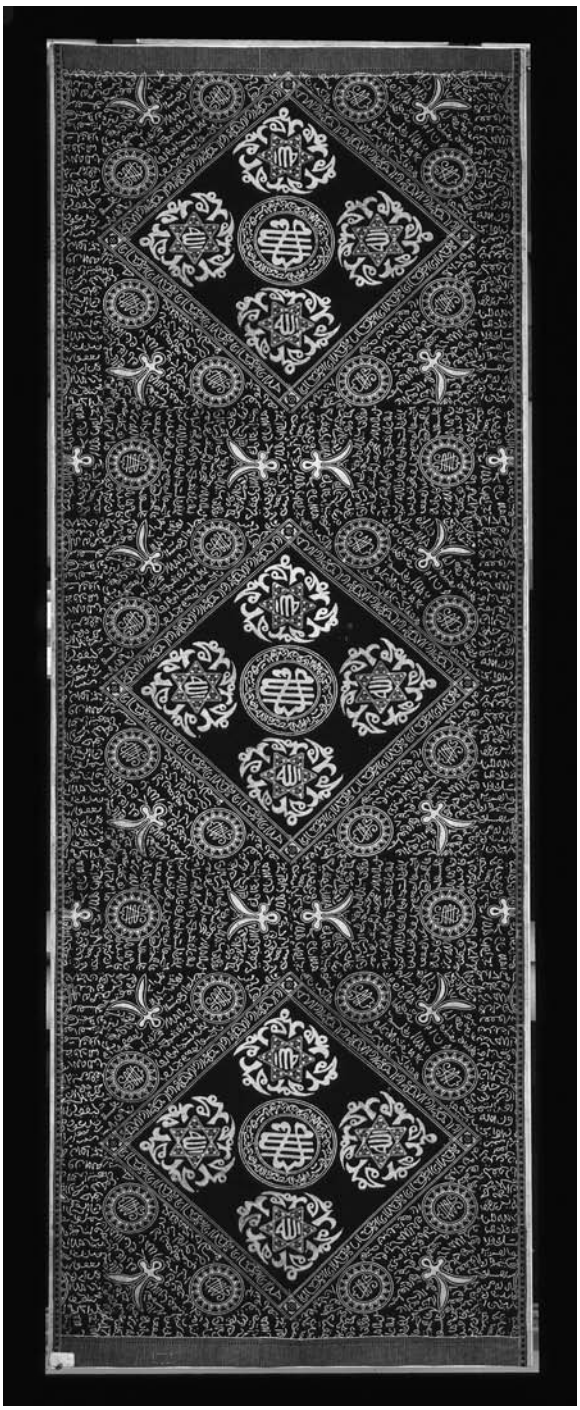
[11] Magic-medicinal bowl, copper alloy, cast and turned (Syria, 565/1169-70). Courtesy of The Nasser D. Khalili Collection of Islamic Art, London (MTW 1443).

[III] Las Navas de Tolosa banner, silk and gilt parchment (Almohad Spain, 608-47/ 1212-50). Courtesy of Patrimonio Nacional, Madrid.

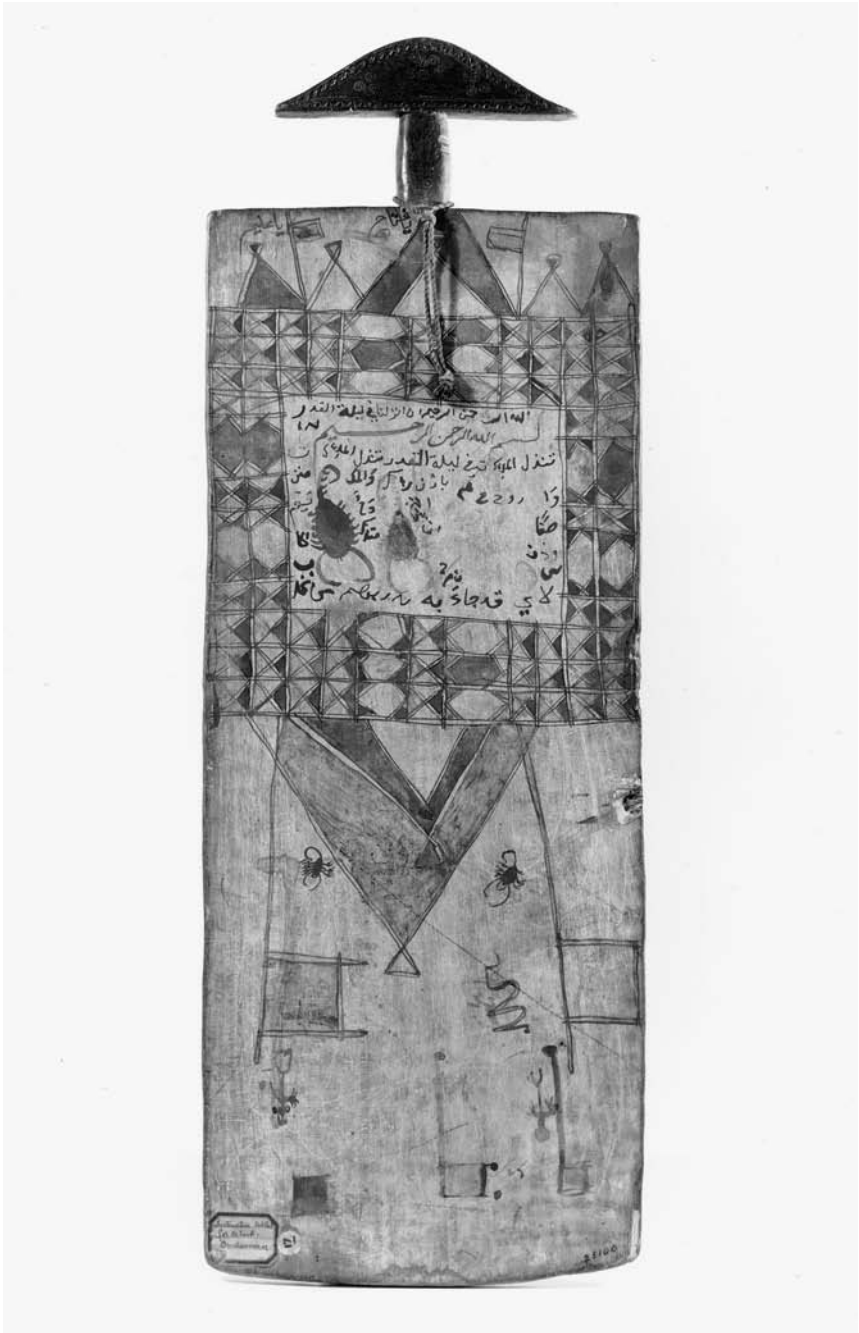
[IV] Glass mosque lamp, gilded and enameled (Mamlūk Cairo, 709-19/1310-20). Courtesy of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Gift of Mr. And Mrs. Edward Jackson Holmes, 1937 (37.614).

[v] Ceramic table screen inscribed with Q 72:18-20, blue underglaze (Ming dynasty Cheng-Te reign, China, 1506-21). Courtesy of the Percival David Foundation of Chinese Art, London (PDF B687).

[vi] Ottoman banner, silk with metal thread (Turkey, thirteenth/early nineteenth century). Courtesy of The Nasser D. Khalili Collection of Islamic Art, London (TXT 149).



[VII] Javanese *selendang*, a kind of shawl worn draped around the head or shoulders, which is covered with densely written Arabic inscriptions that include Q 61:13, the "Victory Verse" (Java, early twentieth century). Courtesy of The Nasser D. Khalili Collection of Islamic Art, London (TXT104).



[VIII] Qur'ānic writing board, wood, cord, colored inks, inscribed with Q 97 (Sudan, late nineteenth or early twentieth century). Courtesy of the Brooklyn Museum of Art, New York. Robert B. Woodward Memorial Fund (22.231).

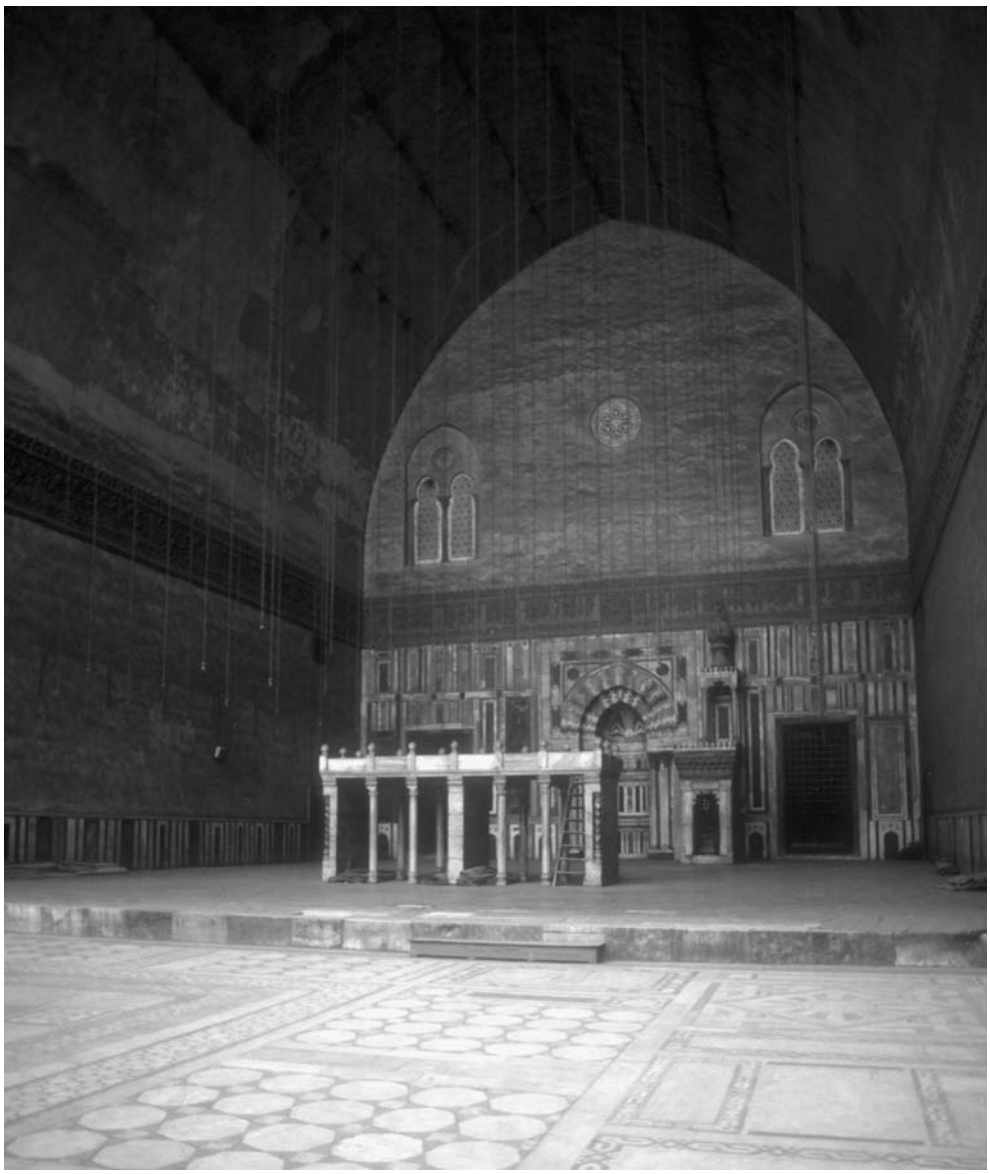
[1] Courtyard of the Umayyad mosque of Damascus (85-96/705-15, with later additions) showing the axial transept and dome in front of the *miḥrab*. Photograph courtesy of Jonathan M. Bloom.

[11] Great Mosque of Qayrawān (mid third/ninth century) showing the three-storied minaret. Photograph courtesy of Jonathan M. Bloom.

[III] Ablution pavilion (known as the Qubbat al-Ibāḍiyyīn) from the destroyed Almoravid congregational mosque (Marrakesh, sixth/twelfth century). Photograph courtesy of Jonathan M. Bloom.

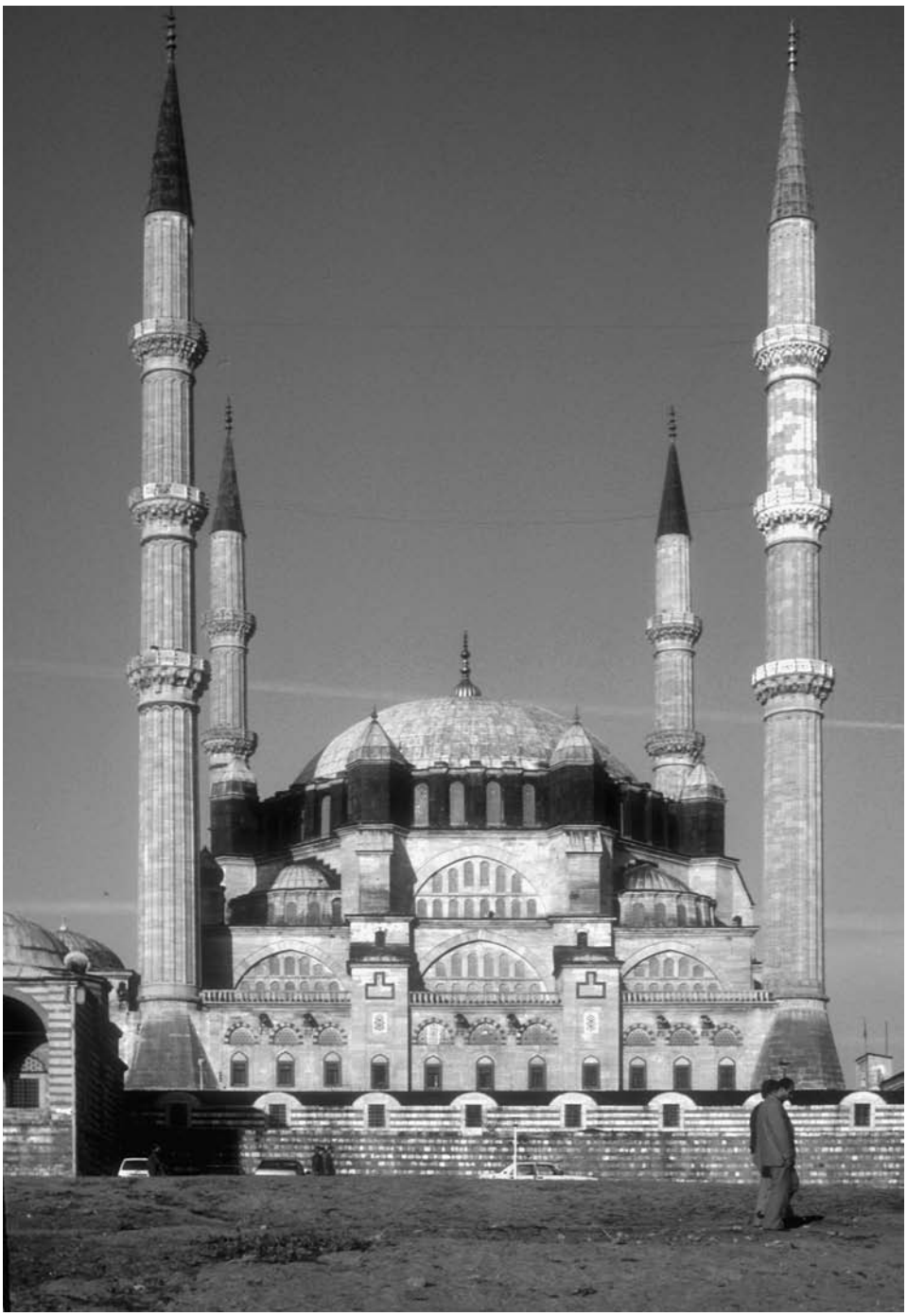
[iv] Congregational mosque of Iṣfahān (sixth/twelfth century and later) showing courtyard with two (of four) *īwān*s. Photograph courtesy of Sheila S. Blair.

[v] Stone reading stand for a monumental copy of the Qur'ān at the mosque of Bībī Khānum, Samarqand (801-6/1399-1404). Photograph courtesy of Sheila S. Blair.

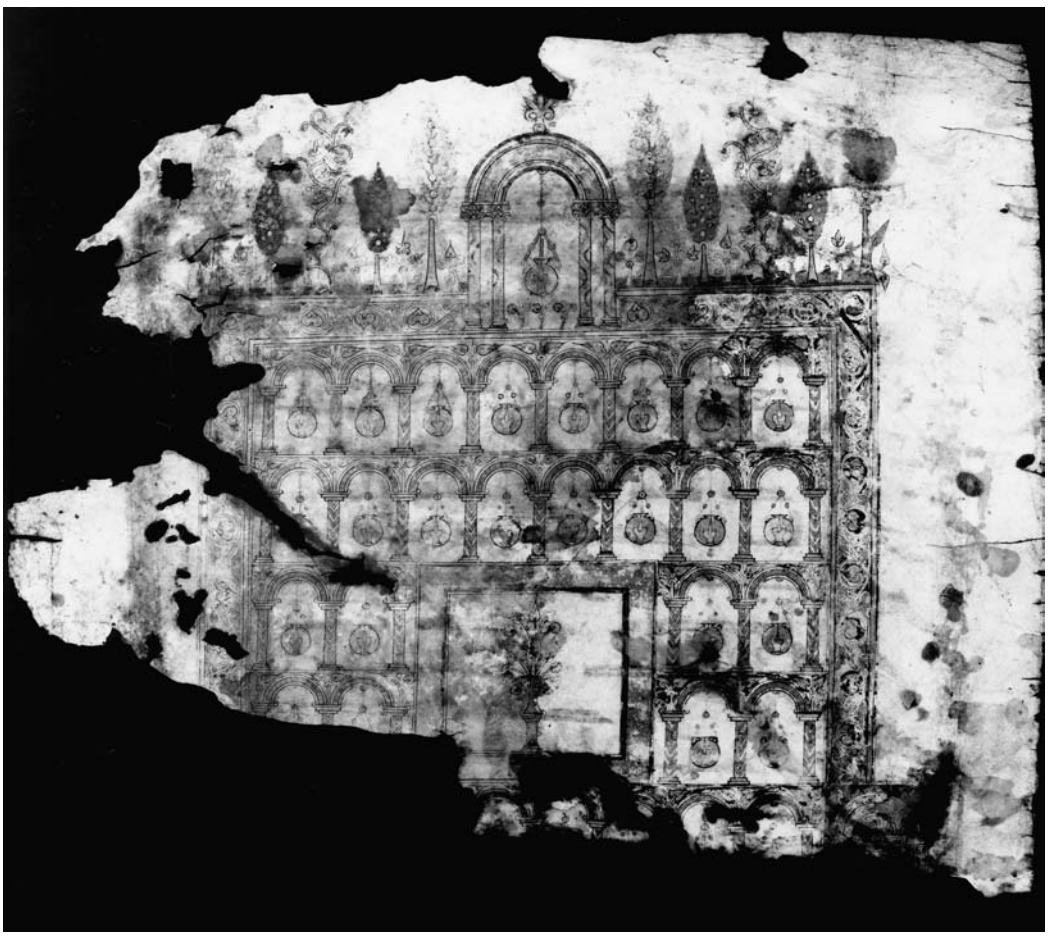


[VI] Funerary mosque-*madrasa* of Sultan Ḥasan showing prayer hall with *dikka* (the platform on which the *muballigh* might stand) in foreground and *miḥrab* and *minbar* in background (Cairo, begun 756/1356). Photograph courtesy of Jonathan M. Bloom.

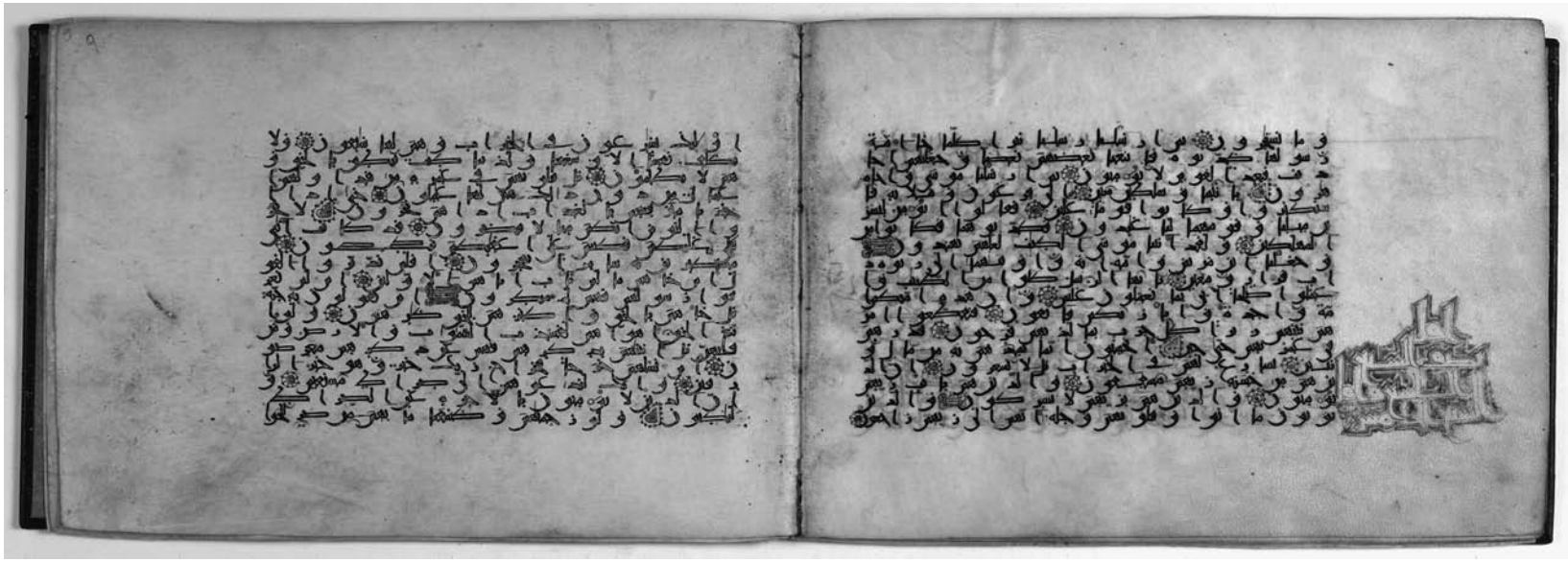
[VII] Interior of the prayer hall of the Atala mosque (Jaunpur, 810/1408). Photograph courtesy of Jonathan M. Bloom.



[VIII] Selīmiye mosque exterior (Edirne, 975-82/1568-75). Photograph courtesy of Jonathan M. Bloom.

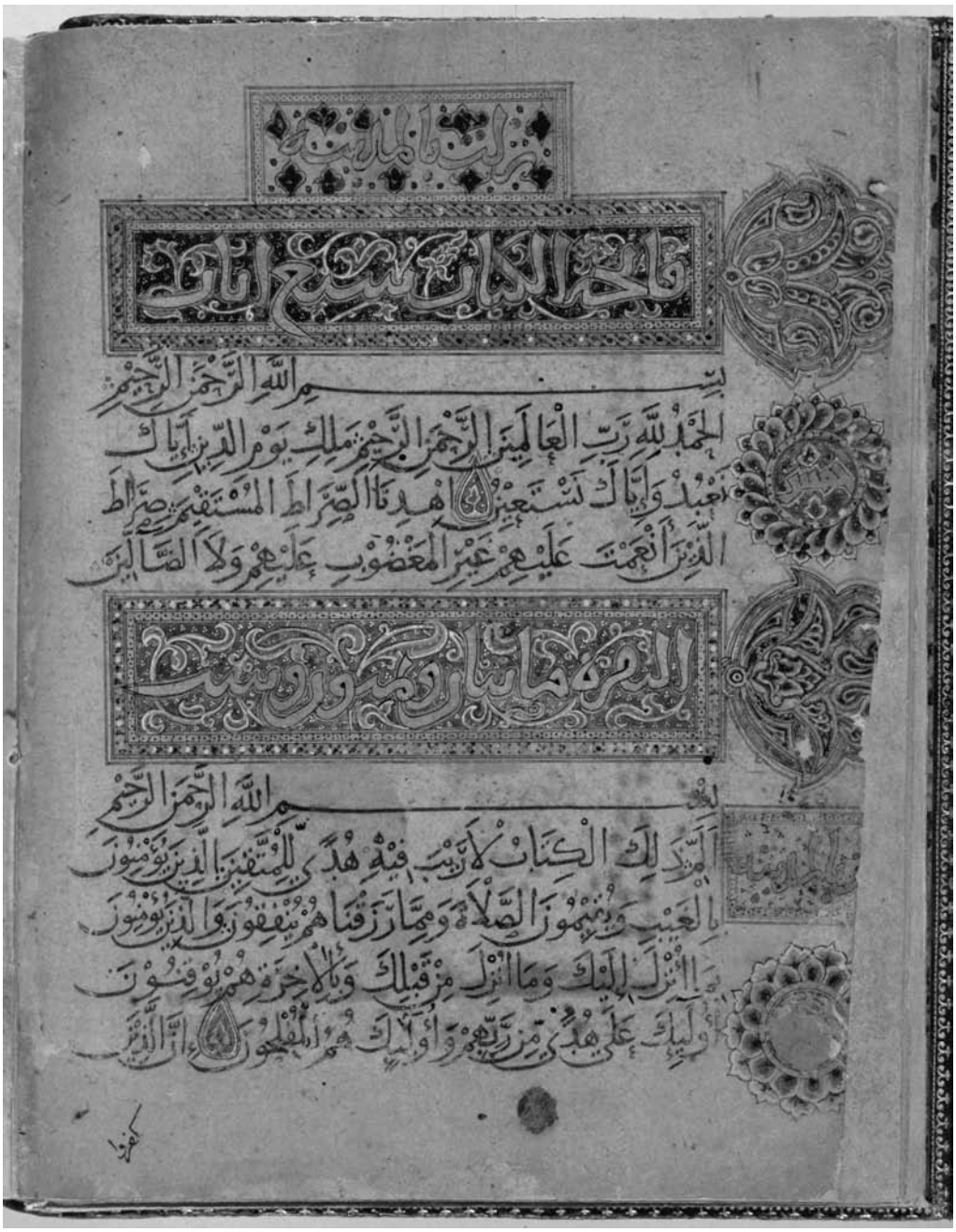


[1] Left half of a double-page frontispiece from a fragmentary copy of the Qur'ān (late first/early eighth century) found in the Great Mosque at Ṣanʿā' depicting two buildings with arcades and hanging lamps, commonly believed to depict mosques. Courtesy of Hans-Caspar Graf von Bothmer, University of Saarbrücken (Ṣanʿā', Dār al-Makhṭūṭāt, inv. no. 20-33.1).

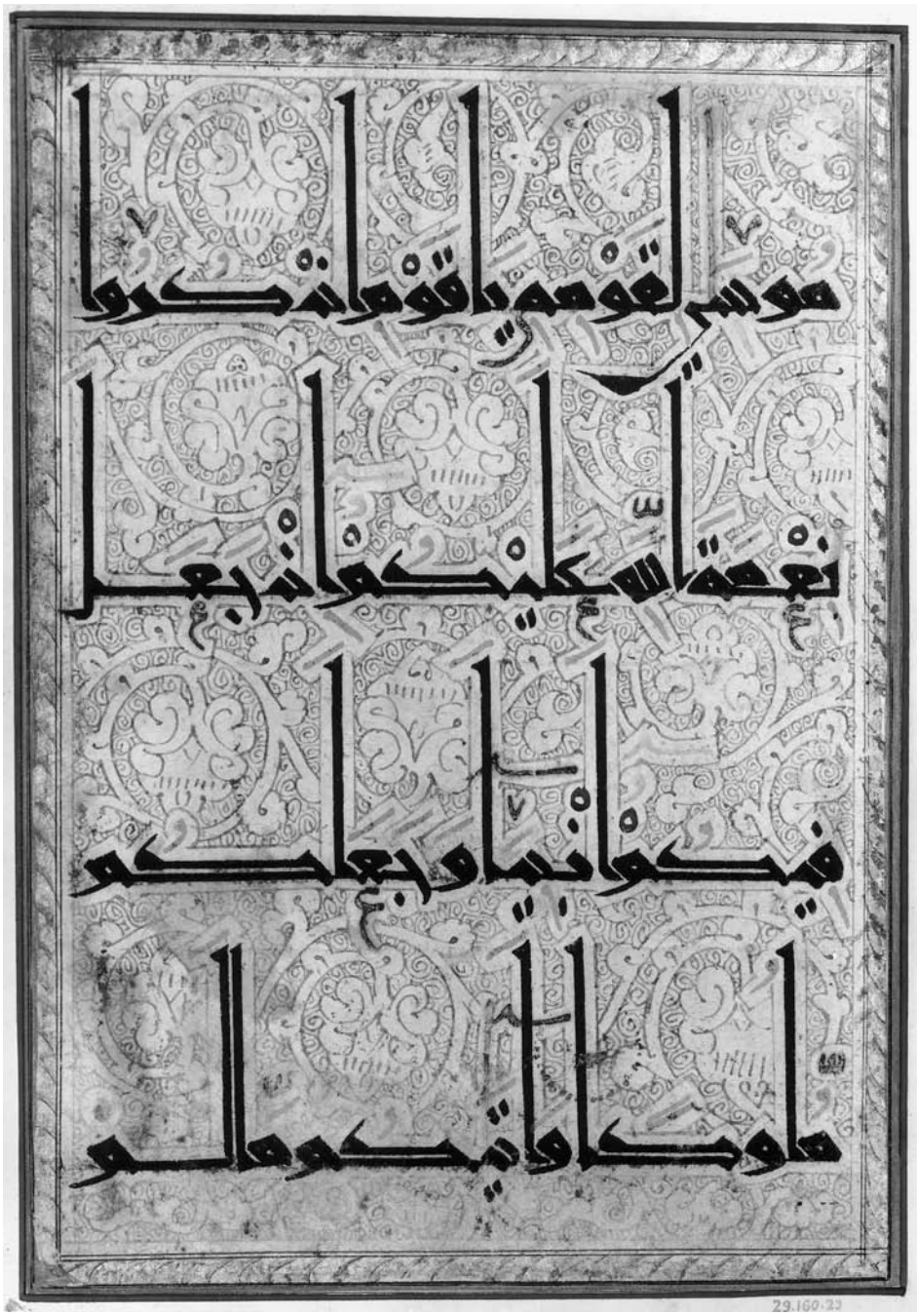


[II] Double-page with Q 23:43-61 from a parchment copy of the Qur'ān copied at Madīnat Ṣiqilliyya (i.e. Palermo) in 372/982-3. Courtesy of The Nasser D. Khalili Collection of Islamic Art, London (Qur 261, ff. 8b-9a).

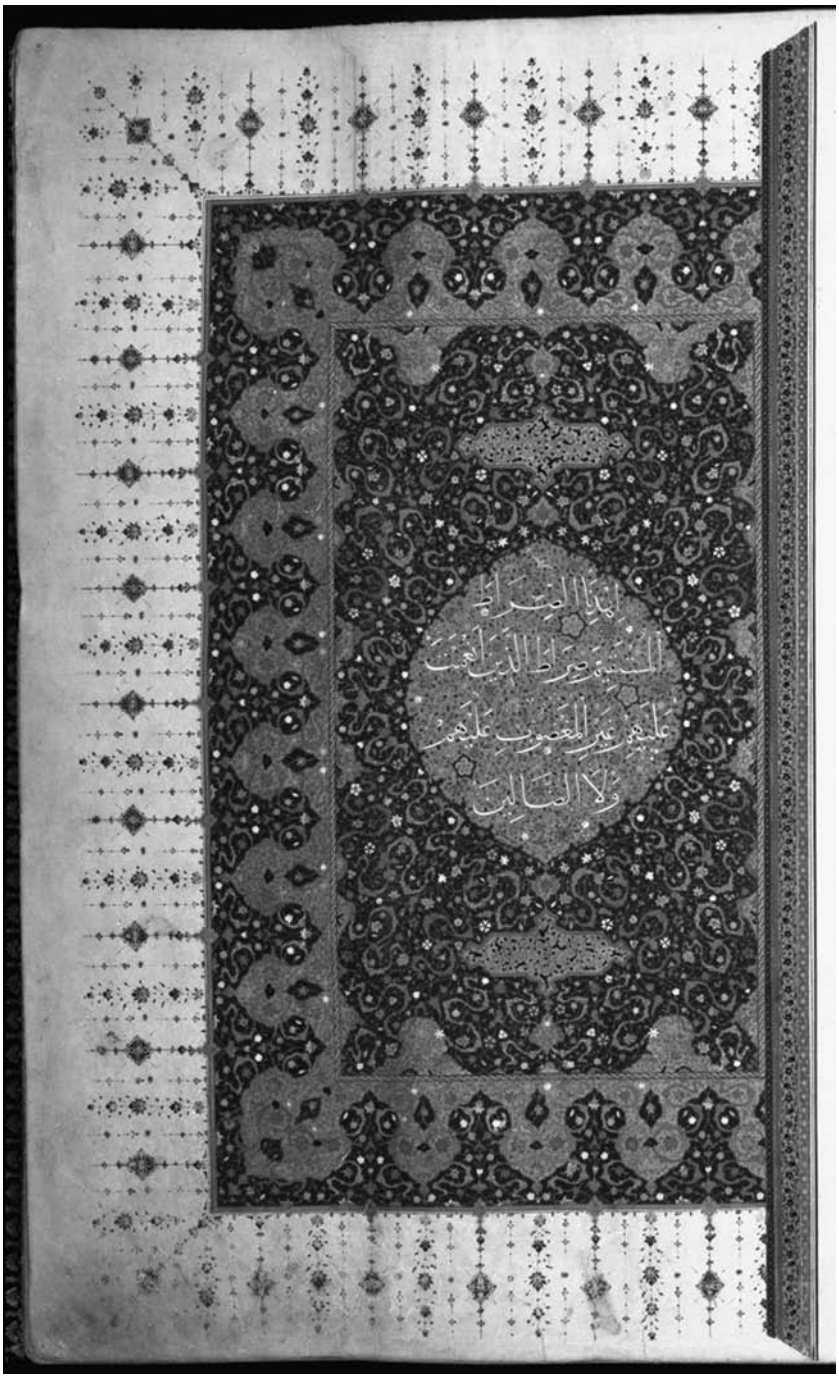
[III] Page with Q 29:16-21 from a unique copy of the Qur'ān transcribed in gold on parchment. Courtesy of The Nasser D. Khalili Collection of Islamic Art, London (KFQ 52, f. 4a).



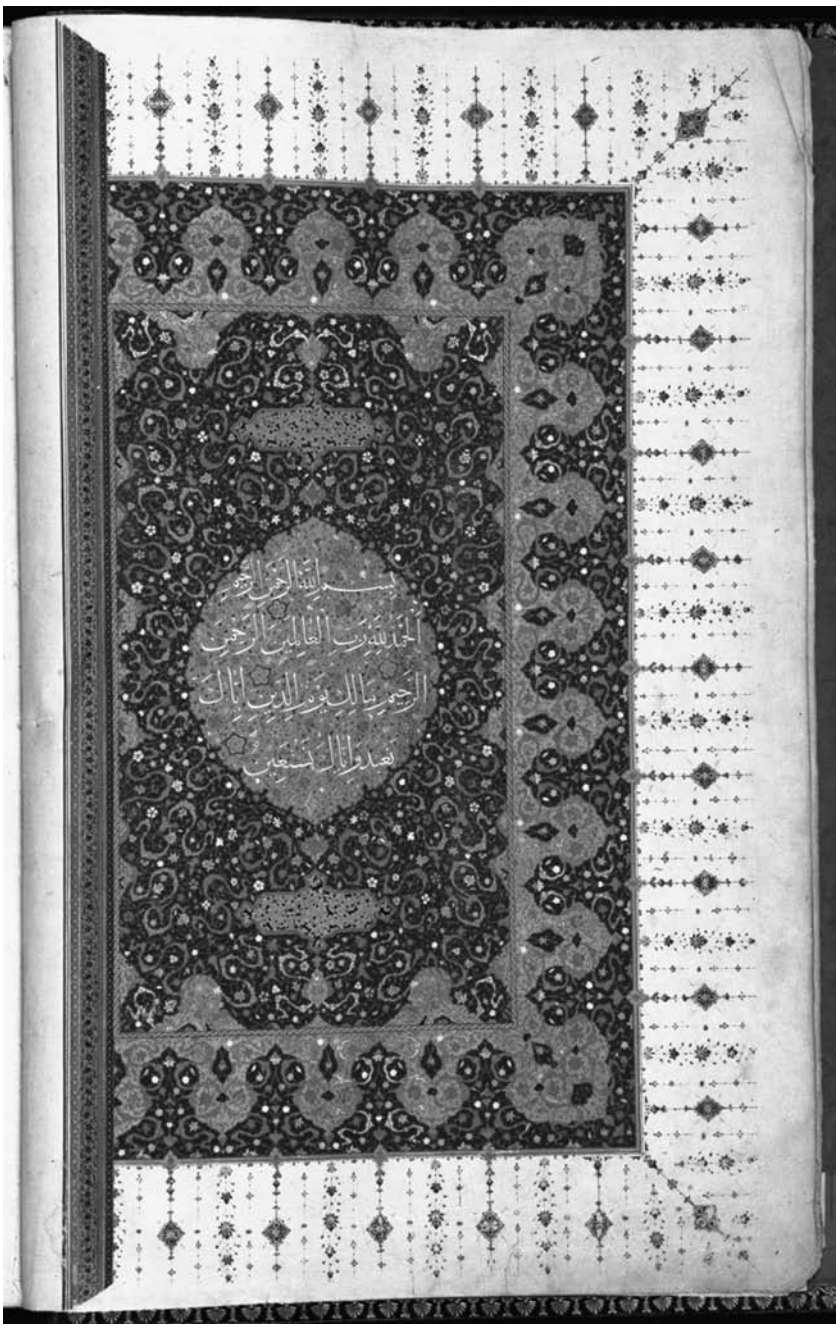
[iv] Right-hand side of opening double-page with Q 1-2:6 from the copy of the Qur'ān transcribed by Ibn al-Bawwāb at Baghdād in 391/1000. Note the sūra titles in rectangular frames with palmettes extending into the outer margins. Reproduced by kind permission of the Trustees of the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin (CBL 1431, f. 9b).



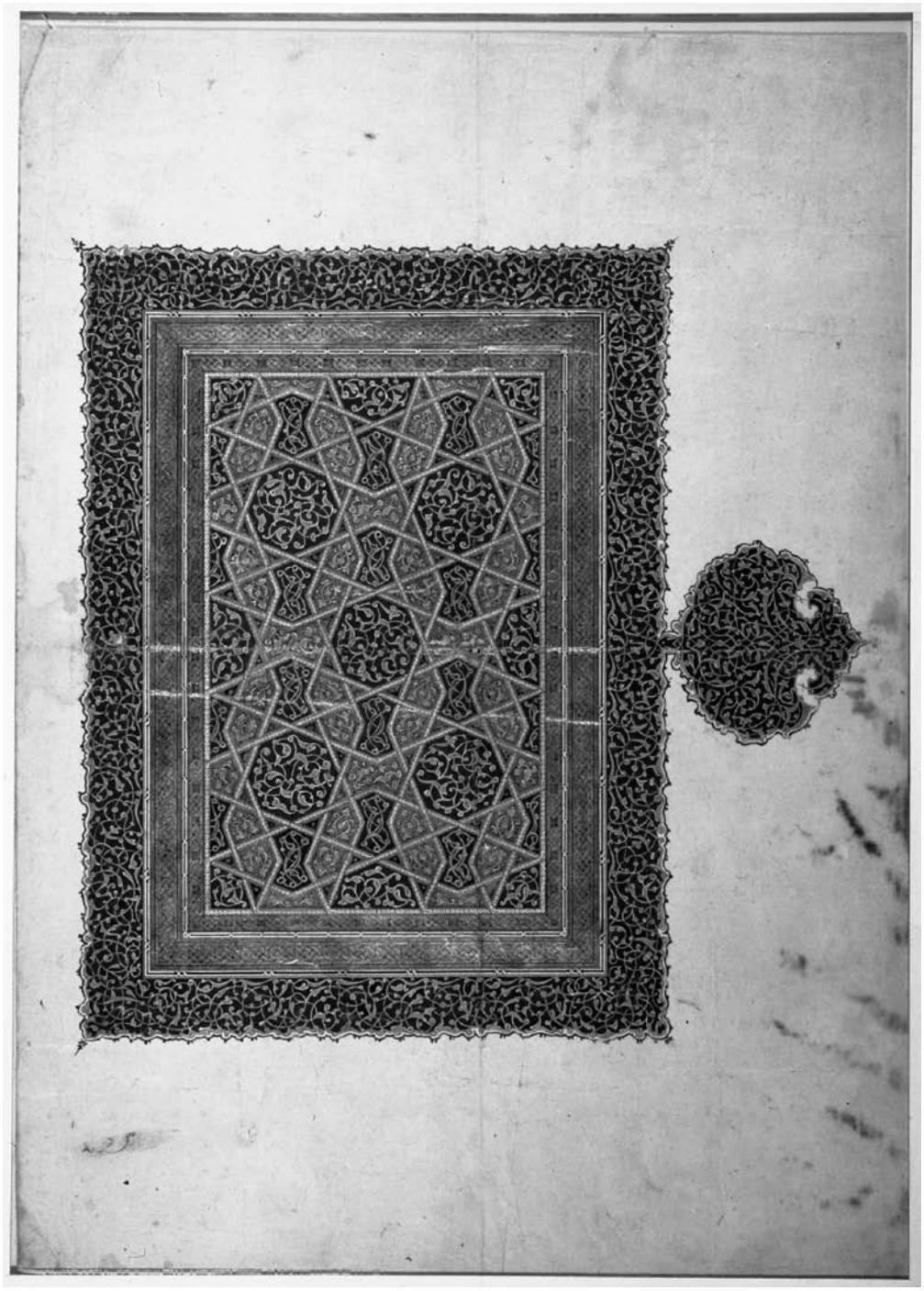
[v] Page from the so-called Qarmathian Qur'ān, conventionally dated to sixth/twelfth century Iran. Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Gift of Horace Havemeyer, 1929 (29.160.23).



[VI A] Left-hand side of the opening double page with Q 1 from a copy of the Qur'ān transcribed by Rūzbihān Muḥammad at Shīrāz, ca. 965/1558. Reproduced by kind permission of the Trustees of the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin (CBL 1558, f. 3r).



[VI B] Right-hand side of the opening double page with Q 1 from a copy of the Qurʾān transcribed by Rūzbihān Muḥammad at Shīrāz, ca. 965/1558. Reproduced by kind permission of the Trustees of the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin (CBL 1558, f. 2v).



[VII] Right side of a double-page frontispiece from the anonymous Baghdād Qurʾān illuminated by Muḥammad b. Aybak (early eighth/fourteenth century). Reproduced by kind permission of the Trustees of the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin (CBL Is 1614.2).

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Encyclopaedia of the Qurʾān

VOLUME FOUR

P – Sh

Jane Dammen McAuliffe, *General Editor*

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P

Pact

see COVENANT

Paganism

see AGE OF IGNORANCE; IDOLATRY AND IDOLATERS; SOUTH ARABIA, RELIGION IN PRE-ISLAMIC

Pages

see SHEETS; SCROLLS

Pairs and Pairing

Any aspect of the language and style of the Qurʾān in which pairs are perceived as a structural element in the composition of the Qurʾān (see FORM AND STRUCTURE OF THE QURʾĀN), such as any form of parallelism or repetition, pairs of synonymous, synthetic or antithetic terms or concepts, double divine epithets (see GOD AND HIS ATTRIBUTES) as well as aspects of the number two or use of the dual form (see NUMBERS AND ENUMERATION).

Ethical dualism

Throughout the Qurʾān, an antithetic or dual parallelism is observable in the admonitions to humankind (see EXHORTATIONS), in the descriptions of an individual's fate on the day of judgment (see LAST JUDGMENT) as well as of the two possible final destinations for people, paradise (q.v.) and hell (see HELL AND HELLFIRE).

Admonitions to believe in and obey God and his apostle (see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF; MESSENGER; OBEDIENCE), to repent (see REPENTANCE AND PENANCE), to enjoin what is right and to prohibit what is wrong (see VIRTUES AND VICES, COMMANDING AND FORBIDDING), to be grateful (see GRATITUDE AND INGRATITUDE), to do right and to follow the right path as revealed to humankind are usually presented as a promise followed by a corresponding threat: "He who follows the right path (see PATH OR WAY) does so for himself, and he who goes astray (q.v.) errs against himself" (Q 10:108; cf. also Q 17:15; 39:41); "Those who disbelieve and obstruct (others) from the way of God will have wasted their deeds. But those who believe and do the right, and believe what has been revealed to Muḥammad (see REVELATION AND INSPIRATION), which is the truth (q.v.) from their lord, will have their faults pardoned by him and their state improved" (Q 47:1-3; cf. also Q 5:9-10; 35-6, 40-2; 9:67-72; 10:7-9; 22:50-1; 32:18-20; 35:7; 48:5-6; 57:19); "Whoever does good does so for himself, and whoever does wrong bears the guilt thereof" (Q 41:46; cf. also Q 16:90; 40:39-40; 45:15; 92:5-11); "If you obey, God

will give you a good reward; but if you turn back… he will punish you with grievous affliction" (Q 48:16; cf. also Q 13:18; 48:17; see REWARD AND PUNISHMENT); "It is better for you to repent. If you do not, remember that you cannot elude (the grip of) God" (Q 9:3; cf. also Q 4:141-7); "Remember, your lord proclaimed: 'If you are grateful I shall give you more; but if you are thankless, then surely my punishment is very great'" (Q 14:7; cf. also Q 2:152; 39:7).

The choices that human beings face are described as one between two paths, the path of rectitude *(sabīl al-rushd)* or the straight path *(sabīl mustaqīm),* on the one hand, and the path of error (q.v.; *sabīl al-ghayy*), on the other: "Did we not give him [i.e. humans] two eyes, a tongue, and two lips, and show him the two highways?" (*al-najdayn;* Q 90:8-10; cf. also Q 7:146; 76:3). As a norm of distinction, the believers are described as the "people of the right hand" *(aṣḥāb al-maymana/aṣḥāb al-yamīn)* whereas the unbelievers are described as the "people of the left hand" (*aṣḥāb al-mashʾama/ aṣḥāb al-shimāl,* Q 56:8-9, 27-56; 90:17-9; see LEFT HAND AND RIGHT HAND). By the same token, the believer is compared to one who can hear and see whereas the unbeliever is said to resemble a person who is deaf and blind (e.g. Q 11:24; 40:58; cf. also Q 30:52-3; 35:19; 43:40; 47:23; see SEEING AND HEARING; VISION AND BLINDNESS; HEARING AND DEAFNESS). In those qurʾānic passages where human responsibility appears to be completely eclipsed and where human destiny is said to depend on the will of God, it is God who either guides individuals rightly or leads them astray (Q 6:39; 7:30, 178; 14:4; 16:93; 35:8; 39:36-7), decreases or increases people's fortunes (*rizq,* Q 13:26) and means (*rizq,* Q 30:37), has mercy (q.v.) on people or punishes them (Q 5:18, 40; 17:54; 29:21; 41:43; 48:14; see FREEDOM AND PREDESTINATION).

Similar dual parallelisms are to be observed when it comes to the reckoning of an individual's deeds on the day of judgment. "On that day people will be separated so that he who disbelieves will bear the consequence of his unbelief; and he who does the right will straighten out the way for his soul, so that God may reward those who believed and did what was good, by his grace. Surely he does not love unbelievers" (Q 30:43-5; cf. also Q 11:105-8; 20:74-6; 22:56-7; 30:14-6; 33:73; 39:71-4; 42:7); "[Only] those whose scales are heavier in the balance will find happiness. But those whose scales are lighter will perish and abide in hell forever" (Q 23:102-3; cf. also Q 7:8-9; 101:6-9; see WEIGHTS AND MEASURES); "[Many] faces will that day be bright, laughing and full of joy; and many will be dust-begrimed, covered with the blackness (of shame)" (Q 80:38-41; see JOY AND MISERY).

On the day of judgment, the evil-doer will receive the book (q.v.; *al-kitāb*) containing the record of his deeds in his left hand or from behind his back, whereas the obedient will be given it in his right hand (Q 69:18-32; 84:7-12). The *sijjīn,* the books where the deeds of the evil-doers are listed, is contrasted with the *ʿilliyyūn,* the book where the deeds of the pious are listed (Q 83:7 f.; see HEAVENLY BOOK). An exception to this strict dual parallelism is to be found in Q 56 where humankind is said to be separated at the last judgment into three classes, the "people of the right side" *(aṣḥāb al-maymana),* the "people of the left side" *(aṣḥāb al-mashʾama)* and "those preceding" *(al-sābiqūn)*. "Those are the ones brought near *(al-muqarrabūn),* in gardens of delight, a multitude from the former (times) and a few from the later (times)" (Q 56:11-4). Those who belong to this class — the first converts to Islam, the prophets (see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD) or any person of outstanding virtue

according to al-Zamakhsharī (d. 538/1144; *Kashshāf,* ad loc.) and al-Bayḍāwī (d. prob. 716/1316-7; *Anwār,* ad loc.) — are given the highest reward in paradise.

Qurʾānic descriptions of humanity's two final destinations also evidence a pair structure. A description of the joys of paradise or the torments of hell is, as a rule, followed by the antithetic description of the respective other. For example, "Certainly hell lies in wait, the rebels' abode where they will remain for eons, finding neither sleep *(bard)* nor anything to drink except boiling water and benumbing cold: a fitting reward. They were those who did not expect a reckoning, and rejected our signs (q.v.) as lies (see LIE). We have kept account of everything in a book. So taste (the fruit of what you sowed), for we shall add nothing but torment. As for those who preserve themselves from evil and follow the straight path *(al-muttaqīna),* there is attainment for them: orchards and vineyards, and graceful maidens of the same age (see HOURIS), and flasks full and flowing. They will hear no blasphemies (see BLASPHEMY) there or disavowals: A recompense from your lord, a sufficient gift" (Q 78:21-36). The parallelism is, however, at times, asymmetric. Depending on the context, either the description of hell or of paradise is more detailed. Such an asymmetric antithesis is to be observed in Q 55, where the fate of the unbelievers in hell is described in four verses (Q 55:39, 41, 43, 44), whereas the fate of the believers in paradise is described in eight verses (Q 55:46, 48, 50, 52, 54, 56, 58, 60), whereupon there follows another description of the garden of the same length (Q 55:62, 64, 66, 68, 70, 72, 74, 76; cf. Gilliot, Parcours exégétiques, 91-111). Having two sets of gardens for two classes of believers would seem to be confirmed by the parallel two classes of gardens in Q 56:10-38 (Abdel Haleem, Context, 91 f.; see GARDEN).

Pairs of concepts and terms

Pairs of synonymous as well as synthetic concepts are to be found in the description of Muḥammad and earlier prophets as "bearers of warnings and bringers of happy news" (*mubashshir[wa-] mundhir/mubashshir nadhīr/bashīr [wa-]nadhīr;* Q 2:119, 213; 4:165; 5:19; 6:48; 7:188; 10:2; 11:2; 17:105; 18:56; 25:56; 33:45; 34:28; 35:24; 41:4; 48:8; see WARNER; GOOD NEWS); of the book of Moses (q.v.; *kitāb Mūsā*) as a "way-giver and a grace" (q.v.; *imām wa-raḥma;* Q 11:17; 46:12; see IMĀM); of the Torah (q.v.) and the Gospel (q.v.) as containing "guidance and light" *(nūran wa-hudan/hudan wa-nūrun)* for humans (Q 5:44, 46; 6:91; cf. 42:52); and of the earlier revelations and the Qurʾān as a "guidance and grace" *(hudā wa-raḥma)* for those who believe (Q 6:154; 7:52, 154, 203; 10:57, et al.; *hudā wa-bushrā,* Q 27:2; *hudā wa-shifāʾ,* Q 41:44; *hudā wa-dhikrā,* Q 40:54). To the prophets God gave "wisdom (q.v.) and knowledge" (*ḥukm wa-ʿilm,* Q 12:22; 21:74, 79; 28:14; see KNOWLEDGE AND LEARNING). Another pair of terms frequently referred to in the context of earlier revelations is "scripture and wisdom" (*al-kitāb wa-l-ḥikma,* Q 2:231; 4:54, 113; 5:110; see SCRIPTURE AND THE QURʾĀN). The pair of terms "wealth and (male) children" *(māl wa-banūn/amwāl wa-banūn/amwāl wa-awlād/māl wa-walad/anʿām wa-banūn)* signifies wealth of this world (e.g. Q 9:55, 69; 17:6; 18:46; 23:55; 26:88, 133; 34:35, et al.; see CHILDREN). As a pair of antithetic concepts, the verses to be understood clearly *(muḥkamāt)* are contrasted with the parabolic verses of the Qurʾān *(mutashābihāt)* as mentioned in Q 3:7 (see AMBIGUOUS).

Contrasting pairs such as "heaven (see HEAVEN AND SKY) and earth (q.v.)," "sun (q.v.) and moon (q.v.)," "day and night" (q.v.; see also DAY, TIMES OF), "east and west," "land and sea," "known and unknown (see HIDDEN AND THE HIDDEN)," "before and after," "life (q.v.) and death

(see DEATH AND THE DEAD)" — all signifying the entirety of creation (q.v.) or "all" — are employed to describe God's unicity, omnipotence (see POWER AND IMPOTENCE) and omniscience. To God belongs all that is in the heavens and the earth (*mā fī l-samāwāt wa[-mā fī] l-arḍ,* Q 2:116, 284; 10:55, 68; 14:2; 16:52; 18:14, et al.; cf. also Q 35:44); his kingdom extends over the heavens and the earth (Q 7:158, 185; 9:116; 10:66; 13:16; 24:42, et al.); God holds the keys of the heavens and the earth (*maqālīd al-samāwāt wa-l-arḍ;* Q 39:63; 42:12); he is the light *(nūr)* of the heavens and the earth (Q 24:35); his are the armies of the heavens and the earth (*junūd al-samāwāt wa-l-arḍ,* Q 48:4, 7; see RANKS AND ORDERS), and his seat extends over heavens and earth (*wasiʿa kursiyyuhu al-samāwāt wa-l-arḍ,* Q 2:255; see THRONE OF GOD); and he provides people with food and sustenance [from the heavens and the earth] (Q 10:31; 16:73; 27:64; 31:20; 34:24; 35:3; 45:5, 13). The fact that God created the heavens and the earth (Q 2:117; 9:36; 10:3; 11:7; 12:101; 14:10, 19, 32, et al.; variation: God created the heavens and the earth and all that lies between them *[wa-mā baynahumā],* Q 15:85; 21:16; 25:59; 30:8; 32:4; 37:5; 38:27; 44:38; 46:3; 50:38) and that he brings to light what is hidden in the heavens and the earth (Q 27:25) indicate his omnipotence, whereas his omniscience is indicated by his knowledge which encompasses all that is in the heavens and the earth (Q 5:97; 11:123; 14:38; 16:77; 17:55; 18:26; 21:4, et al.) — there is not the weight of an atom "on the earth and in the heavens" that is hidden from him (Q 10:61; 31:16). His omniscience is further indicated by the fact that he knows "what is hidden and what is evident" (*al-ghayb wa-l-shahāda,* Q 6:73; 9:94, 105; 13:9; 23:92; 32:6; 39:46; 59:22; 62:8; 64:18), what humans "hide and disclose" (i.e. Q 2:33, 77; 16:19, 23; 21:110; 27:25, 74; 28:69; 33:54; 36:76; 60:1; 64:4; 87:7), and what was before humans and what lies behind them (*mā bayn aydīhim wa-mā khalfahum,* Q 2:255; 20:110; 21:28; 22:76). God's unicity is indicated by the fact that all things that move on the earth and in the heavens bow down before him (Q 13:15; 16:49; 22:18; 24:41; 57:1; 59:1, 24; 61:1; 62:1; 64:1; see BOWING AND PROSTRATION) and that his semblance is the most sublime in the heavens and the earth (Q 30:27). By the same token, the gods of the unbelievers are said to be without any power over the heavens and the earth, nor do they have any share in them (Q 34:22; 38:10; see POLYTHEISM AND ATHEISM). Moreover, God is the first and the last *(al-awwal wa-l-ākhir),* the transcendent and the immanent (*al-ẓāhir wa-l-bāṭin,* Q 57:3). God's omnipotence is further evident in that he created "the sun and the moon" (Q 10:5; 13:2; 16:12; 21:33; 22:61, et al.), and made "the day and the night" an alternation (Q 10:6, 67; 13:3; 16:12; 17:12; 23:80; 24:44; 25:47, 62, et al.), that he enables people to travel over "land and sea" (*fī l-barr wa-l-baḥr,* Q 10:22; 17:70; cf. also Q 27:63), that he gives life and death (Q 9:116; 10:31, 56; 23:80; 30:19; 40:68; 44:8; 45:26; 50:43; 53:44; 57:2), makes happy and morose (Q 53:43), and that he is the lord of the east and the west (*rabb al-mashriq wa-l-maghrib,* Q 26:28; 73:9; *rabbu l-mashriqayn wa-rabb al-maghribayn,* Q 55:17; *rabbu l-mashāriq wa-l-maghārib,* Q 70:40; *wa-lillāhi l-mashriq wa-l-maghrib,* Q 2:115, 142).

Pairs of contrasts such as "sky and earth," "sun and moon," "day and night," as well as of similar terms such as "fig and olive" are also encountered in oaths: "I call to witness the rain-producing sky and the earth which opens up" (Q 86:11-2); "I call to witness the sun and its early morning splendor, and the moon as it follows in its wake, the day when it reveals its radiance, the night when it covers it over, the heavens and its architecture, the earth and its

spreading out" (Q 91:1-6); "I call the night to witness when it covers over, and the day when it shines in all its glory" (Q 92:1-2); "I call to witness the fig and the olive" (Q 95:1). Idols are described as those who can neither harm nor profit their worshippers (*mā lā yaḍurruhu wa-mā lā yanfaʿuhu,* Q 22:12; cf. also Q 5:76; 6:71; 10:18, 106; 20:89; 21:66; 25:55; 26:72 f.; 34:42; see IDOLS AND IMAGES).

Contrasting this ephemeral world with the enduring hereafter serves to admonish humankind to concentrate on the latter (see ESCHATOLOGY). "O people, the life of this world is ephemeral; but enduring is the abode of the hereafter" (Q 40:39); "Whatsoever has been given you is the stuff this life is made of, and (only) its embellishment. What is with your lord is better and abiding. Will you not understand?" (Q 28:60; cf. also Q 8:67; 16:96; 30:7; 33:28-9; 42:20; 57:20).

The contrasting pair of "light and darkness" describes the benefit which the Prophet and the revelation bring to humankind: "An apostle who recites before you the explicating revelations of God that he may bring those who believe and do the right out of darkness (q.v.) into light" (Q 65:11; cf. also Q 14:5); "It is he who sends down resplendent revelations to his votary, that he may take you out of darkness into light" (Q 57:9; cf. also Q 14:1).

Double divine epithets

Double divine epithets occur frequently at the end of verses, particularly in the longer sūras. At times, these have little or no relevance to the verses they are attached to; in other instances the phrases are appropriate to the context. Numerous pairs of terms describing God consist of synonyms, such as the double epithet *al-raḥmān al-raḥīm* "most benevolent, ever-merciful" of the *basmala* (q.v.) formula which occurs in five further instances (Q 1:3; 2:163; 27:30; 41:2; 59:22); "all-forgiving and ever-merciful" (*ghafūr raḥīm,* Q 2:173, 182, 192, 199, 218, 226; 3:31, 129; 4:23, 25, et al.; *al-raḥīm al-ghafūr,* Q 34:2; *al-ghafūr dhū l-raḥma,* Q 18:58; see FORGIVENESS); "all-forgiving and forbearing" (*ghafūr ḥalīm,* Q 2:225, 235; 3:155; 5:101; *ḥalīm ghafūr,* Q 17:44; 35:41); "all-forgiving and loving" (*al-ghafūr al-wadūd,* Q 85:14); "benign and forgiving" (*ʿafuww ghafūr,* Q 4:43, 99; 22:60); "forgiving and ever-merciful" (*tawwāb raḥīm,* Q 4:16, 64; 49:12; cf. 9:104, 118); "compassionate and ever-merciful" (*raʾūf raḥīm,* Q 2:143; 9:117, 128; 16:7, 47; 22:65; 57:9; 59:10); "ever-merciful and loving" (*raḥīm wadūd,* Q 11:90); "just and merciful" (*al-barr al-raḥīm,* Q 52:28); "all-knowing, all-wise" (*ʿalīm ḥakīm,* Q 4:11, 17, 26, 92, 104, 111, 170; 8:71, et al.; *ḥakīm ʿalīm,* Q 6:83, 128, 139; 15:25; 27:6; 43:84; 51:30); "all-knowing and cognizant" (*ʿalīm khabīr,* Q 4:35; 31:34; 49:13; 66:3); "all-wise and cognizant" (*al-ḥakīm al-khabīr,* Q 6:18, 73; 34:1); "sublime and great" (*[al-]ʿaliyy [al-]kabīr,* Q 4:34; 22:62; 31:30; 34:23; 40:12); "great and most high" (*al-kabīr al-mutaʿāl,* Q 13:9); "sublime and supreme" (*al-ʿaliyy al-ʿazīm,* Q 2:255; 42:4); "powerful and mighty" (*[al-]qawiyy [al-]ʿazīz,* Q 11:66; 22:40, 74; 33:25; 42:19; 57:25; 58:21); "worthy of praise and glory" (*ḥamīd majīd,* Q 11:73). Moreover, God is humankind's only friend and advocate (*waliyy shafīʿ,* cf. Q 6:51, 70; *mawlan naṣīr,* cf. Q 22:78; *waliyy naṣīr,* cf. Q 4:123, 173; 29:22; 33:17; 42:8, 31; 48:22; see CLIENTS AND CLIENTAGE; FRIENDS AND FRIENDSHIP; INTERCESSION).

Other combinations of adjectives referring to God complement each other, such as "all-hearing and all-knowing" (*[al-]samīʿ [al-]ʿalīm,* Q 2:127, 181, 224, 227; 3:34, 35, 121; 4:148; 5:76; et al.); "all-hearing and all-seeing" (*[al-]samīʿ [al-]baṣīr,* Q 4:58, 134; 17:1; 22:75; 31:28; 40:20, 56; 42:11; 58:1); "[God is] near and answers" (*qarīb mujīb,* Q 11:61); "all-hearing and all-near" (*samīʿ*

qarīb, Q 34:50); "judge and all-knowing" (*al-fattāḥ al-ʿalīm,* Q 34:26); "the one and the omnipotent" (*al-wāḥid al-qahhār,* Q 13:16; 14:48). Other pair epithets describe different aspects of God, such as "mighty and all-wise" (*[al-]ʿazīz [al-]ḥakīm,* Q 2:129, 209, 220, 228, 240, 260; 3:6, 18, 62, 126, et al.); "mighty and all-knowing" (*[al-]ʿazīz [al-]ʿalīm,* Q 6:96; 27:78; 36:38; 40:2; 41:12); "mighty and worthy of praise" (*al-ʿazīz al-ḥamīd,* Q 14:1; 34:6; 85:8); "mighty and ever-merciful" (*[al-]ʿazīz [al-]raḥīm,* Q 26:9, 68, 104, 122, 140, 159, 175, 191, 217; 30:5; 32:6; 36:5; 44:42); "mighty and all-forgiving" (*[al-]ʿazīz [al-]ghafūr,* Q 35:28; 67:2; *al-ʿazīz al-ghaffār,* Q 38:66; 39:5; 40:42); "all-knowing and all-powerful" (*[al-]ʿalīm [al-]qadīr,* Q 16:70; 30:54; 35:44; 42:50); "all-knowing and forbearing" (*ʿalīm ḥalīm,* Q 22:59; 33:51); "infinite and all-knowing" (*wāsiʿ ʿalīm,* Q 2:115, 247, 261, 268; 5:54; 24:32); "infinite and all-wise" (*wāsiʿ ḥakīm,* Q 4:130); "responsive to gratitude and all-knowing" (*shākir ʿalīm,* Q 4:147); "all-forgiving and rewarding" (*ghafūr shakūr,* Q 35:30, 34; 42:23); "rewarding and forbearing" (*shakūr ḥalīm,* Q 64:17); "benign and all-powerful" (*ʿafuww qadīr,* Q 4:149); "self-sufficient and forbearing" (*ghaniyy ḥalīm,* Q 2:263); "self-sufficient and praiseworthy" (*ghaniyy ḥamīd,* Q 2:267; 4:131; 14:8; 22:64; 31:12, 26; 57:24; 60:6; 64:6; see PRAISE); "living self-subsisting (or: sustaining)" (*al-ḥayy al-qayyūm,* Q 2:255; 3:2); "the creator and all-knowing" (*al-khallāq al-ʿalīm,* Q 15:86; 36:81); "compassionate and all-wise" (*tawwāb ḥakīm,* Q 24:10); "all-wise and praiseworthy" (*ḥakīm ḥamīd,* Q 41:42); "all-high and all-wise" (*ʿaliyy ḥakīm,* Q 42:51).

Aspects of the number two and uses of dual forms

The Qurʾān frequently mentions that God created pairs of everything — humans, beasts and even fruits (Q 6:143-4; 13:3; 35:11; 36:36; 42:11; 43:12; 51:49; 53:45; 55:52; 75:39; 78:8; see ANIMAL LIFE; AGRICULTURE AND VEGETATION); he also commanded Noah (q.v.) to take a pair of every species into the ark (q.v.; cf. Q 11:40; 23:27). At the end of days God will create people a second time: "We created you from the earth and will revert you back; and raise you up from it a second time" (*tāratan ukhrā,* Q 20:55; cf. with variations Q 10:4, 34; 21:104; 27:64; 29:19, 20; 30:11, 27; 50:15; 85:13); "They say: 'O lord, twice you made us die, and twice you made us live. We admit our sins (see SIN, MAJOR AND MINOR). Is there still a way out?'" (Q 40:11).

Those who believe in God and his apostle are said to receive twice as much of his bounty and their reward will be duplicated: "What you give on interest to increase (your capital) through other people's wealth (see USURY) does not find increase with God; yet what you give in alms and charity (*zakāt,* see ALMSGIVING) with a pure heart (q.v.), seeking the way of God, will be doubled" (Q 30:39; cf. with variations Q 2:245, 261, 265; 4:40; 28:54; 34:37; 57:11, 18, 28; 64:17). By the same token, the punishment of those who commit acts of shamelessness will be doubled: "O wives of the Prophet (q.v.), whosoever of you commits an act of clear shamelessness, her punishment will be doubled. That is easy for God [to do]. But whoever of you is obedient to God and his apostle, and does right, we shall give her reward to her twofold; and we have prepared a rich provision for her" (Q 33:30-1; cf. with variations Q 9:101; 11:20; 17:75; 25:69). Similarly, the unbelievers call for those who led them astray to suffer double punishment: "They will say: 'O lord, give him who has brought this upon us two times more the torment of hell'" (Q 38:61; cf. also Q 7:38; 33:68).

The number two also occurs in numerous legal regulations (see LAW AND THE QURʾĀN). A borrower deficient of mind or infirm or unable to explain requires two male witnesses to draw up a debt contract

(Q 2:282; see DEBT). The same number of witnesses is proscribed when one dictates his last will (Q 5:106-7; see INHERITANCE) as well as in the case of divorce (Q 65:2; see MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE). Divorce is revocable two times after pronouncement; thereafter the husband has either to keep the wives honorably or part with them in a decent manner (Q 2:229). Following divorce, mothers should suckle their babies for a period of two years if both parents agree on this (Q 2:233; cf. also Q 31:14; see WET-NURSING; FOSTERAGE). Two honorable men are required to determine a livestock of equivalent value as atonement for the one who purposely kills game during pilgrimage (q.v.; Q 5:95; see also HUNTING AND FISHING). The share of the male child in inheritance is equivalent to that of two female children (Q 4:11).

The number two also plays a role in some of the qurʾānic parables such as the parable (q.v.) of the two men, one of whom owns two gardens (Q 18:32-44); the story of the two gardens of the Sabaeans (Q 34:15-7; see SHEBA), or the parable of the two men (Q 16:76). Furthermore, we have the episode of the two men who feared God (Q 5:23) as well as those passages where God is said to have made two bodies of water flow side by side *(maraja l-baḥrayn),* one fresh and sweet, the other brine and bitter, and to have placed a barrier (q.v.) between them (cf. Q 25:53; 27:61; 35:12; 55:19 f.; see BARZAKH). The number two also occurs in the creation account given in Q 41:9-12, which differs from the other qurʾānic accounts of the creation of the world in saying that God created the earth in two days rather than the more usual six; the creation of firm mountains and the means of growing food was completed in four days and the creation of the seven heavens in two days.

Contrast and dualism feature obviously throughout Q 55. The frequent use of the dual has baffled commentators and scholars alike, who often argued that the dual forms were demanded by the scheme obtaining there for verse juncture (Nöldeke, *Neue Beiträge,* 10; Horovitz, *Paradies,* 55; Müller, *Untersuchungen,* 132; see LANGUAGE AND STYLE OF THE QURʾĀN; LITERARY STRUCTURES OF THE QURʾĀN). Wansbrough [*QS,* 26-7] argued that there was a "juxtaposition in the canon of two closely related variant traditions, contaminated by recitation in identical contexts or produced from a single tradition by oral transmission." In their respective investigations of Q 55, Neuwirth (Symmetrie und Paarbildung) and Abdel Haleem (Context) have shown that most dual forms are to be explained by the grammatical context of the sūra (see GRAMMAR AND THE QURʾĀN). The addressees of the challenging question of the refrain in the dual, for example, "Which, then, of your lord's bounties do you deny?" — which is repeated thirty-one times throughout the sūra — are humans and jinn (q.v.), introduced in verses 14 and 15 (for the pair of humans and jinn see also Q 7:38; 32:13; 41:25, 29; 46:18; 72:5-6; 114:6). There are only two dual forms that are not to be explained by the immediate context. The use of duals in Q 55:17, "The lord of the two easts and the two wests," refers to the two extreme points on the horizon where the sun rises in the winter and in the summer, and where it sets in the winter and in the summer. As for the dual form "two gardens" (*jannatān,* Q 55:46 and 62), which is also not to be explained by the immediate context, Neuwirth and Abdel Haleem follow the suggestion of al-Farrāʾ (d. 207/822) that the notion of two gardens represents perfect eternal bliss (cf. Farrāʾ, *Maʿānī,* iii, 118).

Verse pairs

Pairs of verses which either together form complete sentences or can be identified on

the basis of exact parallelism or strict metrical regularity (see RHYMED PROSE) are the smallest stylistic entities of the Qurʾān (Neuwirth, *Studien,* 176 f.). Examples of pairs of verses characterized by strict parallelism and a metrical regularity are to be found in oaths (q.v.; Q 81:15-6, 17-8; 86:11-2; 100:4-5), in eschatological scenes (Q 52:9-10; 70:8-9; 89:21-2; 101:4-5), in descriptions of the last judgment (Q 89:25-6), and in ethical admonitions (Q 89:17-8, 19-20; see ETHICS AND THE QURʾĀN). Other pairs of verses fulfill only one function such as metrical regularity or strict parallelism. In another type of verse pair the second verse consists of a mere repetition of the first verse: "Surely with hardship there is ease. With hardship there is ease" (Q 94:5-6; cf. also 74:19-20; 75:34-5; 78:4-5; 82:17-8; 102:3-4). Other verse pairs consist of antitheses: "But no, you prefer the life of the world. Though the life to come is better and abiding" (Q 87:16-7; cf. also Q 51:54-5; 75:20-1; 86:13-4; 91:9-10; 95:4-5). Pairs of verses in which the second verse repeats or complements a portion of the first verse are to be classified as synthetic parallelism: "Read in the name of your lord who created, created man from an embryo" (Q 96:1-2; cf. also Q 2:149-50, 184-5; 37:20-1; 106:1-2; see BIOLOGY AS THE CREATION AND STAGES OF LIFE). Numerous pairs of verses that are characterized by synthetic parallelism also show grammatical and semantic parallelism: "Some of them listen to you: But can you make the deaf hear who do not understand a thing? Some of them look toward you: But can you show the blind the way even when they cannot see?" (Q 10:42-3). Parallel style is also found within one verse: "Bad women deserve bad men, and bad men are for bad women; but good women are for good men, and good men for good women" (Q 24:26); "Men should not laugh at other men, for it may be they are better than they; and women should not laugh at other women, for they may perhaps be better than they" (Q 49:11; see LAUGHTER; MOCKERY). Other pairs of verses, although not characterized by antithetic parallelism themselves, constitute antithetic parts of larger groups of verses: "Then he whose scales [of good deeds] shall weigh heavier will have a tranquil life. But he whose scales [of good deeds] are lighter will have the abyss for an abode" (Q 101:6-9). An example of an entire sūra being characterized by parallelism is Q 109: "Say: 'O you disbelievers, I do not worship what you worship, nor do you worship what I worship. Nor am I a worshiper of what you worship, nor are you worshipers of what I worship. To you your way *(dīnukum),* to me my way *(dīnī)*'" (see RELIGION; WORSHIP; RELIGIOUS PLURALISM AND THE QURʾĀN).

Sūra-pairs

The Indian Qurʾān commentator Amīn Aḥsan Iṣlāḥī (b. 1906), who, like most twentieth-century Muslim thinkers (see EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: EARLY MODERN AND CONTEMPORARY) considers the sūras as organic unities, proposes that most of the Qurʾān consists of "sūra-pairs" that have closely related themes and complement each other. With this, he further developed the idea of his teacher, Ḥamīd al-Dīn al-Farāhī (1863-1930), who had argued that each sūra has a central theme, called *ʿamūd,* around which the entire sūra revolves. Iṣlāḥī holds that only adjacent sūras may form pairs and, given that the notion of complementarity underlies his concept of sūra-pairs, he identifies several types of complementarity, such as brevity and detail, principle and illustration, different types of evidence, difference in emphasis, premise and conclusion, and unity of opposites. These pairs are then said to constitute seven "sūra groups" (for a critical appraisal, cf. Mir, Iṣlāḥī's concept of sura-pairs).

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Palms

see DATE PALM; AGRICULTURE AND VEGETATION

Parable

An illustrative story teaching a lesson. The word for parable, *mathal* (pl. *amthāl,* often used with a form of the verb *ḍaraba/yaḍribu,* "to strike," "to coin"), occurs numerous times in the Qurʾān and evidences a much broader semantic range than does the English word "parable." For Arabic literature in general, *mathal* can be translated by such terms as simile, similitude, example, parable, allegory, proverb, motto, apothegm, aphorism, fable and maxim (see also SIMILES; LITERARY STRUCTURES OF THE QURʾĀN). This range of meaning for *mathal* also characterizes other Semitic languages, e.g. Hebrew *māshāl;* Aramaic *matlā.* Although *mathal* generally describes any item of discourse featuring one object or event illuminating another (usually) less tangible reality by comparison, some *amthāl* in the Qurʾān do not involve comparison at all (e.g. Q 25:8-9; 36:78). Furthermore, some exegetes have included as *amthāl* stories involving the supernatural and paranormal, such as Adam naming the animals (Q 2:30-4; see ADAM AND EVE; ANIMAL LIFE), a crow instructing Adam's son about the burial of his brother (Q 5:27-31; see CAIN AND ABEL) and Jesus (q.v.) calling down a table (q.v.) from God (Q 5:112-5).

In their complex of meaning, *amthāl* comprise one of the most significant categories of qurʾānic discourse (see FORM AND STRUCTURE OF THE QURʾĀN; LANGUAGE AND STYLE OF THE QURʾĀN). A prophetic ḥadīth (tradition) includes *amthāl* among the five main categories of qurʾānic revelation (see REVELATION AND INSPIRATION; ḤADĪTH AND THE QURʾĀN). A statement attributed to ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib (q.v.; d. 41/661) says that *sunan,* "patterns of behavior" and *amthāl* comprise a fourth of the Qurʾān (see SUNNA). The legal theorist al-Shāfiʿī (d. 204/820) held that valid legal analysis *(ijtihād)* requires knowledge of the *amthāl* of the Qurʾān (cf. Suyūṭī, *Itqān,* chap. 63, iv, 44; see LAW AND THE QURʾĀN).

Al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505) notes that, for some, *amthāl* serve to clarify and support doctrines and laws by making them concrete through comparison with known events and objects in the everyday life of the receptor (Suyūṭī, *Itqān,* iv, 45). They assist in giving advice, in motivating and

restraining behavior, and in reflecting upon and determining truth by bringing to mind something that can be pictured and sensed. The Qurʾān insists, however, that only the knowledgeable will fully grasp their meaning (Q 29:43; see KNOWLEDGE AND LEARNING; SCHOLAR).

If parable in its qurʾānic context can be defined to include similitudes (extended explicit comparisons), example stories (featuring positive or negative characters to be emulated or avoided), parables (metaphors extended in a narrative; see METAPHOR; NARRATIVES) and allegories (featuring a series of related metaphors), then the following *amthāl* can be classified as parables: the fire [at night] (Q 2:17; see FIRE); the downpour (Q 2:19); the deaf, dumb, and blind (Q 2:171; see SEEING AND HEARING; VISION AND BLINDNESS; HEARING AND DEAFNESS); the sprouting seed (Q 2:261); the rock with thin soil (Q 2:264); the hilltop garden (Q 2:265; see GARDENS); the freezing wind (Q 3:117; see AIR AND WIND); the panting dog (q.v.; Q 7:176); the harvested bounty (Q 10:24; see GRACE; BLESSING; SUSTENANCE; AGRICULTURE AND VEGETATION); senses: dead and alive (Q 11:24); the futile reach (Q 13:14); the smelting foam (Q 13:17); the good and the corrupt trees (Q 14:24-7); the slave and the free man (Q 16:75; see SLAVES AND SLAVERY); the mute slave and the just master (Q 16:76; see JUSTICE AND INJUSTICE); the complacent town (Q 16:112; see PUNISHMENT STORIES); the man with two gardens (Q 18:32-44); the water and vegetation (Q 18:45); the light (q.v.) of God (Q 24:35; treated allegorically by exegetes); the desert mirage (Q 24:39); the darkness on the sea (Q 24:40); the spider's (q.v.) house (Q 29:41); the master and his slaves (Q 30:28); stark contrasts (Q 35:19-22; see PAIRS AND PAIRING); the unbelieving town (Q 36:13-29); the slave with several masters (Q 39:29); the verdure that withers (Q 57:20); the upright crops (Q 48:29); the book-laden donkey (Q 62:5); and the blighted garden (Q 68:17-34).

The most significant narrative parables include "the man with two gardens," "the unbelieving town" and "the blighted garden." Each occupies a prominent place in its respective sūra. The first (Q 18:32-44) is clearly identified as a *mathal*. God provides one of two men with two prosperous gardens supplied with abundant water. The fortunate man turns greedy and brags to his apparently landless colleague about his garden's produce, exuding confidence that his future is secure. He fears neither God nor the last judgment (q.v.; see also PIETY; FEAR). The other man, who professes never to have associated anything with God, warns him that his arrogance (q.v.) amounts to unbelief (see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF; GRATITUDE AND INGRATITUDE). Though poor in this world, this good man will receive God's reward in the next (see REWARD AND PUNISHMENT). He warns his wealthy counterpart that his gardens could be destroyed. When the gardens are suddenly destroyed, the hand-wringing proprietor expresses regret that he trusted in anything but God. The moral of the tale becomes explicit in Q 18:46: "Wealth (q.v.) and sons (see CHILDREN) are the adornment of the present world; but the abiding things, the deeds of righteousness (see GOOD DEEDS), are better with God in reward, and better in hope." Al-Suhaylī (d. 581/1185) transmitted a tradition in which the historical details of this story are given, including the names of the two men, Tamlīkhā and Fūṭīs (Suhaylī, *Taʿrīf*, 185).

The "unbelieving town" (Q 36:13-29) also starts out as a clearly labeled *mathal*. The people of a city reject the messengers (see MESSENGER) God sends, saying they are simply citizens like themselves and not

prophets (see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD). The people associate an evil omen with the messengers and threaten to stone them (see PORTENTS; FORETELLING). An obedient citizen from the margins of the city comes and affirms the mission of the messengers. He urges the people of the city to obey their message since the messengers serve without reward and have received God's guidance (see OBEDIENCE; ASTRAY). He then rehearses his own good fortune in believing in the one God. He enters paradise (q.v.) praying for his people (see INTERCESSION; PRAYER). The city ends in destruction while the thematic unit containing the parable ends with God's lamentation over the people's rejection of his messengers (Q 36:30-2). Two traditions connect this parable with the city of Antioch and name the three messengers. One tradition makes the messengers disciples of Jesus: Simon, John and Paul (see APOSTLE). It names the obedient citizen Ḥabīb and reports that he was stoned to death (see STONING).

While "the blighted garden" (Q 68:17-34) is not specifically designated a *mathal,* its comparison is explicit: God has tried Muḥammad's opponents as he tried "the people of the garden" (Q 68:17). These people confidently resolve to get up in the morning and harvest their garden, resolving to leave nothing for the poor (see POVERTY AND THE POOR). But when they approach their garden, they find it devastated. A just person among them chides the others for not praising God (see PRAISE; LAUDATION; GLORIFICATION OF GOD). They respond by confessing their guilt and blaming each other. In the end they express hope for a restoration of an even better garden from God. The thematic unit containing the parable concludes with Q 68:34, "Surely for the godfearing shall be the gardens of bliss with their lord." Exegetes have cited reports that the garden actually existed in Yemen (q.v.).

Some typical features of qurʾānic parables follow. The truths they illustrate are usually stated explicitly. Taken largely from the agricultural and commercial worlds of seventh-century Arabia, they tend to be related by exegetes to historical events (see HISTORY AND THE QURʾĀN). Many are based on natural phenomena (see NATURE AS SIGNS). Their themes include justice and communal responsibility (see JUSTICE AND INJUSTICE; COMMUNITY AND SOCIETY IN THE QURʾĀN), the proper stewardship of wealth (see PROPERTY), the protection of the disadvantaged, the fleeting nature of this world's blessings, the certainty of divine judgment, and the importance of acknowledging the oneness and sovereignty of God. God is a prominent player in most of the parables and they frequently stress the oneness of God (see GOD AND HIS ATTRIBUTES) — even when it is not the main point of the comparison.

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Paraclete

see MUḤAMMAD; NAMES OF THE PROPHET; CHRISTIANS AND CHRISTIANITY; POLEMIC AND POLEMICAL LANGUAGE

Paradise

The abode of the souls of the righteous after their death, heaven; also, the garden of Eden. In the Qurʾān, descriptions of the hereafter appear in relation to the arrival of a day, "the hour" *(al-sāʿa),* "reckoning day" *(yawm al-ḥisāb),* "the day of judgment" *(yawm al-dīn)*, "the last day" *(al-yawm al-ākhir),* or "the day of resurrection" *(yawm al-qiyāma),* in which every individual is resurrected and has to face up to his or her deeds and be judged accordingly (Q 52:21, "… Every man shall be pledged for what he earned…"). The descriptions of heaven and hell, which are very often adduced as opposites, are interwoven with descriptions of deeds that lead to reward or punishment; together they contribute to an understanding of the way divine providence operates: the righteous are rewarded and directed to the good abode, while the evil doers are punished and find themselves tortured in hell. All will happen when "the day" or, "the hour," comes (Q 19:75-6; 79:35-41; and more; see GOOD DEEDS; EVIL DEEDS; REWARD AND PUNISHMENT; LAST JUDGMENT).

The hereafter is portrayed in the Qurʾān as an eternal physical abode (see ETERNITY), and its permanent dwellers are presented as living, sensible human beings. The descriptions use worldly concepts, of the kind that can be readily understood by humans. These, among more general aspects related to Islamic eschatology (q.v.), are partially found in general books about Islam or in the few studies dedicated to the subject. They are widely described in early Islamic sources, either in the form of ḥadīths, dreams or theological and mystical inquiries (see THEOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN; ṢŪFISM AND THE QURʾĀN). The following survey, however, is limited to the Qurʾān and focuses on the qurʾānic verses that treat the blessed part of the hereafter. Emphasis has been put on philological aspects insofar as the image of the qurʾānic paradise is depicted through its names. The edifying purpose of the heavenly delights is represented by listing the groups that will reside in paradise, the deeds that lead their performers to the ultimate bliss and the pleasures bestowed upon the blessed. Following these lines, no comparison has been made between the Meccan and Medinan sūras (see CHRONOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN).

The names of the gardens

Janna: In the Qurʾān the term used most frequently for paradise is *janna* (cf. the Hebrew *gan, Gen* 2:8: "And the lord God planted a garden *[gan]* in Eden"; see also Katsh, *Judaism,* 34, especially note 2). The word *janna* means literally garden (q.v.) and Muslim philologists and commentators treated it as an Arabic word, derived from the root *j-n-n,* which means "to cover, to conceal, to protect." Al-Rāghib al-Iṣfahānī (fl. early fifth/eleventh cent.; *Mufradāt,* 204) defines *janna* as any garden, the trees of which hide the soil (a similar explanation is offered by Abū l-Walīd Marwān Ibn Janāḥ [d. 441/1050] in *Sepher Haschoraschim,* 96). Al-Rāghib al-Iṣfahānī further suggests that the word *janna* was chosen to indicate paradise either because it resembles worldly gardens or because its bliss is hidden from people's eyes, as stated in Q 32:17: "No soul knows what comfort is laid up for them secretly, as a recompense for that they were doing" (Arberry, ii, 18). The word *janna*

also appears in the Qurʾān with reference to the primordial garden, the dwelling place of Adam (Q 2:35; see ADAM AND EVE) and also in the meaning of a worldly garden (Q 2:264-5).

Although most commonly used (over eighty times), *janna* is not the only word in the Qurʾān that conveys the idea of paradise. Its plural form, *jannāt,* appears over forty times, of which about half occur in combination with other terms: *jannāt ʿadn* (six times), *jannāt al-naʿīm* (seven times), *jannāt firdaws/al-firdaws* (once each), *jannāt/jannat al-maʾwā* (once each). Other words presented in the commentaries as indicating paradise are *dār al-salām* (twice), *dār/jannat al-khuld* (once each), *dār al-muqāma* (once), *maqām amīn* (once), *maqʿad al-ṣidq* (once), *dār al-muttaqīn* (once), *dār al-qarār* (once), *ṭūbā* (once), *ʿilliyyūn/ʿilliyyīn* (once each), *rawḍa/rawḍāt jannāt* (once each), *ḥusnā* (four times), as well as numerous verses in which *al-dār al-ākhira/al-ākhira* is interpreted to mean paradise. This variety of names underlies the numerous traditions presented in the exegetical literature concerning the different facets of paradise.

Firdaws: According to words ascribed to al-Farrāʾ (d. 207/822), *firdaws* is an Arabic word (quoted in Jawharī [d. 398/1007], *Ṣiḥāḥ,* iii, 959; cf. *Tāj al-ʿarūs,* viii, 392). This is, however, an exceptional opinion. The commentaries on Q 18:107 focus on the foreign origin of the name, which means garden in Greek or Syriac (Suyūṭī, *Durr,* iv, 279; *Tāj al-ʿarūs,* viii, 392), and Ibn Janāḥ (*Sepher Haschoraschim,* 419) connects it with the Hebrew *pardes* (see FOREIGN VOCABULARY). Various commentaries also present a prophetic tradition, according to which the *janna* consists of a hundred levels, among which the *firdaws* is the best. God's throne (see THRONE OF GOD) is situated above the *firdaws* and from it spurt the rivers of paradise (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* xvi, 30; Qurṭubī, *Jāmiʿ,* xi, 68; Suyūṭī, *Durr,* iv, 279; and see Zaghlūl, *Mawsūʿa,* iii, 363; iv, 514). Another prophetic tradition states that the *firdaws* consists of four gardens, two made of gold and two of silver (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* xvi, 30; cf. Zaghlūl, *Mawsūʿa,* iv, 502, and the commentaries on Q 55:62 mentioned below).

ʿAdn: The biblical name Eden *(Gen 2)* is treated in Islamic sources as deriving from the root *ʿ-d-n,* which means "to be firmly established and have a long duration" (al-Rāghib al-Iṣfahānī, *Mufradāt,* 553; cf. Qurṭubī, *Jāmiʿ,* x, 396; Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya, *Ḥādī l-arwāḥ,* 142; see also the detailed study of *ʿadn* in the meaning of a mineral *[maʿdan]* in Tamari, *Iconotextual studies,* chaps. 1 and 2). The plural form *(jannāt ʿadn)* is used to indicate width (Qurṭubī, *Jāmiʿ,* x, 396). Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 606/1210; *Tafsīr,* xx, 25, ad Q 16:31) says that *jannāt* denotes the palaces and the gardens, whereas *ʿadn* conveys its eternity. Commentaries on Q 13:23 cite a prophetic tradition proclaiming that in the *janna* there is a palace, the name of which is *ʿadn*. It is surrounded by towers and meadows, and has five thousand (or ten thousand) doors. Each door opens onto five thousand gardens (or twenty-five thousand beautiful women), and only prophets (see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD), righteous people, martyrs (q.v.; *shuhadāʾ;* see also WITNESSING AND TESTIFYING) and upright imāms (see IMĀM) are allowed to enter it (Qurṭubī, *Jāmiʿ,* ix, 311; Suyūṭī, *Durr,* iv, 65). As stated about the *firdaws, ʿadn* is also defined as the center of the *janna* (Qurṭubī, *Jāmiʿ,* ix, 311; x, 396; Suyūṭī, *Durr,* iv, 65; cf. Zaghlūl, *Mawsūʿa,* iv, 502). Other verses that mention *ʿadn* emphasize the luxuries it offers. Q 18:31, for example, reads: "Those — theirs shall be gardens of Eden, underneath which rivers flow; therein they shall be adorned with bracelets of gold (q.v.), and they shall be robed in green

garments of silk (q.v.) and brocade, therein reclining upon couches — O, how excellent a reward! and O, how fair a resting place!"

ʿIlliyyūn/ʿilliyyīn (Q 83:18-21): Most commentaries deal with the location of the *ʿilliyyūn,* and combine it with the basic meaning of the root of the word, namely height and glory. Thus *ʿilliyyūn* appears as lofty degrees surrounded by glory; as the seventh heaven (see HEAVEN AND SKY), where the souls of the believers stay; as the lotus tree in the seventh heaven (see ASCENSION; AGRICULTURE AND VEGETATION); as a green chrysolite tablet containing the deeds of people that hangs beneath the throne; as the most elevated place, the dwellers of which can be seen only as sparkling stars up in the sky; as the residence of the angels (see ANGEL), or the celestial host (Ṭabarsī, *Majmaʿ,* xxx, 71; Qurṭubī, *Jāmiʿ,* xix, 262-3). Other terms derived from the same root that indicate high degrees in paradise are *al-darajāt al-ʿulā* (Q 20:75) and *janna ʿāliya* (Q 69:22; 88:10).

Jannat/Jannāt al-maʾwā, "garden/s of the refuge": the abode of Gabriel (q.v.; Jibrīl) and the angels, or of the souls of the *shuhadāʾ* (both in Wāḥidī, *Wasīṭ,* iv, 198, ad Q 53:15), or of green birds that contain the souls of the *shuhadāʾ* (Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya, *Ḥādī l-arwāḥ,* 142), or yet, the residing place of the believers in general (Wāḥidī, *Wasīṭ,* iii, 454, ad Q 32:19; see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF). Nothing is said about its location.

Dār al-salām (Q 6:127; 10:25): the abode *(dār)* of everlasting security and soundness *(salāma),* or the *janna (= dār)* of God, *salām* being one of God's names (see GOD AND HIS ATTRIBUTES; PEACE), derived from his immunity from any kind of evil (Wāḥidī, *Wasīṭ,* ii, 322; cf. al-Rāghib al-Iṣfahānī, *Mufradāt,* 421-2; Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya, *Ḥādī l-arwāḥ,* 142; see GOOD AND EVIL). Similar is the meaning given to the term *maqām amīn* (Q 44:51), presented as the future dwelling of the righteous, and interpreted to mean the eternal world of security and immunity from fear (q.v.) and death (Muqātil, *Tafsīr,* iii, 825; cf. Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya, *Ḥādī l-arwāḥ,* 145-6; see HOUSE, DOMESTIC AND DIVINE).

Dār al-khuld occurs in Q 41:28 in the meaning of hell (see HELL AND HELLFIRE), whereas *jannat al-khuld* is mentioned in Q 25:15 in the meaning of paradise, both aiming at an eternal existence. Muqātil (d. 150/767) gives the same meaning to *dār al-muqāma* (Q 35:35). He defines the latter as *dār al-khulūd,* the place where people stay forever (Muqātil, *Tafsīr,* iii, 558; cf. Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya, *Ḥādī l-arwāḥ,* 141).

Maqʿad al-ṣidq (Q 54:55), the place of goodness promised to the righteous: Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya (d. 751/1350; *Ḥādī l-arwāḥ,* 146-7) considers it, as well as the term *qadam al-ṣidq* (Q 10:2), as one of the names of paradise.

Jannāt/jannat naʿīm/al-naʿīm: The name conveys the variety of pleasures *(niʿam)* offered in paradise (Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya, *Ḥādī l-arwāḥ,* 145; see BLESSING). The commentaries that deal with the term concentrate mainly on the issue of compensation. Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (*Tafsīr,* xxii, 49, ad Q 5:65) deals with two kinds of happiness (see JOY AND MISERY). One is the removal of sins (see SIN, MAJOR AND MINOR; REPENTANCE AND PENANCE) and the other is the bestowal of reward. *Naʿīm,* in al-Rāzī's opinion, is to be understood as the latter. In several cases *naʿīm* is identified with *firdaws* (for example, Wāḥidī, *Wasīṭ,* iii, 356, ad Q 26:85).

Dār al-ākhira appears mostly in contrast with the present world *(al-dunyā)*. Q 40:39 juxtaposes the transience of the present world with the stability of the hereafter *(al-ākhira),* and defines the latter as *dār al-qarār*. Q 16:30-1 mentions *dār al-ākhira* together with *dār al-muttaqīn* and *jannāt ʿadn,*

and Q 29:64 defines it as the abode of life (q.v.; *ḥayawān*), meaning either the abode of eternal life, or the eternal abode (Wāḥidī, *Wasīṭ,* iii, 425-6; cf. Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya, *Ḥādī l-arwāḥ*, 144).

Ṭūbā (Q 13:29): A common tradition, cited by most commentators, states that *ṭūbā* is a tree in *janna* (Wāḥidī, *Wasīṭ,* iii, 15, 16; Jawharī, *Ṣiḥāḥ,* i, 173; cf. Zaghlūl, *Mawsūʿa,* iii, 360). An attempt to show a foreign origin may explain the statement that *ṭūbā* means *janna* in the Ethiopian/Indian language (Wāḥidī, *Wasīṭ,* iii, 16; Suyūṭī, *Durr,* iv, 67). Other explanations, however, treat *ṭūbā* as an Arabic word, meaning good, the eternal ultimate stage in *janna* (al-Rāghib al-Iṣfahānī, *Mufradāt,* 528; *Tāj al-ʿarūs,* ii, 189; for the usage of *ṭūbā* in Persian poetry, see Schimmel, Celestial garden, 18-9).

(Al-)ḥusnā is often interpreted to mean *janna* (for example Wāḥidī, *Wasīṭ,* ii, 104, 544; iii, 13, 68, ad Q 4:95; 10:26; 13:18; 16:62), but also as the ultimate good and as the vision of God (*Tāj al-ʿarūs,* xvii, 142; see FACE OF GOD).

The number of the gardens

Q 55:46 mentions two gardens awaiting those who fear God. The commentators offer several ways to distinguish one garden from another. Al-Qurṭubī (d. 671/1272; *Jāmiʿ,* xvii, 177) cites the following explanations: one garden was created especially for the individual, the other was inherited; one garden is for the destined, the other for his wives (see MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE); one garden is his home, the other his garden; one has the lower palaces, the other the upper ones. Abū Ḥayyān (d. 745/1344; *Baḥr,* x, 67) adduces similar ideas, among which he suggests that one garden is for those who obey God (see OBEDIENCE), the other for those who refrain from sin; one is for the jinn (q.v.), the other for people. Al-Ṭabarsī (d. 548/1154; *Majmaʿ,* vi, 101) mentions one garden inside the palace and another outside. Al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505; *Durr,* vi, 163) presents a prophetic tradition, according to which both gardens reach the width of a hundred years walking distance (cf. Q 3:133, which compares the width of the *janna* to that of heaven and earth; for Jewish parallels see Katsh, *Judaism,* 214), and both gardens have fruitful trees, flowing rivers, and wonderful fragrances. Al-Wāḥidī (d. 468/1076; *Wasīṭ,* iv, 225) cites al-Ḍaḥḥāk as saying that one garden is for the believers who worshiped God secretly and the other for those who worshiped him openly. Verse 62 of the same sūra (Q 55) also mentions two gardens. Most commentaries refer to these two as additional gardens, assuming altogether the existence of four gardens: two gardens of trees and two of plants and seeds; two gardens for the "foremost in the race" *(sābiqūn)* and "those brought near" *(al-muqarrabūn),* two for the "people of the right hand" (*aṣḥāb al-yamīn;* see LEFT HAND AND RIGHT HAND); the first two (v 46) are *ʿadn* and *naʿīm,* the other pair (v 62) the *firdaws* and *dār al-maʾwā;* the first two are of gold and silver, the others are of sapphire and emerald (Qurṭubī, *Jāmīʿ,* xvii, 183-4; cf. Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* xvii, 89-91; Suyūṭī, *Durr,* vi, 161-3; for a stylistic analysis of these verses, see Nöldeke, Koran, 45; Schimmel, Celestial garden, 17-8; Abdel Haleem, Context, 89-93).

The inhabitants of paradise

Sūrat al-Wāqiʿa ("The Event," Q 56), which describes the day of resurrection (q.v.), mentions three groups of people as the future inhabitants of paradise: (1) "the people of the right hand" (*aṣḥāb al-maymana,* Q 56:8), who are more commonly referred to as *aṣḥāb al-yamīn* (Q 56:27, 38, 90, 91; cf. *The Babylonian Talmud,* Tractate Shabat, 63a); (2) "the foremost in the race" (*al-sābiqūn,* Q 56:10); and (3) "those brought near" (*al-muqarrabūn,* Q 56:11).

Aṣḥāb al-yamīn/al-maymana: Q 56:28-38

give a picturesque description of the rewards awaiting the *aṣḥāb al-yamīn:* "Mid thornless lote-trees and serried acacias, and spreading shade and outpoured waters, and fruits abounding unfailing, unforbidden, and upraised couches, perfectly we formed them, perfect, and we made them spotless virgins, chastely amorous, like of age for the companions of the right hand." The commentaries explain their name in three ways: those who, on the day of judgment, will receive the record of their deeds in their right hand (cf. Q 17:71; 69:19; 84:7; see BOOK), those who are strong, and those whose belief is illuminated by the light of God (all in Rāzī, *Tafsīr,* xxix, 143, 163).

Al-sābiqūn: Q 9:100 reads: "And the outstrippers *(sābiqūn),* the first of the emigrants and the helpers (see EMIGRANTS AND HELPERS), and those who followed them in good doing, God will be well pleased with them and they are well pleased with him; and he has prepared for them gardens underneath which rivers flow therein to dwell forever and ever." The common identifications of the *sābiqūn,* adduced in the commentaries, are of two kinds: those who lived prior to the arrival of Muḥammad (Rāzī, *Tafsīr,* xxix, 149) and those who contributed to Islam in its first stages. Among the latter, the following are mentioned: those who prayed toward both *qibla*s (see QIBLA), those who participated in Badr (q.v.), those who took part in Ḥudaybiya (q.v.) or, more generally, those who lived during Muḥammad's lifetime (all in Wāḥidī, *Wasīṭ,* ii, 520). Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, who prefers to identify the *sābiqūn* as those who performed the emigration (q.v.) with Muḥammad, states that the *sābiqūn* are the most elevated in paradise (Rāzī, *Tafsīr,* xvi, 172, ad Q 9:100). In his commentary on Q 56:10-1, al-Rāzī (*Tafsīr,* xxix, 147) defines the *sābiqūn* as the most exalted among the *muqarrabūn,* higher than *aṣḥāb al-yamīn*, the most elevated among the *muttaqūn* (ibid., 148), and those who will reach paradise without judgment (ibid., 144).

Muqarrabūn: in Q 3:45 Jesus (q.v.; ʿĪsā) is considered one of the *muqarrabūn*. In Q 4:172 the angels are the *muqarrabūn,* while in Q 56:10-26 the *muqarrabūn* are identified as *sābiqūn,* and the description of the rewards bestowed upon them seems the most highly detailed in the Qurʾān: "In the gardens of delight … upon close-wrought couches reclining upon them, set face to face, immortal youths going round about them with goblets, and ewers, and a cup from a spring (see CUPS AND VESSELS), no brows throbbing, no intoxication (see INTOXICANTS; WINE), and such fruits as they shall choose, and such flesh of fowl as they desire, and wide-eyes houris (q.v.) as the likeness of hidden pearls, a recompense for that they labored. Therein they shall hear no idle talk (see GOSSIP), no cause of sin, only the saying peace."

Other verses promise heavenly delights to additional groups: Two groups often mentioned (over fifty times each), are (1) "the godfearing" *(al-muttaqūn/alladhīna ttaqū)* and (2) "those who believed and performed righteous deeds" (*alladhīna āmanū wa-ʿamilū l-ṣāliḥāt;* for detailed descriptions of the bliss bestowed upon each of the groups see Q 44:51-7 and Q 2:25 respectively). Also mentioned are "the inhabitants of paradise" (*aṣḥāb al-janna,* over ten times; see e.g. Q 2:82; 10:26), and the "pious" (*abrār,* six times; see PIETY).

Deeds that lead their performers to paradise

The general term "righteous deeds" *(ṣāliḥāt)* is mentioned about sixty times in the Qurʾān, always as a guarantee to entry into paradise. Q 4:122-4 read: "But those that believe, and do deeds of righteousness, them we shall admit to gardens underneath which rivers flow, therein dwelling for ever and ever … and whosoever does

deeds of righteousness, be it male or female (see GENDER), believing — they shall enter paradise …" (cf. Q 3:195, and see also the description of the *mu'minūn* in Q 8:2-4). Q 7:157-8, among other verses, emphasize the belief in God and his messenger as a guarantee of prosperity. Q 2:112 restricts good fate to "those who submit their will to God," namely Muslims, and implicitly excludes Jews and Christians from being potential dwellers in paradise (see JEWS AND JUDAISM; CHRISTIANS AND CHRISTIANITY). Q 13:20-3 and Q 70:22-35 mention a list of conditions, the fulfillment of which is necessary to gain entry into paradise. Other verses focus on particular deeds that ensure reaching paradise, such as praying (Q 2:277; 4:162; 27:3; see PRAYER), almsgiving (q.v.; Q 3:134; 27:3), belief in the last day (Q 58:22; 65:2), fear of the last day (Q 76:10), obedience (Q 3:132; 4:13), gratitude (Q 3:144; see GRATITUDE AND INGRATITUDE), patience (Q 76:12; see TRUST AND PATIENCE; TRIAL), restraint of rage and forgiving the evil of other people (Q 3:134; see ANGER; FORGIVENESS), fulfillment of vows (Q 76:7; see VOW; BREAKING TRUSTS AND CONTRACTS; CONTRACTS AND ALLIANCES), support of the needy (Q 76:8; see POVERTY AND THE POOR), participation in the emigration (*hijra,* Q 3:195), in Ḥudaybiya (cf. Q 48:18), and in jihād (q.v.; i.e. Q 2:218; 3:195; 4:95; 8:74; 9:20; 61:11-2).

Rewards in paradise

The bliss bestowed upon the dwellers of paradise may be divided into two types: sensual pleasures and spiritual ones.

Spiritual pleasures: Here one can find general expressions, such as God's pleasure (*riḍwān,* Q 3:15; for the personification of *riḍwān* in Persian poetry to mean the heavenly doorkeeper of paradise, see Schimmel, Celestial garden, 16-8; see PERSIAN LITERATURE AND THE QUR'ĀN), forgiveness (Q 3:136), acquittal of evil deeds (Q 3:195; 48:5), divine protection from the evil day (cf. Q 76:11), praise of God (see LAUDATION; PRAISE) and greetings of peace (Q 10:9-11; cf. 56:26). Q 10:26 promises *al-ḥusnā* and *ziyāda* "to the gooddoers" *(lilladhīna aḥsanū)*. *Al-ḥusnā* is interpreted to mean paradise and *ziyāda* is interpreted to mean looking at God's face (al-Rāghib al-Iṣfahānī, *Mufradāt,* 386; Wāḥidī, *Wasīṭ,* ii, 344-5; Suyūṭī, *Durr,* iii, 331-2). The ability to look at the face of the lord can be drawn from additional verses. Q 83:15 proclaims that those who do not believe will be "veiled from their lord." In the commentaries on this verse several traditions are adduced to indicate that if veiling is a sign of divine anger, unveiling, namely the permission to see God, is a sign of divine contentment (Wāḥidī, *Wasīṭ,* iv, 446; see VEIL). A more straightforward verse is Q 75:22-3: "Upon that day (resurrection day) faces shall be radiant, gazing upon their lord." (The issue of permission to see God became controversial and was widely discussed in theological and mystical circles; see Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya, *Ḥādī l-arwāḥ,* 402-77; Ājurī, *Taṣdīq;* Gimaret, Ru'yat Allāh; Baljon, 'To seek the face of God,' 254-66; Schimmel, *Deciphering,* 238.) Further aspects of spiritual pleasures can be drawn from the verses that deal with the fate that awaits the martyrs *(shuhadā'):* "Count not those who were slain in God's way as dead (see PATH OR WAY; EXPEDITIONS AND BATTLES; FIGHTING), but rather living with their lord, by him provided, rejoicing in the bounty that God has given them, and joyful in those who remain behind and have not joined them, because no fear shall be on them, neither shall they sorrow, joyful in blessing and bounty from God.…"

Sensual pleasures: The most frequently mentioned reward (over fifty times) focuses on rivers flowing beneath gardens. Q 47:15 describes four rivers flowing in paradise:

"… Rivers of water unstaling, rivers of milk (q.v.) unchanging in flavor, and rivers of wine — a delight to the drinkers, rivers, too, of honey (q.v.) purified.…" (Schimmel, Celestial garden, 15, points out that "The idea of the four rivers which flow through Paradise may have helped late architects to conceive the canals as they flow through the gardens of Iran and Mughal India, for it was said by the court poets of this time that every part of the royal garden was in some way a similitude of Paradise." See also Tamari, *Iconotextual studies,* chap. 3.)

Thoroughly studied, but also criticized in non-Islamic circles, is the topic of the women granted the faithful as a celestial reward in the qurʾānic paradise (see the bibliographical references mentioned in the notes of Wendell, Denizens of paradise). Compared to the carnal, sensuous, highly detailed descriptions of women awaiting the righteous adduced in ḥadīth literature, the qurʾānic text is restrained (see ḤADĪTH AND THE QURʾĀN). It mentions purified women (*azwāj muṭahhara,* Q 2:25; 3:15; 4:57), "wide-eyed houris" (*[bi-]ḥūr ʿīn,* Q 44:54; 52:20; 56:22; but see the exegesis of these verses for the various understandings of the phrase), maidens with swelling breasts, equal in age (*kawāʿib atrāban,* Q 78:33) and amorous virgins equal in age (*abkār ʿuruban atrāban,* Q 56:36-7).

Other rewards that await one in heaven are young boys serving wine (*wildān mukhalladūn,* Q 56:17; 76:19; *ghilmān,* Q 52:24), sofas to lean against (*surur,* Q 15:47; 37:44; 43:34; 52:20; 56:15; 88:13; *furush,* Q 55:54; 56:34; *al-arāʾik,* Q 18:31; 36:56; 76:13; *rafraf,* Q 55:76), green garments of silk and brocade (Q 18:31; 76:21), gold/silver bracelets (Q 18:31; 22:23; 35:33; 76:21), fruit (*thamara,* Q 2:25; *fākiha,* Q 36:57; 38:51; 43:73; 44:55; 52:22; 55:11, 52, 68; 56:20, 32; 80:31; *fawākih,* Q 37:42; 77:42, especially dates and grapes; see DATE PALM), wine that does not intoxicate (*khamr,* Q 47:15; *kaʾs,* Q 37:45; 52:23; 56:18; 76:17; 78:34; *sharāb,* Q 38:51; 76:21), vessels of silver and goblets of crystal (Q 76:15), plates/trays of gold (Q 43:71), pleasant weather (Q 76:13), shade (Q 4:57; 36:56; 56:30; 76:14; 77:41), provision (*rizq,* Q 37:41; 65:11; cf. 40:40), palaces (Q 25:10), and whatever the souls desire and in which the eyes delight (Q 43:71; cf. 50:35). Such pleasures and those like them are often defined as "[the great] triumph" (*fawz,* Q 4:13; 5:119; 9:72, 89, 100; 45:30; 48:5; 57:12; 61:12; 64:9; 85:11), mostly with emphasis on their eternal existence.

These heavenly delights became an issue that has often been used for polemical purposes against Islam. These descriptions "angered theologians for centuries … the large-eyed virgins, the luscious fruits and drinks, the green couches and the like seemed too worldly to most non-Muslim critics" (Schimmel, *Deciphering,* 238, especially note 44). The following words, ascribed to the so-called ʿAbd al-Masīḥ al-Kindī (probably third/ninth cent.), may give an idea about the nature of the non-Muslim reaction: "All these [descriptions of paradise in the Qurʾān] suit only stupid, ignorant and simple-minded people, who are inexperienced and unfamiliar with reading texts and understanding old traditions, and who are just a rabble of rough Bedouins accustomed to eating desert lizards and chameleons" (cited in Sadan, Identity and inimitability, 338, from al-Kindī's book, which, "transcribed by Jews into Hebrew characters and translated from Arabic into Latin, taught the Spanish Christians how to fight Islam in the most vigorous and harsh way"; see also notes 12 and 39).

Conclusion

Although comparison between the Meccan and Medinan sūras appears as one of the central features in the examination of

the Qurʾān, as it relates to paradisiacal descriptions, such a comparison seems superfluous. The components that comprise the descriptions of paradise of both periods are similar, and even though the issue of the last day is less prominent in the sūras of Medina (q.v.), one common concept underlies all the descriptions. This is the idea of a direct proportion between deeds and rewards that furnishes the eschatological status of the individual. It can be considered the *leitmotiv* of all the celestial descriptions found in the Qurʾān and the key to understanding the spirit of Islam.

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twentieth century that deal with the qurʾānic paradise, such as those of J. Horovitz, E. Berthels, D. Künstlinger, and E. Beck).

Parchment

see WRITING AND WRITING MATERIALS; SHEETS; SCROLLS

Pardon

see FORGIVENESS

Parents

Those who beget or bring forth children. Terms designating "parents" in the Qurʾān are *wālidāni* and *abawāni,* respectively the dual form of *wālid,* "father, one who begets a child" (the passive *al-mawlūd lahu* indicates "to whom the child is borne"; *wālida,* "mother, one who brings forth a child," appears in both the singular and the plural; *umm/ummahāt* also designate "mother"), and the dual form of *ab,* "father" (the singular means "nurturer," see Robertson-Smith, *Kinship and marriage,* 142; Lane, 10; in certain verses the plural *ābāʾ* means "ancestors").

Natural aspects of parenthood are particularly identified throughout the Qurʾān with maternal functions, pregnancy, giving birth (q.v.), breastfeeding and weaning (e.g. Q 16:78; 39:6; 53:32; 58:2; see also BIOLOGY AS THE CREATION AND STAGES OF LIFE). Q 2:232-3 calls upon divorced mothers to fulfill their natural role as nurses whereas the role of fathers is limited to supplying the nursing mother and the nursling with economic support (see LACTATION; MAINTENANCE AND UPKEEP). Moreover, maternal emotions of love (q.v.) and solicitude find emphatic expression in the qurʾānic story of Moses (q.v.; Q 28:7-13; 20:38-40; cf. Stowasser, *Women,* 57-8; Giladi, *Infants,* 14-5). In two verses, Q 7:150 and 20:94, Aaron (q.v.; Hārūn) calls his brother *"Mūsā ibn umma,"* thus attributing him to their mother ("to implore his mercy," cf. Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr;* Zamakhsharī, *Kashshāf;* Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr,* ad loc.) rather than to their father as could have been expected in a patrilineal system (see e.g. Q 8:75; 33:6 where blood relatives are referred to as *ūlū l-arḥām, arḥām* being the plural of *raḥim,* "womb"; see also PATRIARCHY; FAMILY). When, in Q 31:14 and 46:15, Muslims are commanded to honor both parents (see below), it is the (biological) role of the mother that is emphasized ("His mother beneath him in weakness upon weakness"; cf. Pickthall, *Koran*; Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr,* ad loc.), implying that it serves best to justify or explain the commandment.

As reproduction is (implicitly) presented as the goal of marriage (Q 4:1; 7:189; see MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE; SEX AND SEXUALITY; CHILDREN), both parents are depicted as bringing up their children (Q 17:24,… *kamā rabbayānī ṣaghīran*); fathers are described as having intimate knowledge of their sons (Q 6:20) and seeking comfort from their descendants as well as from their wives (Q 25:74).

Several verses from the second Meccan period onwards (see e.g. Q 4:36; 6:151; 17:23-4; also Q 31:13-4; cf. Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr,* ad Q 4:36: "For God made parents the reason for the servants to come into existence.") contain a recurring formula in which the commandment "to be good to one's parents" *(wa-bi-l-wālidayni iḥsānan)* is presented as second in importance only to the commandment "to worship no god but Allāh" (cf. *Lev* 19:2-4; Q 2:83; on the apparent influence of the Hebrew decalogue on the Qurʾān in this regard, see Roberts, *Social laws,* 46-9; see also IDOLATRY AND IDOLATERS; POLYTHEISM AND ATHEISM; SCRIPTURE AND THE QURʾĀN). Nevertheless, in cases of conflict, that is, when one's parents "strive hard with you that you may associate with me that of which you have no knowledge" (Q 29:8), and submission to God prevails, the duty to obey parents be-

comes void (see also Q 31:13-5 from the third Meccan period [Nöldeke] or early Medinan [Bell]). This is exemplified particularly through qurʾānic references from the second Meccan period onwards to the conflict between Abraham (q.v.; Ibrāhīm) and his people, including his pagan father (e.g. Q 9:114; 19:41-8; 37:83-98). Q 21:51-70 describes a dramatic clash in which Abraham uses the expression of exasperation *uffin lakum* ("fie on you," Q 21:67) which, according to Q 17:23, Muslims are never to direct at their parents (cf. Q 46:17). In several verses (e.g. Q 14:41; 26:86) Abraham is depicted as praying for his father, but unable to evoke divine response (Q 60:4). Noah (q.v.; Nūḥ) prays similarly, to no avail, for his sinful son (Q 11:45-6).

In contrast to the tension between him and his (polytheist) father, Abraham's relationship with his own (believing) son is harmonious. Abraham is depicted as asking God to give him "[one] of the righteous" *(mina l-ṣāliḥīna)* and is indeed granted a "mild-tempered" *(ḥalīm)* son who, being "one of the enduring ones" (*mina l-ṣābirīna;* see TRUST AND PATIENCE), is ready to obey God's command and be sacrificed for his sake (Q 37:100-7; see OBEDIENCE; ISAAC; ISHMAEL).

Thus, Muslims are guided to prefer loyalty to God above the fulfillment of filial duties, "to be witnesses for God, even though it be against yourselves, or your parents and relatives…" (Q 4:135). In any case, they are warned, "neither their relations nor their [polytheist; cf. *Jalālayn,* ad loc.] children will profit them on the day of resurrection" (the Medinan Q 60:3; cf. Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr,* ad loc.; see also the Meccan Q 70:11-2; 80:34-5). On the other hand, "those who believe and whose progeny have followed them in belief" are assured that God will "cause their progeny to be united with them [in paradise; cf. *Jalālayn,* ad loc.]" (Q 52:21; for a detailed discussion see Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr;* ad loc.; also Q 13:23; 40:8; and Motzki, Das Kind, 399 n. 42; see also REWARD AND PUNISHMENT; PARADISE; BELIEF AND UNBELIEF).

Attitudes of parents towards their children are also reflected in the Qurʾān, some of whom are strongly criticized from the point of view of monotheist morality (see CHILDREN). Although sons (and property) are acknowledged as signs of divine benevolence (see GRACE; BLESSING), they are also regarded as temptation for the believers (Motzki, Das Kind, 398). For example, there is a legend in which one of God's servants, al-Khiḍr (cf. Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* ad Q 18:74), kills a youth: "Have you taken an innocent life, not in return for a life?" Moses asks, adding: "Surely you have committed a thing unheard of" (Q 18:74). The unnamed servant of God then explains the act by saying that "his [i.e. the youth's] parents were believers and we feared that he might impose upon them arrogance (q.v.) and unbelief" (Q 18:80; cf. Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr,* ad loc.: "Their love for him might make them follow him in disbelief;" see KHAḌIR/KHIḌR).

In Mecca (q.v.), the Qurʾān had frowned on help based on ties of kinship (see O'Shaughnessy, Qurʾānic view, 37-8), but in the Medinan period, when blood ties and the duties they impose are again emphasized (see BLOOD AND BLOOD CLOT), a few verses were dedicated to parent-descendant relationships from the viewpoint of mutual socioeconomic responsibilities (see COMMUNITY AND SOCIETY IN THE QURʾĀN; ETHICS AND THE QURʾĀN; ECONOMICS). Reciprocal inheritance rules find a relatively detailed formulation in Q 2:180 and 4:7, 11 (see also INHERITANCE). In Q 2:215 Muslims are encouraged to support their parents economically, as well as relatives and such members of the community as are in need, e.g. "orphans (q.v.), the poor (see POVERTY AND THE POOR) and

the follower of the way (see JOURNEY)."

Prohibitions of marriage between, among others, males and their own mothers (as well as their non-maternal wet nurses, see LACTATION; WET NURSING), and between males and their own daughters (as well as their own wives' daughters, see FOSTERAGE) are enumerated in Q 4:23 (see PROHIBITED DEGREES). Q 33:6, wherein the Prophet's wives (see WIVES OF THE PROPHET) are referred to as the "mothers" of the believers, was understood to mean that they were not allowed to remarry after Muḥammad's death (*wa-azwājuhu ummahātuhum = wa-ḥurmat azwājihi — ḥurmat ummahātihim ʿalayhim,* cf. Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* ad loc.). See also GUARDIANSHIP.

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Parody of the Qurʾān

Literary composition attempting to imitate the language and style of the Qurʾān. Parodies of the Qurʾān (sing. *muʿāraḍat al-Qurʾān*) have been known in Islamic history, but no authentic and complete texts of them have come down to us. What Islamic sources have recorded of them in snippets shows imitation that is obviously weak, grossly ludicrous and vastly inferior to the Qurʾān in language, style and content (see LANGUAGE AND STYLE OF THE QURʾĀN; FORM AND STRUCTURE OF THE QURʾĀN; LITERARY STRUCTURES OF THE QURʾĀN), making the parodies themselves the object of ridicule.

When the qurʾānic challenge to disbelievers to produce a discourse like it (Q 52:33-4) or to fabricate ten sūras (q.v.; Q 11:13) or even one sūra (Q 10:38) like it was not met, the Qurʾān affirmed that, even if humans and jinn (q.v.) combined their efforts, they would be unable to produce a similar Qurʾān (Q 17:88; see PROVOCATION). Islamic doctrine holds that the Qurʾān is God's speech (q.v.) and, as such, it is characterized by inimitability (q.v.; *iʿjāz*) and is thus the prophet Muḥammad's miracle (q.v.; *muʿjiza*) and evidence of his prophecy (see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD; WORD OF GOD; BOOK; CREATEDNESS OF THE QURʾĀN).

In Muḥammad's lifetime, the most famous parodist of the Qurʾān was Musaylima (q.v.). Known in Muslim writings as "the liar" *(al-kadhdhāb),* he claimed prophecy in Yamāma and held authority in eastern Arabia until he was killed in 11/633 in the war against apostates (see APOSTASY) waged by the first caliph (q.v.), Abū Bakr. As recorded in al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923) and other Muslim sources, Musaylima's parody consisted of rhyming prose verses of unequal lengths (see RHYMED PROSE), in which oaths (q.v.) were often made, reference was made to the wonders of life and nature (see NATURE AS SIGNS), a God called Allāh and al-Raḥmān was invoked (see GOD AND HIS ATTRIBUTES) and very few regulations were posited (see VIRTUES AND VICES, COMMANDING AND FORBIDDING). The parody has a hollow ring to it, even when echoing a qurʾānic turn of phrase, because it lacks a sublime subject. It has been suggested, however, that the Islamic

tradition has handed down "weak" examples of Musaylima's prowess in order to make him look ridiculous. This argument contends that the Islamic tradition would not have termed him the "Liar" and expended the energy to make him the object of ridicule if he had been incapable of producing good verses or good rhymed prose in the style of the soothsayers, that could reasonably be compared to the Qur'ān (cf. Gilliot, Contraintes, 24-5).

Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ (executed in 139/756), whose acclaimed prose writings and translations attest to his command of Arabic, is said to have tried to imitate the Qur'ān but apparently abandoned the attempt, acknowledging its difficulty (cf. van Ess, *TG,* ii, 35-6). Fragments of his polemic against Islam and the Qur'ān are quoted in the refutation of the Zaydī Imām, al-Qāsim b. Ibrāhīm (d. 246/860) and citations from the parody of the Qur'ān attributed to him are quoted by the Zaydī Imām, Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Mu'ayyad-bi-llāh (d. 411/1020).

Another early attempt to imitate the Qur'ān is attributed to Nashī l-Akbar (d. 239/906), a Murji'ite who was close to the Muʿtazilīs (q.v.): he is said to have died while trying to write an imitation of the Qur'ān (cf. van Ess, *TG,* iv, 146). Yet another early parodist was the renowned poet Abū l-Ṭayyib Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn (d. 354/965), known as al-Mutanabbī, "the would-be prophet." He parodied the Qur'ān in his youth and led some beguiled Syrian Bedouins (see BEDOUIN) in a revolt that ended in his imprisonment in 322/933 and his recantation. In adult life, he often dismissed that experience as a youthful escapade.

The skeptical, blind poet Abū l-ʿAlā' al-Maʿarrī (d. 449/1057) was falsely accused of parodying the Qur'ān in his *al-Fuṣūl wa-l-ghāyāt,* a work which praises God and offers moral exhortations. Only volume one of this book is extant, displaying a masterful style in rhyming prose disposed in chapters *(fuṣūl),* with paragraphs that have endings *(ghāyāt)* with a regular rhyme. In this work's rhyme scheme, these paragraphs all end in one letter of the alphabet, which is different for each chapter; additionally, each paragraph has sentences that rhyme or partly rhyme in other letters. This elaborate rhyming scheme, however, is not that of the Qur'ān.

It is interesting to note that we have attestations of Muslims admitting the possibility of compositions better than the Qur'ān up through the third/ninth century. Ibn al-Rawāndī (d. ca. 298/910-1) wrote in his *Kitāb al-Zumurrud,* "In the words of Aktham al-Ṣayfī, we find better than: "Lo! We have given you al-kawthar [Q 108:1]" (cf. van Ess, *TG,* vi, 472-3; Gilliot, L'embarras). In the traditional Islamic perspective, Q 108 is considered a great marvel (cf. Gilliot, L'embarras; see MARVELS). Further, the Persian Muʿtazilī Murdār (d. 226/821) refused the inimitability of the Qur'ān (van Ess, *TG,* iii, 608) and said that "people are able to bring something similar to this Qur'ān, or even more eloquent than it" (cf. van Ess, *TG,* v, 33, text 12 for the Arabic; see also Abdul Aleem, ʿIjazu'l-Qur'an for the names of some poets who denied the linguistic inimitability of the Qur'ān, or who criticized it and tried to surpass it in composition and style).

The attempt at imitating the Qur'ān has continued up until the present day. In 1995, unknown individuals anonymously offered four "sūras" on the Internet to meet the Qur'ān's challenge but, after Muslim protest, their website was closed by the server in the United States, although it continues in the United Kingdom.

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Parties and Factions

Divisions within groups. The Qurʾān has a relatively rich and varied, but not precisely differentiated, vocabulary which refers to parties or factions within larger communities or groups (see COMMUNITY AND SOCIETY IN THE QURʾĀN). Although the words and phrases concerned are sometimes used in the Qurʾān in an apparently neutral way, for example, with reference to groups among the believers themselves (see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF), they are often employed there in a derogatory sense or in polemic against opponents. The opponents are accused of dividing their religion (q.v.) into factions, and a contrast is often made with the actual or ideal unity of the believers (see RELIGIOUS PLURALISM AND THE QURʾĀN). The value of the united community *(umma)* of the believers is stressed; in some passages believers are urged not to take intimates or friends among outsiders (e.g. Q 3:118; 5:51; see FRIENDS AND FRIENDSHIP) and marriage relationships with outsiders are regulated (see MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE; SOCIAL RELATIONS).

We do not receive the impression that the parties and factions that are referred to exist in any formal or organized sense and their identity is usually not specified precisely. For instance, Q 3:23 mentions a faction *(farīq)* among "those who have been given a part *(naṣīb)* of the book (q.v.)," whereas two other passages which use this latter phrase (Q 4:44, 51) lump them all together as "idolaters" (see IDOLATRY AND IDOLATERS) and followers of error (q.v.). In other passages factions are alleged to exist among opponents designated generally as "idolaters" (*mushrikūn;* see also POLYTHEISM AND ATHEISM) or "hypocrites" (*munāfiqūn;* see HYPOCRITES AND HYPOCRISY). Although the Qurʾān does contain the names of groups such as the "Emigrants" *(muhājirūn),* "Helpers" (*anṣār,* see EMIGRANTS AND HELPERS), and "believers" *(muʾminūn),* they are not generally referred to using the vocabulary of party and faction.

Among the words indicative of divisions and distinctions, the most obvious are *ḥizb* (pl. *aḥzāb,* which Nöldeke postulated as a loan word from Ethiopic; see FOREIGN VOCABULARY), *ṭāʾifa, shīʿa* (pl. *shiyaʿ*) and derivatives of the root *f-r-q*. All can be understood with the general meaning of "party" or "faction." Other words occur less frequently and sometimes their exact meaning is unclear: for example, the plural form *zubur* in Q 23:53 is sometimes interpreted as "sects" or "factions" *(firaq, ṭawāʾif)* but how the word, which is understood as the plural form of *zabūr,* comes to mean that is a problem (see PSALMS). In some passages the different words appear

to be used interchangeably and randomly — *ḥizb* being a variant of *ṭāʾifa, zubur* of *shiyaʿ,* etc.

Ḥizb in its singular, dual and plural forms appears nineteen times. The party of God *(ḥizb Allāh)* is victorious or successful (Q 5:56; 58:22) while the party of Satan (*ḥizb al-shayṭān,* see DEVIL) is lost (Q 58:19). The single *umma* of the believers is contrasted with the splits among their opponents who have made their affair into *zubur,* each *ḥizb* rejoicing in what it has (Q 23:52-3). Similarly, Q 30:31-2 appeals to the believers not to be like the opponents called *mushrikūn* who divided their religion and became parties *(shiyaʿ),* each *ḥizb* rejoicing in what it has. Q 38:13 identifies the *aḥzāb (ūlāʾika l-aḥzāb)* as a series of peoples who had rejected the prophets sent to them (see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD), and the context of "the day of the *aḥzāb*" in Q 40:30 suggests the same reference although it is frequently understood as an allusion to the "battle of the ditch" in the year 5/627 (cf. Paret, *Kommentar,* 233, wherein he posits that in Q 38:11-3 and 40:5, 30-3, the expression *"aḥzāb"* is used in the Ethiopic sense of "pagans"; see also PEOPLE OF THE DITCH).

Sūra 33, Sūrat al-Aḥzāb ("The Clans"), is explained in the commentaries and *sīra* reports (material on the life of the Prophet; see SĪRA AND THE QURʾĀN) as containing a number of allusions to the events associated with the battle of the ditch when various parties *(aḥzāb)* among the opponents of the Prophet, are said to have united to facilitate an attack on the Muslims in Medina (q.v.). The Quraysh (q.v.) of Mecca (q.v.), the Arab tribe of Ghaṭafān, and the Jewish tribe of Qurayẓa (q.v.) within Medina are especially mentioned (see TRIBES AND CLANS; WAR; POLITICS AND THE QURʾĀN). Q 33:20 is often understood as referring to some hypocrites *(munāfiqūn)* who tried to persuade the followers of the Prophet that the *aḥzāb* had not really retreated and that they would come again, while Q 33:22 reflects the believers' recognition that the coming of the *aḥzāb* was simply what the Prophet had promised them.

Shīʿa (q.v.) and *shiyaʿ* occur eight times. It sometimes seems to be a fairly neutral expression: Moses (q.v.) had a *shīʿa* (Q 28:15) and there was a *shīʿa* of Noah (q.v.; Q 37:83). On the other hand, the believers are contrasted with opponents who have "divided their religion and become parties" (Q 6:159 and 30:32: *farraqū dīnahum wa-kānū shiyaʿan;* in the latter passage the opponents are referred to as *mushrikūn,* cf. Q 30:31).

Similarly, derivatives of *f-r-q,* which occur frequently, sometimes appear with reference to the believers. The one occurrence of *firqa,* which in Islamic literature is a common term for a "sect," refers to a unit among the believers: "the believers should not all go out together to fight; of every *firqa* of them a *ṭāʾifa* should remain behind to acquire religious knowledge" (Q 9:122; see KNOWLEDGE AND LEARNING; FIGHTING). Q 9:117, too, refers to God's having turned in forgiveness to *(tāba ʿalā)* "the Prophet and the Emigrants and Helpers who followed him in the hour of difficulty *(sāʿat al-ʿusra)* after the hearts of a *farīq* among them had almost turned away" (see HEART; FORGIVENESS). There are many passages containing formations from *f-r-q,* however, which call upon the believers to avoid division and disagreement in religion and which show those as characteristics of the opponents (e.g. Q 6:159 and Q 30:32 cited above; also Q 3:103, 105; 6:153; 42:13; see OPPOSITION TO MUḤAMMAD).

Ṭāʾifa and its dual forms appear twenty-three times. It may be a more neutral

expression, used more or less randomly to refer to groups or parties among the People of the Book (q.v.; Q 3:69, 72), the believers (Q 3:154; 4:102, etc.), the hypocrites (4:81, 113; 9:66; 33:13, etc.) and others, in the past and the present.

Stress on the divided nature of the opponents, therefore, may be seen as part of the polemical language characteristic of the Qurʾān. In non-qurʾānic and post-qurʾānic Arabic, too, *shīʿa, firqa,* and *ṭāʾifa* often reflect the negative implications of fragmentation and division contrasted with the positive value of unity *(umma, jamāʿa)*. They are the product of *fitna* (strife within the community) and in modern Arabic *al-ṭāʾifiyya* is a common translation of "sectarianism." It may be that this echoes Sunnī values in particular, since among the Shīʿīs one does find *al-shīʿa* and *al-ṭāʾifa* (the latter also among the Ṣūfīs), sometimes qualified by an epithet such as *al-muḥaqqiqa,* used in expressions of self-designation (see SHĪʿISM AND THE QURʾĀN; ṢŪFISM AND THE QURʾĀN). In the reports about early Islam, too, the word *shīʿa* is used quite neutrally to indicate the supporters of a particular individual: not only was there a *shīʿa* of ʿAlī (see ʿALĪ B. ABĪ ṬĀLIB), but also of ʿUthmān (q.v.), Yazīd and others. As for *ḥizb* (party), the Khārijīs (q.v.) referred to their non-Khārijī opponents as the parties (*aḥzāb;* on their derivation of this negative connotation of *aḥzāb* from the Qurʾān itself, see van Ess, *TG,* ii, 462; see also POLEMIC AND POLEMICAL LANGUAGE; OPPOSITION TO MUḤAMMAD). The usage of *ḥizb* (party) has been influenced not only by the qurʾānic *ḥizb Allāh* (which has become the self-designation of the modern Shīʿī activist group, Hizbollah) but also by modern concepts of political parties.

The typical allusiveness of the qurʾānic style (see LANGUAGE AND STYLE OF THE QURʾĀN) combines with its use of polemic to make identification of the groups concerned, specification of their characteristics and even confirmation of their existence, difficult. Polemic involves distortion and exaggeration of the opponents' positions and standard polemical accusations, such as idolatry, following error, distortion of scripture (see SCRIPTURE AND THE QURʾĀN; FORGERY), and inventing lies about God (see LIE), are transferable between different opponents. Furthermore, the terminology is not specific to the contemporaries of the Qurʾān. As is evident from the examples cited above, words like *aḥzāb* and *shīʿa* are used in the Qurʾān with reference to groups in the past as well as the present and the same is true of designations like *muhājirūn* ("emigrants") and *anṣār* ("helpers"). In the Qurʾān, Lot (q.v.) describes himself as "a *muhājir* to my lord" (q.v.; Q 29:26) and the apostles of Jesus (q.v.) call themselves "*anṣār* of God" (Q 3:52; 61:14; see APOSTLE). "Hypocrite," the usual understanding of *munāfiq,* is a common term in monotheist polemic (e.g. *Matt* 23 passim).

In the commentaries on the Qurʾān (see EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL) and other traditional Islamic literature such as the material on the life of the Prophet (*sīra* material), nevertheless, the parties and factions alluded to in the Qurʾān are identified in the context of Muḥammad's career. For example, the *aḥzāb,* as already indicated, are associated with the battle of the ditch, while the Emigrants and Helpers are identified as groups among the supporters of the Prophet.

The frequent occurrence and relative richness of the relevant vocabulary, the several accusations that opponents have divided their religion, the emphasis on the unity of the believers, and the measures designed to distinguish the believers from outsiders may reflect the appearance of the

qurʾānic materials in a situation of intense religious fragmentation and division. To the extent that parties and factions really existed beyond the realm of polemic, they could be understood as indicative of a religious society prone to the generation of numerous groups with the character of nascent sects. John Wansbrough *(Sectarian milieu)* identified the proliferation of barely distinguishable confessional groups as characteristic of the sectarian milieu out of which he considered Islam to have emerged to become eventually a major distinct tradition within monotheism.

In certain historical situations the tendency towards internal divisions and splits, which is a characteristic of the monotheistic (and perhaps other) religious traditions, may be intensified. The situation in Palestine around the beginning of the Christian era perhaps offers a parallel and the tendency to fragmentation, observable in certain modern right- and left-wing political movements, may also be relevant. Social and political circumstances as well as the character of the religious movement within which the divisions are generated are important for understanding the phenomenon of sectarianism.

The literary description in works other than the Qurʾān — for example works of qurʾānic commentary and prophetic biography — of the society in which the Prophet lived does not explicitly support the thesis of the sectarian milieu. To the extent that groups within it are identified, they are classified by their relationship and attitude to the Prophet *(muhājirūn, anṣār, munāfiqūn)* or as monotheists (Muslims, Jews, ḥanīfs; see ḤANĪF; JEWS AND JUDAISM; see also CHRISTIANS AND CHRISTIANITY) contrasted to idolaters *(mushrikūn)*. With some exceptions, we do not generally find in this literature reports about the Prophet arguing fine points of monotheist doctrine or behavior with groups in his environment or those groups being associated with one or more identifying doctrines or practices. This is in contrast with the way in which parties like the Pharisees and Sadducees appear in the gospels and other sources from the early Christian period.

In contrast, the Qurʾān itself contains numerous references to, and statements about, typical monotheist issues such as the validity of intercession (q.v.), belief in the last day (see LAST JUDGMENT; ESCHATOLOGY; APOCALYPSE), the status of Jesus (see TRINITY; ANTHROPOMORPHISM; POLYTHEISM AND ATHEISM) and questions of ritual purity (q.v.). This material can be seen as indicative of a situation in which these issues were topics of argument and polemic between parties and factions with common concerns and concepts. While we should be careful about transforming the qurʾānic polemic too readily into statements of fact, its language and ideas do seem consistent with a society particularly subject to sectarian tensions.

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Partisan see FRIENDS AND FRIENDSHIP; PARTIES AND FACTIONS

Partition see VEIL; BARRIER; BARZAKH

Partners [of God] see POLYTHEISM AND ATHEISM

Party of God see PARTIES AND FACTIONS; FRIENDS AND FRIENDSHIP

Party of Satan see PARTIES AND FACTIONS; ENEMIES

Path or Way

That along which one passes to reach a destination. The concept of the path or way (of God) — expressed by derivatives of several roots *(sabīl, ṣirāṭ, ṭarīq, minhāj)* — pervades the Qurʾān and is related to several basic notions of Islam such as right guidance (*hudā* or *hidāya;* see ASTRAY), the religious law (*sharīʿa;* see LAW AND THE QURʾĀN) and jihād (q.v.). When the Qurʾān uses this last notion (which connotes "struggle" and is often rendered as "holy war") in conjunction with the concept of the path or way of God, it is expressed exclusively by the term *sabīl* and only in a set phrase, "in the way of God" *(fī sabīli llāhi)*. This phrase — with or without *"jihād"* — occurs only in Medinan sūras (q.v.; see also CHRONOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN) and comprises about one-third of the occurrences of *sabīl*. The analysis of the contexts related to jihād shows that all the basic aspects of the concept of "holy war" had already been laid down in the earlier qurʾānic passages (see also FIGHTING; WAR).

The frequency of the above-mentioned terms varies greatly — *sabīl,* 176 occurrences; *ṣirāṭ,* forty-five; *ṭarīq* (or *ṭarīqa*), nine; *minhāj,* once — but, as a rule, they are treated as synonyms by the Arabic lexicographers and commentators who explain the meaning of any given one of these terms through another. The only term that expresses virtually nothing but the notion of "the way of God" is *ṣirāṭ* (the sole exception being Q 7:86), while only five occurrences of *ṭarīq* are related to the notion in question (see Q 4:168, 169; 46:30; 72:16, *al-ṭarīqa*). About thirty occurrences of *sabīl* are unrelated to this notion, the most frequent phrase being "a man of the road" *(ibn al-sabīl),* a traveler who should be helped (see JOURNEY).

Several points are worth mentioning about this group of terms. First, only one occurrence of *sabīl* (Q 80:20) can be positively attributed to the early Meccan period and it has nothing to do with the notion of "the way of God." All other occurrences of such terms are divided equally between the later Meccan and Medinan sūras. Second, two of them *(sabīl, minhāj)* belong to common Semitic stock and some scholars suggest that they are loan words from Aramaic or Hebrew (see FOREIGN VOCABULARY). A third term *(ṣirāṭ)* is an established loan word from Latin (i.e. *strata*). Third, three of them (*sabīl, ṣirāṭ* and *minhāj*) are the only qurʾānic utilizations of the corresponding root letters, an uncommon event in Arabic (which generally uses multiple derivatives of the triliteral roots), and *ṭarīq (ṭarīqa),* too, very nearly falls into this category. All three observations point in one direction, namely, that the notion of the way, or path, is a late addition to the vocabulary of the Qurʾān (see LANGUAGE AND STYLE OF THE QURʾĀN; FORM AND STRUCTURE OF THE QURʾĀN), most probably a replica of the analogous biblical and post-biblical concept (see SCRIPTURE AND THE QURʾĀN).

Let us now follow more closely the process of the formation of the concept of "the way of God" in the qurʾānic message. The first stage is Meccan. If we take the majority of the Meccan contexts, the notion in question appears within the concept of the prophetic mission as the realization of the lord's (q.v.) guidance of

his creatures. The phrase "the way of God" has several lexical manifestations (e.g. *ṣirāṭ Allāh,* Q 42:53; *sabīl Allāh,* passim; *ṣirāṭ rabbika,* "the way of your lord," Q 6:126). Additionally, one finds "the ways of your lord" (*subul rabbika,* Q 16:69) and "the way of the mighty, the glorious one" (*ṣirāṭ al-ʿazīzi l-ḥamīdi,* Q 14:1; 34:6). It is also used with personal pronouns, as in "your way" (*ṣirāṭaka,* Q 7:16; *sabīlika,* Q 10:88; *sabīlaka,* Q 40:7), "his way" (*sabīlihi,* Q 6:117, 153; 14:30), or "my way" (*ṣirāṭī,* Q 6:153; *sabīlī,* Q 12:108).

There are several aspects of the notion introduced in the later Meccan sūras. The "way of God" is the result of the lord's guidance (cf. Q 14:12; 16:15; 28:22; 29:69; 76:3). It is the "way of righteousness" (*sabīl al-rushd* or *rashād;* cf. Q 7:148; 40:38) and also the "straight" or "even" path. Of the two synonymous epithets, the first *(mustaqīm)* is more frequent in the Qurʾān, being used either with *ṣirāṭ* (twenty-one occurrences; cf. especially the contexts of Q 6:126, 153; 7:16) or with *ṭarīq* (Q 46:30). The second epithet is used either in the attributive phrase *ṣirāṭ sawiyy* (cf. Q 19:43; 20:135), or in the genitive phrase: *sawāʾ al-ṣirāṭ* (Q 38:22) or *sawāʾ al-sabīl* (Q 28:22; 60:1). Being originally "the way of God," it connotes the path of the true believers, of the righteous or the blessed, an idea which is also expressed in several other basically synonymous ways (Q 1:7; 31:15). All these themes are continued in the Medinan sūras as well, the only addition being that "the way of God" is equated with the sunna (q.v.) and the law (Q 5:48), which accords with the general character of these sūras, in which legal prescriptions are given (see FORBIDDEN; BOUNDARIES AND PRECEPTS; PROHIBITED DEGREES; ETHICS AND THE QURʾĀN).

The set of basic qurʾānic notions is characterized by a kind of conceptual dualism, in which almost every positive term has its negative counterpart (see PAIRS AND PAIRING). This feature applies also to "the way of God," which is contrasted to the other way, the way of the *ṭāghūt,* usually interpreted by Muslim commentators as Satan (*shayṭān;* see DEVIL). This latter way is opposed to the way of God (cf. Q 4:76; see ENEMIES), and is the way to hell (cf. Q 37:23; 4:169; see HELL AND HELLFIRE). It is the path of error (q.v.; *ghayy*) opposed to the path of righteousness (as in Q 7:146: "If they see the path of righteousness, they shall not choose it for [their] path; but if they see the path of error, they shall choose it for [their] path, because they disbelieved our signs *[āyāt]*"; see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF), as well as the way of the ignorant (Q 10:89; see IGNORANCE), of the wrongdoers (Q 7:142; see EVIL DEEDS) and of the wicked (Q 6:55; see SIN, MAJOR AND MINOR). It is noteworthy that a number of contexts show the interplay of the singular and plural forms, an interplay which embodies the opposition of the single straight path and many corrupt ways (see, for instance, Q 6:153: "And that this my path is straight *(ṣirāṭ mustaqīman);* so follow it, and follow not [other] paths *(subul)* lest they scatter you from his path" (*ʿan sabīlihi;* see RELIGIOUS PLURALISM AND THE QURʾĀN).

Yet, the concept of the two opposing ways, one of God and the other of Satan, one leading to paradise (q.v.) and the other to hell, or of the one right path contrasted with many wrong ways, is second in the Qurʾān to another concept, that of the right way and deviating from it, or, in other words, losing it *(ḍalāla)*. This latter concept is devoid of even the slightest trace of dualism. This deviation is the result of one and the same will, that of the lord, who guides *(yahdī)* whom he pleases and leads astray *(yuḍillu)* whom he pleases. At the same time, unbelievers and Satan can block *(ṣadda)* people from the right path. The exact understanding of the reasons

which govern human choice between the right path and the wrong path rests on one's interpretation of the complicated problem of the relation between predestination and human free will in the Qurʾān (see FREEDOM AND PREDESTINATION).

The second stage is Medinan. The new idea generated in the Medinan sūras is the notion of fighting or struggling "in the way of God" *(fī sabīli llāhi),* for God's cause or the idea of holy war *(jihād)*. In literary Arabic the phrase *fī sabīli,* "in the way of…" (which has a parallel in post-biblical Hebrew *bi-shᵉbīl*), acquires the same technical prepositional meaning as "for the sake of, because of" (cf. Jastrow, *Dictionary,* s.v.). It is not accidental, then, that in the Meccan sūras the preposition, *"fī,"* is used — instead of the phrase *"fī sabīli"* (see Q 29:69: "Those who fight/struggle *[jāhadū]* for our cause *[fīnā],* we will surely guide *[nahdī]* to our paths *[subulanā]*"). Nonetheless, as it is used in the Qurʾān almost exclusively in the above expression, it has become inseparable from the concept of holy war in Muslim tradition. The only exception relates to the conceptual dualism mentioned above, as it juxtaposes holy war with its opposite (see Q 4:76: "The believers fight *[yuqātilūna]* in the way of God and the unbelievers fight in the way of the *ṭāghūt*. Fight therefore against the friends of Satan *[shayṭān];* surely the guile of Satan is ever feeble.").

The phrase "in the way of God"/"in his way" occurs in the Qurʾān forty-nine times. The verbs most frequently used with it connote "fighting": *qātala* (fifteen occurrences, e.g. Q 2:190; 3:13; 4:75; 9:111; 61:4; 73:20) as well as *jāhada* and its derivatives (fourteen occurrences, e.g. Q 2:218; 5:35; 8:74; 9:20; 61:11). It is worth mentioning that both substantives derived from this latter root, *jihād* and *mujāhid,* which are so full of symbolic meaning in subsequent Muslim tradition, are already used in the Qurʾān in this context (see for the former Q 9:24; 60:1; for the latter Q 4:95).

The qurʾānic usage stresses the readiness to give one's own life for the cause of God as one of the most important aspects of the concept of jihād and assures that those who are killed "in the way of God" go straight to paradise (see Q 2:154: "And say not of those slain *[man yuqtalu]* in the way of God, 'They are dead'; rather they are living, but you are not aware"; cf. also Q 3:157, 169, 195; 22:58; 47:4; see MARTYRS).

At the same time, the qurʾānic message specifies another possible way of participating in jihād, namely, by giving money and everything one possesses for the cause of God; the verb *anfaqa* "to spend" occurs seven times in this context (Q 2:195, 261, 262; 8:60; 9:34; 47:38; 57:10). There is even a synthetic formula coined in the Medinan sūras which joins the two ways of jihād in a unified concept, "to fight in the way of God by one's wealth and one's life" (*jāhada fī sabīli llāhi bi-amwālihi wa-nafsihi;* cf. Q 8:72; 9:41, 81; 49:15).

These are the qurʾānic formulations of the concept of jihād, from which Muslim scholars developed an impressive theory of holy war that was, in some variants of Muslim doctrine, subsequently raised to the status of the sixth "pillar" *(rukn)* of Islam, next to the famous five (*shahāda* [see WITNESS TO FAITH], prayer [q.v.], fasting [q.v.], almsgiving [q.v.] and pilgrimage [q.v.]; see also FAITH).

Summing up, the concept of "the way of God" has two distinct meanings in the Qurʾān, that of obedience (q.v.) to the revealed law which governs all aspects of the life of a true believer and that of fighting and giving one's wealth and life for the cause of God which assures martyrs direct access to paradise without waiting for the day of resurrection (q.v.) and without passing through the purgatorial

stage of the "suffering of the grave" (*ʿadhāb al-qabr,* see LAST JUDGMENT; DEATH AND THE DEAD; ESCHATOLOGY).

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Patience and Self-Restraint

see TRUST AND PATIENCE

Patriarchs

see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD; CHILDREN OF ISRAEL; NOAH; ABRAHAM; MOSES

Patriarchy

A social structure characterized by the supremacy of the father in the clan or family. References to patriarchy in the Qurʾān cluster around three concerns: (1) the roles of patriarchal authority in ordinary social relations (see SOCIAL INTERACTIONS), i.e. roles circumscribed in various ways (see FAMILY; PARENTS); (2) the patriarch as an ideal religious figure, expressed through narratives (q.v.) and allegories drawn from the biblical tradition (see LITERARY STRUCTURES OF THE QURʾĀN; SCRIPTURE AND THE QURʾĀN); and (3) the question as to whether divinity could possess patriarchal attributes (see GOD AND HIS ATTRIBUTES; ANTHROPOMORPHISM).

Patriarchal authority in ordinary social relations

While the Qurʾān highlights patriarchy as a desired status, it also surrounds it with limits. On more than one occasion the Qurʾān mentions progeny in the same sequence in which it lists other aspects of worldly material wealth (q.v.; cf. e.g. Q 3:10, 116; 8:28; 9:69, 85; 19:77; 34:35; see also CHILDREN; GRACE; BLESSING). Clearly patriarchal kinship (q.v.) structures are privileged. Not having progeny, especially male (see GENDER), is a sign of misfortune, and in the stories of patriarchs such as Zechariah (q.v.) or Abraham (q.v.), God reveals his merciful nature by offering sons to his pious followers in their old age, when they had despaired of the possibility (Q 19:2-7; 11:71-3). Muḥammad himself was of course without a male heir and in the Qurʾān God compensates the Prophet for this lack of proper patriarchal status with a special domicile within paradise (q.v.;

Q 108; see also FAMILY OF THE PROPHET; PEOPLE OF THE HOUSE).

The value of male progeny, as explicitly stated in Zechariah's case, is clearly connected to the need to assure the welfare of the house of the patriarch after his passing away. This obligation is evident in the many edicts on honoring both parents, which permeate the qurʾānic text (Q 2:180; 4:11; 31:14). Likewise, when the social roles of patriarchy are detailed (as in Sūrat al-Nisāʾ, "The Women," e.g. Q 4:1-42, 127-30), the discussions deal with such central concerns to family law (see LAW AND THE QURʾĀN) as rules of inheritance (q.v.), marriage, polygamy (see MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE), property (q.v.) rights and the status of orphans (q.v.).

While the important passages in the fourth sūra admit of a variety of interpretations (see FEMINISM AND THE QURʾĀN), it is impossible to understand them apart from a conception of patriarchy as a type of authority (q.v.) justified by social responsibilities, rather than simply by privilege. Polygamy, for example, is discussed only in connection with the need to protect orphans' trusts (Q 4:3; see also CONCUBINES; WIVES OF THE PROPHET). Similarly, the edicts on the prerogatives of men over women are conditional on the ability of men to maintain more exacting virtue (q.v.; see also VIRTUES AND VICES, COMMANDING AND FORBIDDING) and sustained financial support for the family (Q 4:34, 24-5; 65:6; see MAINTENANCE AND UPKEEP): the man is forbidden to expel his wife, separate from her or claim their common domicile without good cause, which is usually understood to be verifiable sexual infidelity (*fāḥisha,* Q 4:15-6; 65:1-2; see CHASTITY).

As it sanctified the property of women, the Qurʾān explicitly prohibits a man from unlawfully claiming any part of a woman's inheritance or even claiming back his "gifts" to her (see BRIDEWEALTH), all of which automatically become an inviolable part of the woman's property (Q 4:19-20). Generally, men are expected to be in control of their temper (see ANGER); and all further discussions of patriarchy which detail social obligations beyond faith (q.v.) itself make patriarchal authority dependent on its ability to uphold domestic justice (see JUSTICE AND INJUSTICE), as well as to dispose income and charities responsibly.

The patriarch as an ideal religious figure

Patriarchy also appears in the Qurʾān in an idealized form, a form associated most directly with the requisites of transmitting common wisdom (q.v.) and proper religion (q.v.). Allegorized in the stories of pre-Islamic patriarchs (see PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QURʾĀN), the prototypical character in this regard is the sage Luqmān (q.v.). He instructs his son to adopt monotheism (see POLYTHEISM AND ATHEISM), honor his parents, seek out rightful company, appreciate the divine source of all life, worship (q.v.), bear adversity with fortitude (see TRIAL; TRUST AND PATIENCE) and stand up to derogation, while at the same time maintaining modesty (q.v.) throughout life (Q 31:13-9).

Likewise, the Qurʾān portrays several biblical prophets, such as Abraham, Noah (q.v.), Jacob (q.v.), Zechariah and others as having served mainly as transmitters of monotheistic faith to their sons specifically and to kin generally (e.g. Q 2:130-5; 14:35-7). The authority of patriarchy is assaulted, however, when it conveys the "wrong" wisdom. For example, the Qurʾān frequently denounces habitual, unthinking worship of idols (see IDOLS AND IMAGES; IDOLATRY AND IDOLATERS), which their worshippers justified by the fact that the idols had been passed on to the tribe by their forefathers (cf. e.g. Q 2:170; 5:101-4).

This dual approach to patriarchy as both

a vehicle for and obstacle to disseminating divine messages suggests that patriarchal hierarchy could even be reversed, in accordance with the principle of progress in human knowledge (see KNOWLEDGE AND LEARNING). This is evident in Abraham's assertion of a pedagogic posture toward his own father. In that case, Abraham leaves home as he asks God to forgive his idol-worshipping father (Q 19:41-7; cf. 14:41; see ĀZAR). A late qurʾānic sūra further shows Abraham disavowing intercession (q.v.) and disowning his father (Q 9:114). The possibility of the son showing the way to the patriarch is likewise evident in the story of Joseph (q.v.), which culminates in a complicated image of the prophet raising his parents to the throne while they simultaneously prostrate themselves in front of their young son (Q 12:100; see BOWING AND PROSTRATION).

Patriarchal attributes and divinity

As it distinguishes Islam (q.v.) from both Christianity (see CHRISTIANS AND CHRISTIANITY) and pre-Islamic paganism, the Qurʾān affirms from its earliest verses and consistently thereafter a highly abstract conceptualization of divinity. This requires rejecting the notion that God can be apprehended with references to experienced realities, including fatherhood. Indeed, one of the main early theological differences between Islam and Christianity (see THEOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN; POLEMIC AND POLEMICAL LANGUAGE) concerns the Qurʾān's denunciation of the concept of "God the father" and its vehement assertion of the humanity of Jesus (q.v.), who is regarded as a mere messenger (q.v.) rather than God's son (esp. Q 4:171; 5:17, 75; 9:30; 19:34-5, 88-93; 112). This stance can likewise be understood in the context of Islam's early battle against paganism, which was defined by immediacy to divinity. From an early point the Qurʾān affirms as a logical precept that an appropriate concept of a high God means that God could not possibly be apprehended in terms of human relations. Thus if God is eternal (see ETERNITY), the divine could not have been "born," and if God is omnipotent (see POWER AND IMPOTENCE), there is no need for God to emulate the human methods of bringing forth life, e.g. begetting progeny (cf. Q 112). The divine simply brings being out of nothingness (Q 19:35; cf. 16:40; 40:68; see COSMOLOGY). Therefore patriarchal attributes, while meaningful in terms of social relations, social responsibilities and the requisites of knowledge transmission (see COMMUNITY AND SOCIETY IN THE QURʾĀN), could, when applied to God, only dilute or render inconsistent the necessarily abstract conceptualization of the divine.

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Patron

see CLIENTS AND CLIENTAGE

Pauses

see RECITATION OF THE QURʾĀN

Peace

State of tranquility or quiet. Peace *(al-salām)* plays an important role in the Qurʾān and in Muslim life, yet as a term and a concept it is most commonly paired with religious warfare, commonly termed

jihād (q.v.). This is unfortunate, since the word "peace" and related cognates from the Arabic root *s-l-m* reflect a semantic field of considerable depth and sophistication. Indeed, much of the emphasis and language of the Qurʾān mirrors a similar complexity found in Christian and Jewish scripture (see SCRIPTURE AND THE QURʾĀN). In order to indicate the principal dimensions within this semantic field, four distinctive foci need to be examined: the theological, eschatological, prophetic and social.

Theologically, the justification for the conceptual position of peace in Islam rests finally and ultimately in the character of God (see GOD AND HIS ATTRIBUTES): it is a spiritual quality attributed to his very nature (*al-salām,* Q 59:23). Hence, God provides an inner peace to those whom he guides (cf. Q 6:125-7) and welcomes the true believer to the garden (q.v.) of righteousness (see PARADISE) with "Enter it in peace" (cf. Q 50:31-4). God also bids greetings to be made to the Prophet with peace (Q 33:56). In a series of parallelisms on peace designed for intensification (see LANGUAGE AND STYLE OF THE QURʾĀN; LITERARY STRUCTURES OF THE QURʾĀN), God begins peace with Noah (q.v.), delegates it to Abraham (q.v.), imparts it to both Moses (q.v.) and Aaron (q.v.), instills it in Elijah (q.v.) and concludes, with a heightened flourish, by including all messengers as the beneficiaries of the divine bestowal of peace (Q 37:79-181). Moreover, peace itself attends the coming down of the Qurʾān on the Night of Power (q.v.; Q 97:1-5; see also REVELATION AND INSPIRATION) and tranquility (*sakīna;* see SHEKHINAH) is a spiritual gift sent down by God (cf. Q 9:26, 40; 48:4, 18). In short, the text gives ample justification for the Muslim claim that peace is a fundamental component in God's relationship with humans.

Second, the Qurʾān elaborates considerably on peace in its language dealing with matters of the end-time (see ESCHATOLOGY; APOCALYPSE): At the end of time, the heavens will be rolled up like a scroll (Q 21:104), angels (see ANGEL) will descend and God will reign (Q 25:25-6). Then will come the day when the book of deeds will be opened (cf. Q 17:71; see HEAVENLY BOOK) and each soul will stand on its own before God in judgment (i.e. Q 30:14-6; 82:1-15; see LAST JUDGMENT; INTERCESSION); believers will no longer fear (q.v.; Q 7:49) nor experience terror (Q 27:88-90) nor suffer grief (Q 21:97-103; see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF). Significantly, they will have joy (see JOY AND MISERY) and peace (Q 36:55-8) because, as believers in the book (q.v.), all will be judged by its standard (Q 28:85-7). The Qurʾān insists that peace must be assumed to be the wish of all people, even if it is quite possible they might use it deceitfully (Q 8:61-2). Such language underscores the key role that peace played in qurʾānic notions of the future (cf. Q 7:96).

Third, a functional notion of peace played a role both in defining Muḥammad's career and in shaping his attitude towards the people with whom he had to deal. This is often reflected in the sūras that treat his dealings with tribal peoples (see ARABS; BEDOUIN). In the late Medinan period (see CHRONOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN), the Bedouins are castigated for their ignorance of the Prophet's purposes (Q 9:97); they itch for a fight and then evaporate when the Prophet decides to negotiate the submission of the enemy (cf. Q 48:17), as if fighting (q.v.) was an end in itself. The urban wealthy, who make journeys in winter and summer to other places (see CARAVAN; SEASONS), should acknowledge that they could not do this without God providing them both plenty and peacefulness (Q 106:1-5; see GRACE;

BLESSING). Like all Muslims, Muḥammad was enjoined to make peace between quarreling believers (Q 49:9), a requirement made even more telling by the fact that God is delighted with the believers when a treaty replaces conflict with the unconverted Meccans (Q 48:18). As a governing policy, the dictum, "But if the enemy incline toward peace, do you also so incline" (Q 8:61) must have posed difficult choices for the Prophet, especially in determining what "incline" might mean in any given context. His decisions must have also been made with one eye on the available history of the prophets who went before him (see NARRATIVES; PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD), for they are deemed examples (Q 43:28, 56, 57). Indeed, it is evident that the Prophet's relationship to this provisional peace shifted considerably throughout his career. In the first Meccan period, he appears as a warner (q.v.) and teacher (Q 71:10, 25; see TEACHING); his role then shifts to that of a deliverer à la Moses (Q 20:44, 47, 77) in order to face the forces that militate against the truth (Q 16:120) in the third Meccan period. In the late Meccan period, he reacts against violence, and, finally, moves to military jihād during the Medinan period (Q 4:95-6).

Finally, peace operates in a social and political milieu (see COMMUNITY AND SOCIETY IN THE QUR'ĀN; POLITICS AND THE QUR'ĀN). Peace is a matter of public policy, as Q 4:91 implies: "If they do not back away from you, and offer you peace, and temper their hands, then seize and kill them." This justifies fighting those who attack (Q 22:39), those who fight against Muslims (Q 2:190), but requires proper intelligence about the motives of those against whom war (q.v.) is carried out (Q 4:94). Judging from the Qur'ān, the principles that guided the use of jihād indicate that it had no universally perceived meaning; it functioned against a background of peace as one of the tools for bringing about the formation of the community of believers (*umma;* see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF) and was applied contextually by the Prophet. Hence it is probable that it functioned primarily within the community's task of establishing the *umma*. Only later would it develop into a sophisticated military element of state policy, which carried it in quite different directions, and added several other layers of legal and political interpretation to its history. Still, enough has been said to indicate that qur'ānic peace was of such complexity that it could give rise to that history after the time of the Prophet.

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Pearls

see METALS AND MINERALS

Pen

see WRITING AND WRITING MATERIALS

Penalty

see REWARD AND PUNISHMENT; CHASTISEMENT AND PUNISHMENT

Penance

see REPENTANCE AND PENANCE

Pentateuch

see TORAH

People of Midian

see MIDIAN

People of Scripture

see PEOPLE OF THE BOOK; SCRIPTURE AND THE QUR'ĀN; BOOK

People of the Book

People of the Book [i.e. scripture] is the literal translation of *ahl al-kitāb,* a qurʾānic term used to designate both Jews and Christians (see JEWS AND JUDAISM; CHRISTIANS AND CHRISTIANITY) — collectively or separately — as believers in a revealed book (q.v.).

When *ahl* appears in a construction with a person it means his blood relatives (see FAMILY; KINSHIP; PEOPLE OF THE HOUSE), but with other nouns it acquires wider meanings, for instance, *ahl madhhab* are those who profess a certain doctrine or follow a particular school of law; *ahl al-islām* are the Muslims (see LAW AND THE QURʾĀN; COMMUNITY AND SOCIETY IN THE QURʾĀN). The term *ahl al-qurʾān,* which appears in the ḥadīth literature (see ḤADĪTH AND THE QURʾĀN), refers, according to Ibn Manẓūr (*Lisān al-ʿArab,* s.v. *ahl*) to those who memorize and practice the Qurʾān. He adds that "these are the people of God and his elect," in other words, the Muslims; as such, the term may at first glance seem synonymous to *"ahl al-kitāb."*

The term has also alternative forms that do not change its fundamental meaning, that is to say, people who possess a "book" presumably of a divine origin or to whom such a book or part of it "was given" (*alladhīna ūtū l-kitāb* or *alladhīna ūtū naṣīban mina l-kitābi,* e.g. Q 2:144-5; 3:19-20, 23; 4:44, 47,131; 5:5, 57; 6:20 and similar expressions: e.g. Q 2:146; 42:14). The idea is implied also in narratives (q.v.) wherein the circumstances in which "the book" was given to its respective recipients are mentioned (e.g. Q 6:91-2, 154-7; 35:25). In all these cases, the "giving" or "sending down *(tanzīl)*" of the book means a special act of grace (q.v.) on the part of God who chose certain people, or communities, to be the recipients and custodians of his word (see WORD OF GOD; REVELATION AND INSPIRATION). The actual act of the transmission of the book to its recipients was made through the mediation of a prophet-messenger (see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD; MESSENGER). In the case of the Jews this was Moses (q.v.; Mūsā, Q 6:91; 11:110) and in the case of the Christians it was Jesus (q.v.; ʿĪsā, Q 3:44-8). It is possible to regard other prophets, especially David (q.v.; Dāwud, Q 4:163; 17:55), as instrumental in delivering a book to the Jews (cf. Q 2:87; see also CHILDREN OF ISRAEL). Sometimes the books are specified by their names (*tawrāt, injīl, zabūr,* respectively; see TORAH; GOSPEL; PSALMS) in addition to being identified as "the book" (*al-kitāb,* e.g. Q 4:105; 5:68, 110; 41:45).

According to the Qurʾān, since the Jews and Christians were chosen to be the recipients of the book, they were expected to follow its contents and to be worthy of being its custodians (Q 5:68; 40:53). On the whole, however, the Qurʾān regards the "People of the Book" as unworthy of this particular divine attention and benevolence (see also BLESSING). This is chiefly because they intentionally ignored the revelation given to Muḥammad, of which they should have good knowledge (Q 5:19, 41-4). If the People of the Book were to refer to the true book that was given to them, they would find that it confirms (*muṣaddiq,* Q 5:48; 6:91-2; 46:12) Muḥammad's message. Acting obstinately, however, they "concealed," "changed" and "substituted" (Q 2:174; 4:46; 5:13, 41) the true information in their book, in order to justify their opposition to the Prophet, thus joining hands with the polytheists (*mushrikūn,* e.g. Q 98:1; see FORGERY; POLEMIC AND POLEMICAL LANGUAGE).

The term *ahl* that the Qurʾān uses in order to describe a group of people — a family, a tribe, a community (see TRIBES AND CLANS; COMMUNITY AND SOCIETY IN THE QURʾĀN) — is used in the case of *ahl*

al-kitāb in an almost unique way, conveying the idea of a religious community which is identified by its scriptures. The usual usage of the term, which denoted people of a certain locality (Yathrib, Medina, Madyan; cf. Q 33:13; 9:101, 120; 15:67; 20:40; 28:45; see MIDIAN) or mode of settlement (*ahl al-qurā,* Q 7:96-8; see CITY) or family (*ahl [al-] bayt,* Q 11:73; 28:12; 33:33), was borrowed by the Qurʾān to indicate a group of people who follow the teaching of a book, a scripture of divine origin. This is made very clear when the Qurʾān refuses to accept the exclusive claim of the Jews to the ancestry of Abraham (q.v.; Ibrāhīm): "Abraham was not a Jew nor was he a Christian but he was a *ḥanīf* (q.v.), a Muslim, and he was not one of the polytheists (see POLYTHEISM AND ATHEISM; IDOLATRY AND IDOLATERS). Surely the people who are nearest to Abraham are those who followed him and this Prophet, and those who have believed…" (Q 3:67-8).

Although the Qurʾān attributes the ancestry of the Jews to Abraham's grandson Jacob (q.v.; or son, Q 11:71), the text is far more interested in their and the Christians' affiliation to the revealed scriptures. These revealed scriptures are in the form of a *kitāb,* a "book." This term must have been well known to the people of western Arabia long before the time of the Prophet, since it is used freely in the Qurʾān (see ORALITY AND WRITING IN ARABIA; PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QURʾĀN; SOUTH ARABIA, RELIGION IN PRE-ISLAMIC). In the light of recent scholarship that indicates a fair degree of interaction of Arabic-speaking peoples with other Semitic linguistic communities, it is likely that the word itself, *keṯāb hak-kāthūb* in Hebrew and *kethābah* in Aramaic, would also have been well known in some circles there. The Jews in Yemen (q.v.) and Babylonia as well as the Aramaic (Syriac) speaking Christians may even have used it to denote the Bible in general. The Jews used the term *torah she-bi-ketāb* to identify the written law, the Pentateuch. Both parts of this term were likely known in the Arabian environment, and the Qurʾān refers to them separately, *kitāb* and *tawrāt,* in almost interchangeable fashion. It is clear in the Qurʾān that the *kitāb* was actually a written text and it is possible to read some qurʾānic references as indicating that its revelation differs from the former "books" only by the fact that it was orally transmitted and not written down (see ORALITY; RECITATION OF THE QURʾĀN). The majority of qurʾānic references, however, make clear that its message cannot be different from that of its predecessors and that it also had to be recorded in a book, identical with, and also confirming and bringing to perfection, the former books (Watt-Bell, *Introduction,* 142 f.). "[God] has sent down to you the book with the truth confirming what was sent before it, and he sent down the Torah and the Gospel aforetime as guidance for the people, and he sent down the *furqān*" (Q 3:3-4; see CRITERION). Nevertheless, in spite of this clear identification, the term *ahl al-kitāb* is still reserved in the Qurʾān for the followers of the Torah and the Gospel *(injīl).* In one instance, the text is more specific, when it identifies the Christians by the term *ahl al-injīl* (Q 5:47).

Thus, the holy book of the Jews and the Christians, the *kitāb,* assumed the place of the locality or blood relations as the primary point of identification for a particular group of people. By doing so, the Qurʾān followed its main doctrine of the community of believers, namely the overarching structure created by the bond of religion (q.v.). Just as the community of Muḥammad's followers was that of *muʾminūn* (and, less frequently, *muslimūn*) bound together by its revelation, the Jews and Christians were religious communities

as well, bound together by their respective revelations.

Since the divine origin of these revelations was not questioned (though in their present state these texts represent only a defective version of the original), it follows that *ahl al-kitāb* deserve special treatment by the community of believers. Exegesis of Q 9:5 and 9:29 has elaborated upon a seeming qurʾānic distinction between the treatment of "People of the Book" and "polytheists" *(mushrikūn)* as defeated military opponents of the believers (see FIGHTING; EXPEDITIONS AND BATTLES). Rather than the polytheists' choice between death and "submission," the believers may accept a settlement from the "People of the Book" that allows them to live within the Muslim polity without necessarily converting to Islam. But it is incumbent upon the community of believers to use force of arms, if necessary, in order to compel *ahl al-kitāb* to settle into the legal status fixed for them (Q 9:29; Kister, ʿAn yadin).

Most references to *ahl al-kitāb* in the Qurʾān are polemical. These peoples (or, frequently, the "disbelievers" from among them) are basically the enemies of the Muslims, who wish that the former accept their revelation in the Qurʾān. They are jealous of the Muslims because God had chosen to send them a prophet as well (Q 2:105-9). On the other hand, the Qurʾān also seeks common ground between Muslims and *ahl al-kitāb*. In Q 2:62 we find the assertion that "Jews, Christians and the Ṣābiʾīn (see SABIANS), whoever has believed in God and the last day (see LAST JUDGMENT; APOCALYPSE), and has acted uprightly (see GOOD DEEDS; VIRTUES AND VICES, COMMANDING AND FORBIDDING), have their reward with their lord (q.v.): fear (q.v.) rests not upon them, nor do they grieve (see JOY AND MISERY)." The search for common ground with the People of the Book reflected in this verse appears even more clearly in Q 3:64: "O People of the Book, come to a word (that is) fair between us and you, (to wit) that we serve only God, that we associate nothing with him…."

The later qurʾānic revelations, given at the time of intensive polemical encounters at Medina, reduced the base for such common ground with the Jews and the Christians to two: pure monotheism and belief in the day of judgment (or the "last day"). It seems, however, that these two principles, even if the People of the Book acknowledged them, were not enough to outweigh the doctrinal differences between the parties. The Qurʾān accuses both Jews and Christians of polytheism, because of the Christian doctrines of the Trinity (q.v.) and of the divine sonship of Jesus and the Jewish claim that ʿUzayr (see EZRA) was the son of God. The latter accusation is enigmatic and no satisfactory explanation has yet been offered for it. The name of ʿUzayr does not appear in this form in any Jewish text, and the idea of God having a son is not only completely alien to rabbinic thought of the time, but it was also the major area of conflict between mainstream Judaism and Christianity. But since the Qurʾān speaks about the sonship of ʿUzayr as an apparently known and accepted fact (Q 9:30: "The Jews say that ʿUzayr is the son of God and the Christians say that the Messiah *[al-masīḥ]* is the son of God…"), it might mean that there was a concrete group of people who called themselves Jews and attributed sonship to a person called ʿUzayr. The fact that the context of this assertion is the sonship attributed by the Christians to the Messiah *(al-masīḥ),* is likely significant. The preceding verse (Q 9:29) calls on the believers to fight against those "who do not believe in God or in the last day… of those who have been given the book" *(min alladhīna ūtū l-kitāb)*. Following immediately is the verse

about the polytheistic doctrines of the Jews and the Christians. It is clear first, that the Prophet is absolutely sure about the issue of ʿUzayr and second, that this passage does not speak about a difference of doctrine between the two communities but about the difference in the appellation that each one of them used for the son of God. The Christians call him *al-masīḥ,* the Jews ʿUzayr. The solution of the riddle is rather simple: The likely source of the name ʿUzayr is the Hebrew word *ʿOzēr,* rather than an Arabic diminutive. Taking into consideration that the only way to render the long *ē* in Hebrew is by the diphthong *ay* in Arabic, ʿUzayr would represent the transliteration of the Hebrew ʿOzēr into Arabic. ʿOzēr in Hebrew means "helper," or even "savior." The word appears in biblical and post-biblical sources alone and together with words derived from the root *y-sh-ʿ* denoting salvation, too. (At the beginning of the 18 Benedictions, the most important Jewish prayer, God is called: "king *[mēlek],* helper *[ʿozēr],* savior *[moshīʿa],* protector *[magen].*") In other words, the Qurʾān, when speaking about Jews and Christians as those to whom the book was given, speaks about two similar groups, both of whom believed in the son of God as the savior, with only one difference: each referred to him under a different title, the Jews called him *ʿozēr* and the Christians *masīḥ* (see SALVATION).

The problem of ʿUzayr has a wider implication in regard to the question of the identity of the Jews in the Medinan context (see MEDINA; CHRONOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN). Based on the qurʾānic material alone it is very possible that at least some of these Jews (if not all of them) represented a sect with a distinct messianic doctrine, who regarded the Messiah as the son of God and called him "the savior," "the helper" *(ʿozēr, ʿuzayr).* This could well be the reason why many times the term *ahl al-kitāb* refers to both Jews and Christians, and one cannot always be sure if a certain reference in the Qurʾān refers to Jews, to Christians or to both. In all the thirty-one verses of the Qurʾān with a direct reference to *ahl al-kitāb* there are only two references that can be identified as referring specifically to Jews and to Christians, respectively. In Q 4:153-5, the People of the Book ask the Prophet to bring down to them a book from heaven (see PROVOCATION; OPPOSITION TO MUḤAMMAD); in doing so they follow the example of their forefathers who, even after they were given the evidence *(bayyināt),* made the golden calf (see CALF OF GOLD) and persisted with the rebellion (q.v.) against God, and his prophets. The other case is Q 4:171, where *ahl al-kitāb* are clearly Christians. Here the Qurʾān urges them to speak about God with truth, and not to exaggerate in their religion. Jesus (ʿĪsā) was only a messenger of God, even though he was created when God cast his spirit (q.v.) into Jesus' mother (see MARY). He is ʿĪsā son of Maryam, that is to say, not ʿĪsā son of God. But even in these two cases one cannot be sure that the Prophet is not speaking about two very similar groups, each of whom exalted Jesus as a messianic figure and "son of God," but under two different titles: "Masīḥ" (Messiah) and ʿOzēr" (Savior). From the qurʾānic references, it appears that the "Naṣāra" were those who termed him the "Messiah," while the "Yahūd" called him "Savior." Both are attacked in the qurʾānic discourse for saying that God has a son; they differ only in the name which they use to identify him. From this reading of the qurʾānic references to the "Yahūd," it would appear that they should not be equated with post-exilic Judaism which had categorically rejected any association with Jesus.

In what follows, the qurʾānic verses dealing strictly with *ahl al-kitāb* will be

summarized without reference to either ḥadīth or commentary, i.e. without exegetical interference. To begin, the second and third sūras contain a number of references.

Q 2:105 — those who disbelieve from *ahl al-kitāb* and the polytheists *(mushrikūn)* do not like the fact that the believers receive God's goodness and favor. Q 2:109 — many *ahl al-kitāb* are jealous of the Muslims and wish they would become unbelievers. Q 3:64 — the Qur'ān calls on *ahl al-kitāb* to accept monotheism as a common ground of belief with the Muslims. Q 3:65 — *ahl al-kitāb* cannot claim Abraham for themselves since the Torah and the Gospel were revealed only after his time. (Since Abraham plays a major part in both Judaism and Christianity, the verse cannot be identified with either one.) Q 3:69 — a group of *ahl al-kitāb* wish to lead the Muslims astray (q.v.), but they mislead only themselves. Q 3:70-1 — *ahl al-kitāb* are asked why they disbelieve in the signs (q.v.) of God and confuse truth (q.v.) with falsehood (see LIE). Q 3:75 — there are some individuals from *ahl al-kitāb* who are trustworthy, others who are not. These even lie about God himself. Q 3:98-100 — *ahl al-kitāb* disbelieve in God's signs and turn the believers away from his path. The believers are warned that some of those "to whom the book has been given" wish to render them unbelievers. Q 3:100-14 — it would have been much better if *ahl al-kitāb* were to believe but most of them are transgressors. The Muslims will defeat them. They are destined to permanent humiliation because they disbelieved in God's signs and killed the prophets. But not all *ahl al-kitāb* are the same: some recite God's revealed verses while prostrating in the night (see BOWING AND PROSTRATION; VIGILS) and believe in God and the last day. (Only the commentaries identify either Jews or Christians with these verses.) Q 3:199 — among *ahl al-kitāb* there are those who believe in God and in what was revealed to them as well as in what was revealed to the Prophet. God will properly reward them. Q 4:123-4 — reward and punishment (q.v.) depend on one's actions. They are not dependent on the convictions of either *ahl al-kitāb* or the Muslims.

The fourth sūra, al-Nisāʾ ("The Women"), includes three significant and lengthy paragraphs. Q 4:153-9 — *ahl al-kitāb* ask the Prophet to bring down for them a book from heaven. This is a sign of their audacity, for in the past they asked Moses to give them a clear sign of God, and even after they were struck by lightening they made the calf *(al-ʿijl)*. God lifted the mountain over them, ordered them to keep the sabbath (q.v.), and took from them "a firm compact" (see COVENANT). They will be punished for violating the compact, for their disbelief in the signs of God, for their killing of the prophets, speaking against Mary and for claiming to have killed the Messiah, ʿĪsā. In fact, they never killed or crucified him (see CRUCIFIXION); instead, God caused him to ascend to him: "And there are no People of the Book but will surely believe in him before his death, and on the day of resurrection (q.v.), he will be regarding them a witness (see INTERCESSION; WITNESSING AND TESTIFYING)." (This is the only clear reference to Jewish material, though it is not clear whether the reference here is to the events of the past or to some current controversy. Q 4:157 contains a reference to those who have differences of opinion about Jesus or have doubts concerning him, and, having no clear knowledge about him, they follow uncertain opinions. This verse cannot be attributed to either Jews or Christians but, unlike the other verses of a historical nature, this one seems to refer to the present and reflect differences of opinions

regarding the nature of Christ among Christians and Judeo-Christian groups.) Q 4:171 — *ahl al-kitāb* are warned not to exaggerate in their religion and regard Jesus only as a messenger (q.v.) of God and his word conveyed to Mary from a spirit which God cast into her. God is one, he is exalted above having a son (see GOD AND HIS ATTRIBUTES; ANTHROPOMORPHISM); he has all that is in heaven and earth (see POWER AND IMPOTENCE). (The verse seems to refer to the Christians but could well hint at a controversy concerning the nature of Christ among local Christian or pseudo-Christian groups, perhaps a distant echo of the debate in the institutionalized Byzantine church.)

In the first relevant reference in the fifth sūra (Q 5:15), *ahl al-kitāb* are informed that God's messenger has arrived revealing all that they had been concealing from the "book." God sent the light (q.v.) to them and a "clear book." Q 5:19 — *ahl al-kitāb* are told that God's messenger came to make things clear for them and as a bringer of good tidings (see GOOD NEWS) and a warner (q.v.). Q 5:59 — *ahl al-kitāb* are asked if they reproach the Muslims for their belief in what has been sent to them and what was sent before and for their belief in God. The implication is that whatever God has sent to them is identical with whatever was sent aforetime. Q 5:65 — if *ahl al-kitāb* were to become believers God would forgive their sins (see FORGIVENESS; SIN, MAJOR AND MINOR) and cause them to enter paradise (q.v.). Q 5:68 — *ahl al-kitāb* are called upon to keep the Torah and the Gospel; the Prophet's revelation causes many of them to increase their arrogance (q.v.) and disbelief. Q 5:77 — *ahl al-kitāb* are urged not to exaggerate in their religion, to speak only the truth about God, and to beware of following the ways of those who in the past have strayed from the straight path. (The verse is reminiscent of Q 4:171, but without the apparently Christian references.)

In Q 29:46-7, the Muslims are to debate with *ahl al-kitāb* in a positive manner (see DEBATE AND DISPUTATION) and stress the common belief in the one God and in what had been revealed to *ahl al-kitāb* (in the past) and the Muslims (at present). A book *(kitāb)* was revealed to the Prophet similar to the other book that was revealed in the past and in which *ahl al-kitāb* believe. Some of them will believe in this book, too. Only the unbelievers deny the signs of God (see GRATITUDE AND INGRATITUDE). Q 33:26 — God caused the Muslims to be victorious over *ahl al-kitāb,* who were compelled to forsake their towers *(ṣayāṣīhim)*. (According to tradition the verse and its context has to do with the "battle of the trench [or ditch]" and *ahl al-kitāb* here refers to the Jews who fought against the Prophet; see PEOPLE OF THE DITCH.) Q 57:29 — *ahl al-kitāb* have no power over any part of the bounty of God who is the sole possessor of all his bounty, which he bestows on whomsoever he wishes.

Q 59:2 is a somewhat ambiguous passage which deserves more extended attention: The believers were victorious over some *ahl al-kitāb* by the grace of God and caused them (i.e. the disbelievers from the People of the Book) to evacuate their homes and forts after they had thought that these were impregnable (and Muslims did not think that the People of the Book could be defeated). God put fear in their hearts and they destroyed their homes with their own hands. For the Muslims this victory came unexpectedly. (The verse is usually understood to refer originally to the expulsion of the Jews of the Banū Qaynuqāʿ [q.v.] which was revised and extended after the expulsion of the Jews of the Banū al-Naḍīr [see NAḌĪR, BANŪ AL-; cf. Bell, *Commentary,* ii, 363-4]. The verse speaks about those of the "People of the Book who have disbe-

lieved." They were the ones whom God expelled from their dwellings. The attribution of the reference to a certain clan of Jews is a reasonable assumption; the Qurʾān does not, however, use the word *"yahūd,"* but the more general term *ahl al-kitāb*. It is clear that the verse does not speak about doctrinal differences but about physical confrontation, which was given a religious garb. The group of *ahl al-kitāb* who took part in this confrontation are defined only as "unbelievers" and there is no other hint about their identity.)

Q 59:11 is also one of those verses that refer to *ahl al-kitāb* in the context of the Prophet's physical confrontation with his opponents. It speaks about the hypocrites *(alladhīna nāfaqū)* who promise "their brothers" from "those who disbelieve from among *ahl al-kitāb*" that they will go into exile with them if expelled and assist them if attacked (see HYPOCRITES AND HYPOCRISY). The passage adds that they are liars. (Again, according to the standard histories, this verse refers to the hypocrites of Medina before the expulsion of the Banū al-Naḍīr. There is nothing in the verse itself to back this presumption. Again, the verse uses the general term "the unbelievers from among the People of the Book" which, without any polemical context, is far from being specific. Yet, it is clear from the context and from the verses immediately following this verse, that the Qurʾān is speaking about a war [q.v.] in which their opponents fought the Muslim faithful "in fortified towns and behind walls" [Q 59:14].)

Sūra 98 is completely dedicated to the "unbelievers of the People of the Book" and the polytheists. The eight verses of the sūra speak about the union between these two groups, who were given the opportunity for salvation when the "evidence" *(bayyina)* of a true Prophet came to them "reciting pure scrolls (or sheets)" (*yatlū ṣuḥufan muṭahharatan,* see SHEETS; SCROLLS). Those who were given the book *(alladhīna ūtū l-kitāba)* separated (or had differences of opinion?) only after the evidence had come to them. They were ordered to worship God exclusively and observe the prayer (q.v.) and the payment of *zakāt* (see ALMSGIVING). Those of *ahl al-kitāb* (who disbelieved) and the polytheists are the worst of all creatures and are destined to abide in the fire of hell (*jahannam;* see HELL AND HELLFIRE). In comparison, those of them who do believe and do good deeds are the best of all creatures and are to dwell eternally in the garden (q.v.) of Eden wherein the rivers flow. (The sūra represents a summary of the Qurʾān's attitude to *ahl al-kitāb:* those who believe share the good fortune of all other believers. By believing the Qurʾān means acceptance of the Prophet as one who recites holy writing, as the evidence *(ḥujja)* and the practice of the two main ordinances of Islam: prayer *[ṣalāt]* and the prescribed payment of *zakāt*. Humanity is thus divided into two camps: the saved ones are the believers who are also the best of all creatures *[khayr al-bariyya]* — they inherit heaven; and the worst of all creatures, who are the unbelievers of *ahl al-kitāb* and the polytheists, who inherit hell).

Except for a few cases, therefore, *ahl al-kitāb* in the Qurān does not necessarily refer to either Jews or Christians. Even if such identification can be made, especially in the case of Jews, it is not clear to what kind of Jews or Christians the text refers, unless there is clear reference to past history. It is very possible that, in addition to rabbinic Jews (from Yemen and Babylonia?), the Prophet came into contact with messianic groups who identified themselves as *yahūd*. Based on the qurʾānic text it is impossible to be more specific about the identity of *ahl al-kitāb* with whom the Prophet had ideological, doctrinal and

physical confrontations. Part of them he succeeded in making believers while against others he had to fight to the end. The main subjects of the doctrinal confrontations were, first, the validity and truth of Muḥammad's prophecy and, second, the meaning and true nature of monotheism. Whether defined as Jews or Christians, *ahl al-kitāb* were, by the end of the Prophet's lifetime, accused of having forsaken the true monotheistic religion of old prescribed in their books and of having adopted polytheistic doctrines that put them in the same camp as the *mushrikūn* (cf. McAuliffe, Persian exegetical evaluation, 104-5). See also BELIEF AND UNBELIEF; FAITH; CHILDREN OF ISRAEL; RELIGIOUS PLURALISM AND THE QUR'ĀN.

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People of the Cave

see MEN OF THE CAVE

People of the Ditch

The Qurʾān mentions the mysterious People of the Ditch *(aṣḥāb al-ukhdūd)* saying that "slain were the People of the Ditch — the fire abounding in fuel — when they were seated over it and were themselves witnesses of what they did with the believers" (Q 85:4-7). The Qurʾān adds that they were tortured in this way only because they believed in God "to whom belongs the kingdom of the heavens and the earth, and God is witness over everything" (Q 85:8-9).

The expression "People of the Ditch" is the single detail of this whole passage that has been subject to differing interpretations. Consequently, most exegetical works contain an interpretation of this phrase. Some are based on a long ḥadīth (see ḤADĪTH AND THE QUR'ĀN) in which Muḥammad tells the story of a boy who is learning magic (q.v.) from a magician. But, after meeting a monk (see MONASTICISM AND MONKS), the boy became a true believer in God. Subsequently, the boy was tortured by the king in order to make him abandon his faith, and after his death the king had ditches dug and burned those who followed the boy's religion (Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* iv, 2299-301, no. 3005).

In contrast, some other reports consider this passage an allusion to the martyrdom

of the Christians of Najrān (q.v.) by order of the king Dhū Nuwās, which, according to Christian sources, took place around 523 C.E. (see CHRISTIANS AND CHRISTIANITY). Dhū Nuwās, the last Ḥimyarite king, converted to Judaism and changed his name to Joseph (see JEWS AND JUDAISM; SOUTH ARABIA, RELIGION IN PRE-ISLAMIC). When he learned that there were some Christians in Najrān, he went there, intent upon forcing them to convert to Judaism. At their refusal, Dhū Nuwās had one or more ditches dug, in which wood was put and a fire was lit. All of the Christians, numbering in the thousands (eight, twenty or even seventy), refused to renounce their faith and adopt that of the king, so they were thrown into the fire alive. According to certain reports, only one of the people of Najrān, named Daws Dhū Thaʿlabān, was able to escape. He reached the Byzantine court where he sought assistance. Some reports refer to the dimensions of the ditch or of the fire, or add that among the people slain there was a woman with a two-months-old baby who miraculously spoke and convinced her to accept the torment (Muqātil, *Tafsīr,* iv, 648).

According to some interpretations, the expression "People of the Ditch" alludes instead to three kings, Dhū Nuwās in Yemen, Antiochus in Syria and Nebuchadnezzar in Iraq or Persia. A tradition explains the qurʾānic passage as referring to an Abyssinian prophet who summoned his people to faith but the people, who refused to listen to the prophet, dug a ditch and threw the prophet and his followers in it (Majlisī, *Biḥār,* xiv, 439-40). A report attributed to ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib (q.v.; d. 40/661) includes another version: the ditch was dug by a Mazdean king who decided to permit incestuous marriages, but when his people opposed this innovation, the king, failing to convince them, had them thrown into the burning ditch.

Modern research has proposed other interpretations. The story of the People of the Ditch mentioned in the Qurʾān could be an allusion to the men in the furnace in Daniel 3:15 f., as already suggested by al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923; *Tafsīr,* xxix, 132-3) and other exegetes. Alternatively, it may refer to the members of Quraysh (q.v.) slain by the Prophet's army at Badr (q.v.). It may also simply be a generic allusion to those damned to hell (Paret, *Kommentar,* 505-6; see REWARD AND PUNISHMENT; HELL AND HELLFIRE).

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People of the Elephant

The phrase in the first verse of Q 105 (Sūrat al-Fīl, "The Elephant"), from which *al-fīl* ("the elephant") provides the term by which that sūra is known. The verse is addressed directly to the prophet Muḥammad: "Have you not seen how your lord has dealt with the People of the Elephant *(aṣḥāb al-fīl)?*" The short sūra of five verses

is early Meccan (see CHRONOLOGY AND THE QUR'ĀN) and it describes an expedition in which one of the mounts was an elephant and which was miraculously annihilated by God, who sent flocks of birds against the invading host. The sūra leaves unknown both the identity of the People of the Elephant, the objective of the invading force, and the motives behind the expedition.

What was left obscure in the sūra was illuminated with great precision by the Arabic Islamic historical and exegetical tradition. *Aṣḥāb al-fīl* were Abyssinians (see ABYSSINIA); the leader was Abraha (q.v.); the target was Mecca (q.v.) and the Kaʿba (q.v.); the name of the elephant was Maḥmūd, its "driver" *(sā'is)* was Unays; the guide of the expedition was Abū Righāl; the elephant stopped at al-Mughammas and would not proceed towards Mecca; the route of the elephant, *darb al-fīl,* was charted from Yemen (q.v.) to al-Mughammas; the Prophet's grandfather, ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, was involved in negotiating with Abraha; and even Quraysh (q.v.), as Ḥums, were associated with the failure of the expedition of the People of the Elephant against the Kaʿba; Abraha died a dolorous death and was carried back to Yemen.

It is equally difficult to accept or reject any of the above data as provided by the Arabic Islamic tradition. Yet a modicum of truth may be predicated since, as is clear from the first verse of the sūra, the episode was a recent one and was probably still remembered by the Prophet's older Meccan contemporaries, who might well have been the first tradents of the later historical and exegetical tradition. Indeed, the so-called "Year of the Elephant," *ʿām al-fīl,* marked the inception of one of the Arab pre-Islamic eras (see PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QUR'ĀN). The Islamic profile of the episode consisted in associating the year of the expedition with the birth date of Muḥammad; Umm Ayman, Muḥammad's nurse, was said to have been a captive from the defeated Abyssinian host; and Muslims were expected to stone the tomb of Abū Righāl at al-Mughammas. The sūra itself yields only the following: the expedition of the People of the Elephant was a serious and important event; the destruction of the invading host was theologically presented, effected by God himself; and since the sūra was addressed to the Prophet, the implication is that he or his city or Quraysh benefited from this divine intervention on their behalf. Hence, the failure of the expedition of the People of the Elephant sheds much light on the pre-Islamic history of Quraysh and on the pre-prophetic period of Muḥammad's life.

Attempts to invoke the epigraphic evidence from south Arabia to shed light on the People of the Elephant have failed. The Murayghān inscription commemorated a victory, not a defeat, for the Ethiopians and the site of the battle was very far from Mecca. Additionally, these attempts have been gratuitously plagued by the involvement of the Prophet's birth date — traditionally considered 570 C.E. — with the date of the expedition, mounted by the People of the Elephant. An alternative approach towards negotiating the imprecision of the sūra, namely, the exegesis of the Qur'ān by the Qur'ān *(tafsīr al-Qur'ān bi-l-Qur'ān),* has been more fruitful and successful. Many medieval Muslim scholars considered Q 106 ("Quraysh") not a separate sūra but a continuation of Q 105. The unity of these two sūras, however, had not been seriously considered until the present writer published an article to that effect in 1981. Accepting the unity of the two sūras *al-Fīl* and *Quraysh,* and setting them against the background of the history of western Arabia in

the sixth century, based on authentic contemporary sources, yield the following conclusions on the People of the Elephant and their expedition:

They were Abyssinians, not Arabs, the *fīl* being an African not an Arabian animal; their leader was either Abraha or one of his two sons who succeeded him, Yaksūm or Masrūq; the destination no doubt was Mecca and the Kaʿba, referred to in verse Q 106:3; the destruction of the Ethiopian host may be attributed to the outbreak of an epidemic or the smallpox. Its destruction was Mecca's commercial opportunity in international trade, now that it could safely conduct the two journeys (see CARAVAN; JOURNEY): the winter journey to Yemen and the summer one to Syria (q.v.; *bilād al-shām*); let the Meccans, therefore, worship the lord of the "house" (the Kaʿba; see HOUSE, DOMESTIC AND DIVINE), who made all this possible (Q 106:3-4). The true motives behind the expedition remain shrouded in obscurity but they must be either or both of the following: (1) Retaliation for the desecration of the cathedral/church, built by Abraha in Ṣanʿāʾ; or (2) the elimination of Mecca as an important caravan city on the main artery of trade in western Arabia.

Whatever the motive behind the expedition of the People of the Elephant was, the qurʾānic revelation that refers to them in Q 105 remains the sole reliable evidence for the importance of Mecca in the sixth century, clearly implied in the fact that the ruler of south Arabia found it necessary to mount a major military offensive against it. The destruction of the Ethiopian host is also the sole reliable evidence that explains the enhanced prosperity of Mecca as a result of long-distance international trade, through which the future Prophet of Islam benefited, materially and otherwise, in the fifteen years or so, during which he led the caravans before his prophetic call (see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD; REVELATION AND INSPIRATION) around 610 C.E.

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People of the Heights

Qurʾānic eschatological designation for people not destined for hell. The term *al-aʿrāf* (pl. of *ʿurf*) in Q 7:46 and Q 7:48 (where it appears in the construct, *aṣḥāb al-aʿrāf:* "the companions — or people — of *al-aʿrāf*") has been variously understood as "elevated place, crest, to distinguish between things, or to part them." *Al-aʿrāf* (the name of the seventh sūra of the Qurʾān) also signifies "the higher, or the highest," and "the first or foremost," hence the source of the English term "[the People of] the Heights," and of M.H. Shakir's (*Holy Qurʾān,* 140-1) translation as "the Elevated Places." Finally, the exegetical tradition has indicated a connection with the triliteral Arabic root for

"knowledge" (*ʿ-r-f;* see e.g. Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* xii, 450, ad Q 7:46, reporting a tradition from al-Suddī: "It is named *"al-aʿrāf"* because its companions 'know' — *yaʿrifūna* — humankind.").

The classical works of exegesis (see EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL) list a number of interpretations of both *"al-aʿrāf"* and "the people of *"al-aʿrāf."* Al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923) reports a tradition that identifies the "veil" (q.v.; *ḥijāb*) of Q 7:46 that separates those destined for heaven (see GARDEN) from those destined for hell (see HELL AND HELLFIRE) as both "the wall" *(al-sūr)* and "the heights" (*al-aʿrāf;* Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* xii, 449, ad Q 7:46; cf. Muqātil, *Tafsīr,* ii, 38-9, ad Q 7:46; see ESCHATOLOGY). A slight variation of this tradition is that *"al-aʿrāf"* is the "wall" or, alternately, the "veil," "between the garden and the fire" (q.v.; ibid.; see also BARRIER).

The exegetical tradition regarding the identity of the "men" *(rijāl)* or the "companions" *(aṣḥāb)* of *al-aʿrāf* is also multivalent: while some have posited angels (q.v.; cf. i.e. Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* xii, 459, ad Q 7:46), the majority has maintained that these individuals are human beings (children of Adam: Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* xii, 452, ad Q 7:46) — be they martyrs (i.e. those who "were killed in the path of God"; cf. Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* xii, 457, ad Q 7:46; see MARTYRS; PATH OR WAY), or virtuous humans or people whose good and evil works are equal (see GOOD DEEDS; EVIL DEEDS). This latter understanding is arguably the dominant one, as the "men" on *al-aʿrāf* (Q 7:46) have been understood to be those who "have not [yet] entered [paradise]" (Q 7:46): "the people of *al-aʿrāf*" *(aṣḥāb al-aʿrāf)* have been viewed as persons whose good and evil works are of equal quality (see WEIGHTS AND MEASURES). Thus, they should not merit paradise by the former or hell by the latter (cf. e.g. Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* xii, 452, ad Q 7:46) — nor merit it as prophets or angels (see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD; ANGEL; cf. Rāzī, *Tafsīr,* xiv, 93, where the argument is put forth that the People of the Heights cannot be martyrs, as the description found in Q 7:46, that "they will not have entered [heaven], but they have an assurance" is explained as not applying to prophets, angels or martyrs; also, ibid., 94, where mention is made of the view, attributed to al-Ḥudhayfa and others, that the People of the Heights will be the last people to enter heaven; see THEOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN; MUʿTAZILA). They are thus in the "intermediate" state between salvation (q.v.) and damnation, for Q 7:47 ("When their gaze will be turned towards the companions of the fire they will say, 'Our lord, do not put us with the wrongdoing people'") is also understood to refer to these people of *al-aʿrāf* (cf. Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* xii, 452-4, ad Q 7:46; see JUSTICE AND INJUSTICE; FREEDOM AND PREDESTINATION; DESTINY; FATE). Finally, Ṣūfī mystics have used the term to express a condition of the mind and soul when meditating on the existence of God in all things (see ṢŪFISM AND THE QURʾĀN).

Modern scholarship reflects the range of interpretations to be found in the classical exegetes. T. Andrae (*Der Ursprung,* 77) wrote that they were probably dwellers in the highest degree of paradise "who are able to look down on hell and on paradise." Bell (Men, 43), however, finds no linguistic justification for this claim, unless an unusual metathesis of the Arabic root letters of the verb "to raise up" (*r-f-ʿ* < *ʿ-r-f,* of *"al-aʿrāf"*) is assumed. Some interpreters imagined that *al-aʿrāf* was a sort of limbo, using the term *barzakh* (q.v.) for the patriarchs and prophets, or for the martyrs, and those whose eminence gave them sanctity.

Western translations of the Qurʾān reflect the lack of exegetical consensus regarding the phrase *"al-aʿrāf."* While some translators of the Qurʾān prefer to retain the

Arabic *"al-aʿrāf"* as the title of Q 7, others have attempted to translate the term, and have used their translations as the title of Q 7: e.g. Arberry (176-7) used "The Battlements" and "The Ramparts," and Pickthall (*Koran,* 121) "The Heights" (cf. Dawood, *Koran,* 112-3). Some rather more involved translations are the "Wall Between Heaven and Hell" (Ahmad Ali, *Qurʾān,* 137; e.g. his rendition of Q 7:46: "On the wall will be the men (of *al-aʿrāf*)…"; and of Q 7:48: "The men of *al-aʿrāf* will call [to the inmates of Hell]…."). Two earlier writers, Sale (*Koran,* 151) and Rodwell (*Koran,* 297-8), had simply used *al-aʿrāf* as the title. Sale named Q 7 "Al Araf" and did not divide the sections. He wrote, "… men shall stand on al araf who shall know every one of them…"; and "… those who stand on al araf shall call unto certain men…." Rodwell called it "Al Araf": "and on *the wall* Al Araf shall be men…" (Q 7:46; cf. his footnotes: "On this wall [the name of which is derived from *Arafa,* 'to know', with allusion to the employment of those upon it] will stand those whose good and evil works are equal, and are not, therefore, deserving of either Paradise or Gehenna…"; Q 7:48: "… and they who are upon Al Araf shall cry to those whom they know…"). The French scholar Kasimirski also retained the name *"al-aʿraf",* as the title of Q 7, and he rendered the relevant phrase of Q 7:46: "… sur l'Alaraf…."

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People of the House

Literally, "(the) people of the house" *(ahl al-bayt),* a family, a noble family, a leading family and, most probably, also those who dwelt near the house of God (see HOUSE, DOMESTIC AND DIVINE), the Kaʿba (q.v.). Without the definite article *"al-,"* it means "household" (see FAMILY; KINSHIP; COMMUNITY AND SOCIETY IN THE QURʾĀN). In Shīʿī (see SHĪʿISM AND THE QURʾĀN) as well as Sunnī literature the term *ahl al-bayt* is usually understood to refer to the family of the Prophet (q.v.). In the Qurʾān the term appears twice with the definite article (Q 11:73; 33:33) and once without it (*ahl bayt,* Q 28:12).

According to the lexicographers, when *ahl* appears in a construction with a person it refers to his blood relatives (see BLOOD AND BLOOD CLOT), but with other nouns it acquires wider meanings: thus the basic meaning of *ahl al-bayt* is the inhabitants of a house (or a tent). They used to call the inhabitants of Mecca (q.v.; *ahl makka*) "the people of God" as a sign of honor (for them), in the same way that it is said "the house of God" *(bayt Allāh)*. *Ahl madhhab* are those who profess a certain doctrine; *ahl al-islām* are the Muslims, and so on (see for additional examples, *Lisān al-ʿArab,* s.v. *ahl*).

The Qurʾān frequently uses *ahl* to denote

a certain group of people. Sometimes the word is connected with the name of a place, and in these cases the term refers to the inhabitants of that place, such as: *ahl yathrib,* "the people of Yathrib" (Q 33:13) or *ahl al-madīna,* "the people of Medina" (q.v.; Q 9:101); *ahl madyan,* "the people of Midian" (q.v.; Q 20:40; 28:45). Sometimes the term is used to denote the people of unidentified locations such as *ahl qarya,* "the inhabitants of a town or village" (Q 18:77; cf. 29:31, 34), *ahl al-qurā,* "townspeople, dwellers of the villages" (Q 7:96-8; 12:109; 59:7; see CITY). At other times the word *ahl* refers to certain groups of people typified or identified by some ethical or religious characteristics, as in *ahl al-dhikr,* "people of the reminder" (Q 21:7; see MEMORY) or *ahl al-nār,* "people of the (hell-) fire" (Q 38:64; see HELL AND HELLFIRE). Or it has the meaning of "fit for," in which case the word describes an individual, not a group, such as *ahl al-taqwā,* "(a person) fit for piety" (q.v.; Q 74:56), or *ahl al-maghfira,* "(a person) fit for forgiveness" (q.v.; Q 74:56).

The term *ahl al-bayt* falls into one or more of these categories, namely people who belong to a certain house in the literal or socio-political meanings of the word. At least in one case (Q 33:33), however, its identification with the Prophet turned the term into a major issue in qurʾānic exegesis and tradition literature (see EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL; ḤADĪTH AND THE QURʾĀN).

The qurʾānic usage of *ahl al-bayt* is as follows:

In Q 11:73 — the story of Abraham (Ibrāhīm) and the divine messengers. When the patriarch's wife is informed that she is going to give birth to Isaac (Isḥāq) and Jacob (Yaʿqūb), she reacts by saying: "Alas! Shall I bring forth when I am old and my husband here an old man? Verily this is a thing strange" (Q 11:72). The angels respond: "Do you think the affair of God strange? The mercy and blessing of God be upon you, O people of the house…" *(raḥmatu llāhi wa-barakātuhu ʿalaykum ahla l-bayti).*

In Q 28:12 — situated in the story of the rescue of the infant Moses (Mūsā) by Pharaoh's (Firʿawn) wife. The phrase appears without the definite article: Moses' sister asks, "Shall I direct you to a household who will take charge of him (the infant Moses) for you?…" *(hal adullukum ʿalā ahli baytin yakfulūnahu lakum).*

In Q 33:33 — "God simply wishes to take the pollution from you, O people of the house and to purify you thoroughly" *(innamā yurīdu llāhu li-yudhhiba ʿankumu l-rijsa ahla l-bayti wa-yuṭahhirakum taṭhīran).*

The first two verses, Q 11:73 and Q 28:12, were understood by almost all Muslim commentators to mean family, in the first case Abraham's family and in the second the prophet Moses' family. In the case of Q 33:33, however, the word *bayt* most probably means not a family but the Kaʿba, the house of God; thus the term *ahl al-bayt* would seem to mean the tribe of Quraysh (q.v.) or the Islamic community in general, as suggested by R. Paret (Der Plan, 130; cf. Bell, *Qurʾān,* ii, 414 n. 3; *Lisān al-ʿArab*).

The tribe of Quraysh was explicitly called *ahl al-bayt* in an early Islamic tradition recorded by Ibn Saʿd: "Quṣayy said to his fellow tribesmen, 'You are the neighbors of God and people of his house'" (*innakum jīrān Allāh wa-ahl baytihi;* Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt,* i/1, 41, l. 16). In this sense the term assumes an even wider meaning: it includes all those who venerated the Kaʿba. This original meaning was neglected in favor of the more limited scope of the Prophet's family, and Q 33:33 became, consequently, the cornerstone for both Shīʿī and ʿAbbāsid claims to the leadership

of the Muslim community (see POLITICS AND THE QUR'ĀN). The Shīʿa (q.v.) claimed that the verse speaks about the divine choice of the ʿAlid family and their preference to all the other relatives of the Prophet. To be sure, the idea of divine selection was accepted also by the so-called non-Shīʿī, or Sunnī, tradition. Thus the Prophet is made to say: "God created human beings, divided them into two parties, and placed me in the better one of the two. Then he divided this party into tribes (see TRIBES AND CLANS) and placed me in the best of them all, and then he divided them into families (*buyūt,* lit. "houses") and placed me in the best of them all, the one with the most noble pedigree" (*khayruhum nasaban;* Fīrūzābādī, *Faḍāʾil,* i, 6). Within this concept of selection, there is a wide area of variation. The tendency of the Shīʿa has always been to carry the list of the divine selection further down, so as to achieve maximum exclusivity.

One of the most widespread traditions quoted by Shīʿī as well as Sunnī sources in relation to the interpretation of Q 33:33 is the so-called *ḥadīth al-kisāʾ.* Through the many variations on this ḥadith, the idea of the "holy five" was established. The Prophet is reported to have said: "This *āya* was revealed for me and for ʿAlī (see ʿALĪ B. ABĪ ṬĀLIB), Fāṭima (q.v.), Ḥasan and Ḥusayn." When the verse was revealed, the tradition goes on to say, the Prophet took a "cloak" or "cape" (*kisāʾ,* meaning his robe or garment; see CLOTHING), wrapped it around his son-in-law, his daughter and his two grandchildren and said: "O God, these are my family *(ahl baytī)* whom I have chosen; take the pollution from them and purify them thoroughly." The clear political message in this tradition was stressed by additions such as the one in which the Prophet says: "I am the enemy of their enemies (q.v.)," or invokes God, saying: "O God, be the enemy of their enemies" (authorities quoted in Sharon, Ahl al-bayt, 172 n. 6).

To the same political category belong the various traditions which consider assistance and love for the *ahl al-bayt* a religious duty and enmity towards them a sin. "He who oppresses my *ahl bayt,*" the Prophet says, "or fights against them or attacks them or curses them, God forbids him from entering paradise (q.v.)." In another utterance attributed to the Prophet he says: "My *ahl bayt* can be compared to Noah's (q.v.) ark (q.v.), whoever rides in it is saved and whoever hangs on to it succeeds, and whoever fails to reach it is thrust into hell" (Fīrūzābādī, *Faḍāʾil,* ii, 56-9; 75-87).

Once the idea of the "chosen five" or the selected family was established as the main Shīʿī interpretation of the term *ahl al-bayt,* there was no reason why the idea of purification (see CLEANLINESS AND ABLUTION; RITUAL PURITY), which appears in the qurʾānic verse, should not be connected in a more direct way to the divinely selected family. In addition to *ahl al-bayt,* one therefore finds terms such as *al-ʿitra al-ṭāhira* and *al-dhuriyya al-ṭāhira,* "the pure family," or also "the pure descendents," an expression that is more than reminiscent of the holy family (i.e. Jesus [q.v.], Mary [q.v.] and Joseph) in Christianity. And as if to accentuate this point, Fāṭima and Mary are explicitly mentioned together as the matrons of paradise and Fāṭima is even called *al-batūl,* "the virgin" (see SEX AND SEXUALITY; ABSTINENCE; CHASTITY), a most appropriate description for the female figure in the Islamic version of the holy family (see McAuliffe, Chosen).

When the ʿAbbāsids came to power, they, too, based the claim for the legitimacy of their rule on the fact that they were part of the Prophet's family. Concurrently, therefore, the meaning of the term *ahl al-bayt* underwent modifications in opposite directions. While the Shīʿa moved towards the

formulation of the idea of the "holy five," or the "pure family" described above, the ʿAbbāsids strove to widen the scope of this family to include ʿAbbās, the Prophet's uncle, stressing that women, noble and holy as they may be, could not be regarded as a source of *nasab* and that the paternal uncle in the absence of the father was equal to the father (see GENDER; INHERITANCE). The extension of the boundaries of *ahl al-bayt* under the ʿAbbāsids followed an already existing model. The ḥadīths speaking about the process of God's selection stop at the clan of Hāshim to include all the families in this clan, the Ṭālibids as well as the ʿAbbāsids. Such traditions can be even more explicit, specifying that the families included in the Prophet's *ahl al-bayt* are *"āl ʿAlī wa-āl Jaʿfar wa-āl ʿAqīl wa-āl al-ʿAbbās"* (Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī, *Dhakhāʾir al-ʿuqbā,* 16).

Not all the commentators accepted the idea that the term *ahl al-bayt* in Q 33:33 is associated with the Prophet's family in the sense that the contending parties wished. Alongside the above-mentioned interpretations, one finds the neutral interpretation that *ahl al-bayt* means simply the Prophet's wives (*nisāʾ al-nabī;* see WIVES OF THE PROPHET). And as if to stress the dissatisfaction with the political and partisan undertones of the current exegesis, one of the commentators stresses that *ahl al-bayt* are the Prophet's wives, "and not as they claim" (Wāḥidī, *Asbāb,* 139-40; Sharon, Ahl al-bayt, 175 n. 15).

As may be expected, a harmonizing version also exists which interprets the term *ahl al-bayt* in such a way that both the Prophet's family and his wives are included. To achieve this end, the term *ahl al-bayt* was divided into two categories: the one, *ahl bayt al-suknā,* namely those who physically lived in the Prophet's home, and *ahl bayt al-nasab,* the Prophet's kin. The qurʾānic verse, according to this interpretation, primarily means the Prophet's household, namely, his wives. But it also contains a concealed meaning (see POLYSEMY), which the Prophet himself revealed by his action, thus disclosing that *ahl al-bayt* here included those who lived in his home, such as his wives, and those who shared his pedigree. They were the whole (clan) of Banū Hāshim and ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib. Another version of this interpretation states that the Prophet's *ahl al-bayt* included his wives and ʿAlī *(Lisān al-ʿArab)*.

In Arabic literature the term *ahl bayt* is used generically to specify the noble and influential family in the tribe or any other socio-political unit, Arab and non-Arab alike (see ARABS). The nobility attached to the term is sometimes stressed by connecting it to the word *sharaf*. The word *bayt* on its own could mean nobility *(wa-bayt al-ʿarab ashrafuhā)* says Ibn Manẓūr (*Lisān al-ʿArab,* s.v. *bayt*). The usage of *ahl al-bayt* for denoting leading families in the Age of Ignorance (q.v.; *jāhiliyya*) as well as under Islam was very extensive. Two examples will suffice to make the point. Ibn al-Kalbī (d. ca. 205/820) says that Nubāta b. Ḥanẓala, the famous Umayyad general, belonged to a noble family of the Qays ʿAyalān "and they are *ahl bayt* commanding strength and nobility" *(wa-hum ahlu baytin lahum baʾs wa-sharaf)*. The same is said about non-Arabs. Speaking about the Byzantine dynasties (see BYZANTINES), Ibn ʿAsākir (d. 571/1176) mentions ten *ahl buyūtāt*. The Barmakids are referred to as "from the noble families of Balkh" (*min ahl buyūtāt Balkh;* references in Sharon, Ahl al-bayt, 180-1).

It is noteworthy that the usage of the phrase "people of a/the house" (Ar. *ahl bayt*) to denote the status of nobility and leadership is not unique to the Arabic language (q.v.) or Arab culture. It is rather universal: the ancient Romans spoke about the *patres maiorum gentum,* namely, the elders

of the major clans or houses. The tradition concerning this Roman expression goes back to the early days of the Roman monarchy, when the Roman senate was composed of 100 family elders: Tarquinius Priscus, the fifth king of Rome (r. 616-578 B.C.E.), enlarged the number of senate members by another 100 elders who were called "the elders of the minor houses" (*patres minorum gentium;* Elkoshi, *Thesaurus,* 279). In the Bible, the usage of the word "house" *(bāyit)* to denote a family is very common. Moreover, in many cases, the "house" is named after an outstanding personality, and has a similar meaning as the Arabic *ahl al-bayt* (e.g. *Gen* 17:23, 27; *Num* 25:15; cf. Brown et al., *Lexicon,* 109b-110a). The most famous of such "houses" is the "house of David" *(bēth David)*. When used in this way, the word has the same meaning as the English "house" in reference to a royal family or a dynasty in general.

It is only natural that under Islam the members of the caliphs' families were called *ahl al-bayt*. ʿAbdallāh, the son of Caliph ʿUmar, referring to his sister's son (the future caliph) ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, says: "He resembles us, *ahl al-bayt,"* which means to say that the Umayyads referred to themselves as *ahl al-bayt.* In a letter written by Marwān II to Saʿīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān during the rebellion against Caliph Walīd II (125-6/743-4), the future caliph referred twice to the Umayyad family as *ahl bayt* and *ahl al-bayt* (for the reference see Sharon, Ahl al-bayt).

It may be concluded that once the caliphate had been established, the pre-Islamic Arabic *(jāhilī)* practice of calling the leading and noble families of the tribes *ahl al-bayt* was extended to each of the four families of the first caliphs. But since ʿAlī's caliphate was controversial, the definition of his family as *ahl al-bayt* was not shared by the whole Muslim community. The Umayyads and their Syrian supporters (see SYRIA) questioned the legitimacy of ʿAlī's rule, with the result that his Iraqi partisans (see IRAQ) and the Shīʿa not only emphasized the *ahl al-bayt* status of ʿAlī's descendents but also gave the term a specific and exclusive meaning. In this way, *ahl al-bayt* acquired a religious overtone, and in time lost its generic meaning. Once the term was attached to the Prophet's person, the road was open for qurʾānic exegesis, originating in Shīʿī circles, to establish its origin in the Qurʾān itself. All the politically charged interpretations of the qurʾānic phrase *ahl al-bayt* emerge because its original meaning was either deliberately or unintentionally forgotten. Yet one should also take into account that such interpretations of the term in connection with the Prophet's family would have been impossible had the term not been used generally as meaning family or kinsfolk.

On the other hand, it is doubtful whether in the Qurʾān the term *ahl al-bayt* (with the definite article) means family. R. Paret, who differentiates between the general term *ahl al-bayt* and the specific one, suggests that it literally meant "the people of the house," namely those who worshipped at the Kaʿba. In all cases in which the term *al-bayt* appears in the Qurʾān, it refers only to the Kaʿba sanctuary (Q 2:125, 127, 158; 3:97; 5:2, 97; 8:35; 22:26, 29, 33; 52:4; 106:3). *Al-bayt* may appear on its own or with an adjective, such as *al-bayt al-ʿatīq* (Q 22:29, 33), *al-bayt al-maʿmūr* (Q 52:4) or *al-bayt al-ḥarām* (i.e. Q 5:97). Paret goes on to suggest that the fact that the *ahl al-bayt* under discussion (Q 33:33) is mentioned in the context of cleaning from pollution falls well within the idea of the purification of the Kaʿba by Abraham and Ishmael (q.v.; Ismāʿīl), which can be found elsewhere in the Qurʾān. One may therefore quite safely conclude, Paret continues, that in the two cases where *ahl al-bayt* appears in this form in the Qurʾān, the original meaning must

have been the "worshippers of the house," the Kaʿba, as prescribed by Islam (Paret, Der Plan, 128: *"Anhänger des islamischen Kaʿba-Kultes"*). Along this line of thought, it would not be far-fetched to suggest that the original meaning of the term before Islam was the tribe of Quraysh in general and that this is what is meant in Q 33:33. As to Q 11:73 the connection with the Kaʿba is less certain.

To sum up, the meaning of *ahl al-bayt* in the Qurʾān follows the accepted usage of the term in pre- and post-Islamic Arab society. It denotes family and blood relations as well as a noble and leading "house" of the tribe. Only in the case of Q 33:33 does the term seem to have another, more specific meaning.

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People on the Left

see LEFT HAND AND RIGHT HAND; LAST JUDGMENT; BOOK

People on the Right

see LEFT HAND AND RIGHT HAND; LAST JUDGMENT; BOOK

People of the Thicket

An English rendering of the Arabic phrase *aṣḥāb al-ayka* that occurs in four Meccan sūras (Q 15:78; 26:176; 38:13; 50:14). No consensus exists about the identity of these people who suffered the fate of punishment by destruction for their unbelief (see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF; PUNISHMENT STORIES). There are at least five different theories about the identity of these people who are associated with the prophet Shuʿayb (q.v.). Some exegetes consider them to have been the inhabitants of a place called Madyan (see MIDIAN) or, secondly, a subgroup of a people called Madyan; it is also posited that they are another people altogether, a second people to whom the prophet Shuʿayb was sent (i.e. in

addition to Madyan), while a fourth alternative suggests that *al-ayka* was a village *(balad),* namely, the village of al-Ḥijr (which is also the title of a qurʾānic sūra, Q 15; see ḤIJR). The fifth theory that is put forward suggests that they are simply Bedouins (*ahl al-bādiya,* people of the desert; see BEDOUIN). Lexicographers define *ayka* and its plural *ayk* as tangled vegetation or a dense forest or wood, hence the English "thicket" or, in Muḥammad Asad's translation, "wooded dales." Others add that it consisted of a particular palm tree, *al-dawm* in Arabic (see DATE PALM). The early exegete Muqātil b. Sulaymān (d. 150/767; see EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL) explains that *al-dawm* is in fact *al-muql* (Theban palm; *Tafsīr,* ii, 434).

This inability to identify precisely the People of the Thicket is further complicated by the variant readings for *al-ayka* (see READINGS OF THE QURʾĀN). Al-Farrāʾ (d. 207/822) discusses the disappearance of the *alif* in two of the four verses which mention the *aṣḥāb al-ayka*. According to him, al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (d. 110/728), ʿĀṣim (d. 127-8/745) and al-Aʿmash (d. 148/765) all read *al-ayka* with an *alif* throughout the entire Qurʾān. The people of Medina (q.v.), however, read in two cases (in Q 26:176 and Q 38:13) *layka* instead of *al-ayka* (Farrāʾ, *Maʿānī,* ii, 91; see also RECITATION OF THE QURʾĀN; ORALITY AND WRITING IN ARABIA). Abū Ḥayyān (d. 745/1344) neatly summarizes this discussion, referring to the analogy of Mecca (q.v.) as *makka* in Q 48:24 and *bakka* at Q 3:96, adding that *"layka"* was rejected by the major exegetes. Abū Ḥayyān explains that the *alif* of the definite article was not written down, and that caused the *fatḥa* (the vowel "a") to be shifted to the letter *lām*. As a consequence, the *hamza* (the glottal stop) was dropped completely in these two verses (see ARABIC LANGUAGE). This resulted in some scholars' thinking that *layka* was derived from the radicals *l-y-k* (instead of *ʾ-y-k*). That suggestion, in turn, gave rise to the notion that Layka was a village located in the larger area of al-Ayka (Abū Ḥayyān, *Baḥr,* vii, 36).

Whatever the identification or the linguistic meaning of the word *al-ayka* may be, the qurʾānic importance of the People of the Thicket reflects their exemplification of a typical Meccan theme: a people who disregarded their prophet and who consequently perished. The People of the Thicket are but one of such peoples whose plight ended in destruction for not heeding God's message. The leading classical exegete al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923) narrates that these people received a particularly harsh punishment since God first sent fire on the People of the Thicket for seven days, from which there was no refuge. After the fire, God sent a cloud as if to protect them and to offer them relief by the suggestion of water, but, in the end, they were annihilated by the fire that came out of the cloud (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* vii, 530-1; likewise the Khārijī Hūd b. Muḥakkam, *Tafsīr,* ii, 354 and the Shīʿī al-Ṭūsī, *Tibyān,* 350; see KHĀRIJĪS; SHĪʿISM AND THE QURʾĀN). Beeston ("Men of the Tanglewood") provides some evidence that they were members of the Dusares cult of ancient northwestern Arabia, a vegetation deity (see PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QURʾĀN). Speyer (*Erzählungen,* 253), on the other hand, suggests that *ayka* may refer to the tamarisk that Abraham (q.v.) had planted near Beersheba (*Gen* 21:33; see AGRICULTURE AND VEGETATION).

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see TUBBAʿ; PUNISHMENT STORIES

Permitted

see FORBIDDEN; LAWFUL AND UNLAWFUL

Persecution

see CORRUPTION; DISSENSION

Perseverance

see TRUST AND PATIENCE

Persian Literature and the Qurʾān

The influence of the Qurʾān on Persian language and literature has been pervasive but at the same time, diffuse and often mediated, making it difficult, in the absence of methodologically rigorous studies of the matter, to quantify or assess precisely. Persian poetry and prose *belles lettres* of the fourth/tenth to fifth/eleventh centuries, though of "Islamicate" expression, looked for the bulk of its subject matter to the pre-Islamic Middle Persian traditions of minstrelsy and lyric poetry, advice literature *(andarz),* epic and romance (which typically assert the values of the old Sasanian nobility over and above, or in addition to, Islamic ones) as well as translations of Sanskrit and Parthian tales. Persian poetry did, of course, adapt particulars from Arabic literary models: for example, the imitation of the *nasīb* and *raḥīl* of the pre-Islamic Arabic *qaṣīda* (see POETS AND POETRY; ORALITY AND WRITING IN ARABIA) by Manūchihrī (d. ca. 432/1041) and, later on, the reworking of the *Majnūn-Laylā* cycle by Niẓāmī (d. 605/1209) and scores of subsequent Persian, Turkish and Urdu poets (see LITERATURE AND THE QURʾĀN).

The Arabic Qurʾān, being in another language and in an inimitable category (see INIMITABILITY; ARABIC LANGUAGE; LANGUAGE AND STYLE OF THE QURʾĀN) above literature, rarely provided the initial inspiration for Persian literary texts, though it did help shape the lexical, stylistic and moral contours of the emerging literature of Islamicate expression in greater Iran, especially through Persian translations and *tafsīr*s of the text beginning in the fourth/tenth century or even earlier (see TRANSLATIONS OF THE QURʾĀN; EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL; TRADITIONAL DISCIPLINES OF QURʾĀNIC STUDY; GRAMMAR AND THE QURʾĀN). The practice, however, of professional poetry within the milieu of the princely courts — the source of most literary patronage — was often regarded as inherently secular or even un-Islamic, which initially discouraged the extensive incorporation of scriptural or religious subjects in literature. Some early Persian poetry, patronized by the eastern Iranian feudal nobility *(dihqāns),* evinces a strong concern with *sukhun* (modern *sukhan*), well-considered and carefully crafted speech of philosophical or ethical nature (see PHILOSOPHY AND THE QURʾĀN; ETHICS AND THE QURʾĀN). In the fifth/eleventh century religious poetry, of either popular expression (e.g. the quatrains of the Ṣūfī saint Abū Saʿīd-i Abī l-Khayr [d. 440/1049]; see ṢŪFISM AND THE QURʾĀN) or sectarian bent (the *qaṣīda*s of the Ismāʿīlī preacher Nāṣir-i Khusraw [d. ca. 470/1077]; see SHīʿISM AND THE QURʾĀN), achieved canonical status

within specific textual communities. Sanāʾī of Ghazna (d. ca. 525/1131), appealing consciously to the example of Ḥassān b. Thābit (d. before 40/661), managed to attract the patronage of the mystically-minded religious scholars *(ʿulamā)* in Khurasān. Here Sanāʾī achieved a reputation for combining the practice of poetry *(shiʿr)* with the preaching of religion *(sharʿ)* and was subsequently able to secure the patronage of Bahrāmshāh to pursue such mystico-didactic poetry at the Ghaznavid court (Lewis, *Reading,* 171-87; see TEACHING AND PREACHING THE QURʾĀN). The tension between court and cloister nevertheless remained a concern two hundred years later, as revealed in the belabored distinction that Sulṭān Walad of Konya (d. 712/1312) makes between the poetry of professional poets and the poetry of saints (*Mathnawī-yi waladī,* 53-5 and 211-2; see SAINT).

By the end of the sixth/twelfth century, allusions *(talmīḥāt)* and quotations *(iqtibās)* from Qurʾān and ḥadīth (see ḤADĪTH AND THE QURʾĀN) jostled with Greek philosophy and Iranian mythopoesis for authority, as indicated in the following verse *(bayt)* of Jamāl al-Dīn-i Iṣfahānī (d. 588/1192): *rah bi Qurʾān ast kam khwān harza-yi Yūnāniyān/aṣl akhbār ast mashnaw qiṣṣa-yi Isfandiyār,* "The path is through Qurʾān; do not read the nonsense of the Greeks so much!/The source is *akhbār;* do not listen to the story of Esfandiyar." The conscious and direct appeal to qurʾānic authority in Persian poetry reached its peak in the seventh/thirteenth to eighth/fourteenth centuries. Subsequent to this, qurʾānic motifs tend to assume more metaphorical and elastic qualities, in part because of the aesthetic ideals of the "Indian" style of poetry but also because the Qurʾān had so thoroughly permeated the tradition that qurʾānic allusions might evoke famous secondary or tertiary literary texts in Persian, rather than pointing the reader to the Qurʾān itself. From the Safavid era onwards, Shīʿī sacred history and ritual, as embodied in the mythopoetics of Ḥusayn's martyrdom (see PEOPLE OF THE HOUSE; FAMILY OF THE PROPHET; MARTYRS) and the passion play *(taʿziya),* informs the poetry of religious expression whereas the gradually secularizing literary canon of the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries reflects nationalist and modernist agendas as well as the influence of European letters (see also POLITICS AND THE QURʾĀN).

The Arabic element in Persian language and literature

The bulk of the Iranian nobility appear to have converted to Islam in the third/ninth century, until which time Zoroastrians (see MAGIANS) continued composing works in Middle Persian, an Indo-European language written in a script derived from Aramaic. By the fourth/tenth century (neo-) Persian had itself emerged as a vibrant literary language, written in the Arabic script (q.v.) and widely patronized throughout the eastern areas of greater Iran (Khurasan, Afghanistan and Transoxania).

The frequency of occurrence of lexemes of Arabic origin in Persian has been calculated (though on the basis of a rather limited corpus) at only about 10% in the fourth/tenth-century and 25% in the sixth/twelfth-century. The ratio of Arabic loanwords to native Persian lexemes in the entire lexicon has, however, been calculated for texts of the fourth/tenth century at about 25 to 30% and for the sixth/twelfth century at around 50% (Jazayery, Arabic element, 117). The increased penetration and use of loanwords from Arabic reflects at least in part the influence of the Qurʾān on Persian literature and society, though this naturally depends a great deal on the topic and genre of writing. During

the Safavid era Arabisms come into vogue in bureaucratic language and the volumes of religious writing (in which the vocabulary of Arabic and the Qurʾān are proportionally higher) while Arabic itself paradoxically waned as a living literary language in Persia (Perry, Persian in the Safavid period, 272, 276). In the middle of the twentieth century, it was estimated that words of Arabic origin occur at an average frequency of approximately 45%, though the percentage is far below this in poetry and higher for technical subjects relating to religion, philosophy or law (Jazayery, Arabic element, 118). Since that time, however, conscious efforts to use Persian roots for calques and new coinages (e.g. *Qurʾān-pazhūhī,* or "Qurʾānic studies," a term from the 1980s), encouraged by the Persian Academy of Language *(Farhangistān)* in Iran, have gradually led to a perceived (though as yet seemingly undocumented) decrease in this percentage.

Since lexical and morphological borrowing from Arabic occurred through a variety of social nexuses and institutions (military garrisons, government administration and registers, princely courts, religious courts, mosques and Ṣūfī lodges, the Niẓāmiyya colleges, etc.; see MOSQUE), this does not measure the direct influence of the Qurʾān, per se. Persian poetry borrowed from Arabic poetry the obligatory use of rhyme (see RHYMED PROSE), the conventions and terminology of rhetoric (see RHETORIC AND THE QURʾĀN) and prosody and the basic categories and thematics of the *qaṣīda* and the *ghazal* (which latter, however, Persian poets adapted from a thematic into a specific fixed-form genre). Likewise, certain metaphors, motifs or rhetorical conceits can be traced to particular literary models or Arabic proverbs (see the catalogues in Shamīsā, *Farhang-i talmīḥāt,* and Dāmādī, *Maḍāmīn-i mushtarak;* see METAPHOR). Among the most influential Arabic models for classical Persian literature we may note the panegyric *qaṣīda*s of al-Mutanabbī (d. 354/965); the wine (q.v.) odes of Abū Nuwās (d. 198/810); the literary anthologies of al-Thaʿālibī (d. ca. 427/1038); the artistic prose works of Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ (d. 142/760) and Badīʿ al-Zamān al-Hamadhānī (d. 398/1008); the philosophic and scientific treatises of Abū ʿAlī Ibn Sīnā (d. 428/1037) and al-Bīrūnī (d. 443/1051; see SCIENCE AND THE QURʾĀN; POPULAR AND TALISMANIC USES OF THE QURʾĀN); and works of mystico-didactic orientation by authors such as al-Qushayrī (d. 464/1072) or especially al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111). It should be noted that several of these figures were ethnic Iranians and/or composed some of their works in Persian, a fact that doubtless played a role in facilitating the assimilation of Arabic literary traditions into Persian.

Arabic courtly literature may therefore have played a larger role than the Qurʾān itself in the Arabicization of Persian literature. Nevertheless, adoption of the Arabic script, adaptation of Arabic literary forms and the acceptance of a large body of Arabic-origin lexemes into both literature and everyday speech may all be read as indices of the oblique influence of the Qurʾān on Persian, insofar as the Qurʾān created the prerequisite conditions for Arabic to become an administrative, religious, scientific and literary lingua franca in greater Persia.

Translations of the Qurʾān in Persia

Though some poets of the seventh/thirteenth century, such as Saʿdī and Rūmī, would routinely compose original macaronic verse in Arabic and Persian, those literate in Persian (including Persophilic Turks, Mongols and Indians as well as ethnic or native Persian-speakers; see TURKISH LITERATURE AND THE QURʾĀN; SOUTH ASIAN LITERATURE AND THE

QUR'ĀN) might nevertheless remain imperfectly tutored in the Arabic of the Qur'ān. We are told that Shaykh Aḥmad of Jām (*Spiritual elephant,* 31-2), before his repentance at the age of twenty-two (ca. 463/1070), was unable to recite even the *al-ḥamd* (a familiar name in Iran for Q 1, Sūrat al-Fātiḥa; see PRAISE; FĀTIḤA). In one *ghazal,* Sanā'ī portrays a beautiful boy who, though newly repentant and celibate, previously spent his time at the taverns (the *kharābāt,* often associated with the Magians/*mughān*), had never before managed to memorize a short sūra like Q 95 and had in fact been so debauched that he would even invent short pseudo-sūras to declaim as if by heart (Sanā'ī, *Dīwān,* 1021-2; see MEMORY; RECITATION OF THE QUR'ĀN).

We may infer from such statements that, while a basic knowledge in Arabic of at least some sūras of the Qur'ān was expected of literate Persian-speaking Muslims (to say nothing of the large number of Persian scholars of religion and law, many of whom trained in Arabic in the Niẓāmiyya and other *madrasa*s from the fifth/eleventh century onward; see LAW AND THE QUR'ĀN; THEOLOGY AND THE QUR'ĀN), there was nevertheless a need to translate the Qur'ān for Persian Muslims. Many Persians apparently preferred to encounter the text in Persian, with the help of Persian commentaries and bilingual dictionaries/guides such as the *Wujūḥ-i Qur'ān* written in 558/1163 by Abū l-Faḍl Ḥubaysh of Tiflis. Abū Bakr-i Nayshābūrī, who wrote his *Tafsīr-i sūrābādī* circa 470-80/1077-87 in simple, fluent Persian prose, indicates that had he written it in Arabic, it would have needed a teacher to give an accurate and agreeable Persian translation (*targum,* Sajjādī, *Guzīda'ī,* 199). Abū l-Futūḥ-i Rāzī indicates in his voluminous Qur'ān commentary, *Rawḍ al-jinān wa-rūḥ al-janān* (composed over the years 510-56/1116-61) that he chose to write a commentary in Persian and one in Arabic but began with the former, for which there was more demand (Sajjādī, *Guzīda'ī,* 205). From Sulṭān Walad's remark in 700/1301 (*Rabābnāma,* 414) that all the legal schools allow the ritual prayers *(namāz)* to be recited in Persian and that the Ḥanafīs allow this even for a person who is capable of reciting them in Arabic, it would seem that Persian was preferred even for rote liturgical situations (see PRAYER; RITUAL AND THE QUR'ĀN).

Medieval sources attribute the first Persian translation of a portion of the Qur'ān — the Fātiḥa, for use in the *ṣalāt* prayers (see PRAYER FORMULAS) — to the first Persian believer, Salmān-i Fārsī, who supposedly attained the Prophet's tacit approval for this practice (see COMPANIONS OF THE PROPHET). Salmān is said to have translated the Arabic *basmala* (q.v.) using an entirely Persian lexicon, as *bi nām-i yazdān-i bakhshāyanda*. However apocryphal the Salmān story may be, Abū Ḥanīfa, whose eponymous legal tradition was dominant in pre-Safavid Iran, did permit translation of the Qur'ān for those who did not know Arabic well and although this position was not universally accepted, a large number of Persian translations of the Qur'ān exist from both the medieval and modern periods.

A fragmentary Persian translation (of Q 10:61 through Q 14:25) tentatively dated to the early fourth/tenth century documents an intermediate stage in the transition from popular accentual to the new quantitative Persian metrics. This translation (Rajā'ī, *Pulī*) presents the Arabic text of the Qur'ān broken into blocks (perhaps paragraphs or pericopes), each followed by the corresponding passage in a sonorous Persian that alternates between rhymed prose, quasi-accentual and quantitative metrics. This translation does not demonstrate a strong concern for consistency

in the Persian, ranging from an exact rendering in some places, to paraphrase in others, to a somewhat free interpretation in still others. Indeed, in another very early interlinear Persian translation (Riwāqī, *Qurʾān-i quds*), which is otherwise quite accurate, the Persian of the *basmala* often changes from sūra to sūra, becoming variously:

bi nām-i khudā-yi mihrbān-i raḥmat-kunār
bi nām-i khudā-yi rūzī-dādār-i raḥmat-kunār
(e.g. Q 7)
bi nām-i khudā-yi mihrbānī-yi bakhshāyanda
(e.g. Q 61)
bi-nām-i khudā-yi rūzī-dahanda-yi bakhshāyanda
(e.g. Q 34)

We might predict lexical variety from one Persian translation of the Qurʾān to another on the basis of regional or dialectical idiosyncrasies but such internal variation quite possibly reflects the fluidity of the Islamic homiletic tradition and the authority of orally delivered, or perhaps even prompt-book Persian "targums" for individual sūras, as delivered by different popular preachers in Iran. Al-Jāḥiẓ (d. ca. 254/868) tells of a contemporary, the popular bilingual preacher Mūsā b. Sayyār al-Aswārī, who would read a verse of the Qurʾān aloud to his class and then comment upon it in Arabic to the Arabs, sitting together at his right, and then turn to the Persians, sitting at his left, and repeat his comments for them in Persian (*Bayān,* i, 368).

In addition to stand-alone translations, many Persian works of exegesis also contain translations of the Qurʾān. The mid-fourth/tenth century *Tarjuma-yi tafsīr-i Ṭabarī,* a loose adaptation of material from al-Ṭabarī's (d. 310/923) commentary and his history, which might be more accurately described as "the Samanid Persian Commentary project," also includes an elegant and accurate Persian translation of the Qurʾān. The Samanid ruler, Manṣūr b. Nūḥ (r. 350-66/961-76), received a forty-volume manuscript in Arabic of al-Ṭabarī's works from Baghdād but finding it difficult to read it, commissioned several Transoxanian scholars to translate it to Persian. Probably because it was an official state project, and to avoid any theological objections, al-Manṣūr sought and received *fatwa*s declaring the permissibility of translating the book for those who do not know Arabic. This "translation" of al-Ṭabarī's *tafsīr* remained prestigious and influential but did not by any means end the market for new Persian *tafsīr*s, scores of which — from various theological standpoints — survive from the medieval and early modern period (see Muḥammad-Khānī, Tafsīr-i Qurʾān; see EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL), some of them consisting primarily of a Persian rendering of the qurʾānic text, such as the *Tafsīr* of Abū Ḥafṣ Najm al-Dīn-i Nasafī (d. 538/1143). Mention should be made of Maybudī's popular Ṣūfī *tafsīr, Kashf al-asrār wa-ʿuddat al-abrār* (written 520/1126), which incorporates the commentary of his teacher, Anṣārī of Herat (see below), and features a three-step exegesis: first a literal translation of the sūra in question, then a traditional grammatico-lexical analysis and explanation of the circumstances of revelation (see OCCASIONS OF REVELATION) and, finally, a mystical-esoteric reading (see POLYSEMY; LITERARY STRUCTURES OF THE QURʾĀN).

Many theoretical works on *fiqh,* lay manuals about ritual observance (not a few in verse) and compilations of *fatwa*s were composed in or translated to Persian, beginning no later than the Ghaznavid period but becoming especially important in the Safavid era, when they assisted in the Shīʿīfication of the populace. Such works often contain translations and

glosses of some Qurʾān verses (see Barzigar, Fiqh, 1048-51). Though the Islamic Republic of Iran has placed greater emphasis on the study of Arabic in the curriculum, perhaps a dozen new Persian translations of the Qurʾān appeared in the 1980s and 1990s.

Formal features and imagery of the Qurʾān in Persian poetry

Persian prose texts of the fourth/tenth to fifth/eleventh centuries generally ignore rhetorical artifice and ornamentation. By the seventh/thirteenth century, however, rhymed prose *(sajʿ)* became *de rigeur* in Persian *belles lettres,* largely inspired by the secular example of Hamadhānī's *Maqāmāt,* and relying heavily on the morphological parallels of loanwords from Arabic. The application of *sajʿ* to devotional texts, such as the *Munājāt* (intimate prayers) of ʿAbdallāh Anṣārī of Herat (d. 481/1088), may also reflect the stylistic inspiration of the Arabic Qurʾān or a Persian translation (e.g. Rajāʾī, *Pulī*) which tried to create similar prose cadences and rhymes in Persian.

Persian narrative poems conventionally begin with a section *(ḥamd)* of several lines invoking and praising God. These doxologies, especially in the early period, tend not to emphasize the terminology of specific Islamic doctrine and theology but to expound God's transcendence in a generalized Persian vocabulary. It had, in fact, already been the practice to begin Middle Persian texts with the formula "In the name of God" *(pat nām-i Yazdān),* though the practice received further authority from the Qurʾān as well as the specific wording of the Arabic *basmala,* which usually appeared as a prefatory formula on the opening page of Persian texts. Niẓāmī moved the conventional *basmala* from its place at the head of the text as a disconnected prose formula and embedded it, with some metrical elasticity, as a quotation *(taḍmīn)* into the opening line of verse in his *Makhzan al-asrār* (ca. 572/1176?): *bism-i a[ ]lāhi l-raḥ[a]māni l-raḥīm/hast kilīd-i dar-i ganj-i ḥakīm,* "In the name of God, the merciful, the compassionate/is the key to the door of the treasure of the wise one." This practice was frequently emulated by subsequent poets composing in this same meter *(sarīʿ),* some of whom repeat the phrase as a litany throughout ten or more opening lines of the poem (Khazānadārlū, *Manẓūma,* 15-25).

Immediately following the opening invocation and doxology, the poet typically includes sections in praise *(naʿt)* of the Prophet (an additional section dedicated to the imāms often appears in the works of Shīʿī authors; see NAMES OF THE PROPHET; IMĀM; IMPECCABILITY; PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD) and a subsequent section recalling the Prophet's *miʿrāj* (see ASCENSION). These sections occasionally reference or allude to phrases in the Qurʾān (e.g. *qāba qawsayn,* Q 53:9), though they draw in the main on extra-qurʾānic elaborations. Illumination and illustration (see ICONOCLASM; ORNAMENTATION AND ILLUMINATION) were an integral feature of the Persian literary tradition, at least for manuscripts produced by royal courts, and some themes from the Qurʾān and its associated lore regularly recur in the miniature tradition, including the prophet Muḥammad riding Burāq on the *miʿrāj* and Joseph (q.v.) being rescued from the pit (see BENJAMIN; BROTHERS AND BROTHERHOOD). Though illustrations of the Prophet and ʿAlī do occur (e.g. Mīrzā ʿAlī's depiction of the Prophet and ʿAlī with Ḥasan and Ḥusayn in the ship of faith, ca. 1530, included in the Houghton/Shāh Ṭahmāsp *Shāhnāma;* see ʿALĪ B. ABĪ ṬĀLIB), the scenes depict extra-qurʾānic material, probably to avoid the iconic representation of sacred scripture.

Furthermore, one may point to specific

images or concepts which stem from the Qurʾān but occur in various literary contexts, both sacred and profane, without necessarily evoking a specific verse of the Qurʾān. Examples of this might include allusions to Isrāfīl and the blast of the trumpet of resurrection (q.v.; multiple qurʾānic references, e.g. Q 50:20; see also APOCALYPSE). The generative letters *kāf* and *nūn,* which joining together form the divine command *kun,* "Be!" as e.g. in the phrase *kun fa-yakūn* in Q 2:117 (see CREATION; COSMOLOGY), are evoked in the opening line of Asadī's *Garshāspnāma* (written 458/1066), as follows: *sipās az khudā īzad-i rahnamāy/ki az kāf wa nūn kard gītī bi-pāy,* "Thanks to God, the guiding lord/ who by the letters B and E set up the world." Discrete ideas and images from the Qurʾān are most commonly used as complementary terms in similes and metaphors. Niẓāmī's Majnūn, for example, finds himself in a garden with flowing rivers, like Kawthar, reminiscent of Q 108 and the definitions of *al-kawthar* elaborated in the ḥadīth and *tafsīr* literature (see GARDENS; SPRINGS AND FOUNTAINS).

Historical and exegetical works, such as the so-called translation of al-Ṭabarī's *tafsīr,* provided details about the lives of the qurʾānic prophets in Persian from at least the middle fourth/tenth century. Nevertheless, Persian panegyric poetry through the fifth/eleventh century contains infrequent mention of the prophets, with the exception of Nāṣir Khusraw's poetry in praise of ʿAlī and the Fāṭimid imāms, which alludes often to the stories of the prophets (Pūrnāmdārīān, *Dāstān-i payāmbarān,* 7-35). Persian imitations of the Arabic "stories of the prophets" *(qiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ)* genre are common, the most popular being the fifth/eleventh century prose work of Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm of Nayshābūr, though there are also some in verse. Entire poems are also dedicated to single prophetic figures, such as Moses (q.v.), Solomon (q.v.), etc. Niẓāmī's portrayal of Alexander (q.v.) in his *Iskandarnāma* draws upon the qurʾānic Dhū l-Qarnayn (Q 18:83 f.) for the image of Alexander as explorer/ conqueror, but also relies on the Alexander romance of pseudo-Callisthenes and medieval Persian literature of Zoroastrian provenance for the image of Alexander as philosopher and prophet.

The depiction of Jesus (q.v.) in Persian poetry derives primarily from the Qurʾān and *tafsīr* as well as from the *qiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ* literature and Arabic poetry (Aryān, *Chihra-yi masīḥ,* II, 96). It is worth noting the existence of a complete Judeo-Persian translation of the Pentateuch from 1319 C.E. (there are also earlier fragmentary versions), and Judeo-Persian poems in praise of Moses, Solomon and other Hebrew prophets from the fourteenth century onward; Jewish Persian scholars appear to have been consulted by Bīrūnī and others and may constitute an independent source of *Isrāʾīliyyāt* (i.e. Jewish and Christian lore; see JEWS AND JUDAISM; CHRISTIANS AND CHRISTIANITY; CHILDREN OF ISRAEL; PEOPLE OF THE BOOK) for Persian literature (Rypka, *History,* 737-8). Despite their familiarity with all these ancillary sources, Persian mystical poets nevertheless continued to think of the Qurʾān as the *Ur*-source for human knowledge of the prophets. The qurʾānic encounter between Moses and an unnamed servant (later identified with Khiḍr; see KHAḌIR/KHIḌR) endowed by God with knowledge that gives him superior insight (Q 18:65-82; see KNOWLEDGE AND LEARNING) is often upheld as a paradigm of the relationship of a disciple to his Ṣūfī master. Sulṭān Walad (*Mathnawī-yi waladī,* 41-2) compares the relationship between Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī (d. 672/1273) and Shams-i Tabrīzī (disappeared ca. 645/1248) in terms of Moses and Khiḍr. Rūmī, meanwhile, sees the

Qurʾān as primarily a vehicle to attain similar prophetic insight, when he speaks (*Mathnawī,* i, 1537-8) of the mystic "states of the prophets, those fish of the pure sea of divine majesty… When you escape into the true Qurʾān, you mix with the soul of the prophets."

The Joseph narrative, described as "the best of stories" *(aḥsan al-qaṣaṣ)* in Q 12:3 (see NARRATIVES), was the primary qurʾānic narrative reflected in longer poems in Persian. In the late fifth/eleventh century two renditions of the story of Joseph (Yūsuf) and Potiphar's wife (invariably named Zulaykhā in the Persian texts, drawing on extra-qurʾānic lore) appeared: a prose version doubtfully attributed to ʿAbdallāh Anṣārī in the *Anīs al-murīdīn wa-shams al-majālis* and a verse recitation, formerly attributed to Firdawsī but perhaps by Amānī (fl. fifth/eleventh cent.). That this story was not thought of as a literary adaptation of the Qurʾān text but rather as an elaboration of the *Isrāʾīliyyāt* and a springboard for the poet's imagination can be seen in both the famous mystical elaboration by Jāmī (d. 898/1492), which goes far beyond and changes the focus of the "best of stories," and the politically progressive rendition of 1239/1823 by the Tajik poet, Hoziq of Bukhara.

Direct references to the Qurʾān in Persian literature

From the seventh/thirteenth century, mystico-didactic poetry became the dominant (though not exclusive) genre of Persian poetry, frequently presenting the stories of the prophets (including the biography of Muḥammad; see SĪRA AND THE QURʾĀN) and the saints (*aqṭāb* or *abdāl*) in verse. Such poetry might be thought of as the most intense locus of qurʾānic influence on Persian, though it draws as much, if not more, upon ḥadīth and *sīra,* the *Isrāʾīliyyāt,* the homiletic traditions of official preachers *(khaṭīb),* street preachers *(wāʿiẓ)* and story-tellers *(quṣṣāṣ),* Ṣūfī manuals and other vernacular and oral sources, however much these may all have seen the Qurʾān as their ultimate locus of inspiration.

Ritual use of the Qurʾān is, naturally, attested in Persian literature, especially with respect to healing and funerals (e.g. Shaykh Aḥmad, *Spiritual elephant,* story 13; see BURIAL; MEDICINE AND THE QURʾĀN). Saʿdī (*Gulistān,* 132) tells several jokes about muezzins and others reciting the Qurʾān poorly or in an ugly voice. One man with a particularly bad voice explains he receives no salary but chants for the sake of God; for God's sake, don't chant, he is told. Ḥāfiẓ (d. 792/1391), who claims the ability to recite the Qurʾān by heart in all fourteen canonical recitations (*chārdah riwāyat, Dīwān,* i, 202; see READINGS OF THE QURʾĀN), documents the still very common practice of swearing an oath upon the Qurʾān in everyday speech (Ḥāfiẓ, *Dīwān,* i, 892; see OATHS): *nadīdam khwushtar az shiʿr-i tu ḥāfiẓ/bi-Qurʾān-ī ki andar sīna dārī,* "I have never seen poetry more beautiful than yours, Ḥafiẓ!/By the Qurʾān which you carry within your heart!" Elsewhere, humorously consoling himself over the inability of pious ascetics to comprehend his debauchery *(rindī),* Ḥāfiẓ alludes to the belief that demons flee from people who recite the Qurʾān (*Dīwān,* i, 392; see DEVIL; JINN; ASCETICISM). Recitation of the verse *wa-in yakād* (Q 68:51) was believed to act as a prophylactic to the effects of the evil eye (see EYES), as a line of Humām-i Tabrīzī (d. 714/1314) attests: *dar ḥāl wa-in yakād bar khwānd har kas ki nazar fikand bar way,* "Immediately whenever anyone cast a glance upon him, he would recite *wa-in yakād*."

Poetry and secular prose attest a Persian vocabulary for the uttering of pious formulas, which though perhaps derived from the exegetical or theological literature, assumed a vernacular form of expression

(see EVERYDAY LIFE, THE QURʾĀN IN). We find phrases such as *istirjāʿ-kunān* (Bayhaqī, *Tārīkh,* 953), meaning "while reciting the verse *innā lillāh wa-innā ilayhi rājiʿūn,*" as per Q 2:156. Rūmī's *Mathnawī* (i, 50) argues the primacy of intention when it comes to the utterance of the *istithnā,* a term derived from *lā yastathnūna* (Q 68:18), meaning the recitation of *in shāʾ Allāh* as enjoined in Q 18:23-4: *ay basī n-āwarda istithnā bi guft/ jān-i ū bā jān-i istithnā-st juft,* "The soul of many a person is one with *istithnā* even without verbalizing the *istithnā* aloud."

The word *qurʾān* itself appears frequently in Persian poetry, pronounced, of course, according to Persian phonology (e.g. *qorʾān*) and behaving as a nativized Persian word, without the Arabic definite article *(al-).* Shīʿī translators of the text into Persian, following the descriptive adjective given in Q 50:1 and Q 85:21 typically title it *Qurʾān-i majīd.* A Middle Persian word, however, meaning book or document, *nubī* (the medial labial consonant is unstable, appearing also as *nupī* or *nawī*), also appears in classical Persian poetry as an alternate proper name for the Qurʾān ("the scripture"; see BOOK; NAMES OF THE QURʾĀN). In 485/1092 Asadī-yi Ṭūsī writes in his *Garshāspnāma* (3): *nubī muʿjiz ūrā zi īzad payām,* "The scripture inimitable, his message from God." Sanāʾī (*Dīwān,* 1061) says: *jamʿ kard īn rahī-t shiʿr-i tu rā/cun nubī rā guzīda ʿuthmān kard,* "This servant of yours gathered your poetry, just as ʿUthmān compiled the scripture" (see COLLECTION OF THE QURʾĀN). Several lines of Rūmī's *Mathnawī* begin with the phrase *dar nubī…,* "In the scripture…," such as this line (vi, 656) which glosses the phrase *yuḍillu bihi kathīran wa-yahdī bihi kathīran* from Q 2:26 as follows: *dar nubī farmūd k-īn Qurʾān zi dil/hādi-yi baʿḍī u baʿḍī rā muḍill,* "In the scripture [God] said that this Qurʾān, with respect to the heart (q.v.)/guides some and misleads some" (see ASTRAY; ERROR; FREEDOM AND PREDESTINATION).

Quotations from the Qurʾān in Persian literature

Perhaps because of the difficulty of setting quotations from Arabic of more than a word or two within one of the established Persian meters, poets frequently allude to particular verses of the Qurʾān by an abbreviated name, often deriving from the commentary tradition, though Persian poetry does not always use qurʾānic verses in a particularly pious context. In an early poem about the virtues of ʿAlī, Kisāʾī of Marw (b. 341/953) refers in one line to the *āyat-i qurbā* (Q 17:26 and Q 30:38) and in another to the *āyat al-kursī,* a conventional name for Q 2:255 (but sometimes alluding to Q 57:4; see VERSES; THRONE OF GOD). He even quotes a few phrases from the Qurʾān in Arabic (*Kīsāʾī,* 93, 95). Saʿdī (*Būstān,* 76) writes around 654/1256: *basā kas bi rūz āyat-i ṣulḥ khwānad/chu shab āmad sipah bar sar-i khufta rānad,* "Many a person will read the peace (q.v.) verse in the daytime/ When night comes, he'll charge the army against the sleeping [foe]." This allusion to the *āyat-i ṣulḥ,* or "peace verse," has been identified with Q 49:9-10 (e.g. *fa-aṣliḥū bayna akhawaykum*), though Q 4:128 *(al-ṣulḥ khayrun)* has also been suggested (see also ENEMIES; FIGHTING; DAY AND NIGHT). Nāṣir-i Khusraw seems to intend two separate verses, Q 48:10 and Q 48:18, by his reference to the *āyat-i bayʿat* in the following line: *yik rūz bikhwāndam zi Qurʾān āyat-i bayʿat/k-īzad bi Qurʾān guft ki bud dast-i man az bar,* "One day I read the verse of allegiance from the Qurʾān how God said in the Qurʾān that my hand was the upper one." The Perso-Arabic phrase *yār-i ghār,* "the friend in the cave (q.v.)," alluding to Q 9:40 as well as the extra-qurʾānic amplifications of the story of Abū Bakr accompanying the prophet Muḥammad on his migration to Medina (q.v.; see also EMIGRATION; OPPOSITION TO MUḤAMMAD), is proverbially and hyperbolically used in Persian poetry to describe exemplary friendship or dis-

cipleship (see FRIENDS AND FRIENDSHIP).

As noted above, Arabic prosody differs considerably from Persian and it requires some versatility to set extended Arabic phrases within the metrical constraints of Persian verse. Poets nevertheless managed to find ways to do this without altering the qurʾānic text, except for slight licenses (such as elision of the definite article *al-*), and, of course, vocalizing the words according to Persian phonology and prosody. The first to include citations from the Qurʾān extensively was Sanāʾī, who in the context of discussing the *miʿrāj,* for example, embeds *mā zāgha l-baṣar* from Q 53:17 in one poem (*Dīwān,* 568), and weaves the words *alladhī asrā* and *aqṣā* from Q 17:1 into another (Sanāʾī, *Ḥadīqa,* 195). ʿAṭṭār (d. ca. 617/1221) manages within a Persian hemistich of only fifteen syllables (*Dīwān-i ʿAṭṭār,* 774) to incorporate two Arabic quotations, of six and of five syllables in length, respectively, from the "light (q.v.) verse" (*āya-yi nūr,* Q 24:35): *ay chirāgh-i khuld az īn miskhāt-i muẓlim kun kinār/tā shawī nūrun ʿalā nūrin ki lam tamsas-hu nār,* "O lamp (q.v.) of the highest heaven, avoid this gloomy niche/That you may become "light upon light" though "no fire (q.v.) touched it." In part due to the subject matter, but also in part due to the fact that it constitutes two perfect feet of the *ramal* meter, Rūmī quotes the phrase *mā ramayta idh ramayta* from Q 8:17 in at least ten separate places in his *Mathnawī.*

Persian poems quoting extensively from the Qurʾān or focusing on qurʾānic themes came to be seen tongue-in-cheek as Persian scripture. An illuminated manuscript of Jāmī's *Haft Awrang* copied probably in Mashhad between 1556-65, introduces the poem *Yūsuf u Ẓulaykhā* (folio 84b-85a) with three lines inset in a roundel, including the following hemistich: *nazm-īst ki mīrisānad az waḥy payām,* "It is verse that conveys a message of revelation." Sanāʾī's *Ḥadīqat al-ḥaqīqa* incorporates many Arabic phrases quoted from the Qurʾān and for this reason has even been described as *Qurʾān-i pārsī,* the "Persian Qurʾān." The *Mathnawī* of Rūmī has likewise been styled as such, in lines variously ascribed to Jāmī or Shaykh Bahāʾī (Nicholson, *Mathnawī,* vii, xi, and Schimmel/trans. Lahouti, *Shukūh-i shams,* 846-7) and the following or similar lines are frequently included as a frontispiece or title-page to nineteenth century printings of the *Mathnawī:*

man chi gūyam wasf-i ān ʿālī-jināb/nīst payghambar walī dārad kitāb
mathnawī-yi mawlawī-yi maʾnawī/hast Qurʾān-ī bi lafẓ-i pahlawī
How suitably to praise his eminence?/Not prophet, yet he has revealed a book!
The mystic *Mathnawī* of Mawlawī/is a Qurʾān expressed in Persian tongue!

A variant reading of this line appears playfully blasphemous: *man namīgūyam ki ān ʿālī-jināb/hast payghambar walī dārad kitāb,* "I am not saying of his eminence/he is a prophet. Yet he has a book (q.v.)!"

Rūmī's *Mathnawī* often performs a non-traditional exegesis of the Qurʾān by juxtaposing various qurʾānic verses together. In discussing Ḥamza, the Prophet's uncle, and his bravery in battle, the *Mathnawī* (iii, 3422) poses this question: *Na tu lā tulqū bi-aydīkum ilā/tahluka khwāndī zi payghām-i khudā,* "Have you not read 'Do not cast yourselves by your own hands in/ruin' from the message of God?" A few lines further on, Rūmī alludes to this same verse Q 2:195, as *tahluka* (obviously for the hapax legomenon *al-tahluka,* "ruin"), and quotes a conjugated Arabic verb *(lā tulqū)* from it, while alluding in the following line to another verse (Q 3:133) from an entirely different sūra, by quoting its initial Arabic verb *(sāriʿū): ānki murdan pīsh-i chashm-ash "tahluka"-st/amr-i "lā tulqū" bigīrad ū bi*

dast//w-ānki murdan pīsh-i ū shud fatḥ-i bāb/"sāriʿū" āyad mar ū rā dar khatāb (*Mathnawī,* iii, 3434): "He whose eyes see dying as 'ruin'/Will seize hold of the command 'do not be cast'//And he who sees dying as an opening door/'Vie with one another' will be addressed to him."

The mystical ethos infecting much of Persian poetry for the last 750 years contrasts the restrictive and prescriptive outlook of the ascetic (*zāhid;* see ASCETICISM), the preacher *(wāʿiẓ),* the jurisprudent (*faqīh;* see LAW AND THE QURʾĀN), the judge *(qāḍī),* the vice officer *(muḥtasib)* and other figures of qurʾānic and Islamic authority, with the more expansive attitude of the lover (*ʿāshiq;* see LOVE), the mystic *(ʿārif),* the rogue *(rind)* and so on. By and large, it is the latter group whose interpretation and daily implementation of the Qurʾān is recommended as closer to the inner meaning *(maʿnā),* in contradistinction to the outward form *(ṣūra).* For this reason, one must read the Qurʾān with spiritual insight and open eyes (*Mathnawī,* vi, 4862). Rūmī compares the meaning of the Qurʾān to a human body — the soul of both are hidden within and might not be discovered by people who live in very close proximity to it, even for a lifetime (*Mathnawī,* iii, 4247-9). Thus, literalists see only words in the text of the Qurʾān, remaining blind to the illumination of the scriptural sun (*Mathnawī,* iii, 4229-31). Ḥāfiẓ (*Dīwān,* i, 34) rails against the hypocritical use of religion and the Qurʾān, urging us to drink wine and act disreputably, but not to wield the Qurʾān as a weapon, as others do in their duplicity *(dām-i tazwīr ma-kun chun digarān Qurʾān rā).* A work of expressly ethico-didactic intent, Saʿdī's *Gulistān,* does quote from the Qurʾān and ḥadīth more than forty times but also argues that "the purpose of the revelation of the Qurʾān is the acquisition of a good character, not the recitation of the written characters" (*Gulistān,* 184; see PIETY). Thus, canonical works of classical Persian literature which frequently cite and appeal to the authority of the Qurʾān argue on the whole for an interiorization of the Qurʾān in the life of the believer as opposed to a rigid or institutional imposition of scriptural laws.

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Pharaoh

Title of the ancient rulers of Egypt. Pharaoh (Ar. *firʿawn*) means literally "(the) Great House" in Egyptian and was perhaps pronounced something like *pārĕō* or *pārʿōʿ*. It designated part of the palace complex at Memphis and came, through metonymy, by the mid-second millennium B.C.E., to refer to the king of Egypt himself, just as "the Porte" came to refer to the Ottoman sultan some three millennia later. The Arabic rendering, *firʿawn,* corresponds most closely to the Syriac *ferʿōn* and because current scholarship considers it unlikely that pre-Islamic poetic references to Pharaoh are authentic, the term seems to have entered Arabic literary culture through the Qurʾān. According to the traditional chronology of the qurʾānic revelations, the term appears as early as the first Meccan period (see CHRONOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN; FOREIGN VOCABULARY).

The term occurs in the Qurʾān seventy-four times; it never appears in Sūrat Yūsuf (Q 12, "Joseph"), the Joseph (q.v.) narrative, where "king" is used instead (see KINGS AND RULERS), but occurs repeatedly in the many references to Moses (q.v.; and Aaron [q.v.] and the Children of Israel [q.v.]) in Egypt (q.v.). The story of Moses and Pharaoh takes its place among the many in the qurʾānic corpus that depict former human civilizations refusing to believe their divinely sent prophets or revelations, as a result of which they were destroyed (see PUNISHMENT STORIES; PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD; REVELATION AND INSPIRATION). The lesson for Muḥammad's contemporaries is that they, like Pharaoh's people *(āl firʿawn* or *qawm firʿawn)* and the people of ʿĀd (q.v.) or Thamūd (q.v.), the peoples of Noah (q.v.), Lot (q.v.), Midian (q.v.) and others, will be destroyed by God if they continue refusing to believe their prophet (see GRATITUDE AND INGRATITUDE; LIE; BELIEF AND UNBELIEF).

Pharaoh is an evil king but his people as a whole are condemned in more than a dozen verses. The "people of Pharaoh," or "house of Pharaoh" *(āl firʿawn),* did not believe God's signs (Q 3:11; 8:52, 54). They imposed upon the Israelites *(banū isrāʾīl)* the worst of punishments: destroying their sons while allowing the women to live (Q 7:141; 14:6). In Q 7:127, however, it is Pharaoh himself who sets this policy in response to the complaints of his notables *(al-malaʾu min qawmi firʿawna)*. As a result, the "people of Pharaoh" suffer the most severe punishment of the fire (q.v.; Q 40:45-6). This eternal fate (see ETERNITY; REWARD AND PUNISHMENT) does not contradict their destruction by drowning (q.v.; Q 8:54; 10:90; 17:103; 20:78; 28:40).

The ubiquitous qurʾānic paradigm of the destroyed or "lost/past peoples" *(al-umam al-khāliya)* who did not obey God (see OBEDIENCE; GENERATIONS) did not hinder developments in plot and detail in the various renderings of the theme within the Qurʾān. In Q 10:90, Pharaoh declares at the moment of his doom in the sea: "I believe that there is no god aside from the one in which the Children of Israel believe, and I am a submitter *(wa-anā mina l-muslimīna)*." Despite his submission, however, according to Q 11:98, Pharaoh will lead his people to hellfire (see HELL AND HELLFIRE) on the day of resurrection (q.v.). The example of Pharaoh's profession of belief was used in the *kalām* discussions of whether the conversion of a sinner on the point of death was possible (cf. Q 4:18; with relation to the case of Pharaoh, see van Ess, *TG,* iv, 581; see THEOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN). Although most classical exegetes judged his conversion to be too late, others, such as Ibn al-ʿArabī (d. 638/1240), deemed Pharaoh to have been saved through his final act of conversion (see Gril, Personnage, 39, 49-50, 52). In the Qurʾān, Pharaoh is cruel and arrogant, transgressing limits (Q 20:24, 43; see ARROGANCE; BOUNDARIES AND PRECEPTS). He considers Moses bewitched (*masḥūr,* Q 17:101), or mad (*majnūn,* Q 26:27; see INSANITY; JINN). When his advisors set out to prove Moses and his signs wrong, they are quickly convinced of the reality and unity of God, as a result of which Pharaoh threatens to mutilate and crucify them (Q 7:124; 20:71; 26:49). Pharaoh accuses Moses of being ungrateful for having grown up in the royal court (Q 26:18-9) and threatens anyone who will choose a god aside from himself (Q 26:29).

In Q 28:4, Pharaoh's sins are enumerated (see SIN, MAJOR AND MINOR): he exalted himself overly much, divided the people into groups or castes, tried to weaken one of these by killing their sons, and generally caused corruption. Hāmān (q.v.; cf. biblical book of Esther) is Pharaoh's only named advisor (Q 28:8, 38) but Moses comes to

Korah (q.v.; Qārūn; cf. *Num* 16:1-35) along with Pharaoh and Hāmān with divine signs and proofs (Q 29:39; 40:23-4). Pharaoh commands Hāmān to build a tower that will reach into heaven so that Pharaoh can prove Moses' claims about God false (Q 28:38; 40:36-7). Pharaoh's claim to power is associated with the power and sustenance of the Nile (Q 43:51). He proclaims in Q 79:24, "I am your highest lord" *(anā rabbukum al-aʿlā)*. His wife, however, unlike the wives of Noah and Lot, demonstrates her righteousness by praying that God deliver her from Pharaoh and his sinful people and build her a house in "the garden" (q.v.; Q 66:10-1). As these examples illustrate, there is a great deal of variety in the qurʾānic accounts of Pharaoh; there is need for much further research into the qurʾānic intertextuality of the many renditions and references to the story of Moses and Pharaoh in Egypt.

The exegetical literature expands these brief qurʾānic references and mini-narratives into long and wonderful tales in which both known (scriptural) and other, surprising (i.e. non-scriptural) characters and personages and themes extend the breadth and depth of the story. In later Islamic literatures, especially Arabic literature, Pharaoh became a symbol of arrogance and evil.

Reuven Firestone

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Philosophy and the Qurʾān

Introduction

Although not a philosophical document in the strict sense, the Qurʾān has been at the center of the most heated philosophical and theological controversies in Islam. Now, if by philosophy is meant wisdom *(sophia)* or rather love of wisdom, as understood by Pythagoras, who coined the term *philo-sophos,* the Qurʾān itself attests to the merit of acquiring wisdom (q.v.; *ḥikma*) as a gift from God. For as Q 2:269 puts it: "He [God] gives wisdom to whomever he wills," adding that indeed "whoever receives wisdom has received an abundant good" (see GIFT-GIVING; GRACE; BLESSING).

More specifically, *ḥikma* refers in a number of verses to the Qurʾān itself as a divine revelation (see REVELATION AND INSPIRATION; NAMES OF THE QURʾĀN) to Muḥammad (Q 4:113; 54:5; 62:2) or to his predecessors, such as Luqmān (q.v.; Q 31:12), David (q.v.; Q 38:20) and Jesus (q.v.; Q 3:48; 5:110). In the latter two verses, Jesus is said to have been taught by God the Torah (q.v.) and the Gospel (q.v.) as well as the *ḥikma,* which appears to refer to the "sapiential" books of the Hebrew Bible (i.e. "wisdom literature"), generally attributed to Solomon (q.v.). In one verse (Q 43:63), Jesus is simply reported to have said: "I have come to you with the wisdom," and to have brought "the clear proofs" (see PROOF).

The broader meaning of the term philosophy in ordinary usage may be said to correspond to the activity of speculation, reflection or rational discourse in general. Thus, the *Oxford dictionary* defines "to philosophize" as "to speculate, theorize, moralize," whereas Aristotle tended to describe

wisdom *(sophia)* as the study of certain principles and causes, and first philosophy (i.e. metaphysics) as the study of first principles and causes (*Metaphysics,* 14 f.: bk. A.981b ln.29 f.).

In the Qurʾān, the terms reflecting *(tafakkur),* considering *(naẓar),* pondering *(iʿtibār)* and reasoning *(ʿaql)* are frequently used in what can only be described as a teleological context, intended to illustrate God's creative power (see CREATION), his sovereignty (q.v.; see also KINGS AND RULERS) and the rationality of his ways (see INTELLECT), as we will see in the next section, which deals with philosophical methodology and the Qurʾān.

There is thus a *prima facie* case for the correlation of philosophy and the Qurʾān, as this article proposes to show. As a matter of history, however, there were from the earliest times vast differences of opinion among Muslim exegetes (see EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL), jurists and other scholars, on the justifiability of applying rational discourse, the paramount expression of philosophical methodology, to the text of the Qurʾān, whether in the form of exegesis *(tafsīr)* or interpretation *(taʾwīl)*. Al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923), one of the earliest and most learned commentators of the Qurʾān, prefaces his commentary by referring to those scholars who were reluctant to engage in exegesis "out of fear of error (q.v.), inadequacy or liability to sin" (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* i, 46). He then quotes a saying of Ibn ʿAbbās (d. 68/687), cousin of the Prophet, to the effect that "he who discusses the Qurʾān by recourse to opinion *(raʾy),* let him occupy his place in hell." Without endorsing this opinion in full, al-Ṭabarī (*Tafsīr,* i, 42) comments that this prohibition bears on "exegesis *(tafsīr)* by recourse to reprehensible but not praiseworthy opinion." He, then, invokes the authority of Ibn Masʿūd (d. 32/652-3) and other scholars in support of the permissibility of *tafsīr* and quotes Q 38:29, which reads: "It is (i.e. the Qurʾān) a blessed book that we have sent down to you, that they may ponder its verses and that those possessed of understanding may remember" (see MEMORY; REMEMBRANCE; REFLECTION AND DELIBERATION). This is followed by Q 39:27, which reads: "We have given humankind every kind of parable (see PARABLES) in this Qurʾān that perchance they might remember." These verses, al-Ṭabarī comments, show that "the knowledge of *tafsīr* and the exposition of its senses is obligatory." For, "pondering, taking stock, remembrance and piety (q.v.)," he adds "are not possible without the knowledge of the meanings of the [qurʾānic] verses, grasping and understanding them." He then speaks of the two varieties of sound *tafsīr:* (1) that which rests on the traditions of the Prophet, provided they are well-accredited and sound (see SUNNA; ḤADĪTH AND THE QURʾĀN); and (2) that which meets the rules of the soundest demonstration *(burhān)* and is grounded in the knowledge of the meaning of words (see GRAMMAR AND THE QURʾĀN; ARABIC LANGUAGE), poems (see POETRY AND POETS), proverbs and different dialects (q.v.) of the Arabs (q.v.). To this doubly logical and linguistic criterion should be added, according to al-Ṭabarī, material derived from the ancients *(salaf),* including the Companions of the Prophet (q.v.), their immediate successors and other learned scholars (see SCHOLAR).

On the second question of interpretation *(taʾwīl),* al-Ṭabarī reviews the conflicting interpretations of Q 3:7, which refers to those parts of the Qurʾān which are precise in meaning *(muḥkamāt)* and those which are ambiguous (q.v.; *mutashābihāt*), then goes on to state: "As for those in whose heart there is vacillation, they follow the ambiguous in it, seeking sedition and intending to interpret. No one, however,

except God knows its interpretation. Those well-grounded in knowledge say, we believe in it; all is from our lord." Whether the phrase "those well-grounded in knowledge" should be conjoined to God raises a serious grammatical question that was at the center of the controversy which pitted liberal and conservative scholars against each other (see KNOWLEDGE AND LEARNING). According to al-Ṭabarī (*Tafsīr*, i, 214), Mālik b. Anas (d. 179/795) and ʿĀ'isha, wife of the Prophet (see WIVES OF THE PROPHET; ʿĀ'ISHA BINT ABĪ BAKR), chose the reading which stops at God; whereas Ibn ʿAbbās and Mujāhid b. Jabr (d. 104/722) allowed for the conjunction of God and those well-grounded in knowledge. Al-Ṭabarī himself appears to opt for the first reading, reserving the knowledge of the ambiguous parts of the Qur'ān to God. As for the distinction between the *muḥkamāt* and *mutashābihāt* parts, he holds the view that *al-muḥkam* is that of which the learned know the interpretation; whereas *al-mutashābih* is that of which no one but God has any knowledge, which is essentially a restatement of what Q 3:7 explicitly states. The only clarification he offers is that "ambiguous" references bear on such questions as "the time of the (second) coming of Jesus, son of Mary (q.v.), the coming of the hour, the end of the world and such like" (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, i, 209; see LAST JUDGMENT; APOCALYPSE).

Philosophical methodology and the Qur'ān

The investigation of the relation of philosophy to the Qur'ān compels us to distinguish between two aspects of this relation, the methodological and the substantive. As regards the latter, any correspondence of the qur'ānic teaching with the classical philosophical tradition on such questions as the origin of the world (see COSMOLOGY), the nature of God (see GOD AND HIS ATTRIBUTES), human destiny (q.v.; see also FATE; REWARD AND PUNISHMENT) and the nature of right and wrong (see GOOD AND EVIL), is purely accidental; the method(s) used by traditional philosophers to arrive at these conclusions is entirely different. The crux of the methodological relation, on the other hand, consists in the degree to which the Qur'ān calls upon the believers to "consider, reflect on, or ponder" the creation, as a means of discovering the secrets of this creation, leading up to the knowledge of God, his omnipotence, his wisdom, and his sovereignty in the world. Thus, Q 7:185 asks: "Have they not considered the kingdom of the heavens (see HEAVEN AND SKY) and the earth (q.v.) and all things that God has created?" In Q 88:17 f., it is asked: "Will they not consider the camels, how they were created (see CAMEL); heaven how it was raised up, the mountains, how they were hoisted and the earth, how it was leveled?" (see ANIMAL LIFE; AGRICULTURE AND VEGETATION; NATURE AS SIGNS).

In these and similar verses, a teleological message is more explicitly preached: by reflecting on the creation of the heavens and the earth, "people of understanding" are said to perceive that the creation of the heavens and the earth is not in vain (Q 3:190-1). In Q 2:164, it is stated that: "Indeed, in the creation of the heavens and the earth, the alternation of night and day (see DAY AND NIGHT); in the ships that sail the seas with what profits humankind; in the water (q.v.) which God sends down from the sky to bring the earth back to life (q.v.) after its death […] — surely in these are signs (q.v.) for people of understanding" (see also PAIRS AND PAIRING).

In a number of verses, such as Q 59:2 (cf. Q 39:21), people of "understanding" or of "perception" are urged to "ponder" or take stock *(fa-ʿtabirū)* of the wonders of creation and the calamities which befall

the unbelievers (see PUNISHMENT STORIES; CHASTISEMENT AND PUNISHMENT), by recourse to the God-given light of reason. In token of this divine light, God is said in Q 2:31-2 to have taught Adam (see ADAM AND EVE), his deputy on earth (see CALIPH), the names of which the angels themselves were ignorant (see ANGEL).

The Qurʾān also speaks of people who reason *(yaʿqulūn),* and accordingly are capable of obeying God or worshiping him (see OBEDIENCE; WORSHIP). In fact, the expressions "they reason" or "you reason" occur forty-six times in the Qurʾān. In this context, it is assumed that, prior to revelation, as a well-known tradition of the Prophet (ḥadīth) has it, humankind partook of a natural religion *(dīn al-fiṭra)* into which they were born and were subsequently made Jews, Christians or Muslims by their own parents (see RELIGIOUS PLURALISM AND THE QURʾĀN; RELIGION; PARTIES AND FACTIONS).

No wonder, then, that the Qurʾān has defined the rules of debate between rival groups in terms of rational argument or good counsel (see DEBATE AND DISPUTATION). Thus, the Prophet is urged in Q 16:125 to "call to the way of your lord (q.v.) with wisdom and mild exhortation and argue with them in the best manner" (see INVITATION; EXHORTATIONS). It is this call, which, following the period of conquest, was historically at the basis of the debates with Christians. The earliest such instance is the debate between a Christian and a "Saracen" on the question of free will and predestination (see FREEDOM AND PREDESTINATION). This debate is attributed to Theodore Abū Qurra (d. 210/826), Bishop of Ḥarrān, or his teacher, St. John of Damascus (d. 130/748), the last great doctor of the Orthodox Church (cf. Sahas, *John of Damascus*). Another instance is the debate in which Abū Yaʿqūb b. Isḥāq al-Kindī (d. ca. 252/866) has given a "Refutation of the Christian Trinity," which has survived in the rebuttal of the Jacobite Yaḥyā b. ʿAdī (d. 363/974). The Muʿtazilī (see MUʿTAZILĪS) al-Jāḥiẓ (d. 255/868-9), al-Kindī's contemporary, has pursued the same theme in his own "Refutation of the Christians." An anti-Islamic polemical tract which pitted the Nestorian (see CHRISTIANS AND CHRISTIANITY) ʿAbd al-Masīḥ al-Kindī against the well-known Muslim scholar, ʿAbdallāh al-Hāshimī, had a broader impact, since it denigrated the Islamic rites of pilgrimage (q.v.), the qurʾānic account of the pleasures reserved to the righteous in paradise (q.v.) and the expeditions of the Prophet against Quraysh (q.v.; cf. Muir, *Apology;* see EXPEDITIONS AND BATTLES; FIGHTING; WAR).

Apart from his anti-Trinitarian polemic (see TRINITY; POLEMIC AND POLEMICAL LANGUAGE), Abū Yaʿqūb b. Isḥāq al-Kindī was the first Muslim philosopher to espouse the cause of the total compatibility of philosophy and Islam. For him, philosophy is the highest human art, which seeks "the knowledge of the first or true one *(al-ḥaqq)* who is the cause of every truth (q.v.)." Now, in so far as the aim of both philosophy and revelation, embodied in the Qurʾān, is the pursuit of truth, it follows, according to al-Kindī, that the "seeker of truth" should be willing to look for it from whatever source, even if that source was "races (q.v.) distant from us and nations different from us," by whom he undoubtedly meant the Greeks (Fakhry, *History,* 70; see STRANGERS AND FOREIGNERS). He concedes, however, that although religious truths belong to an order of "divine wisdom," which is higher than "human wisdom," the truths preached by the prophets (see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD) are not different from those taught by the philosophers.

Contrary to the claims of his predecessors or contemporaries, such as Mālik b.

Anas (d. 179/796) and Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal (d. 241/845), al-Kindī then goes on to argue that the Qur'ān itself, which embodies that higher divine wisdom, is not averse to the use of reasoning or argument which is the core of the method used by the philosophers. To illustrate this point, he refers to a passage in the Qur'ān which bears on the mystery of resurrection (q.v.), questioned by the infidel (see UNCERTAINTY) who asks: "Who brings the flowers back to life, once they are withered?" In response the Qur'ān states: "He who originated them the first time and has knowledge of every creation" (Q 36:79) and goes on to add: "It is he who produces fire from green trees for you" and as such is able to bring the contrary from its contrary, fire (q.v.) from green trees, life from its opposite, and is accordingly able to create or re-create as he pleases. Thus, al-Kindī concludes, "the truth to which Muḥammad, the truthful, may God's blessings be upon him, has summoned, added to what he has received from God almighty," can be demonstrated by recourse to rational arguments, which only the fool can question. "People of sound religion and intelligence" cannot, therefore, doubt the need to resort to rational discourse or interpretation *(ta'wīl)* in the attempt to understand the ambiguous passages of the Qur'ān. He then illustrates this point by referring to Q 55:6, which reads: "And the stars and trees prostrate themselves" to God, to show how everything, including the outermost sphere, referred to in this verse as the stars, submits to God (Fakhry, *History*, 81; see BOWING AND PROSTRATION).

The earliest theological controversies

Al-Kindī, who was known for his Mu'tazilī sympathies, lived at a time when theological controversies had defined to some extent the course which philosophy and theology *(kalām)* were to take (see THEOLOGY AND THE QUR'ĀN). In concrete historical terms, the earliest controversies centered on such questions as grave sin *(kabīra;* see SIN, MAJOR AND MINOR), faith (q.v.; *īmān*) and free will and predestination *(qadar)*. Although those controversies had definite political undertones, the arguments that bolstered them were ultimately grounded in the qur'ānic text (see POLITICS AND THE QUR'ĀN). The first of these questions was raised by the Khārijīs (q.v.), who split from the main body of the army of 'Alī, the fourth caliph (d. 40/661; see 'ALĪ B. ABĪ ṬĀLIB), charging him with committing a grave sin *(kabīra)*, by exposing his legitimate claims to the caliphate to question, upon consenting to the so-called arbitration (q.v.), following the battle of Ṣiffīn (q.v.; 37/657). The Khārijīs' charge against 'Alī was later generalized to apply to any Muslim who committed a grave sin, political or other: such an individual was considered to become thereby an apostate deserving of death ('Alī himself was killed by a Khārijī at the mosque of Kūfa in 40/661; see APOSTASY). In the heat of ensuing controversy, the Murji'īs trod a moderate path, arguing that genuine faith cannot be determined in this life but should be deferred — hence their name of Murji'īs or "Deferrers" — and accordingly should be left to God (see DEFERRAL). Almost simultaneously, the Qadarīs raised the question of free will and predestination, designated by the ambiguous term of *qadar*, meaning human or divine power (see POWER AND IMPOTENCE).

This last question had a profound political significance during the early Umayyad period. The early Qadarīs, such as Ma'bad al-Juhanī (d. after 83/703) and Ghaylān al-Dimashqī (d. 116/743), challenged the Umayyad caliphs' claims that their actions, however vile or cruel, were part of the divine decree *(qaḍā' wa-qadar)* and could not for that reason be questioned. Although

both Maʿbad and Ghaylān were killed by the order of the caliphs, ʿAbd al-Malik (r. 65-86/685-705) and Hishām (r. 105-25/724-43), respectively, the former ruler, assailed perhaps by understandable doubts, is reported to have put the whole question of *qadar* to the eminent religious scholar, al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (d. 110/728), whose response has survived in a famous "Treatise on *qadar*" (cf. Fakhry, *Fikr,* i, 17-28). In this treatise, al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī draws extensively on the Qurʾān, which, according to him, supports unquestionably the thesis of free will, or human *qadar,* as a prerequisite of religious obligation *(taklīf)* — a thesis which is also endorsed by reason or sound commonsense. For "God almighty," he writes, "is too just and equitable (see JUSTICE AND INJUSTICE) to cause the human servant to be blind and then order him to see, then tell him: 'Or else, I would punish you'; cause him to be deaf and then say to him: 'Hear or else I will torture you'" (see VISION AND BLINDNESS; SEEING AND HEARING). For "this is too obvious," al-Baṣrī adds, "to be misunderstood by any reasonable person" (Fakhry, *Fikr,* i, 24). He then proceeds to inveigh against the false interpretations, proposed by those who continue to question these propositions, by whom he undoubtedly meant the "determinists" *(jabriyya),* such as Jahm b. Ṣafwān (d. 128/745), Ḍirār b. ʿAmr (of the middle second/eighth century) and others.

The significance of this treatise, despite the doubts concerning its authenticity, is that it is the earliest instance of recourse to the Qurʾān in the attempt to resolve the controversy over the question of *qadar,* destined to become one of the pivotal issues in philosophical and theological circles. Interestingly enough, al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, who quotes the Qurʾān extensively, does not refer to the ḥadīth in this treatise but supplements the qurʾānic quotations by commonsense or rational arguments.

Other scholars of the period, such as Mālik b. Anas (d. 179/795), founder of one of the four Sunnī creeds (*madhhabs;* see CREED; LAW AND THE QURʾĀN), tended to reject absolutely the application of deduction or independent reasoning to qurʾānic questions. Asked once what he thought of the qurʾānic references to God's sitting on the throne (as in e.g. Q 7:54; 10:3; 13:2; see THRONE OF GOD; ANTHROPOMORPHISM), Mālik is reported to have answered "The sitting is well-known; its modality is unknown. Belief in it is a duty and questioning it is a heresy [or innovation] *(bidʿa)*."

This rigid traditionalism and deference to the authority of the revealed text was outstripped in the next century by Ibn Ḥanbal (d. 241/855), founder of another one of the four creeds, when in 212/827 the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Maʿmūn (r. 198-218/813-33) proclaimed two doctrines to be official — i.e. the preeminence of ʿAlī (see SHĪʿISM AND THE QURʾĀN; SHĪʿA) and the createdness of the Qurʾān (q.v.; *khalq al-Qurʾān*) — a pronouncement that set the stage for the notorious *miḥna* or inquisition (q.v.). When the concurrence of all the religious judges and scholars in the Muʿtazilī thesis of the creation of the Qurʾān was demanded, Ibn Ḥanbal rejected this thesis with utter single-mindedness. Jailed, scourged and humiliated in a variety of ways, he refused to change his stand that the Qurʾān was the "eternal and uncreated speech (q.v.) of God" (see also WORD OF GOD; INIMITABILITY).

By Ibn Ḥanbal's time, however, the impact of Greek philosophy was beginning to be felt in theological and philosophical circles. The translation of the first three parts of Aristotle's *Organon,* i.e. the *Categories,* the *Interpretations* and the *Prior analytics,* as early as the eighth century by ʿAbdallāh b. al-Muqaffaʿ (d. 139/756) — or his son Muḥammad, presumably from Persian — had opened the door wide for

theological and philosophical discussions in an unprecedented manner. (Some time after, even the grammarians felt compelled to jump into the fray and question the authority of Aristotelian logic as superfluous.)

Greek philosophy and Aristotelian logic had been at the center of theological controversies among Syriac-speaking Jacobites and Nestorians centuries before at Antioch, Edessa, Qinnesrin and Nisibin, and contacts between Muslim and Christian scholars had been common since at least the time of the above-mentioned St. John of Damascus. Not surprisingly, the first theological movement in Islam was spawned as early as the second/eighth century by Wāṣil b. ʿAṭāʾ (d. 131/748), disciple of the illustrious al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī. This rationalist movement was fully developed by the great theologians of the third/ninth century, Abū l-Hudhayl (d. ca. 235/849), al-Naẓẓām (d. ca. 226/845), al-Jubbāʿī (d. 303/915) and others. Even contemporary philosophers, like the aforementioned al-Kindī, were sympathetic to the Muʿtazilī cause. The teaching of that school centered around the two principles of divine unity and justice, which the Muʿtazilīs supported by recourse to reason, which they, like the philosopher al-Kindī, believed to be perfectly compatible with the teaching of the Qurʾān. They also believed, like the philosophers in general, that right and wrong can be determined by reason and are not, as their opponents contended, matters of divine injunction or prohibition (see COMMANDMENTS; FORBIDDEN). Divine revelation, embodied in the Qurʾān, simply confirms the validity of such principles and this confirmation is a divine grace or favor *(lutf)* that God "dispenses to humankind, so that whoever perishes would perish after a clear proof [had been given] and those who survive would survive after a clear proof" (Q 8:42).

The Ashʿarī onslaught on the philosophers

Some of the philosophers who succeeded al-Kindī did not evince the same deference to the revealed text. Thus, Abū Bakr al-Rāzī (d. ca. 318/930) rejected the whole fabric of revelation as superfluous and held that the God-given light of reason was sufficient for solving human philosophical, moral and practical problems (see ETHICS AND THE QURʾĀN). The source of all wisdom was, for him, Greek philosophy, as expounded particularly by Plato, "the master and leader" of all the philosophers. Al-Rāzī substituted, on essentially philosophical (Platonic) grounds, five co-eternal principles, i.e. the creator *(bāriʾ)*, the soul, space, matter and time, for the unique God of the Qurʾān.

By the fourth/tenth century, the philosophical scene was dominated by the names of the great system-builders and Neoplatonists, al-Fārābī (d. 339/950) and Ibn Sīnā (Avicenna) (d. 428/1037), who constructed an elaborate metaphysical and cosmological scheme, which they presented as an alternative to the Islamic system of beliefs. This Neoplatonic scheme had a remote resemblance to the qurʾānic worldview and was received from the start with suspicion by the traditional scholars and the masses at large.

The arch-enemies of the Neoplatonists during this period were the Ashʿarī theologians, whose leader, Abū l-Ḥasan al-Ashʿarī (d. 324/935) had been, up to the age of forty, a Muʿtazilī theologian of profound erudition. His disenchantment with the Muʿtazila, we are told, was inspired by a call of the Prophet to tend to the (Muslim) community *(irʿa ummatī)*. Without abandoning the Muʿtazilī methodology of rational discourse, al-Ashʿarī was thoroughly committed to Ḥanbalī traditionalism. The leading Ashʿarī theologians of the fifth/eleventh and sixth/twelfth centuries, such as al-Bāqillānī (d. 403/1013),

al-Baghdādī (d. 429/1037), al-Juwaynī (d. 478/1085) and al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111) pursued al-Ashʿarī's line of anti-Muʿtazilism and Neoplatonism in an unabated manner.

Al-Ghazālī and al-Juwaynī, his master, were the most notable standard-bearers of the Ashʿarī onslaught on the Muslim philosophers, represented by al-Fārābī and Ibn Sīnā, with Aristotle as their master. Al-Ghazālī accuses those philosophers of irreligion *(kufr)* on three scores: the eternity (q.v.) of the world, God's knowledge of particulars and bodily resurrection. Thus, when they profess to prove the existence of God as creator of the world, the philosophers, according to him, are guilty of dissimulation *(talbīs)* since an eternal universe does not require a creator. They also impugn the perfection of God when they limit his knowledge to that of universals and are finally unable to demonstrate the resurrection of the body. On all those scores, none of the arguments of the philosophers are convincing or conclusive and the only recourse left to the conscientious searcher, according to al-Ghazālī, is the Qurʾān, whose authority on all these questions is indisputable. For the Qurʾān stipulates in unmistakable terms that God is the sovereign and all-knowing creator of the world in time (q.v.) and *ex nihilo,* who is able to do whatever he pleases. He is, in addition, the sole agent, who operates directly and miraculously in the world without reference to secondary or natural causes (Ghazālī, *Tahāfut,* question 17).

Ibn Rushd's anti-Ashʿarī polemic and the defense of Aristotle

The philosopher who pursued those questions relentlessly and confronted al-Ghazālī's onslaught head-on was the great Aristotelian philosopher and Mālikī judge, Ibn Rushd (Averroes; d. 595/1198) of Cordoba, Spain. In his *Faṣl al-maqāl,* "Decisive treatise," Ibn Rushd begins by defining philosophy as the art of "investigating entities and considering them in so far as they manifest the maker; I mean in so far as they are made." From this premise, he draws the inference that "existing entities actually manifest the maker… and the more complete their status as made *(maṣnūʿa)* is known, the knowledge of their maker is more complete" (Ibn Rushd, *Faṣl,* 27). After reviewing a series of qurʾānic verses, which call on humankind to "consider" or "reflect on" creation, he concludes that scripture *(al-sharʿ),* by which he clearly means the Qurʾān, has not only exhorted humankind to investigate "existing entities" but has actually regarded such investigation as obligatory.

As a good jurist, to whom we owe a major juridical treatise, *Bidāyat al-mujtahid,* the "Primer of the accomplished scholar," Ibn Rushd proceeds next to draw a close analogy between juridical and rational deduction *(qiyās)* and to defend the use of the latter as perfectly legitimate. In fact, rational deduction is more appropriate than juridical. For, as he asks, who indeed is more worthy of our esteem than he who investigates the very nature of existing entities insofar as they manifest their maker — by whom he obviously meant the philosopher.

Now, whoever wishes to know God, as the maker of existing entities, must begin by mastering the rules of deduction and distinguishing between the three modes of deduction, the demonstrative used by the philosophers, the dialectical used by the theologians *(al-mutakallimūn)* and the rhetorical used by the masses at large. These rules, as everybody knows, are embodied in Aristotle's logical treatises, especially the *Posterior analytics,* known in Arabic sources as *Kitāb al-Burhān,* the "Book of Demonstration." Ibn Rushd is emphatic that, of these modes, the demonstrative is the

highest. Fully conscious of the aversion to the study of logic and the other so-called "foreign sciences" in theological and popular circles, Ibn Rushd proceeds to defend such a study on the ground that the conscientious searcher cannot dispense with the assistance of his predecessors, "regardless of whether they share in our religion or not" (Ibn Rushd, *Faṣl,* 31). Moreover, logic, being simply a tool or "instrument of thought," has no specific religious character or national affiliation. Accordingly, it is our duty, he states, to look into the books of the ancients (by whom he meant the Greeks; see GENERATIONS; ORALITY AND WRITING IN ARABIA), and to examine what they have said about existing entities, and then determine the extent to which it conforms with the "principles of demonstration." "If we find," he writes, "that some of it is accordant with the truth, we should receive it gladly from them and thank them. If, on the contrary, it is not accordant with truth, we should draw attention to it, warn against it and excuse them" (ibid., 33). In stressing the "formal" character of deduction or logical discourse, Ibn Rushd cites the example of the lawful slaughter (q.v.) of animals, which is entirely independent of the instrument *(āla)* used (see also LAWFUL AND UNLAWFUL; CONSECRATION OF ANIMALS; SACRIFICE).

It is to be noted that, in drawing a parallel between juridical and rational deduction, Ibn Rushd exploits skillfully the ambiguity of the term *qiyās,* which derives from a root meaning "to measure" and does not occur in the Qur'ān at all (see MEASUREMENT). Juridical *qiyās* had been used from earlier times as a means of enunciating legal decisions on matters on which the Qur'ān was silent, by recourse to the method of analogy, accurately denoting resemblance *(shabah)* rather than deduction. What justified analogy in legal decisions was actually the reason *('illa)* which the parallel cases had in common. Thus, jurists, on the whole, were not willing to proceed beyond particular cases. Their procedure was, in other words, purely inductive; whereas rational *qiyās* was deductive and conformed to the syllogistic rules Aristotle and the Greek logicians had laid down. Al-Kindī, the first genuine Islamic philosopher, had used a more accurate term to translate the Greek *syllogismos,* i.e. *al-jāmi'a,* which, over time, fell out of use and was replaced by the ambiguous term *qiyās*.

Deduction or *qiyās* was thus recommended by the philosophers who, like the Mu'tazilīs, were willing to apply the rational canons of proof to the qur'ānic text. Faced with the anthropomorphisms and incongruities of that text, the two groups felt compelled to resort to another rational device, interpretation *(ta'wīl),* which, as we have seen, the Qur'ān had allowed where "ambiguous" verses were concerned.

Of the philosophers, no one exploited the method of interpretation in his theological treatises as thoroughly as Ibn Rushd. After explaining that by interpretation is meant eliciting the real meaning underlying the figurative connotation of scriptural terms, Ibn Rushd proceeds to argue that this method is explicitly recommended in that famous passage (Q 3:7) which speaks of the Qur'ān as a revelation from God, "with verses which are precise in meaning *(muḥkamāt)* and which are the mother of the book (q.v.) and others which are ambiguous *(mutashābihāt)*." The latter are then said to be the object of interpretation by "those in whose heart there is vacillation" and are in quest of sedition. Contrary to al-Ṭabarī's already-mentioned reading, however, Ibn Rushd proposes the conjunction of both "God and those well-grounded in knowledge," referred to in the last part of the verse, as equally com-

petent to undertake the interpretation of the ambiguous parts.

By those well-grounded in knowledge, Ibn Rushd is categorical: only the philosophers, or "people of demonstration" as he calls them, are meant. That definitely excludes the two lower classes: that of the theologians, the "dialectical," and the masses at large, the "rhetorical" class.

In his other theological treatise, *al-Kashf ʿan manāhij al-adilla,* the "Exposition of the methods of proof," written in 576/1180 as a sequel to the *Faṣl,* Ibn Rushd lays down the rules or "canon of interpretation," as he calls it, in a systematic way. The texts of scripture *(sharʿ),* he explains, fall into two major categories: (1) Those which are perfectly explicit and do not need any interpretation, corresponding to that part the Qurʾān has called "precise in meaning" *(muḥkamāt);* and (2) Those in which the intent of the scripture is one of allegory or representation and which fall into four parts: (a) in which the allegory or representation *(mithāl)* is too abstruse to be understood by any except the especially gifted; (b) which is the opposite of the former and in which the allegory or representation is readily understood; (c) which is readily recognized to be an allegory, but the significance of that allegory is known with difficulty; and (d) which is the opposite of the former, or that in which the significance of the allegory is readily recognized. The sense in which it is an allegory is, however, only known with difficulty (see POLYSEMY).

The first part (a), Ibn Rushd goes on to explain, should be accepted at face value by the theologians and the masses at large. The second part (b) may be interpreted but its interpretation should not be divulged to the public (see SECRETS; HIDDEN AND THE HIDDEN). The third part (c) may be divulged as a means of explaining the allegorical intent of scripture and the reason why it is expressed in the form of an allegory. The fourth part (d) may not be interpreted for fear that such interpretation may lead to "wild opinions," such as those in which the Ṣūfīs and their ilk are liable to indulge (see ṢŪFISM AND THE QURʾĀN).

Logic as an instrument of thought

In matters of both interpretation and deduction, it is clear that logic plays a preponderant role. Ẓāhirī scholars, however, such as Ibn Ḥazm (d. 456/1064), Ibn Qudāma (d. 620/1223) and Ibn Taymiyya (d. 728/1328) were averse to the use of logic or deduction in any form or guise. Some commentators of the Qurʾān, such as al-Zamakhsharī (d. 538/1144), tended to accord grammar a more preponderant role than logic in their qurʾānic exegesis. The Ashʿarīs, despite their anti-Muʿtazilī and anti-philosophical sympathies, did not exclude the use of deduction or logical methods of proof in theological disputations altogether. This is illustrated by al-Ashʿarī's own treatise, *Istiḥsān al-khawḍ fī ʿilm al-kalām,* "Vindication of the use of theological discourse" and al-Ghazālī's own attitude to logic in his anti-philosophical works. Here, as is explicitly stated in *Tahāfut al-falāsifa,* the "Incoherence of the philosophers," a clear-cut distinction is made between logic as an "instrument of thought" and the philosophical sciences, such as physics and metaphysics (see SCIENCE AND THE QURʾĀN). The former is perfectly innocuous from a religious viewpoint; whereas the latter contains the bulk of the philosophers' pernicious propositions which are "in conflict with the fundamentals of religion (i.e. Islam)."

In fact, apart from this friendly concession, al-Ghazālī bequeathed to posterity a very lucid and systematic treatise on Aristotelian logic entitled the *Miʿyār al-ʿilm,* "Criterion of knowledge." Even more to

the point, he developed in another treatise, *al-Qusṭās al-mustaqīm,* the "Straight balance," a variety of logic which may be termed qur'ānic, which, according to him, was proposed by God, taught by Gabriel (q.v.) and used by both Abraham (q.v.) and Muḥammad (Ghazālī, *Qusṭās,* 12).

This qur'ānic logic rests on three principles, according to al-Ghazālī: (1) the principle of parallelism; (2) that of concomitance; and (3) that of disjunction. He illustrates the first principle by referring to Abraham's challenge in the Qur'ān to Nimrod (q.v.), who arrogated to himself the title of divinity in these words (Q 2:258): "God brings the sun (q.v.) from the east, so bring it up from the west!" Being unable to meet this challenge, Nimrod's arrogation of divinity is logically confuted.

The second principle of concomitance is illustrated by reference to the qur'ānic dictum, "Were there in them both [i.e. the heaven and earth] other gods than God, they would surely have been ruined" (Q 21:22). Since they have not been ruined, we are justified in concluding that there is no god but God. The logical form of this argument, according to al-Ghazālī, is that of the conditional syllogism: If A then B; but not-B, therefore not-A. An instance of the third principle of disjunction is the question asked in the Qur'ān: "Say, who provides for you (see SUSTENANCE) from the heaven and the earth?" followed by the answer: "Say, God and you or we are either rightly guided or in manifest error" (Q 34:24). From this, we are justified in inferring that God is the provider and we, as well as the infidels who question this proposition, are in manifest error.

It is not without interest to note that, in developing this system of qur'ānic logic, al-Ghazālī actually refers to his two other treatises of conventional logic, *Mi'yār al-'ilm,* the "Criterion of knowledge" and the shorter *Miḥakk al-nazar,* the "Touchstone of speculation," in which, he says, he had refuted the ten deceptions of Satan (see DEVIL), which he does not list (*Qusṭās,* 42 f.). The chief advantage of the principles he has given in *al-Qusṭās* consist, according to him, in the fact that they are bound to confirm our faith in Muḥammad as the infallible teacher (see IMPECCABILITY), as against the Shī'ī imām (q.v.), who is in temporary occultation, as al-Ghazālī has also asserted in his autobiography, *al-Munqidh,* the "Deliverance from error." Moreover, the logic of the *Qusṭās,* he goes on to argue, will be found to be suitable "for measuring (or testing) the arithmetical, poetical, physical, juridical and theological sciences, as well as any real science, which is not purely conventional" (ibid., 53).

Notwithstanding this wild claim, it is clear, we believe, that a careful analysis of this alleged qur'ānic logic would reveal that it differs little formally from the traditional, Aristotelian scheme al-Ghazālī himself had expounded in the "Criterion of knowledge" and elsewhere. The only difference between the two systems consists simply in the type of qur'ānic instances he cites to illustrate his specific logical points. The syllogistic rules in both cases are really the same.

God, his existence and his attributes

The most overwhelming impression the Qur'ān leaves on its reader is God's utter uniqueness, his omniscience and his sovereignty or lordship. In the prefatory or opening sūra (Sūrat al-Fātiḥa; see FĀTIḤA), God is described as the "Lord of the worlds… master of the day of judgment" (Q 1:2, 4) and in the near-final Sūrat al-Ikhlāṣ (Q 112), God is said to be "the only one, the everlasting, who did not beget and is not begotten. None is his equal"

(Q 112:1-4). This last point is stated more dramatically in these words: "Nothing is like unto him" (Q 42:11).

As regards God's existence, the Qur'ān provides its readers with ample evidence which later theologians and philosophers were able to exploit to the full in formulating systematic proofs of his existence. In the process, they were divided into three groups: (1) Those who favored the argument from temporal creation *(ḥudūth)* or the argument *a novitate mundi;* (2) those who favored the argument from contingency *(jawāz)* or possibility *(imkān);* and (3) those who favored the teleological proof, or the argument from providence, as Ibn Rushd was later to call it.

The Ash'arīs and the Mu'tazilīs, who believed the world to consist of compounds of atoms and accidents, which do not endure for two instants of time, argued that the world was created by an act of divine fiat *(amr),* which the Qur'ān has expressed in these words: "Be and it [the world] comes to be" (Q 2:117, etc.). Al-Kindī, who was the first philosopher to formulate the first argument, held that both the world and its temporal duration are finite, and accordingly must have a beginning *(muḥdath).* As such, the world, being *muḥdath,* must have an originator, *muḥdith,* who created it in time.

The argument from contingency was developed by Ibn Sīnā, who argues in his *al-Shifā',* the "Book of healing" (and that of *al-Najāt,* "Salvation"), that the series of existing entities, being contingent or possible, terminates in a being who is noncontingent or necessary, whom he calls for that reason the necessary being; otherwise that series would go on *ad infinitum,* which is absurd (*Najāt,* 271 f.). The Ash'arī al-Juwaynī opted for this argument in his lost *Niẓāmiyya* treatise, as we are told by Ibn Rushd.

Ibn Rushd favored the teleological argument, which is supported by the most overwhelming evidence and is truly characteristically qur'ānic. This argument, which is the most accordant with the precious book, as Ibn Rushd has put it, rests on the premise that everything in the world is necessarily ordered in accordance with the dictates of divine wisdom, so as to serve the existence of humankind and their well-being on earth. Thus, he invokes verses Q 78:6-14, which ask: "Have we not made the earth as a wide expanse, and the mountains as pegs and [have we not] created you in pairs?… Have we not built above you seven mighty heavens; and created a shining lamp (q.v.); brought down from the rain-clouds abundant water?" Similarly, he invokes Q 25:61, which reads: "Blessed is he who placed in the heavens constellations (see PLANETS AND STARS) and placed therein a lamp and an illuminating moon (q.v.)." He finally cites verses Q 80:24-32, which read: "Let humankind consider its nourishment. We have poured the water abundantly; then we split the earth wide open; then caused the grain to grow therein, together with vines and green vegetation… for your enjoyment and that of your cattle" (cf. Ibn Rushd, *Kashf,* 152, 198 f.; see GRASSES; AGRICULTURE AND VEGETATION).

All these and similar verses prove, according to Ibn Rushd, the existence of a wise creator, who has determined willfully that the world and everything in it was intended to be subservient to the existence and well-being of humankind.

A closely related argument that is embodied in the Qur'ān, according to Ibn Rushd, is that of invention *(ikhtirā').* This argument is supported by a series of verses, such as Q 22:73 which reads: "Surely, those upon whom you call, beside God, will never create a fly, even if they band

together" (see POLYTHEISM AND ATHEISM; IDOLS AND IMAGES), or Q 7:185, which reads: "Have they not considered the kingdom of the heavens and the earth and all the things God has created?" Having been invented or created, Ibn Rushd concludes, the world must have an inventor or creator, who brought it into being, in the first instance.

For these and other reasons, Ibn Rushd was critical of the first two traditional arguments. To begin with, the argument from the temporal creation of the world as formulated by the Ashʿarī in particular and the *mutakallimūn* in general, rests on the two premises of temporality *(ḥudūth)* and the atomic composition of existing entities. Now, neither of these premises is demonstrable in a conclusive way and each is too abstruse to be readily understood by the learned, let alone the masses at large. As a good Aristotelian, Ibn Rushd was opposed to the thesis of atomic composition of substance as well as the creation of the world in time, expressed in the Arabic sources as temporality *(ḥudūth),* the antithesis of eternity.

Secondly, the argument from contingency or possibility runs counter to the incontrovertible maxim that everything in the world is causally determined by its wise creator, or maker, who did not abandon it to the vagaries of chance (*ittifāq;* Ibn Rushd, *Kashf,* 200 f.). Here and elsewhere, Ibn Rushd inveighs on two fundamental grounds against al-Ghazālī and the Ashʿarīs in general for repudiating the concept of causality: That whoever repudiates the necessary causal correlation between existing entities (a) repudiates divine wisdom, and (b) repudiates the very concept of reason, which is nothing but the faculty of apprehending causes (Ibn Rushd, *Tahāfut,* 522).

As for the attributes of God, the Muslim philosophers and theologians alike were inspired by the qurʾānic verse which states: "Were there other deities than God, they [i.e. the heavens and the earth] would have indeed been ruined" (Q 21:22); as well as Q 23:91, which reads, "God did not take to himself a child and there was never another god with him; or else each god would have carried off what he created, and some of them would have risen against the others."

The anti-Trinitarian implications of the first part of the second verse are not difficult to see. Accordingly, as mentioned above, many of the debates with, or polemical writing against, the Christians, turned on the question of the Trinity. The Neoplatonists among the philosophers, such as al-Fārābī and Ibn Sīnā, inspired by the teaching of Plotinus (d. 270 C.E.), built their cosmology and metaphysics around the pivotal concept of "the one" or "the first" [being]. Thus, al-Fārābī, the founder of Muslim Neoplatonism, opens his *opus magnum, al-Madīna al-fāḍila,* the "Virtuous city," with a discourse on the first (being), who is the first cause of all existing entities, is free from all imperfections and is entirely distant from everything else. In addition, he has no equal or partner *(sharīk),* has no opposite and is therefore utterly unique. His uniqueness, al-Fārābī goes on to argue, follows from the fact that "his existence, whereby he is distinct from all other existing entities, is nothing other than that whereby he exists in himself" (Fārābī, *Madīna,* 30). In short, God's uniqueness is synonymous with his existence, which is identical with his essence.

Another sense of unity, as applied to the first being, is then given as indivisibility, from which al-Fārābī infers that he is indefinable since the parts of the *definiendum* are reducible to the causes of its existence or its components, which in the case of the first being is impossible.

Other Neoplatonists, including Ibn Sīnā,

followed al-Fārābī's example in asserting the unity, indivisibility and indefinability of the first being, whom Ibn Sīnā calls the necessary being. Ibn Sīnā, however, denied that the necessary being has an essence, exposing himself to the vehement strictures of Ibn Rushd, Aquinas and others, who regarded the identity of existence and essence in God as incontrovertible. That identity was in a sense the hallmark of God's uniqueness.

The other attributes, known collectively as the seven attributes of perfection, consisted of knowledge, life, power, will, speech, hearing and sight. Those attributes were regarded by the philosophers and the Muʿtazilīs, despite allegations by their opponents to the contrary, as identical with the divine essence *(dhāt)*, whereas the Ashʿarīs regarded them as distinct from that essence. The most heated controversy raged around the two active attributes of speech and will. With respect to the first attribute, the controversy centered on the question of how God's eternal speech can be embodied in a temporal document, i.e. the Qurʾān. With respect to the second attribute, the question was asked: How can God will the creation of the universe in time, without a change in his essence?

In response to the first question, the Muʿtazilīs simply asserted that the Qurʾān, as God's speech, was created in time — rejecting the rival Ḥanbalī thesis of its eternity — on the ground that this would entail a multiplicity of eternal entities. For them, the only eternal entity is God, who is entirely one and whose attributes are identical with his essence. For that reason, the Muʿtazilīs labeled themselves as the "people of divine unity and justice." The Ḥanbalīs and the Ashʿarīs, relying on the qurʾānic references to the Qurʾān as the "preserved tablet" (q.v.; Q 85:22) and the "mother of the book" (Q 3:7; 13:39; 43:4) insisted that, as Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal put it: "The Qurʾān is God's eternal *(qadīm)* and uncreated speech," a position to which he stuck adamantly, despite the persecution and vilification to which he was exposed, in the wake of the afore-mentioned inquisition *(miḥna)* imposed by the caliph al-Maʾmūn.

Faced with the problems which the creation of the world in time raised, the Ḥanbalīs took an entirely agnostic line, whereas the Ashʿarīs took the more sophisticated line of proposing that God created the world in time by an act of eternal will. That thesis was rejected by the philosophers on the ground that, as Ibn Rushd was to argue in his rebuttal of al-Ghazālī, God's eternal will entails logically an eternal creation, which the Ashʿarīs rejected. For the world to come into being in time, subsequent to God's willing it from all time, entails the absurdity that an infinite lapse of time intervened between his willing and his action due to some outward impediment or some deficiency on his part. It follows, as Ibn Rushd argues, that the world, as the product of God's willing and doing, must be supposed to have existed from all time, or as the Latin scholastics were later to put it, to be the product of God's *creatio ab aeterno,* or eternal creation. For, of the two modes of creation or origination of the world, the "continuous" and the "discontinuous" *(dāʾim* and *munqaṭiʿ),* as Ibn Rushd calls them, the former — continuous — creation *(iḥdāth dāʾim)* is more appropriately predicated of God, whose creative designs can never be thwarted by any impediment or deficiency (Ibn Rushd, *Tahāfut,* 162).

Notwithstanding, Ibn Rushd was never fully reconciled to the concept of eternal will, as predicated of God. He accuses al-Ghazālī of conceiving of divine will as analogous to human will and asserts that the modality of God's will, like the modality of his knowledge, is unknowable (ibid., 149).

The other attributes of life, power and knowledge, asserted so dramatically in the Qur'ān, did not, on the whole, raise serious problems. Hearing and sight were likewise asserted on the authority of the Qur'ān which speaks of God as all-seeing *(baṣīr)* and all-hearing *(samīʿ)*. For the philosophers, such as al-Kindī and Ibn Rushd, those two attributes are predicable of God on the ground that his knowledge encompasses all objects of cognition, whether intelligible or perceptible.

The creation of the world

The Qur'ān speaks of God's creative power in the most dramatic terms. He created the world in six days and then sat upon the throne (Q 7:54; 10:3; 32:4: 57:4); he creates by a sheer act of divine fiat, for if he wills anything, he bids it to be and it comes to be (Q 2:117; 16:40; 36:82; 40:40). He has created "everything in truth" (Q 45:22; 46:3), for "we have not created the heavens and the earth and what lies between them as sport," as Q 44:38 puts it. What the purpose of creation is, is left undefined but in Q 51:56, it is stated, "I have not created the jinn (q.v.) and humankind except to worship me." The *mutakallimūn,* almost without exception, interpreted the Qur'ān to mean that God created the world *ex nihilo* and in time. A variety of terms are used in the Qur'ān to highlight God's creative might, such as creator *(khāliq),* cleaver *(fāṭir),* originator *(badīʿ, mubdiʿ),* fashioner *(bāriʾ)* and so on.

Although the philosophers did not question the fact of creation or bringing the world into being, they tended to steer clear of the term *khāliq* (creator) and *khalq* (creation) and to substitute for the first such terms as *bāriʾ* (al-Rāzī), *ṣāniʿ* (Ibn Rushd), *muḥdith* (al-Kindī) and for the second *ibdāʿ* (Ibn Sīnā), *iḥdāth* or *ījād* (Ibn Rushd), and so on. Al-Kindī went so far as to coin the two terms *muʾayyis* — "maker," from *aysa* (to be), the antonym of *laysa* — and the parallel term *muhawwi* — from the Arabic pronoun *huwa,* "he," or its Syriac equivalent — to express God's role as the creator of the world out of nothing.

The Neoplatonists, as we have seen, substituted for the concept of creation that of emanation *(ṣudūr, fayḍ),* derived ultimately from Plotinus, founder of Greek Neoplatonism, and his successor, Proclus. The universe, according to the emanationist view, is not the product of God's creative power or will, in the strict sense, but an eternal and necessary emanation or procession from God's very substance. According to this emanationist view, God (the one or first, i.e. being) generates, by an eternal act of overflowing, the first intellect *(nous),* followed by a series of intellects, culminating in the tenth or active intellect, followed by the soul *(psyche)* and finally matter. The lower world consists of an infinite variety of compounds of form and matter, whose simplest ingredients are the four elements of Aristotelian physics, fire, air (see AIR AND WIND), water and earth.

The philosophers questioned whether the Qur'ān explicitly supports the *mutakallimūn*'s concept of creation *(khalq), ex nihilo* and in time. Ibn Rushd, who rejected the Avicennian thesis of emanation while retaining the concept of eternal creation *(iḥdāth dāʾim),* as we have seen, argues that a number of verses in the Qur'ān, such as Q 11:7, imply, on the surface, the eternity of the universe. That verse reads: "It is he who created the heavens and the earth in six days, and his throne was upon the water," which implies the eternity of water, the throne and the time that measures their duration. Similarly, verse Q 41:11, which states that "he arose to heaven while it was smoke," implies that the heaven was created out of a pre-existing matter, which is smoke, rather than out of nothing as the *mutakallimūn* claim (Ibn Rushd, *Faṣl,* 42 f.).

What rendered the concept of eternity entirely nefarious from the Ashʿarī point of view in particular and that of the *mutakallimūn* in general was the contention that it appeared to entail a limitation of God's power to act freely, to create or not create the world at any time of his own choosing. The philosophers, including Ibn Rushd, as we have seen, rejected this contention on the ground that eternal creation was more in keeping with God's perfection. It ensured that creating the world involved no change in his essence and that his power, being infinite, could not be barred by some impediment or deficiency from bringing the world into being from all time.

Contrary to the philosophers, God's creation of the world, like his other actions or decisions, was represented by the *mutakallimūn* as miraculous, or independent of any conditions other than the divine will, spoken of in the Qurʾān as the divine command *(amr)*. For this reason, they were led to reject the Aristotelian concept of necessary causation, insofar as it entailed that other causes or agents, whether voluntary or involuntary, operated in the world beside God. For al-Ghazālī (*Tahāfut,* 276), who held that God is the sole agent, that claim runs counter to the consensus of the Muslim community that God is able to do whatever he pleases in a miraculous way.

On the question of the end of the world, the philosophers tended to assert the post-eternity *(abadiyya)* of the world, as a counterpart to its pre-eternity *(azaliyya, qidam)*. They were charged on this account by al-Ghazālī with heresy (q.v.) or innovation (q.v.; *tabdīʿ*), rather than the more serious charge of irreligion (*takfīr;* see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF). For the philosophers, whether Neoplatonists, like Ibn Sīnā, or Aristotelians, like Ibn Rushd, the post-eternity of the world was a consequence either of the eternity of prime matter and time (as Aristotle held) or the eternal procession of the universe from the one (as Plotinus held). The two major exceptions were al-Kindī, who adhered, as we have seen, to the qurʾānic view of creation in time and *ex nihilo (ḥudūth)* and al-Rāzī, who maintained a central metaphysical conception of five coeternal principles (see above: matter, space, time, the soul and the creator; cf. Fakhry, *History,* 121). Al-Rāzī adhered to a picturesque view of the creation of the world by the creator *(al-bāriʾ)* out of the three co-eternal principles of space, time and matter to serve as the stage upon which the soul's infatuation with a sister co-eternal principle, matter, could be requited. Once the union of these two sister-principles is achieved, the soul is led eventually to rediscover its original essence as a denizen of the intelligible world, through the therapeutic function of philosophy; the material world will then, according to al-Rāzī, cease to exist and the soul will in Platonic fashion regain its original abode in the higher world (Fakhry, *History,* 101).

The *mutakallimūn* without exception rejected the thesis of post-eternity as inimical to God's unlimited creative power. Their position was in line with those qurʾānic verses, such as Q 55:26-7, which explicitly indicate that nothing remains forever: once the world is destroyed or ceases to exist, all perishes except the "face of your lord" (see FACE OF GOD).

Ethics and eschatology

The Muʿtazilīs were the first genuine moral theologians of Islam. Their ethical speculation bore, from the start, on such fundamental issues as the justice of God, the nature of right and wrong, the capacity *(istiṭāʿa)* or power of the agent to act freely and the genuine meaning of responsibility (q.v.) or accountability, as a logical corollary of free will.

The precursors of the Muʿtazilīs in the first/seventh century, known as the Qadarīs, were the first to challenge the traditionalist view that all human actions are predetermined by God, for which the human agent cannot be held responsible. The early Umayyad caliphs, as we have seen, welcomed the determinists' view as a means of justifying their repressive policies, contending that, however cruel or heinous, their crimes or transgressions were part of the divine decree *(qadāʾ),* which cannot be questioned.

For the Muʿtazilīs, who rationalized what was in part a natural response to the political excesses of the Umayyads, God, who is just and wise, cannot perpetrate or sanction actions which are morally wrong. To substantiate this claim, they undertook to demonstrate that God was truly just, that human actions are known to be right or wrong in themselves, and that the human agent is both free and responsible for his deeds and misdeeds.

Despite their rationalist stand on these issues, the Muʿtazilīs sought a basis for these propositions in the Qurʾān. Apart from this, a careful perusal of the qurʾānic verses which bear on all three questions would reveal that the textual evidence is equally weighted in favor of both indeterminism and determinism and allows for divergent interpretations, as in fact the history of Islamic theology *(kalām)* shows.

Although justice is not predicated in positive terms of God, there are numerous verses in the Qurʾān, which assert that: "God [or your lord] is not unjust to the [human] servants" (cf. Q 3:182; 41:46). In Q 28:50, 46:10, etc., God is said "not to guide the unjust people [aright]," and in Q 16:90, God is said to "enjoin justice, charity and giving to kinsmen (see KINSHIP)," reinforced by the statement that "he forbids indecency (see MODESTY; ADULTERY AND FORNICATION), wrongdoing and oppression (q.v.)."

Overwhelmed by the parallel spectacle of God's absolute power and majesty, as depicted in the Qurʾān, the determinists *(jabriyya)* and traditionalists could not reconcile themselves to the notion of God submitting, like human agents, to a higher canon of right and wrong. In fact, they adhered to the maxim that right is precisely what God commands, evil what he has prohibited, and accordingly his actions cannot be described as either just or unjust. As al-Ghazālī has put it, to predicate justice or injustice of God is as frivolous as predicating playing or frolicking of the wall or the wind.

The Muʿtazilīs insisted from the start, however, that responsibility entailed the ability of the agent to discriminate between good and evil, right and wrong. In addition to such discrimination, the agent should be able to choose freely; otherwise no merit would attach to his actions, which would be no different from mechanical or involuntary reactions, such as convulsions, trembling or the like.

The two qurʾānic terms on which the Muʿtazilīs seized to describe the intrinsic property of goodness or badness predicated of human actions were *al-maʿrūf,* "approved," and *al-munkar,* "disapproved." Demanding or commanding the "approved" and prohibiting the "disapproved" were then posited as one of their five fundamental principles (see VIRTUES AND VICES, COMMANDING AND FORBIDDING).

If we turn to the qurʾānic text, we will find that right actions are, in general, spoken of as acts of obedience *(ṭāʿāt),* vicious actions as acts of disobedience (q.v.; *maʿāṣin*). The term applied frequently to the first category of action is *birr,* "righteousness," *khayr,* "goodness," *qiṣṭ,* "equity," or *maʿrūf,* "approved," whereas the term

applied to the second category is *ithm,* "wickedness," *wizr,* "burden, sin," or *munkar,* "disapproved" (see GOOD DEEDS; EVIL DEEDS).

In a number of verses, the Qur'ān speaks in laudatory terms of people who discriminate between those two categories. Thus, Q 3:104 reads: "Let there be among you a nation calling to goodwill *(al-khayr),* bidding the right *(al-ma'rūf)* and forbidding the wrong *(al-munkar)*. These are the prosperous." In Q 3:114, the People of the Book (q.v.) are commended as those "who believe in God and the last day, bid the right and forbid the wrong, hastening to do the good deeds." In the next verse, it is stated "that whatever good they do, they will not be denied it. God knows well the godfearing" (see FEAR). The deontological implications of this and similar verses are clear; the distinction between good and evil, right and wrong is explicit and God's pleasure or displeasure consequently is explicit, too.

As for human responsibility for freely chosen actions or, as the Qur'ān puts it, what an individual has "earned" or "acquired" (*kasaba* and *iktasaba*), the Qur'ān is categorical that the righteous and the wicked are bound to meet with their appropriate punishment or reward in the hereafter (see ESCHATOLOGY). Thus, Q 42:30 reads: "Whatever calamity might hit you is due to what your hands have earned *(kasabat)*." Q 2:281 reads: "Fear a day when you will be returned to God; then each soul will be rewarded [fully] for what it has earned, and none shall be wronged." Similarly, Q 2:286 reads: "God does not charge any soul beyond its capacity. It will get what it has earned and will be called to account for what it has acquired."

Set against these and similar verses, there are numerous verses in the Qur'ān which support the contrary or determinist thesis, according to which God's decrees are irreversible and unquestionable. Thus, Q 54:49 reads: "We have created everything in measure *(bi-qadarin)*" and Q 13:8, which reads: "Everything with him is according to a certain measure." Finally, Q 64:11 reads, "No disaster befalls you on earth or in yourselves but is in a book before we created it."

The concepts of measure and book in these and other verses clearly indicate that human actions, as well as their consequences, are part of the divine decree and will not escape God's ineluctable reckoning on the day of judgment. The book in question appears to be identified with the "preserved tablet" (Q 85:22), on which the Qur'ān was originally inscribed and is the embodiment of the divine decree, which admits of no alteration (see HEAVENLY BOOK; REVISION AND ALTERATION). This is forcefully brought out in Q 85, called appropriately Sūrat al-Burūj, "The Constellations," which asks rhetorically in verse 9: "To whom belongs the dominion of the heavens and the earth?" adding "God is witness of everything" (see WITNESSING AND TESTIFYING). Then, after assuring the righteous of their well-earned reward in heaven, and the unbelievers of their eventual consignment to hell, the supreme prerogative of God, "the lord of the glorious throne," is reasserted and the wicked are reminded that "the vengeance (q.v.) of your lord is surely terrible." (Q 85:12).

As far as the theological controversy is concerned, the early deterministes, such as Jahm b. Ṣafwān (d. 128/745) and al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad al-Najjār (d. middle of the third/ninth century), as well as the whole class of Ash'arīs, adhered to a theodicy in which God's creative power was absolute and his decrees irreversible. Thus, al-Ash'arī writes in *Kītāb al-Ibāna,* the "Book of clarification":

We believe that God Almighty has created everything by bidding it to be, as he says [in Q 16:40]: "Indeed, when we want a thing to be, we simply say to it 'Be' and it comes to be; that there is nothing good or evil on earth except what God has pre-ordained;… that there is no creator but God and that the deeds of the creatures are created and pre-ordained by God, as he says [in Q 37:96]: "God created you and what you make."

As regards the universal sway of providence, al-Ashʿarī continues:

We believe that good and evil are the product of God's decree and pre-ordination *(qaḍāʾ wa-qadar)*… and we know that what has missed us could not have hit us, or what has hit us could not have missed us and that the creatures are unable to profit or injure themselves without God's leave (Ashʿarī, *Ibāna,* 23 f.; McCarthy, *Theology,* 238 f.).

The leading Ashʿarī doctors of the next two centuries, such as al-Bāqillānī (d. 403/1013), al-Baghdādī (d. 429/1037), al-Juwaynī (d. 478/1085) and al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111), developed and systemized the teaching of the master. To rationalize this deterministic view, they developed an "occasionalist" theory according to which the world consists of indivisible particles (atoms) and accidents, which God continuously creates and recreates as long as he wishes their compounds to endure. When God wishes them to cease to exist, he just stops the process of continuous creation or, as some Ashʿarīs had put it, he creates the accident of annihilation *(fanāʾ)* but in no substratum and then the world would cease to exist at once. Justice and injustice, as al-Ashʿarī had taught, consisted in what God commands or prohibits, and humans have no share in the production of their actions, which the Muʿtazilīs had attributed to them, considering people to be free agents. To moderate the extreme determinism of Jahm b. Ṣafwān and his followers, however, they made a purely verbal concession, based on those qurʾānic verses, which, as already mentioned, speak of acquisition or earning *(kasaba, iktasaba)* the merits or demerits of the actions by the agent. They continued to hold, nonetheless, that God creates both the choice and the action.

In the field of eschatology, the Qurʾān had depicted the fate of humans in the hereafter in such dramatic terms, especially in the Meccan sūras, that pious souls, especially among ascetics and mystics (see ASCETICISM; SAINT), were later obsessed with the spectacle of hell and its horrors drawn in these sūras; while others, especially poets, dwelt on the delectable pleasures of the garden (q.v.), reserved for the righteous in the life to come. Thus, a number of sūras bear such expressive titles as "The Earthquake" (Sūrat al-Zalzala, Q 99), "The Calamity" (Sūrat al-Qāriʿa, Q 101), "Worldly Increase" (Sūrat al-Takāthur, Q 102), "The Chargers" (Sūrat al-ʿĀdiyāt, Q 100), "The Clear Proof" (Sūrat al-Bayyina, Q 98) and "The Overwhelming Day" (Sūrat al-Ghāshiya, Q 88) to highlight the picture of hell and its horrors (see HELL AND HELLFIRE). People on the last day are said to be "like scattered butterflies and the mountains like tufted wool" (Q 101:4-5) and "faces on that day shall be downcast, laboring and toiling; roasting in a scorching fire; given to drink from a boiling spring" (Q 88:2-5; see SPRINGS AND FOUNTAINS). By contrast, the righteous are promised the most bounteous rewards in glowing terms, as in Q 88:8-16: "Faces on that day shall be blissful; well-pleased with their endeavor; in a lofty garden; wherein

no word of vanity is heard (see GOSSIP); wherein is a flowing spring; wherein are upraised couches, and cups passed round (see CUPS AND VESSELS), and cushions in rows, and carpets spread out."

For the Muslim philosophers, life after death raised the most acute questions (see DEATH AND THE DEAD; BURIAL; SALVATION). Some, like al-Kindī, concurred with the *mutakallimūn* in adhering to the thesis of bodily resurrection and the attendant pleasures or tortures of paradise or hell, as embodied in the Qurʾān. In support of this thesis, al-Kindī quotes Q 36:78 f., which refer to God's supreme power to "bring the bones back to life, once they are withered and to bring opposites from opposites," as he does in causing fire to come from green trees (Q 36:80).

Other philosophers, such as al-Fārābī and Ibn Sīnā, while conceding the immortality of the soul, were embarrassed by the qurʾānic thesis of bodily resurrection. Accordingly, they tried to interpret this resurrection in a variety of ways, which the *mutakallimūn* found unacceptable. For al-Fārābī, the soul's fate after leaving the body will depend on the degree of its apprehension of true happiness and its vocation as an inhabitant of the intelligible world. Upon separation from their bodies, souls will partake of a growing measure of happiness, as they join successive throngs of kindred souls in the intelligible world. Those souls, however, whose happiness consisted in clinging to bodily pleasures in this world, will continue to pass from one body to the other endlessly. Wayward souls will continue to be embodied in lower material forms until they have degenerated to the bestial level, whereupon they will simply perish. What adds to the misery of such wayward souls, as they pass through this cycle of transmigration, is the perpetual agony which they will suffer upon separation from the body and its pleasures, for which they will continue to yearn, until they perish completely (Fārābī, *Ahl al-madīna,* 118).

Al-Fārābī's spiritual disciple and successor, Ibn Sīnā, was committed to the view, adhered to by almost all the Muslim philosophers, especially the Neoplatonists among them, that the soul's perfection consists in achieving "conjunction" *(ittiṣāl)* with the active intellect. This is the precondition of true happiness and the warrant of the soul's becoming, once it fulfilled its intellectual vocation, a replica of the intelligible world to which it originally belonged, prior to its descent into the body. Those souls which have fallen short of this condition, by virtue of their attachment to the body and its cares, will suffer misery consequent upon the unwanted separation from the body. But once they are freed from this misery by attaining the level of apprehension proper to them, they will be able to partake of that intellectual pleasure which is "analogous to that blissful condition proper to the pure, living entities (i.e. spiritual substance) and is greater and nobler than any other pleasure" (Ibn Sīnā, *Najāt,* 330).

Ibn Sīnā, however, recognizes in addition to this intellectual condition of which the soul will partake upon separation from the body a scriptural *(sharʿī)* one, that resurrection "which is received from scripture *(sharʿ)* and can only be demonstrated by recourse to the holy law *(sharīʿa)* and assent to prophetic reports" (ibid., 326). "Thus, the true law," Ibn Sīnā writes, "which Muḥammad our Prophet has brought us, has set forth the nature of the happiness and misery in store for the body" (ibid., 326; see JOY AND MISERY). Ibn Sīnā does not call into question this bodily happiness but continues to hold that there is a higher intellectual happiness which the

"metaphysical philosophers" are intent on seeking in "proximity to God," which the mystics (Ṣūfīs) have placed at the center of their teaching and which is confirmed, according to Ibn Sīnā, by the "true holy law" of Islam.

Ibn Rushd, despite his divergence from Ibn Sīnā and the Neoplatonists generally, tended to agree with this conciliatory position. Resurrection or survival after death *(maʿād),* as he prefers to call it, is a matter on which "all the religious laws or creeds are in agreement and which the demonstrations of the philosophers have affirmed." After distinguishing three Islamic views of happiness and misery, which although generically different only in point of duration, degree of corporality or spirituality, he goes on to argue that the crass corporal resurrection entertained by the vulgar is untenable. According to that view, the soul, upon resurrection, will be reunited to the same body it dwelt in during its terrestrial existence. How is it possible, he then asks, for the same body which was reduced to dust upon death, then changed into a plant on which another man has fed, and then turned into semen which gave rise to another person, to enter into the makeup of a resurrected person? It is more reasonable, Ibn Rushd holds, to assert that the risen soul will be united on the last day to a body, which is analogous, but not identical, with its original body (Ibn Rushd, *Tahāfut,* 586). In fact, religious creeds are in agreement regarding the reality of survival after death, he goes on to explain, but are nevertheless in disagreement on its modality *(ṣifa)*. Some creeds, by which he probably meant the Christian, regard it as spiritual, whereas others, by which he meant Islam, regard it as doubly corporeal and spiritual. If, however, we probe the difference between the various creeds on this question, we will find, he argues, that they are reducible to the mode of "representation" *(tamthīl)* or idiom used by each one of them in describing the misery or happiness reserved to the wicked or righteous in the life to come. To the extent that corporeal representations are more effective in commanding the assent of the masses at large, they are preferable to purely spiritual representations that are appreciated only by the intellectually gifted, including the philosophers in general. Thus it appears, he writes, "that the (corporeal) representation found in this our own region (i.e. Islam) is more effective in leading to understanding, where the majority of humankind are concerned, and in moving their soul in that direction… whereas spiritual representation is less effective in moving the souls of the masses" (Ibn Rushd, *Kashf,* 244). Illuminationist (Ishrāqī) philosophers, such as al-Shīrāzī (d. 1050/1641), who recognized the harmony of philosophy and mysticism (Ṣūfism) for the first time in Islamic history, tended to follow the lead of Ibn Sīnā on this and similar questions.

Conclusion

This article has shown that the Qurʾān speaks in the first place of wisdom *(ḥikma),* both in the Greek sense of *sophia* and the Semitic or biblical sense of divine revelation to Muḥammad, Jesus and the Hebrew prophets. In the second place, it urges the believers to contemplate the wonders of creation, to reflect, to consider and ponder the mysterious ways of God. Such contemplation, reflection, consideration and pondering are the hallmarks of the philosophical method as it was applied to the theological and ethical questions which preoccupied the *mutakallimūn* and the philosophers from the earliest times.

The major problems around which controversy in theological and philosophical circles turned centered on such questions as the existence of God, the creation of the

world, the destiny of humans in the hereafter and the rationality and justice of God's ways as creator and providential ruler of the world. As the controversy between the philosophers and the theologians intensified, the latter split into two rival groups, the pro-philosophical, led by the Muʿtazilīs, and the anti-philosophical, led by the Ḥanbalīs and the Ashʿarīs. Naturally enough, both groups sought support in the Qurʾān for their conflicting interpretations of those ambiguous passages which bear directly or indirectly on the problems in question. Some theologians and jurists confined the prerogative of interpreting the so-called "ambiguous" passages of the Qurʾān to God; others, including some philosophers, extended this prerogative to the learned or specially gifted, as Ibn Rushd has done.

The status of the Qurʾān itself and whether it was created in time *(makhlūq)* or was eternal *(qadīm)* raised, from the third/ninth century on, the most acute questions and led to endless recriminations between some theologians, such as the Muʿtazilīs, and those jurists and tradition-mongers *(muḥaddithūn),* such as Ibn Ḥanbal and his followers, who insisted that the Qurʾān was "the eternal and uncreated word of God," relying in the last analysis on those passages in the Qurʾān itself which speak of the "mother of the book" and the "well-preserved tablet," in reference to the original codex on which the Qurʾān was inscribed since all time. The Ashʿarīs, who sought an intermediate position between the Muʿtazilīs and the Ḥanbalīs, tried to resolve the conflict by distinguishing between the "significations" *(dalālāt)* of the words in which the Qurʾān is expressed and the actual words themselves, written (see TEXTUAL CRITICISM OF THE QUR'ĀN; COLLECTION OF THE QUR'ĀN; MUṢḤAF; CODICES OF THE QUR'ĀN) or recited (see RECITATION OF THE QUR'ĀN), which could not as such be eternal or uncreated, since they belonged to the category of perishable accidents. Some philosophers, including Ibn Rushd, subscribed to this view. In popular Muslim consciousness, however, it is fair to say that the Ḥanbalī view, which stresses the sanctity and inimitability *(iʿjāz)* of the qurʾānic text, may be said to have triumphed, and the Qurʾān continues today to be regarded by the vast majority of Muslims as the miraculous word of God (see MIRACLES; MARVELS). Contemporary scholars, such as the late Pakistani Fazlur Rahman (d. 1988) and the Egyptian Naṣr Ḥāmid Abū Zayd, who attempted to draw a line of demarcation between the human and divine aspects of the qurʾānic text, or to apply the canons of literary or "higher criticism" to that text (see CONTEMPORARY CRITICAL PRACTICES AND THE QUR'ĀN), have been either reprimanded or declared infidel (*kāfir;* see EXEGESIS OF THE QUR'ĀN: EARLY MODERN AND CONTEMPORARY; POST-ENLIGHTENMENT ACADEMIC STUDY OF THE QUR'ĀN). This has served as a warning to other contemporary liberal scholars or philosophers to avoid this highly sensitive subject altogether.

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Piety

Exhibiting loyalty to parents (i.e. filial piety) or manifesting devotion to God. The concept of piety in Arabic can be conveyed by the non-qurʾānic terms *waraʿ* and *zuhd,* and the qurʾānic words *birr, taqwā* and *iḥsān*. (For *zuhd* as ethics, see Kinberg, Zuhd; see also ETHICS AND THE QURʾĀN. *Iḥsān* is often used to express filial piety and understood by the commentators as *birr;* see Rahman, *Major themes,* 42.) The following focuses on the terms *birr* and *taqwā,* which are treated in the Qurʾān as crucial components of true belief (see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF).

Those who practice *birr,* the *abrār,* and those who have *taqwā,* the *muttaqūn,* or *alladhīna ttaqū,* are mentioned among the future dwellers of paradise (q.v.; Q 82:13; 68:34). The most comprehensive definition of the term *birr* is given in Q 2:177: "It is not piety *(al-birr)* that you turn your faces to the east and to the west. [True] piety is [this]: to believe in God and the last day (see LAST JUDGMENT; APOCALYPSE; ESCHATOLOGY), the angels (see ANGEL), the book (q.v.), and the prophets (see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD), to give of one's substance, [however cherished,] to kinsmen (see KINSHIP), and orphans (q.v.), the needy (see POVERTY AND THE POOR), the traveler (see JOURNEY), beggars, and to ransom the slave (see SLAVES AND SLAVERY), to perform the prayer (q.v.), to pay the alms (see ALMSGIVING). And they who fulfil their covenant (q.v.), when they have engaged in a covenant, and endure with fortitude misfortune, hardship and peril (see TRUST AND PATIENCE; TRIAL), these are they who are true in their faith (q.v.), these are the truly godfearing (*al-muttaqūn;* see also FEAR)." This list touches upon interpersonal relationships as well as human-divine relationships, and in this sense it agrees with the definition of piety as it appears in *Webster's new twentieth century dictionary:* (1) devotion to religious duties and practices; (2) loyalty and devotion to parents, family, etc.

For a more profound understanding, however, of the references to piety in the Qurʾān, one should examine the qurʾānic correlation between *birr* and *taqwā*. The ending of Q 2:177 mentions the *muttaqūn,* "the godfearing," and refers to them as those who fulfill all the duties presented in the first part of the verse, namely those who practice *birr*. Q 2:189 is even clearer about the similitude between *birr* and *taqwā:* "… Piety *(al-birr)* is not to come to the houses from the backs of them (see PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QURʾĀN); but piety is to be godfearing *(al-birru mani*

ttaqā); so come to the houses by their doors, and fear God; haply so you will prosper."

In both verses cited above, comparisons are made between the true believers and the others, either Jews and Christians (see JEWS AND JUDAISM; CHRISTIANS AND CHRISTIANITY) or the pre-Islamic Arabs (*jāhilīs*; see AGE OF IGNORANCE; SOUTH ARABIA, RELIGION IN PRE-ISLAMIC) and the early Muslims who did not have the *sharīʿa* (see PATH OR WAY; LAW AND THE QURʾĀN) to follow (Qurṭubī, *Jāmiʿ,* ii, 237, 345). *Birr,* in both verses, presents duties, the performance of which indicates true belief, defined as being godfearing or possessing *taqwā*. Furthermore, Q 5:2 mentions *birr* and *taqwā* as two complementary elements of proper conduct: "… Help one another to piety *(al-birr)* and fear of God *(al-taqwā);* do not help each other to sin and enmity (see SIN, MAJOR AND MINOR; ENEMIES). And fear God; surely God is terrible in retribution" (see also Q 58:9). The commentators on this verse distinguish one term from the other by stating that *birr* implies duties one should perform whereas *taqwā* refers to actions from which one should refrain (Wāḥidī, *Wasīṭ,* ii, 150). This may be used to illuminate the way the two terms relate to each other and to clarify the way the Qurʾān understands piety. *Birr* is the inclusive term for ethics; it underlies the pleasing conduct in daily communal life; it is anchored in and stimulated by the feeling of fear of the one God *(taqwā),* which is fear of the consequences of actions that violate the values included under *birr* (see also VIRTUES AND VICES, COMMANDING AND FORBIDDING).

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Pig

see ANIMAL LIFE

Pilgrimage

A journey to a holy place, and the religious activities associated with it. The words most often translated as pilgrimage, both in the Qurʾān and with regard to Muslim ritual (see RITUAL AND THE QURʾĀN), are *ḥajj* and *ʿumra*. The word *ḥajj* occurs nine times in five different verses (in Q 2:189, three times; in Q 2:196, three times; and once each in Q 2:197, Q 9:3 and Q 22:27), *ʿumra* twice in one verse only (Q 2:196) but there are also a number of related nominal and verbal forms for each. With reference to Muslim practice, *ḥajj* is sometimes distinguished as the major pilgrimage, *ʿumra* as the minor, but whether one is speaking of the Qurʾān or of Muslim practice, the word pilgrimage is not really an adequate indication of what *ḥajj* and *ʿumra* involve. The English word commonly suggests a journey to a sacred place made as a religious act. The focus is on the journey itself, even though the pilgrim may participate in religious ceremonies and rituals once the object of the pilgrimage has been reached. Those who make *ḥajj* and *ʿumra,* it is true, have nearly always traveled long distances to Mecca (q.v.) in order to do so, and a substantial part of the journey has to be made in the sacral state known as *iḥrām,* but it is the rites and ceremonies that are performed after arriving that really constitute the *ḥajj* or the *ʿumra*. If consideration is restricted to the relevant qurʾānic passages without reference to Muslim practice, it is questionable how far they evoke the idea of pilgrimage as journey, although it could not be ruled out that traveling to perform *ḥajj* or *ʿumra* is envisaged.

The traditional Arabic lexicographers associate the verbal forms *ḥajja* and *iʿtamara* with the idea of travelling to a place (especially the sanctuary; see KAʿBA) for the purpose of a visit *(ziyāra)* but that possibly reflects standard Muslim practice and may not be an accurate guide to the basic meaning of the words. The roots *ḥ-j(-j)* (or *ḥ-w-j*) and *ʿ-m-r* occur in other Semitic languages apart from Arabic but it is difficult to determine basic meanings for them. The use of cognate words to elucidate the meaning of *ḥajj* and *ʿumra* is complicated by the fact that Semiticists sometimes use Arabic materials influenced by Islam to attempt to clarify the vocabulary of, say, Hebrew or south Arabian. *Ḥ-j(-j),* it has been suggested, has a number of possible meanings including procession, round, dance or festival. It has been argued that basically it refers to the act of dancing or processing around an altar or other cultic object, and that that relates to the ritual of the circumambulation *(ṭawāf)* of the Kaʿba, which is an important part of both *ḥajj* and *ʿumra*. In the Bible the Hebrew *ḥaj* is usually translated simply as festival or feast, although it could involve the participants in journeying to the place, Jerusalem or elsewhere, where the *ḥaj* was to be held (e.g. *Exod* 23:14-7; *Deut* 16:16). In that light the Arabic *ḥajj* might be understood as a "pilgrim festival." The root *ʿ-m-r* is harder to document in any sense securely related to the Arabic *ʿumra*.

As well as the nine qurʾānic attestations of *ḥajj,* Q 3:97 proclaims *ḥijj* (sic) *al-bayt* (*bayt* referring to the house or sanctuary associated with Abraham; see ABRAHAM; HOUSE, DOMESTIC AND DIVINE) as a duty owed to God for anyone who can find a way to it *(mani staṭāʿa ilayhi sabīlan)*. This is the verse that is understood as establishing the obligation *(farḍ)* for every Muslim to make *ḥajj* at least once in his lifetime; possible justifications for failing to meet the obligation are discussed in commentary on the phrase "for anyone who can find a way to it." Generally, *ḥijj* is seen as no more than a dialectical variant of *ḥajj* without significance as to meaning, although there are some attempts to make distinctions in meaning between the two vocalizations. Q 2:158 uses the verbal forms *ḥajja* and *iʿtamara (man ḥajja l-bayta awi ʿtamara)*. Q 9:19 has the noun *ḥājj,* apparently indicating someone making *ḥajj,* in the context of a rhetorical question: "Do you count providing water for him who makes *ḥajj,* and habitation of *al-masjid al-ḥarām* (see PROFANE AND SACRED), as comparable with believing in God and the last day and making jihād (q.v.) in the way of God (see PATH OR WAY; LAST JUDGMENT; FAITH)?" The references to *ḥajj* and *ʿumra* sometimes occur in the context of more extended passages which contain regulations for those making them or which relate in some way to the sanctuary at which they take place. The qurʾānic verses do not, however, contain sufficient detail to enable us to use them as a blueprint even for those rituals to which they allude, and there are many aspects of the Muslim sanctuary and its pilgrimage ceremonies to which no allusion is made in the Qurʾān. The detailed Islamic regulations regarding these pilgrimages, therefore, do not depend primarily upon qurʾānic passages.

Furthermore, it sometimes seems that there is a degree of tension between Muslim practice or legal doctrines and some of the qurʾānic materials. The commentators, naturally, attempt to interpret the verses and the more extended passages, and to address the problems which they raise, with the Muslim forms of *ḥajj* and *ʿumra* in mind. They assume that the passages are concerned with the Kaʿba at Mecca and its related sacred places and that they not only refer to, but to some extent provide a warrant for, the *ḥajj* and

the *ʿumra* as we know them from Muslim law and practice (see LAW AND THE QURʾĀN).

In some cases, however, the qurʾānic materials are problematical from that point of view, and much of the interest in reading the commentaries on the verses relating to *ḥajj* and *ʿumra* consists in observing how the texts are accommodated to later Muslim assumptions. In general, it seems that while there are definite points of contact (e.g. in terminology and some proper names) between the qurʾānic passages and the pilgrimages as we know them from Muslim law and practice, it cannot be said that all the scriptural passages fit easily with the normative Muslim forms of *ḥajj, ʿumra,* and the sanctuary with which they are associated. The following examples illustrate some apparent disjunctions and some of the interpretative strategies that seem to be adopted in order to overcome them.

Q 2:158 reads: "Al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa (see ṢAFĀ AND MARWA) are among the signs *(shaʿāʾir)* of God. Whoever makes *ḥajj* of the sanctuary *(al-bayt)* or *ʿumra,* no wrong attaches to him if he makes circumambulation of the two *(lā junāḥa ʿalayhi an yaṭṭawwafa bi-himā)*. Whoever performs something good voluntarily *(wa-man taṭawwaʿa khayran),* God recognizes and knows (it)." Commentators here unanimously identify al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa as the two small elevations known by those names in Mecca, the former just to the south-east, the latter to the north-east, of the mosque which contains the Kaʿba, about 400 yards apart. The ritual of the Muslim *ḥajj* and *ʿumra* includes a seven-times-repeated passage between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa, part of which has to be covered at a faster than walking pace. For that reason the ritual is ordinarily referred to as the *saʿy* (literally, "run"). The commentators, usually without discussion, identify the Islamic *saʿy* with the circumambulation implied in the Qurʾān's *an yaṭṭawwafa bi-himā* even though the Islamic ritual here can only questionably be described as a circumambulation. In discussions of the ritual in ḥadīth (see ḤADĪTH AND THE QURʾĀN) and jurisprudence *(fiqh)* it is usually referred to as *saʿy* but *ṭawāf* is not infrequent. The major issue discussed in connection with this verse, however, is why it is stated that "no wrong attaches to" *(lā junāḥa ʿalā)* the person who makes the *ṭawāf* of al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa when it is virtually unanimously accepted in Islam that the ritual is an integral part of both *ḥajj* and *ʿumra*. A well-known report tells us that ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr asked ʿĀʾisha (see ʿĀʾISHA BINT ABĪ BAKR) whether it meant that no wrong accrued to a person who did not make the *ṭawāf* between them, an interpretation which she strongly rejected.

There are several variant reports intended to explain how something which is regarded as meritorious, and by most as obligatory, should be described as incurring no wrong (*junāḥ* is often glossed as *ithm,* "sin"; see SIN, MAJOR AND MINOR). Most attempt to do so by referring, with variant details, to a group, which before Islam avoided al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa because they were associated with idolatry (see IDOLATRY AND IDOLATERS; POLYTHEISM AND ATHEISM) and therefore had qualms about making the *ṭawāf* of them in Islam. The wording of the verse was intended to reassure them that God did not disapprove of the rite once its idolatrous associations had been removed. Another "occasion of revelation" (see OCCASIONS OF REVELATION) report refers to a group that did make this *ṭawāf* before Islam and were puzzled when God ordered the *ṭawāf* of the Kaʿba (Q 22:29 is understood to mean that) but did not mention the two hills. They asked the Prophet whether there was anything wrong in making the *ṭawāf* of al-Ṣafā

and al-Marwa and then the verse was revealed.

Some claimed that the passage between the two elevations is not an obligatory part of the ritual of *ḥajj* and *ʿumra* and, in addition to suggesting that the verse may be read "there is no harm in not making circumambulation of the two," wanted to see its concluding words, "whoever voluntarily does something good, God is thankful and cognizant," as a reference to the voluntary nature of this *saʿy/ṭawāf.* That was rejected by the majority who insisted that the ritual is an integral part of both *ḥajj* and *ʿumra,* and said that the concluding words of the verse allude to those who make a voluntary *ḥajj* or *ʿumra* — it has nothing to do with al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa. Among those who insisted that the ritual was obligatory, there were differences of opinion about the consequences of failing to perform the passage between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa when making the obligatory once-in-a-lifetime *ḥajj (ḥijjat al-islām):* can missing it be compensated for by a recompense *(fidya)* of a blood offering (see SACRIFICE) like some of the other rites, or does it require a return to Mecca in person to perform it? There are conflicting views on this point.

Similar problems arise concerning the command at the beginning of the long verse Q 2:196: "Complete the *ḥajj* and the *ʿumra* for God." Commentary on this phrase is fundamentally concerned to establish the distinction between *ḥajj* and *ʿumra* (what rituals each involves) and with the issue of whether, as the wording might imply, the *ʿumra* is obligatory *(farḍ wājib)* like the *ḥajj,* or merely voluntary as the majority view in Islam holds.

Some proponents of the voluntary nature of *ʿumra* read that word in the nominative case, giving the sense, "complete the *ḥajj* but the *ʿumra* is for God…." Others who hold this understanding of the voluntary nature of *ʿumra* maintained the standard reading, with *ʿumra* in the accusative, but argued that "complete" *(atimmū)* means "complete it when you have undertaken to perform it." To the accusation that that could mean that the *ḥajj* also is voluntary, they responded by arguing that it is Q 3:97 and not this verse which establishes the obligatory nature for every Muslim of at least one *ḥajj*. Those who held the *ʿumra* to be obligatory preferred the standard reading and supported their argument with ḥadīths in which the Prophet included *ʿumra* among the obligatory things required of a Muslim. Their opponents rejected the validity of those ḥadīths and countered with ones proclaiming the opposite.

The continuation of Q 2:196 then presents a different problem regarding the accommodation of the text to extra-qurʾānic considerations. One immediately noticeable and surprising feature in the commentaries is the amount of attention given to the meaning of the expression "if you are detained" *(fa-in uḥṣirtum)* in the regulations about what should be done if you are unable to fulfil the verse's initial command to "complete the *ḥajj* and the *ʿumra* for God." Generally it is agreed that this means, "if you are detained when you have undertaken to make *ḥajj* or *ʿumra*." In that case, according to the verse, the person prevented from fulfilling the injunction made at its opening must make "a convenient [animal] offering" (*mā staysara mina l-hady;* see CONSECRATION OF ANIMALS) and must remain in the sacral state of *iḥrām* ("do not shave your heads") until the animal offerings arrive at the time and place for slaughter (q.v.; *ḥattā yablugha l-hadyu maḥillahu*). There is, however, quite complex discussion about the circumstances that may lead to detention. Does it mean only such things as illness (see ILLNESS AND HEALTH), injury to one's mount, and

financial difficulties (see POVERTY AND THE POOR); does it refer only to detention by an enemy (see ENEMIES) or a human agent such as a ruler; or does it cover all of these possible causes? Those questions are related to the fact that it is widely accepted that this verse was revealed at the time when the Prophet and his companions were prevented by his Meccan opponents from completing an intended *ʿumra* on which they had started (see OPPOSITION TO MUḤAMMAD). Most of the reports about that incident say that the Prophet ordered his companions to slaughter the animal offerings *(hady)* at al-Ḥudaybiya (q.v.) where they had been stopped. Most agree that al-Ḥudaybiya was outside the sacred territory (the *ḥaram;* see SACRED PRECINCTS), that the Prophet did not imply that he and his companions had any further obligations once the *hady* had been slaughtered, but that in the following year he went to Mecca and performed an *ʿumra* (known as *ʿumrat al-qaḍāʾ* or *ʿumrat al-qaḍiyya,* "the *ʿumra* of completion"). This tradition seems to conflict with the regulations set out in Q 2:196 concerning someone who is "detained" from completing *ḥajj* or *ʿumra* — that abandoning the sacred state should not take place until the animal offerings reach their time and place for slaughter. The complex and detailed discussions in the commentaries on this verse display varying attitudes as to whether priority should be accorded to the tradition about the Prophet's behavior at al-Ḥudaybiya, to the regulations set out in the verse (and further elaborated by some of the scholars), or to practicality. Generally the Mālikīs emphasize the importance of the tradition about al-Ḥudaybiya as a model for someone intending to make *ʿumra* but who is then prevented from completing it through detention by an enemy. Anyone detained by any other cause must not leave the consecrated state (except in the case of an illness the treatment of which necessitates this) until he has reached Mecca and performed an *ʿumra*. Al-Ṭabarī's (d. 310/923; *Tafsīr,* ad loc.) account of the Mālikī understanding of Q 2:196 and of the way in which they relate it to their doctrine is, however, hard to understand and does not seem completely logical. Others give priority to the wording of the verse and some attempt to harmonize it with the Ḥudaybiya tradition by excluding detention by an enemy from the cases covered by *fa-in uḥṣirtum*. In general, the complex arguments of the commentators on this part of the verse may be understood as the result of their attempts to interpret it in the light of existing practice, law and other material regarded as relevant for determining practice.

A further example of the difficulties which arise when attempting to interpret the qurʾānic material with the Muslim rituals in mind is provided by Q 2:198-9. Q 2:198 tells believers that after making *ifāḍa (fa-idhā afaḍtum)* from ʿArafāt (q.v.) they should remember God by *al-mashʿar al-ḥarām;* the next verse orders them to "then" make *ifāḍa* from where the people make it *(thumma afīḍū min ḥaythu afāḍa l-nāsu)*. In the Muslim *ḥajj* rituals, ʿArafāt, a hill about twenty-five kilometers to the east of Mecca, is the site of the ceremony of the *wuqūf,* without which, according to several traditions and legal authorities, *ḥajj* is invalid. The *wuqūf,* the "standing" ritual, takes place on the flat ground on the side of the hill towards Mecca on the 9th of Dhū l-Ḥijja. Outside the Qurʾān the name of the hill often occurs in the form ʿArafa, and the commentators discuss and offer various explanations for the seemingly feminine plural form of the name in the Qurʾān and for its etymology: associating it with the verb *ʿarafa,* "to know, to recognize," they relate various stories involving earlier prophets (especially Adam or

Abraham) who recognized people or things there (see ADAM AND EVE).

The attempted identification of *al-mashʿar al-ḥarām* is more complex and, to some extent, inconsistent. *Al-mashʿar* is understood to mean the same as *al-maʿlam,* "a place in or by which something is known, a place in which there is a sign" — here, a place in which rituals of the *ḥajj* take place. Statements attempting to locate *al-mashʿar al-ḥarām* give various specifications. Common to many of them is the idea that it is associated with al-Muzdalifa, the destination of a procession *(ifāḍa)* from ʿArafa in the Muslim *ḥajj*. The simplest statement is of the form "all of al-Muzdalifa is *al-mashʿar al-ḥarām*." Others are more specific but at the same time more confusing, while some seem to indicate a much wider area. For example, Ibn ʿUmar is reported to have said when he stood "at the furthest part of the hills *(jibāl)* adjoining ʿArafāt" that "all of it is *mashāʿir* to the furthest point of the *ḥaram*." In notable reports cited by al-Ṭabarī, Ibn Jurayj seems not to know the location of al-Muzdalifa while ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Aswad said that he could not find anybody who could tell him about *al-mashʿar al-ḥarām*. Al-Ṭabarī comments on these traditions in ways which limit their apparent significance. The verbal noun *ifāḍa,* literally a "pouring out" or "pouring forth," is understood as referring to a sort of hasty procession when the pilgrims pour forth from one place, where they have been gathered together, to another. The name is given to various "processions" involved in the *ḥajj* ceremonies, but it most commonly refers to that to al-Muzdalifa from the plain in front of the hill of ʿArafa. At al-Muzdalifa the pilgrims spend the night before going to Minā on the next day. It may be this which leads to the attempts to identify *al-mashʿar al-ḥarām* in connection with al-Muzdalifa. There is then a problem with the command, "then make *ifāḍa* from where the people make *ifāḍa,"* at the beginning of Q 2:199, since it comes after the phrase "when you have made *ifāḍa* from ʿArafāt" in Q 2:198. Some understand the same *ifāḍa,* i.e. that from ʿArafāt to al-Muzdalifa, to be referred to in both passages and see the latter command as addressed specifically to the Quraysh (q.v.) of Mecca who, in the Age of Ignorance (q.v.; *jāhiliyya*), belonged to a group called the Ḥums. The Ḥums, we are told, regarded it as beneath them to go outside the *ḥaram* at the time of the *ḥajj*. Since ʿArafāt lies outside the sacred area, they would not go to join in the *ifāḍa* thence like the rest of the people. That explains the apparent difficulty of having the command introduced after the allusion which suggests that the duty had already been fulfilled. Another approach is to see the *ifāḍa* commanded in the second passage as different from that in the former: while the former is that from ʿArafa to al-Muzdalifa, the latter is that from al-Muzdalifa to Minā (sometimes called the *daffāʿ*). The command is understood as addressed to the Muslims generally while "the people" *(al-nās)* is interpreted as a reference to Abraham. Al-Ṭabarī himself prefers this second possibility even though it is a minority one and even though it involves explaining how the collective *nās* could refer to a single individual. His reasoning is that he does not think that God would say "when you have made the *ifāḍa*" in the previous verse and then begin this one with the words "then make *ifāḍa*" if the same *ifāḍa* was meant both times.

In Q 2:203 the "numbered days" *(ayyām maʿdūdāt)* on which we are commanded to remember God are generally identified as the so-called *ayyām al-tashrīq* of the Muslim *ḥajj,* the three days spent at Minā following the slaughter of the animal offerings there. The following statement that no sin *(ithm)* is incurred by those who "make haste in

two days" *(man taʿajjala fī yawmayn)* nor by those who "delay" *(man taʾakhkhara),* so long as there is fear (q.v.) of God, is generally understood to mean that there is nothing wrong with departing from Minā after two days nor with doing so after three. Since the latter is the normal accepted practice, however, that raises the same question which we have seen asked about the qurʾānic reference to al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa: why would God say that no sin is incurred by doing something regarded as a normal part of the *ḥajj* rituals? An alternative way of interpreting this verse — that it is alluding to the Muslim belief that a properly accomplished *ḥajj* frees the pilgrim from some or all of his sins, and that that applies whether one cuts short the *ayyām al-tashrīq* or remains at Minā until they have finished — is probably to be understood as an attempt to avoid the difficulty inherent in the previous interpretation.

The mention in Q 3:96 of the "first house *(bayt)*… at Bakka," which is naturally understood as a reference to the Kaʿba at Mecca (Makka), involves the commentators in variant explanations as to why the Qurʾān uses the form Bakka. It seems obvious that all of the suggested explanations are simply attempts to account for something of which the commentators had no real knowledge, and the way in which it is done — e.g. by reference to the crowding (*izdiḥām,* a word the root of which is said to have the same meaning as that of *bakka*) of the people in the circumambulation of the Kaʿba — again illustrates the way in which the commentators attempt to relate the qurʾānic material to the Muslim pilgrimage rituals.

Finally in this connection there may be noted the difficulties the commentators have with the expression *al-ḥajj al-akbar,* "the greater *ḥajj,*" in Q 9:3 ("a proclamation from God and his messenger to the people on the day of *al-ḥajj al-akbar*"). Here there is considerable diversity in interpretation of the phrase: some wish to explain it as referring to a particular day or particular days of the *ḥajj* rituals — the day of the "standing" at ʿArafa, the day of the slaughter of the victims, etc.; most associate it with the *ḥajj* led by Abū Bakr immediately following the conquest of Mecca by the Prophet, but some with the "Farewell Pilgrimage" (q.v.) led by the Prophet himself in the last year of his life, and they give variant explanations of why the one or the other should be called *al-ḥajj al-akbar;* yet others explain it by reference to the distinction between the "major" pilgrimage (the *ḥajj*) and the "minor" pilgrimage (the *ʿumra* which may, allegedly, be called *al-ḥajj al-aṣghar*), or between a *ḥajj* combined with an *ʿumra* and a *ḥajj* performed alone. Again it seems obvious that the commentators have no real understanding of the phrase but try to make sense of it by aligning it with Muslim practice and, in this case, with traditions relating to the life of the Prophet.

It might be argued that, in spite of disjunctions of the sort illustrated above, the qurʾānic materials nevertheless reflect institutions and practices that are not radically different from those of Islam. Much of the qurʾānic terminology, after all, is used also in Muslim law and ritual practice, and the few proper names that occur (al-Ṣafā, al-Marwa, ʿArafāt) are those of places in or near Mecca. On the other hand, it might be thought that the relative paucity and lack of detail of the qurʾānic verses concerning *ḥajj* and *ʿumra* make it impossible to judge the extent to which they envisage the same rites in the same places as does classical Islam. Not only are some rites and places which are of major importance in Muslim practice (e.g. Zamzam, Minā, the *wuqūf,* the stoning ritual; see STONING; SPRINGS AND FOUNTAINS) not mentioned at all in the Qurʾān, those

names which do occur may not indicate the same things as they do in classical Islam. The traditional accounts of how the Meccan sanctuary and the rites associated with it came to be incorporated into Islam assume a basic continuity. According to tradition, the Prophet took over the Kaʿba and the other places in the vicinity of Mecca and did not radically change the rituals which at the time constituted the *ḥajj* and the *ʿumra*. He cleansed them of the idolatry which polluted them and restored the pristine monotheism which had existed when Abraham built the Kaʿba and summoned humankind to make *ḥajj* and *ʿumra,* but apart from that he made only minor and marginal alterations (see ḤANĪF).

Some scholars have suggested that the changes involved in the identification of the Meccan sanctuary as the Muslim sanctuary were more significant. Following Snouck Hurgronje and Wellhausen, many have argued that the evidence points to a unification of a number of originally distinct and independent holy places and rituals in a way that focused them on the Kaʿba at Mecca. According to that view, the *ḥajj* originally had nothing to do with Mecca or the Kaʿba but concerned Mount ʿArafa and other holy places at some distance from Mecca. It was the *ʿumra* which was originally the ritual associated with the Kaʿba.

The phrasing of Q 2:158 with its apparent concern to reassure the hearers that *ṭawāf* of al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa was an acceptable part of *ḥajj* or *ʿumra* has sometimes been explained by reference to that idea: it reflects an early stage in the process in which the rituals of the *ʿumra* came to be incorporated in the *ḥajj* and perhaps mirrors the objections of those who questioned the validity of that incorporation. (For a different approach, see Burton, *Collection,* 12, 16, 30-1.)

A particularly difficult passage in Q 2:196 might also reflect such a development. Following the section, discussed above, which establishes rules for those "detained" from meeting the command to "complete the *ḥajj* and the *ʿumra* for God," we then read: "and when you are in security, then whoever enjoys/benefits from the *ʿumra* to/for/until the *ḥajj (man tamattaʿa bi-l-ʿumrati ilā l-ḥajji),* then [there is incumbent upon him] a convenient [animal] offering *(mā staysara mina l-hady)*."

"When you are in security" *(fa-idhā amintum)* is understood as meaning "when the circumstances which detained you no longer pertain." Commentary then concerns itself with the knotty issue of what is meant by the *tamattuʿ* referred to in the following phrase. In their discussions commentators and other traditional scholars also use the forms *mutʿa* and *istimtāʿ* and they reflect a variety of understandings of what the phrase means. The relevant phrase in Q 2:196 *(man tamattaʿa bi-l-ʿumrati ilā l-ḥajji)* is difficult to translate, and attempts to interpret it reflect ideas current in Islamic practice or legal theory.

What most interpretations have in common is that *tamattuʿ* (or *istimtāʿ* or *mutʿa*) involves a premature abandonment of the consecrated state on the part of the pilgrim. For example, one of the most common understandings of the concept is that the pilgrim has begun by intending to perform both *ʿumra* and *ḥajj* and has stated that intention when he adopted *iḥrām*. On arriving at Mecca before the *ḥajj* has started he performs an *ʿumra* and then leaves the state of *iḥrām,* thus removing restrictions regarding such things as toilet, dress and sexual activity (see SEX AND SEXUALITY; RITUAL PURITY). He remains in this normal, desacralized state until the time for the *ḥajj* arrives, when he once more enters *iḥrām* and remains in the sacralized state until the *ḥajj* is over. For that break in *iḥrām*

he is liable to the penalty of an offering or something in lieu of it.

The issue is a contentious one and the traditions report disputes about it among the Companions and Successors (see COMPANIONS OF THE PROPHET). In spite of this qurʾānic verse which treats *tamattuʿ* in a rather matter-of-fact way even though it does say that an offering must be made by anyone who takes advantage of it, and in spite of traditions which tell us that the Prophet told his Companions to avail themselves of *mutʿa* (but one often involving a different understanding of it to that just summarized) at the time of the Farewell Pilgrimage, there are reports that some Companions and caliphs (see CALIPH) disapproved of and even forbade it. The caliph ʿUmar figures prominently in such reports. Nevertheless, the Sunnī schools of law *(madhhabs)* all recognize the validity of the procedure and the Shīʿīs (see SHĪʿISM AND THE QURʾĀN) even recommend it as the preferred way of performing *ḥajj*.

A related verbal form occurs in Q 4:24 *(mā stamtaʿtum bihi minhunna)*, where it clearly refers to the sexual enjoyment of women by men, and the word *mutʿa* is more widely known as the name of a form of temporary marriage (q.v.), where the contract specifies for how long the marriage will last (see also MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE). This form of marriage, as is well known, is generally rejected by Sunnī Islam but it is accepted as valid by the Shīʿa. In order to distinguish between it and the *mutʿa* that may be involved in making pilgrimage it is sometimes called *mutʿat al-nisāʾ* and the latter *mutʿat al-ḥajj*. Traditional scholarship and many modern scholars have insisted on the essential distinctness of the two forms of *mutʿa*. ʿAṭāʾ b. Abī Rabāḥ is quoted as insisting that the *mutʿa* connected with *ḥajj* is so called because it involves making *ʿumra* during the months of the *ḥajj* and "enjoying" or "benefiting from" the *ʿumra* for (or until?) the *ḥajj;* it is not so called, he insists, because it makes permitted the enjoyment of women *(wa-lam tusamma l-mutʿa min ajli annahu yuḥallu bi-tamattuʿi l-nisāʾ)*. Some modern scholars, however, have argued that the two *mutʿa*s were originally closely connected, essentially that the premature abandonment of *iḥrām* in the case of *mutʿat al-ḥajj* was intended to allow the pilgrim to resume normal sexual activity and that the temporary liaisons allowed by *mutʿat al-nisāʾ* were associated with the making of *ḥajj*. The evidence and competing views have been extensively investigated by Arthur Gribetz.

It may be that this qurʾānic passage also reflects the merging in early Islamic times of the previously distinct rituals of *ḥajj* and *ʿumra*. The preferred way of performing *ḥajj* and *ʿumra* — whether both separately, both combined, or one of them only — is much discussed and variously evaluated in Muslim law. A few scholars have gone further and envisaged more radical discontinuities in the development of the Muslim sanctuary and the rituals associated with it. Some have suggested the transference not only of ideas but also of ritual practices and nomenclature from other places to Mecca at a time in the emergence of Islam considerably later than the death of the Prophet. The qurʾānic materials are not inconsistent with such theories which, however, really depend on other evidence regarding the development of the sanctuary and the rituals associated with it in early Islam.

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Pit

Deep abyss. The qurʾānic term *hāwiya,* the "pit, abyss," is related to the verb *hawā, yahwī,* "to fall," and is generally understood as one of the names of hell (see HELL AND HELLFIRE). It occurs once in Sūrat al-Qāriʿa ("The Great Calamity," Q 101), a text which depicts the cataclysmic events of the apocalypse (q.v.; Q 101:1-5) and the weighing of humankind's deeds on the day of judgment (Q 101:6-11; see LAST JUDGMENT; GOOD DEEDS; EVIL DEEDS; WEIGHTS AND MEASURES; REWARD AND PUNISHMENT). Two parallel conditional sentences describe the fate of humankind as a result of this weighing: Whoever's deeds weigh heavy will enter paradise (q.v.; Q 101:6-7) and whoever's deeds weigh light will enter hell (Q 101:8-11). While the overall purport of the sūra (q.v.) seems clear, verse 9 and the term *hāwiya* in particular have puzzled commentators. It reads *fa-ummuhu hāwiya,* which may be construed as "Then his mother will be *hāwiya* (adj.)"; "Then his mother will be a *hāwiya* (indefinite noun)"; or "Then his mother will be *Hāwiya* (definite proper noun)," alternatively "Then *Hāwiya* will be his mother." In recognition of the difficulty of rendering the verse accurately, Bell (*Qurʾān,* ii, 674 n. 6) retains the term *hāwiya,* then explains it in a footnote. Paret describes the passage as "a bizarre play on words" (Paret, *Kommentar,* 518).

There are three main explanations of this verse in Islamic tradition (see Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* xxx, 282-3; Ṭabarsī, *Majmaʿ,* x, 679-80; Zamakhsharī, *Kashshāf,* ad loc.). The most widely accepted is that *hāwiya* is a proper noun, one of several names of hell, and that *umm* here is used metaphorically to mean "refuge," as in Q 5:72: *wa-maʾwāhu l-nāru,* "Then his refuge will be hell." According to the second interpretation, attributed to the Companion Abū Ṣāliḥ (see COMPANIONS OF THE PROPHET), *umm* here means *umm al-raʾs,* "the crown of the head," and the verse as a whole, "The crown of his head will fall," referring to sinners' being pitched into hell head first. The third interpretation, attributed to Qatāda (d. ca. 117/735), connects the verse with the idiomatic expression *hawat ummuhu,* literally, "his mother has fallen," said of a man in a dire situation, something like the English expression "his goose is cooked." Al-Zamakhsharī (d. 538/1144) adds that *hawat ummuhu,* "May his mother fall!" is a curse (q.v.) wishing for a man's demise. This is similar to the more common curse *thakalatka ummuka,* "May your mother be bereft of you!" According to this interpretation, the verse would mean,

"Then his mother will fall," figurative for "Then he will perish."

Sprenger (*Moḥammad,* ii, 503) held that this last interpretation was the correct explanation of the word. Fischer (Qorān-Interpolation; Zu Sūra 101,6) also adopts this view and further suggests that the sūra originally ended with Q 101:9. In his view, a later reader, puzzled by verse 9 and interpreting *hāwiya* as referring to hell, added the following two verses to make this clear: *wa-mā adrāka māhiya — nārun ḥāmiya,* "But how should you know what that is?! A scorching fire." Goldziher (*Introduction,* 29 n. 37) endorses Fischer's interpretation and remarks that a true, critical edition of the Qurʾān should note such interpolations. C. Torrey (Three difficult passages, 466-7) rejects Fischer's explanation for several reasons. It is unlikely, in his view, that the Companions or early Muslims would have been mystified by the Arabic usage of this passage, as opposed to being puzzled by its content or interpretation. The attention to rhyme and rhetorical construction throughout the sūra (see RHETORIC AND THE QURʾĀN; LANGUAGE AND STYLE OF THE QURʾĀN; FORM AND STRUCTURE OF THE QURʾĀN), including the odd modifications to produce a rhyme in *-iya,* paralleled in the forms *kitābiya* (Q 69:19, 25) and *sulṭāniya* (Q 69:29), also in rhyme position — and, we may add, *ḥisābiya,* Q 69:20, 26 and *māliya,* Q 69:28 — suggests that the final passage is not incongruous with the rest of the sūra (ibid., 467-68). Torrey interprets the phrase as an intentional pun, rather than an interpolation designed to explain a misunderstood expression, drawing both on the expression *hawat ummuhu* but at the same time interpreting *hāwiya* as a name for hell. Torrey (Three difficult passages, 470), holding that the most probable hypothesis when an odd theological term appears in the Qurʾān is that it is a foreign, borrowed term, suggests that *hāwiya* is a borrowing from Hebrew *hōwā,* "disaster" (*Isa* 47:11; *Ezek* 7:26; see FOREIGN VOCABULARY; THEOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN). Bell (*Qurʾān,* ii, 674 n. 6) accepts Torrey's analysis, minus the Hebrew connection, adding a note to his translation explaining the untranslated term *hāwiya:* "i.e. childless; a phrase implying that the man will perish, or at least meet misfortune. The added explanation, however, takes *hāwiya* as a designation for Hell." Paret agrees with the first part of Torrey's interpretation but considers the link with Hebrew questionable. Jeffery objects to Torrey that the biblical passages in question do not describe hellfire specifically and are therefore unlikely to have served as a basis for this text. On the argument that this is a very early passage, he considers it unlikely to be related to the Jewish tradition but to the Christian tradition instead (see JEWS AND JUDAISM; CHRISTIANS AND CHRISTIANITY). He proposes, tentatively albeit, two Ethiopian words from the root combination *ḥ-w-y, ḥewāy,* meaning "the fiery red glow of the evening sky," or *ḥwe,* meaning "fire, burning coal" (Jeffery, *For. vocab.,* 285-6). These are both unlikely because the Ethiopic *ḥ* corresponds to the Arabic *ḥ* and not *h*. Jeffery also notes that Mainz suggested the Syriac *ḥewāyeh,* "his life," referring to the Messiah (cf. Mainz, Review, 300; see JESUS); this is also unlikely, for the same reason.

Bellamy *(Fa-ummuhū)* proposes an emendation of Q 101:9, suggesting that it should read *fa-ummatun hāwiya,* meaning, "Then a steep course downward" (sc. into hell shall be his). In other words, he understands *hāwiya* here to mean "falling" or "dropping off precipitously." This emendation is implausible for several reasons. First, it upsets the parallelism between the two conditional sentences in Q 101:6-9. Just as the pronoun *huwa* ("he") in the apodosis of the first conditional sentence (verse 7) refers

back to *man* ("whoever") in the protasis (verse 6), so does the attached pronoun *-hu* in *ummuhu* ("his mother") in the apodosis of the second conditional sentence (verse 9) refer back to *man* ("whoever") in the protasis (verse 8). Removing the pronoun upsets the balance between the two. Second, from the perspective of form criticism, the emendation would render this passage odd in comparison with similar oracular texts in the Qurʾān.

The construction *X * mā X * wa-mā adrāka mā X: * Y,* "X. What is X? And how do you know (lit. 'what made/let you know') what X is? (X is) Y" (see Sells, Sound and meaning, 410-3) is a standard form in the oracular stylistic repertoire of pre-Islamic soothsayers (q.v.). The full form consists of (1) the mention of an obscure or ambiguous term, (2) a rhetorical question concerning that term, (3) a second, more emphatic, rhetorical question concerning that term, and (4) a definition or explanation of that term. Repetition of the initial term necessarily creates a strong rhyme and rhythmical pattern. In the Qurʾān, the full form occurs only three times (Q 69:1-3; 82:14-9; 101:1-3). In other passages, (2) is omitted, producing the pattern *X * wa-mā adrāka mā X: * Y* (Q 74:26-7; 83:7-8; 83:18-9; 86:1-2; 90:11-2; 97:1-2; 104:4-5). In yet other passages, (3) is omitted, producing the pattern *X * mā X: * Y* (Q 56:8, 9, 27, 41). The passage under examination exhibits a reduced form of the *mā adrāka* construction: *fa-ummuhu hāwiya * wa-mā adrāka mā-hiya * nārun ḥāmiya,* "And how should you know what that is?! A scorching fire" (Q 101:9-11). It differs from other instances of the *mā adrāka* construction in that it does not actually repeat the ambiguous term *(hāwiya),* substituting the pronoun *hiya,* "she, it," instead: *wa-mā adrāka mā-hiya*. This feature probably helped suggest to Fischer (Qorān-Interpolation) that verses 10-11 represent an interpolation. The use of reduced forms of this construction is, however, quite common, and the use of the pronoun here may be due to the presence of the same construction in full at the beginning of the sūra (verses 1-3).

This construction is characterized by what Sells (Sound and meaning) terms semantic openness: The initial term, which is then defined, is necessarily ambiguous. For this reason, Sells leaves *qāriʿa* and *hāwiya* untranslated in his discussion of this sūra. Bellamy's emendation renders the initial term *ummatun hāwiya,* "a descending path," or "a steep course downward." An indefinite noun modified by an adjective would be an anomaly with regard to this oracular form in the Qurʾān. Most initial terms occurring in the *mā adrāka* construction are definite nouns, unmodified: *al-ḥāqqa* (Q 69:1-3), *al-ṭāriq* (Q 86:1-2), *al-ʿaqaba* (Q 90:12), *al-qāriʿa* (Q 101:1-3), *al-ḥuṭama* (Q 104:4-5). Other terms are nouns without the definite article but nevertheless definite and unmodified: *saqar* (Q 74:26-7), *sijjīn* (Q 83:7-8), *ʿilliyyūn* (Q 83:18-9). Ambiguous terms that consist of two words are all constructs: *aṣḥāb al-maymana* (Q 56:8), *aṣḥāb al-mashʾama* (Q 56:9), *aṣḥāb al-yamīn* (Q 56:27), *aṣḥāb al-shimāl* (Q 56:41; see LEFT HAND AND RIGHT HAND), *yawm al-faṣl* (Q 77:13-4), *yawm al-dīn* (Q 82:17-8), *laylat al-qadr* (Q 97:1-2; see NIGHT OF POWER). It is unlikely that the ambiguous phrase presented, questioned and then defined would be a noun modified by an adjective. Adjectives are circumscribing, narrowing modifiers and most often occur in the definitions that follow the rhetorical question rather than in the ambiguous terms themselves. For example, *sijjīn* and *ʿilliyyūn* are both defined as *kitābun marqūm*…, "an engraved book" (q.v.; Q 83:7-9, 18-20); *al-ṭāriq* is defined as *al-najmu l-thāqib*, "the piercing star" (Q 86:1-3; see PLANETS AND STARS); *al-ḥuṭama* is defined as *nāru llāhi l-mūqada*, "the kindled fire (q.v.) of God" (Q 104:4-6) and, here, the

term in question *(al-hāwiya)* is defined as *nārun ḥāmiya*, "a scorching fire" (Q 101:11). The emendation is thus probably wrong: *hāwiya* is not an adjective modifying the previous noun but a predicate; the ambiguous initial term is the final word *hāwiya* alone. It is worth adding that several of the other ambiguous terms in such passages also have the form *fāʿila* (see GRAMMAR AND THE QURʾĀN), such as *al-ḥāqqa* (Q 69:1-3) and *al-qāriʿa;* as do ambiguous terms occurring in oracular passages which do not exhibit the *mā adrāka* construction, such as *al-wāqiʿa* (Q 56:1), *al-ṭāmma* (Q 79:34) and *al-ghāshiya* (Q 88:1). Three other terms that occur in this construction and are devoid of the definite article all appear to be proper nouns. The terms *saqar* (Q 74:26-7) and *sijjīn* (Q 83:8) are names for hell and *ʿilliyyūn* (Q 83:19) is a name for heaven. The term *hāwiya* is likely to be a proper noun referring to hell.

It is well known that many verse-final words in the Qurʾān are modified in form to fit the rhyme scheme (see RHYMED PROSE; Suyūṭī, *Itqān,* ii, 214-7; Müller, *Untersuchungen;* Stewart, Sajʿ) and Ibn al-Ṣāʾigh al-Ḥanafī (d. 776/1375) cites *hāwiya* as an example of this phenomenon. In his view, *hāwiya* is an instance of a rare or odd word's being used in place of a common one for the sake of rhyme (Suyūṭī, *Itqān,* ii, 216). In my view, *hāwiya,* literally "falling (fem.)," is a cognate substitute understood as equivalent to *huwwa, mahwan,* or *mahwā,* all meaning, "pit, chasm, abyss." Many such cognate substitutes appear frequently in the Qurʾān: *taḍlīl* (Q 105:2) for *ḍalāl* (Müller, *Untersuchungen,* 46-50; see ERROR; ASTRAY); *lāghiya* (Q 88:11) for *laghw* (ibid., 24-6; see GOSSIP); *amīn* (Q 44:51; 95:3) for *āmin* (ibid., 54-59), and so on. Modifications for the sake of rhyme are evident in several verses of Sūrat al-Qāriʿa (Q 101) itself. As Sells (Sound and meaning) has shown in detail, rhyme and rhythm are crucial features of the sūra, so it is reasonable to suggest that such modifications occur. In verse 7, the active participle *rāḍiya,* literally "approving, pleased," appears with the meaning of the cognate passive participle *marḍiyya,* "approved, pleasant." The pronoun *hiya* occurs as *hiyah* in final position in verse 10; the two words *mā* and *hiyah* are also joined here to form one rhythmic unit or foot: *mā-hiyah*. *Hāwiya* would be an additional cognate substitute. Moreover, the morphological pattern of *hāwiya — fāʿila —* occurs frequently in such cognate substitutions: *kāshifa* (Q 53:58) for *kashf* (Müller, *Untersuchungen,* 26-8); *kādhiba* (Q 56:2) for *kadhib* (ibid., 20-4; see LIE); *bi-l-ṭāghiya* (Q 69:5) for *bi-ṭughyānihim* (ibid., 16-20); and *al-rājifa* (Q 79:6) for *al-rajfa* (ibid., 30-3). A parallel example is the term *al-ḥuṭama*, also a name for hell, that occurs in a *mā adrāka* construction (Q 104:4-5). It appears to be a cognate substitute for a form such as *al-ḥāṭima* or *al-ḥaṭṭāma* and conveys the general meaning of "the crusher."

The most plausible interpretation of the term *ummuhu* is that which takes *umm* as a metaphorical term for (destined, final) refuge or abode (see FATE; DESTINY; FREEDOM AND PREDESTINATION). This interpretation is in keeping with other passages of the Qurʾān that state that while heaven is the dwelling place of those who have faith (q.v.) and do good works, hell is the refuge or final place of the evildoers (see GOOD AND EVIL). The most common term used in this fashion is *maʾwā,* "refuge," which refers to the abodes of humankind in the afterlife: heaven in Q 32:19, 53:15; 79:41 and hell in Q 3:151, 162, 197; 4:97, 121; 5:72; 7:16; 9:73, 95; 10:8; 13:18; 17:97; 24:57; 29:25; 32:20; 45: 34; 57:15; 66:9; 79:39. Similar terms include *mathwā,* "abode," which refers to hell in Q 3:151; 6:128; 16:29; 29:68; 39:32, 60, 72; 40:76; 41:24; 47:12; *mihād,* "cradle, bed," which can also refer

to hell (cf. Q 2:206; 3:12, 197; 7:41; 13:18; 38:56); and *maʾāb*, "end, goal, place where one ends up," which refers to hell in Q 78:22, 38:55. Torrey (Three difficult passages, 469) states that the use of the term "contained the grimly ironical assurance that (the hearer's) acquaintance with Hāwiya would not be merely temporary; she would be his permanent keeper and guardian." In any case, perhaps closest to *umm* in this context is *mawlā*, "master," used to refer to hell in Q 57:15: "Your refuge is hell *(al-nār);* it will be your master, and what an evil destiny it is!"

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Place of Abraham

A location in Mecca (q.v.) at which Abraham (q.v.) is believed to have stood and/or prayed. The station or place of Abraham *(maqām Ibrāhīm)* is cited twice in the Qurʾān. Q 2:125, "Take the station of Abraham as a place of prayer" (q.v.; *wa-ttakhidhū min maqāmi Ibrāhīma muṣallan*) and Q 3:97, "In it [the house of God, i.e. the *ḥaram* sanctuary in Mecca] are clear signs (q.v.), the station of Abraham." Most have read Q 2:125 as an imperative (referring to the Muslim community), rather than in the past tense *wa-ttakhadhū,* "and they took."

Opinions vary about the area to be considered as the station, whether, for example, it is all of the sacred territory of Mecca or, more narrowly, the *ḥaram* (see PROFANE AND SACRED; FORBIDDEN). Most, however, have identified the station with a stone bearing the footprints of Abraham located within the *ḥaram* a short distance from the Kaʿba (q.v.). Identifying the station with a stone, however, leaves a grammatical awkwardness due to the preposition *min,* "from," in Q 2:125. The verse could be rendered "Take within the station of Abraham a place of prayer," or "Take a part of the station of Abraham as a place of prayer."

For those who identify the station as a stone, there are a number of stories about how Abraham's footprints came to be impressed on it. For some, Abraham stood on a stone (or a water jug) when Ishmael's (q.v.) dutiful second wife once washed Abraham's head. But following a more commonly held story, while Abraham and Ishmael were building the Kaʿba, Abraham stood on the stone in order to reach the upper parts of the Kaʿba walls. According to a third story, Abraham stood on the stone when he called upon humankind to perform the pilgrimage (q.v.; Q 22:27). A fourth version has Abraham praying at the stone as his *qibla* (q.v.), turning his face to the Kaʿba door (see especially Firestone, *Journeys*).

A ḥadīth (Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* 8, *Ṣalāt,* 32; ed. Krehl, i, 113; trans. Khan, i, 395) links the

revelation of Q 2:125 to ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb who, during the Prophet's farewell pilgrimage (q.v.), said, "O messenger of God, if only we were to take the station of Abraham as our place of prayer." Shortly thereafter Q 2:125 was revealed (see ḤADĪTH AND THE QURʾĀN; OCCASIONS OF REVELATION). Other ḥadīths (Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* 8, *Ṣalāt,* 30; ed. Krehl, i, 113; trans. Khan, i, 389, 390; ii, 670) report that the Prophet performed the circumambulation *(ṭawāf)* around the Kaʿba and offered a two-*rakʿa* prayer (see BOWING AND PROSTRATION; RITUAL AND THE QURʾĀN) behind the station (of Abraham) and then performed the traversing *(saʿy)* of Ṣafā and Marwa (q.v.).

The stone identified as the station is some 60 cm wide and 90 cm high and has been placed in different locations within the *ḥaram* in the course of the centuries. For a time it was placed in a box on a high platform to keep it from being swept away in floods. The stone cracked in 161/778 and the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Mahdī (r. 158-69/775-85) had it repaired with gold braces. In 256/870 the broken pieces of the stone were thoroughly restored (as reported in detail by al-Fākihī, an eyewitness [see Kister, A stone]; al-Fākihī noted some Ḥimyar letters on the stone; see SOUTH ARABIA, RELIGION IN PRE-ISLAMIC; ARABIC SCRIPT).

In the nineteenth century the station was a little building with a small dome, while the Saudi reconstructions of the *ḥaram* in the mid-twentieth century have replaced that building with a small hexagonal glass-enclosed structure, within which the stone can be seen. (For photographs of the station as it was about one hundred years ago, see Nomachi and Nasr, *Mecca,* 19, 50, 190-1; Wensinck and Jomier, Kaʿba, plates ix and x; Frikha and Guellouz, *Mecca,* 32-3, 44-5.)

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Plagues

Supernatural events inflicted upon the Egyptian Pharaoh (q.v.; *firʿawn*) and his nation and delivered by Moses (q.v.). Reference to the Egyptian plagues appears in the Qurʾān approximately twenty times. Identification of the actual plagues themselves appears only once (Q 7:133).

The most detailed qurʾānic accounts of Moses' interaction with the Egyptian Pharaoh appear in Q 7:100-41 and Q 20:1-77. These largely resemble the account in the biblical book of Exodus (*Ex* 7:14-12:30), in which God sends Moses to free the Israelites from slavery in Egypt; when Pharaoh refuses to acquiesce, God sends down ten plagues as punishment and as enticement for him to relent. In the Qurʾān, the plagues appear not as "plagues" but as "signs" (q.v.; *āya,* pl. *āyāt*). The difference in nomenclature points to the Qurʾān's understanding of their function, a function different than that in the Bible. In the Qurʾān it seems the main purpose of these *āyāt* is not to punish Pharaoh for refusing to free the Israelites (see CHILDREN OF ISRAEL). Rather, these events are first and foremost signs attesting to God's omnipotence and omnipresence, which Pharaoh has previously refused to

acknowledge. In fact, the account of Q 20:1-77 suggests that the freeing of the slaves is itself punishment; Pharaoh, we are told in Q 20:43, had become exceedingly rebellious (see DISOBEDIENCE; ARROGANCE) against God and so God sent Moses and his brother (see AARON) to him with God's signs. Other qurʾānic references to Moses and the signs mention neither the slaves nor their redemption at all. This omission indicates that the bringing of signs that would prove God's power (see POWER AND IMPOTENCE) to Pharaoh, and not the freeing of the slaves per se, was Moses' main charge (Q 7:103; 10:75; 11:96-7; 23:45; 28:4, 32; 29:39; 40:23; 43:46; one exception to this appears in Q 14:5).

Because of this different understanding of the purpose of these events, some decidedly non-plague events are included in the Islamic lists. The Qurʾān, in Q 17:101, puts the number of signs at nine but does not specify what they are. In Q 7:133, the Qurʾān identifies five of these, though without any further elaboration, as wholesale death, locusts, lice, frogs and blood (cf. the ten plagues in the Bible). Qurʾānic exegetes present various explanations of the remaining four. Some scholars identify these with four other signs mentioned in the Egyptian context: famine (q.v.), dearth of everything (Q 7:130), Moses' hand turning white and his staff turning into a serpent (Q 7:107-8; Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* ix, 30-40; Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr,* iv, 357; see ROD). Others maintain that the four are Moses' hand, staff, and tongue — presumably a reference to his speech impediment — and the sea — presumably a reference to its splitting and allowing the Israelites to walk through unharmed while the Egyptians drowned (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* xv, 171-2). Yet others replace Moses' tongue with generalized obliteration (ibid.).

Horovitz (*KU,* 20) points out that Psalms 105:25-36 and the first century C.E. Jewish historian Josephus (in his *Antiquities,* book 2, chapter 14) recount only nine plagues, as in the Qurʾān, rather than Exodus' ten. Both lists differ from the Qurʾān's list as well as from each other.

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Planets and Stars

Celestial bodies. Not unexpectedly, references to celestial phenomena in the Qurʾān were influenced by the contemporary knowledge of these phenomena in the Arabian peninsula. The ancient Arabs, prior to their contacts with Persian, Indian and Greek science (beginning in the second/eighth century), had developed over the centuries their own popular rather than "scientific" knowledge of the sky and celestial phenomena (see PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QURʾĀN; SCIENCE AND THE QURʾĀN). From the third/ninth century onward, Arabic lexicographers collected this astronomical information in special monographs, the so-called *anwāʾ*-books. The ancient Arabs knew the fixed stars and the planets, though the current words for "star," *kawkab* and *najm,* were used indiscriminately and with no distinction between the two. Several hundred stars were known by name (cf. Kunitzsch, *Untersuchungen*) and there were indigenous names also for the planets (cf. Eilers,

Planetennamen). Seasons (q.v.) and periods of rain and drought were connected with the observation of the acronychal settings and simultaneous heliacal risings of certain stars or asterisms, the so-called *anwāʾ* (cf. Pellat, Anwāʾ), while the stars were used for orientation *(ihtidāʾ)* in the migrations of the Bedouins (see BEDOUIN) by night (see DAY AND NIGHT; MONTHS). But from all this lore only one star is mentioned in the Qurʾān by name, *al-shiʿrā* (see below, under "Defined stars"; see also SIRIUS).

Vocabulary

It is noteworthy that many words used in the Qurʾān in connection with celestial phenomena later became part of the technical vocabulary in Arabic-Islamic "scientific" astronomy. Such words are *burj* (pl. *burūj*), "the constellations," or "signs," of the zodiac (Q 15:16; 25:61; 85:1; in Q 4:78 *[fī burūjin mushayyadatin],* however, *burūj* is used in the sense of "towers"); *fajr,* "dawn" (Q 2:187, etc.; see DAY, TIMES OF); *falak,* "sphere, orbit" (Q 21:33; 36:40; cf. Hartner, Falak); *gharaba,* "to set" (i.e. Q 18:17, 86), and derivations (*ghurūb,* "setting": Q 20:130; 50:39; and *maghrib,* "place of setting, west": Q 2:115, etc.); *khasafa,* the moon (q.v.) "is eclipsed" (Q 75:8); *kawkab* (pl. *kawākib*), "star" (Q 6:76, etc.); *manāzil,* "stations," or "mansions" of the moon (Q 10:5; 36:39; cf. Kunitzsch, al-Manāzil); *mashriq,* "east" (Q 2:115, etc.); *najm* (pl. *nujūm*), "star" (Q 16:16, etc.; also in Q 55:6, where the preferred interpretation of *al-najm* is "star[s]" rather than "plants," or "grasses" [q.v.]; cf. Paret, *Kommentar,* 465); *al-qamar,* "the moon" (Q 6:77, etc.); *al-shams,* "the sun" (q.v.; Q 2:258, etc.); *shihāb* (pl. *shuhub*), "fire" (Q 15:18; 37:10; 72:8-9; but in context rather more specifically "shooting star, meteor"); *ṭalaʿa,* "to rise" (i.e. Q 18:17, etc.) and derivations (*ṭulūʿ,* "rising": Q 20:130; 50:39; and *maṭlaʿ,* "rising" of the dawn: Q 97:5; also *maṭliʿ,* "place of rising" of the dawn: Q 18:90); and *ufuq* (pl. *āfāq*), "horizon" (Q 41:53; 53:7; 81:23).

Items of astronomical interest

The order of the universe

God has created the heavenly abode as "seven heavens," *samāwāt* (Q 2:29; 17:44; 23:86; 41:12; 65:12; 78:12), which are arranged in layers one above the other, *ṭibāqan* (Q 67:3; 71:15), or in paths or courses, *ṭarāʾiq* (Q 23:17; see HEAVEN AND SKY). While, on the one hand, this strongly reminds one of Greek cosmology (q.v.) with the famous spheres superimposed above each other, it is, on the other hand, unlikely that any echo of this Aristotelian-Ptolemaic theory had ever come to the knowledge of seventh-century Arabia. Also, the Greek system needs eight spheres for the sun, moon, the five planets and the fixed stars, whereas the Qurʾān speaks of only seven. So the qurʾānic seven heavens do not seem to belong to cosmology or astronomy, but rather to theological speculation and may be compared to the seven heavens mentioned in the "Testament of the XII Patriarchs" (*Lev* 3) and in the Talmudic literature (see THEOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN). Similarly it remains an open question whether the courses *(ṭarāʾiq)* of Q 23:17 really refer to the courses of the sun, the moon and the five planets. Very interesting in this connection is also Q 21:33: "[God created] … and the sun and the moon, each of them moving in a sphere" (… *wa-l-shamsa wa-l-qamara wa-kullun fī falakin yasbaḥūn;* cf. also Q 36:40). This seems like an echo of Greek cosmology: each celestial body moves in its own sphere. But here again we hesitate to understand the Qurʾān's statement in such a strict scientific sense. The sun, moon and the stars are, at his command, "made to serve [humans]" (*musakhkharāt,* Q 7:54; cf. 14:33; 16:12; 31:20; 45:13). Sun and moon

were created as a means for calculating time (q.v.) by years and months (*ḥusbānan,* Q 6:96; or *bi-ḥusbān,* Q 55:5; cf. 10:5). For this purpose, God divided the moon's course into "mansions" (*manāzil,* Q 10:5; 36:39) and the heavens into "constellations," or, more specifically, "the zodiacal signs" (*burūj,* Q 15:16, 25:61). It remains undetermined whether the Qurʾān here refers to the complete system of the twenty-eight lunar mansions as developed in later Arabic writings or to some unspecified mansions only. The oldest known text showing the complete list of the twenty-eight lunar mansions is reported by ʿAbd al-Malik b. Ḥabīb on the authority of Mālik b. Anas (d. 179/795-6; cf. Kunitzsch, ʿAbd al-Malik). As far as the constellations are concerned, what evidence we have for seventh-century Arabia indicates an awareness of only some of the constellations of the — originally Babylonian — zodiac. The complete system of twelve constellations or, respectively, signs, became known only after contact with Greek science (cf. Hartner-Kunitzsch, Minṭaḳa).

Further qurʾānic citations indicate that observation of the new moons *(al-ahilla)* was used to determine time and the date for pilgrimage (q.v.; Q 2:189). The stars served for orientation by night *(ihtidāʾ)* on land and sea (i.e. Q 6:97; 16:16; cf. also Q 6:63; 27:63; see JOURNEY). Mention is frequently made of a "fire" (*shihāb,* pl. *shuhub*) in the sky, which is thrown at some satans trying to listen secretly to the discourse of the angels (Q 15:17-8; 37:6-10; 67:5; 72:8-9; see ANGEL; DEVIL). It is quite probable that this "fire" in the sky describes shooting stars, i.e. meteors. *Shihāb* later became the still current Arabic term for "shooting star." The "myth of the shooting stars" (*Sternschnuppenmythus;* cf. Ullmann, *Neger,* 73-6) became a favorite motif in post-classical Arabic poetry.

Unspecified stars

In several of the oldest sūras (see CHRONOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN), oath formulas (see OATHS; LANGUAGE AND STYLE OF THE QURʾĀN) appear — such as "By the heaven with its constellations" (*wa-l-samāʾi dhāti l-burūj,* Q 85:1), "By the sun and its light in the morning" (*wa-l-shamsi wa-ḍuḥāhā,* Q 91:1), "By the moon when it is full" (*wa-l-qamari idhā ttasaqa,* Q 84:18) — which are all easily understandable. In some cases, however, an oath is sworn by some star which remains undefined, as in "by the heaven and the one coming by night" (*wa-l-samāʾi wa-l-ṭāriqi,* Q 86:1), where the ambiguous phrase, "the one coming by night" *(al-ṭāriq),* may refer to a star or, as some say, to the morning star, which would be Venus. But *al-ṭāriq* is explained in Q 86:3 as "the star brightly shining" *(al-najmu l-thāqibu),* which — by analogy to Q 37:10, where *thāqib* is the epithet of *shihāb,* a shooting star — may also here describe a shooting star or meteor. The setting of any star could be meant by Q 53:1: "By the star when it sinks" *(wa-l-najmi idhā hawā);* alternatively, it could specifically refer to the setting of the Pleiades (*al-najm* is reported as an Arabic name for the Pleiades; cf. Kunitzsch, *Untersuchungen,* no. 186), or — if *hawā* is interpreted as a sudden, quick, falling — as a meteor shooting down. Q 56:75, "I swear by the *mawāqiʿ* of the stars" *(fa-lā uqsimu bi-mawāqiʿi l-nujūmi),* is also ambiguous: *mawāqiʿ* could be the places where the stars set on the western horizon, or places where meteor showers come down. Further undefined celestial phenomena are the star *(kawkab)* seen in the night by Abraham (q.v.; Q 6:76; see Gilliot, Abraham) and the eleven stars *(kawkab)* seen by Joseph (q.v.), together with the sun and the moon (Q 12:4; on this topic cf. Joseph's dream in *Gen* 37:9; see also DREAMS AND SLEEP; VISIONS).

Defined stars

Only once is a star mentioned in the Qurʾān by its old Arabic name: "Has the one who turned away [from God's message] not been informed that (Q 53:33) … and that he is the lord of *al-shiʿrā?*" (*wa-annahu huwa rabbu l-shiʿrā,* Q 53:49). *Al-shiʿrā* is the star alpha Canis Maioris, Sirius, the brightest fixed star in the sky. The implication is that Sirius was adored by some Arab tribes in the Age of Ignorance (q.v.; *jāhiliyya*), the time before Islam (cf. Kunitzsch, al-Shiʿrā); here it is now stressed that God, the creator of all beings, is also the lord of Sirius, so that the adoration of stars has come to an end (see POLYTHEISM AND ATHEISM; IDOLS AND IMAGES; CREATION). A clear case is also Q 81:15-6, where an oath is sworn by the five planets (i.e. Mercury, Venus, Mars, Jupiter and Saturn; cf. Ibn Qutayba, *Anwāʾ,* 126, 6-8; Ibn Sīda, *Mukhaṣṣaṣ,* ix, 36,14-5; Ibn al-Ajdābī, *Azmina,* 90-4): "I swear by the [stars] retrograding,/travelling [and] hiding" *(fa-lā uqsimu bi-l-khunnas/al-jawārī l-khunnas)*. These three epithets refer to the characteristic qualities of the planets: retrogradation, their travelling (as opposed to the fixed stars, which always keep their position relative to each other; similar terms are sometimes found in later literature: *al-kawākib al-jāriya, WKAS,* i, 580 [col. b, ll. 29-30]; *al-nujūm al-jāriyāt,* Ullmann, *Naturwiss.,* 387) and their "hiding" in the light of the sun when they come near it (cf. Ibn al-Ajdābī, *Azmina,* 94,11).

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Plant(s) see AGRICULTURE AND VEGETATION

Play see HUMOR; LAUGHTER

Pledge

Something given as security for the satisfaction of a debt or other obligation; the contract incidental to such a guaranty. The term commonly translated as "pledge" appears three times in the Qurʾān in three different forms: *rahīn* (Q 52:21), *rahīna* (Q 74:38) and *rihān* (Q 2:283). Al-Qurṭubī (d. 671/1272), in his *Jāmiʿ,* reports that the term in Q 2:283 is also read by Ibn Kathīr and Ibn ʿAmr as *ruhun,* by ʿĀṣim b. Abī al-Najūd as *ruhn* and by Abū ʿAlī al-Fārisī as *rahn* (see READINGS OF THE QURʾĀN; RECITATION OF THE QURʾĀN; ORTHOGRAPHY OF THE QURʾĀN).

Exegetes interpret the uses of "pledge" in Q 52:21 and Q 74:38 as being parallel. In his *Tafsīr,* Abū l-Layth al-Samarqandī (d. 375/985) interprets both verses to refer to the day of resurrection (q.v.) on which all souls will be pledged and weighed for the works of each person (see GOOD DEEDS; EVIL DEEDS; LAST JUDGMENT). Ibn Kathīr (d. 774/1373; *Tafsīr,* ad loc.) says the meaning of both verses is that a person cannot

carry the sins of another with his good deeds (see SIN, MAJOR AND MINOR). Modern interpretations (see EXEGESIS OF THE QUR'ĀN: EARLY MODERN AND CONTEMPORARY) also stress that these verses militate against the idea of saintly or prophetic intercession (q.v.; see also SAINT; PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD).

Q 2:283 is the focus for exegesis about the legality of giving a pledge or "pawn" in the case of an exchange when no witness or writer is present to draw up a document of the exchange (see WITNESSING AND TESTIFYING; CONTRACTS AND ALLIANCES). Al-Qurṭubī (*Jāmiʿ*, ad loc.) defines a pledge as the legal retention of a specific object, in lieu of a document, until the price is paid. Legal theorists raise several points of dispute beyond this basic characterization (see LAW AND THE QUR'ĀN).

In his *Aḥkām* on Q 2:283, Ibn al-ʿArabī (d. 543/1148) reports that Mujāhid, based on a literal reading of Q 2:283, is of the opinion that a pledge can only be used when an exchange is made while traveling (see JOURNEY). Ilkiyā l-Harrāsī (d. 504/1110; *Aḥkām al-Qur'ān,* ad loc.) cites a report that the prophet Muḥammad once made a pledge to a Jew (see JEWS AND JUDAISM) in Medina (q.v.), thus demonstrating that pledging while not traveling is permitted.

There is also disagreement over the legal status of the pledge once it is in the hands of the party receiving it. According to al-Shāfiʿī (d. 204/820), the pledge is only in lieu of a document of contract. The recipients of the pledge, therefore, are not responsible for its upkeep; but neither are they allowed usufruct or confiscation of the pledge if the contract for which the pledge is made is not fulfilled by the giver of the pledge. The Ḥanafīs and Mālikīs hold that the party receiving the pledge is responsible for its upkeep, may use and benefit from the pledged item, and is entitled to keep the pledge if the giver of the pledge does not fulfill the contract in the specified time (see BREAKING TRUSTS AND CONTRACTS).

Other areas of dispute include: whether an item jointly owned may be pledged by only one of the owners or by both of them for different transactions; whether a debt (q.v.) can be pledged; to whom the pledge can be entrusted; the circumstances in which a slave or a slave's manumission may be pledged (see SLAVES AND SLAVERY); and what happens when the person receiving the pledge dies before the fulfillment of the contract (see INHERITANCE). See also COVENANT for "pledge" in the sense of testament, commitment or covenant.

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Poetry and Poets

Composition in metrical and rhymed language; and those who compose such compositions. By the time the Prophet was born, Arabic poetry had long been the key cultural register of the language. Other literary forms, particularly oratory and story telling, had important cultural roles but it was poetry that dominated (see PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QUR'ĀN; LITERARY STRUCTURES OF THE QUR'ĀN; ORALITY AND WRITING IN ARABIA). It is uncertain when this poetry *(shiʿr),* which

has no functional parallel in any of the other Semitic languages (see RHYMED PROSE), first came into being, but it is reasonably clear that its original forms, rhyme patterns, meters and thematic conventions were largely fixed by the early part of the fifth century C.E. (the time of the earliest surviving pieces). There were to be developments after that, but they built on the foundations already in place. In later times the overarching themes were thought to be panegyric, lampoon, lament, love, description, self-glorification and aphoristic sayings; but such broad categorizations give little idea of the detailed thematic richness we find in the surviving corpus.

It is clear that most of this poetry is essentially tribal poetry; that the tribes were nomadic and dependent on their camels and, to a lesser extent, on their horses, sheep and goats (see CAMEL; ANIMAL LIFE); that they lived in the desert and semi-desert and the surrounding mountains (see ARABS; BEDOUIN; NOMADS); that the tribes frequently fought each other (see FIGHTING; WAR; EXPEDITIONS AND BATTLES); that life was at all times perceived as hard and dangerous; that intratribal and intertribal relationships had led to a complex code of conduct both for men and for women (see COMMUNITY AND SOCIETY IN THE QUR'ĀN; SOCIAL INTERACTIONS); that there was an ethical code based on the notion of *muruwwa* (see ETHICS AND THE QUR'ĀN); but that, in contrast, with few exceptions, religious ideas were relatively little developed (see RELIGION; SOUTH ARABIA, RELIGION IN PRE-ISLAMIC), with the vagaries of a rarely benevolent fortune and the ever-present menace of death and, particularly, untimely death consuming the tribesman's thoughts (see FATE). There was an ambivalent view of settlements (see CITY): they were the source of necessities not found in the desert and of imported luxuries such as wine (q.v.; see also INTOXICANTS); but they were thought to be unhealthy places.

There were also poets in the settlements themselves; for example, al-Samaw'al b. ʿĀdiyā at Taymā', ʿAdiyy b. Zayd at al-Ḥīra, and an older contemporary of the Prophet, Umayya b. Abī l-Ṣalt at al-Ṭā'if. None of the poets of the settlements, however, achieved the fame and status of the great Bedouin poets. It was to the latter that the Lakhmid rulers of al-Ḥīra and their rivals the Ghassānids of southern Syria turned when they wanted some panegyric (see BYZANTINES; CHRISTIANS AND CHRISTIANITY). By the beginning of the seventh century C.E. their patronage enabled successful poets such as Maymūn b. Qays al-Aʿshā to become itinerant troubadours. Al-Aʿshā was not the only master poet to be a contemporary of the Prophet. Others were Zuhayr b. Abī Sulmā, Labīd b. Rabīʿa, ʿĀmir b. al-Ṭufayl and Durayd b. al-Ṣimma. There were many more not of the highest rank.

Some seventy-five years ago, Gibb *(Arabic literature)* succinctly summed up some of the key reasons for the success of pre-Islamic poetry:

> [But] its appeal lies far more in the fact that, in holding the mirror up to life, it presented an image larger than life. The passions and emotions and portrayals were idealized in content and expression — in content because it presented the Arabs to themselves as they would have liked to be, immeasurably bold and gallant and open-handed, and in expression because these ideal images were clothed in rich, sonorous and evocative language, and given emotional intensity by the beating rhythms and ever-recurring rhyme (p. 25).… All of these subserved [the poet's] main purpose, so to stimulate the imaginative response of his audience that the poem becomes a

dialogue between them, a dialogue in which the audience are alert to grasp the hints and allusions compressed within the compass of his verse and to complete his portrait or thought for themselves (p. 26).

Factors such as these were instrumental not only in ensuring the success of the poetry in its own time but in providing it with an appeal that still grips Arabic-speaking hearers today.

None of this is likely to have troubled the Prophet greatly, but there were two aspects of poetry that must have been deeply disturbing to him. The first is that it was a short step from lampoon to obscenity or, much worse, to the uttering of curses (see CURSE). Poets' invective was common and caused much ill will. The second aspect is more complex and more serious. From the beginning the Arabs had linked their poets with magic (q.v.) or, at least, preternatural, non-human forces (see DEVIL; JINN; INSANITY). There is ample evidence that poets (and likewise *kāhin*s, soothsayers [q.v.]) were believed to have a preternatural driving force, given various names: *khalīl* (euphemistic "friend, companion"; see FRIENDS AND FRIENDSHIP), *jinn* and even *shayṭān* — the Greek *daimōn*. We do not rely on late sources for evidence on this. Al-Aʿshā, for example, several times refers to his demonic alter ego by the pet name *miṣḥal*, "the eloquent tongue."

It is against this background of the preternatural and of magic that one should view what the Qurʾān has to say about poetry and the poets. The key words found in the text are *shāʿir*, "poet" (Q 21:5; 37:36; 52:30; 69:41), *shiʿr*, "poetry" (Q 36:69), *majnūn*, "possessed by a jinn" (Q 15:6; 26:27; 37:36; 44:14; 51:39, 52; 52:29; 54:9; 68:2, 51; 81:22), *jinna*, "possession by a jinn" (Q 7:184; 23:25, 70; 34:8, 46) and also *kāhin*, "soothsayer" (Q 52:29; 69:42). Because of overlapping (Q 37:36, for example, has the phrase *shāʿir majnūn*), they involve nineteen passages, which fall into two kinds: (1) Those in which unbelievers are depicted as declaring that a prophet is a poet, a soothsayer, or possessed; and (2) those in which there is a strong denial of such claims.

Most of the passages are found in sūras thought to be early or middle Meccan, though there are also three from the late Meccan period (see CHRONOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN). They are obviously of a polemical kind, though a surprising number are linked to eschatological material (see ESCHATOLOGY). There is no Medinan passage of this kind. The objections are normally put into the mouths of Muḥammad's Meccan opponents (see OPPOSITION TO MUḤAMMAD), though in the case of *majnūn*, two of the passages refer to Pharaoh (q.v.) and Moses (q.v.), and two to Noah (q.v.) and his opponents. The general picture is therefore that Muḥammad is not alone as a prophet in facing such objections. The passages specifically referring to *shāʿir* (and also *kāhin*), however, relate to Muḥammad rather than anyone else. The objections of the Prophet's opponents are vividly summed up in Q 21:5: "No! They say, 'Tangled nightmares. No! He has invented it. No! He is a poet. Let him bring us a sign, just as the ones of old were sent with signs'."

The slightly earlier Q 52:29-31 is a particularly striking passage. First, there is a firm denial that Muḥammad is either a *kāhin* or *majnūn*. This is then countered by a suggestion by his anonymous opponents that he is a *shāʿir:* "So give the reminder (q.v.). By the grace of your lord you are neither a soothsayer nor one possessed. Or they say, 'A poet for whom we await the ill-doings of fate.' Say, 'Wait. I shall be one of those waiting with you'." In addition to using three of the key words, the passage

has *rayb al-manūn,* "the ill-doings of fate," a phrase that has various parallels in pre-Islamic poetry.

The conclusion to be drawn from such passages is that there was a great deal of verbal sparring and polemic on both sides in Mecca (q.v.) and that the Prophet's opponents did not hesitate to call him "a poet," a "soothsayer," "one possessed" (and much else that is of no direct concern here). This makes good sense if the words are being used because of their pejorative background. The alternative suggestion that Muḥammad's opponents could not differentiate between poetry, the utterances of *kāhin*s and passages from the Qurʾān does not bear close scrutiny.

The Qurʾān also makes it clear that poetry is not an appropriate vehicle for the transmission of God's message by the Prophet. Q 36:69-70 runs: "We have not taught him poetry. That is not proper for him. This is only a reminder and a recitation that is clear, that he might warn those who are alive and that the word may be proved true against the unbelievers." In short, not only was the Prophet not possessed, either as a poet or anything else; in addition, poetry was not suitable as the register of the revelation (see REVELATION AND INSPIRATION; RECITATION OF THE QURʾĀN).

These passages thus determine the position of the Prophet and the revelation vis-à-vis poetry but they say nothing about other poets. For that we must turn to the final section of Q 26 and in particular to Q 26:224, which gives the sūra its name — "The Poets." Verses 224-7 are usually thought to be Medinan (whereas the rest of the sūra is considered to be middle Meccan) but there is no cogent reason for this view, apart from the final verse.

"Shall I tell you of those on whom the satans descend? They descend on every sinful liar (see LIE). They listen, but most of them are liars. And [there are] the poets, those who go astray (q.v.) follow them. Have you not seen how they wander in every valley, and how they say what they do not do? That is not the case with those who believe and do righteous deeds and remember God often and help themselves after they have been wronged. Those who do wrong will surely know by what overturning they will be overturned" (Q 26:221-7).

The passage is usually thought of as beginning at Q 26:224 but in view of the verses on *shāʿir* and *majnūn* mentioned above, it seems likely that the reference to *al-shayāṭīn,* "satans," in verse 221 is a typically oblique introduction to verse 224. Clearly poets are denounced but, as the passage is rhetorical (see RHETORIC AND THE QURʾĀN), the strength of the comment is very much a matter of interpretation. The view that it is a severe one seems to rely to some extent on views formed on the passages already discussed. If, however, one takes the view that Q 26:225-6 refer to the poets rather than to "those who go astray," one may reasonably take the view that it exempts at least some poets from stricture.

The possibility offered by Q 26:227 that some poets might be or become righteous fits in with the evidence of the *sīra,* the biography of the Prophet (see SĪRA AND THE QURʾĀN), and stories about the poets themselves, though there is much that cannot be taken at face value. It would appear that the well established, though minor, poet Ḥassān b. Thābit, of the Medinan tribe of Khazraj, composed poetry for the new community from the year 5/627 onwards (though quite what material this

was is now difficult to determine: at a conservative estimate 70% of his *Dīwān* is spurious). Also active on behalf of the Muslims was Bujayr b. Zuhayr b. Abī Sulmā, who eventually persuaded his brother Kaʿb b. Zuhayr to drop his opposition to Islam. Kaʿb then came to the Prophet, submitted and recited his eulogy *Bānat suʿād,* much to the delight of Muḥammad. Bujayr is alleged to have warned Kaʿb that at the conquest of Mecca Muḥammad had ordered the execution of "some of those who had satirized and insulted him" (cf. Ibn Isḥāq-Guillaume, 597). On the other hand, the Prophet appears to have taken no action against other hostile poets. Thus ʿĀmir b. al-Ṭufayl, who was implacably opposed to Islam, came on a deputation from the Banū ʿĀmir to visit the Prophet in 9/630. Despite being rumored to be involved in a plot to kill Muḥammad, he was allowed to leave Medina, though he died on the way back to his tribe, probably through an illness picked up in Medina. We may also note that somewhat later, when ʿĀmir's fellow legate, Arbad b. Qays, was killed by lightning, Arbad's half-brother Labīd, apparently by then a devout Muslim, saw nothing wrong in composing a series of laments for him.

On this basis the simple interpretation of Q 26:224-7, to wit that it shows some disapproval of poets, though with a let-out clause in Q 26:227, seems the most reasonable. That did not stop many commentators in later periods from taking a much dimmer view. This is not surprising as poets regularly got themselves into trouble for foul-mouthed satire or even inadvertently offending those in temporal or religious authority.

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Polemic and Polemical Language

Discussion of controversial [religious] matters or allusion to them. Polemic in the Qurʾān consists primarily of argumentation directed against pagans (see POLYTHEISM AND ATHEISM and IDOLATRY AND IDOLATERS), Jews and Christians (see JEWS AND JUDAISM; CHRISTIANS AND CHRISTIANITY). Yet, polemical language may also be employed in other contexts, for example when addressing erring or recalcitrant Muslims (see ERROR; ASTRAY).

Polemic in the sense of argumentation or the refutation of others' beliefs is a prominent element in the Qurʾān since in the course of his mission Muḥammad encountered various types of opposition and criticism (see OPPOSITION TO MUḤAMMAD). It is easy, however, to underestimate the extent to which the Qurʾān contains polemical language since certain words or passages, if taken literally or at face value, would cease to be polemical (see next section; see LANGUAGE AND STYLE OF THE QURʾĀN; RHETORIC AND THE QURʾĀN; POLYSEMY).

Such an underestimation could be the consequence of preferring a literal reading as more in keeping with the solemnity and sacrosanct nature of scripture; nevertheless, elements such as hyperbole and lampooning are undeniably present in the Qurʾān (see LITERARY STRUCTURES OF THE QURʾĀN; HUMOR).

The process of refuting others' beliefs is often inseparable from the parallel process of defending one's own. For religious groups, this activity is an important part of identity-formation and boundary-drawing to the extent that a group defines itself by dissociating itself from others. In relation to the chronology of revelation (the traditional account of Muḥammad's life is here accepted in its broad outlines; see CHRONOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN), this process is progressive. Thus, the arguments against pagans mainly in the Meccan period might constitute common ground with other monotheistic faiths, whereas the arguments deployed against Jews and Christians in the Medinan period are by definition more distinctive, serving to reinforce an Islamic identity over and against Judaism and Christianity. Among scriptures, the Qurʾān offers a particularly good example of this process since it reflects the fluctuating relations which Muḥammad and his followers had with the pagans, mainly in Mecca (q.v.), and with the Jews and Christians, mainly in Medina (q.v.). Furthermore the Qurʾān appears to have interacted in a very direct manner with its environment to the extent that it reflects a response to questions addressed to Muḥammad by specific individuals (see OCCASIONS OF REVELATION).

The nearest qurʾānic equivalents to the word "polemic" are the third-form verbs derived from the roots *jadala* and *ḥajja* (the former being rather more prevalent), both meaning to argue or dispute (see DEBATE AND DISPUTATION). Argument or disputation are activities usually attributed to Muḥammad's opponents and generally considered blameworthy (e.g. Q 3:20; 6:25; 8:6); in these instances both verbs might best be translated as "wrangling" (but it should be noted that *jadal* — or "debate" — does not necessarily have negative connotations; indeed, a treatise on the qurʾānic modes of *jadal,* i.e. the rhetorical devices employed in debating or disputing, was written by the Ḥanbalite Najm al-Dīn al-Ṭūfī [d. 716/1316]; cf. Suyūṭī, *Itqān,* iv, 60; Zarkashī, *Burhān,* ii, 24; McAuliffe, Debate with them). Disputing about God or his signs (q.v.) is considered particularly reprehensible (e.g. Q 2:139; 13:13; 40:69; 42:35). The Qurʾān says that every people *(umma)* disputed with the messenger (q.v.) who was sent to them (Q 40:5) and many of the arguments which are reported as having taken place between former prophets and their peoples (see e.g. Q 11:84-95; see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD) have a bearing on Muḥammad's disputes with his contemporaries, whether they be doctrinal (e.g. relating to the oneness of God or the final judgment; see LAST JUDGMENT) or moral (e.g. exhorting to honesty [q.v.] in transactions; see ETHICS AND THE QURʾĀN; VIRTUES AND VICES, COMMANDING AND FORBIDDING). They are therefore to be considered an integral part of the qurʾānic polemic. The polemical function of these passages is reinforced by the frequent references to the punishment, whether temporal or otherworldly (see CHASTISEMENT AND PUNISHMENT; REWARD AND PUNISHMENT), which was visited on the recalcitrant disputants.

The relationship between the qurʾānic polemic and pre-Islamic monotheistic polemic is of interest but rather too complex to be explored in any detail here (see SOUTH ARABIA, RELIGION IN PRE-ISLAMIC;

PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QUR'ĀN). John Wansbrough has sought to situate the qur'ānic polemic, along with the polemical material in the *sīra* literature (i.e. the "biography of the Prophet"; see SĪRA AND THE QUR'ĀN), within the broader Judeo-Christian tradition (see SCRIPTURE AND THE QUR'ĀN). To this end he identified twelve main themes and their pre-Islamic antecedents: prognosis of Muḥammad in Jewish scripture; Jewish rejection of that prognosis; Jewish insistence upon miracles (see MIRACLE) for prophets; Jewish rejection of Muḥammad's revelation (see REVELATION AND INSPIRATION); Muslim charge of scriptural falsification (see FORGERY); Muslim claim to supersede earlier dispensations (see ABROGATION); the direction of prayer (see QIBLA); Abraham (q.v.) and Jesus (q.v.) in sectarian soteriology (see ESCHATOLOGY; SALVATION; HISTORY AND THE QUR'ĀN); Solomon's (q.v.) claim to prophethood; sectarian Christology; the "sons of God"; and the "faith [q.v.] of the fathers" (Wansbrough, *Sectarian milieu,* 40-3; see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF; GENERATIONS; ḤANĪF).

Language and style

The form and style of the Qur'ān is integral to its import and impact (see FORM AND STRUCTURE OF THE QUR'ĀN), and polemic by definition seeks to have an impact on those whom it addresses. Elements of polemic are not confined to any particular sections of the Qur'ān, and there is a constant interplay and overlap between polemic and other elements such as eschatology, signs controversies and narrative (see NARRATIVES), as has been demonstrated by Robinson with reference to the early Meccan sūras (q.v.; Robinson, *Discovering,* 99-124). Polemical elements in the Qur'ān, which are often parenthetical, may incorporate any one or more of the following:

— exhortation (see EXHORTATIONS), e.g. Q 2:40: "O Children of Israel (q.v.)! Remember my favor I bestowed upon you (see GRACE; BLESSING); fulfill your covenant (q.v.) with me and I shall fulfill my covenant with you, and fear (q.v.) none but me";

— rebuke or criticism, e.g. Q 5:61: "When they come to you, they say: 'We believe,' but in fact they enter with disbelief and they go out the same";

— arguments, e.g. Q 16:103: "We know indeed that they say: 'It is a man that teaches him.' [But] the tongue of him they mischievously refer to is foreign, while this is a clear, Arabic tongue" (see ARABIC LANGUAGE; INFORMANTS);

— challenges, e.g. Q 2:111: "They say: 'None shall enter paradise (q.v.) unless he be a Jew or a Christian;' those are their vain desires. Say: 'Produce your proof (q.v.) if you are telling the truth'" (see PROVOCATION);

— refutations of accusations against Muḥammad, e.g. Q 53:2-3: "Your companion has neither gone astray nor erred, nor does he speak out of his own desire";

— discrediting opponents by means of a critical aside or by declaring them to be liars (see LIE), e.g. Q 37:151-2: "Behold they say, out of their own invention: 'God has begotten children'; but they are liars!";

— threats or warnings of temporal or otherworldly punishment, e.g. Q 9:61: "Those who molest the Prophet will have a grievous chastisement";

— declarations of woe, e.g. Q 2:79: "Woe to those who write the book (q.v.) with their own hands and then say: 'This is from God'";

— curses, e.g. Q 2:161: "Those who disbelieve and die in a state of unbelief, on them is God's curse (q.v.) and the curse of

angels (see ANGEL) and of all humankind";
— satire, e.g. Q 7:176: "His similitude (see PARABLES) is that of a dog (q.v.): if you attack him, he lolls out his tongue, and if you leave him alone, he lolls out his tongue. That is the similitude of those who reject our signs";
— rhetorical or hypothetical questions, e.g. Q 84:20: "What is wrong with them, that they do not believe?";
— exclamations, e.g. Q 7:10: "We have placed you on the earth and given you therein a provision for your livelihood, but little do you give thanks!";
— emphatic denials or denunciations, e.g. Q 104:3-4: "He thinks his wealth (q.v.) will give him immortality (see ETERNITY). By no means! He will certainly be thrown into the consuming one (see HELL AND HELLFIRE)!".

The range of qurʾānic terminology associated with polemic is too broad to be treated here. As far as the content of the polemic is concerned, this terminology could perhaps most usefully be analyzed in terms of clusters of words related to central concepts such as being astray/turned away (from guidance or the truth [q.v.]); immorality and unrighteousness; enmity and hostility (to God, Muḥammad and/or the Muslims; see ENEMIES); hypocrisy (see HYPOCRITES AND HYPOCRISY); haughtiness and pride (q.v.; see also ARROGANCE); rebellion (q.v.; see also DISOBEDIENCE) or stubbornness (see INSOLENCE AND OBSTINACY); and stupidity or ignorance (q.v.).

A striking feature of the qurʾānic polemic, particularly in its admonitory or exhortatory passages, is the regular occurrence of paired opposites: believers and unbelievers, truth and falsehood, guidance and error, paradise and hell (e.g. Q 2:2-7; 47:1-3; 59:20; see PAIRS AND PAIRING). These binary oppositions serve to confront the listener with a stark choice, and generally incorporate an implicit or explicit warning about the consequences of making the wrong one. Another common feature is a reciprocity or parallelism between the attitude of unbelievers or hypocrites to God and his attitude to them; thus they seek to deceive God but in fact he deceives them (Q 4:142); they forget him and so he forgets them (Q 9:67); they plot but so does God (Q 3:54; 8:30), and so on.

Polemical passages may be directed at particular groups of people (see headings below) or at particular beliefs or forms of behavior. Far from being a dispassionate discourse on morals, the qurʾānic condemnation of a given behavior often constitutes an accusation that such behavior is being engaged in, and the emphasis falls as much on the perpetrators as on the behavior itself. This is in accordance with the Qurʾān's tendency to emphasize the practical and the concrete rather than the abstract. It may, for example, describe those who are engaging in a particular form of morally reprehensible activity as "those in whose hearts there is a disease" (*alladhīna fī qulūbihim maraḍun,* e.g. Q 8:49; see HEART; ILLNESS AND HEALTH), or it may declare or call down God's curse on them, or refer to their unenviable destiny in the hereafter. The eschatological dimension shows the qurʾānic concern not just to describe or condemn, but also to motivate humans to avoid or desist from such behavior.

As indicated above, polemic is not necessarily to be taken at face value, as is clear from its frequent association with elements such as satire, encompassing features like hyperbole and caricature, and from its frequent use of metaphorical language (see METAPHOR). The Qurʾān contains many examples of the use of irony or satire to ridicule opponents: those who were charged with the prescriptions of the

Torah (q.v.) but failed to carry them out are compared to "a donkey laden with huge tomes" (Q 62:5); poets (see POETRY AND POETS), with whom Muḥammad's opponents sought to identify him, are described as "wandering distractedly in every valley" (Q 26:225); the pagans who attribute daughters to God prefer sons for themselves, and are grief-stricken when they receive tidings of a baby girl (Q 43:16-7; see INFANTICIDE; CHILDREN; GENDER); those who are reluctant to fight have rolling eyes or almost swoon at the mention of battle (Q 33:19; 47:20; see FIGHTING; EXPEDITIONS AND BATTLES; JIHĀD); and there is probably a lampooning element in the accusation that, for Christians, God is not just one of a trinity or tritheism but "the third of three" (Q 5:73; see TRINITY). Examples of the use of metaphorical language include the description of the unbelievers as deaf, dumb and blind (e.g. Q 2:18; see SEEING AND HEARING; VISION AND BLINDNESS; HEARING AND DEAFNESS; SPEECH), or as having a veil, seal or lock on their hearts (e.g. Q 17:46; 2:7; 47:24).

The classification of parts of the Qurʾān as polemical may require identifying those passages where particular terms are not intended as a straightforward objective description. For example, the term *ʿaduw*, "enemy," would not be considered polemical when used to describe a military opponent, but becomes so when the situation is rather more ambiguous, or when the foremost aim is condemnation, as where particular persons are branded as, for instance, "enemies of God" (e.g. Q 41:28; cf. 58:19, the "party of Satan"; see DEVIL; PARTIES AND FACTIONS). If one applies the same principle to a central religious concept such as "polytheism/polytheist" *(shirk/mushrik),* it becomes apparent that an analysis of polemic in the Qurʾān could have considerable significance for the interpretation of particular terms or concepts.

Polemic against polytheists, unbelievers and hypocrites

The terms "polytheist" and "unbeliever" correspond closely to the qurʾānic terms *mushrik* and *kāfir* (the latter term also incorporating the sense of ingratitude, i.e. in the face of God's favors; see GRATITUDE AND INGRATITUDE). These terms and their cognates, however, sometimes appear to be used interchangeably (e.g. Q 6:1; 40:12), and on occasion both terms have a more comprehensive semantic application. For example, both are at times applied to Christians or Jews (see next section). In these cases, as in subsequent Muslim tradition, the accusation of "polytheism" *(shirk)* or "unbelief" *(kufr),* is directed at self-professed monotheists, the point being not that they are literally to be equated with outright idolators or polytheists but that certain aspects of their belief or practice are seen as compromising the divine oneness. *Kufr* is sometimes closely associated with various types of reprehensible behavior, in fact certain types of behavior may be taken as an indication that the perpetrator is an unbeliever; Izutsu (*Ethical terms,* 113-67) has shown how central this concept is, and how closely related to almost all other negative ethical values or qualities. It is therefore inappropriate to try to define these terms too narrowly or precisely; an *a priori* assumption of absolute precision or consistency in qurʾānic usage would lead to difficulties and apparent contradictions.

For obvious reasons, it is mainly in the Meccan portions of the Qurʾān that the objections raised by Muḥammad's pagan opponents are reported and refuted. The major themes in the qurʾānic argumentation at this stage are: the insistence on the

oneness of God and the corresponding denial of any associates; the affirmation of the last day (see APOCALYPSE), bodily resurrection (q.v.) and the final judgment; and the denial of various accusations made against Muḥammad.

Some of the arguments employed are fairly simple. For example, in the face of the pagans' denial of bodily resurrection, the Qurʾān frequently argues that if God were able to create them in the first instance, then he is capable of bringing them back to life for the purpose of judgment (q.v.; e.g. Q 6:94-5; 17:51; see CREATION; DEATH AND THE DEAD). In support of the oneness of God, the Qurʾān asserts, "if there were in them [i.e. the heavens and the earth] deities other than God, both would have been ruined" (Q 21:22). Other cases provide examples of fairly extended or multifaceted arguments. For example, in the face of demands for a miracle on the part of Muḥammad's detractors, several arguments are employed in defense of Muḥammad's alleged failure to produce one. In the Qurʾān, God declines to appease the critics by effecting miracles for various reasons: because they still would not believe (e.g. Q 6:109); in order to emphasize Muḥammad's human, nondivine status (Q 17:90-3; see IMPECCABILITY); and because the Qurʾān should be sufficient for them (Q 29:50-1). Muslims have traditionally linked this theme with the phenomenon of the "challenge" contained in several qurʾānic passages (e.g. Q 2:23-4; 10:38), which call on Muḥammad's critics to produce something comparable to the Qurʾān. Muslims understood this as implying that the Qurʾān itself constituted Muḥammad's miracle, as later elaborated in the doctrine of qurʾānic inimitability (q.v.; *iʿjāz*).

The Qurʾān reserves some of its harshest strictures for unbelievers and polytheists, especially the latter. For example, *shirk* is described in the Qurʾān as the only sin which cannot be forgiven (Q 4:48, 116; see FORGIVENESS; SIN, MAJOR AND MINOR) and the *mushrikūn* are described as "unclean," and are therefore prohibited from entering the sacred mosque (q.v.) in Mecca (Q 9:28). Unlike Jews and Christians, unbelievers and polytheists appear to have no redeeming features. Frequently, God's curse is pronounced on them and/or allusion is made to their destination in hell (e.g. Q 33:64).

The term *munāfiqūn*, "hypocrites," is almost exclusively Medinan and over time is increasingly used to denote a specific group of people. At Medina these people come to be numbered among Muḥammad's staunchest opponents, along with unbelievers and polytheists; indeed, they are sometimes explicitly paired with one of these categories (e.g. Q 4:140; 48:6), or with "those in whose hearts there is a disease" (Q 8:49; 33:12, 60). As with unbelievers, their destiny in hell is frequently proclaimed (e.g. Q 4:138; 66:9). The terms *nifāq* and *riʾāʾ* are both used to denote the abstract quality of hypocrisy, but by and large the main function of the term *munāfiqūn* appears to be to serve as a condemnatory label to draw attention to a group of people in Medina who are opportunistic and therefore fickle in their support of the Muslims. The Qurʾān is, in effect, warning the Muslims of this as well as warning the hypocrites of the consequences of their actions; actual hypocrisy and dissembling is only one of several reprehensible forms of behavior for which they are criticized in the Qurʾān.

Polemic against Jews and Christians

In the Medinan period the Qurʾān increasingly recognizes the followers of Judaism and Christianity as communities in their own right (see RELIGIOUS PLURALISM AND

THE QUR'ĀN; RELIGION; COMMUNITY AND SOCIETY IN THE QUR'ĀN). This is not the place to speculate on precisely which groups of Christians and Jews (although in the case of the latter the picture is somewhat clearer) may have been present in the Arabian peninsula in Muḥammad's time (see SOUTH ARABIA, RELIGION IN PRE-ISLAMIC; PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QUR'ĀN); but the Qur'ān does appear at times to have been addressing particular, possibly heretical, groups of Jews or Christians (e.g. Q 9:30 attributes to Jews the belief that ʿUzayr/Ezra [q.v.] is the son of God, a belief to which no Jewish or other extra-qur'ānic attestation has been found), and at others to reflect the beliefs of particular groups (e.g. the Nestorian emphasis on Jesus' humanity or the Docetists' denial that he was really crucified). Attempts to demonstrate any direct influence of specific groups, however, remain highly speculative.

The qur'ānic material relating to Judaism and Christianity or Jews and Christians is not all polemical, and indeed there are some verses that could be described as conciliatory; but a sizeable proportion of it, probably the majority, is. Certain criticisms are directed at both Jews and Christians, sometimes under the rubric People of the Book (q.v.; *ahl al-kitāb* or *alladhīna ūtū l-kitāb*), a category which denotes primarily but not exclusively Jews and Christians, while others are directed at one to the exclusion of the other. References to the People of the Book generally consist of exhortations (e.g. Q 4:171; 5:15), didactic questions (e.g. Q 3:98, 99), or criticisms of their behavior (e.g. Q 3:19, 69). Although some verses appear to distinguish between good and bad People of the Book (e.g. Q 3:75, 110), the prevailing opinion appears to be that most of them are unrighteous (e.g. Q 5:59; see GOOD AND EVIL; JUSTICE AND INJUSTICE). Yet other verses speak of "those who disbelieve from among the People of the Book" (e.g. Q 2:105; 59:2; 98:1), showing that the categories of *kāfirūn* and People of the Book are not mutually exclusive. There is some ambiguity concerning the question of whether conversion to Islam is expected or demanded of the People of the Book. Their respective scriptures and faiths are at least implicitly affirmed (e.g. Q 5:44, 46-7; 10:94), but at times there seems to be an expectation that People of the Book should believe in the Qur'ān, and verses expressing a desire for this vary from the wistful (e.g. Q 3:110) to the threatening (e.g. Q 4:47). This ambiguity, and the use of terms such as *kufr* and *shirk* in connection with Jews and Christians, has given rise to disagreement among Muslim interpreters as to whether, in fact, Jews and Christians who remain in their respective faiths can attain salvation, despite the apparent confirmation of this in Q 2:62 and Q 5:69. Criticisms which are directed at both Jews and Christians, although not necessarily to the same degree, include distorting, forgetting, misinterpreting or suppressing parts of their scriptures (e.g. Q 2:75, 101; 5:15, 41; see REVISION AND ALTERATION); desiring to lead Muslims astray (e.g. Q 2:109; 3:100); failing to believe in Muḥammad's message (e.g. Q 3:70; 5:81); being religiously complacent or exclusivist (e.g. Q 2:80; 5:18); being divided amongst themselves (e.g. Q 5:14; 98:4); elevating their religious leaders to quasi-divine status (e.g. Q 9:31; see LORD); and failing to follow their own religious teachings properly (e.g. Q 5:47).

In general, the qur'ānic polemic against Jews is harsher in tone and more *ad hominem* than that against Christians. The most sustained passage on the Children of Israel (*banū Isrā'īl*, the most common designation of the Jews) takes up about half of the longest sūra in the Qur'ān (beginning from Q 2:40). Commencing with exhortation,

the passage becomes increasingly condemnatory, recalling the Jews' past (and by implication present) stubbornness, disobedience and ingratitude. Just as stories of the former prophets and their opponents (see PUNISHMENT STORIES) are clearly targeting Muḥammad's contemporaries in their criticisms of those opponents, so this passage dissolves the distance between past and present by directly associating Muḥammad's Jewish contemporaries with the misdeeds of Jews almost two millennia previously. Thus, in a passage generally believed to refer to an event recorded in Deuteronomy 21:1-9 and Numbers 19:1-10, the Qurʾān declares: "Remember when you killed a man and fell into dispute among yourselves about it…. Thenceforth were your hearts hardened: they became like rocks or even harder" (Q 2:72-4; see McAuliffe, Assessing). In one of the more strongly worded passages concerning Jews it is stated that "those of the Children of Israel who disbelieved were cursed… evil indeed were the deeds which they committed… God's wrath is on them, and in torment will they abide forever," and it is concluded that Jews, along with polytheists, are "strongest in enmity to the believers" (Q 5:78-82).

Arguments directed at Christians often concern religious doctrine. The Qurʾān appears to refute the Trinity (e.g. Q 5:73, although strictly speaking the verses in question refute tritheism); the divine sonship of Jesus (e.g. Q 4:171); the divinity of Jesus (e.g. Q 5:17); and the crucifixion (q.v.; Q 4:157-8). Some of these doctrines are declared tantamount to *kufr* or *shirk* (e.g. Q 4:171; 5:17, 72-3), thus blurring the distinction between Christians and polytheists/unbelievers in much the same way that the distinction between People of the Book and unbelievers is blurred in the verses cited above.

Even more than in the case of polemic against unbelievers, it is important to observe the chronology of revelation when assessing passages relating to Jews and Christians. An example of this is the apparent denial of the crucifixion, often cited in Muslim-Christian polemic but in fact revealed in the early Medinan period when Jews, not Christians, were considered to be the main opponents of the Muslims. This denial is therefore to be understood primarily as a reproach to the Jews and a refutation of their claim to have killed Jesus. A few (e.g. Ayoub, Islamic Christology, 116-7; Zaehner, *Sundry times,* 212) conclude that this leaves open the possibility of interpreting the verse as affirming the role of God, while denying that of the Jews, in bringing the crucifixion to pass.

The fact that the Qurʾān contains conciliatory as well as polemical material relating to Jews and Christians raises the hermeneutical question of the relationship between the two types of passages. In view of the fact that the chronological progression in the Qurʾān is generally in the direction of greater hostility towards and criticism of these groups, many of the classical scholars (see EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL) took the later, more confrontational verses as abrogating the earlier, more conciliatory ones (e.g. Q 9:29, among other verses, was generally taken to abrogate Q 2:256; see VERSES). Furthermore, the dividing line between good and bad People of the Book was generally taken to coincide with the dividing line between those who either accept Islam or would do so if they were to hear about it and those who do not or would not. In the modern period (see EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: EARLY MODERN AND CONTEMPORARY), exegetes tend to place rather less emphasis on abrogation, so other approaches emerge. Those who continue to hold an overwhelmingly negative view of Christians and Christianity

may distinguish between an ideal, meta-Christianity posited in the Qurʾān and the actual Christianity with which Muḥammad and other Muslims down to the present have come into contact (see McAuliffe, *Qurʾānic*). Modernists (e.g. Ayoub, Nearest in amity, 162) prefer to take the more positive verses (e.g. Q 2:256) as of universal application while interpreting the negative verses as having limited and temporary application, for example in conditions of warfare (see WAR) or hostility between Muslims and others.

Because of its ongoing relevance throughout history, polemic against Jews and Christians raises another hermeneutical question, namely that of how far or in what respects the qurʾānic material applies to a changed environment. If individual qurʾānic verses respond to the particular beliefs of Muḥammad's Jewish and Christian contacts, as appears to be the case in at least some instances, then the question arises as to how far it is appropriate to apply those verses to later Jewish or Christian groups. Some have suggested that the Qurʾān refutes heretical Christian beliefs (e.g. tritheism, adoptionism, the physical generation of the Son) rather than the orthodox doctrines of the Trinity, Incarnation, etc. In practice, however, the vast majority of Muslim commentators have assumed that the Qurʾān does refute the Trinity, the Incarnation, and the Christian doctrine of divine sonship, especially as these are understood to contradict the central Islamic tenet of the oneness of God.

Post-qurʾānic polemic

The Qurʾān has had an immeasurable impact on subsequent Islamic literature (see LITERATURE AND THE QURʾĀN). It would be impossible to quantify the stylistic influence of the polemical material in the Qurʾān but it is safe to assume that it has been extensive; Muslim polemical writings often echo or reproduce qurʾānic vocabulary and phrases. This section will be confined to religious polemic, where the qurʾānic influence has been most in evidence.

Heresiographical and other types of work incorporate various accusations against those outside the Jewish and Christian traditions, for example charges of atheism *(ilḥād)*, heresy (q.v.)/Manicheanism *(zandaqa)* or materialism *(dahriyya)*. It is Christians who, however, have been the target of the bulk of Muslim polemical literature. This is in part because of the shared border with Christendom and the resulting fact that the Muslims' most significant military opponents were generally Christians, right down to the modern period. Christians also formed the most numerically significant communities under Muslim rule, in the case of many of the central Islamic lands evolving from a majority to a minority over the course of a few centuries. In addition, from the earliest period it was often Christians, such as John of Damascus (d. ca. 132/749), who initiated religious debates, thereby prompting a response from Muslims. Many refutations of Christianity were composed, often under the rubric *al-radd ʿalā l-naṣāra*. There was also a lesser amount of anti-Jewish polemic, and some overlap between the two in that biblical criticism, insofar as it pertained to the Hebrew Bible or the Old Testament, could be directed equally at both communities.

The Muslim polemic, although not devoid of *ad hominem* and, from about the ninth century, rational and philosophical arguments based on Greek (especially Aristotelian) philosophical categories (see PHILOSOPHY AND THE QURʾĀN), was heavily dependent on the Qurʾān, a dependence which accounts for a high degree of consistency in this literature. Thus the main

areas of criticism were scriptural integrity and the related accusation of suppressing predictions of Muḥammad and conveying false doctrine, and the overriding claim was that of abrogation (generally in the sense of Islam abrogating or superseding previous religions, but also applied internally to the biblical text). There was, however, also some knowledge and criticism of empirical Christianity, i.e. the actual practices of various Christian groups and the doctrinal and other differences between them. The polemic is not to be found in any one genre; aside from polemical works proper, treatments of other religions can be found in Qurʾān and ḥadīth commentaries (see ḤADĪTH AND THE QURʾĀN), theological treatises (see THEOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN), works of *fiqh* (jurisprudence; see LAW AND THE QURʾĀN), heresiography, historical and geographical compendiums (see GEOGRAPHY AND THE QURʾĀN), belles lettres, and poetry.

Not surprisingly, the majority of those who undertook systematic refutations of Christianity were theologians. Among them, Muʿtazilīs (q.v.) were especially prominent (e.g. Abū ʿĪsā al-Warrāq, d. ca. 246/860, al-Jāḥiẓ, d. 255/869 and ʿAbd al-Jabbār, d. 415/1025), and instrumental in introducing more sophisticated, philosophically based arguments. Unfortunately earlier works by some of the founding figures of Muʿtazilism have not survived, for these might have given a clearer picture of the influence of Muslim-Christian controversies on the development of Islamic theology. What is clear is that certain Christian doctrines had a bearing on internal Muslim disputes. There was, for example, a parallel between the Christian concept of the Logos and the Muslim doctrine of the uncreated Qurʾān (see CREATEDNESS OF THE QURʾĀN), and between the hypostases of the Trinity and the question of the independent existence of the attributes of God (see GOD AND HIS ATTRIBUTES). While Muʿtazilī tenets had the effect of distancing Islam from those Christian doctrines, the mainstream Ashʿarī theology, which was formed in reaction to the Muʿtazila, considerably narrowed this distance.

One of the most significant figures for both the anti-Christian and anti-Jewish polemic is the Andalusian Ẓāhirī theologian Ibn Ḥazm (d. 456/1064), whose major work, *Kitāb al-Fiṣal fī l-milal wa-l-ahwāʾ wa-l-niḥal,* has continued to be influential down to the present. This work is notable for being the first Muslim source to incorporate a thorough, systematic treatment of the biblical text. His relatively detailed knowledge of the text (although it is likely that he relied on secondary sources to some extent) enabled him to list alleged contradictions, absurdities, errors, lewdness, and anthropomorphisms (see ANTHROPOMORPHISM) in the Bible. He argued strongly for the view that *taḥrīf* (scriptural corruption; see CORRUPTION) entailed extensive textual alteration, and not just misinterpretation as some other scholars had held. Like others before him, however (notably ʿAlī b. Rabbān al-Ṭabarī; d. ca. 241/855?), in his *Kitāb al-Dīn wa-l-dawla,* he claimed to be able to identify biblical predictions of Muḥammad in the extant text. Despite his considerable knowledge of both the biblical text and Islamic sciences (see TRADITIONAL DISCIPLINES OF QURʾĀNIC STUDY) Ibn Ḥazm lacked philosophical sophistication and, not surprisingly for a Ẓāhirī, had an extremely literalistic approach to scripture. With few exceptions, the writings of later polemicists such as Ibn Taymiyya (d. 728/1328) and Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya (d. 751/1350) were largely derivative, often relying heavily on Ibn Ḥazm.

The Muslim anti-Christian polemic was mainly intended for a Muslim audience and (as with the Christian anti-Muslim

polemic) was unlikely to convince the opponent because it relied on internal (i.e. Islamic) categories, in particular the doctrine of *taḥrīf* which presupposed a different understanding of revelation from the Christian one. This is seen most clearly in the qurʾānic assumption that God revealed the gospel (q.v.; *injīl*) to Jesus in the same way that he revealed the Qurʾān to Muḥammad, which posits an Aramaic gospel consisting purely of God's own words.

Contemporary Muslim polemic tends to draw more on sources external to the Qurʾān, in particular higher biblical criticism which can be used to demonstrate that the Bible is not "revealed" in the sense that Muslims generally understand revelation, i.e. the verbatim word of God (q.v.) preserved without any alterations. Two works which have been particularly influential in the modern period are Rahmat Allah Kayranawi's *Izhar ul-haqq,* which emerged from the nineteenth-century Indian Christian-Muslim public debates *(munāẓarāt),* and the twentieth-century Egyptian scholar Muḥammad Abū Zahra's *Muḥāḍarāt fī l-naṣrāniyya*. Despite benefiting from higher criticism, however, the modern polemic is not demonstrably superior to the classical works and indeed often shows an inferior knowledge of empirical Christianity. See also APOLOGETICS.

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Political Science

see SOCIAL SCIENCES AND THE QUR'ĀN

Politics and the Qurʾān

This article will discuss the use of the Qurʾān to justify or contest rule. Three areas will be considered: (1) quasi-political themes in the Qurʾān; (2) the politicization of the Qurʾān in early Islam; and (3) the possibility and limitations of human rule alongside or in addition to the Qurʾān as divine communication.

Some preliminaries: As an institution governing a territory, administering its peoples and resources and legislating a socio-political order, the state as organ of rule came into being in early Islam not from qurʾānic directive but from the experience and consensus of the first Muslims (see COMMUNITY AND SOCIETY IN THE QUR'ĀN; LAW AND THE QUR'ĀN). Strong emphasis is given in the Qurʾān to obedience (q.v.) to God and the messenger (q.v.) of God (and, at one place, to those in power, *ūlū l-amr* [Q 4:59], a heavily exploited phrase which early exegetes understood as those with knowledge and intelligence, not political authority, e.g. Mujāhid, *Tafsīr,* i, 163; see KNOWLEDGE AND LEARNING; SCHOLAR; INTELLECT). The Qurʾān makes enough mention of struggle between the followers of Muḥammad and his opponents (see OPPOSITION TO MUḤAMMAD) to suggest that politics was at play in the first attempts to announce its message. Moreover, the Prophet was awarded authority (q.v.) in the form of an oath of allegiance (*bayʿa,* e.g. Q 48:10, 18; see OATHS; CONTRACTS AND ALLIANCES), in which his followers promised to fight for the cause of God (see PATH OR WAY; EXPEDITIONS AND BATTLES) until death (*bayʿat al-riḍwān;* Ibn Isḥāq, *Sīra,* iii, 236) and early writers of history, such as Ibn Saʿd (d. 230/845; *Ṭabaqāt*), do depict the Prophet as a regional hegemon, receiving delegations and tribute in exchange for protection (see CLIENTS AND CLIENTAGE; SĪRA AND THE QUR'ĀN; HISTORY AND THE QUR'ĀN).

Those who succeeded Muḥammad as leaders of the Muslim community worked to consolidate and expand the domain of Islam, e.g. Abū Bakr (r. 11-13/632-4) in the wars of apostasy (q.v.) and ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb (r. 13-23/634-44) in the conquest of Byzantine and Sasanian lands. It was conquest (q.v.) that led to the formation of a state ruled by a caliph (q.v.) and local governors and administered by magistrates and functionaries (judges and secretaries). None of this, however, can be said to bear a clear connection to qurʾānic inspiration (see REVELATION AND INSPIRATION) or even a loose one in the manner in which the Israelite monarchy was viewed through the words of Deuteronomy 16:18-18:22. The interest of theological literature in the leadership of the Muslim community was limited to sectarian debate (*kalām* or *ʿilm al-firaq;* see Madelung, Imāma; see THEOLOGY AND THE QUR'ĀN; IMĀM; KHARAJĪS; SHĪʿISM AND THE QUR'ĀN); and the collections of prophetic reports (*ḥadīth;* see ḤADĪTH AND THE QUR'ĀN) and law *(fiqh),* while speaking to the moral parameters of Islamic rule (e.g. Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,*

Kitāb al-Aḥkām; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ, Kitāb al-Imāra*), say nothing about the concept or details of political organization. The formulation of a theory connecting rule and religion was left to a genre of literature of Greek and Persian provenance known as "mirrors-for-princes," i.e. advice literature, in which it was argued that salvation (q.v.) in the next world was contingent upon socio-political prosperity in this one, mainly for two reasons. First, socio-political chaos was not conducive to performing the religious obligations by which one attained salvation and, secondly, the revealed law — the commands and prohibitions of God that define the Muslim community — could only be enforced by well-established rule, including various organs of governance and bureaus of administration. It was al-Māwardī (d. 450/1058), above all, who articulated this vision of Islamic rule, both its theory and form of governance, in *Tashīl al-nazar wa-taʿjīl al-zafar* ("Raising awareness and hastening victory") and *al-Aḥkām al-sulṭāniyya* ("The laws of Islamic governance"), respectively. It should be mentioned, however, that such connections between governance *(siyāsa)* and revelation *(sharīʿa)* were never above suspicion, playing a role in Sunnī-Shīʿī debate (see Heck, *Construction,* ch. 4).

Quasi-political themes in the Qurʾān

There is no agreement that the Qurʾān even has a political message. For Qamaruddin Khan *(Political concepts)* the qurʾānic message is not political but moral (see ETHICS AND THE QURʾĀN), a summons to submit to the one God and a life of faith (q.v.). He claims that the Qurʾān in no way sanctions one political form (i.e. monarchy, theocracy, democracy, etc.) and that those who derive a political message from the Qurʾān exploit its verses out of context for their own goals. In contrast, for Muḥammad ʿIzzat Darwaza the Qurʾān speaks to all aspects of human life, including the state and its financial, judicial, military and missionary tasks (see INVITATION) — a specifically qurʾānic political program implied, as he sees it, in the reference of Q 57:25 to the book (q.v.) and iron, i.e. divine justice and the coercive force needed to ensure public order (Darwaza, *al-Dustūr al-qurʾānī,* 50 f.; cf. Muqātil, *Tafsīr,* v, 4, 245, who associates iron with warfare; and al-ʿĀmirī, *Iʿlām,* 152, who characterizes both prophecy and human rule as divine endowment *[mawhiba samāwiyya];* see WAR; JUSTICE AND INJUSTICE; PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD). To that end, he adduces a number of verses (q.v.) purported to have called for political leadership after the death of the Prophet (Darwaza, *al-Dustūr al-qurʾānī,* 56 f.) and marshals forth in the body of the work an array of verses on the basis of which he constructs a qurʾānic vision of political organization.

Despite the range of opinion about its political content, the Qurʾān is clear about the connection between socio-political prosperity and obedience to the message of God as conveyed by his messengers. Denial of the divine message leads to destruction at the hands of God (e.g. Q 25:37; see PUNISHMENT STORIES). This is the way of God (*sunnat Allāh,* Q 40:85), to bring to naught those who sow corruption (q.v.) on earth (e.g. Q 28:4, 43). By underscoring the demise of former nations *(umam khāliya)* that failed to heed God's messengers (e.g. Q 40:21-2, 82; see GENERATIONS; WARNING; GEOGRAPHY), the Qurʾān signals rhetorically (see RHETORIC AND THE QURʾĀN) to its audience the consequence they will suffer if they fail to respond gratefully to the prophet Muḥammad (see GRATITUDE AND INGRATITUDE). The prophetic mission is God's claim upon a people to live in gratitude and faithfulness, making it a matter of

survival to comply with prophecy once announced (Q 28:58-9). It is no exaggeration to say that the example of former nations has considerably influenced Muslim political consciousness through the centuries (e.g. Māwardī, *Aʿlām,* 65: *wa-qaṣaṣ man ghabara min al-umam wāʿiẓ*), ensuring religion a central place in formulations of political prosperity (e.g. Juwaynī, *Ghiyāth al-umam*).

The terms traditionally used for political governance *(siyāsa)* and political order *(nizām)* are absent from the Qurʾān but all things in heaven and earth are subject to God's administering command (Q 32:5, *yudabbiru l-amra mina l-samāʾi ilā l-arḍi;* cf. Q 10:3, 31; 13:2; see POWER AND IMPOTENCE; COSMOLOGY). Responsibility for living in conformity to God's administration (*tadbīr,* equated with governance *[siyāsa]* in classical Islamic political thought) has been divinely entrusted to humankind, signified in the idea of *khalīfa* — e.g. Q 6:165 and Q 10:14, verses which indicate that this idea, whether understood as successor to former nations or delegate of God on earth, implies a test of fidelity to the will of God (for the different interpretations of this term by the early exegetes, see al-Qāḍī, Khalīfa; for its political appropriation by Umayyad and ʿAbbāsid rulers, see Crone and Hinds, *Caliph,* and al-Qāḍī, Foundation; for an historical overview of the institution of the caliphate, see Sourdel et al., Khalīfa).

This responsibility, now on Muslim shoulders, was foreshadowed in (1) God's plan for Adam to be caliph on earth (Q 2:30; see ADAM AND EVE) and (2) the divine trust *(al-amāna)* accepted by humankind prior to creation (q.v.; Q 33:72, its rejection by the rest of the created order making it the distinctive mark of human beings) in recognition of God as their sovereign lord (q.v.; Q 7:172). Since, however, humankind was destined to be subject to Satan's temptations (see DEVIL; FALL OF MAN), there was need for warning and guidance (see ASTRAY; ERROR; FREEDOM AND PREDESTINATION): Prophecy thus stands at the heart of the proper ordering of human affairs, serving to orient humankind not only to its final destiny in the next world (see ESCHATOLOGY; REWARD AND PUNISHMENT) but to prosperity in this one, as summarized by Muqātil b. Sulaymān (d. 150/767; *Tafsīr,* ii, 42): "When God sends a prophet to humankind and they obey him, the land and its people prosper *(ṣalaḥati l-arḍ wa-ahluhā)*. Disobedience [results in] the corruption of sustenance (q.v.; *fasād al-maʿīsha*) and the destruction of the land's people." A moral society is, after all, a blessing from God (Q 3:104): "That there be [made] of you a nation that calls for the good, commanding the right and forbidding the wrong. Those are the ones who thrive (*al-mufliḥūn;* see VIRTUES AND VICES, COMMANDING AND FORBIDDING)."

This is not to imply that prophets are to exercise rule themselves; Muḥammad is reminded on several occasions that he is merely a bearer of good tidings (see GOOD NEWS) and a warner (e.g. Q 25:56). Rather, prophets are to witness to the rule of God, the main instrument of which is scripture (*kitāb;* see BOOK), along with rule *(ḥukm)* and prophecy (*nubuwwa,* e.g. Q 3:79; 6:89; 45:16). Muqātil (*Tafsīr,* i, 289, 574) understands *ḥukm* as knowledge and understanding, which, by arbitrating human differences (cf. Q 2:213), bring about sociopolitical harmony under divine truth (q.v.) — a qurʾānic idea first embodied tangibly in the Constitution of Medina, which recognizes differing communal norms within one polity (see Zein al-Abdin, Political significance).

All dominion is envisioned as God's (*lillāhi mulku l-samāwati wa-l-arḍi,* e.g. Q 3:189; 5:17-8; less frequently *malakūt,* e.g. Q 6:75, 23:88, 36:83). It is in that sense that

the political program of the Qur'ān is essentially other-worldly or eschatological, i.e. oriented to the final day when all judgment (q.v.) will be truly divine (Q 25:26; see Ḥāmid, *Uṣūl,* 56, for whom the eschatological message of the Meccan verses forms a necessary backdrop to the divinely — i.e. other-worldly — oriented polity of the Medinan ones; see MECCA; MEDINA; CHRONOLOGY AND THE QUR'ĀN). While dominion is God's alone (Q 17:111; 25:2), he distributes it as he wishes (Q 3:26), for instance to Saul (q.v.; Q 2:247) and David (q.v.; Q 2:251). Dominion in human hands cannot, however, be reduced merely to power over others but is conceived as the application of divinely bestowed knowledge (e.g. Q 2:251; 12:101; 85:9) that will lead humankind to the religious and moral life ordained by God and destined to be fully realized on judgment day (Q 22:56; cf. 40:16; see LAST JUDGMENT). Humans may have been entrusted with rule (e.g. Q 5:20; 12:43) but God alone is true king (*al-malik al-ḥaqq,* e.g. Q 20:114; see KINGS AND RULERS).

The qur'ānic depiction of dominion as divine kingship recalls the imagery of the Psalms (q.v.), which are themselves shaped by conceptions of kingship of the ancient Near East. In the Psalms, it is the temple that represents God's heavenly throne as symbol of ultimate authority (e.g. *Ps* 11:4-5). In the Qur'ān, God is the final judge *(ḥakam),* seated on his throne and ruling his creation from its inception (cf. Q 7:54). He strikes those who transgress his order (cf. Q 6:124; see BOUNDARIES AND PRECEPTS; CHASTISEMENT AND PUNISHMENT), sets a path to be followed (Q 6:153), ensures the just settlement of dispute (Q 6:57; cf. 5:48), is the enemy of unbelievers (Q 2:98), lord of east and west (Q 2:115, 142), and his rule protects his subjects from the chaotic forces of unbelief (cf. Q 2:286; see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF).

It is in this sense that the prophet Muḥammad acts as emissary *(rasūl)* from the heavenly court, sent to give warning of impending judgment (e.g. Q 10:15) similar to that meted out to former nations. There is thus no break between divine and prophetic authority (e.g. Q 4:80; cf. 4:153), making obedience to the prophetic message *(risāla)* the singular means of avoiding doom. Following that message will result in true rule and prevent strife and corruption in the land, thereby ensuring prosperity rather than the destruction that former nations met as their fate for failing to heed God's messengers (Q 10:13) and choosing instead to follow the command of earthly potentates (Q 11:59). Human beings, custodians of divine communication, are worthy of rule (Q 4:59; cf. 4:83; 27:33): Indeed God uses human rulers to restrain humankind from sowing corruption in the land through mutual aggression (Q 2:251, a theme taken up vigorously in classical Islamic political thought; see Heck, Law) and even allows a human hierarchy regardless of moral standing (cf. Q 6:165). Rule in itself, however, is no guarantee of success, for even the wicked rule over one another (cf. Q 6:129). Humans, as problematic creatures given to strife and factionalism, need recourse to a higher standard to establish socio-political harmony. Although offering no details of political organization, the Qur'ān is quite clear that the processes of rule and arbitration are never to ignore the designs of God.

Thus, human beings, created weak (Q 4:28), must be reminded of their divinely entrusted responsibility, which happens periodically through prophetically established covenants (*mīthāq,* Q 5:7; with the Israelites, Q 2:63, 93; 5:12; with the Christians, Q 5:14; with the prophets, Q 3:81, 33:7; see CHILDREN OF ISRAEL; CHRISTIANS AND CHRISTIANITY; COVENANT). Such covenants are never limited to

monotheistic worship (q.v.) but include socio-moral norms (e.g. Q 2:83, where the covenant with Israel demands honoring one's parents [q.v.] and relatives, care for orphans [q.v.] and the dispossessed *[al-masākīn]* and kindly speech to others; cf. Q 4:154; see POVERTY AND THE POOR). These covenants, accompanied by divine knowledge (e.g. scripture and prophetic wisdom), impose upon their recipients an obligation to carry out God's program, an obligation neglected with grave consequences (Q 3:187; 5:70-1; 7:169). Rejecting covenant results not only in unbelief and infidelity (Q 4:155) but also in a disregard for God's interest in human welfare, ultimately bringing about corruption in the land (*fasād fī l-arḍ,* cf. Q 2:27; 13:25, a phrase denoting the very antithesis of the qur'ānic vision of socio-political prosperity). Human welfare, ordained by God, nevertheless depends on human willingness to bring it about by cooperating with God's revelation.

It will be important to recount briefly the mythic narratives of the Qur'ān (see MYTHS AND LEGENDS IN THE QUR'ĀN), i.e. the stories of former nations, which highlight the clash between godly and human rule — the central political theme of the Qur'ān that provides meaning for Muḥammad's own struggle with the peoples of his day who rejected or did not fully accept his message and who are negatively characterized in various ways: faithless ingrate *(kāfir),* polytheist (*mushrik;* see POLYTHEISM AND ATHEISM), recipient of previous scripture (*ahl al-kitāb,* i.e. "people of the book [q.v.]," usually identified as Jews and Christians; see JEWS AND JUDAISM) and, more generally, hypocrite (*munāfiq;* see HYPOCRITES AND HYPOCRISY), transgressor *(zālim)* and sinner (*fāsiq;* see SIN, MAJOR AND MINOR). They, too, like the former nations, are destined to perish for refusing the message of God conveyed to them by the prophecy of Muḥammad. This is not to discount the rhetorical purpose of such narrative, i.e. a literary technique to encourage acceptance of the recited message. Rather, it is to say that the Qur'ān is not naive about the use of power to shape human society for a godly end *(fī sabīl Allāh).* The former nations' rejection of prophecy justifies struggle *(jihād),* even armed struggle, against the opponents of Muḥammad (see JIHĀD). In turn, the Muslims, whom God has chosen as final successors to former nations, must prosper by struggling for the way of God against those who mock or deny him (see MOCKERY; LIE), making prosperity, i.e. political success, the litmus test of obedience to God.

In other words, socio-political prosperity is a heavy burden, envisioned by the Qur'ān not only as the performance of moral and religious obligations but also as a ritual performance meant to recall and resonate with the mythic narrative of the Qur'ān. The political ritual of Islam — *'ibāda mulkiyya* in the words of al-'Āmirī (d. 381/992; *I'lām,* 148-50) — has been diversely imagined by Muslims: eschatologically (Khārijīs), legally (Sunnīs), hierarchically (Shī'īs), esoterically (Ismā'īlīs), ideally (the vision of philosophers such as al-Fārābī; see PHILOSOPHY AND THE QUR'ĀN) and sociologically (the position of state-aligned intellectuals, e.g. Qudāma b. Ja'far, al-Māwardī, Ibn Khaldūn; see SOCIAL SCIENCES AND THE QUR'ĀN). But, for all, it is the means of sanctifying the Muslim community by recalling God's promise of sustenance and support until the end of time (Māwardī, *Naṣīḥat al-mulūk,* 67), in contrast to the former nations that he brought to ruin — the mythic narrative recorded in the scrolls (q.v.) of previous scripture as a reminder (*dhikrā,* see MEMORY; REMEMBRANCE) to all and heeded by some (*ahl al-dhikr,* Q 16:43;

21:7). The qurʾānic narrative thus makes of politics — the quest for socio-political success — a salvifically driven drama that re-enacts the revealed message. Failure to imagine socio-political prosperity in recollection of the mythic narrative puts divine favor at risk and, for some, may demand acts of heroic sacrifice, i.e. martyrdom (see MARTYRS), by which to restore what is understood to be a relation with God gone awry (for an example of a martyr culture in opposition to the world, see Sharāra, *Dawla,* esp. 291 f.). Alternatively, it may demand a re-reading of the Qurʾān such that political reality be understood in light of qurʾānic narrative. An example of this from the classical period can be found in the work of Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī (d. 414/1023; *Imtāʿ,* ii, 33), who at a time of political flux in the Islamic world made the claim on the basis of Q 2:247 that the ruler *(malik),* no less than prophet, is heaven-sent *(mabʿūth),* and that to the great astonishment of the vizier *(kaʾannī lam asmaʿ bi-hādhā qaṭṭ)*. Of the many examples of this in the modern period, one can point to the work of the Syrian sheikh and parliamentarian, Muḥammad al-Ḥabash, who places emphasis on the benefits *(maṣāliḥ)* and prosperity to accrue to Muslims from a greater engagement with the modern world, as a qurʾānic mandate (see Heck, Religious renewal; cf. al-Ḥamd, *al-Siyāsa*).

At play throughout the Qurʾān, the political drama of former nations is more or less coherently narrated across its seventh, eighth and ninth chapters: the first revealed in Mecca, the last two in Medina. Accounts begin in Q 7 (Sūrat al-Aʿrāf, "The Heights") as follows: God alone is protector (Q 7:3), since it is he who arbitrates on judgment day (Q 7:8-9). Unbelievers seek out the protection of demons (*shayāṭīn,* Q 7:27), a theme recalling the fall of Adam and Eve (Q 7:22-4) and the resulting human struggle to resist demonically inspired temptation (Q 7:16-7) and strife (Q 7:24). Those who do sin and transgress God's decrees fail to recognize his exclusive authority (Q 7:33, *an tushrikū bi-llāhi mā lam yunazzil bihi sulṭānan — sulṭān* identified as God's book by Muqātil, *Tafsīr,* ii, 34); they are the nations of jinn (q.v.) and humans occupying hell (Q 7:38, *umam… mina l-jinni wa-l-insi fī l-nār;* see HELL AND HELLFIRE). God as lord of all (Q 7:54) wills that there be no corruption in the land after it has been made good (Q 7:56, *lā tufsidū fī l-arḍi baʿda iṣlāḥihā;* cf. Q 7:85), having sent a series of messengers to various peoples for that purpose (to call them to monotheism *[tawḥīd]* according to Muqātil, *Tafsīr,* ii, 43): Noah (q.v.; Nūḥ), Hūd (q.v.), Ṣāliḥ (q.v.) and Shuʿayb (q.v.). In each case, the worldly leaders of the day (*malaʾ,* a tribal term that Muqātil, *Tafsīr,* ii, 45, 49, identifies with the arrogant, *al-kubarāʾ, alladhīna takabbarū ʿan al-īmān;* see ARROGANCE) reject the purported messenger (Q 7:60, 66, 75, and 88, respectively) for speaking against the beliefs of the community (e.g. *milla* in the case of Shuʿayb, Q 7:88; on such community-identifying terms, see Aḥmed, Key). Each in turn (Q 7:61-2, 67-8, 79 and 93) responds that he is a messenger of God, sent to convey his message and offer counsel (*naṣīḥa*, for the reform of the affairs of the nation in question, e.g. Q 7:85 in the case of Shuʿayb; *ʿulamāʾ* would later claim this role of socio-political counsel, called *nuṣḥ*, e.g. Ibn Taymiyya, *Siyāsa*, 1). The people, led by their arrogant leaders (Muqātil, *Tafsīr*, ii, 45, see this as oppression [q.v.] of the weak *[ḍuʿafāʾ]* by the strong, i.e. preventing them from the benefits of God's message; cf. Q 40:47, where, in hell, the weak ask the arrogant why they misled them), inevitably disavow the messengers of God and are destroyed by his judgment (understood by Muqātil, ibid., 47, as a fitting punishment), which, however, creates the possibility of successor nations (*khulafāʾ*,

Q 7:69, 74, understood by Muqātil, ibid., 43, as successors in punishment *[ʿadhāb]*). Up to this point, however, the settled peoples of the world (*ahl al-qurā;* see CITY) refuse to believe, thus foregoing the material blessings (*barakāt)* that accompany fidelity to God (Q 7:96).

Such narration (*al-qaṣaṣ*, Q 7:176; cf. 7:7; see NARRATIVES), mytho-historical staging for Muḥammad's own prophetic mission, culminates in the account of Moses (q.v.) and Pharaoh (q.v.): the archetypical clash of godly and worldly power. Moses is God's messenger to Pharaoh and his court (*malaʾ*, Q 7:103). Pharaoh takes on the characteristics of God, accusing Moses of sowing corruption in the land and claiming to be the one who subdues the world (cf. Q 7:127): The problem here is not human rule itself but denial of God's ultimate sovereignty. Moses convinces the reluctant Israelites that God will destroy their enemy and make them the latest successors to custodianship of God's message (Q 7:129). Indeed, after the destruction of Pharaoh and his folk, the Israelites do inherit the earth, east and west (suggesting the entire earth, Q 7:137). It is they, finally, who form a community *(umma)* of truth and justice (Q 7:160) and yet they, too, eventually divide into twelve tribes or nations and do wrong (Q 7:159), signaling the judgment to be passed against the Israelites as against former nations (Q 7:168). The religious divisions of humankind in general and the Israelites specifically are attributed by al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923) to political aspiration *(ṭalab al-riʾāsa)* and the desire of humans to subject one another (*istidhlāl min baʿḍihim li-baʿḍ,* Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* i, 650-1, where it is explained that the Muslims, on account of divine guidance *[hidāya],* refrain from these differences and on judgment day will serve as witness against the former nations for rejecting the messengers sent to them; see RELIGIOUS PLURALISM AND THE QUR'ĀN; WITNESSING AND TESTIFYING). The belief that religious divisions are the product of political ambition is echoed in the fourth/tenth-century letters of the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā ("Brethren of Purity"; *Rasāʾil Ikhwān al-Ṣafā,* iii, 151-6; cf. also Māwardī, *Adab al-dīn,* 169-70, where weak rule is shown to be the source of religious innovation and division, and id., *Naṣīḥat al-mulūk,* 70-6, where the ruler is expected to defend creedal orthodoxy against theological innovations understood as breaches of socio-political harmony; see HERESY; INNOVATION).

The turn has now fallen to Muḥammad, as foreshadowed in previous scriptures, who legislates by commanding the right and proscribing the wrong (*al-amr bi-l-maʿrūf wa-l-nahy ʿan al-munkar;* cf. Cook, *Commanding right,* 13-31) and by establishing the lawful *(ḥalāl)* and unlawful (*ḥarām*, see LAWFUL AND UNLAWFUL), making of Muḥammad the messenger to all people from the one God to whom belongs sovereignty over the heavens and the earth (cf. Q 7:157-8). As if to bring the story full circle, the Qurʾān has Muḥammad declare that God alone is his protector (Q 7:196 in echo of Q 7:3; see PROTECTION), presumably in the face of those groups who, as we see in the following two chapters, have set themselves against him.

That the account of Muḥammad's struggles in Q 8 (Sūrat al-Anfāl, "The Spoils") and Q 9 (Sūrat al-Tawba, "Repentance") is to be read as fulfillment of the historical narration of Q 7 is confirmed by Q 9:70, which queries whether the news (q.v.; *nabaʾ*) of former nations had not reached the ears of Muḥammad's opponents. The themes of Q 7 are thus reworked into the context of Muḥammad's own mission, helping to explain the nature of the opposition. There is a call to obey God and his messenger (Q 8:46; cf. 8:26 where people are reminded not to betray the trust *[amāna]* given to them and Q 9:63,

where hell is the judgment upon those who oppose God and his messenger). The enemies of Muḥammad are compared to Pharaoh (Q 8:52). In the end it is God who rules all through his book (cf. Q 8:68, 75). Strife — the seduction of the devil and source of religious division — will be avoided once all opposition has been subdued and all religion has been handed over to God (Q 8:39). Thus is a godly nation born out of struggle with ungodly opposition, both polytheists (i.e. *mushrikūn* or at least those polytheists who have broken a treaty made with Muḥammad [Q 9:3-4, cf. 8:56]; see BREAKING TRUSTS AND CONTRACTS) and recipients of previous scriptures who neither believe nor recognize the lawful and unlawful in their own scriptures (Q 9:29), making them tantamount to *mushrikūn* by associating other lords with God in denial of his singular sovereignty (Q 9:30-1; see IDOLATRY AND IDOLATERS). In other words, failure to heed one's scripture leads to socio-moral breakdown. This new nation is composed of people who believe, command right and forbid wrong, are committed to both prayer (q.v.) and the payment of alms (Q 9:71; see ALMSGIVING), leave their homes (i.e. separate from the wayward) and care both for one another (Q 8:72) and for the weaker members of society (cf. Q 8:41 and 9:60 on the distribution of spoils and alms, respectively, and Q 7:75 and 7:137 on concern for the downtrodden *[mustaḍʿaf];* see BOOTY; OPPRESSED ON EARTH, THE).

It is worth noting the resemblance of such qur'ānic narrative to the biblical oracles against the nations and oracles of restoration (*Ezek* 25:1-32:32 and 33:1-39:29 and *Jer* 25:13-38 and 46:1-51:64), where judgment was passed against the nations, including Israel, for cultic, not political, deviance and hope was offered for a new Israel and even a new temple and cult (*Ezek* 40:1-58:35). Is, then, the qur'ānic concern for unity under God's rule as mediated by the prophet Muḥammad a socio-political concern or a cultic one? Is it for political or cultic reasons that God has sent his final messenger to a nation destined to succeed all previous ones (Q 13:30)? Q 22:67 mentions dispute over ritual (*mansak;* see RITUAL AND THE QUR'ĀN), Q 16:124 and Q 39:3 over the Sabbath (q.v.) and Q 5:45 over bodily injury. Does the rule of God as announced by the Qur'ān include the political or is it more properly limited to ritual *(ʿibādāt),* social affairs (*muʿāmalāt,* e.g. commercial, criminal and family law; see MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE; FAMILY) and morals (*akhlāq)?*

At least one group in early Islam, the Khārijīs, made no separation between the political and the ritual. In a context in which revelation is believed to be operative, differences must be mitigated or removed for the sake of a communal purity that is itself a pre-condition for further revelation. In other words, when a nation fails to carry out the work *(ʿamal)* commanded of them by God, the possibility of further divine communication is jeopardized and previous communication is rendered suspect. Hence, qur'ānic charges of scriptural distortion (see FORGERY; POLEMIC AND POLEMICAL LANGUAGE) against recipients of previous scripture were also accusations of socio-moral impropriety. Parallels to this can be found in the Judeo-Christian tradition: The Israelites had to undergo purification in anticipation of God's manifestation on Mount Sinai (*Exod* 19:1-24:18, especially 19:8-19); and the community at Qumran — for whom prophecy was not at all closed — maintained a strict code of ritual and legal purity as a pre-condition for further divine communication. The Qur'ān, for its part, states that the *mushrikūn* are a pollutant *(najas)* and are not to go near the sacred mosque (q.v.; Q 9:28). Pollution (*rijs,* Q 9:125; see CLEANLINESS AND ABLUTION; RITUAL PURITY) — construed as transgres-

sion of ritual practice, dietary laws (see FOOD AND DRINK), sexual norms (see SEX AND SEXUALITY), etc. — poses a problem for further disclosure of revelation (Q 9:127, *wa-idhā mā unzilat sūratun nazara baʿḍuhum ilā baʿḍin, hal yarākum min aḥadin*…). This suggests that qurʾānic reference to the rule or reign of God has nothing to do with political decision-making but implies rather the unity of communal purpose that the cultic maintenance of God's presence amidst his people entails.

Still, scripture is God's mode of decision-making, which is not limited to the book sent to Muḥammad (see SCRIPTURE AND THE QURʾĀN), but includes both the Torah (q.v.) and Gospel (q.v.; Q 5:44-7). The claim is made by one exegete (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* iii, 243) that these verses were revealed in response to a group of Jews who questioned Muḥammad about two adulterers and thus failed to follow the judgment — stoning (q.v.) — that their own scripture called for (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* iii, 233-5): Those who do not make decisions according to God's revelation are ingrates, transgressors, wicked (Q 5:44, *wa-man lam yaḥkum bi-mā anzala llāhu fa-ūlāʾika humu l-kāfirūn;* Q 5:45 uses *ẓalīmūn* and Q 5:47, *fāsiqūn*).

The political potential of such verses was certainly not lost on al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923), who narrates a story of a group of Khārijīs who inquire of Abū Mijlaz whether Q 5:44-6 could be applied to the political leaders of the Muslims *(umarāʾ wa-wulāt al-muslimīn),* considered to be in sin simply for their assumption of rule, which in Khārijī opinion belongs only to God. Clearly aware of the Khārijī angle of their inquiry (as was al-Ṭabarī who explains it), Abū Mijlaz responds by saying that Islam (q.v.) is their religion even if they sin and that the verses in question were revealed in reference to Jews, Christians and polytheists. The question is not settled, however, since faithless ingratitude *(kufr)* does not properly apply to these groups, leading al-Ṭabarī to demonstrate that Q 5:44 *(kāfirūn)* applies to lapsed Muslims, while Q 5:45 *(ẓālimūn)* and Q 5:47 *(fāsiqūn)* applies to Jews and Christians, respectively, and that the unbelief into which lapsed Muslims have fallen is not of the kind necessitating excommunication, which would make it licit to take their life (ibid., iii, 237-8; see MURDER) — an argument that has not swayed Islamist groups today from using such verses to justify attacks against Muslim leaders who fail to implement the rule of God to Islamist satisfaction.

It cannot be denied that God alone decrees the final fate of his creatures (Q 40:48) as the most just of judges (Q 11:45) but this capacity is shared by prophets and humans in general, who are called to judge with justice (*al-ʿadl,* e.g. Q 4:58 and 5:95; or *al-qist,* Q 5:42) and truth *(ḥaqq)* without partiality (*hawā,* Q 38:26), as a check against transgression (*baghy,* Q 38:22). Such standards are associated with the scripture itself (*ḥukm al-kitāb,* cf. Q 3:23 and 4:105), which, as the highest standard of arbitration, serves to reconcile differences and to end conflict (e.g. Q 2:213; cf. 3:23 and 45:17), while all quarrels are to be settled by God's final verdict on judgment day (Q 22:68-9). If it is indeed the word of God (q.v.; *kalām Allāh*) that must rule, to prevent strife and ensure prosperity, then the extent to which humans are capable of interpreting the divine will and thus meriting a share in rule remains the central if elusive question for politics and the Qurʾān.

The politicization of the Qurʾān in early Islam

The ideological use of the Qurʾān for political purposes, i.e. its politicization, occurred early. As the word of God, the Qurʾān is the emblem of Islamic legitimacy par excellence and has been used to that end by standing governments and rebels alike, by activists and theorists, and in defense of both hereditary rule and elected

politics. Given its divine origin, scripture acts as an alternative authority, making it an interest of a state with a religious dispensation to supervise the text, as can be seen in both the earliest and more recent periods of Islamic history, e.g. (1) the establishment of a single recension of the qur'ānic text (*muṣḥaf* [q.v.]) by the third caliph, ʿUthmān (r. 23-35/644-56), who outlawed variant versions (see COLLECTION OF THE QUR'ĀN; CODICES OF THE QUR'ĀN; READINGS OF THE QUR'ĀN) to the resentment of the so-called Qur'ān reciters (*qurrā';* see RECITERS OF THE QUR'ĀN), a decision that, according to Sayf b. ʿUmar (d. 180/796), led them to seek his assassination (Sayf b. ʿUmar, *Kitāb al-Ridda,* 49-52); and (2) the decision by ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II (r. 1876-1909) to make the printing of the Qur'ān (q.v.) an Ottoman state monopoly and to set up a commission under the highest religious office of the state *(shaykh al-islām)* for the inspection of all printed copies. Even states without a religious dispensation may seek to manage the Qur'ān, as seen in the Turkish Republic's interest in promoting a Turkish translation of the Qur'ān with commentary (Albayrak, The notion; see TRANSLATIONS OF THE QUR'ĀN).

The diverse political ends that the Qur'ān has served, from earliest Islam until today, have been possible simply because it is, as the word of God, beyond human control. Can the Qur'ān be subordinated to human interpretation? To what extent can it accommodate human decision-making? Is the Qur'ān itself to determine political rule or is it to be located within a constellation of human conceptions of rule? Is the Qur'ān to shape the political order or is it to be placed at the service of the political order? On the one hand, the qur'ānic announcement of the absolute sovereignty of God has been taken very seriously by some Muslims, especially those with Khārijī leanings. On the other, the absence of any qur'ānic details on political organization has made apparent to most Muslims the need for non-revealed guidance in the realm of politics. The politicization of the Qur'ān, from its beginning, centered upon the possibility of its interpretation and thus subordination to human judgment — a vast topic which here can only be glimpsed in the traces left to us in the chronicle written by the third/ninth-century historian, al-Ṭabarī *(Ta'rīkh).*

The death of the Prophet gave rise to a struggle over the nature of Islamic society and leadership, imagined variously as succession to the Prophet and as delegated agent of God on earth. The extent to which the Muslim community was to be politically organized under central rule was also in question. All parties involved, both recognized caliphs and their opponents, cited qur'ānic verse in support of their cause. In his letter to a group of apostates, the first successor to the Prophet, Abū Bakr, couched in abundant qur'ānic citation his argument that Islam will survive the death of its Prophet (Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh,* 1882; trans. x, 55-60), while one of his supporters, Abū Ḥudhayfa, mobilized military enthusiasm against the apostates by calling out to the Muslims as the people of the Qur'ān (ibid., 1945, trans. 121). Later, the widow of the Prophet, ʿĀ'isha (see ʿĀ'ISHA BINT ABĪ BAKR), in a letter to the people of Kūfa, reportedly argued for Medinan hegemony against the emerging center of power in southern Iraq under the leadership of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib (q.v.; r. 35-40/656-61), the cousin and son-in-law of the Prophet and fourth of the rightly-guided caliphs, by calling the people to uphold the book of God against the killers of ʿUthmān, quoting Q 3:102-3 and Q 3:23 on the importance of communal unity (ibid., 3133; trans. xvi, 74-6). In response, ʿAlī is reported to have asserted his adherence to the book (i.e. of God) as arbiter and imām

(ibid., 3141; trans. xvi, 83), unsuccessfully attempting to use a copy of the Qurʾān as a symbol of reconciliation *(iṣlāḥ)* for the divided community (ibid., 3186, 3189; trans. xvi, 126, 129-30).

The real test for the relation of the Qurʾān to Islamic rule came at the battle of Ṣiffīn (q.v.) between the partisans of ʿAlī (see SHĪʿA) and those of Muʿāwiya, founder of the Umayyad dynasty (r. 41-60/661-80) who based his claim to lead the Muslim community on his right to avenge the blood of ʿUthmān as closest kin (see BLOOD MONEY; KINSHIP). In the course of the battle, which had swayed in favor of ʿAlī, the soldiers of Muʿāwiya reportedly raised copies of the Qurʾān *(maṣāḥif)* on the tips of their spears as a symbol of their desire for arbitration (q.v.; Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 3329; trans. xvii, 78). ʿAlī hesitated at first, claiming that Muʿāwiya and his followers were without religion and without Qurʾān (here in the indefinite — perhaps alluding to one of many recitations *[qirāʾāt]* of the Qurʾān) and that he had fought them in the first place so that they might adhere to rule by "this book" (*li-yadīnū bi-ḥukm hādhā l-kitāb,* ibid., 3330; trans. xvii, 79). Eventually, a group within his partisans, the vociferous advocates of rule by the Qurʾān later known as Khārijīs, urged him to respond to this offer of judgment by the book of God (ibid., 3332; trans. xvii, 86). While the trick played by Muʿāwiya to get the better of ʿAlī is well-known, the story of the arbitration between the two raised significant issues about the relation of the Qurʾān to Islamic rule.

After calling ʿAlī to submit to the rule of the Qurʾān, these first Khārijīs challenged his claims to personal charismatic authority, especially his attempts to associate himself with the character and prestige of the Prophet (ibid., 3336; trans. xvii, 85; cf. Mubarrad, *Kāmil,* ii, 540; Sayf b. ʿUmar, *Kitāb al-Ridda,* 357), protesting that their oath of allegiance to him did not imply special privilege (cf. 1 *Chron* 21 and 1 *Kings* 10:23-11:13, where David and Solomon, respectively, are rebuked for pursuing lordly status based on worldly power); rather, he was like them in all respects, acting as their recognized leader and not in any way an inspired figure. With the arbitration between ʿAlī and Muʿāwiya exposed as a hoax, this group withdrew from ʿAlī's partisans, accusing him of failing to submit fully to the rule of the Qurʾān and of permitting human judgment over the book of God (Mubarrad, *Kāmil,* ii, 539-40; Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh,* 3360-2, esp. 3362, where one Khārijī ends his accusation of ʿAlī with the following: "Our lord is not to be set aside or dispensed with. O God, we take refuge in you from the introduction of things of this world into our religion, a smearing *[idhān]* of the affairs of God and a disgrace *[dhull]* that brings down his wrath upon his people.").

Their position crystallizing in opposition to ʿAlī, whom they attack — on the basis of Q 49:9 — for his failure to repent, the Khārijīs would go on to proclaim a highly pietistic, strongly individualistic and qurʾānically centered religiosity (Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 3349; trans. xvii, 99): Considering themselves the only true Muslims for their freedom from sin (i.e. defined as the use of human judgment in the affairs of God; see IMPECCABILITY), they dispensed with — at least in principle — the need for a leader (i.e. human rule; cf. Crone, Statement); authority was for them to be purely consultative among their members (see CONSULTATION), all of whom, it is to be presumed, were entirely faithful to the voice of the Qurʾān, while their oath of allegiance, to God alone, required them to adhere strictly to the principle of commanding the right and forbidding the wrong.

Ibn ʿAbbās (d. ca. 68/686-8), dispatched

by ʿAlī to the Khārijī rebels, was faced with a stubborn refusal to listen to his use of analogical reasoning to justify the arbitration (on the basis of Q 4:35, which calls for arbitration to reconcile a couple in conflict; Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh,* 3351; trans. xvii, 100-1; Mubarrad, *Kāmil,* ii, 528-9). The Khārijīs responded by insisting that, while human discretion is permissible where God has delegated authority, it is not for his servants to judge what he has decreed, namely that Muʿāwiya and his party should repent or be killed, a judgment based on Q 9:5 which calls for the killing of those who do not repent of their failure to acknowledge the singular sovereignty of God.

At stake here are essentially two very different notions of qur'ānic interpretation with consequences for political authority. For these first Khārijīs, no human interpretation of the Qur'ān was possible, ensuring its unequivocal if problematic status as final arbiter and leader of human society (see Ibn Abī Shayba, *Muṣannaf,* viii, 729-43, nos. 2, 3, 38-40, 48, where the Prophet is made to predict the coming of the Khārijīs as a people whose engagement with revelation is limited to an oral recitation unmediated by human judgment; see also no. 33, which describes Khārijī insistence that communal differences be decided solely by the rule of the book of God *[ḥukm al-kitāb];* nos. 27 and 51, which explain their defense of divine rule alone as a ploy to do away with human governance [*imra* or *imāra*]; and no. 22, which cites Khārijī neglect of ambiguous [q.v.; *mutashābih*] verses of the Qur'ān as evidence of their rejection of interpretation). For ʿAlī and his partisans, the human being formed the cognitive link between the Qur'ān and communal decision-making, as exemplified in Ibn ʿAbbās' use of analogy and ʿAlī's own argument that the Qur'ān is merely dead script between two covers and that it does not speak but rather that humans speak through it (Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh,* 3353; trans. xvii, 103; see SPEECH). For that, he was accused of giving authority over the book of God to humans (ibid., 3361; trans. xvii, 111), an accusation he recognized but defined as a failure of judgment, not sin, while accusing the Khārijīs in turn of disrupting the governance necessary for Muslims to fulfill their pact with God (citing Q 16:91-3) by making of the Qur'ān something it was not intended to be (citing Q 39:65, essentially accusing the Khārijīs of polytheism). Both sides cite the Qur'ān (ibid., 3362; trans. xvii, 113) as proof texts to justify two different conceptions of scripture, one subject to human interpretation and the other effective without it.

The Khārijīs, in a later encounter with Ibn al-Zubayr, accused ʿUthmān of having introduced innovations into the religion and of opposing the rulings of the book (Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh,* 516; trans. xx, 99-100), a transgression they identify with ʿUthmān's attempt to create a dynastic rule officiated by his close kin and based on central control of the proceeds of the Islamic conquests. In short, the corruption that the Qur'ān so vehemently denounces is understood by both the representatives of the nascent Islamic state and their Khārijī opponents as disobedience (q.v.) to God, the difference being that for the former disobedience to God included disobedience to properly constituted and divinely endowed human authority.

This first debate over the relation of the Qur'ān to human rule must be seen in the context of changing social conditions, especially the emergence of an increasingly centralized state with control over the material wealth of the community, which meant in the case of early Islam the considerable proceeds of conquest which had turned many of the first Muslims into landowners of vast estates (see Kenney,

Emergence), while depriving others from a share of the spoils of victory according to seniority in the cause of Islam, as had been the case under the Prophet and his first two successors. One report claims that it was ʿAlī's refusal to permit the Muslim fighters to plunder the property of conquered peoples that first provoked Khārijī resentment (Sayf b. ʿUmar, *Kitāb al-Ridda,* 357). Under ʿAlī's policy, conquered lands were to be administered and taxed by state officials and not distributed as tribal booty to Muslim fighters, who were now to receive a salary fixed by the state. It was thus partly the consolidation of Islamic rule in worldly terms that brought about the politicization of the Qurʾān, the strongly eschatological (other worldly) coloring of its verses serving as a platform for opponents of the state to protest its policies: How could there be worldly rule in light of the rule of God as inaugurated and announced by the Qurʾān? It was not merely a question of the qurʾānic narrative of former nations but the presence of the Qurʾān itself in the midst of the believing community. If revelation — God's word and not human effort — was to be the effective agent of grace (q.v.) and guidance, any other rule would be automatically disqualified on the grounds of being worldly: Those whom the rapidly changing social conditions of early Islamic society had marginalized from an increasingly centralizing power and dispossessed of a share in the growing wealth of the Muslim community found a strong ally in the Qurʾān. In short, Khārijī shame at being marginalized in a changing socio-political order came to be associated with qurʾānic condemnations of sinful worldliness and human governance identified as the object of God's wrath, transforming scriptural rhetoric into a political program. Human governance, now defined as godless, is to be attacked in order to ensure avoidance of the historical catastrophe that beset former nations. Social marginalization becomes imagined as religious anxiety over the possibility of suffering the horrifying consequences of human dismissal of the prophetic message. Amidst such developments, the only way to display piety (q.v.) is by attacking the state and those who award it authority, now depicted in eschatological terms as the foes of God (see ENEMIES), as seen in an early Khārijī poem (ʿAbbās, *Shiʿr al-khawārij,* no. 258):

I did not want a share from him, only
aspiring in killing him that I succeed
and relieve the earth of him and those
who wreak havoc and turn from the truth.
Every tyrant *(jabbār)* is stubborn. I consider
him to have abandoned the truth and to
have legislated misguidance *(sannat al-ḍalāl)*. Verily do I sell myself to my lord,
quitting their hollow words, selling my
family and wealth, in the hopes of a place
and possessions in the gardens of eternity
(q.v.; see also GARDEN).

It would not be totally inaccurate to dismiss Khārijī use of the Qurʾān as a means to defend their material interests, as Muʿāwiya did (Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh,* 2913, 2930), but it is still important to link their material interests to their conception of revelation and its corresponding view of all worldly goods as sacrificial offering to God (see SACRIFICE). It was not just a matter of control of communal resources but also of the divine consumption of the lands and property of the conquered peoples as preparation for the rule of God signaled by revelation, as suggested by Q 27:91-3, which Sālim b. Dhakwān (*Epistle,* 64; cf. 50) cites in support of fighting against any association *(ishrāk)* of the worldly with the divine. By comparison, this attitude is well illustrated in the book of Joshua, where the voice of God commands the Israelites not

only to conquer the land but to plunder its wealth and kill its inhabitants — men, women and children — as a holocaust offering to the lord (e.g. *Josh* 6:17-21; 8:2, 24-6; 10:28-40; 11:6-14; see also *Num* 21:33-5 and *Deut* 3:1-7). The rule of God is to be prepared by the elimination of all that stands in its way, a mission contingent upon the uncompromised purity of a community consecrated to the sacralizing, sanctifying, all-consumptive and annihilating voice of God as announced by the book of the law of Moses (*Josh* 8:34-45; 23:6-8). The qur'ānically inspired militancy of the early Khārijīs served as an expression of vengeance on the worldly powers of the day, now Muslims and not merely forces hostile to Islam, who were both an affront to the reign of God and a threat to socio-political harmony, as expressed by the proto-Khārijī Ibn Budayl as grounds for fighting Mu'āwiya (Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh,* 3289-90, citing Q 9:123-7). Q 4:66-78, a rhetorical foil to encourage listeners to choose the way of God over that of Satan (*ṭāghūt;* see IDOLS AND IMAGES), speaks of fighting (q.v.) and killing as a religious activity (associated with prayer and fasting), a scriptural theme that became a way of life for the early Khārijīs, who passed sleep-deprived nights reciting the Qur'ān and long days in battle until death (Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh,* 3286-7), both activities understood as a means of drawing closer to God by lowering the barrier between this world and the next.

Recent studies on the Khārijī phenomenon (see Donner, Piety and eschatology; al-Jomaih, Use of the Qur'ān; Higgins, Qur'ānic exchange; Heck, Eschatological scripturalism) have raised important questions about their conception of revelation, their eschatological point of view and their desire to die in battle against the enemies of God. The reports about them as well as their own point of view as represented in their poetry ('Abbās, *Shi'r al-khawārij*) suggest that their rejection of any mediating barrier between the voice of God and its reception by humans worked to create an inherently antagonistic relation between the divine and the human, in which violence against the world was the only form piety might take and in which one's death in battle against the enemies of God — lethal martyrdom — is considered a fair exchange *(shirā')* for a place in eternity absolved of the sinful impurities of this world. Martyrdom as a pure offering to God in an act of violence — the desire to die in battle — becomes an effective means of winning God's favor by disassociating oneself from the sinful ways of a Muslim community that, having established itself as a worldly power, now falls into the category of former nations that rejected the rule of God.

In pursuit of their Islamic utopia, the Khārijīs separated from what they viewed as a wayward Muslim community (Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh,* 518-9; trans. xx, 103-4) and pursued a campaign of terror against those who admitted sin by refusing to condemn 'Uthmān's rule, killing at random men, women and children, even ripping open the wombs of pregnant women (Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh,* 755-6; trans. xxi, 125) and crucifying villagers (ibid., 760; trans. 129). Such violence may reflect gang tactics (Khārijī initiates were required to kill *[isti'rād]* as a test of loyalty and, when asked by state authorities to hand over the guilty, claimed collective responsibility — e.g. Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh,* 3377; trans. xvii, 127: "All of us were their killers and all of us consider your and their blood to be licit"). Violence (q.v.) does, however, serve to promote protest (e.g. the American and French revolutions). Indiscriminate violence can also serve to define the boundaries of a scripturally based community (cf. the New England Puritans who in 1637 carried out genocide

against the Pequot Indians in order to, in their own words, eradicate their memory from the face of the earth). Whatever the case may be, it would seem that the Khārijī conception of revelation, free of human mediation, motivated them to purify the Muslim community of its sinful turn to human authority and protection (*wilāya,* e.g. ʿUthmān, cf. Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh,* 516; trans. xx, 101; or ʿAbd al-Malik, cf. Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh,* 821-2, trans. xxi, 199). The Qurʾān had declared that no such protection should be sought in anyone other than God (Q 7:3) and in imitation of the Prophet, the early Khārijī leader, Nāfiʿ b. Azraq, declared that one should seek protection only in God (Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh,* 518; trans. xx, 103). Those who did not have a negative opinion of the leaders of the nascent Islamic state stood in sin for seeking protection in human beings. Sin for the Khārijīs, then, meant any positive association with human governance.

It is difficult to make sense of Khārijī activism without assuming an open-ended conception of revelation, in which the word of God continues to command and guide. Indeed, the Qurʾān depicts itself as open-ended (Q 25:32-3, see Madigan, *Qurʾān's self-image*). This does not mean a completely oral definition of the Qurʾān but a scriptural corpus that was not entirely fixed — cf. Khārijī accusations against ʿUthmān of having torn up books of the Qurʾān, a reference to his destruction of versions of the Qurʾān that differed with his official recension, to which ʿAlī responded with the claim that the decision was made after consultation (*shūrā,* a principle of human decision-making based on Q 3:159) among the Companions of the Prophet (q.v.; Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh,* 747; trans. xxi, 114). Notwithstanding the theological diversity in early Khārijism, its earliest form illustrates how scriptural rhetoric, originally a gloss on a community's self-understanding of survival amidst hostile forces, is transformed into a historical record of battle and bloodshed on behalf of God — scriptural rhetoric as litmus test of militancy (see Donner, Piety and eschatology, 16; cf. Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh,* 517; trans. xx, 102 and Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi, *ʿIqd,* i, 217-9, esp. 219, which culminates in the report of Mirdās Abū Bilāl al-Khārijī, "There was no sect or innovating group with more penetrating insight than the Khārijīs, nor greater effort *[ijtihād],* nor more reconciled to death. Among them there was one who was stabbed, and the spear went through him, and he continued to make his way toward his killer, saying, 'I have hastened to you, O lord, that you might be pleased'"). This aspect of the Khārijī phenomenon — political re-enactment of scriptural rhetoric — remains current today. For example, Sayyid Quṭb (d. 1966) passionately sought to persuade Muslims to listen to qurʾānic recitation (see RECITATION OF THE QUR'ĀN) as its first audience did and imagine themselves to be faced with the choices the first Muslims faced in meeting the enemies of the Qurʾān (e.g. *Ẓilāl,* i/3, 115-27; cf. Arjomand, Unity and diversity). While such qurʾānic commentary served Quṭb's purposes of associating his enemies, particularly the Egyptian state, with those of the Prophet, his words do show this very important connection between the experience of direct revelation and political empowerment against political injustice, whether real or perceived. Later echoes of the Khārijī mindset include the culture of martyrdom and jihād on the Islamic-Byzantine frontier during the second/eighth and third/ninth centuries (see Bonner, *Aristocratic violence;* Heck, Jihad revisited) and the contemporary phenomenon of self-sacrificial violence, also known as suicide attacks, advocated by contemporary extremist groups that use

terrorist means to achieve their goals.

The interpretation of qur'ānic narrative as primarily a clash between worldly and godly rule first came to play in the assassination of ʿUthmān. Having penetrated the inner confines of his house in Medina, his assassins found him alone with a copy of the Qur'ān as his only defense (Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh,* 3023-5; trans. xv, 221-3). They are reported to have refrained from killing him immediately, choosing instead to debate with him about the nature of legitimate rule. For ʿUthmān, rule was legitimate in itself, having been established by God. As for his status as a Muslim ruler, ʿUthmān declares himself a believing Muslim, who, according to Islamic law, may be put to death only in three cases — apostasy, unlawful sexual relations and the killing of an innocent Muslim (see BLOODSHED), none of which ʿUthmān had committed. Most importantly, he argues, rebellion (q.v.) instead of reform — even in the name of correcting innovations made in the rulings of the Qur'ān — jeopardizes the enforcement of the law upon which political order, stability and socio-moral cohesion stand. The rebels, for their part, also couch their argument in legal and scriptural terms, although it is clear that their dissatisfaction lay in their marginalization from power and wealth at a time when the concerns of a centralizing state increasingly trumped the egalitarian ones of Islam (see Marlow, *Hierarchy*). They understood the worldly character of ʿUthmān's reign as a form of injustice, tyranny and the failure to rule competently, which put at risk the well-being of society as a whole and robbed the people of the sound government necessary for peace and prosperity. Quoting Q 5:33-4, which calls for the death of those who sow corruption on earth, the rebels labeled ʿUthmān as a brigand or highway robber (see THEFT) who had disrupted the peace, terrorized the innocent and deprived people of their right to life and unhindered pursuit of their affairs. In short, ʿUthmān represented for them worldly rule as opposed to the godly rule called for by the Qur'ān and followed under the leadership of the Prophet.

Notwithstanding the connection this account has to later legal discussions over the laws of rebellion (*aḥkām al-bughāt;* see Abou El Fadl, *Rebellion*), it does demonstrate the potential of the Qur'ān as a tool of protest against the state, regardless of the actual complaints of the opposition. This is further illustrated in the rebellions of the Umayyad period (41-132/661-750). The reasons behind the revolt of al-Mukhtār (d. 67/687) may have included vengeance (q.v.) for the blood of the family of the Prophet (q.v.; i.e. Ḥusayn's death at Karbala; see also PEOPLE OF THE HOUSE) and defense of the weak (manumitted slaves; see SLAVES AND SLAVERY) but it was announced as a summons to rule by the book of God and sunna (q.v.) of the Prophet (Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh,* 607, 609-20, 633; trans. xx, 191, 194, 217), in addition to messianic claims (the Islamic *mahdī* also featured prominently in early rebellions but is not a qur'ānic term). Similarly, the rebellion of Ibn al-Ashʿath (d. 82/701), while motivated by the state's treatment of the army under his command, resorted to the Qur'ān as a cloak of legitimacy. The first oath of allegiance given to Ibn al-Ashʿath by his soldiers is set alongside complaints against incompetent leadership, unfair distribution of spoils, disavowal of the arch-representative of state concerns, al-Ḥajjāj (d. 95/714), and support of Ibn al-Ashʿath's effort to expel him as governor of Iraq (Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh,* 1054-5; trans. xxiii, 5-6), but the second one includes a summons to the book of God and sunna of the Prophet, disavowal of the imāms of error and struggle against those who violate what is sacred (ibid., 1058; trans. xxiii, 8).

Finally, although colored by the concerns of a settled and culturally diverse society (see Sharon, *Revolt*), the ʿAbbāsid revolution that brought an end to Umayyad rule was ideologically inspired by an oath of allegiance to the Hāshimī family in terms of fidelity to the book of God and sunna of the Prophet along with the chosen one *(al-riḍā)* from the family of the messenger of God (Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh,* 1989, 1993; trans. xxviii, 97, 101).

This invocation of the Qurʾān by rebels against the state encouraged an official response that properly constituted rule was part of God's design for humankind, even apart from the prophetic heritage. To do this, rulers and their ideologues turned primarily to the genre known as "mirrors-for-princes" to account for the existence of the Islamic state. In short, non-qurʾānic arguments were advanced to demonstrate that political rule was a necessary part of the Muslim responsibility to meet the qurʾānic directive to be prosperous in contrast to former nations.

With no clear outline of political organization in the Qurʾān and ḥadīth, early Muslim rulers — Umayyad and ʿAbbāsid alike — were compelled to construct non-qurʾānic arguments for political rule: as divinely determined *(jabr)* and thus worthy of obedience in the case of the Umayyads (see al-Qāḍī, Religious foundation) or as the effective agent of a just *(ʿadl)* and harmonious association *(iʾtilāf)* in the case of the ʿAbbāsids (see Heck, Law). Such non-qurʾānic arguments for rule did, however, draw widely upon qurʾānic material, as well as reports of early Arabo-Islamic history. It was, then, this state-sponsored genre of literature that did much to bring the revealed and non-revealed into a single epistemological framework of Islamic civilization, e.g. al-Māwardī, *Naṣīḥat al-mulūk*, i.e. "advice to rulers." This title echoes the advisory mission of the prophets of Q 7, thereby suggesting that it and similar works offered to the rulers of the day — like prophets to former nations — wisdom (q.v.) that led to prosperity. In his introduction, the author claims that he is right in drawing upon a variety of sources of knowledge, both revealed and non-revealed, even the wisdom of former nations, to show the legitimacy of political rule:

> We are not, however, singular in our use of our own ideas in our book, nor do we rely in anything we say on our own opinion *(hawā)* but justify *(naḥtajj)* what we say by the revealed word of God *(qawl Allāh al-munazzal),* the majestic and exalted, and the reports of his messenger *(aqāwīl rasūlihi)* that narrate his practices *(sunan)* and precedents *(āthār),* and then the ways of kings of old *(siyar al-mulūk al-awwalīn),* past imāms and the rightly-guided caliphs, [along with the wisdom of] ancient philosophers *(al-ḥukamāʾ al-mutaqaddimīn)* of former nations *(al-umam al-khāliya)* and past days, since their words are worthy to be imitated, their traces to be followed and their model to be emulated (Māwardī, *Naṣīḥat al-mulūk*, 46).

Human wisdom, then, could be harnessed for the revealed goal of socio-political prosperity.

Similarly, the Umayyad al-Walīd II (r. 125-6/743-4), in a letter designating his two sons to succeed him, argued that prophecy and rule are two divinely ordained institutions (Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh,* 1757-64; trans. xxvi, 106-15), suggesting that the ruling office of caliph is part of God's plan in its own right (comparable in that sense to pre-modern European arguments for a divine right of kings) and drawing out in detail, including qurʾānic citation, the reasons for considering rule a necessary pillar of socio-political prosperity, not least

of which is its function as effective agent of legal order, both religious and public (ibid., 1758; trans. xxvi, 108; for Umayyad use of qurʾānic material in state letters, see al-Qāḍī, Impact of the Qurʾān; cf. Dähne, Qurʾānic wording).

For their part, the ʿAbbāsids drew upon the Sasanian heritage to articulate a theory of political authority *(sulṭān)* and sovereignty (q.v.; *mulk*), understood, along with the Qurʾān, as the basis of legitimate Islamic rule. Long before the appearance of Islam, the Sasanians coined the adage that "there can be no rule without religion (q.v.) and no religion without rule" *(lā mulka illā bi-dīn wa-lā dīna illā bi-mulk)*. It is this fundamental link between religion and rule that informs the testimony of the ʿAbbāsid al-Manṣūr (r. 136-58/754-75) to his son and successor al-Mahdī (r. 158-69/775-85), particularly its emphasis on strong rule as a combination of political authority *(sulṭān)* and holy writ *(qurʾān)*. He says that for the protection of authoritative rule, God has ordered in the Qurʾān double the penalty on those who stir up corruption in the land (quoting Q 5:33), and that sovereignty is the strong rope of God, a firm bond and the unshakeable religion of God (in reference to Q 2:256 and Q 3:103); in short, he encourages his son to protect and defend an Islamic sovereignty as buttressed by the revealed law (Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh,* 447; trans. xxix, 153-4). The idea of the essential role of political sovereignty in ordering the affairs of the world so suited the tastes and needs of ʿAbbāsid caliphs that the idea became current that God worked to arrange worldly order by political power *(sulṭān)* even more so than by revelation *(qurʾān,* e.g. Qudāma b. Jaʿfar, *Siyāsa min kitāb al-kharāj,* 56; Māwardī, *Adab al-dīn,* 169: *inna llāh la-yazaʿu bi-l-sulṭān akthar mimmā yazaʿu bi-l-Qurʾān*). That idle and rebellious humans had to be coerced by a strong power to live in political order was considered by the ruling powers through the ʿAbbāsid period and beyond as essential to God's designs of ordering his creation, willingly or not (i.e. either out of longing or fear, Q 21:90), in function of his quality of subduing *(qahhār)* all forces to his will (e.g. Q 12:39; for this connection of God's coercive power to political sovereignty, see Heck, Law). This attempt to link religious and political authority is nowhere more clear than in the chapter of early ʿAbbāsid history known as the Inquisition (q.v.; *al-miḥna*), in which elevation of the human authority of al-Maʾmūn (r. 198-218/813-33) depended on reduction of the Qurʾān to a created, rather than uncreated, status (see Nawas, *al-Maʾmūn;* cf. Cooperson, *Biography,* 24-69; see CREATEDNESS OF THE QURʾĀN).

The possibility of human rule alongside the Qurʾān

The themes discussed in the previous section recur in various ways throughout Islamic history, especially the recognition of the need for non-revealed sources of decision-making in the political arena — i.e. how to understand human judgment *(raʾy)* as an Islamically sanctioned agent of political organization, as well as pre-Islamic local custom *(ʿurf)* in public administration, like methods of tax-collection, that Muslim rulers had left intact (see POLL TAX). It was not only a matter of granting a share in Islamic rule to the human intellect *(ʿaql),* which, in "mirrors-for-princes" works, was seen as the partner of religion in preserving justice and socio-political prosperity, but also of claiming, as works of jurisprudence did, that Islam did not abrogate all pre-Islamic custom (see ABROGATION), which was given a legal value of its own (e.g. *al-sharʿ min qablinā,* a source of law used to justify the claim that the five principles *[panchasila]* at the heart of Indonesian political organiza-

tion not only approximate but actually meet the requirements of Islam's revealed law; see Mujiburrahman, Indonesia), not to mention a panoply of other jurisprudential devices, such as discretion *(istiḥsān)*, that allowed rulers to enact law without insult to the final authority of the Qurʾān.

Explications centered upon the question of human judgment *(raʾy)*. Was it to be permitted in areas concerning public good *(maṣlaḥa)* about which the Qurʾān was silent? At stake was not only the relation of the divine to human society but also that of political to religious authority. Given the Qurʾān's reminder to carry out God's design for creation, the Muslims' centuries-long struggle to formulate rule has had to maneuver between social recognition of the need for and benefit of human rule and scriptural recognition that all rule belongs ultimately to God. While a host of factors are at play in conceptions of rule, specific to Islam is this interplay between the social and scriptural (see Jadʿān, *Miḥna*, esp. 291 f.). The rule of the last Shah of Iran, for example, was contested partly on grounds of his preference for the social (i.e. the Persian heritage of monarchy) over the scriptural (identified in the Iranian case with Shīʿī notions of clerical jurisdiction over public affairs; see Arjomand, Shiʿite jurisprudence; and Calder, Accommodation and revolution). Likewise, in Egypt, Anwar Sadat's alliance with the West clashed violently with increasingly bold notions among Islamists of a sovereignty *(ḥākimiyya)* that belonged to God alone (see Faraj, *Farīḍa*, trans. esp. 1-34).

The tension between the social and scriptural cannot, however, be limited to the post-colonial clash between secular nationalism and religious fundamentalism, since it was recognized very early that political governance cannot stand on the texts of revelation alone. Among the first to treat this question was Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ (d. 139/756) in an epistle to the ʿAbbāsid al-Manṣūr (r. 136-58/754-75). To establish the legal authority of political leadership *(raʾy al-imām)*, Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ (*Risāla*, 120-2), a state official and convert to Islam, had to navigate between two groups: (1) those claiming to be released from obedience to the ruler when it involved disobedience to God (i.e. a political ruling contrary to scripture; *la ṭāʿata lil-makhlūq fī maʿṣiyat al-khāliq*), a position essentially placing sovereign authority *(sulṭān)* in the hands of the people by awarding them the choice to decide which ruler to obey and which of his commands to follow, in the end rendering all equals *(nazāʾir)* in political decision-making with destructive consequences for rule itself (a likely reference to the Khārijī position, resurrected by Sayyid Quṭb, see below); and (2) those advocating complete submission to the ruler in all matters without concern for obedience or disobedience to God, with the claim that the ruler alone is privileged with knowledge of and competence in such things (a position essentially placing the command of the ruler above that of the revealed text, reformulated by Ayatollah Khomeini in contemporary Iran, see below). To resolve these two positions — the first representing the scriptural, the second the social — Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ drew an important distinction which was to echo in Islamic politics through the centuries: that the ruler is not to be obeyed in anything that goes against clear scriptural directives in the Qurʾān and sunna, such as prayer, fasting, pilgrimage (q.v.), penal sanctions *(ḥudūd)* or dietary restrictions but must be obeyed in all his rulings where no scriptural precedent *(athar)* exists.

Although treated extensively by theorists in the classical period, such as Abū Yūsuf (d. 182/798), Qudāma b. Jaʿfar (d. 337/948) and al-Māwardī (d. 450/1058), this question remains a concern today. On the

Sunnī side, Yūsuf al-Qaraḍāwī — a Qatar-based *muftī* with associations to the Muslim Brotherhood — argues, like Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ, that God mercifully did not disclose clear and decisive rulings for all human affairs, an action that would have rendered human intelligence useless (Qaraḍāwī, *Siyāsa,* 72). Indeed, most of Islamic law requires human judgment, while the clear and decisive rulings *(qaṭʿiyya)* of revelation are very limited (Qaraḍāwī, *Siyāsa,* 77). Thus, in matters where no revealed text exists, the governing ruler can apply his judgment *(raʾy al-ḥākim al-siyāsī)* for the sake of the public good *(al-maṣāliḥ al-mursala)*. His argument, an explanation of the fifth of the twenty principles expounded by Ḥasan al-Bannā (d. 1949), the founder of the Muslim Brotherhood, demonstrates that there is an area of life, namely governance, that God has left to humans and that can thus change with circumstance and custom. The result is a division of the world's affairs into religious ones *(al-umūr al-taʿabbudiyya)* that are ruled by the revealed texts and customary ones *(al-umūr al-ʿādiya)* that fall to human judgment. He does, however, part ways with Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ — who justified human judgment alongside revelation by awarding a privileged status to the ruler's intellect *(ʿaql al-imām)* — by binding valid use of human judgment to the consultation *(shūrā)* of religious scholars, whose immersion in the study of revealed law *(al-sharīʿa)* guarantees that the ruler's judgment conforms with its intentions (*maqāṣid,* an important concept in modern Islamic political thought; see Heck, Religious renewal). Thus does al-Qaraḍāwī offer an updated version of traditional Sunnī jurisprudence and its use of analogical reasoning *(qiyās)* to apply revelation to political problems with no textual precedent: Worldly rule, although informed by human judgment, remains subordinate to godly authority.

Strikingly, al-Qaraḍāwī, using Q 4:60-5, views human judgment — illuminated by revealed texts — as the means for reconciling differences among Muslims, whereas in the Qurʾān it was the book above all that arbitrated human differences. He claims, like Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ, to be navigating between two extremes (Qaraḍāwī, *Siyāsa,* 49), those who say the ruler's judgment abrogates divine rulings *(aḥkām sharʿiyya)* and those who refuse to acknowledge any human rule not explicitly designated by a revealed text. Rather, for al-Qaraḍāwī (Qaraḍāwī, *Siyāsa,* 63-7), although different degrees of correct judgment exist, there is a need for human judgment — no matter how much one has memorized textual precedents *(aḥādīth wa-āthār)* — for the sake of governance and justice *(idārat shuʾūn al-bilād wa-tadbīr amr al-ʿibād wa-iqāmat al-ʿadl baynahum)* since Islam is both a religious and political order *(iqāmat al-dīn wa-siyāsat al-dunyā)*.

Similarly, while couching his words in qurʾānic verse, Ayatollah Khomeini, the first supreme leader of the Islamic Republic of Iran, argues for governance by the book as determined by the authority of the Shīʿī jurist (*wilāyat al-faqīh;* see Khomeini, Islamic government). Another leading cleric at the time of the Islamic revolution, Ayatollah Montazeri, drew a distinction, like al-Qaraḍāwī, between religious ruling *(hukumat-i sharʿi)* and the customary ruling *(hukumat-i ʿurfi)* — the difference being that Montazeri judges non-religious rulings to be non-binding without the endorsement of the jurists who represent the hidden but infallible Imām of Twelver Shīʿism (see Arjomand, Shiʿite jurisprudence), while al-Qaraḍāwī ties the validity of such rulings to the intentions of the revealed law. In fulfillment of this the-

ory, the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran, while replete with qurʾānic citation, essentially puts all authority in the hands of the jurists and Khomeini in particular, as spelled out in principles 5 and 107 (see Mayer, Fundamentalist impact; cf. Abū l-Fawāris, *Risāla,* for an early Ismāʿīlī use of Islamic scripture to justify infallible human leadership). In one of his last acts before his death in 1988, Khomeini amended the Constitution to further enhance the authority of the human, even if privileged, judgment of the jurist over all affairs of state and society.

In contrast, elevation of the Qurʾān over human affairs has been promoted in post-colonial times by the Muslim Brotherhood. The Muslim Brotherhood's political thought and activity, since its founding in 1928, ranges from militant fundamentalism to participation in elected politics (for their history, see the pioneering but now limited work of Mitchell, *Society of Muslim Brothers*). Moreover, other, more violent, contemporary extremist groups that use violence to achieve their goals (such as al-Jamāʿa l-Islāmiyya and al-Jihād, which latter merged in 1998 with al-Qāʿida) were inspired partly by Muslim Brotherhood rhetoric and its promotion of a qurʾānically shaped society, as witnessed in the writings of the group's founder, Ḥasan al-Bannā (see *Five tracts*), and its most celebrated figure, Sayyid Quṭb (see Haim, Sayyid Quṭb; Haddad, Qurʾānic justification; Carré, *Mystique,* 342-3 [trans. text on the Islamic economic and political model, ad Q 59:7], 325 [on the *shūrā*]). The writings of these two figures promote a qurʾānically-based divine sovereignty for the sake of a greater egalitarianism which, in the writings of Quṭb, takes a revolutionary form against the perceived tyranny of Nasserist rule (i.e. the pan-Arabist and left-leaning socialist ideology of the Egyptian president Gamal Abdel Nasser, r. 1956-70). The goal was socio-political coherence and identity — especially against post-colonial secularizing/westernizing tendencies in Egypt and the Islamic world — through scriptural adherence.

Drawing upon the work of the Islamist ideologue and founder of the Pakistan-based Jamāʿat-e Islāmī, Abū l-Aʿlā l-Mawdūdī (whose formulation of an Islamic political constitution contributed to the Islamization of Pakistani politics; see, for example, his *First principles,* parts of which became law under Ziyā l-Ḥaqq's military dictatorship in the 1980s; for the legacy of Mawdūdī, see Zaman, *Ulama,* 87-110), Quṭb insisted that sovereignty belongs to God alone (*ʿAdāla,* trans. 105). In general, he does not seek to accommodate human judgment but envisions a fundamental clash between revealed sovereignty *(ḥākimiyya)* and non-revealed rule, which he labels as human ignorance (q.v.; *jāhiliyya;* Quṭb, *ʿAdāla,* trans. 107; see also AGE OF IGNORANCE). Human interpretation of scripture and thus the possibility of human rule must be accordingly reduced; religion *(dīn)* becomes the system *(niẓām)* of rule (Quṭb, *ʿAdāla,* trans. 110). In echo of Q 5:48-50, frequent references are made to God's program *(manhaj)* and way (*shirʿa,* cf. Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* iii, 246, for a discussion of the scope of this way, i.e. whether in reference to the many ways revealed by God to different communities or the way of the Muslim community specifically, etc.), the conclusion being that association of Islam with any human system, such as democracy, socialism, monarchy, etc., is entirely unacceptable (Quṭb, *ʿAdāla,* trans. 108, 112). Rulers are only to be obeyed to the extent that they themselves submit to the sovereignty of God and apply his revealed law (Quṭb, *ʿAdāla,* trans. 113-4), departure from

which deprives them of the right to obedience (Quṭb, *ʿAdāla,* trans. 114): "… hearing and obeying is conditional upon following the book of God Almighty." The result is a marked restriction on the employment of human judgment in rule (Quṭb, *ʿAdāla,* trans. 114-5): "… he becomes a ruler only by the absolutely free choice of the Muslims [a reference to Mawdūdī's idea of theo-democracy]… after that his authority derives from his undertaking to enforce the revealed law of God without claiming for himself any right to initiate legislation by an authority of his own." Consultation *(shūrā),* limited to those learned in religion, does, however, remain a principle of Islamic governance (Quṭb, *ʿAdāla,* trans. 116). Also, in echo of Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ, permission is given to the leader whose authority is based on the revealed law of God to make new decrees for the sake of the common good, provided such decrees do not violate a revealed text *(naṣṣ),* e.g. the imposition of taxes not mentioned in the Qurʾān, which, however, are not to be collected for maintaining state institutions but in service of a greater social justice in line with qurʾānic principles (Quṭb, *ʿAdāla,* trans. 119; see TAXATION).

From such pointed rhetoric has emerged a call for jihād against all worldly rule, epitomized in the work of ʿAbd al-Salām Faraj (d. 1982), who was executed with the four assassins of Egypt's president, Anwar Sadat, killed after he had signed a peace treaty with Israel. Faraj's now famous treatise, *al-Farīḍa al-ghāʾiba,* "The neglected duty," begins by quoting Q 57:16, which calls for the submission of believing hearts (see HEART) to divinely revealed truth in contrast to former nations, whose hearts had hardened against the book of God. He claimed that the Egyptian state had come to be ruled by laws of unbelief, a reference to the adoption of western law (see Faraj, *Farīḍa,* trans. 162), making of its rulers apostates deserving of death. What is new here is not the insistence on an Islamic state as a necessary condition for the performance of God's precepts or the identification of Muslim rulers with the pre-Islamic Age of Ignorance but rather the intensely militant rejection of any humanly tinged rule. In the manner of the first Khārijīs, Faraj quotes Q 5:44: "Those who do not rule by what God has revealed are infidels," as prelude to his identification of the Muslim rulers of his day with the Mongols, who ruled without sufficient attention to Islamic law (Faraj, *Farīḍa,* trans. 167-8). There is simply no room for human governance in Faraj's treatise but an insurmountable gap between political rulings *(al-siyāsāt al-mulkiyya)* and qurʾānic rulings (*aḥkām;* Faraj, *Farīḍa,* trans. 49, commenting on Ibn Kathīr's exegesis of Q 5:50).

There is thus, for Faraj, no action — not charity, not participation in elected politics, not the Islamic education of society — that can take precedence over jihād (understood by him solely as armed struggle) against worldly rulers, for the worldly must be subdued, the godly exalted. Given that human governance is a contradiction in terms for this militant brand of Islamism, accommodation is impossible. War, not merely Islam, is the solution, and Faraj devotes the latter half of his work to Ibn Taymiyya's position on jihād. Picking up the theme of Q 9 (Sūrat al-Tawba, "Repentance"), Faraj declares that in the Islamic age, worldly power must be brought to an end not through natural phenomena, as God has done in the case of former nations, but through the armed struggle of belief against unbelief (Faraj, *Farīḍa,* trans. 162, 190). In other words, it has now become the duty of Muslims to act on behalf of God and annihilate those nations that fail to heed his message. Seen in that light, it is hardly surprising that

Sadat's assassins claimed to have killed Pharaoh.

In light of Islamist esteem for the writings of Ibn Taymiyya (d. 728/1328), it is necessary to ask how closely his thought corresponds to Islamist goals today. He does give an elevated status to scripture as guarantor of Muslim identity after the fall of the caliphate to the Mongols in 656/1258; but, unlike Faraj, he was a jurist who worked within the framework of traditional Islamic jurisprudence. As will be outlined, his post-Mongol protest, unlike Faraj's post-colonial one, was not against human rule per se but communal heterodoxy that he viewed as a threat to the unity of a Muslim community bereft of the office of caliph.

In his most famous work, *al-Siyāsa al-shar'iyya,* Ibn Taymiyya recognizes the social dimension of rule, arguing that political office *(wilāya)* is a religious necessity (*Siyāsa,* 172-80) since the social chaos resulting from its absence would prevent people from performing the precepts of the religion. He supports his position philosophically by claiming that only via human congregation *(ijtimā')* can human welfare be attained, since humans are mutually dependent for their survival, and that human congregation most effectively serves the good when it is ordered under and enforced by political rule (Ibn Taymiyya, *Siyāsa,* 172-3). Ibn Taymiyya thus affirms the necessity of human rule even when not in complete conformity to the divine will. His model of public administration, while aspiring to justice as based upon the Qur'ān and sunna (*al-'adl alladhī dalla 'alayhi al-kitāb wa-l-sunna;* Ibn Taymiyya, *Siyāsa,* 13), is not based on scripture alone. The work begins by quoting Q 57:25, which states that God sent down not only the book and balance (see WEIGHTS AND MEASURES), by which humans might act in accordance with the divine will, but also iron as a mighty power for the benefit of humankind, i.e. rule as the effective agent by which human society in its diversity might be made, even coerced, to live in political harmony.

The work's self-stated goal is to explain Q 4:58-9, which calls for justice in arbitrating human affairs and obedience to those holding command *(ūlī l-amri)*. Ibn Taymiyya argues on the basis of qur'ānic citation for a complementary notion of God's guidance, embodied in scripture, and political rule. Hence, although he draws heavily upon the Qur'ān and the sunna, his words are directed to state officials (e.g. provincial governors, tax-collectors, military commanders, state ministers and secretaries, etc.; Ibn Taymiyya, *Siyāsa,* 5). While revelation is meant to shape the socio-political order, the qualifications for election *(ikhtiyār)* to office are ambiguous. They essentially boil down to two criteria (Ibn Taymiyya, *Siyāsa,* 12-4): (1) strength *(quwwa),* meaning effectiveness, e.g. in war, and (2) trust *(amāna),* meaning pious commitment to govern justly in accordance with revelation *(shar')*. Since, however, these two criteria so rarely coexist in a single person, effectiveness may trump pious commitment, depending on the office in question, making it preferable to appoint an effective military commander or judge even if he is personally immoral (*fājir,* Ibn Taymiyya, *Siyāsa,* 14, 18) or does what the Prophet has forbidden (*ya'mal mā yunkiruhu al-nabī,* ibid., 15) — in other words, offends against divine revelation. Ibn Taymiyya cites in support of this examples from the first community of Muslims and a saying of the Prophet (*Siyāsa,* 15), "Indeed God supports this religion with an immoral man."

Ibn Taymiyya's call to jihād is not, then, aimed against impious individuals entrusted with the governance of Muslim society. Constituted authority, even if

straying from Islamic perfection, is validated by its end: social harmony and human welfare. Jihād is directed not at political rule but heterodox Islam, particularly the Nuṣayrī sect. Ibn Taymiyya's concern with Mongol rule must be seen within the context of the ritual pluralism of post-Mongol Islam, which had long existed in Islam but became a more significant concern in the absence of the caliphate. For him, the Mongol invasions were providential (Ibn Taymiyya, *Rasā'il,* 53 f.), a test by which God separates hypocrites from true believers, as he tested the first Muslims by external attack (illustrated in Q 3:152; again, the attempt to relate political developments to qur'ānic narrative). Such external hostility was, he claimed, to be welcomed as part of the divine plan to expose Muslim groups given to ritual innovation *(bid'a),* which posed the greatest threat to the religion, making it necessary to identify not religiously imperfect political authorities but ritually heterodox Muslims, along with infidels *(kuffār),* as legitimate objects of jihād (Ibn Taymiyya, *Siyāsa,* 131; id., *Fiqh al-jihād,* 100). Reading this concern alongside his vision of political rule as described in the previous paragraph, it is possible to conclude that the use of Ibn Taymiyya by radical Islam today grossly distorts his thought, which must be seen as a legal development aiming to articulate the theory of jihād anew in the midst of altered social circumstances where Islamic identity was no longer imagined and guaranteed in terms of political authority but by means of ritual and communal practice. The main thrust behind his work is not eschatological violence against worldly power in witness to the rule of God symbolized by Islamic scripture, nor is it political rebellion against constituted authority in the name of an Islamic rule based exclusively on scripture, but rather the unity of religious and communal identity in the face of its own ritually pluralistic membership (see Heck, Jihad revisited).

The Qur'ān has been drawn upon no less effectively in support of democracy and even secularism (see Esposito and Voll, Islam's democratic essence). New concepts of authority, based upon an individual's encounter with scripture *(ijtihād)* apart from traditional authority, are at play in the modernizing exegesis of such figures as Muḥammad 'Abduh (d. 1905), who was himself aware of the political consequences of his work (see Jomier, La revue "al-'Orwa al-Wothqa"). His tabling of tradition, while meant to spur a legal and religious dynamism necessary to meet the challenges of modernity, widened the scope of qur'ānic interpretation for political ends, opening the door to both fundamentalist and reformist uses of Islamic scripture. The contemporary use of the Qur'ān by fundamentalist Islam having been given above, here the reformist point of view will be illustrated by the writings of three Egyptian thinkers.

Amidst much controversy (Enayat, *Modern political thought,* 62-8), 'Alī 'Abd al-Rāziq (d. 1966) argued in *al-Islām wa-uṣūl al-ḥukm* (135-64, chapter 3 of book 2, entitled *Risāla lā ḥukm, dīn lā dawlā*) that the mission of the Prophet was limited to a message (i.e. to bear good news and to warn, citing several qur'ānic verses to that effect, e.g. Q 17:105; 24:54; 25:56; 33:45-6) and did not include the creation of a polity: Muḥammad may have struggled to defend his message, even using force to do so, but never did he undertake to coerce people into a polity, there being no evidence for such — 'Abd al-Rāziq challenges his audience to find any — between the two covers of the Qur'ān or in the sunna. Since governance is a worldly affair (here 'Abd al-Rāziq inverts traditional arguments for religious supervision of worldly affairs), God has given it to human minds

to manage their worldly affairs according to what they see best in light of their knowledge, interests and tendencies. ʿAbd al-Rāziq certainly recognizes the necessity of government (on the basis of Q 43:32 and Q 5:48) but denies that it is an article of faith or that it is limited to the forms known to Islamic history — caliphate and despotic government in his opinion. Even if the installation of the state is viewed as an act of political wisdom, Islamic ideals can still be guaranteed by the spiritual message of the Prophet and not control of the state (Enayat, *Modern political thought,* 68).

ʿAbd al-Rāziq's ideas came at a chaotic moment for Muslim identity — the collapse of the Ottoman empire and the height of colonial domination along with largely unsuccessful attempts to develop a pan-Islamic institution to deal with Muslim affairs globally. His thought must be seen as an attempt to facilitate an Islamic reconciliation with the strongly modernizing tendencies of his day. In contrast, the writings of Muḥammad Saʿīd al-ʿAshmāwī (b. 1932) are a counter to the increasingly bold fundamentalism of a post-colonial Egypt in search of national identity and civil society. He maintains in *al-Islām al-siyāsi* (175-92), against fundamentalist condemnations of Egyptian rule as apostate, that Egyptian law is in point of fact in full harmony with the principles of the revealed law of Islam. For him, the paucity of legal norms enshrined in the Qurʾān — only 200 of some 6,000 verses have a legal character, he claims — supports the original meaning of *sharīʿa* at the time of qurʾānic revelation as a way and not as a collection of legal details. It has thus been left to the Egyptian state to work out a rule of law, and as a high-ranking judge, al-ʿAshmāwī displays his intimate knowledge of Egyptian law, which, he argues, in no way contradicts the dictates of the Qurʾān. He says at one point that the Islamist position that truly Islamic rule must be limited to the book of God confuses revelation *(al-sharīʿa),* i.e. the qurʾānic way, with law *(fiqh),* which is a process by which jurists and judges apply their own efforts of judgment *(ijtihād)* to legal matters. Indeed, for al-ʿAshmāwī, Islamist exploitation of the Qurʾān for political ends is a danger for Islam and should cease since Egyptian law has not been tainted by any innovation *(bidʿa)* but remains consistent with Islamic revelation.

Finally, Muhammad Khalaf Allāh (d. 1997) presses the qurʾānic theme of consultation (*shūrā,* citing Q 3:159) in *al-Qurʾān wa-l-dawla* (55-79) as the Islamic mode of political decision-making. Drawing on Muḥammad ʿAbduh, Khalaf Allāh insists that those in authority (*ūlū l-amr,* cf. Q 4:59) should be identified with those to whom the Muslim community has entrusted responsibility for making laws and overseeing the governance of society. But this should not be done, however, in the manner of divinely constructed offices held by figures claiming a personal right to rule, but by political officials chosen by the community — and thus removable by the community — who govern not religious but worldly affairs after the manner of the Prophet and his Companions, namely through consultation (a position reminiscent of the Indonesian Nurcholish Madjid's idea that the oneness of God *[tawḥīd]* should actually prevent Muslims from viewing the state in sacred terms; see Madjid, Islamic roots of pluralism). In this light, religious leaders have no inherent right to this legislative role. Their task — as was the Prophet's — is to explain beliefs *(ʿaqāʾid),* worship *(ʿibādāt)* and the norms of social affairs *(muʿāmalāt)* but they, like the Prophet, enjoy no mandate to legislate worldly affairs on the basis of revelation.

Khalaf Allāh, it should be added, is perhaps most known for his employment of literary methodology in scriptural exegesis, by which he argues that the Qur'ān is not a record of historical facts (see INIMITABILITY; HISTORY AND THE QUR'ĀN) but an exhortation to the Islamic faith (see EXEGESIS OF THE QUR'ĀN: EARLY MODERN AND CONTEMPORARY). His entire oeuvre, then, confirms the thesis that Muslim recognition of the role of human (i.e. non-revealed) decision-making in the political organization of society's affairs follows closely upon willingness to allow human interpretation of the Qur'ān. It is thus the possibility and parameters of exegesis (see EXEGESIS OF THE QUR'ĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL), as debated across Islamic history from ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib to Muḥammad Khalaf Allāh, that stand at the heart of politics and the Qur'ān.

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Poll Tax

A tax per head, usually levied on every adult male of a given age. The Arabic term, *jizya,* used for the poll tax levied on non-Muslims, specifically the People of the Book (q.v.) living under Muslim rule (*ahl al-kitāb,* also identified eventually as "protected people," *ahl al-dhimma*), does

have a qurʾānic origin (Q 9:29: … *ḥattā yuʿṭū l-jizyata ʿan yadin wa-hum ṣāghirūn,* i.e. "… until they pay the *jizya* from their wealth [lit. from hand], submissively"). There is no evidence in the Qurʾān, however, of a tax per head *(ʿalā l-raʾs)* as assumed by later jurists (e.g. Mālik, *Muwaṭṭaʾ,* 187-9; Abū ʿUbayd, *Amwāl,* 23-56). The tax per capita as finally established in Islamic law seems to have derived from a Sassanian practice (*khāk bar sar,* Abū ʿUbayd, *Amwāl,* 29, no. 61; cf. Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh,* i, 2371; see Lokkegaard, *Islamic taxation,* 128-43; for the adoption of the Byzantine poll tax in Egypt, see al-Dūrī, *Nuzum,* 79) developed by Muslims through the course of the conquests, first being applied to all members of a conquered locale — men, women and children (Abu ʿUbayd, *Amwāl,* 31, no. 66) — and then limited to mature males (*ḥālim,* ibid., 33, no. 72; 39, no. 93; see LAW AND THE QURʾĀN). The poll tax varied according to the terms of the treaty between the Muslims and the local peoples (see Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh,* i, 2051; cf. Morony, *Iraq,* 584-8), was assessed according to one's wealth (q.v.; see Cahen, Djizya), was first applied to non-Muslim Arabs and then gradually extended, by the Prophet's example (*sunna,* Abū ʿUbayd, *Amwāl,* 38, no. 88), to non-Arab non-Muslims living in the conquered lands (ibid., 25, no. 53), including Zorastrians (*majūs;* see MAGIANS) as well as Jews (*yahūd;* see JEWS AND JUDAISM) and Christians (*naṣārā;* see CHRISTIANS AND CHRISTIANITY). There also seems to have been a connection, at least initially, between the payment of this tax and socio-professional status, for it is reported that the large Christian tribe (see TRIBES AND CLANS), the Banū Taghlib, refused to pay the *jizya* on the grounds that they were Arabs (q.v.), not farmers; presumably to avoid the humiliation *(ṣaghār)* of being classified with those who work the land, they were granted the right to pay, instead, the Muslim tax *(ṣadaqa),* although at twice the normal rate (ibid., 32; cf. Mālik, *Muwaṭṭaʾ,* 189, who explains the distinction in religious terms: "The Muslim tax was levied on Muslims as a means of purifying them *[taṭhīran lahum]* … and the *jizya* was levied on the People of the Book as a means of subordinating them [*ṣaghāran lahum,* i.e. to Muslim rule]).

It has been demonstrated rather persuasively that the exegetical tradition on Q 9:29 bears no relation to the historical conditions of the verse (see Rubin, Qurʾān and tafsīr; see SĪRA AND THE QURʾĀN); the verse does seem to have been used by later exegetes as a point of departure for elaborating differences — theological and legal — between Muslims and non-Muslims (e.g. Ibn al-Jawzī, *Zād,* 420, for whom the verse is a confirmation of the abrogation of previous religions with the appearance of Muḥammad's religion *[dīn Muḥammad];* see also McAuliffe, Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī; see RELIGIOUS PLURALISM AND THE QURʾĀN). Nevertheless, the rationale generally given for the poll tax — a compensation *(jazāʾ)* in exchange for enjoying the protection *(dhimma)* of Muslim rule — does demonstrate a certain conceptual continuity with the qurʾānic term *jazāʾ* (cf. Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh,* i, 2470: … *maʿa l-jazāʾ ʿan aydīhim ʿalā qadri ṭāqatihim,* i.e. "… with compensation from their wealth [lit. from their hands] according to their ability [to pay]"). Claims for continuity, however, between the qurʾānic sense of the term and its later legal and exegetical use rest on the identity of those people specified as being obligated to pay the *jizya,* namely those who have been given the book *(min alladhīna ūtū l-kitāb),* widely assumed to be non-Muslim recipients of God's revelation (i.e. People of the Book) in contrast to those who are without knowledge of God's oneness (*mushrikūn,*

see Rāzī, *Tafsīr,* ad Q 9:30; see POLYTHEISM AND ATHEISM).

Rubin *(Barāʾa)* has concluded that *jizya* at Q 9:29 connotes financial compensation for the loss of income sustained by the rupture of commercial relations with non-Muslim traders who are prohibited, at Q 9:28, from approaching Mecca (q.v.). This does seem to be borne out in Q 9:29 itself, the opening words of which claim that the people obliged to pay the *jizya* do not believe in God or judgment day (*lā yuʾminūna bi-llāh wa-lā bi-l-yawmi l-ākhir;* see LAST JUDGMENT). Book (q.v.; *kitāb*), while connoting divine knowledge (see KNOWLEDGE AND LEARNING) and authority (q.v.), can also serve as a metonymy for treaty, the terms of which were fixed in writing (a *kitāb*) and included some kind of payment of tribute (see CONTRACTS AND ALLIANCES). *Jizya,* in fact, occurs in such a context in Ibn Saʿd's history (*Ṭabaqāt,* i, 257 f.), where the term for the missives *(kutub)* sent by Muḥammad to other groups and rulers connotes both letter and pact. Were, then, the people named in Q 9:29 the so-called People of the Book *(ahl al-kitāb)* or merely tribal groups of varied character which had entered into alliance with the tribal overlordship of Muḥammad and his Muslim partisans while not sharing their monotheistic beliefs? Simonsen (*Studies,* 47-61) argues — on the basis that there is no qurʾānic connection between *dhimma* and *jizya* — that Q 9:29 applies to all non-Muslims dwelling within the reach of Medinan hegemony, whether monotheists or not (see MEDINA).

In favor of the identification of the *jizya*-payers of Q 9:29 with the People of the Book, support can be drawn from the verses subsequent to Q 9:29, which serve a doctrinal polemic against the claim of Jews that Ezra (q.v.; ʿUzayr) is the son of God and that of Christians who say that Jesus (q.v.) is (Q 9:30), and against the undue attribution of divine authority awarded by both groups to their religious leaders (*ittakhadhū aḥbārahum wa-ruhbānahum arbāban min dūni llāh,* Q 9:31). Later exegetes understood Q 9:29 to indicate the failure of Jews and Christians to affirm fully God's oneness (e.g. Muqātil, *Tafsīr,* ii, 166; Zamakhsharī, *Kashshāf,* iii, 32; Ibn al-Jawzī, *Zād,* iii, 419; see POLEMIC AND POLEMICAL LANGUAGE). Moreover, the fact that the concept of the protection *(dhimma)* of God and his Prophet was not limited in the earliest period to the People of the Book, as Simonsen demonstrates, need not negate the more specific application of *jizya* to them apart from the *mushrikūn*. Finally, the usage of *min alladhīna ūtū l-kitāb* elsewhere in the Qurʾān does indeed suggest recipients of previous revelation (e.g. Q 4:47; see REVELATION AND INSPIRATION).

The occasion for the revelation of Q 9:29 (see OCCASIONS OF REVELATION) is thought to have been the Prophet's expedition in 9/30 to Tabūk (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* xiv, 200) in the northwestern region of the Arabian peninsula (cf. Bakhit, Tabūk), conducted in anticipation of a Byzantine-sponsored attack (see EXPEDITIONS AND BATTLES). While the attack never materialized, the Prophet took the opportunity to conclude pacts with tribal groups near the Gulf of ʿAqaba. The use of *jizya* for non-Muslim and specifically Jewish, Christian and Zoroastrian groups only after the expedition to Tabūk seems to be confirmed by the reports of Ibn Saʿd (d. 230/845; cf. Simonsen, *Studies,* 47-61). The suggestion has been made that the appearance of *jizya* was linked to the Medinan policy towards tribes already accustomed to payment of tribute (q.v.) to Byzantine and Sassanian overlords (Schmucker, *Untersuchungen,* 74 f.), and it is in that sense that this tribute became a sign of obeisance (*wa-hum ṣāghirūn,* cf. Q 27:37) to the growing socio-political hegemony of Islam (see COMMUNITY AND

SOCIETY IN THE QUR'ĀN; POLITICS AND THE QUR'ĀN).

Most significantly for our understanding of the Qur'ān, it must be noted that the concept of *jizya* at Q 9:29 does serve a program of Muslim confessional definition vis-à-vis other groups, in both the formative and classical periods of Islam. The qur'ānic occurrence of the verse in a Medinan context (Q 9: Sūrat al-Tawba, "Repentance"), where concerns for the formation of the Muslim polity and corresponding confessional demarcations of religio-political identity were urgent, suggests that the qur'ānic *jizya* can best be understood in terms of a confessional tax levied upon tribal and other groups unwilling to meet the requirements of membership in Islam (it is also used in this sense in the rules of jihād [q.v.], where those refusing the call of Islam are offered the chance to pay the *jizya* in exchange for cessation of hostilities). Such boundaries were embodied in both religious and fiscal terms, and it is in this sense that taxation (q.v.) of other groups served Islam in its definition of such confessional lines. The context in which Q 9:29 occurs is quasi-creedal in coloring (see CREEDS). The exegetes understood it in this way, although they developed its original connotation (see above). In addition, the administrative history of the term also confirms its confessional orientation: While *jizya* was used interchangeably in the earliest period with the term for the land-tax (*kharāj,* e.g. "*jizya* on the land" or "*kharāj* on the head"; see Cahen, Djizya), the two terms became gradually disassociated when ownership of the lands of conquest — through conversion of the tenants to Islam or sale of their land to Muslims — was no longer solely identifiable with non-Muslims (a policy believed to have first been instituted by the Umayyad ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, r. 99-101/717-20; see Gibb, Fiscal rescript).

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Pollution

see CONTAMINATION

Polygamy

see MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE; PATRIARCHY; WOMEN AND THE QUR'ĀN

Polysemy in the Qur'ān

The plurality of senses that words can have. It is the property of words in all natural languages to have more than one meaning, for polysemy is an essential condition of a language's efficiency: a finite set of lexical elements is used to express a potentially infinite set of situations. Arabic words in the Qur'ān also have this property and many words in the Qur'ān have been classified as polysemous in the exegetical tradition (see EXEGESIS OF THE QUR'ĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL). In fact, some exegetes suggest that all words in the Qur'ān contain several meanings or levels of meaning (see LANGUAGE AND STYLE OF THE QUR'ĀN; LITERARY STRUCTURES OF THE QUR'ĀN).

The possibility of ambiguity or equivocation is, however, a counterpart of polysemy — although contextual, syntactic and lexical clues in practice reduce this possibility. For example, mutual appropriateness reduces a word's semantic pertinence so that only part of the semantic field of a word is used; the remainder is excluded or repressed. The Qur'ān, however, inhibits this reduction. It is a referential text that often does not provide a great deal of context. This difficulty was alleviated somewhat by biographical materials (*sīra;* see SĪRA AND THE QUR'ĀN), the circumstances of revelation literature (*asbāb al-nuzūl;* see OCCASIONS OF REVELATION) and other narrative texts that offered historical explanations or allusions that emphasized monosemy and, by providing a context frequently missing in the Qur'ān itself, word sense disambiguation. Early works on the *gharīb,* i.e. difficult words such as *hapax legomena,* foreign and dialectal words (see FOREIGN VOCABULARY; DIALECT), also emphasized monosemy by providing mostly simple glosses.

On the whole, the Islamic exegetical tradition embraced polysemy in the Qur'ān. Although the Qur'ān was thought to have a divine origin and Arabic came to be viewed as a divine language, not a "natural" one, polysemy was not considered a defect (see REVELATION AND INSPIRATION; ARABIC LANGUAGE). Rather, polysemy in the Qur'ān became one of its miraculous features (see MIRACLE; INIMITABILITY). The issue was not whether the Qur'ān was polysemous but rather how to express and limit the polysemy. As a result, polysemy has been represented or imposed in several different but overlapping ways throughout the history of reading and interpreting the Qur'ān (see READINGS OF THE QUR'ĀN). The question remains whether the polysemes discovered by the exegetes are deliberate or merely imposed upon the Qur'ān for theological and other reasons (see THEOLOGY AND THE QUR'ĀN).

Wujūh al-Qur'ān

The most obvious works dealing with polysemy are those of *wujūh* (polysemes and homonyms) and *nazā'ir* (synonyms or analogues). *Wujūh* refers to words employed several times in the Qur'ān but with at least two and perhaps as many as forty different meanings (Abdus Sattar, Wujūh, 138). The distinction between homonymy, which refers to words of different origins or roots that coincide phonetically, and polysemy, which refers to words of related origin but whose roots or derived forms

have several discernable senses, is essentially arbitrary. Synchronically, homonymy is a kind of polysemy but even diachronic homonymy can become polysemy and vice versa because the criteria for distinguishing between homonymy and polysemy are themselves somewhat arbitrary. In any case, it is a distinction that those qur'ānic exegetes who discussed *wujūh* did not generally make. *Wujūh* is a branch of the sciences of the Qur'ān (*'ulūm al-Qur'ān;* see TRADITIONAL DISCIPLINES OF QUR'ĀNIC STUDY) and finds sanction in several prophetic ḥadīths (see ḤADĪTH AND THE QUR'ĀN): "The Qur'ān… conveys [many] meanings *(wujūh);* so impute to it the best of its meanings" (Zarkashī, *Burhān,* ii, 163). And, "a jurisprudent's *(faqīh)* jurisprudence is not comprehensive until he sees many *wujūh* in the Qur'ān" (Suyūṭī, *Itqān,* i, 299; see LAW AND THE QUR'ĀN).

Muqātil b. Sulayman (d. 150/767) is credited with authoring the first *wujūh* and *nazā'ir* work (cf. Nwyia, *Exégèse,* 109-16; Gilliot, *Elt,* 118-20). His methodology, largely followed by later authors in this genre, is to provide a gloss or brief definition for each of the meanings *(wujūh)* of a word and then to list other analogous qur'ānic passages *(nazā'ir)* — that is, those in which the word is employed with the same meaning. Important early *wujūh* works are those of Ibn Qutayba (d. 276/889), al-Dāmaghānī (d. 478/1085), and Ibn al-Jawzī (d. 597/1200). Of course, the subject is treated by al-Zarkashī (d. 794/1391) and al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505) in their works on the sciences of the Qur'ān. None of these works are systematic examinations of qur'ānic vocabulary. Rather, the words chosen by these exegetes are religiously significant ones. It should also be noted that in these works, the terms *wujūh* and *nazā'ir* are themselves somewhat polysemous (Rippin, Lexicographical texts, 167-71). By the time of al-Zarkashī, the existence of *wujūh* in the Qur'ān had acquired its most important theological implication: it is one "of the miracles *(mu'jizāt)* of the Qur'ān since one word imparts twenty aspects (sing. *wajh*), or more or less; and one does not find that in the speech of mankind" (Zarkashī, *Burhān,* i, 102).

Polysemy in the Qur'ān has, at least at times, been created by the exegetical tradition itself, which even has the Qur'ān "inventing" new meanings for some words. See, for example, the development of the association of "sleep" with *bard,* "cold," in order to "solve intra-qur'ānic and Qur'ān versus dogma conflict" (Rippin, Qur'ān 78/24, 311-20; see DREAMS AND SLEEP; HOT AND COLD). If such is the case, one can legitimately ask whether the exegetes' rich tradition of finding polysemes in the Qur'ān is more a product of the exegetes' ingenuity than a deliberate feature of the Qur'ān. Certainty may well be restricted to those words for which there are other reasons for assuming polysemy, such as the use of puns in the Qur'ān (see HUMOR).

Levels of meaning in the Qur'ān

As a technical term *wujūh* connotes that category of words that are used in different ways in different passages of the Qur'ān, but proved to be an inadequate rubric under which to discuss words, expressions and phrases, which have multiple meanings within a single passage. Several other overlapping rubrics were developed and employed in various ways by Sunnī, Shī'ī and Ṣūfī exegetes (see SHĪ'ĪSM AND THE QUR'ĀN; ṢŪFISM AND THE QUR'ĀN). Generally, all the methods that they developed were based on the premise that the passages of the Qur'ān had several levels of meaning, though the deeper levels should not be allowed to negate the single, literal meaning.

One of the more significant ways of accounting or allowing for polysemy (at least at the level of expressions and phrases as opposed to individual words) was introduced by using the distinction between the *muḥkamāt* and *mutashābihāt* given in Q 3:7. Whether these two words are polysemous in the Qur'ān is uncertain but in the explanations of later exegetes they are certainly understood to be. Some argued, Abū ʿUbayd (d. 224/838) for instance, that they refer to the abrogating and regulative passages, and to the abrogated and non-regulative passages, respectively (see ABROGATION), while others saw them as the clear and unclear passages, respectively (see AMBIGUOUS). Of more immediate significance is that *mutashābihāt* came to mean verses that were polysemous. For instance, al-Jaṣṣāṣ (d. 370/981) states that the *muḥkamāt* permit only one meaning but the *mutashābihāt* may have several. The meanings and aspects *(wujūh)* of the latter must be understood in reference to the former, though not all of them could be known (Jaṣṣāṣ, *Aḥkām,* ii, 3-4).

Tafsīr and *taʾwīl* are another pair of terms employed to convey the notion of several levels of meaning (see EXEGESIS OF THE QUR'ĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL). *Tafsīr* came to mean the exegesis that was concrete, exoteric, and/or based on tradition. *Taʾwīl* came to mean exegesis that was abstract, esoteric, and/or based on personal opinion *(raʾy)*. Thus, al-Ṭabarī's (d. 310/923) exegesis is *tafsīr* and al-Qushayrī's (d. 465/1072) *Laṭāʾif al-ishārāt* is *taʾwīl*. The distinction between terms was only theoretical, however, since exegetes such as the Ṣūfī al-Sulamī (d. 412/1021) labeled their works as *tafsīr*s and al-Ṭabarī's work was originally entitled as *taʾwīl* — again the terminology of polysemy is itself polysemous. Also for some exegetes, *tafsīr* permitted only one meaning *(la-yaḥtamilu illā wajhan wāḥidan),* whereas *taʾwīl* allowed more (Suyūṭī, *Itqān,* ii, 381). Thus, *taʾwīl* allowed for unrestricted polysemy. In practice, however, even *tafsīr* was polysemous. Al-Ṭabarī cites a tradition from Ibn ʿAbbās in which he states, "*Tafsīr* has four aspects: an aspect which is known to the Arabs (q.v.) through their speech, a *tafsīr* of which no one can plead ignorance, a *tafsīr* which the learned know, and a *tafsīr* known only to God" (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* i, 57; Eng. trans. i, 34). Furthermore, al-Ṭabarī's *tafsīr,* though based on traditions, often accepts that all the diverse opinions found in the earlier exegetes are correct (cf. Gilliot, *Elt,* 112-33).

The most prominent binary distinction that allowed for polysemy is the one between *ẓāhir* and *bāṭin*. In his discussion of the seven *ḥarf*s, al-Ṭabarī cites a tradition in which Muḥammad says "Each of the *ḥarf*s has an outward meaning *(ẓahr)* and an inward meaning *(baṭn)*. Each of the *ḥarf*s has a border, and each border a lookout" (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* i, 35-6; Eng. trans. i, 16; cf. Gilliot, *Elt,* 112 f.). Generally, *ẓāhir* refers to the exoteric, outer, obvious, or literal meaning and *bāṭin* to the esoteric, inner, concealed, or symbolic meaning. Theoretically, *ẓāhir* had but one meaning and was associated with *tafsīr,* while *bāṭin* could be multivalent and it, along with everything else that was not *ẓāhir,* was subsumed under *taʾwīl*. Shīʿīs and Ṣūfīs placed a great deal of emphasis on *bāṭin*. The Imāmī Shīʿī exegete al-Ṭabāṭabāʾī (d. 1981) expanded the levels of polysemy by suggesting that inner meaning itself could have up to seven inner meanings (Ṭabāṭabāʾī, *Mīzān,* i, 7). The classical formulation, however — which seems to incorporate the tradition from Ibn ʿAbbās and the *ẓāhir-bātin* distinction — recognized that *every* qurʾānic verse had, not two, but four separate meanings. The Ṣūfī Sahl al-Tustarī (d. 283/896) lists *ẓāhir* (literal), *bāṭin* (symbolic), *ḥadd* (prescriptive) and

maṭlaʿ (anagogical). "The *ẓāhir* is the recitation; the *bāṭin* the understanding; the *ḥadd* the permitted and forbidden (q.v.; things in the verses); the *maṭlaʿ* the control of the heart (q.v.) over what is intended by them by way of comprehension from God" (Tustarī, *Tafsīr,* 3; cf. Böwering, Scriptural senses, 350; see INTELLECT; KNOWLEDGE AND LEARNING; RECITATION OF THE QURʾĀN). These four levels of meaning came to be accepted in various forms by Sunnī scholars also. For example, al-Zarkashī states: "The outward interpretations *(ʿibārāt)* are for the general public; they are for the ear. The allusions *(ishārāt)* are for the special ones; they are for the intellect. The subtleties *(laṭāʾif)* are for the friends [of God; see FRIENDS AND FRIENDSHIP]; they are glimpses. And the essences *(ḥaqāʾiq)* are for the prophets (see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD); they are the submission [to God]" (Zarkashī, *Burhān,* ii, 153-4). Similarly, the benefits of hearing the Qurʾān are fourfold and suit the listeners' capabilities. Those who hear it merely from a reciter benefit from the knowledge of its precepts; those who hear as though from the Prophet benefit from his admonitions (see WARNING) and the demonstrations of his miracles so that the heart delights in the subtleties of his oration; and those who hear it as though from Gabriel (q.v.) glimpse hidden things (see HIDDEN AND THE HIDDEN) and promises disclosed in it (to the Prophet); those who hear as though from God are extinguished by it and their attributes effaced — they gain the attributes of truth *(taḥqīq)* through glimpsing the knowledge, source, and truth of certainty (Zarkashī, *Burhān,* ii, 154).

Despite these fourfold levels of meaning, most exegetes essentially recognized only two such levels. Even al-Tustarī, in practice if not in theory, uses the typical literal-allegorical distinction; he combines *ẓāhir* and *ḥadd,* and *bāṭin* and *maṭlaʿ* (Böwering, Sahl al-Tustarī, 841). In any case, none of these various ways of constructing polysemy in the Qurʾān need be considered mutually exclusive. *Muḥkam* versus *mutashābih, tafsīr* versus *taʾwīl, ẓāhir* versus *bāṭin,* in each of these binary oppositions it is theoretically only the latter which is open to multiple (levels of) meanings (Wansbrough, *QS,* 243-4).

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Polytheism and Atheism

The worship of many gods; the belief in no god. Although the concept of atheism was unknown to the qurʾānic audience, the human tendency to ascribe divine tendencies to something other than the one, true God was not. The qurʾānic allusions to "polytheism" have been variously understood: idolatry on the part of pre-Islamic

Arabian tribes; the pre-Islamic Arabs' ascription of divine attributes to lesser beings, perhaps even within a monotheistic framework; or, alternatively, a polemical accusation that Jews and Christians had distorted aspects of their earlier revelations. The following is an overview of the qurʾānic attitude towards these two aspects of human denial of God's omnipotence — the ultimate act of ingratitude.

Polytheism

The qurʾānic Arabic term for polytheism is *shirk*. The central dogma affirmed in the Qurʾān is that of monotheism *(tawḥīd),* and *shirk,* as its antithesis, takes the brunt of qurʾānic doctrinal criticism. The Qurʾān's rejection of *shirk* is categorical and absolute (a concise statement is found in the short Q 112). It is the only sin for which, even theoretically, there is no forgiveness (q.v.): "God will not forgive the act of associating [anything] with him, though he might forgive anyone he likes anything other than that" (Q 4:48, 116; see SIN, MAJOR AND MINOR). The Arabic phrase for "anything other than that," *mā dūna dhālika,* also connotes "anything less than that" — again implying that *shirk* is the greatest of all sins, all other sins being "less" than it. The ancient Arabian sage Luqmān (q.v.) is represented in the Qurʾān, in a sūra (Q 31) named after him, as admonishing his son against committing *shirk:* he calls *shirk* "a great wrong indeed" (Q 31:13). The same sūra exhorts one to respect and obey one's parents (q.v.) but forbids one to commit *shirk* should one's parents put pressure on one to do so (Q 31:14-5; see also Q 29:8). *Shirk* nullifies good deeds (q.v.): on the day of judgment (see LAST JUDGMENT) the polytheists (*mushrikūn;* sing. *mushrik*) will discover that any good deeds they might have done have been wiped out (Q 6:88; 39:65).

Definition

The literal meaning of *shirk* is association. As a technical term in the Qurʾān, therefore, *shirk* means to set up associates or partners of God — the one true God — such that they are taken to be equal or comparable to the godhead. This definition would cover the positing of any deities besides God, whether they are one or many in number, whether they are believed to partake of his essence *(shirk fī l-dhāt)* or share his attributes (*shirk fī l-ṣifāt,* see GOD AND HIS ATTRIBUTES) and whether they are held to be equal to or less than him. And it would cover both crass idolatry (see IDOLATRY AND IDOLATERS) and metaphysical dualism. According to the Qurʾān, *shirk* can be both conceptual and practical. Actually, to hold the belief that deities other than God exist and that the universe and its workings cannot be explained until more than one God are taken to exist or possess the attributes that properly belong to him alone — that is, to reject monotheism in principle and affirm polytheism in principle — is conceptual *shirk,* whereas to regard any being or power other than God as being worthy of receiving obedience (q.v.) that is rightfully due only to God and to do so even when one affirms belief in monotheism in principle, would be practical *shirk*.

Forms

A number of pre-Islamic nations come under strong criticism in the Qurʾān for their polytheistic beliefs (see PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QURʾĀN; SOUTH ARABIA, RELIGION IN PRE-ISLAMIC). For example, the nation of Abraham (q.v.) counted heavenly bodies like the sun (q.v.), the moon (q.v.), and the stars (see PLANETS AND STARS) among deities, and these and other deities were represented by statues that were worshipped (see IDOLS AND IMAGES). Q 6:74-81 recounts Abraham's debate with

his polytheistic nation, in which he refuses to accept such heavenly bodies as deities. Another debate of Abraham's, which is followed by his demolition of temple idols, is reported in Q 21:52 f. The pagans of Arabia proudly called themselves the descendents of Abraham and the qurʾānic reference to Abraham's uncompromising opposition to idolatry therefore gave a particular pungency to the qurʾānic criticism of Arabian polytheism. Other nations besides Abraham's that are criticized in the Qurʾān are those of Noah (q.v.; Q 11:26; see also Q 71:23), ʿĀd (q.v.; Q 11:50-5) and Thamūd (q.v.; Q 11:61-2). The Egyptian Pharaoh (q.v.) of Moses' (q.v.) time claimed to be a god (Q 26:29) and so did the king with whom Abraham debated (Q 2:258). According to certain qurʾānic verses (Q 25:43; 45:23), following one's base desires to such an extent that one becomes their slave also amounts to *shirk* (see ABSTINENCE).

The Arabian polytheism of Muḥammad's time is sometimes called henotheism, which is belief in the existence of many deities alongside a supreme God. The Arabs believed that there was a supreme God who had created the universe: "If you were to ask them, 'Who created the heavens and the earth?' they would assuredly say, 'God'" (Q 39:38; see CREATION; NATURE AS SIGNS). The Arabs thought, however, that God could be approached only through a number of lesser deities. "We worship them [other deities] only so that they may bring us close to God" (Q 39:3). "Say, 'Who gives you sustenance (q.v.) from the heavens and the earth (q.v.; see also FOOD AND DRINK; AGRICULTURE AND VEGETATION; HEAVEN AND SKY) — or who has power over hearing and vision (see HEARING AND DEAFNESS; VISION AND BLINDNESS; SEEING AND HEARING; EARS; EYES), and who brings the living from out of the dead and the dead from out of the living (see DEATH AND THE DEAD; RESURRECTION; LIFE), and who administers things?' At this they will say, 'God'" (Q 10:31; see also Q 29:61). A distinctive feature of Arabian *shirk* was angel worship. The Arabs believed that the angels (see ANGEL) were the daughters of God through whom God might be approached and persuaded to bless the devotees; and on the last day (see LAST JUDGMENT), the angels were expected to intercede with God on their devotees' behalf. Q 53:19-20 mentions three such goddesses by name (al-Lāt, al-ʿUzzā, and Manāt; see SATANIC VERSES).

The Qurʾān is critical of the Christian Trinitarian belief (see CHRISTIANS AND CHRISTIANITY; TRINITY): "Those people have certainly committed an act of disbelief who have said, 'God is one member of a trinity'" (Q 5:73; also Q 4:171; for an understanding of the *mushrikūn* of the Qurʾān as Christians who had transgressed the tenets of their religion, see Hawting, *Idea of idolatry,* esp. chaps. 2 and 3; see also IDOLATRY AND IDOLATERS). It seems that some Jews (see JEWS AND JUDAISM), in their exaggerated veneration of Ezra (q.v.), deified the reformer-prophet, and Q 9:30 refers to this. The same verse refers to the deification of Jesus (q.v.) by Christians and the next verse accuses the People of the Book (q.v.) of setting up their scholars (see SCHOLAR) and monks (see MONASTICISM AND MONKS) as "lords (see LORD) besides God." According to qurʾānic commentators, the accusation refers to the fact that the Jews and Christians had, at certain times in their history, come to regard their scholars and monks as a more authoritative source of legislation or guidance (see ASTRAY; ERROR) than the revealed scriptures (see BOOK; SCRIPTURE AND THE QURʾĀN) themselves and this amounted to

shirk, or was seen as a form of *shirk,* since they thereby accorded their scholars and saints the position of legislator that belongs to God (see LAW AND THE QUR'ĀN; JUSTICE AND INJUSTICE). It should be noted, however, that while the Qur'ān accuses the People of the Book of committing certain acts of *shirk,* it does not call them *mushrikūn*. The distinction derives from the fact that the People of the Book in principle reject polytheism and avow monotheism *(tawḥīd)* as their fundamental belief, and the Qur'ān accepts that avowal. It is for this reason that Islamic law treats the People of the Book as a category by itself. Incidentally, many Muslim scholars point out that sometimes Muslims themselves commit acts of *shirk* (saint worship in some Muslim societies is cited as an example; see SAINTS; BELIEF AND UNBELIEF).

Causes

There are, the Qur'ān suggests, several causes of *shirk*. Power — especially absolute power — leads some to think that they are God-like, and they have been accepted as such by those subject to them (see POWER AND IMPOTENCE). The king with whom Abraham debated declared himself to be god "because God had given him kingly power" — that is, instead of being grateful for the gift, he set himself up as a deity because he had, he thought, absolute, god-like power (Q 2:258; see KINGS AND RULERS). Certain phenomena of nature inspire feelings of awe, wonder or admiration, leading people to regard them as deities; examples are the sun, the moon and the stars (Q 6:74-81; see COSMOLOGY). And, as noted above, people may become slaves of their base desires and passions, seeking always to satisfy them; in so doing they commit a kind of *shirk*. No matter what its cause, *shirk* represents the human beings' failure, caused by ignorance (q.v.) or perversity (see REBELLION; DISOBEDIENCE; INSOLENCE AND OBSTINACY), to see the truth, evidenced in all of existence, that there is only one God.

Arguments against shirk

The Qur'ān offers several arguments against *shirk*. First, the stability and order prevailing throughout the universe is proof that it was created and is being administered by one God and that no one has any share in his power (e.g. Q 28:70-2). In Q 27:60-4, which contains a series of arguments against *shirk,* the polytheists are repeatedly asked after every argument: "Is there a god alongside God?" An impartial reflection on the universe leads one to the conclusion that "He is the one who is God *(ilāhun)* in the heavens and God *(ilāhun)* in the earth" (Q 43:84); "Had there been several gods in them [heavens and earth], these would have been disrupted" (Q 21:22). Second, human beings have an instinctive distaste for *shirk,* which is borne out by the fact that at times of crisis they forget the false deities and call upon the one true God for help. Thus, even idolaters, while traveling on the high seas, would, when their ship is overtaken by a storm, call upon the one God, forgetting their other deities. But as soon as they reach the safety of the shore, they start associating other beings with God (Q 29:65; see also Q 7:189-90; 10:22-3; see GRATITUDE AND INGRATITUDE). Third, *shirk* takes away from human dignity. Human beings have been honored by God, who has given them charge of the physical world, and for them to commit shirk would be to disgrace their position in the world. "Do you worship what you sculpture?" — that is, would you worship something you carve out with your own hands? Finally, there is the combined evidence of the prophetic messages throughout human history, for the essential

doctrine preached by all the prophets was that of *tawḥīd* (cf. Q 7:59 [Noah; q.v.]; 7:65 [Hūd; q.v.]; 7:73 [Ṣāliḥ; q.v.]; 7:85 [Shuʿayb; q.v.]). Here it should be pointed out that prophecy in Islam begins with Adam (see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD; ADAM AND EVE). This means that, as prophet, Adam preached monotheism, so that *tawḥīd* is not a later discovery made by the human race but the very first lesson that God taught human beings. Q 7:172-3 recounts the event that took place in pre-existence and according to which God brought forth all human beings who were ever to be born, making them testify that he alone was their lord (see COVENANT).

Atheism

Q 45:24 is sometimes cited as referring to atheism. The verse reads: "And they say, 'This worldly life of ours is all there is — we die and we live, and nothing but time destroys us.' But they have no knowledge of it; they are only speculating." Yet the view that there existed, at the time of the prophet Muḥammad, individuals or groups of people who denied the existence of divinity altogether, is highly implausible. The verse is best interpreted as referring to the pre-Islamic view of the Arabs (q.v.) that the rise and fall of nations is governed not by any definite moral laws, as the Qurʾān maintained, but by the impersonal hand of fate (q.v.; see also DESTINY). In criticizing this view, the verse is affirming, by implication, that societies rise and prosper or decline and perish, strictly in accordance with moral laws laid down by God (see ETHICS AND THE QURʾĀN). Denying the relevance of morality to prosperity and success in the world, the Arabs claimed that the rise and fall of nations was due to the perpetually moving wheel of fortune that first raised a nation to the top and then brought it down. On this view, the Quraysh (q.v.) of Mecca (q.v.) could ward off the qurʾānic criticism that their affluence (which, according to the Qurʾān, was really a gift from God; see GIFT AND GIFT-GIVING; WEALTH) was meant to put them to the test (see TRIAL) and that they were expected to make responsible use of the resources put at their disposal.

But even though Q 45:24 may not be cited to prove the existence of atheists in Arabia, the qurʾānic concept of *tawḥīd* would, by definition, negate atheism: just as the Qurʾān rejects the idea that there can be two or more gods, so it would reject the idea that there is no god; the Islamic declaration of faith (see WITNESS TO FAITH) as cited in several places in the Qurʾān does not stop at *lā ilāha,* "there is no god," but goes on to affirm the existence of one God, *illā llah,* "except God." See also PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QURĀN.

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Pomegranates see GARDEN; AGRICULTURE AND VEGETATION

Pool see BILQĪS

Poor see POVERTY AND THE POOR

Popular and Talismanic Uses of the Qurʾān

Several terms (*ṭilasm,* pl. *ṭalismāt* or *ṭalāsim; ruqya,* pl. *ruqā; siḥr*) connote this topic and the subject itself includes a wide range of practices all based on the materialization/actualization of the Qurʾān, whether tapping the power inherent in verbal performance or creating physical renderings of divine speech. These materializations and actualizations of the Qurʾān are often designated para-liturgical, that is, those uses of the Qurʾān outside the contexts of formal Islamic rites (*ṣalāt, tajwīd;* see PRAYER; RECITATION OF THE QURʾĀN). They include the range of personal prayer (*duʿāʾ,* see PRAYER FORMULAS); spells, incantations and verbal charms *(ruqya);* physical talismans *(ṭilasm)* and amulets (q.v.; *taʿwīdh*) and other healing applications of the Qurʾān conveyed by using liquids *(maḥw, nushra);* divining *(istikhāra, faʾl)* through interpretation of the qurʾānic text, as well as divining through the incubation of dreams *(ruʾyā)* which are interpreted *(taʿbīr)* using the qurʾānic text (see DREAMS AND SLEEP); and physical representations of qurʾānic contents in calligraphic arts (stone and plaster bas relief, metal engraving, mosaic and inlay of *objets d'art* and decoration of objects in daily use, painted murals, textile embroidery, wall hangings and carpets, poster art and other ephemera; see MATERIAL CULTURE AND THE QURʾĀN; EVERYDAY LIFE, THE QURʾĀN IN; EPIGRAPHY AND THE QURʾĀN). The para-liturgical uses of the Qurʾān are most often applied for protection from disease, accident, or conscious malefic intention; protection and blessing of interior and exterior physical space (especially the domicile or place of business; see HOUSE, DOMESTIC AND DIVINE); success in defensive as well as aggressive warfare (see VICTORY; WAR; FIGHTING); material well-being and accrual of wealth (q.v.); fertility (human, animal, and agricultural); individual, familial, and communal welfare, particularly that of children; and knowledge of the meaning and outcome of specific events or the destiny of a given life within the unfolding of sacred history (see HISTORY AND THE QURʾĀN; FATE; DESTINY; FREEDOM AND PREDESTINATION).

The Qurʾān and spiritual mediation (wasīla) *and intercession* (shafāʿa)

Talismanic and popular uses of the Qurʾān find their meaning within the framework of spiritual mediation in Islam. Spiritual mediation or intercession (q.v.) by God with himself and by the prophet Muḥammad and the *ahl al-bayt,* the "People of (the Prophet's) House" (see PEOPLE OF THE HOUSE; FAMILY OF THE PROPHET), through God's permission (*wasīla,* Q 5:35; 17:57; *shafāʿa,* e.g. Q 2:255; 10:3; 20:109; 21:28; 34:23; 43:86), to improve, ameliorate, and sustain one's circumstances in life is a belief which had currency throughout medieval Islam and continues at the popular level into the modern era (Padwick, *Muslim devotions,* 37-47, 235-44). Muslims having recourse to spiritual mediation operate within a specific context of divine blessing (q.v.; *baraka*), which can be conveyed and absorbed by association with sacred persons (prophets, saints, etc.; see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD; SAINT) and through objects which have absorbed the holiness of persons (clothing, hair and bodily

detritus, personal belongings or objects of ritual use), as well as contact with places of birth, habitation, or death which become objectified in devotion as sanctuaries and sites of pilgrimage (see FESTIVALS AND COMMEMORATIVE DAYS). Popular and talismanic uses of the Qurʾān draw upon both the reifying power of qurʾānic speech (q.v.; its ability to cause and maintain all things in existence; see WORD OF GOD; COSMOLOGY) and the physical transmissibility of qurʾānic *baraka* (O'Connor, Prophetic medicine, 52-3). The verbal and material object which is perhaps the most universally accessible vehicle of divine blessing and amelioration to Muslims, of course, is the Qurʾān itself. It is at the same time a vehicle of worship and of spiritual and material action, encompassing parameters most often inappropriately segregated by scholarship as religion (q.v.) and magic (q.v.).

Magic (siḥr) *and the uses of the Qurʾān: Licit and illicit "magic" in Islam*

Based on qurʾānic references and other early accounts (such as Ibn al-Kalbī's *Kitāb al-Aṣnām,* "Book of idols"), *siḥr,* or "magic/sorcery," in pre-Islamic belief and practice seems to have included invocation of spirits or demons *(jinn),* spirit possession, exorcism of such spirits, soothsaying and divining by arrows and lots and geomantic omens, talismanry, cursing and healing by verbal, gestural, and material action (see SOOTHSAYERS; JINN; INSANITY; DIVINATION; FORETELLING; CURSE; PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QURʾĀN). The range of activities associated with the word *siḥr* in Islamic times include active and practical magic (spells, tying of knots, invocations, talismans, cursing and healing; see ILLNESS AND HEALTH) as well as intuitive systems of extraordinary knowledge (soothsaying, divining, and geomancy; Fahd, *Divination,* 214-45, 363-7). All the activities of *siḥr* were the proper role of the poetesses/poets (*shāʿir/a, shuʿarāʾ;* see POETS AND POETRY) and priestesses/priests *(kāhin/a, kahana)* of the pre-Islamic era and, in the transition to the rise of Islam, came to be circumscribed by its new dispensation (Serjeant, Islam, 216-21). Recast in the mould of Islam, these arts flourished without any marked discontinuity, and only later would be characterized by the fourth/tenth-century proto-Ismāʿīlī authors of the *Rasāʾil Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ* as "permitted" or licit magic *(al-siḥr al-ḥalāl),* those arts which served Islam, such as the permission to perform magic accorded by God to various prophetic figures in the Qurʾān (e.g. Solomon's God-given power to command the winds and the armies of the jinn, Q 21:81-2, 34:12-3; see SOLOMON; AIR AND WIND) and "forbidden" or illicit magic *(al-siḥr al-ḥarām),* those arts which opposed Islam, or attempted to operate independently of Islam, such as malefic magic, cursing, and other evils (Bürgel, *The feather,* 28-37; Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ, *Rasāʾil,* iv, 327-8, 345).

… This is the licit or permitted magic *(al-siḥr al-ḥalāl)* which is the mission toward God, may he be praised, by means of the truth and the speech of sincerity. And false magic is that which is the opposite, such as the works of the opponents of the prophets and the enemies of the sages… whose laws protected the weak among men and women against the fascination *(siḥr)* of their minds by falsehood.… This is illicit or forbidden magic *(al-siḥr al-ḥarām)* which has no stability in it, nor continuance, and is that which is without proof or trustworthy demonstration… (ibid., iv, 348-9).

Examples of such forbidden practices would be widespread belief in or use of the "evil eye," whether the source is human malice or that of the jinn, and other forms of cursing, as well as preventing malefic

magic, or counter-magic (Q 68:51, Q 113, Q 114; for medieval examples see Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya [d. 751/1350], *Ṭibb,* 119-21, 124; Ibn Bisṭām [fl. third/ninth century], *Ṭibb,* 43, 49-53, 161, 177, 185-6; Ṣuyūṭī [d. 911/1505], *Ṭibb,* 164-72; and for the modern Muslim world, see Ibrahim, *Assaulting with words,* chap. 4 [Arabic *siḥr*]; Flueckiger, The vision, 255; Ewing, Malangs, 369; Bowen, Return to sender).

The Qurʾān groups a variety of practices all loosely associated with pre-Islamic or foreign religion (see RELIGIOUS PLURALISM AND THE QURʾĀN; SOUTH ARABIA, RELIGION IN PRE-ISLAMIC) under the category of magic or "sorcery" (Q 2:102 for "the devils…, who taught sorcery *[siḥr]* to people, which, they said, had been revealed to the angels of Babylon, Hārūt and Mārūt [q.v.]"). Although classical definitions of "magic" in Islam are focused on the qurʾānic proscriptions against the "sorcery" of "knot-tying," "soothsaying," and demonic possession as in the style established by pre-Islamic oracular/gnomic poets and priests, an interrelated group of more or less licit magical and theurgic disciplines were categorized as the "occult sciences" *(al-ʿulūm al-ghaybiyya)* by their practitioners. These magical sciences recoded the Greek or foreign sciences (philosophy, mathematics, celestial mechanics, physical and natural law, and medicine) within an Islamic creationist universe (see PHILOSOPHY AND THE QURʾĀN; SCIENCE AND THE QURʾĀN; MEDICINE AND THE QURʾĀN; KNOWLEDGE AND LEARNING; INTELLECT; CREATION). Included are beliefs in the inherent power of sacred places and objects pre-Islamically expressed in divine images, shrines, altars, and sacred trees, wells, stones, and Islamically expressed in the use of talismans (qurʾānic and other) and the cult of saints (Schimmel, *Mystical dimensions;* Eaton, Political and religious authority; Hoffman, *Ṣūfism;* Ernst, *Eternal garden*). Pre-Islamic star worship (see PLANETS AND STARS) will become the Islamic interpenetration of astrology with many medieval "occult" and physical sciences, such as astrological medicine, the twin disciplines of astronomy-astrology, astrological talismanry and amuletry *(ʿilm al-khawāṣṣ wa-l-ṭalāsim),* astrological alchemy *(al-kīmiyāʾ),* astrologically coded numerology (q.v.) and geomancy (*ʿilm al-jafr* and *ʿilm al-raml;* Nasr, Alchemy; id., *Introduction;* id., Spiritual message; Savage-Smith/Smith, *Islamic geomancy*). Pre-Islamic divination by arrows and animal remains (Q 3:44; 5:90) becomes Islamic divining with the Qurʾān *(istikhāra, faʾl),* dream incubation, and interpretation (*taʿbīr al-ruʾyā;* Donaldson, The Koran; Lamoreaux, *Early Muslim tradition;* Glassé, *Concise encyclopedia,* s.v. Istikhārah). The pre-Islamic poetic/priestly role of spirit possession and mediumship is channeled through Islamic manipulation, conjuring, and exorcism of spirits, angels, and demons *(jinn)* through qurʾānic spells used with material substances, especially physical representations of the Qurʾān and the divine names (*al-asmāʾ al-ḥusnā;* see GOD AND HIS ATTRIBUTES) from the Qurʾān (Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya, *Ṭibb;* Ṣuyūṭī, *Ṭibb;* Ibn Bisṭām, *Ṭibb*). Pre-Islamic cursing and malefic action by spells, such as the tying of knots, become Islamic verbal charms *(ruqya)* for healing and protection from the evil eye drawn from qurʾānic contents accompanied by knot-tying and other gestures like spitting and blowing (Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya, *Ṭibb;* Ṣuyūṭī, *Ṭibb;* Ibn Bisṭām, *Ṭibb;* also Robson, Magical use).

In the realm of "popular" devotion, the sources for "magic" in Islam strongly overlap with those for talismanic and popular uses of the Qurʾān, since most "licit" magic in Islam centers on magical and material uses of the Qurʾān, particularly in medieval Sunnī and Shīʿī texts (see SHĪʿISM

AND THE QUR'ĀN) on prophetic medicine *(al-ṭibb al-nabawī)* and books of qur'ānic material efficacy (*kutub khawāṣṣ al-Qur'ān,* cf. Ḥājjī Khalīfa, *Kashf,* iii, 180, no. 4814; Ghazālī, *al-Dhahab al-ibrīz*) and popular medieval and modern chapbooks or manuals on qur'ānic devotions, dream divination, prophetic medicine and qur'ānic healing (handbooks of medicines and treatments of illness reported by the Prophet, such as *Luqaṭ al-amān fī l-ṭibb* (or, *Luqaṭ al-manāfiʿ fī l-ṭibb,* "Beneficial selections from medicine") by Ibn al-Jawzī (d. 597/1200), and two works simply entitled *al-Ṭibb al-nabawī* ("Prophetic medicine") by al-Dhahabī (d. 784/1348) and Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya (d. 751/1350); and the early Shīʿī compendium, *Ṭibb al-aʾimma* ("Medicine of the Imāms") by Ibn Biṣṭām (ca. third/ninth century; see O'Connor, Prophetic medicine, 48-64; Fahd, Khawāṣṣ). The Qur'ān in Muslim life and practice is, thus, the central arena for observing the permeability of "licit magic" in Islam. As Islam's most religiously authoritative, rigorously liturgical, and legally conservative source (see THEOLOGY AND THE QUR'ĀN; LAW AND THE QUR'ĀN), the Qur'ān also comes down to the present as Islam's most intimately negotiated, vernacularly creative, and magically effective venue of religious action (Primiano, Vernacular religion, 44-51).

Paraliturgical uses of the Qur'ān: Expressions of kufr *or* tawḥīd?

The liturgical and paraliturgical uses of the Qur'ān are not as easily separable. Often, the methods, material, and purposes of the paraliturgical uses of the Qur'ān overlap with those of its liturgical uses. The distinction tends to be made when the physical form of the Qur'ān, or any part of its verbal contents, is used as an object of inherent power, to achieve either superhuman faculties (such as foreknowledge) or to invoke divine mediation as in physical protection (q.v.) and healing. The difference is in the style, context, and intention of performance, as well as the ritualization of objects, rather than in the contents, which are often the same or similar (see RITUAL AND THE QUR'ĀN). The essential qur'ānic justification for the amuletic and talismanic use of the Qur'ān refers to its God-given purpose as a healing and a mercy (q.v.; *shifāʾun wa-raḥmatun,* Q 17:82; cf. Owusu-Ansah, *Islamic talismanic tradition,* 122), and that "no human deed [is] more effective in escaping God's wrath than the recounting of the *dhikr* of God," i.e. divine speech in the Qur'ān (Nana Asmaʾu, Medicine, 118-9; see MEMORY; REMEMBRANCE). Muslim qur'ānic spell- and talisman-makers, although bracketed by ongoing medieval legal debate (Owusu-Ansah, *Islamic talismanic tradition,* 25-40) and modern rationalist dismissal (see CONTEMPORARY CRITICAL PRACTICES AND THE QUR'ĀN), draw upon the range of positive juristic and popular opinion that it "cannot be the act of unbelieving *(kufr),* if the process brings benefit and especially if the content is from the Qur'ān" (El-Tom, Drinking the Koran, 33-4; see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF). The rationalist and reformist orientation of much contemporary public Muslim discourse draws on such staunch late medieval legal authorities as Ibn Taymiyya (d. 728/1328), whose *Kitāb Iqtiḍāʾ al-sirāṭ al-mustaqīm mukhālafat aṣḥāb al-jaḥīm,* "Book of the necessity of the straight path against the people of hell," portrays qur'ānic "intercession" and other paraliturgical uses of the Qur'ān as "human distortions… and deformations of true *tawḥīd*" (Waardenburg, Official and popular religion, 340-2; see PATH OR WAY). A century or so later, al-Ṣuyūṭī wrote his own version of the already established talismanic genre, *al-Ṭibb al-nabawī,* "Prophetic medicine," in which he draws a fine line

between faithful recitation and recitation that lapses into *shirk*, "associating anything with God" (see POLYTHEISM AND ATHEISM).

The *umm al-Qurʾān* ["mother of the Qurʾān," i.e. Sūrat al-Fātiḥa, the opening chapter] is the most useful of all to recite, because it contains glorification of God (q.v.), together with worship of him alone, and calling on him for help. It is said that the exact point at which the cure is actually effected when reciting the *āyāt* is at the words, "Only you do we worship, and only you do we ask for help" (Q 1:5). The Prophet, may God bless him and grant him peace, said, "Combining the recitation of *āyāt* [qurʾānic verses] with charms is *shirk*." The reason for this statement is that in this case, *shirk* is being associated with the recitation of the *āyāt*. And so indeed it is. But when the recitation of *āyāt* is free from *shirk*, then it is *ḥalāl* ["permitted/lawful"] for Muslims to do so (see LAWFUL AND UNLAWFUL). There is nothing to prevent the recitation of *āyāt* over a sick man, provided that there is no *shirk* involved.…
It is probably that this prohibition of something that was known to work was because some people believed that the cure came from the very nature of the words themselves. At a later stage, this prohibition was lifted. When Islam and the search for truth became established in their hearts, then he gave them permission to use such recitation, provided that they understood that it was God who effected the cure — or not… (Ṣuyūṭī, *Ṭibb*, 133).

Despite this juristic dissonance and the fact that talismanic and popular uses of the Qurʾān have declined greatly due to the rise in education and literacy, and the impact of secularism, westernization, and modernization in the post-colonial Muslim world, the need for an affective and immediate experience of God through materializations/actualizations of his speech continues to express itself among Muslims today in a variety of living responses to the qurʾānic text. Contemporary male and female Muslim religious healers (frequently but not exclusively Ṣūfīs, who are both likely to command the written technology of the Qurʾān and knowledge and experience of its talismanic applications; see ṢŪFISM AND THE QURʾĀN; TRADITIONAL DISCIPLINES OF QURʾĀNIC STUDY) have used virtually the same sources (qurʾānic verses, the divine names or attributes of God in the Qurʾān, and ḥadīth which support qurʾānic talismanry/spellmaking; see ḤADĪTH AND THE QURʾĀN) to justify popular and talismanic use of the Qurʾān as have those Muslims who disapprove or disavow such activities (Flueckiger, The vision; Bowen, *Muslims through discourse;* El-Tom, Drinking the Koran; Ewing, Malangs of the Punjab; Eaton, Political and religious authority; Hoffman, *Ṣūfism*).

Popular, folk, and vernacular religion and the uses of the Qurʾān

Before addressing specific aspects of the talismanic and popular uses of the Qurʾān, some discussion of method in the study of people's religion is appropriate. Although the use of the term "popular" as in "popular religion" is invoked in the very title of this article, its academic use continues to spark divergent reflections on the nature of religion as a social phenomenon. It usually is the second of a pair of opposite or complementary terms implying a hierarchical and dichotomized view of religion, such as official and popular religion, or normative and popular religion, paralleling other dichotomizations, such as orthodox and heterodox religion (see HERESY), and elite and folk religion. "Official, normative,

orthodox, elite" all yield meanings which place the religion and people who practice it so identified at the center of authority and legitimacy, and their complementary opposites "popular, heterodox, folk" at the margins, without authority or tinged with the flavor of illegitimacy (Waardenburg, Official and popular; Lewis, *Saints and Somalis;* id., The power of the past; Patai, Folk Islam). There is an implicit assumption in both scholarly and popular awareness of religion that there is some central, institutionalized, and validated form which is "real" religion, and then there are all the subversive things that ordinary believers think and do. "Real religion" for scholars has been overwhelmingly re-posited in the texts of religion, particularly those texts said to be divinely revealed, accompanied by the authoritative commentary, legal, and moral literature derived from revealed or inspired religion (see SCRIPTURE AND THE QUR'ĀN; EXEGESIS OF THE QUR'ĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL). One of the inherent consequences of the tendency of these dichotomous terms to elevate textual/institutional religion and the hierarchy of religious professionals to a centrist, even megalithic, dimension is the corresponding devaluation of the religion of ordinary believers and everyday life. Focus upon the Qur'ān in everyday life, however, tends to break down this dichotomization of religion by seeing the intersection of official and folk or normative and popular, orthodox and heterodox, in the objectification and materialization of the divine speech of the Arabic Qur'ān (see also INIMITABILITY). The function and meaning of the Qur'ān in everyday life and everyday speech (see ARABIC LANGUAGE; LITERATURE AND THE QUR'ĀN; SLOGANS FROM THE QUR'ĀN), as well as its more technical uses in para-liturgical devotions and talismanic practices, render the heart of Islam visible to view, that is, the intimate and personal bond between every individual believer, their immediate community, and the *umma* as a whole, with the substance of divine "healing and mercy," as the Qur'ān describes itself (Q 17:82). The vernacular religious creativity and interpretive negotiations of actual believers in the para-liturgical uses of the Qur'ān, include the *'ulamā'* or Islam's religious hierarchy (Primiano, Vernacular religion, 46; see SCHOLAR). It is medieval and modern Muslim "scholars" who make "elite" materials available to the masses, interpreting primary sources — Qur'ān and the ḥadīth which discuss its uses in everyday life (see EXEGESIS OF THE QUR'ĀN: EARLY MODERN AND CONTEMPORARY) — and channeling them into "popular" devotional literature, like prayer manuals, prophetic medical texts, charm- and talisman-making booklets, as well as editions of the Qur'ān marked with methods for divination and dream interpretation (Donaldson, The Koran, 258; El-Tom, Drinking the Koran, 429; Perho, *The Prophet's medicine;* see MANUSCRIPTS OF THE QUR'ĀN; TEACHING AND PREACHING THE QUR'ĀN).

Literature on popular and talismanic uses of the Qur'ān

Throughout the Islamic middle ages and into the modern era, as the above examples have shown, vernacular qur'ānic healing practices have been widely and fervently espoused in Muslim practice (if not theory) and have generated an extensive body of "how-to" literature. This instructional literature informed and guided local practitioners on the procedures and methods of interpretation of all these qur'ānic arts and included a variety of sub-genres such as encyclopedias of dream interpretation, chapbooks of qur'ānic prayers/spells for magical effect and manuals on the creation of qur'ānic talismans and "erasures." The use of qur'ānic speech

in magical images of power and blessing, as talismans against harm and amulets for sickness, forms part of a range of vernacular expression encompassing a diverse popularly disseminated talismanic literature and practice, leaving an extensive manuscript and print record in recipe books and how-to manuals into the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries which have been reprinted or lithographed up until the present day. Books of instruction, such as the *Majmaʿ al-dawāt,* as well as professional practitioners of these extra-canonical qurʾānic "sciences" were numerous throughout medieval Islam and into the modern era. Special Qurʾāns have been published with marginal notation on methods of divination and apposite verses for magical or talismanic use. Treatises on the preparation and use of qurʾānic talismanry and prophetic medicine interacted with and were influenced by the variety of "occult" works of magical medicine such as ʿAlī b. Sahl al-Ṭabarī's *Firdaws al-ḥikma,* "Paradise of wisdom," one of the earliest works of Arabic medicine, completed in 235/850, as well as the magical cures included in larger works such as Muḥammad b. Zakariyyāʾ al-Rāzī's tenth-century "Book of the magician" *(Kitāb al-Ḥāwī)* and his "Book of natural sciences" *(Maqāla fī mā baʿd al-ṭabīʿa),* as well as the genre of occult medicine, the *kutub al-mujarrabāt,* "books of the tested," that is, magical techniques "tested" by experience, such as the *Mujarrabāt* of Aḥmad al-Dayrabī (d. ca. 1151/1739) and Abū ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Sanūsī (d. 895/1490).

This genre of medieval literature and chapbooks *(al-mujarrabāt)* on the paraliturgical uses of the Qurʾān evolved, analyzing the text according to its extraordinary properties *(khawāṣṣ)* and applying those properties to talismanic uses of the divine names and other materials in the Qurʾān (see Fig. IV). A variety of subcategories were established in these texts: *ʿilm al-khawāṣṣ,* for the knowledge derived from the extraordinary qualities inherent in the divine names and other materials in the Qurʾān; *ʿilm al-ruqā,* for qurʾānic spell magic; *ʿilm al-faʾl,* for the reading of omens using the Qurʾān; manipulations of number and letter, known either as *ʿilm al-jafr* or *ʿilm al-ḥurūf,* and applied to the divine names or other words or letters of the Arabic in the Qurʾān; and finally, *ʿilm al-taʿbīr,* or the incubation and interpretation of dreams and visions *(ruʾyā).* Dictionaries and encyclopedias of dream symbolism and poetic expositions of divining through their systematic interpretation were generated from the early Islamic middle ages, such as those ascribed to Ibn Sīrīn (d. 110/728), Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbdallāh al-Kirmānī (fl. late second/eighth cent.), and extant manuscripts of Ibn Qutayba (d. 276/889), and Aḥmad al-Sijistānī (d. 399/1008), as well as late medieval manuals by al-Qayrawānī and al-Dīnawarī (fl. late fifth/eleventh cent.), the Ṣūfī al-Kharkūshī (d. ca. 406/1015), and the philosopher Ibn Sīnā (d. 428/1037). These medieval divining and dream sources were used into modern times (Westermarck, *Ritual and belief,* 46-57; Fahd, *Divination,* 330-67; Lamoreaux, *Early Muslim tradition,* 15-78).

Qurʾānic talisman recipes: The magic square

A specific example of talismanic literature falling under the heading of *ʿilm al-ḥurūf* is that detailing recipes for "magic squares" in which Arabic phrases, words, and letters from the Qurʾān, especially the names or attributes of God, angels (see ANGEL), prophets or their numerological equivalents are placed in a grid of squares, or other geometric shapes (Ibn Biṣṭām, *Ṭibb,* 88-9; Lane, *Manners and customs,* 278-84; Westermarck, *Ritual and belief,* i, 141-7; Doutté, *Magie et religion,* 190 f.; for an example of a talismanic chart containing

such magic squares, see Fig. VI). Magic squares, and other number/letter talismans, were a popular expression of the learned systems of Islamic alchemy (*ʿilm al-mīzān,* or science of "balance," and *mīzān al-ḥurūf/mīzān al-lafẓ,* or "balance of letters/speech," in the alchemical corpus of Jābir b. Ḥayyān; see Kraus, *Jābir,* ii, 117-8, 187-230, 236-69). Magic squares were also a part of Ṣūfī and Shīʿī texts which connect the cosmogonic nature of divine speech and Arabic orthography (see ARABIC SCRIPT) with mystical numerology (*ʿilm al-ḥurūf,* also called *al-sīmiyāʾ,* in Ibn Khaldūn, *Muqaddima,* 422-46; abr. trans. Rosenthal, *The Muqaddimah,* 396 f.; cf. number/letter correspondences in Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ, *Rasāʾil,* iv, 304-5). Finally, texts of neo-Pythagorean philosophy and magical talismanry also created systems of mystical numerology and magic square recipes (*ʿilm al-jafr* in Ibn Sīnā, *al-Risāla al-nayruziyya;* see Nasr, *Introduction,* 209-12; and Aḥmad al-Dīn al-Būnī [d. 622/1225], *Shams al-maʿārif wa-laṭāʾif al-ʿawārif*).

Nineteenth-century qurʾānic talismanry manuscripts of the Asante in west Africa (now Ghana), and the Sokoto caliphate (now northwestern Nigeria), incorporate verbal performance, or incantational prayer, along with visual/physical representations of divine speech in magic squares, or "seals/rings" (*khawātim,* sing. *khātim;* Lane, *Manners and customs,* 269-70, 279; Robson, Magical use, 35; Owusu-Ansah, *Islamic talismanic tradition,* 96-8; Nana Asma'u, Medicine, 102-19). The *khātim* serves a variety of purposes and is immediately effective upon the written execution of the square. When inscribed with God's names, these "seals" command effect, whereas with other qurʾānic passages they only supplicate, indicating a hierarchy of power in the different forms of divine speech privileging divine names (*al-asmāʾ al-ḥusnā,* the "beautiful names," as well as the *ism akbar,* the "great" or secret name of God), as most powerful and magically efficacious. Magic squares, employing divine names or other qurʾānic materials, continue as vernacular healing and protection devices into the modern era and are still reported to be present in some contemporary Muslim healing rituals where they are used as both diagnostic tool and talismanic prescription (Flueckiger, The vision, 251, 257-8). Emphasis on number/letter mysticism in recent Ṣūfī devotional texts published in the West continues the medieval legacy of esoteric interpretation (see POLYSEMY) and application of the powers of the divine names and alphabetic components of divine speech. Contemporary manuals of qurʾānic spells or talisman making, and other books of magical healing in the *mujarrabāt* genre are in print and available for consultation by contemporary male and female professional and lay practitioners throughout the Muslim world (Robson, Magical use; Donaldson, The Koran; El-Tom, Drinking the Koran; Hunzaʾi, *Qurʾānic healing;* Flueckiger, The vision; Chisti, *Ṣūfī healing*).

Uses of the Qurʾān in historical and living contexts: Oral uses of the Qurʾān

Qurʾānic talismanry and popular uses of the Qurʾān begin with para-liturgical uses of the spoken and performed Qurʾān such as *tajwīd* (melodic recitation of the Qurʾān), *dhikr* (recitation of divine names and brief qurʾānic phrases), *ruqya* (qurʾānic spell-casting and spoken charm-making), *nushra* (performance of qurʾānic verses or chapters accompanied by spitting and/or blowing of their essence onto the client), and the endemic use of qurʾānic phrases in daily speech. What makes these performances "popular" or "talismanic" is not their contents, but the context and purpose, which is traditionally for protection/prevention of illness or accident, healing,

fertility, and material abundance. In pre-modern Islamic culture, illness, for example, was attributed to physical and metaphysical (spiritual/magical) causation. Regarding the relationship between the "heart" (q.v.) and the body, God's messenger (q.v.) said:

Every disease has a cure… the illnesses of the body and those of the heart are alike.… For every illness of the heart God created, he also created a cure that is its opposite. When someone whose heart is sick recognizes his disease and counters it with it opposite, he will recover, by God's leave" (Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya, *Ṭibb,* 14).

Healing is a manifestation of divine mercy and provides a vehicle for repentance and gratitude (see REPENTANCE AND PENANCE; GRATITUDE AND INGRATITUDE). These texts on prophetic medicine define two basic types of illness: those of the body and those of the heart. Bodily illnesses can be treated in practical ways (through cleansing, abstaining from food and drink or purging, or use of curative or restorative herbs/simples) and also in spiritual ways (through interior prayers, invocations of the divine names of God, verbal spells, and physical charms).

Illnesses of the heart, on the other hand, are spiritual, emotional, and mental both in origin and in cure. They are caused by heart sickness, defined as emotional and mental states such as suspicion (q.v.), doubt (see UNCERTAINTY), and loss of faith, or they can be caused by sins of commission (see SIN, MAJOR AND MINOR) such as desire or allurement (Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya, *Ṭibb,* 3-13). "Spiritual" illness included what modern western medicine would identify as mental or emotional illness, since in Islamic understanding the ultimate causation of mental or emotional unease (anxiety, depression, stress, doubt, uncertainty) is lapses or weakening in faith and, correspondingly, health and well-being rest upon "spiritual" nourishment (Suyūṭī, *Ṭibb,* 172-7).

The Prophet says: "I dwell with my lord (q.v.), and he gives me my food and drink (q.v.)." The Qurʾān is the largest repository of spiritual nourishment… the stronger one's faith, love for his lord, joy and gratitude to be in his presence — the more ardent and fervent his yearning to meet his lord — the stronger becomes his certitude *(yaqīn),* contentment and satisfaction with his lord's will.… Such renewed spiritual strength compensates immeasurably for the patient's needs (Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya, *Ṭibb,* 62).

Ḥadīth literature collected in a genre of medieval texts entitled "prophetic medicine" prescribed using the Qurʾān for the prevention and healing of disease, especially for "spiritual illness." The prophet Muḥammad is said to have recommended: "Make use of two remedies: honey (q.v.) and the Qurʾān," which is "a cure for [the disease of] the hearts" (Q 10:57; cf. Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya, *Ṭibb,* 27). Shīʿī medical texts also invoke the power of the Qurʾān in the healing and protection of the faithful. Related from ḥadīth of the sixth imām, Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq (d. 148/765), who replied regarding a query as to the use of a charm for scorpion and snakebite, as well as the spell *(nushra)* for the insane and enchanted who are in torment:

…there is no objection to the charm and invocation and spell if they are taken from the Qurʾān. Whomsoever the Qurʾān does not cure, God does not cure him. Is there anything more effective in these matters than the Qurʾān [citing Q 17:82; 59:21]?… Ask us, we will teach you and acquaint you

with the verses of the Qurʾān for every illness" (Ibn Bisṭām, *Ṭibb,* 54).

Even physical illness was often categorized as having non-physical causality, such as ascribing the condition of epilepsy to spirit possession which required an exorcism using qurʾānic verses to accomplish "the rehabilitation of one's sanity and the revival of his faith" (Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya, *Ṭibb,* 46-7). "Spiritual remedies" are the antidote to spiritual disease, and the "light" (q.v.) of the Qurʾān (Q 24:35) is the "antithesis of darkness (q.v.) and gratitude is the opposite of denial" *(kufr;* ibid., 91; see PAIRS AND PAIRING).

Qurʾānic recitation, or *tajwīd,* in which Muslims "adorn the Qurʾān with their voices" has both informal curative as well as more formal ritual performance contexts. "It is speech and intonation to which God the almighty has added perfume" (Suyūṭī, *Ṭibb,* 127). Support for auditory use of the Qurʾān makes listening to recitation the cure of infants, beasts, and all those distressed in spirit: "So give good news (q.v.) to my servants (see SERVANT) those who listen to the word and then follow the best of it" (Q 39:17-8). Listening to recitation is described in the prophetic medical texts as the "calmer of hearts, food of the spirit. It is one of the most important psychological medicines. It is a source of pleasure, even to some animals" (Suyūṭī, *Ṭibb,* 127). *Dhikr* (recitation of divine names and phrases from the Qurʾān) is recommended as a specific remedy against pre-Islamic sorcery *(siḥr)* by the Prophet as "faith and nearness to his lord is the divine medicine *(dawāʾ ilāhī)* that no disease can resist… invoking the divine attributes *(dhikr)* will sharpen one's hearing and sight and sustain his faculties" (Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya, *Ṭibb,* 91-2). The divine attribute whose recitation will guarantee health is reported to be "the absolute living one" (*al-ḥayy al-qayyūm,* cf. Q 2:255; 3:2; 20:111), which the Prophet describes as "the opposite of all ailments and sufferings… therefore, calling upon his attribute, the living controller, will surely cure the illness" (Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya, *Ṭibb,* 165). The active performance of reciting whole sūras is considered efficacious as well, and can be classed in the same category as qurʾānic spell-making, since frequent repetition and ritual preparation are involved. Medieval and early modern talismanic texts prescribe sūra recitation for fertility (Q 89), protection from the evil eye and the like (Q 48, 75, 85, 87), providence (Q 56), forgiveness (q.v.) for sins/spiritual healing (Q 62, 81), peaceful sleep (q.v.; Q 92), finding/restoring what is lost/forgotten (Q 93; Nana Asmaʾu, Medicine).

The repetitive chanting of qurʾānic formulae and particularly the divine names becomes a normative institution in Ṣūfī practice throughout the Islamic middle ages and into modern times. Individual Ṣūfī teachers who became founders of Ṣūfī communities often recommended a particular form of *dhikr* practice (silent or voiced, individual or group recitation, usually male-only or female-only groups; see Schimmel, *Mystical dimensions;* Netton, *Ṣūfī ritual;* Raudvere, *Book and roses*). The melodic nature of qurʾānic recitation is amplified in *dhikr* to increase and intensify the emotional impact and transformative nature of its performance and its audition (sometimes including rhythmic music, then known as *samāʿ,* and sometimes with voices alone). It often takes a call/response pattern of group performance, with the Ṣūfī master or a *munshid,* or "song" specialist, leading and the community following either at the Ṣūfī lodge or in private homes (Waugh, *Munshidun of Egypt*). In south Asia, a sub-genre of *dhikr* in the form of devotional "song" is the *qawwālī,* sung in Persian or Urdu interspersed with Arabic

phraseology from the Qurʾān. *Qawwālī* sessions function similarly to *dhikr* sessions, although the group attending may be a lay Muslim audience as well as members of the Ṣūfī community (Qureishi, *Ṣūfī music*). Contemporary Ṣūfī literature, particularly in the West, has a strong emphasis on the textual interpretation of the Qurʾān as a form of spiritual healing. Books on Ṣūfī healing as well as audio tapes of *dhikr* by Ṣūfī communities intended for a broad popular Muslim audience (and potential converts to the mystic path; see MEDIA AND THE QURʾĀN), illustrate the spiritual message of the qurʾānic script and create analogies between the orthography (q.v.) of the Qurʾān when linked to the bodily postures of prayer and *dhikr* practice (Nasr, Spiritual message; Chisti, *Ṣūfī healing;* see also Bawa Muhaiyaddeen on prayer in Banks and Green, *Illuminated prayer*).

Among the spoken uses of the Qurʾān applied to healing is the use of specific short chapters or verses of the Qurʾān as a form of spell *(ruqya)* and charm. For example, the recitation aloud of the Fātiḥa (q.v.), or opening chapter of the Qurʾān, accompanied by "blowing them on the affected person, followed by his spittle upon the victim — God willing, such reading will incur the reaction of evil spirits and cause the elimination of their evil act" (Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya, *Ṭibb,* 139; Suyūṭī, *Ṭibb,* 132-3, 180; Robson, Magical use, 38-9). Regarding the basic question of the lawfulness of such uses of the Qurʾān, a Muslim asks the Prophet: "You see all these amulets *(ruqā)* we carry, prayers we recite, medicine we take, and other preventive routines we use for recovering from illness — Do any of them obstruct God's decree?" And the Prophet replied, "They are part of God's decree" (Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya, *Ṭibb,* 11). The Prophet is also reported to have similarly recited the Throne Verse (Q 2:255; see THRONE OF GOD) and the two "refuge-taking" chapters (Q 113, 114), and blown into his hands and wiped his face and body so as to physically spread the healing benefit of the sūras over his person for protection (Suyūṭī, *Ṭibb,* 158-9, 180). The phrases of refuge-taking in the final two chapters of the Qurʾān are universally applicable to all purposes of protection whether against accident, illness, acts of nature, demonic powers, the evil eye, spiritual dangers from the lower self *(nafs),* the evil which God has created, and finally from God himself: "I take refuge with thee from thyself" (Padwick, *Muslim devotions,* 83-93). The Prophet recommended further the combination of recitation of qurʾānic prayers as spells *(ruqya)* along with plant/mineral materials to form compound "natural and spiritual cures" (Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya, *Ṭibb,* 145-6). The *basmala* (q.v.) which opens every chapter of the Qurʾān but one is also a focus of prayerful invocation: "I beseech thee by virtue of every mystery which thou has set in 'In the Name of God the Merciful, the Compassionate'" (Padwick, *Muslim devotions,* 99; see also Ibn Bisṭām, *Ṭibb,* 6). Ṣūfīs have delved into the components of these qurʾānic phrases and created a system of visualization and meditation which isolates and emphasizes each individual letter and orthographic sign and grammatical function of the written Arabic of the Qurʾān (see GRAMMAR AND THE QURʾĀN). From a collection of prayers on the *basmala* is this interiorization of every element of the phrase, starting with its first letter, by ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī: "O God, I ask thee by virtue of the *bāʾ* of thy name, the letter of 'withness,' the conjunction with the greatest Object of Desire, and the finding of all that was lost and by the point beneath the *bāʾ* guiding to the secrets of thy everlastingness and thy pre-eternal and sole Being…" (Padwick, *Muslim devotions,* 100). Belief in their power

and efficacy by generations of Muslims seems to have provoked even magical applications of them, such as the belief in "laying on" the divine names. "Thy names of moral beauty *(al-asmāʾ al-ḥusnā)* to which all things upon which they are laid are subdued" (from *Khulāṣat al-maghnam* of ʿAlī Ḥasan al-ʿAttās); and "All thy names of moral beauty which, falling upon anything cause its body to be subdued" (from Aḥmad b. ʿAlī l-Būnī, *Majmuʿāt al-aḥzāb;* see Padwick, *Muslim devotions,* 106, 109).

Another application of the physical transmissibility of qurʾānic *baraka* is the technique of *nushra,* which involves qurʾānic recitation over water that is then used by the sick person for washing him/herself (Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya, *Ṭibb,* 142; Ṣuyūṭī, *Ṭibb,* 172, Robson, Magical use, 34) or it can be recited over food that is then eaten and the qurʾānic virtue is absorbed by the body as well as the soul (Nana Asmaʾu, Medicine, 112-3, 117). Although not necessarily involving oral recitation of the sacred text, yet another method of "imbibing the Qurʾān" is through the use of "magic medicine bowls," vessels on which qurʾānic verses are inscribed and from which the believer drinks to accrue their benefit (see Figs. 1 and 11). *Nushra* relies upon the materialization of the *baraka* of recitation as a physical "residuum" of qurʾānic *baraka*. Although this practice is reported in the context of disapproval, such reports clearly indicate a living practice and can be understood in relation to the Companions of the Prophet (q.v.) who are said in the ḥadīth and *sīra* (hagiographical) literature (see SĪRA AND THE QURʾĀN) to have collected the Prophet's washing water, fingernail and hair clippings, for their traces of *baraka*. The residual *baraka* of this prophetic "wash" and qurʾānic "wash" are clearly connected to the larger phenomenon of qurʾānic erasure *(maḥw)*. The extension of this *baraka* from physical traces of blessing to that conveyed by the verbal articulation (and breath) of qurʾānic recitation is found in its use when accompanied by magical gestures conveying the personal life force or essence of the performer (such as spitting and blowing) which the Qurʾān itself disallows as pre-Islamic/pagan magic. The inclusion within the body of the *sunna* of traditional magical methods regardless of their forbidden status in the Qurʾān is a paradoxical aspect of the "magical" use of the Qurʾān. Through recitation/prayer, the Qurʾān seems to invest the breath of the Prophet physically with its essence or *baraka* which is transmitted via touch. "The messenger used to recite Sūrat al-Ikhlāṣ ["God's oneness"; Q 112]… and then blow into the palms of his hands and wipe his face and whatever parts of his body his hands could reach" (Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya, *Ṭibb,* 142; Ibn Biṣṭām, *Ṭibb,* 40). In another report, it is blowing the essence of Sūrat al-Fātiḥa, the opening chapter, which is believed to convey the healing virtue of the whole Qurʾān. Via words, breath, and saliva of the believing lay healer, following the example of the Prophet, this medicinal recitation is an exorcism of evil spirits encompassing both spiritual and physical efficacy:

> If one's faith, soul (q.v.) and spirit (q.v.) are strong, and if he adapts himself to the essence of the opening chapter, and by God's leave, by reciting its holy words and blowing them on the affected person followed by his spittle upon the victim, God willing, such reading will incur the reaction of evil spirits and cause the elimination of their evil act" (Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya, *Ṭibb,* 139).

Somewhat later, Ibn al-Qayyim cites a statement from the Prophet that combines the application of saltwater with blowing his "blessed breath" and reciting the

Qurʾān to heal a wound. A contemporary south Indian Muslim woman healer marshals her spiritual "medicine" in exorcising patients possessed by spirits (manifested as loss of speech, rational capacity, deep depression, and immobility, or conversely, unnatural physical strength) using qurʾānic recitation accompanied by "blowing" *duʿāʾ*, or personal prayers, for healing intercession which include qurʾānic formulae, verses, or divine names, over the person and even inside the mouth (Flueckiger, The vision, 259-60).

Uses of the Qurʾān in historical and living contexts: Written uses of the Qurʾān

The divine names, their component parts, and the phrases in which they occur in the Qurʾān become part of a medieval "science of letters," or number/letter mysticism, and a "science of names" (*ʿilm al-ḥurūf, jafr, abjad, sīmiyāʾ;* Massignon, *Essay,* 68-72; Canteins, Hidden sciences, 448-63; Nasr, Spiritual message, 30-4), and, at the same time, objects of devotion as prayerful litanies *(wird),* elements of ritual practice *(dhikr),* and, above all, items in a rich visual field (Nasr, Spiritual message), in Ṣūfī and Shīʿī "calligrammes" such as those employed by the Ḥurūfiyya and Bektāshiyya (Wilson, *Sacred drift,* 6, 66-9, 130; Safadī, *Islamic calligraphy,* 31, 136-7; Dierl, *Geschichte und Lehre,* 1985).

> He who loves God empties his heart of all but him: the *alif* [first letter of the Arabic alphabet, and first letter of the name of God] of Allah pierces his heart and leaves no room for anything else.… One need only "know" this single letter in order to know all that is to be known, for the Divine Name is the key to the Treasury of Divine Mysteries and the path to the Real. It is that Reality by virtue of the essential identity of God and his sanctified Name. That is why in Ṣūfīsm meditation upon the calligraphic form of the Name is used as a spiritual method for realizing the Named (Nasr, Spritual message, 31; see CALLIGRAPHY).

Beyond its ritual and devotional importance, qurʾānic calligraphy spans the formal Islamic arts of qurʾānic manuscript illumination (Lings, *Quranic art;* see ORNAMENTATION AND ILLUMINATION), it defines formal architecture and public buildings as Islamic space (see ART AND ARCHITECTURE AND THE QURʾĀN), and it enters into the diversity of "folk" or vernacular arts. Qurʾānic vernacular art forms include sewing and embroidery, such as the *kiswa,* the house-sized black cloth draped over the Kaʿba that is embroidered in qurʾānic phrases in black and gold, and smaller wall hangings embroidered with divine names or qurʾānic verses that are used in Muslim homes or businesses, as well as such unique regional expressions as the *ḥajj* (see PILGRIMAGE) murals which adorn the outside of Egyptian homes (and some apartments), which developed at the turn of the twentieth century and are found from Cairo to the villages of upper Egypt (Campo, *Other sides,* 139-65, 170-9; Parker and Avon, *Ḥajj paintings*). This use of qurʾānic calligraphy protects the physical space and the members of the household from external evils by framing the entryway, the outside walls which face the street, around windows, and along outside staircases leading to and surrounding the front door (in the case of apartments).

The religious meaning of Muslim space, whether private or public, has been established by the presence and elaboration of traditional qurʾānic calligraphy on the outside, as well as the use of divine names and/or phrases/verses from the Qurʾān in textile wall-hangings, poster art and other ephemera on the inside (Metcalf, *Making Muslim space*). Unlike the Sunnī

mainstream, contemporary Ṣūfī and Muslim sectarian communities in North America have begun to make extensive use of their own new and unique forms of qurʾānic iconography, that is, qurʾānic calligraphy and image-making as doctrinal teaching and meditation tools, a kind of "visual" *dhikr,* which is disseminated through their devotional texts and journals and can be purchased as poster art for home use. Medieval Ṣūfī and Shīʿī "calligrammes" from the Arabic, Persian, and Turkish styles of qurʾānic calligraphy are re-invented and elaborated with a religious use of representational images unknown in earlier Islamic visual arts. A whole new wedding of word and image can be seen in the colorful poster art by Bawa Muhaiyaddeen for his Philadelphia-based Ṣūfī Fellowship, and ʿĪsā Muḥammad for his originally Brooklyn-based African-American Muslim group, the Ansarullah Community, first known as the Ansar Pure Sufis (see Bawa Muhaiyaddeen's "Heartswork" posters and companion commentary texts, published by the Bawa Muhaiyaddeen Fellowship; also poster art published by the Ansarullah in their devotional journal, *The Truth: Nubian bulletin,* and in the founder's extensive commentary literature; see O'Connor, Islamic Jesus; id., Nubian Islamic Hebrews).

Qurʾānic amulets and talismans are written on diverse materials (e.g. leather, parchment, paper); embroidered on cloth (see Fig. v); or engraved, for example, on clay, bone, or stone (see Fig. iii), and selected from verses which address profound needs or desires. Traditional categorizations of qurʾānic verses are found in Arabic talismanic manuals: *āyāt al-ḥifẓ,* "verses of protection," such as the Throne Verse (Q 2:255); *āyāt al-shifāʾ,* "verses of healing," such as Q 1; *futūḥ al-Qurʾān,* "verses of opening or victory," such as the first verse of the sūra of victory (Q 110:1); *āyāt al-ḥarb,* "verses of war or overpowering enemies"; *āyāt al-laṭīf,* "verses of kindness" which protect against enemies; and verses which contain all the letters of the Arabic alphabet (Q 3:148; 48:29) against all fear and sorrow and all disease (Robson, Magical use, 53-6; id., Islamic cures, 34-43; Donaldson, The Koran). Medieval compendia of prophetic medicine, extracted ḥadīth (Sunnī and Shīʿī) advising on healing uses and benefits of written qurʾānic amulets and talismans (Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya, *Ṭibb;* Suyūṭī, *Ṭibb;* Ibn Bisṭām, *Ṭibb*) and texts as late as the nineteenth-century include references gleaned and organized from these earlier medieval authorities (Owusu-Ansah, *Islamic talismanic tradition;* Nana Asmaʾu, Medicine).

The metaphor of "qurʾānic tincture" can be used to describe the infusion of qurʾānic contents and methods of discourse throughout not only the religious sciences of qurʾānic study proper but the philosophical and occult sciences as well. The phenomenon of qurʾānic "erasure," an amuletic use of writing all or part of the Qurʾān, is another type of "qurʾānic tincture" of an altogether more medicinal nature found documented in the prophetic medical corpus and texts on qurʾānic magic and healing, as well as manifested in the living practice of religious healers throughout every region of the Muslim world (O'Connor, Prophetic medicine, 56-8). Medieval prophetic medical texts state that "there is no objection to writing qurʾānic verses, washing the contents in water, and giving it to the sick person to drink" (Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya, *Ṭibb,* 124; Ibn Bisṭām, *Ṭibb,* 9, 25, 55). The Berti, as a contemporary example of this form of qurʾānic healing, are a modern Muslim people of the northern Sudan, whose leaders or *fakis* (from the Arabic *faqīh,* or learned jurisprudent) perform the traditional Islamic social and educational roles

in a society with little general knowledge of Arabic and incomplete Islamic acculturation (Holy, *Religion and custom;* El-Tom, Drinking the Koran). These social and educational roles are complemented and even subsumed by their functions as healers, diviners, dream interpreters, and providers of amulets based upon qurʾānic magic. It is in this socio-religio-magical milieu that qurʾānic "erasure" has meaning.

"… Another important activity of the *faki* is to write some Koranic verses on both sides of a wooden slate *(loh)* using a pen made of a sharpened millet stalk and ink *(dawai)* made of a fermented paste of soot and gum arabic. The written text is then washed off with water which is drunk by the *faki*'s clients. The water is referred to as *mihai* (from the verb *yamḥa,* to erase) and, following al-Safi [*Native Medicine in the Sudan* 1970:30], I have translated this term as 'erasure'" (El-Tom, Drinking the Koran, 415).

Although the Berti's only partial knowledge of Arabic may produce an "occultation" of the Arabic text of the Qurʾān and encourage an instrumental approach to it by the believer, the process of interpretation of the text through the agency of the *faki* is as much an Islamic one as any found in other more fully acculturated (i.e. Arabized) settings. The interpretation is one which operates relatively innocent of received tradition, however, and returns to the text unencumbered by previously established meanings. The example of an erasure created and prescribed to induce pregnancy in a woman who has not borne children shows a magical qurʾānic application in which human creation of life via the power of divine speech is possible. This fertility erasure is based upon writing a single verse from Q 3, Sūrat Āl ʿImrān, "The Family of ʿImrān," because it invokes the creative act of conception and God's absolute power of realization (see BIOLOGY AS THE CREATION AND STAGES OF LIFE): "It is he who forms you *(yuṣawwirukum)* in the wombs *(al-arḥām)* as he wishes. There is no god but he, the almighty and all-wise" (Q 3:6; El-Tom, Drinking the Koran, 419; cf. Donaldson, The Koran, 266).

Two nineteenth-century collections of Islamic talisman texts in Arabic using the Qurʾān — one group from the Asante on the Guinea coast of west Africa (Owusu-Ansah, *Islamic talismanic tradition*), and another from the daughter of Shaykh Usman dan Fodio, Nana Asmaʾu, writing in what is now northwestern Nigeria — recommend the use of erasure — called here "text water/writing water" — of specific verses in order to call upon their divine powers (Nana Asmaʾu, Medicine). The erasure of the following verses is recommended to the Asante: Q 9:1-2 for travel, Q 19:1-7 for blessing, Q 67:1-2 for sovereignty, Q 48:1-2 for victory, Q 55:1-7 for beneficence (cf. Owusu-Ansah, *Islamic talismanic tradition,* 47-8, 86, 109/note 33). Sūrat Yāʾ Sīn (Q 36) and other specific sūras used in both talismanry and erasure, employ diverse materials for magical writing (stone, clay, iron, silver, copper, cloth, animal bones, particularly shoulder blades and neck vertebrae — used in their own right as a form of divining called scapulomancy) and the liquids for "erasure" (rose water, musk, saffron, ink, honey, mint juice, grape juice, grease; cf. Donaldson, The Koran, 258-63, 266; Robson, Magical use, 40). Nana Asmaʾu surveyed existing manuals of prophetic medicine in her day and created a poetic list of suitable amuletic and talismanic uses, simply entitled "Medicine of the Prophet," including erasure of certain sūras into water (Q 76, 90, 92), the recitation of other sūras over food (Q 105), and the preparation of written

amulets/talismans from others to be worn on the person (Q 53, 77, 90, 101, 108).

These texts and contemporary anthropological accounts of qurʾānic talismanry and erasure report not only drinking the remedy but incorporating it into food — by, for example, inscribing it directly onto unleavened bread — and eating it oneself or giving it to one's animals to eat for fertility, ease in calving, recovery from illness (Owusu-Ansah, *Islamic talismanic tradition,* 79; see Flueckiger, The vision, 251, 257, for feeding a qurʾānic charm written on a chapati to dogs as surrogates for "errant husbands or disobedient children"). Qurʾānic amuletry/talismanry and spell-making were often applied to animal illness and infertility of the herds/flocks. Shīʿī collections of Imāmī medicine directly paralleled Sunnī prophetic medical texts, only being drawn from medical ḥadīth ascribed to the *ahl al-bayt,* the People of the [Prophet's] House, namely the Prophet and his descendants through ʿAlī (see ʿALĪ B. ABĪ ṬĀLIB) and Fāṭima (q.v.). From one such early collection (ca. second/eighth cent.) comes a talisman for the relief in labor and safe delivery for a mare of her foal.

Write this invocation for an old and noble mare at its time of delivery on the parchment of a gazelle and fasten it to her at her groin: "O God, dispeller of grief and remover of sorrow, the merciful and compassionate of this world and the next, have mercy on [the owner of the mare], son of so and so, the owner of the mare, with a mercy which will make him free of mercy from other than you. Dispel his grief and sorrow, relieve his anxiety, keep his mare from harm, and make easy for us its delivery (Ibn Bisṭām, *Ṭibb,* 125).

Such an amulet resonates and paraphrases several qurʾānic contexts which affirm that the popular use of the Qurʾān is not *shirk,* or associating anything with God, since the power to heal comes only from him (cf. e.g. Q 3:49; 5:110; 26:80). With such qurʾānic charms and erasure for the benefit of animals, however, are also found the un-Islamic practices of inscribing qurʾānic words or letters on living animals and sacrificing them as a form of magical transference and expiation, or "scapegoating," often associated with malefic or cursing magic (Owusu-Ansah, *Islamic talismanic tradition,* 58; Flueckiger, Vision; see CONSECRATION OF ANIMALS; SACRIFICE).

Divinatory uses of the Qurʾān: Dream incubation and dream interpretation

Another type of recitation of the qurʾānic text which most jurists have judged as transgressing the legal limits of the Qurʾān is the "reading" of the Qurʾān associated with forms of divination which attempt to "read" the future. The Qurʾān is used in "popular" practice for two types of divination: the incubation of dreams by performing special *rakʿā*s, or additional personal prayers before sleeping while asking for God's guidance in the form of *faʾl,* a sign or omen; and "cutting" the Qurʾān, or *istikhāra,* "asking for the best choice" or "seeking goodness" from God (Lane, *Manners and customs,* 270-1; Westermarck, *Ritual and belief,* ii, 2-3, 46-57; Donaldson, The Koran, 256-7; Fahd, *Divination,* 363-7). Dream interpretation rests on a single qurʾānic proof text, saying that believers will receive "glad tidings *(al-bushrā)* in the life of this world and in the next" (Q 10:64), which the Qurʾān distinguishes as true dreams versus *aḍghāth aḥlām,* or "confused dreams" (Q 21:5 of [jinn-inspired] poets, and Q 12:44 referring to Pharaoh's [q.v.] dreams; Lamoreaux, *Early Muslim tradition,* 107-34). Dream experiences in Islam are modeled on prophetic characters in the Qurʾān, Abraham (q.v.; Ibrāhīm), who re-

ceives the message from God to sacrifice his son, understood to be Ishmael (q.v.; Ismāʿīl; Muslims are spiritual descendents of Ishmael, not Isaac [q.v.]), in a dream (Q 37:102, 105); the prophet Joseph (q.v.; Yūsuf), who possesses the faculty of dream interpretation and knowledge of the "unseen" (*al-ghayb;* see HIDDEN AND THE HIDDEN), "revealed by inspiration" (*wahy;* see REVELATION AND INSPIRATION) by God (Q 12:101-2; also Q 12:6, 21); and Muḥammad, who receives during sleep dreams *(manām)* and visions (q.v.; *ruʾyā*) which are listed as among God's "signs" (q.v.; *āyāt* in Q 30:23; cf. 39:42, 48:27) and what is assumed by some Muslim theologians to be his dream night journey and ascension (q.v.), the *isrāʾ/miʿrāj* (Q 17:1, 60; Fahd, *Divination,* 255-330; Lamoreaux, *Early Muslim tradition,* 108-11). The importance of dreams and visions are, thus, established for Muslims by the qurʾānic prophets, and are enshrined as part of the interpretive tradition of the Qurʾān by the subsequent generations of early Muslim Qurʾān and ḥadīth scholars. From a scholarly point of view, divinatory literature becomes a legitimate form of Qurʾān commentary with ḥadīth collections devoting chapters to the interpretation and meaning of dreams (*taʿbīr al-ruʾyā;* Lamoreaux, *Early Muslim tradition,* 116-7). The popular techniques which mine the Qurʾān for its guidance about hidden truths are founded on the evolution of popular manuals of dream divining and encyclopedias of dream interpretation (see Lamoreaux, *Early Muslim tradition,* 175-81 for his appendix on early Islamic dream manuals) and are called *istikhāra,* "cutting the Qurʾān," and *faʾl,* "divination" or omens. Readers of the Qurʾān, in the sense of divination, are often women, but in urban contexts may be professional "readers" who combine other techniques (e.g. astrology, numerology) with divining the Qurʾān in order to assist believers with the decisions facing them. According to practitioners, "cutting" the Qurʾān allows believers to access the hidden knowledge and guidance inherent in revelation: "And with him are the keys of the secret things; none know them but he: he knows whatever is on the land and in the sea" (Q 6:59). The basics of the technique allow one to open the text of the Qurʾān spontaneously, and "randomly" select a verse by pointing and not looking. The client's query regarding any serious matter — a prospective journey, an upcoming business or employment situation, a health question, the timing of an event, be it a medical or surgical treatment, a marriage, a divorce, a partnership, etc. — guide the "reader's" interpretation of the qurʾānic verse(s). *Faʾl* seems to be similar to *istikhāra* but more detailed, being the reading of whole passage for the purpose of learning the final outcome.

Although medieval texts on the special characteristics *(khawāṣṣ)* of the Qurʾān include brief reference to these divining techniques, the literature on divining mentions that even some Qurʾāns were edited and published with marginal notations which would guide its use for divination and dream interpretation (Donaldson, The Koran, 256-7). Although "fortune-telling" was clearly part of the anti-magic and anti-sorcery statements of the Qurʾān, the focus on dream incubation and dream interpretation associated divination with categories of prophetic and inspired experience. Dream messages could be divinely inspired, but required careful analysis to sift the true guidance from false and misleading images. Popular practitioners of this type of consultative use of the Qurʾān were often, but not exclusively, at least persons with a basic command of Islam's written technology and knowledge of the manuals of popular practice and encyclopedias of dream interpretation drawn

from earlier medieval sources (Nana Asmaʾu, Medicine; Flueckiger, The vision; Bowen, Return to sender).

Popular and talismanic uses of the Qurʾān in the modern Muslim world

Ḥadīth and the devotional prayers of 1400 years of Islamic culture have generated a wide ranging modern popular print literature in diverse Islamic languages grounded in medieval Islamic source texts (primarily in Arabic and Persian) on prophetic medicine *(al-ṭibb al-nabawī)* and qurʾānic "magic," i.e. the instrumental use of the Qurʾān as recitation and written text, performed/embodied in Islam's religious material culture. Examples of qurʾānic instrumentality have been observed since the nineteenth century and through the twentieth by ethnographers, anthropologists, and scholars of prophetic medicine and qurʾānic healing among Middle Eastern Muslims (Doutté, Westermarck, Lane, Robson, Donaldson, and Maghniyya), and throughout the larger Muslim world (Ewing, Hoffman, Owusu-Ansah, Mack and Boyd, Padwick, El-Tom, Holy, Flueckiger, Bowen, Campo, and Hunzāʾī), as well as among immigrant, expatriate, and indigenous Muslims in the West (Metcalf, O'Connor). These include qurʾānic medallions worn on the person engraved with names of God, the Throne Verse (*āyat al-kursī,* Q 2:255) or other particular verses for protection (*āyāt al-ḥifẓ,* or *āyāt al-laṭīf,* verses of divine "kindness" as protection from one's enemies) and success or victory in any endeavor *(futūḥ al-Qurʾān)*. In contemporary Muslim communities, qurʾānic talismans are hung from taxi-cabs' rearview mirrors or a miniature Qurʾān is mounted on the dashboard, or, more often, in the rear window spaces to protect against accident. Posters or woven hangings with qurʾānic verses or names of God are used inside or in storefront windows both for protection/blessing and, in the West, for advertisement to attract Muslim customers. From a younger generation of contemporary Muslims comes a variety of popular and talismanic uses of the Qurʾān, frequently as a legacy of their mothers and grandmothers. A recent example is a highly educated and professionally employed Iranian living in the United States of America whose mother keeps a Qurʾān suspended above the refrigerator so that the food will not spoil. Equally, the protective value of qurʾānic medallions in Muslim belief still holds true even among those who are otherwise highly secularized.

These and untold other examples are continuing testament to contemporary belief in the power of the Qurʾān as divine speech and in its efficacy to create, sustain, and direct the world. The most pervasive influence of the instrumentality of the Qurʾān is its impact on everyday speech (see Piamenta, *Islam in everyday Arabic,* for the impact of qurʾānic expressions on native Arabic speakers, also applicable to the use of Arabic qurʾānic expressions by non-Arabic speakers). Devout Muslims invoke God's name in the *basmala* when entering a room or house, opening a book, starting a trip, upon drinking or eating, before getting into bed, when entering the market or the mosque, in fact, as a blessing on any everyday act of life (Padwick, *Muslim devotions,* 94-6). Equally common is performing the *taṣliya,* or "calling down blessings," on the prophets of Islam, especially Muḥammad and his family, and the Ṣūfī saints and Shīʿī imāms (ibid., 152-72; see IMĀM). Perhaps, greater than any qurʾānic response in daily life is that of giving praise (q.v.; *taḥmīd;* see also LAUDATION) and glory (q.v.) to God *(takbīr)*. Each of these accompanies the ups and downs of daily life as acts of humility and gratitude, keeping believers grounded in their relationship with God as creatures to creator (ibid.,

35-6). Varieties of commonly performed talismanic uses of the Qurʾān stem not from a deviation from the Islamic tradition but arise at the center of its religious authority. Whether as oral performance in spoken invocations, verbal formulae, or supplicatory prayers, or as material representation in medallions, wall plaques, written amulets or their residuum (the "erasures"), the verbal and material images of the Qurʾān have the ability to manifest constantly the protective and providential powers of divine speech. See also SCIENCE AND THE QURʾĀN.

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Popular Media and the Qurʾān

see MEDIA AND THE QURʾĀN

Pork

see LAWFUL AND UNLAWFUL; FOOD AND DRINK

Portents

Anticipatory sign, warning or threat; also, marvel. While the Qurʾān is explicit in its condemnation of any belief that an impersonal fate (q.v.), rather than God, controls human destiny (q.v.; see also FREEDOM AND PREDESTINATION), and does not condone the efforts of soothsayers (q.v.) and other pre-Islamic "fortunetellers" (see DIVINATION; FORETELLING; PRE-ISLAMIC

ARABIA AND THE QUR'ĀN; SOUTH ARABIA, RELIGION IN PRE-ISLAMIC), it is adamant that there are signs that humans must heed. Perhaps the most notable of these exhortations (q.v.) is the warning to heed the "signs of the hour" (*ashrāṭ al-sāʿa;* cf. Q 47:18; see LAST JUDGMENT; ESCHATOLOGY; APOCALYPSE; TIME).

Although it has no root in Arabic, *āyāt* (sing. *āya;* prob. borrowed from Syriac or Aramaic; see Jeffery, *For. vocab.*, 72-3; for biblical uses of the Heb. cognate, cf. Numbers 2:2; Joshua 4:6; Exodus 8:19; Deuteronomy 4:34; Psalms 78:43; I Samuel 10:7; see FOREIGN VOCABULARY) is a multivalent term for "portents" that appears 383 times in the Qurʾān, and may connote "signs" (q.v.), "miracles" (see MIRACLE) and "verses" (q.v.). Such qurʾānic utterances serve to signal the wonders (see MARVELS) or omens God bestows upon the world to demonstrate his power, wisdom (q.v.), judgment (q.v.) or wrath (see ANGER). As natural marvels, such as the rain that sustains life (q.v.; Q 30:24; see also WATER; SUSTENANCE), the fruits of the palm and vine (Q 16:67; see AGRICULTURE AND VEGETATION; DATE PALM), or the ships (q.v.) that appear like mountains on the seas (Q 42:32), portents elicit the awe-provoking magnitude of God's creation (q.v.). These tokens not only appear as cosmic and natural wonders but also as the extraordinary works of prophets and messengers through whom God guides his creation (see COSMOLOGY; PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD; MESSENGER; ASTRAY; ERROR). Examples of this type of portent include demonstrations of Moses' (q.v.) white hand and slithering staff (Q 7:106-8; see ROD), and Jesus' (q.v.) enlivening of the clay bird (Q 3:49). The verses *(āyāt)* of the Qurʾān that relay such portents also call humans to recognize God's power and might (see POWER AND IMPOTENCE). Left unnoticed or worse, rejected, these same portents, whether embedded in nature (see NATURE AS SIGNS), prophetic action or revelation itself (see REVELATION AND INSPIRATION), will bring forth terrifying demonstrations of divine wrath (see ANGER) upon those who fail to interpret what the sign truly signifies. The Qurʾān recounts numerous tales of individuals and communities pummeled for their neglect or denial of those clear signs a merciful God bestows upon his creation (see CHASTISEMENT AND PUNISHMENT; PUNISHMENT STORIES). In turn, the denunciations and punishments themselves serve as portents for those tempted to follow the same course of action. One might say the entire Qurʾān, from a single verse to the broader images it provokes, stands as a sign signifying simultaneously divine glory and wrath. The Qurʾān emphasizes repeatedly the abundance and clarity of divine portents available for those who wish to see them (see SEEING AND HEARING). What is not clear, however, is whether one must "believe" or "understand" already in order to fathom the true meaning of the sign (see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF; KNOWLEDGE AND LEARNING; IGNORANCE; REFLECTION AND DELIBERATION). The portents manifest "for those who understand," or for "those who believe" (Q 13:3; 16:79; 30:21) are presumably the same signs rejected by those who already disbelieve (Q 37:14; 39:63; 41:15), which suggests the signs themselves have demonstrative, rather than persuasive, value.

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Possession and Possessions

Ownership, the act of holding something or someone as property; the enjoyment or acquisition of the right to exercise control over something, and the objects thus controlled. In the Qurʾān, the idea of possession is frequently conveyed by the verb *malaka,* "to possess, to have, to own, to exercise sovereignty over," and its nominative derivatives, such as *mulk/malakūt,* "property, dominion, fiefdom," and, by extension, "sovereignty"; *mālik,* "owner, possessor"; and *malik,* "sovereign, ruler, king" (see KINGS AND RULERS). Similar meanings are associated with the word *rabb,* "lord (q.v.), master," that is applied to God throughout the Qurʾān either independently or in conjunction with the object of his sovereignty, e.g. "lord of the heavens (see HEAVEN AND SKY) and lord of the earth (q.v.), lord of the worlds" (Q 45:36; cf. 13:16; 17:102; 18:14; 19:65; 51:23, etc.), "lord of Sirius" (q.v.; Q 53:49), "lord of the mighty [heavenly] throne" (Q 9:129; see THRONE OF GOD), "lord of the east and the west and what is between them" (Q 26:28), "lord of the daybreak" (Q 113:1; see DAWN) and "lord of humankind" (Q 114:1). Also common are constructions with the possessive particle *li/la,* "to [God belongs], his is…" (see e.g. Q 2:255; 5:18; 42:4). As one may expect, in the Qurʾān, possession is essentially the prerogative of God, although he may occasionally grant it to his servants (see SERVANT), be they human beings or angels (e.g. Q 2:258; 3:26; see ANGEL).

Possession is one of the principal manifestations of God's absolute power (see POWER AND IMPOTENCE) over the universe and its inhabitants. In many passages these divine attributes (see GOD AND HIS ATTRIBUTES) go hand in hand and are, to some extent, interchangeable. God's power inevitably implies his uncontested ownership of all created beings and vice versa (see CREATION). While God can bestow possession of a certain property or rank upon individual creatures, as the ultimate ruler of his worldly domain (*mālik al-mulk,* Q 3:26; cf. 36:83; 39:6; 64:1; 67:1), he can also dispossess them at will in order to remind them of the transitory status of worldly possessions and of their true source (Q 3:26; see GRACE; BLESSING). The Qurʾān never tires of throwing these ideas into sharp relief: "lord of the worlds" (Q 1:2); "to him belongs whatsoever is in the heavens and whatsoever is in the earth" (Q 42:4); "glory be to him in whose hand is the dominion of everything" (Q 36:83); "you give the dominion to whom you will and you seize the dominion from whom you will" (Q 3:26), etc. God's sovereignty is not limited to this world. He is the wielder of the judgment day (*mālik yawm al-dīn,* Q 1:4; cf. 25:26; see LAST JUDGMENT) and, according to many exegetes, also of the hereafter (Ṭabarsī, *Majmaʿ,* i, 100; see ESCHATOLOGY; REWARD AND PUNISHMENT).

In several eloquent passages the Qurʾān condemns polytheists for their misguided belief that their deities possess the power to hurt or benefit their worshippers (see POLYTHEISM AND ATHEISM; IDOLATRY AND IDOLATERS). Unlike God, who owns life (q.v.), death (see DEATH AND THE DEAD) and the ability to effect the resurrection (q.v.) of decomposed bodies and moldering bones, these pagan deities have no power to give or take life. Nor are they capable of raising human beings from the dead. These are the exclusive prerogatives of God, who has created both the pagan deities and their worshipers. He alone has "no associate" *(sharīk)* in his absolute and uncontestable sovereignty (q.v.) over this

world (Q 25:2-3). He alone is the possessor of the "most beautiful names" (Q 7:180; 17:110; 20:8), whose perfection sets him apart from his imperfect creatures. This message is brought home in a memorable passage from Q 35:13, which presents God as the absolute and undisputed master of reality: "That is God, your lord; to him belongs the dominion/possession *(al-mulk);* and those you call upon, apart from him, possess not so much as the skin of a date-stone!" The same idea is reiterated in Q 4:53: "Have they [the unbelievers] a share in the dominion? [Certainly not!] They can give not a single date-spot to the people!"

While human beings are allowed by God to enjoy their earthly possessions — "heaps of gold (q.v.) and silver, horses of mark, cattle and tillage" and the sensual delights of this world (see ANIMAL LIFE; NATURE AS SIGNS; AGRICULTURE AND VEGETATION) — they are constantly reminded that this life is but a respite granted to them by God, who will eventually become their "fairest resort" (Q 3:13). When the day of reckoning comes, their wealth (q.v.) and relatives will be of no avail to them (see KINSHIP; INTERCESSION); only their obedience (q.v.) or disobedience (q.v.) to God will count. According to Q 16:75, the ungrateful evildoer (see GRATITUDE AND INGRATITUDE; EVIL DEEDS) is like "a servant possessed by his master *(mamlūk),* having no possession of his own *(lā yaqdiru ʿalā shayʾin)*"; the righteous person, on the other hand, is like one "whom we [God] ourselves have provided with a provision fair." In a passage reminiscent of Psalm 37:29, God promises to reward his faithful servants in the hereafter by bequeathing to them "the [entire] land" (usually understood as paradise [q.v.]; cf. Q 39:74).

In this life, human beings are God's "vicegerents *(khalāʾif)* on the earth" (see CALIPH) and their possessions and social ranks (see COMMUNITY AND SOCIETY IN THE QURʾĀN) are a means by which God tests their loyalty (q.v.) to their maker (Q 6:165). Thus, human possession is distinct from that of God by its transience and inconstancy. Ancient Arabian tribes (see TRIBES AND CLANS; ARABS; PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QURʾĀN) were given abundant wealth and splendid palaces, but their ungodly ways and stubborn belief in their self-sufficiency vis-à-vis God brought divine wrath upon them (see ANGER). Following their refusal to amend their ways, God withdrew his favor from the wrongdoers, dispossessed them and wiped them from the face of the earth (see PUNISHMENT STORIES). Their tragic end serves as a reminder to later generations (q.v.) that God's bounty and solicitude for the well-being of his human subjects call for continual gratitude. This idea is eloquently stated in Q 36:71-3: "Have they not seen how we have created for them of what our hands wrought cattle that they own *(lahā mālikūna)?* We have subdued them to them, and some of them they ride and some they eat; other uses they have in them, and beverages (see HIDES AND FLEECE; FOOD AND DRINK). What, will they not be thankful?"

In elaborating on the meaning of the phrase "they own" *(mālikūna),* the Yemeni exegete al-Shawkānī (d. 1250/1839) explains that it means that God has granted humankind full and coercive control *(ḍābiṭūna qāhirūna)* over their domestic animals. This is viewed by the commentator as a sign of God's benevolence toward his human servants, for he could have created the animals wild so that "they would run away from them [the people] and they would have been unable to subdue them." Instead, argues al-Shawkānī, God has made the animals part and parcel of human beings' estate/possession *(ṣārat fī amlākihim),* over which they exercise full

sovereignty (*mulk;* Shawkānī, *Tafsīr,* iv, 382; cf. Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* xxiii, 28-9). This idea is reiterated over and over again throughout the Qurʾān, as in e.g. Q 31:20: "Have you not seen that God has subjected to you whatsoever is in the heavens and the earth, and he has lavished upon you his benefits *(niʿamahu),* outward and inward" (cf. Q 2:29; 22:65).

Possession of worldly goods by people entails responsibilities, which are stipulated in the numerous passages of the Qurʾān that constitute the foundation of the legal norms pertaining to property rights under Islam (see LAW AND THE QURʾĀN). The rich are enjoined by God to share their wealth with the poor (see POVERTY AND THE POOR) generously but not to squander it either: "And give the kinsman his right, and the needy, and the traveler (see JOURNEY); and never squander; the squanderers are brothers of the satans" (Q 17:26-7). Wives, "those of weak intellect," and orphans (q.v.) are entitled to their share in the property of their husbands and guardians (see MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE; FAMILY; MAINTENANCE AND UPKEEP; GUARDIANSHIP), who are commanded to treat them equitably (Q 4:4-6; see JUSTICE AND INJUSTICE). In one instance, the injunction to share one's wealth with others appears alongside the two principal articles of the Islamic creed — an eloquent evidence of its importance for the nascent faith: "Believe in God and his messenger (q.v.), and expend what he has made you stewards of; for those of you who have believed and expended is (in store) a great reward" (Q 57:7; cf. 24:33; see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF; JIHĀD). Statements such as this one make it abundantly clear that all worldly possessions held by human beings ultimately belong to and come from God, who lends them to his servants for appointed terms. Therefore, hoarding what is effectively God's property for one's private gain is strongly condemned: "Those who hoard gold and silver and do not expend them in the way of God (see ALMSGIVING; USURY) — to them give the good tidings of a painful chastisement (see CHASTISEMENT AND PUNISHMENT), the day they shall be heated in the fire of *jahannam* (see HELL AND HELLFIRE) and therewith their foreheads and their sides and their backs shall be branded: 'This is what you hoarded for yourselves: therefore taste you now what you were treasuring!'" (Q 9:34-5).

The Qurʾān contains a number of stipulations regarding the proper relations between male and female slaves ("those whom your right hands own") and their masters, in everyday life and at manumission (see SLAVES AND SLAVERY; GENDER; WOMEN AND THE QURʾĀN). Within the household, the masters are commanded to treat their human property kindly (Q 4:3, 25, 36; 16:71; 24:33, 59, etc.; see SOCIAL RELATIONS). At manumission, the owners are enjoined to "contract them [freed slaves] accordingly… and give them of the wealth of God that he has given you" (Q 24:33). Again, the idea is that, in the final account, all wealth and possessions come from God, who lends them temporarily to his servants.

In the later exegetical tradition (see EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL) pertaining to passages that deal with divine sovereignty over the world, one finds a debate over the semantic nuances of *mālik,* "owner, possessor," as opposed to *malik,* "sovereign, king." At issue with medieval commentators was the respective scope of each of these terms. Some (Abū ʿUbayd, d. 224/838, and al-Mubarrad, d. 285/898) argued that the latter was more encompassing *(ablagh),* as the king's *(malik)* writ overrules the sovereignty of any individual owner *(mālik)* within his realm *(mulk)*. Others (al-Zamakhsharī,

d. 538/1144) considered the word "owner" *(mālik)* to be more comprehensive when applied to God, in so far as he can be regarded as the ultimate "owner" of all human beings, be they kings or commoners. Hence, the title "owner" is more comprehensive than "king" when applied to God, while the title "king" is more comprehensive than "owner" when applied to human beings (Ṭabarsī, *Majmaʿ,* i, 97-8). According to al-Shawkānī, each term carries connotations that are unique to it and missing from its counterpart; therefore the dispute around their respective scope is futile. From the viewpoint of the Ashʿarī doctrine (see THEOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN) of divine attributes, however, the term *mālik,* "owner," when it is applied to God, should be regarded as his attribute of action *(ṣifa li-fiʿlihi)*. The term *malik* ("king, sovereign"), on the other hand, should be seen as an attribute of the divine essence (*ṣifa li-dhātihi;* Shawkānī, *Tafsīr,* i, 71).

In his "rationalist" commentary on the Qurʾān the great Muslim theologian and exegete Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 606/1210) argues that God's status as the "sovereign" *(malik)* of the universe indicates that he is located outside it, since he cannot be "sovereign of himself." This conclusion, in his view, is corroborated by Q 19:93, according to which "None is there in the heavens and earth, but comes to the all-merciful as a worshipper *(ʿabd)*." If, argues al-Rāzī, everything on earth and in heaven worships God, he of necessity should be located outside and above it, for otherwise he would have been the worshipper of himself, which is logically impossible (cf. Rāzī, *Tafsīr,* xxi, 255-6). For the accusation of the "possession" of humans by malevolent forces, see JINN; INSANITY; OPPOSITION TO MUḤAMMAD.

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Post-Enlightenment Academic Study of the Qurʾān

The modern study of the Qurʾān, meaning thereby "the critical dispassionate (i.e. non-polemical) search for knowledge, unconstrained by ecclesiastical institutional priorities" (Rippin, *Qur'an. Style and contents,* xi n. 2), insofar as it is a living tradition of learning and the basis of all contemporary research, cannot be assessed in its entirety in a single entry. Rather, the present entry can merely aim at specifying the major trends of research and the overall development of modern scholarship. The selective bibliography below is limited to writings of a general character, collections of papers and literature dealing specifically with the modern study of the Qurʾān and its methodology.

The study of the Qurʾān has never ceased being a primary concern in the realm of Islamic studies during the past two centuries. Given the outstanding importance of the Qurʾān in Islam, it is likely to remain so in the future. The interest of scholars in the Qurʾān, however, has shifted its center of attention from time to time, depending on the prevailing *Zeitgeist* as well as on the ensuing challenges and results of ongoing research.

Nineteenth century

The academic study of the Qurʾān in the West around the middle of the nineteenth century was largely stimulated and influenced by two German works, G. Weil's *Historisch-kritische Einleitung* (1844[1]) and Th. Nöldeke's *Geschichte des Qorāns* (1860[1]). Both writings, but above all Nöldeke's, set new standards for future research and went beyond the achievements of previous literature. As an illustration of the contemporary state of the art in Europe, suffice to say that, in 1846, Solvet's *Introduction à la lecture du Coran* merely offered to the French public a new translation of G. Sale's *Preliminary discourse* (this discourse was part of Sale's influential book *The Koran commonly called Alcoran of Mohammed… to which is prefixed a preliminary discourse,* which had already been published in London in 1734; see PRE-1800 PREOCCUPATIONS OF QURʾĀNIC STUDIES). The treatise of Sale offers a general overview of the contents of the Qurʾān, the basic tenets of the Muslim faith (q.v.; see also CREEDS) and a rough sketch of pre-Islamic Arabia and the developments of early Islam (see PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QURʾĀN; AGE OF IGNORANCE). In itself, it draws mainly on material contained in E. Pococke's *Specimen historiae arabum* (1650) but more importantly, and in marked difference to the accounts of Weil and Nöldeke, Sale does not yet treat the text of the Qurʾān in its own right nor does he deal in detail with the formal, linguistic and stylistic elements of the text.

G. Weil in his *Historisch-kritische Einleitung,* which is only a short treatise that devotes some forty pages to the Qurʾān as such, took up the Muslim division between Meccan and Medinan sūras (see CHRONOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN; MECCA; MEDINA) in order to establish a chronological framework of revelation (see REVELATION AND INSPIRATION; OCCASIONS OF REVELATION). In doing so, he became the first to attempt a reassessment of the traditional dating of the sūras and to divide the Meccan material into three further periods, something which was then fully elaborated and improved upon by Nöldeke. Although Weil and Nöldeke considered matters of content while establishing a chronological order of revelation for the Meccan sūras — e.g. similarity of content and terminology in individual sūras was seen as evidence for their mutual correlation and their approximate time of origin — both scholars also stressed the importance of formal and linguistic elements of the qurʾānic text for defining the criteria according to which the three Meccan periods could be distinguished (see e.g. FORM AND STRUCTURE OF THE QURʾĀN; OATHS; RHETORIC AND THE QURʾĀN; EXHORTATIONS). This four-period dating system, consisting of three Meccan periods and the Medinan period, proved influential for decades to come. It considerably influenced the future conceptual analysis of the Meccan segments of the Qurʾān and even led to the re-arrangement of the Meccan sūras in a number of twentieth-century translations of the Qurʾān in western languages (cf. Blachère, *Introduction,* 247 f.) and was also initially adopted for the French translation by R. Blachère. The idea of re-arranging the text of the Qurʾān, including the division of single sūras into unities of differing chronological status, ultimately led to the complex undertaking of R. Bell in his translation of the Qurʾān "with a critical re-arrangement of the Surahs" (1937-9; see also below; see TRANSLATIONS OF THE QURʾĀN).

Of the studies mentioned so far, Nöldeke's *Geschichte des Qorāns (GQ),* since its appearance in a second enlarged edition in the first decades of the twentieth century — considerably augmented by three other scholars — has proven to be the decisive standard text to which all

modern scholars interested in the Qurʾān must refer. It is still a helpful tool today, especially as many of its shortcomings have been detected, discussed and revised. The elaboration of the four-period dating system is presented in the first volume of *GQ*. The second volume, written by Nöldeke's pupil F. Schwally, contains a detailed analysis of the collection of the Qurʾān (q.v.; see also CODICES OF THE QURʾĀN; MUṢḤAF). The third volume, by G. Bergsträsser and O. Pretzl, treats the history of the qurʾānic text and is mainly concerned with variant readings and the later-established "readings" *(qirāʾāt)* known from Islamic tradition (see READINGS OF THE QURʾĀN).

In some sense, the third volume of *GQ* can be considered as the indispensable preliminary to the final task of an edition of the Qurʾān according to the most exacting standards of the philological method, that is, an edition based on ancient manuscripts, the entire available Islamic literature on the subject (see TRADITIONAL DISCIPLINES OF QURʾĀNIC STUDY) and, most importantly, accompanied by a critical apparatus that would list all known variant readings and orthographical peculiarities (cf. Bergsträsser, Plan eines Apparatus Criticus). Nothing, however, has come of this and an edition of the Qurʾān that follows the above-mentioned critical methodology remains a desideratum. The final contribution of research in this direction, pre-dating the publication of the third volume of *GQ* by one year, is Jeffery's *Materials for the history of the text of the Qurʾān* (1937). Since then, individual contributions for the history of the text have been made in a number of articles but no major work has been published which would offer a synthesis of the material. Also, ancient manuscripts of the Qurʾān, going back to the first and second Islamic centuries, and which have become known in the meantime, have not yet been published properly and still await detailed analysis (cf. Puin, Observations). It is noteworthy, however, that in his multi-volume Arabic-German edition of the Qurʾān (Gütersloh 1990 f.) A.Th. Khoury decided to include many variant readings in the commentary, although he made no effort to be comprehensive (the contributions of Antoine Isaac Silvestre de Sacy, the first European to study al-Dānī, and those of Edmund Beck for the study of the variant readings of the Qurʾān should likewise not be overlooked).

Nöldeke's *GQ* and the work of Schwally, Bergsträsser and Pretzl shaped in any case much of the modern study of the Qurʾān in its later developments, directing it mainly towards the study of the formal, stylistic and linguistic aspects of the text, as well as towards the study of the terminology of the Qurʾān and to its semantic and conceptual analysis. Yet many topics of future research were, as seems natural, not yet raised in the *GQ*. It is also important to note that Nöldeke's pioneering work, notwithstanding its undeniable scientific merits, is littered with less-than-sympathetic remarks about what he (as well as other Orientalists of his formation and generation) thought of the scripture to which he devoted his studies, in particular its aesthetic qualities (see Wild, Die schauerliche… Öde). In this respect, his generation stood too much under the spell of ancient literature which pervaded the minds of nineteenth-century European philologists and which made them incapable of truly appreciating texts stemming from different cultural contexts. The nearest Nöldeke came to esteeming the Arabic literary heritage was in his fondness for pre-Islamic poetry, in which he discovered a likeness between the Bedouin (q.v.) worldview and that of the ancient Germanic tribes (see also POETRY AND POETS; ARABS). In many of their judgments on the Qurʾān, however, Nöldeke and his successors come

perilously close to T. Carlyle's famous statement, "it is a toilsome reading as I ever undertook. A wearisome confused jumble, crude, incondite; endless iterations, long-windedness, entanglement (…). Nothing but a sense of duty could carry any European through the Koran" (*On heroes,* 86 f.). The modern study of the Qurʾān during the last part of the twentieth century has contributed much to changing this attitude, yet the works of the nineteenth- and early twentieth-century scholars were chiefly responsible for the fact that only in the recent past did it become widely acknowledged in the West that the Qurʾān could be esteemed as a piece of highly artful literature, possessing considerable and distinctive aesthetical qualities, as well as beauty of expression.

Another shortcoming of the *GQ*, and perhaps the one that most limits its merits from our viewpoint, is the relatively marginal role accorded to Islamic learning and heritage. This is not to be seen as an entirely negative factor, or only as a drawback, because, for one thing, to begin to treat the Qurʾān as a text in its own right and to attempt to judge and evaluate it on its own premises, independently of what the Islamic scholarly tradition had to offer, was a great step forward in the understanding of the Qurʾān. Furthermore, the Arabic literature available to nineteenth- and early twentieth-century scholars was very limited and simply insufficient, if compared to today's wealth of accessible material. Yet this method of setting aside or overriding, if necessary, the data of the Islamic tradition in favor of the intrinsic evidence of the qurʾānic text manifests a major methodological flaw. The reason for that is the eclectic, and therefore often arbitrary, use made of the Islamic tradition. On the one hand, the *GQ* authors often did not follow the Islamic tradition concerning the origin, chronology, order and semantic value of the textual constituents of the Qurʾān but, on the other hand, in trying to establish an independent framework and in attempting a fresh interpretation of the qurʾānic event, they did take the Islamic tradition into account. Within the context of this latter approach, the tradition was especially consulted on two accounts: for the qurʾānic depictions of the historical circumstances of the revelation (viz. the life of the Prophet and the vicissitudes of his community; see SĪRA AND THE QURʾĀN) and for the details found in classical Islamic works elucidating the emergence of the Qurʾān as a document in a historically definable context. Nöldeke himself had become aware of this problem through his acquaintance with the studies by H. Lammens, whose writings emphasize the non-historicity of the Islamic tradition and, consequently, the futility of making use of it at all. Nöldeke thus felt compelled to defend the value of the Islamic tradition in historical matters and stressed that the Medinan period, at least, was "in the clear light of history" ("mit der Übersiedlung nach Jathrib betreten wir hell historischen Boden," Die Tradition, 165). The methodological flaw involved here is, however, undeniable. Disclosing this weakness and its wide-reaching implications was to become a distinctive feature of the modern study of the Qurʾān during the twentieth century.

The latter half of the nineteenth century is marked by an increasing number of treatises produced in the wake of Weil and Nöldeke. Many of those are distinguished by the fact that they adopt the principles of research developed by the German Orientalists but reach different conclusions. This is the case — to name but a few — with the respective writings of W. Muir, A. Rodwell, H. Grimme and H. Hirschfeld. Although these scholars came to different and conflicting conclu-

sions, all (with the debatable exception of Rodwell) certainly enhanced the critical study of the Qurʾān along the lines of philological research. Muir and Rodwell, in their treatises of 1878, each developed a chronological sequence and re-arrangement of the sūras. Muir's re-arrangement distinguishes six different periods, proposing five Meccan periods, which he defined by recourse to the successive stages of Muḥammad's career as a prophet (see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD). Grimme, on the contrary, attempted to order the sūras on the basis of doctrinal characteristics, with only two Meccan periods and one Medinan (cf. Watt-Bell, *Introduction,* 112). Finally, Hirschfeld, in his *New researches into the composition and exegesis of the Qoran* (1902) introduced still another sequence of the qurʾānic passages. This scheme is likewise based on the content of the sūras and their respective messages, which were assigned by Hirschfeld to one of six "modes" (confirmatory, declamatory, narrative, descriptive, legislative, parable).

In contrast to the preceding studies, in which the sūras (q.v.) were largely taken for granted as textual unities and thus as entities of the same origin and chronological status, Rodwell and Hirschfeld also tried to identify single passages within the sūras that belong together thematically and hence also chronologically. This idea was then carried forward and implemented, in varying degrees, by R. Bell and R. Blachère. In Bell's re-arrangement of the sūras, incorporated into his translation of the Qurʾān, he not only tried to break the sūras up into short coherent passages but even into single verses (q.v.) or verse groupings. This was done according to his famous hypothesis that all sūras had undergone various processes of revision and that during the collection of the Qurʾān the leaves or papers that contained the text were partially disordered. He also suggested that something written on the back of these papers was then, by mistake as it were, inserted in the context of a sūra to which it did not belong (see Watt-Bell, *Introduction,* 101-7; also Merrill, Bell's critical analysis; Bell's evidence for his dissections of the single sūras is available in greater detail in his posthumously published *Commentary*). Less radically, Blachère in the first edition of his translation of the Qurʾān (1947-51) adopted, with minor modifications, the chronological scheme of the Meccan sūras as laid down in *GQ* and thus produced his own "reclassement des sourates." This scheme, however, was abolished in the second edition (1956) and Blachère retained the traditional (Islamic) order.

It needs to be emphasized that none of the studies carried out during the second half of the nineteenth century ever reached the influence of Nöldeke's *GQ* in modern scholarship; nor were their results accepted as easily and widely. This is doubtless because Nöldeke's initial periodization and the ensuing evaluation of the qurʾānic text on the basis of his chronology steers the middle course between being too indiscriminate on the one hand and being too sophisticated on the other. Compared to that, Muir's six periods or Hirschfeld's six "modes" seem somewhat over-detailed and thus of difficult application in further research. Another reason for the dominance of Nöldeke's scheme in modern scholarship has been the fact that the second edition of *GQ* appeared only after the publication of the late nineteenth-century treatises and thus already includes the critical discussion or even refutation of rival accounts. What is more, given the hypothetical nature of every such reconstruction of the origin of the Qurʾān, which is based on circumstantial evidence drawn primarily from formal, linguistic and stylistic features, the more detailed the

proposed partition of the qurʾānic text, the more difficult it is to argue for both its accuracy and its ability to do justice to other sorts of reasonable hypotheses. Having proposed a dissection of the qurʾānic text into tiny passages of accidental sequence and thus rendering a meaningful reconstruction of its internal chronology virtually impossible, R. Bell then faced this problem in its most extreme form.

From the present point of view, therefore, the late nineteenth-century and early twentieth-century attempts at rearranging the qurʾānic text do not seem very convincing. The character of most such rearrangements is too hypothetical to be assessed properly. Also, there is essentially no evidence that is extra-qurʾānic but contemporaneous with the period of qurʾānic origins that could validate or refute the proposed hypotheses. We are thus left with the impression that much of what was said in favor of a certain rearrangement of the qurʾānic text often does not appear improbable — but neither is there any compelling evidence for its validity. One final drawback of first establishing a chronological order of the qurʾānic textual material and then attempting its interpretation on the very basis of this scheme has been summarized by A. Rippin (*Qurʾan. Style and contents,* xxii) as follows:

Using the chronological framework produces a systematic picture of the development of semantic information which may then be used to re-date elements which do not fit into the basic scheme. Certainly such a method has its circularity (…), but it is often held out that such a study might prove persuasive if it combined a number of such thematic and semantic elements to produce a single cohesive and coherent pattern; a study of this type, however, has not yet been undertaken.

It is not by accident, therefore, that the majority of studies pertaining to the form and structure of the Qurʾān and to single sūras conducted since the second half of the twentieth century no longer try to establish a fixed chronological order or rearrangement of sūras, on whatever basis. Rather, such studies tend to limit themselves to phenomenological description of the qurʾānic wording (Müller, *Untersuchungen*), re-propose the unity of the Meccan sūras as distinctive and not incidentally composed entities (Neuwirth, *Studien*) or attempt to solve problems of textual coherence by recourse to the vast Islamic literature on the subject (Nagel, *Einschübe;* see TEXTUAL CRITICISM OF THE QURʾĀN).

Before concluding the survey of nineteenth-century scholarship, it must be stressed that the dominant trend in qurʾānic studies, namely the reconstruction of the textual history of the Qurʾān chiefly on the basis of its internal features and with the assistance of the Islamic tradition for its historical context, is less noticeable in works concerned with the history of early Islam, in particular the life of the Prophet. Clearly, the Qurʾān plays a major role in this field too, being the foundational document of the new religion. The best example of such scholarship, one that drew upon the Islamic tradition and the bulk of the exegetical material (as far as it was known at the time and much more than was done in the works reviewed above) is probably A. Sprenger's three-volume biography of Muḥammad (1869). Here, Sprenger went a long way towards combining the qurʾānic data with the lore of tradition. In this, he was much assisted by the sources at his disposition in Indian libraries. Although both form and content of the Qurʾān are not to the fore in Sprenger's study, it nevertheless contains much that directly pertains to the study of

the Qurʾān. Sprenger's study is thus, in this respect, far ahead of other writings of his time but his work was never granted the place in the modern study of the Qurʾān it justly deserves.

The heritage of Western nineteenth-century scholarship on the Qurʾān was to determine the course that modern research took during the first half of the twentieth century. Some lines of continuity and lasting influence have already been mentioned: for example, the quest for the role of Islamic tradition in establishing the external and contextual framework for the historical process of the revelation, or Bell's fragmentation of the qurʾānic text as the ultimate consequence of applying formal and stylistic criteria in detecting coherent, if minute, passages of textual and thematic unity. The main thrust, however, behind nineteenth-century research was towards the philological treatment of the text, its individual constituents and the interest in both the significance and origin of single terms or concepts. It is along these lines that much of the ensuing research evolved.

First half of the twentieth century

Topics dominant in early twentieth century-scholarship were the linguistic aspects of the qurʾānic wording, its variant readings (see READINGS OF THE QURʾĀN) and its foreign (i.e. of non-Arabic origin) vocabulary (see FOREIGN VOCABULARY; LANGUAGE AND STYLE OF THE QURʾĀN), the significance of single qurʾānic terms and concepts, the order and chronology of the textual parts and their integrity (see FORM AND STRUCTURE OF THE QURʾĀN; LITERARY STRUCTURES OF THE QURʾĀN), and the influence of the older monotheistic faiths upon the content and message of the Qurʾān (including the pivotal role of biblical and apocryphal lore; see NARRATIVES; SCRIPTURE AND THE QURʾĀN; JEWS AND JUDAISM; CHRISTIANS AND CHRISTIANITY).

One topic that aroused the interest of numerous scholars during much of the twentieth century was the significance of the so-called "mysterious letters" (q.v.) which were first dealt with in Nöldeke's *GQ*. Many hypotheses as to their possible meaning were then advanced, starting with O. Loth and leading to the extensive articles by H. Bauer and E. Goossens. Before that, we find the remarks made by H. Hirschfeld in his *New researches,* and further contributions were added by A. Jones, M. Seale and J. Bellamy. It is fair to say, however, that no truly convincing solution to the origin and relevance of the "mysterious letters" has yet been found, although many hypotheses which were advanced do not lack ingenuity and demanded much effort in order to establish them. Interest in this subject abated in recent years and few new hypotheses have been put forward since (cf. Massey, Mystery letters).

Another thread of research which had its origins in the late nineteenth century and was then carried on for many decades in the twentieth century concerns the language used in the Qurʾān and, by implication, the language originally spoken by the Prophet. The subject was raised to prominence by K. Vollers who in his *Volkssprache und Schriftsprache im alten Arabien* argued that the Qurʾān was first recited in colloquial Arabic lacking the case-endings, whereas the known text of the Qurʾān was a result of the work of later philologists trying to purge the wording from all traces of dialect and to generate a text conforming to the rules of classical Arabic, the language used by the ancient poets. This view found some adherents (P. Kahle, G. Lüling) but was more often rejected (e.g. R. Geyer, Th. Nöldeke, F. Schwally). Since then it has been largely agreed upon, following a number of further articles and discussions in monographs exploring the ramifications

of this argument (e.g. R. Blachère [*Histoire*, i, 66-82], C. Rabin, J. Fück *[Arabiya]*), that the original language of the Qurʾān, in accordance with what we find in the standard text, consists more or less of the so-called *koinè* used in inter-tribal communication and ancient poetry, with some traces of the Meccan dialect left in the peculiarities of the qurʾānic orthography (see ORTHOGRAPHY; DIALECTS; ARABIC LANGUAGE; ORALITY AND WRITING IN ARABIA).

Both the detailed study of the "mysterious letters" as well as the quest for the original language of the Qurʾān clearly betray the language-oriented direction of much of modern research after the beginning of the twentieth century. The outcome of both fields of study may seem, especially if one considers the intellectual labor involved, rather disappointing: the "mysterious letters" have remained mysterious, though less unfamiliar, and the present linguistic form of the Qurʾān is widely accepted as being that from the time of its origin onwards. Much more promising, therefore, proved the interest twentieth-century scholars took in the terms used in the Qurʾān. Here a field of study was opened, yet not without having antecedents during the late nineteenth century, which offered the possibility of combining interest in linguistic features with a closer study of the message of the Qurʾān, as both are inevitably linked to each other in the semantic potential of single terms. Among the first writings in this field, preparing the way for further research in the twentieth century, were the Arabic-English glossary of the Qurʾān by J. Penrice (*Dictionary*, 1873) and the analysis of commercial terms used in the Qurʾān and their relation to qurʾānic theology by Ch. Torrey (*Commercial-theological terms*, 1892; see TRADE AND COMMERCE; THEOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN). The studies which then appeared in the first half of the twentieth century shifted their interest to the etymological background of qurʾānic key-terms, their connections to the use in earlier monotheist religions and the proper names found in the Qurʾān. The most influential and stimulating writings in this regard are the relevant passages in J. Horovitz's *Koranische Untersuchungen* (1926), as well as A. Mingana's "Syriac influence" (1927), K. Ahrens's *Christliches im Qoran* (1930) and A. Jeffery's *Foreign vocabulary* (1938).

Interestingly, the shift in the study of terms and concepts towards their possible origin in Jewish, Christian or Judaeo-Christian usage reflects the growth of an area of study which might be said to be the true novelty of early twentieth-century scholarship on the Qurʾān. Turning away from a purely language-centered approach or the attempt to understand the qurʾānic message intrinsically on the sole basis of its textual constituents and stylistic phenomena, the qurʾānic terms, narrations, legal prescriptions (see COMMANDMENTS; LAW AND THE QURʾĀN), elements of eschatology (q.v.) and theology were now increasingly compared to, and set into relation with, corresponding items in the Jewish and Christian traditions. Although the problem of the exact relationship of emergent Islam and its Prophet with Judaism and Christianity had already been raised by A. Geiger *(Was hat Mohammed)*, A. Sprenger (Moḥammad's Zusammenkunft), and Th. Nöldeke (Hatte Muḥammad christliche Lehrer), no immediate attempt had been made to trace the tokens of Jewish and Christian influence on nascent Islam in the Qurʾān. Beginning with Hirschfeld's *Jüdische Elemente* (1878) and Schapiro's (incomplete) *Haggadische Elemente* (1907), however, this approach soon developed into a major area of study through the monographs by W. Rudolph (1922), H. Speyer (1931), J. Walker (1931) and D. Sidersky

(1933). More importantly still, the field of qurʾānic studies at this point merged with the more generally-oriented and less Qurʾān-centered history of early Islam, a field in which two influential writings had appeared just at that time, namely R. Bell's *The origin of Islam in its Christian environment* (1926) and Ch. Torrey's *The Jewish foundation of Islam* (1933).

Without exaggeration, the research into the supposed Jewish or Christian roots of early Islam and hence of its scripture may be said to be the lasting heritage of early twentieth-century qurʾānic studies, having had by far the most wide-reaching influence until the present day. Although only few would today claim either that Islam came into being in a predominantly Christian environment or that its foundations are predominantly Jewish, the research carried out in order to support these assertions did indeed produce much evidence for the actual relationship between the monotheistic faiths. In addition, the studies generated during the first decades of the twentieth century drew attention to the great amount of biblical lore which we find in the Qurʾān and sharpened our view of how biblical and apocryphal material is adapted and presented in the Qurʾān. With much-reduced claims as to the origin of Islam and its scripture or its historical indebtedness towards Judaism and Christianity, the study of the interrelatedness of the three great monotheistic religions and their scriptures has never stopped, producing many writings in the 1950s (D. Masson, J. Henninger, J. Jomier, A. Katsh) and beyond (K. Cragg, M. Seale, U. Bonanate). This approach was accompanied by research into the connection of the qurʾānic message to Near Eastern realms of a more marginal nature (Qumran, Samaritan Judaism) and to the pre-Islamic pagan Arab religion (see POLYTHEISM AND ATHEISM; PILGRIMAGE; IDOLATRY AND IDOLATERS). In the latter half of the twentieth century, a number of monographs were published concerning various biblical figures — such as Adam (see ADAM AND EVE), Abraham (q.v.) and Mary (q.v.) and, above all, Jesus (q.v.) — as portrayed in the Qurʾān (M. Hayek, H. Michaud, G. Parrinder, H. Räisänen, N. Robinson *[Christ in Islam]*, O. Schumann). The quest for the presence of Jewish and Christian elements in the Qurʾān is likely to continue in the time to come under the aegis of an increasingly active inter-confessional dialogue.

Reviewing the field of Western qurʾānic studies in the first half of the twentieth century, one will become aware of the fact that, with the notable exception of the aforementioned study of Jewish and Christian elements in the Qurʾān and the revised edition of *GQ*, no syntheses or all-encompassing monographs were produced. Rather, scholarship followed different tracks of research which either led to a great number of interconnected articles, as in the case of the mysterious letters or the quest for the original language of the Qurʾān, or to monographs dealing with a particular subject such as the study of the origin and etymology of qurʾānic terms. In this vein, the first half of the twentieth century was chiefly a period of research into problems of limited range and of a fervent collection of data. Putting it somewhat more positively, one could also say that in this time tools for further study were devised in a number of thematically defined fields which, however, all have their bearing on the whole. Another good example of this type of approach is A. Spitaler's *Verszählung des Koran* (1935). Therefore, during this period — despite the waging of two world wars in the geographic center of the academic study of the Qurʾān — time was not lost in modern qurʾānic studies. The 1920s and 1930s can thus be

considered a period of the most intense and prodigious research concerning the Qurʾān, although the majority of its results lay scattered in learned journals, academy transactions, miscellanea and collections of studies. The true amount of what was achieved step by step in this period only became apparent in post-World War II scholarship, after a certain tendency towards the accumulation of the widely-dispersed material had set in among French and British scholars.

Second half of the twentieth century

This period is, at its beginning, distinguished by the publication of three influential general works dealing with the phenomenon of the Qurʾān as a whole, namely R. Blachère's introduction to the first edition of his translation (1947, independently published in 1959), A. Jeffery's *The Qurʾān as scripture* (1952) and R. Bell's *Introduction to the Qurʾān* (1953, rev. ed. by W.M. Watt in 1970: Watt-Bell, *Introduction*). Thus there were now three comprehensive and up-to-date monographs available which, in many respects, brought together the manifold results of scholarship from the earlier half of the twentieth century. At the same time, the gist of *GQ* became known to the non-German speaking world via these writings. For decades to come, the books by Bell, Blachère and Jeffery remained, together with the *GQ*, the standard reference texts for everybody involved in qurʾānic studies.

Curiously, but perhaps not surprisingly, the monographs by Blachère, Bell and Jeffery drew upon much of the earlier twentieth-century research and offer in many ways a synthesis of the previous achievements, yet at the same time their writings also mark the end of a still homogeneous tradition of scholarship. The hallmarks of that tradition were the importance of the philological approach and its relative independence, or isolation, from many other fields of related interest such as anthropology, religious studies, social studies and literary criticism. The biggest contribution to qurʾānic studies had been made, up to that time, only by the methods of biblical and theological studies. It is true that most of the fields like anthropology and religious studies were newcomers to Western scholarship in the twentieth century and could not be expected to be immediately adopted or acknowledged by the modern study of the Qurʾān. Yet up to the present day, Islamic studies generally tends to lag behind the developments in fields of related interest, something which might, in part, be excused by the fact that the rather impenetrable and boundless mass of material of all sorts that confronts the scholars of Islam does not easily permit them to turn their attention towards cognate disciplines. As it is, however, the increasing influence of relevant disciplines and a steadily growing array of new methods, perspectives and approaches has characterized the modern study of the Qurʾān since the second half of the twentieth century.

Another novel feature of post-war qurʾānic studies has been a new interest in the actual content of the qurʾānic text and a changed understanding of how to elucidate the semantics of qurʾānic terms and concepts. Both approaches disentangled themselves, to varying degrees, from similar attempts that were made earlier in the twentieth century and showed their provenance to be the then dominant philological mode of research. As to the first point, i.e. the new examination of the contents of the Qurʾān, one could refer to the writings of T. O'Shaughnessy, whose studies of qurʾānic theology appeared from 1948 onwards. Similarly, a number of scholars set about examining the ethical doctrines of the Qurʾān (M. Draz, S. al-Shamma,

M.D. Rahbar, D. Bakker, I. Zilio-Grandi; see ETHICS AND THE QUR'ĀN), its eschatology (R. Eklund, S. El-Salih, T. O'Shaughnessy) or its inherent anthropology (J. Bouman, T. Izutsu, J. Jomier, S. Wild). Others researched details of communal life and ritual (K. Wagtendonk) as present in the Qur'ān, albeit the first influential study of that kind appears to be R. Robert's *Social laws of the Qur'ān* (1927; see *inter alia* SOCIAL INTERACTIONS; RITUAL AND THE QUR'ĀN; RAMAḌĀN; FASTING). As to the second point, i.e. a changed understanding of the semantics of qur'ānic terms and concepts, it is largely agreed upon that the pioneering works of T. Izutsu brought major progress in the field of semantic studies, especially as his approach takes up methods of modern linguistics. Izutsu aims at analyzing the meaning of terms in context and does not look for a meaning inherent in the terms themselves. In doing so, he superseded the earlier research carried out in the field of semantic studies, although Izutsu's method is only seemingly in direct opposition to the former philological method and its stress on etymology (cf. Rippin, *Qur'an. Style and contents,* xvi f.).

A third, particularly important novelty of twentieth-century qur'ānic studies consists in the discovery of the general contextuality of the qur'ānic wording, that is, the difficulty of drawing a line between the meaning of the text in itself — a concept now considered by many as erroneous in principle — and the creation of its meaning(s) in the process of interpretation and exegesis (see EXEGESIS OF THE QUR'ĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL; EXEGESIS OF THE QUR'ĀN: EARLY MODERN AND CONTEMPORARY). The only meaning a text is considered to possess is thus the meaning which is accorded or ascribed to it in the process of actual reception and exegesis. From around the middle of the twentieth century, therefore, scholars in the field of qur'ānic studies tended, hesitantly at first, to develop a contextual view of the Qur'ān. Consequently, less stress was laid on the intrinsic character of the text, the meaning of individual terms and the question of the origin of its material, as had been the case during the first half of the twentieth century. Rather, attention was devoted to the ways in which the Qur'ān was embedded in the wider realm of Islamic learning and the emergence of its meaning(s) from Islamic tradition and the endeavors of the exegetes. This increasingly led scholars to analyze the close ties between the Qur'ān and exegesis, Islamic tradition (see ḤADĪTH AND THE QUR'ĀN), Islamic theology and Arabic philological studies devoted to the terminology and vocabulary of the Qur'ān. This clearly signified a major step forward, with the result that many elements of the qur'ānic wording were understood more thoroughly and in greater detail by making use of the vast quantity of Muslim scholarship dealing with all facets of the text (see TRADITIONAL DISCIPLINES OF QUR'ĀNIC STUDY).

The first immediate outcome of the change of perspective in the modern study of the Qur'ān towards its contextuality and the significance of Muslim exegesis was the growing interest in qur'ānic exegesis. This field, of prime importance as it always was in the culture of Islam, was up to the second half of the twentieth century almost wholly, and inexplicably, missing from the agenda of Western scholars, with the notable exception of I. Goldziher's pioneering *Richtungen der islamischen Koranauslegung* (1920) and some dispersed comments in the writings of early twentieth-century Orientalists. The concentrated and still ongoing effort, however, of a large number of scholars, especially after the work of J. Wansbrough (see below), has resulted in considerably more research being done in the vast field of Muslim exegesis than in

the field of qurʾānic studies proper. But as said before, it would by now be practically impossible to differentiate between the study of the Qurʾān and the study of its exegesis, both being so closely related as to permit no meaningful separation between these two fields of research. On the contrary, one could even argue that, in contrast to the traditional self-perception of modern scholarship, the academic quest for the understanding of the Qurʾān is in itself nothing but a further continuation of Muslim exegesis, which, to a certain extent, uses different means and is stimulated by other guiding principles. The more that becomes known of Muslim exegesis, however, the closer we are brought to admit that there is actually little of what modern qurʾānic scholarship claims as its own achievement that was unknown beforehand or is original to the "modern post-enlightenment academic" approach.

Recognizing the importance of Muslim exegesis for the modern study of the Qurʾān is also part of a larger discussion among scholars. This discussion revolves around the question of what role the Islamic scholarly tradition can, or should, play in the study of the Qurʾān and early Islam in general, one of the chief matters of debate in research of the last quarter of the twentieth century. From late nineteenth-century and early twentieth-century scholarship, the modern study of the Qurʾān inherited an approach that tended to set the Islamic tradition aside or use it only in closely circumscribed areas, such as reconstructing the historical context in which the revelation took place (see above). In contrast to that, later twentieth-century research has shown that in Islamic tradition and learning, all fields are closely interrelated and that it might prove difficult, if not impossible, to single some of its parts out as valuable or historically reliable and others as irrelevant. Rather, as a matter of principle, there is no irrelevant or non-valuable notice which might not further our understanding of the whole. This is not to say that some parts of that tradition may not indeed be more valuable or historically accurate than others but, as most scholars would admit, we are lacking the necessary means to decide in the majority of cases whether this is true of a certain piece of tradition or not.

The growing familiarity of Western scholars with the immense wealth of material stemming from the formative and classical periods of Islam and pertaining more or less directly to the historical context of early Islam and the coming into being of the Qurʾān has also generated another important insight: namely, that only a small part of the available material, if collated and seen together with all relevant bits and pieces, seems to allow a single historical reconstruction which might be considered reasonably more certain than others. M. Cook (*Early Muslim dogma,* 155 f.) has called this the "indefinite tolerance of the source-material for radically different historical interpretations," which is why we "know how to *maintain* rival theories; but we can do little to decide *between* them." The methodologies, however, which are capable of discerning the value, or tendency, of the source material have become more refined in the past years and the study of early Islamic tradition is a vivid topic in recent research. It is here that qurʾānic studies has come into close contact with the study of the life of the Prophet and the history of his community. Given that the Qurʾān as a historical document cannot be understood irrespective of the setting of its genesis, this merging of qurʾānic studies with the quest for the evolution of early Islam is bound to remain an important element of future research.

In some sense, the perceived need to confront the qurʾānic data with everything that

is known from the Islamic tradition about the historical context of revelation in order to elucidate the significance and meaning of the Qurʾān runs parallel to the urge towards incorporating data from the exegetical tradition. For this latter trend aims at the elucidation of the Qurʾān's significance and meaning via the semantic universe created by the Muslim exegetes. Although the implications of the studies of J. Wansbrough, A. Rippin and U. Rubin have still to be worked out fully, their work shows that the exegetical tradition may eventually prove vital for establishing the very textual history of the Qurʾān during the first decades of Islam and for understanding the origin of Islam itself. Both these developments — the turn towards tradition and towards Muslim exegesis — in the modern study of the Qurʾān are ultimately the result of the basic insight within later twentieth-century scholarship, that a non-contextual understanding of the Qurʾān will prove impossible and its attempt futile. One is obliged to add that the opposite attempt has been made — to clarify the material of Islamic tradition and its depiction of early Islam by starting with the qurʾānic data and not vice versa, notably by R. Paret and W.M. Watt. Yet this has merely shown that the "historical" references contained in the Qurʾān and those which might tell us something about the context of its revelation are too limited and ambiguous in meaning to permit a large-scale use of the Qurʾān for the reconstruction of the setting and context of its origination.

Apart from the exegetical tradition and the source material concerning the life of the Prophet and the history of early Islam, later twentieth-century qurʾānic studies also drew attention to the relations between the Qurʾān and the fields of jurisprudence and legal theory (J. Burton, M. Schöller). In this respect, it is hoped that the attitudes of early Muslim legal scholars towards the qurʾānic text and the use they made of it may tell us something about the role of the Qurʾān in early Islamic society and hence allow the formation of an idea of the function(s) it fulfilled in its original setting. This could also bear upon the problem of its presumed time and place of origin, a matter which has been put into question in twentieth-century scholarship (see below). In the same vein, the modern study of the Qurʾān in the second half of the twentieth century returned to the philological study of the Qurʾān, yet with more stress on the aspects of grammar and syntax and less on the semantic properties of the text (A. Ambros, M. Chouémi, Cl. Gilliot [Les citations], F. Leemhuis, W. Reuschel, R. Talmon, C. Versteegh; see GRAMMAR AND THE QURʾĀN; LANGUAGE AND STYLE OF THE QURʾĀN; but cf. also the ground-breaking work of A. Neuwirth, who focuses less on a philological/atomistic approach than on philological analysis of individual sūras as paralleling elements of monotheistic liturgy; cf. FORM AND STRUCTURE OF THE QURʾĀN; RHETORIC AND THE QURʾĀN); a computer-aided analysis of the entire text of the Qurʾān along morphological, grammatical and syntactical features is presently in preparation (cf. Edzard, Perspektiven, 350 f.; see COMPUTERS AND THE QURʾĀN). In returning to the linguistic analysis of the qurʾānic wording, a huge advance was made over the achievements of early twentieth-century scholarship. This is not only because the wealth of relevant Arabic literature now available compares so favorably with that of the earlier part of the twentieth century. Rather, it is chiefly because the vast Arabic grammatical and philological tradition, still largely unexplored and virtually inaccessible to the non-specialist, has now become the object of serious scrutiny. This

thread of research also serves as an important corrective to recent work which, under the weight of theoretical models, new approaches and methodological premises, carries the risk of losing touch with the linguistic side of the Qurʾān whose study is, after all, a basic requirement for its adequate understanding and interpretation.

Unresolved proposals

The last novelty of later twentieth-century qurʾānic studies to mention is the publication of some hypotheses regarding the origin of the Qurʾān which contest the Islamic tradition as well as the results of modern scholarship. The value of these hypotheses, some of which had a greater influence on the academic discussion than others, is still a matter of debate and is likely to remain so. Most scholars of Islam, however, presently concur that none of these hypotheses will eventually prove correct. Yet it must be admitted that, to date, no large-scale refutation of any of them has been produced; nor can all the arguments put forward be dismissed very easily. The positive effect, in any case, of the proposed hypotheses has been one of resuscitating the modern study of the Qurʾān and stimulating increased efforts in that direction. The current state of affairs, perhaps even the very fact of this encyclopedia, is the welcome result of this stimulus.

The first study to challenge the conventional view regarding the origin of the Qurʾān was published in 1974 by G. Lüling as a reworking and enlargement of his Ph.D. dissertation of 1970. He has since repeated and pursued his basic claims in a number of other studies. Put succinctly, he comes to the conclusion that the qurʾānic text consists of different layers which were subjected to several redactions. The basic layer of the text, the so-called "two-sense layer," was originally of Christian provenance and hymnic in character, representing the *"Ur-Qurʾān"* and proclaiming the message of Muḥammad's Judeo-Christian mission. It was then changed, in the processes of redaction, to conform to the later orthodox, post-prophetic Islamic views. Another layer, the so-called "one-sense layer," was of post-prophetic Islamic provenance from the outset and should serve to turn the meaning of the "two-sense layer" towards the later views by being inserted at appropriate places in the text. Much of what is proposed by Lüling is astute and based on broad learning. His general thesis, however, remains unconvincing to most scholars primarily for two serious weaknesses which neither Lüling nor anyone else is likely to remove in the future.

First, Lüling's reconstruction requires the consequent assertion that the entire Islamic tradition pertaining to the history of early Islam is a gigantic fabrication created to cover up a different story. Given what we know and considering the enormous amount of preserved information, this assumption is most unlikely and strains credulity. The second drawback, equally decisive, derives from the fact that in his reconstruction of the text of the presumed *"Ur-Qurʾān"* Lüling not only changed, in many instances, the vocalization of the text but also its consonantal structure, its word sequence and entire words (something to which he resorted to an even greater extent in later writings). Although this was done with great ingenuity, the obvious risk in tampering with a text in order to fit a theory was carefully formulated by G.R. Hawting in his review of another of Lüling's books (rvw. of *Die Wiederentdeckung des Propheten Muhammad,* in *jss* 27 [1982], 111): "It seems to me that the argument is essentially circular and that since there is no way of controlling or checking the recomposed *Ur-Qurʾān,* there is a danger that it will be recomposed to suit one's own pre-

conceptions about what one will find in it." In other words, anyone familiar with how easy it is to change the meaning of an Arabic consonantal text by systematically modifying vocalization and/or consonant markings will admit that this may open the gates of semantic hell, so to speak. Taken to extremes, one could as well replicate the Cairo phone-book as a Ṣūfī chain of mystical succession. Applying such textual modification to the Qurʾān can be done but, in the absence of supporting evidence from contemporary documents, it can neither be confirmed nor falsified. Therefore, the value of Lüling's hypothesis, whatever its merits in matters of detail, depends upon how much weight modern scholarship is willing to concede to conspiracy theories that do not admit of falsification.

In 2000 a study was published with the title *Die syro-aramäische Lesart des Koran. Ein Beitrag zur Entschlüsselung der Koransprache,* whose author writes under the pseudonym Ch. Luxenberg. Similar to Lüling's hypothesis but without recourse to his work, the meaning of many terms and passages of the Qurʾān is here traced back to an original Syriac wording, in the process of which the original meaning of the respective qurʾānic terms and passages, lost or suppressed in the Islamic tradition as we know it, is "rediscovered" (see SYRIAC AND THE QURʾĀN). Although it seems too early to venture a decisive judgment upon this publication which was accorded a methodically rigorous review (cf. Gilliot, Langue et Coran, 381-93), it is clear that Luxenberg's proposal suffers from the same weaknesses as does Lüling's account: the complete silence of the Islamic tradition with respect to his proposed origin of the Qurʾān and his resort to the modification of the consonantal text in both vocalization and consonant marking (for a positive appraisal of Luxenberg's thesis, see Gilliot, Langue et Coran; id., Le Coran. Fruit d'un travail collectif?; cf. also van Reeth, L'évangile du prophète).

With Lüling's 1974 study having remained largely unknown outside the German-speaking academic world, the major watershed in the modern study of the Qurʾān occurred in 1977 when three highly controversial monographs were published, namely J. Burton's *Collection of the Qurʾān,* M. Cook's and P. Crone's *Hagarism,* and J. Wansbrough's *Quranic studies*. These studies all present a novel reading and/or reconstruction of early Islam and the history of its scripture. For the study of the Qurʾān, Burton's and Wansbrough's monographs are of particular importance, especially as the conclusions reached by these two British scholars are diametrically opposed to each other. In Wansbrough's account we are told that the canonical form of the Qurʾān, i.e. the text in its present form, was not established prior to the end of the second/eighth century and does not entirely go back to the time of the Prophet. From Burton's study, on the other hand, it can be inferred that the collection of the canonical text predates the death of the Prophet and was known in this form ever since. Both claims, albeit entirely irreconcilable with each other, contradict the mainstream Islamic tradition which states that the canonical text of the Qurʾān was eventually ratified only during the two decades following the death of the Prophet and up to the caliphate of ʿUthmān (q.v.; r. 23-35/644-56). Together with the strongly original theses of *Hagarism* which was published at the same time, the monographs by Burton and Wansbrough created the first major impetus to qurʾānic studies in many decades.

An important difference between the accounts of Burton and Wansbrough and the aforementioned hypotheses of Lüling and Luxenberg lies in the fact that neither

Burton nor Wansbrough set about modifying the qurʾānic text. Rather, in the case of Burton it is precisely the fact that the Qurʾān contains some difficult and seemingly contradictory passages that are hard to understand which serves as argument against any later redaction (that easily could have done away with all such difficulties; see ABROGATION; AMBIGUOUS; DIFFICULT PASSAGES). In the case of Wansbrough, the belief that the present text of the Qurʾān achieved canonical status during the first Islamic centuries is questioned, yet no attempt is made to question the accuracy of the transmitted text beyond the variant readings current in the Islamic tradition. A greater difficulty faced both Burton and Wansbrough with regard to the Islamic tradition concerning the origin of the Qurʾān, although Burton's hypothesis seems to be easier to reconcile with what the sources tell us than does Wansbrough's. Nevertheless, both negate the historicity of much of the traditional material on Islamic origins and thus constitute variants of conspiracy theories. The early Islamic biographical literature, for example, is called by Wansbrough (*QS,* 140) a "pseudo-historical projection." Yet, both Burton and Wansbrough make valid points, which cannot be side-stepped in research, and there is indeed some evidence in the Islamic tradition which supports their hypotheses. The general, somewhat paradoxical, effect upon many readers of their studies appears to be that much of what Burton and Wansbrough present in order to reach their respective conclusions is admitted by most to be sound and important for the course of future scholarship, yet their conclusions are not.

J. Wansbrough's hypothesis, being more contentious and radical, has received more attention from the scholarly community than Burton's proposal. The consensus reached after an initial analysis of Wansbrough's study praised his method and his recourse to typology and criteria of biblical and literary criticism. His conclusions about the origin of the Qurʾān were, however, received with great skepticism or outright denial. Few were convinced that the generation of the Qurʾān was protracted until the end of the second/eighth century. Indeed, especially considering the evidence of qurʾānic epigraphy from the first two centuries of Islam (see EPIGRAPHY AND THE QURʾĀN; ARCHAEOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN; ART AND ARCHITECTURE AND THE QURʾĀN), it is hard to see how the history of early Islam could have evolved if its scripture was still in the making and the product of a gradual evolution. His inability to offer an alternative scenario is a weakness of Wansbrough's hypothesis (cf. rvw. of *QS* by A. Neuwirth, in *WI* 23-4 [1984], 540 f.) and in his second treatise — which further expounds his basic proposal — Wansbrough explicitly denies any attempt at historical reconstruction: "My purpose… is not historical reconstruction, but rather, source analysis" (*Sectarian milieu,* ix). For the understanding of the Qurʾān, however, Wansbrough's hypothesis signifies that the text in its present form cannot be traced back to the Prophet or to any single individual. Rather, in this view, the Qurʾān consists of the redaction and collection of material ("logia"), dealing with Islamic "salvation history" (see SALVATION; HISTORY AND THE QURʾĀN) that was first generated in various sectarian communities, and finally accorded canonical status as an authoritative text. Passages or logia which were not included in that canon remained part of the various fields of the Islamic tradition, chiefly prophetic biography *(sīra),* ḥadīth and commentary *(tafsīr)*. Wansbrough maintains that, with virtually no evidence about the details of the presumed redaction and collection at our disposal, every attempt at trying to

establish a chronology of the individual parts of the qurʾānic text, or at reconstructing the *Formgeschichte* of the Qurʾān, is impossible in principle; the actual origins of the qurʾānic data must remain unknown. The stylistic features and the literary form of the qurʾānic text itself are of no help in determining its date of origin and its authenticity (cf. Wansbrough, *QS*, 147). Finally, with the Qurʾān offering almost no material useful for historical purposes, the chronological framework known from the Islamic tradition appears merely as an historical order "introduced into what was essentially literary chaos" (Wansbrough, *QS*, 177).

Notwithstanding the controversial validity of Wansbrough's overall thesis concerning the genesis of the Qurʾān as scripture and its evolution in time, his treatise opened up many ways of research for the first time which then heavily influenced the ensuing efforts of scholarship. He was the first to use the exegetical commentaries of the second/eighth century systematically and to conceive of a typology and terminology in order to better understand what the early Muslim exegetes were actually doing. Or put differently, he pushed the contextual approach to the Qurʾān to its limits, making the notion of "the Qurʾān" as a body of texts which can be interpreted and analyzed within the traditional paths of "historical criticism," almost meaningless. A. Rippin, who in a number of articles defended the merits of Wansbrough's approach, rightly observed of Wansbrough's work that "the theories proffered about the origins of the Qurʾān have tended to overshadow the others" (id., Methodological notes, 39), resulting in an ultimate misconception of his approach and the dismissal of his method and its achievements for the sake of denying the validity of his overall conclusion. Indeed, it might be supposed, and there is some rumor to that effect among contemporary scholars of early Islam, that Wansbrough's hypothesis of a cumulative creation of the Qurʾān and its gradual evolution into scripture in a sectarian setting of broadly Near Eastern monotheistic stamp might still be safeguarded if the period of the Qurʾān's origin is no longer placed in the first Islamic centuries but ante-dated to the time prior to the Prophet's mission (see ḤANĪF). It then would also become compatible with Burton's well-argued hypothesis that the Qurʾān had already reached its present form and structure in the time of the Prophet. To clarify this issue will be a major challenge for the modern study of the Qurʾān in the years to come. In doing so, it will be imperative to work with all the literary sources at one's disposal, yet at the same time avoid the temptation of creating new texts out of those presently known in order to fit one's own theories.

Prospects of further research

Many of the aforementioned research trends as they developed in the second half of the twentieth century will undoubtedly determine the further course of the study of the Qurʾān in the foreseeable future. The seminal works of Burton and, above all, Wansbrough are especially likely to exert ever more influence upon qurʾānic studies and the methods used therein. The contextual approach towards the Qurʾān, placing its study in close connection to the study of the various related fields of Islamic learning (Tradition, exegesis, law, grammar), will probably continue to dominate most academic efforts. There is still much optimism and vigor in qurʾānic studies, and justly so. Illustrative of this is the fact that 1999 witnessed the publication, after some 150 years of modern Western scholarship on the Qurʾān, of the first volume of the first periodical devoted exclusively to qurʾānic matters, *Journal of qur'anic*

studies; it is noteworthy that in the editorial of its first issue, the field of qurʾānic studies is called, albeit somewhat disrespectfully towards the achievements of the past, "an evolving discipline."

Apart from the trends inherited from late twentieth-century scholarship, however, there are a number of areas in qurʾānic studies whose importance has not yet been fully recognized and whose status remains unsatisfactory in the wider realm of the modern study of the Qurʾān. Mention could be made here of the obvious connections of the Qurʾān and the origin of Islam to the pre-Islamic, Arab pagan world and the ties with the non-monotheistic population of south Arabia (see SOUTH ARABIA, RELIGION IN PRE-ISLAMIC). Although some important work has been done in this field (M. Bravmann, R.B. Serjeant, S. Noja, G.R. Hawting), it seems that not everything of relevance has yet come to light. There is still, one is led to think by the available evidence in Islamic tradition, a slight overstating of the influence of monotheistic religions on the formation of the Qurʾān and early Islam and a possible underestimation of the impact of the indigenous, non-monotheistic Arabic culture. This, of course, is partly inherited from the quest for the origins of Islam as conducted in the first half of the twentieth century, but also stems in part from the weight accorded to the monotheistic background in the more recent works of J. Wansbrough, A. Rippin and others. At any rate, archaeological fieldwork and the data of epigraphy, not yet fully exploited in qurʾānic studies, does yield some distinctive evidence about the impact of the Arab pagan culture upon early Islam. Another field to stimulate research in this direction, also until now insufficiently explored, is the study of Muslim eschatology and the rich imagery pertaining to the nether world as known from the Qurʾān and early tradition. Here, many elements lead the observer towards Arab pagan notions and even to concepts current in ancient Egypt, yet away from the patterns of thought normally considered to be part of the monotheistic groups of the Near East in early Islamic times (cf. PARADISE; GARDEN; HELL AND HELLFIRE).

The last, but not the least, area of qurʾānic studies which possesses considerable potential for further research is the role and place of the Qurʾān in Islam as a token of piety, symbol of faith and liturgical document. Little work has been done so far on the art of qurʾānic recitation (K. Nelson; cf. Sells, *Approaching;* see RECITATION OF THE QURʾĀN; EVERYDAY LIFE, THE QURʾĀN IN; ORALITY) and the related field of Islamic learning as a subject of study in its own right (see TEACHING AND PREACHING THE QURʾĀN). The pioneering study of the recited Qurʾān seen as a "phonetic phenomenon" in its various religious and liturgical uses is, for the time being, N. Kermani's *Gott ist schön. Das ästhetische Erleben des Koran* (1999; the work of A. Neuwirth has also contributed to the understanding of the Qurʾān as a liturgical document; cf. RHETORIC AND THE QURʾĀN; FORM AND STRUCTURE OF THE QURʾĀN). In addition, the role of the qurʾānic text in calligraphy (q.v.; see also MANUSCRIPTS OF THE QURʾĀN) and epigraphy (above all in inscriptions on buildings and tombstones) has never been researched systematically nor has the presence of qurʾānic terms and allusions in Arabic poetry and language (see LITERATURE AND THE QURʾĀN), in particular in Arabic phraseology and daily speech, received proper attention (cf. Piamenta, *Islam in everyday Arabic speech;* see also SLOGANS FROM THE QURʾĀN; MATERIAL CULTURE AND THE QURʾĀN; for some discussion of the impact of the Qurʾān on non-Arabic Islamic literature, see AFRICAN LITERATURE; PERSIAN LITERATURE AND

THE QUR'ĀN; TURKISH LITERATURE AND THE QUR'ĀN; SOUTH ASIAN LITERATURE AND THE QUR'ĀN; SOUTHEAST ASIAN LITERATURE AND THE QUR'ĀN). The degree to which the culture of Islam is being pervaded by the wording of its scripture is remarkable and sets it apart from most other comparable systems of high culture. The more remarkable, then, that this realization has yet to enter the agenda of Western qur'ānic studies. It is hoped that this hitherto neglected area of research within qur'ānic studies, as a part of the wider phenomenology of Islamic culture and religion, will be developed more quickly in the future than it has been in the past.

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Potter

see CLAY; CREATION

Poverty and the Poor

The quality or state of being indigent and, often, in need of material assistance in order to survive; those who are indigent. While modern discussion has concentrated on qurʾānic almsgiving (q.v.) and its voluntary or involuntary character (see bibliography below), the broader themes of poverty and the poor reveal the image of a community of believers bound together in a network of generosity and benefaction (see COMMUNITY AND SOCIETY IN THE QURʾĀN).

Feeding the poor (lit. "hungry"; see FAMINE) is a trait of the "companions of the right hand" (Q 90:13-18; see LEFT HAND AND RIGHT HAND) and of the righteous who "give food, though it be dear to them" (Q 76:8). Prescribed for the pilgrimage sacrifice (Q 22:28; see PILGRIMAGE; SACRIFICE), feeding the poor is also a way to expiate sins (Q 5:89, 95; 58:4; see SIN, MAJOR AND MINOR; REPENTANCE AND PENANCE). Medieval lexicography and modern philology have both connected *zakāt* with "purification" *(z-k-y);* and purification (see RITUAL PURITY; CLEANLINESS AND ABLUTION) similarly figures in the qurʾānic requirement for alms (Q 9:103, here *ṣadaqa*). But not only must goods be purified, they must circulate, vertically and downwards (cf. esp. Q 59:7). At Q 30:39, *ribā* (lit. "usury" [q.v.]) refers to some kind of bad circulation, contrasted with a good kind called *zakāt*. The exegetes identified *ribā* here as a gift given in the hope of receiving a greater gift in return, a practice of Arabia before Islam (Ibrāhīm al-Nakhaʿī in Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* ad. loc.; cf. Qurṭubī, *Jāmiʿ,* xiv, 36-9 on the ambiguity here between the vocabularies of sale and gift; see TRADE AND COMMERCE; GIFT-GIVING).

The Qurʾān lists the recipients of various benefactions, including alms (Q 9:60,

ṣadaqāt); distribution of spoils (Q 8:41; see BOOTY); presents made at the division of an inheritance (q.v.; Q 4:8); and generosity *tout court* (Q 4:36, *iḥsān;* Q 2:215, *khayr*). Most of the recipients named in these lists are, in effect, types of poor, including orphans (q.v.), sojourners (see JOURNEY), prisoners (q.v.), slaves (see SLAVES AND SLAVERY), debtors (see DEBT) and (aspiring) warriors (see FIGHTING; WAR; EXPEDITIONS AND BATTLES). The most frequently recurring categories, however, are kin (*dhū l-qurbā;* see KINSHIP), the poor *(al-miskīn)* and the wayfarer *(ibn al-sabīl)*. This triad constitutes a spectrum of persons who are known and those who are unknown, with the poor *(miskīn)* as the ambiguous case. By contrast, *faqīr/fuqarāʾ* ("poor, destitute") can refer to the neediness of the human condition, contrasted with God's self-sufficiency (Q 47:38), and to humanity's need for God (Q 35:15). Elsewhere, the *fuqarāʾ* are at the center of the community (*al-fuqarāʾ al-muhājirīn,* Q 59:8; see Décobert, *Le mendiant,* on the *fuqarāʾ* as the "inner" and the *masākīn* as the "outer" poor; see POLYSEMY). Finally, they are deemed the meritorious poor who, because they do not reveal their condition, are worthy recipients of charity (Q 2:271, 273).

In pre-Islamic Arabia there was a belief that the owner of surplus property (q.v.) must give all or part of it away (Bravmann, The surplus; id., *Spiritual background;* see PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QURʾĀN). In the Qurʾān, *faḍl,* usually understood as "grace" (q.v.; see also BLESSING), sometimes retains this sense of surplus wealth (q.v.; e.g. Q 9:28; 24:22; 62:9-10). Where it does, we find exhortations to reciprocate the divine *faḍl* through human generosity. This occurs in the one place where an individual — usually understood as Muḥammad himself — is addressed as "poor" (*ʿāʾilan,* Q 93:8).

Radical conclusions have been drawn from the qurʾānic teachings on poverty. It is the ḥadīth (see ḤADĪTH AND THE QURʾĀN) and the legal literature (see LAW AND THE QURʾĀN) which introduce the notion of a core of wealth which one may not give away. Moreover, the qurʾānic *ḥaqq,* "claim, right, duty," seems, when it comes to donations, to inhere in the object given. So the community of believers consists of "Those upon whose wealth there is a recognized right *(ḥaqq maʿlūm)* for the beggar and the deprived" (Q 70:24-5; cf. 51:19). Poverty and the poor appear intermittently in the "biography of the Prophet" literature (*sīra;* see SĪRA AND THE QURʾĀN) and that on the military exploits of the early Muslims (*maghāzī;* see EXPEDITIONS AND BATTLES), especially regarding the earliest community at Mecca (q.v.) and the military expeditions at the end of Muḥammad's life, when individuals provided arms, mounts and supplies to those who lacked the means to join the fight. Emphasis is placed on these themes in some modern discussions of earliest Islam (i.e. Watt, *Muhammad at Mecca* and *Muhammad at Medina,* and Ibrahim, *Merchant capital*). Finally, it should be added that Islam arose at a time when, as Brown *(Poverty and leadership)* has now shown, poverty had a new significance for the urban, Christian Mediterranean and Near East (see CHRISTIANS AND CHRISTIANITY; CITY; RELIGIOUS PLURALISM AND THE QURʾĀN; ASCETICISM; MONASTICISM AND MONKS).

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Power and Impotence

Ability to act or the possession of controlling influence over others; the lack of either of these capacities. In the Qurʾān, the notion of power revolves around two principal foci: (a) the possession of control, authority and influence over others; (b) the capacity to act, to create, to destroy, to fight, to win and to impose one's will. The lack of these qualities results in impotence. These various connotations of the English word "power" are conveyed in the Qurʾān and qurʾānic commentaries by such Arabic terms as *sulṭān, mulk, qahr, ʿizza, nufūdh, quwwa, ghalaba, istiṭāʿa, ṭāqa, baʾs,* and a few others (cf. Dāmaghānī, *Wujūh,* i, 412-6 for *sulṭān;* ii, 206 for *mulk;* ii, 64-5 for *ʿizza;* ii, 161-2 for *quwwa;* ii, 99 for *ghalaba;* i, 101-2 for *istiṭāʿa* and *ṭāqa;* i, 171 for *baʾs*). For those that fall under rubric (a), i.e. the possession of authority over others, see the article AUTHORITY. The present entry will focus primarily on meanings covered under rubric (b) as listed above.

In the qurʾānic text, the ability to give and take life (q.v.; see also DEATH AND THE DEAD), to exert power and control over nature (see NATURE AS SIGNS; CREATION) and human beings, to vanquish one's enemy (see ENEMIES; VICTORY) and to impose one's will on others is attributed primarily to God. As the ultimate wielder of power, he can delegate this ability to those of his creatures whom he chooses, especially to prophets and kings (see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD; KINGS AND RULERS). The enemies of the qurʾānic prophets are routinely humbled and destroyed by God, who unleashes against them the destructive powers of nature (see PUNISHMENT STORIES). The prophets, on the other hand, are miraculously protected by God's superior power against the rage of their adversaries, be they individuals or entire tribes (see e.g. ABRAHAM; MOSES; HŪD; ṢĀLIḤ, etc.). God can "empower" or "enable" *(ʿazzaza, aʿazza, makkana)* certain nations, rulers and kings as a reward for their righteousness (Q 3:26; 7:10; 12:21; 16:6; 36:13; 46:26, etc.; see REWARD AND PUNISHMENT; CHASTISEMENT AND PUNISHMENT). Thus, God gave Alexander the Great "power in the earth and bestowed upon him a way of access to every thing" (Q 18:84; see ALEXANDER). Alexander then used this power to construct a rampart of iron and brass to protect an oppressed people from the depredations of Gog and Magog (q.v.). Likewise, God granted Solomon (q.v.) power over natural forces and the evil ones (*shayāṭīn;* see DEVIL) in order to elevate him above the other worldly rulers of his age (cf. Q 38:34-40). God's bestowal of power on certain rulers, however, may infuse them with false pride (q.v.) and arrogance (q.v.) and eventually lead them to destruction (see e.g. PHARAOH; KORAH; HĀMĀN). Therefore, the Qurʾān repeatedly emphasizes that whatever power these individuals may have possessed was always derivative, ephemeral and subject to withdrawal without notice, as demonstrated by the story of Moses and Pharaoh (Q 2:50; 7:135-6).

In and of themselves, rulers and kings have no power whatsoever. As in the Jewish and Christian exegetical traditions, impotence is a distinguishing feature of the human race, especially those among its representatives who seek to arrogate the rights that belong to God alone, such as

Pharaoh, Nimrod (q.v.), Goliath (q.v.), and so on. When Nimrod claimed the power to give life by copulating with his concubines (q.v.), and to take it away by executing his subjects (see MURDER), Abraham challenged him to bring the sun (q.v.) from the west and "the unbeliever was confounded" (Q 2:258). Likewise, when Pharaoh, in his inordinate arrogance and vain pride attempted to weaken and denigrate the Children of Israel (q.v.), God empowered them *(numakkin lahum fī l-arḍ)* by giving their leader, Moses, the ability to upset Pharaoh's cruel designs (Q 28:3-6).

God and his messengers will always triumph over their misguided opponents, for "Surely, God is all-strong, all-mighty" (Q 58:21) and there is "nothing in the heavens (see HEAVEN AND SKY) or the earth (q.v.) that he is incapable of doing" (*mā kāna llāhu li-yuʿjizahu min shayʾin,* Q 35:44). In addition to God's singular capacity to punish, test and protect his creatures, he alone has the power to provide them with the right guidance (see ASTRAY; ERROR). Neither humans nor jinn (q.v.), even if they were to join forces, are capable of producing "the like of this Qurʾān" (Q 17:88), which God revealed through his Prophet (see INIMITABILITY; PROVOCATION; LANGUAGE AND STYLE OF THE QURʾĀN). At the same time, God's prophets are impotent, like their fellow human beings, unless God decides to empower them. For example, in Q 19:8 Zechariah (q.v.) bemoans his decrepitude and consequent inability to produce a child (cf. also Q 42:49-50, in which God's absolute sovereignty over earthly existence is expressed in his ability to give male and female children [q.v.] to whom he pleases, while rendering other people barren). The idea of God's absolute power over the destinies of his human servants is brought into sharp relief in Q 30:54: "God [is he who] has created you of weakness, then after weakness has appointed strength, then after strength appointed weakness and gray hairs; he creates what he wills, he is the one who wills and has power" (see the commentary of al-Shawkānī, *Tafsīr,* iv, 230-2; see BIOLOGY AS THE CREATION AND STAGES OF LIFE). In Q 3:26-7 we find an illuminating summary of the various manifestations of divine omnipotence: "You give the power to whom you will, and withdraw the power from whom you will; you exalt whom you will and abase whom you will (see OPPRESSED ON EARTH, THE); verily you have power over all things. You cause the night to interpenetrate the day, and the day to interpenetrate the night (see DAY AND NIGHT); you bring forth the living from the dead and the dead from the living; you provide for whom you will without reckoning (see GRACE; BLESSING)." Here, as in many other passages of the Qurʾān (e.g. Q 67:1-3, 15-6, 21, 23; 86:5-12, etc.), God's ability to bestow life and take it away at will is often mentioned alongside his capacity to create natural objects and phenomena for the benefit of humankind. Thus, he makes the crops grow and winds (see AIR AND WIND) blow; he has studded the firmament with stars (see PLANETS AND STARS) to guide travelers (see JOURNEY); he has subdued the sea and made it a source of sustenance (q.v.) and finery for men and women (see METALS AND MINERALS); he has created domestic animals which serve human beings as nourishment (see FOOD AND DRINK; HIDES AND FLEECE) and means of transportation, etc. God's capacity as creator of the universe, giver of life, sustainer of human beings, and eventually their judge (see LAST JUDGMENT; JUSTICE AND INJUSTICE) is used throughout the Qurʾān as an argument against the pagan opponents of the Prophet (see POLYTHEISM AND ATHEISM; OPPOSITION TO MUḤAMMAD): "Have they not considered that God, who created the heavens and earth without

being exhausted by the creation of them, has [the] power to bring the dead to life? Yea, verily over everything he has power" (Q 46:33).

As one of God's critical attributes (see GOD AND HIS ATTRIBUTES), which is reflected in such divine epithets as "the powerful" (*al-qawī,* cf. Gimaret, *Noms divins,* 237-8), "the overpowering" (*al-qahhār,* cf. Gimaret, *Noms divins,* 241-2), "the dominator" (*al-ghālib,* cf. Gimaret, *Noms divins,* 242-3), "the [all-] mighty" (*al-qādir,* cf. Gimaret, *Noms divins,* 235-7), "the great" (*al-ʿazīz,* cf. Gimaret, *Noms divins,* 243-6), etc., power has loomed large in Muslim exegetical tradition since its inception (see EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL). References to God's exclusive ability to grant power *(al-mulk)* to whomever he wishes (Q 3:26) were construed by some Muslim exegetes as a prediction of the later Muslim conquest of the Byzantine and Sasanian empires (see e.g. Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* iii, 222; Ṭabarsī, *Majmaʿ,* iii, 50-1; Qurṭubī, *Jāmiʿ,* iii, 52; cf. Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr,* iii, 42; see POLITICS AND THE QURʾĀN; BYZANTINES). In elaborating on this verse, some modern Muslim commentators — for instance, Muḥammad al-Shaʿrāwī (d. 1998), former minister of Pious Endowments of the Republic of Egypt — pointed out that unjust and despotic rulers (see OPPRESSION) were deliberately appointed by God to punish a given Muslim community for abandoning the principles of "true Islam," as well as the inability of its scholars (see SCHOLAR; KNOWLEDGE AND LEARNING) to provide proper guidance to their followers (Shaʿrāwī, *Tafsīr,* xvii, 1404, 1418). According to al-Shaʿrāwī, God's absolute and unrestricted power to provide for whomsoever he wills "without reckoning" (Q 3:27), explains why certain Arab nations were blessed with oil riches, even though they may not have deserved them due to their indolence (ibid., 1418). Such interpretations are readily embraced by certain Islamic parties and movements, which advocate the removal of some contemporary Middle Eastern regimes as morally "corrupt" and, therefore, religiously "illegitimate."

In the classical exegetical tradition, Q 3:26 was sometimes used as an occasion to debunk the Christian doctrine of the divinity of Jesus (q.v.). Thus, according to al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923), while God indeed empowered Jesus to perform certain miraculous deeds, like raising people from the dead (see MIRACLES), healing various diseases, breathing life into clay birds and predicting future events, he nevertheless withheld from him such a uniquely divine prerogative as the absolute and unrestricted power over the created world, including both its sustenance and the natural phenomena therein, e.g. the ability to change night into day and vice versa (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* iii, 227). In a similar vein, al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505; *Durr,* vi, 531) used Q 31:34 to vindicate God's exclusive ability to know things that are concealed from all his creatures (see HIDDEN AND THE HIDDEN), including the prophets, namely, the day and time of the resurrection (q.v.) and final judgment; the ability to foresee the falling of rain, to divine the contents of the womb and to predict the destiny of the human fetus as well as its final resting place (see FORETELLING; DIVINATION; PORTENTS). See also FREEDOM AND PREDESTINATION; FATE.

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Praise

To express approbation of, or to glorify (especially God); also, to magnify, as in song. A number of qurʾānic lexemes convey this concept, but with varying nuances; derivatives of the following triliteral roots are the most prominent qurʾānic terms connoting "praise": *ḥ-m-d, sh-k-r, s-b-ḥ, ʾ-w-b* — although, generally, *sh-k-r* denotes thanking or thankfulness, and *s-b-ḥ,* glorification or exaltation, rather than "praise" proper. Occasionally, however, the second verbal form of *s-b-ḥ* is used in conjunction with the verbal noun, *ḥamd,* a combination that may be rendered in English as "to proclaim praise" — i.e. Q 2:30; 40:7. With the exception of *sh-k-r,* God is never the active agent: i.e. God is the object of praise, rather than the one praising. For example, God is the "all-thankful," *shakūr* (Q 35:30 or also *shākir,* Q 2:158) — but the "all-laudable," *ḥamīd* (Q 11:73; but cf. Gimaret, *Noms,* 351-3 and 222-3 for a range of the classical exegetes' understandings of these divine names; see GOD AND HIS ATTRIBUTES). As *sh-k-r* and *s-b-ḥ* have been dealt with elsewhere (see GRATITUDE AND INGRATITUDE and GLORIFICATION OF GOD, respectively), the following discussion shall focus on derivatives of *ḥ-m-d* and the hapax legomenon, *awwiba* (Q 34:10; for the name of the qurʾānic Prophet, which is derived from *ḥ-m-d,* see NAMES OF THE PROPHET).

In the Qurʾān, praise is closely related to other proper human responses to God, such as gratitude and glorification. God is the only one worthy of praise *(ḥamd),* being the lord (q.v.) of the worlds/all existence (*rabb al-ʿālamīn,* Q 39:75) and of the heavens (see HEAVEN AND SKY) and the earth (q.v.; Q 45:36; cf. 3:188, wherein people who want to be praised for things they have not done are promised a painful doom; see REWARD AND PUNISHMENT; HELL AND HELLFIRE; cf. Bravmann, *Spiritual background,* 116-9, for a discussion of the attribution of *ḥamd* to human heroes in early Arabic literature; see PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QURʾĀN). He is the originator *(fāṭir)* of the heavens and earth who uses angels as his messengers (Q 35:1; see MESSENGER; ANGEL; CREATION; COSMOLOGY), and who has not taken a son (Q 17:111; see POLYTHEISM AND ATHEISM). He has revealed the book (q.v.; i.e. the Qurʾān to Muḥammad; Q 18:1; see REVELATION AND INSPIRATION), kept his promise and bequeathed the earth to humankind (Q 39:74; see COVENANT). He saved Noah's (q.v.) people from those who would oppress them (Q 23:28; see OPPRESSION), he preferred David (q.v.) and Solomon (q.v.) over many of his believing servants (Q 27:15), and he takes grief away from those in paradise (q.v.; Q 35:34; see also JOY AND MISERY). God should be praised evening (q.v.) and day (Q 40:55; 30:17; see DAY, TIMES OF; NOON; DAWN), and "when you arise" (Q 52:48). He is praised both in the heavens and on the earth (Q 30:18) and in the hereafter (Q 34:1; see ESCHATOLOGY).

Q 9:112 includes "those who praise [God]" *(al-ḥāmidūn)* in a list of descriptors put in apposition to the believers to whom the good news (q.v.) is to be announced. Also in this list are "the repentant" (*al-tā'ibūn;* see REPENTANCE AND PENANCE), "the worshippers" (see WORSHIP), "those who fast" (see FASTING), "those who bow," "those who prostrate" (see BOWING AND PROSTRATION), "those who command the good and forbid the evil" (see GOOD AND EVIL; VIRTUES AND VICES, COMMANDING AND FORBIDDING) and "those who keep the limits of God" (see BOUNDARIES AND PRECEPTS). And Q 15:98 indicates that to be among those who proclaim God's praise is to be among those who prostrate themselves. Although the manner in which humans should praise God is not specified, the seeming specification of times of praise (morning and evening — although this mention of day and night may also be a figure of speech indicating that there is no time that God should *not* be praised; see PAIRS AND PAIRING) and the indication that bowing or prostration was associated with the proclamation of God's praise evoke Jewish and Christian liturgical practices (cf. i.e. Jammo, *Structure,* 58 f., for an overview of the east Syrian liturgy and its relations to Jewish practices; cf. esp. the "Laḥu Māra," instances of bowing and prostration, and the attribution of singing God's praises to cherubim and servants of God, but the proclamation of his holiness to seraphim; also Codrington, Syrian liturgy, 135-48 indicates that the "praise" of God, esp. Psalm 116, is included in the morning, evening and night recitations of the divine office). Certain qur'ānic passages in which praise of God is evoked are also reminiscent of Jewish and Christian scriptural and/or liturgical formulae: "He is God. There is no god but he. His is the praise in the beginning and the end. And his is the judgment; to him you will return" (Q 28:70); "All in heaven and earth exalt God; his is the kingdom and his is the praise; and he has power over everything" (Q 64:1; see i.e. the aforementioned *Ps* 116: "Praise God all you nations; glorify him, all you peoples…"; cf. *Gal* 1:5; and the final doxology of the Lord's prayer, as contained in the fourth century C.E. *Apostolic Constitutions* "For yours are the kingdom, the power and the glory forever"; cf. *Catechism of the Catholic church,* pt. 4, sect. 2, no. 2760; see also FORM AND STRUCTURE OF THE QUR'ĀN; RHETORIC AND THE QUR'ĀN; PRAYER; PSALMS).

If the object of praise is often God (or, alternatively, the lord, e.g. Q 40:55), those who should be engaged in the act of praise are God's servants (q.v.) — humankind. Like the glorification of God, however, the praise of the lord is not restricted to humans: in fact, there is nothing that does not proclaim his praise (*wa-in min shay'in illā yusabbiḥu bi-ḥamdihi,* Q 17:44) — even thunder (Q 13:13) and the angels (i.e. Q 39:75) do so. In Q 34:10, the mountains and the birds are ordered to praise God *(awwibī)* along with David. Although the exegetical consensus on the signification of *awwiba* is "glorification" (*sabaḥa,* in the sense of "return" — i.e. repeat, respond; cf. Muqātil, *Tafsīr,* iii, 526; Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* xx, 356-9; Rāzī, *Tafsīr,* xxv, 246), al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923) reports a variant reading that is given the understanding of "behave" instead of "praise/repeat" (*Tafsīr,* xx, 357). He also includes a tradition that attributes the word to Abyssinian origins (ibid.; see FOREIGN VOCABULARY). Al-Rāzī (d. 606/1210) reports that a "special movement" may be involved in this action (*Tafsīr,* xxv, 246).

Post-qur'ānic developments

"To God belongs the praise" (*al-ḥamdu lillāhi,* i.e. Q 1:2) is a frequent qur'ānic refrain. Like the *basmala* (q.v.) and the

qurʾānic glorification formula (*subḥān Allāh,* Q 21:22), this *ḥamdala* (see LAUDATION) often appears in Muslim prayer formulas (q.v.), and has entered the common language of Arabic speakers (and non-Arab Muslims; see SLOGANS FROM THE QURʾĀN; EVERYDAY LIFE, THE QURʾĀN IN). Finally, indicative of its centrality to Muslim spirituality, "praise" of God is an important part of the ritual formulations of the Ṣūfī *dhikr* ("remembrance [of God]"; see MEMORY; ṢŪFISM AND THE QURʾĀN; REMEMBRANCE).

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Prayer

Islam presents three primary terms for prayer, *ṣalāt* (ritual prayer), *duʿāʾ* (personal supplication) and *dhikr* (mystical recollection; see REMEMBRANCE; MEMORY; ṢŪFISM AND THE QURʾĀN), all of which are rooted in the qurʾānic language. These qurʾānic terms were eventually chosen to designate principal Muslim prayer practices which derive many of their characteristic features from the encounter of Islam with the cultural environment of the Middle East, particularly in the early centuries of its development, as well as that of territories Islam eventually conquered. This article will concentrate upon the concepts and practices of prayer that can be traced in the Qurʾān as read against the background of Muḥammad's biography, while disregarding the analysis of post-qurʾānic developments in the very rich and variegated tradition of prayer in Islam (see PRAYER FORMULAS; RITUAL AND THE QURʾĀN; EVERYDAY LIFE, THE QURʾĀN IN). Muḥammad's proclamation of the Islamic scripture occurred in an environment that was fully familiar with ways of worship rooted in the Arab tribal cult and in some measure aware of normative and sectarian forms of prayer practiced in the organized religions of the Middle East (see SOUTH ARABIA, RELIGION IN PRE-ISLAMIC; PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QURʾĀN). In addition to a variety of gnostic, esoteric, magic (q.v.) and mystical rituals, these included organized rites of prayer, whether performed as individual duties or communal liturgies, that were perceptible in the general religious environment in which Muḥammad's own awareness of worship (q.v.) and prayer emerged (see RELIGION; RELIGIOUS PLURALISM AND THE QURʾĀN). These obligatory prayer rites of organized religions included (1) the three daily prayers, recited at dawn (q.v.), in the

afternoon (q.v.) and in the evening (q.v.) by the followers of rabbinic Judaism privately or in assemblies (see JEWS AND JUDAISM); (2) the prayer rhythm of eastern Christian monasticism whose monks observed seven offices each day in their assemblies or churches (see MONASTICISM AND MONKS; CHURCH; SYRIA; ABYSSINIA); (3) the five prayers offered individually at fixed times of the day by the followers of Mazdaean Zoroastrianism (see MAGIANS); and (4) the four times of prayer and prostration (see BOWING AND PROSTRATION) prescribed for the daily ritual of adoration by the ordinary followers of Manicheanism. Marked by fixed times (see DAY, TIMES OF), these forms of prayer had many other characteristic manifestations, such as sacred space for worship (see PROFANE AND SACRED; FORBIDDEN; HOUSE, DOMESTIC AND DIVINE), cosmic orientation of the actual performance of prayer (see QIBLA), purification in preparation for prayer (see CLEANLINESS AND ABLUTION; RITUAL PURITY), solemn recitation of passages from sacred texts or chanting of hymns, invocative or meditative use of prayer formulas, bodily postures of standing and bowing in adoration, and conformity of the repetitive performance of prayer to the natural rhythm described by night and day (see DAY AND NIGHT).

The personal prayer of Muḥammad

Prayer is one of the most central features of the Qurʾān. It forms the core of Muḥammad's experience of God and is the foundation of his qurʾānic proclamation. Prayer was practiced daily by the nascent Muslim community and included recitation and characteristic gestures of standing and bowing in adoration. Eventually developed as a consistent communal ritual, it has come to constitute an essential part of everyday Muslim life throughout the ages. Both as a foundation of the qurʾānic message and an ongoing practice, it encapsulates the personal prayer of Muḥammad at its core. Prior to his prophetic call, the orphan and merchant Muḥammad (see ORPHANS; CARAVAN) shared the religious ideas of his clan (see KINSHIP; TRIBES AND CLANS): his uncle, Abū Lahab ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā, was a staunch adherent of the Arab tribal religion (cf. Q 111:1) and his guardian and protector, Abū Ṭālib, never adopted Islam. Muḥammad himself took part in the pagan rites at the Kaʿba (q.v.; cf. Q 108:2) and sacrificed a white sheep at the shrine of the goddess al-ʿUzzā (Q 53:19-20; cf. Macdonald and Nehmé, al-ʿUzzā, 968; see POLYTHEISM AND ATHEISM). He believed in the world of demons (*jinn*, Q 72:1; 55:15) whom the Arabs (q.v.) of Mecca (q.v.) believed to be God's comrades and next of kin (6:100; 37:158), to whom they offered sacrifices (cf. Q 6:128) and from whom they sought protection (q.v.; Q 72:6; see also JINN; SACRIFICE).

As can be judged from the earliest layers of the qurʾānic proclamation, Muḥammad's personal prayer was based on ecstatic inspiration and visions (q.v.) by night (Q 17:1; cf. 53:1-8; 81:19-25). He had to defend himself against the accusation of being one of the soothsayers (q.v.; sing. *kāhin*) possessed by the alter ego of a demon (Q 52:29; 68:2; 69:42; 7:184; see INSANITY). The utterances of his prayer were cast in rhymed prose (q.v.), marked by abrupt phrases capturing cryptic meanings. He sought refuge from demonical whisperings (Q 114:1-6) and disclaimed being an angel (q.v.), possessing the treasures of God or knowing the unseen (Q 6:50; 11:31; see SECRETS; HIDDEN AND THE HIDDEN; KNOWLEDGE AND LEARNING). He felt inspired by a holy spirit (q.v.; Q 16:102; 26:192-4) and experienced God as speaking to him directly, by revelation (see REVELATION AND INSPIRATION) and

from behind a veil (q.v.), or indirectly through the intermediary of an angel (Q 42:51), identified as Gabriel (q.v.; Q 2:97-8; cf. 66:4). He claimed to have received revelation as did the earth (q.v.; Q 99:5) and the bee (Q 16:68; see ANIMAL LIFE) or the prophets of old (Q 21:7; see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD), such as Noah (q.v.; Q 23:27), Moses (q.v.; Q 20:13) and Joseph (q.v.; Q 12:15). He introduced qurʾānic passages by abstruse oaths (q.v.), following the old Arab custom of invoking idols (see IDOLS AND IMAGES) or natural forces as well as emulating the oracular style *(sajʿ)* of the pre-Islamic soothsayer in the wording of the qurʾānic proclamation (see also POETRY AND POETS).

Muḥammad swore by the name of God, e.g. "By God!" (*tallāhi,* Q 16:63), and, "But no! By your lord!" (*fa-lā wa-rabbika,* Q 4:65; see LORD), and solemnly uttered oaths by the setting of the stars, "But no! I swear *(fa-lā uqsimu)* by the setting of the stars" (Q 56:75; see PLANETS AND STARS). He swore by the powers of nature (see NATURE AS SIGNS), e.g. the heaven and its constellations (*wa-l-samāʾi dhāti l-burūj,* Q 85:1; see HEAVEN AND SKY), the star (*wa-l-najm,* Q 53:1), the sun (q.v.; *wa-l-shams,* Q 91:1) and the moon (q.v.; *wa-l-qamar,* Q 74:32), and invoked particular times of day by oaths, e.g. the daybreak (*wa-l-fajr,* Q 89:1), the night (*wa-l-layl,* Q 92:1), the forenoon (*wa-l-ḍuḥā,* Q 93:1) and the twilight (*wa-l-shafaq,* Q 84:16).

Raised unaware of revealed religion (cf. Q 42:52), he never read the Bible (Q 29:48; see SCRIPTURE AND THE QURʾĀN; GOSPEL; TORAH; PSALMS; BOOK; ILLITERACY; UMMĪ) but came into contact with Jews and Christians (Q 10:94). Through his wife Khadīja (q.v.), he was related to Waraqa b. Nawfal, a man known as a *ḥanīf* (q.v.) and one seeking a more satisfying religion than the old Arab polytheism (cf. Rubin, Ḥanīf, 402-3). Until the breakthrough to his prophetic call, identified by Muslim tradition with the divine command to "recite!" (*iqraʾ,* Q 96:1), received in an experience of retreat *(taḥannuth)* on Mount Ḥirāʾ outside Mecca, Muḥammad's prayer was a personal one (Ibn Hishām, *Sīra,* 151-2; cf. Kister, Al-taḥannuth, 223; Calder, Ḥinth, 213). After a short period of hesitation, however, he began to proclaim in Mecca the religious insights he had forged in the furnace of his personal prayer. Soon a small group of followers, most of them young and of little social standing, accepted his message and formed a nascent community which began to engage in communal prayer. This communal prayer eventually adopted characteristic elements that became constitutive for a prayer ritual, known as *al-ṣalāt*. The transition from Muḥammad's personal prayer practice and the communal prayer of his nascent community to a central and consistent ritual developed in two major stages, separated by the decisive change of the direction of prayer *(qibla)* in Medina (q.v.) in the year 2/624.

Ṣalāt, the common Arabic term for ritual prayer, does not occur in pre-qurʾānic poetry and clearly shows Aramaic influence in its particular qurʾānic orthography (cf. Spitaler, Schreibung, 217; see ARABIC SCRIPT; ORTHOGRAPHY OF THE QURʾĀN) and etymological derivation from the Syriac, *"ṣeloṭā,"* which in its basic meaning denotes the act of bowing (Nöldeke, *GQ*, i, 255; Jeffery, *For. vocab.,* 198-9; see FOREIGN VOCABULARY). In the Qurʾān, the noun *"ṣalāt"* occurs in the singular 78 times (65 times with the definite article, twice in a genitive construction, cf. Q 24:58, and 11 times with a pronoun affixed), while it occurs only 5 times in the plural. In addition, there are 16 occurrences of various forms of the verb *ṣallā* (second verbal form, with the meaning "to perform the *ṣalāt*"), which is derived from the noun,

ṣalāt. A small number of derivatives of the verb *ṣallā* imply forms of prayer observed by pre-Islamic Arabs and hence suggest an Arab usage of both the verb (Q 108:2; 107:4) and the noun (Q 8:35; 9:99) for manifestations of prayers antedating Muḥammad's proclamation of the Qurʾān. These usages and the set way in which the definite noun, *al-ṣalāt,* is employed in the Qurʾān, indicate that the Arabic form of the word was already understood in Muḥammad's environment, and did not originate in the Qurʾān (see ARABIC LANGUAGE; LANGUAGE AND STYLE OF THE QURʾĀN).

In some instances the verb is constructed together with *ʿalā* (as in the extra-qurʾānic eulogy, *taṣliya,* commonly used after the Prophet's name) with reference to "blessing" (q.v.) bestowed by God and his angels (Q 33:43, 56). In this sense, "blessing" is understood as God's very own prayer upon his creatures rather than the calling down of God's blessing (cf. Goitein, Prayer, 78; pace Padwick, *Muslim devotions,* 155-7). By an analogous turn of phrase, Muḥammad is told in the Qurʾān, to bless those who have confessed their sins, "pray upon them *(ṣalli ʿalayhim),* your prayers/blessings *(ṣalātaka)* are a comfort for them" (Q 9:103; cf. 2:157). He is, however, ordered, "do not pray over one of them *(lā tuṣalli ʿalā aḥadin minhum)* when he dies" (Q 9:84), with reference to the denial of the funeral prayer *(ṣalāt al-janāza)* for a deceased hypocrite (*munāfiq,* cf. Adang, Hypocrites, 468-72; see DEATH AND THE DEAD; BURIAL; HYPOCRITES AND HYPOCRISY). Finally, prayer received as a divine blessing may be meant in the case of the ancient Arab prophet Shuʿayb (q.v.; Q 11:87; cf. Paret, *Kommentar,* 241).

The Qurʾān makes a unique mention of *muṣallā,* "place of prayer" with reference to "Abraham's station," i.e. the central sanctuary of Mecca (Q 2:125; cf. Paret, *Kommentar,* 29; see PLACE OF ABRAHAM). This term *muṣallā* is applied in the Prophet's biography, however, to the large and open place of prayer in Medina (cf. Wensinck, Muṣallā, 659) where congregational prayers were performed on the two major Muslim festivals, the breaking of the fast *(ʿīd al-fiṭr;* see FASTING; RAMAḌĀN) and the feast of the sacrifice *(ʿīd al-aḍḥā)*. From the early centuries until today, the two public feast-day prayers *(ṣalāt al-ʿīdayn)* have been performed in the Muslim world in the forenoon, beginning after sunrise and ending before the sun reaches the zenith (see FESTIVALS AND COMMEMORATIVE DAYS). This practice, not cited in the Qurʾān, may nevertheless retain a trace of some of the oldest forms of the *ṣalāt* observed by Muḥammad and his early community (cf. Becker, Zur Geschichte, 374-5). The *muṣallā* is also cited in tradition, but not in the Qurʾān, as the place where, during a drought, Muḥammad would offer prayers for rain with his hands raised high to the sky *(ṣalāt al-istisqāʾ),* echoing Noah's promise of plentiful rain (Q 71:10-11) and Moses' plea for water (q.v.; Q 2:60). Further, there is no qurʾānic reference to the particular prayer, also observed in the forenoon, in the case of an eclipse *(kusūf/khusūf)* of the sun or moon, termed *ṣalāt al-kusūf* ("prayer of the eclipse"), though it too appears to reflect some of the older forms of the *ṣalāt*.

Rather than in the Qurʾān itself, the earliest forms of Muḥammad's practice of the *ṣalāt* may be detected in accounts preserved in the traditional, historical and exegetical literature (cf. Rubin, Morning, 41; see ḤADĪTH AND THE QURʾĀN; EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL; SĪRA AND THE QURʾĀN). If some of these fragmentary accounts can be trusted, Muḥammad used to go to the Kaʿba in the morning and, in daylight, performed the prayer of forenoon *(ṣalāt al-ḍuḥā)* some

time after sunrise (cf. Q 91:1: "By the sun and its morning brightness," *wa-l-shamsi wa-ḍuḥāhā*). The Meccans did not object to this practice because they themselves were used to praying near the Kaʿba after sunrise. In addition, it was the custom of the Bedouins (see BEDOUIN), coming to town early in the morning to sell their wares, to extol God *(takbīr)* and bow in prayer *(sujūd)* at the Kaʿba after completing their business in the markets (q.v.). As the sun sank toward the horizon, however, Muḥammad and his companions had to scatter secretly in the ravines on the outskirts of Mecca to pray the afternoon prayer *(ṣalāt al-ʿaṣr)* before sunset (cf. Q 103:1 for the use of *ʿaṣr* in an oath). They were prevented from praying at the Kaʿba possibly because in the time from late afternoon until before sunset the Meccans would perform their rites of circumambulation *(ṭawāf)* at the sanctuary (cf. Muranyi, Zwischen, 101). Another explanation suggests that Muḥammad's performance of the *ʿaṣr* prayer was perceived by the Meccans as an alien practice modeled on the Jewish *minḥāh* (Goldziher, Bedeutung, 294; Rubin, Morning, 54).

The evolution of a communal prayer

Rather than chart the genesis of the *ṣalāt* in relation to the possible chronological sequence of Muḥammad's qurʾānic proclamation — a sketch of which was offered in the article on CHRONOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN (Böwering, Chronology, 327-8) — the present article will assemble the characteristic elements of the two stages of development, i.e. those before and after the change of the *qibla*. In the first stage, which covers Muḥammad's prophetic career at Mecca as well as the earliest phase of his career in Medina until shortly after the battle of Badr (q.v.), the communal prayer practice of the nascent Muslim community evolves out of Muḥammad's personal prayer. At this stage the communal prayer practice is not yet organized as a full-fledged ritual, but nevertheless includes a number of characteristic liturgical features to which reference is made in scattered statements of the Qurʾān. The *ṣalāt* was performed in the standing position (*qiyām,* e.g. Q 2:238) and included acts of bowing (*rukūʿ,* e.g. Q 2:43) and prostration (*sujūd,* e.g. Q 4:102).

The physical postures of bowing and prostration are frequently mentioned in the Qurʾān (with *sujūd* and its cognates found much more frequently than those of *rukūʿ*). On occasion, they are used in tandem (Q 2:125; 3:43; 9:112; 22:26, 77; 48:29) as well as interchangeably (e.g. *rākiʿan,* Q 38:24, with the act of David's [q.v.] prostration in repentance identified as bowing; and *sujjadan,* Q 2:58 and 7:161, with bowing while entering a gate called a prostration). The faithful followers of Muḥammad are depicted in the Qurʾān as bearing a mark on their faces "from the effect of prostration" (*min athari l-sujūd,* Q 48:29). The precise ritual distinction between two gestures, namely (1) bowing as inclining the head and upper body with the palms of the hands placed at the level of the knees and (2) prostration as falling down on one's knees with the forehead touching the ground, found its specific technical definition only in post-qurʾānic times (cf. Tottoli, Traditions, 371-93). *Sujūd* was known among the peoples of the Middle East in pre-Islamic times as a gesture of respect at royal courts and as an act of adoration in Christian worship. Pre-Islamic poetry cites a few examples of prostration *(sujūd)* before a tribal chief in recognition of his superiority and as an expression of one's submission (cf. Tottoli, Muslim attitudes, 5-34).

The act of prostration hurt the pride (q.v.) of the Arabs (Q 25:60; 7:206; cf. 16:49; 32:15; 68:42-3) because it appeared to them as a humiliating gesture and an alien practice (cf. Kister, Some reports, 3-6).

Muḥammad, however, was uncompromising in commanding his early community to fall down before God in prayer, "O you who believe, bow down and prostrate yourselves *(arkaʿū wa-sjudū)* and worship your lord" (Q 22:77). In the Qurʾān, prostration was depicted as an act of adoration to be given only to God and not to any work of his creation (q.v.), such as the sun or the moon (Q 41:37). On account of this, the angels prostrating before Adam (cf. Schoeck, Adam, 22-6) upon the divine command and Iblīs' refusal to do so (Q 2:34; 7:11-2; 20:116; 17:61; 18:50; 38:71-6; 15:26-33; see ARROGANCE; DEVIL; ADAM AND EVE) created an exegetical dilemma for the commentators on the Qurʾān. It is difficult to establish the angelic adoration of God as a qurʾānic prototype for the human prostration in the *ṣalāt* because the Qurʾān does not make this linkage explicitly. The angels, however, are depicted in the Qurʾān as a heavenly host (Q 37:8; 38:69), "brought near to God" (*muqarrabūn,* Q 83:21, 28; 4:172; 56:11), who stand rank on rank around the divine throne (Q 39:75; 69:17; 89:22; see THRONE OF GOD; RANKS AND ORDERS), which some of them also carry (Q 69:17). They glorify and sanctify God (e.g. Q 2:32) and do not grow weary "glorifying *(yusabbiḥūna)* God night and day and never failing" (Q 21:20; cf. 42:5). It may be possible, however, to perceive in the postures of standing and bowing the physical analogue for the actual words of glorifying God, whether in case of the angelic adoration of God or in the human observance of extolling God's praise *(tasbīḥ, tamḥīd, takbīr)*.

In fact, this exclamatory praise (*subḥāna,* mentioned 41 times in the Qurʾān) is pronounced by the qurʾānic, "Glory be to God!" (*subḥāna llāhi,* Q 12:108; 21:22; 23:91; 27:8; 28:68; 30:17; 52:43; 59:23), or with other designations for God by, "Glory be to my/your/our lord!" (*subḥāna rabbī,* Q 17:93; *subḥāna rabbika,* Q 37:180; *subḥāna rabbinā,* Q 17:108) or with pronouns, eg. Q 2:32 *(subḥānaka)* and Q 2:116 *(subḥānahu)*. The qurʾānic glorification also introduces the verse (Q 17:1) interpreted in the commentary literature as referring to Muḥammad's night-journey and ascension (q.v.), which in the post-qurʾānic tradition serves as a backdrop for the divine institution of the *ṣalāt*. Employed together with, "High be he exalted!" (*taʿālā,* e.g. Q 10:18; 16:1; 30:40; 39:67), the exclamation, "Glory be to him!," stresses God's utter transcendence above creatures and complete dissociation with any partners, in particular when it is linked with the phrases, "above what they associate" (*ʿammā yushrikūna,* Q 52:43; 59:23; cf. Paret, *Kommentar,* 180) and "beyond what they describe" (*ʿammā yaṣifūna,* Q 6:100; 21:22; 23:91 37:159, 180; 43:82). On occasion, the qurʾānic glorification is paired with the laudatory exclamation *(tamḥīd),* "Praise belongs to God!" (*al-ḥamdu lillāhi,* mentioned 24 times in the Qurʾān, e.g. Q 1:2; cf. 15:98 and 39:75). The famous magnification of God *(takbīr)* by the exclamation, "God is great!" (*Allāhu akbar,* originally meaning greater than all demons), however, is not mentioned verbatim in the Qurʾān yet is signaled in Q 17:111 and 74:3. Another exclamation, "Blessed be God!" (*tabāraka llāhu,* Q 7:54; 23:14; 40:64), extols God as the creator and ruler (see KINGS AND RULERS) of the universe (Q 25:61; 43:85; 55:78; 67:1) as well as the benefactor of Muḥammad (Q 25:1, 10). Two qurʾānic glorifications (Q 36:36, 83) effectively illustrate the transition from Muḥammad's personal prayer to the communal prayer of the nascent community, as they express the summons addressed to Muḥammad, "Proclaim your lord's praise!" (*sabbiḥ bi-ḥamdi rabbika,* Q 15:98; 20:130; 40:55; 52:48; 50:39-40; cf. *sabbiḥhu,* Q 76:26), and then directed to his community, "O believers, remember God oft,

and give him glory!" (*sabbiḥūhu,* Q 33:41-2; see also LAUDATION; GLORIFICATION OF GOD; PRAISE; GLORY).

In addition to the angelic glorification of God, two other powerful qurʾānic scenarios are actualized in the *ṣalāt*. The postures of standing and bowing in prayer are linked quite explicitly in the Qurʾān with the fear of judgment (q.v.) in the world to come (see ESCHATOLOGY; REWARD AND PUNISHMENT) and the hope in God's mercy (q.v.) and forgiveness (q.v.; Q 39:9; 25:64-5; 3:16-7). As such, both postures give a bodily expression in prayer to the ultimate account each human being must give before God on judgment day (see LAST JUDGMENT), i.e. standing to receive the final verdict in the presence of the divine majesty and bowing down to seek the divine pardon. It is as if the essential body movements of prayer capture and telescope the ultimate moment of a person's encounter with God. Another scenario calls to mind the natural adoration divinely invested in the creation of the universe. In the Qurʾān, bowing and prostrating in prayer mirror the rhythm of nature built into the cosmos, for "to God bow *(yasjudu)* all who are in the heavens and the earth, willingly or unwillingly, as do their shadows in the mornings and the evenings" (Q 13:15; cf. 16:48-9). The most powerful verse expressing this cosmic prayer is Q 22:18, "Have you not seen how to God bow *(yasjudu)* all who are in the heavens and on the earth, the sun and the moon, the stars and the mountains, the trees (see AGRICULTURE AND VEGETATION) and the beasts?" It is also tempting to see in references to God's face a qurʾānic imagery related to prayer, as for example, in Q 2:115, "wherever you turn, there is the face of God" (q.v.; *wajhu llāh,* cf. Q 55:27; 76:9; 92:20). Although Q 13:22 links those performing the *ṣalāt* with those "seeking the face of their lord" (*ibtighāʾa wajhi rabbihim;* cf. Q 2:272; 30:38-9), a phrase possibly comparable with the *biqqesh pene yhwh* of the Hebrew Bible (cf. Baljon, To seek, 261-5), the expression is employed predominantly with almsgiving *(zakāt)* for God's sake and without expectation of recompense (see GOD AND HIS ATTRIBUTES, esp. 323-4).

The inclusion of Qurʾān recitation as an essential element in the communal prayer (Q 35:29) provides another example of a prayer practice of the Prophet (cf. Q 29:45) to which his followers eventually joined themselves (see RECITATION OF THE QURʾĀN). In the form of the morning prayer, it came to be called "the recital of dawn" (*qurʾān al-fajr,* Q 17:78), "witnessed" (*mashhūdan,* Q 17:78) by the angels (?) in the early morning. Hence the Prophet is cautioned to begin each Qurʾān recitation by protecting himself against the forces of evil (see GOOD AND EVIL), "When you recite the Qurʾān, seek refuge in God against the accursed Satan" (Q 16:98; cf. 113:1-5; 3:36). According to Islamic tradition the Prophet is said to have used this formula frequently when beginning the *ṣalāt* (cf. Goldziher, *Abhandlungen,* i, 7-9). In all likelihood, the opening chapter of the Qurʾān (Sūrat al-Fātiḥa, Q 1:1-7; see FĀTIḤA) was deliberately composed to serve as a fixed and mandatory recitation for the communal prayer (cf. Goitein, Prayer, 82-4). Q 84:20-1 confirms that the Qurʾān recitation was accompanied by acts of prostration, "What ails them who do not believe (see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF), and when the Qurʾān is recited to them they do not bow *(lā yasjudūn)?*" When the Qurʾān is recited, people "fall down on their faces in prostration" (*sujjadan,* Q 17:107), just as the patriarchs "fell down prostrating and weeping" (q.v.; *sujjadan wa-bukiyyan,* Q 19:58) when the signs (q.v.) of the all-merciful (see GOD AND HIS ATTRIBUTES) were recited to them. Muḥammad is commanded, "do not raise your voice in your prayer *(lā tajhar*

bi-ṣalātika), nor be hushed therein, but seek for a way between that" (Q 17:110), while his followers are told, "when the Qurʾān is recited, give ear and be silent" (Q 7:204). An explicit command for the mandatory communal performance of the prayer is stated by the direct summons to Muḥammad, "command your people to observe the *ṣalāt*" (Q 20:132) and "content yourself with those who invoke their lord" (Q 18:28). A group of his followers also join Muḥammad in prayer at night: "your lord knows that you keep vigil nearly two-thirds of the night or a half of it, or a third of it, and a party of those with you" (*ṭāʾifatun min alladhīna maʿaka,* Q 73:20; see VIGILS).

Such nocturnal prayers were a most distinctive mark of the early communal prayer at Mecca. These night vigils formed an essential part of Muḥammad's prayer practice and were adopted by his followers. When he labored to convey or chant a qurʾānic passage (Q 73:1-8), Muḥammad is commanded directly, "Keep vigil in the night!" (*qumi l-layla,* Q 73:2). The observance of prayer at night *(tahajjud),* cited only once in the Qurʾān by this term, is set in the context of the *ṣalāt* (Q 17:78), and explicitly enjoined on Muḥammad: "and as for the night, keep vigil a part of it" (*wa-mina l-layli fa-tahajjad bihi,* Q 17:79), and "bow down before him and glorify him through the long night" (Q 76:26). Reciting the Qurʾān during the night vigil is called "an extra" (*nāfilatan,* Q 17:79) of Muḥammad's prayer practice, a vocabulary later used in Islamic law to define supererogatory prayers (*ṣalāt al-nawāfil;* see LAW AND THE QURʾĀN). Muḥammad is commanded to "proclaim the praise of your lord… in the night and at the setting of the stars" (Q 52:48-9), to pray "nigh of the night" (*zulafan mina l-layl,* Q 11:114), to "proclaim your lord's praise in the watches of the night *(min ānāʾi l-layl),* and at the ends of the day" (*aṭrāfa l-nahār,* Q 20:130), and to "perform the prayer at the sinking of the sun to the darkening of the night" (*li-dulūki l-shamsi ilā ghasaqi l-layl,* Q 17:78). This nocturnal practice is observed by his godfearing followers (see FEAR; PIETY), "who pass the night *(yabītūna li-rabbihim)* prostrate to their lord and standing" (Q 25:64). Similarly, the dwellers of paradise (q.v.), while previously living on earth, kept night vigils: "little of the night would they slumber and into the last hours of the night *(wa-bi-l-asḥār)* would they seek forgiveness" (Q 51:17-8). Traditional accounts, included in the qurʾānic commentary literature, add that the zeal in observing these vigils caused Muḥammad's followers to suffer from swollen feet (cf. Wensinck, Tahadjdjud, 97).

It is possible that the practice of night vigils was adopted from Christian ascetic precedent (cf. Bell, *Origin,* 143; see ASCETICISM) because Q 3:113 states, "some of the People of the Book (q.v.) are a nation upstanding, that recite God's signs in the watches of the night *(ānāʾi l-layl),* bowing themselves." This practice appears to be meant also by Q 24:36-8, probably referring to Christian hermits, as "men whom neither commerce nor trafficking diverts from the remembrance of God" (Q 24:37). Night vigils may also have been intended by the "worship" *(qunūt)* adopted by Muḥammad's followers, "who worship in the watches of the night" *(a-man huwa qānitun ānāʾa l-layl),* bowing and standing (Q 39:9; cf. 20:130; 2:238). It has to be noted, however, that the language of *qunūt* is rooted in pre-Islamic imprecations (cf. Goldziher, Zauberelemente, 323) and interpreted by the traditional commentary literature in a great variety of ways (cf. Bashear, Qunūt, 36-65; see also OBEDIENCE). In the Qurʾān, the language of *qunūt* also expresses the cosmic scenario of prayer: "To him (God) belongs whosoever is in the heavens and the earth; all worship

him" (*kullun lahu qānitūna,* Q 30:26; cf. 2:116; see COSMOLOGY). Furthermore, it is in line with the practice of two biblical characters cited in the Qurʾān, namely Mary (q.v.), "O Mary, worship your lord *(uqnutī li-rabbiki),* and prostrate and bow with those who bow" (Q 3:43), and Abraham (q.v.), "Abraham was a nation worshipping God" (*ummatan qānitan,* Q 16:120). The extra-qurʾānic *sūrat al-qunūt* in ʿUbayy's codex (cf. Nöldeke, *GQ,* ii, 35), however, lacks an explicit reference to both nocturnal prayer and *qunūt,* yet is replete with the vocabulary of prayer.

In the early phases of Muḥammad's prophetic career, the times of prayer are indicated by a rich variety of terms which stand in contrast to the standardized vocabulary for the five daily times of prayer *(mīqāt)* developed in post-qurʾānic Islamic law. In addition to the variable vocabulary for the prayer at night, the prayer times during the day reflect the general plethora of temporal vocabulary employed in the Qurʾān (see TIME). The Qurʾān states explicitly that the communal prayer was performed "at the two ends of the day" (*ṭarafayi l-nahār,* Q 11:114) or "at the ends of the day" (*aṭrāfa l-nahār,* Q 20:130), vaguely meaning morning and evening. But the Qurʾān does not explicitly specify whether these ends actually mean sunrise and sunset or dawn and dusk or possibly the morning just after sunrise and the evening just before sunset. The implication of "the ends of the day" seems to be before sunrise and after sunset, but Q 50:39 clearly says "before sunset" *(qabla l-ghurūb).* In addition, the two times, "in the morning and evening" (Q 6:52; 18:28; 7:205) are expressed by a varying vocabulary for "morning," *ghuduww* (Q 7:205), *ghadāt* (Q 6:52), *bukra* (Q 19:11), *ibkār* (Q 40:55), and for "evening," *ʿashiyy* (Q 40:55), *aṣīl* (Q 76:25), pl. *aṣāl* (Q 7:205). Q 20:130 explains these two "ends" as "before the rising of the sun and before its setting" (Q 20:130), which would mean at dawn and in the evening before sunset. These varying expressions clearly reflect a slowly evolving understanding of the two preferred prayer times at "the two ends of the day." There is no qurʾānic evidence to indicate whether "the two ends of the day" can be synchronized with the above-mentioned traditional accounts about Muḥammad's observance of the *ṣalāt al-ḍuḥā* and the *ṣalāt al-ʿaṣr.* Similarly, the question remains conjectural whether the insistent condemnation by Islamic tradition and law of a *ṣalāt* performed at the precise moments of sunset, sunrise or when the sun stands in the zenith as an ancient Arab cult of sun-worship actually preserves a trace of such an early prayer practice concealed in "the two ends of the day" (cf. Wensinck, Animismus, 232-5).

Much of his inspiration for the performance of prayer Muḥammad drew from the prophets of old, the qurʾānic models of prayer who, from Adam through Noah, Abraham and Israel (q.v.), "fell down prostrate [in prayer], weeping" (Q 19:58). They bade their people to pray, as did e.g. Ishmael (q.v.; Ismāʿīl, Q 19:55), Isaac (q.v.) and Jacob (q.v.; Q 21:73), or called out in the darkness (q.v.) invoking God, as did Jonah (q.v.; Q 21:87). Abraham offers a heart-wrenching prayer to his lord for a pure heart (q.v.), imploring his creator as the one who provides for him (see SUSTENANCE; GRACE), guides and heals him (see ERROR; ASTRAY; ILLNESS AND HEALTH), will make him to die, give him life, forgive his sin and offer him paradise (Q 26:83-9). Beseeching God, he asks that the privilege of performing the prayer be granted to him and his progeny (Q 14:40, cf. 14:37). Moses appeals to his lord to open his breast, unloose the knot upon his tongue and grant him Aaron (q.v.) as a helper to glorify God and remember him

abundantly (Q 20:25-34), while God addresses him directly in solemn terms, "Verily I am God; there is no god but I; therefore serve me and perform the prayer of my remembrance" (*wa-aqimi l-ṣalāta li-dhikrī,* Q 20:14). Both Moses and his brother Aaron are bidden: "Take you, for your people, in Egypt (q.v.) certain houses; and make your houses a direction *(qiblatan)* for men to pray to; and perform the *ṣalāt;* and give good tidings to the believers" (Q 10:87; see GOOD NEWS). The feeble and gray-haired Zechariah (q.v.) begs his lord secretly to grant him a son (Q 19:3-6; 3:38-9), and Jesus (q.v.), God's servant (see SERVANTS) as yet in the cradle and made blessed by God, is enjoined to pray as long as he lives (Q 19:30-1).

The institution of the ritual prayer

In the few years before and after the emigration (q.v.; *hijra*) of Muḥammad and his followers to Medina, the ritual prayer *(ṣalāt)* developed into a central religious discipline of the Prophet's growing community and shows clear signs of becoming a consolidated ritual institution. This understanding may be derived from the direct statement that the *ṣalāt* is enjoined as "a timed prescription" (*kitāban mawqūtan,* Q 4:103), regulated in its performance and standardized in its choice of terms through the set phrases of *ṣalāt al-fajr* and *ṣalāt al-ʿishāʾ* for the morning and evening prayers respectively (Q 24:58), performed "at morn and eventide" (Q 7:204-6). A new time of "the middle prayer" (*al-ṣalāt al-wusṭā,* Q 2:238) is now added in Medina, a time also implied by the "midday heat" (*ẓahīra;* see NOON; HOT AND COLD), though not the midday prayer, in Q 24:58. That this prayer was actually performed at midday may be inferred from Q 30:17-8, which summons Muḥammad's community to give glory to God "when you come to evening and when you come to morning *(ḥīna tumsūna wa-ḥīna tuṣbiḥūna)*… and when you come to noon *(wa-ḥīna tuẓhirūna).*" On the other hand, the middle prayer may have been introduced in emulation of the *minḥāh,* observed by the Jews of Medina in the afternoon as one of their three prayer times (*shaḥarīth,* morning; *minḥāh,* afternoon; and *ʿarbīth,* evening, cf. Mittwoch, Zur Entstehungsgeschichte, 11-2). In general, Western scholarship (see POST-ENLIGHTENMENT ACADEMIC STUDY OF THE QURʾĀN) tends to interpret "the middle prayer" as referring to the noon prayer (*ṣalāt al-ẓuhr,* cf. Houtsma, Iets, 127-34; Paret, *Grenzen,* 31-5; pace Goitein, Prayer, 84-5, the plural *al-ṣalawāt* rather than the dual in Q 2:238 notwithstanding). Qurʾānic commentary, on the other hand, prefers to interpret "the middle prayer" as that of the afternoon *(ṣalāt al-ʿaṣr),* as it occupies the middle position in the eventual five prayer times, that were codified as a religious duty by Islamic law. In any event, the addition of the middle prayer appears to have been accompanied by a decrease in the nocturnal prayer, because a variety of reasons are now given as dispensations from the lengthy night vigils (Q 73:20).

Regularization of the prayer ritual is also presupposed by dispensations for altered ways of performing the prayer, known traditionally as "the prayer of fear" *(ṣalāt al-khawf),* when those facing hostilities from foes alternate bowing in prayer with those standing guard with weapons in hand (Q 4:102; see ENEMIES; FIGHTING; WAR; EXPEDITIONS AND BATTLES). Another feature of the regularization of prayer is the insistence on its punctual performance by "those who carefully observe their prayer" (*ʿalā ṣalātihim yuḥāfiẓūna,* Q 6:92; 70:34; 23:9; cf. 70:22-3) and the reprimand for those who are heedless in performing the *ṣalāt* (cf. Q 107:4-5). Furthermore, the Qurʾān now explicitly makes the *ṣalāt* mandatory also for women, commanding them,

"Perform the prayer!" (*aqimna l-ṣalāta,* Q 33:33), and addressing them, "Remember that which is recited in your houses!" (Q 33:34), and putting them on an equal footing with men in observing this obligation (cf. Q 33:35; see WOMEN AND THE QURʾĀN; GENDER; PATRIARCHY).

Early in the Medinan phase of the qurʾānic proclamation, the giving of the greeting of peace (q.v.; *taslīm*), cited in the second verbal form, "and give the salutation of peace" (*wa-sallimū taslīman,* Q 33:56; cf. 24:27, 61) became the liturgical salutation closing the *ṣalāt*. Already in the Meccan phase, "*salām*" (meaning "safety, salvation, peace, salutation") is mentioned frequently and employed in the greeting, "Peace be upon you!" (*salāmun ʿalaykum,* Q 13:24; 16:32; 39:73), given by the angels to the blessed of paradise (see GARDEN). Abraham exchanges "Peace!" (*salām,* Q 11:69; 51:25) with his guests and, threatened by his father (see ĀZAR), takes leave from him with, "Peace be upon you!" (*salāmun ʿalayka,* Q 19:47) while Moses dismisses Pharaoh (q.v.), "Peace be upon him who follows the right guidance!" (*wa-l-salāmu ʿalā mani ttabaʿa l-hudā,* Q 20:47). Now in Medina, however, Muḥammad follows the precedent of the Jewish *tefillā* (cf. Mittwoch, Zur Entstehungsgeschichte, 18) and includes the utterance of the salutation of peace as an essential feature of the prayer ritual. In addition, the observance of the *ṣalāt* is now frequently connected in consistent language with the giving of the *zakāt* ("alms-due"), a set phrase that occurs about two dozen times in the Medinan sūras (cf. Nanji, Almsgiving, 64-70). The qurʾānic command, addressed to Muḥammad's community, "perform the prayer and give the alms-due" (*wa-aqīmū l-ṣalāta wa-ātū l-zakāt,* Q 4:77, mentioned about two dozen times), clearly demonstrates by its in-tandem use the existence of two consolidated communal institutions, linked together and firmly established, the ritual prayer and the communal tax (see TAXATION).

The regularization of ritual prayer can also be inferred from the preparatory rites which were added during Muḥammad's qurʾānic proclamation at Medina. During this Medinan phase, the Qurʾān records specific instructions about ritual purification through ablutions to be observed in preparation of each ritual prayer (Q 4:43; 5:6) as well as dispensations for travelers (see JOURNEY) who may shorten the *ṣalāt* (Q 4:101) and use sand as a sign of purification in the absence of water (*tayammum,* Q 4:43; 5:6). There is no specific instruction to keep the head covered during prayer, most likely because this was commonly done and implicitly understood. The qurʾānic injunctions to wash the face (q.v.), the hands (q.v.) up to the elbows, the head and the feet (q.v.) up to the ankles, were based on the perception of ritual impurity (see also CONTAMINATION) resulting from sexual defilement (*junuban,* Q 4:43; 5:6; see SEX AND SEXUALITY) or intoxication (*sukārā,* Q 4:43; see INTOXICANTS; WINE). They laid the ground for the detailed rituals of *wuḍūʾ* (minor ablution) and *ghusl* (major ablution) developed in the post-qurʾānic legal literature of Islam (cf. Burton, Qurʾān, 21-58). Behind these stipulations lies the perception that water has the power to drive off demons (cf. Goldziher, Wasser als Dämonen, 27) as well as the solemn qurʾānic assertion that the Qurʾān is a sublime book only to be touched by "the purified" (*al-muṭahharūn,* Q 56:76-9; cf. Jeffery, *Qurʾān,* 13-7).

Another preparatory element of the *ṣalāt* is the public summons to prayer (Q 5:58), instituted by Muḥammad in Medina and expressed in the Qurʾān by derivatives of the verb *nādā* (third verbal form), "to call," foreshadowing the appearance of the word for the distinct muezzin's call *(adhān)* that

came to be the widely-used term for the Muslim call to prayer (actually consisting of two calls, *adhān* from the minaret and *iqāma* in the mosque; see MOSQUE). According to Islamic tradition, the Prophet ordered that the believers be convoked by Bilāl, the first muezzin, and that the summons to prayer be called out rather than sounded by horns, announced by wooden clappers or signaled by lighting a fire. In Medina, the summons to prayer served in particular as an invitation to the prayer on "the day of assembly" (*yawm al-jumuʿati,* Q 62:9) on Friday (see FRIDAY PRAYER), the pre-Islamic market-day, mentioned only once in the Qurʾān (cf. Goitein, Muslim, 111-25; Brockelmann, Iqāmat aṣ-ṣalāt, 314-20). This public prayer is observed on Friday at midday in mosques throughout the Muslim world, although the Friday is not treated as a day of rest like the Sabbath (q.v.). In Muslim thought, God is always active conducting the affairs of the universe and never sits still, not even resting from his work of creation on the seventh day (Q 50:38; cf. Nagel, *Koran,* 172-84). The congregational prayer is preceded by a sermon *(khuṭba),* given in two parts, generally from a pulpit *(minbar/mimbar),* with the preacher standing upright and leaning on a staff or a lance (cf. Becker, Kanzel, 331; Goldziher, Chatib). The absence of any reference to *khuṭba* (and *minbar*) in the Qurʾān, however, does not preclude the possibility that it actually formed an essential part of the congregational prayer in Muḥammad's time, as did the sermon that followed the *ṣalāt* on the morning of the two big feast-days, as well as the special *ṣalāt* in the cases of a drought or an eclipse.

The most crucial institutional development of the *ṣalāt* at Medina, however, was the change of the prayer direction *(qibla)* toward the Kaʿba, the central sanctuary of Mecca, that can be traced to the year 2/624 after the *hijra.* This is the year the battle of Badr took place (Q 3:123), after which Muḥammad began to dissociate himself from the local Jewish tribes. The explicit qurʾānic directive (Q 2:142-50) must be understood against the background of Semitic prayer practices and their specific and particular orientations: the Jews offered their prayers in the direction of Jerusalem (q.v.), the Syriac Christians prayed eastward (see CHRISTIANS AND CHRISTIANITY) and the Essenes turned toward the rising sun. On account of extra-qurʾānic evidence, it is certain that, immediately after the *hijra,* Muḥammad prayed toward Jerusalem in accordance with Jewish custom, but then changed radically. This fact agrees with Q 2:142-3 which records his opponents' rebuke for his having turned in prayer in the opposite direction (Q 2:142; see OPPOSITION TO MUḤAMMAD). The radical change of the *qibla* required Muḥammad's followers in Medina to turn a half-circle and reorient their prayer toward the sanctuary of Mecca, "the holy mosque" (*al-masjid al-ḥarām,* Q 2:144, cf. 2:149, 150), generally identified with the Kaʿba (cf. Hawting, Kaʿba, 75-80). The significance for the institutional reorientation of Islam of changing the *qibla* cannot be underestimated: it visibly symbolizes the shift from a religion confirming the scriptures of the "People of the Book" (i.e. Jews and Christians) to an autonomous and newly directed religion, reconfirming the natural monotheistic religion of Abraham centered on the Kaʿba of Mecca, now both the new and the original focus of Islam.

In Medina, Muḥammad faced the task of uniting Meccan Emigrants *(muhājirūn)* and Medinan Helpers (*anṣār;* see EMIGRANTS AND HELPERS) into one community *(umma),* observing a common prayer ritual and facing in unison in the same direction of

prayer. In the context of his fall-out with the Jews of Medina and his reorientation toward Mecca as the center of the old Arab religion of Abraham, the Meccan sanctuary (the foundations of which were laid by Abraham and Ishmael according to Q 2:127; cf. Firestone, Abraham, 6-11) supplants Jerusalem as the direction of prayer. The fact of this reorientation, however, does not solve the question of what the prayer direction might have been during the Meccan period of the qurʾānic proclamation before the *hijra* (for this complex question, cf. Wensinck, Ḳibla, 82-3). It may have been to the east in imitation of Christian prayer practice or to the Kaʿba itself as noted in the traditional account that Muḥammad did not dare turn his back to the sanctuary in his prayer. More likely, as also noted in the Islamic commentary literature, Jerusalem may have been Muḥammad's prayer direction in Mecca, a direction in agreement with the architectural orientation of the semicircular wall *(ḥaṭīm),* enclosing the space of Ismāʿīl's tomb (lit. "womb," *ḥijr*), which at one time formed an integral part of the Kaʿba (see ARCHAEOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN; ART AND ARCHITECTURE AND THE QURʾĀN). The institutional reorientation of the direction of prayer in Medina roughly coincides with the time when Muḥammad instituted the fast of the month of Ramaḍān (Q 2:183-5) that replaced the previously adopted Jewish custom of the ʿAshūrāʾ fast observed on the Day of Atonement (cf. Wagtendonk, Fasting, 180-5). It also occurs in the time frame of the battle of Badr, after which the Jewish tribe of the Banū Qaynuqāʿ (q.v.) was expelled from Medina. From this time on, the prayer direction toward the Kaʿba in Mecca has remained a cornerstone of the Muslim ritual performance of the *ṣalāt* and is architecturally indicated in every mosque by the "niche" *(miḥrāb)*. The latter term, however, does not appear in the Qurʾān in this architectural sense (cf. Q 3:37, 39; 19:11; 38:21; pl. *maḥārīb,* Q 34:13).

According to qurʾānic evidence, there is no certainty that Muḥammad and his community observed the duty of the *ṣalāt* five times a day as Muslims do today and have done over the centuries. Neither the number of the five daily prayers nor their exact times of performance had been fixed by the end of the qurʾānic proclamation. In all likelihood, while in Mecca, Muḥammad and his nascent community kept night vigils and performed prayers in the morning and evening. In Medina, a middle prayer was added, while the nocturnal prayers diminished. After a period of uncertainty in the decades after Muḥammad's death, the living tradition and then the literature of Islamic law codified a firm duty of the *ṣalāt* at five specific times of the day. These designated times, known by the technical term *mīqāt* ("appointed time," cf. Wensinck, Mīḳāt, 26-7), came to be specified as the prayer at daybreak *(ṣalāt al-fajr),* at noon when the sun has left the zenith *(ṣalāt al-zuhr),* in the afternoon when the shadows equal their objects *(ṣalāt al-ʿaṣr),* at dusk after sunset *(ṣalāt al-maghrib),* and at nightfall when the twilight has disappeared *(ṣalāt al-ʿishāʾ)*. The *ṣalāt al-witr,* not mentioned in the Qurʾān but frequently attested in Islamic tradition, presupposes the fixation of the five daily *ṣalāt*s and came to be observed as a voluntary prayer between the night prayer and that of daybreak (cf. Monnot, Ṣalāt, 930). The term *mīqāt,* taken from the Qurʾān, appears to indicate that the *ṣalāt* continued to be understood as an encounter with God, prefigured by Moses meeting and conversing with God at "an appointed time" (Q 7:142-3, 155; cf. Speyer, *Erzählungen,* 299-301; 310-11; 335-6; cf. 26:38, meeting with the sorcerers) and

foreshadowing "the appointed time" of the ultimate encounter of each individual with God on judgment day (Q 56:50; 78:17; 44:40). Only once is the term used in the plural, *mawāqīt,* and that for the observation of the new moon (Q 2:189).

The answer to the establishment of five daily observances of the *ṣalāt,* which cannot be found in the Qurʾān, is given in Muslim tradition by two legendary scenarios depicting its divine institution: (1) during the Prophet's ascension to heaven *(al-miʿrāj),* God himself charged Muḥammad to impose five daily prayers on his community, or (2) the angel Gabriel, mentioned in the Qurʾān as the angel of revelation (Q 2:97), came down from heaven five times in one day and, by example, taught Muḥammad the performance of the five daily prayers. The recourse to such legends in Islamic tradition points to both the absence of clear stipulations with regard to the five daily prayers in the Qurʾān and the necessity of establishing an authoritative basis for the divine institution of the mandatory five daily prayers. Western scholarship, on the other hand, has suggested three principal explanations for the fixation of five daily prayers: (1) the five daily prayers are the result of duplications of the evening prayer (into *ṣalāt al-maghrib* and *ṣalāt al-ʿishāʾ*) and the midday prayer (into *ṣalāt al-ẓuhr* and *ṣalāt al-ʿaṣr,* cf. Houtsma, Iets, 127-34). This explanation is particularly reinforced by an Islamic tradition on the authority of ʿAbdallāh b. al-ʿAbbās (d. 68/687-8), arguing in the opposite direction, namely that the Prophet himself combined several *ṣalāt*s in Medina so as not to overburden his community (cf. Wensinck, Ṣalāt, 98); (2) the five daily *ṣalāt*s were patterned on the binding duty of five daily prayers observed in Zoroastrianism (Goldziher, Islamisme, 246; cf. Boyce, *Zoroastrians,* 32-3); (3) the five daily prayers were most likely chosen as a just median between the three services of the Jewish synagogue and the seven "hours" observed by Christian monks (cf. Goitein, Prayer, 84-6). For the post-qurʾānic developments, cf. Wensinck, Ṣalāt, 98; Monnot, Ṣalāt, 926-30.

The language of prayer in the Qurʾān

As stated above, it may be possible to trace two stages of development in the genesis of the *ṣalāt:* (1) from the Meccan phase of the qurʾānic proclamation until the change of the *qibla* in Medina, Muḥammad's personal prayer inspires an evolving communal prayer, which included group prayers in the morning and evening as well as during night vigils; and (2) with the change of the *qibla* in Medina, this communal prayer practice is transformed into a firmly instituted ritual, including three prayer times, morning, evening and a median prayer, as well as stipulations for preparatory and alternate rites. It is much more difficult, however, to coordinate the diverse Arabic terminology for various manifestations of prayer in the Qurʾān. Little research has been done on the semantic fields of *duʿāʾ, dhikr* and *ṣalāt* and their possible interrelatedness in the Qurʾān. It is obvious, however, that the derivatives of the roots for both *duʿāʾ* and *dhikr* are employed more than twice as frequently in the Qurʾān as those for *ṣalāt*. Among these three semantic fields, the vocabulary of *duʿāʾ* appears to represent the earliest layer of prayer language in Arabic as illustrated by the invocation of pre-Islamic deities (which has left more than a dozen traces in the Qurʾān, e.g. Q 4:117; 6:108; 7:194, 197; 10:66, 106; 13:14; 16:20; 19:48; 22:12, 62; 29:43; 31:30; 35:13; 39:38; 40:20, 66; 43:86; 46:5; see IDOLS AND IMAGES; RHETORIC AND THE QURʾĀN) as well as by the frequent occurrence of oaths in the Qurʾān that belong to the stock of Muḥammad's invocation of God (cf. Hawting, Oaths, 561-6).

In its pre-Islamic usage *duʿāʾ* could be employed both negatively and positively. A person could call upon an Arab deity with an invocation that could be directed either for or against someone, and hence could be turned into supplication for a blessing or imprecation for a curse. This double-edged signification is conveyed in the Qurʾān as in Q 17:11, "humanity prays for evil as he prays for good" *(yadʿu l-insānu bi l-sharri duʿāʾahu bi-l-khayr)*. The Qurʾān warns that the invocation of unbelievers, directed to their false gods, goes astray and receives no answer (Q 13:14; 35:13-4), contrary to the invocation of the true God, "who alone is truly called upon" (*lahu daʿwatu l-ḥaqq,* Q 13:14) and says, "I am near to answer the call of the caller, when he calls me" (*ujību daʿwata l-dāʿi idhā daʿānī,* Q 2:186). In the Qurʾān, the *duʿāʾ* becomes the invocation of the one true God to whom one directs both an appeal for divine succor in times of misfortune and a supplication for good fortune (Q 41:49-51). The classical example of this two-sided plea for divine assistance can be found in the first sūra of the Qurʾān (al-Fātiḥa, Q 1:1-7), which begins with the invocation of God's name and ends with the double-edged plea for guidance on the path of divine favor and protection against divine wrath (see PATH OR WAY; ANGER). God is the true hearer of prayer, literally, "the hearer of the invocation" (*samīʿu l-duʿāʾ,* Q 3:38; 14:39; see SEEING AND HEARING) and answers the pleas of the prophets, as in the cases of Abraham, who is granted progeny in his old age (Q 14:39-40; 19:48), and Zechariah, whose secret supplication for a son is answered (Q 19:3-6; 3:38-9).

The phrase for the hearer of prayer, which appears only in the context of these two qurʾānic passages, combines the language of *duʿāʾ* and *ṣalāt* (cf. Q 14:39-40 and 3:38-9): Abraham asks his lord, "make me a performer of the prayer" *(muqīma l-ṣalāt)* and "accept my plea" (*wa-taqabbal duʿāʾī,* Q 14:40), and Zechariah "invoked *(daʿā)* his lord" while he was "standing in prayer" (*qāʾimun yuṣallī,* Q 3:38-9). The intersection of these two semantic fields of prayer in prophetic narratives (q.v.) of the Qurʾān may illustrate the assimilation of *duʿāʾ,* an early Arab way of prayer, with that of *ṣalāt,* the prayer practice adopted by Muḥammad from a tradition rooted in the Aramaic background, despite the fact that *duʿāʾ* and its derivatives are rarely found in sūras (q.v.) judged as belonging to the first Meccan period.

A fusion of *duʿāʾ* and *ṣalāt* with the semantic field of *dhikr* could be reflected in the qurʾānic injunctions to pronounce the prayer in a moderate voice. With regard to *ṣalāt,* Muḥammad is commanded, "do not raise your voice in your prayer *(lā tajhar bi-ṣalātika),* nor be hushed therein, but seek you for a way between that" (Q 17:110). With regard to *duʿāʾ,* his followers are told, "invoke your lord *(udʿū rabbakum),* humbly and secretly" (*khufyatan,* Q 7:55). With regard to *dhikr,* Muḥammad is commanded, "remember your lord *(wa-dhkur rabbaka)* in your soul, humbly and fearfully, without raising the voice" (*dūna l-jahr,* Q 7:205). Another indicator for the blending of these three semantic fields for prayer in the Qurʾān may be detected in the linkage of the roots of *duʿāʾ* and *dhikr* with specific prayer times in the Qurʾān, not unlike in the case of *ṣalāt*. For example, with regard to *duʿāʾ,* Q 6:52 refers to "those who invoke their lord at morning and evening," while with regard to *dhikr,* Q 7:205 records the divine command to Muḥammad to remember God "at morn and eventide." Finally, the close relationship of *ṣalāt* to *dhikr* can be observed in Q 87:15 referring to the prosperous believer as one who "mentions the name of his lord and prays *(dhakara sma rabbihi fa-ṣallā)*"; in Q 20:14 when Moses is asked to "perform the

prayer of my remembrance" *(wa-aqimi l-ṣalāta li-dhikrī);* in Q 5:91 which cautions against Satan desiring "to bar you from the remembrance of God *(dhikr Allāh)* and from the prayer *(al-ṣalāt)*"; and in Q 4:142 including the rebuke for standing lazily in the prayer *(al-ṣalāt)* while "not remembering God *(wa-lā yadhkurūna llāh)* save a little." The license given to those deluged by rain (see WEATHER) or suffering from sickness or prevented from observing the precise hours of prayer in times of war, however, appears to separate the *ṣalāt* from the *dhikr:* "when you have concluded the prayer *(al-ṣalāt),* then remember God *(fa-dhkurū llāh),* standing and sitting and on your sides" (Q 4:103).

In the Qurʾān, the term *dhikr* denotes primarily the act of "recalling God to mind," "reminding oneself of God," "mentioning God's name" or "remembering God" which imply both a vocal mention and a mental memory of the presence of God through recital by the tongue and commemoration in the heart (Q 13:28; 39:23; 57:16, cf. McAuliffe, Heart, 406-9). The recited word of the Qurʾān is linked directly with *dhikr* when the Qurʾān refers to itself as "remembrance, reminder" (*dhikr,* Q 7:63; cf. 3:58; 21: 50; 43:44; 68:52; *dhikrā,* e.g. Q 6:90; *tadhkira,* e.g. Q 20:3; 69:48; 74:49; see NAMES OF THE QURʾĀN), an identification most expressly encapsulated in the oath, "By the Qurʾān, containing the reminder" (*dhī l-dhikr,* Q 38:1). Furthermore, other revealed scriptures also are called *dhikr,* as shown by those possessing them being designated "People of the Remembrance" (*ahl al-dhikr,* Q 16:43; 21:7), in parallel to the standard phrase, *ahl al-kitāb* ("People of the Book"). Underlying the term *dhikr* in the Qurʾān, privileged by the divine promise of reciprocity, "remember me and I will remember you" (Q 2:152), there is the explicit exercise of mentioning or recalling God's name in prayer, vocally or mentally. This can be inferred from many qurʾānic passages, such as "and mention/remember the name of your lord" (Q 73:8; 76:25; cf. 2:114; 22:40; 24:36), "mention/remember your lord when you forget" (Q 18:24), "men and women who mention/remember God oft" (Q 33:35), "the hearts of those who believe are at rest in God's remembrance" (Q 13:28), "O believers, mention/remember God incessantly" (Q 33:41) or "let neither your possessions (see POSSESSION; WEALTH) nor your children (q.v.) divert you from God's remembrance" (Q 63:9).

In conclusion, it may be said that, in comparison to the sacred books of humanity, "there is perhaps no Scripture that is so totally a Book of Prayer as is the Qurʾān" (Roest Crollius, Prayer, 223). The Qurʾān is permeated by a powerful inner dynamic that makes this scripture in its entirety a book of prayer, not only because it contains various prescriptions and descriptions of prayer and includes a great number of prayers, hymns and invocations, but more importantly because it reflects a religious experience of prayer rooted in the heart of the Prophet and reiterated by the tongues of his followers throughout the ages as God's very own speech (q.v.) in matchless Arabic (see WORD OF GOD; INIMITABILITY). Only by listening again and again to the Qurʾān as a recited text, "honey begins to flow from the rock" (ibid., 223). In the experience of the Muslim, God speaks to human beings through the Qurʾān and human beings, reciting the Qurʾān, address themselves to God. Each in its own modality, *dhikr, duʿāʾ* and *ṣalāt,* return the word to God in the thought of recollection, the word of invocation and the action of ritual worship.

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Prayer Formulas

Invocations for every circumstance of life, both personal and social. There are numerous expressions of prayer in Islam, prayer being fundamentally one with the faith and the practice of Muslims (cf. Q 17:79-80, among numerous other verses). The life of the believer is immersed in a multitude of invocations, which operate as expressions of sincere faith as well as simple stereotyped formulaic phrases. The life of an observant Muslim can be compared to an extended liturgy, as expressed by the

title of Ibn al-Sunnī's (d. 364/974) *ʿAmal al-yawm wa-l-layla,* "The work [or the liturgy?] of the day and the night," not only because of the five canonical prayers (see PRAYER), but because of the numerous invocations to God for every occasion. Even the ordinary sounds of daily life, such as the braying of a donkey, can prompt a prayer ("I take refuge in God from Satan the outcast," Ibn al-Sunnī, *ʿAmal,* 153). Other examples of the way in which the use of prayer formulas suffuses daily life are the invocation of the name of God (see BASMALA) before conjugal union, as well as in matters of personal hygiene (Ibn al-Sunnī, *ʿAmal,* 13).

A distinction can be made between "traditional," "common" or "canonical" expressions of praise and petition (including the codified, or ritual, formulas), and those which are left to the individual's own initiative. It should be noted that the former category encompasses all those formulas to be found in the Qurʾān, as well as those reported to have come from Muḥammad (or his Companions, etc.; see COMPANIONS OF THE PROPHET). To this category belong prayers (sing. *duʿa*) found in both the sunna (q.v.) and ḥadīth, i.e. the "Book of good manners" in Ibn Abī Shayba's (d. 235/849) *Muṣannaf* or the "Book of work of day and night" in al-Nasāʾī's (d. 303/915) *al-Sunan al-kubrā* (see ḤADĪTH AND THE QURʾĀN), as well as those contained in special collections such as Ibn Abī l-Dunyā's (d. 281/894) *al-Tahajjud wa-qiyām al-layl,* and especially Ibn al-Sunnī's *ʿAmal al-yawm wa-l-layla* (cf. also the Egyptian polymath al-Suyūṭī's [d. 911/1505] *Dāʿī l-falāḥ fī adhkār al-masāʾ wa-l-ṣabāḥ*).

The second grouping, those of the individually formulated *duʿa*s, may also contain material attributed to Muḥammad, but this material is integrated into longer prayers that are freely and spontaneously composed. When compared to Christianity, for example, Islam has relatively few "prayer" books (probably because of the importance of the five daily obligatory ritual prayers), yet some books of this type are well-known. Among them are the so-called "Psalms of Islam" (*al-Ṣaḥīfa al-kāmila al-sajjādiyya,* or *al-Ṣaḥīfa al-sajjādiyya al-ūlā;* Pers. *Zabur-i āl-i Muḥammad*), attributed to the fourth imām (q.v.), Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn, also called al-Sajjād (d. bet. 92/710 and 99/717; cf. Sezgin, *GAS,* i, 826-8). These "Psalms" contain supplications such as "asking for the best" *(istikhāra),* the invocation on the beginning of Ramaḍān (q.v.), bidding farewell to Ramaḍān, etc. (see bibliography for details on translations of, and commentaries on, al-Sajjād's work, as well as other popular collections of prayers).

As freely expressed prayers are more common in Ṣūfism (cf. van Ess, Review, 185; see ṢŪFISM AND THE QURʾĀN), a third category of *duʿa* may be added: the Ṣūfī formulations (see below; cf. Gramlich, *Sendschreiben,* 364-71; Ghazālī, *Iḥyāʾ*).

Expressions of praise (q.v.) represent the true meaning of prayer (see also LAUDATION; GLORY; GLORIFICATION OF GOD). Mention can be made of the *ḥamdala,* "Praise be to God" *("al-ḥamdu lillāh"),* which expresses human gratitude for God's favors (see GRACE; BLESSING; GRATITUDE AND INGRATITUDE). This phrase opens the first chapter of the Qurʾān, Sūrat al-Fātiḥa (see FĀTIḤA), and is found about forty times within the Qurʾān. Similarly, the invocation of the name of God, the *basmala,* "In the name of God, the compassionate [forgiving??], the merciful" (*"bismi llāh,"* in its full form, *"bismi llāhi l-raḥmāni l-raḥīm"*), places all human activity under the divine will. This invocation is found at the beginning of each sūra (q.v.) except for one. Furthermore, there is the *takbīr:* "God is great," *("Allāhu akbar"),* which bears witness to the absolute transcendence of God (see

ANTHROPOMORPHISM). One could add mention of the profession of faith: "There is no god but God," (*lā ilāha illā llāh;* see WITNESS TO FAITH), contained particularly in the call to prayer, as well as the *talbiya,* spoken at the time of pilgrimage (q.v.): "Here I am! O God! Here I am! I come to you! There is none beside you! I come to you; to you be all glory, all grace and all power! There is none beside you" *(Labbayka allāhumma labbayka; labbayka lā sharīka laka; labbayka. Inna l-ḥamda wa-l-niʿmata [laka] wa-l-mulka laka, lā sharīka laka").*

Duʿāʾ as prayer of petition — not always considered of great importance by some theologians — is expressed in certain fixed forms, such as in the prayer asking for rain (*ṣalāt al-istisqāʿ,* cf. Q 71:11) or in the prayer for the dead, spoken before burial (q.v.; *ṣalāt ʿalā l-mayyit,* cf. Q 9:84), which adopts the invocation pronounced by the Prophet himself as reported by Abū Hurayra, or, finally, the prayer of fear (*ṣalāt al-khawf,* cf. Q 2:239 and 4:101-3), which was said in the past by Muslim armies as they went into battle against the enemy. Many prayers of petition, however, have different forms, which are left to the individual's own initiative.

In everyday life, there are numerous invocations for every occasion, such as those addressed to a sick person: "May God heal you" *(Allāh yashfīka);* to someone who is doing work: "May God give you strength" (*Allāh yaʿṭīka l-ʿāfiya,* or, in the Maghreb, *Allāh yaʿṭīka l-ṣaḥḥa*); about someone who has died: "May God have mercy upon him" *(Allāh yarḥamuhu);* to a father, about one of his children: "May God keep him for you" *(Allāh ikhallīlak iyyāhu),* etc.

The ritual expressions of prayer are primarily those of the canonical prayer, the *ṣalāt,* where the recitation of the first sūra of the Qurʾān, Sūrat al-Fātiḥa, is of tremendous importance. This constitutes the prayer *par excellence,* recited on all of life's occasions: it is used at events of personal importance, as well as communal ceremonies, like marriages and funerals, or circumcision (q.v.). It is also recited at the initiation of an individual into the Muslim community. Called *umm al-kitāb* ("the mother of the book" or "the standard of the book," depending on the interpretation), commentators have written much on the benefits of its recitation. During this prayer, particularly on Fridays (see FRIDAY PRAYER), numerous classic expressions are repeated, such as "God is great" *(Allāhu akbar)* or "Glory to God" *(subḥāna llāh).* This prayer is recited in accordance with a fixed ritual, which can be shortened when one is on a journey (q.v.; Q 4:101).

One should include here an elaborated form of the *tashahhud,* the profession of faith: "To God salutations, prayers, pious formulas. Peace be upon you, the Prophet, as well as the mercy (q.v.) of God and his blessings. May peace also be upon us and upon the righteous servants of God. I testify that there is no god but the one God, there is none beside him, and I testify that Muḥammed is his servant and his messenger" (*al-taḥiyyāt lillāh wa-l-ṣalawāt wa-l-ṭayyibāt; al-salāmu ʿalayka ayyuhā l-nabī wa-raḥmatu llāhi wa-barakātuhu; al-salāmu ʿalaynā wa-ʿalā ʿibādi llāhi l-ṣāliḥīn; ashhadu anna lā ilāha illā llāha, lā sharīka lahu wa-ashhadu anna Muḥammadan rasūluhu;* see WITNESSING AND TESTIFYING; PROPHETS AND PROPHET- HOOD; MESSENGER).

Like Sūrat al-Fātiḥa, which opens the Qurʾān, the two sūras which close the book, Sūrat al-Falaq ("The Dawn," Q 113) and Sūrat al-Nās ("People," Q 114) are frequently employed. They are called "the two that procure refuge" *(al-muʿawwidhatān)* because they employ the formulas *"aʿūdhu bi-rabbi l-falaq"* ("I seek protection from the lord of the dawn" — or, from the "lord of hell," according to the commentators; see HELL AND HELLFIRE) and *"aʿūdhu bi-rabbi*

l-nās" ("I seek protection from the lord of humankind"). They have given birth to the very frequent formula, "I seek protection (q.v.) from God" *(aʿūdhu bi-llāh),* by which the believer places him- or herself in God's hands when faced with danger. "I entrust myself to God" (*tawwakaltu ʿalā llāh,* cf. Q 11:56) is another closely related formula.

Yet another type of invocation consists of the recitation of the divine names, or attributes, of God (see GOD AND HIS ATTRIBUTES) — some of which are qurʾānic: "the merciful," "the strong," "the powerful," etc. (see POWER AND IMPOTENCE). There are many lists of these names. According to tradition, there are ninety-nine names. The hundredth is said to be the "true name," which people cannot comprehend.

One qurʾānic verse, Q 2:255, has particular importance. Termed "the throne verse" *(āyat al-kursī),* it is very often recited (see THRONE OF GOD). Certain commentators say that it encompasses the name of God that cannot be spoken.

Finally, certain Ṣūfi formulations are used by mystics: *huwa* ("he") and *al-ʿishq* ("love"), to which are added the ceremonies (*dhikr* or *ḥaḍra*) of the litanies whose precise forms may vary among different brotherhoods. One of the most common customs is the continually repeated utterance of the divine name *Allāh,* "God" (see REMEMBRANCE).

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Pre-1800 Preoccupations of Qurʾānic Studies

Introduction

The Qurʾān refers in various ways to the teachings of the Christians and Jews, which it partially adopts, partially corrects or completely rejects (see CHRISTIANS AND CHRISTIANITY; JEWS AND JUDAISM; POLEMIC AND POLEMICAL LANGUAGE; DEBATE AND DISPUTATION). Thus it is not surprising that, from the beginning, the Qurʾān also became the object of Christian and Jewish interest. Furthermore, the fact that, for centuries, the polemical debate received the most attention, is not surprising. In the context of the times, this formed an understandable first stage for later attempts at a more scientific-objective treatment of the Qurʾān, attempts which only began in early modern times. Conditions for this later development were, on the one hand, easier access in the west to the original Arabic text of the Qurʾān, and, on the other hand, the development of Arabic philology to the standard of classical studies, which is inseparably linked with the names of Joseph Justus Scaliger (d. 1609) and Thomas Erpenius (d. 1624).

According to the so-called covenant of ʿUmar *(ʿahd ʿUmar),* i.e. that of the second caliph (q.v.), ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, non-Muslims were forbidden to teach their children the Qurʾān (cf. Bobzin, *Reformation,* 43 n. 35; see TEACHING AND PREACHING THE QURʾĀN). From this one can draw the conclusion that Muslims were not generally interested in allowing non-Muslims to participate in theological debates on the character of the holy book (see THEOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN; INIMITABILITY). In any case, as "protected persons" (sing. *dhimmī*) living among Muslims, Christians and Jews must have possessed a certain basic knowledge of the most important teachings of the Qurʾān, not only through their constant contact with Muslims, but also because the Arabic language was deeply influenced by numerous qurʾānic words and idioms (see LITERATURE AND THE QURʾĀN; SLOGANS FROM THE QURʾĀN; EVERYDAY LIFE, THE QURʾĀN IN). Although there is a considerable amount of both Jewish and Christian polemical literature against Islam, it is nevertheless remarkable that the character of the Qurʾān as God's word and revelation (see WORD OF GOD; REVELATION AND INSPIRATION) did not stand at the forefront of theological debates. The questions of the unity of God (see GOD AND HIS ATTRIBUTES), the authenticity of the Jewish-Christian scriptures (see FORGERY; REVISION AND ALTERATION) and the proofs of Muḥammad's prophethood were debated much more frequently (see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD; PROOF; SCRIPTURE AND THE QURʾĀN; PHILOSOPHY AND THE QURʾĀN). If Jews and Christians wrote in Arabic on subjects of central importance, such as the Qurʾān, they had to express themselves quite carefully in view of potential Muslim sensitivities. Hence, it is not surprising that the number of Arabic treatises by Jewish and Christian authors that deal exclusively with the Qurʾān is relatively low (cf. Steinschneider, *Polemische,* 313-6).

Christian-Arabic studies

Already in the third/ninth century the Nestorian scribe Abū Nūḥ al-Anbārī wrote a 'refutation of the Qurʾān' *(Tafnīd al-Qurʾān),* which, however, is little known (cf. Graf, *GCAL,* ii, 118). Of greatest influence on the attitude of Christians to the Qurʾān was the polemical treatise in defense of Christianity published under the pseudonym ʿAbd al-Masīḥ b. Isḥāq al-Kindī (not to be confused with the famous philosopher Abū Yūsuf al-Kindī, d. after 252/865), which was conceived as a response to the invitation of the Muslim ʿAbdallāh b. Ismāʿīl al-Hāshimī. This so-called "Apology of al-Kindī" (*Risālat ʿAbd al-Masīḥ al-Kindī ilā ʿAbdallāh al-Hāshimī;* cf. Graf, *GCAL,* ii, 135-45) was in all likelihood written in the third/ninth century. It is a matter of debate whether the unknown author was a Jacobite (according to Massignon, al-Kindī; d'Alverny, Deux traductions, 91) or a Nestorian (Graf, ibid.; Troupeau, al-Kindī). Within the scope of his elaborate discussion of Islam the author also addresses the Qurʾān (al-Kindī, *Risāla,* ed. Tien, 128 f.; cf. ibid., ed. Tartar, *Dialogue,* 175 f.); the information about its origin and compilation deviates on some points from the orthodox Islamic view, however, and it does not always seem to be reliable (cf. Nöldeke, *GQ,* iii, 6 f. and 104). Above all, however, the author wants to prove the inauthentic and unoriginal nature of the Qurʾān, arguing that the contents of the Qurʾān were strongly influenced by a certain Christian monk named Sergius, alias Nestorius, who had wished to imitate the Gospels. After his death two Jews, ʿAbdallāh b. Salām and Kaʿb al-Aḥbār, had also added materials from Jewish sources. In any case, the argumentation of the *Risāla* reveals its author's own precise knowledge of the Qurʾān, from which he frequently makes exact quotations.

Al-Kindī's *Risāla* had a significant effect, particularly in the west. It belonged to the Arabic texts on Islam that, in Toledo during a visit to Spain in 1142-3 C.E., the Cluniac abbot Peter the Venerable (d. 1156 C.E.) arranged to be translated into Latin, along with the Qurʾān (cf. Kritzeck, *Peter the Venerable;* Bobzin, *Reformation,* 46 f.); thereby, the *Risāla,* under the title *"Epistula saraceni et rescriptum christiani,"* became a part of the so-called 'Corpus Toletanum.' This Corpus would, for centuries, prove to be for European scholars the most important basis for their knowledge of Islam. One century later, the *Rescriptum christiani* was integrated by Vincent of Beauvais (Vincentius Bellovacensis; d. ca. 1264) into his encyclopedic work *Speculum historiale* (written bet. 1247-59; first ed. Strasbourg 1473); from this source it reached Theodor Bibliander's 1543 edition of the Qurʾān (see below). As an original part of the 'Corpus Toletanum,' the *Risāla* was later used by authors like Dionysius Carthusianus (see below), Nicholas of Cusa (see below) and others.

Another important polemical work, which also deals in some detail with the Qurʾān, is the so-called 'Baḥīrā legend' (cf. Gottheil, Christian; Abel, Baḥīrā). It seems to follow in this respect al-Kindī's *Risāla,* when it recounts a similar tale about a Christian monk called Sergius, who was supposedly the teacher of Muḥammad and, thus, the real inspirer of the Qurʾān (cf. Graf, *GCAL,* ii, 145 f.; see MONASTICISM AND MONKS; INFORMANTS).

Of later authors the Coptic scholar al-Ṣāfī Abū l-Faḍāʾil b. al-ʿAssāl should be mentioned (d. bef. 1260 C.E.; Graf, *GCAL,* ii, 388). Within the scope of an apology for the New Testament scriptures, he also concerns himself with the Qurʾān, which he characterises as a source of revelation (Graf, ibid., 394). In the twelfth/eighteenth century, Ḥannā Maqār, in a polemical

treatise against a Muslim scholar, proceeded with more precision against the Qurʾān (Graf, *GCAL,* iv, 165 f.). From among the Maronites, mention should be made of Yuḥannā al-Ḥawshabī (d. 1632; Graf, *GCAL,* iii, 304 and 345-7; Steinschneider, *Polemische,* 402), who wrote a book *Munāqaḍāt al-Qurʾān* ("On the contradictions of the Qurʾān"), and also Petrus b. Dūmīṭ Makhlūf (d. ca. 1707; Graf, *GCAL,* iii, 378-80), with his work *Miftāḥ al-bīʿa* ("The key of the church"). The Armenian-Catholic theologian Mkrtič al-Kasīḥ working in Aleppo (late seventeenth/early eighteenth century) wrote two treatises which dealt critically with the Qurʾān, namely *al-Nāsikh wa-l-mansūkh fī l-Qurʾān* ("On the abrogating and abrogated verses in the Qurʾān"; Graf, *GCAL,* iv, 83-6) as well as *Ṣidq al-Injīl wa-kidhb al-Qurʾān* ("On the truth of the Gospel and the falsehood of the Qurʾān").

Western theologians also availed themselves of the Arabic language from the seventeenth century onwards: the Franciscan Dominicus Germanus de Silesia (d. 1670; cf. Graf, *GCAL,* ii, 176 f.; Bobzin, Ein oberschlesischer Korangelehrter) in his work, *Antitheses fidei,* printed in Rome in 1638; the Jesuit Jean Amieu (d. 1653), who, from 1635, lived in Syria (Aleppo/Beirut) and wrote a refutation of the Qurʾān (Graf, *GCAL,* iv, 217); or the Capuchin Franciscus of Romontin (d. ca. 1700) who wrote an as yet unprinted refutation of the Qurʾān with the title *Īqān al-ṭarīq al-hādī ilā malakūt al-samawāt* (Graf, *GCAL,* iv, 201) at the request of Pope Innocent IV.

Eastern authors writing in Greek

The text written by the orthodox theologian John of Damascus (d. bef. 754 C.E.) in his *Liber de haeresibus* (although its authenticity is controversial) would become just as influential as al-Kindī's *Risāla,* with its hundredth (or 101st; cf. Sahas, *John of Damascus,* 57) chapter on the "heresy of the Ishmaelites" (*thrēskeia tōn Ismaēlitōn;* cf. Sahas, *John of Damascus*). In the text he also addresses the Qurʾān from which he knows the names of different sūras (like, for example, "The Young Cow" = Q 2, Sūrat al-Baqara; "The Women" = Q 4, Sūrat al-Nisāʾ; "The Table" = Q 5, Sūrat al-Māʾida). Included, however, are also names which are not traditional in Muslim sources: "The Camel (q.v.) of God" (but cf. Q 7:73; 54:27; 91:13). From some of these sūras he mentions certain regulations, e.g. the permission of polygamy with up to 4 wives (Q 4:3; see MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE; PATRIARCHY; WOMEN AND THE QURʾĀN) and the possibility of the dismissal of wives (Q 2:229 f.). Above all, however, John presents the marriage of Muḥammad to Zaynab bt. Jahsh, the wife of his own adoptive son Zayd b. Hāritha, in Q 33:37 f., as an example of his immorality. The reputation of John of Damascus and the wide distribution of his writings ensured that this episode became a steadfast constant of Christian polemical arguments against Islam, in the east (e.g. with al-Kindī), as in the west (e.g. Eulogius, see below), long before the appearance of the first complete Latin Qurʾān translation in the west (see TRANSLATIONS OF THE QURʾĀN).

The work of the Byzantine author Niketas of Byzantium became similarly influential (d. after 886 C.E.; but cf. Sahas, *John of Damascus,* 77 n. 1, where his dates are given as 842-912 C.E.). He wrote one of the oldest Byzantine polemical treatises against the Qurʾān (*Anatropē tēs para tou Arabos Mōamet plastographētheisēs biblou;* ed. J.-P. Migne, *PG,* cv, cols. 669-805; Ger. trans. Förstel, *Schriften zum Islam*). Not on account of his own knowledge of the original Arabic (Khoury, *Théologiens byzantins,* 119 f.), but rather on the basis of a Greek Qurʾān translation already

available to him (Trapp, Gab es eine byzantinische Koranübersetzung?), in the second segment of his book he deals in detail with Q 2 to 18, from which he quotes numerous verses verbatim. The rest of the sūras are treated only summarily. The sūras, the first of which he does not consider to belong in the Qurʾān, he labels *logos, mythos* or *mytharion,* and calls them by their mostly translated, but now and then also simply transcribed, names. Most frequently cited are translated verses which refer to biblical figures, especially, of course, Jesus (q.v.). All together Niketas views the Qurʾān as an "unreasonable, unsystematically thrown together, shoddy piece of work, filled with lies, forgeries, fables and contradictions; his language is neither that of a Prophet, nor does it correspond with the dignity of a religious book or legal code" (Güterbock, *Der Islam,* 26 f.). Especially important is the misinterpretation of *al-ṣamad* (Q 112:2), one of the qurʾānic attributes of God, that Niketas, following the Greek translation of the Qurʾān at his disposal, reproduces as 'entirely compact' (*holosphyros,* variant: *holosphairos,* 'completely round'). He thereby provides the Qurʾān with a materialistic image of God, which is completely foreign to it in principle. This view was taken over by later theologians, as, for example, Euthymios Zigabenos (fl. twelfth century C.E.) in his *Panoplia dogmatikē* (*"Dogmatic panoply,"* Migne, *PG,* cxxx, 1348B), or in the so-called 'abjuration formula' for Muslim converts (Migne, *PG,* cxl, 124-36; cf. Montet, Rituel d'abjuration, 155).

From the time of the Palaiologues (fourteenth/fifteenth century), who deal with the Qurʾān in more detail, later Byzantine authors belong completely to the tradition of Latin authors (see below, Ricoldo).

Western authors writing in Latin

Use of the Qurʾān in Latin began on the Iberian peninsula, not surprisingly because of the strong presence there of Muslims. What is more surprising is that the Spanish Christian theologians in their polemic against the Qurʾān quite evidently fell back on arguments which had their origin in the tradition of eastern Christianity. Thus the author Eulogius of Cordoba (d. 859 C.E.) in his *Liber apologeticus martyrum* (Migne, *PL,* cxv, col. 860) quotes Q 33:37 to criticize Muḥammad's adulterous behaviour (see ADULTERY AND FORNICATION) — in exactly the same way as al-Kindī had already done in his *Risāla* and John of Damascus had done before him. The Jewish apostate Peter Alphonsi (Rabbi Moses Sephardi, d. after 1130 C.E.), who was one of the significant mediators of Arabic science to the occident, in his *Dialogi in quibus impiae Judaeorum opiniones… confutantur* also addressed the teachings of Islam, whose implausibility he tried to demonstrate with some correctly translated qurʾānic citations (Q 2:256; 4:157; 10:99 f., 108 f.; 11:118; 18:29; 29:46; 93:6-8; 109:1-4, 6; cf. Monnot, Citations coraniques).

The most important basic work for the qurʾānic knowledge and qurʾānic criticism of late-medieval authors was made, at the instigation of Peter the Venerable (1142-3 C.E.), by the English scholar Robert of Ketton (or Robert of Chester; more precise dates unknown). This was a quite inexact Latin paraphrase of the Qurʾān. Its influence, through the Basel printed editions of 1543 and 1550, and the translations based on it in Italian (1547), German (1616; 1623[2]) and Dutch (1641), however, extended far into the seventeenth century (cf. Bobzin, *Reformation,* 262 f.). Peter the Venerable himself wrote a shorter *Summa totius haeresis saracenorum,* a longer (now incomplete) treatise *Contra sectam saracenorum* and one *Epistula de translatione sua*

addressed to Bernard of Clairvaux (d. 1153 C.E.), writings which, together with the paraphrase of the Qurʾān and the *Rescriptum christiani* from the *Risāla* of al-Kindī, became part of the so-called 'Corpus Toletanum.' Peter understood the Qurʾān as a 'law' *(lex)* or 'collection of regulations' *(collectaneum praeceptorum),* but held it to be inferior to the Bible, because it was compiled from 'Jewish fables and heretical gossip' *(tam ex fabulis Iudaicis quam ex haereticorum neniis confecta; Summa)*. He maintained that, even if some words seem identical in the Bible and Qurʾān — as, for example, "word," "mind" or "envoy" — nevertheless, as he works out clearly, quite different concepts underlie them. In his argumentation he quotes only relatively rarely directly from the Qurʾān, and occasionally from the *Rescriptum christiani*. The *Annotationes* accompanying the qurʾānic paraphrase, which were only partly reproduced in Bibliander's edition of 1543 (i, 224-30; cf. d'Alverny, Deux traductions, 98 f.), have but recently come to be appreciated as informative pointers to the employment of the Qurʾān and Islamic commentaries by Mozarabic Christians (Burman, *Religious polemic,* 84 f.). They begin with a list of the so-called "beautiful names" of God *(al-asmāʾ al-ḥusnā)* and also contain a clue to the linguistic resemblance of Arabic with Hebrew. For example, the word 'Azoara' for the Arabic *al-sūra* is explained with reference to the Latin *vultus* 'face' (i.e. <Arabic *ṣūra!*) which points to the fact that the difference between the sibilants *s* and *ṣ* probably no longer existed.

Evidently, the anonymous treatise *Liber denudationis sive ostensionis aut patefaciens* (also known under the title of *Contrarietas alfolica;* cf. d'Alverny and Vajda, Marc de Tolède, 124 f.), which exists in a unique manuscript (Paris, BN Lat. 3394), and also follows an Arabic model, should be viewed in connection with the second complete qurʾānic translation by Mark of Toledo (d. after 1234 C.E.; cf. Bobzin, *Reformation,* 55 f.). It contains about 75 explicit Qurʾān citations, which, like the entire book, are translated in a very literal fashion. Furthermore, the sūras are usually designated by their titles and, in addition, different names are also used for the same sūra, as is familiar from the Islamic tradition. Regarding the origin of the Qurʾān, the familiar ḥadīth (cf. Nöldeke, *GQ*, i, 48 n. 3) is cited (see ḤADĪTH AND THE QURʾĀN), namely, that the Qurʾān would be "revealed" to Muḥammad "in seven *aḥruf,* of which every one would be good" (*descendit Alchoranus super me in septem litteris, et quicquid satis est sufficit; Liber denudationis,* chap. 6, par. 1, ed. Burman, *Religious polemic,* 274). The Latin text explains that these seven readings (see READINGS OF THE QURʾĀN) — this is what is meant here by *litterae* — are associated with the names Nafe (Nāfiʿ), Ebou Omar (Abū ʿAmr), Homra (Ḥamza), Elkessar (al-Kisāʾī), Asser (ʿĀṣim), filius Ketir (Ibn Kathīr) and filius Amer (Ibn ʿĀmir), who are also the founders of seven so-called "canonical" readings (see RECITERS OF THE QURʾĀN; RECITATION OF THE QURʾĀN). The text explains that they were not, however, contemporaries of Muḥammad, because during his lifetime only Abdalla filius Messoud (ʿAbdallāh b. Masʿūd), Zeid filius Thabet (Zayd b. Thābit), Othman filius Offan (ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān) and Ebi filius Chab (Ubayy b. Kaʿb) would have been familiar with the Qurʾān. Whether or not filius Abitaleb (ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib [q.v.]) was familiar with the Qurʾān, is controversial. Nevertheless, the Qurʾāns of the aforementioned people would have been different, which is why Mereban filius Elhekem (Marwān b. al-Ḥakam, i.e. the fourth Umayyad caliph, active 684-5) had them burned and a new text produced (see COLLECTION OF THE QURʾĀN; CODICES OF THE QURʾĀN; TEXTUAL HISTORY OF THE

QUR'ĀN). It was only after this that the abovementioned seven appeared as readers characterised as *praefecti,* who "contradicted each other so much in their grammar as in their use of idiom" (*contradixerunt sibi in gramatica et idiomatibus propriis, Liber denundationis,* chap. 6, par. 2, ed. Burman, *Religious polemic,* 276). Nevertheless, other accounts are mentioned which indicate that an official codex of the Qur'ān did not yet exist at Muḥammad's death. Only at the instigation of Abū Bakr was all the available material collected and assembled by him to become the Qur'ān that exists today (see MUṢḤAF). The purpose of these reports is to prove the unreliability or inauthenticity of the Qur'ān as a holy book. A chapter about the 'impure' things *(immundita)* also occupies a considerable amount of space, along with (the most extensive part) the chapter on the numerous contradictions to be observed in the Qur'ān. In the treatment of particular passages, the author relies upon a noteworthy knowledge of Islamic commentaries and traditional literature (see EXEGESIS OF THE QUR'ĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL). Although the work is extant in only a single manuscript, it had a notable effect and its use by some later authors can be demonstrated (see Ricoldo below).

The mendicant orders of the Dominicans and Franciscans, which arose as a consequence of the Crusades, counted among their tasks the resumption of attempts to convert the Muslims. For this purpose, at the instigation of Raymund of Pennaforte (d. 1275 C.E.), language academies for Arabic came into being in Spain and north Africa (cf. Altaner, Sprachstudien; id., Die fremdsprachliche). A graduate of one of these was Raymond Martin (Ramón Martí; Lat. Raymundus Martini; d. ca. 1284 C.E.; cf. Berthier, Maître), who, in his works *Pugio fidei aduersus Mauros et Iudaeos* and *Explanatio simboli apostolorum,* reveals a detailed knowledge of Arabic source texts including the Qur'ān, as well as the appropriate traditional literature (cf. Cortabarría Beitía, Connaissance; id., Sources arabes; see TRADITIONAL DISCIPLINES OF QUR'ĀNIC STUDY). Whether the so-called *Quadruplex reprobatio* can also be ascribed to him remains a matter of dispute (cf. Daniel, *Islam and the west,* 31; Burman, *Religious polemic,* 205 n. 44; Hernando y Delgado, De Seta Machometi, 356 f.). The so-called language canon of the Council of Vienna (1311/12 C.E.; cf. Altaner, Raymundus Lullus) goes back to the untiring activity of the Catalan Raymond Lull (Ramón Llull; Lat. Raymundus Lullus; d. ca. 1316 C.E.) to which later appeal was repeatedly made, above all for the study of the Arabic Qur'ān text. Lull himself possessed excellent knowledge of Arabic (cf. Brummer, Ramon Lull; Lohr, *Christianus arabicus*), which is revealed in many of his works; his qur'ānic knowledge comes to light especially in his *Disputatio Raymundi christiani et Hamar saraceni,* which was written in 1307 C.E. (cf. Daiber, Der Missionar). Belonging also to the Spanish context but known only in summary form, is the treatise *Sobre la seta Mahometana* by the archbishop of Jaen, Pedro Pascual (d. 1300 C.E.), who was, admittedly, later criticized by John of Segovia (see below) for not being faithful to the text. According to John of Segovia, Pedro reads teachings in the text of the Qur'ān which it does not contain (cf. Cabanelas Rodriguez, *Juan de Segovia,* 139).

To William of Tripoli (fl. second half of the thirteenth century C.E.), a Dominican from Syria, about whose life little is known, has, until now, been attributed the work *De statu sarracenorum* (see Prutz, *Kulturgeschichte* for the text edition), in which there are also reports on the content and creation of the Qur'ān. It has recently been proved that not this, but rather a similar work with the

title *Notitia de Machometo et de libro legis qui dicitur Alcoran et de continentia eius et quid dicat de fide Domini nostri Iesu Christi* was written by him (cf. Engel's comments on his edition of William's work). The creation of the Qurʾān, according to William, occurred thus: 40 years after Muḥammad's death there were only seven of his Companions alive (see COMPANIONS OF THE PROPHET). These individuals then planned to produce a single "teaching" *(doctrina),* to be called the "law of Muḥammad" *(lex Machometi),* similar to the Jews' possessing the Torah of Moses and the Christians, the gospel of Christ. The composition of this work they delegated to 'Hesman filius Effran' (i.e. ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān) from Damascus, which he did "with hidden profundity" *(profunditate obscura)*. Q 1, which is completely and correctly translated, is regarded by William as a "preface" *(prefatio)* and its content as an "expression of thanks and a prayer" (see FĀTIḤA). Q 2 counts as the first chapter, "concerning the cow" *(De vacca);* the shorthand *alif-lām-mīm* in verse 1 represents the word *alam* 'suffering' (see MYSTERIOUS LETTERS; ARABIC LANGUAGE). Special value is placed upon the qurʾānic references to Christ and the virgin Mary (q.v.), that were for the most part cited directly, above all from Q 3 and 19.

One of the most influential medieval works on the Qurʾān was written by the Florentine Dominican Ri(c)coldo da Monte Croce (d. ca. 1320 C.E.), who, between 1288 and 1300, worked as a preacher in the Middle East. His treatise *Contra legem sarracenorum* is based upon excellent knowledge of the Arabic qurʾānic text; nevertheless, he used passages from the *Liber denudationis,* as, for example, with respect to the creation of the qurʾānic text. Here, the above quoted ḥadīth on the seven readings is read as follows: *Descendit Alchoranus super me in VII uiris* [instead of: *litteris*]…, which admittedly fits better with the naming of the readings. Also with some of his almost 70 qurʾānic quotations, Ricoldo follows the text of the *Liber denudationis*. He calls the sūras always by their names, not by their numbers.

One can recognize Ricoldo's work both as a "classic" and as a very systematic summary of all Christian objections to the Qurʾān (cf. Bobzin, Treasury of heresies, 165 f.), which are, in brief: the Qurʾān is nothing but a mixture of older Christian heresies that had already been denounced by earlier church authorities. Because it is predicted by neither the Hebrew Bible nor the New Testament, the Qurʾān cannot be accepted as divine law; for the rest, the Qurʾān refers in some cases specifically to the Bible as an authority. Similarly, the theory of the textual falsification *(taḥrīf)* cannot be accepted (see REVISION AND ALTERATION). Regarding its style (see LANGUAGE AND STYLE OF THE QURʾĀN), the Qurʾān does not correspond with any "holy" writing; above all, its many fantastic stories make it impossible to accept a divine origin for the Qurʾān (see NARRATIVES; MYTHS AND LEGENDS IN THE QURʾĀN; LITERARY STRUCTURES OF THE QURʾĀN). Some ethical concepts would contradict basic philosophical convictions (see ETHICS AND THE QURʾĀN; PHILOSOPHY AND THE QURʾĀN). Above all, however, the Qurʾān contains numerous internal contradictions, apart from its entirely obvious lack of order (see FORM AND STRUCTURE OF THE QURʾĀN; CHRONOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN). Furthermore, the Qurʾān was not witnessed by a miracle (q.v.). The Qurʾān goes against reason; this is apparent both in Muḥammad's life, which is branded as immoral, as well as in some blasphemous views on divine topics. The Qurʾān preaches force and allows injustice (see EXPEDITIONS AND BATTLES; WAR; FIGHTING; PATH OR WAY; JIHĀD; JUSTICE AND INJUSTICE; VIOLENCE). The history of the

text of the Qurʾān ultimately proves the uncertainty of the text.

In the year 1385 C.E., Ricoldo's work was translated into Greek by the Byzantine scholar Demetrios Kydones (d. ca. 1398). This translation led to a late blooming of polemic literature against Islam, which is connected with the writings of two emperors (cf. Mazal, Zur geistigen Auseinandersetzung): John VI Kantakuzenos (r. 1347-54 C.E.) composed *Four arguments against the heresy of the Saracens* and *Four speeches against Muḥammad* (printed in Basel in 1543 in Bibliander's qurʾānic volume), and Manuel II Palaiologos (r. 1391-1425 C.E.) composed his *Dialogue with a Persian on the religion of the Christians* (cf. ed. Förstel; Trapp, *Manuel II. Palaiologos*). In both works, the traces of the work of Ricoldo-Kydones are clearly recognizable.

On the basis of the Greek text of Kydones, there followed a Latin retranslation by an otherwise unknown Bartholomaeus Picenus de Monte Arduo. The name of the author appears here, following the Greek model (here 'Ricoldo' became 'Rikardos'), as 'Richardus'. The first imprint of the Latin original appeared in 1500 in Seville under the title *Improbatio Alcorani* (with a Spanish translation *Reprobación del Alcorán* in 1501), again in Toledo in 1502, as well as in Venice in 1607 under the different title of *Propugnaculum fidei*. In many respects defective, the aforementioned Latin retranslation appeared for the first time in Rome in 1506 under the title *Confutatio Alcorani seu legis Saracenorum*. On the basis of this text, Martin Luther (d. 1546) composed his *Verlegung* [= refutation] *des Alcoran Bruder Richardi* (Wittenberg 1542); on the one hand, Luther shortened the text where it appeared too scholastic, on the other hand, he expanded it around some passages connected with the contemporary Turkish threat (cf. Bobzin, *Reformation,* 142 f.). Theodor Bibliander printed in his collection of 1543 (see below) both the Greek version of Kydones and its Latin retranslation: the latter, as it happens, was printed far more frequently than the original text!

The influence of the Turkish wars

The Turkish wars had a very great influence on European qurʾānic studies. The conquest of Constantinople in 1453 C.E. by the Ottoman sultan Mehmet II, which announced the final end of the Byzantine empire, caused, and was preceded by, a lively production of treatises on the "religion of the Turks." At the same time, a key roll fell to the German cardinal Nicholas of Cusa (Nikolaus of Kues; Lat. Nicolaus Cusanus, d. 1464). At the council of Basel (1431-49), he had become acquainted with the Spanish theologian, and later cardinal, John of Segovia (Juan de Segovia; d. ca. 1458), and through him he gained knowledge of the 'Corpus Toletanum.' During a trip to Constantinople on behalf of Pope Eugene IV (in 1437), he had certain passages from an Arabic qurʾānic text explained to him in a Franciscan monastery. He then came across the Latin Qurʾān translation from the 'Corpus Toletanum' in a Dominican convent. With the encouragement of Nicholas, the Carthusian monk Dionysius Rijkel, originally from the Netherlands, (Dionysius Carthusianus, d. 1471), who accompanied him on his trips from 1451 and after, wrote an extensive treatise against the Qurʾān: *Contra Alchoranum et sectam Machometicam* (printed in Cologne in 1533; German trans. Strasbourg 1540). It is based totally upon the writings of the 'Corpus Toletanum' and provides a refutation of various qurʾānic passages, quite schematically organized according to the sūras. Following the end of the Council of Basel (1449), John of Segovia withdrew from all church political activity, and busied himself with the study of Islam. In his treatise *De mittendo gladio*

divini spiritus in corda Saracenorum ("On sending the sword of the divine spirit into the hearts of the Saracens"), he emphasized the importance of a thorough knowledge of the Qurʾān for fruitful disputation with the Muslims that could promote living together in peace. With his studies of the Qurʾān, the imperfection of the old Toledan translation became evident to him (as did that of other writings as, for example, those of Pedro de Pascual). After he moved in 1454 to the monastery of Aiton in Savoy, he succeeded in persuading the Muslim jurist ʿĪsā Dhā Jābir (alias Yça Gidelli) to undertake the journey from his home town Segovia to Aiton. There they worked for four months (winter 1455/56) on a new Qurʾān edition, one which contained a Castilian translation next to the Arabic text (cf. Cabanelas Rodriguez, Juan de Segovia; Wiegers, *Islamic literature*). Of this work, to which Juan added another Latin translation, only the prologue exists today. In it, a convincing criticism of the translation practice of Robert of Ketton is found.

In ca. 1460-1, Nicholas of Cusa himself composed his *Cribratio Alcorani* ("An examination of the Qurʾān"). It is dedicated to Pope Pius II (r. 1458-64), who imposed a crusading policy against the Turks. Nicholas' treatise is to be understood as a counter-programme: although he maintains the heretical nature of Islam, he is more willing to stress what Christianity and Islam have in common, as these clearly appear in the Qurʾān, the foundational document of Islam. For his understanding of the Qurʾān, he depends — along with the writings from the 'Corpus Toletanum' — above all, on the work of Ricoldo. As a consequence, he sticks to apologetic rather than philosophical arguments. Certainly the importance of the work is often overestimated for the 'dialogue' (cf. Flasch, *Nikolaus von Kues,* 544 f.).

The refutation of the Qurʾān by the Italian Petrus de Pennis (second half of the fifteenth century), *Tractatus contra Alcoranum et Mahometum* (Paris BN, Ms lat. 3646) — which relies above all on Ricoldo and Petrus Alphonsi — is still unpublished (cf. Daniel, *Islam and the west,* 76 f.).

A new and successful type of controversial literature was created by the Spanish Franciscan Alfonso de Spina (d. ca. 1491) with his work, *Fortalitium fidei in universos Christiane religionis hostes* ("A fortress of belief in view of all the enemies of the Christian religion"), printed in Strasbourg before 1471. As for Judaism, one chapter of the book is dedicated exclusively to Islam, with a section 'On the state of the teaching and the law of Mohammed' *(De qualitate doctrinae et legis Machometi)*. For his understanding of the Qurʾān, Alfonso, in addition to the work of Ricoldo, depends on Ramón Martís' *Pugio fidei* as well as the writings of John of Segovia. Alfonso's *Fortalitium* was reprinted with extraordinary frequency in the fifteenth century, and must be counted as an important source of qurʾānic knowledge in theological circles — Luther also demonstrably used this work (cf. Bobzin, *Reformation,* 77). In a very similar way to Alfonso de Spina, much later authors continue to explain Islam mainly on the basis of a brief representation of the teaching of the Qurʾān. Authors of works "On the truth of the Christian religion" *(De veritate religionis Christianae),* as those of Juan Luis Vives (d. 1540) or Hugo Grotius (d. 1645), devote a separate book or chapter to the topic of Islam.

From the beginning of the sixteenth century comes the very influential writing of an Aragonese renegade by the name of Juan Andrés (latinised to Johannes Andreas Maurus) about whose life, except the year of his conversion to Christianity (1487), nothing is known. His work appeared in 1515 in Valencia under the title *Libro*

nueuamente imprimido que se llama confusion dela secta mahomatica y del alcoran (Bobzin, Bemerkungen zu Juan Andrés) and was quickly translated into several other European languages (Italian, French, Latin, Dutch, English, German). Evidently, this writing was a kind of preparation for an intended complete Aragonese translation of the Qurʾān. Interlaced into the text are about 70 translated Qurʾān quotations; these were first of all provided in Latin transcription, and then translated. For his interpretation, Juan relies upon well-known authorities such as Azamahxeri (i.e. al-Zamakhsharī, d. 538/1144) and Buhatia (i.e. Ibn ʿAṭiyya al-Andalusī, d. 546/1151). In his view, the Qurʾān was divided into four books *(libros)* by the caliph ʿUthmān: Book 1 contains 5 chapters (*capitulos* or sūras, *cuar,* or *cura*) with Q 2 to 6; Book 2 contains 12 chapters (Q 7 to 18); Book 3 contains 19 chapters (Q 19 to 37). For the first three books Juan names each sūra by name, which deviate occasionally from their familiar titles (thus Q 9 is called *la espada* by Juan, Ar. *Sūrat al-Sayf,* that is, after Q 9:5, the so-called *āyat al-sayf;* cf. Bobzin, Bemerkungen zu Juan Andrés, 544 n. 58; see VERSES). The fourth part comprises 175 chapters, so that altogether there are 211 chapters — the number 175 probably occurred as a result of an old error, understandable from the Roman manner of writing the numbers for 75. Without that, not counting Q 1 as well as Q 113 and 114, the number 111 arises, which is thoroughly compatible with Islamic traditions (for example in Ibn Masʿūd). For the rest, Juan uses (next to the popular prophetic biography *Kitāb al-Shifāʾ fī taʿrīf ḥuqūq al-Muṣṭafā* of the Mālikī judge ʿIyāḍ b. Mūsā, d. 543/1149; see SĪRA AND THE QURʾĀN) a further unspecified *sīra* work *(acear),* quoting from it the first sūras (Q 96:1-5; 74:1-5 and 93:1-3) in a traditional chronology of revelation. Juan offers the oldest Latin attestation of a division of the Qurʾān into four *rubʿ,* used in Andalusian manuscripts and still today in Maghrebian editions, in which, certainly, a few differences are detectable, especially with regard to the end of the third and/or the beginning of the fourth section (today it is usually divided between Q 35 and 36; see MANUSCRIPTS OF THE QURʾĀN; ORNAMENTATION AND ILLUMINATION). Other anti-qurʾānic works printed in Spain do not appear to have had any effect outside Spain, as, for example, B. Bernardo Pérez de Chinchón, *Libro llamado Antialcorano: que quiere dezir contra el Alcoran de Mahoma,* (Valencia 1532), or Lope de Obregón, *Confutacion del Alcoran y secta Mahometana, sacado de sus propios libros, y de la vida del mesmo Mahoma* (Granada 1555; cf. Bunes Ibarra, Evolución).

Qurʾānic studies in the sixteenth century

Similar to the trend of the middle of the fifteenth century, the renewed strengthening of the Ottoman Turks from the time of the accession to government of Sultan Selīm (1512-20) had a more or less direct effect on the interest of scholars of the Orient in the Qurʾān as the "Bible of the Turks." Into this period falls the first Arabic imprint of the complete Qurʾān by the Venetian printer Alessandro de Paganini (ca. 1537/38; cf. Nuovo, Il Corano arabo ritrovato; Bobzin, Jean Bodin; Borrmans, Observations; see PRINTING OF THE QURʾĀN). This Qurʾān edition, which was most likely intended for export to the Ottoman empire, was so riddled with errors that it was unacceptable to Muslim users. That the Pope had it burned is a legend attested to since the start of the seventeenth century (cf. Nallino, Una cinquecentesca edizione). It has been proven, already through the works of older scholars like Johann Michael Lang (see below), Johann Buxtorf IV (d. 1732; *De Alcorani editione Arabica,* in Hase and Lampe, *Bibliotheca* [1722], 271 f.) and Giovanni Bernardo de Rossi (d. 1831; *De Corano ara-*

bico Venetiis Paganini typis impresso, Parma 1805) — that two European scholars possessed a copy of this Qurʾān: Teseo Ambrogio degli Albonesi (d. 1540), whose copy is still extant (Bobzin, *Reformation,* 184), and Guillaume Postel (d. 1581). Postel later dealt in detail with the Qurʾān in his extensive work *De orbis terrae concordia libri IV* (Basel 1544), from which — in a manner noteworthy for the time — remarkably he translated exactly an extensive section from Q 2, as well as numerous further extracts (survey in Bobzin, *Reformation,* 479 f.). In his *Grammatica arabica* (Paris ca. 1539), which had appeared a few years earlier, he had printed Q 1 in still quite clumsy Arabic characters and presented it along with a translation (Bobzin, *Reformation,* 470 f.; Secret, Guillaume Postel). In his polemical work *Alcorani seu legis Mahometi et Evangelistarum concordiae Liber* ("The book of the agreement between the Qurʾān and the law of Mohammed and the Protestant"; Paris 1543), Postel draws a parallel between the origin of Islam and the new "heresy" of the Lutherans.

The south German scholar and diplomat Johann Albrecht von Widmanstetter (Widmanstadius, d. 1557) possessed a small collection of mainly Andalusian Qurʾāns (today housed in Munich, at the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek); his work *Mahometis Abdallae filii theologia dialogo explicata,* which appeared in 1543, contained, next to the well-known text from the 'Corpus Toletanum,' the so-called *Doctrina Machometi* (called by him the *Theologia Mahometis*), also an abridged version of the Toledan Qurʾān translation and some *Notationes,* probably his own, in which, above all, connections were shown between qurʾānic and Jewish teachings (cf. Bobzin, *Reformation,* 349 f.).

A more enduring effect than the works of Postel and Widmanstetter was achieved by the collected volume of the Zurich theologian Theodor Bibliander (1504-64), the *Machumetis Saracenorum principis, eiusque successorum vitae, ac doctrina, ipseque Alcoran* (Basel 1543), published and produced by the Basel printer Johannes Oporinus. Next to the texts of the 'Corpus Toletanum,' this work also contained important polemical treatises *(Confutationes),* like, among others, the *Cribratio Alcorani* of Nicholas of Cusa, the *Confutatio Alcorani* of Ricoldo in the Greek version of Demetrios Kydones as well as in the Latin of Bartholomäus Picenus of Monte Arduo (cf. Bobzin, *Reformation,* 217 f.). Moreover, the book could only appear after violent discussions about whether such a "heretical" book might be printed in a "Christian" city like Basel. A letter that Martin Luther sent to the Council of the City of Basel in December 1542 contributed considerably to this debate (cf. on this dispute Bobzin, *Reformation,* 181-209). As far as the old Toledan translation of Robert of Ketton was concerned, Bibliander had only limited possibilities to correct this text, which he himself described as "very corrupted" (*depravatissimum;* Bibliander, *Machumetis…,* i, 230). Given his less than profound knowledge of Arabic, he was only able to add some marginal corrections or comments in his own *Annotationes* (Bibliander, *Machumetis…,* i, 230 f.); for example, he gave individual Arabic words, usually proper names, using Hebrew script (cf. Bobzin, *Reformation,* 237 f.). For his publishing activities, however, he used an Arabic qurʾānic manuscript, which revealed some marginal glosses and contained the abbreviation system fundamental to the study of editions of the didactic poem, the *Shāṭibiyya* (cf. Nöldeke, *GQ,* iii, 220; cf. Hottinger below).

Qurʾānic studies in the seventeenth century

The increasing professionalism of Arabic studies in the universities meant that increased attention was directed also to qurʾānic studies. In a letter to Etienne Hubert, the great philologist Joseph Justus

Scaliger had already clearly stated that one had to study the Qurʾān in order to learn the grammatical subtleties of Arabic (cf. Bobzin, *Reformation,* 192 n. 230; see GRAMMAR AND THE QURʾĀN). Scaliger's most important student, the Orientalist Thomas Erpenius from Leiden (d. 1624), published accordingly in 1617 the Arabic text of Q 12 (Sūrat Yūsuf, "Joseph") together with two Latin translations — one very literal interlinear translation and one substantially freer (cf. Schnurrer, *Bibliotheca arabica,* no. 368). In the introduction, the old Toledan translation is vehemently criticized: "It is seldom that it expresses faithfully the true sense of the Arabic" *(veram Arabismi sententiam satis raro fideliter exprimens)*. On the other hand, the necessity of a serious study of the Qurʾān based exclusively on the Arabic text is emphasized. Accordingly, in the following period the exertions of a great number of scholars went into the publication, first of all of an Arabic text of the Qurʾān, accompanied where possible with a (mainly Latin) translation. The promise given by Erpenius in his *Historia Josephi patriarchae* to publish a complete Arabic Qurʾān with a newer Latin translation, was not, however, to be fulfilled. On the other hand, he printed in his second Arabic grammar, the *Rudimenta linguae arabicae* (Leiden 1620; cf. Schnurrer, *Bibliotheca arabica,* no. 55), for practice purposes, the text of Q 64 with a Latin translation and grammatical explanations; in a reprint of this grammar in 1656 (*Arabicae linguae tyrocinium;* cf. Schnurrer, *Bibliotheca arabica,* no. 81) Erpenius' successor, Jacob Golius (d. 1667), added two further sūras (Q 31 and 61). In the preface to his *Lexicon arabico-latinum,* which appeared in 1653, and which also draws on the vocabulary of the Qurʾān, Golius promised to publish an Arabic Qurʾān edition (cf. Juynboll, Zeventiende-eeuwsche Beoefenaars, 168 f.) just like his compatriot Ludovicus de Dieu (d. 1642), but neither did so. Rather, it was amateurs who repeatedly tried to produce their own Arabic types and to print at least a part of the Qurʾān. In this context should be mentioned the Breslau physician Petrus Kirsten (d. 1640) and the Zwickau pre-university teacher Johannes Zechendorff (d. 1662). The former printed the text of Q 1 in his *Tria specimina characterum arabicorum* (Breslau 1608; cf. Schnurrer, *Bibliotheca arabica,* no. 45); the latter presented Q 101 and 103, as well as Q 61 and 78 respectively, with literal translations, in two pamphlets (*Suratae unius atque alterius textum…* as well as *Specimen suratarum… ex Alcorani,* both Zwickau around 1638; cf. Schnurrer, *Bibliotheca arabica,* no. 369 f.). Also typical was the Arabic type developed in Altdorf in 1640 by the Orientalist Theodor Hackspan (1607-59) in his work *Fides et leges Mohammaedis exhibitae ex Alkorani manuscripto duplici, praemissis institutionibus arabicis* (Altdorf 1656; cf. Schnurrer, *Bibliotheca arabica,* no. 74); for the brief introduction to the Arabic language contained in this work he relied exclusively on qurʾānic material. Occasionally in the absence of suitable Arabic letter types the Arabic text was also printed in Hebrew characters. That is the case with the bilingual Qurʾān extract that Christian Ravius (d. 1677) brought out in the year 1646 in Amsterdam under the title *Prima tredecim partium Alcorani, Arabico-latini;* here the Arabic text (Q 1 to Q 2:80) is printed in the so-called Raschi-type, to which a transcription in Latin letters was added (cf. Schnurrer, *Bibliotheca arabica,* no. 371). On the other hand, Q 30 and 48 are presented in Hebrew block-writing with a Latin translation by the Augsburg scholar Matthias Friedrich Beck in his *Specimen arabicum* (Augsburg 1688; cf. Schnurrer, *Bibliotheca arabica,* no. 374). Taking up the efforts of Erpenius, Johann Georg Nissel (d. 1662), working in Leiden, published

two sūras of the Qurʾān (Q 14 and 15), that treated biblical subjects: *Historia de Abrahamo et de Gomorra-Sodomitica e versione Alcorani* (Leiden 1658; cf. Schnurrer, *Bibliotheca arabica,* no. 372). The first attempt by Johann Andreas Danz (d. 1727) to publish a complete, bilingual Arabic-Latin Qurʾān, did not get further than Q 2:66 (cf. Schnurrer, *Bibliotheca arabica,* no. 375; Bojer, Einiges über die arabische Druckschriftensammlung, 87).

A temporary climax of early, philologically-oriented Qurʾān studies is represented by two Qurʾān editions, which appeared shortly after each other in Hamburg and Padua in the last decade of the century. The Hamburg head pastor Abraham Hinckelmann (1652-95), who had received an excellent education in Oriental studies in Wittenberg in 1668-72, had control over a remarkable collection of Qurʾān manuscripts that enabled him to publish a reliable text. This came out in 1694 under the title *Al-Coranus s. lex Islamitica Muhammedis, filii Abdallae pseudoprophetae* (cf. Schnurrer, *Bibliotheca arabica,* no. 376): the Arabic text cannot be assigned unambiguously to any specific reading tradition. The verse numbering also does not always agree with the well-known numbering systems. Hinckelmann offered no translation in his edition, but rather only the Arabic text; in his extensive Latin preface he not only explained, very generally, the value of the employment of Arabic literature, but also stressed that all Christian theologians should read the Qurʾān, as a fundamental work, in the original language, thus in Arabic. He justified his renunciation of a translation on the grounds that a large part of the Qurʾān can be understood simply, but that a smaller, difficult to understand part would make disproportionately large philological efforts necessary with, for example, recourse to commentaries and other special literature. The fact that the text beings with the invocation formula 'I.N.J.C.,' *'In Nomine Jesu Christi'* is a curiosity to be considered. An extensive erratalist at the end of the edition indicates that the text is not completely flawless. Above all, however, certain peculiarities of the qurʾānic orthography (q.v.) are not taken into consideration by Hinckelmann. In spite of all its imperfections as seen from our current point of view, herewith for the first time in the western scholarly world people had access to a printed Qurʾān text, which remained the essential basis for qurʾānic study until the appearance of Gustav Flügel's text edition (1834; cf. Braun, Hamburger Koran).

The extensive folio that the Italian priest Ludovico Marracci (d. 1700) brought out in 1698 in Padua, has a completely different character from Hinckelmann's edition. While Hinckelmann pursued primarily philological goals, Marracci's work belongs principally in the category of church polemics against Islam; it nevertheless, at the same time, is notable for its philological qualities. Already in 1691, Marracci had brought out a four volume refutation of the Qurʾān in Rome, under the title *Prodromus in refutationem Alcorani,* which contained numerous Qurʾān quotations in Arabic writing with very precise Latin translations. The four volumes follow in their subject matter the expected format of polemical theology: Muḥammad was not predicted by any prophecy (Book 1), his mission was not attested by any miracle at all (Book 2), the dogmas of the "Islamic sect" do not conform with the divine truth (Book 3), and a comparison of the laws of the Gospel and the Qurʾān proves the falsity of the beliefs of that "sect of the Hagarene" (Book 4). The comprehensive Qurʾān edition of 1698 (*Alcorani textus universus Ex correctioribus Arabum exemplaribus summa fide, atque pulcherrimis characteribus descriptus;* cf. Schnurrer, *Bibliotheca arabica,*

no. 377) contained the complete Arabic qurʾānic text, along with the entire *Prodromus,* a description of the life of Muḥammad and an introduction to the Qurʾān — in addition to a very exact Latin translation. The Arabic text is indeed not printed consecutively, but rather divided into topical sections; the Latin translation also follows it. Then very extensive passages from special Islamic literature are provided in the original and partly in translation. Finally, a detailed refutation of the corresponding Qurʾān section from a Catholic perspective follows. Especially remarkable and indicative is the third section. For the information offered there, Marracci was able to fall back on the collection of Oriental manuscripts in the Vatican Library. The literature in this context used by Marracci is carefully put together by C.A. Nallino, in a detailed study (C.A. Nallino, Le fonte arabi); in addition to scholarly writings on the Qurʾān in the narrower sense, it also comprises theological, juridical and historic works. One can say therefore that Marracci was the first Christian scholar who actually composed a "commentary" to the text of the Qurʾān and to the establishment of its translation; certainly his work stood completely at the service of church polemics. Nevertheless, leaving the theological evaluation aside, it is still of inestimable value today because of the wealth of the information provided. The Arabic text is more exact than that of Hinckelmann's, but Marracci had just as little consideration for the peculiarity of qurʾānic orthography.

In 1721 the Protestant theologian Christian Reineccius (d. 1752) published in Leipzig the Latin text of Marracci in a handy Octavo edition *(Muhammedis filii Abdallae pseudo-prophetae fides islamitica, i.e. al-Coranus)*. He placed an introduction before Marracci's Latin text, in which he informs about the history of the Qurʾān and the system of Islamic belief, as well as its divergences from Christian doctrines. Above all, this edition helped Marracci's translation move beyond the borders of Italy and the Catholic scholarly world, and brought it to a larger audience. Marracci's *Prodromus* had in this respect a further effect, when a Maronite from Aleppo, Yaʿqūb Arūtīn (d. after 1738) translated it into Arabic (cf. Graf, *GCAL,* iii, 432). Beside the predominate effort to produce a text of the Qurʾān, there were also further, primarily theologically motivated, studies of the Qurʾān, which nevertheless profited considerably from the rise of Arabic philology. In this category belongs the work of a contemporary of Erpenius, the Englishman William Bedwell (d. 1632; cf. Hamilton, *William Bedwell*), with the extensive title of *Mohammedis imposturae: That is, a discovery of the manifold forgeries, falshoods, and horrible impieties of the blasphemous seducer Mohammed: With a demonstration of the insufficience of his law, contained in the cursed Alkoran*… (London 1615); one of two supplements to this work contained an *Index assuratarum Muhammedici Alkorani. That is a catalogue of the chapters of the Turkish Alkoran, as they are named in the Arabicke, and knowne to the Musslemans: Together with their severall interpretations.* The Lutheran dean from Marburg, Heinrich Leuchter, wrote an extremely polemical work, offering a pure systematization of the theological doctrines of the Qurʾān entirely on the basis of the Toledan translation published by Bibliander, *Alcoranus Mahometicus. Oder: Türckenglaub auſl defl Mahomets eygenem Buch genannt Alcoran… in ein kurtz Compendium zusammen gebracht* (Frankfurt am Main 1604). Of the Catholics, the work of the Jesuit Michel Nau (d. 1683) could be called exemplary. His work, *Religio Christiana contra Alcoranum per Alcoranum pacifice defensa et probata* (Paris 1680), is based on writings originally composed in Arabic, in which proofs

of the truth of Christianity were drawn from the Qurʾān (*Ithbāt al-Qurʾān li-ṣiḥḥat al-dīn al-masīḥī;* cf. Graf, *GCAL,* iv, 219).

Of great influence on qurʾānic research was the work of the first Oxford Arabist Edward Pococke (d. 1691). In his book *Specimen historiae arabum* (Oxford 1650; repr. 1806) he provided important information on the basis of a textual fragment from the world history of Bar Hebraeus (d. 1286 C.E.), especially on the pre-Islamic history of the Arabs (q.v.; see also AGE OF IGNORANCE; PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QURʾĀN). He thereby cleared the way for an understanding of the Qurʾān based upon the history of religion (cf. Holt, Study). The first to profit from this was George Sale (d. 1736), who added a long *Preliminary discourse* to his 1734 English Qurʾān translation, which appeared in London. In it, Pococke is one of the most cited authors. Beside this, Sale had also intensively used the scholia of Marracci's Qurʾān edition. Much less successful than Pococke was his Arabist colleague at Cambridge, Abraham Wheelocke (d. 1653; cf. Arberry, *Cambridge school,* 9 f.). The printing of a translation and refutation of the Qurʾān prepared by him (ca. 1647/48) never occurred. From letters of Wheelocke to the theologian James Ussher (d. 1656) and to the Orientalist Christian Ravius (see above), it can be surmised 'that it consisted of parts of the Qurʾān translated into both Latin and Greek, together with a commentary consisting of virulent attacks on Islam and its prophet" (Toomer, *Eastern wisedome,* 89).

In 1658, the Zürich theologian and Orientalist Johann Heinrich Hottinger (d. 1667) published in Heidelberg his *Promtuarium; sive, Bibliotheca orientalis;* in this first, still very imperfect attempt at Oriental literary history he goes into great detail on the Qurʾān (pp. 105-62). He goes through it sūra by sūra, listing their names and briefly providing a summary of their contents. He also discusses different readings and addresses the Basel Arabic Qurʾān Codex once used by Bibliander, whose tabular survey of the Qurʾān readings he reproduces, although with many errors (cf. Bobzin, *Reformation,* 242). Then Hottinger provides an overview of Arabic Qurʾān commentators well-known at that time, as well as other special literature concerned with the Qurʾān.

Qurʾānic studies in the eighteenth century

For qurʾānic research, the eighteenth century was much less significant than the preceding one, for, apart from some new Qurʾān translations into different European languages, it made hardly any substantive progress. To be sure, the Dutch theologian and Orientalist Adrian Reland (d. 1718), in his important work *De religione Mohammedica* (Utrecht 1705; Eng.: 1712, Ger.: 1717, Fr.: 1721), had emphasized the importance of the use of the original sources, above all with the Qurʾān. If one studied the Qurʾān, however, this was usually done in translation: both of the extant printed Latin translations or, preferably, the French translation of André du Ryer (first ed., Paris 1647) or the English of George Sale (first ed., London 1734).

In 1701, a much-promising work appeared in Berlin, but it remained truncated: *Tetrapla Alcoranica, sive specimen Alcorani quadrilinguis, Arabici, Persici, Turcici, Latini*. Its author was the Breslau Orientalist Andreas Acoluthus (d. 1704; cf. Bobzin, Die Koranpolyglotte). His intention was, following the patterns of the great polylingual Bibles of Alcalá (1514-17), Antwerp (1569-72), Paris (1629-45) and London (1653-7), also to make the Qurʾān accessible in a polyglot edition. Acoluthus did not, however, get further than the first sūra. Next to the original Arabic text, he printed a Persian and Turkish version in addition to the Latin translation that

belonged with each; this procedure was meaningful, because in this manner it could become clear to the non-linguist readers to what extent the Persian and/or Turkish textual paraphrases represented the original Arabic text. In an extensive treatise which follows the presentation of the text, Acoluthus provides precise details about the origin of the qurʾānic texts. It is noteworthy that the Turkish Qurʾān edition was in the possession of Franz von Mesgnien Meninski (d. 1698), the author of an important Persian-Turkish lexicon (Vienna 1680-7).

Clearly encouraged by the Qurʾān editions of Hinckelmann, Marracci and Acoluthus, the Altdorf Orientalist Johann Michael Lang (d. 1731) composed three texts that he allowed students to defend as disputations at his university. They addressed the problem of the first Qurʾān edition printed in Venice (*De Alcorani prima inter Europaeos editione Arabica;* Altdorf 1703), the various previous attempts to publish the Qurʾān or parts of it (*De speciminibus, conatibus variis atque novissimis successibus doctorum quorundam virorum in edendo Alcorano arabico,* Altdorf 1704) as well as, finally, the previous translations of the Qurʾān (*De Alcorani versionibus variis, tam orientalibus, quam occidentalibus, impressis et hactenus anekdotois,* Altdorf 1704). All three works contain much valuable information that otherwise is accessible today only with great difficulty — above all quotations out of the older literature. That applies also to the work of the Rostock theologian Zacharias Grapius, *Spicilegium Historico-Philologicum Historiam Literariam Alcorani sistens* (Rostock 1701). The *Histoire de l' Alcoran* that the Frenchman François Henri Turpin (d. 1799), author of numerous popular historical works, published in London in 1775 in two volumes, is without any value, as the Göttingen Orientalist Johann David Michaelis (d. 1791) in a contemporary review already correctly commented — it does not even really deserve its title.

As in the preceding century, further sections of the Qurʾān were published, usually in bilingual editions and with more or less detailed explanations. The Leipzig Orientalist Johann Christian Clodius (d. 1745) published Q 22 together with variants from a manuscript of the Qurʾān commentary of al-Bayḍāwī (d. prob. 716/1316-7), along with explanations (*Excerptum Alcoranicum de peregrinatione sacra;* Leipzig 1730; cf. Schnurrer, *Bibliotheca arabica,* no. 380); the Altdorf Orientalist Johann Michael Nagel (d. 1788) published Q 1 (*De prima Alcorani sura;* Altdorf 1743; cf. Schnurrer, *Bibliotheca arabica,* no. 382); the theologian and Orientalist Justus Friedrich Froriep (d. 1800) who, at that time, was working in Leipzig, also published Q 1 as well as Q 2:1-79 (*Corani caput primum et secundi versus priores, arabice et latine cum animadversionibus historicis et philologicis;* Leipzig 1768; cf. Schnurrer, *Bibliotheca arabica,* no. 383). A complete Arabic edition of the Qurʾān with Latin translation and enclosed lexicon was planned by the Helmstedt classical philologist and Orientalist Johann Gottfried Lakemacher (d. 1736). Lacking a publisher, however, it was not realised (cf. Koldewey, *Geschichte,* 114); only one specimen, comprising Q 2:1-14, appeared (cf. Schnurrer, *Bibliotheca arabica,* no. 379).

The fine Arabic Qurʾān edition that was published in 1787 in St. Petersburg is a special document. After the peace of Küçük Kaynarca, which concluded the Russian-Turkish war of 1768-74, numerous formerly Turkish zones fell to Russia. In the context of the religious politics that they owed to the Enlightenment, Empress Catherine II had for her numerous new Muslim subjects their holy book, the Qurʾān, printed in Arabic. In 1786/7, at

imperial expense, a 'Tatar and Turkish Typography' was established in St. Petersburg; a domestic scholar, Mullah Osman Ismail, was responsible for the manufacture of the types. One of the first products of this printing house was the Qurʾān. Through the doctor and writer, Johann Georg v. Zimmermann (d. 1795), who was befriended by Catherine II, a copy of the publication arrived in the Göttingen University library. Its director, the philologist Christian Gottlob Heyne (d. 1812), presented the work immediately in the *Göttingische Anzeigen von gelehrten Sachen* (28 July 1788); therein he pointed especially to the beauty of the Arabic types. To the Arabic text marginal glosses have been added that consist predominantly of reading variants. The imprint was reproduced unchanged in 1790 and 1793 in St. Petersburg (cf. Schnurrer, *Bibliotheca arabica,* no. 384); later, after the transfer of the printing house to Kazan, editions appeared in different formats and with varying presentation (Dorn, Chronologisches Verzeichnis, 371). The original St. Petersburg edition is very rare; in an English book catalogue of 1827, it is stated that: "The whole impression, with the exception of about 20 copies, was sent for distribution into the interior; but owing to the Mahometan prejudices against printed books, could not be got into circulation. — About three years ago, 15 copies were all that were known to be in circulation, or in the Imperial library" (Dorn, Chronologisches Verzeichnis, 372). In any case this Qurʾān edition was the first authentic Muslim printed edition of the Qurʾān. See Figs. I-IV of PRINTING OF THE QURʾĀN for examples from the Qurʾān printings of Hinckelmann, Marracci, St. Petersburg and Kazan.

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Predestination

see FREEDOM AND PREDESTINATION

Pregnancy

see BIOLOGY AS THE CREATION AND STAGES OF LIFE; BIRTH

Pre-Islamic Arabia and the Qurʾān

Definitions

The Qurʾān itself does not contain any concept equivalent to those designated in ancient and modern times by the term Arabia. That name is generally given today to a region understood to be the ancestral home of the Arabic speaking peoples (see ARABS). In the past the term has been applied to different geographical areas at different times, reflecting changing political and administrative divisions as well as changes of climate and settlement patterns. Currently it tends to be used predominantly with reference to the Arabian peninsula *(jazīrat al-ʿarab),* which, geographically, extends north into what is now usually called the Syrian desert. In classical and late antiquity, Arabia was a name given to one or more administrative divisions of the Roman empire situated east and south of Palestine.

The extent to which the Qurʾān has the concept of a pre-Islamic era depends on how the expression *al-jāhiliyya* (see AGE OF

IGNORANCE) is to be understood in it. Outside the Qurʾān the expression *al-jāhiliyya* is often used in Muslim tradition with reference to the way of life of the Arabs who lived in the northern and central Arabian peninsula before Islam (q.v.), a way of life from which they were delivered by the Prophet and the revelation (see REVELATION AND INSPIRATION; PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD). *Al-jāhiliyya* thus functions as the conceptual opposite of Islam *(al-islām)* and in many contexts within Muslim tradition it approximates to our usage of the expression, "pre-Islamic Arabia."

In the view of traditional and most modern scholars, the Qurʾān emerged in the first half of the seventh century C.E. in the western central region of the Arabian peninsula known as the Ḥijāz and the text is traditionally understood as containing many references and allusions to, or as presupposing, the practices and beliefs of the pre-Islamic inhabitants of the Ḥijāz and neighboring parts of Arabia such as Najd, Yamāma and Tihāma. To the extent that pre-Islamic Arabia is coterminous with the *jāhiliyya,* therefore, it is understood as the historical background to, and immediate point of reference for, the Qurʾān.

In contemporary usage, however, the expression pre-Islamic Arabia is used to refer to rather more than that covered by the traditional term *al-jāhiliyya*. It would include, for example, the development before Islam of the kingdoms and cultures of the southern, eastern and northern regions and extensions of the peninsula, and the interventions in Arabia by outside kingdoms and empires. Those aspects of pre-Islamic Arabian history are not usually included in traditional accounts of the *jāhiliyya* except for certain events (see below) understood as relating to the life of the Prophet and the rise of Islam.

The jāhiliyya *in Muslim tradition*

The view of the *jāhiliyya* that Muslim tradition presents is rather more complex than one might expect from the name itself, with its connotations of ignorance (q.v.) and barbarism. It is true that the salient features of the traditional reports about the way of life of the Arabs before Islam are their gross idolatry (see IDOLATRY AND IDOLATERS), their violent way of life (see FIGHTING; BLOOD MONEY; WAR), and their lack of sexual morality (see SEX AND SEXUALITY). The tradition is replete with details about the idols of the Arabs (see IDOLS AND IMAGES), their sanctuaries, the tribes who worshipped them, and the families who ministered to them. On the other hand, this idolatry is sometimes presented as not being taken seriously by the Arabs: for example, an idol made of dates and butter might be eaten in a time of famine (q.v.), or another would lose the allegiance of a devotee when he saw it urinated upon by foxes. The tradition also provides much information about the feuds and battles (*ayyām,* lit. "days") of the tribes before Islam and the chaotic and unregulated aspects of sexual relations, including prostitution, abuse of women, and lack of clarity in determining the paternity of children (q.v.). Unwanted female infants are said to have been disposed of by burial while still alive (see INFANTICIDE).

The negative image is, however, moderated by a number of things. The identification of the language of the Qurʾān as a language used in pre-Islamic Arabia (precisely which language is a question to which the tradition and modern scholarship offer variant answers) and the consequent high value put upon *jāhilī* poetry as a key to the understanding of the language is one such thing (see GRAMMAR AND THE QURʾĀN; POETS AND POETRY). Another is the admiration evident for some of the

actions and qualities that represented the ideal of behavior among the pre-Islamic Arabs, summarized in the concept of *muruwwa,* "manliness, virtue": courage (q.v.), generosity, hospitality and support for the weaker members of one's tribe (see KINSHIP; HOSPITALITY AND COURTESY; TRIBES AND CLANS).

Equally important is the idea that Abraham (q.v.) had once introduced true monotheism to the Arabs and, although they had fallen away from it and had become immersed in the corruption of idolatry, remnants of that true monotheism still survived among them (see ḤANĪF). One such remnant was the Kaʿba (q.v.), built by Abraham and his son Ishmael (q.v.). Another was the religion of Abraham himself *(dīn ibrāhīm)* which still survived among certain individuals known in the tradition as *ḥanīf*s. These individuals are portrayed as rejecting the pagan religion into which their fellow Arabs had sunk and as holding on to a non-Christian and non-Jewish form of monotheism which Abraham himself had professed (see CHRISTIANS AND CHRISTIANITY; JEWS AND JUDAISM). This idea is related to Q 3:67, which refers to Abraham as neither a Christian nor a Jew but a *ḥanīf,* a *muslim* (see RELIGIOUS PLURALISM AND THE QURʾĀN).

The Qurʾān and the jāhiliyya

The most important function of pre-Islamic Arabia (in its more limited sense as the locus of the *jāhiliyya*), so far as the traditional understanding of the Qurʾān is concerned, is that it is viewed as the milieu in which the revelation was given. Thus it can be used as an explanatory device for making sense of details and passages in the Qurʾān. There is a certain tension between the idea that the Qurʾān is a revelation relevant for and applicable to all peoples and all times, and the view that at least some of it was revealed with reference to a specific society and time and to particular incidents in which the Prophet was involved (see OCCASIONS OF REVELATION).

In general the text is understood and analysed as composed in a form of the Arabic language existing in the *jāhiliyya:* its rhyming prose (*sajʿ;* see RHYMED PROSE) and certain types of oaths (q.v.) which it contains are said to be related to the language used by the soothsayers (q.v.; *kuhhān*) of the *jāhiliyya* to deliver their oracles (see FORETELLING; DIVINATION); and its vocabulary and grammar is explained by reference to the poetry of the *jāhiliyya,* originally transmitted orally and preserved in much later Islamic literary texts.

The way in which details of the Qurʾān are explained and understood as allusions to the life of the *jāhiliyya* can be illustrated with reference to a wide range of verses. Such material figures frequently in the form of commentary known as *asbāb al-nuzūl* (occasions of revelation), which seeks to explain passages of scripture by situating them in a historical context or by associating them with features of pre-Islamic Arabian life. Many of these "occasions of revelation" reports refer to events in which the Prophet and his Companions were involved (see COMPANIONS OF THE PROPHET).

Qurʾānic allusions to the practice of infanticide (Q 6:137, 140, 151; 16:57-9; 81:8-9) are understood as directed against the custom of the pre-Islamic Arabs of disposing of surplus female children by burying them alive *(waʾd)*. Outside the Qurʾān this practice *(qatl al-mawʾūda)* figures prominently in descriptions of life in the *jāhiliyya*. The difficult verse Q 9:37 (see DIFFICULT PASSAGES), in which the *nasīʾ* is called "an excess of disbelief *(kufr;* see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF)" and which then goes on,

apparently, to attack the practice of certain opponents who interfere with the number of months (q.v.) which God has made sacred (*ḥaram;* see PROFANE AND SACRED) is variously explained outside the Qurʾān as an attack on a custom of the pre-Islamic Arabs (or on the person responsible for putting the custom into practice). The practice involved prolonging certain years by intercalation in order to delay the onset of sacred months (see CALENDAR). The injunction not to approach "the houses from their backs" (Q 2:189) is again the subject of various explanations which have in common, however, the idea that it is an injunction against something which was a practice (religious or sexual) of the Arabs in the *jāhiliyya*.

Certain regulations in the area of marriage and divorce (q.v.), such as the insistence upon a "waiting period" (q.v.; *ʿidda*) before a woman whose sexual relationship with a man has been ended by divorce or death can begin another (Q 65:1 f.), are explained as attempts to reform the sexual immorality and licentiousness of the pre-Islamic Arabs. The limited polygamy which Islamic law allows men (see LAW AND THE QURʾĀN; PATRIARCHY) is understood to relate to Q 4:3, "marry of the women who please you two or three or four." That verse is generally understood as an intended amelioration of the pre-Islamic situation in which there were no limits on the number of women a man might marry, and more precisely as relating to the situation following the battle of Uḥud (see EXPEDITIONS AND BATTLES) in 3/625 when the Muslim community in Medina (q.v.) was faced with a surplus of women over men.

The polytheism and idolatry of the pre-Islamic Arabs is understood to be the referent for the attacks in the Qurʾān against those who practice *shirk*, the sin of associating other things and beings with God as an object of worship (q.v.; see POLYTHEISM AND ATHEISM). The names of the three "daughters of God" (Q 53:19-20) are explained as those of idols or goddesses worshipped in Mecca (q.v.) and elsewhere in the Ḥijāz before Islam, and the many qurʾānic passages that speak against those whom it accuses of practicing *shirk* are regularly understood to be directed against the Meccans or other Arab idolaters. Qurʾānic denigration of the prayer at the sanctuary of "those who disbelieve" as "mere whistling and hand clapping" (Q 8:35) is explained as referring to the way in which the pre-Islamic Arabs behaved when they came to Mecca to visit the Kaʿba (q.v.), and Q 7:31-2 in which people are commanded to "take care of your adornment" *(khudhū zīnatakum)* when at places of worship is explained (in different variants) as referring to a custom of the pre-Islamic association known as the Ḥums which controlled access to the Kaʿba. Various reports say that before Islam the Ḥums made some outsiders circumambulate the Kaʿba while naked. These are just examples of the many ways in which the traditional commentators relate the Qurʾān to the world of pre-Islamic Arabia.

Scholarship and the jāhiliyya

Most modern scholars have accepted the accounts of the *jāhiliyya* as reflections of a real historical situation and have agreed with the traditional scholars that the Qurʾān reflects in many places the society of pre-Islamic Arabia (see COMMUNITY AND SOCIETY IN THE QURʾĀN). Many modern scholars have tried to use some of the traditional information about the *jāhiliyya* to develop theories about the emergence of Islam in pre-Islamic Arabia.

The most influential such theory has been that an evolutionary process had led to the decline of traditional Arab paganism by the time of the Prophet, and that Islam was successful because it met the spiritual and moral needs of Arab, and

especially Meccan, society around the beginning of the seventh century C.E. Reports about the lack of real respect for their idols by the pre-Islamic Arabs, and traditional material understood as evidence of monotheistic tendencies in the paganism of the *jāhiliyya* (such as the material on the *ḥanīf*s), have been interpreted according to evolutionary theories of religion. The moral injunctions of the Qurʾān towards charity (see ALMSGIVING), honesty and protection of the weak (see OPPRESSED ON EARTH, THE; OPPRESSION) are then often understood as reflecting the general and specific moral failings of the pre-Islamic Arabs.

Julius Wellhausen's *Reste arabischen Heidentums,* the first edition of which appeared in 1887, was influential in establishing this evolutionary interpretation, and elements of it have remained visible in works written late in the twentieth century. Sometimes the evolution of the pre-Islamic Arabs from idolatry and paganism to monotheism is presented as a natural development, one through which all societies pass in time; sometimes the influence on the Arabs of various types of monotheism from outside Arabia is mentioned as an explanatory factor; and sometimes the idea is postulated of a primitive Arab form of monotheism which had survived even though the Arabs generally had become polytheists.

The Qurʾān and pre-Islamic Arabia beyond the jāhiliyya

Like the traditional scholars, modern scholarship on the rise of Islam has concentrated on the regions of Arabia associated with the concept of the *jāhiliyya* — in general the central and northwestern parts of the peninsula in the two or three hundred years before the Prophet. That does not include important areas of pre-Islamic Arabian history such as the Nabatean and Palmyrene kingdoms that flourished in the north of Arabia some centuries before Islam (see SYRIA; GEOGRAPHY AND THE QURʾĀN), or the various states, richly attested by inscriptions and archaeological remains, in the south. Since the late nineteenth century knowledge of and scholarship on those areas of pre-Islamic Arabia have increased significantly, and some scholars have sought to relate them to the Qurʾān and emerging Islam.

Muslim tradition itself reports in some detail certain events connected with the Yemen (q.v.) in the century before the Prophet, and because certain passages of the Qurʾān are often understood as alluding to them, they are narrated also in works of qurʾānic commentary (*tafsīr;* see EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL).

Prominent among these are accounts of the persecution of Christians by Dhū Nuwās, a Yemeni ruler who had accepted Judaism; the resulting conquest of the Yemen by the Christian state of Abyssinia (q.v.) and the governorship of the region by the Abyssinian general Abraha (q.v.); the collapse of the dam at Maʾrib in the Yemen, which is said to have triggered tribal migrations northwards; and the eventual conquest of the Yemen by the Sasanid Persians, with whom the Muslim conquerors of the region came into contact.

The "men of the elephant" of Q 105:1 are frequently understood as an allusion to an expedition reported in tradition as having been sent against Mecca by the Abyssinian Abraha, an expedition which involved one or more elephants and is recounted in some detail in Muslim literature outside the Qurʾān (see PEOPLE OF THE ELEPHANT). The "people of the ditch" (q.v.; Q 85:4) are often identified as the persecuted Christians of Najrān (q.v.), burned in a trench according to accounts found in Syriac and Arabic. The "violent flood" (*sayl al-ʿarim,* Q 34:16) is often understood to refer to the collapse of the dam at Maʾrib

(see AL-ʿARIM), an event that may be attested in a pre-Islamic inscription from Maʾrib. The traditional interpretations of such passages are not, however, unanimous, and the names of Abraha, Dhū Nuwās and Maʾrib do not occur in the Qurʾān itself.

In addition, the Qurʾān refers to peoples, and the prophets whom God had sent to them, who are understood to have lived in parts of Arabia before Islam: Ṣāliḥ (q.v.) and Thamūd (q.v.), Shuʿayb (q.v.) and Madyan (see MIDIAN), Hūd (q.v.) and ʿĀd (q.v.). Thamūd is known from pre-Islamic sources as the name of a people of northern Arabia.

Modern scholars have used epigraphic and other evidence that may relate to the events reported in Muslim tradition in attempting to establish chronology and motivation (see CHRONOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN; EPIGRAPHY AND THE QURʾĀN). Divine and personal names found in the inscriptions have been linked with names found in the Qurʾān and Muslim tradition. The best-known example is probably the divine name RḤMNN that has been seen by some scholars as the source of the qurʾānic and Islamic al-Raḥmān (see GOD AND HIS ATTRIBUTES). Since the inscriptions in which RḤMNN occurs are not easily identifiable as Jewish or Christian, some speculation about a "non-denominational form of monotheism" native to pre-Islamic Arabia arose which was linked with the reports about the *ḥanīf*s in the Muslim tradition (see also MUSAYLIMA).

Some of the names found in non-monotheistic inscriptions that have been identified as those of deities have been linked by scholars with the idols or gods whose names are given in the Qurʾān (such as those of the five "gods of the people of Noah [q.v.]" in Q 71:23), and knowledge of south Arabian polytheism has been used to put forward theories about the origins and nature of *jāhilī* polytheism (see SOUTH ARABIA, RELIGION IN PRE-ISLAMIC).

In general, scholars who connect the Qurʾān or Islam with evidence from pre-Islamic Arabia lying beyond the traditional scope of the *jāhiliyya* envisage that Muḥammad had contacts with and was influenced by the religious culture of those regions. For example, it has been suggested, on the basis of a small number of south Arabian inscriptions in which the root *sh-r-k* has been read, that both the qurʾānic word and the concept of *shirk* are derived from south Arabia. In the area of ritual, parallels have been drawn between some south Arabian practices regarding ritual purity (q.v.) and those of Islam. One problem with the attempts to explain qurʾānic and Islamic ideas, institutions and practices in this way is that south Arabia was itself part of the wider world of late antiquity and had contacts with the other Middle Eastern and Mediterranean regions.

How far does the Qurʾān reflect the background of pre-Islamic Arabia?

The relationship between the Qurʾān and pre-Islamic Arabia summarized above — the view that the text was formed in the Ḥijāz and constantly refers to or presupposes features of the life of the pre-Islamic inhabitants of northwestern and central Arabia — is one that depends mainly on Islamic traditional texts other than the Qurʾān itself. Works such as commentaries on the Qurʾān and biographies of the Prophet (see SĪRA AND THE QURʾĀN) provide the reports that are the basis of that view. The scripture itself, with its characteristically allusive style, does not explicitly inform us when or where it originated, nor does it closely specify its addressees or referents (see LANGUAGE AND STYLE OF THE QURʾĀN; FORM AND STRUCTURE OF THE QURʾĀN).

It is clear that the text contains a significant number of references to features of life associated especially with Arabs.

Sometimes that association is a common one as, for example, references to camels (see CAMEL). There are ten references in the text to tribal or nomadic Arabs (*aʿrāb;* see BEDOUIN) and the language of the Prophet and of the Qurʾān itself is called "Arabic" (*ʿarabī;* see ARABIC LANGUAGE; DIALECTS). Furthermore, the names of the "daughters of God" (Allāt, al-ʿUzzā and Manāt: Q 53:19-20), although widely attested in the ancient Middle East and around the Mediterranean, were especially associated with Arabia and the Arabs, and the list of the gods worshipped by the people of Noah (Q 71:23) also contains some names which are attested in inscriptions and graffiti found in various parts of Arabia.

Apart from the name, Muḥammad (q.v.), which occurs four times (Q 3:144; 33:40; 47:2; 48:29) and Aḥmad (Q 61:6; see NAMES OF THE PROPHET), the only Arab personal name (other than Arabic forms of biblical names; see SCRIPTURE AND THE QURʾĀN) is that of Abū Lahab (Q 111:1), whom tradition identifies as a leader of the pagan Meccans (see FAMILY OF THE PROPHET). The tribal name Quraysh (q.v.) is mentioned in Q 106:1 in a context that associates it with the sanctuary.

As for the names of places or institutions associated with Arabia, there are several in the Qurʾān; most of them are attested only once or twice, and several of them are only known outside Islam because they occur in Muslim tradition or are related to Muslim religious practice. Thus al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa (Q 2:158; see ṢAFĀ AND MARWA), ʿArafāt (q.v.; Q 2:198), and al-Kaʿba (Q 5:95, 97) are all associated with the Muslim sanctuary at Mecca *(makka)*. Much more common is *al-masjid al-ḥarām* (fifteen occurrences), the name given in Islam to the mosque (q.v.) at Mecca which contains the Kaʿba (see SACRED PRECINCTS). The name *makka* itself appears once (Q 48:24; *bakka* in Q 3:96 is identified in traditional commentary as an alternative name for it or a part of it). *Yathrib* (Q 33:13) is the only such place name in Arabia certainly attested in pre-Islamic sources (see MEDINA).

In other cases, the Qurʾān refers to features of Arab life known as such mainly from the traditional accounts of the *jāhiliyya*. In two passages (Q 52:29-30; 69:40-2) it is denied that the Prophet is a soothsayer *(kāhin)* or poet *(shāʿir),* two professions which figure large in traditional accounts of pre-Islamic Arabian life. The use of divining arrows *(azlām),* a practice associated in Muslim tradition with pre-Islamic Arabs, is condemned twice (Q 5:3, 90), and in the latter passage it is associated with other vices traditionally seen as characteristic of the *jāhiliyya* — drunkenness (see INTOXICANTS; WINE), gambling (q.v.; *al-maysir*) and idols *(al-anṣāb)*.

There is certainly material in the text of the Qurʾān itself, then, to indicate that it — or significant parts of it — reflects an environment which might indeed be called Arabian, although the elasticity of that term and the presence of Arabs in various parts of the Middle East outside the peninsula before Islam has to be borne in mind. The somewhat denigrating comments in the Qurʾān regarding the *aʿrāb* seem to show that the Bedouin at least were regarded as outsiders.

Some of those things, however, that the tradition shows as characteristically Arab — recourse to soothsayers, gambling and drinking, idolatry — could, of course, apply to many other social groups. Intercalation (connected with the *nasīʾ*) may have been a feature of Arab calendar (q.v.) calculations in the *jāhiliyya,* but if so it was a feature shared by other groups outside Arabia (such as rabbinical Jews). "Killing children," too, is an item of inter-religious polemic that need not refer to a specific practice of the *jāhilī* Arabs.

In one case in particular the information provided in the tradition about the pre-

Islamic Arabs and then used to explain the more allusive references in the Qurʾān actually seems to be at odds with the text. If one takes the material pertaining to idolatry and idolaters (*shirk* and the *mushrikūn*) in the Qurʾān and then compares it with what we are told about the idolatry of the pre-Islamic Arabs, there seems to be a significant disjunction. In the Qurʾān the idolaters appear to be people who would regard themselves as monotheists. From the perspective of the Qurʾān, that view of themselves is unjustified and their claimed monotheism is corrupt; it is thus justified to call them, polemically, idolaters (see POLEMIC AND POLEMICAL LANGUAGE). The imputation of idolatry is an item of intermonotheist polemic widely attested outside the Qurʾān. In the traditional accounts of the *jāhiliyya,* on the other hand, the pre-Islamic Arabs are portrayed as immersed in a form of idolatry of the most literal and base kind, not simply an imperfect type of monotheism. The tradition seems to be attempting to impose an understanding of the religion of the *mushrikūn* that goes beyond the evidence of the Qurʾān itself, and it is possible to ask whether there is some distortion here and elsewhere in the traditional portrait of the *jāhiliyya*.

John Wansbrough suggested that the traditional focus on pre-Islamic Arabia in scholarship on the Qurʾān and early Islam should be understood as reflecting the ideas and preconceptions of the early Muslim scholars who wished to emphasize the connection of Islam with the Ḥijāz and the Arab prophet, Muḥammad (see ḤADĪTH AND THE QURʾĀN; POST-ENLIGHTENMENT ACADEMIC STUDY OF THE QURʾĀN). Wansbrough and others have understood Islam to be the result of more extensive historical developments than the Muslim tradition itself suggests. Many of those developments would have occurred outside Arabia in the century and more following the Arab conquest of the Middle East. In that perspective pre-Islamic Arabia, traditionally understood as the *jāhiliyya,* is of debatable importance for the end result.

Reaching a satisfactory evaluation is complicated by the fact that virtually all of our knowledge of the *jāhiliyya* (as distinct from pre-Islamic Arabia in the broader sense) depends on Muslim tradition found in texts the earliest of which date from more than a century after the death of the Prophet. Even the body of so-called *jāhilī* poetry is known only from those later texts and the question of its authenticity, therefore, has elicited a variety of responses. Furthermore, Wellhausen drew attention to the verbal and conceptual similarity of *jāhiliyya* in Islamic thought and the Greek word *agnoia* in Jewish and Christian usage. Both words have the basic connotation of ignorance in contrast with knowledge of the one, true God (see KNOWLEDGE AND LEARNING; ILLITERACY). Both can be applied generally, without any specific historical reference, or they can be applied to a variety of specific historical situations. In Islamic usage, for example, *jāhiliyya* has been applied to the pre-Islamic history of Iran and to modern secular western society.

Given the limited amount of evidence and its problematic nature, it is possible to continue to question the traditional understanding and presentation of pre-Islamic Arabia as the *jāhiliyya* and the strong connection which the tradition makes between it and the Qurʾān.

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Preserved Tablet

According to Q 85:22, the location of the Qurʾān, traditionally understood to be in God's presence. The *lawḥ maḥfūẓ* is often identified with the heavenly book (q.v.) by association with other qurʾānic terms: "mother of the scripture" (*umm al-kitāb,* Q 13:39; 43:4; also 3:7), "hidden writing" (*kitāb maknūn,* Q 56:78). As *umm al-kitāb* it is the source *(aṣl)* not only of the Qurʾān but also of the other scriptures (*kutub;* see BOOK; SCRIPTURE AND THE QURʾĀN). As God's writing it contains all the divine decrees. These images and others associated with God's writing constitute a key element in qurʾānic thought (see INSTRUMENTS; WRITING AND WRITING

MATERIALS; ORALITY AND WRITING IN ARABIA). Taken literally, they are difficult to read as a coherent whole. Alternatively, they can be read, and often are in the Islamic tradition, as complementary, symbolic representations of God's knowledge and will (see KNOWLEDGE AND LEARNING; POWER AND IMPOTENCE; GOD AND HIS ATTRIBUTES). Traditional interpretation of this qurʾānic image owes much to ideas common in Semitic religions.

Although "preserved" is usually read as applying to the tablet, some authorities read the word as referring to the Qurʾān, which is thus simply "preserved on a tablet." Al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923; *Tafsīr,* ad loc.) comments that there is little difference in meaning since either way the Qurʾān is preserved from alteration and change (see REVISION AND ALTERATION; CORRUPTION; FORGERY), perhaps against the demons (*al-shayāṭīn;* see DEVIL). The tablet is also associated with the isolated letter *"nūn"* of Q 68:1, said by some to be a tablet of light (q.v.). Apart from its importance in qurʾānic sciences (see TRADITIONAL DISCIPLINES OF QURʾĀNIC STUDY) as guarantor of the text's authenticity, the image of the Preserved Tablet plays a significant role in the discussions of theologians, philosophers, and mystics (see THEOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN; PHILOSOPHY AND THE QURʾĀN; ṢŪFISM AND THE QURʾĀN).

The tablet figures in two major theological controversies: about predestination (see FREEDOM AND PREDESTINATION), and the createdness or otherwise of the Qurʾān (see CREATEDNESS OF THE QURʾĀN). Traditions found in exegetical works (*tafsīr;* see EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL) focus particularly on predestination: God examines the tablet every day 360 (or 260) times, every time carrying out what he wills. It contains the characteristics of everything created, and everything about creatures (see CREATION; COSMOLOGY): the length of their lives (see FATE; DEATH AND THE DEAD); their allotted sustenance (q.v.); their actions; the verdict to be pronounced on them (see LAST JUDGMENT); the eventual punishment for their actions (see REWARD AND PUNISHMENT) — all this written by the pen (*al-qalam,* Q 68:1; 96:4), often said to be the first object created, but presumed by some to be pre-existent (see ETERNITY). In this context it becomes difficult to see whether the recording so often mentioned in the Qurʾān is describing human deeds and thoughts or rather determining them. A famous ḥadīth (see ḤADĪTH AND THE QURʾĀN) maintains that the pen is now dry; nothing determined can be changed. Q 13:39 raises a further difficulty: "God erases and confirms what he wills since with him is the *umm al-kitāb*." Al-Ṭabarī (*Tafsīr,* ad loc.) quotes traditions to the effect that there must actually be two books: one God can change as he wills, the other unchanging. On "a blessed night" (Q 44:3) what is written on the tablet for the coming year is said to be transcribed and transmitted to the angels responsible (see ANGEL; DAY AND NIGHT).

The tablet is used in *kalām* principally to support belief in the uncreated Qurʾān. It cannot, however, resolve the issue of whether the heavenly prototype of the Qurʾān was created or is co-eternal with God. The tablet is by consensus above the seventh heaven (see HEAVEN AND SKY). Therefore Ibn Ḥanbal (fl. third/ninth cent.; al-Radd, 111-2) argued, defending the Qurʾān's uncreatedness, that the tablet containing it is not among the things scripture says were created: "the heavens, the earth and all they contain" (e.g. Q 44:38). Others could argue that, since according to some ḥadīth the tablet was created, the Qurʾān must be there by an act of creation (see also WORD OF GOD).

Among the philosophers the images of pen and tablet serve as useful support from the sacred text for the conclusions of reason (see INTELLECT), as well as points of departure for more esoteric speculations (see POLYSEMY). The pen is the first intellect, and the tablet the universal soul receiving impressions from it. For Ibn al-ʿArabī (d. 638/1240), the soul of Muḥammad is that universal soul, capable of receiving impressions directly from the intellect and passing them on.

In the Ṣūfī tradition, the images of pen and tablet are given great play by poets (see LITERATURE AND THE QURʾĀN), though the sense of irrevocable predestination fits ill with those who encourage spiritual development. The tablet is more likely to be viewed as the believer's heart (q.v.) on which God impresses his image.

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Pride

Inordinate self-esteem, conceit. Pride is very often denounced by the Qurʾān as a sin (see SIN, MAJOR AND MINOR) because of its similarity to a form of "partnership with God" (*shirk;* see POLYTHEISM AND ATHEISM): Do not the proud deem themselves or aspire to be like God in his greatness? Their *istikbār* looks to be a denial of their humble condition in their will to be equal to the one who alone is "the most high, the most great" (*al-ʿalī l-kabīr,* Q 22:62), "the supreme" (*al-mutakabbir,* Q 59:23). The verb *istakbara* is used forty times in the Qurʾān and its participle, *mustakbir,* six times. Although "pride" is the most common English rendition, there are a variety of translations of the concept. Pride is the sin of all those who refuse to surrender to God *(islām)*. It was also Satan's (see DEVIL) first sin, when he was ordered to prostrate before Adam (see BOWING AND PROSTRATION; ADAM AND EVE): "[The angels] all prostrated except Iblīs (Satan), he refused (see DISOBEDIENCE) and was proud and was one of the disbelievers" (Q 2:34; 38:73-4; see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF; see also FALL OF MAN; INSOLENCE AND OBSTINACY).

Pride is also the sin of those who did not listen to the prophets' message in history (see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD; MESSENGER; HISTORY AND THE QURʾĀN). This was the case of Noah's (q.v.) folk: "And they magnified themselves in pride" (Q 71:7); of Ṣāliḥ's (q.v.) people: "The leaders of those who were arrogant among his people" (Q 7:75) said "Verily, we are disbelievers in that which you believe" (Q 7:76; see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF); of Shuʿayb's (q.v.) relatives: "The chiefs of those who were arrogant" (Q 7:88); and of Hūd's (q.v.) kinsfolk: "As for ʿĀd (q.v.), they were arrogant" (Q 41:15). Pride was especially the sin of Pharaoh (q.v.) and his chiefs: "They

were arrogant in the land" (Q 29:39; see ARROGANCE; OPPRESSION), they "behaved arrogantly and were criminals" (Q 10:75), and "were arrogant and they were people self-exalting" (Q 23:46). Consequently God says: "We sent on them the flood, the locusts, the lice, the frogs, and the blood…, yet they remained arrogant" (Q 7:133; see PLAGUES). Muḥammad himself faced the same difficulties from his adversaries (see OPPOSITION TO MUḤAMMAD): "Indeed they think too highly of themselves and are scornful with great pride" (*ʿataw ʿutuwwan kabīran,* Q 25:21), and even some of his followers were tempted to behave in the same manner (Q 34:31-3; 40:47-8). Pride makes people blind (see VISION AND BLINDNESS) and unable to recognize the signs (q.v.; *āyāt*) of God and to worship their lord (q.v.) righteously: "But as for those who refused his worship (q.v.) and were proud, he will punish them with a painful torment" (Q 4:173; see REWARD AND PUNISHMENT; CHASTISEMENT AND PUNISHMENT). In fact, "Those who reject our signs and treat them with arrogance, they are the dwellers of the fire" (q.v.; Q 7:36; cf. 6:93; 7:40; 40:60; see also HELL AND HELLFIRE).

Ultimately, though, "he [God] likes not the proud" (Q 16:23) and "seals up the heart (q.v.) of every arrogant *(mutakabbir)* tyrant *(jabbār)*" (Q 40:35). As for those who are not proud, God will welcome them with his satisfaction *(riḍwān)* and will accept their worship. All creatures "prostrate to God… and they are not proud" (Q 16:49), especially the angels (see ANGEL), who are always humble in God's presence (Q 7:206; 21:19), and the true believers who "glorify the praises of their lord, and they are not proud" (Q 32:15; see GLORIFICATION OF GOD; LAUDATION). Perhaps for this reason Christians are found to be "the nearest in love to the Muslims… because they are not proud" (Q 5:82; see CHRISTIANS AND CHRISTIANITY). Creatures have to be humble, and only God is "the greatest": He is "the compeller (*al-jabbār;* cf. Heb. *gibbōr;* see Ahrens, Christliches, 19), the supreme *(al-mutakabbir)*" (Q 59:23), "and his [alone] is the majesty (*al-kibriyāʾ;* cf. Ahrens, Christliches, 23, for discussion of this term as possibly derived from Ethiopic) in the heavens and the earth" (Q 45:37; see KINGS AND RULERS; POWER AND IMPOTENCE; GOD AND HIS ATTRIBUTES).

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Priests

see CHRISTIANS AND CHRISTIANITY; MONASTICISM AND MONKS; ASCETICISM

Printing of the Qurʾān

The history of the printed Qurʾān has received little scholarly attention. Political and cultural historians, while often mentioning the introduction of the printing press into Islamic lands, tend to link printing with the modernizing efforts of sultans and shahs. Scholars who concentrate on printing history have followed the same path, albeit with greater depth and nuance. This article summarizes findings in the history of the printing of the complete Arabic Qurʾān produced by means of metal type or lithography. After an enumeration of the earliest imprints, the article discusses the background to printing the Qurʾān in the Muslim world and, within the limits of what is currently known, describes early printing efforts.

The article concludes with remarks on contemporary publishing. The focus is on the history of the printing of that qur'ānic text that is used by the majority of Sunnī Muslims, who are, in turn, the largest Muslim group.

Earliest printings of the Qur'ān

Although by 1543 there existed at least six different printings of the edition by Theodor Buchmann (Bibliander) of Robert of Ketton's Latin translation of the Qur'ān (Bobzin, *Der Koran,* 209 f.), the first complete Arabic Qur'ān said to have been printed by means of movable type appeared in Venice in 1537-8 (but cf. Nallino, Una cinquecentesca edizione, 10, where it is asserted that the printing was somewhere between 1530 and 1537). It was, however, destroyed — according to some accounts, at the order of the Pope (cf. Blachère, *Introduction,* 133; Bobzin, *Der Koran,* 182 f. argues against any ecclesiastical order to destroy this edition) or, according to Nuovo (Il Corano), because there was no market for it in the Middle East, for which it was intended. Others have suggested that the memory of this printing was based on a misunderstanding perpetuated in later sources. A copy of the printing, however, was discovered in Italy in the 1980s, displaying a very faulty text which is what likely led to its destruction (the opening pages of the text are illustrated in Bloom, *Paper before print,* 220; see PRE-1800 PREOCCUPATIONS OF QUR'ĀNIC STUDIES).

The next printing was in Hamburg in 1694 by Abraham Hinckelmann, who provided an introduction in Latin (see Fig. I). This was followed four years later by the Arabic text with Latin translation and a refutation of Islam by Ludovico Marracci (see Fig. II). This is the well-known *Alcorani Textus Universus*. The most widely used Arabic edition, that of Gustav Flügel, first appeared in 1834, followed by printings of 1841, 1855, 1867, 1870, 1881, and 1893 (see Smitskamp, Flügel). This was the edition used by western scholars until the printed text became widely available in editions produced in the Islamic world after World War I.

Numerous early editions were printed in St. Petersburg under the patronage of Catherine II, with printings in 1787, 1789, 1790 (see Fig. III), 1793, 1796 and 1798 (see Rezvan, Qur'ān and its world, VIII/2). In the Volga city of Kazan, the Qur'ān was first printed, according to Sarkīs (*Mu'jam,* ii, 1501), in 1801, or, according to Schnurrer (*Bibliotheca,* 420), in 1803 (see Fig. IV for an example of a Kazan printing of the Qur'ān). The discrepancy may be the result of confusion over the date of the founding of the press by Tsar Pavel I (in 1801) and the actual date of the first imprint. Princeton University Library reports an 1820 imprint produced at Ṭabkhānah-yi Sayyidāt-i Kazān.

From 1842, it was reprinted annually at various presses, including Asiatic Typography and Rahīmjān Sa'īd Ugli. In 1905, a large-format Qur'ān was printed in St. Petersburg for presentation to dignitaries. Although not a typeset production — it was a photographic replication of a manuscript — this monumental work reproduced a large-format Kūfic Qur'ān similar to the one that is said to have belonged to the third caliph, 'Uthmān. In 1911-12, Qur'āns in large and small format were printed in the Crimea. The Qur'ān was printed in London in 1833 and again in 1871 and 1875. Harvard University Library reports lithographed editions in 1845 and 1848 printed in London.

The Qur'ān was frequently printed in India. Bombay imprints include those of 1852, 1865, 1869, 1875, 1881, 1883, 1891 and 1897. The first Calcutta printings appeared in 1856 and 1857. The Bombay edition contained an introduction in

Persian by Muḥammad ʿAlī al-Qāshānī. The printings of Calcutta were produced by William Nassau Lees, ʿAbd al-Ḥayy and Khaddām Ḥusayn, and included the *tafsīr* of al-Zamakhsharī (d. 538/1144; see EXEGESIS OF THE QUR'ĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL). Sarkīs lists a Lucknow printing of 1850, which would be the first Indian printed Qur'ān. Other Lucknow editions appeared annually from 1865 to 1869, then 1878, 1882, 1883, 1885 and 1890. There are Delhi imprints of 1863, 1876, 1889, and 1892. According to Sarkīs (*Muʿjam,* ii, 1500), other early printings included Talshīr [sic] (1882), the northern city of Bareilly (1886, 1876) and Kanpur (1878, 1882, 1884). An Arabic Qur'ān with English translation by Mirzā Abū Faḍl appeared in Allahabad in 1911. Sarkīs notes numerous printings of the text with the *Tafsīr al-Jalālayn* (ninth/fifteenth cent.). He also mentions that there were many translations into Persian and Bengali printed in cities throughout India including Lucknow, Lahore, Kanpur, Aligar, Sialkot, Bombay and Calcutta (see Sarkīs, *Muʿjam,* ii, 1500). Shcheglova *(Katalog)* mentions Bombay lithographs of 1862, 1886/89 and 1899/1902. These editions included Persian interlinear translations.

In Istanbul, the Qur'ān was printed from metal type in 1872 and lithographically by order of the Ministry of Education in 1873 and 1876 (Sarkīs, *Muʿjam,* ii, 1500). Other Istanbul editions cited by Sarkīs are those of the calligrapher Shakir Zāda (1881; see CALLIGRAPHY) and of the press of Muṣṭafā Efendi Qādirjī. There were Istanbul printings of 1886, 1889, and 1904 by the Baḥriyya and Ḥurriyat presses. The government press (Dār al-Ṭibāʿa al-Āmira) produced the Qur'ān from 1883-1906 (see Fig. v), and Harvard University Library reports an edition of 1888 printed at al-Maṭbaʿa al-ʿUthmāniyya.

Sarkīs (*Muʿjam,* ii, 1499-1500) lists numerous printings in Cairo, beginning with the Būlāq printings of 1864, 1866, 1881, and 1886. He cites other editions, e.g. those of Ḥasan Aḥmad al-Ṭūkhī of 1881 to 1883 and 1885, those of Muḥammad Abū Zayd of 1881 to 1883 and 1890, the press of Sayyid ʿAlī of 1883 and 1884, the imprints of Shaykh Sharaf of 1889 and 1890, and the press of Ḥasan al-Sharīf of 1887. He mentions a lithographed edition of Shaykh Muḥammad Raḍwān printed in 1890. He cites printings by the prolific ʿAbd al-Khāliq Ḥaqqī of 1892, 1895 and 1897 and annually from 1899 until 1904. From this time forward, Qur'āns were continually printed by various publishers, including al-Bābī l-Ḥalabī (e.g. in two volumes, 1925) and the Ḥanafī Press (1936). The text was often accompanied by the popular *tafsīr*s of l-Bayḍāwī (d. prob. 716/1316) or al-Jalālayn. Reproduction of the text with these commentaries remains common through the beginning of the twenty-first century (see Sarkīs, *Muʿjam,* ii, 1499 f.).

There is disagreement over the first printing of the Qur'ān in Iran. Browne *(Press and poetry)* mentions an edition from a press supervised by Mirzā ʿAbd al-Wahhāb as early as 1816/17. He also mentions a lithographed edition printed in Tabrīz in the mid-1820s calligraphed by Mirzā Ḥusayn and printed by Mirzā Asad Allāh. Floor (Čāp) cites a Qur'ān from Shīrāz in 1829. Proudfoot (Lithography), perhaps following Browne, cites a Qur'ān printed in 1828. The Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg mentions a Tehran printing of 1831 and a Tabrīz Qur'ān of 1833. Marzolph *(Narrative illustration)* states that the latter is a lithograph; it is, in fact, the first lithographed book known to have been produced in Iran. It was published in Tabrīz at the official press. Shūrbajī *(Qāʾima)* cites a Tabrīz imprint of 1843 printed by ʿAbbās Shafīʿ and an Arabic Qur'ān with Persian interlinear translation published in 1850.

Shcheglova *(Katalog)* lists an Arabic text with Persian translation of 1895 corrected and published by ʿAbd al-Bāqī Aḥmad Tafrīshī. The first Moroccan Qurʾān was lithographed in 1879 by al-Ṭayyib al-Azraq, the country's foremost printer of the period. In southeast Asia, a Qurʾān was lithographed in 1848 by Muḥammad Azharī of Palembang and reprinted in 1854.

One must be cautious in approaching any list of printing firsts. Early imprints are difficult to verify from library catalogues or enumerative bibliographies. Abdulrazak *(Kingdom)* demonstrates these difficulties in his examination of the Venice Qurʾān of the 1530s. He suggests that it is not a product of Gutenberg's invention at all, but rather a woodblock print. Likewise, bibliographer and antiquarian R. Smitskamp shows extreme caution in describing works in his catalogues of early Qurʾān imprints, such as the Qurʾān printed in Istanbul in 1850. He calls this edition, "The first Qurʾān to be printed in an Islamic country by way of lithography" (Smitskamp, *Het Oosters antiquarium,* cat. 602, item 547). The copy in hand was multicolored and gilt (see ORNAMENTATION AND ILLUMINATION) and "was executed in a way that can range this Qurʾān on the same level as a manuscript and represents a remarkable sample of early Ottoman lithography." Perhaps it was because of this resemblance to manuscripts that bibliographers have overlooked this edition. Further confusion attaches to this edition because, according to Smitskamp, the date of imprint (1246 A.H.) is incorrect.

Corrections to the record can be made only by close examination of the text. Smitskamp cites numerous other printings unknown to earlier bibliographers, such as the illuminated Qurʾān of 1887 ordered by Sultan ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II "as gifts to the pious," a Bombay lithograph of 1880 calligraphed by al-Ḥājj Aḥmad b. al-Ḥājj Muḥammad (Smitskamp, *Het Oosters antiquarium,* cat. 591, item 804). He also cites a Teheran lithograph of 1856 (ibid., cat. 591, item 806 = 1273), and an Istanbul lithograph of 1877 (ibid., cat. 627, item 653), but cautions that this date may be mistaken.

The implication of the foregoing bibliographic lists is that the Qurʾān was more extensively printed than has been recognized. By the mid-nineteenth century there were locally printed Qurʾāns in nearly every Islamic region. It has been axiomatic among non-Muslims that there was an abiding aversion among Muslims to printing in general and to the printing of Islamic books and the Qurʾān in particular. Nuovo (Il Corano) puts it most directly, calling it the "well-known aversion *(avversione)* of Islam for the printing press." It is frequently held that the early attempts at printing the Qurʾān in Europe were aesthetically and editorially repugnant to Muslims. Indeed, Muslim authorities thwarted printing of Islamic texts until well into the nineteenth century. On the basis of his study of library holdings, Abdulrazak states, "… it seems that 1818 was a turning point in the history of printing in the Islamic world as increasing numbers of Islamic texts were being published from that date onwards" (Abdulrazak, *Kingdom*). Gdoura *(Le début)* places the date a good deal earlier and more precisely: 1803.

The debate over printing

Historians offer many explanations for the disinclination to use printed books or to adopt the means of producing them (for a recent discussion, see Bloom, *Paper before print*). The locus of the debate was Istanbul, capital of the Ottoman empire, where political and religious elites presented arguments for and against the importation of the press or printed books from Europe. Gdoura *(Le début)* recognizes that since the

later part of the sixteenth century the decision about admitting the printing press into the empire was a political decision that rested with the sultan himself after consultation with secular and religious counselors. An economic reason often cited for the delay in adopting the press was the opposition of scribes and calligraphers, who feared the loss of their livelihood. Little by little, from the sixteenth through the eighteenth centuries, political opposition to the press relaxed. Bāyazīd II (r. 886-918/1481-1512) permitted Jews to print. Murād III (r. 982-1003/1574-95) permitted importation of European printed works in Arabic as long as they did not concern religion. Beginning in 1620, debate raged over the publication of Protestant books in Arabic, a move that was opposed by the Orthodox patriarch, who complained to the sultan, and the sultan intervened to close Greek and Arabic presses. It was nearly a hundred years later that the Hungarian-born convert to Islam, Ibrāhīm Mutafarriqa, finally convinced the sultan and the religious authorities that the printing press might help strengthen the empire vis-à-vis an increasingly threatening Europe. Mutafarriqa's arguments had their effect, and in 1726 the Shaykh al-Islām issued a *fatwā* declaring it legal to print (see MEDIA AND THE QUR'ĀN). The text of the decree read, in part:

If one is versed in the art of correctly printing with metal characters the above mentioned titles… [he] will furnish a means of reducing labor, multiplying copies, lowering costs and making acquisition [of books] easier and cheaper. I decide that this art… should be encouraged without delay, on the understanding that trained and intelligent men be chosen and that works from the press be corrected against the best originals.

The reference to the "above mentioned titles" points to the list of dictionaries, histories, military and geographical texts submitted to the authorities for approval. No religious works were included.

The strictures imposed by the Shaykh al-Islām applied to the Ottoman territories. By virtue of the primacy of the sultan in the Islamic world, the writ ran beyond Ottoman boundaries. When other countries of the region came to consider printing in the nineteenth century, their leaders were conscious of these strictures. As to the more distant Islamic populations, there was little — if any — printing from metal type. Iran, of course, lay beyond the influence of decisions taken in the capital of Sunnī Islam, but its early printing history bears many similarities to that of the Ottoman empire.

In addition to the political, cultural, and economic reasons for the slow introduction of printing, there were local reasons as well. Ṣābāt *(Tārīkh)* argues that the fundamental cause of the delay of printing in Egypt was the political chaos following the withdrawal of Napoleon's forces from Egypt in 1801. It took four years for Muḥammad ʿAlī to emerge above rival Mamlūk factions and to secure power. After consolidating his rule, he turned toward fashioning a modern administration, industrial base and military power. These ambitions led directly to the importation of the press and the recruitment of workers. Importation of machinery and supplies and training of pressmen took fifteen years. The first book was not published until 1822.

Lithographic printings of the Qur'ān in the Islamic world

Widespread printing of the Qur'ān in the Islamic world did not begin until well into the nineteenth century, or until the litho-

graphic printing process became available to Muslims. At that point, there began a florescence of publishing that has continued to the present day. Lithographic printing is based on the repulsion of oil to water applied to a plane surface, such as a flat stone or metal plate. Ink adheres to the image and is repelled from the blank areas. Early Muslim lithographers used stones mined in various parts of Asia or imported from Europe. They copied their text on specially prepared paper from which it was transferred to the stone before being put through the press.

Invented in the late eighteenth century in Germany, lithography was soon employed by European publishers to print maps, drawings and other illustrative material. For Muslim publishers, lithography had three advantages over movable type in printing the Qur'ān. First, it is a much cheaper process, requiring importation of less complex machinery and materials. Second, it eliminated the need for complex type design for the Arabic script and large cases of type to accommodate the hundreds of Arabic letterforms. Finally, and perhaps most important of all, it permitted calligraphic preparation of the qur'ānic text to the point where a well designed and executed lithograph may be mistaken for a manuscript, thus prompting Proudfoot (Lithography) to characterize lithography as "the Islamic technology." Its principal disadvantage is that print runs had to be much smaller than books set in metal type. Yet, because the process was comparatively cheap, frequent new editions were possible, as we have seen in the case of Istanbul, Cairo, India and the Russian empire. And, Muslim printers, whether governmental or private, adopted improvements (developed in Europe), which included photographic and increasingly complex chemical and mechanical techniques. In terms of the quality of book design, it should be noted that — apart from sumptuous presentation copies prepared, for example, for the Ottoman sultan — the average lithographed Qur'ān was rather dull in appearance. Early printers did not use color for either the text or the ornamentation of the frontispiece. The objective of most printing, after all, was to make the scripture affordable, an Everyman's Qur'ān. It has been only recently, from perhaps the latter half of the twentieth century, that lavishly ornamental printed Qur'āns have entered the general book trade (see EVERYDAY LIFE, THE QUR'ĀN IN).

Earliest Egyptian printed Qur'āns

As was often the case wherever printing of the Qur'ān was contemplated, controversy arose. By 1822, planning and equipping the official press at Būlāq was complete and the first books were printed. Initially, these were technical manuals and linguistic aids aimed at furthering the ruler's plans for a modern army, industry and administration. The books were to be used as textbooks in the new curriculum. As need arose, the curriculum expanded to include such subjects as Turkish and Persian literature and European history.

None of the earliest Qur'āns printed in Egypt have survived. Raḍwān *(Tārīkh)*, whose work in the Egyptian archives is the foundation of these remarks (except where noted), dates the first printing of portions of the Qur'ān *(ajzā')* to April 1833. Because no copies of this printing have survived, Raḍwān's history and the brief mention of printing by A.A. Paton in his *A history of the Egyptian revolution* (1863) are the only indications that the edition ever existed. Unfortunately, without copies of this printing, no descriptive bibliography or textual analysis is possible. Certain aspects of the edition, however, are clear. It was printed in tablet

or sheet form and is often referred to as *ajzā' al-Qur'ān,* in distinction to a complete *muṣḥaf*. We do not know whether the text was typeset or lithographed. If the latter, we do not know the calligrapher: if the former, we do not know if specialized type was used for the printing. Most notable by its absence is any mention of a committee of scholars to consult on the preparation and correction of the text, a tradition that goes back to the seventh century recension of ʿUthmān.

In the early years of Egyptian printing, the *ʿulamā'* objected to printing religious books, questioning whether any part of the apparatus employed the skin of dogs. The director of the press was instructed to answer their questions; whether he did so, and how he answered, are not to be found in the sources. Before printing the 1833 edition, Muḥammad ʿAlī asked Shaykh al-Tamīmī, Muftī of Egypt, to put his seal on the printed copy, so that it could be sold or otherwise distributed. The shaykh agreed to this, according to Paton (quoted by Raḍwān, *Tārīkh*).

Muḥammad ʿAlī ignored the core works of the religious curriculum. His disdain for the religious establishment was reciprocated by the religious scholars (*ʿulamā';* see SCHOLAR; KNOWLEDGE AND LEARNING; THEOLOGY AND THE QUR'ĀN). They viewed the press as an innovation *(bidʿa)*. To use metal letters or to apply heavy pressure in printing the name of God (see GOD AND HIS ATTRIBUTES) was reprehensible *(makrūh)*. They declared the use of the press for these purposes forbidden *(muḥarram)*. Further, use of printing equipment was inconsistent with the need for purity *(al-ṭahāra)* in preparing the text (see RITUAL PURITY). Ignoring opposition, Muḥammad ʿAlī authorized the first Egyptian printing of the Qur'ān. It is not clear whether the entire text or only portions of it were ready for distribution in 1833. Ṣābāt *(Tārīkh)* reports that the press operation at this stage did not have more than four correctors *(musaḥḥiḥūn)*. It is doubtful, therefore, whether this edition received the traditional attention of scholars and correctors before printing.

A year earlier (1832), an announcement appeared in the government's official news organ, *al-Waqā'iʿ al-miṣriyya,* announcing preparations to print sufficient copies of certain parts of the Qur'ān for pupils in the government schools. The exact portions of the text selected for printing were not specified. As a result of the solicitation, sixty sheets (*alwāḥ;* sing. *lūḥ*) were printed for distributi n to students, presumably students in the government's schools. Preceding the printing, the *ʿulamā'* were in contact with Muḥammad ʿAlī over the advantages of printing. Although they conceded some ground on this point, they declined to have books associated with religious instruction printed until the reforming Shaykh al-Azhar, Rifāʿa al-Ṭahṭāwī, petitioned the Egyptian ruler, Khedive Saʿīd (r. 1854-63), to print texts used at al-Azhar with government funding.

As was frequently the case with Būlāq imprints, there was a distribution beyond the schools for which they were printed and distributed, free of charge to students. The Qur'ān portions printed in 1833 were no doubt sold to the populace. Although we do not know the size of the print run or the price, we do know that 269 copies were collected in 1853 by order of Khedive ʿAbbās I (r. 1848-54). Acceding to the arguments of the *ʿulamā'* that the 1833 printing contained "some errors," ʿAbbās issued an order in May 1853 to confiscate the printing. The injunction did not have the intended effect, at least not immediately. Exactly one year later, in May 1854, the provincial government in Alexandria had to repeat the order against buying and sell-

ing the flawed edition. The copies were collected in a warehouse of the Ministry of the Interior *(dīwān al-dākhiliyya)*. The order legally to destroy them was difficult to carry out. Copies remained in storage until 1858 when Khedive Saʿīd inquired about providing some of them to students at the military school after they had been corrected. Fifty-two copies were thus distributed. It appears that sometime late in 1857 a project to correct the impounded *maṣāḥif* (see MUṢḤAF) was begun. The task of correcting them fell to a government scribe, Shaykh ʿAbd al-Bāqī l-Jarī (he was also a *ḥāfiẓ,* i.e. someone who had memorized the entire Qurʾān; see REGITERS OF THE QUR'ĀN; RECITATION OF THE QUR'ĀN), who had copied Ibn Khaldūn's (d. 784/1382) history.

From this time onward, the Būlāq Press proceeded to print the Qurʾān without objection from the *ʿulamāʾ* (for an example of a late nineteenth-century Būlāq printing, see Fig. VI). In order to ensure high standards of accuracy, a special department was established for matters pertaining to the Qurʾān *(maṭbaʿat al-muṣḥaf al-sharīf),* the director of which would be independent of the overall administration of the Būlāq Press. Neither the press law of 1859 under Khedive Saʿīd nor the law of 1881 under Khedive Tawfīq made reference to the Qurʾān. One can infer that, by that time, the advantages of printing the Qurʾān were recognized by the entire society. Distribution of the 1833 *muṣḥaf* no doubt suffered from the general weakness of distribution of many of the titles from the government presses. To be sure, copies were distributed to appropriate schools, but beyond this there was no efficient way to get books to the public, even though there were attempts to open government bookshops. Private booksellers thus filled the gap. Such trade was to have stopped after the confiscation order of 1853, so by the 1860s private publishers like al-Bābī l-Ḥalabī began to fill the market with editions of their own.

Other early printings of the Qurʾān

The studies by Proudfoot (Lithography) and Abdulrazak *(Kingdom)* illustrate the importance of lithography in southeast Asia and Morocco respectively. According to Proudfoot, the first Qurʾān printed in southeast Asia was also the first book printed by a native of the region (see SOUTHEAST ASIAN LITERATURE AND THE QUR'ĀN). In 1848, Muḥammad Azharī, a native of Sumatra, produced a lithographed Qurʾān that he reprinted in 1854. On his return home from a sojourn in Mecca, he stopped in Singapore to purchase the necessary equipment and supplies. He also hired an assistant, one Ibrāhīm b. Ḥusayn. Azharī himself copied the text. Inasmuch as there was no official body to vet his work, he established his bona fides in the colophon. He declares that the Qurʾān was printed on a stone press "in the handwriting of the man of God Almighty, Haji [sic] Muḥammad Azhari son of Kemas Haji Abdallah, resident of Pelambang, follower of the Shafiʿi school, of the Ashʿarite conviction…." (cited in Proudfoot, Lithography, 129) Both editions sold well (several hundred copies) and Proudfoot notes that Azharī quickly recovered the cost of his investment.

The case of Morocco adds other insights to the study of the Islamic press. The kingdom of Morocco, while not subject to the sultan in Istanbul, nor necessarily under the writ of the Ḥanafī Shaykh al-Islām in Istanbul, nevertheless followed the Ottomans in matters pertaining to printing. The lithographic press had been introduced in 1864 and was immediately used for religious books, although the Qurʾān was not printed until 1879. Abdulrazak *(Kingdom)* notes that the way was smoothed

for printing because "those scribes who were also scholars were not prevented from copying books for printing. As a matter of fact, those scholars who were able to perform more than one aspect of printing were very attractive to printers and publishers."

Contemporary printings of the Qur'ān

Today, the Qur'ān is produced in a variety of shapes, sizes and degrees of production quality. The foremost printing centers are Cairo and Medina, but Qur'āns are produced in many Islamic countries and in the West. Since the 1920s, the Cairo edition, known as the King Fū'ad or "royal *(amīriyya)* edition," has become the standard edition in Egypt. Many Qur'āns printed elsewhere have been modeled on its calligraphic style, printing conventions and editorial notes contained at the end of the volume. ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ al-Qāḍī (Muṣḥaf) summarizes the history of this printing. He states that, because numerous non-standard editions were filling the market, the authorities at al-Azhar took the matter under consideration at this time. A committee was appointed, headed by Shaykh Muḥammad ʿAlī l-Ḥusaynī, the chief of the Egyptian Qur'ān reciters. Also on the committee were Ḥanafī Nāṣif, chief inspector of Arabic at the Ministry of Education, Muṣṭafā ʿAnānī, a teacher at Madrasat al-Muʿallimīn l-Nāṣiriyya, and Aḥmad al-Iskandarānī, also at the Nāṣiriyya school. These four persons determined to use the ʿUthmānic recension *(rasm),* adopting the recitation conventions of Ḥafṣ *ʿan* ʿĀṣim, also noting whether the passages were Meccan or Medinan (see CHRONOLOGY AND THE QUR'ĀN). They decided on the markings for sūras (see SŪRA), *ajzā',* and other guides to recitation. Al-Qāḍī remarks that, in spite of the editorial attentions of the committee and the officials who reviewed the work, there were "several shortcomings" *(baʿḍ al-hanāt).*

When the first printing (i.e. that of 1924) was sold out, the National Library of Egypt determined to bring out another edition. The Library's director wrote to the Shaykh al-Azhar asking him to set up a committee for this purpose. ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ al-Qāḍī himself was appointed along with Shaykh Muḥammad ʿAlī l-Najjār, Shaykh ʿAlī Muḥammad al-Ḍibāʿ and Shaykh ʿAbd al-Ḥalīm al-Basyūnī. They reviewed the classical literature on all aspects of vocalization and recitation (see GRAMMAR AND THE QUR'ĀN; FORM AND STRUCTURE OF THE QUR'ĀN; LANGUAGE AND STYLE OF THE QUR'ĀN; TRADITIONAL DISCIPLINES OF QUR'ĀNIC STUDY). The result was what al-Qāḍī calls the second printing. The 1924 edition remained the basis of subsequent editions in Egypt.

A particularly well-made example is the printing of 1938 issued by ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd Salīm at al-Maṭbāʿat al-Shams al-Islāmiyya, a private firm. The original committee revised it. The government, too, issued an edition reviewed by the identical committee in 1936 called the Fārūq edition, after the Egyptian king, Fārūq (r. 1936-52). The version was corrected by Shaykh Naṣr al-ʿAdlī, chief corrector at the government *(amīriyya)* press. In addition to the signatures of the five persons involved, the work bears the seal of the Shaykh al-Azhar.

During the 1960s, the Qur'ān Review Section *(qism faḥṣ al-maṣāḥif)* of the al-Azhar administration controlled Qur'ān printing. Formerly, page proofs (Fr. *epreuves,* and thus Ar. *al-barūfāt*) of new editions would be reviewed only once before a permit was issued to print and distribute. Later, it was decided that a review was needed after printing and binding were complete. This change occurred after it was discovered that some copies had been misbound. During 1963, the Section re-

viewed forty-nine Qurʾān proofs written in the familiar Egyptian hand, eleven in Maghribī script (see ARABIC SCRIPT) and two from Brill. During the period from May 2, 1963 to November 20, 1963, the Section issued twenty-two licenses to print new *maṣāḥif* after review of page proofs by a committee appointed by the Section. In the same period, seventeen licenses were issued following review of the printed and bound copies. On the other hand, the Section withheld licenses in nine instances, most of them imported editions. The Section also had responsibility for examining imported *maṣāḥif* and those being exported. For the first eleven months of 1963 the Section reviewed 276,623 copies of the complete Qurʾān or parts of it exported to twenty-eight countries, an average of 25,158 copies per month. In 1967, al-Azhar, in cooperation with the government press, set out to reissue the Qurʾān in a printed rather than lithographed format. The first of these appeared in 1976 and was followed by printings in various sizes, with a total of 200,000 copies. The following year a special press was established specifically for printing the Qurʾān and other religious works. It began operation in 1985 (www.alazhar.org/english/about/quran/htm).

In Saudi Arabia, Qurʾān publishing is centered at the King Fahd Holy Qurʾān Printing Complex. Established in 1985 near Medina, the Complex may be one of the largest printing operations in the world. According to the website (www.quran.net/hadis/Madinah), the press employs 1,500 scholars, artists and technicians. Fourteen million copies of the Qurʾān in Arabic and six other languages have been printed since its founding. They are distributed free to pilgrims, as well as to mosques and other Islamic institutions worldwide. Another website (www.saudinf.com/main/y3694.htm), the information of which is dated February 4, 2002, puts the number of printed copies of the Arabic Qurʾān at 145 million since 1985. The Complex has a capacity of ten million copies per year. It is administered by the Ministry of Islamic Affairs, Endowments, Call, and Guidance. The government is not the only producer of Qurʾāns in Saudi Arabia. The publishing house Dār al-Salām is dedicated to printing the authentic Arabic text, translation and brief commentaries and marginal notes (www. dar-us-salam.com/about_us.htm). It was established in Riyadh in 1986 under the direction of ʿAbd al-Mālik Mujāhid. Besides offices in the United States and Britain, it has branches in Australia, Bangladesh, Malaysia, Pakistan, Qatar and Sri Lanka.

Over the last forty years the Qurʾān has been printed in many places, from Morocco to Indonesia. Iraq's first printing was in 1950. The Directorate of Endowments *(awqāf)* selected as its model a manuscript, which was then photographed at the Survey of Iraq. The original manuscript had been a gift of the mother of the Ottoman sultan ʿAbd al-Azīz to Shaykh Junayd al-Baghdādī in 1861. The manuscript had been copied in 1859 by Ḥāfiẓ Muḥammad Amīn Rushdī. The *awqāf* directorate formed an editorial committee of five to prepare the text for printing. Included in the group was the inspector of the Survey press, Ḥāshim Muḥammad al-Baghdādī. The press' calligrapher copied the text, adding headings for the sūras, "adjusting some of the *āyas*" (*taʿdīl baʿḍ al-āyāt;* see VERSES) and adding an index to the sūras, a common feature in printed Qurʾāns. The committee read the text to ensure conformity with Ḥafṣ and the *rasm* of ʿUthmān. The arrangement of *ajzāʾ, aḥzāb* and sūra titles was modeled on the Istanbul edition copied by Ḥāfiẓ ʿUthmān. The numbering of the sūras was taken from the official Cairo edition. The

committee signed their names at the end of the text, as was customary with large projects. There is rich ornamentation on the first two pages of text. The second edition, based on the first, came out in 1966. It is beautifully printed and bound with the traditional Islamic flap cover. The colophon indicates that the work was directed by the Ministry of Endowments *(dīwān al-awqāf)* and contracted to Marār Trading Company of Baghdad for execution. The committee overseeing the edition was composed of Shaykh ʿAbdallāh al-Shaykhlī, Shaykh Kamāl al-Dīn al-Ṭaʿī, and Nūrī l-Qāḍī, director of Religious Charities at the *dīwān*. The work was printed in Germany by K.G. Lohse of Frankfurt.

The Qurʾāns of India and Pakistan are characteristically individual in appearance and are often the result of personal devotions rather than the product of corporate investment or organized outreach. The Qurʾān of 1964 published in Shillong, East Pakistan embodies these idiosyncrasies. It is an Arabic text with English translation and with running commentary by Khadim Rahmani. In his introduction he says, "This being the first edition and the process of printing being a difficult one, we had to engage a local press for doing the job, so as to maintain a constant vigil and guidance all along the printing. Yet in spite of our best efforts, some printing mistakes cropped up." The same difficulties are noted in *The divine Qurʾān* with Arabic text, translation into English and English commentary by S.M. Abdul Hamid published in Dacca in 1962. The English translation is typewritten and comments are typed footnotes. In his introduction Abdul Hamid laments the poor quality of the paper and printing: "Some of my friends desired better printing and paper. But those who are aware of the difficulties of publishing will admit that in Pakistan [sic] we are to depend on the paper supplied by the local mills, and printing cannot be controlled unless one has got his own press." Like Khadim Rahmani, Abdul Hamid calls on his readers to alert him to printing mistakes. Even the prestigious edition with English translation of Abdullah Yusuf Ali published serially in Lahore beginning in 1937 bears the translator's request for corrections.

Not all contemporary Indian or Pakistani editions are produced as small-scale projects. The *Alifī Qurʾān* printed in Bombay at al-Qurʾān Printers displays all the hallmarks of a well-financed project. The edition derives its name from the fact that each line of text begins with the letter *alif,* the first letter of the Arabic alphabet. It is also distinguished in that the *basmala* (q.v.), the invocation "In the name of God," at the head of each sūra "has been written in 113 different calligraphic styles which have evolved over the fourteen centuries of Islamic era [sic]." As with all major publishing projects, scholars reviewed the calligraphed copy for correctness. As is also customary with commercially printed Qurʾāns, the publisher claims copyright protection. Akber Khan, chairman of the company, is unusually explicit, threatening that "… any person or organization… [who]… attempts to reproduce the *Qurʾān alifī* in any size or form, its whole or part, runs the risk of legal prosecution."

As Lebanon is well-known for its large and sophisticated publishing industry, it is not surprising that the Qurʾān is frequently printed there. The Qurʾāns are handsomely printed and bound and available at modest prices. Editions are often accompanied by the commentaries of al-Bayḍāwī or al-Jalālayn, sometimes both. In the edition published by al-Maktab al-Islāmī (Beirut and Damascus 1984), Shaykh Muḥammad Aḥmad Kanʿān explained and corrected the commentaries as he saw fit. In the Dār al-Maʿārif edition (Beirut

1982), the qur'ānic text and the two commentaries were reviewed by the Qur'ān corrector *(mudaqqiq al-maṣāḥif)* of the Syrian Ministry of Endowments *(awqāf)*, Marwān Suwār. In the edition of Dār al-ʿIlm lil-Malāyīn (Beirut 1984) the commentator and corrector, Muḥammad Aḥmad Kanʿān, whose edition appeared from al-Maktab al-Islāmī in the very same year, wrote a biography of al-Bayḍāwī and an explanation of his *Anwār al-tanzīl*, and describes why he chose to give a précis of the text, while assuring the reader that he has changed little of the original and did so only to "tie concepts together."

Despite the rigid requirements for Qur'ān publishing in the government context, experiments with the text continue in an attempt to make the scripture more universally comprehensible. One such effort appeared in Jakarta in 1973. This state-authorized experiment aligned the Arabic text with a romanized version for Muslims who wished to read the text in Arabic but who did not know the Arabic script or the complexities of the rules of recitation *(tajwīd)*. The volume was produced by the Reading Institute of Religious Affairs in cooperation with the Committee on Publication of the Qur'ān and the publisher Bahrul Ulum. The introduction calls this the first attempt to romanize Arabic for Indonesians. The introduction says, "We hope that the Qur'ān in Latin can become a model for future improved romanization." In a memorandum from the Reading Institute to the printer, the firm of Sumatra in Bandung, the Institute asserts that the transcription is accurate and that the work may by printed for distribution.

Non-Ḥafṣ printings

In the foregoing discussion it is assumed that all the editions cited adhere to the Ḥafṣ reading *(riwāya)*. Occasionally the Qur'ān is available in other readings. There is a 1964 *muṣḥaf* from Algeria in the Warsh *riwāya* and another version from Morocco. A Tunisian edition of the Qālūn *riwāya* was published by al-Dār al-Tūnisiyya lil-Nashr. In the Sudan the Dūrī reading was printed in 1989 by the Department of Religious Affairs and Endowments *(awqāf)*.

Summary

A most thorough examination of the 400-year delay between Gutenberg's Bible and the first Qur'ān printed in Egypt is provided by Proudfoot and Robinson. Both take issue with the commonly held view of Orientalists that it was caused by an innate conservatism among the *ʿulamā'*. They adhere to a more complex and nuanced approach. Most importantly, they highlight the separate historical trajectories of the Ottoman lands and the eastern territories: Iran, India and southeast Asia. In the former, the press was expressly excluded from use until the early eighteenth century. In the latter, where political and religious controls were diffuse, i.e. where the clerical control was weakest, great preachers and teachers such as Sayyid Aḥmad Khān and the Deobandis (q.v.) were — while no less fervent than their coreligionists in western Asia and north Africa — without allegiance to a strong authority. Thus, they were able to exploit printing unhindered by government controls. Robinson points out that print was employed in India to promote Islam not only against the British but, more fundamentally, to strengthen the community in the face of the Hindu majority.

Proudfoot also emphasizes that printing religious texts was a lucrative business in south and southeast Asia and came to be viewed as such in the premier Islamic publishing center, Cairo. He speculates that one of the reasons for the failure of what

he calls early experiments or false starts in printing in Istanbul and Cairo is that the works with the greatest potential for profit were forbidden. Nonetheless, in no case did the press, whether lithographic or typographic, lead to major improvements in the technology of printing. Doubtlessly, lithography ushered in a revolution in Islamic communications, education and self-definition in India, but it was not adapted to the same ends in the central Islamic lands (see TEACHING AND PREACHING THE QUR'ĀN). Moreover, no technical innovations were developed in any Muslim region (see SCIENCE AND THE QUR'ĀN). Every improvement in printing technique was developed in the West and eventually adopted by Muslims to often conservative religious ends. Thus, the basic point that the press was a late arrival in the Muslim world is correct and its use was entirely dependent on imported techniques.

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Prisoners

Persons physically detained by judicial authority in an institution for that purpose. The Qurʾān explicitly mentions prisoners *(al-masjūnūn)* only once, in Q 26:29, referring to Moses (q.v.). The noun "prison" *(al-sijn)* and its verbal forms are, however, found in the story of Joseph (q.v.) at Q 12:25 and in eight other places. Both of these narratives (q.v.) refer to the Pharaoh's (q.v.) prison in Egypt (q.v.), which some commentators described as "an underground place where a person was held without seeing or hearing anyone" (*Jalālayn,* 482, ad Q 26:29).

It seems unlikely that Mecca (q.v.) or Medina (q.v.) had any such dungeons during the time of Muḥammad, but some types of detention were known and rudimentary prisons in Medina and Baṣra are mentioned soon after Muḥammad's death. ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb reportedly had a house bought and turned into a prison in Mecca (Rosenthal, *Freedom,* 37-8; see CALIPH; COMPANIONS OF THE PROPHET); ʿAlī (see ʿALĪ B. ABĪ ṬĀLIB) likewise established a house prison in Baṣra (Schneider, *Imprisonment,* 167).

Generally, imprisonment is not counted as one of the qurʾānic punishments for crimes, even though Q 4:15 instructs that women who commit sexual indecency *(al-fāḥisha)* are to be held *(m-s-k)* in their homes (see ADULTERY AND FORNICATION; CHASTITY). There is a question as to whether such detention is equivalent to imprisonment, but the majority of scholars held that this verse was, in any case, abrogated (see ABROGATION) by Q 24:2, which decrees flogging (q.v.). Similarly, the Qurʾān refers to persons held in shackles *(riqāb, asīr)* but these are usually understood as referring either to slaves or captives (q.v.), not to prisoners (see also SLAVES AND SLAVERY).

The Prophet appears both to have detained someone on suspicion (*ḥabasa al-rajula fī tuhma,* Wensinck, *Concordance,* i, 411b) and also to have had someone bound *(rabaṭa)* to a pillar in the mosque (q.v.; Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* ii, 92 [44, Khusūmāt, 8]; Fr. trans. Houdas, *El-Bokhârî,* ii, 128), but there is no record of real imprisonment. The lack of clear qurʾānic and prophetic precedent has led to an occasional debate as to whether Islamic law sanctions imprisonment at all (Qurṭubī, *Jāmiʿ,* v, 85, ad Q 4:15; see LAW AND THE QURʾĀN; SUNNA).

Until the modern era, it seems that imprisonment was, in fact, little used by judges, usually restricted to a form of coercion (debtors' prisons) or conceived as an alternative or supplementary punishment. Political prisoners, however, appear to have been widely tolerated on the basis that the sultan has ultimate control over the freedom of his subjects (see KINGS AND RULERS; POLITICS AND THE QURʾĀN). The judicial reticence to enforce imprisonment may have its roots in a fundamental presumption of freedom as the natural state of humankind (see FREEDOM AND PREDESTINATION; OPPRESSION; OPPRESSED ON EARTH, THE). Along these lines, it is instructive to note that the Qurʾān describes Joseph's prison, in Q 12:25, with the same epithets usually reserved in the Qurʾān for hell: *ʿadhāb alīm,* a painful chastisement (see HELL AND HELLFIRE; REWARD AND PUNISHMENT). It also equates hell with prison directly in Q 17:8: "We have established hell for the unbelievers as a prison" (*wa-jaʿalnā jahannama lil-kāfirīna ḥaṣīran;* see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF). Al-Rāzī (d. 606/1210; *Tafsīr,* xx, 161, ad Q 17:8) distinguishes the two, emphasizing that while one will eventually be freed from an earthly prison, if only by death, hell "is a barrier *(ḥāṣir)* for people, surrounding them and offering no hope of release."

In contrast to judicial imprisonment, prisoners of war (q.v.) are discussed in Q 47:4, 8:67-9 and elsewhere. Such captives were sometimes pardoned or held for ransom but could also be enslaved or even killed. A minority argued that ransom or pardon were the only licit possibilities (Ibn Rushd, *Bidāya,* i, 382). Most modern interpreters embrace this minority opinion, thereby bringing rules on prisoners of war in line with international norms (Hashmi, Saving, 145).

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Profane and Sacred

What pertains to the non-divine realm and to the divine realm, respectively. The English word profane is derived from the Latin expression *pro fanum* describing the area in front of the shrine or persons who came to a temple without being initiated. The Latin *profanus* was used to denote the opposite of *sanctus,* "divine," and *sacer/sacratus,* "dedicated to God," both by Roman as well as Jewish and Christian authors. In everyday English language, "profane" can denote something of lesser value and is sometimes synonymous with temporal, non-religious, and secular. Since the second half of the nineteenth century and especially after Durkheim's 1912 study on the primary forms of religious life, profane has gained importance as a critical term in describing the origins and essential characteristics of religions. Indeed, Durkheim defined as a critical element of any religion the classification of all things as either profane or sacred. Despite the frequent occurrence of profane in modern studies of religion, however, no coherent concept of this term has been developed in scholarly discourse, and several studies on the topic have raised doubts as to whether profane may be viewed as an applicable operative concept of religious studies at all. Also, studies of the religion of Islam and Islamic culture frequently refer to the "profane" without providing a definition. Therefore, before reflecting on the relevance of profane in the context of the Qurʾān, a brief summary of various aspects of the profane as discussed in religious studies is necessary.

Problems of definition

In its original meaning, the word "profane" suggests a distinction between two different kinds of space. Profane, at this semantic level, denotes the space that is not sacred or holy and that encircles a sacred area that is set apart from the profane by a boundary. According to Eliade, a religious person perceives the non-homogeneity of space as the contrast between a well defined sacred place — either an edifice constructed for religious purposes (see SACRED PRECINCTS; HOUSE, DOMESTIC AND DIVINE; KAʿBA; MOSQUE; CHURCH) or a natural phenomenon that is religiously interpreted (see NATURE AS SIGNS; MARVELS; MIRACLES) — and the indefinite, amorphous space around it. Only particular, precious objects and privileged persons are permitted to remain in a sacred place. Outside or in front of the sacred enclosure extends the domain of ordinary objects and persons — the profane space. In some cases, however, one particular place may be regarded as sacred and non-sacred at the same time even by believers of one religion. In addition, religious communities, whose followers are spread over large territories, often believe a variety of places to be sacred (see MECCA; MEDINA; JERUSALEM; GEOGRAPHY). Consequently, the

profane space outside a particular sacred enclosure may contain a number of other sacred places and is therefore not regarded as completely profane.

Although originating from a particular concept of space, the distinction between sacred and profane is not restricted to spatial categories (see SPATIAL RELATIONS). Reference to sacred objects, sacred time (q.v.), sacred states (see RITUAL PURITY), sacred acts (see PRAYER; FASTING; ALMSGIVING; PILGRIMAGE), and sacred personalities (see SAINT) in the context of various religions leads to the conclusion that there must be also profane objects, times, states, acts, and personalities (see EVERYDAY LIFE, THE QUR'ĀN IN; MATERIAL CULTURE AND THE QUR'ĀN; MEDIA AND THE QUR'ĀN). Profane time may be described as the ordinary time of everyday life without the occurrence of any event of religious significance (see HISTORY AND THE QUR'ĀN). Sacred periods are, for example, times of religious feasts during which critical events that occurred at an early point in a religion's history are celebrated and reenacted (see FESTIVALS AND COMMEMORATIVE DAYS). The believer changes from profane to sacred time by practicing particular rites. Also these rites contain elements of sacredness (see RITUAL AND THE QUR'ĀN). They may therefore be regarded as sacred acts and the time of ritual practice can be viewed as sacred time.

Durkheim has pointed to another relationship between time and the profane. He observed that the passing of time may reduce the degree of profaneness and enlarge the degree of sacredness attributed to a religious phenomenon as, with time, the veneration of successive generations of believers in that particular phenomenon grows. Durkheim also mentioned the idea of various degrees of sacredness implicit in this observation in a number of other places in his study on the primary forms of religious life, *Les formes élémentaires de la vie religieuse*.

A profane person is described as someone who belongs to the world outside a sacred space, who illegitimately enters sacred space, or who transgresses the law that protects the sacred ideas and rites of a particular religion. There is a certain ambiguity in the establishment of the sacred in that, on the one hand, it is not arbitrary as when, for example, the significance of a sacred place is grounded in its unique character, a character that no purely human action can confer on it. In other cases, however, space obtains religious meaning precisely because it is chosen on an arbitrary basis. Furthermore, there is no intrinsic reason why a particular phenomenon should be more sacred than another, or even sacred at all. The manifestation of the sacred (hierophany) and the profane (prophanophany) is the result of an intellectual process and is, as such, always artificial and subjective. This leads to a situation where what is sacred to the faithful of one religious tradition may be conceived of as profane by the faithful professing another (see POLEMIC AND POLEMICAL LANGUAGE).

A precise circumscription of the profane in abstract terms is difficult because of its amorphous nature and the existence of various systems of belief and designations of sacredness (see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF; RELIGIOUS PLURALISM AND THE QUR'ĀN). Therefore, the profane is often described in negative terms like non-religious or non-sacred. The sacred, however, is also defined in different ways based on various methodologies. This leads to uncertainty and inconsistency even when describing the profane as the opposite of the sacred. One occasion on which the border between the sacred and the profane becomes identifiable in a particular religion is the act of profanation. "To profane" means to

take something away from the space of a sanctuary, to bring something from the world of the gods or the one God to the human world or, on a more practical level, to ignore sacred orders or laws. An example would be disregarding the observance of sacred periods of time by acting in a manner that is forbidden by the regulations of a particular religion during that sacred period (see MONTHS). This distorted or deviant approach to the sacred, that is, treating it with irreverence or contempt, is conveyed by the root letters *l-ḥ-d* — especially in Q 7:180 and 41:40 (see HERESY; ERROR; ASTRAY), and implies a violation of the sacred, as in blaspheming the names of God or his signs (q.v.; see also CURSE; BLASPHEMY; OATHS; BREAKING TRUSTS AND CONTRACTS). Profanation can be understood as one form of communication between the sacred and the profane.

Another form of communication between the sacred and the profane has been observed in sacrifice (q.v.) with the victim as a medium between the two spheres (see CONSECRATION OF ANIMALS). Interestingly, in Roman texts the Latin verb *profanare* described the act of selling or distributing the meat of the sacrifice to the populace in front of the temple. Inquiries into the nature of profane and sacred often attempt to answer two essential questions, namely what is defined as profane or sacred in a particular religion, and what believers are permitted or forbidden (q.v.) to do with or within the profane or the sacred. Various studies on the sacred have identified exclusiveness (being superior in dignity and power, being a means of communication with gods or the one God, or of access between the human world and divine realities), separateness, otherness, and remoteness from the ordinary as common traits of the "sacred." On the contrary, the "profane" is often characterized as the non-sacred, non-religious, secular, ordinary, and as being of no religious significance, or of lesser value than the "sacred."

The profane, the sacred and the Qurʾān

The existence of the profane as an autonomous phenomenon can only be acknowledged by someone who does not accept the idea of the absolute transcendence of the divine (see GOD AND HIS ATTRIBUTES; ANTHROPOMORPHISM). If divine creation (q.v.) of all things is presupposed, the profane can exist only if sacredness is not attributed to the whole of divine creation. The Qurʾān postulates the role of God as the creator of all things (Q 6:102; 13:16; 39:62; cf. 15:86; 36:81, etc.). Yet because the qurʾānic text may be interpreted as discussing phenomena of the profane on several occasions it can be argued that it does not support the view that everything that is created by God must only be regarded as sacred. Divine origin appears, however, as an important argument for the sacred character of the Qurʾān in the holy book (q.v.) itself (see CREATEDNESS OF THE QURʾĀN; INIMITABILITY). It is stated that the Qurʾān represents those parts of the heavenly book (q.v.) that were sent down to the prophet Muḥammad in the Arabic language (q.v.; cf. Q 12:2; 20:113; 41:3; 42:7; 43:3-4; see also REVELATION AND INSPIRATION). Q 10:37 implies that the character of the qurʾānic text proves its divine origin. Even if humans and jinn (q.v.) would combine their efforts they could not bring forth a text like the Qurʾān (Q 17:88). Those who claim to have received another version of the heavenly book present but a distorted version of it (Q 3:78). God warns those who have broken the Qurʾān into fragments, and thus distorted its meaning, about the consequences of such an act (cf. Q 15:90-2; see CORRUPTION; FORGERY). A person's attitude towards the Qurʾān is a clear indicator of the distinction between believers and unbelievers (see BELIEF AND

UNBELIEF). Also, any doubts regarding the unique character of the Qurʾān and its revelation to Muḥammad (cf. Q 25:4-6) are tantamount to profanation (see OPPOSITION TO MUḤAMMAD). Those who deny the divine origin of the Qurʾān are threatened with severe punishment on the day of resurrection (q.v.; Q 6:27; see also LAST JUDGMENT; REWARD AND PUNISHMENT). Whereas the true believers recite the Qurʾān and follow its commandments (q.v.), the unbelievers dispute the Qurʾān and are therefore hated by God and those who believe in God and Muḥammad as his messenger (cf. Q 29:46; 40:35). Reading the Qurʾān is described as an act of worship (q.v.) and, as such, represents a broader sense of communication with God (Q 3:79; 17:78; 73:20). These and other passages underscore the fact that the Qurʾān may not be regarded as part of, or comparable to, profane writing. It goes without saying that no other scripture is attributed with these exclusive qualities of the Qurʾān (see TORAH; PSALMS; GOSPEL; SCRIPTURE AND THE QURʾĀN; PEOPLE OF THE BOOK; ORALITY AND WRITING IN ARABIA).

The sacred character of the Qurʾān is confirmed by religious practice in the course of history. Reading and reciting the holy book, or parts thereof, is mentioned as a form of communication with God in historiographical sources (see RECITATION OF THE QURʾĀN). For example, we know that representatives of the military elite of the Mamlūk era paid great numbers of religious scholars to recite the Qurʾān in schools, Ṣūfī convents *(khānqāh)* and public places to secure for themselves the blessing (q.v.) of God (*baraka;* see also POPULAR AND TALISMANIC USES OF THE QURʾĀN). Until today, religious cultus in the private sphere includes recitation of qurʾānic passages on many occasions like, for example, during Ramaḍān (q.v.), wedding celebrations and funerals as a form of communication with God. For various reasons, however, the Qurʾān was never a critical element of official liturgical practice in Islam (outside of the ritual prayer; see also FORM AND STRUCTURE OF THE QURʾĀN).

Qurʾānic terminology of sacred and profane

As mentioned above, the word "profane" can be traced back to the linguistic context of classical Roman, Jewish and Christian writers including the Church Fathers. When using "profane" in the description of respective concepts in other religions, one has to take into consideration semantic differences between the terminology of the language of the scholar examining a particular system of belief (meta-language) and, if known, the language of the people whose religion is the object of study (object language). Terms of object language and meta-language usually do not represent identical concepts. Therefore, scholars seeking to develop definitions of the profane, must refer not only to the self-definition of the concept as provided in the language examined, but should also analyze concepts similar in content though without any terminological link, utilizing comparative methods of religious studies, sociology, history, psychology, and other disciplines.

Different forms of the Arabic root *ḥ-r-m* have been understood in western scholarship as conveying the meaning of sacred and, as a result, words of this root occurring in the Qurʾān are often translated as "sacred" in English renditions of the Qurʾān. According to later Islamic tradition, "the sacred mosque" of the Qurʾān (*al-masjid al-ḥarām,* Q 2:144, 149-50, 191, 196; 5:2; 8:34; 9:7, 19, 28; 48:25, 27) denotes the Prophet's mosque in Mecca (q.v.); "the sacred hill" (*al-mashʿar al-ḥarām,* Q 2:198), where, according to tradition, Muḥammad stood and prayed to God, is understood to refer to the hill of Quzaḥ in Muzdalifa;

and "the sacred house" (*al-bayt al-ḥarām,* Q 5:2, 97; cf. 14:37) is identified as the Kaʿba. Later tradition explains the "safe sanctuary" (*ḥaram āmin,* Q 28:57; 29:67) as the area surrounding Mecca, and the *ḥurumāt* are God's sacred ordinances (Q 22:30). English translations of the verb *ḥarrama* can be "to forbid" or "to hallow/to make sacred": in certain passages the latter meaning is regularly preferred (e.g. Q 27:91), although in other places the term is always translated as "to forbid" (Q 2:173, 275; 3:93; 5:72, etc.).

The various forms of the root *ḥ-r-m* highlight the exclusiveness of the sacred in the Qurʾān. The places denoted as *ḥarām* or *ḥaram* may be entered only by believers in a particular state of consecration, *iḥrām* (see RITUAL PURITY). The word *iḥrām* does not occur in the Qurʾān. The nominal form *ḥurum,* however, stands in some qurʾānic passages for a number of believers who have assumed the sacred state (Q 5:1, 95-6). This state of *iḥrām* permits the believer to enter the sacred area and prohibits certain activities that were allowable before he or she assumed the *iḥrām* (sexual intercourse, ointments or perfumes, the wearing of sewn garments, hunting, etc.; see HUNTING AND FISHING; CLOTHING; ODORS AND SMELLS; SEX AND SEXUALITY). Entrance into the sacred areas and places is forbidden to those who are not in a state of *iḥrām*. Consequently, the *iḥrām* has to be assumed by every believer when performing the minor or/and the major pilgrimage *(ʿumra, ḥajj)*.

The fourth form of *ḥ-r-m* is also used to describe the entrance into a sacred period, such as a sacred month, although, again, this usage does not occur in the Qurʾān itself. The phrase, *al-shahr al-ḥarām,* "the sacred month," is mentioned in Q 2:194, 217; 5:2, 97, but the particular month referred to in these verses has not been identified with any certainty. Q 2:5, however, suggests that the month of pilgrimage, Dhū l-Ḥijja, is meant. Q 9:5 speaks of sacred months *(al-ashhur al-ḥurum),* Q 9:36 more precisely of four sacred months. Again, sacredness, as denoted by the word *ḥarām,* is defined by what is forbidden during the exclusive period of the sacred month. Entering the time of prayer also requires the state of *iḥrām*. Ritual purity and a prescribed manner of dressing are necessary preconditions of *iḥrām*. The sacredness of *iḥrām* is also underscored in various commentaries (see EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL) on Q 17:80, where it is said that angels are present during the *iḥrām* that must be assumed before prayer.

Another root used to denote the sacred in the Qurʾān is *q-d-s*. Words of this root may convey the meaning of being far removed from, or free of, evil, impurity, or imperfection (see CLEANLINESS AND ABLUTION; IMPECCABILITY; GOOD AND EVIL). The degree of perfection or purity described by words of the root *q-d-s* is extraordinary. This may have led to an interpretation of *q-d-s* as "sacred" in English translation. The Qurʾān characterizes various phenomena with words derived from this root. In Q 20:12 and 79:16 the valley of Ṭuwā (q.v.), where Moses (q.v.) was informed by God about his prophethood (see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD), is denoted as *muqaddas*. In Q 59:23 and Q 62:1 the term *al-qudus* occurs as an epithet of God. The phrase *rūḥ al-qudus,* "holy spirit" (q.v.), identified in the commentaries as Gabriel (q.v.), mentioned in conjunction with Jesus (q.v.), occurs in Q 2:87, 253, 5:110 and Q 16:102. "The sacred area" *(al-arḍ al-muqaddasa)* in Q 5:21 is understood to signify the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem and the area surrounding it.

The opposite of *ḥ-r-m* in the sense of to "be, or become forbidden, prohibited, or sacred," is expressed by words derived

from the root *ḥ-l-l*. In some passages, words of the root *ḥ-l-l* denote what is, becomes or is declared permissible, lawful, or free from legal obligation (Q 2:228-30, 275; 3:50; 5:87, etc.; see LAWFUL AND UNLAWFUL). In other passages of the Qurʾān, words of this root may be understood as representing the meaning of profane. Q 5:2 commands the believers to avoid acts of profanation. The phrase used in this passage, *lā tuḥillū,* is often translated as "do not violate or render permissible something." Among that which shall not be profaned is the sacred month — *al-shahr al-ḥarām*. Attacking those who are on their way to the sacred house (understood as the Kaʿba) is also not permitted, and is tantamount to profanation. Leaving the state of *iḥrām* and returning to the profane state is expressed by the phrase *idhā ḥalaltum* in Q 5:2, where it is asserted that hunting is permissible for those who have returned to the profane state. In Q 9:37 the insertion of intercalary months (q.v.) is forbidden. The practice of declaring the month after Dhū l-Ḥijja sacred *(yuḥarrimūnahu)* during one year and, if the intercalary month is inserted, profane *(yuḥillūnahu)* during another year is rejected as a practice of unbelief *(kufr)*. In other Arabic sources, all months except those defined as sacred *(ḥarām, ḥurum)* are described as profane, using the word *ḥill*. Also, in certain cases the verb *aḥalla* may signify leaving the sacred state *(iḥrām)* or entering upon the profane months or the profane territories. When the believer finishes prayer he or she returns to the profane state *(ḥalāl)*. The tenth verbal form of *ḥ-l-l, istaḥalla,* means to deem permissible or lawful and, by extension, to profane or to desecrate something sacred. The term *muḥill* describes, among other things, a man who violates the sacred and commits an act of profanation.

The word *dunyā* (derived from the root *d-n-w,* "be, or become near"), sometimes rendered as "[profane] world" when encountered in modern texts, is found in many qurʾānic verses where it denotes the present world (the nearer dwelling place), as opposed to the hereafter, *al-ākhira* (the last dwelling place; see ESCHATOLOGY). *Dunyā* is often interpreted as signifying everything that befalls humans before death or every activity that is not aimed at the service of God. In both senses, *dunyā* may be taken to express aspects of the profane. When interpreted as the present world, however, *dunyā* may include such activities as rites and entrance into holy areas and sacred periods, all of which are part of a believer's life before the hereafter. *Dunyā*, then, cannot be understood as coterminus with the profane.

The word *ʿādī,* occasionally translated as profane when found in modern Arabic texts, does not occur in the Qurʾān in this sense.

Regulations of profane life in the Qurʾān

In the Qurʾān, phenomena of the sacred are not necessarily described by words derived from the roots *ḥ-r-m,* or *q-d-s*. For example, two places which were of religious significance before the advent of Islam (see PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QURʾĀN), al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa (Q 2:158; see ṢAFĀ AND MARWA), retained their sacred character in Islam but are not characterized as *ḥarām* or *muqaddas* in the Qurʾān. Moreover, if ritual practiced by believers at a particular place or directed towards it marks that place as "sacred," then not only the "sacred mosque," but also all mosques (Q 2:187; 9:17-8) and the *qibla* (q.v.), must be regarded as sacred.

Similarly, not all profane phenomena, as mentioned in the Qurʾān, are described by words derived from the roots *ḥ-l-l* or *d-n-w*. The Qurʾān contains rules that must be observed in profane, everyday life and that are not related to any ritual activity. Some

of these rules, for example, the prohibition of usury (q.v.; Q 3:130) or the regulations of inheritance (q.v.; Q 4:11-2, 176) were later cited and explained in the chapters on worldly matters *(muʿāmalāt)* of the manuals of Islamic jurisprudence (see LAW AND THE QURʾĀN), whereas ritual and religious observances were discussed in the *ʿibādāt* chapters (see FAITH). The distinction between *ʿibādāt* and *muʿāmalāt* may, therefore, be interpreted as expressing the distinction between the sacred and the profane spheres of life in the Qurʾān.

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Profanity

see CURSE; BLASPHEMY

Progeny

see CHILDREN

Prognostication

see DIVINATION; FORETELLING; POPULAR AND TALISMANIC USES OF THE QURʾĀN

Prohibited Degrees

The various categories of persons a man may not marry. These are most completely laid out in Q 4:22-4, which read:

And marry not women whom your fathers married, except what is past... Prohibited to you are your mothers, daughters, sisters, father's sisters, mother's sisters, brother's daughters, sister's daughters, foster-mothers (see WET NURSING; LACTATION), foster-sisters, your wives' mothers, your step-daughters under your guardianship who are from women to whom you have gone in… wives of your natural sons, two sisters in wedlock at one and the same time… women already married except

those whom your right hands possess. Except for these, all others are lawful…

The Muslim jurists point out four types of impediment to marriage in this passage (see MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE; LAW AND THE QUR'ĀN): consanguinity (mother, daughters, sisters, paternal and maternal aunts, and nieces; see BLOOD AND BLOOD CLOT), fosterage (q.v.; foster-mother, foster-sisters), affinity by marriage (mothers-in-law, step-daughters under certain conditions) and sisterly conjunction (concurrent marriage to two women who are sisters to each other; see SISTERS). They also draw a distinction between temporary and permanent impediments. Also prohibited by this passage are free women married to other men — married female slaves are the exception (see SLAVES AND SLAVERY) — and widows (see WIDOW) of one's father (see also PARENTS; FAMILY; KINSHIP).

All women other than these *(mā warā'a dhālikum)* are, this passage tells us if taken in its literal *(zāhir)* meaning, marriageable (see LAWFUL AND UNLAWFUL; FORBIDDEN). The key phrase *mā warā'a dhālikum,* however, cannot, according to most jurists, be taken literally, since there are definitely other categories of unmarriageable women beyond those mentioned in Q 4:22-4. For example, Q 24:3 makes unchasteness *(zinā)* an impediment to marriage (see ADULTERY AND FORNICATION): the unchaste person may not marry a chaste person and a chaste person may not marry an unchaste person. An unchaste person who wishes to marry has only two options: he or she may only marry another unchaste person or an idolater (see POLYTHEISM AND ATHEISM; IDOLATRY AND IDOLATERS; COMMUNITY AND SOCIETY IN THE QUR'ĀN). As Q 24:26 declares, the (morally) wicked are for their like to marry, and the morally (good) are for their like to marry (see GOOD AND EVIL; ETHICS AND THE QUR'ĀN). In Q 5:5, however, the Qur'ān permits Muslim men to marry women from among those who were recipients of earlier scriptures (see PEOPLE OF THE BOOK; SCRIPTURE AND THE QUR'ĀN). Other additional categories of unmarriageable women are: women who would through the contemplated marriage become fifth wives, women who are in the state of *'idda* (temporarily excluded from marriage following divorce; see WAITING PERIOD), women who are unmarriageable as a result of the prohibition of sexual intercourse during the pilgrimage (q.v.; see also RITUAL PURITY) and women who were previously divorced by the man with whom marriage is contemplated and have not married in the interval (see SEX AND SEXUALITY).

Finally, it should be noted that Muslim jurists in general have treated the terms *ummahāt,* "mothers," in Q 4:22-4 to be inclusive of all degrees *(darajāt)* of maternal ascent (mother, grandmother, etc.) and *banāt,* "daughters," to be inclusive of all degrees in the daughter line of descent (daughter, granddaughter, etc.). A quick glance at later commentaries of the Qur'ān — such as the mammoth and singularly comprehensive commentary of Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 606/1210; see EXEGESIS OF THE QUR'ĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL) — reveals a large variety of controversial issues pertaining to the subject of prohibited degrees. Al-Rāzī enumerates and discusses well over forty issues pertaining to Q 4:22-4 alone, quite apart from the other qur'ānic passages that have a bearing on this subject. In his treatment of each issue, he lays out the position of the different schools and then advances arguments for his own position in the manner typical of medieval Muslim legal scholasticism (see also THEOLOGY AND THE QUR'ĀN).

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Promise see COVENANT

Proof

Clear evidence that brings about the conviction that something is true, as well as its ordered presentation. Several qurʾānic terms are used to refer to the divinely provided evidence for God's existence, unicity, power and guidance, and in particular for the truth (q.v.) of his messengers' claims (see MESSENGER). Among the most common is the adjective *bayyina* (pl. *bayyināt*), "clear, evident, manifest," usually used as a substantive, "clear evidence or proof." Occurring primarily in Meccan passages (cf. Suyūṭī, *Muʿtarak,* i, 460-3; see CHRONOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN), its range of meanings may be illustrated from those cases where it occurs in conjunction with "sign" (*āya,* see SIGNS): "clear signs" include evidentiary miracles (q.v.; e.g. Q 2:211; 17:101; 28:36), visible reminders of God's guidance and wrath (Q 3:97; 29:35; see ASTRAY; FREEDOM AND PREDESTINATION; ANGER) and especially the verses (q.v.) of a revealed scripture (e.g. Q 24:1). A messenger comes with *bayyināt* (Q 2:87 is the first of many examples), may be said to be [relying] "upon a *bayyina*" (e.g. Q 6:57), or even himself be a *bayyina* (Q 98:1, 4).

It is the nature of *āyāt bayyināt* to be illuminating (Q 57:9) and convincing (cf. Q 2:99): Pharaoh's (q.v.) magicians were prepared to accept torment and martyrdom after the *bayyināt* brought by Moses (q.v.) constrained them to faith (q.v.; Q 20:72-3). While the qurʾānic hope, however, is that human beings may perhaps be reminded by the *āyāt bayyināt* (Q 24:1), the sad reality is that they are regularly met with divisiveness (e.g. Q 2:253), doubt (Q 40:34; see UNCERTAINTY), proud rejection (e.g. Q 29:39; 40:83; see PRIDE; ARROGANCE; LIE; BELIEF AND UNBELIEF), scorn (e.g. Q 5:110; 28:36; 61:6; see MOCKERY) and hostility (e.g. Q 22:72; see OPPOSITION TO MUḤAMMAD; ENEMIES). Some believe but then backslide (e.g. Q 2:209; 3:86). Because the unbelievers "deny the undeniable" (Mir, *Dictionary,* 128) they wrong themselves (e.g. Q 9:70) and will have no claim on God's mercy (q.v.) when cast into the fire (Q 40:49-50; see HELL AND HELLFIRE).

Yet more powerful than the clarity of the *bayyina* is the "brilliant manifestation" of the *burhān* (Gardet, Burhān), which, in Q 4:174, is set in parallel with "a clear light" (q.v.; cf. Ethiopic *berhān* for "light"). A *burhān* may be a vision (Q 12:24 according to many commentators and haggadic parallels; see VISIONS; DREAMS AND SLEEP) or an evidentiary miracle brought by a messenger (Q 28:32). *Mushrikūn,* i.e. those who associate other gods with God — or choose other gods instead (cf. Q 21:24; 27:64; 28:75) — as well as Jews and Christians (Q 2:111; see JEWS AND JUDAISM; CHRISTIANS AND CHRISTIANITY) are challenged to produce a *burhān* for their claims; but anyone who associates other gods with God emphatically has none (Q 23:117).

Other vocabulary covers some of the same ground. Those who claim knowledge of the unseen (see HIDDEN AND THE HIDDEN) are asked to bring a *sulṭān mubīn* (Q 52:38), here an "authoritative proof" (see AUTHORITY). Moses in particular is said to have been sent with "a clear warrant" (*sulṭān mubīn,* e.g. Q 11:96) while God

has not sent down a *sulṭān* warranting idolatry (e.g. Q 3:151; see IDOLATRY AND IDOLATERS). God-given evidences viewed as proofs that ought to give insight to the mind (see INTELLECT) and heart (q.v.) may be called *baṣāʾir* (sing. *baṣīra*). They include the scriptures (Q 7:203; 28:43; see BOOK), signs in the creation (q.v.; Q 6:104; cf. 6:97-9; see NATURE AS SIGNS) and evidentiary miracles (Q 17:101-2).

Thus far this article has emphasized proof as manifest evidence rather than as demonstrative argument. The qurʾānic use of the word *ḥujja* includes the latter, twice referring to a *ḥujja* that comes from or belongs to God: in Q 6:(75-)83 it is the argument for God's unicity *(tawḥīd)* given to Abraham (q.v.; a passage highlighted in al-Ashʿarī's apology for *kalām* reasoning; see THEOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN; PHILOSOPHY AND THE QURʾĀN); while in Q 6:148-9 God is said to have "the conclusive argument" over against human conjecture *(ẓann)*. Indeed, a human *ḥujja* may turn out to be null and void (Q 42:16). It should also be noted that, in addition to the qurʾānic lexemes connoting "proof," the Qurʾān contains arguments for its own veracity. For example, in his *Muqaddima* (285), Ibn Naqīb (d. 698/1298) deals with the *argumentum a fortiori* (i.e. Q 36:78-9, 81; 21:22). Perhaps the most comprehensive discussion of the diverse qurʾānic "proofs" or "arguments" is provided by Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505), who lists the various types of rhetorical devices the Qurʾān employs to counter its detractors (cf. Suyūṭī, *Muʿtarak,* i, 456-63; id., *Itqān,* iv, 60-6; see also DEBATE AND DISPUTATION).

Finally, *falsafa* adopted the word *burhān* as the technical term for a methodologically rigorous demonstration leading to certain truth. Thus, in Arabic translation Aristotle's *Posterior analytics* became *Kitāb al-Burhān*. The same title is found in a number of Christian apologetic treatises in Arabic, beginning with that of the Nestorian *mutakallim* ʿAmmār al-Baṣrī (fl. third/ninth cent.) which may be seen as a response to the Qurʾān's challenge: *hātū burhānakum* (Q 2:111; see POLEMIC AND POLEMICAL LANGUAGE; CHRISTIANS AND CHRISTIANITY).

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Property

Wealth, goods, things owned. There is no formal, legal concept of property in the Qurʾān, nor is there a technical equivalent to the Latin *res* of Western tradition. There is, however, a general concern with property as is clearly indicated, for example, by the verses outlining the punishment for theft (q.v.; Q 5:38; see also BOUNDARIES AND PRECEPTS; CHASTISEMENT AND PUNISHMENT; LAW AND THE QURʾĀN). Roughly speaking, there are three contexts in which the Qurʾān addresses property: commercial, private and general.

In a commercial context, there are several terms used to designate property, the object generally being "goods,"

"commodities" or "possessions." In Sūrat Yūsuf (Q 12, "Joseph"), the term *biḍāʿa,* "goods," is used to refer to the property allegedly stolen by the brothers of Joseph (q.v.; Q 12:62, 65; see also BROTHERS AND BROTHERHOOD; BENJAMIN). In Sūrat al-Aʿrāf (Q 7, "The Heights"), the Madyanites (see MIDIAN) are warned "not to cheat people out of their property" (*lā tabkhasū l-nāsa ashyāʾahum,* Q 7:85; see CHEATING) — *ashyāʾ* (sing. *shayʾ*) meaning literally "things." The same admonishment is repeated in Q 26:183 (cf. Q 11:85). Also, the term *māl* (pl. *amwāl;* see below) is used in a commercial context in the sense of "countervalue."

In a private context, the verb *malaka,* "to own, possess," is used to denote property ownership (see POSSESSION AND POSSESSIONS). Several verses, for example, Q 4:3, 24, 25, 36, Q 16:71, Q 23:6 and passim, speak of "what your right hands possess" *(mā malakat aymānukum),* the reference being to private ownership of (female) slaves (see SLAVES AND SLAVERY). In Q 24:61 private ownership of real estate is conveyed via the phrase "that whose keys you own/possess" *(mā malaktum mafātīḥahu).*

In a general context, three terms are used to denote property or ownership. The first, *rabb,* "owner, lord," is used extensively to refer to God and his dominion or ownership over the universe (see LORD; KINGS AND RULERS; POWER AND IMPOTENCE). God is, *inter alia,* the "owner of the universe" (*rabb al-ʿālamīna,* Q 1:2; 2:131; 5:28; 6:45, and passim), the "owner of the heavens and the earth" (q.v.; *rabb al-samāwāti wa-l-arḍi,* Q 13:16; 17:102; 18:14; 19:65, and passim; see also HEAVEN AND SKY), "the owner of this [sacred] house" (*rabb hādhā l-bayti,* Q 106:3; see HOUSE, DOMESTIC AND DIVINE; PROFANE AND SACRED). While *rabb* in this sense refers almost exclusively to God, there is at least one instance where exegetes note its application to a human being, namely Potiphar (in Q 12:23; see EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL).

Another term used for property in general is *khayr.* The basic meaning of *khayr* being "good," this term imputes an emphatically positive meaning to property and casts it in its most favorable light, i.e. "fortune." Speaking, for example, in the context of inheritance (q.v.), Q 2:180 refers to the property left by the deceased as *khayr.* Other verses mildly chide human beings, however, for over-indulging their (presumably natural) love of property. Q 100:8 refers to humans as "extremely severe in their love of property" *(li-ḥubbi l-khayri la-shadīdun).* And Q 38:32 records the prophet Solomon's (q.v.) penitent self-criticism for having placed his love of property *(ḥubb al-khayr)* over the remembrance (q.v.) of his lord (see also REPENTANCE AND PENANCE).

The term used most extensively, however, for property in general is *māl* and its plural *amwāl.* While this term also carries the meaning of "money" or "cash" in the restricted sense, liquid currency was the exception rather than the norm in first/seventh century Arabia (see PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QURʾĀN; MONEY; NUMISMATICS; for further on this, see Foss, Coinage, for the review of a recent survey of the state of early Islamic coinage). As such, classical lexicographers and exegetes commonly define *māl* as "whatever men possess of *dirham*s, or *dīnār*s, or gold (q.v.), or silver (q.v.), or wheat, or barely or bread, or beasts, or garments or pieces of cloth, or weapons or other things," in short, "anything one possesses" (see ANIMAL LIFE; HIDES AND FLEECE; CLOTHING). On this understanding, *māl* is used in numerous, overlapping contexts, commercial, private and other. Q 2:177 praises those who "give of their property *(al-māl),*" while Q 18:46 informs us that, "property *(al-māl)* and

progeny (see CHILDREN) are the adornments of life" (see GRACE; BLESSING). Q 2:155 affirms that God will "try humanity with… deficits in property *(naqṣ mina l-amwāli),*" while Q 64:15 declares property *(amwāl)* itself to be a "test" (*fitna;* see TRIAL; TRUST AND PATIENCE; POVERTY AND THE POOR; OPPRESSED ON EARTH, THE). Q 34:37 warns that neither property *(amwāl)* nor progeny bring closeness to God. And Q 69:28 records the lamentations of those who thought their property would avail them on the day of reckoning (see LAST JUDGMENT).

Again, these references to property are broad, flexible and grounded in Arabian custom and common usage. They do not constitute a formal doctrine, let alone a legal definition of property. The latter would have to await the legal acumen and jurisprudential imagination of the jurists and legal theorists of the formative period of Islamic law. See also WEALTH.

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Prophets

see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD

Prophets and Prophethood

Those individuals who receive divine revelation and their collective vocation. In Arabic (as in Hebrew), the word for "prophet" is *nabī,* plural *nabiyyūn* and *anbiyāʾ.* These forms occur seventy-five times, apart from the term *nubuwwa,* "prophethood," which occurs five times. Much more prevalent, however, is the term *rasūl* (pl. *rusul*) which denotes a "messenger" (q.v.) or "apostle" (of God). Messengers are mentioned more than 300 times. A messenger is also referred to as *mursal,* which, together with its plural form *(mursalūn),* occurs more than thirty times. The form *risāla* (pl. *risālāt*) denotes a prophetic "message" and occurs ten times, mostly in the plural form.

Prophets and messengers

As in the New Testament, in which apostles seem to rank higher than prophets (e.g. 1 *Cor* 12:28-31; cf. *Eph* 3:5; 4:11), in the Qurʾān, too, *rasūl* seems to be somewhat more elevated than *nabī.* This is indicated, to begin with, by the fact that whenever both titles appear together, *rasūl* comes first, which may suggest that a messenger is more important than a prophet. Thus Q 22:52 describes Satan's (see DEVIL) attempts to lead astray (q.v.) any apostle *(rasūl)* or prophet *(nabī)* who was sent before Muḥammad. Muslim commentators say that in this verse *rasūl* stands for a prophet having a message, a book (q.v.), which must be delivered, whereas *nabī* has no such message or book. More specifically, al-Bayḍāwī (d. prob. 716/1316, according to van Ess; cf. Gilliot, Textes, 223-4) says that a *rasūl* is a prophet who establishes a new *sharīʿa* (religious law; see LAW AND THE QURʾĀN), whereas a *nabī* is one who continues an old one. This means, al-Bayḍāwī says, that *rasūl* is more distinguished than *nabī,* and therefore there were more *anbiyāʾ* ("prophets") than *rusul* ("messengers"). Or, he adds, a *rasūl* receives revelation from an angel, whereas a prophet experiences revelation only in dreams (Bayḍāwī, *Anwār,* ad Q 22:52).

The titles *rasūl* and *nabī* may also overlap and even refer to one and the same person,

in which case *rasūl* again comes first. This applies to Moses (q.v.), about whom it is stated that he was "an apostle, a prophet" (*wa-kāna rasūlan nabiyyan,* Q 19:51). The same is stated about Ishmael (q.v.; Q 19:54) as well as about Muḥammad (Q 7:157). The combination of the two in one person is perhaps designed to indicate that this person belongs to the messengers among the prophets.

But not every messenger of God is also a prophet. God is said to have made the angels "messengers *(rusul)* flying (q.v.) on wings, two, and three, and four…" (Q 35:1; see ANGEL). As God's messengers, the angels bring good tidings to Abraham (q.v.) about the birth of Isaac (q.v.) and Jacob (q.v.), and they also destroy the people of Lot (q.v.; e.g. Q 11:69-81). God sends angels to guard people as well as to receive their souls (see SOUL) at the moment of death (cf. Q 6:61; 7:37). Their primary role as God's messengers is to inspect and write down the deeds of every human being (cf. Q 10:21; 43:80; see GOOD DEEDS; EVIL DEEDS).

The Qurʾān is careful to draw a clear line between God's celestial and human messengers. Prophets can only be mortals, because angels, the Qurʾān says (Q 17:95), do not walk about on earth (q.v.) as do its ordinary dwellers — for which reason people cannot grasp their physical presence. Therefore God does not send down angels as his prophets.

Angels do, however, bring down prophetic revelations in their capacity as God's messengers but they do not deliver them directly to the people, only to individual human prophets (see REVELATION AND INSPIRATION). The Qurʾān mentions the "word" *(qawl),* i.e. prophetic message, of one particular "honored messenger" (*rasūl karīm,* Q 69:40; 81:19). Some exegetes have identified this "messenger" with the angel Gabriel (q.v.) whose mission was to reveal the Qurʾān to Muḥammad. But Gabriel's task as God's messenger is not confined to prophetic revelations. He is also said to have been referred to in Q 19:19, in which God's messenger comes to Mary (q.v.) to give her a son (Jesus; q.v.). Even the *rasūl* mentioned in the story of the golden calf (Q 20:96; see CALF OF GOLD) was said to have been Gabriel. Most qurʾānic prophets/messengers are known from the Bible, but there are also some whose origin is somewhat obscure (for details about the individual prophets see Tottoli, *Biblical prophets;* see SCRIPTURE AND THE QURʾĀN).

The status of the prophets

Prophets (including the messengers among them) belong to the highest rank among various virtuous groups of human beings. These groups are listed in Q 4:69, in which their position in paradise (q.v.) is described: "And whoever obeys God and the messenger, these will be [in paradise] with the prophets and the truthful *(al-ṣiddīqūn)* and the martyrs (*al-shuhadāʾ;* see MARTYRS) and the righteous *(al-ṣāliḥīn),* upon whom God has bestowed favors (see GRACE; BLESSING)." As for the prophets, their presence among their respective peoples — for example, among the Children of Israel (q.v.) — is perceived as a sign of God's benefaction *(niʿma)* unto these peoples (Q 5:20).

God started sending prophets after humankind became separated, when the initial state of righteousness was replaced by moral corruption (q.v.; see also FALL OF MAN; GOOD AND EVIL; VIRTUES AND VICES, COMMANDING AND FORBIDDING). This, at least, is how the exegetes explain Q 2:213 in which it is stated: "The people were [united in] one nation *(umma wāḥida),* then [they became divided, and] God sent the prophets to bear good tidings (see GOOD NEWS) and to warn (see WARNER)…" (see PARTIES AND FACTIONS).

The prophets emerge in succession. The Qurʾān says that they were sent "one after another" (*qaffaynā,* Q 2:87), or "one by one" (*tatrā,* Q 23:44). Moreover, the prophets belong to the same genealogical descent. Thus Q 19:58 reads: "These are the prophets on whom God bestowed favors, of the seed *(dhurriyya)* of Adam (see ADAM AND EVE), and of those whom we carried with Noah (q.v.), and of the seed of Abraham and Israel (q.v.)…." The same idea is conveyed in Q 6:84, in which it is stated about Abraham: "And we gave to him Isaac and Jacob; each did we guide, and Noah we guided before, and of his descendants *(dhurriyyatihi)* David (q.v.) and Solomon (q.v.) and Job (q.v.) and Joseph (q.v.) and Moses and Aaron (q.v.)…."

The fact that the prophets are said to have been "guided" by God means that they represent a divinely chosen pedigree, as is indicated, for example, in Q 3:33-4: "Surely God chose *(iṣṭafā)* Adam and Noah and the house *(āl)* of Abraham and the house *(āl)* of ʿImrān (q.v.) above all beings. [They are] the offspring *(dhurriyyatan)* one of the other…." The chosen prophetic lineage begins here with Adam, which indicates that he, too, is considered a prophet. The house of ʿImrān stands for Moses (the son of the biblical Amram), but can also refer to Jesus, whose mother Mary is considered a member of that house.

The verb *iṣṭafā,* which signifies here divine election (q.v.), recurs in more verses dealing with prophets, as well as with angels. Thus in Q 22:75 it is stated that God chooses *(yaṣṭafī)* messengers *(rusul)* from among the angels and from among the people. The same verb is used to describe election of individual prophets, such as Abraham (Q 2:130), Moses (Q 7:144) and Mary (Q 3:42), as well as of kings (see KINGS AND RULERS), namely Saul (q.v.; Ṭālūt, Q 2:247).

Another verb, *ijtabā,* also denotes divine election of prophets, such as Adam (Q 20:122), Abraham (Q 16:121), Joseph (Q 12:6) and Jonah (q.v.; Q 68:50). Less frequent is the verb *ikhtāra* that denotes the same type of divine election (Q 44:32) and describes the election of Moses (Q 20:13). The latter's election is also conveyed by the verb *iṣṭanaʿa* (Q 20:41).

The divine election of the prophets provides them with abilities not shared by ordinary humans. This pertains mainly to knowledge of the unseen (*ghayb;* see HIDDEN AND THE HIDDEN). Thus in Q 72:26-7 it is stated that God knows the unseen and he does not reveal his secrets to anyone, except to an apostle with whom he is well pleased *(irtaḍā)*. In Q 3:179 we are told again that God does not make people acquainted with the unseen, but he "chooses *(yajtabī)* of his apostles whom he pleases."

The guided and divinely chosen prophets possess moral virtues that render them immune to sin and misbehavior (see IMPECCABILITY). Thus, in Q 3:161 it is stated that it is not attributable to a prophet that he should act unfaithfully *(yaghulla)*. The election of the prophets has made them belong to the righteous *(mina l-ṣāliḥīn),* a fact stated regarding several of them, e.g. Zechariah (q.v.), John (see JOHN THE BAPTIST), Jesus, Elijah (q.v.; Q 6:85) and others. John is described in Q 3:39 as honorable *(sayyid)* and chaste (*ḥaṣūr;* see CHASTITY) and a prophet from among the righteous *(mina l-ṣāliḥīn)*. Some of them are also described as truthful *(ṣiddīq),* as is Abraham (Q 19:41) and Idrīs (q.v.; Q 19:56). Ishmael is described in Q 19:54 as "truthful in his promise" *(ṣādiq al-waʿd)*.

Some prophets possess unique traits that mark their singular status among the rest of the prophets. Abraham is described in Q 4:125 as one whom God took as a friend (*khalīl;* see FRIENDS AND FRIENDSHIP). Moses is described as pure (*mukhlaṣ,*

Q 19:51) and as one whom God brought near in communion (*wa-qarrabnāhu najiyyan,* Q 19:52) and with whom God spoke (*kallama,* Q 4:164). This is the origin of Moses' title, *kalīmu llāh,* by which he is known in Islamic tradition. Tradition also elaborates on Moses' communion *(munājāt)* with God.

Later tradition has provided Muḥammad with a title of his own, namely, *ḥabību llāh* "God's beloved," which together with the previous prophets, completes the unique group of prophets having an intimate relationship with God. In fact, Muslim tradition has elaborated on Muḥammad's honorific titles and produced long lists of them (see NAMES OF THE PROPHET).

The existence of distinguished groups among the prophets is a fact that the Qurʾān declares openly. Q 17:55 states that God has made some of the prophets to excel others and in Q 2:253 the same statement is repeated, alongside names of some of the excelling prophets:

> We have made some of these apostles to excel the others, among them are they to whom God spoke *(kallama),* and some of them he exalted by [many degrees of] rank; and we gave clear arguments (*bayyināt;* see PROOF) to Jesus son of Mary, and strengthened him with the Holy Spirit (q.v.)….

In Q 33:7 some prophets are singled out as those with whom God made a special covenant (q.v.; *mīthāq*): "And when we made a covenant with the prophets and with you [Muḥammad], and with Noah and Abraham and Moses and Jesus son of Mary, and we made with them a firm covenant."

A special group of God's messengers is mentioned in Q 46:35, being called "those endowed with constancy *(ūlū l-ʿazm)*." The Qurʾān says that they have borne patiently (the hardships of their mission; see TRIAL) and Muslim exegetes are not unanimous as to who they were. Some say that they were those who established a law *(sharīʿa)* among their nations, like Noah, Abraham, Moses, and Jesus, as well as Muḥammad. Others hold that they were those who suffered the hardest trials or the deepest remorse (see REPENTANCE AND PENANCE). In the latter case, they include Jacob, Joseph, Job and David, in addition to the five prophets already mentioned. But in spite of divine election, the prophets always remain God's servants (*ʿibād;* e.g. Q 37:171; see SERVANTS), for which reason people are not servants to them but to God (Q 3:79).

Modes of prophetic revelation

Various verbs convey the idea of prophetic revelation, the most frequent being those derived from the root *n-z-l,* namely, *nazzala* and *anzala*. They denote an act of bringing down, which means that the prophetic revelation is perceived as being sent down from heaven (see HEAVEN AND SKY). Occasionally, the revelation itself is described as descending *(nazala, tanazzala),* without specifying the agent that causes it to come down. A common name of the qurʾānic revelation is *tanzīl* (e.g. Q 20:4; 26:192; 32:2, etc.), i.e. a "bringing down." A less common name is *amr,* "affair," which in Q 65:12 is said to have been descending *(yatanazzalu)* through the seven heavens (see NAMES OF THE QURʾĀN). Muslim exegetes explain that the "affair" stands here for divine revelation that is being brought down from heaven to earth.

Revelation originates in God, as is indicated in verses in which God speaks in the first person: "I have sent down [the Qurʾān]" (Q 2:41), and more often: "We have sent down [the Qurʾān]" (e.g. Q 44:3; 76:23; 97:1). But revelation does not come down directly to the prophets. The intermediate agents are the angels. God sends them down with the revelations, as is im-

plied in Q 16:2 : "He sends down *(yunazzilu)* the angels with the spirit (q.v.; *al-rūḥ*) by his commandment on whom he pleases of his servants…." Muslim exegetes hold, however, that only Gabriel is meant here, the angel who was commissioned to bring down prophetic revelations, or the "spirit," to Muḥammad. In Q 16:102 the agent bringing down *(nazzalahu)* the qurʾānic revelation is himself called "the Holy Spirit" *(rūḥu l-qudus),* which is again interpreted as an epithet of Gabriel. The same applies to Q 26:193, in which the revelation is brought down *(nazala bihi)* by the "faithful spirit" *(al-rūḥ al-amīn)*. Similarly, the exegetes say that it is Gabriel who says to the Prophet in Q 19:64: "We do not descend [with revelations] but by the command of your lord (q.v.)."

As far as Muḥammad's own prophetic experience is concerned, the process of sending down revelations ends at the Prophet's heart (q.v.; *ʿalā qalbika*) and Gabriel is mentioned explicitly as the one who brings it down to him (Q 2:97; see MUḤAMMAD). The Qurʾān provides specific, though not entirely coherent, details of the time when the revelation began coming down to Muḥammad. This took place either on a "blessed night" (Q 44:3) or on *laylat al-qadr* (Q 97:1; see NIGHT OF POWER) or during the month of Ramaḍān (q.v.; Q 2:185). The exegetes explain that all passages refer to one and the same night, namely *laylat al-qadr* that falls in Ramaḍān.

There are various terms denoting the actual revelation that is being brought down. Most often it is called "signs" (q.v.; *āyāt*), which commentators on the Qurʾān have identified with the qurʾānic verses (q.v.; e.g. Q 57:9, etc.). Elsewhere, what God sends down is called *sūra* (q.v.; Q 9:86, etc.), a term that came to be identified with the qurʾānic chapters and, most obviously, the term *qurʾān,* too, stands for something which God sends down (Q 76:23). Another locution standing for a whole unit of revelations being sent down is *kitāb,* a "book, scripture" (e.g. Q 7:2; see BOOK). Specific scriptures, namely the Torah (q.v.) and the Gospel (q.v.), are also described as being sent down by God (Q 3:3-4), which implies that all monotheistic scriptures represent the same divine revelation. Metaphorical terms are also used to describe a descending revelation, one of which being the somewhat obscure title *furqān* (Q 3:4; see CRITERION). Some exegetes have explained it in the sense of a scripture distinguishing between truth and falsehood. Light (q.v.; *nūr*) is also a name for the guiding revelation that God has sent down (Q 64:8).

Another widely used verb denoting the act of providing revelation is *awḥā,* with *waḥy* as the noun denoting the revelation itself. The verb means to "prompt, inspire, suggest" but it is not confined to prophetic revelations. Occasionally it simply means to "instruct," or "command," as in Q 8:12 in which God instructs *(yūḥī)* the angels to support the believers. In Q 99:4-5 God instructs *(awḥā)* the earth to tell its story on the day of resurrection (q.v.), and in Q 16:68 he instructs *(awḥā)* the bee to make hives in the mountains (see ANIMAL LIFE; HONEY), etc. Even when prophets are addressed, the verb *awḥā* can be a request to act rather than imparting a text for recitation (see RECITATION OF THE QURʾĀN). Thus in Q 23:27 God instructs *(awḥaynā)* Noah to make the ark (q.v.) and in Q 7:117 God prompts *(awḥaynā)* Moses to cast his rod (q.v.). An act designated as *awḥā* can also be performed by humans. In Q 19:11, for example, Zechariah signals *(awḥā)* to his people that they should glorify God in the morning (q.v.) and evening (q.v.; see also GLORIFICATION OF GOD; DAY, TIMES OF). In most cases, however, *awḥā* stands for an act performed by God himself, as in Q 41:12. Here God reveals *(awḥā)* the "affair" *(amr)* of the seven heavens, i.e.

enjoins his commandment on the heavens. But what God reveals mostly as *waḥy* is the prophetic inspiration itself. This is the case in Q 42:52 in which God reveals *(awḥaynā)* a "spirit" *(rūḥan)* to his prophet. The spirit is interpreted here as standing for the qurʾānic revelation. This accords with Q 53:4-5, in which the Qurʾān is explicitly described as a revelation *(waḥyun)* that is revealed *(yūḥā)*. In Q 35:31 it is the "book" that has been revealed as *waḥy*.

The revelation *(waḥy)* can be a prolonged process, as is the case with the revelation to Muḥammad. He is advised not to make haste before the process is completed (Q 20:114). When the reception of the *waḥy* is completed the Prophet is supposed to recite it in public (Q 29:45). The same process of *waḥy* was experienced also by previous prophets, as stated in Q 4:163: "Surely we have revealed *(awḥaynā)* to you as we revealed to Noah, and the prophets after him, and we revealed to Abraham and Ishmael and Isaac and Jacob and the tribes (see TRIBES AND CLANS), and Jesus and Job and Jonah and Aaron and Solomon…."

The *waḥy* does not always come directly from God to the prophets. An angel acting as God's messenger may deliver the divine *waḥy* to them. This comes out in Q 42:51, in which it is stated: "It is not for any mortal that God should speak to them, except by inspiration *(waḥyan)* or from behind a veil (q.v.; *ḥijāb*), or by sending a messenger *(rasūl),* to reveal *(fa-yūḥiya)* by his permission what he will." As was mentioned above, the exegetes say that the messenger delivering the *waḥy* is Gabriel.

As for the contents of what is being revealed as *waḥy,* in some cases it consists of the sheer idea of monotheism (see GOD AND HIS ATTRIBUTES; POLYTHEISM AND ATHEISM). Thus in Q 21:108 it is stated: "Say: It is only revealed *(yūḥā)* to me that your God is one God." In other cases the *waḥy* revolves around specific legal obligations (see BOUNDARIES AND PRECEPTS). God reveals *(awḥaynā)* to the previous prophets "the doing of good and the keeping up of prayer (q.v.) and the giving of alms" (Q 21:73; see ALMSGIVING). The Qurʾān repeats several times the injunction given to the Prophet to follow *(ittabiʿ)* what has been revealed *(yūḥā)* to him (e.g. Q 10:109; 33:2, etc.).

In Q 17:39 the content of the *waḥy* is defined as "wisdom" (q.v.; *ḥikma*), which seems to refer to moral lessons which must be derived from the history of past generations (q.v.). This is confirmed by the fact that in Q 11:49 the *waḥy* consists of "accounts of the unseen" *(anbāʾ al-ghayb),* i.e. stories of the history of past generations which are now being revealed to the Prophet. The stories deal with sinful nations that God punished and destroyed because they had rejected their prophets (see PUNISHMENT STORIES).

There are also other, less frequent, terms of prophetic revelation, one of which being to "cast" *(alqā),* as in Q 40:15. Here God is said to have cast *(yulqi)* "the inspiration *(rūḥ)* by his command upon whom he pleases of his servants." In Q 28:86 it is the book that has been cast unto the Prophet, while in Q 77:5 some unspecified persons are mentioned who are described as "casting the reminder" *(fa-l-mulqiyāti dhikran)*. The exegetes say that the "reminder" signifies the prophetic inspiration and that those who cast it are the angels who deliver it to God's prophets and messengers.

"To give" *(ātā)* may also signal prophetic revelation, as is the case in Q 2:87, in which God "gives" Moses "the book."

Another verb, *alhama* (from *l-h-m*), also denotes divine inspiration but not specifically prophetic. Thus in Q 91:8 it is indicated that God has inspired *(fa-alhamahā)* the human soul to understand what is right and wrong for it.

Dreams *(ruʾyā)* may also function as pro-

phetic visions (q.v.; see also DREAMS AND SLEEP). Abraham found out by such a dream that he had to sacrifice (q.v.) his son (Q 37:105) and Muḥammad knew from his own dream that he was about to enter Mecca (q.v.) safely (cf. Q 48:27). Another vision of the Prophet, which is mentioned in Q 17:60, was interpreted as referring to his nocturnal journey and ascension (q.v.; *isrāʾ/miʿrāj*).

The Qurʾān is also aware of false revelations that seem prophetic but come from Satan, which means that only a thin line separates genuine divine inspiration from satanic temptation. This is demonstrated in the common vocabulary that the Qurʾān uses for the divine as well as the satanic spheres. Thus satans *(shayāṭīn),* like God, can deliver *waḥy* (Q 6:112, 121) which is deceiving in its varnished outward appearance. But the more common verb denoting satanic inspiration is *waswasa,* to "whisper" (e.g. Q 7:20; 20:120). Satan also casts *(alqā)* his own verses into genuine revelations received by every prophet "but God annuls that which Satan casts" (Q 22:52). Moreover, the satans can be God's messengers but he sends *(arsalnā)* them against the unbelievers (Q 19:83).

The distinction between a true prophet and other persons endowed with unique spiritual powers is also stated very clearly, in passages stressing that Muḥammad's prophetic message is not the words of a "soothsayer" (*kāhin*), nor of a poet (see POETRY AND POETS; SOOTHSAYERS) nor a *majnūm,* i.e. a madman possessed by demons (cf. Q 52:29; 69:41-2; 81:22; see INSANITY).

Imposters are severely denounced. Q 6:93 states: "And who is more unjust than he who forges a lie (q.v.) against God, or says: It has been revealed *(ūḥiya)* to me; while nothing has been revealed to him, and he who says: I can bring down *(sa-unzilu)* the like of what God has brought down *(anzala)*?" The exegetes say that this passage refers to persons like Musaylima (q.v.) and others who pretended to receive revelations similar to those of Muḥammad.

Signs and miracles

God not only provides his messengers with the prophetic inspiration but he also stays with them when they deliver his message, as is formulated in Q 72:27-8: "For surely he makes a guard to march before [his messenger] and after him, so that he may know that they have truly delivered the messages of their lord…." The "guards" accompanying the prophets are said to be the angels and elsewhere it is asserted that God is always aware of what his apostles are doing (Q 23:51). God's presence renders his apostles immune to dangers (Q 27:10) and his help *(naṣr)* is always ensured for them (Q 12:110; cf. 40:51; see PROTECTION; VICTORY).

God also provides his prophets with concrete means designed to increase their power of persuasion. These are called *bayyināt,* i.e. clear "proofs" or "arguments." Occasionally the exegetes interpret this term as "miracles" (see MIRACLES; MARVELS). For example, in Q 2:87 (see also Q 2:253), God provides Jesus with the *bayyināt* and strengthens him with the Holy Spirit. The exegetes say that the latter stands for Gabriel and that the *bayyināt* are miracles which Jesus performed. Such miracles are described in Q 3:49, where Jesus says to the Children of Israel:

I have come to you with a sign *(āya)* from your lord, that I create *(akhluqa)* for you out of dust like the form of a bird, then I breathe into it and it becomes a bird with God's permission, and I heal the blind and the leprous, and bring the dead (see DEATH AND THE DEAD) to life with God's permission, and I shall inform you of what you

eat and what you have stored in your houses….

But miracles do not render the prophets divine, as is stressed especially with respect to Jesus. The Qurʾān insists that he is "only an apostle *(rasūl)* of God and his word *(kalimatuhu)* which he cast *(alqāhā)* unto Mary, and a spirit *(rūḥ)* from him. Believe therefore in God and his apostles, and say not: Three" (Q 4:171; see TRINITY; WORD OF GOD; SPEECH).

Other prophets also brought such *bayyināt* to their own nations, alongside of revealed scriptures, but they were rejected (Q 3:184; 35:25). Muḥammad, too, has brought (unspecified) *bayyināt* to his people but they have discarded them as sheer magic (q.v.; Q 61:6). The term *burhān,* "proof," is also used to signal what Muḥammad has brought to his audience (Q 4:174).

The listeners, however, not only reject the *bayyināt* but demand to receive a "sign" *(āya)* of their own choice (Q 2:118; 21:5, etc.). Often they request, for instance, to see an angel being sent down with Muḥammad (Q 23:24; 25:7, etc.), or a treasure descending upon him (Q 11:12), or a fountain being made to gush forth from the earth for them (Q 17:90). The Qurʾān responds to such demands by asserting that God's messengers can only produce signs with God's permission (Q 40:78) and that they are just mortals (Q 14:11). They may even have wives and children (Q 13:38; see WIVES OF THE PROPHET; FAMILY OF THE PROPHET; PEOPLE OF THE HOUSE). Elsewhere it is stressed that they are merely humans *(rijāl)* receiving revelation (e.g. Q 12:109; 16:43, etc.), and that they eat food and go about in the markets (q.v.; Q 25:20).

But God may at times send a sign *(āya)* in response to a specific request. This was the case with the prophet Ṣāliḥ (q.v.) who was sent as a warner to Thamūd (q.v.). They asked him for a sign, and he produced a she-camel *(nāqa)*. They were ordered to share their water with her at appointed intervals (Q 26:154-5) or, according to another version (Q 11:64), to leave her to pasture on God's earth and not harm her. But Thamūd slaughtered the she-camel (Q 11:65), for which reason God no longer sends signs on demand (Q 17:59).

Nevertheless, Moses, too, brought a sign *(āya)* in response to the demand of Pharaoh (q.v.; Q 7:106; 26:31). The sign was that the rod of Moses was turned into a serpent and his hand became "white to the beholders." The audience denied the double sign as evident magic (Q 7:107-9; 26:31-4). But these two signs were given to Moses in advance, upon his first encounter with God (Q 20:17-23; 27:10-2; 28:31-2). They formed part of nine (not ten, as in the Hebrew Bible) signs which God gave to Moses and they are therefore not just *āyāt* but rather *āyāt bayyināt* (Q 17:101; cf. 28:36) as well as *burhān,* "proof" (Q 28:32). Elsewhere a list of all the signs, i.e. the calamities, is provided (Q 7:130-5; see PLAGUES).

Prophets and scriptures

The core of the prophetic revelation consists in revealed scriptures that are sometimes (e.g. Q 3:184) referred to as *zubur* (sing. *zabūr*) or *ṣuḥuf* (sing. *ṣaḥīfa*). The latter term signifies "scrolls" (q.v.), as, for example, in Q 87:19, in which the scrolls *(ṣuḥuf)* of Abraham and Moses are mentioned.

The most frequent name for a revealed scripture is *kitāb,* namely, something written down, or simply a "book." A *kitāb* is always of high solemnity. It may stand for the written list of deeds which determines the destiny of all people on the day of resurrection (e.g. Q 39:69) or the pre-existent divine book (see HEAVENLY BOOK) in which the pre-ordained law of God has been recorded. This is, at least, how Muslim exegetes explain the locution "book of God" in Q 33:6 (also Q 30:56), which, so

they hold, is identical with the "guarded tablet" (*lawḥ maḥfūẓ;* see PRESERVED TABLET) mentioned in Q 85:22. The Qurʾān is said to have formed part of this tablet (Q 85:21), so that this revealed book is actually a reflection of a celestial text. Another locution which is taken to refer to the original celestial version of the universal book is *umm al-kitāb* mentioned in Q 43:4. Here it is stated that the Qurʾān is in the *umm al-kitāb* "with us, truly elevated, full of wisdom." The exegetes maintain that it is another name for the tablet, the origin of all revealed books.

The divine origin of the qurʾānic revelation comes out in the idea that no one can alter God's words as revealed to Muḥammad: "Recite *(utlu)* what has been revealed *(ūḥiya)* to you of the book of your lord; there is none who can alter his words…" (Q 18:27). God sent down the book to Muḥammad without any "crookedness" (*ʿiwaj,* Q 18:1), so that the revealed Qurʾān has remained faithful to the original message of the divine book (see CORRUPTION; FORGERY; REVISION AND ALTERATION). In other words, the book was sent down to Muḥammad "with the truth *(bi-l-ḥaqq)*" (e.g. Q 39:2). It has also been sent down as a "blessed" *(mubārak)* book (e.g. Q 6:155; 38:29) and as a book "conformable" *(mutashābih)* in its various parts (Q 39:23). Not just the Qurʾān but any other revealed book is of the same divine origin, for which reason the Qurʾān recognizes the authenticity of previous revelations, saying that previous messengers *(rusul),* too, brought their peoples "clear arguments *(bayyināt),* scriptures *(zubur)* and the illuminating book" (*al-kitāb al-munīr,* Q 35:25; see also Q 3:184; 57:25).

Being an essential component of the prophetic message, the term *kitāb* often appears side by side with the term *nubuwwa,* "prophethood," and both are perceived as components of a divine legacy that runs in a genealogical line of a chosen pedigree. Thus in Q 29:27, the prophethood *(nubuwwa)* and the book are said to have remained in the seed *(dhurriyya)* of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob. The same is said of the offspring of Noah and Abraham (Q 57:26). The book is therefore a divine legacy that God has bequeathed *(awrathnā)* to whom he chose of his servants (Q 35:32). Of the previous prophets, Moses in particular is mentioned as one to whom God gave the book (Q 2:87). His book is described as "a light and a guidance to the people" (Q 6:91).

Apart from the term *kitāb,* previous scriptures are also mentioned by their individual titles, such as the Torah *(tawrāt)* of the Israelite prophets (Q 5:44), David's Psalms (q.v.; *zabūr,* Q 4:163; 17:55) and Jesus' Gospel *(injīl)*. About the latter it is stated that it was full of guidance and light (Q 5:46).

The prophets and Muḥammad

The revelation of the book was a new experience for Muḥammad (Q 42:52) and the Arabs (q.v.), too, never had messengers sent to them before him, nor had they any revealed books (cf. Q 34:44). This means that as an Arab, Muḥammad did not have any genealogical relationship to the previous prophets. The gap between him and them was also a chronological one, as is indicated in Q 5:19, in which it is stated that the qurʾānic Prophet emerged "after a cessation *(fatra)* of the [mission of the] apostles *(rusul)*…."

Nevertheless, the Qurʾān quite easily includes Muḥammad in the honorable group of prophets. The most straightforward way to achieve this is simply to declare Muḥammad to be "one of the apostles" (*mina l-mursalīna,* e.g. Q 2:252). This universalized perception of Muḥammad's mission leads to the conclusion that he is actually not the first of the

messengers *(rusul)* on earth (Q 46:9) and that apostles already passed away before him (Q 3:144). This means that Muḥammad is a link in the same chain of prophets to which prophets like Jesus also belong. Before the latter other messengers had already passed away (Q 5:75).

As for Muḥammad's own revealed book, the Qurʾān, it is indeed an Arabic scripture (Q 12:2; 13:37) but is nevertheless perceived as closely related to previous scriptures. Time and again the Qurʾān stresses that Muḥammad's book confirms, or verifies *(muṣaddiq),* what was revealed before it. For example, in Q 3:3-4 we read: "He has sent down to you the book with truth, verifying that which is before it, and he brought down the Torah and the Gospel aforetime…." This means that all scriptures represent identical links in the same successive chain of revelations. This idea recurs in the qurʾānic description of Jesus who is said to have verified the Torah that was revealed before him (Q 5:46). Since the Qurʾān itself verifies the Torah as well as the Gospels, the Jews and the Christians alike, whom the Qurʾān addresses as the "People of the Book" (q.v.), are commanded on their part to believe in the Qurʾān (Q 4:47; see also Q 2:41).

The equality of all scriptures as links in the same successive chain of revelations entails that true believers are only those who believe in all the revealed books, without exception (see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF). This idea, which is encountered already in the New Testament (in *Acts* 24:14 Paul believes in all things which are written in the Torah and in the books of the prophets), is stated explicitly several times. For example, Q 2:136 says:

Say: We believe in God and [in] that which had been sent down to us, and [in] that which was revealed to Abraham and Ishmael and Isaac and Jacob and the tribes, and [in] that which was given to Moses and Jesus, and [in] that which was given to the prophets from their lord, we do not make any distinction between any of them, and to him do we submit.

The same is repeated in several other places in which it is stressed that true righteousness is based on belief in the previous prophets and in their books as well as in the angels and in the last day (e.g. Q 2:177, 285; 4:136; see ESCHATOLOGY; FAITH). At the last judgment (q.v.) people will be asked about their belief in the messengers who had come to them (Q 28:65; 39:71). The previous revelations have remained relevant to the Muslims, as is implied in Q 3:194. Here an Islamic prayer is addressed to God, imploring him to "grant us what you have promised us by your apostles."

The conviction that one should believe in all the revealed books means that one should also believe in Muḥammad's Qurʾān. Therefore those who only believe in some books, like the Jews who denied the Qurʾān, are not true believers and they are denounced in Q 2:85 as it is commonly understood. Moreover, the duty to believe in Muḥammad's own revelation has become the core of the religion of all prophets. This finds expression in the notion that God already commanded all the previous prophets to believe in Muḥammad. In Q 3:81 we read:

And when God made a covenant *(mīthāq)* with the prophets: Surely, the book and the wisdom that I have given you — then an apostle comes to you verifying that which is with you, you must believe in him, and you must aid him. [God] said: "Do you affirm and accept my compact in this [matter]?" The [prophets] said: "We do affirm."

[God] said: "Then bear witness, and I [too] am of the bearers of witness with you."

The exegetes explain that the apostle in whom the prophets are commanded to believe is Muḥammad. The Arabian messenger of God has thus become the peak of the prophetic chain of revelations and this is also demonstrated in his title: "Seal *(khātam)* of the prophets" (Q 33:40).

The prophets were not only required to believe in Muḥammad, but some were also familiar with his titles, which were included in their own revealed scriptures. Thus in Q 7:157 it is stated that Muḥammad was mentioned as a "gentile" (*ummī* [q.v.]; see also ILLITERACY) in the Torah and the Gospel. Jesus, it is said in Q 61:6, announced the appearance of an apostle who would come after him, his name being Aḥmad. This quest for universal legitimacy is found already in the New Testament (*Matt* 2:23), where prophets predict that Jesus will be called the Nazarene.

Since belief in Muḥammad has always been at the core of the religion of the previous prophets, it comes as no surprise that the Israelite prophets to whom the Torah was revealed are described as "those who were Muslims" (*alladhīna aslamū,* Q 5:44). Furthermore, the religion that was enjoined upon the prophets was the same as the one given to the Muslims, a fact stated in Q 42:13: "He has enjoined upon you *(sharaʿa)* for religion what he prescribed to Noah and that which we have revealed to you and that which we enjoined upon Abraham and Moses and Jesus…."

The uniformity of the religion of the prophets, however, is abandoned in several passages in which Abraham's religion is set apart from the rest of the prophets and a direct line is drawn between him and Muḥammad. Such passages seem to have been designed to highlight the Arabian identity of the qurʾānic revelation and to dissociate its message from that of the Jewish and the Christian scriptures. The dissociation is achieved by insisting that Abraham was neither Jew nor Christian but rather a *ḥanīf* (q.v.). As a *ḥanīf* he has become a model for Muḥammad, whom God commands to follow Abraham's religion (Q 2:135; 4:125; 16:123, etc.; see also RELIGIOUS PLURALISM AND THE QURʾĀN).

The scope of the prophetic mission

The prophets are sent each to his own nation *(umma)* or people *(qawm)*. This notion is expressed in verses asserting that each nation has its own prophets sent to it (Q 10:47; 16:36) and that every apostle was only sent "with the language *(lisān)* of his people" (*qawmihi,* Q 14:4; see ARABIC LANGUAGE). Thus Moses, for example, says to his people *(li-qawmihi)* that he is God's messenger to them (Q 61:5). Moreover, some prophets are described as the "brothers" of the peoples to whom they were sent (Q 26:106, 161, etc.; see BROTHER AND BROTHERHOOD). This is again an appropriate precedent for Muḥammad, the Arabian prophet who has brought to his nation an Arabic Qurʾān (e.g. Q 12:2). His Arabic Qurʾān was revealed to him that he may warn "the mother of cities" (*umm al-qurā,* Q 42:7; see also Q 6:92), which is Mecca, according to the exegetes.

But unlike the previous prophets, Muḥammad appears in some other passages as a universal prophet whose mission goes beyond ethnic boundaries. In Q 4:79 he is said to have been sent "to mankind *(lil-nās)* as an apostle," and in Q 21:107 he is sent with mercy "to the worlds *(lil-ʿālamīn)*." His audience includes the jinn (q.v.; Q 46:30), to whom messengers of their own kind were also sent (Q 6:130).

The aims of the prophetic mission

The purpose for which the qurʾānic prophet has been sent is to make God's religion, i.e. Islam, prevail over all religions (Q 9:33; 48:28; 61:9). This may involve waging war (q.v.) on the infidels, as is stated about the preceding prophets in Q 3:146: "And how many a prophet has fought *(qātala),* and with them were many worshippers of the lord; so the [prophets] did not become weak-hearted on account of what befell them in God's way (see PATH OR WAY), nor did they weaken, nor did they abase themselves; and God loves the patient." But in other qurʾānic passages the religious campaign is based on preaching and is focused on the mere idea of monotheism and on the refutation of polytheism *(shirk)*. Several times the previous prophets are described as imploring their respective peoples to "serve nothing *(allā taʿbudū)* but God…" (e.g. Q 41:14). God also tells Muḥammad himself that this was the main mission of the prophets who were sent before him (Q 21:25, etc.), and he himself says to his audience: "I am only a mortal like you; it is revealed to me that your God is one God, therefore follow the right way to him and ask his forgiveness; and woe to the polytheists" (*waylun lil-mushrikīna,* Q 41:6; see also Q 18:110).

On the other hand, the mission of the prophets has also a grimmer aspect, namely, to warn stubborn unbelievers of their fate in hell (see HELL AND HELLFIRE), in case they do not repent (see REPENTANCE AND PENANCE). But the warning usually goes hand in hand with good tidings of paradise for those who believe. Thus Q 6:48, for example, asserts that God's messengers were sent as "announcers of good news and givers of warning *(mubashshirīna wa-mundhirīna),* then whoever believes and acts aright, they shall have no fear (q.v.), nor shall they grieve" (see JOY AND MISERY; see also Q 4:165; 18:56, etc.). The same twofold message was entrusted to Muḥammad (Q 33:45, 48:8).

The messengers are not responsible for the success or failure of their message and the Qurʾān repeatedly asserts that nothing is incumbent upon the apostles except a "plain delivery" (*al-balāgh al-mubīn,* e.g. Q 16:35). Furthermore, the apostles are not even capable of changing the fate awaiting the unbelievers: "It is not [fit] for the Prophet and those who believe that they should ask forgiveness (q.v.) for the polytheists, even though they should be near relatives (see KINSHIP), after it has become clear to them that they are inmates of the flaming fire" (Q 9:113; cf. 9:80, 84; see INTERCESSION).

On the last judgment, believers and unbelievers will realize that the apostles had spoken the truth about their respective fate in paradise or hell (Q 7:43, 53; 36:52). The prophets themselves will be present on the scene of judgment and will act as witnesses (*shuhadāʾ,* sing. *shahīd*) as to who is righteous and who is a sinner (e.g. Q 4:41; 7:6; 16:84, 89; see WITNESSING AND TESTIFYING; SIN, MAJOR AND MINOR). But according to Q 5:109, the messengers will not dare testify and God himself will know what the people were doing.

But mercy (q.v.; *raḥma*) is also a significant component of the prophetic message and emanates mainly from the guidance that is inherent in the revealed book. This is stated in Q 16:89: "We have revealed the book to you explaining clearly everything, and a guidance *(hudan)* and mercy and good news for those who are Muslims." Being the ultimate source of guidance, some prophets are occasionally described as imāms (see IMĀM) who guide the people by God's command (Q 21:73) and their revealed book, too, is called "*imām* and mercy" (Q 11:17; 46:12). Guidance is achieved by the actual teaching of the book and therefore Muḥammad is often

described as a messenger teaching "the book and the wisdom" (e.g. Q 2:129, 151; 3:164).

A prophet is not only a spiritual guide but a judge as well, whose adjudication is based on the revealed book. This was the case among the Jews for whom the prophets judged according to the revealed Torah (Q 5:44; 2:213) and the same is said about Muḥammad to whom God revealed the book "that you may judge between people by means of that which God has taught you" (Q 4:105; see JUDGMENT).

The reception of the prophets

The nations to whom prophets have been sent are expected to receive them with consent and obedience (q.v.). As Q 4:64 puts it: "And we did not send any apostle but that he should be obeyed *(li-yuṭāʿa)* by God's permission…." But the prophets were received with anything but obedience. They were mocked (e.g. Q 15:11; see MOCKERY) and called liars (e.g. Q 3:184; 22:42; 23:44; 35:25), and their message was denied (Q 11:59), and denounced as "medleys of dreams" (*aḍghāthu aḥlām,* Q 21:5). The prophets were rejected mainly on account of their being ordinary human beings (sing. *bashar,* e.g. Q 14:10; 17:94; 36:15; 64:6), and were accused of being mere poets (sing. *shāʿir*), magicians (sing. *sāḥir*) and madmen (sing. *majnūn;* e.g. Q 21:5; 51:52). Some of them were received with skeptical questions (Q 2:108), and above all, their audience expressed devotion to the tradition of the ancestors (Q 43:23).

Prophets have also suffered actual persecution, such as the threat of expulsion (e.g. Q 14:13), and also death at the hands of their own peoples, as was the fate of the Israelite prophets (e.g. Q 2:61, 91). The sufferings of the previous prophets are recounted to reassure Muḥammad that his own distress resembles that of his precursors (see OPPOSITION TO MUḤAMMAD). As stated in Q 41:43: "Nothing is said to you but what was said indeed to the apostles before you…." Not only humankind but also the satans rose as enemies to the prophets. In Q 6:112, God says: "And thus did we make for every prophet an enemy (see ENEMIES), the satans from among humans and jinn…." Satan's enmity is seen in this that he makes rebellion (q.v.) look attractive to nations to whom apostles were sent (Q 16:63). Rejection is met with retribution (see RETALIATION; VENGEANCE). Time and again the Qurʾān describes how nations that disobeyed (see DISOBEDIENCE) their prophets were punished by severe calamities, a motif recurrent mainly in the "punishment stories" (q.v.). Rejection of messengers renders retribution inevitable, as stated in Q 7:94: "And we did not send a prophet in a town but we overtook its people with distress and affliction in order that they might humble themselves." The divine logic that comes out here is that God is enemy to anyone who is "the enemy of God and his angels and his apostles and Gabriel and Michael" (cf. Q 2:98). Retribution is the direct result of the fact that God has promised to protect the prophets (cf. Q 14:47), and is defined as God's way (*sunna,* q.v.) with respect to those who persecute the prophets (Q 17:76-7). Destruction is never arbitrary or unjust, and is only inflicted on towns that have been warned in advance by their prophets (Q 17:15; 28:59). The prophets and their close entourage are always saved from the collective disaster (Q 10:103, etc.).

Stories of prophets

Apart from general declarations about the prophets, the Qurʾān provides stories about individual ones (see NARRATIVES). These stories always form part of the discourse between God and Muḥammad. God tells Muḥammad about them or requests Muḥammad to tell his audience about

them. This literary structure (see LITERARY STRUCTURES OF THE QUR'ĀN) stems from the idea that the prophetic revelation experienced by the previous prophets is the same as that of Muḥammad and that all of them are sent to fulfil the same mission among humankind. Therefore, the allusions to the previous prophets are essentially designed to provide a legitimizing as well as an encouraging precedent for Muḥammad's own prophetic challenge. Many of the stories draw on biblical themes. Some appear in a condensed form, while others, such as those of Abraham, Moses, and Jesus, are given in elaborate detail and even with subtle revisions of the biblical accounts. Elements not known from the Bible appear mainly in the punishment stories.

The Qur'ān itself is aware of the affinity between the stories about the prophets and the biblical literature, for which reason the Jews and the Christians are called upon to confirm the truth of the qur'ānic allusions to the previous prophets. This is at least how Muslim exegetes explain the meaning of Q 16:43 (see also Q 21:7) which says: "And we did not send before you any but humans to whom we sent revelation, so ask the people of the reminder if you do not know." The exegetes say that the "people of the reminder" *(ahl al-dhikr)* are scholars (see SCHOLAR) well versed in the Torah and the Gospel, which means that they know best about the history of the prophets from their own scriptures.

"Reminder" is also the label used for the qur'ānic stories about the prophets which Muḥammad recites to his audience, as with the story of Dhū l-Qarnayn (Q 18:83; see ALEXANDER). Nevertheless, the term is also the name of the entire revelation (Q 16:44, etc.), probably because it alludes quite frequently to stories of past generations. In fact, the injunction *udhkur fī l-kitāb,* "mention in the book," is frequently used in passages prompting the qur'ānic Prophet to remind the audience of stories about previous prophets (Q 19:16, 41, etc.).

Narrative units about prophets, which Muḥammad is expected to recite, are also called *naba'* (pl. *anbā'*), "report, tidings" (see NEWS). For example, the Prophet is instructed to recite *(utlu)* the *naba'* of the two sons of Adam (Q 5:27; see CAIN AND ABEL), the *naba'* of Noah (Q 10:71) and of Abraham (Q 26:69). These units are also being "related" *(naquṣṣu)* to him upon being revealed (Q 7:101; 11:100, 120; 18:13; 20:99). They are also referred to as *anbā' al-ghayb,* "stories of the unseen" because they happened long ago and the Prophet did not witness them in person (Q 3:44, of Mary; Q 11:49, of Noah; Q 12:102, of Joseph). The information labeled as *naba'/anbā'* is imparted to Muḥammad "to strengthen your heart therewith" (Q 11:120) as well as to teach the audience the bitter lesson of disbelief and disobedience which already led ancient towns to destruction (Q 7:101; 9:70; see GEOGRAPHY). But the listeners are not responsive, and they discard the qur'ānic message as "tales *(asāṭīr)* of the ancients" (*al-awwalīna,* Q 16:24).

The list of prophets mentioned in the Qur'ān is not complete, in the sense that some of them were left out on purpose. This is stated in Q 40:78 (see also Q 4:164): "And certainly we sent apostles before you: there are some of them of whom we related *(qaṣaṣnā)* to you and there are others of whom we have not related *(lam naqṣuṣ)* to you…." The exegetes explain that the prophets were too numerous to mention, and according to some, God sent 8,000 prophets, 4,000 of whom were Israelites.

Prophets in extra-qur'ānic sources

The prophets form an essential element in the Islamic perception of the past and they are treated not only in the Qur'ān but also in ḥadīth collections (see ḤADĪTH AND THE

QUR'ĀN) as well as in historiographical works (see HISTORY AND THE QUR'ĀN). Compilers of ḥadīth dedicated special sections (*kitāb*s) to traditions about them, one of the earliest examples being al-Bukhārī's (d. 256/870) *Ṣaḥīḥ,* in which the *kitāb* no. 60 is called: *aḥādīth al-anbiyā',* "Traditions about the prophets." There are also independent collections of traditions about the prophets; perhaps the best known is al-Thaʿlabī's (d. 427/1035) *ʿArāʾis al-majālis* or *Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā'.*

The interest in the prophets taken by Muslims was focused on the need to define the relationship between Muḥammad and the previous prophets, which signaled the relationship between the Islamic *umma* and the non-Muslim communities (see COMMUNITY AND SOCIETY IN THE QUR'ĀN). Many of the traditions place Muḥammad over and above the rest of the prophets. For example, one tradition states that the lords of the prophets are five and Muḥammad is the lord of the five: Noah, Abraham, Moses, Jesus and Muḥammad. This statement was circulated as a tradition of the Companion Abū Hurayra (Ḥākim, *Mustadrak,* ii, 546; see COMPANIONS OF THE PROPHET). On the other hand, there are also traditions in which the status of the prophets is in no way inferior to that of Muḥammad (cf. Andrae, *Person,* 245 f.; Wensinck, *Muslim creed,* 113 f.). In one of these traditions, Muḥammad prohibits the believers to say that he was better than Moses (Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* iii, 158 [44:1]). Even a less prominent prophet like Jonah was not inferior to Muḥammad, as is indicated in Muḥammad's reported utterance: "No prophet is allowed to say: 'I am better than Jonah the son of Amittai'" (Abū Dāwūd, ii, 521 [39.13]). Such traditions seem to have been designed to retain the qurʾānic idea that one should not make any distinction among God's prophets and messengers.

The historiographical sources also retain the qurʾānic idea that all the prophets represent links in a universal chain of successive revelations. But there is no agreement about where this chain begins. In some traditions, the first person ever to be sent by God to warn his people is Noah (Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh,* i, 183-4). Enoch, too, is described as a prophet in traditions identifying him with Idrīs, who is said to have been the first man to whom prophecy was given (Ibn Hishām, i, 3.). Alternately, Enoch/Idrīs is said to have been the first to be sent as a prophet after Adam (Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt,* i, 40, 54). In another tradition, Seth is the first prophet after Adam (Ibn Qutayba, *Maʿārif,* 26) and Adam himself, so a tradition tells us on the authority of no other than Muḥammad, was the first prophet God sent (Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt,* i, 32, 54). Thus, Adam and Muḥammad became the two ends of the universal chain of prophets. This correlation between them has been noted in a tradition of the Yemenite scholar Wahb b. Munabbih (d. 110/728) on the authority of Ibn ʿAbbās (d. ca. 68/686). Wahb declares that Adam was the first of God's messengers and Muḥammad the last (Ibn Qutayba, *Maʿārif,* 26).

Islamic historiography has understood the prophets as bearers of a successive religious legacy that is being passed on from generation to generation in a hereditary line. The earliest description of the transmission of the prophetic legacy from generation to generation is found in passages quoted by al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923) in his famous *History (Taʾrīkh al-rusul wa-l-mulūk)* from Ibn Isḥāq (d. 150/768). The latter was one of the first systematic biographers of Muḥammad (see SĪRA AND THE QUR'ĀN). Most of Ibn Isḥāq's material about the prophets is derived from Jewish sources whom Ibn Isḥāq often calls "people of the first book" *(ahl al-kitāb al-awwal),*

i.e. the Torah (e.g. Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh,* i, 139-40). Ibn Isḥāq describes how the various prophets, beginning with Adam, bequeathed their religious legacy and administrative authority (q.v.) to their descendants. They appointed them to be their heirs *(waṣī)* and put them in charge of their subjects. The legacy included revealed scriptures *(ṣaḥīfa),* which were handed down from generation to generation. Each bearer was considered as God's chosen leader upon earth, and defended the sacred legacy against change and corruption. Such perception of the role of the antediluvian ancestors is discernible already in Flavius' *Antiquities* (for details see Rubin, Prophets and progenitors).

Ibn Isḥāq describes the course of the legacy till Noah, but does not delineate an uninterrupted hereditary legacy during the generations between Noah and Abraham. The reason seems to be that Abraham is regarded as opening a new era, being a believer born to pagan ancestors who could not act as bearers of any legacy of righteousness. Al-Ṭabarī himself has recorded traditions from other sources that mention the transmission of the legacy through later generations of Israelite prophets. They describe, for example, the transition of the *waṣiyya* from Jacob to Joseph and from Joseph to Judah his brother (Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh,* i, 413). A detailed description of a successive authority running along the generations since Adam, and continued through the Israelites, is provided by the Shīʿī author al-Yaʿqūbī (d. 283/897; see SHĪʿISM AND THE QURʾĀN). His *Taʾrīkh* abounds with quotations from the Bible and other Jewish and Christian sources, and they form the axis around which his account of pre-Islamic history revolves. Some further traditions focus on individual links in the universal chain, for example, David and Solomon, who constituted the first links in the house of David. A tradition recorded in the *Mustadrak* by al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī (d. 405/1014) relates that God chose David to be his prophet and messenger and he gathered for him light and wisdom and revealed to him the *zabūr* (the Psalms), adding it to the scriptures already revealed to previous prophets. When David was about to die, God commanded him to bequeath the light of God *(nūr Allāh),* as well as the hidden and the revealed knowledge (see KNOWLEDGE AND LEARNING), to his son Solomon, and so he did (Ḥākim, *Mustadrak,* ii, 587).

Muslims paid special attention to the relationship between the last Israelite prophet, namely Jesus, and Muḥammad. Chronologically speaking, Jesus was the closest Israelite prophet to Muḥammad and this temporal closeness was understood in Islam as a blood relationship. This is the intent of a tradition transmitted by one of the Prophet's Companions, Abū Hurayra (d. 57/677), in which Muḥammad declares: "I am the closest person *(awlā l-nās)* to Jesus the son of Mary in this world and in the world to come." When asked how this could be, the Prophet went on, explaining: "The prophets are brothers born to fellow-wives *(ʿallāt)*, i.e. their mothers are various and their religion is the same. There is no prophet between me and him" (Ibn Ḥibbān, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* xiv, no. 6194). The prophets are likened here to sons of the same father by various mothers. The father stands for the one unchanging religion of God that unites them all and this makes them brothers in the same religion. Among them Jesus and Muḥammad are the closest pair. Their various mothers, so it was explained by some Muslim scholars, represent their various types of *sharīʿa,* i.e. the distinctive religious laws which differ from one monotheistic community to the other (Ibn Ḥajar, *Fatḥ al-bārī,* vi, 354).

Just as Muḥammad was said to have been the closest person to Jesus, he was also presented as the closest one to Moses. This comes out in traditions recounting the history of the ʿĀshūrāʾ day (see FASTING; ATONEMENT). In some of these traditions a relationship between this day and the Jewish Day of Atonement is implied. It is related that when Muḥammad came to Medina after his emigration *(hijra)* from Mecca, he found out that the Jews of that city used to fast on the day of ʿĀshūrāʾ. He asked them to tell him the reason for that and they told him that this day was a holiday because on it God delivered the Children of Israel from their enemies and therefore Moses had fasted on this day. Then Muḥammad said to the Jews: "I am more worthy of Moses than you are" *(anā aḥaqqu bi-Mūsā minkum)* and thereupon he started to fast on the day of ʿĀshūrāʾ and ordered the Muslims to follow suit (e.g. Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* iii, 57 [30.69]). This means that the Islamic *umma* rather than the Jews are the most authentic bearers of the legacy of Moses.

In further traditions the concept of the unchanging divine legacy that transmigrates through the generations from Adam to Muḥammad has been combined with the idea of Muḥammad's pre-existence (for which see Rubin, Pre-existence). The successive legacy has been identified with Muḥammad's own pre-existent entity. The prophets have thus become mere vessels carrying the pre-existent Muḥammad. Traditions reflecting this notion can easily be identified by recourse to the commentaries on Q 26:219. This verse deals with the Prophet's movement *(taqallub)* among those who prostrate themselves (*al-sājidīn,* see BOWING AND PROSTRATION). A tradition of Ibn ʿAbbās as recorded by Ibn Saʿd (d. 230/845) says that the Qurʾān speaks here about the transmigration of Muḥammad "from prophet to prophet and from prophet to prophet, till God brought him forth as a prophet" (Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt,* i, 25; cf. Rubin, Pre-existence, 80 with note 78).

Shīʿīs, Umayyads and prophets

The notion of a universal chain of prophets bearing a successive divine legacy was adapted to the specific needs of various groups who vied for predominance in Islamic society (see POLITICS AND THE QURʾĀN). Each group tried to gain for its leaders recognition as Muḥammad's exclusive heirs, from whom they inherited the universal legacy that had reached him from the previous prophets. Among these groups the best known are the Shīʿīs. They have developed the doctrine according to which the line of transmission was continued after Muḥammad through their own imāms. The latter were described as legatees of the prophets and as bearers of a divine light that they had inherited from the prophets. This doctrine was designed to establish the status of the Shīʿī imāms as agents of divine inspiration and guidance (for details see Rubin, Prophets and progenitors).

The Umayyad caliphs (see CALIPH), too, considered themselves links in a chosen pedigree originating in the biblical prophets. Their views on this claim are revealed in a letter sent to the garrison cities on behalf of the Umayyad caliph Walīd II (r. bet. 125-6/743-4) concerning the designation of his successors (for details see Crone and Hinds, *God's caliph,* 26-8; Rubin, Prophets and caliphs).

Qurʾānic prophets and modern scholarship

Modern scholars have tried to detect an evolution in the qurʾānic prophetology, which they reconstructed according to the assumed chronology of revelation (see CHRONOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN; OCCASIONS OF REVELATION; POST-ENLIGHTENMENT

ACADEMIC STUDY OF THE QUR'ĀN). The "punishment stories," for example, have been explained as reflecting Muḥammad's situation in Mecca, before the *hijra,* the emigration (q.v.) to Medina (q.v.), when he suffered rejection. The description in these stories of the rejection of previous prophets was interpreted as designed to encourage Muḥammad during this difficult period (Tottoli, *Biblical prophets,* 7). The idea of one religion common to all prophets as well as the notion of the religion of Abraham, was explained as stemming from the polemical encounter with the Jews of Medina (Tottoli, *Biblical prophets,* 8-9; see JEWS AND JUDAISM). The usage of the terms *rasūl* and *nabī* was also connected with Muḥammad's life and it was argued that Muḥammad began to use *nabī* as his own epithet only during the later Medinan period (Tottoli, *Biblical prophets,* 74-5). In view, however, of doubts expressed by some scholars who have been of the opinion that not all parts of the scripture stem from Muḥammad's own time, the history of the link between the qur'ānic prophetology and Muḥammad's personal experience is no longer clear.

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temporal implications of the qurʾānic concepts of *nuzūl, tanzīl* and *ʿinzāl,* in Wild, *Text,* 137-56.

Prosperity see WEALTH

Prostitution see ADULTERY AND FORNICATION; SLAVES AND SLAVERY; SEX AND SEXUALITY

Prostration see BOWING AND PROSTRATION

Protection

Shielding from injury or destruction. The Qurʾān uses a variety of different Arabic words for "protection," with meanings that can shade into "defense," "security," "guarding," or "preservation." Numerous verses refer to God protecting the faithful (see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF), to the absence of protection for evil-doers (see EVIL DEEDS) against God's wrath (see ANGER), or to people protecting themselves or others from a variety of evils (see GOOD AND EVIL). The Arabic roots under consideration here are *ʿ-w-dh, ḥ-f-ẓ, ʿ-ṣ-m, w-q-y, w-l-y* (see CLIENTS AND CLIENTAGE), *m-n-ʿ, j-w-r, ʾ-m-n* and *h-y-m-n.*

Five of the ninety-nine beautiful names of God (see GOD AND HIS ATTRIBUTES) come under the broad meaning of "protector": *al-muʾmin,* "author of safety and security" (Q 59:23; cf. Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr;* Ṭūsī, *Tibyān;* Bayḍāwī, *Anwār;* Zamakhsharī, *Kashshāf,* ad loc.; Rāzī, *Lawāmiʿ,* 189; see also Gimaret, *Noms,* 359-61 for further glosses of this name); *al-muhaymin,* "protector and guardian" (Q 59:23; cf. 5:48, where the same word is applied to the book revealed to Muḥammad; see Gimaret, *Noms,* 361-3); *ḥafīẓ,* "preserver" (Q 11:57; 34:21; 42:6; see Gimaret, *Noms,* 270-1); *al-walī,* "patron" (Q 42:28; cf. Gimaret, *Noms,* 323-6; Nwyia, *Exégèse,* 114-5); and *māniʿ,* "he who repels those things detrimental to his creation" (q.v.; cf. Gimaret, *Noms,* 335-6). This last-mentioned is one of the ninety-nine names that are not explicitly recorded in the Qurʾān itself (all English renderings are per Stade's translations of al-Ghazālī).

God is the only protector and protects everything (cf. Q 2:286; 3:150; 6:51, 62; 8:40; 11:57; 13:11; 18:44, and many more), while he himself has no need of a protector (Q 23:88). God protects the heavens from every satan (Q 15:17; 37:7; cf. 21:32; see DEVIL) and protects the believers (Q 46:31-2; 47:11), while the righteous will be in a position of security, protected from hell (Q 44:51, among others; see HELL AND HELLFIRE). God has protected the Qurʾān from corruption (Q 15:9); the Qurʾān is in a guarded tablet (Q 85:22; see PRESERVED TABLET) and itself guards earlier revelations (Q 5:48; see REVELATION AND INSPIRATION). God set guardians over people or souls (Q 6:61; 82:10; 86:4; see GUARDIANSHIP), protected Moses (q.v.) from the people of Pharoah (q.v.; Q 40:45), guarded the devils who worked for Solomon (q.v.; Q 21:82), and will protect Muḥammad against unbelievers (Q 5:67; see OPPOSITION TO MUḤAMMAD). God also provided humankind with shirts to protect them from the heat (see HOT AND COLD; CLOTHING) and coats of mail to protect them in battle (Q 16:81; see INSTRUMENTS; FIGHTING).

While God protects the believers, for the unbelievers there is no protector from God and his wrath, both in this world and on the day of judgment (Q 13:34, 37; 21:43; 40:21, 33; 67:28; 72:22, among others; see LAST JUDGMENT; REWARD AND PUNISHMENT). Noah's (q.v.) rebellious son sought protection in vain from the flood on a mountain (Q 11:43), while fortresses did not protect the Jewish tribe (see JEWS AND JUDAISM) of Banū l-Naḍīr (see NAḌĪR, BANŪ AL-) after the battle of Uḥud (q.v.; cf.

Q 59:2). The Qurʾān tells of people who erroneously sought protection in jinn (q.v.; Q 72:6) and people of the towns who rejected the prophets but who nonetheless mistakenly believed themselves secure from God's wrath (Q 7:98-9; see PUNISHMENT STORIES; PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD).

People need protection against their own inner weaknesses as well as against others. People who sought protection against their own weaknesses include Noah, who sought protection from asking God for something of which he had no knowledge (Q 11:47; see KNOWLEDGE AND LEARNING), Joseph (q.v.), who sought protection from being unjust (Q 12:79; see JUSTICE AND INJUSTICE) and Moses (q.v.), who sought protection from being ignorant (Q 2:67; see IGNORANCE). People can also be protected from their own avarice (q.v.; Q 59:9; 64:16). People who sought protection from God against Satan and others include Joseph, who sought protection from the sexual temptations of the Egyptian's wife (Q 12:23) and Moses, who sought protection from the arrogant people (Q 40:27; see ARROGANCE; PRIDE). Mary's (q.v.) mother sought protection for Mary and her offspring (Q 3:36), while Mary sought protection from sexual defilement (cf. Q 19:18; see SEX AND SEXUALITY). The Qurʾān enjoins Muḥammad to seek protection from the suggestions of Satan (cf. Q 7:200; 23:97-8; 41:36) and a variety of evils (Q 113:1-2; 114:1-4) and to seek protection with God from the accursed Satan when beginning to recite the Qurʾān (Q 16:98), a practice that, in general, Muslims to this day have followed (see RECITATION OF THE QURʾĀN; RITUAL AND THE QURʾĀN).

The Qurʾān also provides examples of how people are responsible for protecting themselves. The faithful are to guard their prayers (Q 2:238; see PRAYER) and oaths (q.v.; Q 5:89), while women are to protect their modesty (q.v.; Q 4:34). People also can guard others in the course of ordinary social relations, as when Joseph's brothers pledged to protect Joseph and Benjamin (q.v.; Q 12:11-2, 63, 65; see BROTHER AND BROTHERHOOD). At a time when Muḥammad may be defeated by his opponents, hypocrites (see HYPOCRITES AND HYPOCRISY) may claim to have protected the unbelievers from the believers (Q 4:141), while Muḥammad can grant protection to idolators who seek it from him (Q 9:6; see IDOLATRY AND IDOLATERS; COMMUNITY AND SOCIETY IN THE QURʾĀN). The Qurʾān also emphasizes that Muḥammad was sent as a messenger, not as a guardian (Q 4:80, among others). Nor are sinners guardians of the righteous (Q 83:33; see SIN, MAJOR AND MINOR).

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Provision see SUSTENANCE

Provocation

An arousal of anger by words or deeds. Provocation consists of manifesting disdain for individuals or their values and is always characterized by a certain degree of unfairness. Instead of attempting to come to terms with a contentious issue between conflicting parties, an act of provocation aims at stirring up the opponents' emotions and leading them to an ill-considered reaction. In order for an action to qualify

as a provocation, at least one of two conditions must be met: an underlying intention to provoke and a consequent feeling of anger. If both conditions are fulfilled, the provocation is successful; if only the first, it is a failure; if only the second, the provocation is unintentional. It follows, then, that merely describing a particular behavior or citing a potentially provocative statement does not suffice to identify an act as a provocation. Additional information about the thoughts and emotions of the parties involved is needed. It is necessary to keep these initial considerations in mind, as we turn to the question of provocation in the Qurʾān.

Provoking opponents

Many qurʾānic passages evoke an atmosphere of polemics (see POLEMIC AND POLEMICAL LANGUAGE) with reference to both the behavior and the utterances of the adversaries of God's messengers (see MESSENGER; OPPOSITION TO MUḤAMMAD) and of the believers (see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF). Except in the case of Pharaoh (q.v.) and the enigmatic Abū Lahab (q.v.) in Q 111, these adversaries are not identified by proper names (see ENEMIES; OPPOSITION TO MUḤAMMAD). Rather, there are several general designations for oppositional groups. The opponents of the pre-Islamic prophets are mostly referred to with ethnic names like ʿĀd (q.v.), Thamūd (q.v.), "Children of Israel" (q.v.), or "people of Noah (q.v.)." The adversaries of the actual qurʾānic preaching, however, are mainly labeled in terms of religion, as the "People of the Book" (q.v.; *ahl al-kitāb*), Jews and Christians (see JEWS AND JUDAISM; CHRISTIANS AND CHRISTIANITY), hypocrites (*munāfiqūn;* see HYPOCRITES AND HYPOCRISY), disbelievers *(kāfirūn)* and idolaters (*mushrikūn;* see IDOLATRY AND IDOLATERS; POLYTHEISM AND ATHEISM). But for the most part, the adversaries' identities are veiled in anonymity. Nevertheless, they are vividly present in the text in the rich vocabulary used to describe their words and deeds. They "dispute" (*jādala,* e.g. Q 6:25; 22:68; see DEBATE AND DISPUTATION), "oppose" (*ḥādda,* e.g. Q 9:63; 58:5), "make a breach" (*shāqqa,* e.g. Q 4:115; 8:13), "transgress" (*iʿtadā,* e.g. Q 3:112; 5:78), "turn away" (*aʿraḍa,* e.g. Q 18:57; 54:2), "revile" (*sabba,* Q 6:108), "defame" (*lamaza,* e.g. Q 9:58, 79), "contrive" (*kāda,* e.g. Q 7:195; 77:39), "plot" (*makara*, e.g. Q 6:123; 35:10), "forge a lie [against God]" (*iftarā l-kadhiba,* e.g. Q 29:68; 61:7), "lie" (*kadhaba,* e.g. Q 2:10; 39:32); "cry lies" (*kadhdhaba,* e.g. Q 35:25; 83:12), "grow arrogant" (*istakbara,* e.g. Q 6:93; 37:35), "mock" (*istahzaʾa,* e.g. Q 9:65; 2:14), "deride" (*sakhira,* e.g. Q 6:10; 9:79), "laugh" (*ḍaḥika,* e.g. Q 23:110; 83:29), "chatter" (*khāḍa,* e.g. Q 6:68; 9:69), "play" (*laʿiba,* e.g. Q 9:65; 43:83), etc. It is further asserted in the Qurʾān that both the earlier and the contemporary adversaries share the same hostile attitude, as can be seen in verses like Q 6:10: "Messengers indeed were mocked at before you" (cf. Q 6:34, 148; 10:39; 13:32; 22:42; 34:34; 35:4, 25; 2:108, etc.; see MOCKERY).

As strife is considered to be demon-inspired (e.g. Q 6:121; 7:200; 17:53; see DEVIL; CORRUPTION), the Prophet and the believers are repeatedly exhorted not to get involved in polemical disputes with their opponents. Instead, they are ordered to turn away from their enemies (e.g. Q 6:68; 28:55), to "repel with that which is fairer" (Q 41:34; cf. 13:22; 28:54; 17:53) and to "dispute with them in the better way" (Q 16:125; cf. 29:46). The adversaries, however, must bear the consequences of their behavior. This holds true in the case of the divine punishment of wicked peoples in former times (e.g. Q 36:30-1; 40:4-5; see PUNISHMENT STORIES; GENERATIONS), as well as of the condemnation of the sinners at the end of days (e.g. Q 45:34-5; 70:42-4;

see SIN, MAJOR AND MINOR; REWARD AND PUNISHMENT).

Two concepts describe the relation between behavior and consequences. On the one hand, there seems to be a *talio*-like automatism installed by God (see RETALIATION). This is indicated by formulations like: "They shall be encompassed *(ḥāqa)* by that at which they mocked" (Q 11:8; cf. 6:10; 16:34, etc.; see also Q 2:81; 3:117; 30:9; 83:14), and by passages assuring that just as the adversaries deride, plot, contrive and mock, so does God (e.g. Q 2:14-5; 9:79; 27:50-1; 52:42). On the other hand, since their behavior is said to arouse God's "wrath" (*ghaḍab,* e.g. Q 16:106; 42:16; see ANGER) and "hate" (*maqt,* e.g. Q 35:39; 40:35), this behavior is, in the first place, clearly understood as a provocation of God (cf. Q 6:33: "It is not you they cry lies to, but the evildoers — it is the signs of God that they deny"). Thus, the punishments inflicted upon the opponents appear as God's reaction to this provocation, as his "revenge" (*intiqām,* e.g. Q 3:4; 14:47; see VENGEANCE). The integration of the notion of God's wrath into a pattern of disobedience (q.v.) and retribution is familiar in the biblical tradition, too (e.g. *Num* 11:1; *Deut* 1:34; *Rom* 2:5; *Rev* 16:1). R. Otto (*Das Heilige,* 21 f.) explained it as a rationalization of the *mysterium tremendum,* the basic experience of the awe-inspiring god (cf. Q 8:12; 33:26; 39:23). Nevertheless, the anthropopathism inherent in this notion was to become a challenge for later Muslim scholars, who debated particularly about the nature of God's wrath and its compatibility with his mercy (q.v.; cf. the qurʾānic commentaries ad Q 1:7).

The polemic passages

The opponents are not only characterized by the above-mentioned vocabulary, they are also described as uttering criticism, challenges, invectives and the like, directed against the messenger and his message. These citations appear in direct discourse, introduced by the verb "to say" *(qāla)*. The opponents' utterances are then followed by or imbedded in statements that contain the appropriate answers, retorts, warnings (see WARNER), etc. If the opponents cited belong to the past, it is usually the messengers who were sent to them at the time who reply (e.g. Noah at Q 7:59 f.; Hūd [q.v.] at Q 7:65 f.). For the polemics directed at Muḥammad, however, the answering statements either have no introduction, in which case the heavenly voice speaks directly without a mediator (e.g. Q 44:14; 51:52; 68:15-6), or they are introduced by the imperative "say" *(qul)*.

This imperative, which occurs more than 300 times, is one of the most puzzling features of the qurʾānic style (see LANGUAGE AND STYLE OF THE QURʾĀN; RHETORIC AND THE QURʾĀN; LITERARY STRUCTURES OF THE QURʾĀN). It can be argued, however, that its main function is to introduce the figure of a prophet into a text whose fundamental literary character seems rather to preclude this (see NARRATIVES). That is to say, the Qurʾān basically belongs to the genre of anonymous religious literature. It is not an historical account of the life and times of a prophet; there is no biographical framework providing information about the circumstances of the revelation (see OCCASIONS OF REVELATION). Not even the title of the scripture, namely *al-qurʾān al-karīm* or *qurʾān karīm,* bears any attribution to its recipient (see NAMES OF THE QURʾĀN). Furthermore, aside from the polemical passages, God is referred to throughout in either the first person (mostly plural, sometimes singular, e.g. Q 2:40-1; 13:32; 22:48; 32:13) or in the third person. This implies that it is either he, or some angelic messenger (see ANGEL), speaking (the latter is the case even in the first person plural at Q 19:64; perhaps also

Q 30:35; 37:164-6). This literary form carries a strong claim of authority, as it suggests simultaneously a divine origin and a genuine transmission of the text. Any human recipient is reduced thereby to a mere mouthpiece who remains hidden behind the message — an effect which finds its precise expression in the Islamic dogma of revelation (see CREEDS; THEOLOGY AND THE QUR'ĀN). Seen against this background, the imperative "say" can be considered a literary device used to root the idea of a divinely-inspired prophet in a document that is otherwise characterized as an unmediated revelation.

The formal nucleus of the polemic passages is the pattern "(they) say: … say (you): …" (*qālū/yaqūlūna … qul*, e.g. Q 2:80; 10:20; 17:49-51). This pattern is frequently modified by adding further answers and comments (e.g. Q 3:73-4; 6:148-51; 34:22), as well as by rearranging its elements into *qul … yaqūlūna* (e.g. Q 23:84 f; cf. 29:63). The polemical passages thus formed deal mainly with two issues: questions of belief on the one hand, and the legitimacy of the prophet on the other (see LIE; INFORMANTS; IMPECCABILITY). Doctrinal issues that are defended against the adversaries' contentions and denials include such themes as the notion of true monotheism, God's omnipotence and omniscience (see POWER AND IMPOTENCE) and the truth of eschatological events (see ESCHATOLOGY) — the bodily resurrection (q.v.), the last judgment (q.v.) and the eternal punishment in hell (see HELL AND HELLFIRE) or the reward in paradise (q.v.; e.g. Q 2:80; 4:78; 5:17; 10:18, 48-51; 11:7-8; 13:5; 17:49-52; 21:3-4; 27:67-72; 34:3; 36:78-9; 39:38). Refutation of the teachings of the Jews and Christians, the "People of the Book" (cf. i.e. Q 2:80, 94, 111; 5:18-9; 10:68-9, etc.), belongs to this category as well.

In respect to the legitimacy of the Prophet, the polemical passages discuss criteria of credibility and conceptions of pseudo-prophecy (see MUSAYLIMA). Most prominent is the opponents' call for signs (q.v.; *āyāt*, sing. *āya*): "The unbelievers say, 'Why has a sign not been sent down upon him from his lord?'" (Q 13:7; cf. 2:118; 6:37, 109; 10:20; 13:27, etc.). Verses like Q 6:124 ("They said, 'We will not believe until we are given the like of what God's messengers were given'"; cf. Q 21:5) or the short list in Q 17:90-3 show that "signs" can be understood to mean miracles (q.v.). The unbelievers demand that revelation (see REVELATION AND INSPIRATION), too, should be accompanied by miracles like theophany (q.v.; Q 2:118; 17:92), the appearance of angels (e.g. Q 23:24; 25:21), the Prophet's ascension (q.v.) to heaven (Q 17:93; cf. 6:35; 52:38) or the sending down of "a book (q.v.) on parchment" (Q 6:7; cf. 74:52). In addition, they accuse the Prophet of forging his message (*iftarā[hu];* e.g. Q 10:38; 11:13; 34:8; 42:24; cf. 52:33; see FORGERY) and call him "a man possessed" (*majnūn*, e.g. Q 15:6; 37:36; 44:14; see INSANITY; JINN), "a soothsayer" (*kāhin*, cf. Q 69:42; see SOOTHSAYERS), "a sorcerer" (*sāḥir*, Q 10:2; 38:4; cf. 6:7; 11:7; see MAGIC) or "a poet" (*shā'ir*, e.g. Q 21:5; 37:36; 52:30; see POETRY AND POETS) — all of these being prominent characterizations of pseudo-prophecy and unreliable inspiration.

It is through answering these false conceptions and demands that the qur'ānic prophetology is formulated. It is asserted in the Qur'ān that God's messengers and prophets are human beings (Q 17:93; 18:110; 41:6; cf. 6:50; 11:12, 31; see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD) who all along have been mocked (see above; this is also demonstrated overtly by the literary form of the polemical passages themselves). They receive revelation by means of *waḥy* — a kind of non-verbal communication that they then have to translate

into human language (e.g. Q 18:110; 21:45; the only exception is Moses [q.v.], to whom God spoke directly: Q 4:164; cf. 42:51; see also WORD OF GOD). They do not need miracles to justify their message (cf. Q 13:27; 29:50). It suffices to point to God's signs *(āyāt)* in nature and history, which can be interpreted as proofs for God's sole power, his care for humankind, the resurrection and the reality of the divine judgment (e.g. Q 10:31 f.; 27:59-60, 65 f.; 29:20; 30:42).

From a literary viewpoint, the polemical passages are not the prophetic message proper. They appear instead as meta-level reflections upon such a message and its reception. Yet, they hardly represent reports of historical disputes. Inasmuch as their actors are veiled by anonymity and since most of the topics dealt with can be traced back to the tradition of religious polemical literature, they should rather be considered constructed dialogues. One of their purposes seems to be, then, that they characterize the qurʾānic Prophet and establish the relation between him and his prophetic predecessors and the other, that they contribute to the formulation of a Muslim identity as distinct from rival religions (see RELIGIOUS PLURALISM AND THE QURʾĀN; ISLAM).

The qurʾānic challenge

Among the passages of provocation and polemic are several verses where the heavenly voice — either directly (e.g. Q 10:68; 28:75; 37:156-7; 68:37) or via the Prophet (e.g. Q 27:64; 34:27; 35:40; 46:4) — challenges the adversaries to justify their beliefs and practices, e.g. the Jewish rules concerning food (Q 3:93; see FOOD AND DRINK; BOUNDARIES AND PRECEPTS; LAWFUL AND UNLAWFUL) or the Jewish and Christian claim of entering paradise exclusively (Q 2:111; cf. 2:94). More often, however, a justification for idolatry *(shirk)* is demanded (e.g. Q 6:148 f.; 7:194-5; 10:68; 21:24; 27:64). The opponents are exhorted to present those venerated beside God ("Say: 'Show me those you have joined to him as associates *[shurakāʾ]!*'," Q 34:27; cf. 7:195; 68:41) or to bring their "witnesses" (*shuhadāʾ*, Q 2:23; see WITNESSING AND TESTIFYING), "proof" (q.v.; *burhān*, Q 2:111; 21:24; 27:64; 28:75), "authority" (q.v.; *sulṭān*, Q 10:68; 37:156), "knowledge" (*ʿilm*, Q 6:148) or "oaths" (q.v.) from God (*aymān*, Q 68:39). But the demand most revealing of the qurʾānic notion of authority and legitimacy is the challenge to the adversaries to prove their contentions with a "book" *(kitāb):* "Bring your book, if you are truthful!" (Q 37:157; cf. 46:4; 35:40; 68:37). And in Q 3:93, the Children of Israel (q.v.) are called upon to bring the Torah (q.v.) and to recite from it, in order to justify their restrictions on food.

Still another group of verses falls under this same heading, the so-called "challenge" *(taḥaddī)* verses. These verses issue a challenge *(taḥaddin)* to the opponents who reject the prophetic message to bring — as counterevidence, so to speak — "a sūra like it" (*fa-ʾtū bi-sūratin mithlihi*, Q 10:38; cf. 2:23; see SŪRAS), "ten sūras the like of it" (*bi-ʿashri suwarin mithlihi*, Q 11:13) or "a discourse like it" (*bi-ḥadīthin mithlihi*, Q 52:34), and they are exhorted to call their "witnesses apart from God" (*wa-dʿū shuhadāʾakum min dūni llāhi*, Q 2:23; cf. 10:38; 11:13). Furthermore, in Q 17:88 it is assured: "Say: 'If men and jinn banded together to produce the like of this *qurʾān (bi-mithli hādhā l-qurʾāni)*, they would never produce its like, not though they backed one another.'" These passages are reminiscent of Isaiah 43:9: "Let all the nations be gathered together, and let the people be assembled: who among them can declare this, and show us former things? Let them bring forth their witnesses, that they may be justified: or let them hear, and say: It is

truth" (cf. *Isa* 41:21 f.; 44:6 f.). In both the Qurʾān and (Deutero-) Isaiah, the foreign gods have no reality; they are mere names and handmade idols (*Isa* 44:9 f.; Q 7:71; 12:40; 16:20-1, etc.). Underscoring the basic metaphysical difference between God and the rival gods, however, both passages highlight God's well-attested activity, past and present. Now, from the qurʾānic point of view, this activity is demonstrated first of all in God's signs *(āyāt)* in nature and history (see NATURE AS SIGNS; HISTORY AND THE QURʾĀN). And since the terms *ḥadīth* (see ḤADĪTH AND THE QURʾĀN), *sūra* and *qurʾān* should be understood here as revelation texts referring to these signs (cf. Radscheit, *Koranische Herausforderung,* 94 f.), it becomes clear why the idolaters cannot meet the qurʾānic challenge: it is not possible to bring a revelation that argues by means of the *āyāt* for the existence of gods beside God.

It is well known that Muslim exegetes (see EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL) interpret the *taḥaddī*-verses primarily in the light of the doctrine of the inimitability (q.v.; *iʿjāz*) of the Qurʾān. The beginnings of this doctrine can hardly be dated before the third/ninth century and presuppose several stages of theological and cultural development. The prerequisite developments include the final codification of the qurʾānic texts (see CODICES OF THE QURʾĀN; COLLECTION OF THE QURʾĀN), the sharpening and polishing of a unique Islamic prophetology vis-à-vis Judaism and Christianity, and the emergence of the *shuʿūbiyya,* the cultural conflict between Arabs (q.v.) and non-Arabs, especially Persians. According to the *iʿjāz*-doctrine, the Qurʾān in itself — by virtue of its inimitability — is the miracle that legitimizes the prophetic mission of Muḥammad and corresponds in this regard to the miracles that were given to Moses and to Jesus (q.v.). The question about how the Qurʾān must be considered a miracle — because of its contents or because of style — has remained controversial, and therefore productive of a profusion of interpretations, up to this day (see EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: EARLY MODERN AND CONTEMPORARY). Yet there has always been a broad consensus as to how to prove the miraculous nature of the Qurʾān.

The core argument is that an imitation *(muʿāraḍa)* of the Qurʾān has never actually appeared, although every good reason existed to create one (see PARODY OF THE QURʾĀN). In this respect the *taḥaddī*-verses are of paramount importance. The heathen Arabs were a people described as defining themselves by their eloquence and rhetorical ability on the one hand, and by their pride and belligerent character on the other. It is inconceivable that such a people never tried to imitate the Qurʾān, although Muḥammad provoked them time and again with the *taḥaddī*-verses, goading them to the utmost degree, foretelling their inability to meet the challenge and threatening them with physical annihilation. It was the ingenious Iraqi scholar Abū ʿUthmān al-Jāḥiẓ (d. 255/869) of the Muʿtazila (see MUʿTAZILĪS), who, in his treatise *Ḥujaj al-nubuwwa,* "Arguments for the prophecy [of Muḥammad]," expressed this idea so convincingly that most subsequent theologians have followed him. And since — according to al-Jāḥiẓ — Muḥammad intended to provoke the Arabs and since they, as a result, became angry, the qurʾānic challenge must be considered a successful provocation.

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Psalms

The title of a book of religious songs and poems of praise and prayer poems in the Hebrew Bible to which, according to most interpretations, reference is made in the Qurʾān. It is called *Tehillim* in rabbinical Hebrew (lit. "songs of praise") with the connotation in post-exilitic Bible books of "songs of Temple worship"; *psalmos* is Greek for "a song sung to a harp." One of the common words for this kind of composition found in the book of Psalms itself is *mizmōr,* which is related to the Arabic *mizmār,* "single-pipe woodwind instrument resembling the oboe," and *mazmūr,* "psalm." The Hebrew psalms were not all composed at the same time but — because they exist in Greek translation — they must date back to at least the second half of the second century B.C.E. The so-called Davidic psalms constituted the very first stage in the compilation of the Hebrew book of Psalms.

Although the various versions of the book of Psalms consist of 149, 150 or 151 psalms, 150 seems to be the ideal number because the Greek version contains an additional psalm which is considered supernumerary, that is, Psalm 151 which is also marked as apocryphal. The book of Psalms is divided into five chapters or books, each comprising a number of psalms. Each of the first four books is marked off by a doxology or formulaic expression of praise to God, for instance, "Blessed is the Lord, from eternity to eternity," "Blessed be the Lord into eternity," or "Amen and amen."

There are several genres to be distinguished in the Psalms: the leading one is the hymn. Some psalms specifically extol God's royal role in the universe, his city, and his Torah (q.v.). About one third of the Psalter is devoted to laments in which the speaker may be either the individual or the community (faced with national oppression or misfortune) making a strong plea for divine help. Those songs in which one is sure of God's help are called "psalms of confidence." There is also the genre of thanksgiving. The "royal psalms," in which the center of attention is the anointed one (Messiah) of God, the earthly king of Israel, and which contain no direct reference to a reigning monarch, constitute a separate class. Another genre derives from wisdom literature; psalms of this type may be reflective or sententious. The contents are often linked to particular situations such as repentance for the sins of the poet, or thanksgiving to the lord for liberating the poet from his enemies (see GRATITUDE AND INGRATITUDE).

The mixing of genres to be found in the Psalms is paralleled in the Qurʾān, which is not a homogeneous collection but a combination of many genres whose sūras (q.v.) are often mixed compositions (see FORM AND STRUCTURE OF THE QURʾĀN). A comparison of the two holy books — the Hebrew Psalms and the Arabic Qurʾān — makes us aware of the complex composition of these sacred scriptures: individual genres such as hymns, wisdom

sentences, prophecies and poetry are combined, each genre having its own style, vocabulary and formal language (see LANGUAGE AND STYLE OF THE QUR'ĀN). Some sense of this similarity is captured in the Qur'ān, where the *zabūr,* "the book of Psalms granted by God to David" (Q 4:163; 17:55), is recognized as a holy scripture preceding the Qur'ān (see SCRIPTURE AND THE QUR'ĀN).

Legendary authors of psalms were the kings David (q.v.) and, to a lesser extent, Solomon (q.v.), and sometimes the situation of the poet in the psalms can be linked to events that took place during David's lifetime. The book of Psalms was considered as "the writings of David." Musical-recitative accompaniment is attributed to Davidic innovation (2 *Chron* 23:18). According to the Talmud, the Psalms were inspired (Pes. 117a) and music helped to supply the inspiration: "A harp was suspended above the bed of David. When midnight came the north wind blew on it and it produced music of its own accord. Immediately David arose and occupied himself with the Torah.… Until midnight he occupied himself with the Torah; and from then with songs and praises." In Islamic literature, the tradition that David devoted himself to the Torah is also mentioned by al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923; *Ta'rīkh,* i, 567; Eng. trans. *History,* iii, 147).

In the Qur'ān, the ḥadīth (see ḤADĪTH AND THE QUR'ĀN), the "tales of the prophets" (*qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā';* see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD; NARRATIVES) and Arabic historical writings, the prophet David is considered a famous musician. He is mentioned in several places in the Qur'ān. In Q 21:105 the word *zabūr* is used again by God: "We have written in the *zabūr*… that my righteous servants shall inherit the earth," which verse is reminiscent of a Hebrew psalm (*Ps* 37:9, 11, 29: "they who shall inherit the earth"). God gave David the rule of the kingdom (see KINGS AND RULERS), knowledge (*'ilm;* see KNOWLEDGE AND LEARNING) and wisdom (q.v.; *ḥikma*), and the ability to do justice (*ḥukm,* esp. Q 21:78 f.; cf. 38:20-4, 26; see JUSTICE AND INJUSTICE). God made the birds and mountains his servants, so that they unite in his praise (Q 21:79; 34:10; 38:18 f.). There is no mention of the wrong David did to Uriah in order to win Bathsheba's affection, but some qur'ānic verses show that the king feels himself to be guilty. His prayer for forgiveness (q.v.) is heard (Q 38:24 f.).

The ḥadīth (accounts of Muḥammad's deeds and sayings) stress David's zeal in prayer (q.v.) and especially in fasting (q.v.) and his readiness to do penance (see REPENTANCE AND PENANCE). Another favorite theme is David's gift in singing psalms. His voice has magical power over not only humans but also over wild beasts and inanimate nature (see MAGIC). In other Islamic literature, such as that of Qur'ān commentators, historians and compilers of the "tales of the prophets," the works of the two historians al-Ya'qūbī (d. ca. 292/905) and al-Ṭabarī are especially important. Even though both probably based their works upon texts derived from the same sources (cf. Tha'labī-Brinner, *Lives,* 462-81), the works of these two men are strikingly independent of each other.

Al-Ya'qūbī has a long passage about David (cf. Ebied and Wickham, Al-Ya'ḳūbī's account, 87-91 for an Eng. trans. of al-Ya'qūbī's text on David). He is portrayed as the successor to Saul (q.v.) and as subduing the Philistines. The affair with Bathsheba and the prophet Nathan's words of reproach to David are mentioned, the child he had with Bathsheba being the later king, Solomon. The family affairs with his brothers are described more or less according to the Bible, such as the revolt

by his son Absalom, who is killed by Yoab. Contrary to the biblical version, in al-Yaʿqūbī's text Barzillay marched against David and when God saved David from his hands, David recited a psalm. This psalm is reported in Arabic and is very similar to Psalm 18, in which he thanks God for having saved him from his enemies. There then follows an Arabic rendition of Psalm 1, which begins "Blessed are the ones who do not follow the path of the sinners." Other laudatory psalms are quoted in Arabic, reflecting, respectively, Psalms 148, 149 and 150. Then the apocryphal Psalm 151 is also quoted in Arabic. This psalm is conceived as highly autobiographical: in it David tells us that he was the youngest among his brethren, herded the sheep of his father and cut flutes from reed. But God sent his angels and took him away from his sheep and from his brethren and destined him to fight Goliath (q.v.). David killed this worshipper of idols (see IDOLATRY AND IDOLATERS) by cutting off his head with his own sword. After this passage, al-Yaʿqūbī deals with David's old age and Solomon, David's successor.

Al-Ṭabarī collects the comments of early qurʾānic exegetes (see EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL) in his *Tafsīr* (his exegetical work), including definitions of terms such as *zabūr* (with the plural *zubur*), which vary depending on the verse. In his commentary on Q 21:105, he records a variety of meanings for *zabūr:* "all the books of the prophets that God brought down to them" (Saʿīd b. Jubayr, Ibn Zayd; see BOOK), "the books revealed to the prophets after Moses" (q.v.; Ibn ʿAbbās, al-Ḍaḥḥāk) and "a specific book revealed to David" (ʿĀmir, al-Shaʿbī). In his commentary on Q 3:184, *al-zubur* is a generic term for a book based on pre-Islamic poetic evidence (see POETRY AND POETS; PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QURʾĀN). Commenting on Q 4:163, he writes "the Arabs (q.v.) say *zabūr dāwūd* (David), and because of that the rest of the peoples know his book."

Al-Ṭabarī includes a section on Saul, David and Solomon in his *Taʾrīkh,* i.e. his history of the world. In this work, he explains David's connection with the Psalms thus:

When the Israelites gathered around David, God revealed the Psalms to him, and taught him ironworking, making it supple for him. He also ordered the mountains and the birds to sing praise with him when he sang. According to what they have mentioned, God did not give anyone in his creation a voice like his. So when David recited the Psalms, wild beasts would gaze at him with delight, until they were lined up, intently listening upon hearing his voice. The demons invented flutes, lutes and cymbals with only his voice as a model. David was extremely diligent, constant in worship (q.v.) and wept much (*Taʾrīkh,* i, 562; Eng. trans. *History,* iii, 143; see WEEPING).

Al-Ṭabarī incorporates Qurʾān as well as ḥadīth passages into his *Taʾrīkh;* among them is Q 38:17-8, in which God describes David to Muḥammad, saying: "And remember our servant David, possessor of might. Lo! We subdued the hills to sing the praises with him at nightfall and sunrise." Al-Ṭabarī adds, "It has also been mentioned to us that David would stay up at night and fast half of the time. And according to what has been mentioned, four thousand men guarded him every day and night." Just as Abraham (q.v.) was put to the test with the sacrifice (q.v.) of his son, and Jacob (q.v.) was tested with his grief over his son Joseph (q.v.), David wanted to be tested. But he did not withstand the temptation when confronted with the seductive beauty of Bathsheba, who

was married to Uriah (Ahriya). Although in the Qurʾān there is no mention of the Bathsheba story, al-Ṭabarī quotes Q 38:24 when speaking about David's repentance for marrying Bathsheba and getting rid of her husband Uriah: "He fell down prostrate (see BOWING AND PROSTRATION) and he repented." All these items of course refer to David as the singer of psalms in praise of God as well as of penitential ones. (See also Hasson, David; according to other Muslim traditions Bathseba was only engaged to Uriah, not married to him.)

At an early stage, the book of Psalms was available in Arabic translation, as we have learned from the translations of al-Yaʿqūbī. A fragment of a Christian Arabic translation of the Psalms (containing *Ps* 78: 20-31, 51-61 in Greek majuscule writing from the second/eighth century) was identified in Damascus by B. Violet (Ein zweisprachiges Psalmfragment).

In Jewish and Christian circles, the *Tafsīr* (= translation into Arabic with commentary) by Saʿadyā Gaon alias Saʿd b. Yūsuf al-Fayyūmī (d. 331/942) was especially famous, but members of the Karaite sect such as Japheth b. Eli (Abū ʿAlī Ḥasan b. ʿAlī al-Baṣrī; fourth/tenth century) are also worth mentioning. In Spain, interest in the Psalms reached its apogee with Ibn Ḥazm's (384-456/994-1064) "Book on religions" *(al-Fiṣal fī l-milal)*. Already in third/ninth century Muslim Spain, Ḥafṣ al-Qūṭī translated the Psalter into Arabic *rajaz* verse, probably not directly from Arabic but from a Latin version of Jerome (347-420 C.E.). By that time there were already two prose translations of the Psalms in al-Andalus. Ibn Ḥazm in his *Fiṣal* criticized very much the contents of a number of psalms, such as Psalm 2:7, which has a statement about God's son (see EZRA; JESUS; POLEMIC AND POLEMICAL LANGUAGE). He also dealt with about ten other psalms, e.g. *Ps* 81:6 and 44:7 (cf. Ljamai, *Ibn Ḥazm,* 115-8). This is a sign of the immense popularity of the Psalms, which is also reflected in the style of some poems by poets from the east as well as the west of the Islamic world, such as Abū l-ʿAtāhiya (130-211/748-826) and Ibn Khafāja (450-533/1058-1139). The Andalusian poet Ibn Khafāja says in one of his poems (*Dīwān,* no. 162): "Happy is the one who stands in the fear of the lord (q.v.) while darkness (q.v.) sets up its cupola of darkness," which clearly echoes Psalm 1:1. In modern times the Urdu poet Iqbāl (1877-1938) has composed a Psalter, but the poems are not really reminiscent of Davidic psalms (see also LITERATURE AND THE QURʾĀN; see esp. NATURE AS SIGNS; PRAISE for discussion of "psalmodic" qurʾānic passages).

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Psychology

see SOCIAL SCIENCES AND THE QUR'ĀN

Puberty

see MATURITY; BIOLOGY AS THE CREATION AND STAGES OF LIFE

Punishment

see CHASTISEMENT AND PUNISHMENT; REWARD AND PUNISHMENT; PUNISHMENT STORIES; RETALIATION; VENGEANCE

Punishment Stories

The Qur'ān contains many stories, overwhelmingly from the Meccan period (see CHRONOLOGY AND THE QUR'ĀN), which describe God's destruction of unbelieving communities in the generations before Muḥammad (see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF). A key feature of these stories, at least in their more developed forms, is the encounter between a messenger (q.v.) and the particular community to which he is sent to preach God's message. The messenger typically encounters opposition and ridicule but finally God intervenes to destroy the unbelievers. It is to be noted that these stories depict a punishment inflicted by God in this world rather than in the afterlife (see CHASTISEMENT AND PUNISHMENT; REWARD AND PUNISHMENT). This article gives a survey of the relevant qur'ānic material and also suggests how these stories illuminate the context in which Muḥammad was preaching (see OCCASIONS OF REVELATION).

Early Meccan period

From this period there are a number of passages which are so brief that they can scarcely be described as punishment stories, but which nevertheless point ahead to the more developed narratives (q.v.) to be considered below (see FORM AND STRUCTURE OF THE QUR'ĀN). These early Meccan passages give short, allusive accounts of the destruction by God of unbelieving communities of the past, along with occasional references to messengers sent by God. The relevant passages, in chronological order, are: 105; 91:11-5; 85:17-20; 73:15-6; 79:15-26; 89:6-14; 53:50-4; 69:4-12; 51:24-46. (See for an analysis of these passages Marshall, *God,* 39-52.)

Middle and late Meccan periods

Many of the typical features of the punishment stories from these periods are present in the following account of the preaching of the messenger Shu'ayb (q.v.) to the "men of the thicket" (see PEOPLE OF THE THICKET), their rejection of his message and their consequent punishment by God.

The men of the thicket cried lies to the envoys when Shu'ayb said to them: "Will you not be godfearing? I am for you a faithful messenger, so fear God and obey me (see FEAR; OBEDIENCE). I ask of you no wage for this; my wage falls only upon the lord (q.v.) of all being. Fill up the measure,

and be not cheaters, and weigh with the straight balance, and diminish not the goods of the people (see ECONOMICS; WEIGHTS AND MEASURES; MEASUREMENT; JUSTICE AND INJUSTICE), and do not mischief in the earth, working corruption (q.v.). Fear him who created you (see CREATION), and the generations (q.v.) of the ancients." They said: "You are merely one of those that are bewitched (see INSANITY); you are nothing but a mortal, like us; indeed, we think that you are one of the liars (see LIE). Then drop down on us lumps from heaven, if you are one of the truthful." He said, "My lord knows very well what you are doing." But they cried him lies; then there seized them the punishment of the day of shadow; assuredly it was the punishment of a dreadful day. Surely in that is a sign, yet most of them are not believers. Surely your lord, he is the all-mighty, the all-compassionate (Q 26:176-91).

This is the last of seven stories, which together form a long narrative chain constituting virtually the whole of sūra 26. Of these seven, the final five, focusing in turn on the messengers Noah (q.v.), Hūd (q.v.), Ṣāliḥ (q.v.), Lot (q.v.) and Shuʿayb, have many similarities in both form and content and are linked by a number of repeated phrases.

These five stories begin with a brief statement of the unbelieving response of a particular people to God's messenger, who is typically one of their kin. The first word of each story is the verb *kadhdhabat,* denoting the unbelievers' denial of the truth (q.v.) of the messengers' words. This repetition emphatically introduces the phenomenon of unbelief as the burden of these stories. The opening is followed by an account of the messenger's preaching, which calls his people to be god-fearing and to acknowledge his own authority (q.v.) and trustworthiness. In most cases the messenger also criticizes forms of immorality or social injustice displayed by the community in question (see VIRTUES AND VICES, COMMANDING AND FORBIDDING; ETHICS AND THE QURʾĀN). This prompts a scornful, unbelieving response that might also include a threat of violence towards the messenger who, in some cases, now prays for God to deliver him and his followers or household. Then, in a variety of ways, God intervenes to destroy the unbelievers. Each passage concludes with a reminder to the Meccan listeners that this story is a "sign" *(āya),* a call to respond in humility to the mighty but merciful God; there is also, however, a note of resigned recognition that "most of them are not believers."

God sends a messenger; the messenger is rejected; the unbelievers are punished. This basic narrative pattern underlies the great majority of the many punishment stories that occur in the middle and late Meccan periods, although there is also significant variety among them. The same essential story about the five messengers mentioned above occurs especially frequently, but there are also many stories involving other messengers, particularly Abraham (q.v.) and Moses (q.v.; the latter occasionally linked to Aaron [q.v.]). The stories about Abraham are not punishment stories in the full sense, as they contain no reference to his people being destroyed, but Abraham sometimes features in the stories of the punishment of Lot's people, as at Q 11:69-83. Some punishment stories refer to unnamed messengers (e.g. Q 23:31-41). Mention should also be made of Jonah (q.v.), the only messenger whose people repent (see REPENTANCE AND PENANCE) in response to his preaching and who therefore escape punishment (Q 37:139-48; 10:98). In addition to the peoples of the messengers already mentioned, the Qurʾān also refers to other punished

peoples, such as al-Rass (q.v.) and Tubbaʿ (q.v.; Q 50:12, 14), about whom nothing further is said. There is also a story about the punishment of the people of Sheba (q.v.; 34:15-21), which is unusual in not including any mention of a messenger. The nature of the punishment inflicted by God is in some cases made explicit (e.g. the flood which destroyed Noah's [q.v.] people; the drowning of Pharaoh's [q.v.] army; stones being rained from heaven on Lot's people); but in many cases it is left unspecific (e.g. Q 26:189, in the story quoted above, refers to "the punishment of the day of shadow").

It is difficult to overstate the significance of the punishment stories in the middle and late Meccan periods, where they constitute a very considerable proportion of the qurʾānic text. The following list includes a number of passages (e.g. especially Q 11:25-99 and Q 7:59-137, as well as Q 26:8-191, mentioned above) in which several narratives are linked to form a chain of punishment stories, suggesting that human history has been a sequence of such encounters between God's messengers and unbelievers (see HISTORY AND THE QURʾĀN): Q 54:9-42; 37:71-148; 71; 44:17-33; 50:12-4; 20:9-99; 26:8-191; 15:51-84; 38:12-5; 36:13-32; 43:46-56; 23:23-49; 27:7-58; 25:35-40; 17:101-3; 18:32-43; 41:13-8; 11:25-99; 14:5-14; 40:5-6; 40:23-46; 28:3-43; 28:76-82; 29:14-40; 10:71-92; 34:15-21; 7:59-137; 46:21-7 (a brief summary of the contents of each of these passages is provided at Marshall, *God*, 71-3).

In addition to this list of narrative passages there are also many brief and generalized references to God's acts of punishment in the world. Typical in this regard are the refrain "How many a generation we destroyed..." (e.g. Q 6:6; 10:13-4; 17:17; 19:74; 50:36) and variants on "Have they not journeyed in the land and beheld how was the end of those that were before them?" (Q 35:44; cf. 6:11; 12:109; 30:42; 40:21-2, 82-4; see GEOGRAPHY). Similar passages occur at Q 43:23-5; 67:18; 21:6-15; 18:55-9; 32:26; 39:25; 7:4-5; 6:42-5. The combination of extended punishment stories and these widely scattered brief references to God's acts of punishment in this world ensure that this theme thoroughly pervades the qurʾānic material of these periods.

The Medinan period

It is therefore very striking, and a point little commented on, that in Medinan passages there are no developed punishment stories and only very few brief references to God's past acts of punishment. Q 22:42-9 and 64:5-6 are examples of early Medinan passages which echo the themes and threats of the Meccan punishment stories (on the dating and significance of Q 22:39-49 see Marshall, *God*, 119-24); isolated later Medinan examples can be found at passages such as Q 3:10-1, Q 9:70, and Q 47:10. Comment will be offered below on the absence of punishment stories in Medinan passages after the abundance of them in Meccan passages.

The significance of the punishment stories

The point is widely recognized that the punishment stories provide a window onto the situation of Muḥammad at Mecca (q.v.). These stories reflect both the wider context in which Muḥammad was preaching and also something of his own experience of being rejected by the unbelievers in Mecca (Marshall, *God*, x, 29-30 and 36-7; see OPPOSITION TO MUḤAMMAD).

Working from this assumption, it is possible to explore the functions these stories served. Their primary purpose was to warn of a punishment from God that would fall upon the Meccan unbelievers if they did not repent and accept Muḥammad's message. Thus, if the unbelievers

reject his message, Muḥammad is bidden to tell them: "I warn you of a thunderbolt like to the thunderbolt of ʿĀd (q.v.) and Thamūd" (q.v.; Q 41:13). What had happened to unbelieving communities in the past could happen to the Meccans in the present if they persisted in their rejection of Muḥammad's message (Marshall, *God,* 54-7).

In addition to exercising this warning function, the punishment stories also served to encourage Muḥammad and his followers to persevere in the face of hostile unbelief. This is implicit throughout the stories as they depict the final vindication of God's messengers and their followers (e.g. especially the sequence of stories at Q 37:71-148) and is made explicit in the qurʾānic comment on the stories in sūra 11: "And all that we relate to you [Muḥammad] of the tidings of the messengers is that whereby we strengthen your heart" (q.v.; Q 11:120; see NEWS).

There is further interest in the punishment stories, however, in that they also give some fascinating insights into Muḥammad's experience in Mecca. The observation of Horovitz (*KU,* 18) that "Muḥammad's feelings and experiences repeatedly come to expression in the speeches of the earlier messengers of God and their opponents" is perhaps best illustrated in the story of Noah at Q 11:25-49, with its memorable account of Noah's anguish over his unbelieving son (Marshall, *God,* 97-105; note the striking comments of Quṭb, *Taṣwīr,* 58). On this passage Newby (Drowned son, 29) comments: "the compassion of Noah tells us of Muḥammad's concern for those who would not heed his message."

This approach to the punishment stories, emphasizing their relevance to and reflection of Muḥammad's actual context in Mecca, can also be extended to offer a possible explanation for their disappearance after the emigration (q.v.; *hijra*) from Mecca to Medina (q.v.). In the Medinan passages the theme of the punishment of unbelievers in this world by God undergoes significant developments. With the onset of military conflict between Muḥammad's community and the Meccan unbelievers, as well as other opponents, the Qurʾān gradually unfolds a new paradigm (see FIGHTING; WAR; EXPEDITIONS AND BATTLES). In the Meccan period the punishment stories had reflected the expectation that God would intervene suddenly to destroy the unbelievers directly, without human mediation (Marshall, *God,* 66-8). In Medina, however, it is recognized that it is through the believers and in the course of a military campaign that the divine punishment will be inflicted on the unbelievers (key Medinan passages articulating this transition are Q 8, Q 47:4 and Q 9:14; see Marshall, *God,* 134-44, 153-7). Therefore, whereas in Mecca the punishment stories functioned with purposes specific to that context, after the *hijra* — and particularly after the battle of Badr (q.v.) — the changed context of Muḥammad and his community mean that these stories had in a sense been outgrown. The messengers who had so regularly been invoked as forerunners of Muḥammad in the Meccan context were not so relevant in the very different circumstances of Medina (Marshall, *God,* 158-60).

It should also be noted that narrative as a whole — not just the particular case of the punishment stories — is a rare phenomenon in Medinan passages in comparison with Meccan passages. It can be argued that this is another reflection of the difference between the two contexts. In Mecca the abundant use of narrative, with its indirect way of commenting on Muḥammad's circumstances, seems to reflect, at least in part, a situation of weakness and lack of authority. Medina, in

contrast, is a context of growing power and authority for Muḥammad and his community (see POLITICS AND THE QUR'ĀN), and there is here a tendency to comment much more directly on events, without recourse to the medium of narrative (Marshall, *God,* 161-4). This interpretation sheds further interesting light on the way in which the Meccan punishment stories functioned in context within the life of a struggling and vulnerable community.

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Purgatory

see DEATH AND THE DEAD; PARADISE; HELL AND HELLFIRE; BARZAKH

Purification

see CLEANLINESS AND ABLUTION; RITUAL PURITY; CONTAMINATION

Purity and Impurity

see RITUAL PURITY; CLEANLINESS AND ABLUTION; CONTAMINATION

Q

Qarnayn, Dhū l- see ALEXANDER

Qārūn see KORAH

Qaynuqāʿ (Banū)

One of the Jewish tribes of Medina (q.v.), generally considered part of the triad that also includes the Banū l-Naḍīr (see NAḌĪR [BANŪ AL-]) and the Banū Qurayẓa (q.v.). A so-called "market of the Banū Qaynuqāʿ" in Medina was known in pre-Islamic times, and various sources state that the Qaynuqāʿ were famous as goldsmiths but — in contrast to the other Jewish tribes — they possessed no arable land. Their quarter, al-Quff, close to the center of Medina, housed a Jewish assembly-place (see JEWS AND JUDAISM; PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QURʾĀN; SOUTH ARABIA, RELIGION IN PRE-ISLAMIC). The most prominent members of the Qaynuqāʿ were Finḥāṣ al-Yahūdī, Shaʾs b. Qays and, above all, ʿAbdallāh b. Salām; several of ʿAbdallāh's descendants are quoted in later chains of transmission in ḥadīth (see ḤADĪTH AND THE QURʾĀN). In early *sīra* accounts (accounts that belong to the biography of the Prophet; see SĪRA AND THE QURʾĀN) most of the Medinan Jews known by name are ascribed to the Qaynuqāʿ, although this tribe was, if compared with those of al-Naḍīr and Qurayẓa, of minor importance, and allegedly left Medina only two or three years after the Prophet's arrival. In Islamic legal sources (see LAW AND THE QURʾĀN) the Qaynuqāʿ are said, on the authority of al-Shāfiʿī (d. 204/820) and al-Awzāʿī (d. 157/774), to have participated in Muslim raids (see EXPEDITIONS AND BATTLES) and even to have received a share in the booty (q.v.). The most important event concerning the Qaynuqāʿ in mainstream Islamic tradition is, however, their siege and ensuing expulsion from Medina by the Muslims.

According to Islamic tradition, this conflict was either the result of the refusal of the Qaynuqāʿ to accept Islam or the breaking of a non-aggression treaty which they had concluded with the Prophet (see BREAKING TRUSTS AND CONTRACTS; CONTRACTS AND ALLIANCES); according to reports told by Ibn Hishām (d. 218/834) and al-Wāqidī (d. 207/822), however, and ultimately adopted in most later sources, a member of the Qaynuqāʿ had mocked a Muslim woman in their market (see MARKETS), and that led eventually to the siege of their quarter after the battle of

Badr (q.v.). For a fortnight in 2/624 — or in year 3, according to al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923) — the Qaynuqāʿ were besieged by the Muslims, and after their surrender they were expelled to the Syrian town of Adhriʿāt. The Prophet is believed to have intended a harsher fate for them but the hypocrite (see HYPOCRITES AND HYPOCRISY) ʿAbdallāh b. Ubayy successfully interceded with him on their behalf. The Jews were allowed to leave Medina but their weapons were taken by the Muslims and a part thereof was distributed among the Prophet's Companions (see COMPANIONS OF THE PROPHET).

In the case of the Qaynuqāʿ it is very difficult to assess the reliability of the Islamic tradition. Ibn Isḥāq's (d. 150/767) account is mainly constructed from exegetical material concerning verses Q 3:12 f. and Q 5:51-6 and does not mention the expulsion of the Qaynuqāʿ, let alone an exact date for this event. In addition, a number of exegetical authorities state that the later expulsion of the Jewish al-Naḍīr was "the first expulsion of Jews from Medina," a claim which obviously belies the Qaynuqāʿ episode as found in the later "orthodox" version. This "orthodox" version largely depends on the account by al-Wāqidī, whose conflation of reports and sources seems in this case to be more extensive than usual. Apart from the incident in the market of the Qaynuqāʿ, he stresses the treachery of the Qaynuqāʿ and repeatedly refers to Q 8:58 in this context: "And if you fear treachery any way at the hands of a people, dissolve it with them equally; surely God loves not the treacherous" — a verse generally applied to the Jewish Banū Qurayẓa. Modern research suggests, thus, that the episode of the conflict with the Qaynuqāʿ is somewhat intrusive in the *sīra* tradition and probably a result of the conversion of exegetical material into history, backed by an interest in its legal and chronological implications (see CHRONOLOGY AND THE QUR'ĀN; HISTORY AND THE QUR'ĀN). In any case, important early *sīra* authorities such as Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī (d. 124/742) and Mūsā b. ʿUqba (d. 141/758) do not seem to have known of the expulsion of the Qaynuqāʿ, and the account of Ibn Isḥāq remains inconclusive. The qurʾānic verses adduced in support of the Qaynuqāʿ episode are too vague to allow for firmer conclusions.

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Qibla

A direction one faces in order to pray (see PRAYER). Q 2:142-50 is concerned with the Muslims' *qibla* and appears to say the following: There is about to be a change of *qibla*. Foolish people will make an issue of the change and they should be answered with an affirmation of God's absolute sovereignty (q.v.; see also POWER AND IMPOTENCE). God has made the believers neither Jews nor Christians (see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF; JEWS AND JUDAISM; CHRISTIANS AND CHRISTIANITY) but an example to all, just as the messenger (q.v.) is an example to the believers. The former *qibla* was instituted only as a test, to see who would follow the messenger's example and who would turn away. It was a hard test but not for those whom God guided (see ASTRAY; ERROR; FREEDOM AND PREDESTINATION). To reward their faith (q.v.) and in response to the messenger's own silent appeal, God will now institute a *qibla* to the messenger's liking. He and the faithful, wherever they may be, should now turn their faces toward 'the sacred place of worship' *(al-masjid al-ḥarām)*. Both Jews and Christians know that this is the true *qibla* but no matter what proof of this the messenger might bring them they will never follow his *qibla*. They cannot even agree on a *qibla* between themselves. They do as they please but the messenger knows better. In fact they know better, too, but one group of them deliberately conceals the truth. The faithful should turn their faces toward the sacred place of worship so that none but the perverse will have any argument against them. They should not fear such people but only God who has chosen to bestow on them his favor.

The change of qibla *in Muslim tradition*

Traditional Muslim exegesis (see EXEGESIS OF THE QUR'ĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL) has provided this passage with a quasi-historical setting in Medina (q.v.). It is commonly reported that when he first arrived in Medina the prophet Muḥammad prayed towards Jerusalem (q.v.) or at least towards Syria (q.v.). This is usually simply stated without any explanation. Occasionally it is noted that Jerusalem was the *qibla* of the Jews and one report implies that Muḥammad himself chose this direction in order that the Jews might believe in him and follow him (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* iii, 138). This should not be taken at face value. The purpose of the report is to claim the change of *qibla* as evidence for the theory of abrogation (q.v.; *naskh*), which proposes that qur'ānic rulings were sometimes abrogated by later rulings. The report faces the difficulty that whereas the Qur'ān provides an abrogating ruling — the new *qibla* — it does not easily yield an abrogated ruling, as the theory requires. There is no instruction anywhere in the Qur'ān to pray towards either Jerusalem or Syria. The problem is solved with Q 2:115, "To God belong the east and the west. Wherever you turn, there is the face of God (q.v.)." It was evidently on the basis of this permissive ruling that Muḥammad himself chose to pray towards Jerusalem and appealing to the Jews provides a plausible motive for him to do so. A superficially similar report says contrarily that God ordered Muḥammad to pray towards Jerusalem. This pleased the Jews of Medina, though the report does not presume to know that this was God's motive. Muḥammad, we now learn, would have preferred what is here referred to as the *qibla* of Abraham (q.v.), with the obvious implication that Mecca

(q.v.) — and not Jerusalem — was the true focus of the Abrahamic cult. The Jews' initial pleasure is mentioned only to prepare for their subsequent displeasure when the change is made. The point of this report is not now *naskh* but a simple appropriation of the Abrahamic legacy (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* iii, 138-9; this and the preceding report are conflated at ibid., ii, 527; see also ḤANĪF). In both reports the circumstantial detail is plainly subordinate to the main point, but on such slight foundations rests the well-established notion that Muḥammad tried to reconcile the Jews of Medina before their perverse ingratitude for his prophetic attentions compelled him to take stronger measures (see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD; GRATITUDE AND INGRATITUDE; OPPOSITION TO MUḤAMMAD).

It is variously reported that the change of *qibla* came when Muḥammad had been in Medina for two, nine, ten, thirteen, sixteen or seventeen months (Ibn Isḥāq, *Sīra,* i, 550, 606; Mālik, *Muwaṭṭaʾ,* i, 196; Ibn Māja, *Sunan,* i, 322; Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* iii, 132-7; id., *Taʾrīkh,* i, 1279-81). Most reports of the actual occurrence turn out to be stereotyped vehicles for another theoretical point. The change of *qibla* by the Prophet himself is not observed directly but reported by a single individual, usually anonymously, who happens to pass by a group of other Muslims in the middle of their prayer. He tells them that the Prophet has now been told to pray towards the Kaʿba (q.v.) or that he has seen him do so, and they immediately turn around and do the same (Mālik, *Muwaṭṭaʾ,* i, 195; Shāfiʿī, *Risāla,* 406-8; Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* i, 110-1, vi, 25; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* i, 374-5; Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* iii, 133-4). The point is to prove for later generations the reliability of *khabar al-wāḥid,* a report of the Prophet's sunna (q.v.) attributed to only one of his Companions (see COMPANIONS OF THE PROPHET). It quite deliberately shows the Prophet's own Companions unhesitatingly changing their practice in the most important religious duty for all Muslims on the evidence of just one of their number. His anonymity supports the point, as it cannot now be argued that a particular Companion was regarded as exceptionally trustworthy. Any Companion would have done and so, we must conclude, does any one Companion whom later generations know through chains of transmitters of ḥadīth (*isnāds*) as the sole witness to a particular ruling of the Prophet (see LAW AND THE QURʾĀN; ḤADĪTH AND THE QURʾĀN). There is a report in which Muḥammad himself is observed praying two prostrations (*rakʿas*; see BOWING AND PROSTRATION) of the midday prayer (see NOON) towards Jerusalem and then suddenly turning around towards the Kaʿba before completing the prayer (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* iii, 135). This seems more likely to derive from the forgoing reports than vice versa.

That "the sacred place of worship" is indeed the Kaʿba in Mecca is unquestioned and frequently stated. The foolish people who will question the change are identified as the Jews (several of whom are named in one report) or as the People of the Book (q.v.) or as the hypocrites (see HYPOCRITES AND HYPOCRISY). The Jews are said to have wanted to seduce Muḥammad away from his religion or were disappointed at losing the satisfaction of seeing him follow their own practice and the hope that he might turn out to be a Jewish prophet after all. The hypocrites just wanted to scoff (Ibn Isḥāq, *Sīra* i, 550; Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* iii, 132, 134, 138-40, 157-8; see MOCKERY).

As John Burton has pointed out, there is nothing in the Qurʾān either to prove or to disprove that the former *qibla* referred to in Q 2:142-3 was Jerusalem (Burton, *Sources,* 179). He might have added, though he does not, that there is nothing in it either to

prove or disprove that the latter *qibla,* the "sacred place of worship" referred to in Q 2:144, was the Kaʿba in Mecca. The historical and geographical referents of Q 2:142-50 are known only from Muslim exegesis and it is clear that the exegetes' purpose in examining this passage was not the disinterested satisfaction of historical curiosity (see HISTORY AND THE QURʾĀN). The preoccupation with abrogation is pervasive. Al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923) coolly twists the meaning of Q 2:143 so that not the former *qibla* itself but the change of *qibla,* the apparently arbitrary phenomenon of abrogation, becomes the test of faith for the believers. This enables him to consider an issue that, for those who assert the reality of the phenomenon of *naskh,* is theoretically interesting: namely, whether those believers who lived and died under the abrogated ruling will be rewarded in the same way as those who survived to obey the new one (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* iii, 163-70). Why some should have found it hard to pray towards Jerusalem, if that was indeed the former *qibla,* is not a question he raises.

For all that, it seems clear from the text that Q 2:142-50 is a residue of the process by which Islam asserted its independence as the one true religion (q.v.) from its Jewish and Christian antecedents (see RELIGIOUS PLURALISM AND THE QURʾĀN). This becomes clearer still when the passage is examined, as Burton (*Sources,* 171-3, 179-83) has shown, in its larger context. Q 2 as a whole is intensely polemical, with sustained attacks on the authenticity of the Jewish religion and in particular the Jewish claim of continuing adherence to God's covenant (q.v.) with Abraham. It stakes Islam's own claim to the covenant through Ishmael (q.v.) and prepares the ground for Q 2:142-50 with an account of Abraham's foundation, with Ishmael's help, of a sanctuary as a place of prayer and ritual (Q 2:125-8; see RITUAL AND THE QURʾĀN). This Abrahamic sanctuary is referred to only as "the house" or "my (God's) house" but is easily identified with "the sacred place of worship" *(al-masjid al-ḥarām)* of Q 2:142-50 or the *qibla* of Abraham as the exegetes call it (see HOUSE, DOMESTIC AND DIVINE). At Q 3:96 this sanctuary is said to have been at Bakka, which everyone has been taught is an old name for Mecca. Even if that might be doubted, the polemical context at both Q 3:96 and Q 2:125-8 makes almost inescapable the implication that, wherever it was, the Qurʾān's Abrahamic sanctuary was definitely not in Jerusalem. To that extent the exegetes' identification of the abrogated *qibla* with Jerusalem makes obvious sense of the text.

The fundamental issue behind the polemic of Q 2 is the problem of changing the law within a monotheistic intellectual tradition which insists that the law is God's law and that God's law is immutable. The problem and some of its solutions are older than the Qurʾān but the solution seen in Q 2:142-50 is the most typically qurʾānic one. The new *qibla* is not an innovation (q.v.) but a restoration. If it differs from the practice of Jews and Christians, it is the latter who have arbitrarily departed from what they themselves know, but will never admit, is the truth. The heat of qurʾānic polemic against the Jews in Q 2 is a smokescreen for this sleight of hand (see POLEMIC AND POLEMICAL LANGUAGE). Whereas for early Christianity the crux issue with Judaism was the Sabbath (q.v.), for early Islam it was evidently the *qibla*. Once the crux is overcome (in Q 2:142-50), the way is open for the rush of new legislation that follows in the remainder of the sūra.

The early qibla *in history*

Whether the early Muslims ever did pray towards Jerusalem we shall probably never

know. In 1977 Patricia Crone and Michael Cook proposed that they did once pray towards a sanctuary somewhere in northwestern Arabia. Their evidence, reviewed in detail by Robert Hoyland in 1997, is firstly that two Umayyad mosques in Iraq, one at Wāsiṭ and one at Iskāf Banī Junayd, are known from modern archeological investigation to have been oriented in a westerly direction much further north than that of Mecca. Secondly, there are reports in Muslim literary sources that the first mosque built in Egypt was oriented in an easterly direction that was also further north than that of Mecca. In addition, Jacob of Edessa, a seventh century C.E. Syrian Christian writer, says that Jews and Muslims in Egypt prayed to the east and in Babylonia to the west (Crone and Cook, *Hagarism,* 23-4; Hoyland, *Seeing Islam,* 560-73; see MOSQUE).

Put together, these fragments of evidence are suggestive — but if each fragment is considered separately none is very persuasive. The archeological evidence tells us nothing of the early mosque builders' intentions unless we know how accurate their technical means of putting their intentions into effect were. As David King (Ḳibla, 87-8) has argued, it is likely that the earliest mosque builders adopted a local convention rather than a scientifically exact direction for the Kaʿba. In the case of the mosque of Iskāf Banī Junayd, the archeological report of its misorientation observes, "the error seems to have been aggravated by the fact that the line of the Nahrawan (Canal) clearly influenced and dictated that of the mosque in large degree" (Creswell, *Short account,* 268). Muslim literary reports that the first mosque in Egypt was orientated too far to the north put it down to a personal idiosyncrasy of the Muslim commander and conqueror of Egypt ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ, who oversaw its construction. They note that other worshippers in the mosque used to turn themselves off to the south until the mosque itself was finally rebuilt and realigned (see also SCIENCE AND THE QURʾĀN).

Literary evidence also needs to be judged against the possibility that the writer is working with a simplified and schematic mental map. Jacob of Edessa's point about Muslims is that they do not pray everywhere in the same geographical direction. They pray towards the Kaʿba, so that in Egypt they pray to the east, in Babylonia to the west, from south of the Kaʿba to the north, and in Syria to the south. Does this really help us to locate the Kaʿba? It is equally likely that Jacob himself, for the sake of simplicity, reported only approximately what he had actually observed or that Muslims in all those parts of the world prayed in any case only approximately in the direction of Mecca. In the end, it may not be significant where exactly their approximate direction happened to lie.

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Qirāʾa see READINGS OF THE QURʾĀN

Quails see ANIMAL LIFE

Queen of Sheba see BILQĪS; SHEBA; SOLOMON

Quraysh

Name of a tribe in Mecca (q.v.) to which Muḥammad belonged (for the meaning of the name, see Watt, Ḳuraysh). It is mentioned only once in the Qurʾān (Q 106:1), in a chapter dealing with their winter and summer caravans (see CARAVAN). The exegetes quote detailed traditions about their pre-Islamic commercial system which acquired international dimensions, their trade caravans being said to have reached as far as Byzantium in the north (see BYZANTINES), Persia in the east, Abyssinia (q.v.) in the west and Yemen (q.v.) in the south. The qurʾānic chapter itself requests the Quraysh to remember that their prosperity and security (see WEALTH) comes from God; therefore they must worship him alone (see ILĀF).

Blessed by God

Sūra 105, "The Elephant," is also closely associated with the Quraysh (see PEOPLE OF THE ELEPHANT), and mainly with the origin of their elevated status among the Arabs (q.v.). The exegetes adduce traditions relating that the sūra (q.v.) describes the defeat of an Abyssinian army under the command of Abraha (q.v.), that came from the Yemen to destroy the Kaʿba (q.v.). God sent upon them birds in flocks that smote them with stones of baked clay, and caused them to become like straw eaten up. Tradition has it that "When God turned back the Abyssinians from Mecca and executed his vengeance (q.v.) upon them, the Arabs held the Quraysh in great honor, saying, 'They are the people of God: God fought for them and thwarted the attack of their enemies'" (Ibn Isḥāq-Guillaume, 28). The key figure in these traditions on the Meccan side is ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, Muḥammad's grandfather, who is said to have negotiated with Abraha on behalf of the Quraysh.

Reference to God's bounty, which was the origin of the security and prosperity enjoyed by the Quraysh in their sacred territory (*ḥaram;* see SACRED PRECINCTS; PROFANE AND SACRED), is made in some further verses, which urge the Meccans to be aware that God is their only benefactor and not to reject the message of the Qurʾān (cf. Q 28:57; 29:67; see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF). In Q 14:37 the prosperity bestowed on the people of Mecca originates in their being offspring of Abraham (q.v.). Here this patriarch asks God to bless his offspring who dwell near God's sacred "house" (see HOUSE, DOMESTIC AND DIVINE), the Kaʿba, to "make the hearts of [some] people yearn towards them and provide them with fruits." This is supposed to make them grateful to God (see GRATITUDE AND INGRATITUDE).

Their genealogical descent goes back to Abraham as well as to Ishmael (q.v.), which is implied in the fact that, in Q 2:127-8, both patriarchs are engaged in the building of the "house" while asking God to raise from their offspring a nation submitting to him *(umma muslima)*.

Their noble descent from Ishmael who is regarded the ancestor of the northern Arabs implies pride in their Arabian origin. This is reflected also in the exegesis on Q 14:4 which says that "God did not send any apostle (see MESSENGER) but with the language of his people" (see ARABIC LANGUAGE; LANGUAGE AND STYLE OF THE QURʾĀN). Traditions adduced by the

exegetes for this verse assert that the Qurʾān was revealed in the language of the Quraysh (see DIALECTS).

Muḥammad's opponents

But in most verses interpreted as referring to the Quraysh, they act as Muḥammad's opponents (see OPPOSITION TO MUḤAMMAD). Their enmity to Muḥammad has been read by Muslim exegetes into endless passages which cannot be fully detailed here. Only some characteristic examples will be mentioned.

To begin with, their religious tenets are ridiculed in passages blaming them for believing that God has daughters who function as goddesses (see GOD AND HIS ATTRIBUTES; POLYTHEISM AND ATHEISM; PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QURʾĀN; SOUTH ARABIA, RELIGION IN PRE-ISLAMIC). The Qurʾān asserts the absurdity of this tenet by pointing out that no man wishes daughters for himself (see CHILDREN; GENDER; INFANTICIDE), so how can they attribute daughters to God? This idea is clearly stated in Q 53:19-23, in which the names of the goddesses are also provided. One of these goddesses is al-ʿUzzā, and Muslim exegetes have associated with her worship a prominent leader of the Quraysh, namely Abū Lahab (q.v.), Muḥammad's own uncle. Some traditions say that he was especially devoted to this deity, for which reason God has cursed him as well as his wife in Q 111 (see CURSE).

The ritual practices of the Meccans, as performed in the vicinity of the Kaʿba, are deplored in Q 8:35: "And their prayer before the house is nothing but whistling and clapping of hands…." Even the fact that the Quraysh were guardians of the sacred mosque, i.e. the Kaʿba and its surroundings, was no excuse for them in the eyes of God. On the contrary: in Q 9:19 God asserts that the providing of drink to the pilgrims and the guarding of the sacred mosque cannot substitute for believing in God.

Muslim traditions relate that the Quraysh belonged to a confederation of tribes who called themselves the Ḥums, i.e. "religiously zealous"; they reportedly adopted certain ritual rules which distinguished them from the rest of the Arab tribes (Kister, Mecca and Tamīm). Muslim exegetes have pointed out some verses in which the Quraysh and their confederates of the Ḥums are supposedly urged to give up their particular principles. For example, in Q 2:199, God requests that the rite of the *ifāḍa* (going in crowds from one place to another) be performed from where "the people" use to perform it. The exegetes say that here the Quraysh are requested to act like all the rest of the people during pilgrimage (q.v.), and come to ʿArafāt (q.v.) — a station of the pilgrimage which the Quraysh reportedly did not recognize as a sacred precinct — and start the *ifāḍa* from there.

In Q 2:189 the believers are requested to abandon the habit of entering the houses from behind them, rather than through their front doors. This, too, according to some exegetes, is designed to make the Quraysh abandon a special ritual act observed by the Ḥums during the time of pilgrimage. They reportedly considered it of great piety (q.v.) to remain under the open sky and not to enter the doors of their houses during the days of the pilgrimage.

Unsuccessful attempts at conversion

The leaders of the Quraysh are said to have refused to abandon their old religious tradition, and their reaction is provided most clearly in Q 38:4-7. Here they accuse the Prophet of being a conjurer and an impostor (see SOOTHSAYERS; MAGIC; LIE), and say to each other that they should cling to their deities and reject Muḥammad's monotheistic ideas. They point out

that such ideas were never heard of in their own old religion. Various other passages were explained as representing the reaction of the leaders of the Quraysh to Muḥammad's message (cf. Rubin, *The eye,* 151). In some of them they accuse him of plagiarism, assert their refusal to accept his message, and challenge him to prove his case through miracles (e.g. Q 16:103; 17:90-3; 25:7-8; 41:5; see MIRACLES; PROOF).

Nevertheless, Muḥammad is said to have tried to convert some of his closest relatives among the leaders of the Quraysh, and especially his uncle Abū Ṭālib, father of ʿAlī (see FAMILY OF THE PROPHET; ʿALĪ B. ABĪ ṬĀLIB). Such attempts were read by the exegetes into several qurʾānic passages. For example, some traditions say that the Prophet asked Abū Ṭālib, who was on his deathbed, to utter the *shahāda* (see WITNESS TO FAITH) but the latter refused, saying that he adhered to the religion of the old ancestors. Some versions relate that at this point Q 28:56 was revealed, which says that the qurʾānic Prophet cannot guide whom he likes (see GUIDANCE; FREEDOM AND PREDESTINATION). Q 9:113 is also said to have been revealed on the same occasion. It says that it is not for the qurʾānic Prophet and the believers to ask pardon for the polytheists (Rubin, *The eye,* 153; see FORGIVENESS; INTERCESSION). Moreover, in Q 6:108 the believers are requested not to abuse the idols worshipped by the polytheists (see IDOLS AND IMAGES), lest the latter should abuse God in return. The exegetes say that this verse was revealed as a result of the stubborn reaction of the leaders of the Quraysh, and their threat to abuse Muḥammad's God, in case he did not stop harassing them (ibid., 154; see also SATANIC VERSES).

Opposition and persecution

The Qurʾān also accuses the unbelievers of active persecution of the Prophet, and the exegetes explain that these accusations pertain to the hostile actions of the Quraysh that were carried out against Muḥammad in Mecca itself, before the emigration (q.v.; *hijra*), as well as in Medina (q.v.), after the *hijra*.

Persecution in Mecca, according to the exegetes, began as soon as Muḥammad started preaching in public. This he reportedly was requested to do in Q 26:214, in which God tells him to warn his nearest relations. The exegetes adduce for this verse traditions describing how Muḥammad summoned the clan of Hāshim of the Quraysh, and how they rejected his message. Their opposition was led by Muḥammad's uncle Abū Lahab (see Rubin, *The eye,* 127-38). Another prominent opponent in Mecca was Abū Jahl of the clan of Makhzūm, and his persecution of the Prophet was read into Q 96:9-19. Here a scene is described in which an unbeliever prevents a "servant" from praying. Most traditions maintain that the servant is Muḥammad, and the unbeliever is Abū Jahl who threatened to tread on the Prophet if he performed prostration (see BOWING AND PROSTRATION; PRAYER; RITUAL AND THE QURʾĀN). God instructs his servant not to obey him and to prostrate himself before God. A plan to assassinate the Prophet is pointed out by the exegetes in the commentary on Q 8:30: "And when those who disbelieved devised plans against you that they might confine you or slay you or drive you away…." This was taken to refer to a council held by Quraysh in which they discussed various options in order to eliminate the Prophet, and finally they agreed upon killing him while he was asleep in his bed. Muḥammad found out about it, and this was the immediate reason for his *hijra* to Medina.

The exegetes also point out verses in which reference is made to God's vengeance upon Muḥammad's adversaries

from among the Quraysh. For example, in Q 15:95 God, speaking to the Prophet, promises to eliminate "those who scoff." The exegetes hold that this refers to a group of leaders from the Quraysh, on each of whom God brought death through a certain misfortune.

Collective punishment of the Quraysh is referred to, according to the exegetes, in Q 16:112 in which God sets forth a parable about a town safe and secure, a town whose means of subsistence came in abundance from every quarter; but it became ungrateful to God's favors, and therefore God made it taste the utmost degree of hunger and fear (see PARABLES). This has been taken as referring to a seven-year drought that God inflicted upon the Quraysh at the behest of the persecuted Prophet. The exegetes have associated this hunger with some further qurʾānic passages (Q 23:64, 75-7; 44:10-6).

Among the verses interpreted as referring to the acts of the Quraysh against Muḥammad after the *hijra,* are those in which the unbelievers are accused of preventing the believers from entering Mecca and the sacred mosque (Q 2:217; 8:34; 22:25; 48:25). In the traditions, this conduct is associated especially with the events of the year 6/628, when the Prophet left Medina with the believers and approached Mecca with a view of performing the lesser pilgrimage. The Quraysh stopped him at the outskirts of the town, near Ḥudaybiya, and the negotiations that followed reportedly ended up with the well-known pact of Ḥudaybiya (q.v.).

Also noteworthy are the verses to which the exegetes linked the military clashes between the Quraysh and the Prophet (see EXPEDITIONS AND BATTLES; FIGHTING; WAR). In some cases the link is obvious, as with the battle of Badr (q.v.; 2/624), which is mentioned in a passage describing angels assisting the fighting believers (Q 3:123-8; see ANGEL). Additional passages were linked to Badr by means of commentary, mainly Q 8:1-19 in which the division of spoils (see BOOTY) is discussed, and the help of angels smiting the unbelievers is described yet again. Various passages predicating divine punishment for the unbelievers (as in Q 18:55; 44:16, etc.) were also interpreted as referring to the defeat of the Quraysh at Badr (see CHASTISEMENT AND PUNISHMENT; PUNISHMENT STORIES).

The Battle of the Ditch (5/626-7), in which Medina was besieged by the Quraysh and their allies, is alluded to, according to the exegetes, in Q 33:9-27. Here the Qurʾān describes hosts of confederates *(aḥzāb)* coming against the believers, whom God defeats by means of winds (see AIR AND WIND) and unseen legions (of angels; see RANKS AND ORDERS).

The conquest of Mecca (8/630) which marked Muḥammad's final victory over the Quraysh is celebrated, according to the exegetes, in Q 110:1-3. Some have also associated Q 48:1 with this event: "Surely we have given you a clear victory (q.v.; *fatḥ*)," but others maintain that the latter passage refers to the affair of Ḥudaybiya.

Believers

The Qurʾān also refers to groups among the Quraysh who eventually became believers by embracing Islam, and some exegetes say that those who were first to do so are mentioned in Q 56:10, which speaks about those who were "foremost" (*al-sābiqūn;* cf. also Q 9:100; 59:10).

Another group is referred to as *al-mustaḍʿafūn,* "the weak" (see OPPRESSION; OPPRESSED ON EARTH, THE). They are mentioned in Q 4:75, in which the believers are requested to fight for the sake of the weak among the men and women and children. These weak say: "Our lord! Let us go out of this town, whose people are oppressors, and give us from you a guardian and

give us from you a helper." The exegetes explain that these are some oppressed Muslims, converts from the Quraysh, who could not get out of Mecca and perform the *hijra* to Medina.

The most prominent group of Muslims among the Quraysh is the *muhājirūn,* the "emigrants" (see EMIGRANTS AND HELPERS). They are mentioned in numerous passages, for example in Q 59:8, in which the "poor emigrants who were driven out of their homes and their possessions" are promised a share in the spoils.

Outside the Qurʾān, one finds numerous traditions praising the Quraysh, and their circulation was no doubt triggered by the fact that the caliphs of the Islamic state were all from the Quraysh (the four "righteous" caliphs, the Umayyads and the ʿAbbāsids; see CALIPH). Therefore these traditions were designed to provide the legitimate basis for the authority of the Qurashī caliphs, as well as to defy claims of other ambitious groups from within the Quraysh themselves (e.g. Shīʿīs), or of south Arabian descent, not to speak of the aspirations of non-Arab members of Islamic society (see COMMUNITY AND SOCIETY IN THE QURʾĀN; POLITICS AND THE QURʾĀN).

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Qurayẓa (Banū al-)

One of the Jewish tribes of Medina and traditionally part of the triad that also includes the Banū Qaynuqāʿ (q.v.) and the Banū l-Naḍīr (see NAḌĪR [BANŪ AL-]). Although the origin of the Qurayẓa, like that of the other Medinan Jews, and their coming to Medina (q.v.) are not known with certainty, the sources provide some information concerning their role in pre-Islamic times. Thus, members of the Qurayẓa allegedly persuaded the Yemenite ruler Asʿad Abū Qarib not to attack Medina and caused him to convert to Judaism (see JEWS AND JUDAISM; YEMEN; PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QURʾĀN; SOUTH ARABIA, RELIGION IN PRE-ISLAMIC). Other reports state that in pre-Islamic Medina, the Qurayẓa were in constant conflict with their fellow tribe of the Banū l-Naḍīr (cf. Q 2:84 f.), yet both are often called "brothers" and commonly referred

to as the "two Israelite tribes" *(al-sibṭān)* or the "two priest clans" *(al-kāhinān)*. In pre-Islamic poetry (see POETRY AND POETS), the Qurayẓa are variously mentioned, and the poems of their own members were, as it seems, collected in a (now lost) *Kitāb Banī Qurayẓa* (see Āmidī, *Muʾtalif,* 211). The area inhabitated by the Qurayẓa — and their sub-clans such as the Banū Kaʿb b. Qurayẓa and the Banū ʿAmr b. Qurayẓa — on the outer fringes of Medina, most notably the Wādī Mahzūr, can be assessed from geographical accounts, and a Medinan cemetery as well as a later mosque, built upon their land, were known by their name. Some details in the story of Salmān al-Fārisī suggest that the Qurayẓa had parental ties with the Jews of Wādī l-Qurā in the northern Ḥijāz.

The conflict of the Muslims with the Qurayẓa after the "Battle of the Ditch" in 5/627 is the most conspicuous story of the Prophet's dealing with the Medinan Jews in the prophetic biography tradition *(sīra;* see SĪRA AND THE QURʾĀN). The Muslim attack and siege of the Qurayẓa was a response to their open, probably active support of the Meccan pagans and their allies during that battle (see MECCA; POLYTHEISM AND ATHEISM; HYPOCRITES AND HYPOCRISY). After bloody fighting the Jews surrendered and the male members of the Qurayẓa were executed, the women and children taken captive and sold into slavery (see CAPTIVES; SLAVES AND SLAVERY); and the booty (q.v.) gained — money, weapons and land — were distributed among the Muslim fighters, according to most sources. The execution itself, during which between 400 and 900 men were killed, is largely undisputed in the Islamic sources and has aroused much dismay in the western perception of early Islam. It is not the Prophet himself, however, who is portrayed as having pronounced the condemnation but rather his Companion, Saʿd b. Muʿādh (see COMPANIONS OF THE PROPHET), who was fatally wounded by an arrow in the battle before this event took place. The qurʾānic passage commonly associated with these events is Q 33:26 f. (see EXPEDITIONS AND BATTLES; FIGHTING; BLOODSHED):

> And he brought down those of the People of the Book (q.v.) who supported them from their fortresses and cast terror in their hearts; some you slew, some you made captive. And he bequeathed upon you their lands, their habitations, and their possessions, and a land that you never trod; God is powerful over everything.

Rayḥāna l-Quraẓiyya, of uncertain parentage but most probably belonging to the Banū ʿAmr b. Qurayẓa, was captured after the Banū Qurayẓa episode. She then either became the Prophet's concubine or, according to many reports, was married to him and later divorced; she eventually died before the Prophet (see WIVES OF THE PROPHET; CONCUBINES). The Islamic tradition knows a number of descendants from the Qurayẓa by name, most famous among them being the traditionist Muḥammad b. Kaʿb al-Quraẓī, who was born a Muslim and died in Medina in 120/738 or some years before (see ḤADĪTH AND THE QURʾĀN). Others include his father Kaʿb b. Asad b. Sulaym and his brother Isḥāq, as well as ʿAṭiyya al-Quraẓī, al-Zubayr (?) b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Zabīr, ʿAlī b. Rifāʿa and the progeny of Abū Malik al-Quraẓī. This suggests that, in contrast to what is reported in the Islamic tradition, several male persons of the Qurayẓa did survive the conflict in Medina, probably because of their young age at the time.

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Primary (All *sīra* writings provide information about the Qurayẓa; the "orthodox" version of events, adopted in most later sources, is that by Ibn Isḥāq. Much material contains works about the so-called "occasions of revelation" *[asbāb al-nuzūl],* and further information is found in many Qurʾān commentaries: see in particular the classical works of *tafsīr* at Q 2:84 f., 214; 3:124 f.; 5:42, 51 f.; 8:27 f., 56 f.; 33:26 f. and 59:2 f. Additional notices are found in legal compendia, especially in the "war chapters," and ḥadīth collections. Even dictionaries [s.v. *q-r-ẓ*] and geographical writings yield interesting notices. On Rayḥāna al-Quraẓiyya see also writings on the Prophet's wives and concubines. The following is only a partial list of these works.): al-Āmidī, Abū l-Qāsim al-Ḥasan b. Bishr, *al-Muʾtalif wa-l-mukhtalif,* Cairo 1961, 211 (for the abovementioned *Kitāb Banī Qurayẓa*); al-Dimyāṭī, ʿAbd al-Muʾmin b. Khalaf, *Kitāb Nisāʾ rasūl Allāh,* ed. F. Saʿd, Beirut 1989 (on Rayḥāna al-Quraẓiyya); Ibn Durayd, *Kitāb Jamharat al-lugha,* 3 vols., Beirut 1987-8 (a dictionary); Ibn Isḥāq, *Sīra;* Ibn Isḥāq-Guillaume; Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī, *al-Simṭ al-thamīn fī manāqib ummahāt al-muʾminīn,* var. eds., e.g. Cairo 1996 (on Rayḥāna al-Quraẓiyya).

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R

Rabbi

see JEWS AND JUDAISM; SCHOLAR

Races

Persons or animals or plants connected by common descent. This concept emerges in the Qurʾān mainly in relationship with the glory (q.v.) of God who in his might was able to create a multitude of species upon earth (see CREATION; POWER AND IMPOTENCE). Thus in Q 36:36: "Glory be to him who created pairs of all things, of what the earth grows, and of their own kind and of what they do not know" (see GLORIFICATION OF GOD). The phrase "of what they do not know" is taken to refer to species unknown to humans. Similarly, in Q 20:53 God is praised (see PRAISE) for producing from the earth many species of various plants (see AGRICULTURE AND VEGETATION; GRASSES). Especially clear is Q 35:27-8, in which all colors of fruits and of men and beasts and cattle are adduced as signaling God's creative powers (see ANIMAL LIFE; NATURE AS SIGNS). In Q 30:22, the signs of God are manifest not only in the creation of humankind in many colors but also in the various languages that were given to them (see FOREIGN VOCABULARY; DIALECTS; PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QURʾĀN).

Apart from humans, the Qurʾān is also familiar with another species of intelligent creatures, namely the jinn (q.v.), i.e. demons (see DEVIL). God has created them of a flame of fire (q.v.; Q 15:27; 55:15) and they, like humans, are considered a "nation" (*umma,* as is the case in Q 7:38; 41:25; 46:18). Fire was also the origin of the creation of Iblīs (Q 38:74-6), who in Q 18:50 is considered one of the jinn, and has offspring. Some exegetes, however, take the allusion to his offspring in a metaphorical sense (see METAPHOR; EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL).

In the celestial sphere, God has created the angelic species and in Q 35:1 God is praised for having made the angels "messengers [flying] on wings, two, and three, and four" (see ANGEL; FLYING). As for humans, God has subdivided them into peoples *(shuʿūb)* and tribes *(qabāʾil),* but their ethnic affiliation has no bearing on their moral status before God (see KINSHIP; TRIBES AND CLANS; ETHICS AND THE QURʾĀN; COMMUNITY AND SOCIETY IN THE QURʾĀN). They were thus divided only for the sake of identification, while the most

honorable of them with God is the one most pious among them (Q 49:13; see PIETY). This particular statement was later adduced by the *shuʿūbiyya* in support of their struggle for equality between Arab and non-Arab races within Islamic society (see Enderwitz, Shuʿūbiyya).

Therefore, from the viewpoint of faith (q.v.), the Qurʾān considers all peoples as "one nation" *(umma wāḥida)*. This was the initial state of humankind till they began to differ and thereupon God sent prophets to guide them (Q 2:213; 10:19; see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD; ASTRAY; ERROR). If God had pleased, he would have left all people in the state of "one nation" but he decided to try them and to guide only whomever he chose to (Q 5:48; 11:118; 16:93; 42:8; see TRIAL; FREEDOM AND PREDESTINATION). For this reason, Muḥammad's own scope of mission is not confined to one ethnic group but rather encompasses all humankind (Q 34:28) as well as the jinn (Q 46:29). Muslim tradition has elaborated on this idea, stating that Muḥammad was the only prophet who was not sent just to his own people but rather "to all red and black." The latter expression was explained as referring to the jinn and the humans, respectively (cf. Goldziher, *Introduction,* 28, with note 34).

On the other hand, the Qurʾān does acknowledge genealogical descent as indicating excellence but this is confined mainly to prophets. The Qurʾān sees in them a chosen pedigree as indicated in Q 3:33-4. Here God is said to have chosen Adam (see ADAM AND EVE) and Noah (q.v.) and the descendants of Abraham (q.v.) and the descendants of ʿImrān (q.v.) above the nations, they being offspring one of the other (see ELECTION; CHILDREN OF ISRAEL).

As for the offspring of Abraham, the Qurʾān identifies them as the inhabitants of Mecca (q.v.) — i.e. the Quraysh (q.v.) — which is implied, for example, in Q 2:127-8: Here Abraham as well as Ishmael (q.v.) are engaged in the building of the "house," the Kaʿba (q.v.; see also HOUSE, DOMESTIC AND DIVINE), and ask God to raise from their offspring a nation submitting to him (*umma muslima;* see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF; OBEDIENCE; ISLAM). The presence of Ishmael was taken as indicating that by *umma muslima* only Arabs (q.v.) were meant (see Suyūṭī, *Durr,* ad Q 2:128). More accurately, Ishmael is regarded mainly as the ancestor of the northern Arabs, including the Quraysh.

In fact, Arabian consciousness is manifest also in verses noting that the Qurʾān was revealed in Arabic (see ARABIC LANGUAGE). This is stated with evident pride, while stressing that it is not *aʿjamī,* i.e. "non-Arab" or "foreign" (e.g. Q 16:103). This is part of the general idea that "God did not send any apostle but with the language of his people" (Q 14:4). Traditions adduced by the exegetes for this verse assert that the Qurʾān was revealed in the language of Quraysh.

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Raḥmān

see GOD AND HIS ATTRIBUTES

Raid(s)

see WAR; EXPEDITIONS AND BATTLES

Rain see WEATHER; WATER; SUSTENANCE; AGRICULTURE AND VEGETATION; NATURE AS SIGNS; GRACE; BLESSING

Ramaḍān

The ninth month of the Islamic calendar, during which Muslims fast from sunrise to sunset and commemorate the revelation of the Qurʾān to Muḥammad. To understand Ramaḍān as a crucial scriptural and ritual issue in a major world religion, it is useful to look at its emergence and liturgical enactments from a comparative perspective (see SCRIPTURE AND THE QURʾĀN; RITUAL AND THE QURʾĀN). It is obvious that, in phenomenological terms, three historically interrelated festivals — Pesach (Passover), Easter and Ramaḍān — display a close relation to acts of violence (q.v.) in that each celebrates a community's salvation from a threat of annihilation (see JEWS AND JUDAISM; CHRISTIANS AND CHRISTIANITY; CHILDREN OF ISRAEL; PEOPLE OF THE BOOK). Although this experience of violence played a foundational role in the identity formation of the respective communities, the feasts that commemorate the events are enacted in all three communities by rites of fulfillment: communal meals preceded by ascetic practices (see ASCETICISM) or fasting, performances that contribute substantially to affirming the coherence of the community (Neuwirth, Three religious feasts). To elucidate the interrelation between the celebrations, a brief historical survey of the three feasts and their etiologies will be given, followed by an evaluation of the qurʾānic evidence about fasting (i.e. prior to the establishment of the fast of Ramaḍān), its rulings and successive stages of development, as well as the role played by earlier religious structures in shaping it. In order to shed light on the religious meaning of Ramaḍān that emerged in the early community, we will then look into the complex etiology of that institution, focusing on its commemorative character (see FESTIVALS AND COMMEMORATIVE DAYS). The final section of this article presents some reflections on the impact of Ramaḍān on the perception of salvation history (see HISTORY AND THE QURʾĀN).

Predecessors, interrelations

Passover (Heb. *pesaḥ*), a spring festival corresponding to the pre-Islamic *ʿumra* (see PILGRIMAGE), constitutes a merger of two originally independent feasts (cf. *Encyclopaedia Judaica,* xiii, 169 f.). One was *pesaḥ,* originally not a pilgrimage feast but a domestic ceremony celebrated by transient breeders of sheep or goats (and, later, by the Israelites) to secure protection for the flocks before leaving the desert winter pasture for cultivated regions. This consisted of the slaughtering and eating of the paschal animal on the fourteenth day of the first month of the year, and the rite of touching the lintel and the doorposts of the house — or formerly the tent — with blood from the paschal animal. The oldest literary record of this domestic ceremony, which appears in the context of the last plague, the killing of the Egyptian firstborn (Exodus 12:21), already presupposes the Passover, i.e. the notion of the divine "overleaping" (Heb. *pesaḥ*) of the houses marked by the apotropaeic staining with blood. This historicization has determined the character of the Passover: it became the feast commemorating the exodus of the Israelites from Egypt. The other feast that was incorporated into the Jewish Passover is the seven-day "feast of unleavened bread" *(ḥagg ha-maṣṣōt),* which was celebrated in the same month as the slaughter and eating of the paschal animal and was, unlike the Passover, probably taken over from the Canaanites. It was a seasonal fes-

tival connected with a pilgrimage, and celebrated to consecrate the first parts of the harvest. Unleavened bread has been identified as a symbol of the interruption between two cycles of harvest — leavens from the grain of the old harvest not being allowed to enter into the first bread made from the new harvest (Rendtorff, Entwicklung). It was integrated into the feast of deliverance from Egyptian bondage by re-interpreting the motive for the preparation of unleavened bread as the hastened exodus of the people who had no time left for them to prepare proper bread.

Violence, divinely inflicted "in history" on the enemy (for the interpretation of similar themes in the qurʾānic milieu, see JIHĀD; FIGHTING; ENEMIES; PUNISHMENT STORIES; CHASTISEMENT AND PUNISHMENT), is thus, through the ritual act of spilling blood, connected with the primordial custom of sacrificing in a seasonal framework. Though etiologically justified as a measure to induce a stubborn enemy of the Israelites to allow them to leave the land, it retains its cosmic imagery serving to mark the renewal of a particular time of the year. *Pesaḥ* thus developed from its ritual beginnings as part of the seasonal cycle and became a feast commemorating an event significant for salvation history.

Easter is already closely linked to Passover externally in terms of timing, being the commemoration of an event that took place in the Passover week. Insofar as Easter claims Passover as its temporal and ceremonial backdrop, the Jewish festival confers on the later feast important traits bearing ritual and symbolic significance: a vicarious sacrifice, a commemorative meal and the remembrance of an event of deliverance. But Easter — which was celebrated in the early church on the date of Passover — also raises the additional claim of being the new Passover. Through a mythic re-interpretation, it has become the Passover par excellence: Deliverance from servitude in history is eclipsed by deliverance from the servitude of the fear of death; the sacrificial lamb to be slaughtered is replaced by the Son of God who was sacrificed, a connection established early in Christian sources like the Gospel of John and a large corpus of hymns. The notion of the sacrificial lamb's vicarious suffering of death merges with the idea of a father sacrificing his beloved son — prefigured in Abraham's (q.v.) sacrifice (q.v.).

The relation between Passover and Ramaḍān is less obvious. No line of genetic relationship can be drawn with certainty, nor has a mythicization of the earlier feast taken place in the later; the relation is rather one of analogy. Both feasts share a number of basic notions leading back into the earliest historical layers of the festivals. Ramaḍān, the Muslim month of fasting commemorating the revelation of the Qurʾān (see REVELATION AND INSPIRATION), is, like Passover, grafted on a seasonal festival, the *jāhilī* (see AGE OF IGNORANCE; PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QURʾĀN) pilgrimage of the *ʿumra*, which, prior to Islam, took place in the month of Rajab (Wellhausen, *Reste,* revised by Wagtendonk, *Fasting in the Koran;* see also FASTING; MONTHS; SEASONS). The *ʿumra* was a festival of spring thanksgiving, the time of slaughtering sacrificial animals (*atāʾir;* see SACRIFICE; CONSECRATION OF ANIMALS) and the first born of the flocks and herds, somewhat like *pesaḥ;* still it is difficult to determine any genetic link between the festivals. The ritual practices of the *ʿumra* survived into early Islam, but — being perceived as obsolete — were abolished by the caliphs Abū Bakr and ʿUmar (Kister, Rajab; see CALIPH), the *ʿumra* as such having been integrated into the *ḥajj* already by the Prophet. Also like *pesaḥ* — which culminates in a particular night of the seven-day festival — the

climax of the month of the *ʿumra* was a particular night, presumably that which the Qurʾān calls *laylat al-qadr,* the "night of decision" (see NIGHT OF POWER). Prepared for by a period of abstention and devotion (*ʿukūf* and *wuqūf;* see ABSTINENCE; PIETY; PRAYER; VIGILS), this night appears to have marked a kind of New Year, the opening of a new cycle of events, similar to the notion underlying the *ḥagg ha-maṣṣōt* which opened a new harvest cycle, and like the New Year, was associated with the sacrifice of a *pesaḥ* lamb (*Exod* 12:3; see below for the connection between qurʾānic [pre-Ramaḍān] fasting and Yom Kippur, the Jewish "day of atonement"; see also ATONEMENT). It may likewise be compared with the Easter vigil which, since the early days of the church, has presented itself as a cosmic and spiritual New Year, declaring the spiritual renewal of creation and the moral new beginning of humankind. The *laylat al-qadr* as well as the fasting period that preceded it were transferred from Rajab into Ramaḍān, once Ramaḍān was identified as the month in which a religiously momentous experience of the community took place. Thus, the pre-Islamic seasonal festival with its ascetic preparations preceding sacrifice was reshaped to become a new salvation-historical scriptural festival with diverse procedures of commemoration. The development re-enacts the emergence of Passover, a feast of scriptural memory, out of a previous seasonal feast involving sacrifice. It mirrors at the same time Christianity's sublimation of sacrifice through its substitution by a commemorative rite.

The qurʾānic evidence: Rulings and developments of pre-Ramaḍān fasting (Q 2:183-6)

It was the precedent of the fast practiced by the Jews in Medina (q.v.) that triggered the process of the introduction of fasting into the ritual rulings of the early Muslim community. Though fasting had been ranked prominently in Rajab before Islam, this had not been sanctioned by a qurʾānic ruling. We know nothing certain about the ascetic rites upheld by the adherents of Muḥammad in Mecca (q.v.). The particular rhetorical style and the explicit reference to the monotheistic forebears in Q 2:183 mark the verse about the first Islamic fast as a text belonging to the Medinan period (see CHRONOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN; FORM AND STRUCTURE OF THE QURʾĀN). Fasting was raised to the rank of a monotheistic duty: "Oh believers, fasting is prescribed for you as it was for those before you; perchance you will guard yourselves [against evil]" (Q 2:183).

It is not known whether this ruling was implemented immediately with the emigration (q.v.; *hijra*) of Muḥammad from Mecca to Medina, whose cardinal event — the arrival of the Prophet and his Companions (see COMPANIONS OF THE PROPHET) in Medina — is reported to have coincided with the Jewish Yom Kippur, a day of fasting which falls on the tenth of the first month of the Jewish calendar, Tishri (*Lev* 16:29). A well-known tradition going back to Ibn ʿAbbās (d. 68/686-8; see ḤADĪTH AND THE QURʾĀN) presents the earliest Islamic fast as a Yom Kippur fast: At the arrival of the Prophet in Medina, the Medinan Jews, who were celebrating the Day of Atonement, Yom Kippur (Aramaic *ʿāsōrā,* Arabic *ʿāshūrāʾ*), with their strict observation of the highly demanding rites — fasting over a twenty-four hour period, liturgical recitations (Elbogen, *Jewish liturgy,* 124 f.) — attracted the attention of the newly arrived Muslims. Asked about the meaning of their celebration, they mentioned the Israelites' deliverance from Pharaoh (q.v.). This Mosaic etiology must have been significant to the Muslim newcomers, who perceived themselves as continuing the Mosaic tradition

(see Neuwirth, Erzählen). Muḥammad is reported to have said: "We have a better right to Moses (q.v.) than they have" (Ṭabarī, *Taʾrikh,* iii, 1281; id., *History,* vii, 26; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* ii, 1330, 149-50; but not found in Ṭabarī's *Tafsīr*) and to have imposed the fast on his community. The fasting of ʿĀshūrāʾ is, however, not always identified in Islamic tradition with the one imposed in Q 2:183, but is in some ḥadīths rather remembered as one "ordered" by the Prophet *(yaʾmurunā bi-ṣiyāmihi)* because the Jews — in general, or of Khaybar, or the Jews and the Christians — were keeping it. There is even a tradition stressing Muḥammad's view that "God had not prescribed it" for the Muslims (*lam yaktubi llāhu ʿalaykum ṣiyāmahu;* Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* ii, 153). The fasting of ʿĀshūrāʾ, thus, was one of the diverse Jewish rites that were introduced during the emergence of the community, but were given up during the later Medinan period. Indeed, it became the object of polemics once the community wished to distance itself from its monotheistic counterparts (see POLEMIC AND POLEMICAL LANGUAGE; RELIGIOUS PLURALISM AND THE QURʾĀN).

The Mosaic reference that is said to have so immediately appealed to the Muslim newcomers' religious consciousness is not without implications. It is true that the etiology for the Jewish fast is not exactly the historical one. But, as Wagtendonk *(Fasting)* has emphasized, Mosaic memories do play a role in the service of the feast, particularly the second giving of the tablets of the law to Moses. Goitein (Ramadan) has also drawn attention to the striking fact that the qurʾānic section on the Ramaḍān rulings (Q 2:183-7) includes an unambiguous reference to one of the most prominent liturgical elements of the Yom Kippur penitential litanies (*selīḥōt;* Elbogen, *Jewish liturgy,* 180-2), particular prayers that frequently end in the plea, *anēnū,* "answer us" (cf. Psalm 20:10). The qurʾānic version reads: "When my servants question you about me, [tell them that] I am near. I answer the prayer of the suppliant when he calls to me; therefore let them answer my call and put their trust in me, that they may be rightly guided" (Q 2:186; see ASTRAY; ERROR). This verse does not smoothly connect with its immediate halakhic context but it strikingly switches from the section's prevalent addressee — a group of receivers or listeners *(antum)* — to addressing the Prophet. The Prophet is instructed to remind his followers *(ʿibād)* of the closeness and faithfulness of the divine sender, which sounds like an indirect exhortation to utter prayers, perhaps like those of the Jewish service, where penitential litanies *(selīḥōt)* are recited. These litanies are built on the so-called "thirteen attributes" (i.e. divine attributes, like "lord, merciful, compassionate," etc.) that were revealed to Moses when he received the second set of tablets (cf. *Exod* 34:6-7): "The lord, the lord, God, merciful and gracious, long-suffering and abundant in goodness and truth, keeping mercy for thousands, forgiving sin and transgression, seeking the iniquity of the fathers on the children and upon the children's children until the third and fourth generation." Early on, Jewish tradition interpreted that event in terms of a divine instruction to Moses on how to perform the penitential prayer: "God showed Moses the order of prayer. He said to him, 'Whenever Israel sins, let them perform this rite before me and I shall forgive them'; 'There is a covenant that the Thirteen Attributes do not return unanswered'" (*Babylonian Talmud,* Rosh Hashana 17b). This Talmudic conception explains how the "thirteen attributes" became the nucleus of all prayers for atonement; to this day, they serve as a refrain constantly repeated in all the *selīḥōt* (cf. Elbogen, *Jewish liturgy,* 177 f.). When viewed from this

intertextual perspective, the qurʾānic verse about the attitude to be adopted during the fast and which paraphrases two of the "thirteen attributes" (Q 2:186), refers to the very heart of the Yom Kippur liturgy (cf. Neuwirth, Meccan texts). It is noteworthy that Ṣūfī exegesis of Q 2:186 further elaborates the aspect of the divine attributes in the verse (see e.g. Sulamī, *Ziyādāt,* 16; see GOD AND HIS ATTRIBUTES; ṢŪFISM AND THE QURʾĀN; EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL).

Thus, the first form of religiously imposed fasting in Islam was originally a custom shared with the Jews. The Islamic assimilation of the Jewish ritual remained, however, limited. The central performance in the Jewish service of the fast, the communal confession of sins, seems not to have been introduced into the Islamic sphere with the acceptance of the ʿĀshūrāʾ fast (see SIN, MAJOR AND MINOR; VIRTUES AND VICES, COMMANDING AND FORBIDDING). A genuine ceremony devoted principally to communal confession has never developed in Sunnī Islam nor is there a fixed form of individual confession such as Christianity has cherished over the ages and which in modern time has translated into new kinds of secular self-inquiring (see Hahn, Zur Soziologie). The fast of ʿĀshūrāʾ, however, was never completely abolished: the tenth of Muḥarram, which corresponds to the date of the Jewish Yom Kippur, was retained as a voluntary fast day in Sunnī Islam (Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* ii, 147-9). It was only in the Shīʿī tradition, however, that ʿĀshūrāʾ recovered, in the course of time, its original character as a ceremony of repentance (see REPENTANCE AND PENANCE) and atonement. The tenth of Muḥarram became a festival commemorating the martyrdom that the grandson of the Prophet, al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī, suffered at Karbalāʾ in 61/680 (see MARTYRS; SHĪʿISM AND THE QURʾĀN; ʿALĪ B. ABĪ ṬĀLIB; FAMILY OF THE PROPHET; PEOPLE OF THE HOUSE). As Gerald Hawting (The tawwābūn) has shown, the proto-Shīʿī group of the *tawwābūn,* "penitents" — in whose thinking atonement and expiation were prominent, and who in 65/685 revolted against the Umayyads in order to expunge their guilt for forsaking Ḥusayn — may, when they sacrificed themselves, have been under the spell of the solemn atmosphere of the prominent day in the Jewish calendar.

The earliest qurʾānic injunction maintains that fasting was to be observed for several — probably ten — days (*ayyām maʿdūdāt,* Q 2:184) but the month is not made explicit. The concept of "counted days" *(ayyām maʿdūdāt)* appears Arabian. A reference to a sacred time-period, again presumably "ten," is found in a very early qurʾānic text (Q 89:2 *wa-layālin ʿashrin,* "By the ten nights"), which is usually understood as referring to the first ten days of the *ḥajj* (see PILGRIMAGE). It is thus likely that in Q 2:184 an existing Arabian religious period was revived. Wagtendonk *(Fasting)* argues that the *iʿtikāf* period in Rajab "was chosen for the fast of the 'counted days' because the Night of Destiny *(laylat al-qadr)* with which the revelation of the Qurʾān was connected, occurred during it." That night, originally falling on the twenty-seventh of Rajab, had been celebrated in an early sūra (Q 97) as a unique night excelling over other time periods (see DAY AND NIGHT; DAY, TIMES OF), a night when communication between heaven (see HEAVEN AND SKY) and earth (q.v.) moves easily; it is presented as the night of revelation par excellence:

Behold we sent it down in the night of decision
And what shall teach you what is the night of decision?

The night of decision is better than a thousand months,
In it the angels (see ANGEL) and the spirit (q.v.; see also HOLY SPIRIT) descend
By the leave of their lord (q.v.), upon every command
Peace it is, till the rising of dawn (q.v.; Q 97:1-5)

This particular night, characterized as a "blessed night" *(layla mubāraka),* is further referred to in a later Meccan sūra (Q 44:3-6), where it is described as a time in which "every wise precept is made plain, distinct" (*fīhā yufraqu kullu amrin ḥakīm,* Q 44:4). The two texts are the exclusive qurʾānic testimonies for the temporal setting of revelation within the calendar (q.v.) of the year. The Qurʾān alludes to the affinity between sacred time (q.v.) and revelation; the particular night is a time when the borderlines between the heavenly and earthly domains are permeable (Q 97:4; cf. al-Miṣrī, *Ramaḍān;* Ṭūqān, *Riḥla,* 18-9; id., *Mountainous journey,* 16-21). It is also a time of divine separating or distinguishing *(yufraqu)* between good and evil (q.v.), and is thus closely related to Yom Kippur, when the divine decision is made concerning the fate (q.v.; see also DESTINY) of individuals for the following year (Q 44:4). The Qurʾān itself can, as such, be regarded as a divine intervention (*furqān,* Q 17:106; see CRITERION; NAMES OF THE QURʾĀN), although it is not explicitly labeled *furqān* before the Medinan period (Q 25:1; 3:4). The noun *furqān,* etymologically an Aramaic loan word from *purqānā,* "salvation" (see FOREIGN VOCABULARY), is not yet a synonym for revelation in the Meccan sūras; rather, it is used in one Meccan sūra (Q 21:48) to denote an historical event, the salvation of the Children of Israel by the separation of the Red Sea (cf. Q 2:50).

If Rajab was the month in which the initial Islamic practice of fasting took place, then the etiology of this fast has to be related to both the momentous aura of the *laylat al-qadr* as a time of divine decrees and to the event of the qurʾānic revelation (Q 97:1; cf. 44:3). This complex etiology was to be transferred to the fasting of Ramaḍān in due time.

The imposition of the "counted days" fast is followed immediately by an alleviating amendment:

Fast a certain number of days,
But if any one of you is ill or on a journey let him fast a similar number of days
And for those that can afford it there is a ransom
The feeding of a poor man (see POVERTY AND THE POOR).
He that does good of his own accord shall be well rewarded (see REWARD AND PUNISHMENT)
But to fast is better for you,
If you but knew it (Q 2:184).

The ruling is made easy: not only are sick persons and travelers (see ILLNESS AND HEALTH; JOURNEY) exempted from keeping the fast but those unable to sustain the fast may ransom themselves with a charitable deed *(fidya)*. In Wagtendonk's (Fasting, 182) view, the text betrays "the same uncertainty as that which accompanied the change of *qibla* (q.v.)."

Rulings and developments concerning Ramaḍān

The text then switches abruptly to the introduction of Ramaḍān (Q 2:185) as a full month of fasting. The verse that replaces the earlier, less demanding ruling of the "counted days" has been understood in the Muslim tradition (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* iii, 420) as an abrogation (q.v.) of the previous institution (see for the problematics, Radtke, *Offenbarung*). The text also puts forward a new etiology for the fast, alluding to both the sending down of the Qurʾān (as in

Q 97:1; here, however, designated *furqān;* cf. its indirect classification as such in Q 17:106) and an experience of deliverance (a notion equally conveyed by the term *furqān*), although the Qurʾān does not explicitly name the particular historical event: "The month of Ramaḍān in which the *qurʾān* was sent down as a guidance for humankind and proofs of the guidance and of the *furqān*" (Q 2:185).

Although some commentators (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* iii, 415-7), followed by Goitein (Ramadan), hold that the implementation of a whole month of fasting is no more than the extension of the already prescribed fasting, Wagtendonk seems right in considering that the emphatic mention of Ramaḍān in the verse suggests an innovation. Moreover, the double excellence attributed to the month is new, consisting of the event of the revelation, *furqān,* and simultaneously of the occurrence of the guidance and the salvation (again, *furqān*). The homonymous use of that word is striking; as Wagtendonk has realized, "we see here the subordination of the *furqān* to the Qurʾān instead of the juxtaposition of book and *furqān* or the identification of both found elsewhere. It is as if the notion of *furqān* was essential but, at the same time, the priority of the sending down of the revelation had to be maintained by all means" (Fasting, 183). The complex use made of the word *furqān* presents an enigma that is not solvable based on the section that deals with fasting alone.

Again, instructions are given about the performance of the fast, which no longer permit the *fidya:*

Whosoever of you is present in that month,
let him fast.
But he who is ill or on a journey shall fast
a similar number of days.
God desires your well being, not your
discomfort.
He desires you to fast the whole month
so that you may magnify him for giving
you his guidance
and render thanks to him (Q 2:185; see GLORIFICATION OF GOD; LAUDATION; GRATITUDE AND INGRATITUDE).

The extended length of the new commandment of fasting is counter-balanced by alleviation:

It is lawful for you (see LAWFUL AND UNLAWFUL) to go to your wives on the night of the fast;
they are a comfort to you as you are to them.
God knew that you were deceiving yourselves
and he has turned in mercy (q.v.) towards you and relieved you.
Therefore you may now go to them
and seek what God has ordained for you (see CHASTITY; SEX AND SEXUALITY).
Eat and drink until you can tell the white thread
from the black one in the light of dawn.
Then resume the fast till nightfall
and do not approach them,
when you stay at your prayers in the mosques (see MOSQUE).
These are the bounds set by God (see BOUNDARIES AND PRECEPTS).
Do not come near them.
Thus he makes known his revelations to humankind
that they may guard themselves against evil (Q 2:187).

The amendment in Q 2:187 clearly comes to rectify the first fasting rulings which must have been extremely severe, extending over full day and night periods and imposing strict sexual abstention. They must have proved difficult to observe and thus had to be alleviated. Strikingly, the ruling to start the fast at daybreak (Q 2:187)

clearly reveals its Jewish origin. Its demand that believers start to fast once they can distinguish the white thread from the black thread reflects a Jewish practice in determining the time of the beginning of the fast: by using the black and white threads of the prayer shawl of the male worshiper as a criterion. The reference to the prayer shawl, a characteristic liturgical requisite of Jewish worship, which has no reasonable place in non-Jewish imagination and remains unmentioned in qurʾānic commentary, can only be understood as reflecting information provided by Jews on the matter of when exactly fasting should begin.

Ramaḍān — the month of an event of salvation in history

In order to solve the enigma of the etiology for the Ramaḍān fast, Wagtendonk *(Fasting)* has proposed drawing on Q 8:41 f., where the word *furqān* is used to refer to the victory in the battle of Badr (q.v.) on 17 Ramaḍān 2/623. The qurʾānic text that commemorates this battle (Q 8:41-4; see EXPEDITIONS AND BATTLES) is prefaced by a recapitulation of the history preceding the decisive new development and an exhortation to remember it (see EXHORTATIONS). It is at once a reckoning with the Meccan foes, whose persecution of the community that could have led to its annihilation is recorded. Against that, the believers (see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF) are reassured of the long expected "deliverance" *(furqān)* that has been finally granted. This text is strongly text-referential and summarizes the predicament described in the sūras of the Meccan period, while also recalling biblical records. Q 8:29, moreover, paraphrases, as Wagtendonk *(Fasting)* has observed, a particular biblical text related to Passover: "Have no fear, stand firm and you will see what YHWH will do to save you today" (*Exod* 14:13; the Hebrew *yeshūʾah* corresponds to Aramaic *purqānā;* Arabic *furqān*). The section as a whole reminds one strongly of a similarly retrospective summary of divine support granted to the Israelites, particularly their salvation through their exodus (*Deut* 26:5-9, a text which is part of the Pesach Haggada and thus is recited in the framework of the Passover celebration). Although it is impossible to ascertain that *Deut* 26:5-9 was part of the Passover ceremony at the time and place of the emergence of the Qurʾān, it should be adduced here since it conveys, typologically, a recollection of salvation from tribulation strikingly similar to that of Q 8:26-46:

A wandering Aramaean was my father, and he went down into Egypt, and sojourned there few in number. And he became there a nation, great, mighty and populous. And the Egyptians dealt ill with us and afflicted us and laid upon us hard bondage. And we cried unto the lord, the God of our fathers and the lord heard our voice, and saw our afflictions and our toil and our oppression. And the lord brought us forth out of Egypt with a mighty hand and with an outstretched arm and with great terribleness, and with signs and with wonders.

The idea that a divine act of salvation has to be remembered is the dominant idea of the biblical story of the Israelite exodus; its liturgical re-enactments have woven a dense meta-text of memory recalling the divine salvation of the Israelites throughout their entire history (see Yerushalmi, *Zakhor*). The notion of a miraculous deliverance, which is central to the Jewish Passover story, also prevails in the qurʾānic story of the victory at Badr that brought about a divine decision *(f-r-q)*. The term *furqān* has thus, in this context, acquired new meaning. Used in earlier qurʾānic

texts to denote divine revelation — received by Muḥammad (paraphrased in Q 17:106) — as well as divine salvation from threatening foes in history — as experienced by Moses during the Exodus (Q 2:53), it has now come to denote the deliverance of the Muslim community in their contemporary history (see OPPOSITION TO MUḤAMMAD). Q 8:44 conveys this understanding: the event of Badr is perceived as a grave worldly trial, displaying a strong eschatological awareness. The remembrance of the *furqān,* the deliverance or salvation, has become an article of faith (q.v.; Q 8:41). It is the miraculous deliverance from the fear inflicted by overwhelming enemies understood as achieved not by a victorious army but by divine intervention that is a reminder of the equally miraculous escape of the people of Moses during their exodus from Egypt (q.v.).

Liturgical enactments

Jan Assmann (Der zweidimensionale Mensch) has emphasized that people are "destined to live in two worlds. Life cannot be limited to everyday life. Feasts are needed to counterbalance daily routine. They have to provide spaces where the other that is excluded from the daily routine can occur. The other, however, does not occur by itself, but has to be staged, it has to be enacted." The enactments of Passover — synagogue services and a ritual meal, the *seder* ceremony — and Easter — church services and the mystical meal of the Eucharist — rely on scriptural texts that have been preserved in a mythicized form, and those events are commemorated at the feast. The scriptural readings not only form a sequence of accounts communicated roughly in the chronological order of the events they relate, but are also bound to particular times held sacred by the listeners. Yerushalmi (*Zakhor,* 42) has stressed that two temporalities are involved: "The historical events… remain unique and irreversible. Psychologically, however, those events are experienced cyclically, repetitively, and to that extent at least, atemporally." The events thus "occur" each time the congregation assembles, history being dramatized. There is "a synchronic reading and experiencing in the cult which is yielded by a metaphorization or symbolization of the events of history, so that they never lose their actuality for all generations" (Lacocque, Apocalyptic symbolism, 6-15).

In Islam, in contrast, there is no special qurʾānic reading for Ramaḍān to be recited in the service of the *ʿīd al-fiṭr* (the feast that concludes the month of fasting), or in the *laylat al-qadr* (celebrated on the twenty-seventh of Ramaḍān), or during the many religious gatherings in the mosque or at home (that take place particularly during the last ten days of the month, the *iʿtikāf* period). This striking fact is not a historical coincidence and can be explained by a tendency inherent in the texts themselves: a strong, generally-held reservation about a mythic reading of biblical or contemporary events (see Neuwirth, Qurʾān, crisis and memory). Neither the rulings about fasting (Q 2:183-7) nor the story of the battle of Badr (Q 8:41-4) presents a mythopoeic version of the events, shaped dramatically enough to turn the event into a cosmic turning point (see MYTHS AND LEGENDS IN THE QURʾĀN) — save perhaps the short qurʾānic text about *laylat al-qadr* (Q 97:1-5), which dwells on an already given cosmic event. The historical events are overshadowed by the single fact of election (q.v.), manifest in revelation itself. Thus, the Qurʾān in its entirety *(khātima)* is supposed to be recited during Ramaḍān — according to tradition, it is for this very reason that the corpus has

been divided into thirty equally long parts (*juzʾ*, pl. *ajzāʾ*) and seven portions (*manzila*, pl. *manāzil*), permitting it to be recited on a daily or a weekly basis (see MANUSCRIPTS OF THE QURʾĀN; CODICES OF THE QURʾĀN). This Islamic option implies that the function of salvation history is viewed differently: Whereas the two older religions review the process of their salvation history as a narrative running parallel to their real experienced history, Islam does not focus on the narrative of its emergence but commemorates exclusively one event: the revelation of the Qurʾān to Muḥammad. The fact that the Qurʾān is recited by the individual believer, who thus passes God's "personal" words over his lips and reproduces them through his voice, is in itself a "representation" of Muḥammad's receiving the words. The presence of the divine speaker, or the transcendent "author," of the text could hardly be imagined as ever being closer to the senses than during this kind of commemoration. One might duly speak of a re-enactment of the "first divine communication," a text perceived as superhuman being recited in a "supernatural" performance. Qurʾān recitation and frequent prayer, particularly the *tarāwīḥ* practice — forty continuously performed sequences of *ṣalāt* — translate the pious feeling of the gates of heaven being opened during Ramāḍan into practice. Communication is sought not only with the living but also with the dead (for *ziyārat al-maqābir,* see Nabhan, *Das Fest;* for the *ruʾyat al-hilāl* and other cosmic determinations of time, see Lech, *Geschichte des islamischen Kultus;* see DEATH AND THE DEAD; BURIAL). The alternating of fasting and feasting, the particular prominence given to the family meal in which the single days of fasting culminate, strongly enhances social coherence. Like the *seder* meal held on Passover and the Eucharist given after the Easter vigil, the *iftār* meal concluding the day of fasting affirms the overcoming of crisis and turns the memory of suffering (q.v.) into fulfillment.

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Ramparts

see PEOPLE OF THE HEIGHTS

Rank(s)

see RANKS AND ORDERS

Ranks and Orders

Arrangement of heavenly or earthly beings in military or other formation. *Ṣaff,* plural *ṣufūf,* literally "rank, row or line, company of men standing in a rank, row or line" (Lane, 1693, col. 3), is a term used in several different contexts and with various significations. The purely literal meaning, a very early understanding, referred to "straight lines and rows" of Muslim believers when offering obligatory prayers (see PRAYER; RITUAL AND THE QURʾĀN; COMMUNITY AND SOCIETY IN THE QURʾĀN). Over time, the additional meaning of "ranks and orders" acquired a certain sense of hierarchy, be it material (military) or spiritual, individual or communal, male or female (see GENDER). In this meaning, a sense of superiority and preferential treatment accorded by God to certain individuals or communities became a common understanding (see ELECTION; FREEDOM AND PREDESTINATION).

The Qurʾān mentions *ṣaff* six times. The predominant context in which the term is used (four out of the six occurrences) is apocalyptic in nature (see APOCALYPSE). In this context, human beings will be marshaled before their lord in "rows" to settle accounts when angels (see ANGEL), the spirit (q.v.; see also HOLY SPIRIT; GABRIEL) and other celestial beings will also be standing in "rows," obediently (see OBEDIENCE), in the presence of God on that last day (see LAST JUDGMENT). One sūra, however, Q 61 (Sūrat al-Ṣaff, which takes its name from Q 61:4, "God loves those who fight in his way in ranks [rows], as though they were a building well-compacted"), is generally translated into English as "The Battle Array." The last reference to *ṣaff* occurs as a challenge posed by Moses (q.v.) when he challenges Pharaoh's (q.v.) magicians (Q 20:64; see MAGIC) to muster all their (magic) forces together and act in a "concerted" *(ṣaff)* manner.

Based on the above contexts, *ṣaff* historically came to acquire three, perhaps four, distinct meanings: religious, military, social (particularly in the north African context) and spiritual. Religious: *ṣaff* as rows meant the lines of worshippers assembled in the mosque (q.v.) or elsewhere for the prescribed worship (q.v.; *ṣalāt*). The two related terms strengthening this religious connotation are *ṣāffāt* and its masculine plural *ṣāffūna.* Both these terms appear in Sūrat al-Ṣāffāt (Q 37, "Those Ranged in Ranks") where the former is interpreted as angels and the latter as "those beings who declare the glory of their lord (q.v.)," i.e. "angels" (see GLORIFICATION OF GOD). *Ṣāffāt* occurs three times in the Qurʾān and *ṣāffūna* once (Rippin, Ṣāffāt). Military: history records that in the engagements of the

Arabs (q.v.) with the imperial Sāsānid army in Iraq (q.v.) in the 630s C.E., the Arabs drew themselves into *ṣufūf* or ranks. "The Prophet is said to have straightened, with an arrow held in his hand, the *ṣufūf* of the Muslims before the battle of Badr (q.v.) in 2/624" (Bosworth, Ṣaff, 794). Thus, Q 61:4 was interpreted to mean the rank formation, *ṣaff,* in battle. Social organization in north Africa: *ṣaff* denotes in certain parts of the Maghrib, chiefly Algeria, southern Tunisia and Libya, a league, alliance, faction or party (Bosworth, Ṣaff). Spiritual: many mystics (Ṣūfīs) and some Shīʿī groups believe that, with immense spiritual discipline and meditation, one would be accorded the status of *al-ṣāffūna* (Q 37:165), those of a (higher) rank and order or those beings who declare the glory of God, i.e. the angels (Ibn al-ʿArabī, *Tafsīr,* ii, 335; see SHĪʿISM AND THE QURʾĀN; ṢŪFISM AND THE QURʾĀN). Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī (d. 672/1273) furnishes one such example, claiming a high status for the deserving Ṣūfī by quoting this particular verse in one of his poems (Rūmī, *Dīwān,* poem no. 1948).

Ṣaff *in the commentary and ḥadīth literature*

Liturgical and eschatological contexts

A sample of this literature reveals several traditions emphasizing the need to form straight rows when performing obligatory prayers. The manner in which the prophetic traditions are organized in the various commentaries on the Qurʾān (*tafāsīr,* sing. *tafsīr;* see EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL) points to an attempt to link the mode of worship of the angels in the heavens with the Muslim worshippers on earth. Angels worship God standing in "rows" (in obedience and discipline) and Muslims should do the same. Several prophetic traditions (especially those that describe Muḥammad's "heavenly ascent," the *miʿrāj;* see ASCENSION) exhort believers to emulate or mirror this mode of worship. It is worth noting here that Muslim tradition attributes the divine command to offer "five" obligatory prayers daily as having been received by Muḥammad during his "heavenly ascent" where he also witnessed angels offering prayers continually. In addition, there is an attempt to synchronize the times of the believers' worship with that of the angels based on another prophetic tradition: "If anyone of you says *āmīn* [during the prayer at the end of the recitation of Sūrat al-Fātiḥa; see FĀTIḤA] and the angels in heaven say the same, and the sayings of the two coincide, all his past sins will be forgiven" (Ḥilālī and Khān, *Qurʾān,* vi, 479; see FORGIVENESS; SIN, MAJOR AND MINOR).

Ibn Kathīr (d. 774/1373; *Tafsīr,* 807, col. 1) links three instances of the word *ṣaff* (those of Q 18:48, Q 78:38 and Q 89:22) in his explanation of the word in an eschatological context. He says, "it seems that the intention here is that all created beings will stand in the presence of God in 'one row' as he says in Q 78:38 and he speaks the truth. It is possible that they would stand in rows after rows as he says in Q 89:22." The commentary ordinarily published under the name of Ibn al-ʿArabī (d. 543/1148; *Tafsīr,* i, 765; actual author is ʿAbd al-Razzāq al-Qāshānī [d. 731/1330]) and the works of several other commentators add to this explanation by clarifying that the rows will be formed such that none will be able to "hide" or "veil" another during this time of resurrection (q.v.) when facing the lord (see INTERCESSION; FACE OF GOD). The emphases on personal responsibility and accountability are a clear objective here.

Hierarchy and egalitarianism

Several modern Muslim thinkers and commentators (see EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: EARLY MODERN AND CONTEMPORARY) offer the *ṣaff* formation in prayer as proof of

Islam's egalitarianism (see JUSTICE AND INJUSTICE; OPPRESSION). It is clearly evident that the prince or the ruler of the land prays in the same row with his humble subjects, together acknowledging the "createdness" of all beings (see CREATION; KINGS AND RULERS). Non-Muslim observers have often singled out the *ṣaff* formation of Muslims in prayers as one of the most remarkable and poignant aspects of the Islamic prayer ritual. Early and classical commentators do not, however, connect the *ṣaff* formation with any notions of egalitarianism. Ironically, in these works, *ṣaff* seems to have been used to draw distinctions as opposed to emphasizing egalitarianism.

Ibn Kathīr (*Tafsīr,* 1129, col. 1) records a sound tradition (see ḤADĪTH AND THE QUR'ĀN) attesting to the fact that "men and women used to pray together until Q 37:164-5 were revealed, 'There is not one of us but has his known position, we are those who glorify God." Most commentators agree that the speaker in Q 37:164 is the angel, especially based on the following three verses (Q 37:165-7), which are commonly understood as having been spoken by angels. Nevertheless, this verse was interpreted as a divine command to segregate genders during obligatory prayers (*maqām ma'lūm,* "known position," interpreted by most commentators as *maqāmahu wa-martabatahu,* "his place and status/rank," except al-Kāshānī [*Tafsīr,* ii, 1208] who interprets it as "limits set by God not to be transgressed"; see BOUNDARIES AND PRECEPTS). Therefore, "at the time of its revelation," Ibn Kathīr informs us, "men came forward and women moved behind. Hence, Q 37:165, "We are those who declare the glory of God," means that we stand in rows (in accordance with our special status, rank, or place) in obedience, as was said in Q 37:1, "Those [angels] standing in rows."

Another tradition records how orderly rows were commissioned and institutionalized. Abū Nadra said, "'Umar used to approach people facing them, when *ṣalāt* was established, saying, 'Stand in rows, straighten your lines out, God the exalted wishes from you the manner of the angels,' quoting Q 37:165, and continued, 'so and so, you go back, so and so, you come forward.' Only then would he give the *takbīr*" (i.e. say *Allāhu akbar* to start the prayer; Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr,* 1129, col. 2).

Thus, in classical times *ṣaff* came to be understood as a hierarchical term whence superiority and preference. The meaning moved to a metaphorical and symbolic plane, whether to connote physically imitating the angelic "mode of worship" or to claim higher rank based on superior spiritual achievements. The following prophetic tradition is often cited for justification: "We [members of my community] have been bestowed superiority over others in three ways: our ranks and rows are made like the ranks and rows of the angels, earth is made a *masjid* (place of worship; see BOWING AND PROSTRATION) for us (i.e. a Muslim can pray anywhere on earth), and finally, its soil is made pure, in case of non-availability of water" (to be used for ablutions before prayer instead of water; Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr,* 1129, col. 2; see CLEANLINESS AND ABLUTION).

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Ransom see CAPTIVES

Raqīm

Name mentioned at the beginning of the qurʾānic version of the story of the Seven Sleepers (see MEN OF THE CAVE), where the Qurʾān states: "Or do you think the Men of the Cave and al-Raqīm were among our signs (q.v.) a wonder?" (Q 18:9).

The isolated mention in this passage with no other specification or occurrences of the term prompted an abundance of exegetical explanations and interpretations. One tradition mentioned in some commentaries attests that al-Raqīm was one of the four words in the Qurʾān that Ibn ʿAbbās (d. ca. 68/688; see COMPANIONS OF THE PROPHET; ḤADĪTH AND THE QURʾĀN) could not satisfactorily explain and had thus to rely upon the explanation of Kaʿb al-Aḥbār. Following the meaning of the root *r-q-m,* i.e. "to write," commentaries suggest that the word could mean "a writing," a written tablet. Thus, al-Raqīm was a tablet, i.e. a stone, iron or lead tablet (Farrāʾ, *Maʿānī,* ii, 134) hanging at the entrance of the cave (q.v.) where the sleepers stayed and in which their story, names or genealogies were written. According to a report quoted by Muqātil b. Sulaymān (d. 150/767; *Tafsīr,* ii, 574), al-Raqīm was a writing *(kitāb)* inscribed on a tablet by two men named Mātūs and Asṭūs, two who were secretly believers in God at the time of Decius. The major commentaries also include other interpretations, such as al-Raqīm as the name of a village, a mountain or a valley. One further explanation states that al-Raqīm could have been the name of the dog (q.v.) of the sleepers. This is also suggested by a verse of the pre-Islamic poet Umayya b. Abī l-Ṣalt, cited, for instance, by Abū Ḥayyān in his commentary (*Baḥr,* vii, 142). The presence of the dog is, in fact, mentioned in the qurʾānic text — "And their dog stretching its paws on the threshold" (Q 18:18) and "And their dog" (Q 18:22) — though the commentaries on these passages usually state that its name was Qiṭmīr (see as early as Muqātil, *Tafsīr,* ii, 578). According to a report going back to the Prophet, such as in al-Thaʿlabī's (d. 427/1035) *tafsīr* (*Kashf,* vi, 145-6; but see an earlier reference in Ibn Abī Ḥātim al-Rāzī, *Tafsīr,* vii, 2347), al-Raqīm is a reference to the vicissitudes of three men who escaped and found refuge in a cave. This story had already been recorded in early *ḥadīth* collections such as Ibn Ḥanbal's (d. 241/845) *Musnad* (no. 18445; other references in Suyūṭī, *Durr,* 363-5) and its identification with al-Raqīm is suggested in later sources (see Hérnandez Juberías, *La península,* 139 f.) and, above all, the commentaries on Q 18 (see for example Bayḍāwī, *Tafsīr,* ii, 5: *aṣḥāb al-raqīm*).

The meaning of the word has attracted the attention of western scholars. Horovitz (*KU,* 95) — who reviewed the various interpretations of al-Raqīm — was among those to underline the difficulties in arriving at a satisfactory understanding of the term. Torrey (Three difficult passages), whose understanding Horovitz rejected, had in fact maintained that al-Raqīm could have been a misreading of the name Decius in Hebrew. This interpretation was further dismissed by Jeffery, who added the observation that, although this misreading looks easy in Hebrew characters, it is not so obvious in Syriac and that, following Horovitz, it does not explain the article of the Arabic term. According to Jeffery, "the probabilities are that it is a place-name" (Jeffery, *For. vocab.,* 144). A more recent explanation by Bellamy (Raqīm or ruqūd) suggests that at this point the qurʾānic text must be corrupt: he maintained that the qurʾānic lexeme is a corruption of *al-ruqūd,*

"sleepers," quoted in Q 18:18. Western translations of the Qurʾān mention the term as a name or, in some cases, translate it as "inscription" (cf. Paret, *Der Koran*).

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Rass

Term mentioned twice in the Qurʾān in connection with the expression *aṣḥāb al-rass,* "the people of al-Rass": "We have prepared for the evildoers a painful chastisement. And ʿĀd (q.v.), Thamūd (q.v.) and the people of al-Rass, and between that, many generations" (Q 25:37-8); "The people of Noah (q.v.) and the people of al-Rass, and Thamūd and Pharaoh (q.v.), and ʿĀd and the brothers of Lot (q.v.) cried lies before them…" (Q 50:12). Although there are no other elements that help clarify who the people of al-Rass were, the fact that they are mentioned alongside other ancient peoples who were punished suggests that they, too, could have been one of these peoples (see PUNISHMENT STORIES).

Commentators (see EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL) as well as later traditions (see ḤADĪTH AND THE QURʾĀN) are at a loss when attempting to identify this people and the location of the place referred to as al-Rass. According to some interpretations, al-Rass is the proper name of a village, or a region between Najrān (q.v.), Yemen (q.v.) and Ḥaḍramawt, or a town of the Yamāma or the name of a river (see PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QURʾĀN; GEOGRAPHY AND THE QURʾĀN). Some other explanations rely upon the meaning of the term *rass* as anything having been excavated, such as a pit, a well or a tomb (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* xix, 14). The explanation of *al-rass* as meaning "the well" is by far the favorite of the exegetes, and so these people are very frequently identified as "the people of the well" (Farrāʾ, *Maʿānī,* ii, 268 makes this connection already in the early Islamic period). Additional (sometimes contradictory) reports attempt to elucidate whether the well was near Madyan (see MIDIAN), in Antioch or in Azerbaijan, and provide narratives that furnish the background setting of the story. So it is said that these people of al-Rass were one of the two peoples to whom Shuʿayb (q.v.) was sent (see PEOPLE OF THE THICKET), but, since they refused him, were then punished. It is also thought they may have been people to whom a prophet descending from Jacob (q.v.) was sent (see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD; WARNING).

An alternative account is that they were people who received the mission of two different prophets and killed both of them. Their description as "the people of the well" is explained by recounting that it was into this well that they threw a prophet, killing him. Some reports identify the prophet who unsuccessfully tried to summon them as Ḥanẓala b. Ṣafwān and specify that their evil behavior led to their destruction (see GOOD AND EVIL; VIRTUES AND VICES, COMMANDING AND FORBIDDING; EVIL DEEDS). Following a saying of the Prophet (not mentioned in the major collections) according to which the first to enter paradise will be a black servant (see SLAVES AND SLAVERY; SERVANT), another exegetical explanation identifies this servant as a pious man who tried to save a prophet who had been thrown into a well by his people, who were thereafter known as "the people of the well." Other reports state that the "people of the well" were indeed the people of Yā-Sīn, i.e. Antioch, whose story is mentioned in Q 36:13-29 (see the early account in Muqātil, *Tafsīr,* iii, 235) and that the prophet thrown into the well was Ḥabīb al-Najjār. Further interpretations are added in most of the later sources: they were of the remnants of the Thamūd, or they were indeed the People of the Ditch (q.v.; Q 85:4), or they were idolatrous people who used to worship the stone pine (*ṣanawbar,* see Thaʿlabī, *Tafsīr,* viii, 135-8) or they were punished through the prodigious bird called *ʿanqāʾ.*

Among recent western interpretations of the meaning of *"al-rass,"* Bellamy has proposed that the written form *"al-rass"* could simply be a misspelling of the name Idrīs (q.v.; see also ORTHOGRAPHY; ARABIC SCRIPT). The few qurʾānic passages, however, do not contain any narrative setting or other elements that might help clarify the exact identification of *"al-rass."* Though the context suggests that reference is made to a people who, in the qurʾānic vision of history (see HISTORY AND THE QUR'ĀN), had received a prophet and then were punished for rejecting his teachings, these people cannot be identified.

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Rasūl

see MESSENGER; PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD

Read, Reading

see RECITATION OF THE QUR'ĀN

Readers of the Qurʾān

see RECITERS OF THE QUR'ĀN; READINGS OF THE QUR'ĀN; RECITATION OF THE QUR'ĀN

Readings of the Qurʾān

A term generally used to denote the *qirāʾāt,* the different ways of reciting the Qurʾān. Variant readings are an important aspect of Qurʾān recitation (see RECITATION OF THE QUR'ĀN; RECITERS OF THE QUR'ĀN),

but *qirā'āt* refer to more than that. Other elements — such as differences concerning length of syllables, when to assimilate consonants to following ones, and where to pause or insert verse endings — form an integral part of the different *qirā'āt* systems.

Reports about different ways of reciting or reading the Qur'ān were transmitted from the beginning of Islam. Traditions from the time of the Prophet (see ḤADĪTH AND THE QUR'ĀN) mention that differences in recitation occurred and that they were permitted by him, but there is no specification of the nature of these differences. In the canonical traditions that go back to Muḥammad these differences in recitation are linked to the seven *aḥruf* (sing. *ḥarf*) according to which Gabriel (q.v.; Jibrīl) recited the Qur'ān to Muḥammad. The contexts of these traditions suggest that with *ḥarf* either a mode of recitation or a manner of pronunciation is meant (see ORALITY; ARABIC LANGUAGE). From early works, however, it is clear that in the second/eighth century *ḥarf* was taken to mean the same thing as *qirā'a* in its narrow sense of "variant reading." Early commentaries on the Qur'ān, such as those of Mujāhid (d. 104/722), Sufyān al-Thawrī (d. 162/778), ʿAbdallāh b. Wahb (d. 197/812), ʿAbd al-Razzāq al-Ṣanʿānī (d. 211/827), al-Akhfash al-Awsaṭ (d. bet. 210/825 and 221/835) and al-Farrā' (d. 207/822), demonstrate that these variant readings did indeed occur across the whole range of lexical issues: from simple pronunciation variants through different case endings or verbal forms, synonyms or near synonyms, to interpolations of whole phrases (see EXEGESIS OF THE QUR'ĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL; GRAMMAR AND THE QUR'ĀN).

Readings before the general acceptance of the ʿUthmānic muṣḥaf

The introduction of the ʿUthmānic *rasm* (unmarked consonantal structure of an Arabic document; see ARABIC SCRIPT; CODICES OF THE QUR'ĀN; COLLECTION OF THE QUR'ĀN) does not seem to have had an immediate, decisive effect on the limitation of variant readings with a different *rasm*. In Sufyān al-Thawrī's relatively short *Tafsīr,* for instance, 67 variant readings — all introduced with *fī qirā'at…* ("in the reading of…") or *kāna… yaqra'ūnahā…* ("… they used to read it as…") — are mentioned, 24 of which have a different *rasm*. Most of these are synonyms that are attributed to Ibn Masʿūd (d. 32/652-3). On the whole, it appears that in the second Islamic century variant readings with a different *rasm,* especially from Ibn Masʿūd's codex, were still freely discussed and were called either *qirā'āt* or, less commonly, *ḥurūf*. The reading *wa-amdadnāhum bi-ʿīsin ʿīnin* ("and we shall support them with grayish white ones, with beautiful eyes") instead of *wa-zawwajnāhum bi-ḥūrin ʿīnin* ("and we shall pair them off with white ones, with beautiful eyes"; Q 44:54) is mentioned by al-Farrā' (*Maʿānī,* iii, 44) as the *qirā'a* of Ibn Masʿūd (see HOURIS). In his commentary on Q 44:54, ʿAbd al-Razzāq al-Ṣanʿānī (*Tafsīr,* iii, 210) simply mentions *bi-ʿīsin ʿīnin* as the *ḥarf* of Ibn Masʿūd, whereas Sufyān al-Thawrī (*Tafsīr,* ad Q 52:20) notes it as Ibn Masʿūd's *qirā'a,* and al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923; *Tafsīr,* ad Q 44:54) records a tradition which calls this reading a *qirā'a* and another which calls it a *ḥarf*. ʿAbd al-Razzāq (*Tafsīr,* i, 390) shows a corresponding use of the terms. Even though there seems to be a preference for the term *ḥarf,* especially in connection with Ibn Masʿūd's readings, both terms, *ḥarf* and *qirā'a,* are apparently used interchangeably, both for ʿUthmānic and non-ʿUthmānic readings. In connection with Q 17:93, ʿAbd al-Razzāq mentions a tradition from Mujāhid: "We did not know what 'a house of ornament *(zukhruf)*' was until we saw in the *qirā'a* of Ibn Masʿūd 'a house of gold *(dhahab)*'." Thus, the pos-

sibility that *ḥarf* could refer to a written variant and *qirā'a* to an oral one is not borne out by early texts.

Examination of the discussions treating variant readings in the second/eighth and third/ninth centuries indicates that the readings of Ibn Mas'ūd gained increasing prominence as the possible or plausible variants of an apparently widely received, more or less standard text which largely agreed with the 'Uthmānic *rasm*. Al-Farrā' *(Ma'ānī)* is particularly noteworthy for his discussion of a wealth of variant readings, especially from Ibn Mas'ūd, many of which have a *rasm* different from that of the 'Uthmānic codex.

The treatment by al-Farrā' of these variants shows that in his time they could still be discussed on equal terms with the 'Uthmānic text. And in Sufyān al-Thawrī's and 'Abd al-Razzāq's *Tafsīr*s there is no mention of their being unacceptable. The guiding principle for acceptance of a reading appears to have been that it should be well known, either from a codex or from a well-established tradition. For al-Farrā' — but probably also for others — another criterion was clearly in place, namely that an acceptable variant reading should be in accordance with the rules of the Arabic language (Leemhuis, Ursprünge).

Of course, the 'Uthmānic text itself still left room for different readings. The codices of Medina, Mecca, Damascus, Kūfa and Baṣra are said to have presented some slight differences in a number of places, mainly concerning an extra *wāw* or *alif,* or a *dhī* instead of *dhū* or *dhā*. The chapter about the differences among these codices in Ibn Abī Dāwūd al-Sijistānī's (d. 316/929) book on the ancient codices (Jeffery, *Materials,* 39-49 of the Arabic text) sums them up in lists that appear to have been well established by then.

The discussion, however, of which was the primary text, the codified text or the recited text, also played an important part in the history of the gradual acceptance of the 'Uthmānic codex as exclusively authoritative. This is clear from the different treatment of variant readings in the *Ma'ānī l-Qur'ān* by al-Akhfash al-Awsaṭ (d. 215/830) and in al-Farrā''s work with the same title. Both books serve the same general purpose: to establish a correct reading of the Qur'ān and, where necessary, to advance arguments for their choices of correct readings. Many — but by no means all — of the discussed *qirā'āt* are common to both authors. Al-Farrā' treats variant readings that presuppose a different *rasm* much more often than does al-Akhfash. And, unlike al-Farrā', al-Akhfash's prime criterion for not admitting such readings is that, although they may be good Arabic, they do not agree with the writing of the *"muṣḥaf"* (q.v.) — by which is quite clearly meant the 'Uthmānic text. This argument is of overriding importance for al-Akhfash and appears to be his guiding principle (Leemhuis, Ursprünge).

The difference in opinion between al-Akhfash and al-Farrā' on this issue shows that by the end of the second Islamic century this controversy had not yet been resolved. It also appears from their works that certainly at the same time, but arguably already a generation or two earlier, a generally received text existed which had *de facto* been accepted as the standard text. The weight of this standard text, however, does not yet appear to have been such that specialists would necessarily have considered variant readings with a different *rasm* to be invalid on the basis of that fact alone.

Readings accepted after the general authorization of the 'Uthmānic muṣḥaf *and those that were not*

Two generations later, Ibn Qutayba (213-76/822-89) expressed the view that all ways of reciting the Qur'ān which are in

accordance with the *rasm* of "our *muṣḥaf*" (*Mushkil,* 42) were allowed. He quotes ʿUthmān's opinion that the difference between *qirāʾa* and *kitāb* was a matter of the accent *(laḥn)* of the Arabs (q.v.; see also DIALECTS) and that the *rasm* should be left as it was (ibid., 51). In al-Ṭabarī's commentary, which was written near the end of the third/ninth century, the criterion for not accepting a reading was its not being in accordance with the codices of the five cities to which the ʿUthmānic text was sent. Al-Ṭabarī formulated this principle quite explicitly, e.g. in connection with the reading of Abū ʿAmr of *li-yahaba laki,* "in order that he will give you," instead of *li-ahaba laki,* "in order that I shall give you," in Q 19:19. For al-Ṭabarī the correct reading is the latter, because "that is how it is in the codices of the Muslims and this is the reading which the ancient and the recent [authorities] follow, except Abū ʿAmr. It is not permissible to differ from them in what they agree upon. And no one is allowed to disagree with their codices."

It is in this period that, in liturgical use, readings based on the ʿUthmānic *rasm* finally eclipsed those presupposing another *rasm,* notably that of Ibn Masʿūd. This was largely due to the activities of Ibn Mujāhid (d. 324/936), whose view on the admissibility of variant readings was enforced by the vizier Ibn Muqla in 323/935. Ibn Shannabūdh (d. 328/939), who had, in public worship, confidently recited readings of Ibn Masʿūd and other older readings which were not in accordance with the ʿUthmānic codex, was brought to trial and flogged, whereupon he recanted his defense of the non-ʿUthmānic readings (Baghdādī, *Taʾrīkh Baghdād,* i, 280-1). It can be said that, from then on, the codified text in the form of the ʿUthmānic codex was considered to be *the* primary text and the only one admissible for reciting the Qurʾān. The meaning of the term *qirāʾa* shifted from "manner of reciting the Qurʾān" to "manner of reciting the established written text of the Qurʾān."

In the introduction to his book on the seven readings, Ibn Mujāhid does not specifically defend his choice for presenting the seven readings. But his choice is clearly motivated by three hierarchical criteria: (1) the reading should be in accordance with one of the ʿUthmānic codices of the five cities that had received it; (2) it should be authoritatively transmitted and broadly authenticated, i.e. agreed upon by the majority of scholars; and (3) it should conform to the rules of Arabic grammar.

The first criterion still provided some leeway since it was accepted that there were some slight differences in the *rasm* of the ʿUthmānic codices of the five cities. Ibn Mujāhid apparently accepted the divergences between the ʿUthmānic codices as they were known in his time. Of the fifty cases mentioned in the lists that Ibn Abī Dāwūd al-Sijistānī (d. 316/929) gives in his *Kitāb al-Maṣāḥif* (39-49), only four are not accepted by Ibn Mujāhid in his *Kitāb al-Sabʿa fī l-qirāʾāt.* Even so, some adaptation could occasionally be devised in order to accommodate a well-known reading to the *rasm*. The reading of Abū ʿAmr of *li-yahaba laki* in Q 19:19, which was rejected by al-Ṭabarī, is retained by the statement that Abū ʿAmr and Nāfiʿ (according to the transmissions of Warsh and al-Ḥalawānī of Qālūn) read it — according to the *rasm,* but without the *hamza* of the *alif* — as *līhaba*. But recitation according to another *rasm* was clearly ruled out, as the example of Ibn Shannabūdh was meant to show. Ibn Mujāhid recognized that, in the past, the majority of Kūfans had recited the Qurʾān according to Ibn Masʿūd; but he had a simple reason for rejecting this *qirāʾa:* it predated the *ḥarf* on which ʿUthmān united the people.

That, for Ibn Mujāhid, the second cri-

terion had precedence over the third is shown by the story of Ibn Miqsam (fl. fourth/tenth cent.; Baghdādī, *Ta'rīkh Baghdād,* ii, 206-8), an expert on *qirā'āt* who is said to have held as acceptable all readings that the *rasm* allowed as long as they conformed to good Arabic. Like Ibn Shannabūdh a year later, he was brought to trial, but he recanted before being punished.

In applying these criteria, Ibn Mujāhid selected and presented the readings of authoritative readers from the places that were associated with the presentation of the first five copies of the ʿUthmānic codex: from Medina, Nāfiʿ b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān (d. 169/785); from Mecca, ʿAbdallāh b. Kathīr (d. 120/738); from Kūfa, ʿĀṣim b. Abī l-Najūd (d. 127/745), Ḥamza b. Ḥabīb al-Zayyāt (d. 156/773) and ʿAlī b. Ḥamza al-Kisā'ī (d. 189/804); from Baṣra, Abū ʿAmr b. al-ʿAlā' (d. 154/770); and from Damascus, ʿAbdallāh b. ʿĀmir (d. 118/736).

Ibn Mujāhid not only presented permissible variant readings, he also preserved more or less coherent pronunciation systems. This is also shown by the exposition of more general characteristics of the respective readings. Thus Ibn Mujāhid discusses, for instance, the positions of the different readers about the vowel of the personal suffix *-hum* (whether it had to become */i/* if the vowel before the */h/* was an */i/*, or should remain */u/*), and whether the */m/* should be without a vowel or with an added long or short */u/*. Likewise, he notes their positions on the assimilation of vowel-less consonants to a similar first consonant of a following word, e.g. whether *bal rafaʿahu llāhu ilayhi,* "God raised him up to him" (Q 4:158) should be pronounced *bar rafaʿahu llāhu ilayhi*. These peculiarities represent quite different styles of recitation and they most probably reflect original dialectal differences in the pronunciation of Arabic; but a systematic evaluation of these data remains elusive. At least one phenomenon, however, seems to be significant in this respect. The treatment of the glottal stop in the different readings appears to reflect the variance between ancient east and west Arabian dialects. According to Warsh's transmission of Nāfiʿ's reading, the *hamza,* or glottal stop, is not pronounced when it is without a vowel. The same is mentioned of Abū ʿAmr for the recitation of the Qur'ān in the *ṣalāt*. According to this pronunciation, e.g. *alladhīna yu'minūna,* "those who believe" (Q 2:3 and passim), is read *alladhīna yūminūna,* and *bi'r,* "well, spring" (Q 22:45), is read *bīr*. This is in accordance with what is known of the west Arabian pronunciation and is, moreover, in accordance with the pronunciation that the *rasm* suggests. Ibn Mujāhid discusses all these general rules in excursuses, mostly in connection with the passages where these general differences first appear.

Ibn Mujāhid's work had an enormous influence on the recitation of the Qur'ān, especially because he enjoyed the clear support of the ʿAbbāsid authorities (see POLITICS AND THE QUR'ĀN). From then on, the non-ʿUthmānic readings disappeared, and there were only two kinds of readings based on the ʿUthmānic *rasm:* those that were allowed in recitation because they were authoritatively transmitted and broadly authenticated, and those that were not. Only the first of these, which later were indicated as *mutawātira* — Ibn Mujāhid did not use the term — were allowed in recitation. The other readings became known as *shādhdha,* "solitary, isolated," i.e. lacking a sufficient number of authoritative chains of transmission. Ibn Mujāhid wrote a large book on these readings, but it is not extant. Indeed, many of these readings and also readings that presuppose a different *rasm* remained in

circulation in specialized works in order to support or discuss the meaning of words or expressions. For instance, the above-mentioned reading of Ibn Masʿūd in Q 44:54 is still noted in connection with that passage in the *Tafsīr*s of al-Zamakhsharī (d. 538/1144) and Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 606/1210).

The combination of the power of the ʿAbbāsid state and Ibn Mujāhid's authority and reputation in the field of qurʾānic readings proved to be quite effective, and in probably less than half a century his system of the seven canonical readings was largely accepted. It was also further systematized. In some cases, as in the case of Nāfiʿ, Ibn Mujāhid had mentioned quite a number of transmitters and, in other cases, as in the case of ʿĀṣim, only one. In the *Taysīr* of the Andalusian Abū ʿAmr al-Dānī (371-444/912-1053), there are for each reader only two *rāwī*s, "transmitters." Some of these, however, do not figure in Ibn Mujāhid's list, although this format of dual transmission eventually became the fixed system.

There were other problems that were addressed. Ibn Mujāhid had limited his choice of readers to seven, apparently because these seven met the criterion of broad authentication. At the same time, this choice of seven suggested that these were in fact the seven *aḥruf* of the prophetic traditions, although this equivalency was not universally accepted. On the basis of the criterion of broad authentication, which was somewhat fluid anyhow, readings of other famous readers were advanced as meeting the same criterion. Already Abū l-Ḥasan Ṭāhir b. ʿAbd al-Munʿim b. Ghalbūn (d. 399/1008) had included a second Baṣran reader in his *al-Tadhkira fī l-qirāʾāt* who became accepted as an eighth reader, namely Abū Muḥammad Yaʿqūb b. Isḥāq al-Ḥaḍramī (d. 205/821). It could also be argued that Abū Jaʿfar Yazīd b. al-Qaʿqāʿ (d. 130/747), one of the teachers of Nāfiʿ who was so eulogized by Ibn Mujāhid, should have his rightful place in the system — especially as both Ḥamza and al-Kisāʾī, who were teacher and pupil, had been included in the list. Khalaf b. Hishām al-Bazzār (d. 229/843), who was one of the transmitters of Ḥamza but who had selected some 120 readings of his own which differed from Ḥamza, had also gained the reputation of an independent reader. This soon led to the general acceptance of these three readers, each again according to two main transmitters. These became known as the "three after the seven." The question whether these readings were also *mutawātira,* "broadly authenticated," or just *mashhūra,* "well known," proved in the end to be merely academic. Together with the seven of Ibn Mujāhid, these three became known as the system of the ten and, at least in later times, these ten readings were all considered *mutawātira*.

But things did not stop there. The idea that the valid transmission of a reading was enough to make it fit for recitation, if the other two criteria were met, continued to attract some followers. Abū Muḥammad Makkī b. Abī Ṭālib al-Qurṭubī (d. 437/1045) was probably the first to advocate this view. Ibn al-Jazarī (d. 833/1429) quotes with approval in his *Nashr* (13-4) Makkī's opinion that there are three kinds of readings. The first is "what is recited nowadays and in which three characteristics are united." These characteristics are: (1) transmission from the Prophet on the authority of reliable authorities *(thiqāt);* (2) accordance with the Arabic in which the Qurʾān was revealed; and (3) conformity with the writing of the *muṣḥaf*. It is this last criterion that decides whether or not a reading is considered to be based on general agreement. Readings that meet these three criteria are accepted and can

be recited, and whoever rejects them is an unbeliever (see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF). The second kind of readings consists of those that meet the first two criteria but not the third. This kind of reading is acceptable but cannot be used in recitation, but whoever rejects it is not an unbeliever — a point, however, on which, Ibn al-Jazarī adds, the scholars do not agree. A minority of them held the view that it was permissible to recite such readings — among others, the reading of Ibn Masʿūd is meant — in the prayer (q.v.; *ṣalāt*) on the basis that the Companions of the Prophet (q.v.) and the successors of his Companions did so. The third kind consists of readings that do not meet either or both of the two first criteria. These are unacceptable even when they are in accordance with the writing of the *muṣḥaf,* and whoever rejects them is not an unbeliever.

Whether or not this reformulation of Ibn Mujāhid's three criteria had made its appearance already in the time of Makkī, is not entirely clear — but the argument that conformity with the ʿUthmānic text in itself constituted *ijmāʿ,* or general agreement, made room for the addition of another four readers to the list: "the four after the ten." The adherents of the system of the fourteen readers generally based their opinion on Makkī and Ibn al-Jazarī and gained some, but certainly not general, acceptance. They continued to be regarded as *shādhdha* — like all the others outside the system of the ten — by most authorities. Nevertheless, the boundary between acceptable and unacceptable readings remained somewhat blurred. Abū l-Qāsim Muḥammad b. Juzayy al-Gharnāṭī (d. 741/1340), who, in his *Tafsīr,* followed Warsh *ʿan* Nāfiʿ's reading because "it is the reading that is used in al-Andalus and the other countries of the Maghrib," gave the following short definition: "The *qirāʾāt* fall into two classes — the well known, established *(mashhūra),* and the isolated, deviant *(shādhdha)* ones. The *mashhūra* are the seven readings and those which are similar to them, like the reading of Yaʿqūb and Ibn Muḥayṣin. *Shādhdha* is what is unlike that" (*Tashīl,* 7).

In the full system of the fourteen readings, each reader is represented by two *riwāya*s, or transmissions, and a reading is generally referred to by both the reader and one of the *rāwī*s in the following form: *qirāʾat Warsh ʿan Nāfiʿ, Ḥafṣ ʿan ʿĀṣim, al-Dūrī ʿan Abī ʿAmr* ("the reading of Warsh from Nāfiʿ," or "Ḥafṣ from ʿĀsim," or "al-Dūrī from Abū ʿAmr"), etc.

The system of the fourteen readings

1. Nāfiʿ b. ʿAbd al-Raḥman (d. 169/785)
   a. Warsh, ʿUthmān b. Saʿīd b. ʿAbdallāh al-Quṭbī (d. 197/812)
   b. Qālūn, Abū Mūsā ʿĪsā b. Mīnā l-Zarqī (d. 220/835)
2. ʿAbdallāh b. Kathīr (d. 120/738)
   a. Abū l-Ḥasan Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Bazzī (d. 240/845 or 250/864)
   b. Qunbul, Abū ʿAmr Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān (d. 280/893 or 291/904)
3. Abū ʿAmr b. al-ʿAlāʾ (d. 154/770)
   a. al-Dūrī, Abū ʿAmr Ḥafṣ b. ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (d. ca. 246/291)
   b. al-Sūsī: Abū Shuʿayb, Ṣāliḥ b. Ziyād al-Riqqī (d. 261/874)
4. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿĀmir (d. 118/736)
   a. Abū l-Walīd Hishām b. ʿAmmār al-Sulamī l-Dimashqī (d. 245/859)
   b. Abū ʿAmr ʿAbdallāh b. Aḥmad b. Bishr b. Dhakwān (d. 242/856)
5. ʿĀṣim b. Abī l-Najūd (d. 127/745)
   a. Abū Bakr Shuʿba b. ʿAyyāsh b. Sālim (d. 193/809)
   b. Abū ʿAmr Ḥafṣ b. Sulaymān b. al-Mughīra (d. 180/796)
6. Ḥamza b. Ḥabīb al-Zayyāt (d. 156/773)
   a. Khalaf Abū Muḥammad al-Asadī al-Bazzār al-Baghdādī (d. 229/844)

b. Abū ʿIsā Khallād Ibn Khālid al-Baghdādī (d. 220/835)

7. ʿAlī b. Ḥamza al-Kisāʾī (d. 189/804)
   a. Abū l-Hārith al-Layth Ibn Khālid al-Baghdādī (d. 240/854)
   b. al-Dūrī, the same as Abūʿ Amr's first *rāwī*
8. Abū Jaʿfar Yazīd b. al-Qaʿqāʿ (d. 130/747)
   a. Abū l-Hārith ʿĪsā b. Wirdān al-Madanī (d. ca. 160/777)
   b. Abū l-Rabīʿ Sulaymān b. Muslim b. Jummāz al-Madanī (d. 170/786)
9. Abū Muḥammad Yaʿqūb b. Isḥāq al-Ḥaḍramī (d. 205/821)
   a. Ruways Abū ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad b. al-Mutawakkil al-Baṣrī (d. 238/852)
   b. Abū l-Ḥasan Rawḥ b. ʿAbd al-Muʾmin al-Baṣrī (d. 234/848)
10. Khalaf, the same as Ḥamza's first *rāwī*
    a. Abū Yaʿqūb Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm al-Warrāq al-Marwazī al-Baghdādī (d. 286/899)
    b. Abū l-Ḥasan Idrīs b. ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Ḥaddād al-Baghdādī (d. 295/908)
11. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥayṣin (123/740)
    a. al-Bazzī, the same as Ibn Kathīr's first *rāwī*
    b. Abū l-Ḥasan Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Ayyūb b. Shannabūdh (d. 328/939)
12. al-Yazīdī, Abū Muḥammad Yaḥyā b. al-Mubārak b. al-Mughīra al-Baṣrī (d. 202/817)
    a. Abū Ayyūb Sulaymān b. Ayyūb b. al-Ḥakam al-Baghdādī (d. 235/849)
    b. Abū Jaʿfar Aḥmad b. Faraḥ b. Jibrīl al-Baghdādī (d. 303/915)
13. al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (d. 110/728)
    a. Abū Nuʿaym Shujāʿ b. Abī Naṣr al-Balkhī l-Baghdādī (d. 190/806)
    b. al-Dūrī, the same as Abū ʿAmr's first *rāwī*
14. Abū Muḥammad Sulaymān b. Mahrān al-Aʿmash al-Kūfī (d. 148/765)
    a. Abū l-ʿAbbās al-Ḥasan b. Saʿīd b. Jaʿfar al-Muṭawwiʿa al-Baṣrī (d. 371/981)
    b. Abū l-Faraj Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Shannabūdhī l-Baghdādī (d. 388/998)

Spread and occurrence of the accepted readings

Not much can be said with certainty about the actual occurrence of the different readings, or whether most of them had anything more than theoretical significance. The analysis of the numerous preserved historical Qurʾān manuscripts should be of great help in establishing a clearer picture, but these data have only begun to be analyzed (Dutton, Early muṣḥaf; see MANUSCRIPTS OF THE QURʾĀN).

At first, most readings appear to have been favored by the regions in which they originated. It is conceivable that some readings predate the reader with whom they were associated by Ibn Mujāhid (Dutton, Early muṣḥaf). About the subsequent history in some regions a little bit more is known. In the Maghrib, Ḥamza's reading was supplanted by Nāfiʿ's, which also became the favored reading in al-Andalus. Nowadays, the most widespread reading in west and north Africa, except Egypt, is Warsh *ʿan* Nāfiʿ. In Libya and in parts of Tunisia and Algeria Qālūn *ʿan* Nāfiʿ also has some following. In Egypt, the reading of Warsh *ʿan* Nāfiʿ was equally well spread until about the tenth/sixteenth century, but the reading of Abū ʿAmr was also not unknown. The commentary known as *al-Jalālayn,* for instance, follows this reading. The reading of Abū ʿAmr is said to have been dominant in the Ḥijāz, Syria and the Yemen from the fifth/eleventh century, when it superseded Ibn ʿĀmir's. This latter nevertheless is reported to be in use in some parts of the Yemen. Nowadays, the reading of al-Dūrī *ʿan* Abī ʿAmr appears still to be used in parts of west Africa, the Sudan, Somalia and Ḥaḍra-

mawt. Some (as yet unpublished) leaves of a qur'ānic manuscript that were found during emergency excavations in the town of al-Qaṣr in the Dakhla oasis in the western desert of Egypt show what is an interesting, and apparently eclectic, reading (for material from this excavation, see Figs. III and IV of SHEETS). For, in a number of cases, this manuscript — which generally follows Abū ʿAmr — adopts a Meccan reading concerning the pronunciation of the *hamza* (pace Ibn Kathīr and Ibn Muḥayṣin). This *muṣḥaf* probably was in use before or in the nineteenth century C.E.

The great unifying change came in the tenth/sixteenth century, as the Ottoman empire adopted the Ḥafṣ *ʿan* ʿĀṣim reading. In the course of time this reading became and remained by far the most widespread. Only on the fringes of the Ottoman empire or outside of it, as in northwest Africa, did other readings remain in use. The printing of the Egyptian government edition of the Qur'ān, which appeared in 1342/1923 and which followed the Ḥafṣ *ʿan* ʿĀṣim reading, although with a *rasm* with far fewer *alif*s, immensely advanced the spread of this reading, albeit after the fall of the Ottoman empire (see PRINTING OF THE QUR'ĀN). Apart from this reading, only the Nāfiʿ reading in both *riwāya*s seems to be available in printed form.

Registration of the readings

In modern times it became possible to register the readings on gramophone records (see MEDIA AND THE QUR'ĀN). The earliest recordings appear to date from the 1920s. The first complete recording of the whole Qur'ān in the *murattal* style according to both the Ḥafṣ *ʿan* ʿĀṣim and the Warsh *ʿan* Nāfiʿ was done in the 1960s by the Egyptian *shaykh al-maqāriʾ* Maḥmūd Khalīl al-Ḥuṣarī (d. 1980). Since then, numerous recitations of the Qur'ān have become available, especially on audiocassettes, CDs and websites. The vast majority of these recordings follow the reading of Ḥafṣ *ʿan* ʿĀṣim, but recitations according to the readings of Warsh *ʿan* Nāfiʿ, Qālūn *ʿan* Nāfiʿ and al-Sūsī *ʿan* Abī ʿAmr and al-Dūrī *ʿan* Abī ʿAmr also exist. Recitations are broadcast not only by radio stations (like the Egyptian *Idhāʿat al-Qurʾān al-karīm*), but also by several sites on the Internet (see COMPUTERS AND THE QUR'ĀN). With this modern development the diversity of what is essentially an oral tradition is being revived.

Before modern times the differences among the readings were, of course, transmitted orally, but there were also specialized books that described them. At an early stage, graphical signs were devised which were added to the *rasm* of manuscripts of the Qur'ān in order to establish the correct pronunciation. First, a system of little dashes was introduced to differentiate between characters with similar forms. Later, these dashes were changed to dots (see ARABIC SCRIPT). Two slightly different systems evolved. What is now considered the western system, which was and is still used in the Iberian peninsula and north Africa, differentiates between the letters *fāʾ* and *qāf,* by the placement of one dot under the former and one dot above the latter. The eastern system uses one dot above the *fāʾ* and two dots above the *qāf*. Nearly the same system is already in place in the inscriptions of the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem, with the exception that there the *fāʾ* and *qāf* are distinguished by one dash above the first and one dash under the latter (see EPIGRAPHY AND THE QUR'ĀN; ART AND ARCHITECTURE AND THE QUR'ĀN). Interestingly, the same divergence is found in some early Qur'ān manuscripts, e.g. an early Ḥijāzī *muṣḥaf* in the Austrian National Library in Vienna (cod. mixt. 917), an early, probably Yemeni one (Ṣanʿāʾ, Dār al-Makhṭūṭāt, inv. no. 01-29.2), and an

early Ḥijāzī *muṣḥaf* in St. Petersburg (inv. no. E-20). In some instances in this last mentioned example, however, the double dots above the *qāf* were added (see also CALLIGRAPHY; ORNAMENTATION AND ILLUMINATION).

Probably at a later stage, colored, usually red, dots were added in order to distinguish vowels and the *hamza,* or glottal stop. Sometimes the *hamza* is also represented by a dot of a different color, usually green. It is not known when this system was devised, but it may be noted that it is already used in what is claimed to be a very early *muṣḥaf* among the Qurʾān manuscripts that were found in the Great Mosque of Ṣanʿāʾ (Ṣanʿāʾ, Dār al-Makhṭūṭāt, inv. no. 20-33.1). As with other early manuscripts of the Qurʾān, it is possible that these colored dots were added later, but in the time of Ibn Abī Dāwūd al-Sijistānī (d. 316/929) this was apparently common practice. He devoted a chapter to it in his *Kitāb al-Maṣāḥif* (Jeffery, *Materials,* 144-7 of the Arabic text). Some early manuscripts of the Qurʾān, now housed mainly in the Bodleian Library, mark alternative readings, from the "seven" or the "ten" and also *shādhdh* readings, by dots of a different color (Dutton, Red dots). The problem with early qurʾānic manuscripts is that no consensus about their dating exists. Most of these are assigned to the third/ninth and fourth/tenth centuries, although some are probably earlier.

Apart from signs for vowels, *alif*s were also added, usually in red, to make up for an orthography which did not denote a long */a/*. In the course of time more signs came into existence to denote further niceties of recitation, like signs for nasalization and signs to indicate where a *waqf,* or pause, must, could or must not be inserted. In imitation of the Egyptian government edition of the Qurʾān, modern printed editions of the Qurʾān usually include a list that explains the meaning of these signs. Some remnants of older systems have survived in the western tradition where *hamza*s are written above, below or in the middle of an *alif* to denote whether it is to be pronounced with an */a/,* an */i/* or a */u/,* respectively. An interesting new development is an edition of the Qurʾān (Damascus 1414/1993) according to the reading of Ḥafṣ *ʿan* ʿĀṣim in which different colors are used to denote the varying lengths of syllables; gray is used for letters that should not be pronounced.

The knowledge of the readings is nowadays greatly advanced by the publication of Qurʾān editions that give in the margins the differences between the accepted readings according to the system of the "ten" or the "fourteen."

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Rebellion

Opposition to authority. Whether the Qurʾān has anything to say on the subject of rebellion and political violence (q.v.; see also POLITICS AND THE QURʾĀN) is not an issue that can easily be resolved by reference to the text of the Qurʾān alone. Although the Qurʾān does not seem to address the issue explicitly, classical Muslim jurists (see LAW AND THE QURʾĀN) argued that particular verses in the Qurʾān were intended to guide legal determinations regarding rebellion, or what is known as the problem of *al-khurūj ʿalā l-ḥākim,* "disobeying and rebelling against the ruler" (see DISOBEDIENCE; KINGS AND RULERS). Within the first centuries of Islam, the political and legal debate focused on three qurʾānic pronouncements, all three of

which do not appear to address directly the issue of rebellion. The first pronouncement commanded Muslims to obey God, the Prophet and those who are in charge of the Muslim community (Q 4:59; see OBEDIENCE; AUTHORITY). Not surprisingly, the Umayyad caliphs (see CALIPH) and later on the ʿAbbāsids, confronted by multiple rebellions, argued that this qurʾānic verse mandated strict obedience to rulers and forbade all forms of rebellion. In support of this position, a large number of traditions attributed to the Prophet were circulated in the first two centuries of Islam banning rebellion even against an unjust ruler (e.g. Shaybānī, *Sunna,* 29, 445, 491, 492-4; see OPPRESSION).

The second is an ambiguous qurʾānic pronouncement which strongly condemns people who fight God and his Prophet and spread corruption (q.v.) on the earth *(mufsidūn fī l-arḍ)* by destroying property (q.v.) and life (*wa-yasʿawna fī l-arḍi fasādan,* Q 5:33). The verse (known as *āyat al-ḥirāba*) sets out severe punishments, including banishment and death, for those who commit such a hideous deed (see FIGHTING; CHASTISEMENT AND PUNISHMENT). Various historical accounts report that this verse was revealed when a group from the tribe of ʿUrayna pretended to convert to Islam, only to turn around, steal the properties entrusted to them by Muslims and then torture to death a poor shepherd boy who was sent to instruct them in Islam (cf. Rāzī, *Tafsīr;* Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr;* Ibn al-Jawzī, *Zād;* Zamakhsharī, *Kashhāf;* Ṭabarsī, *Majmāʿ,* ad Q 5:33; see OCCASIONS OF REVELATION). But because of the verse's broad and strong condemnatory language and its mandate of severe punishments for those who cause corruption on earth, various state functionaries and rulers, commencing with the period of the Umayyads, and continuing even at times to the present age, have asserted that this verse was intended to apply to rebels. Accordingly, various rulers, especially in the first three centuries of Islam, contended that rebellion was strictly prohibited and that rebels are corrupters of the earth *(mufsidūn fī l-arḍ)* and therefore, ought to be treated according to the harsh penalties set out in the qurʾānic verse (e.g. Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh,* v, 141-2, 159, 202-37; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil,* iii, 336, 343-4, 455; Ibn al-Aʿtham, *Futūḥ,* iii, 114-52; Ibn al-Jawzī, *Muntazam,* vii, 211-12).

The third qurʾānic verse (Q 49:9; known as *āyat al-baghy*) was the one most central to the early Islamic debates on rebellion and it is also the one after which the law of rebels and rebellion *(aḥkām al-bughāt)* was named. This verse instructs Muslims to seek a peaceful solution to any dispute or conflict that occurs between them and further instructs that if one of the disputing parties refuses to accept a peaceful resolution, then such a party has become a transgressor and Muslims should fight against such a transgressor until he concedes to a peaceful resolution (see CONTRACTS AND ALLIANCES; BREAKINGS TRUSTS AND CONTRACTS). Interestingly enough, this is the qurʾānic commandment that the classical jurists argued is the most relevant to the issue of rebellion. Contrary to the claims of the Umayyads and early ʿAbbāsids, Muslim jurists argued that the qurʾānic verse regarding corruption of the earth was intended to apply to highway robbers and bandits (*quṭṭāʿ al-ṭuruq;* see THEFT), and not to rebels (Jaṣṣāṣ, *Aḥkām,* ii, 409-11, 413-4; Ibn Abī Zayd, *Nawādir,* xiv, 474). This was significant because, in effect, it meant that rulers cannot claim that the harsh treatment of rebels is mandated or sanctioned by the Qurʾān. According to the jurists, the Qurʾān mandated reconciliation and the reaching of peaceful resolutions for all inter-Muslim conflicts, including conflicts with rebels

(cf. e.g. Māwardī, *Kitāb al-Qitāl,* 70-3, 75).

Muslim jurists agreed that obedience to a ruler is mandatory unless such a ruler commands something unlawful (*al-ṭāʿa wājiba li-kulli ḥākim mā lam yaʾmur bi-maʿṣiya;* cf. Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan,* iv, 94; see LAWFUL AND UNLAWFUL; VIRTUES AND VICES, COMMANDING AND FORBIDDING). There was quite a bit of disagreement, however, as to what ought to happen if a ruler does command an unlawful act, with jurists venturing responses ranging from passive resistance to armed rebellion. In general, Muʿtazilī (see MUʿTAZILĪS), Shīʿī (see SHĪʿISM AND THE QURʾĀN) and a significant number of Sunnī jurists argued that armed rebellion against an unjust and illegitimate ruler is mandatory (Ibn Karrāma, *Risāla,* 97). After the fourth/tenth century, with the disintegration of the ʿAbbāsid caliphate and increasing incidents of political and social turmoil (*fitna,* pl. *fitan*), the Muʿtazilī, Shīʿī and the Sunnī Ashʿarī responses (see THEOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN) became increasingly pragmatic, and less idealistic, in nature and they also became substantially similar to one another. They argued that rebellion against an unjust ruler is justified only if there is a real possibility that such a ruler can be removed through rebellion and the rebellion will not result in more social turmoil and suffering than that experienced because of the injustice of the ruler. In effect, Muslim jurists advocated a type of balancing test according to which rebellion is justified only if the total good outweighs the total anticipated evil (e.g. Ibn ʿĀbidīn, *Radd,* vi, 415; Ibn Mufliḥ, *Furūʿ,* vi, 160; Juwaynī, *Ghiyāth,* 115). In all cases, however, most Sunnī and Shīʿī jurists maintained that it is unlawful to participate or actively to support an unjust ruler in carrying out his unlawful commands (e.g. Ibn Taymiyya, *Siyāsa,* 77; Ibn Fahd al-Ḥillī, *Muhadhdhab,* ii, 327).

Interestingly, the main focus of Sunnī and Shīʿī jurists writing after the fourth/tenth century was not on the justifiability or permissibility of rebellion but on the treatment that ought to be afforded rebels. Basing themselves on *āyat al-baghy* and the precedent of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib's (q.v.) conduct in fighting those who rebelled against him in the battles of the Camel and Ṣiffīn (see ṢIFFĪN, BATTLE OF), Muslim jurists developed an intricate field of law known as *aḥkām al-bughāt,* which is concerned with the lawfulness of rebellion and the treatment that should be afforded rebels. According to the provisions of *aḥkām al-bughāt,* special rules apply to rebels who fight while relying on a plausible interpretation *(taʾwīl muḥtamal)* or just cause *(dhikr mazlama)*. Muslims who rely on a plausible religious interpretation or a plausible just cause are designated as *bughāt* and are treated with a certain degree of benevolence. Conversely, Muslims who fight because of tribal reasons *(ʿaṣabiyya)* or out of mere greed are not considered *bughāt* and are not entitled to benevolent treatment. According to classical jurists, those who do not rely on a plausible interpretation or just cause are treated as bandits or highway robbers and are to be killed or executed, and in certain circumstances amputated or banished (cf. e.g. Ibn al-Muqriʾ, *Ikhlāṣ,* iv, 128; Ibn ʿĀbidīn, *Radd,* vii, 188; Nawawī, *Rawḍa,* vii, 364-5; see BOUNDARIES AND PRECEPTS). In other words, *āyat al-ḥirāba* only applies to either regular highway robbers or to rebels who lack a plausible interpretation or just cause and thus do not qualify as *bughāt*. If rebels do qualify, however, as *bughāt,* their fugitive and wounded may not be dispatched. Rebel prisoners may not be executed or enslaved and the children and women of the rebels may not be intentionally killed, imprisoned or enslaved. Imprisoned male rebels must be released once the fighting or the danger of continued fighting ends.

Furthermore, the property of the rebels may not be taken as spoils and any property taken must be returned after the cessation of fighting. Furthermore, means of mass destruction such as mangonels, flamethrowers or flooding may not be used unless absolutely necessary, and rebels may not be mutilated or tortured under any circumstance, nor may they be denied a proper Muslim burial (q.v.; see also DEATH AND THE DEAD). Additionally, rebels may not be punished or held liable for acts committed during the fighting. Most significantly, the *bughāt,* according to the majority of the schools, are not sinners or criminals (see SIN, MAJOR AND MINOR). Furthermore, according to Muslim jurists, the term *bughāt* does not connote censure or blame (*laysa bi-ism dhamm;* cf. e.g. Māwardī, *Kitāb al-Qitāl,* 164-5; Ibn Qudāma, *Mughnī,* x, 61). The notable exception to this determination were the Ḥanafī jurists, who held that the *bughāt* are sinners but agreed that they should not be treated as common criminals (e.g. Jaṣṣāṣ, *Aḥkām,* iii, 402-4).

The requirement of a *ta'wīl,* "interpretation or cause," which qualifies rebels to be treated as *bughāt,* is somewhat vague. In essence, it appears to mean that the rebels rely on a religious interpretation that, in the view of the jurists, is not heretical (see HERESY). As noted above, this is correlative to the alternative justification, i.e. a grievance from a perceived injustice (*dhikr mazlama;* see OPPRESSION; JUSTICE AND INJUSTICE). In principle, Muslim jurists were not willing to equate Muslims who fight or rebel because of "higher motives" or unselfish reasons to those who resort to violence out of the desire for prurient gain or out of blind allegiance to a tribe or family (q.v.; see also TRIBES AND CLANS; KINSHIP). Regardless of the nature of the *ta'wīl,* Muslim jurists held that in order for the *bughāt* to qualify for preferential treatment, they must have a degree of strength, or *shawka*. Strength, in this context, means that the *bughāt* must be of a certain number so that they are not easily overcome or defeated. Muslim jurists do not specify how many individuals are needed for *shawka* to exist, but simply state that one or two people is not sufficient. They justify this numerical requirement by arguing that since the *bughāt* are not held liable for life and property destroyed during the course of fighting, if the status of *bughāt* is given to individuals, regardless of the degree of support that they might enjoy, suffering will increase. As the jurists put it, without the requirement of *shawka,* anarchy and lawlessness will spread *(ḥattā la tafsad al-siyāsāt)*. They contended that without the requirement of *shawka,* every corrupt person will invent or fabricate a *ta'wīl* and claim to be a *bāghī* (singular of *bughāt;* cf. e.g. Ghazālī, *Wajīz,* 164; Ṭūsī, *Mabsūṭ,* vii, 264, 268). Hence, if a person resorts to force while relying on a plausible *ta'wīl* but does not have a *shawka,* he or she will be treated as a common criminal and will be held liable for any life or property destroyed.

Sunnī and Shī'ī jurists writing after the Mongol invasions in the seventh/thirteenth century started emphasizing an issue that perhaps is particularly pertinent to the modern age. A large number of jurists argued that certain methods of armed rebellion are so reprehensible and immoral that rebels who choose to utilize such methods are to be treated according to *āyat al-ḥirāba,* as corrupters of the earth, and not according to *āyat al-baghy,* as *bughāt*. These jurists argued that rebels who attack by stealth and indiscriminately slaughter innocent civilians (see MURDER; BLOODSHED) should not be afforded the status of *bughāt,* even if they adhere to a *ta'wīl* and enjoy a *shawka*. Rather, because of their indiscriminate and terror-inducing meth-

ods, such rebels ought to be treated as *muḥāribūn* under *āyat al-ḥirāba* and, therefore, may be held liable for their crimes and even executed. Despite their reliance on a religious interpretation or legitimate grievance, such *muḥāribūn* are committing a grievous sin that ought to be punished on this earth and that will be punished by God in the hereafter (e.g. Ibn al-Muqriʾ, *Ikhlāṣ,* iv, 128; Ibn ʿĀbidīn, *Radd,* vii, 188). Not surprisingly, several modern scholars have noted the similarity between what premodern jurists condemned as *muḥāribūn* and the actions of terrorists today. See also DISSENSION; APOSTASY; KHĀRIJĪS.

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Recitation of the Qurʾān

The vocal rendition of the Qurʾān. *Tilāwat al-Qurʾān* is to render the Arabic Qurʾān in voice. It is a branch of the sciences of the "readings" *(qirāʾāt)* of the Qurʾān (see READINGS OF THE QURʾĀN). In the Qurʾān, the term *tilāwa* (which appears in both nominal and verbal forms) often refers to the signs (q.v.) of God that are "rehearsed" therein, i.e. the narration of accounts of previous messengers and communities in sacred history (see NARRATIVES; MESSENGER; GENERATIONS; PUNISHMENT STORIES), as well as the actual act of the recitation of the Qurʾān itself. In general, when the word *tilāwa* refers to the practice of reading the Qurʾān aloud, it conveys a sense of "following" the qurʾānic message as it is rendered in human voice.

The practice of reciting the Qurʾān is performed according to a set of guidelines known as *tajwīd*. *Tajwīd,* although not a qurʾānic term, is the fundamental system of rules for the correct pronunciation of the Qurʾān as it was understood to have been revealed to the prophet Muḥammad (see REVELATION AND INSPIRATION). Recitation of the Qurʾān according to *tajwīd* has many names across the Muslim-majority and Muslim-minority worlds. Some of these terms are variants of the qurʾānic expression *tartīl,* which conveys a sense of "measuring" out the speech of the Qurʾān in a careful and deliberate manner.

Some recitation of the Qurʾān is always required of Muslims for the performance of one of the canonical acts of Islamic worship (q.v.), prayer (q.v.; *ṣalāt*); reading

the Qur'ān aloud is also a key observance of supererogatory Islamic piety. In Muslim traditions of learning and education, the oral/aural recitation of the memorized Qur'ān is the most authoritative mode of its transmission (see TEACHING AND PREACHING THE QUR'ĀN). In some contemporary societies, promoting engagement with the recited Qur'ān is the basis of popular Muslim revitalization movements (see ORALITY; TRADITIONAL DISCIPLINES OF QUR'ĀNIC STUDY).

Reference to recitation

The Qur'ān on its recitation

The word "Qur'ān" is often said to be a form of the root *q-r-'* meaning "to read, to recite." When understood in this sense, "Qur'ān" could be said to be as much an action as an object. Besides the actual word, the Qur'ān includes other names for itself that also emphasize the active components of engaging the Qur'ān in voice, such as *dhikr,* "reminder" (see MEMORY; REMEMBRANCE; NAMES OF THE QUR'ĀN). Characteristic of the self-referentiality of qur'ānic content, the Qur'ān also contains many descriptions of its own recitation. Because of the Qur'ān's unmatched authority as a guide to thought and action in Islamic systems, the Qur'ān's own descriptions of the recited Qur'ān are also directives for believers.

The Qur'ān conveys instructions about its proper recitation in general terms, although not in specific or technical ones. The verses of the Qur'ān that are said to have been among the very first to have been revealed to the Prophet, those that open Q 96, are interpreted as a command to voice the Qur'ān: "Recite! In the name of your lord (q.v.) who created, created humanity from a clot" (see CREATION). The Qur'ān provides some instruction about how to perform its own recitation, in the form of *tartīl,* as in Q 73:4: "Recite/read the Qur'ān with *tartīl*" *(wa-rattili l-Qur'ān tartīlan)*. The verbal form *tilāwa* appears in Q 25:32, where it refers to the reading of the Qur'ān as an act of chanting distinctly. There is also qur'ānic instruction on reading the Qur'ān, e.g. Q 75:16-8: "Do not move your tongue concerning it in order to make haste with it; it is for us to collect it and to read it *(qur'ānahu);* when we recite it *(qara'nāhu),* follow then its recitation *(qur'ānahu)*." Believers are also told in the Qur'ān to "remember" (i.e. *udhkur*), "preserve," (i.e. *tahfīẓ*) and "read [aloud]" (i.e. *qur'ān; tartīl; tilāwa*) when reciting. The ideal reading of the Qur'ān is described as occupying the full concentration of the reciter; this activity is said to be one of which God, who is omniscient, is aware (Q 10:61). The Qur'ān also recommends its reading at night as an act of supererogatory piety (q.v.; Q 3:113-4; see VIGILS).

The Qur'ān contains many descriptions of its effects on listeners even as it is being recited; these, naturally, also function prescriptively in a qur'ānic context (see RITUAL AND THE QUR'ĀN). The Qur'ān provides numerous depictions of embodied, emotive responses to itself when it describes the normative response among believers to hearing its message recited to them. For instance, the recitation of the Qur'ān causes the senses of the faithful to react with "shivering" skin, "trembling" heart (q.v.), and weeping (q.v.; e.g. Q 19:58 and 39:23). Descriptions of such embodied responses to the recited Qur'ān's message are often immediately followed with an affirmation of a corresponding change in the listeners' moral state, such as the following: "When it is recited to them, they fall down upon their faces, prostrating (see BOWING AND PROSTRATION), and say: 'Glory be to our lord (see GLORIFICATION OF GOD; LAUDATION)! Our lord's promise is fulfilled.' And they fall down upon their

faces, weeping; and it increases them in humility" (Q 17:107-9); and, "And when they hear what has been sent down to the messenger, you see their eyes overflow with tears because of what they have recognized of truth (q.v.). They shout: 'Our lord! We believe'; so you will write us down among the witnesses [to the truth]" (Q 5:83; see WITNESSING AND TESTIFYING).

Traditions on recitation

Throughout the formative history of the development of the sciences of qur'ānic "readings" *(qirā'āt)* and *tajwīd* up to the present day, Muslims have based the theory and practice of the recited Qur'ān upon the most authoritative of sources: first, the Qur'ān and accounts relating the practice of the prophet Muḥammad (ḥadīth; see ḤADĪTH AND THE QUR'ĀN); and, second, accounts about the Companions of the Prophet (q.v.) and those who followed them. Within this material, it is ḥadīth reports that convey the ideal intensity of qur'ānic engagement through the ethico-legal injunction to follow the model of the Prophet (*sunna* [q.v.]; see also LAW AND THE QUR'ĀN; ETHICS AND THE QUR'ĀN).

Ḥadīth collections include many separate accounts indicating that Muḥammad valued beautiful voices among readers of the Qur'ān, such as the following reports of statements ascribed to the Prophet as collected by al-Bukhārī (d. 256/870) and others: "He is not one of us who does not sing *(yataghannā)* the Qur'ān," and, "God has not heard anything more pleasing than listening to a prophet reciting the Qur'ān in a sweet, loud voice." Also transmitted in al-Bukhārī and other collections, on the authority of Abū Mūsā l-Ash'arī, there is the report that the Prophet said, "O Abū Mūsā! You have been given one of the musical instruments [voice] of the family of David (q.v.)!" Compilers of traditions also relate accounts about the Prophet's reaction to hearing the Qur'ān, such as his shedding tears.

Ḥadīth accounts also preserve information about the prophet Muḥammad's own recitation of the Qur'ān. Ḥadīth material includes detailed information about particular sūras (q.v.) recited by Muḥammad; they report, for example, which sūras the Prophet preferred to recite at particular times of day (see DAY, TIMES OF), as well as which parts of the Qur'ān the Prophet would repeat in his recitation (related to this is the abundant ḥadīth material on the merits of the recitation of particular sūras of the Qur'ān). Ḥadīth accounts provide some detail about the Prophet's comportment in recitation, such as the following report in al-Bukhārī: "'Ā'isha (see 'Ā'ISHA BINT ABĪ BAKR) narrated: 'Whenever the Prophet went to bed every night, he used to cup his hands together and blow over them after reciting Sūrat al-Ikhlāṣ (Q 112, "Unity"; also termed al-Tawḥīd), Sūrat al-Falaq (Q 113, "The Dawn") and Sūrat al-Nās (Q 114, "People"), and then rub his hands over whatever parts of his body he was able to rub, starting with his head, face and front of his body. He used to do that three times.'" (*Ṣaḥīḥ,* viii, 110, no. 4372). The Prophet also enjoyed listening to the recitation of others, and there are many reports about weeping when hearing the Qur'ān recited (e.g. Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* viii, 122-3, nos. 4411-3), based on his practice.

In general, accepted ḥadīth accounts and other authoritative material from the earliest period of Islam emphasize the occasions and merits of recitation rather than practical technique. Later authorities continued the precedent of collecting reports about the recitation practice of the prophet Muḥammad, also compiling further information about the recitation habits of other pious people. This material on the proper comportment *(adab)* of

recitation documents the recitation practices of famous religious figures, such as the first four caliphs in Sunnī tradition (see CALIPH). These reports provide information on matters such as the desirability of completing the recitation of the entire Qurʾān at nightfall, daybreak, and just before prayer times (see DAWN; EVENING); they also treat common challenges that reciters face, like confusing pauses and starts in sectioning. Issues that recur in this recitation literature include, for example, questions of how rapidly to recite and what is the proper portion of the book to complete in a given amount of time. One report transmitted by Abū Dāwūd (d. 275/889) and al-Tirmidhī (d. 279/892), for example, states, "Whoever recites the Qurʾān in less than three days does not understand it" (Nawawī, *Tibyān,* 103). Al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111) sums up many such reports that were in circulation about the reading of the Qurʾān, from canonical ḥadīth collections and elsewhere, in his *Iḥyāʾ ʿulūm al-dīn* (Book 8).

Much of the authoritative material on the *adab* (comportment) of recitation addresses the intents behind recitation, such as that of seeking a worldly reward or payment for teaching or performance (see RECITERS OF THE QURʾĀN). It also includes strong prohibitions against reciting the Qurʾān ostentatiously or for show, a matter addressed in accepted ḥadīth traditions. For example, al-Bukhārī reports (*Ṣaḥīḥ,* viii, 123, no. 4415): "Abū Saʿīd al-Khudrī narrated: I heard God's messenger saying: 'There will appear some among you whose prayers will make you look down on yours, and whose fasting will make you look down on yours, and whose (good) deeds will make you look down on yours; but they will recite the Qurʾān and it will not exceed their throats.'" Another well-known report in most collections compares the piety of Qurʾān readers with the sweet and bitter smells and tastes of different plants and fruits. In this literature, the danger of such hypocrisy is balanced by the instruction to focus on the voicing of the speech (q.v.) of God (see also WORD OF GOD). There is a ḥadīth, for example, that the Prophet said: "Read the Qurʾān as long as your hearts are in harmony with it. When they are not in harmony, get up and stop reading it" (Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* viii, 124, no. 4417; also reported in Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ*).

Within the material known as *Adab tilawāt al-Qurʾān,* "Comportment of reciting the Qurʾān," and *Faḍāʾil al-Qurʾān,* "Excellences of the Qurʾān," there is strong emphasis on the idea that the recitation of the Qurʾān brings both individual and collective rewards. This is, for example, expressed in the following statement of Abū Hurayra (d. ca. 58/678), cited in sources such as al-Ghazālī's *Iḥyāʾ ʿulūm al-dīn* (Book 8): "Surely the house in which the Qurʾān is recited provides easy circumstances for its people, its good increases, angels come to it [in order to listen to the Qurʾān] and satans leave it. The house in which the Book of God is not recited provides difficult circumstances for its people, its good decreases, angels leave it, and satans come to it" (Ghazālī, *Recitation,* 25; there are many versions of this report). In addition to describing the immediate peace and tranquility (*sakīna;* see SHEKHINAH) that descends when the Qurʾān is read by the pious in this world, the results of the act of recitation, including knowing the Qurʾān by heart and not forgetting it, as well as "learning and teaching" the Qurʾān, are emphasized many times in numerous accounts found in the major ḥadīth collections. Such consequences of piety and committed action are not only described in terms of this world, but also with respect to the accounting of the day of judgment

and future existence in the world to come (see LAST JUDGMENT; REWARD AND PUNISHMENT).

In an eschatological mode (see ESCHATOLOGY) of devotional piety, it is said that the Qurʾān itself will testify to the pious practice of the reader in his or her lifetime. In many ḥadīth and other pious literature such as al-Ghazālī's *Iḥyāʾ ʿulūm al-dīn* (Book 8), rewards for reciting the Qurʾān that will be credited on the day of judgment are calculated sūra by sūra and even *āya* by *āya,* based on reports in collections such as Abū Dāwūd, Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, Muslim, al-Nasāʿī and al-Tirmidhī (see Wensinck, *Handbook,* 131). Not only sūra by sūra, or *āya* by *āya,* but there are even claims that rewards may be achieved letter by letter (see ARABIC SCRIPT; NUMEROLOGY; MAGIC; POPULAR AND TALISMANIC USES OF THE QURʾĀN), such as the report transmitted by al-Tirmidhī: "For every letter that you read you will get tenfold reward," and the report that Ibn Masʿūd (d. 32/652-3) said: "[The Prophet] said 'Read the Qurʾān for you will be rewarded at the rate of [the recompense of] ten good deeds (q.v.) for reading every letter of the Qurʾān. Take notice, I do not say that *alif lām mīm* [a combination of three letters that opens Q 2; see MYSTERIOUS LETTERS] constitute one letter. Rather, I should say that *alif* is one letter, *lām* is another, and *mīm* is [still] another'" (Ghazālī, *Recitation,* 24).

The development of early traditions of ascetic piety lent heightened emphasis to such material within Islamic tradition (see ASCETICISM). Among the heirs to this early qurʾānic tradition of piety, Ṣūfīs especially developed the soteriological and interiorized qurʾānic traditions (see POLYSEMY; ṢŪFISM AND THE QURʾĀN). Statements of well-known Ṣūfīs represent the Qurʾān as having a palpable presence for practitioners in their dreams as well as in waking states (see DREAMS AND SLEEP). This presence is depicted as an ongoing intimacy, at times framed in terms of the key concept of "friendship" (*wilāya;* see FRIENDS AND FRIENDSHIP; CLIENTS AND CLIENTAGE). This is indicated by personal accounts, as well as in prophetic narrations, such as: "Those who are concerned with the Qurʾān *(ahl al-Qurʾān)* are friends of God *(awliyāʾ Allāh)* and are special to him," which al-Ghazālī, for example, relates on the authority of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal (d. 241/845). Ideally, engaging the Qurʾān in practice should conform to the reciter's close and immediate experience of the reading in his or her "heart." This ideal is central to the tradition of the recitation of the Qurʾān in pietistic circles.

Tajwīd *and systems of recitation*

History and development of qirāʾāt

Early readers and transmitters of the Qurʾān were known for their knowledge as well as their piety (see SCHOLAR; KNOWLEDGE AND LEARNING). There are reports that the prophet Muḥammad dispatched "readers" *(qurrāʾ)* in order to teach the Qurʾān to others. Such figures held an important position throughout the earliest period of Islam and some readers were also known for their religiously-inspired political leanings (see POLITICS AND THE QURʾĀN). Those in the category of readers are listed in biographical dictionaries. According to some Muslim historical narratives, the deaths of many of Muḥammad's Companions in the wars of "apostasy" (q.v.), along with the spread of Islam to non-Arab areas, precipitated the standardization of the text of the Qurʾān (see COLLECTION OF THE QURʾĀN; CODICES OF THE QURʾĀN; ORTHOGRAPHY), as well as the beginning of the development of the

qurʾānic sciences (see GRAMMAR AND THE QURʾĀN; EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL). As Frederick Denny (Exegesis) has shown, the qurʾānic sciences of grammar, exegesis and recitation (including *qirāʾa,* the study of variant readings or vocalizations of the standard text) developed simultaneously and all in response to similar circumstances and conditions. Like the standardization of the ʿUthmānic text, the technical guidelines for *tilāwa* and readings of the Qurʾān were systematized as a reaction to the potential variability of Muslim practices of recitation.

In technical and restricted usage, the term *qirāʾāt* usually denotes the accepted variant readings of the Qurʾān. These readings do not relate to pitch variation or to alternate texts. Rather, they are minor differences in the vocalization of the same ʿUthmānic text, and all deploy the same system of guidelines for recitation, *tajwīd*. In a straightforward example of "variation" among the readings, a word in the fourth verse from the opening chapter, Sūrat al-Fātiḥa (Q 1:4), may be rendered either as *māliki* or *maliki* but both convey the same sense, which is God's dominion over the day of judgment. In another example, Q 5:6, which has generated differences of legal opinion on the ritual law for ablution (see CLEANLINESS AND ABLUTION; RITUAL PURITY), may carry two meanings depending on its vocalization. The vocalization and the nuances in the meaning depend on the decision to read a verb with or without a related preposition. If the phrase "your legs" *(arjulakum)* is read in the accusative, as according to Nāfiʿ and Ḥafṣ, it is understood as the object of the verbal imperative *"amsaḥū"* (yielding the meaning "wash your legs"). If it is read in the genitive *(arjulikum),* as according to Ibn Kathīr and Abū ʿAmr, "your legs" are like the preceding *"ruʾūsikum"* ("your heads"), the object of the verb *(amsaḥū)* with the preposition *bi-* and the phrase is glossed as "wipe your legs." Some scholars, including those in the European tradition of textual analysis (see TEXTUAL CRITICISM OF THE QURʾĀN), have considered the technical differences among the standard readings to be an important source of information about qurʾānic language and its historical parameters (see ARABIC LANGUAGE; DIALECTS).

There are seven accepted readings in the system of *qirāʾāt*. The number seven is based on a well known ḥadīth of several variants, in which the Prophet is reported to have said: "This Qurʾān has been revealed to be recited in seven different modes *(aḥruf),* so recite of it whichever is easiest for you" (but cf. Melchert, Ibn Mujāhid). Some versions of this report narrate that the occasion of the revelation of the verse was a dispute over the proper reading of Q 25 (see OCCASIONS OF REVELATION). Another report, preserved by al-Bukhārī, relates that the Prophet stated that the angel Gabriel (q.v.) would recite the Qurʾān in different ways for him. These reports have been open to a variety of interpretations in Islamic tradition, including the ideas that the *aḥruf* may refer to differing dialects among the Arabs at the time of the revelation of the Qurʾān, or to the technical rules of *tajwīd.* The dominant interpretation, however, is that the *aḥruf* refer to what became known as the "seven readings" in tradition. Various reasons are given for the diversity of these accepted readings. Among them is the claim that they make the reception of the Qurʾān easier for those who are learning it. Another justification for their existence is that they enhance the multifaceted layers of qurʾānic meanings, including the proscriptive or legal (for elaboration of this

last reason, see Burton, *Collection;* see LAWFUL AND UNLAWFUL; BOUNDARIES AND PRECEPTS; FORBIDDEN).

Abū Bakr b. Mujāhid (d. 324/936) is credited with the establishment of the accepted range of variations in the readings of the text, although additional readings are recorded and historically the content of actual enumerated lists has varied. The seven readings that were standardized in Ibn Mujāhid's time as the accepted *qirā'āt* represented prominent schools of recitation in five centers of Muslim learning in the early Islamic period: Mecca, Medina, Damascus, Baṣra, and Kūfa. Ibn Mujāhid's selection includes the following seven readers: Ibn Kathīr (Mecca, d. 120/738), Nāfiʿ (Medina, d. 169/785), Ibn ʿĀmir (Damascus, d. 118/736), Abū ʿAmr (Baṣra, d. 154/770), ʿĀṣim (Kūfa, d. 127/745), Ḥamza (Kūfa, d. 156/773), and al-Kisā'ī (Kūfa, d. 189/804). This selection was justified by taking independent lines of transmission from scholars who were spread over a large geographic area. There was some controversy over the authority of this selection during Ibn Mujāhid's lifetime. It is also clear that there was continued development in the enumeration of "variant readings" after the time of Ibn Mujāhid since the later, influential scholar Ibn al-Jazarī (d. 833/1429) describes ten readings, while other scholars have cited fourteen. Despite this variation, Ibn Mujāhid's system of seven readings has continued to prevail and is considered standard. Today, the most popular readings (of those listed above) are those transmitted by Ḥafṣ (d. 180/796) on the authority of ʿĀṣim and Warsh (d. 197/812) on the authority of Nāfiʿ.

The system of tajwīd

Technical components of *tilāwa* convey theory and practice for the proper recitation of the Qur'ān. While not easily translated, there are two key terms for the applied aspects of the recited Qur'ān: *tartīl* and *tajwīd.* The terms are closely related; for example, the Qur'ān's instruction, "Recite the Qur'ān with *tartīl*" (Q 73:4) has been taken to mean, "Recite the Qur'ān according to the rules of *tajwīd*." The term *tajwīd* refers to a rigorous system of rules that establish the proper vocalization of the Qur'ān, thereby determining its actual rhythm and sound (although not pitch variation, which is always improvised). The root of the word *tajwīd (j-w-d)* connotes "to be correct" and "to improve." For the reciter, the system of *tajwīd* includes instructions on the correct articulation of phonetic sounds, the assimilation of juxtaposed vowels or consonants, and the proper rhythmic duration of vowel sounds. *Tajwīd* also determines the parameters for non-melodic improvisational flexibility. These include, for example, pauses and starts in reading, which allow the reciter to stress specific words, phrases, or sections. *Tajwīd* structures the unique sound of qur'ānic recitation and thereby distinguishes it from ordinary Arabic speech and singing. Overall, *tajwīd* shapes the rhythm and cadences of Qur'ān recitation and gives it a musical quality, although Muslims do not consider the recited Qur'ān to be the equivalent of a human product such as music.

Tajwīd is a classic qur'ānic science, part of the science of readings. It is treated in detail in writings such as al-Suyūṭī's (d. 911/1505) *Itqān fī ʿulūm al-Qur'ān. Tajwīd* is often defined in the sources by some variant of the phrase, "giving each sound its correct weight and measure." Formalization of the rules of *tajwīd* may be seen as a solution to the historical problem of standardizing style and sound in recitation with respect to the great linguistic and

geographical diversity of the Islamic world. The rules of *tajwīd* expressly provide clear guidelines, assuring a uniformity and consistency of pronunciation of the divine speech. Being a native speaker of Arabic of any register or dialect does not guarantee proficiency in the practice of *tajwīd*. Even if the pronunciation renders the word intelligible and grammatically correct, the rules of *tajwīd* stipulate further scrupulous attention to the technicalities of sound production. *Tajwīd* is learned implicitly when children repeat what they hear but is also taught as a formal course of study. For the four-fifths of today's Muslims who are not native speakers of Arabic, *tajwīd* and the Arabic Qurʾān are learned together. Handbooks for elementary *tajwīd* instruction open by introducing students to the points of articulation *(makhārij al-ṣawt),* i.e. the proper methods for the articulation of the letters of the Arabic alphabet (see Fig. 1 for one such diagram).

Although, as mentioned above, the term *tajwīd* does not appear in the Qurʾān, the practice of recitation according to such guidelines is understood to have been a central dimension of Islamic piety since the time of the Prophet. And, according to Muslim tradition, the prophet Muḥammad learned the recitation of the Qurʾān, as well as the rules for its vocalization, directly from the angel Gabriel, who delivered it from the divine source (see HEAVENLY BOOK; PRESERVED TABLET). Recitation manuals consolidated what had certainly been long-accepted techniques and definitions, and systematic treatises on *tajwīd,* such as those of Ibn Mujāhid and al-Dānī (d. 444/1052), appeared in the fourth/eleventh century and were circulated widely after that time. In later centuries, *tajwīd* was fully developed and qualified as both a term and a practice, particularly with the work of Ibn al-Jazarī. Most manuals and discussions after the time of Ibn al-Jazarī follow his systematization. The formal system of *tajwīd* has two branches. These are, first, the correct vocalization of letters, especially the letter *nūn,* and, second, the proper relative duration of vowels. In addition, the field covers the mandatory and recommended points in the text where the reciter may pause and those where the recitation must continue without interruption. The manuals of *tajwīd* also discuss matters which deal with the proper etiquette or comportment surrounding the Qurʾān *(adab al-Qurʾān),* such as ritual ablutions and respectful attention during recitation sessions.

In learning to read the Qurʾān aloud the student first studies the *makhārij,* or "points of articulation" of letters. These are identified in classical terminology in relation to the parts of the mouth in which they originate, such as *lisānī,* "tongue" letters (i.e. *qāf, kāf, jīm, shīn, yāʾ, lām, nūn, rāʾ, fāʾ*) and *shafawī,* "lip" letters *(bāʾ, mīm, wāw),* as opposed to *ḥalq,* "throat," or guttural letters (*ʿayn, ḥāʾ, ghayn, khāʾ* and the *hamza,* the glottal stop), which are articulated back in the throat. The systemization of phonemes in *tajwīd* contains far more information about the Arabic letters than is included in this basic typology, however. For example, the alphabet is also grouped according to classes of "attributes" *(ṣifāt),* which determine degrees of sound assimilation. These include qualities such as elevation *(istiʿlāʾ),* depression *(istisfāl),* softness *(tarqīq)* and heaviness *(tafkhīm)*. These attributes may be classified as necessary or conditional, depending on whether they are influenced by a given vowel *(ḥaraka)* combination. An individual letter has at least five essential *(lāzim)* or basic *(aṣlī)* attributes, each of which is expressed as one of a pair of opposites (such as *shadīda,* "strong," or *rikhwa,* "soft"). In addition, there are also ten (sometimes said to be seven) secondary but essential attributes which are not arranged

in pairs of opposites, and a letter may have one or two of these ten attributes (such as the *ṣāfira,* sibilant or "whistling" letters, which are *ṣād, sīn,* and *zā';* there is also another important classification known as *qalqala* letters).

A first principle of *tajwīd* is that consonants with the same point of articulation assimilate or blend together. All letters are classified in terms of a basic type of this process; the alphabet contains fourteen *shamsī,* "solar, or sun" letters and fourteen remaining *qamarī,* "moon" letters. Sun-letters are those that blend. For example, as in spoken Arabic, *al-rasūl,* "the Prophet," is pronounced as *ar-rasūl* because *rā'* is a blending sun-letter. In *tajwīd,* other kinds of consonantal assimilations (and partial assimilations), which are not heard in ordinary spoken Arabic, also occur.

Unique to qur'ānic pronunciation are rules for particular letters, such as *mīm* and especially *nūn*. There are special conventions for nasalized pronunciation *(ghunna)* of the letters *mīm* and *nūn* when they are doubled in a word or if their doubling happens between two words. There is also a class of rules related to changes that these letters undergo based on adjacent consonants. For example *mīm* and *nūn* do not get clear pronunciation *(izhār)* when they have been modified in the following ways: full assimilation (*idghām,* when they are voiced as the adjacent consonant), suppressed pronunciation (*ikhfā',* when the sound is influenced by letters with similar points of articulation), and change or conversion (*qalb* or *iqlāb,* which applies to *nūn* only when it is pronounced as a *mīm*). As an example of the latter case, *anbiyā'*, "prophets," is pronounced as *ambiyā'* in the Qur'ān, since according to the rule of *iqlāb* the *nūn* is changed to a *mīm* by the following *bā*. (*Iqlāb* is marked in the text with a *mīm* symbol and some other types of assimilations are also marked; see MANUSCRIPTS OF THE QUR'ĀN; ORNAMENTATION AND ILLUMINATION.)

Consonantal assimilation (*idghām,* occurring with the letter *nūn*), the first case given above, receives a great deal of attention from the beginning student, in part because it appears so frequently. (Indefinite case endings on nouns usually carry a terminal *nūn* sound, *tanwīn,* which is not written as an explicit letter in the text.) An example of this type of assimilation is the pronunciation of *an-lā,* "that no," which is voiced as *al-lā,* as in the testimony of faith — the *shahāda,* the first pillar of Islam (see WITNESS TO FAITH; FAITH) — and heard, with the application of *tajwīd,* in the *ādhān,* the "call to prayer": *ashhadu an lā* — pronounced *al-lā* — *ilāha illā āllāh,* "I testify that there is no god except God." In another example from the *shahāda,* the final nasal *nūn* of the indefinite accusative case ending on the name of the Prophet is also assimilated: *wa-anna Muḥammadan rasūl* — pronounced *Muḥammadarrasūl* — *-ullāh,* "and that Muḥammad is the messenger of God." In addition, the *nūn* may assimilate in ways that are not heard in spoken Arabic and vowels may adapt according to the preceding sounds (such as the long */ā/* in the name of God, *Allāh*).

A second major area of elementary *tajwīd* study pertains to the articulation of vowels. There are three vowel sounds in Arabic: */a/, /i/,* and */u/* in long and short forms. Adjacent consonants affect not only their sound shape (as occurs in standard spoken Arabic) but, in Qur'ān recitation, also their duration. In the system of *tajwīd,* vowels are classified according to their duration or elongation, which is called *madd*. *Madd* is measured in terms of a basic unit or weight — called *madd aṣlī* or *madd far'ī* — of one short vowel (a long vowel counts as two basic units, "movements," or beats, called *ḥarakāt*). The relative weight of a vowel

may be extended through the rules of *madd* or shortened through *qaṣr*. For example, vowels before doubled consonants (two consonants together) are shortened, as in the following: *ashhadu an-lā illāha illā Allāh* — pronounced *"illallāh"* —, "I testify that there is no god except God." *Madd,* or elongation of vowels, occurs when a long vowel (*madda* letter) and a "condition of *madd,*" such as a glottal stop *(hamza)* appear together. For example, when a long vowel is followed by the glottal stop it is subsequently lengthened, usually by a degree of 3-1 or 2-1. An instance of this is the word *al-malā'ikatu,* "the angels," which is pronounced with an extended */ā/* counted with three beats of measure: *al-ma-la*^{1}*-a*^{2}*-a*^{3}*-i-ka-tu*. There are four kinds of extended *madd (madd far'ī)*. These are: *wājib* or *muttaṣil,* "compulsory or joint" *madd* (occurring within a single word); *jā'iz* or *munfaṣil,* "permissible or separating" *madd* (occurring between two adjacent words); *ṣila* or *talaffuzī,* "temporary" *madd;* and *lāzim,* "permanent or essential" *madd,* of which there are four additional sub-types. A further rule is that a long vowel before a certain rare class of modified doubled consonants is lengthened, such as in the word *ḍāllīn,* the last word of Sūrat al-Fātiḥa (Q 1). In this case, the */ā/* of *ḍāllīn,* "those who have gone astray," with *lām*s doubled from an original form *ḍālilīn,* "astray," is pronounced drawn out with five "original" or fundamental *(aṣlī)* weights of measure *(ḥarakāt): ḍa*^{1}*-a*^{2}*-a*^{3}*-a*^{4}*-a*^{5}*-ll-i*^{1}*-i*^{2}*-n*.

Another rule relating to vowel durations is pausal abbreviations occurring on words at the end of sectioned phrasings. These may occur at the marked ends of *āya*s but this is not always the case, as in *āya*s which are too long to recite in one breath. In pausal form, the final element is left unvoiced *(sākin)* whether it be a case of *tanwīn* (a nasalized ending on indefinite nouns, as in *Muḥammadan* above, which would be pronounced as *Muḥammada*), a declensional or conjugational vowel (*i'rāb,* which could also include final short vowels on pronoun suffixes), or a *tā' marbūṭa,* pronounced */t/* (as in *al-malā'ikatu,* which would be pronounced as *al-malā'ika*). Because pausal abbreviation may leave out grammatical cues to meaning, it is advised that after such abbreviation, the reciter resume by repeating the final word of the previous phrase (which, now being the first and not the last word to be voiced, would not be in pausal form). There are also rules that pertain to giving a dropped terminal vowel *(ḥaraka)* some indication by a subtle prolongation or by making the shape of the vowel with the lips but without voicing it.

A final class of rules in the system of *tajwīd* pertains to stops and starts in sectioning or phrasing *(al-waqf wa-l-ibtidā'),* which may only occur at the end of a complete word. Stops are classified according to the reasons for the stop: "forced" *(iḍṭirārī),* which is an unplanned stop, like coughing; "informative" *(ikhtibārī),* which would be a stop made in order to teach or to explain meaning; and "voluntary" *(ikhtiyārī),* such as taking a breath. Stops are classified in terms of their desirability and appropriateness with respect to the meaning at that particular place within the text: there are "perfect" stops *(al-waqf al-tāmm),* such as at the end of an *āya* when there is no connection in meaning to the one that follows; "sufficient" stops *(al-waqf al-kāfī),* which occur at the end of a verse in which the sense of meaning continues in the following verse; "good" stops *(al-waqf al-ḥasan),* which occur in the middle of an *āya* when a phrase is complete but when there is still a meaningful relation to the remainder of the verse; and, there are also bad or "ugly" stops *(al-waqf al-qabīḥ)*. An example of the last is Q 4:43, which is the place of an impermissible stop. This is because reciting only the beginning part of the *āya,* "Do not approach prayer," and stopping there without completing the phrase with

what follows ("when your mind is not clear"), would render the meaning nonsensical.

At certain points in the text of the Qur'ān, a range of permissible and impermissible stops are marked, according to the classification of their desirability. There are seven most general forms of stop, such as the *lāzim* stop (marked *mīm*), where a stop must be made or else the meaning would be distorted. There are also places, as in the example of Q 4:43 above, at which it is impermissible to stop (marked *lā,* meaning "no," i.e. no stop). In between these classifications there are at least five levels of preference, such as "permissible to continue, but stopping is better" (*jīm,* symbol for *jā'iz*), or "permissible to stop but it would be better to continue" (*ṣād,* symbol for *murakhkhaṣ*). Other passages are designated as "embracing," in which there is one meaning if a stop is made but another if reading is continuous and both are allowed. In some manuscripts of the Qur'ān, these are designated by the letters *mīm* and *ʿayn,* which stand for the term *muʿāniqa,* meaning that the phrase or the word may be understood to "embrace" either the passage that precedes or follows it. They are sometimes also marked by three dots. One example is in Q 2:2. In addition, some scholars have also added approximately eight more marks in common use, such as one that indicates that some authorities have said that there is to be a stop while others have not *(q-l-ā),* marks for weak preferences, and places in which it is permitted to pause but it is not permitted to take a breath (marked *w-q-f-h*). Finally, there is a further stop, called "waiting" *(intiẓārī),* which covers a switch between one of the seven standard *qirā'āt*.

Norms of qur'ānic recitation and preservation

Differing styles of recitation are usually identified by their relative rapidity, although terms for this vary across the Muslim-majority and Muslim-minority worlds. Usually, *ḥadr* is the expression for quick recitation, performed from memory or for the purpose of reading large portions of the text aloud; recitation of the Qur'ān in canonical worship *(ṣalāt)* tends to be fairly fast as well. *Tartīl (murattal)* is at a slower pace, used for study and practice (sometimes called *tadarrus*). In many places, the term *tajwīd* has a non-technical meaning of cantillated recitation. The term *mujawwad* refers to a slow recitation that deploys heightened technical artistry and melodic modulation.

Reciting the Qur'ān is dictated by norms of practice known as *adab*. These include respectful silence when listening, sitting facing the *qibla* (q.v.; the direction of prayer) if possible, observing norms of ritual purity, repeating verses (q.v.), and reciting the standard opening and closing formulae. These latter formula are, first, the opening statement, the *taʿawwudh: aʿūdhu bi-llāhi mina l-shayṭāni l-rajīm,* "I take refuge in God from the accursed Satan (see DEVIL)," which is always followed by the *basmala* (q.v.): *bi-smi llāhi l-raḥmāni l-raḥīm,* "In the name of God, the merciful, the compassionate," no matter where in the Qur'ān the reader begins (the *basmala* also opens every sūra except the ninth, Sūrat al-Tawba, "Repentance," with the contested case of its placement as the first *āya* of Sūrat al-Fātiḥa). Second, the reciter always closes a reading with the formula: *ṣadaqa allāhu l-ʿaẓīm,* "Thus almighty God has spoken truly." If the reciter is interrupted by a greeting *(salām)* when reading, he or she is to stop to return the greeting; he or she is also to stop when hearing the *adhān,* the call to prayer. While in some parts of the Muslim world there is concern over men listening to the voices of women reciting the Qur'ān, in other places, such as Indonesia, women reciters are very popular.

Reciters and listeners may observe *sajdat*

al-tilāwa, which is a prostration that, on the basis of a ḥadīth, is to be performed at fourteen or fifteen *āyāt* in the Qur'ān. These are *āyāt* that refer to created beings who bow before their creator (Q 7:206; 13:15; 16:49-50; 17:107; 19:58; 22:18; [22:27]; 25:60; 27:25-6; 32:15; 38:24-5; 41:38; 53:62; 84:20-1; 96:19). *Sajda* is performed by forming *niyya,* "intention," for the act, saying the *takbīr (allāhu akbar)* while facing the *qibla,* touching the ground while saying a formula to glorify God and then rising with another statement of the *takbīr*. After this, the reading continues.

Memorization of the Qur'ān, which is known as its "preservation" *(taḥfīẓ),* was encouraged from the earliest time of Islam. The wives of the Prophet (q.v.), for example, were among those known especially for the memorization and preservation of the Qur'ān. There are many ḥadīth reports that encourage Muslims to read and know the Qur'ān by heart. According to traditions of Islamic law, memorization is a recommended act of piety (see LAWFUL AND UNLAWFUL); it is classified as *farḍ kifāya,* which means an obligation always to be observed at least by some members of a community on behalf of the whole community. This renders Qur'ān memorizers *(ḥuffāẓ)* a special class of Qur'ān readers and they command a special respect within their communities. Traditionally, formal education begins with the memorization of the Qur'ān at an early age and then continues with other subjects; this practice is still observed in many Islamic societies. Morocco, for example, is especially well known for traditions of Qur'ān memorization. For educated Muslims who do not memorize the Qur'ān, it is still is a basic goal to have memorized the final, thirtieth part *(juz')* of the Qur'ān, as well as to have read the entire Qur'ān through with a teacher; the latter, known as *khatm al-Qur'ān,* is marked by life-cycle celebrations in some parts of the Muslim world.

There are life-long challenges that come with the responsibility of memorizing the Qur'ān. First, there is the requirement not to forget any part of the Qur'ān already memorized, which represents an ongoing task due to the uniquely nonlinear structure and style of Qur'ān (see FORM AND STRUCTURE OF THE QUR'ĀN; LANGUAGE AND STYLE OF THE QUR'ĀN), continually demanding rehearsal. Memorizers often cite a ḥadīth of several variants on this challenge, to the effect that the Prophet said that memorizing the Qur'ān is more difficult than trying to tie up a camel (q.v.) that is always trying to run away. Memorizers who have committed the entire Qur'ān to memory often repeat one-seventh of the Qur'ān each day of the week for continual rehearsal. In addition, handbooks circulate among students committing the text to memory for the first time, allowing them to study particularly difficult aspects of the Qur'ān, such as certain verses that closely resemble one another.

Memorizers and readers of the Qur'ān are said to be held to higher moral standards in this world and the next by virtue of "holding" the entire Qur'ān in memory. More specifically, literature on the norms of earning a livelihood by teaching or reading the recited Qur'ān addresses the problem of receiving remuneration for this practice. Ḥadīth reports on this point cited by the pious in the formative period underscore that the Qur'ān is to be cherished for its own sake and should not be deployed for worldly gain. As "preservers," those who carry the Qur'ān have a responsibility to contribute to the overall ethical order of society. Moral responsibility to the community is often illustrated in the classical literature through representations of the memorizer's or reciter's unending com-

mitment, portrayed as a practice continuing both night and day: Qur'ān reading by night and constructive moral action by day. For example, there are many variants of the ḥadīth which states, "The best of believers are those who arise at night," found in the collections of Abū Dāwūd and others. In addition to maintaining a direct relationship with the Qur'ān, accomplished readers have special responsibilities to the community that involve social interaction, as indicated in the well-known statement repeated by many transmitters, including al-Fuḍayl b. ʿIyāḍ (d. 187/803), a figure famous for his piety, stating, "A man bearing the Qur'ān is [in effect] bearing the standard of Islam," and thus should be scrupulous in behavior in every situation.

Practice, piety and the recited Qur'ān

Doctrine, worship and piety

The Qur'ān is the speech of God, according to Islamic tradition, and its recitation is thus the actual voicing of divine speech. In the early period, philosophical controversies arose regarding questions of temporality and agency in "following" divine speech in voice; these disputes related to foundational controversies over the issue of the "createdness of the Qur'ān" (q.v.) in time (see also PHILOSOPHY AND THE QUR'ĀN; THEOLOGY AND THE QUR'ĀN; INIMITABILITY). Similar questions have arisen as practical issues throughout the history of qur'ānic tradition, such as the problem of the reciter's technical artistry potentially being confused with the transcendent power of the Qur'ān. Al-Ghazālī's "rules" for recitation in the eighth book of the *Iḥyā' ʿulūm al-dīn* resolve such an apparent tension by positing both an "external" and an "internal" dimension to the act of voicing God's speech. In his scheme, the intents, consciousness, and sensibilities of the reciter are subordinated to the divine presence through purposive effort. The reciter is thus to strive to diminish the aspects of performance that are not pure amplifications of the manifestation of an idealized presence. Well-defined and specific techniques of presentation and performance may be applied in order to achieve this ideal.

Many such theoretical and practical issues relating to the recited Qur'ān are connected to the doctrine of *iʿjāz,* which is the idea of the "inimitable" nature of God's speech. This is linked to the ontology of the Arabic text as a "miraculous" revelation and to the speech of the Qur'ān as being a unique class of discourse (see MIRACLES; REVELATION AND INSPIRATION).

The practice of reciting the Qur'ān according to the rules of *tajwīd* is a foundational element of Islamic education, practice and piety. During the fasting (q.v.) month of Ramaḍān (q.v.), the entire Qur'ān is read over the course of the month in night prayers called *tarāwīḥ*. One of the standard divisions of the Qur'ān is its partition into thirty equal, consecutive parts, or *juz'* (pl. *ajzā'*); this sectioning facilitates complete recitation over the course of a month. In addition, during Ramaḍān or during the days of the pilgrimage (q.v.; *ḥajj*), pious Muslims may recite the entire Qur'ān in one night. Muslims read the Qur'ān frequently as an act of supererogatory piety, and recitation — especially at night — is performed by committed Muslims.

Reciting the Qur'ān is a required component of one of the fundamental acts of worship in Islam, *ṣalāt,* canonical prayer. Observant Muslims recite the opening sūra, Sūrat al-Fātiḥa, seventeen times because of its liturgical use as a component of *ṣalāt*. This chapter of the Qur'ān is also used in other contexts, such as blessings and the sealing of contractual agreements (see FĀTIḤA; CONTRACTS AND ALLIANCES;

BLESSING). During obligatory prayer, it is required to recite another, unspecified part of the Qurʾān besides Sūrat al-Fātiḥa. When the prayer is conducted in private, usually this is one of the short Meccan sūras that are the thirtieth *juzʾ* of the Qurʾān; if the prayer is led by an imām (q.v.), this reading will be his choice. In addition, it is common in worship and other practices of Muslim piety to hear the well known Light Verse (Q 24:35; see LIGHT) or Throne Verse (Q 2:255; see THRONE OF GOD). The final *juzʾ* of the Qurʾān as well as these other passages are commonly memorized by Muslims. Sūrat al-Mulk ("Kingship," Q 67) and Sūrat al-Ḥujurāt ("Private Apartments," Q 49) are also commonly memorized. Other parts of the Qurʾān that are particularly well known and read on certain occasions include Sūrat Yā Sīn (Q 36), read for the deceased or dying (see DEATH AND THE DEAD; FESTIVALS AND COMMEMORATIVE DAYS) in a sometimes controversial practice, and Sūrat Yūsuf ("Joseph," Q 12; see JOSEPH) and Sūrat al-Kahf ("The Cave," Q 18; see MEN OF THE CAVE) are also often read communally.

The recitation of the Qurʾān is a prototype for the practice of *dhikr,* a qurʾānic word for "reminder" and a practice associated with Ṣūfī piety. The Qurʾān is the basis of the formulae used for such recitational piety, as well as the recitation of the ninety-nine names of God (*al-asmāʾ al-ḥusnā;* see GOD AND HIS ATTRIBUTES). These "beautiful" names are referred to in Q 17:110, part of which reads: "Say, 'Call on Allāh or call on al-Raḥmān. By whatever name you call [God], his are the most beautiful names *(al-asmāʾ al-ḥusnā)*." The Qurʾān provides a brief listing of some of the names in Q 59:22-4. Not all of the names are given directly in the Qurʾān, however.

Throughout Islamic tradition, the appreciation of the vocal artistry of trained reciters has been part of Muslim religious and social life. Much of the theorization and practice related to the aesthetics of Qurʾān recitation is connected to the key idea of "spiritual audition." This term, *samāʿ,* is usually associated with Ṣūfī traditions but in the case of the recited Qurʾān multiple styles of classical piety overlap. In Islamic tradition normative questions relating to musical practice and its application and acceptability are tied to the issue of *samāʿ*. These legal debates usually center on the intents and contexts of practice. For Qurʾān recitation, the most authoritative sources on what Kristina Nelson has termed the "*samāʿ* polemic" highlight a tension between the cultivation of experiential perceptions related to "listening" *(samāʿ)* on the one hand and the ideal of the absolute separation of transcendent revelation and human components on the other.

Aesthetics and artistry

According to Islamic tradition, the "melodic" aspects of Qurʾān recitation may not be fixed in any one performance or in an overall system. This is in order that God's speech in the form of the revealed Qurʾān will not be associated with human technical artistry. It is not known what melodic structures were used in the recitation of the Qurʾān in the earliest period. It is documented, however, that practices of Qurʾān recitation developed into something resembling the *mujawwad* style in the ʿAbbāsid period, when reciters began to deploy the emerging modal system of music (*maqām,* pl. *maqāmāt*). It is in this period that the issue of "recitation with melody" *(qirāʾa bi-l-alḥān)* appears in the literature, and the melodic structures deployed in this time were apparently those of Arab art music. Today, the highly proficient style of recitation known as

mujawwad also uses melodic structures found in Arab art music.

Maqām (pl. *maqāmāt*) denotes a musical "mode," both scalar pitch class and melody type. This system of "qurʾānic" *maqāmāt* that became globally widespread in the latter part of the twentieth century had developed over centuries from multiple and converging branches of influence. It is difficult to prove that any of these branches is a continuous line extending from the early Muslim community since little historical data on the musical practices of the Arabs before the third/ninth century are available. The important source, *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, "Book of songs," by Abū l-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī (d. 356/967), dates to the fourth/tenth century and it is in this period that *maqām* developed as a theory and a practice of art music by way of a synthesis of Arabic and Persian forms. Also in this period, intellectuals analyzed the system, such as in the writings of the great philosophers al-Fārābī (d. 338/949), Ibn Sīnā (d. 428/1037) and especially al-Kindī (d. ca. 252/866), whose treatise on music was foundational. The system also received more esoteric formulations within cosmological frameworks (such as in the thought of the esoteric group, the "Brethren of Purity," the Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ), developing concepts like the Greek idea of scale, analyzed along with rhythmic cycles, with reference to mode being made in terms of the fretting board of the lute instrument, the *ʿūd*.

Diversity and flexibility characterizes the modal system both diachronically and synchronically. The treatises of the renowned musician and writer on the history of music, ʿAbd al-Muʾmin Ṣafī l-Dīn al-Urmawī (d. 693/1294) formulated an analytical framework for the system that was followed for centuries, deploying musical characteristics in the identification of mode, such as initial and final pitch as well as, in some cases, melody types. Not only are modes applied flexibly in practice, but also the overall musical system itself is historically and geographically fluid and thus difficult to formalize or classify. In the early nineteenth century, a system for analyzing scale (based on quarter-tones) became widespread in the Middle East. An attempt was also made to codify all of the *maqāmāt* used in Arab countries at the historic Cairo Congress on Arab Music in 1932. This effort, however, along with subsequent ones, faced the challenge of systematizing the diversity of the entire musical system as well as the problems of notation and standardization.

Contemporary performers of the recited Qurʾān in the style called *mujawwad* have been increasingly popular in recent decades due to broadcast and recording technologies and other trends (see MEDIA AND THE QURʾĀN). The development of the first recorded version of the recited Qurʾān in Egypt is documented by Labīb al-Saʿīd. In *The art of reciting the Qurʾān*, Kristina Nelson examines the practices of Egyptian reciters, the same figures who have become influential the world over because of the dissemination of their recordings. The singing of the great women vocalists from the Arab world, such as Fayrūz, Warda, and, above all, Umm Kulthūm (as well as men like ʿAbd al-Wahhāb) have influenced the improvisational styles of these performers. Across the Muslim-majority and Muslim-minority worlds of Islam in the later twentieth century, the recitation recordings of a few Egyptian reciters (many of whom were trained in classical Arabic music: e.g. ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ ʿAbd al-Ṣamad) were the most influential models for aspiring reciters.

Qurʾānic revitalization and contemporary daʿwa

Since the late twentieth century, changes in technology have combined with the so-called global "Islamic awakening," to

encourage a widespread revitalization of the practice of the popular recitation of the Qur'ān. Evidence of this is the worldwide women's mosque movement that focuses on reciting the Qur'ān and improving recitation technique. Transnational connections support curricula for teaching recitation. For example, in the 1960s and 1970s, the Egyptian government, with official Indonesian support, brought many of the most renowned Egyptian reciters to southeast Asia, a region of the world with as many Muslims as the population of the entire Arabic-speaking world, in order to teach and to perform.

Da'wa is a qur'ānic term interpreted and applied in different ways in different global contexts (see INVITATION). Most basically, the term means a "call" to deepen one's own or encourage others' Islamic piety. As such, it has been a crucial concept in the historical propagation of the Islamic religious tradition. *Da'wa* is key to understanding how the Qur'ān functions as a basis of contemporary Islamic revitalization movements. Qur'ānic *da'wa* promotes recitational aesthetics and schooling as the basis for programs among Muslims of diverse orientations.

In the most populous Muslim-majority nation in the world, Indonesia, the recitation of the Qur'ān was the focus of an energetic movement in Islamic revitalization in the late twentieth century. Southeast Asia is well known for world-class recitation, evidenced in the popularity of the woman reciter from Jakarta, Hajja Maria Ulfah. Southeast Asia also has traditionally been known for the production of exceedingly clear and precise methods and materials. In Indonesia in the 1990s, mainstream *da'wa* was viewed as an "invitation" to voluntary Islamic piety issued to Muslims, and much *da'wa* highlighted engagement with the recited Qur'ān. Examples of the energy of this movement are the massive "Baitul Qur'an" exhibit near Jakarta, as well as the promotion of a wide array of qur'ānic arts like recitation and calligraphy (q.v.).

As the Qur'ān increasingly became the focus of programs to promote Islamic engagement, learning to read the Qur'ān became the basis of a widespread revitalization movement in Indonesia, and new pedagogies blended with traditional methods of teaching and learning recitation. Popular activities ranged from basic study of *tajwīd* to performance in the highly proficient *mujawwad* style of recitation. The phenomenon of qur'ānic learning and engagement was not limited to young people; it also included mature Muslims who labeled themselves as "learners." As part of a resurgent movement in the "fundamentals" of religious practice in Indonesia during the 1990s, religiously oriented individuals actively adopted and promoted projects such as local and national Qur'ān recitation competitions (see Fig. 11), a widespread movement in "Qur'ān kindergartens," revitalized efforts to memorize the Qur'ān, and lively women's mosque groups trained in the development of reading skills. At this time, virtuoso readings in the *mujawwad* style were not considered the most effective means of inducing heightened experiential states. Rather, the emphasis was on the listeners' own efforts to emulate actively such a performance. Expert performances from the Arab world and by Indonesians doubled as pedagogy for ordinary practitioners, a pedagogy that was disseminated and mediated by competition frameworks and other programs and interests. Under these educationally oriented influences, a great variety of material — including the recordings of great Egyptian reciters — became educational curriculum in Indonesia; reciters at all levels were instructed to listen avidly to these performances in order to improve

their *mujawwad* Qurʾān recitation and especially to master the modal system.

The Indonesian term *lagu,* also denoting "song," is used for musical qualities of recitation, doubly conveying the ideas of scalar pitch class and melody type. Contemporary Indonesian and Malaysian sources on recitation group the Arab-derived *maqāmāt (lagu)* used in Qurʾān recitation into two principal types: *misri* and *makawi*. *Misri lagu* are the *maqāmāt* that were introduced in the 1960s and after, denoting modes that were known and used in Egypt (hence *misri* = Ar. *miṣrī*). *Makawi lagu* are understood to comprise an older system from the Middle East, reportedly deriving from the recitational practices of Indonesian pilgrims and students who traveled to the Arabian peninsula (and Mecca, hence the term *makawi*) earlier in the century and before. There are also indigenous southeast Asian *lagu daerah,* "local *lagu*." In Indonesia, the system of *mujawwad* style Qurʾān recitation that developed in the 1990s was based on styles from Egypt. Competition *lagu* were based on seven *maqāmāt* prototypes: *bayati, rast, hijaz, soba, sika, jiharka,* and *nahawand*. Performances and pedagogies increasingly accepted this style as normative for all readers, especially under the influence of competitional readings and regimens.

Apart from the influence of the competition system, the adoption of Arabic, and more specifically Egyptian *(misri)* modes, were supported in Indonesia by the perception that they are more normatively qurʾānic. New kinds of theorization accompanied the reception of the Arabic *lagu,* which became increasingly an aspect of the recited Qurʾān in Indonesia in the 1990s. Partially because of the popularity of contests and in part also due to the acceptance of the Egyptian-inspired model as the ideal, competence in these seven modes has become the goal of intermediate and advanced-level recitational training in modern Indonesia. A competition system had a great deal to do with the standardization and popularization of these structures.

Recitation contests in Indonesia were interpreted as a form of *daʿwa*. The increasing popularity of Qurʾān reciting and recitation contests and, since 1997, their promotion by the *Lembaga Pengembangan Tilawatil Quran,* the Institute for the Development of the Recitation of the Qurʾān (LPTQ), and other organizations, contributed to an explosion of interest and the creation of new media and techniques for the study and appreciation of the recited Qurʾān. Possible controversy over the voicing of the speech of God as a competition was overcome in Indonesia by recognizing the positive effects of the events for Islamic youth. Recitation tournaments, especially the *Musabaqah tilawatil Qurʾān,* the National Contest for the Recitation of the Qurʾān (MTQ), have come to be viewed by many in Indonesia as an avenue for *syiʿar Islam,* or the propagation and deepening of Islamic practice through an appreciation of qurʾānic knowledge and ability, as well as an avenue for the expression of distinctive aspects of Indonesian Islamic piety within the context of the global Muslim community. Competitions as *syiʿar Islam* were understood to be simultaneously a form of education and an invitation to Muslim practice.

Conclusion

The recitation of the Qurʾān is foundational to the history of Islamic worship and piety. As such, it has served as the paradigm for the category of "scripture" in the academic study of religion as developed by comparativists and Islamicists such as Mahmoud Ayoub, Frederick Denny, Michael Sells, Wilfred Cantwell Smith, Marilyn Waldman, and especially William

Graham (see SCRIPTURE AND THE QUR'ĀN; POST-ENLIGHTENMENT ACADEMIC STUDY OF THE QUR'ĀN). These scholars have recognized not only the aural/oral nature of religious texts based on the unique qur'ānic case, but they have also highlighted the communal lifeworlds of the recited Qur'ān. This theme of the inherently social nature of the recitation of the Qur'ān echoes throughout the classical literature, even in interiorized systems such as al-Ghazālī's. Al-Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ* and other major collections of ḥadīth, for example, relate the tradition in which the Prophet reportedly said, "The best among you are those who learn the Qur'ān and teach it to others" (on the authority of ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān). In the contemporary world, teaching, learning, and practicing the Qur'ān are voluntary open-ended projects, drawing inspiration from the models of others' piety. Al-Bukhārī relates, on the authority of Abū Hurayra, that the Prophet said, "There is no envy (q.v.) except of two kinds: First, a person whom God has taught the Qur'ān and who recites it during the hours of the night and during the hours of the day and his neighbor who listens to him and says, 'I wish I had been given what has been given to so-and-so, so that I might do what he does'; and, secondly, a person to whom God has given wealth (q.v.) and he spends it on what is just and right whereupon another person may say, 'I wish I had been given what so-and-so has been given for then I would do as he does'" (Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* viii, 113, nos. 4389-90). In reading the Qur'ān aloud, the Qur'ān states that Muslims may affect others' religiosity and thereby build the religious community (see COMMUNITY AND SOCIETY IN THE QUR'ĀN): "The believers are only they whose hearts tremble when God is mentioned; and, when his signs [or verses of the Qur'ān] are recited to them, they multiply in faith (q.v.) and put their trust (see TRUST AND PATIENCE) in their lord" (Q 8:2).

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Reciters of the Qur'ān

Those entrusted with the oral recitation of qur'ānic passages, or the entire text. The term "reciter" (Ar. sing. *qāri'* and *muqri'*) in its basic, general signification refers to one who reads or recites. With reference to reciters of the Qur'ān, the plural *qurrā'* is much more common than *muqri'ūn*. In a broad sense, the term *qurrā'* is used in various sources to refer both to professional reciters, namely those who accepted payment for their recitation and were often employed by the state, and to pious, non-professional ones who did not seek to make a living from their recitation. Other names less frequently used for Qur'ān reciters are *ḥamalat al-Qur'ān* (literally "bearers of the Qur'ān") and *ahl al-Qur'ān* ("people of the Qur'ān"). *Tilāwa* is a synonym of *qirā'a* in the sense of "recitation" but the active participle *tālī* is seldom seen in place of *qāri'*. *Ḥāfiẓ* commonly denotes one who has memorized the Qur'ān (it is also used to denote one who has memorized unusual quantities of ḥadīth; hence, for example, al-Dhahabī's *Ṭabaqāt al-ḥuffāẓ* is a biographical dictionary of traditionists, not Qur'ān reciters; see ḤADĪTH AND THE QUR'ĀN).

Politics

There was a distinctive party called *qurrā'* in earliest Islamic Iraqi politics (see IRAQ), who took part on all sides in the first two civil wars (see POLITICS AND THE QUR'ĀN). In particular, a significant number of the *qurrā'* broke away from ʿAlī's army (see ʿALĪ B. ABĪ ṬĀLIB) to join the Khawārij (see KHĀRIJĪS) in 37/657 (see Sayed, *Die Revolte*). The obvious — and widespread — interpretation is that they were the ultra-pious party, marked by their devotional recitation of the Qur'ān (q.v.). Norman Calder, however, has suggested alternatively that *qāri'* originally referred to temporary or seasonal troops, serving for a *qar'* or *qur'* (period). M.A. Shaban's (*Islamic history,* 50-1) identification of *qurrā'* as people of villages *(qurā)* is fanciful.

Early Muslim rulers were highly interested in the Qur'ān. Some sources ascribe the earliest official appointment of Qur'ān reciters to the second caliph (q.v.), ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, who, in 14/635-6, appointed two reciters, one each to lead men and women in prayer (q.v.; Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh,* i, 2749; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt,* iii, 202). Al-Ḥajjāj, governor of Iraq (75-95/694-714), is credited in the Sunnī tradition with introducing vowel signs into the written text of the Qur'ān (see ORTHOGRAPHY; MANUSCRIPTS OF THE QUR'ĀN; ARABIC SCRIPT; ARABIC LANGUAGE); by some revisionist historians, even with formally fixing the qur'ānic canon (see Mingana, Transmission; see COLLECTION OF THE QUR'ĀN; CODICES OF THE QUR'ĀN). Public recitation ideally entailed simultaneous exegesis (Arabic *tafsīr* or *ta'wīl;* see Versteegh, *Grammar and exegesis,* 185; see EXEGESIS OF THE QUR'ĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL). Early judges *(qāḍīs)* were often responsible for preaching *(qaṣaṣ)* and public recitation of the Qur'ān, as well as deciding lawsuits and other matters (see LAW AND THE QUR'ĀN; see, for example, a sermon by the Baṣran *qāḍī* Ṣāliḥ al-Murrī [d. 172/788-9?], which includes qur'ānic recitation, prayers and weeping by preacher and audience alike; Abū Nuʿaym, *Ḥilya,* vii, 165-7). One of the complaints against the caliph ʿUthmān in the Khārijī Ibn Ibāḍ's letter to the caliph ʿAbd al-Malik (r. 65-86/685-705) is that he prevented *qaṣaṣ* in the mosques (*an yuqaṣṣa fīhā bi-kitāb Allāh;* see MOSQUE). The *qurrā'* of Marwānid times were subject alternately to repression and bribery. Al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (d. 110/728), for example, complained of *qurrā'* standing at the governor's gate (Abū Nuʿaym, *Ḥilya,* ii, 151), while Ḥammād b.

Salama (d. 167/783-4) warned against going to the governor *(amīr)* even if he should ask for so little as to recite *qul huwa llāhu aḥad* (Q 112; ibid., vi, 251; a similar report is attributed to Sufyān al-Thawrī [d. 161/778?], cf. Abū Nu'aym, *Ḥilya,* vi, 387).

Devotional recitation

From an early period, excellence in qur'ānic recitation seems to have been regarded as conferring a higher religious and social, even political, status on the individual. A well known prophetic ḥadīth states, "The best of them at reciting the book (q.v.) of God will lead the people" (see KINGS AND RULERS). This ḥadīth is frequently cited in the literature on the excellences of the Companions (see COMPANIONS OF THE PROPHET) and invoked in the debates between the Sunnīs and the Shī'īs (see SHĪ'ISM AND THE QUR'ĀN; SHĪ'A) to affirm the greater right of Abū Bakr or 'Alī, respectively, to assume the caliphate on account of each candidate's superior proficiency in qur'ānic recitation. This ḥadīth is cited in various other contexts as well, particularly to underscore the equality of Muslims regardless of social and ethnic background, and to recognize differences only in religious piety (Afsaruddin, Excellences, 18).

Fasting (q.v.) by day and staying awake by night (see VIGILS; DAY AND NIGHT) seem to have been the most usual components of the devotions of Muslim ascetics (*zuhhād, nussāk;* see ASCETICISM) in the second/eighth century. Ritual prayer was commonly the main occupation of night vigils, but it might be supplemented by qur'ānic recitation or integrated with it. We are told, for example, that the blind Baṣran jurisprudent and traditionist Qatāda (d. ca. 115/735) normally recited the whole Qur'ān weekly, over three days during the first two-thirds of Ramaḍān (q.v.), and daily during the last ten days (Abū Nu'aym, *Ḥilya,* ii, 338-9). The Kūfan jurisprudent al-Ḥasan b. Ṣāliḥ b. Ḥayy (d. 199/814-5), his brother 'Alī (d. 151/768-9?) and their mother used to recite the Qur'ān nightly in shifts; then the two brothers in shifts after their mother died; finally al-Ḥasan alone after his brother died ('Ijlī, *Tārīkh,* 114, 347). Sometimes, however, an ascetic would meditate for a very long time on just one verse; as did, as is reported below, the Baṣran Sulaymān al-Taymī (d. 143/760-1; Abu Nu'aym, *Ḥilya,* iii, 29). Qur'ānic recitation was so strongly associated with renunciation of the world that *qāri'* itself became a regular term for "renunciant" or "ascetic."

Disquiet with renunciant practice is evident in the ḥadīth extolling the merits of contemplating the meaning of the verses as one recites them (e.g. Abū 'Ubayd, *Faḍā'il,* 156-8). Completion of qur'ānic recitation in an exceptionally short time, particularly to attract public acclaim or alms, was looked at askance (e.g. Nawawī, *Tibyān,* 50). Several of the six canonical collections of ḥadīth include a warning from the Prophet, "One who has recited the [entire] Qur'ān in less than three days has not comprehended [it]" (Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan, Shahr Ramaḍān,* 8; Tirmidhī, *Ṣaḥīḥ, al-Qirā'āt,* 11; Ibn Māja, *Sunan, Iqāmat al-ṣalāt,* 178). Public rituals to mark an individual's completion of recitation of the sacred text *(khatma)* were likewise controversial, although they were usual from as early as the second/eighth century (Ibn al-Jawzī, *Talbīs,* 176).

There is evidence that early recitation conventions did not observe full declensional endings as later became customary. Hortatory reports were circulated to exhort the faithful to recite the qur'ānic text with *i'rāb* (desinential inflection; see GRAMMAR AND THE QUR'ĀN). One such report quotes the Prophet as saying, "Whoever recites the Qur'ān without full inflection, the

attending angel records for him 'as revealed' with ten merits for each letter; whoever inflects only part of the Qur'ān, two angels are assigned to him who write down for him twenty merits; and whoever inflects the [entire] Qur'ān, four angels are assigned to him who record seventy merits for each letter" (see Qurṭubī, *Tadhkār,* 84-5; also Kahle, Qur'ān and ʿArabīya). The rise of schools of grammar by the second/eighth century, particularly at Kūfa and Baṣra, and the rapidly growing influence of the grammarians, who concerned themselves to a considerable extent with the correct reading of the qur'ānic text, played a key role in the final development of the *scriptio plena*. This and similar reports very likely also encode rivalry between the pious, non-professional *qurrā'* and the professional grammarians. These pious reciters were inclined to view the grammarians as excessively concerned with the mechanics of language and thus with primarily humanistic perspectives (see LANGUAGE AND STYLE OF THE QUR'ĀN; CREATEDNESS OF THE QUR'ĀN; INIMITABILITY), while the grammarians viewed the pious reciters as amateurs lacking in linguistic competence and thus in scholarly authority (see Afsaruddin, Excellences, 7-8; Versteegh, *Grammar and exegesis,* 178). Some of the *qurrā'* were regarded by the scholarly establishment as unreliable transmitters of ḥadīth; in classical biographical *(rijāl)* works they are likely to be praised for their personal piety but denounced for their dubious status as ḥadīth narrators (see Afsaruddin, Excellences, 21-2).

Al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111) devoted the eighth book of *Iḥyā' ʿulūm al-dīn* to the etiquette of reciting the Qur'ān. Among other things, he proposes ten outward rules of proper recitation: for the reciter to be in a state of ritual purity (q.v.); to recite no more at one session than one can properly contemplate; to recite by recognized units such as sevenths *(aḥzāb);* to write the Qur'ān properly; to recite at a pace conducive to contemplation; to weep as one recites (see WEEPING); to prostrate oneself at the appropriate verses (as a Shāfiʿī, al-Ghazālī names fourteen; in printed Qur'āns, these verses are commonly indicated by lines in the text and the word *sajda* in the margin; see BOWING AND PROSTRATION; PRINTING OF THE QUR'ĀN; ORNAMENTATION AND ILLUMINATION); to preface one's recitation with certain formulas, e.g. *aʿūdhu bi-llāhi l-samīʿ,* etc., and to conclude it with others, e.g. *ṣadaqa llāhu taʿālā,* etc.; to recite aloud, unless one finds oneself taking excessive pride in it; and to recite in a comely voice. These ten are complemented by ten inward dispositions (see also Nelson, *Art of reciting,* ch. 4.; see RECITATION OF THE QUR'ĀN).

Famous reciters

Particular versions or "readings" *(qirā'āt)* of the qur'ānic text are sometimes associated with Companions, above all Ibn Masʿūd and Ubayy b. Ka'b, but more usually with regions (e.g. "the people of Medina [q.v.] recited thus") and, increasingly over time, with various experts of the second/eighth century (Nöldeke, *GQ,* 2-3 is basic; see also Brockett, Qur'ān readings; see READINGS OF THE QUR'ĀN). Ibn Mujāhid (d. 324/936) is famous for identifying the seven most respected readings (see Ibn Mujāhid, *Sabʿa*). He was involved in the trials of two famous reciters before Baghdādī *qāḍī*s for reciting unacceptable readings: Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Miqsam in 322/934 and Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Shannabūdh (alternatively Shanbūdh and Shanabūdh) in 323/935. Their offences, however, were not that they recited variants not included among Ibn Mujāhid's seven but that they recited variants based only on philological possibility (in the case of Ibn Miqsam), or only on traditions going back

to Companions but not endorsed by the caliph ʿUthmān (in the case of Ibn Shannabūdh; see Jeffery, *Materials;* Melchert, Ibn Mujāhid).

Partly through the influence of his disciples, Ibn Mujāhid's choice of the seven most acceptable readings seems to have commanded general assent from late in the fourth/tenth century, especially in Syria and points west. Three more readings were recognized at that time as the next most highly respected, especially in Iraq and the east (see Nöldeke, *GQ*, iii, 225). Finally, four more readings were identified as having unusually great historical interest without retaining their one-time liturgical use (see FORM AND STRUCTURE OF THE QUR'ĀN); that is, one could no longer recite them as part of a valid ritual prayer *(ṣalāt)*. Medieval scholarly interest in different sets of readings may be estimated from titles in Ḥājjī Khalīfa, *Kashf al-ẓunūn:* of 155 books having to do with an identifiable number of readings, seventy-four treat the seven, forty-four treat the ten, seven treat the eight, while the remaining twenty-nine treat other numbers of readings, of which just one is devoted to the whole fourteen.

The fourteen are listed here in order after al-Dimyāṭī, *Itḥāf fuḍalāʾ al-bashar,* but it is not hard to find other orderings. Italics indicate the most common designation for each:

(1) *Nāfiʿ* b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān (d. ca. 169/785-6), Medinese;
(2) ʿAbdallāh *b. Kathīr* al-Dārī (d. 120/737-8), Meccan;
(3) *Abū ʿAmr* Zabbān *b. al-ʿAlāʾ* (d. ca. 154/770-1), Baṣran;
(4) ʿAbdallāh *b. ʿĀmir* (d. 118/736), Damascene;
(5) *ʿĀṣim* b. Abī l-Najūd Bahdala (d. ca. 127/744-5), Kūfan;
(6) *Ḥamza* b. Ḥabīb (d. ca. 156/772-3), Kūfan;
(7) ʿAlī b. Ḥamza *al-Kisāʾī* (d. ca. 189/804-5), Kūfan, lived in Baghdād;
(8) *Abū Jaʿfar* Yazīd b. al-Qaʿqāʿ al-Makhzūmī (d. ca. 130/747-8), Medinese;
(9) *Yaʿqūb* b. Isḥāq *al-Ḥaḍramī* (d. 205/820-1), Baṣran;
(10) *Khalaf* b. Hishām (d. 229/844), Baghdādī;
(11) Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān *b. Muḥayṣin* (d. ca. 123/740-1), Meccan;
(12) *al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī* (d. 110/728), Baṣran;
(13) Sulaymān b. Mihrān *al-Aʿmash* (d. ca. 148/765), Kūfan;
(14) Yaḥyā b. al-Mubārak *al-Yazīdī* (d. 202/817-8), Baṣran, lived in Baghdād.

All of these but numbers 3 and 4 were clients *(mawālī),* not ancestral Arabs (q.v.; see also CLIENTS AND CLIENTAGE). Only a few were major figures outside the field of qurʾānic recitation: al-Kisāʾī in grammar; al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī in preaching, ḥadīth, law, and piety; al-Aʿmash in ḥadīth, law, and piety. Particular readings tended to prevail in particular regions. For example, in the late fourth/tenth century, it was reported that most Baṣrans preferred the reading of Abū ʿAmr but the imām (q.v.) of the chief mosque refused to recite any but that of Yaʿqūb (Ibn al-Jazarī, *Ghāya,* ii, 387), while the reading of Ibn ʿĀmir is said to have prevailed in Syria until the beginning of the sixth/twelfth century, thereafter the reading of Abū ʿAmr (ibid., i, 292). Manuscripts of the *Muwaṭṭaʾ* of Mālik (d. 179/795) normally quote the Qurʾān after the reading of Nāfiʿ, which has usually been favored in north Africa (see Dutton, *The origins,* ch. 4; also Cook, A koranic codex).

From the fifth/eleventh century the two most important transmitters (sing. *rāwī,* pl. *ruwāt*) from each of the first seven were identified, later from all of the first ten (the following list is based chiefly on Ibn

al-Jazarī, *Taḥbīr al-taysīr;* cf. as-Said, *Recited Koran,* 127-30):

(1) ʿĪsā b. Mīnā *Qālūn* (d. ca. 220/835), Medinese, and ʿUthmān (Saʿīd?) b. Saʿīd *Warsh* (d. 197/812-3), Egyptian;
(2) Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān *Qunbul* (d. ca. 291/903-4), Meccan, and Aḥmad b. Muḥammad *al-Bazzī* (d. ca. 250/864-5), Meccan;
(3) *Abū ʿUmar* Ḥafṣ b. ʿUmar *al-Dūrī* (d. ca. 246/860-1), Baghdādī, and *Abū Shuʿayb* Ṣāliḥ b. Ziyād *al-Sūsī* (d. ca. 261/874), Mesopotamian;
(4) ʿAbdallāh b. Aḥmad *b. Dhakwān* (d. 242/857), Damascene, and *Hishām* b. ʿAmmār al-Sulamī (d. 245/859-60?), Damascene;
(5) *Abū Bakr* Shuʿbah (Sālim?) b. ʿAyyāsh (d. ca. 193/809), Kūfan, and *Ḥafṣ* b. Sulaymān, also called Ḥufayṣ (d. ca. 180/796-7), Kūfan;
(6) *Khalaf* (no. 10 among the chief reciters) and Abū ʿĪsā *Khallād* b. Khālid (Khulayd? ʿĪsā? d. 220/835), Kūfan;
(7) *Abū ʿUmar al-Dūrī* (as from no. 3) and *Abū l-Ḥarith* al-Layth b. Khālid (d. 240/854-5), Baghdādī;
(8) Abū l-Ḥārith ʿĪsā *b. al-Wardān* (d. ca. 160/776-7), Medinese, and Sulaymān b. Muslim *b. Ǧammāz* (d. after 170/786-7), Medinese;
(9) Muḥammad b. al-Mutawakkil *Ruways* (d. 238/852-3), Baṣran, and *Rawḥ* b. ʿAbd al-Muʾmin (d. ca. 235/849-50), Baṣran;
(10) Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm *al-Warrāq* (d. 286/899-900), Baghdādī, and *Idrīs* b. ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Ḥaddād (d. ca. 292/905), Baghdādī.

In time, of course, specialists worked out the most important means of transmission (*ṭarīq,* pl. *ṭuruq*) from each of the *ruwāt*.

Modern scholars have often associated the seven most highly respected readings with the seven *aḥruf* in which, according to a prophetic ḥadīth report, the Qurʾān was originally revealed; most medieval scholars, however, denied any such association (see Melchert, Ibn Mujāhid, 19). Similarly, modern Muslims have often discerned a close connection between the different readings and dialectal differences (e.g. as-Said, *Recited Koran,* 84; see DIALECTS); this, however, also departs from the medieval tradition, which generally recognizes that the leading reciters themselves derived their readings by choosing *(ikhtiyār),* usually among transmitted variants. Commentaries on the readings justify them in terms of grammar and meaning, not transmission history — and only sometimes dialectal usage (e.g. Ibn Khālawayh, *Ḥujja,* and Makkī, *Kashf*). Medieval sources also sometimes use the term *ḥurūf* in connection with the transmission of textual variants; e.g. the Meccan traditionist Sufyān b. ʿUyayna (d. 198/814) is commended for unusual accuracy in transmitting the *ḥurūf* (Ibn al-Jazarī, *Ghāya,* i, 308). The distinctions and connections among *aḥruf, ḥurūf,* and *qirāʾa,* necessary for a sound understanding of the early history of qurʾānic recitational modes, await a thorough study.

It is difficult to name the most important reciters of later centuries since the main creative work of fixing the text had already been done. On the side of performance, there were doubtless reciters of outstanding originality and skill. Their work is mostly undocumented. For the long controversy over musical recitation, see Talbi (La qirāʾa) and Nelson *(Art of reciting)*. The latter gives examples of changes in style across the twentieth century, which are observable, at last, in recordings (see RECITATION OF THE QUR'ĀN).

There is a substantial literature on some further aspects of recitation. One example of the results of such attention over the centuries is visible in many copies of the

Qur'ān, where certain symbols indicate the editors' preferences in recitation; notably, *q-l-y* to indicate *al-waqf awlā* (better to stop but permissible to continue), *ṣ-l-y* to indicate *al-waṣl awlā* (better to continue but permissible to stop), *j* to indicate *jā'iz* (equally permissible to stop or go on), *lā* (to indicate that one must not stop), and three dots forming a pyramid to indicate parentheses, the words of which must go either with what follows or with what has preceded; e.g. at Q 2:2, where *fīhi* may be read with either the preceding *lā rayba* ("there is no doubt in it") or the following *hudan lil-muttaqīna* ("in it is guidance for the godfearing"). These preferences are closely related to a long tradition, but naturally the tradition includes many alternatives, as described in the literature of *al-waqf wa-l-ibtidā'* (e.g. al-Dānī, *al-Muktafā*). Tiny *alif, wāw* and *yā'* indicate the prolongation of a vowel sound; e.g. at Q 2:7, where the *alif maqṣūra* of the third *'alā* is prolonged compared with the *alif*s of the first two. Tiny *mīm* indicates that an */n/* sound (usually of the *tanwīn*) is to be pronounced as */m/* before a */b/;* e.g. at Q 2:18, where *ṣummun* becomes *ṣummum*. But some subtleties of correct recitation have escaped representation in writing; e.g. *imāla,* the pronunciation of */ā/*as though it were */ay/,* and the peculiar shaking *(qalqala)* of some consonants *(q, d, ṭ, b, j)* immediately before another consonant.

Technique of Qur'ān transmission

Muslim children have normally learnt the Qur'ān from around seven years of age but naturally there is much variation; for example, Khalaf, no. 10 on the list of reciters, memorized the Qur'ān at ten (Ibn al-Jazarī, *Ghāya,* i, 273), while the biographer Ibn al-Jazarī (d. 833/1429) memorized the Qur'ān at thirteen (ibid., ii, 247). Learning additional readings would of course come later. *Samā'* describes the student's listening to the teacher's dictation, while *qirā'a* and *'arḍ* describe the opposite procedure, of the student's reciting for the teacher, subject to correction as necessary. Teaching by *samā'* might involve very large groups, *qirā'a* normally no more than three students at a time. Traditionists who dictated ḥadīth for payment were generally scorned in the early centuries, but payment to teachers of the Qur'ān, although controversial, seems to have been better accepted, as in literary studies generally.

Transmission of the Qur'ān has usually depended on a combination of writing and audition. Writing was not necessary, hence the fairly large number of blind Qur'ān reciters (perhaps 10% in the Middle Ages — there had to be far fewer deaf qur'ānic reciters, such as Qālūn, the transmitter from Nāfi', who corrected students on the basis of lip-reading). Differences among the accepted readings, however, often turn on the interpretation of the consonantal outline *(rasm);* for example, whether diacritics go above or below the line, so making a verb masculine or feminine. Therefore, transmission by writing must have been crucial to transmission of variant readings and, indeed, their very generation in the first place. Ibn Mujāhid (d. 324/936) called for reciters to master Arabic grammar as an aid to remembering case endings, although he observed that Ibn Muḥayṣin (no. 11 on the list of reciters) went too far in allowing Arabic grammar to dictate his reading, instead of restricting his choice to transmitted variants, hence his loss of popularity in Mecca to Ibn Kathīr (d. 120/738; Ibn Mujāhid, *Sab'a,* 45-6; Ibn al-Jazarī, *Ghāya,* i, 167). Ḥadīth recommends reading with the written *muṣḥaf* (q.v.) open before one, even if one has memorized the text.

The mosque was originally the main locus of transmission for all the Islamic sciences (see TRADITIONAL DISCIPLINES OF

QUR'ĀNIC STUDY). From the fifth/eleventh century, the *madrasa* (pl. *madāris*) became the premier institution of Islamic higher education. The chief teacher at any particular *madrasa* was normally the specialist in Islamic law, but qur'ānic recitation was often taught at the *madrasa* as an ancillary science. The Baghdādī Niẓāmiyya *madrasa,* for example, included a position for a *muqri'* (Ibn al-Jawzī, *Muntazam,* s.a. 485). In the Mamlūk period, there also appeared an institution dedicated entirely to teaching the Qur'ān *(dār al-Qur'ān)*. Despite that, the majority of Qur'ān teachers of whom we have any information continued to be associated with ordinary mosques.

Today, mosques continue to offer training in reciting the Qur'ān. Governments, however, are much more involved in religious instruction than ever before and not only provide qur'ānic instruction in state institutions of learning but often appoint, supervise, pay, and dismiss mosque personnel (see TEACHING AND PREACHING THE QUR'ĀN). It is nowadays quite common for Islamic countries to host international competitions in recitation of the Qur'ān. Regional mosques and religious organizations often organize similar events on a smaller, local scale.

Qur'ānic recitation is now heard by radio and television broadcasting, also by means of tape and digital recordings (see MEDIA AND THE QUR'ĀN). Gifted reciters may achieve considerable popular followings. Two of the best known reciters in recent times are Maḥmūd al-Ḥuṣrī and ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ ʿAbd al-Ṣamad, both from Egypt, whose taped recitations remain widely available in the Islamic world even after their deaths. The different readings continue to be cultivated by specialists. Recordings of all but Ḥafṣ *ʿan* ʿĀṣim are difficult to find, and printed versions almost impossible (except for that of Nāfiʿ in the Maghrib). There are, however, signs that alternative readings will become ever more easily available.

Modern research

Gotthelf Bergsträsser and Otto Pretzl edited a large proportion of the most useful medieval scholarship on the readings of the Qur'ān. Nelson *(Art of reciting),* Graham *(Beyond),* Denny (The *adab*), and others have laid new stress on the Qur'ān as liturgy, principally experienced by aural recitation rather than silent reading (see ORALITY; ORALITY AND WRITING IN ARABIA). A number of studies have appeared concerning the readings and recitation practice of particular regions, of which Shalabī *(al-Qirā'āt)* is an outstanding example. There is still much work to do on the origins of the variant readings. See Puin (Observations) for exciting new manuscript evidence. The authors of this article see special promise in the investigation of the social setting of recitation.

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Recompense

see REWARD AND PUNISHMENT

Reconciliation

see PEACE

Record of Human Actions

see BOOK; HEAVENLY BOOK; LAST JUDGMENT; GOOD DEEDS; EVIL DEEDS

Reeds

see AGRICULTURE AND VEGETATION; GRASSES

Reflection and Deliberation

Thinking about, and deciding a course of action based upon perceptions or observed events. To convey this concept, the Qurʾān most frequently employs the triliteral Arabic root *f-k-r*. Second and fifth forms of the root *f-k-r* are attested eighteen times in the Qurʾān. In contrast to certain conceptions in later mystic circles (see ṢŪFISM AND THE QURʾĀN), the Qurʾān itself does not consider the notion of reflection *(tafakkur)* as inferior to remembrance (q.v.) of God *(dhikr)*. But unlike *dhikr,* the Qurʾān never uses *tafakkur* with regard to God.

Rather, the Qurʾān mentions the creation (q.v.) of the heavens (see HEAVEN AND SKY) and earth (q.v.) and everything between, to request humans to reflect on and to realize divine omnipotence (see POWER AND IMPOTENCE) and the reality of resurrection (q.v.): "Do they not reflect in their own minds? But not in truth and for a term appointed, did God create the heavens and the earth, and what is between them: yet are there truly many among the people who deny the meeting with their lord [q.v.; at the resurrection]!" (Q 30:8; see also Q 45:13). Natural phenomena are interpreted in a similar way (see NATURE AS SIGNS; PSALMS): "The likeness of the life (q.v.) of the present is as the rain which we send down from the skies: by its mingling arises the produce of the earth from which people and animals eat (see SUSTENANCE): [It grows] till the earth is clad with its golden ornaments and is decked out [in beauty]: the people to whom it belongs think they have all powers of disposal over it: There reaches it our command by night or by day, and we make it like a harvest [clean-mown], as if it had not flourished

only the day before! Thus do we explain the signs (q.v.) in detail for those who reflect" (Q 10:24). The singular status of the Prophet is another fact perceptible by means of reflection, as the Qurʾān points out: "Say: 'I do admonish you on one [point]: that you do stand up before God — [It may be] in pairs, or [it may be] singly — and reflect (within yourselves): your companion is not possessed (see INSANITY; JINN): he is no less than a warner (q.v.) to you, in face of a terrible chastisement'" (Q 34:46; see CHASTISEMENT AND PUNISHMENT). Even human relations in general are read as a sign of divine truth (Q 30:21). This refers also to the recall of souls (q.v.) by God during sleep (q.v.) or at death (see also DREAMS AND SLEEP; DEATH AND THE DEAD): "[It is] God [that] takes the souls (of men) at death; and those that die not [he takes] during their sleep: those on whom he has passed the decree of death, he keeps back [from returning to life], but the rest he sends [to their bodies] for a term appointed. Verily in this are signs for those who reflect" (Q 39:42). These verses, among others, aim at divine omnipotence that comprises everything in creation. By reflecting upon these signs, people, as the Qurʾān explains, should be able to recognize this divine power.

In addition to *f-k-r,* mention should be made of three other qurʾānic exhortations to reflection and deliberation on the "signs" of God and his power. Through its frequent employment of the refrain, "Which of the favors of your lord (q.v.) do you deny (see LIE)," an entire sūra (Q 55, Sūrat al-Raḥmān, "The Merciful") reminds the qurʾānic audience of God's beneficence (see GRACE; BLESSING; EXHORTATIONS; FORM AND STRUCTURE OF THE QURʾĀN; SŪRAS; RHETORIC AND THE QURʾĀN) — albeit without a lexeme connoting "deliberation" or "reflection."

Another qurʾānic term for "reflection" appears in Q 59:2: at the end of a passage relating God's punishment of the "unbelievers (see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF) from the People of the Book (q.v.)," "those who can see" (see SEEING AND HEARING; VISION AND BLINDNESS) are told to "take heed" (*fa-ʿtabirū yā ūlī l-abṣār;* see PUNISHMENT STORIES; NAḌĪR [BANŪ AL-]; OPPOSITION TO MUḤAMMAD). In this case, not *f-k-r,* but the eighth verbal form of the root letters *ʿ-b-r* are used to connote reflection and deliberation on a warning. Finally, mention should be made of Q 4:82 and 47:24 (see also Q 23:68; 38:29 for the eighth rather than the fifth form of *d-b-r*) which call for careful pondering of the qurʾānic message.

In tradition, reflection upon the holy scripture is especially emphasized. It is told, for instance, that Zayd b. Thābit discouraged rapid recitation of the Qurʾān (q.v.). Rather, he preferred to recite it over a longer period, "So that I can reflect on it and pause in it" (see Mālik, *Muwaṭṭaʾ,* no 15.3.4.).

As mentioned above, the attitude of mystics towards the intellectual act of reflection *(fikr/tafakkur)* was rather ambiguous. While (mystic) *dhikr* aims at an entire dissolution of self-consciousness before the object of recollection, i.e. God, reflection rather refers to the meditative grasping of an object. Both ways, however, aim at the same result, that is, the deep awareness of divine presence and omnipotence in contrast to the limitation of human contingency. See also KNOWLEDGE AND LEARNING; INTELLECT; MEMORY.

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Refrains

see LANGUAGE AND STYLE OF THE QUR'ĀN; FORM AND STRUCTURE OF THE QUR'ĀN; RHETORIC AND THE QUR'ĀN

Relatives

see FAMILY; KINSHIP; PARENTS; CHILDREN

Religion

Prior to the twentieth century, the English word "religion" had no direct equivalent in Arabic nor had the Arabic word *dīn* in English. They became partially synonymous only in the course of the twentieth century as a result of increased English-Arabic encounters and the need for consistency in translation (see TRANSLATIONS OF THE QUR'ĀN). In the same way the English word "religion" carries a genealogy of meanings, as revealed in W.C. Smith's groundbreaking book *The meaning and end of religion,* so does the Arabic word *dīn.* This co-existence of diverse meanings makes the interpretation of both words fluid in terms of their current and past usages as well as their contemporary interrelationship.

The present examination of the concept of *dīn* in the Qur'ān therefore requires a dual approach: first, reconstructing its meanings within the linguistic context of the period during which the Qur'ān was revealed (cf. e.g. Bravmann, *Spiritual background,* 1-7, for discussion of the relationship between *dīn* and the pre-Islamic Arab concept of *muruwwa;* see also REVELATION AND INSPIRATION; ARABIC LANGUAGE; DIALECTS; PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QUR'ĀN), using both intra- and inter-textual approaches to processes of interpretation (hermeneutics); second, writing those reconstructed meanings in English, using words with contemporary meanings that can only approximate their Arabic equivalents. In the face of this double challenge, the primary danger to avoid is the simplistic reduction of the Arabic word *dīn* to that of the English "religion." A rich history of distinct past and interrelated current meanings emerges through an analysis of intra- and inter-textual qur'ānic hermeneutics.

Intra-textual hermeneutics

The word *dīn* occurs ninety-two times in the Qur'ān: forty-seven times in the Meccan sūras and forty-five times in the Medinan sūras (see CHRONOLOGY AND THE QUR'ĀN). It is possible to distinguish further between three Meccan sub-periods, although such detailed chronological taxonomy is subject to scholarly debate. Using René Blachère's chronological subdivisions as her primary taxonomic framework of analysis, Yvonne Yazbeck Haddad (The conception) suggested that the diversity of meanings attached to the word *dīn* in the Qur'ān can be divided into three chronological stages, which overlay the French scholar's Meccan periods and one later Medinan period.

In the first stage, corresponding to the first and second Meccan periods, the word *dīn* means "judgment" (q.v.) or "retribution" (see RETALIATION; CHASTISEMENT AND PUNISHMENT) when used in the expression *yawm al-dīn,* which accounts for almost half of the occurrences. The expression as a whole, often translated as "day of judgment," refers to a particular moment or time in the future rather than a specific day when God will act in history and human beings will be accountable for their actions (see LAST JUDGMENT). Human beings either heed this *yawm al-dīn* or not, according to their personal response to God's signs (q.v.; *āyāt;* see also BELIEF AND UNBELIEF; NATURE AS SIGNS; GRATITUDE AND INGRATITUDE; REFLECTION AND DELIBERATION). The implication of taking *yawm al-dīn* seriously leads to a life of devotion to God and

responsibility (q.v.) towards others. Its denial reflects a lack of awareness of God's involvement in the world (see LIE). In both cases, *yawm al-dīn* implies personal accountability before God, whether individually acknowledged or not. By validating the existence of *yawm al-dīn,* human beings are called to live a life of integrity in the image of God's integrity towards human beings (see JUSTICE AND INJUSTICE).

The second stage corresponds to almost thirty occurrences found in the third Meccan period, with nine sub-categories of meaning that focus primarily on commitment and God's unity (*tawḥīd;* see POLYTHEISM AND ATHEISM; GOD AND HIS ATTRIBUTES). The word *dīn* is now no longer only about accountability for a future day of judgment: *dīn* is God's right path for human beings on earth at all times (see ASTRAY; ERROR; PATH OR WAY). Human beings become accountable by following the *dīn* of God, which requires total obedience (q.v.) and personal commitment to God's integrity and unity.

By contrast, a third stage of meaning emerges in the final part of the third Meccan period. In Q 6:161, *dīn* is associated with the Abrahamic community *(millat Ibrāhīm)* and the "straight path of right guidance" *(ṣirāṭin mustaqīmin)*. The former identification adds a layer of meaning to the initial personal commitment. This verse introduces a new emphasis that becomes central during the Medinan period: with God's unity is associated the unity of the nascent Muslim community (*umma;* see COMMUNITY AND SOCIETY IN THE QUR'ĀN). *Dīn* is now about collective commitment to live up to God's "straight path." *Dīn* then means "religion" both in the sense of a prescribed set of behaviors (see ETHICS AND THE QUR'ĀN; VIRTUES AND VICES, COMMANDING AND FORBIDDING) as well as a specific community of Muslims. There is only one *dīn,* God's unchanging *dīn*. It exists on earth with different degrees of purity (i.e. Jews and Christians only partake in parts of this *dīn* because they have corrupted it over the centuries; see CORRUPTION; JEWS AND JUDAISM; CHRISTIANS AND CHRISTIANITY). It is also during the Medinan period that there emerged the concept of fighting (q.v.) for the *dīn* of God to preserve the unity of the *umma*. Both Q 3:19 and Q 3:85 make the Islamic *umma* co-extensive with *dīn*. The integration of all three meanings, the *dīn* of God, God's community of Muslims and Islam as a religion is achieved by the end of the Medinan period. This final, third stage in the qur'ānic meaning of *dīn* is then carried down over the centuries as the principal meaning of *dīn* through a complex process of inter-textual hermeneutics.

Inter-textual hermeneutics

The first level of inter-textual hermeneutics requires an etymological examination that rests on comparative linguistics, itself the result of a comparison between various texts preceding or synchronic to the formation, in the present case, of the qur'ānic literary corpus. Although some of the earlier studies on the language of the Qur'ān may have understood it as an Arabic word, derived from the root *d-y-n,* later scholars such as al-Khafājī (d. 1069/1659; cf. Brockelmann, *GAL* S, ii, 396) and al-Tha'ālibī (d. 429/1038; cf. Brockelmann, *GAL,* i, 284) considered it a foreign word on the basis that it had no Arabic verbal roots (Jeffery, *For. vocab.,* 132; see FOREIGN VOCABULARY; GRAMMAR AND THE QUR'ĀN; INIMITABILITY; LANGUAGE AND STYLE OF THE QUR'ĀN). Like its Syriac cognate, the Arabic *dīn* has a polysemous sense: "code of law" (as with the Persian *dēn*) and "judgment" (as in the Aramaic *dīnā*). This dual meaning (attested in pre-Islamic Arabic poetry; see POETRY AND POETS) has led to the supposition that the term entered

Arabic through Syriac, a northern Aramaic dialect, in which language both meanings are attested in the early Christian period (even though a Jewish use of Aramaic in the oasis of Yathrib could have introduced *dīn* in the sense of "judgment" into the Arabic language, this would not explain its second sense in Arabic of "code of law"; see also MEDINA; cf. Ahrens, Christliches, 34-5, in which it is posited that the Arabic term was borrowed from Persian, directly or through Syriac).

Unlike the first level of inter-textual hermeneutics which remains largely synchronic with the period of qurʾānic textual production (see COLLECTION OF THE QURʾĀN), the second level is diachronic, that is, it spans a fourteen-century history of qurʾānic hermeneutics as found in *ʿulūm al-Qurʾān,* "the qurʾānic sciences" (see TRADITIONAL DISCIPLINES OF QURʾĀNIC STUDY). In this long and rich Islamic tradition of interpreting the Qurʾān, the dominant meaning of *dīn* reflects the later qurʾānic meaning associated with the Medinan period. For example, in his famous commentary, al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923) interpreted the word *dīn* in Q 3:85 as synonymous with *islām*. In the commentary of Ibn Kathīr (d. 774/1373), this verse is juxtaposed with Q 3:19 in which *dīn* is glossed as *islām*. In the early twentieth century, however, a plurality of meanings re-emerges as more explanations of the qurʾānic word *dīn* are needed in response to the dominant western Orientalist interpretation of Islam as one religion among many, rather than the Muslim belief of its being the one religion of God (see RELIGIOUS PLURALISM AND THE QURʾĀN). In the first volume of *Tafhīm al-Qurʾān,* as well as in a separate book entitled *Four basic qurʾānic terms,* Sayyid Abū l-Aʿlā Mawdūdī (1903-1979) explicitly defines *dīn* as found in Q 2:132 as "a qurʾānic technical term, signifying the way of life, the system of conduct, and the code on which man bases his entire mode of thought and action" (cf. id., *Towards understanding,* ii, 114 for Eng. trans.; see POLITICS AND THE QURʾĀN). The first two expressions, "way of life" and "system of conduct," on the one hand, and the third expression, "code," on the other, respectively reflect modern English as opposed to pre-modern qurʾānic semantic resonances, thereby demonstrating Mawdūdī's extensive interaction with western thought. This link is even clearer in the fourth volume of his commentary, when he considers the expression *dīn Allāh* as opposed to *dīn al-malik* (*dīn* of the king), translating *dīn* as "law" in both cases (see LAW AND THE QURʾĀN; KINGS AND RULERS). Building again on both Q 3:19 and Q 3:85, he concludes that "These [three] verses require that believers should totally submit themselves to din. And din, apart from prescribing Prayer (q.v.) and Fasting (q.v.), also lays down laws relevant for operating the social system and the administration of a country" (Eng. trans. in id., *Towards understanding,* iv, 197). Here, Mawdūdī integrates both the western (heavily Christian) understanding of religion as a set of beliefs and rituals (see RITUAL AND THE QURʾĀN) with an older legal qurʾānic meaning for *dīn* reflected in the use of English words such as "code" and "law."

In this modern exegesis (see EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: EARLY MODERN AND CONTEMPORARY), both older and newer meanings of the word *dīn* are given. These meanings are further affected by their translation into expressions that dovetail with popular definitions of "religion" in the English language of the later twentieth and early twenty-first centuries. For example, in the sixth section of the chapter "Basic concepts of Islam" in the book *Islam in focus,* easily available through the internet, Dr. Ḥammūdah ʿAbd al-ʿĀṭī writes

that "genuine religion must come from God for the right guidance of man." This implicit definition of "religion" is prescriptive and overlaps in part with a more popular western understanding of the word "religion" as both linked to God and to a divine revelation whose purpose is to guide humankind. Yet, on the basis of Q 3:19 and 3:85, ʿAbd al-ʿĀṭī argues that the only genuine religion is Islam. This emphasis on the degree of quality of religion — that there may be different religions but only one is genuinely true — reflects the old third stage, Medinan qurʾānic meaning of *dīn,* which only appears in the singular form, to refer to a personal commitment to a transcendent God *(tawḥīd)* by way of submission *(islām)* as part of a community of Muslim persons *(umma)*.

In short, the equivalent in contemporary English would be the emphasis of Religion with a capital R over either "religion" or "religions" in the plural. But what happens when such a distinction between upper- and lower-case letters does not exist in the Arabic language? The constant contemporary usage of both "religion" (sing.) and "religions" (pl.) in western languages has required the development of an Arabic plural form for *dīn.* In fact, two different forms have emerged: *adyān* and *diyānāt*. How these new variants of *dīn,* currently synonymous, might be distinguished in the future is unclear, as is how they might affect, in turn, the interpretation of the singular form *dīn*. What is certain, however, is that these linguistic changes in contemporary Arabic reflect the unavoidable influence of the current global power dynamics that affect almost unilaterally the direction of change: the meanings traditionally associated with the Arabic word *dīn* are gradually merging into those associated with the English words "religion" and "religions" as well as the use of cognate terms in other Western languages.

The very name of this entry within an English language *Encyclopaedia of the Qurʾān* reinforces such power dynamics, affecting our efforts at reconstructing a qurʾānic understanding of the concept *dīn*. Yet, as the title of this entry uses a capital R, it may reflect a very subtle possibility of meaning more closely akin to the singular, solely qurʾānic use of *dīn*. In this respect, both this encyclopedia entry and ʿAbd al-ʿĀṭī's juxtaposition of *dīn* and "religion" demonstrate how meanings are constantly created and re-created within both culturally received yet continually changing hermeneutical processes.

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Religious Pluralism and the Qurʾān

In traditional Muslim thought, Muḥammad is the "seal of the prophets," and his message, contained in the Qurʾān, con-

tinues, confirms — and abrogates — all previous prophetic messages. The Qurʾān demonstrates an awareness of those previous messages, at least some of them, and evidences knowledge of a variety of religious groups in its milieu. The earliest commentators on the Qurʾān were alert to these allusions and their efforts at identification became a traditional topic in classical exegetical works (McAuliffe, *Qurʾānic,* 16-31). Such efforts formed part of a larger agenda, that of providing historical specificity to certain segments of the text. The desire to do so was motivated less by an embracive and encyclopedic scholarly attitude than by the desire to determine both the chronological parameters of qurʾānic directives and the precise groups to whom they applied. Among the qurʾānic "sciences" the subfield known as "occasions of revelation" (q.v.; *asbāb al-nuzūl*) accumulated the results of these narrative elaborations of the qurʾānic text.

Numerous qurʾānic passages allude to individuals, or to groups, who did not accept Muḥammad as a prophet, but are nevertheless identified with one or another "religious" category about which the Qurʾān has a variety of not necessarily uniform opinions. Explicit in its condemnation of polytheists/idolaters (*mushrikūn,* i.e. Q 4:48, 116; 30:31; 39:65; but cf. Hawting, *Idea of idolatry,* for the argument that the qurʾānic polemic against these *mushrikūn* reflects "disputes among monotheists rather than pagans and that Muslim tradition does not display much substantial knowledge of Arab pagan religion" [16]), as well as the so-called "hypocrites" (*munāfiqūn,* also glossed as "cowards" or those who shirked their military responsibilities; cf. Q 4:138, 145; 9:68; 33:73), the Qurʾān does not deny the continued existence of Judaism and Christianity in its own milieu (i.e. seventh century Arabia; for two revisionist arguments that place the origins of the Qurʾān elsewhere, see Crone and Cook, *Hagarism,* and Wansbrough, *Sectarian milieu;* but cf. Donner, *Narratives,* 35-61) and also alludes to other religious groups who are not directly connected to the qurʾānic message (i.e. the enigmatic Sabians and Magians).

For at least the last century and a half, western scholarship has discussed the "monotheistic influence" on Muḥammad and the Qurʾān (see POST-ENLIGHTENMENT ACADEMIC STUDY OF THE QURʾĀN). Examples include A. Geiger's nineteenth century doctoral thesis at the University of Marburg, *Was hat Mohammed aus dem Judenthume aufgenommen?* (Eng. trans. *Judaism and Islam* 1898, repr. New York 1970), R. Dozy's *Die Israeliten zu Mekka* (Leiden 1864); H. Lammens' Les Chrétiens à la Mecque à la veille de l'hégire, in *BIFAO* 14 (1918), 191-230; T. Andrae's Der Ursprung des Islams und das Christentum, in *Kyrkohistorisk Arsskrift* (1923-5), with a French translation, *Les origins de l'Islam et le Christianisme* (Paris 1955); R. Bell's *The origin of Islam in its Christian environment* (Edinburgh 1926); and C.C. Torrey's *The Jewish foundations of Islam* (New York 1933). Other studies have focused on the possible presence of Christian, Jewish or Judeo-Christian sectarian groups in the qurʾānic milieu, and there has been abundant speculation about the identity of the *zindīq*s of Mecca (Manichaeans and Mazdakites have been suggested; cf. Hawting, *Idea of idolatry,* 15, for bibliography; see also HERESY). Further, it has long been acknowledged that much of the qurʾānic message exhibits knowledge of, and similarity to, aspects of Judaism and Christianity, particularly as regards the narrative accounts of the prophets and several of the religious practices of the nascent community (see NARRATIVES; PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD; RITUAL AND THE QURʾĀN). Recent work on, for

example, inter-communal similarities continues this long line of scholarship (cf. Donner, *Narratives,* 64-75 for a discussion of qurʾānic piety in this context).

The Qurʾān categorizes and alludes to the various religious groups that appear to have inhabited its milieu (cf. Rubin, *Eye,* 45-53, for an overview of the religious communities present in pre-Islamic south Arabia: namely Jews, Christians, polytheists and *ḥunafāʾ*) in a variety of ways. Additionally, the qurʾānic vocabulary for "religion" (q.v.) is itself multivalent and distinct from the terminology for "faith" (q.v.) or belief (see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF; GRATITUDE AND INGRATITUDE). This article will discuss the development of the qurʾānic attitude towards religious pluralism by looking first at the vocabulary employed by the Qurʾān to designate either "religion" or the various religious groups with which it expresses familiarity. It will then focus upon the instances of "interreligious" encounter between Muḥammad and his followers and non-Muslims, primarily Christians, recognizing the fluidity of these categories. The final section will examine the qurʾānic passages which have formed Muslim attitudes toward the present plurality of religions.

Qurʾānic vocabulary

In addition to the explicit mentions of various religious groups, Jews, Christians, Sabians and Magians — the so-called "People of the Book" (q.v.) — as well as of polytheists/idolaters and the enigmatic *ḥunafāʾ* (sing. *ḥanīf*), the Qurʾān uses a range of words, both Arabic and Arabized non-Arabic (see FOREIGN VOCABULARY), to signify what contemporary readers understand as "religion."

General terms: *dīn, milla, ʿibāda*

Traditional Muslim writings on the religious teachings contained in the Qurʾān often maintain that there is a sharp distinction between the polytheism that dominated pre-Islamic Arabian religious life and the monotheism preached by Muḥammad. In the late nineteenth century, Goldziher *(Muhammedanische Studien)* and others took up this theme of the asserted difference and attempted to contrast a pre-Islamic communal, tribal "materialistic" virtue *(muruwwa)* with the Islamic and qurʾānic concept of religion as individual affiliation (*dīn;* cf. Bravmann, *Spiritual background,* 2, and more generally, 1-7, for a counterargument that maintains that *muruwwa* — like *dīn* — had a moral-spiritual significance, and that "virtus and the virile ethics of the heathen period were appreciated even in the Islamic period, only that in the course of time other qualities, of purely religious character, were added to them"). The most common term for "religion" is *dīn* (over 90 occurrences), an Arabized word with a diglossic background: the Persian *dēn* meaning "religion" or "cult" and the Akkadian *dānu* meaning "judgment" (q.v.; Jeffery, *For. vocab.,* 131-3; cf. *Lisān al-ʿArab* for other glosses, namely "custom, usage" and also "punishment, reward"). In the Qurʾān the Arabic *dīn* has both these senses (as, incidentally, in Christian writings does its Syriac cognate, *dīnâ/dīn;* cf. Jeffery, op. cit., 132-3 for an overview of the complex background of the Syriac term; for additional discussion of the qurʾānic *dīn* — particularly its eschatological usage — see LAST JUDGMENT). Gardet (Dīn) distinguishes between the usage in the Meccan and Medinan periods: in the former, the sense of "judgment" predominates, whereas the latter emphasizes the sense of "religion," with echoes of the "practical" or cultic aspect of the Persian *dēn*. As seen in the exegesis of Q 109:6 ("to you your *dīn,* and to me my *dīn*"), *dīn* is a term that can be applied to believers and unbelievers (cf. e.g. Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* ad loc.,

where the enduring quality of religious affiliation is asserted). But it must be emphasized that when *dīn* is used with the sense of "religion" it involves the "act of worship," derived from the Arabic sense of debt, i.e. rendering to God what is his due — that is, the obligations and prescriptions set out in the Qurʾān.

Another term for religion is *milla,* unattested in Arabic prior to its qurʾānic usage (cf. Bosworth, Milla). Likely of Syriac origin, in which *meltâ* may signify "word" (Gk. *logos*) and is used as a technical term for religion (Jeffery, *For. vocab.,* 268-9), in the Qurʾān *milla* denotes "religion" or "sect," and is frequently employed to designate the creed of Abraham (q.v.; 8 out of the 15 occurrences: Q 2:130, 135; 3:95; 4:125, in which the *milla* of Abraham is identified with "submission" to God; 6:161; 12:38; 16:123; 22:78). But again, and also like the qurʾānic *umma,* which is used for the Muslim community as well as for the communities of non-Muslims (even the animals and birds are said to constitute *umma*s, cf. Q 6:38), *milla* is not the exclusive provenance of "believers" or Muslims: it is used for the religion of prophets prior to Muḥammad (i.e. Q 12:38), Christians and Jews (Q 2:120) and polytheists or unbelievers (Q 7:88-9, the religion of the people of Shuʿayb [q.v.]; 12:37; 14:13; 18:20; 38:7). Q 12:37 and 38 exemplify most clearly the range of uses: in Q 12:37, Joseph (q.v.) says, "I have abandoned the *milla* of a people who do not believe in God and deny the hereafter (see ESCHATOLOGY)," and in the following verse he says, "I followed the *milla* of my fathers Abraham and Isaac (q.v.) and Jacob (q.v.); we do not associate anything with God."

Closely related to the semantic range of *dīn,* a third general term for "religion" or religious praxis is *ʿibāda,* "worship" (the nominal form occurs 9 times; various verbal forms of the root *ʿ-b-d* are much more frequent). The root meaning, however, is "to make, to do, to work" — from which the sense of "to serve" is derived (see Jeffery, *For. vocab.,* 209-10; see SERVANT). As with *dīn* and *milla, ʿ-b-d* is used both in reference to the service of the one, true God and the (albeit vain) service of that which is not God (i.e. Q 5:60, 76; 10:104). In later Islamic thought, the "service" to the one God is explained as essentially involving the five "pillars" of Islamic faith, although sometimes other duties, such as marriage (see MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE) and circumcision (q.v.), are included in the books of law (cf. Bousquet, ʿIbādāt).

Terms conveying qurʾānic approval: *islām, ḥanīf, sharīʿa*

Literally "surrender, submission," *islām* (q.v.) occurs 8 times, most notably at Q 5:3, wherein God says to Muḥammad: "I have completed my blessing upon you and I have approved *al-islām* as [your] religion" (cf. Q 3:19: "the [true] religion with God is *al-islām*"). It is not clear from the Qurʾān what, exactly, is meant by *islām:* most notably, there is no clear differentiation between "faith" *(īmān)* and "submission to God" (*islām,* although cf. Q 49:14; for a clear presentation of the relation of these two terms and *dīn* throughout the history of qurʾānic exegesis see Smith, *Historical*). Some later ḥadīth (cf. Eng. trans. of one such account in Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* i, 42-3, related on the authority of Abū Hurayra), however, associate *islām* with the public marks of a Muslim believer, i.e. the five "pillars" of Islam, and *īmān* with belief in God, his messengers and books, the angels (see ANGEL), and the last day (see Smith, *Historical,* 12-3, for the various renditions of this tradition; for a rather different understanding of *islām* and *īmān,* see Bravmann, *Spiritual background,* 7-31, and his theory that the former is a pre-Islamic concept implying defiance of death in the face

of struggle with an enemy, while the latter connotes the sense of security associated with the triliteral Arabic root *ʾ-m-n,* particularly in the context of protection against "fate"; see FATE). In light of the ambiguity of qurʾānic language, subsequent theological debates raised the question of whether non-Muslims, especially Jews and Christians, could be considered "believers" (see Donner, Believers, for a recent discussion). Eventually, however, *islām* was used for both the "personal relationship between man and God and the community of those acknowledging this relationship" (Smith, *Historical,* 2). It also must be noted that, although certain people prior to Muḥammad (notably Abraham) are said to have been *"muslims"* (the active participle of *islām*), the Qurʾān is explicit in its insistence that obedience (q.v.) to God involves obedience to his messenger (q.v.), namely Muḥammad (cf. Q 4:65; 33:36), an obedience that includes following the prescriptions and proscriptions that the Qurʾān exhorts.

Although *ḥanīf* (q.v.; 12 occurrences, nearly all of which are explicitly linked to Abraham) is used in the Qurʾān with the sense of a "true monotheistic believer," a Syriac cognate *(ḥanpâ)* has the connotations of "pagan" (but see Rubin, Ḥanīf, 402, who emphasizes the significance of the Arabic root meaning "to incline," as in having abandoned the prevailing religion and 'inclined' to a religion of one's own). The tension between the apparent qurʾānic meaning and the close Syriac cognate, which is not always mentioned in contemporary discussions of the topic (i.e. Hawting, *Idea of idolatry*), has yet to be explained satisfactorily, particularly with regards to its usage in a Muslim framework (see Watt, Ḥanīf; Jeffery, *For. vocab.,* 113-5). Here it should be noted that Crone and Cook's discussion of the term (*Hagarism,* 13-14) focuses on Syriac Christian accounts of the seventh century Arab conquests, in which there is an apparent conflation of *ḥanpē* and *mahgrayē* (which latter term, in Cook and Crone's reading, designates the "Hagarenes," a Judeo-Arab group who migrated from Arabia) as terms identifying the conquerors. They maintain that the qurʾānic concept of *ḥanīf* was an intentional borrowing of the Syriac cognate by the 'Hagarenes,' but was used instead to "designate an adherent of an unsophisticated Abrahamic monotheism" in a contrivance "to make a religious virtue of the stigma of their pagan past" (*Hagarism,* 14; cf. also Watt, Ḥanīf). There is also a lack of scholarly consensus about whether the qurʾānic employment of *ḥanīf* connotes an actual pre-Islamic religious grouping (see, for example, Rubin, *Eye,* and Hawting, *Idea of idolatry,* s.v., for two different viewpoints in contemporary scholarship). According to the semantic analysis of T. Izutsu, the qurʾānic *ḥanīf* encompasses "(1) the true religion deep-rooted in the natural disposition in every human soul to believe in the One God, (2) absolute submission to this One God, and (3) […] the antithesis to idol-worshipping" (Izutsu, *Ethico-religious concepts,* 191). See further discussion of this term below, under *Religious communities*.

Perhaps parallel to the Christian designation of their religion as the "way," *sharīʿa* (later used as the comprehensive designation of the Islamic law), with one occurrence at Q 45:18, has been understood with the sense of God's having set Muḥammad on the "open way, clear way, right way."

Terms denoting qurʾānic toleration or ambivalence

Ahl al-kitāb, dhimma

A more comprehensive designation are the so-called "People of the Book" (or "those who have been given the book," cf. Q 2:121; also "people of the Gospel," Q 5:47), which

appears over 30 times, with multiple connotations. Although Jews and Christians (the Children of Israel [q.v.]) are considered the prime designates of this terminology and were, subsequently, accorded a "protected" — albeit subordinate — status in later Islamic societies, the Magians and Sabians also appear in the Qurʾān in conjunction with these "scriptured" peoples (cf. Q 22:17), leading to their inclusion among the protected minorities in developed Islamic thought (see below, under *Religious groups*). While in post-qurʾānic times, *ahl al-kitāb* became nearly synonymous with *dhimmī* (or *ahl al-dhimma,* the "protected" persons living in the Islamic state, i.e. religious minorities), the qurʾānic *dhimma* (Q 9:8, 10), from which these latter terms derive, indicates merely "pact, treaty," without any specification of the terms thereof, or of the persons to whom it applies. Later Islamic tradition developed these conditions (as exemplified in the so-called "covenant of ʿUmar"; cf. Tritton, *Caliphs*), and those non-Muslim groups living in Islamic lands to whom they were extended were subsequently termed *dhimmīs/ahl al-dhimma* (cf. Cahen, Dhimma). The designation of a specific group of people with a (revealed) "book" suggests that written scriptures were accorded respect, and those communities that claimed a written revealed text were set apart from others (see ORALITY AND WRITING IN ARABIA). The People of the Book are to be consulted for the meaning of scripture (cf. Q 10:94: "If you [Muḥammad] are in doubt about what we have revealed to you, ask those who recite/read *[yaqraʾūna]* the book before you"), but are also presented in the Qurʾān as people who are in disagreement over the scriptures (cf. Q 3:64, 65, wherein the People of the Book are said to be disputing concerning Abraham; see GOSPEL; TORAH; PSALMS; BOOK).

Parties/factions

In addition to the indicators of religious adherence — generally positive *(ahl al-kitāb, ḥanīf, muslim, muʾmin),* negative *(mushrik)* and neutral *(dhimma, milla),* as well as the religious groups whose adherents are named in the Qurʾān (Jews, Christians, Magians, Sabians) — there are a few terms that indicate divisions among the adherents of a religion, terms that may also be used for secular divisions. These qurʾānic lexemes include *ḥizb* (pl. *aḥzāb*), *ṭāʾifa* and *farīq* (the second verbal form of the root *f-r-q* is also used in this sense; cf. Q 6:159 and 30:32, as well as Q 20:94 and 9:107), *shīʿa* (q.v.; pl. *shiyaʿ, ashyāʿ,* e.g. Q 6:159; 15:10, but also Q 28:15), *zubur* (Q 23:53), *ṭaraf* (e.g. Q 3:127), *ṭarīqa* (pl. *ṭarāʾiq,* e.g. Q 72:11), etc. All of this vocabulary has been variously translated as group, party, sect or division, among other renderings, with the terms generally carrying a negative value. Charges of sectarian division are not infrequent in the Qurʾān and although primarily aimed at the Children of Israel, they are also made against Muslims — as in the designation of those who shirked their military duties as "hypocrites" (see HYPOCRITES AND HYPOCRISY; cf. Rubin, *Between,* esp. 117-46). Such accusations became a prominent theme in Muslim polemics against Christians, who were excoriated for multiple and visible divisions (see below, under "Jews and Christians").

This review of qurʾānic vocabulary demonstrates the complexity of the qurʾānic notion of religion which does not easily map to contemporary Western understandings of religious pluralism. Adherence to the divinely revealed message encompasses more than a profession of faith (i.e. *īmān*); it entails an entire way of life (namely the behavior implied by *sharīʿa, islām, ʿibāda*) — both public and private — a communal concept closer to the qurʾānic concept of *umma* than the

juridical/canonical/liturgical notion more familiar to today's Euro-American societies. Even though the Qurʾān acknowledges the fact of the diversity of religions, it asserts that, had God so willed, he could have made them all one nation (*umma,* see Q 42:6-9; see PARTIES AND FACTIONS).

Religious communities

In addition to the terms that connote religion as a collective category, the Qurʾān names adherents of several religious communities. Most mentions, whether of Islam (i.e. those who adhered to the qurʾānic message) or of other religious groupings, point to people and physical structures rather than conceptual abstractions (note the reference in Q 5:44 to Jewish "rabbis" *[al-rabbāniyyūn]* and "religious scholars" [*al-aḥbār:* also understood to refer to Christian religious authorities in Q 9:31, 34]; Christian "priests" *[qissīsīn]* and "monks" *[ruhbān]* of Q 5:82; the mention in Q 22:40 of God's prevention of the destruction of four different places identified with religious institutions: *ṣawāmiʿ,* identified as monasteries, *biyaʿ* — churches, *ṣalawāt* — synagogues, and *masājid* — mosques, lit. places of "prostration"; see CHURCH; MONASTICISM AND MONKS). For example, the Qurʾān mentions Christians but has no term for Christianity (but cf. i.e. Q 2:62 for a possible attestation of "Judaism"). Here it should be noted that the Qurʾān does not always link *islām* with "religion" (but see Q 3:19, 85; 5:3), although most of the qurʾānic attestations of *islām* denote the relationship of a human being to God: e.g. Q 9:74; 49:17; 61:7. The concept of Islam as distinct from *islām* emerged over time, and received differing nuances in different settings (Smith, *Historical*). Since, as recent scholarship has shown, Christianity and Judaism in the world of late antiquity were not as well-defined as their contemporary apologists have portrayed them (e.g. Boyarin, *Radical Jew;* id., *Sparks of the logos;* cf. also Cameron, *Mediterranean world*), our inability to designate precisely the referents of these qurʾānic mentions is not surprising. Some of these religious groupings appear a number of times (Jews, Christians and polytheists), while others are mentioned only rarely (Sabians, Q 2:62; 5:69 and 22:17 and Magians, Q 22:17). Often, it is not clear if the qurʾānic concept indicates an actual, contemporary religious group identifiable as such to the qurʾānic audience, a pre-Islamic group or a theological concept (i.e. the enigmatic *ḥanīf*).

Further, despite the apparent distinction of these groups from one another and from the emergent community that heeded Muḥammad and his message, the specific nature of the various groups to which these people belonged is by no means clear. There is also a range of qurʾānic judgment on some of them, particularly the Jews and the Christians. Indeed, the Qurʾān has many scriptural figures and concepts familiar to Jews and Christians, making analysis of the degree of real separation and distinction among the communities in the qurʾānic milieu difficult. The prevalence of the qurʾānic attestations of "believers" is a case in point: in passages such as Q 33:35, believers and Muslims are both mentioned — and it is not clear whether one modifies the other, or if they are separate categories. Might Jews and Christians, particularly those not hostile to Muslims, be considered "believers" (as was the claim of Christian apologists such as Theodore Abū Qurra [d. ca. 214/830]; cf. id., *Discussion,* 75-6; see also Donner, Believers)? Despite such irenic arguments, the fact that there are different terms for Jews, Christians and Muslims does indicate a significant qurʾānic distinction among these groups. Finally, the long history of qurʾānic commentary has complicated the

identification of, and attitude towards, the following groups and, consequently, their relationship to contemporary religious groups and the resultant behavior towards them demanded of Muslims. A brief sketch of those communities to which the Qurʾān alludes in various ways and in varying detail, follows. See, however, the articles JEWS AND JUDAISM; CHRISTIANS AND CHRISTIANITY; SABIANS; ḤANĪF; MAGIANS; POLYTHEISM AND ATHEISM for a fuller discussion of each.

Jews and Christians

As mentioned above, the Qurʾān uses the designation People of the Book and Children of Israel to include both Jews and Christians — with the latter phrase, however, carrying a less obviously Christian valence. But reference to Jews and Christians as separate entities is also made. Often with a negative connotation, "Jews" *(yahūd)* are explicitly mentioned multiple times in the Qurʾān (Q 2:113, 120; 5:18, 51, 64, 82; 9:30; cf. also 22:17, etc.), and once the singular appears — in an assertion that Abraham was *not* a Jew (Q 3:67). Although the origins and the rituals of the Jewish groups in Muḥammad's milieu are not well attested, the qurʾānic evidence, as well as other sources (such as ḥadīth and the *sīra;* see ḤADĪTH AND THE QURʾĀN; SĪRA AND THE QURʾĀN), point to the presence of Jewish communities in seventh century Arabia. (The qurʾānic identification of the individual who, in Q 20:85-95, prompts the Israelites to create the calf of gold [q.v.] as al-Sāmirī may also indicate some familiarity with Samaritans [q.v.]). "Christians" (*al-naṣārā* and other phrases; cf. McAuliffe, *Qurʾānic,* esp. 1-5 and 94-128) also appear a number of times in the Qurʾān (Q 2:62, 111, 113, 120, 135, 140; 5:14, 18, 51, 69, 82; 9:30; 22:17) — with only one occurrence in the singular *(naṣrāniyyan),* again in a denial of Abraham's being one (Q 3:67). But, unlike the frequent qurʾānic condemnation of "Jews," "Christians" are sometimes commended (Q 5:82: "The nearest of them in love to the believers are those who say, 'We are Christians'"; see also Q 24:37-8). As is the case with the Jews, there is more speculation than knowledge about the exact nature of the Christianity present in seventh century Arabia, but the Qurʾān and other, contemporary sources attest to a Christian presence in the peninsula — although the depth of their penetration is not known (cf. Shahid *[Byzantium and the Arabs]* and Griffith [Gospel] for varying opinions on the extent of the "Arabic" nature of pre-Islamic Christianity in the Arabian peninsula; Hoyland maintains that although "in the fourth to sixth centuries Christianity made major inroads into Arabia… it was particularly the inhabitants of north Arabia who were won over to Christianity in large numbers"; cf. Hoyland, *Arabia,* 146-59, esp. 147). Unfortunately — reflecting the paucity of information available for pre-Islamic Arabia — many recent works on Arabia or the Arabs do not explore the religious situation of the inhabitants of the peninsula in depth (cf. Retsö, *The Arabs*). Apart from epigraphic sources, which are currently inaccessible to many western researchers, there is little historical attestation of the Arabian peninsula other than the Islamic annals — which were composed, at the earliest, in the second or third Islamic century. The following is an outline of the state of current knowledge on the subject (see also EPIGRAPHY AND THE QURʾĀN; PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QURʾĀN; SOUTH ARABIA, RELIGION IN PRE-ISLAMIC).

There appears to have been a Jewish presence in the Arabian peninsula since the first century C.E. In the sixth century there was even a south Arabian Jewish "kingdom" of Ḥimyar that flourished for a brief period of time (for details see

Hoyland, *Arabia,* 49-57; 146-7; Lecker, Conversion, 129-36). Thus, it is not surprising to learn that there were a number of presumably Arabic-speaking Jewish tribes in Medina (q.v.) and its surroundings during Muḥammad's lifetime. These Jewish tribes figure prominently in Muḥammad's struggle for the establishment of a political entity in Medina after his emigration (q.v.; *hijra*) from Mecca (q.v.), and various qurʾānic verses are traditionally associated with the different stages of this early "Muslim-Jewish" conflict (see Schöller, *Exegetisches*). For example, the biographers of Muḥammad associate the revelation of Q 3:12 f., which alludes to the Muslim victory at Badr (q.v.) as a warning for the disbelievers, and Q 5:51-6, which urges the believers not to take Jews and Christians as friends (cf. Ibn Isḥāq, *Sīra,* 388, 545-6; Eng. trans. Ibn Isḥāq-Guillaume, 260, 363; see FRIENDS AND FRIENDSHIP), with the confrontation and expulsion of the tribe of Qaynuqāʿ (see OCCASIONS OF REVELATION). Also, Q 59:2-15 (cf. Ibn Isḥāq, *Sīra,* 654; Eng. trans. Ibn Isḥāq-Guillaume, 438) has been connected to the expulsion of the tribe of Naḍīr; and Q 33:26 f. (cf. Ibn Isḥāq, *Sīra,* 693; Eng. trans. Ibn Isḥāq-Guillaume, 468) to the extermination of the males [who participated in battle against the Muslims] from the tribe of Qurayẓa (see NAḌĪR; QURAYẒA; QAYNUQĀʿ for further discussion of the classical Islamic interpretation of these verses).

Although the Christian presence was less localized and less cohesive than the Jewish one, there is ample attestation of Christian communities in pre-Islamic south Arabia. The precise nature, however, of their liturgy, or even their beliefs, is not known (for two different perspectives in modern scholarship on the nature and extent of the spread of Christianity in pre-Islamic Arabia, see the above-mentioned works of Shahid and Griffith on this topic). After the Christological controversies in the early/middle fifth century C.E., the eastern Christians were divided into three groups: those who adhered to the pronouncements of the Council of Chalcedon (451 C.E.; i.e. that in the one person and hypostasis of Christ was a fully human nature and a fully divine one); and two non-Chalcedonian groups, ordinarily known as the Nestorians and Monophysites. Each of these groups existed in south Arabia prior to Muḥammad's lifetime, but the Monophysites, with their connection to Abyssinia, were the politically dominant (cf. the story of the Christian city of Najrān and its famous martyrs). The Persian Nestorians also had a fairly visible role (see below, under "Najrān" in *Episodes*). In addition to the explicit mentions of "Christians" or Christian doctrines that appear in the Qurʾān, certain verses are understood to be allusions to Muḥammad's (or his followers') encounters with specific Christian groups (see below under *Episodes*).

Like the Jews, the Christians are included in such categories as "Children of Israel" and "People of the Book." But, rather than a literal translation of the Greek term "Christian" (i.e. the Ar. *masīḥiyya*), the qurʾānic Christians are termed *al-naṣāra,* most likely in reference to the *nisba* of Jesus (q.v.), i.e. the "Nazarene" (for discussion of the possible significations of this term, see McAuliffe, *Qurʾānic,* 93-128). This term, one that appears to be unique to the Qurʾān, as well as the qurʾānic descriptions of their beliefs, has led to some speculation about the exact nature of the Christians in the qurʾānic milieu: were they (an otherwise-unattested) Jewish-Christian sect (i.e. pace S. Pines, Notes; cf. id., *Jewish Christians;* id., Gospel quotations; but, for an argument against any Muslim awareness of "Jewish-Christians," cf. S.M. Stern, New light; cf. also id., Quotations)? Besides the lack of external evidence for the presence of

"Jewish Christians" in the qurʾānic milieu, the polemical intent of the Qurʾān must be considered when reading the passages that allude to other monotheists. If the Prophet's qurʾānic preaching assumes a knowledge on the part of its audience of the phenomena of which it speaks, it would have the liberty to exaggerate and distort — even "name-call" — in its efforts to persuade its own listeners (i.e. once it became clear that the Jews and Christians would refuse to accept Muḥammad as a prophet in the path of Abraham, Moses [q.v.] and Jesus). In this context, the change of both the *qibla* (q.v.), or direction of prayer, as well as the parameters for fasting (q.v.) have been cited as evidence of the concrete measures that were taken to distance the qurʾānic adherents from the "People of the Book" (cf. Katz, *Body of text,* for discussion of the historical arguments for permissible mingling, or mandatory separation, of the communities due to arguments of ritual cleanliness; see CLEANLINESS AND ABLUTION; RITUAL PURITY). Thus, the abbreviated references to "Christian" or "Jewish" doctrines need not be taken as unambiguous and accurate attestation of the specific tenets (or practices) of these communities, although the qurʾānic indications of Jewish and Christian arguments over Abraham and the Sabbath (q.v.) may well be reflective of such disputes in Muḥammad's milieu.

A further indication of the close contact of the first Muslim community with Jews and Christians is found in the early ḥadīth and *sīra* accounts. The format of the argumentation for Muḥammad's prophethood closely parallels that present in Talmudic and Christian prophetology. Additionally, such discussions often cite Christian and/or Jewish texts as supporting Muḥammad's prophethood (in this regard one may note, respectively, the discussions of Muḥammad as "Aḥmad," understood by Muslim commentators to be the Johannine Paraclete and as the *"ummī"* [q.v.] — or gentile [i.e. *goy*] — prophet; see McAuliffe, Qurʾānic context; see also ILLITERACY). The commentaries on the Qurʾān (which probably emerge as separate works at a slightly later date than the *sīra* and ḥadīth) incorporate these arguments, continuing the trend of inter-communal dependence (for further discussion of the chronology of the early Islamic literature, see Rubin, *Eye,* chaps. 1 and 14).

Magians, Sabians and *ḥunafāʾ*

A *hapax legomenon,* the "Majūs" (commonly understood to be Zoroastrians) are added to the list of qurʾānic "Peoples of the Book" in the late Medinan Q 22:17. The commentators, however, ordinarily stress the distinctions among all of the groups mentioned in this verse. Al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923), for example, cites Qatāda in glossing *al-majūs* as those who worship the sun, the moon and fire (*Jāmiʿ,* ad loc.).

Whether they are to be considered as "People of the Book" was a debated issue in Islamic law, but, traditionally, the Zoroastrians have been accorded the status of *dhimma* (protected religious minority) in Islamic states. Originally an ancient Iranian priestly class (closely associated with the ruling elite in Sasanid Persia), in the Qurʾān and later Arabic sources, the term *majūs* primarily connotes Zoroastrians, the public cult of which involved fire ceremonies, animal sacrifices and liturgical recitations. Manichaeism, Buddhism and conversion to Christianity all contributed to the erosion of the position of the Zoroastrians within Persian areas during Sasanian times; during Muḥammad's lifetime, descendants of Persian soldiers in the Yemen were converted to Islam; in Iraq, units of the Sasanian army converted to Islam; and, by 101/720, the Majūs in al-Ḥīra were

Muslims (Morony, Madjūs, 1111). At the fall of Sasanian Persia to the Muslims in 30/651, the Magians were accorded the status of *dhimma* so long as they paid the poll tax or *jizya* (for further discussion, see Morony, Madjūs).

The Sabians appear in three qurʾānic verses (Q 2:62; 5:69; 22:17), always in conjunction with "believers" (*allādhīna āmanū,* frequently glossed by Muslim commentators as those who believe 'in the Qurʾān'), Jews and Christians, and once with Magians, as well. Not to be confused with the Sabaeans (i.e. the inhabitants of Sheba [q.v.]), it is not clear exactly which group the Qurʾān intends by this designation (see the *EI²* articles Ṣābiʾ and Ṣābiʾa for the differing opinions of DeBlois and Bosworth as to their identity). Mandaeans and Elchasaites (an ancient Jewish Christian sect that persisted in southern Iraq), as well as Manichaeans, have been proposed (see DeBlois, Ṣābiʾ). It is apparent, however, that they are considered a group separate from the Jews, Christians, polytheists and Zoroastrians (i.e. Magians) and that they were distinct or visible enough to warrant qurʾānic mention. In any event, the qurʾānic Sabians should not be equated with the polytheists in Ḥarrān who adopted the term "Sabian" to designate themselves in the third/ninth century in order to obtain the status of *dhimma* within the Islamic state (DeBlois, Ṣābiʾ; see also Watt, Ḥanīf, for a discussion of the claims of these Harranian Hellenized pagans to the qurʾānic monotheistic designation of *ḥanīf;* for further discussion of the exegetical identification of the qurʾānic Sabians, see McAuliffe, Exegetical identification).

As mentioned above, for the Qurʾān Abraham is the prime example of a *ḥanīf,* or true monotheistic believer — and neither a Jew nor a Christian. Never mentioned in the qurʾānic listings of religious groups (e.g. Q 5:69; 22:17), it has been suggested that *ḥanīf* is a term used specifically by Arabian monotheists who had rejected the idolatrous religion of their families, although it was also used by polytheists who only observed some rites of their religion. Muslim sources indicate that there was a pre-Islamic monotheistic cult or religion of Abraham in Arabia, members of which appeared even to inhabit Muḥammad's milieu (i.e. his wife Khadīja's [q.v.] relative Waraqa b. Nawfal; cf. Ibn Isḥāq, *Sīra,* 143-9; Eng. trans. Ibn Isḥāq-Guillaume, 98-103; see INFORMANTS for a critique of the traditional Muslim account of the monotheists in Muḥammad's milieu). The *Sīra* of Ibn Isḥāq (d. ca. 150/767), for example, describes the *ḥanīf* as turning away from the idolatry of their parents, adopting the religion of Abraham, but not necessarily becoming Muslims (i.e. Zayd b. ʿAmr: Ibn Isḥāq, *Sīra,* 144-7; Eng. trans. Ibn Isḥāq-Guillaume, 99-101; cf. Wansbrough, *Sectarian milieu,* 4-7; Rubin, *Eye,* 47-8). Regardless of the status of the *ḥanīf* in pre-Islamic times, the qurʾānic identification of *ḥanīf*s with true believers, but not necessarily Muslims, is continued in later Islamic history (although, unlike Jews, Christians, Sabians and Magians, the Qurʾān does indicate that a *ḥanīf* can be identical with a Muslim — in connection with Abraham, cf. Q 3:67). While the qurʾānic Magians and Sabians are not *ḥanīf*s, in the post-qurʾānic period a group who termed themselves Sabians also appears to have claimed the designation of *ḥanīf* (see Watt, Ḥanīf). In short, it is not obvious whether — or if ever — the *ḥunafāʾ* were considered by their contemporaries to be an identifiable religious group.

Polytheists and idolaters

Traditional discussions of the Meccan milieu in which Muḥammad was born identify the majority of Meccans as neither Jews nor Christians, but as practitioners of

traditional tribal cultic practices. In the Qurʾān, these individuals are termed *mushrikūn* (lit. "associators"), and there are also allusions to people who worship idols (*aṣnām;* see IDOLS AND IMAGES; IDOLATRY AND IDOLATERS). Whatever their religious orientation, the *mushrikūn* are the Meccans who did not acknowledge Muḥammad as a prophet sent from God, or accept his claim that there is only one true God. As presented in traditional Muslim sources, the reasons for their denial of Muḥammad's prophethood fluctuate between their desire to maintain control of the polytheistic sanctuary at Mecca and their jealous protection of the social status that they had attained through the lucrative caravan (q.v.) trade. In one reading of the reasons for the rise of Islam, Muḥammad preached a message that appealed to people who were becoming marginalized within a society of increasing wealth and of sharp disparities between the rich and the poor. Further, the wealthy Meccans feared that the "radical" social component of Muḥammad's message would weaken their hold on the economy of the city, and that his deposing of the gods would disrupt the profitable pilgrimage (q.v.) to the Kaʿba (q.v.). In this version of early Islamic history, Muḥammad eventually appropriated the mechanism established by the Meccan traders, facilitating the spread of Islam (cf. Watt, *Muhammad at Mecca;* for a revisionist reading of the rise of Islam, see Crone, *Meccan trade,* where it is argued that rather than Meccan trading interests, local Arab tribal concerns prompted the rise and spread of Islam).

Although it is not clear to what extent, in the qurʾānic purview, Jews, and particularly Christians, might fall in the category of "associators," later Muslim exegetes have often placed Christians and Jews, despite their status as "People of the Book," in this category. The polemical writings of John of Damascus (d. 135/753) attest that within the first Islamic century, Christians were termed "associators" by the Muslims (although John's Greek text uses the term Saracenes, and not Muslims; cf. his *De haeresibus,* chap. 100-1 in Sahas, *John of Damascus;* for further and more recent discussion of early non-Muslim perceptions of Islam, the Qurʾān and Muḥammad see Hoyland, Earliest Christian writings on Muḥammad).

In general, it may be said that, despite the qurʾānic distinction between "Peoples of the Book" and those who have no book — the Arabian "idolaters" or "polytheists" — as well as the distinctions made between the Jews and Christians, in both the Qurʾān and later exegesis, those who would deny Muḥammad and the Qurʾān — be they associators, Christians or Jews — are viewed as falling within the general rubric of "disbelief" or "ingratitude," i.e. *kufr.* Q 2:105 and 98:1 are often cited in this context, as well as Q 9:31, which accuses Christians of taking their religious leaders and Jesus as "lords" — in place of the one, true lord: i.e. God (cf. Hawting, *Idea of idolatry,* 49-50 for a fuller discussion of this concept). That being said, however, there is no one formula for the ways in which Muslims interacted with, or categorized, non-Muslims — either in the Qurʾān or later in Islamic history. Pragmatic, as well as doctrinal, concerns affected the treatment of those who were not Muslims. For example, despite the traditional understanding of the so-called Sword Verses (Q 9:5 and 9:29), which exhort the conversion to Islam of "associators" and the "tolerance" of People of the Book, in India, Hindus — not one of the qurʾānic Peoples of the Book — were allowed to practice their religion as long as they paid the poll tax (*jizya;* for more on this topic, see below under "Guidance for Muslim behavior"; see also TOLERANCE

AND COMPULSION; POLITICS AND THE QUR'ĀN).

Qur'ānic indications of interreligious interactions

Episodes

In addition to the above-mentioned political conflicts with the Jewish tribes of Medina, there are a number of qur'ānic indications of early interactions with non-Muslims of a specifically religious nature. All of these interactions occur with Christians, specifically with Monophysite Christians. In addition to the allusions to the "Byzantines" (q.v.; *al-Rūm*, i.e. Q 30:2 — albeit in a military context), Muslim commentators have traditionally understood certain qur'ānic passages to refer to two particular Christian polities: Abyssinia (q.v.) and Najrān (q.v.). According to the traditional Muslim sources, Muḥammad and the nascent Muslim community had political and theological exchanges with both, as will be seen below. But first a discussion of Muslim claims that individual Christians attested to the truth of Islam is in order.

Although not mentioned in the Qur'ān, later Islamic sources claim that Muḥammad had personal encounters with Christian monks who, in the Muslim reports, recognized the "signs of prophecy" on the Prophet (cf. Rubin, *Eye*, 48, for some instances of Companions meeting Christian scholars and hermits in pre-Islamic times, who knew of Muḥammad's impending mission through their own knowledge of their scriptures; see COMPANIONS OF THE PROPHET). Christian sources also describe encounters with Christian monks but in these accounts, the Christian acts as Muḥammad's informant about divine revelation. Interestingly, although frequently this monastic informant is termed a 'Nestorian,' the denomination of the informant does vary, depending upon the community in which the account is relayed. For example, it is likely that the accounts of the Nestorian Sargis-Baḥīrā circulated in a Syrian Jacobite (i.e. "monophysite") milieu (cf. Griffith, Syriac writers, 48; see also Abel, Baḥīrā, for instances of Jacobite, Arian and iconoclast informants; see also ICONOCLASM). The most common figure in both the Christian and Muslim accounts is the monk Baḥīrā (for discussion of this figure see Roggema, Christian reading; id., Legend). There are also accounts of a Jewish scribe of Muḥammad who, again, depending on the vantage point of the relater, either instructs Muḥammad in the Jewish faith, or confirms Muḥammad's prophethood (for details, see Gilliot, Informants). Finally, members of the family of Muḥammad's first wife, Khadīja, appear to have been Christian (or at least monotheists in the tradition of Abraham), and to have confirmed his claims to prophesy.

In addition to these non-qur'ānic assertions of independent (primarily Christian) attestation to the truth of Muḥammad's mission, there are traditions about two face-to-face encounters between the nascent Muslim community and Christians and consequent discussions concerning the nature of Jesus, the son of Mary (q.v.), traditions that invoke qur'ānic verses in support of the 'historicity' of these meetings.

Abyssinia

An ancient Monophysite Christian kingdom that had ruled part of southern Arabia in the sixth century (see ABRAHA), Abyssinia was also the destination of the first emigration (q.v.) out of Mecca (ca. 615 C.E.) of a small group of Muḥammad's followers. Due to the persecution by the Meccan pagans, Muḥammad encouraged some of the Muslims to leave and to go to Abyssinia (Ibn Isḥāq, *Sīra*, 208; Eng. trans. Ibn Isḥāq-Guillaume, 146; cf. Watt,

Muhammad at Mecca, 112-7). The Negus (*al-najāshī,* i.e. the Abyssinian ruler) is said to have granted them refuge, after asking about their knowledge of Jesus, the son of Mary (cf. Wansbrough, *Qs,* 38-43, for one interpretation of the later Islamic tradition on the welcome accorded the Muslims refugees). Q 19:16-21 was revealed just prior to this emigration, and it is this passage that is traditionally considered to have constituted the emigrants' response to the Negus' questioning: "Mention in the book Mary when she withdrew from her family to an eastern place. She placed a *ḥijāb* [to screen herself; see VEIL] from them, and we sent her our spirit (q.v.) who appeared to her as a man, complete. She said: 'I seek refuge in the merciful from you — if you fear God.' He said: 'I am only a messenger of your lord [to tell] you of the gift of a holy son.' She said: 'How can I have a son since no man has touched me and I am not unchaste (see CHASTITY)?' He said: 'Like this. Your lord says…'" Although most of these first emigrants did not stay in Abyssinia, but returned to Mecca or left for Medina, this memory of Abyssinia and its Christians remained enshrined in later Muslim consciousness.

Najrān

Another early Muslim-Christian encounter, but one of a slightly different nature, concerns a delegation from the Christian martyropolis of Najrān (q.v.; not named in the Qurʾān, but probably alluded to in Q 34:18, 85:10 and also possibly in Q 85:4-9, although Shahid disputes this last claim; see NAJRĀN) sent to Muḥammad in Medina, after the Muslim conquest of south Arabia. Although some sources indicate that this mission had a theological purpose, namely to understand the Muslim position on the nature of Jesus (i.e. Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr;* Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr,* ad Q 3:61), the delegation to Muḥammad seems to have been prompted by the political exigency of determining the conditions of Christian life under the new Muslim rulers. Q 3:61 is believed to have been revealed in response to the challenge posed by the Christians, a challenge in which the parties of the dispute would present their case, pray and invoke the curse (q.v.) of God upon the liars. The delegation from Najrān, however, withdrew from the contest, averting the mutual adjuration (*mubāhala;* see OATHS). Muḥammad did, however, conclude a treaty with them (the first between the Muslim state and an independent Christian entity), in which they were assured of their freedom of worship in exchange for the payment of the annual tribute (see POLL TAX; TAXATION).

The theological orientation of these Najrān Christians is not clear; although traditionally a center of Monophysite Christianity (Shahid, Nadjrān), some of the Nestorian missionaries who followed the trade routes to India settled in the area of the Persian Gulf and south Arabia (Holmberg, Nasṭūriyyūn, 1030). Additionally, the Persian conquest of south Arabia in 597 C.E. may have witnessed an increased Nestorian presence in the area (further to this see Shahid, Nadjrān; Pellat, Ḳuss b. Sāʿida al-Iyādī; Holmberg, Nasṭūriyyūn).

Although contact with Jews appears to have been of a shorter duration (i.e. concentrated in the late Meccan and early Medinan periods), it was much more problematic for the early Muslim community, as it had negative political ramifications when the Jewish tribes of Medina allied themselves with Muḥammad's Meccan opponents in an attempt to undermine his leadership in Medina. The increasingly harsh measures taken against these Jewish tribes — successive expulsions of two of the major tribes in 624 and 625 C.E., culminating in the massacre of the men and

enslavement of the women and children of Banū Qurayẓa in 627 C.E. — appears to have precluded any conciliatory contact (along the lines of that with the Christians) between the early Muslims and Jews. Nevertheless, the picture of early Jewish-Muslim contacts is not entirely bleak: there are accounts, for example, of Jewish converts to Islam — at least one of Muḥammad's Companions, and probably one of his wives, were Jews (see QURAYẒA). Finally, it should be noted that there are no attestations of Muḥammad's coming into contact himself with either the "Majūs" or the "Ṣābiʾūn."

But the qurʾānic discourse concerning non-Muslims is not limited to those incidents in which, according to the traditional interpretations, Muḥammad or the Muslims actually had political and theological discussions with individuals who did not accept the qurʾānic message. In fact, the majority of allusions to the People of the Book or Children of Israel (which references are more numerous than those to Jews or Christians) are understood to be assertions about what these people believe — or how they have gone astray (q.v.) from God's divinely revealed message (see REVELATION AND INSPIRATION) — independent of any precipitating interaction with a Jew or Christian. And this rhetoric has generated a great deal of commentary on the part of Muslim exegetes and, later, spurred the composition of many apologetic treatises by those Christians and Jews living in Islamic lands.

Rhetoric: polemic and apologetic

Besides the Arabian "associators," the Jews and the Christians are clearly the two religious communities with whom Muḥammad and the Qurʾān had the most experience (although it should be emphasized that, aside from the Jewish tribes of Medina and the Christian delegation from Najrān, Muḥammad seems not to have had contact with any Jewish or Christian community per se, but rather only with individual Jews and Christians). Once the qurʾānic proclamation of an exclusively monotheistic religion is put forth, the *mushrikūn* are seen as unbelievers who need to be brought to the true faith. Concerning the Jews and Christians, with whom the Qurʾān shares a common scriptural heritage, there is a much more ambivalent depiction. In short, it appears that the qurʾānic attitudes towards these groups fluctuate in accordance with the political situation of Muḥammad and the Muslim community, as well as with regard to these groups' acceptance or rejection of the message that Muḥammad proclaimed. The following provides just a few examples of the qurʾānic rhetoric about, and in response to, Jews and Christians (see also POLEMIC AND POLEMICAL LANGUAGE).

Polemic

Although the initial and most virulent thrust appears aimed at the Jews, the boundary between anti-Jewish and anti-Christian polemic is quickly blurred. Aside from a few positive statements about Christians that are in marked contrast to those about Jews (i.e. Q 5:82), what seems to be a defense of Jesus against Jewish slander (their non-acceptance of his prophetic status; his crucifixion; and the calumny against Mary) is also a chastisement of Christians for "exaggerating" in their religion, particularly as regards the Incarnation and the Trinity. In a passage whose exact meaning varies depending upon its grammatical analysis, Christians are also accused of "inventing monasticism" (Q 57:27). Additionally, there is the rather enigmatic polemical accusation that Jews have taken Ezra (q.v.) as a son of God (Q 9:30). Although the polemic against the

Christians is less pervasive and somewhat less virulent than that against the Jews, in the final analysis, Jews and Christians are considered allies of one another — and are not to be taken as friends by the believers (Q 5:51).

Apologetic

In addition to the negative remarks about Judaism and Christianity mentioned above, the Qurʾān also contains positive assertions about its own message and the prophethood of Muḥammad, assertions that seem to be a clear response to Jewish or Christian challenges (for this theme, see Gaudeul, *Encounters,* i, 12-19). To the Jewish challenge that racially Muḥammad could not be a prophet (there are no prophets outside of Israel), the Qurʾān responds that Abraham was not a Jew, but was a believer, a Muslim, a *ḥanīf* (Q 3:67). The argument that Muḥammad's teachings do not conform to the Bible (see SCRIPTURE AND THE QURʾĀN) is also turned against the Jews, for they have broken God's covenant (q.v.; cf. e.g. Q 2:27, 63-4), falsified their scriptures (cf. e.g. Q 2:77-9; see REVISION AND ALTERATION), and rejected his prophets, among them Moses and Jesus (e.g. Q 2:67 f., 87 f.; see also DISOBEDIENCE; cf. Q 2:65). There are also self-conscious rejections of Jewish practices: i.e. the change of the *qibla* from Jerusalem (q.v.) towards Mecca (Q 2:142), as well as the reduction of the fasting of ʿĀshūrāʾ (cf. Q 2:183-5; see Goitein, Ramadan; see also RAMAḌĀN). The response to the Christians focuses mainly on Trinitarian or Christological themes (i.e. Q 5:73, do not say God is a third of three, *thālithu thalāthatin;* cf. Griffith, Syriacisms, for an argument that this is an Arabicized rendition of a Syriac word that, in the new linguistic medium, loses its original sense — i.e. the Syriac epithet *thlīthāyâ,* a title of Christ), but there are some assertions of what could be read as Christian-Muslim collaboration or complicity (i.e. Q 61:6, wherein Jesus foretells a prophet called 'Aḥmad'). See also APOLOGETICS.

Responses

The early ʿAbbāsid period (i.e. 132-441/750-1050) saw a particularly rich production of Muslim and Christian polemic. Intent on disabusing Muslims of the image conveyed in the Qurʾān, and encouraged by an atmosphere of perhaps unparalleled interreligious communication, Christians (and Jews) wrote a number of treatises in defense of their faith. For their part, Muslims went beyond the qurʾānic claims and demonstrated an intimate knowledge of the various religious communities of their own day — even down to the confessional divisions among the Christians (e.g. ʿAbd al-Jabbār's *Tathbīt dalāʾil al-nubuwwa;* for a survey of the Islamic sources, see Thomas, *Anti-Christian polemic,* 31-50; Griffith, The monk in the emir's *majlis,* presents an overview of the earliest such Christian apologetics; see also Ibn Kammūna [d. 683/1284-5], *Tanqīḥ al-abḥāth lil-milal al-thalāth,* for an example of early Jewish apologetics).

Additional attestation of interest in, and intimate knowledge of, Jewish and Christian literature is demonstrated by the familiarity of Muslim authors with extracanonical Jewish and Christian lore that is evidenced in the genre of Islamic literature known as *Isrāʾīliyyāt,* much of which is incorporated in the post-qurʾānic "stories of the prophets" (see McAuliffe, Assessing). The development of both Islamic dialectical theology *(kalām)* and Islamic mysticism, which flourished in the early ʿAbbāsid period, may also trace its roots to the interactions with the Christians in the conquered lands, especially those living on the frontier between Byzantium and Persia (see ṢŪFISM AND THE QURʾĀN; THEOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN).

Although the early debates over the createdness of the Qurʾān (q.v.; see also INIMITABILITY) and the Muslim literature on "proofs of prophethood" (e.g. ʿAbd al-Jabbār's *Tathbīt*) may plausibly have arisen in a religiously pluralistic environment in which Christians, in particular, took part (cf. e.g. Thomas, *Christians at the heart of Islamic rule;* id., *Anti-Christian polemic in early Islam;* id., *Early Muslim polemic against Christianity*), the classical Islamic response to religious pluralism is perhaps best seen in the development of the sectarian and heresiographical genre (*ʿilm al-firaq* and *al-milal wa-l-niḥal*). Representative works of this genre include ʿAbd al-Qāhir al-Baghdādī's (d. 429/1037) *al-Farq bayna l-firaq,* Ibn Ḥazm's (456/1064) *al-Fiṣal fī l-milal wa-l-ahwāʾ wa-l-niḥal* and al-Shahrastānī's (d. 548/1153) *Kitāb al-Milal wa-l-niḥal*. Such works catalogue and discuss, variously, heterodox versions of Islam, non-Muslim religions and forms of philosophical speculation. Further reflection on Jewish and Christian material is provided by works that consider the relation of earlier scriptures and the qurʾānic revelation. There is a long tradition of Muslim biblical scholarship that spans works of history, exegesis, and heresiography (McAuliffe, Qurʾānic context).

Inferring a qurʾānic attitude toward religious pluralism?

As already indicated, there is no single qurʾānic attitude towards members of other religions. An uninitiated reader of the Qurʾān might have difficulty in discerning the Qurʾān's opinion of a plurality of religions. Commentators found it helpful, therefore, to see the various — even, at times, conflicting — passages dealing with members of other religions as coming in response to certain incidents in Muḥammad's life. But it is equally important to understand how the passages have been utilized by later interpreters of the Qurʾān as either supporting or condemning the beliefs, practices — even existence — of non-Muslims within the domain of Islam. The following is a brief overview of a selection of modern Muslim attitudes towards the subject, as well as certain qurʾānic passages that have frequently been used by Muslims in discussions about members of other faith communities, followed by a presentation of some possible qurʾānic "guidelines" for Muslim behavior towards non-Muslims in the face of a plurality of religions.

Approbation and denigration

There is no one qurʾānic judgment about religious plurality. On the one hand, there are statements, frequently cited today by prominent religious spokespersons like Yūsuf al-Qaraḍāwī and other advocates of the virtues of the Islamic state (cf. e.g. Qaraḍāwī, al-Aqaliyyāt wa-taṭbīq al-sharīʿa al-islāmiyya), that may be read as an exhortation to tolerance of other religions (cf. Mottahedeh, Toward an Islamic theology of toleration). In this reading, religious plurality is permissible (at least as far as monotheists/People of the Book are concerned), as long as Muslims dominate the political sphere and the minorities adhere to the rules put forth in the *sharīʿa* for the proper comportment of non-Muslims. Behind the qurʾānic statements that allow for the existence of other religions is an implicit acknowledgment of the virtues of adherents of other religions, e.g. references to the notion that Christians have helped Muslims, and Jews and Christians have some knowledge of scripture. On the other hand, contemporary extremists such as Usāma b. Lādin, in the tradition of exegetes like Ibn Taymiyya (d. 728/1328) and Sayyid Quṭb (d. 1966), may cite certain verses (e.g. Q 9:5) in support of a rejection of the plurality of religions, and a negative

judgment on non-Muslims. In this reading, there can be no legitimate compromise or collaboration with non-Muslims, or, for that matter, with bad Muslims. Qurʾānic themes such as the eschatological punishment of non-Muslims, their opposition to Muḥammad (q.v.), Islam as the only true religion in God's eyes, Jews and Christians having gone beyond the bounds of their religion — form part of this reading of the qurʾānic denigration of other religions, and a resultant denial of the legitimacy of religious plurality. In the light of these conflicting qurʾānic themes, the question remains: What does the Qurʾān exhort Muslims to do in the face of a plurality of religions?

Guidance for Muslim behavior

While verses such as Q 109:6 have been understood to acknowledge the existence of a plurality of religions ("to you your *dīn* and to me mine"), there have been various interpretations of what this means: it was directed to those of the Quraysh (q.v.) who mocked *(al-mustahziʾūn)* Muḥammad's monotheism (Muqātil, *Tafsīr,* iv, 887-8; see SATANIC VERSES); it is an affirmation of the distinction between the religion of the Muslim and the *mushrik* (and not "true" Jews, for Jews worship God; ibid.), it is a disavowal of everything in which the idolaters are involved (Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr,* ad loc.). Likewise, Q 2:256, "there is no compulsion in religion," thought to have been revealed after the submission of the Arabs (cf. Muqātil, *Tafsīr,* ad loc., for a discussion of the distinction between the terms of submission for the People of the Book and those who were not such; also Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr,* ad loc., where reference is to the situation of children of the Helpers who were being raised among the Banū l-Naḍīr at the time of their expulsion; see EMIGRANTS AND HELPERS), indicates a qurʾānic acknowledgment that not everyone will accept the truth of the Qurʾān's message. But this, too, has received a variety of interpretations: Muḥammad did not compel any of the Meccans to accept Islam; the people of the two books and the Magians may pay the *jizya* and live peaceably in an Islamic state; there is never force against anyone who has paid the *jizya* (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* ad loc.) A survey of Muslim exegesis, however, reveals that there is certainly no glorification of the diversity of religious belief. Rather, it is accepted as an inevitable aspect of human existence. Generally, the exegetes do not interpret the Qurʾān as exhorting a forcible conversion to Islam. But there is also no false irenicism: those who do not heed the qurʾānic message are promised punishment in the afterlife (see REWARD AND PUNISHMENT). The passages that extol the virtues of peoples of other faith communities are almost universally interpreted with a limited sense, i.e. those commendable individuals are people who did not go beyond the bounds of their religion, or who in some way assisted the Muslims or at least did not harm them. They know their proper place and do not put themselves above Muslims.

Although qurʾānic passages such as Q 2:256 ("there is no compulsion in *dīn*") or Q 109:6 ("to you your *dīn* and to me mine") are often cited as prooftexts for an Islamic tolerance of non-Muslims, as noted above, they have been variously interpreted over the course of Islamic history. Further, historical examples like the contrast between medieval Spain's expulsion of Jews and Istanbul's welcoming of them are frequently offered to argue for the benefits to non-Muslims of living in an Islamic polity, past or present (cf. Qaraḍāwī, al-ʿAqaliyyāt). But there are other passages that are not at all ambiguous in their exhortations of Islam as the true religion and their warnings to maintain

a distance from (adherents of) other religions.

Q 9:5 and 9:29 are perhaps the most famous or infamous of the qurʾānic verses that prescribe 'proper' behavior towards non-Muslims (see McAuliffe, Fakhr al-Dīn). But there are other, less frequently cited, verses that shed light on what may be called the "qurʾānic attitude to non-Muslims." The following is a sampling of these verses: Q 5:3, "I have approved Islam for your religion"; Q 30:30, "That is the right religion" (cf. Q 30:43; 39:3; 61:9; 98:5); Q 30:32, "those who have divided up their religion and become sects"; Q 2:193, "fight them until there is no persecution and the religion in God's"; Q 24:2, "let no tenderness for them seize you in the matter of God's religion"; Q 4:171, "People of the Book, go not beyond the bounds in your religion" (cf. Q 5:77); Q 40:26, "I fear that he may change your religion."

Taken as a whole, the Qurʾān does evince a negative judgment on the People of the Book, claiming that they have exaggerated in their religion and even altered their scriptures (see also DISTORTION; FORGERY; PROVOCATION). The Muslims, therefore, should keep their distance and, when necessary, fight them — as well as other non-Muslims. It is the later exegetical literature, however, and the doctrine of abrogation (q.v.), that have formed the lenses through which the Qurʾān is viewed, and which have informed the traditional Muslim attitude towards non-Muslims. For despite the preponderance of qurʾānic passages that allude to the eschatological punishment of non-believers, it is the tendency of later exegetes to place all non-Muslims, even People of the Book, in that category that has encouraged a reading of the Qurʾān that can support an antagonistic attitude towards non-Muslims, and even towards Muslims who are considered not to be 'true' Muslims (cf. McAuliffe, Christians in the Qurʾān, for further discussion of the distinction between qurʾānic pronouncements and the later exegesis thereof).

Conclusion

It is generally established that by the end of the Umayyad period (ca. 132/750) Islam had come to be seen as the "religion of the Arabs." Emblematic of this association is the famous ḥadīth in which Jews and Christians are banned from the Arabian peninsula (based on the ritual impurity of "associators," mentioned in Q 9:28; cf. Rubin, Jews; cf. Katz, *Body of text,* for discussion of the "impurity" of the People of the Book), a situation still in evidence today (signs outside of Mecca and Medina prevent non-Muslims from entering the city limits). But whether Muḥammad intended such a situation is difficult to determine. In any event, Christian Arabs after the advent of Islam have experienced an inevitable crisis of identity (as "Arab" came to be all but synonymous with "Muslim," an identification that appears to have occurred at an early date; cf. the legal ruling in al-Shāfiʿī's *Kītāb al-Umm* that Christian Arabs are not "People of the Book," cited in Tritton, *Caliphs,* 92, and the Christian Arab refusal to pay the *jizya* on the basis of their being Arabs, cited in ibid, 89) and since the classical period Jewish tribes in Arabia have been all but unknown. In keeping with the qurʾānic injunction found in Q 9:29, Christians (and Jews, and, to a lesser extent, Mandaeans and Zoroastrians) have lived in Arabic-speaking areas of the Muslim world as protected (religious) minorities *(dhimma),* subject to their own religious authorities in legal cases, at least those that do not involve Muslims. As for their situation in non-Arab lands, there has been a relaxation of the traditional exclusion of polytheists from the status of protected religious minority. For example, in India,

Hindus were extended the protection of the Islamic state in exchange for a payment of the requisite tax, as was noted above. In keeping with the qurʾānic differentiation between Muslims and non-Muslims, and also with the qurʾānic injunctions of tolerance for non-Muslims, these non-Muslims have been allowed to live in Islamic lands, albeit as "second-class" citizens (and, it should be remarked, often subject to Islamic law).

History, however, continues to shape the reception of the Qurʾān and its interpretation. Considering the Crusades, the era of capitulations, colonialism and the more recent establishment of the state of Israel, a long sequence of events which is associated with the aggression of western imperialism, contemporary Muslim exegetes have tended to consider the qurʾānic verses that exhibit a more welcoming or tolerant attitude towards non-Muslims as abrogated by those that contain a harsher judgment of people who will not accept the truth of Islam, particularly when they are living in an Islamic polity.

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Remembrance

Recollection; state of being held in mind. Verbal and substantive expressions *(dhikr, dhikrā, tadhkira)* derived from the radical *dh-k-r* appear in 274 verses of the Qurʾān (excluding passages rendering the meaning of "male") and these have different

connotations depending on context (see Ahrens, Christliches, 39 for discussion of the etymology). In addition to the basic meaning of "remembrance" this vocabulary can be employed in the sense of "thinking of, speaking about, mentioning, reporting on, relating" as well as "admonition, warning."

Remembrance of God

The most important signification of the first form of the verb is "thinking about" or "calling to mind," with the remembrance of God being the primary focus (see MEMORY; PRAYER). In Q 29:45, "Recite what is sent of the book (q.v.) to you by inspiration (see REVELATION AND INSPIRATION; RECITATION OF THE QUR'ĀN), and establish regular prayer, for prayer restrains from shameful and evil deeds (q.v.), and remembrance of God is the greatest [thing in life] without doubt." Remembrance of God is even deemed superior to the religiously-mandated duties (e.g. the obligatory duty of prayer; see WORSHIP; RITUAL AND THE QUR'ĀN). Some further examples of qur'ānic descriptions of the remembrance of God are: Q 13:28, "Those who believe, and whose hearts find satisfaction in the remembrance of God; for without doubt in the remembrance of God do hearts find satisfaction" (see HEART; BELIEF AND UNBELIEF); Q 18:101, "[Unbelievers] whose eyes had been under a veil (q.v.) from remembrance of me, and who were unable to hear" (see SEEING AND HEARING; VISION AND BLINDNESS; HEARING AND DEAFNESS); and Q 20:14, "Verily, I am God. There is no god but I, so serve me [only], and establish regular prayer for my remembrance" (see WITNESS TO FAITH).

The Qur'ān sometimes specifies that the "name of God" should be remembered, as in Q 87:14-5: "But he will prosper who purifies himself, and remembers the name of his lord (q.v.), and prays" (see CLEANLINESS AND ABLUTION; RITUAL PURITY); and Q 22:40: "If God had not checked one set of people by means of another, monasteries, churches, synagogues, and mosques (see SACRED PRECINCTS; MONASTICISM AND MONKS; CHURCH; MOSQUE), in which the name of God is commemorated in abundant measure, would surely have been pulled down." This exhortation includes the proclamation of the divine name over slaughtered animals (see CONSECRATION OF ANIMALS; SLAUGHTER), e.g. Q 22:28: "That they may witness the benefits [provided for them], and celebrate the name of God, through the days appointed, over the cattle which he has provided for them [for sacrifice]: then eat thereof and feed the distressed ones in want" (see ALMSGIVING; POVERTY AND THE POOR; cf. Q 22:34 and 36 regarding the eating of sacrificial animals); and concerning the eating of animals in general, Q 5:4: "They ask you what is lawful (see LAWFUL AND UNLAWFUL) to them [as food]. Say: Lawful unto you are [all things] good and pure: and what you have taught your trained hunting animals [to catch] in the manner directed to you by God: eat what they catch for you, but pronounce the name of God over it (see BASMALA): and fear God; for God is swift in taking account" (see also Q 6:119, 121; see HUNTING AND FISHING; FOOD AND DRINK).

Also, individual acts attributed to God, like his favor (*ni'ma;* see GRACE; BLESSING), can occur as an object of remembrance, e.g. Q 5:7: "And call in remembrance the favor of God to you, and his covenant (q.v.), which he ratified with you, when you said: 'We hear and obey.' And fear God, for God knows well the secrets (q.v.) of your hearts" (see OBEDIENCE; HIDDEN AND THE HIDDEN; REFLECTION AND DELIBERATION); Q 5:11, "O you who believe! Call in remembrance the favor of God to you when certain men formed the design to

stretch out their hands towards you, and he stopped their hands from you: so fear God. And on God let believers put [all] their trust"; or Q 5:20, when Moses (q.v.) says, "O my people! Call in remembrance the favor of God to you, when he produced prophets (see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD) among you, made you kings (see KINGS AND RULERS), and gave you what he had not given to anyone in the world."

Sometimes *ālāʾ*, "benefits," is used instead of *niʿma*, particularly to recall a legendary occurrence in the past (see GENERATIONS; MYTHS AND LEGENDS IN THE QURʾĀN), e.g. Q 7:69: "Do you wonder that there has come to you a message from your lord through a man from among you, to warn you (see WARNER; MESSENGER)? Call in remembrance that he made you inheritors after the people of Noah (q.v.), and gave you a stature tall among the nations. Call in remembrance the benefits [you have received] from God. That you may prosper"; also Q 7:74: "And remember how he made you inheritors after the ʿĀd (q.v.) and gave you habitations in the land: you build for yourselves palaces and castles in [open] plains, and carve out homes in the mountains; so bring to remembrance the benefits (you have received) from God, and refrain from evil and mischief (see CORRUPTION) on the earth." God's behavior towards humankind is sometimes specified more precisely. For instance, people are reminded that they are created by God (e.g. Q 19:67: "Does not man recall [*yadhkuru*] that we created him before from nothing?"; see COSMOLOGY; CREATION), or that God instructs them (e.g. Q 2:239: "… But when you are secure, remember God *[udhkurū llāha]* in the manner he has taught you, which you knew not [before]"), and leads them the right way (e.g. Q 2:198, "… Remember him *[udhkurūhu]* as he has directed you, even though, before this, you went astray [q.v.]").

But the Qurʾān also recalls God or his benefits by recounting past events without the explicit use of the terminology for remembrance. Examples occur particularly in the long late Medinan sūras (q.v.; see also MEDINA; CHRONOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN) when the Israelites (see CHILDREN OF ISRAEL), for instance, are called to remember God's mercy (q.v.) and his benefits. While Q 2:47 uses the imperative *udhkurū* to exhort the Israelites to recall God's blessings upon them ("Children of Israel! Remember my favor wherewith I favored you and how I preferred you to (all) creatures"), the individual benefits of God are mentioned by means of a narrative (see NARRATIVES) about Moses (Q 2:49-73; e.g. Q 2:49: "And [remember], we delivered you from the people of Pharaoh [q.v.]: They set you hard tasks and punishments, slaughtered your sons and let your women-folk live; therein was a tremendous trial from your lord"). In this fashion, the Israelites are urged to recall these events and to acknowledge God as their author. Similarly, later in the same sūra, the Israelites are requested to recall the divine mercy (Q 2:122) and then their attention is called to a tale about Abraham (q.v.; Q 2:124-34).

The aim of these different demands for the remembrance of God can be summarized as follows. God must be remembered as creator and preserver of both humankind and the whole creation, but the request for this recollection can be either explicit or implicit (e.g. by the qurʾānic citation of past events as examples of God's mercy and his benefits).

Thus, the Qurʾān points again and again to human forgetfulness of God (see GRATITUDE AND INGRATITUDE), one of humanity's enduring characteristics. Q 5:12-4 presents the consequences of this forgetfulness, using the Israelites and Christians as a warning (see JEWS AND JUDAISM;

CHRISTIANS AND CHRISTIANITY). The peaceful communities dissolve while hatred and hostility take their place, a negative elucidation of the fact that people profit by constant remembrance of God and his deeds. For not only the community, but also the individual, can find peace and satisfaction by remembering God: "Those who believe, and whose hearts find satisfaction in the remembrance of God; for without doubt in the remembrance of God do hearts find satisfaction" (Q 13:28; see COMMUNITY AND SOCIETY IN THE QUR'ĀN; BELIEF AND UNBELIEF).

Means of remembering God

Although the Qur'ān does not always directly invite people to remember God, it does refer to itself as a revelation which conveys the divine word and thus commands actions approved by God. And, although the Qur'ān acknowledges the existence of other "scriptures" (e.g. the Torah [q.v.] and the Gospels [q.v.]; see also SCRIPTURE AND THE QUR'ĀN; cf. Q 2:63, which is in reference to Moses and the Children of Israel: "And remember we took your covenant and we raised above you the mount [saying:] 'Hold firmly to what we have given you and bring [ever] to remembrance what is therein: Perchance you may fear God'."), the Qur'ān itself is sometimes designated as "remembrance" or "reminder" (*tadhkira;* see NAMES OF THE QUR'ĀN) — as in Q 43:5, "Shall we then turn away the reminder from you altogether, for that you are a people transgressing beyond bounds (see BOUNDARIES AND PRECEPTS)?" — or as an admonition, as in Q 74:54-5: "Nay, this surely is an admonition: Let any who will, keep it in remembrance!" Q 38:1 indicates an exceptional case, in which the Qur'ān and the admonition appear together as a so-called oath formula (see OATHS; LANGUAGE AND STYLE OF THE QUR'ĀN): "By the Qur'ān, full of admonition: [this is the truth]." Q 11:120 refers in particular to the individual narratives (q.v.) concerning the former messengers: "All we relate to you of the stories of the messengers — with it we make firm your heart: in them there comes to you the truth, as well as an exhortation (q.v.) and a message of remembrance *(dhikrā)* to those who believe."

In this context, the meaning of the second form of *dh-k-r* — "remind of, call attention to" in the sense of "warn, admonish" — especially stands out. For the Qur'ān is singled out as a means of warning humankind against the consequences of overlooking God: "Leave alone those who take their religion to be mere play and amusement (see HUMOR; MOCKERY), the life of this world deceives them. But continue to admonish with it [the Qur'ān] lest a soul is caught in its own ruin by its own actions" (Q 6:70; see also e.g. Q 87:9). Likewise, the signs (q.v.; or verses [q.v.], *āyāt*) of God which do the admonishing, are mentioned, e.g. Q 18:57: "And who does more wrong than one who is reminded of the signs of his lord, but turns away from them, forgetting the [deeds] which his hand has sent forth?" (see also Q 25:73; 32:22). Sometimes divine activity within nature is specifically referenced (see NATURE AS SIGNS): "Do you not see that God sends down rain from the sky, and leads it through springs in the earth (see WELLS AND SPRINGS)? Then he causes to grow, therewith produce of various colors: then it withers; you will see it grow yellow; then he makes it dry up and crumble away. Truly, in that is a message of remembrance to people of understanding" (Q 39:21; see also Q 16:10-3; 25:45; for discussion of the *idhā-* phrases that contain an implicit exhortation to be mindful of God and the afterlife, see FORM AND STRUCTURE OF THE QUR'ĀN).

Remembrance in tradition (ḥadīth)

Numerous traditions deal with the remembrance of God (see ḤADĪTH AND THE QUR'ĀN) and, in general, address the qur'ānic themes on the subject. As an example, Muslim (d. ca. 261/875; *Ṣaḥīḥ,* bk. 37, *K. al-Tawba,* chap. 1, *Faḍl dawām al-dhikr wa-l-fikr fī umūr al-ākhira wa-l-murāqaba,* no. 4937) relates that Ḥanẓala Usayyidī, reportedly one of the Prophet's scribes, was tortured with doubts about the sincerity of his belief. As long as he was within the circle of Muḥammad's adherents, he was able to consider the things concerning the other world (see ESCHATOLOGY). As soon as he returned to everyday life, to his wife, his children or his business, however, he seemed to forget everything else. The Prophet would reassure him: "By him in whose hand is my life, if your state of mind remains the same as it is in my presence and you are always busy in remembrance (of God), the angels will shake hands with you in your beds and in your paths but, Ḥanẓala, time should be devoted (to the worldly affairs) and time (should be devoted to prayer and meditation)." Thus this ḥadīth expresses the conviction that remembrance of God is an important virtue that can compensate for other negligence. Abū Dāwūd (d. 275/889; *Sunan,* bk. 41, *K. al-Adab. Bāb fī kaffāra al-majlis,* no. 4216) relates an account of assemblies which serve a noble cause or are held for the remembrance of God: "There are some expressions which, if a man utters [them] three times when he gets up from an assembly, he will be forgiven for what happened in the assembly; and no one utters them in an assembly held for a noble cause or for remembrance of God but that [it] is stamped with them just as a document is stamped with a signet-ring. These expressions are: Glory be to you, oh God, and I begin with praise of you, there is no God but you; I ask your pardon, and return to you in repentance" (see REPENTANCE AND PENANCE; FORGIVENESS; LAUDATION; GLORIFICATION OF GOD). Again, in al-Bukhārī's (d. 256/870) *Ṣaḥīḥ* (bk. 10, *K. Mawāqīt al-ṣalāt,* chap. 37, *Man nasiya ṣalāt fa-l-yasilidha dhakara wa-lā yuʿīdu illā tilka l-ṣalāt,* no. 562; Eng. trans. i, 328), there is a report about the Prophet's declaration concerning the relationship between prayer and remembrance of God, in which he cites Q 20:14: "The Prophet said, 'If anyone forgets a prayer he should pray that prayer when he remembers it. There is no expiation except to pray the same.' Then he recited: 'Establish prayer for my remembrance'." Another combination of remembrance of God with ritual duties is found in Abū Dāwūd (*Sunan,* bk. 10, *K. al-Manāsik wa-l-ḥajj. Bāb fī l-raml,* no. 1612): "The apostle of God (peace be upon him) said: Going round the house (the Kaʿba), running between al-Ṣafā and stoning of the pillars are meant for the remembrance of God" (see also Q 2:197-200; see KAʿBA; ṢAFĀ AND MARWA; PILGRIMAGE; PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QUR'ĀN).

As these few examples illustrate, the remembrance of God is not simply a theological postulate but is also important in the everyday life of the believing community (see EVERYDAY LIFE, THE QUR'ĀN IN).

Remembrance in theology

Muslim theologians have also addressed aspects of the concept and the function of remembrance. In his explanation of Q 21:2 the Ashʿarī writer al-Bāqillānī (d. 403/1013) interprets remembrance *(dhikr)* as *waʿẓ,* admonition by the Prophet, and, at the same time, promise *(waʿd)* and intimidation *(takhwīf)*. Based on the qur'ānic characterization of this prophetic "admonition"

as originated *(muḥdath),* he draws the conclusion that there must also exist an eternal kind of *dhikr*. Al-Bāqillānī considers another meaning of *dhikr* as underlying Q 65:10-1, in which the messenger of God himself is called *dhikr,* that is to say, divine admonition for humankind, by his recitation of the verses of God (see NAMES OF THE PROPHET).

In contrast, the Māturīdī theologian al-Ṣaffār al-Bukhārī (d. 534/1139) refers to remembrance in the sense of "pointing out" or "informing" *(tanabbuh),* with reflection *(fikr)* on the subject being possibly but not absolutely demanded. Further, the author reads *dhikr* as remembrance of God by speaking of the Qurʾān as containing the details of the true religion (see RELIGIOUS PLURALISM AND THE QURʾĀN).

A transition towards Ṣūfism can be found in the theosophy of Ibn al-ʿArabī (d. 638/1240). In *al-Futūḥāt al-makkiyya* (chap. 142, *Fī maʿrifat maqām al-dhikr wa-asrārihi:* ii, 228-9) the author describes *dhikr* as a divine attribute (see GOD AND HIS ATTRIBUTES) and Q 2:152 as the answer to the *dhikr* of creatures. According to Ibn al-ʿArabī, mentioning or remembering the name of God refers to his essence *(ʿayn)*. For this reason, *dhikr* should not be restricted to certain forms, but should be expressed by calling the divine name (see also THEOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN).

Remembrance in Islamic mysticism

The admonition to remember God that is constantly expressed by the Qurʾān, together with a recognition of the divine activity of creation and of God's signs within the world finally led to the special connotation of *dhikr* in Ṣūfism (see ṢŪFISM AND THE QURʾĀN). In this connection, *dhikr* means, first of all, the act of remembrance itself, but also the oral expression of this act and, finally, the special form of that orality. As mentioned above, in Q 29:45 remembrance of God is equated with ritual prayer, if not esteemed more highly. Nevertheless, mystics were often reproached for choosing *dhikr* above ritual prayer *(ṣalāt)*.

In general, remembrance of God in Ṣūfism can be performed in silence (individual *dhikr*) or aloud (individual or collective *dhikr*). Likewise, the threefold classification that comprises *dhikr* of the tongue, *dhikr* of the heart, and *dhikr* of the inner self *(sirr)* became a characteristic of Ṣūfism. This special kind of divine service distinguishes Ṣūfīs from other believers, and the different Ṣūfī brotherhoods have developed different forms of these rituals. Through constant repetition of the divine name or of certain formulas like the profession of faith *(shahāda)* the whole being of the Ṣūfī is consumed by remembrance of God. All else is effaced and states of ecstasy are experienced during voiced and collective *dhikr*.

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Remnant

The remains of a destroyed abode of sinful people. The total destruction of former generations (q.v.) is a historical lesson for contemporary sinners (see SIN, MAJOR AND MINOR), as stated, for example, in Q 19:98: "And how many a generation *(qarn)* have we destroyed before them! Do you see any one of them or hear a sound of them?" (see GEOGRAPHY; HISTORY AND THE QUR'ĀN). Among these extinct sinners there were the peoples of ʿĀd (q.v.) and Thamūd (q.v.) about whom it is declared in Q 69:8 that one cannot see any remnant *(bāqiya)* of them. The Qurʾān emphasizes that God has cut off the last of them (*quṭiʿa dābiru l-qawmi;* see Q 6:45; 7:72), as was the case with the people of Lot (q.v.; Q 15:66).

Although the sinners of old were totally wiped out, God left remnants of their abodes to serve as a lesson for posterity. The lesson is called "a sign" (*āya;* see SIGNS), as is the case in Q 27:52, which deals with the sinners of Thamūd: "So those are their houses fallen down because they were unjust (see JUSTICE AND INJUSTICE). Most surely there is a sign in this for people who know." The desolate abodes *(masākin)* of Thamūd as well as of ʿĀd, which remained after their inhabitants had been destroyed, are mentioned also in Q 29:38 and Q 46:25 (cf. Q 14:45; 28:58). Muḥammad's unbelieving contemporaries actually used to go about among these dwellings (Q 20:128). In further passages, the unbelievers are requested to travel in the land and see what was the end *(ʿāqiba)* of the sinners of old, who, however, are not specifically identified (Q 3:137; 6:11; 12:109; 16:36; 27:69; 30:9; 35:44; 40:21, 82; 47:10; see LIE; GRATITUDE AND INGRATITUDE).

Remnants of the town of Lot (Sodom) also survived and God declares that he has left a clear sign of this town for people who understand (Q 29:35; also Q 32:26; 51:37; see KNOWLEDGE AND LEARNING). The Qurʾān stresses that the remnants of Lot's town can be seen by Muḥammad's unbelieving contemporaries who pass by when they go about their business in the land (Q 25:40; 37:137). They can see these remnants because they overlook the main road (Q 15:76). This applies also to the remains of the city of al-Ayka (Q 15:79; see PEOPLE OF THE THICKET). Remnants of Noah's (q.v.) ark (q.v.) could also be seen, as is implied in Q 54:15. This passage asserts that God left it as a sign.

A different type of remnant is called *baqiyya* (from *b-q-y*, "to remain"), which stands for a divine religious or moral relic that has an everlasting value. Hence in Q 11:116, the phrase *ūlū baqiyya* signifies people possessing such a relic or possessing qualities of religious and moral excellence (see ETHICS AND THE QUR'ĀN). In Q 11:86 the *baqiyya* explicitly belongs to God and emanates from him to his obedient servants (see OBEDIENCE; SERVANT). In Q 2:248 it is evidently material, as it stands for the relics left by the Children of Israel (q.v.) within the ark of the covenant (q.v.; *tābūt*). Muslim exegetes (see EXEGESIS OF THE QUR'ĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL) maintain that these relics included the Tablets, the rod (q.v.) of Moses (q.v.) and the turban of Aaron (q.v.).

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Repentance and Penance

Contrition or regret and self-mortification, with the intention of obtaining God's pardon (see FORGIVENESS). Repentance is generally designated in the Qurʾān as *tawba* which basically means "return" (from sin; see SIN, MAJOR AND MINOR). For example, in Q 66:8 God demands of the believers a "sincere return" *(tawbatan naṣūḥan)* and he in turn will make them enter paradise (q.v.). God himself is described as "the accepter of *tawba*" (Q 9:104; 42:25; also Q 40:3: accepter of *tawb*), and this represents a crucial aspect of his compassion for the believers (see MERCY). Repentance can, however, only be accepted as long as one remains a believer (see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF; FAITH). Q 3:90 asserts that "those who disbelieve after their believing then increase in disbelief, their repentance *(tawbatuhum)* shall not be accepted and these are they who go astray (q.v.; see also ERROR)." Similarly, the repentance of unbelievers that has been postponed till the last moment of life is doomed to rejection (Q 4:18; see DEATH AND THE DEAD).

But the term *tawba* may denote not just human "return" from sin but also God's "return" (from wrath; see ANGER). This is the case in Q 4:92, in which a Muslim guilty of unintentional murder (q.v.; see also BLOODSHED) is demanded to fulfill some duties, including the payment of blood money (q.v.), which are imposed on him in order to gain God's *tawba* (see RETALIATION). The blood money forms part of the sinner's penance and, as will be shown below, there are other references to penance in the Qurʾān although repentance is mostly answered with forgiveness, without any allusion to specific penance.

Another key term is *tawwāb,* which, like *tawba,* has a two-fold function. On the one hand, it describes humans who repent repeatedly (cf. Q 2:222) but in most cases it stands for God who is willing to accept a human being's repentance. In the verses applying this epithet to God (see GOD AND HIS ATTRIBUTES), his merciful response is promised to the Prophet himself (Q 110:3) as well as to Muslims who have acted unjustly towards other Muslims (see JUSTICE AND INJUSTICE), mainly through slander and spying (Q 24:11; 49:12; see GOSSIP) or disobedience (q.v.) to the Prophet on legal matters (Q 4:64 f.; see OBEDIENCE; LAW AND THE QURʾĀN; AUTHORITY) or stayed behind the fighting (q.v.) ranks (Q 9:118; see RANKS AND ORDERS; WAR; EXPEDITIONS AND BATTLES), etc.

Another form connected with repentance is *tāʾibūn,* which designates persons who repent, as is the case in Q 9:112. This verse provides a list of basic characteristics of the ideal Muslim and the fact that repentance is included in the list means that a believer must always be on guard with respect to his or her unblemished virtues (see VIRTUES AND VICES, COMMANDING AND FORBIDDING). This applies also to Muḥammad's wives, as indicated in Q 66:5 (*tāʾibāt;* see WIVES OF THE PROPHET).

In many other passages the idea of repentance is conveyed by the verb *tāba,* with its various tenses. Here again, a two-fold function is discernible. On the one hand, *tāba* (with *ilā*) denotes returning from sin to God and, on the other (with *ʿalā*), it signifies God's returning from wrath to forgiveness. When denoting human repentance, *tāba* is not necessarily confined to believers and may also allude to unbelievers acting against the Muslims. In their case, returning to God means simply embracing Islam (q.v.; Q 19:60; 25:70-1). This is the only option open to them, other than death (Q 5:34; 9:3, 5, 11) or being punished on the day of judgment (Q 11:3; 28:67; 85:10; see LAST JUDGMENT; REWARD AND PUNISHMENT; CHASTISEMENT AND PUNISHMENT). The fact that repentance may mean

embracing Islam comes out most clearly in the fact that those who have followed the Prophet are called in Q 11:112 "those who have returned *(man tāba)*." Similarly, in Q 40:7, the angels beseech God to pardon those who have returned (*tābū,* i.e. to him) and followed his way and to save them from the punishment of hell (see HELL AND HELLFIRE; ANGEL; INTERCESSION). Repentance is also offered to the hypocrites (*munāfiqūn;* see HYPOCRITES AND HYPOCRISY), in which case it means restoring their faith (q.v.) to its proper sincerity. Otherwise they, too, are condemned to hell (Q 4:145-6; 9:74). The same fate awaits apostates if they do not repent (Q 3:86-9; see APOSTASY; BOUNDARIES AND PRECEPTS). When referring to the believers, the verb *tāba* means mainly desisting from all kinds of sins against other believers, such as slander (Q 24:4-5; 66:3-4) or finding fault with each other (Q 49:11) or accepting usury (q.v.; Q 2:278-9). The repentance of the believers is also accepted in cases of unintentional crimes (Q 4:17; 6:54; 16:119).

Generally speaking, the believer's repentance is considered a constant state of self-trial and improvement, therefore the need to repent is relevant at all stages of life. For example, in Q 46:15, one is requested to "return" to God when one is forty years old, i.e. has reached the peak of one's abilities (see MATURITY). In the same vein, in Q 24:31 God addresses all believers, saying: "return *(tūbū)* to God all of you, O believers, so that you may be successful" (see VICTORY). As noted above, the verb *tāba* (with *ʿalā*) also signifies God's returning from wrath to forgiveness (e.g. Q 3:128; 33:24), and his mercy is reserved mainly for believers. For this reason *tāba* may occur in contradistinction to the punishment awaiting the hypocrites and the unbelievers (Q 33:73; see also Q 9:14-5, 27, 101-2, 106).

It should be observed that there is a mutual dependence between God's mercy, as conveyed by the verb *tāba,* and the believer's repentance, which is conveyed by the same verb. This comes out explicitly in Q 5:39: "Whoever returns *(tāba)* after his iniquity and reforms [himself], then surely God will return to him" (*yatūbu ʿalayhi;* see also Q 2:160). God's mercy is sometimes the first cause that generates repentance, as appears to be the case in Q 4:26-7: "God desires to explain to you, and to guide you into the ways of those before you, and to return unto you *(wa-yatūba ʿalaykum)*." Some exegetes explain that God guides and "returns" to the believer so that the latter may see the way leading to repentance (Ibn al-Jawzī, *Zād,* ii, 59, from al-Zajjāj: *yurīdu an yadullakum ʿalā mā yakūnu sababan li-tawbatikum;* see also PATH OR WAY; FREEDOM AND PREDESTINATION). This correlation between divine mercy and human repentance is even more explicit in Q 9:118, in which God "returns" to some persons *(tāba ʿalayhim),* so that they might also return (to him; *li-yatūbū*). The verse concludes with the statement that God is *tawwāb,* i.e. willing to accept the believer's repentance (and see also Q 4:16).

The idea of repentance comes out in further passages employing roots synonymous to *t-w-b,* such as *n-w-b,* which always occurs in the fourth form *(anāba),* and denotes "return" (from sin to God). It is usually employed to describe one's desisting from idolatry (see IDOLATRY AND IDOLATERS) and returning to God, so that *anāba* actually means embracing Islam (i.e. Q 39:54; see also Q 30:31, 33; 31:15; 34:9; 39:8, 17; 40:13; 50:8, 33; 60:4). Some verses employing this form bring out yet again the mutual dependence between human repentance and divine mercy and guidance. In Q 13:27 it is stated that God guides towards himself those who return (*anāba;* i.e. to him), which means that return to God is the result of God's willing. The same idea recurs in Q 42:13, which states: "God

chooses for himself whom he pleases, and guides him who returns *(yunību)* towards himself."

The root *a-w-b,* which also means "return," features in the sense of repentance in the form *awwābīn* (Q 17:25). The exegetes usually say that *awwābīn* is identical with *tawwābīn* (for further explanations see Ibn al-Jawzī, *Zād,* v, 26; see EXEGESIS OF THE QUR'ĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL). This is also how they tend to perceive the form *awwāb* that occurs in Q 50:32. The verb *raja'a,* "return," may also occur in the sense of repentance, in verses dealing with God's "signs" (q.v.; *āyāt*), which are said to have been presented to the people in order that they may "return" (from their sins; Q 7:174), or ones dealing with God's punishment, which is inflicted on sinners for the same purpose (Q 30:41; see REFLECTION AND DELIBERATION; NATURE AS SIGNS; PUNISHMENT STORIES).

Closely associated with the idea of repentance is the idea of desisting from sin, as conveyed by the verb *intahā* (with *'an*). Desisting from sin is demanded in many passages that promise a reward for those who desist and a punishment for those who do not. Some of these passages address the Christians in particular (see CHRISTIANS AND CHRISTIANITY). The latter are entreated to desist from believing in the divinity of Jesus (q.v.): if they do so, this would be better for them (Q 4:171), but if they do not, punishment awaits them (Q 5:73; see POLEMIC AND POLEMICAL LANGUAGE). Other passages demand that the idolaters desist from disbelief and from persecuting the believers, which will assure them God's forgiveness (Q 2:192-3; 8:19, 38-9; see OPPOSITION TO MUḤAMMAD).

The Qur'ān allots a significant place to historical precedents of repentance, with a view to edifying Muḥammad's contemporaries (see HISTORY AND THE QUR'ĀN; OCCASIONS OF REVELATION; REVELATION AND INSPIRATION). Such a precedent appears, to begin with, in the story of Cain and Abel (q.v.), which is recounted in the Qur'ān without mentioning the names of the two. In Q 5:31 Cain is said to have become "of those who regret" *(mina l-nādimīn),* and the exegetes maintain that regret is usually a sign of repentance *(tawba)*. They wonder, however, why Cain's regret was not accepted, and provide various answers, one of which is that regret is considered repentance only with Muslims, but not with sinners of earlier generations (q.v.; Ibn al-Jawzī, *Zād,* ii, 339). Further precedents emerge in passages recounting the history of the Children of Israel (q.v.). The passages relating to the Israelites employ the root *t-w-b,* as is the case in Q 20:81-2, where God warns the Israelites against sin and promises to forgive those who "return" *(tāba)*. As indicated in Q 7:152-3, the sin of the Israelites, from which they must "return," is the making of the golden calf (see CALF OF GOLD). The demand for them to repent following this sin, as formulated in Q 2:54, brings out clearly the mutual dependence of divine mercy and repentance: "return *(tūbū)* to your creator and kill each other, that is best for you with your creator: then [God] returned unto you *(fa-tāba 'alaykum),* for surely he is the *tawwāb,* the merciful." The command "kill each other" represents the penance imposed by God, and he has responded to it with mercy, as indicated in the fact that he is described as *tawwāb*. In another version of the affair of the golden calf, the Children of Israel repent on their own accord after having made the image (see IDOLS AND IMAGES). Their regret is conveyed by a special idiomatic phrase: *suqiṭa fī aydīhim* (Q 7:149), i.e. "[remorse] was made to fall upon their hands." Another precedent is provided in Q 2:58-9 and reiterated in Q 7:161-2. Before entering the holy land (see SYRIA; JERUSALEM; PROFANE AND SACRED), the Israelites are requested to enter the gate (of a city there)

while prostrating themselves and are commanded to say *ḥiṭṭa* (See Rubin, *Between Bible,* 83-99), so that God may forgive them their sins. This is the penance that God imposes on them but they say another word instead and are therefore destroyed by a pestilence from heaven. Another community which has repented is the people of Jonah (q.v.). They are mentioned in Q 10:98, where it is stated that they were the only (sinful) people whose (return to) belief helped them gain God's mercy.

The Qurʾān gleans precedents of repentance not only from the history of sinful nations but also from the history of some prophets (see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD). In their case, repentance serves as a model that every pious believer should follow. To begin with, in Q 2:37 Adam is said to have received (some) words from his lord, so God "returned" unto him *(tāba ʿalayhi),* because God is *tawwāb* and merciful (see ADAM AND EVE; FALL OF MAN). The words given to Adam appear to represent the penance imposed on him, i.e. words of repentance, to which God, the *tawwāb,* has responded with mercy. The mutual aspect of the "return" in the case of Adam reappears in Q 20:122, where it is stated that God chose Adam, turned unto him *(tāba)* and guided (him). The exegetes explain that God guided Adam by showing him how to return (Ibn al-Jawzī, *Zād,* v, 330). In the case of Abraham (q.v.) and Ishmael (q.v.), no sin is mentioned in the Qurʾān for which God had to forgive them; nevertheless they pray to God in Q 2:128 that he may return to them (*wa-tub ʿalaynā;* see PRAYER). Some exegetes explain that they had committed some unintentional misdeeds, or that they were asking merely out of modesty and as a lesson to their posterity (Bayḍāwī, *Anwār,* ad loc.). Indeed, in Q 43:28, Abraham's words in which he renounces his father's idolatry are said to have been preserved as an example for his posterity, that they may return *(yarjiʿūna)* from their sins. As for Abraham himself, his penitent "return" is mentioned in Q 11:75, where he is said to have been a *munīb,* which again does not refer to any specific sin, but merely indicates his constant self-reforming. Moses (q.v.), however, has a specific reason for repentance, which is spelled out in Q 7:143. He was bold enough to ask God to reveal himself to him. After having fallen down in a swoon, Moses recovers and states his penitent "return" *(tubtu)* to God. Shuʿayb (q.v.) states in Q 11:88 that he "returns" *(unīb)* to God, which seems to mean that he too is in a state of constant self-reforming. The same applies to David (q.v.) who is described in Q 38:17 as *awwāb*. Elsewhere (Q 38:24), David is said to have sought his lord's forgiveness and to have fallen down in prostration (see BOWING AND PROSTRATION) and to have returned *(anāba)*. Here, the exegetes explain, David repents his sin with Uriah's wife, and the Qurʾān itself says that God has finally forgiven him (Q 38:25). Solomon (q.v.) is described in Q 38:30 as *awwāb* and the exegetes note that here the term refers to "return" from minor unintentional misdeeds (Ibn al-Jawzī, *Zād,* vii, 127). A few verses later (Q 38:34) Solomon is said to have "returned" *(anāba),* and some exegetes say that his sin here was that he preferred the good things to prayer, as stated in Q 38:32 (ibid., vii, 133). Job (q.v.), too, is described in Q 38:44 as repenting, being referred to as *awwāb*. The exegetes explain that his "return" meant that in spite of his terrible sufferings (see TRIAL; TRUST AND PATIENCE; SUFFERING) he continued to obey his lord (Bayḍāwī, *Anwār,* ad loc.). Dhū l-Nūn, i.e. Jonah, repents after having tried to avoid his prophetic mission. Although it is never stated explicitly that he repented, he nevertheless utters words of remorse when saying to God in Q 21:87: "There is no god but you, glory be to you (see GLORIFICATION OF GOD); surely I am

of those who have been of the evil-doers (*zālimīn;* see EVIL DEEDS; GOOD AND EVIL)." God responds to his repentance with mercy and delivers him from his grief (Q 21:88; see JOY AND MISERY).

The prophet Muḥammad himself is associated in the Qurʾān with the theme of repentance. Q 9:117 states that God has "returned" *(tāba)* to the Prophet as well as to his Companions (see COMPANIONS OF THE PROPHET), after "the hearts of some of them were about to deviate" (see HEART). The exegetes explain that God only "returned" from his anger with the Companions, and that Muḥammad is mentioned with them only because he was the reason for their repentance (Ibn al-Jawzī, *Zād,* iii, 511). Here, too, the exegetes assume a mutual dependence between divine mercy and repentance, Muḥammad being regarded as an agent of the divine mercy that generates repentance. In Q 42:10, the Prophet states that he relies on God and returns *(unību)* to him. The exegetes explain that returning unto God means here turning to him at times of distress. Hence repentance is mentioned here in the sense of seeking God's help.

The theme of repentance emerges also in the eschatological sphere (see ESCHATOLOGY), where it is always futile. In some of the relevant passages the sinners ask God for a respite before being punished in hell, so that they can amend their ways and become believers (Q 14:44; 63:10). But, as asserted in Q 44:15, even if given a respite, they will surely return (to evil). In other passages, the repenting sinners who have already been resurrected for the final judgment, ask in vain to be returned to this world to become believers (Q 6:27; 7:53; 26:102; 32:12; 35:37; 39:58; 42:44; 23:99; see RESURRECTION). Some of the passages use the term *ḥasra* (pl. *ḥasarāt*), "regret," to convey the remorse of the hopeless sinners for failing to repent while they were still living their first life (Q 2:167). Accordingly, the day of resurrection is called "the day of regret" (Q 19:39). Their (hopeless) regret on that day is also referred to as *nadāma* (Q 10:54; 34:33).

As for repentance in post-qurʾānic literature, a good overview can be gained from Ibn Qudāma's (d. 690/1291) *Kitāb al-Tawwābīn*. Apart from chapters revolving around the qurʾānic instances of repentance, there are also numerous chapters containing edifying folk tales praising the pious repentance of figures from among the Children of Israel, as well as from the pre-Islamic Arabs (see PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QURʾĀN; SOUTH ARABIA, RELIGION IN PRE-ISLAMIC). Further, there are also traditions about Companions of the Prophet and other ascetics of the first Islamic eras (see ASCETICISM). For repentance among the Ṣūfīs and the Shīʿīs (see ṢŪFISM AND THE QURʾĀN; SHĪʿISM AND THE QURʾĀN), see Ayoub, Repentance.

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Repetition

see RHETORIC AND THE QURʾĀN

Repudiate

see MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE

Responsibility

The relation of an agent to a norm-giving and evaluative instance. It consists of the

imposition of a set of norms, action in regards to these norms, and the assessment of the committed acts according to these norms with any consequences that might ensue. The idea of responsibility is a central feature of social activities, law, ethics and religion (q.v.; see also LAW AND THE QUR'ĀN; ETHICS AND THE QUR'ĀN; SOCIAL INTERACTIONS).

As a result of the complexity of the concept of responsibility, there are several Arabic terms relating to different aspects of it. The common Arabic term for "responsibility," *mas'ūliyya,* is an abstract noun derived from the passive participle of *sa'ala,* "to ask." Although the Qur'ān uses forms of *sa'ala* or the passive *su'ila* in the sense of "to hold responsible" and "to be made responsible," respectively (e.g. Q 7:6; 15:92; 16:93; 21:23; 29:13; 37:24), the term *mas'ūliyya* itself is not classical; lexicographical references probably cannot be found before the nineteenth century (cf. Fleischer, *Kleinere Schriften,* ii, 549; see ARABIC LANGUAGE). In Islamic law *ḍamān* or *kafāla* denote civic responsibility in general, and the responsibility of surety in the law of obligations in particular. The terms with which the notion of responsibility is usually discussed in the field of Islamic theology (see THEOLOGY AND THE QUR'ĀN) are *taklīf,* "imposition," on the part of God, and *kasb,* "acquisition," on the part of man (see REWARD AND PUNISHMENT; CHASTISEMENT AND PUNISHMENT). The verb *kallafa,* "to impose" (of which *taklīf* is the verbal noun), is used in a nearly stereotyped wording in seven qur'ānic verses (see below). And though the word *taklīf* does not occur in the Qur'ān, it was used as early as the time of Abū Ḥanīfa (d. 150/767) as a technical term for the religious obligation that is incumbent upon humans (cf. van Ess, *TG,* i, 207). On the other hand, *kasb* is the verbal noun of *kasaba,* "to acquire," which often appears in the Qur'ān (see below). In theology, *kasb* was first used by Ḍirār b. ʿAmr (d. 200/815) to denote the role the individual plays in his or her actions (see Ashʿarī, *Maqālāt,* 408; see FREEDOM AND PREDESTINATION).

The structure of responsibility in the Qur'ān

In the Qur'ān, the idea of responsibility is the core of the relationship between humans and God. Time and again, the Qur'ān promises abundant reward to those who believe in God (see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF) and do the deeds of righteousness (*alladhīna āmanū wa-ʿamilū l-ṣāliḥāt,* e.g. Q 2:25; 5:9; 10:9; 18:107 f.; 24:55; 98:7 f.; see GOOD DEEDS). That this differentiation between belief and deeds (see FAITH) is more than mere rhetoric (see RHETORIC AND THE QUR'ĀN) is evident from the different valences which are thereby established: Those who believe, but do not comply with specific divine commands, can still hope to be saved, provided that they repent honestly (e.g. Q 4:31; 20:82; 25:70; 29:7; 42:25; 47:2; see REPENTANCE AND PENANCE), while those who do not believe are definitely condemned to hell (see HELL AND HELLFIRE), no matter what they do (e.g. Q 3:21-2; 5:5; 6:88; 14:18; 18:105; 47:1; see FORGIVENESS). Responsibility, therefore, comprises two distinct levels. The basis is God's demand for belief. Given divine omnipotence (see POWER AND IMPOTENCE), this demand tolerates no refusal. There is no neutral position for the human being in the face of it, but only the choice between "the way of God" (*sabīl Allāh,* a metaphor that occurs more than a hundred times, cf. also Q 1:6; 2:142, etc. for similar metaphors; see PATH OR WAY) and "the way of error" (q.v; *sabīl al-ghayy,* Q 7:146; cf. 4:76; 6:55; 7:142; 10:89, etc. for variants: i.e. "the way of sinners," etc.; see also ASTRAY; SIN, MAJOR AND MINOR; DEVIL). But while the decision to reject belief will inevitably lead the individual to eternal torture (see

ETERNITY), the decision to believe does not automatically result in heavenly reward (see PARADISE). It only opens a second level of human responsibility before God. Belief, in this context, is the individual's recognition of God's authority (q.v.), i.e. the willingness to act according to God's norms and to accept his judgment regarding one's conduct (see LAST JUDGMENT; HEAVENLY BOOK). This two-fold nature of responsibility in the Qurʾān gave rise to the controversial discussions of later Islamic theologians about the concepts of "faith" *(īmān)* and "works" *(aʿmāl)*.

Responsibility and free will

The Qurʾān repeatedly emphasizes that on the day of judgment each person will be responsible exclusively for his or her own deeds (e.g. Q 6:164; 17:15; 34:25; 39:7; see INTERCESSION). The attribution of an act to a person, however, presupposes freedom of will. It is well known that there are verses in the Qurʾān that support the assumption that humans are endowed with free will (e.g. Q 18:28; 73:19; 79:37 f.; 88:23 f.), while others suggest determinism and thus seem to exclude the possibility of human responsibility (e.g. Q 13:27; 14:14; 35:8; 42:46). Certainly, the tension between human freedom and God's omnipotence can be understood as a fundamental characteristic of monotheism. The Qurʾān, however, largely associates these opposite notions with an idea that was already held in rabbinic Judaism: God guides the believers and leads the unbelievers astray, meaning that he merely reinforces already existing tendencies (e.g. Q 14:27; 18:57; 19:75 f.; 36:7 f.; 59:19; 92:4 f.; cf. Q 2:81 and 83:14, where sin is described as enclosing man and lying like rust on his heart [q.v.], respectively). Yet, there is no definitive orientation since a believer may apostatize and God may grant undeserved grace (q.v.; see also BLESSING; APOSTASY). Within the scope of this idea, the verbs *kasaba* (forty-nine times) and *iktasaba* (three times, at Q 2:286; 24:11; 33:58), literally "to acquire," metaphorically express the idea that individuals incur the moral responsibility for their own acts — good or bad — and that they will be rewarded or punished for them, as in, for instance, Q 2:281: "And fear (q.v.) a day wherein you shall be returned to God, then every soul shall be paid in full what it has earned *(mā kasabat);* and they shall not be wronged."

The notion of responsibility in Islamic theology

Islamic theologians ordinarily dealt with the question of responsibility in the context of their teachings concerning either God's justice (see JUSTICE AND INJUSTICE) or his omnipotence. Thus, the Muʿtazila (see MUʿTAZILĪS) deduced from their basic doctrine of God's justice *(ʿadl)* that the determinant motive for God's action towards humanity is the latter's benefit or even highest benefit (*ṣalāḥ* or *aṣlaḥ*). And, since God's imposition of his law *(taklīf)* is a means to a supreme good, i.e. heavenly reward, it is in itself a benefit and therefore necessary. Further, it is incompatible with God's justice that he should impose upon people that which is impracticable *(taklīf mā lā yuṭāq)*. In this respect, the Muʿtazila referred to Q 2:286: "God does not charge *(lā yukallifu)* any soul save to its capacity" (*wusʿahā;* cf. Q 2:233; 6:152; 7:42; 23:62; 65:7; also Q 4:84). Therefore, according to the Muʿtazila, for *taklīf* to be in force, three conditions must be met: People need knowledge *(maʿrifa)* about the obligation that is incumbent upon them; they must have freedom of choice *(ikhtiyār)* whether to obey or to disobey (see OBEDIENCE; DISOBEDIENCE); and, finally, they have to possess the capacity to act *(istiṭāʿa)* to implement their decisions. Since *taklīf* is a benefit, however, it must be possible for everyone to meet each of these conditions. Thus, the central problem for the Muʿtazila concerning the notion of responsibility

was "the obligation to something unknown" *(al-taklīf bi-mā lā yuʿlam),* i.e. how can someone, who has not even heard about God, acquire the knowledge about his or her obligation? Most Muʿtazilīs found the solution in the idea that such a person, startled by a sudden suspicion *(khāṭir)* that there might be a God who will punish him or her if no gratitude is shown, begins to reflect upon the contingency of the world. The individual then realizes the existence of the world's creator and the possibility that he imposes commands upon humans (see CREATION; VIRTUES AND VICES, COMMANDING AND FORBIDDING). By further reflection, people will discern that there are obligations which can be deduced by reason alone *(taklīf ʿaqlī)* — especially the principles of ethics — and that there might be others which can only be known through revelation (*taklīf samʿī* or *sharʿī,* see REVELATION AND INSPIRATION) and about which they have to make additional inquiries — as about regulations of cult (see RITUAL AND THE QURʾĀN; RELIGIOUS PLURALISM AND THE QURʾĀN).

By contrast, the Ashʿarīs treated the idea of responsibility from the perspective of God's omnipotence. This becomes clear in their definition of the just act *(ʿadl)* as an act that one is entitled to do *(fiʿl mā lil-fāʿil an yafʿalahu):* Inasmuch as God is unrestricted in his omnipotence, everything he does is just. He may pardon the unbeliever and he does not have to reward the believer. Therefore, *taklīf* establishes no causal connection between belief and reward or unbelief and punishment, as it does in Muʿtazilī theology. It is not even necessary that everybody should know about *taklīf.* Certainly, knowledge about God can be acquired by reason but there is no obligation to reflect. *Taklīf* is valid only if one hears about it and, so, the paradox of an "obligation to something unknown" is not a major problem for the Ashʿarīs. Their understanding of God's omnipotence implies that, since there is no creator save him, he also creates human acts *(khāliq afʿāl al-ʿibād).* Thus, to secure the possibility of attributing acts to humans, the Ashʿarīs developed the concept of "acquisition" *(kasb):* Together with the act, God creates in each person a "temporary ability" *(qudra muḥdatha),* on the basis of which the individual "acquires" *(kasaba)* the act and is made responsible for it. Al-Baghdādī (d. 429/1037; *Farq,* 328) condensed this concept into the formula: "[The person] acquires his act *(muktasib li-ʿamalihi)* and God creates his acquisition *(khāliq li-kasbihi).*" The question whether the existence of this "temporary ability" is the only condition for the attribution of an act to an individual or whether further elements are required, too — like the person's knowledge of the act *(ʿilm)* and the will to act *(irāda)* which are, however, equally created by God — remained a debatable issue for the Ashʿarīs. Because the *kasb* concept implies that God can impose an act upon someone while not creating in that person the necessary ability to carry it out, the Ashʿarīs defended the reality of the "imposition of something that cannot be done" *(taklīf mā lā yuṭāq).* Yet, although they would not regard God's hypothetical imposition of something that is humanly unfeasible as nonsensical *(ʿabath; safah),* they nevertheless asserted that it does not happen.

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Rest(ing)

see SLEEP; SABBATH

Resurrection

The "rising again" of all the human dead before the final judgment. The expression "day of resurrection" *(yawm al-qiyāma)* occurs seventy times in the Qurʾān (although the concept of "rising" — from the triliteral root *q-w-m* — is not limited to this eschatological sense; it is also employed in other instances, with a wider range of meanings). The resurrection of dead human bodies (see DEATH AND THE DEAD; BURIAL) follows the annihilation of all creatures *(al-fanāʾ al-muṭlaq)* and precedes the "day of judgment" (*yawm al-dīn*, thirteen attestations in the Qurʾān; see LAST JUDGMENT) or the "day of reckoning" (*yawm al-ḥisāb*, with four mentions: Q 38:16, 26, 53; 40:27; see ESCHATOLOGY; WEIGHTS AND MEASURES). There will be the last "hour" *(al-sāʿa)* and people will be "gathered." "On the day when the earth shall be cleft off from them, [they will come out] hastening forth. That will be a gathering" (*ḥashr*, Q 50:44). "As such (will be) the resurrection" (*al-nushūr*, Q 35:9).

The "last hour" (forty-eight occurrences) is frequently announced in the Qurʾān, and its establishment is assured (Q 30:55). "The hour is their appointed time, and the hour will be more grievous and more bitter" (Q 54:46). Only God knows its actual "appointed time": "Say: The knowledge thereof is with my lord (q.v.). None can reveal its time but he" (Q 7:187; cf. 31:34), but "It may be that the hour is near!" (Q 33:63). As for the signs (q.v.) of the hour — "Some of the signs of your lord should come" (Q 6:158) — the Islamic tradition, in its apocalyptic literature, has always proposed a list of ten signs (see APOCALYPSE): the coming of the smoke (q.v.; *dukhān*), of the deceiver (*dajjāl;* see ANTICHRIST), and of the beast *(dābba)*, the rising of the sun (q.v.) from the west, the return of Jesus (q.v.), the "great mischief" of Gog and Magog (q.v.) in the land, the earthquakes in the east, in the west, and in Arabia, and finally the fire (q.v.). Three of these signs occur in the Qurʾān and the others are often described in the sunna (q.v.) and in eschatological traditions. As for the smoke, the Qurʾān says: "Then wait you for the day when the sky will bring forth a visible smoke, covering the people…. On the day when we shall seize you with the greatest seizure. Verily, we will exact retribution" (Q 44:10-6). The beast is announced in Q 27:82: "When the word [of torment; see CHASTISEMENT AND PUNISHMENT; REWARD AND PUNISHMENT] is fulfilled against them, we shall bring out from the earth a beast for them, to speak to them because humankind believed not with certainty in our signs." Finally, Gog and Magog are the third of these three apocalyptic signs mentioned in the Qurʾān: When Gog and Magog, the apocalyptic people, "are let loose [from their barrier], and they swoop down from every mound" (Q 21:96), "on that day, we shall leave them to surge like waves on one another, and the trumpet *(al-ṣūr)* will be blown, and we shall

collect them [the creatures] all together" (Q 18:99).

Sūra 99, "The Earthquake," describes very well the last events of history: "When the earth is shaken with its [final] earthquake, and when the earth throws out its burdens, and humankind will say: 'What is the matter with it?' That day it will declare its information, because your lord will inspire it. That day people will proceed in scattered groups that they may be shown their deeds (see GOOD DEEDS; EVIL DEEDS; HEAVENLY BOOK). So whoever does good equal to the weight of an atom shall see it, and whoever does evil equal to the weight of an atom shall see it" (Q 99:1-8; see GOOD AND EVIL). Then, it is said, "listen on the day when the caller will call from a near place, the day when they will hear the shout *(al-ṣayḥa)* in truth: that will be the day of coming out [from the graves]" (Q 50:41-2). God will gather people (Q 50:44) together (Q 10:45), the believers and the disbelievers alike (Q 19:85; 20:102; see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF), the jinn (q.v.) and the angels (see ANGEL), for a universal gathering. And it is only on "that day" that "some faces shall be shining and radiant *(nāḍira)* looking *(nāẓira)* at their lord" (Q 75:22-3; see FACE OF GOD).

The qurʾānic arguments in support of the resurrection of the body, and not only the "return" of spiritual souls (*maʿād,* Q 28:85), could be described as follows: the resurrection represents a new creation (q.v.) on the part of the all-powerful God (Q 17:49; 18:48; 21:104; 27:64; 53:47; 29:19; 30:27; 75:40; 86:5-8; see POWER AND IMPOTENCE), a revivification of the soil and its production of vegetables and fruits (Q 6:95; 7:57; 10:31; 30:19; 35:9; 50:11; see AGRICULTURE AND VEGETATION), and includes the reviving of dead people by God, as in the case of the "seven sleepers" (Q 18:9-25; see MEN OF THE CAVE). But two other terms are also important in the Qurʾān. Resurrection is also called the "raising up" (*baʿth,* which occurs fourteen times) of people by God. People are in doubt about "the day of resurrection" (*yawm al-baʿth,* Q 30:56; cf. 16:21; 22:5; 31:28), but "God will raise them up, then to him they will be returned" (Q 6:36; cf. 58:6, 18). Twice in the Qurʾān human life is depicted in three stages (see BIOLOGY AS THE CREATION AND STAGES OF LIFE): "Peace be on him (i.e. John [Yaḥyā]; see JOHN THE BAPTIST) the day he was born, and the day he dies, and the day he will be raised up alive" (Q 19:15) and "Peace be on me (i.e. Jesus) the day I was born, and the day I die, and the day I shall be raised alive" (Q 19:33). And Jesus himself states that "I bring the dead to life by God's leave" (Q 3:49; cf. 5:110; see MIRACLES; MARVELS). So resurrection is also the gift of life (q.v.; *ḥayāt*) because God himself is "the living one, the ever subsistent" (Q 2:255; see GOD AND HIS ATTRIBUTES): "You were dead and he gave you life. Then he will give you death, then again will bring you to life [on the day of resurrection] and then unto him you will return" (Q 2:28; cf. 22:66; 30:40). Many times God is qualified in the Islamic tradition as the "giver of life" *(muḥyī)* and the "giver of death" *(mumīt)* because in the Qurʾān one reads "God makes people live and die" (*Allāhu yuḥyī wa-yumītu,* e.g. Q 3:156; cf. 41:39).

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Retaliation

Act of returning like for like. The Arabic term usually rendered as "retaliation" is *qiṣāṣ,* although *qiṣāṣ* also means punishment for a wrongful act (see CHASTISEMENT AND PUNISHMENT; EVIL DEEDS). The Qurʾān mentions *qiṣāṣ* on several occasions, mostly in the sense of punishment for murder (q.v.) or physical injury and once in the sense of retaliation or reprisal for a wrongful act. In Sūrat al-Baqara (Q 2, "The Cow") the Qurʾān affirms the pre-Islamic practice of considering certain months (q.v.) in the year to be sanctified (see PROFANE AND SACRED) and, therefore, of prohibiting warfare (see WAR; FIGHTING) and the shedding of blood for the duration of these months (see BLOODSHED). The Qurʾān, however, states that *qiṣāṣ,* in the sense of retaliation or reprisal, is permitted during these months if the Muslims are attacked first. Although, according to the Qurʾān, these months are sanctified, Muslims may respond in kind if attacked (Q 2:194). Earlier in the same sūra, the Qurʾān uses the word *qiṣāṣ* in the sense of punishment or retaliation, but in a very different context. Addressing the case of murder, the Qurʾān prescribes proportionality between the crime and the punishment (Q 2:178). Muslim scholars took this to mean that the pre-Islamic practice of tribal feuding and disproportionate retaliation for the killing of noblemen or tribal chiefs was abrogated (Jaṣṣāṣ, *Aḥkām,* i, 164; Ibn al-ʿArabī, *Aḥkām,* i, 89-100; ii, 128). The Qurʾān mandates that no more than a single life be taken for another, but it also urges the next of kin (see KINSHIP) to show forgiveness (q.v.) towards the offender by dropping the demand for retaliation. Instead, the next of kin may accept compensation, which according to the Qurʾān must be paid promptly and with gratitude (see BLOOD MONEY; GRATITUDE AND INGRATITUDE). The Qurʾān also asserts a general principle, namely that the implementation of the rule of *qiṣāṣ* would preserve and protect life (Q 2:179). The meaning and import of this assertion has been the subject of a wide debate among Qurʾān commentators. Some argued that the Qurʾān meant to affirm the importance of proportionality between the crime and punishment (see JUSTICE AND INJUSTICE), while others, especially modern commentators, argued that the Qurʾān meant to emphasize that a strict penal law helps emphasize the value of life and protect the interests of society (Quṭb, *Ẓilāl,* ii, 162-77; Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* ii, 102-15; see LAW AND THE QURʾĀN; EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: EARLY MODERN AND CONTEMPORARY). In a different sūra, the Qurʾān references *qiṣāṣ* as punishment for intentional physical injuries. The Qurʾān states that God had prescribed for the Israelites that a life is for a life, an eye is for an eye and a tooth is for a tooth and that there should be an equal punishment for all injuries (see LIFE; EYES; TEETH). The Qurʾān goes on to say that whoever forgives and does not demand an exact punishment will be rewarded by God (Q 5:45; see REWARD AND PUNISHMENT).

Relying, in part, on these qurʾānic verses, pre-modern jurists developed a law of talion that, in significant respects, was similar to the rules of *lex talionis* in Roman law and the rules prevalent in Germanic and Anglo-Saxon law as well as other ancient legal systems. According to the rules developed by pre-modern Muslim jurists, there were three possible responses to physical injuries: *qiṣāṣ* (punishment or talion), *diya* (a prescribed blood money amount or wergild paid in compensation for a wrongful death or certain other physical injuries), or forgiveness. *Qiṣāṣ* was possible only in intentional and quasi-intentional killings and physical injuries (quasi-intentional killings would be akin

today to manslaughter and other recklessly induced offenses). The Ḥanafī, Mālikī, and Shāfiʿī schools of law held that in the case of intentional homicide or injury the remedy is *qiṣāṣ* — *diya* is not a co-equal alternative. Consequently, if the heirs of a victim forgive the offender, an automatic right to *diya* does not arise. Nevertheless, *diya* could be payable through a settlement *(ṣulh)* pursuant to which the offender agrees to pay an amount that may be more or less than the specified *diya*. Schools that considered *diya* to be a co-equal alternative to *qiṣāṣ* did not require the offender's consent to paying the *diya;* the choice was entirely that of the victim or the heirs. In effect, according to the first approach, if an intentional or quasi-intentional offense takes place, the victim or his family have one of three choices: (1) demand exaction; (2) reach an agreement with the offender on the amount to be paid, which could be more or less than the legal *diya;* or (3) forgiveness. According to the second school, the victim or relative can demand exaction, the specified amount of the *diya* or forgive. In deliberate injuries, however, a particularly heavy *diya* is prescribed *(diya mughallaẓa)*. *Qiṣāṣ* being applicable only in intentional and quasi-intentional offenses, in the case of accidental injuries, *diya* is the only legal remedy. Even in intentional offenses, however, *diya* might become the only legal recourse if certain legal deficiencies preclude the application of talion. For example, if talion cannot be enforced because strict equality is not achievable, the only option other than an outright pardon is the right to full or partial *diya*. Accordingly, no talion is admitted in the case of fractured bones or if experts testify, in a case not involving murder, that talion is likely to endanger the life of the offender. Furthermore, a right to *diya* is the only recourse if talion is not possible because of certain evidentiary deficiencies. Whether a rule of strict liability or negligence applies to accidental torts is a debated issue. Furthermore, Muslim jurists disagreed on whether in the case of dangerous crimes the state possesses a separate right to punish the offender, regardless of what the victim or heirs decide to do (Ibn Rushd, *Distinguished,* ii, 479-514; Bājī, *Muntaqā,* ix, 3-128; ʿĀmilī, *Lumʿa,* x, 11-320; Shirbīnī, *Mughnī,* iv, 20-138; Kāsānī, *Badāʾiʿ,* vi, 272-414).

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Retribution

see REWARD AND PUNISHMENT; RETALIATION

Revelation and Inspiration

The communication of God's knowledge (see KNOWLEDGE AND LEARNING) and will (see POWER AND IMPOTENCE), warning (q.v.) and promise to humanity. The English word "revelation" covers a range of qurʾānic terms, principal among them *waḥy,* "communication" and *tanzīl,* "sending down," with their cognate verbal forms. In the Qurʾān revelation is always mediated, rather than being direct: first, in the sense that it consists in the transmission of a message rather than the "unveiling" of God himself implied by the English word

with its Christian origins and, secondly, because even that message is considered to have been delivered by an intermediary, generally identified as Gabriel (q.v.; Jibrīl). The concept of revelation is central to the nature of the Qurʾān. The Qurʾān itself, however, recognizes the phenomenon as extending beyond prophecy (see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD) and scripture (see BOOK).

Revelation before and beyond scripture

One of the Qurʾān's most insistent claims is that God is constantly offering "signs" (q.v.; *āya,* pl. *āyāt*) that manifest all we need to know. The *āyāt* that constitute God's revelation exist in nature (see NATURE AS SIGNS) and in time (q.v.) before they come to the people as verses (q.v.; also *āyāt*) of scripture. Indeed, the role of the prophetic scriptures is to call people back to the acknowledgment of a truth (q.v.) already expressed in the signs of nature and in the history of God's dealings with humanity (see HISTORY AND THE QURʾĀN). It could be said that there is no essential difference between the verses and the natural or historical signs: all are there to be comprehended by anyone who has the intelligence (q.v.; *ʿaql*) to reflect on them, to acknowledge their truth *(taṣdīq)* and to respond with faithful submission (*īmān, islām;* see FAITH; BELIEF AND UNBELIEF; ISLAM). Many such passages in the Qurʾān cite natural phenomena as symbols pointing to the creator (see CREATION; AGRICULTURE AND VEGETATION). Among the more important are Q 2:164; 3:190-1; 6:95-9; 10:5-7; 13:2-4; 16:10-6, 78-81; 23:21-2; 26:7-8; 27:86, 93; 29:44; 30:20-8, 46; 32:27; 34:9; 36:33-47, 39:21; 41:37, 39, 53; 42:29-34; 45:1-6, 12-13; 50:6-11; 51:20.

Historical events, too, are among the "signs" of God. The fate of nations that have passed away (*umam qad khalat,* Q 7:38; 46:18; cf. 13:30; 41:25; see GEOGRAPHY; PUNISHMENT STORIES; GENERATIONS) is a warning to people that they should take seriously the message of the Prophet (Q 12:109; 14:13; 23:23-30; 31:31-2; 32:26; 36:13-31; 46:27). In these cases the Qurʾān is not revealing something not already known to everybody; rather, it is pointing to these facts of history as revealing the ways of God and the reality of God's threatened judgment (see LAST JUDGMENT; JUSTICE AND INJUSTICE). On other occasions the revelation consists in God's communicating "tidings of the unseen" (*anbāʾ al-ghayb,* Q 3:44; 11:49; 12:102; see HIDDEN AND THE HIDDEN), details of prophetic history that neither Muḥammad nor his people would otherwise have known.

Scriptural revelation prior to the Qurʾān

In the Qurʾān it is axiomatic that the present revelation contains fundamentally the same message as that given to earlier messengers (see MESSENGER). The believers are expected to accept the revelations given before Muḥammad (Q 2:4, 136; 4:60, 162) since God communicated with those messengers as he has done with Muḥammad: "We revealed to you *(awḥaynā ilayka)* as we revealed to Noah (q.v.) and the prophets after him, and as we revealed to Abraham (q.v.) and Ishmael (q.v.) and Isaac (q.v.) and Jacob (q.v.) and the tribes (see CHILDREN OF ISRAEL), and Jesus (q.v.) and Job (q.v.) and Jonah (q.v.) and Aaron (q.v.) and Solomon (q.v.), and as we granted David (q.v.) the Psalms" (q.v.; Q 4:163); "Say, we believe in God and what has been sent down to us and in what was sent down to Abraham, and Ishmael, and Isaac, and Jacob, and the tribes, and in what Moses (q.v.) and Jesus were given, and in what the prophets were given by their lord (q.v.) — we make no distinction between any of them — and to him do we submit"(Q 2:136). The term that binds together these diverse manifestations of revelation is *kitāb* (pl. *kutub*), "scripture":

"O you who believe, believe in God and his messenger and the *kitāb* that he has sent down to his messenger, and the *kitāb* that he sent down before. Whoever disbelieves in God and his angels (see ANGEL) and his *kutub* and his messengers and the last day has already gone far astray" (q.v.; Q 4:136; see also ERROR).

The Qurʾān sees itself as confirming *(muṣaddiq)* the previous revelations (Q 2:41, 89, 91, 97, 101; 3:3, 39, 81; 4:47; 5:48; 6:92; 10:37; 12:111; 35:31; 46:12, 30) in the same way as Jesus came to confirm the Torah (q.v.; Q 3:50; 5:46; 61:6). This raises a difficulty for the notion of verbal inspiration since the actual text of the Qurʾān is not identical to those of the other extant scriptures (see also GOSPEL; SCRIPTURE AND THE QURʾĀN).

Waḥy

The term *waḥy* occurs in Arabic before the rise of Islam (see PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QURʾĀN). In pre-Islamic poetry (see POETRY AND POETS) the word is occasionally used to refer to writing or scriptures (usually with the connotation of the indistinctness of age and foreignness) but more often to describe the message that can be discerned from the traces of an abandoned campsite or the ruins of a habitation (for example, the beginning of Labīd's *Muʿallaqa: kamā ḍamina l-waḥyu silāmuhā,* "as though its rocks contained the message"). Still other uses by the same poets show that the term *waḥy* is equally applicable to communication by sound or gesture. For example, one of the odes of ʿAlqama uses the verbal form *yūḥī* to describe the "speech" of a male ostrich to his nestlings: "He communicates *(yūḥī)* with them in squeaking and clacking sounds, just as the Greeks in their castles speak to each other in an incomprehensible language" (Ahlwardt, *Divans,* 112, v 26). In the poems of the Hudhayl tribe the noun *waḥy* refers to thunder, and the cognate verb *awḥā* is used for the screeching of an eagle (Lewin, *Vocabulary,* 465; for more examples see Izutsu, *God,* 159-60).

Some western scholars have often wanted to see in the term *waḥy* a connection with writing (for example Goldziher, *MS,* ii, 7 and Nöldeke, *GQ,* ii, 1; see ORALITY AND WRITING IN ARABIA). The evidence, however, is far from convincing. Indeed, as will be seen, Muslim tradition has overwhelmingly described the phenomenon of revelation as auditory (even though sometimes accompanied by visions, for example, in the Qurʾān itself: Q 53:4–18; see ORALITY; VISIONS) and very often lacking verbal clarity. Furthermore, the poets' usage of *waḥy* emphasized indistinctness rather than clarity appropriate to a text that declares itself to be in the clear language of the Arabs (q.v.; *lisān ʿarab mubīn,* Q 16:103; 26:195; see also ARABIC LANGUAGE).

In the Qurʾān itself, while *waḥy* is clearly marked as a religious term, three instances of its use remind us that it has a nonreligious basis and is not solely a divine activity: Zechariah (q.v.) after being struck dumb gestured *(awḥā)* to his companions that they should give praise (q.v.) to God (Q 19:11; see also Q 3:41, where it is said that Zechariah was only able to communicate *ramzan,* "using signs"); and twice the same verb is used to describe the communication that takes place among the demons (*shayāṭīn,* Q 6:112, 121; see DEVIL; JINN). When the verb is used of divine activity, it most often refers to God's communication with his messengers. Others with whom God communicates are Jesus' disciples (Q 5:111; see APOSTLE), the angels (Q 8:12), Moses' mother (Q 20:38; 28:7) Isaac and Jacob (Q 21:72-3) and Noah (Q 23:27). This verb is also used for God's communication with the bee (Q 16:68), the heavens (Q 41:12; see HEAVEN AND SKY; ANIMAL LIFE) and the earth (q.v.; Q 99:5).

It should be noted that *waḥy,* even when addressed to prophets and messengers, is not by any means confined to the revelation of a scriptural text. Out of the seventy-one occurrences of *awḥā,* only three times each are *kitāb* and *qurʾān* the direct object (or the subject of a passive form). The verb *awḥā* is often used without a direct object: a process of communication takes place but what is communicated is left unstated. At the same time, however, the communication is not devoid of content. In many cases the end result is a concrete instruction to be followed, for example, in God's direction of the prophetic career of Moses (Q 7:117, 160; 10:87; 20:48; 20:77; 26:52, 63; see COMMANDMENTS; BOUNDARIES AND PRECEPTS). On other occasions it is doctrinal content (see CREED; THEOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN): "Say, 'I am only human like you (see IMPECCABILITY). It is revealed *(yūḥā)* to me that your God is only one God. And whoever there may be who looks forward to the encounter with his lord, let him do good work (see GOOD DEEDS) and associate no one else with his lord in worship" (q.v.; Q 18:110; see POLYTHEISM AND ATHEISM; IDOLATRY AND IDOLATERS).

Izutsu (*God,* 180) and Jeffery (Qurʾān, 190-2) both suggest a development of the idea of *waḥy* in the Qurʾān, from an earlier usage suggesting a general inspiration to say or do something, towards a more technical usage where the term applies very specifically to the verbatim revelation of scripture. There may be some truth to this, but it must also be noted that some of the non-scriptural uses occur in what are generally agreed to be late Medinan sūras (for example Q 5:111; 8:12; see CHRONOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN).

In the interpretation of *waḥy,* Muslim tradition has guarded the distance between the divine and the human. There are, however, some important indications in the text of a more direct communication. In Q 4:164 it is emphatically stated that God spoke to Moses directly *(wa-kallama llāhu Mūsā taklīman),* though some commentators read the accusative *Allāha,* indicating rather that Moses spoke to God directly. Without mentioning the case of Moses, Q 42:51 outlines three exceptions to the general rule that God does not address people: "It is not granted to any mortal that God should address him *(yukallimahu)* except by *waḥy,* or from behind a veil (q.v.), or that he send a messenger who reveals *(yūḥī)* with his permission what he wills. Surely he is exalted, wise." There seems a clear enough distinction between the first exception and the third: in one case the connection is more direct; in the other, God uses an intermediary. In both cases, however, there is revelatory communication. The verse indicates that the Qurʾān envisages a process of revelation that does not involve an angelic go-between. Perhaps the distinction between direct address *(taklīm)* and the kind of communication that took place with the prophets may be found in pre-Islamic usage of the type already alluded to. A common thread of mysteriousness and indecipherability runs through those uses of *waḥy* and *awḥā.* Often a sense of distance, absence and antiquity are implied. Even when the communication is immediate, however, without an angelic intermediary, it is still incomprehensible to the third-person observer. Recall the poet ʿAlqama's clacking ostrich and incomprehensible Greeks.

Waḥy, then, does not seem to be the simple and unambiguous direct address that Wansbrough takes it to be (*QS,* 34-6), though he is surely right to insist on a measure of demystification (see POST-ENLIGHTENMENT ACADEMIC STUDY OF THE QURʾĀN). Nor does *waḥy* have any necessary connection with written communication as many others have suggested. It indicates

a kind of communication that appears impenetrable and perhaps exotic to a third person observing it, yet remains full of meaning for the one receiving it. Given the range of its use, it seems possible, perhaps even preferable, to translate *waḥy* simply as "communication," understanding that it normally refers to divine communication.

The experience of revelation: For the Prophet

The Qurʾān itself tells us little, if anything, about the experience of revelation. The exegetical and historical traditions, on the other hand, have dwelt on the subject in detail, expanding on various suggestive verses of the Qurʾān to piece together a coherent account (see SĪRA AND THE QURʾĀN). The time leading up to the initial experience of revelation for Muḥammad was, according to Muslim tradition, characterized by vivid dreams and portents (Ibn Isḥāq, *Sīra,* 151; Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh,* i, 1143-6; id., *History,* vi, 63-7). When the revelation actually begins, one finds a certain vagueness in the tradition about whether the Prophet initially encounters God (as seems to be suggested by Q 53:1-18; see also Ibn Isḥāq, *Sīra,* 150; trans. Ibn Isḥāq-Guillaume, 104-5; Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh,* i, 1147; trans. Watt/McDonald, *History,* vi, 67-8, where it is said *al-ḥaqq,* one of the names of God, came to him; see GOD AND HIS ATTRIBUTES) or whether his dealings with the divine are always through the medium of Gabriel. The consensus of the tradition has it that the first words of the Qurʾān to be revealed were the beginnings of sūra 96, when Gabriel came bringing a cloth on which was embroidered the text to be recited. Three times the messenger tells Muḥammad to recite and he answers that he is unable, until finally Gabriel teaches him what to recite, and the words remain with him.

The encounter was physically violent and terrifying to Muḥammad. His reaction of hiding in fear then gave rise to his being addressed by the revelatory voice in Q 74:1 f. (or perhaps Q 73:1 f.). According to some versions, Gabriel first identifies himself and announces Muḥammad's role as messenger before beginning the recitation. In others, it is not until later that the origin and meaning of this terrifying experience is made clear (Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh,* i, 1147-50; trans. Watt/McDonald, *History,* vi, 67-72). Commentators distinguish three stages in the life of Muḥammad: *nubuwwa, risāla* and *waḥy* — being a prophet, receiving the commission as a messenger and beginning to receive the revelation he is to pass on. In almost all these accounts there is mention of the Prophet's considering or even attempting suicide (q.v.), either because he thinks he has become a poet or a madman (see INSANITY), or because after the initial encounters the revelations are discontinued (the so-called *fatra*) and he is tempted to think God has rejected him.

The continuing revelations are also depicted in the tradition as often being accompanied by physical effects: a loud ringing sound as of a bell or chain, sweating, pain, fainting, lethargy or trance, turning pale, turning red, becoming physically heavier — perhaps the result of a too literal reading of *qawlan thaqīlan,* "a weighty word," in Q 73:5 (for a listing of traditions referring to these phenomena, see Wensinck/Rippin, Waḥy, 55). It is said in some traditions that the shekhinah (q.v.; *sakīna*) descends upon him in these moments (Fahd, Kāhin, 889).

The Qurʾān itself refers to *waḥy* as sometimes being accompanied by visions. The experience is portrayed as a kind of teaching:

It is nothing other than a revelation *(waḥy)*
that is revealed *(yūḥā)*
One of mighty powers has taught him

one who is vigorous; and he grew clear to view
when he was on the highest horizon
(Q 53:4-7; see also Q 81:23-4).

According to al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111), one of the differences between the inspiration *(ilhām)* brought by an angel to a mystic (see SAINT; ṢUFISM AND THE QUR'ĀN) and the revelation brought to a prophet is that the prophet actually sees the angel (van Ess, *TG,* iv, 621). Al-Bukhārī (d. 256/870; *Ṣaḥīḥ,* iii, 391-2, *Kitāb Faḍā'il al-Qur'ān, bāb* 1), however, records a tradition to the effect that the angel was also visible on one occasion to Umm Salama, even if Gabriel was not visible to Khadīja (q.v.; Ibn Isḥāq, *Sīra,* 154; see also WIVES OF THE PROPHET).

The experience of revelation: For the people

Apart from the physical effects listed above that the people observed when the Prophet received revelation, there are three important elements to be noted about the people's experience of revelation.

In the first place, the revelation is responsive to the situation in which people find themselves. It does not present itself as a prefabricated text related only in the most general way to the present moment. It is experienced as a living voice, ever on the point of intervening in order to resolve disputes, to clarify issues, to call to faith and to command action. The recurrent pattern "They say x; Say to them y" represents this interactive aspect of the revelation (see for example Q 3:119, 154; 56:47-9; 64:7; 67:25-6). The position of the interlocutors is stated ("they say …"), followed by the response God wishes the Prophet to deliver (often preceded by the command *qul,* "Say! …"). Some Companion ḥadīth (see COMPANIONS OF THE PROPHET; ḤADĪTH AND THE QUR'ĀN) indicate that it was not uncommon for a qur'ānic verse to be revealed in the middle of a dispute among them or in the Prophet's family (see, for example, Ibn Isḥāq, *Sīra,* 735-6; see FAMILY OF THE PROPHET; PEOPLE OF THE HOUSE).

The second aspect of the hearers' experience is that the words are authoritative. The authority (q.v.) of the Prophet rests on the authority of the word he speaks (see SPEECH). Although there are, in the prophetic biography *(sīra),* accounts of miracles (q.v.) performed by Muḥammad, the Muslim community has had an ambivalent attitude toward them. They are often seen as either unfounded reports or, if true, extraneous to the essence of his prophecy. The encounter with the revelation elicits faith not because the authority of the Prophet has already been established by some other means, but because of the power of the word itself. The attesting miracle of the Prophet is understood to be nothing other than the Qur'ān (see INIMITABILITY; NAMES OF THE QUR'ĀN).

One facet of the word's power, and the third important aspect of the hearers' experience, was its aesthetic force, its sheer beauty. The inimitability *(i'jāz)* of the Qur'ān has not only an important apologetic role in the Islamic tradition but it signals, as Navid Kermani (Revelation, 223-4; cf. id., *Gott ist schön*) has pointed out, an essential aspect of the Muslim experience of revelation, in the beginning and even now. The sensual nature of this aesthetic dimension is often undervalued because of the more intellectual approach taken to it in apologetics (see RHETORIC AND THE QUR'ĀN; FORM AND STRUCTURE OF THE QUR'ĀN; LITERARY STRUCTURES OF THE QUR'ĀN; NARRATIVES). It remains, however, an ambiguous element. The Qur'ān's repeated insistence (e.g. Q 15:6-7; 21:5; 26:224; 36:69; 37:36; 44:14; 52:29, 30; 68:2, 51; 69:41, 42; 81:22) that the Prophet is neither a possessed poet nor a diviner (see DIVINATION; FORETELLING; SOOTH-

SAYERS) — as well as the *Sīra*'s reference to his considering suicide because he thought he might have become such — indicates that the impression made on the hearers was plausibly comparable to that made by a poet or soothsayer possessed by a spirit.

Yet it is primarily the source of the words, and only to a much lesser extent their literary style (see LANGUAGE AND STYLE OF THE QUR'ĀN), that makes the difference between the poet, the soothsayer and the prophet. All are, in a certain sense, visionaries, conveying knowledge of the unseen world *(al-ghayb)*. Indeed, Ibn Khaldūn (d. 780/1379) posits a continuum in the preparedness of human beings to receive heavenly perceptions; the prophets are merely at the highest grade in this respect, but soothsayers, too, receive some genuine though incomplete spiritual perception (Ibn Khaldūn-Rosenthal, i, 207-8). Yet the source for the soothsayer is the *shayāṭīn* or the jinn, while the source for the prophet's knowledge is God. The poets and those who dismiss the Qur'ān as being no more than poetry, soothsaying or invention (see LIE) are challenged repeatedly (Q 2:23; 10:38; 11:13; 17:88; 52:34) to bring something equal to it (see PROVOCATION). The challenge is predominantly interpreted by the tradition in aesthetic terms: there can be no text more eloquent and more beautiful than the Qur'ān (see LITERATURE AND THE QUR'ĀN).

The process of revelation: tanzīl

The process of revelation is most commonly characterized by the spatial metaphor of "coming down, sending down" — derivatives of the verbal root *n-z-l*. The causative verb forms *nazzala* (sixty-three finite verbal occurrences, fifteen uses of the *maṣdar,* and two of the participle) and *anzala* (188 finite verbal occurrences, no uses of the *maṣdar,* and seven of the participle) are generally considered to be similar in meaning, "to send down." Although by far the majority of uses of verbs from the root *n-z-l* deal with revelation, there are other objects as well: e.g. mountains (Q 24:43), various kinds of rain (Q 30:49; 31:34; 42:28), manna and quails (Q 2:57; 7:160; 20:80), armies (Q 9:26), and *al-furqān* (Q 2:185; 3:4; 25:1; see PROOF; CRITERION) the meaning of which seems to bear elements of salvation (q.v.) as well as revelation.

In one sense, the notion of sending down itself could be said to be theologically neutral since it is merely spatial. This spatiality implies, however, the theological premise of a two-tiered universe in which the initiative is always in the upper (divine, celestial) tier. Furthermore, the verbal noun *tanzīl* standing by itself (e.g. Q 36:5; 41:2, 42; 56:80; 69:43) is only used to refer to revelation. The activity of sending down is exclusively divine. Humans or angels may bring *(atā bi-)* or recount *(qaṣṣa)* the word of God but only God can send it down.

Although the direction of communication is always downward, tradition has also sought in its development of the story of Muḥammad's ascent to heaven (see ASCENSION) to establish a special prophetic access in the opposite direction. In addition, the first revelations are portrayed as taking place in a cave on Mount Ḥirā' to which the Prophet had ascended — in Islamic tradition, no less than in the Jewish and Christian traditions (see JEWS AND JUDAISM; CHRISTIANS AND CHRISTIANITY), the mountaintop enjoys a privileged proximity to heaven.

The mode of sending down scripture is made clear repeatedly. It is oral, in the form of a recitation *(qur'ānan);* the idea of sending something down in writing is rejected as unlikely to prove convincing (Q 6:7; 4:153). What is sent down is in the vernacular (*'arabī,* Q 12:2; 16:103; 20:113;

39:28; 41:3, 44; 42:7; 43:3; see DIALECTS), rather than in a foreign or sacral language (*aʿjamī,* Q 16:103; 41:44; but see FOREIGN VOCABULARY). God never sends a messenger except to speak in the language of the people he is addressing (Q 14:4). The sending down comes gradually (*mufarraqan,* Q 17:106) or, as the commentators say, *munajjaman,* or *najūman* (Suyūṭī, *Itqān,* i, 116-9: *nawʿ* 16, *Fī kayfiyyat inzālihi, masʾala* 1); it comes in response to situations (Q 25:33), rather than as a single, completed pronouncement (*jumlatan wāḥidatan,* Q 25:32).

The difficulty presented by the fact that the Qurʾān was not revealed all at once in an already fixed form is answered in the tradition by patching together, in varying ways, isolated parts of the text in order to outline a coherent schema that could reconcile a preexistent canon with what was clearly an *ad rem* mode of revelation (see COLLECTION OF THE QURʾĀN; CODICES OF THE QURʾĀN). The Qurʾān is presented as already complete in the realm of eternity; the text is preserved on a heavenly tablet (Q 85:22; see HEAVENLY BOOK; PRESERVED TABLET), from which it is sent down whole to "noble scribes" (*safara kirām,* Q 80:15-6) or to the "abode of glory" (*bayt al-ʿizza,* an idea attributed to Ibn ʿAbbās by, among others, Suyūṭī, *Itqān,* i, 116-9: *nawʿ* 16, *masʾala* 1) in the lowest heaven, then transmitted to Gabriel, who in turn parcels it out to Muḥammad according to the situation in which he finds himself (see OCCASIONS OF REVELATION).

The Islamic tradition, in developing its ever more elaborate "topology" of revelation, is certainly careful to maintain the distance between God and humanity (see ANTHROPOMORPHISM). Nevertheless, even if the divine essence remains inaccessible, a genuine unveiling of God's knowledge and manifestation of God's will does take place.

The "occasions" of revelation

The apparently one-directional nature of *tanzīl* is qualified in the exegetical tradition by the notion that each part of the Qurʾān was revealed in a particular context in response to a particular situation. This particularity and contextuality is evident in many parts of the text itself. The term used is *sabab* (pl. *asbāb*), which carries an idea of causality that is somewhat veiled by the usual translation "occasion." Al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505; *Itqān,* i, 82-98: *nawʿ* 9, *Maʿrifat sabab al-nuzūl*) quotes Ibn Taymiyya (d. 728/1328): "Knowing the reason for the sending down helps in the understanding of the verse. For knowledge of the cause *(sabab)* yields knowledge of the effect *(musabbab).*"

Because they offer a coherent historical context for individual verses or pericopes and because, taken together, they create a narrative structure for the Qurʾān, the *asbāb al-nuzūl* are among the principal traditional tools of interpretation (see TRADITIONAL DISCIPLINES OF QURʾĀNIC STUDY). The importance of the *asbāb* for exegesis is the recognition of the responsive nature of the revelation that we have already observed. The commentators can, of course, maintain that it is not the verse itself that is occasioned or caused but rather the sending down of that verse, which itself remains preexistent (see ETERNITY; CREATEDNESS OF THE QURʾĀN). Even so, they are still implicitly recognizing that the process of revelation is a divine response elicited by human word and action.

The importance of this dynamic aspect of qurʾānic revelation is not to be underestimated. It is an essential counterbalance to an approach that privileges the idea of an impassive, static pronouncement fixed from all eternity. The God who speaks in the Qurʾān is also described many times as *baṣīr, samīʿ* and *ʿalīm* — one who sees and

hears and therefore knows the present situation he is addressing (see SEEING AND HEARING).

The role of Gabriel

The Muslim tradition has tended to emphasize those parts of the Qurʾān that suggest that revelation is mediated through Gabriel. The Qurʾān itself does not call Gabriel an angel, though in the tradition there seems to be a conflation of God's spirit (q.v.), the angels and Gabriel. It is explicitly stated in Q 2:97 that it is Gabriel (Jibrīl) who, by God's leave, brings the revelation down upon Muḥammad's heart (q.v.). In an earlier Meccan sūra (Q 53:1-18), however, the most straightforward reading indicates a vision of God (see FACE OF GOD). Muḥammad is described in Q 53:10 as the slave (*ʿabd;* see SERVANT) of the one he sees — a word that could hardly be applied to his relationship with Gabriel: "He revealed to his slave what he revealed."

The biographical tradition, too, shifts between involving Gabriel and speaking as though the revelation were direct. We might deduce from this that the angel plays what we could call the role of a theological safeguard. If the Prophet has dealings only with Gabriel and not with God directly, the absolute transcendence and immateriality of God is safeguarded. Once the point is made, and the theological caveat entered, however, there is little real need to concentrate further on the angel. One finds a similar phenomenon with the role of God's messengers in the Hebrew Bible, for example in the accounts of Moses and the burning bush (*Exod* 3:2-4:17); of Hagar and Ishmael (*Gen* 16:7-14; 21:17-9); of Abraham and his guests (*Gen* 18-19); of Abraham's binding of Isaac (*Gen* 22:11-2); of Jacob (*Gen* 31:11-3; 32:24-30); and of Balaam (*Num* 22-4).

Yet, even though the angel can be understood as in some way bridging the ontological gap between the divine and the human, as Ibn Khaldūn pointed out, there is still a gap between the angelic and the human. The prophet must leave his own state and enter the state of the angels, the highest level of spiritual existence (Ibn Khaldūn-Rosenthal, i, 208). This explains the difficulty prophets experience in the moment of revelation (ibid., i, 201). Ibn Khaldūn's analysis of the phenomenon of prophetic perception reflects the ambiguity of the angelic role. He leaves unresolved the issue of whether angelic agency is necessary to prophecy or whether, when prophets enter the angelic realm, they are just as able as the angels to understand the speech of God. He speaks of it as the realm of direct perception (ibid., ii, 423-4).

Al-Samarqandī (d. 375/985) is reported as saying that there are three opinions about the role of Gabriel in the revelation of the Qurʾān: (1) that he brought both word and meaning *(al-lafẓ wa-l-maʿnā),* having memorized the wording from the Preserved Tablet (q.v.; Q 85:22); (2) that Gabriel brought the meanings *(maʿānī)* and the Prophet expressed *(ʿabbara)* them in Arabic; (3) that it was Gabriel who expressed the message in Arabic — that is how it is recited in heaven — then later brought it in that form to the Prophet (Zarkashī, *Burhān,* i, 228-32: *nawʿ* 12, *Fī kayfiyyat inzālihi*). Some authors would distinguish the second form as being characteristic of the revelation of the sunna (q.v.) rather than the Qurʾān, since the sunna is sometimes thought of as revealed. Whether or not that is accepted, the role of Gabriel has some considerable bearing on the question of verbal inspiration.

Verbal inspiration

The verbal inspiration of the Qurʾān is accepted as virtually axiomatic by the greater part of the Islamic tradition, though the doctrine is recognized even

within that tradition as not being without its difficulties. The Qurʾān itself offers no simple answer to the question of the precise relationship between its text and the eternal word of God (q.v.), although some verses have been taken to argue for their being identical. Several times the scripture is announced as a revelation *(tanzīl)* or a revelation of the scripture *(tanzīl al-kitāb)* from God under various of the divine names (e.g. Q 17:106; 20:4; 26:192; 32:2; 39:1; 40:2; 41:2, 42; 45:2; 46:2; 56:80; 69:43; 76:23). In Q 9:6 the Prophet is told to give refuge to any idolater who asks for it "so that he might hear the speech of God *(kalām Allāh)*." Since there is no qualification of this, it seemed to many commentators to offer proof that the Qurʾān is simply equivalent to God's speech. Further support is sought in Q 75:16-8, in which the Prophet is told not to rush ahead of the recitation but to follow it precisely as God recites it.

The reservations about verbal inspiration were based on several factors. There was in the first place the widespread, though not universal, hesitancy about anthropomorphism or anything that blurs the distinction between the divine and the created realms. For God to have produced the actual wording of the scripture would involve him in the use of human language with its sounds, script and grammar, all of which are clearly created (see ARABIC SCRIPT; GRAMMAR AND THE QURʾĀN; ORTHOGRAPHY). Secondly, in the religiously plural context in which the Muslim community lived (see RELIGIOUS PLURALISM AND THE QURʾĀN; COMMUNITY AND SOCIETY IN THE QURʾĀN), it had to be recognized that the other scriptures are not textually identical to the Qurʾān, even though in principle the import of the message should be identical. This led to such distinctions as that made by Ibn Kullāb (d. 241/855?) between *qirāʾa* — the recited wording, which is a material human action — and *maqrūʾ* — what is recited, i.e. what God intends to convey by it (van Ess, *TG*, iv, 615-6; see RECITATION OF THE QURʾĀN). Furthermore, it could not be ignored that there were at least seven recognized readings of the Qurʾān (q.v.) and strong opposition to the idea of canonizing any one of them absolutely. If only the unpointed consonants *(rasm)* were canonized, the way remained open to multiple pronunciations, and therefore multiple versions, based upon it.

For the Muʿtazilīs (q.v.), what we have on earth is never the word of God itself but rather an account or report *(ḥikāya)* of what God said, a kind of indirect speech. The speech of God is created in a physical substrate — for example, the burning bush associated with Moses (cf. Q 28:30). Even in Gabriel it is created. Ibn Kullāb preferred the term *ʿibāra* to the suspect notion of *ḥikāya*, but in the final analysis there was little difference between his and the Muʿtazilī position on this point. Van Ess (*TG*, iv, 622) notes that even the custom of quoting the Qurʾān with the introductory words *qāla llāhu*, "God says," was not always allowed to pass unchallenged for its presumption of identity between the words of the Qurʾān and the word of God.

It should be noted that the belief in the verbal inspiration of the Qurʾān does not necessarily entail a belief in its uncreated nature, as the Muʿtazilīs seemed to fear. It is possible for God to determine the precise wording of the Qurʾān even while knowing the inability of human language fully to express and convey divine thought.

The complexity of the understanding of revelation in the tradition

It is beyond the scope of this article to deal systematically with the doctrines of revelation that developed in the Islamic community over the centuries. Some com-

ments, however, are in order. The discussions of revelation by theologians, commentators and philosophers seem often to conflict (see PHILOSOPHY AND THE QUR'ĀN; EXEGESIS OF THE QUR'ĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL). Things become clearer, perhaps, if one sees that the discussion has tried to balance a series of tensions. Since the divine is so often defined in negative terms and often through the negation of any similarity to the human, it should not be surprising that theologies of revelation are full of paradox and tension. As Izutsu (*God,* 153-4) put it, the Qur'ān, being God's speech, is divine but it is also speech; it therefore conforms to the models and limitations of all speech.

The tradition wants to assert the immediacy of the revelation to the God who speaks, an immediacy on which it depends for its reliability. At the same time it recognizes the mediation required logically and theologically by the absolute ontological distance between God and creation, and even the relative distance between the human and the angelic.

Through the use of *asbāb al-nuzūl* the tradition focuses on the concrete historicity of the text in its interactions with the Prophet and his hearers. At the same time it argues for its pre-existent, timeless nature.

The text has a very obvious cultural and linguistic particularity and the tradition stresses this in its attachment to and celebration of the Arabic of the Qur'ān. At the same time it insists on its universal appeal and applicability.

The tradition carefully observes the delimited extent and content of the qur'ānic text. At the same time, it asserts the unlimited scope and import of the revelation.

Certain key terms for the understanding and interpretation of the Qur'ān have spatial and temporal significance (the heavenly Preserved Tablet, sending down, abrogation [q.v.], forgetting or causing to forget; see also SATANIC VERSES). At the same time, the tradition is aware of the problematic nature of attributing spatial and temporal characteristics to God.

The tradition maintains the uniqueness of the Qur'ān. Yet, on the other hand, it asserts the Qur'ān's commonality with the earlier revealed scriptures.

The Qur'ān itself and the tradition assert the inprinciple identity of the message to that of the earlier scriptures. At the same time, it is aware that in fact there is a divergence among them (see FORGERY; CORRUPTION; POLEMIC AND POLEMICAL LANGUAGE; APOLOGETICS).

The Muslim tradition insists strongly that the Qur'ān is the sole revealed scripture to have been faithfully recorded and preserved in its original form. At the same time, the fact that only the unpointed consonantal text *(rasm)* is canonized means that in effect the canon is kept open by the many possible pronunciations *(lafz)* based on the same *ductus* — some of them doctrinally significant (e.g. Q 2:106).

These tensions are a necessary factor in any theory of revelation because it must account at the same time for the divine and human aspects of the phenomenon. Although Islamic tradition has not succeeded in developing a single coherent theology of revelation, the idea remains central to the religion. God's constancy in revelation shows his engagement with the world, the ceaseless activity of addressing the human situation and providing for human need.

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Revenge see VENGEANCE

Revision and Alteration

The idea and the charge that the text of the Qurʾān (and the Bible) underwent changes and emendations over time. According to traditional Muslim accounts, the revelations that make up the Qurʾān were originally collected together by the second caliph (q.v.) ʿUmar (d. 23/644), under the editorship of Zayd b. Thābit, approximately twenty-five years after Muḥammad's death (see COLLECTION OF THE QURʾĀN). ʿUmar died before the task was completed, however, and the collected sheets were transferred to his daughter

Ḥafṣa (q.v.) for safekeeping (see also WIVES OF THE PROPHET). Around 30/650, ʿUthmān (q.v.) later the third caliph (d. 35/655), drew from this collection when he reinstated the editorial commission started by ʿUmar, established the Medinan recension of the materials as the qurʾānic canon and burned all other versions then circulating (see CODICES OF THE QURʾĀN). Traditional Islam understands this ʿUthmānic codex, as it is called, to be both the version most closely resembling Muḥammad's revelations and the very same version still in use today. Bell notes that the religious authorities, largely not positively disposed toward ʿUthmān, never accuse him of having altered the Qurʾān in any form. Similarly, history does not record any substantial disagreements over the text (see TEXTUAL CRITICISM OF THE QURʾĀN; UNITY OF THE TEXT OF THE QURʾĀN).

This does not mean, however, that Islamic tradition rejected absolutely the idea of the alteration of God's word (see WORD OF GOD). Traditional Sunnī Islam recognizes at least three forms of such revision. The Qurʾān itself (Q 13:39; 87:6-7, etc.) speaks of God as editor, causing Muḥammad to forget some revelations or even deleting verses from the Qurʾān (see also SATANIC VERSES; IMPECCABILITY). Additional divine revision comes in the form of the doctrine of *nāsikh wa-mansūkh,* "abrogating and abrogated" (see ABROGATION). According to this principle, the Qurʾān altered and revised itself in the midst of being revealed; later qurʾānic rulings that appear to contradict earlier statements are, in fact, replacing them, terminating the earlier statements in favor of new decrees (for example, Q 4:11 abrogates Q 2:180, Q 24:2 replaces 4:15-6). Some maintain that Muḥammad acted as the Qurʾān's editor as well. According to this tradition, once a year Muḥammad met with the angel Gabriel (q.v.; Jibrīl) to order, fix and collate the revealed materials coming through him (Suyūṭī, *Itqān,* i, 216). In the process, some parts of the revelation were left out of the final compilation, though these continued to hold authoritative status. Indeed, a number of ḥadīth refer to such omitted verses (see ḤADĪTH AND THE QURʾĀN). One such ḥadīth concerns the famous "stoning (q.v.) verse," an omitted verse which declares that male and female adulterers are to be stoned, a punishment that contradicts the lashing (see FLOGGING) prescribed in the written revelation in Q 24:2 (Bayhaqī, *Sunan,* viii, 210; see BOUNDARIES AND PRECEPTS; ADULTERY AND FORNICATION). In line with this view of prophet as editor, Berque suggests that the original command to Muḥammad, *iqraʾ,* may have been a command to assemble/compile the revealed messages, rather than to read/recite them, as traditionally understood (see ORALITY; ORALITY AND WRITING IN ARABIA; ILLITERACY; REVELATION AND INSPIRATION). By ʿUthmān's time, dialectical oddities had crept into the Qurʾān's language, and a third form of revision took place when ʿUthmān edited these out in favor of a pure Qurashī Arabic (see ARABIC LANGUAGE; DIALECTS).

Some modern scholars have disagreed with this traditional (Sunnī) scenario, maintaining that in addition to the supposed early divine and prophetic revisions, later "regular" human hands also played a part in manipulating the content of the revelations. Watt sees evidence of this in the verses' hidden rhyme schemes, pointing out examples of phrases added in order to give passages the correct assonance and cases in which the rhyme of the sūra changes (see RHYMED PROSE). Watt also lists a host of irregularities and unevenness of style in certain sections of the Qurʾān that testify to later human alteration and revision (see LANGUAGE AND

STYLE OF THE QUR'ĀN). He cites changes in subject matter as further evidence of qur'ānic emendation. Weil similarly claims that a number of pericopes (such as the "night journey" verse, Q 17:1; see ASCENSION) were added to the Qur'ān by later hands for a variety of political and religious reasons and were not part of the original revelations. Furthermore, Jeffery maintains that the differences in pronunciation and in words in the assorted canonical *qirā'a* readings (see READINGS OF THE QUR'ĀN) can likewise be seen as alterations, remnants of the various versions destroyed by ʿUthmān. He notes, however, that these variants later came to be seen by normative Islam as little more than acceptable curiosities (see also MUṢḤAF).

The question of the Qur'ān's alteration and revision takes on a different meaning and significance in the Imāmī Shīʿī context (see SHĪʿISM AND THE QUR'ĀN). In the Imāmī view, the canonical version of the Qur'ān contains words, verses and even whole sūras that have been added, omitted or changed from the true version (originally in ʿAlī's possession; see ʿALĪ B. ABĪ ṬĀLIB) in order to fit Sunnī purposes (see POLITICS AND THE QUR'ĀN; THEOLOGY AND THE QUR'ĀN). Through "falsification" *(taḥrīf)* and "alteration" *(tabdīl),* claim the Imāmīs, the Sunnīs omitted verses from Sūrat al-Nūr (Q 24, "Light"; in the ʿUthmānic text, this sūra contains 64 verses, while, according to the Imāmīs, it should have more than 100 verses; Imāmīs also claim that the Sunnīs omitted or suppressed Sūrat al-Nūrayn, "The Two Lights"; cf. Ar. text and trans. in Nöldeke, *GQ,* ii, 102-7) as well as other passages that testify to ʿAlī's distinct role as Muḥammad's spiritual and political heir. Kohlberg, citing von Grunebaum, points out that the Shīʿīs never could ultimately agree on the details of the alleged ʿUthmānic distortion of the Qur'ān's content. Eliash, on the other hand, maintains that the Imāmīs never questioned the accuracy of the text's content but only the ordering of the material. According to Kohlberg, however, the original accusation was of content corruption; only as the Imāmīs began to accept the Sunnī notion of the text's perfection (*iʿjāz al-Qur'ān;* see INIMITABILITY), did the charge slowly evolve into the lesser criticism of order. The belief in the Qur'ān's integrity remains the conviction of the overwhelming majority of modern Imāmīs, although echoes of the early dissent do surface from time to time (Kohlberg notes the recent Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad Taqī l-Nūrī l-Ṭabarsī [d. 1320/1905], for example).

Khārijīs (q.v.), too, have accused the Sunnīs of content manipulation. Many found Sūrat Yūsuf (Q 12, "Joseph") problematic because of its erotic and hence inappropriate overtones. The entire chapter, they claim, does not belong in the Qur'ān and, they charge, was likely added later by human hands.

Perhaps the most famous accusation of textual alteration and revision, however, concerns not the qur'ānic text but the Bible. This charge appears in the Qur'ān itself (see CORRUPTION; FORGERY; POLEMIC AND POLEMICAL LANGUAGE). According to the Qur'ān, although the Torah (q.v.) and the Gospels (q.v.) are genuine divine revelations, deriving from the very same source as the Qur'ān, the Jews and the Christians tampered with their texts by engaging in both *taḥrīf* and *tabdīl* (see Q 2:42, 59, 75-9; 3:71, 78; 4:46; 5:13, 41; 6:91; 7:162, among others; see JEWS AND JUDAISM; CHRISTIANS AND CHRISTIANITY). This claim explains why Muḥammad does not appear in either the Hebrew Bible or New Testament, despite the Muslim claim that his arrival and mission had originally

been predicted there (see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD). Jewish and Christian alteration of the biblical text also solves the riddle of why, if all three scriptures derived from the same divine source, the qurʾānic versions of accounts often contradict those of the Bible (see NARRATIVES; SCRIPTURE AND THE QURʾĀN). The Muslim charge of biblical alteration eventually coalesced into two forms, *taḥrīf al-naṣṣ,* "distortion of text," and *taḥrīf al-maʿānī,* "(deliberate or non-deliberate) false interpretation." Most Muslim writers on the topic accused the Jews (and Christians) mainly of the lesser offense of intentional problematic misinterpretation. Nonetheless, a frequent charge against the veracity of the Torah claimed that it had been burned and subsequently rewritten (inaccurately) by the prophet Ezra (q.v.; ʿUzayr). This more serious allegation of *taḥrīf al-naṣṣ* forms the basis for one of the most famous and systematic polemics against the Bible, that of the Spanish Ẓāhirī theologian Ibn Ḥazm (d. 456/1064). In his detailed *Iẓhār tabdīl al-yahūd wa-l-naṣārā lil-tawrāt wa-l-injīl,* "Exposure of the alterations by the Jews and Christians to the Torah and Gospel" (preserved in his larger *Milal*), Ibn Ḥazm presents case after case in which he claims that the biblical text must have been intentionally altered and falsified by the Jews and Christians. As described by Lazarus-Yafeh, Ibn Ḥazm bases his claims on what he considers to be chronological and geographic inaccuracies, theological impossibilities and preposterous prophetic behavior, among other things (see MIRACLES). Despite his insistence on the unreliability of the Bible and his rejection of using the Bible to prove the truth of a religion or prophet, Ibn Ḥazm nonetheless insists that certain biblical passages testify to the truth of Muḥammad and his prophecy. This dualistic attitude of rejection of and simultaneous reliance upon the "altered" Bible appears throughout the Muslim literature on the topic.

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Reward and Punishment

A return or recompense made to, or received by, a person or a group for some service or merit or for hardship endured; and its opposite, judicial chastisement

intended to make a person or a group suffer for an offence, whether as retribution or as caution against further transgression. Both terms together merge into a word like "requital."

A central theme in the Qurʾān is the requital of human deeds by divine justice both on earth and in the world to come (see JUSTICE AND INJUSTICE; JUDGMENT; ESCHATOLOGY; GOOD DEEDS; EVIL DEEDS). To those who believe and do good deeds (see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF), God gives some reward on earth and a far greater reward in the hereafter (see PARADISE; BLESSING; GRACE). Unbelievers and evildoers can be punished on earth and have to undergo eternal chastisement in the hereafter (see CHASTISEMENT AND PUNISHMENT; ETERNITY; HELL AND HELLFIRE). The ultimate separation of the two groups will take place on the day of judgment (see LAST JUDGMENT). According to ḥadīth, unbelievers will also be punished in their graves (see ḤADĪTH AND THE QURʾĀN; DEATH AND THE DEAD).

The relevant qurʾānic terminology

The term *ajr,* "wage, pay, reward," is frequently used in sūras of all periods. It sometimes refers to work or services rendered in everyday human contexts. Pharaoh's (q.v.) sorcerers (see MAGIC) expect payment (Q 26:41); Moses (q.v.; Mūsā) was payed for being a shepherd (Q 28:25-7); wives and girl slaves are entitled to an *ajr* (Q 4:24-5; 5:5; 60:10; cf. 33:50; see WOMEN AND THE QURʾĀN; SLAVES AND SLAVERY); and divorced wives receive payment (pl. *ujūr*) for nursing the children of their former husbands (Q 65:6; see MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE; WET NURSING; LACTATION). A recurrent motif throughout the Meccan sūras (see CHRONOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN) is that the Prophet does not ask a wage for conveying the message (e.g. Q 6:90; 38:86; 68:46; in Q 23:72 with *kharj* and *kharāj*); that is to God's account (e.g. Q 34:47). The same is true for the prophets of the past (e.g. Q 26:109; cf. 36:21; see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD). In most places, and predominantly so in the Medinan sūras, *ajr* is the reward given by God for righteous conduct (see VIRTUES AND VICES, COMMANDING AND FORBIDDING). One may be rewarded in this world, as e.g. Joseph (q.v.; Yūsuf) was (Q 12:56), but nearly always *ajr* refers to the reward in the world to come, i.e. in paradise. The word is never used in the sense of "punishment."

Thawāb, mathūba and cognates occur nineteen times in sūras of all periods, the basic meaning being "recompense, compensation, requital." Only twice are they used in a negative sense (Q 3:153; 83:36); in the other cases they are virtually synonymous with "reward." They always refer to the recompense for human actions from God, either in this world or in the world to come (e.g. Q 3:145, 148). *Jazāʾ* means "compensation, requital, satisfaction, payment." With its cognates, it occurs frequently throughout the Qurʾān. It refers to both reward and punishment on earth, but far more often in the life to come. In the later sūras the connotation of "punishment" is more dominant. Sometimes the word is embedded in the clausula phrase (see Neuwirth, Form, esp. p. 253): "That is how we recompense the doers of good," which occurs in the later Meccan stories about the prophets (Q 6:84; 12:22; 28:14; 37:105-31; see NARRATIVES) but had already been used in an early evocation of the day of judgment (Q 77:44; cf. also Q 5:85; 39:34) or in the often-repeated phrase: "… so that God may recompense them for the best of their deeds" (Q 9:121; 29:7; cf. 39:35).

Among punishment terms in the Qurʾān, *ʿadhāb* and cognates are by far the most frequent in all periods. They mean "pain,

torment," and more specifically "pain or torment inflicted by way of chastisement; punishment." The flogging (q.v.) of adulterers (see ADULTERY AND FORNICATION) is called *ʿadhāb* (Q 24:2, 8) but otherwise this word mainly refers to the torment in hell. God 'seizes' the sinners with the torment (e.g. Q 23:64; 43:48; see SIN, MAJOR AND MINOR), or the torment is personified: it "seizes" the sinners (Q 11:64; 16:113; 26:156, 158, 189), as does the "cry" (see below under *ṣayḥa*); or torment "covers them from above them and from under their feet" (Q 29:55). In some 150 places, especially in the Medinan sūras, the word is embedded in often-repeated clausula phrases, such as "For them is a painful punishment" (e.g. Q 5:36), or phrases ending with the words "a demeaning (or painful, or severe) punishment," e.g. "he will have a painful punishment" (Q 2:178). About *ʿadhāb al-qabr,* "the punishment in the grave," see at the end of this article.

ʿIqāb is the verbal noun of *ʿāqaba,* a verb which means "to do alternately" and "to punish for crime, sin, fault or offence." It is absent from the earliest, and rare in the middle Meccan sūras. Finite verb forms of the root *ʿ-q-b* occur six times in the Qurʾān and always refer to human activities, meaning both "punishing" and "doing what induces punishment." The frequently used *ʿiqāb* always refers to God's punishment. In Medinan sūras it occurs almost exclusively in concluding clausula phrases, which aim at underlining a command or interdiction, as e.g. "God is severe in punishment" (Q 3:11). Unusually, in Q 5:98 this phrase does not occur at the end of the verse: "Know that God is severe in punishment and that God is all-forgiving." Indeed God's punishment is placed in contrast to his willingess to forgive (see FORGIVENESS) already in late Meccan verses (Q 6:165; 7:167; 13:6; 40:3; 41:43).

The term *intiqām,* "revenge, to avenge oneself, take revenge, to bear a grudge," and cognates are used for the grudge that human beings bear against believers for the very fact that they are believers (Q 5:59; 7:126; 85:8) and enjoy God's blessing (Q 9:74). More frequently they are used to denote God's punishment. From the second Meccan period onward, God presents himself as an avenger. He will take vengeance on the evildoers, both here (Q 43:41) and in the life to come (Q 44:16), as he had done in the past, according to the punishment stories (q.v.; Q 7:136; 15:79; 30:47; 43:25, 55). A few Meccan and Medinan verses end in the clausula phrase "God is mighty and vengeful" (Q 3:4; 5:95; 14:47; 39:37). *Al-muntaqim,* "the avenger," is one of God's "most beautiful names" (see GOD AND HIS ATTRIBUTES).

Additional terminology includes *khizy,* "shame, disgrace, ignominy." From the second Meccan period onward, this word and its cognates are often bracketed with God's punishment (e.g. Q 20:134). Disgrace in this world is terrible, but the torment in the hereafter is worse (Q 39:26). On the day of resurrection (q.v.), God will disgrace the evildoers (Q 16:27), as he had already done in the past, witness several punishment stories (e.g. Q 11:39; 41:16). The stay in hell is, among other things, an ignominy (Q 3:192; 9:63). In Q 5:33, where some heavy physical punishments are enumerated, it is not the pain that is emphasized, but the disgrace. Also the roots *dh-l-l* and *k-b-t* which denote "humiliation" express this aspect of the divine punishment (e.g. Q 10:26; 58:5), as well as the frequent collocation "a demeaning punishment" (*ʿadhāb muhīn;* e.g. Q 2:90). *Mathula,* "exemplary punishment," occurs once in the plural *(al-mathulāt)* in a Medinan sūra, where it refers to an unspecified past time (Q 13:6). *Nakāl* and *tankīl* have a similiar meaning. Punishments meted out to the Jews (see JEWS AND JUDAISM; CHILDREN OF ISRAEL)

and to Pharaoh are presented as warnings and exhortations for the God-fearing (Q 2:66; 79:25; see FEAR; PIETY). In a law-giving Medinan verse *nakāl* is used for the cutting off of the hands of thieves (Q 5:38; see BOUNDARIES AND PRECEPTS; THEFT; LAW AND THE QUR'ĀN).

Rijz, rijs, rujz: rijz is "abomination, filth, impurity" (see CLEANLINESS AND ABLUTION; RITUAL PURITY; CONTAMINATION). In some punishment stories, however, it denotes a scourge which was sent from heaven (Q 2:59; 7:134-5, 162; 29:34; see HEAVEN AND SKY) and, in the phrase "the punishment of a painful scourge" (Q 34:5; 45:11), it refers to the future. Also the word *rijs* has a twofold meaning: in six places it means "abomination, filth, punishable act"; in three verses "scourge" (Q 6:125; 7:71; 10:100). Both *rijz* and *rijs* occur in late Meccan and Medinan sūras. *Rujz,* in the early verse Q 74:5, is sometimes considered to be identical with *rijz,* "abomination," or is taken to be cognate with Syriac *rūgzā,* "wrath" (Jeffery, *For. vocab.,* 139). Finally, *ṣayḥa,* "cry," occurs in the second and third Meccan periods. In Q 50:42 it is the cry or clamor that announces the resurrection on the day of judgment. Mostly, however, the cry has more than a heralding and warning function (see WARNER): it is the punishment itself, or at least part of it. This is hinted at in Q 38:15 and is more obvious in Q 36:49: "they are only awaiting a single cry to seize them." Elsewhere it is the torment that "seizes" them (see above under *'adhāb*). In the punishment stories the cry is destructive. Of Thamūd (q.v.) and al-Ḥijr (q.v.) it is said: "We released upon them a single cry and they became like the dry twigs of a pen-builder" (Q 54:31; cf. 11:67, 94; 15:83), but it also occurs in other stories, e.g. in Q 36:29: "It was but one cry, and behold, they were extinguished."

The eschatological division

A roughly chronological reading of the entire Qur'ān gives a better insight into the qur'ānic system of reward and punishment than does a mere enumeration of the relevant vocabulary (see OCCASIONS OF REVELATION). Both reward and punishment belong to the oldest stratum of the message. On the day of judgment, God will separate the unbelieving evildoers, who are to be punished, from the god-fearing believers, who will be rewarded. The first Meccan sūras describe the guilty as "he who is given his book (q.v.) behind his back" (Q 84:10-12) or "in his left hand" (Q 69:25), as "companions of the left," (Q 56:9; see LEFT HAND AND RIGHT HAND), as "one whose scales are light" (Q 101:8; see WEIGHTS AND MEASURES) and as the one whom "we will brand him upon the muzzle" (Q 68:16). Those who are not condemned are called "companions of the right," (Q 56:8, 27), "he who has been given his book in his right hand" (Q 69:19); he "whose scales shall be weighty" (Q 101:6-7). Finally, reward and punishment are strictly individual: on the day of judgment, no soul will be of help to another (Q 82:19; see INTERCESSION).

Who will be rewarded?

The sūras of the first Meccan period mention those "who purify themselves, remember the lord's name and perform the prayers" (cf. Q 87:14-5; see MEMORY; REMEMBRANCE; PRAYER), those "who give and fear God and believe in the fairest [reward]" (Q 92:5-6; see ALMSGIVING), and "those who believe and do good deeds" (Q 84:25; 85:11; 95:6). The early verses Q 90:13-7 give a short description of the types of deeds that may be rewarded: "freeing a slave; feeding, on a day of famine (q.v.), an orphan near of kin (see ORPHANS; KINSHIP), or a poor person in

misery (see POVERTY AND THE POOR)," as well as belonging to the believers, who urge one another to be steadfast and merciful (see TRUST AND PATIENCE; MERCY; COMMUNITY AND SOCIETY IN THE QUR'ĀN). Q 51:17-9 emphasizes asceticism (q.v.): "They used to sleep (q.v.) little and to ask for forgiveness at daybreak (see DAWN; DAY, TIMES OF; DAY AND NIGHT; VIGILS); the beggar and the destitute had a share in their wealth (q.v.)." In short, belief, devotion and responsible social behavior (see SOCIAL INTERACTIONS) are decisive already in the earliest sūras, and they remain so throughout the Qur'ān. Enumerations of rewardable behavior in various Meccan passages specify these good deeds (Q 23:1-9; 25:63-74; 32:15-6; 70:22-34).

A similar Medinan enumeration (Q 3:130-5) explicitly mentions "hastening to obtain forgiveness" as rewardable. God's forgiveness can reduce punishment and tip the scales towards reward. Repentance (see REPENTANCE AND PENANCE) is of course a necessary precondition for obtaining forgiveness (Q 66:8). Another Medinan passage, Q 33:35, makes clear that the good deeds of both men and women will be rewarded. In the Medinan period, donating wealth for military activities *(fī sabīli llāhi)* without making a fuss about it (Q 2:262), or even better, participating in the fight physically (Q 4:95; 9:88-9; 61:11; cf. 4:100) and, eventually, being killed on the battlefield (see MARTYRS) are emphasized (see also PATH OR WAY; FIGHTING; WAR; EXPEDITIONS AND BATTLES). Also the bedouins (see BEDOUIN) will be rewarded, when they take part in fighting (Q 48:16). Other groups that are explicitly promised a reward in the later sūras are those who emigrate to God and his messenger (q.v.; Q 4:100; see also EMIGRATION), the first Emigrants and Helpers (q.v.; Q 9:100) and the believers among the People of the Book (q.v.; Q 2:62; 3:199; 5:69, 85). Occasionally very specific actions are mentioned as meriting reward: not talking loudly in the presence of the Prophet (Q 49:2-3) and not discriminating among prophets (Q 4:152).

Those who are punished

The people on the left who will be punished, according to the Meccan sūras, are primarily those who do not believe in God and deny his signs (q.v.; e.g. Q 90:19-20); who turn away (see ERROR; ASTRAY); who doubt the resurrection and the reality of the day of judgment (Q 56:47); who declare the prophetic message a lie (q.v.; e.g. Q 52:11; 56:51); and who call the Prophet a sorcerer, a madman or a poet (e.g. Q 10:2; 37:36; see OPPOSITION TO MUḤAMMAD; INSANITY; JINN; SOOTHSAYERS; POETRY AND POETS). Concomitant with their unbelief are their deeds, notably involving antisocial behavior. The unbelievers are impudent (Q 79:37-8; see PRIDE; INSOLENCE AND OBSTINACY) and cheat (Q 83:1-3; see CHEATING); they do not look after the poor (e.g. Q 69:34), notably the orphans (Q 89:17; 93:9; 107:2); and they live in luxury (Q 56:45), or heap up fortunes (Q 92:8; 104:2). Furthermore, they "obstruct God's way and make a breach with the messenger" (Q 47:32), persecute the believers (Q 85:10) or even forbid them to pray (Q 96:9-10). In Q 74:43-6, the evil-doers in hell explain to the believers why they are there: "We were not among those who prayed, and we were not among those who fed the destitute; we used to talk nonsense with others (see GOSSIP), and we used to deny the day of judgment…."

The Medinan sūras repeat what has been said before but add some elements that reflect the changed political circumstances (see MECCA; MEDINA; POLITICS AND THE

QUR'ĀN). There is a certain emphasis on the hypocrites (see HYPOCRITES AND HYPOCRISY), who were lukewarm in their allegiance to Muḥammad or became outright disloyal to him. They are as bad as the unbelievers (Q 4:138, 140, 145; 9:101; 48:6; 66:9); they will not be forgiven (Q 63:6); and they are "in the lowest depth of hell" (Q 4:145). Close to them, or even identical with them (Q 9:97, 101), are the bedouins insofar as they are unreliable allies (see BREAKING TRUSTS AND CONTRACTS; CLIENTS AND CLIENTAGE). Since at a crucial moment they failed to participate in military activities, they are threatened with a painful punishment (Q 48:16; 9:90). In Q 9, those who refuse to take part in war are a main preoccupation. Q 9:81-5 promises them hell, but they are punished in this life as well: they will not be invited for future expeditions (which is a disgrace; cf. Q 9:39), and the believers are not supposed to pray for them on their death. Even worse are those who actively try to restrain the believers from warfare (*li-yaṣuddū ʿan sabīli llāhi,* Q 8:36).

Other punishable acts mentioned in the Medinan sūras are, for example, mockery (q.v.; Q 9:79), believing in the Trinity (q.v.; Q 5:73), opposing God's messenger (Q 8:13; 9:61, 63) and killing his prophets (Q 3:21; cf. *Mt* 23:37). Already in Meccan passages apostates (see APOSTASY) had been threatened with punishment (Q 16:106) but are so again with still more emphasis in Medinan passages (Q 2:217; 3:176-7; 9:74). Certain mundane perpetrators, like murderers (Q 4:93; see MURDER; BLOODSHED) and adulterers (Q 25:68-9) are explicitly threatened with punishment in the afterlife.

The nature of the retribution in the hereafter

What exactly awaits humankind in the world to come is made abundantly clear throughout the Qur'ān and is described in detail elsewhere in the present work (see e.g. the various cross-referenced articles). The reward is that the believers will abide in a luscious garden, or gardens (see GARDEN), with rivers flowing underneath, where they are given fine food and drink (q.v.) and costly clothing (q.v.), where they will be served by youths and enjoy the company of attractive women (see HOURIS). The guilty, i.e. the unbelievers, will be punished by being thrown into the hellfire, where they will neither die nor live, where they are skinned and tortured and will burn forever.

Divine recompense on earth

God rewards and punishes not only in the hereafter but in this life as well (Q 3:145, 148; 4:134). To the Emigrants, God will give "a good lodging in this world, but the reward in the world to come is greater, if they only knew" (Q 16:41; cf. 16:30-1; see HOUSE, DOMESTIC AND DIVINE). Those who pledged allegiance under the tree, i.e. at Ḥudaybiya (q.v.), were rewarded "with a victory (q.v.) near at hand" (Q 48:18).

Already in the past God's punishment was imposed on earth. Stubborn individuals and peoples who had not taken heed of the warnings of God's messengers were punished for behavior not unlike that of Muḥammad's environment: unbelief, polytheism (see POLYTHEISM AND ATHEISM), disobedience (q.v.), arrogance (q.v.). The punishment had consisted in destruction by stones thrown from heaven, by earthquakes, wind or rain, or by drowning (q.v.). These stories aim, among other things, at convincing the Prophet's contemporaries that the punishment is imminent and real (see Horovitz, *KU,* 10-32; see also CHASTISEMENT AND PUNISHMENT; PUNISHMENT STORIES).

But these ancient peoples were not the only ones to be punished on earth. Indeed "there is no city but we will destroy it be-

fore the day of resurrection, or will punish it terribly" (Q 17:58). Unbelievers (Q 13:34), in particular disaffected hypocrites (Q 9:74) and those who slander married women (Q 24:23), will be punished both now and in the hereafter. An earthly punishment may lead to repentance (Q 32:21). The agony of the unjust on their deathbeds, when the angels of death visit them, is called "the punishment of disgrace" (Q 6:93). Sometimes a twofold punishment is announced: disgrace in this life and a severe torment in the world to come (Q 2:85, 114; 5:41; 22:9; 39:26). Human beings may be the instruments of God's wrath on earth (see ANGER), as in Q 59:5, where they cut down palm trees with God's permission, to disgrace the vicious (see DATE PALM). In the battle of Ḥunayn (q.v.), human fighters were helped by invisible soldiers sent down by God, "and he punished the unbelievers" (Q 9:26).

The imagery of the Qurʾān

With reference to reward and punishment the Qurʾān employs two sets of imagery. One of them is that of commerce (see Torrey, *Commercial-theological terms;* Rippin, Commerce; see also ECONOMICS; CARAVAN; TRADE AND COMMERCE). "God buys from the believers their lives and their wealth in return for paradise" (Q 9:111; cf. 4:74). The transaction with God is also called a loan. On his loan to God, the believer will obtain a good or a double advantage, or even more (Q 2:245; 57:11, 18; 64:17). If the believer does not deliver, his soul (q.v.) is impounded (see PLEDGE): "Every soul is a pledge to what it has earned, except for those of the right hand side" (Q 74:38-9; cf. 52:21). Unbelievers suffer a loss *(khusr):* "Humankind is in the way of loss, save those who believe" (Q 103:2-3).

On the day of resurrection everyone will be confronted with his book (*kitāb;* see Madigan, Book, 243-4) in which his standing is recorded. That day will be the "day of reckoning" (*ḥisāb,* Q 38:16, 26, 53; 40:27), on which the account between God and humanity will be settled. A similar term is *aḥṣā,* "counting, calculating." Both *al-ḥasīb,* "the reckoner," and *al-muḥṣī,* "the calculator," are among God's most beautiful names (see Böwering, God, 319). Another commercial metaphor (q.v.) is that of the scales on which all deeds will be exactly weighed: "We set up the just scales for the day of resurrection, so that no soul shall be wronged anything…" (Q 21:47). For God's payment the late Meccan and the Medinan sūras often use the word *waffā,* "to pay in full, to let someone have his full share," which has a more commercial ring than *jazāʾ* or *thawāb:* "every soul shall be paid in full for what it did; they shall not be dealt with unjustly" (e.g. Q 16:111). In executing his part of the deal with humankind in full, God is not "dealing unfairly" *(ẓalama),* he does not "defraud" or "cheat" *(bakhasa, alata),* nor squander the advantage of man *(aḍāʿa)* — all terms with a commercial connotation.

The other set of imagery is of a judicial nature. In a few verses, the day of judgment reminds us of an earthly court, where the guilty are punished and the innocent are released. "He who is given his book in his right hand… shall go back to his people happily" (Q 84:7-9). "Only the most wretched will roast in the blazing fire; the god-fearing will be kept away from it" (Q 92:15-7). On the day of judgment, however, "guilty" or "not guilty" are not exclusively decisive. Above all, God is merciful and inclined to forgive. Numerous are the places in the Qurʾān where punishment is contrasted not with release, but with mercy: "He punishes whom he will and he has mercy upon whom he will," or "forgives whom he will" (e.g. Q 2:284; 3:129; 5:18, 40; 29:21; 48:14). The divine

judge punishes or forgives simply because he is mighty enough to do so (see POWER AND IMPOTENCE): "Should you punish them, [you do so since] they are your servants (q.v.); but should you forgive them, [you do so since] you are the mighty one, the wise one" (Q 5:118; see WISDOM; KNOWLEDGE AND LEARNING). Here is neither an accurate bookkeeper at work, nor an honest judge in some mundane court, but a sovereign and almighty king (see KINGS AND RULERS). Bravmann (Allāh's liberty, 236) has pointed out that such a king-judge resembles the Arabic rulers and grandees that figure in pre-Islamic poetry and early Islamic historiography. The adduced parallels are striking; yet they must be seen in the far wider perspective of divine kingship in the ancient Near East (see PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QUR'ĀN; RELIGION).

Reward may then be, in the first place, associated with trade, profit, gain, etc., whereas punishment and release belong to the realm of legal jurisdiction. Mercy still fits into the judicial imagery, when we keep the nature of the judge in mind. But all the images are blended, and each of them is evocative of only one aspect of God's justice. Those who were released in the above quoted Q 74:38 we see in paradise already in the very next verse. Indeed, in the overwhelming majority of verses release from punishment is connected with bliss in paradise.

The measurement of reward and punishment

The insufficiency of all metaphors is perhaps best illustrated by how the Qur'ān deals with the measurement of the requital. Good and evil deeds are requited proportionally and precisely. "He who has a done an atom's weight of good shall see it, and he who has a done an atom's weight of evil shall see it" (Q 99:7-8; see GOOD AND EVIL; MEASUREMENT). Hence, there are various degrees of reward and punishment. "All shall have their degrees, according to what they did" (Q 46:19). For polytheists, murderers and adulterers "punishment shall be doubled… on the day of resurrection" (Q 25:69). Liable to an extra punishment are also "those who obstruct the way of God" (Q 11:19-20; 16:88). The unbelievers in hell even dare to demand double punishment for those who misguided them (Q 7:38; 33:68; 38:61). The measure of the reward is variable as well. The believers among the wives of the Prophet (q.v.; Q 33:31) and the People of the Book (Q 28:54) are promised a double reward. Active fighters (Q 4:95) and early converts (Q 57:10) will be privileged. Yet the Qur'ān more than once promises a double reward without there being an extra merit. It sometimes corresponds to a twofold deed, or two deeds: "except those who believe and do a righteous deed. To those there will be double recompense for what they did" (Q 34:37; cf. 57:28). God may simply leave the account books aside: "if it is a good deed, he will multiply it and give from himself a great reward" (Q 4:40; cf. 4:173). While punishment is proportional, reward may be far more than doubled: "He who comes up with a good deed shall have ten times its like; and he who comes up with an evil deed will only be requited for it once" (Q 6:160). As a matter of fact, there is no point in being arithmetical about all this. The measurements are mere indications of the immeasurable extent of God's mercy, and of the sovereignty of his judgment. (In ḥadīth, however, the idea of "two rewards" is elaborated in a down-to-earth manner; see Wensinck, *Concordance,* i, 20-1, s.v. *ajrān*.)

Reward and punishment in theology

Within the Qur'ān, the various commercial and judicial metaphors are blended but not brought into harmony with each other. In

theology (see THEOLOGY AND THE QUR'ĀN) they are neither, although attempts have been made to harmonize them. From wherever one may start, the central problem is that of free will (see FREEDOM AND PREDESTINATION). Were people not free to act — at least to some extent — they could not be held responsible for their deeds and consequently there would be no point in retribution. But the more freedom there is for people, the less sovereignty (q.v.) for God. Generally it can be said that in the Qur'ān, in ḥadīth and in Islamic theology God's control over human acts and intentions has been emphasised at the expense of human free will. But this was not always the case (see HERESY).

Three very brief sketches may give an idea of the possible theological viewpoints. The Muʿtazila (q.v.), in the third/ninth century, held that humans have the power to do what God requires of them, hence they are responsible for their deeds and will be rewarded or punished accordingly. By virtue of his justice, God has to be just and can do nothing else than deal out reward and punishment with greatest precision, almost mechanically (Watt, *Islamic thought,* 231-42; van Ess, *TG,* iii, 403-8; iv, 507-12). The orthodox who adhered to ḥadīth and sunna (q.v.), without recourse to speculative reasoning, protested vigorously. Is God not free to punish and to forgive whom he wants? Anything less would impair his omnipotence and sovereignty as a creator (see CREATION), a ruler and a judge. God is not constrained to do anything. This line of thought was adopted by al-Ashʿarī (260-324/873-935), an ex-Muʿtazilī who defended orthodox tenets with arguments of reason. He held that a human "acquires" or "appropriates" *(kasaba)* his acts, which are, however, known, willed and created by God. In this manner he saves God's omnipotence, but the individual remains responsible enough to really deserve his reward or punishment (Ashʿarī, *Maqālāt,* 291-2; McCarthy, *Theology,* 53-8). For al-Juwaynī (d. 428/1085) there is no causal connection between human deeds and divine retribution at all: "According to the true believers, the reward is neither a determined right, nor an obligatory retribution. It is a favor on God's part. The punishment is not necessary either. In so far as it takes place, it is justice on God's part" (Juwaynī, *Irshād,* 381).

The punishment in the grave

A punishment that does not fit into the qur'ānic system of retribution is the torment that will be inflicted on the dead in their graves. It is essentially a theme developed in ḥadīth. Until the day of judgment, the bodies of the deceased lie in their graves, separated from their souls or spirits. In the intermediate state (see BARZAKH) they continue to exist in some way and can feel pressure, pain or pleasure. Although the possible qur'ānic allusions to this state are sparse, ḥadīth and popular texts discuss it in detail (see Wensinck, *Handbook,* s.v. "Graves"; Smith/Haddad, *Understanding of death,* 31-61; van Ess, *TG,* iv, 521-8). Some people receive a special reward immediately after their death. Those who are killed on the battlefield for the cause of God are not dead; rather "they are alive with their lord, well-provided for" (Q 3:169). According to a ḥadīth, prophets, martyrs and innocent children immediately enter paradise (Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan, K. al-Ǧihād,* 25; Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad,* v, 58). Another ḥadīth mentions ten persons by name, including the Prophet and the first four caliphs, who "are [already] in paradise" (Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan, Sunna,* 8; Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad,* i, 187-8; for other privileged categories, see Wensinck, *Handbook,* s.v. "Graves [who is free from the trial]"; see CALIPH). Most mortals, however, are

subject to interrogation *(musāʾala)* or torment in their graves *(ʿadhāb al-qabr)*. A dead man is made to sit up in his grave and asked to render account of his belief and deeds. If he has done any good deeds, these will answer for him. When the result of questioning is positive, the grave is widened, so that his body feels relief. Otherwise, the torment consists in his being further compressed in the grave, which is made too narrow for the body; he may be beaten, flogged or bitten by a fiery snake. There is also the disgrace of his unbelief becoming publicly known (see *Aḥwāl al-qiyāma,* 39-41; trans. 69-73; Smith/Haddad, *Understanding of death,* 41-50; van Ess, *TG,* iv, 528-34; Wensinck/Tritton, ʿAdhāb al-ḳabr). The torment may be performed by an unknown agent; a single angel, who is sometimes called Rūmān; by two angels, who either remain anonymous or are called Munkar and Nakīr (as early as Muqātil, *Tafsīr,* ii, 193, 405-6; see Wensinck, Munkar wa-Nakīr; id., *Creed,* 117-9, 163-5); or even by four angels (van Ess, *TG,* iv, 528, 531).

The Qurʾān does not explicitly mention the punishment in the grave. Yet, in *tafsīr* works various qurʾānic verses are brought into connection with it. According to Q 9:101, the hypocrites will be punished twice. This could be once in this world and once in the grave (ʿAbd al-Razzāq, *Tafsīr,* i, 253; Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* xiv, 444; Zamakhsharī, *Kashshāf,* ii, 211). Muqātil (d. 150/767; *Tafsīr,* ii, 193) considers the earlier punishment to be death: "at the moment of death, the angels beat the faces and backs, and Munkar and Nakīr [do so] in the graves." Similarly in Q 32:21 "the nearer punishment, prior to the greater punishment" may consist either in suffering in this world or in the torment in the grave (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* xxi, 68; Zamakhsharī, *Kashshāf,* iii, 245). In Q 14:27, "God confirms those who believe with the firm word in the present life and in the hereafter," the word "hereafter" cannot refer to paradise, since no support is needed there. Hence several exegetes (see EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL) relate it to the punishment in the grave. ʿAbd al-Razzāq (d. 211/827; *Tafsīr,* i, 296) and al-Zamakhsharī (d. 538/1144; *Kashshāf,* ii, 377) mention it briefly, Muqātil (*Tafsīr,* ii, 405-6) and al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923; *Tafsīr,* xiii, 142-5) treat it at length. God's guidance apparently also remains in effect in the grave, helping the believers to profess the true creed (see CREEDS; FAITH). This is also Muqātil's comment on Q 47:5 (*Tafsīr,* iv, 45), where he interprets the words "he shall guide them," i.e. those killed at Badr (q.v.), as "to the right guidance, i.e. the confession of God's unity *(tawḥīd)* in the grave." At Q 40:11, "Our lord, you have caused us to be dead twice and brought us to life twice," al-Ṭabarī (*Tafsīr,* xxiv, 31) mentions as one interpretation of which he was aware: "They were made to die in this world, then brought to life in their graves, then were interrogated or spoken to, then made to die in their graves and resurrected in the hereafter." "The punishment other [or: less] than that" in Q 52:47 is also sometimes interpreted as the torment in the grave (ʿAbd al-Razzāq, *Tafsīr,* ii, 201; Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* xxvii, 22; Zamakhsharī, *Kashshāf,* iv, 26).

The punishment in the grave was once a much disputed theological issue. According to al-Ashʿarī (*Maqālāt,* 430), the Khārijīs (q.v.) and the Muʿtazila denied its existence, but most Muslims asserted its reality. Notably Ḍirār b. ʿAmr (ca. 110-80/728-96) made a point of denying it, since he did not care for ḥadīth, but later Muʿtazilīs did not follow his opinion (van Ess, *TG,* iii, 52; iv, 529). Several creeds of the believers who stuck to ḥadīth and sunna explicitly

state that "the torment in the grave is a reality" (see Wensinck/ Tritton, ʿAdhāb al-ḳabr; Wensinck, *Creed,* index s.v. punishment).

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Rhetoric and the Qurʾān

The Qurʾān has been judged in Islamic tradition as inimitable; indeed a dogma emerged in the third/ninth century holding that the Qurʾān is, linguistically and stylistically, far superior to all other literary productions in the Arabic language (q.v.; see also LITERATURE AND THE QURʾĀN). Although the belief in the "inimitability of the Qurʾān" (*iʿjāz al-Qurʾān,* see INIMITABILITY) does not rely exclusively on formal criteria, it has been widely received as a statement about the literary qualities of the Qurʾān both in traditional scholarly literature on Arabic rhetoric (see Heinrichs, Rhetoric and poetics) and in modern scholarship (cf. Bint al-Shāṭiʾ, *al-Iʿjāz al-bayānī lil-Qurʾān*). Kermani *(Gott ist schön)* has contextualized and traced this claim of inimitability for the Islamic scripture, which was a later development in qurʾānic poetics, back to the early strata of Muslim collective memory. As against that, some recent scholars have completely dismissed the notion of *iʿjāz* as being rooted in the event of the Qurʾān. Some have done so based on the assumption of the impossibility of proving that the entire qurʾānic corpus is genuine, and thus maintain that the Qurʾān does not admit of any conclusions drawn from its self-referential statements. Others have — on the basis of a close reading of the so-called challenge verses *(āyāt al-taḥaddī)* — reached the conclusion that the qurʾānic challenges should be viewed as part of the indoctrination of the believers rather than a genuine polemic (see PROVOCATION; BELIEF AND UNBELIEF). The qurʾānic arguments viewed from such a perspective appear topical rather than real, the interlocutors of the qurʾānic speaker being reduced from real to merely imagined, fictitious adversaries (Radscheit, *Die koranische Herausforderung;* see OPPOSITION TO MUḤAMMAD). That assumption, presupposing a strict separation between the biography of the Prophet and the Qurʾān, sets a decisive epistemic course, particularly in a case where matters of prophetic self-image are at stake (see SĪRA AND THE QURʾĀN; PROPHETS AND

PROPHETHOOD): What may have been an existentially significant self-testimony of the Prophet, when read as a true challenge cast against real adversaries, is reduced to a merely rhetorical pattern, an instance of boasting about doctrinal achievements attained.

In view of the internal evidence, enhanced by external evidence (see for new discoveries concerning the interaction between the Prophet and his doctrinal and political adversaries as attested in secular literature, Imhof, *Religiöser Wandel*), the author of this article does not share the pessimism of those qur'ānic scholars who totally negate the legitimacy of drawing connections between the biography of the Prophet and the Qur'ān, provided this biography is not understood in the limited sense of a history of the Prophet's personal development. A close reading of the qur'ānic texts — not as a collection of literary remains left by a no longer feasible charismatic figure and later framed as apologetic-polemic discussions by the redactors (see COLLECTION OF THE QUR'ĀN; POST-ENLIGHTENMENT ACADEMIC STUDY OF THE QUR'ĀN), but as a sequence of testimonies to an ongoing and progressive communication process (see FORM AND STRUCTURE OF THE QUR'ĀN) between the Prophet and his audience(s) — promises insights into a development of rhetorical phenomena discernible in the process of the qur'ānic genesis.

The extraordinary Islamic claim of inimitability *(i'jāz)* will be revisited in the context of a synopsis of some particularly striking qur'ānic stylistic phenomena. In view of the scanty scholarly work done in the field of qur'ānic rhetoric, the following article is limited to an outline of diverse aspects that deserve to be studied. As such, it aims at tracing developments in the rhetorical self-expression of the qur'ānic message rather than assembling comprehensive exemplative material. It will therefore not attempt to study the rhetorical character of the diverse qur'ānic subgenres such as story-telling (see Welch, Formulaic features; see also NARRATIVES; LITERARY STRUCTURES OF THE QUR'ĀN), polemic-apologetic debate (see Radscheit, *Die koranische Herausforderung;* McAuliffe, Debate with them; see also DEBATE AND DISPUTATION; POLEMIC AND POLEMICAL LANGUAGE), or hymnal sections (see Baumstark, Jüdischer und christlicher Gebetstypus), nor will it examine the qur'ānic style as such (see Nöldeke, Zur Sprache des Korans; Müller, *Untersuchungen;* see also LANGUAGE AND STYLE OF THE QUR'ĀN). Rather, the following will try to contextualize striking rhetorical phenomena in the text within the qur'ānic communication process. The discussion will proceed from an examination of the stylistic implications of the early allegation that qur'ānic speech should be the speech of a soothsayer or seer (*kāhin,* pl. *kuhhān* or *kahana;* see SOOTHSAYERS), to an inquiry into the relationship between qur'ānic speech and that of a poet (*shā'ir,* pl. *shu'arā';* see POETS AND POETRY), with particular emphasis on the stylistic characteristics of the early Meccan sūras (q.v.; see also CHRONOLOGY AND THE QUR'ĀN). In the third part it will turn briefly to the rhetorical issues of the later — more biblically inspired — parts of the Qur'ān (see JEWS AND JUDAISM; CHRISTIANS AND CHRISTIANITY; PEOPLE OF THE BOOK; CHILDREN OF ISRAEL; SCRIPTURE AND THE QUR'ĀN).

The Qur'ān and its local literary forerunners: Kāhin *and* shā'ir *speech*

Already at the time of the Prophet, controversy over the new liturgical communication arose among its listeners, as to the character of the speech recited by the Prophet. Early sūras transmit various insinuations raised against the Prophet and

refuted in the text, the most general and unspecified being that he is a *kāhin,* a "soothsayer" (Q 52:29: *fa-dhakkir fa-mā anta bi-niʿmati rabbika bi-kāhinin wa-lā majnūnin*), a poet (Q 52:30: *am yaqūlūna shāʿirun, natarabbaṣu bihi rayba l-manūni*), or a madman, *majnūn* (Q 68:2: *mā anta bi-niʿmati rabbika bi-majnūnin*), i.e. a person possessed by (inspiring) demons (jinn) in general (see INSANITY; JINN). Another kind of denunciation motivated by the refusal to accept particular messages consisted in calling his recitations fabrications (Q 52:33: *am yaqūlūna: taqawwalahu, bal lā yuʾminūna*), tales or legends (Q 83:13: *asāṭīr al-awwalīn*), all of which could equally well have been produced by other humans or were no more than repetitions of earlier-told tales (Boullata, Rhetorical interpretation; see GENERATIONS; LIE; FORGERY). Whereas the latter-mentioned verdict may simply be explained as resulting from the desire not to be bothered with the new message, the references to the two types of public spokesmen, soothsayer and poet, appear more serious (see PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QUR'ĀN). They are not totally arbitrary since a number of sūras employ artistic devices that are usually associated with the speech of inspired individuals.

This concerns particularly the speech of the pre-Islamic *kāhin,* a religious functionary about whom we know very little (Wellhausen, *Reste*). The *kāhin* was a man with occult powers that he exercised as a profession and for which he received a remuneration. He gave his utterances in a particular rhythmic form known as *sajʿ* consisting in a sequence of short pregnant sentences, usually with a single rhyme (see RHYMED PROSE).

All speech-act that had its origin in the unseen powers, all speech-act that was not a daily mundane use of words, but had something to do with the unseen powers, such as cursing (see CURSE), blessing (q.v.), divination (q.v.), incantation, inspiration and revelation (see REVELATION AND INSPIRATION), had to be couched in this form…. The magical words uttered by a competent soothsayer are often compared in old Arabic literature to deadly arrows shot by night which fly unseen by their victims (Izutsu, *God,* 183 f.; see MAGIC).

The specimens of *kāhin* sayings that have been transmitted in early Islamic literature are, however, not always assuredly genuine. In some cases, they even appear to be modeled after qurʾānic verses, such as parts of the Satīḥ-story (Neuwirth, Der historische Muhammad) transmitted by Ibn Isḥāq (d. 150/767; *Sīra,* i, 10-11) and adduced by Izutsu (*God,* 174). The literary form of this sparse material has, furthermore, never been studied systematically. It is difficult, therefore, to draw secure conclusions about the relationship between pre-Islamic *kāhin* speech and stylistic phenomena in the Qurʾān. Yet, the identification that is found in traditional literature (Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh,* i, 1933 f.) of certain sections of the qurʾānic text with *kāhin* speech has been widely accepted in scholarship; this identification has even led to the assumption that some qurʾānic sūras represent the most reliable evidence for *kāhin* speech itself (Wellhausen, *Reste,* 135). What can be asserted, however, is the similarity between *kāhin* speech and the qurʾānic device of rhymed prose, of *sajʿ*. Rhymed prose in the strict sense of the word — consisting of clusters of very short and thus syntactically stereotyped speech units, marked by rhymes of a phonetically striking pattern — is characteristic of the early sūras.

But though the old traditional form of supernatural communication is used, it

serves as a vehicle for conveying a new content, no longer for the purpose of releasing the magical power of words, nor as a form in which to couch "prophecy" in the sense of foretelling (q.v.) future events (Izutsu, *God,* 184).

Sajʿ is given up completely in the later sūras where the rhyme makes use of a simple *-ūn/-īn* — scheme to mark the end of rather long and syntactically complex verses. In these verses, the rhyming end-syllable has ceased to be the truly relevant closing device; that function is transferred to a particular syntactic structure, the clausula or rhyming cadenza (see below; see also FORM AND STRUCTURE OF THE QUR'ĀN). *Sajʿ* style is thus exclusively characteristic of the early sūras, those texts that aroused — and therefore explicitly transmit — the impression in some listeners that they were related to *kāhin* speech. In the following, the relationship between *kāhin* speech and the early sūras will be elucidated by focusing on a group of initiatory sections that in western scholarship have been associated with *kāhin* speech, namely the introductory oaths (q.v.) of a series of early Meccan sūras. These introductory oaths (though never studied in context) have traditionally been considered dark, obscure, enigmatic.

The "kāhin-*model*": *Oath clusters, idhā/yawma-clause-clusters, etc.*

The introductory oaths that in twenty-one cases initiate a sūra, and in six cases mark the beginning of a new section, are completely devoid of legal connotations (see LAW AND THE QUR'ĀN; CONTRACTS AND ALLIANCES; COVENANT). Several formal characteristics prove their exclusively literary function, the most striking being the multiplicity and diversity of the objects conjured. A second characteristic is their complex formulaic character: they either appear in the form *wa*-X or *lā uqsimu bi*-X, in most cases (eighteen times, all of them early Meccan) continued by further oaths amounting to extended oath clusters. The oaths are usually followed by a statement worded *inna* A *la*-B. Though the oaths most frequently refer to inanimate objects and thus do not appeal to a superior power whose revenge has to be feared, they do convey a particularly serious mood since the objects conjured in some cases project a catastrophic situation; in other cases they pose disquieting enigmas to the listeners. The oath clusters in the Qurʾān may be classified as follows (see Neuwirth, Images):

(1) Oath clusters of the type *wa-l-fāʿilāt* that conjure a catastrophic scenario: Q 37:1-3; 51:1-4; 77:1-5; 79:1-5; 100:1-5 (see APOCALYPSE; PUNISHMENT STORIES)
(2) Oath clusters alluding to particular sacred localities: Q 52:1-6; 90:1-3; 95:1-3 (see PROFANE AND SACRED; SACRED PRECINCTS)
(3) Oath clusters calling upon cosmic phenomena and certain time periods of the day or the night: Q 85:1-3; 86:1, 11-2; 89:1-4; 91:1-7; 92:1-3; 93:1-2 (see WEATHER; COSMOLOGY; DAY AND NIGHT; DAY, TIMES OF)

A few representative examples will be discussed.

Oath clusters that do not explicitly name their objects but only refer to them as unknown, frightening and rapidly approaching phenomena (feminine participles of words of motion or sound appear as harbingers of a catastrophe) have been considered to be the most intricate both by traditional exegetes (see EXEGESIS OF THE QUR'ĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL) and by modern scholars, e.g. Q 100:1-5, 6-11:

Wa-l-ʿādiyāti ḍabḥā/fa-l-mūriyāti qadḥā/fa-l-mughīrāti ṣubḥā/fa-atharna bihi naqʿā/fa-wasaṭna bihi jamʿā/inna l-insāna li-rabbihi la-kanūd/wa-innahu ʿalā dhālika la-

shahīd/wa-innahu li-ḥubbi l-khayri la-shadīd/a-fa-lā yaʿlamu idhā buʿthira mā fī l-qubūr/wa-ḥuṣṣila mā fī l-ṣudūr/inna rabbahum bihim yawmaʾidhin la-khabīr
By the panting runners/striking fire in sparks/storming forward in the morning/their track a dust-cloud/that finally appear in the center of a crowd/verily humankind is to its lord (q.v.) ungrateful/verily, he to that is witness/and verily he for the love of good *(al-khayr)* is violent/does he know? When what is in the graves is ransacked (see BURIAL; DEATH AND THE DEAD)/and what is in the breasts is extracted/verily, their lord that day will of them be well informed.

The five oaths depict a kind of canvas or "tableau" of one and the same object viewed in several successive stages of a continuous and rapid motion: a group of horses, whose riders are carrying out a raid, *ghazwa* (Q 100:3: *al-mughīrāt;* see EXPEDITIONS AND BATTLES; FIGHTING; WAR). The progression of their movement (Q 100:1, 5: *al-ʿādiyāt/fa-wasaṭna*), which ends with a sudden standstill at its destination in the camp of the enemy, is stressed by the particle *fa-*. The movement is directed towards a fixed aim: to overcome the enemy by surprise, perhaps even while still asleep (Q 100:3: *ṣubḥan*).

On closer examination the tableau depicted in the oath cluster appears incomplete, its immanent tension unresolved. The description is interrupted at the very point where the attack on the enemy camp would be expected to start. Instead, a general statement about human ingratitude to God (see GRATITUDE AND INGRATITUDE), their obstinacy (see INSOLENCE AND OBSTINACY) and greediness (see AVARICE) is made — a focus on two vehement human psychic movements that may be taken to echo the violent movements of the horses (see VIOLENCE). The statement leads up to a rhetorical question about human knowledge of their eschatological fate (Q 100:9 f.; see ESCHATOLOGY) which again extends into a description of the psychic situation of humanity on that day (see LAST JUDGMENT; RESURRECTION). At this point the imagery of the interrupted panel of the *ghazwa* is continued: the eschatological scenery (structured in a likewise ecstatically accelerating form of an *idhā*-clause cluster: Q 100:9 f.: *idhā buʿthira mā fī l-qubūri/wa-ḥuṣṣila mā fī l-ṣudūri*) presents a picture that precisely presupposes a violent attack leading to the overturn of everything, since it portrays devastation: the awakening and dispersal *(buʿthira)* of the sleepers *(mā fī l-qubūri),* the emptying of the most concealed receptacles (Q 100:10: *mā fī l-ṣudūri*). The attack presupposed here has already been presumed prototypically by the panel of the *ghazwa*-riders portrayed in the oath cluster. The threatening scenario of the introductory sections, whose effect is enhanced through the equally frightening associations conjured by the *kāhin* speech style, thus relies on a deeper subtext: the panel of Bedouin (q.v.) attackers taking the enemy by surprise after a rapid and violent ride — perhaps the fear-inducing scenario *par excellence* in the pre-Islamic context — reveals itself as an image of the last day (see SYMBOLIC IMAGERY). It serves as a prototype, easily understandable for the listeners as it derives from genuine social experience, for the as yet not-experienced incidents leading up to the last judgment.

The oath cluster in Q 77:1-6, though usually interpreted as a reference to angels in their various activities (see ANGEL), refers "to the winds bringing up the storm-clouds which give the picture of approaching doom" (Bell, *Qurʾān,* ii, 626; see AIR AND WIND). Once more we are confronted with a tableau of violently moving beings — from the time of their earlier use in Q 100 feminine plural participles in qurʾānic speech have a catastrophic connotation — that prototypically

anticipate the eschatological events to be expected. Although the eschatological topic itself is not raised until the end of the sūra, the matrix of images created by the oath cluster remains continuously effective. The refrain repeated ten times throughout the text: "woe that day to those who count false!" (see CHEATING; WEIGHTS AND MEASURES; MEASUREMENT) serves to make audible something of the recitation, the reminder (*dhikr;* see REMEMBRANCE), meant to be a warning, which was part of the appearance of the enigmatic beings projected in the oath cluster (Q 77:5: *fa-l-mulqiyāti dhikrā*). This type of oath cluster soon goes through a change. In the somewhat later text Q 51:1-4, again presenting a panel of clouds that signal a rainstorm, the structural function of the introductory oath clusters has changed. Though it still introduces a prototypical tableau of imminent eschatological incidents, the sense of an "enigma" that had marked the early cases, has now disappeared, and the anticipation of the explicit mention of eschatological phenomena is immediately dissipated. By this stage, the listener is sufficiently accustomed to the prototypical representation of the last day that he or she can immediately translate.

A further step towards the demystification of enigmatic speech is achieved in Q 37:1-5, a sūra of the second Meccan period where an oath cluster of the type *wa-l-fāʿilāt* appears for the last time. Here, the objects conjured no longer belong to the empirical sphere of human experience but to the realm of celestial beings, angels. On the formal side there is a change, too: The usual semantic caesura between the oath formulae and the ensuing statement has vanished, and both textual units display a strong conceptual coherence: the oath cluster involving angels singing hymns (Q 37:3: *fa-l-tāliyāti dhikrā*) is continued by a statement that itself presents the text of that angelical recitation (Q 37:4: *inna ilāhakum la-wāḥidun*). With this last *wa-l-fāʿilāt*-cluster, the earlier function of the oath clusters, i.e. to depict a prototypical panel of the eschatological events, has ceased to operate.

The second and third kinds of oath clusters are less enigmatically coded: they are phrased either *wa-l-*X or *lā uqsimu bi-*X. A group of these clusters alludes to sacred localities. An early example is Q 95:1-3:

wa-l-tīni wa-l-zaytūn/wa-ṭūri sīnīn/wa-hādhā l-baladi l-amīn/la-qad khalaqnā l-insāna fī aḥsani taqwīm/thumma radadnāhu asfala sāfilīn/illā lladhīna āmanū wa-ʿamilū l-ṣāliḥāti fa-hum ajrun ghayru mamnūn/fa-mā yukadhdhibuka baʿdu bi-l-dīn/a-laysa llāhu bi-aḥkami l-ḥākimīn

By the fig and the olive/by Mount Sinai/ and this land secure/surely, we have created man most beautifully erect/ then have rendered him the lowest of the low/except those who have believed and wrought the works of righteousness for them is a reward rightfully theirs/what then, after that will make you declare false in regard to the judgment?/is not God the best of judges?

The first oaths invoke a pair of fruits (resp. fruit-bearing trees; see AGRICULTURE AND VEGETATION; TREES), followed by another pair mentioning two localities (see GEOGRAPHY). The ensuing statement takes a different semantic direction, speaking about human instability from the time of their creation and their falling back, after perfection, into the decrepitude of old age (see BIOLOGY AS THE CREATION AND STAGES OF LIFE). From this bipartite argument — Q 95:6 should be considered a later addition, and not part of the sūra's discourse — the conclusion *(fa-)* is drawn,

clad in a rhetorical question, that the truth of the last judgment can no longer be denied. The discursive thread that holds the three verse groups together becomes visible through a close look at the imagery of the oath cluster. The two kinds of trees may simply be taken as signs of divine bounty granted with creation (q.v.); the ensemble of fig and olive, however, suggests a symbolic meaning, advocated already by the traditional Muslim exegetes who read the two verses as an allusion to al-Shām, the biblical holy land (see SYRIA). Of the two localities that follow in the next oath pair, the first recalls the theophany (q.v.) on Mount Sinai (q.v.) granted to Moses (q.v.), whereas the second alludes to Mecca (q.v.), and is associated with its sanctuary, its *ḥaram*. Theophanies symbolize divine communication and ultimately the divine instruction granted to people that marks the true, significant beginning of human time (q.v.). Though physical time (Q 95:4) that runs in a cyclical way ultimately causes humanity's downfall, within the paradigm of salvation (q.v.) history human longevity is secured. For human beings, historical salvific time eclipses the cyclical movement, running linearly towards the point where the pledge (q.v.) of divine instruction is to be rendered, i.e. toward the last judgment (see HISTORY AND THE QUR'ĀN). The oath cluster referring to creation (nature being an allusion to the divine preservation of humanity) and instruction (theophany-localities symbolizing divine communication with people) serves to arouse the listeners' anticipation of the dissolution of both: the dissolution of creation in physical annihilation at the end of "natural time," and the closure wrought by rendering account for the received instruction at the end of "historical salvific time," on judgment day. The solution of the enigma posed in the oath cluster is fulfilled only at the very end of the sūra where God is praised as the best judge (see JUDGMENT) and the tenor of the sūra returns to the hymn-like tone of the beginning (see NATURE AS SIGNS; PSALMS).

A parallel case is Q 90:1-3, where the introductory oaths again raise the two ideas of creation and instruction, arousing the expectation of a closure that presents the rendering of the pledge of instruction at the last judgment. The somewhat later Q 52, however, starting with a complex oath cluster made up of diverse objects like two sacred sites, the holy scripture (see BOOK) and the — perhaps apocalyptically — turbulent sea: "by the mount/ and a book written/in parchment unrolled (see SCROLLS)/by the house frequented/ by the roof upraised/by the sea filled full," attests a development. Here the statement (Q 52:7-8) about the imminence of the punishment (see CHASTISEMENT AND PUNISHMENT; REWARD AND PUNISHMENT) immediately starts to resolve the tension in the listeners' minds, their expectation — prompted by the initial introduction of symbols of divine instruction (sacred sites and scripture) and allusions to the dissolution of nature (sea filled full) — of the explication of eschatological fulfillment, of human rendering of the pledge of divine instruction (see ERROR; ASTRAY). An eschatological scene constituted by a *yawma*-clause-cluster (Q 52:9-10) follows immediately. This leads to a diptych portraying the blessed and the cursed in the beyond (Q 52:23-8), thus completing the fulfillment of the listeners' anticipation of the eschatological account (see HELL AND HELLFIRE; GARDEN; PARADISE).

All of the oath-cluster sūras demonstrate a similar development of the oath clusters and their ensuing statement: from functional units exhibiting a tension between

each other, to purely ornamental elements without any sensible semantic caesura between the two parts and thus without the power to build up a structure of anticipation (see Neuwirth, Images, for a detailed discussion of the sūras introduced by references to celestial phenomena, i.e. Q 81:15-9; 89:1-30; 90:1-11; 91:1-15; 92:1-21; and of phases of day and night, i.e. Q 51:7-9; 75:1-22; 85:1-7; 86:1-17; see PLANETS AND STARS). The sūras with introductory oath clusters still closely associated with the tradition of earlier Arabian sacred language (see SOUTH ARABIA, RELIGION IN PRE-ISLAMIC) certainly deserve to be considered as a type of their own, in view of the immanent dynamics that dominates them. This effect — that scholarship has neglected completely (see e.g. Welch, Ḳurʾān) — is formally due to the accumulation of parallel phrases in the introductory section, which creates a rhythm of its own. It is structurally due to the anticipation of a solution for the enigma aroused in the listeners' minds by the amassed metaphorical elements, not immediately comprehensible or at least plausible to them. The "dynamization" of the entire composition produced by the introductory section is the main characteristic of this very early text group and has remained exemplary for the structure of the sūra as such.

Yawma/idhā-*clause-clusters, isolated oaths and later* kitāb-*annunciations*

There are introductory sections in the Qurʾan that are closely related typologically, especially the eschatological scenes with their clusters of *yawma/idhā-l-*X-*faʿala*-phrases, that build up a comparably strong rhythmical incipit. Many of these clusters, however, have the tension resolved immediately in the closely following apodosis; with only a few extended clusters is the solution suspended (e.g. Q 56:1-6; 81:1-3; 82:1-4; see Neuwirth, *Studien,* 188 f.). Yet, in no case of the *yawma/idhā-l-*X-*faʿala*-clusters does the tension affect the entire sūra. It is different with the oath clusters. In the case of the *wa-l-fāʿilāt*-clusters, the anticipation of an explication of the enigma posed in the cluster — the translation of the events presented metaphorically, through their empirically known prototypes, into their eschatological analogues — is fulfilled only at the end of the sūra or of its first main part. The immediate fulfillment of the anticipation roused in the oath cluster occurs only in the later texts where oath clusters have lost their tension-creating function.

It is not merely by coincidence that the standard incipit, characteristic of so many later sūras, emerges from these powerful oath-cluster introductions. In the end, among the originally numerous images projected in the oath, only that of the book, of *al-kitāb* (or *al-qurʾān*), remains in use. This is the most abstract of all the different symbols used, essentially no more than a mere sign. Six sūras start with an oath by the book: Q 36:2; 38:1; 43:2; 44:2; 50:1; 52:2. The book is thus the only relic from among a complex ensemble of manifold accessories of revelation used as objects of oaths, originally comprising cosmic (Q 51:1-4; 77:1-5 [clouds]; 51:7; 53:1; 74:32; 85:1; 86:1; 91:1-2 [celestial bodies]), vegetative (Q 95:1), topographic (Q 52:1, 4; 90:1; 95:2-3), cultic (Q 52:3; 68:1) and social (Q 90:2) elements. The book as the symbol of revelation *par excellence* thus acquires, already in early Meccan times, but particularly during the later Meccan periods — *hādhā/dhālika l-kitāb* becomes the standard initial sign of nearly all the later sūras — the dignity which it has preserved until the present day, i.e. that of representing the noblest emblem of the Islamic religion.

Further rhetorical characteristics of early sūras

An early device introduced to arouse attention is the twofold rhetorical question, the "Lehrfrage" (cf. Neuwirth, *Studien,* 132 f.) attached to a newly introduced but enigmatic term. The new notion is named (*al*-X) and is immediately followed by its echo in simple and then extended question form (*mā l*-X? *Wa-mā adrāka mā l*-X?) — leading to an explanatory gloss, as in Q 101:1-3: *al-qāriʿa/mā l-qāriʿa?/ Wa-mā adrāka mā l-qāriʿa?/yawma takūnu…* (for a stylistic evaluation of the entire sūra, see Sells, Sound and meaning; further examples are Q 69:1-3; 83:7-9, 18-20; 90:11-13; 101:9-11; 104:4-6). A new term — particularly a threatening indirect evocation of the imminent eschatological events — can thus be impressed onto the minds. The *mā-adrāka*-question remains limited to early sūras; after having changed into a simple *al*-X *mā l*-X? at a later stage (Q 56:27 f., 41-2) it disappears completely from the qurʾānic rhetorical spectrum.

Repetition of elements is characteristic of the early texts. It ranges from the repetition of a completely identical phrase (as in Q 94:5-6: *inna maʿa l-ʿusri yusrā/inna maʿa l-ʿusri yusrā,* "So, verily, with every difficulty, there is relief, verily, with every difficulty, there is relief") to repetitions of structural elements, thus the isocolon is frequent: Q 88:12-6: *fīhā ʿaynun jāriya/fīhā sururun marfūʿa/wa-akwābun mawḍūʿa/wa-namāriqu masfūfa/wa-zarābiyyu mabthūtha,* "Therein will be a bubbling spring (see SPRINGS AND FOUNTAINS)/therein will be thrones raised on high/goblets (see CUPS AND VESSELS) placed and cushions set in rows/and rich carpets spread out." Of course, the oath cluster relies on the repetition of strictly parallel elements: *wa-l-shamsi wa-ḍuḥāhā/wa-l-qamari idhā talāhā/wa-l-nahāri idhā jallāhā/…,* "By the sun (q.v.) and his splendor/ by the moon (q.v.) as she follows him/ by the day as it shows up its glory.…" (Q 91:1-3). Equally, the *idhā*-clause-cluster is made up of identical structures forming a series of parallelisms or even isocola, as in Q 81:1-13:

idhā l-shamsu kuwwirat/wa-idhā l-nujūmu nkadarat/wa-idhā l-jibālu suyyirat/wa-idhā l-ʿishāru ʿuṭṭilat/wa-idhā l-wuḥūshu ḥushshirat/wa-idhā l-biḥāru sujjirat/wa-idhā l-nufūsu zuwwijat/wa-idhā l-mawʾūdatu suʾilat/bi-ayyi dhanbin qutilat/wa-idhā l-ṣuḥufu nushirat/wa-idhā l-samāʾu kushiṭat/wa-idhā l-jaḥīmu suʿʿirat/wa-idhā l-jannatu uzlifat

When the sun is wound round/and when the stars fall/and when the mountains are made to pass away/and when the pregnant she-camels are neglected/and when the wild beasts are gathered together/and when the seas overflow/and when the souls are joined/and when the infant buried alive is questioned/for what sin was she killed (see INFANTICIDE)/and when the pages are laid open/and when the heaven is stripped off (see HEAVEN AND SKY)/and when hellfire is set ablaze/and when paradise is brought near/[then…]

It is noteworthy that in these clusters, the conditional clauses that normally would be *idhā faʿala l*-X display the inverted syntactic sequence *idhā l*-X *faʿala,* otherwise familiar only from poetry.

In Arabic, etymologic repetitions in morphologically different shape are particularly frequent in *maṣdar*-constructions (see GRAMMAR AND THE QUR'ĀN); paranomasias of this type appear in early sūras (cf. Q 52:9-10: *yawma tamūru l-samāʾu mawrā/wa-tasīru l-jibālu sayrā,* "On the day when the firmament will be in dreadful commotion and the mountains will fly hither and thither," and frequently elsewhere).

It is evident that, from the perspective of the transmission of information, many of these devices are not efficient, since they

are apt to suspend rather than to convey information; their function is revealed, however, once the text is performed orally (see RECITATION OF THE QUR'ĀN). The Qur'ān, abounding in imperatives addressed to the Prophet and/or the believers (see EXHORTATIONS): to recite (Q 96:1: *iqra'*, and often) or to chant (Q 73:4: *rattili l-qur'āna tartīlā,* and often) the text, to recall by reciting (Q 19:16: *udhkur,* or Q 88:21: *dhakkir,* and often; see MEMORY) the text, itself presents the claim of being an oral communication (see ORALITY; ORALITY AND WRITING IN ARABIA). Navid Kermani (*Gott ist schön,* 197) has gone so far as to claim:

If a text is explicitly composed for recitation, fulfilling its poetic purpose only when recited or — more generally speaking — performed, it should be viewed as a score, not as a literary work, as Paul Valéry once said of the poem. Although a score can be read or hummed quietly in private, it is ultimately intended to be performed.

The frequency of appellative expressions presupposing the presence of addressees is particularly striking in the beginnings of early sūras, where the attention of the listeners is sometimes aroused directly through an imperative (Q 73:1-2; 74:1-2; 87:1; 96:1, calling to proclaim), or a related form (Q 106:3, with a preceding address). Polemic introductory parts start with a *waylun li-*, "woe to-," exclamation (Q 83:1-3; 104:1-2; cf. Q 77:24 f.; 107:4-7) or a curse-formula (Q 111:1 *tabbat yadā* X, "may the hands of X perish"), or with a deictic formula, also familiar from interior sections of sūras (Q 107:1: *a-ra'ayta lladhī,* "did you see him who…").

It might, on first sight, appear that the hymnic introductory sections stand by themselves. They are strongly reminiscent of biblical models and, more precisely, of liturgical texts such as the Jewish *berākhōt* that are likewise made up of relative clauses *(bārūkh attā adonai asher…*). In three instances both creation and divine instruction are recalled as is the case in the *berākhōt:* Q 87:1-5, *sabbiḥi sma rabbika l-aʿlā/ lladhī khalaqa fa-sawwā…;* Q 96:1-5, *iqra' bi-smi rabbika lladhī khalaq/khalaqa l-insāna min ʿalaq/iqra…;* and Q 55:1-3, *al-raḥmān/ ʿallama l-qur'ān/khalaqa l-insān/ʿallamahu….* Equally biblically-tuned are hymnic sections in the interior of sūras, like Q 85:13-6 and, particularly, Q 53:43-9, which seems to echo the famous hymn from 1 Samuel 2:6. In the same vein, a number of sūras conclude with a final exclamation clad in an imperative that in most cases calls for a liturgical activity: Q 96:19 (call for prostration; see BOWING AND PROSTRATION), Q 69:52 (call for divine praise; cf. Q 56:74; see also LAUDATION; GLORY; GLORIFICATION OF GOD; PRAISE), Q 52:48 f. (call for patience; see TRUST AND PATIENCE), Q 84:24 (announcement of punishment); see also the final exclamations of Q 53:62 (prostration), Q 93:11 (recitation), Q 94:7-8 (segregation from unbelievers), Q 86:15-7 (patience), Q 51:60 (exclamation of woe); only the final exclamation in Q 55:78 takes the shape of a doxology (see Baumstark, Gebetstypus): *tabāraka smu rabbika,* "blessed is the name of your lord." But in view of the composition of most early sūras made up of diverse elements, it appears problematic to attempt an unambiguous distinction between texts imprinted by ancient Arabian literary traditions and others more biblically styled.

The "poet-model": similes and metaphors, structures of discourse

The allegation that the Prophet was a poet would likely have been based less on particular stylistic evidence than on the general similarity between qur'ānic diction

and other genres of elevated, non-ordinary speech (cf. Gilliot, Poète ou prophète?, 380-8: "Prophétie contre poésie. De la construction d'un prophète"). It is true that the early sūras, which — though not metrically bound nor carrying a mono-rhyme — prompted that particular accusation, are highly poetic (for a study in their stylistic devices, see Sells, Sound and meaning, and id., Sounds, spirit and gender). Indeed, the "*kāhin*-model" of speech is only a special case of poetic diction. As Kermani has shown, a high degree of "poeticity" ("Poetizität") cannot be denied to the Qur'ān as a whole. Not only does the entire Qur'ān morphologically and syntactically adhere closely to what has been termed poetic *'arabiyya* (see GRAMMAR AND THE QUR'ĀN), but it also makes extensive use of a selected vocabulary that — lending itself easily to the demands of the familiar meters — had established itself as poetic (Bloch, *Vers und Sprache*). J.J. Gluck (Is there poetry) has tried to trace rhetorical devices employed by poets. Above all, the priority given in most qur'ānic texts to adornments of speech and devices of appeal to the listeners that are completely unnecessary for the raw transmission of information is a convincing proof of its proximity to the realm of poetry. (For a discussion of the medieval learned debates about the relation between Qur'ān and poetry, see Kermani, *Gott ist schön,* 233-314; von Grunebaum, *A tenth century document*.)

Similes (q.v.; *tashbīh*) and metaphors (*isti'āra;* see METAPHOR) are, of course, the most striking evocations of poetic speech. A modern survey of these tropes in the Qur'ān — as achieved for pre-Islamic poetry by Renate Jacobi (*Studien zur Poetik,* 115-27, 153-67) and Thomas Bauer (*Altarabische Dichtkunst,* 181-204) — is still to be done. T. Sabbagh *(Le métaphore dans le Coran)* is only an inventory; his classification of metaphorical usages does not consider the contexts in which the words are used, nor the fields of their metaphorical application. More research has been done on the theologically controversial aspect of *tashbīh,* namely the cases of qur'ānic anthropomorphism (q.v.), e.g. God's cunning (*makr,* e.g. Q 3:54; 4:142) and the like (see van Ess, Tashbīh wa-tanzīh; see THEOLOGY AND THE QUR'ĀN). Since the appearance in 1892 of the study by C.C. Torrey, *The commercial theological terms in the Koran,* that provides a thorough survey of a number of words touching on commerce and their often metaphoric use in the Qur'ān, commerce had been identified as one major realm of images in the Qur'ān. Torrey, and later scholars following him, suggested that the words and metaphors from the commercial realm form a cluster of terms derived from commercial applications which have taken on theological overtones in the Qur'ān (see e.g. REWARD AND PUNISHMENT; also, ECONOMICS; WEIGHTS AND MEASURES; TRADE AND COMMERCE). As against Torrey who "assumed a mercantile background of Muḥammad and Mecca and then found evidence for that in the Qur'ān" (Rippin, Commerce, 128), Andrew Rippin (The commerce of eschatology) presents a reversal of the commercial-background-theory. He demonstrates that Torrey's terms are employed in three contexts in the Qur'ān, in speaking about the prophets of the past, in legislating the Muslim community and in descriptions of eschatology. Inverting Torrey's argument, he concludes that the

> symbolism of eschatology is partially derived from the image of the foundations of a moral and flourishing society, the symbolism resolves the seeming iniquities of life as it is actually lived — the presence of suffering and injustice as basic facts — by reflecting a divinely-ruled society in which

evil gets its proper reward. The symbolism gives a higher meaning to history by relating it to transcendental mythic patterns (Rippin, Commerce, 134; see ETHICS AND THE QUR'ĀN; GOOD AND EVIL; SIN, MAJOR AND MINOR; OPPRESSION; OPPRESSED ON EARTH, THE).

Rippin advocates utmost caution in attempting a historical contextualization of the symbolism of the text, which he regards as a product of later Muslim readings tailored towards particular ideological ends. A comparative study juxtaposing qur'ānic and poetic similes and metaphors is still a desideratum.

The qaṣīda *and the sūra*

Though the allegation identifying qur'ānic speech with poetical speech arises from observations made on the basis of the earliest texts, it is noteworthy that an intriguing relationship between Qur'ān and poetry can be discerned. This relationship relies less on small isolated speech units — such as the various tropes in both canonical corpora (that still await a comparison) — than on the overall structure of both *qaṣīda* and sūra (see SŪRAS). At a certain stage in the qur'ānic development, the sūra as a literary unit seems to reflect the structure of the dominating poetical genre, the *qaṣīda*. The *qaṣīda* was the standard form of pre-Islamic poetry consisting of a sequence of three sections, each conveying a different mood: a nostalgic *nasīb,* lamenting the loss of stability by recalling the disrupted relation between the poet and a beloved, was followed by the description of a movement in space, a journey (q.v.), *raḥīl* or, more often, a description of the riding camel (q.v.) used by the poet — a section that portrayed the poet regaining his self-consciousness and reattaching himself to the world through recalling instances of his past activities, his interfering with reality through exploitation of the *"kairos,"* the crucial moment for achieving a change. After evoking his heroic achievements, the poet concluded his poem with an evocative *fakhr,* a self-praise or praise of the collective confirming the heroic virtues of tribal society. The social status of the recitation of these poems, as Andras Hamori (*The art of medieval Arabic literature,* 21 f.) stressed, must have come close to that of a ritual:

The extreme conventionality, repetitiousness, and thematic limitation of the *qaṣīda* need not astonish us.… Already in the sixth century, before the coming of Islam, these poems, rather than myths or religious rituals, served as the vehicle for the conception that sorted out the emotionally incoherent facts of life and death, and by the sorting set them at the bearable remove of contemplation. *Qaṣīda* poets spoke in affirmation of a model they shared, their poetry tended to become a shared experience, all the more as the affirmation was through the replay of prototypal events which the model so successfully charted.

The poet, then, is located in the center of the poem; the one who establishes the model for identification through his word, is at the same time the figure standing in the center of the artifice. Looking at the fully developed (most often) tripartite sūras of the middle and late Meccan periods (see Neuwirth, Rezitationstext) we can trace a comparable structure: The sūra starts with a section that draws on various standard themes such as hymns, lists of virtues or vices (see VIRTUES AND VICES, COMMANDING AND FORBIDDING), polemic against unbelievers and affirmations of the divine origin of the message; most of these themes also serve to furnish the final part which should, ideally, be concluded with the topic of affirming the revelation. The

center of the sūra, however, is fixed over a longer period of qur'ānic development. It contains one or more stereotyped narratives about prophets, portraying them in their struggle to achieve an ideological reorientation in their communities, announcing that the *"kairos,"* the unique moment to gain salvation, has come, thus exemplifying the chance granted to Muḥammad's listeners in the light of history. Functioning both as a fixed part in the liturgy of the community and as a mirror of contemporary history, these sūras provide ritualized memory and at the same time real experience. In view of the structure of the extremely powerful genre of the *qaṣīda,* where the poet appears at once as the protagonist in and the transmitter of the message that contains the rules of what should be, it is perhaps not surprising to find the figure of the Prophet — or a whole group of representatives of this type — as the protagonist of the drama and the bearer of the word (see WORD OF GOD) again in the middle part of the sūra. The Prophet is thus, like the *qaṣīda* poet in the poem, the exemplary figure and the speaker in one person. Here, as in the case of the ancient *kāhin* speech, it appears that an earlier genre has been absorbed to shape the foundation of a new sacred canon.

This suggestion does not imply that the stance taken in the Qur'ān towards poets should have developed positively. In Q 26:224-6 we read: *wa-l-shu'arā'u yattabi'uhumu l-ghāwūna/a-lam tara annahum fī kulli wādin yahīmūna/wa-annahum yaqūlūna mā lā yaf'alūna,* "And the poets, the beguiled follow them/do you not see that in every wadi they err about madly in love/and that they say what they do not do?" These verses should be distinguished from the later addition of Q 26:227 (see Neuwirth, Der historische Muḥammad, 103) that reflects a late Medinan development. In Q 26:224-6 the poets are accused of not coming up to the high claims raised in their poetry ("to do what they say") and thus of being incapable of functioning as spokespeople of their collective. The spokesperson of society is no longer the poet but the prophet. The Medinan addition Q 26:227 excludes from the verdict those poets who have actively sided with the community, which, as an *ecclesia militans,* cannot afford to have itself satirized (see Imhof, *Religiöser Wandel*).

The Qur'ān and the Bible: Refrains and cadenzas

Although the Qur'ān contains no explicit allegations that it is modeled on biblical speech, some accusations that he was taught by a mortal (Q 16:103: *innamā yu'allimuhu basharun*) were raised against the Prophet and are refuted in the Qur'ān. It is, however, much more relevant that the Qur'ān as a message communicated in the Arabian peninsula of late antiquity necessarily draws from both pagan and monotheistic traditions. The qur'ānic message soon presented itself as a re-narration of the earlier biblical scriptures and one serving analogous purposes, namely to provide a liturgical base for the communication between God and humanity. We can even locate in the Qur'ān the decisive turn from the communication of a divine message to the celebration of liturgy with the memory of salvation history (i.e. biblical stories) placed in its center (see Neuwirth, Referentiality). Those middle and late Meccan sūras that appear to constitute complex liturgies resembling roughly those of the older monotheistic religions are comprised of the following: an introductory section, reading from the scriptures, and a closing section. The presentation of the biblical story is sometimes explicitly introduced by an announcement, as if a pericope to be read in church were being announced: Q 15:51, "Bring them news (q.v.) about the guests of Abraham" (q.v.; *nabbi'hum 'an ḍayfi*

Ibrāhīm; cf. Q 19:2: *dhikru raḥmati rabbika ʿabdahu Zakariyya,* "This is a recital of the mercy [q.v.] of your lord to his servant Zechariah [q.v.]"). Qurānic re-narrations of biblical texts are enough to fill a comprehensive reference book (see Speyer, *Erzählungen*). It is particularly in this stage of Meccan development that liturgical formulae familiar from Judaism and Christianity become frequent in the Qurʾān, like Q 27:59: *al-ḥamdu lillāhi wa-salāmun ʿalā ʿibādihi lladhīna ṣṭafā,* "Praise be to God and peace be on his elected servants" (cf. *doxa en hypsistois theō kai epi gēs eirēnē en anthrōpois eudokias,* Luke 2:14; see for the Christian doxology and the Jewish *berākhā* reflected in the frequent qurʾānic exclamations *al-ḥamdu lillāh* and *subḥāna rabbinā/llāhi,* Baumstark, Gebetstypus; a complete introitus may be identified in the Fātiḥa [q.v.], see Neuwirth and Neuwirth, Fātiḥa).

The question, however, of the stylistic and rhetorical impact of biblical texts on the Qurʾān has not yet been studied. Only a few isolated parallels strike the eye, such as the pronouncedly biblical sounding hyperboles in Q 7:40: *inna lladhīna kadhdhabū bi-āyātinā wa-stakbarū ʿanhā lā tufattaḥu lahumu abwābu l-samāʾi wa-lā yadkhulūna l-jannata ḥattā yalija l-jamalu fī sammi l-khiyāṭi,* "To those who reject our signs (q.v.) and treat them with arrogance (q.v.), the gates of heaven will not open for them, nor will they enter the garden, until the camel can pass through the eye of the needle" (cf. Matthew 19:24; Mark 10:25; Luke 18:25; see PARABLES) or Q 39:67: *wa-l-arḍu jamīʿan qabḍatuhu yawma l-qiyāmati wa-l-samāwātu maṭwiyyatun bi-yamīnihi,* "And on the day of resurrection (q.v.) the whole of the earth (q.v.) will be grasped by his hand and the heavens will be rolled up in his right hand" (cf. Isaiah 34:4, 40:12; see for further examples Speyer, *Erzählungen;* see LEFT HAND AND RIGHT HAND).

A more prominent stylistic issue shared by the Bible and Qurʾān is certainly the refrain which appears four times in the Qurʾān (Q 26, 54, 55, 77), again mostly in middle Meccan sūras where the focus has shifted from the ancient Arabian tradition to the biblical. Although there are instances of anaphors and even longer speech units repeated in pre-Islamic and *muḥaḍram* poetry (i.e. poetry that spans the pre-Islamic and the Islamic eras), a refrain appearing with the frequency of the verse *fa-bi-ayyi ālāʾi rabbikumā tukadhdhibān,* "Then which of the benefits of your lord will you two deny?" (e.g. Q 55:13) is not found in poetry (see BLESSING; GRACE). That refrain has, however, a close counterpart in the refrain *kīle-ōlām ḥasdō* in Psalm 136, a text that in many respects resembles the sophisticated composition of Sūrat al-Raḥmān ("The Merciful," Q 55) and must have been well known in monotheistic circles since it plays a major role in Jewish liturgy (see Neuwirth, Qurʾānic literary structure). We can conclude that refrains in the Qurʾān may have been inspired by the Psalms (q.v.) or else by liturgical poetry shaped after the model of the Psalms.

Another major rhetorical phenomenon that appears to have a strong biblical imprint is the clausula — or the cadenza, as it might be termed in analogy to the final part of speech units in Gregorian chant — which, through their particular sound pattern, arouse the expectation of an ending as, for example, the concluding colon of the later Meccan and Medinan long verses of the Qurʾān (see Neuwirth, *Studien,* 157-70; see also FORM AND STRUCTURE OF THE QUR'ĀN). In the Qurʾān the cadenza relies less on an identical musical sound than on a widely stereotyped phrasing. It is easily identifiable as an end marker since it is semantically distinguished from its context: it does not partake in the main theme of the discourse

but adds a moral, polemic or hymnal comment to it. Although it is true that not all multipartite verses bear such formulaic endings, cadenzas may be considered characteristic of the later Meccan and all the Medinan qur'ānic texts. On a social level, they betray a novel narrative pact between the speaker and his audience, the consciousness that there is a basic consensus not only on human moral behavior but also on the image of God as a powerful co-agent ever-present in human interaction (see GOD AND HIS ATTRIBUTES; POWER AND IMPOTENCE; FATE; DESTINY). But cadenzas achieve even more in terms of constructing a new identity: they provide markers of the sacred that transform narrative events into stages of salvation history, changing the ordinary chronometric time of the narratives into signifying time. An observation of Aziz al-Azmeh (Chronophagous discourse, 193 f.) is useful to illuminate this point:

The vacuous syntagms of ordinary time is the instrument of a finalist paradigm whose instances punctuate the course of this flow at certain loci of accentuation that enclose values of sacredness, lending a sense of sacredness to historical succession. These values are, primarily, an integrality of divine order which reigned with the creation of Adam (see ADAM AND EVE), the imperative of its complete restoration in paradise and the intermittent attempts to calque this order in the history of prophecy.

It goes without saying that the cadenzas owe their aesthetic effect to their widely predictable sound. Their stereotypical appearance, which is due to the morphological and syntactical constraints imposed by the rhyme (see Müller, *Untersuchungen*) would, in a written text, appear awkward. In the recited text, however, the double-edged style of the long verses, consisting of naturally flowing prose merging into artificial, sacred, speech in the formulaic conclusion, powerfully reflects the bi-dimensionality of qur'ānic speech which evokes simultaneously world and hereafter, time (q.v.) and eternity (q.v.).

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Rhyme

see RHYMED PROSE; POETRY AND POETS

Rhymed Prose

The common English translation of *sajʿ,* an ancient form of Arabic composition used in proverbs, aphorisms, orations, descriptions of meteorological phenomena, and soothsayers' oracular pronouncements before the advent of Islam and in sermons, book titles, introductions, anecdotes, belletristic epistles, chancery correspondence, *maqāmāt,* histories and other literary works in the Islamic period. In its simplest form, *sajʿ* consists of groups of consecutive cola sharing a common rhyme and meter. The meter of *sajʿ* is accentual, determined by the number of words *(kalima, lafẓa)* in each colon (*sajʿa,* pl. *sajaʿāt; qarīna,* pl. *qarāʾin; faṣl,* pl. *fuṣūl;* or *fiqra,* pl. *fiqar*), rather than the patterns of long and short syllables that characterize quantitative meter, with word accents providing the feet or beats. In the most common form of *sajʿ,* adjacent *sajʿa*s are rhythmically parallel *(muʿtadil),* containing an equal number of beats. Attempts to describe *sajʿ* rhythm solely in terms of syllables are therefore inadequate. *Sajʿ* regularly exhibits *muwāzana,* repetition of a set morphological (and necessarily syllabic or quantitative) pattern in the colon-final word or final foot (*sajʿ,* pl. *asjāʿ; qarīna,* pl. *qarāʾin;* or *fāṣila,* pl. *fawāṣil;* cf. Suyūṭī, *Itqān,* 693-714/iii, 332-60 [chap. 59]; id., *Muʿtarak,*

i, 29-31, 31-2: "Is there rhymed prose in the Qurʾān?"; Ḥasnāwī, *al-Fāṣila,* 19-27; 31-100; 103-50) of adjacent cola. In addition, *sajʿ* regularly involves the concentrated use of syntactic and semantic parallelism, alliteration, paronomasia and other rhetorical figures. Given that the characteristic features of *sajʿ* are end-rhyme, accent-based meter, and *muwāzana,* the designation "rhymed prose," reflecting only the first of these three, is something of a misnomer. "Rhymed and rhythmical prose" is an improvement, but it is more accurate to label *sajʿ* a type of accent poetry. Goldziher and others have suggested that *sajʿ* is the oldest poetic form in Arabic (see ARABIC LANGUAGE; LITERATURE AND THE QURʾĀN) and some, noting the importance of parallelism and other similar features in Akkadian, Ugaritic and Hebrew poetic forms, above all in biblical poetry, have argued that *sajʿ* in a sense represents the Ur-poetry of the Semites.

Medieval Muslim theologians, rhetoricians and commentators have disagreed concerning the presence of *sajʿ* in the Qurʾān. This debate reflects a strong concern to distance the Qurʾān, as the primary miracle of the prophet Muḥammad's mission (see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD; MIRACLES), from ordinary human types of composition such as *jāhilī* poetry (see AGE OF IGNORANCE) or the *sajʿ* pronouncements of pre-Islamic soothsayers (q.v.). After all, the Qurʾān itself denies accusations that the prophet Muḥammad was a poet (*shāʿir,* Q 21:5; 52:30; 69:41; see POETRY AND POETS) or soothsayer (*kāhin,* Q 52:29). Theologians such as al-Ashʿarī, (d. ca. 325/937), al-Rummānī (d. 384/994) and al-Bāqillānī (d. 403/1013) held that the Qurʾān does not contain *sajʿ*. Their reasoning is that in the Qurʾān, meaning dominates form, whereas in *sajʿ,* form dominates meaning (see FORM AND STRUCTURE OF THE QURʾĀN; LANGUAGE AND STYLE OF THE QURʾĀN). Therefore, the Qurʾān cannot be *sajʿ*. The second position, held by early Muʿtazilī (see MUʿTAZILĪS) theologians such as al-Naẓẓām (d. 220-30/835-45) and taken up by later rhetoricians such as Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn b. al-Athīr (d. 637/1239) and al-Qalqashandī (d. 821/1418), admits that the Qurʾān contains *sajʿ* and that many sūras of the Qurʾān are composed entirely in this form. Such authors identify specific sūras, such as Sūrat al-Najm (Q 53, "The Star"), Sūrat al-Qamar (Q 54, "The Moon") and Sūrat al-Raḥmān (Q 55, "The Merciful"), as being composed entirely in *sajʿ*. The third position, represented by the majority of late medieval literary critics and scholars of the qurʾānic text such as Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505), holds that while to term the Qurʾān *sajʿ* is unacceptable or disrespectful, it nevertheless exhibits many formal features of *sajʿ* style. In fact, the overwhelming majority of the examples given of *sajʿ* composition in manuals of rhetoric are qurʾānic. This controversy resulted in the use of two sets of terms for the features of qurʾānic as opposed to extra-qurʾānic or ordinary *sajʿ*. Critics referring to rhyme in the Qurʾān use the terminology "identical letters" (*ḥurūf mutamāthila* or *ḥurūf mutajānisa*) rather than "rhyme" *(qāfiya),* too closely associated with poetry. The rhyme word in *sajʿ* is designated by the term *sajʿ* (pl. *asjāʿ*) itself, but in qurʾānic studies, the terms *fāṣila* (pl. *fawāṣil*) and *raʾs* (pl. *ruʾūs*) are used. The colon or period in *sajʿ* is usually termed *sajʿa, faṣl* or *qarīna* but with reference to the Qurʾān, *fāṣila* or *āya* appears.

The Qurʾān's debt to pre-Islamic *sajʿ* is obvious, particularly in the early Meccan sūras (q.v.; see also CHRONOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN). The evidence suggests that the Qurʾān contains a great deal of *sajʿ* and that many sūras are composed entirely in *sajʿ,* but Paret and others are wrong to state

that the Qurʾān is entirely in *sajʿ,* for many sections of the Qurʾān do not maintain the rhythmical parallelism *sajʿ* requires. This is particularly clear in the longer sūras, where successive verses, despite end-rhyme, are so long and of such unequal length as to preclude any sustained meter, whether quantitative or accentual. The extent to which qurʾānic style maintains or departs from the styles of pre-Islamic *sajʿ,* a matter of some controversy, is difficult to gauge because extant examples of pre-Islamic *sajʿ* all date from later centuries and many are in fact pastiches of a style associated with paganism and magic (q.v.; see also PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QURʾĀN; SOUTH ARABIA, RELIGION IN PRE-ISLAMIC).
The best working hypothesis is that the Qurʾān's sūras drew on many of the stylistic features, content and conventions of several genres of pre-Islamic *sajʿ,* particularly divination (q.v.) and oratory, but modified these features to fit into the biblical, monotheistic framework of Islam's message (see SCRIPTURE AND THE QURʾĀN).

According to one estimate, 86% of the verses in the Qurʾān exhibit end rhyme. A lower percentage of the qurʾānic text is actually *sajʿ,* for many passages that exhibit end-rhyme do not exhibit the rhythmical parallelism characteristic of *sajʿ*. Conversely, some passages exhibit the rhythmic parallelism characteristic of *sajʿ* without exact or even near rhyme. The rhyme word regularly observes *taskīn,* ending on a consonant through the suppression of a final short vowel. While this sort of rhyme also occurs in poetry, poetic rhymes regularly end in a long vowel and final short vowels are usually lengthened rather than suppressed. As in poetry, *-m* and *-n* rhyme. Near rhyme between consonants is also common, frequent combinations being *l/r* (e.g. Q 25:1-62) and *b/d/q* (e.g. Q 111; 113). Geminate consonants are regularly reduced: *wa-tab* < *wa-tabba* (Q 111:1); *mustamir* < *mustamirrun* (Q 54:2); *wa-lā jān* < *wa-lā jānnun* (Q 55:39, 56, 74). Rhyme words with final CC (double consonant) occur in several passages but these should probably be treated as CvC (consonant — vowel — consonant) rhymes: an interstitial half or full vowel should be assumed, as in Q 86:11-2, where the rhyme words *al-rajʿi* and *al-ṣadʿi* should probably be read *al-rajʿ, al-ṣadʿ,* or Q 89:1-5, where the rhyme words *l-fajri, ʿashrin, l-watri, yasri, ḥijrin* should probably be read *l-fajr, ʿashr, l-watr, yasr, ḥijr*. The long vowels *-ū-* and *-ī-* rhyme, as in poetry, and the short vowels *-a-, -i-, -u-* also rhyme. The indefinite accusative marker *-an (alif-tanwīn)* is regularly voiced as *-ā* in rhyme position. A final long vowel *-ī* is often suppressed: the first person singular possessive pronominal suffix in *dīn* < *dīnī* (Q 109:6), etc., the first person singular objective pronominal suffix in *aṭīʿūn* < *aṭīʿūnī* (Q 26:108, 110, 126), etc., and the endings of definite defective nouns in *al-mutaʿāl* < *al-mutaʿālī* (Q 13:9); *yawma l-talāq* < *yawma l-talāqī* (Q 40:15); *yawma l-tanād* < *yawma l-tanādī* (Q 40:32); and *kallā idhā balaghati l-tarāq* < *kallā idhā balaghati l-tarāqiya* (Q 75:26). Many other modifications of colon-final words for the sake of rhyme occur. Although some sūras include many rhymes, the tendency to maintain mono-rhyme is quite strong in the Qurʾān, and the most common rhyme by far is *-ūn/- ūm/- īn/ -īm*. Sūrat al-Muʾminīn (Q 23, "The Believers") with 118 verses, Sūrat al-Naml (Q 27, "The Ants") with ninety-three verses and Sūrat Yā Sīn (Q 36, "Yā Sīn") with eighty-three verses all maintain complete mono-rhyme. At the other extreme, Sūrat al-ʿĀdiyāt (Q 100, "The Coursers") has four distinct rhymes in only eleven verses.

Medieval rhetoricians classified examples of *sajʿ* according to length of cola, and the fact that they did so in terms of words confirms that the meter of *sajʿ* is essentially

accentual. Ibn al-Athīr distinguishes short *sajʿ*, in which the phrases include two to ten words each, from long *sajʿ*, in which the *sajʿa*s have eleven or more words. Al-Qazwīnī (d. 739/1338) names three categories: short, medium and long, but does not give exact numerical definitions. The length of the colon in qurʾānic *sajʿ* varies from two words — *wa-l-mursalāti ʿurfā/ fa-l-ʿāṣifāti ʿasfā* (Q 77:1-2) — to nineteen. In certain cases, discussed below, a *sajʿa* of one word is possible as part of a more complex rhythmic structure, as in the first cola of the opening of Sūrat al-Raḥmān (Q 55:1-4; "The Merciful"): *al-raḥmān/ ʿallama l-qurʾān/khalaqa l-insān/ʿallamahu l-bayān/*. Al-Qalqashandī states that the following verses, with nineteen words each, represent the longest example of *sajʿ* in the Qurʾān:

idh yurīkahumu llāhu fī manāmika qalīlan wa-law arākahum kathīran la-fashiltum wa-la-tanāzaʿtum fī l-amri wa-lākinna llāha sallama innahu ʿalīmun bi-dhāti l-ṣudūr/ wa-idh yurīkumūhum idh iltaqaytum fī aʿyunikum qalīlan wa-yuqallilukum fī aʿyunihim li-yaqḍiya llāhu amran kāna māfʿūlan wa-ilā llāhi turjaʿu l-umūr (Q 8:43-4)

The average length is much less, particularly in the Meccan sūras. The medieval critics agree that short cola are more effective and eloquent than long cola.

Cola are arranged in groups that I have termed "*sajʿ*-units," unified by a common rhyme and meter or rhythmic pattern. The number of cola in a *sajʿ*-unit varies widely, ranging from two through more than ten. In the Meccan sūras, units of two, three and four *sajʿa*s are common but Sūrat al-Takwīr opens with a *sajʿ*-unit of fourteen parallel *sajʿa*s (Q 81:1-14): *idhā l-shamsu kuwwirat/wa-idhā l-nujūmu nkadarat/wa-idhā l-jibālu suyyirat/wa-idhā l-ʿishāru ʿuṭṭilat/wa-idhā l-wuḥūshu ḥushirat/wa-idhā l-biḥāru sujjirat/wa-idhā l-nufūsu zuwwijat/wa-idhā l-mawʾūdatu suʾilat/bi-ayyi dhanbin qutilat/ wa-idhā l-ṣuḥufu nushirat/wa-idhā l-samāʾu kushiṭat/wa-idhā l-jaḥīmu suʿʿirat/wa-idhā l-jannatu uzlifat/ʿalimat nafsun mā aḥḍarat/*.

An important feature of *sajʿ*, both qurʾānic and extra-qurʾānic, is the introductory phrase, which falls outside the ordinary prosodic structure of the *sajʿ*. The introductory phrase is in effect a separate entity and the *sajʿa* proper begins after that phrase. This feature, which I have termed *maṭlaʿ*, distinguishes *sajʿ* from poetry, where nothing falls outside the metrical scheme of a poem's verses. The *maṭlaʿ* in the Qurʾān is most often shorter than the following *sajʿa*, on occasion equal in length, and rarely longer. Examples include the following, where the *maṭlaʿ* is enclosed in parentheses:

(al-ḥamdu lillāhi) rabbi l-ʿālamīn/al-raḥmāni l-raḥīm/māliki yawmi l-dīn (Q 1:2-4)
(a-fa-lā yaʿlamu idhā) buʿthira mā fī l-qubūr/ wa-ḥuṣṣila mā fī l-ṣudūr (Q 100:9-10)

Recognition of this feature, which has misled many critics from Abū Hilāl al-ʿAskarī (d. after 395/1005) on, is extremely important for the prosodic analysis of *sajʿ* texts. *Sajʿ* cola form groups — I have termed them "*sajʿ*-units" — that share a rhyme and adhere to a common meter or alternative metrical pattern. *Sajʿ* units in the Qurʾān exhibit five main structural patterns. In the first pattern, parallel *sajʿa*s within a *sajʿ* unit are of equal length:

fa-ammā l-yatīma fa-lā taqhar/wa-ammā l-sāʾila fa-lā tanhar (Q 93:9-10)
wa-l-ʿādiyāti ḍabḥā/fa-l-mūriyāti qadḥā/fa-l-mughīrāti ṣubḥā (Q 100:1-3)

This is the most common form of *sajʿ*, in which the feature of rhythmical parallelism, which medieval Muslim critics termed *iʿtidāl*, "balance," is most obvious. While in

later Arabic literature, units consisting of paired rhyming phrases are the norm, in the Qurʾān units of three, four, five and more *sajʿa*s are frequent.

The second pattern has a unit of roughly parallel *sajʿa*s, with following *sajʿa*s slightly longer than the preceding ones. As an example of this, Ibn al-Athīr cites the following three verses, which contain eight, nine, and nine words respectively:

bal kadhdhabū bi-l-sāʿati wa-aʿtadnā li-man kadhdhaba bi-l-sāʿati saʿīrā/
idhā raʾathum min makānin baʿīdin samiʿū lahā taghayyuzan wa-zafīrā/
wa-idhā ulqū minhā makānan ḍayyiqan muqarranīna daʿaw hunālika thubūrā (Q 25:11-3)

A third type has a final *sajʿa* in a group of parallel *sajʿa*s slightly shorter than the preceding ones. The medieval critics disapprove of this type of *sajʿ* but it nevertheless appears in the Qurʾān occasionally:

min sharri l-waswāsi l-khannās/alladhī yuwaswisu fī ṣudūri l-nās/mina l-jinnati wa-l-nās (Q 114:4-6)

The last verse, with three words, is shorter than the first two, with four and five words, respectively.

A fourth pattern, which I have termed the "quatrain" *(rubāʿī)* form, has two *sajʿa*s of equal length followed by a third roughly equal in length to the previous pair combined, resulting in a pattern resembling a quatrain of rhyme scheme *a-a-b-a*. Examples include:

lam yalid wa-lam yūlad/wa-lam yakun lahu kufuwan aḥad (Q 112:3-4)
khudhūhu fa-ghullūhu/thumma l-jaḥīma ṣallūhu/thumma fī silsilatin dharʿuhā sabʿūna dhirāʿan fa-slukūhu (Q 69:30-2)

The fifth pattern is a pyramidal form, where length in successive *sajʿa*s within a *sajʿ* unit increases steadily:

wa-l-ḍuḥā/wa-l-layli idhā sajā/mā waddaʿaka rabbuka wa-mā qalā (Q 93:1-3)

Here, the successive *sajʿa*s are of one, three and five words. In the Qurʾān, this construction often appears in *sajʿ* units of three *sajʿa*s, especially at the beginnings of sūras.

Sajʿ units are joined together in various ways to form larger structures. For the qurʾānic material, particularly the short sūras, this larger block is often the sūra itself. One classical term for the structure which *sajʿ* units form is *faṣl* (pl. *fuṣūl*). Change in rhyme is used quite often in the formation of larger structures:

wa-l-ʿādiyāti ḍabḥā/fa-l-mūriyāti qadḥā/fa-l-mughīrāti ṣubḥā/
fa-atharna bihi naqʿā/fa-wasaṭna bihi jamʿā/
inna l-insāna li-rabbihi la-kanūd/wa-innahu ʿalā dhālika la-shahīd/ wa-innahu li-ḥubbi l-khayri la-shadīd/
(a-fa-lā yaʿlamu idhā) buʿthira mā fī l-qubūr/wa-ḥuṣṣila mā fī l-ṣudūr/inna rabbahum bihim yawmaʾidhin la-khabīr (Q 100:1-11)

This sūra is made up of four distinct *sajʿ*-units, each with a different rhyme *(-ḥā; -ʿā; -ūd/-īd; -ūr/-īr)* and sustained syntactic parallelism. The *sajʿ*-units are also distinguished by length, the first containing cola of two words, the second three-word cola, the third four-word cola and the fourth three-word cola, with the exception of the final *sajʿa* of five words. Rhyme, however, is not the only grouping principle in *sajʿ*. Insertion of an introductory phrase *(maṭlaʿ),* for example, begins a new unit. In addition, a change in *sajʿa* length without a change in rhyme would also mark a divi-

sion between *sajʿ* units, and this is very frequent in the Qurʾān:

(qul aʿūdhu) bi-rabbi l-nās/maliki l-nās/ilāhi l-nās/
min sharri l-waswāsi l-khannās/alladhī yuwaswisu fī ṣudūri l-nās/mina l-jinnati wa-l-nās
(Q 114:1-6)

This sūra, though maintaining the same rhyme throughout, breaks up into two distinct *sajʿ*-units of three *sajʿa*s each. The first *sajʿ*-unit has *sajʿa*s of two words each but the second *sajʿ*-unit has longer *sajʿa*s: four, five and three words. A less common structural device is a refrain, as found in Sūrat al-Raḥmān (Q 55; "The Merciful"), where the verse *fa-bi-ayyi ālāʾi rabbikumā tukadhdhibān* is repeated thirty-one times, marking off twenty-eight couplets and three tercets within the sūra.

The last word of the *sajʿa* is termed *fāṣila* (pl. *fawāṣil*), *maqṭaʿ* (pl. *maqāṭiʿ*), *qarīna* (pl. *qarāʾin*), or *sajʿ* (pl. *asjāʿ*). Medieval critics considered it important that the final words in neighboring *sajʿa*s be of the same morphological pattern *(wazn)* and classified *sajʿ* according to the presence or absence of this property. In *sajʿ muṭarraf,* "lop-sided" or "skewed" *sajʿ,* the final words rhyme but do not have the same pattern. The qurʾānic example given by al-Qalqashandī and many other critics is the following:

(mā lakum lā) tarjūna lillāhi waqārā
wa-qad khalaqakum aṭwārā (Q 71:13-4)

Although *waqārā* and *aṭwārā* rhyme, they are not of the same morphological pattern. The critics consider this type of *sajʿ* inferior to *sajʿ mutawāzī,* "parallel *sajʿ*," in which final words both rhyme and exhibit identical pattern:

(fīhā) surur marfūʿa
wa-akwābun mawḍūʿa (Q 88:13-4)

The terms *izdiwāj,* "pairing," and *muwāzana,* "matching in morphological form," refer to a type of composition which conforms to all the characteristics of *sajʿ* except that of strict end-rhyme. In this type of composition, the final words have identical pattern but do not rhyme. Some critics consider *muwāzana* a type of *sajʿ* itself, especially if it has inexact rhymes, and they term it *sajʿ mutawāzin*. Others, such as al-ʿAskarī, do not consider it *sajʿ* but deem it slightly inferior to *sajʿ* in literary merit. In the following qurʾānic example,

wa-namāriqu masfūfa/wa-zarābiyyu mabthūtha
(Q 88:15-6)

the rhythmical parallelism and basic structure of *sajʿ* is maintained, despite the fact that the rhyme consonants are *f* and *th.*

While in *muwāzana,* quantitative parallelism is restricted to the last word in a *sajʿa,* critics prize *sajʿ* that exhibits more sustained internal rhyme and morphological parallelism between corresponding words in parallel cola. Al-Qalqashandī and others call this type of composition *tarṣīʿ* or *sajʿ muraṣṣaʿ,* "proportioned *sajʿ*." Al-ʿAskarī calls it *sajʿ fī sajʿ,* "*sajʿ* within *sajʿ*" and considers it the best type of *sajʿ*. Qurʾānic examples include:

inna ilaynā iyābahum/thumma inna ʿalaynā ḥisābahum (Q 88:25-6)
inna l-abrāra la-fī naʿīm/wa-inna l-fujjāra la-fī jaḥīm (Q 82:13-4)

In these examples, all the words in the parallel *sajʿa*s rhyme and match in morphological pattern, except for the difference of pattern of *abrār* and *fujjār* in the second example. Syllable lengths are exactly the

same, if *thumma* in the second *sajʿa* of the first example and *wa-* in the second *sajʿa* of the second example are discounted.

The desired effect of syllabic or morphological parallelism is to enhance the accentual meter with quantitative regularity, particularly when approaching the end of the *sajʿa,* producing matching cadences resembling the clausulae of Latin oratory. Examination of the qurʾānic text shows the frequent use of clausulae, such as those which involve the double epithets of God (*al-asmāʾ al-ḥusnā;* see GOD AND HIS ATTRIBUTES) — *inna llāha ghafūrun raḥīm* (Q 2:199); *wa-kāna llāhu ghafūran raḥīmā* (Q 4:96); *innahu huwa l-ghafūru l-raḥīm* (Q 28:16; see FORGIVENESS; MERCY) — or other general statements concerning God's favor or disfavor (see GRACE; BLESSING; LOVE) — *inna llāha lā yuḥibbu l-muʿtadīn* (Q 2:190); *innahu lā yuḥibbu l-musrifīn* (Q 6:141). Rhythm, in addition to rhyme, is a crucial feature of these clausulae. The most common rhythmical patterns in the penultimate and ultimate feet of a colon include ^ — —/ ^ — — and — ^ — —/— ^ — — (overlong syllables scan as long-long). It seems that there is a strong tendency toward a reduplicative rhythm, where the quantitative pattern of the penultimate foot is repeated in the ultimate.

The structural, grammatical and rhetorical effects of end-rhyme and rhythmical parallelism on the qurʾānic text are far-reaching, and further research into the relationship of *sajʿ* to elements of qurʾānic style, incorporating both classical Muslim and contemporary scholarship, is a much needed desideratum (cf. Ḥasnāwī, *al-Fāṣila;* Rāzī, *Nihāya,* 142-3; Nuwayrī, *Nihāya,* vii, 103-5; Mehren, *Rhetorik,* 166-8; Garcin de Tassy, *Rhétorique,* 154-8). Many qurʾānic verses exhibit deviations from ordinary style in order to bring about end-rhyme, yet many commentators on the Qurʾān, either unaware of or determined to ignore the poetic character of the text, propose tortuous arguments to explain grammatical and syntactic features that are due primarily to rhyme. Müller *(Reimprosa)* has discussed this sort of "poetic license," though with limited recourse to medieval Islamic texts. Among the best analyses of this topic within the tradition is *Iḥkām al-rāy fī aḥkām awākhir al-āy,* "The establishment of sound opinion on the rules governing verse endings," by Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ṣāʾigh al-Ḥanafī (d. 776/1375). This work, summarized by al-Suyūṭī in his *Itqān,* presents forty types of "rules" (sing. *ḥukm*), essentially deviations from ordinary style, which occur in the qurʾānic text in order to produce what he terms "matching" *(munāsaba),* essentially end-rhyme. On the level of the word, deviations which occur include the alteration of word endings — *sīnīn* (Q 95:2) for *saynāʾ,* "Sinai" (q.v.; Q 23:20); *ilyāsīn* (Q 37:130) for *ilyās,* "Elias" (Q 6:85; 37:133; see ELIJAH) — and the use of one morphological pattern with the meaning of another — *taḍlīl* (Q 105:2) for *ḍalāl,* "error (q.v.), loss" (passim; see also ASTRAY); *lāghiya* (Q 88:11) for *laghw,* "idle talk" (Q 19:62; 56:25; 78:35; see GOSSIP); *amīn* (Q 95:3) for *āmin,* "safe" (Q 14:35, etc.); *ṣamad* (Q 112:2) for *ṣāmid* or *ṣamūd,* "enduring" (see ETERNITY), etc.

Other deviations involve the use of feminine forms where masculine forms would be expected, such as *dhālika dīnu l-qayyima* (Q 98:5) for *dhālika l-dīnu l-qayyim,* "that is the right religion" (q.v.; Q 9:36; 12:40; 30:30; cf. 30:43), or the use of an imperfect verb where a perfect would be expected, as in *istakbartum fa-farīqan kadhdhabtum wa-farīqan taqtulūn* (Q 2:87), "You behaved arrogantly (see ARROGANCE): one group you denied (see LIE), and one group you kill (see MURDER)," when logic and paral-

lelism would dictate *qataltum,* "you killed." Word order is also affected, as, for example, in Q 20:70, *qālū āmannā bi-rabbi Hārūna wa-Mūsā* ("They said: We believe in the lord of Aaron [q.v.] and Moses" [q.v.]), when a rhyme in *-ā* is required, as opposed to the usual order *Mūsā wa-Hārūn,* "Moses and Aaron" (Q 7:122; 10:75; 26:48; 37:114, 120) or *iyyāka naʿbudu wa-iyyāka nastaʿīn,* "You we worship and from you we seek help" (Q 1:5), rather than *naʿbuduka wa-nastaʿīnuk** ("We worship you and seek help from you"). Prepositional phrases are often made to precede the adjectives, nouns, or verbs on which they depend, as in *inna l-insāna li-rabbihi la-kanūd* ("verily humankind is to its lord ungrateful"; Q 100:6; see GRATITUDE AND INGRATITUDE) where the ordinary order would be *inna l-insāna la-kanūdun li-rabbih** ("verily humankind is ungrateful to its lord"), or in *wa-llāhu baṣīrun bimā yaʿmalūn* ("God is watchful over all that they do"; Q 2:96) in a context requiring the rhyme *-ūn* and *wa-llāhu bimā taʿmalūna baṣīr* ("God is over all that you do watchful"; Q 3:156) in a context requiring the rhyme *-īr/-ūr*. As mentioned, Ibn al-Ṣāʾigh al-Ḥanafī distinguishes forty features such as these. Many other "deviations" are so common within the Qurʾān as to become standard features of qurʾānic style. The verb *kāna* "was" and its derived forms often appear in contexts where the past tense is not appropriate. In these cases it appears to be pleonastic, used primarily to produce the required end-rhyme in *-ā,* since its predicate requires the accusative, without altering the meaning significantly. This occurs often in the final clausulae that end in double divine epithets, such as *wa-kāna llāhu ghafūran raḥīmā* ("God was forgiving and merciful"; Q 4:96, 100, 152, etc.) in an environment requiring *-ūnā/-īnā* rhyme, which seems equivalent in meaning to *inna llāha ghafūrun raḥīm,* "God is forgiving and merciful" (Q 2:173, 182, 199, etc.). Similar is the common periphrasis *min* with a following definite plural for the indefinite singular, as in *wa-innī la-aẓunnuhu min al-kādhibīn,* "I think that he is indeed of the liars" (Q 28:38), which may be equated with *wa-innī la-aẓunnuhu kādhiban,* "I think that he is indeed a liar" (Q 40:37), and the use of the compound past imperfect *(kānū yafʿalūn)* with the meaning of the perfect *(faʿalū),* as in *fa-yunabbiʾuhum bimā kānū yaʿmalūn,* "and he will inform them of what they were doing/used to do" (Q 6:108), which appears equivalent to *fa-yunabbiʾuhum bimā ʿamilū,* "and he will inform them of what they did" (Q 24:64).

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Rhythm

see RHYMED PROSE; LANGUAGE AND STYLE OF THE QUR'ĀN; FORM AND STRUCTURE OF THE QUR'ĀN

Rich(es)

see WEALTH; MONEY; PROPERTY

Ridicule

see MOCKERY

Right Hand

see LEFT HAND AND RIGHT HAND

Righteous(ness)

see PIETY; FEAR; GOOD DEEDS

Rites

see RITUAL AND THE QUR'ĀN

Ritual and the Qurʾān

Following a brief discussion of ritual in modern academic discourse which proposes a functional typology of rituals both within and involving the Qurʾān, and taking into account the context in which certain rituals occur and are performed, this article will then explore the treatment of qurʾānic rituals in works of Islamic jurisprudence (see LAW AND THE QUR'ĀN). Those rituals which employ verses of the Qurʾān — written or spoken, individually or collectively — in various ceremonial, talismanic and therapeutic contexts will also be examined. This article does not deal extensively with those rituals specifically mentioned in the Qurʾān, as they are more fully explained under the relevant entries in this encyclopedia (see e.g. the articles WITNESS TO FAITH; PILGRIMAGE; PRAYER; RAMAḌĀN; FASTING; and RITUAL PURITY, in addition to the other entries which are cross-referenced below).

Ritual is the cornerstone of the Islamic faith and, as such, assumes a primary role in the Qurʾān by making manifest a tangible, sacramental expression of God's design for humankind. In comparing Islam to other religions, the Dutch scholar D.C. Mulder (Recitation) observed that Islam "is not very rich in ritual." But Mulder identified only three primary forms of ritual: prayer *(ṣalāt),* pilgrimage *(ḥajj)* and recitation of the Qurʾān (q.v.; *tilāwa*). Those ritual forms found in the Qurʾān and in the ḥadīth (see ḤADĪTH AND THE QUR'ĀN) are not as numerous as those found in the Talmud, a cornerstone of rabbinical Jewish law which includes archaic rituals no longer practiced by Jews after the destruction of the second temple in 70 C.E. It might be argued, however, that the number and diversity of ritual forms, practices and observances within Islam are as prolific, variegated and complex as those in

Judaism and Christianity. Furthermore, those rituals which observant Muslims perform — from simply invoking the divine name (see GOD AND HIS ATTRIBUTES; REMEMBRANCE) to more elaborate ritual forms such as supererogatory prayer, supplication and recitation of verses from the Qur'ān — emphasize the richness and diversity of rituals and ritual practice in Islam (see PRAYER FORMULAS; PIETY).

Ritual (from Latin *ritualis*) is a religiously defined and prescribed set of actions whose enactment symbolizes humankind's encounter with and reverence for the divine. Anthropologists and scholars of religion have defined it in various ways, including as "a universal category of human experience" (Bell, *Ritual theory,* 14) or "those conscious and voluntary, repetitious and stylized symbolic bodily actions that are centered on cosmic structures and/or sacred presences" (Zuesse, Ritual, 405; see PROFANE AND SACRED). Jonathan Z. Smith (Bare facts, 125) defines ritual as "a means of performing the way things ought to be in conscious tension to the way things are in such a way that this ritualized perfection is recollected in the ordinary, uncontrolled, course of things." In other words, ritual consists of structures of formalized and sometimes spontaneous behavior which emerge from a setting of reverence for and engagement with the divine in its diverse manifestations. The definition of ritual may be broadened to include rites of passage at which scripture is invoked or displayed such as at births and funerals (see BIRTH; BURIAL), indeed in virtually all aspects of daily life.

The following is a typology of the rituals in Islamic societies that are associated with the Qur'ān. (Most of these rituals — as seen in the overlap among the ten categories — are not mutually exclusive.)

(1) Transformative rituals (see also Rituals of purification, below): the performance of these has the effect of transforming one's spiritual, physical and mental state. Transformative rituals may be prescriptive, as in the five pillars, or may be pious practices *(muʿāmalāt)* or rules of etiquette *(adab)*. A transformative ritual may also have the effect of transforming the state of a sacred or venerable object. Often such rituals are performed in fulfillment of a religious precept, as in the case of prayer, but also in anticipation of receiving "blessing" *(baraka)*. In this category may be included: the testament of faith *(shahāda);* ritual prayer *(ṣalāt);* pilgrimage *(ḥajj);* entering *(dukhūl)* and sitting *(quʿūd)* in a mosque (Ibn al-Ḥājj, *al-Madkhal,* i, 13); fasting *(ṣiyām,* Q 2:183-5, 187, 196); almsgiving *(zakāt);* loyalty (q.v.) to the imām (q.v.; *walāya*); reading/reciting the Qur'ān *(dhikr, tilāwa);* seeking *baraka* from a qur'ānic codex (*tabarruk;* see MUṢḤAF; CODICES OF THE QUR'ĀN); kissing *(taqbīl)* the qur'ānic codex; weeping (q.v.; *bukā'*) when the Qur'ān is read; ritual purification (*ṭahāra;* as a category it often includes *wuḍū', ghusl, tayammum;* see CLEANLINESS AND ABLUTION); vows (*nadhr, naḥb;* Q 76:7; see VOW); vigils (q.v.; *tahajjud* — spending the night in prayer, praying the night prayer, reciting the Qur'ān nightly); and humbling oneself before God *(taḍarruʿ)*.

(2) Rituals of purification, which are performed prior to prayer or coming into contact with the sacred. They employ the use of water and other substances (sand, dust). Included in this category is *ṭahāra* (ritual purity; Q 5:6), which includes *wuḍū'* (ritual ablutions), *ghusl* (ritual immersion; Q 4:43, 5:6), *tayammum* (ritual ablutions with fine sand or dust; Q 4:43; 5:6), *ṭahāra* (ritual purity; i.e. as in Abraham's purification and re-consecration of the house of God; cf. Q 2:125; see ABRAHAM; HOUSE, DOMESTIC AND DIVINE; KAʿBA).

(3) Rituals which mark the fulfillment of religious obligation (*muʿāmalāt;* see GOOD DEEDS; ETHICS AND THE QUR'ĀN; see also Obligatory rituals, below), such as marriage (*nikāḥ;* see Rites of passage, below; see MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE) and the ritual slaughtering of animals for food (*taḥlīl,* cf. Q 5:2; see CONSECRATION OF ANIMALS; SLAUGHTER).

(4) Rites of passage, such as birth *(mīlād),* including the naming ceremony; death (*mawt,* cf. Q 3:185, 193; 4:78; 21:35; 33:19, 23; 44:56; 47:27; 56:60, 84-87; 63:10; 75:29; see DEATH AND THE DEAD); marriage (*nikāḥ,* cf. Q 2:187; 25:54, etc.); and the pilgrimage *(ḥajj).*

(5) Obligatory rituals in the Qur'ān, namely: prayer *(ṣalāt),* including prostration *(sujūd)* and bowing (*rukūʿ;* see BOWING AND PROSTRATION); testament of faith *(shahāda);* almsgiving *(zakāt);* pilgrimage *(ḥajj);* and fasting *(ṣiyām).*

(6) Rituals of abstinence (q.v.), which include fasting *(ṣiyām)* and vows (*nadhr* or *nudhūr, naḥb;* Q 33:23: *man qaḍā naḥbahu*). The vow involves making a dedication to God, usually in the form of a sacrifice (q.v.). In a historical context, Muslims, like adherents to other faiths, make vows to engage in or refrain from particular actions. Abstinence from certain practices and *ḥajj* rites, such as eating food and shortening one's hair are valid forms of *nadhr.* In the qur'ānic context, God fulfills vows (cf. Pedersen, Nadhr, for a discussion of the pre-Islamic and Islamic context of *nadhr;* see also CONTRACTS AND ALLIANCES; COVENANT; OATHS).

(7) Rituals of sustenance (q.v.), health (see ILLNESS AND HEALTH), longevity (see also Protective rituals, below), which include consuming food and drink from plates and cups inscribed with qur'ānic verses; consuming food on which qur'ānic verses are inscribed; and seeking *baraka* from the Qur'ān (*tabarruk;* see POPULAR AND TALISMANIC USES OF THE QUR'ĀN; EVERYDAY LIFE, THE QUR'ĀN IN).

(8) Protective rituals, among which are counted a number of activities. The mere act of bringing out a codex at a public gathering is a means to invoke the protection (q.v.) of God through his words (see WORD OF GOD). Other rituals include reciting the *basmala* (q.v.; i.e. invoking the name of God) orally or silently over somebody or before undertaking an activity; reading/reciting the Qur'ān; seeking *baraka (tabarruk)* from the qur'ānic codex by physically touching it or reciting verses from it; carrying a qur'ānic codex to ward off disease, illness, plague, bodily harm, evil, etc.; wearing a garment with qur'ānic verses inscribed on it (usually a tunic or talismanic shirt on which the ninety-nine names of God and verses from the Qur'ān are inscribed); wearing a necklace, amulet (see AMULETS) or talisman with qur'ānic verses and related expressions or a miniature Qur'ān in a *muṣḥaf* pendant of a precious metal, usually gold (children or adults may engage in this practice; a popular practice is for women and girls to wear amulets); eating or drinking from a vessel with verses of the Qur'ān inscribed; and in Turkey there is the practice of writing the word *mashallah,* literally "what God wants," on an amulet and placing it on the person of a newborn child (see the illustrations of POPULAR AND TALISMANIC USES OF THE QUR'ĀN for some examples of the rich variety of material objects employed in protective rituals that involve the Qur'ān).

(9) Rituals acts meant to inflict harm or spread evil. Such rituals appear in a limited historical context. The only known instance in the Qur'ān is the "blowing on knots" (*al-naffāthāt fī l-ʿuqad,* Q 113:4; see MAGIC), but this appears in a negative sense in that the verse alludes to women who

failed in their objective to cause harm to Muḥammad by blowing on knots (see OPPOSITION TO MUḤAMMAD).
(10) Rituals that promote social cohesion and group solidarity, such as prayer *(ṣalāt),* Friday prayer (q.v.; Q 62:9), or prayer in a mosque (q.v.); pilgrimage *(ḥajj);* collectively carrying scriptures in hand while walking in procession at times of crisis, drought and epidemics. This last named function exemplifies the human need to repel imminent danger and disease. Such historical episodes underscore the social function of the Qur'ān in a group environment (see COMMUNITY AND SOCIETY IN THE QUR'ĀN; POLITICS AND THE QUR'ĀN).

As seen from this typology, the word "ritual" in the Islamic context cannot be expressed by a single word found either in the Qur'ān, the prophetic traditions, or in works of jurisprudence. The closest approximation to "ritual" is *ʿibādāt* (sing. *ʿibāda,* lit. "obedience, submission, humility, devout worship"; see WORSHIP) which is also related to *ṭāʿa* (lit. "obedience, submission"; see OBEDIENCE). In the first instance, *ʿibādāt* refers to religious practice and devotion to God (Q 2:21; 51:56) and is commonly applied to the five pillars *(arkān)* of Islam: *shahāda* (testament of faith; Q 3:19-20; 6:19; 63:1), *ṣalāt* (prayer; e.g. Q 2:45; 9:103; 51:18; 70:22-3; 75:31; 96:10; 108:2), *zakāt* (almsgiving; e.g. Q 2:43, 83, 277), *ṣiyām* (fasting; Q 2:183-4), and *ḥajj* (pilgrimage; e.g. Q 2:189, 196). The Semitic root *ʿ-b-d* from which *ʿibādāt* derives captures the relationship between the devotee as the slave of God whose inner and outer natures surrender to God, the exclusive object of worship (e.g. Q 1:5; see SERVANTS; SLAVES AND SLAVERY). "Ritual" also may be applied to modes of religious behavior and experience, and physical and mental states not classified as *ʿibādāt* by jurisprudents and theologians, such as *taḍarruʿ* (Q 6:42, 43), through which believers are urged to reflect upon the lessons of the past and humble themselves before God as did those before them (see OPPRESSED ON EARTH, THE; TRUST AND PATIENCE; TRIAL; PUNISHMENT STORIES; GENERATIONS; HISTORY AND THE QUR'ĀN). During the fifth/eleventh and sixth/twelfth centuries, the very act of remembrance of God (*dhikr,* Q 2:152, 200; 3:41; 7:205; 18:24; 33:41; 72:25) became enshrined in elaborate Ṣūfī rituals and ceremonies that became widespread throughout the Islamic world (see ṢŪFISM AND THE QUR'ĀN).

All devotional acts *(ʿibādāt)* require of those who undertake them to declare clearly their intention (q.v.; *niyya*). In *Kitāb al-Arbaʿīn fī uṣūl al-dīn,* al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111) provides a succinct discussion of *ʿibadāt,* which when performed properly, lead to the perfection of both the outer and inner self in fulfillment of one's religious duties. In his elucidation of the ten primary principles of religion (ritual prayer; almsgiving and charity; fasting; pilgrimage; recitation of the Qur'ān; *dhikr,* remembrance of God; seeking what is permitted, i.e. *ḥalāl;* upholding the rights of other Muslims and maintaining proper companionship with them; enjoining right and forbidding wrong; following the sunna of the Prophet), al-Ghazālī states that he does not mean undertaking only the etiquette *(ādāb)* of the ritual acts, but everything associated with them (p. 68). The object in performing ritual acts is human certitude in the remembrance of God in order to attain the hereafter and withdraw from the worldly life (p. 76). Invoking this work, the north African Mālikī theologian Ibn al-Ḥājj (d. 737/1336) regards *niyya* and *ʿamal* (i.e. the actual performance of the act) as complete ritual devotion *(bi-himā tamām al-ʿibāda)* and *niyya* as the best of the

two parts (*al-Madkhal,* i, 13). For without the intention, the believer's ritual is deemed invalid and the threat of divine punishment becomes implicit (see REWARD AND PUNISHMENT; CHASTISEMENT AND PUNISHMENT). According to Eliade (*Patterns,* 370-1), the division between the realms of the sacred and the profane "serves the purpose of preserving profane man from the danger to which he would expose himself by entering it without due care. The sacred is always dangerous to anyone who comes into contact with it unprepared, without having gone through 'gestures of approach' that every religious act demands."

Rituals in the Qur'ān

Rituals in the Qur'ān can be classified according to four primary categories: (1) Prescriptive rituals include prayer *(ṣalāt),* almsgiving *(zakāt),* testament of faith *(shahāda),* fasting during the month of Ramaḍān *(ṣiyām),* undertaking the pilgrimage *(ḥajj)* and ritual purity (*ṭahāra,* Q 5:6); (2) rituals of devotion and remembrance, such as *dhikr* and *tahajjud* (night vigil spent in prayer); (3) rites of passage, including birth, marriage and death; (4) rituals that are time and place specific and that refer to a particular historical event or incident or are otherwise related to the prophets before Muḥammad (see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD), like Abraham and Ishmael (q.v.) ritually purifying the house of God (Q 2:125), women's use of black magic against the Prophet by blowing on knots (Q 113:4) and the allusions to the — proscribed — prostration (bowing) of the Israelites to the sun (q.v.) and moon (q.v.; e.g. Q 41:37).

Ritual prayer *(ṣalāt)* represents the ritual enactment and re-enactment of the Qur'ān par excellence. Several prophetic traditions indicate this, including "The difference between *kufr* (infidelity; see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF) and Islam is *ṣalāt,*" and "Only those who pray have my protection" (cf. Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* bk. 1, chap. 35, no. 134).

Sunnī and Shī'ī (see SHĪ'ISM AND THE QUR'ĀN) works of jurisprudence *(fiqh)* differentiate between *'ibādāt* and a closely related word — *mu'āmalāt,* which refers to the rules governing human behavior —, and almost invariably discuss the former before the latter. Bousquet recognizes that *fiqh* is a deontology for *'ibādāt,* the statements of the whole corpus of duties or acts whether obligatory, forbidden or recommended, etc., which is imposed upon people (Bousquet, 'Ibādāt; cf. id., *Les grandes pratiques,* 9). Apart from the five pillars, the question of which rituals are to be classified under *'ibādāt* is not always clearly delineated in the organization of jurisprudential works. In the Qur'ān one finds mention of such rituals as marriage (*nikāḥ;* e.g. Q 2:220; 33:49) which Bousquet properly indicates should be classified as a pious practice rather than placed among the *'ibādāt*. The same might be said of other practices, not specifically mentioned as an obligation in the Qur'ān, such as circumcision (q.v.; *khitān*), or qur'ānic recitation *(tilāwa)*. Unlike circumcision, however, which is not a qur'ānic prescription but a socially and religiously prescribed ritual and rite of passage, recitation is usually considered among the *'ibādāt*.

In the ḥadīth collections and in legal and theological discussions of the sunna (q.v.) of the Prophet (see THEOLOGY AND THE QUR'ĀN), qur'ānic and extra-qur'ānic rituals are further elaborated. Various ḥadīth collections do not categorically separate *'ibādāt* from other ritual forms, though *'ibādāt* generally are grouped at the beginning of such works. In al-Bukhārī's (d. 256/870) *Ṣaḥīḥ,* for instance, one finds *wuḍū'* (ritual ablution), *ghusl* (ritual immersion), *tayammum* (ritual ablution with fine dust or sand), *ṣalāt* (prayer), *janā'iz* (funer-

als), *zakāt* (almsgiving), and *ḥajj* (pilgimage). The *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Muslim (d. ca. 261/875) follows a different order and includes *ṭahāra* (ritual purity), *ṣalāt* (prayer), *zakāt* (almsgiving) and *ṣawm* (fasting).

The Shīʿī theologian Sallār b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Daylamī (d. 448/1056), the author of *al-Marāsīm fī l-fiqh al-imāmī,* essentially divides his work into *ʿibādāt* and *muʿāmalāt,* the latter of which he subdivides into *ʿuqūd* (contracts, the performance of which does not necessitate the declaration of intention; see CONTRACTS AND ALLIANCES; BREAKING TRUSTS AND CONTRACTS) and *aḥkām* (rules governing conduct within society, e.g. inheritance laws; see INHERITANCE; SOCIAL INTERACTIONS). Al-Muḥaqqiq al-Ḥillī (d. 676/1277) delineates in his *Sharāʾiʿ al-Islām fī l-fiqh al-islāmī l-Ǧaʿfarī* four primary categories of ritual which formed the basis for the categories found in later Shīʿī works of jurisprudence: *ʿibādāt, aḥkām, ʿuqūd,* and *īqāʿāt* (legally valid pronouncements which require only one party to transact).

One of the most detailed expositions of *ʿibādāt* can be found in the Shāfiʿī jurist al-Nawawī's (d. 676/1277) *al-Tibyān fī ādāb ḥamalat al-Qurʾān*. Al-Nawawī's work is unique for its discussion of those rituals in which the Qurʾān is invoked, the times at which it is efficacious to recite certain verses or chapters of the Qurʾān, when it is necessary to prostrate oneself upon hearing particular verses, and the proper etiquette for carrying and displaying a codex and according it reverence. Al-Nawawī was particularly concerned that Muslims display proper etiquette and reverence for the Qurʾān. For instance, he observes that such practices as putting the codex under the head as a pillow are to be forbidden (Nawawī, *Tibyān,* 190-1). Perhaps some believed that it would facilitate the acquisition of knowledge or protect them from harm as they slept. Such beliefs are attested to in late nineteenth century Iran: Serena (*Hommes,* 333; cf. Massé, *Popular beliefs,* 21) observed that the qurʾānic codex was placed beneath the head of the newborn as a pillow.

The Ḥanbalī theologian Ibn Taymiyya (d. 728/1328) defines *ʿibāda* — more broadly than the traditional delineation of jurisprudential works — as "a collective term [which encompasses] all that God loves and [that] pleases him *(kull mā yuḥibbuhu wa-yarḍāhu)* from the words and inner and external actions, like prayer, alms, fasting, *ḥajj,* veracious speech, keeping a trust, and reverence for one's parents (q.v.) and close relatives (see KINSHIP)." In a treatise on *ʿibādāt* the modern Shīʿī scholar Jaʿfar al-Sijānī (*ʿIbāda,* 20) argues that Ibn Taymiyya has confused *ʿibādāt* with acts of nearness to God *(taqarrub)* by regarding them as synonymous. In Sijānī's view, acts such as giving alms, respecting one's parents, and the *khums* (a tax among the Shīʿa which was originally applied to the fifth of the spoils of war belonging to the ruler; see BOOTY) necessitate *qurbā* to God but are not *ʿibādāt*.

The modern-day scholar and theologian Aḥmad al-Ḥuṣarī (*Mina l-fiqh,* 142) defines *ʿibāda* as "the obedience *(ṭāʿa)* which the [divine] law-giver *(shāriʿ)* has required his slaves to carry out." Al-Ḥuṣarī distinguishes between three categories of *ʿibādāt:* (1) Purely physical rituals *(ʿibādāt badaniyya)* for which one person is not permitted to substitute for another, like prayer, fasting; (2) rituals for which one person is permitted to substitute for another, like almsgiving *(zakāt);* and (3) physical rituals which require the expenditure of property (q.v.; with the stipulation that, in the case of another's substituting, one must be incapable of undertaking them on one's own), like the *ḥajj* (ibid., 144).

The Shīʿī scholar Muḥammad Saʿīd al-Ṭabāṭabāʾī (d. 1982) includes in his *Minhāj*

al-ṣāliḥīn the following categories among the *ʿibādāt: ṭahāra* (ritual purity), *ṣalāt* (prayer), *ṣawm* (fasting), *iʿtikāf* (pious retreat in a mosque which is generally associated with the month of Ramaḍān; see FESTIVALS AND COMMEMORATIVE DAYS), *zakāt* (almsgiving), *khums,* and *al-amr bi-l-maʿrūf wa-l-nahy ʿan al-munkar* (enjoining others to do what is commendable and to refrain from what is reprehensible; cf. Q 3:104, 110; 22:41; see VIRTUES AND VICES, COMMANDING AND FORBIDDING).

The most important Ṭayyibī-Mustaʿlī Ismāʿīlī work of jurisprudence which serves as the basis for ʿIsmāʿīlī law and which contains a detailed exposition of *ʿibādāt* is al-Qāḍī l-Nuʿmān's (d. 363/974) *Daʿāʾim al-Islām,* "Pillars of Islam." Al-Nuʿmān, the chief qāḍī under the Fāṭimid caliph al-Muʿizz li-Dīn Allāh (r. 344-65/952-75), includes the following seven *ʿibādāt: walāya* (devotion to the imām), *ṭahāra* (ritual purity), *ṣalāt* (ritual prayer), *janāʾiz* (funerals), *zakāt* (alms tax), *ṣawm* (fasting), *ḥajj* (pilgrimage), and jihād (q.v.; holy war). Immediately following *ṣawm,* al-Nuʿmān discusses *iʿtikāf.*

Esoteric interpretations of ʿibādāt

In *Taʾwīl al-daʿāʾim,* al-Qāḍī l-Nuʿmān stresses the importance for the Ismāʿīlī believer of not only performing the *ʿibādāt,* but also of understanding their esoteric meaning *(bāṭin).* After providing an esoteric interpretation of *walāya* (affirming the doctrine of belief in and devotion to the imāms), al-Qāḍī l-Nuʿmān explains the *ʿibādāt* as follows: Ritual purity *(ṭahāra)* refers to "purifying oneself through knowledge *(al-taṭahhur bi-l-ʿilm)* and what it necessitates with respect to the impurities of the soul *(bi-mā yūjibuhu l-ʿilm min aḥdāth al-nufūs)*" (*Taʾwīl,* i, 72). In addition to knowledge, wisdom facilitates purification of the soul. Declaring one's intention *(niyya)* in performing *ʿibādāt* is like *walāya* (ibid., i, 85). Al-Qāḍī l-Nuʿmān states that the performance of the ritual prayer *(ṣalāt)* is symbolic of the Prophet's action in making these particular prayers and postures obligatory (ibid., i, 86). The inner meaning of *zakāt* is that the act of giving purifies *(taṭhīr)* one's personal wealth (q.v.; ibid., ii, 87). *Zakāt* is not only associated with ritual purity, but also with righteousness *(ṣalāḥ)* and growth (*numuww;* ibid., ii, 87-8). Al-Nuʿmān quotes several verses to support his interpretations (including Q 9:34, 103; 73:20; 87:14, 15; 91:9, 10). A deeper meaning of *zakāt* is that it represents the one who purifies *(muzakkī)* the people *(al-nās)* — in this case, the foundations *(usus)* and the proofs *(ḥujaj)* who are the vicegerents of the prophets (ibid., ii, 88).

The Ismāʿīlī scholar Abū Yaʿqūb al-Sijistānī (fl. fourth/tenth century) expounds the *ʿibādāt* as follows: Water which represents knowledge purifies the soul from doubt and uncertainty (q.v.). *Walāya* signifies devotion to the imāms. *Ṣalāt* (ritual prayer) signifies devotion to the *awliyāʾ* (the friends of God, i.e. the imāms; see CLIENTS AND CLIENTAGE; FRIENDS AND FRIENDSHIP). *Zakāt* signifies that those who possess knowledge (i.e. the imāms) should send forth guides to the people (see KNOWLEDGE AND LEARNING; KINGS AND RULERS). The lower ranks become *zakāt* for the higher ranks. Fasting *(ṣawm)* means observing silence and not revealing any secrets (q.v.) to the uninitiated (see also HIDDEN AND THE HIDDEN). *Ḥajj* represents the believer having an audience with the imām, who symbolizes the house wherein knowledge of God resides (Sijistānī, *Iftikhār,* chaps. 13-7; especially useful is Poonawala's commentary: see Poonawala/Husayn, *Biobibliography,* 417-29; cf. Poonawala, Ismāʿīlī taʾwīl, 219). Today, Nizārī Ismāʿīlī prayer consists of supplications, but unlike Sunnī and Ithnā ʿAsharī *ṣalāt,* does not include the same sequence of bowing *(rukūʿ)* and

prostration *(sujūd)*. Usually prayer is performed in a sitting position.

Ṣūfī works like al-Hujwīrī's *Kashf al-maḥjūb* place importance on understanding and implementing the esoteric and exoteric interpretations in the practice of *ʿibādāt*. In the chapter on ritual purity, al-Hujwīrī emphasizes that while prayer requires purification of the body, gnosis requires purification of the heart (Hujwīrī, *Kashf,* 291). In the chapter on prayer, he stresses the importance of humility, awe, abasement and the annihilation of one's attributes. The chapter on alms links the giving of *zakāt* to poverty in this world, but the giver should also aim to give for the blessings of health, mind and body and infinite blessings should be rendered with infinite thanks to God (see BLESSING; GRACE; GRATITUDE AND INGRATITUDE). In the chapter on fasting, al-Hujwīrī mentions that fasting is abstinence which includes the whole method of Ṣūfism. In the chapter on the pilgrimage, the true meaning of *ḥajj* involves the casting off of the worldly life, sensual desires, the attributes of one's humanity, and the complete submission of the believer to God.

Ritual purity

The Qurʾān itself is described as being contained "in books held greatly in honor, exalted, and pure" (*muṭahhara,* Q 80:13-4; see BOOK; SCROLLS; PRESERVED TABLET). Ritual purity *(ṭahāra)* is the foundation of the *ʿibādāt* upon which the performance of other rituals depends. The north African Mālikī theologian Ibn al-Ḥājj interprets *ṭahāra* as interior ritual purification *(al-ṭahāra al-bāṭina)*. He invokes a tradition of the Prophet (*al-Madkhal,* i, 30): "Supplication *(duʿāʾ)* is the essence of ritual devotion *(ʿibāda)*" and refers to Q 2:222, which mentions ritual purity. Likewise, Ibn al-Ḥājj interprets other ritual acts such as *wuḍūʾ* and *zakāt* as purifying humans from sin, base elements and negative attributes associated with the worldly life. Ritual purity (Q 5:6) and the pure water (q.v.; Q 25:48; cf. 8:11) with which it is associated are referred to in the Qurʾān. The acts of ritual purity practiced by the pre-Islamic Arabs included *iḥrām* (ritual consecration) before entering Mecca (q.v.) and forbidding menstruating women (see MENSTRUATION; PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QURʾĀN) from undertaking the pre-Islamic pilgrimage there. In Islamic times menstruating women were allowed to perform the *ḥajj,* although they were allowed to circumambulate the Kaʿba and undertake the running between Ṣafā and Marwa only when they had achieved a ritually pure state (cf. Howard, Some aspects, 41).

A person in a ritual state is described as *ṭahūr* or *ṭāhir* (Ḥillī, *Tadhkirat,* 7). Bousquet (*Les grandes pratiques,* 16) divides his discussion of the state of ritual impurity into two major categories, which are further elaborated: (1) Minor ritual impurity such as *ḥadath,* which refers to minor emissions from the openings of the body or contact with an impure substance, and which invalidates prayer, circumambulation around the Kaʿba, and touching the Qurʾān; (2) Major ritual impurity *(janāba)* from sexual intercourse (see SEX AND SEXUALITY) and menstruation *(ḥayḍ),* as a result of which it is generally forbidden to perform prayer, to recite the Qurʾān, to enter a mosque, or to perform the *ḥajj*.

Sunnī and Shīʿī legal sources usually divide the category "ritual purity" *(ṭahāra)* into three sub-categories: *wuḍūʾ* (ablutions), *ghusl* (ritual immersion), and *tayammum* (making ablutions with pure sand or dust; e.g. Ḥillī, *Tadhkirat,* 7, defines *ṭuhūr* as water). Sources usually distinguish between these three forms of ritual purity and discuss the various states of ritual impurity and the conditions under which it is necessary or permitted to undertake ritual

purification. They also elaborate upon the physical movements and gestures of the body, as well as the oral formulae which are to be performed.

Wuḍū' is necessary for prayer, making *ṭawāf* (circumambulation around the Ka'ba), touching the text of the Qur'ān and for other rituals (cf. Ḥillī, *Tadhkirat,* 8). Similarly, *ghusl* may be made for any one of these three categories in addition to residing in mosques, for producing amulets or talismans for the curing of diseases *('azā'im)* and for obligatory fasting, etc. *Tayammum* is required for prayer or for the ritually impure person (*junub,* literally "precluded from ritual practice"), and in order to set out for a mosque (ibid.). For a ritually impure person *(junub, muḥdith, ḥā'iḍ)* to carry a qur'ānic codex or to touch its pages or its writing is a reprehensible act (*makrūh;* Ḥillī, *Tadhkirat,* 241).

Being in a state of ritual purity is required for anybody who touches, reads or recites the Qur'ān. On the basis of Q 56:79, "none shall touch it [the Qur'ān] save for those who are ritually pure *(al-muṭahharūn),*" al-Ḥillī deems it reprehensible for a ritually impure person to touch the Qur'ān. Abū l-Qāsim al-Khū'ī (d. 1992) mentions that the one who is in a state of ritual impurity is not permitted to touch the writing of the codex or the vocalization signs (see RECITATION OF THE QUR'ĀN; ORNAMENTATION AND ILLUMINATION; GRAMMAR AND THE QUR'ĀN), nor the name of God or the ninety-nine "beautiful names." According to al-Nawawī, other books which contain verses from the Qur'ān are to be treated in the same manner if the qur'ānic text they contain is significantly greater in length than the rest of the text, e.g. a brief gloss or commentary. Thus, it is forbidden for the ritually impure person to touch and carry them (Nawawī, *Tibyān,* 194).

Theological and legal discussions focus on the etiquette *(adab)* of what is permitted and forbidden (q.v.; see also LAWFUL AND UNLAWFUL). For instance, the Qur'ān should be treated with reverence as should, more generally, books which contain the name of God and Qur'ān writing boards used by schoolboys (see TEACHING AND PREACHING THE QUR'ĀN). In a related cultural practice, a scribe does not leave a book he is consulting on the ground for fear an animal or person would walk over it, thus divesting the writing of efficacy (Westermarck, *Pagan survivals,* 134). A state of ritual purity is also required when one writes a talisman which includes verses from the Qur'ān or the ninety-nine beautiful names of God, for it is as if a scribe were copying a codex.

Oaths

Oaths (sing. *qasam, ḥalf*) that are sworn on the qur'ānic codex are seldom attested to in pre-modern sources. Unlike in Christianity or Judaism, where the oath upon a physical copy of scripture is presently a requirement, there is no legal requirement that the Qur'ān need be present or that one place one's right hand on a codex in order to validate an oath. Legal sources discourage the taking of oaths by anything apart from God or his ninety-nine beautiful names (cf. Nawawī, *Tibyān*). The eighth/fourteenth century traveler Ibn Baṭṭūṭa mentions that Damascenes made debtors and those against whom they had a claim swear *(yuḥlif)* on the 'Uthmānic codex of the Qur'ān at the congregational mosque (Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *Riḥla,* i, 105).

In Ibn Taghrībirdī's *al-Nujūm al-zāhira,* a chronicle of the Mamlūk dynasty of Egypt, two references are made to emirs taking oaths. In the first, an emir takes an oath on a *muṣḥaf* (*ḥalafa 'alā l-muṣḥaf,* Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm,* ed. Cairo, x, 32, for 742/1341). In the second instance, an emir holds the codex in his hand and takes an

oath (*fa-tanāwala l-muṣḥaf al-sharīf bi-yadihi wa-ḥalafa lahum yamīnan,* trans. Popper, *History of Egypt,* xxiii, 80, for 871/1466). A type of oath is the oath of allegiance *(bayʿa)* which the Quraysh (q.v.) swore when they pledged their fealty to the prophet Muḥammad and which also became the standard for the election of a new caliph (q.v.; Q 48:10, 18).

Today certain courts and administrative bodies in western countries have required that when Muslims swear oaths, they place their right hand on the codex. Some consider placing the right hand on the Qurān to be forbidden *(ḥarām),* especially when one is not in a ritually pure state. During the early twentieth century C.E., Tewfik Canaan observed that oaths by the Qurʾān *(wa-l-muṣḥaf)* were quite common throughout Palestine (Canaan, Modern Palestinian beliefs, 77). Modern day legal opinions commonly regard swearing by the Qurʾān *(al-ḥalf bi-l-muṣḥaf)* as tantamount to swearing by God since the Qurʾān is God's words. The Azharī ʿAbdul ʿAzeem al-Matʿani has issued a legal ruling that taking an oath on the Qurʾān is not valid unless one clearly states one's intention *(niyya)* that in doing so one is swearing by God (Fatwā, IslamOnline.net, Fatwa id=77191: "Swearing by the Qurʾān"). Certain court rulings discuss the expiation (see FORGIVENESS; REPENTANCE AND PENANCE) of one who has not carried out an oath sworn by placing the right hand on the *muṣḥaf*.

Rituals and the Qurʾān

Among the rituals that are discussed at length in legal sources are rituals of purification which are required in order to pray and also those ritual practices which are required before touching or reciting the Qurʾān (see above). Beyond such rituals, there are those which require physical contact with the Qurʾān or particular verses.

Certain highly commendable practices include reciting particular qurʾānic verses at different times. Before going to sleep each night, the Prophet would cup his hands together, blow into them and recite over them Q 112 ("Sincerity," Sūrat al-Ikhlāṣ), Q 113 ("Daybreak," Sūrat al-Falaq) and Q 114 ("People," Sūrat al-Nās), and would rub his hands three times over the "permitted" parts of his body (cf. Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* vi, book 61, no. 35).

Kissing the Qurʾān

Upon holding the Qurʾān in the right hand, Muslims often kiss its cover and raise the Qurʾān above their heads in order to derive *baraka*. Although this devotional act is not generally deemed controversial, the Ḥanbalī position as expounded by the eighth/fourteenth century theologian Ibn Taymiyya maintains that there is no basis for this practice in the sunna of the Prophet or in the deeds of the righteous ancestors *(al-salaf)*. Ibn Taymiyya discusses this practice in conjunction with other practices, such as standing up *(qiyām)* for, or in the presence of the *muṣḥaf,* though he does quote a tradition of ʿIkrima b. Abī Jahl in which he used to put his face to the qurʾānic codex and say: "[These are] the words of my lord *(kalām rabbī);* [These are] the words of my lord" (Ibn Taymiyya, *Fatāwā,* i, 49). Elsewhere, Ibn Taymiyya (*Jāmiʿ,* 109) argues that it is only permissible to touch and kiss the two "Yemeni" stones (i.e. the black stone in the eastern corner of the Kaʿba and that in the southwest corner of the Kaʿba; *lā yushraʿu li-aḥad an yastalima wa-yuqabbila ghayr al-ruknayn al-yamāniyyayn*).

Although no early traditions attest to kissing the qurʾānic codex or kissing it and wiping it over the eyes and face, Wahhābīs consider this a heretical innovation *(bidʿa)* which, based upon a legal ruling of the Permanent Committee on Scientific

Research and Religious Rulings, Saudi Arabia (*Bidʿa,* 549: question 12 of *fatwā* no. 1472), they discourage.

Weeping

Weeping at the recitation of the Qurʾān is commended by God (Q 17:109). Al-Ghazālī states: "Read the Qurʾān and cry; if you do not cry, force yourselves to weep. Weeping is the sixth rule." A Muslim should also weep upon hearing the words *ṣubḥān Allāh,* "Glory be to God" (see GLORIFICATION OF GOD) and Q 17:107-9 (Quasem, *Recitation,* 34).

Resolving conflict

A number of historical incidents are recorded in which verses from the Qurʾān were invoked for the purpose of arbitration (q.v.). The words of the sacred text were used to bring about a desired result or resolution to war (q.v.), conflict (see FIGHTING) or oppression (q.v.; see also JUSTICE AND INJUSTICE). But — apart from the famous battles of Ṣiffīn (see ṢIFFĪN, BATTLE OF), wherein Muʿāwiya and his partisans reportedly raised a copy of the Qurʾān upon spears as a stratagem, and of the Camel, where ʿĀʾisha asked that the Qurʾān be brought for the purpose of arbitration (see ʿĀʾISHA BINT ABĪ BAKR) — only a single incident involves the qurʾānic codex itself in a particular historical event: in 851/1447, presumably after failing to pay a 1/10 levy on their merchandise, the Kārimī merchants were deemed renegades by the Mamlūk sultan Juqmuq. The Kārimīs took the extraordinary measure of holding hostage the preacher of the mosque in Mecca and raised the qurʾānic codices above their heads and requested a *fatwā* concerning the legality of the 1/10 tax (*ʿushr;* ʿAbbās, *Taʾrīkh,* 127).

Recitation of the Qurʾān

The general, though by no means universal, consensus among Sunnī and Shīʿī theologians is that qurʾānic recitation *(tilāwa)* is not included among the *ʿibādāt*. Al-Nawawī does not specifically classify recitation *(tilāwa)* under *ʿibādāt*. But, unlike al-Nawawī, the mystic al-Ghazālī in the eighth chapter of *Iḥyāʾ ʿulūm al-dīn,* "Revivification of the religious sciences," cites a prophetic tradition on the basis of which he justifies the inclusion of the recitation of the Qurʾān among devotional acts (*ʿibādāt;* Quasem, *Recitation,* 22). In the second chapter of the eighth book of *Iḥyāʾ ʿulūm al-dīn,* al-Ghazālī mentions rules for the oral recitation of the Qurʾān, and in the third chapter he enumerates the associated mental or esoteric tasks (*al-aʿmāl al-bāṭina;* ibid., 21).

According to a prophetic tradition narrated by al-Ghazālī, "[One of] the best devotional acts *(ʿibādāt)* of my community is the recitation of the Qurʾān" (ibid., 22; this tradition is also mentioned in al-Bāqillānī's *Inṣāf*). The mere act of looking at a codex while reciting the Qurʾān is also an act of devotion to God (*ʿibāda;* Quasem, *Recitation,* 52-3).

There is no consensus about reciting the Qurʾān over the deceased. Al-Nawawī mentions Q 36 (Sūrat Yā Sīn) or Q 2 ("The Cow," Sūrat al-Baqara) as chapters of the Qurʾān to be recited. For up to three days after the funeral, the male and female mourners would gather to mourn separately at the house of the deceased (Massé, *Persian beliefs,* 91-3). There they would engage in the ceremonial recitation of the entire Qurʾān *(khatm al-Qurʾān)*. The qurʾānic codex, which would be written in thirty or sixty separate notebooks and which was part of a *waqf* legacy, would be distributed to mourners. Near the Qurʾān, a repository (*raḥl,* i.e. for storing the various parts of the codex read by the mourners) would be placed.

A practice found among some mendicant Ṣūfīs (sing. *faqīr*) elicited the rebuke of Ibn Taymiyya (*Fatāwā,* i, 53). Ibn Taymiyya

observed that a group of *faqīr*s who met regularly to ritually remember God and to recite a portion of the Qur'ān, would bare their heads and humble themselves *(yataḍarraʿūna)* for the sake of getting near to God *(ʿalā wajh al-taqarrub)*. Ibn Taymiyya labels this practice as reprehensible *(makrūh),* especially if it is regarded as a devotional practice *(ʿibāda)*.

Healing and curing

The healing properties associated with the Qur'ān and the efficacy of reciting specific verses for particular ailments are widely recognized among Muslims; its curative power lies in the belief in God's words (cf. Nawawī, *Tibyān,* 183). Among the most widely recounted prophetic traditions in this regard is that whenever the Prophet became ill, he would recite Q 113 ("Daybreak," Sūrat al-Falaq) and Q 114 ("People," Sūrat al-Nās), then blow his breath over his body. When he was unable to do so, ʿĀ'isha would take and rub his hands over his body hoping for their blessings (Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* vi, book 61, no. 535; see MEDICINE AND THE QUR'ĀN).

Donning a garment with verses from the Qur'ān and reciting certain verses and chapters or other segments of the Qur'ān, such as the *muʿawwadhatayn* ("the two chapters against evil"), are efficacious for protecting its wearer from harm and curing illness. According to al-Nawawī, the Qur'ān is more effective than the ḥadīth when one is ailing (Nawawī, *Tibyān,* 183).

Talismanic and amuletic uses of the Qur'ān and talismanic objects

Talismanic uses of the Qur'ān fall under the heading of *mujarrabāt;* practices, methods, objects and rituals employed in humankind's encounter with their fellows and with the divine that are tried and proven through personal experience or the experience of others. Such practices may include the recitation of the Qur'ān in order to cure an illness. According to Ibn Taymiyya (*Fatāwā,* i, 49-52), however, the practice of predicting the future with the qur'ānic codex *(fatḥ al-fa'l)* is reprehensible *(makrūh)* and should be forbidden as it did not exist among the pious ancestors *(salaf)*.

When admiring a child, Egyptians would invoke Q 113 (Lane, *Manners,* 259). In Iran when naming a child, the father or the eldest member of the family randomly places slips with names between the pages of the Qur'ān. Those present recite the opening chapter of the Qur'ān, the Fātiḥa (q.v.) and the father or eldest male present chooses a name (Massé, *Persian beliefs,* 25-6).

Verses from the Qur'ān such as from Q 106 were also engraved on the surface of cups and bowls. Those who utilized them were protected from harm (Lane, *Manners,* 263-4), and these vessels were also employed by magicians to reveal the unseen (Q 21, 50; cf. Lane, *Manners,* 279). Amulets containing certain verses from the Qur'ān (Q 6, 18, 36, 44, 55, 67, 78) were placed under articles of clothing such as caps in order to protect the wearer from the devil (q.v.) and all evil jinn (q.v.).

Among the popular Shīʿī beliefs and practices which have parallels among Sunnīs is the inscription of certain passages from the Qur'ān with a variety of writing substances (e.g. saffron, water, kohl) in a number of media. Verses are pronounced over or dissolved in natural substances such as earth, water, or sand. They are employed to realize certain objectives, such as to affect a cure and alter the physical and mental states of the initiator or other persons. Among the innumerable examples of talismanic verses are the following: Q 11:41, which is inscribed on an Indian oak board blackened at its beginning (Maghniyya, *Mujarrabāt,* 18). Concerning Q 12 (Sūrat Yūsuf): "Whoever records it and buries it in his house and after three days takes it out of the house from its exterior, will experience that the

sultan's messenger is calling out to grant him victory and he will become important. Whoever writes a verse and drinks it (i.e. its ink) it will ensure prosperity." Other chapters and verses are inscribed on strips of silken white cloth which are affixed to the upper arm of an infant to protect it from harm and evil. Writing certain verses in saffron and giving them as a drink for a woman who has difficulty lactating, will make her lactate. Whoever writes a certain verse from Q 15 and puts it in his pocket or chest pocket will prosper in his transactions and in his livelihood. If Q 16 is written on the wall of an orchard, trees that do not bear fruit will produce an abundance of ripe fruit. Its invocation also ensures prosperity (Maghniyya, *Mujarrabāt,* 19). Certain verses are efficacious for relieving poverty, such as Q 104:1 which is to be recited at the time of the obligatory prayer.

Q 21 is often recited for the protection of an unborn infant. The verses are to be written on an animal skin and then hung up during the first forty days of pregnancy. During the month in which the mother is due to give birth, she carries it on her person to ensure a successful birth. Marriage will be facilitated for the unmarried person who, every month, reads verses from Q 21 twenty-one times, fasts for three days and supplicates God (Maghniyya, *Mujarrabāt,* 20). When written on a green silken cloth which is hung up, other chapters (like Q 23) prevent individuals from drinking wine. When placed on one's bed, Q 24 prevents one from dreaming. Q 24 is also believed to be efficacious in treating animal ailments: if written in a copper basin from which a sick beast of burden is given to drink, and also if water from the basin is sprinkled on the animal, it will be healed. When Q 26:1 is read over a handful of soil, which is thrown in the enemy's face, God will defeat and forsake the enemy (ibid., 20; see ENEMIES). Other verses constitute forms of sympathetic magic which are intended to alter the physical state of individuals or groups. Q 22 ("The Pilgrimage," Sūrat al-Ḥajj) is employed to defeat one's political rivals, leaders, judges, etc. Other verses are efficacious for the prevention of infidelity and adultery (e.g. ibid., 20-1; see ADULTERY AND FORNICATION). Q 36 is efficacious against jinn and the evil eye (ibid., 21), Q 38 enables one who wears (a strip of cloth with it) on his forearm to become popular among the people (ibid., 22), and Q 41 is efficacious for ailments of the eye: it is written with rainwater and erased, and kohl is then ground into the water and applied to the eye (ibid., 22).

Women in modern day Morocco and elsewhere carry miniature copies of the Qur'ān or select verses of it on their persons. Amulets are also prescribed for various illnesses. Prescriptions may include dissolving a piece of paper with verses from the Qur'ān into water which the patient is instructed to drink (Buitelaar, Between oral traditions, 235-6). Among the popular Shī'ī customs attested to in the modern era is the raising of the Qur'ān over travelers or soldiers going to war in order to protect them from harm.

When visiting the Prophet's tomb in Medina, Shī'ī pilgrims — and, previously, Sunnī pilgrims — would make gifts in charity *(ṣadaqa)* referred to as *najwā.* Such gifts are based on Q 58:12: "O you who believe! When you consult the apostle in private, spend something in charity before your private consultation. That will be best for you and most conducive to purity [of conduct]. But if you find not [the wherewithal], God is oft-forgiving, most merciful." According to al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923) and al-Nasafī (d. 710/1310) the first person to institute this practice was 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib (q.v.; Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* xxviii, 19-20; Nasafī, *Tafsīr,* iii, 434). In Fāṭimid Egypt, *najwā* was a gift which was collected by

Ismāʿīlīs attending doctrinal teaching sessions (Maqrīzī, *Musawwada,* 92-4).

Rituals of group cohesion and solidarity

Among the qurʾānic rituals which promote group cohesion is the Friday prayer (*ṣalāt al-jumʿa;* cf. Q 62:9) and more generally, congregational prayer at mosques where believers are urged to come together to remember God. The qurʾānic codex also plays an important role in promoting group solidarity. In times of crisis Muslims, Jews and Christians turned to scriptures which they publicly displayed as they walked in procession (Meri, *Cult of saints,* 115). In Damascus in 543-4/1148, the ʿUthmānic codex was brought out in order to ward off an imminent Crusader attack. Men, women and children gathered around it in supplication and the attack was averted. In 680/1282, the ʿUthmānic codex and other venerable copies of the Qurʾān were once again invoked in several Syrian cities in order to ward off a Mongol invasion (ibid., 115-6). The Qurʾān was again used as a weapon against oppression in 711/1312 when the people of Damascus marching in procession with the ʿUthmānic codex and the sandal of the Prophet and the caliphal standards confronted the governor of Damascus about oppressive taxes (ibid., 116).

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Ritual Purity

A state of heightened cleanliness, symbolic or actual, associated with persons, activities and objects in the context of ritual worship (q.v.; see also CLEANLINESS AND ABLUTION; CONTAMINATION). The Qurʾān imposes a specific, two-tiered requirement of ritual cleansing before prayer (q.v.) and this is its most direct and detailed — and perhaps its only — regulation of ritual purity in the narrow sense. More general notions of purity and impurity extend, however, to a fairly wide array of persons, objects and activities in contexts that are mostly not, strictly speaking, connected with discrete rituals. These range from qualities of substantive impurity affecting persons and foods (see FOOD AND DRINK), to the idea of purity as an ethical concept (see ETHICS AND THE QURʾĀN), to the use of a concept of purity simply to denote what is good or desirable.

Terminology

Words derived from the root *ṭ-h-r* (compare Heb. *ṭoharot*) denote the requisite state of ritual purity for prayer as well as one of the processes by which that state is achieved. Major impurity in the context of prayer is denoted exclusively by the term *junub*. There is no qurʾānic term for minor impurity but such impurity (or perhaps more accurately, the transient lack of requisite purity) must be remedied prior to praying by a combination of wiping *(m-s-ḥ)* and washing *(gh-s-l)* of the body's extremities. Major impurity is removed by purification

(*ṭ-h-r,* interpreted by jurists to refer to a major washing). Words derived from the roots *z-k-y* and *ṭ-h-r* are occasionally used synonymously to refer to purity in a non-technical sense. Also, *ṭayyib* may denote the substantive purity of certain foods in some contexts; its antonym is *khabīth*. The words *najas, rijs, rijz* and *rujz* can also denote substantive impurity, though it should be emphasized that the Qurʾān does not exhibit a rigorously developed notion of substantive impurity.

Ritual cleansing for prayer (Q 4:43; 5:6)

The Qurʾān mandates that persons who undertake to pray must first complete a ritual cleansing. The details and requirements of this cleansing appear at Q 4:43 and Q 5:6, two partly overlapping passages that are important, difficult to interpret and central to the formation and classical expression of the Islamic law of ritual purity (see Paret, *Koran,* and id., *Kommentar,* for the following translations; for the subsequent discussion, see generally Katz, *Body of text;* see also LAW AND THE QURʾĀN):

O you who believe: When you undertake the prayer, then wash your faces (see FACE) and your hands (q.v.) to the elbows, and wipe your heads and your feet [q.v.; or: and wash your feet] to the ankles. If you are in a state of major impurity, then purify yourselves. If you are sick (see ILLNESS AND HEALTH), on a journey (q.v.), or one of you has come from the privy, or you have touched women (see SEX AND SEXUALITY), and you do not find water (q.v.), then seek out a clean, elevated place, and wipe your faces and your hands therefrom. God does not want to impose hardship on you but rather he wishes to purify you and to complete his favor (see GRACE; BLESSING) towards you. Perhaps you will be thankful (Q 5:6; see GRATITUDE AND INGRATITUDE).

O you who believe: Do not approach prayer while you are intoxicated (see INTOXICANTS; WINE), until you understand what you are saying, and not [while you are] in a state of major ritual impurity, unless you are [merely] passing by, until you have cleansed yourselves. *If you are sick, on a journey, or one of you has come from the privy, or you have touched women, and you do not find water, then seek out a clean, elevated place, and wipe your faces and your hands*. God is forgiving and pardoning (Q 4:43; see FORGIVENESS).

(The italics indicate the overlap with Q 5:6 but note that Q 5:6 contains one additional word, *minhu,* rendered above as "therefrom.") The overlap in wording notwithstanding, Q 5:6 contains the more complete statement of the purity requirements for those intending to pray, with mostly supplementary details being supplied by Q 4:43. The major exception to the basic requirements set forth at Q 5:6 appear, with virtually identical wording, in both passages. The passages pose several problems, though their general structure emerges clearly enough. Q 5:6 sets forth the following requirements: Prior to praying, certain areas of the body must be wiped *(m-s-ḥ)* and washed *(gh-s-l)*. In case of major impurity *(junub),* persons are required to "purify" themselves *(ṭ-h-r),* though the procedure for accomplishing this is not spelled out. Then, the passage sets forth an apparent exception — wiping *(m-s-ḥ)* of specified areas of the body — for certain enumerated situations in which no water is available. The exception appears to apply in lieu of the requirements for the ordinary cleansing (wiping and washing) mentioned at the verse's outset since it neatly substitutes wiping of the faces and hands for the washing of them. Thus, the exception would, in the enumerated situations in which water is not available, allow for the

symbolic wiping of the face and hands, and by implication also of the head and feet.

To the foregoing requirements, Q 4:43 adds only the injunction not to pray while intoxicated and the exception that persons merely passing by the mosque (q.v.) need not cleanse themselves of major ritual impurity. A state of intoxication seems to vitiate intent ("until you understand what you are saying") rather than the requisite degree of ritual purity. To the extent that this rule, by negative implication, suggests that intoxicants are licit (apart from the context of prayer), Muslim jurists considered it abrogated by subsequent denunciations of wine *(khamr)* elsewhere in the Qurʾān (see e.g. Abū ʿUbayd, *Nāsikh,* 87-8; Q 2:219 and Q 5:90-1; also below; see ABROGATION). The exceptive reference to persons merely passing by the mosque was understood to refer to travelers (e.g. ʿAbd al-Razzāq, *Tafsīr,* i, 163, ad Q 4:43), who, as noted, were subject only to the requirement of the substitute symbolic wiping, *tayammum*.

Scholarly and juristic interpretation combined with ritual practice to introduce several interpretive wrinkles into this complex of rules (for the following, see Katz, *Body of text,* chapter 2). The interpretation of the first sentence of Q 5:6 differs fundamentally between Sunnīs and Shīʿīs (see SHĪʿISM AND THE QURʾĀN). The most syntactically plausible reading of the Arabic (see ARABIC LANGUAGE; GRAMMAR AND THE QURʾĀN) would be "wash your faces and your hands to the elbows, and wipe your heads and your feet to the ankles," in which washing faces and hands is parallel to wiping heads and feet. This is, however, the minority, Shīʿī interpretation. The majority Sunnīs, by changing one vowel, make "feet" a third object of the verb to wash, thereby making the verse read "wash your faces and your hands to the elbows, wipe your heads, and (wash) your feet to the ankles" (see READINGS OF THE QURʾĀN). It should be noted that, according to generally accepted principles of Islamic law, invalid ablutions lead to an invalid prayer, so the legal consequences of this minor dispute over vocalization can, in theory, have serious consequences for individual believers' salvation (q.v.).

There is also the question of how the majority Muslim sect came to have a practice at variance with the grammatically most probable vocalization of its scripture. One possibility is that the Shīʿī understanding of the passage represents a survival of the earliest practice of the Muslim community as a whole (for other claims of sectarian practice representing authentic ancient survivals, see Crone, *Roman, provincial and Islamic law,* e.g. 21; and generally, Crone and Hinds, *God's caliph;* see COMMUNITY AND SOCIETY IN THE QURʾĀN). Another possibility is that ritual practice in the period of the conquests simply evolved on its own away from, or even independently of, the explicit text of the Qurʾān (see RITUAL AND THE QURʾĀN). Once the pace of conquest had slowed sufficiently to allow Muslim communities and their scholars to engage in the intensive study of a canonized qurʾānic text (see TEXTUAL CRITICISM OF THE QURʾĀN; TRADITIONAL DISCIPLINES OF QURʾĀNIC STUDIES), the discrepancy was noted, and perhaps the discrepancy in practice frozen, for reasons that remain obscure, along emerging sectarian lines (see Katz, *Body of text,* 75-86; on the date of the Qurʾān's canonization, see Crone, Two legal problems; see COLLECTION OF THE QURʾĀN; CODICES OF THE QURʾĀN; POLITICS AND THE QURʾĀN).

Q 5:6 and Q 4:43 generated other exegetical debates as well. The phrase in Q 5:6 "when you undertake to pray" seems to suggest that ritual cleansing is required at every performance of the prayer, though this is not how the rule has traditionally

been interpreted. Instead, ablutions performed for the first prayer of the day suffice unless one has had an intervening polluting bodily function *(ḥadath)*. What constitutes a polluting bodily function was inferred from subsequent clauses in the rule that refer, or were assumed to refer obliquely, to elimination of waste and sexual activity. The phrase "when you undertake to pray" was also read to mean "when you arise [from sleep] to pray" and so to require ritual cleansing after sleep (q.v.), making sleep — like the enumerated bodily functions — into something that vitiates ritual purity (Katz, *Body of text,* 60-75).

A phrase common to both Q 5:6 and 4:43, "or [if] you have touched women" *(aw lāmastum al-nisāʾa)* also generated exegetical debate (see EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL). Does the verb "to touch" *(lāmasa)* here refer to mere touching or does it refer euphemistically to sexual intercourse? How one answered this question had deeper implications for the meaning of the passage as whole. If mere touching was meant, a literal reading of the verse could produce the result that in cases of simply touching of women — that is, in cases where ablutions were vitiated but no major impurity incurred — substitute wiping with dust *(tayammum)* would be allowed if no water were available. By negative implication, then, major ritual impurity could not be cured by such substitute wiping. On the other hand, if *lāmasa* referred to sexual contact with women, then its mention in the clause in question entailed the possibility that major ritual impurity could be cured by substitute wiping with dust (Katz, *Body of text,* 86-96).

It should be noted that the phrase *tayammamū ṣaʿīdan ṭayyiban,* "seek out a clean, elevated place," in Q 5:6 likely originally referred to the seeking out of an appropriate place to perform substitute ablutions but the verb *(tayammama)* eventually acquired the technical legal sense of performing substitute ablutions or cleansing with sand (Paret, *Kommentar,* 116).

Neither Q 5:6 nor Q 4:43 provide details about what constitutes major impurity, apart from giving it a name, *junub,* in Q 5. The term *junub* and its triliteral root *j-n-b* have a connotation of being set apart or being a stranger (Lane, 466-7) and the connotation of being an outsider is perhaps reinforced by resonances from cognate languages (e.g. Hebrew *gannab,* "thief"; see STRANGERS AND FOREIGNERS; THEFT; FOREIGN VOCABULARY). Despite the potentially broad implications of the term's semantic range, however, Muslim jurists in general recognized only two varieties of this more serious degree of ritual pollution, or rather, two sorts of occurrences that necessitated the more extensive ritual washing: sexual activity and menstruation (q.v.). Sexual activity was defined by Muslim jurists in the first instance as seminal emission but also as any sexually related or induced emission, whether by a man or woman (Ibn Rushd, *Bidāyat,* i, 40).

Menstruation *(ḥayḍ, maḥīḍ),* on the other hand, is addressed in the Qurʾān in several passages, in regard to determinations of paternity (Q 65:4; cf. 2:228) and also as a disability entailing impurity:

> They ask you about menstruation *(al-maḥīḍ)*. Say: "It is a disability *(adhā),* so sequester women during menstruation and do not approach them until they become pure *(ḥattā yaṭhurna)*. Once they have purified themselves *(idhā taṭahharna),* then approach them in the manner that God has commanded you." God loves the penitent (see REPENTANCE AND PENANCE), and he loves those who purify themselves (Q 2:222).

Although this verse does not mention any particular ritual act the performance of

which is impeded by menstruation, Muslim jurists identified menstruation as a variety of major ritual impurity that triggered the more stringent prayer-related cleansing requirements of Q 5:6. Presumably the references in Q 2:222 to purification — denoted by words derived from the root *ṭ-h-r* — drew the jurists' attention and led them to read the requirement of purification in Q 2:222 as parallel to that for major impurity *(junub)* in Q 5:6. A consequence of reading these two verses together is that human states of impurity and associated cleansing requirements were understood to have a limited and specific ritual purpose and therefore to be relatively easily curable. Ritual impurity in human beings was not seen as a general state of substantive uncleanness. Given the lack of references to specific rituals in Q 2:222, it would have been possible, alternatively, to deem menstruation a form of substantive impurity, but that is not the route taken by Islamic law (Reinhart, Impurity/No danger, 15; Katz, *Body of text,* 194-201). On the other hand, Muslim jurists also consider menstruation a bar not only to prayer but also to fasting (q.v.), circumambulation of the Kaʿba (q.v.) and sexual intercourse (Ibn Rushd, *Bidāyat,* i, 49).

Performance of the minor cleansing prior to prayer may have represented an important symbolic act undertaken by converts to Islam in the time of Muḥammad. It is reported (albeit in a very stylized manner) that some of the very first Medinese (see MEDINA) to accept Muḥammad's mission uttered the *shahāda* (see WITNESS TO FAITH), performed the minor cleansing and then prayed (Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh,* iii, 1215-6; see also Katz, *Body of text,* 159 n. 42).

Other ritual contexts

Apart from prayer and the varieties of pollution that bar one from performing a valid prayer, the Qurʾān makes no express requirement of ritual purity in connection with other rites. On the other hand, persons undertaking the pilgrimage (q.v.) are considered to be in a special or sacred state (pl. *ḥurum*) and are subject to restrictions in connection therewith (see FORBIDDEN; PROFANE AND SACRED). The Qurʾān suggests that hunting land animals could vitiate this state (Q 5:1, 96) but not fishing (Q 5:96; see HUNTING AND FISHING), though a more likely interpretation of these restrictions would be that the animals in question enjoy a consecrated (taboo) status because of their presence in the sacred precinct (*ḥaram;* see CONSECRATION OF ANIMALS). In addition, some jurists considered the minor cleansing associated with prayer a necessary prerequisite for circumambulation of the Kaʿba and also for touching the Qurʾān (e.g., Ibn Rushd, *Bidāyat,* i, 36-7). Finally, although the Qurʾān imposes no specific requirement of cleansing in connection with fasting, sexual intercourse *(rafth)* is expressly forbidden during the daily fasting period of Ramaḍān (q.v.; cf. Q 2:187).

Substantive impurity

The Qurʾān indicates substantive impurity by the terms *najas,* "unclean," *rijs,* "filthy," *rijz,* "abomination," and *rujz* (see below). The first of these is used only once but the latter appear in a number of passages (see Izutsu, *Concepts,* 240-1).

Even in the context of modern studies of ritual purity and pollution that emphasize the symbolic nature of such concepts (Douglas, *Purity,* 3-4; Katz, *Body of text,* 13-24; Reinhart, Purity/No danger, 18-24), the qurʾānic notion of substantive impurity appears particularly abstract and ideological rather than matter-driven. The Qurʾān labels persons who are portrayed as opposed in one way or another to right religion (q.v.) as unclean. In Q 9:28 the Qurʾān provides that non-monotheists *(al-*

mushrikūn) are *najas,* "unclean," and that they should therefore "not approach the sacred mosque," their fundamental quality of uncleanness precluding them from entry to a sacred site (see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF; POLYTHEISM AND ATHEISM; RELIGIOUS PLURALISM AND THE QUR'ĀN). Sometimes, God is said to endow certain impious persons with the quality of *rijs,* or to add to their *rijs* (see Q 6:125; 7:71; 9:125; 10:100; 33:33). In one passage, uncooperative Bedouin (q.v.) are said to be *rijs* (Q 9:95). Finally, in another passage, God desires to expunge *rijs* from Muḥammad's family (or the people of the Kaʿba, *ahl al-bayt;* see PEOPLE OF THE HOUSE; FAMILY OF THE PROPHET) and to purify them (*yurīdu llāhu li-yudhhiba ʿankumu l-rijsa ahla l-bayti wa-yuṭahhirakum taṭhīran,* Q 33:33). In this verse, *rijs* is connected with practices labeled as *jāhilī* (see AGE OF IGNORANCE), and these practices are, in the same verse, opposed to the most fundamental aspects of Muslim practice: prayer, almsgiving (q.v.) and obedience (q.v.) to God and his messenger (q.v.; see also AUTHORITY; KINGS AND RULERS). In all these passages, *rijs* can be understood to refer to a condition in which pre-existing commitments of one kind or another (but above all, pre-Islamic Arabian beliefs and practices; see PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QUR'ĀN; SOUTH ARABIA, RELIGION IN PRE-ISLAMIC) interfere with receptivity to Islam (see e.g. Izutsu, *Concepts,* 31).

The term *rijz* differs slightly from *rijs* in its connotations. In several passages, it refers to something punitive that comes from God, perhaps in the nature of a plague or a pestilence that descends from heaven (e.g. Q 2:59; 7:134-5, 162; 29:34; meaning punishment in general: Q 34:5; 45:11; see REWARD AND PUNISHMENT; CHASTISEMENT AND PUNISHMENT). In two other passages, however, it seems to denote a general condition of uncleanness that can be remedied by purification. In Q 8:11, God causes rain to descend from the heavens (see HEAVEN AND SKY; WATER) in order to purify *(ṭ-h-r)* persons and to drive away from them the *rijz* of Satan (see DEVIL). In Q 74:4-5, Muḥammad is urged to purify *(ṭ-h-r)* his garment and to avoid *al-rujz,* a word of disputed meaning. Its proximity to an injunction to purify something suggests that it could refer to a variety of (figurative) pollution, and this possibility is recognized by the exegetical literature. Al-Bayḍāwī (d. prob. 716/1316-7; *Anwār,* ii, 367), for example, paraphrases the verse as urging avoidance of divine punishment by avoiding "abominations" *(qabāʾiḥ)*. Commentators also connect it with polytheism *(shirk)* and idol-worship (*awthān;* see IDOLATRY AND IDOLATERS; IDOLS AND IMAGES) as well as with divine punishment (*ʿadhāb;* e.g. ʿAbd al-Razzāq, *Tafsīr,* iii, 361; Farrāʾ, *Maʿānī,* iii, 201; Bayḍāwī, *Anwār,* ii, 367). Paret (*Kommentar,* 163, 184, 493) opines that *rijs,* "Unreinheit," and *rijz/rujz,* "Strafgericht," have been used interchangeably in several passages, even though they are different words with distinct meanings. Jeffery (*For. vocab.,* 139) agrees with those who see *rujz* as a Syriac borrowing of *rugzā,* "wrath," i.e. God's wrath. This last possibility fits with the traditional interpretation of the word as meaning *ʿadhāb* but also raises the question of whether both *rijz* and *rijs* in certain passages (e.g. Q 7:134 and Q 7:71, respectively, both noted above) might not also derive ultimately from *rugzā*.

In other passages, what is substantively unclean divides into sinful conduct and forbidden foods. Wine and certain games of chance (see GAMBLING; DIVINATION) are *rijs* (Q 5:90) as are carrion (q.v.), blood (see BLOOD AND BLOODCLOT) and pork (Q 6:145; see Rivlin, *Gesetz,* 82-3). Muslims are also enjoined to "avoid the *rijs* of idols" (Q 22:30), a phrase which follows closely on

the heels of a general provision of dietary law ("livestock are made lawful for you except for that which is recited to you [as being unlawful]"; see Wansbrough, *QS,* 72). Perhaps the reference is to food sacrificed to idols (compare Q 2:173 and similar passages, in which Muslims are forbidden to eat sacrifices made to other than God; ʿAbd al-Bāqī, 738, entry *ḥ-l-l;* see SACRIFICE). These passages could, together with some of those discussed above that refer to persons, be understood as a general denunciation, in terms of ritual purity, of pre-Islamic Arabian cultic practices.

Another group of prohibitions that overlap partly with notions of substantive purity and impurity receive attention in the Qurʾān under the rubric "lawful and unlawful" (*ḥalāl* and *ḥarām;* see LAWFUL AND UNLAWFUL). For example, the list of prohibited foods identified as *rijs* at Q 6:145 are, in the same passage, declared unlawful or forbidden, *muḥarram*. In addition, as with the division of *najas* and *rijs* primarily into persons and things, so too certain persons (e.g. in regard to marriage; see MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE; PROHIBITED DEGREES) and things (especially foods, but some conduct as well) may be declared lawful or unlawful (see VIRTUES AND VICES, COMMANDING AND FORBIDDING). The concept of unlawfulness — the quality of being *ḥarām* — entails simultaneously a sense of taboo and of sacredness, probably originally in connection with ritual-related restrictions on certain activities (see Heninger, Pureté; Izutsu, *Concepts,* 237-41).

Connected with both the above sets of notions — uncleanness, and lawful and unlawful — is the use of the terms *ṭayyib* and *khabīth,* "good" and "bad" (see GOOD AND EVIL). *Ṭayyib* connotes in particular something that is pleasing to the senses, but it is sometimes expressly associated with what is lawful, especially foods, as is *khabīth* with what is unlawful (e.g. Q 7:157) and both also have an ethical dimension (see Izutsu, *Concepts,* 235-6). In this connection, the lone occurrence of the verb *dhakkā* in Q 5:3 may be noted: The passage in question forbids *(ḥurrimat ʿalaykum)* certain enumerated foods "except for those that you purify" *(dhakkaytum)*. Presumably the term refers to a purifying ritual slaughter for animals that are in the throes of a ritually suspect death (the verb *dhakkā* may be borrowed from Aramaic; cf. Jeffery, *For. vocab.,* 135).

Note that persons are, in general, neither substantively impure nor contagious under the qurʾānic purity regime and also not under general principles of Islamic law (Reinhart, Purity/No danger, 19), although the labeling of polytheists as unclean at Q 9:28 has been read literally by Shīʿī jurists (Katz, *Body of text,* 48). It has been suggested that the rubric lawful-unlawful was more important to the pre-Islamic Arabs than that of clean-unclean (Wellhausen, *Reste,* 168). In the very earliest period of Islam, however, it seems that some regarded substantive impurity as related, or equivalent, to major ritual impurity *(junub)*. Under this view, substantive impurity would be polluting or contagious and so require a major cleansing. By analogy, then, major ritual impurity would also be contagious. This view was rejected at a relatively early date, though, and substantive impurity and major ritual impurity were held distinct. Thus, ritual impurity, of both the major and minor variety, remained confined to individuals and so not directly or indirectly communicable (Katz, *Body of text,* 150-1 and chapter 4).

General declarations of purity and impurity

In addition to its declarations concerning the purity-status of worshippers and the inherently unclean and so unlawful nature of certain items and actions, the Qurʾān

also identifies various persons, objects and actions as pure or impure in a general, non-technical manner. Although these notions do not in strict terms delineate or supplement rules governing the purity-status of believers, they nevertheless form an ethical discourse which inhabits, as it were, the periphery of the Qurʾān's more expressly normative passages regulating matters of ritual purity.

A prominent theme of the Qurʾān's purity rhetoric concerns God's rendering persons pure: He does this to whom he will (Q 4:49; 24:21), though he also sends messengers to purify persons, especially in conjunction with the teaching of "the book (q.v.) and wisdom" (q.v.; Q 2:129, 151; 3:164; 62:2). Conversely, God disdains to purify those who break their troth (Q 3:77; cf. 2:174; see COVENANT; BREAKING TRUSTS AND CONTRACTS). The foregoing passages employ the verb *zakkā* and seem to be of general applicability. God's purification of individuals is also accomplished using the verb *ṭahhara* but when that verb is employed, the context seems more specific. He has angels (see ANGEL) inform Mary (q.v.) that she has been purified (Q 3:42) and it is said to those who will pray (Q 5:6) and to Muḥammad's family (or his wives, or the people of the Kaʿba) that God wishes to purify them (Q 33:33). He sends rain to purify persons from Satan's iniquity (Q 8:11; see SIN, MAJOR AND MINOR) and he also purifies Jesus (q.v.) from those who disbelieve (Q 3:55).

In several passages, certain persons are variously identified as pure or purified. Moses (q.v.), for example, accuses Khiḍr (see KHAḌIR/KHIḌR) of killing a pure (or innocent) soul (*nafs zakiyya,* Q 18:74) and Mary is told that she is to receive a pure youth (*ghulāman zakiyyan,* Q 19:19). Several of these passages suggest, perhaps, that a state of ritual purity is intended: The believers' spouses in paradise (q.v.) will be purified (*azwāj muṭahhara,* Q 2:25; 3:15; 4:57; see HOURIS) and Lot's (q.v.) followers purify themselves (or hold themselves out as pure, Q 7:82; 27:56). A mosque worthy of being prayed in contains persons who love to purify themselves (*an yataṭahharū,* Q 9:108).

The ideas of charitable giving and self-purification are connected in the Qurʾān by the fact that the root *z-k-y* can signify either or both. The connection between charity and self-purification is frequently explicit, as in Q 9:103, in which it is said that taking alms *(ṣadaqa)* from people's property will purify them *(tuzakkī, tuṭahhir)* or, Q 92:18, in which those who donate property purify themselves (*alladhī yuʾtī mālahu yatazakkā;* see GIFT AND GIFT-GIVING). Other examples are more ambiguous and may intend both senses — purification and charity — at once (e.g. Q 91:9; 87:14; 20:76 and elsewhere; see ʿAbd al-Bāqī, 331, *z-k-y;* on *z-k-y* as a borrowing from Jewish Aramaic in the sense of "alms," see Zysow, Zakāt).

Certain items, especially if connected with the divine, are also identified as pure or purified in the Qurʾān. The pages of revelation *(ṣuḥuf)* are called purified *(muṭahhara)* at Q 80:13-4 and Q 98:2 (see SCROLLS; SHEETS). Abraham (q.v.) and Ishmael (q.v.) were commanded to purify *(ṭ-h-r)* the Kaʿba (Q 2:125; cf. 22:26). God sends pure rain (*māʾan ṭahūran,* Q 25:48, the likely source of the idea that ritual cleansing should be performed with water) and also gives the inhabitants of paradise a pure draught (*sharāban ṭahūran,* Q 76:21).

Finally, notions of purity are expressly connected with ethical (and especially chaste) conduct and passages expressing this idea employ the comparative form, derived from either *ṭ-h-r* or *z-k-y* (see CHASTITY). Adherence to certain rules regulating marriage, for example, is "more pure" (*azkā, aṭhar,* Q 2:232), as is adherence to the principle that one not enter

another's home without permission (*azkā,* Q 24:28; see HOUSE, DOMESTIC AND DIVINE). For male believers, it is more pure *(azkā)* not to stare (at women, presumably) and also to cover their private parts (Q 24:30; see MODESTY). Similarly, it is more pure *(aṭhar)* to talk with Muḥammad's wives while separated from them by a curtain (Q 33:53; see VEIL; WIVES OF THE PROPHET; SOCIAL INTERACTIONS). Finally, Lot announces that his daughters would be more pure *(aṭhar)* for his community (Q 11:78; that is, a chaste alternative to their licentiousness; see ADULTERY AND FORNICATION).

It should be noted, that, although the Qurʾān may be said to partake, in certain (but not all) respects, in the generally misogynistic mood of late antiquity (see PATRIARCHY), its notion of substantive impurity does not, and was not interpreted to, relegate women to a special and inherently problematic ritual status (Katz, *Body of text,* 201; see WOMEN AND THE QURʾĀN; GENDER).

Islamic law's approach to ritual purity

The technical terms employed by Islamic law to denote the various aspects of ritual purity discussed above are mostly non-qurʾānic. Ritual purity in general is known as and discussed in books of *fiqh* under the rubric of *ṭahāra*. *Ṭahāra* does not appear in the Qurʾān, though it seems likely to be originally a technical term, given its fundamental etymological and semantic congruence with Hebrew *ṭoharot* (see generally Reinhart, Ṭahāra). Minor or transient impurity entailing the minor cleansing is generally denoted by *ḥadath,* an "event," with a slightly negative connotation (see Lane, 528), though it can also refer to both degrees of ritual impurity (e.g. Ibn Rushd, *Bidāyat,* i, 40). The qurʾānic term *junub* is used for major ritual impurity, though it is an adjective and so the non-qurʾānic noun *janāba* is also employed. The minor cleansing is referred to as *wuḍūʾ,* "ablutions," and the associated verb is *tawaḍḍaʾ* (for further discussion, see CLEANLINESS AND ABLUTION and Chaumont, Wuḍūʾ). The term *ghusl* denotes the major cleansing. None of these three terms occurs in the Qurʾān but they are commonplace in the ḥadīth (see ḤADĪTH AND THE QURʾĀN).

Books of *fiqh* always begin with a chapter on ritual purity, *ṭahāra*. Discussions of *ṭahāra,* in turn, often start with a discussion of what does and does not defile water used for ablutions (see e.g. Shāfiʿī, *Umm,* i, 16-25). Major and minor states of impurity and their causes are discussed, as well as the procedures for remedying them, namely ablutions *(wuḍūʾ)* and the major washing *(ghusl)* and the exception allowing substitute wiping with sand *(tayammum)*. Menstruation usually merits a separate and detailed treatment in the chapters on *ṭahāra*. Some authors also include information on cleansing after elimination of waste and possibly other matters affecting the body, such as personal grooming and also circumcision (q.v.). Finally, the category of the substantively impure may receive attention, though the forbidden quality of certain foods may be treated in a separate chapter on food and beverages, outside the *ṭahāra* rubric.

Conclusion

As discussed, the Qurʾān's most basic rules governing ritual purity, at Q 5:6 and Q 4:43, are embedded in a context of covenantal themes (see COVENANT), constituted in particular by references to God's bounty *(niʿma)* and human obedience (*al-samʿ wa-l-ṭāʿa;* Katz, *Body of text,* 32-58). Additionally, the theme of mobilization of the community, especially for war (q.v.), seems to be associated with such passages, suggesting that the purity strictures serve (or served originally) also to demarcate the

(early) Muslims from outsiders and to delineate community boundaries (ibid., 53-7). Another covenantal theme sounds in those pronouncements concerning the purity or licitness of certain foods, which are bestowed by God as part of his bounty (see e.g. Gräf, *Jagdbeute,* 4-69). This contextual setting of pronouncements on purity and licitness reinforces the impression that the Qurʾān's purity regime is connected with the demarcation of the Muslims as a distinct community, constituted by a unique and reciprocal relationship with the divine (see Katz, *Body of text,* 58).

The relative lack of systematic concern in the Qurʾān with substantive impurity and contamination suggests further, however, that the principal focus of its purity regime is on the immediate human relationship with the divine and not with the hierarchical understanding of society in accordance with exclusivist principles of holiness, mapped on to the body as cleanness. The highly symbolic, qurʾānically-mandated wipings and washings contrast, for example, with other more intensive and intrusive modes of inscribing and ritualizing the body, such as circumcision. Yet this tendency contrasts with the asserted covenantal aspects of the Qurʾān's purity regime. Thus, a fruitful tension obtains between the appropriation of the body as a symbol of a community specially situated relative to the divine and a lack of danger-symbolizing, boundary-constituting purity strictures.

Fundamental to modern studies of ritual (im)purity is the recognition that notions of purity and pollution do not necessarily concern dirt and its removal but rather symbolic ways of arranging the world. Thus, it has famously been observed that, in the context of ritual purity, dirt is "matter out of place," matter that upsets a familiar pattern (Douglas, *Purity,* 3-4, 35, 40). To the extent that it forms a system, the qurʾānic purity regime centers almost entirely on the purity status of persons performing prayer. Thus, what it seeks to organize, at one level of theological abstraction (see THEOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN), is a mode of human contact with the transcendent by signifying the worshipper's reassertion of bodily control, a theme developed further by Muslim jurists (Reinhart, Purity/No danger, 20). Readiness for the holy is all.

Barriers to effective contact include the symbolic (and occasionally the actual) residue of the most basic, and mundane, of human bodily functions, urination, defecation, menstruation, sexual intercourse and even (as a result of post-qurʾānic juristic elaboration) prolonged sleep (Katz, *Body of text,* 13-24; Reinhart, Purity/No danger, 18-24). In this regard, the purity-related practices mandated by Islamic law — noteworthy for their conspicuous grounding in the qurʾānic text — have been interpreted as gaining "their resonance not from the recapitulation of ontology but in the anticipation of its reversal" (Katz, *Body of text,* 203) as a symbolic prefiguration of the recapture of the solidity and permanence of the near-divine, heavenly, or paradisiacal state (see ESCHATOLOGY; COSMOLOGY).

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Rivers

see WATER; PARADISE

Road

see PATH OR WAY

Roast(ing)

see FIRE; HELL AND HELLFIRE

Robber(y)

see THEFT; BOUNDARIES AND PRECEPTS

Rock

see STONE; STONING

Rod

Staff or stick upon which one leans for support or uses as a tool. In the Qurʾān, the Arabic word for rod, *ʿaṣā,* which is mentioned twelve times, is used in the possessive form when speaking of Moses (q.v.), that is, *ʿaṣā Mūsā,* "the rod of Moses." It is used in a singular form *(ʿaṣā)* when related to Moses and in a plural form *(ʿiṣiyya)* with reference to Pharaoh's (q.v.) sorcerers (see MAGIC). Events involving the word *ʿaṣā,* which has a variety of features in the Qurʾān, have been presented in support of its being one of the two great miracles of Moses (see MIRACLES; MARVELS). The qurʾānic commentators narrate various stories of how Moses received the rod (see EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL). Some relate that the prophet Shuʿayb (q.v.), the father-in-law of Moses, gave him the rod and that Adam brought it from heaven when he was compelled to leave (see ADAM AND EVE; FALL OF MAN). It was entrusted to Shuʿayb, who then passed it on to his son-in-law Moses (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* xx, 67; *Jalālayn,* 511).

The word first appears in the Qurʾān in connection with a great need for water (q.v.). On this occasion, the rod works as a miraculous instrument to bring water from the bottom of a rock. The verse says, "When Moses asked for water for his people, we said, 'Strike with your rod the rock, and there will gush out from the rock twelve springs'" (Q 2:60; 7:160). On another occasion, the same rod works to swallow sorcerers' false snakes. Q 7:117 states, "And we inspired Moses, saying 'Throw your rod,' and thereupon it swallowed up their lying show." Moses' rod, on this occasion, has been transformed into a giant snake, to swallow up those of the opposing sorcerers. Moses understood that the power of the sorcerers was demonic, which is why they were defeated by his powerful and miraculously-bestowed rod. The Qurʾān refers to the rod of Moses in a conversation between Moses and God. Moses seems unaware of the actual nature of his rod: "'And what is that in your right hand, O Moses?' He said, 'This is my rod, whereon I lean, and wherewith I beat down branches for my sheep, and wherein I find other uses.' He said, 'Cast it down, O Moses.' So Moses cast it down, and immediately it became a gliding snake." The end of the verse suggests that Moses was told to catch the snake and not to be afraid because God would transform it to its original state (Q 20:17-21; cf. 27:10). A mystical interpretation claims that God blamed Moses because he had related the rod to himself in his presence, when he was sup-

posed to acknowledge that everything belonged to God (see ṢŪFISM AND THE QUR'ĀN; GRATITUDE AND INGRATITUDE; POWER AND IMPOTENCE; POSSESSION). Accordingly, God asked him to throw his rod, so that Moses could show God that he was not the actual owner of the rod (Qurṭubī, *Jāmiʿ,* xi, 186; for additional comments, see ibid., vii, 258; Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr,* ii, 237). Clearly Moses was entrusted with such a miraculous rod so that he could respond to the taunts of Pharaoh's sorcerers. They had magical rods and were able to challenge Moses and his message. They said, "by the glory of Pharaoh, we will be victorious" (Q 26:44; cf. 20:66; see VICTORY).

The Qur'ān presents the rod of Moses as instrumental in opening a way in the sea to help the Israelites (see CHILDREN OF ISRAEL) escape from Pharaoh's oppression (q.v.). This miraculous event appeared at a time when Moses and his followers were chased by Pharaoh's troops. "Then we inspired Moses, saying 'Strike the sea with your rod,' and it parted. Each part was as a mountain vast" (Q 26:63). Al-Qurṭubī (d. 671/1272) comments that the rod was a simple instrument in this case; the one who parted the sea was actually God himself (*Jāmiʿ,* xiii, 15).

Another word used in the Qur'ān to signify a rod is *minsa'a,* which refers to the rod of Solomon (q.v.). Q 34:14 states, "And when we decreed death for him (Solomon), nothing showed his death to them (the jinn), save a creeping creature of the earth, which gnawed away his rod." The verse indicates that the jinn (q.v.) were unaware of the world of the unseen *(ghayb)*. Since Solomon died while leaning on his rod, they did not know he was dead until his rod decayed, allowing him to fall (see HIDDEN AND THE HIDDEN).

One can argue that the qur'ānic emphasis on the rod of Moses has resulted in the idea that, in Arab culture, carrying a rod has become a sign of faith (q.v.) and an imitation of the prophets (see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD; although there is no mention of Jesus' [q.v.] rod in the Qur'ān, al-Ṭabarī [*Tafsīr,* iii, 285], an early qur'ānic commentator, narrates that Jesus also had a rod). The prophet Muḥammad used to carry a rod and lean on it during the Friday sermon (Qurṭubī, *Jāmiʿ,* xi, 188; Bayhaqī, *Sunan,* iii, 206; see FRIDAY PRAYER). The rod of the Prophet remained significant, even after his death. It is known that the rod was entrusted to ʿAbdallāh b. Masʿūd, one of his great Companions (see COMPANIONS OF THE PROPHET). He was given the honorary title Holder of the Rod of the Prophet (*ṣāḥib ʿasā l-nabī,* Qurṭubī, *Jāmiʿ,* xi, 189). In Islamic culture, the use of a rod has been viewed as a symbol of spiritual transition among Ṣūfīs. Al-Qurṭubī narrates that an ascetic (see ASCETICISM) was asked why he carried the rod despite the fact that he was not sick or old. He answered, "This reminds me that I am a traveler in this world" (Qurṭubī, *Jāmiʿ,* xi, 189; see JOURNEY).

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Romans see BYZANTINES

Ruby see METALS AND MINERALS

Rugs see PARADISE; GARDENS; MATERIAL CULTURE AND THE QUR'ĀN

Ruin(s) see GEOGRAPHY; GENERATIONS; REMNANT

S

Saba' see SHEBA

Sabaeans see SHEBA

Sabbath

Saturday, technically, Friday evening to Saturday evening. While related etymologically to the Aramaic and Hebrew words for the Sabbath (in which tradition it connotes the day of "rest"), the Arabic term *(sabt)* was provided with an appropriate Islamic sense by the Qur'ān and later Muslim interpretation.

The Qur'ān uses the word *sabt* six times (plus once as a verb, *yasbitu,* "to keep the Sabbath," in Q 7:163) and clearly draws a relationship between the Jews, the Sabbath and not working on that day of the week, in keeping with the Jewish tradition (see JEWS AND JUDAISM). The day was imposed upon the Jews at Sinai (q.v.) according to Q 4:154 through the statement from God, "Do not transgress the Sabbath!" Some Muslim traditions suggest that this regulation was a punishment on the Jews for their refusal to worship (q.v.) on Friday (see FRIDAY PRAYER), the day designated for such activities by God; God would accept the Sabbath as long as the Jews ceased from any work on that day (see Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* ii, 167-8). On the other hand, traditions can be found which legitimize all of Friday, Saturday and Sunday as days of worship (e.g. Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ, K. Jumʿa* 22). Q 16:124 focuses on disputes over the observance of the Sabbath, "The Sabbath was appointed only for those who were at variance thereon; surely your lord will decide between them on the day of resurrection (q.v.), touching their differences." This perhaps reflects earlier Jewish-Christian debates over the proper day of worship (see CHRISTIANS AND CHRISTIANITY; QIBLA). The breaking of the law of the Sabbath attracts the most attention with three passages, Q 2:65, Q 4:47, and Q 7:163 (where the root *s-b-t* is used twice), speaking of those who transgressed the Sabbath being cursed and transformed into "despised apes" (Q 2:65, 7:166; also see Q 5:60; see BOUNDARIES AND PRECEPTS; LAW AND THE QUR'ĀN). Opinion varied as to whether this transformation was to be understood literally or metaphorically, for example as something that happened to Jewish hearts (see HEART; METAPHOR; POLYSEMY). Modern scholarship has not reached a consensus on the origins of this story.

The Qur'ān restates the biblical notion

that there were six days of creation (q.v.; Q 7:54; 10:3; 11:7, etc.) but denies the biblical implication that God "rested" from creation and that this is to be commemorated through keeping the Sabbath as a day of rest. God says after his experience with creation, "Weariness did not touch us" (Q 50:38). Thus the exegetical problem arose of how to explain that the seventh day of the week was called *sabt* while not implying that the word conveyed that sense of "rest." The answer was contained in the derivation of the word *sabt* from the verb *sabata* restricted in its meaning to senses of "ceasing" or "being still," without conveying an implication of "rest"; the word *subāt* was still seen to have that meaning, however, as was necessitated by Q 25:47 and Q 78:9, where sleep is termed a "rest." (See also DREAMS AND SLEEP; ANTHROPOMORPHISM; POLEMIC AND POLEMICAL LANGUAGE.)

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Sabians

A religious community mentioned three times in the Qurʾān. The Sabians *(ṣābiʾūn)* should not be confused with the Sabaeans, the inhabitants of Sabaʾ, the biblical Sheba, a famous ancient nation in south Arabia (see SHEBA; BILQĪS; PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QURʾĀN; SOUTH ARABIA, RELIGION IN PRE-ISLAMIC). The identity of the Sabians has puzzled both medieval and modern scholarship.

Q 2:62 states: "As for those who have believed and those who have professed Judaism and the Naṣārā and the Sabians: those who believed in God and the last day and did good, they shall have their recompense with their lord (q.v.) and there shall be no fear (q.v.) upon them, nor shall they grieve" (see JEWS AND JUDAISM; REWARD AND PUNISHMENT; FAITH). Q 5:69 is nearly identical with the verse just quoted, apart from the fact that the Sabians are mentioned before the Naṣārā. Q 22:17 states: "As for those who have believed and those who professed Judaism and the Sabians and the Naṣārā and the Magians (q.v.; *al-majūs,* i.e. Zoroastrians) and those who have associated, verily God shall distinguish among them on the day of resurrection" (q.v.). The first two verses mentioned here seem to be imply that the Sabians, like the believers (Muslims), the Jews and the Naṣārā (generally understood to mean Christians; see CHRISTIANS AND CHRISTIANITY, but see de Blois, Naṣrānī and ḥanīf), are at least potential candidates for salvation and enjoy the status of People of the Book (q.v.). None of the three verses, however, says anything specific about the beliefs of the Sabians or gives any other indication as to who they actually were.

The classical Muslim exegetes (see EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL) offer a large number of conflicting suggestions. Some of these are purely abstract, for example, "they are between the Magians and the Jews" (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* ad Q 2:62), but a few are more concrete. One account (not mentioned in al-Ṭabarī's *Tafsīr* but cited by some of the later commentators) identifies the Sabians with a pagan community in Ḥarrān, generally described as star

worshippers (cf. Shahrastānī, *Mafātīḥ,* i, f. 168b f.; id., *Milal,* 248-51; Fr. trans. in *Livre des religions,* ii, 167-72). In fact, the polytheists of Ḥarrān did call themselves *ṣābiʾūn,* at least when writing in Arabic, but among Muslim authorities the view was widespread that these people had appropriated the qurʾānic name "Sabians" merely so as to be able to claim the status of "People of the Book" and thus to avoid Muslim persecution (cf. de Blois, Sabians). A few authors claim that the "real Sabians," i.e. the Sabians of the Qurʾān, are a sect living in the swamps of southern Iraq. Ibn al-Nadīm's (d. ca. 385/995) *Fihrist* (Eng. trans. of this passage in de Blois, Sabians, 53-60) gives a fairly detailed account of these "Sabians of the swamps," who, he claims, were "numerous" in his own time (late fourth/tenth century), from which description their identity as a remnant of an early Christian sect, the Elchasaites, emerges. And, at a later date, the name "Sabians" was also applied to a different community in southern Iraq, the non-Christian Mandaeans.

In 1856 the Russian scholar Chwolsohn observed, correctly, that Ibn al-Nadīm's "Sabians of the swamps" were Elchasaites but, erroneously, identified the latter with the modern Mandaeans, concluding that the Mandaeans are the Sabians of the Qurʾān. It is unfortunate that western students of Islam almost unanimously accepted this unfounded conclusion for a long time. It is now clear that the Ḥarrānians, Elchasaites and Mandaeans are three different religious communities. It is most unlikely that the original Muslim community in western Arabia had any knowledge of these isolated religious groups in the Tigris-Euphrates area. From the context in which they are mentioned in the Qurʾān, it is also improbable that the qurʾānic Sabians were either polytheist nature worshippers (like the Ḥarrānians) or a community that defined itself in stark contrast to the Judeo-Christian prophetic tradition (like the Mandaeans); if, on the other hand, they were Elchasaites, one could ask why they were not included among the Naṣārā. It seems rather that the Muslim tradition very early lost any recollection of who was intended by the qurʾānic term and that "Sabians," consequently, became a convenient label for a variety of small religious communities seeking refuge from potential Muslim persecution.

On the assumption that the qurʾānic term refers to some community that is likely to have existed in Mecca (q.v.) or Medina (q.v.) and is not covered by other qurʾānic names (associators, Jews, Naṣārā, Magians; see POLYTHEISM AND ATHEISM), the present author has suggested tentatively that the Sabians might have been Manichaeans, i.e. those whom Muslims writers on pre-Islamic Arabia called the *zanādiqa* among the Quraysh (q.v.). In this case, the Arabic *ṣābiʾ* (or *ṣābī*) would not be a Babylonian dialect form of the Aramaic *ṣābiʿ,* "baptizing," as previously proposed (linking it either to the Elchasaites or the Mandaeans, both of whom placed great emphasis on baptism), but an Arabic participle from *ṣabā,* "to turn towards," here with the sense of "to convert to a different religion," as was proposed by some of the medieval Arabic philologists.

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Sacred

see PROFANE AND SACRED; FORBIDDEN; SACRED PRECINCTS

Sacred Precincts

Areas considered holy, often associated with places of worship or religious rituals. Sacred precincts are treated in the Qurʾān on two levels: Israelite and Arabian (see CHILDREN OF ISRAEL; PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QURʾĀN; SOUTH ARABIA, RELIGION IN PRE-ISLAMIC). On the Israelite level, a sacred precinct is mentioned, to begin with, in the story of Moses' (q.v.) vocation. In Q 20:12, Moses stands before the burning bush and God tells him that the *wādī,* "valley," i.e. precinct, he is standing in is of "multiple sacredness" *(al-wādī l-muqaddas ṭuwan);* therefore he must take off his shoes. The same description of that sacred precinct is repeated in Q 79:16. The sacredness of the place is conveyed by the Arabic form *muqaddas,* "holy." As for *ṭuwan,* which can be rendered as "multiple," some Muslim exegetes suggested that it stands for the name of that precinct.

The same scene is described in detail in Q 28:30: "And when [Moses] came to [the burning bush], a voice was heard from the right-hand *(ayman)* bank of the valley in the blessed spot *(fī l-buqʿati l-mubārakati)* of the bush, saying: 'O Moses, surely I am God, the lord of the worlds'." This time, the sacredness of a given precinct is conveyed by the Arabic adjective *mubārak,* "blessed (by God)." Besides, the right-hand side of the precinct is singled out, which is another way of saying that this was the most blessed zone of the place (see LEFT HAND AND RIGHT HAND). The same designation is repeated in Q 19:52, where the scene takes place on the "right-hand *(ayman)* side of the mountain *(al-ṭūr)*." The mountain is evidently Mount Sinai (q.v.). This is also the place where God later makes a covenant (q.v.) with the Children of Israel as is indicated in Q 20:80. Here again the right-hand side of the mountain is explicitly mentioned.

The terms *muqaddas* and *mubārak* reappear in relation to the holy land (*al-arḍ al-muqaddasa;* see JERUSALEM; SYRIA; GEOGRAPHY AND THE QURʾĀN). As for *muqaddas,* this is how the Qurʾān describes the holy land into which the Children of Israel are requested to go (Q 5:21): "O my people, enter the holy land which God has prescribed for you…." But the holy land is described more often as a precinct, which God has blessed *(bāraka)*. Thus in Q 21:71 the land which God has blessed for all people *(al-arḍi llatī bāraknā fīhā lil-ʿālamīn)* appears as the destination of Abraham (q.v.) and Lot (q.v.), whereas in Q 21:81 it is the place to which the wind is taking King Solomon (q.v.). In Q 7:137, the eastern and western parts of the land which God has blessed are said to have been given by God to the Children of Israel. Specific places are also described as blessed (see also BLESSING). Sometimes they are described as towns *(al-qurā),* as in Q 34:18, where they are said to have been frequented by the merchants

of Sheba (q.v.). And finally, the farthest mosque (q.v.) which is located in the precinct blessed by God (*al-masjid al-aqṣā lladhī bāraknā ḥawlahu,* Q 17:1) is identified by the exegetes as the Temple in Jerusalem *(bayt al-maqdis)*.

On the Arabian level, sacred precincts are mainly those found in and around Mecca (q.v.). This town is said to have been made sacred *(ḥarramahā)* by God (Q 27:91; see PROFANE AND SACRED; FORBIDDEN). The axis around which its sacredness revolves is the figure of Abraham, which means that the Arabian sphere runs parallel to that of the holy land. In fact, God's blessing and the figure of Abraham are combined in Q 3:96-7 into a common framework for the sacredness of the Kaʿba (q.v.), or *al-bayt,* "the house," as it is called here (see HOUSE, DOMESTIC AND DIVINE): "The first house appointed for people is the one at Bakka, blessed *(mubārak)* and a guidance for all people. In it are clear signs (q.v.), the standing place of Abraham (*maqām Ibrāhīm;* see PLACE OF ABRAHAM), and whoever enters it shall be secure.…" The passage ends with a statement to the effect that everyone must perform pilgrimage (q.v.) to the house.

The exegetes explain that Bakka is a name for Mecca and that the passage asserts that the Kaʿba was established on earth forty years before the Temple in Jerusalem *(bayt al-maqdis)*. Such an interpretation indicates that the sacredness of the Kaʿba was indeed shaped on the model of Jerusalem, with a view to providing the former with superiority over the latter. The Kaʿba is in fact considered a reflection of a celestial house, an idea found in the commentaries on Q 52:4, which speaks about an "inhabited house" *(bayt maʿmūr)*. The exegetes explain that the house is "inhabited" in the sense that angels always frequent it (see ANGEL).

The "standing place of Abraham" *(maqām Ibrāhīm)* is mentioned also in Q 2:125. Here the "house" appears again as a destination for pilgrimage and as a place of security, and the believers are requested to appoint for themselves a place of prayer (q.v.) at the *maqām Ibrāhīm*. Islamic tradition contains vivid details about the history of the sacred stone bearing this name, which is found in the vicinity of the Kaʿba to this very day. Q 2:125 ends with the assertion that Abraham, as well as his son Ishmael (q.v.), were commanded by God to purify God's house for the pilgrims and the believers (see also Q 22:26; see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF). Abraham and Ishmael are also the ones who in Q 2:127 "raise" the foundations of the house.

Abraham is credited not only with the foundation of the house but also with the prosperity of the people living in its vicinity. Their prosperity is the outcome of Abraham's prayer as recorded in Q 14:37: "Our lord, I have settled a part of my offspring in a valley unproductive of fruit near your sacred *(muḥarram)* house, our lord, that they may keep up prayer; therefore make the hearts of some people yearn towards them and provide them with fruits; haply they may be grateful" (see GRATITUDE AND INGRATITUDE). In another version of the same prayer Abraham refers to the "town" *(balad)* in general and not specifically to the house (Q 2:126). The house is mentioned in further passages with no specific allusion to Abraham, while its elevated status is conveyed by a straightforward epithet denoting sacredness, namely, *ḥarām:* In Q 5:97, *al-bayt al-ḥarām* is explicitly the title given to the Kaʿba and in Q 5:2 it features as the destination of sacrificial animals (see SACRIFICE; CONSECRATION OF ANIMALS). The ritual functions of the house come out also in Q 22:33, which refers to the "ancient house" *(al-bayt al-ʿatīq),* near which sacrifice takes place. In Q 22:29, the believers are instructed to per-

form circumambulation *(ṭawāf)* around the "ancient house," and in Q 8:35 pagan rituals performed in front of the house are denounced (see POLYTHEISM AND ATHEISM).

The most explicit manifestation of the ritual functions of the Meccan sacred precincts is provided by the title *al-masjid al-ḥarām*, "the sacred mosque," by which the Qurʾān refers to the Meccan sanctuary. It usually stands for the entire complex encompassing the Kaʿba and in which some rites of the pilgrimage, such as the *ṭawāf* around the Kaʿba, take place. The title "sacred mosque" occurs, to begin with, in a passage (Q 9:28) asserting that the idolaters are nothing but unclean; therefore they should not approach the sacred mosque (see CLEANLINESS AND ABLUTION; RITUAL PURITY). The need to preserve the purity of this precinct is closely associated with the idea that entering it (during pilgrimage) entails ritual preparations such as shaving one's head or cutting one's hair (Q 48:27). The guardians of the mosque are sometimes mentioned, whom the exegetes identify as the Quraysh (q.v.; Q 9:19; cf. Q 8:34). These guardians must guarantee for all believers free access to the mosque but they fail to do so, for which they are repeatedly deplored (Q 22:25; see also Q 2:217; 5:2; 8:34; 48:25). Because of its utmost sacredness, pacts and covenants concluded at the sacred mosque bear special solemnity, as implied in Q 9:7 (see CONTRACTS AND ALLIANCES; BREAKING TRUSTS AND CONTRACTS).

The sacred mosque is the starting point of the Prophet's nocturnal journey to the "farthest mosque" (Q 17:1), which indicates certain parallelism between the two mosques (see ASCENSION). Indeed, the Qurʾān (Q 2:144, etc.) prescribes that it should become the Islamic direction of prayer *(qibla)* and, according to tradition, this substituted a previous *qibla* (q.v.) that was directed towards Jerusalem.

Sacred precincts outside the sacred mosque are the two foothills, al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa (q.v.), which are mentioned in Q 2:158. The Qurʾān declares them to be among God's *shaʿāʾir* (sing. *shaʿīra*), i.e. his prescribed pilgrimage stations, and permits the believers to perform *ṭawāf* around them. The site of ʿArafāt (q.v.), another station of the pilgrimage situated outside the sacred territory *(ḥaram)* of Mecca, is mentioned in Q 2:198. The Qurʾān states that when performing the rite named *ifāḍa* — going in crowds from one place to another — from ʿArafāt, the pilgrims should come to the "sacred station" *(al-mashʿar al-ḥarām)* and mention God's name there. The exegetes explain that by the "sacred station" the site of Muzdalifa is meant or, more specifically, the mountain Quzaḥ, where the pilgrims stay during the night before proceeding to Minā on the tenth of Dhū l-Ḥijja.

The Meccan precincts are not only sacred but also secure. In fact, sacredness and security go hand in hand, as indicated in passages (Q 28:57; 29:67) stating that God has provided the inhabitants of Mecca with a territory sacred and safe *(ḥaram āmin)*. Therefore they are requested to worship the lord (q.v.) of the house who has fed them against hunger (see SUSTENANCE; FOOD AND DRINK) and gave them security against fear (q.v.; Q 106:3-4). God has actually made the house a place of resort *(mathāba)* for all men and a place of security (*amīn*, Q 2:125). Therefore, whoever enters it shall be secure (Q 3:97). Security is the underlying idea also in the title *al-balad al-amīn*, "the town made secure," by which Mecca is referred to in Q 95:3. The outcome of the combination of sacredness and security is the prohibition of waging war (q.v.) in the vicinity of the sacred mosque, as indicated in Q 2:191. The security of Mecca, much like its sacred-

ness, is traced back to Abraham who is said to have prayed to God to provide this town with security and prosperity (Q 2:126; 14:35-7; see WEALTH).

One particular sacred precinct in the vicinity of Medina (q.v.) is mentioned in Q 9:108, namely, "a mosque founded on piety (q.v.; *al-taqwā*) from the very first day.[…] In it are men who love to be purified." The Prophet is advised to go there rather than to the mosque that was built "to cause harm" (*ḍirār,* Q 9:107; see MOSQUE OF DISSENSION). The exegetes usually identify the mosque of piety with the one built in Qubāʾ, a district of Medina.

The Qurʾān also mentions places of sporadic worship (q.v.) whose sacredness is derived from the rites performed therein, mainly the mentioning of God's name (see BASMALA; GOD AND HIS ATTRIBUTES). They are usually called "mosques" *(masājid),* in the sense of sanctuaries. In Q 72:18 these mosques are defined as belonging to God alone, not to any other claimed deity, and therefore idolaters *(mushrikūn)* cannot visit them (Q 9:17-8; see IDOLATRY AND IDOLATERS). On the other hand, preventing believers from entering God's mosques is a grave sin, as stated in Q 2:114 (see SIN, MAJOR AND MINOR). According to this verse, no one is more unjust (see JUSTICE AND INJUSTICE) than he who prevents the believers from entering the mosques of God and strives to ruin them. Some exegetes hold that this refers to the Temple in Jerusalem and to the Romans who destroyed it, but other exegetes believe that the verse deals with the sacred mosque in Mecca.

The sporadic sanctuaries are also called "houses" *(buyūt),* as in Q 24:36. In Q 10:87 the Children of Israel are requested to turn their homes into a *qibla,* i.e. to use them as sanctuaries and, according to the exegetes, they had to do so because their synagogues were destroyed. Monotheistic non-Islamic places of worship are listed in Q 22:40 (see JEWS AND JUDAISM; CHRISTIANS AND CHRISTIANITY): cloisters (*ṣawāmiʿ;* see MONASTICISM AND MONKS), churches (*biyaʿ;* see CHURCH), synagogues *(ṣalawāt)* and mosques *(masājid)*. The Qurʾān states that only God protected them from being pulled down. The word *miḥrāb* (pl. *maḥārīb*), "praying chamber," is another term used in the sense of a sanctuary, being mainly part of the Temple in Jerusalem. It is mentioned in passages dealing with King David (q.v.; Q 38:21), King Solomon (Q 34:13) and Zechariah (q.v.; Q 3:37, 39; 19:11).

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Sacrifice

The act of making an offering to a deity or the offering itself. In Arabic, these are commonly rendered by the roots, *ḍ-ḥ-y,* *q-r-b* and *dh-b-ḥ.* The first root, which in

the second form can mean to sacrifice an animal during the period of daylight called *al-duḥā,* is not attested in the Qurʾān, though *ʿīd al-adḥā,* "feast of the sacrifice," has become the primary name for the one great sacrificial ritual in Islam, occurring during the daylight hours of the tenth of the month of *dhū l-ḥijja* (see MONTHS; DAY, TIMES OF; NOON) as a part of the major pilgrimage (q.v.; *ḥajj*).

In contemporary usage, some Muslims refer to this feast as *ʿīd al-qurbān* or, in Turkish, *qurbān bayram,* and this word occurs in the Qurʾān three times. Q 3:183: "… those who say: God has covenanted with us that we not believe in a messenger until he brings for us a *qurbān* that fire [presumably from heaven] will eat," and Q 5:27: "Relate to them the true story of the two sons of Adam (see ADAM AND EVE; CAIN AND ABEL), when they [each] offered a sacrifice *(idh qarrabā qurbānan),*" a reference to the narratives found in 1 Kings 18 and Genesis 4. The root of *qurbān* is common in Arabic, Hebrew and Aramaic/Syriac (in which *"qūrbānā"* is the term for the Christian Eucharist; see CHRISTIANS AND CHRISTIANITY) as well as Assyrian and Ethiopian but the morphology of the word suggests a NW Semitic origin. The third locus, Q 46:28, is a difficult verse (see DIFFICULT PASSAGES). Some commentators understand it to mean something like "mediators" (Zamakhsharī, *Kashshāf,* iii, 526) but this seems to ignore syntactical and contextual aspects of the verse (see GRAMMAR AND THE QURʾĀN; EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL).

Dh-b-ḥ occurs in three qurʾānic contexts in the sense of sacrifice (as opposed to, simply, "slaughter" in Q 2:49; 14:6; 27:21; 28:4; see SLAUGHTER). In Q 2:67 and 71, Moses (q.v.) tells the Israelites (see CHILDREN OF ISRAEL) that God commands their sacrifice of a cow, which they do in a sequence that recalls the "red heifer" of Numbers 19:2 (see CALF OF GOLD; NARRATIVES). Q 5:3 forbids making sacrifice on stone altars typically used for dedication to an idol (*ʿalā l-nuṣub;* see IDOLS AND IMAGES). Q 37:102 and 107 occur in the story of Abraham's (q.v.) intended sacrifice of his son. Abraham informs his son that he will sacrifice him (*annī adhbaḥuka,* Q 37:102). Later we are told that God redeemed the son with a magnificent sacrifice as a substitute (*wa-fadaynāhu bi-dhibḥin ʿaẓīmin,* Q 37:107). This is the "intended sacrifice" *(al-dhabīḥ)* that is today commemorated in the "feast of the sacrifice" mentioned above, though neither the Qurʾān nor early tradition literature (see ḤADĪTH AND THE QURʾĀN) makes this connection (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* xxiii, 81-8).

The related word, *uhilla* (fourth form of the root *h-l-l*), is taken by some commentators to refer to slaughter but most understand it to mean invoking the name of God upon an animal when slaughtering it (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* ii, 85-6; Ṭabarsī, *Majmaʿ,* i, 331; Qurṭubī, *Jāmiʿ,* ii, 150-1; see BASMALA; CONSECRATION OF ANIMALS). In all cases the Qurʾān forbids doing so in the name of anything other than God (Q 2:173; 5:3; 6:145; 16:115).

Tradition, then, understands the Qurʾān to prescribe invoking the name of God when slaughtering and that God rather than anything other is the object to which sacrifice is to be made. Q 22:27-37 places both within the context of the pilgrimage. Ritually fit animals are to be slaughtered as the name of God is invoked over the act. They are then eaten and shared with the poor and unfortunate (see POVERTY AND THE POOR; ALMSGIVING; COMMUNITY AND SOCIETY IN THE QURʾĀN). Perhaps because this ritual act of eating a communal meal represented a change from a system in which sacrificial offerings were left for the gods, the section concludes with the statement (Q 22:37): "Neither their flesh nor

their blood will reach God, but your religious devotion (*al-taqwā minkum;* see PIETY) will reach him."

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Sadness see JOY AND MISERY

Ṣafā and Marwa

Two low hills near the Kaʿba (q.v.) in Mecca (q.v.) between which the pilgrim engages in a brisk walk or trot called "the running" *(al-saʿy)* during the pilgrimage (q.v.; *ḥajj* and *ʿumra*). This running is an obligatory station (*mansik,* pl. *manāsik*) among the various ritual activities during the ten days of the *ḥajj* pilgrimage ritual at Mecca (see RITUAL AND THE QURʾĀN).

The root meaning of *ṣafā* is to be clear or pure, from which comes the familiar name *muṣṭafā,* meaning "elected" or "chosen" (see NAMES OF THE PROPHET; ELECTION), but may also designate smooth stones. Lexicographers define *marwa* as "a bright, glittering stone that may produce fire." These words have been used since pre-Islamic times as the names for the two Meccan hills and are mentioned once in the Qurʾān (Q 2:158): "al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa are among the ritual ceremonies *(shaʿāʾir)* of God. Therefore, whoever makes the *ḥajj* or the *ʿumra* to the house [the Kaʿba] incurs no sin by making the circuit between them *(an yaṭṭawwafa bi-himā).* God knows and is thankful to whoever voluntarily does a good deed (see GOOD DEEDS)."

This passage attests to the antiquity of the ritual circumambulation between Ṣafā and Marwa. The act, referred to in post-qurʾānic literature as *al-saʿy,* is one of many religious rituals that emerged in the pre-Islamic period in relation to the sacred sites in and around Mecca, which were absorbed into Islam (see PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QURʾĀN; SOUTH ARABIA, RELIGION IN PRE-ISLAMIC). It is possible that the old practice was an independent act of divine worship but it was eventually absorbed into a series of ritual activities that make up the *ḥajj* and *ʿumra.* The tenor of the Qurʾān indicates some ambivalence regarding the ceremony.

Two positions emerged early on with respect to the duty to engage in the ritual. One understands the verse to mean that it is not required in Islam because the qurʾānic expression, "there is no sin in doing it" implies legal neutrality (*mubāḥ;* see SIN, MAJOR AND MINOR; LAW AND THE QURʾĀN). The second position, one that quickly became the norm, assumes that the ritual is obligatory. The latter position required additional support, however, which it found in the sunna (q.v.) of the Prophet. The argument, as put forth on the authority of Muḥammad's wife ʿĀʾisha (see ʿĀʾISHA BINT ABĪ BAKR), was that if the rite were not required, the verse would have read, "Whoever makes the *ḥajj*… incurs no sin by not making the circuit between them."

The origin of the running ritual is uncertain and two sets of traditions have evolved to explain it. The oldest explains

that in pre-Islamic times pilgrims who were engaged in the "running" would touch two sacred stones erected on the two hills, images of the gods Isāf and Nāʾila. The two stones were once human lovers who had engaged in sexual intercourse in the sacred Kaʿba for which they were turned into stone. Their petrified images were later set in place on the two hills in order to warn pilgrims against improper conduct in the sacred places. Over the years, the origin of these stones was forgotten and people began to worship them as idols (see IDOLS AND IMAGES). Lazarus-Yafeh (Religious dialectics) suggests that this legend attests to the ancient Near Eastern cultic practice of ritual prostitution practiced at one time in Mecca.

A second set of traditions authenticates the ritual by associating it with Abraham (q.v.). Al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923) includes the suggestion that it was one of the stations of pilgrimage *(manāsik al-ḥajj)* that Abraham prayed God would teach him and Ishmael (q.v.) as they raised up the foundations of the "house" (*bayt,* Q 2:127-8; see HOUSE, DOMESTIC AND DIVINE). A variation of the Abraham theme found more consistently in the sources places the origin in Abraham's act of leaving Hagar and Ishmael in the location of the future sacred area of Mecca (Q 14:37, read with Genesis 21 as subtext). According to a number of variants attributed to Ibn ʿAbbās (d. 68/686-8), Sarah's jealousy of Hagar after the birth of Ishmael caused such strife in the family household that the two women had to be separated. Abraham therefore personally brought Hagar and her son to Mecca and left them near the location of the Kaʿba. Before leaving them, Abraham recited Q 14:37: "O lord! I have made some of my offspring live in an uncultivated *wādī* by your sacred house, in order, O lord, that they establish regular prayer (q.v.). So fill the hearts of some with love toward them, and feed them with fruits so that they may give thanks." Hagar and Ishmael's water soon ran out and the infant Ishmael began to die of thirst. In desperation, Hagar climbed the nearby hills of Ṣafā and Marwa seeking a better vantage point in her search for water and ran between them seven times. Her running is usually described in some way that will shed light on how one should "run" the *saʿy* of pilgrimage. When she returned to Ishmael, she found him with an angel, sometimes identified as Gabriel (q.v.), who scratched the earth with his heel or wing to bring forth water, thereby saving the progenitors of the future northern Arabs. This legend also serves as an etiology for the sacred Zamzam spring in Mecca (see WELLS AND SPRINGS).

Each of these two traditions provided an acceptable etiology and, therefore, justification, to continue practicing a religious ritual within Islam that was clearly associated with idolatrous practices in the pre-Islamic period. The specific qurʾānic verse referring to Ṣafā and Marwa occurs shortly after verses treating the controversy over the proper *qibla* (q.v.), or direction of prayer (Q 2:142-5). This suggests that the qurʾānic redactors may have understood Q 2:158 as supporting an Arabization of emerging Islam as adherents of the new monotheism strove to understand their particular religious system in relation to Judaism and Christianity on the one hand and indigenous Arabian religious practice on the other.

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Safety

see PEACE; SACRED PRECINCTS

Saint

Person marked by divine favor, holiness. The idea of special, chosen people, "saints," is alien to the Qurʾān (for the closest qurʾānic attestation of this concept, see ELECTION). The word *walī* (pl. *awliyāʾ*) used later for these people, though occurring very frequently, does not designate special people distinguished by striking qualities but the faithful as such, who are devout (*ṣāliḥūn, muttaqūn;* see GOOD AND EVIL; PIETY). This makes them friends of God and he is their friend (see FRIENDS AND FRIENDSHIP; CLIENTS AND CLIENTAGE). Satan (see DEVIL), who is the enemy *(ʿaduww)* of God and the faithful, also has his followers and friends (see ENEMIES; PARTIES AND FACTIONS). God loves his friends and they love (q.v.) him (Q 5:54-5). Therefore they do not need to fear the last judgment (q.v.): "The friends of God, they need have no fear (q.v.) and will not be sad (see JOY AND MISERY). The good news (q.v.) is theirs in this world and the next" (Q 10:62-4).

Once the idea of specially distinguished people had formed in the second/eighth century, these two verses in particular were taken as documentary evidence and the "friends of God" became "saints," special people chosen by God and endowed with exceptional gifts, such as the ability to work miracles (see MIRACLES). They were loved by God and developed a close relationship of love to him. The origin of the idea is unclear; ancient Christian and Jewish elements can be identified (Mach, *Der Zaddik,* 134-46; see JEWS AND JUDAISM; CHRISTIANS AND CHRISTIANITY). A system of concepts associated with this holiness *(wilāya/walāya)* was developed in the second half of the third/ninth century by al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī (d. prob. bet. 295/907 and 300/912). Later authors, such as for instance Ibn al-ʿArabī (d. 638/1240) simply had to expand on al-Tirmidhī's ideas. Among other things al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī developed rudimentarily the concept of a hierarchy of saints/friends of God. Although the names of the individual ranks were later stipulated more precisely, his terminology fluctuates: besides *awliyāʾ* he also uses *ṣiddīqūn* (a term which, with the singular *ṣiddīq,* occurs five times in the Qurʾān; cf. Heb. *ṣaddīq;* see Ahrens, Christliches, 19), *abdāl* (a non-qurʾānic term), *umanāʾ* (the singular form of which appears in the Qurʾān, and is applied to the messenger and to God), and *nuṣaḥāʾ* (this term and its singular appear four times in the Qurʾān, although not in the mystical sense). For the concept of "sanctity" and "sacred" as applied to places, states or things, see e.g. PROFANE AND SACRED; FORBIDDEN; SACRED PRECINCTS.

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Sajʿ see RHYMED PROSE

Sakīna see SHEKHINAH

Ṣalāt see PRAYER

Ṣāliḥ

A messenger (q.v.) sent to the people of Thamūd (q.v.), named nine times in the Qurʾān. His story is dealt with in a number of passages (Q 7:73-9; 11:61-8; 26:141-59; 27:45-53; 54:23-31; 91:11-5), and in other verses mention is made of the people of Thamūd and their fate.

The Qurʾān does not contain a complete narrative of the story of this messenger and the events that led his people to punishment and destruction, but it does mention (and occasionally repeats some details of) his mission among his people. Particular attention is given to the words of Ṣāliḥ when summoning his people to faith in God (Q 7:73 f.; 11:61 f.; 26:142 f.; 27:45 f.). Despite his urgings, they refuse to abandon the faith of their fathers (Q 11:62). When introducing the various versions of the speech of the messenger (q.v.) to his people, Ṣāliḥ is described as their "brother" (Q 7:73 and passim; see BROTHER AND BROTHERHOOD). A chronological setting for these people and the story of Ṣāliḥ is clearly given when it is said that the Thamūd were the successors of the ʿĀd (q.v.). The Qurʾān describes the Thamūd as a prosperous people with castles, impressive buildings and gardens; one passage suggests that they rejected various messengers (Q 26:141).

The story of Ṣāliḥ proper is introduced with the statement that he was sent with a she-camel as a sign (Q 7:73; 11:64; 26:155; see SIGNS; CAMEL), a test (Q 54:27; see TRIAL), or a proof (q.v.; i.e. Q 17:59) from God. This camel variously has the right to drink (Q 26:155; 91:13), or the water has to be shared between her and the Thamūd (Q 54:28). In the meantime, Ṣāliḥ's calls to faith prove fruitless, with the exception of a few followers. The haughty elders refuse to believe (Q 7:75) and openly challenge Ṣāliḥ, accusing him of being a simple man like themselves (Q 26:154; 54:24; see IMPECCABILITY) and even of being bewitched (Q 26:153; see INSANITY). The destruction of these unbelievers (see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF) is precipitated when they hamstring the she-camel (Q 7:77; 11:65; 26:157; 91:14) as an act of resistance and rebellion, particularly on the part of one individual among them (Q 54:29). That malevolent act made punishment inevitable (see PUNISHMENT STORIES; CHASTISEMENT AND PUNISHMENT). It took the form of an earthquake that seized them (Q 7:78) or a thunderbolt that left them all dead. The end was, in fact, announced by Ṣāliḥ himself when he became aware of what had been done to the camel: he stated that the punishment would be upon them in three days (Q 11:65). In some passages allusion is made to the punishment by the expression that the Thamūd were overtaken by a shout (or cry) sent by God (Q 11:67; 54:31), which left them prostrate in their dwellings (Q 11:67). Ṣāliḥ and those who believed were

naturally placed in safety (Q 11:66; 27:53). Finally, it should be noted that the version in Q 27:45-53 differs almost completely from that given in the other passages, excluding details such as the she-camel, or a description of the type of event that caused the destruction of their houses.

Commentators on the Qurʾān (see EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL) and authors of literature on the prophets add further particulars to the portrait given here. For instance, some state that Ṣāliḥ started his prophetic mission when he was forty years old, as did Muḥammad; it is also said that he died in Mecca (q.v.) when he was fifty-eight. There are differing reports about Ṣāliḥ's genealogy and about the manner in which the she-camel was killed; sometimes the names of the torturer of the she-camel and his collaborators are given. The punishment that destroyed the Thamūd was announced three days in advance: first their faces turned yellow, then red, then black, and on the fourth day they were all dead. A report going back to the Prophet (see ḤADĪTH AND THE QURʾĀN) mentions the case of one individual of the Thamūd who had escaped death because he was in the holy territory of Mecca when the destruction took place. This man, named Abū Righāl, did not, however, escape punishment after he left the holy territory.

Though the Thamūd are known from other sources, pre-Islamic attestations of the name Ṣāliḥ are very rare (see Rippin, Ṣāliḥ). Moreover, the story of Ṣāliḥ and the she-camel has no parallel in other religious traditions.

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Salt see FOOD AND DRINK

Salvation

Preservation from destruction or failure; in eschatology, deliverance from sin and eternal damnation. Salvation has many meanings in the Qurʾān. Contrary to the final Christian salvation *(khalāṣ),* which supposes deliverance from sin and death for reconciliation and communion with God, the qurʾānic "supreme success" (*[al-]fawz [al-]ʿaẓīm,* Q 4:13, 73; 5:119; 9:72, 89, 100, 111; 10:64; 23:71; 37:60; 40:9; 44:57; 48:5; 57:13; 61:12; 64:9), sometimes called "the great success" (*al-fawz al-kabīr,* Q 85:11) or "the manifest success" (*al-fawz al-mubīn,* Q 6:16; 45:30), is always the ultimate purpose of human life. Therefore the believers "are the successful" (*hum al-*

fāʾizūn, Q 9:20; 23:111; 24:52; 59:20) because they enjoy God's pleasure *(riḍwān Allāh)*.

This enduring and definitive success is also called *falāḥ* and it is hopefully proposed by the *adhān,* which calls to prayer (q.v.; *ṣalāt*): "Come to success" *(ḥayya ʿalā l-falāḥ)*. It is well-known that all who are on "the right path" (*al-hudā, al-sirāṭ al-mustaqīm;* see FREEDOM AND PREDESTINATION; ASTRAY; ERROR; PATH OR WAY) will be "the successful" *(al-mufliḥūn)*. Eleven times, the Qurʾān repeats "so that you may be successful" (*laʿallakum tufliḥūn;* see VICTORY), and warns "the unjust" (Q 6:21, 135; 12:23; 28:37; see JUSTICE AND INJUSTICE), "the criminals" (Q 10:17; see SIN, MAJOR AND MINOR), "the sorcerers" (Q 10:77; 20:69; see MAGIC), and "the disbelievers" (Q 23:117; 28:82; see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF) that they shall never be successful (*lā yufliḥūn,* cf. Q 23:117). "The successful" are those "who have repented (see REPENTANCE AND PENANCE), believed and done righteousness" (Q 28:67; see GOOD DEEDS), who "are on true guidance from their lord" (q.v.; Q 2:5; 31:5), who are "enjoining good deeds and forbidding evil" (Q 3:104; see GOOD AND EVIL; VIRTUES AND VICES, COMMANDING AND FORBIDDING), "whose scale will be heavy" (Q 7:8; 23:102; see WEIGHTS AND MEASURES), "who follow the light (q.v.) which has been sent down" (Q 7:157; see REVELATION AND INSPIRATION; NAMES OF THE QURʾĀN), "for whom are the good things" (Q 9:88; see GOOD NEWS; REWARD AND PUNISHMENT), "who say: we hear and we obey" (Q 24:51; see SEEING AND HEARING; OBEDIENCE), "who seek God's countenance" (Q 30:38; see FACE OF GOD), and "are the party of God" (Q 58:22; see PARTIES AND FACTIONS; SHĪʿA). Finally, "whosoever is saved from his own covetousness" (Q 59:9; 64:16; see ENVY) and "purifies himself" (Q 87:14; see RITUAL PURITY; CLEANLINESS AND ABLUTION; JIHĀD) shall achieve success and will be a *mufliḥ*.

But there is a first salvation during life on earth for those whom God has chosen as his prophets (see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD) or representatives among people. Sometimes the verb *anqadha,* "to save" (four times), is used for deliverance from the fire (see HELL AND HELLFIRE): "You were, it is said, on the brink of a pit of fire (q.v.) and he saved you from it" (Q 3:103). God is proclaimed to be the only savior, as when Abraham (q.v.) proclaims that the idols (see IDOLS AND IMAGES) or false deities could not save him (Q 36:23). A similar case is that of Noah's (q.v.) people (Q 36:43). Is the word *fidāʾ* or *fidya,* "ransom," used for redemption (Q 2:184, 196; 47:4; 57:15)? It seems to be only used for human "ransom" from captivity (see CAPTIVES) or from the marriage bond (see MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE), but sometimes it also means "ransom of punishment" (Q 70:11; see CHASTISEMENT AND PUNISHMENT). Nevertheless, it is the root *n-j-w* which mainly means salvation from perils and deadly events, with its two verbal forms *najjā* (thirty-seven times) and *anjā* (twenty-three times). In history (see HISTORY AND THE QURʾĀN), God has always saved each of his prophets "and those who believed with him": Hūd (q.v.; Q 7:72; 11:58), Ṣāliḥ (q.v.; Q 11:66), Abraham (Q 29:24), Shuʿayb (q.v.; Q 11:94), Lot (q.v.; Q 7:83; 27:57), Jonah (q.v.; cf. Q 6:63), Moses (q.v.; "We saved you from great distress," Q 20:40) and the Children of Israel (q.v.; Banū Isrāʾīl: "When we delivered you from Pharaoh's [q.v.] people," Q 2:49). To escape "from the unjust people" (Q 28:25; see OPPRESSION), to be "released" (Q 12:45), to be "delivered from" the enemy (e.g. Q 2:50; 7:141; 20:80; see ENEMIES), this is the "salvation" of people who believed in God. Therefore the Qurʾān proposes to the believers to repeat the prayer of the ones

who were saved by God, as did Pharaoh's wife: "My lord! Save me from the unjust people" (Q 66:11), and Moses himself: "Save us by your mercy (q.v.) from the disbelieving folk" (Q 10:86). So salvation *(najāt)* is always God's gift granted to faithful people in the present time and in the hereafter. See also ESCHATOLOGY.

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Ṣamad see GOD AND HIS ATTRIBUTES

Samaritans

A tiny sect claiming to be Israelite, found today principally in Nablus, biblical Shechem, in the Palestinian territories; and in Holon in Israel. The Samaritans call themselves *Shomʿrim,* "observant ones," from Hebrew *shamar,* "to observe." 2 Kings 17:24-9, the earliest reference to them, calls them *Shomronim* or "Samarians," alleging that they were pagan peoples settled in Samaria by the Assyrians after the deportations of 722 B.C.E. Enmity between Judaeans and Samaritans flared up with the return of Judaean deportees from Babylon in 539 B.C.E. and continued up to and beyond the time of Jesus. Like Jerusalem, Gerizim, the mountain in Nablus holy to the Samaritans, was captured by the Roman armies and the emperor Hadrian built a pagan temple on its summit. During the Roman and Byzantine periods the Samaritans took part in numerous rebellions, provoked by both their strong separatism and the repressive legislation of the imperial authorities.

The only unequivocal reference to Samaritans in the Qurʾān is to al-Sāmirī, the man who in Q 20:85-95 tempted the Israelites (see CHILDREN OF ISRAEL) in the desert, inducing them to throw their ornaments into a fire and producing a live calf (see CALF OF GOLD). Moses (q.v.) condemned him to saying, "do not touch me" (Q 20:97) for the rest of his life. The Samaritans relate this qurʾānic expression of al-Sāmirī, "do not touch me" *(lā misāsa),* to a covenant (q.v.; see also CONTRACTS AND ALLIANCES) that they claim Muḥammad made with them, saying: "In your lifetime you can indeed say 'Let no one touch me.' You have a pledge (see OATHS). Do not violate it (see BREAKING TRUSTS AND CONTRACTS). Look to your God whom you are still loyally following." That Muḥammad had some knowledge of Samaritans and their beliefs (see RELIGIOUS PLURALISM AND THE QURʾĀN) is suggested by Q 2:96, which defends Solomon's (q.v.) piety (q.v.) — impugned by the Samaritans — against unnamed detractors.

The Samaritans appear to have viewed the Muslim army that invaded Syria in 12/632-3 as liberators from Byzantine oppression (see BYZANTINES). In the view of some early Muslim authors, they were exempted from paying the *kharāj,* or land tax, and subjected only to the *jizya,* or poll tax (q.v.; "four dirhams and a feed-bag of barley"), because of the assistance they rendered the invaders. The only Samaritan mention of the Umayyad caliphate to survive is a reference by the Samaritan chronicler Abū l-Fatḥ al-Sāmirī b. Abī l-Ḥasan (fl. 750/1350) to a devastating earthquake in the time of Marwān II (r. 127-32/744-50). The wars between the last of the Umayyads and the ʿAbbāsids are recorded in Samaritan chronicles, as are the consequences for the Samaritans of the

ʿAbbāsid victory and of the wars that followed the death of Hārūn al-Rashīd (d. 193/809). The Samaritans appear to have been treated well by the first Fāṭimid caliphs of Egypt, al-Muʿizz (r. 344-65/952-75) and al-ʿAzīz (r. 365-86/976-96), and during the crusades they enjoyed relative prosperity. The fall of Nablus to the Mongols (657/1259), combined with the Egyptian Mamlūks' destruction of Christian towns and strongholds throughout Syria (between 658/1260 and 690/1291), led to the suffering of the Samaritans, along with that of the other inhabitants.

Numerous Muslim sources attest to a Samaritan presence in the post-qurʾānic Islamic milieu. Muslim geographers like al-Yaʿqūbī (fl. later third/ninth cent.), al-Masʿūdī (d. 345/956), al-Idrīsī (d. ca. 560/1165), al-Iṣṭakhrī (fl. fourth/tenth cent.), the polymath al-Bīrūnī (d. ca. 440/1048) and the historian of religions al-Shahrastānī (d. 548/1153) all describe some aspect of Samaritan life and culture from the third/ninth to the sixth/twelfth centuries. Finally, even though the Qurʾān does not mention the Samaritans in this context, the jurists (*fuqahāʾ;* see LAW AND THE QURʾĀN) include them, along with Christians (see CHRISTIANS AND CHRISTIANITY), Jews (see JEWS AND JUDAISM), Magians (q.v.) and Sabians (q.v.), among the unbelievers (see PEOPLE OF THE BOOK; BELIEF AND UNBELIEF) who, following Q 9:29, must be fought until they pay the *jizya* (see JIHĀD; FIGHTING; WAR; TOLERANCE AND COMPULSION; TAXATION).

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Samson

Biblical figure present in Islamic tradition and qurʾānic commentary, but not the Qurʾān. Called Shamsūn in Arabic, this name is not mentioned in the Qurʾān but is briefly mentioned in exegetical and historical works. His story is embellished with miraculous anecdotes. Many reports on him are cited by al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923), who narrates them mainly from Wahb b. Munabbih (on whose authority Samson is portrayed as an extreme and austere ascetic: for example, he is said to have put out his eyes so as not to be diverted from the worship of God, and to have castrated himself so as to avoid the temptation of women; cf. Khoury, *Légendes,* 80-1 for Ar. text; see also Schwarzbaum, *Biblical,* 64). Al-Ṭabarī's historical work places Samson immediately before the coming of St. George (Jirjīs), suggesting that Samson lived in the Christian era.

Although he was born in a community of unbelievers (see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF) — other sources suggest a community of idolaters (see IDOLATRY AND IDOLATERS; POLYTHEISM AND ATHEISM) — Samson is portrayed as a strong and powerful man of great faith

(q.v.). An inhabitant of a Roman city, he dedicated his life to serving God's cause, which often meant fighting the enemies (q.v.) of God (see PATH OR WAY; JIHĀD). God guided him because of his moral probity and piety (q.v.). Samson is also portrayed as a great fighter (see WAR; FIGHTING) who fought and defeated his people in battle, frequently fighting on his own.

He is reported to have received divine assistance, especially during battles. Sweet water would spring forth from stones to quench his thirst. Samson's enemies soon realized that they could only overcome him through his wife. Bribed by his enemies, she agreed to help them capture her husband. They gave her a strong rope and told her to tie his hands to his neck when he fell asleep. She tried several different ways to tie him down, even with an iron ring tied to his neck, but each time he would break free. When Samson questioned his wife as to why she tied him down, she claimed that she was testing his strength.

Samson had long hair. He confided to his wife that he could only be overcome if his hair was tied. She tied his hands to his neck with his hair while he was sleeping and alerted his enemies. The enemies captured him, pierced his eyes, cut off his nose and ears before bringing him to a local minaret for public display. When he was captured, Samson pleaded with God to let him emerge victorious over those who had captured him (see VICTORY). God miraculously restored his eyesight and the parts of his body that had been mutilated. With his strength restored, Samson was commanded to grasp and pull two of the main pillars on which the minaret rested. As the people jeered, the minaret came crashing down, and the king and all those around him perished.

The discussion on Samson to be found in qurʾānic commentary is closer to the Christian than the biblical account of his life (cf. Rippin, Shamsūn; see Judges 13:5 f., where Samson's mother is told by an angelic messenger that her son is to be consecrated to God from the day of his birth [cf. Numbers 6:2-8] — a passage that likely influenced the later Christian tradition, in which he is depicted as an extreme ascetic; cf. Schwarzbaum, *Biblical,* 156: n. 162 of p. 64). In Islamic tradition, no immoral deeds (see EVIL DEEDS), lust, or acts of self-destruction (cf. e.g. Judges 16:1-31) are mentioned in the exegetical stories about him (see EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL): rather, Samson is depicted as an upright person and a great fighter who is betrayed by a treacherous wife.

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Samuel

While not mentioned by name in the Qurʾān, there is little doubt that the prophet (*nabī;* see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD) referred to anonymously in Q 2:246-8 is the biblical Samuel, the last of the "Judges" who administered the transition of Israel to a kingdom (see KINGS AND RULERS). This important historical detail is

significantly preserved in the short qurʾānic passage treating Samuel, "Have you not looked to the chiefs of the Children of Israel (q.v.) after Moses (q.v.) when they said to a prophet among them, 'Appoint for us a king that we may fight in the way of God'" (Q 2:246; see PATH OR WAY). In contradistinction with the biblical version of the story, however, the qurʾānic account does not present the Israelites as disappointing God with their request for a king (cf. i.e. I Samuel 12:12: "… you said to me, 'No, but a king shall reign over us,' though the lord your God was your king"); nor does the Israelites' request for a king carry any negative connotation in subsequent Islamic prophetology (e.g. al-Kisāʾī, *Qiṣaṣ,* 270: "Samuel humbled himself before God in order that a king might be appointed from among them").

The principal themes of Q 2:246-8, the verses in which this anonymous prophet of the Children of Israel appears, are: the Children of Israel's request for a king; encouragement to fight according to divine prescription (see FIGHTING; WAR); questioning of Saul's (q.v.) legitimacy as the appointed king due to his lack of resources and influence; and description of the resultant sign (see SIGNS) of Saul's kingship, i.e. the return of the ark (q.v.) of the covenant (q.v.). The anonymous prophet, identified with Samuel, is asked by the Children of Israel to furnish them with a king; he says that God has appointed Saul as their king, and to their protestations, he replies that "God gives authority (q.v.) to whom he wills" (Q 2:247; see POWER AND IMPOTENCE). Finally, in Q 2:248, the unnamed Samuel tells of the sign of Saul's authority *(āyat mulkihi)* that will come as a sign *(āya)* for those who believe (see FAITH; BELIEF AND UNBELIEF), namely the ark of the covenant, containing the "shekhinah (q.v.) of your lord."

Exegetical tradition and "stories of the prophets" literature

Identification of this anonymous prophet of Q 2:246-8 is rendered variously in the mainstream exegetical tradition (see EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL). Most commonly he is *Shamwīl;* also *Ashmawīl* (occasionally transcribed *Ishmawīl*), *Ashmāwīl* and *Shamwāʾīl* (the Protestant Arabic translation of the Bible has rendered the name *Ṣamūʾīl;* and the holy burial site of *Nebi Samwīl* preserves a further slightly distinct form). Although this form does not occur in Islamic literature, the properly Arabicized form of the name "Samuel," i.e. that closest to the Hebrew morphology, is Samawʾal. Note, for example, the Jewish pre-Islamic chieftain of Taymāʾ, Samawʾal b. ʿĀdiyāʾ (d. ca. 560 C.E.) or, more incidentally, the Jewish vintner described in a celebrated *khamriyya* by Abū Nuwās (d. ca. 198/814); and especially Samuel's namesake, the Jewish mystic and convert to Islam, Samawʾal b. Yaḥyā al-Maghribī (520-69/1126-74), who describes at the outset of his autobiography, *Ifḥām al-Yahūd,* how his mother, as a result of the manner in which she conceived her child, identified with Hanna, the biblical Samuel's mother, and named her son after him (Shamwāʾīl) "…which is rendered in Arabic al-Samawʾal."

Commenting on Q 2:246, al-Rāzī (d. 606/1210) finds specifying the identity of the unnamed prophet to be less essential than ascertaining the actual point of the short passage in which he occurs (*Tafsīr,* ad loc., second *masʾala*), averring that the multifarious names, even identities, put forward for Samuel detract from the essential message: "…for the intent [of the verse] is [simply] to encourage people to jihād *(al-targhīb fī bāb al-jihād)*." Al-Rāzī distrusts the *isnād*s in the traditions of identification (see ḤADĪTH AND THE QURʾĀN) and vigorously rejects

the claim (*pace* Qatāda) that the prophet was Joshua (based on the fact that the prophet of Q 2:246 is described as coming "after" Moses: the temporal preposition "after" is ambiguous and should not override the consensus of historical chronology). Yet even al-Rāzī, the most sophisticated of the classical exegetes, is not impervious to confusion: he cites anonymously those who offered the identity as Ashmawīl b. Hārūn, "which is Ismāʿīl [sic] in Arabic." His claim that this is the majority view is dubious: it is clear that the more consensual patronymic is Ashmawīl b. Bālī. All commentators attribute to al-Suddī the identification of the prophet as Shamʿūn (Simeon); this itself has given rise to further confusion (cf. al-Fasawī who, in *Badʾ al-khalq,* relates separate stories for Shamʿūn and Ashmwāʾīl, as if they were two distinct men with overlapping biographies; yet in al-Ṭabarī's *Taʾrīkh,* Shamʿūn and Ashmwāʾīl are used interchangeably, apparently as variants of the same name). Identification of Samuel with Shamʿūn may be due to interference from the "story of Leah, Jacob's wife, who called her son Simeon, 'because the Lord hath heard that I am hated' (*Gen* 29:33)" (cf. Katsh, *Judaism,* 162). It is thus the story of Samuel's conception that is the source of confusion in prophetic lore. In modern times, Sayyid Quṭb (d. 1966; *Ẓilāl,* i, 266) concurs with al-Rāzī's disinterest in the question of identity, deeming it irrelevant (cf. also, for example, the fifth/eleventh century mystic al-Qushayrī in *Laṭāʾif al-ishārāt* who omits mention of Samuel when discussing Q 2:246).

In the "stories of the prophets" *(qiṣaṣ)* accounts of Samuel, to be found in *tafsīr* and elsewhere, it is clear that there are distinctly Jewish, Islamic and even Christian (see CHRISTIANS AND CHRISTIANITY) elements (see e.g. Katsh, *Judaism,* 160-1 regarding accounts of the prophet's conception and birth). Noticeable discrepancies between I Samuel and the Qurʾān include details of his divine calling: in I Samuel (3:1-9) when he hears the voice of his lord addressing him, he goes to Eli (three times), whereas in the Islamic tradition it is to his father that he repairs, and only then is he sent to Eli. Further, the qurʾānic recognition of Saul by Samuel follows a quasi-folkloric narrative pattern absent from the Bible, to wit: the bubbling of Samuel's oil-horn in the presence of Saul who has come to him in search of his father's lost asses. If, interpretatively, such a theme can be considered a subtext of Q 2:246-8, it shades meaningfully into the leitmotif of sūra 2: that concealed things will come to light (see HIDDEN AND THE HIDDEN). Even the story of "the cow" (Q 2:67-80), and its facilitating the unmasking of a murderer (see MURDER), forces the surrounding theme about the recognition of true and authentic scripture (see BOOK) and prophecy.

Finally, in addition to the exegetical discussion of Q 2:246-8, there are references to apparitions of Samuel in dreams (see DREAMS AND SLEEP), tales which go beyond the qurʾānic account and involve him further in the life of Saul. Regarding Saul's struggles against his enemies, al-Kisāʾī (*Qiṣaṣ,* trans. Thackston, 277-8) relates how Saul consults Samuel: having summoned him in a dream, he is scolded for having relied upon himself, never having acted upon the advice of Samuel while he lived. The deceased prophet disappears from sight and Saul awakens, frightened, from this terse encounter. While this censorious view of Saul attenuates the argument that he is a type for Muḥammad (see below, under *A revisionist reading*), it must be recognized that this kind of prophetic lore postdates the Qurʾān and may therefore be independent of the latter's own rhetorical agenda (see RHETORIC AND THE QURʾĀN).

A revisionist reading

In the light of a recent account of these verses that cogently situates them within the complex agenda of Q 2 (see FORM AND STRUCTURE OF THE QUR'ĀN), some attention must also be devoted here to Q 2:249-51, verses which pay particular attention to Saul (Ṭālūt). N. Robinson has identified four issues as crucial to their interpretation, as "what matters is not the historical detail but the relevance of the narrative to Muhammad's situation" (Robinson, *Discovering,* 217-8; see OCCASIONS OF REVELATION; SĪRA AND THE QUR'ĀN; HISTORY AND THE QUR'ĀN). The first is refusal to fight, which may reflect "the situation in Yathrib (see MEDINA), where there was a widespread recognition of the need for a strong military leader but a general reluctance to do battle with the superior forces of the Meccans" (see MECCA; POLITICS AND THE QUR'ĀN). The second is Saul's lack of sufficient wealth (q.v.) to justify his selection as king (Q 2:247); this is distinct from the biblical account in I Samuel, where it is Saul's problematic descent from Benjamin (q.v.) that is questioned, by Saul himself. The third is the return of the ark as a sign of Saul's sovereignty (Q 2:248). Again, distinction with the biblical account is noted: "According to the biblical account the Philistines returned the Ark to the Children of Israel before Saul was made king (*I Sam.* 6-7)." Robinson maintains that if the qur'ānic Saul is indeed a figure for Muḥammad, this particular treatment of the ark of the covenant "probably foreshadows the Ka'ba (q.v.); those who questioned Muḥammad's fitness to rule over them would change their minds when, as a result of his leadership, the Ka'ba came to their possession." The fourth is the similarity of the qur'ānic account of Saul's selection of his troops with the test of the biblical Gideon (cf. Judges 7): Robinson observes (re Q 2:249) that this selection of troops is "... probably mentioned in the present context because it reinforces one of the keynotes of the legislative sections (of sūra 2; see LAW AND THE QUR'ĀN): the need to be in control of one's appetites in order to be fit to engage in Jihad" (see JIHĀD). It is noticeable that, according to this reading, the qur'ānic Samuel is eclipsed in importance in favor of Saul the king who may thus emerge as a figure for Muḥammad. Use of the verb *iṣṭafā* for God's selection of Saul in Q 2:247 supports this view and the differentiation between Samuel and Saul in the Qur'ān — that is, the quiet privileging of the latter over the former — is mirrored by the twin roles of Samuel and Muḥammad in the recounting of the sixth/twelfth century Samaw'al b. Yaḥyā al-Maghribī's conversion to Islam (cf. Reynolds, *Interpreting,* 91-2).

Intertextuality?

Some modern Western commentaries on Q 2:249 observe interference from the biblical accounts about Gideon; Wherry, for example, commenting on Sale's translation, wrote disrespectfully in the nineteenth century: "The garbled rendering of Israelitish history in this verse and those following illustrates at once Muḥammad's ignorance of the Bible story, and his unscrupulous adaptation of Jewish tradition to the purposes of his prophetic ambition" (Wherry, *Comprehensive commentary,* i, 379, ad loc). Yet this may overlook the significance of the following cognate details in the life of Samuel as developed in Jewish lore, details that expand on I Samuel 7:6 (Ginzberg, *Legends,* iv, 63-4):

In the midst of the defeats and other calamities that overwhelmed the Israelites, Samuel's authority grew, and the respect for him increased, until he was acknowledged the helper of his people. His first

efforts were directed toward counteracting the spiritual decay in Israel. When he assembled the people at Mizpah for prayer, he sought to distinguish between the faithful and the idolatrous, in order to mete out punishment to the disloyal. He had all the people drink water, whose effect was to prevent idolaters from opening their lips.

Considering also that when Gideon was asked to rule the people he directed them back to their lord, saying, "… the lord shall rule over you," it is possible to detect an important point of reference that distinguishes the changed situation in the time of Samuel. This may also explain the (deliberate?) faint resonance of Gideon in the qurʾānic account of Samuel and Saul.

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Sanctity and the Sacred

see SACRED PRECINCTS; PROFANE AND SACRED; FORBIDDEN; SAINT

Sanctuary

see SACRED PRECINCTS

Sand

Loose granular material resulting from the disintegration of rocks. The most common Arabic word for sand is *raml,* which is not found in the Qurʾān. There are, however, some other terms for sand in the Arabic language, such as *kathīb* and *hāṣib*. These two words are used in the Qurʾān, in a variety of verses. The former is mentioned explicitly only a single time in the Qurʾān (Q 73:14). Referring to the final hour *(qiyāma),* the verse says, "On the day when the earth and the hills rock, and the mountains become *kathīb*." The word *kathīb* can be interpreted as meaning "a huge amount of sand" (*qiṭʿa ʿazīma min al-raml;* Ḥaddād, *Kashf,* vii, 105; see also *Lisān al-ʿArab,* i, 235). On the interpretation of the same word, al-Shawkānī (d. 1250/1834), a Muslim commentator and jurist, says that after the final earthquake, the mountains will become like moving sand (Shawkānī, *Tafsīr,* iv, 371; see APOCALYPSE; LAST JUDGMENT).

The word *ḥāṣib* is mentioned in four verses in the Qurʾān (Q 17:68; 29:40; 54:34; 67:17). On the meaning of the word there are several interpretations by qurʾānic commentators. Ibn Kathīr (d. 774/1372), a prominent commentator (see EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL), interprets the word in a way that can be understood as "a rainy sandstorm." It comes as a punishment for those who disbelieve God's message (see BELIEF AND

UNBELIEF; CHASTISEMENT AND PUNISHMENT; PUNISHMENT STORIES). The people of Lot (q.v.) were punished in such a way (Q 54:34; Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr,* iv, 328). Some commentators believe that the army of Abraha (q.v.), who had attempted to destroy what is now the holy shrine of Islam in Mecca (q.v.), was destroyed in such a sandstorm (Shawkānī, *Tafsīr,* vii, 317-8, 553-4). The word is also interpreted as "a strong wind which carries pebbles" (Ḥaddād, *Kashf,* vii, 46).

The two words *kathīb* and *ḥāṣib* are mentioned in reference to the punishment by God of those who deny the message of the prophets (see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD). The Qurʾān threatens its immediate audience, i.e. the Arabs (q.v.), that, if they fail to listen to God's messenger (q.v.), they will be punished like the ancient disbelievers. A verse says: "Have you taken security from him, who is in the heavens (see HEAVEN AND SKY), that he will not send upon you the *ḥāṣib*" (Q 67:17). It is interesting to note how the Qurʾān threatens its initial audience with disasters with which they were already familiar. In the interpretation of the word *ḥāṣib,* al-ʿĀlūsī (d. 1270/1854), a prominent nineteenth-century qurʾānic commentator, says that the destructive storm on the land is called *ḥāṣib*. A similar storm on the sea is called *qāṣif* (ʿĀlūsī, *Rūḥ,* xv, 117).

The Prophet used the word *raml* in an allegorical sense (see METAPHOR; SIMILES). Speaking of the attributes of God (see GOD AND HIS ATTRIBUTES), and commenting on the qurʾānic verse, "the one who forgives all sins, the most forgiving one" (Q 39:53), the Prophet mentions that anyone who says a certain prayer before going to bed, will be forgiven by God for all of her/his sins, even if they are as numerous as sand (Tirmidhī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* 470; see also ʿĀlūsī, *Rūḥ,* xxx, 259; see ḤADĪTH AND THE QURʾĀN; RITUAL AND THE QURʾĀN; POPULAR AND TALISMANIC USES OF THE QURʾĀN; EVERYDAY LIFE, THE QURʾĀN IN; SIN, MAJOR AND MINOR; FORGIVENESS).

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Satan(s) see DEVIL

Satanic Verses

Name given by western scholarship to an incident known in the Muslim tradition as "the story of the cranes" *(qiṣṣat al-gharānīq)* or "the story of the maidens." According to various versions, this is the assertion that the prophet Muḥammad once mistook words suggested to him by Satan as divine revelation (see REVELATION AND INSPIRATION; DEVIL); that is to say, as verses of the Qurʾān — the words reportedly interpolated by Satan are called the "satanic verses." The historicity of the satanic verses incident is strenuously rejected by modern Islamic orthodoxy, often on pain of *takfīr* (being declared an unbeliever; see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF).

The satanic verses incident is reported in the *tafsīr* (qurʾānic exegesis; see EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL) and the *sīra-maghāzī* literature (epic prophetic biography; see SĪRA AND THE QURʾĀN) dating from the first two centuries of Islam. While the numerous reports on the incident differ in the construction and detail of the narrative, they may be broadly collated as follows. The incident is generally dated to the fifth year of Muḥammad's mission, when the small Muslim community in Mecca (q.v.) was

under persecution by the leaders of Quraysh (q.v.; the dominant tribe in Mecca), the most vulnerable of Muḥammad's followers having fled for safety to Abyssinia. The reports indicate that in these circumstances, Muḥammad hoped to achieve reconciliation with Quraysh. At this time, Sūrat al-Najm (Q 53, "The Star"), was revealed to Muḥammad, who recited the chapter to a gathering of Quraysh (see OCCASIONS OF REVELATION; RECITATION OF THE QUR'ĀN). When Muḥammad reached Q 53:19-20, with their reference to the female deities worshipped by Quraysh — "Have you considered al-Lāt, al-'Uzzā, and Manāt, the third, the other?" — Satan was able to cast two verses into Muḥammad's recitation which Muḥammad took to be divine revelation and duly recited; in some reports, Muḥammad is portrayed as being drowsy and inattentive when he committed the error. These are the "satanic verses": "Indeed they are the high cranes/the high maidens *(al-gharānīq/al-gharāniqa l-'ulā),* and indeed their intercession is to be desired." (The precise wording of the satanic verses varies with the different reports; a version of the satanic verses is also reported as a pre-Islamic *talbiya* or ritual invocation of Quraysh; see PRAYER FORMULAS; RITUAL AND THE QUR'ĀN.) The Quraysh were greatly pleased at Muḥammad's praise of their deities and at his having accorded them a place in the theology of his revelation, to the point that when Muḥammad recited the closing verse of the sūra, Q 53:62: "So: prostrate yourselves to God and worship [him]" — the unbelievers present prostrated themselves alongside the Muslims (see BOWING AND PROSTRATION). Later, however, Gabriel (q.v.) came to Muḥammad and apprised him of his error; in some reports, Muḥammad is depicted as realizing the error on his own. The Prophet was greatly distressed, so God sent down to him Q 22:52-4, comforting him and explaining to him what had happened:

We have not sent before you a messenger (q.v.) or a prophet (see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD), but that when he desired/recited (*tamannā;* the verb means both "to desire" and "to recite"), Satan cast into his desire/recitation *(umniyyatihi),* so God eliminates *(yansakh)* that which Satan casts, then God establishes his own signs [q.v.; *āyāt*] clearly — and God is all-knowing, all-wise (see GOD AND HIS ATTRIBUTES) — to make that which Satan casts a trial (q.v.) for those in whose hearts is sickness and for those whose hearts are hardened (see HEART) — truly the wrongdoers are in deep dissension — and so that those who have been given knowledge (see KNOWLEDGE AND LEARNING) may know that it is the truth (q.v.) from your lord (q.v.), so that they might believe in it, and that their hearts may submit to it — truly, God guides those who have faith (q.v.) to the straight path (see PATH OR WAY).

Muḥammad then acknowledged his error and recanted the satanic verses, thereby provoking the renewed hostility and persecution of Quraysh (see OPPOSITION TO MUḤAMMAD). Some of the reports cite Q 53:21-2, "Would you have sons, and for him daughters? That, indeed, would be a crooked division," as having been revealed in place of the satanic verses, while others link the incident with the revelation of Q 17:73, "And they strove to tempt you away from that [with] which we inspired you, that you might fabricate against us something other than it; . . . and had we not made you firm, you would have inclined to them a little." Generally, though, the incident is cited as the "occasion of revelation" *(sabab al-nuzūl)* for Q 22:52, although

in some commentaries it appears in the exegesis on Q 53:19. It is also widely reported that the news of the Quraysh prostrating themselves alongside the Muslims made its way to Abyssinia (q.v.), prompting some of the Muslim refugees — understanding Quraysh to have converted to Islam — to return to Mecca, only to have to leave again (see EMIGRATION).

The satanic verses incident is reported in the respective *tafsīr* corpuses transmitted from almost every Qurʾān commentator of note in the first two centuries of the *hijra* (see CALENDAR): Saʿīd b. Jubayr (d. 95/714), Mujāhid b. Jabr (d. 104/722), al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Muzāḥim (d. 105/723), ʿIkrima the client *(mawlā)* of Ibn ʿAbbās (d. 105/723), Abū l-ʿĀliya al-Riyāḥī (d. 111/729), ʿAṭiyya b. Saʿd al-ʿAwfī (d. 111/729), ʿAṭāʾ b. Abī Rabāḥ (d. 114/732), Muḥammad b. Kaʿb al-Quraẓī (d. 118/736), Qatāda b. Diʿāma (d. 118/736), Abū Ṣāliḥ Bādhām al-Kūfī (d. 120/738), Ismāʿīl al-Suddī (d. 128/745), Muḥammad b. al-Sāʾib al-Kalbī (d. 146/763), ʿAbd al-Malik b. Jurayj (d. 150/767), Muqātil b. Sulaymān (d. 150/767), Maʿmar b. Rāshid (d. 154/770), Yaḥyā b. Sallām al-Baṣrī (d. 200/815). Several of these relate the incident on the authority of ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbbās (d. 68/687; see EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL). The incident also appears in the respective *sīra-maghāzī* works transmitted in the first two centuries from ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr (d. 94/713), Muḥammad b. Shihāb al-Zuhrī (d. 124/742), Mūsā b. ʿUqba (d. 141/748), Muḥammad b. Isḥāq (d. 150/767), Abū Maʿshar al-Sindī (d. 170/786) and Muḥammad b. ʿUmar al-Wāqidī (d. 207/823). Thus, the satanic verses incident seems to have constituted a standard element in the memory of the early Muslim community about the life of Muḥammad (q.v.). The incident continued to be cited and its historicity accepted by several Qurʾān commentators and authors of *sīra-maghāzī* works throughout the classical period, including authors of important commentaries, such as Muḥammad b. Jarīr al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923), Abū Isḥāq al-Thaʿlabī (d. 427/1035), Abū l-Ḥasan al-Māwardī (d. 450/1058), al-Wāḥidī al-Nīsābūrī (d. 468/1076), al-Ḥusayn b. al-Farrāʾ al-Baghawī (d. 516/1122), Jār Allāh al-Zamakhsharī (d. 538/1144), Jalāl al-Dīn al-Maḥallī (d. 864/1459) and others.

Strong objections to the historicity of the satanic verses incident were, however, raised as early as the fourth/tenth century — as evidenced in *al-Nāsikh wa-l-mānsūkh* of Abū Jaʿfar al-Naḥḥās (d. 338/950) — and continued to be raised in subsequent centuries, to the point where the rejection of the historicity of the incident eventually became the only acceptable orthodox position (see ABROGATION; THEOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN). From among the many important Qurʾān commentators who rejected the historicity of the satanic verses incident, the respective opinions of Abū Bakr b. al-ʿArabī (d. 543/1148), Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 606/1210), Abū ʿAbdallāh al-Qurṭubī (d. 671/1273), Abū Ḥayyān al-Gharnāṭī (d. 744/1345) and ʿImād al-Dīn b. Kathīr (d. 773/1373) have been regularly invoked by their successors down to the present day. Probably the most authoritatively cited refutation of the incident, however, appears in the *al-Shifāʾ* of al-Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ al-Yaḥṣubī (d. 544/1149), a work written in demonstration of the superhuman qualities of Muḥammad (see NAMES OF THE PROPHET; but see also MIRACLES; MARVELS).

The historicity of the incident is rejected on two bases. First, the satanic verses story portrays Muḥammad as being (on at least one occasion) unable to distinguish between divine revelation and satanic suggestion. This was seen as calling into

question the reliability of the revelatory process and thus the integrity of the text of the Qurʾān itself (see INIMITABILITY; CREATEDNESS OF THE QURʾĀN). The incident was thus viewed as repugnant to the doctrine of *ʿiṣmat al-anbiyāʾ,* divine protection of the prophets from sin and/or error, as it developed from the third/ninth century onwards, all theological schools coming eventually to agree that God protected prophets from error in the transmission of divine revelation (see IMPECCABILITY). The satanic verses incident was conceived to be an especially egregious instance of error since the praise of the deities of Quraysh uttered by Muḥammad in his recitation of the satanic verses would have been tantamount to the cardinal sin of *shirk* (associating divinity with an entity other than God; see POLYTHEISM AND ATHEISM). The claim that the Prophet could have committed *shirk* was denounced as *kufr* (unbelief). The doctrine of *ʿiṣma* has been most forcefully and consistently upheld by the Shīʿa (q.v.; see also SHĪʿISM AND THE QURʾĀN), for whom it is a central tenet. It therefore appears that no Shīʿī of any school has ever accepted the satanic verses incident. Those Sunnī scholars who did accept the incident had a slightly, but very significantly, different understanding of *ʿiṣma:* like Taqī l-Dīn b. Taymiyya (d. 728/1328), some of them held that prophets were not protected from error in the transmission of divine revelation, but rather from persisting in error after commission (Ahmed, Ibn Taymiyyah).

The historicity of the satanic verses incident is also rejected on the basis of the *isnād*s, the chains of transmission that carry the numerous reports of the incident. In the standard Islamic methodology developed by the scholars of ḥadīth (see ḤADĪTH AND THE QURʾĀN) for assessing the veracity of reports, a report is judged by the reputation for truthfulness of the individual transmitters who constitute a complete *isnād* that goes back to an eyewitness. The satanic verses incident is not carried by *isnād*s that are complete and sound *(ṣaḥīḥ);* at best, some of the *isnāds* are *ṣaḥīḥ mursal,* meaning that while the transmitters are bona fide, the chains are incomplete and do not go back to an eyewitness. Thus, the reports are viewed as insufficiently reliable to establish the factuality of the incident. The incident is not cited in any canonical ḥadīth collection, although it does appear in some non-canonical collections. Those scholars who acknowledged the historicity of the incident apparently had a different method for the assessment of reports than that which has become standard Islamic methodology. For example, Ibn Taymiyya took the position that since *tafsīr* and *sīra-maghāzī* reports were commonly transmitted by incomplete *isnād*s, these reports should not be assessed according to the completeness of the chains but rather on the basis of recurrent transmission of common meaning between reports (*al-tawātur bi-l-maʿnā;* Ahmed, Ibn Taymiyyah).

Other scholars accepted the idea that the fact of widespread transmission meant that the reports about the satanic verses incident could not be rejected outright but also took the position that the equal fact of the *ʿiṣma* of Muḥammad meant that the incident could not have taken place in the specific manner narrated. To reconcile the apparently contradictory epistemological claims of widespread transmission on the one hand and *ʿiṣma* on the other, scholars such as Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī (d. 852/1505) applied the principle of *taʾwīl* — what could be called rehabilitative interpretation — to the satanic verses reports so as to bring the narrative of the incident within the parameters of the permissibly conceivable. These scholars took the position that since Muḥammad simply could not have been deceived by Satan and

have uttered the satanic verses himself, it must have happened that when the Prophet recited Q 53:19, he paused for breath and at this juncture Satan, or one of the unbelievers present, seized on the opportunity to utter the blasphemous verses (see BLASPHEMY) while imitating the Prophet's voice, with the result that those around assumed that the Prophet had uttered them. (None of the early reports actually presents the incident in this way.)

Islamic modernity has been especially forceful and consistent in its rejection of the historicity of the satanic verses incident. The modern *locus classicus* is probably the article "Masʾalat al-gharānīq wa-tafsīr al-āyāt" published by Muḥammad ʿAbduh in *al-Manār* in 1905; but widely-circulated refutations of the incident have also been authored by other influential moderns, including Muḥammad Ḥusayn Haykal (d. 1376/1956) in *Ḥayāt Muḥammad,* Sayyid Quṭb (d. 1387/1967) in *Fī ẓilāl al-Qurʾān,* Abū l-Aʿlā Mawdūdī (d. 1399/1979) in *Tafhīm al-Qurʾān,* and Muḥammad Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Albānī (d. 1420/1999) in *Naṣb al-majānīq li-nasf al-gharānīq* (see EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: EARLY MODERN AND CONTEMPORARY). Orientalists (see POST-ENLIGHTENMENT ACADEMIC STUDY OF THE QURʾĀN), including the most widely-read biographers of Muḥammad — such as William Muir, D.S. Margoliouth, W. Montgomery Watt, Maxime Rodinson and F.E. Peters — have tended (with few exceptions) just as forcefully to accept the historicity of the incident, the orientalist logic having been epitomized by Peters: "This is the indubitably authentic story — it is impossible to imagine a Muslim inventing such an inauspicious tale." The widespread acceptance of the incident by early Muslims suggests, however, that they did not view the incident as inauspicious and that they would presumably not have, on this basis at least, been adverse to inventing it.

The rejection — or simple omission from *tafsīr* and *sīra* works — of the satanic verses incident having become routine in modern Islamic thought, the incident was somewhat rudely re-introduced to the larger Muslim consciousness through the publication of Salman Rushdie's novel *The satanic verses* in 1988. While the hostile Muslim reaction had less to do with Rushdie's adoption of the satanic verses incident for his titular phrase and central scene than with other offensive motifs in the novel, it is nonetheless noteworthy that Rushdie's publication did not re-open the debate among Muslims over the historicity of the satanic verses incident. Its only result was reiteration of the orthodox view.

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Saul

Israelite king mentioned in both the Qurʾān and the Bible. Called Ṭālūt, the "tall one," in the Qurʾān, Saul is mentioned briefly in Q 2:246-51. After Moses (q.v.), the Israelites (see CHILDREN OF ISRAEL) asked an unnamed prophet (see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD) — identified in qurʾānic commentaries as Ashmawīl or Shamwīl, Samuel (q.v.) — that God appoint a king so that they could fight in his path (see KINGS AND RULERS; PATH OR WAY). They were surprised to find that Saul was appointed, especially since he was a poor water-carrier. The Israelites considered themselves more worthy than he to exercise authority. The prophet assured them, however, that God had chosen him and had granted him knowledge and stature (see KNOWLEDGE AND LEARNING; AUTHORITY).

Saul came with a divine sign, the ark (q.v.) of the covenant (q.v.), which contained the *sakīna,* "tranquility" (see SHEKHINAH), and relics left by the family of Moses and Aaron (q.v.). Before fighting Goliath (q.v.; Jālūt), the Israelites were tested in a river (see TRIAL). They were prohibited from drinking water, and were allowed only to take small sips with their hands. Most of the warriors disqualified themselves from the army by ignoring this prohibition. After they crossed the river, Saul and his small band were frightened by the size of Goliath's army. Some within his army, however, assured others of the ability of a small army to triumph over a larger force. As they proceeded to fight, Q 2:251 states that, with God's help, David (q.v.) slew Goliath. God then granted David the kingdom and wisdom (q.v.), and taught him what he wished.

The exegetes greatly embellish the story of Saul and in doing so differ on many points. Citing different versions from various sources, al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923; *Taʾrīkh,* i, 549-50; Eng. trans. Brinner, *History,* iii, 131) states that initially the Israelites rejected Saul because he was a descendant of Benjamin (q.v.) and was from the house of neither prophethood nor kingship. Saul was chosen as king because his height corresponded exactly to the length of his staff.

Some commentators state that Saul brought back the ark after the Amalekites had captured it during a battle. This was a sign from God (see SIGNS). The *sakīna,* which Saul brought back, is identified in some sources as the head of a dead cat, whereas in others it is a fragrant wind with a human face. According to al-Ṭabarī (ibid.), the *sakīna* was a basin of gold in which the hearts of the prophets were washed (see HEART). The modern Shīʿī commentator Ṭabaṭābāʾī (d. 1982; *Mīzān,* ad loc.; see SHĪʿISM AND THE QURʾĀN) sees the *sakīna* as "tranquility of the heart, firmness of purpose, and peace of mind."

The remains that Saul brought are identified as the sandals of Moses and the turban and staff of Aaron. Alternative understandings are that the remains refer to knowledge and the Torah (q.v.). The commentators also differ on the number of soldiers in Saul's army. Some claim that up to eighty thousand soldiers were asked not to drink from the river, which is identified as the river Jordan.

Most sources agree that David killed Goliath with a sling, although others say that David threw a stone. Saul became en-

vious of David as he grew more popular. Before the battle, Saul promised to give his daughter in marriage to David if he killed Goliath. When David triumphed, Saul regretted his earlier promise and now stipulated that David slay three hundred more enemies. When David fulfilled this condition, too, Saul sought to have him killed, resulting in David's fleeing to the mountains.

Most commentators identify David's wisdom with the prophethood that he inherited from Samuel. Some state that God taught him the Psalms (q.v.) and the art of judging between people (see JUDGMENT; JUSTICE AND INJUSTICE). He also taught him the language of birds and ants.

Liyakat Takim

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Sawda see WIVES OF THE PROPHET

Scholar

A learned person who has engaged in advanced study and acquired knowledge, generally in a particular field. The term *ʿālim,* most commonly used to designate "scholar" in Islamic societies, appears in the Qurʾān only as a description of God, in the sense of "knowing." The plural *ʿālimūn* is applied sometimes to God (cf. Q 21:51, 81) and sometimes to human beings (cf. Q 12:44; 29:43; 30:22), while the plural form *ʿulamāʾ,* which appears twice in the Qurʾān (cf. Q 26:197; 35:28), refers only to human beings. The Qurʾān also denotes knowledgeable or learned human beings by a number of phrases, including *ūlū l-ʿilm,* "those possessed of knowledge," *alladhīna ūtū l-ʿilm,* "those to whom knowledge has been given" and *alladhīna yaʿlamūn,* "those who know."

As the numerous appearances of the root *ʿ-l-m* suggest (Rosenthal, *Knowledge,* 19-22; cf. 30-1), the concept of knowledge *(ʿilm)* is central to the qurʾānic text (see KNOWLEDGE AND LEARNING). Knowledge appears as one of the principal divine attributes (see GOD AND HIS ATTRIBUTES). God's knowledge has no limits: God is "knowing of the hidden and the manifest" (*ʿālim al-ghayb wa-l-shahāda,* Q 6:73; 9:94, 105; 13:9; 23:92; 32:6; 39:46; 59:22; 62:8; 64:18; see HIDDEN AND THE HIDDEN); he "comprehends all things in mercy (q.v.) and knowledge" (Q 40:7), and "encompasses all things in knowledge" (Q 65:12). Like the term *ʿālim,* the word *ʿallām,* "most knowledgeable," is reserved for describing God (Q 5:109, 116; 9:78; 34:48) and *ʿalīm,* "most knowing," refers in most instances to God, who is frequently described as "most knowing and most wise" (*ʿalīm ḥakīm,* cf. Q 2:32; 4:11, 17, 24, 26, 92, 104, 111, 170; 6:83, 128, 139; 8:71; 9:15, 28, 60, 97, 106, 110; 12:6, 83, 100; 15:25; 22:52, 59; 24:18, 58, 59; 27:6; 33:1, 51; 43:84; 48:4; 49:8; 51:30; 60:10; 66:2; 76:3; note, however, among other exceptions, the use of *ʿalīm* in Q 12:55 to describe the prophet Joseph [q.v.] as *ḥafīẓ ʿalīm*).

God's knowledge is of an incalculably

superior order to that possible for human beings. Yet all knowledge derives from God, and he may choose to bestow a degree of understanding on some of his creatures (see, for example, Q 20:114, "Say: Lord! Increase me in knowledge"). Among those to whom God grants a portion of knowledge are his angels (see ANGEL), who assert, "We have no knowledge except what you have taught us" (Q 2:32), and prophets (see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD): to Lot (q.v.), Joseph, Moses (q.v.), David (q.v.) and Solomon (q.v.), God gives judgment (q.v.; *ḥukm*) and knowledge (*ʿilm,* Q 12:22; 21:74, 79; 28:14; on the sense of *ḥukm* and *ḥikma* in the Qurʾān, see Rosenthal, *Knowledge,* 35-40). The Sunnī commentator al-Bayḍāwī (d. ca. 685/1286) glosses these paired gifts as "wisdom" (q.v.) and "prophethood" since "knowledge is appropriate for prophets" (Bayḍāwī, *Anwār,* i, 620, ad Q 21:74; cf. *Anwār,* ii, 78, ad Q 28:14). Moreover, God increases Saul (q.v.) "in knowledge and in body" (Q 2:247), a text taken by some Imāmī Shīʿī (see SHĪʿISM AND THE QURʾĀN) scholars as a proof that among the conditions for the imāmate is that the imām (q.v.) be the most learned among his subjects and the most excellent among them in good qualities (Ṭūsī, *Tibyān,* ii, 292).

The qurʾānic concept of knowledge is often closely connected to ideas of religious understanding and faith (q.v.; Rosenthal, *Knowledge,* 22-32; Rahman, *Major themes,* 34; Gilliot, ʿUlamāʾ). For example, the Qurʾān refers to "those given knowledge and faith" (*alladhīna ūtū l-ʿilm wa-l-īmān,* Q 30:56; see Māwardī, *Nukat,* iv, 323) and it states that "those who believe know it is the truth from their lord" (Q 2:26; for further examples, see Q 58:11, discussed below; Q 6:97-9; Ṭūsī, *Tibyān,* iv, 229-32; Rosenthal, *Knowledge,* 28-32). It is in this sense that the Qurʾān notes that most people lack knowledge (Q 6:37; 7:131, 187; 8:34; 10:55; 12:21, 40, 68; 16:38, 75, 101; 21:24; 27:61; 28:13, 57; 30:6, 30; 31:25; 34:28, 36; 39:29, 49; 40:57; 44:39; 45:26; 52:47), although they will come to know at the time of judgment (Q 15:3, 96; 19:75; 25:42; 29:66; 37:170; 40:70; 43:89; 72:24; 78:4, 5; see LAST JUDGMENT).

Yet the Qurʾān also indicates that some human beings other than prophets may be endowed by God with a measure of knowledge and understanding. The terms and phrases by which such persons are described have sometimes been understood by later commentators as references to those who pursue scholarship and, in particular, religious learning. For example, the Qurʾān states that "Only the knowledgeable ones *(ʿulamāʾ)* among God's servants *(ʿibād)* fear God" (Q 35:28; see further Māwardī, *Nukat,* iv, 471); and "[In these things] are signs for the knowing" (*al-ʿālimīn,* Q 30:22), a reference, according to the Sunnī jurist al-Māwardī (d. 450/1058), to jinn (q.v.) and humans, or to the *ʿulamāʾ* (Māwardī, *Nukat,* iv, 306; for similar verses, see Q 6:97, 98; 7:32; 9:11; 10:5; 29:43, 49). The Qurʾān refers in several instances to "those who know" (*alladhīna yaʿlamūn;* Q 39:9 asks, "Are those who know and those who do not know equal?"); it also recognizes "people who understand" (*qawm yafqahūn,* Q 6:98) and "people who know" (*qawm yaʿlamūn,* Q 2:230; 6:97, 105; 7:32; 9:11; 10:5; 27:52; 41:3); "those who have been given knowledge" (*alladhīna ūtū l-ʿilm,* Q 16:27; 17:107; 22:54; 28:80; 29:49; 30:56; 34:6; 47:16; 58:11), and "the possessors of knowledge" (*ūlū l-ʿilm,* Q 3:18; see also Q 12:76). In Q 16:27, where the context is eschatological (see ESCHATOLOGY), the phrase "those given knowledge" *(alladhīna ūtū l-ʿilm)* refers, according to al-Bayḍāwī, to prophets and the *ʿulamāʾ* or alternatively to the angels (Bayḍāwī, *Anwār,* i, 513); for the Imāmī Shīʿī scholar al-Ṭūsī (d. 460/1067), the phrase refers to "those given

knowledge and cognizance *(maʿrifa)* of God" (Ṭūsī, *Tibyān,* vi, 374). In other cases, the same qurʾānic phrase connotes the recognition of divine revelation and the preservation of it from error and alteration (Q 17:107; 29:49; 34:6; cf. Bayḍāwī, *Anwār,* ii, 99, ad Q 29:49; see REVELATION AND INSPIRATION; CORRUPTION; FORGERY). The Qurʾān also recognizes knowledgeable persons among earlier religious communities (see RELIGIOUS PLURALISM AND THE QURʾĀN); for example, Q 26:197 refers to "the learned ones *(ʿulamāʾ)* of the Banū Isrāʾīl" (see CHILDREN OF ISRAEL) and at Q 4:162, the phrase "those who are firm in knowledge" (*al-rāsikhūn fī l-ʿilm*) is sometimes taken as a reference to knowledgeable Jews (see JEWS AND JUDAISM), such as ʿAbdallāh b. Salām and his companions (Ṭūsī, *Tibyān,* iii, 389; Bayḍāwī, *Anwār,* i, 241). The verse Q 58:11 ("God will raise by degrees those among you who believe and those to whom knowledge has been given") is taken by al-Bayḍāwī as a reference to the *ʿulamāʾ,* who will be especially elevated for their combination of knowledge *(ʿilm)* and action *(ʿamal)*. In support of this interpretation, the commentator cites the well-known ḥadīth according to which the virtue of the scholar exceeds that of the worshipper (Bayḍāwī, *Anwār,* ii, 320; for the ḥadīth, see references in Wensinck, *Concordance,* v, 160; see ḤADĪTH AND THE QURʾĀN). Similar interpretations are recorded in some of the exegetical literature for several other qurʾānic passages, including "We raise by degrees whom we please" (Q 6:83; cf. Māwardī, *Nukat,* ii, 139; Bayḍāwī, *Anwār,* i, 298), and "those possessed of knowledge" (*ūlū l-ʿilm,* Q 3:18; cf. Abū l-Futūḥ Rāzī, *Rawḥ,* i, 529, although here the Shīʿī author states his preference for taking the phrase as a reference to ʿAlī; see ʿALĪ B. ABĪ ṬĀLIB).

The qurʾānic phrase "those possessed of authority among [you]" *(ūlī l-amri min[kum]),* which occurs twice in the Qurʾān (Q 4:59, "Obey God, obey the messenger [q.v.] and those possessed of authority [q.v.] among you" and Q 4:83, "If they had referred it to the messenger and to those possessed of authority among them, then those who formulate ideas among them would have known it"; see OBEDIENCE; KINGS AND RULERS), has also sometimes been interpreted as a reference to the *ʿulamāʾ*. This interpretation, supported by a number of ḥadīths, is already recorded by al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923), who nevertheless endorses the more commonly expressed Sunnī view that the phrase refers to the holders of political authority (see POLITICS AND THE QURʾĀN), to whom obedience is due insofar as their commands are in accordance with God's (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* viii, 495-504). Similar assessments appear in the works of al-Māwardī (*Nukat,* i, 499-500, 511), al-Zamakhsharī (d. 538/1144; *Kashshāf,* i, 535-6) and al-Bayḍāwī (*Anwār,* i, 214-5, 221). By contrast, Sunnī exegetes Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 606/1209; *Tafsīr,* x, 143-8) and Ibn Kathīr (d. 774/1373; *Tafsīr,* ii, 326) prefer to interpret the phrase *ūlī l-amr* as a reference to the *ʿulamāʾ*. The Imāmī Shīʿī commentators al-Ṭūsī (d. 460/1067) and Abū l-Futūḥ Rāzī (d. 538/1144) interpret the phrase as a reference to the imāms of the family of Muḥammad (Ṭūsī, *Tibyān,* iii, 236, 273; Abū l-Futūḥ Rāzī, *Rawḥ,* i, 784; ii, 15; see FAMILY OF THE PROPHET; PEOPLE OF THE HOUSE).

Another qurʾānic verse that has contributed much to discussions of knowledge and scholarship is Q 3:79, in which the Qurʾān summons its audience to be "masters" *(rabbāniyyīn)* in the teaching of scripture and study (variant readings of the latter part of the verse are presented in the exegetical literature; see READINGS OF THE QURʾĀN). This qurʾānic text has figured with particular prominence in Ṣūfī theories

of knowledge (Böwering, *Mystical,* 226-30; Chittick, *Knowledge,* 149; see ṢŪFISM AND THE QUR'ĀN). For the term *rabbānī,* the classical commentators record several interpretations, most of which emphasize the pursuit of religious knowledge, although a number of secondary interpretations imply social and political leadership (Māwardī, *Nukat,* i, 405; Ṭūsī, *Tibyān,* ii, 511; Abū l-Futūḥ Rāzī, *Rawḥ,* i, 593).

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Science and the Qurʾān

In his anthropological history of India, Abū Rayḥān al-Bīrūnī (d. ca. 442/1050), one of the most celebrated Muslim scientists of the classical period, starts a chapter "On the configuration of the heavens and the earth according to [Indian] astrologers," with a long comparison between the cultural imperatives of Muslim and Indian sciences. The views of Indian astrologers, al-Bīrūnī maintains,

> have developed in a way which is different from those of our [Muslim] fellows; this is because, unlike the scriptures revealed before it, the Qurʾān does not articulate on this subject [of astronomy], or any other [field of] necessary [knowledge] any assertion that would require erratic interpretations in order to harmonize it with that which is known by necessity (Bīrūnī, *Taḥqīq,* 219).

The Qurʾān, adds al-Bīrūnī, does not speak on matters which are subjects of hopeless differences, such as history (see HISTORY AND THE QUR'ĀN). To be sure, Islam has suffered from people who claimed to be Muslims but retained many of the teachings of earlier religions and claimed that these teachings are part of the doctrines of Islam. Such, for example, were the Manichaeans, whose religious doctrine, together with their erroneous views about the heavens (see HEAVEN AND SKY; PLANETS AND STARS), were wrongly attributed to Islam (Bīrūnī, *Taḥqīq,* 220). Such attributions of scientific views to the Qurʾān are, according to al-Bīrūnī, false claims of un-Islamic origins. In contrast, all the religious and transmitted books of the Indians do indeed speak "of the configuration of the universe in a way which contradicts the truth which is known to their own astrologers." Driven, however, by the need to uphold the religious traditions, Indian astrologers pretend to believe in the astrological doctrines of these books even when they are aware of their falsity. With the passage of time, accurate astronomical doctrines were mixed with those advanced in the religious books, leading to the confusion one encounters in Indian astronomy (Bīrūnī, *Taḥqīq,* 220-1; see Fig. VI for a later example of such "confusion" — in this case, an Indian map of the world that is replete with details derived from legends surrounding Alexander the Great, including also some qurʾānic details of the life of Dhū l-Qarnayn; see ALEXANDER; MYTHS AND LEGENDS IN THE QUR'ĀN).

Although not all Indian religious views contradict the dictates of the astronomical

profession, the conflation of religious and astronomical knowledge undermines Indian astronomy and accounts for its errors and weaknesses. And this conflation of scripture and science is contrasted by al-Bīrūnī with the Islamic astronomical tradition which, in his view, suffers from no such shortcomings (although scripture and science may not have been conflated in the classical Islamic period, see the *qibla* [q.v.] compass as depicted in Figs. IV and V for evidence of a type of complimentary relationship between the two that dates to the early centuries of Islam; see also SCRIPTURE AND THE QUR'ĀN; THEOLOGY AND THE QUR'ĀN). In al-Bīrūnī's view, therefore, the Qur'ān does not interfere in the business of science nor does it infringe on the realm of science.

Far from al-Bīrūnī's contentions, contemporary Islamic discourse on the Qur'ān and science abounds with assertions of the relationship between the two. This presumed relationship is construed in a variety of ways, the most common of which are the efforts to prove the divine nature of the Qur'ān through modern science. These efforts cover a wide range of activities including the establishment of institutions, holding conferences, writing books and articles, and the use of the internet to promote the idea of the scientific miracles of the Qur'ān (see MIRACLES; MARVELS; EXEGESIS OF THE QUR'ĀN: EARLY MODERN AND CONTEMPORARY). For example, a recent website search listed slightly fewer than two million occurrences on Islam and science, most of which assert that the Qur'ān's prediction of many of the theories and truths of modern science is evidence of its miraculous nature and its divine origins (Muẓaffar Iqbal, Islam and modern science, 15, 38; see INIMITABILITY; REVELATION AND INSPIRATION). Such contentions are not just part of folk belief but are also reflected in the work and writings of many contemporary Muslim intellectuals. As a manifestation of the popularity of this idea, the Muslim World League at Mecca formed in the 1980s the Committee on the Scientific Miracles of the Qur'ān and the Sunna (traditions of the Prophet; see SUNNA; ḤADĪTH AND THE QUR'ĀN). The Committee has since convened numerous international conferences and sponsored various intellectual activities, all aimed at exploring and corroborating the connections between science and the Qur'ān. A recent meeting of this Committee in Cairo, reported in the mass media, urged Muslims to employ the "scientific truths which were confirmed in the verses of the Qur'ān and which, only recently, modern science has been able to discover" as a corrective to the current misunderstanding of Islam. These truths prove that "Islam is a religion of science." The current president of the Committee, Zaghloul El-Naggar, asserts that it was

> only after man entered the age of scientific discoveries, possessed the most accurate instruments of scientific research, and was able to mobilize armies of researchers from all over the world… that we began to understand the meaning of God's word, may He be exalted, "a time is fixed for every prophecy; you will come to know in time" (Q 6:67).

This verse, according to El-Naggar, refers to the scientific truths that are in the Qur'ān that would be discovered in modern times, centuries after the revelation, and would "astound the contemporary scientists and thinkers of the world" (*al-Sharq al-Awsaṭ,* 5 Sept. 2003). According to him, these scientific miracles of the Qur'ān are the only weapon with which contemporary Muslims can defend the Qur'ān and the only convincing language in this

age of science and materialism (ibid., 23 Sept. 2003).

The qur'ānic attitude towards science, in fact, the very relationship between the two, is not readily identifiable and the discordance between the classical and modern Islamic views on this subject is substantial (see TRADITIONAL DISCIPLINES OF QUR'ĀNIC STUDY). To be sure, almost all sources, classical and modern, agree that the Qur'ān condones, even encourages the acquisition of science and scientific knowledge, and urges humans to reflect on the natural phenomena as signs of God's creation (q.v.; see also NATURE AS SIGNS; REFLECTION AND DELIBERATION; KNOWLEDGE AND LEARNING). In fact, a survey of the material culture produced in the Islamic world (see MATERIAL CULTURE AND THE QUR'ĀN) manifests a plethora of "scientific" instruments inscribed with qur'ānic citations (see e.g. Figs. I and III). Most sources also argue that doing science is an act of religious merit and, to some, even a collective duty of the Muslim community. Yet, as actual debates of the Qur'ān and science show, the points of contention are far more significant than this one general convergence. More than any other place, these debates can be traced in interpretations of the Qur'ān, and in several other writings in which specific uses of the Qur'ān are promoted or where a qur'ānic framework and philosophy of science is adduced. Therefore, the starting point for the study of the Qur'ān and science is not the Qur'ān itself since, as we will see, there are considerable differences in the interpretation of the verses that may have a connection to science or the natural phenomena. For this reason, it is not useful to try to ascertain a particular qur'ānic position on science. Rather, it is more productive to look at the way in which the relationship between science and the Qur'ān has been viewed by various Muslim thinkers, albeit with varying degrees of authority. The main source in which qur'ānic paradigms of science are articulated is the genre of qur'ānic exegesis (*tafsīr,* plural *tafāsīr;* see EXEGESIS OF THE QUR'ĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL). Much as they insist on grounding themselves in the immutable text of the Qur'ān, exegetical works are repositories of larger cultural debates and reflect the views prevailing in their times and places. Rather than identifying one fixed qur'ānic paradigm of science, the task then becomes one of tracing the evolution of the Islamic discourse on the Qur'ān and science and adducing some of the factors that shaped this evolutionary process.

Classical qur'ānic exegetical works contain much material of possible scientific import. Despite the contemporary interest, however, in the Qur'ān and science, this aspect of exegesis has not received much scholarly attention. One possible reason for this neglect is that, collectively, these traditional materials do not add up to what might be legitimately called a scientific interpretation of the Qur'ān. Traditional interpreters did not present themselves as engaging in such an interpretive exercise. A minority of medieval scholars, notably Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111) and Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505), maintained that the Qur'ān is a comprehensive source of knowledge, including scientific knowledge (Dhahabī, *Mufassirūn,* ii, 454-64). The basis of the contentions of al-Ghazālī and al-Suyūṭī are such verses in the Qur'ān as "for we have revealed to you the book (q.v.) as an exposition of every thing" (Q 16:89). It should be noted, however, that the same verse starts with "Remind them of the day when we shall call from every people a witness against them, and make you a witness over them" (see WITNESSING AND TESTIFYING; LAST JUDGMENT). After describing the book as an

exposition of everything, the verse continues to say "and as guidance and grace (q.v.) and happy tidings for those who submit" (see ERROR; ASTRAY; BLESSING; MERCY; GOOD NEWS). Therefore, the likely reference in this verse to the exposition of knowledge is connected to knowledge of what would happen in the hereafter and the fate of believers (see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF; REWARD AND PUNISHMENT; ESCHATOLOGY; FAITH). Despite their claims, neither al-Ghazālī nor al-Suyūṭī proceeds to correlate the qur'ānic text to science, in a systematic interpretive exercise. Moreover, there are no instances in which these two or other exegetes claim authority in scientific subjects on account of their knowledge of the Qur'ān. Perhaps the most relevant reason for the absence of an articulation of a qur'ānic paradigm of science in premodern times is that there was no need for such an articulation in the absence of the counter-claims of a hegemonic culture of science and the ideological outlook that accompanied the rise of modern science (Iqbal, Islam and modern science, 30).

To be sure, scientific subjects do come up in many medieval qur'ānic exegetical works, but their treatment in these sources is radically different from their contemporary counterpart. The contemporary uses of some of the commonly cited "scientific" verses will be discussed below but, first, I will examine the meaning attributed to these verses in classical commentaries, including some in which such scientific discourse is most pronounced, namely the works of scholars such as al-Zamakhsharī (d. 583/1144) and Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 606/1210).

The instances of scientific discourse in the classical qur'ānic commentaries are invariably mixed with other kinds of discourse that have no connection to science. Qur'ān commentators had a distinct conception of what constitutes the main thematic emphasis of the Qur'ān and they often, though not always, presented their detailed discussions of specific subjects within this framework. Thus, for example, in his commentary on Q 7:54, al-Rāzī spells out the four themes around which the various discussions of the Qur'ān revolve *(madār amr al-Qur'ān)*. Significantly, the verse in question relates to the natural order. It reads

> Surely your lord (q.v.) is God who created the heavens and the earth (q.v.) in six days, then assumed the throne (see THRONE OF GOD; ANTHROPOMORPHISM). He covers up the day with night which comes chasing it fast (see DAY AND NIGHT); and the sun (q.v.) and the moon (q.v.) and the stars are subjugated by his command. It is his to create and command. Blessed be God, the lord of all the worlds.

Before embarking on a lengthy discussion of this verse, al-Rāzī lists the four overriding qur'ānic themes: the oneness of God (see GOD AND HIS ATTRIBUTES), prophethood (see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD), resurrection (q.v.) and the omnipotence of God (see POWER AND IMPOTENCE) or the related question of predestination (Rāzī, *Tafsīr,* xiv, 96 f., ad loc.; see also Abū Ḥayyān, *Nahr,* i, 809-11; see FREEDOM AND PREDESTINATION); all other themes, including the ones in this verse, ultimately underscore one of these four essential motifs. Al-Rāzī proceeds to explain the manner in which this seemingly unrelated verse does indeed relate to the oneness and omnipotence of God — and lists several interpretations that confirm this correlation. One is to argue that the heavens and the earth are created with a particular size, while their natures do not preclude the possibiliy of having a larger or smaller size. This shows that a willing maker chose to give them this

specific size and no other, thus proving the existence of a free and willing creator (Rāzī, *Tafsīr,* xiv, 96-7). Alternatively, the creation at a specific time of the heavens and the earth, when they could have been created at an earlier or a later time, is an act of choice by God, and not due to the inherent nature of either. The same thing also applies to the configurations and the positions of the various parts of the universe relative to each other, and so on (ibid., 97-8). After a lengthy digression to disprove the attribution of place and direction to God (ibid., 98 f.; see SPATIAL RELATIONS; TIME), al-Rāzī returns to the first theme, albeit from a different perspective. He enumerates the benefits that result from the succession of day and night, again as proof that God creates the world in a specific fashion in order to maximize the benefit for humans from this world (ibid., 117). He then undertakes a linguistic exploration, typical of qur'ānic commentaries of all kinds (see GRAMMAR AND THE QUR'ĀN), of the meaning of the word "subjugated" *(musakhkharāt)*. The sun, he reports, has two motions: one cyclical rotation is completed in a year, and another in a day. The cycle of night and day, however, is not due to the motion of the sun but to the motion of the great orb, which is also the throne (ibid., 117-8). Moreover, each heavenly body or planet has an angel assigned to it to move it when it rises and sets (ibid., 118-9), and God has endowed the throne, or the great outer orb, with the power to influence all the other orbs, thus enabling it to move them by compulsion from east to west, i.e. in the opposite direction to their west-to-east slow motion (ibid., 119-20). This, according to al-Rāzī, is the meaning of "subjugation": that orbs and planets are organized by God in a particular order for no inherent reason of their own, so that they produce optimal benefit for humans (ibid., 120; see GRACE; BLESSING).

Al-Rāzī's approach is typical of many other commentators, both in its linguistic turn, and in its emphasis on the benefits of creation to humans as evidence of the existence of the willing creator. Commentators often focus not just on the meaning and appropriateness of using certain terms but also on the logic of the order of their appearance in the Qur'ān. Such, for example, is one of the main arguments raised in al-Rāzī's commentary on Q 2:22: "[It is he] who made the earth a bed for you, the sky a canopy, and he sends forth rain from the skies that fruits may grow as food for your sustenance (q.v.). So, do not make another the equal of God knowingly" (see POLYTHEISM AND ATHEISM; IDOLS AND IMAGES). In this verse, al-Rāzī maintains, there are five kinds of signs (q.v.) or proofs (see PROOF) that reinforce belief in God: two from within the self *(dalā'il al-anfus)* and three from the external world (*dalā'il al-āfāq;* Rāzī, *Tafsīr,* ii, 101). Since people are more likely to appreciate signs from within themselves and since self-knowledge is clearer than other kinds of knowledge, the Qur'ān first refers to the creation of humans. An added reason for beginning with this proof is that all of God's gifts to humanity presume the prior creation of humans in order to benefit from these gifts (see GIFT-GIVING; GRATITUDE AND INGRATITUDE); in this way the Qur'ān accounts for the creation of humans before accounting for the creation of that from which they benefit. Al-Rāzī also suggests another reason for starting with the creation of humankind, namely that all the signs of the heavens and the earth have their counterparts in humans, whereas the reverse is not true; the unique traits created in human beings include life (q.v.), power, desire (see WISH AND DESIRE), intellection (see INTELLECT) and so on. Elsewhere al-Rāzī explores the reasons why the word "heavens" occurs before the

word "earth" in most cases where they occur together in the Qur'ān (see PAIRS AND PAIRING). Among the virtues of the heavens is that they are ornamented by God with the bright stars, the sun and the moon as well as the throne, the pen (see INSTRUMENTS; WRITING AND WRITING MATERIALS) and the Preserved Tablet (q.v.). God also uses complimentary names to refer to the heavens in order to underscore their high status. Other merits of the heavens are that they are the abode of angels (see ANGEL) where God is never disobeyed (see OBEDIENCE; DISOBEDIENCE; FALL OF MAN; DEVIL), that prayers are directed to them (see PRAYER), hands are raised towards them in supplication and they have perfect color and shape. The one advantage of the heavens over the earth which invokes a scientific view common at the time is the notion that the heavenly world influences the sub-lunar world, whereas the earth is the passive agent that is acted upon. Al-Rāzī also lists some of the merits of the earth according to those who prefer it to the heavens, including the fact that prophets are sent in it and mosques (see MOSQUE) for the worship (q.v.) of God are built in it (ibid., 106-7). The noticeable feature in this comparison is the absence of any discussion of a natural superiority of heaven over earth, a point to which we will return. Suffice it here to note that rather than using the Qur'ān to elucidate science or science to extract the proper meaning of the qur'ānic text, quasi-scientific discussions often aim at explaining the order of words in qur'ānic verses and at demonstrating the linguistic, rhetorical miracles of the Qur'ān (see RHETORIC AND THE QUR'ĀN; ARABIC LANGUAGE; LANGUAGE AND STYLE OF THE QUR'ĀN). Indeed, it is not just the creation of a perfect and wondrous world that is underscored in the commentaries, but also the fact that God refers to this creation by using words that cannot be emulated by the most eloquent humans (ibid., 105).

The marvel of creation is a recurrent theme of qur'ānic commentaries. These marvels are viewed as signs of God and proofs that he exists, is all-powerful and all-knowing, and is the willing creator of all being. The frequent summons in the Qur'ān for humans to observe and reflect on the heavens and the earth (e.g. Q 10:101) are seen by many commentators as evidence that there is no way to know God directly and that he can only be known by contemplating his signs (e.g. Rāzī, *Tafsīr,* xvii, 169; Abū Ḥayyān, *Nahr,* ii [pt. 1], 49; also Zamakhsharī, *Kashshāf,* i, 32). At a basic level, such reflection leads to the conclusion that there is order and wisdom in creation, which in turn means that a wise maker must have created it. The complex "secrets" of creation also lead humans to recognize the limits of human comprehension and its inability to grasp the infinite knowledge and wisdom (q.v.) of God. The more one delves into the details of creation, the stronger the belief one develops in the wisdom behind it (Rāzī, *Tafsīr,* xiv, 121, ad Q 7:54).

One of the commonly cited verses which urge contemplation of the signs of the heavens and the earth is Q 3:190-1:

In the creation of the heavens and the earth, the alteration of night and day, are signs for the wise. Those who remember God (see REMEMBRANCE), standing or sitting or lying on their sides, who reflect on and contemplate the creation of the heavens and the earth, [say]: Our lord, not in vain have you made them. All praise (q.v.) be to you, preserve us from the torment of hell (see HELL AND HELLFIRE).

In his commentary on this verse, al-Rāzī contends that the human mind is incapable of comprehending the manner in which a

small leaf on a tree is created, how it is structured or how it grows; needless to say, the larger task of discovering God's wisdom in the creation of the heavens and the earth is completely impossible. One must therefore concede that the creator is beyond full comprehension. Consequently, one should admit the utmost wisdom and great secrets (q.v.) of creation, even if there is no way of knowing what these are (see HIDDEN AND THE HIDDEN). Ultimately, when people reflect on the heavens and the earth, they will come to realize that their creator did not create them in vain but for a remarkable wisdom and great secrets and that the intellects are incapable of comprehending them (Rāzī, *Tafsīr,* ix, 128-41). This means that the ultimate purpose of reflection is to establish the limitations of human knowledge and its inability to comprehend creation, not to establish a scientific fact and demonstrate its correspondence with the Qur'ān. Moreover, as understood in these commentaries, the contemplation for which the qur'ānic text calls lies outside the text, in nature, and does not move back to the text — nor does it follow or correspond to any particular qur'ānic scheme. As such, contemplation does not imply a correlation between science — whether natural philosophy (see PHILOSOPHY AND THE QUR'ĀN), astronomy, or medicine (see MEDICINE AND THE QUR'ĀN) — and the Qur'ān. The Qur'ān, according to these commentaries, directs people to reflect on the wisdom of the creation of nature but provides no details on the natural order or on ways of deciphering it; these details, if and when they appear in classical qur'ānic commentaries, are drawn from the prevailing scientific knowledge of the time. This overview of the mode in which the commentators invoke creation as evidence of God and his traits illustrates the fundamental divide between science and the Qur'ān.

As noted above, the qur'ānic signs of creation are often classified into those from within the self *(dalā'il al-anfus)* and those from the external world *(dalā'il al-āfāq)*. Alternatively, the qur'ānic signs are classified into signs in the heavens, on earth, or in what falls in between. The heavenly signs include the movements of the celestial orbs, their magnitudes and positions, as well as signs specific to different components of the heavens, such as the sun, the moon and the planets. The earthly signs include minerals, plants and humans (e.g. Qurṭubī, *Jāmi',* ii, 191-202; Abū Ḥayyān, *Nahr,* i, 156 f.; Rāzī, *Tafsīr,* ii, 101 f.; ix, 137; xvii, 169; see METALS AND MINERALS; AGRICULTURE AND VEGETATION). The most striking feature of the discussions of these signs, especially the heavenly ones, is the mixing of some information drawn from astronomy and natural philosophy with a wealth of other non-scientific material. Thus, for example, one of the benefits of the rising and setting of the moon is that, while its rising helps night travelers find their way, its setting shelters fugitives trying to escape from their enemies. Additionally, among the signs of the heavens is the fact that the shooting stars or meteors serve as missiles that drive devils away and keep them from spying on the angels in the heavens (Rāzī, *Tafsīr,* ii, 108-9; cf. ibid., xv, 76; xvii, 37; Qurṭubī, *Jāmi',* vii, 230 f.; viii, 38; Zamakhsharī, *Kashshāf,* i, 291, 354-5; Abū Ḥayyān, *Nahr,* i [pt. 2], 7; ii [pt. 1], 49-50). Another common feature of the commentaries on what is often referred to as the "sign verses" (see PORTENTS) is that, while the complexity and perfection of creation is, in and of itself, a sign of the wise creator, the primary proof is not just in the creation of a complex natural order but in the benefits to humanity from this creation. A typical commentary thus focuses on the specific way in which various aspects of the

natural phenomena are arranged in order to maximize the benefits to humanity from them. Since there is no inherent reason for the universe to be arranged in a particular fashion, then there must be a willing maker who chose to create it as such. Thus, it is the benefit to humans that ultimately proves the existence of a wise and willing creator. To be sure, the subjugation by God of all creation in the service of human beings serves both their needs for survival and their independence without which they cannot worship God; as such, benefit lies both in this world and in the hereafter (Zamakhsharī, *Kashshāf,* i, 43; Abū Ḥayyān, *Nahr,* i, 54). But benefit and utility are not the ultimate purposes of creation; rather, benefit is what induces people to reflect on God's creation, recognize the magnitude of his power and then believe in him.

While material benefit serves as a secondary objective of creation, the primary objective is the religious benefit in the world to come, which results from belief in God. Such, for example, is the gist of a commentary on the above-mentioned verse Q 2:22: "[It is he] who made for the earth a bed for you, the sky a canopy, and sends forth rain from the skies that fruits may grow as food for your sustenance. So, do not make another the equal of God knowingly." According to one commentator, the term bed *(firāsh)* in this verse means a place on which people could walk and settle; and all parts of the earth play a role in making human life on earth possible (Qurṭubī, *Jāmiʿ,* i, 227 f.). The ultimate meaning of the verse, however, is that God made humans independent of the rest of creation so that they should not compromise, out of need, their exclusive worship of God. Alternatively, Ṣūfīs argue that this verse teaches the way of poverty *(faqr)* and self-denial by directing people to sleep in the open, with the earth as bed and the sky as cover (ibid., 229-31; see ASCETICISM; ṢŪFISM AND THE QUR'ĀN; POVERTY AND THE POOR). Other verses occasion more detailed debate of the meaning of benefit, as in the commentaries on Q 2:29: "He made for you all that lies within the earth, then turned to the firmament. He proportioned seven skies; he has knowledge of every thing." Al-Qurṭubī (d. 671/1272) reports that some people argue that this verse proves that the rule with regard to all created things is that they are licit unless there is clear textual evidence that prohibits or regulates them (see FORBIDDEN; LAWFUL AND UNLAWFUL). Benefit here is understood as making use of all created things. Without questioning this notion of permissibility or licitness, al-Qurṭubī maintains that the verse means that all things are created for human beings so that they may reflect on the miracle of creation and thereby believe in God, which is the ultimate benefit for human beings (Qurṭubī, *Jāmiʿ,* i, 250-2; also Zamakhsharī, *Kashshāf,* i, 43; Abū Ḥayyān, *Nahr,* i, 54).

Classical commentaries often introduce elaborate discussions of scientific subjects to illustrate the idea of God's wise choice of creation as a way of maximizing human benefit. For example, in his commentary on Q 2:22 mentioned above, al-Rāzī outlines the prerequisites for making the earth a bed *(firāsh)*. After asserting that one of these prerequisites is that the earth does not move, al-Rāzī proceeds to prove his contention (Rāzī, *Tafsīr,* ii, 101 f.). If the earth were to move, its motion would be either linear or circular. If it were linear, it would be falling. But since heavier objects move faster than slower ones, the earth would fall at a faster speed than the people living on its surface, with the result that they would be separated from the surface of the earth and hence could not use it as a bed. If, on the other hand, the earth's motion were circular, the benefit for humans from it would not be complete

since a person moving in a direction opposite to its motion would never reach his destination. Al-Rāzī then surveys the evidence adduced by various scholars to prove that the earth is stationary. What follows is a quasi-scientific discussion which draws on but does not privilege science as the authoritative reference on this subject. Some, al-Rāzī reports, argue that the earth is bottomless and thus has no bottom to move to, which is why it does not move. This view, al-Rāzī contends, is wrong because all created bodies are finite. The finitude of created bodies, it should be noted, is asserted on theological and not scientific grounds. Others concede the finitude of objects but argue that the earth is still because it is a semi-sphere whose flat bottom floats on the surface of water. Al-Rāzī rejects this argument on the grounds that even if this were true, both the earth and the water on which it floats could be moving. Moreover, al-Rāzī wonders, why would one side of the earth be flat and the other round? Again, while al-Rāzī could have invoked arguments for the sphericity of the earth which are more in line with the sciences of the time, his response is notably general and not grounded in science. A third argument which al-Rāzī rejects is that the orbs attract the different parts of the earth with equal forces from all directions; these equal forces would cancel each other at the center, which is where the earth is located. This theory is rejected because lighter objects, and those farther away from the center of the earth, would be attracted faster than those which are heavier or closer to the center and this would mean that the atoms that are thrown out, away from the center, would never fall back to the surface. Irrespective of how scientific these arguments appear to us, from our modern perspective of science, they do not reflect the prevalent scientific view of al-Rāzī's time. The closest he gets to engaging the then-prevalent understanding of science is when he reports, and rejects, the Aristotelian argument that the earth, by nature, seeks the center of the universe. This, al-Rāzī rightly notes, is the view of Aristotle and the majority of his followers among the natural philosophers. Al-Rāzī objects to this view on the grounds that the earth shares the trait of physicality with all other bodies in the universe and its acquisition of a specialized trait that makes it stationary is by necessity logically contingent. Thus, it is the free volition of the maker, and not any inherent nature, that accounts for the stillness of the earth. If anything, al-Rāzī adds, the nature of the earth is to sink in water and God reverses its nature so that it does not submerge in water in order to maximize the human benefit and to make it a place over which they can reside (Rāzī, *Tafsīr,* ii, 102-4).

This elaborate, quasi-scientific discourse which draws freely on the scientific knowledge of the time is evidently not aimed at upholding a particular scientific view of nature, nor does it strive to make positive contributions to the accepted body of scientific knowledge. Rather, its primary purpose is to argue the contingency of the created order and its ultimate dependence on God (see COSMOLOGY). Nowhere in this and other classical commentaries does one encounter the notion that a certain scientific fact or theory is predicted or even favored by the Qur'ān. Instead, these commentaries emphatically reject explanations of qur'ānic verses that are grounded in the notion of a natural order. The sign verses serve as evidence of the creator not in the particular knowledge that they convey about nature but in the ultimate conclusion in each and every verse that there is a choice in creation and thus a creator who makes this choice, that the "world is created with perfect management, compre-

hensive determination, utter wisdom, and infinite omnipotence" (ibid., 109).

Inevitably, any discussions of nature in a medieval Islamic context must invoke the question of causality and the natural order, widely debated among intellectuals of the period. The clearest articulation of the traditional Islamic view on this subject is Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī's *Tahāfut al-falāsifa*, "The incoherence of the philosophers," but it was also addressed in *tafsīr*. As the above examples already suggest, the tendency in *tafsīr* literature is to attribute the natural phenomena to direct creation by God, rather than to intermediary causes which, once God creates and sets them in motion, become autonomous causes in their own right. For example, in the commentary on Q 2:22 which speaks of God who "sends forth rain from the skies that fruits may grow…," one commentator states outright that this reference to the growth of fruit due to the rain from the sky is figurative and that the real cause is not rain but the creator of all species (Abū Ḥayyān, *Nahr*, i, 40 f.). Al-Rāzī's comments on this verse are more exhaustive (Rāzī, *Tafsīr*, ii, 110): irrespective of whether the cause of the growth of fruit is rain from the sky or direct creation by God, the existence of a wise maker is a necessity. Thus, right from the beginning, he admits both views within the realm of possibility. He goes on to say, in conscious opposition to the late *mutakallimūn* (speculative theologians), that God's omnipotence would not be affected whether he creates the fruit from nothing or through the intermediacy of the affective and receptive powers in bodies. He also points out the possible wisdom inherent in creating intermediaries: if creation were direct, then the role of the maker would be all too obvious; whereas in the case of intermediaries, people would have to reflect on the intricacies of the process of creation to deduce the existence of a creator. The second process of reflection, according to al-Rāzī, is more difficult and merits more reward for the person who undertakes it.

A similar, perhaps even more pronounced recognition of causality is reflected in al-Nīsābūrī's (fl. ninth/fifteenth cent.) portrayal of nature in his *Gharā'ib al-Qur'ān*. Al-Nīsābūrī's work is the only *tafsīr* work which has been systematically examined for its portrayal of nature and for its relationship to science (Morrison, Portrayal of nature). In his commentaries, al-Nīsābūrī draws on astronomy and natural philosophy and provides descriptions of the natural phenomena which are not restricted to appearances but assume the reality of the phenomena in question. Al-Nīsābūrī thus recognized the existence of a chain of real secondary causes in nature (Morrison, Portrayal of nature, 3, 13 f.). As the study of al-Nīsābūrī illustrates, however, this acceptance was somewhat tempered by the notion that these real causes "operated under God's direct control, when God chose to use them" (ibid., 5-9). The concept employed by al-Nīsābūrī is that of *taskhīr* (subjugating), as opposed to *tafwīḍ* (entrusting or commissioning), of the power of the intermediary, which implies the immediate role of God in controlling these causes (ibid., 13). Moreover, regardless of his acceptance of intermediary causes, al-Nīsābūrī's discussion of the natural phenomena conforms to the general outlines of other classical commentaries in two main respects. First, he does not use the Qur'ān as a source of knowledge about nature. Second, his exposition of various scientific theories and explanations is seldom done for the purpose of favoring one over the others. Rather, this exposition is usually undertaken to suggest that there are multiple possible explanations, on which the Qur'ān is neutral.

Asserting the multiplicity of possible explanations of natural phenomena is hardly compatible with the positivism of the scientific outlook. Classical *tafsīr* works, however, are full of such assertions. Most of the commentaries on the sign verses contain multiple interpretations, of which only some are connected to science. While some of these "scientific" interpretations are rejected, many are allowed as acceptable possibilities. In many cases, information culled from scientific discourse is countered, rather than confirmed, by what are considered acceptable alternative interpretations. One example among many is the commentary on Q 15:16-7: "We have placed the signs of the zodiac *(burūj)* in the sky and adorned it for those who can see (see SEEING AND HEARING). And we have preserved it from every accursed devil." Al-Qurṭubī (*Jāmiʿ*, x, 9-10) contends that the word *burūj* means palaces and mansions as well as the signs of the zodiac. In the latter case, he adds, the reference to the science of the stars might be because the Arabs (q.v.) at the time of revelation held the zodiac in high esteem. As usual, al-Rāzī has more to say on this subject. The signs of the zodiac, he argues, serve as proofs of the existence of a willing maker because, as authorities on astrology agree, the natures of these signs vary. The celestial orb is thus composed of many components of varying essences. This in turn means that the celestial orb is a composite entity and, as such, is in need of a composer to put its different fragments together in accordance with God's choice and higher wisdom (Rāzī, *Tafsīr*, xix, 168, ad Q 15:16; see Fig. 11 for an example of the persistence of pre-Islamic depictions of the signs of the zodiac in Islamic times). Both al-Qurṭubī and al-Rāzī also maintain that the preservation of the skies occurs by unleashing meteors to drive away devils. What is characteristic of such commentaries is that the little explanation that is drawn from common scientific knowledge is embedded in a wealth of other material that contradicts the common scientific knowledge of the time. A similar example occurs in the commentary on Q 36:38: "While the sun moves to its resting place *(wa-l-shamsu tajrī li-mustaqarrin lahā)*. That is the dispensation of the mighty, all-knowing [God]." Contemporary translations usually render the first part of this verse as "While the sun keeps revolving in its orbit" and this translation is not totally foreign to the classical understanding of the verse. In fact, the focus of most of the commentaries is on the possible meanings of the word *mustaqarr*. These include a location beyond which the sun cannot go, such that once it reaches that location it starts heading back to where it came from; this is obviously the sense in which the word means orb (Qurṭubī, *Jāmiʿ*, xv, 278; Rāzī, *Tafsīr*, xxvi, 71, ad Q 36:38). Other meanings of equal possibility, however, are also listed, including the possibility that *mustaqarr* means a resting point under the throne where the sun prostrates (see BOWING AND PROSTRATION) before it is commanded to rise again and go back from where it came; or the day of judgment, after which the sun will no longer move; or a specific location, and so on (Qurṭubī, *Jāmiʿ*, xv, 278; Rāzī, *Tafsīr*, xxvi, 72). Al-Rāzī, however, is not impartial to all of these interpretations. His preferred understanding of the word *mustaqarr* is as a locality beyond which the sun can not go. This, he continues, corresponds to the highest as well as lowest points in the daily rotation of the sun. Significantly, however, al-Rāzī does not base his choice on simple observation but on the fact that this rotation of the sun generates the day and the night, both of which are essential for maximizing benefit to human beings. Once again, despite references to science, the guiding principle for the exegetical

exercise is a theological one, and not a scientific one which stands outside the text itself.

In a move that further clarifies his exegetical strategy, al-Rāzī notes in the commentary on the same verse that most commentators agree that the sky is a plane and has no edges or peaks (Rāzī, *Tafsīr,* xxvi, 75-6). In response, however, he maintains that there is nothing in the text of the Qur'ān which suggests with certainty that the sky has to be flat and not spherical. On the other hand, al-Rāzī adds, "sensory evidence indicates that the sky is actually spherical, so it must be accepted." After giving some of this sensory evidence to illustrate his point, he adds that such evidence is abundant and its proper place is in the books of astronomy. To al-Rāzī, therefore, the authority on this matter is the science of astronomy and not the Qur'ān, however understood. The only reason he gets into this extra-qur'ānic discussion is to undermine the claims of other commentators who wrongly extend the authority of the Qur'ān outside its proper realm.

Another aspect of al-Rāzī's exegetical strategy with regard to the sign verses is also revealed in his commentary on the same verse. This time, however, he takes issue with astronomers, and not the commentators. The astronomers maintain that celestial orbs are solid spherical bodies, but al-Rāzī contends that this is not necessarily the case. The basis for his objection is that it is not impossible, from the standpoint of astronomy, to have an orb which is a circular plate or even an imaginary circle which the planet traces in its motion. Furthermore, it is not beyond God's power to create any of these configurations (Rāzī, *Tafsīr,* xxvi, 76; see also Morrison, Portrayal of nature, 20-2, for the different views of al-Nīsābūrī). While al-Rāzī's interest in these quasi-scientific subjects exceeds those of other commentators, it still reflects a pervasive attitude found in classical commentaries. Scientific knowledge is freely invoked, and occasionally challenged in these commentaries. Yet the purpose of rejecting some scientific views is not to promote alternative ones or to assert the authority of the Qur'ān at the expense of the various fields of scientific knowledge. In the absence of a clear statement in the Qur'ān, one seeks answers to scientific questions in their respective fields. The contrary, however, is not true, since the qur'ānic text is not science. When there is an apparent conflict between a qur'ānic text and a scientific fact, the commentators do not present the qur'ānic text as the arbiter. Rather, they simply try to explore the possibility of alternative scientific explanations and thus suggest that scientific knowledge on such points of contention is not categorical. This, for example, is the case in al-Rāzī's discussion of the numbers of celestial orbs. After presenting a "summary and cursory overview" of the prevalent astronomical views on the subject, al-Rāzī maintains that it is not beyond God's power to create the heavens in this particular configuration. He adds, however, that there is no evidence that this is the only possible order of the heavens (Rāzī, *Tafsīr,* xxvi, 77).

It follows from the above that religious knowledge and scientific knowledge are each assigned to their own compartments. This would justify the pursuit of science and even the use of scientific discourse in commenting on the Qur'ān but it would also limit this use. A case in point is al-Rāzī's contention that some ignorant people may object to his unusual use of the science of astronomy in explaining the book of God. In response, he asserts that God has filled his book with proofs of his knowledge, power and wisdom which are inferred from the conditions of the heavens and the earth. If exploring these subjects

and reflecting on them were not permissible, God would not have so frequently urged humans to reflect on these signs. "The science of astronomy," he adds, "has no other meaning than reflection on how he ordered the [heavens] and created its [different parts]" (Rāzī, *Tafsīr,* xiv, 121). The purpose of this exercise is not to establish correspondence between scientific verities and the Qur'ān, but simply to reflect and hence to reinforce belief in the creator of the awe-inspiring universe. This kind of reflection in the service of belief does not produce knowledge about the natural order. Despite all of his talk about the permissibility of using astronomy in exegesis, al-Rāzī asserts that all creation is from God, that the planets have no influence on the sub-lunar world, and that the "assertion of natures, intellects, and souls in the manner advocated by philosophers and diviners is invalid" (ibid., 122-3; see SOUL). These statements are, however, directed primarily at fellow religious scholars and not at scientists. When discussing the religious import of the Qur'ān, commentators are urged to stay within the realm of the text and not to try to impose astronomical knowledge on it or, for that matter, feign a qur'ānic understanding of astronomy. The qur'ānic text to which al-Rāzī wants to restrict himself and his fellow commentators does not have a scientific import and does not translate into binding scientific facts. It underscores the wisdom and power behind creation but says nothing about the exact order of the created world. The complexity and wondrous nature of the world reinforce belief in God but this is not contingent on the adoption of any particular scientific view. In fact, scientific facts and theories in themselves do not provide evidence of the oneness of the creator. Rather, it is the very fact that other natural orders are possible that points to a willing maker who chooses one of these possibilities (e.g. Rāzī, *Tafsīr,* xxii, 161-2, ad Q 21:33). According to this logic, everything in nature, however explained, as well as all scientific discoveries and facts, irrespective of their certainty, serve as proofs for the existence of the maker. And this is the fundamental reason why the scientific and unscientific could appear side by side in the commentaries on the Qur'ān (for example, ibid., 163).

As the above overview suggests, al-Bīrūnī's view was in conformity with the prevalent view within the discursive culture of qur'ānic exegesis. This confluence of attitudes between scientists like al-Bīrūnī and qur'ānic exegetes further suggests a conceptual separation of science and religion in the mainstream of classical Islamic culture. The same, however, cannot be said of modern Islamic discourse on science and religion and on contemporary Islamic views of the relationship between the Qur'ān and science. Ironically, when Muslims were the main producers of science in the world, they did not advocate the idea of the marriage of science and religion, while the contemporary call for such a marriage is concurrent with the dwindling Muslim participation in the production of the universal culture of science. As the above cursory overview suggests, classical commentators on the Qur'ān never even hinted that the miracle of the Qur'ān lies in its prediction of scientific discoveries that were made centuries after the coming of the revelation. Nor did these commentators advocate an understanding of the Qur'ān as a source of scientific knowledge. Yet both claims abound in contemporary Islamic discourse.

Questions of science and religion are approached in manifold ways in modern Islamic discourse. But by far the most common treatments of this subject maintain

that many modern findings of science have been predicted, or at least alluded to, in the Qur'ān, and that these predictions constitute evidence of what is referred to as the scientific miracle *(iʿjāz)* of the Qur'ān (for example, Nawfal, *Qur'ān wa-l-ʿilm,* 24). To be sure, this view is articulated in more than one way. In one form, this understanding maintains that, in contrast to other scriptures, the Qur'ān does not make any statements which contradict the findings of modern science. The most famous proponent of this argument is the French physician Maurice Bucaille. Bucaille's book *The Bible, the Qur'ān and science. The holy scriptures examined in the light of modern knowledge,* in its many translations and editions, has been extremely popular and has inspired an almost cultic following among large numbers of Muslims all over the world. Bucaille argues that the Qur'ān is full of discussions of scientific subjects, including "[c]reation, astronomy, the explanation of certain matters concerning the earth,… the animal and vegetable kingdoms, [and] human reproduction." In contrast to the Bible, whose treatment of these subjects is full of "monumental errors," Bucaille asserts that he "could not find a single error in the Qur'ān." In fact, Bucaille asserts, the Qur'ān does "not contain a single statement which is assailable from a modern scientific point of view" — which led him to believe that no human author in the seventh century could have written "facts" which "today are shown to be in keeping with modern scientific knowledge" (Bucaille, *The Bible,* 120-1, viii). Bucaille also articulates in this book an idea which is current among modern commentators on this subject, namely that "modern scientific knowledge… allows us to understand certain verses of the Qur'ān which, until now, it has been impossible to interpret" (ibid., 251). The two main points of this argument, therefore, are the miraculous conformity between qur'ānic statements and science, and the possibility, in fact need, for a scientific interpretation of the Qur'ān in the light of the findings of modern science.

Once a correlation between the Qur'ān and science is asserted, it only takes a small extension of the same logic to embark on an arbitrary exercise of collecting extra-qur'ānic facts and discoveries, and mining the Qur'ān for statements that seem to correspond to them. That these new scientific discoveries have nothing to do with the Qur'ān never hinders some modern commentators who proudly present these theories as evidence of the qur'ānic miracle. The qur'ānic text is read with these so-called scientific facts in mind without any recognition that this reading is itself an interpretation of the text which is conditioned by the assumptions of the interpreters and by the restricted focus of their textual examination. In extreme cases, this approach borders on the cultic, as in the widely circulated genre known as the *iʿjāz raqamī* or *ʿadadī* (numerical *iʿjāz*) of the Qur'ān. This form of numerology (q.v.) assigns an order to the occurrence of certain terms in the Qur'ān, which is seen as yet another numerical miracle. Thus, for example, one author maintains that the term "sea" is mentioned thirty-two times in the Qur'ān, and the term "land" thirteen times; the ratio thirteen to thirty-two, the author asserts, is equal to the actual ratio of land to water on the surface of the earth (Suwaydān, *Iʿjāz al-Qur'ān,* passim; and Abū al-Suʿūd, *Iʿjāzāt ḥadītha,* passim). This is by no means an isolated view, as is reflected in the scores of books published on this subject, as well as the hundreds of electronic postings on the web. Another extreme to which this argument is carried, again not without wide popularity, is to

present the Qur'ān as a source of knowledge, a book of science of sorts and in some cases even as the comprehensive source of all forms of knowledge, including science.

The verses most frequently cited as instances of the qur'ānic anticipation of modern science include references in the Qur'ān to mountains as stabilizers for the earth which hold its outer surface firmly to prevent it from shaking (e.g. Q 21:31). This "scientific fact" of the Qur'ān, according to the current head of the Committee on the Scientific Miracles of the Qur'ān and Sunna, and author of a whole book on this subject, was only discovered in the middle of the nineteenth century and was not fully understood until the second half of the twentieth (Naggar, *Sources,* passim). The qur'ānic references to the stages of development of the fetus are often quoted as another example in which the Qur'ān is said to have miraculously predicted the discoveries of the modern science of embryology (see BIOLOGY AS THE CREATION AND STAGES OF LIFE). In 1983, Keith Moore, the author of a textbook on embryology, published a third edition of his book under the auspices of the Committee on the Scientific Miracles of the Qur'ān and Sunna, with "Islamic additions" by Abdul Majeed Azzindani, the first head of that Committee. The title of this new edition reads: *The developing human: Clinically oriented embryology. With Islamic additions: Correlation studies with Qur'ān and Ḥadīth, by Abdul Majeed Azzindani*. More recently, the most ambitious of all claims of scientific miracles is that the references in the Qur'ān to the heavens and the earth being originally an integrated mass before God split them (e.g. Q 21:30), are nothing short of a condensed version of the big bang theory (for example, Sa'dī, *Athār,* 41; also Nawfal, *Qur'ān wa-l-'ilm,* 24).

The origins of the school of scientific interpretation of the Qur'ān can be traced back to the nineteenth century. After the sweeping European takeover of most Muslim lands, Muslim intellectuals often attributed European superiority to scientific advancement. Science was, of course, also part of the ideology of the conquering Europeans, who often portrayed themselves as the superior carriers of the culture of reason and science. Faced with the post-Enlightenment ideology of science as well as the effects of European military technologies, Muslim intellectuals generated an apologetic discourse which either internalized European claims about science or simply claimed that the European values of science were not foreign to Muslims. The famous response of the nineteenth century Muslim scholar and activist Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī (d. 1897) to the French Orientalist Ernest Renan (d. 1892) addresses the very question of the compatibility of science and Islam (Keddie, *Islamic response,* 130-87). Other Muslims focused on the promotion of an understanding of Islam which is in conformity with science. The notable example of this trend is Sayyid Aḥmad Khān (d. 1898), who juxtaposed the Qur'ān, the word of God (q.v.), and nature, the work of God, as two manifestations of the same reality that cannot be in conflict. With his positivistic understanding of science, however, Khan maintained that in cases of apparent contradiction between the word and the work [of God], the latter takes precedence while the former should be interpreted metaphorically (Khan, *Tafsīr,* passim; see METAPHOR).

In addition to Afghānī and Khān, both of whose assertions of harmony between the Qur'ān and science served very different political agendas, most discussions by Muslims on this subject were for the purpose of establishing the adequacy of their religion in the age of science and reason

and to encourage Muslims to pursue the sciences. Many of the leading Muslim intellectuals of this period wrote on this or related themes, including Muḥammad Iqbal (d. 1938) of India and Muḥammad ʿAbduh (d. 1905) of Egypt. The writings of these intellectuals did not, however, elaborate on the details of the relationship between the Qurʾān and science and were largely restricted to the realm of generalities. Iqbal, for example, passionately argued that the rise of Islam marked the birth of inductive reasoning and experimental methods, but he did not present the Qurʾān as a repository of scientific knowledge nor did he suggest that one can arrive at scientific facts through the Qurʾān (cf. Iqbal, *Reconstruction,* 114-31). Still, a more elaborate discourse on this subject was produced as early as the late nineteenth century by Muslims who wanted to claim a role for their scripture and belief system in the making of the modern culture of science. One major proponent of this approach was Said Nursi (1877-1960), whose interpretations were rather simplistic but had the notable effect of influencing a large group of Turkish students and followers. Nursi's scientific interpretations included the assertion that the qurʾānic story of the prophet Solomon (q.v.; Sulaymān; i.e. Q 34:12) predicts the invention of aviation (see FLYING), and that the light (q.v.) verse (Q 24:35) is an allusion to the future invention of electricity (Kalin, Three views, 52-5; also Nursi, *Sözler,* passim). Unlike earlier apologetics, Nursi's efforts had the added objective of establishing the truthfulness of the Qurʾān on the basis of the findings of modern science. Another work that marks a turning point in the same direction is Ṭanṭāwī Jawharī's twenty-six volume *tafsīr* entitled *al-J̌awāhir fī tafsīr al-Qurʾān al-karīm*. Jawharī made a point which is frequently repeated in the contemporary discourse on the Qurʾān and science, namely that the Qurʾān contains 750 verses pertaining directly and clearly to the physical universe, while it has no more than 150 verses on legal matters (see LAW AND THE QUR'ĀN). Jawharī thus called on Muslims to reverse the order of interest and to give priority to the scientific verses, especially since they were now living in the age of science (Jawharī, *Tafsīr,* ii, 483-4).

The early attempts to interpret the Qurʾān and verify it in light of the discoveries of modern science received added impetus in the last decades of the twentieth century, when efforts were made to articulate the theoretical foundations of a new mode of *tafsīr* which aims not just at providing a scientific interpretation of the Qurʾān but also at illustrating its scientific miracles. The main proponent of this theorizing effort is Abdul Majeed Azzindani, the first head of the Committee on the Scientific Miracles of the Qurʾān and Sunna, as noted above. While many writers wrote on specific correspondences between the Qurʾān and aspects of modern science, Azzindani wrote a separate work, *al-Muʿjiza al-ʿilmiyya fī l-Qurʾān wa-l-sunna,* in which he identities the rules of the new science of the Qurʾān, the science of *iʿjāz al-Qurʾān*. This new science, Azzindani maintains, is the fruit of the "kind of *tafsīr* which is known to Muslim scholars who are cognizant of the secrets of creation" and is different from the scientific interpretation of the Qurʾān (Azzindani, *Muʿjiza,* 23). The latter occurs when a commentator makes use of the latest developments in "cosmic knowledge" *(al-ḥaqīqa al-kawniyya)* in order to interpret a verse of the Qurʾān. Scientific *iʿjāz,* however, is the "very cosmic truth to which the meaning of the verse points." At the time when the manifestation of the truth of the verse is witnessed in the universe, the interpretation of the verse settles at that truth.

Additional aspects of the universe may become known with time, leading in turn to further confirmation of the "depth and comprehensiveness of the scientific *iʿjāz*" just as the cosmic order *(al-sunna al-kawniyya)* itself becomes clearer (Azzindani, *Muʿjiza,* 23-4). Therefore, there are several steps in the unfolding of this process of *iʿjāz*. First, a universal cosmic truth, already expressed in the Qurʾān, though not necessarily understood, is suddenly revealed by means of the experimental sciences. After much waiting, Azzindani asserts, humanity has now been able to develop the technical skills that would finally "reveal the secrets of the universe, only to realize that what researchers are discovering, after much research and study using the most complex modern instruments, has been established in a verse or a ḥadīth fourteen centuries ago" (ibid., 27; also see Saʿdī, *Athār,* 11). This discovery or revelation then puts an end to the multiplicity of interpretations when the meaning of the verse finally reaches its resting place *(mustaqarr);* more discoveries in the future can only corroborate this fixed interpretation and thus deepen the sense of *iʿjāz* (Azzindani, *Muʿjiza,* 24-5). Azzindani also maintains that, if there is a contradiction between the certain, unequivocal implication of a qurʾānic text *(dalāla qaṭʿiyya lil-naṣṣ)* and a scientific theory, then this theory should be rejected; whereas if there is conformity between the two, then the text serves as proof of this theory. If, on the other hand, the text is ambiguous (q.v.), and the scientific theory is certain, then the text should be interpreted in accordance with the theory (ibid., 26). Azzindani says nothing about the case when both text and theory are certain and unequivocal. What is clear, however, is that the text serves as the final authority in science and not just in religion, ethics or metaphysics (see ETHICS AND THE QURʾĀN). It is important to note here a distinction between two levels of authority that are attributed to the qurʾānic text: according to Azzindani, the text attests not just to the validity of a scientific discovery but also to its invalidity. The former function is limited and serves to highlight the miraculous nature of the Qurʾān without positing it as a source of scientific knowledge, while in the latter case the Qurʾān stands above science in its own realm. In fact, Azzindani adds, Muslim scientists can find leads in the Qurʾān that would facilitate their future scientific research (ibid., 35), presumably by identifying research projects or finding answers to pending scientific questions.

The way Azzindani deals with instances of conflict between qurʾānic statements and scientific theories marks the main difference between his modern school of interpretation and the classical ones. In such cases of conflict, Azzindani insists on the ultimate authority of the Qurʾān in determining the validity or invalidity of scientific theories. In contrast, classical commentators would typically note the possibility of multiple scientific explanations and theories without deploying the qurʾānic authority in favor of any of these theories, as was noted above. The effect of this recurrent strategy is to guard the autonomy of qurʾānic authority in the realm of religious doctrine without infringing on the autonomy of science in its own realm. In classical commentaries, the Qurʾān and science were separate.

Modern discourse on Islam and science is not restricted to the above attempt to establish instances of scientific miracles in the Qurʾān. Two additional approaches have been influential recently in academic circles. The first focuses on the epistemological critique of modern science and situates scientific knowledge in its historical and cultural contexts (Sardar, *Explorations;* id., *Islamic futures*). In opposition to the

claims of universal truth by modern science, this approach underscores the cultural specificity of all forms of knowledge. This critique of science, in its manifold expressions, has been very influential among philosophers of science and, the desire to propose an Islamic epistemology notwithstanding, there is nothing specifically Islamic about it. Moreover, the content of this proposed Islamic epistemology remains undefined (Kalin, Three views, 57-62). The second approach questions the fundamentals of the metaphysical framework within which modern science operates and attempts to articulate an alternative Islamic framework. This approach, best represented by the writings of S.H. Nasr, posits a dichotomy between ancient and modern sciences and contends that the ancient sciences shared conceptions of the sacredness and unity of knowledge (Kalin, Three views, 63 f.; see PROFANE AND SACRED). Yet if the distinctive mark of this ancient metaphysical framework is in the sacredness and unity of knowledge, then it is not clear how Islamic science would be different from, for example, pagan Hellenistic science. Furthermore, as in the epistemological approach, the content of the Islamic metaphysical framework remains unclear. To be sure, both approaches are serious intellectual exercises: Even when they strive to cite verses of the Qurʾān, however, they remain largely extra-qurʾānic. Neither one of these approaches systematically engages the qurʾānic text as a whole or the cultural legacy which endowed the text with its specific historical meanings.

In all its varieties, the newly constructed Islamic discourse on science is not rooted in a historical understanding of the relationship between the Qurʾān and science. On one level, this is understandable. However defined, modern science has and continues to engender multiple and intense responses among Muslims and non-Muslims alike. The challenges posed by the modern culture of science had no parallel in pre-modern societies. It is thus understandable that Islamic attitudes towards modern science would have to confront challenges that were not addressed in the classical period of Islam. But the desire to articulate contemporary critical concerns about science in Islamic language cannot conceal the radical departure of these modern articulations from the classical ones. In contrast to the contemporary readiness to strain and twist and, in effect, manipulate, the qurʾānic verses to endow them with a scientific meaning, classical commentators refused to subordinate the Qurʾān to an ever-changing science. In insisting on the possibility of multiple scientific explanations of the natural phenomena, classical Qurʾān commentators were able to guard the autonomy of qurʾānic, religious knowledge not through the co-option of science but by assigning it to a separate and autonomous realm of its own.

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Sciences of the Qur'ān

see TRADITIONAL DISCIPLINES OF QUR'ĀNIC STUDY; GRAMMAR AND THE QUR'ĀN; EXEGESIS OF THE QUR'ĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL

Scourge

see FLOGGING

Scribe(s)

see ORALITY AND WRITING IN ARABIA

Scripture and the Qur'ān

Addressing the issue of "scripture" in relation to the Qur'ān is at once a straightforward and a complicated venture. It is straightforward because in many respects the Qur'ān itself puts forward a generic concept of scripture that is consistent with that widely used today in the general study of religion. It is complicated because it raises numerous questions of historical, sociological and theological import for any understanding of either Islamic scripturalism or the relation of Islamic scripturalism to that of other religious traditions (see THEOLOGY AND THE QUR'ĀN). In short, the meaning of "scripture" generally and its use specifically in the Islamic context are important but not as straightforward as might be assumed.

The generic concept of scripture

First, the history and phenomenology of scripture as both a generic concept and a global reality has only begun to be written and only in recent decades has it become the object of serious scholarly investigation and reflection (Cf. Smith, *What is scripture;* Graham, Scripture; id., *Beyond;* Levering, *Rethinking scripture;* Leipoldt and Morenz, *Heilige Schriften*). In particular, we are still in the process of understanding how "scripture" as a conceptual category has developed and expanded in the past few centuries from its specific (Christian or Jewish) sense, referring to one's own most sacred and authoritative text(s), to a more generic sense, referring to any text(s) most sacred to, and authoritative for, a given religious community.

Second, "scripture" as a particularistic concept seems to have first developed most fully in Jewish and Christian contexts and it was in later phases of these and, most recently, in secular contexts primarily within the Western world (especially those of the modern academy) that generic use of the term was subsequently developed to refer commonly not only to particular Jewish or Christian biblical texts but also to

the sacred texts of other religious communities. (For a discussion of the historical emergence of scripture as an important element in religious life, see Smith, Scripture as form.) The earliest such documented usage found by the present author is that of Peter the Venerable (d. 1156 C.E.) in his *Summa totius haeresis saracenorum* (cited in Kritzeck, *Peter the Venerable,* 206), where the *nefaria scriptura* of the Qur'ān is contrasted to the *sacra scriptura* of the Bible. This is not to say that in other religious traditions there are no analogous concepts that might be adduced (most obviously that of *kitāb* in the Islamic case; see below); rather it is to note that the inclusion of the Qur'ān (or Veda or Lotus Sutra) under the rubric of the Latinate word "scripture" is not terribly old historically and was relatively infrequent until the past century or so (at least since the 1879-1894 publication of Max Müller's edited series, *Sacred books of the east*). Such generic usage is now much more common but scripture as a phenomenon occurring in diverse religious contexts and traditions is still something that has only begun to be studied comparatively and globally in any adequate way.

Third, "scripture" as a concept must be understood to be relational, not absolute, in nature. It needs still to be freed to a greater degree from its etymological background and not taken to refer simply to documentary texts or "books" (see ORALITY AND WRITING IN ARABIA). What we mean by "scripture" in the present discussion is very different from and very much more than what we mean by "text." "Scripture" is not a literary genre but a religio-historical one. No text is authoritative or sacred apart from its functional role in a religious community and that community's historical tradition of faith. The sacred character of a book is not an *a priori* attribute but one that develops and achieves widespread recognition in the lives of faithful persons who perceive and treat the text as holy or sacred (see e.g. RITUAL AND THE QUR'ĀN). A text only becomes "scripture" when a group of persons value it as sacred, powerful and meaningful, possessed of an exalted authority, and in some fashion transcendent of, and hence distinct from, other speech and writing. In other words, the "scriptural" characteristics of a text belong not to the text itself but to its role and standing in a religious community. A given text may be "scripture" for one person or group and merely another "book" or ordinary "text" for others. It is possible to study the Qur'ān either as text or as scripture but to study the Qur'ān as text is generally very different from studying it as "scripture," just as to read and respond to it only as another book is very different from reading and responding to it as the verbatim word of God (q.v.).

The qur'ānic concept of scripture

Such a generic and relational understanding of "scripture" as that now common in the study of religion is largely compatible with the Qur'ān's own frequent use of *kitāb*, "writing, book, what is laid down or ordained" (see BOOK) and its plural, *kutub,* to refer to scriptural revelation(s) given by God to previous prophets or messengers (see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD; MESSENGER), especially Noah (q.v.), Abraham (q.v.), and their descendants (see CHILDREN OF ISRAEL), before the bestowing of the Qur'ān upon Muḥammad as his *kitāb* (on *kitāb/kutub* generally, see Madigan, *Qur'ān's self-image,* passim). In the Qur'ān, these earlier revelations are clearly considered to belong to the same general religio-historical category ("scripture") as the definitive revelations to Muḥammad (see REVELATION AND INSPIRATION). Jews (see JEWS AND JUDAISM) and Christians (see CHRISTIANS AND CHRISTIANITY; and a

group identified as the *ṣābi'ūn;* see SABIANS) in particular are referred to as *ahl al-kitāb,* "people of scripture" (see PEOPLE OF THE BOOK). The Qur'ān conceives of itself as a revelation intended to confirm the truths and set right the distortions in the earlier scriptures. Here we have already in the seventh century C.E. the use of a generic concept of scripture that is arguably unique among major scriptures of the world in its explicit recognition of the sacred texts of other communities as belonging to the same category as the qur'ānic revelations themselves — the category of *kitāb/kutub* (see RELIGIOUS PLURALISM AND THE QUR'ĀN; although early Christian Arabic texts name the Qur'ān and Bible as "books of God," *kutub Allāh,* the exact signification of such terminology has yet to be determined; cf. e.g. Sinai Arabic MS 434, f. 181 v., where, in the conclusion to his responses to a Muslim interlocutor that are replete with biblical and qur'ānic allusions, a Melkite [monk?] states: "The answers are finished — abbreviated — since the testimonies of the books of God are abundant"; see similar allusion to the "books of God" in Theodore Abū Qurra's *Debate with Muslim theologians in the majlis of the caliph al-Ma'mūn,* esp. pp. 95, 98, 107-8, 110-1).

It is, however, important to note that *kitāb* can have other senses in qur'ānic usage, notably that of a personal book of destiny in which each person's deeds, good and evil (see GOOD DEEDS; EVIL DEEDS), are written down and will be brought as testimony on the day of judgment (e.g. Q 17:71; 39:69; see LAST JUDGMENT) or that of a heavenly book (q.v.) with God in which everything in the world is written before time (e.g. Q 6:59; 11:6; 35:11). The qur'ānic concept of scripture as a general phenomenon appears to be based on the latter meaning of *kitāb* — especially when it is used to refer to an original, heavenly scripture with God from which all of the earthly scriptures, or *kutub,* have been drawn (see PRESERVED TABLET). One example of this sense is found in Q 10:37: "This recitation *(qur'ān)* is not such as could be invented save by God. Rather it is a confirmation of what came before it and an exposition of the scripture *(al-kitāb)* about which there is no doubt, from the lord of all beings." Sometimes the term *umm al-kitāb,* literally "the mother of scripture" in the sense of the essence, source, or prototype of scripture, "the original scripture," also occurs (Q 13:39; 43:4; see NAMES OF THE QUR'ĀN). This further reinforces the notion of a divine *kitāb* that resides with God.

It is, however, the generic use of *kitāb/kutub* to refer to earlier scriptures and to the Qur'ān itself that is special, or even unique, about the qur'ānic notion of scripture. Typically, the other sacred texts of the world's religions that we call "scriptures" were not written with any similar consciousness of belonging themselves to a category of texts called "scripture." Most if not all great scriptural texts other than the Qur'ān are unconscious of being even potentially "scripture," for "scripture" or any analogous concept is usually a category developed ex post facto and then applied to a text or texts that a community has experienced as sacred, and consequently given special treatment. Thus the Vedic texts of India do not speak about themselves as *śruti,* nor the Jewish or Christian Bible about itself as "scripture" (although the Christian New Testament does treat the earlier Hebrew scriptures as scripturally authoritative); it is rather later generations and their texts that recognize them as "scripture." The texts of the religious prophet Mani are possibly one pre-qur'ānic exception to this (Smith, Scripture as form, 35-6) and of course some later Buddhist sutras such as the Lotus Sutra

present themselves as the word of the Buddha *(buddhavacana);* but there seems to be no major scriptural text before the Qur'ān that uses a generic concept of "scripture" as a category to which it also claims to belong.

The Qur'ān, for its part, is self-consciously explicit about its own function as scripture, *kitāb,* and about being the latest, culminating revelation in a long line of scriptural revelations from the lord of all beings to previous prophets and their peoples. This notion of a succession of prophets *(anbiyā')* or messengers *(rusul)* to each of whom God gave revelations is gradually fleshed out in the sequence of qur'ānic revelations and is the leitmotiv of the qur'ānic *Heilsgeschichte.* In qur'ānic perspective, the fundamental pattern of history is God's sending a messenger or prophet with revelatory guidance (see ASTRAY; ERROR) to nation after nation. The revealed scriptures that embody this guidance include the "pages" revealed to Abraham (see SCROLLS), the Psalms (q.v.) given to David (q.v.), the Torah (q.v.) vouchsafed Moses (q.v.), and the Gospel (q.v.) sent to Jesus (q.v.), as well as the Qur'ān revealed to Muḥammad. What followed each of these prophetic or apostolic missions was the creation of a new community of those who heard and responded in obedience (q.v.) to God's message (see COMMUNITY AND SOCIETY IN THE QUR'ĀN). The Qur'ān, however, seems to hold that while the earlier, successively revealed *kutub* represent scriptures derived from these earlier divine revelations, the communities who preserved them did not succeed in doing so scrupulously enough. Each community that had received revelation previously let its scriptural text be partially lost or changed and thus debased over time (see CORRUPTION; FORGERY; REVISION AND ALTERATION; POLEMIC AND POLEMICAL LANGUAGE) — hence the need for the qur'ānic revelations in "clear Arabic" to rectify such lapses (see ARABIC LANGUAGE; LANGUAGE AND STYLE OF THE QUR'ĀN). The Qur'ān portrays itself as a renewed and presumably final revelation of God's word in the scriptural series. It was revealed through the "seal of the prophets," Muḥammad (see NAMES OF THE PROPHET), and is intended to reiterate what has been lost or corrupted in the previous revelations to other prophets or messengers: "This is a blessed scripture *(kitāb)* that we sent down to you, confirming that which came before it…" (Q 6:92).

Thus it is arguable that the Qur'ān is the first sacred text of a major religious tradition to offer a developed understanding of itself as part of a larger scriptural history. With the Qur'ān, scripture as a category provides a clear context in which the Muslim scripture could be revered as the final revelation but also understood to be the recapitulation of all previous revelations from God (and presumably from his heavenly *kitāb*).

The Qur'ān as a discourse of signs

The Qur'ān's own presentation of itself is foundational in preparing the way for its role as "the scripture" *(al-kitāb)* for Muslims ever afterward. It presents itself, and by extension all earlier divine revelations, as, first, a reminder of the manifold signs (q.v.) of God in nature and in history and, second, a compilation of divine words that are themselves signs of God given by him in his revelations. The key word for "sign" here is *āya* (pl. *āyāt*), which in the qur'ānic text can mean (as in the first case above) simply a "sign," or, as in the second, a qur'ānic pericope or "verse" itself (see VERSES).

Both senses of the word are never far away when *āya* or *āyāt* occurs in the Qur'ān, especially in the later revelations when its manifold connotations have been

fully developed (see CHRONOLOGY AND THE QUR'ĀN). We need only consider a qur'ānic *āya* such as Q 38:29, which, addressing Muḥammad, speaks of the Qur'ān as "a scripture *(kitāb)* that we sent down to you, a blessed one, in order that they might ponder its *āyāt* and in order that those of intelligence might be reminded" (see INTELLECT; KNOWLEDGE AND LEARNING; REFLECTION AND DELIBERATION). Here one sees that the ambiguities of the word *āyāt* allow for reading it as the signs of God in nature and history or as the signs of God as the verses of scripture. In general, the qur'ānic discourse is one in which scriptural words and divine signs in creation can be referred to with the same term since both are ultimately the clearest "signs" of the one God in mundane reality (see NATURE AS SIGNS; HISTORY AND THE QUR'ĀN).

The Qur'ān conceives itself (and, by extension, every previous scripture) as first and foremost a vehicle for reminding human beings of God's miraculous works in nature and history (see MIRACLES; MARVELS), both of which contain the physical and temporal *āyāt* that alone should convince anyone of good sense that there is one God alone who is worthy of worship (q.v.) and obedience. Second, it views itself as a full-blown verbal miracle of God's direct revelation, his "signs" or *āyāt* as words of revealed wisdom (q.v.) and guidance: "A revelation from the all-merciful compassionate [one], a scripture the *āyāt* of which have been made distinct as an Arabic recitation *(qur'ānan ʿarabiyyan)* for a people of knowledge" (Q 41:2-3). Here we see the purpose of the constant qur'ānic emphasis upon the clarity, explanatory power and unambiguous force of its message: namely, to stress that even after providing such clear signs in his handiwork and activity in the world, God has also spoken his message in clear human language, so that no doubt can linger. Thus the pointed question in Q 3:101: "How can you reject [faith] when God's *āyāt* are recited to you, and his messenger is among you?" (see FAITH; GRATITUDE AND INGRATITUDE).

What the "sign" language of the Qur'ān offers is the unfolding of a sophisticated and consistent understanding of God's revelatory activity in the created world. This is an understanding that dovetails logically and functionally with the piecemeal nature of the Qur'ān's own revelations, its episodic and referential style, its didacticism (see RHETORIC AND THE QUR'ĀN; FORM AND STRUCTURE OF THE QUR'ĀN), and its fundamentally oral character (see ORALITY) as a "reciting" of *āyāt*. It is based upon the Qur'ān's generic understanding of divine revelation and scripture as key elements of a *Heilsgeschichte* that culminates in Muḥammad's prophetic mission and the qur'ānic revelations of that mission themselves. When Q 6:109 commands Muḥammad, "Say, *āyāt* belong to God" *(innamā l-āyātu ʿinda llāhi)*, the implication is that all the miraculous signs in nature and history and all the miraculous signs of revelation could come solely from one omnipotent lord (q.v.), the creator and sustainer of the universe (see POWER AND IMPOTENCE; CREATION; SUSTENANCE). The God who speaks in the Qur'ān (see SPEECH) is the one who throughout history has never left his human creatures without clear signs and tokens, whether in the natural world, in human affairs, or, most explicitly, in his revealed word. Scripture is a discourse of God's signs, the set of divine *āyāt* that recount and call attention to God's other miraculous works; it is the verbal recital of his signs, tokens, or miracles in the created world and its history, a recital that is itself a kind of miracle.

The Qur'ān as scripture

The Qur'ān has functioned as scripture for Muslims from the inception of Islam as a communal reality. If we take the traditional Muslim reports of Islamic origins and the codification of the qur'ānic text as a written codex at anything like face value, the successive revelations to Muḥammad were apparently promulgated and accepted as divinely revealed words from the early days of his prophetic mission, probably well before the time they were codified as a composite text of the many individual revelations (see COLLECTION OF THE QUR'ĀN; CODICES OF THE QUR'ĀN). Even from a more skeptical viewpoint regarding the traditional accounts of the lifetime of Muḥammad (see SĪRA AND THE QUR'ĀN; ḤADĪTH AND THE QUR'ĀN), the origin of the Qur'ān, and the development of the early Muslim *umma,* the Qur'ān must have functioned as scripture from almost the same time that the Muslim community achieved some kind of distinct identity over against Jewish, Christian and other religious groups (see POST-ENLIGHTENMENT ACADEMIC STUDY OF THE QUR'ĀN). What we understand under the rubric of "Qur'ān as scripture" are its multifarious roles in Muslim life across the centuries and around the world, from the earliest days of Islam down to the present moment. It is the cumulative history of these manifold roles of the Qur'ān in Muslim communities and individual Muslim lives, not the history of the text, its genesis, or its codification, that we study when we consider the Qur'ān as scripture.

These multiple roles of the qur'ānic scripture involve perduring notions among Muslims about (1) the status of the Qur'ān as the word of God, (2) the concomitant question of whether the Qur'ān is created or uncreated (see CREATEDNESS OF THE QUR'ĀN), (3) the felt necessity that the Qur'ān be perfect and free from all possibility of human corruption or tampering (see INIMITABILITY), (4) the crucial character of the Qur'ān as a word revealed in Arabic rather than other languages (see FOREIGN VOCABULARY), (5) the exaltation of the word of God by elaborately artistic calligraphic and oral recitative embellishment (see CALLIGRAPHY; ORNAMENTATION AND ILLUMINATION; MANUSCRIPTS OF THE QUR'ĀN; ARABIC SCRIPT; RECITATION OF THE QUR'ĀN), and, finally, (6) the possibilities for Muslims' employment of the authority of their scripture for both good and evil purposes. These six issues demand individual consideration in what follows, and the central and pervasive presence of the Qur'ān in Islam to which they testify demands that we conclude by reemphasizing (7) the permeating force of the Qur'ān as scripture in the lives of Muslims across the centuries and around the world (see EVERYDAY LIFE, THE QUR'ĀN IN).

The Qur'ān as the word of God

The theological centrality of the Qur'ān as Muslim scripture is hard to exaggerate. While the Torah's massive importance in Jewish life comes closest to this kind of overwhelming centrality, the eventual Muslim emphasis upon the Qur'ān as God's speech *ipsissima vox* — perfect and complete — is unique. For Muslims, God's speech is found verbatim in the Qur'ān and the concomitant of this is the overwhelming emphasis over the centuries since Muḥammad on the perfection of the qur'ānic text, the inerrancy of its transmission, and the direct experience of the divine through the recitation, memorization and reverent study of its text (see TRADITIONAL DISCIPLINES OF QUR'ĀNIC STUDY). The records of the words and actions of the Prophet and his Companions (see COMPANIONS OF THE PROPHET), known individually and collectively as the ḥadīth, are also often accorded the status

of sacred texts in Islam but always as a secondary order of divinely-inspired text and always under the rubric of texts to be transmitted "according to the sense" *(bi-l-maʿnā),* not "verbatim" *(bi-l-lafẓ)* like the Qurʾān.

The issue of scriptural authority was already being debated in the first few Islamic centuries in the question of the status of the ḥadīth as a source of divinely sanctioned authority alongside the Qurʾān. A recent study of this issue shows that, for example, in works ranging from the second/eighth to the fifth/eleventh century, by al-Shāfiʿī (d. 204/820), Ibn Qutayba (d. 276/890) and al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī (d. 463/1071), we find evidence of ongoing Sunnī debate as to whether or not the Qurʾān alone or the Qurʾān supplemented by the prophetic ḥadīth should be considered the final authority/ies for Muslim life (see AUTHORITY; LAW AND THE QUR'ĀN). While the latter point of view won out, this debate has never completely died and is experiencing a new life today, not least on the internet (Musa, Study of attitudes; see also COMPUTERS AND THE QUR'ĀN; MEDIA AND THE QUR'ĀN). Even, however, in the prevailing Sunnī view that the ḥadīth represent a second source of revealed guidance for Muslims alongside the qurʾānic word of God, the preeminence of the latter has never been seriously challenged. In Muslim view, the Qurʾān stands alone in its perfection and precision of expression as the literal word of God directly revealed in recitative units during his messenger's lifetime (see OCCASIONS OF REVELATION).

This unique scriptural status of the Qurʾān is the expression of the strong Muslim consciousness of being in the presence of God's living voice and active, ever-present guidance whenever the words of "the reciting" are being rehearsed or read (see RECITERS OF THE QUR'ĀN; TEACHING AND PREACHING THE QUR'ĀN). In a real sense, the primary locus of the divine-human encounter in the Muslim view is God's revealed word, the Qurʾān. This is the reason that numerous modern scholars trying to capture the force of this fact have suggested that for Muslims the true analog of the Christ as the instantiation of the "word of God" for Christians is the Qurʾān; the Bible is not commensurate in Christian theological perspective with the Qurʾān in the Muslim theological universe. It is in their scripture that Muslims most directly experience God's presence and mercy (q.v.), however much the person and life of their prophet Muḥammad also testifies to both. Thus it is arguable that it is recitation of God's word that corresponds in Muslim practice to participation in the Eucharist in Christian practice (Söderblom, *Einführung,* 117; Graham, *Beyond,* 217 n. 3; Kermani, *Gott,* 465 n. 195). C. Geertz (Art as a cultural system, 1490) catches something of this in his strong claim that in chanting the Qurʾān, a Muslim ideally "chants not words about God, but of him, and indeed as those words are his essence, chants God himself."

The uncreatedness/eternality of the Qurʾān

This kind of ascription of divine ontological status to the qurʾānic scripture as God's verbatim speech was from at least the early second/eighth century an issue of considerable moment in Muslim theological discussions. Those philosophical theologians *(mutakallimūn)* who wanted to safeguard the oneness of God (notably the Muʿtazila) argued that the Qurʾān could not be uncreated *(ghayr makhlūq)* without being a second reality co-eternal with God and therefore a dualistic threat to God's oneness (see POLYTHEISM AND ATHEISM), omnipotence (see POWER AND IMPOTENCE), and unique transcendence as well as an

anthropomorphic ascription of the human attribute of speaking to God (see ANTHROPOMORPHISM; GOD AND HIS ATTRIBUTES; ETERNITY; MUʿTAZILĪS). Their notion of the creation of the Qurʾān was, however, severely contested by those like Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal (fl. third/ninth cent.) and others of the ḥadīth specialists, or *muḥaddithūn,* who insisted on both the speaking of God as a proper eternal attribute of the divine and therefore on the uncreatedness of the Qurʾān as a safeguard of the eternality of God's speech as a divine attribute. Ultimately the traditionalist and ʿAsharī insistence on the uncreatedness of the Qurʾān won the day among most Muslims, thus underscoring the eternality of the Qurʾān as God's word, but the very existence of the debate itself gives some indication of the importance ascribed to the Qurʾān's status as God's word in the context of Islamic thought — an importance not unlike that ascribed to the doctrine of the virgin birth or the trinity (q.v.) in Christianity (and productive of similarly bitter controversy).

The perfection of the Qurʾān

The axiomatic nature of the Qurʾān's sublimity as the very speech of God is perhaps most vividly seen in the post-qurʾānic, apparently third/ninth-century, development of the notion of the *iʿjāz,* "(miraculous) inimitability" of the Qurʾān. This was evidently an expression of the felt need to substantiate the divine origin and perfection of the Qurʾān in its uniquely powerful style and content by asserting that no mere human author could write anything remotely as sublime as the miraculous qurʾānic word of God. This concept led to the designation of the Qurʾān by the *mutakallimūn,* among others, as a divine *muʿjiza,* or "miracle," a divinely given wonder, the like of which could not be reproduced by human effort (see PROVOCATION; PARODY OF THE QURʾĀN). The Qurʾān has also been treated in the literature on Muḥammad and the prophets as the special "proof" *(ḥujja)* for his prophetic mission — the particular miracle (one was said to be given to every genuine prophet) granted him by God as the ultimate guarantee of the truth of his prophethood (see PROOF). It can even be argued that the chief motivation for the later, classical Muslim doctrine of Muḥammad's "protection" *(ʿiṣma)* from sin or major errancy was probably ultimately developed to safeguard the Qurʾān from any impugning of its *iʿjāz:* had the messenger not been divinely preserved from at least major sins, how could one be certain he did not make errors with regard to the reception and transmission of God's sacred word? (Graham, *Beyond,* 207 n. 18; see also IMPECCABILITY).

The Qurʾān as the Arabic scripture

A corollary of the Qurʾān's miraculous perfection is understandably the special character of its language. From its early days, Islam became not just an Arab faith (see ARABS) but ever more an international one. Yet even down to the present moment, the fact of the Qurʾān's being revealed in Arabic has remained a centrally important dimension of the text's function as scripture for Muslims of all nations and races and language communities. While it can be argued legitimately that the faith that began with Muḥammad and a largely Arab community became one ultimately made great largely by non-Arabs, the Arabic language has remained highly significant to Muslims whether or not they speak or read the Arabic language. In a practical sense, for Muslims God's final revelation came in the language of the Arabs and its very perfection as God's verbatim word has demanded that Muslims protect and venerate its Arabic form. The Qurʾān itself speaks of the "clear Arabic

tongue" (*lisān ʿarabī mubīn,* Q 16:103; 26:195) in which God speaks in the revelations of the Qurʾān. One dimension of the history of the Qurʾān as scripture has been the generally observed axiom (to which the Ḥanafī legal school has been an exception: Pearson, Translations, 429) that one cannot translate the Qurʾān and have it remain the Qurʾān (see TRANSLATIONS OF THE QUR'ĀN). Interlinear translations and glosses have existed in numerous languages other than Arabic for hundreds of years but even today there is a hesitancy about letting translations threaten to take the place of the pristine "Arabic reciting" (*qurʾān ʿarabī,* Q 12:2; 20:113, etc.), even as more and more translations appear. The entitling of the popular Muslim translation by M. Pickthall as *"The meaning of the glorious Koran"* is a good example of the attempt to signal that any translation is an interpretation, not God's word itself.

The most vivid consequence of this emphasis upon the importance of the language of scripture has been the insistence in Muslim legal interpretation that a performance of the daily worship of ritual prayer (q.v.; *ṣalāt*) is only ritually valid if some portion, however brief, of the Arabic Qurʾān is recited at the appropriate points in the ritual performance. In particular, the memorization and recitation of the Fātiḥa (q.v.), the first sūra (q.v.) of the Qurʾān, is essential to the performance of the *ṣalāt.* This is a key legal distinction between God's word and the ḥadīth of the Prophet since recitation of the latter (even those ḥadīth containing a non-qurʾānic divine word, or *ḥadīth qudsī,* reported on Muḥammad's authority) would not validate one's *ṣalāt* (Graham, *Divine word,* 55-6). A reflex of this necessity for the presence of the Arabic "reciting" in worship is surely the centuries-long insistence of Muslims around the world that the *adhān,* or "call to worship," can only be given in Arabic. The brief attempt of the 1920s in republican Turkey to substitute a Turkish call to worship ended in failure before this deeply ingrained assumption about retaining the Arabic language of the call to worship God as he would be worshipped.

The Qurʾān has also served, along with pre-Islamic and early Islamic Arabic poetry (and to a lesser degree, other early Islamic texts; see POETRY AND POETS; PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QUR'ĀN), but more emphatically, as the standard and proof-text for classical Arabic literary grammar, precisely because it is the divine model of linguistic perfection. Even a *hapax legomenon* in the qurʾānic text becomes a proof of proper grammatical usage because it occurs in the speech of God. Qurʾānic eloquence set the standards used also in Arabic literary criticism. The *iʿjāz* of the Qurʾān means that no other Arabic composition can attain its eloquence and its words and phrases have accordingly permeated Arabic writing and speaking and remained models of Arabic eloquence (see GRAMMAR AND THE QUR'ĀN; LITERATURE AND THE QUR'ĀN). The evidence provided, from the earliest centuries of Islam, of qurʾānic pericopes found in political speeches and on state identification documents such as coins, papyri or glass weights — both within and outside of the Arabic speaking Islamic world — attests to this elevated status (cf. Dähne, Qurʾānic; al-Qāḍī, Impact; see NUMISMATICS; SLOGANS FROM THE QUR'ĀN).

The visual and oral exaltation of God's word

An index of the central role of the Qurʾān as scripture in Muslim life is the lavish overt attention devoted to the special forms of reverent and creative embellishment aimed at exaltation of the scriptural word in both its written and oral forms. Like its Jewish and Christian cousins, the Islamic

tradition has seen the highest development of calligraphic art in the preparation of magnificently lettered and illuminated copies of the qur'ānic text. Unlike either Judaism or Christianity, however, it has also seen the development of an almost ubiquitous tradition of stunning monumental epigraphic inscriptions from the Qur'ān on Islamic edifices, religious and otherwise (see EPIGRAPHY AND THE QUR'ĀN; ART AND ARCHITECTURE AND THE QUR'ĀN; ARCHAEOLOGY AND THE QUR'ĀN). Muslims have focused — in part because of their tendency to iconoclasm (q.v.) — almost exclusively on the calligraphed words of the Qur'ān themselves and made them the major form of visual representation in Islam. Furthermore, this has been the case not only in specifically religious contexts such as those of mosques (see MOSQUE), but also as a dominant artistic mode of expression throughout the various sectors and milieux of Islamic cultures more broadly (see also MATERIAL CULTURE AND THE QUR'ĀN).

At least as spectacular has been the immense level of effort directed at the embellishment of the qur'ānic word in the popular practice and professional oral artistry of memorization and recitation. As no other of the world's great scriptures, the Muslim scripture has been the object of a mnemonic and recitative tradition that has saturated and sustained not only Muslims' devotional life and worship, but also the quotidian life in Muslim societies large and small around the globe with the rich, melodic, and moving strains of the recitation of God's word. From the very beginning, as evidenced in the very name Qur'ān, the qur'ānic revelations were rehearsed, memorized and recited, not only as a part of the *ṣalāt* and other worship observances, but also as the highest form of popular entertainment. The recitation of the Qur'ān, whether as an almost ubiquitous personal practice, a requisite component of the universal performance of *ṣalāt,* or a public-performance art across the Muslim world, has been a characteristic of Muslim societies. The technical discipline of Qur'ān recitation has further been one of the central disciplines of Muslim scholarship, and its high level of technical sophistication and development reflects the massive importance placed upon qur'ānic recitation *(tilāwa, tajwīd)* in Muslim learning as well as everyday life (see Nelson, *Art*).

Use and misuse of the qur'ānic scripture

Like religion itself, scripture is subject to the failings as well as the strengths of the human beings involved with it. Thus the Qur'ān has been both well used and also misused by its adherents. There is a good argument to be made for the Qur'ān being the inspiration for whatever spiritual greatness Muslims have achieved but also for some of the saddest excesses of religious fanaticism Muslims have suffered (see POLITICS AND THE QUR'ĀN). The greatest Muslim religious minds have used their scripture as the touchstone of their faith and yet other Muslims have used a narrow and selective, sometimes mindlessly literal, interpretation of the Qur'ān to justify actions and norms that belied and betrayed the sweeping religious vision that the Qur'ān brought to the period of its revelation. In these things, the Muslim scripture has been no different than any other scripture in any other religious community: even if one were to accept that a given scripture is divinely inspired, human beings can use it to evil or perverted, as well as to noble or spiritual, purposes. Religious people, Muslims among them, have used and do use their scriptures for diverse purposes, from bibliomancy, talismanic help (see POPULAR AND TALISMANIC USES OF THE QUR'ĀN), and

divination (q.v.; see also FORETELLING) to legal argumentation, mystical speculation (see ṢŪFISM AND THE QUR'ĀN) and theological reasoning. For this reason, the formal and informal interpretation of the Qur'ān, like that of other scriptures, has been and remains a constantly changing and dynamic dimension of the Qur'ān's role as scripture, both for good and ill (see EXEGESIS OF THE QUR'ĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL; EXEGESIS OF THE QUR'ĀN: EARLY MODERN AND CONTEMPORARY). The vast range and extent of interpretations accorded individual portions of the Qur'ān are indices of its immense influence as scripture in Islam: when the Qur'ān or any other scriptural text achieves such massive authoritative and sacred status among its adherents, it will be appropriated to justify and explain any and everything that a person or group may want to do, for it will be understood to deliver divine sanction to actions taken to be in accord with its message. From the point of view of the history of religion, one might reasonably argue that the Qur'ān, like any of the world's major scriptures, has been much more frequently used to good than to evil ends — otherwise, it could not long have sustained so great and influential a tradition as that of Islam.

The permeating force of scripture in Muslim life

As the foregoing suggests, it is difficult to overemphasize the degree to which Islamic societies, both those of Muslim-majority countries and those of Muslim minorities in non-Muslim countries, have been saturated in most aspects of everyday life with the presence of the qur'ānic scripture and informed in a variety of specialized disciplines and fields by focus on the Qur'ān as scripture. It is the very fact of its being venerated as scripture, looked to for authoritative guidance as scripture, and received as the direct and powerful presence of the divine working in the world through scripture that has placed the Qur'ān at the center of what it is to be Muslim.

For an adequate understanding of the Qur'ān in its function as scripture, one has to look to the centuries-long, defining impact of this text on Muslims in multiple dimensions of their lives. The full extent of this impact can only be adumbrated here by noting briefly some of the most salient instances of qur'ānic influence beyond those already mentioned above. These include the central role of the qur'ānic scripture as a source for personal and communal norms, legal justification, and religious guidance (see VIRTUES AND VICES, COMMANDING AND FORBIDDING). They include also the Qur'ān's preeminent role in personal spirituality and piety (q.v.), in popular superstition and bibliolatry, in high culture, in education and moral guidance, in liturgical and ritual use, and in inspiration for (as well as justification of) religious faith and dogma. These dimensions of the Qur'ān's roles as scriptural authority and source of divine power cannot be adequately pursued in the compass of the present article; for a fuller sense of the extent and depth of the Qur'ān's role as scripture, see inter alia MEDICINE AND THE QUR'ĀN; SHĪʿISM AND THE QUR'ĀN; AMULETS; CONTEMPORARY CRITICAL PRACTICES AND THE QUR'ĀN; COSMOLOGY; GEOGRAPHY; DEBATE AND DISPUTATION; LITERARY STRUCTURES OF THE QUR'ĀN; MUṢḤAF; MYSTERIOUS LETTERS; NUMEROLOGY; PERSIAN LITERATURE AND THE QUR'ĀN; AFRICAN LITERATURE; SOUTH ASIAN LITERATURE AND THE QUR'ĀN; SOUTHEAST ASIAN LITERATURE AND THE QUR'ĀN; TURKISH LITERATURE AND THE QUR'ĀN; PRINTING OF THE QUR'ĀN;

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Scrolls

A roll of paper or parchment for writing a document. The Qur'ān refers to scrolls (*ṣuḥuf* and *zubur* — see also PSALMS; for the different terminology for writing as vehicle of divine command, see Ghedira, Ṣaḥīfa, and Madigan, *Qur'ān's self-image,* 131-2) as written documents (and thus conflated to *kutub,* e.g. Q 98:1-2; see BOOK) that contain God's edicts (cf. Schoeler, Writing), especially his judgments against former nations (see Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* ad Q 20:133; see JUDGMENT; GENERATIONS; HISTORY AND THE QUR'ĀN). The idea of scrolls is thus meant to be a clear sign *(bayyina)* to Muḥammad's audience of the consequences they will face if they persist in their ingratitude (see GRATITUDE AND INGRATITUDE) and resistance to the divine communication (for scrolls as a sign of religious authority see Madigan, *Qur'ān's self-image,* 7; see SIGNS; AUTHORITY; PROVOCATION; OPPOSITION TO MUḤAMMAD). The demand for scrolls by Muḥammad's audience (Q 74:52; Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* ad loc. gives the report of Qatāda and Mujāhid that people wanted to know who specifically was being addressed by God; for demands that Muḥammad produce a book, see Q 4:153; 6:7; 17:93) is met with the claim that there is evidence *(bayyina)* of God's will in previous scrolls (i.e. scripture; see SCRIPTURE AND THE QUR'ĀN) given to Adam (i.e. the first scrolls, Q 20:133; 26:196; see ADAM AND EVE) and to Moses (q.v.) and Abraham (q.v.;

Q 53:36-7; 87:16-9; see also PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD; MESSENGER). The conclusion is drawn that these prophetically conveyed scrolls, having caused division and ingratitude among former nations, will also be met with disagreement — now as an authoritative sign of Muḥammad's mission (Q 98:1-4; Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* ad Q 98:2 gives the report of Mujāhid that Muḥammad is no mere prophet within the Judeo-Christian heritage and that he has been given evidence of divine truth, making disagreement over it henceforth impossible; see TRUTH). The demand for scrolls is thus turned into an opportunity to accuse people of disdain for the next world and a warning for them to take heed (see WARNER; ESCHATOLOGY; REWARD AND PUNISHMENT). Indeed, the Qurʾān expresses surprise that people have not heard the news contained in scrolls about the fate of former nations (Q 53:36 f.; see PUNISHMENT STORIES).

The point is clear: socio-political prosperity (see POLITICS AND THE QURʾĀN; COMMUNITY AND SOCIETY IN THE QURʾĀN), i.e. avoiding destruction by God, depends on obedience (q.v.) to God's edicts promulgated in scrolls via messengers of God. It is thus in an eschatological tone that mention is made of the scrolls which will divulge human deeds on judgment day (Q 81:10; Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* ad loc. associates scrolls with a record of human deeds to be published on judgment day; see LAST JUDGMENT; HEAVENLY BOOK) — rhetorical encouragement for Muḥammad's audience to choose the next world over this one by recalling the stories contained in the scrolls (Q 80:12-7; Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* ad Q 80:13 associates them with the "preserved tablet" [q.v.], *al-lawḥ al-maḥfūẓ,* that the angels have periodically recited as scripture to various prophets; see ANGEL), i.e. the destruction met by former nations (*umam khāliya,* not mentioned but clearly assumed, see Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* ad Q 20:133) for refusing to accept God's judgment (cf. Q 87:16-9). Those who accuse Muḥammad of lying about the source of his message should recall that the same accusation was faced by previous messengers of God who came with evidence, scrolls and the illuminating book (Q 3:184; 35:25), in which it is recorded that God caused the earth to swallow up people who did not give heed to former prophets (Q 16:43-5). In short, the idea of scrolls is a rhetorical tool used by the Qurʾān to signify that the record of human deeds has been well documented and should be taken as a warning to those who do not give heed to the divine reminder (Q 54:51-3; see INSOLENCE AND OBSTINACY), making the notion of scrolls an important element in understanding the qurʾānic conception of scripture.

The idea that revelation was not disclosed at once (Q 25:32-3) corresponds to the fact that scrolls containing verses of the Qurʾān were not initially recorded in a single text (see Burton, *Collection,* 119, 139, 141), giving to qurʾānic textual material a fluidity in its earliest form (i.e. pre-ʿUthmānic recension; see COLLECTION OF THE QURʾĀN; CODICES OF THE QURʾĀN; MUṢḤAF) and thereby enabling Muslim scholars to posit an incomplete qurʾānic text *(muṣḥaf)* as reason to explain occasional conflict between Qurʾān and sunna (q.v.; see Burton, *Collection,* 105-13). It is the idea of an open-ended qurʾānic revelation that can help us to understand the early recourse to scrolls as extra-qurʾānic scriptural authority (e.g. Baghdādī, *Taqyīd,* 54-7; the first written collection of prophetic reports, allegedly by ʿAbdallāh ʿAmr al-ʿĀṣ [d. 63/682], was called "the true scroll," *al-ṣaḥīfa al-ṣādiqa;* see SHEETS). The possibility of confusing non-qurʾānic prophetic material in written form with qurʾānic textual material resulted in strong warnings in certain circles against writing down such material (see

Cook, The opponents). Indeed, the concept of scrolls as divine revelation recorded in writing has caused considerable ambiguity over the value of books as vehicle for the transmission of prophetic material (see Heck, Epistemological problem; cf. Melchert, Ibn Mujāhid). See also GOSPEL; TORAH; REVELATION AND INSPIRATION; INSTRUMENTS; WRITING AND WRITING MATERIALS; ORALITY AND WRITING IN ARABIA; MANUSCRIPTS OF THE QUR'ĀN.

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Sea

see WATER; NATURE AS SIGNS

Seal [of the Prophets]

see MUḤAMMAD; NAMES OF THE PROPHET

Seasons

Each of the four divisions of the year (spring, summer, autumn, and winter), marked by particular weather patterns and daylight hours. Arabia, the cradle of Islam, has different seasons, notably a suffocatingly hot summer, while in the higher places it can be bitterly cold during the winter. In spring and autumn many days are mild. There is no word for season in the Qurʾān. The word *mawsim* (pl. *mawāsim*) occurs in ḥadīth (see ḤADĪTH AND THE QUR'ĀN) in the sense of market or fair, mostly combined with a pilgrimage (q.v.; *ḥajj*) to a sanctuary, like those held in various places in pre-Islamic and early Islamic Arabia (see PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QUR'ĀN). Because these markets (q.v.) took place at a fixed season, the word has also assumed this latter meaning.

In the Qurʾān most references to season are related to the calendar (q.v.). In Islam the calendar is based on a purely lunar year, but in pre-Islamic Arabia this was not the case. Because various names of the Arabian months (q.v.), in so far as these are clear, are related to seasons, it is commonly thought that the old Arabian year was a solar year. For instance, the name Ramaḍān (q.v.), the only name of these months mentioned in the Qurʾān (Q 2:185), is derived from a root that indicates the heat of the summer. From Q 10:5 and Q 36:39, however, it can be concluded that shortly before the advent of Islam the "stations" *(manāzil)* of the moon (q.v.) were used as a measure of time. Because in the period prior to Islam the annual Meccan *ḥajj* (pilgrimage plus market) had to take place in a suitable season of the solar year, it became necessary to prolong the lunar year by intercalating a month every three years to correct the discrepancy between the lunar and the solar year and thus make the lunar month of the *ḥajj* fall within the same season every year. This intercalation *(nasīʾ)* is mentioned in Q 9:37, which characterizes it as "an increase in unbelief" and consequently forbids this practice. Since then, a purely lunar year has been the standard in Islam and consequently the various months of the lunar year move independently of the seasonal year (Wellhausen, *Reste,* 87, 94-8).

In only two cases in the Qurʾān do the

names of a particular season occur, namely in Q 106:2, where the winter and summer journey (q.v.; *riḥlat al-shitāʾi wa-l-ṣayfi*) of the Quraysh (q.v.) are mentioned. Usually this winter journey is interpreted as a trade caravan (q.v.) heading from Mecca (q.v.) to the Yemen (q.v.) in the cold season, while the summer journey is identified with the trade caravan from Mecca towards Syria (q.v.) in the hot season. Q 106 in its entirety should be understood as a sign of God's benevolence towards the Quraysh since, after the rise of Mecca as sacrosanct territory (see PROFANE AND SACRED), the city had become the most important center of pilgrimage and trade in Arabia, as a consequence of which the Quraysh were no longer forced to endure the hardships of the seasonal trade journeys to support themselves (Rubin, Īlāf, 175).

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Seat [of God]

see THRONE OF GOD; GOD AND HIS ATTRIBUTES

Sechina

see SHEKHINAH

Secretaries of Muḥammad

see COMPANIONS OF THE PROPHET; TEXTUAL CRITICISM OF THE QURʾĀN; COLLECTION OF THE QURʾĀN

Secrets

Hidden matters. Broadly conceived, secrets as a concept relevant to the Qurʾān may include the "unconnected letters" (*ḥurūf muqaṭṭaʿa;* cf. Rāzī, *Tafsīr,* ii, 3; see MYSTERIOUS LETTERS) and the hidden or inward meanings *(bāṭin)* of the qurʾānic passages, which are different from their literal or outward meanings (*ẓāhir;* see POLYSEMY). Some of the mystics and Shīʿī thinkers (see ṢŪFISM AND THE QURʾĀN; SHĪʿISM AND THE QURʾĀN) claim this way of thinking, which is often supported by a ḥadīth report (see ḤADĪTH AND THE QURʾĀN) regarding the fourfold sense of the qurʾānic text (cf. Böwering, *Mystical,* 139-42; Mullā Ṣadrā, *Mafātīḥ,* 39; cf. Böwering, Scriptural "senses"; Lazarus-Yafeh, Are there allegories). Different kinds of secret knowledge are also subsumed under the divine mystery *(ghayb),* which no one knows except God (cf. Q 27:65; see HIDDEN AND THE HIDDEN).

The word *ghayb* implies exclusively divine secrets to which human senses are unable to gain access. On the other hand, the word *sirr,* "secret," refers to hidden matters in general and, in particular, to matters that human beings keep secret in their minds. Different verbal forms of the root *s-r-r* are utilized as signifying the act of hiding and concealing together with the words derived from the roots *kh-f-y* and *k-t-m*. The words derived from these three roots are often used in a similar way, as found in Q 2:77 *(s-r-r),* Q 2:284 *(kh-f-y)* and Q 2:33 *(k-t-m)*.

The Qurʾān stresses that God knows everything regardless of whether human beings make it hidden or evident, simply because he is the master of the worlds (see LORD). Since the heavens and the world include human beings as well as their external conduct and psychic characteristics, the master of the worlds naturally governs human beings and their souls (see SOUL). Such different characteristics of the soul as virtue (q.v.), evil (see GOOD AND EVIL), faith (q.v.), unbelief (see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF), love (q.v.) and anger (q.v.) may be ex-

pressed in their bodily and verbal acts or may remain hidden. God's final judgment (see LAST JUDGMENT) is always based on the inward aspects of the soul that form the basis of external conduct, be they apparent or hidden, as understood in the context of Q 2:225, Q 2:283 and Q 17:36 (cf. Q 2:284 and Ṭabāṭabāʾī, *Mīzān,* ii, 435-7). The doctrine of religious dissimulation (q.v.; *taqiyya*), which is based on Q 16:106 (also cf. Q 3:28), presupposes the qurʾānic notion of divine omniscience (see KNOWLEDGE AND LEARNING; POWER AND IMPOTENCE), through which God perceives the believer's true intention hidden behind an outward statement made against his will.

Because the words *sirr* and *khafī (akhfā)* in the Qurʾān seem to refer to something secret or to hidden aspects of human consciousness, Ṣūfīs have incorporated them in their theories of the inner subtleties *(laṭāʾif),* a type of religious psychology that analyzes the structure of human inward consciousness. For example, in his *Risāla* (46, 48), a well-known compendium of mysticism, al-Qushayrī (d. 465/1072) presents a four-dimensional structure of human consciousness, which consists of soul (q.v.; *nafs*), heart (q.v.; *qalb*), spirit (q.v.; *rūḥ*) and inmost consciousness/secret *(sirr)*. The *sirr*, the last and deepest dimension of human consciousness, is characterized by a place of contemplation *(mushāhada)* and realization of divine unification *(tawḥīd)*. Although different thinkers present different schemes of *laṭāʾif,* many of the Ṣūfīs and mystical philosophers locate *sirr* at the deepest dimension in the human consciousness, where they realize enlightenment with a divine encounter.

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Sect

see SHĪʿA; PARTIES AND FACTIONS

Sedition and Public Disorder

see CORRUPTION; DISSENSION; POLITICS AND THE QURʾĀN

Seeing and Hearing

The action of the eyes (q.v.), and of the ears (q.v.), respectively. Seeing and hearing are understood to be attributes of God and the terms are used literally as human bodily senses as well as metaphorically in the senses of "to know," "to understand," and "to learn" (see KNOWLEDGE AND LEARNING; GOD AND HIS ATTRIBUTES; HEARING AND DEAFNESS; VISION AND BLINDNESS; METAPHOR).

Baṣīr, "the one who sees, the all-seeing," is an attribute of God mentioned forty-two times in the Qurʾān, ten times immediately following "hearing" or "all-hearing," *samīʿ*. The sequencing of these two attributes probably reflects the constraints of the rhyme scheme of the sūras (q.v.) in which this refrain is found rather than a presumed privileging of one sense over the other (see FORM AND STRUCTURE OF THE

QUR'ĀN; LANGUAGE AND STYLE OF THE QUR'ĀN). Nine times the adjective *baṣīr* is used in reference to humans, including the statement, "We [i.e. God] made him hearing, seeing" (Q 76:2) and "The likeness of the two parties is as the man blind and deaf, and the man who sees and hears; are they equal?" (Q 11:24); the other seven instances contrast sight and blindness. The sense of "sight" as the noun *baṣar* (pl. *abṣār*) is a human trait only, the word often meaning the physical eye, as in, "It is not the eyes *(al-abṣār)* that are blind" (Q 22:46) and "They cast down their eyes" (*abṣārihim,* Q 24:30-1). The physical "eye" is also referred to thirty-six times with the word *'ayn* (pl. *a'yun*), which is used of both humans and God as in Q 11:37, "Make the ark (q.v.) under our eyes!" and Q 52:48, "You are before our eyes." The related verbal usage "seeing" as conveyed through *abṣara* and its derivatives (used thirty-six times), predominates in qur'ānic mentions of humans and their ability to perceive: "They have eyes *(a'yun)* but perceive not *(lā yubṣirūna)* with them" (Q 7:179). *B-ṣ-r* (and its derivatives) is sometimes used in opposition to being blind and, at other times, is used rhetorically (see RHETORIC AND THE QUR'ĀN), as in "Will you [or they] not see?" (e.g. Q 28:72; 32:27). The verb is also used on a few occasions in reference to God, as in Q 18:26, "God knows how long they [the men of the cave; q.v.] stayed; to him belong the unseen in the heavens and the earth (see HIDDEN AND THE HIDDEN). How well he sees *(abṣir)!* How well he hears!"

More common words for dealing with human perception are related to *naẓara,* which is used over one hundred times in the Qur'ān. This root incorporates a broad range of usages, including the imperative, where it is usually translated as "Behold!" Here, the sense is turning one's attention to something, making it the focus of one's gaze. Among the instances of the use of this root is the famous passage Q 75:22-3, "Some faces on that day will be radiant, upon their lord they will be gazing *(nāẓira),*" which created significant theological controversy by suggesting that God could be perceived physically in the hereafter (see FACE OF GOD; ANTHROPOMORPHISM; THEOLOGY AND THE QUR'ĀN).

Ra'ā, on the other hand, is the most widely used root suggesting "seeing" and it conveys a sense of seeing with the eyes but with a strong tendency towards "thinking" as well, especially in the rhetorical, "What do you think *(a-ra'aytum)?*" and variations thereon (Q 6:46; 11:28, 63; 53:19; 96:9, etc.). Moses (q.v.), however, "saw *(ra'ā)* a fire" (q.v.; Q 20:10) and "saw *(ra'ā)* [his staff] quivering like a serpent" (Q 27:10; see ROD). The word is also used of God but infrequently, as in "Surely I will be with you [Moses and Aaron], hearing and seeing *(arā)*" (Q 20:46; see AARON); the fact that the rhyme of this section of the Qur'ān (see RHYMED PROSE) is long "a" undoubtedly dictated this usage of *arā* rather than the more common *baṣīr* in reference to God. Other instances include Q 9:94, 105, and Q 96:14 in which God sees what people do, once again a sensation more often invoked by *baṣīr,* as in Q 3:15, 156, 163, etc.

Fundamentally, the use of all these words suggests that the metaphor of sight as "insight" is well entrenched in Arabic and the Qur'ān. This metaphor appears in many cultures and time periods and reflects what is often termed the prejudice of sight as the "queen of the senses." This becomes especially clear when it is contrasted to the way in which the word for "hearing" is used. "Hearing" *(samī')* is less fully metaphorized in the Qur'ān compared to sight, but on occasion clearly tends towards "learn," suggesting a somewhat more passive action than the active sense "insight" suggests. This applies to God as well,

with the frequent conjunction of the "all-hearing, all-knowing" *('alīm)* and the descriptive "hearing, knowing," which occur thirty-two times in total (e.g. Q 2:127, 137, 181, 224; 3:34; 29:5; 29:60; 41:36; 44:6; 49:1; etc.). Such a combination highlights the physicality of knowledge — hearing in order to learn — as compared to the greater inner sense of "insight" through focused seeing; however, as mentioned above, God is both the all-hearing and the all-seeing. Once again, given the predominance in the qurʾānic rhyme scheme of "m" rather than "r," it is not surprising that "all-knowing" *('alīm)* should gain quantitative preference over "seeing" *(baṣīr)* when used in the rhyme position.

In a physical sense, God "hears" petitions from believers (Q 3:38; 14:39) and hears human speech as in Q 58:1, "God has heard the words of her that disputes with you about her husband." Overall, the literal sense of "hearing" is strong in the Qurʾān, often emphasizing the aspect of the orality (q.v.) of the Qurʾān itself in conveying the message. Believers must listen to the Qurʾān (see RECITATION OF THE QURʾĀN; RECITERS OF THE QURʾĀN). The ear (*udhun,* pl. *ādhān*) is clearly indicated as the physical part of the body associated with the sense of hearing, being named eighteen times in the Qurʾān; Q 2:19 suggests putting fingers in one's ears in order not to hear, for example.

Islamic law worked out the metaphorical implications of the conceptions related to "seeing" and "hearing" in the Qurʾān in the realm of Muslim practice (see LAW AND THE QURʾĀN). Blindness and deafness were seen as bodily defects that could disqualify a person from certain legal duties. This is inherent in the Qurʾān when it suggests, for example, that "blindness" is associated with doubt (see UNCERTAINTY), error (q.v.), dark (see DARKNESS), lacking understanding (see IGNORANCE) and sickness (see ILLNESS AND HEALTH), as when the heart (q.v.) is metaphorically linked to blindness in Q 22:46, "What, have they not journeyed in the land so that they have hearts to understand with or ears to hear with? It is not the eyes that are blind, but blind are the hearts within the breasts." While there are many statements in the Qurʾān which suggest that the blind and the seeing are equal (as are the deaf and the hearing), the negative connotations that were carried through the metaphorical usages tended to influence the definition of a full human being. For example, in most law schools a judge *(qāḍī)* must be of sound sight and hearing but such strictures did not prevent many unsighted people from becoming famous in the classical and modern Islamic world, a world where blindness was, and continues to be, a significant sociological fact.

Other aspects of "seeing and hearing" can be considered in relationship to the Qurʾān and its mode of existence and production in the world. That is, Muslims have seen the interaction of both of these human senses with the text of the Qurʾān as vitally important. The Qurʾān has been produced in a manner most pleasing to the sense of sight (see CALLIGRAPHY; ORTHOGRAPHY; MANUSCRIPTS OF THE QURʾĀN; ORNAMENTATION AND ILLUMINATION) and the recitation of the text is designed to produce an aural effect on the person. The privileging of the aural/oral results more from dogmas related to the transmission and preservation of the text of the Qurʾān (which likely evolved in contexts of inter-religious polemic; see COLLECTION OF THE QURʾĀN; CODICES OF THE QURʾĀN; POLEMIC AND POLEMICAL LANGUAGE; MUṢḤAF) than from the appreciation of one range of sense data over another.

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Self

see SOUL; SPIRIT

Selling and Buying

see TRADE AND COMMERCE; ECONOMICS AND THE QURʾĀN; CARAVAN; MARKETS

Semantics of the Qurʾān

see LANGUAGE AND STYLE OF THE QURʾĀN; GRAMMAR AND THE QURʾĀN; RHETORIC AND THE QURʾĀN; POST-ENLIGHTENMENT ACADEMIC STUDY OF THE QURʾĀN

Semiotics and Nature in the Qurʾān

see NATURE AS SIGNS; POST-ENLIGHTENMENT ACADEMIC STUDY OF THE QURʾĀN

Sense(s)

see SEEING AND HEARING; VISION AND BLINDNESS; HEARING AND DEAFNESS; SMELL; EARS; HANDS; FACE

Serpent

see ANIMAL LIFE

Servants

Creatures bound in service to God. In over 100 places, the Qurʾān describes prophets (see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD), believers (see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF), jinn (q.v.; cf. Q 51:56) and angels (see ANGEL) as servants (*ʿabd,* pl. *ʿibād, ʿabīd;* also *ʿābid,* pl. *ʿābidūn*) of God. Human beings in general are also described as God's servants, though they may be currently worshipping Satan (see DEVIL) or another false god (e.g. the *ʿabada l-ṭāghūt* in Q 5:60, the only occurrence of this plural form; see IDOLS AND IMAGES; POLYTHEISM AND ATHEISM). The relationship of master and servant is one of the key metaphors (see METAPHOR) used by the Qurʾān to describe God's relationship to his creatures (see CREATION).

In classical Arabic, *ʿabd* has two primary meanings: slave to a human being (see SLAVES AND SLAVERY) and servant of a divine being. The Qurʾān, however, nearly always uses *ʿ-b-d* in the sense of divine service or worship (q.v.). The five or six places where this root refers to slaves are usually marked by semantic qualifiers, such as *ʿabd mamlūk* in Q 16:75. The qurʾānic commentary known as *al-Ǧalālayn* (ad loc.) explains: "*[Mamlūk]* is an adjective which distinguishes [the slave] from the free [servant], who is 'the servant of God.'" As discussed below, the Qurʾān sometimes plays off these two meanings in explaining the proper role for God's servants. The medieval distinction, however, between plurals of *ʿabd* (*ʿibād* for servants, *ʿabīd* for slaves; see *Lisān al-ʿArab,* iii, 271) does not obtain in the Qurʾān, where with one exception both refer to servants. This change in meaning accords with the semantic range of Semitic cognates (Jeffery, *For. vocab.,* 209-10; Dandamaev, *Slavery,* 85n).

One can identify four distinct categories for servants in the Qurʾān. First, all human beings are God's servants, whether they recognize this fact or not. For example, Q 19:93 states: "There is no one in the heavens and earth but comes to the all-merciful as a servant." Unbelievers are also explicitly described as God's servants in Q 25:17, where God gathers together the false gods and says: "Was it you that misled these my servants *(ʿibādī)* or did they stray from the path (see ERROR; ASTRAY; PATH OR WAY)?" There are also statements that could refer to all humankind or to believers, such as numerous refrains describing

God as generous, all-seeing, or not unjust to his servants (e.g. *Allāhu raʾūfun bi-l-ʿibādi* in Q 2:207; see GIFT-GIVING; SEEING AND HEARING; JUSTICE AND INJUSTICE; GOD AND HIS ATTRIBUTES).

A second category comprises those who explicitly believe in God. A partial definition of what this service entails is found in Q 25:63-8, which describes the *ʿibād al-raḥmān* as those who speak peacefully (see PEACE), pray (see PRAYER), spend money moderately, and do not call on other gods, kill or commit adultery (see MURDER; ADULTERY AND FORNICATION). God's servants are also described in several places as *mukhliṣ/mukhlaṣ* (sincere, pure in faith; alternatively, chosen; see ELECTION), and in Q 38:82-3 Iblīs threatens God that he will lead astray all except his sincere servants. In Q 37:40 f., these sincere servants are promised paradise (q.v.).

The title *ʿabd Allāh,* "God's servant" (var. *ʿabdī, ʿabduka, ʿabduhu,* etc.) forms a third category, usually reserved for God's prophets, specifically Muḥammad (q.v.), Jesus (q.v.), Zechariah (q.v.), Job (q.v.), Solomon (q.v.), David (q.v.), Aaron (q.v.), Moses (q.v.), Joseph (q.v.), Lot (q.v.), Abraham (q.v.) and Noah (q.v.). Moses' companion in Q 18:65, often identified in the commentaries as Khaḍir/Khiḍr (q.v.), is also *ʿabd min ʿibādinā.* Several times, Muḥammad is referred to obliquely as "my/his/our servant" (e.g. Q 2:23; 17:1; 18:1; 25:1) or even "a servant" in Q 96:10. The restriction of this usage suggests a special relationship between God and his prophets.

The final category of servants in the Qurʾān includes angels and other creatures, some of whom may have been worshipped by human beings. For example, Q 7:194 is generally understood to refer to idols when it states, "those on whom you call apart from God, are servants *(ʿibād)* the likes of you." In contrast, Q 17:5 refers to "servants belonging to us and possessing great strength," which most commentators connect to various armies or warriors from biblical stories (see SCRIPTURE AND THE QURʾĀN; NARRATIVES; FIGHTING; WAR). Many qurʾānic verses refer to angels and Q 43:19 states directly that angels are *ʿibādu l-raḥmāni.* The commentators, however, clarify that angels are absolutely obedient to God's will (see OBEDIENCE; FREEDOM AND PREDESTINATION), unlike human servants who may go astray.

Several contexts are useful in making sense of these various meanings. First, service to deities was something well known in seventh-century Arabia, as evidenced by theophoric names. For example, the great-great-grandfather of the Prophet, ʿAbd Manāf, was so called "because his mother Ḥubbā offered him to Manāf, the greatest of the idols of Mecca (q.v.), to show her devotion *(tadayyunan)* to it" (Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh,* ii, 254, trans. in Watt, *Muḥammad,* 19). Other attested names were ʿAbd al-ʿUzza, ʿAbd Shams and ʿAbd Manāt. This form of naming, and the attendant right to service, has a long history in Near Eastern cultures (Dandamaev, *Slavery,* 82-5; and Herrenschmidt, Bandaka, iii, 684). But the claims of the gods to service extended only to their devotees, not to humankind in general.

A second, more distant context, that of the Hebrew scriptures, accords more readily with the qurʾānic conception of God as universal lord (q.v.), though the language of servanthood is more restricted. As in the Qurʾān, various prophets are occasionally described, or describe themselves, as God's servant (Hebrew *ʿeved*), such as Abraham, Isaac, Caleb, Joshua and Samuel. But Moses is God's servant par excellence in the Bible, and is designated dozens of times as such. God's people, the Children of Israel (q.v.), are also described as his

servants (e.g. *Lev* 25:55), but, in the Bible, this term is nowhere universalized to encompass all humankind as in the Qurʾān. Neither are angels explicitly called God's servants, though they clearly carry out his will.

The Christian scriptures are even more reticent to designate someone a servant of God, and when this term does appear, it usually echoes the Hebrew scriptures (Luke 2:29; Acts 2:18). Two innovative uses, however, are worth noting. In Revelation 19:9-10, John prostrates himself to an angel, who responds, "You must not do that. I am a fellow servant with you and your brethren" (also *Rev* 22:8-9). This is the only naming of angels as God's servants in the Bible, and the accompanying command not to worship angels finds a parallel in the Qurʾān. Second, while the teachers of the early church were not called servants of God, they were referred to as "servants (Gr. *douloi,* sing. *doulos*) of Christ" (Rom. 1:1; James 1:1, 2; Peter 1:1; etc.). Martin sees this title as an attempt to raise these men to the status of Moses and the prophets (Martin, *Slavery,* 54-6), but it may also be seen as a claim about the divine status of Jesus.

That title continued to be used in the Christian church, and it may have provided the context for Q 3:79 which states: "It is not for a human being *(bashar)* that God should give him the book (q.v.), judgment (q.v.), and prophethood, and then he should say to people, 'Be my servants, apart from God *(kūnū ʿibādan lī min dūni llāh)*.' Rather, 'Be you masters *(rabbāniyyīn)* by knowing the book and studying'" (see KNOWLEDGE AND LEARNING; SCHOLAR). The commentators gloss *bashar* here as Jesus and cite the following occasion of revelation (see OCCASIONS OF REVELATION): "It was revealed when a Christian from Najrān (q.v.) said that Jesus ordered them to take [himself] as a lord *(rabb),* and when [the Christian] demanded that some Muslims prostrate to [Jesus]" (*Jalālayn,* ad Q 3:79; see also Wāḥidī, *Asbāb,* ad loc.; see CHRISTIANS AND CHRISTIANITY; BOWING AND PROSTRATION). This is just one example in which the Qurʾān sets up its theology of servanthood in contrast to servants of other religious traditions.

The Qurʾān explicitly rejects local conceptions of what it means to be a servant when Muḥammad is instructed to say, "I am not serving *(ʿābid)* what you serve" (Q 109:4; see POLEMIC AND POLEMICAL LANGUAGE). Further correction of contemporary misconceptions is found in Q 51:56-7: "I created jinn and humankind only to serve me *(li-yaʿbudūnī)*. I do not desire provisions from them, nor do I wish them to feed me." This idea of "feeding" God might be a reference to pre-Islamic sacrifices to idols (see SACRIFICE; CONSECRATION OF ANIMALS), although most commentators understand it as a metaphor for God's self-sufficiency. For example, al-Rāzī (d. 606/1210) imagines these words in God's mouth "I am not like a [human] master in demanding service, for [masters] profit from the service [of their slaves]" (Rāzī, *Tafsīr,* xxviii, 234, ad Q 51:56-7). In other ways, however, God's relationship to his servants is seen as precisely cognate to the master-slave relationship. In Q 5:118, Jesus addresses God, saying, "If you chastise them (see CHASTISEMENT AND PUNISHMENT), they are your servants; if you forgive (see FORGIVENESS) them, you are the almighty."

In these passages, important theological distinctions are expressed in the language of servitude (see THEOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN). Human beings are servants and God is their master but, unlike human masters, God is utterly self-sufficient and does not benefit from the service of the believers; nonetheless, he retains rights over them much as a master has over a

slave. For their part, human believers are not to think of themselves as servants of anyone or anything else but rather are to gain mastery through knowledge *(ʿilm),* usually understood as knowledge of the law (see LAW AND THE QURʾĀN). Therefore it is through their righteous actions that Muslims exhibit their service to God.

As regards God's special servants, his prophets, the Qurʾān seems to speak in a Judeo-Christian idiom. It is primarily interested in extending the rank of prophet to Muḥammad and in reducing Jesus and other local deities to the rank of servant. For example, Q 4:172 states: "The Messiah will not disdain to be a servant of God, neither the angels who are near [to God]. Whoever disdains to serve him, and waxes proud (see PRIDE; ARROGANCE), he will compel all of them to come before him." Jesus' statement from the cradle that he is God's servant *(ʿabdu llāhi)* in Q 19:30 is also a rejection of Christian conceptions of Jesus as the son of God (Anawati, ʿĪsā, 83).

While the religious implications of the lord-servant relationship were well established in Arabia, this metaphor gained additional meaning from the local practice of slavery (see PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QURʾĀN). For example, Q 16:71 states: "God has preferred some of you over others in provision; but those that were preferred should not relinquish their provision to their slaves to make them equal; do they deny God's blessing?" In what appears to be a straightforward regulation of slavery, some commentators see an allegorical polemic explaining why God does not accept worship of idols. For example, al-Qurṭubī (d. 671/1272) writes: "If you do not allow your slaves *(ʿabīdukum)* to be equal with you, then how can you make my servants *(ʿabīdī)* equivalent to me?" (*Jāmiʿ,* x, 141, ad Q 16:71; cf. Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* ad loc.). Such a statement depends on a culture with clear class distinctions between master and slave to make sense (see COMMUNITY AND SOCIETY IN THE QURʾĀN; CLIENTS AND CLIENTAGE). On the other hand, slaves were treated as members of the family and could even serve as the master's agent in business affairs. Such practices provide a context for explaining that God's sincere servants are also granted a level of intimate contact, and that God's prophets serve as his representatives in reminding and warning humankind (see REMEMBRANCE; WARNER).

In the modern world, where slavery has been nearly eradicated, the prominent qurʾānic metaphor of master-servant may seem authoritarian and restrictive. Yet medieval commentators found this metaphor to be a rich source for describing the believer's relationship to God. In the introduction to his *Revivication of the religious sciences,* al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111; *Iḥyāʾ,* i, 11) demonstrates the range of "the desirable characteristics by… which the servant can gain the favor of the lord of the worlds," devoting hundreds of pages to ten main characteristics, such as repentance (see REPENTANCE AND PENANCE), patience (see TRUST AND PATIENCE), and thankfulness (see GRATITUDE AND INGRATITUDE). Ṣūfīs and other devotees were pleased to call themselves slaves of God, and female Ṣūfīs even gained a measure of worldly freedom by devoting themselves entirely to God (Cornell, *Early Sufi women,* 54-9; see ṢŪFISM AND THE QURʾĀN). Muslims continue to demonstrate their devotion to God by taking on typical names, such as ʿAbdallāh or ʿAbd al-Raḥmān.

Recent translations of the Qurʾān by Muslims steeped in this tradition sometimes prefer to translate *ʿabd* as slave instead of servant (e.g. Pickthall, al-Ḥilālī and Khān; see TRANSLATIONS OF THE QURʾĀN). Such a translation reflects the Qurʾān's propensity to use the human master-slave relationship to explain the

believer's relationship to God; but in a world where slavery is rightly condemned as an objectionable practice, it can also hide the rich variety of meanings inherent in the Qurʾān's conception of God's servants. See also SLAVES AND SLAVERY.

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Seven Sleepers see MEN OF THE CAVE

Sex and Sexuality

The act by which humans procreate, and the sum total of those attributes that cause an individual to be physically attractive to another. While the Qurʾān does criticize lust for women as an example of man's infatuation with worldly pleasures (cf. Q 3:14), it does not categorically condemn sex as a cause of evil and attachment to the world. The Qurʾān does recognize sex as an important feature of the natural world and subjects it to legislation in a number of passages (see LAW AND THE QURʾĀN). It accepts sex as a natural and regular part of human existence, specifically authorizing sexual pleasure and not simply condoning sex for the sake of procreation. It restricts sex to the institutions of marriage and slavery (see MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE; SLAVES AND SLAVERY), and condemns incest, adultery, fornication (see ADULTERY AND FORNICATION), prostitution, promiscuity, lewdness (see CHASTITY; MODESTY), and male homosexual sex (see HOMOSEXUALITY), while defining marriage and divorce in ways which modified and restricted the variety of unions found in pre-Islamic Arabian practice (see PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QURʾĀN). Sex also plays an important role in several narratives (q.v.) related to the biblical tradition, including the stories of Adam and Eve (q.v.), Lot (q.v.), Joseph (q.v.), and Mary (q.v.), as well as in descriptions of paradise (q.v.).

Licit sex in the Qurʾān is designated by the term *nikāḥ,* "intercourse, marriage" and its derivatives (Q 2:221, 230, 232, 235, 237; 4:3, 6, 22, 25, 127; 24:3, 32, 33, 60; 28:27; 33:49, 50, 53). Illicit sex or sexual infractions are termed *fāḥisha* (Q 3:135; 4:15, 19, 22, 25; 7:28, 80; 17:32; 24: 19; 27:54; 29:28; 33:30; 65:1), pl. *fawāḥish* (Q 6:151; 7:33; 42:37; 53:32), usually referring to specific instances of adultery, fornication, or other sexual offenses, or the collective term *al-faḥshāʾ* (Q 2:169, 268; 7:28; 12:24; 16:90; 24:21; 29:45). Adultery or fornication is designated by the term *zinā* and the related verb *zanā, yaznī;* adulterers are *al-zānī* and *al-zāniya* (e.g. Q 17:32; 24:2, 3; 25:68; 60:12), which is related to Hebrew *zonah,* "prostitute," and perhaps derives ultimately from the biblical tradition (see SCRIPTURE AND THE QURʾĀN). The most frequent terms for both male and female genitals are *farj,* pl. *furūj,* literally "cleft, opening"

(Q 21:91; 24:30, 31; 33:35; 66:12; 70:29) and *saw'a, saw'āt* "pudenda, bad part" (Q 7:20, 22, 26, 27; 20:121).

Naturally occurring pairs are an important part of the order of the universe which the Qur'ān cites again and again as evidence for God's existence and unity (see PAIRS AND PAIRING; GOD AND HIS ATTRIBUTES). Pairs appear in the example of the animals brought onto Noah's (q.v.) ark (q.v.; Q 11:40; 23:27), fruit trees on earth (q.v.) and in paradise (Q 13:3; 55:52; see ANIMAL LIFE; AGRICULTURE AND VEGETATION), and generally: "He created the pair, male and female" (Q 53:45); "We have created everything in pairs, that you might reflect" (Q 51:49; see CREATION; REFLECTION AND DELIBERATION; NATURE AS SIGNS). This general principle applies to humans as well: "And [God] made from it [a drop of sperm] the pair, the male and the female" (Q 75:39); "O humankind! We have created you male and female, and have made you nations and tribes, that you may know one another…" (Q 49:13; see TRIBES AND CLANS); "God created you from dust, then from a sperm-drop, then he made you pairs…" (Q 35:11; see BIOLOGY AS THE CREATION AND STAGES OF LIFE); "Among his signs (q.v.) is that he created for you mates from yourselves so that you might find tranquility in them, and he put love (q.v.) and mercy (q.v.) between you. Therein are indeed signs for folk who reflect" (Q 30:21). One understands from such statements that pairs occur by divine design and that the bond between sexual partners is therefore natural and subject to divine sanction. This view is corroborated by a number of passages elaborating an idea found in post-biblical Jewish texts and in Plato, that men and women are attracted to each other naturally by virtue of having been created out of a single original being: "Humankind! Fear (q.v.) your lord (q.v.), who created you of a single soul, and from it created its mate, and from the pair of them scattered abroad many men and women" (Q 4:1); "He it is who created you from a single soul, and made from it its mate, so that he might find tranquility in her…" (Q 7:189); "He created you from a single soul, then from it made its mate" (Q 39:6). The Qur'ān avoids the hierarchy involved in viewing Eve as created from Adam's rib, a story the Qur'ān does not include, and a ḥadīth (see ḤADĪTH AND THE QUR'ĀN) describes women as *shaqā'iq* "slices, or split halves" of men. The Qur'ān stresses that the sexual bond is intended as a comfort for both partners: "They [women] are a garment for you, and you a garment for them (see CLOTHING)… So lie with them *(bāshirūhunna),* and seek what God has prescribed for you" (Q 2:187). Marriage is understood to prevent sexual frustration and temptation to sin (Q 4:25; see SIN, MAJOR AND MINOR). The command to marry is general; all who can afford it are enjoined to do so (Q 24:32). Celibacy is not regarded as a virtue, and a well-known ḥadīth of the Prophet states, "There is no monasticism in Islam" (see ABSTINENCE; ASCETICISM; MONASTICISM AND MONKS). The Prophet is also reported to have advised, "Whoever is well-off, let him marry; he who does not marry is not one of us"; "O assembly of young men! Whoever among you can afford to, let him marry, for it is more effective in lowering one's gaze and keeping one's genitals chaste. Whoever cannot, should fast; it has the effect of restraining lust."

The Qur'ān conceives of marriage as a legal contract, one of God's fundamental laws (*ḥudūd Allāh,* Q 2:187, 229-30; 4:12-4; 65:1; see BOUNDARIES AND PRECEPTS; CONTRACTS AND ALLIANCES). The relatives with whom sexual relations would be considered incest are listed as follows (see PROHIBITED DEGREES): "Forbidden (q.v.) to

you are your mothers, your daughters, your sisters, you father's sisters, your mother's sisters, your brother's daughters, your sister's daughters, your foster-mothers, your foster-sisters, your mothers-in-law, your step-daughters who are under your protection (born) of your wives unto whom you have gone in — but if you have not gone in unto them, then it is no sin for you (to marry their daughters) — and the wives of your sons from your own loins. It is forbidden that you should take two sisters together, except what has already happened in the past. God is forgiving and merciful" (Q 4:23; see KINSHIP). First cousins are acceptable mates (Q 33:50). Qurʾānic legislation prohibits what were evidently pre-Islamic Arabian practices including the inheriting of wives or marrying women formerly married to one's father (cf. Q 4:19, 22) and effecting a divorce by *ẓihār,* that is, for a man to repudiate his wife by uttering the traditional oath, "You are to me like my mother's back" (Q 58:2-3). The number of wives has traditionally been limited to four on the basis of the verse "marry the women who are pleasing to you — in twos, threes, or fours — and if you fear that you cannot be fair, then one, or those that your right hands possess" (Q 4:3). The suggestion here is that while it is permissible to have four wives, one wife is preferable in some cases. The prophet Muḥammad is known to have had more than four wives, but this is explained as a special dispensation for prophets (cf. Q 33:50; see WIVES OF THE PROPHET). Muslim men and women are forbidden to marry idolaters (Q 2:221; see IDOLATRY AND IDOLATERS). It is permitted for masters to have sex with their slave-women, "what your right hands possess," and this is recommended as an appropriate alternative for men who cannot afford a regular marriage and fear that they will be tempted (Q 4:3, 24, 25; 23:6; 70:30). The *mahr* or *ṣadāq,* "dower," is an essential feature of the marriage contract; it is specified as a payment to the bride herself, and not to her father or guardian (cf. Q 4:4; see BRIDEWEALTH). The *shighār,* by which two men agree to marry their wards to each other in order to avoid paying the *mahr,* is condemned in ḥadīth and the legal tradition, though it does not appear in the Qurʾān (Ibn Rushd, *Bidāyat al-mujtahid,* ii, 43). The legality of temporary or fixed-term marriage *(mutʿa)* in return for payment is a complex issue and is a matter of controversy (see TEMPORARY MARRIAGE). For example, the Shīʿites claim that the second caliph (q.v.), ʿUmar, banned the practice and that it is condoned by the qurʾānic verse, "Those of (the women) from whom you seek contentment *(fa-mā stamtaʿtum bihi minhunna),* give to them their payments *(ujūr)* as an obligation" (Q 4:24; see SHĪʿISM AND THE QURʾĀN). Sunnī authorities argue that the Prophet banned the practice shortly before his death, though it had been condoned during his mission, and that this verse refers to the *mahr* in a regular marriage (Ibn Rushd, *Bidāyat al-mujtahid,* ii, 43).

According to tradition, marriage must be publicized: a feast or celebration *(walīma)* is thought to be necessary. A well-known ḥadīth report states, "What distinguishes the lawful from the unlawful is the drum and shouts of the wedding" (see LAWFUL AND UNLAWFUL). Accepting an invitation to a wedding feast is strongly encouraged.

The Qurʾān does not restrict sexual positions, and specifically permits husbands to take their wives as they wish: "Your wives are a field for you. Come at your field from where you will" (Q 2:223). The commentaries specify that this verse was directed at the Jews' (see JEWS AND JUDAISM) condemnation of vaginal intercourse from behind, which they claimed would produce cross-eyed children (Nasāʾī, *ʿIshrat al-nisāʾ,* 56-7). Sex during menstruation (q.v.) is forbidden

(Q 2:222). Though not mentioned in the Qurʾān, anal sex is forbidden in the ḥadīth and the legal tradition; a few ḥadīth reports allow it (Nasāʾī, *ʿIshrat al-nisāʾ,* 57-71). *Coitus interruptus (ʿazl)* is sanctioned in the ḥadīth; this ruling is presented as a correction of Jewish tradition (Nasāʾī, *ʿIshrat al-nisāʾ,* 93-9). Some authorities stipulate that a husband must have a wife's permission to do this, in contrast to his treatment of a slave-woman; others hold that it is reprehensible though not forbidden. Tradition also recommends invoking God's blessing before sex, "In the name of God. Oh God, keep Satan away from us, and keep away from Satan what you have granted us." This is supposed to protect any offspring conceived from being harmed by Satan (Tirmidhī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* no. 1098; Nasāʾī, *ʿIshrat al-nisāʾ,* 74-5; see DEVIL). One should have some sort of cover over both partners' buttocks during sex; it is improper to be completely nude and exposed (Nasāʾī, *ʿIshrat al-nisāʾ,* 73; see NUDITY). Men are advised to wait until their partners are satisfied during sex before terminating (Tijānī, *Tuḥfat al-ʿarūs,* 113-4). The Prophet is supposed to have advised, "One among you should not fall upon his wife as a beast does. Let there be between you a messenger." He was asked, "What is that, O messenger of God?' He answered, "Kissing and talk" (Tijānī, *Tuḥfat al-ʿarūs,* 114). Some reports, particularly sex manuals, stress that the Prophet condoned making excited noises during sex *(ghunj),* including grunting and snorting. These texts connect such sexual noises with the qurʾānic term *rafath,* which is forbidden during the pilgrimage (q.v.; Q 2:187, 197). The term is taken either to be a euphemism for intercourse or to mean sexually explicit talk in general or making noise or engaging in sexually explicit talk during sex (Tijānī, *Tuḥfat al-ʿarūs*).

Some passages stress the symmetry of the sexual and marital relationship, but other passages make it clear that the rights of men and women concerning sex differ (see GENDER; WOMEN AND THE QURʾĀN). The Qurʾān regularly addresses men primarily regarding sex, marriage, and related issues (see PATRIARCHY). Men have the prerogative of polygamy and repudiation, and the main purposes of marriage, judging from the presentation of its rules, are to satisfy male sexual needs and to allow procreation while preserving accurate male genealogy. Women, though, have an understood right to conjugal duties; we may understand this as not only the opportunity to conceive and procreate, but also that for sex and companionship. The Qurʾān condemns the Prophet's withholding of sexual relations with his wives (Q 66:1), and leaving wives alone in their beds is deemed a punishment for rebelliousness (Q 4:34). In addition, *īlāʾ,* a husband's oath foreswearing sex with his wife, was held to dissolve the marriage contract if they did not resume after four months (cf. Q 2:226).

Prostitution is condemned, particularly as directed toward slave-women (cf. Q 7:33; 16:90; 24:33). A ḥadīth holds that the Prophet outlawed three fees customary in pre-Islamic Arabia: the fee *(mahr)* of a prostitute, the price *(thaman)* of a dog, and the honorarium *(sulwān)* of a soothsayer (see SOOTHSAYERS). Promiscuity and lewdness are also condemned. The Qurʾān praises devout women who preserve the "secret" or "mystery" of sex: "Good women are obedient and guard in secret that which God has guarded" (Q 4:34). Believers are entreated to exhibit what is termed *iḥṣān* or *taḥaṣṣun* (cf. Q 4:24, 25; 5:5; 21:91; 24:4, 23, 33; 59:2, 14; 66:12), the basic meaning of which is to guard, preserve. Mary the mother of Jesus (q.v.) is described as having "guarded" her genitals (Q 21:91; 66:12); this is parallel to verses which use the verb *ḥafiẓa, yaḥfaẓu* and its derivatives to

describe both men and women as "guarding" or "preserving" their genitals (Q 23:5; 24:30, 31; 33:35; 70:29). Married persons, those with a licit sexual partner, are termed *muḥṣan, muḥṣana,* "guarded, fortified." Adultery and fornication are forbidden, but the punishments prescribed vary (see CHASTISEMENT AND PUNISHMENT). The punishment is set at one hundred lashes for both men and women in one passage (Q 24:2); another verse instructs that women are to be confined in their houses until death (Q 4:15); the punishment for a false accusation of adultery against a married woman is eighty lashes (cf. Q 24:4; see FLOGGING). Slave-women are to receive half the punishment of free, married women (Q 4:25); the Prophet's wives are to receive double (Q 33:30). The punishment of stoning (q.v.) for married adulterers, which became a standard feature of Islamic law, is based on the sunna (q.v.), including a report that the Prophet ordered that a man be stoned after he confessed to adultery, and the claim, attributed to ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, that the Qurʾān originally included a command to stone adulterers *(āyat al-rajm)* that was subsequently lost (Shāfiʿī, *Kītāb al-Umm,* vi, 133-5). The Qurʾān is silent on certain other sexual infractions, including lesbianism *(saḥq, siḥāq),* bestiality, and masturbation *(istimnāʾ, nikāḥ al-yad, jald ʿUmayra)*.

Adam and Eve's recognition, at Satan's urging, of their nakedness and shame, at which they cover their pudenda *(sawʾāt)* with leaves of the garden (q.v.) is apparently to be understood as an awareness of sex (Q 7:20-2; 20:121). As confirmation, we may cite one passage that, though it does not mention Adam or Eve by name, refers to the original man's "covering" the original woman and the resulting pregnancy: "It is he who created you from a single soul and made from it its mate, that he might take rest in her. Then, when he covered her, she bore a light burden, and went on her way with it, but when it became heavy they call to God, their lord: If you give us an upright (child?), we shall indeed be thankful" (Q 7:189; see GRATITUDE AND INGRATITUDE). In the story of Lot, the inhabitants of the "sinning cities" *(al-muʾtafika/al-muʾtafikāt),* corresponding to the biblical Sodom and Gomorrah, are clearly addicted to pederasty, later called *liwāṭ* or *lūṭiyya,* which derive from *(qawm) Lūṭ,* "Lot's people," but referred to in the text as an abomination *(fāḥisha)* or lusting after men rather than women. Furthermore, the inhabitants of these cities habitually rape male wayfarers. This is denounced in no uncertain terms, and appears to be the main cause for the cities' destruction. The Lot story includes a morally difficult passage for the commentators (see EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL), where Lot offers his daughters to the crowd clamoring outside his door to deter them from raping his male guests. This seems to be done on the logic that heterosexual sex is a much lesser infraction. The commentators want to avoid attributing such an act to Lot and insist, on little evidence, that he intended to offer his daughters to them in marriage, and not just for sex. In any case, his assailants refuse the offer, confirming their obstinate pursuit of Lot's male guests (Q 7:80-2; 11:77-9; 15:67-71; 27:54-5; 29:28-9).

Perhaps the most dramatic sexual passage in the Qurʾān is the story of Joseph and Potiphar's wife (identified as Zulaykhā in later tradition, but unnamed in the Qurʾān), referred to as the wife of al-ʿAzīz (Q 12:22-35). She tries to seduce Joseph and then accuses him of attempted rape, but he is exonerated and she is rebuked for her misbehavior. The qurʾānic version of the story makes it clear that Joseph is indeed tempted, and would have succumbed had it not been for God's guidance: "She de-

sired him, and he would have desired her had it not been that he saw the sign *(burhān)* of his lord (see PROOF). Thus it was, that we might ward off from him evil and lewdness…" (Q 12:24). His master's wife is clearly driven by lust incited by Joseph's incredible beauty, and she is vindicated when the women who had accused her of improper behavior cut their hands upon witnessing Joseph before them. She is thus excused, to some extent, for her lust, and the commentary tradition portrays her as repenting and being married to Joseph in the afterlife. Sex also plays an important role in the story of Mary, serving to emphasize the miraculous nature of Jesus' birth and the difficult position in which she found herself. Mary fears that the angel (q.v.) sent to announce Jesus' birth is going to rape her. After Jesus is born, she is also accused of being a harlot (*baghiyy,* cf. Q 19:20, 28), but the infant Jesus himself speaks up to defend her (cf. Q 19:30 f.).

Descriptions of the afterlife involve elements of sexual fantasy (see ESCHATOLOGY). The believers are promised beautiful female companions to whom they will be wed in paradise. These companions are large-eyed (*ʿīn,* sing. *ʿaynāʾ*), with marked contrast between the whites and the dark pupils (*ḥūr,* sing. *ḥawrāʾ*) and fair-skinned, being likened to pearls and eggs (see HOURIS). They are "of modest gaze" and virgins, not having been touched before by men or jinn (q.v.; Q 37:48-9; 38:52; 55:56, 72; cf. 44:54; 52:20; 56:22). The believers are to be served in paradise by beautiful boys *(ghilmān, wildān)* as well, also likened to pearls (Q 52:24; 76:19; cf. 56:17).

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Shade

see DARKNESS

Shāfiʿīs

see LAW AND THE QURʾĀN

Shahāda

see WITNESS TO FAITH

Shayṭān

see DEVIL

Sheba

Name of the land in south Arabia whose people developed a prosperous trading civilization in the middle of the first millennium B.C.E., marked by the creation of a kingdom alongside other local states: Maʿin, Qatabān and Ḥaḍramawt. Famous for its caravan (q.v.) traffic and trade in incense and rare spices exported to Babylonia, Egypt and the Mediterranean, the region was called "Arabia Felix" by historians of classical antiquity like

Ptolemy, Strabo or Pliny the Elder. The very existence of the inhabitants of Sheba, the Sabaeans — not to be confused with the Sabians (q.v.), who are discussed in the context of their disputed religious practices (cf. Q 2:62; 22:17; 27:22) — is first attested in the Hebrew Bible (1 *Kgs* 10:18-20 and 2 *Chron* 9:17-9) which reports the meeting between Solomon (q.v.; ca. 970-932 B.C.E.) and the legendary Queen of Sheba, known by the name Bilqīs (q.v.) in qurʾānic exegesis and Islamic sacred history (see HISTORY AND THE QURʾĀN; EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL). The New Testament also evokes this "event" in Luke 11:31. In the Qurʾān, a whole sūra (q.v.) bears the name of "Sheba" (Q 34). It specifically refers to the urban and trading culture of the Sabaeans (Q 34:15-9) for which, in fact, the archeology bears witness through buildings, steles, altars and inscriptions (see ARCHAEOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN). The latter attest the local language affiliated with Arabic, designated by the terms "south Semitic" or "south Arabian," from which many qurʾānic names and nouns derive (see FOREIGN VOCABULARY). This language resisted the regional spread of Aramaic until the rise of Islam, when it was replaced by Arabic. Q 34:15-6 point out the wealth of the country of Sheba, with its skillfully domesticated landscape endowed with two luxurious gardens and irrigation systems (see GARDEN), as God's sign (see SIGNS). Verse 16, in particular, alludes to the flood caused by the break of the dam of al-ʿArim (q.v.; see also PUNISHMENT STORIES) that occurred circa 542 C.E. in the Yemeni city of Mārib (see PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QURʾĀN).

The Qurʾān provides the Sabaeans with a religious status comparable to that of the Jews and Christians (see JEWS AND JUDAISM; CHRISTIANS AND CHRISTIANITY), for some of them became believers (Q 34:20; see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF) as did their queen (Q 27:44). Q 27 (Sūrat al-Naml, "The Ant") tells the story of the Queen of Sheba's conversion during her reception by Solomon in his fabled palace with a transparent glass floor (see MYTHS AND LEGENDS IN THE QURʾĀN). This qurʾānic narrative (see NARRATIVES; PARABLES) yielded abundant commentaries and stories related in the books on the history of the prophets (Rāzī, *Tafsīr,* xxiv, 200; Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh,* i, 684; id., *Tafsīr,* xix, 472-5, ad Q 27:44; Thaʿlabī, *Qiṣaṣ,* 312-3; see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD). These texts evince a particular concern with the illusion effected by the enigmatic glass device, when it appeared to be a pool with which Solomon (q.v.) tested the queen in order to lead her to convert (see TRIAL). Contemporary exegesis demonstrates how the aesthetic cognitive function of the narrative of the Queen of Sheba's conversion complements its main religious message (Gonzalez, *Le piège,* 26-32; id., *Beauty and Islam,* 26-31).

Finally, further details of Sheba are also known through an early (but post-qurʾānic) account related by the historian and commentator Wahb b. Munabbih (d. 110/728 or 114/732) and preserved in Ibn Hishām's (d. ca. 213/828) *Kitāb al-Tījān fī mulūk Ḥimyār*. His report assimilates the kingdom of the Ḥimyarites, who were ruling south Arabia in the third century C.E., to the Sabaeans and descendants of the prophet Hūd (q.v.). In the Qurʾān, Hūd was sent to the Arab tribe of the ʿĀd (q.v.) before Muḥammad, but they rejected him (Q 7:65-72; 11:50-60; 22:42; 26:123-39; 38:12-4).

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Sheep see ANIMAL LIFE

Sheets

Flat writing support, made of papyrus *(bardī),* parchment *(raqq, riqq),* leather *(adīm, jild)* or, since the late second/eighth century, paper *(kāghadh),* and used for recording mostly religious, legal and historical texts during the pre- and early Islamic periods (see AGE OF IGNORANCE; PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QUR'ĀN). The term "sheets" (*ṣuḥuf,* sing. *ṣaḥīfa*) extends to the (whole or partial) texts thus recorded, synonymous with *kitāb* (pl. *kutub;* see BOOK), *daftar* (pl. *dafātir*) and *kurrāsa* (pl. *karārīs*). Etymologically derived from South Semitic *ṣaḥafa,* "to write," *ṣaḥīfa* literally means "[a thing] written upon" (Nöldeke, *GQ,* ii, 24 n. 4; for qurʾānic attestations of terms relating to the various media used in writing, see SCROLLS; WRITING AND WRITING MATERIALS; INSTRUMENTS).

Like *qirṭās* and *waraq* ("sheet, leaf"), *ṣaḥīfa* does not designate a specific writing material; but unlike both these terms, it also does not specify quantity. Instead, it denotes anything from a single to multiple sheets, the latter rolled up as a scroll *(darj, majalla)* or folded and sewn together as a notebook (Abbott, *Studies I,* 22-3, 57-9, 66). Sheets were kept in scabbards or gathered in bundles, bags, boxes, and other containers. Bound between two covers *(lawḥān, daffatān)* they become a codex (*muṣḥaf;* q.v.), a term early restricted to the Qurʾān. In the plural, *ṣuḥuf* may comprise the complete Hebrew or Muslim scripture or a scholar's collected papers.

In pre-Islamic times, a *ṣaḥīfa* might contain a letter, a legal contract, a poem, an oration, or a collection of sayings. In the Qurʾān, *ṣuḥuf* refer to the Hebrew scripture (see SCRIPTURE AND THE QURʾĀN), the Qurʾān itself, and metaphorically to the divine records of human deeds (see HEAVENLY BOOK). According to tradition, the first redaction of the Qurʾān was comprised of *ṣuḥuf* written by the Prophet's secretary Zayd b. Thābit (d. ca. 42-56/662-76) and preserved by ʿUmar's daughter Ḥafṣa (q.v.); they formed in turn the core for the official redaction led by the same Zayd at the behest of ʿUthmān (see COLLECTION OF THE QURʾĀN; CODICES OF THE QURʾĀN). Ibn Hishām's *Sīra* attributes ʿUmar's conversion (in one of two accounts) to his reading of a *ṣaḥīfa* containing Q 20 (Sūrat Ṭā Hā; Ibn Hishām, *Sīra,* i,

334-5). In the sunna (q.v.), *ṣaḥīfa* refers not only to the Qurʾān but also to early ḥadīth collections (see ḤADĪTH AND THE QURʾĀN) by Companions (see COMPANIONS OF THE PROPHET) and Successors, written ordinances by the Prophet (both of which were handed down in families from one generation to the next) and other writing (Wensinck, *Concordance,* s.v.). Ḥadīth collections such as that of Ibn ʿAbbās (d. 68/687), or the *ṣaḥīfat al-ṣādiqa* of ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ (d. 65/684), were numerous (Goldziher, *MS,* ii, 9-11, 194-6; Sezgin, *GAS,* i, 84-90; Motzki, *Anfänge,* 191 n. 588; Azami, *Studies,* 43-4). The Umayyad caliphs ʿUmar II (r. 99-101/717-20) and Hishām (r. 105-25/724-43) made the first efforts to collect these with the assistance of the traditionist al-Zuhrī (d. 124/742). *Ṣuḥuf* further served to record historical accounts (*akhbār;* see HISTORY AND THE QURʾĀN) about the creation (q.v.), pre-Islamic legends (see MYTHS AND LEGENDS IN THE QURʾĀN), the life of the Prophet (see SĪRA AND THE QURʾĀN), and the early Muslim community (see e.g. Abbott, *Studies I;* see COMMUNITY AND SOCIETY IN THE QURʾĀN) as well as works of linguistics and poetry (see GRAMMAR AND THE QURʾĀN; POETRY AND POETS). The earliest extant specimens of such works on papyrus and paper date to the late second/eighth and third/ninth century (see ʿAbdallāh b. Wahb, d. 197/812; cf. Abbott, *Studies I*); others survive independently in later copies (Hammām b. Munabbih, d. 101/719; cf. Azami, *Studies,* appendix) or as part of larger collections, as, for instance, Ibn Ḥanbal's (d. 241/855) *Musnad* (see LAW AND THE QURʾĀN).

A *ṣaḥīfa* served to jot down information as an aid to memory (see ORALITY AND WRITING IN ARABIA). It played an important part in the practice of teaching and transmission, which followed procedures such as in-class audition *(samāʿ)* with subsequent recording at home, in-class dictation *(imlāʾ),* reading an existing copy back to the teacher for correction *(ʿarḍ)* or receiving from him a written copy (*munāwala;* cf. al-Samʿānī, *Adab al-imlāʾ;* see TEACHING AND PREACHING THE QURʾĀN; RECITATION OF THE QURʾĀN). Preserved *ṣuḥuf* of the late second/eighth century show a concern for precision in the use of diacritics, vowel markers, *muhmal* signs, symbols for ḥadīth division and annotations (see Abbott, *Studies I,* document 6 and *Studies II,* document 6; see ORNAMENTATION AND ILLUMINATION; MANUSCRIPTS OF THE QURʾĀN). Typologically the unstructured *ṣaḥīfa* belongs to the formative period of Arabic-Islamic book culture; it precedes the epistle as well as the larger ḥadīth collection *(jāmiʿ),* organized by topic *(muṣannaf, mubawwab)* or source *(musnad),* which some scholars prepared for their students from the late second/eighth century onward. Nonetheless, the term is occasionally applied to a student's whole or partial copy of a thematically organized work (equivalent to *nuskha, juzʾ*). Only from the third/ninth century, with its mass production of manuscript books in the proper sense with title, preface, overall plan, cross references, and addresses of the reader is the *ṣaḥīfa* truly superseded (Schoeler, *Écrire,* 102-7).

Repeated bans on the writing down of ḥadīth by the Prophet and the four "rightly guided" caliphs *(rāshidūn),* as well as the Umayyad caliphs, together with the claims of some scholars of never having used books, conflict with the more frequently cited permission to do so, as well as accounts about the use of writing beginning with Muḥammad's generation (Baghdādī, *Taqyīd;* see ILLITERACY). Political motives aside (see POLITICS AND THE QURʾĀN), underlying this apparent contradiction is a bimodal, interconnected use of memory (q.v.) and writing for mutual correction, with the latter increasing in importance over time (Rāmahurmuzī, *Muḥaddith,* nos. 370-417). This notwithstanding, oral performance and teaching never ceased com-

pletely and a good memory continued to be an adornment for a scholar in religion, law and philology. Conversely, a student who learned only from written notes risked being branded a *ṣuḥufī,* i.e. someone who misunderstood and mispronounced his texts for lack of an accompanying oral transmission (Schoeler, *Écrire,* 40, 120-1; see READINGS OF THE QUR'ĀN).

As the earliest source for the sunna, *ṣuḥuf* have received great attention. No preserved *ṣaḥīfa,* however, antedates the late second/eighth century, and the authentic survival of the *ṣuḥuf*'s ḥadīth content and notably the chains of transmitters (*isnād,* pl. *asānīd*) in later literature has been challenged in the critical studies of I. Goldziher and J. Schacht (see response by Azami, *Studies,* 215-67) and, more recently, in those of J. Wansbrough, P. Crone and M. Cook. Taking account of the latter scholars' reservations, H. Motzki and G. Schoeler have proposed careful reviews of the sources for jurisprudence and historiography, respectively (on this debate, see Motzki, *Anfänge,* 22-49; Schoeler, *Charakter,* 5-24).

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Shekhinah

The earthly manifestation of God's presence, a concept common to the Bible and the Qurʾān. Occurring in six verses, *al-sakīna* derives from God and is usually "sent down" to Muḥammad and/or his fellow believers. The Arabic root, *s-k-n,* denotes "stillness, quiet, calm, being motionless," as in Q 6:96: "[God] has made the night [for] stillness/quiet" (see also Q 10:67; 27:86; 28:72; 40:61, etc.), with a secondary meaning (sometimes expressed in the causative fourth form) of "to settle down, to dwell in a habitation" (Q 2:35; 14:37; 17:104, etc.). This parallels the Hebrew/Aramaic/Syriac triliteral root *sh-k-n,* "to settle down, or dwell." The Arabic term *sakīna* also parallels the Hebrew/Aramaic *shᵉkhīnā (shᵉkhīntā)* both

linguistically and semantically. Both represent, in the general sense, a divine "in-dwelling."

All qurʾānic renderings of the term *sakīna* occur within militant contexts (see FIGHTING; WAR; EXPEDITIONS AND BATTLES). In Q 2:246-8, the Israelites (see CHILDREN OF ISRAEL) asked their unnamed prophet to raise up a king to lead them in battle (cf. 1 *Sam* 8 f.; see KINGS AND RULERS; PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD). When he informs them that God has chosen Saul (q.v.; Ṭālūt), they object because of his lowly stature. In order to prove Saul's divinely chosen status, "Their prophet said to them, the sign of his kingship will be that the ark (q.v.) will come to you containing a *sakīna* from your lord (q.v.) and a remnant of what the family of Moses (q.v.) and the family of Aaron (q.v.) left behind" (cf. *Exod* 25:8).

In three cases, *sakīna* is associated with invisible armies that God sends down from heaven (see HEAVEN AND SKY). In Q 48:4 (after God has just given Muḥammad a clear military victory [q.v.] in a preceding verse: *fatḥ mubīn,* Q 48:1), "He [God] is the one who sent down the *sakīna* into the hearts of the believers (see HEART; BELIEF AND UNBELIEF) to add faith (q.v.; or, *īmān*$^{an?}$) to their faith. To God are the armies of the heavens and the earth…." In Q 9:26, after victories followed by defeat, "Then God sent down his *sakīna* to his messenger (q.v.) and onto the believers and sent down armies you could not see…." In Q 9:40, "… So God sent down his *sakīna* to him [presumably Muḥammad] and supported him with armies that you cannot see…."

In Q 48:18, "God was pleased with the believers when they swore allegiance to you [Muḥammad] beneath the tree (see CONTRACTS AND ALLIANCES; OATHS), and he knew what was in their hearts. So he sent down the *sakīna* to them and rewarded them with an approaching victory." Q 48:26 follows within the same general context of warring and of tension with unbelievers: "When those who disbelieve established scorn in their hearts, scorn of the Age of Ignorance (q.v.; *jāhiliyya*), then God sent down his *sakīna* to his messenger and onto the believers, but required of them a word of piety (q.v.; *al-taqwā*). They were worthy of it and fit for it; and God knows everything."

Traditional Muslim scholarship generally holds that *sakīna* means "quiet" or "tranquility" in most of these verses, based on the Arabic root and buttressed especially by Q 48:26; but because this explanation clearly does not fit Q 2:248 and remains problematic in all but Q 48:26, the exegetes (see EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL) also rendered it as *naṣr,* meaning "aid," "victory," or even "conquest." Western scholarship considers the term to have derived from the rabbinic concept of *shᵉkhīna,* based on Q 2:248, but has had difficulty fitting such a concept into all the other verses.

In every context the *sakīna* is sent down in order to demonstrate God's support for his chosen agent (Saul or Muḥammad) in the face of unbelief, sometimes even among the agent's followers (see OPPOSITION TO MUḤAMMAD; HYPOCRITES AND HYPOCRISY). The contextual meaning of the term therefore denotes divine aid and proof of the authenticity of God's agent in the face of disbelief and adversity, and this aid or proof (or divine presence) comes in the form of divine victory in battle or its potentiality. This representation would fit all qurʾānic contexts.

It is not clear whether *sakīna* in its qurʾānic loci is abstract or has a concrete, tangible existence. In the secondary literature, however, it is clearly represented as the latter. Al-Azraqī (d. ca. 250/865; *Akhbār Makka,* 28) defines the *sakīna* as *rīḥ*

khajūj lahā raʾs, "a gale wind with a head," in reference to the extraordinary being that led Abraham (q.v.) to Mecca (q.v.; cf. *Babylonian Talmud, Megilloth,* 29a: "Wherever [Israel] was exiled, the *shᵉkhīna* went with them"). We find the same and alternative, occasionally sometimes quite fanciful definitions of a sometimes frightening but benevolent being in other works as well (e.g. Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh,* i, 275; id., *Tafsīr,* ii, 611; Thaʿlabī *Qiṣaṣ,* 87; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil,* i, 106; *Lisān al-ʿArab,* xiii, 213). *Sakīna* is attested in pre-Islamic sources as meaning quiet and calm, and this may have been associated also with a wind (see AIR AND WIND). The Islamic legends therefore describe an incarnate wind that had become associated with the concept of the *shᵉkhīna* as the latter became integrated into Arabian culture (see PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QURʾĀN; SOUTH ARABIA, RELIGION IN PRE-ISLAMIC). In the Arabian context, this incarnate and divinely sent *sakīna* wind took on martial power in order to protect its human beneficiaries and bring aid and even victory, especially against the doubters (see UNCERTAINTY) or unbelievers. Finally, al-Bukhārī (d. 256/870) records a tradition that associates this divine presence with the recitation of the Qurʾān (q.v.; cf. *Ṣaḥīḥ,* bk. 61 *[K. Faḍāʾil al-Qurʾān],* no. 531).

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Shīʿa

Literally, "party/followers." The term *shīʿa* occurs eleven times in the Qurʾān, with the first use in Sūrat al-Anʿām (Q 6, "The Cattle") and the last in Sūrat al-Qamar (Q 54, "The Moon"). The word itself is lexically derived from the Arabic verb *shāʿa, yashīʿu,* meaning "to spread, disseminate, divulge, publicize or become known," and in this sense occurs once, in Q 24:19: "Those who love to spread *(an tashīʿa)* scandal among the believers…." The primary meaning of the term *shīʿa* (pl. *shiyaʿ* and *ashyāʿ*) that is conveyed in the Qurʾān is that of factions, communities, people with similar views and faith, followers and supporters, as portrayed in Q 37:83, "Verily Abraham (q.v.) was surely among the followers [of Noah; q.v.]" (*wa-inna min shīʿatihi la-Ibrāhīm;* see PARTIES AND FACTIONS).

Q 6:65 speaks of God's power to reduce humankind to factions *(aw yalbisakum shiyaʿan),* with exegetes offering varying opinions as to whether *shiyaʿ* meant the Jews and Christians in particular or the consequence of arbitrary human conflict (see JEWS AND JUDAISM; CHRISTIANS AND CHRISTIANITY; RELIGIOUS PLURALISM AND THE QURʾĀN). Al-Qummī (fl. mid fourth/tenth cent.; *Tafsīr,* ad loc.) alludes to religious differences and ʿAlī b.

Muḥammad b. al-Walīd (d. 612/1215; *Tāj,* ad loc.) to community dispute after the Prophet. Q 6:159 refers to those who split their religion and become disparate groups *(kānū shiyaʿan),* and Q 30:31-2 exhorts believers not to be part of them (see RELIGION; BELIEF AND UNBELIEF). Q 28:4 addresses Pharaoh (q.v.) who arrogantly created divisions among his people *(wajaʿala ahlahā shiyaʿan)*. The plural form *ashyāʿ* in Q 34:54 as interpreted by al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923; *Tafsīr,* ad Q 54:51), refers to those who had intensely questioned the truth (q.v.), while Q 54:51 addresses the polytheists (see POLYTHEISM AND ATHEISM) among Quraysh (q.v.), warning them about how communities in the past had been destroyed (*kamā fuʿila bi-ashyāʿihim;* see PUNISHMENT STORIES).

Q 15:10, on the other hand, employs the term to portray communities to whom messengers (see MESSENGER) had been sent: "Indeed, we sent [messengers] before you among communities of the past" *(arsalnā min qablika fī shiyaʿ al-awwalīna)*. Twice in Q 28:15 it is used for Moses (q.v.), exegetes agreeing that *shīʿatihi* meant the religion of Moses, just as they explain *min shīʿatihi* in Q 37:83 as Abraham following Noah's religion. In Ibn al-Walīd's *Tāj al-aqāʾid,* these verses appear inter-textually to reflect religion as affection for ʿAlī (see ʿALĪ B. ABĪ ṬĀLIB) alongside the prophetic tradition regarding Noah's ark (q.v.), which states that true believers are henceforth called *shīʿa*.

Thus, in four instances (Q 6:65, 159; 28:4; 30:32), the term *shīʿa* has been used to convey the meaning of factions while on four other occasions the word is applied to ancient communities of faith to whom prophets were sent (q.v.; Q 15:10; 28:15 twice; 37:83; see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD). When the Qurʾān speaks of *shiyaʿ al-awwalīn* and *shīʿatihi,* it essentially refers to previously rightly-guided communities (see GENERATIONS), but *kānū shiyaʿan* is used in the divisive sense, while the plural *ashyāʿ* is applied to formerly erring people (see ERROR; ASTRAY), and *min kullī shīʿatin* in Q 19:69 means communities in general.

In post-qurʾānic Arabic writings, the word *shīʿa* can be used in either a qualified or unqualified form, as definite or indefinite. The word can be used in a construct phrase to indicate the "followers" of a particular individual: *shīʿat Muʿāwiya,* for example. Invariably, when the term is found with the definite article *(al-)* and no other qualifier, the followers of ʿAlī are meant: *al-shīʿa* are the "followers [of ʿAlī]" *(shīʿat ʿAlī)*, those who, as described in Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī's (d. ca. 322/934) *Kitāb al-Zīna,* were intimate with ʿAlī during the lifetime of the Prophet (see also SHĪʿISM AND THE QURʾĀN; FAMILY OF THE PROPHET; PEOPLE OF THE HOUSE; POLITICS AND THE QURʾĀN).

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Shīʿism and the Qurʾān

At present, the Shīʿīs, who differ from the Sunnī majority concerning the legitimacy of the political and spiritual succession to Muḥammad, comprise about ten percent of the Islamic community. Like the Sunnīs, they enjoy a rich tradition of scholarship in Islamic sciences, including both ḥadīth collection and classification as well as qurʾānic exegesis. Just as their conception of the legitimate leadership of the Muslim community evolved differently from that of their Sunnī counterparts, so, too, did their understanding of the Qurʾān itself. The following, therefore, will discuss, first, the attitude of the Shīʿa towards the Qurʾān and then provide an overview of the principles and methods of Shīʿī exegesis. It will conclude with a presentation of some of the major Shīʿī exegetes and their works.

The attitude of the Shīʿa to the Qurʾān

One of the bones of contention between Sunnī and Shīʿī Islam concerns the integrity of the Qurʾān. The Shīʿa (q.v.) disputed the canonical validity of the ʿUthmānic codex, the *textus receptus,* of the Qurʾān (see COLLECTION OF THE QURʾĀN; CODICES OF THE QURʾĀN) and cast doubt on the quality of its editing, alleging political tendentiousness on the part of the editors — namely, the three first caliphs (see CALIPH), particularly the third of them, ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān (r. 23-35/644-56). Shīʿī (mainly Imāmī) criticism of the qurʾānic text was most severe in the first centuries of Islam (see POLITICS AND THE QURʾĀN; TEXTUAL CRITICISM OF THE QURʾĀN). The editors were accused of falsification *(taḥrīf)* of the qurʾānic text by both the omission of some phrases and the addition of others (see REVISION AND ALTERATION). Moreover, the claim that the Qurʾān had been falsified is one of the principal arguments to which early Shīʿī tradition resorted to explain the absence of any explicit reference to the Shīʿa in the Qurʾān.

In Shīʿī qurʾānic commentaries many traditions are found accusing the Companions of the Prophet (q.v.) of violating the integrity of the qurʾānic text. In one of these traditions, cited in the commentary *(tafsīr)* ascribed to the Imām Ḥasan al-ʿAskarī (d. 260/873-4), it is stated that "Those whose ambitions overcame their wisdom (*alladhīna ghalabat ahwāʾuhum ʿuqūlahum,* i.e. the *ṣaḥāba*) falsified *(ḥarrafū)* the true meaning of God's book and altered it *(wa-ghayyarūhu)*" (ʿAskarī, *Tafsīr,* 95; cf. Kohlberg, Some notes, 212 and n. 37). A treasure trove of such traditions is *Kitāb al-Qiṛāʾāt* (known also as *Kitāb al-Tanzīl wa-l-taḥrīf*) by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Sayyārī (fl. late third/ninth century), of which an annotated edition is in preparation by M.A. Amir-Moezzi and E. Kohlberg. A similar tradition — which, however, does not blame the Companions of the Prophet for the falsification — is found in the Qurʾān commentary of al-ʿAyyāshī (d. ca. 320/932): "Had the book of God not been subject to additions and omissions, our righteousness would not have been hidden from any [person] of wisdom" (*lawlā annahu zīda fī kitāb Allāh wa-nuqiṣa minhu mā khafiya ḥaqqunā ʿalā dhī ḥijan;* ʿAyyāshī, *Tafsīr,* i, 25). In a similar tradition it is stated: "The [Qurʾān] contained the names of [various] persons, but these names have been removed" (*kānat fīhi asmāʾu l-rijāl fa-ulqiyat;* ibid., i, 24). The commentator does not attempt to validate this general claim with examples of texts that, in his opinion, have been altered.

Just how unspecific these traditions are can be demonstrated by an account ascribed to Imām Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq (d. 148/765), cited in relation to verse Q 2:79: "On leaving the house of the [caliph] ʿUthmān, ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ met

the Commander of the Faithful [ʿAlī; see ʿALĪ B. ABĪ ṬĀLIB] and said to him: 'O ʿAlī, we have spent the night on a matter with which we hope God will strengthen this community.' ʿAlī answered him: 'I know how you spent the night: you have falsified, altered and changed *(ḥarraftum wa-ghayyartum wa-baddaltum)* nine hundred letters/words *(ḥarf);* falsified three hundred letters/words, changed three hundred letters/words and altered three hundred letters/words. [And then ʿAlī added this verse, Q 2:79]: Woe to those who write the book (q.v.) with their hands and then say, 'this is from God' " (*fa-waylun lilladhīna yaktubna l-kitāba bi-aydīhim thumma yaqūlūna hādhā min ʿindi llāhi;* ibid., i, 66). It is obvious that the figures quoted here are not to be taken at face value, just as the three different verbs used to describe the editorial activity (*ḥarrafa, ghayyara* and *baddala*) in no way indicate discrete falsification techniques (see FORGERY; CORRUPTION).

Numerous Shīʿī utterances refer to the nature of the original text of the Qurʾān prior to its alleged corruption by the Sunnīs. In a well-known tradition, which appears in the writings of most early Imāmī commentators, Imām Muḥammad al-Bāqir (d. ca 114/732) declares: "The Qurʾān was revealed [consisting of] four parts: One part concerning us [the Shīʿa], one part concerning our enemies, one part commandments (q.v.) and regulations (*farāʾiḍ wa-aḥkām;* see VIRTUES AND VICES, COMMANDING AND FORBIDDING; BOUNDARIES AND PRECEPTS; LAW AND THE QURʾĀN) and one part customs and parables (*sunan wa-amthāl;* see PARABLE). And the exalted parts of the Qurʾān refer to us" (*wa-lanā karāʾim al-Qurʾān;* ibid., i, 20 and 21 where a tripartite division is suggested; cf. also the following sources, in which allusion is made to division into either three or four parts: Sayyārī, *Qirāʾāt,* tradition no. 11; Furāt, *Tafsīr,* 1, 2; Kulaynī, *Kāfī,* ii, 627-8; Goldziher, *Richtungen,* 288). Other accounts refer to the length of the original Qurʾān. It is believed to have contained 17,000 verses (q.v.; Sayyārī, *Qirāʾāt,* tradition no. 16). Q 33 is given as an example of a text that in the original Qurʾān was two and two-third times longer than Sūrat al-Baqara ("The Cow," Q 2; ibid., tradition no. 418; see SŪRAS), which in turn was longer than the version in the ʿUthmānic codex (ibid., tradition no. 421).

The discrepancy between the qurʾānic text and the Shīʿī viewpoint is not necessarily one that a "correct" interpretation can remedy. This discrepancy results from a textual gap between the incomplete qurʾānic text found in the possession of the Sunnīs and the ideal text that, according to Shīʿī belief, is no longer in anyone's possession but will be revealed by the Mahdī in the eschatological era (see ESCHATOLOGY).

Later, beginning in the fourth/tenth century, in the wake of the political and social changes that Shīʿism underwent, a tendency to moderation became apparent, and some of the criticism became muted. Imāmī-Shīʿī scholars — among them Muḥammad b. al-Nuʿmān, better known as al-Shaykh al-Mufīd (d. 413/1022), al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā (d. 436/1044), Abū Jaʿfar al-Ṭūsī (d. 460/1067), one of the eminent Imāmī-Shīʿī exegetes, and Abū ʿAlī l-Faḍl b. Ḥasan al-Ṭabarsī (d. 548/1153) — held that although the text of the Qurʾān as we have it is incomplete, it does not contain any falsifications. In other words, what is found in the ʿUthmānic codex is the truth but not the whole truth since it does not include all the revelations made to Muḥammad (see REVELATION AND INSPIRATION). (On the various positions taken by Imāmī-Shīʿīs on this question, see Kohlberg, Some notes.)

Despite the moderate views expressed by these and other Shīʿī scholars, the opinion that the Qurʾān was falsified has been perpetuated throughout the history of Shīʿism and persists to this day. Prominent scholars in Iran during the Ṣafavid period — including Muḥammad b. Murtaḍā al-Kāshānī, known as Muḥsin al-Fayḍ (d. 1091/1680), Hāshim b. Sulaymān al-Baḥrānī (d. 1107/1693 or 1109/1697), and Muḥammad Bāqir al-Majlisī (d. 1110/1699 or 1111/1700) — revived the debate about the integrity of the Qurʾān, basing their anti-Sunnī polemics upon traditions extant in the early Shīʿī corpus of *tafsīr* and ḥadīth (see ḤADĪTH AND THE QURʾĀN).

One of the most radical works ever written on this matter is the *Faṣl al-khiṭāb fī taḥrīf kitāb rabb al-arbāb* by the eminent Shīʿī scholar Ḥusayn Taqī Nūrī l-Ṭabarsī (d. 1320/1902). In this work Nūrī brought together a great number of traditions referring to the question of the falsification of the Qurʾān. A recurrent tradition on which Nūrī bases his argument in favor of *taḥrīf* draws an analogy between the Shīʿīs and the Jews (a notion that in itself is very common in Shīʿī literature): "Just as the Jews and the Christians (see JEWS AND JUDAISM; CHRISTIANS AND CHRSITIANITY; PEOPLE OF THE BOOK) altered and falsified the book of their prophet [sic; see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD] after him, this community [i.e. the Muslims] shall alter and falsify the Qurʾān after our Prophet — may God bless him and his family — for everything that happened to the Children of Israel (q.v.) is bound to happen to this community" (*inna l-yahūd wa-l-naṣārā ghayyarū wa-ḥarrafū kitāb nabiyyihim baʿdahu fa-hādhihi l-umma ayḍan lā budda wa-an yughayyirū l-Qurʾān baʿda nabiyyinā ṣallā llāh ʿalayhi wa-ahlihi li-anna kulla mā waqaʿa fī banī Isrāʾīl lā budda wa-an yaqaʿa fī hādhihi l-umma;* Nūrī, *Faṣl,* 35; whence Brunner, The dispute, 439; see COMMUNITY AND SOCIETY IN THE QURʾĀN). It should be stressed, however, that Nūrī's extreme anti-Sunnī tone was criticized even by the Shīʿī scholars of his day. Nevertheless, the question of *taḥrīf* never ceased to be a burning issue in Shīʿī-Sunnī discourse, to the point that "there is hardly a new book on the general subject of the qurʾānic sciences whose author can afford not to include a long chapter dealing with *taḥrīf*" (Brunner, The dispute, 445; see TRADITIONAL DISCIPLINES OF QURʾĀNIC STUDY).

Significant as it may be, the claim of forgery — i.e. that issues relating to the Shīʿa were deliberately omitted from the Qurʾān — is not the sole argument used by Shīʿī authors to explain the absence of any explicit mention of the *ahl al-bayt*/Shīʿa in the Qurʾān (see PEOPLE OF THE HOUSE). Two additional arguments are (a) the Qurʾān contains hidden meanings, which the exegete should decipher (see POLYSEMY) and (b) the Qurʾān teaches principles while tradition expounds their details.

The most common approach explaining the absence of references to the Shīʿa in the Qurʾān asserts that it is in the nature of the Qurʾān to speak in symbols and codes (see METAPHOR; SIMILES; SYMBOLIC IMAGERY) and according to this approach it should come as no surprise that the Qurʾān does not mention the Shīʿa explicitly: those who know how to read between the lines can decipher the passages that allude to the Shīʿa. This is the principle underlying the broad attempt to interpret many obscure qurʾānic verses *(mubhamāt)* as well as some quite clear ones, as referring to the Shīʿa. Even a cursory reading of the early Shīʿī *tafsīr*s reveals how wholeheartedly this approach was embraced by Shīʿī commentators.

The other approach — that the Qurʾān

teaches principles while tradition expounds their details — is expressed, for example, in the answer al-Bāqir gave to one of his disciples concerning the reason ʿAlī is not mentioned in the Qurʾān:

> Say to them [i.e. to those who put this question to you]: God revealed to his messenger [the verses about] prayer (q.v.) and did not [explicitly] mention three or four [prayers] until this was interpreted by the messenger. So also he revealed [the verses about] the pilgrimage (q.v.), but did not reveal the injunction "encircle [the Kaʿba (q.v.)] seven times." So too is the meaning of the verse [Q 4:59] "Obey God and obey the messenger and those in authority (q.v.) among you." This verse was revealed in relation to ʿAlī, Ḥasan and Ḥusayn (ʿAyyāshī, *Tafsīr,* i, 276; see OBEDIENCE; KINGS AND RULERS).

According to this tradition, the reason ʿAlī and his disciples are not mentioned explicitly in the Qurʾān is that the Qurʾān, by its very nature, restricts itself to general principles; it presents religious laws and general rulings yet does not go into details, a prerogative reserved for the interpreter. This tripartite argumentation in no way suggests that these were three separate approaches to the problem, each exclusive of the other. Rather, the three together demonstrate the problems that Shīʿī exegetes faced and the attempts they made to resolve them.

Principles and methods of Shīʿī exegesis

Shīʿī exegetes, perhaps even more than their Sunnī counterparts, support their distinctive views by reference to qurʾānic proof-texts (see EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL). A major distinction is that the Shīʿī exegetes attempt to find in the Qurʾān explicit references to such themes as the imāms' (see IMĀM) supernatural and mystical qualities, their authority to interpret the Qurʾān and other religious scriptures, or such major Shīʿī doctrines as the duty of loyalty (q.v.) to the imāms *(walāya)* and dissociation from their enemies *(barāʾa)*.

A fundamental principle of Shīʿī exegetical tradition is that the authority to interpret the Qurʾān is reserved for ʿAlī and his descendants, the imāms. In a well-known ḥadīth, cited in both Sunnī and Shīʿī sources, Muḥammad is said to have declared: "There is one among you who will fight for the [correct] interpretation of the Qurʾān just as I myself fought for its revelation, and he is ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib" (*inna fī-kum man yuqātilu ʿalā taʾwīl al-Qurʾān kamā qātaltu ʿalā tanzīlihi wa-huwa ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib;* ʿAyyāshī, *Tafsīr,* i, 27; Shahrastānī, *Milal,* 189; and cf. Gimaret and Monnot, *Livre,* i, 543, and n. 231, where further sources are cited; also Poonawala, Ismāʿīlī *taʾwīl,* 209-10). This idea of ʿAlī and (implicitly) also his descendants being presented by the Prophet himself as interpreters of the Qurʾān is also deduced from other traditions, the most famous of which is "the tradition about the two weighty things" *(ḥadīth al-thaqalayn),* i.e. the two things that Muḥammad is reported to have bequeathed to his believers. There are significant differences between the Sunnī and Shīʿī exegetical traditions regarding both the identity of these two "things" and the interpretation of the ḥadīth. According to one version, they are the book of God *(kitāb Allāh)* and the Prophet's practice (*sunnat nabiyyihi,* Ibn Isḥāq-Guillaume, 651; see SUNNA). Other versions of this tradition, recorded in both Sunnī and Shīʿī works, mention as the *thaqalān* the Qurʾān and the family of the Prophet (q.v.; *ahl al-bayt*). The explanation given in Shīʿī sources as to the discrepancy between the two versions of this tradition is that while in Sunnī exegesis the practice

of the Prophet is considered a tool for interpreting the Qurʾān (and is therefore mentioned in conjunction with the book itself), in Shīʿī tradition the family of the Prophet plays the equivalent role: only through the mediation of the imāms, the descendants of the Prophet, are both the exoteric *(ẓāhir)* and the esoteric *(bāṭin)* meanings of the qurʾānic text revealed to believers. The *thaqalān* are further viewed as being forever intertwined with each other *(lan yaftariqā)* or, in the words of al-Ṭūsī (d. 460/1067): "This tradition proves that [the Qurʾān] exists in every generation, since it is unlikely that [Muḥammad] would order us to keep something which we cannot keep, just as the family of the Prophet, and those we are ordered to follow, are present at all times" (Ṭūsī, *Tibyān,* i, 3-4). The distance from here to the creation of the metaphor describing the imāms as "the speaking book of God" *(kitāb Allāh al-nāṭiq)* is short indeed (see e.g. Bursī, *Mashāriq,* 135; Ayoub, The speaking Qurʾān, 183, n. 17; Poonawala, Ismāʿīlī *taʾwīl,* 200).

The authority of the imāms as interpreters of the Qurʾān is reiterated in many traditions other than the *ḥadīth al-thaqalayn*. One tradition defining the many functions of the imāms includes their role as interpreters of the Qurʾān: "We know how to interpret the book [i.e. the Qurʾān] and how to speak clearly" (*naʿrifu taʾwīl al-kitāb wa-faṣl al-khiṭāb;* ʿAyyāshī, *Tafsīr,* i, 28).

These as well as numerous other traditions have but one purpose — to make clear that those qualified to interpret the Qurʾān are the imāms, and that this right was bestowed upon them directly by God. In the absence of the imāms, the duty of the text's interpreters is restricted to preserving traditions in their name and making these available to believers (see TEACHING AND PREACHING THE QURʾĀN). The interpreters are thus no more than a vehicle and, at least theoretically, are not authorized to pronounce their own views (ibid., i, 27; Qummī, *Tafsīr,* ii, 397).

Among Shīʿīs, as among other religious circles and groups operating on the fringes of society, allegory, typology and secret codes became favorite methods of interpreting the Qurʾān. Nevertheless, only heterodox factions such as the Nuṣayrīs and the Druze (see DRUZES) went so far as to view the inner meaning of the Qurʾān as the exclusive, binding authority. At times such techniques derive from an elitist outlook, one which maintains that religious secrets (q.v.; see also HIDDEN AND THE HIDDEN) should be concealed from the masses and be the unique privilege of the elect. Sometimes it derives from an existential necessity: religious and ideological minorities may find themselves in danger as a consequence of overt and careless expression of ideas unpalatable to the ruling majority (see HERESY; THEOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN). And indeed, the fact that many Shīʿī factions throughout their history flourished under Sunnī rule required the use of survival techniques both in everyday life and when committing their religious doctrines to writing. Shīʿī scholars had to walk a fine line: on the one hand, they wished to give whenever possible expression to their real intentions; on the other hand, they had to make sure that the expression of such ideas did not arouse the wrath of their Sunnī opponents. This is one of the clearest manifestations of the doctrine of precautionary dissimulation (q.v.; *taqiyya*).

An illustration of the allegorical approach *(taʾwīl)* of Shīʿī Qurʾān exegesis may be seen in the interpretation of the night journey of Muḥammad referred to in the first verse of Q 17 (Sūrat al-Isrāʾ, "The Night Journey"; see ASCENSION). Although aware of the conventional interpretation of this verse as referring to an

actual journey during which the Prophet was borne from Mecca (q.v.) to Jerusalem (q.v.), Ismāʿīlī as well as Nuṣayrī authors interpreted this passage as a symbol of the spiritual progress of the imāms or other persons within the divine realm. (For the Ismāʿīlī approach, see e.g. al-Qāḍī l-Nuʿmān, *Asās al-taʾwīl,* 337; for the Nuṣayrī interpretation, see the epistle of the Nuṣayrī author Abū ʿAbdallāh al-Ḥusayn b. Hārūn al-Ṣāʾigh [fl. fourth/tenth century] in Bar-Asher and Kofsky, *The Nuṣayrī-ʿAlawī religion,* 89-97.)

Ismāʿīlīs tend to employ allegory to, *inter alia,* interpret Muslim law. Thus, for example, "the pillars of Islam" are given in Ismāʿīlī writings symbolic meanings: the five obligatory prayers correspond to the five divine ranks *(ḥudūd)* in the Ismāʿīlī hierarchical system; almsgiving (q.v.; *zakāt*) means that those with knowledge should provide reliable mentors to guide the people (see KNOWLEDGE AND LEARNING); fasting (q.v.; *ṣawm*) entails observing silence and not betraying religious secrets to the uninitiated; pilgrimage to Mecca, the house of God (see HOUSE, DOMESTIC AND DIVINE), symbolizes an audience with the imām, since God's knowledge resides with him (Poonawala, Ismāʿīlī *taʾwīl,* 218, paraphrasing *Kitāb al-Iftikhār,* 240 f., by the prominent Ismāʿīlī *dāʿī* Abū Yaʿqūb al-Sijistānī [d. ca. 361/971]). It is worth mentioning that this tendency, prevalent in Ismāʿīlism, is shared by Ghulāt groups such as the Nuṣayrīs and the Druzes. A significant difference, however, should be noted. Moderate allegorists — e.g. Imāmī Shīʿī and most Ismāʿīlīs — maintained that the allegorical interpretation that extracts the true meaning of the Qurʾān does not aim to invalidate the plain meaning of the text (see e.g. Bar-Asher, *Scripture and exegesis,* 122-4). Heterodox groups, in contrast, often held that allegory was the only correct interpretation and thus belittled and even ignored the revealed meaning of the texts.

This distinction became especially glaring with regard to legal matters. Consistent allegorical interpretation led its practitioners, more often than not, to adopt antinomian attitudes toward the religious precepts of the Qurʾān, and once a law assumed a symbolic meaning its literal meaning, according to these circles, was no longer binding. A blatant antinomian interpretation of the pillars of Islam is offered e.g. by the fourth epistle of the Druze canon (*al-Kitāb al-Maʿrūf bi-l-naqḍ al-khafī;* an unpublished critical edition of this epistle is offered by Bryer, *The origins,* ii, 31-50; cf. De Sacy, *Exposé,* ii, 673).

Shīʿī Qurʾān exegesis is further characterized by a radical anti-Sunnī bias. Many qurʾānic verses whose apparent meanings have a negative connotation or refer generally and vaguely to evil or to evildoers (see GOOD AND EVIL; EVIL DEEDS; OPPRESSION) are taken, through allegorical or typological interpretation, to refer to specific historical luminaries of Sunnī Islam. Negative qurʾānic terms such as *baghy* (insolence; see INSOLENCE AND OBSTINACY; ARROGANCE; PRIDE), *faḥshāʾ* (indecency; see ADULTERY AND FORNICATION; CHASTITY; MODESTY), *munkar* (dishonor), *al-fujjār* (the wicked), *al-mufsidūn fī l-arḍ* (corrupters on earth; see CORRUPTION; OPPRESSION), *al-shayṭān* (Satan; see DEVIL), *al-maghḍūb ʿalayhim* (those against whom [God] is wrathful; see ANGER), *al-ḍāllūn* (those who are astray; see ERROR; ASTRAY) and the like are interpreted as referring to the enemies of the Shīʿa in general or to specific persons among them, in particular the first three caliphs, two of Muḥammad's wives (ʿĀʾisha and Ḥafṣa [q.v.], the daughters of the first and the second caliphs, respectively; see also WIVES OF THE PROPHET; ʿĀʾISHA BINT ABĪ BAKR), the Umayyads and the ʿAbbāsids. In an utterance attributed to al-Bāqir he goes so far as to state that "every occur-

rence in the Qurʾān of the words 'Satan says' is [to be understood as referring to] 'the second' [namely the caliph ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb]" (*wa-laysa fī-l-Qurʾān [shayʾ] wa-qāla al-shayṭān illā wa-huwa al-thānī;* ʿAyyāshī, *Tafsīr,* ii, 240). In another tradition, cited in the same source, a more general formulation of this idea is also attributed to this imām. To Muḥammad b. Muslim (d. 150/767), one of his disciples, the imām said: "Whenever you hear God [in the Qurʾān] mentioning someone of this nation in praise, it refers to us [i.e. the Shīʿa]; and when you hear God denigrating people who flourished in the past, it refers to our enemies" (*idhā samiʿta llāha dhakara aḥadan min hādhihi l-umma bi-khayrin fa-naḥnu hum wa-idhā samiʿta llāha dhakara qawman bi-sūʾin mimman maḍā fa-hum ʿaduwwunā;* ibid., i, 24; see CHASTISEMENT AND PUNISHMENT; PUNISHMENT STORIES; REWARD AND PUNISHMENT).

Secret language in Shīʿī exegesis is evident on two levels. The first level, the exegetes believe, is found in the Qurʾān itself; it underlies such obscure or general qurʾānic expressions as *al-jibt wa-l-ṭāghūt* (see IDOLS AND IMAGES; JIBT), *al-faḥshāʾ wa-l-munkar* and many others. The second level is added by the Qurʾān commentator himself. When tracing the exegete's method of unraveling the meaning of obscure expressions one often discovers that the exegete not only avoids disclosing the secrets of the text but actually further conceals them. The commentator never claims explicitly that expressions such as those just mentioned refer to Abū Bakr, ʿUmar or other enemies of the Shīʿa; rather, he resorts to code words such as "the first" *(al-awwal)* and "the second" *(al-thānī), ḥabtar,* "fox" (usually applied to Abū Bakr "because of his cunning and fraudulence" (*li-ḥilatihi wa-makrihi,* Majlisī, *Biḥār,* lith., 4, 378; 9, 65) and *zurayq,* "shiny-eyed" or "blue-eyed" (referring to ʿUmar; e.g. Furāt, *Tafsīr,* 69; see also PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QURʾĀN). This physical feature was considered unfortunate by the ancient Arabs (q.v.) and finds an echo in Q 20:102, according to which the wicked will rise on the day of resurrection (q.v.) with shiny (or blue) eyes (q.v.; for these and other derogatory appellations, see Goldziher, Spottnamen, 295-308; Kohlberg, Some Imāmī Shīʿī views, esp. 160-7; Bar-Asher, *Scripture,* 113-20). In other words, the transition from the covert stratum in the Qurʾān to the overt stratum of the interpretation is not direct but undergoes a further process of encoding. The underlying assumption is that every Shīʿī is familiar with these code words which are an integral part of his religious-cultural upbringing.

In other cases Shīʿī exegesis is designed to support the Shīʿī doctrine of the imāmate and concepts derived from it, examples being *ʿiṣma* (see IMPECCABILITY), or the immunity of prophets and imāms from sin (see SIN, MAJOR AND MINOR) and error; the intercession (q.v.; *shafāʿa*) of prophets and imāms on behalf of their communities; *badāʾ* (the appearance of new circumstances that cause a change in an earlier divine ruling); and, in the case of the Ismāʿīlī, Druze and Nuṣayrī factions, such additional concepts as the cyclical creation (q.v.) of the world and the transmigration of souls (q.v.).

Another current feature of early Shīʿī (mainly Imāmī) exegesis is the use of variant readings *(qirāʾāt)* of the qurʾānic text or, in certain cases, the addition of words believed to have been omitted from it (see READINGS OF THE QURʾĀN). Such textual alterations are based on the assumption that the qurʾānic text is flawed and incomplete. Scholars who held the view that the Qurʾān is corrupt believed that the Mahdī will eventually reveal the true text and uncover its original intention. Examples of

these alterations are the common textual substitution of *aʾimma* (imāms) for *umma* (nation or community) or slight changes to the word "imām" itself. The implication of these variants is that the institution of the imāmate and other principles associated with it originate in the Qurʾān. For example, for Q 3:110 most early Shīʿī exegetes read: "You are the best leaders [leg. *aʾimmatin* rather than *ummatin,* nation] ever brought forth to humankind" *(kuntum khayra aʾimmatin ukhrijat lil-nās);* or in Q 2:143: "Thus we appointed you midmost leaders" *(wa-kadhālika jaʿalnākum aʾimmatan wasaṭan),* etc. (For the first verse, cf. Qummī, *Tafsīr,* i, 110; ʿAyyāshī, *Tafsīr,* i, 218; for the second, cf. Qummī, *Tafsīr,* i, 63.)

Prominent among the other type of alterations is the insertion of certain words generally proclaimed to be missing from the ʿUthmānic codex of the Qurʾān. These are primarily (a) the words *fī ʿAlī* (concerning ʿAlī) in various qurʾānic verses, among them Q 2:91: "Believe in what God has revealed to you [+ concerning ʿAlī]" *(āminū bi-mā anzala llāh [+ fī ʿAlī])* or Q 4:166: "But God bears witness to what he has revealed to you [+ concerning ʿAlī]" *(lākinna llāh yashhadu bi-mā anzala ilayka [+ fī ʿAlī]);* or (b) the words *āl Muḥammad* (the family of Muḥammad) or occasionally *āl Muḥammad ḥaqqahum* ([deprived] of their rights) as the object of a verb from the root *z-l-m* (to do an injustice to/to usurp), which appear often in the Qurʾān. Shīʿī commentators believe that this addition stresses that the injustice (see JUSTICE AND INJUSTICE) referred to by words and verbs derived from the root *z-l-m* alludes specifically to the injustice perpetrated against the family of the Prophet and his offspring, i.e. the Shīʿa. The same method is applied with regard to other doctrines. The insertion of the words *fī walāyat ʿAlī* (concerning the [duty of] loyalty to the house of ʿAlī) in several places in the Qurʾān is intended to provide scriptural authority to the doctrine of *walāya,* as the addition of the words *ilā ajalin musamman* (for a given time) to the *mutʿa* verse (Q 4:24), is meant to emphasize the temporary nature of *mutʿa* marriage (see MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE; TEMPORARY MARRIAGE; SEX AND SEXUALITY). Less known is the addition of the word *mutʿa* in Q 24:33: *wa-l-yastaʿfifi lladhīna lā yajidūna nikāḥan [+bi-l-mutʿa] ḥattā yughniyahumu llāhu min faḍlihi,* "And let those who find not the means to enter into a *[+ mutʿa]* marriage be abstinent till God enriches them of his bounty" (Sayyārī, *Qirāʾāt,* tradition no. 372; see ABSTINENCE).

The differentiation between variant readings and additions by the commentators or their sources inheres primarily in terminology. In many places where the commentator introduces a Shīʿī version of a qurʾānic verse, he does so by using typical formulas. The Shīʿī version is preceded by such utterances as (a) *nazala Jibrīl [*or *Jibrāʾīl] bi-hādhihi l-āya hākadhā ʿalā Muḥammad,* "thus the verse was revealed to Muḥammad by [the angel] Gabriel" (q.v.; see e.g. ʿAyyāshī, *Tafsīr,* ii, 353; and for similar versions, ibid., i, 63; Qummī, *Tafsīr,* ii, 111); or followed by (b) *hākadhā nazalat,* "thus [the verse] was revealed" (see e.g. Qummī, *Tafsīr,* i, 142, 297; ii, 21); at other times it is stated that the version cited was the reading of one of the imāms (e.g. ʿAyyāshī, *Tafsīr,* i, 217, 218; Qummī, *Tafsīr,* i, 389). At times even stronger expressions are used to stress that certain passages in the canonical text are incorrect. These include statements formulated in the negative such as (a) *ʿalā khilāf mā anzala llāh,* "[the version in the *textus receptus*] contradicts the form in which it was revealed" (see e.g. Qummī, *Tafsīr,* i, 10, which cites Q 3:110 or Q 25:74 as examples of such verses); or (b) *fīmā ḥurrifa min kitāb Allāh,* "[This verse] is one of those falsified [or altered] in the book of God" (Qummī, *Tafsīr,* ii, 295).

In the absence of such a firm declaration it is difficult to decide whether the alteration is a mere commentary or whether the exegete is in fact suggesting an alternative reading to the canonical text despite the absence of such typical expressions as those mentioned above.

On the basis of such a rejection of the "Sunnī" text one might have expected the Shīʿa to insert these alternative versions and additions into the text of the Qurʾān or at least to implement them when the text is read on ritual occasions (see RITUAL AND THE QURʾĀN; RECITATION OF THE QURʾĀN). In reality, however, almost no action was taken by the Shīʿa to canonize their variant readings. One exception is a late attempt reflected in a manuscript of the Qurʾān, said to have been discovered in the city of Bankipore, India, in which, besides the Shīʿī alternative versions to some of the qurʾānic verses, two apocryphal sūras were also included: *sūrat al-walāya,* "the sūra of divine friendship (i.e. between God and ʿAlī; see FRIENDS AND FRIENDSHIP; CLIENTS AND CLIENTAGE)" and *sūrat al-nūrayn,* the *sūra* of the two lights (i.e. Muḥammad and ʿAlī; on this issue, noted by scholars as early as the nineteenth century, see Amir-Moezzi, *Le guide divin,* 200-27; *The divine guide,* 79-91, 198-206; see LIGHT).

This behavior of the Shīʿa reveals a paradox. On the one hand, Shīʿīs are certain that the true version of the Qurʾān is that known to them; on the other hand, not only do they not reject the canonical codex, they actually endorse it (see e.g. Goldziher, *Richtungen,* 281). This contradiction is typical of the Shīʿa: on the one hand an uncompromising position of superiority was adopted on the theoretical-doctrinal level; on the other hand the constant fear of persecution from the hostile Sunnī environment brought about, on the practical level, a pragmatic attitude that included the adoption *de facto* of the ʿUthmānic codex. This tension and paradox is reflected in the many Shīʿī exegetical traditions in which Shīʿī *qirāʾāt* are mentioned. In some of them one finds the following situation: A disciple of the imām is reading from the (canonical) Qurʾān in the presence of the imām, who tells him that it was revealed in a different version. The imām then proceeds to read the "true" (i.e. the Shīʿī) version. As, however, against such accounts, which underrate the importance of the ʿUthmānic codex, an opposing tendency is sometimes revealed: Someone is reading from the Qurʾān in the presence of one of the imāms, and inserts in his reading the Shīʿī version of the verse. At this point he is stopped by the imām, who instructs him to read according to the version followed by the people (i.e. the *textus receptus*) until such time as "the righteous savior" *(al-qāʾim)* shall come with the correct version of the Qurʾān, identical with the one that ʿAlī possessed and bequeathed to his daughter, Fāṭima (q.v.), whence its title *muṣḥaf Fāṭima,* "the codex of Fāṭima" (see MUṢḤAF).

Other methods of Shīʿī exegesis are based on the word and letter order and calculations of the numerical value of letters (see NUMEROLOGY). In his interpretation of Q 108 (Sūrat al-Kawthar), al-Sijistānī presents a transposition of the words and letters of the sūra, thus reading into it the Shīʿī tenet of *waṣāya,* the rank of plenipotentiary among the imāms (Poonawala, Ismāʿīlī *taʾwīl,* 218-9). The technique of numerical calculation of letters is primarily applied to the mysterious letters (q.v.; *fawātiḥ al-suwar*) appearing at the head of twenty-nine sūras. For example, the letters *alif, lām, mīm, ṣād* (the total numerical value of which is 161) at the head of Q 7 (Sūrat al-Aʿrāf, "The Heights"; see PEOPLE OF THE HEIGHTS) allude, according to an account attributed to

al-Bāqir, to the year 161 of the *hijrī* calendar (777 C.E.), a year which had been (incorrectly) predicted as the one in which the fall of the Umayyad dynasty would occur (ʿAyyāshī, *Tafsīr,* ii, 7-8).

It should further be noted that Shīʿī, and particularly Ismāʿīlī, exegesis is characterized by the use of a secret script designed to encrypt information — mainly names of persons — that the author wishes to conceal for precautionary reasons. Numerous examples of this practice are found in the *Kitāb al-Kashf* by the *dāʿī,* Jaʿfar b. Manṣūr al-Yaman (fl. first half of fourth/tenth century), and *Mizāj al-tasnīm* by the Yamamite Ismāʿīlī Sulaymānī *dāʿī,* Ismāʿīl b. Hibat Allāh (d. 1184/1770).

Major Shīʿī exegetes and their works

The earliest Imāmī-Shīʿī Qurʾān commentaries known to us are from the end of the third/ninth century. These include the works of Furāt b. Furāt b. Ibrāhīm al-Kūfī *(Tafsīr Furāt al-Kūfī),* al-ʿAyyāshī *(Tafsīr)* and al-Qummī *(Tafsīr),* all of whom flourished in the last decades of the third/ninth century and the beginning of the fourth/tenth century, that is, prior to the Great Occultation *(al-ghayba al-kubrā)* of the twelfth imām, which occurred in the year 329/941. Somewhat later is Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Jaʿfar al-Nuʿmānī (d. ca. 360/971), to whom is ascribed a treatise constituting a sort of introduction to the Qurʾān (Majlisī, *Biḥār,* xc, 1-97). Other compositions are the two commentaries ascribed to the sixth and eleventh imāms, respectively: *Ḥaqāʾiq al-tafsīr al-qurʾānī,* a small exegetical treatise of a Ṣūfī character (see ṢŪFISM AND THE QURʾĀN) attributed to Imām Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq and *Tafsīr al-ʿAskarī,* a comprehensive commentary of a legendary-mythical nature on the first two sūras of the Qurʾān attributed to Imām Ḥasan al-ʿAskarī (d. 260/874; on which see Bar-Asher, al-ʿAskarī). The most outstanding *tafsīr*s of the post-*ghayba* period are al-Ṭūsī's *Tibyān,* al-Ṭabarsī's *Majmaʿ* and the *Rawḍ al-jinān wa-rūḥ al-janān,* a Qurʾān commentary in Persian by Abū l-Futūḥ Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī al-Rāzī (fl. first half of the sixth/twelfth century). Some very comprehensive Imāmī-Shīʿī *tafsīr* works, which are mainly compilations of early sources, were composed in Ṣafavid Iran. The most prominent among these are *Taʾwīl al-āyāt al-ẓāhira fī faḍāʾil al-ʿitra al-ṭāhira* by Sharaf al-Dīn ʿAlī l-Ḥusaynī l-Astarābādī (fl. tenth/sixteenth century), *Kitāb al-Ṣāfī fī tafsīr al-Qurʾān* by Muḥsin al-Fayḍ and *Kitāb al-Burhān fī tafsīr al-Qurʾān* by Hāshim b. Sulaymān al-Baḥrānī. Representative of modern Imāmī-Shīʿī Qurʾān exegesis are Ṭabāṭabāʾī's *Mīzān* and *Min waḥy al-Qurʾān* by Muḥammad Ḥusayn Faḍl Allāh. Needless to say, exegetical material other than Qurʾān commentaries per se proliferates in all genres of Imāmī-Shīʿī literature. (For a detailed survey of Shīʿī *tafsīr* works, see Ṭihrānī, *Dharīʿa,* iii, 302-7; iv, 231-346.)

Ismāʿīlī doctrinal writings include a vast amount of exegetical material but little is known of specific Ismāʿīlī exegetical works. Among the few that have come down to us are *Kitāb Asās al-taʾwīl* by the *dāʿī* al-Qāḍī l-Nuʿmān b. Ḥayyūn Maghribī (d. 363/973) and *Kitāb al-Kashf* by Jaʿfar b. Manṣūr al-Yaman. (For other Ismāʿīlī exegetical works, see Poonawala, *Biobibliography,* index, s.v. *tafsīr* and *taʾwīl.*)

The Zaydī exegetical tradition remains largely unexplored and most Zaydī works of *tafsīr* are still in manuscript form. The Zaydī imāms al-Qāsim b. Ibrāhīm Rassī (d. 246/860), al-Nāṣir lil-Ḥaqq al-Uṭrūsh (d. 304/917) and Abū l-Fatḥ Nāṣir b. Ḥusayn al-Daylamī (d. 444/1052) are among those credited with a *tafsīr* (Ṭihrānī, *Dharīʿa,* iv, 255, 261; Abrahamov, *Anthropomorphism).* A Qurʾān commentary is also ascribed to Ziyād b. Mundhir Abū l-Jārūd, the eponym of the Zaydi-Jārūdī sub-sect,

the Jārūdiyya (Ṭihrānī, *Dharīʿa,* iv, 251). The work is not extant; excerpts of it are, however, incorporated in al-Qummī's *Tafsīr* (Bar-Asher, *Scripture,* 46-56, 244-7). Another outstanding Jārūdī scholar who is credited with a *tafsīr* is Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Hamadhānī, better known as Ibn ʿUqda (d. 333/947; cf. Ṭihrānī, *Dharīʿa,* iv, 251). Finally, there is the *tafsīr* by Shawkānī (d. 1250/1834), one of the best known and most prolific authors of the late Zaydiyya.

There is no evidence that Qurʾān commentaries were written by members of Ghulāt groups (such as the Druzes and the Nuṣayrīs), although the Qurʾān is widely cited and often commented on in their sacred writings. See also PERSIAN LITERATURE AND THE QURʾĀN.

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Ships

Means of transportation over water. The terms for ship in the Qurʾān are three: *fulk,* which occurs twenty-three times; *safīna,* four times and *jāriya* (pl. *jāriyāt, jawārī*) also four times. The first is probably Greek *(epholkion),* while the third is a purely descriptive term, "the (mellifluously) moving one." In addition to being the most frequently employed, *fulk* is the most significant in qurʾānic thought.

Ships in the Qurʾān appear as an important sign of God's providential care for humankind, an element in the divine economy (see GRACE; BLESSING). It is through the employment of ships that humankind catches fish for food (see HUNTING AND FISHING) and acquires marine ornaments (sing. *ḥilya*); the ship is the means of transportation in maritime commerce, beneficial to humankind (Q 2:164; 16:14; 30:46; 35:12).

In the Qurʾān, ships are associated with four prophets; Noah (q.v.; Nūḥ), Moses (q.v.; Mūsā) and Jonah (q.v.; Yūnus) and, by implication, with Solomon (q.v.; Sulaymān; Q 34:12). The most significant of the references are to Noah, especially Q 11:36-48. Humankind was saved from extinction through his *fulk* (see ARK), the only ship described with some detail à propos of its construction, its planks *(alwāḥ)* its nails *(dusur)* and the mountain (*al-Ǧūdiyy;* see JŪDĪ) on which it finally rested after the flood, described in Q 11:44, which has been rightly considered one of the summits of qurʾānic literary excellence (see INIMITABILITY). Less significant are references to the ship *(safīna)* that Moses boarded with the "servant of God" (Q 18:65, 71, 79; see KHAḌIR/KHIḌR) and the *fulk* that Jonah boarded, whence he was ejected (Q 37:140).

During the lifetime of the prophet Muḥammad, ships re-entered the framework of the divine economy on two important occasions. When the Kaʿba (q.v.), the house that Abraham (q.v.) and Ishmael (q.v.) built (see HOUSE, DOMESTIC AND DIVINE), was burnt down sometime before Muḥammad's prophetic call, it was rebuilt by a certain Bāqūm, possibly a Copt, and either a carpenter or the ship's captain. The wood came from a Byzantine ship which had run aground at al-Shuʿayba, Mecca's port at that time. And when some members of the nascent Muslim community in Mecca (q.v.) emigrated to Ethiopia (q.v.; see also ABYSSINIA; EMIGRATION), it was ships that transported them and, later, brought most of them back. Thus, ships twice performed a crucial function in saving the believers (see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF), in diluvial and post-diluvial times.

The many references to ships and to their element, the sea, especially to striking specificities involving them, and to human conduct and behavior during sea-voyages, strongly suggest that the Meccans had personal experience of sailing the sea. This sea can only have been the Red Sea, which some of the Meccan merchants must have crossed on their way to its African side, well known for its attractive products and exotica. This is valuable qurʾānic confirmation of what the sources say on commercial intercourse between Mecca and Ethiopia and it has important implications for qurʾānic studies, especially

if the prophet Muḥammad himself was one of those who crossed over to the African side, sometime in the period which antedated his call around 610 C.E. (see also CARAVAN; TRADE AND COMMERCE).

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Shirt see CLOTHING

Shout see APOCALYPSE

Shuʿayb

Name of a messenger mentioned eleven times in the Qurʾān. His story is dealt with in a few passages (Q 7:85-93; 11:84-95; 26:176-91; 29:36-7) where his vicissitudes with his people are described. According to the Qurʾān, Shuʿayb was sent to Madyan (Q 7:85; 11:84; 29:36; see MIDIAN). He exhorted his people (to whom, it is stated, a sign was sent; cf. Q 7:85; 11:88; see SIGNS) to believe in God (see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF) and he urged them not to cheat people by altering weights and measures (q.v.; Q 7:85; 11:84-5; 26:181-2; see also CHEATING). He also summoned them not to engage in corrupt behavior (see CORRUPTION) nor to lurk on any road with the intent to threaten people (7:85-6; see THEFT). The Qurʾān does not give further information about the acts to which these exhortations refer. The haughty elders of his people arrogantly refused, in the name of the religion of their fathers — even accusing Shuʿayb of being bewitched (see INSANITY) and challenging him and his followers to renounce their faith or be thrown out (Q 7:88). Elsewhere, in another verse, the people state that they refrain from stoning (q.v.) the prophet only out of respect for his family (Q 11:91). Shuʿayb obviously rejected their injunctions and invoked God to judge them and thereby establish who was on the correct path (Q 7:89; see PATH OR WAY). The judgment went in his favor, while those who opposed him were tragically punished. An earthquake seized them (Q 7:91; 26:37), a clamor (*al-ṣayḥa,* Q 11:94) or a black cloud (Q 26:189) befell the unbelievers within their habitations (see PUNISHMENT STORIES). Shuʿayb and those who believed were placed in safety (Q 11:94; see PROTECTION).

Q 11:89 gives an approximate chronology for Shuʿayb's mission, for in his preaching, Shuʿayb urges his people not to follow the fate of the peoples of Noah (q.v.), Hūd (q.v.) and Ṣāliḥ (q.v.), adding "the people of Lot (q.v.) are not far away from you [i.e. his people]." The Qurʾān does not contain any other details of great significance that relate to the setting for Shuʿayb's life, with the exception of the name "al-Ayka" (also read as "Layka"; see READINGS OF THE QURʾĀN; ORTHOGRAPHY) that is found at the start of a passage that tells of Shuʿayb (Q 26:176). This term is thus understood to be the name of the people to whom he was sent. This term should not be confused with the "people of al-Ayka" cited in other passages (Q 15:78; 50:14; cf. 38:13), who appear to be a different group than the

people of Madyan. Both expressions have, however, remained rather puzzling to the exegetes who have proposed various explanations (see below; see also PEOPLE OF THE THICKET).

None of the elements listed above permit the identification of Shuʿayb with any other known personage. Madyan, on the other hand, is related to the biblical Midian and to the story of Jethro and Moses (q.v.), and this is confirmed by the fact the name is also cited in the Qurʾān in connection with those events (Q 20:40; 28:22-3, 45). The identification, however, of Shuʿayb in later traditions with Jethro finds no confirmation in the sacred text. "Tales of the prophets" *(qiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ)* traditions expanded the qurʾānic content adding further particulars. Depending upon the contrasting and unclear qurʾānic passages stating that he was sent to Madyan and to al-Ayka, some exegetical reports maintain that Shuʿayb was sent to two different peoples. The name al-Ayka also finds various explanations based mainly on the meaning of the word, usually given as "thicket" or "grove of palms." Further reports describe with full details the punishment that erased Shuʿayb's people or, for example, state that the tombs of Shuʿayb and of his followers are around the Kaʿba (q.v.). All these elements have also prompted various interpretations by Western scholars, especially in connection with the origin of the names Shuʿayb and al-Ayka (for further details see Bibliography).

Roberto Tottoli

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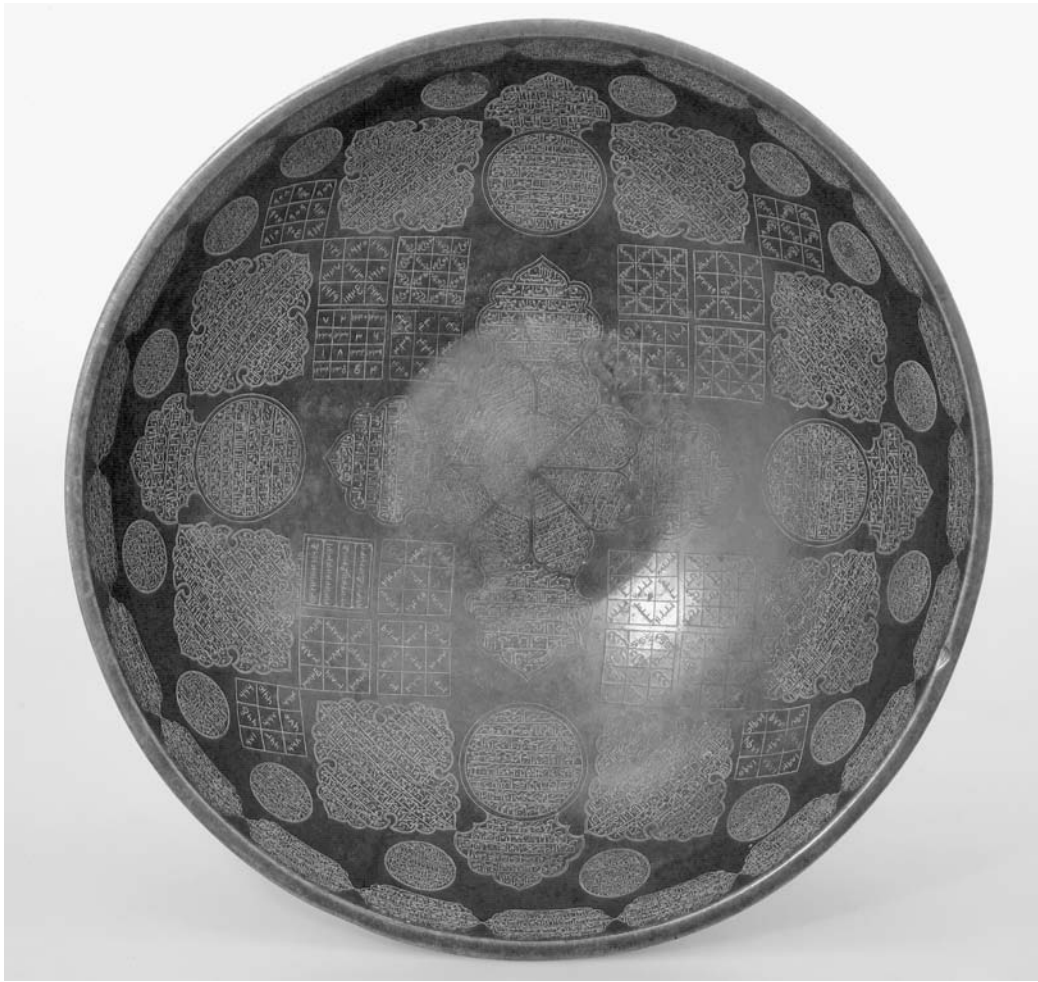
Primary: Abū l-Layth al-Samarqandī, *Tafsīr,* i, 554-6; ii, 223; Farrāʾ, *Maʿānī,* ii, 91; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāya,* i, 185 f.; Kisāʾī, *Qiṣaṣ,* 190 f.; al-Maqdisī, Abū Zayd Aḥmad b. Sahl al-Balkhī, *al-Badʾ wa-l-tarīkh,* ed. C. Huart, 6 vols., Paris 1899-1919, iii, 75-7; Muqātil, *Tafsīr,* ii, 48-50, 434-5; Suyūṭī, *Durr,* 8 vols., Cairo 1983, iii, 500-5; vi, 318-20; Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* Cairo 1968, viii, 237-40; ix, 1-6; xii, 98-109; xiv, 47-8; id., *Taʾrīkh,* ed. de Goeje, i, 365-71; al-Ṭarafī, Abū ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Muṭarrif, *Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ,* ed. R. Tottoli, *The stories of the prophets of Ibn Muṭarrif al-Ṭarafī,* Berlin 2003, 52-4; al-Thaʿlabī, Abū Isḥāq Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm, *al-Kashf wa-l-bayān ʿan tafsīr al-Qurʾān,* ed. A.M. b. ʿĀshūr, 10 vols., Beirut 2002, iv, 260-3; id., *Qiṣaṣ,* 145-7; trans. W.M. Brinner, ʿArāʾis al-majālis fī qiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ *or "Lives of the Prophets" as recounted by Abū Isḥāq Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Thaʿlabī,* Leiden 2002, 274-7.
Secondary: C.E. Bosworth, Madyan Shuʿayb in pre-Islamic and early Islamic lore, in *JSS* 29 (1984), 53-64; id., The qurʾānic prophet Shuʿaib and Ibn Taimiyya's Epistle concerning him, in *Muséon* 87 (1974), 425-40; F. Buhl/C.E. Bosworth, Madyan Shuʿayb, in *EI²,* v, 1155-6; A. Geiger, *Judaism and Islam,* Madras 1898, 137-42; Horovitz, *KU,* 93-4, 119-20; Speyer, *Erzählungen,* 249-54; C.C. Torrey, *The Jewish foundation of Islam,* New York 1967 (1933), 71; R. Tottoli, *Biblical prophets in the Qurʾān and Muslim literature,* Richmond 2002, 48-50.

FIGURES I–VI

[1] Magic medicine bowl, back (lead): unknown provenance, second/eighth or third/ninth centuries. The center is inscribed with a portion of the *basmala*, "In the name of God" and, below it, "God suffices me" (Q 9:129; 39:38). Courtesy of the Nasser D. Khalili Collection (MTW 621).

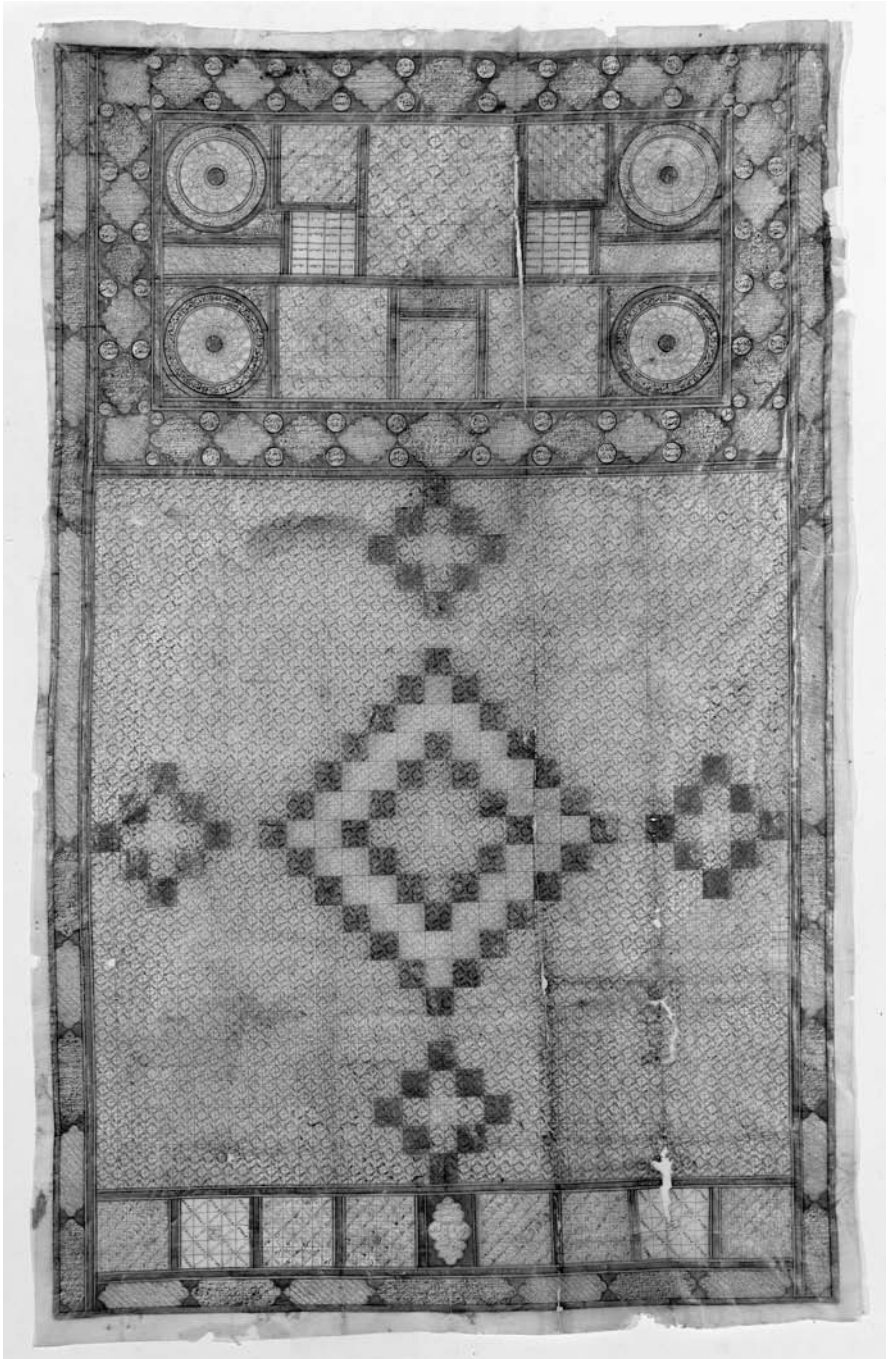


[II] Magic medicine bowl (bronze): Iran, eleventh/seventeenth century. The interior of the bowl, depicted here, is filled with invocations and prayers in Arabic and Persian. Three of the four roundels contain prayers, the *shahāda* and invocations, while the fourth contains Persian and Arabic titles and formulas typical of Ṣūfī dervish orders. The attached cartouches contain additional formulas and titles that indicate a Ṣūfī context, as well as verses from Q 109, 113 and 114. Other qur'ānic citations are found throughout. Courtesy of the Nasser D. Khalili Collection (MTW 1444).

[III] Amulet (tusk): Iran, ca. third/ninth century. Q 1:1-7 form part of the six lines of Kūfic text inscribed on this object. Courtesy of the Nasser D. Khalili Collection (TLS 2466).

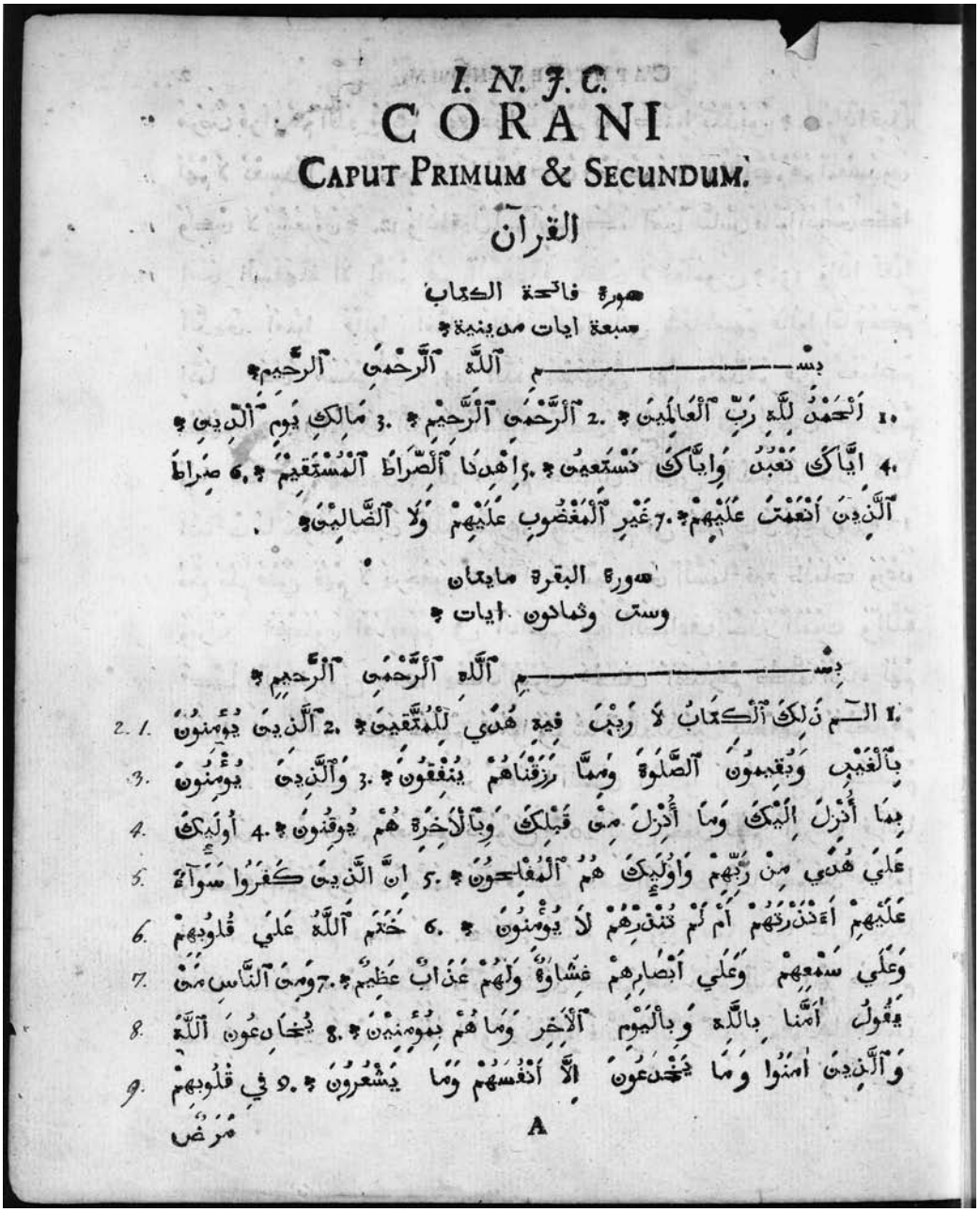
[iv] Talismanic book with chart: Iraq?, 828/1425. This manuscript contains the earliest recorded copy of a treatise (five of the six parts of which discuss the magical uses of the names of God) written by Abū l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. ʿAlī b. Yūsuf al-Būnī l-Qurashī (d. ca. 622/1225). The sixth section provides specific talismans employing the divine names, individual verses of the Qur'ān and their talismanic uses, and a general discussion of magical alphabets. The folios shown here, which are taken from the sixth section, discuss Q 15:87-8, 17:45-6, and 9:129. Courtesy of the Nasser D. Khalili Collection (MSS 300, folios 62b-63a).

[v] Talismanic shirt, front (cotton): Iran?, tenth/sixteenth or eleventh/seventeenth centuries. The shirt is comprised of two large rectangular pieces, joined at the shoulders, while six smaller pieces form the sleeves and under-arm areas. Each piece of material is framed by a wide band containing prayers, invocations and qur'ānic quotations (e.g. Q 2:255; 24:35; 110; 112). Courtesy of the Nasser D. Khalili Collection (TXT 77).



[VI] Talismanic chart (parchment): Iran, 1919. The bulk of this chart (i.e. most of the lower two-thirds) is a 100X100 magic square composed of 10,000 individual cells, each of which contains a numeral. The border of each of the four large circles in the upper third of the chart contains the Throne Verse (Q 2:255); the lower two circles frame two 16X16 magic squares that flank a 10X10 Latin square (*wafq majāzī*) composed of the "mysterious letters" that open a number of qur'ānic sūras. Courtesy of the Nasser D. Khalili Collection (MSS 755).

FIGURES I–VI



I. N. J. C.

CORANI

CAPUT PRIMUM & SECUNDUM.

القرآن

سورة فاتحة الكتاب

سبعة ايات مدينية

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

1. الحمد لله رب العالمين 2. الرحمن الرحيم 3. مالك يوم الدين
4. اياك نعبد واياك نستعين 5. اهدنا الصراط المستقيم 6. صراط
الذين انعمت عليهم 7. غير المغضوب عليهم ولا الضالين

سورة البقرة مايتان
وست وثمانون ايات

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

1. الم 2. ذلك الكتاب لا ريب فيه هدى للمتقين 2. 1. الذين يؤمنون
3. بالغيب ويقيمون الصلوة ومما رزقناهم ينفقون 3. والذين يؤمنون
4. بما انزل اليك وما انزل من قبلك وبالاخرة هم يوقنون 4. اولئك
5. على هدى من ربهم واولئك هم المفلحون 5. ان الذين كفروا سواء
6. عليهم ءانذرتهم ام لم تنذرهم لا يؤمنون 6. ختم الله على قلوبهم
7. وعلى سمعهم وعلى ابصارهم غشاوة ولهم عذاب عظيم 7. ومن الناس من
8. يقول امنا بالله وباليوم الاخر وما هم بمؤمنين 8. يخادعون الله
9. والذين امنوا وما يخدعون الا انفسهم وما يشعرون 9. في قلوبهم
مرض

A

[1] Hinckelmann's Qur'ān (Hamburg, 1694). Sūrat al-Fātiḥa (Q 1:1-7), and the beginning of Sūrat al-Baqara (Q 2:1f.), from this German printed Qur'ān are depicted here. Courtesy of Harvard University (OL 24152.2).

سورة الفاتحة مكية سبع ايات.

ALCORANI
SURA I.
APERIENS.

الجزو الاول
PARS I.

MECCANA COMMATUM VII.

١ بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم ٭
٢ الحمد لله رب العالمين ٣ الرحمن الرحيم ٤ مالك يوم الدين ٥ اياك نعبد واياك
نستعين ٦ اهدنا الصراط المستقيم ٧ صراط الذين انعمت عليهم غير المغضوب
عليهم ولا الضالين ٭

1. IN nomine Dei Miseratoris Misericordis. 2. Laus Deo, Domino Mundorum: 3. Miseratori, Misericordi: 4. Regnanti diei Judicii 5. Te colimus: & te in auxilium imploramus: 6. Dirige nos in viam rectam: 7. Viam illorum, erga quos beneficus fuisti: non actum iracundè contra eos: & non Errantium.

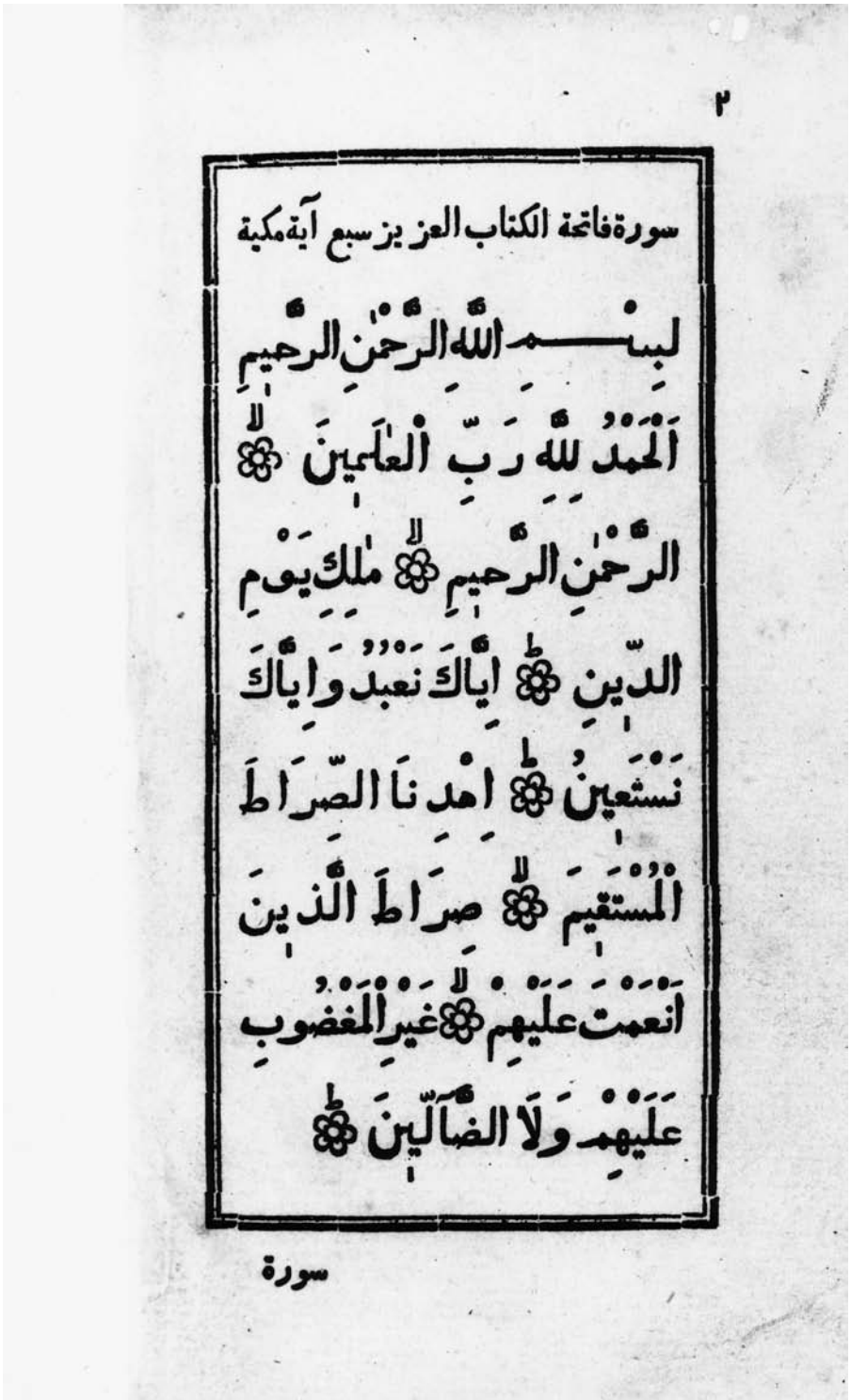
NOTÆ.

PRæter Epigraphen huic Suræ jam appositam, nempè الفاتحة الكتاب *Aperiens*, seu *Aperiens Librum*, ideft *Proœmialis*: aliis titulis à Mahumetanis inscribitur. Vocant enim illam ام الكتاب: *Matrem Libri*: سورة الكنز: *Suram thesauri*: سورة الحمد: *Suram Laudis*: سورة الصلاة: *Suram orationis*: سورة الشكر والدعاء *Suram gratiarum actionis*, & *precationis*: & (omissis aliis hujusmodi inanibus titulis) السبع المثانى: *Septem iterata*: quia septem illius versiculi sæpè à Mahumetanis repetuntur: vel quia illam Mahumetò bis à Gabriele traditam fuisse fabulantur: primò Meccæ; secundò Medinæ. Ab his duabus Urbibus Suræ omnes Alcorani, vel Meccanæ, vel Medinenses nominantur. Septem constat versibus, inter quos nonnulli primum non computantes, qui communis est etiam cæteris Suris; incipiunt septimum versum ab illis verbis: *non actum iracundè*, &c. sed non benè; nam sextus versus nullum haberet rhythmum seu cadentiam.

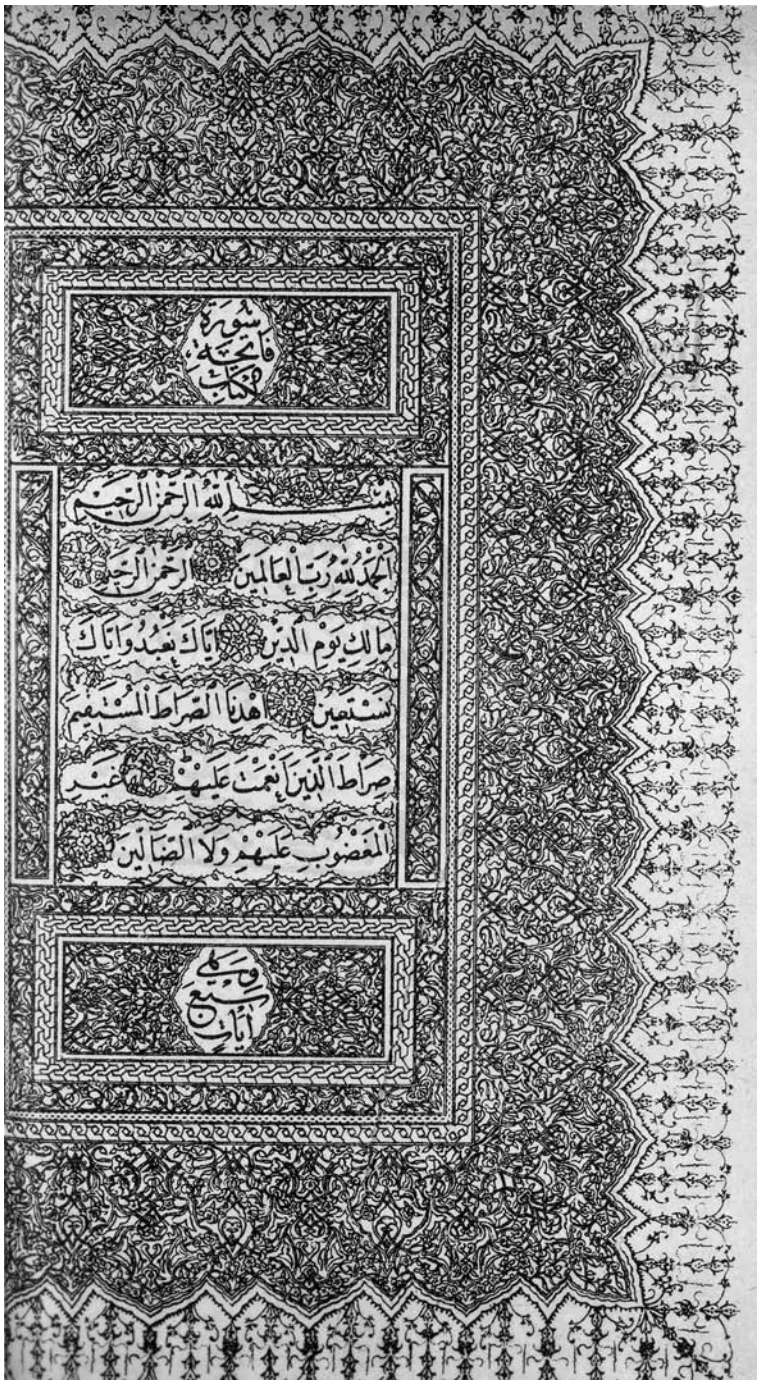
Quidam volunt Suram esse Meccanam, quidam Medinensem: quidam utramque. Hinc Beidavius: صح انها نزلت بمكة حين فرضت الصلاة وبالمدينة لما حولت

[II] Ludovico Marracci's *Alcorani Textus Universus* (Padua, 1698). This Italian printed Qurʾān contains Latin translation and notes, in addition to the Arabic text. Courtesy of Harvard University (OL 24155.1F).

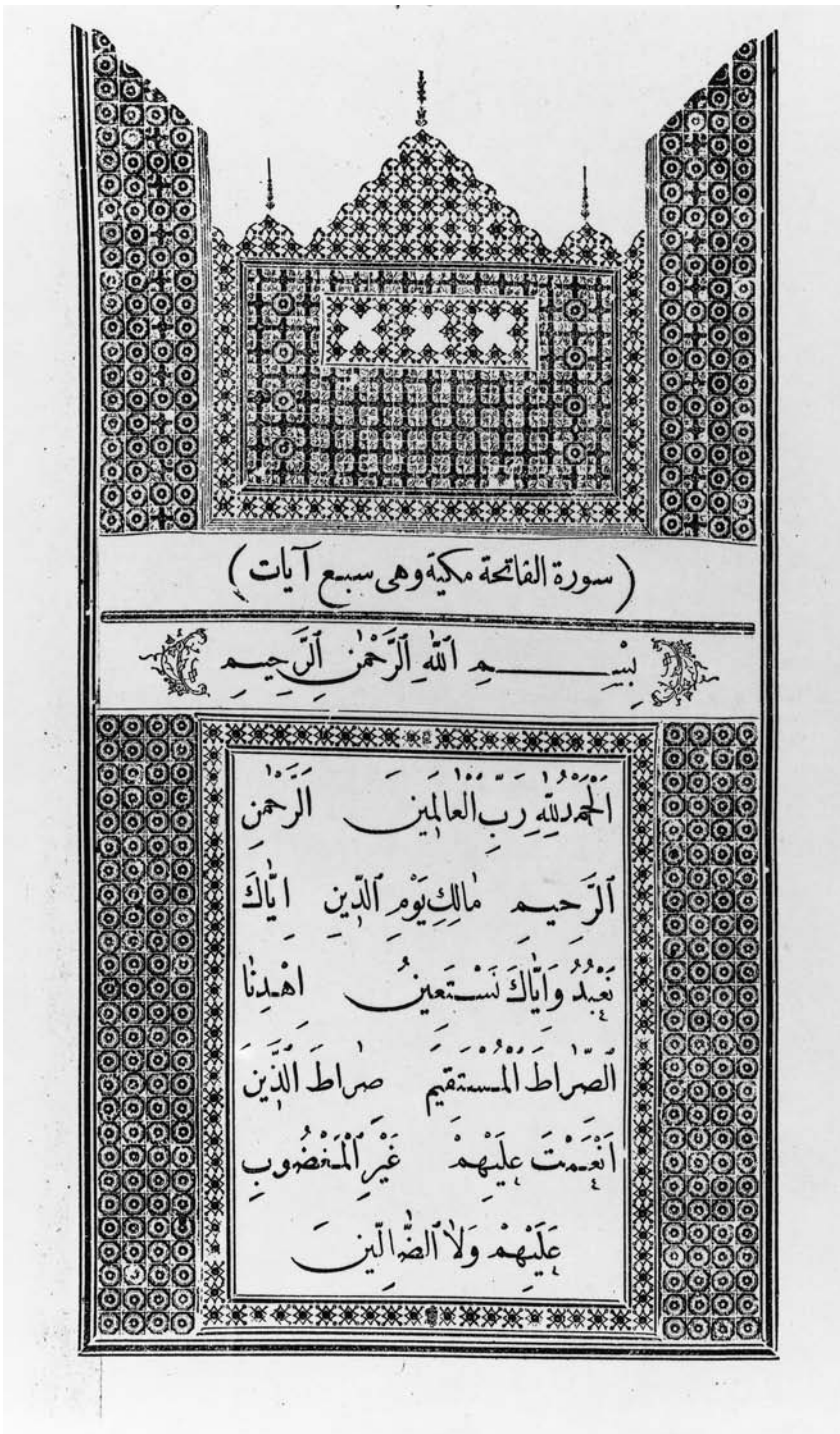
[III] St. Petersburg Qur'ān of 1790. The margins of this edition contain notes that primarily indicate variant readings. Courtesy of the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich (ESlg/2A.or.39).



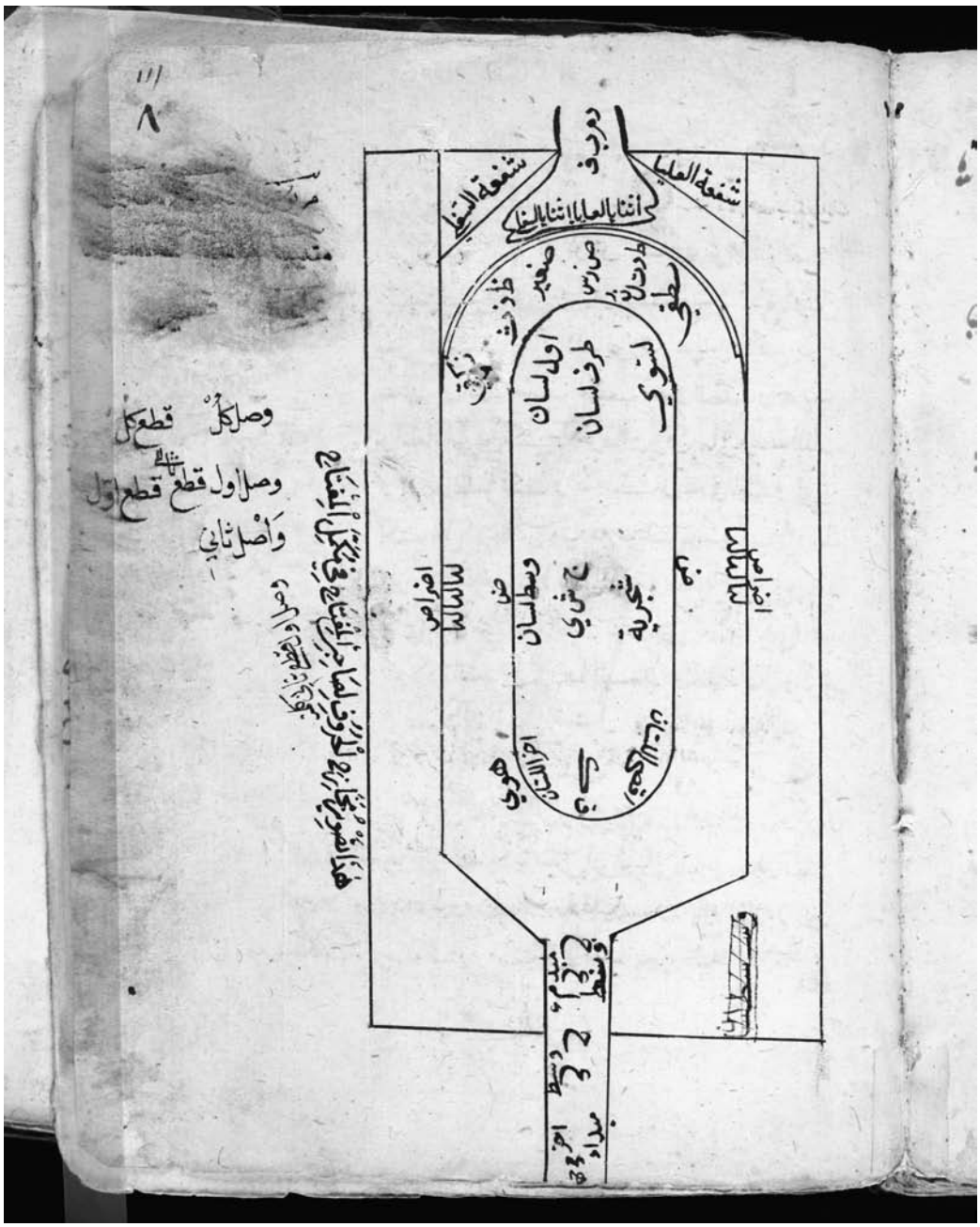
[iv] Kazan Qur'ān of 1803 with page showing Sūrat al-Fātiḥa (Q 1:1-7). Courtesy of the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich (A.or.551-1-6).



[v] Early Turkish printed Qur'ān (Istanbul, 1299/1881-2) with first sūra. Courtesy of the Library of Congress (Orien Arab BP100.A1).



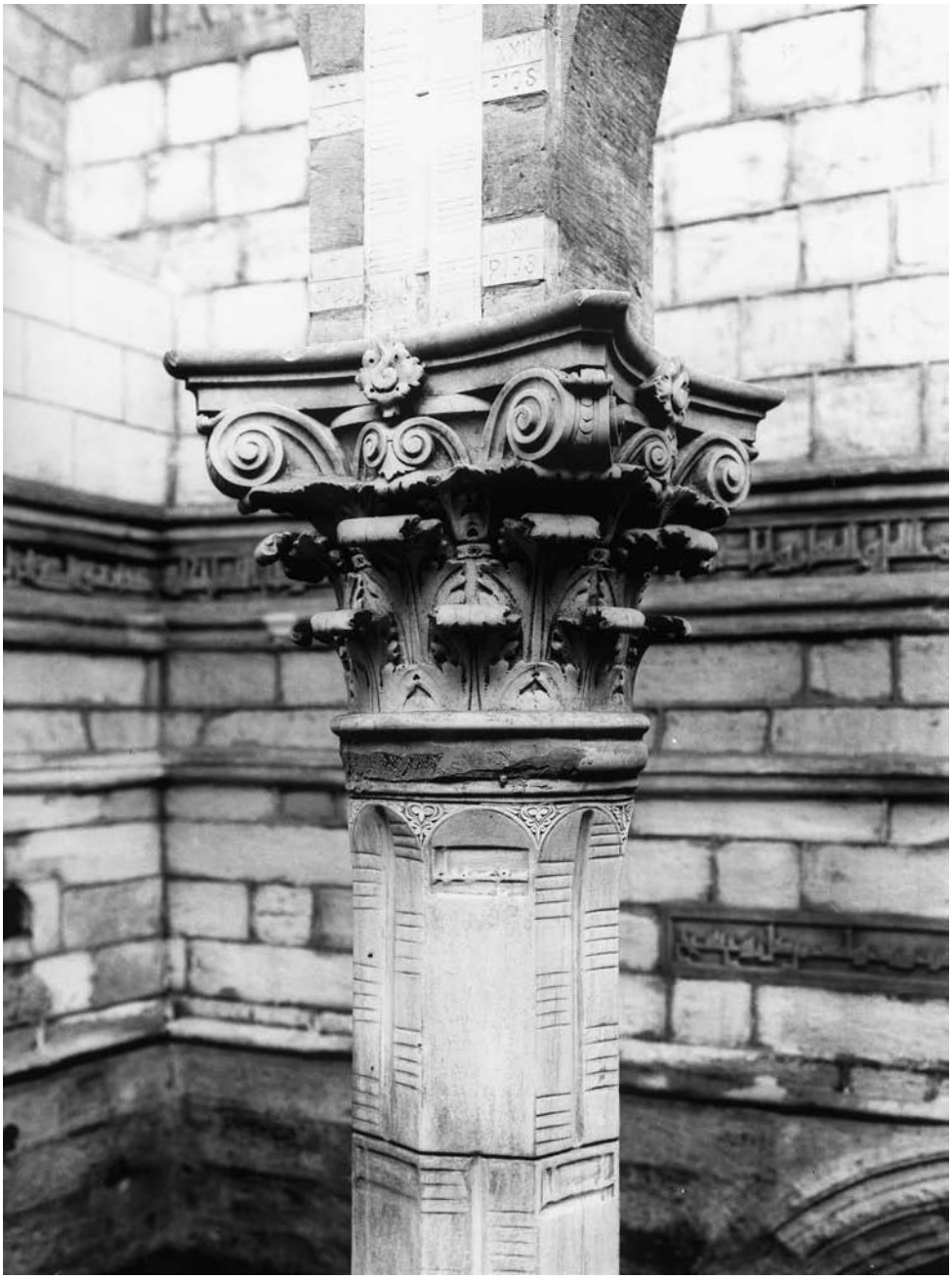
[VI] al-Muṣḥaf al-Sharīf (Cairo: Būlāq, 1882), with the first sūra. Courtesy of Princeton University (Princeton, 2273.1882).



[1] Diagram of the "points of articulation" (*makhārij al-ḥurūf*) for the Arabic language, illustrating Yūsuf b. Abī Bakr al-Sakkākī's (d. 625/1228) compendious *Miftāḥ al-ʿulūm* (taken from an early twelfth/eighteenth century manuscript, *Taṣwīr makhārij al-ḥurūf li-ṣāḥib al-Miftaḥ*). Courtesy of Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University (Arabic MSS suppl. 143).

[II] Judging the Qur'ān memorization event, National Recitation Contest, Indonesia, 1997. Courtesy of Anna Gade, Oberlin College.

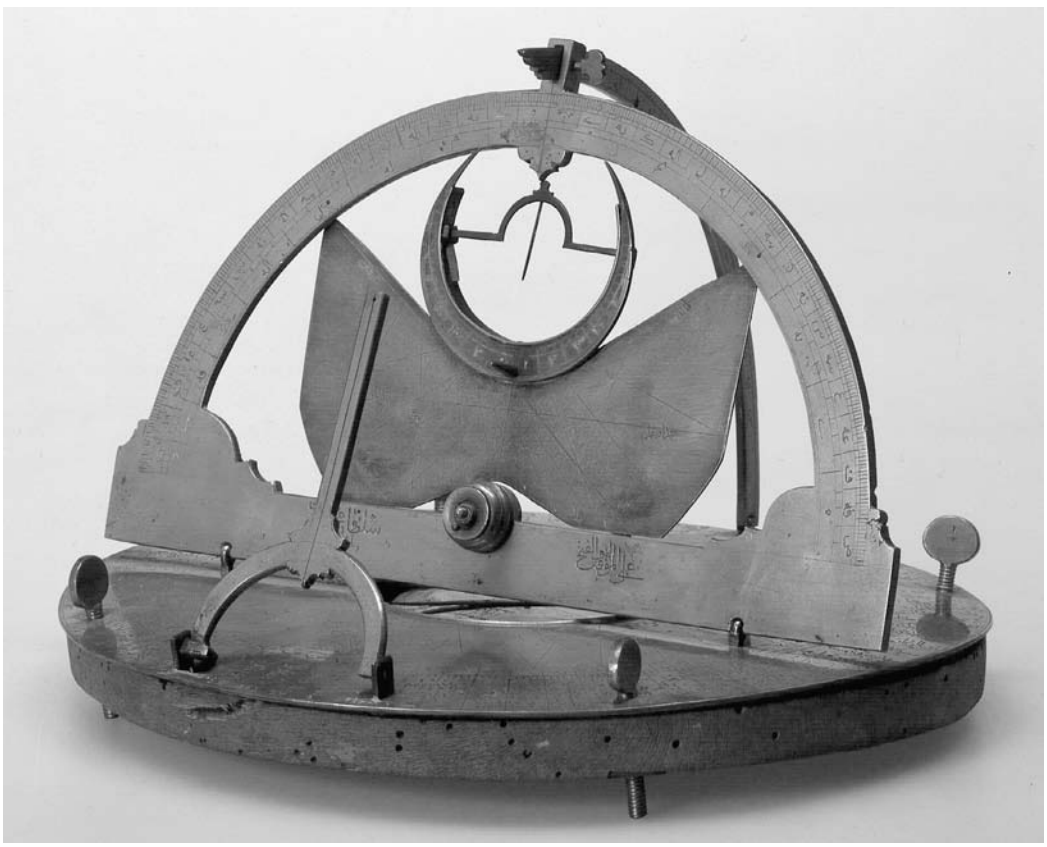
FIGURES I–VI



[1] Nilometer (*miqyās*), interior, with measuring column in foreground: Cairo, 241/867. Built after the Arab conquest in order to measure the annual flooding, it consists of three tunnels extending from the Nile, at various levels, which feed into the east side of a stone-lined pit, in which the measuring column is found. Each of the four sides of the pit, which extends below the level of the Nile, contains a pointed-arch vault, constructed three centuries before any Gothic example of the same. For a detailed description of the Nilometer, see pp. 383-4 of K.A.C. Creswell, *A short account of early Muslim architecture* (rev. ed. Aldershot 1989). See E. Dodd and Sh. Khairallah, *Image of the word* (Beirut 1981), ii, 171-2 for the qur'ānic verses that are inscribed on the *miqyās*. Courtesy of the Ashmolean Museum, Creswell Archives, Oxford (E.A., CA. 2484).

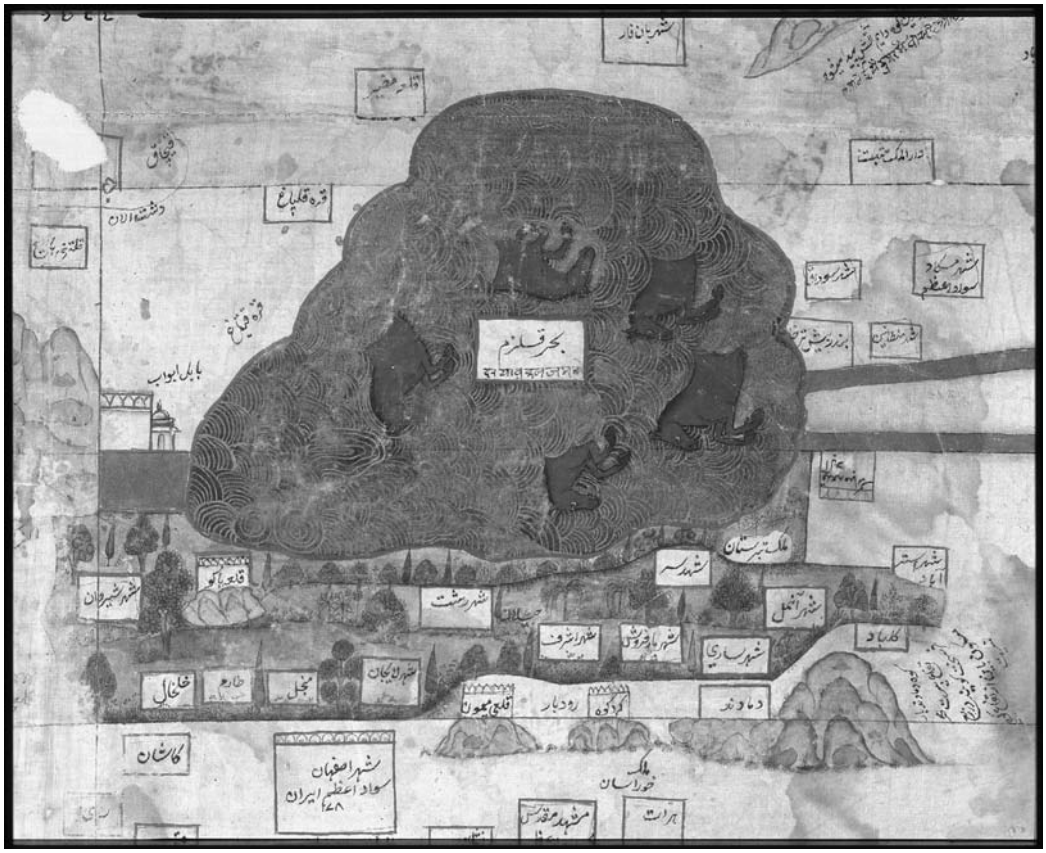
[II] Zodiac plate (ceramic): Iran, 971/1563-4. The twelve circles depicting the twelve signs of the zodiac are a pre-Islamic pictorial tradition that persisted into Islamic times. Courtesy of the Staatliche Museen, Berlin (I. 1292). Photograph: Karin März.

[III] Astrolabe (brass): Iran, early twelfth/eighteenth century. The cartouche in the center of the *kursī* (i.e. the top of the astrolabe) is inscribed with "His throne extends over the heavens and the earth" (Q 2:255). Courtesy of the Museum of the History of Science, Oxford (inventory no. 37940; image no. 153307).

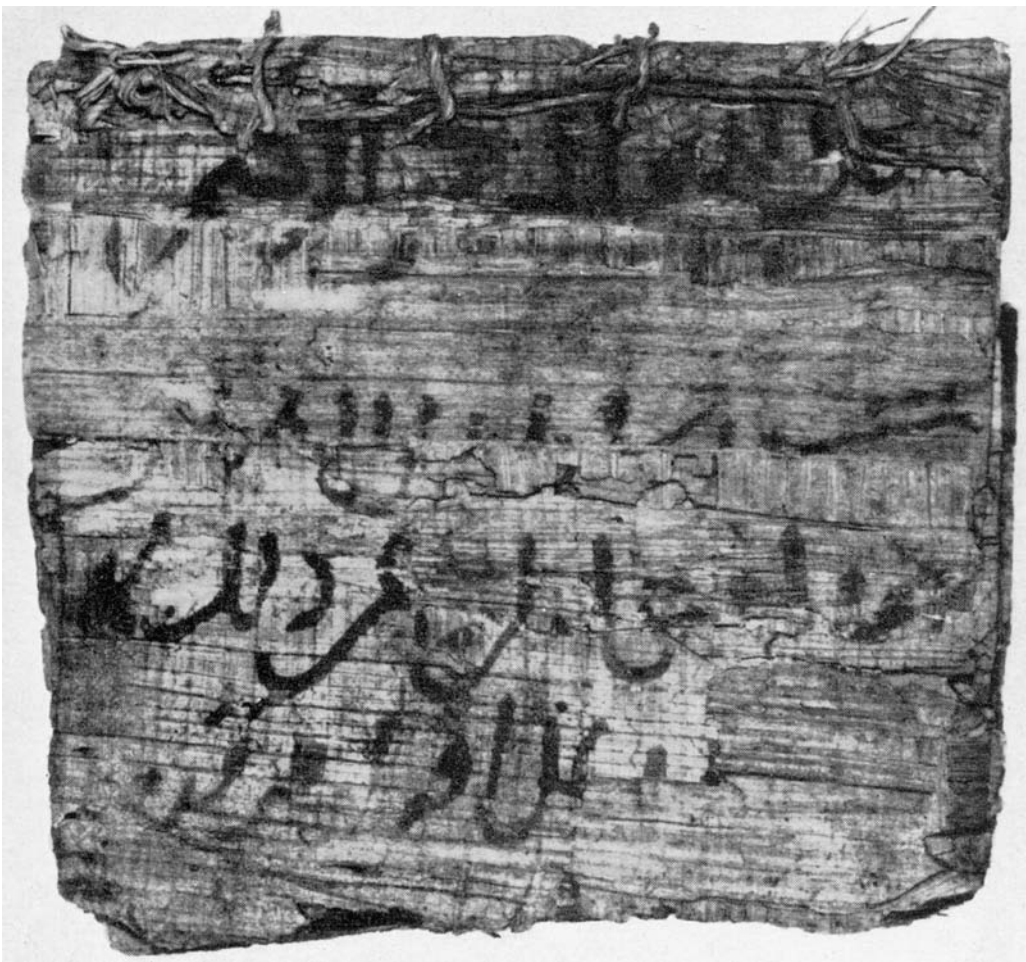


[iv] *Qibla* compass and sundial, open: Istanbul, 1161/1748. This complex device, termed an "equatorial circle" (*dā'irat al-mu'addil*) by its ninth/fifteenth century Egyptian inventor, combines a *qibla* compass with a sundial. Courtesy of the Nasser D. Khalili Collection, London (SCI 270).

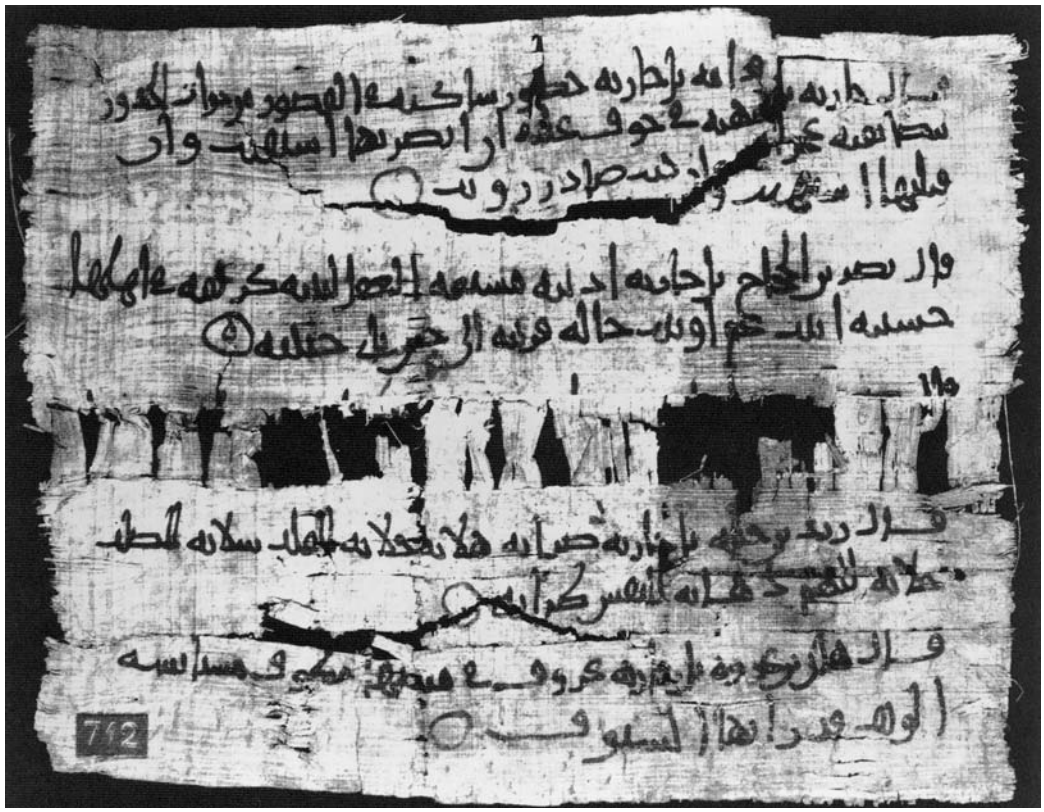
[v] *Qibla* compass and sundial, view of dial: Turkey, late twelfth/eighteenth century. The religious purpose of this instrument is demonstrated by the depiction of the Kaʿba and some of the other monuments of the *ḥaram* of Mecca. Courtesy of the Nasser D. Khalili Collection, London (SCI 49).



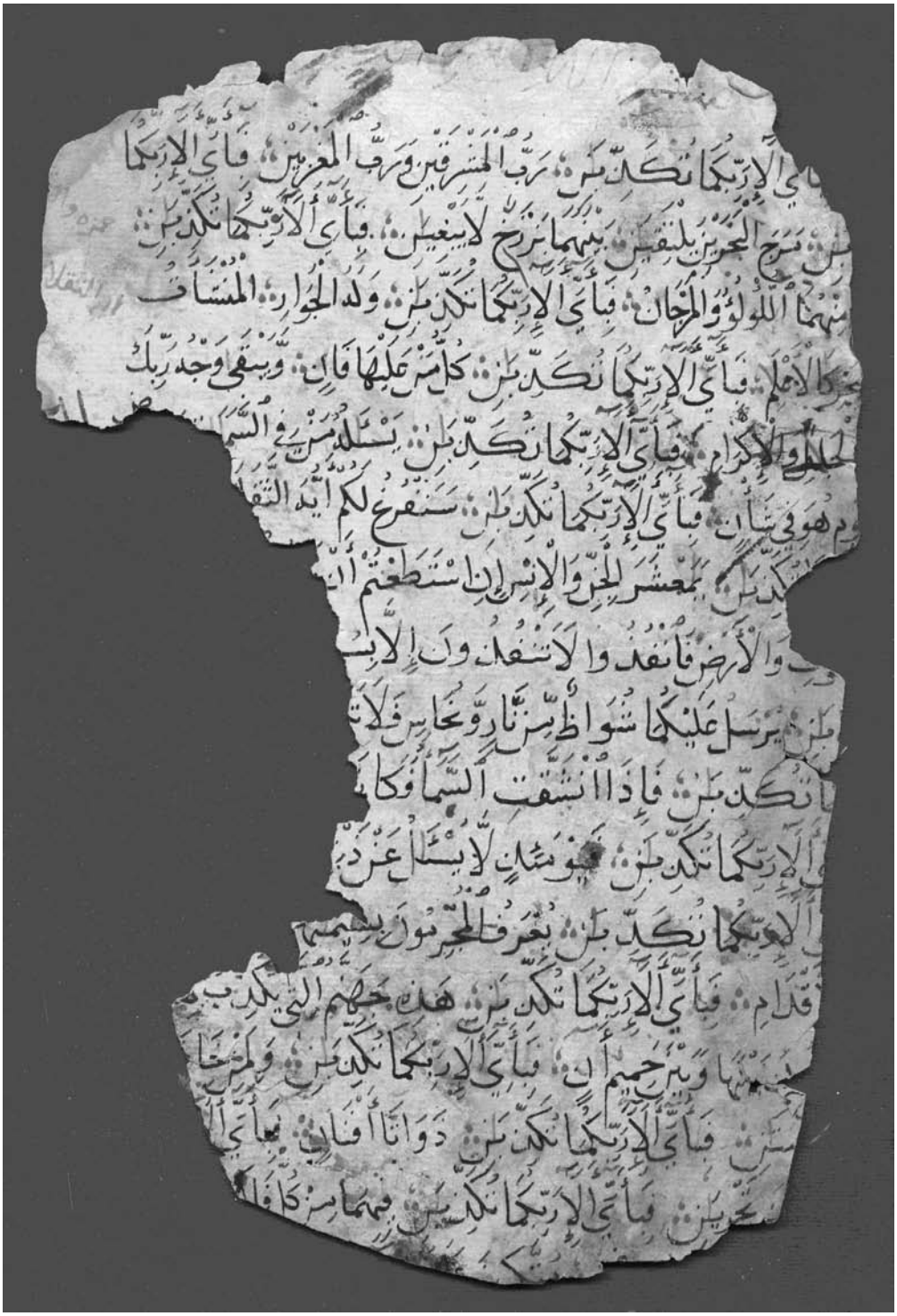
[VI] Map of the world, detail showing horses swimming in the Caspian Sea: India late twelfth/eighteenth century. The map, the primary explanatory details of which are in Arabic, contains images from the stories surrounding Alexander the Great (Dhū l-Qarnayn), such as the wall he built against the people of Gog and Magog (cf. Q 18:94). Courtesy of the Staatliche Museen, Berlin (I. 39/68).



[1] Notebook of sewn papyrus sheets, resembling the medium of some of the earliest Qur'ān *maṣāḥif*. Taken from A. Grohmann, *Arabische Paläographie*, vol. 1 (Vienna 1967), pl. IX, 2. Courtesy of Harvard University (LSoc 386.3).



[II] Fragment of papyrus sheet, similar to those upon which early Qur'ān manuscripts would have been inscribed, mid second/third quarter of the eighth century. The specimen depicted here contains a speech of ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ and descriptions of the ideal maiden. Taken from Abbott, *Studies*, iii, document 3, pl. 4. Courtesy of Harvard University (OL 19038.26f).



[III] Folio from the Qaṣr Qur'ān containing Q 55:16-53, with marginal notes: Egypt, early twelfth/eighteenth century or before. Courtesy of F. Leemhuis, Groningen University (D03.007b v).

[IV] Folio from the Qaṣr Qur'ān containing Q 55:54-56:17, with marginal notes: Egypt, early twelfth/eighteenth century or before. Courtesy of F. Leemhuis, Groningen University (D03.007b r).

EQ

Encyclopaedia of the Qurʾān

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Si–Z

Jane Dammen McAuliffe, *General Editor*

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S

[CONTINUED]

Sickness see ILLNESS AND HEALTH

Ṣiffīn, Battle of

Battle which took place during the first civil war between the fourth caliph (q.v.), ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib (q.v.), and Muʿāwiya b. Abī Sufyān, governor of Syria, in Ṣafar 37/July 657. Muʿāwiya, facing removal from his post by ʿAlī, decided to revive the cause of a recently defeated coalition of Medinan religious elite who had demanded that ʿAlī punish the assassins of his caliphal predecessor, ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān (see ʿUTHMĀN). ʿAlī refused to do so, given his ambivalence about ʿUthmān's assassination (Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh,* i, 3275-8; Balādhurī, *Ansāb,* ii, 194-7; Minqarī, *Waqʿa,* 31-3, 58, 82; see POLITICS AND THE QURʾĀN; SHĪʿA). The sources say that after a series of letters exchanged between the two leaders, the battle between ʿAlī's predominantly Iraqi army and Muʿāwiya's largely Syrian supporters was joined on Ṣafar 8/July 26 at Ṣiffīn, located near al-Raqqa along the Euphrates river in northern Iraq (q.v.). The battle lasted, by various accounts, two or three days, by the end of which ʿAlī had gained the advantage. To avert probable defeat, Muʿāwiya, following the advice of ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ, ordered his troops to bear aloft copies of the Qurʾān (or a copy of the Qurʾān) on the ends of their spears — imitating a precedent set by ʿAlī at the earlier Battle of the Camel (Balādhurī, *Ansāb,* ii, 170-1; Ibn Aʿtham, *Futūḥ,* ii, 315) — and calling for arbitration (q.v.) on the basis of the scripture (Minqarī, *Waqʿa,* 476-82; Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh,* i, 3329-30 [trans. 79-80]; Balādhurī, *Ansāb,* ii, 226-7).

ʿAlī, initially reluctant to submit to arbitration, eventually agreed under pressure from some of his supporters, including the Iraqi Qurʾān readers (*qurrāʾ;* Minqarī, *Waqʿa,* 489-92; Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh,* i, 3330 [trans. 79]; see RECITERS OF THE QURʾĀN). The more reliable of the two versions of the arbitration agreement found in the early sources stipulated that an arbitrator be nominated from each side and that the two meet on neutral territory to resolve the dispute on the basis of the Qurʾān and, should no clear directive be found in the scripture, on the "just, unifying and not divisive sunna" (q.v.; Minqarī, *Waqʿa,* 510; Balādhurī, *Ansāb,* ii, 226, 230; Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh,* i, 3336 [trans. 85-6]). Muʿāwiya named ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ as his representative. ʿAlī sought to name one of his equally trusted men but was pressured by influential members of his camp to name

Abū Mūsā l-Ashʿarī, a well-respected but neutral figure (Balādhurī, *Ansāb,* ii, 230; Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh,* i, 3333-4 [trans. 82-3]). The arbitrators seem to have met on two occasions — at Dūmat al-Jandal in Shawwāl-Dhū l-Qaʿda 37/April 658 and later at Adhruḥ in Shaʿbān 38/January 659. While the sources sometimes conflate these two meetings and their outcomes, it seems that at the first meeting, the arbitrators agreed that ʿUthmān had been killed unjustly. ʿAmr connected this judgment to Q 17:33: "Whosever is slain unjustly, we have given authority (q.v.) to his heir," and argued for Muʿāwiya's right to the caliphate as the kinsman of ʿUthmān (see MURDER; CORRUPTION; KINSHIP). Abū Mūsā rejected ʿAmr's interpretation and the arbitration was considered a failure by ʿAlī (Minqarī, *Waqʿa,* 541; Masʿūdī, *Murūj/Prairies d'or,* § 1705-8, iii, 145-8 [Fr. trans. 668-71]; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil,* iii, 331). The second meeting at Adhruḥ, apparently not endorsed by ʿAlī, ended with a ruse whereby Abū Mūsā was tricked into deposing ʿAlī, leaving Muʿāwiya as caliph by default (Minqarī, *Waqʿa,* 544-6; Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh,* i, 3341-3 [trans. 90-2]). Although the results of this meeting were not widely recognized outside of Syria, ʿAlī faced growing opposition among his supporters over the terms of the arbitration and its outcome. Many dissenters — including some *qurrāʾ* who initially favored arbitration but reversed their opinion upon learning of its terms — had seceded from ʿAlī's camp even prior to the meeting of the arbitrators, claiming that "judgment belongs to God alone" *(lā ḥukma illā lillāhi)*, a slogan that echoes the qurʾānic statement *ini l-ḥukmu illā lillāhi* (Q 6:57; 12:40, 67). They also demanded that ʿAlī repent of his submission to a process that placed men in judgment over the Qurʾān (see LAW AND THE QURʾĀN). Many of these secessionists, later referred to as "Khārijīs" (q.v.), permanently broke with ʿAlī after the failure of the arbitration and suffered a devastating military defeat at his hands some months later.

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Sight

see VISION AND BLINDNESS; SEEING AND HEARING

Signs

Indications or portents, foreshadowing or confirming something. The concept of sign, one of the most commonly exhibited concepts in the Qurʾān, is expressed mainly by the word *āya* (pl. *āyāt*) in almost four hundred instances and by the word *bayyina* (pl. *bayyināt*) in approximately sixty cases. Several other words also convey the principal idea or some nuances of *āya,* for example: lesson (*ʿibra,* Q 12:111), pattern (*uswa,* Q 60:4), fact, story, discourse (*ḥadīth,*

Q 45:6), example (*mathal,* Q 43:57; see PARABLE), proof (q.v.; *burhān,* Q 4:174), proof (*sulṭān,* Q 30:35), signs (*shaʿāʾir,* Q 22:36), signs (*āthār,* Q 30:50; see GENERATIONS; AIR AND WIND; GEOGRAPHY), sign (*dalīl,* Q 25:45).

The word *āya* (sign) has no root in Arabic and is very probably a loan-word from Syriac or Aramaic (*āthā;* see FOREIGN VOCABULARY) where it indicates not only the ideas of sign and miracle (see MIRACLES; MARVELS), as in biblical and rabbinic Hebrew *(ōth),* but also the notions of argument and proof. (Arab philologists who have tried to find a stem and a form of this word have arrived at different solutions; either the word is derived from *a-w-y* or from *a-y-y* and its form is either *faʿala* or *faʿla* or *fāʿila;* cf. *Lisān al-ʿArab;* see GRAMMAR AND THE QURʾĀN.) The word occurs in pre-Islamic poetry (see POETRY AND POETS) in the meaning of a sign or token and in this meaning it also appears in the Qurʾān (Q 26:128, "as a sign for passers by"). In the Qurʾān, *āya* also often denotes argument and proof. These shades of meaning can be explained in the light of the polemical character of parts of the Qurʾān which are influenced by Muḥammad's struggles with the unbelievers, the Jews and the Christians (see POLEMIC AND POLEMICAL LANGUAGE; BELIEF AND UNBELIEF; JEWS AND JUDAISM; CHRISTIANS AND CHRISTIANITY).

Expressions of signs

The scripture attests to the numerous and diverse signs which exist in the earth (q.v.) and in humankind: "In the earth are signs for those having sure faith (q.v.), and in yourselves; what, do you not see?" (Q 51:20-1; see SEEING AND HEARING; VISION AND BLINDNESS). These signs are so obvious that one cannot ignore them. Being produced by God (Q 6:109; 7:203; 29:50) and only with his permission (Q 13:38; 40:78), such signs can be detected in all spheres of life. Both animate and inanimate objects provide signs (Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī [d. 606/1210] makes a distinction between signs in man, *dalāʾil al-anfus,* and signs in the world, *dalāʾil al-āfāq;* Rāzī, *Tafsīr,* XXV, 111), as in "O my people, this is the she-camel of God, to be a sign for you" (Q 11:64; see CAMEL; ṢĀLIḤ) and "And it is God who sends down out of heaven water (q.v.), and therewith revives the earth after it is dead. Surely in that is a sign for a people who listen" (Q 16:65; cf. 30:24; see HEAVEN AND SKY; HEARING AND DEAFNESS). God's providential design is demonstrated through his acts in nature and in human beings (see NATURE AS SIGNS; GRACE; BLESSING). A typical sign-passage is Q 13:2-3:

God is he who raised up the heavens without pillars you can see, then he sat himself upon the throne (see THRONE OF GOD); he subjected the sun (q.v.) and the moon (q.v.), each one running to a term stated. He directs the affair; he distinguishes the signs; haply you will have faith in the encounter with your lord (q.v.). It is he who stretched out the earth and set therein firm mountains and rivers, and of every fruit he placed there two kinds, covering the day with the night (see DAY AND NIGHT). Surely in that are signs for a people who reflect (see REFLECTION AND DELIBERATION; AGRICULTURE AND VEGETATION).

Sustenance (q.v.) and dress are given to humankind by God as a sign of his providence:

Children of Adam! We have sent down on you a garment to cover your shameful parts (see CLOTHING; MODESTY; NUDITY), and adornment *(rīsh);* and the garment of godfearing — that is better; that is one of

God's signs; haply they will remember (Q 7:26; see REMEMBRANCE).

Have they not seen that God spreads out the provision to whom he wills or is sparing [with it]? Surely in that are signs for a people who believe (Q 30:37).

To these signs are added the variety of human languages (see LANGUAGE) and colors (q.v.) and their differentiated activities by night and day (Q 30:22-3). God also intervenes in historical events by punishing wicked peoples; this intervention serves as a sign for those who fear the punishment of the last day (Q 11:102-3; see LAST JUDGMENT; HISTORY AND THE QUR'ĀN; CHASTISEMENT AND PUNISHMENT; PUNISHMENT STORIES; REWARD AND PUNISHMENT). In like manner God prevents the enemies [of Muslims] from injuring them (Q 48:20) and he causes some people, especially prophets, to overcome others to prevent their corrupting of the earth (Q 2:251-2; see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD; CORRUPTION). According to the context of Q 3:58, what has happened to the prophets are signs. Mary (q.v.), Jesus' (q.v.) mother, became a sign because of her chastity (q.v.) which caused God to breathe into her something of his spirit (q.v.; Q 21:91).

Functions of signs

Having examined some of the objects which serve as signs, this discussion can turn to the functions of *āyāt*. Most of the signs in scripture have the purpose of calling on humankind to thank God (e.g. Q 16:14; 30:46; 36:73; see GRATITUDE AND INGRATITUDE) and to worship (q.v.) him (cf. Q 10:3). Considering the frequent occurrence of words denoting signs in the Qur'ān (see, for example, the beginning of Q 45 in which the word *āyāt* occurs in almost every verse), it is possible to state that Muḥammad regarded signs as the best means to call people to believe in God and his messenger (q.v.), a means preferable to frightening them with the horrors of the day of judgment. *Āyāt* are miracles done by God for the sake of people. Signs in "ask the Children of Israel (q.v.) how many a clear sign we gave," (Q 2:211) are interpreted to mean the splitting of the Red Sea, and the bringing down of the manna and the quail (see ANIMAL LIFE). The aim of these miracles was to compel the Children of Israel to believe in God, but they refused to believe. Those who deny God's miracles are doomed to suffer God's severe punishment (Q 3:11; 4:56). Miracles also aim at causing people to believe in prophets (Q 58:5); Moses (q.v.) tried to persuade Pharaoh (q.v.) that he had been sent by God (Q 7:103-6). Muhammad's prophecy is not proved directly by *āyāt;* rather it is proved through legitimating his message by *āyāt*. When the message is demonstrated to be genuine, the messenger is a true prophet. Through the use of analogy the Qur'ān attempts to convince people to believe in certain tenets of Islam, such as the resurrection (q.v.). According to Q 2:259, a man passed near a ruined town and asked how shall God give its dead people life. To show this man his power, God put him to death and revived him after one hundred years. The aim of this personal miracle is to show God's ability to resurrect the dead (Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr,* i, 558). The miracle here serves as proof based on analogy: just as God put this man to death and then restored him to life, so can he put all people to death and then revive them on the day of judgment (see DEATH AND THE DEAD). Resurrection is also demonstrated through God's creation (q.v.) of the world. If God's ability to create extends to such an enormous act, the more so his ability to revive the dead: "Have they not seen that God who created the heavens and earth, not being wearied by creating them (see

SABBATH), is able to give life to the dead?" (Q 46:33; cf. 75:38-40). Another proof is learned from the rain sent by God. Just as the rain revives the earth, causing plants to sprout, so can God restore the dead to life (cf. Q 35:9).

From the contents and context of Q 3:13 it is obvious that an *āya* is also a lesson *('ibra):* There has already been a sign for you in the two companies that met [at the battle of Badr (q.v.)], one company fighting for the sake of God and another unbelieving; [the unbelievers] saw [the Muslims] twice the like of them, as the eye sees, but God supports with his help whom he will. Surely, in that is a lesson for the wise (see WISDOM; IGNORANCE; TEACHING).

The lesson God conveys here is that he can make a few people overcome many. Again God's power and his help for man are proven (see VICTORY; POWER AND IMPOTENCE; TRUST AND PATIENCE). Whereas in Q 2:259, mentioned above, the analogy is to be learned by stages, here the conclusion from the story is directly inferred. That God punishes evil people is a widespread idea throughout the Qurʾān (see GOOD AND EVIL). Sometimes the Qurʾān points out that whoever fears the punishment of the last judgment should take a lesson from God's previous punishments:

Such is the punishment [literally "seizing," *akhdh*] of your lord, when he punishes [the evildoers of] the cities; surely his punishment is painful, terrible. Surely in that is a sign for him who fears the chastisement of the world to come… (Q 11:102-3; see also Q 15:77; 25:37; 26:103, 121, 139, 158, 174, 190; 27:52; 29:35; 34:19).

The lesson to be learned is not only from God's punishment but also from his reward to the righteous: God saved Noah (q.v.) as he did the people and animals that were in Noah's ark (q.v.; e.g. Q 29:15; 54:15). The history of a family such as Joseph (q.v.) and his brothers serves, too, as a lesson (Q 12:7; see also BROTHER AND BROTHERHOOD; BENJAMIN). A lesson can also be learned from a parable (Q 2:266). Sometimes a sign serves as a trial (q.v.) for a people, whether they will believe or not (Q 44:33). Another aim of the signs is to show that God acts for the benefit of humans in many spheres of life such as sustenance or transportation (Q 16:5-18; see VEHICLES). Finally, a sign may function as a metaphor (q.v.), its explanation being given by exegetes (see EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL); good and bad land are similes for the believer and the unbeliever respectively (*Jalālayn,* ad Q 7:58; cf. 10:24).

Reactions to signs

Reactions to signs, proofs and miracles differ — some people believe in them (Q 6:54, 99) while others do not, or they display a negative attitude toward them. Some people are obstinately reluctant to draw conclusions from God's acts aiming at the preservation of the world: "We set up the heaven as a roof well-protected; yet still from our signs they are turning away" (Q 21:32; cf. 6:157; 15:81; 36:46). Refusing to recognize God's signs is regarded by the Qurʾān as the gravest wrongdoing: "And who does greater evil than he who, being reminded of the signs of his lord, turns away from them…" (Q 18:57; 32:22). These rejecters consider signs to be witchcraft: "Yet if they see a sign they turn away, and they say: 'A continuous sorcery' " (Q 54:2; cf. 27:13; 46:7; see MAGIC). In addition, Muḥammad suffered from the mockery (q.v.) of his opponents (see OPPOSITION TO MUḤAMMAD): "Say: 'What, then were you mocking God, and his signs, and his messenger'?" (Q 9:65; cf. 18:56,

106; 30:10; 45:9, 35). The most common example of such negative reactions is that of evildoers who disbelieve in God's signs: "We have sent down to you clear signs, and only the evildoers disbelieve in them" (Q 2:99). Other evildoers (see EVIL DEEDS) are identified with those who killed prophets (Q 3:21; see MURDER; BLOODSHED). In the qurʾānic view, the refusal to recognize God's signs is connected to rejection of his messengers who point to those signs (see SIN, MAJOR AND MINOR; ETHICS AND THE QURʾĀN). Whoever questions God's existence and power is an evildoer, and vice versa, those who fear (q.v.) God and give alms believe in God's signs (Q 7:156; cf. Birkeland, Interpretation, 13-29; see ALMSGIVING; PIETY). The verb *kadhdhaba* (he accused someone of lying, or discovered someone to be lying, or regarded something as a lie, or denied something; see LIE) is used to indicate another kind of reaction to the signs considered by the Qurʾān as the gravest act (Q 6:21). "(Their way is) like the way of Pharaoh's folk and those before them; they denied the signs…" (Q 8:54; see also Q 5:10, 86, where in both verses *kadhdhaba* comes along with *kafara,* he disbelieved; cf. Q 6:21, 39, 150; 10:95; 7:176-7, 182; 20:56). In Q 6:33 it is emphasized that Muḥammad's opponents, the unbelievers, did not accuse him of lying but they denied *(jaḥada)* God's signs. The verb *jaḥada* and its equivalents, *ankara* and *zalama,* appear several times in the qurʾānic text as expressions of the reaction to God's signs (Q 7:9; 11:59; 29:49; 31:32; 40:63, 81; 41:15; 46:26). In two verses the verb *istakbara* (he became haughty) occurs with the verb *kadhdhaba,* as in "Those who regard our signs as lies and display haughtiness (see ARROGANCE; PRIDE) toward them shall be the inhabitants of the fire (q.v.; see also HELL AND HELLFIRE) forever" (Q 7:36 and Q 7:40), and without *kadhdhaba* in other verses (Q 7:133; 10:75; 45:31). In one place the unbelievers' arrogance and mockery are depicted as a deception (Q 10:75). Another kind of negative reaction to the signs is disputation *(jidāl)* which is associated with unbelief: "None but the unbelievers dispute concerning the signs of God…" (Q 40:4; see DEBATE AND DISPUTATION). But the unbelievers have no proof to support their dispute which derives from their arrogance (cf. Q 40:35, 56). In several verses the opponents' disputation is expressed through mockery; they accuse Muḥammad of telling ancient stories (Q 6:25; 8:31; 68:15; 83:13). Twice, the unbelievers are regarded as heedless of the signs (Q 7:136; 10:7). They also defame the signs (Q 41:40) and oppose them (Q 74:16). In sum, the unbelievers express their reaction to God's signs in several ways — denial, mockery, contestation, opposition and heedlessness. As a text characterized, *inter alia,* by polemics, the Qurʾān frequently refers to its opponents, and naturally emphasizes their negative attitude toward the signs.

Signs as linguistic communication

The word *āya,* apart from connoting non-linguistic communication between God and man (Cf. Izutsu, *God,* 133), also contains the additional meanings of a basic unit or a passage of revelation, namely, linguistic communication (see REVELATION AND INSPIRATION; VERSES). In the Qurʾān itself there is no indication as to the length of these units or passages. Q 2:106 reads: "And for whatever unit of revelation (or passage, *āya*) we abrogate or cast into oblivion, we bring a better or the like of it…" (cf. Q 16:101; 24:1; see ABROGATION). Also when the Qurʾān states that "Those are *āyāt* of the wise scripture" (Q 10:1; 12:1; 13:1, in several beginnings of sūras [q.v.] which constitute a fixed formula), it seems to point to a basic unit of revelation or to passages, although the meaning of signs

cannot be ruled out altogether. *Āyāt* are mentioned in the context of interpretation *(taʾwīl),* a fact that alludes to linguistic communication (Q 3:7). Similarly, it is more probable that *āyāt* mean units of revelation when appearing with the verb *talā* (he recited): "The People of the Book (q.v.) are not all alike. [Among them is] a righteous community who recite God's *āyāt* in the hours of the night…" (Q 3:113, and Q 19:73; 33:34; see VIGILS; RECITATION OF THE QURʾĀN). According to some interpreters of the Qurʾān, the plural word *āyāt* also means the Qurʾān itself (e.g. *Jalālayn,* ad Q 27:81; 29:23, 49; 31:7; 34:43). It is, however, possible to conclude from the context of some verses that *āyāt* are identified with the scripture, as in "Our lord, send among them a messenger, one of them, who shall recite to them your signs, and teach them the book (q.v.) and the wisdom…" (Q 2:129; cf. 2:151; 10:15). According to Q 3:2-4, not only is the Qurʾān designated as *āyāt* but also the Hebrew Bible and the New Testament (see TORAH; GOSPELS).

A further extension of the meaning of *āya,* one with legal connotations, is certainly discernible from Q 2:231:

> When you divorce women, and they have reached their term, then retain them honorably or set them free honorably; do not retain them by force, to transgress [this law]; whoever does that has wronged himself. Take not God's laws *(āyāt)* in mockery… (see MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE; BOUNDARIES AND PRECEPTS; LAW AND THE QURʾĀN).

The word *āyāt* also occurs in the context of God's giving ordinances (Q 2:187, 221; 24:58, 61). And there is another stylistic phenomenon which proves the notion that *āyāt* may also be used as a term for laws. The formula "in such a manner God makes clear to you his *āyāt* (signs)" is found both after a sentence which speaks about God's graces, namely, his help for and saving of the believers (Q 3:103), and after a sentence which talks about the expiation of oaths (q.v.; Q 5:89; see also BREAKING TRUSTS AND CONTRACTS; CONTRACTS AND ALLIANCES). Just as in the former example *āyāt* seems to mean signs, so in the latter *āyāt* seems to mean laws. Our suggestion is that the above-mentioned formula refers to the sentences which precede it. To sum up, *āyāt* has the following basic meanings: signs, miracles, proofs, basic units or passages of revelations, the Qurʾān and other holy books, and laws.

Structure of sign-passages

Most sign-passages (i.e. groups of sign-verses) are characterized by introductory as well as concluding formulas (see FORM AND STRUCTURE OF THE QURʾĀN). The introductory phrase presents God's acts and the concluding sentence emphasizes the fact that these acts are signs for people who reflect, or understand. Q 13:2-3 reads:

> God is he who raised up the heavens without pillars you can see, then he sat himself upon the throne. He subjected the sun and the moon, each running to a term stated. He directs the world (literally: the affair) [and] he makes the signs clear so that you will be certain of the encounter with your lord. It is he who stretched out the earth and set therein firm mountains and rivers, and of every fruit he placed there two kinds, and covered the day with the night. Surely in that are signs for a people who reflect.

In some sign-passages the first words are: "And of his signs…" (Q 30:20). There are, however, sign-passages in which the word "signs" is absent (Q 6:141; 13:12-15; 16:3-8, 80; 30:48-51; 32:4-9). On the whole, the

sign-passages have no uniform internal order, except that there might be a special division and a hierarchy of the signs in some places, as indicated by exegetes (see below *Later development*).

Most of the verbs connected with signs indicate the mode of their arrival to humankind: "to bring," *atā bi, ātā, jāʾa bi* (cf. Q 2:106, 211; 43:47), "to bring down or to reveal," *nazzala, anzala* (e.g. Q 6:37; 10:20), "to come," *atā* (e.g. Q 6:158), and "to send," *baʿatha bi, arsala bi* (e.g. Q 10:75; 11:96). Some verbs *(bayyana, ṣarrafa, faṣṣala)* indicate that the signs are explained or made clear (Q 5:75; 6:46; 7:174; 9:11), and some others (e.g. *dhakkara, qaṣṣa)* indicate that the signs are mentioned, told and recited (Q 6:130; 8:31; 10:71; see NARRATIVES). In the light of the polemical character of many parts of the Qurʾān, it seems that these verbs are intended to deliver the message that God's signs not only exist but are brought down to people, they are transmitted by recounting or recitation and, beyond that, they are made clear in order to convince humans of God's power and providence, so that they will worship him. Without the Prophet's explanation, signs remain a "means of non-linguistic communication" (Izutsu, *God,* 133-9), which humanity is obliged to decipher. In addition, there is the phenomenon that some signs are depicted as clear signs (*āyāt bayyināt,* Q 2:99; 3:97; 17:101). We do not know the difference between *āya* and *bayyina* (as a noun), the latter literally meaning "clear sign." In Q 20:133 and Q 7:73, the identification of *āya* with *bayyina* is transparent, and in other places *bayyina* applies to the same sign which is expressed elsewhere by *āya* (Q 7:105). *Āyāt bayyināt,* however, seem never to be applied to natural wonders, rather only to historical or supernatural signs (Rahman, *Major themes,* 72).

Later development

The natural phenomena that appear in the Qurʾān serve Muslim scholars as corroboration for the argument from design. The teleological argument is used to prove the existence of God, his unity, wisdom, and rule of the world through the wonderful design observed in the world (see SOVEREIGNTY; KINGS AND RULERS; GOD AND HIS ATTRIBUTES). Although this argument is found in Greek philosophy (Socrates, Aristotle, the Stoics) and in Christian thought (Augustine [d. 430], Boethius [d. 524] and, in the Muslim era, John of Damascus [d. ca. 143/750], Theodore Abū Qurra [d. ca. 210/825] and ʿAmmār al-Baṣrī [d. ca. 210/825], who very probably influenced Muslim theologians; on the early interactions between Christian and Muslim theologians, see e.g. Griffith, Faith and reason), one cannot ignore the numerous examples of the argument in the Qurʾān (cf. Gwynne, *Logic*), which certainly induced Muslim theologians to employ it. It seems that Muʿtazilī theologians first used the argument from design (Hishām al-Fuwaṭī [d. ca. 229/844], al-Naẓẓām [d. bef. 232/847], al-Jāḥiẓ [d. 255/869]; see MUʿTAZILĪS). This argument then passed to other theologians, whether they belonged to mainstream Muslims, such as al-Muḥāsibī (d. 243/857), to Ashʿarī theologians like al-Ashʿarī (d. 324/935), al-Bāqillānī (d. 403/1013) and al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111), or to sectarians, such as the Zaydī Imām al-Qāsim b. Ibrāhīm (d. 246/860; see HERESY). Even the Aristotelian philosopher Ibn Rushd (d. 595/1198) states that he prefers arguments for God's existence that appear in the Qurʾān to speculative arguments (see THEOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN). His form of the teleological argumentation (see COSMOLOGY), the argument from God's providence, which shows that the design of the world aims to benefit

people, is one that is much cited in the Qurʾān.

The exegetes of the Qurʾān naturally placed much importance on God's signs and the conclusions derived from them concerning God's power and his rule of the world (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* ad Q 30:24; Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr,* ad Q 30:21). Generally, however, al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923), Ibn Kathīr (d. 774/1373) and other traditionalist exegetes did not investigate sign-passages as a whole, nor did they analyze the inter-connections between signs. Such examinations were carried out by rationalist exegetes such as Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 606/1210), who divides sign-passages according to their functions, the connections between them, and their hierarchical structure (Rāzī, *Tafsīr,* ad Q 30:22-7). Q 30:22-5 reads:

And of his signs is the creation of the heavens and earth and the variety of your languages and colors… and of his signs is your slumbering by night, and your seeking by day after his bounty… and of his signs he shows you lightning (see WEATHER), for fear and hope, and that he sends down out of heaven water and he revives the earth with it after it is dead… and of his signs is that the heaven and earth stand [firm] by his command…

Al-Rāzī divides these signs into necessary accidents *(aʿrāḍ lāzima),* namely, accidents which are part of the essence of a thing, and those which are transitory *(aʿrāḍ mufāriqa),* some departing quickly, such as redness of the face as a result of shame, and others slowly, such as youth (cf. Jurjānī, *Taʿrīfāt,* 153-4; see YOUTH AND OLD AGE). First the Qurʾān points out two examples of necessary accidents (the various languages and colors of people), and then two examples of *aʿrāḍ mufāriqa* (sleep at night and the search for means of subsistence during the day; see PAIRS AND PAIRING). God makes the *aʿrāḍ mufāriqa* of the last two verses which deal with heaven and earth come before their *aʿrāḍ lāzima,* for heaven and earth are stable and changes are more marvelous in them than in humankind. Thus, al-Rāzī organizes signs according to their characteristics. Q 30:8 reads: "Have they not reflected on themselves? God did not create the heavens and the earth and what is between them save with the truth…." Al-Rāzī notices that in this verse signs in people *(dalāʾil al-anfus)* precede signs in the heavens and earth *(dalāʾil al-āfāq),* whereas in Q 41:53, "We shall show them our signs in the horizons *(al-āfāq)* and in themselves…," signs in the heavens and earth take precedence. The solution to this contradiction lies in the distinction between the agents of the verbs mentioned in these verses: when the agent is human, the signs stated are easy to perceive, for they are in humans themselves and people cannot ignore them, while the signs which God mentions about the world are more difficult to perceive, for they are remote from humanity. What God mentions last is understood by people first because they progress in knowing God's signs in stages (Rāzī, *Tafsīr,* xxv, 99, ad Q 30:8). Such sophisticated interpretation occurs neither in classical nor in modern exegesis (see EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: EARLY MODERN AND CONTEMPORARY; PHILOSOPHY AND THE QURʾĀN). Scientific exegesis, which searches for elements and terminology of science in the Qurʾān, does appear in classical texts, but is not as widespread as it has become in the modern era (Jansen, *Interpretation,* 36-8; see SCIENCE AND THE QURʾĀN).

Modern exegetes tend to deal not only with separate words in a verse or with a complete verse but also with whole sign-passages, paraphrasing their ideas and

drawing conclusions from them. Q 10:5-6 reads:

It is he who made the sun a radiance, and the moon a light (q.v.), and determined it by stations, that you might know the number of the years and the reckoning. God created that only with the truth, explaining the signs to a people who know. In the alteration of night and day, and what God has created in the heavens and the earth, surely, there are signs for godfearing people.

Muḥammad Rashīd Riḍā (d. 1935), whose interpretation of the Qurʾān follows the teachings of his master, the great Muslim reformist Muḥammad ʿAbduh (d. 1905), states that these two verses direct the Muslim to God's cosmological signs which prove his power to revive the dead and to reward man (cf. Darwaza, *Tafsīr,* vi, 287). According to Rashīd Riḍā, these signs also show God's wisdom and the regular design in creation, and, characteristically of modern exegesis, he points out that they stimulate man to study astronomy, a science which the ancestors favored because of the guidance of the Qurʾān (see PLANETS AND STARS). Furthermore, study of the cosmological signs proves that Islam is a religion based on knowledge (see KNOWLEDGE AND LEARNING) and science *(dīn ʿilmī),* not on blindly following authority (q.v.; *taqlīd*). The scientific discoveries of the secrets of light in this generation prove God's sagacity (Rashīd Riḍā, *Manār,* xi, 301-5). In ʿAbduh's work, the jinn (q.v.) are identified with microbes (Jansen, *Interpretation,* 43). Extensive scientific exegesis *(tafsīr ʿilmī)* is found in Muḥammad Farīd Wajdī's (d. 1940) *al-Muṣḥaf al-mufassar,* "The Qurʾān Interpreted" (Jansen, *Interpretation,* 46-7). A typical modern discussion of sign-passages is found in Sayyid Quṭb's (d. 1966) interpretation of the beginning of Q 30 (vv. 1-32). In his view, sign-passages do not stand apart; there is a close connection between what happens to humans and the natural phenomena, and this is expressed through the notion that God is the source of all things (Quṭb, *Ẓilāl,* vi, 436). The function of the signs is to prompt humans to believe in God (ibid., 448-9). Whoever makes such signs, Quṭb emphatically states, is the same one who sends messengers to humankind, restores people to life, and so on (ibid., 463), as in the second part of the sūra (vv. 33-60).

The notion that all future scientific discoveries are mentioned in the Qurʾān, whether directly or indirectly, is a common modern notion. Muṣṭafā Kamāl Maḥmūd (b. 1921), an Egyptian physician, writer and a qurʾānic exegete, is very fond of scientific exegesis. He finds allusions to recent scientific discoveries in the qurʾānic description of creation (Maḥmūd, *Muḥāwala,* ed.1970, 51, 60-4; cf. Rippin, *Muslims,* 95-7). He partially accepts Darwin's theory of evolution, claiming that God is responsible for the evolution of the species in stages (Maḥmūd, *Muḥāwala,* ed. 1970, 59-60; ed. 1999, 67-8). Among the various natural phenomena which support the scientific knowledge found in the Qurʾān, he points to the state of the embryo (Q 39:6; Maḥmūd, *Muḥāwala,* ed. 1970, 65-8; see BIOLOGY AS THE CREATION AND STAGES OF LIFE). Some modern exegetes regard the scientific contents of the Qurʾān as proof of the veracity of Muḥammad's prophecy and consequently the truthfulness of the qurʾānic ideas. According to these scholars, the scientific elements attest to a miracle that is even greater than the miracle of the literary supremacy of the Qurʾān (see INIMITABILITY; LANGUAGE AND STYLE OF THE QURʾĀN). The scientific interpretation, however, has not gone unchallenged. Muslim scholars themselves have charged the adherents of scientific exegesis with

failing to pay proper attention to the context of the verses discussed, to philological considerations and to the fact that the Qurʾān was addressed to Arabs (q.v.), speaking in their language and informing only of the sciences known in the Prophet's era (see OCCASIONS OF REVELATION; SĪRA AND THE QURʾĀN; PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QURʾĀN). Moreover, they insist that the Qurʾān presents an ethical and religious message (see VIRTUES AND VICES, COMMANDING AND FORBIDDING; ESCHATOLOGY) and that a limited text cannot contain the ever-changing views of scientists in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (Hussein, Commentaire; Jansen, *Interpretation,* 47-54).

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Sijjīn

see BOOK; HEAVENLY BOOK; ANGEL

Silk

Lustrous fiber produced by insect larvae frequently used in fine materials. The terms *ḥarīr* and *sundus,* "silk," are attested five times in the Qurʾān (Q 22:23, 35:33, 76:12, and 18:31 and 44:53, respectively). These terms appear exclusively in passages dedicated to the description of paradise that, with the fire of the hell promised to the unbelievers, draws a central binary theme in the qurʾānic discourse focused on an eschatological perspective (see PARADISE; HELL AND HELLFIRE; ESCHATOLOGY). Therefore, the luxury of silk constitutes one of the paradigmatic elements of Islamic heavenly ontology (Q 55 and Q 56 provide the most detailed developments on the theme paradise/hell; see PAIRS AND PAIRING). Depictions of the qurʾānic paradise (also called *al-khuld* or *dār al-salām*) rest upon three major categories that reflect the traditional conception of the ideal life-style in Arab society. The first category is obviously the heavenly landscape comprising bucolic gardens (see GARDEN), live springs of pure water (q.v.), rivers of milk (q.v.), honey (q.v.) and wine (q.v.; see also INTOXICANTS; SPRINGS AND FOUNTAINS), and trees producing the most delightful fruits (see AGRICULTURE AND VEGETATION; TREE(S)). The second concerns creatures of two kinds, symbols of beauty and sensual

happiness, namely immortal male youngsters and virgins with large eyes *(ḥūrunʿīnun)* that will accompany and serve the rewarded in the afterlife (e.g. Q 55:72; 56:17, 22; 76:19; see REWARD AND PUNISHMENT; HOURIS). The third category, to which belongs the mention of silk, consists of an array of precious items, accessories and furniture that embellish the heavenly scenery as the most comfortable and beautifully equipped, something humans would dream of enjoying. Two main materials, textile and metalwork, contribute to idyllic images of the paradise that allow an easier comprehension of the ineffable concepts of eternity (q.v.) and life after death (see RESURRECTION; DEATH AND THE DEAD). Clearly referring to the cultural context of the qurʾānic revelation, a recurrent image presents the rewarded as garbed in silk or other fine fabrics and wearing valuable jewels (Q 22:23; see METALS AND MINERALS; PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QURʾĀN). This image appears in radical contrast to that of the ordinary life in this world whose practical necessities require wearing utilitarian clothes made of rough material, as indicated in Q 16:80: "He has given you the skins of beasts for tents, that you may find them light when you shift your quarters, or when you halt; and from their wool and soft fur and hair has he supplied you with furniture and goods for temporary use" (see equally Q 16:81; see HIDES AND FLEECE).

A range of other heavenly works of textile, supposing both an artistic *savoir-faire* and a high material value, complete the rather realistic picture of a wealthy home (see HOUSE, DOMESTIC AND DIVINE). These include cushions carefully disposed upon ordered sets of beds, spread carpets and rugs (Q 88:13-6), some of them displaying rich adornment on the edges (Q 55:54). Occasionally, the Qurʾān describes these accessories as green in color (Q 55:76; see COLORS), adding another degree of heavenly attribute. In addition to costly furnishing and clothing, the righteous will eat and drink delicious food and beverages in silver and gold dishes and cups (Q 43:71; 76:15-16, 21; see CUPS AND VESSELS; FOOD AND DRINK; GOLD). Q 18:31 delivers a kind of representative summary of the whole topic: "Decked shall they be therein with bracelets of gold, and green robes of silk and rich brocade shall they wear, reclining therein on thrones." As a result, in addition to its marvelous and supra-natural aspect, the qurʾānic paradise offers all the advantages of sensible beauty and pleasure, even luxury. Its aesthetic strongly evokes earthly enjoyments. Therefore, the question of interpretation of this eschatological theme raised many discussions among the exegetes, theologians, philosophers and mystics (see EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL; ṢŪFISM AND THE QURʾĀN; PHILOSOPHY AND THE QURʾĀN; Sourdel and Sourdel, *Dictionnaire*, 656-7 [Paradis]). Whereas the traditionists accepted the literal qurʾānic description of paradise, in accordance with the manifest meaning of the text, the Muʿtazilīs (q.v.) did not accept certain aspects of it that challenge reason (see INTELLECT). The latter interpreted these passages at a second level of meaning, attributing to them a second signification (see POLYSEMY). Similarly, the philosophers understood the promised delights as a metaphorical or allegorical proposition, fully comprehensible only by the wise and knowledgeable (see METAPHOR; LITERARY STRUCTURES OF THE QURʾĀN) while maintaining that the colorful qurʾānic narrative is intended chiefly for the common people. The Ashʿarīs stand between these two opposing trends, arguing that the heavenly enjoyments belong to another order, although

these enjoyments do display features that are analogous to earthly ones. The Ṣūfīs also found in these verses allegorical signification but without rejecting the literal meaning; they consider the Qurʾān a cognitive construction with multiple layers. Some other theologians, like al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111), proposed an alternative to these various ideas, asserting that the believer himself should interpret the nature of the ultimate reward according to his own intellectual faculties and spiritual qualities.

Silk became an important part of Islamic culture that developed both the arts of textile fabrication and the economy linked to them. The social and political context of Islam in the middle ages, with sumptuous courts flourishing in the great cities of the Muslim empire and a wide network of trade roads stretching from the Atlantic ocean to India, central and eastern Asia, fostered the manufacture and sale of precious objects in general, and silk items in particular (Sourdel and Sourdel, *Dictionnaire,* 535-7 [Marchandes, activités]). The ancient trans-Asian trading corridor, known as "the silk road," which was revived in the seventh/thirteenth century under the Mongol empire, stimulated the trade of this fine material through commercial centers populated by Muslim merchants who were spread across the whole landmass. Silk was used to make lavish court robes in officially controlled workshops designated by the Persian noun *ṭirāz,* located in palaces (Sourdel and Sourdel, *Dictionnaire,* 806, Ṭirāz). These luxurious garments were distributed as honorary gifts during princely ceremonies. Silk was also, as it still is, a component of particularly fine carpets and rugs of the Islamic world (see MATERIAL CULTURE AND THE QURʾĀN).

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Silliness

see MOCKERY; LAUGHTER

Silver

see GOLD; METALS AND MINERALS

Simile

The comparison of two things, made explicit — and distinguished from metaphor (q.v.) — by the use of "like" or "as." "Zayd fought like a lion" is a simile. In Arabic rhetoric (see ARABIC LANGUAGE; RHETORIC AND THE QURʾĀN; LITERARY STRUCTURES OF THE QURʾĀN), "simile" or *tashbīh* has the same general sense, and the same general distinction is made between simile and metaphor *(istiʿāra)*. The "like" or "as" in the simile is usually made with the particle *ka,* though a locution using the noun *mathal* may substitute. Early works on rhetoric placed great emphasis on simile; al-Marzubānī (d. 384/994) in *al-Muwashsha* made simile one of the "four pillars of poetry" (see van Gelder, *Tashbīh;* see POETRY AND POETS). Not surprisingly, proponents of the doctrine of the inimitability

(q.v.) of the Qurʾān, like al-Rummānī (d. 384/994) and al-Bāqillānī (d. 403/1013), listed its excellent similes among the rhetorical qualities that make it inimitable. Al-Bāqillānī (*Iʿjāz,* 263-8) compared them favorably with the outstanding similes found in poets like Imruʾ al-Qays and Bashshār b. Burd. From a rhetorical standpoint, the interest in qurʾānic simile culminates in the work of Ibn Nāqiyā (d. 485/1092) entitled *al-Jumān fī tashbīhāt al-Qurʾān.*

Although similes are common in the Qurʾān, the word *tashbīh* is not found there. The term *mathal,* however, sometimes clearly means "simile." At the same time, it must be said that *mathal* is also used to mean short narrative passages that we would be more likely to call "parables," and it seems no clear distinction is made between these two forms by the Qurʾān, nor, for that matter, by some of the rhetoricians (see PARABLE). They are taken to be the same sort of rhetorical device, *mathal.* Perhaps that word is best rendered by the similarly comprehensive term "analogy." Two passages show this. In Q 56:22-3 the plural form, *amthāl,* introduces a simile: "The houris (q.v.) whose eyes are like hidden pearls" *(wa-ḥūrun ʿīnun ka-amthāli l-luʾluʾi l-maknūni),* whereas Q 18:32-45, which is also termed a *mathal,* clearly exceeds the bounds of what is usually called simile: "Coin for them an analogy *(wa-ḍrib lahum mathalan)* of two men, unto one of whom we had assigned two gardens of grapes and we had surrounded both with date-palms and put between them tillage (see GARDEN; DATE PALM; AGRICULTURE AND VEGETATION)…." It goes on to relate a parable about two farmers, one pious, the other disdainful and proud; as one would expect, the former is rewarded and the latter punished (see REWARD AND PUNISHMENT; PRIDE; INSOLENCE AND OBSTINACY; PIETY).

Uses and examples

In the Qurʾān the simile is often made simply with *ka:* Q 7:179 "Those are like cattle" *(ūlāʾika ka-l-anʿām)* but quite commonly a qurʾānic simile is made with a characteristic pleonasm, *ka-mathal.* As Ibn Nāqiyā shows through numerous examples, qurʾānic similes make use of the same imagery found in Arabic poetry, both pre-Islamic and later (see SYMBOLIC IMAGERY). The first simile (Q 2:17), using the pleonasm *ka-mathal,* compares the hypocrites (q.v.; *al-munāfiqūn;* see HYPOCRITES AND HYPOCRISY) to someone who blunders in the dark (see DARKNESS) after having briefly enjoyed the light (q.v.) of a fire (q.v.): "Their likeness is the likeness of one who lit a fire *(mathaluhum ka-mathali lladhī istawqada nāran),* and when it illuminated his surroundings, God took away their fire and left them in darkness. They do not see (see VISION AND BLINDNESS)." This simile is soon followed by another: "Or like the rain clouds in the sky with darkness and thunder and lightning in it (see WEATHER), they put their fingers in their ears against the thunderbolts" (Q 2:19; see HEARING AND DEAFNESS; SEEING AND HEARING).

Aspects of God's creation (q.v.) provoke a number of similes. Q 36:39, "And for the moon (q.v.) we have devised stations until it returns like an old, withered palm stalk," i.e. curved and small; Q 55:14, "He created man from clay (q.v.) like crockery"; Q 55:24, "His are ships (q.v.) that sail on the sea like mountains." Heaven and hell (see HELL AND HELLFIRE) are the subject of colorful similes. The houris of paradise (q.v.), for example, are described thus: "And with them are ones who lower their eyes, pure as the hidden eggs [of ostriches]" (Q 37:48-9). Likewise, the painful features of hell are also described through similes. The liquid given to the damned is like molten lead (see FOOD AND DRINK; HOT AND

COLD): Q 18:29 "And if they call for help, they will be given water like molten lead scalding their faces, an evil drink."

A fairly limited number of peoples, places and events probably account for most of the similes in the Qurʾān. Recourse to simile is especially frequent in the case of various "enemies (q.v.) of God" *(aʿdāʾ Allāh),* most prominently the unbelievers (*al-kāfirūn;* see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF; GRATITUDE AND INGRATITUDE), the polytheists (*al-mushrikūn;* see POLYTHEISM AND ATHEISM) and the aforementioned hypocrites. Q 7:176 compares an unbeliever to a dog (q.v.): "He is like the dog, if you chase him away, he pants, and if you leave him alone, he pants." Two memorable similes compare the futile acts of unbelievers to ashes (q.v.) and to a mirage (see also TRANSITORINESS). Q 14:18: "Those who disbelieve in their lord (q.v.), their deeds are like ashes which the winds blow on a stormy day" (see GOOD DEEDS; EVIL DEEDS). And Q 24:39: "Those who disbelieve, their deeds are like a mirage in a desert. Someone thirsty reckons it to be water (q.v.) until he reaches it and finds nothing in it."

Q 13:14 tells us that the polytheist who prays to idols (see IDOLS AND IMAGES) is "like a man who stretches his hands to water for the water to come to it, but the water does not come." Q 29:41 compares the refuge the polytheist seeks in his idols to a spider (q.v.) web: "Those who take other protectors besides God (see CLIENTS AND CLIENTAGE; PROTECTION) are like the spider who takes a house — truly the spider's house is the flimsiest of houses!" Q 63:4 compares the hypocrites to blocks of wood: "And when you see them, their persons please you, and if they speak you listen to what they say. [Yet] they are like blocks of wood propped against each other." Two particular events, judgment day (see LAST JUDGMENT) and the destruction of wicked peoples (see PUNISHMENT STORIES; CHASTISEMENT AND PUNISHMENT), are frequent subjects of similes, e.g. the annihilation of the people of ʿĀd (q.v.) in Q 54:19-20: "We sent upon them a roaring wind (see AIR AND WIND) on a day of unrelenting calamity which snatched them away as though they were the trunks of uprooted palm trees." Q 69:7 says that the same people after their destruction seemed "as though they were the hollow trunks of palm trees." Q 55:37 describes the appearance of the sky on judgment day (see APOCALYPSE): "And when the skies are split open, they will be red like stained leather." Q 70:8-9 has: "A day when the sky will be like molten brass and the mountains will be like tufts of wool." Q 101:4 describes the commotion of the resurrected people (see RESURRECTION) thus: "… a day when the people will be like moths scattered about."

In sum, similes vary greatly in tone, some are majestic, some homespun — as Q 2:26 says, "God does not disdain to make a similitude of a gnat" *(inna llāha lā yastaḥyi an yaḍriba mathalan mā baʿūḍatan)*. Sometimes a sardonic tone is struck (see LANGUAGE AND STYLE OF THE QURʾĀN). A memorable simile in Q 62:5 concerns Jews (see JEWS AND JUDAISM) and the Torah (q.v.): "The likeness of those who were given the Torah to carry and then ignored it is that of a donkey carrying books *(asfār)*."

In addition to their illustrative, semantic role, similes often seem to have a rhetorical, emphatic role in the organization of qurʾānic discourse. Similes not infrequently open or close a subsection of a sūra (q.v.; see also FORM AND STRUCTURE OF THE QURʾĀN). For example, the rather ordinary simile in Q 11:24 which compares believers and unbelievers to the seeing and the blind, respectively, is followed immediately by stories of the prophets (see PROPHETS

AND PROPHETHOOD) Noah (q.v.), Hūd (q.v.) and Ṣāliḥ (q.v.), and the "vanished peoples" to whom they were sent — the heedless people whom God destroyed. Similarly, the famous or infamous comparison of Torah-bearers just cited, Q 62:5, introduces a discussion of the Jews. The similes in Q 54:20, 57:20, 69:7 and 105:5 offer tart summations of the preceding passages.

The Qurʾān, in its characteristically self-conscious way, tells us that the simile is one of God's favored rhetorical devices for educating people (see KNOWLEDGE AND LEARNING; TEACHING; INTELLECT): *wa-la-qad ṣarrafnā fī hādhā l-qurʾāni lil-nāsi min kulli mathalin,* "We have put in this Qurʾān every sort of similitude for people" (Q 18:54) and *wa-la-qad ḍarabnā lil-nāsi fī hādhā l-qurʾāni min kulli mathalin laʿallahum yatadhakkarūna,* "We have coined for people in this Qurʾān every kind of similitude. Perhaps they will take heed" (Q 39:27; see WARNING). Indeed, the Qurʾān even goes so far as to use simile to comment on simile/analogy itself. Interestingly enough, the chief characteristic of good rhetoric is stability, that of bad rhetoric instability:

> Have you not seen how God has made an analogy? A good word is like a good tree (see TREES). Its roots are firm and its branches are in heaven. It gives its fruit in every season with its lord's permission. God coins similes for people that they may reflect. The analogy of a bad word is with a bad tree, uprooted from the earth, possessing no stability (Q 14:24-6).

Commentators on simile

Commentators devote considerable attention to these and other similes (see EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL). Often their concern is simply to elucidate the obscurity of the simile. For example, in Q 2:17 it is the free mixture of singular and plural pronouns referring to the same party; while in Q 2:19 the entire basis of the simile seems at first confused since, as one reads, it becomes apparent that the hypocrites are not being compared to the rain clouds, despite *ka-ṣayyib,* but rather to people frightened by a thunderstorm.

As might be expected, commentators, depending on their outlook and interests, offer a wide range of interpretations of such similes. To take the example of Q 14:24-6 cited above, al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923) says, "Interpreters differ on the meaning of 'a good word' *(kalima ṭayyiba)*. Some of them say it is the faith (q.v.) of the believer" (*Tafsīr,* xiii, 135; see also SPEECH; WORD OF GOD). He goes on to say that some specifically equate it with the *shahādat lā illāha illā llāh,* it being firm *(thābit),* meaning the *shahāda* is firmly fixed in the heart of the believer (see WITNESS TO FAITH). A very early exegete, Mujāhid (d. 104/722), tells us that the good tree is a date palm. Others say a good word means the believer himself who is on earth (q.v.) and who works and speaks on earth and so his deeds and his speech reach heaven while he is still on earth. Yet others say the tree in this simile is a tree in heaven but al-Ṭabarī considers it more likely to be a date palm.

Al-Zamakhsharī (d. 538/1144), a Muʿtazilī (see MUʿTAZILA), tells us that "good word" means the word *tawḥīd,* the oneness and unity of God (see GOD AND HIS ATTRIBUTES). Al-Rāzī (d. 606/1210), who rejects the necessity of the tree being a date palm, devotes four and a half pages to explicating the "tree" and its four attributes, its goodness, its firm roots, its lofty branches, and its constant supply of fruit.

On the other hand, we learn from the Shīʿī commentary of al-Kāshī (d. ca. 910/

1505) that the imām (q.v.) Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq (d. 148/765) said of the good tree: "The Messenger of God is its root, the Prince of the Believers (ʿAlī) is its trunk, the imāms among the descendants of both are its branches, the knowledge of the imāms constitutes its fruit" (Gätje, *Qurʾān,* 243). Not surprisingly, al-Kāshī tells us that the bad tree is the Umayyads (see SHĪʿISM AND THE QURʾĀN; POLITICS AND THE QURʾĀN; ʿALĪ B. ABĪ ṬĀLIB).

Two other similes also address the topic of figurative language in the Qurʾān. The first is Q 2:26, mentioned above, "Verily, God does not disdain to make an analogy with a gnat…" This al-Rāzī tells us is meant as a rebuke to the unbelievers who had falsely claimed that mention of such humble creatures as the bee, the fly, the spider and the ant was unworthy of divine discourse (see ANIMAL LIFE). Wrong, al-Rāzī says, because God has created both great and humble things,

> and the little weighs upon him no less than the big, and the great is no more difficult for him than the small… and it is perfectly apposite to mention flies when God wishes to show how ugly is the polytheists' worship of idols… or to make an analogy with a spider web in order to show how trifling and flimsy their religion is (Rāzī, *Tafsīr,* ii, 134-5).

The other simile, in Q 13:17, is yet more complicated since it encloses one simile within another:

> He sent down water from the sky and the river beds *(awdiya)* flowed with it. But the flood carried away the scum floating on its surface — and like it is the scum which comes from that which they heat with fire seeking to make jewelry and tools — likewise, God shows what is true and what is false. The scum is cast away with distaste, while what benefits people remains on this earth.

Al-Ṭabarī writes that this is an analogy that God makes with truth (q.v.) and falsehood (see ASTRAY; IGNORANCE; LIE), with faith (q.v.) and unbelief. God is saying that the similarity of the truth in its permanence and of error (q.v.) in its evanescence is like the water which God sends down from the sky to the earth. The *wādī*s flow with it, the large ones with large quantities and the small ones with small quantities. The flood carries a swelling scum or foam, and this is one of two analogies pertaining to truth and falsehood. The truth is like the water (q.v.) which remains and which God has sent, while the foam which is of no benefit is falsehood. The other analogy — "and like it is the scum which comes from that which they heat with fire seeking to make jewelry and tools" — is the analogy of truth and falsehood with gold (q.v.) and silver and brass and lead and iron (see METALS AND MINERALS) from which people obtain benefits (see GRACE; BLESSING), while falsehood is like the scum which goes away without being of any benefit while the pure gold and silver remain. Likewise, God compares faith and unbelief, the futility of unbelief and the failure of the unbeliever being a punishment, while faith is that with lasting benefit (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* xiii, 90). Al-Rāzī sharpens the analogy making the rain the Qurʾān and the *wādī*s the hearts of believers (see HEART), which according to their capacities contain more or less of the truth, while the foam and scum that are carried away and vanish are the doubts and obscurities (see UNCERTAINTY) that will vanish in the hereafter when only the truth will remain (Rāzī, *Tafsīr,* xix, 34-5; see also PAIRS AND PAIRING).

Probably the most well-known qurʾānic simile, and also one of the most commented on, is the so-called Light Verse (Q 24:35). This verse begins with a metaphor, "God is the light (q.v.) of heaven (see HEAVENS AND SKY; PLANETS AND STARS) and earth," but then quickly switches to simile,

the likeness of his light is like a niche which holds a lamp (q.v.). The lamp is in a glass which shines like a pearl-like star. It is kindled from a blessed tree, an olive neither of the east nor the west whose oil would almost glow forth itself though no fire touched it. Light upon light. God guides to his light whom he wills. God makes analogies for people. God knows all things.

Al-Ṭabarī, al-Zamakhsharī and al-Rāzī devote considerable space to mapping out the various parts of this elaborate simile, and al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111) writes an entire book about it, *Mishkāt al-anwār,* drawing an analogy between the five elements of the simile: the niche, the glass, the lamp, the tree and the oil, and the senses, the imagination, the intellect, language, and prophecy. (For more on these interpretations, see METAPHOR.)

Similes, with the uncertainties of interpretation, could also be the topics of theological debate (see THEOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN). One such exchange took place between the governor of Baghdād and Ibn Ḥanbal (d. 241/855) during the inquisition (q.v.; *miḥna*) on the issue of the createdness of the Qurʾān (q.v.):

Governor: Does not God say, 'We have made it an Arabic (see ARABIC LANGUAGE) Qurʾān' (Q 43:3). How could it be made without being *created?*
Ibn Ḥanbal: But God says, 'and He *made* them like green blades devoured…' (Q 105:5; see GRASSES). Does that mean He *created* them [like green blades devoured]? (Cook, *Koran,* 110).

More broadly, it can be said that just as there are theological dimensions to metaphor — whence the hasty insistence of commentators to assure us that "God is the light" must be understood as meaning "He is the possessor of light" (Zamakhsharī, *Kashshāf,* ad Q 24:35) — even so the simile has theological dimensions. For the notion of similitude in relation to God must also be placed in the context of the Qurʾān's insistence on the absolute oneness and uniqueness of God and the impossibility of likening anyone or anything to him (see ANTHROPOMORPHISM). Thus, Q 42:11, *laysa ka-mithlihi shayʾ*, "There is nothing like him." In this context, it can be seen that similitude is a definitive notion in the qurʾānic universe; similitude is a common quality of God's creation but since similarity requires at least two objects, similitude is a quality that is found *only* in his creation. This is reflected in theological debate about anthropomorphism in which the opposed terms *tashbīh/tanzīh* are employed. In such debates *tashbīh* is the negative term which denotes anthropomorphism.

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Similitude see PARABLE

Sin, Major and Minor

Greater and lesser transgressions of the law of God. The Qurʾān promises that God will forgive minor sins if human beings abstain from the major ones (Q 4:31; 53:31-2; see FORGIVENESS). The most common characterization of "major" sins in exegesis and theology is *kabāʾir* (sing. *kabīra;* literally the "big ones"), a term that occurs in this sense in the Qurʾān (cf. Q 4:31; 42:37; 53:32). A common theological characterization of "minor" sins is *ṣaghāʾir* (sing. *ṣaghīra,* as in Q 18:49; see THEOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN; EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL). All deeds, major and minor, are recorded, and their register *(kitāb)* is to be given to each individual on the day of judgment (see LAST JUDGMENT; HEAVENLY BOOK; GOOD DEEDS; EVIL DEEDS), much to the consternation of the sinners (*mujrimīn,* Q 18:49; cf. 54:52-3; see REWARD AND PUNISHMENT).

Terms designating "sin" in the Qurʾān's vocabulary include: *dhanb* (pl. *dhunūb;* e.g. Q 3:11, 16, 193; 8:54; 12:29; 67:11); *fāḥisha* (and other terms from the same Arabic root, i.e. *f-ḥ-sh;* e.g. Q 2:169; 4:22; 12:24; 17:32; 27:54); *ḥaraj* (e.g. Q 9:91; 48:17); *ithm* (e.g. Q 2:173, 181-2, 219; 4:20, 48, 50, 112; 33:58; 42:37; 49:12); *junāḥ* (Q 2:198, 235; 4:102; 33:51); *jurm* (in the form of various derivatives from the root *j-r-m;* e.g. Q 6:147; 7:40; 9:66; 10:17; 11:35; 18:49; 45:31; 83:29); *khaṭīʾa* (and terms derived from the same root, *kh-ṭ-ʾ;* Q 2:81; 4:112; 12:97; 17:31; 69:9; 71:25); *lamam* (Q 53:32); *maʿṣiya* (pl. *maʿāṣī;* cf. Q 58:8-9); and *sayyiʾa* (pl. *sayyiʾāt;* Q 3:193; 4:31; 7:153; 29:7). Whether a particular term denotes a major or a minor sin is often not clear from the Qurʾān itself and the same term might be used to denote major or minor sins. Thus the term *sayyiʾa* occurs in Q 4:31 in the sense of a minor infraction (also in Q 3:193) but elsewhere (as in Q 7:153; 35:43) it refers to evil deeds of a graver kind (cf. Dāmaghānī, *Wujūh,* i, 423f., s.v. *al-sayyiʾāt;* also Zamakhsharī, *Kashshāf,* i, 159, ad Q 2:81, where *sayyiʾa* is glossed as *kabīra min al-kabāʾir*). Many commentators do, however, consider terms like *dhanb* and *ithm* (as well as *maʿṣiya,* a common gloss for *ithm:* cf. Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* v, 476, ad Q 7:33) to refer to major sins and understand *lamam, sayyiʾa* and *khaṭīʾa* to mean minor sins. Irrespective of the actual terms used, few commentators deny that there is in fact a distinction to be made between major and minor sins (cf. Haytamī, *Zawājir,* i, 11f.); precisely which sins belong in what category is, however, a matter of great uncertainty.

Definitions

Ibn ʿAbbās (d. ca. 68/687), a major early authority in exegetical matters, is reported to have defined the *kabīra* as "every sin that God has stamped with fire (q.v.), [his] displeasure, [his] curse (q.v.), or with [the threat of his] punishment" (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* iv, 44, ad Q 4:31 [no. 9213]). More vaguely, yet in underscoring the sense of sin as transgression, he held "everything in which God is disobeyed [to be] a major sin" (ibid., no. 9211; see DISOBEDIENCE). Other early definitions related major sins not just to acts for which God has promised hell (see HELL AND HELLFIRE) but also those for which the *ḥudūd,* or the legal punishments explicitly prescribed by the Qurʾān and the sunna (q.v.), are to be executed (cf. ibid., no. 9219; see CHASTISEMENT AND PUNISHMENT; LAW AND THE QURʾĀN). Such views were elaborated on and systematized in works specifically devoted to cataloguing major sins. Shams al-Dīn al-Dhahabī (d. 748/1348), the author of one such book, defines major sins as anything "in regard to which there is a *ḥadd* in this world, such as

murder (q.v.), adultery, and theft (q.v.); or about which there is a threat of [God's] anger (q.v.) and punishment in the hereafter; as well as anything whose perpetrator has been cursed by our Prophet" (Dhahabī, *Kabāʾir,* 6; see ADULTERY AND FORNICATION; BLOODSHED). Ibn Ḥajar al-Haytamī (d. 974/1567), whose dissatisfaction with al-Dhahabī's book led him to write what became one of the most influential works on the subject, gives a broad sampling of both overlapping and alternative views on how to define major sins. Inter alia, the *kabāʾir* are sins that have been expressly forbidden (q.v.) in the Qurʾān and the sunna or accompanied with dire warnings in these foundational texts; acts that entail the *ḥadd*-penalties; sins that result in a loss of one's legal and public standing *(ʿadāla),* since they suggest a lack of concern with conformity to religious norms; and, indeed, sins that become "major" precisely because they are committed without a sense of fear (q.v.) or remorse (Haytamī, *Zawājir,* i, 12-17; ii, 425-7; see REPENTANCE AND PENANCE).

Others saw aspects of greater or lesser gravity as inhering in almost all sins. According to al-Ḥalīmī (d. 403/1012), a minor sin can become a major sin because of the context *(qarīna)* in which it is committed just as a major sin can, in turn, become abominable *(fāḥisha)* by the circumstances attending upon it. Thus, unlawful homicide is a major sin, but to murder a relative (see KINSHIP; FAMILY), for instance, or to do so in the sacred precincts (q.v.; of Mecca [q.v.] and Medina [q.v.]) make it the more abominable because it is not just the sanctity of the victim's life but also other sacred boundaries that have been violated (see SACRED AND PROFANE). To steal some paltry object would be a minor sin, not subject to the legal penalty; but this becomes a major sin when the victim of such theft is so poor as not to be able to dispense even with such an object (Ḥalīmī, *Minhāj,* i, 396-400; paraphrased in Ibn Ḥajar, *Fatḥ,* xii, 227f.; see POVERTY AND THE POOR). Al-Ḥalīmī thought that the only sin that does not admit of degrees of gravity is *kufr* — disbelief in God (see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF; GRATITUDE AND INGRATITUDE) — though Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī (d. 852/1449; *Fatḥ,* xii, 227) suggests in his rejoinder that this cardinal sin, too, can be classified according to its degrees of abomination.

In the end, as al-Haytamī and others recognized, the various definitions of major sin are mere "approximations" to the idea, which itself remains elusive. So, too, therefore, does the question of the *number* of sins that might be thought of as "major" — with estimates often ranging from four to seven hundred (Haytamī, *Zawājir,* i, 18). Al-Dhahabī's work on the subject gives brief accounts of seventy major sins; al-Haytamī describes no less than 476 major sins, which he proceeds to divide between the "interior" and the "exterior." Even as they acknowledged the distinction between major and minor sins, the primary interest of those concerned with such matters has tended to be with the major sins, usually leaving the minor ones as the subject of dire warnings about taking them lightly. (Some, like Ibn Nujaym [d. 970/1563], did however concern themselves explicitly with listing both major and minor sins.)

Sins in the Qurʾān's enumeration

Without providing any clear ranking of sins, the Qurʾān does not leave any doubt about what it considers to be the worst of them: the associating of anything or anyone with God (*shirk;* see POLYTHEISM AND ATHEISM), a "great sin" *(ithm ʿazīm)* that God will not forgive though he might forgive everything else (Q 4:48). Q 17:23-38, in cataloguing a number of God's com-

mands, mentions several acts that are to be avoided for "their sinfulness *(sayyiʾuhu)* is abhorrent to your lord" (q.v.; Q 17:38). In addition to *shirk,* some of the sins that are mentioned as such or are easily derivable from this list include: insolence towards one's parents (q.v.; see also INSOLENCE AND OBSTINACY); wastefulness as well as miserliness; the killing of one's children (q.v.) for fear of impoverishment (a reference to a pre-Islamic Arabian practice characterized here as a "great wrong" *[khiṭʾan kabīra]:* Q 17:31; see INFANTICIDE); wrongful murder of other sorts; fornication (described here as "an abomination and an evil way" *[fāḥisha wa-sāʾa sabīlan]*: Q 17:32); usurping the property (q.v.) of orphans (q.v.); dishonesty in business transactions (see ECONOMICS; TRADE AND COMMERCE); saying things of which one has no knowledge (see IGNORANCE; KNOWLEDGE AND LEARNING); and haughtiness (see PRIDE; ARROGANCE). (Also cf. Izutsu, *Concepts,* 228; for shorter lists, see, inter alia: Q 6:151-2; 25:67-8, 72. Some early exegetes also held that what the Qurʾān regards as major sins are to be located in the various prohibitions mentioned in the first thirty verses of Q 4; cf. Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* iv, 39-40 [ad Q 4:31]; see LAWFUL AND UNLAWFUL.) A fuller, though by no means exhaustive sampling of qurʾānic sins would include — besides the *ḥadd*-penalties (for drinking, adultery and fornication, false accusation of adultery and fornication, theft, and brigandage; see INTOXICANTS; WINE) and besides chronic neglect of the fundamental ritual obligations (see PRAYER; WITNESS TO FAITH; PILGRIMAGE; ALMSGIVING; RAMAḌĀN; FASTING; RITUAL AND THE QURʾĀN) — such diverse items as slander (Q 24:11; 33:58), undue suspicion (q.v.; *ẓann*) and backbiting (Q 49:11-12; also see GOSSIP); lying (*qawl al-zūr,* Q 22:30; see LIE) and concealing legal testimony (Q 2:283; see WITNESSING AND TESTIFYING); practicing usury (q.v.; Q 2:275-6, 278-9; 3:130-1); homosexuality (q.v.; cf. Q 26:165 f.; 21:74); "hurting" God, his Prophet, or other believers (Q 33:57-8); and other individual and collective transgressions against the "limits" established by God. (For various qurʾānic terms evoking the idea of transgression, cf. Izutsu, *Concepts,* 164-77 and passim, esp. 172 f.; also see BOUNDARIES AND PRECEPTS.) In general, as the foregoing samples indicate, the interest of the Qurʾān is not with providing any detailed, let alone systematic, catalog of sins, but rather with affirming what Izutsu *(Concepts)* has called a "basic moral dichotomy" between belief and unbelief, virtue and vice, the good and the bad (see GOOD AND EVIL; VIRTUES AND VICES, COMMANDING AND FORBIDDING).

Lists of major sins are more readily accessible in ḥadīth (see ḤADĪTH AND THE QURʾĀN), though there continues to be considerable uncertainty on precisely which, or how many, fall into that category. A tradition reported on the authority of the Prophet's Companion Abū Hurayra lists the following seven as major sins: associating anyone with God; sorcery (see MAGIC); unlawful homicide; usurping the property of the orphan; usury; fleeing from the battlefield (see EXPEDITIONS AND BATTLES; HYPOCRITES AND HYPOCRISY; FIGHTING); and slandering believing women (Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ, K. al-Waṣāyā,* no. 23; ibid., *K. al-Ḥudūd,* no. 44; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ, K. al-Īmān,* no. 145; Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan, K. al-Waṣāyā,* no. 2874; Haytamī, *Ẓawājir,* i, 18). Again, other lists are much more expansive and Ibn ʿAbbās is often quoted as saying that the major sins are "closer to 700 than they are to seven, except that no sin is 'major' when forgiveness is sought for it, that is when one undertakes proper repentance *(tawba),* just as no sin is 'minor' if one persists in it" (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* iv, 44, ad Q 4:31 [no. 9208]).

Sin, repentance, and forgiveness

Islam, like Judaism, has no concept of an "original sin" (see FALL OF MAN). Every soul (q.v.) bears its own burden (Q 6:164; 17:15; 29:12; see INTERCESSION), though God does not overburden anyone (Q 2:286). Sins also have evil consequences during one's present life, so that whatever harm one is afflicted by is "what your hands have earned" (Q 42:30; also cf. Izutsu, *Concepts,* 227, on the dual meaning of the word *sayyiʾa* as both "misfortune" and "evil deed," which may perhaps be taken to evoke the idea of misfortune as being at least partly a result of evil deeds). The punishment visited by God upon particular communities is likewise the result of their sinfulness (cf. Q 17:16-17; 22:45, 48; see PUNISHMENT STORIES). Conversely, sins are removed through good deeds (Q 11:114) and, in any case, God forgives a great deal (Q 42:30). Indeed, were God to hold people to account for all that they do, no living being would remain on the face of the earth (Q 35:45; see MERCY).

While responsibility for one's actions lies with the individual, the question whether these actions necessarily determine one's fate in the hereafter was much debated among the Muslim theologians (see FREEDOM AND PREDESTINATION). The Qurʾān suggests both that each individual will be judged according to his or her own conduct (cf. Q 2:286) and that the decision to punish or pardon people for their sins rests ultimately, and solely, with God (Q 2:284). All humans being prone to sin (cf. Q 12:53), the pious are much given to seeking God's forgiveness (cf. Q 3:193-5; see PIETY). Indeed, this is a major trait that distinguishes them from the sinners and the unbelievers, who are not only unmindful of the consequences of their actions but also too arrogant to repent for them. The prophets (see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD) not only seek forgiveness for their own sins (see below), but also for those of others (cf. Q 47:19); and, according to the traditional Sunnī view, they will intercede on behalf of their followers on the day of judgment (cf. Elder, *Commentary,* 112-14).

Q 39:53 holds out God's promise to forgive *all* sins *(al-dhunūb)* and therefore instructs those who have exceeded the bounds *(asrafū ʿalā anfusihim)* not to despair of God's mercy. Yet Q 4:48 states that "God will not forgive the associating of anyone with him, but he might forgive anything less than that for whomsoever he wills." The exegetes tried to resolve the discrepancy between the two verses in different ways. Some held that Q 39:53 sought to reassure those who had committed major sins, and who feared their damnation on account of them even if they were to convert to Islam or, in case of Muslim sinners, even if they were to repent of their major sins. On this view, even the major sins were not "deadly" as long as they were followed by repentance; and this was true even of *shirk,* the gravest of sins (cf. Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* xi, 14-17, ad Q 39:53). A different view saw Q 4:48 as not abrogating but delimiting the purport of Q 39:53: while God might forgive any sin he wishes to, he would not forgive *shirk* unless one has repented of it (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* xi, 17 [no. 30, 188]; also cf. Haytamī, *Zawājir,* i, 62f.).

God's forgiveness had not always come without a heavy, this-worldly, penalty, however. Those among the Children of Israel (q.v.) who had been guilty of worshipping the calf had to pay dearly for this sin: as described by the Qurʾān, the price of repentance in this instance was death for the guilty (Q 2:54; and cf. al-Ṭabarī's commentary on this verse, *Tafsīr,* i, 325-8; see CALF OF GOLD). Repentance for the sin of *shirk* does not carry such penalties for the Qurʾān's own addressees (cf. Haytamī, *Zawājir,* ii, 190). In the case of sins that are also crimes, however, such as stealing, adul-

tery, or murder, the exegetes and jurists generally held that repentance ought to accompany but does not, by itself, suffice to absolve one of the sin in question (but cf. Q 28:15-17, where Moses [q.v.] seeks the forgiveness of God for a homicide and is forgiven). While all sin involves transgressing limits laid down by God, the jurists made a distinction between the violation of "the rights of God" and that of "the rights of human beings" (cf. Johansen, *Contingency*, 212-18). The rights of God, to be upheld by the ruler or his representatives, involve the *ḥadd*-penalties (see KINGS AND RULERS; POLITICS AND THE QUR'ĀN). On the other hand, infraction of the rights of human beings, a category that also included homicide, was negotiable in the sense that the wronged party might decide to forgo punishment or opt for monetary compensation rather than for physical retaliation (q.v.). Absolution from the sin of violating the rights of human beings required not just the seeking of forgiveness from God but also the legal punishment entailed by the crime in question or forgiveness from the wronged party (cf. Ṭabarī's discussion of Q 5:45 in *Tafsīr*, iv, 598-604). Juristic classifications of the rights of God and of human beings, or what these categories entailed, are not to be found in the Qur'ān, though the combination of the moral and the legal norms that is characteristic of Islamic law is itself firmly grounded in it (see ETHICS AND THE QUR'ĀN).

Theological discourses on the grave sinner

If God might forgive all major sins — even, as many commentators saw it, the most heinous sin of *shirk* — if one repented of them, does it follow that one who did not so repent was doomed to damnation? And what was the status of the person committing major sins, the grave sinner, in relation to the community of Muslims of which he professed to be a member? These questions, which lie at the heart of the early development of Islamic theology, arose when many first generation Muslims strongly disapproved of the conduct of ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān (r. 23-35/644-56), Muḥammad's third successor as caliph (q.v.), accused him of remaining unrepentant after committing major sins, and murdered him (see ʿUTHMĀN). The Khārijīs (q.v.), who may well be regarded as Islam's first "sect," insisted that ʿUthmān's murder was justified; so, too, was that of ʿUthmān's successor, ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib (q.v.; r. 35-40/656-61), who had himself become a grave sinner by agreeing to negotiate with other grave sinners (see ARBITRATION; ṢIFFĪN) and it was a Khārijī who assassinated ʿAlī in 40/661. In general, the Khārijīs believed that anyone who committed a major sin but failed to repent was consigned to eternal damnation and that, in his present life, he also ceased to be a member of the community of Muslims. Despite this uncompromising position, the Khārijīs soon came to have their own extremists as well as their moderates; and while the extremist groups held that the grave sinner — which effectively meant anyone who disagreed with their principles — might legitimately be killed, the more moderate Khārijīs, the Ibāḍiyya, allowed mutual coexistence with other Muslims even as they denied the status of believers to them (Ashʿarī, *Maqālāt*, 104f.). Given that the Khārijīs were typically a minority, the latter stance was a matter not just of toleration but also of self-preservation; and it is no surprise that only those who espoused it have survived to the present day.

In opposition to the Khārijīs of various stripes, the Murjiʾīs insisted that major sins did not make one an unbeliever and that the grave sinner continued to be a member of the community of Muslims. But they suspended judgment on whether either

ʿUthmān or ʿAlī, or any other of Muḥammad's Companions involved in the first *fitna* — which is the conventional designation for the chaotic events between the murder of ʿUthmān in 35/656 and that of ʿAlī in 40/661 — had committed major sins. As Crone and Zimmermann (*Epistle,* 221-3) have shown, the Murjiʾīs of the first century of Islam held that the grave sinner was indeed damned forever; it was just that, in the cases of ʿUthmān, ʿAlī, as well as of others embroiled in the *fitna,* they simply did not know who had committed major sins and therefore thought it best to suspend judgment on the matter. It was later second/eighth century Murjiʾīs, such as Abū Ḥanīfa (d. 150/767), the eponymous founder of the Ḥanafī school of Sunnī law, who came to hold the view that the fate even of the grave sinner was to be determined by God on the day of judgment and the question was best deferred until then (ibid., 223). This attitude, towards the participants in the first *fitna* and towards the status of the grave sinner in general, eventually came to be adopted by the Sunnīs, with the significant difference, however, that judgment on questions of sin and guilt was now also deferred because, by the middle of the third/ninth century, the definition of a Sunnī "orthodoxy" had come to be predicated on reverence for the Companions of the Prophet (q.v.) as a whole, irrespective of the particular, and mutually antagonistic, positions they might have held towards one another (cf. ibid., 229).

Like the Murjiʾīs, the Muʿtazilī theologians, who came to prominence from the middle of the second/eighth century, did not banish the grave sinner from the community. But, unlike the Murjiʾīs, and also unlike those who later emerged as the Sunnīs, the Muʿtazilīs (see MUʿTAZILA) assigned an "intermediate state" to the grave sinner so that he was neither a believer nor an unbeliever but a "transgressor" *(fāsiq),* though, as such, still a member of the Muslim community. Unlike the later Murjiʾīs, the Muʿtazilīs mostly thought that such transgressors were doomed to eternal damnation (cf. the creed of the famous Muʿtazilī Qurʾān-commentator, al-Zamakhsharī, in Schmidtke, *Muʿtazilite creed,* 76). As for minor sins, the Muʿtazilīs espoused the view that such sins would be weighed against one's good deeds and cancelled out through them *(taḥābut)* as long, of course, as the good deeds outweighed the sins (cf. Schmidtke, *Theology,* 227f.). Shīʿī theology was strongly influenced by the Muʿtazila; but unlike the latter and in accord with the Sunnīs, Shīʿī theologians did not believe in the eternal damnation of the Muslim grave sinner (for the developed Sunnī position on the matter, cf. Elder, *Commentary,* 114f.; see SHĪʿISM AND THE QURʾĀN; SHĪʿA).

Sin, error, and infallibility

Sin involves an element of intentionality as well as of knowledge that the act in question entails disapproval or punishment and that it is forbidden. (On the question of sinful acts committed in ignorance, see Q 4:17; 6:54, and the discussion of these verses in the major commentaries.) This marks off sin from "error" *(khaṭāʾ),* a term whose primary connotation is legal rather than ethical (cf. Schacht, Khaṭaʾ; for other connotations of "error," elucidated with reference to the qurʾānic term *ḍalāl,* see ERROR; ASTRAY). Thus, while intentional homicide is a crime as well as a major sin (cf. Q 4:93, and Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* iv, 220-3, for a discussion of whether God would forgive the premeditated murder of a believer despite the murderer's repentance), the same is not true of unintentional homicide; the latter does, however, require the payment of compensation for that act (Q 4:92; see BLOOD MONEY). Accounts describing the altercations between the caliph ʿUthmān

and those who eventually murdered him have the latter demand that the caliph submit himself to retaliation by those he had wronged, with ʿUthmān responding that the caliph *(imām)* commits errors just as he does what is right and that no retaliation is required for his errors (Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh,* i, 2995f.; and cf. ibid., 3043). Many early jurists believed, for their part, that even when the effort to arrive at a legal ruling on the basis of systematic reflection on the foundational texts *(ijtihād)* led to different and thus possibly erroneous results, the effort itself deserved a reward from God; and since a jurist made that effort, he was "right" even when he seemed to have missed the mark (cf. Schacht, Khaṭāʾ; van Ess, *TG,* ii, 161-4). An error was thus not a sin as long as one did not persist in it after having become aware of it.

What sort of an error or even a sin might be imputed to a prophet was a contested issue from Islam's first centuries (see IMPECCABILITY). The Qurʾān recognizes prophets as sinning (as in the case of Adam; cf. Q 20:121; see ADAM AND EVE) or coming close to it (as Joseph [q.v.] did; cf. Q 12:24); as seeking, or being asked to seek, forgiveness for their sins (Q 7:22-3; 11:47; 47:19); and as being forgiven by God for their sins (e.g. Q 2:35-7; 28:15-16; 48:2). In an episode during Muḥammad's early prophetic career in Mecca, Satan is said to have interpolated into Muḥammad's revelation verses that spoke approvingly of the intercession of certain Meccan deities (see Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh,* i, 1191-6; see SATANIC VERSES; DEVIL; REVELATION AND INSPIRATION). These verses (which immediately followed Q 53:20) were "abrogated" once Muḥammad was informed that their source was Satan rather than God (cf. Q 22:52; see ABROGATION). This incident raised troubling questions for many Muslims, in particular about the integrity of the Qurʾān (see INIMITABILITY; CREATEDNESS OF THE QURʾĀN) and about Muḥammad's vulnerability to error and sin. The historicity of the episode concerning the Satanic verses was thus denied by many, a view that went hand in hand with the articulation of the doctrine of the infallibility of the Prophet in Islam's first centuries. Yet, while most Muslims today concur in denying this episode, many prominent scholars of the earlier centuries, including al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923), the Muʿtazilī exegete al-Zamakhsharī (d. 538/1144; cf. *Kashshāf,* iii, 161f., commenting on Q 22:52) and the Ḥanbalī jurist Ibn Taymiyya (d. 728/1328), accepted its historicity. For Ibn Taymiyya, a prophet is infallible not in the sense of being immune to error or sin but only in being secure from persistence in it. On this view, the episode of the Satanic verses poses no problem in that Muḥammad promptly sought God's forgiveness for his error — which, to Ibn Taymiyya, is what it was, rather than a sin — and the matter was clarified by a subsequent revelation (see Ahmed, Ibn Taymiyyah).

That a prophet might commit a *major* sin was not a possibility to be countenanced, however, by Ibn Taymiyya or by anyone else (Ahmed, Ibn Taymiyyah, 86 and passim). Minor sins were another matter, though as al-Zamakhsharī said, in commenting on Q 93:7, prophets both before and after the beginning of their prophetic career were immune not only from the major sins but also from "disgraceful minor sins" (*al-ṣaghāʾir al-shāʾina,* as in *Kashshāf,* iv, 756; he does not, however, give any examples of such minor sins). The Shīʿa agreed with others in insisting on the immunity (q.v.) of the prophets from sin and error, but they extended such immunity to their imāms (see IMĀM) as well. An early Shīʿī theologian, Hishām b. al-Ḥakam (d. 179/795-6), had argued for the immunity of the imāms from sin and error, but not of the

prophets, on the grounds that while a prophet can be corrected through divine intervention, an imām had no such channel available and hence needed the immunity in question. But this doctrine never caught on in standard formulations of Shīʿī theology (see Bar-Asher, *Scripture,* 159-79; on Hishām's position, Ashʿarī, *Maqālāt,* 48).

Modern discourses

With unprecedented modern efforts towards the codification of the *sharīʿa,* certain contemporary Muslim scholars have visualized legislation not only in areas traditionally left to the discretion of rulers and judges but also to regulate matters previously thought of only as sinful behavior rather than as legal infractions. The Egyptian religious scholar Yūsuf al-Qaraḍāwī (b. 1926), one of the most influential of the contemporary *ʿulamāʾ,* has argued, for instance, that considerations of "public interest" require that states legislate punishments for usurious transactions, the usurpation of the orphan's property, the non-performance of the ritual obligations, the harassment of women and other evils. "There are hundreds of sins, forms of opposition [to the divine law], and wrongs that the *sharīʿa* has forbidden, or has commanded doing the opposite of, but it has not established a specific penalty for them. And so," he says, "they need legislation" (*Siyāsa,* 95-6; quotation from 96). While many earlier definitions of sin, especially of major sin, had included under that rubric both moral transgressions and crimes for which the foundational texts had prescribed specific punishments *(ḥudūd),* the distinction between sin and crime or between moral and legal norms was not thereby effaced (cf. Johansen, *Contingency,* 71 and passim). This is not to say, of course, that sin had previously been only a "private" matter. Indeed, Muslim scholars have long recognized the obligation of "forbidding wrong" even when the offense affects no one but the actor him- or herself; and the activities of vigilantes who felt obligated to intervene even in privately committed wrongs are extensively reported in the historical sources. Yet, Muslim scholars often also disapproved of such vigilantism, just as they sought to protect an individual's privacy even when doing so meant that many wrongs would go unpunished (on all this, see Cook, *Commanding right*). A proposal such as al-Qaraḍāwī's would deal with the problem of vigilantism but only at the expense of privacy; and in combating sin, it ends up legitimizing the intrusive powers of the state, an outcome about which not only medieval scholars but also many modern *ʿulamāʾ* have had grave misgivings (see OPPRESSION).

In seeking to reinterpret Islam's foundational texts and its institutions in ways that would make them more compatible with what are perceived to be the demands of the modern world, other, "modernist," readings of the Qurʾān often lay a new stress on individual moral responsibility (q.v.) and a this-worldly orientation (see WORLD); and conceptions of sin and related ideas have been interpreted accordingly. The influential Pakistani modernist Fazlur Rahman (d. 1988) sees the qurʾānic notion of *taqwā* as guiding individuals through the tensions and the extremes to which they, as human beings, are inherently susceptible; and sin, wrong, or evil signifies precisely the failure to successfully navigate one's course through these tensions (cf. Rahman, *Major themes,* 27 and passim). Rahman sees the qurʾānic concept of sin — though he seems to prefer the term "evil" to "sin" — primarily in terms of its deleterious effects on human welfare in the present world and, more specifically, with reference to what it contributes to the failure of human moral endeavors. To him, the Qurʾān's overall "attitude is quite

optimistic with regard to the sequel of human endeavor." Yet, this optimism is predicated on, and illustrative of, the Qurʾān's "action orientation and practicality." Within the framework of that orientation, smaller failings are remediable, and this — in his telling rendition of Q 4:31 — is the point of God's forgiveness of minor sins: "If you avoid the major evils that have been prohibited to you, we shall obliterate *[the effects of]* occasional and small lapses" (ibid., 30; brackets in the original, emphasis added). By the same token, *individual* failings are more likely to be forgiven by God than are failures in a people's "collective performance"; the latter are much more grave, even irremediable, in their effect (ibid., 52, and 37-64, passim; see OPPRESSED ON EARTH, THE).

For all their severe disagreements with the modernists, "Islamists" (or "fundamentalists") are often no less concerned, in seeking the public implementation of Islamic norms, with demonstrating the Qurʾān's "action orientation and practicality." Thus, in a passage like Q 17:23-38, where one might previously have seen a catalog of some of the major sins to be avoided (cf. Izutsu, *Concepts,* 229), the influential Pakistani Islamist Sayyid Abū l-Aʿlā Mawdūdī (d. 1399/1979) finds the "manifesto of the Prophet's mission…, making the intellectual, moral, cultural, economic and legal bases of the Islamic society and state of the future known to the world" (Mawdūdī, *Understanding,* v, 34; also cf. id., *Islamic law,* 202-13). The first of these "bases" is, of course, the injunction not to worship (q.v.) anyone but God, which is not simply a matter of avoiding *shirk* but of "recogniz[ing] and submit[ting] to his sovereignty (q.v.) to the exclusion of any other sovereignty" (Mawdūdī, *Understanding,* v, 35, commenting on Q 17:23). According to the Egyptian Islamist Sayyid Quṭb (d. 1966), himself much influenced by Mawdūdī, whether a society bases itself on a recognition of this divine sovereignty determines its overall orientation, viz., whether it is a properly Islamic society rather than one living in pagan ignorance (*jāhiliyya;* see e.g. Quṭb, *Ẓilāl,* iii, 1217 and 1229-34, discussing Q 6:151-3; see AGE OF IGNORANCE). Unlike many a medieval commentator, detailed catalogs or relative rankings of major and minor sins are matters far less pressing than are the implications of this overarching orientation.

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Sinai

The triangularly shaped peninsula that witnessed the wanderings of the Israelites after their flight from Egypt on the way to their promised land in Canaan, under the leadership of Moses (q.v.); the scene of the latter's miracles (q.v.) and, above all, the region where the Decalogue was given and God's covenant (q.v.) with Israel (q.v.) concluded. All of these matters are recorded in many of the sūras (q.v.) of the Qurʾān, with variations from the biblical accounts (see NARRATIVES; CHILDREN OF ISRAEL).

The term Sinai appears twice in the Qurʾān, in Q 23:20 as *saynāʾ* and in Q 95:2 as *sīnīn,* possibly a dittograph of the letter *sīn,* more assonant with *zaytūn* than *sīn* (cf. *il yāsīn,* Q 37:130). In both cases, the word is preceded by the term *ṭūr,* "mountain," the compound referring to one spot in the peninsula, namely, Mount Sinai.

The peninsula was especially important in Moses' career, more important than Egypt (q.v.) or Canaan, since it witnessed the birth of Mosaic Judaism (see JEWS AND JUDAISM), when the law and the covenant were given to Israel through him at Mount Sinai. Consequently, in the Qurʾān, it is of great significance, derived from the importance of Moses as the most frequently mentioned biblical figure in the qurʾānic text (157 times, as opposed to 25 for Jesus [q.v.]) and from the image of the prophet Muḥammad himself. For Moses was a model for the latter — as a legislator, as a prophet of action who led his people and, above all, as one to whom God foretold the prophethood of Muḥammad in Q 7:157 (see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD), which the exegetes related to Deuteronomy 18:15.

In the vast peninsula, the holiest *locus sanctus* was Mount Sinai, which, as just mentioned, witnessed the giving of the law and the covenant. It occurs seven times without the addition of Sinai, simply as *al-ṭūr,* "the mountain" (cf. *Exod* 19:2, 3; 24:4, etc.), the Arabic definite article giving *al-ṭūr* the uniqueness it has given to other terms, such as *al-bayt,* "the Kaʿba" (see KAʿBA; HOUSE, DOMESTIC AND DIVINE), *al-rasūl,* "the prophet, Muḥammad" (see MESSENGER), and *al-madīna,* Yathrib, the Prophet's city (see MEDINA). Of the many references to *al-ṭūr,* the most important are two. One occurs in Q 95:2, where the phrase *ṭūr sīnīn* appears as part of a tripartite asseveration involving Palestine, Mount Sinai and Mecca (q.v.). In that sūra, God honors Mount Sinai by including it as an element in the asseveration and, what is more, by allying Mount Sinai as the scene of the Decalogue, to Palestine as the holy land. In this sūra, the concept of holiness is expressed territorially by reference to three *loca sancta,* and the tripartite oath (see OATHS) reflects the qurʾānic perception of the essential identity of the three Abrahamic religions (see ABRAHAM). The other important reference is in Q 52, which opens with an oath by *al-ṭūr,* followed by five other elements included in the oath, the first four of which, the book (q.v.), the parchment, the house and the roof, have a natural affinity with *al-ṭūr,* when they are conceived as elements in the monastery/

fortress of Mount Sinai, rebuilt by the emperor Justinian in the sixth century C.E.; otherwise the four elements are incongruous with, and incomprehensible as a sequence to the first element in the oath — *al-ṭūr*. The monastery became a very popular pilgrimage destination, visited by Christians, including Christian Arabs, who lived so close to it (see CHRISTIANS AND CHRISTIANITY). This, together with some specific topographical references to *al-ṭūr* in the Qur'ān, such as the right side of it as in Q 19:52 and Q 20:80 (see LEFT HAND AND RIGHT HAND), suggest that the Arabs (q.v.) of Muḥammad's time, whom the Qur'ān addressed, were familiar with Mount Sinai, possibly including Muḥammad himself, who, fifteen years before his call, had led caravans to such termini of the spice route as Gaza and Elat, from where routes led to Mount Sinai (see CARAVAN). Two verses in Q 28 (Q 28:44, 46), in which the Qur'ān says that Muḥammad was not at Mount Sinai when Moses was there, are tantalizing in this context. A covenant alleged to have been issued by the Prophet to the monks of Mount Sinai has been haunted by the ghosts of authenticity.

Irfan Shahīd

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Sincerity

see VIRTUES AND VICES, COMMANDING AND FORBIDDING

Sīnīn

see SINAI

Sīra and the Qur'ān

Sīra is a branch of Arabic literature that is devoted to the earliest salvation history of Islam and focuses on God's actions towards his prophet Muḥammad and through him, i.e. the revelation of the Qur'ān and the foundation of an Islamic community. The term *sīra* can also connote a work belonging to that literature.

Sīra is the noun of kind *(fiʿla)* of the Arabic verb *sāra,* "to go," "to travel," etc., indicating the manner of doing what is expressed by the verb (see ARABIC LANGUAGE; GRAMMAR AND THE QUR'ĀN). Hence it originally means "way of going," but the most frequent meaning is "way of acting, conduct, way of life" (see also TRADITION AND CUSTOM). In the Qur'ān the word *sīra* occurs only in Q 20:21, where it means "way of acting," or "condition" and has nothing to do with the literature under discussion. The word also came to mean "the life and times of…," "vita," "biography." In the second/eighth century it was applied to the history of various Persian kings, and also to the lives and times of some Umayyad caliphs (see CALIPH).

In present day Muslim usage, the *sīra* par excellence is that of the Prophet: *sīrat rasūl Allāh* or *al-sīra al-nabawiyya,* which is often rendered as "the biography of the Prophet." But this designation is imprecise. The life and times of Muḥammad (q.v.) are pivotal in the *sīra,* but it also contains reports and narrations about the ancient history of Arabia (see PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QUR'ĀN), the earlier prophets (see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD;

MESSENGER), the Companions (see COMPANIONS OF THE PROPHET) and the first caliphs, whose *sunna* (q.v.) was relevant for the Islamic community. Furthermore it deals with qur'ānic exegesis (see EXEGESIS OF THE QUR'ĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL) and the occasions and ways of qur'ānic revelation (see REVELATION AND INSPIRATION; OCCASIONS OF REVELATION); and it preserves letters, speeches, documents, genealogies, lists of names, and poetry (see POETRY AND POETS; RHETORIC AND THE QUR'ĀN).

Sīra *or* maghāzī

In the first centuries of Islam, most collections of *sīra* texts were formulated with the name of *maghāzī,* "expeditions" (see EXPEDITIONS AND BATTLES), although they also contained texts on non-military matters. Whatever their name, the collections consist of the same kind of greatly heterogeneous, rather fragmentary material that belong to different genres (Hinds, Maghāzī; id., 'Maghāzī' and 'sīra'; Jarrar, *Prophetenbiographie,* 1-59; Schöller, *Exegetisches Denken,* 37-49).

The earliest sources

Sīra works have been written throughout the centuries, and one may even count modern biographies of the Prophet among them. Since the *sīra* is a whole branch of literature, there is no point in studying only the one book by Ibn Isḥāq (d. 150/767) in the edition of Ibn Hishām (d. ca. 213/828) that became famous. Here follows a survey of the earliest sources, which have the greatest relevance to our subject. About half of them can be studied in translations (see TOOLS FOR THE STUDY OF THE QUR'ĀN). For the later *sīra* works see Kister, Sīrah, 366-7; Schöller, *Exegetisches Denken,* 64-70.

Qiṣṣa

The first to occupy themselves intensely with the Qur'ān, the Prophet and early Islamic knowledge in general were the storytellers or preachers named *qāṣṣ* (pl. *quṣṣāṣ;* see Pellat, Ḳāṣṣ; Duri, *Rise,* index s.v. *qiṣaṣ;* Norris, Elements; see TEACHING AND PREACHING THE QUR'ĀN). They commenced their activities in private gatherings and sometimes in the mosque (q.v.). In the Umayyad period they obtained official permission to address the faithful in the mosques. In their sermons they would encourage soldiers and curse the enemies of Islam (see PATH OR WAY; FIGHTING; JIHĀD), but also explain the Qur'ān, depict hell (see HELL AND HELLFIRE) and paradise (q.v.) and recount the life of the Prophet and the lives of his predecessors.

Their stories (*qiṣṣa,* pl. *qiṣaṣ*) were both edifying and entertaining and did not eschew flights of fancy. When expanding on the qur'ānic stories about earlier prophets they often drew upon Jewish and Christian narratives, both biblical and non-biblical (see Vajda, Isrā'īliyyāt; see JEWS AND JUDAISM; CHRISTIANS AND CHRISTIANITY; SCRIPTURE AND THE QUR'ĀN). What had already begun in the Qur'ān was continued in these stories: Muḥammad is positioned as the last prophet in a succession of earlier prophets, while the latter, for their part, are given characteristics of Muḥammad (see NARRATIVES).

After the Umayyad period, the storytellers were banned from the mosque again and again. Their reputation deteriorated and they ended on the streets, always popular with the public, but frowned upon by the religious establishment. Their inclination to exaggerate and fantasize irritated pious believers and ḥadīth scholars (see ḤADĪTH AND THE QUR'ĀN), and the extra-Islamic material they divulged

was increasingly deemed unacceptable (see TRADITIONAL DISCIPLINES OF QUR'ĀNIC STUDY).

For the *sīra,* the early activities of storytellers are of great importance. Since they were not writers, and since they lost their good reputation quite early, hardly any of their narratives have been collected in books under their names. But in some form or other their stories seeped into *sīra* and *tafsīr* works, in spite of frequent attempts of the compilers to dissociate themselves from them.

One often recognizes a storyteller's contribution by its style. The story of the Prophet's bargaining with God in heaven about the number of obligatory prayers (e.g. Ibn Isḥāq, *Sīra,* 271; Ibn Isḥāq-Guillaume, 186-7; see PRAYER; ASCENSION), which has clear biblical precedents, has all the characteristics of an orally performed story (see ORALITY). Also the Prophet's world-renouncing address at the graveyard of Medina (q.v.) shortly before his death (Ibn Isḥāq, *Sīra,* 1000; Ibn Isḥāq-Guillaume, 678) has the pietistic ring of a *qiṣṣa,* although it is recorded with a chain of transmitters or *isnād* (other examples in Duri, *Rise,* 113; see ASCETICISM; PIETY; ABSTINENCE).

Wahb b. Munabbih

One storyteller who is relatively well documented is the Yemenite Wahb b. Munabbih (ca. 34-110/654-728; see Wahb, *Papyrus;* Khoury, Wahb; id., Les sources, 23-7; Duri, *Rise,* 122-35), who was well-versed in the biblical and pre-Islamic heritage and familiar with stories about the Prophet. Several books were ascribed to him. Whatever form they may have had, there was one about the creation (q.v.) and the early prophets and another about the pre-Islamic history of Yemen (q.v.). In these fields, Wahb was considered an authority and quoted extensively by *sīra* authors like Ibn Isḥāq, Ibn Hishām, al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923) and others, but his texts about the expeditions and battles of the Prophet they did not find reliable enough to quote. Long *sīra* quotations from Wahb b. Munabbih can, however, be found with the Ṣūfī author Abū Nuʿaym al-Iṣfahānī (336-430/948-1038; *Ḥilyat al-Awliyāʾ,* iv, 72-81; see ṢŪFISM AND THE QUR'ĀN).

Two larger pieces ascribed to Wahb have been preserved in a third/ninth century papyrus. One is a part of the story of David (q.v.); the other is a *sīra* text that covers some events concerning the Prophet's meeting with envoys from Medina at ʿAqaba, his emigration (q.v.) and a military expedition by ʿAlī (see ALĪ B. ABĪ ṬĀLIB). The narrative is lengthy, abounds in poetry and contains miracle stories (see MARVELS; MIRACLES; e.g. the Prophet healing with "the breath of God"; Wahb, *Papyrus,* 142; see ILLNESS AND HEALTH; MEDICINE AND THE QUR'ĀN). In its present shape, the text may not contain Wahb's own wordings; the same applies to the quotations in Abū Nuʿaym; yet both clusters do exude the *qiṣṣa* atmosphere and reveal a pre-"scholarly" stage of *sīra* activity.

ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr

ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr (ca. 23-93/643-712; Schoeler, ʿUrwa; id., *Character,* 28-32; Stülpnagel, *ʿUrwa;* Sezgin, *GAS,* i, 278-9; Duri, *Rise,* 76-95; Görke, Ḥudaybiya; Horovitz, Biographies, 548-52), a traditionist and historian from Medina, belonged to the establishment of early Islam. The Umayyad caliph ʿAbd al-Malik (r. 65-85/685-705) and his successor al-Walīd (r. 86-96/705-15) wrote to ʿUrwa for information about certain events that happened during and after the time of the Prophet. ʿUrwa's answers form a first attempt at historiography. These letters,

however, are without the edifying and entertaining character of *qiṣaṣ*. Taking into account that ʿAbd al-Malik did not appreciate the then current *maghāzī*-stories (Schoeler, *Character,* 47; Jarrar, *Prophetenbiographie,* 20-3), ʿUrwa perhaps deliberately composed his letters as no-nonsense, memorizable summaries, meant to lay down in writing the politically correct versions of important events (see also POLITICS AND THE QUR'ĀN). Yet, he must have drawn upon longer narratives.

The letters are scattered over various sources (on these and on the German and Italian translations see Schoeler, ʿUrwa; for Eng. trans. see Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh,* index, and Rubin, *Eye,* 157-61). They can be recognized by an introduction of the kind: "ʿAbd al-Malik asked about […] and ʿUrwa wrote back […]," although this formula is sometimes lacking. There is a fair chance that the letters indeed go back to ʿUrwa, although his wording may have suffered in the course of transmission. ʿUrwa did *not* write a book; the work published under the title *Kitāb Maghāzī rasūl Allāh* is a later concoction.

Mūsā b. ʿUqba

Mūsā b. ʿUqba al-Asadī (ca. 55-141/675-758; Sezgin, *GAS,* i, 286-7; Schoeler, Mūsā; Schacht, On Mūsā; Horovitz, Biographies, 164-7) was a Medinan scholar and historian, who collected and disseminated material on the Prophet's life, but also on the pre-Islamic period and the first caliphs. Being a client of the Zubayr family (see TRIBES AND CLANS; CLIENTS AND CLIENTAGE; ARABS) and a pupil of al-Zuhrī, he was in an excellent position to do so. His *Kitāb al-Maghāzī,* i.e. his notebook to be copied by pupils, is not extant. A selection of nineteen ḥadīths has, however, been preserved in a Berlin manuscript. G. Schoeler defends Mūsā against J. Schacht, who maintained that these texts were not really transmitted by him. He demonstrates that Mūsā's source indications (mostly al-Zuhrī) are not fictitious, and in one case even proves the authenticity of al-Zuhrī's source, who is no other than ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr. His argument rests on the analysis of more Mūsā quotations and parallel texts than Schacht had at his disposal, and on using the common-link method (see Juynboll, Ḥadīth, 378-81).

A current scholarly desideratum is the collection and study of all Mūsā quotations that are scattered over various sources (some references in Sezgin, *GAS,* i, 287). Pending that, we have only an impression of Mūsā's activities and interests. In none of his texts seen by the present author does he refer to the Qur'ān. He does not shun *qiṣṣa* or miracle stories but has also a clear interest in chronology.

al-Zuhrī

One of the central figures of the *sīra* literature was Muḥammad b. Muslim b. Shihāb al-Zuhrī (d. 124/742; Lecker, al-Zuhrī; Horovitz, Biographies, 33-50; Schoeler, *Character,* 32-7, 47-8; Duri, *Rise,* 27-9, 113-17), a collector of both ḥadīth and stories, who was also interested in genealogy and the early caliphs. He was the most important pupil of ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr. His works may have been no more than note books for private use and reading sessions for civil servants and pupils, but he did lend the beginning of a structure to the *sīra*. His narratives are often lengthy and have the form of ḥadīth, i.e. they have chains of transmission.

Al-Zuhrī was consulted and patronized by the Umayyad court, which implied that he should not write favorably about ʿAlī (see SHĪʿA; SHĪʿISM AND THE QUR'ĀN). Allegedly he was asked by an Umayyad governor to compose a book on genealogy and a second one on *maghāzī*. The order for the first work was soon cancelled but he

was to continue on the second one. Whether he really wrote it is unknown (Schoeler, *Charakter,* 47; Jarrar, *Prophetenbiographie,* 23-32). Maʿmar b. Rāshid (see below) offers a more or less uniform block of texts from al-Zuhrī's collection. His traces are found in all later *sīra* compilations.

Ibn Isḥāq and his editors

Muḥammad b. Isḥāq (Medina; ca. 85-150/704-67 [Baghdād]) is the most important author of *sīra* literature (Schoeler, *Charakter,* 37-51; Newby, *Making,* 1-31; Duri, *Rise,* 32-7; Jones, Ibn Isḥāḳ). He seems to have specialized early in narrations and history. His main teacher was al-Zuhrī, and several relatives of ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr were informants of his. Not all scholars in Medina appreciated Ibn Isḥāq's work. By his time, narratives were generally losing ground to legal ḥadīth with fully-fledged chains of transmission (see LAW AND THE QUR'ĀN; ABROGATION). He therefore left his native town and settled in Iraq (q.v.), where he found a more appreciative audience. Caliph al-Manṣūr (r. 136-58/754-75) asked him to write an all-encompassing history book, from the creation of Adam (see ADAM AND EVE) to the present day. The material on the Prophet that Ibn Isḥāq had previously collected and dictated to his pupils, was integrated into this book and given a central position. His magnum opus consisted of three volumes. The first one, *al-Mubtadaʾ* ("In the beginning") dealt with the creation of the world, the early prophets from Adam to Jesus (q.v.), and the Arabs in pre-Islamic times. In the second part, *al-Baʿth* ("The mission"), the life of the Prophet was depicted until his emigration to Medina. In part three, *al-Maghāzī* ("Expeditions and battles"), Muḥammad's activities in Medina were described. A fourth volume was added about his successors, the caliphs. Ibn Isḥāq did not merely collect materials, like his predecessors; he composed a work with a structure, sometimes chronological, sometimes arranged by subject matter.

Apparently there was only one copy of his work, and it was held in the court library in Baghdād. Ibn Isḥāq continued "publishing" from it by dictating parts to his pupils, who wrote them down verbatim. Large parts of the book, especially of the first three parts, have been handed down to us in the dictations and extracts of his pupils, and in the works of later compilers who edited these.

Three of Ibn Isḥāq's editors are worth mentioning here. The most widely known is ʿAbd al-Malik b. Hishām (d. ca. 215/830 in Egypt; see Watt, Ibn Hishām; Schoeler, *Charakter,* 50-3), whose selection from Ibn Isḥāq's work was the first *sīra* text to be transmitted in a fixed form (Arabic text: Ibn Isḥāq, *Sīra,* ed. Wüstenfeld; trans. Ibn Isḥāq-Guillaume, which displays *in margine* the page numbers of the Wüstenfeld edition). By editing only part of the original work Ibn Hishām narrowed the perspective down to the Prophet and ancient Arabia: he deals with the Kaʿba (q.v.) and the Christians and Jews on the peninsula, but not the earlier prophets. He explains difficult words and expressions in notes of his own, adds narratives, poetry and genealogical data. Ibn Hishām made judgments about the theological "purity" in the texts he selected and left out passages that he found offensive.

Al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923; see Bosworth, al-Ṭabarī) transmits in his *Taʾrīkh* considerable parts of Ibn Isḥāq's work. For the *Kitāb al-Mubtadaʾ,* al-Ṭabarī is even our main source (Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh,* i, 9-872, fragments; trans. vols. i-iv, index; the stories of the prophets also in Newby, *Making*). The part on Muḥammad, in a version related to that of Ibn Hishām, but shorter, is scattered over Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh,* i, 1073-1837.

Two striking stories that Ibn Hishām had not included are those about Muḥammad's intended suicide (Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh,* i, 1147) and the "satanic verses" (q.v.; ibid., i, 1192-6). The *Taʾrīkh* is conceived as a universal history; Muḥammad is once again the central part between the earliest history (here including the kings of Persia) and the later periods of the caliphs. Much of Ibn Isḥāq's *sīra* material is also found in al-Ṭabarī's *Tafsīr,* but there it has to be laboriously gleaned from his exegesis of individual qurʾānic verses (some references in Newby, *Making*).

The least known edition of a part of Ibn Isḥāq's work is that by Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Jabbār al-ʿUṭāridī (177-272/794-886; Sezgin, *GAS,* i, 146). It is based on the transmission of Ibn Isḥāq's pupil Yūnus b. Bukayr (d. 199/815; Sezgin, *GAS,* i, 289). The extant text, which covers roughly one fifth of Ibn Hishām's recension, was not printed until 1976, and there is no translation yet. On the whole, al-ʿUṭāridī has some Ibn Isḥāq material that Ibn Hishām would have frowned upon. Moreover, he includes texts that do not go back to Ibn Isḥāq at all (Ibn Isḥāq-ʿUṭāridī; Muranyi, Riwāya; description of contents in Guillaume, *New light;* translated fragments in Rubin, *Eye,* index s.v. Yūnus b. Bukayr, and in Schoeler, *Character,* index s.v. Yūnus and al-ʿUṭāridī).

Maʿmar b. Rāshid

A medium sized, as yet untranslated *maghāzī* collection by the Yemenite Maʿmar b. Rāshid (96-154/714-70) is preserved in ʿAbd al-Razzāq, *Muṣannaf,* v, 9718-84 (Horovitz, Biographies, 167-9; Sezgin, *GAS,* i, 290-1; Schoeler, *Character,* 40). His work is important, since it gives an insight into the collection of al-Zuhrī, his primary source. Maʿmar offers no continuing story. His texts about important events are arranged more or less chronologically and following these are texts about the private life of the Prophet. His material included stories about the ancient prophets, which are quoted in al-Ṭabarī (*Taʾrīkh,* i, Index). Quotations from him can also be found in al-Wāqidī (d. 207/822) and Ibn Saʿd (d. 230/845).

al-Wāqidī

Muḥammad b. ʿUmar al-Wāqidī (130-207/747-822; see Leder, al-Wāḳidī; Duri, *Rise,* 37-9; Schoeler, *Charakter,* 137-41) was a fully-fledged historian. Due to his favorable position at the ʿAbbāsid court, he had the best possible library at his disposal; moreover he owned many books himself. He also did research by visiting the sites of battles and interviewing the descendants of the combatants. His only extant work, *al-Maghāzī,* of which we have a German translation, is an indispensable source on the expeditions and battles of the Prophet and displays a great interest in chronology (see HISTORY AND THE QURĀN). Other *sīra* texts by al-Wāqidī, e.g. a book on the death of the Prophet, have reached us in quotations in the works of his secretary Ibn Saʿd.

Typically, al-Wāqidī not only copied his sources, but also re-shaped and combined various traditions under collective chains of transmission. The question of whether he plagiarized Ibn Isḥāq remains controversial.

Ibn Saʿd

Ibn Saʿd Muḥammad b. Saʿd (168-230/784-845) wrote *Akhbār al-nabī,* the life and times of the Prophet, which is the first extant full biography of the Prophet after Ibn Isḥāq and of which an English translation is available (Fück, Ibn Saʿd; Duri, *Rise,* 39-40; Horovitz, Biographies, 521-6). A later editor integrated it into Ibn Saʿd's *Kitāb al-Ṭabaqāt al-kabīr,* a work on the Companions of the Prophet and successive generations of ḥadīth transmitters, of which it became the first part. Having been

the secretary of al-Wāqidī, Ibn Saʿd heavily depends on the latter's works and is an important source for al-Wāqidī's lost works. In the *Akhbār,* the pre-Islamic section is limited to some of the early prophets and the ancestry of Muḥammad. The Meccan period is presented chronologically, interrupted only by a survey of the signs of prophethood. The chronological account of the Medinan period is interspersed with thematically arranged collections of traditions on various specialized subjects. These have proper chains of transmission, whereas the longer narratives often have collective *isnād*s. For the part on the expeditions and battles, one might prefer al-Wāqidī's *Maghāzī,* of which Ibn Saʿd offers only an abridged version, although he also included some material from elsewhere. The *Akhbār al-nabī* ends with detailed sections on the Prophet's final illness, death and burial, his heritage, and elegies on him (see also NAMES OF THE PROPHET). Here he draws upon al-Wāqidī's lost book on the death of the Prophet, but once more he enriches the section with many traditions, all with *isnād*s. For the lives of the Companions who play a part in the *sīra,* Ibn Saʿd's *Ṭabaqāt* proper is of key importance.

Ḥadīth collections

Several ḥadīth collections have a *maghāzī* section, e.g. those of Ibn Abī Shayba (*Muṣannaf,* xiv, 283-601) and al-Bukhārī's (d. 256/870) *Ṣaḥīḥ, Maghāzī.* Above we have made special mention of Maʿmar's collection, since that is presented as a distinct block with a certain degree of composition, which is not the case elsewhere. Otherwise, *sīra* fragments are found throughout the ḥadīth collections. Many narratives that would have had a defective chain of transmission or none at all in early *sīra* compilations were preserved as acceptable by being admitted into the "canonical" ḥadīth collections. Ḥadīth, however, often does not want to narrate, but focuses on what is lawful and ethical (see LAWFUL AND UNLAWFUL; ETHICS AND THE QURʾĀN). This may lead to a re- or decontextualization of *sīra* elements in ḥadīth. It is interesting to see, for instance, how the Prophet's use of a toothpick on his deathbed (Ibn Isḥāq, *Sīra,* 1011; Ibn Isḥāq-Guillaume, 682) turned from a minor narrative detail into an example for daily life in ḥadīth (Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ, Maghāzī,* 83; *Jumʿa,* 9 and see Wensinck, *Concordance,* s.v. siwāk).

Sīra *and scripture*

The Qurʾān is neither the only, nor the oldest text that had an impact on the *sīra*. In the first place, there was a heritage of ancient Arabic narrative literature, the "days of the Arabs" (*ayyām al-ʿarab;* see Mittwoch, Ayyām; Duri, *Rise,* 16-20 and index), which were stories about battles and fights interspersed with poetry (see FIGHTING; DAYS OF GOD). They served as models for accounts of military expeditions in the *sīra*. Large parts of the *sīra* originated in reaction to the Bible, the apocrypha and exegetical traditions of both Jews and Christians, as well as Christian saints' legends (for the latter, see e.g. Newby, Example). The authority of the new Prophet over the earlier prophets had to be established, and the superiority of the Qurʾān to the scriptures of others had to be demonstrated (see POLEMIC AND POLEMICAL LANGUAGE).

U. Rubin has pointed out that the Bible and the literature around it were the first scriptural influence in more *sīra* passages than had been realized before. He demonstrated by various examples how biblical references, which occur at an early stage of a text, were later removed or replaced by qurʾānic ones, since the *sīra* compilers or authors were increasingly embarrassed by the original background of their material (Rubin, *Eye;* see also Vajda, Isrāʾīliyyāt, and

below under "Qurʾānization"). It is not always easy to recognize the traces of these forms of literature, since later *sīra* authors tried to erase them. Textual parallels, however remote, are rare; it is mostly the subject matter or the pattern of a narrative that can be recognized as Jewish or Christian in origin. For a better understanding of the intertextuality in the *sīra,* it is therefore necessary to study it in the context of all relevant previous literature, not only in connection with the Qurʾān.

The Qurʾān is part of the subject matter of the *sīra,* but it has also various other relations with it. Since the *sīra* is fragmentary and consists of many genres, every genre must be studied to ascertain how it reacts to qurʾānic scripture. But first the various Qurʾān-related activities in *sīra* texts must be described.

Certain *sīra* texts originate from an exegetical impulse. They elaborate on qurʾānic passages by commenting, expanding, or historicizing them through episodes of the life of the Prophet and his entourage. Other texts originated in a non-scriptural impulse, and qurʾānic words or passages were added to them secondarily (qurʾānization). This was done for a diversity of reasons: to edify; to create an elevated atmosphere; to lend weight to a statement or argument; or to replace other "scripture" or poetry that an earlier stage of the text had contained. A great many texts, however, are so complex that it is difficult to decide which impulse was predominant.

Commenting on the Qurʾān

In its narrative parts, the *sīra* is to a large extent qurʾānic exegesis *(tafsīr)*. Ibn Isḥāq's method does not differ much from that of his contemporary, the qurʾānic exegete Muqātil b. Sulaymān (d. 150/767; Wansbrough, *QS,* 122-7). When we focus on the details, various methods of exegesis can be discerned. Several of them are manifest in two single passages: the commentary on Q 108 (Ibn Isḥāq, *Sīra,* 261-2; Ibn Isḥāq-Guillaume, 180-1, 725) and on Q 93 (Ibn Isḥāq, *Sīra,* 156-7; Ibn Isḥāq-Guillaume, 713-14).

Lexical explanation of one rare, difficult or ambiguous word. This is not typical of *sīra* texts, but it does occur, notably with Ibn Hishām, and a few times with Ibn Isḥāq (see DIFFICULT PASSAGES; AMBIGUOUS). A single word may be explained: a) by a single synonym. *Al-kawthar* (Q 108:1) is "great" (see SPRINGS AND FOUNTAINS; WATER OF PARADISE); *sajā* in Q 93:2 means "to be quiet"; b) by a number of words. Ibn Hishām explains the word *nādī* in Q 96:17, "let him then call his *nādī,*" as: "the meeting place in which people gather together and settle their affairs" (Ibn Isḥāq, *Sīra,* 200; Ibn Isḥāq-Guillaume, 720); c) with the help of other qurʾānic verses where the word occurs. Ibn Hishām continues by referring to *nādī* in Q 29:29 and to the synonym *nadī* in Q 19:73; d) with the help of a quotation from early poetry where the same word is used. At Q 93:2: "By the night (see DAY AND NIGHT) when it is quiet *(sajā),*" Ibn Hishām mentions a synonym for *sajā,* but he adds: "[The poet] Umayya b. Abī al-Ṣalt says: '[…] and *the night was quiet* in blackest gloom.'"

Paraphrase, explaining a sentence or passage by rewriting it in other words. Unknown words are replaced by well-known ones; the meaning of ambiguous words is fixed by the use of unambiguous words. "Your lord (q.v.) has neither forsaken you nor loathes you" (Q 93:3), is paraphrased: "meaning that he has not left you and abandoned you, nor hated you after having loved you." With the words "after having loved you," the paraphrase slips into another exegetical mode: expansion.

Specifying what is vague, with the help of external information and/or the free flow of thought. Al-Ṭabarī (*Ta'rīkh,* i, 1142) explains "on the day of the *furqān,* on the day when the two armies met" (Q 8:41; see CRITERION) as: "the battle of the Prophet with the polytheists (see POLYTHEISM AND ATHEISM; OPPOSITION TO MUḤAMMAD) at Badr (q.v.), which took place on the morning of the seventeenth of Ramaḍān (q.v.)."

Ibn Isḥāq quotes a ḥadīth according to which *kawthar* is "a river as broad as from Ṣan'ā' to Ayla. Its water pots are in number as the stars of heaven (see PLANETS AND STARS; HEAVEN AND SKY). Birds go down to it with necks like camels […]." In an ascension story (Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh,* i, 1158), *kawthar* is described as "a river [in paradise] whiter than milk (q.v.) and sweeter than honey (q.v.), with pearly domes on either side of it."

Identifying the anonymous. Who was the man with the horns whose story is told in Q 18:83-98? Ibn Isḥāq heard from a Persian source that he was an Egyptian of Greek extraction, whose name he mentions. But he also quotes a ḥadīth, according to which he was an angel. Ibn Hishām knows another name: it was Alexander (q.v.), who built Alexandria (Ibn Isḥāq, *Sīra,* 197; Ibn Isḥāq-Guillaume, 139, 719). This is an example of the unbridled imagination of the storytellers, who left no bit of the Qur'ān unexplained. The *sīra* has yet another purpose, to identify persons who are referred to in the scripture. It aims to link qur'ānic passages to situations and to record the history of early Islam, on which see below.

Narrative expansion

A short example of narrative expansion is found below, under "Linking scripture to situations" with the case of Jadd b. Qays. Two incomprehensible words in the scripture are explained by building a few sentences around them. A story can also be built around the framework of a qur'ānic passage. Ma'mar's narrative ('Abd al-Razzāq, *Muṣannaf,* 389-90 [no. 9743]) about the Qurayshite plot to kill the Prophet on the eve of his *hijra* is an expansion of Q 8:30: "[Remember] when the unbelievers plotted against you, to confine you, kill you or expel you. They plotted, but God plotted also, and God is the best of plotters." In the narration, the Qurayshites (see QURAYSH) gather in their council chamber, assisted by Satan in disguise. They discuss these three possible ways of dealing with Muḥammad, expelling, confining or killing him, and accept the third proposal. (To create greater suspense, the order was slightly changed.) God's counterplot consists in warning the Prophet, who can escape unseen, while 'Alī is to sleep in the Prophet's bed, so that the Qurayshites would find only him. The whole story follows the structure of the qur'ānic verse; only the satanic motif is foreign to it.

With Ibn Isḥāq, whose work shows a well-balanced composition, *sīra* narratives that are linked to a qur'ānic passage can be much longer, and the verses need not even to be quoted. The story of the Prophet's ascension (Ibn Isḥāq, *Sīra,* 263-72; Ibn Isḥāq-Guillaume, 181-7) is preceded and followed by mentions of enemies who mocked the Prophet and of how they were punished (see MOCKERY; CHASTISEMENT AND PUNISHMENT). After the ascension story, Ibn Isḥāq continues with Gabriel (q.v.) arriving to punish the men. Apparently Ibn Isḥāq had a qur'ānic passage in mind: "And they say: '[…] we will not believe you until you […] ascend to heaven. Yet, we will not believe in your ascension, until you send down to us a book we can read' " (Q 17:90-3). Ibn Isḥāq here wants to apply the qur'ānic motif that

unbelievers ask for signs (q.v.), and when these are given to them, still do not believe (see reflection and deliberation; provocation).

Qurʾānization

While a *sīra* narrative may start from a qurʾānic word or pericope that is explained or expanded, the opposite can be found as well: a narrative starts from an extra-qurʾānic impulse, as e.g. the desire to tell a certain story, and is then enriched with scriptural material. This can be called "qurʾānization."

A simple form of it may be called decorative qurʾānization: the use of qurʾānic wordings to elevate the style register and to create a pious atmosphere. When Ibn Isḥāq once wanted to say "as a bringer of good tidings to all mankind" (Ibn Isḥāq, *Sīra,* 150; Ibn Isḥāq-Guillaume, 104), he did not use his own words, but preferred the syntactically unusual wordings of Q 34:28. When ʿĀʾisha, in the "account of the lie" (q.v.; see also Spellberg, ʿĀʾisha, 56-8), tried to build courage within herself, she borrowed the words that Jacob (q.v.) had used in his distress according to Q 12:18 (Ibn Isḥāq, *Sīra,* 735; Ibn Isḥāq-Guillaume, 496). The narrator put qurʾānic words in her mouth to show what a pious woman she was.

Not just one sentence, but the story as a whole is elevated when a narrative element is added that is built around a qurʾānic phrase, irrespective of its meaning in the original context. In the ascension story, the Prophet comments on the immense numbers of angels in heaven with the words of Q 74:31: "And none knows the armies of God but he" (Ibn Isḥāq, *Sīra,* 268; Ibn Isḥāq-Guillaume, 185; see troops; ranks and orders). In the verse itself, this phrase refers to the guardians of hell. When during the Prophet's visit to heaven the number of obligatory prayers is reduced, he is notified in qurʾānic wording: "The word is not changed with me" (Q 50:29; ʿAbd al-Razzāq, *Muṣannaf,* 9719), which originally referred to the day of judgment (see last judgment).

But qurʾānization can take on much wider dimensions. Above, we have introduced Maʿmar's Qurʾān-based version of the story about the plot to kill the Prophet. In Ibn Isḥāq (*Sīra,* 323-6; Ibn Isḥāq-Guillaume, 221-3), that story is much longer. A narrator decided to add the qurʾānic motif of the Prophet being called a poet. The suggestion that comes up among the plotters is to confine him and to subject him to the same fate that befell the poets Zuhayr and Nābigha and others. Hereby Q 52:30 is put to use: "Or they say: 'A poet for whom we await an uncertain fate.'" The verse itself does not occur in the narrative, but the linking words are obvious: "poet(s)" and "await" *(tarabbaṣa)*. For those who had not recognized it yet, Ibn Isḥāq quotes the verse in full after his narrative, as one of the verses "that God revealed about that day." Whereas the story as a whole is Qurʾān-based, this part is qurʾānized.

In that same story yet another type of qurʾānization can be seen. Wahb's version has an additional motif: God impairs the sight (see vision and blindness) of those who lie in wait to kill the Prophet. Miraculously, they cannot see how he walks past them and do not even notice him strewing dust onto their heads. This is illustrated by a piece of poetry attributed to ʿAlī (Wahb, *Papyrus,* 140-4). The partial blindness fits well into the story and anticipates the same motif that occurs somewhat later in the story of the Prophet's emigration (cf. Rubin, *Hijra,* 60-1). Ibn Isḥāq (*Sīra,* 326; Ibn Isḥāq-Guillaume, 222), however, instead of quoting poetry, tells us that the Prophet recited Q 36:1-9 at the occasion. The choice of these verses is a

bit awkward, for only Q 36:9 fits the situation: "And we covered them and they could not see." If Wahb indeed represents an older text stage, this is a case of the phenomenon that Rubin pointed out: in time, qurʾānic elements tend to replace other types of literature, since poetry or biblical texts were increasingly deemed unfit to occur in *sīra* texts (Rubin, *Eye,* 33-5, 227). Large-scale qurʾānization takes place in the reports on the battles of the Prophet; see below under *"Maghāzī."*

Linking scripture to situations

A typical objective of *sīra* is to establish a link between a qurʾānic passage (mostly a verse) and a moment in the life of the Prophet. Within the plot of a narrative, a qurʾānic verse may serve as the impulse for a subsequent action. A verse with an imperative almost cries out for a story about how the command was executed. When the verse, "and warn your closest clan members" (Q 26:214) was revealed, the Prophet warned his nephew ʿAlī and his other relatives (Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh,* i, 1171-4). After the revelation of, "Speak of the kindness of your lord" (Q 93:11), the Prophet began to speak secretly about God's kindness to everyone he could trust (Ibn Isḥāq, *Sīra,* 157; Ibn Isḥāq-Guillaume, 112).

But in most cases the order is the other way round: something happens, and then a qurʾānic verse is revealed. These kinds of texts are known as "occasions of revelation" (see Rippin, Occasions; Rubin, *Eye,* 226-33; Schöller, *Exegetisches Denken,* 128-33). A complete "occasion" report is characterized by the following features (not necessarily in this order): a reference to some event or situation, mostly in combination with the name(s) of one or more persons, a place, and/or an indication of time; some qurʾānic words which anticipate the qurʾānic passage that is about to be revealed; a formula like: "(Then) God revealed about …" or: "This verse was revealed about […]," and finally the quoting of the revealed passage itself.

A perfect, but late example is presented in Rippin, Occasions, 570. An example from the *sīra,* with a somewhat different structure, is: "Some mockers said to the Prophet: 'Muḥammad, if an angel had been sent to you […].' Then God revealed concerning these words of theirs: "They say: 'Why has not an angel been sent down to him?' " (Q 6:8; Ibn Isḥāq, *Sīra,* 262; Ibn Isḥāq-Guillaume, 181).

Complete "occasion"-stories are amply represented in *sīra* texts. The *sīra,* however, also contains many of them in less complete or preliminary stages. Some examples are: "Then revelations stopped for a time, so that the Prophet was distressed and grieved (see JOY AND MISERY). Then Gabriel brought him Q 93 […]" (Ibn Isḥāq, *Sīra,* 156; Ibn Isḥāq-Guillaume, 111). Ibn Isḥāq (*Sīra,* 171; Ibn Isḥāq-Guillaume, 121-2) relates about a person who had called the Prophet a sorcerer (see MAGIC), and then says: "About him Q 74:11-22 was revealed." But he does not say that it was revealed at that occasion, and as regards contents, there is no connection between the qurʾānic passage and the story. An enemy makes some insulting proposals to the Prophet. Then the latter recites Q 41:1-5, and the man leaves him in peace. This is not formally an occasion; it sounds as if the Prophet knew these verses already and recited them from memory (Ibn Isḥāq, *Sīra,* 186; Ibn Isḥāq-Guillaume, 132-3).

Sīra texts seemingly avoid the pretension of knowing God's reasons for his revelations. The Qurʾān exegete Muqātil b. Sulaymān (*Tafsīr* i, 458, ad Q 5:11) says in all innocence: "This verse was revealed *because* […] *(li-anna),*" but the *sīra* confines itself to *fī,* "concerning"; although the suggestion of causality is always there.

Scholarly opinion differs about the role of the "occasions" in the *sīra*. Lammens seems to consider the whole *sīra* a compilation of "occasions," with the exception of "a vague oral tradition" or "a primitive core" (Lammens, Koran and tradition, 170, 171). To Rubin, the *sīra* contains no occasions: "… none of the Qur'ānic verses which appear in the biography of Muḥammad can be regarded as the primary source of the story" (Rubin, *Eye,* 227). Both points of view are extremes, but there are enough cases where the exegetical impulse is obvious and where no qur'ānization can be discovered.

In certain texts, the aspect of "identifying the anonymous" seems to prevail. When the Qur'ān alludes to an unknown speaker or sinner (see SIN, MAJOR AND MINOR), the occasion-report knows who this person is. When a narrator says: "This verse was revealed concerning so-and-so," the intention may be to enhance or undermine the reputation of that person; see below under "Merits of the Companions."

An "occasion" with a multiple and complicated intention is related in connection with the expedition to Tabūk (see EXPEDITIONS AND BATTLES). While preparing for it, the Prophet asks Jadd b. Qays whether he wants to fight the Byzantines (q.v.). Jadd answers: "Will you *allow me* to stay behind *and not tempt me,* for everyone knows that I am strongly addicted to women and I am afraid that if I see the Byzantine women I shall not be able to control myself." About him the verse came down: "Among them there is one who says: 'Allow me and do not tempt me' …" (Q 9:49; Ibn Isḥāq, *Sīra,* 894; Ibn Isḥāq-Guillaume, 602-3). This verse existed before the story. It raised three questions: Who was the "one who says"? The exegete names him. What do his words "allow me" and "do not tempt me" mean? It is explained by means of the rather strained narrative expansion, in which the very qur'ānic words are put into Jadd's mouth. In what situation did Jadd use these words? Within the report, the connection with the Tabūk expedition is created only by the mention of the Byzantine women. Outside the narrative it is corroborated by its place in the larger context of that expedition. The exegetical activities apparently were carried out only after the assignment of Q 9 to that expedition, which in itself is a case of qur'ānization. Apart from exegesis and qur'ānization, the "occasions" serve to "historicize" the Qur'ān (see Rippin, Occasions, 572) and to establish its chronology (see Böwering, Chronology). This was important for the study of law (see Burton, Abrogation), but several *sīra* compilers, who show no interest in law, deal with chronology simply out of historiographical interest.

The genres within the sīra

Now we will address the various genres within the *sīra* literature, and the degree of their scripturality. There are many places where one is tempted to consider qur'ānic exegesis as a genre, as well. Since the exegetical intention, however, pervades the whole *sīra,* it seemed preferable to treat it in the broader framework above.

Prophetic legend

Under this heading we group the texts about prophets and prophecy that aim at elaborating Muḥammad's prophetic features (Andræ, *Person Muhammeds,* ch. 1; Newby, *Making,* 1-32). The positioning of Muḥammad as the last and the best among the prophets that had already been established in the Qur'ān was completed in the *sīra*. Characteristics of the ancient prophets were ascribed to Muḥammad and vice versa. The impulse may have been the need for qur'ānic exegesis, but the elabora-

tions in *qiṣṣa* and *sīra* are often of biblical or post-biblical inspiration and therefore scriptural in the wider sense. Many stories about the earlier prophets were collected in Ibn Isḥāq's *Kitāb al-Mubtada'*, now partially preserved in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, i, 86-795 (trans. also in Newby, *Making*).

A number of examples may illustrate how extant literary topics were remodeled to fit Muḥammad. The annunciation by Jesus (q.v.) of a comforter, or the Holy Spirit (q.v.; John 15:26) was applied to Muḥammad in the *sīra* (Ibn Isḥāq, *Sīra*, 150; Ibn Isḥāq-Guillaume, 104). Muḥammad's mother received an annunciation during her pregnancy not unlike the mother of Jesus (Luke 1:26-38; Ibn Isḥāq, *Sīra*, 102; Ibn Isḥāq-Guillaume, 69). These are only small-scale examples, but the annunciation is a major motif in the *sīra*, which has recently been studied by Rubin (*Eye*, 21-43). Jews and Christians are said to have known of the birth of Muḥammad in advance. They were supposed to have read in their scriptures about the coming of Muḥammad and his characteristics, so that they could recognize him as a child. The biblical texts that Jews and Christians had applied to the coming of the Messiah, or the Holy Spirit respectively, were now reinterpreted to make them refer to Muḥammad (Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt* I, ii, 87-9; trans. i, 421-6).

When Muḥammad was with his wetnurse, he grew up uncommonly fast (Ibn Isḥāq, *Sīra*, 105; Ibn Isḥāq-Guillaume, 71), and he was not the only prophet who did so. The Gospels of the Infancy abound in examples of Jesus' precocity.

The topic of Muḥammad's ascension (Ibn Isḥāq, *Sīra*, 263-71; Ibn Isḥāq-Guillaume, 181-7) may have been inspired by Q 17:90-3 (see Sells, Ascension, 177), but the story itself stands in a long tradition of Persian, Jewish and Christian accounts. Certain details in it are reminiscent of specific texts: e.g. the description of punishments in hell (Ibn Isḥāq, *Sīra*, 269; Ibn Isḥāq-Guillaume, 185-6; see HELL AND HELLFIRE) has parallels in the *Apocalypsis Pauli* and the Persian text *Ardā Wirāz Nāmag*.

The initial refusal of Muḥammad to recite (see RECITATION OF THE QUR'ĀN) when Gabriel brought him the revelation on mount Ḥirā' (*mā aqra'u;* Ibn Isḥāq, *Sīra*, 152; Ibn Isḥāq-Guillaume, 106 has a mistaken translation) has precedents in the excuses of several other prophets (cf. Exodus 3:11-4:13; Jeremiah 1:6; Jonah 1:2-3 and Q 37:140).

The *sīra* sometimes recapitulates prophetic characteristics in general statements, most of which are rooted in biblical or qur'ānic scripture. E.g. the saying "There is no prophet but has shepherded a flock" (Ibn Isḥāq, *Sīra*, 106; Ibn Isḥāq-Guillaume, 72) holds true of the qur'ānic Moses (q.v.; Q 28:22-8) and of the patriarchs as well as Moses, David (q.v.) in the Bible and, metaphorically, of Jesus, "the good shepherd" (John 10:11, 14).

The dictum "A prophet does not die without being given the choice" (Ibn Isḥāq, *Sīra*, 1008; Ibn Isḥāq-Guillaume, 680), however, applies only to Muḥammad. Several prophets had not died in the normal way. Idrīs (q.v.) was raised to a high place (Q 19:57). In the Bible it was Enoch, Moses and Elijah (q.v.) who were "raised." Jesus was resurrected and then raised into heaven (see RESURRECTION). Since Q 3:144 mentions the possibility of the Prophet's death, Islamic legend had to go its own way on this point. Muḥammad was given the choice between remaining alive or joining the highest companions (*al-rafīq al-a'lā;* cf. Q 4:69) in paradise (Ibn Isḥāq, *Sīra*, 1000, 1011; Ibn Isḥāq-Guillaume, 678, 682). Yet, an attempt was made to make his death resemble the forty-day absence of Moses on Mount Sinai (q.v.; Ibn Isḥāq, *Sīra*, 1012; Ibn Isḥāq-Guillaume, 682).

In the Qur'ān, miracles (q.v.) play a part in the stories of most prophets, but to Muḥammad they are given only sparsely. The miracles that are alluded to in the Qur'ān, as, for example, the intervention of angels in the battles of Badr (q.v.) and Ḥunayn (q.v.), are elaborated in the *sīra*. In addition to that, *sīra* texts have few inhibitions about making more miracles happen to or through the Prophet (Andræ, *Person Muhammeds,* 46-68), such as stones and trees talking to him, trees changing places, the multiplication of water and food, healings, the discovery of poisoned food, and even an unexpected win in a wrestling match (Ibn Isḥāq, *Sīra,* 258; Ibn Isḥāq-Guillaume, 178). Ibn Sa'd (*Ṭabaqāt* I, i, 96-135; trans. i, 170-219) collected these "signs of prophecy" in a separate chapter; also al-Bukhārī has a small collection (*Ṣaḥīḥ, Manāqib,* 25). Later on, they developed into a literary genre in its own right (*dalā'il al-nubuwwa;* cf. Kister, Sīrah, 355).

Maghāzī

As we have said at the start, the word *maghāzī* could be applied to the *sīra* literature as a whole. Here we will deal with *maghāzī* in the narrower sense: stories about the raids, military campaigns and battles organized or attended by the Prophet (see Faizer, Expeditions, and its bibliography; M. Hinds, Maghāzī; Duri, *Rise,* index s.v. *maghāzī;* Jones, Maghāzī). They may vary from the assassination of a single person through small raids to campaigns of considerable dimensions. The main sources are Ibn Isḥāq and al-Wāqidī. Both tried to establish a chronology, as Mūsā b. 'Uqba apparently also intended to do, but no reliable chronological table can be verified (Schöller, *Exegetisches Denken,* 215-29; Jones, Chronology). A convenient survey of all the battle accounts and their sources in English is found in Watt, *Medina* (esp. 339-43).

Maghāzī stories originally had nothing to do with the Qur'ān. They were a continuation of the pre-Islamic tales of tribal battles *(ayyām al-'arab)*. In the (theoretical) original *maghāzī* stories, prose was mixed with poetry; they contained names of participants and heroes, names of places and a description of the action, sometimes with its occasion and consequences (see GEOGRAPHY AND THE QUR'ĀN). But such stories that are free of ideology do not exist in the *sīra*.

The story of Hamza's expedition to the coast, with its exchange of poetry as the main part (Ibn Isḥāq, *Sīra,* 419-21; Ibn Isḥāq-Guillaume, 283-5), has an ancient structure, but the poetry has already been touched by qur'ānic vocabulary. In the small report on the so-called "barley meal raid" the poetry comes after the story (Ibn Isḥāq, *Sīra,* 543-4; Ibn Isḥāq-Guillaume, 361-2; Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh,* i, 1365). Both sources have different poems; apparently they were felt to be interchangeable. Al-Wāqidī (*Maghāzī,* 181-2) has only two lines, from the same poem as in Ibn Isḥāq. The later the source, the less poetry it contains.
At the end of another expedition story, a qur'ānic verse is quoted that was associated with it secondarily. The story takes the shape of an "occasion of revelation." Then follows the poetry that was composed about that expedition (Ibn Isḥāq, *Sīra,* 642-8; Ibn Isḥāq-Guillaume, 429-33).

This pattern is followed in the larger reports as well. The account of the battle of Badr (q.v.; Ibn Isḥāq, *Sīra,* 427-539; Ibn Isḥāq-Guillaume, 289-360) is a mix of all sorts of sources, but is essentially a narrative on a battle. It has some poetry and was apparently already interspersed early with a few qur'ānic elements: God's promise, the help of fighting angels, the enemy being supported by Satan (see DEVIL; ENEMIES; PARTIES AND FACTIONS). Then follow several bundles of texts. One is the

collected poetry on the subject, which one can imagine had been integrated into the narrative itself at an earlier stage. Furthermore, there are lists of participants and of the fallen.

Almost immediately after the account proper follows a Qurʾān-centered collection, in which large passages from Q 8 are applied to this battle. In them, the story of Badr is re-told in the light of the Qurʾān. The parts of Q 8, which were chosen more or less arbitrarily, are applied verse by verse to the details of the battle (Wansbrough, *Sectarian milieu,* 25-31). This is a case of qurʾānization. In al-Wāqidī (*Maghāzī,* 19-128) these qurʾānic passages are integrated into the battle story itself, although a separate part on Q 8 is also maintained, rather redundantly; perhaps only because it was there (al-Wāqidī, *Maghāzī,* 131-8; Wansbrough, *Sectarian milieu,* 25-31). This pattern is followed in several larger *maghāzī* stories: Uḥud, the battle of the trench (see PEOPLE OF THE DITCH; UKHDŪD), Qurayẓa (q.v.), Naḍīr (q.v.). Each of them has received "its" sūra. But it also happens that the qurʾānic passage is the origin of the very story, as is the case in Ibn Isḥāq's report on the expedition against the Jewish tribe Qaynuqāʿ (q.v.; Q 5:51-8; see Schöller, *Exegetisches Denken,* 232).

Even within the *maghāzī* genre there may be an impact of the Bible. Von Mžik pointed to parallels between the biblical story of Gideon (Judges 7:2-22; cf. Q 2:249) and certain elements in the Badr story. Both recount a victory of a host of some 300 men facing fearful odds. In both cases God offers help, and the defeat of the enemy is predicted by a dream of someone in the enemy camp (Ibn Isḥāq, *Sīra,* 428-9, 506, 516; Ibn Isḥāq-Guillaume, 290-1, 336, 340; Jones, Dream).

Last, but not least, the various *maghāzī* texts may influence each other. Schöller (*Exegetisches Denken,* 241-9) shows that al-Wāqidī's version of the Qaynuqāʿ story borrowed elements from reports about the expulsion of other Jewish tribes.

Poetry

One genre in the *sīra* that has no connection with the Qurʾān is poetry (Horovitz, Einlagen; Kister, Sīrah, 357-61; Wansbrough, *Milieu,* 32-9). Of old, storytellers had combined prose with poetry in their stories, and the *sīra* narrators continued this tradition. The poetry has functions similar to those of speeches (see DIALOGUE): it captivates the audience by switching to another mode, underlining a point or emphasizing a dramatic moment. In *sīra* narratives too, battling or dying heroes are given their chance to improvise poetry, be it self-praise, vituperation or a rhyming creed, and relatives declaim elegies for those who fell. Such poems often have little merit and are ascribed to unlikely poets. Even more than the narrative parts of the *sīra,* they were severely criticized (ʿArafat, Early critics).

Often enough, the pieces of poetry are not "insertions" that could be cut out without damaging the story or the report, but indispensable constituents of it (Wansbrough, *Sectarian milieu,* 38-9; an extreme case: Ibn Isḥāq, *Sīra,* 144-9; Ibn Isḥāq-Guillaume, 100-3). Poetry was not unproblematic to early Muslims, since the Qurʾān takes a hard line on it (Q 26:224-6; 52:29-30). The story of the Prophet's approval of a long poem by the newly converted Kaʿb b. Zuhayr (Ibn Isḥāq, *Sīra,* 887-92; Ibn Isḥāq-Guillaume, 597-601; Zwettler, The poet) was one of the means to legitimize poetry that fulfilled the Islamic condition of not provoking intertribal hostility.

The *sīra* pays much attention to the verse of Ḥassān b. Thābit (d. ca. 50/669; see ʿArafat, Ḥassān), the "court poet" and elegist of the Prophet (Ibn Isḥāq, *Sīra,* 1022-6

and index; Ibn Isḥāq-Guillaume, 689-90, 795-8 and index). Much of the verse ascribed to him is considered spurious today.

The qurʾānic verdict on poetry, as well as the increasing authority of the Qurʾān in general, resulted in a decreasing use of poetry and an increasing application of qurʾānic material in *sīra* texts through the years (cf. Rubin, *Eye,* 227, 121). As we saw, Ibn Isḥāq placed all the relevant poetry after the accounts of the larger battles. Maybe the reconstitution and qurʾānization (on which see above) of these long narratives had already taken place in his sources and made it impossible to keep the verses in their original places, or he himself felt it proper to give this poetry a less prominent place. For a case of poetry being replaced by qurʾānic text in a later version of a narrative, see above under "Qurʾānization"; about the use of pre-Islamic poetry in the Qurʾān exegesis see above under "Commenting on the Qurʾān."

Addresses

Sīra texts contain speeches and sermons by the Prophet at solemn occasions, e.g. his first sermons in Medina (Ibn Isḥāq, *Sīra,* 340-1; Ibn Isḥāq-Guillaume, 230-1), his speech at the door of the Kaʿba after the conquest of Mecca (q.v.; Ibn Isḥāq, *Sīra,* 821; Ibn Isḥāq-Guillaume, 553; see CONQUESTS) and during the Farewell Pilgrimage (q.v.; Ibn Isḥāq, *Sīra,* 968-9; Ibn Isḥāq-Guillaume, 650-1). They are a mix of *qiṣṣa*-style piety and regulations, enriched with some qurʾānic allusions or quotations. Some speeches by other persons have been written down: one by the Prophet's uncle ʿAbbās at the ʿAqaba meeting (Ibn Isḥāq, *Sīra,* 296; Ibn Isḥāq-Guillaume, 203) and one of Jaʿfar b. Abī Ṭālib at the court of the Negus (Ibn Isḥāq, *Sīra,* 968-9; Ibn Isḥāq-Guillaume, 650-1; see ABYSSINIA). Speeches have a similar function as poetry, or in some cases as documents: they catch the attention and emphasize the importance of what is brought forward (Wansbrough, *Sectarian milieu,* 38).

Written documents

In this context "written documents" means texts that present themselves as such. The question of whether they are fictitious or not need not bother us. In *sīra* collections, various types of documents are found:

Treaties. The "Document *(kitāb)* of Medina" (Ibn Isḥāq, *Sīra,* 341-4; Ibn Isḥāq-Guillaume, 231-3), is an agreement between "Muḥammad the Prophet" and "the believers and Muslims of Quraysh (q.v.) and Yathrib [= Medina (q.v.)] and those who follow them, join them, and strive alongside them," including Jewish groups. The "Document," whose textual unity remains controversial, is generally considered to be very old. It contains no allusions to the Qurʾān and has a matter-of-fact attitude towards the Jewish tribes of Medina, which are included in the community *(umma),* whereas the mainstream *sīra* stories are hostile to the Jews and full of intertextuality. The names of the three Jewish tribes (Naḍīr, Qurayẓa, Qaynuqāʿ), which through the *sīra* have become widely known in the Islamic tradition, do not appear in the Document (Humphreys, *Islamic history,* 92-8, with bibliography; Rubin, Constitution). The text of the Ḥudaybiya (q.v.) treaty is given in full (Ibn Isḥāq, *Sīra,* 747-8; Ibn Isḥāq-Guillaume, 504-5). Treaties with tribes (see TRIBES AND CLANS; APOSTASY) are often embodied in letters.

Correspondence of the Prophet with governors, Arabian tribes, foreign rulers and others (Ibn Abī Shayba, *Muṣannaf,* xiv, 336-46, nos. 18,475-86; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt* I, ii, 15-38;

trans. i, 304-45; spread all over Ibn Isḥāq, al-Ṭabarī and al-Wāqidī; Hamidullah, *Documents;* Sperber, Schreiben Muḥammads). Most of this correspondence contains no allusions to the Qur'ān; notable exceptions are the letters to the rulers of Persia and Ethiopia (Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh,* i, 1569-71), and the false prophet Musaylima (q.v.). Letters with qur'ānic content are unlikely to be old (see also ORALITY AND WRITING IN ARABIA).

Lists. Sīra texts contain lists. Most of them enumerate names of persons, e.g. the oldest converts to Islam; the participants in battles; those who were killed in action (on both sides); the emigrants to Ethiopia and to Medina (see EMIGRANTS AND HELPERS), as well as those who returned from exile in Ethiopia or who died in that country; the participants in certain negotiations (see CONTRACTS AND ALLIANCES; BREAKING TRUSTS AND CONTRACTS); the members of certain tribes who came to the Prophet; those who received part of the booty (q.v.). Such lists may have been copied from government registers, where they originally had the practical function of establishing the rank of a person or his descendants with the "Islamic elite," and the size of the state income that could be claimed (see Duri, Dīwān; Puin, *Dīwān*). Their purpose in the *sīra* is related to that of the genre of "Merits" (on which see below), i.e. to enhance the reputation of the Companions mentioned therein. Purely historiographical are surveys of the Prophet's military actions (Ibn Isḥāq, *Sīra,* 972-3; Ibn Isḥāq-Guillaume, 659-60; also Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt* II, i, 1-2; trans. ii, 2). The greatest list makers were al-Wāqidī and Ibn Sa'd. The latter went to great lengths: he listed even the camels and goats of the Prophet (Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt* I, ii, 176-9; trans. i, 584-90; see CAMEL; HIDES AND FLEECE; ANIMAL LIFE).

Most lists in the *sīra* are by their nature not scriptural. But there are exceptions: the enumeration of twelve leaders of the Helpers is linked to the twelve disciples of Jesus (Ibn Isḥāq, *Sīra,* 299; Ibn Isḥāq-Guillaume, 204; see APOSTLE). The description of the route taken by Muḥammad in his emigration to Medina, a trajectory unspectacular in itself (Ibn Isḥāq, *Sīra,* 332-3; Ibn Isḥāq-Guillaume, 226-7), may be inspired by the biblical list of stopping places during Israel's (q.v.) exodus (Numbers 33; see also CHILDREN OF ISRAEL).

Genealogy

In the tribally organized Arabian society, genealogy had always stood in the center of historiographical interest, with all the fictionality it inevitably involved (Rosenthal, Nasab; id., *Historiography,* 95-100; Duri, *Rise,* 41-2, 50-4; Kister, Sīrah, 361-2; Noth/Conrad, *Historical tradition,* 37-8). The aspiration was to establish one's filiation from the noblest Arabian forebears possible, ideally from the legendary Ma'add (see PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QUR'ĀN).

Sīra authors continued this activity. Their first aim was to establish the purity of Muḥammad's pedigree and the nobility of his ancestors. Ibn Isḥāq's genealogy of the Prophet in the male line (Ibn Isḥāq, *Sīra,* 3; Ibn Isḥāq-Guillaume, 3) goes further back than Ma'add. About half of the fifty names are Arabic, but beyond Ma'add the names are biblical (cf. Genesis 5 and 11:10-32; Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh,* i, 1113-23). They link the Prophet to some of the key figures of Islamic salvation (q.v.) history: Ishmael (q.v.), Abraham (q.v.), Noah (q.v.) and Adam (see ADAM AND EVE), thus elaborating the qur'ānic motif of Muḥammad being the last in a succession of prophets. Ibn Isḥāq's genealogy is reminiscent of that of

"Jesus Christ, the son of David, the son of Abraham" at the beginning of the New Testament (42 names in the reversed order; Matthew 1:1-17).

A list of the ancient prophets from Adam to Muḥammad, with their respective pedigrees (Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt* I, i, 26-7; trans. i, 48-9), functions as a kind of spiritual genealogy of the latter. It establishes a relation without claiming physical filiation.

There are endless genealogies of the early prophets, notably in al-Ṭabarī's *Taʾrīkh* and Ibn Saʿd's *Ṭabaqāt,* that are not linked to Muḥammad. These are obviously biblically inspired. On the other hand, several ḥadīth criticize the mentioning of biblical names in the Prophet's genealogy ("genealogists are liars"), arguing that the Qurʾān leaves his oldest forebears unnamed; others replace them with purely Arabic names (Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt* I, i, 27-9; trans. i, 49-52). There are non-scriptural genealogies of Muḥammad's father and mother. Many traditions establish the pedigree of the female ancestors of the Prophet in the maternal line (Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt* I, i, 30-6; trans. i, 54-63; see PATRIARCHY; GENDER). All of them are purely Arabian. There are more than one hundred "mothers," well distributed over all tribes. Apparently the objective was to demonstrate how firmly connected with all Arabian tribes the Prophet was, and to counter-balance the large impact of non-Arabic traditions.

The numerous genealogies of Companions of the Prophet that found their way into *sīra* texts are also non-scriptural, including those of the Prophet's wives (see WIVES OF THE PROPHET). They intend to show the nobility of these persons and their closeness to the Prophet, and serve similar purposes as the "Merits" texts.

The merits of the Companions

The *sīra* is not only interested in the Prophet, but also in his Companions who constituted the first Islamic community (see Muranyi, *Prophetengenossen;* id., Ṣaḥāba). Apart from being an archive of genealogies and lists of these Companions' names, it also contains many narratives about their deeds. By such stories people wanted to keep the past alive, as they had always done. Later generations tried to put their forebears in a favorable light, to recount their deeds that were approved or praised by the Prophet, and to emphasize their merits *(faḍāʾil, manāqib)* for nascent Islam, if need be by contrasting them to the demerits *(mathālib)* of others. There was also a practical reason to do so. A Companion's position in a list of beneficiaries of donations (see above under "Written documents") was corroborated by reports about him. Moreover, before the sunna of the Prophet became predominant in Islamic law, the scholars were just as interested in the "way of acting" (*sīra* or *sunna*) of the earliest caliphs and other prestigious Companions as a means of establishing the right behavior. Hence several *sīra* works also dealt with the period after the death of the Prophet.

A specific type of text on merits that features in the *sīra* is that of the *awāʾil,* which record by whom something was done for the first time (see Rosenthal, Awāʾil; Ibn Abī Shayba, *Muṣannaf,* xiv, 68-147). The first male who believed in the Prophet was ʿAlī (Ibn Isḥāq, *Sīra,* 158-61; Ibn Isḥāq-Guillaume, 114-15). ʿAbdallāh b. Masʿūd was the first after the Prophet to recite the Qurʾān openly in Mecca (Ibn Isḥāq, *Sīra,* 202; Ibn Isḥāq-Guillaume, 141); the first to hold Friday prayers in Medina was Muṣʿab b. ʿUmayr (Mūsā b. ʿUqba, Fragm. 2; see FRIDAY PRAYER). It may have come naturally for the community to have more

regard for the earliest Muslims than for later converts. The first emigrants from Mecca and the first helpers in Medina, as groups, enjoy a special esteem as well.

The functioning of the "merits" genre as an instrument of public opinion may be demonstrated by the example of one Companion. Sa'd b. Abī Waqqāṣ (d. after 40/660; see Hawting, Sa'd) was one of the first Muslims. He led several military expeditions, took part in all major battles and was to become a successful general. But when he commanded the army that defeated the Persians at Qādisiyya (ca. 14/635), he did not attend the battle in person — allegedly for health reasons. Some authors criticize him for this absence. In a *sīra* narrative this criticism is apparently given more weight by projecting it back into the lifetime of the Prophet. It says that Sa'd for some trivial reason failed to take part in a raid on which the Prophet had sent him (Ibn Isḥāq, *Sīra,* 424; Ibn Isḥāq-Guillaume, 287; Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh,* i, 1274, 1277; cf. Watt, *Medina,* 6). In contrast, other texts state emphatically that Sa'd was the first to shed blood (Ibn Isḥāq, *Sīra,* 166; Ibn Isḥāq-Guillaume, 118) and the first to shoot an arrow for the cause of Islam (Ibn Isḥāq, *Sīra,* 416; Ibn Isḥāq-Guillaume, 281; Wāqidī, *Maghāzī,* 10; Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh,* i, 1267). Are these mere praises of Sa'd or attempts to wipe away the blot on his reputation? At any rate, the example shows how a Companion could be given positive or negative "press" in *sīra* texts.

The attitudes towards the most prominent Companions, the first caliphs, strongly diverge in the *sīra*. Both their adherents and adversaries tried to make their points in the various narratives, e.g. in those about the death-bed of the Prophet, where the matter of his succession was an issue. A special case is 'Abbās b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib (see Watt, 'Abbās). He was Muḥammad's uncle, but not a "Companion," since he never became a Muslim. To the 'Abbāsid rulers he was a prestigious forebear. Hence we see that Ibn Isḥāq, who worked for the 'Abbāsid court, has favorable accounts of him (Ibn Isḥāq, *Sīra,* 296, 1007; Ibn Isḥāq-Guillaume, 203, 680), whereas Wahb b. Munabbih is negative about him (Wahb, *Papyrus,* 126). Mūsā b. 'Uqba (Fragm. no. 6) attempts to establish his kinship with the Helpers of Medina.

Merits have their counterparts in demerits *(mathālib)*. These are not always presented as subtly as in the case of Sa'd. In the story about the Muslim emigrants to Ethiopia and the visit paid to the Negus by pagan Meccans (Ibn Isḥāq, *Sīra,* 217-22; Ibn Isḥāq-Guillaume, 150-3; Raven, Negus, 200-1), the good characters are early Muslims with impeccable records, whereas the villains were known as late and possibly opportunistic converts.

There is little qur'ānic material in the "merits," apart from some mentions of privileged groups of Companions in Q 9:100; 56:10-11; 59:9-10, but there are many qur'ānic verses about the hypocrites, who are also an extensive topic in the *sīra* (see HYPOCRITES AND HYPOCRISY). There is no biblical background, unless one thinks of vague thematic parallels, e.g. that of 'Umar, a harsh enemy of Islam, turning into its most ardent defender (Ibn Isḥāq, *Sīra,* 224-7; Ibn Isḥāq-Guillaume, 155-7), as Paul had been for nascent Christianity (Acts 9:1-29).

The deeds of the Companions also found their way into ḥadīth collections in chapters entitled *faḍā'il* or *manāqib al-aṣḥāb* and, from Ibn Sa'd's *Ṭabaqāt* onwards, in works especially dedicated to them (see Kern, Companions, primary bibliography).

Apart from showing an interest in individuals, the *sīra* also preserves pieces of tribal history, such as reports on

delegations of tribes to the Prophet and their treaties with him, or on conflicts between tribes. Also the rivalry between the Emigrants and Helpers finds its expression in the *sīra*.

Sīra *and historiography*

Can *sīra* texts be useful sources for a reliable biography of Muḥammad, or for the historiography of early Islam? The question has occupied Orientalists for a century and a half (Jeffery, Quest; Peters, Quest; Ibn Warraq, *Quest;* Rodinson, Survey; Watt, Reliability; Schoeler, *Charakter,* 9-24; Schöller, *Exegetisches Denken,* 1-5, 106-14; Motzki, *Biography,* xi-xv). Ernest Renan (1823-1893) was full of confidence: whereas the origins of other religions are lost in mystery and dreams, Islam, as he wrote in 1851, "was born in the full light of history; its roots are on the surface. The life of its founder is as well known to us as that of any sixteenth-century reformer" (quoted in Ibn Warraq, *Quest,* 129; French original in Gilliot, Muḥammad, 4). It set the tune for the rest of the nineteenth century: whereas Orientalists and Christian theologians deconstructed the Bible and left little of the life of Jesus and the founding myths of Christianity, they were quite naive towards the sources on early Islam. The German Julius Wellhausen (1844-1918) is another example of this type of Orientalist. He hypercritically dissected the Hebrew Bible, but was rather uncritical when it came to accepting Islamic tradition. These old-style Orientalists left no room for a divine inspiration of the Qur'ān or for miracles, and since Ignaz Goldziher (1850-1921) they had a keen eye for political or doctrinal tendencies in the sources. But when texts contradicted each other, they eliminated the less likely ones and assumed that there was enough left to reconstruct the historical past "as it had really been."

This was strongly doubted by Caetani, who edited a synopsis (*Annali;* 1905-07) of all early sources known at the time, which was preceded by a critical introduction. Henri Lammens (1862-1937) was equally skeptical. He considered the whole *sīra* dependent on the Qur'ān and therefore historically unreliable. The period after the First World War in Europe was not favorable for critical *sīra* studies (see POST-ENLIGHTENMENT ACADEMIC STUDY OF THE QUR'ĀN). The wave of skepticism seemed over and the quest for "what had really happened" was resumed. Scholarly biographies of Muḥammad were written, the apogee of which was the monumental work by Watt, which appeared in the fifties *(Mecca; Medina)*.

The belief in the usefulness of *sīra* texts for historiography was shaken in the seventies by a new wave of criticism and skepticism. Wansbrough dated the Qur'ān much later than did all others, and applied "source criticism" to the *sīra,* as it had been done with the Bible, analyzing the various literary genres and which purposes they served. Crone and Cook, in their controversial *Hagarism* (1977) continued this literary approach. Moreover they displayed a fundamental mistrust of Islamic tradition and brought forward the hitherto neglected extra-Islamic sources — a line of research further pursued by Hoyland in *Seeing Islam* — and had a keen eye for the material, economic and geographical realities of the Arabian lands (see TRADE AND COMMERCE; ECONOMICS; CARAVAN). In her *Meccan trade* (1987), Crone reduced the legendary Meccan trade republic, and thereby the rise of Islam, to realistic proportions.

A lasting outcome of modern research has been the awareness of many *sīra* genres as literature. *Sīra* narratives are neither police records nor eyewitness reports, nor transcripts of things said, but are struc-

tured along the lines of sometimes long established literary patterns. They belong to certain genres and, as all literature, display a good deal of intertextuality. In general one might say: the more intertextuality an account reveals, the less likely a source it is for historiography (see HISTORY AND THE QUR'ĀN; LITERATURE AND THE QUR'ĀN). A text that originated on the base of a biblical or qur'ānic text or along the pattern of a saint's legend can be used for the history of ideas in their time of origin, but not for that of the events that are represented. Equally unusable are texts that want to preach or to glorify. Some of the genres (documents, genealogy, "merits") present themselves as historical sources, but even they are of limited use for historiography in the modern sense. The *sīra* as a whole is a vehicle of salvation (q.v.) history rather than scientific history.

A post-skeptical attitude, no longer keen on deconstruction, is found with Rubin, in whose book "the effort to isolate the 'historical' from the 'fictional' in the early Islamic texts is given up entirely" (Rubin, *Eye,* 3) and with Schöller, to whom any historical information that might be found in the *sīra* would be "a by-product, in a way, within the complex process that resulted in the formation of the prophetic biography" (*Exegetisches Denken,* 36). A certain nostalgia for "a true historical biography of the Prophet" can be heard in Schoeler, *Charakter,* and in Motzki (*Biography,* 233), which does not keep them from applying fully up-to-date research methods. Peters shows himself well aware of the nature of the sources and at the same time gropes his way towards a biography (Peters, *Origins*). To non-Muslims the idea that little might be known about Muḥammad may be slightly disturbing, but not more than that. To Muslims, the problem has a different dimension. Of old, the *sīra* had less prestige than ḥadīth, yet undermining the historicity of the *sīra* may well be felt as an attack on the religion itself. It would be most important to take note of what present-day Muslims have brought forward on the subject, but unfortunately a survey or study of modern Muslim attitudes towards *sīra* criticism is still lacking.

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(see also the bibliographies of the articles EXPEDITIONS AND BATTLES; MUḤAMMAD)

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Sirius

The brightest star in the night sky. Sirius *(al-shiʿrā)* is the only star mentioned by its proper name in the Qurʾān — Q 53, *al-Najm,* "the star," verse 49 says: "and he who is the lord of *al-shiʿrā*." There are, in fact, two *al-shiʿrā*s, Sirius and Procyon, which are, in Arabic star-lore, both sisters of Suhayl (Canopus), and resided in the northern sky. After a failed courtship attempt, Suhayl had to flee to the southern sky (i.e. with respect to the Milky Way) and only one sister — the brighter Sirius — could follow. The other (Procyon) remained and cried until she became almost blind (*ghumayṣā* — hence her relative dimness). So we have one *shiʿrā* in the south *(al-yamāniyya)* and one in the north *(al-shāmiyya)*. But there is consensus in qurʾānic exegesis that Q 53:49 refers to Sirius, *al-shiʿrā al-yamāniyya,* and when the name *al-shiʿrā* is used alone it refers to Sirius.

While the origins of the star's name are uncertain, it is the only star known with certainty in the Egyptian records — its hieroglyph (a dog, i.e. the companion of the hunter-hero Orion, an ancient association dating back to Mesopotamian times) is found on monuments throughout the valley of the Nile. The worship of Sirius — in

conjunction with its helical rising at the summer solstice — is thought to have begun around 3000 B.C.E.; Ovid and Vergil referred to Sirius as Latrator Anubis: Egyptian Cahen Sihor. In Arabic, as in English, Sirius is also termed "the dog" (*al-kalb;* cf. the prophetic dicta relating to this name found in Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* ad Q 53:1). It is possible that the formal name of the star, "Sirius" (the root *sh-ʿ-r* means "to kindle fire" or "to shine"), and similar names in other languages (the Celts called the star Syr; the Greeks, Seirios aster, "the scorching star"; while in Sanskrit, it is termed Surya; cf. Heb. Sihor/Shihhor) derive from the Egyptian Sothis, the brightest star in the sky and the one directly linked with the Nile in Egyptian mythology. Among the other Arabic names for Sirius are *al-ʿabūr* (the crosser of the galaxy) and *barāqish* (the one of many colors).

As to why Sirius — albeit the brightest fixed star in the sky — was singled out from the hundreds of stars and the planets (see PLANETS AND STARS), a review of qurʾānic exegesis has revealed one line of reasoning common to all exegetes. This is that Sirius had been worshiped by some tribes of Arabia (as, incidentally, it was in its association with Isis by the ancient Egyptians, with the goddess Ishtar by the Sumerians), and God wanted to show them that he is the lord of their purported god (see PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QURʾĀN; IDOLS AND IMAGES; POLYTHEISM AND ATHEISM; SOUTH ARABIA, RELIGION IN PRE-ISLAMIC). One can, however, easily suppose that other stars, even more venerable than Sirius, were worshiped (see SUN; MOON).

A contemporary form of qurʾānic exegesis known as "scientific interpretation" *(tafsīr ʿilmī)* would stipulate that the significance of the mention of Sirius in the Qurʾān can only be understood when examined in the light of modern astronomical discoveries (see also SCIENCE AND THE QURʾĀN; EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: EARLY MODERN AND CONTEMPORARY). While appearing to be a single star, Sirius has a stellar companion as massive as the sun, which was only discovered in the mid-nineteenth century (1862). The two components of Sirius were found to revolve around their center of gravity every fifty years. The companion of Sirius is a collapsed star so dense that its size is equal to that of the earth. Studying the verse of Sirius and other related verses, the proponents of *tafsīr ʿilmī* perceive compatibility with modern scientific facts. By including the *basmala* (q.v.) as the first verse of sūra 53, the number of the Sirius verse (Q 53:49) becomes 50 — the same as the period of revolution of Sirius' two stars (which have an orbital period of 49.94 years). The first verse of the sūra ("By the star when it plunges," Q 53:1), is then deduced to refer to a collapsed star, and the Sirius verse to imply the existence of an extinct habitable planet (an earth). Other related verses, such as Q 43:37-9 and Q 55:17 confirm, for this form of interpretation, the existence of planets in binary stars, a recent astronomical discovery. Finally, the verse of Sirius together with the next verses (Q 53:49-50), relating the destruction of ʿĀd (q.v.; see also PUNISHMENT STORIES), is seen by such exegesis to hold a clue to what has been known as the "red Sirius mystery," namely that Sirius was described as a red star in ancient times while in modern times it is a white star.

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Sister

A female who shares a mother and/or a father with a sibling. The term sister *(ukht)* appears in the Qurʾān in several ways, most frequently in this biological sense. It is also socially constructed in the case of a female who is suckled by a woman and thus becomes a "milk sister" (or foster sister) of the woman's biological children (q.v.; see also MILK; FOSTERAGE; WET-NURSING; KINSHIP; LACTATION). "Sister" is sometimes subsumed or included in the term for brothers *(ikhwa)* as evident from the context (see GENDER; BROTHER AND BROTHERHOOD). The term sister is also used metaphorically (see METAPHOR).

Qurʾānic verses relating to sister carry legal implications (see LAW AND THE QURʾĀN). Concerning marriage these apply equally to a biological sister and a "milk sister" (see MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE; PROHIBITED DEGREES). In Q 4:23 the man is told he may not marry his sisters (biological or foster), his father's sisters and mother's sisters, and his sister's (and brother's) daughters, nor may he take two sisters as wives (see WOMEN AND THE QURʾĀN; BLOOD AND BLOOD CLOT). From this it is clear those whom sisters must avoid as marriage partners. Legal implications concerning sisters and inheritance (q.v.) are restricted to biological sisters who alone are eligible as heirs. Sister is mentioned explicitly in Q 4:12 concerning her entitlements as an heir of a woman or man (along with any brother) leaving neither ascendants nor descendants. In Q 4:11, regarding entitlements in the case when the deceased leaves only parents (q.v.) and siblings, sisters are included in the term *ikhwa.*

Injunctions of modesty relating to sisters, both biological and milk-sisters, follow the pattern concerning marriage; they must not display their beauty to males who are not prohibited in marriage and must avert their gaze from them (and likewise such men must not gaze upon these women) as in Q 24:30-1. The exception in the prescription of modesty concerns sisters' sons as stated in Q 24:31 and Q 33:55. Sisters are explicitly included in the practice of family familiarity and conviviality as seen in Q 24:61, which enunciates a positive stance toward the sharing of meals in houses of kin (this constitutes a rejection of pre-qurʾānic notions and practices shunning such sociability).

The word sister appears once in relation to a named brother, as in Q 28:11, which mentions the "sister" of Moses (q.v.). This verse relates how the mother of Moses, after casting her son into the river, who is then taken in by the wife of Pharaoh (q.v.), despaired and sent his sister to look for him. When his sister (in the guise of a stranger) found her infant brother in the care of Pharaoh's wife and learned that he refused to suckle, she pointed the way to "a house that will nourish and bring him up for you." Thus did the sister of Moses restore her brother to his mother. The sister plays a pivotal role in this narrative of recovery and restoration and may be seen, by extension, as a defender of family and people. This story of the sister of Moses affirms the notion in Q 9:71 that women and men are supporters *(awliyāʾ)* of one another, in contradistinction to the idea that later became prevalent in juristic circles that men are the protectors of women (see CLIENTS AND CLIENTAGE; MAINTENANCE AND UPKEEP; PROTECTION; PATRIARCHY).

The term sister appears metaphorically

in Q 19:28 when Mary (q.v.) is called "the sister of Aaron" to establish her respectability by associating her with the lineage or tribe (people) of Aaron (q.v.). That she is referred to as "the sister of Aaron" and not the daughter of Aaron suggests the amplitude of meaning inhering in the idea of sister as conjuring family not only expressed in a directly descending biological line. Sister is also used abstractly to indicate closeness in Q 7:38, which refers to a "sister nation" or community *(ummatun laʿanat ukhtahā),* and to signal similarity or a like phenomenon in Q 43:48, "We showed them sign after sign (see SIGNS) each greater than its sister."

The qurʾānic *ikhwa,* as observed above, may include both female and male biological siblings and can also be understood in a wider metaphoric sense or as a social construct that includes women and men as brethren in religion (q.v.; see also FAITH; BELIEF AND UNBELIEF). Several verses attest to the notion of the brotherhood of believers such as Q 3:103, which relates that after the acceptance of the faith, "[God] joined your hearts (see HEART) together so that by his grace (q.v.), you became brethren." Clearly brethren in religion are not restricted to males. The deployment of the term "brethren" creates a sense of religious family (q.v.), bringing into the *umma* (religious community bound by faith) the sense of intimacy, loyalty (q.v.), and bonds implicit in family. If the mother is located, literally and figuratively, in the vertical line, the sister is positioned in a lateral line. In the Qurʾān, the sister is explicitly part of the adhesive of the religious collective.

The deployment of sister in the Qurʾān as both a biological category and as a social construction in the variant contexts of family, society, religious community, and people (see COMMUNITY AND SOCIETY IN THE QURʾĀN), and the interchange between the explicit and the implicit, reveals the subtle and sophisticated interplay of terminology between text and context in signaling meaning and guidance. The term sister moves between "siblinghood" and a "wider fellowship."

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Skepticism

see UNCERTAINTY; POLYTHEISM AND ATHEISM; BELIEF AND UNBELIEF

Skin

see HELL AND HELLFIRE

Sky

see HEAVEN AND SKY; NATURE AS SIGNS

Slander

see LIE; GOSSIP

Slaughter

The act of slaying animals according to Muslim requirements, making them permissible as food. The act of slaughter (in Arabic, *dhakā, tadhkiya*) does not formally differ from the ritual of slaughtering the victims destined for immolation (*dhabīḥa;* see SACRIFICE; CONSECRATION OF ANIMALS).

The root *dh-k-w* occurs once in Q 5:3 regarding the prohibition of animals that have been strangled, killed by a blow or a fall, or by the horn of another beast, meaning that their flesh cannot be eaten (see FOOD AND DRINK; FORBIDDEN), unless they are slaughtered just before the last spark of life has disappeared (*illā mā*

dhakkaytum, "except that you slaughtered"; see Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr* and Qurṭubī, *Jāmiʿ,* ad Q 5:3). According to al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923), the act of *dhakā* purifies *(ṭahhara)* the flesh of the dying animals so that it becomes lawful (see LAWFUL AND UNLAWFUL).

Further qurʾānic interdictions concern blood (see BLOOD AND BLOOD CLOT), pork, what is dead *(mayta)* and what is sacrificed to idols (see CARRION; IDOLS AND IMAGES; IDOLATRY AND IDOLATERS), except in the case of extreme necessity *(ḍarūra):* "But if anyone in his hunger is forced *(fa-mani ʾḍṭurra)* [to eat of them] without wishing to commit sins (see SIN, MAJOR AND MINOR), God is merciful and indulgent" (Q 5:3; see also Q 2:173; 6:146; 16:115; see MERCY; GOD AND HIS ATTRIBUTES). The qurʾānic rules were further developed in *fiqh* literature (see LAW AND THE QURʾĀN); according to these, there are a number of recognized means of *tadhkiya*. *Dhabḥ,* which applies particularly to smaller animals, like sheep and goats, consists of slitting the throat by cutting the windpipe, the gullet and the two jugular veins. If it becomes impossible to slaughter the animal in the specified manner, it is sufficient to cut the throat or to wound the animal at any place in order to cause its death by bleeding. The method called *naḥr* applies to camels, horses and cows and consists of slitting the throat, without it being necessary to cut it in the manner prescribed for the *dhabḥ*. At the moment of slaughtering by the method called *dhabḥ* the victim should be laid upon its left side facing the direction of the *qibla* (q.v.); if applying *naḥr* the animal remains upright facing the *qibla*.

According to all rites of Islamic law, the animal should be slaughtered by a sharp instrument, even with a stone or a piece of wood, without lifting it until the act is completed, in order to take the animal's life in the quickest and least painful way. It is forbidden to rend the throat by using unsuitable objects, like teeth or nails, since this will cause further pain to the animal (see ANIMAL LIFE; CREATION; CALIPH). The *tasmiya* (repeating the name of God) must accompany the act of slaughtering (*fa-kulū mimmā dhukira ism Allāh ʿalayhi,* Q 6:118; cf. 6:119, 121), but there are differences of opinion among scholars about whether this is an essential condition in order to make the meat permissible to eat (see Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr* and *Jalālayn,* ad Q 6:118; see also BASMALA). According to al-Qurṭubī (d. 671/1272; *Jāmiʿ,* ad Q 6:118) who quotes a tradition related on the authority of ʿAṭāʾ b. Abī Rabāḥ (d. ca. 114/732), these words imply not only the duty of mentioning the name of God at the time of slaughter but also before drinking or eating food of any kind (see FOOD AND DRINK; SUSTENANCE). Moreover, a famous tradition narrated by ʿĀʾisha (see ḤADĪTH AND THE QURʾĀN; ʿĀʾISHA BINT ABĪ BAKR) suggests that God can also be invoked at the time of eating, if there is any doubt as to whether his name had been mentioned over the animal at the moment of slaughter.

The *ʿaqr,* the act of wounding prey in hunting (see HUNTING AND FISHING), also constitutes a legal method of *tadhkiya*. It must occur by shooting arrows or other sharp objects or by letting the dogs on the victims, and must be accompanied by the mention of the name of God (Q 5:4).

Some animals, like locusts and fish, do not require any special manner of slaughtering because they have no blood. Even the dead fish floating upon the surface of the water can be eaten, as it is said that, in this case, "the sea has performed the ritual slaughter." According to Mālikīs and Shāfiʿīs the unborn animal can be eaten as well without any ritual slaughtering because "the slaughter of the mother is also the slaughter of the embryo."

Animals slaughtered by the ahl al-kitāb

Food prepared by the People of the Book (q.v.) is permitted for Muslims (Q 5:5), including what they slaughtered to eat, unless it is forbidden in itself, like blood or pork. According to the opinion of some jurists, however, the flesh of animals slaughtered for Christian festivals and churches is considered *ḥarām,* because it falls under the heading of what has been dedicated to other than God (see CHRISTIANS AND CHRISTIANITY; CHURCH).

There are some divergent views among scholars concerning animals slaughtered by Zoroastrians or Parsees (*majūs;* see MAGIANS). Some commentators forbid the eating of them because the words *wa-ṭaʿām alladhīn ūtū l-kitāb* refers only to the food of Jews (see JEWS AND JUDAISM) and Christians who were given the holy scripture (see, for example, Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr* and *Jalālayn,* ad Q 5:5; see BOOK). But a number of jurists do not consider the Zoroastrians polytheists (see POLYTHEISM AND ATHEISM), basing themselves on a tradition from the Prophet where he claims that they must be treated like the People of the Book. These jurists therefore allow Muslims to eat the flesh of an animal slaughtered by Zoroastrians.

The majority of jurists suggest that animals slaughtered by Christians are lawful for Muslims only if they have been slain according to Islamic procedures (cf. Ṭabarī, *Tahdhīb al-āthār. Musnad ʿAlī,* 230, on the basis of the Christian tribe of Taghlib; cf. Gilliot, Réalité et fiction, 192). On the other hand, a number of jurists admit that what the Christians consider religiously lawful to eat is allowed for Muslims, regardless of the manner in which the animal's life was taken. A step forward in this direction was made by a famous *fatwā* delivered by Muḥammad ʿAbduh, who was Egypt's Grand Muftī from 1899 until his death in 1905. From that pulpit he authorized the Muslims of the Transvaal to eat animals slaughtered by Christians, even though their way of killing animals might differ from the Muslims'. The chief point to be considered is that what is slaughtered by Christians should be regarded as food for the whole body of them (cf. Adams, Muḥammad ʿAbduh and the Transvaal *fatwā*). In the light of this ruling, meat originating from the People of the Book is lawful for Muslims, even though the animals may have been killed by means of electric shock or similar methods.

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Slaves and Slavery

Persons incorporated into a family in a subordinate position who are subservient to a master who owns them and may sell them, and the institution of acquiring, keeping, selling, and freeing slaves. Slaves are mentioned in at least twenty-

nine verses of the Qurʾān, most of these are Medinan and refer to the legal status of slaves. Seven separate terms refer to slaves, the most common of which is the phrase "that which your/their right hands own" *(mā malakat aymānukum/aymānuhum/aymānuhunna/yamīnuka)*, found in fifteen places. This phrase often refers to female concubines (q.v.), though it also serves as a general term for slaves. *ʿAbd,* the common word for slave in classical Arabic, is found in four places, and *ama,* a female slave, is mentioned twice. In several places, the Qurʾān refers to slaves in ambiguous terms: *fatayāt,* literally "female youths" (Q 4:25; 24:33); *rajul,* "a man" (cf. Q 16:76; 39:29); and *adʿiyā,* "adopted sons" (Q 33:4-5, 37). Finally, the Qurʾān uses *raqaba,* "the nape of the neck," several times as a synecdoche to mean slave, though captive may be a better interpretation for the plural form (*al-riqāb,* as in Q 2:177; 9:60). Slavery, *ʿubūdiyya* or *riqq,* is nowhere mentioned, though the Qurʾān recommends freeing of slaves and is obviously interested in regulating the institution.

The Qurʾān accepts the distinction between slave and free as part of the natural order and uses this distinction as an example of God's grace (q.v.) in Q 16:71: "God has preferred some of you over others in provision; but those that were preferred shall not give their provision to their slaves *(mā malakat aymānuhum)*, in order to make them equal therein. What, do they deny God's blessing (q.v.)?" The Qurʾān, however, does not consider slaves to be mere chattel; their humanity is directly addressed in references to their beliefs (Q 2:221; 4:25, 92), their desire for manumission and their feelings about being forced into prostitution (Q 24:33). In one case, the Qurʾān refers to master and slave with the same word, *rajul* (Q 39:29). Later interpreters presume slaves to be spiritual equals of free Muslims. For example, Q 4:25 urges believers to marry "believing maids that your right hands own" and then states: "The one of you is as the other" *(baʿḍukum min baʿḍin),* which the Jalālayn interpret as "You and they are equal in faith (q.v.), so do not refrain from marrying them" (see MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE). The human aspect of slaves is further reinforced by reference to them as members of the private household, sometimes along with wives or children (q.v.; Q 23:6; 24:58; 33:50; 70:30) and once in a long list of such members (Q 24:31). This incorporation into the intimate family is consistent with the view of slaves in the ancient near east and quite in contrast to Western plantation slavery as it developed in the early modern period.

The legal material on slavery in the Qurʾān is largely restricted to manumission and sexual relations (see SEX AND SEXUALITY). Masters are encouraged to be kind to slaves (Q 4:36), manumit them and even marry them off but slaves have no corresponding right to demand such treatment (al-Ghazālī's [d. 505/1111] list of "slaves' rights" is based entirely on tradition; see Bousquet, Droits de l'esclave, 420-7). For example, Q 90:12-18, perhaps the earliest qurʾānic statement on slaves, addresses the master and emphasizes a religious motivation for manumission: "What will make you understand the steep path? Releasing a slave *(fakku raqabatin)* or giving food on a day of hunger to an orphan relative or a miserable poor person (see POVERTY AND THE POOR). [. . .] These are the companions of the right hand!" (see LEFT HAND AND RIGHT HAND; ORPHANS). Here, manumission is one way in which wealthy members of society can care for the less fortunate, but elsewhere, manumission is used to expiate sins such as oath-breaking (Q 5:89; 58:3; see SIN, MAJOR AND MINOR; BREAKING TRUSTS AND CONTRACTS). Q 24:33 is universally

regarded by the interpreters as the origin of the *kitāba,* a "manumission contract," in which slaves buy their freedom from their masters in installments, though it is unlikely that such a contract was known in the qurʾānic period (Brockopp, *Early Mālikī law,* 166-8; Crone, Two legal problems, 3-21). Two exhortations to help *al-riqāb* (Q 2:177; 9:60) have been interpreted as urging believers to support slaves trying to pay off such contracts (e.g. *Jalālayn*), although these verses may also refer to ransoming of Muslims captured in battle (as implied in Qurṭubī, *Jāmiʿ,* ad loc.).

The second major category for qurʾānic rules on slavery is sexual relations. The Qurʾān condones the use of female slaves as concubines (Q 23:5-6; 70:29-30) and also marriage to believing slaves (Q 2:221; 24:32), although abstinence (q.v.) is touted as a better choice (Q 4:25; 24:30; see also CHASTITY). Within the rules on marriage to slaves, the punishment of married slave women is to be half that of married free-women (Q 4:25), a rule that was later extended to all crimes committed by slaves. The Qurʾān also explicitly prohibits slave prostitution (Q 24:33; see ADULTERY AND FORNICATION).

There is strong evidence to suggest that the Qurʾān regards slaves and slavery differently from both classical and modern Islamic texts. First, the vocabulary is distinct. Several words for slave in classical Arabic (such as *mukātab, raqīq, qinn, khādim, qayna, umm walad,* and *mudabbar*) are not found in the Qurʾān, while others *(jāriya, ghulām, fatā)* occur but do not refer to slaves. Likewise, *ʿabd* (along with its plurals *ʿibād* and *ʿabīd*) is used over 100 times to mean "servant" (q.v.) or "worshipper" in the Qurʾān (see SERVANT; WORSHIP); in each occasion when it is used to refer to male slaves, a linguistic marker is appended, contrasting *ʿabd* to a free person (*al-ḥurr* in Q 2:178) or a female slave (*ama,* pl. *imāʾ* in Q 24:32) or qualifying it with the term "possessed" (*ʿabd mamlūk* in Q 16:75). Further, when the Qurʾān speaks of manumission, it does not use the classical *ʿitq;* nor does *walāʾ,* the state of clientage after manumission, appear (see CLIENTS AND CLIENTAGE).

Second, the institution of slavery changed dramatically in the seventh and eighth centuries C.E.: tens of thousands of captured slaves poured into Damascus and other urban centers, and Mecca (q.v.) and Medina (q.v.) became important centers of the luxury slave trade. The earliest legal texts have expansive chapters on slavery and manumission that depend very little on the Qurʾān. Pre-modern Islamic civilizations, with their eunuchs, slave armies and slave dynasties, were even further removed from qurʾānic concerns. Modern interpreters have used this disconnect to argue that the Qurʾān would not have condoned the slaving practices common in Islamic history, with some claiming that medieval interpreters subverted the Qurʾān's demand for manumission contracts (Rahman, *Major themes,* 48), while others argue that the Qurʾān's original intent, properly understood, was to eliminate slavery altogether (ʿArafat, Attitude; but compare Mawdudi, *Purdah,* 20).

It is possible, however, to delimit these interpretive constructs by analyzing early biographical dictionaries and historical accounts. While the biographies of certain famous individual slaves, such as Bilāl b. Rabāḥ (d. 20/642?) and Salmān al-Fārisī (d. 35/656?), were clearly enhanced or fabricated by later authors, the historical record is trustworthy regarding the general features of slavery in the qurʾānic period. According to these accounts, slavery was widely known but slaves were held in small numbers, with exceptionally rich persons owning no more than several dozen. Also, slaves appear to have been brought to Mecca and Medina through the caravan

trade from Egyptian, Syrian, Persian and Ethiopian sources. In addition to importation, children of slaves were also considered slaves.

Among the earliest believers, slaves of non-Muslim masters reportedly suffered brutal punishments (see CHASTISEMENT AND PUNISHMENT). Sumayya bt. Kubbāṭ (d. before the *hijra;* see EMIGRATION) is famous as the first martyr of Islam, having been killed with a spear by Abū Jahl when she refused to give up her faith. Likewise, Bilāl was freed by Abū Bakr when his master, Umayya b. Khalaf, placed a heavy rock on his chest to force his conversion. In contrast, Muḥammad was kind to his slaves. Zayd b. Ḥāritha (d. 8/630), bought by Khadīja (q.v.) for the Prophet and one of the first to profess Islam, was adopted by Muḥammad as his son, though the adoption was later annulled (Q 33:5). Muḥammad was also very fond of Māriya (d. 16/638), a Coptic slave who bore him a son.

There is good evidence that slaves were freed for pious reasons; manumission is also mentioned as a reward for certain deeds. Many manumitted slaves remained dependent upon their masters (see Crone, *Roman law*) but some freed slaves attained positions of importance. Zayd b. Ḥāritha, general and confidant of Muḥammad, is perhaps the most famous example, although ʿAmmār b. Yāsir was governor of Kūfa, and Ṣuhayb b. Sinān served as interim caliph (q.v.) after ʿUmar's (q.v.) death (Dhahabī, *Taʾrīkh,* yrs. 11-40, p. 600). Other famous slaves include Sālim b. Maʿqil (d. 12/634), who is counted among the Emigrants (*muhājirūn;* see EMIGRANTS AND HELPERS) and was an important Qurʾān reciter (see RECITERS OF THE QURʾĀN) and Waḥshī b. Ḥarb (d. 41-50/662-70), a slave of Meccan owners who killed both the Prophet's uncle Ḥamza and, after his conversion, the pseudo-prophet Musaylima (q.v.).

These historical records agree with the Qurʾān on the following substantial points. Slaves were considered a part of the family, though of a status lower than that of free family members (see FAMILY; KINSHIP; TRIBES AND CLANS). Manumission of slaves was an act of piety (q.v.), though freed slaves remained dependent on their former masters. Female slaves were taken as concubines and marriage between free and slave was condoned. Neither the Qurʾān nor the historical record mentions any way of acquiring slaves other than through capture in war (q.v.; see also CAPTIVES; BOOTY), purchase or being born into slavery; this is significant given the persistence of debt slavery (see Schneider, *Kinderverkauf und Schuldknechtschaft*). Finally, the important role played by slaves as members of this community may help explain the Qurʾān's emphasis on manumission and kind treatment. Nonetheless, by the time of Muḥammad's death, slaves did not make up a large proportion of the believers.

While the institution of slavery in the Qurʾān shares many features with neighboring cultures, the use of alms for the manumission of slaves (see ALMSGIVING) appears to be unique to the Qurʾān (assuming the traditional interpretation of Q 2:177 and Q 9:60), as does the practice of freeing slaves in expiation for certain crimes (Pedersen, *Eid,* 196-8; but compare *Exod* 21:26-7). Other cultures limit a master's right to harm a slave but few exhort masters to treat their slaves kindly, and the placement of slaves in the same category as other weak members of society who deserve protection is unknown outside the Qurʾān (see OPPRESSION; OPPRESSED ON EARTH, THE). The unique contribution of the Qurʾān, then, is to be found in its emphasis on the place of slaves in society and society's responsibility toward the slave, perhaps the most progressive legislation on

slavery in its time (see LAW AND THE QUR'ĀN).

Slavery continued as an important aspect of medieval Islamic culture but by the nineteenth century it was on the wane. The slave dynasties of Egypt and the Deccan had been dismantled and the famous Janissary corps of the Ottoman empire was no longer dependant on a slave levy *(devşirme)*. Pressure from European powers to end the slave trade was resisted in some areas but also found ready assent among Muslim jurists. In the Ottoman empire, east Africa and elsewhere, the manumission contract (*kitāba,* based on Q 24:33) was used by the state as a device to end slavery by giving slaves the means to buy their freedom from their masters. Some authorities made blanket pronouncements against slavery, arguing that it violated the qur'ānic ideals of equality and freedom (Shafiq, *L'esclavage;* see FREEDOM AND PREDESTINATION). The great slave markets of Cairo were closed down at the end of the nineteenth century and even conservative Qur'ān interpreters continue to regard slavery as opposed to Islamic principles of justice and equality (see JUSTICE AND INJUSTICE; EXEGESIS OF THE QUR'ĀN: EARLY MODERN AND CONTEMPORARY). This dramatic shift in Islamic attitudes toward slavery is a prime example of flexibility in interpreting qur'ānic norms (see also ETHICS AND THE QUR'ĀN).

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Sleep

Natural and temporary periodic reduction of sensation and consciousness. Sleep *(nawm)* is mentioned a number of times in the Qur'ān. According to Q 25:47, "It is he [God] who appointed the night for you to be a garment and sleep for a rest, and day he appointed for a rising" (see DAY AND NIGHT). Sleep in the night is deemed to rest the body after a day's work and thus it is a gift from God almighty (see GRACE; GIFT AND GIFT-GIVING). The concept had found expression already in Q 78:9-11, "and we appointed your sleep for a rest and we appointed night for a garment and we appointed day for a livelihood" (see WORK).

That sleep is a gift from God is also alluded to in Q 30:23, which states that "of his signs (q.v.) is your sleep by night and day, and your seeking after his bounty." According to the exegetes (see EXEGESIS OF THE QUR'ĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL) this is a reference to God's omnipotent control (see POWER AND IMPOTENCE) over the passing of time (q.v.), in particular the alternation of day and night (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* xxi, 32; see PAIRS AND PAIRING); since if there were no sleep, people would have no time to rest from the fatigues of the day (Muqātil, *Tafsīr,* iv, 558). The exegetes usually add that sleep is similar to death, since, like the dead, sleepers are neither conscious nor capable of thought (see DEATH AND THE DEAD; INTELLECT). This is alluded to in Q 39:42, according to which "God takes the souls at the time of their death (see SOUL), and that which has not died, in its sleep."

A different perspective is offered in another passage, where it is stated that "slumber seizes him [i.e. God] not, neither sleep" (Q 2:255; see SABBATH). This qualification underscores the same verse's earlier definition of God as the living and the eternal (see ETERNITY; GOD AND HIS ATTRIBUTES). The exegetes point out that sleep is a negative attitude *(āfa)* and cannot be attributed to God: as he is the conqueror (see VICTORY), he cannot, therefore, be conquered by sleep; just as he is the living, he cannot be overcome by rest and sleep, which are similar to death (Thaʿlabī, *Kashf,* ii, 231). Another qurʾānic passage alludes to sleep, in relation to the rather obscure "people of the cities" of Q 7:96-7. There it is asked: "Do the people of the cities feel secure [in the conviction] that our might shall not come upon them at night while they are sleeping?" (see CITY; PUNISHMENT STORIES; GENERATIONS; GEOGRAPHY). The occurrence of *manām* in Q 37:102, in the episode of Abraham's (q.v.) being commanded to sacrifice (q.v.) his son (see ISAAC; ISHMAEL), is connected to a vision during sleep, that is, a dream (see also Q 8:43; see VISION; DREAMS AND SLEEP).

Other episodes that Muslim tradition connects with sleep do not employ the common qurʾānic terminology for "sleep" *(nawm):* sleep *(nawm)* and vision in dream *(manām)* are not mentioned in the story of Joseph (q.v.) in Q 12, nor in the story of the Men of the Cave (q.v.) in Q 18 (see NARRATIVES; MYTHS AND LEGENDS IN THE QUR'ĀN). In the latter, although derivatives of *n-w-m* are not used, it is stated that God "smote their ears" (q.v.; Q 18:11; see also HEARING AND DEAFNESS) and then "raised them again" (Q 18:12; see RESURRECTION) and that they were lying asleep (*ruqūd,* Q 18:18) before God raised them (Q 18:19). The extent of this prodigious sleep, lasting more than three hundred years, is fully described in later reports.

In their exegesis of the verses just cited, qurʾānic commentaries seldom add any traditions regarding sleep. Muḥammad was asked if people in paradise (q.v.) sleep and he answered no, since sleep is the brother of death (Thaʿlabī, *Kashf,* ii, 231). According to another widespread report in the exegetical literature, Moses (q.v.) asked if God sleeps. In other versions Moses was prompted by the Israelites to ask this, or Moses asked the angels (see ANGEL; CHILDREN OF ISRAEL). God ordered him to take two glasses and when the end of the night came (or, according to some versions, after God ordered the angels to keep Moses awake for three days) he fell asleep and the glasses fell down and broke. The moral is that God never sleeps because otherwise the skies and earth (q.v.) and all creation (q.v.) would break apart (see HEAVEN AND SKY; COSMOLOGY). The explicit affirmation that God does not sleep and has no need for sleep is also mentioned

in the major ḥadīth collections (see ḤADĪTH AND THE QURʾĀN), although in ḥadīth literature sleep is usually mentioned in connection with ritual laws relating to prayer (q.v.; see also VIGIL; RITUAL AND THE QURʾĀN). The question at hand in these cases generally centers on the requirement of ablution after sleep (see CLEANLINESS AND ABLUTION).

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Smell

Olfactory sense; pleasing or unpleasing odor. The verb "to smell" does not occur in the Qurʾān; the word for nose *(anf)* only occurs once, in the context of the *lex talionis* (see RETALIATION; LAW AND THE QURʾĀN; TEETH); the term *rīḥ,* usually "wind" (see AIR AND WIND), occurs at least once with the meaning "smell, odor, scent" (Q 12:94). Smell plays a significant role in qurʾānic images of paradise (q.v.) and in a scene in the Joseph (q.v.) story (see NARRATIVES). While the visual predominates, qurʾānic imagery also draws on smell, sound, taste and touch (see SEEING AND HEARING; VISION AND BLINDNESS; HEARING AND DEAFNESS; EARS; EYES; HANDS). The two main types of imagery which evoke the olfactory sense have to do with gardens (see GARDEN), particularly the garden of Eden or paradise, and drink (see FOOD AND DRINK). The sense of smell serves to heighten the effect of these depictions of delight (*naʿīm;* see JOY AND MISERY; GRACE; BLESSING). Garden imagery in the Qurʾān regularly depicts lush green foliage (see AGRICULTURE AND VEGETATION) and fruit-bearing trees (q.v.), including pomegranates and date-palms (see DATE PALM). Smell is evoked explicitly in references to the presence there of *rayḥān,* perhaps best rendered "scented, or sweet-smelling herbs": *wa-l-ḥabbu dhū l-ʿaṣfi wa-l-rayḥānu,* "grain with [full, plentiful?] leaves/ears [?] and scented herbs" (Q 55:12; see GRASSES). The same term occurs in Q 56:89: *fa-rawḥun wa-rayḥānun wa-jannatu naʿīmin,* "Then ease [or a light breeze], scented herbs, and a garden of delight." In keeping with the theme of sensory delight is the close association of smell with heavenly drink, the descriptions of which refer to perfumes. The drink of the inhabitants of heaven is described as pure wine *(raḥīq)* mixed with water of the heavenly spring of Tasnīm and "sealed" with musk (*misk,* Q 83:25-8; see SPRINGS AND FOUNTAINS; WATER; WINE; INTOXICANTS). In another passage, the righteous shall be rewarded in heaven (see REWARD AND PUNISHMENT) with wine mixed with *kāfūr,* "camphor" (q.v.), and water from another heavenly spring (Q 76:5-6). Dressed in silk (q.v.) and reclining on cool couches under shady trees with clusters of fruit hanging down above them, they will drink from shiny goblets of silver (see METALS AND MINERALS; CUPS AND VESSELS) wine mixed with ginger *(zanjabīl)* and water from the heavenly spring Salsabīl (Q 76:12-18). Missing are passages reminiscent of biblical references to the pleasant odor of burnt

offerings, presumably because it would not be in keeping with the qurʾānic portrayal of God to suggest that he was delighted by sacrifices and felt hunger or need for them (see SACRIFICE; ANTHROPOMORPHISM). Missing also are references to women and their perfume which occur frequently in pre-Islamic poetry but which would not go along with the moral tenor of the qurʾānic text (see ETHICS AND THE QURʾĀN; WOMEN AND THE QURʾĀN; PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QURʾĀN; POETRY AND POETS).

Smell plays an important role in the scene in the Joseph story depicting the restoration of sight to the elderly Jacob (q.v.; Q 12:93-6), who had become blind out of grief at the loss of Joseph (Q 12:84). After revealing his identity to his brothers (see BROTHER AND BROTHERHOOD), Joseph orders them to return to Canaan and bring all their folk to Egypt (q.v.). He also instructs them to take his shirt with them and throw it over Jacob's face; this will enable him to see again. When they set out from Egypt, Jacob senses their approach. He claims to detect the "smell" *(rīḥ)* of Joseph (Q 12:94). Commentators, citing traditions from Ibn ʿAbbās (d. 68/686-8), say that he did so when the caravan (q.v.) was eight nights away, a distance comparable to that between Kūfa and Baṣra. Those present with Jacob think he is deluded (Q 12:95). When the brothers arrive, "the bearer of glad tidings" (*al-bashīr;* see GOOD NEWS), identified by commentators (see EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL) as Jacob's son Judah (Yahūdhā), throws the shirt over Jacob's face and his sight is restored (Q 12:96). The suggestion is that smelling Joseph's odor proves to him that Joseph is indeed alive and restores his hope in being reunited with him. A pun here (see HUMOR; LITERARY STRUCTURES OF THE QURʾĀN) connects the "smell" *(rīḥ)* of Joseph with "the spirit/breath of God" *(rawḥ Allāh)* in Jacob's statement "Go, O my sons, and ascertain concerning Joseph and his brother, and despair not of the spirit of God. None despairs of the spirit of God save disbelieving folk" (Q 12:87; cf. alternate translation of "comfort or mercy of God"; see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF; SPIRIT; HOLY SPIRIT). Smell, like the dreams in the Joseph story (see DREAMS AND SLEEP), is one of God's methods for delivering messages. These messages are not apparent to everyone but only inspired or favored individuals notice them or understand their intent (see REVELATION AND INSPIRATION; MESSENGER; PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD).

According to exegetical traditions attributed to Anas b. Mālik (d. 91-3/710-12), Ibn ʿAbbās, Mujāhid (d. ca. 100/718) and others, Joseph's shirt originated in heaven. Gabriel (q.v.) had brought down this same shirt, or cloak, to Abraham (q.v.), whom it saved from burning at the hands of Nimrod (q.v.), and it had been passed down through the descendants of Abraham to Joseph. Joseph reportedly wore the shirt in a silver rod around his neck, as a type of amulet, and had it with him when he was thrown into the pit. The smell of heaven *(rīḥ al-janna)* which lingered in the shirt was what gave it the power to cure the ill and afflicted (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* xvi, 249-52, ad Q 12:94; Zamakhsharī, *Kashshāf,* ii, 342-3, ad Q 12:93; Ṭabarsī, *Majmaʿ,* xiii, 115-16, ad Q 12:93; Ṭarafī, *Storie,* 226-8; Thaʿlabī, *Lives,* 228-9).

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Smile see HUMOR; LAUGHTER

Smoke

Gaseous by-product of fire. Two words which occur in the Qurʾān — *dukhān* and *yaḥmūm* — are usually translated as "smoke" but their exact meaning in the text is uncertain: *dukhān,* though the contemporary Arabic word for "smoke," never occurs in the Qurʾān in connection with fire (q.v.), be it hellfire (see HELL AND HELLFIRE) or earthly fire. Actually, it can only be found twice, in Q 41:11, and in Q 44:10, to which latter sūra it lends its title (Sūrat al-Dukhān); both verses were revealed in Mecca (q.v.).

In the first of these verses, *dukhān* is mentioned in the context of the creation (q.v.) of heaven (see HEAVEN AND SKY) which was *dukhān* before God fashioned the seven heavens, assigned to each of them its proper order, and adorned the lower one with "lights" (*maṣābīḥ,* Q 41:12; see LAMP). According to a tradition which goes back to Ibn Masʿūd (d. 32/652-3), in the very beginning God's throne (see THRONE OF GOD) was set on the water (q.v.; *māʾ*). When he decided to create the universe, he first produced a *dukhān* from the water which rose; then he lifted it and called it "heaven" *(samāʾ)*. It is likely that this *dukhān* resembles "mist," "fume," or "vapor," rather than "smoke." This interpretation is confirmed by al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923), who comments on this *dukhān* in his remarks on Q 2:29 (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* i, 425-6, no. 591), and also in his *Taʾrīkh* (i, 49-50; *History,* i, 219-20; cf. also the tradition of Ibn Isḥāq recorded in Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* i, 433, no. 590). In the same context, he quotes a tradition going back to Ibn ʿAbbās (d. 68/686-8) which explains that God "raised the water's vapor/ mist/ fume" *(rafaʿa bukhār al-māʾ)* and made the heaven(s) out of it (*Taʾrīkh,* i, 48; *History,* i, 218; see also Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* xxix, 14, ad Q 68:1; cf. Gilliot, Mythe, 165-6). In another version (Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh,* i, 52-3; *History,* i, 222) going back to Ibn Masʿūd, the same *dukhān* is said to have been the material out of which God created the earth *(arḍ)* as well as the heaven(s). According to the same tradition, the *dukhān* in question resulted from the breathing of the water (*min tanaffus al-māʾ ḥīna tanaffasa;* Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh,* i, 54-5; cf. Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* xxiv, 99, ad Q 41:12 for this same expression in a tradition of al-Suddī).

A similar problem concerning the meaning of *dukhān* arises in Q 44. Here, the Prophet is invited to watch for the day when heaven will bring forth a *dukhān* (Q 44:10) that will cover *(yaghshā)* the people, thus inflicting on them a painful torment (Q 44:11; see APOCALYPSE; CHASTISEMENT AND PUNISHMENT). The people then implore God to remove this torment, promising in exchange to become believers (Q 44:12; see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF; REWARD AND PUNISHMENT). But when God answers their prayer, they break their promise (see COVENANT; BREAKING TRUSTS AND CONTRACTS) and as a result God announces that he will have his revenge (see VENGEANCE) on the day of the "supreme disaster" (*al-baṭsha al-kubrā,* Q 44:16). A tradition going back to Ibn Masʿūd and accepted by most commentators (see EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL), considers this passage to refer to a famine (q.v.). This famine is said to have affected the Quraysh (q.v.) and to have driven them to eat bones and carrion (q.v.), after the Prophet, exasperated by their insolence (see INSOLENCE AND OBSTINACY), had asked God to punish them with the "days of Joseph (q.v.)," i.e. to inflict on them seven years of

famine. As for the "supreme disaster," it is believed to announce the future battle of Badr (q.v.) in which the Quraysh were defeated. In this context, *dukhān* is supposed to denote a sort of "haze" which dimmed the people's eyes as a consequence of their hunger. Contrary to this interpretation, some other traditions see in the *dukhān* mentioned in Q 44 one of the signs of doomsday. In these versions, *dukhān* actually seems to mean "smoke." This smoke is either supposed to enter the unbelievers' ears, so that their heads are like roasted meat (*ka-l-raʾs al-ḥanīdh;* cf. Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* xxv, 113, ad Q 44:10, according to Ibn ʿUmar) or to dry up their heads and come out of their ears and nostrils. At the same time, the believers will only be affected by the smoke in the form of what resembles a head cold (*ka-hayʾat al-zakma/al-zukām; ka-l-zukām, ka-zakma;* Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* xxv, 111-13, ad Q 44:10). Of course, the commentators who adopt this interpretation consider the "supreme disaster" in Q 44:16 to refer to doomsday (see LAST JUDGMENT).

As for *yaḥmūm,* it only occurs once, namely in Q 56:43, in a Meccan sūra describing the environment of the damned (Q 56:41-4), where *yaḥmūm* qualifies the infernal shadow (*ẓill min yaḥmūm;* see DARKNESS; cf. also Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* xxvii, 189-93). Here again the exact significance of *yaḥmūm* is not absolutely sure. The word derives from a Semitic root meaning "intense heat." The corresponding Arabic root covers quite a large semantic field — it either means "to turn into coal," "to be very black," "to be very hot," or it qualifies boiling water *(ḥamīm)*. Yet, most commentators and lexicographers define *yaḥmūm* as a "very black smoke" *(dukhān aswad shadīd al-sawād)* or an "intense smoke" *(dukhān shadīd)* or a "hot smoke" *(dukhān ḥamīm)*. Whatever the exact meaning of *yaḥmūm* may be, in Q 56:43 it is obviously linked to hellfire and to the effect it produces on the whole infernal environment (see also ESCHATOLOGY).

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Snake

see ANIMAL LIFE

Snow

see WEATHER

Social Interactions

see ETHICS AND THE QURʾĀN

Social Relations

see FAMILY; COMMUNITY AND SOCIETY IN THE QURʾĀN

Social Sciences and the Qurʾān

The rise and growth of the social sciences as we know them today coincided with the commercial and industrial revolutions that began in the eighteenth century. Formal economics, political science, and sociology emerged only with a differentiation between state and society and the ability to think abstractly about texts, social contexts, and institutional structures. For the Qurʾān or any other sacred text to be understood from a sociological perspective, language had to be developed to think abstractly about religion and text (see CONTEMPORARY CRITICAL PRACTICES AND THE QURʾĀN).

The social sciences began to take formal, disciplinary shape in the nineteenth century but they have always had two conflicting currents. One tendency has been to analyze and understand social forces and the relation of ideas and beliefs to society. The other tendency has been to hold the "modern" belief that societies, like physical structures, can be "managed" to engineer desired social outcomes. This idea of the social sciences often rests uneasily with the more analytical and philosophical goal of "understanding."

The tension between these two visions of social science was most evident in the colonial social sciences and in depicting the non-elite strata of society, such as the poor of Victorian London or Manchester, England, described in detail by Karl Marx and Fredrich Engels.

Text and society: pre-twentieth century approaches

Ideas of "good" social science have changed significantly since the nineteenth century, and these changes can be seen in the dynamic relation between understanding the Qurʾān and the social sciences. By the seventeenth century the plural "religions" became common English usage, and by the nineteenth century the idea of religion as an abstract category became connected with the rapid growth in knowledge about the historical development of rituals, beliefs, and practice of different religions over long periods of time (see RELIGION; RITUAL AND THE QURʾĀN; FAITH). Scholars and travelers began to seek out and organize information about religions. Such collected knowledge, when joined with reflection about religion as an abstract category, paved the way for what eventually came to be known as the history of religions. As a field of study, the history of religions used terms such as Islam, Christianity, Judaism, and Buddhism to connote organized systems of belief (see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF) that were differentiated from one another (Smith, *Meaning and end*).

The polymath biblical scholar W. Robertson Smith (1846-1894) may not have been the first scholar to see a close relationship between the stage of development of a social group and the nature of its intellectual, religious, and moral life, but by the late nineteenth century his *Religion of the Semites* became a foundational text for comparative religion. Smith's focus was on the relation of text to society in the study of the Hebrew Bible, but his travels to the Ḥijāz in 1880 and his monograph entitled *Kinship and marriage in early Arabia* allowed him to invoke qurʾānic texts alongside other religious texts as a means of advancing his principal argument on the structure of ancient Semitic society and the changing role of prophecy in it (see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD; PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QURʾĀN). He saw a close relationship between what he viewed as the "stages" of development of a social group and the nature of its intellectual, religious, and moral life. Consequently, each prophet could speak only for his or her time and thus had to convey prophecy in terms that could be understood by members of that society.

In common with many other nineteenth century scholars, Smith judged some societies to be essentially holdovers from earlier historical areas. Hence when he traveled to western Arabia and neighboring Arab countries, his perception of Bedouin (q.v.) society was that it was relatively unchanged from the time of the Hebrew Bible and the time of the prophet Muḥammad (see also ARABS).

Such an ahistorical assumption was criticized even in Smith's time, but his efforts to relate the structure of social groups systematically to their representation in texts and to the structure of the texts themselves

find strong parallels in the work of Smith's contemporaries, such as Ignaz Goldziher (1850-1921), whose primary interests were in early Islamic texts.

Context of qurʾānic revelation: twentieth century approaches

Although it is possible to find approaches in philological and historical writings that facilitate what later would be called a social scientific understanding of the Qurʾān in its initial setting, most such approaches focused not on the qurʾānic text itself but on the context of its revelation (see OCCASIONS OF REVELATION). This is the approach followed also by earlier sociologists. Joseph Chelhod's *Introduction à la sociologie de l'Islam* (1958) uses the Qurʾān, early Islamic sources (see TRADITIONAL DISCIPLINES OF QURʾĀNIC STUDY), and sources in comparative religions to establish understandings of the sacred (see SACRED AND PROFANE), authority (q.v.), governance and ideas of the person. He also explored how conceptions of the Qurʾān as a text changed over subsequent centuries (see TEXTUAL HISTORY OF THE QURʾĀN; COLLECTION OF THE QURʾĀN; INIMITABILITY). His argument about Islam as a "national religion" for the Arabs is strained, but Chelhod's narrative has the advantage of juxtaposing qurʾānic passages in a way that facilitates placing them in a sociological context. In contrast, Rodinson's *Mohammed* is a more focused sociological biography that takes advantage of the earlier work on the sources for Muḥammad's life, using qurʾānic text to document the Prophet's life and the progression of the early Islamic movement from sect to nascent state, differentiating itself from the earlier religious ideas and organization prevalent in the Arabian peninsula (see ISLAM; POLITICS AND THE QURʾĀN).

One issue that Rodinson and other sociologists addressed is the language and structure of the Qurʾān, less for an understanding of the text in itself but more to use it to determine the sociological context of seventh century Arabia (see LANGUAGE AND STYLE OF THE QURʾĀN; FORM AND STRUCTURE OF THE QURʾĀN). One issue with which they were concerned, for example, was how prophetic inspiration (see REVELATION AND INSPIRATION) was recognized and legitimized in seventh century Arabia. One indication was the use of *sajʿ* verse, short sentences in rhythmic prose (see RHYMED PROSE). A rival to Muḥammad who used such verse was Maslama, known in early Islamic sources as Musaylima (q.v.), the "little Muslim." He identified the source of his inspiration as "the Merciful One" (*al-raḥmān;* see GOD AND HIS ATTRIBUTES). There are some indications that Maslama's following was primarily related to his tribal origins, so that opposition to Muḥammad's claim to prophecy and the early Islamic movement would have been based on the understanding among the Banū Ḥanīfa, Maslama's tribal group, that prophecy was tribe-specific and did not transcend existing bonds of community (see TRIBES AND CLANS; KINSHIP).

Framing the question: Qurʾān and society

The sociological contribution to the understanding of the origins of Islam has been strongest in framing explicitly comparative questions. Writing in the 1960s, sociologist Robert Bellah *(Beyond belief)* argued that Islam in its seventh-century origins was, for its time and place, "remarkably modern… in the high degree of commitment, involvement, and participation expected from the rank-and-file members of the community." Its leadership positions were open, and divine revelation emphasized equality among believers. Bellah argues that the restraints that kept the early Muslim community from "wholly

exemplifying" these modern principles underscore the modernity of the basic message of the Qurʾān, which exhorted its initial audience in seventh-century Arabia to break through the "stagnant localisms" of tribe and kinship. In making such statements, Bellah suggests that the early Islamic community placed a particular value on individual, as opposed to collective or group, responsibility (q.v.), so that efforts by contemporary Muslims to depict the early Islamic community as an egalitarian and participant one are not unwarranted.

Of course, these "stagnant localisms" offered powerful resistance to the qurʾānic vision of community in the seventh century (see COMMUNITY AND SOCIETY IN THE QURʾĀN). An often-cited qurʾānic verse emphasizes that there is "no compulsion in religion. Whoever… believes in God has grasped a firm handhold of the truth *(bi-l-ʿurwati l-wuthqā)* that will never break" (Q 2:256; see TOLERANCE AND COMPULSION). Other verses nonetheless appear to justify coercion and severe punishment (see CHASTISEMENT AND PUNISHMENT) for apostates (see APOSTASY), renegades (see HYPOCRITES AND HYPOCRISY), and unbelievers who break their agreement with the prophet Muḥammad (for example, Q 4:89, 9:1-16; see also CONTRACTS AND ALLIANCES; BREAKING TRUSTS AND CONTRACTS).

Some commentators (see EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL) conclude that such coercion is specific to the context of the early Islamic community and grounded in "emergency conditions." In this view, coercion was needed to emphasize such "basic moral requirements" as keeping promises and treaties, and protecting a community's "basic welfare and security against aggression" (see ETHICS AND THE QURʾĀN). The overall emphasis is on voluntary consent to the will of God "which is prompted by the universal guidance that is engraved upon the human heart (q.v.)." The Qurʾān advises even the prophet Muḥammad to show tolerance toward his opponents (see OPPOSITION TO MUḤAMMAD): "If it had been your lord's (q.v.) will, they would all have believed, all who are on earth. Would you [O Muḥammad] then compel humankind [against their will] to believe?" (Q 10:99).

Of course, historians of religion use the same style of argument to interpret the qurʾānic text. Fazlur Rahman *(Major themes)* supports his view that Muḥammad "recognized without a moment of hesitation that Abraham (q.v.), Moses (q.v.), Jesus (q.v.), and other Old and New Testament religious personalities had been genuine prophets like himself" (see SCRIPTURE AND THE QURʾĀN; TORAH; GOSPEL) by invoking the Qurʾān: "I believe in whatever book (q.v.) God may have revealed" (Q 42:15). The idea of "book" *(kitāb),* as Rahman points out, is a generic term in the Qurʾān, denoting the totality of divine revelations.

In such interpretations, the Qurʾān is both a historical text and "good to think with." In 1999, the *Atlantic monthly* published an article, "What is the Koran?," that brought to the foreground issues regarding the interpretation of the Qurʾān. It made public a scholarly controversy surrounding the discovery of eighth-century manuscripts (see MANUSCRIPTS OF THE QURʾĀN) suggesting minor variant readings of the Qurʾān (q.v.) and the possibility of a stage at which the meaning and pronunciation of the Qurʾān was done "with no reference to a living oral tradition" (Rippin, *The Qurʾān,* xi; see ORALITY; RECITATION OF THE QURʾĀN). One of the developments emphasized in this article are those studies that treat the Qurʾān as a sacred text that can be analyzed through scholarly techniques that have been common since the nineteenth century (see POST-ENLIGHTEN-

MENT ACADEMIC STUDY OF THE QUR'ĀN). At one end of the spectrum of such studies are works in the classic philological tradition, such as the pseudonymous C. Luxenberg (2002), who argues that many otherwise inexplicable elements of qur'ānic orthography (q.v.), lexicon, and syntax can better be explained when understood in a Syriac (Christian Aramaic) linguistic context. In Luxenberg's hypothesis, the Syriac palimpsest for many qur'ānic words and phrases helps to solve the problems of adding diacritical points to early Arabic orthography. Such arguments necessarily impute a particular social context in which the text was developed even when they do not develop this imputation. But studies that elaborate a sustained *sociological* idea of language use in the qur'ānic text are minimal.

The Qur'ān and sociolinguistics

At the other end of the interpretive spectrum is the use of a sociologically-informed linguistic analysis of the Qur'ān, such as the approach that Izutsu used in *God and man in the Koran* (1964). Izutsu's methodology assumes that the qur'ānic vision of the universe may be drawn from an analysis of how the basic concepts of the Qur'ān, such as *Allāh, islām, nabī* (prophet), *umma* (community), and *īmān* (belief) are interrelated, and how the text of the Qur'ān itself suggests the way in which qur'ānic usage of these terms differed from prior usage. The relationship between humankind and God, the idea of worship (q.v.) and community, and the implications of the "acceptance" and "rejection" of Islam are all embedded in a complex system of belief and practice. Izutsu's assumption is that Muslims may believe that divine revelation has nothing in common with ordinary human speech (q.v.), but understanding it requires that it possesses "all the essential attributes of human speech."

A similar approach underlies Naṣr Ḥāmid Abū Zayd's approach to an understanding of the qur'ānic text. Abū Zayd was significantly influenced by anthropology and sociology in his doctoral studies at the University of Pennsylvania, including the structural approach to the study of Islam developed by A. El-Zein (1977) at nearby Temple University. Abū Zayd's treatment of qur'ānic texts, like that of Muḥammad Shaḥrūr and Abdul Hamid El-Zein, also exemplifies the erosion of boundaries between "Muslim" and "non-Muslim" approaches to the social understanding of sacred texts. In El-Zein's structural approach, ideas of purity and impurity (see CLEANLINESS AND ABLUTION; RITUAL PURITY), sacralization and defilement (see CONTAMINATION) are embedded in relational constructs that people articulate with history and society in a variety of complex ways and possess "a logic which is beyond their conscious control" (El-Zein, Beyond ideology). Abū Zayd's hermeneutic methods for the study of the qur'ānic text follow a similar path, particularly in his seminal *Mafhūm al-naṣṣ* (1990), in which his textual concern is to trace how *waḥy* (inspiration) became the Qur'ān, the unlimited word of God (q.v.), expressed in human language and expressed as a text that can be understood like any other, as existing in particular social and historical contexts. Seen in this way, no text is a pure interpretation, but depends on webs of significance that are discussed, re-interpreted, and argued in a variety of contexts and for a variety of purposes.

The linguistic approach advocated by Muḥammad Shaḥrūr in his 1990 publication, *al-Kitāb wa-l-Qur'ān. Qirā'a mu'āṣira* ("The book and the Qur'ān: A contemporary reading"), like Abū Zayd's approach to the interpretation of qur'ānic text, stimulated considerable controversy when it first appeared because of what he said and how

he said it. Although a civil engineer by training, the analytical method that he invokes is principally that of structural linguistics, thus contrasting significantly with conventional qurʾānic scholarship. Shaḥrūr refers to classic linguists such as Ferdinand de Saussure and Edward Sapir, but not to Toshihiko Izutsu's linguistic analysis of the Qurʾān.

Writing like an engineer, each chapter of his *al-Kitāb* begins with an outline, a procedure also followed in his subsequent books. Shaḥrūr argues that the chapters and verses of the Qurʾān do not change, but understanding of them in any given time and place is relative and part of the human heritage *(turāth)*. As Shaḥrūr writes, "What happened in the seventh century in the Arabian peninsula was the interaction of people in that time and place with the book. That interaction was the first fruit of Islam, not unique and not the last." Some elements were meant for all time, but others — "clothing (q.v.), drink (see FOOD AND DRINK), style of governance, and life style" — are the result of interaction with the "objective conditions" of specific times and places (*Kitāb,* 36).

Echoing Q 3:7 Shaḥrūr distinguishes between qurʾānic verses which are complete in themselves, representing the message of the Prophet and setting outer limits *(al-āyāt al-muḥkamāt)* and those verses *(al-āyāt al-mutashābihāt)* which become clear only when interpreted contextually and relative to time and place, such as dress codes (see MODESTY). All the verses are God's word, but their understanding requires the continuous exercise of human reason (see INTELLECT). Nor is there a contradiction between the Qurʾān and philosophy (see PHILOSOPHY AND THE QURʾĀN). Muslims have a responsibility to interpret the Qurʾān in light of modern linguistics and new scientific discoveries (see SCIENCE AND THE QURʾĀN; EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: EARLY MODERN AND CONTEMPORARY). "If Islam is sound *(ṣāliḥ)* for all times and places," then we must not neglect historical developments and the interaction of different generations. We must act as if "the Prophet just died and informed us of this book" and interpret his message anew (*Kitāb,* 44).

Consider how knowledge is passed between father and son, Shaḥrūr writes. Fathers pass knowledge little by little to their children, adapting content and style according to their age and experience. Likewise, in each historical era, the Qurʾān must be interpreted so that people can understand it. He writes that this purpose is defeated by the jurists, who have monopolized interpretation and imply that their heritage of interpretations are almost as sacred as the Qurʾān itself (see LAW AND THE QURʾĀN).

Shaḥrūr adapts the linguistic distinction between *langue* and *parole* to understanding the Qurʾān. Human thought requires language (q.v.). The qurʾānic text may be fixed, but its expressive and communicative side *(al-dhikr)* must be interpreted for each age and evolves like our understanding of the universe. The worst mistake of Muslims has been to rely heavily on inherited interpretations. Even relying on prophetic example can harm Muslims: if the Prophet's example was right for his own age, following it literally today would cause stagnation in knowledge (see KNOWLEDGE AND LEARNING) and science.

One of Shaḥrūr's primary examples is the treatment of women in Islam (*Kitāb,* 592-630; see WOMEN AND THE QURʾĀN; GENDER; FEMINISM AND THE QURʾĀN). Their status can be resolved only by distinguishing between qurʾānic understanding and later interpretations. In earlier historical eras, Muslims did not distinguish between qurʾānic verses intended to set outer limits *(ḥudūd)* and those limited to

specific historical contexts *(taʿlīmāt)*. Nor should we blame our predecessors for failing to distinguish between the two, he argues. Just as the study of mathematical principles accelerated only with Isaac Newton's ideas, so too we have had to wait until now to understand the theory of outer limits *(ḥudūd)* and its compatibility with what we know of human nature today (see BOUNDARIES AND PRECEPTS). We should not assume that the liberation of women began with the Prophet's message and ended at his death. "If a woman wasn't a judge during the Prophet's lifetime or didn't attain a political position, this doesn't mean that she was forbidden from doing so for all time." As with slavery (see SLAVES AND SLAVERY), not all changes can occur at once. Islam drew the basic lines for freedom and liberation without ruining the existing means of production. If Syria, for example, tried to convert its economy to computer labor overnight, Syrian economic production would be destroyed. Women were full participants in the first acts of allegiance to the Islamic community and fought for Islam (see FIGHTING; PATH OR WAY); no one told them to stay at home and take care of the children (q.v.). Nonetheless, women's share in inheritance (q.v.) was initially less than that of men because of their relation to the means of production in the seventh century (see WORK; MAINTENANCE AND UPKEEP).

In Shaḥrūr's view, the qurʾānic verses related to women have been misunderstood. The inherited Islamic jurisprudence considers the [literal] interpretation of some qurʾānic verses, such as "Your women are a tillage for you" (Q 2:223) in isolation from other verses which suggest that women and men are equal in Islam, even if, in the time of the Prophet, men had a functional superiority over women. Thus in matters of clothing and modesty (q.v.), the qurʾānic injunctions apply equally to both genders (for example, Q 24:30-3).

Shaḥrūr argues that he is following a "scientific" method of qurʾānic analysis based on linguistic analysis, but his interpretive method is only loosely adapted to his approach to solving contemporary issues. Hence except for the unacceptable trades of "striptease" *(stribtīz)* and prostitution, which are sinfully immodest (see ADULTERY AND FORNICATION), he argues that women can practice any available occupation suitable to their social context and historical conditions, work alongside men, and participate in Friday prayers with men veiled or unveiled (*Kitāb*, 623; see VEIL; FRIDAY PRAYER). Some tasks may be more difficult for women to perform, but women, not traditional scholars *(ʿulamāʾ)*, should decide which tasks these are.

Shaḥrūr offers a similar argument, replete with qurʾānic citations and arguments against misinterpreted sayings of the Prophet (see ḤADĪTH AND THE QURʾĀN) for women to participate as full equals in politics, including parliament: "Muslim women should know that they have the right to elect and to be elected and to practice the highest responsibilities in the Islamic state, including its leadership, to participate in Friday prayers with men, and participate in all legislative and judicial activities" (*Kitāb*, 625-6).

Contemporary case studies

Two subjects under discussion in contemporary sociological and anthropological studies of the Qurʾān will suffice as a conclusion to this survey of social sciences and the Qurʾān.

Qurʾānic schooling: past and present

Among the topics that has attracted the attention of anthropologists who study Muslim societies is that of education. In its most traditional forms, Muslim education centers on the Qurʾān. The Qurʾān is

omnipresent in daily life throughout the Muslim world (see EVERYDAY LIFE, THE QUR'ĀN IN), and the public recitation of the text reaffirms the idea of both divine and human ordering (see TEACHING AND PREACHING THE QUR'ĀN). Understood theologically, its recitation reaffirms the divine template for society as reiterated through a fixed and memorizable text. Even if most listeners cannot understand the Arabic words and phrases, accurate memorization and recitation take priority over understanding and interpretation and reaffirm the divine order and human community.

The paradigm of all knowledge is the Qur'ān (see TEACHING). Its accurate memorization in one or more of the seven conventional recitational forms is the first step in mastering the religious sciences through mnemonic possession. A distinctive feature of rural and urban community life is the presence of scholars versed in the Qur'ān who are present for all major life-cycle events and for major community occasions (see FESTIVALS AND COMMEMORATIVE DAYS; BURIAL; PRAYER FORMULAS). In Morocco, for example, every urban quarter and rural community maintains a mosque school in which a teacher *(fqīh)* conveys the basics of qur'ānic recitation and participates in recitations for both public ceremonies and private ones, such as birth (q.v.), circumcision (q.v.), marriage (see MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE), celebrations of school diplomas, and death (see DEATH AND THE DEAD).

Throughout the Muslim majority world, most males and a fair number of females, at least in towns, attend qur'ānic schools long enough to commit a few passages to memory, although these schools have long been characterized by a high rate of attrition. Most students leave before they acquire literacy and few remain the six to eight years generally required (at least in Morocco) to memorize the entire Qur'ān. In Morocco in the 1970s, according to one study, the average number of years spent in qur'ānic school ranged from almost two years in Marrakesh to only four months in small Middle Atlas mountain villages (Eickelman, *Knowledge and power,* 61).

The cognitive style associated with Qur'ān memorization is tied closely to popular understandings of Islam (see POPULAR AND TALISMANIC USES OF THE QUR'ĀN) and has important analogies in non-religious spheres of knowledge. *Ma'rifa* is the ordinary term for knowledge in contemporary Arabic: it can convey the technical religious connotation of esoteric spiritual insight but it also connotes knowledge related to commerce and crafts, including music and oral poetry. These arts share significant formal parallels with the religious sciences and are also presumed to be contained in fixed, memorized truths. Effective public speech involves the skillful invocation both of qur'ānic phrases and of the mundane but memorizable elements of knowledge drawn from poetry and proverbs (see POETRY AND POETS). A further parallel lies in the model for the transmission of knowledge. The religious sciences throughout the Islamic world are transmitted traditionally through a quasi-genealogical chain of authority that descends from master or teacher *(shaykh)* to student *(ṭālib)* to insure that the knowledge of earlier generations is passed on intact. Knowledge of crafts is passed from master to apprentice in an analogous fashion, with any knowledge or skill acquired independent of such a tradition regarded as suspect.

The formal features of qur'ānic schools have been frequently described, although the consequences of this form of pedagogy on how people think are not as well understood. The traditional emphasis on qur'ānic memorization, for example, is not

unique to the Muslim world. Elaborate mnemonic systems existed in classical Greece and Rome to facilitate memorization through the association of material with "memory posts," "visual images like the columns of a building or places at a banquet table" (Yates, *Art of memory,* 2-7). Accompanying such techniques was the notion that mnemonic knowledge was more pure than that communicated through writing (see ORALITY AND WRITING IN ARABIA; MEMORY; REMEMBRANCE).

What is remarkable about memory in the context of Islamic education in Morocco is not the performance of prodigious mnemonic feats in qurʾānic memorization — such feats were fully paralleled in Europe. It is the insistence of former students that they employed no devices to facilitate memorization. Nonetheless, these same students recall visualizing the shape of the letters on their slates and the circumstances associated with the memorization of particular verses and texts. One study (Wagner, Memories, 14) suggests that patterns of intonation and rhythm systematically serve as mnemonic markers.

Even after the advent of print technology (see PRINTING OF THE QURʾĀN), printed books were long neglected in *madrasa* education through the 1970s in many regions. This was partly because of the lack of printed or manuscript books, but also because of the cultural concept of learning implicit in Islamic education. A typical qurʾānic teacher (*fqīh* in Morocco) had between fifteen and twenty students, ranging in age from four to sixteen. Each morning the *fqīh* wrote the verses to be memorized on each student's wooden slate *(lūḥ)* and the student then spent the day memorizing the verses by reciting them out loud and also reciting the verses learned the previous day. Memorization was incremental, with the recitation of new material added to that already learned (for example, a, then a,b, then a,b,c). Students were not grouped into "classes" based on age or progress in memorization.

Qurʾānic studies have been culturally associated with rigorous discipline and the lack of clear explanation of memorized passages. Both these features are congruent with a concept of religious knowledge as essentially fixed and, in the Moroccan and other contexts, an associated concept of "reason" *(ʿaql),* which is conceived as a human's ability to discipline his or her nature in accord with the arbitrary code of conduct laid down by God and epitomized by acts of communal obedience (q.v.), such as the fast of Ramaḍān (q.v.; Eickelman, *Moroccan Islam,* 130-8; see also FASTING). Firm discipline in the course of learning the Qurʾān is thus regarded as an integral part of socialization.

When a father handed his son over to a *fqīh,* he did so with the formulaic phrase that the child could be beaten. Such punishment was considered necessary for accurate qurʾānic recitation. Former students explained that the teacher (or the student's father, when he supervised the process of memorization) was regarded as the impersonal agency of punishment, which, like the unchanging word of God itself, was merely transmitted by him. Students were also told that the parts of their bodies struck in the process of qurʾānic memorization would not burn in hell (see REWARD AND PUNISHMENT; HELL AND HELLFIRE). The same notion applied to the beatings apprentices received from craftsmen and musicians. In practice, students were slapped or whipped only when their attention flagged or when they repeated errors, although the children of high-status fathers were struck much less frequently than other children.

Former students emphasize that they asked no questions concerning the meaning of qurʾānic verses, even among themselves, and it did not occur to them to do so. Their sole activity was properly recited memorization. Because the grammar and vocabulary of the Qurʾān are not immediately accessible to speakers of colloquial Arabic, and even less so to students from regions where Arabic is not the first language, former students readily admitted that they did not comprehend what they were memorizing until fairly late in their studies. "Understanding" *(fahm)* was not measured by the ability to explain particular verses, since explanation was considered a science to be acquired through years of study of the exegetical literature *(tafsīr)*. Any informal attempt to explain meaning was considered blasphemy (q.v.) and did not occur. Instead, the measure of understanding consisted of the ability to use qurʾānic verses in appropriate contexts.

In the first few years of Qurʾān school, students had little control over what they recited. They could not, for instance, recite specific chapters of the Qurʾān, but had to begin with one of the sixty principal recitational sections. Firmer control was achieved as students accompanied their father, other relatives, or occasionally the teacher to social gatherings, where they heard adults incorporate qurʾānic verses into particular contexts and gradually acquired the ability to do so themselves, as well as to recite specific sections of the Qurʾān without regard to the order in which they had been memorized. Thus the measure of understanding was the ability to make practical reference to the memorized text, just as originality was shown in working qurʾānic references into conversation, sermons, and formal occasions. Knowledge and manipulation of secular oral poetry and proverbs in a parallel fashion is still a sign of good rhetorical style; the skill is not confined to religious learning (see RHETORIC AND THE QURʾĀN).

The high rate of attrition from qurʾānic schools supports the notion that mnemonic "possession" can be considered a form of cultural capital. Education was free aside from small gifts to the teacher, yet most students were compelled to drop out after a short period to contribute to the support of their families or because they did not receive familial support for the arduous and imperfectly understood process of learning. In practice, memorization of the Qurʾān was accomplished primarily by children from relatively prosperous households or by those whose fathers or guardians were already literate (see LITERACY). Nonetheless, education was a means to social mobility, especially for poor students who managed to progress through higher, post-qurʾānic education.

The notion of cultural capital implies more than possession of the material resources to allow a child to spend six to eight years in the memorization of the Qurʾān; it also implies a sustained adult discipline over the child. Students' fathers, elder brothers, other close relatives — including women in some cases — and peers, especially at later stages of learning, were integrally involved in the learning process. All provided contexts for learning to continue, since formal education did not involve being systematically taught to read and write outside the context of the Qurʾān, even for urban students from wealthy families. Students acquired such skills, if at all, apart from their studies in qurʾānic schools (Berque, *Maghreb,* 167-8), just as they acquired an understanding of the Qurʾān through social situations.

A student became a "memorizer" *(ḥāfiẓ)* once he knew the entire Qurʾān; this set him apart from ordinary society even without additional studies. In the pre-colonial era in Morocco, qurʾānic students often

were the only strangers who could travel in safety through tribal regions without making prior arrangements for protection. The mnemonic "possession" of the Qurʾān set people apart from other elements of society.

The Qurʾān in daily life

Yet another aspect of qurʾānic studies that has generated interest among both anthropologists and sociologists is the integration of the Qurʾān within the social fabric of Muslim life. It may be correct to say that the Qurʾān continuously plays a central role in society, but *how* this is accomplished contextually points to significant differences that often are the product of incremental changes that frequently go unnoticed. One significant change is in the memorization of the Qurʾān. For an earlier generation of religious learning, it could be taken for granted that its recitation was known by heart. In courtrooms and in gatherings of the pious, those not engaged in conversation would continue its recitation *sotto voce,* using a rosary *(tasbīḥ)* to keep track of the parts recited. Among the most able and educated, apposite qurʾānic verses were dropped into conversation or sermons. With the spread of literacy and mass higher education, memorization of the entire Qurʾān has become less common. On occasions such as the commemoration of a deceased forty days after his or her death (the *arbaʿīn*), the reciters and guests who accompany the imām (q.v.) in most parts of the Muslim world are likely to recite from printed copies of the Qurʾān. This opens the art of recitation to more people, although the imām or other expert recitational leaders exercise the same care for the production of an *exact* recitation according to one of the established forms of recitation. In practice, the most skilled can exercise control over those at the core of such a gathering, occasionally correcting one another as a sign of authority but offering only example, not authoritative control, over the larger group. Governments offer qurʾānic recitation contests and commissions to ensure its proper style and encouraging it as an art (Nelson, *Art of reciting*). It remains popular, but other forms of public religious performance increasingly displace it.

Changes in media have tacitly displaced the predominance of the Qurʾān in daily life (see MEDIA AND THE QURʾĀN). Several countries, including Saudi Arabia, Morocco, and Egypt, offer non-stop qurʾānic recitations on the radio and nearly all Muslim majority countries offer qurʾānic recitation for at least part of the day on radio and television. In an earlier era, such media recitations were central. The advent of the new media, including audio- and videocassettes and the Internet, offer many popular alternatives. The taxi driver in Cairo, Amman, or Fez who once would have listened to qurʾānic recitation on his radio is now more likely to listen to a popular religious preacher speaking in a direct, comprehensible, and forceful way in his own dialect. Ideally, listening to qurʾānic recitation is a complex activity, requiring a combination of intent, training, and discipline. The same is the case when listening to a cassette sermon, except that the speaker can build into his sermon calls for audience participation, such as asking the audience to recite "in the name of God" (*bi-smi-llāh;* see BASMALA) each time a qurʾānic verse is invoked, or to repeat certain key phrases from the sermon (Hirschkind, Ethics of listening, 637). Such interactivity is implicit, not explicit, in Qurʾān recitation. Qurʾānic recitation focuses attention on the beauty of recitation. Its meaning — as the word of God — is known in general, but except for a stock of commonly invoked passages for life-crises occasions, the meaning of

specific phrases is the domain of scholars. Sermons are much more accessible to a wider public and one that increasingly anticipates the ability to participate in religious discussion and debate (Eickelman and Anderson, Redefining Muslim publics, 9-11).

The place of the Qurʾān in daily life can be highly variable. In places as varied as Bulgaria and North America, its presence in a room can be venerated and iconic if its recitation is limited to a handful of persons present. In other cases, its study, as in women's discussion groups in Iran (Torab, Piety as gendered agency, 296), can offer women a means of participation in the religious life of the wider community. In the contemporary world, the role played by the Qurʾān as a text, as the idea of a text, and as a physical object in printed or manuscript form continues to shift. Its character may be eternal, but its place in society contextually shifts. See also COMMUNITY AND SOCIETY IN THE QURʾĀN; EVERYDAY LIFE, THE QURʾĀN IN.

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Sociology

see SOCIAL SCIENCES AND THE QURʾĀN

Solomon

The son of the biblical king David (q.v.) and heir to his throne. Solomon (Ar. Sulaymān) is presented in the Qurʾān as playing three important roles, although they are often interwoven in its narrative (see NARRATIVES). He was a ruler who inherited his father's knowledge as well as his kingdom (see KINGS AND RULERS; KNOWLEDGE AND LEARNING; POWER AND IMPOTENCE); a prophet (see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD) who, despite occasional lapses in devotional practice (see PIETY; WORSHIP; RITUAL AND THE QURʾĀN), enjoyed divine protection (q.v.) and was assured an honored place in paradise (q.v.); and a person who possessed wide-ranging magical and esoteric powers which he used with divine sanction (see MAGIC). Solomon's life and accomplishments are

described in Q 21:78-82, 27:15-44, 34:10-14 and 38:30-40 but many of these passages are written in a laconic and allusive style that stimulated the composition of glosses, commentaries and stories (see MYTHS AND LEGENDS IN THE QUR'ĀN; EXEGESIS OF THE QUR'ĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL). These sources often supply colorful details about him and his associates not mentioned in the Qur'ān. Solomon's unusual mixture of skills and characteristics also encouraged symbolic interpretations of his life and accomplishments (see SYMBOLIC IMAGERY).

Solomon in the Qur'ān

As a ruler Solomon was noted for his possession of knowledge *('ilm)* and wisdom (q.v.; *ḥikma*), characteristics that he inherited from his father, David, but in which he was believed to have surpassed him (Q 21:78-9; Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* xvii, 50-4; id., *Ta'rīkh,* i, 573; Tha'labī, *Qiṣaṣ,* 257-9). Another area in which the son was more accomplished than the father was as a builder. The Qur'ān alludes to the various objects and structures which were made for him, including mihrabs *(maḥārīb),* images or sculptures *(tamāthīl)* and watering troughs (*jifān,* Q 34:12-13; Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* xxiii, 70-1; see ART AND ARCHITECTURE AND THE QUR'ĀN; MOSQUE; IDOLS AND IMAGES). Another passage mentions the palace with a glass floor where he received the Queen of Sheba (q.v.; Q 27:44; Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* xix, 168-70; id., *Ta'rīkh,* i, 583; Tha'labī, *Qiṣaṣ,* 271, 275-6; see BILQĪS).

Descriptions of the structures and objects made for Solomon present them primarily as a demonstration of his power to force men, birds (see ANIMAL LIFE), jinn (q.v.) and *shayṭān*s to do his bidding (Q 21:82; 38:37-8; Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* xvii, 55-6; xxiii, 160; id., *Ta'rīkh,* i, 575-7; Tha'labī, *Qiṣaṣ,* 269-70; see DEVIL). Both Solomon and David are said to have had the ability to communicate with birds and animals (see LANGUAGE, CONCEPT OF). David charmed them with his mellifluous voice whereas Solomon was able to affect their behavior through his understanding of their speech (q.v.). His power to communicate with both ants and birds is specifically mentioned by the Qur'ān (Q 27:16-18; Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* xix, 141-2).

Solomon's ability to command the wind (see AIR AND WIND) and to make it transport him wherever he pleased is another manifestation of his special powers. This ability is referred to in three different qur'ānic passages affirming its importance as an aspect of Solomon's status (Q 21:81; 34:12; 38:36; Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* xvii, 55-6; xxiii, 68-9, 160-1; id., *Ta'rīkh,* i, 573-5; Tha'labī, *Qiṣaṣ,* 260-1). A similar ability to travel miraculously is attributed to the jinn under his command because they are able to seize a throne belonging to the Queen of Sheba and bring it to Solomon in an instant (Q 27:23, 38-42; Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* xix, 148, 159-68; id., *Ta'rīkh,* i, 580-1; Tha'labī, *Qiṣaṣ,* 279, 283-4; see TRIPS AND VOYAGES; JOURNEY).

Solomon in qur'ānic exegesis and the stories of the prophets

Muslim commentators provide anecdotes which demonstrate Solomon's wisdom and piety but they also delight in his regal pomp and magical powers. Stories about his magical levitating throne, his retinue of birds, animals, demons and men and his connection with the Queen of Sheba, identified as Bilqīs in Muslim sources, captured popular imagination. Solomon's temporal, religious and esoteric powers made him a model for both religious and secular personages (Melikian-Chirvani, Royaume). His mobility led Muslim commentators to link him with far-flung places; rulers distant from Jerusalem (q.v.) invoked his memory in the construction and decoration of their residences (Soucek, Throne; Koch, Jahangir). On a more popular level,

his attributes and accomplishments are described in stories and depicted in paintings (Bagci, Divan; Milstein, Ruhrdanz and Schmitz, *Stories of the prophets*).

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Soothsayer

One who foretells or interprets events. The Arabic term *kāhin,* related to Hebrew *kohen* ("priest"), designates a soothsayer, seer or diviner. It appears twice in the Qurʾān, reflecting one of several accusations directed at the prophet Muḥammad: that he was a madman (see INSANITY), poet (see POETRY AND POETS) or soothsayer or that he was instructed by someone else (*muʿallam;* see INFORMANTS). The text emphatically rejects such slurs:

> Therefore warn (humankind), for, by the grace of God, you are neither a soothsayer nor a madman" (Q 52:29; see WARNER). But nay! I swear by all that you see and all that you do not see that this is indeed the speech *(qawl)* of a noble messenger (q.v.). It is not the speech of a poet — how little you believe (see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF)! Nor is it the speech of a soothsayer — how little do you take heed! (Q 69:38-42).

The soothsayer was an important religious specialist in pre-Islamic Arabia who served several functions, showing some affinity with soothsayers in ancient Semitic traditions (see PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QURʾĀN; SOUTH ARABIA, RELIGION IN PRE-ISLAMIC; MAGIC). He was often the custodian *(sādin, ḥājib)* of a temple or shrine *(bayt, kaʿba)* within a sacred precinct (*ḥaram;* see SACRED PRECINCTS), in which capacity he maintained the shrine itself, supervised sacrifices (see SACRIFICE) and other rites and oversaw donations. As seer, he was called on to predict events (see FORETELLING; DIVINATION), interpret dreams (see DREAMS AND SLEEP) or provide advice regarding difficult decisions such as undertaking a journey (q.v.), going to war (q.v.), or sealing an alliance (see CONTRACTS AND ALLIANCES). He usually performed divination by casting lots consisting of marked rods or arrow shafts *(azlām, aqdāḥ)*. In an altered state, often enshrouded in a cloak, he also received oracular statements through inspiration from a familiar spirit *(tābiʿ)*. Purporting to be in the voice of the spirit, these statements addressed the soothsayer himself as "you"

and were couched in rhymed and rhythmic cadences (*sajʿ;* see RHYMED PROSE), drawing on obscure and ambiguous vocabulary and often prefaced by oaths (q.v.) sworn upon natural phenomena. They included omens, charms, prayers, blessings and curses (see CURSE; BLESSING; PORTENTS). The soothsayer received remuneration for his services in the form of an "honorarium" *(ḥulwān)*.

In addition, the label soothsayer was applied to the "false prophets" active during the "wars of apostasy (q.v.)" both before and following the death of the prophet Muḥammad: al-Aswad al-ʿAnsī (d. 10/632) in Yemen, Ṭulayḥa b. Khuwaylid (d. 21/642) among the Banū Asad, Musaylima b. Ḥabīb in Yamāma and the prophetess Sajāḥ among the Banū Tamīm (see TRIBES AND CLANS). Musaylima (q.v.), known as "the liar" in Muslim sources, was the most important of these prophets historically; his religious movement showed many similarities to that of the prophet Muḥammad and may have been nascent Islam's most formidable rival. After crushing two Muslim armies, his forces were defeated by the Muslims under the general Khālid b. al-Walīd, and he himself was killed at the battle of ʿAqrabāʿ in 12/634.

As part of the pagan religion, soothsaying was rejected under Islam and survived only in marginal contexts. The soothsayers' claims of access to hidden knowledge *(ghayb)* went against the Islamic attribution of this power exclusively to God (see KNOWLEDGE AND LEARNING; HIDDEN AND THE HIDDEN); in the words of al-Bāqillānī (d. 403/1013), "soothsaying contradicts the prophecies" (*Iʿjāz,* 87). It is reported that the Prophet outlawed three fees: the price for a dog (q.v.), the payment *(mahr)* of a prostitute (see ADULTERY AND FORNICATION; TEMPORARY MARRIAGE) and the honorarium of a soothsayer (Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ, bāb thaman al-kalb*). A report known as "the ḥadīth of the fetus" is also cited to show that the Prophet rejected the use of rhymed prose because of its association with soothsaying. Transmitted in various versions, the ḥadīth relates a case concerning two co-wives (see MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE; WOMEN AND THE QURʾĀN; ḤADĪTH AND THE QURʾĀN), one from the tribe of Hudhayl and the other from the tribe of ʿĀmir. The Hudhaliyya struck the ʿĀmiriyya with a pole, killing her and also causing a miscarriage. When the Prophet ruled that the guilty woman's relatives had to pay blood money (q.v.) both for the ʿĀmiriyya and for the fetus, her guardian remonstrated, "O, messenger of God, have you ruled (that blood money be paid) for one who has neither eaten nor drunk, nor let out his first cry, when such as this should be left uncompensated?" *(qaḍayta fī man lā akala wa-lā shariba wa-lā ʿstahal[la] fa-mithlu dhālika yuṭal[l])*. The Prophet remarked, in disapproval, "*Sajʿ* like the *sajʿ* of the soothsayers?" (Jāḥiẓ, *Bayān,* i, 287-91; Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan,* iv, 190-3; ʿAskarī, *Ṣināʿatayn,* 261; Abū Nuʿaym al-Iṣbahānī, *Dhikr akhbār Iṣbahān,* ii, 97, 112). Some authorities argue, however, that the Prophet did not mean to condemn rhymed prose altogether but only its use as a rhetorical flourish designed to make an illegitimate point (Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Mathal al-sāʿir,* i, 274). Recommendations to avoid rhymed prose in prayers (Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* ii, 43 [34. *Buyuʿ*, 113 *(bāb thaman al-kalb)*]; Fr. trans., ii, 5) also represent an attempt to distinguish Islamic prayers from those of the soothsayers (see PRAYER; RITUAL AND THE QURʾĀN; PRAYER FORMULAS).

Nevertheless, just as the pagan ritual of the pre-Islamic pilgrimage (q.v.) was accepted in Islam by being reinterpreted within a biblical framework, so, too, were elements of soothsaying adopted in the Qurʾān and Islamic tradition with similar modifications. It is curious that Ibn

Hishām's (d. 761/1360) *Sīra* uses a soothsaying tradition to legitimate the rise of Islam. It begins with two renowned south Arabian soothsayers, Shiqq and Saṭīḥ, predicting the Ethiopian invasion of Yemen and the rise of a great prophet who would reverse the invasion. In addition, many passages of the Qurʾān exhibit features related to the style of soothsayers' pronouncements. The Prophet receives revelation when enshrouded (Q 73:1; 74:1). He is also visited by a spirit (q.v.), though the familiar spirit of the soothsaying tradition is reinterpreted as the angel Gabriel (q.v.; cf. Q 53:1-18). The Prophet is regularly addressed as "you" (sing.). Rhymed prose is prevalent, particularly in the early Meccan sūras (see RHETORIC AND THE QURʾĀN; LANGUAGE AND STYLE OF THE QURʾĀN). In addition, many specific forms associated with soothsaying appear: oaths by celestial bodies (see PLANETS AND STARS) and natural phenomena (Q 37:1-3; 51:1-4; 52:1-6; 53:1; 74:32-34; 77:1-6; 79:1-5; 81:15-18; 84:16-18; 85:1-3; 86:1; 89:1-4; 90:1-3; 91:1-7; 92:1-3; 93:1-2; 95:1-3; 100:1-5; 103:1; see NATURE AS SIGNS), omens and predictions, often in the form "when" *(idhā)* . . . "then, on that day" (*yawmaʾidhin;* cf. Q 77:8-19; 81:1-14; 82:1-5; 84:1-15; 99), the *mā adrāka* construction (Q 69:1-3; 74:26-7; 77:3-4; 82:14-18; 83:7-8; 83:18-19; 86:1-2; 90:11-12; 97:1-2; 101:1-3; 104:4-5; see FORM AND STRUCTURE OF THE QURʾĀN), charms (Q 113; 114; see POPULAR AND TALISMANIC USES OF THE QURʾĀN), and curses (Q 104; 111). The content, though, has presumably shifted. For example, all omens or predictions in the Qurʾān, with the exception of Q 30:1-2 which are understood to predict a victory by the Byzantines (q.v.) over the Persians, have to do with the apocalypse (q.v.) and judgment day (see ESCHATOLOGY; LAST JUDGMENT).

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Sorcery see MAGIC

Sorrow see WEEPING; JOY AND MISERY

Soul

That which makes a creature animate, and to which individuality is attributed. From the second/eighth century until today, the vast majority of Muslims have believed that each human being has a soul. Opinion has varied regarding the soul's nature and its relationship to the body, though most Muslim scholars have envisioned the soul as a subtle form or substance infused within or inhabiting a physical body. Generally, Muslims have believed that souls are created by God, joined to a body at birth, taken from the body at death and reunited with the body on the resurrection day (see CREATION; BIRTH; BIOLOGY AS

THE CREATION AND STAGES OF LIFE; DEATH AND THE DEAD; RESURRECTION). Muslim theologians, philosophers and mystics have cited various verses from the Qurʾān in support of the soul's existence (see THEOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN; PHILOSOPHY AND THE QURʾĀN; ṢŪFISM AND THE QURʾĀN). Yet, such readings appear indebted more to Aristotle, neo-Platonism and Christianity (see CHRISTIANS AND CHRISTIANITY) than to the Qurʾān, with its holistic view of the human being.

In Arabic, two words are used interchangeably for soul: *rūḥ,* "breath, spirit (q.v.; see also AIR AND WIND)," and *nafs,* "self." *Rūḥ* appears twenty-one times in the Qurʾān, always as a singular substantive, masculine noun. There, *rūḥ* often refers to the spirit of revelation (see REVELATION AND INSPIRATION) sent by God to his prophets (see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD): "High of rank, possessor of the throne (see THRONE OF GOD), he casts the spirit of his command upon whomever he wills of his servants (q.v.), that they might warn of the day of meeting" (Q 40:15; see WARNER). The spirit (of God's command) may be accompanied by angels (see ANGEL) when bringing revelation, ascending to their lord (q.v.), and on judgment day (Q 16:2; 70:4; 78:38; 97:4; see LAST JUDGMENT). Using similar language, the Qurʾān speaks of *rūḥ al-qudus,* or "the holy spirit," sent by God to assist Jesus (q.v.; Q 2:87, 253; 5:110; see also HOLY SPIRIT) and to bring Muḥammad the qurʾānic revelation: "Say [Muḥammad]: Truly the holy spirit brought down [revelation] from your lord to strengthen those who believe (see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF), as guidance (see ERROR; ASTRAY) and glad tidings (see GOOD NEWS) for those who submit!" (Q 16:102; cf. 26:193; 42:52). The Qurʾān clearly identifies this spirit of revelation as Gabriel (q.v.; Q 2:97).

God's spirit also came, in the form of a man, to Mary (q.v.), to assist in her conception with Jesus (Q 19:17), about which the Qurʾān says: "And Mary daughter of Imrān (q.v.), who guarded her chastity (q.v.), we breathed into her from our spirit…" (Q 66:12; cf. 4:171; 21:91). Comparable to the prophets, who bring revelations from God, Mary conceived and gave birth to the prophet Jesus. Mary's story also parallels that of Adam's creation (see ADAM AND EVE): "Then [God] proportioned him and breathed into him of his spirit, and he assigned you hearing and sight and hearts, but little thanks you give!" (Q 32:9; cf. 15:29; 38:72; see SEEING AND HEARING; HEART; GRATITUDE AND INGRATITUDE). Yet, in the last two examples, the term *rūḥ* probably does not designate the spirit of revelation but, rather, the "breath of life" given by God (cf. Hebrew *ruaḥ; Gen* 2:7; *Ezek* 34:1-14). A related use of *rūḥ* is found in the verse of the pre-Islamic poet ʿAbīd b. al-Abraṣ (sixth century C.E.): "What are we but bodies that pass under the earth and breaths to the winds?" Nevertheless, many Muslims have taken the story of Adam's creation as proof of the existence of a soul within each human being. Some Muslim scholars have suggested that human beings may thus have a portion of divinity itself or, at the very least, a very special relationship with God. Clearly, the meaning of *rūḥ* in the Qurʾān has been a topic of discussion since Muḥammad's time, as the Qurʾān notes: "They ask you about the spirit. Say: 'The spirit is from the command of my lord, and you have been given little knowledge!' " (Q 17:85; see KNOWLEDGE AND LEARNING).

The second word found in the Qurʾān which has been read as soul is *nafs*. Like *rūḥ, nafs* is derived from a root involving air, breath and life; the verb *nafasa* means "to breathe," with *nafas* meaning "breath," though neither word appears in the Qurʾān. *Nafs* is a cognate of the Hebrew

nefesh which, in the Bible, generally refers to the life force coursing through the blood of humans and animals (e.g. *Lev* 17:11; see BLOOD AND BLOODCLOT); by extension, *nefesh* may designate the appetites, a person or a slave (see SLAVES AND SLAVERY). Among the pre-Islamic Nabataens, *napshā* referred to a tomb, the last resting-place of a human being, while in pre-Islamic Arabic poetry (see POETRY AND POETS; PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QUR'ĀN), the feminine noun *nafs* and its plurals *anfus* and *nufūs* refer to living beings, in general, and to one's self or tribe (see TRIBES AND CLANS), in particular. This use of *nafs* as a reflexive particle is very common in the Qur'ān, where *nafs, anfus* and *nufūs* appear over 250 times:

As to those who argue with you about [the revelation] after what knowledge has come to you, say [to them]: "Come, let us call together our children (q.v.) and your children, our women and your women (see WOMEN AND THE QUR'ĀN), ourselves *(anfusanā)* and yourselves *(anfusakum)*. Then we will humbly pray and call down God's curse (q.v.) upon the liars!" (Q 3:61; see also LIE).

Nafs may refer to humans, the jinn (q.v.), Satan (see DEVIL) and God: "God has prescribed mercy (q.v.) for himself" (*'alā nafsihi,* Q 6:12; cf. 6:130; 18:51; 21:43). As in this last example, *nafs* may imply an essential quality, a disposition or intentions: "Your lord knows what is within yourselves" (*fī nufūsikum,* Q 17:25; see HIDDEN AND THE HIDDEN). This calls attention to an important ethical aspect often found in the reflexive *nafs* (see ETHICS AND THE QUR'ĀN) as the Qur'ān challenges its audience to choose between God's commands and their own desires (see WISH AND DESIRE): "Say: 'O people, the truth (q.v.) has come to you from your lord. Whoever is guided [by it], is guided for himself *(li-nafsihi),* while he who goes astray, strays against himself' " (*'alayhā,* Q 10:108). Use of the reflexive pronouns in such verses, then, underscores human responsibility for one's belief and actions: "What they spend on this worldly life is like a cold blast that strikes and destroys the fields of a people who oppress themselves (see PARABLE; SIMILES; LITERARY STRUCTURES OF THE QUR'ĀN). God did not oppress them, but they oppress themselves!" (Q 3:117; see OPPRESSION; OPPRESSED ON EARTH, THE; FREEDOM AND PREDESTINATION; REWARD AND PUNISHMENT).

Here, *nafs* reflects a negative human trait, namely selfishness, against which the Qur'ān warns: "So be mindful of God as much as you can, listen and obey (see OBEDIENCE), and spend on charity to help yourselves. For those who are saved from their selfish greed *(shuḥḥ nafsihi),* they are the successful ones!" (Q 64:16; cf. 53:23; 59:9; see TRADE AND COMMERCE). This *nafs* corresponds to the appetites or the appetitive faculties discussed in ancient and Hellenistic philosophies. As such, the Qur'ān links *nafs* with greed (see AVARICE), envy (q.v.), and lust. Like Satan, selfishness whispers its desires to the individual and incites evil acts (Q 12:18; 20:96, 120; 47:25; 50:16; see EVIL DEEDS; WHISPER). As Joseph (q.v.) declares when faced with Potipher's wife and her scheme to seduce him: "I do not absolve myself, for, indeed, selfishness instigates evil *(al-nafsa la-ammāratun bi-l-sū'i),* save where my lord has mercy. Indeed, my lord is forgiving and merciful!" (Q 12:53; cf. 4:128; 5:30; see FORGIVENESS). Thus, the Qur'ān declares that concupiscence must be fought and controlled if one is to obey God: "As for him who fears standing before his lord (see FEAR), and who restrains the self *(al-nafs)* from desire (see ABSTINENCE), indeed the garden (q.v.) will be the place of refuge!"

(Q 79:40-1). The believer resists his selfish impulses by heeding *al-nafs al-lawwāma,* his "blaming self" or conscience (Q 75:2), so that on the judgment day he may appear before God with a clear conscience and inner tranquility (*al-nafs al-muṭma'inna,* Q 89:27).

In these and similar instances, *nafs* and its plurals do not appear to designate a spiritual substance or soul but rather aspects of human character, including selfishness, concupiscence, personal responsibility and individual conscience. In other verses, however, *nafs* has a more general meaning as a living person or human life. When God called Moses (q.v.) to go to Egypt (q.v.), Moses replied: "Lord, I have killed a person *(nafs)* among them, and I fear they will kill me!" (Q 28:33; see MURDER; BLOODSHED; RETALIATION). Similarly, the Qur'ān declares: "And do not kill a person *(al-nafs),* which God has forbidden, save for a just cause" (Q 17:33; cf. 18:74; 25:68) and most explicitly: "And we decreed for them in [the Torah (q.v.)] a life *(al-nafs)* for a life (q.v.), an eye for an eye (see EYES), a nose for a nose…" (Q 5:45). Likewise, the Qur'ān calls Muslims to defend their faith (q.v.) with their property (q.v.) and lives: "Believe in God and his messenger *(rasūlahu)* and strive in the way of God with your property and lives *(anfus)*!" (Q 61:11; cf. 9:20, 41, 44, 81, 88; see PATH OR WAY). Such loss and death are an inevitable part of life's trials: "We will test you with something of fear and hunger, and loss of property, lives *(al-anfus),* and the fruits [of your labors]. Yet give good news to the patient ones" (Q 2:155).

The Qur'ān states emphatically that every human being will die: "Every person *(nafs)* will taste death, and your wages will be paid in full on the day of resurrection!" (Q 3:185; cf. 3:145; 21:35; 29:57). In several passages, angels seize the living at the time of death. Speaking of unbelievers, the Qur'ān says: "If you could only see when the oppressors are in the throes of death, as the angels stretch out their hands, pulling out their lives!" (*anfus,* Q 6:93; cf. 4:97). Some commentators have read this passage as referring to souls, though in a larger qur'ānic context, *anfus* might better be read as "lives." A related verse, however, is more ambiguous: "God gathers up persons *(al-anfus)* at their death and, for those who do not die, in their sleep (q.v.). He keeps those upon whom he has decreed death, and sends the others back until an appointed time…" (Q 39:42; cf. 6:60). The Qur'ān likens sleep to death for, as the commentator al-Zamakhsharī (d. 538/1144) points out, sleep suspends exterior movement and consciousness *(nafs al-tamyīz),* while, in death, consciousness, movement and life itself *(nafs al-ḥayā)* are ended. Al-Zamakhsharī makes a distinction here between reason and discrimination (*nafs al-'aql wa-l-tamyīz;* see INTELLECT) and the life force *(rūḥ)* that is characterized by breath and movement. Other commentators, however, including al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923), al-Qushayrī (d. 465/1072) and al-Rāzī (d. 606/1210) go further, stating that in both sleep and death, God takes away a person's movement and consciousness, along with their soul *(rūḥ; jawhar mushriq rūḥānī).*

Commentators have also found reference to the soul in Q 81:7, which says that on judgment day, "the *nufūs* will be paired." They note that one possible meaning is that souls *(al-arwāḥ)* will be joined with their bodies. Yet some of these commentators, especially al-Ṭabarī, point out that the probable meaning is that each person *(al-insān)* will be gathered with people of a similar sort, as good persons enter paradise (q.v.), evil people, hell (cf. Q 56:7; 37:22; see GOOD AND EVIL; HELL AND HELLFIRE). This reading is consistent with the Qur'ān's many other references to the

nafs on judgment day when individuals are called to account:

Every person *(nafs)* is held accountable for what she earned (Q 74:38).
We do not burden a person *(nafs)* beyond her capacity. We have a book (q.v.) that speaks the truth, and they will not be wronged! (Q 23:62; see also HEAVENLY BOOK).
[On a day] when a person *(nafs)* will know what she sent forward and what she left behind (Q 82:5).

Nafs in such passages probably means the person held responsible for his or her beliefs and actions and not the soul. This is suggested by nearly identical passages in which the feminine *nafs* is replaced, not by *rūḥ* or some other synonym for soul, but by the masculine noun *insān,* meaning human being. "On that day, the human being *(al-insān)* will be informed of what he sent forward and what he left behind" (Q 75:13; cf. 82:5; 91:7). Similarly, regarding the creation of the human race, the Qurʾān says: "He it is who created you from a single person *(nafs)* and made from her, her mate, that *he* might find rest in her" (Q 7:189; see PAIRS AND PAIRING). Though the feminine *nafs* is used here, this person clearly refers to Adam as reflected in the shift in gender within the verse (cf. Q 4:1; 38:71-2; 39:6).

Clearly, then, in accounts of creation and resurrection, the Qurʾān never states that the *nafs* is a soul that joins or enters a body. Rather, in the Qurʾān, it is the entire person in all of his or her physical, emotional and spiritual capacities that is created, dies and will be recreated on judgment day: "Your creation and resurrection are but like that of a single person *(nafs)*. Indeed, God hears and sees all!" (Q 31:28; see GOD AND HIS ATTRIBUTES).

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South Arabia, Religions in Pre-Islamic

The religious history of south Arabia is divided into two periods of unequal length: polytheistic from its beginnings (eighth century B.C.E.) until around 380 C.E. (see POLYTHEISM AND ATHEISM), then monotheistic thereafter. Only the first is dealt with here; for the second, see YEMEN; JEWS AND JUDAISM; CHRISTIANS AND CHRISTIANITY. (For other aspects of pre-Islamic religious traditions of which the Qurʾān evinces knowledge, see e.g. ABYSSINIA; MAGIANS; MECCA; MEDINA; NAJRĀN; SABIANS; SHEBA; SOOTHSAYER; SYRIA.)

The main source for understanding the religions of pre-Islamic south Arabia

consists of inscriptions, which are engraved on durable materials and are numbered in the thousands (see also EPIGRAPHY AND THE QUR'ĀN). Archaeological investigation of ancient cult places complements the information taken from the texts (see also ARCHAEOLOGY AND THE QUR'ĀN). By comparison, external sources, whether ancient works in classical or oriental languages or the rare pieces of information passed on by the Arab traditions of the Islamic era, provide us with very little (see ORALITY AND WRITING IN ARABIA; PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QUR'ĀN). Such sources, which could clarify the religious conceptions of ancient south Arabians for us and give us an organized presentation of the divine cosmos (see COSMOLOGY), have not been preserved as literary texts (myths, epics, poems or rituals; see MYTHS AND LEGENDS IN THE QUR'ĀN; POETRY AND POETS; RITUAL AND THE QUR'ĀN). Most of the time, such sources simply mention the divinities, sanctuaries (see SACRED PRECINCTS; SACRED AND PROFANE; HOUSE, DOMESTIC AND DIVINE) or rituals.

The inscriptions deal only with a restricted range of subjects. The vast majority of them commemorate specific actions, setting out the rights of men or gods: building or construction operations which establish property (q.v.) rights; offerings to a divinity in order to obtain favor; rites carried out at important moments in the life of the community. These texts almost always provide important information for understanding religion (q.v.). The particular titles of their authors may make mention of a priestly office. The dedications quote the name of the intended divinity, particular titles (epithet, temple name) and, after the start of the Christian era, the reasons why the believer was making his offering. The dedications and texts which commemorate building or construction works normally end with "invocations," that is, a detailed list of the earthly and supernatural powers from whom the authors had obtained support or approval (see PRAYER FORMULAS). Prescriptive texts, which are few in number, are equally interesting. Some control access to the sanctuary, while others call upon divinities to grant greater weight to their prescriptions.

Gods and goddesses

The inscriptions name a whole host of divinities. Several, slightly dated works (Höfner, Die Stammesgruppen; id., Vorislamischen Religionen; Ryckmans, Religions arabes; id., *Religions arabes*) provide a list of these. Clearly this collection of divinities does not constitute a south Arabian pantheon as such. The first rule of classification is to identify those sites where a divinity is venerated or invoked: it is immediately clear that the majority of divinities have a special link with a particular family (q.v.), a named tribe (see TRIBES AND CLANS; KINSHIP), a tribal federation or a kingdom (see KINGS AND RULERS). These divinities may be termed "institutional" since they intervene in the life of the community at a certain level. It is these divinities that are invoked at the end of inscriptions.

Institutional divinities

Each kingdom had an official pantheon, made up of a small number of divinities, around five in total. This list of divinities is easy to determine for the kingdom of Saba' (ʿAthtar, Hawbas, Almaqah, dhāt-Ḥimyam and dhāt-Baʿdān^{um}, *ʿ<u>tt</u>r, Hwbsʿ, 'lmqh, <u>d</u>t-Ḥmym, <u>d</u>t-Bʿdn^{m}*; see SHEBA) and Qatabān (ʿAthtar, ʿAmm, Anbī, dhāt-Ṣanat^{um} and dhāt-Ẓahrān, *ʿ<u>tt</u>r, ʿm, 'nby, <u>d</u>t-Ṣnt^{m}, <u>d</u>t-Ẓhr^{n}*) because the most solemn inscriptions always call upon them in that order (for the precise location of ethnic groups and place names, see Robin and

Brunner, *Map of ancient Yemen*). Elsewhere the list is much more a matter of conjecture. In the small kingdoms of al-Jawf, it is reconstructed from the rite celebrated by those in authority. Finally, for the Ḥaḍramawt there is almost no information at all.

Before the Christian era, the political cohesion of states was based upon the cult of divinities in the official pantheon; each divinity was the object of particular rites, which suggests a specific role, complementing the role of associated divinities. Changes in political organization, following conquests, annexations, secessions, alliances, etc., logically translated into change in the religious sphere also. For example, Sabaean domination of the city kingdom of Nashshān (in al-Jawf) led to the construction of a temple to the Sabaean god Almaqah in the town center; and when Sabaʾ (Sheba) annexed the tribal federation of Samʿī, the great Samiʿyan god (Taʾlab) decreed that the federation should henceforth take part in the official Sabaean pilgrimage to Almaqah at Marib (today, Maʾrib; see AL-ʿARIM), in the month of dhū-Abhī (*d-ʾbhy,* roughly July; see MONTHS; CALENDAR). The introduction to the Sabaean pantheon of a new god, Hawbas, around the sixth century B.C.E., may perhaps be explained by new alliances. This parallel political and religious organization broke up from the beginning of the Christian era, when the redrawing of the political map ceased to have a corresponding religious effect. Henceforth, whoever held power (whether sovereign or tribal leader) replaced the divinity as the basis of political entities and more and more often kingdoms and principalities were collections of tribes with different cults.

A large number of divinities were only worshipped by a single kingdom, such as Almaqah (Sabaʾ), ʿAmm (Qatabān) or Sayīn (Ḥaḍramawt), others, such as Waddᵘᵐ *(Wdᵐ)* or dhāt-Ḥimyam *(d̲t-Ḥmym)*, in many. Only one, ʿAthtar *(ʿ̲ttr),* is common to the entire population of south Arabia. A single divinity common to several groups is often individualized by a qualifying name or title. ʿAthtar, for example, is always qualified by dhū-Qabḍᵘᵐ *(d̲-Qḇḍᵐ)* when describing the principal god of the kingdom of Maʿīn. The title often denotes the name or location of a sanctuary, and sometimes both, as with "Taʾlab Riyāmᵘᵐ lord (of the temple) of Qadmān (of the city) of Damhān" *(Tʾlb Rymᵐ bʿl Qdmⁿ d̲-Dmhⁿ)*.

For some uncommon divinities, the texts make explicit mention of their tribe of origin, such as dhū-(l)-Samāwī, "the heavenly one" *(d̲- Sᵗmwy),* who is often called "god (of the tribe) of Amīrᵘᵐ," an Arab tribe (see ARABS) based between al-Jawf and Najrān (q.v.). His principal temple (called *d̲-yḡrw*) was located at the heart of Amirᵘᵐ territory, in wādī l-Shuḍayf, (some sixty km north of al-Jawf), but some sanctuaries were also dedicated to him by other tribes elsewhere: at Haram (in al-Jawf), at Marib (capital of Sabaʾ), at Tamnaʿ (capital of Qatabān) and at Sawāᵐ (22 km south of Taʿizz).

Some divinities are not exclusively Yemeni. There is evidence for the god Waddᵘᵐ in the Persian Gulf, and according to tradition, he was also worshipped by the Kalb at Dūmat al-Jandal. The gods Sayīn and Anbī had corresponding gods in Mesopotamia (Sīn and Nabū), the gods Saḥar and Rammān, just like the goddess Athirat, in the near east (Shaḥar and Athirat in Ugarit, Ashera in the Bible, Rammān as an epithet of the Aramaic god Hadad; Bron, Notes sur le culte; id., Divinités communes). The most widespread divinity was ʿAthtar, with a dual male and female aspect, as can be seen at Ugarit and Ḥaḍramawt, even if

one of the two is very often dominant (the male aspect in south Arabia, except at Ḥaḍramawt, the female aspect in Mesopotamia).

A large number of divinities do not have a proper name as such, but are indicated by a quality (Wadd^{um}, "Love"), a family relationship (ʿAmm, "Uncle on the father's side"), a locale (and perhaps sometimes by a quality or a function) introduced by the pronouns "He who ..., she who ..." (dhū-[l-]Samāwī, dhū-Qabḍ^{um}, dhāt-Ḥimyam, dhāt Badān^{um}, etc.). Most likely the real names of these divinities were taboo. The same phenomenon can be seen in the Arabian desert with al-Lāh ("the god"), al-Lāt ("the goddess"), al-ʿUzzā ("the most powerful"; cf. Q 53:19-20) and all the names with dhū- or dhāt- (dhāt Anwāṭ, dhū l-Kaʿbāt, dhū l-Khalaṣa, dhū l-Kaffayn or dhū l-Labaʾ).

The development of formal pantheons is most obvious at the level of kingdoms, which could be extremely varied in size, ranging from the simple city-tribe (like Kaminahū or Haram in al-Jawf) to the assembly of enormous collections of tribes (like Sabaʾ). But tribes, towns, clans, lineages and families had their own cults, too, and these were added to the collective rites of the kingdom. It follows from this that the structure of the divine world faithfully reflected the organization of society. The same phenomenon can be seen elsewhere in Arabia, for example in the Yathrib oasis when Muḥammad arrived there (Lecker, Idol worship; see MEDINA).

Some minor divinities, divided into four classes entitled *bʿl byt-, mnḍḥ, sʾmsʿ* and *rbʿ*, are entrusted with the protection of palaces, temples, family groups or individuals. The terms which denote these classes may be translated as "master of the palace of…," "household divinity," "genium (lit. sun)" and "protector."

Some divinities have a double name, like those of mere mortals, in which we can see a divine name, such as ʿIzazallāt ("Power of al-Lāt"), Hawfʾīl ("Īl has saved"), Laḥayʿathat ("ʿAthtar shines"), Sumūyadaʿ ("His name knew") or Yadaʿismuhū ("He knew his name"). These are probably deified individuals, ancestors or heroes. Normally living human beings, including the sovereign, are not described thus. There is, however, one somewhat puzzling exception, a king of Awsān from the Hellenistic era, who is called "son of (god) Wadd^{um}" and receives offerings, as if he were himself a god.

Non-institutional divinities

A relatively large number of divinities have no clear link with any political or tribal entity. These apparently include the "Daughters of Īl," mostly worshipped by women. Their name suggests that they were a class of supernatural entities acting as intermediaries between human beings and the assembly of gods. Other unnamed divinities can also be added, who may be identified by a parental relationship with a divinity: "Son of Hawbas," "Mother of ʿAthtar," or "Mother of goddesses." Instances of divinities particular to a place or sanctuary are more doubtful: e.g. "He who is at Raydān," the "Lord of Awran," the "Lord of Baḥr^{um}," the "Lord of Yafʿān," the "Lord of Ḥadas^{um}," the "Mistress of Ḥadath, she who is from Ẓarb^{um}," the "god in the chapel (of worshippers) Kharīf at Mayfaʿ," etc. It is possible that these divinities, or some of them at least, provided individuals or non-tribal groups (women, those of the same age group, or in the same trade) the chance to meet with each other and express their solidarity.

Divinities borrowed from the Arabs

Several divinities of Arab origin were known and worshipped in south Arabia.

They were introduced after Arab tribes settled in the lowlands of Yemen from the second century B.C.E. Dhū-(l-)Samāwī, the Amīr^{um} god, has already been mentioned. Another god of the same sort is Kāhilān (who may perhaps be identified with the god Khl^{m} of Qaryat al-Fāw), known from the kingdom of Maʿīn (Bron, *Maʿīn,* 30). Above all, however, there are the three goddesses al-Lāt, Manāt and al-ʿUzzā, mentioned in Q 53:19-20 (cf. Robin, Filles de Dieu, 139 f.; see SATANIC VERSES).

Al-ʿUzzā, Sabaean ʿUzzayān *(ʿzy^{n}),* is the only Arab divinity, along with dhū-(l-)Samāwī, whose cult was widespread in south Arabia. There is evidence for her in twelve texts (two of which are fragmentary): five commemorate offerings in one of her temples; two, on amulets (q.v.), call upon her as a protectress; and three call upon her as the guardian divinity of the final royal palace of Qatabān. The name ʿUzzayān is also found in several theophoric anthroponyms, almost all relating to the same inscription. An onomastic, ʿUzzayān first appeared in south Arabia in the third century B.C.E. This was not far from Najrān, a region inhabited by north Arabian tribes. The first sign of a cult (a dedication in a sanctuary consecrated to the goddess) comes from Qatabān dating from the second century B.C.E.

Al-Lāt, Sabaean Lātān and Lāt (*Lt^{n}* and *lt*), who was popular in northwestern Arabia and among the Arabs of the near east, does not seem to have been the object of an organized cult in south Arabia. The only indications of veneration are two amulets. The name of the goddess is written once with the article *-n,* and once without. The goddess, however, seems to have been extremely popular among the Arab tribes on the northern borders of Yemen, then among the south Arabians themselves, judging by theophores with *-lt,* of which there are dozens. The appearance of these theophores in al-Jawf may be dated to the second century B.C.E.

Manāt, south Arabian Manawt *(Mnwt),* whose cult is well documented among the Palmyrenians and in northwestern Arabia (notably at Taymāʾ and al-Ḥijr), makes almost no appearance in the epigraphic records of south Arabia. At present there is only a single reference in a text from Maʿīn dating from the fifth century B.C.E. (Bron, *Maʿīn,* 30). This occurrence, seemingly older than everything found elsewhere, suggests that Manawt was a divinity of Ragmat (the ancient name of Najrān). Similarly, the name Manawt appears in several anthroponyms from the Najrān region in its broadest sense.

These three goddesses, introduced by the Arabs, should be distinguished from the "Daughters of Īl," who are local divinities (Robin, Filles de Dieu). All these, however, are minor divinities, a fact which prefigures the compromise proposed by Muḥammad in the "satanic verses," namely the recognition of divinities which served Meccan interests, provided that they were reduced to the status of "Daughters of Allāh" (the local version of the south Arabian "Daughters of Īl"), that is, divine messengers (see MESSENGER).

Strangely enough, all the known south Arabian divinities had a positive or protective role. Evil powers are alluded to in invocations but are never personified. Magical thinking is afraid to name evil, lest it contribute to making it real (see MAGIC; GOOD AND EVIL).

Cult organization

Places of cult worship, whether of human design ("temples") or otherwise ("sanctuaries"), were quite varied in size. The plans, the quality of the building and the organization were incredibly diverse, even in the same tribe. This is equally true

for the locations, at the center of town, outside the walls, in the countryside or the steppe, at the top of a mountain or in the midst of the rocks (Jung, Religious monuments). The temple seems to have played an important economic role (see ECONOMICS; TRADE AND COMMERCE). It owned property (q.v.; *mbʿl*). Furthermore, at Sabaʾ and Ḥaḍramawt, the currency was placed under the control of the chief god (see MONEY). Certain temples and sanctuaries display features which can be found in the Meccan *ḥaram*. The temple of Ṣirwāḥ (90 km east of Ṣanʿāʾ), with a half-oval precinct, recalls the form of *ḥijr* and is bounded by a semi-circular cloister. The low walls which enclose the sanctuary of Jabal al-Lawdh (135 km north-east of Ṣanʿāʾ) seem comparable to the *ʿarīsh* (the building with no roof and with walls so low that cattle can step over them) which stood there, prior to the Kaʿba. The sacred perimeter of the sanctuary of Darb al-Ṣabī, near Barāqish (95 km northeast of Ṣanʿāʾ, ancient Yathill) is marked by boundary stones (nine are preserved, with the inscription "boundary of the sanctuary"), just like the Meccan *ḥaram*.

To the best of our knowledge, places of worship were not under the authority of an actual clergy, mediating between humans and the gods. Nonetheless, certain individuals were engaged in the service of the temples. They held titles such as *rs²w* ("priest"), *qyn* ("administrator"), *mrṯd* ("consecrated to a particular divinity") or *ʾfkl* (pl. *ʾfklt*, "priests," an Akkadian loan word, which is only found at a very early period).

Rituals

The most frequent ritual was apparently the presentation of offerings, commemorated by an inscription, which commends in a lasting manner the generosity of the person making the offering. In ancient times, these offerings consisted either of people (who seem to have entered into the service of the divinity) or of produce or various other objects. From the start of the Christian era, or a short time earlier, offerings of people were replaced by the dedication of small statuettes; such representations were called *ṣlm* (in Arabic *ṣanam*) when a man was represented and *ṣlmt* when a woman was concerned. By means of these statuettes, those individuals consecrated to the divinity were symbolically present in the temple, without actually performing any service as such.

The divinity was regularly honored by great pilgrimages (usually called *ḥḍr* and *mwʿfrt*, and less commonly *ḥg;* see PILGRIMAGE). For Sabaʾ, the most important was definitely the pilgrimage of Almaqah at Marib, in dhū-Abhī (roughly in July, the main period of rains). Another, the pilgrimage of Almaqah dhū-Hirrān at ʿAmrān (45 km northwest of Ṣanʿāʾ), is known because of two references. The principal god Samʿī, Taʾlab Riyām[um], was visited at Mount Turʿat (modern-day Jabal Riyām, 50 km north of Ṣanʿāʾ) and the Ẓabyān temple at Ḥadaqān (30 km north of Ṣanʿāʾ). Finally, a pilgrimage in honor of dhū(l-)Samāwī took place at Yathill. Apart from Sabaʾ, the only known pilgrimage is of Sayīn, at Shabwat.

The divinity provided oracles and issued commands — in an unknown manner (see DIVINATION; FORETELLING), and reveals itself via visions in the temple (see VISION; DREAMS AND SLEEP). He or she was asked to provide rain (a ceremony called *istisqāʾ* in Arabic) during particular ceremonies (see WATER; PRAYER FORMULAS). Several texts mention the practice of divination, although this is difficult to identify precisely. South Arabians definitely offered blood sacrifices, but there are few allusions to this, apart from some Minaean inscriptions

(see BLOODSHED; BLOOD AND BLOOD CLOT). Ritual banquets accompanied certain celebrations. Fumigation with aromatic substances such as incense was common practice, to judge from the number of perfume burners found so far (see SMELL). Similarly, there would have been libations (consisting of what?) which were carried out on tables or altars (see TABLE; FOOD AND DRINK). Finally, several rites took place outside of the temple, such as ritual hunting (see HUNTING AND FISHING) or erecting memorials. (Regarding the cults of south Arabia, see Ryckmans, Rites du paganisme; Robin, Sheba. II, 1156-83.)

Representation of divinities

In south Arabia, human or animal representation was not taboo (see ICONOCLASM). Statues and historical tableaux adorned temples and palaces; images of the dead were placed in tombs (see BURIAL). It is worth noting, however, that in this large number of images, very few are definitely those of divinities. The most significative have been discovered very recently (Arbach, Audouin, Robin, La découverte). It is not certain whether the tentative identification of the young female figures on the temples of al-Jawf as the "Daughters of Īl" is indeed correct. The bust of a woman holding ears of corn in one hand and giving a blessing with the other, identified by Jacqueline Pirenne as the goddess Dhāt-Ḥimyam, or the young man whom she regards as Almaqah, represent believers, not divinities.

Representation of divinities in animal form is somewhat better documented. Large size coins from Ḥaḍramawt depict Sayīn, the kingdom's principal god, in the shape of an eagle attacking a serpent and there is an inscription which explicitly likens him to this powerful bird. Some coins of smaller size also depict Sayīn in the shape of a bull. Other divinities must also have appeared in the shape of a bull, such as Thawr-Baʿal^{um} ("Bull-Lord"), associated with and then identified as Almaqah or Samʿī, when he is called "Bull of Abḍuʿ^{um}."

Comparisons with the ritual practices of pre-Islamic Ḥijāz

The prohibitions entailed by the demand for ritual purity (q.v.; see also CONTAMINATION; CLEANLINESS AND ABLUTION) at Mecca and in south Arabia are often comparable. In the *ḥaram,* the area where the "idols" of Isāf and Nāʾila (see IDOLS AND IMAGES) stood was out of bounds for menstruating women (see MENSTRUATION), and this rule applied to all the "idols," if we are to believe Ibn al-Kalbī (d. ca. 205/820; *Kītāb al-Aṣnām,* 26). A south Arabian inscription from al-Jawf (Haram 34 = *CIH* 533) echoes an identical prohibition. Ibn al-Kalbī (*Kītāb al-Aṣnām,* 6) narrates that Isāf (son of Yaʿlā) and Nāʾila (the daughter of Zayd of Jurhum) were two young lovers who made love in the Kaʿba and had been turned to stone and joined in the Kaʿba (q.v.); this etiological story recalls the prohibition on sexual intercourse in the temple, set out in two other south Arabian inscriptions. According to some traditions, pilgrims coming to Mecca were given milk (q.v.) and honey (q.v.). In other temples, Ibn al-Kalbī (*Kītāb al-Aṣnām,* 40, 46) notes that flour and milk were used for the ritual. These are listed in the inscription Haram 13 = *CIH* 548/12-13: for some offence, the precise nature of which is unclear, the believer must hand over a bull to the temple of Arathat "and throughout the temple, flour, the cost of curds, honey, heart of palm and full expenses (imposed) on everyone." The practice of circumcision (q.v.) in the Arabian desert is mentioned by two external sources, Sozomen and the Talmud, and by Arab tradition. As regards Yemen, the

information is contradictory. We have two representations of an uncircumcised male. First there is the bronze statue of a Ḥimyarī sovereign, depicted in Roman style, completely naked, and there is also a male member in relief on a small glass disc (Ghul, New Qatabāni inscriptions); these two artifacts are not decisive, however, since the first imitates a foreign model and the second may have been imported. Nonetheless, one external source remarks that the Ḥimyarīs practiced circumcision, at least in the middle of the fourth century C.E. (Philostorgius, *Kirchengeschichte,* iii, 4). The practice of covering the Kaʿba with hangings *(kiswa)* is not without parallel in Yemen. Three inscriptions from Qatabān commemorate the offering of *ksʾwt* to lesser divinities. It is not known, however, whether these *ksʾwt* were intended to cover the god or his dwelling place.

Development towards a supreme god?

In the third century C.E., the Sabaeans began to give the principal god, Almaqah, the title of "lord" (q.v.; *mrʾ*); in the same period, in the inscriptions dedicated to him in the temple of Awwām, they ceased to invoke the other divinities of the pantheon. This has been seen as the evolution towards henotheism, as it is surmised from this that a supreme divinity was beginning to emerge and take on the main functions of a chief god. In fact, the arguments put forward are not decisive. The Sabaeans gave the same title "lord" to other divinities. As for the fact that only Almaqah is mentioned by the invocations in the temple of Awwām, there are other possible explanations for this, such as clerical rivalry.

It nevertheless remains true that the greater divinities of every pantheon tended to assume the majority of functions from the start of the Christian era. An analysis of dedicatory inscriptions is illuminating. Their authors thank the divinity for the following reasons: political, military, diplomatic or hunting success (see VICTORY); help given in peril (sickness, misfortune or battle; see FIGHTING; WAR); protection (q.v.) bestowed upon their people and their goods; their well-being; their cure in case of illness; the birth of children, preferably male (see INFANTICIDE; PATRIARCHY); the abundance of agricultural produce and livestock (see AGRICULTURE AND VEGETATION; HIDES AND FLEECE); rainfall; the granting of visions or favorable oracles (see PORTENTS), etc. Petitions for the future are principally: humiliation of the enemy (see ENEMIES); good health, success and well-being; protection from various dangers, particularly sickness; good harvests; children, preferably male (see GRACE; BLESSING); the favor of the sovereign (see SOVEREIGNTY; KINGS AND RULERS), etc.

It does not, however, seem that any polytheistic divinity of south Arabia attained the status of supreme god. Until the rejection of polytheism, in the formulas which symbolize each kingdom, we note that two divinities are mentioned: Sayīn and Ḥawl for the Ḥaḍramawt; ʿAmm and Anbī for Qatabān; ʿAthtar and Almaqah for Sabaʾ; Wagl and Sumūyadaʿ for Ḥimyar, without exception. We may also add Balaw and Waddum for Awsān, even if the two gods are not mentioned in the same formula. It seems that one of the two divinities was the guardian of the throne (thus guaranteeing order and justice) and the other protected the tribe (watching over its growth and wealth). Anbī, ʿAthtar and Waddum are undoubtedly in the first category, ʿAmm, Almaqah and Balaw in the second.

South Arabian polytheism according to Islamic tradition

Islamic authors know little of the paganism of south Arabia. The most knowledgeable

are Hishām b. al-Kalbī (ca. 120-204/737-819), who produced a work — *Kitāb al-Aṣnām* — entirely devoted to pre-Islamic paganism, and al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad al-Hamdānī (d. 360/971), a Yemeni who spent his entire life on the Arabian peninsula. Al-Hamdānī's *Kitāb al-Iklīl* reflects his interest in the history and remains of pre-Islamic Yemen. Some information on south Arabia is also given by Ibn al-Kalbī in *Kitāb al-Aṣnām;* he mentions five Yemeni "idols": Yaghūth (venerated, according to him, by the Madhḥij tribe and the people of Jurash, that is by the peoples who were living at Najrān and in ʿAsīr in Ibn al-Kalbī's era), Yaʿūq (worshipped by Hamdān and their Yemeni allies at Khaywān, a small village 100 km north of Ṣanʿāʾ), Nasr (the eagle god, worshipped by the Ḥimyarites at Balkhaʿ, a location which has not been identified), Riʾām (in fact a temple, *bayt,* in the province of Ṣanʿāʾ) and Ammīʾanas, worshipped by the tribe of Khawlān-Ṣaʿda.

Yaghūth, Yaʿūq and Nasr are three of the five "idols" mentioned by Noah (q.v.) in Q 71:23 (see also IDOLATRY AND IDOLATERS). There is no mention of Yaghūth in the inscriptions of south Arabia; his name occurs only in the Safaitic inscriptions (of Syria and Jordan), where it is an anthroponym; elsewhere, we find *ʾmrʾyʿwt* as a man's name in three Nabataean inscriptions, consisting of *ʾmrʾ* (in Arabic *imruʾ*) and *yʿwt* (the Aramaic way of writing *yaghūth*). Finally, in pre-Islamic Arabic onomastica, such as that which Ibn al-Kalbī sets out in his *Ǧamharat al-nasab* (Caskel, *Ǧamharat*), the name ʿAbd Yaghūth reoccurs forty-two times (eighteen of these in the Madhḥij genealogies). It is possible that a god Yaghūth, apparently an individual who had been made a hero, existed and was commonly known among the Nabataeans and Madhḥij. The name Yaʿūq does not occur in Arabian epigraphy, except as the name of a synagogue *(mkrb)* built in January 465 C.E. (*d-dʾwn* 574 of the Ḥimyarite era), at Ḍulaʿ (twelve kilometers north-west of Ṣanʿāʾ). Nasr was indeed a divinity worshipped by the southern Arabs, especially in Ḥaḍramawt and at Sabaʾ (Müller, Adler und Geier), but the link with the mysterious Balkhaʿ made by Ibn al-Kalbī seems without foundation. Regarding Riʾām, Ibn al-Kalbī is a little better informed. He is aware that it is a temple in the province of Ṣanʿāʾ but he does not know the name of the god to whom this building is dedicated. The ancient temple was in fact called Turʿat and the god worshipped there was Taʾlab Riyām[um]; his epithet eventually came to indicate both the building and the mountain upon which it was located (modern day Jabal Riyām, 50 km north of Ṣanʿāʾ).

Finally, there is no epigraphic evidence of ʿAmmīʾanas, but the existence of such a divinity cannot be ruled out because we know of a Khawlānite leader of this name in the third century C.E. ʿAmmīʾanas could have been an ancestor or a deified hero. Ibn al-Kalbī (or his source) thus provides more or less accurate information regarding four out of five divinities. That being said, two caveats should be borne in mind. First, Ibn al-Kalbī ignores all the major divinities of the ancient kingdoms, notably Almaqah (Sabaʾ), ʿAmm (Qatabān), Sayīn (Ḥaḍramawt), ʿAthtar dhū-Qabḍ[um] (Maʿīn) and Balaw (Awsān); his knowledge is thus extremely incomplete. Secondly, he is more concerned with providing details of the idols mentioned in the Qurʾān or tradition (see ḤADĪTH AND THE QURʾĀN) rather than with researching first-hand information.

The second original author on south Arabian paganism was the Yemeni al-Ḥasan al-Hamdānī. In addition to a fairly accurate description of the temple of Riyām, he mentions the names of three

south Arabian divinities, reinterpreted as anthroponyms: Sinān dhū-Ilīm, a king of Ḥaḍramawt in ancient times (Sayīn dhū-Ilīm in the Ḥaḍramawt inscriptions); Taʾlab Riyām b. Shahrān, who is supposed to have married Turʿa (a misunderstanding of the divine title "Taʾlab Riyām^{um} lord of Turʿat," in which the word *baʿal,* "lord," has been taken to mean "spouse"); Almaqah (the Sabaean god Almaqah) identified with Bilqīs (q.v.; the traditional name of the Queen of Sheba). Finally, in a short passage of *Kītāb al-Ǧawharatayn,* he observes: "The sun (q.v.), the moon (q.v.) and the stars (see PLANETS AND STARS) were depicted on the silver and gold coinage of the Ḥimyarites, because they worship them. They call them ʿAthtar, Hubas (the moon) and Alāmiqa (the stars), in the singular Almaq or Yalmaq. This is why Bilqīs is called 'Yalmaqa' and one speaks of Zuhra [i.e. Venus]." Al-Hamdānī not only knew that Almaqah was a divinity (and not a queen), he also knew the gods ʿAthtar and Hubas (Sabaean Hawbas), whose name appears in no other Islamic source (Robin, Sheba. II, 1184-9). Yemeni authors are thus a little better informed concerning the paganism of south Arabia than is the rest of Islamic tradition. They know the names of several important divinities, such as the principal gods of Sabaʾ, Ḥaḍramawt and Samʿī, whereas Ibn al-Kalbī only refers to minor divinities. Their knowledge is nonetheless limited to a few divine names and some uncertain identifications. Rather than vague recollections from memory, we are talking of names they have deciphered from inscriptions and interpreted more or less correctly. They were indeed able to read the south Arabian script, although they often confused letters of a similar shape and interpreted the text very freely. The feeble nature of such knowledge in traditional sources is undoubtedly explained by the fact that polytheism had been rejected by Ḥimyar almost 250 years before the appearance of Islam and that it survived only underground, except perhaps in certain outlying tribes.

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South Asian Literatures and the Qurʾān

With a Muslim population of over 300 million, south Asia (India, Pakistan, Bangladesh) is home to the largest concentration of Muslims in the world. Muslims in the region have employed a wide variety of languages to compose their literatures. Among these languages, Arabic and Persian have historically played a cosmopolitan role, for they have enabled south Asian elites to participate and share in literary cultures that extend well beyond the subcontinent to central Asia and the Middle East. In addition to these transnational languages, Muslims have employed a host of other languages that are indigenous to south Asia. Ranging from Baluchi and Bengali to Tamil and Urdu, these vernaculars, in contrast to Arabic and Persian, have been local, or regional, in their geographic significance. They encompass a broad spectrum of literary traditions that include folk songs sung by village women as well as sophisticated poems composed by erudite scholars. This article focuses on the interaction of the Qurʾān with literary cultures in the vernacular traditions. The corpus of these literatures is so vast and diverse that in this brief article we can only touch upon a few key ideas, citing examples from a limited range of linguistic traditions (see also LITERATURE AND THE QURʾĀN).

It is hardly surprising that the Qurʾān, the sacred scripture of Islam, should have influenced Muslim poets and writers in south Asia. The nature of the Qurʾān's impact on the vernacular traditions varies, however. At its most obvious, it consists of the insertion of qurʾānic quotations into literary works, particularly poetry. Called *iqtibās,* this popular literary device assumes that every reasonably educated Muslim would know the Arabic Qurʾān well enough to understand a scriptural allusion, no matter how obscure it may be (see TEACHING AND PREACHING THE QURʾĀN; RECITATION OF THE QURʾĀN). The incorporation of a qurʾānic verse into a vernacular text served several purposes. First, it sanctified the text for both the author and the audience, thus making it more sublime. Second, the skill with which the Arabic sacred text (see BOOK; ARABIC LANGUAGE) was woven into the fabric of the vernacular demonstrated the author's literary prowess. Third, the verse could also serve as a proof text validating the author's religious beliefs and convictions. For instance, Q 7:172, *a-lastu bi-rabbikum? qālū balā shahidnā,* "'Am I not your lord (q.v.)?' They said 'Yes we witness it'" (see WITNESSING AND TESTIFYING), is a particularly popular quote among mystically inclined Muslims, for it supports a concept that is pivotal to Ṣūfism: the existence of a primordial covenant (q.v.) of love (q.v.) between God and creation (q.v.; Schimmel, *Two colored brocade,* 57-8; see also ṢŪFISM

AND THE QUR'ĀN). To illustrate the insertion of this qur'ānic verse into a vernacular text, we may cite a verse in Sindhi by the poet Shāh ʿAbdu l-Laṭīf (d. 1752 C.E.) in which Maruī, a Sindhi folk heroine whom the poet uses to represent the human soul (q.v.), proclaims:

When I heard "Am I not your lord?"
Right there and then I said "Yes" with all my heart
At that time I made a promise [of loyalty] to my love
(Shāh ʿAbdu l-Laṭīf, *Risālo,* Sur Maruī, i, 1, 255).

Shīʿī writers, on the other hand, are more likely to quote those qur'ānic verses that best champion a Shīʿī perspective (see SHĪʿISM AND THE QUR'ĀN). Such is the case, for example, with Mīr Anīs (d. 1874 C.E.), a prominent Shīʿī poet, who embedded within his Urdu elegies those qur'ānic verses that could be interpreted as supporting the Shīʿī notion of the imāmate (for instance, Q 36:12 and its reference to the *imām mubīn,* "manifest imām"; Haider, *Rumūz,* 80-2; see IMĀM). In this manner, many a qur'ānic verse has been incorporated into south Asian vernacular literature, the choice of verse being determined by the author's religious worldview.

Frequently, a quotation from the Qur'ān may consist of only one or two words (see SLOGANS FROM THE QUR'ĀN); yet allusions to these isolated words, no matter how obscure they may seem, are sufficient to trigger a range of associations in the minds of those familiar with the scripture. Hence, in many vernacular poems in praise of the Prophet of Islam, Muḥammad may be referred to not by his name (see NAMES OF THE PROPHET) but by names or epithets that some Muslims claim to have discovered in the Qur'ān: *ṭā' hā* and *yā'sīn,* the unconnected letters that appear at the beginning of sūras 20 and 36 or *muzzammil* and *muddaththir,* divine addresses to the Prophet found in the introduction to Q 73: *yā ayyuhā l-muzzammil,* "O you enwrapped one," and Q 74: *yā ayyuhā l-muddaththir,* "O you covered one" (see REVELATION AND INSPIRATION; SOOTHSAYER).

Even more frequent than allusions to verses and words are references to figures mentioned in the Qur'ān, particularly prophets (see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD), and events associated with them (see NARRATIVES). Abraham (q.v.), the ideal monotheist (see ḤANĪF) who destroyed the idols (see IDOLS AND IMAGES) made by his father Āzar (q.v.; cf. Q 6:74); Moses (q.v.) and the burning bush (Q 20:10f.); Jesus (q.v.) who could heal the sick and revive the dead, and give life to inanimate objects with his breath (Q 5:110; see DEATH AND THE DEAD; ILLNESS AND HEALTH; MIRACLES; MARVELS) are but a few examples from the rich prophetic lore of the Qur'ān to which many south Asian poets may refer (Schimmel, *Two colored brocade,* 62-79). In many instances, however, these figures are assigned interpretations and meanings that are not obvious in the original qur'ānic text. For instance, Q 21:69 mentions that when the tyrant Nimrod (q.v.) threw Abraham into a fire (q.v.), God saved him by commanding the fire to be cool and peaceful (see HOT AND COLD; PAIRS AND PAIRING). In the hands of many poets, Abraham becomes the symbol of a daring love that has the strength to accomplish the most miraculous feats. Hence, the seventh/thirteenth century poet Lāl Shāhbāz Qalandar alludes to this qur'ānic verse when he joyously sings: "[Because of] my friend's love, I dance every moment in the midst of fire!" (as quoted in Schimmel, *Two colored brocade,* 63).

Similarly, God's response to Moses "you shall not see me" (Q 7:143; see SEEING AND HEARING) becomes in vernacular poems

the standard answer that a veiled or otherwise inaccessible beloved gives to a lover who yearns to see his/her face. The most dramatic reinterpretation of a qurʾānic figure, however, occurs in the case of ʿAzāzīl/Iblīs (Satan; see DEVIL), the angel who refused to bow to Adam (see ADAM AND EVE; BOWING AND PROSTRATION) and hence was cursed by God for disobedience (q.v.; Q 7:11 f.; see also INSOLENCE AND OBSTINACY; ARROGANCE). While it is true that in some south Asian literatures Iblīs is traditionally perceived as a character associated with rebellion (q.v.) and evil (see GOOD AND EVIL), he is viewed, in at least one powerful current of Muslim mystical poetry in the vernacular, as a positive figure — the paradigmatic lover who suffers for his unswerving loyalty to the one beloved (Schimmel, *Two colored brocade,* 60-1). Shāh ʿAbdu l-Laṭīf's memorable line in Sindhi bears eloquent testimony to this tendency:

ʿAzāzīl is the lover, all others are frauds
The cursed one was honored by way of love (Shāh ʿAbdu l-Laṭīf, *Risalo,* Sur Yaman Kalyān, v, 18, 32).

Although all major prophets named in the Qurʾān appear in south Asian literatures, perhaps the true favorite is Joseph (q.v.; Yūsuf), whose story is told in the twelfth sūra of the Qurʾān. The Joseph story, which the Qurʾān calls "the most beautiful of stories," has inspired epic narratives in several south Asian languages such as Bengali, Urdu, Panjabi and Sindhi. In some instances, the epic has even been illustrated with miniature paintings. Typically, these epics interpret the romance between Joseph and Potiphar's wife within a Ṣūfī framework. Potiphar's wife, identified in popular tradition as Zulaykha, represents the woman-soul at the lowest level of spiritual development — the *nafs ammara,* or "the soul inciting to evil" (*al-nafsa la-ammāratun bi-l-sūʾa,* Q 12:53), who must first be transformed into the *nafs lawwāma,* or "the blaming soul" (Q 75:2) and finally into "the soul at peace" (*al-nafs al-muṭmaʾinna,* Q 89:27) before she can be accepted by the divine beloved.

It is, perhaps, inevitable that the "most beautiful story" of the Qurʾān, when recast in the vernacular tradition, would be acculturated to the local environment, that is, the composers of the vernacular epic would set it within the geographical, social and cultural milieu of their region. A typical example would be the Bengali poet, Shāh Muḥammad Saghir (late thirteenth/early fourteenth century C.E.), who composed a version of the Yūsuf-Zulaykha epic set entirely in Bengal. In his version, he recreates the landscape of Egypt with the fauna and flora typical of Bengal, introduces the river Nile as the Ganges, gives the merchant who bought Joseph a typical Bengali name, and has Zulaykha send her female companions to Vrindavan, famed for being the location of the dalliance between Krishna and the *gopi*s, "cow maids" (Roy, *The Islamic tradition,* 104-8).

The indigenization of the qurʾānic story of Joseph in the Bengali epic should also be seen within the larger context of Muslim Bengali literary culture and the development of a distinctive Bengali Muslim identity in medieval India that is reflected in the genre of the *puthi* literature. In this literature, the qurʾānic concept of *nabī/rasūl,* or "prophet/messenger (q.v.)," is identified with the local Hindu concept of *avatāra,* "divine descent or incarnation." This identification allowed authors to incorporate various Indian deities, particularly Krishna, into a long line of qurʾānic prophets that ends with Muḥammad (Roy, *The Islamic tradition,* 95-7). Just as Islam in the Middle Eastern context was seen as a

culmination of Judeo-Christian monotheism (see JEWS AND JUDAISM; CHRISTIANS AND CHRISTIANITY), in medieval Bengal and several other Indian regions, the religion came to be seen as the continuation and culmination of the local Hindu tradition. Seen within this framework, the Qurʾān became the *Veda* (scripture) of the *Kali Yug,* the last chronological age of Hindu mythology.

Although such localized or acculturated understandings of the prophetology of the Qurʾān and the Qurʾān itself have frequently been characterized as syncretistic, mixed or heterodox, they are, perhaps, better understood as attempts to "translate" universal Islamic teachings within "local" contexts. The validity in approaching vernacular Muslim poetry through the lens of "translation theory," as proposed by Tony Stewart (In search of equivalence), is confirmed by the fact that communities who recite and sing vernacular religious poems frequently regard them as texts which encapsulate the teachings of the Arabic Qurʾān. Sindhi-speaking Muslims in southern Pakistan revere Shāh ʿAbdu l-Laṭīf's poetic masterpiece in the Sindhi language, the *Risālo,* as a book that contains within it the essence of the spiritual teachings of the Qurʾān. Through his exegetical remarks on dramatic moments and events in popular Sindhi folk romances, Shāh ʿAbdu l-Laṭīf is perceived to be conveying qurʾānic ideas on the spiritual significance of the human situation. In the Punjab, poems attributed to Punjabi Ṣūfī poets, such as Sulṭān Bahū (d. 1691 C.E.), Bullhe Shāh (d. 1754 C.E.) and Vāris Shāh (d. 1766 C.E.), are also commonly regarded as spiritual commentaries on qurʾānic verses. Similarly, the *ginān*s of the Khoja Ismāʿīlī communities of western India and Pakistan, composed in various vernacular languages such as Gujarati, Hindi, Punjabi and Sindhi and embodying the teaching of Ismāʿīlī preacher-saints (see SAINT), have also been regarded as texts embodying the inner signification of the Qurʾān (Asani, *Ecstasy and enlightenment,* 29-31).

The conception of some genres of vernacular poetry (such as the Sindhi *Risālo,* Punjabi Ṣūfī poems or the Ismāʿīlī *ginān*s) as secondary texts that provide non-Arabic speaking Muslims access to the inner *(bāṭin)* meaning of the Qurʾān (see POLYSEMY) is not without parallels. In Persian-speaking parts of the Muslim world, Mawlānā Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī's *Masnawī,* popularly called the "Qurʾān in Persian," is regarded as a vast esoteric commentary on the Qurʾān, many of its verses being interpreted as translations of qurʾānic verses into Persian poetry (see PERSIAN LITERATURE AND THE QURʾĀN). Significantly, the mediating role that these vernacular texts play between the faithful and the Qurʾān provides evidence of a process that Paul Nwyia has so aptly called the "Qurʾānization of memory" (*Ibn ʿAṭāʾ Allāh,* 46). Referring specifically to early Ṣūfīs, he argues that, because they were constantly preoccupied with the Qurʾān as the word of God (q.v.), their memories were eventually "qurʾānized." Consequently, they saw everything in the light of the Qurʾān, interpreting their own experiences and contexts within the larger framework of the revelation (see REVELATION AND INSPIRATION). We may extend Nwyia's perceptive comments to include Muslim poets writing in the south Asian vernaculars, many of whom were influenced, directly or indirectly, by Ṣūfī ideas. Their worldviews were so thoroughly colored by qurʾānic ideas that even though they did not always cite specific qurʾānic verses in their compositions, many of their lines seem either to echo a qurʾānic concept or to be a literal translation of the qurʾānic text into the vernacular (see LANGUAGE AND STYLE OF THE QURʾĀN). This is why the student of south

Asian Muslim literatures, whether reading the highly philosophical Urdu poetry of Sir Muḥammad Iqbāl (d. 1938 C.E.) or listening to Punjabi songs attributed to the folk poet Bullhe Shāh, is often surprised to discover that a seemingly simple line in the vernacular is in fact inspired by a qurʾānic verse.

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Southeast Asian Qurʾānic Literature

This entry is meant to provide an overview of literature of the Qurʾān in southeast Asia, including both texts produced locally and those imported from elsewhere in the Muslim world that have been important to the region's religious and intellectual history.

Commentary in Arabic

As in many parts of the Muslim world, the most popular Arabic work of commentary *(tafsīr)* in southeast Asia from the seventeenth through the nineteenth centuries was the *Tafsīr al-Ǧalālayn*. In addition to being read and studied in its original Arabic, this text formed the primary basis of the most popular early modern work in Malay, the *Tarjumān al-mustafīd* of ʿAbd al-Raʾūf Singkeli. For three centuries, this work remained the standard work of *tafsīr* in the Malay-language curricula of the region's *pesantren* Islamic educational milieu. Other early Malay works of *tafsīr* drew on a range of Arabic texts, including those of al-Bayḍāwī (d. prob. 716/1316-17). Despite their openness to works of *tafsīr* from elsewhere in the Muslim world, however, southeast Asian scholars were not mere passive recipients of the Arabic tradition of *tafsīr.* For some attained the erudition and proficiency to produce Arabic works of their own. The most notable of this type is Muhammad al-Nawawī Jāwī (Banten's; 1813-97) *Marāh Labīd* (which draws in large measure on Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī's [d. 606/1210] *Tafsīr al-Kabīr*; cf. Johns, Qurʾānic exegesis), which has been printed and distributed in the Middle East as well as in southeast Asia.

Translations into southeast Asian languages

The earliest textual evidence we have of qurʾānic exegetical activity in Muslim southeast Asia comes to us in a manuscript containing the Arabic text of Q 18, Sūrat al-Kahf ("The Cave"), written in red ink along with a Malay translation and running commentary, primarily following al-Baghawī (d. ca. 516/1122) and al-Khāzin (d. 740/1340), in black (Riddell, *Islam and the Malay-Indonesian world,* 139-67). The translation of such earlier commentaries appears to have been largely eclipsed by ʿAbd al-Raʾūf's *Tarjumān al-mustafīd* in the seventeenth century. While this work dominated the field of qurʾānic exegesis in southeast Asia for generations, in the early twentieth century an increasing amount of attention was given to other, more recent works of *tafsīr* in Arabic as well. This expansion of the curriculum of qurʾānic studies in the region was an important aspect of broader developments of Islamic reformism in modern southeast Asia. Among the works translated in these contexts were those of modern Muslim

exegetes of various orientations, both from the Middle East and south Asia.

Indonesian translations of selections from the *Tafsīr al-Manār* (a work initiated by the Egyptian reformer Muḥammad ʿAbduh and continued after his death in 1905 by Rashīd Riḍā) by various translators appeared, starting in 1923. The Indonesian translation of Maulana Muḥammad ʿAlī's *The holy Qurʾān* and accompanying commentary by Tjokroaminoto began to appear in 1928 but the Muhammadiyyah and other Indonesian Muslim groups protested the project for its Aḥmadiyya (q.v.) orientation (see also TRANSLATIONS OF THE QURʾĀN). The pace of such translation activity increased dramatically as the century progressed, with economic development under the New Order supporting a vibrant publishing industry producing Indonesian translations of Arabic-language works of *tafsīr* by Maḥmūd Shaltūt, Muṣṭafā al-Marāghī and Sayyid Quṭb as well as thousands of other Muslim religious texts.

Commentaries in southeast Asian languages

Manuscript collections and library holdings in Indonesia and Europe contain a remarkable range of works on the Qurʾān written in a number of different southeast Asian languages. One striking example may be found in an early nineteenth-century Makassarese text that offers a paraphrase of the Qurʾān in that language. Another method of qurʾānic "translation" and interpretation can be found in Javanese literature, where a tradition developed of inserting an interlinear Javanese translation (written in *pegon,* or modified Arabic script) into the text of the Qurʾān itself. This tradition of *pegon*-script qurʾānic literature in Javanese continued into the twentieth century with works like the *Tafsīr al-Ibrīz* of Bisri Mustofa. An analogous work in the Arabic script, or *jawi,* an adaptation of the Arabic script used for writing Malay, can be found in Syekh Haji Abdul Karim Amrullah's *al-Burhān,* a commentary on the last thirtieth part of the Qurʾān *(juzʾ ʿam).*

Such works in *jawi* and *pegon* script were accessible only to *pesantren* students, and as the twentieth century progressed they were thus largely overlooked by the burgeoning ranks of new readers literate in the Roman, rather than Arabic script. Publishers catering to these growing markets produced an explosion of works in various fields of the Islamic religious sciences composed in modern Bahasa Indonesia. One of the first major original works of *tafsīr* to appear in this format was A. Hassan's *Tafsir al-Furqän,* which first appeared serially starting in 1928. This work by one of the leading figures of the radical reformist organization PERSIS is actually more of a "translation" than a *tafsīr* proper, as what little non-literal interpretation there is comes only in the form of short footnotes. Nonetheless, it also contains a fairly lengthy preface in which the author outlines his method of interpretation, laying out a set of radical and narrowly scriptural exegetical principles differing significantly from most works produced in southeast Asia before that time. When Hassan's work appeared, a parallel project was already in preparation by another Indonesian reformist, Mahmoed Joenoes. This work, begun in 1922, finally appeared in its first complete published edition in 1938 and contained a thirty-page indexed outline of "the summarized essence of the Qurʾān" for modern readers, in addition to an Indonesian translation of the text and explanatory footnotes.

From the 1950s on, one finds a steady increase in the number of new *tafsīr* works written in the modern Indonesian language with the Latin script. Among these the *Tafsir al-Azhar* of Hamka (Haji Abdul Malik Karim Amrullah) is one of the most enterprising endeavors of modern qurʾānic exegesis, not just in southeast Asia, but in

the Muslim world as a whole. Although often described as a "Modernist," Hamka's thinking reflects a mixture of ideas and orientations to the tradition ranging from Ṣūfism to Salafism. Hamka's work of *tafsīr* runs to ten volumes totaling over 8,000 pages in its hardcover edition. The work began as a series of early morning lectures at the al-Azhar mosque in Kebayoran, Jakarta. The commentary expounded in these oral settings was first published serially in the magazine *Gema Islam*. Shortly after beginning the project, however, Hamka was imprisoned by the increasingly left-leaning government of Soekarno and the work was thus completed during his two years of incarceration. Hamka's copious commentary draws on a number of authorities with a heavy emphasis on modern Egyptian exegetes. The commentary is not, however, simply a rehashing of Egyptian modernism under the rubric of qurʾānic exegesis but rather incorporates select elements of Egyptian modernism and other aspects of Muslim tradition with considerable original material, including even a number of rather revealing personal anecdotes. This work continues to enjoy popularity not only in Indonesia but in other parts of southeast Asia as well, including Malaysia and Singapore, where the "deluxe edition" was published by Pustaka Nasional from 1982 to 1993.

With the establishment of Soeharto's New Order regime in 1965, the Indonesian government itself began to sponsor ambitious projects in the area of *tafsīr*. In 1967, the Ministry of Religious Affairs initiated a special foundation that was given the assignment of producing works of Qurʾān translation and commentary. This resulted in the publication of two major works: *Al Quraan dan terjemahannya,* "The Qurʾān and its translation," and *Al Quraan dan tafsirnya,* "The Qurʾān and its commentary." Both works may be seen as officially-sponsored attempts to provide Indonesian Muslims with "standard" works of reference and thus ensure a greater uniformity in national discourses on the sacred text. Nevertheless, over the course of the twentieth century the number of privately conceived and published works of translation and exegesis has continued to proliferate, thus offering a considerable range of interpretations of the text and its exegetical traditions. These range from the multi-volume works covering the entire qurʾānic text like that of Ash Shiddieqy's *Tafsir al-Quränul madjied "an-nur"* to a host of shorter works that deal only with certain sūras (especially Q 1, Sūrat al-Fātiḥa, "The Opening"; see FĀTIḤA) or selections from qurʾānic narrative (see NARRATIVES). Popular works of both of these latter genres are those by Bey Arifin: *Samudera al-Fatihah* and *Rangkaian tjerita dalam al-Quran,* respectively. Later editions of the latter relate embellished tales of Islamic prophets and the early Muslim community complete with illustrations (see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD). There are likewise a number of handbooks on *tajwīd,* qurʾānic recitation, an art form in which Indonesian and Malay reciters have received international acclaim.

Just a few years after the completion of these works another Indonesian translation of the Qurʾān was published by the well-known literary critic H.B. Jassin. It was entitled *Bacaan mulia,* "the glorious reading," an Indonesian rendering of *al-Qurʾān al-karīm,* and met with strong criticism from conservative *ʿulamāʾ* who objected to the fact that it claimed to be a "poetic" translation (see POETRY AND POETS; LANGUAGE AND STYLE OF THE QURʾĀN). Critical responses appeared in a number of Indonesian magazines and newspapers and some even found their way into a number of polemic monographs. Jassin, however, seemed undeterred by all of this; some fifteen years later he published another edition of the Qurʾān, this one in Arabic

rather than in Indonesian translation. This work, entitled *al-Qurʾān berwajah puisi,* did not alter the contents of the Qurʾān in any substantive way but rather experimented with new typographical arrangements of the Arabic text that highlighted its rhythmic and assonant qualities — giving it, in a sense, a "poetic" face (see FORM AND STRUCTURE OF THE QURʾĀN). Following the publication of this text, many of Jassin's earlier critics resurfaced to protest what they saw as his "deviation" from the established practice of printing the qurʾānic text (see PRINTING OF THE QURʾĀN), resulting in a new wave of public polemics and hampering the distribution of Jassin's text.

At about the same time that these developments were taking place in Indonesia, we see an unprecedented upsurge in the production of works of Qurʾān "translation" and exegesis in a wide range of southeast Asian languages beyond Malay/Indonesian. Prominent among them were a number of commentaries in Sundanese, including those of Qamaruddin Shaleh and Muhammad Ramli. Yet such activity was not even restricted to southeast Asian languages with predominantly Muslim speakers. For, at this time we find the first full Thai translation of the Qurʾān, completed by Direk Kulsiriswasd, a.k.a. Ibrahim Qureyshi. The translation of the Qurʾān into Vietnamese is an even more recent phenomenon, the first example of which the present writer is aware having been published not in southeast Asia but in southern California in 1997. Two of the first significant works on the Qurʾān in Tagalog date back to the early 1980s. The first, *Ang banal na Kuran,* is a fairly straightforward translation following the order of the standard arrangement of the text in Arabic. The second is a topically arranged treatment of legal categories and related concepts as illustrated by qurʾānic verses. In each section the verse is given first in English (text from Yūsuf ʿAlī's translation) and then followed by a Tagalog translation without further commentary.

This approach to topical *(mawḍūʿī) tafsīr* was also gaining popularity in Indonesia during the 1980s. Works of this kind appealed more to a modern lay Muslim readership than did works following the more traditional, verse-by-verse *(tartīb al-āyāt)* arrangement. One of the most ambitious works of this type is Dawam Rahardjo's 700-plus page *Ensiklopedi al-Qurʾān,* which is comprised of chapters dealing with topics like "justice," "mercy," "religion," "knowledge," etc. In addition to this, the work also contains important chapters on his interpretive methodology and his understanding of the "social vision" of the Qurʾān (see ETHICS AND THE QURʾĀN; SOCIAL SCIENCES AND THE QURʾĀN; COMMUNITY AND SOCIETY IN THE QURʾĀN). Other significant Indonesian works of this type include the work of Jalaluddin Rakhmat, a popular preacher from Bandung with a degree in communications from the University of Iowa.

With such work we enter a new period in the history of interpretive literature on the Qurʾān in Indonesia, one in which traditional methodologies have largely given way to works addressing the needs of a wider readership whose education has not been in the traditional Islamic sciences (see TOOLS FOR THE STUDY OF THE QURʾĀN; TRADITIONAL DISCIPLINES OF QURʾĀNIC STUDY). Over the past decade, these developments have been paralleled by a marked increase in Indonesian translations of works of modern qurʾānic scholarship that have been produced not in Arabic but in Western languages by Muslim scholars working in European and North American university contexts. Some of the most popular works of this type have been translations of Fazlur Rahman's *Major themes of the Qurʾān* and Muhammad Arkoun's *Lectures*

du Coran (see CONTEMPORARY CRITICAL PRACTICES AND THE QUR'ĀN).

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Sovereignty

(Sole) authority and power, rulership. In exploring the notion of sovereignty much care should be given to terminology. Sovereignty generally means authority (q.v.) and power (see POWER AND IMPOTENCE) but it lacks precise definition and has many divergent interpretations in English usage as do its cognates in other Western languages. The word *ḥākimiyya,* a derivative of the verb *ḥakama,* has been commonly used in modern Islamic thought to denote sovereignty. The form *ḥākimiyya* itself does not occur in the Qur'ān but *ḥakama* and other derivatives of *ḥ-k-m* are used in more than a hundred places. The verb *ḥakama* primarily means "to restrain from doing that which is desired." In Arabic dictionaries it signifies "to judge, decide order, exercise authority, rule and govern." An examination of the occurrences of the word and its derivatives in the Qur'ān reveals that they have been associated with both God and human beings but at varying levels and for varying types of authority (see also JUDGMENT; WISDOM).

The doctrine of God occupies a central position in the qur'ānic discourse, where God is portrayed with absolute authority over the world. Among the terms used to signify his divine authority is *ḥakama* and its derivatives. For instance, *ḥakam, ḥākim* and *ḥakīm* are all attributes of God that include his qualities as lord (q.v.) and ruler of the universe (see GOD AND HIS ATTRIBUTES; CREATION). The Qur'ān has also emphasized repeatedly that *ḥukm,* "command, judgment and decision," belongs ultimately to God (e.g. Q 95:8; 11:45; 12:40;

13:41; 18:26). The usage of the term in the Qurʾān has been understood to comprise several significant concepts. Theologically, it is understood to signify that God determines and causes all that happens in the universe (Q 4:78; 7:54; see FREEDOM AND PREDESTINATION) and that he is the sole adjudicator among humans on the day of the judgment (Q 22:55-7; see LAST JUDGMENT). On the other hand, God is also viewed as a lawgiver in the sense that he prescribes the rules that govern human affairs (see LAW AND THE QURʾĀN; BOUNDARIES AND PRECEPTS). On the basis of these understandings, it has been argued that sovereignty belongs to God, not only in the theological sense but also in the political and legal sense (Quṭb, *Ẓilāl*, 1191-9, 1213-34; see THEOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN; POLITICS AND THE QURʾĀN).

But the Qurʾān does not confine *ḥukm* to God alone. It is assigned also to various humans: to the rabbis and scholars (q.v.) who judge, *yaḥkum,* applying the Torah (q.v.) code (Q 5:44; see JEWS AND JUDAISM); to David (q.v.) who was commanded to judge between people justly (Q 38:26; see JUSTICE AND INJUSTICE); to Muḥammad who must judge in accordance with the Qurʾān (cf. Q 4:65, 105). And, there are two further incidents where the authority of *ḥukm* is conferred: on the arbitrators who settle a marriage dispute (Q 4:35; see MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE) or estimate the compensation to be paid by a pilgrim as atonement (q.v.) for the sin (see SIN, MAJOR AND MINOR) of killing game during the pilgrimage (q.v.; Q 5:95; see also HUNTING AND FISHING).

Closely related to the term *ḥākimiyya* are two other terms relevant to the concept of sovereignty in the Qurʾān: *ulūhiyya* (divinity) and *mulk* (kingship). *Ulūhiyya* denotes, among other things, the absolute right of command over the creation (e.g. Q 7:54) and the authority to legislate for humankind (e.g. Q 42:21), both of which belong exclusively to God. Therefore, it appears that the term *ulūhiyya* comprises the meanings that those who assigned sovereignty to God wanted to attribute to him. On the other hand, human governance has been mostly denoted by derivatives of *m-l-k*, such as *mulk* (e.g. Q 2:102, 251, 258; 12:43, 50, 54, 72, 76, 101) though it has sometimes been used to refer to God's sovereignty (Q 3:26; 23:116; see KINGS AND RULERS). Ibn Khaldūn (d. 808/1406), the famous Muslim historian and sociologist, defines the nature of *mulk* in a way that is very similar to the Western concepts of political, legal and coercive sovereignty (see also TOLERANCE AND COMPULSION; OPPRESSION; OPPRESSED ON EARTH, THE). He says:

> *Mulk,* in reality, belongs only to one who dominates the subjects, subjugates the people, collects revenues (see TAXATION; POLL TAX), sends out military expeditions, and protects the frontiers; and there is no other human power over him. This is generally accepted as the real meaning of the true character of *mulk* (Ibn Khaldūn, *Muqaddima,* ii, 574).

Historically, the slogan of the Khārijīs (q.v.) that *ḥukm* belongs to God alone seems to be the earliest use of the term in politics. Modern Muslim reformers have attempted to find an Islamic equivalent to the Western concepts of political and legal sovereignty (see EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: EARLY MODERN AND CONTEMPORARY). A number of them, including Nāmiq Kemāl (d. 1888), Rashīd Riḍā (d. 1935) and Ḥasan al-Bannā (d. 1949), advocated the view that Islam approves of popular sovereignty. Others, among them Abū Aʿlā l-Mawdūdī (d. 1979) and Sayyid Quṭb (d. 1966), denied that sovereignty can be attributed to a human being and argued that it belongs exclusively to God. In spite of those differences about the type and location of sovereignty, it appears that many accept

the principle of the supremacy of God's laws, the *sharīʿa,* the rights of the ruler and the role of the people in the collective decision-making process in Muslim politics.

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Sowing

see AGRICULTURE AND VEGETATION

Spatial Relations

Relative physical and geographic placement (above, below, close, etc.). In Islamic tradition, the qurʾānic corpus is understood as consisting of two kinds of text units, Meccan sūras and Medinan sūras (see MECCA; MEDINA; SŪRA). While this division serves the juridical purpose of distinguishing earlier texts from later texts (see ABROGATION), by such geographic identification sūras are explicitly related to places (see GEOGRAPHY AND THE QURʾĀN) rather than time periods (see CHRONOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN). This is in accord with a general qurʾānic trend to focus on space rather than time (q.v.). The Qurʾān furthermore displays a strong tendency to arrange essential phenomena of creation in pairs, sometimes antithetical, sometimes complementary (see PAIRS AND PAIRING; RHETORIC AND THE QURʾĀN). Although there occasionally occurs a similar kind of structuring speech in the Bible — see the passages about God's promise to Noah (*Gen* 8:22) or the sequence of antithetical mental dispositions (in *Koh* 3:1-8) — this tendency is much further developed in the Qurʾān (see Neuwirth, Qurʾānic literary structure revisited; see LITERARY STRUCTURES OF THE QURʾĀN; FORM AND STRUCTURE OF THE QURʾĀN). Among the many phenomena presented as coupled in the Qurʾān, spatial notions figure prominently. They are presented in some cases as related closely enough to constitute together one complete whole — linguistically reflected in the rhetorical figure of a *merismos* (see Lausberg, *Handbuch*). Although each part of the pair does exist by itself, it is always perceived as related to the other. Among these pairs, we find in the early sūras the figure of "present life/hereafter" (*al-ḥayāt al-dunyā/al-ākhira;* see ESCHATOLOGY; EARTH; TRANSITORINESS; ETERNITY), as well as that of paradise (q.v.) and hell (*al-janna* and *jahannam;* see HELL AND HELLFIRE; GARDEN). A less tightly connected pair in the early sūras is Mecca and the holy land (see SACRED AND PROFANE; SACRED PRECINCTS). It is exactly this pair, however, that will gain importance in the later sūras, where it appears emblematically coded as *al-masjid al-ḥarām/al-masjid al-aqṣā,* the first being a coded designation of Mecca, the second of Jerusalem (q.v.). In the later Meccan sūras, the biblical pair heaven and earth (q.v.; *al-samāʾ wa-l-ard/al-samāwāt wa-l-arḍ*) are frequently invoked (see HEAVENS AND SKY; SCRIPTURE AND THE QURʾĀN). A more marginal relation is that between Egypt (q.v.) and the holy land as portrayed in Q 12 (Sūrat Yūsuf, "Joseph") and in the story of the Children of Israel (q.v.; Banū Isrāʾīl), as narrated repeatedly throughout the developing revelation of the Qurʾān. Mecca and Medina are never juxtaposed explicitly in the Qurʾān, nor is the migration of the Prophet and his adherents portrayed in the Qurʾān (see EMIGRATION; EMIGRANTS AND HELPERS). Another relation between cities

(see CITY) appears more significant: Mecca and, later, Medina are virtually related to a third, symbolic center — Jerusalem — a relation that develops into Mecca's absorption of Jerusalem's prerogatives (see Neuwirth, Spiritual meanings). Whereas a real journey is made from Mecca to Medina, a virtual and symbolic trajectory leads from Medina back to Mecca. In the following the three most prominent complementary (or antithetical) figures of spatial relations will be discussed, as well as some less explicit ones.

Earthly life and the hereafter, al-ḥayāt al-dunyā/al-ākhira

Since the early sūras are dominated by the imagination of eschatology, it is the antagonism of the present life and the hereafter (*al-ḥayāt al-dunyā* vs. *al-ḥayāt al-ākhira*) that appears first in the Qurʾān. Whereas the English translation of the pair might suggest a temporal rather than a spatial relation, the Qurʾān obviously views the two worlds as spatial units. This is all the more surprising since the likely rabbinical model for the idea of the two worlds (see JEWS AND JUDAISM; FOREIGN VOCABULARY), the Hebrew notion of *ha-ʿōlām ha-zeh* vs. *ha-ʿōlām ha-bā,* this world vs. the coming world, does presuppose a temporal sequence, *ʿōlām* being a temporal term in both Hebrew and Aramaic *(ʿalmā)*. It is noteworthy, however, that with respect to terminology, the Hebrew discourse of the two temporally juxtaposed worlds did leave a trace in the Qurʾān, which from the middle Meccan sūras onward (the two first instances being still early Meccan, Q 81:29 and Q 83:6) employs the formula *rabb al-ʿālamīn* to express a crucial divine predicate, one that becomes a standard formula through the Fātiḥa (q.v.; see Neuwirth, Fātiḥa). Although *rabb al-ʿālamīn* reflects Hebrew *ribbōn ʿōlām* (in the sense of "lord [q.v.] of eternity [q.v.]"), the Arabic cognate of *ʿōlām,* i.e. *ʿālam,* which appears in the Qurʾān exclusively as *ʿālamīn* (see translation of 1 John 4:19), is not always used in a temporal sense but in some instances seems rather to denote the inhabited earthly world, represented by humans. *ʿĀlamīn* in this sense (which is reflected in various translations of the Qurʾān into western languages) could be explained as a contracted plural of an adjectival form *(nisba), ʿālamī.*

It appears, however, as if *ʿālamīn* was at first used in another sense: to denote something like "eternity," such as in the formula *rabb al-ʿālamīn* (early sūras, Q 56:80; 69:43; 81:29; 83:6) which is a loan from the Hebrew but is well isolated from the word *rabb* in *dhikrun lil-ʿālamīn* (Q 68:52; 81:27), perhaps in the sense of "a remembrance (q.v.) forever." Only later, from middle Meccan sūras onward, do contexts like *wa-faḍḍalnāhum ʿalā l-ʿālamīn* (Q 45:16; see GRACE; BLESSING) or *nisāʾ al-ʿālamīn* (Q 3:42; see WOMEN AND THE QURʾĀN), suggesting the meaning of "humans," occur. It is worth noting that the word *ʿālam* in Christian Arabic expresses a spatial notion (see 1 John 4:19), obviously reproducing the signification of the Greek *kosmos,* which is a spatial rather than temporal notion.

The qurʾānic structuring of the universe into two worlds is certainly inspired by the imagination of the Aristotelian-Ptolemaic edifice of the universe as made up of spheres viewed as encompassing each other (see COSMOLOGY). The lowest or closest of these is encompassed by the "nearest heaven," *al-samāʾ al-dunyā* (Q 67:5), which is the world, and by the last *(al-ākhira),* i.e. the most remote, which is the transcendent world, hosting the heavenly court. Since paradise is imagined in the Qurʾān to be situated in a higher place than the earth, *al-ākhira,* the "last," may well be alluding to the highest, the "last sphere."

Whereas in early and middle Meccan

texts *al-dunyā* is always positioned as an attribute to *al-ḥayāt,* and *al-ākhira* — though not directly connected to *al-dunyā* — refers back to *al-ḥayāt* as well, in late Meccan and Medinan sūras, *al-dunyā* becomes an independent designation of the earthly world, as does *al-ākhira* (which also appears as *dār al-ākhira,* Q 28:77) for the hereafter. In these texts the direct juxtaposition *al-dunyā wa-l-ākhira* (Q 12:101) marking a *merismos* — the earthly world and the hereafter equals reality in toto — becomes familiar.

Paradise versus hell, al-janna *vs.* jahannam (*or* al-nār, al-saʿīr, al-jaḥīm, al-ḥuṭama)

This pair, another major element of eschatology, does not appear in direct juxtaposition, though the two abodes are described almost always in close context with each other. *Jahannam* is the second most common (seventy-seven occurrences) designation of hell in the Qurʾān after *al-nār*. *Jahannam* originally denotes a site in Jerusalem, *Gē Hinnōm,* the valley of Bne Hinnom, the biblical locus of the immolation of human offspring to Moloch (*Jer* 7:31f.). The eschatological landscape of Jerusalem, which locates the diverse stages of the resurrection in single parts of the city (see Neuwirth, The spiritual meaning), is otherwise not reflected in the Qurʾān; it will come to the fore in early Umayyad times. The name is obviously already established as a geographically neutral term in Christian tradition and has possibly entered Arabic through Ethiopian (Jeffery, *For. vocab*., 105-6; see CHRISTIANS AND CHRISTIANITY).

[Al-] janna is the counterpart of the biblical *gan* or *gan ʿeden*. As a designation for paradise, the primordial human abode, its biblical use does not denote the hereafter, eschatological thinking having emerged only after the completion of most biblical books. *[Al-] janna* is from middle Meccan times onward connected with the determination Eden *(ʿadn)* which, however, has no topographical reference in qurʾānic creation (q.v.) stories. In early sūras paradise and hell are often depicted with cognate literary devices, their respective attributes often matching each other, the one being extremely delightful, the other extremely abhorrent. Their depiction tends to be structured as constituting equal numbers of verses (e.g. Q 51:10-14, 15-19; five verses each) or as two verse groups displaying a proportional relation to each other (e.g. Q 69:19-24 as against 69:25-37, six and thirteen verses, respectively; see FORM AND STRUCTURE OF THE QURʾĀN). As such, they remind one of the closely juxtaposed pictorial representations of both forms of the hereafter that are familiar from Christian ecclesiastical iconography, thus suggesting the designation of "diptycha" (see Neuwirth, *Studien*). Both *janna* and *jahannam* share the presence of trees and abundant water, *janna,* however, being shady, *jahannam* being burning hot. Both are eternal abodes for their inhabitants. The most impressive depiction of paradise is presented in Q 55 (Sūrat al-Raḥmān, "The Merciful"; see GOD AND HIS ATTRIBUTES), one of the few cases where the negative counterpart *jahannam* is marginalized (see Neuwirth, Qurʾānic literary structure). The biblical characterization of paradise as a landscape where four mythic rivers are flowing is reflected in the Qurʾān in a more general way, the phrase "rivers flowing beneath it" (*tajrī min taḥtihā l-anhāru;* cf. Q 18:31) being often added to the mention of *janna* (see SPRINGS AND FOUNTAINS). A characteristic of the qurʾānic paradise that has no counterpart in the Bible is the existence of virtuous virgins destined to become the wives of the resurrected males (Q 44:54; 55:56-8; see HOURIS; MYTHS AND LEGENDS IN THE QURʾĀN). The banquets in which they participate have been interpreted by J. Horovitz *(Das koranische Paradies)* as magnifications of festal banquets familiar in

the circles of tribal elites and thus well-known to the Qurʾān's listeners from ancient Arabic poetry (see POETRY AND POETS; PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QURʾĀN). The hypothesis that the presence of virgins in the Qurʾān is due to a misreading of the text (see Luxenberg, *Die syro-aramäische Lesart*) is unfounded (see Wild, Lost in translation). These depictions are exclusively early and middle Meccan; later, once a community had been established where women played vital roles, the issue of transcendent happiness had to be rethought. In the course of that development, family members took the place of the houris as companions to the males in paradise. In the early sūras, paradise and hell appear to be juxtaposed; the antagonism between earth and paradise, resulting from the first couple's expulsion from *al-janna* (see FALL OF MAN), is introduced only in later texts, where, however, it does not play as momentous a role as in Christianity.

Mecca and the holy land

In their introductory sections, a few sūras focus on a place or a set of places held sacred in monotheistic tradition, to which Mecca has been added: Q 52:1-6 (Mount Sinai and Mecca), Q 95:1-3 (Mount Sinai, and, perhaps symbolically coded, Palestine — *wa-l-tīn wa-l-zaytūn,* "the fig and the olive," and Mecca — *hādhā l-balad al-amīn,* "this safe city"), whereas in Q 90:1-2 Mecca (*hādhā l-balad,* "this city") is mentioned alone. The places are obviously regarded as being related, Mecca thus being put in a position that allows it to share the blessing inherent in the other place(s). The relation between Mecca and the holy land is thus established from the beginning of the Qurʾān's development. In middle and late Meccan sūras the holy land, *al-arḍ al-muqaddasa* (Q 5:21), *al-arḍ allatī bāraknā ḥawlahā/fīhā,* literally, "the land that we have blessed" (Q 21:71; cf. 7:137; 17:1; 34:18), is evoked on different occasions. At this stage, the earlier reminiscences of Arabian salvation (q.v.) history, the sites of ʿĀd (q.v.), Thamūd (q.v.) and other ancient peoples are replaced by recollections of biblical history featuring the Children of Israel (see Speyer, *Erzählungen*). Local *lieux de mémoire* are substituted by geographically remote ones and a new *topographia sacra* emerges, adopted from the "others," not the genealogical, but the spiritual forebears. The community that was in late Meccan time urged to go into an inner exile yearned for a substitute for the emotionally alienated and politically hostile landscape of their origin. Through the adoption of the orientation in prayer, the *qibla* (q.v.), towards Jerusalem dating to the last years of Muḥammad's Meccan activities, a trajectory has been constructed. Q 17:1, the sole verse that connects the holy land directly with the biography of the Prophet (see Neuwirth, Sacred mosque; see SĪRA AND THE QURʾĀN; ASCENSION), is also a testimony of the establishment of the first *qibla* (see also GEOGRAPHY). This orientation taken by a community in spiritual exile towards the spiritual home is understood as an emulation of the practice of Moses (q.v.) who in Egypt, equally in a situation of external pressure, ordered the Children of Israel to adopt a *qibla* (Q 10:87) for their prayer (q.v.).

Only a few years later, in Medina, as a result of complex developments, the trajectory from the familiar but now banned and forbidden hometown Mecca to the "remote," imaginary sanctuary of Jerusalem is called into question. When, after the battle of Badr (q.v.), hostility between the community and the Medinan Jews broke out, the incompatibility of the rivaling *lieux de mémoire,* the two *topographiae sacrae,* Jerusalem with the holy land on the one hand and Mecca with the Ḥijāzī landscape on the other, became evident. The spiritual return of the worshippers to the

Kaʿba (q.v.) at Mecca is heralded in the verses that prescribe the realignment of the orientation in prayer, now directed towards Mecca (Q 2:142-4). In the prayer of Abraham (q.v.; Q 2:126f.), finally, the Kaʿba appears as the monument of a new divine foundation. According to Abraham's inaugural prayer, verbal worship (q.v.) and the reading of scripture shall take place in this sanctuary in addition to the constitutive rites of the ancient cult (see also RITUAL AND THE QURʾĀN) that reflects Solomon's prayer at the inauguration of his Temple (1 Kings 33-4). The prayer related in the Qurʾān reaches its fulfillment with the appearance of the prophet Muḥammad and the emergence of a scripture for the worshippers of the ancient cult (see BOOK; ḤANĪF). What had been a prerogative of Jerusalem to be the site of divine communication (*Isa* 2:3) is finally conferred on Mecca (see REVELATION AND INSPIRATION). Finally, both Mecca and the peninsula acquire biblical associations and become the site of monotheistic salvation history.

Various further spatial relations have been discussed in the context of other articles or in monographs: for heaven and earth *(al-samāwāt wa-l-arḍ),* see COSMOLOGY; for the hidden and the revealed (*al-ghayb* and *al-shahāda*), see HIDDEN AND THE HIDDEN and Izutsu, *God;* for earth and the two oceans, see BARRIER; BARZAKH; for world vs. underworld (the story of Moses in Q 18:60-82), see Francke, *Begegnung mit Khidr* (see also KHAḌIR/KHIḌR). See also LEFT HAND AND RIGHT HAND; SYMBOLIC IMAGERY.

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Speech

The act of speaking and the expression or communication of thoughts and feelings by spoken words. The Arabic word for "speech" is *kalām*. It is derived from the root *k-l-m,* just like the Arabic verbs "to speak," *kallama* and *takallama*. Several other qurʾānic verbs refer to the act of speaking, such as the verbs *qāla,* "to say," *naṭaqa,* "to articulate," and *nādā*, "to call or shout." Some verbs indicate the speaker's intention, such as *saʾala,* "to ask," *ajāba,* "to answer," *nabbaʾa,* "to inform" (see NEWS), *waʿada,* "to promise" (see REWARD AND PUNISHMENT), *nahā,* "to forbid" (see FORBIDDEN; VIRTUES AND VICES, COMMANDING AND FORBIDDING), and *amara,* "to command."

The most important speaking person in the Qurʾān is God. He brings things into

existence by speaking to them and ordering them to exist. He says to a thing "Be!" *(kun),* whereupon the thing in question exists (Q 2:117; 3:47; 6:73; 16:40; 36:82; 40:68; see COSMOLOGY). After God had created Adam from dust (see ADAM AND EVE; CREATION; CLAY), he said to him "Be," whereupon Adam existed (Q 3:59). God may also speak to something and order it to change its quality. When Abraham's (q.v.) people intended to burn him, God said to the fire (q.v.) "Be cool!" (Q 21:69; see HOT AND COLD). Another example of a divine command that affects a change is God's ability to end people's lives, by ordering them: "Die!" (Q 2:243; see DEATH AND THE DEAD).

God speaks to the creatures he has created. There are some qurʾānic reports of conversations between God and the angels (see ANGEL). Before God created Adam, he informed the angels of that (Q 15:28; 38:71) and they commented on it (Q 2:30). After the creation of Adam, God ordered the angels to prostrate themselves to Adam (Q 2:34; 7:11; 15:29; 17:61; 18:50; 38:72; see BOWING AND PROSTRATION). Thereupon a discussion took place between God and Iblīs (see DEVIL) who refused to do so (Q 7:12-18; 15:32-42; 17:61-5; 38:75-85; see INSOLENCE AND OBSTINACY; ARROGANCE; PRIDE). Adam was the first human being to whom God spoke: "He taught Adam all the names" (Q 2:31; see TEACHING; KNOWLEDGE AND LEARNING). The exegetes disagree about whether God taught Adam the name of everything there is or simply the names of angels or humans (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* ad Q 2:31; see EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL). Some Arab grammarians (see GRAMMAR AND THE QURʾĀN; ARABIC LANGUAGE) referred to this verse to support their opinion that human speech finds its origin in revelation (see REVELATION AND INSPIRATION). They rejected the idea that language is the result of agreement between humans (Versteegh, *Arabic linguistic tradition,* 101-2). God also spoke to Adam and his wife when he told them to live in paradise (q.v.) but not to approach the tree [of immortality] (Q 2:35; see TREES; ETERNITY). After their disobedience (q.v.), God spoke to them again, when he told them to leave paradise (Q 2:38; 20:123).

These conversations took place in paradise (q.v.) but God also spoke to prophets (see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD) who lived as human beings in this world. God spoke to Noah (q.v.; e.g. Q 11:46), Abraham (e.g. Q 2:124), Moses (q.v.; e.g. Q 7:143-4), Jesus (q.v.; e.g. Q 3:55) and Muḥammad (q.v.). In most accounts of these communications, the verb "to say" *(qāla)* is used, for instance, "God said" *(qāla llāhu),* "his lord (q.v.) said" *(qāla rabbuhu),* "he [God] said" *(qāla),* and "we [God] said" *(qulnā).* (For the use of personal pronouns with respect to God, see Robinson, *Discovering,* 224-55.) The whole Qurʾān is considered to be what God said to Muḥammad through the intermediation of Gabriel (q.v.), but when the Qurʾān refers to God's giving information to Muḥammad, the verb *qaṣṣa,* "to narrate," is repeatedly used (e.g. Q 40:78; 11:120; 12:3; see NARRATIVES; HEAVENLY BOOK; INIMITABILITY; CREATEDNESS OF THE QURʾĀN; COLLECTION OF THE QURʾĀN).

These reports about the prophets raise the question of whether they heard God's voice when he spoke to them (see SEEING AND HEARING). The answer is given in the Qurʾān itself. It is said that God speaks to humans only "by revelation, or from behind a veil (q.v.), or he sends a messenger (q.v.) who, with his permission, reveals what he wills" (Q 42:51). According to al-Zamakhsharī (d. 538/1144; *Kashshāf,* iv, 226-7), the first way means that God gives someone inspiration *(ilhām)* and "throws" something in his heart (q.v.) or in a dream

(see DREAMS AND SLEEP). It is also possible that God creates a voice in some object *(baʿḍ al-ajrām)* without the listener seeing who speaks to him. The second way in which God speaks, i.e. from behind a veil, means that those who are addressed can hear his voice but cannot see him. According to al-Zamakhsharī, God spoke to Moses in this way. It is also the way in which God speaks to the angels. The other prophets did not hear God's voice. God spoke to them through an angel who acted as intermediary, bringing God's words to the prophet in question. This is the way in which God spoke to Muḥammad. The third way, according to al-Zamakhsharī's explanation, is that God speaks through the intermediation of a prophet. In this way, God speaks to the common people. They hear God's word from prophets who speak in their own languages (see LANGUAGE, CONCEPT OF).

"God really spoke to Moses" (*kallama llāhu Mūsā taklīman,* Q 4:164). Muslim scholars agree that Moses is the only prophet to whom God spoke directly. This does not become clear from Q 2:253, where it is said that God spoke to one (or some, *minhum man kallama llāhu*) of the messengers. According to al-Zamakhsharī (*Kashshāf,* i, 293), Moses is meant here. God said to Moses that he had chosen him above other people by means of his messages and his speech (*kalām,* Q 7:144; see ELECTION). A comparison of the verses about God's speaking to Moses indicates that not only the verb *kallama* but also other verbs are used to render God's speaking to Moses, such as *nādā,* "to call," as in "When his lord called him in the holy valley of Ṭuwā" (q.v.; Q 79:16, cf. 19:52; 26:10; 28:46). This verb is also used in the passive sense, although from the context it is evident that God is speaking. "When he [Moses] came to it [the fire], he was called *(nūdiya)* from the right side of the valley, in the blessed spot (see SACRED AND PROFANE), from the tree: 'Moses, I am God, the lord of the worlds' " (Q 28:30; cf. 20:11; 27:8).

In the Qurʾān it is reported that God spoke to humans who were not prophets, such as the apostles of Jesus (Q 5:115; see APOSTLE) and the Israelites (e.g. Q 5:12; 2:58; 17:104; see CHILDREN OF ISRAEL). As we have seen before, the explanation must be that he spoke to them through the intermediation of a prophet. It is not clear in which way God will speak to those who are brought back to life on the day of judgment (see RESURRECTION; LAST JUDGMENT). It is said that he will speak to them, including to the unbelievers (see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF). "Then I will inform you *(unabbiʾukum)* of what you did" (Q 31:15). God will not, however, speak *(yukallimu)* to people who have sold their covenant (q.v.) with him (Q 3:77; see TRADE AND COMMERCE) or the book (q.v.) he has sent down to them (Q 2:174). Only those will speak who have received permission (Q 11:105) and those who speak rightly (Q 78:38). Those who have declared the prophets to be liars will not be allowed to speak (e.g. Q 77:34-6; see LIE; GRATITUDE AND INGRATITUDE). Unbelievers will not be able to speak because God will seal up their mouths. Instead, their hands (q.v.) will speak *(tukallimu)* to God and their feet (Q 36:65), tongues (Q 24:24), ears (q.v.), eyes (q.v.) and skins (Q 41:20-3) will bear witness against them as to what they have done (see WITNESSING AND TESTIFYING). Probably, this is meant literally, as it is said that God can give each thing the power of speech (Q 41:21; see LITERARY STRUCTURES OF THE QURʾĀN).

In the Qurʾān some inanimate things are mentioned as speaking to God, such as the sky and the earth (q.v.; Q 41:11; see also HEAVEN AND SKY) and hell (Q 50:30; see HELL AND HELLFIRE). There are also written documents that can speak. "We have a book that speaks the truth" (*yanṭiqu bi-l-*

ḥaqq, Q 23:62; cf. 45:29). In this case, speaking may be understood metaphorically (see METAPHOR), just as in "This Qurʾān tells *(yaquṣṣu)* to the Israelites…" (Q 27:76) and "Did we [God] send them an authorization that speaks *(yatakallamu)?*…" (Q 30:35).

God's speech (kalām Allāh) *as a theological question*

The word *kalām* "speech" occurs four times in the Qurʾān. In all these cases it concerns God's speech. In Q 7:144 God says that he chose Moses above other people by means of the speech and messages that God revealed to him. In this case *kalām* may be understood as *taklīm,* "addressing someone," as al-Zamakhsharī says (*Kashshāf,* ii, 151), but it may also refer to the Torah (q.v.), which Moses received from God. In the other three cases, *kalām* cannot have the meaning of "addressing someone." It must mean God's message or the Qurʾān, as it is said that idolaters hear it (Q 9:6; see IDOLATRY AND IDOLATERS; POLYTHEISM AND ATHEISM) and people wish to change it (Q 48:15) or changed it after they had understood it (Q 2:75; see REVISION AND ALTERATION; FORGERY; CORRUPTION). Because of this, all Muslims agree that the Qurʾān is God's speech. Disagreement arose, however, about the nature of God's speech (see THEOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN).

There is a close relationship between the discussions about the nature of God's speech and the discussions about the createdness of the Qurʾān (q.v.). Jahm b. Ṣafwān (d. 128/745-6) and his adherents asserted that God's speech is created but they denied that God speaks in the same way as humans do. They took into consideration the fact that human speech needs a special organ and movements of tongue and mouth. Because of their rejection of anthropomorphism (q.v.), they were convinced that God does not produce speech in this way. According to them, God does not really speak but when he wishes to "speak" to a creature, he creates the sound of speech, which is heard by this creature and is called "speech" (Madelung, *Origins,* 506-8).

The Muʿtazilīs (q.v.), too, were convinced that God's speech is created. The majority of the Muʿtazilīs defined speech as separately articulated sounds *(aṣwāt muqaṭṭaʿa)*. For this reason they rejected the idea that speech is something that exists in the soul (q.v.; *nafs*). They acknowledged that God has the attribute of "speaking" and pointed out that someone is described as "speaking" *(mutakallim)* because he produces speech in accordance with his intentions. Depending on these intentions, speech occurs as information, command or prohibition. These Muʿtazilīs denied that speech can inhere in God but they deemed it possible that God creates speech directly in some substrate, in a tree, for instance, which explains how God spoke to Moses (see THEOPHANY). Another question is whether the Qurʾān in its recited, written and remembered form is identical to God's speech (see TEACHING AND PREACHING THE QURʾĀN; RECITATION OF THE QURʾĀN; MEMORY). According to the Muʿtazilī ʿAbd al-Jabbār (d. 415/1025), the Qurʾān is God's speech as he really produced it. When we hear a recitation *(qirāʾa)* of the Qurʾān, we hear a reproduction *(ḥikāya)* of God's speech as it was sent down to Muḥammad through his intermediary, the angel Gabriel.

Theologians who adhered to the opinion that God's speech is uncreated, such as the Ḥanbalīs, the Kullābīs and the Ashʿarīs, took into consideration that "speaking" is a divine attribute which can be equated with other essential attributes of God, such as his being knowing (see GOD AND HIS ATTRIBUTES). In their opinion, this implies that God is eternally "speaking" *(mutakallim)*. Their opinion about speech differed

from the Muʿtazilī definition of speech. Ibn Kullāb (d. ca. 240/854) declared that "God's speech *(kalām)* does not consist of letters and is not a sound. It is indivisible, impartible, indissectible and unalterable. It is one thing *(maʿnā)* in God" (Ashʿarī, *Maqālāt,* 584). This was the basis for the principle of "inner speech" *(kalām nafsī)*. Probably, al-Ashʿarī (d. 324/935-6) himself did not speak about it but his adherents, al-Bāqillānī (d. 403/1013) and al-Juwaynī (d. 478/1085), used this term in reference to God's eternal uncreated speech. Inner speech is speech that is not yet expressed in words. In their opinion, the Qurʾān is an expression *(ʿibāra)* of God's inner speech but, as distinct from inner speech, it consists of sounds and letters. The expression may be Arabic or Hebrew. They declared that in the recitation *(qirāʾa)* of the Qurʾān, the pronunciation *(lafẓ)* is a human act but what we understand from the words is God's eternal speech.

The Ḥanbalīs declared that the Qurʾān, in whatever form, be it written, memorized, or recited, is God's uncreated speech. In their opinion, God's speech consists of sounds and letters and is identical to the letters of the Qurʾān (see PRESERVED TABLET; ARABIC SCRIPT; CALLIGRAPHY). The Ḥanbalīs rejected the idea that the Qurʾān is an expression or a reproduction of God's speech. They admitted that when the Qurʾān is recited, the pronunciation is a human act but they declared that what we hear and read is God's uncreated speech. H.A. Wolfson (*Philosophy,* 252-4) described this as the "inlibration" of God's uncreated speech (see also ORALITY; ORALITY AND WRITING IN ARABIA).

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Spell (to cast a)

see MAGIC

Sperm

see BIOLOGY AS THE CREATION AND STAGES OF LIFE

Spider

Creature whose body contains two main divisions: one with four pairs of walking legs, the other with two or more pairs of spinnerets for spinning the silk that is used in making the cocoons for its young, nests for itself or webs to entangle its prey. The word spider *(ʿankabūt),* which provides the

name for Q 29, Sūrat al-ʿAnkabūt, occurs twice in the Qurʾān in one and the same verse, Q 29:41. In this verse, the spider exemplifies an agent for warning and threatening the infidels for their ungrateful conduct (see ANIMAL LIFE; BELIEF AND UNBELIEF; GRATITUDE AND INGRATITUDE). Those who choose for themselves benefactors other than God (see POLYTHEISM AND ATHEISM) are likened to the spider because this animal opts for the frailest of houses to live in. This qurʾānic passage alludes to the spider's web and its fragility and is one of the very few passages in the Qurʾān that refers to animal behavior. In reality, the spider's thread is strong enough for the spider itself and for its catch; so only from a human viewpoint can the web be considered weak.

In Arabic zoological literature, the spider's web plays an important role in describing the spider. (For other topics in connection with the descriptions of the spider in Arabic literature, e.g. its copulation, see Ruska, ʿAnkabūt; Eisenstein, *Einführung,* index.) It remains unclear for Arab authors whether it is the male or the female who fabricates the web in which the spider and its spittle wait for a catch. Although the spider's web is always described as weak it is also the reason for its reputation as a wonderful creature. For, according to the Arabic authors, the spider is able to spin its marvelous net immediately after its birth. Therefore, the spider is seen as one of the animals with inborn proficiencies, which do not have to be taught by parents. The spider only assumes its full shape, according to the Arabic sources, three days after birth. Among animals, the spider is considered impure and disgusting, and may therefore not be eaten. The prophet Muḥammad himself is said to have called the spider a *shayṭān* (devil) transformed by God and ordered it to be killed; this ḥadīth is, it should be noted, considered weak (al-Damīrī, *Ḥayāt,* ii, 223; see ḤADĪTH AND THE QURʾĀN).

In other words, contradiction and discrepancy determine the spider's image in Arabic literature. To make things more complicated, the spider and its web once saved the Prophet himself. According to tradition, the prophet Muḥammad and his Companion Abū Bakr had, on their way to Medina (q.v.) during the *hijra* (see EMIGRATION), taken refuge for three days in a cave (q.v.) located in the Thawr mountain. While they were in the cave, a spider built its web over the entrance of the cave protecting them from discovery by the Quraysh (q.v.) who were intent on harming them. A comprehensive account of this event may be found in Ibn Kathīr's (d. 774/1373) biography of the Prophet (Le Gassick, *Imām Abū l-Fidāʾ,* ii, 158f.; see SĪRA AND THE QURʾĀN), whereas in Ibn Hishām's account, the spider is not explicitly mentioned in this connection. (As an aside, other accounts have it that the Prophet was saved during the *hijra* not by a spider but by two doves.) At any rate, this event led to the conclusion that a spider could build its web very quickly. Moreover, the prophet Muḥammad was not the only one to be protected from danger by a quickly-built spider's web. Among the prophets, David (q.v.; Dāwūd) had the same experience. An account of this episode and a listing of other people saved by a spider are found in al-Damīrī's (d. 808/1405) book on animals.

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Spirit

Life force or supernatural being. In pre-Islamic poetry the Arabic word *rūḥ* refers to a blowing or breathing (see AIR AND WIND; POETRY AND POETS; PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QURʾĀN). In the Qurʾān, the word appears twenty-one times but in the sense of spirit rather than of blowing, in a manner analogous to its Hebrew cognate, *ruach,* in the Bible (see SCRIPTURE AND THE QURʾĀN). The qurʾānic *rūḥ* evokes spirit in passages related to the three boundary moments in the Qurʾān: creation (q.v.), the sending down of prophetic revelation (see REVELATION AND INSPIRATION; PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD), and the eschatology (q.v.) of the day of reckoning (*yawm al-dīn;* see LAST JUDGMENT). At divine behest or command *(amr),* spirit mediates the eternal and the temporal, coming down or rising up from one realm to another (see ETERNITY; TIME; WORLD). It comes down as the breath of life into Adam (see ADAM AND EVE; COSMOLOGY), as the conception of Jesus (q.v.) for Mary (q.v.), and with (or as) revelation to the prophets. It rises with the angels (q.v.) into the divine realm, bringing the temporal world to its conclusion and humans to their second creation (see RESURRECTION).

The qurʾānic concept of spirit is complicated by allusion, referential multivalence and theological allusion well beyond the issue of a possible equivalence of the spirit with Gabriel (q.v.; see also HOLY SPIRIT). These more subtle features are expressed through parallelism — in phrasing (see FORM AND STRUCTURE OF THE QURʾĀN), rhythm (see RHYMED PROSE), grammatical (see GRAMMAR AND THE QURʾĀN) and personal gender (q.v.) and key themes — which ties together passages across different sūras (q.v.) and allows disparate passages to reverberate semantically and sonically from one to the other (see LANGUAGE AND STYLE OF THE QURʾĀN; RHETORIC AND THE QURʾĀN). The result is that each boundary moment (creation, prophecy, reckoning) can be heard echoed within the others.

Spirit and creation

In the passages depicting the creation of Adam, the primordial human being (*insān* or *bashar*) is first shaped out of mud or clay (q.v.) and then brought to life as the creator breathes spirit into the shaped form (see BIOLOGY AS THE CREATION AND STAGES OF LIFE). God as creator speaks in the first person singular (Q 15:29; 38:72): "When I formed him and breathed into him some of my spirit" *(idhā sawwaytuhu wa-nafakhtu fīhi min rūḥī)*. Other passages on the creation of Adam employ the exact same formula but in the third person (Q 32:9): "He formed him and breathed into him some of his spirit" *(sawwāhu wa-nafakha fīhi min rūḥihi)*. The inbreathing actualizes and brings to life the material form of the creature after the shaping *(taswiya)*. Before breathing into Adam, the creator shapes, kneads, molds, forms *(sawwā)* the substance of the creature into a form receptive of the spirit.

The formula used to depict spirit within creation found in the passages on Adam recurs in the passages depicting the conception of Jesus. Speaking about Mary, in one passage, God relates: "We breathed into her some of our spirit" (*nafakhnā fīhā min rūḥinā,* Q 21:91). Another passage is identical, except that the "into her" has been changed to "into it" *(fīhi):* "We breathed into it some of our spirit" (Q 66:12). The same verse had begun by referring to Mary as one who "guarded her

private parts" *(farjahā)*. Thus some commentators interpret the "into it" as a reference to the breathing of the spirit directly into her vagina (see SEX AND SEXUALITY; MODESTY; CHASTITY). The most extended narrative concerning Jesus and Mary is found in Q 19:16-33. In Q 19:17 the divine voice relates that "We sent down to her our spirit which took on the likeness of a human being well formed *(basharan sawiyyan)*." Mary expresses shock and fear at the sight of the figure (interpreted in commentaries as Gabriel) and her reaction shows clearly that the figure is male in appearance. The figure (spirit in the likeness of a human form) replies that it is the messenger of her lord (q.v.; *rasūlu rabbiki*) sent to bestow on her a pious male child (for the efforts of commentators to distinguish the "our spirit" that God breathed into Mary from the "our spirit" that God sent down to Mary in the shape of a human, see MARY; and for a more philosophical discussion of the complex relationship of Mary to spirit, see Ibn al-ʿArabī, *Fuṣūṣ,* 138-67).

Spirit and revelation

With Jesus, the spirit is associated not only with creativity in his conception but with his prophetic mission as well. In three passages, Jesus, son of Mary, is depicted as being given the holy spirit *(rūḥ al-qudus)* as a support (Q 2:87, 253; 5:110). In the first two of those passages, the holy spirit's support is linked to Jesus' bringing of clear proofs (*bayyināt;* see PROOF). In the third passage, God speaks directly to Jesus, explaining how the holy spirit was sent as a support to him at the time he was prophesying while yet an infant. The passage goes on to remind Jesus how, with the permission of God, Jesus was able to shape birds from clay, breathe into them and bring them to life; this is a sequence that is precisely parallel to God's activity in bringing Adam to life. In yet another discussion of Jesus, he is identified with the spirit (Q 4:171). The different relations of Jesus to spirit can be summed up in the following way: Jesus was conceived through the spirit; prophesies with the support of the spirit; shapes creatures and brings them to life with divine permission by breathing into them in exactly the fashion through which God brought Adam to life; and is the spirit (see POWER AND IMPOTENCE; MIRACLES; MARVELS).

Spirit plays the central role in all prophecy which occurs through the spirit by the command *(amr)* of God (Q 16:2; 17:85; 40:15) and as a support for believers (Q 58:22). Other passages relate the spirit to the specific movement of the bringing down *(tanzīl)* and the coming down *(tanazzul)* of prophetic revelation. In a reference to the role of prophets as those who warn that there is no god but God (see WARNER; POLYTHEISM AND ATHEISM), the Qurʾān states (Q 16:2): "He sends down the angels with the spirit by his command to whichever of his servants (see SERVANT; WORSHIP) he wills." The spirit is sent down according to, through, or at the behest of the divine command. In a reference to the spirit sent to Muḥammad that empowers him to be a prophetic warner it is called the trustworthy *(amīn)* spirit.

In Q 16:102 it is the holy spirit that actively sends down *(nazzala)* the verses or signs *(āyāt)* of revelation. Most classical commentaries identify the holy spirit with Gabriel. Nowhere in the Qurʾān is such an identification made explicit and the name Gabriel appears in only two verses in the Qurʾān. The strongest evidence for assuming an identification between the spirit and Gabriel is found in Q 97:4, where the angels and the spirit descend *(tanazzalu)* by permission of their lord, a terminology and phrasing that relate to Q 16:102 on the role of the holy spirit. The Qurʾān refers

neither to the spirit nor to Gabriel as an angel. The spirit does act in close proximity with the angels, leading to the common assumption that Gabriel and/or the spirit were the highest form of angel (see ANGEL; for further discussion and the alternative views of Ibn Zayd who interpreted the holy spirit as a reference to the Qurʾān and/or the Gospel, see Ayoub, *Qurʾān,* 124-5). In Q 81:19, the revelation to Muḥammad is referred to as the speech (q.v.) of a noble messenger (q.v.; *rasūl karīm*), which would fit the role of the spirit or that of Gabriel.

The spirit passages concerning Mary and Jesus tie creative activity to prophecy and revelation. Parallel constructions and vocabulary link those passages of the bringing to life of Adam to the act of prophetic inspiration (in the strong sense of inspiration). Q 97 recounts the sending down of revelation to Muḥammad. It begins with the divine voice announcing that "We sent him/it down *(anzalnāhu)* on the night of destiny (see NIGHT OF POWER)." If the pronoun *hu* is taken as indicative of a person, it is interpreted as Gabriel. When taken as indicative of a non-animate object, it is interpreted as the Qurʾān or associated with the revelatory vision(s) of Muḥammad depicted most famously in Q 53:1-18 and Q 81:19-24. Q 97:4 contains a complex formulation: The angels came down — the spirit — by the permission of their lord through/from every order. The central phrase, *wa-l-rūḥu fīhā,* is multivalent. The angels came down with the spirit among them; the angels came down with the spirit during it (the night of destiny or power, *qadr*); the angels came down upon the night (personified as female) of destiny. The grammatical and referential indetermination of the key phrase, its place at the rhythmic and semantic nexus of the verse and the dramatic placement of the verse in the larger sūra, heighten the sense of mystery and wonder surrounding the operation of the spirit (Sells, Sound).

Spirit and reckoning

The third boundary moment is the day of reckoning, a day when the angels will appear with the spirit in array (*ṣaffan;* see RANKS AND ORDERS). The spirit passages relating spirit to creation and prophecy parallel strongly the portrayal of the role of spirit in eschatology. In one case, the exact same wording is used stretched across disparate sūras concerning prophecy and reckoning. But the movement is reversed from downwards to upwards. In Q 97:4, "The angels come down with the spirit upon her/among them *(al-rūḥu fīhā)*." In Q 70:4, the angels rise with the spirit to him *(wa-l-rūḥu ilayhi)*. The link between these two passages and the events they depict is heightened by the stretching out of temporal limits in both prophecy and reckoning and by the inversion of night and day (see DAY AND NIGHT). Thus the night on which the spirit descends is "better than a thousand months" (q.v.; Q 97:3) while the day of reckoning is "a span of fifty-thousand years (see YEAR)." In addition, the grammatically feminine indirect object *(hā)* is balanced by the masculine indirect object *(hi)*. The intertwining of the two passages — one on the night of destiny, the other on the day of reckoning — intimate something undefined and perhaps indefinable hidden within the intensely lyrical imagery of daybreak (see DAWN; DAY, TIMES OF). The ambiguity in both passages concerning the role of the spirit in the rise and descent of the angels creates an openness of meaning that keeps the spirit from being limited to a particular finite being or form. The word "to breathe" or "to blow" *(nafakha)* intensifies the association of spirit with the day of reckoning. In the Qurʾān *nafakha* is used in only four contexts: the bringing to life of Adam; the conception of

Jesus; Jesus' bringing the material forms of birds to life; and (in twelve different places) the day on which the trumpet will be blown, that is, the day of reckoning and resurrection (see also APOCALYPSE).

Spirit and gender

Rūḥ is one of only a handful of nouns in Arabic that can be either masculine or feminine according to the grammatical gender (see ARABIC LANGUAGE). The way in which the differing spirit passages intersect and interweave with one another, particularly in the passages on the conception of Jesus and the descent of the spirit on or upon the night of destiny, suggest that spirit serves to mediate not only the temporal and eternal but also the male and female. The night of destiny is partially personified as female in a manner similar to the personification of the earth (q.v.) as giving birth to "her secret" in Q 99 (see SECRETS; HIDDEN AND THE HIDDEN). The implication of a personified animate being for the night would be especially pronounced in readings of verse one of Q 97 (Sūrat al-Qadr, "Destiny"), "we sent it/him down," as a reference to Gabriel, animate and conventionally male (at least in his appearance on earth). In its final verse, the sūra of Destiny closes with the emphatic "peace (q.v.) it is" or "peace she is" *(salāmun hiya)* "until the rise of dawn." The descent of the spirit upon or into Mary at the conception of Jesus strongly parallels the descent of the spirit on or into the night of destiny (Sells, *Approaching,* 183-207).

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Spiritual Beings

Supernatural creatures, either benevolent or malevolent. Within the Islamic world the expression "spiritual beings" carries different significations, depending on whether reference is made to the theological sphere (Qurʾān and ḥadīth; see ḤADĪTH AND THE QURʾĀN), or to the knowledge of the scholars or to local traditions. This wide world of chthonic spirits, that at first seems confused and undefined, consists of elements and cultural representations developed through the encounter with various ethnic groups and stratified throughout the course of history.

The belief in spiritual beings is already attested in the pre-Islamic period. The supernatural beings who survived the demise of Arab paganism, however, do not coincide with their status and significance in the animistic world of the Jāhiliyya (see AGE OF IGNORANCE; IDOLATRY AND IDOLATERS; POLYTHEISM AND ATHEISM). At first, they were utilized by some in the early Muslim community as more approachable entities who could intercede with God. The charges of *shafāʿa,* "intercession" (q.v.), in various sūras of the Meccan period are an indication of this utilization (Q 6:94; 10:18; 30:13; see MECCA). Subsequently, they were firmly rejected as impotent, or even changed into *shayāṭīn,* evil beings (see DEVIL; POWER AND IMPOTENCE).

As these preliminary remarks indicate, from its beginning, Islam has accepted the existence of subtle, non-human beings as part of God's creation (q.v.). In various passages the Qurʾān makes matter a metaphor (q.v.) of the spirit (q.v.; Q 42:49-53), whether this matter is fire (q.v.), air or light (q.v.; see also JINN; AIR AND WIND). Belonging to the world of the invisible (*ʿālam al-ghayb;* see HIDDEN AND THE HIDDEN), these spirits are characterized by their transient, volatile forms. They permeate the cosmos in order to direct the multifaceted variety of creation to the indivisible oneness of God (see GOD AND HIS ATTRIBUTES). But they are not thought to participate in God's transcendence; rather, the Qurʾān underscores their impotence and affords them a status not higher than humans (see ANGEL).

Qurʾānic and later references tend to distinguish malignant from benevolent spirits and to create a hierarchy within these categories. Whereas angels are considered to be benevolent, the scriptural conception of the jinn is somewhat more ambivalent. Angels *(malāʾika),* devils *(shayāṭīn)* and jinn, the largest gatherings of spiritual beings that appear in the Qurʾān, do not belong to the same cosmic sphere. All they share in common is being invisible; otherwise they are differentiated in terms of essence and nature, function, and place in the cosmos (see COSMOLOGY). The merciful angels are made of *nūr,* which can be translated as "cold light," while the angels of punishment are made of *nār,* "fire," indicating distinctions of both density and weight (cf. Q 66:6; Huart, *Livre de la création,* i, 169).

Whether they are "supervisors" *(al-mudabbirāt),* as in Q 79:5 or, expressed differently, "agents of beings" *(mawkūlāt bi-l-kāʾināt),* as al-Qazwīnī (d. 682/1283) says, or, again, spiritual entities *(rūḥāniyyūn),* as mentioned by the Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ, they govern the three realms of nature, "managing the mysterious development of life through their clever delicate hands" (Qazwīnī, *ʿAjāʾib,* 62). Among these innumerable creatures, some have proper names: *rūḥ al-qudus* (Q 16:102; see HOLY SPIRIT), Gabriel (q.v.; Jibrīl), Michael (q.v.; Mikāʾīl), Hārūt and Mārūt (q.v.; Q 2:102), Iblīs (see DEVIL). Others are identified only by their functions. There are the *ḥafaẓa,* honorable scribes, who attend human beings and record impartially their good or evil actions (see GOOD DEEDS; EVIL DEEDS; HEAVENLY BOOK; WRITING AND WRITING MATERIALS). There are the *kirām kātibīn,* as they are identified in Q 82:11 (cf. Q 43:80), who sit on a human's shoulders to note down his or her thoughts, and are termed *al-ḥafaẓa* in Q 6:61 or *ḥāfiẓ* in Q 86:4 (cf. Q 82:10). Their role is revealed by the epithets "observer" (*raqīb,* Q 50:18), "guide" *(sāʾiq)* and "witness" (*shāhid,* Q 50:21; see WITNESSING AND TESTIFYING).

The *muʿaqqibāt* (Q 13:11), "those who follow one upon the other," establish a continuous relationship between humankind and heaven (see HEAVEN AND SKY), coming down with divine grace and re-ascending *(ʿurūj)* with human actions (cf. Q 32:5; 34:2). This term has generated diverse interpretations and some commentators understood it to be a dual of the second verbal form *ʿaqqaba,* that here replaces the third form *ʿāqaba* (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* xiii, 68). In function, however, these beings watch lovingly over every person: "Alike (to him) of you is he who conceals (his) words and he who speaks them openly, and he who hides himself by night and (who) goes forth by day (see DAY AND NIGHT). For his sake there are those who follow one another [*muʿaqqibāt,* angels, according to Ibn ʿAbbās], before him and behind him, who guard him by God's commandment" (Q 13:10-11).

The concept of "guardian angels" had already been developed throughout the

Semitic world. We find angels in charge of human souls and recording human actions in Enoch's *Book of secrets,* as well as in *Jubilees* (4:6 and 17:5), and in *Sabbat, Ta'anit, Hagigah* and *Berakot,* where two angels standing near every human being are mentioned. These figures may have been inspired by Thot, the scribal god in the Egyptian pantheon, who appears in funeral processions as the one who notes down the past actions, both good and bad (cf. Dubler, L'ancient orient, 71, who considers Q 101:5-8 to show a close resemblance to the Egyptian tradition concerning the last judgment). In reference to the judgment, Q 50:17 hints at two entities, *al-mutalaqqiyān,* "receivers," who are named *munkar* and *nakīr* in ḥadīth and the commentaries (see EXEGESIS OF THE QUR'ĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL). "The two delegated to receive" carry out the torment of the grave *('adhāb al-qabr),* repeatedly mentioned in the Qur'ān; it takes place after burial (q.v.). This idea recurs in rabbinic literature and its remote origins could be traced back to Iranian Mazdaism.

In the Qur'ān, as in other early sources, the angels are compared to the lightness of the wind. This is the element that best evokes the incorporeity of God but since it is still a substance it becomes identified with angels and spirits. Q 77:1, like Q 51:1, cites an oath by "those who have been sent one by one, and are blowing furiously," which affirms the similitude between winds and heavenly messengers (cf. Q 25:48; 27:63; 30:46). The connection of messenger and wind recurs in two lines of verse attributed to Umayya b. Abī l-Ṣalt, a contemporary of the Prophet and the linkage was maintained by the Islamic tradition, as the words of al-Maqdisī (d. 340/934) testify: "And we said that the wind is an angel as well as *al-rūḥ*" (cf. Huart, *Livre de la creation,* i, 176). Such angels are also equated with the nineteen *al-zabāniya* (Q 96:18; cf. 74:30), under the leadership of one *mālik* (Q 43:77, possibly to be interpreted as the "owner of the doors of hell"; see HELL AND HELLFIRE), but there are other spiritual beings whose provenance is unspecified. The root of the word *qarīn* connotes the idea of a "double" — it is an adjectival form that indicates being one of a pair. This human "double," the companion or twin spirit, takes life upon the birth of a human being. Q 41:25 and its mention of *quranā'* can be understood to contain reference to the tempting spirit or *shayṭān* — synonymous with *muṣāḥib* (cf. *Lisān al-'Arab,* s.v.) or *khidhn* (cf. Bayḍāwī, *Anwār,* ad Q 41:25) — to which Q 4:38 may allude. Commenting on Q 50:23, al-Ṣuyūṭī (d. 911/1505) wonders whether the word *qarīn* denotes a *shayṭān* or an angel; but the author is sure that elsewhere in the same sūra (Q 50:27) it denotes a *shayṭān* (Ṣuyūṭī, *Durr,* iv, 124). Al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923), in his *Tafsīr* at Q 43:36, reports the tradition according to which every human has a *qarīn* or *shayṭān* and an angel, inciting evil and good respectively. These two beings are not to be confused with the two recording angels.

While a benevolent spirit in the pre-Islamic period, in which period the word indicated the spirit which follows a poet and inspires his verse (see POETRY AND POETS; RHYMED PROSE), this entity changes within the monotheistic orientation of Islam to a sort of keeper-demon who leads humans into temptation. The Islamic statements about *qarīn* recall the ancient Egyptian beliefs about *"ka,"* the abstract individuality of every human being, which in turn goes back to the Babylonian idea of an undefined personal god "walking beside man" (see Blackmann, *Karīn* and *karīneh;* Hornblower, Traces of a ka-belief).
In the Qur'ān, those who believe in *ṭāghūt,* along with *jibt* (q.v.), are said to be those who have received only a part of the scrip-

tures (Q 4:51; see BOOK; PEOPLE OF THE BOOK; IDOLS AND IMAGES) and it contrasts belief in God with belief in the *ṭāghūt,* equating the latter with the leaders of the unfaithful (Q 2:257; see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF). The qurʾānic denunciation of those who "desire to go to judgment before the *ṭāghūt,* although they have been commanded not to believe in him; and Satan desired to seduce them into a wide error" (q.v.; Q 4:60; see also ASTRAY) indicates that *ṭāghūt* may refer to a spiritual entity or an idol (see also Atallah, Ǧibt and Ṭāghūt, for an interesting theory that relates these two words with magical practices in ancient Egypt). It is thus connected to the religious and political spheres of pre-Islamic society (see PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QURʾĀN). The meaning of the term *ṭāghūt,* however, remains a matter of speculation (for an Aramaic derivation — cf. Syr. *ṭāʿyē,* "planet/planet god" — see Köbert, Das koranische "ṭāġūt"; cf. Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* bk. 10, *K. Adhān,* 129 *[faḍl al-sujūd],* ed. Krehl, i, 207; trans. Houdas, i, 268: "Et il en est qui suivront le soleil, d'autres la lune, d'autres enfin les idoles"). Lexicographers and commentators have interpreted *al-jibt* and *al-ṭāghūt* as "everything that is adored instead of God," without identifying the origins of these words (see Fahd, *Le panthéon,* 240). According to both Qurʾān and ḥadīth, the Prophet recognized the existence of the heathen gods, but classed them among the demons.

In the Qurʾān, the word *jinn* acquires a connotation that is definitely pejorative, particularly in Medinan passages (see MEDINA). The original meaning of this term is probably "covert" (from the Semitic root *j-n-n*); another word for it is *jann* (to which the Ethiopic *ganen,* "demon," corresponds); it is sometimes used as a name of Iblīs (*al-jānn,* Q 15:27), or with the meaning of serpent (Q 27:10; 28:31), or as a synonym to jinn (Q 55:39; see also INSANITY).

An examination of the qurʾānic data reveals identification between *shayāṭīn* and jinn, as is the case in the Solomon (q.v.) legend (Q 2:102; 21:82; 38:37) or the abduction of human beings through the agency of spirits (Q 6:71). There are also several passages in which *shayāṭīn* means "pagan idols" (Q 2:14; 4:76; 5:90; 19:44) and a similar meaning is assigned to the word *jinn* in Q 6:100 and 34:41. This interpretation of their identity is a consequence of superimposing two different demonologies, one the outcome of monotheism, the other, previously known in the Arab world, arising from polytheism (see SOUTH ARABIA, RELIGIONS IN PRE-ISLAMIC). Nevertheless, in the qurʾānic purview, they are God's creatures and never appear as God's enemies (q.v.) or as an anti-divine power. The Qurʾān refers to the army of Iblīs (Q 26:95) and to Satan's party (Q 58:19), but these expressions have no dualistic flavor (see TROOPS; PARTIES AND FACTIONS; RANKS AND ORDERS). M. Iqbāl *(Reconstruction)* even considers Iblīs and the devils to be a necessary force in life because only by fighting them can one grow into a perfect human being. Though the jinn and *shayāṭīn* have no individuality, they fall into various classes, and some of them are mentioned as particularly harmful.

The most dangerous kind of harmful being is the *ghūl* (a feminine noun). This word, which comes from a root signifying "to destroy," does not appear in the Qurʾān except in the derivative form *ghawl* (Q 37:47), which refers to the dangerous effects of wine (q.v.). The *ghūl* is supposed to lie in wait at places where men are destined to perish; she entices them there, especially by night. Poets sometimes depict the *ghūl* as the daughter of the jinn (Qazwīnī, *ʿAjāʾib,* 370). Some words which are often understood as referring to demons actually have a different sense. *ʿIfrīt* (q.v.) in Q 27:39 is an epithet of somewhat doubtful meaning (it seems to have the

general value of "skillful" with a shade of "rebel"; see REBELLION), which is applied to a jinn, but it is not the name of a particular class of demons.

As with other aspects of belief, the qurʾānic account of spiritual beings has generated a wide range of variations at the local level. For a large group of believers these spiritual beings are, at best, of philosophical importance only and of little practical concern as a sensible representation of the spiritual world. Others consider the veracity of their possible interference only in rare circumstances. But recent ethnographic research has shown that belief in spiritual beings persists as a regular ingredient of everyday life in various parts of the Muslim world.

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Spring see SEASONS

Springs and Fountains

Natural or artificial sources of water that issue from the earth and — in contrast to wells — provide running water (q.v.). There are several Arabic words for a natural spring. The most common designation is *ʿayn,* which occurs twenty-one times in the Qurʾān (with the respective dual and plural forms *ʿaynān* and *ʿuyūn;* e.g. Q 2:60; 15:45; 34:12; 55:50). The word *maʿīn* — probably of Syriac or Hebrew origin (see FOREIGN VOCABULARY) — is used four times (Q 23:50; 37:45; 56:18; 67:30); *yanbūʿ* (Q 17:90) and its plural *yanābīʿ* (Q 39:21) each appear only once. Although the Arabic term for hot springs, *ḥamma* (pl. *ḥammāt*), does not appear in the Qurʾān, *ḥamīm* is used fourteen times for the boiling water of hell (e.g. Q 6:70; 10:4; 22:19; see HELL AND HELLFIRE; REWARD AND PUNISHMENT). There is no special qurʾānic expression for artificial fountains, such as *fawwāra* (pl. *fawwārāt*) or *nāfūra* (pl. *nawāfūr*).

General characteristics

As objects of religious interest, springs are characterized above all by two aspects: on

the one hand, with their life-giving water, they stand for vitality and purity; on the other hand, when considered as openings into the interior of the earth, they appear to be mysterious and strange. Especially when they are located in the immediate vicinity of other remarkable natural features, such as mountains, grottoes or trees (q.v.) — and even more so if they are hot or periodic — springs have attracted religious veneration and could persist as sacred locations even when the people living there changed (see NATURE AS SIGNS; AGRICULTURE AND VEGETATION).

The chthonic aspect often ascribed to springs appears in the widespread belief, held since time immemorial, that they are inhabited by spirits — a belief largely adopted in Islam as well (see SPIRITUAL BEINGS; JINN; DEMONS). Particularly when springs are situated in lonely, gloomy places, the inhabiting spirits are described as evil demons *(jinn; ghīlān)* who appear in the shape of animals or of seductive women. Yet other springs are associated in one way or another with saints (q.v.) and holy men, whether Christian or Muslim; in this case, the spirits *(arwāḥ)* who dwell there may be benevolent. In Greek antiquity, springs often stood under the patronage of particular gods, such as Apollo and Artemis. From Hellenistic times onward, however, hot springs were increasingly ascribed to the healing god Asclepius. According to Ibn al-Kalbī's (d. ca. 205/820) *Kitāb al-Aṣnām* (Book of Idols), it was after the legendary ʿAmr b. Luḥayy of pre-Islamic times had visited the spas of the Balqāʾ, which were associated with a cult of healing gods, that he introduced their idols in Mecca (q.v.; see also IDOLS AND IMAGES). And though Ibn al-Kalbī remains silent on this subject, it has been suggested that the female Arabic goddesses al-Lāt, Manāt and al-ʿUzzā — "the exalted cranes" *(al-gharānīq al-ʿulā)* according to the well-known story about a later abrogated Satanic inspiration (cf. commentaries on Q 53:19-20; see SATANIC VERSES; POLYTHEISM AND ATHEISM) — were originally venerated as water nymphs of some kind. Also, Ibn Isḥāq's (d. ca. 150/767) report of how ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, the Prophet's grandfather, found golden figurines, swords and coats of mail while excavating the shaft of the Zamzam spring can be seen as hinting at ritual offerings made at springs.

The idea of pure and vital spring water has its most influential expression in the mythical notion of the fountain of life, which provides those who drink from it with everlasting health and youth. The search for the fountain of life is the subject of countless tales and legends, including the late-antique legend of Alexander (q.v.). There is an allusion to this story in Q 18:60-4 (with Mūsā, Moses [q.v.], instead of Alexander) and it is retold at great length in several subsequent forms of Islamic literature, for example by the Persian poet Niẓāmī (fl. sixth/twelfth cent.) in his *Iskandarnāme*. The fountain of life is a familiar theme in the biblical tradition as well (see SCRIPTURE AND THE QURʾĀN; MYTHS AND LEGENDS IN THE QURʾĀN). The Psalms (e.g. *Ps* 36:9; 42:2-3) state that the fountain of life is with God; and the visions of Ezekiel 47, Zechariah 14 and John 22 describe the living water that issues from the temple in Jerusalem at the end of time. The early Christians frequently interpreted the baptismal font, the *piscina,* as *fons vitae* (cf. John 4:11 f.). The redemption obtained through baptism, on the other hand, is closely linked with the blood of Christ and, therefore, with the wine of the Eucharist. As a result, the predominant early-Byzantine symbol for the fountain of life is a goblet — itself an age-old symbol for the water-spring — with vine tendrils growing out of it, sometimes flanked by peacocks,

which signify immortality. This imagery found its way into early Islam. In the mosaics in the Umayyad Dome of the Rock, goblets and tendrils adorned with pearls are one of the dominant motifs and can be read as metaphors for paradise (q.v.; for the symbolism of pearls, see Flood, *Great mosque,* 15f.). Finally, it should be remarked that these pictorial elements, viz. goblets (see CUPS AND VESSELS), pearls (see METALS AND MINERALS), vine tendrils and birds, are also features of the qurʾānic descriptions of paradise, although they appear there in a recontextualized manner — goblets *(akwāb)*: e.g. Q 43:71; 76:15; pearls *(luʾluʾ):* e.g. Q 22:23; 56:23; clusters *(quṭūf):* Q 69:23; 76:14; birds *(ṭayr)*: Q 56:21; cf. 52:22.

Springs and fountains in the qurʾānic paradise

In the Qurʾān, springs never appear as neutral natural phenomena. They are always connected with the idea of God's omnipotence (see POWER AND IMPOTENCE) and are predominantly symbols for his mercy (q.v.). This is especially clear in the qurʾānic descriptions of the landscape of paradise where springs appear as its most characteristic element. Several times, the Qurʾān promises that in the hereafter "those who show piety (q.v.) are among gardens (see GARDEN) and springs" (*inna l-muttaqīna fī jannātin wa-ʿuyūnin,* Q 15:45; 51:15; cf. 44:51-2; 55:50, 66; 77:41; 88:12; see ESCHATOLOGY). Still more often, paradise is referred to as "gardens underneath which rivers flow" *(jannātun tajrī min taḥtihā l-anhār)*. This usage appears some forty times (e.g. Q 2:25; 3:15; 4:13; 5:12) and implies the idea of springs as well.

The Qurʾān, however, does not give a clear picture of the design of this garden landscape, with its springs and rivers. Some passages suggest that there is only one — or at least only one distinctive — spring in paradise (Q 76:6, 18; 83:28; 88:12). For example, Q 83:25-8, in speaking about the beverage of the pious *(al-abrār),* mentions one spring only: "They are given to drink of a wine (q.v.) sealed whose seal is musk so after that let the strivers strive and whose mixture is *tasnīm (wa-mizājuhu min tasnīm),* a fountain *(ʿayn)* at which do drink those brought nigh *(al-muqarrabūn)*." While most commentators understand *tasnīm* as the fountain's proper name, al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923) reports that Mujāhid (d. 104/722) and al-Kalbī (d. 146/763) explained the expression *min tasnīm* as meaning "from above." This explanation suggests a vertical concept of paradise, similar to the idea of the paradisiacal mountain, with the pious *(abrār)* dwelling below, above them "those brought nigh" *(al-muqarrabūn),* and at the top the divine presence (see FACE OF GOD; SHEKHINAH).

This passage can be compared to Q 76:5-19. In the latter, verses 5 and 17 promise that the pious *(abrār)* will drink from a cup "whose mixture is camphor (q.v.)" and "ginger," respectively; whereas verse 6 seems to indicate that the "servants of God" *(ʿibād Allāh)* drink directly from that spring; and in verse 18, the spring is given the enigmatic name *salsabīl.* Although these verses contain no indication of a vertical structure of paradise, here, too, an implicit differentiation is made between the pious who drink mixed and strongly flavored beverages and another, privileged class of inhabitants of paradise, viz. the "servants of God," who have direct access to the pure divine spring (cf. Q 55:46, 62; 56:10, 27). In this context, it should be noted that only in Q 88 is the paradisiacal spring contrasted with a spring in hell: "Faces on that day humbled,… watered at a boiling fountain *(ʿayn āniya),*… Faces on that day jocund,… in a sublime garden,… therein a running fountain (*ʿayn jāriya,* Q 88:2-12)." Here, the dark side of springs appears as a symbol

for evil and punishment (see GOOD AND EVIL; REWARD AND PUNISHMENT; CHASTISEMENT AND PUNISHMENT). This is remarkable because the polarity of paradise and hell, which is usually expressed in the Qurʾān through the polarity of water and fire (q.v.), appears here as the contrast between (cool) running and boiling (stagnant) water (see also PAIRS AND PAIRING).

Inspired by qurʾānic passages such as those mentioned above, Islamic culture commonly designates single fountains as symbols for paradise as a whole. This holds true, for example, for the basins or fountains that provide drinking water in the courtyards of mosques (see MOSQUE). (There are several designations for these basins, such as *ḥawḍ*, *birka* or *fisqiyya*, derived from the Latin *piscina*, the [baptismal] font, in contradistinction to the facilities for ablution, which are called *maṭāhir* or *mayāḍiʾ*; see CLEANLINESS AND ABLUTION.) It holds as well for the *asbila* (sing. *sabīl*), the public drinking fountains that were built and established as religious foundations from the sixth/twelfth century onward in some of the major cities of the Islamic world.

Q 55:46f. expresses the idea of a bipartite paradise and presents the vision of a double set of twin gardens. In describing the first pair of gardens it says: "therein two fountains of running water" (*fīhimā ʿaynāni tajriyāni*, Q 55:50). Referring to the second pair, which is situated *min dūnihim* (Q 55:62) — an expression that can either mean "below" or "besides these" two — it says: "therein two fountains of gushing water" (*fīhimā ʿaynāni naḍḍākhatāni*, Q 55:66). Although the qurʾānic text says nothing about it, the exegetical tradition (see EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL) is nearly unanimous in declaring that a difference exists in rank between the two pairs of gardens and that the first pair is reserved for the *muqarrabūn*. According to al-Zamakhsharī (d. 538/1144), al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī even identified the two springs therein as *salsabīl* and *tasnīm*. While it is possible that the continuous use of the dual in Q 55 is merely a stylistic means to intensify the meaning, the idea of four gardens indicated there exerted a very great influence upon later Islamic representations of paradise. This is especially true in painting and horticulture, where the *chahār bāgh* — the four-partite garden of the Achaemenid tradition, with its central basin and its four dividing canals — became the paradigm of paradise (see ART AND ARCHITECTURE AND THE QURʾĀN).

Q 47:15 contains a third important concept concerning the celestial springs and rivers: "This is the similitude of paradise (*mathalu l-jannati;* see PARABLE) which the godfearing have been promised: therein are rivers of water untainted, rivers of milk (q.v.) unchanging in flavor, and rivers of wine — a delight to the drinkers — rivers, too, of honey (q.v.) purified." The idea of four cosmic rivers that structure the world was already known to the Sumerians in the third millennium B.C.E. Genesis 2:10 adopts this notion and states that "a river went out of Eden to water the garden; and from thence it was parted, and became four heads." In the Genesis report, it is not clear whether the river's source is situated within the garden or whether the river divides into four inside of the garden or at its exit. The belief in the existence of four rivers inside paradise emerged, however, when, from exilic times onwards, the desired eschatological fate was described as a recovery of the garden of Eden. Later this became associated with the *pairidaeza* — the royal garden of the Achaemenids. In Hellenistic times, this conception was embellished by the idea that the four rivers were flavored with the tastes of milk, honey, wine and oil — sacred liquids in the ancient near east and

symbols for the promised land (cf. *Lev* 2; *Num* 13:23f.). But while St. Ephraem the Syrian (fl. fourth century C.E.) mentions four kinds of paradisiacal springs, Q 47:15 speaks only of four kinds of rivers and leaves the question of their origin unanswered. Among the flavors of these rivers the "water untainted" now replaces the oil — certainly not because Muḥammad considered water necessary to dilute wine, as J. Horovitz suggested (*Das koranische Paradies,* 9), but rather because of the symbolic value inherent in living water. At any rate, the Qurʾān unmistakably characterizes this description of the rivers of paradise as a "similitude" *(mathal)* and emphasizes thereby its metaphorical dimensions (cf. Q 13:35; 24:35; see METAPHOR).

In this context, mention must be made of Q 108:1: "Surely we have given you *al-kawthar*." Many commentators understood the word *al-kawthar* to mean "the abundance" and interpreted this as "the plentitude of grace" *(al-khayr al-kathīr)* that God granted to his Prophet. According to a popular explanation (especially in connection with the story of the *miʿrāj,* Muḥammad's ascent to heaven; see ASCENSION), however, *al-kawthar* is said to be the proper name of a river in paradise or of the pool *(ḥawḍ)* into which this river flows. Of particular interest here is the way the river *al-kawthar* is usually described in exegesis: its water — more delicious than honey — is of a brighter whiteness than milk or snow, and runs over precious stones and pearls, with banks of gold (q.v.) and silver (cf. e.g. Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr;* Zamakhsharī, *Kashshāf;* Bayḍāwī, *Anwār,* ad Q 108:1). Q 37:45-6, too, clearly states that the nonintoxicating, pure paradisiacal beverage (Q 37:46-7; 56:19; 76:21) — which is wine, according to al-Ṭabarī and al-Rāzī (d. 606/1210) — has a white color *(bayḍāʾ).*

It should be pointed out here that pearly whiteness is also the characteristic feature of the *qāṣirāt al-ṭarf ʿīn* and the *ḥūr ʿīn,* which have been traditionally understood as metaphors for the maidens awaiting the believers in paradise — "those of modest gaze, with lovely eyes" and as "fair ones with wide, lovely eyes," respectively (for an opposing interpretation, see Luxenberg, *Syro-aramäische Lesart,* 221f.; see HOURIS). The *qāṣirāt al-ṭarf ʿīn* are likened to hidden white objects (*bayḍ maknūn,* Q 37:49), pearls or eggs, and the *ḥūr ʿīn* are described "as the likeness of hidden pearls" (*al-luʾluʾ al-maknūn,* Q 56:23). In addition, the Arabic root *ḥ-w-r* that underlies the word *ḥūr* carries the meaning "whiteness," and *ʿīn* (derived from *ʿayn,* denoting either "spring" or "eye") implies the idea of shimmering and brightness as well. In ḥadīth and later Islamic literature (see ḤADĪTH AND THE QURʾĀN), this paradisiacal feature of pearly white shininess was enriched with the biblical vision of paradise as a garden of precious stones and metals (*Jes* 54:11-12; *Ez* 28:13-14; cf. *Rev* 21:10f.) — a vision that not only underscores the beauty of paradise but emphasizes its everlastingness as well (see ETERNITY). (In passing, reference can be made here to the use of rock-crystal in Islamic art: as a working material, it simultaneously stands for water and light and was therefore considered apt to symbolize God as the fountain of life and as the "light upon light" of Q 24:35; see LIFE; LIGHT.)

Given the varying glimpses of the paradisiacal landscape in the Qurʾān, it is not surprising that Islamic theology elaborated at least three different conceptions of it (see THEOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN): paradise as one extensive park, paradise as four neighboring gardens, or paradise consisting of seven concentric and ascending circles. In each conception of paradise particular importance is imputed to its springs, which, by virtue of their hidden origin, point to another, transcendent

dimension. One group of traditions locates the sources of the four rivers of paradise at the foot of the *sidrat al-muntahā,* the "lote-tree of the boundary," in the seventh heaven below God's throne (see al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* ad Q 53:14; see THRONE OF GOD). The idea of the divine origin of the paradisiacal springs also finds its appropriate expression in a later tradition that relates how, during the *miʿrāj,* the prophet Muḥammad is shown a huge cupola made from a white pearl *(min durra bayḍāʾ),* from whose four corners the four rivers of paradise flow. Entering the cupola, the Prophet sees that over its corners the *basmala* (q.v.) is written in such a way that the river of water springs from the letter *mīm* of the *bi-ism,* the river of milk from the *hāʾ* of *Allāh,* the river of wine from the *mīm* of *al-raḥmān* and the river of honey from the *mīm* of *al-raḥīm* (see Qāḍī, *Daqāʾiq,* 107f.; see GOD AND HIS ATTRIBUTES).

Qurʾānic cosmology and springs

Paradise is connected with earth (q.v.), and cosmology (q.v.) explains how. Following the ancient near east tradition all the way back to *Enuma elish,* the Babylonian myth of creation (q.v.; cf. also *Gen* 1:6-7), the Qurʾān assumes the existence of two oceans that surround the cosmos, one of sweet *(ʿadhb furāt),* the other of salt *(milḥ ujāj)* water (Q 25:53; 35:12; cf. 27:61). The clearest qurʾānic traces of the idea that the cosmos was created by dividing these primeval waters can be found in references to the deluge. There, it is stated that the destruction of the cosmos took place in reverse order of its creation, namely by the reuniting of the upper and lower ocean: "Then we opened the gates of heaven to water torrential, and made the earth gush with fountains *(wa-fajjarnā l-arḍa ʿuyūnan),* and the waters met for a matter decreed" (Q 54:11-12; cf. 11:44; 21:30 and *Gen* 7:11). According to two other verses (Q 11:40; 23:27) the flood began when "the oven boiled *(fāra l-tannūr).*" Most Muslim commentators explained this expression by saying that the water flowing out of his oven was the sign for Noah (q.v.) to embark; yet at its root lies the rabbinic conviction that the waters of the flood were boiling hot, like hell (cf. above at Q 88:5).

In the Ugaritic Baal mythology, the salty ocean represents the chaotic monster "Yamm," who threatens the gods (cf. *Ps* 93). Also, although the Qurʾān stresses that God exerts his control over both oceans by setting "between them a barrier (q.v.), and a ban forbidden" (Q 25:53), it may be considered a reminiscence of Ugarit, that the word *yamm* in the Qurʾān always denotes the sea in its negative aspects (e.g. Q 7:136; 20:39, 78, 97). Since, according to the qurʾānic cosmology, the salt-water ocean consists of the terrestrial sea, the sweet-water ocean must be located above the firmament where paradise is also situated, as H. Toelle (*Le Coran revisité,* 124-6) has pointed out. Even though the Qurʾān remains silent about the precise spatial relationship of paradise on the one hand and of the sweet water ocean on the other, paradise is characterized by the element of sweet water, and the celestial ocean in turn bears paradisiacal traits. From above, God sends down water which is blessed (Q 50:9; cf. 7:96), pure (Q 25:48) and purifying (Q 8:11) and which makes gardens flourish, whose description is reminiscent of the gardens of paradise (Q 23:19; 50:9-11). This is in contrast to Genesis 2:10-14, where the four rivers of paradise, especially the Tigris and the Euphrates, actually translate paradise to earth. Here, according to the Qurʾān, it is the rain that safeguards this connection. And since rain is the reason for springs to gush forth and for valleys to flow (Q 13:17; 23:18-20; 39:21), both springs and rivers are, although indirectly, of paradisiacal origin, too.

In the Islamic tradition, another concept for the connection of paradise and earth is that of the navel. This theory centers on the idea that one place on earth is distinguished as the point of contact to the upper world. In early Islam, this navel was identified as the rock in Jerusalem (q.v.); later on it was transferred to the Kaʿba (q.v.) in Mecca. Thus, according to Kaʿb al-Aḥbār (d. ca. 32/652-3), each source of sweet water on earth originates below the rock in Jerusalem. A similar idea evolved concerning Zamzam in the Kaʿba district. Yāqūt (d. 626/1229) relates that when Zamzam first gushed out to save Ishmael (q.v.; Ismāʿīl) and Hagar (Hājar), it was a spring, and had Hagar not built an enclosure around it, its waters would have flooded the whole earth. Ibn Jubayr (d. 614/1217; *Travels,* 139, ll. 12f.), in turn, reports that upon his visit to Mecca in 579/1183, pilgrims believed that on *laylat al-barāʾa,* the "night of repentance" following the 14th of Shaʿbān, when God descends to the lowest heaven to forgive the repentant sinners (see FORGIVENESS; REPENTANCE AND PENANCE), the water level of Zamzam will rise. Finally, Zamzam is thought to have a subterranean connection with other springs. Yāqūt reports the popular belief that each year on the day of ʿArafāt (q.v.), the 9th of Dhū l-Ḥijja, the spring in Sulwān, a spot in the environs of Jerusalem, is "visited" by the water of Zamzam. Likewise, at the beginning of the last century, it was still a widespread belief that on the 10th of Muḥarram, the day of ʿĀshūrāʾ (see FASTING; RAMAḌĀN), Zamzam water combines with the springs of Ḥammām al-Shifā in Palestine.

As symbols for paradise on earth, springs are considered signs of God's blessings for humankind (see BLESSING). Time and again, the Qurʾān admonishes people to be thankful for this (Q 2:74; 26:134, 147; 36:33-5; 39:21). If, however, man proves to be ungrateful (see GRATITUDE AND INGRATITUDE; BELIEF AND UNBELIEF), God may expel him from the springs or cause the springs to dry up (cf. Q 2:266; 18:32-46; 23:18-20; 26:57; 44:25; 67:30). In addition, springs appear as marks of distinction for persons important in salvation (q.v.) history (see HISTORY AND THE QURʾĀN): at God's command Moses (q.v.) strikes the rock with his staff (see ROD) and twelve springs gush out (*ʿayn,* Q 2:60; 7:160). God makes the "fount of molten brass" flow for Solomon (q.v.; *ʿayna l-qiṭr,* Q 34:12; cf. 1 *Kings* 7:23f.). When Mary (q.v.) — leaning against the trunk of a palm (see DATE PALM) and surprised by birth pangs — cries in despair (q.v.), [a voice] "below her" calls to her, "No, do not sorrow; [see] your lord (q.v.) has set below you a rivulet" (*sariyyan,* Q 19:24). Both Mary and Jesus (q.v.) are given refuge upon "a height with a secure abode and a spring" (*maʿīn,* Q 23:50). Finally, the unbelievers' demand that the Prophet legitimate his mission by making a spring gush (*yanbūʿ,* Q 17:90-1) can be seen in this context as well (see MIRACLES; MARVELS; OPPOSITION TO MUḤAMMAD; PROVOCATION).

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Staff

see ROD

Stages of Life

see BIOLOGY AS THE CREATION AND STAGES OF LIFE

Stars

see PLANETS AND STARS; PARADISE

Station of Abraham

see PLACE OF ABRAHAM

Statue

see IDOLS AND IMAGES

Steadfast

see TRUST AND PATIENCE

Steal

see THEFT

Stone

Concreted earthy or mineral matter. Stone, *ḥajar* (pl. *ḥijāra*), attested in eleven verses of the Qurʾān, is never mentioned as part of the landscape or as a natural object; it is used as a symbol or a metaphor (q.v.) whose meaning is patterned by the intertextual relations between the stone motifs in the Qurʾān and the Bible (see SCRIPTURE AND THE QURʾĀN; SYMBOLIC IMAGERY). The image of the stone appears in the Qurʾān at the same time that biblical images, narratives (q.v.) and persons, which are virtually absent from the early sūras, flood the text (see CHRONOLOGY AND THE

QUR'ĀN). Most of the mentions are found in the late Meccan sūras and the Medinan sūras (see MECCA; MEDINA).

The *ḥajar*-contexts can be divided into two groups: 1) those related to the idea of stoning (q.v.; five occurrences); 2) those with a different symbolic weight (six occurrences). The first group is very homogeneous in meaning. All the contexts (Q 8:32; 11:82; 15:74; 51:33; 105:4) convey one and the same idea, that of God's direct punishment of sinners (see SIN, MAJOR AND MINOR) and infidels (see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF) by throwing stones from the sky. This has a clear biblical prototype (*Josh* 19:8-10; see CHASTISEMENT AND PUNISHMENT; PUNISHMENT STORIES). The main difference between the Bible and the Qur'ān with respect to this motif is that the qur'ānic stones for punishment are made of clay (q.v.). This would be impossible for the Hebrew Bible, where clay and stone constitute the opposition between a natural substance and a material symbolically intertwined with the idea of the chosen people (see ELECTION). The qur'ānic image of clay stones marked with inscriptions (*ḥijāratan min musawwamatan,* Q 51:33-4; *ḥijāra min sijjīl,* Q 11:82; 15:74; 105:4) recalls clay tablets with cuneiform inscriptions from Mesopotamia and hints at its Mesopotamian, not biblical, background. The second group of mentions is centered on the opposition between life (q.v.) and death (see DEATH AND THE DEAD; PAIRS AND PAIRING) — where stone is a metaphor for the dead matter — and the possibility of overcoming this opposition by God's omnipotence (see POWER AND IMPOTENCE). Two instances (Q 2:60; 7:160) are reminiscences of the biblical story of Moses (q.v.), who struck water (q.v.) from the stone with his rod (q.v.; *Exod* 17:5-6) and thus produced life (water) from dead matter with the lord's (q.v.) help. Conversely, Q 2:74, also placed within the framework of the story of Moses, asserts that live matter (e.g. the hearts of unbelievers; see HEART; BELIEF AND UNBELIEF) can turn into dead matter (stones) if they do not have faith (q.v.) and, on the contrary, stones can become alive and produce water if they fear (q.v.) God (cf. the motif of "hearts of stone" in the Bible: 1 *Sam* 20:37; *Job* 41:16; *Ezek* 11:19; 36:26; *Zech* 7:12; cf. also Q 2:264 for a very close motif in the Qur'ān but without stone). Along the same lines, Q 17:50 expressly asserts God's ability to resurrect people (see RESURRECTION) even if they became stones and has a direct parallel in the New Testament (*Matt* 3:9). The remaining instances (Q 2:24; 66:6) speak about people and stones as fuel for the fire of hell (see HELL AND HELLFIRE), and thus once more show that God's might is able to transcend such opposites (cf. a parallel to this motif in the Bible: 1 Kings 18:31-8).

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Stoning

A capital punishment for grave sins attested in the ancient Near East from time immemorial, representing part of the biblical legacy in the Qur'ān (see SCRIPTURE AND THE QUR'ĀN). The motif of stoning is expressed in two ways in the Qur'ān. It is either the verb *rajama,* "to stone" (equivalent to the biblical *ragam*), and its derivatives (thirteen occurrences); or verbs that convey the idea of "throwing, showering,

sending down" *(ramā, amṭara, arsala),* with *ḥajar,* "stone" (q.v.), as an instrumental complement (five occurrences).

The punishment of stoning occurs in four different situations in the Qurʾān and the origin of most of them can be traced back to the Bible. The first is the punishment inflicted from the sky by the lord (q.v.) on his enemies (q.v.) expressed exclusively by a verbal phrase with *ḥajar* as a complement (see CHASTISEMENT AND PUNISHMENT; PUNISHMENT STORIES). It has evident biblical connotations as three of the five contexts which depict this are part of the story of Abraham (q.v.; Ibrāhīm) and Lot (q.v.; Lūṭ; Q 11:82-3; 15:74; 51:33) as well as a direct prototype in the Bible (*Josh* 19:8-10). The two remaining contexts are related to the biography and mission of Muḥammad (see Q 8:32; 105:4; see SĪRA AND THE QURʾĀN), including the episode of a miraculous punishment from the sky visited upon the "companions of the elephant," or the invaders from south Arabia who intended to conquer Mecca (q.v.; see also ABRAHA; PEOPLE OF THE ELEPHANT). In a second, variant occurrence God inflicts punishment by stoning not only people but also the devil (q.v.; *shayṭān*) and his army. This act of the lord, which has no parallels in the Bible, emerges as part of the story of the creation (q.v.) of humankind (Q 15:16-17; 67:5) and connotes the eternal condemnation of Satan. This narrative in turn gives birth to a well-known epithet of the devil, namely *rajīm* (stoned; Q 3:36; 16:98; 81:25) and to a ritual of stoning during the pilgrimage (q.v.) to Mecca. Its relation to the first situation is shown by the contexts where devils are stoned from the sky with projectiles in the form of the fallen stars (Q 15:17; 67:5). The third incident is opposed to the first two. The stoning or the threat of stoning of the prophets and the believers by the infidels is attested both in the Bible (*Exod* 8:25-6) and the Qurʾān, where this occurs not only in the story of Moses (q.v.; Mūsā; Q 44:20) but also in the story of Noah (q.v.; Nūḥ; Q 26:116), Abraham (Q 19:46) and Shuʿayb (q.v.; Q 11:91; see also Q 18:20; 36:18; see also BELIEF AND UNBELIEF; PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD). The most paradoxical situation has to do with the fourth situation which, according to Muslim tradition, is present in the qurʾānic text "virtually," not actually. Stoning as the capital punishment prescribed by the law for certain major crimes (see SIN, MAJOR AND MINOR), which is very frequent in the Bible, is absent from the *textus receptus* of the qurʾānic vulgate (see CODICES OF THE QURʾĀN; COLLECTION OF THE QURʾĀN). Muslim scholars nevertheless postulate the existence of a qurʾānic verse which has been "abrogated" (*mansūkh;* see ABROGATION) textually but still remains one of the foundations of Muslim law (see LAW AND THE QURʾĀN): "If a man or a woman commits adultery, stone them…" (on this "stoning verse," see Suyūṭī, *Itqān* [chap. 47], iii, 82; Nöldeke, *GQ,* i, 248-52; Burton, *Collection,* 70-80, 89-96 and passim; see also ADULTERY AND FORNICATION).

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Storm see WEATHER

Story see NARRATIVES; JOSEPH

Straight Path see PATH OR WAY; ASTRAY; ERROR; COMMUNITY AND SOCIETY IN THE QUR'ĀN

Strangers and Foreigners

Those who are away from their usual place of residence and find themselves among people who view them as outsiders. In this sense, stranger and foreigner are social categories whose referent cannot be fixed but will vary according to time, place and culture. In medieval Arabic, Persian and Turkish, both categories were best expressed by the term *gharīb,* which, however, does not occur in the Qur'ān. *Ajnabī,* a term that has come to mean "foreigner" in all three languages especially in the era of modern nation-states, is also absent from the Qur'ān but it is represented in the forms *al-jār al-junubi* and *al-ṣāḥib bi-l-janbi* in Q 4:36 mentioned among categories of people that are to be shown kindness (see LOVE; MERCY). Most commentators are agreed that the former phrase should be understood as the opposite of the phrase *al-jār dhī l-qurbā,* "near or related neighbor," that precedes it in the verse (see KINSHIP). Al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923; *Tafsīr,* iv, 82-3) reports "unrelated neighbor" and "neighbor who is a *mushrik* (see POLYTHEISM AND ATHEISM)" as the two alternative readings for *al-jār al-junubi,* and he himself opts for "unrelated stranger" as the best reading (translation of key passage in Rosenthal, Stranger, 39-40). Al-Bayḍāwī (d. prob. 716/1316-17; *Anwār,* i, 214) and, following him, the modern Turkish exegete Elmalılı (*Kur'ān Dili,* ii, 1354-5) simply read the two phrases *al-jār dhī l-qurbā* and *al-jār al-junubi* to mean "near [i.e. related and/or close] neighbor" and "far [i.e. unrelated and/or far] neighbor" respectively, and linked them to the following ḥadīth (which does not appear in the six canonical collections [see ḤADĪTH AND THE QUR'ĀN], but is attributed to a Companion of the Prophet in a number of other works; see COMPANIONS OF THE PROPHET; cf. Zabīdī, *Itḥāf,* vii, 268; Daylamī, *Firdaws,* ii, 120, no. 2628; see also Ghazālī, *Iḥyā',* ii, 231):

There are three [kinds of] neighbors. The first [i.e. the Muslim who is both a neighbor and a relative] has three rights: the right of proximity, the right of relatedness, the rights accorded him on account of being a Muslim. The second [i.e. the nonrelated Muslim who is a neighbor] has two rights: the right of proximity and the right of being a Muslim. And the third [i.e. the neighbor who is neither Muslim nor a relative] has one right: the right of proximity, and these are *mushrik*s [and *ahl al-kitāb*].

As for the qur'ānic phrase *al-ṣāḥib bi-l-janbi,* it is not clear whether it should be read in conjunction with what precedes it (which is the phrase *al-jār al-junubi*) or in isolation from what surrounds it. The first alternative would seem to be ruled out by the conjoined reading of the two preceding phrases as "near and far neighbors," while the second alternative is picked up by al-Ṭabarī (*Tafsīr,* iv, 83-4), who lists the meanings "travel companion (see TRIPS AND VOYAGES; JOURNEY)," "a man's female companion," and "friend, comrade," and endorses all of them. Whatever their exact meanings may be, however, it is clear that of the two phrases *al-jār al-junubi* and *al-ṣāḥib bi-l-janbi,* only the former may perhaps be slightly relevant to a discussion of strangers in the Qur'ān and neither expression really refers to those away from their usual place of residence.

Another qur'ānic locus for the concept of

foreignness might be the term *aʿjamī,* meaning "non-Arab" and "non-Arabic" (see ARABS). The term is used in Q 16:103, 41:44 and 26:198 but in all three instances the element of linguistic differentiation seems to be foregrounded and it is difficult to see anything other than an attempt to emphasize the inimitability (q.v.) of the Qurʾān. A better candidate for a qurʾānic approximation to the concept "stranger," however, is the phrase *ibn al-sabīl,* meaning "traveler," "wayfarer," or, though only secondarily, "guest," which is mentioned eight times in the Qurʾān (Q 2:177, 215; 4:36 [where it follows the phrase *al-ṣāḥib bi-l-janbi* discussed above]; 8:41; 9:60; 17:26; 30:38; 59:7) always as one of the many different social categories listed as recipients of charity. Arguably, the traveler is the stranger *par excellence;* the Qurʾān can be said to endorse travel (Q 20:53: "He spread out the earth for you and lined it up with roads," and Q 67:15: "It is he who has made the earth manageable for you, so travel its regions") and designates the traveler as deserving of charity and kind treatment. Thus it is possible to see here a genuine concern for the welfare of strangers, which would be in keeping with the qurʾānic insistence on social justice (see JUSTICE AND INJUSTICE; OPPRESSED ON EARTH, THE; OPPRESSION).

Finally, while not necessarily falling into the category of "strangers" as "outsiders," "guests" — and their proper treatment — also appear in the qurʾānic discourse (see VISITING; HOSPITALITY AND COURTESY). The "honored guests of Abraham" (*ḍayf ibrāhīm al-mukramīna,* Q 51:24; cf. 15:51) figure in four qurʾānic narratives (q.v.; Q 11:69f.; 15:51f.; 29:31f.; 51:24f.), in which Abraham (q.v.) is portrayed as the host *par excellence,* much as in the biblical account (see SCRIPTURE AND THE QURʾĀN). In these narratives, both Abraham and Lot (q.v.) fear lest their guests be dishonored and mistreated (cf. esp. Q 11:78; 15:68; 54:37), echoing the qurʾānic exhortation to proper treatment of visitors (and, by extension, foreigners).

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Straw

see GRASSES

Style (of the Qurʾān)

see LANGUAGE AND STYLE OF THE QURʾĀN; RHETORIC AND THE QURʾĀN

Submission

see FAITH; ISLAM

Suckling

see CHILDREN; LACTATION; WET-NURSING

Suffering

Pain, distress or injury, and the endurance of pain, distress or injury. The noun "pain" (*alam* or *waja*ʿ) does not occur in the Qurʾān. The verb "to feel pain" *(alima)* is used only three times, all in the same verse (Q 4:104), in which it refers to suffering in warfare. The adjective "painful" *(alīm),* a derivation of the same root *(ʾ-l-m),* is more commonly used. It occurs seventy-two times, mostly in combination with the word "punishment" *(ʿadhāb).*

With the exception of Q 36:18, the

expression "painful punishment" *('adhāb alīm)* relates to punishment from God (see CHASTISEMENT AND PUNISHMENT; REWARD AND PUNISHMENT). "My punishment is the painful punishment" (Q 15:50). Sometimes, the content of this punishment is mentioned. It is a wind that destroys everything (Q 46:24; see AIR AND WIND), smoke (q.v.) that covers the people (Q 44:10-11) or punishment in hell (Q 5:36; see HELL AND HELLFIRE). That the punishments in hell will be very painful can be concluded from their descriptions in the Qurʾān (e.g. Q 4:56; 9:35; 18:29; 22:19-21; 56:42-4). People in hell will undergo intense pain and suffering. They will sigh and groan (Q 11:106), distort their burnt faces (Q 23:104) and be distressed and despairing (Q 22:22; 43:75).

Part of God's punishment may be given in advance in this world (Q 24:19; 9:74). According to the qurʾānic punishment narratives (q.v.; see also PUNISHMENT STORIES), God has already punished unbelieving peoples by sending a flood *(ṭūfān,* Q 29:14), an earthquake *(rajfa,* Q 29:37), a violent storm *(ḥāṣib,* Q 29:40) or a roaring wind *(rīḥ ṣarṣar,* Q 69:6; see WEATHER). These calamities annihilated the unbelievers because of their persistence in unbelief after a prophet had warned them (see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF; PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD; WARNING). God's sending of a prophet may be accompanied by calamities that support the prophet's warning, so that the unbelievers will abandon their sins (Q 6:42; 7:94; 32:21-2; see SIN, MAJOR AND MINOR). This happened to the people of Egypt (q.v.). God sent them calamities as a warning, but when they did not heed these warnings and persevered in their sins, God drowned them in the sea (Q 7:133-6; see DROWNING).

Other afflictions and calamities are not meant to be punishments but trials (see TRIAL). God tests *(yablū)* the people's belief by giving them either welfare or adversity (Q 5:48; 6:165; 21:35; see GRACE; BLESSING; TRUST AND PATIENCE) because he wants to know how they behave in prosperity and in adversity (Q 47:31; 67:2). For this purpose, he has created earth (q.v.), life (q.v.), death (see DEATH AND THE DEAD), and people themselves (Q 11:7; 18:7; 67:2; 76:2; see CREATION). God tries them by restricting their sustenance (q.v.; Q 89:16). He imposes hunger (see FAMINE), poverty (see POVERTY AND THE POOR), and the loss of property (q.v.), lives and crops upon them to test them (Q 2:155). Being tried by these afflictions, people should show their belief in God by patient endurance (Q 2:156, 177; 22:35; 31:17).

Forms of suffering connected to human existence are the undergoing of illness, pain and infirmities (see ILLNESS AND HEALTH). In the Qurʾān some illnesses and infirmities are mentioned without being indicated as trials or punishments from God. Abraham (q.v.) referred to illness when he said that God gave him health when he was ill (Q 26:80). Leprosy and blindness are mentioned in Q 3:49 and Q 5:110, where it is said that Jesus (q.v.) healed the leper and those born blind (see SEEING AND HEARING; VISION AND BLINDNESS; MIRACLES; MARVELS). Q 22:5 refers to the infirmities of old age, stating that humans lose their knowledge (see KNOWLEDGE AND LEARNING) when they grow old (see YOUTH AND OLD AGE). The pains of childbirth are mentioned in Q 19:23, where it says Mary (q.v.) underwent them (see BIOLOGY AS THE CREATION AND STAGES OF LIFE). Blindness and other infirmities are mentioned when it is said that the blind, the cripple and the sick are excused for not being able to fulfill all their duties (e.g. Q 24:61; 48:17). There is no indication that these illnesses and infirmities are a punishment from God. An exception may be the blindness of Lot's (q.v.) people,

whose eyes (q.v.) God effaced. This was a punishment and a warning (Q 54:37). The terms illness, blindness and deafness (see HEARING AND DEAFNESS) are, however, often used metaphorically in the sense of wavering in belief or failing to heed a prophet's message (see METAPHOR).

An example of suffering which is a trial imposed by God is that endured by prophets, a group who cannot have deserved punishment. We have already seen that Abraham suffered illness. An often-cited example of patient suffering is Job (q.v.), whose suffering was not from God but Satan (Q 21:83; 38:41; see DEVIL). According to the exegetes, however, this was done with God's permission. When Job endured affliction without losing his belief in God, God rewarded him by taking away the affliction, returning his family and doubling their number (Q 21:84; 38:42-3). Another prophet who suffered was Jacob (q.v.), who was told that his son Joseph (q.v.) had been killed by a wolf (Q 12:16-18). He patiently endured the loss of his son, although he became blind because of his distress (Q 12:84). Later he found out that Joseph had not died and he regained his sight (Q 12:96).

Job and Jacob suffered both mentally and physically but the suffering of other prophets was largely mental. They suffered distress, being called liars (see LIE) and being rejected by the unbelievers (Q 6:34; 14:12). This also happened to Muḥammad (see OPPOSITION TO MUḤAMMAD). He was distressed and depressed because of what the unbelievers said to him (Q 6:33; 15:97) and their unbelief caused him great sorrow. "Perhaps you [Muḥammad] will kill yourself with grief *(asaf),* because they do not believe in this message" (Q 18:6; cf. 26:3; see JOY AND MISERY). God told him not to grieve (Q 5:41; 10:65; 27:70; 31:23; 36:76) but to endure patiently (Q 16:127; 20:130; 73:10). Just like Muḥammad, the believers should patiently endure distress and affliction (e.g. Q 3:200). If they hold out and keep to their belief in God in difficult situations, God will reward them (Q 23:111; 25:75; 33:35; 76:12). He will even double their reward (Q 28:54) and remit the bad actions of those who suffered because of their religion (Q 3:195).

More details about suffering can be found in the ḥadīth (see ḤADĪTH AND THE QUR'ĀN). It is reported that Muḥammad said that for each harm that a Muslim meets in the form of illness, tiredness, sorrow, distress and pain, "even if it were the prick of a thorn," God will grant remission of some of his or her sins (Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* bk. 75, *K. Marḍā,* 1/1, iv, 40; Fr. trans. iv, 50; and 2/2, iv, 41; trans. iv, 51). As God does not punish twice and some sins are already paid for by suffering imposed by him, they will not be counted on the last day (see LAST JUDGMENT). Suffering is also seen as a trial from God. Those who patiently endure it will be generously rewarded. A ḥadīth *qudsī* (prophetic dictum attributed to God that is not in the Qur'ān) says that when God tests a Muslim by depriving him of his eyes, and he patiently undergoes it, he will enter paradise (q.v.) as compensation (Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* bk. 75, 7, iv, 42; Fr. trans. iv, 52-3). God's imposition of illness and pain can be seen as a sign of his special attention or as a favor. Only those who suffer get the opportunity to practice patient endurance. Abū Hurayra (d. ca. 58/678) reported that Muḥammad said: "If God wants to do good to somebody, he afflicts him with trials" (Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* bk. 75, 1/5, iv, 41; Fr. trans. iv, 51, which contains an alternative reading of the final phrase: "Celui à qui Dieu veut du bien réussit toujours à l'obtenir"; cf. Ibn Ḥajar, *Fatḥ,* x, 108 for both readings). A closely related view is that those who are most loved by God suffer most. This finds its expression in the saying that the people

who are most visited with afflictions are the prophets, then the most pious people (see PIETY), and so on. According to ʿĀʾisha (see ʿĀʾISHA BINT ABĪ BAKR), nobody suffers as much pain as Muḥammad did (Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* bk. 75, 2/1, iv, 41; Fr. trans. iv, 51).

Suffering is an important element in Islamic mysticism (see ṢŪFISM AND THE QURʾĀN). Patient endurance *(ṣabr)* of affliction *(balāʾ)* is one of the stations *(maqāmāt)* of the mystical path. It is closely related to *tawakkul,* "complete trust in God," and *riḍā,* "contentment about all that comes from God." According to the descriptions of the mystical path, the mystic's attitude to suffering changes in accordance with his mystical progress. First, he patiently endures affliction as a trial from God. Next, he willingly accepts it in the belief that affliction is a grace from God. At a still higher mystical level, he receives affliction with contentment and joy because God, the object of his love, sent it to him. Those who love God are happy to receive afflictions because they consider these as signs of divine love. The afflictions teach them that they are friends of God (see FRIENDS AND FRIENDSHIP), and that they are tested by him because he wishes to know the sincerity of their love.

The Imāmī Shīʿī (see SHĪʿISM AND THE QURʾĀN) doctrine of suffering focuses on the sufferings of Muḥammad and his descendants, the Imāms (see IMĀM), and in particular on the sufferings of Muḥammad's son-in-law ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib (q.v.; d. 40/661) and his grandson, al-Ḥusayn (d. 61/680). On the day of judgment, the Prophet, his daughter Fāṭima (q.v.), and the Imāms will be allowed to intercede for the faithful, as a reward for their sufferings (see INTERCESSION).

Suffering as a theological question

The view that suffering imposed by God is either a punishment or a trial raises the question of why innocent children (q.v.) and animals suffer. Adults of sound mind (see MATURITY) are considered to be *mukallaf,* which means that they are subject to God's imposition of obligations *(taklīf).* They will be rewarded for fulfilling these obligations and will be punished for failing to do so. Children, the insane (see INSANITY), and animals (see ANIMAL LIFE) are not *mukallaf,* which means that their suffering cannot be a punishment, and cannot be a trial, either, because they are not eligible for a reward for patient endurance. Some theologians believed that children suffer as an advance punishment for sins they will commit as adults. This does not answer the question of the suffering of children who die before reaching adulthood, and the suffering of animals.

The Muʿtazilīs (q.v.) were convinced that the suffering of children, the insane, and animals cannot be intended to punish them because this would be in conflict with God's justice (see JUSTICE AND INJUSTICE). According to the Muʿtazilī scholar ʿAbd al-Jabbār (d. 415/1025), God imposes suffering upon children and animals because he wants to warn the adults near them. The children and animals will be compensated for this in the hereafter (see ESCHATOLOGY). For that reason, they will be revived on the last day (see RESURRECTION), together with those who were *mukallaf.* According to ʿAbd al-Jabbār, all those who are brought back to life will receive compensation for undeserved suffering, but they will have to give up some of this compensation in order to compensate for pain they themselves inflicted on other living beings without God's permission. The people of paradise will receive their compensation in addition to their reward, whereas the people of hell will receive it in the form of a temporal reduction of their punishment. Some adherents to parts of the Muʿtazilī doctrine, such as the Imāmī Shīʿīs

al-Shaykh al-Mufīd (d. 413/1022) and al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā (d. 436/1044) and the Karaite Yūsuf al-Baṣīr (fl. first half fifth/eleventh century) held largely similar opinions about suffering and its compensation.

The Ashʿarīs rejected the Muʿtazilī rationalizations about God's actions (see THEOLOGY AND THE QUR'ĀN). What counted for them was that everything in this world, good or bad, happens in accordance with God's will. God imposes suffering on his creatures but humans cannot know why he does so (see KNOWLEDGE AND LEARNING; FREEDOM AND PREDESTINATION; INTELLECT). The incomprehensibility of God's actions may be illustrated by the qurʾānic story of Moses' (q.v.) friend, whose name, according to the majority of the exegetes, was al-Khiḍr (or al-Khaḍir; see KHAḌIR/KHIḌR). He told Moses not to ask him about his actions, which included the killing of a boy (see MURDER; BLOODSHED). Nevertheless, Moses could not stop himself asking why he did such things. In the end, his friend explained his motives to him. Then it became clear to Moses that in reality his friend's actions were deeds of mercy (q.v.). The friend, however, left him because of his questioning (Q 18:66-82). This may explain why the Ashʿarīs and mainstream Sunnī Islam did not develop a theory about suffering in this world. Al-Bāqillānī (d. 403/1013) and al-Juwaynī (d. 478/1085) discussed suffering mainly in order to refute their opponents. Al-Juwaynī explained that there is no need to value pains imposed by God because we know that they are good, as they come from God (see GOOD AND EVIL). Al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111) pointed out that humans do not have the right to ask God for an explanation of his actions (Q 21:23). As God is the master of all (see LORD; KINGS AND RULERS; SOVEREIGNTY), he is entitled to impose pain without it being deserved or compensated for (*Iḥyāʾ*, i, 99 [*kitāb* 2, *faṣl* 3, *rukn* 3: *al-ʿilm bi-afʿāl Allāh, al* 6]). He declared that although we cannot know the reasons for God's actions, believers should be convinced that all afflictions from God in this world may contain secret blessings (Ormsby, *Theodicy,* 256).

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Ṣūfism and the Qurʾān

Taṣawwuf, Islamic mysticism, is an ascetic-mystical trend in Islam characterized by a distinct life-style, values, ritual practices, doctrines and institutions. Ṣūfism emerged as a distinct ascetic and mystical trend in Islamic piety under the early ʿAbbāsids at about the same time as similar movements in Syria, Iran and central Asia which, though designated by different names, shared the same world-renouncing, inward-looking and esoteric attitude. By the fourth/tenth century, the Iraq-based trend in Islamic ascetic (see ASCETICISM) and mystical piety (q.v.) known as "Ṣūfism" *(taṣawwuf)* gradually prevailed over and integrated the beliefs and practices of its sister movements in the other regions of the caliphate (see CALIPH). By the end of the fourth/tenth century, leading representatives of this syncretic ascetic and mystical trend in Islam had generated a substantial body of teachings, practices and normative oral and literary lore that became the source of inspiration, life-orientation, ethos and identity for its subsequent followers, whose number continued to grow with every century. With the emergence first of Ṣūfī lodges, and, somewhat later, Ṣūfī "brotherhoods" (the fifth-seventh/eleventh-thirteenth centuries) or "orders" (*ṭuruq,* sing. *ṭarīqa*), Ṣūfism became part and parcel of the spiritual, social and political life of pre-modern Islamdom. With the advent of modernity in the thirteenth/nineteenth century Ṣūfism was subjected to strident criticism by Muslim modernists and reformers, and in the course of the fourteenth/twentieth century lost ground to competing ideologies, both religious and secular (see POLITICS AND THE QURʾĀN). Nevertheless, it has managed to survive both criticisms and overt persecutions and even won converts among some Western intellectuals.

Early Ṣūfī attitudes to the Qurʾān

From the outset, the Qurʾān was the principal source of contemplation and inspiration for every serious Muslim ascetic and mystic, whether formally Ṣūfī or not. In fact, many Ṣūfī concepts and terms have their origin in encounters with the qurʾānic text, endowing Ṣūfism with much-needed legitimacy in the eyes of both Ṣūfīs and Muslims not directly affiliated with it. Yet, from the very beginning Ṣūfī interpretations of the scripture (as well as Ṣūfī practices, values and beliefs) were challenged by influential representatives of the Sunnī and Shīʿī religious establishments (see TRADITIONAL DISCIPLINES OF QURʾĀNIC STUDY), occasionally resulting in persecution of individual mystics. Ṣūfīs were accused of overplaying the allegorical aspects of the Qurʾān, claiming privileged, esoteric understanding of its contents and distorting its literal meaning (see POLYSEMY; LITERARY STRUCTURES AND THE QURʾĀN). To demonstrate their faithfulness to the spirit and letter of the revelation (see REVELATION AND INSPIRATION) advocates of Ṣūfism drew heavily on the qurʾānic verses (q.v.) which, in their view, legitimized their brand of Islamic piety. Such verses usually emphasize the proximity and intimacy between God and his human servants (e.g. Q 2:115, 186; 20:7-8; 58:7; see SERVANT; WORSHIP; GOD AND HIS ATTRIBUTES). God's immediate and immanent presence among the faithful is forcefully brought home in Q 50:16, in which he declares himself to be nearer to man than "his jugular vein" (see ARTERY AND VEIN). The relationship of closeness and intimacy is occasionally presented in the Qurʾān in terms of mutual love (q.v.) between the maker and his creatures (see CREATION; COSMOLOGY), as, for instance, in Q 5:54 (cf. Q 3:31, 76, 134, 146, 148, 159; 5:93, which also describe different categories of believers deserving of divine affection). Deeming themselves paragons

of piety and devotion to God and true "heirs" of his Prophet (see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD; MUḤAMMAD), representatives of the early [proto-]Ṣūfī movements viewed such verses as referring primarily, if not exclusively, to them. With the emergence of mystical cosmology and metaphysics, which provided justification for the mystical experiences of the Ṣūfīs, they put the Qur'ān to new, creative uses. Thus, in the famous "Light Verse" (Q 24:35) God's persona is cast in the imagery of a sublime, majestic and unfathomable light, which renders it eminently conducive to gnostic elaborations on the theme of light (q.v.) and darkness (q.v.) and the eternal struggle between spirit (q.v.) and matter. According to early Ṣūfī exegetes, God guides whomsoever he wishes with his light (see ERROR; ASTRAY; FREEDOM AND PREDESTINATION) but has predilection for a special category of pious, god-fearing individuals (see FEAR) who devote themselves completely to worshipping him. In return, God assures them of salvation (q.v.) in the hereafter (Q 2:38, 262, 264; 3:170; etc.; see ESCHATOLOGY). As to those "who prefer the present life over the world (q.v.) to come," "a terrible chastisement" awaits them (Q 14:3; cf. 2:86; see REWARD AND PUNISHMENT). From the beginning, Muslim ascetics and mystics identified themselves with God's "protégés" *(awliyā')* mentioned in Q 10:62 (cf. Q 8:34; 45:19; see CLIENTS AND CLIENTAGE; FRIENDS AND FRIENDSHIP). With time Ṣūfī exegetes came to portray them as God's elect "friends" and confidants who are able to intercede on behalf of the ordinary believers and guide them aright (see INTERCESSION; SAINTS). In Ṣūfī lore such "friends of God" were identified with authoritative Ṣūfī masters, both living and deceased. In Q 7:172, which figures prominently in early Ṣūfī discourses, the relations between God and his creatures are placed in a cosmic framework, as a primordial covenant (q.v.; *mīthāq*) between them. During this crucial event the human race presented itself before God in the form of disembodied souls (q.v.) to bear witness to the absolute sovereignty (q.v.) of their lord (q.v.) at his request (see WITNESSING AND TESTIFYING). Once in possession of sinful and restive bodies (see SIN, MAJOR AND MINOR), however, most humans have forgotten their promise of faithfulness and devotion to God and therefore have to be constantly reminded of it by divine messengers (see MESSENGER) and prophets. The goal of the true Ṣūfī is to return to the state of pristine devotion and faithfulness of the day of the covenant by minimizing the corruptive drives of his body and his lower soul — one that "commands evil" (*ammāra bi-l-sū'*, Q 12:53; see GOOD AND EVIL). If successful, the mystic can transform his lower, restive self into a soul "at peace" (*al-nafs al-muṭma'inna*, Q 89:27) that is incapable of disobeying its lord (see DISOBEDIENCE). This can only be achieved through the self-imposed strictures of ascetic life, pious meditation and the remembrance (q.v.) of God *(dhikr)* as explicitly enjoined in Q 8:45, 18:24 and 33:41 (see also REFLECTION AND DELIBERATION). Finally, on the level of personal experience, verses describing the visionary experiences of the prophet Muḥammad (namely, Q 17:1 and Q 53:1-18; see VISIONS) provided a fruitful ground for mystical elaborations and attempts by mystically minded Muslims to, as it were, "recapture the rapture" of the founder of Islam, all the more so because the Qur'ān and the sunna (q.v.) repeatedly enjoin the believers to imitate him meticulously. While all of these verses resonated well with the aspirations of early Muslim ascetics and mystics, there were also those that did not, in that they prescribed moderation in worship, enjoyment of family (q.v.) life and fulfillment of social responsibilities,

while at the same time discouraging the "excesses" of Christian-style monasticism (Q 4:3-4, 25-8, 127; 9:31; 57:27; see CHRISTIANS AND CHRISTIANITY; MONASTICISM AND MONKS; ABSTINENCE). Yet, these passages, as well as numerous injunctions against the renunciation of this world found in the Prophet's sunna, could be either ignored or allegorized away, especially since some of them were inconclusive or self-contradictory (e.g. Q 5:82, which may be interpreted as praising the Christian monks for their exemplary righteousness). Eventually, however, the weight of scriptural evidence and social pressures forced most adherents of Ṣūfism to steer a middle course, which allowed them to participate in social life and raise families while not compromising their ascetic-mystical vocations. As the body of Ṣūfī lore grew with the passage of time and Ṣūfism became a distinct life-style and a system of rituals (see RITUAL AND THE QUR'ĀN), practices and beliefs, there emerged a specific Ṣūfī exegesis aimed at justifying them (see also EXEGESIS OF THE QUR'ĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL).

The rise and early development of Ṣūfī exegesis

The earliest samples of the Ṣūfī exegetical lore were collected by an eminent Ṣūfī master of Nīshāpūr, Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Sulamī (d. 412/1021) in his *Ḥaqāʾiq al-tafsīr*. This work, which still awaits a critical edition (but cf. Böwering's ed. of Sulamī's *Ziyādāt,* an appendix to the *Ḥaqāʾiq*), is practically our only source for the initial stages of mystical exegesis in Islam. Its major representatives, al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (d. 110/728), Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq (d. 148/765), Sufyān al-Thawrī (d. 161/778) and ʿAbdallāh b. al-Mubārak (d. 181/797) were not Ṣūfīs *stricto sensu,* since the Baghdād school of Ṣūfism was yet to emerge. Rather, these pious individuals were appropriated by Ṣūfism's later advocates, who presented them as paragons of Ṣūfī piety *avant-la-lettre*. While their preoccupation with the spiritual and allegorical aspects of the scripture is impossible to deny, the authenticity of their exegetical logia, which were collected and transmitted by al-Sulamī and some of his immediate predecessors more than a century after their death, is far from certain. The problem is particularly severe (and intriguing) in the case of the sixth Shīʿī *imām* (q.v.), Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq (see also SHĪʿISM AND THE QUR'ĀN). His role as a doyen of primeval mystical exegesis is difficult to prove, especially since his exegetical logia transmitted by al-Sulamī are devoid of any of the expected Shīʿī themes. Unless his other *tafsīr* transmitted in Shīʿī circles proves similar or identical to the one assembled by al-Sulamī, the matter will remain uncertain (for details see Nwyia, *Exégèse,* and Böwering, *Mystical vision*). One should not rule out the possibility of Shīʿī elements having been expunged from Jaʿfar's exegetical logia by Sunnī Ṣūfīs who transmitted them through separate channels (see THEOLOGY AND THE QUR'ĀN). Alternatively, one may suggest that Ṣūfī and Shīʿī esotericism originated in the same pious circles (Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq is frequently quoted in the standard Ṣūfī manual of Abū l-Qāsim al-Qushayrī; d. 465/1072), whereupon it took on different forms in the Sunnī and Shīʿī intellectual environments. The problem of authorship is less severe in the case of such ascetically minded individuals as al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, al-Thawrī, and Ibn al-Mubārak who were major exponents of Sunnī Islam in their age, although their role as the *bona fide* progenitors of the Ṣūfī tradition is problematic. If authentic, Jaʿfar's logia are probably the earliest extant expression of the methodological principles of mystical *tafsīr,* which were adopted and elaborated by subsequent generations of Ṣūfī commentators.

According to Jaʿfar's statement cited by al-Sulamī at the beginning of his *Ḥaqāʾiq al-tafsīr,* the Qurʾān has four aspects: *ʿibāra* (a literal or obvious articulation of the meaning of a verse); *ishāra* (its allegorical allusion); *laṭāʾif* (its subtle and symbolic aspects; see SYMBOLIC IMAGERY) and *ḥaqāʾiq* (its spiritual realities; cf. Böwering, Scriptural "senses"). Each of these levels of meanings has its own addressees, respectively: the ordinary believers *(al-ʿawāmm),* the spiritual elite *(al-khawāṣṣ),* God's intimate friends *(al-awliyāʾ)* and the prophets *(al-anbiyāʾ)*. On the practical level, Jaʿfar and his Ṣūfī counterparts usually dealt with just two levels of meaning: the outward/exoteric *(ẓāhir)* and the hidden/esoteric *(bāṭin),* thereby subsuming the moral/ethical/legal meanings of a given verse (see ETHICS AND THE QURʾĀN; LAW AND THE QURʾĀN) under "literal" and its allegorical/mystical/anagogical subtext under "hidden." As demonstrated by P. Nwyia, Jaʿfar's exegetical interests were worlds apart from those of his contemporary Muqātil b. Sulaymān (d. 150/767) who pursued a more conventional (albeit imaginative) historical and philological *tafsīr* (see GRAMMAR AND THE QURʾĀN). For instance, unlike Muqātil, Jaʿfar shows no interest in the historical circumstances surrounding the battle of Badr (q.v.), as presented in the Qurʾān (see also OCCASIONS OF REVELATION). When the Qurʾān says that "God supported him [Muḥammad] with the legions you [his followers] did not see" (Q 9:40), Jaʿfar interprets the "legions" not as "angels" (as argued by Muqātil and other exoterically minded exegetes; see ANGEL; RANKS AND ORDERS; TROOPS) but as spiritual virtues that the mystic acquires in the course of his progress along the path to God *(ṭarīq),* namely, "certitude" *(yaqīn),* "trust in God" *(thiqa)* and a total "reliance" on him in everything one undertakes (*tawakkul;* see TRUST AND PATIENCE; VIRTUE). Likewise, the qurʾānic injunction to "purify my [God's] house (namely, the Kaʿba [q.v.]; see also HOUSE, DOMESTIC AND DIVINE) for those who shall circumambulate it" (Q 22:26) is interpreted by Jaʿfar as a call upon the individual believer to "purify [his] soul from any association with the disobedient ones and anything other than God" (see POLYTHEISM AND ATHEISM), while the phrase "those who stay in front of it [the Kaʿba]" is glossed as an injunction for the ordinary believers to seek the company of "the [divine] gnostics *(ʿārifūn),* who stand on the carpet of intimacy [with God] and service of him." The notion of the divinely bestowed "gnosis," or mystical knowledge *(maʿrifa),* which characterizes these elect servants of God figures prominently in Jaʿfar's logia (see e.g. his commentary on Q 7:143, 160; 8:24; 27:34). This was to become a central concept in later Ṣūfī epistemology, where it is usually juxtaposed with both received (traditional) wisdom *(naql)* and knowledge acquired through rational contemplation (*ʿaql;* see KNOWLEDGE AND LEARNING; INTELLECT). The Qurʾān was, for Jaʿfar and Ṣūfī commentators, a source of and a means towards the true realization *(taḥqīq)* of God (see TRUTH).

The next stage of the development of Ṣūfī exegesis, or, as Nwyia aptly calls it, *une lecture introspective du Coran,* is associated with a fairly large cohort of individuals who lived in the third/ninth-early fourth/tenth centuries. Their Ṣūfī credentials, a few exceptions apart (e.g. al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī, fl. third/ninth cent.), do not raise any serious doubts. At least one of them, Aḥmad b. ʿAṭāʾ (d. 309/922), and possibly also Dhū l-Nūn al-Miṣrī (d. 246/861) were involved in the transmission of Jaʿfar's exegetical logia, which they amplified with their own elaborations. The others — namely Sahl al-Tustarī (d. 283/896), Abū Saʿīd al-Kharrāz (d. 286/899), Abū l-Ḥusayn al-

Nūrī (d. 295/907), Abū l-Qāsim al-Junayd (d. 298/910), Abū Bakr al-Wāsiṭī (d. 320/932) and Abū Bakr al-Shiblī (d. 334/946) — were frequently cited in Ṣūfī literature as authoritative sources of exegetical logia and, in the case of al-Tustarī, Ibn ʿAṭāʾ and al-Wāsiṭī, also as authors of full-fledged qurʾānic commentaries (Böwering, Ṣūfī hermeneutics; id., *Mystical vision*).

The centrality of the Qurʾān to Ṣūfī piety

The methods of Qurʾān interpretation characteristic of early Ṣūfī masters were examined by Nwyia (Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq, Shaqīq al-Balkhī, Ibn ʿAṭāʾ, and al-Nūrī) and Böwering (al-Tustarī, al-Sulamī, and al-Daylamī). They should be viewed against the background of the practices, life-style, values and beliefs current among the members of the early Ṣūfī movement. On the practical level, the recitation of the Qurʾān (q.v.) was an indispensable part of quotidian Ṣūfī life. Thus, Ibn ʿAṭāʾ is said to have recited the entire text of the Qurʾān on a daily basis and thrice a day during the month of Ramaḍān (q.v.), which along with other rituals and supererogatory prayers (see PRAYER) left him only two hours of sleep; Sahl al-Tustarī (d. 283/896) learned the entire Qurʾān by heart when he was six or seven years old and kept reciting it throughout the rest of his life; Mālik b. Dīnār (d. 131/748) "was 'chewing' it for [the first] twenty years [of his life] only to take pleasure in its recitation *(tilāwa)* for the next twenty years" (Sarrāj, *Kitāb al-Lumaʿ*, 43); Ibn Khafīf (d. 371/981) recited Q 112:1 ten thousand times during just one prayer and occasionally recited the entire text of the Qurʾān in the course of one prayer, which took him an entire day and a good part of the night, etc.

In most cases, esoteric interpretations of the Qurʾān by the above-mentioned Ṣūfīs were the fruits of many years of incessant recitation in an attempt to grasp and "extract" its hidden meaning *(istinbāṭ)*. This term, which is derived from Q 4:83, became the hallmark of Ṣūfī methods of Qurʾān interpretation. Alerted to the presence of a hidden meaning in a given verse by its subtle "allusion" *(ishāra)*, the Ṣūfī felt obligated to "extract" it by means of *istinbāṭ*. This process is limited to those individuals who have fully engrossed themselves in the "sea" of the divine revelation after having purified their souls of any worldly attachments. Commenting on Q 4:83, al-Ḥallāj (d. 309/922) stated that a Ṣūfī's ability to exercise *istinbāṭ* corresponds to "the measure of his piety, inwardly and outwardly, and the perfection of his gnosis *(maʿrifa)*, which is the most glorious station of faith" (q.v.; *ajall maqāmāt al-īmān;* Sulamī, *Ḥaqāʾiq*, i, 157). The close link between one's ability to practice *istinbāṭ* and one's strict compliance with the precepts of the divine law is brought forth by Abū Naṣr al-Sarrāj (d. 378/988), a renowned collector and disseminator of early Ṣūfī lore. In his words, "extractions" *(mustanbaṭāt)* are available only to those who "act in accord with the book (q.v.) of God, outwardly and inwardly, and follow the messenger of God, outwardly and inwardly." In return, God makes them "heirs to the knowledge of subtle allusion *('ilm al-ishāra)*" and "unveils to the hearts of his elect [servants] carefully guarded meanings *(maʿānī madhkhūra)*, spiritual subtleties *(laṭāʾif)* and well-kept secrets" (*asrār makhzūna;* Sarrāj, *Kitāb al-Lumaʿ*, 105).

In the case of the early Ṣūfī exegete Sahl al-Tustarī, we find a deeply personal and experiential relationship of the Ṣūfī to the Qurʾān, which evolves within the framework of an oral recitation and reception of the divine word (see ORALITY; WORD OF GOD). On hearing or reciting a verse that resonates with the mystic's spiritual state he may occasionally find himself gripped by

an intense ecstasy and even lose consciousness. According to Böwering (*Mystical,* 136), al-Tustarī's commentary can be seen as a product of such experiential encounters "between the qurʾānic keynotes and the mystical matrix of [the mystic's] world of ideas." Inspired by a certain verse, al-Tustarī spontaneously endeavored to communicate to his disciples his deeply personal and experiential understanding of it, which often had very little to do with its literal meaning. To sum up,

> The Ṣūfīs… read the Qurʾān as the word of God, and what they seek there is not the word as such (which may even become a veil between them and God), but a God who makes himself accessible [to his worshippers] by means of this word (Nwyia, *Trois oeuvres,* 29).

The themes of the first Ṣūfī commentaries on the Qurʾān are diverse and rather difficult to summarize. They usually deal with mystical cosmology, eschatology and the challenges faced by the human soul on its way to God (see TRIAL). After professing their allegiance to their divine sovereign on the day of the primordial covenant (Q 7:172) human beings have found themselves plunged into a world of false values, temptations and illusions designed to test the integrity of their pact with God. God created good and evil and arbitrarily imposed his command *(amr)* on his human servants in order to distinguish the blessed from the evildoers (see ELECT; EVIL DEEDS; BLESSING; GRACE). Within the former category he designated a special class of believers whom he endowed with an intuitive, revelatory knowledge of himself and his creatures *(maʿrifa),* leaving the rest of humankind to be content with the "externals" of religious faith and practice. These elect "friends of God" *(awliyāʾ Allāh)* carry divine light in their hearts (see HEART) and thus can be seen as embodiments of his immanent and guiding presence amidst humankind. By imitating the friends of God (who, in turn, imitate the godly ways of his Prophet) ordinary believers can hope to escape the allure and temptations of mundane existence and to achieve salvation in the hereafter. Attaining the status of God's friend and gnostic is not automatic, however, and requires painstaking efforts on the part of the aspirant *(murīd)* as well as God's continual assistance. The seeker's greatest challenge is the corruptive influences of his vile body and the base soul *(nafs),* which acts as a constant temptress and an ally of Iblīs (see DEVIL). Its machinations can only be overcome by constant remembrance of God *(dhikr),* including the recitation of God's word and remembrance of his "most beautiful names." This goal can only be achieved by the elect few who traverse the entire length of the path to God in order to enter into his presence (see PATH OR WAY; FACE OF GOD). In this state they become completely oblivious of the corrupt world around them, taking God as their sole focus and *raison d'être*. By any standard, since its inception Ṣūfī exegesis was thoroughly elitist and esoteric. Its practitioners implicitly and, on occasion, explicitly dismissed the concerns of mainstream Qurʾān interpreters (legal, historical, philological and theological) as inadequate and even misguided inasmuch as they focused on the Qurʾān's "husks," while ignoring its all-important spiritual "kernel." The Ṣūfīs regarded themselves as the sole custodians of that kernel and sought to protect it from outsiders by using subtle allusions and recondite terminology.

Some Muslim scholars were enraged by the Ṣūfī claim to a privileged knowledge of the scripture and denounced Ṣūfī exegesis as fanciful, arbitrary and not supported by the authority of the Prophet and his Companions (see COMPANIONS OF THE

PROPHET; ḤADĪTH AND THE QURʾĀN). Thus, a renowned Qurʾān commentator, ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Wāḥidī (d. 468/1076), not only refused to accord al-Sulamī's exegetical summa the status of *tafsīr* but even proclaimed it an expression of outright "unbelief" (see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF). Similar negative opinions of that work were voiced by Ibn al-Jawzī (d. 597/1201), Ibn Taymiyya (d. 728/1328) and al-Dhahabī (d. 748/1348), who declared it to be a collection of "distortion and heresy" (q.v.; *taḥrīf wa-qarmaṭa;* see also CORRUPTION; FORGERY) reminiscent of Ismāʿīlī exegesis *(taʾwīlāt al-bāṭiniyya)*. Yet, despite such criticism al-Sulamī's voluminous work, which contains more than twelve thousand glosses on some three thousand qurʾānic passages, gained wide popularity among Ṣūfīs of various stripes. As was the case with Jaʿfar, Ibn ʿAṭāʾ and al-Tustarī, al-Sulamī did not include in his compendium any conventional exegetical material, be it legal, philological or historical (Böwering, Ṣūfī hermeneutics). His position is clearly stated in the introduction to his magnum opus:

Upon discovering that — among the practitioners of exoteric sciences *(ʿulūm ẓawāhir)* [who] have compiled [numerous] works pertaining to [beneficial] virtues *(fawāʾid)* of the Qurʾān, such as methods of its recitation (*qirāʾāt;* see READINGS OF THE QURʾĀN), its [historical] commentaries *(tafsīr),* its difficulties (*mushkilāt;* see DIFFICULT PASSAGES), its legal rulings *(aḥkām),* its vocalization *(iʿrāb),* its lexicological aspects *(lugha),* its summation and detailed explanation *(mujmal wa-mufaṣṣal),* its abrogating and abrogated verses (*nāsikh wa-mansūkh*; see ABROGATION), and so on — no one has cared to collect the understanding of its discourse *(khiṭāb)* in accordance with the language of the people of the true reality *(ahl al-ḥaqīqa)*… I have asked God's blessing to bring together some of it.

All told, al-Sulamī's exegetical methods and goals are similar to those of about a hundred of his authorities, who lived in the third/ninth and fourth/tenth centuries and whose foremost representatives have already been discussed. To quote the major Western expert on this work,

The *Ḥaqāʾiq al-tafsīr* is the crowning event of a long creative period of Ṣūfī terminology and ideology, developing in close relationship with its Koranic foundation and yet breaking through to a continuous process of inspired revelation by the methodological means of allusion (Böwering, Ṣūfī hermeneutics, 265).

The growth and maturity of Ṣūfī exegetical tradition (from the fifth/eleventh to the seventh/thirteenth centuries)

Al-Sulamī's monumental work, which played the same role in Ṣūfī *tafsīr* as al-Ṭabarī's (d. 310/923) *Jāmiʿ al-bayān* in traditional exegesis, laid the foundations for the subsequent evolution of this genre of Ṣūfī literature. With time there emerged several distinct trends within the body of Ṣūfī exegetical literature, which reflected the growing internal complexity of the Ṣūfī movement in the period leading up to the fall of the Baghdād caliphate in 656/1258. One such trend can be described as "moderate" or "*sharīʿa*-oriented." It is represented by such Ṣūfī luminaries as al-Qushayrī (d. 465/1074), Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111) and Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī (d. 632/1234).

Abū l-Qāsim al-Qushayrī of Nīshāpūr is famous first and foremost as the author of the popular tract *al-Risāla [al-Qushayriyya] fī ʿilm al-taṣawwuf* which combines elements of Ṣūfī biography with those of a Ṣūfī manual. Like the *Risāla,* al-Qushayrī's

qur'ānic commentary *Laṭā'if al-ishārāt* pursues a clear apologetic agenda: the defense of the teachings, values and practices of "moderate," Junayd-style Ṣūfism and the demonstration of its full compliance with the major precepts of Ash'arī theology. Written in 410/1019, this exegetical work consistently draws a parallel between the gradual progress from the literal to the subtlest meanings *(laṭā'if)* of the qur'ānic text and the stages of the Ṣūfī's spiritual and experiential journey to God. The success of this exegetical progress, as well as of the Ṣūfī journey, depends on the wayfarer's ability to combine the performance of pious works and feats of spirit with sound doctrinal premises. Giving preference to one over the other will result in failure. Even when this delicate balance is successfully struck, one still needs divine assistance in unraveling the subtleties of the divine revelation, which is equally true of the Ṣūfī seeker's striving toward God. Hence the notion of a privileged, esoteric knowledge of both God and this word that God grants only to his most intimate, elect "friends," the *awliyā'*. This idea is stated clearly in the introduction to *Laṭā'if al-ishārāt:*

> [God] has honored the elect *(aṣfiyā')* among his servants by [granting them] the understanding of his subtle secrets (q.v.; *laṭā'if asrārihi*) and his lights so that they can see the elusive allusions and hidden signs (q.v.) contained therein [in the Qur'ān]. He has shown their innermost souls hidden things so that by the emanations of the unseen (see HIDDEN AND THE HIDDEN) which he has imparted solely to them they can become aware of that which has been concealed from all others. Then they have started to speak according to their degrees [of attainment] and capabilities, and God — praise be to him — inspired in them things by which he has honored them. So, they now speak on behalf of him, inform about the subtle truths that he has imparted to them, and point to him… (*Laṭā'if,* i, 53).

The exegete's progress toward the innermost meaning of the scripture is described by al-Qushayrī as a movement from the intellect (q.v.) to the heart, then to the spirit *(al-rūḥ),* then to the innermost secret *(al-sirr)* and, finally, to the secret of secrets *(sirr al-sirr)* of the Qur'ān. Al-Qushayrī's approach to the Qur'ān is marked by his meticulous attention to every detail of the qur'ānic word, from an entire verse to a single letter found in it (see ARABIC SCRIPT). Typical in this regard is his interpretation of the *basmala* (q.v.), in which each letter of this phrase is endowed with a symbolic meaning: the *bā'* stands for God's gentleness *(birr)* toward his friends *(awliyā');* the *sīn* for the secret he shares with his elect *(asfiyā');* and the *mīm* for his bestowal of grace *(minna)* upon those who have attained intimacy with him *(ahl wilāyatihi)*. In an attempt to achieve comprehensiveness al-Qushayrī marshals several alternative interpretations of the *basmala,* e.g. one in which the *bā'* alludes to God's freedom *(barā'a)* from any fault; the *sīn* to the absence of any defect in him *(salāmatuhu min 'ayb);* and the *mīm* to the majesty of his attributes (*Laṭā'if,* i, 56).

While such speculations are not unique to al-Qushayrī and can be found in exegetical works contemporary to his, both Ṣūfī and non-Ṣūfī alike, there is one feature that sets *Laṭā'if al-ishārāt* apart from them. For al-Qushayrī, the *basmala* is not a simple repetition of the same set of meanings, for the divine word allows no repetition. Rather, the meaning of the *basmala* may change depending on the major themes contained in the sūras (q.v.) that it precedes. Thus, in discussing the symbolism of the letters of the *basmala* preceding Q 7, al-Qushayrī

implicitly links them to the themes of submission *(islām),* humility and reverence requisite of the true believer as opposed to the rebellious behavior (see REBELLION) of Iblīs and his host (e.g. Q 7:11-15, 31-3, 35-6, 39-40, etc.) by arguing that the letter *bā'*

is of a small stature in writing and the dot [underneath it], which distinguishes it from other [letters] is single and, to boot, small to the extreme. Moreover, it [the dot] is positioned underneath the letter, [all of which] alludes to modesty and humility in all respects (*Laṭā'if,* i, 211-12).

Likewise, the presence of the *sukūn* (absence of a vowel) over the letter *sīn* following the "humble" and "submissive" *bā'* alludes to its silent acceptance of the divine decree and complete contentment with it. Finally, the letter *mīm* points to "his [God's] bestowal of grace [upon you] *(minnatuhu),* if he so pleases, then to your agreement *(muwāfaqatuka)* with his decree and your satisfaction with it, even though he may not bestow anything [upon you] (ibid.).

Al-Qushayrī's interpretation of the *basmala* of Q 15 (Sūrat al-Ḥijr) is quite different. The omission of the *alif* in the *basmala* of that sūra without any rationally justifiable reason, either grammatically or morphologically, according to al-Qushayrī, symbolizes God's arbitrary "raising" of Adam (despite his "base" nature; see ADAM AND EVE) and his subsequent "humiliation" of the angels (despite their elevated status), as described in the main body of the sūra. In a similar vein, the omission of the *basmala* in Q 9 is interpreted by al-Qushayrī in the following manner:

God — praise be to him — has stripped *(jarrada)* this sūra of the *basmala,* so that it be known that he can endow *(yakhuṣṣ)* whomever and whatever he wants with whatever he wants. [In the same way,] he can single out whomever he wants with whatever he wants. His creation has no cause, his actions have neither a purpose nor a goal (*Laṭā'if,* iii, 5; see FREEDOM AND PREDESTINATION).

This, of course, is an Ashʿarī stance formulated in implicit opposition to that of the Muʿtazilīs (see MUʿTAZILA) who advocated the underlying rationality and purposefulness of divine actions. Thus, as mentioned, in al-Qushayrī's commentary, Ṣūfī symbolism and the Ashʿarī dogma go hand in hand and are deployed to support each other.

Al-Qushayrī's interest in the symbolism of letters comes to the fore in his discussions of the "mysterious letters" (q.v.) that appear at the beginning of some qur'ānic chapters. Typical in this respect is his exegesis of the combination *alif lām mīm* that precedes Q 2. Upon stating that the *alif* stands for *Allāh,* the *lām* for *laṭā'if* (the subtle realities; also one of the epithets of God, *laṭīf*) and the *mīm* for *majīd* (the glorious) and *malik* (the king; see KINGS AND RULERS), he proceeds to argue that

The *alif* is singled out from among the other letters by the fact that it is not connected to any letter in writing, while all but a few letters are connected to it. May the servant of God upon considering this feature become aware of the need of all creatures for him [God], with him being self-sufficient and independent of anything (*Laṭā'if,* i, 41).

Furthermore, the *alif*'s singularity is evident from the fact that all other letters have a concrete site of articulation in the human speech (q.v.) apparatus, while it has none. In the same way, God cannot be associated with *(yuḍāf ilā)* any particular location or site. Finally, "The faithful

servant of God is like the *alif* in its not being connected to any letter, in its constant uprightness and its standing posture before him" (ibid.).

As one may expect of a Ṣūfī master, al-Qushayrī showed little interest in the historical and legal aspects of the qurʾānic text. For him, they serve as windows onto the spiritual and mystical ideas and values characteristic of Ṣūfī piety. Thus, in discussing the spoils of war *(ghanīma)* mentioned in Q 8:41 (see BOOTY) al-Qushayrī argues:

Jihād (q.v.) can be of two types: the external one [waged] against the infidels and the internal one [waged] against [one's] soul and Satan. In the same way as the lesser jihād involves [the seizure of] spoils of war after victory, the greater jihād too has the spoils of war of its own, which involves taking possession of his soul by the servant of God after it has been held by his two enemies — [his] passions and Satan (*Laṭāʾif,* ii, 321).

A similar parallel is drawn between ordinary fasting (q.v.) which involves abstention from food, drink (see FOOD AND DRINK) and sex (see SEX AND SEXUALITY) and the spiritual abstention of the Ṣūfī from the allure of this world and from seeking the approval of its inhabitants. In a similar vein, al-Qushayrī likens the juridical notion of abrogation *(naskh)* to the initial strict observance of the divine law by the Ṣūfī novice, which is supplanted, or "abrogated," when he reaches the stage at which God himself becomes the guardian of his heart. In al-Qushayrī's commentary all ritual duties sanctioned by the Qurʾān are endowed with a deeper spiritual significance: the standing of pilgrims on the plain of ʿArafāt (q.v.) is compared to the "standing" of human hearts in the presence of the divine names and attributes (see PILGRIMAGE). Despite its overall "moderate" nature, the *Laṭāʾif al-ishārāt* is not devoid of the monistic and visionary elements that characterize what is usually described as the more "bold" and "esoteric" trend in Ṣūfī qurʾānic commentary. This aspect of al-Qushayrī's exegesis comes to the fore in his interpretation of Q 7:143, in which Moses (q.v.) comes to God at an appointed time *(li-mīqātinā)* and requests that God appear to him, only to be humbled by the sight of a mountain crumbling to dust, when God shows himself to it (see THEOPHANY). According to al-Qushayrī,

Moses came to God as [only] those passionately longing and madly in love could. Moses came without Moses. Moses came, yet nothing of Moses was left to Moses. Thousands of men have traversed great distances, yet no one remembers them, while that Moses made [only] a few steps and [school] children will be reciting until the day of judgment (see LAST JUDGMENT): "When Moses came…" (*Laṭāʾif,* ii, 259).

Despite such "ecstatic" passages, al-Qushayrī's book can still be considered a typical sample of "moderate" Ṣūfī exegesis because of its author's overriding desire to achieve a delicate balance between the mystical imagination and the respect for the letter of the revelation or, in Ṣūfī parlance, between the *sharīʿa* and the *ḥaqīqa*. One should point out that al-Qushayrī is also the author of a conventional historical-philological and legal *tafsīr* entitled *al-Taysīr fī l-tafsīr,* which is said to have been written before 410/1019. This is an eloquent testimony to his dual credentials as both a Ṣūfī and a conventional scholar *(ʿālim)*.

Another example of "moderate" Ṣūfī *tafsīr* is *al-Kashf wa-l-bayān ʿan tafsīr al-Qurʾān* by Abū Isḥāq Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-

Thaʿlabī (d. 427/1035). Drawing heavily on *Ḥaqāʾiq al-tafsīr,* al-Thaʿlabī augmented the Ṣūfī exegetical logia assembled by al-Sulamī with conventional exegetical materials derived from ḥadīth as well as detailed discussions of the philological aspects and legal implications of the qurʾānic text (Saleh, *Formation*). Al-Thaʿlabī's work formed the foundation of the famous commentary *Maʿālim al-tanzīl fī tafsīr al-Qurʾān* by Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥusayn al-Baghawī (hence its better known title — *Tafsīr al-Baghawī*). He was born in 438/1046 in the village of Bagh or Baghshūr located between Herat and Marw al-Rūdh and distinguished himself primarily as a Shāfiʿī jurist and *muḥaddith,* whose thematically arranged collection of prophetic reports titled *Maṣābīḥ al-sunna* became a standard work of its genre. Although al-Baghawī was not considered a full-fledged Ṣūfī, he led an ascetic and pious way of life and avoided any contact with ruling authorities. His *tafsīr* is marked by his meticulous concern for the exegetical materials going back to the Prophet and his Companions *(al-tafsīr bi-l-maʾthūr)* and his desire to elucidate all possible aspects of the qurʾānic text. In seeking to achieve comprehensiveness he availed himself of diverse sources: from the leading Arab grammarians to the Shīʿī imāms and legal scholars. His Ṣūfī authorities include Ibrāhīm b. Adham (d. 160/777), Fuḍayl b. ʿIyāḍ (d. 188/803), al-Tustarī and al-Junayd (d. 298/910), whose ideas had probably reached him via al-Sulamī's *Ḥaqāʾiq al-tafsīr* and al-Thaʿlabī's *al-Kashf wa-l-bayān*. Al-Baghawī's use of this material was probably dictated by his drive to highlight all possible interpretations of the sacred text without privileging any one of them. Since by his age Ṣūfism had established itself as a legitimate and praiseworthy strain of Islamic piety he felt obligated to mention Ṣūfī views of the revelation, avoiding, however, their more controversial aspects. Thus, his inclusion of Ṣūfī exegesis did not necessarily reflect his own spiritual and intellectual priorities — a trend that we observe in many later exegetical works.

A typical representative of this trend in the later period is Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Shīḥī al-Baghdādī, better known as "al-Khāzin" (d. 741/1341), whose *Lubāb al-taʾwīl fī maʿānī al-tanzīl* is an abridged rendition of al-Baghawī's *Maʿālim al-tanzīl*. As with al-Baghawī, Ṣūfī exegesis is just one of the aspects of the qurʾānic text that preoccupy al-Khāzin who explicitly states this in the introduction to his commentary. His other concerns include the rules of recitation, material transmitted by the Prophet and his Companions *(tafsīr bi-l-maʾthūr),* legal implications *(al-aḥkām al-fiqhiyya),* the "occasions of revelation," curious and unusual stories of past prophets and generations (q.v.; *al-qiṣaṣ al-gharība wa-akhbār al-māḍīn al-ʿajība*). Therefore, the reason why this *tafsīr* is sometimes classified as Ṣūfī (e.g. Ayāzī, *Mufassirūn,* 598-602; al-Baghawī's *tafsīr,* on the other hand, is not identified as such, ibid., 644-9) remains unclear. In any event, it is certainly indicative of the trend toward comprehensiveness that gradually led to the blurring of the borderline between "Ṣūfī" and "non-Ṣūfī" exegesis and the inclusion of Ṣūfī exegesis in conventional commentaries, both Sunnī and Shīʿī.

On the other hand, we observe the opposite tendency in approaching the Qurʾān, when renowned Ṣūfī masters produce quite conventional exegetical works that are practically devoid of any Ṣūfī elements. *Nughbat al-bayān fī tafsīr al-Qurʾān* by the influential Ṣūfī scholar and statesman under the caliph al-Qādir, Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī (d. 632/1234), which is occasionally classified under the rubric of "moderate" Ṣūfī exegesis (e.g Böwering, Ṣūfī hermeneutics, 257), is a case in point.

This work, which remains in manuscript (see Düzenli, Ṣihabuddin), is characterized by a Western scholar as "a very standard, non-mystical commentary" that is "firmly situated in the type of philological and situational exegesis represented in the standard Sunni commentaries and exegetical tradition upon which al-Suhrawardī was drawing" (Ohlander, Abū Ḥafṣ). Indeed, even a cursory glance at the first dozen pages of its manuscript demonstrates an almost complete lack of any recognizable Ṣūfī motifs and methods. Moreover, the author explicitly states in the introduction that he has chosen to "stick to the basics" of the *tafsīr* genre and to abstain from composing a sophisticated and recondite esoteric commentary *(an ubriza min sawāniḥ al-ghuyūb mā yarwī ʿaṭash al-qulūb)* because of lack of time (fol. 2).

Our survey of "moderate" Ṣūfī exegesis would be incomplete without mentioning Persian *tafsīr*s by Abū l-Faḍl Rashīd al-Dīn Aḥmad al-Maybudī (d. 530/1135) and Abū Naṣr Aḥmad al-Darwājikī (d. 549/1154). The former is based on the exegetical work of the renowned Ḥanbalī mystic ʿAbdallāh al-Anṣārī l-Harawī (d. 481/1089), as the author explicitly states in the introduction. It is no wonder that it is sometimes referred to as *Tafsīr khawāja ʿAbdallāh al-Anṣārī*, but the title given to it by the author is *Kashf al-asrār wa-ʿuddat al-abrār*. Born of a family renowned for its learning and piety in a town of Maybud (the province of Yazd in Iran), al-Maybudī combined the traditional education of a Shāfiʿī jurist and *muḥaddith* with a propensity to mysticism and an ascetic life-style. Like the other "moderate" Ṣūfī commentaries discussed above, al-Maybudī's *Kashf al-asrār* combines conventional historical, philological and legal exegesis with Ṣūfī *ishārāt* and *laṭāʾif*. The former is usually expressed in Arabic and the latter in Persian, thereby setting a precedent to be followed by many Persophone Ṣūfī authors in Iran and India. The commentator describes his method as consisting of three "stages" *(nawba)*. The first involves a translation of selected verses from Arabic into Persian (see PERSIAN LITERATURE AND THE QURʾĀN; LITERATURE AND THE QURʾĀN); the second provides a conventional historical, philological and legal commentary; while the third deals with the mystical aspects of the revelation. The latter relies heavily on al-Anṣārī's mystical commentary, which in turn is based on al-Sulamī's *Ḥaqāʾiq al-tafsīr* and its Ṣūfī authorities such as Abū Yazīd al-Biṣṭāmī (d. 234/848 or 261/875), al-Junayd, al-Tustarī, and al-Shiblī (d. 334/946), etc. As befits a "moderate" commentator, al-Maybudī avoids Ṣūfī interpretations that conflict with the literal meaning of the qurʾānic text. His treatment of the controversial issues of anthropomorphic features of God, the provenance of good and evil, and divine predetermination of all events is that of an Ashʿarī theologian (see FREEDOM AND PREDESTINATION).

Little is known about the other Persian *tafsīr* of that age by al-Darwājikī, nicknamed the "ascetic" *(zāhid)*, beyond a cursory mention of his work, which remains unpublished. Even the exact title of his *tafsīr* remains debated, although it is often referred to as *Tafsīr al-zāhid*. The author's sobriquet indicates his propensity for an ascetic life-style; however, in the absence of an available text of this work its exact character is impossible to determine.

A totally different vision of the qurʾānic revelation was presented by the celebrated Sunnī theologian and jurist Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī, whose famous tract *Jawāhir al-Qurʾān* can hardly be defined as exegetical in the conventional sense of the word.

Nevertheless, its emphasis on the numerous layers of meaning embedded in qur'ānic chapters and verses and the idea that the most elusive and subtle of them constitute the exclusive domain of Ṣūfī gnostics gives it a distinctive Ṣūfī flavor. In this work al-Ghazālī undertakes a classification of several types of qur'ānic verses according to their contents. In so doing he establishes a hierarchy of verses by likening them to various types of precious stones, pearls and rare substances. Thus, the knowledge *(ma'rifa)* of God is symbolized by red sulfur (the precious substance which according to medieval alchemy could transform base metals into gold), while the knowledge of God's essence, attributes and works is likened to three types of corundum. Below this sublime knowledge lies what al-Ghazālī describes as "the definition of the path advancing to God," namely the verses of the Qur'ān that elucidate the major stages of the believer's progress to God. This progress is couched by al-Ghazālī in a typical Ṣūfī imagery of "polishing" the mirror of the heart and soul and actualizing the divine nature *(lāhūt)* inherent in every human being. Al-Ghazālī likens this category of qur'ānic verses to "shining pearls." The third category contains verses dealing with man's condition at the time of his final encounter with God, namely, resurrection (q.v.), reckoning, the reward and the punishment, the beatific vision of God in the afterlife, etc. According to al-Ghazālī, this category, which he dubs "green emerald," comprises "a third part of the verses and sūras of the Qur'ān." The fourth group includes numerous verses describing "the conditions of those who have traversed [the path to God] and those who have denied him and deviated from his path," namely, various prophetic and angelic figures and other mythological individuals mentioned in the Qur'ān (see LIE; GRATITUDE AND INGRATITUDE; MYTHS AND LEGENDS IN THE QUR'ĀN). In al-Ghazālī's view, their goal is to arouse fear and give warning to the believers (see WARNER) and to make them consider carefully their own condition vis-à-vis God. He compares these verses to grey ambergris and fresh and blooming aloe-wood. The fifth group of verses deals with "the arguments of the infidels against the truth and clear explanation of their humiliation by obvious proofs." According to al-Ghazālī these verses contain the greatest antidote *(al-tiryāq al-akbar)*. The sixth category of verses deals with the stages of man's journey to God and the management of its "vehicle," the human body, by supplying it with lawful means of sustenance (q.v.) and procreation (see LAWFUL AND UNLAWFUL). All this presupposes the wayfarer's interaction with other human beings and their institutions, the rules of which, according to al-Ghazālī, are stipulated in the verses belonging to the sixth category. Al-Ghazālī likens it to the "strongest musk."

Upon establishing this hierarchy of qur'ānic verses, al-Ghazālī proceeds to classify the "outward" and "inward" sciences associated with the Qur'ān. To the former belong (a) the science of its recitation which is represented by Qur'ān readers and reciters (see RECITERS OF THE QUR'ĀN); (b) the knowledge of its language and grammar which is handled by philologists and grammarians (see LANGUAGE AND STYLE OF THE QUR'ĀN); and (c) the science of "outward exegesis" *(al-tafsīr al-ẓāhir)* which its practitioners, those scholars whose focus rests on the Qur'ān's "external shell" *(al-ṣadaf)*, mistakenly consider the consummate knowledge available to human beings. While al-Ghazālī recognizes the necessity of these "outward" sciences and their practitioners, he dismisses their

claims to represent the ultimate knowledge about the Qur'ān. He attributes this honor to the "sciences of the kernels of the Qur'ān" *('ulūm al-lubāb),* which are subdivided into two levels: the lower and the higher. The former, in turn, is subdivided into three groups: (a) the knowledge of the stories of the qur'ānic prophets, which is preserved and transmitted by story-tellers, preachers and ḥadīth-transmitters (see TEACHING AND PREACHING THE QUR'ĀN); (b) the knowledge of God's arguments against his deniers, which gave rise to theology *(al-kalām)* and its practitioners (the *mutakallimūn*); and (c) the knowledge of the legal injunctions of the Qur'ān, which is represented by the jurists *(fuqahā').* The latter, according to al-Ghazālī, are more important than the other religious specialists because the need for them is "more universal." The upper level of the sciences that branched off of the Qur'ān includes the knowledge of God and of the world to come, followed by the knowledge of the "straight path and of the manner of traversing it."

Having established the hierarchy of sciences that have grown out of the Qur'ān, al-Ghazālī lays out his exegetical method, which hinges on the notion of the allegorical and symbolic nature of the revelation:

Know that everything which you are likely to understand is presented to you in such a way that, if in sleep you were studying the Protected Tablet (*al-lawḥ al-maḥfūẓ;* see PRESERVED TABLET) with your soul, it would be related to you through a suitable symbol which needs interpretation (Eng. trans. in Ghazālī, *Jewels,* 52).

Hence, "The interpretation of the Qur'ān *(ta'wīl),*" according to al-Ghazālī, "occupies the place of the interpretation of dreams" (*ta'bīr;* ibid.) and the exegete's task is to "comprehend the hidden connection between the visible world and the invisible" (Ghazālī, *Jewels,* 53) or unseen in the same way as the interpreter of dreams strives to make sense out of somebody's dream or vision (see DREAMS AND SLEEP). This idea is brought home in the following programmatic statement:

Understand that so long as you are in this-worldly life you are asleep, and your waking-up will occur only after death (see DEATH AND THE DEAD; SLEEP), at which time you become fit to see the clear truth face to face. Before that time it is impossible for you to know the realities except when they are molded in the form of imaginative symbols (Ghazālī, *Jewels,* 54).

The only way to gain the knowledge of the true reality of God and his creation is, according to al-Ghazālī, through the renunciation of this world and righteousness. Those who seek "the vanities of this world, eating what is unlawful and following [their] carnal desires" are barred from the understanding of the qur'ānic message. Their corrupt and sinful nature makes them see nothing in the Qur'ān but contradiction and incongruence. Hence, the perception of the qur'ānic allegories and symbols by different people correspond to their level of spiritual purity and intellectual attainment. In commenting on the special virtue of Q 1 (Sūrat al-Fātiḥa, "The Opening"; see FĀTIḤA), which many exegetes consider to be the key to paradise (q.v.), al-Ghazālī argues that a worldly individual imagines the qur'ānic paradise to be a place where he will satisfy his desire for food, drink and sex, while the perfected Ṣūfī gnostic sees it as a site of refined spiritual pleasures and "pays no heed to the paradise of the fools."

Apart from the Fātiḥa, al-Ghazālī singles out the following verses for a special discussion: Q 2:255, "The Throne Verse" (see

THRONE OF GOD), Q 112 (Sūrat al-Ikhlāṣ, "Purity of Faith"), Q 36 (Sūrat Yā Sīn), whereupon he declares the Fātiḥa to be "the best of all sūras" and the "Throne Verse" to be "the chief of all verses." In the subsequent narrative he enumerates 763 "jewel verses" and 741 "pearl verses." Al-Ghazālī never directly addresses the issue of how and why some divine statements can be better than others, although he profusely quotes prophetic reports that assert the special virtues of certain verses and sūras.

Like al-Qushayrī and earlier exegetes, al-Ghazālī is convinced that the depth of one's understanding of the Qur'ān is directly linked to one's level of spiritual purity, righteousness and intellectual progress. It is no wonder that in his ranking of exegetes the highest rank is unequivocally accorded to the accomplished Ṣūfī gnostic *('ārif)*. To him and only to him is disclosed the greatest secret of being. This is stated clearly in al-Ghazālī's *Mishkāt al-anwār* — an esoteric reflection on the epistemic and ontological implications of the "Light Verse" (Q 24:35):

The gnostics ascend from the foothill of metaphor (q.v.; *al-majāz*) to the way-station of the true reality *(al-ḥaqīqa)*. When they complete their ascension, they see directly that there is nothing in existence except God most high (Ghazālī, *Mishkat,* 58).

Therefore, for the gnostics, the qur'ānic phrase "Everything perishes save his face" (Q 28:88) is an expression of the existential truth, according to which "everything except God, if considered from the viewpoint of its essence, is but a pure nonexistence *('adam maḥḍ),*" God being the only reality of the entire universe (*Mishkāt,* 58). This bold idea prefigures the monistic speculations of Ibn al-'Arabī and his followers, who also were to make extensive use of esoteric exegesis in order to showcase their monistic vision of the world.

The blossoming of ecstatic/esoteric exegesis

The works of Persian Ṣūfīs Abū Thābit Muḥammad al-Daylamī (d. 593/1197) and Rūzbihān Baqlī (d. 606/1209) constitute a distinct trend in Ṣūfī exegetical literature that is characterized by "intense visions and powerful ecstasies interpreted in terms of a qur'ānically based metaphysics" (Ernst, *Rūzbihān,* ix). The prevalence of such elements in the exegetical works of these two writers prompted Böwering (Ṣūfī hermeneutics, 257) to describe them as being more "esoteric" than their "moderate" counterparts discussed above. Al-Daylamī, a little known, if original and prolific author, wrote a mystical commentary entitled *Taṣdīq al-ma'ārif* (it is also occasionally referred to as *Futūḥ al-raḥmān fī ishārāt al-Qur'ān*). It creatively combines early Ṣūfī exegetical dicta borrowed from al-Sulamī's *Ḥaqā'iq al-tafsīr* — they constitute about half of al-Daylamī's work — with the author's own elaborations. Surprisingly, al-Daylamī never mentions al-Qushayrī's *Laṭā'if al-ishārāt,* which was composed some one hundred years before his own. As already mentioned, al-Daylamī's own texts reflect his overwhelming preoccupation with "the visionary world of the mystic," which "is seen as totally real and fully identical with the spiritual world of the invisible realm" (ibid., 270). In the absence of an edited and published text of this commentary — which seems to exist in a unique manuscript — one cannot provide a detailed analysis of its content. According to Böwering who discovered the manuscript in a Turkish archive, it is "a continuous yet eclectic commentary on selected koranic verses from all suras presented in sequence" which "consists of two parallel levels of interpretative glosses on koranic phrases, specimens of Ṣūfī sayings,

and items of the author's own explanation." His work foreshadowed "ideas that emerged in the Kobrawi school" [of Ṣūfism] (Böwering, Deylamī), whose exegetical production will be discussed below.

Somewhat better known is the commentary of al-Daylamī's younger contemporary Rūzbihān [al-]Baqlī al-Shīrāzī (d. 606/1209) entitled *ʿArāʾis al-bayān fī ḥaqāʾiq al-Qurʾān*. This massive exegetical opus reflects Rūzbihān's overriding propensity for visions, dreams, powerful ecstasies and ecstatic utterances that "earned him the sobriquet 'Doctor Ecstaticus' *(shaykh-i shaṭṭāḥ)*" (Ernst, Rūzbihān). Like al-Daylamī's *Taṣdīq al-maʿārif, ʿArāʾis al-bayān* was written in Arabic and consists almost equally of earlier exegetical material — mostly borrowed from al-Sulamī — and of the author's own glosses. In contrast to al-Daylamī, Rūzbihān also availed himself of the materials borrowed from al-Qushayrī's *Laṭāʾif al-ishārāt*. Rūzbihān's uses of the Qurʾān in both his commentary and other works, however, are much bolder than those of the Ṣūfī exegetes already described. Not only does he constantly invoke the sacred text in describing his spiritual encounters with and visions of God, but he also claims to have symbolically eaten it (see POPULAR AND TALISMANIC USES OF THE QUR'ĀN). Thus in his *Kashf al-asrār,* "Unveiling of secrets," he provides the following description of his visionary experiences:

When I passed through the atmosphere of eternity (q.v.), I stopped at the door of power (see POWER AND IMPOTENCE). I saw all the prophets present there; I saw Moses with the Torah (q.v.) in his hand, Jesus (q.v.) with the Gospel (q.v.) in his hand, David (q.v.) with the Psalms (q.v.), and Muḥammad with the Qurʾān in his hand. Moses gave me the Torah to eat, Jesus gave me the Gospel to eat, David gave me the Psalms to eat and Muḥammad gave me the Qurʾān to eat. Adam gave me the most beautiful names [of God] and the Greatest Name to drink. I learned what I learned of the elect divine sciences for which God singles out his prophets and saints (Ernst, *Rūzbihān,* 51).

One can hardly be any bolder than this. According to Ernst, this dream is deemed to symbolize Rūzbihān's "complete internalization" of the inspiration of these scriptures. The Qurʾān and its imagery figure prominently in the Ṣūfī's ecstatic visions. Thus he compares his condition in the presence of God with that of Zulaykha in the presence of Joseph (q.v.; Q 12:22-32), as described in the following passage:

He wined me with the wine (q.v.) of intimacy and nearness. Then he left and I saw him as the mirror of creation wherever I faced, and that was his saying, "Whereso-ever you turn, there is the face of God" (Q 2:109 [sic]). Then he spoke to me after increasing my longing for him… and [I] said to myself: "I want to see his beauty without interruption." He said: "Remember the condition of Zulaykha and Joseph…" (Ernst, *Rūzbihān,* 42).

Rūzbihān also draws a bold comparison between himself and Adam and has God say the following:

I have chosen my servant Rūzbihān for eternal happiness, sainthood *(wilāya),* and bounty.… He is my vicegerent *(khalīfa)* in this world and all worlds; I love whosoever loves him and hate whosoever hates him…, for I am "one who acts when he wishes" (Q 107:11 [sic]; Ernst, *Rūzbihān,* 48).

This feeling of mutual love, intimacy and [com]passion between God and his

mystical lover is the hallmark of Rūzbihān's entire mystical legacy. According to Ernst, the very title of Rūzbihān's commentary — *ʿArāʾis al-bayān*, "The brides of explanation" — "invokes the unveiling of the bride in a loving encounter as the model of initiation into the esoteric knowledge of God" (Ernst, *Rūzbihān*, 71). One can argue that Rūzbihān's visionary and ecstatic experiences are virtually permeated by qurʾānic language and imagery. As with early Ṣūfī masters, the Qurʾān serves Rūzbihān as a means of transforming himself and, eventually, achieving the ultimate intimacy with and knowledge of God.

Ibn al-ʿArabī and the Kubrawī tradition

According to Böwering's classification (Ṣūfī hermeneutics, 257), the subsequent stage in the development of Ṣūfī exegesis was dominated by its two major strains: Muḥyī l-Dīn Ibn al-ʿArabī (d. 638/1240) and his followers (mostly in the Muslim east) and Najm al-Dīn Kubrā (d. 618/1221) and the Kubrawī school of Ṣūfism.

One can say that Ibn al-ʿArabī's long-lasting influence on the subsequent Ṣūfī tradition springs from his role as an intellectual bridge between eastern and western strains of Ṣūfism. While Ṣūfī ideas initially spread westwards — from Sahl al-Tustarī and the Baghdādī school to Ibn Masarra al-Jabalī (d. 319/931) and his Andalusī and Maghribī successors — by the sixth/twelfth century western Ṣūfism acquired a distinctive character and was represented by such versatile and original thinkers as Ibn Barrajān (d. 536/1141), Ibn al-ʿArīf (d. 536/1141), Ibn Qasī (d. 546/1151), Abū Madyan (d. 594/1197) and Ibn al-ʿArabī, to name but a few (Gril, 'La lecture', 521-2). Of these Ibn Barrajān deserves special notice as the author of at least one, and possibly two, Ṣūfī commentaries that seem to have had a profound influence on Ibn al-ʿArabī and his numerous followers in the Muslim east.

As with earlier Ṣūfī exegetes, Ibn Barrajān envisioned the realization of the qurʾānic message by the mystic as his progressive immersion into its mysteries, which eventually results in what the Andalusī master called "the paramount reading" *(al-tilāwa l-ʿulyā)* of the Qurʾān. In the process, the very personality of the mystic is transformed by this encounter with the divine word as he passes from its literal message *(ʿibra; iʿtibār)* to its underlying, "crossed over to" truth *(al-maʿbūr ilayhi)* and from a physical perception *(baṣar)* of the sacred text to an interior, intuitive grasp of its inner reality (Gril, 'La lecture', 516). In other words, in the process of "remembering" *(dhikr)* and contemplating the Qurʾān the mystic develops a deep and genuine insight that allows him to realize its true meaning and implications. As a result, he is eventually transformed into the "universal servant" *(al-ʿabd al-kullī)*, whose recitation of the sacred text is twice as effective as the recitation of the ordinary believer or the "partial servant" *(al-ʿabd al-juzʾī)*.

Ibn Barrajān's exegesis displays the following characteristic features that set it apart from the mainstream interpretative tradition (whose elements are duly represented in his work): (1) the insistence that *dhikr* should serve as the means of achieving a total and undivided concentration on the sacred text; (2) the continual awareness of the subtle correspondences between the phenomena and entities of the universe and the "signs" embedded in the scripture; (3) the affirmation that the heart of the "universal servant" is capable of encompassing the totality of existence in the same way as it is contained in the Preserved Tablet; and (4) the notion that the divine word constitutes the supreme reality of human nature, which makes it possible to

erase the boundary that separates the creature from its creator and thereby achieve a cognitive and experiential union between them (ibid., 520-1). Finally, Ibn Barrajān restricts this superior realization of the divine word to a small group of divinely elected individuals, whom he identifies as "the veracious ones" *(ṣiddīqūn)*. His bold ideas were elaborated upon and brought to fruition in the legacy of Ibn al-ʿArabī and his school.

Ibn al-ʿArabī's uses of the Qurʾān are rich and variegated. He claims to have composed a multi-volume commentary on the Qurʾān entitled *al-Jāmiʿ wa-l-tafṣīl fī asrār maʿānī l-tanzīl,* which seems to have been lost. On the other hand, his entire work, including his major masterpieces — *Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam* and *al-Futūḥāt al-makkiyya* — may be seen as a giant running commentary on the foundational texts of Islam, the Qurʾān and the sunna of the Prophet. His overall approach to the Qurʾān must be considered in the general context of his thought which is characterized by the belief that the true realities of God and the universe are concealed from ordinary human beings behind a distorting veil of images and appearances. These true realities, however, can be rendered accessible to the elect few through a spiritual awakening and special intellectual insight or "unveiling" *(kashf)* bestowed upon them by God. Ibn al-ʿArabī calls the possessors of this insight "the people of the true reality" *(ahl al-ḥaqīqa),* or "divine gnostics" *(ʿārifūn)*. They and only they can decipher the true meaning of the symbols that constitute both the qurʾānic text and the entities and phenomena of the empirical universe, which are likened by Ibn al-ʿArabī to a giant book. For him, both the Qurʾān and the universe are but "books" of God — assemblages of symbols and images behind which lie the ultimate realities of existence that, in the final account, take their origin in and are somehow identical to the divine reality *(al-ḥaqq)*. The deciphering of these symbols and images becomes possible through God's revelatory manifestations *(tajallī)* to his elect "friends" and through their ability to perceive their hidden meaning by means of their imaginative faculties.

Since Ibn al-ʿArabī considered himself to be the greatest *ʿārif* of his age (and possibly of all times) and the spiritual "pole" *(al-quṭb)* of the universe, he saw no reason to legitimize his understanding of the meaning of the scripture or — as he put it, of its "spirit" *(rūḥ)* — by reference to any prior exegetical authority or tradition. In his opinion, he is absolved of such a justification because his "epistemic source" is nothing other than divine inspiration (Nettler, *Ṣūfī metaphysics,* 29). This attitude is evident from his poetic commentaries on selected qurʾānic sūras included in his poetic collection (*Dīwān,* 136-79). Here Ibn al-ʿArabī offers an exegesis aimed at bringing out the "spiritual quintessence" *(rūḥ)* of these sūras. In so doing, he deliberately relegates his role to that of a simple transmitter of the outpourings of divinely induced insights that are dictated to him in the "mystical moment" *(wārid al-waqt)* in which he happens to find himself. He is adamant that he has added nothing to what he has received from this divine source of inspiration (Bachmann, Un commentaire, 503). His use of poetry — an art associated with pre-Islamic paganism (see POETRY AND POETS; PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QURʾĀN) — and his occasional imitation of the meter and rhythm of qurʾānic chapters (see INIMITABILITY; PROVOCATION) no doubt raised many scholarly eyebrows, both during his lifetime and after his death. So did his radical departure from the conventions of traditional exegesis. Thus in elucidating the "spirit" of the Fātiḥa Ibn al-ʿArabī boldly and some-

what incongruously refers to God as "a light not like any other light" — a clear allusion to the Light Verse (*āyat al-nūr,* Q 24:35) — then proceeds to discuss its implications, which have little to do with the sūra that he is supposedly discussing (Bachmann, Un commentaire, 505).

His claim to be a simple mouthpiece of the divine inspirer absolves him, however, of the necessity to justify his exegetical method or to follow any conventional logic. This inspirational exegesis, according to Ibn al-ʿArabī, assures absolute certainty in interpretation of the divine word and overrules all alternative understandings of it. Ibn al-ʿArabī also revisits Q 24:35 in many passages of his magnum opus, *al-Futūḥāt al-makkiyya*. Here his interpretation of this verse reveals three distinct levels of understanding of its meaning: the metaphysical and cosmological, the analogical (built around the implicit correspondences between the universe and the human individual) and the existential-experiential based on the notion — so dear to Ibn al-ʿArabī — of the underlying unity (and union) of God, humankind and the universe (Gril, Le commentaire, 180). In *Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam* — Ibn al-ʿArabī's controversial meditation on the phenomenon of prophethood and its major representatives — his uses of the qurʾānic text are particularly bold and challenging (the same is true of his uses of the sunna). The Qurʾān radically and dramatically reinterpreted by the Ṣūfī master serves as a showcase for his monistic metaphysics (see also PHILOSOPHY AND THE QURʾĀN). Moreover, for Ibn al-ʿArabī his monistic vision of God, humankind and the universe constitutes the very truth and ultimate meaning of the qurʾānic revelation (Nettler, *Ṣūfī metaphysics,* 13-14). In the *Fuṣūṣ,* the traditional exegetical lore associated with the prophets and other individuals mentioned in the qurʾānic text is inextricably intertwined with "an extremely abstruse 'Ṣūfī metaphysics,'" which for Ibn al-ʿArabī presumably reflected its inner, essential, truth (ibid., 14). This kind of exegesis is so distinctive and unique that it "may be considered an Islamic religious genre in its own right" that can be dubbed "Ṣūfī metaphysical story-telling" (ibid.).

As an example of Ibn al-ʿArabī's exegetical method, one can cite his audacious rendition of the story of Aaron (q.v.), Moses and the golden calf (Q 7:148-55 and Q 20:85-94; see CALF OF GOLD). Here — contrary to the literal meaning of the qurʾānic narrative — Aaron and the worshippers of the golden calf are portrayed as being wiser than Moses, who misguidedly scolds them for lapsing into idolatry (see IDOLATRY AND IDOLATERS). Unlike Moses, they realize that God can be worshipped in every object, for every object, including the golden calf, is but "a site of divine self-manifestation" (*baʿḍ al-majālī l-ilāhiyya; Fuṣūṣ,* 192; Nettler, *Ṣūfī metaphysics,* 53). In this interpretation, the original qurʾānic condemnation of idolatry is completely inverted: the idolaters become "gnostics," who

> *know the full truth* concerning idolatry, but are honor-bound not to disclose this truth, even to the prophets, the apostles and their heirs, for these all have their divinely-appointed roles in curbing idolatry and promoting the worship of God *in their time and their situation* (Nettler, *Ṣūfī metaphysics,* 67).

The ultimate truth, however, is that God is immanent to all things and can be worshipped everywhere. Here, and throughout the *Fuṣūṣ,* Ibn al-ʿArabī's unitive, monistic vision of God and the world is presented within the framework of qurʾānic narratives (q.v.) pertaining to the vicissitudes of the prophetic missions of the past (see PUNISHMENT STORIES). For him, however,

this is not *his* personal vision but *the true and unadulterated* meaning of the divine word (ibid., 94).

The major themes of Ibn al-ʿArabī's legacy were explored and elucidated by his foremost disciple, Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Qūnawī (d. 673/1274), the author of numerous influential works on theoretical Ṣūfism. His major exegetical work, *Ījāz al-bayān fī taʾwīl al-Qurʾān,* is a lengthy disquisition on the metaphysical, epistemological and psychological implications of the first sūra of the Qurʾān based on the assumption that it constitutes the very gist of the revelation. The author's indebtedness to Ibn al-ʿArabī is obvious from the outset, when he states that

> God made the primeval macrocosm *(al-ʿālam al-kabīr)* — from the viewpoint of its [outward] form — a book carrying the images of the divine names… and he [God] made the perfect man — who is but a microcosm *(al-ʿālam al-ṣaghīr)* — an intermediate book from the viewpoint of [its] form, which combines in itself the presence of the names and the presence of the named [i.e. God]. He also revealed the great Qurʾān as a guidance to the human being — who is fashioned in his image — in order to explain the hidden aspect of his way, the secret of his sūra and of his rank (Qūnawī, *al-Tafsīr,* 98).

Al-Qūnawī identifies five levels and realms of existence and their correspondence to the five layers of meaning of the divine word. For the exegete, this task of identification is much more important than the minutia of conventional *tafsīr* with which he claims to have deliberately dispensed (ibid., 103). Al-Qūnawī's emphasis on the hierarchies of the divine names and their ontological counterparts (realms of existence) constitutes probably the most distinguishing feature of this highly technical and recondite mystical commentary, which came to characterize the intellectual legacy of Ibn al-ʿArabī's school of thought as a whole.

In ʿAbd al-Razzāq Kamāl al-Dīn al-Qāshānī (d. 730/1329), a native of the Iranian province of Jibāl, we find another scholar fully committed to Ibn al-ʿArabī's spiritual and intellectual legacy, while remaining an original mystical thinker in his own right. Not only did al-Qāshānī distinguish himself as an advocate of his great predecessor but also as an effective disseminator of the latter's mystical teaching which by that time had come to be known as "the doctrine of the unity/oneness of being/existence" *(waḥdat al-wujūd)*. As a promoter of Ibn al-ʿArabī's ideas, his main achievement lies in his ability to strip them of their original ambiguity, and open-endedness and to present them in a lucid and accessible form to anyone who cared to learn them. Al-Qāshānī excelled in this task to such an extent that his popular mystical commentary, originally titled *Taʾwīl al-Qurʾān,* was for several centuries considered by many to be a work of Ibn al-ʿArabī himself. In fact, its latest edition, which appeared in Beirut in 1968, was entitled *Tafsīr al-Qurʾān al-karīm lil-shaykh al-akbar… Ibn ʿArabī.* A systematic and clear-headed thinker, al-Qāshānī provides a detailed self-reflective exposition of his exegetical method in the introduction to his commentary. Citing a famous prophetic ḥadīth according to which each qurʾānic verse has two aspects — the "outward" *(ẓahr)* and the "inward" *(baṭn)* — al-Qāshānī identifies the understanding of the former as *tafsīr* and of the latter as *taʾwīl* (Qāshānī, *Taʾwīl,* i, 4). His own interpretation is consistently identified as *taʾwīl* throughout the rest of his work. This indicates that by his time the rigid *tafsīr/taʾwīl* dichotomy, which does not seem to have existed in the earlier periods — both

al-Ṭabarī and al-Bayḍāwī (d. prob. 716/1316) had no compunctions about applying the word *ta'wīl* to their conventional commentaries — had become widespread, at least in some Ṣūfī circles (cf. however, Shāh Walī Allāh, who defined *ta'wīl* as a regular historical and contextual commentary; Baljon, *Religion and thought,* 141). In a revealing passage from the introduction to his *Ta'wīl* al-Qāshānī describes his personal relationship with the qur'ānic revelation which, in a sense, epitomizes the Ṣūfī stance *vis-à-vis* the divine word:

For a long time I made the recitation *(tilāwa)* of the Qur'ān my habit and custom and meditated on its meaning with the [full] strength of my faith. Yet, despite my assiduousness at reciting passages from it *(al-awrād),* my chest was constrained, my soul troubled and my heart remained closed to it. However, my lord did not divert me from this recitation until I had grown accustomed and habituated to it and begun to taste the sweetness of its cup and its drink. It was then that I felt invigorated, my breast opened up, my conscience expanded, my heart was at ease, and my innermost self liberated… by these revelations. Then there appeared to me from behind the veil the meanings of every verse such that my tongue was incapable of describing, no capacity able to determine and count, and no power could resist unveiling and disclosure" (*Ta'wīl,* i, 4).

Unlike the authors of "moderate" Ṣūfī commentaries discussed above, al-Qāshānī consciously ignores those passages of the Qur'ān that, in his view, are not susceptible to esoteric interpretation *(kull mā lā yaqbalu al-ta'wīl ʿindī aw lā yaḥtāju ilayhi)*. With more than five centuries of Ṣūfī exegesis behind him, al-Qāshānī no longer feels obligated to pay tribute to the trivia of conventional *tafsīr* and focuses only on those aspects of the sacred text that resonate with his esoteric vision of the world. Even some favorite "Ṣūfī" verses such as Q 7:172 and Q 85:22 are passed over in silence, perhaps because al-Qāshānī feels that their interpretative potential has been exhausted by his predecessors (Lory, *Commentaires,* 31). Addressed to his fellow Ṣūfīs, "the people of [supersensory] unveiling" *(ahl al-kashf),* al-Qāshānī's exegesis brims with classical Ṣūfī terminology and themes borrowed from Ibn al-ʿArabī's monistic ideas and imagery. In many cases, this terminology is not explained, presupposing its prior knowledge by the reader (ibid., 30). Al-Qāshānī is completely at home in dealing with all major levels of exegesis established by his predecessors: the monistic metaphysics with its tripartite division of being into the empirical realm *(ʿālam al-shahāda),* the intermediate realm of divine power *(al-jabarūt)* and the purely spiritual realm of divine sovereignty *(al-malakūt);* the parallelism and correspondence between the universe (the macrocosm) and its human counterpart (the microcosm); the major stages and spiritual states of the mystic's progress to God; the symbolism of the letters of the Arabic alphabet; numerology (q.v.); etc. As a typical example of his method one may his cite his glosses on Q 17:1:

"Glory be to him, who carried his servant," that is — [who] purified him from material attributes and deficiencies associated with [his] creation by means of the tongue of the spiritual state of disengagement [from the created world] *(al-tajarrud)* and perfection at the station of [absolute] servanthood… — "by night" — that is, in the darkness of bodily coverings and natural attachments, for the ascension and rise cannot occur except by means of a body — "from the holy mosque" — that is, from the station of the heart that is pro-

tected from the circumambulation of the polytheism of carnal drives… (*Ta'wīl,* i, 705).

In this passage and throughout, the correspondences between qur'ānic images and Ṣūfī psychology, epistemology and ontology are clearly and firmly established, leaving little room for the ambiguity of reference and referent and a general opacity of meaning that characterize the works of Ibn al-ʿArabī. One can thus conclude that in al-Qāshānī's commentary the esoteric exegesis of the previous centuries receives a succinct, systematic — perhaps overly-systematic — and lucid articulation. The exegetical method derived from Ibn al-ʿArabī and his predecessors has become stabilized. Its subsequent rearticulation by such later Ṣūfīs as Badr al-Dīn Simawī (d. 820/1420), Ismāʿīl Ḥaqqī (d. 1137/1725), Shāh Walī Allāh (d. 1176/1762), and Ibn ʿAjība (d. 1224/1809) — to name but a few — evinces a remarkable continuity that may be construed by some as a lack of originality. In the case of the last two authors, mystical exegesis is offered alongside other types of commentary, of which Ibn ʿAjība, for example, cites as many as eleven in his *al-Baḥr al-madīd* (i, 129-31). His *tafsīr* demonstrates his equal facility with both esoteric and exoteric commentary, without privileging either one of them (Michon, *Le soufi,* 88-9).

While the tradition of Qur'ān interpretation associated with the central Asian Ṣūfī master Najm al-Dīn Kubrā (d. 618/1221) and his followers Najm al-Dīn Dāya [al-]Rāzī (d. 654/1256) and ʿAlā' al-Dawla Simnānī (d. 736/1336) is often treated as a separate school of Ṣūfī exegesis (e.g. Böwering, Ṣūfī hermeneutics, 257), this perception has more to do with two different spiritual and intellectual lineages than with differences in their approaches to the Qur'ān. Unlike the Ṣūfī commentaries discussed above, we are dealing here with what amounts to a collective exegetical work that was started by Kubrā, continued by Dāya [al-]Rāzī and completed by Simnānī, although "it is possible that there are two different continuations to Kubrā's commentary, one by Simnānī and the other by Dāya" (Elias, *Throne carrier,* 205). "It is also conceivable that Dāya revised Kubrā's commentary" (ibid.). In any event, this commentary remains unpublished and our knowledge of its contents is derived from a recent Western study of Simnānī's oeuvre by Jamal Elias (ibid., 107-10).

As with earlier Ṣūfī exegetes, Simnānī spoke of "four levels of meaning [of the Qur'ān] corresponding to four levels of existence" (ibid., 108). Its exoteric dimension corresponds to the realm of "humanity" *(nāsūt);* its esoteric dimension to the realm of divine sovereignty *(malakūt);* its limit *(ḥadd)* relates to the realm of divine omnipotence *(jabarūt);* and its point of ascent, or *anagoge (maṭlaʿ/muṭṭalaʿ)* corresponds to the realm of divinity (*lāhūt,* ibid., 108). These realms, in turn, correspond to four levels of the human understanding of the Qur'ān — that of the ordinary believer *(muslim),* who relies upon his faculty of hearing (see SEEING AND HEARING; HEARING AND DEAFNESS); that of the faithful one *(mu'min),* who relies on divine inspiration; that of the righteous one *(muḥsin),* who should not disclose what he understands except with divine permission *(idhn);* and, finally, the [direct] witness (*shāhid;* see WITNESS TO FAITH) whose understanding is so sublime that he should refrain from disclosing it to anyone for fear of confusion and sedition (ibid.). God's purpose in sending his revelation is to cleanse the hearts and souls of human beings from mundane distractions and thereby lead them to salvation. To this end, he has supplied them with special faculties

or "subtle centers" *(laṭāʾif)* that orient them toward God and, eventually, lead the elect few of them to "a complete revelation of the true nature of reality" (ibid., 85).

Finally, mention should be made of the exegesis that combines esoteric exegesis and mystical metaphysics with Shīʿī theology. Here one thinks primarily of the exegetical works by Ḥaydar-i Āmulī (d. after 787/1385) — who consistently sought to integrate Ibn al-ʿArabī's ideas and exegetical methods into the Shīʿī intellectual universe — and Mullā Ṣadrā (d. 1050/1640) and his school, including what appears to be an extremely rare, if not unique, example of a mystical commentary written by a female scholar from Iran named Nuṣrat bt. Muḥammad Amīn, better known as Bānū-yi Iṣfahānī (d. 1403/1982; Ayāzī, *Mufassirūn,* 310-15, 629-33; Āmulī, *Jāmiʿ al-asrār;* Mullā Ṣadrā, *Asrār al-āyāt;* Amīn, *Tafsīr-i makhzan*).

This survey does not discuss the development of Ṣūfī exegesis in modern times, which in Western scholarship remains largely a terra incognita (see POST-ENLIGHTENMENT ACADEMIC STUDY OF THE QURʾĀN). For some representative works of this genre see Ayāzī, *Mufassirūn,* 833. See also WISDOM; SCIENCE AND THE QURʾĀN; TIME.

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Suicide

The act of taking one's own life, killing oneself. Although several qurʾānic verses appear to be relevant to suicide, in particular Q 2:54, 4:66, 4:29 and 2:195, only

the last two prove to be related to self-killing.

Moses (q.v.) said to his people, "My people, you have wronged yourselves by worshipping the calf (see CALF OF GOLD), so repent to your maker and kill yourselves; that is best for you in the eyes of your maker." Then he accepted your repentance: he is all-forgiving and most merciful (Q 2:54; see FORGIVENESS; MERCY; GOD AND HIS ATTRIBUTES).

The majority of the commentators (see EXEGESIS OF THE QUR'ĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL) are in agreement that the phrase "kill yourselves" *(fa-qtulū anfusakum)* means "those who have not worshipped the golden calf should kill those who worshipped it" (e.g. Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* i, 326-7). Some commentators, however, emphasize the metaphorical meaning (see METAPHOR; SYMBOLIC IMAGERY), that is, the Israelites are asked to repent through suppression of lustful desires *(bakhʿ)* since such desire was the root cause of their sin (Bayḍāwī, *Anwār,* i, 62; Zamakhsharī, *Kashshāf,* i, 143; see CHILDREN OF ISRAEL; SIN, MAJOR AND MINOR). Another possible reading, collective suicide, is never mentioned by most commentators and is explicitly rejected by a few (e.g. Elmalılı, *Kurʾān Dili,* i, 355-6, who says that collective suicide is clearly not the intended meaning since that would have led to the extinction of the Jews; see JEWS AND JUDAISM; EXEGESIS OF THE QUR'ĀN: EARLY MODERN AND CONTEMPORARY).

The phrase "kill yourselves" also appears in Q 4:66, "If we had decreed to them [the hypocrites; see HYPOCRITES AND HYPOCRISY] 'kill yourselves' or 'leave your homes,' only a few would have done so" but, as in the case of Q 2:54, commentators normally see mutual killing in this verse and, even though collective suicide is mentioned by some as a possible reading (Elmalılı, *Kurʾān Dili,* ii, 1385-6), this is stated to be moot since the verse is not applicable to the Muslims who are commanded not to kill one another (see MURDER; BLOODSHED).

Q 4:29 is much more to the point: "You who believe (see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF), do not consume each other's property (q.v.) unjustly (see JUSTICE AND INJUSTICE), but trade through mutual goodwill is different (see TRADE AND COMMERCE; WEALTH), and do not kill yourselves, for God is the most merciful towards you." Al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923; *Tafsīr,* iv, 38-9) reads the second part of this verse as a command against the believers' killing each other (see FIGHTING; WAR) and understands God's prohibition of unjust trade and believers' killing each other (except for a just reason) as a sign of his mercy. Al-Bayḍāwī (d. prob. 716/1316-17; *Anwār,* i, 211), however, sees here an injunction against self-killing through suppression of self *(bakhʿ),* placing oneself in danger, or through committing crimes that would incur death or abasement (presumably including usurious trade; see USURY; BOUNDARIES AND PRECEPTS; CHASTISEMENT AND PUNISHMENT), though he clearly does not view any of these as "intentional self-killing." In any case, the recommendation of the verse, he thinks, is for combined protection of self *(nafs)* and property *(māl),* which are joined as "halves." Al-Zamakhsharī (d. 538/1144; *Kashshāf,* i, 492) understands the verse as an injunction against the believers' killing each other and/or killing oneself (cf. Ibn al-Jawzī [d. 597/1200], *Zād,* ii, 61, ad Q 4:29, who maintains that the first meaning of *lā taqtulū anfusakum* is that God forbids his servant from killing himself). And, according to al-Qurṭubī (d. 671/1272; *Jāmiʿ,* v, 156-7, ad Q 4:29), while the text itself *(lafz)* indicates that this phrase deals with (and

urges against) killing oneself intentionally *(bi-qaṣdin minhu lil-qatl)* — by bringing him or herself to the folly that leads to destruction (as in the possible response to situations of boredom or anger: "do not kill yourselves") — the interpreters have agreed that this passage means that people should not kill one another. Elmalılı, a twentieth century Turkish interpreter (*Kurʾān Dili,* ii, 1343-4), rules out the apparent meaning (see POLYSEMY), which is suicide, and argues that the applicable meaning is "forbidding one to cause one's own destruction," which is possible in one of three ways (i) excessive asceticism (q.v.) — according to Elmalılı, this fits the context of the verse —; (ii) behavior that would lead to committing sins that call for killing, including illicit consumption of property of others; and (iii) placing oneself in harm's way, even if for a charitable purpose (see GOOD AND EVIL), where Elmalılı (like al-Ṭabarī) refers to the story of ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ who refrained from taking major ablution with ice cold water on the basis of this verse (he resorted to *tayammum* instead) and the Prophet's acceptance of his practice (see CLEANLINESS AND ABLUTION; RITUAL PURITY).

The relevance of Q 2:195 to suicide is indirect but clear: "Spend in God's cause (see PATH OR WAY) and do not throw [yourselves] with your own hands to danger." Here, the question is about what the phrase "do not throw [yourselves] with your own hands to destruction/danger" means. In his extensive coverage of this question, al-Ṭabarī (*Tafsīr,* ii, 206-12) reports the following different readings: (i) spend in God's cause (no other meaning intended); (ii) spend in God's cause and do not jeopardize yourselves by fighting for God's cause unless there is (sufficient) provision and power; (iii) do not place yourself in harm's way, do not give yourself up to danger because you despair (q.v.) of God's forgiveness on account of your past sins (cf. Q 12:87: "Do not despair of God's mercy — only disbelievers despair of God's mercy," and Q 15:56: "Who except those who are astray despairs of his lord's mercy?"; see LORD); (iv) spend in God's cause and do not quit fighting; (v) a combination of the third and fourth: whoever does not give away in charity what he or she does not need places himself or herself in danger (see ALMSGIVING). Similarly, whoever is despondent because of past sins places herself or himself in danger because of the command in Q 12:87 and whoever quits fighting when fighting is clearly mandatory places herself or himself in danger of incurring God's punishment.

The reality of the temptation to end one's own life has not been denied by Islamic tradition. On the authority of Abū Hurayra (d. ca. 58/678), the Prophet himself is said to have said: "Whoever kills himself with an iron [instrument] *(biḥadīdatin),* his iron [instrument] would be in his hand, poking his belly with it in hellfire forever and ever (see HELL AND HELLFIRE; ETERNITY; REWARD AND PUNISHMENT). And whoever kills himself with poison, then his poison would be in his hand and he would sip from it in hellfire forever and ever. And whoever falls from a mountain killing himself, he would fall in hellfire forever and ever" (Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad,* xiii, 185; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* i, 103-4, *bāb* 47, ḥadīth no. 175). And, although not qurʾānic, al-Ṭabarī (*Taʾrīkh,* i, 1150; Eng. trans. Watt and McDonald, *History,* vi, 71) preserves a tradition transmitted by Ibn Isḥāq (d. 150/767) that Muḥammad himself contemplated suicide when he first received the revelations (see REVELATION AND INSPIRATION): "I shall take myself to a mountain crag, hurl myself down from it, kill myself and find relief in that way."

In ethical discussions over both the qurʾānic positions on suicide and those developed in later Islamic thought, the motivations (e.g. despondency for one's own personal situation, vs. the decision to go into battle to defend one's community; see EXPEDITIONS AND BATTLES), as well as the results and means (killing oneself, killing others) of the action are considered. In both classical and contemporary discussions, no clear consensus has been reached and debated issues remain: does the benefit of a martyrdom outweigh the sin of killing oneself?; what, exactly, comprises an "unlawful" killing? Especially in the postcolonial period and with the use of suicide or martyr missions to secure political and social change have these questions become particularly pressing (cf. Malka, Must innocents die?; see also POLITICS AND THE QURʾĀN). While neither Q 4:29 nor Q 2:195 can be said to contain a clear injunction against suicide, it is safe to conclude that they may indeed be understood as ruling out killing oneself especially if they are considered in connection with one another. It is also possible to view suicide, at least from an ethical perspective (see ETHICS AND THE QURʾĀN), as a special case of murder, in which case all the qurʾānic verses that prohibit unlawful killing of a human being — in particular Q 6:151 and Q 17:33: "Do not take life that God has rendered sacred except for just cause," Q 5:32: "Whoever kills another, unless for murder or highway robbery (see THEFT; CORRUPTION), it is as though he has killed all humanity," and Q 4:93: "Whoever kills a believer intentionally, his punishment is to dwell in hell forever; God is angry with him (see ANGER), he curses (see CURSE) him and prepares a terrible punishment for him" — would also apply to suicide.

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Summer see SEASONS

Sun

Star at the center of earth's solar system. The sun is the brightest and most powerful of all the celestial bodies orbiting — according to the geocentric cosmological view of the world current in antiquity and the Middle Ages (cf. Van Dalen, Shams) — the earth (q.v.; see also PLANETS AND STARS). Not inappropriately, it is mentioned thirty-three times in the Qurʾān. There are hints at its being worshipped in Babylonia (Q 6:74, 78) and in pre-Islamic Arabia (Q 41:37; see PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QURʾĀN; SOUTH ARABIA, RELIGIONS IN PRE-ISLAMIC), especially by the Sabaeans (Q 27:24; cf. Fahd, Shams; see SHEBA), and it is stressed that this was idolatry (see IDOLATRY AND IDOLATERS) and that, conforming to the order of God's

creation, also the sun, like the other celestial bodies, is subject to God's supreme authority (q.v.; Q 22:18). A remnant of such earlier beliefs may be seen in the oath in Q 91:1, "By the sun and its light in the morning (q.v.)," after which the sūra (q.v.) was entitled *al-shams,* "The Sun" (see OATHS; FORM AND STRUCTURE OF THE QUR'ĀN; LANGUAGE AND STYLE OF THE QUR'ĀN; LITERARY STRUCTURES OF THE QUR'ĀN).

The sun (like the moon [q.v.]) has been created to serve humankind (cf. Q 7:54; 13:2; 31:29; 35:13; 39:5; 14:33; 16:12; 29:61; see COSMOLOGY; CREATION). It is the great light (q.v.), *ḍiyā'* (Q 10:5) or *sirāj* (Q 25:61; 71:16; 78:13), by day (see LAMP). It was created *ḥusbānan* or *bi-ḥusbān* (cf. Q 6:96; 55:5), as a means for calculating time (q.v.) and organizing human life (see MEASUREMENT; WEIGHTS AND MEASURES). But its heat may become onerous (Q 18:90; 76:13; see HOT AND COLD). Elements of the physical behavior of the sun are well-known and mentioned on several occasions. Its course is firmly fixed (*li-ajalin/ilā ajalin musammā,* Q 13:2; 31:29; 35:13; 39:5); in its daily rotation, it reaches a resting place, *mustaqarr,* where it abides by night (Q 36:38; see NIGHT AND DAY). It moves in an orb, *falak,* like the moon (Q 21:33; 36:40), and these two can never touch *(tudrika)* each other (Q 36:40). It rises in the east and sets in the west (cf. Q 18:17, 86, 90). The sun has also been employed in the service of Islam as, notably, for the fixing of prayer (q.v.) times. Already in Muḥammad's lifetime, when the system of five daily ritual prayers *(ṣalāt)* had not yet been set up, prayers were prescribed at sunset, *dulūk,* and at dawn (q.v.), *fajr* (Q 17:78), as well as before the sun's rising, *ṭulū',* and setting, *ghurūb* (Q 20:130; 50:39; see also DAY, TIMES OF; EVENING). Observation of the sun's shadow is also mentioned (Q 25:45), though not in connection with the fixing of prayer times. Later, Islamic legal scholars (see LAW AND THE QUR'ĀN) developed several systems for fixing the times of prayer dependent on the sun's position and on shadow observation (cf. King, Mīḳāt). Still later, Muslim astronomers devised many more scientific methods for determining the times of prayer (cf. King, Mīḳāt; id., Mizwala; see SCIENCE AND THE QUR'ĀN). Lastly, the Qur'ān mentions the sun in the eschatological (see ESCHATOLOGY) context of the day of resurrection (q.v.), when "the sun and the moon are joined [or fused]" (*wa-jumi'a l-shamsu wa-l-qamaru,* Q 75:9 — perhaps in distinct contrast to Q 36:40, where it is said that these two can never touch each other) and when "the sun is wrapped up" (*idhā l-shamsu kuwwirat,* Q 81:1; on *kuwwirat,* cf. *WKAS,* i, 427b, 8-16).

In sum, it can be said that the Qur'ān covers the most important aspects of the sun's role in human life, in earlier history as well as for the Islamic community. Within the contemporaneous geocentric understanding of the world, the physical behavior of the sun is correctly described.

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Sunna

Arabic term for "way of acting." The ancient Arab concept *sunna* (pl. *sunan*) occurs

eighteen times in the Qurʾān. Generally — that is to say outside the strict context of the Qurʾān — it is defined as a way of acting, whether approved or disapproved, and is normally associated with the people of earlier generations, whose example has to be followed or shunned by later generations. The concept occupies a crucial place in Islam. In the development of Islamic theology, it eventually came to be associated with orthodoxy, the bastion against heterodox innovation (*bidʿa;* see INNOVATION; THEOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN; for a study of the first adherents of sunna, see Juynboll, Excursus on the *ahl as-sunna*).

As far as the qurʾānic context is concerned, the occurrences of the term can roughly be divided into two categories: "sunna" either denotes God's *way* of dealing with the as-yet unbelieving people of the world, or it is a word for the *behavior* of those rebellious unbelievers who refuse to comply with divine institutions by declining to submit to divine messengers (see INSOLENCE AND OBSTINACY; MESSENGER; BELIEF AND UNBELIEF; REBELLION). Examples of sunna within the first category comprise references to God's treatment of anonymous unbelievers in the Meccan verse Q 40:85 (see CHRONOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN), or Qurashīs and/or the hypocrites (*munāfiqūn;* see QURAYSH; HYPOCRITES AND HYPOCRISY) in the Medinan verses Q 17:77, 33:38, 62 and 48:23. Examples of sunna within the second category refer in the Meccan sūras to anonymous peoples (cf. Q 15:13, 18:55, 35:43) and in a Medinan sūra to the prophet Muḥammad's Meccan adversaries among the Quraysh (cf. Q 8:38; see OPPOSITION TO MUḤAMMAD). Moreover, in the Medinan verse Q 3:137 the plural *sunan* is glossed by al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923; *Tafsīr,* iv, 99) as *mathulāt,* i.e. the punitive measures meted out to pre-Islamic peoples like ʿĀd (q.v.) and Thamūd (q.v.), who refused to heed the preaching of prophets sent to them by God (see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD), whereas in the other Medinan verse in which the plural occurs (Q 4:26) it stands for the pious "ways of life" of certain people and prophets of old (see GENERATIONS).

In addition to these uses of the term *sunna* in the Qurʾān, the concept of sunna can be traced along various lines, encompassing a number of different nuances. Some of these were later tentatively traced back to the Qurʾān, that is to say, to qurʾānic lexemes other than *sunna,* where it was thought that sunna was implied. Initially, *sunna* was a neutral term for good or bad precedents set by earlier generations, and it played a crucial role in the evolution of Islamic law, the *sharīʿa* (see LAW AND THE QURʾĀN). In the course of the second/eighth century, sunna came to be considered one of the roots *(uṣūl)* of Islamic law, indeed, after the Qurʾān, the second most important root. It was the legal theoretician al-Shāfiʿī (d. 204/820) who was especially instrumental in raising the concept of sunna to this unassailable level of legal authority. As a legislative source, the Qurʾān contains a fair number of injunctions that are pivotal in the formulation of laws dictating human behavior. But most of these injunctions are worded in terms that are either too broad, or ambiguous (q.v.) or downright opaque. Analyzing, and where possible elucidating, those terms became the task of early Islamic exegetes (see EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL). These commentators acted in conformity with the gradually prevailing rule that, rather than an example set by any religious expert, a corroborative prophetic example had to be adduced. Thus these exegetes sought and disseminated reports *(aḥādīth)* which transmitted what the prophet

Muḥammad and the earliest learned authorities *(ʿulamāʾ)* had allegedly said concerning certain qurʾānic verses and, where relevant, their application in daily life (see SĪRA AND THE QURʾĀN; TRADITIONAL DISCIPLINES OF QURʾĀNIC STUDY). Among the earliest strata of authorities, the prophet Muḥammad was to play an increasingly important role. One indispensable need was clarification of obscure qurʾānic passages, and this need is reflected in a number of wide-ranging traditions, for which the introduction to the collection of al-Dārimī (d. 255/869) is especially famous. More than his fellow traditionists, it was al-Dārimī who brought together a number of ḥadīths that dealt with the issue of the inter-dependence of Qurʾān and sunna (see ḤADĪTH AND THE QURʾĀN). That most of these sayings are probably of his own making may be deduced from their absence from other early collections ascribed to his peers. Perhaps the most concise among the somewhat later sayings is the one that runs: "the Qurʾān needs [the elucidation contained in the] sunna more than the other way around" (*inna l-Qurʾān aḥwaju ilā l-sunna mina l-sunna ilā l-Qurʾān;* cf. the theologian al-Barbahārī [d. 329/941] in his *Kitāb al-Sunna,* which Ibn Abī Yaʿlā [d. 526/1131] extensively quotes in his *Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanābila* [cf. ii, 25]).

The inter-relatedness of Qurʾān and sunna was transferred gradually to the delicate field of abrogation (q.v.; *naskh*). Initially it went without saying that a qurʾānic passage could abrogate a sunna; but eventually the question was raised whether a sunna laid down, for instance, in a prophetic ḥadīth, could perhaps abrogate a qurʾānic injunction. The statement "sunna may determine the Qurʾān but not vice versa" *(al-sunna qāḍiyatun ʿalā l-Qurʾān wa-laysa al-Qurʾān bi-qāḍin ʿalā l-sunna)* is ascribed to an early authority, Yaḥyā b. Abī Kathīr (d. 132/749) but is probably al-Dārimī's own handiwork (cf. his *Sunan,* i, 153, no. 587). This highly controversial issue kept theologians and jurisprudents occupied for a considerable period. In early *tafsīr* literature there are no discernible attempts to equate certain terms from scripture with sunna or, specifically prophetic sunna *(sunnat al-nabī)*. It was the aforementioned legal scholar al-Shāfiʿī who was the first to try to link an important qurʾānic term with sunna, in an attempt to provide scriptural evidence for his insistence that sunna should automatically be equated with *sunnat al-nabī*. The word chosen by him was *ḥikma,* "wisdom" (e.g. his *Risāla,* 32, 78, etc.); but even after his lifetime this identification does not seem to have caught on with other jurists. The only explanation early exegetes like al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (d. 110/728) and Qatāda b. Diʿāma (d. 117/735) are alleged to have offered for *al-ḥikma* was simply the gloss *al-sunna* without further specification (cf. *Tafsīr al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī,* i, 115, Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* i, 557, ad Q 2:129). Then, at the hands of al-Shāfiʿī, that is extended to *sunnat rasūli llāh*. The verse that comes to mind most readily as providing a good opportunity for tracing the concept of sunna of the Prophet and/or that of his faithful followers in the Qurʾān, is Q 33:21: "You had (conceivably: have) in the messenger of God a perfect example…"; but al-Shāfiʿī did not even hint at this verse in his *Risāla*. It is the traditionist Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal (d. 241/855) who mentions the verse (cf. his *Musnad,* ii, 15 = ed. A.M. Shākir, no. 4641) in connection with sunna. The debate was couched in cautious terms, lest a sunna, which is after all a custom instituted by man, be too readily taken to be capable of abrogating or modifying the *prima facie* interpretation of scripture, which is, after all, of divine origin.

Another term bracketed with *al-sunna* next to the Qurʾān is the word *ḥabl,* "rope,

cord," in Q 3:103 (cf. Ibn Ḥajar, *Fatḥ al-bārī,* xvii, 3, apud Bukhārī, *K. al-Iʿtiṣām,* 1). In exegetical literature, however, *ḥabl* is almost exclusively associated with the Qurʾān, or the religion, or the community *(jamāʿa)* of believers, but not with sunna.

The term *sunna* does not occur more often than in the verses dealt with above, whereas there are numerous qurʾānic passages in which *sunna* and/or its derivative *sunnat al-nabī* are quite clearly intended. The frequently repeated command that the believers must obey God and his messenger (cf. Kassis, *Concordance,* s.v. *aṭāʿa,* "to obey"; see OBEDIENCE) can virtually always be construed as pointing to submission to the exemplary behavior of the Prophet.

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Sunrise

see DAWN; DAY, TIMES OF

Sunset

see EVENING; DAY, TIMES OF

Supererogation

see ALMSGIVING

Supplication

see PRAYER FORMULAS

Sūra(s)

A literary unit of undetermined length within the Qurʾān, often translated as "chapter." In the printed editions of the Qurʾān, but not in the earliest manuscripts (see MANUSCRIPTS OF THE QURʾĀN), it is marked as such by a title section that provides the name of the sūra, followed by a number that defines its place in the sequence of the 114 sūras of the entire corpus. Sūra names are not abbreviations of the content but "catchwords," taking up a particular lexeme from the text that is either a rare word in the Qurʾān (e.g. Q 80, Sūrat ʿAbasa, "He Frowned") and thus easy to remember, or a major issue discussed in the sūra (e.g. Q 4, Sūrat al-Nisāʾ, "The Women"), or, occasionally, the initial word of the sūra. There is no complete agreement about the names of the sūras, some sūras being known under more than one title. Whereas the naming and the ordering of the sūras are later textual adjustments (see MUṢḤAF; CODICES OF THE QURʾĀN), the arrangement of the text as a sequence of sūras goes back to the redaction of the Qurʾān itself, which tradition dates to the reign of the third caliph ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān (r. 23-35/644-56). Although that dating is not confirmed by external evidence, the redaction and official publication should have taken place some time before the Umayyad caliph (q.v.) ʿAbd al-Malik's reign (65-86/685-705), since it is attested among scholars of his time (see Hamdan, al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī). Inasmuch as the somewhat mechanical arrangement of the sūras according to their length does not betray a particular historical or theological interest on the part of the redactors, but rather an awareness of the already achieved canonical status, the sūras as units should go back to a very early time (see FORM AND STRUCTURE OF

THE QUR'ĀN). There is also no substantial contrary evidence to be gleaned from the findings of Qur'ān fragments at Ṣan'ā', Yemen, whose analysis still awaits publication (Puin, Observations; but cf. ibid., 111 for the variations from the 'Uthmānic codex found in some of these fragments). Although there are no complete copies preserved, folios with overlapping sūra texts confirm the traditional sequence.

Etymologically, the term sūra is difficult to trace (see Jeffery, *For. vocab.*), but may have been derived from Hebrew *shūrah*, "line," as well as from Syriac *shūrayā*, "beginning," or short psalms that are sung before the reading of scripture. None of these etymologies, however, is totally convincing. In Arabic, the word makes its first appearance in the Qur'ān itself.

The word sūra is used ten times in the Qur'ān, all of which being rather late (see CHRONOLOGY AND THE QUR'ĀN): The oldest evidence is Q 10:38, "Say, 'Bring a sūra like it and [for assistance] call upon whom you can besides God'" *(qul fa-'tū bi-sūratin mithlihi wa-d'ū mani staṭa'tum min dūni llāhi)*, a verse belonging to the so-called *taḥaddī*-verses (see Radscheit, *Die taḥaddī-Verse*), i.e. the polemic discourse about the inimitability (q.v.) of qur'ānic speech (see also WORD OF GOD; PROVOCATION; CREATEDNESS OF THE QUR'ĀN). The term "sūra" is part of that debate, and it reappears in Q 11:13 and Q 2:23. "Sūra" is employed in more general contexts to cover an unspecified text unit of the revelation (see REVELATION AND INSPIRATION), mostly in polemical contexts (like Q 9:64, 86, 124; see POLEMIC AND POLEMICAL LANGUAGE). It is only used once — in place of the more usual *kitāb* (see BOOK) — in a hymnal annunciation of a revealed text to be communicated (Q 24:1).

Thus, sūra certainly has to do with "text," but not necessarily with a written text (see ORALITY AND WRITING IN ARABIA). It seems to denote a recited text, more precisely, the quantity that is presented in public on a single occasion (see RECITATION OF THE QUR'ĀN). It is, however, highly questionable if the term sūra was used during the Prophet's lifetime to denote the "chapters" of the Qur'ān in general which were only later designated as sūras.

It appears that the sūra in the qur'ānic context fulfills, to some degree, the function of textual subdivisions familiar from Judaism and Christianity (see below; see SCRIPTURE AND THE QUR'ĀN; JEWS AND JUDAISM; CHRISTIANS AND CHRISTIANITY). But, whereas the canonical texts in those traditions have been subdivided for liturgical use only after the completion and canonization of the textual corpus, the arrangement of the qur'ānic text *grosso modo* seems to go back to the oral use of the text in the earliest community, a practice that preceded its codification as a whole (see ORALITY). A number of sūras display the character of intended literary units, composed as such for recitation; others seem to have been extended with repeated use; others again appear as collections of text units rather unrelated to each other that may not have had a *Sitz im Leben* in oral transmission. This complex problem still awaits evaluation. The sūra as an entity with a coherent unity has not yet been adequately studied (see LITERARY STRUCTURES OF THE QUR'ĀN), although there have been, more recently, new approaches, often focusing on Q 12, Sūrat Yūsuf ("Joseph"; see Mir, Coherence; id., The sūra as a unity; id., The qur'ānic story of Joseph; Neuwirth, Zur Struktur; De Premare, Joseph et Muḥammad; Sells, *Approaching the Qur'ān;* id., Literary approach; Waldman, New approaches; see also JOSEPH; NARRATIVES).

In the following, an attempt will be made to trace the development of the sūra from early Meccan, to later Meccan and then to Medinan times (see MECCA; MEDINA; LANGUAGE AND STYLE OF THE QUR'ĀN). Finally, a brief comparison to sections in other scriptures will be undertaken.

Early Meccan sūras

To embark on an analysis of the sūra as a literary form we must first define our stance vis-à-vis the Qur'ān as our textual basis. It is one task to discuss the sūra as a fixed textual unit within the transmitted text and an entirely different task to discuss it in its earlier function as an oral communication whose context was not the entire corpus of the Qur'ān but rather single, earlier qur'ānic communications (see OCCASIONS OF REVELATION) and — perhaps more importantly — individual religious debates (see DEBATE AND DISPUTATION) that must have taken place among the early followers of Muḥammad and their neighbors in their particular cultural milieu, Mecca and Medina. Revisionist scholarship has ruled out the possibility of exploring the situation of the first communications of qur'ānic texts, which are indeed impossible to re-construct in full (see POST-ENLIGHTENMENT ACADEMIC STUDY OF THE QUR'ĀN). Still, to confine the analysis to the canonical shape of the Qur'ān, neglecting both its complex referentialities and its hints to the *Sitz im Leben* of particular text units, would render an insufficient reading. What qur'ānic scholarship still must do is consider systematically both intra-qur'ānic and extra-qur'ānic evidence on the religious situation at the time of the Prophet. Not least the largely blank map of the religious setting of central Arabia has made revisionist scholars look for a different milieu for the genesis of the Qur'ān, jumping over, however, the necessary step of a micro-structural reading of the Qur'ān itself. In what follows, a sketch of the pre-canonical development of the sūra as a literary genre will be attempted.

The earliest sūras must have been those that made use of the particular style related to the pre-Islamic *kāhin,* a soothsayer (q.v.) or seer, who claimed super-human origin for his enunciations. This literary form is known as *saj',* and it consists of short syntactical units marked by an expressive rhyme, often ultima-stressed (see RHYMED PROSE). This pattern of phonetic correspondence between the verse endings *(fāṣila)* is not only more loose than the poetic rhyme *(qāfiya),* but is also more flexible, thus allowing semantically related verses to be bracketed by a rhyme of their own and marked off by clearly distinct verse-groups (see VERSES). The highly sophisticated phonetic structures produced by this style have been evaluated by Michael Sells *(Approaching the Qur'ān).* Among these earliest sūras should be counted the following, which are cited in an order that roughly follows the textual chronology: Q 111, 99-108, 77-97, 73-5, 68-70, 55-6, 51-3. As against those sūras that remain close to the *kāhin* speech model attesting the speaker's ecstatic disposition (e.g. Q 111, 101, 100, 99, 84, 82, 81, 79, 77, etc.), there are other early sūras that in their quiet and solemn mood (Q 95, 94, 93, 87, 74, 73, etc.) remind one of Christian hymns or adaptations of psalms (q.v.) rather than of a pagan ritual such as the performance of the *kāhin* (see also POLYTHEISM AND ATHEISM; IDOLATRY AND IDOLATERS). What they still have in common is the shortness of the verses, which do not exceed one syntactically complete sentence. In those sūras that remind one of the pagan model, the expression itself is often enigmatic, thus stressing the strangeness that adheres to a super-human communication. A striking characteristic of

this style is the use of oaths (q.v.) and oath-clusters (see Neuwirth, Images, and also FORM AND STRUCTURE OF THE QUR'ĀN), conjuring heavenly bodies (see PLANETS AND STARS; SUN; MOON), thunderstorms (see WEATHER) and bands of inimical raiders, all of which are phenomena pertaining to the imagination of desert-dwellers rather than to the stock of images in the monotheistic tradition (see NOMADS; BEDOUIN; DESERT; CITY; NATURE AS SIGNS).

There are equally less menacing oaths that conjure sacred places — including monotheistic shrines — and sacred times, times of the day (see DAY, TIMES OF) that have been known as times of prayer (q.v.) in pre-Islamic times (see Neuwirth, Images and metaphors; see also TIME; SACRED PRECINCTS; SACRED AND PROFANE). These texts document a merger between a "pagan" form and a biblically inspired content. Sūras introduced by oath clusters, thus, are not necessarily imprinted by pagan thinking. On the contrary, the oath-cluster — a very dense and rhythmically dynamic section — is sometimes used to convey the urgency, the threatening closeness of the catastrophe that is the only thing that matters in the monotheistic context: the day of judgment (see LAST JUDGMENT; APOCALYPSE). The clusters here serve as a sign of alarm transposed into the language of the standard Arabian warners (see WARNER), the soothsayers. A comparable re-interpretation of pre-Islamic lore is observable with the other oath-clusters: "pagan" sacred times become ritually occupied by monotheistic cultic acts, a development that is mirrored in the text where praises and prayers continue the oath-cluster (see PRAISE; LAUDATION; PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QUR'ĀN). Moreover, many early sūras are replete with hymnal elements that are standard expressions in Christian and Jewish worship (q.v.; see Baumstark, Jüdischer Gebetstypus; Speyer, *Erzählungen*). The assumption of a strong Christian presence in Mecca and an equally strong Jewish one in its vicinity, at least since the emigration (q.v.; *hijra*), and the familiarity of the Prophet and his followers with Christian and Jewish pious texts of worship, are indispensable for the understanding of the early sūras. "Paganism" in the Qur'ān has to be understood not as a fixed system of beliefs but as the larger common denominator of a multiple and unstable set of elements, already strongly imbued with monotheist notions.

Qur'ānic texts and liturgy

Whereas the imperative to worship is always there (Q 96:1: "recite in the name of your lord who created" *[iqra' bi-smi rabbika lladhī khalaq]*; Q 87:1: "glorify the name of your lord the most high" *[sabbiḥi sma rabbika l-a'lā];* Q 96:19: "and bow down and bring yourself closer" *[wa-sjud wa-qtarib];* Q 73:2-4: "stand [for prayer] much of the night… and recite the Qur'ān" *[qumi l-layla illā qalīlan… wa-rattili l-qur'āna tartīlan]*) and God is always mentioned (in the wording "your lord [q.v.]," *rabbuka*), many texts do not seem to be, first and foremost, addressed to the Prophet, but could equally be addressed to the believer. This is a way of expression familiar from the Psalms where the first-person speaker is not necessarily the author of the psalm (see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF; FAITH). It is thus difficult to decide if a sūra like Q 93 is a reflex of the Prophet's biography or not (see SĪRA AND THE QUR'ĀN). There is an unambiguous paraphrase of a psalm (136) in Q 55, which, however, replaces the memory of salvation (q.v.) history with a focus on the eschatological future (Neuwirth, Qur'ānic literary structure; see ESCHATOLOGY). Still, the view, first presented by Lüling *(Urtext)*, later in a cruder form by Luxenberg *(Die syro-aramäische Lesart)* and

taken into consideration again by Böwering (see CHRONOLOGY AND THE QUR'ĀN) that an existing Christian text may underlie some qur'ānic sections, appears to be merely a hypothesis. The familiar formulas do not make up entire sections or strophes — as Lüling would have it — but are embedded in exhortative (see EXHORTATIONS) or polemical contexts, that, in the early sūras, contrary to the later ones, frequently take the shape of projections of the scenario of the Qur'ān recitation itself, e.g. Q 53:59f.: "Do you wonder at this speech, will you laugh and not weep?… Bow down to God and adore [him]" *(a-fa-min hādha l-ḥadīthi taʿjabun wa-taḍḥakūna wa-lā tabkūn… fa-sjudū lillāhi wa-ʿbudū)*. Particularly the cultic framework in which the Qur'ān was recited seems to have met opposition: Q 77:48-50: "and when it was said to them, 'Prostrate!', they did not do so… and what speech after that will they believe?" *(wa-idhā qīla lahumu rkaʿū lā yarkaʿūn… fa-bi-ayyi ḥadīthin baʿdahu yu'minūn);* Q 107:4-5: "and woe to the worshipers who neglect their prayers" *(fa-waylun lil-muṣallīn alladhīna hum ʿan ṣalātihim sāhūn);* Q 96:9-10: "have you seen the one who prevents the servant from praying" *(a-ra'ayta lladhī yanhā ʿabdan idhā ṣallā;* cf. Q 74:43; 75:31; see Neuwirth, Rezitationstext). The missing reference to the persona of the Prophet as the transmitter in early texts may be due to the still undeveloped consciousness of the speaker's own part in the communication.

There are at the same time unequivocal addresses to the Prophet, like Q 74:2 f.: "Arise and warn and magnify your lord" *(qum fa-andhir wa-rabbaka fa-kabbir),* and his figure gradually becomes prominent in the sūras. Many early sūras end with an exhortation to the Prophet to worship God either in vigils (Q 52:48-9: "and glorify the praise of your lord as you stand and glorify him part of the night and at the setting of the stars" *[wa-sabbiḥ bi-ḥamdi rabbika ḥīna taqūm wa-mina l-layli fa-sabbiḥhu wa-idbāra l-nujūm];* see VIGIL) or to praise him (Q 56:96: "and glorify in the name of your lord the mighty" *[fa-sabbiḥ bi-smi rabbika l-ʿazīm];* Q 93:11: "and speak of the bounty of your lord" *[wa-ammā bi-niʿmati rabbika fa-ḥaddith];* Q 108:2: "and pray to your lord and sacrifice" *[fa-ṣalli li-rabbika wa-nḥar]*). Sometimes he is admonished to worship at the very beginning of a sūra (Q 74:1 f.: "O enshrouded one, arise and warn and magnify your lord" *[yā ayyuhā l-muddaththir qum fa-andhir wa-rabbaka fa-kabbir]*). It appears that the early recitation took place in the framework of already existing rituals (see RITUAL AND THE QUR'ĀN), *ṣalāt,* made up of *rukūʿ* and *sajda* (see BOWING AND PROSTRATION), being evidently already a rite celebrated in Mecca before Muḥammad's mission (Q 53:62; 77:48). These may have taken place in privately held vigils as well as publicly performed rituals.

There is, then, an obvious convergence of the early qur'ānic text to liturgy. Some sūras sound like calls for repentance (see REPENTANCE AND PENANCE) in the face of the imminent coming of the day of judgment. This event is the topic of a number of sūras and is extensively elaborated: The catastrophic events that precede the judgment (q.v.) fill large sections of the early sūras, although the scene of judgment is less clearly described. The retribution — either in punishment by fire (q.v.) or in the admittance to lofty gardens (see GARDEN) — is of special interest (see REWARD AND PUNISHMENT). Indeed, the entire corpus of early texts pursue one task: to convince the listeners of the omnipresence of God (see GOD AND HIS ATTRIBUTES) and thus of the moral responsibility (q.v.) to which they will be held on the last day (see also FREEDOM AND PREDESTINATION). As with the Psalms, the

theme of God's generosity and philanthropic concern enhances his claim to human gratitude (see GRATITUDE AND INGRATITUDE). Also as in the Psalms, events from salvation history are recalled: in Q 51 the story of Abraham (q.v.; Ibrāhīm) and Lot (q.v.; Lūṭ), and in Q 79 the story of Moses (q.v.; Mūsā) and Pharaoh (q.v.; Firʿawn). Both are presented as an exhortation (*ʿibra;* cf. Q 79:26) — and dramatize the divine punishment for transgressors (see SIN, MAJOR AND MINOR; BOUNDARIES AND PRECEPTS). Pharaoh's behavior clearly reflects that of the unbelievers, and his punishment is equally historical and eschatological (see CHASTISEMENT AND PUNISHMENT; HELL AND HELLFIRE).

The Qurʾān developed diverse motifs and structures not known from earlier Arabic literature (see FORM AND STRUCTURE OF THE QURʾĀN). Beside the eschatological prophecies (see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD; FORETELLING) that abound in early Meccan sūras, the so-called *āyāt,* "signs" (q.v.; see also VERSES), are also prominent. Several descriptions of the "biosphere," of copious vegetation, fauna, an agreeable habitat for humans, the natural resources at their disposal, and the like, are incorporated into paraenetic appeals to recognize divine providence and accept divine omnipotence since all these benefits are signs *(āyāt)* bearing a coded message (see AGRICULTURE AND VEGETATION; GRACE; BLESSING). Properly decoded, they will evoke gratitude and submission to the divine will. The perception of nature, which in pre-Islamic poetry (see POETRY AND POETS) appears alien and threatening, provoking the poet's heroic defiance of its roughness, has crystallized in the Qurʾān into the image of a meaningfully organized habitat ensuring human welfare and arousing the awareness of belonging (see GEOGRAPHY).

"Signs" *(āyāt)* of divine omnipotence may also manifest themselves in history. Whereas extended narratives are prevalent in later Meccan texts, very short narratives — an invasion of Mecca (Q 105) repelled by divine intervention (see PEOPLE OF THE ELEPHANT), the Thamūd (q.v.) myth about a divine punishment of disbelievers (Q 91:11-15; see PUNISHMENT STORIES), the story of Pharaoh and Moses (Q 79:15-26) — or ensembles of narratives like that in Q 51 including Abraham and Lot, Moses and Pharaoh, the ʿĀd (q.v.), the Thamūd, and Noah (q.v.; Nūḥ) — or evocations of stories (Q 52, 53, 69), occur from the earliest sūras onward. The latter sometimes form lists (Q 89). Somewhat longer narratives are introduced by the formula known from *āyāt* on nature, "have you not seen" *(a-lam tara…),* later "and when…" *(wa-idh [faʿala]…),* i.e. they are assumed to be known to the listeners. It is noteworthy that the longer narratives from early Meccan texts onward are split into equal halves, thus producing proportionate structures (Q 51:24-37; 79:15-26; 68:17-34). Narratives then develop into retribution legends or punishment stories, serving to prove that divine justice (see JUSTICE AND INJUSTICE) is at work in history, the harassed just being rewarded with salvation, the transgressors and the unbelievers punished by annihilation. At the same time, legends that are located in the Arabian peninsula may be read as re-interpretations of ancient Arabian representations of deserted space. Sites no longer lie in ruins due to preordained natural processes, but because of an equilibrium, maintained by divine providence, that balances between human actions and human welfare. Deserted sites thus acquire a meaning; they carry a divine message (see GENERATIONS; GEOGRAPHY).

From the middle Meccan sūras onward, polemical and apologetic sections (see

APOLOGETICS) still do not refer to theoretical, let alone dogmatic, issues in the early sūras. In these middle Meccan texts, polemical utterances are more often than not directed against listeners who do not comply with the exigencies of the behavioral norms of the cult. These listeners are reprimanded by the speaker *in situ* (Q 53:59 f.). Sometimes curses are uttered against absent persons (Q 111:1 f.) or against humankind in general (Q 80:17; see CURSE). In other cases menaces are directed at the ungrateful or pretentious (Q 114:1; see ARROGANCE; INSOLENCE AND OBSTINACY), and these may merge into a catalogue of vices (Q 107:2-7; see VIRTUES AND VICES, COMMANDING AND FORBIDDING). Whereas in most of the early cases the adversaries are not granted an opportunity to reply, later sūras do present the voices of both sides.

Later Meccan surās

Sūras introduced by oath-clusters — the most graphic reference to the *kāhin* speech model — are no longer present once the sūra becomes complex and polythematic. A turn in paradigm occurs with Q 15, a text that triumphantly declares the achievement of another qurʾānic text: Sūrat al-Fātiḥa ("The Opening," Q 1; see Neuwirth, Referentiality; id., Sūrat al-Fātiḥa; see FĀTIḤA). Here, for the first time, an allusion is made to the existence of a particular form of service in which scripture functions as the cardinal section. In such sūras, the references to the Meccan sanctuary *(ḥaram)* as the central warrant for the social coherence of the community have been replaced by new symbols. Instead of introductory allusions to liturgical times and sacred space we encounter an evocation of the book, be it clad in an oath (Q 36:2; 37:3; 38:1; 43:2; 44:2; 50:1) or in a deictic affirmation of its presence (Q 2:2; 10:1; 12:1; 13:1, etc.).

Moreover, a new framework of the message in terms of space is recognizable. Later Meccan sūras broaden the scope of space for the listeners, who are transported from their local surroundings to a distant landscape, the holy land, familiar as the setting where the history of the community's spiritual forebears took place. The introduction of the direction of prayer towards Jerusalem (q.v.), the "first *qibla* (q.v.)," is an unequivocal testimony of this change in orientation (see Neuwirth, Spiritual meaning). The innovation is reflected in Q 17. In view of the increasing interest in the biblical heritage, it comes as no surprise that the bulk of the middle and late Meccan sūras seem to mirror a monotheistic worship service, starting with an initial dialogical section (apologetic, polemic, paraenetic) and closing with a related section, most frequently an affirmation of the revelation. These framing sections have been compared to the ecclesiastic *ecteniae,* i.e. initial and concluding *responsoria* recited by the priest or deacon and responded to by the community. The center of the monotheistic worship service and, similarly, of the fully developed sūra of the middle and late Meccan period is occupied by a biblical reminiscence — in the case of the service, a *lectio,* and in the case of the sūra, a narrative focusing on biblical protagonists. Ritual coherence has thus given way to scriptural coherence, with the more complex later sūras referring to scripture both by their transmission of scriptural texts and by their being themselves dependent on the mnemonic-technicalities of writing for their conservation. It is true, however, that already in later Meccan sūras the distinct tripartite composition often becomes blurred, with narratives gradually being replaced by discursive sections. Many compositions also display secondary expansions — a phenomenon that still re-

quires further investigation. Yet, for the bulk of the middle and late Meccan sūras, the claim of a tripartite composition is sustainable (see Neuwirth, Vom Rezitationstext).

Salvation history

The Qurʾān is often criticized for lacking a chronological framework for the events of pre-qurʾānic history and for the repetitiveness of its narrative. While this accusation may hold true for the earliest qurʾānic discourse, that of eschatology, the situation changes substantially when a new paradigm is adopted. This new paradigm switches the focus from the deserted sites of the real homeland to the orbit of the messengers of the People of the Book (q.v.), whose discourse as intermediaries between God and man is much more sophisticated (see MESSENGER; HEAVENLY BOOK; PRESERVED TABLET).

Although initially embedded in catalogues of narratives of a partly extra-biblical tradition, stories about major biblical figures like Moses and a number of patriarchs known from the Book of Genesis gradually acquire a function of their own. They become the stock inventory of the central part of the longer Meccan sūras and only rarely do they appear in other positions. As mentioned earlier, sūras from the second Meccan period onward often form an ensemble that mirrors the enactment of a monotheistic service where the central position is occupied by the reading of scriptural texts. These sections are often explicitly related to a divine source labeled *kitāb*. In the qurʾānic context, they are embedded in a more extensive recital, whose initiatory and concluding sections may contain liturgical but also less universal elements such as debates about ephemeral community issues. The ceremonial function of the biblically inspired narrative as a festive presentation of the book is underlined by introductory formulas (Q 19:16: "and mention Mary in the book" *[wa-dhkur fī l-kitābi maryam]*). At a later stage, when the particular form of the revelation communicated to the Muslim community is regarded as a virtual scripture of its own, i.e. when community matters are acknowledged as part of salvation history, whole sūras figure as manifestations of *al-kitāb*.

The phenomenon of recurring narratives in the Qurʾān, retold in slightly diverging fashions, has often been interpreted as mere repetitions, i.e. as a deficiency of the Qurʾān. They deserve, however, to be studied as testimonies of the consecutive emergence of a community and thus reflective of the process of canonization. They point to a progressively changing narrative pact, to a continuing education of the listeners, and to the development of a moral consensus that is reflected in the texts. In later Meccan and Medinan sūras, when a large number of narratives are presupposed as being well known to the listeners, the position previously occupied by salvation history narratives is replaced by mere evocations of narratives and debates about them.

As was mentioned above, the early — and densely structured — parts of the Qurʾān reflect an ancient Arabic linguistic *ductus,* termed *sajʿ,* a prose style marked by very short and concise sentences with frequently changing patterns of particularly clear-cut, often phonetically expressive rhymes. Once this style has, in the later sūras, given way to a more loose flow of prose, with verses often exceeding one complete sentence, the rhyme end takes the form of a simple *-ūn* or *-īn* pattern, which in most cases is achieved through a morpheme denoting masculine plural. One wonders how this rather mechanically applied and inconspicuous ending should suffice to fulfill the listeners' anticipation of an end marker of the verse.

Upon closer examination, however, one discovers that the rhyme as such is no longer charged with this end-marker function, but there is instead another device to mark the end. The verse concludes with an entire syntactically stereotypical rhymed phrase, which one may term cadenza — in analogy to the final part of speech units in Gregorian chants which, through their particular sound pattern, arouse the expectation of an ending. In the Qurʾān what is repeated is not only the identical musical sound but a linguistic pattern as well: a widely stereotypical phrasing. The musical sound pattern comes to enhance the message encoded in the qurʾānic cadenza-phrase that in many instances introduces a meta-discourse. Many cadenza-phrases are semantically distinguished from their context and add a moral comment to it, such as "truly, you were one of the sinners" (*innaki kunti min al-khāṭiʾīn,* Q 12:29). They thus transcend the main narrative or argumentative flow of the sūra, introducing a spiritual dimension: divine approval or disapproval. They may also refer to one of God's attributes, like "God is powerful over everything" (*wa-kāna llāhu ʿalā kulli shayʾin qadīran,* Q 33:27; see POWER AND IMPOTENCE), which in the later stages of qurʾānic development become parameters of ideal human behavior. These meta-narrative insertions into the narrative or argumentative fabric which would, of course, in a written text, be meant for silent reading, appear rather disturbing, delaying the information process. They add, however, fundamentally to the impact of the oral recitation (see Neuwirth, Zur Struktur; see also VERSES; RECITERS OF THE QURʾĀN). The Qurʾān thus — as Nicolai Sinai has expressed it — consciously styles itself as a text evolving on different, yet closely intertwined, levels of discourse and mediality. Although it is true that not all multipartite verses bear such formulaic endings, cadenzas may be considered characteristic of the later Meccan and all the Medinan qurʾānic texts. The resounding cadenza, thus, replaces the earlier expressive rhyme pattern, marking a new and irreversible development in the emergence of the text and of the new faith. It immediately creates a new literary form within Arabic literature.

Types of Medinan sūras

In Medina, sūras not only give up their tripartite scheme, but they also display much less sophistication in the patterns of their composition. One type may be aptly termed the "rhetorical" sūra or sermon (Q 22, 24, 33, 47, 48, 49, 57-66; see RHETORIC AND THE QURĀN); they consist of an address to the community whose members are called upon directly by formulas such as *yā ayyuhā l-nās* (Q 22:1, "Oh people"). In these sūras, which in some cases (Q 59, 61, 62, 64) are stereotypically introduced by initial hymnal formulas strongly reminiscent of the biblical Psalms, the Prophet *(al-nabī)* no longer appears as a mere transmitter of the message but as one personally addressed by God (Q 33:28, "Oh Prophet" *[yā ayyuhā l-nabī]*) or as an agent acting synergistically with the divine persona (Q 33:22, "God and his Prophet" *[allāhu wa-rasūluhu]*). A particularly graphic testimony of the new self-positioning of the Prophet is Q 33, particularly Q 33:56.

As against these "monolithic" addresses, the bulk of the Medinan sūras are the most complex of the entire Qurʾān. Most of the so-called "long sūras" (*ṭiwāl al-suwar,* e.g. Q 2-10) cease to be neatly structured compositions, but appear to be the result of a process of collection that we can not yet reconstruct (see COLLECTION OF THE QURʾĀN). Initial attempts to claim an intended structure for some of these sūras have been made by Zahniser (Word of God); but a systematic study of all these sūras is still an urgent desideratum in the field.

Since we have to understand the Qurʾān's

development as one strain of a double process that will result in both a scripture and a cultus, the long sūras are most interesting as milestones of the development of the ritual backdrop of the qurʾānic communication process. Though their structure may be secondary, their message sheds important light on particular ritual changes whose symbolic value cannot be underestimated.

Although occasional regulations — mostly concerning cultic matters — do occur in Meccan sūras, more elaborate regulations about not only cultic but also communal affairs figure prominently in the Medinan context (see LAW AND THE QURʾĀN). Their binding force is sometimes underlined by a reference to the transcendent source: "it is prescribed for you" (*kutiba ʿalaykum,* Q 2:183-7). Among the most important ritual rulings is the ruling concerning the new direction of prayer, the *qibla,* towards Mecca (Q 2:143f.). This ruling marks the separation of the community from the Jewish listeners who earlier had been among the receivers of the Qurʾān — a situation that had provoked a re-reading of earlier texts that had been done from the perspective of particular rabbinical discourses (Neuwirth, Oral scriptures). Other important rulings concern the three pillars of what was to become Islamic cultus and liturgy: the establishment of a weekly communal service, the *ṣalāt al-jumuʿa* (cf. Q 62:9; see FRIDAY PRAYER), the implementation of a fast (see RAMAḌĀN; FASTING), introduced with reference to the Jewish fast — both still preceding the exclusion of the Jews — and the introduction of the *ḥajj* ceremony into the festive canon (Q 2:196 f., 22:27 f.; see PILGRIMAGE). The Medinan regulations do not display any structured composition, nor do they form part of neatly composed units; they suggest, rather, later insertions into loosely connected contexts.

Time, thus, in the Medinan sūras becomes structured by an emerging Islamic cultus. Simultaneously, the historical flow of significant events starts to inform the consciousness of the community; indeed, they enter the Qurʾān as part of salvation history that is now perceived as encompassing the emerging Islamic community (see COMMUNITY AND SOCIETY IN THE QURʾĀN). A new element appearing in Medinan sūras are accounts of contemporary events experienced or enacted by the community, such as the battle of Badr (q.v.; Q 3:123), Uḥud (Q 3:155-74), the expulsion of the Banū l-Naḍīr (Q 59:2-5; see NAḌĪR, BANŪ L-), the siege of Khaybar (Q 48:15), the expedition to Tabūk (Q 9:29-35; see EXPEDITIONS AND BATTLES) or the farewell sermon of the Prophet in Q 5:1-3 (see FAREWELL PILGRIMAGE). It is noteworthy that these reports do not display a special artistic literary shaping, nor do they betray any particular pathos. It comes as no surprise, then, that, unlike the situation in Judaism and Christianity, where biblical history has been fused to form a mythical drama of salvation, no such great narrative has arisen from the Qurʾān itself. A metahistorical blueprint of the genesis of Islam was constructed only later, through the *sīra*.

Sūra — *parashah* — *perikope*

The surely ancient division of the Qurʾān into sections, some of which may already have been called sūras during the Prophet's lifetime, has ruled out a later pericopization such as occurred in Judaism and Christianity (see Neuwirth, Three religious feasts). Both Judaic and Christian orthodoxy bind biblical texts to particular temporal frames. To quote Yerushalmi (*Jewish history,* 15 f.):

The Pentateuchal narratives, which brought the historical record up to the

eve of the conquest of Canaan, together with the weekly lesson from the prophets, were read aloud in the synagogue from beginning to end. The public reading was completed triennially in Palestine, annually in Babylonia (as is the custom today), and immediately the reading would begin again.

In an analogous way, the Gospels (q.v.) in the Orthodox churches — having replaced in Christianity the Torah (q.v.) as the core of scriptures — are distributed over the course of the year, "cut" into pericopes (Greek *perikope*) and thus reflect the Jewish reading of weekly chapters of the Torah (Hebrew *parashah*). This cycle of readings from the core of the scripture is accompanied, as in Judaism, by a second sequence of texts taken from other parts of the scriptures. The Pauline letters (Greek *apostolos*) and additional readings from the historical or prophetic books of the Hebrew Bible (Greek *propheteia*) are meant to elucidate the pericopes from the core texts, the Gospels. This, of course, continues the tradition of the readings from the prophets in Judaism (Hebrew *haftarah*), a corpus undisputed in its rank as a vital complement and a necessary exegetical context for the Torah.

As against that, no annual cycle of scriptural reading exists in Islam; the qurʾānic text has never been divided into required weekly or daily portions to be read out in public services. That means that a continuous recollection of salvation history from creation (q.v.) to redemption, as in Christianity (see also FALL OF MAN), does not take place during the weekly ritual nor is the believers' predicants and salvation — their ever again being saved by divine intervention, as in Judaism —, made present through the weekly service. Sūras as such — even if arranged in an annual cycle of recitations — would not fulfill the task of the *parashah* or *perikope* to "represent" salvation history. Reflective as the sūras are of certain stages of the proto-Muslim communal development, they lack interest in an extended linear memorial representation of salvation history in its entirety. Yet the Qurʾān has been justly credited with having generated "a ceremonial of textual repetition with a pronouncedly obsessional character" (al-Azmeh, Muslim canon). This is, of course, due to its very structure, which predisposes it to be chanted. As the reciter with his chant re-enacts the practice of the Prophet's own recitation, he is — like the Prophet — free to select "whatever is easy for him to recite" (cf. Q 73:20, *mā tayassara mina l-qurʾāni*) be it an entire sūra or only a section of it.

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Surrender see WAR; FIGHTING

Suspicion

Feeling, thought or instance of tentative belief without ground or sufficient evidence; an inclination to accuse or doubt the innocence of someone or to question the genuineness or truth of something. The adjective "suspicious" denotes someone or something that arouses distrust, that appears to be neither sound nor trustworthy (see TRUST AND PATIENCE). The meaning of the English word suspicion and various other forms of the verb to suspect are conveyed by a number of Arabic words that can be derived from the roots *z-n-n, r-y-b, sh-b-h, t-h-m, sh-k-k*. Some of these words, however, belong to the semantic field of suspicion only in a wider sense and when accompanied by particular other terms, since they originally denote acts of accusation, expressions of doubt and distrust or other kinds of thought (see UNCERTAINTY).

Suspicion — in the sense of entertaining thoughts without evidence or doubts about the existence of God and his power (see POLYTHEISM AND ATHEISM; GRATITUDE AND INGRATITUDE; POWER AND IMPOTENCE) or about the genunineness of his messengers (see MESSENGER; PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD; LIE) — is represented in various places in the Qurʾān as an attitude that displays or leads to unbelief (see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF). For example, in Q 41:22-3 the enemies (q.v.) of God are described as people who wrongly thought *(zanna)* that God would be unable to know what they were doing (see HIDDEN AND THE HIDDEN); such people will be punished on the day of final judgment for the wrongs they commited based on this suspicion (see LAST JUDGMENT; REWARD AND PUNISHMENT). Q 45:24 mentions the lack of knowledge (*ʿilm;* see KNOWLEDGE AND LEARNING;

IGNORANCE) that is compounded by suspicion and speculation *(yazunnūna)* as a trait of the atheists who believe that only time (q.v.) will determine their fate (q.v.). The followers of Muḥammad who failed to support him during his campaign against the enemies of God are described in Q 3:154 as temporarily entertaining suspicious thoughts about God *(yazunnūna bi-llāhi ghayra l-ḥaqqi)* that resemble those that are characteristic for the times of pre-Islamic paganism (see HYPOCRITES AND HYPOCRISY; AGE OF IGNORANCE; EXPEDITIONS AND BATTLES). In Q 6:116 the believer is enjoined not to adopt the opinion of the majority of those living on earth because they follow but their conjecture. Q 10:36 implies that the unbelievers replace firm reliance on the truth (q.v.; *ḥaqq*) as announced by God with pure conjecture *(zann)*. Also in other verses, words of the root *z-n-n* are used to describe the suspicion of those who doubt the capacities of God or his messengers, as in Q 72:7, where Muḥammad, referring to a dream (see DREAMS AND SLEEP), puts those among the jinn (q.v.) who are of the opinion that God is not able to raise anyone on the day of final judgment in the context of unbelief (see RESURRECTION; DEATH AND THE DEAD; ESCHATOLOGY). In Q 12:110 even some messengers of God are described as losing faith (q.v.) and temporarily suspecting *(zannū)* that God has told them lies. There are other passages in the holy scripture where suspicion is mentioned without any reference to words that originate from the root *z-n-n.* For example, this is the case in the episode of Q 24:11-20 in which the Prophet's wife, ʿĀʾisha (see WIVES OF THE PROPHET; ʿĀʾISHA BINT ABĪ BAKR), is suspected of an aberration without any justification and where the believers are enjoined not to speak of something of which they have no knowledge (see GOSSIP).

Firm and unquestioned belief in the power of God and in the truth of his messengers is an indispensible characteristic of the true believers, who distinguish themselves from the unbelievers in that they do not doubt *(lam yartābū)* the existence of God or his messengers (Q 49:15). Suspicion is identified also as ethically reprehensible in Q 49:12, where the believers are called upon to avoid undue suspicion *(zann)* as an act that in some cases is tantamount to a sin (*ithm;* see SIN, MAJOR AND MINOR; ETHICS AND THE QURʾĀN).

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Sustenance

Nutritional or financial support. In its various and numerous nominal-verbal forms, the root consonants *r-z-q* provide the key qurʾānic sense of "sustenance" understood more particularly as that which sustains life (q.v.) and health (see ILLNESS AND HEALTH) but in places suggests, too, that which provides a livelihood (see WEALTH). Another word signifying "sustenance" (*aqwāt,* sing. *qūt*) occurs once only (Q 41:10) in a description of God's creation (q.v.) of the world. The great provider or sustainer (Q 5:114; 22:58; 62:11) is, of course, God (see GOD AND HIS ATTRIBUTES), who orders people in Q 2:60 to "Eat and drink of God's sustenance" (and cf. Q 20:131 f.; see FOOD AND DRINK). In other places this sustenance *(rizq)* is described as "honor-

able" (*karīm,* Q 8:4; 22:50; 33:31) or "lawful" (*ṭayyibāt,* Q 7:32; see LAWFUL AND UNLAWFUL), or "goodly" (*ḥasan,* Q 16:67; see GOOD AND EVIL). It constitutes one of God's "signs" (q.v.; *āyāt,* Q 45:5; cf. 40:13); and it is even evidence of the genuineness of prophecy (Q 11:88; see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD; REVELATION AND INSPIRATION). In one instance, a more strictly secular context is found in Q 18:19 where it means provisions purchased from a city (q.v.) market (see MARKETS).

The concept illustrates the central qurʾānic theme of the uniqueness of God over and against other mere pretensions to divinity (see POLYTHEISM AND ATHEISM) and the dependence of everything upon his power (see POWER AND IMPOTENCE), will (see FREEDOM AND PREDESTINATION) and mercy (q.v.). Having created the jinn (q.v.) and humankind to worship (q.v.) him, God has no need that they give him sustenance (Q 51:57). Indeed, Abraham (q.v.) warned his people (see WARNER) that the idols (see IDOLS AND IMAGES) they worshiped could not even provide their daily bread (q.v.), so they should seek instead the bounty of God (Q 2:22; 16:73; 29:17), whose sustenance was better and more abiding (Q 20:131). Compared to God, comments al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923), idols could neither harm nor benefit, neither create nor provide for their followers. God's power, on the other hand, was such that he could increase or restrict the livelihood of whomsoever he wished (Q 13:26; 29:62; 30:37; 34:36). This applied equally to rewards in the afterlife as in this life (see REWARD AND PUNISHMENT; CHASTISEMENT AND PUNISHMENT; ESCHATOLOGY), as God possessed the keys to both (Q 42:12; also Q 65:1). Al-Ṭabarī observes that he who revelled in the life of this world was ignorant of the favor and felicity of the afterlife that God bestowed on those who believed (see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF) and obeyed (see OBEDIENCE). Yet, whosoever enjoyed God's bounty in greater abundance than others enjoy and was loath to share with those for whom he was responsible denied God's blessings (Q 4:8 f.; 16:71; also Q 22:28, on giving to the distressed and needy; see LIE; POVERTY AND THE POOR). The collections of al-Bukhārī (d. 256/870) and Muslim (d. 261/875) preserve the Prophet's saying that a dependent whom God has placed under one's authority (q.v.) must be fed and clothed in the same measure as one would treat himself (see MAINTENANCE AND UPKEEP; ORPHANS). If conditions of poverty caused fear that one's children (q.v.) could not be fed, clothed and sheltered, they must not be killed, for God would provide for all (Q 6:151; see INFANTICIDE).

The believer's proper response to God's munificence, as throughout the Qurʾān, is gratitude (Q 29:17; see GRATITUDE AND INGRATITUDE). In one passage (Q 36:47), however, the echo of debate with unbelievers (see DEBATE AND DISPUTATION; PROVOCATION) is found in their mocking rejoinder to being urged to spend on others from what God had provided them: "Shall we feed anyone whom, if (your) God had willed, he could have fed himself?"

Ibn Khaldūn (d. 784/1382), citing Q 29:17, "So, seek sustenance from God," distinguishes between God-given "sustenance" and "profit," the latter being that part of a person's livelihood obtained by one's own effort and strength (see WORK). He alludes to, but does not discuss, the Muʿtazilī argument of sustenance that they insist must be rightfully gained and possessed (see MUʿTAZILA; THEOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN).

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Suwā' see IDOLS AND IMAGES

Swear see OATH; CURSE

Swine see LAWFUL AND UNLAWFUL; FOOD AND DRINK

Symbolic Imagery

The use of allusion and figurative language to produce vivid descriptions and complex levels of meaning. The symbolic imagery in the Qur'ān arises out of the symbolic imagery of previous revelations as well as out of the poetic conventions of pre-Islamic Arabia (see SCRIPTURE AND THE QUR'ĀN; POETRY AND POETS; PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QUR'ĀN). While a key verse in the Qur'ān (Q 3:7) has sometimes been read to suggest that Muslims should not attempt to interpret its more ambiguous (q.v.) or symbolic passages, most Muslim exegetes (see EXEGESIS OF THE QUR'ĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL) have not shied away from examining the symbolic imagery that radiates from virtually every chapter of the sacred text. Since the Qur'ān is first and foremost an oral text (see ORALITY; ORALITY AND WRITING IN ARABIA; RECITATION OF THE QUR'ĀN), studies of symbolic imagery should not be limited to its visual dimension but should also take into account its aural dimension. At this stage in qur'ānic studies, however, much more attention has been paid to the Qur'ān's visual symbolism and the discussion that follows will focus upon examples of this visual dimension of qur'ānic imagery with particular emphasis on its use of paired symbolic concepts (see PAIRS AND PAIRING).

Symbolic imagery of paradise and hellfire

Passages throughout the Qur'ān use rich figurative language, often employing symbols that refer to desert life (see BEDOUIN; ARABS) or to poetic conventions that would have been familiar to those who first heard the revelations in seventh century Arabia. For example, Angelika Neuwirth has shown how the Qur'ān combines oath statements (see OATHS) with symbolic allusions to tribal raids in order to construct meaning through what she calls a "matrix of images" or *Bildmatrix* (see Neuwirth, Images; see also RHETORIC AND THE QUR'ĀN; FORM AND STRUCTURE OF THE QUR'ĀN). The qur'ānic use of desert imagery takes place on a more mundane level as well, for instance in its juxtaposition of the heat of the open desert with the cool of the oasis (see HOT AND COLD), a contrast that would have been immediately comprehensible to anyone living in such an environment. Understanding this latter type of symbolic imagery helps one to understand the juxtaposition between the tortures of the fire (q.v.) of hell (see HELL AND HELLFIRE) and the pleasures of the garden (q.v.) of paradise (q.v.). In addition, the cool oasis evokes the trope of the fertile garden and the remembrance of the lost beloved that typically opens the early Arabian odes. The example of the garden thus illustrates how pre-existing associations serve as a vast repository of symbols that the Qur'ān draws upon in order to produce meaning in a new Islamic context.

The Qur'ān uses some of its most frequent symbolic imagery to refer to the two abodes of the next life, paradise and hellfire. Although different passages sometimes expand upon distinct aspects of paradise,

this realm is almost invariably depicted as a garden of cool, luxurious abundance through which rivers flow (see WATER OF PARADISE; SPRINGS AND FOUNTAINS). Hellfire, on the other hand, becomes associated with a number of more complex depictions and allusions, evoked through Arabic terms such as *jahannam, jaḥīm, hāwiya, ḥuṭama,* and the most basic, *al-nār,* "the fire." Although these varied terms are connected to the idea of judgment (q.v.) and hellfire in some fashion, to collapse them into one collective term "hell" is to do violence to the subtleties of the qurʾānic symbolic discourse (Sells, *Approaching,* 24-6). The Qurʾān refers to fire in a personified form in a couple of cases (Q 21:40; 70:15-18) and in another as a metonym for idolatry (Q 40:41-2; see Sabbagh, *Métaphore,* 90; see IDOLATRY AND IDOLATERS). It is important to recognize, however, that the Qurʾān does not always use fire as synonymous with hellfire, idolatry or evil (see GOOD AND EVIL). For instance, a verse compares the light (q.v.) of a campfire a person builds to the light of guidance that God is able to take away (Q 2:17; cf. also the fire image in the famous "Light Verse" of Q 24:35).

Just as fire is a multivalent symbol in the Qurʾān, despite its frequent association with hellfire, so water (q.v.) expresses multiple values, despite its frequent association with paradise. As discussed above, references to the rivers of paradise are ubiquitous and the sending down of rain is often connected symbolically to God's sending down of revelations (Q 30:49; 31:34; 42:28; see Toelle, *Coran,* 115-20; cf. Lings, Qoranic symbolism; see REVELATION AND INSPIRATION) or blessings (see BLESSING; GRACE). Water also appears in the Qurʾān with reference to the flood, the treacherous seas and the destructive capacities of rain (see WEATHER; PUNISHMENT STORIES). The complex use of water symbolism also appears in pre-Islamic poetry and evokes the worldview of the desert environment in which the Qurʾān was first revealed.

Symbolic pairs that distinguish belief from unbelief

As with hellfire and paradise, the Qurʾān contains a number of other paired concepts whose symbolic meanings transcend their simple juxtaposition. One of the most important of these paired concepts is the distinction between belief and unbelief (q.v.). This binary relationship forms the basis for a whole series of symbolic binaries in the Qurʾān: from hearing and deafness (q.v.; see also ANATOMY and EARS) to sight and blindness (see VISION AND BLINDNESS; SEEING AND HEARING; EYES); from fertile and withered crops (see AGRICULTURE AND VEGETATION) to the split between humans and animals (see ANIMAL LIFE); from the distinction between the straight path and wandering lost (see ASTRAY; ERROR) to the ubiquitous imagery of light and darkness (q.v.). The juxtaposition between the believers and their adversaries (see ENEMIES) in the Qurʾān provides the basis for some of the most expressive of its similes (q.v.), metaphors (see METAPHOR), and parables (see PARABLE).

For instance, the aforementioned Light Verse (Q 24:35; see VERSES) offers an image of God as light and of God's light as of an oil lamp in a niche. These images form complex symbols that have generated multiple and diverse interpretations by Muslim exegetes. The images are followed by the idea of light as a symbol of God's guidance: "God guides to his light whom he wills, God strikes parables for people, and in all things God is most knowing" (see FREEDOM AND PREDESTINATION; KNOWLEDGE AND LEARNING). This equation between light and guidance is

developed in a number of other passages (e.g. Q 2:257; 4:174; 14:5) and is sometimes explicitly associated with God's revelations of the scriptures (e.g. Q 5:15, 44, 46).

In addition to the "parables" *(amthāl)* mentioned in the Light Verse, the verses that immediately follow it contrast the believers who remember God with the disbelievers who presumably do not (see MEMORY; REMEMBRANCE; GRATITUDE AND INGRATITUDE), the latter of whom are described in a pair of expressive similes:

And [as for] those who disbelieve, their works are like a mirage in a level plain that the thirsty one considers water until he comes to it and finds nothing… Or like darkness in a fathomless sea, covered by wave upon wave, over which are dark clouds, some above others. When one puts out one's hand, one almost cannot see it. He for whom God does not make a light, he does not have a light (Q 24:39-40).

The first of these similes makes use once again of the imagery of the desert, where one who has gone astray and is dying of thirst believes his deeds are bringing him to water, while they are actually bringing him to nothing (cf. Q 13:14). In other passages, the Qurʾān employs different similes to suggest the futility of the deeds of those who deny the qurʾānic message, comparing their deeds to ashes (q.v.) blown about (Q 14:18; see GOOD DEEDS; EVIL DEEDS; AIR AND WIND) or to empty noises and gestures (Q 8:35). In the above passage, the water imagery derives from the idea of paradise as a garden in which rivers flow, a destination that this wayward traveler mistakenly believes is ahead of him. The second simile that follows the famous Light Verse is sometimes known as the Darkness Verse (Q 24:40) and it enriches the image of the light of God's guidance with a description of the darkness surrounding the unbeliever. Not only is such a person without a light but surging and billowing darkness encompasses him or her on all sides: the deep and dark waters below, the layers of wave upon wave all around, the layers of dark clouds above, resulting in darkness so complete that sight is practically impossible. The symbolism of this Darkness Verse not only refers back to the Light Verse that precedes it and the idea of guidance, but it also evokes the vision/blindness binary as a trope for the distinction between belief and unbelief, as mentioned previously.

While images of light and darkness are frequently associated with the idea of guidance or lack thereof, another qurʾānic symbol associated with this idea is that of the straight road or path (*al-ṣirāṭ al-mustaqīm;* see PATH OR WAY). This symbol implies that there are many ways to travel off the straight road, all of which will lead one to wander astray. The "opening" chapter of the Qurʾān, Sūrat al-Fātiḥa (see FĀTIḤA) mentions this trope in its verse, "Guide us on the straight road" (Q 1:6), and this same straight road appears in at least thirty other qurʾānic passages. In a few eschatological passages, this concept of a straight path takes concrete form in the image of the narrow bridge that spans the chasm between this world and the next (see ESCHATOLOGY).

In other passages, the symbol of the road or path appears in a related but somewhat broader symbolic context, for example when the Qurʾān describes righteous behavior as climbing the steep uphill pass (*al-ʿaqaba,* Q 90:11). The text explains the symbol in the following fashion:

What can tell you of the steep pass?
To free a slave (see SLAVES AND SLAVERY)
To feed the destitute on a day of hunger (see FAMINE),
a kinsman orphan (q.v.),

or a poor man in need (see POVERTY AND THE POOR).
Be of those who keep the faith (q.v.), who counsel one another to patience (see TRUST AND PATIENCE), who counsel to compassion. They are of the right (see LEFT HAND AND RIGHT HAND). As for those who cast our signs (q.v.) away, they are of the left; over them a vault of fire (Q 90:12-20).

This passage begins with a mysterious symbolic reference, signaled by the use of the phrase "what can tell you of" *(mā adrāka mā)* which typically introduces terms that require further elaboration. The allusion to the "steep pass" *(ʿaqaba)* here is followed by an explanation of the term as a spiritual metaphor.

The description of the "steep pass" above illustrates another category of binary symbols found in the Qurʾān, the juxtaposition between left and right as morally-charged concepts. While this juxtaposition is obviously an ancient one, the qurʾānic discourse was revealed in the context of an Arabian culture in which the left hand was considered unclean and the right was used for swearing oaths (see CONTRACTS AND ALLIANCES). In addition, the Qurʾān refers to people "whom your right hand possesses" in reference to those people under one's control, such as war captives (q.v.) or slaves (e.g. Q 4:3, 24-5, 33-6; 24:33, 58; 30:28). The passage above, however, shows how other verses in the Qurʾān invest the categories of left and right with moral signification, associating the former with evil and the latter with good (see ETHICS AND THE QURʾĀN). The distinction between the "people of the right" *(aṣḥāb al-yamīn/al-maymana)* and the "people of the left" *(aṣḥāb al-mashʾama/al-shimāl)* in Q 90 above is elucidated at greater length in Q 56. Here the former are said to rest contentedly in a garden paradise, while the latter face punishment in a scorching hellfire (Q 56:8-9, 27-38, 41-56, 90-4; see REWARD AND PUNISHMENT). Yet other passages depict the blessed receiving their book of deeds in their right hands on the last day (see HEAVENLY BOOK; LAST JUDGMENT), as opposed to those unfortunate enough to be given their books in another fashion. Such examples illustrate the symbolic weight that the Qurʾān invests in the concepts of right and left, especially when it comes to eschatological judgment.

Imagery of the last day

Beyond the eschatological references discussed above, the Qurʾān presents graphic descriptions of what the world will be like on the last day (see APOCALYPSE). In these passages, those things thought to be stable are ripped apart, the graves are opened and the earth yields up its secrets as if a mother giving birth (e.g. Q 99). One particularly striking apocalyptic passage is found in Q 101, The Calamity (Sūrat al-Qāriʿa), in which the phrase "what can tell you" appears twice to introduce two presumably unfamiliar concepts:

The *qāriʿa*
What is the *qāriʿa*
What can tell you of the *qāriʿa*
A day humankind are like moths scattered *(ka-l-farāsh al-mabthūth)*
And mountains are like fluffs of wool *(ka-l-ʿihn al-manfūsh)*
Whoever's scales weigh heavy *(thaqulat mawāzīnuhu;* see WEIGHTS AND MEASURES)
His is a life that is pleasing *(rāḍiya)*
Whoever's scales weigh light *(khaffatun mawāzīnuhu)*
His mother is *hāwiya* (see PIT)
What can tell you what she is *(wa-mā adrāka mā hiya)*
Raging fire (*nārun ḥāmiyatun,* Q 101:1-11).

This sūra offers a pair of similes to help describe the "calamity" *(al-qāriʿa)* through

symbolic images. The image of people becoming like "moths scattered" conjures up ideas of confused dispersion, rapid movement and mortal frailty. The image of mountains becoming like "fluffs of wool" illustrates how a thing that many humans see as a symbol of solidity and permanence transforms on the last day into something that will be cut from its roots and pliable. The concept of scales of judgment appears graphically in this sūra, offering a concrete visual image of deeds being literally weighed in the balance on the last day. Michael Sells has argued that the sound quality of the consonants that end the verses (see RHYMED PROSE) help to extend the similes "into more elaborate metaphors," and that the terms "are heavy" *(thaqulat)* and "are light" *(khaffat)* as used in the scale imagery "have onomatopoetic effects" (Sells, *Approaching,* 178). This insight reminds us that when examining the symbolic imagery of the Qurʾān, not only visual images but also aural images ("sound figures") help to generate layers of meaning that deserve scholarly attention.

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Synagogue

see JEWS AND JUDAISM; RELIGIOUS PLURALISM AND THE QURʾĀN

Synonyms

see ARABIC LANGUAGE

Syria

In the larger sense, Syria (in Arabic *al-Shām*) extended from the Euphrates River/Amanus Mountains to the Gulf of Clysma/Suez. The region was known to the pre-Islamic Arabs (q.v.), especially the Meccans, whose caravans (see CARAVAN) traversed the spice-route, the two termini of which, Gaza and Buṣrā, were visited by them, as was the Sinai (q.v.) peninsula (see also PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QURʾĀN).

The term Syria or al-Shām does not appear in the Qurʾān but, as al-Shām included the holy land, references to it in the Qurʾān as the land of the biblical prophets and of the scenes of biblical history do occur, however allusively and anonymously (see SCRIPTURE AND THE QURʾĀN; HISTORY AND THE QURʾĀN; GEOGRAPHY). Such are *al-arḍ al-muqaddasa* (Q 5:21), Jerusalem (q.v.) by implication, where the *masjid* and the *miḥrāb* were located (Q 3:37, 39; 17:7; see MOSQUE; SACRED PRECINCTS); the Mount of Olives (Q 95:1); anonymously, the Jordan river (*nahr,* literally "river," Q 2:249; see WATER; SPRINGS AND FOUNTAINS); the villages of Lot (q.v.; *al-muʾtafika,* Q 53:53; cf. 69:9; see PUNISHMENT STORIES); Iram dhāt al-ʿImād,

in present day Wādī Rumm in Trans-Jordan (Q 89:7; see IRAM); al-Raqīm (Q 18:9; see RAQĪM), possibly in al-Balqāʾ in Trans-Jordan; and Sinai (Q 23:20). Although not mentioned by name, Jerusalem represented the strictly Islamic dimension of the holy land for two reasons: it was the destination of the *isrāʾ,* the nocturnal journey of the prophet Muḥammad (Q 17:1; see ASCENSION) and the gateway to his *miʿrāj,* ascent to the seventh heaven (see HEAVEN AND SKY); and it was the *qibla* (q.v.), the spot to which the Muslims turned in their prayers for twelve years before the direction of prayer was changed to Mecca (q.v.).

Al-Shām was known to the prophet Muḥammad before his call. According to tradition (see SĪRA AND THE QURʾĀN), his great-grandfather, Hāshim, was buried in Gaza, and he accompanied his uncle, Abū Ṭālib, during the latter's journeys to al-Shām. Later he led the caravans of Khadīja (q.v.) after he married her — hence his references to places and areas in al-Shām during the twenty-two years of his prophethood: such, among others, were Ṣaffūriyya (Sepphoris) and Ḥabrūn (Hebron) in Palestine, Muʾta and al-Balqāʾ in Trans-Jordan and al-Dārūm in southern Palestine. After the campaign against Tabūk in 630 C.E. (see EXPEDITIONS AND BATTLES), the Prophet concluded treaties (see CONTRACTS AND ALLIANCES) with four of the towns of southern al-Shām, namely Ayla, Adhruḥ, Maqnā and Jarbā, places he had known before his prophetic call.

Al-Shām was the first target of the Muslim conquests. It was the region that Islam conquered immediately after the death of the Prophet. By 635 C.E., the holy land within al-Shām was already in Muslim hands after the two battles of Ajnādayn in Palestine and Fiḥl in Trans-Jordan. In 638 C.E. Jerusalem surrendered to none other than the caliph ʿUmar himself; its surrender clinched the possession of the holy land by Islam and opened the first chapter in the long struggle between Islam and Christianity (see CHRISTIANS AND CHRISTIANITY), which reached its climax in the crusades. The Muslim victory at Yarmūk in 636 C.E. decided the fate of the rest of al-Shām, the cities which surrendered one after the other being Damascus, Ḥims, Ḥamā and Antioch, among others.

The Muslim conquest of al-Shām and the holy land imparted a peculiarly new Islamic dimension to its holiness (cf. the several traditions on the "merits" of Syria/Damascus — and Jerusalem, for example "happy Syria… the angels of the merciful one spread their wings upon it," *ṭūbā li-Shām… inna malāʾikata l-raḥmān bāsiṭatun ajniḥatahum ʿalayhi,* in e.g. Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad,* xvi, 38, no. 21499; cf. Gilliot, Traditions, 18; Sivan, Beginning). Those who died in the battles were martyrs (q.v.) for the faith (q.v.) and many of them were *ṣaḥāba,* Companions of the Prophet (q.v.); such were the three commanders who died at Muʾta and others who settled in the region. The conquest was initiated by the Prophet himself before he died, which imparted to it the religious tone of a holy war (q.v.; see also JIHĀD), especially as it was preceded and supported by letters which announced to their recipients the new Islamic kerygma.

It was, however, in the Umayyad period that al-Shām attained the acme of its importance as the metropolitan province of the first Arab dynasty of the Islamic empire. Furthermore, its character as a holy land was ratified by the first Umayyad caliph (q.v.), Muʿāwiya, who announced his caliphate and received allegiance in Jerusalem itself, as did Yazīd and ʿAbd al-Malik after him. But it was the Marwānid Umayyad branch that enhanced the Islamic component in the holy land, when

ʿAbd al-Malik built the Dome of the Rock and al-Walīd, his son, built the Aqṣā Mosque (q.v.), without which the Islamic presence in Jerusalem would have remained unclear, based on sūra 17 in the Qurʾān, entitled Sūrat al-Isrāʾ ("The Night Journey"). The two structures dwarfed architecturally all other structures in Jerusalem and reflected a powerful Islamic presence in the holy city. The future Umayyad caliph Sulaymān enhanced further the importance of the holy land when, during his governorship of Palestine, he built a new city, Ramla, and its White Mosque, and added to the Umayyad structures in Jerusalem. When he became caliph (r. 96-9/715-17), Palestine, the holy land, became the metropolitan province of the vast Muslim empire, which extended from India to Spain.

Islam raised to a higher level of importance not only Jerusalem but the sister city Hebron, where Abraham (q.v.) and his son Isaac (q.v.) and grandson Jacob (q.v.) were buried together with their wives. Hebron had been relatively obscure in the Byzantine period (see BYZANTINES) but Islam revived it, commensurately with the fundamental place of Abraham in the Qurʾān and in Islam.

It was also during the Umayyad period that the concept of the holy land experienced an extension of its boundaries from the old traditional ones to encompass practically the whole of al-Shām. The Umayyad Mosque of Damascus built by al-Walīd contributed to the veneration of the city as a Muslim center and Buṣrā was also venerated as the venue of Muḥammad's encounter with Baḥīrā (see MONASTICISM AND MONKS). The extension of the boundaries of the holy land had started in the Byzantine period, when other cities in the region acquired a certain holiness by association: such was Damascus with St. Paul, Emesa with the head of John the Baptist (q.v.), and Antioch as the place where the followers of Jesus (q.v.) of Nazareth were first called Christians. These *loca sancta* of Christianity were not difficult for the Umayyads to accept in view of the insistence of the Qurʾān on its close relation to Christianity (see POLEMIC AND POLEMICAL LANGUAGE; RELIGIOUS PLURALISM AND THE QURʾĀN; RELIGION), but still more in view of the strong Muslim-Christian symbiosis in al-Shām, accepted and promoted by the Umayyads after being initiated by Muʿāwiya, whose wife Maysūn was a Christian, the mother of his son and successor Yazīd I, who also married a Ghassānid Christian princess, Ramla. In a religious context this symbiosis is reflected in the fact that the mosque in Damascus has within its precinct the tomb of John the Baptist.

With the proliferation of *loca sancta* (see SACRED AND PROFANE), *mashāhīd* and *mazārāt,* in al-Shām, the whole region acquired a certain holiness — so much so that the medieval Muslim traveler, al-Harawī (d. 611/1215), devoted to al-Shām one third of his work on the *loca sancta* of the Islamic world.

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Syriac and the Qur'ān

see FOREIGN VOCABULARY; LANGUAGE AND STYLE OF THE QUR'ĀN; CHRISTIANS AND CHRISTIANITY

T

Table

A supported horizontal surface that facilitates actions like working, writing or eating. There is no precise equivalent in classical Arabic for this English term. Words like *miṇḍada, sufra* and *simāṭ* only signify "table" by derivation; their basic meanings are respectively "a device where mats, carpets or cushions are piled up," "food provision for the traveler," and "a cloth or coat upon which the dishes are put." By contrast, several designations for "table" entered Arabic from neighboring, non-Semitic languages. These include *mēz* and *khiwān* from Persian, *ṭarabēza* from Greek, *ṭāwula* from Latin, and *mā'ida* via Ethiopian, possibly originating from Latin as well (see FOREIGN VOCABULARY). Only this last term occurs in the Qurʾān, where it appears twice, namely in Q 5:112 and 114; it also gives the fifth sūra its title, *al-mā'ida,* "The Table."

Strictly speaking, the table episode — a much debated issue in the Qurʾān — comprises verses Q 5:112 to 115 only. In order to understand the story properly, however, one must consider its broader context. The *leitmotif* of the whole passage is that God's messengers (see MESSENGER) have no knowledge of (see KNOWLEDGE AND LEARNING) — and therefore no responsibility (q.v.) for — the outcome of their missions (Q 5:109). This holds true for Jesus (q.v.) as well. God guided him throughout his lifetime, from when he spoke in the cradle supported by the spirit (q.v.) of holiness (see also HOLY SPIRIT), to his divine protection (q.v.) from the Israelites (Q 5:110; see CHILDREN OF ISRAEL). On God's prompting, the apostles (see APOSTLE) readily professed their belief in him and his messenger (Q 5:111). The passage then reads:

And when the apostles said, "O Jesus son of Mary (q.v.), is your lord able to send down on us a table *(mā'ida)* out of heaven (see HEAVEN AND SKY)?" He said, "Fear you God, if you are believers" (Q 5:112; see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF; MIRACLES; MARVELS; FEAR).

They said, "We desire that we should eat of it and our hearts (see HEART) be at rest; and that we may know that you have spoken true to us, and that we may be among its witnesses" (Q 5:113; see TRUTH; WITNESSING AND TESTIFYING).

Said Jesus son of Mary, "O God, our lord, send down upon us a table out of heaven, that shall be for us a festival, the first and last of us, and a sign from you.

And provide for us; you are the best of providers" (Q 5:114; see SUSTENANCE). God said, "Verily I will indeed send it down to you; whosoever of you hereafter disbelieves, verily I shall chastise him with a chastisement such as I chastise no other being" (Q 5:115; see CHASTISEMENT AND PUNISHMENT).

It was not Jesus who deified himself and his mother Mary. During the time he lived among men, he exhorted them only to serve God alone, his lord and theirs (Q 5:116-17). It is God who punishes or forgives (Q 5:118; see REWARD AND PUNISHMENT; FORGIVENESS).

The broad scholarly consensus is that the qurʾānic table episode basically refers, in one way or another, to the Lord's Supper, although other biblical passages can be adduced as possible reference points as well, such as the feeding of the five thousand, Jesus' discourse on "the bread of life" (John 6: 22 f.), Peter's vision in Acts 10:10 f., or Psalms 78:19 and 23:5. But when it comes to understanding the meaning of the episode, opinions are divided. Are we dealing here with the demand for a miracle (Räisänen, *Jesusbild;* Gräf, Christlichen Einflüssen; Busse, *Theologischen Beziehungen;* and most of the Muslim commentators)? Is the table a sign of God's providence (Bowman, Debt of Islam; al-Nadjdjār, *Qiṣaṣ;* see SIGNS) or a simile (q.v.) for spiritual knowledge (the Ṣūfī interpretation according to al-Bayḍāwī)? Do the apostles want to celebrate a kind of thanksgiving (ʿAbd al-Tafāhum, Qurʾān and communion) or a commemorative meal (Beltz, *Mythen*)? Or is the whole episode finally nothing but confusion (Macdonald, ʿĪsā; Bell, *Origin of Islam;* cf. Comerro, Nouvelle alliance, 305f.; Radscheit, Iconography, 172f.)? The question of the meaning of the table motif in the Qurān has proved to be especially intractable.

Nevertheless, two explanations present themselves. On the one hand, as stated above, the word *māʾida* is borrowed from Ethiopian, where it signifies the lord's table (see CHRISTIANS AND CHRISTIANITY). This original usage probably had the double meaning of the altar of the Eucharist (which in early times was a simple table) and of the Eucharistic offering, viz. bread (q.v.) and wine (q.v.). If one assumes that this word still carried both meanings after its adoption in Arabic, it is possible that the apostles' request for *māʾida* sent down from heaven does not refer to "a table," but rather to "food" (see FOOD AND DRINK). In fact, the *Lisān al-ʿArab* even asserts that this is the basic meaning of *māʾida*. On the other hand, the table episode may be considered an instance of qurānic allusion to visual representations. In all the varying interpretations of the Lord's Supper in early Christian theology, the Eucharist is always regarded as closely related to Christ's being the son of God. Christian depictions of the Lord's Supper can therefore be considered to represent the core of Christian belief. The Qurʾān, however, categorically denies the divine nature of Jesus (see POLEMIC AND POLEMICAL LANGUAGE). Any qurʾānic reference to the Lord's Supper, then, can only occur in a polemic, i.e. a reinterpreting, form. Although the table motif is admittedly rather marginal in the Gospels' account of the Lord's Supper, the table is nevertheless one of the necessary elements in the Christian depictions of the event: it is the place where Jesus and the apostles reclined for the Passover meal. Yet in a Christian interpretation of such a picture, the table still has no function of its own; it merely serves to hold the food. Here one may argue that the Qurʾān, in a deliberate reinterpretation of the Lord's Supper, takes its visual elements — Jesus, the apostles and the table itself — at face value and

re-contextualizes them in such a way that the element "table" receives a prominent place.

No matter whether the linguistic or the cross-media explanation for the presence of *mā'ida* is more likely, in order to understand the meaning of the table episode, it must be noted that the major theme in Q 5 is the notion of "covenant" (q.v.; cf. Comerro, Nouvelle alliance). Q 5:12 is a reminder of God's covenant with the Children of Israel (cf. Q 5:70); Q 5:14 mentions his covenant with "those who say 'We are Christians' " (cf. Q 5:111); and Q 5:7 recalls to mind the covenant God made with the actual community of believers (cf. Q 5:3, "Today I have perfected your religion [q.v.] for you, and I have completed my blessing [q.v.] upon you, and I have approved *al-islām* for your religion"; see ISLAM). But both the Israelites and the Christians broke their respective covenants, the first by disobeying God and his messengers (cf. Q 5:13, 20-6, 70; see DISOBEDIENCE), the latter by violating true monotheism (cf. Q 5:14, 17, 72-6; see POLYTHEISM AND ATHEISM; IDOLATRY AND IDOLATERS). Since the anti-Trinitarian argumentation in Q 5:116-17 (see TRINITY) stresses that the covenant with the Christians was broken only after God took Jesus to himself, it seems likely that the preceding verses also refer to this very covenant. Q 5:111, then, marks the moment the (twelve) apostles consent to this covenant (cf. the motif of the twelve chieftains of Israel in Q 5:12 and of the twelve men of the first ʿAqaba in the *Sīra* [see SĪRA AND THE QUR'ĀN]; for references to the apostles' speech [q.v.] act, see Q 5:7 and, in a distorted form, Q 2:93). Seen in this light, Q 5:112-14 must be understood as a request to establish a commemoration feast *('īd)* for this event. In the motif of the heaven-sent food one may detect the early Christian belief that the Holy Spirit comes down in the Eucharist. But what is more, the two ideas that food is a divine gift and that God sends down "tranquility into the hearts of the believers" are firmly rooted in the Qur'ān, too (cf. for the former Q 2:57; 50:9-11; 56:10-26, for the latter Q 48:4; see SHEKHINAH). Finally, since the early Church considered Judas to be the prototype of a traitor in the community, in the singular threat in Q 5:115 it is possible to see a transformation of Jesus' prophecy of woe for Judas (*Mt* 26:24; *Mk* 14:21) into a general verdict against all those who break the covenant (Q 5:13; cf. Gräf, Christlichen Einflüssen, who suggests a connection with 1 *Cor* 11:27-9).

To sum up, although the table episode carries strong biblical overtones (see SCRIPTURE AND THE QUR'ĀN; NARRATIVES), it is basically a re-reading of the Lord's Supper. In this reinterpretation, the person of Jesus loses its paramount importance and his being the son of God is expressly denied. Instead, the Eucharist is interpreted as confirmation and remembrance of God's covenant with the apostles. With that, the Eucharist is added to the line of covenants God has made both with the Children of Israel previously and with the new community of believers afterwards.

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Tablet

see BOOK; PRESERVED TABLET

Taboo

see FORBIDDEN

Tābūt

see ARK

Ṭāghūt

see IDOLS AND IMAGES

Tale

see NARRATIVES; JOSEPH

Talent

A gift, ability or propensity provided by God. There is no specific qurʾānic term for talent although meanings related to this concept may be associated with ideas such as degrees, ability, capacity and gifts (see GIFT AND GIFT-GIVING; GRACE; BLESSING). In modern Arabic, terms derived from the root *w-h-b,* "gifts," and *ʿ-d-d,* "preparation," refer to talent, but these roots and their derivations are not employed in this sense in the Qurʾān. In addition, *istiṭāʿa,* "ability, capacity," is an important theological concept in Islam (see THEOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN), but it is usually discussed more in terms of the extent to which humans have the independent strength and ability to make choices and perform actions (cf. Gardet, Istiṭāʿa; see FREEDOM AND PREDESTINATION).

The concept of exceptional or distinctive abilities may be extrapolated from qurʾānic expressions regarding preferring *(faḍḍala)* or degrees and rankings *(darajāt).* These terms usually convey the idea that certain people are raised by degrees both in this world and in the next life (see REWARD AND PUNISHMENT; ESCHATOLOGY), on the basis either of their effort (Q 4:95; see PATH OR WAY), belief (Q 58:11; see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF) or good deeds (q.v.; Q 46:19). Sometimes, however, this idea of degree seems to be innate, as in the passage asserting that males have been preferred above females (Q 4:34; see GENDER; WOMEN AND THE QURʾĀN; PATRIARCHY). This verse has attracted attention in the modern period on the part of modernists and Muslim feminists who interpret the words as indicating male responsibility (q.v.) derived on the basis of material resources (see WEALTH; PROPERTY; MAINTENANCE AND UPKEEP) rather than innate male superiority or talent (Wadud, *Qurʾān and woman,* 65-9; see FEMINISM AND THE QURʾĀN). Inasmuch as ultimately all guidance and provision (see SUSTENANCE; ERROR; ASTRAY) has a divine source according to the Islamic perspective, diversity in human talents, inclinations and abilities is understood as being part of God's plan. All of these degrees in livelihood arise from God's mercy (q.v.; *raḥma*) that is apportioned or measured (*q-s-m;* see WEIGHTS AND MEASURES; MEASUREMENT) by God alone (Q 43:32).

The idea of developing the inherent propensities or potentialities of each individual may be found in the thought of Ṣūfī mystics such as Ibn al-ʿArabī (d. 638/1240; see ṢŪFISM AND THE QURʾĀN). This is based

on emanationist cosmology (q.v.), in which the pre-eternal creative act of God projects the divine names and attributes (see GOD AND HIS ATTRIBUTES) into creation (q.v.) and therefore into individuals as well. It is individual receptivity *(qabūl)* or preparedness *(istiʿdād)* that must be discerned and developed through appropriate contemplation and action (Chittick, *Ṣūfī path,* 91; see REMEMBRANCE).

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Talisman

see AMULET; POPULAR AND TALISMANIC USES OF THE QURʾĀN

Talk

see SPEECH; GOSSIP

Ṭālūt

see SAUL

Tasnīm

see SPRINGS AND FOUNTAINS

Tawrāt

see TORAH

Taxation

Extraction of a part of communal wealth for its social redistribution and for its use in maintaining governing authority (q.v.), its various institutions, and public works. The Qurʾān offers no trace of the fiscal system first developed under ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb (r. 2-12/634-44), in substance a reformulation of Byzantine and Sasanian models (see Jeffery, *For. vocab.* and relevant *EI²* articles — e.g. Cahen, Djizya; Zysow, Zakāt; Cahen, Kharādj — for discussion of the foreign origins of taxation terminology in the Qurʾān; see also FOREIGN VOCABULARY). That fiscal system was a product of empire (see Dennett, *Conversion;* al-Dūrī, *Nuzum;* Løkkegaard, *Islamic taxation*), itself the fruit of post-prophetic conquests (see CONQUEST), eventually being detailed by state servitors in administrative handbooks (e.g. Qudāma b. Jaʿfar's [d. 337/948] *Kitāb al-Kharāj wa-ṣināʿat al-kitāba*) or legal treatises (e.g. Abū Yūsuf's [d. 182/798] *Kitāb al-Kharāj*) and by religious scholars seeking to define imperial administration in Islamic terms (e.g. Abū ʿUbayd al-Qāsim b. Sallām's [d. 224/839] *Kitāb al-Amwāl*).

Taxation in the imperial context was oriented primarily towards the legal status of land (e.g. conquered, state, private); in contrast, the Qurʾān says nothing of a concept of land-based taxation, with only a single (and vague) reference at Q 23:72 to *kharāj* (the term later used to designate land tax) as the bounty of the lord (q.v.; cf. *Jalālayn,* ad loc., where it is referred to as *ajr,* "recompense"; see also BLESSING; GRACE). Nor is there any evidence in the ḥadīth that the Prophet instituted such a system of taxation. State control of communal wealth (q.v.) became a point of contention, Khārijīs (q.v.) seeing it as a threat to the sovereignty (q.v.) of God (Sayf b. ʿUmar, *Ridda,* i, 357) and Shīʿīs (see SHĪʿISM AND THE QURʾĀN) viewing it as a transgression of the authority of the Imāms (Madelung, Shīʿite; see IMĀM). Moreover, the Qurʾān's single reference to *jizya* at Q 9:29 suggests tribute and not poll tax (q.v.) in the sense of a tax per capita, as the term was to be defined in the imperial context (the Prophet may have instituted a poll tax of sorts, which was assessed according to the number of adults [*ḥālim*] but imposed on a subordinate group as a whole, e.g. Yaḥyā b. Ādam, *Kharāj,* 107f.). Finally, the Qurʾān makes no mention of the tithe *(ʿushr)* levied

on Muslim-owned land (especially within the confines of the Arabian peninsula).

Rather, if taxation of any kind is to be read in the Qurʾān, it must be seen through two lenses: (1) a nascent Medinan polity attempting to extend its political authority and religious message over a largely tribally oriented society (see TRIBES AND CLANS; MEDINA) by managing the distribution of booty (q.v.); and (2) a charity-oriented economy of exchange, in which deserving groups (warriors, orphans [q.v.], the poor, etc.; see POVERTY AND THE POOR) were supported through almsgiving (q.v.) as a function of the qurʾānic call to renounce the luxuries of this world in favor of the one to come (cf. Rippin, Commerce; see also TRADE AND COMMERCE). Both lenses reflect a broader qurʾānic message, namely God's singular sovereignty and thus right to consume all material goods even if he permits their distribution to his "vassals," i.e. those faithful to his lordship — a message echoed in the Bible, which makes the similar claim that the spoils of war, even if designated for the communal good of the Israelites (see CHILDREN OF ISRAEL; ELECTION), belong ultimately to God in recognition of his exclusive sovereignty (e.g. *Josh* 6:17; see also *Josh* 7 which tells the tale of Achan and his kinsmen who, although Israelites, are wiped out for violating the holy ban instituted by God; cf. Q 9:79, which speaks of the punishment awaiting those who deride believers for their material and personal support of the cause of God; cf. also *Acts* 5:1-10; see also PATH OR WAY; CHASTISEMENT AND PUNISHMENT). If there is any connection between the "fiscal" message of the Qurʾān and the later imperial system of taxation, it may lie in this idea of religious sovereignty over (and potential consumption of) all material goods, represented in the Qurʾān by God and his messenger (q.v.) and later in the imperial context by the caliphal (or sultanic) ruler and his various military and administrative servitors.

The fiscal program of the Qurʾān was generally conceived in terms of material (and also personal) support *(nafaqa)* of the Islamic cause (i.e. as set by God and his messenger), to be given by Muslims (i.e. Companions of the Prophet [q.v.]) and their tribal allies (see Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* ad Q 9:103, who connects *nafaqa* [support of the Islamic cause], *jihād* [q.v.; struggle in the way of God] and *ṣadaqa* [charitable donation]). In support of this, later exegetes (see EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL) note the strong rhetorical opposition in the Qurʾān between those who support *(munfiq)* the Islamic cause and those who support the enemy: al-Zamakhsharī (d. 539/1144, *Kashshāf,* ad Q 2:270) explains this as an option — given to the qurʾānic audience — of making expenditure in the path (or way) of God *(fī sabīl Allāh)* or in the path of Satan (*fī sabīl al-shayṭān;* see ENEMIES; PARTIES AND FACTIONS; DEVIL). The Constitution of Medina, an early attempt to define the nature of the first Muslim polity, also strongly exhorts its addressees to contribute *nafaqa* to the communal cause. This qurʾānic vision of communal wealth, reenacted in Medina, is detailed in later works on law and the prophetic tradition under three categories (see LAW AND THE QURʾĀN): division of booty, alms-giving and tribute. Discussion here will be limited to the first two categories (as these relate to the two fiscal lenses of the Qurʾān mentioned above). Tribute, later expanded into poll tax *(jizya)* and land tax *(kharāj),* is discussed elsewhere (see POLL TAX).

Division of booty

The legal *(fiqh)* and prophetic *(ḥadīth)* compendia treat division of booty as a distinct category, *qism al-fayʾ,* reflecting an attempt

by piety-minded jurists and traditionists to keep intact the qurʾānic vision of communal wealth alongside state efforts to immobilize land under its own domain and extract taxes from those cultivating it. The fiscal message of the Qurʾān originated in the Prophet's practice of dividing the spoils of raids *(ghazawāt)* and expeditions (*maghāzī;* see EXPEDITIONS AND BATTLES), first as a means of livelihood and then as part of the struggle to preserve the Islamic cause (see, in general, the accounts of Ibn Isḥāq [d. 150/767] and al-Wāqidī [d. 207/822]), with a first share — later identified as the "choice" share *(al-ṣāfī)* — going to the Prophet as leader of the Muslim community and distributed to those whom the Qurʾān had defined as worthy recipients such as the Prophet's kin, orphans, the poor, wayfarers (cf. Q 59:7 and Q 8:41, although some scholars thought the latter verse abrogated the former).

The Qurʾān uses three terms for booty: *maghnam* (only in the plural, *maghānim,* Q 4:94; 48:15, 19, 20; and twice in verbal form, *ghanimtum,* Q 8:41, 69); *nafl* (also only in the plural, *anfāl,* Q 8:1, for which Q 8 — Sūrat al-Anfāl — is named); and *fayʾ* (only in verbal form, *afāʾa,* Q 33:50; 59:6, 7), which has the general sense of bounty bestowed by God upon those faithful to his cause (see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF; TRUST AND PATIENCE). Exegetes understood booty to function as an incentive (*taḥrīḍ;* see Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* ad Q 8:1) to work for the Islamic cause, as implied in the qurʾānic claim that Muslims can expect not merely earthly booty but heavenly-bestowed booty (Q 4:94, *fa-ʿinda llāhi maghānimu kathīra;* the three other instances of the term in reference to Ḥudaybiya [q.v.] also suggest an eschatological conception of booty, cf. Rippin, Commerce; see ESCHATOLOGY). In other words, the Qurʾān has reoriented a common tribal notion to the purposes of its prophetic message of God's final sovereignty in settling all accounts on judgment day (see LAST JUDGMENT).

The "tax" to be extracted from the division of booty and distributed by Medinan leadership is called the fifth *(khums),* as mentioned at Q 8:41:

> And know that whatever you take as booty *(ghanimtum),* a fifth [of it] is for God, the messenger, relations [of the messenger], orphans, the poor [or helpless] *(masākīn),* and the wayfarer *(ibn al-sabīl),* if you believe in God and that which we have revealed to our servant on the day of criterion (q.v.; *yawma l-furqān,* i.e. between right and wrong, but here in reference to the battle of Badr [q.v.]), when the two groups met [in battle]. God is master over all.

Income, then, is to play a significant role in the formation of the values of the Muslim community as a religio-political entity in which recognition of the sovereignty of God and the corresponding authority of his messenger is embodied in the redistribution of wealth to worthy recipients — those genealogically close to the Prophet and those in material need of some kind (see also PEOPLE OF THE HOUSE; OPPRESSED ON EARTH, THE). Emphasis on the redistribution of wealth is confirmed at Q 59:7. Since, however, this is not framed as "the fifth," Simonsen (*Studies,* 61-70) suggested that all booty — regardless of origin — was subject to division only in practice but fell entirely to the prophet Muḥammad in principle. He argued that the fifth is a post-prophetic innovation ascribed retroactively to prophetic decree in the battle of Badr to give Islamic legitimacy to the tribal practice of distributing the bulk of the booty, four-fifths in this case, to the warriors who captured it:

That which God has bestowed as booty upon his messenger from [the spoils of] the people of the villages [i.e. in the vicinity of Medina] is for God, the messenger, relations [of the messenger], orphans, the helpless, and the wayfarer, lest it circulate [only] among the wealthy among you. And take what the messenger gives you and refrain from what he forbids (see FORBIDDEN). Fear (q.v.) God, for God is severe in the infliction of punishment (see REWARD AND PUNISHMENT).

Finally, Q 8:1: "They ask you [Muḥammad] about the spoils *(anfāl)*. Say: The spoils belong to God and the messenger. So fear God, repair what is between you [i.e. communal disharmony] and obey God and his messenger (see OBEDIENCE), if you are believers." This is explained by al-Zamakhsharī (*Kashshāf,* ad Q 8:1) to mean that judgment (q.v.) in the division of the spoils is reserved for God and his messenger (in echo of the biblical vision; see SCRIPTURE AND THE QUR'ĀN). Here, like Q 59:7, no mention is made of "the fifth"; this is explained by al-Zamakhsharī who defines *anfāl* as booty promised to a warrior beyond his normal share as an incitement to battle. So defined, such booty would not be subject to the fifth. If read on its own terms, however, this verse associates booty-division with communal harmony *(wa-aṣliḥū dhāta baynikum)*. Al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923; *Tafsīr,* ad Q 8:1) cites a report that attributes the occasion for the revelation of this latter part of the verse (see VERSES; OCCASIONS OF REVELATION) to the complaint brought to the Prophet by the weaker members of the community *(ahl al-ḍa'f)*, who protested that the strong had made off with the spoils *(dhahaba ahl al-quwwa bi-l-ghanā'im)*, leaving the weaker members of the community with nothing (Zamakhsharī, *Kashshāf,* ad loc., echoes this by interpreting the verse as a call for a just/equitable distribution of communal wealth: *iqtasimū… bi-l-'adl*). The upshot of all this is the intimate link between claims of the Medinan leadership (i.e. the Prophet) to authority over the nascent community in general and its adjudication of the just distribution of communal wealth (see JUSTICE AND INJUSTICE) in a way that engendered communal solidarity between its various members, both rich and poor (cf. *Deut* 15:11 and *Rom* 15:25-9), strong (i.e. the fighting members of the community) and weak (i.e. the rest of the community; cf. *Num* 31:25-47).

It should be mentioned as an aside that the caliphal state (especially the 'Abbāsid dynasty) and its scholarly servitors did turn to the Qur'ān to establish canonical justification for its fiscal system in general and the land tax specifically (see Heck, *Construction,* chap. 4; see CALIPH). The legal framework for the land tax drew a distinction between lands conquered by force *('anwa)* and lands which submitted to the Muslim conquerors peacefully *(ṣulḥ)*, a distinction of paramount importance for determining a region's tax terms and land ownership. Still, the Qur'ān and sunna (q.v.) had to be at least referenced to ensure Islamic legitimacy for this framework.

The belief that the Prophet had, in principle, divided the proceeds of conquest — both land and moveable property (q.v.), including captives (q.v.; see Q 8:67-71; cf. Paret, *Kommentar,* 192) — was met by the state position, based on Q 59:7-9, that the canon also made provision for Muslims yet to come, a recognition of the need to extend the idea of communal solidarity to future members. The community was ongoing (and no longer eschatological) and subsequent generations who would "emigrate" to Islam as had the

first Emigrants *(al-muhājirūn)* were equally entitled to a share in the community's revenues (see EMIGRATION; EMIGRANTS AND HELPERS). This would be accomplished by immobilizing the land and levying a tax on those cultivating it, payable to the communal treasury *(bayt al-māl),* a practice initiated by the Companion (see COMPANIONS OF THE PROPHET) and second Rightly-Guided Caliph, ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb.

This qurʾānic justification of the land tax was eventually accepted by piety-minded circles (see PIETY), although when is not exactly clear. (Interestingly, Q 23:72, the sole qurʾānic attestation of *kharāj,* is not used as a rationale.) The distinction between poll tax and land tax is often attributed to the Umayyad caliph, ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (r. 99-101/717-20; see Heck, *Construction,* 163-5), but Mālik b. Anas (d. 179/796) makes no mention of the land tax and understands taxation in Islam in strictly religious terms *(farīḍa)*. For his part, al-Shāfiʿī (d. 204/820) is indecisive, first looking down upon the state's decision to immobilize the lands of conquest as extra-canonical but then deciding to leave the decision — to divide or immobilize — to the judgment of the leader (*Umm,* iv, 103, *bilād al-ʿanwa wa-bilād al-ṣulḥ*). ʿAbd al-Razzāq (d. 211/826) mentions the land tax in scattered places (e.g. *Muṣannaf,* entry 10,133) without treating it systematically. The canonical status of the land-tax, as mentioned above, never a dead issue, was at play especially in Sunnī-Shīʿī polemic (see Modarressi, *Kharāj*), partly as a function of competition over the share in communal wealth due to the successor of the Prophet (see Modarressi, *Crisis*).

Almsgiving

Almsgiving, the second important lens for qurʾānic notions of taxation, is charity extended mainly to those in need of some kind. It functions primarily in a ritual way, hence its inclusion as one of the five pillars of the religion, i.e. as a means by which the salvation (q.v.) of one's soul (q.v.) is sought. It is designated in the Qurʾān by two terms, *zakāt* and *ṣadaqa,* which are used interchangeably in the early period. The later distinction between them (although never decisively made; see Weir/Zysow, Ṣadaḳa) as obligatory and voluntary alms, respectively, is not specified in the Qurʾān. Yet they are never used in identical fashion or paired in a single verse. It is the exegetical tradition that for good reason (see below) defined *zakāt* as a religious duty (e.g. Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* ad Q 2:177, *al-zakāt al-mafrūḍa*), hence one of the five pillars of Islam (see RELIGION; RITUAL AND THE QURʾĀN).

In line with Q 59:7, which is concerned with the monopoly of wealth by the rich, almsgiving in the Qurʾān functions practically as a way to redistribute communal wealth, thus serving to define a charity-based economy with a particular interest in the poor, needy and dispossessed (see Bonner, Poverty; see ECONOMICS). It is not, however, simply a matter of charity but an eschatological-oriented charity for the sake of one's own salvation (or, in the case of its neglect, damnation; see Q 69:34; 89:17-20; 90:13-20; 107:3). *Zakāt,* mentioned thirty times, mainly in Medinan verses, is thus a way of purifying not merely one's wealth but one's soul, giving a ritual efficacy to its practice — charity in the function of gaining one's salvation. As Q 92:18 indicates, "Whoever gives from his wealth is made pure *(yatazakkā)*" — purification of one's soul (i.e. being made acceptable to God, *qurb*) through a religiously ordained exhortation to material giving (cf. Q 9:99). Those who give alms can expect a reward *(ajr)* from God (Q 2:277; 4:162; cf. 2:110) in the next life (Q 27:3; 31:4), effectively securing God's protection (q.v.; Q 22:78), which makes almsgiving an essential part of true

religion, being included in the primordial covenant (q.v.; *mīthāq*) made between God and humankind (Q 2:83; 4:154; cf. 5:12 which speaks of it in terms of both reward and covenant). This is summed up in creed-like form at Q 2:177:

… the righteous are those who believe in God, judgment day, the angels (see ANGEL), scripture (*al-kitāb;* see BOOK), the prophets (see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD), and give wealth *(māl)* out of love (q.v.) of him [or in spite of love for it, cf. Q 76:8 and Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* ad loc.], to relatives [presumably indigent ones; see FAMILY; KINSHIP], orphans, the helpless *(al-masākīn),* the wayfarer, beggars *(al-sā'ilīn),* and to ransom captives; and who undertake ritual prayer (q.v.) and give alms….

The religious quality of almsgiving here suggests association with the patriarchs of Israel (Q 21:73; see CHILDREN OF ISRAEL) and the life of Jesus (q.v.; Q 19:31). It enjoys sufficient religious status that its payment by a polytheist (*mushrik;* see POLYTHEISM AND ATHEISM) requires a Muslim to cease fighting (q.v.) him (Q 9:5; Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* ad loc., identifies it as repentance, *tawba,* on the part of the polytheist) and, instead, to consider him a brother in religion (Q 9:11; see BROTHER AND BROTHERHOOD). There is no clearer sign of the salvific (i.e. ritually efficacious) character of *zakāt* than its almost exclusive coupling (twenty-eight out of thirty occurrences) with ritual prayer, "undertaking prayer and giving alms" *(iqāmat al-ṣalāt wa-ītā' al-zakāt)*, which constituted grounds for its later designation as a religious duty (*farīḍa;* see Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* ad Q 2:83, *mā kāna llāh faraḍa ʿalayhim fī amwālihim min al-zakāt;* cf. Siddiqui, Zakāt, who sees this coupling as epitomizing the religion itself, prayer representing the vertical relation of the love of God and alms the horizontal one of love of other). The connection was later to become the crux of the "wars of apostasy" (q.v.; see Shoufani, *Riddah*) conducted by the first caliph Abū Bakr (q.v.) against those tribes claiming that loyalty (q.v.) and tribute owed to Medina ceased upon the Prophet's death and that undertaking prayer was enough to make one a Muslim.

This raises many questions about the nature of almsgiving in early Islam: Was it conceived as tribal tribute in recognition of Medina as regional hegemon (for a more recent example of this, see Wilson, Hashemites, 216), making its payment a state concern (on the development of Islamic administrative institutions in general, see Sijpesteijn, *Shaping a Muslim state*)? Or was it a mark not of state authority over communal wealth but of communal/confessional solidarity? Q 58:13 mentions that tribal groups were expected to pay *zakāt* prior to an audience with the Prophet and, yet, as we have seen, *zakāt* in the Qur'ān is decidedly salvific. The two points of view, however, need not be viewed as mutually exclusive, especially when the Prophet, as messenger of God, is the foundational reference point in representing the pronouncements of God (see REVELATION AND INSPIRATION). So, if almsgiving is a means for seeking the face of God (q.v.; i.e. salvation, Q 30:39, in contrast to the practice of usury [q.v.] which yields no return from God), it is also a part of the process of binding men and women together in moral solidarity under the authority of God and his messenger (Q 9:71). It is partly for this reason that jurists later associated *zakāt* with the tithe *('ushr)* on agricultural produce, a "tax" only on Muslims, assessed at five or ten percent depending on irrigation method (natural or human). Q 6:141, known as "the verse of almsgiving" *(āyat al-zakāt),* was used to support this association: "And give [him] his due on the day of his

harvest" (see Ibn Ādam, *Kharāj,* 146-51). The alms-tax, generally assessed at two and one-half percent of property, has a more complex formulation in the case of livestock and agricultural produce (see Aghnides, *Mohammedan theories,* 203-95).

Ṣadaqa (pl. *ṣadaqāt,* also occurring in verbal form, *taṣaddaqa*) shares the basic meaning of charity (e.g. Q 12:88, where Joseph's [q.v.] brothers ask him to be charitable to them in their need) and is used interchangeably with *zakāt* in exegetical and legal literature (e.g. equated with *zakāt* and treated as the tithe by Ibn Ādam, *Kharāj,* entry 356) and even with *nafaqa* (ibid., entry 428: *al-nafaqa fī l-Qurʾān hiya l-ṣadaqa*). Still, the term has its own semantic range in the Qurʾān. It is considered a voluntary offering (Q 9:79, the verse used by jurists to characterize it as voluntary in distinction from the obligatory *zakāt*), with the amount to be given left to the discretion of the benefactor. It also carries a religio-moral connotation, serving (1) to purify the benefactor (Q 9:103; Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* ad loc., says that it transforms belief from hypocrisy to sincerity, *wa-tarfaʿuhum fī khasīs manāzil ahl al-nifāq bihā ilā manāzil ahl al-ikhlāṣ;* see HYPOCRITES AND HYPOCRISY), (2) to test the right intent of those seeking the counsel *(najwā)* of the Prophet (Q 58:12) and (3) to expiate *(takfīr)* evil deeds (q.v.; *sayyiʾāt,* Q 2:271) or to compensate for the failure to perform — as a result of illness (see ILLNESS AND HEALTH) — the ritual obligation of not shaving while on pilgrimage (q.v.; Q 2:196). Debt (q.v.) forgiveness is also designated charity (Q 2:280; cf. 4:92 and 5:45 where remission of the blood-payment for murder [q.v.] is labeled charity; see BLOOD MONEY).

In other words, *ṣadaqa* signifies a proper response to God's abundant grace (*faḍl,* Q 9:75; cf. Bonner, Poverty), in the sense of gratitude (see GRATITUDE AND INGRATITUDE) for his sustenance (q.v.; *rizq*) embodied in care for others. Hence, *ṣadaqa* was never reduced to material gift (see GIFT AND GIFT-GIVING) but included recognition of a beggar with a smile when one had nothing to give, and also lawful sexual intercourse (*ṣadāq,* cognate with "righteous," *ṣiddīq;* see LAWFUL AND UNLAWFUL; SEX AND SEXUALITY). Its purposeful use for those in need implies distributive justice (Q 9:60; cf. 2:276 where it is contrasted to *ribā,* i.e. [self-] interest), but also — since its recipients at Q 9:60 include "those who work upon (for?) it" (understood as "collecting agents" but also likened, e.g. by Ibn Ādam, *Kharāj,* entry 354, to holy warrior *[mujāhid]*) and hearts to be reconciled (i.e. swayed to the prophetic cause, e.g. Meccan tribal leaders) — as a religious duty *(farīḍa)* set by God (cf. Q 2:273). Such charity, it is explained, should not be thought to relieve the benefactor of proper moral behavior (Q 2:263-4) and is better undertaken in secrecy (Q 2:272; 4:114; cf. *Prov* 21:14 and *Matt* 6:3-4; Zamakhsharī, *Kashshāf,* ad Q 2:271-2, says that *ṣadaqa* as a voluntary act is best done secretly whereas *zakāt* as an obligatory one should be done openly to avoid any accusation of failing to perform one's religious duty).

It should be noted that Simonsen (*Studies,* 32-5), largely on the basis of Q 58:12, strips *ṣadaqa* of any religious significance, viewing it as a payment required of Bedouin (q.v.; *aʿrāb*) for an audience with the Prophet. Once the social matrix shifts, he argues, from the tribally oriented caravan city of Medina (see CARAVAN; CITY) that was attempting to consolidate control of trade in the Arabian peninsula to a vast empire built upon the heritage of former empires, the logic of *ṣadaqa* as Bedouin tribute was tabled in view of richer sources of fiscal exploitation (lands of conquest), finally coming to be conflated with *zakāt* (cf. Sijpesteijn, *Shaping a Muslim state*). This

hypothesis is borne out in certain passages in Ibn Saʿd's (d. 230/845) account of tribal delegations to the Prophet. He relates (*Ṭabaqāt,* e.g. i, 293) an incident where the Banū Tamīm renounce certain *ṣadaqa* conditions, forcing the collector to inform the Prophet, but not in others (ibid., i, 300, where a letter from the Prophet is read to the Banū Kilāb delegation, calling them, among other things, to respond to God and his messenger, who will take *ṣadaqa* from the rich and distribute it to the poor). In yet another passage (ibid., i, 307), the Prophet is depicted writing out *ṣadaqa* obligations (*farāʾiḍ al-ṣadaqa;* cf. Abū ʿUbayd, *Amwāl,* entry 1848, which shows al-Zuhrī [d. 124/742] recording the prophetic precedent *[sunna]* on *ṣadaqa* assessment for the Umayyad caliph ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-Azīz).

The qurʾānic conceptualization of *ṣadaqa,* however, cannot be reduced to such a politico-economic view; its religious significance remained constant even if collection and distribution took on different forms in different times. As in the case of *zakāt* what stands out is its salvific role, not merely as charity but also as a sacrificial offering of sorts (see SACRIFICE) that indicates a penitent heart (q.v.). Q 9:104 states: "Do they not know that it is God who accepts repentance from his servants (see SERVANT) and takes alms *(ṣadaqāt)* and that it is God who grants repentance and mercy [q.v.; i.e. salvation]." Alms thus becomes an important soteriological stage in seeking the face of God (Q 2:271-3; cf. 30:39), making almsgiving a sub-category of gift-giving to God as ultimate recipient (the gift thus being irrevocable) and to his messenger as proxy in support *(nafaqa)* of God's cause. This is not to discount the tribal context but rather to note the close association of material sacrifice with a true desire to encounter the face of God as icon of salvation, for it is in sacrifice and self-denial that the will of the believer is humbled and God's glorified (e.g. Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* ad Q 2:271-3). To seek the face of God, one must prepare by purification — confirmed via alms payment — of one's sinfulness (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* ad Q 9:103, where *ṣadaqa* removes the stain of sin; see SIN, MAJOR AND MINOR). Since, in the qurʾānic view, the rule of God and authority of the Prophet were so closely intertwined (see KINGS AND RULERS), sacrificial offering became part and parcel of building up the Medinan polity under the leadership of Muḥammad — sacrificial alms as a kind of "taxation" in support of God's cause.

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Teaching

The act of instructing; imparting knowledge and information. Most of the numerous teaching-related passages in the Qurʾān are dedicated to the sound instruction of the believers in the faith (q.v.) and to their spiritual growth as individuals and members of the community (see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF; KNOWLEDGE AND LEARNING; IGNORANCE). These passages include instruction on the creed, worship and other aspects of religious life. Some passages in the Qurʾān, however, also provide detailed instruction on secular matters (human relations; political, social, and legal affairs, etc.; see ETHICS AND THE QURʾĀN; VIRTUES AND VICES, COMMANDING AND FORBIDDING; LAW AND THE QURʾĀN).

Matters related to teaching are dealt with in the Qurʾān in a wide variety of ways and are to be found in passages containing the following lexemes and concepts: 1) *ʿallama:* to teach, instruct, train; to make somebody know; 2) other terms implying the idea of teaching; 3) teaching principles; 4) certain approaches and techniques promoting the Qurʾān's teaching(s), such as: a) passages devoted to specific instructions; b) language signs and literary devices used as didactic tools (see PARABLE; SIMILES; METAPHOR; SYMBOLIC LANGUAGE; NATURE AS SIGNS; LITERARY STRUCTURES OF THE QURʾĀN); and 5) pedagogical and didactic elements significant for a more general context.

To teach, instruct, train

The verb *ʿallama* (with various subjects and objects) is found a total of forty-two times: as *ʿallama* (perfect active, twenty-two times), *yuʿallimu* (imperfect active, sixteen times), *ʿullima* (perfect passive, three times), and the passive participle *muʿallam* (once).

God teaches prophets

God "taught Adam the names of all [things]" (Q 2:31; see ADAM AND EVE; ANIMAL LIFE; CREATION; COSMOLOGY). After David (q.v.) slew Goliath (q.v.), David was given "the kingship, and the wisdom (q.v.), and he taught him such as he willed" (Q 2:251; see KINGS AND RULERS). David was also taught "the fashioning of [armor]…, to fortify [his people] against [the] violence [q.v.; they directed against each other]" (Q 21:80). David's heir, Solomon (q.v.), "said, 'People, we have been taught the speech of birds *(manṭiqa l-ṭayri)*'" (Q 27:16; for this topic and for relevant biblical passages, see Speyer, *Erzählungen,* 384-5). Jacob (q.v.), ancestor of all the Israelites, "was possessed of knowledge for that we had taught him" (*la-dhū ʿilmin li-mā ʿallamnāhu,* Q 12:68; see also ISRAEL). Joseph (q.v.), one of Jacob's sons, was taught the interpretation of tales and events (Q 12:6, 21, 101; see NEWS) and of dreams (Q 12:36-7; see DREAMS AND SLEEP). Moses' (q.v.) servant (*fatā,* associated by most commentators with al-Khiḍr; see KHAḌIR/KHIḌR) "had [been] given mercy (q.v.) from us, and… taught… knowledge proceeding from us" (Q 18:65); thus Moses asked his servant: "Shall I follow you so that you teach me of what you have been taught?" (Q 18:66; see also Wensinck, al-Khaḍir). Jesus (q.v.) had been taught "the book (q.v.) and the wisdom, the Torah (q.v.), and the Gospel" (q.v.; Q 5:110), in order to "be a messenger (q.v.) to the Children of Israel" (q.v.; Q 3:48-9). To Muḥammad, God revealed "the book and the wisdom, and taught [him] that which [he] knew not [before]" (Q 4:113; see UMMĪ; ILLITERACY; REVELATION AND INSPIRA-

tion). Muḥammad was "taught by one mighty in power" (Q 53:5), the archangel Gabriel (q.v.), "who brought [the Qurʾān] down upon [his] heart (q.v.) by the leave of God, confirming what was before it, and for a guidance and good tidings of the believers" (Q 2:97; see GOOD NEWS; ASTRAY). Muḥammad, however, had not been "taught poetry, [for] it [was] not seemly for him" (Q 36:69; see POETRY AND POETS).

God teaches humankind/common people

Q 96 (Sūrat al-ʿAlaq, "The Clot"), which the Islamic tradition usually considers to be the very first revelation to Muḥammad, gives priority to the fact that God "taught man that which he knew not" (Q 96:5) and that God did so "by [the use of] the pen" (Q 96:4), possibly indicating that God taught humankind "the holy scriptures" or "writing" (cf. also Q 2:282; see LITERACY; WRITING AND WRITING MATERIALS; ORALITY AND WRITING IN ARABIA; and Günther, Muḥammad, 4-5).

God taught humankind the Qurʾān (Q 55:2) and "the explanation" (*al-bayān,* Q 55:4; see also NAMES OF THE QURʾĀN), i.e. "articulated speech" (*nuṭq;* cf. *Jalālayn* and others on Q 55:4; see also Q 43:52, *wa-lā yakādu yubīnu*); or "the names of all things" *(asmāʾ kulli shayʾin)* or "all the languages" (*al-lughāt kullahā*; Qurṭubī, *Jāmiʿ*, xvii, 152-3; see LANGUAGE, CONCEPT OF; ARABIC LANGUAGE). It is said to "remember God, as he taught you the things that you knew not [before]" (Q 2:239; see REMEMBRANCE; MEMORY; REFLECTION AND DELIBERATION).

God orders Muḥammad to warn people about the previous generations (q.v.) who did not measure God "with his true measure" (see WARNER; PUNISHMENT STORIES; WEIGHTS AND MEASURES), denying that God had "sent the book… [to] Moses… as a light (q.v.) and a guidance to humankind *(bashar)*…" (see LIE). The unbelievers are addressed directly: "you were taught what you knew not, you and your fathers" (Q 6:91; see also Q 2:151, 239; 4:113; and Q 2:282; 96:4). That God taught humans how to train ("teach") animals is stated in Q 5:4.

God teaches the angels

God taught the angels (see ANGEL) so they said "We know not save what you have taught us" (Q 2:32). Nonetheless, the angels did not have Adam's knowledge, for God had taught him the names of all things — which resulted in God's setting Adam and humankind on the earth as his viceroy instead of the angels (see CALIPH).

Prophets teach

God's messengers (see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD) were sent to the people to "teach them the book and the wisdom, and to purify them" (Q 2:129; cf. 2:151). Muḥammad was instructed "to recite his signs (q.v.) to them, and to purify them, and to teach them the book and the wisdom, though before that they were in manifest error" (q.v.; Q 62:2).

Pharaoh's (q.v.) accusation that Moses taught sorcery is implied in Pharaoh's threat to his sorcerers: "Have you believed him (Moses) before I gave you leave? Why, he is the chief of you, the same who taught you sorcery" (Q 20:71; cf. 26:49; see MAGIC; MIRACLES; MARVELS).

Humans teach

Certain humans (Muslims) are warned against wanting to "teach" God; this is evident in God's command to Muḥammad: "Say: 'What! Would you (people) teach God what your religion (q.v.) is…?'" (Q 49:16).

The *rabbāniyyūn,* "masters (in the scripture), people of the lord (q.v.)," are reminded of their twofold obligation: to teach and to continue studying. It is stated:

"Be you masters in that you teach the book [to your brethren in faith], and in that you [yourselves] study [it]" (*kūnū rabbāniyyīna bi-mā kuntum tuʿallimūna l-kitāba wa-bi-mā kuntum tadrusūna,* Q 3:79). According to Ibn ʿAbbās (d. 68/687-8), "the father of qurʾānic exegesis" (Veccia Vaglieri, ʿAbd Allāh b. al-ʿAbbās; see EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL), the *rabbāniyyūn* are "scholars" and "teachers," for he remarks: "Be *rabbāniyyūn,* wise, erudite and learned men; and it is said that a [good] *rabbānī* is someone who [starts] instructing people in simple [things], before [dealing with] complex ones" (*kūnū rabbāniyyīna ḥukamāʾ, fuqahāʾ, ʿulamāʾ; wa-yuqālu: al-rabbānī lladhī yurabbī l-nāsa bi-ṣighāri l-ʿilmi qabla kibārihi;* cf. Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ, K. al-ʿIlm, bāb* 10; Khan, *Translation,* i, 59-60). *Rabbāniyyūn* is also a synonym for "erudite men" (*ḥukamāʾ;* see Dārimī, *Sunan,* n. 329). A different nuance in meaning is stressed by al-Rāzī (d. 606/1210) quoting Sībawayhi (d. ca. 180/796): "A *rabbānī* is [somebody] belonging to the lord, in the sense of his being knowledgeable of him and being persistent in obeying him" (*al-rabbānī l-mansūb ilā l-rabb, bi-maʿnā kawnihi ʿāliman bihi wa-muwāẓiban ʿalā ṭāʿatihi;* Rāzī, *Tafsīr,* xviii, 119; and the etymology offered in Horovitz, *Proper names,* 57; ed. Ohio, 201). In Q 5:44, 63, *rabbāniyyūn* is used in conjunction with the *aḥbār* (Jewish/non-Muslim doctors, teachers; see also Horovitz, *KU,* 63-4; *Proper names,* 53-4, 56-7; ed. Ohio, 197-8, 200-1; Paret, *Kommentar* 39, 122; for the Aramaic word *rabb, rabbī,* and the derived form *rabbūnī,* meaning "[my] master/teacher," also a title of a Palestinian scholar, see Sokoloff, *Aramaic,* 511, 513, 514; Buttrick, *Interpreter's dictionary,* iv, 522-4). In this context, it is worth noting that *al-rabb* in the Qurʾān — when referring to God, mostly translated as "the lord" — implies the meaning of the "supreme master, divine teacher," to whom humans feel close despite his omnipotence (see CLIENTS AND CLIENTAGE; POWER AND IMPOTENCE).

Humans shall "train, teach" animals as God has taught them before, as it is mentioned in the context of slaughtering animals and dietary rules (see SLAUGHTER; FOOD AND DRINK; LAWFUL AND UNLAWFUL): "The good things are permitted to you, and such hunting creatures you teach, training them as hounds, and teaching them as God has taught you (see HUNTING AND FISHING) — eat what they seize for you, and mention God's name over it!" (Q 5:4; see BASMALA).

Furthermore, mention is made of Muḥammad's opponents (see OPPOSITION TO MUḤAMMAD) and of their attempts to discredit him and his message by claiming that he had not been receiving revelations but was being "taught" instead by a human teacher: "And we know very well that they say, 'Only a human *(bashar)* is teaching him'" (Q 16:103) — perhaps an allusion to a monk known as Sergius (Sargis Baḥīrā; cf. Günther, Muḥammad, 25-6, n. 124; see CHRISTIANS AND CHRISTIANITY; MONASTICISM AND MONKS; INFORMANTS). Along these lines, Muḥammad was accused of being a man "tutored *(muʿallam)*, possessed" (Q 44:14; see INSANITY).

Angels/devils teach

The Qurʾān refutes the idea that Solomon knew and taught sorcery: "Solomon disbelieved not, but the satans *(al-shayāṭīn)* disbelieved, teaching the people sorcery, and that which was sent down [from heaven] upon the two angels in Babylon, Hārūt and Mārūt (q.v.); they [the two angels] taught not anyone [sorcery] without saying, 'We are but a temptation; do not disbelieve'" (Q 2:102), for Solomon was considered to be the originator of sorcery, an idea apparently prevalent among the Jews in Medina (q.v.; see Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* ii, 408; Fück, Das Problem, 5-6; Asad, *The*

message, 21 n. 82; for *shayṭān* meaning satan, cf. Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* ii, 405, and passim; abr. Eng. trans. Cooper, *The commentary,* 475-91; see DEVIL; JEWS AND JUDAISM).

Other terms

This account of Solomon includes the only two qurʾānic references to *taʿallum,* "learning," the linguistic counterpart of *taʿlīm,* "teaching." It is said that the people in Babylon "learned [from the two fallen angels Hārūt and Mārūt] how they might separate a man from his wife…; and they learned what hurt them, and did not profit them…" (Q 2:102; see also Fahd, Siḥr).

Also relevant here is the concept of *dirāsa,* "to investigate, search [the scriptures]" (see Q 3:79; 6:105, 156; 7:169; 34:44; 68:37; also Horovitz, Proper names, 199, and the references given there; see also TRADITIONAL DISCIPLINES OF QURʾĀNIC STUDY; TEACHING AND PREACHING THE QURʾĀN).

Most of the numerous other expressions, implying more or less directly the idea of "teaching," relate to the notion of "God teaching the prophet(s)" and "the prophet Muḥammad instructing the people"; examples are *amara,* "to order" (cf. Q 3:80), *dhakara,* "to mention" (e.g. Q 7:2), *dhakkara,* "to remind" (cf. Q 14:5; 51:55), *qaraʾa* and *talā,* "to read aloud, recite" (e.g. Q 11:17; 18:27; see RECITATION OF THE QURʾĀN). *Adrā,* "to cause to know, to teach" (occurring seventeen times) is used in God's orders to Muḥammad and the Muslims to reply to those who doubt the message of the Qurʾān (see UNCERTAINTY): "Say, 'Had God willed, I would not have recited it to you, neither would he have taught you it'" (Q 10:16; see also the rhetorical questions introduced by *mā adrāka,* "What will teach you? What makes you conceive?" in Q 69:3; 74:27; 77:14; 82:17, 18; 83:8, 19; 86:2; 90:12; 97:2; 101:3, 10; 104:5; and *mā yudrīka,* Q 33:63; 42:17; 80:3; see EXHORTATIONS).

Further relevant terminology includes *tadabbara,* "to ponder, contemplate, seek to understand" (e.g. Q 4:82; 47:24), *istaftā,* "to ask for a legal opinion" (cf. Q 4:127), the indicative designation "those who were given knowledge" from God (*ūtū l-ʿilma,* Q 16:27; 17:107; 22:54; 28:80; 29:42; 30:56; 34:6; 47:16; 58:11), and terms for "explanation," such as *bayān, tabyīn, tafṣīl, tafsīr* and the like.

In addition, the Qurʾān often employs *ʿalima,* "to know," to mean "to gain knowledge of something, to receive knowledge of something." Its qurʾānic counterpart, *jahila,* connotes "to be ignorant, not to know" (see AGE OF IGNORANCE). *Darā* is often used figuratively in the Qurʾān to mean "to learn of something, to know," while *shaʿara* connotes "to know, to realize," and its counterpart *ghafala,* "not to know, to be unmindful" (for these latter terms, see Fück, Das Problem, 12-19). *Tadrīs,* "teaching," and *taʾdīb,* "educating," do not occur in the Qurʾān. While *sharḥ* can imply "explanation, explaining," in the Qurʾān, derivatives of *sh-r-ḥ* connote "acceptance, opening, expanding," so they are not included in this overview.

Teaching principles

The Qurʾān seems to suggest a number of teaching principles, such as to be patient (Q 17:11; 18:60-82; 75:16; see TRUST AND PATIENCE), and to be attentive (Q 7:204; 50:37) while receiving instruction; to train the mind and improve the memory by reading aloud, repeating and pondering (Q 4:82; 38:29; 47:24; 87:6); to instruct people in their native language (Q 12:2; 14:4); to dispute only in matters of which one is knowledgeable (Q 3:66; see DEBATE AND DISPUTATION); to argue in a courteous manner (Q 16:125; 29:46); and to instruct by use of examples and evidence, as the many biblical narratives (q.v.) in the Qurʾān illustrate (for instance, by

suggesting that lessons be drawn from the past and the experiences of others; e.g. Q 5:32; 11:89); similarly for the passages teaching humans confidence (Q 11:38, 120; see also Speyer, *Erzählungen,* 87, 462-92; al-Gisr, Islamic education, 18-21; Jamālī, *Falsafa,* 13; Siddiqi, *Qurʾānic concept,* 1-10).

Methods and techniques

As for the question of what methods and techniques the qurʾānic text utilizes to promote its teaching(s), two points must be made. First, there are passages expressly dedicated to teaching; Q 2:282-3, for example, provides detailed instruction on how to handle legal matters:

> O believers, when you contract a debt (q.v.) one upon another for a stated term, then write it down! And let a writer *(kātib)* write it down between you justly. And let not any writer refuse to write it down, as God has taught him (i.e. the art of writing). So let him write it down. And let the debtor dictate!… And if the debtor be a fool, or weak, or unable to dictate himself, then let his guardian dictate justly… (see MATURITY; GUARDIANSHIP). And be not loath to write it down, whether it (i.e. the amount) be small or great…! That is more equitable in God's sight… And take witnesses whenever you are trafficking one with another (see WITNESSING AND TESTIFYING)! And let neither a scribe nor a witness suffer harm.… And if you are upon a journey (q.v.), and you do not find a writer, then a pledge *(rihān)* in hand [should be required].

Second, there are textual characteristics and literary devices that emerge as sophisticated pedagogical and didactic tools. Examples are rhetorical questions, such as "Have you not seen…?" "Do you not know…?" (see RHETORIC AND THE QURʾĀN); textual elements that add force to already powerful passages (cf. Welch, Formulaic features, 77; see FORM AND STRUCTURE OF THE QURʾĀN); notions of forensic activity, such as proving (see PROOF), explaining, making manifest, and debating (cf. McAuliffe, Debate, 164); and literary signs, such as parallelism, repetition, metaphor, parable, simile (see also PAIRS AND PAIRING). The question as to how and to what extent the Qurʾān actualizes itself — as an aesthetic object — in the consciousness of its recipients seems to gain in significance in the context of "teaching and the Qurʾān" (see also Kermani, *Gott ist schön,* chap. 2; see LANGUAGE AND STYLE OF THE QURʾĀN; TEACHING AND PREACHING THE QURʾĀN).

Pedagogical and didactic elements

If "teaching (and learning)" were to be understood in a wider sense, the pedagogical and didactic elements in the Qurʾān extend to issues such as the developmental stages, habits and socialization of the human being (for the child, see Q 2:233; 40:67; 46:15; 65:6; see CHILDREN; PARENTS); ethical norms and values related to education (for orphans [q.v.], see Q 2:215; 76:8; 90:15-16; 89:17; for piety [q.v.] towards parents, see Q 2:83; 4:36; 6:151; 17:23-4; 18:80; 19:14; 29:8; 31:14-15; 46:15; see also Izutsu, *Concepts,* 207-10); human psychology (Q 3:135; 11:9-10; 12:53; 17:11; 21:37; 41:49; 96:6-7); and the appeal to the mind, reason and understanding (also in matters of faith) evident, for example, in the frequent phrase *a-fa-lā taʿqilūna,* "do you not understand?" (Q 2:44; see INTELLECT), and in the epitome of qurʾānic praise for the learned: "[Only] the erudite among his servants [truly] fear God" (Q 35:28).

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Teaching and Preaching the Qurʾān

Since the earliest days of Islam, the Qurʾān has been considered the foundation of all knowledge and moral behavior. Originally, its study and transmission took place via lessons and sermons in the mosque from which the informal educational model of *madrasa* schools developed, as well as the master-student model, where students sought out teachers for their particular knowledge and studied with them for varying lengths of time. These two models formed a more or less uniform system that lasted for over a thousand years and actually still exists in modernized forms in various countries. There were no exams, no tables or chairs, and no distinction between religious and secular subjects. In some countries venerable mosque-universities developed, such as al-Azhar [University] in Cairo.

Students moved in and out of these educational structures and, depending on the years and intensity of their study, took up positions in the hierarchy of scholars (see KNOWLEDGE AND LEARNING; SCHOLAR). Some, wearing the mantle of their teacher's scholarship, became *ʿulamāʾ:* scholars of Islam who were qualified to participate in the science of interpreting the Qurʾān (*tafsīr;* see EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL) and developing jurisprudence (*fiqh;* see LAW AND THE QURʾĀN). They were expected to have a deeper knowledge of the Qurʾān and its sciences than imāms (see IMĀM), leaders in the mosque who on Friday delivered the ritual sermon *(khuṭba),* or held a variety of religious positions outside the mosque. The prophet Muḥammad was the first preacher, addressing his followers in his house-mosque in Medina (q.v.; beginning in 622 C.E.), and those preaching the Friday sermon *(khaṭīb)* still stand in the

tradition of his religious authority (see also FRIDAY PRAYER).

By the nineteenth century, this traditional system of transmitting the Qurʾān and its sciences (see TRADITIONAL DISCIPLINES OF QURʾĀNIC STUDY) was more or less destroyed when, under colonial influences, Middle Eastern countries started to replace the *madrasa*s with secular institutions that could produce teachers, medical doctors and engineers. This led not only to a crisis in the traditional educational system, forcing the classical institutions to re-invent themselves; it also involved a breakdown in the traditional authority of those considered the custodians of the Qurʾān.

Over time, those carrying the message of Islam graduated from secular institutions as well. This was, among others, facilitated by the reformist movement initiated by Muḥammad ʿAbduh (1849-1905) that allowed direct study of the Qurʾān and ḥadīth (see ḤADĪTH AND THE QURʾĀN) while bypassing the sources of jurisprudence *(fiqh)*. Several influential teachers and preachers of Islam, such as the philosopher of the Muslim Brotherhood Sayyid Quṭb (d. 1966), did not receive their training in the traditional schools that teach the classical qurʾānic sciences. Some of the most famous contemporary orators, such as the Egyptian Canadian Jamal Badawi and the Indonesian Abdullah Gymnastiar, hold graduate degrees in business, which they studied in addition to the Qurʾān.

Concomitant with changes in education, new media such as radio, TV, cassettes and the Internet developed, all contributing to what Patrick Gaffney has called a "fragmentation of Islamic religious authority" (*Prophet's pulpit,* 35).

As the media became a platform for non-ritual preaching and the educational level of Muslims in general rose, those delivering the message were no longer men only but also included women who had become more learned in religious topics (see WOMEN AND THE QURʾĀN). With Muslims emigrating to the West, converts to Islam such as the African American Siraj Wahaj and US-born Hamzah Yusuf gained prominence as charismatic preachers, especially among the second and third generation Muslims who were born in the West.

Through the activities of reformist Islamic movements, the act of preaching changed as well (see POLITICS AND THE QURʾĀN). Non-ritual preaching that is not constrained by the strict parameters of the mosque sermon *(khuṭba)* came to serve as a tool of mission or propagation (*daʿwa;* see INVITATION). In order to make the message more attractive, new methodologies and modes of delivering it developed. Some preachers chant or sing during their sermon, others allow room for remarks from the audience.

From the beginning of Islam, Friday worship has had more than just religious significance. Muslim believers also gathered in the mosque (q.v.) to intensify a sense of solidarity among the members of the community and to discuss public issues. The message of inspired preachers, inside and outside the mosque, can have profound spiritual, social and political ramifications. It can instill a strong sense of religious purpose in those within their audience, or bring them to the point of revolting against a regime or other power. In July 2004, the Yemeni firebrand preacher Ḥusayn Badr al-Dīn al-Ḥūthī caused an uprising that left 300 people dead. At the other end of the spectrum, the messages preached by Farid Esack and ʿAbdur Rashid Omar in South Africa promoted what they called "progressive Islam" among the black Muslim population which helped bring about the demise of the Apartheid regime. It also promoted gender

equality (see GENDER; FEMINISM AND THE QUR'ĀN) and the development of an Islamic liberation theology.

Despite the fact that sermons, especially the Friday *khuṭba,* can be a barometer of social and political trends in Muslim societies, before the terrorist attacks in the United States on September 11, 2001, preaching had been largely ignored as a serious topic for study.

Terminology

The English term "preaching" has a variety of meanings in Arabic. The foremost act of preaching is the sermon, the *khuṭba,* that is delivered during the ritual of the Friday service, the two major feasts (see FESTIVALS AND COMMEMORATIVE DAYS) or during specific gatherings such as prayers for rain (see PRAYER FORMULAS). Preaching other than in the ritual Friday setting is called a *waʿẓ,* or *waʿẓa,* "sermon, lesson, moral warning," or *dars,* "lesson," in Arabic, but, depending on the local language, has many other translations. In Indonesia, for example, it is called *pengajian,* "the act of reciting the Qurʾān" (see also RECITATION OF THE QURʾĀN), or *majelis taʾlim,* "educational meeting."

The art of preaching the Qurʾān took and takes place on several levels. By the fourteenth century, depending on the audience's literacy, there were different specialists delivering the qurʾānic messages for a variety of listeners. Apart from the ritual aspects (see RITUAL AND THE QURʾĀN), there was and is little to distinguish the various types of preachers and their sermons and speeches from each other. The *khaṭīb,* delivering the *khuṭba* or *khuṭbat al-jumaʿ,* carried some of the authority of the Prophet. The *wāʿiẓ* told stories of the early heroes of Islam, while the *qāṣṣ* recited passages he had memorized from the Qurʾān and ḥadīth and encouraged his audience to fulfill their religious duties. Storytelling and preaching were mixed, and so were the roles of their performers; some were highly educated jurists, others based their knowledge on a few years of education in a *madrasa,* or had memorized the lessons of a *shaykh*.

Those preaching the Friday sermon continue to be called *khaṭīb* (preacher), while nowadays the words *imām* (leader of the ritual prayer, who also is the preacher) or (in the Middle East) *shaykh* are used as well. Influenced by trends of Islamic resurgence, *dāʿī* (one who performs *daʿwa,* a call or summons that invites or proselytizes) has become another term for those preaching non-ritual sermons. In the wake of the reformist movement the term *muballigh,* from *tablīgh* (to communicate, fulfill or implement a mission), which developed in response to colonialism and Christian missionary activities, has gained prominence as well.

Since the beginning of the twentieth century, preaching in general became identified as *daʿwa,* a qurʾānic term whose meaning has evolved over time and differs according to its context. "Preaching is *daʿwa,*" according to an Islamic scholar working at the Islam-online website. The basis for the call to exhort believers with the message of Islam is in the Qurʾān; a frequently-cited reference is Q 3:104, which refers to "A band of people *(ummatun)* inviting to all that is good, enjoining what is right and forbidding what is wrong" (see GOOD AND EVIL; VIRTUES AND VICES, COMMANDING AND FORBIDDING). Another is Q 16:125: "Invite (all) to the way of your lord (q.v.) with wisdom (q.v.) and beautiful preaching.…"

The proliferation of *daʿwa* was further enhanced by the advent of the reformist movement that contributed to the democratization of knowledge by stressing the

importance of education so that the text of the Qurʾān could become accessible to a general audience. Complex traditions of interpretation were bypassed and reading the original text was stressed. In countries where Arabic was not the local language (see ARABIC LANGUAGE), the reformists translated the text of the Qurʾān (see TRANSLATIONS OF THE QURʾĀN) and stopped giving sermons in Arabic, as this language was understood by few.

Tablīgh

In the wake of the reformist movement, the term *tablīgh* (from *b-l-gh,* form II, "to inform, communicate a message"), became interchangeable with *daʿwa,* including the phrase *tablīgh al-daʿwa*. According to reformist interpretation, for example, as espoused by Muḥammad Rashīd Riḍā (1865-1935), *tablīgh* became the duty of every Muslim who had knowledge of the language and of Islamic laws. In non-ritual preaching it is the preacher's duty to communicate and warn others to follow the truth (q.v.) and thus its goal has ranged from strengthening Muslim believers to inviting non-Muslims to accept Islam (see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF).

Khuṭba and *khaṭīb*

Neither the term *khuṭba* nor *khaṭīb* is mentioned in the Qurʾān. The *khuṭba* is part of the ritual Friday service, during which it is delivered from a *minbar* (pulpit), precedes the *ṣalāt* (see PRAYER), and consists of two parts. Since it replaces two of the four customary *rakʿāt* (see BOWING AND PROSTRATION) of the noon (q.v.) prayer, listening to it is considered an act of *ʿibāda,* worship (q.v.), and hence should be observed with appropriate reverence.

In principle, the authority to deliver the *khuṭba* belongs to the successor of the Prophet and in the early years of Islamic history it was held by the caliph (q.v.) himself or his governor. As the Islamic domain expanded, the ruler appointed a scholar learned in religious matters to represent him as the official *khaṭīb*. *Khuṭba*s were of political importance and customarily mentioned the name of the ruler as a recognition of his legitimacy (see KINGS AND RULERS; AUTHORITY). As time went by, their function expanded to providing religious instruction and moral guidance. Depending on the political conditions, the *khuṭba* remained a political tool, and was, for example, used as a form of protest against colonialism in modern times.

The *khaṭīb* often serves as the imām of the mosque and leads the daily prayers; many of them used to be trained in a *madrasa*. Nowadays they are trained in one of the schools for traditional Islamic higher education such as al-Azhar in Egypt or IAIN (Institut Agama Islam Negeri, State Institute for Higher Islamic Studies) in Indonesia. Those working in state-owned mosques are part of the state bureaucracy. The state not only provides their salaries but also exercises a certain amount of control over the topics and contents of their sermons, and, via its publications, guides the *khaṭīb* in the preparation of his material. Especially because of the potentially important political ramifications of a sermon, local governments regularly interfere in its text, sometimes prescribing standard pre-screened sermons for state-owned mosques.

The preacher's authority is based on various definitions of knowledge *(ʿilm)*. In principle the *khaṭīb* is a scholar, gifted in oratory skills and drawn from among the religiously-trained scholars *(ʿulamāʾ)*. Since these have been the custodians of the Islamic tradition for more than a millennium, it is crucial that their authority be based on solid knowledge of the Qurʾān, Islamic doctrine, and traditional learning.

Teaching

In the pre-colonial era Islamic education took place mostly in *madrasa*s that ranged from the elementary to the university level, or via the master-student model. During the twentieth century, these traditional structures were replaced by modern institutions. As Muslims emigrated to non-Muslim countries, the complexity of teaching and preaching the Qurʾān increased. As many Muslims achieved higher levels of education, teaching went beyond the schooling of children and future religious leaders and expanded to include activities on the pre-school level, after-school mosque instruction and forms of continuing adult education. The Qurʾān (Q 3:110) refers to the importance of teaching (q.v.) its injunctions, since they shape the character of a good and devout Muslim and since the Qurʾān is the foundation of all knowledge, its memorization becomes the cornerstone of Islamic learning.

After the traditional forms of education broke down, its institutions lost ground and became incorporated into the modernized national school systems. In many countries this not only interrupted the traditional teaching models of qurʾānic learning, but in places such as Morocco, led for a period of time to outright neglect of religious education. Other countries, such as Nigeria and Tanzania, were hardly affected by these trends and students continued to follow the model of seeking knowledge from a master or *shaykh*.

In the struggle to replace the classical models of Islamic education, some countries were more successful than others in creating contemporary alternatives. Nowadays, in many countries, kindergartens and private institutions continue to teach children the fundamentals of Islam. In countries such as Pakistan, Indonesia, Nigeria and Tanzania, *madrasa*s still exist and have incorporated the curriculum of elementary school subjects. Furthermore, in those countries, some *madrasa*s offer secondary and higher levels of education. Apart from these formal institutions of learning, informal programs in schools and mosques, Islamic organizations, and educational media such as websites play important roles in the formation and education of Muslims and of those who go on to become specialists in the Qurʾān.

While in earlier times education often ended at the *madrasa,* nowadays, depending on the accreditation of the *madrasa,* upon graduation students can continue their education in secular universities or in an Islamic institution for higher learning such as al-Azhar University in Cairo, the International Islamic Universities in Islamabad, Pakistan and Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, and the IAIN and the Islamic State University networks in Indonesia.

Elementary education

Until the nineteenth century, the first level of traditional Islamic education in the Middle East took place in the *kuttāb, maktab* (Iran), or *mektep* (Turkey) where for a period of two to five years boys learned verses (q.v.) from the Qurʾān, a limited number of ḥadīths and some basic principles of Islamic law *(fiqh)*. Contemporary Islamic education on the elementary level takes different forms but Muslims agree that inculcation of Islamic values and knowledge should start as early in life as possible, especially nowadays when television and other media compete with religion in the formation of children. In many instances, teaching the children also provides an opportunity to include mothers in the educational process.

In her book about teaching qurʾānic recitation *(Perfection makes practice. Learning, emotion, and the recited Qurʾān in Indonesia),* Anna Gade provides several examples from

Indonesia, showing how a close connection is formed between preaching and Qurʾān recitation in order to create a new cadre of religious leaders. During the 1970s, when the reformists realized the lack of recitation skills among their preachers, they started a movement (AMM, Angkatan Muda Masjid dan Musholla, Youth groups for mosque and prayer house) that tried to counter the influence of television by teaching children Qurʾān recitation. This resulted in an extra-curricular schooling system for children under five (TKA, Taman Kanak-kanak Al-Quran), for elementary-school age children (TPA, Taman Pendidikan Anak-anak), and for youth. In order to instill enthusiasm for the Qurʾān in children, these educational institutions organized events such as mass recitations by children and a large pilgrimage (q.v.; *ḥajj*) simulation. The curriculum for these courses includes memorization of the ritual prayers, short sūras (q.v.), and daily non-ritual prayers; studying ḥadīth and the rules of Qurʾān recitation *(tajwīd);* writing Arabic and practicing rituals such as the ablution before prayer (*wuḍūʾ;* see CLEANLINESS AND ABLUTION; RITUAL PURITY). Mothers whose children participate in these courses often form their own groups to learn to read the Qurʾān.

*Madrasa*s

A *madrasa* is an endowed, private educational institution that originated in the Middle East around the eleventh century. Originally, it was an instructional center connected with a mosque, or a mosque complex where students could stay overnight. It evolved into an institution that until the nineteenth century came to preserve Islamic learning and orthodoxy. *Madrasa*s produced *ʿulamāʾ,* the cadre of religious scholars, judges and teachers, although, at their more elementary levels, an important aim was to inculcate the practices, knowledge and principles that shape the ethical and moral principles of a good Muslim (see ETHICS AND THE QURʾĀN). All students learned the reading and recitation of the Qurʾān in an accurate way (see READINGS OF THE QURʾĀN), since this is foundational to the transmission of the faith (q.v.).

In 459/1067 the first formally institutionalized *madrasa,* the Niẓāmiyya *madrasa,* opened in Baghdād. Its founder, Niẓām al-Mulk (d. 485/1092), vizier to the Saljūq sultans, envisioned a school that would teach orthodox Sunnī Islam in order to counter the prevailing heterodoxies, both theological and philosophical (see THEOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN). The Niẓāmiyya *madrasa* served as the nucleus for the development of scores of *madrasa*s that provided education in Islamic sciences. In addition to study and memorization of the Qurʾān, the curriculum included traditionally transmitted sciences such as *tafsīr* (exegesis), ḥadīth, *uṣūl al-fiqh* (principles of jurisprudence); the ancillary Arabic-language sciences of grammar (see GRAMMAR AND THE QURʾĀN), rhetoric (see RHETORIC AND THE QURʾĀN) and literature (see LITERATURE AND THE QURʾĀN); theology; and the classical or "rational" sciences such as logic, philosophy (see PHILOSOPHY AND THE QURʾĀN), astronomy, and arithmetic (see SCIENCE AND THE QURʾĀN). Learning took place with the students sitting on the floor around a teacher while memorizing and repeating certain texts. Arabic was the primary medium of instruction, and students memorized the Qurʾān and ḥadīth and, lacking books, took notes while committing to memory the words of the teacher. There were no exams, but students were certified in particular texts when they reached a certain

level of mastery of them. Other famous *madrasa*s were al-Zaytūna in Tunis, al-Qarawiyyīn in Fez and al-Sulaymāniyya in Istanbul.

For the most part, *madrasa* education was traditionally for men only and guaranteed careers as religious leaders, as, for example, imāms in local mosques. Where they still exist *madrasa*s continue to attract students from the poorer and middle classes because of their lower tuition fees. In Pakistan, for example, they offer a second chance and possible upward mobility to dropouts from state schools. Those who can afford it prefer to send their children, especially male children, to secular schools since its diplomas open to students a broader range of graduate programs or of job opportunities. For this reason, in certain *madrasa*s, for example those in Indonesia, the number of female students has been gradually surpassing that of male students.

With the demise of the traditional institutions for Islamic education, private or state-owned mosques and institutes started to offer alternative religious curricula. Here children receive basic education in the Qurʾān. Some institutes such as al-Azhar University in Cairo continue to offer the elementary, middle and higher level courses that were the curriculum of the *madrasa*s. In Morocco, the state has established religious institutes at the secondary and post-secondary level. Several renowned institutes of classical learning, such as the Yūsufiyya mosque-university, became integrated with the Qarawiyyīn University. In 1924, Turkey abolished its *medrese*s, replacing them with a secular school system, and opening special secondary schools to train imāms and *khaṭīb*s. This system proved unsatisfactory, and by the 1950s the *imam-hatip okulları* were established in order to provide comprehensive religious education while the Faculty of Theology at Ankara University became the most important institute for Islamic higher education.

Generally speaking, the *madrasa* system that offers a comprehensive Islamic education is still most vibrant in countries where Arabic is not the national language, such as in some sub-Saharan African countries, India, Pakistan, Malaysia, and Indonesia. In these places, children have to master Arabic as a second language before they can continue to study the Qurʾān-related sciences. In several African countries (e.g. Nigeria), new Islamic schools have proliferated; these combine traditional and modern features in their curriculum. Through teacher training colleges for male students they offer the traditional *madrasa* curriculum where students concentrate on Arabic and Islamic studies intensively for four years. In Kano, northern Nigeria, such a school exists exclusively for women.

Since the 1960s, the Indian and Pakistani governments have attempted to reform the religious curricula of the *madrasa*s so that their students can meet the standards accepted by state schools and can enter the mainstream education. These efforts have been met with severe criticism from the established *ʿulamāʾ* who considered the introduction of secular subjects a threat to their religious authority and an attempt to weaken Islam. After it became known that leaders of the radical Taliban movement that ruled Afghanistan were trained in certain Deobandi *madrasa*s (especially the Darul Uloom Haqqania; see DEOBANDIS), the Pakistani government tried to press more forcefully for the modernization of such institutions.

As secular models of education grew in prominence, an unresolved tension arose concerning the status of those graduating from *madrasa*s. While these graduates

possessed the traditional knowledge of Islam required for sustaining Islamic scholarship, they secured little respect in a society that had come to prefer professions, such as engineering or medicine, for which one had to have studied at secular schools. At the same time, *madrasa* graduates were no longer the sole custodians of Islamic knowledge, since "new" religious intellectuals emerged who had obtained their religious education elsewhere. Responding to this challenge that redefined the place of religion and religious authority in society, *madrasa*s and other institutions of Islamic learning all over the Muslim world started to introduce secular subjects into their curricula.

India and Pakistan

While there is evidence that *madrasa*s existed in north India since the twelfth century, the most vigorous *madrasa*s of the subcontinent grew out of reformist movements whose *da'wa* activities needed trained workers. In 1867, this led to the establishment of the Dār al-'Ulūm Deobandi *madrasa*s where those qualified to work in *tablīgh* were educated. This model became rapidly replicated in other parts of the country. One of the most prominent changes in reformist Deobandi *madrasa*s was increased attention to the study of ḥadīth in order to combat local, non-orthodox beliefs and rituals (see POPULAR AND TALISMANIC USES OF THE QUR'ĀN; HERESY). The curriculum followed in most *madrasa*s in India and Pakistan derives from a corpus of texts referred to as *Dars-i Nizami* that was introduced by Mulla Nizam al-Din Muḥammad (d.1748). In most cases these texts were composed between the ninth and the eighteenth centuries by Iranian, central Asian and Indian scholars.

The Deobandi schools emulated the British educational system in introducing a set curriculum, a separation of academic levels, and examinations (Metcalf, *Islamic revival,* 87-137). Concurrent with the Deobandi movement, the organization of Nadwat al-'Ulama' set up the Dar al-'Ulum *madrasa*s that aimed at producing scholars of Islam who could guide the believers in both religious and non-religious matters. Currently it is estimated that there are 30,000 *madrasa*s in India.

The strong Indian *madrasa*s did not expand to Pakistan with its establishment in 1947. There, religious leaders had to build a new system. Pakistan tried to reconfirm its commitment to Islam through opening and reforming the *madrasa*s. In Punjab alone, for example, the number of *madrasa*s (called *dini madaris*) grew from 137 in 1947, to 2,500 in 1994. State initiatives of 1962, 1979 and 2001 gradually introduced secular modern subjects while also reforming the religious subjects. President Muhammad Zia ul-Haq (1977-1988), in particular, tried to bring the *dini madaris* under government supervision and into the mainstream educational system while preserving their character as the custodians of Islamic learning. In 2001 the Pakistani state issued regulations that aimed at unifying the curriculum of the *dini madaris* in order to provide a comprehensive Islamic as well as a general education and so that the degrees these *madrasa*s granted could be recognized in the national system. As part of this effort, the new curriculum comprised subjects such as English, mathematics, computer science (see also COMPUTERS AND THE QUR'ĀN), economics (q.v.), and political science (see also SOCIAL SCIENCES AND THE QUR'ĀN).

Southeast Asia

Institutions of Islamic education in Singapore, Indonesia, Malaysia and Thailand not only serve to educate the Muslim populations but also provide a link

to the Middle East where students often go to complete their religious education. This exchange guarantees a regular flow of Islamic thought between the Middle East and the Far East. Indonesia, the largest Muslim country with over 210 million Muslims, has a large and very efficient system of Islamic education that supplies preachers and teachers of the Qurʾān. Currently, many *madrasa*s offer levels of kindergarten *(Raudlatul Athfal),* elementary *(Ibtidaʾiya),* middle *(Tsanawiya),* and high school *(Aliya)*. The current curriculum is divided into 70% general education and 30% religious education, although some *madrasa*s continue to offer religious education only. There are 37,362 *madrasa*s (85 percent of which are private) with nearly six million students. Almost fifty percent of the students are women, while more women than men study at the *Aliya* level (Jabali and Jamhari, *IAIN,* 130).

In southeast Asia an indigenous system of schools to teach Islamic sciences, called *pesantren,* developed and spread from Indonesia to the regions of Kedah and Kelantan in Malaysia and to southern Thailand. The *pesantren,* also called *pondok pesantren* (allegedly from *funduq,* hostel), is an Islamic boarding school where students (called *santri*) share cramped quarters in dormitories where they cook or buy their own food, wash their own clothes and spend the entire day following a discipline of studying or doing study-related activities. The majority of the *pesantren* are situated in the countryside. They are always independent and often set up by a charismatic teacher *(kiai)* who attracts students that can number into the thousands. Since the 1950s several *pesantren* have allowed female students who live in segregated dorms and have their own classes, often with female teachers. There are *pesantren* all over Indonesia; on the island of Java alone their number is nearly 10,000. Originally the *pesantren* curriculum was entirely religious. This changed in the 1980s, as a result of which 30 percent of the *pesantren* now offer three to four levels of mixed general and religious education. In many *pesantren* students attend state schools while studying the Qurʾān and related sciences for four to six hours a day before and after school. There are two types of *pesantren:* those belonging to the networks of the traditionalist Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) organization and the modernist ones. The Gontor *pesantren* on Java is a modernist *pesantren,* famous for an innovative curriculum that students can follow in English or Arabic. Around one quarter of the students of both types of *pesantren* continue their studies in the Middle East, mostly in Mecca, Medina and Cairo.

In the traditionalist *pesantren,* the daily schedule is organized around the cycle of ritual prayers. Apart from learning the Qurʾān by heart, there is emphasis on the study of the *fiqh* and on the practice of spiritual disciplines similar to those of *taṣawwuf* (see ṢŪFISM AND THE QURʾĀN). The topics studied can be classified into several groups: *qirāʾa* or *tilāwa,* the recitation of the Qurʾān with its subdivisions of syntax and morphology; jurisprudence *(fiqh);* the sources of jurisprudence; tradition (ḥadīth); Qurʾān interpretation *(tafsīr);* the unity of God (*tawḥīd;* see GOD AND HIS ATTRIBUTES); mysticism *(taṣawwuf),* ethics, history of Islam and rhetoric. The texts in Arabic are called *Kitab Kuning,* "yellow books," and are made up of loose leaflets that can be taken out for study. *Pesantren* students are expected to become religious leaders who can deliver engaging sermons. In their "free time" students learn to give speeches *(pidato)* and practice the art of debating *(diskusi)*. The system is based on rote learning which leaves little room for creative thinking or questioning the *kiai*'s teachings. There are no final exams: when

a *santri* masters a certain text she proceeds to the next, more complicated one. A major milestone is to become a *ḥāfiẓ* or *ḥāfiẓa,* i.e. someone who has memorized the Qurʾān (see MEMORY; RECITERS OF THE QURʾĀN). This is celebrated with much pomp in a "graduation" ceremony during which the public calls out random verses to be recited and assures itself that those graduating know the Qurʾān by heart.

Martial arts and other types of sports are especially popular among male *santri*. Apart from the academic curriculum, many *pesantren* organize vocational training courses and income-generating activities such as agricultural projects and business cooperations. To the surrounding communities, *pesantren* serve as centers for intensified expressions of religion. For example, during Ramaḍān (q.v.) the *santri* recite the entire Qurʾān daily following *tarwiya* prayers.

In Indonesia, the focus on memorizing the Qurʾān and becoming a *ḥāfiẓ* has produced unexpected results for women. As women learned the Qurʾān by heart, they asked that the Nahdlatul Ulama produce a *fatwā* allowing them to recite in public. As a result, the Nahdlatul Ulama decided in the 1970s that women had the same obligation to spread the faith of Islam as men, and they were allowed to recite the Qurʾān in public. Consequently, women started to compete in national Qurʾān recitation contests, and Maria Ulfa became the first woman to win the international Qurʾān recation contest in Malaysia in 1980. The following year she opened her own institute for Qurʾān studies for women (IIQ , Institut Ilmu Al-Qurʾān), which is modeled on al-Azhar University, with a subsequent division for men. Graduates from this institute perform regularly on television and radio (see MEDIA AND THE QURʾĀN) and among them there were two women who in 2000, and based on their religious scholarship, gained access to the official bodies of male religious authority. They were appointed members of the national councils of the Nahdlatul Ulama and Majelis Ulama Indonesia (MUI), both of which issue *fatwā*s. Although most *pesantren* are run by men, some women run their own. Tutty Alawiya is among the most famous preachers who heads her own *pesantren* in Jakarta.

Since the religious orientation of a *pesantren* depends on the views of its *kiai,* some have received ample press coverage because their *kiai*s' radical interpretations of Islam inspired students to join extremist groups such as those who were responsible for the Bali bombings in 2002. This event did not, however, precipitate a radical reformation of the *pesantren* system because such a transformation had already been going on since the 1970s. Especially *pesantren* within the Nahdlatul Ulama network had designed several projects in order to strengthen the Islamic learning of their graduates so that they could be custodians of the orthodox truth, while at the same time filling relevant positions in society. This reformation aimed at producing a counter discourse that could address urgent issues concerning human, women's and democratic rights. This movement was based on the re-interpretation of *fiqh* texts so that these could become a hermeneutical tool to negotiate social pluralism. A leader in this process is Abdurrahman Wahid, the long-time national chair of the Nahdlatul Ulama and former president of Indonesia. His innovative approach to the interpretation and teaching of the Qurʾān is based on his education as a classical scholar of Islam — he studied in Iraq and Egypt — combined with a rigorous training in Western philosophy and political science (see CONTEMPORARY CRITICAL PRACTICES AND THE QURʾĀN).

Through some of these projects, many

women studying and teaching in the *pesantren* began re-interpreting the *fiqh* texts concerning women. Among other consequences, this resulted in a unique effort to address women's reproductive rights as understood in Islam, including taboo topics such as marital rape, a phenomenon which Islamic scholars do not technically admit as a legal category (see MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE; SEX AND SEXUALITY).

The condition of the *pesantren* in Thailand illustrates the importance of the indigenous institutes of Islamic education. Since the early 1960s these schools have come under the control of the Thai state. As a result, future specialists in Islam receive their education mainly in Libya and Saudi Arabia. Upon their return these students propagate the ultra-conservative interpretations of Islam that are practiced in those countries.

Iran and Iraq

The town of Qom in Iran has long been among the leading centers for Shīʿī Islamic learning, with a *madrasa* tradition that provides the graduate levels of teaching necessary for a student to become a *mujtahid,* an authoritative doctor of the law. In the so-called *ḥawza ʿilmiyya* (center of religious learning), the most famous *madrasa*s are centered around ayatollahs or *marājiʿ taqlīd* who are the most authoritative religious authorities in the *ḥawza*. Their advice and learning spreads beyond Qom, and Shīʿites all over the world follow their opinions. These authorities give specialized lectures at advanced levels. Most *madrasa*s offer the traditional curriculum with courses in doctrine and jurisprudence. During the 1970s new *madrasa*s were added that introduced modern teaching methods and subjects such as English. Although by the nineteenth century Qom's educational system had lost its vigor, the Ayatollahs rehabilitated it and during the 1940s it had become a center of resistance to the Pahlavi monarchy. In the 1960s, reformist ayatollahs tried to modernize the traditional *madrasa*s by setting up institutes with alternative curricula. After the 1979 revolution of Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, Qom served as the center of educational and political organizations of Shīʿī clergy.

In Iraq, the shrine cities of Najaf and Karbala became strongholds of Shīʿite Islam after the center of Shīʿite religious learning shifted from Iran to Iraq in the mid-eighteenth century. Until the 1920s, especially Najaf exercised both political and religious influence far beyond its borders. Its *madrasa*s produced experts in religious law and Iraqi literary figures of renown. By the 1920s these cities lost their prominence when Iranian scholars returned home and the number of pilgrims and amount of charitable income from Iran diminished. Nowadays the cities remain centers of religious study and leadership for Iraqi Shīʿite Muslims.

Western countries

Since the 1960s increasing numbers of Muslims have moved to the West in search of work, freedom of expression, and upward mobility. This has led to a proliferation of institutes, organizations and schools that teach children Islamic learning and values. Many offer religious classes during the weekend, in schools that are often called *madrasa,* where children learn the basics of the Qurʾān, Arabic and Muslim ethics. In several European countries, supported by state money, Muslims opened their own schools with mixed curricula of religious and non-religious subjects. In the United States and Canada four Muslim school organizations have established over one hundred private schools that provide education based on the Qurʾān and Islamic principles.

Beyond the middle school level, however,

there are limited options for further religious education. Few schools continue to the high school level, and there is little interest among students and their parents for more advanced study towards a career in religious education. In most countries the position of imām is not officially recognized, and that means that individual mosques take it upon themselves to hire their imāms. Hence the salaries of imāms and other religious specialists are very low. Following a new trend, the few who do graduate with advanced degrees in Islamic studies move into specialized professions and serve as imāms in prisons, hospitals or the army, while others become teachers and social workers. A lack of home-grown leadership, especially imāms, is the single most important concern facing Muslims in the West today.

The great shortage of western-born imāms in Europe and North America has prompted communities to invite imāms from various Muslim countries. Unfortunately, these leaders often lack knowledge of the local culture and language and are not familiar with problems and ethical issues that members of their community face in their new country. One of the main imāms in Copenhagen continues to preach in English and Arabic — after nearly two decades in Denmark — and that forces half of his audience to wear headphones for simultaneous translation. After the events of 11 September 2001 this problem has become more evident as governments have found that some clerics use their *khuṭba*s and Qurʾān lessons to incite violence (q.v.), while others espouse views that violate basic human rights, such as those concerning wife beating (see INSOLENCE AND OBSTINACY). In some cases this led to mandatory "integration" courses about the values of the host country. In December 2004, the French government decided that it would only accredit imāms trained in a French university.

Other governments are trying to create "Europeanized" imāms by encouraging local Islamic institutions of higher learning. For example, in the Netherlands the Turkish community opened the Islamic University of Rotterdam (IUR, 1997) that since 2001 has been dominated by the Nurculuk, a modern Turkish religious movement founded by Said Nursi (d. 1960). A break-off group from IUR started the Islamic University of Europe (IUE) in Schiedam and seeks neutrality and cooperation with all Muslim groups present in the Netherlands. The Dutch government has tried to provide for the needs of Muslim communities by launching the Godsdienst Islam, De Educatieve Faculteit Amsterdam (EFA), a community college where Muslim students are taught the basics of the Islamic sciences. Only a few who graduate from this school, however, become imāms; rather, the graduates seek teaching jobs or consider their education as an opportunity to enhance their personal Islamic knowledge. In 2005 the Dutch Ministry of Education decided officially to establish a program that provides BA and MA degrees in a combination of Islamic and Christian theology at the Free University of Amsterdam.

As a result of the diversity of Muslim populations in various western European countries, few Muslim communities in these countries have managed to find satisfactory solutions for the need to train local imāms. In several instances institutions such as the Muslim College in London have been funded and influenced by Libya, Algeria or Saudi Arabia.

In the United States, imāms who work with government and health care institutions are required to complete a master's degree. So far there are few schools where

they can prepare for this type of chaplaincy. The School of Islamic and Social Sciences in Virginia offers a fledgling program for the training of imāms, while in a few cases Muslim programs cooperate with Christian schools to pool resources. Hartford Seminary in Connecticut has a program for Islamic chaplaincy in hospitals, the military and prisons, while some students of the American Islamic College in Chicago attend classes at the Lutheran School of Theology. (Few students were willing to commit to this College full-time and the College failed to obtain accreditation.) In an attempt to fill the gap of Islamic education, organizations such as the Islamic Society of North America (ISNA) organize part-time imām-training workshops. ISNA recently established a center to set standards for the education of imāms and chaplains. The struggle to create appropriate venues to educate Muslim teachers and preachers means that also in Western countries all roads lead to the Middle East where many Muslims return for graduate education at Islamic institutes for higher learning.

The institutes of higher learning

In most countries with significant Muslim populations students can pursue advanced degrees in Islamic studies at the undergraduate and graduate levels in state or private universities. The most illustrious of these graduate institutions is al-Azhar University in Cairo, set up in 361/972, initially to spread Fāṭimid Shīʿī doctrines. After Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (d. 589/1193; Eng. "Saladin") and his Ayyūbid dynasty restored Sunnī Islam in Egypt, al-Azhar became one of the most important Islamic universities, educating students from all over the Muslim world. It developed satellite branches throughout Egypt and in several countries, such as Syria and Indonesia. Concurrent with the changes in the traditional educational systems, starting in 1872 it has undergone several reforms in efforts to streamline and modernize its curriculum. Since then, it has changed from an institution where students gathered at the feet of their professor as he lectured from a designated pillar in the mosque, to a modern school with classrooms, desks, grade-levels, exams and academic departments and administrators. After education in Egypt was gradually transferred to secular state schools, al-Azhar continued to offer religious curricula from the elementary to high school level, an undergraduate-level university degree, and specialized courses of study in Islamic law, theology, pedagogy and preaching and guidance.

Although pushed by reformers such as Muḥammad ʿAbduh (d. 1905) and Muṣṭafā al-Marāghī (d. 1945), reform did not come easily to al-Azhar because it had positioned itself as the conservative custodian of traditional knowledge and the methods of transmitting it. Reality overtook it several times when Egyptian authorities opened alternative schools that could train professionals more effectively. At the beginning of the twentieth century, the Egyptian government opened the Dār al-ʿUlūm teacher training college and the school for judges (*qāḍīs*), both of which offered severe competition to al-Azhar. This trend forced al-Azhar to become a university, and in 1961 the state passed a law that mandated the addition of secular subjects to its curriculum. Especially Maḥmūd Shaltūt (1893-1963), at that time al-Azhar's president, or Shaykh al-Azhar (1958-1963), envisioned an institute that would educate well-prepared scholars who could fight religious fanaticism and unite the global Islamic community. Under his auspices, al-Azhar opened non-religious colleges for engineering, medicine, commerce, science,

agriculture, and education. Students at these colleges were obliged to take a preparatory year of religious studies. He tried to raise al-Azhar's international profile by instituting a Department of Culture and Islamic Missions *(Idārat al-Thaqāfa wa-l-Buʿūth al-Islāmiyya)* which sent al-Azhar graduates to teach and preach in other countries. Primary and secondary Islamic institutions *(maʿāhid azhariyya)* graduated both men and women missionary preachers (*dāʿīs*) to work inside and outside of Egypt. Finally, a Girl's College *(Kulliyyat al-Banāt)* was added; it offers degrees in Islamic, Arabic and social studies, as well as technical subjects and European languages.

Although nowadays many professors at al-Azhar send their own children to secular universities, al-Azhar continues to maintain its old aura of authority throughout the Muslim world. From the *pesantren* in Indonesia to the *madrasa*s in Tanzania or the USA, for many future *ʿulamāʾ* the road to learning eventually leads to Cairo. The *Kulliyyat al-Daʿwa* (Faculty for Islamic Mission) provides full-time programs and short courses in *daʿwa* and trains many future teachers and preachers whose religious authority is socially and culturally reinforced for the Muslim audiences. Al-Azhar graduates can deliver their sermons in classical Arabic and a mediocre preacher from outside the Arabic-speaking countries, even after a cursory stay in the Middle East, can claim an exorbitant amount of religious authority upon return to the homeland. Al-Azhar ordinarily produces graduates who are conservative and moderate in their interpretation of Islam. Through its censorship activities, al-Azhar guards Islamic standards by banning books of those considered "heretics." In its ongoing efforts to keep pace with the times, in 2004 it chose Muḥammad Ṭanṭāwī as the Shaykh al-Azhar.

Some other institutes outside the Middle East that have become prominent institutes for Islamic learning are the International Islamic University at Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, the International Islamic University of Islamabad, Pakistan, and the network of IAIN schools in Indonesia. They are not as international as al-Azhar University but do serve local and regional needs. The International Islamic University was set up by the Malaysian government in 1983 and is co-sponsored by seven other Muslim countries. Inspired by the recommendations of the first World Conference on Muslim Education (Mecca, 1977), it aims at the integration of Islamic knowledge and secular sciences. It offers a large number of non-religious disciplines, all infused with Islamic values and knowledge. In 1985, the International Islamic University of Islamabad established the Daʿwa Academy, which publishes material on *daʿwa* and organizes leadership programs, as well as courses and workshops to train *imām*s, community leaders, and professionals in Islamic knowledge.

The network of IAIN schools (Institut Agama Islam Negeri, State Institute for Higher Islamic Studies) in Indonesia was established in the 1950s to create a balance between traditional Islamic knowledge and indigenous modes of learning. Initially working with professors visiting from al-Azhar, these schools now have their own professors who have obtained Ph.D.'s from universities both in the West and in the Middle East. The curriculum is predominantly religious and provides a channel for advanced education and upward mobility for students from schools that do not offer the secular curriculum. Some of Indonesia's most prominent public scholars, such as Bahtiar Effendy and Komaruddin Hidayat, graduated from the IAIN network.

IAIN schools cooperate closely with

McGill University in Canada, Leiden University in the Netherlands and al-Azhar University. Unique to the IAIN are some undergraduate and graduate programs in comparative religions. Their founders stressed the application of Islam in society, and envisioned a well-rounded education in moderate Islam based on rationalism (see INTELLECT), modernity and tolerance of other religions (see TOLERANCE AND COMPULSION; RELIGIOUS PLURALISM AND THE QUR'ĀN). While it offers traditional subjects, its staff has ventured into new directions, which has led to innovative projects of learning and research. For example, IAIN Jakarta (the largest IAIN, which became a university in 2001) has an institute for research on Islam and society (PPIM) that is active in developing an Islamic discourse on civil society and democracy. IAIN Yogyakarta operates a Women's Study Center (PSW) which has prepared material that helps faculties of all IAIN's to re-evaluate their educational material from a gender-sensitive point of view. Several alumni and professors of IAIN have become well-known advocates for human rights and social justice based on Islam (see JUSTICE AND INJUSTICE).

Preaching

Ritual preaching: The khuṭba

While there are no rules for non-ritual preaching, there are several for the *khuṭba* and the one who offers it, the *khaṭīb.* Preferably, the *khaṭīb* or preacher stands on the *minbar* or, if this is not available, on any elevated place. Facing the people, he pronounces at the outset the greeting *al-salāmu ʿalaykum wa-raḥmatu llāh wa-barakātuhu*. After the response of the audience, he sits down to hear the call to prayer *(adhān)* before the *khuṭba*.

The *khuṭba* is encased in a formal ritual framework consisting of two parts. The first part, *al-khuṭba al-waʿziyya,* sermon of admonishing or warning, is longer than the second part. It begins with two repetitions of "Praise (q.v.) be to God" (the *ḥamdala;* see LAUDATION; GLORIFICATION OF GOD), the declaration of faith (*shahāda;* see WITNESS TO FAITH), the *ṣalāt* on the Prophet ("May God bless him and greet him with peace"); and must contain at least one verse from the Qur'ān. The second part, *al-khuṭba al-naʿtiyya,* the descriptive or qualifying sermon, should end with peace and blessings on the Prophet and his Companions (see COMPANIONS OF THE PROPHET) and prayer or supplication *(duʿā')* on behalf of all the Muslims (see INTERCESSION). Prayer manuals teach that the sermon should be short in accord with the Prophet's saying: "Make your *ṣalāt* long and your *khuṭba* short." Traditionally, in the manner of the Prophet, the *khaṭīb* delivered the sermon standing while holding a staff in his hand, a pre-Islamic symbol of ceremony and authority (see ROD). In the Arabic-speaking countries the *khaṭīb* says "now then" *(ammā baʿd)* to indicate the beginning of his sermon.

The *khuṭba* admonishes and calls the believers to action. Although the contents of the sermons vary, there are certain recurring themes taken from the Qur'ān, tradition, Islamic history, the political situation and current events. To prepare the *khuṭba* preachers rely as sources, on the Qur'ān, ḥadīth, qur'ānic commentaries (for example, the *Tafsīr al-Jalālayn* written by Jalāl al-Dīn al-Maḥallī, d. 864/1459, and his student Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī, d. 911/1505, is a popular source, and so is the *tafsīr* of al-Ṭabarī, d. 310/923), and writings by scholars such as al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111) and Ibn Taymiyya (d. 728/1328). In his book describing the work of a rural preacher, Richard Antoun provides lists of titles from the preacher's library (*Muslim preacher,* 96-100) and remarks that the

preacher does not use his many books on Islamic jurisprudence *(fiqh)* to prepare the *khuṭba* but reserves those books for other lessons on the Qurʾān.

Originally, Arabic was the language used for preaching *khuṭba*s all over the Muslim world. Since most people in many countries did not know Arabic they were unable to comprehend what they were hearing. During the medieval period, *khuṭba*s and other sermons or moral lessons formed a seamless part of Middle Eastern and other societies in which knowledge was transmitted orally (see ORALITY). By the nineteenth century, however, even in Arabic-speaking countries the *khuṭba* had become fossilized into forms of standardized discourse. The classical Arabic text for a sermon was often taken from a medieval source and repeated with minimal chance for comprehension by the mostly illiterate audience (see LITERACY; ILLITERACY). Influenced by the reformist movements this changed, although the sermons of medieval preachers such as Ibn al-Jawzī (d. 597/1200) are still readily available in the bookstalls around al-Azhar university.

There has been some debate about whether or not the *khuṭba* should be in Arabic. Some scholars consider it part of the ritual prayer *(ṣalāt)* and argue that it should. In 1975, hundreds of imāms and *ʿulamāʾ* at the World Conference of Mosques in Mecca agreed that it could be delivered in local languages. But the discussion continued and as late as 2001, the Mufti of Egypt (Shaykh Dr. Naṣr Farīd Wāṣil) ruled that it was admissible to deliver the Friday sermon in a language other than Arabic provided that qurʾānic verses were recited in Arabic, followed by translation. Even when the *khuṭba* is delivered in a language other than Arabic, it is still commonly laden with many Arabic quotes and expressions.

Medieval preaching

Collections of sermons of famous Muslim preachers from the medieval period inspired those coming after them and testify to the importance of preaching in the transmission of the Qurʾān during that time frame. The sermons of famous preachers such as Ibn Nubāta al-Fāriqī (d. 374/984-5) and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAlī b. al-Jawzī (d. 597/1200) were delivered by many minor preachers after them. Preaching often overlapped with what was taught in the *madrasa*s. Some preachers are reported to have attracted audiences of over thirty thousand while others so inspired listeners that they fought to touch the preacher after he had descended from the *minbar*.

Depending on the context and the time, sermons could be politically charged. Ibn Nubāta called for *jihād* (q.v.) when preaching in a court on the Byzantine frontier while ʿIzz al-Dīn b. ʿAbd al-Salām al-Sulamī (d. 660/1262) reprimanded the Ayyūbid sultan of Damascus for handing over property to the Crusaders. Preaching had potentially great impact. In the early centuries, while the legal schools were taking shape and theological battles raged, preachers contributed to the legitimization of Ashʿarite theology over and against Muʿtazilī teachings (see MUʿTAZILA). Sermons were a battleground about which interpretations of the Qurʾān should be considered the most authoritative. As the rapprochement between Ṣūfism and more formal Islam took shape, Ṣūfī preachers became among the most popular. At times this created tensions: for example, the sermons of famous Ṣūfī preachers such as Shaykh Shuʿayb al-Ḥurayfīsh (d. 801/1398-9) vexed the legalistic mind of many a jurist.

The Ḥanbalī jurist and theologian Ibn al-Jawzī not only drew crowds of thou-

sands with his moving sermons, but was also moved to admonish the popular preachers (the *quṣṣāṣ;* sing. *qāṣṣ*) who in his view broke the conventional boundaries of religious authority. In his famous work *Kitāb al-Quṣṣāṣ wa-l-mudhakkirīn,* "The Book of Storytellers and Remonstrators," he reminds them of their potential power in transmitting and explaining religious knowledge, since their words reach all levels of society while the teachings of jurists are known only in limited circles. Preachers could jeopardize the Islamic heritage of knowledge by spreading false stories and unsound traditions, and by the ninth/fifteenth century famous scholars such as Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī continued to write treatises against the "lies" spread by the *qāṣṣ.* Others were vexed by the salaries some preachers commanded. The themes of sermons were matters close to peoples' hearts: poverty (see POVERTY AND THE POOR), suffering (q.v.), death (see DEATH AND THE DEAD) and redemption (see SALVATION; FALL OF MAN). Also popular were the *qiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ,* the stories about the pre-Islamic prophets (derived sometimes from *Isrāʾīliyyāt;* see JEWS AND JUDAISM; SCRIPTURE AND THE QURʾĀN; CHRISTIANS AND CHRISTIANITY), especially those about Moses (q.v.) and Joseph (q.v.). Preachers challenged the boundaries of religious authority and sometimes those of gender, especially when women flocked to the mosques to hear them as well. They could elicit raw emotions from their critics because, unless they uttered blasphemies (see BLASPHEMY), given the absence of a formal ecclesiastical structure in Islam, and short of direct interference by the sultan or state, their words were hard to control. In the end, the issue at stake was about legitimate religious knowledge and its corollary, religious authority.

Contemporary preaching

Debates about who holds the authority to interpret and preach Islam have never completely disappeared and have recently acquired the public's attention as governments in Muslim and non-Muslim countries have begun to realize the impact of sermons, formal or informal. Both in the West and in countries with a Muslim majority, or a substantial Muslim minority, there is an increasing tendency to control the mosques and the message.

Those bringing the message of the Qurʾān, be it in the *khuṭba* or other non-ritual forums, are expected to demonstrate high moral standards. Considered to be *duʿāt* (sing. *dāʿin*), propagandists or callers to Islam, Q 41:33 refers to them in its saying "Who is better in speech (q.v.) than one who calls [people] to God." The Prophet is reported to have said in a ḥadīth that "The best among you are those who study and teach the Qurʾān."

Based on their high calling, those preaching and teaching the Qurʾān are expected to practice the virtue of *ikhlāṣ,* sincerity and purity of intentions and actions. Secondly, having thorough knowledge of the topic discussed is an essential obligation for a preacher (cf. Q 12:108). Thirdly, they should imitate the Prophet's behavior and translate excellence of character into patience (see TRUST AND PATIENCE), tolerance and forbearance (Q 3:159; 16:125; 20:44). Preachers cannot be effective unless they possess excellent moral character and conduct: they should exemplify what they preach since the Qurʾān states (Q 61:2-3): "why do you say that which you do not do? Grievously odious is it in the sight of God that you say that which you do not do."

Standards of morality and learning are important because not all preachers are scholars of Islam. In principle, preachers or imāms can be of any background and

many of them also have professional careers as engineers, economists or business men. Whatever their background, they practice *daʿwa,* calling others to Islam, and emphasize correct behavior and attitude. Scholars of Islam, the *ʿulamāʾ,* are expected to have a more advanced religious education. They are expected to have studied the Arabic language intensively and to use their deep knowledge of the Qurʾān, *fiqh* and *sharīʿa* to offer interpretation *(tafsīr)* and guide the believers, particularly through the *fatwā*s they issue. With their writings, scholars guide preachers who are not trained as *ʿulamāʾ* in the preparation of their messages. In the hierarchy of learning, *ʿulamāʾ* need deeper training in religion than *khaṭīb*s, and the demands of learning for those delivering non-ritual messages are less than those of the *khaṭīb*s. Perhaps this is the reason that in the 1990s the participation of women in non-ritual preaching began to grow rapidly in some Muslim countries.

Demanding strict moral and educational guidelines for preachers is also crucial, since in most countries they are woefully underpaid. This reality has forced preachers nowadays and in the past to find other means of income, for example, as merchants or schoolteachers. In Indonesia, it has long been held that the *kiai* in the *pesantren* should not benefit in material ways from preaching and teaching the Qurʾān. Hence many still offer their service for free, earning money by running a business, writing, and speaking engagements.

Frequent topics

Friday sermons often consist of a mix of Islamic teachings, exhortations and references to local and international events. The themes depend on the place and time a sermon is given. The Jordanian village-*shaykh* described by Antoun (*Muslim preacher,* 137) addressed mainly matters of belief, ethics, family (q.v.), society and the specific religious occasion, while his colleagues in Amman and Jerusalem referred regularly to colonialism, Jews and Zionism. Often the first part of the sermon contains the religio-spiritual message while the second part refers to political or other current issues, especially those concerning Palestine, Iraq and places where Muslims suffer oppression (q.v.; see also OPPRESSED ON EARTH, THE). In Indonesia and Malaysia, where non-Muslim minorities and pre-Islamic ideas still pervade society, preachers stress the centrality of the Qurʾān as a guide and tend to refer repeatedly to the need to behave correctly, to perform the ritual duties, and to the parents' (q.v.) role in raising children (q.v.). Occasionally they also discuss doctrinal points such as predestination (see FREEDOM AND PREDESTINATION) and the right to practice *ijtihād,* individual interpretation of the Qurʾān (inspired by the ongoing debate between modernists and traditionalists; see EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: EARLY MODERN AND CONTEMPORARY). Of course, other subjects such as Islam in the modern world, daily concerns and political themes are prevalent as well. Imāms preaching the *khuṭba* in Western countries face a complicated social environment that poses questions about moral and ethical issues such as dating, homosexuality (q.v.), and the relationship between Muslims and non-Muslims. Most of these topics are of little relevance in Muslim-majority countries.

During Shīʿī ritual preaching, the names of the Imāms have to be mentioned and *qunūt* prayers are pronounced on behalf of them. A Shīʿī preacher needs to communicate in a precise, attractive way in order to gain followers. Their sermons stress signs and symbols peculiar to Shīʿism. They refer to ʿAlī (his wisdom, ingenuity, and fairness in contrast to the behavior of

the other three caliphs; see ʿALĪ B. ABĪ ṬĀLIB), the Prophet's daughter Fāṭima (q.v.), his granddaughter Zaynab and, of course, to the martyrdom of Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī (see SHĪʿA; FAMILY OF THE PROPHET; PEOPLE OF THE HOUSE). This last theme is especially popular during the month of Muḥarram when preachers also recount the sufferings of the Imāms, sometimes engaging in anti-Sunnī polemics.

For several decades, governments of Muslim countries have tried to influence the tone of sermons by sending around suggestions to preachers or, at times, complete texts. Not only do those suggestions aim to curb religious extremism, they are also a tool to familiarize the believers with government policies such as those on birth control (q.v.). Some groups of Muslim activists have started to emulate this governmental pattern. In an attempt to combat the increasingly aggressive attempts by Muslim conservatives to promote polygyny, an Indonesian women's group called YKF mined the Qurʾān, ḥadīth and *fiqh* sources for a counter discourse and sent texts for Friday sermons based on this research to every mosque in Java (see PATRIARCHY).

Star preachers

The influence of preachers who have risen to stardom is enormous. Sermons by Ibn al-Jawzī from the sixth/twelfth century were repeated for centuries. Nowadays, popular preachers (who preach ritual and non-ritual sermons) expand their audience through the media of newspaper columns, cassettes, CD's, DVD's, television and the Internet. Most of these preachers stand out because of the clarity and simplicity of their speech that directly connects with the audience, addressing issues of daily life (see EVERYDAY LIFE, THE QURʾĀN IN). During the 1990s several came on the scene who were especially popular with youth and women. Their messages are open to modern life and stress the individual responsibility to purify one's heart. The platforms of such preachers are no longer limited to mosques, and governments find it hard to control their activities.

It is impossible to mention all the star preachers operating in the Muslim world. Some, however, are noteworthy because they have strongly influenced other preachers and also public opinion. Others stand out for combining preaching with social action. The examples of three popular preachers from Egypt illustrate how the use of media and new types of education are influencing contemporary models of preaching and causing the centers of traditional religious authority to shift from the traditional, conservative al-Azhar graduates to a new type of lay preacher who does not follow classical paths of training. An important factor in the audio and visual media is that they convey the colloquial language and emotions of the preachers that cannot be transmitted via the written, edited sermons in which the colloquial is often replaced by classical Arabic.

The al-Azhar-trained blind shaykh, ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd Kishk (b. 1933), once called "the star of Islamic preaching," was immensely popular during the 1970s and 1980s. Early in his career he was barred from preaching in official state mosques in Egypt because he used his sermons to promote the ideology of the Muslim Brotherhood. Although boycotted by the Egyptian mass media during the Sadat era, his sermons were widely distributed via cassettes and pamphlets that served as what Gilles Kepel *(Prophet and pharaoh)* has called "antidotes to official discourse." Chanting his sermons, he stressed personal and private piety — a message attractive to Ṣūfīs as well. But his preaching also had strong political implications, for example when he attacked Jews and Christians (see CHRISTIANS AND

CHRISTIANITY; POLEMIC AND POLEMICAL LANGUAGE; APOLOGETICS).

Chronologically, Shaykh Muḥammad Mutawallī l-Shaʿrāwī's (1911-98) star rose as that of Shaykh Kishk waned. His sermons were televised on the Friday prime-time slot, immediately following the Friday prayers. Egyptians could see him in a mosque, surrounded by a male-only audience. Delivering a *khuṭba* or *dars,* he was cloaked in the mantle and ambiance of a traditional al-Azhar scholar. In his presentations he could switch from classical Arabic to pedestrian colloquial, explaining complex Islamic principles with simple language and examples drawn from everyday life. His speech and traditional views, interspersed with jokes, were especially attractive to the lower and middle classes. He attacked non-Muslims, exhorted actresses to halt their sinful work and, with one sermon in which he condoned the practice of female genital mutilation, he virtually destroyed years of activist work against it. After his death, his sermons and religious sessions were — and are still — televised, and can be found in the form of booklets and pamphlets on the streets of Cairo.

The star of the 1990s, ʿAmr Khālid is a lay preacher. Not trained at al-Azhar, the former accountant refrains from practicing *tafsīr* or issuing *fatwā*s. His informal preaching takes place on a talk show on television (*Kalām min al-qalb,* "Words from the heart"), and in mass gatherings that are not gender segregated. His speeches are available via MP3 recordings, DVD's, CD's, cassettes and booklets. He is a master of new media technologies and techniques, such as holding on-line dialogues with his audience. He is popular with youth and women from the elite classes, reminding them of the futility of life and the possibility of sudden death. Unlike Kishk and Shaʿrāwī he is not addressed as *shaykh* or *ustādh* ("university teacher") but is called a *dāʿiya*. Comparable to a born-again evangelical television preacher, he brings a moderate message that allows youth to moderate the injunctions of Islam with the demands of modern life. ʿAmr Khālid's influence is enormous and he has used his fame to launch a drive against smoking, for example. He embodies a new search and desire among young people to be good Muslims while remaining trendy. For challenging traditional notions of religious authority, the Egyptian government more or less exiled him in 2002.

These Egyptian preachers have counterparts all over the Muslim world. Before becoming a politician, the Indonesian H. Zainuddin M.Z. (b. 1951), nicknamed "*Da'i* of Thousands" *(Da'i Berjuta Umat)* rose to prominence during the 1980s. A graduate of IAIN and the Malaysian Universitas Kebangsaan, he delivered conservative, clear and straightforward messages laced with humor that at times were intolerant of religious pluralism. By the end of the 1990s, K.H. Abdullah Gymnastiar (b. 1962) came on the scene. Mixing his lessons with songs, this owner of fifteen media ventures preaches about "managing the heart." Using the style of evangelistic theatrics, he urges the faithful to improve themselves instead of blaming others. He brings crowds of both Muslims and Christians to tears and is one of the few Muslims ever to have preached in a church (in Palu, Sulawesi). It is said that he derived his knowledge from a three-day "direct inspiration" experience with a guru rather than through cumbersome years of learning.

A Canadian professor of economics, Jamal Badawi, was the *dāʿi* of the 1980s. His enormous conservative output, often about Muslim-Christian dialogue, consists of a 352-segment television series on Islam, and cassettes and lessons that are readily

available on the Internet. His counterpart in Europe is Tariq Ramadan, the Swiss-educated grandson of Ḥasan al-Bannā, the founder of the Muslim Brotherhood. Nowadays, the US convert to Islam, Shaykh Hamza Yusuf (b. 1959), is influencing Muslim youth in the West with Ṣūfī-inspired talk about "purification of the heart" and how to live as a Muslim in the United States. He lived many years in the Middle East where he studied at universities and with individual *shaykh*s. Young Muslim adults born in the US consider him an antidote to conservative clerics from the Middle East whose message about the West they perceive to be too harsh. In the United States there are several charismatic African American preachers who arouse audiences to clapping and shouting responses. The charismatic Imam Siraj Wahhaj is an African-American convert to Islam who studied in Mecca. He currently leads a mosque in New York City where he has gained fame with his anti-drugs program.

In Shīʿī circles, various *marājiʿ* living in Qom, Najaf, or Kerbala, guide the believers from their respective countries of residence. They are considered the highest juridical authorities who can interpret the Islamic message to meet the challenges of modernity. Through their religious deputies, *marājiʿ* such as the Iraqi ayatollah, ʿAlī Ḥusaynī l-Sistānī, try to formulate answers for questions and needs of Shīʿīs living in the West. In 1999, al-Sistānī published a *Code of practice* for Muslims in the West.

The Lebanese *marjaʿ* ayatollah, Muḥammad Ḥusayn Faḍl Allāh, runs a website in Arabic and English where believers can read his Friday sermons. He holds conference calls by phone with believers in the West and his accessibility, pragmatism and leniency have made him popular with Shīʿī youth. His teachings about gender equality have also gained him an audience among women. Finally, the messages of a convert to Shīʿism from Sunnite Islam, Tunisian-born Muḥammad al-Tijānī al-Samāwī, have attracted many in prison to Shīʿite Islam.

Women teachers and preachers

In early and medieval Islamic works there are references to women who became specialists in ḥadīth and the names of women figure in some chains of transmission. Yet during most of Islamic history women's role in the transmission of the Qurʾān and its sciences was peripheral at best. Women were not allowed access to *madrasa*s, and this led to the demise of female activity in the transmission of ḥadīth and other forms of Islamic learning. Later, and in isolated cases they attended the *kuttāb* but were denied access to the institutes of higher Islamic learning. This began to change in the 1970s as the general level of education for women has risen as a result of mandatory public education for boys and girls in many countries. Limited numbers of women (less than five percent) were allowed to attend, for example, the Umm al-Qurā institute in Mecca. In Indonesia they obtained degrees in *pesantren* and the IAIN and Islamic State Universities. In Iran, the seminaries in Qom were opened for women between the ages of sixteen to twenty. Nigerian schools with a *madrasa* curriculum started to admit women during the 1980s-1990s. This is slowly producing women *ʿulamāʾ*.

In Western countries, Islamic education has become popular among women who want a career as teachers in Muslim elementary schools. Although some south Asian Deobandi and Tablighi-oriented mosques are still closed to women, in Europe mosques organize Qurʾān courses for women and girls, and some associations allow women to become imāms for other women. The Turkish Ṣūfī-oriented Süley-

manlis, for example, encourage women to complete advanced religious studies in Turkey in order to serve as "madam imām" *(hoca hanım)*. During Ramaḍān, some of these women preachers conduct preaching tours in Western countries. In the past, many scholars allowed women to lead other women in the ritual prayers. Thus women are actually re-capturing their former leadership positions in worship.

Women's preaching and teaching activities take place outside the men's mosques, in prayer houses, homes, community centers or schools. For example, in central Asian countries (such as Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan and Tajikistan) the wives of imāms, called *Biblikhalifa*s, or *Bibiotun*s, organize religious educational circles for teenage girls. Several countries, such as China, Iran and Indonesia, have a history of women preachers who have had some basic knowledge of the Qurʾān, *tafsīr* and ḥadīth, and in some cases they have acquired the same level of knowledge as the male *ʿulamāʾ*.

Shīʿī women in Iran have long held religious meetings exclusively for women (forbidden to men). Since the Islamic revolution of 1979, the number of women with religious educations who could lead these meetings increased considerably. The meetings take place at home and are led by women preachers whose Islamic knowledge is gender specific. Apart from reciting the Qurʾān, the material discussed can be religious rituals, Islamic teachings, holy Shīʿī texts, *tafsīr,* special prayers, and readings on the occasion of Ramaḍān or feasts. Female preachers often have studied the Qurʾān with their fathers or other scholars. Nowadays they can study at religious schools or colleges. They need to have knowledge of Arabic, philosophy, logic, *fiqh,* and *tafsīr,* and to have studied for at least four years. The women preachers gain high social status among their followers because of their piety and dedication to religion. At times, some female *khaṭībāt* are invited to the United States to preach to women's groups, like during the major feasts.

In north, northwest and northeast China special mosques for women (*quinzhen nusi* or *nusi*) appeared as early as the nineteenth century. Adjacent to men's mosques, they are presided over by a female religious leader called *nu ahong* whose duties encompass teaching, ritual and worship guidance, sermons and counseling. The position of the *nu ahong* is controlled by the male leadership of the main mosque and is carefully mapped out within a system of strict gender segregation.

Women's agency is based on Chinese paradigms that were developed between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries to promote women's virtuous and religious development. When adopted by Chinese Muslims, these values were translated into the call for Islamic education for women in order to construct an ideal of Muslim womanhood. Consecutive revival movements of Islamic reformism in the late nineteenth century and the 1980s stressed women's participation in religion. The level of training that female *ahong*s can obtain in the religious schools for women *(nuxue),* however, is far inferior to that of the male leaders. Chinese Islamic colleges do not admit women, and this has perpetuated the limited education of women leaders.

Indonesian women connected to the reformist Muhammadiyya organization started preaching activities as early as 1917. During the 1920s they built their own prayer houses supervised and funded by women. Since women have started to graduate from *pesantren,* IAIN and other Islamic universities, there are women preachers and teachers who have reached the same level of knowledge as male scholars of Islam. Women preach not only in segre-

gated gatherings, but also deliver sermons in mixed, non-ritual meetings. The cassettes of some women star preachers such as Tutty Alawiyah are sold widely. Female preachers appear on television regularly and many participate in talk shows and call-in shows.

All over the world, new classes of educated Muslim women have started to demand better religious education and more religious rights. This has resulted in a variety of initiatives, either mounted by women or orchestrated by the state. For example, the Turkish Diyanet, the government body that oversees the country's mosques, has appointed women preachers and women who act as deputies to muftis. The task of these deputies is to supervise the work done in mosques as that relates to women. Women in India recently announced that they want a mosque of their own, while women from the Progressive Muslims Union in the United States stated that the time has come for appointing women imāms. In 1994, the African American scholar of Islam, Amina Wadud-Muhsin, preached a Friday sermon at the South African Claremont Main Road Mosque. She delivered the text standing on the rostrum in front of the *minbar,* while afterwards the imām climbed the *minbar* and performed the required rituals for the liturgical sermon. The same pattern is now followed regularly in a mosque in Johannesburg. In March 2005, Wadud-Muhsin created a world-wide avalanche of comments and protests when in New York she led a group of women and men in Friday prayers. This immediately led to a *fatwā* by Yūsuf al-Qarḍāwī insisting that leadership in prayer is reserved to Muslim men only.

Women have more religious room to move in countries far from the Middle Eastern heartland of Sunnī Islam. Occasionally, we do hear of women, even in Saudi Arabia, holding Qurʾān circles in their houses but, on the whole, their preaching and teaching activities remain hidden from the public eye. Influenced by the Islamist trends within contemporary Egyptian society, women preachers there urge women to become more observant Muslims and to strengthen themselves in piety, patience and perseverance. These preachers obtain their religious knowledge from private institutes and Islamic voluntary associations that offer religious classes for women or from the al-Azhar College for Girls. They meet with women in buildings adjacent to mosques and at times earn bitter public criticism from those who find them inept and their sermons "futile."

Women preachers often address topics specific to women. Universal are basic teachings from the Qurʾān and guidance during the feasts and Ramaḍān. Furthermore, the correct execution of rituals connected to womanhood and children (see MENSTRUATION; BIRTH) as well as forms of ablutions, and issues of morality are important topics (see MODESTY). Depending on the local culture, sexual ethics and health care connected with the Islamic concepts of cleanliness and purity can be important as well.

Islamic organizations

During the twentieth century several organizations — mostly reformist — emerged that aimed at reviving and strengthening Islam via *daʿwa* and its manifold related activities. Through their courses, instructions, and handbooks, these organizations became influential gateways in recruiting and training missionary preachers. Nowadays their use of multimedia facilitates the dissemination of their material. Most organizations have their own web pages that provide support for preachers as well as model sermons, and on-line courses. Several organizations have

set up their own schooling system from elementary to university level, thus providing informal and formal Islamic education. Some of these organizations have remained local while others have transformed themselves into global networks.

In 1912, inspired by the reformist teachings of Muḥammad ʿAbduh and Rashīd Riḍā, the Indonesian *kiai* Ahmad Dahlan (1868-1923) initiated the Muhammadiyya movement that currently counts around twenty million followers. Through its Department for Tabligh it trains thousands of male and female missionary preachers who are active all over the Archipelago. In 1927, Mawlānā Muḥammad Ilyās (1885-1944) started a movement that grew into the Tablīghī Jamāʿat that now counts several millions of followers. Reacting to increasingly aggressive Hindu efforts to convert Muslims, it aimed at reinvigorating Islamic beliefs and practices among the Muslims of the Indo-Pakistani subcontinent. Abū l-Aʿlā Mawdūdī (d. 1979), the founder of Jamāʿat-i Islāmī, elaborated on the method of *tablīgh,* stressing that it did not require coercion. By the 1960s, deliberate attempts were made to create comprehensive international networks such as the Higher Council of Islamic Affairs *(al-Majlis al-Aʿlā lil-Shuʾūn al-Islāmiyya)* that was founded in Cairo, in 1960. In 1961, an Islamic university opened in Medina to train missionaries who could work in minority communities, and in 1962, the transnational Muslim World League *(Rābiṭat al-ʿĀlam al-Islāmī)* was founded in Mecca. Its constitution states the wish to "spread the Muslims' word," and its training center produces *daʿwa* workers who operate all over the world.

The Muslim Brotherhood *(Jamʿiyyat al-Ikhwān al-Muslimīn)* set up in 1928 by the Egyptian Ḥasan al-Bannā (1906-49), together with the Jamāʿat-i Islāmī, became among the most influential forces guiding Muslims in Western countries. Both entered North America through the Muslim Student Association (MSA), which was founded in 1963. Naturally their ideas about *daʿwa* were heavily influenced by the philosophies of Ḥasan al-Bannā and Abū l-Aʿlā Mawdūdī. In 1981, the MSA merged into the large umbrella organization of ISNA (the Islamic Society of North America). Through national and regional conferences, publications and a website, ISNA has become instrumental in guiding Muslims in North America. Websites also serve as important transnational tools of guidance and education. The Islam-Online site, for example, has special sections in English and Arabic to serve preachers.

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Tears see WEEPING

Technology see MEDIA AND THE QUR'ĀN; COMPUTERS AND THE QUR'ĀN

Teeth

Hard bony appendages found in the mouths of vertebrates that assist in the chewing of food, as well as in defense and the capturing of prey. The word for tooth *(sinn)* occurs once in the Qur'ān, in a verse that refers to the biblical *lex talionis* (law of retaliation [q.v.]): "We prescribed for them [the Jews; see JEWS AND JUDAISM] therein [in the Torah (q.v.)]: life (q.v.) for life, eye for eye (see EYES), nose for nose, ear for ear (q.v.), tooth for tooth, and for injuries like retaliation. If someone forgoes (retaliation) out of charity, it shall be an expiation for him. Whoever judges not by that which God has revealed: such are wrong-doers" (Q 5:45; see JUDGMENT; REVELATION AND INSPIRATION; EVIL DEEDS; VIRTUES AND VICES, COMMANDING AND FORBIDDING). This statement occurs in the course of a passage discussing Jews and Christians (see CHRISTIANS AND CHRISTIANITY) who resort to the prophet Muḥammad for the adjudication of legal disputes (Q 5:42-50).

The basic principle established in the Qur'ān is that legal disputes within each religious community should be settled by reference to that community's sacred text. Disputes among Jews should be settled by reference to the Torah, disputes among Christians should be settled by reference to the Gospel (q.v.) and disputes among Muslims should be settled by reference to the Qur'ān, no matter who is acting as judge. This passage makes it clear that each community *(umma)* has its own law (Q 5:48) and that this law is contained in the scripture (see LAW AND THE QUR'ĀN). The important role played by the sacred text in judgment is recognized in several ways. The Prophet or others are said to judge between disputants by that which God has revealed (Q 5:44, 45, 47). In other passages, the sacred text is personified and itself gives a verdict or judges between disputants: "Have you not seen how those who have been given a portion of the scripture invoke the scripture of God (in their disputes) that it may judge between them, then a faction of them turns away, opposed (to it)?" (Q 3:23; see PARTIES AND FACTIONS).

In addition, mention of the *lex talionis* shows an awareness in the Qur'ān of specific biblical legal rulings (see SCRIPTURE AND THE QUR'ĀN): "Anyone who maims another shall suffer the same injury in return: fracture for fracture, eye for eye, tooth for tooth; the injury inflicted is the injury to be suffered" (*Lev* 24:20; see also *Exod* 21:24; *Deut* 19:21). The principle of like retaliation *(qiṣāṣ)* was adopted in Islamic law as well, but was supplemented by an alternative regime of monetary compensation. For the life of a free, adult male (see MURDER; BLOODSHED), compensation was set at one hundred camels and for the loss of limbs and other injuries, as well as for the death or injury of women (see WOMEN AND THE QUR'ĀN), children (q.v.), and slaves (see SLAVES AND SLAVERY), various fractions of that amount were awarded

(see VENGEANCE; REVENGE; BLOOD MONEY).

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Temperature

see HOT AND COLD

Temple

see SACRED PRECINCTS; HOUSE, DOMESTIC AND DIVINE

Temporary Marriage

Financial contract between a man and an unmarried woman permitting sexual relations for a fixed amount of time upon compensation of the woman. Although the Arabic term for this concept *(mutʿa)* does not occur in the Qurʾān, the tenth verbal form of the root *m-t-ʿ* is employed at Q 4:24, likely with reference to this practice as a pre-Islamic Arabian tradition (despite the explanations of many exegetes; cf. e.g. the traditions preserved in Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* ad loc., which identify *al-istimtāʿ* with *"nikāḥ"* or *"tazwīj";* cf. also Heffening, Mutʿa). This practice developed into a complex Shīʿī religious institution about which there has been much cultural and moral ambivalence, yet in Iran, since the revolution of 1979, it has become more commonplace (Haeri, *Law of desire*).

Literally "marriage of pleasure," *mutʿa* is a form of a pre-Islamic tradition in Arabia (Robertson-Smith, *Kinship and marriage;* see PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QURʾĀN) that still retains legitimacy among the Twelver Shīʿīs who live predominantly, though not exclusively, in Iran (see SHĪʿISM AND THE QURʾĀN). Legally, *mutʿa*-marriage is a contract *(ʿaqd)* in which a man and an unmarried woman decide how long they want to be married to each other and how much money, or bride-price, is to be given to the temporary wife (see CONTRACTS AND ALLIANCES; MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE; BRIDEWEALTH). Unlike in the case of permanent marriage *(nikāḥ)* a temporary wife is not legally entitled to financial support *(nafaqa)* above and beyond the bride-price, even in the event of pregnancy, unless it is agreed upon beforehand (see MAINTENANCE AND UPKEEP). Doctrinally, the Shīʿī jurists distinguish temporary marriage from permanent marriage by stating that the objective of *mutʿa* is sexual enjoyment, while that of *nikāḥ* is procreation (Ṭūsī, *Nihāya,* 497-502; Ḥillī, *Sharāʾiʿ,* 524; Kāshif al-Ghiṭāʾ, *Āyīn-i ma;* Ṭabāṭabāʾī, *Shiʿite Islam;* Muṭahharī, *Niẓām-i ḥuqūq-i zan,* 38; Khomeini, *Tawḍīḥ al-masāʾil;* id., Mutʿa; Levy, *Introduction;* Murata, *Temporary marriage;* Haeri, *Law of desire*).

According to Shīʿī literature, the second caliph ʿUmar (r. 13-23/634-44; see CALIPH) outlawed the custom of *mutʿa* marriage in the first/seventh century and threatened its practitioners with stoning (q.v.). The Shīʿīs have systematically contested the caliph's decision. They argue, on the basis of the qurʾānic reference to *mutʿa* (*mā stamtaʿtum bihi minhunna,* Q 4:24) and the lack of any unambiguous prophetic ḥadīth banning its practice (see ḤADĪTH AND THE QURʾĀN), that ʿUmar's *fatwā* lacks legitimacy (al-Amīnī, *al-Ghadīr;* Ṭabāṭabāʾī, *Shiʿite Islam;* Shafāʾī, *Mutʿa;* ʿĀmilī, *Mutʿa;* Haeri, *Law of desire,* 61-4; see LAW AND THE QURʾĀN).

Indeed the Shīʿīs point to the fact that temporary marriage was common at the time of the prophet Muḥammad and that many of the early converts were children of *mutʿa* marriages: ʿAdī, son of Ḥātim and Māwiyya, is an example (al-Amīnī, *al-Ghadīr,* vi, 129, 198-240; Robertson-Smith, *Kinship and marriage,* 81; cf. Ṭabāṭabāʾī, *Shiʿite Islam,* 227).

The Sunnīs and Shīʿīs have not ceased to dispute the religious legitimacy and moral propriety of temporary marriage. Although strongly opposed by the Sunnī *ʿulamāʾ* (see SCHOLAR), the custom of temporary marriage has apparently continued among some Sunnīs into modern times (Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka,* 12-13).

Rules and procedures regarding *mutʿa* developed piecemeal and by analogical reasoning. Its present form is the result of dialogues and debates among Shīʿī scholars, the most prominent of whom was the sixth imām (q.v.), Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq (d. 148/765; Ṭūsī, *Nihāya,* 497-502; Ḥillī, *Sharāʾiʿ,* 515-28; Ghazanfarī, *Khudāmūz-i lumʿa,* ii, 126-34; Kāshif al-Ghiṭāʾ, *Āyīn-i ma,* 372-92; Khomeini, *Tawḍīḥ al-masāʾil;* Muṭahharī, *Niẓām-i ḥuqūq-i zan,* 21-54; Imāmī, *Ḥuqūq-i madanī;* Levy, *Introduction,* i, 131-90; Fayzee, *Outlines,* 117-21; Murata, *Temporary marriage;* Haeri, *Law of desire*).

Arabic in origin, the term *mutʿa* has multiple meanings: "that which gives benefits, for a short while," "enjoyment, pleasure" (i.e. to saturate), "to have the usufruct of something" (Dihkhudā, Ṣīgha, 318). Although the specified purpose of temporary marriage is sexual pleasure (specifically male pleasure), the religious language that describes it places — or misplaces — the emphasis on its marital aspect, thereby creating the impression that *mutʿa* is simply a form of marriage but with a built-in time limit. Outside of religious circles, everyday language in Iran has remained more faithful to the literal meaning of *mutʿa,* which has colloquially been substituted with the vernacular Persian term *ṣīgha*. Used in both nominal and verbal forms, properly speaking *ṣīgha* means "form" or "type" of a contract. It is a pejorative term that has been applied to a woman who is temporarily married but not to the man who engaged her services.

Primarily an urban phenomenon, temporary marriage is culturally stigmatized and is popularly perceived to be similar to "legalized prostitution." Ironically, it is also believed to be more prevalent around the pilgrimage centers in Iran than elsewhere in the country (cf. e.g. Haeri, *Law of desire,* 9-10). Temporary marriage is a form of contract that may be performed privately and in any language as long as the partners agree on the exact period the marriage shall last and the amount of bride-price to be given to the temporary wife *(ṣīgha)*. A temporary marriage need not be witnessed or registered (Ṭūsī, *Nihāya,* 498). Presently, however, the Islamic state in Iran requires its registration, ostensibly to ascertain the legality of a woman's claim in case she may become pregnant.

At the end of the specified period, the temporary marriage automatically comes to an end without any divorce ceremony. Regardless of its length, women must keep a period of sexual abstinence, *ʿidda,* after it ends (see WAITING PERIOD). Also a feature of permanent marriage and divorce, the *ʿidda* of temporary marriage is shorter by one month. It is two menstrual cycles for women who menstruate regularly, and forty-five days for women who are at an age where they normally ought to menstruate but for some reason they do not. *ʿIdda* is not required of menopausal women. Temporary spouses do not legally inherit from each other, though theoretically they may negotiate such a condition in their contract. In addition to the four wives religiously allowed all Muslim men, a Shīʿī

man may simultaneously contract as many temporary marriages as he wishes and renew any of them for as many times as the partners desire it, provided that certain conditions are met. A Shīʿī woman is permitted only one marriage at a time, be it temporary or permanent.

Temporary marriage is an institution in which the relationship between the sexes (see SEX AND SEXUALITY), marriage, sexuality, morality, religious rules, secular laws and cultural practices converge. At the same time it is a kind of custom that puts religion and popular culture at odds. Despite its legality and religious sanctity, temporary marriage has never enjoyed widespread support culturally, particularly among the more "secular" middle and upper middle classes in Iran, Iraq and Lebanon, where a substantial number of Shīʿīs live.

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Temptation

see WHISPER; DEVIL

Ten Commandments

see COMMANDMENT

Tents and Tent Pegs

Portable shelters for nomadic peoples and the means to affix them in the ground. Arabic lexicographical works and dictionaries provide us with a considerable variety of terms designating a tent (see TOOLS FOR THE STUDY OF THE QURʾĀN). Most of this vocabulary goes back to Arab philologists of the eighth/ninth centuries C.E. like al-Aṣmaʿī (d. 213/828), Abū ʿUbayda (d. 209/824-5) and Abū Zayd al-Anṣārī (d. 215/830) to whom later lexicographers owe most of their knowledge about pre-Islamic Arabs, their culture and language (see ARABS; PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QURʾĀN; ARABIC LANGUAGE; ARABIC SCRIPT). Only four of the terms designating a tent occur in the Qurʾān: *bayt, khayma, zulla,* and *surādiq*.

The Bedouin (q.v.) calls his tent a *bayt*. That is the common Semitic root for

"dwelling," regardless if what is meant is the tent of the Bedouins or a house built of brick or stone for sedentary people (see NOMADS; CITY). The more precise term for a tent is *bayt shaʿr,* "hair tent," which indicates the material used for making it (see HIDES AND FLEECE). The preferred fiber for the Bedouin tent is goat hair the color of which gives the tent its characteristic "blackness," even though "black tents" are often not black at all but are dyed in other colors (Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī,* viii, 65 mentions red tents: *ahlu l-qibābi l-ḥumr*). Many tents are made of pure goat hair because it is stronger and warmer in winter than other sorts of wool. Furthermore, rain water slides off the surface of goats' hair so that the tent inside remains dry. Often sheep or camel wool or a plant fiber are added; a certain percentage of goat hair, however, is always needed because sheep wool stretches too much and camel wool is too short and weak (see CAMELS; ANIMAL LIFE).

The origin of the black tent is connected with the domestication of goats and sheep, the animals which provided the material for the tent cloth. The earliest mention of goat hair as tent material can be found in the Bible (*Exod* 26:7): "You shall also make the curtains of goats' hair for a tent over the tabernacle…." There are two basic types of black tent — the eastern or Persian type and the western or Arab type (according to Feilberg, *La tente noire*). The Persian black tent seems to be closer to the black tents of biblical times which are of the simple construction described in Exodus. The Arab black tent is used by the Bedouin tribes of Arabia, Iraq (q.v.) and Syria (q.v.) and the tribes to the west of them (Rackow, Beduinenzelt; see TRIBES AND CLANS). The shape of the Arab tent is an extended cube. The length of a tent can vary from 4-5 meters to about 40 or 50 meters. The more rooms the tent has, the more wooden center poles are erected. Secondary poles are used for supporting the side and the open front of the tent. The most important component of a tent is the cloth panels: For a two-room tent about eight panels are needed, each ten or twelve meters long and 60 or 70 centimeters wide, which are stitched together. In addition to the tent cloth of the Persian type, the Arab type has tension bands sewn across the cloth breadths. These tension bands serve as reinforcement of the tent cloth.

Pre-Islamic Arabic poetry gives only scanty information on the construction of tents and materials used for them (see the examples in Jacob, *Leben,* 41-3; see POETRY AND POETS). The Qurʾān itself does not describe the characteristics of the tent any further. The term *bayt* occurs only once in the sense of "tent," in Q 16:80, whereas in all other cases *bayt* denotes a holy place or "God's house" (see HOUSE, DOMESTIC AND DIVINE). The same verse mentions leather (skins) as the material used for making the tent: "God has appointed for you from your tents *(buyūt)* a rest, and from the skins of the cattle *(julūd al-anʿām)* he has appointed for you houses *(buyūt)* which were light for you on the day you strike them and the day you set them up…." The term *khayma,* interpreted by early Arabic lexicographers as some sort of tent-like shelter, occurs in Q 55:72 in the plural *(al-khiyām)* as tent for the houris (q.v.): "cloistered in (cool) pavilions." This term is found again in the same meaning in classical poetry (see also *Lisān al-ʿArab,* xii, 193; about a possible origin of the word from Ge'ez see Leslau, *Dictionary,* 269; see FOREIGN VOCABULARY). Al-Aṣmaʿī holds that a *khayma* is built only of branches of trees, and that otherwise it is called *bayt* (similarly in Muṭarrizī, *Mughrib,* 94); other lexicographers hold that it is made with pieces of cloth and tent ropes. The term *zulla* occurs in Q 7:171 and could denote some sort of unstable shelter:

"And when we shook the mountain above them as if it were a *zulla*" (cf. other translations of the term as "covering" or "shadow"). The commentators (e.g. Bayḍāwī, *Anwār,* ad loc.) conceive this passage to mean that God lifted the mountain like a roof. Arabic lexicographers interpret the term as a "thing that covers, or protects one, overhead" (Lane, 1916). According to A.S. Yahuda (Contribution, 285), the Jews in Arabia used *zulal* (pl. of *zulla*) for the "booths" (Heb. *sikkot*) that they erected for the Feast of Tabernacles (see JEWS AND JUDAISM). The *Lisān al-ʿArab* (xi, 416-17) says that *zulla* is of Aramaic ("Nabatean") origin. Yahuda therefore proposes as translation "booths of foliage made for shelter." In European translations of the Qurʾān the word is similarly translated as "canopy" (Arberry; Bell, *Qurʾān*) or "Hütte" (Paret, *Koran*), whereas Blachère has "dais." According to Arabic dictionaries, *surādiq* denotes a pavilion or a cloth tent of quite large dimensions. *Surādiq* is a Persian loanword *(sarāparda)* signifying a curtain, especially at the door of a pavilion (Jeffery, *For. vocab.,* 167; Asbaghi, *Persische Lehnwörter,* 157; see also Jawālīqī, *Muʿarrab,* 90). Arabic lexicographers interpret this word, besides the above-mentioned meaning, as an awning extended over the interior court of a house or as a tent-enclosure without a roof (e.g. Muṭarrizī, *Mughrib,* 130). The wording in Q 18:29, "We have prepared for the evildoers a fire (q.v.), whose *surādiq* encompasses them" (Arberry: "pavilion"; Bell, *Qurʾān:* "awnings"; Blachère: "flammes"; Paret, *Koran:* "Zeltdecke"), evokes the image of a wall of flames surrounding the sinners, indicating that the term should be understood rather in the sense of an enclosure or a surround (see also *Lisān al-ʿArab,* x, 157-8; see HELL AND HELLFIRE; REWARD AND PUNISHMENT; SIN, MAJOR AND MINOR; GOOD AND EVIL).

Of the components of a tent only tent-pegs (*awtād,* pl. of *watad*) are mentioned in the Qurʾān. The term occurs twice, in Q 38:12 and Q 89:10, in connection with Pharaoh (q.v.) where he is described as *dhū l-awtād,* "possessor of the pegs" (Bell, *Qurʾān:* "possessor of the stakes"; Blachère: "Maître des Épieux"; Paret, *Koran:* "der mit den Pfählen"). No satisfactory explanation of this epithet has been found; most of the commentators interpret the passage as a metaphor (q.v.) for power or grandeur (see POWER AND IMPOTENCE; SYMBOLIC IMAGERY). J. Horovitz (*KU,* 130) suggests that it refers to his buildings, and H. Speyer (*Erzählungen,* 238) sees in it an allusion to the tower of Babel. It is often supposed to refer to some form of torture (impale) practiced by Pharaoh, which seems to be the most acceptable explanation (see Bell, *Qurʾān,* ii, 451; also Kratchkovsky, *Koran,* 632). A third passage, Q 78:6, "Have we not made… the mountains as pegs?," reminds one of the biblical idea of the sky as tent (*Ps* 104:2; *Is* 40:12) stretched out (*Is* 40:22) and fitted out with pillars (2 *Sam* 22:8; see HEAVEN AND SKY). The concept of a pavilion as an image of the sky is widespread in Christian literature (see for Syriac and Coptic examples Lumpe and Bietenhard, Himmel, 207; see CHRISTIANS AND CHRISTIANITY) and plays also a role in the Persian symbolism of power. Plutarch (*Vit. Alex.,* 37:3) describes the golden pavilion of Alexander the Great (see DHŪ L-QARNAYN) representing the sky (other examples in L'Orange, *Studies,* 74f.). The Qurʾān seems to refer here obviously to common cosmological conceptions in the Near East (see COSMOLOGY).

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Terror see FEAR

Test see TRIAL

Testifying see WITNESSING AND TESTIFYING

Textile see MATERIAL CULTURE AND THE QURʾĀN

Textual Criticism of the Qurʾān

Introduction

Anyone who writes on textual criticism should begin with definitions. So let it be said from the outset that textual criticism has nothing to do with the criticism of music, art or literature. In simplest terms, textual criticism is the correction of errors in texts. Classical scholars are, however, a bit more sophisticated. A. E. Housman (Application, 67) defines textual criticism as the "science of discovering error in texts and the art of removing it." But he goes on to say that it is not an exact science, so perhaps we might be justified in calling textual criticism "the art of discovering error in texts and the art of removing it." Regardless of how we define it, it is unfortunately true that qurʾānic studies have not profited much from it. Most Muslim scholars have been unwilling to "discover and remove error" in the qurʾānic text, and most non-Muslim scholars have followed suit, preferring to devote themselves to aspects of qurʾānic studies that do not impinge directly on the text. There have been, however, a few exceptions to this rule, some of which we shall mention later on. Classicists divide the process of textual criticism into three phases: recension, examination and emendation. Recension is the establishment of a preliminary text; one examines it to determine whether it is the best possible text and, where it is not, one tries to emend. If the work is well done, the result should be a revised version that is closer to the author's original. Since the standard Egyptian edition of the Qurʾān is quite good, there is no need to produce a recension of the qurʾānic text, which would be impossible in any case, since there is not sufficient manuscript material to prepare a fully documented recension (see MANUSCRIPTS OF THE QURʾĀN). It is, however, important to get an idea of just what this extant recension consists of, since it differs considerably from what we would expect in an ordinary literary text.

The Qurʾān began as a work of oral composition which took twenty-odd years

to complete (see ORALITY; ORALITY AND WRITING IN ARABIA; RECITATION OF THE QUR'ĀN). Parts, if not all, of it were copied at the Prophet's dictation, but because the Arabic alphabet has no vowels, only the consonantal outline *(rasm)* of the words could be written (see ARABIC SCRIPT). Moreover, the diacritics that distinguish some consonants from others, though they existed at the time, were not used, probably because the copyists had to write quickly to keep up with the dictation. These features of the orthography (q.v.) can make the reading of individual words uncertain — although this difficulty is often exaggerated. The great majority of words in the Qur'ān can be read in only one way, determined by sense and syntax (see GRAMMAR AND THE QUR'ĀN). Oral transmission was the norm, however, and there is no evidence that anyone in the early years ever read the Qur'ān from a written text in public (see RECITERS OF THE QUR'ĀN). The oral tradition dominated until an official written version, known as the ʿUthmānic recension, was produced (see CODICES OF THE QUR'ĀN; COLLECTION OF THE QUR'ĀN). But even thereafter, the oral tradition remained of primary importance. Readers reciting in public, whether they were dependent on the ʿUthmānic recension or not, could not simply omit ambivalent words (see AMBIGUOUS), nor could they recite one or two variants of a single *rasm*. They had to make choices.

Qur'ānic recitation soon became professionalized and many reciters made collections of variants for their own use. The results were rather chaotic but gradually some order was introduced as the ʿUthmānic recension was accepted by more and more readers. Ultimately compatibility with the ʿUthmānic recension became a *sine-qua-non* for any acceptable reading (see MUṢḤAF; ʿUTHMĀN; POLITICS AND THE QUR'ĀN). The sacrality of the ʿUthmānic recension for Muslims is demonstrated by the fact that it has been faithfully transmitted, including its errors, for over 1300 years (see EVERYDAY LIFE, THE QUR'ĀN IN; TEACHING AND PREACHING THE QUR'ĀN). One cannot really doubt that it was the ʿUthmānic recension that preserved the Qur'ān from complete disintegration. Competing recensions, ascribed to Ibn Masʿūd (d. 32/652-3), Ubayy b. Kaʿb (d. bet. 19/640 and 35/656), ʿAlī (d. 40/660; see ʿALĪ B. ABĪ ṬĀLIB) and others, were eclipsed by the ʿUthmānic recension and were ultimately declared non-canonical. Likewise the variant readings that could be applied to the ʿUthmānic recension were much reduced, and in the early fourth/tenth century, a scholar named Ibn Mujāhid declared that only seven systems of readings were canonical; the others were *shādhdh*, "deviant," and could not be used for ritual recitations (see READINGS OF THE QUR'ĀN). Not everyone agreed with his decision but in the course of time even more of them fell out of use, so that today only two are in common use. Another progressive feature was the development of vowel signs and the regular use of diacritics (see ORNAMENTATION AND ILLUMINATION). These have been incorporated into the bare text so that a copy of the Qur'ān purchased today combines the ʿUthmānic recension with one particular reading. To be precise, the recension used today is the ʿUthmānic recension, to which has been affixed the reading of ʿĀṣim b. Abī l-Najūd, a Kūfan scholar (d. 127 or 128/744-6), as transmitted by his student Ḥafṣ b. Sulaymān (d. ca. 190/805-6). The printed edition most frequently used, referred to as the Egyptian Qur'ān, or the Royal Egyptian Qur'ān, since it was produced under the sponsorship of

King Fuʾād of Egypt in 1342/1923-4, is much superior to all previous editions (see PRINTINGS OF THE QURʾĀN).

The next step is to examine the text with the purpose of isolating possible errors. The most important clue that an error may have occurred is the lack of good sense in the word or passage and the resulting variety of opinion among scholars as to what it means (see TRADITIONAL DISCIPLINES OF QURʾĀNIC STUDY; EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL). Another clue is when the word is transmitted in more than one form. Different views about the meaning and/or form of a particular word make it likely that the word is wrong. Still another clue is when the word in question is said by the commentators to be dialectal or foreign (see DIALECTS; FOREIGN VOCABULARY). Such claims may indicate that the word was unfamiliar to the scribes and reciters and so probably could be a mistake. In proposing emendations of my own, and in judging the emendations of others, I have followed rules laid down by the classicists. In order to be acceptable, an emendation must make better sense than the received text; it must be in harmony with the style of the Qurʾān (see LANGUAGE AND STYLE OF THE QURʾĀN; FORM AND STRUCTURE OF THE QURʾĀN; RHETORIC AND THE QURʾĀN); it should be paleographically justifiable; and, finally, it should show how the corruption occurred in the first place. The most important of these is the semantic criterion.

The earliest generation of reciters and transmitters of the ʿUthmānic recension soon realized that it contained mistakes, some of which they claimed were copyists' errors. The problems of recitation presented by these mistakes were solved in three ways: Some simply corrected the text (i.e. emended it), others retained the text as it was and corrected only their recitation; still others — and this was the most common solution — recited the text as it was written. G. Bergsträsser (in Nöldeke, *GQ*, iii, 2f.) notes several of these early-identified mistakes. For example, in Q 20:63 we find the consonantal structure *(rasm) ʾn hdhn lshrn* read by Ḥafṣ as *in hādhāni la-sāḥirāni*. This is wrong since *in* in the construction *in… la-…* introduces verbs only, most of which begin with *kāf,* especially *kāna* and *kāda* (see Rabin, *Ancient West-Arabian,* 169f.). I prefer to read *inna hādhayni la-sāḥirāni,* accepting the emendation of Abū ʿAmr b. al-ʿAlāʾ (d. 154/771), a Baṣran scholar, and one of those approved by Ibn Mujāhid (Dānī, *Taysīr,* 151). The *yāʾ* was lost not because the scribe was ignorant of grammar but because of bad handwriting. *Yāʾ* before a final *nūn* and after a space is often minuscule and can easily be missed. More important, however, the same story — Moses (q.v.) before Pharaoh (q.v.) — is told twice again in the Qurʾān with the same construction but in the singular: *inna hādhā la-sāḥirun ʿalīmun* (Q 7:109; 26:34) and once more with reference to Muḥammad: *inna hādhā la-sāḥirun mubīnun* (Q 10:2; see NARRATIVES). Although *hādhā* does not change for the accusative, *inna* indicates that an accusative was understood, so there is no good reason to read Q 20:63 differently (see also Gilliot, *Elt,* 196-7 on Q 20:63). In the second chapter of his study (Zur Sprache des Korans), Th. Nöldeke deals with stylistic and syntactic peculiarities in the text. He points out a number of peculiarities in qurʾānic style but does not go so far as to note errors or propose emendations. A possible exception (p. 27) is the passage in Q 12:17 where Joseph's (q.v.) brothers (see BROTHER AND BROTHERHOOD) tell their father that he has been eaten by a wolf and then add: *wa-mā anta bi-muʾminin lanā wa-law kunnā ṣādiqīn,* "but you would not believe us even if we

were telling the truth." Nöldeke calls this "zu ungeschickt," since they are in effect admitting that they are lying. What they really mean is "You do not believe us even though we are telling the truth." Despite this, Nöldeke tries to save the text by suggesting that Muḥammad might be putting his own condemnation of the speakers in their own mouths. One should note, however, that Reckendorf (*Arabische Syntax,* 494) gives several examples of *law* where, he says, it is not used to convey what is counter factual but only more strongly than *in,* gives "the mere mental object" (die blosse Gedachtheit) of the case, or sometimes, of the point in time, and so is related in sense and use to *idhā*. The statement by Nöldeke just quoted reveals very clearly the attitude of nineteenth-century scholars towards the qurʾānic text. If Muḥammad's audience was unaware of the flaws of expression, then he, too, must have been unaware of them. Consequently, no one admitted that they existed until they were discovered by later scholars and were rescued from this strange limbo of unawareness. Nöldeke was wise not to emend them, and one important lesson we can draw from his study is never to assume that flaws of expression are always errors.

Another method of emendation is employed by J. Barth (Studien zur Kritik und Exegese des Qorans), who tries to test the inner connections ("Zusammenhänge") of the sūras (q.v.) and their possible disjunctions, and to point out insertions in the original contexts as well as to make other critical and text-critical contributions. Most of Barth's proposals are based on the assumption that the text has been disarranged and that many verses, phrases and words are out of place and should be returned to their original locations. He thus inaugurates the method that was applied on a larger scale by R. Blachère, and was carried to an extreme by R. Bell (see POST-ENLIGHTENMENT ACADEMIC STUDY OF THE QURʾĀN). Few later scholars refer to Barth though Blachère cites him occasionally in the notes to his translation (see TRANSLATIONS OF THE QURʾĀN). An example of Barth's method can be seen in his treatment of Q 97:4-5: *tanazzala l-malāʾikatu wa-l-rūḥu fīhā* (i.e. *fī laylati l-qadri*) *bi-idhni rabbihim min kulli amrin; salāmun hiya ḥattā maṭlaʿi l-fajri*. He claims that *min kulli amr* cannot be construed since it cannot mean *bi-kulli amr,* nor "wegen jeder Sache," since this would be indicated by *min*. He proposes to read the last portion: *bi-idhni rabbihim ḥattā maṭlaʿi l-fajr; salāmun hiya min kulli amr,* "Sie ist ungefochten von jeder (bösen) Sache" (Barth, Studien, 19). In my view, if emendation is necessary, which is doubtful, it would be much simpler to emend *min* to *fī,* thus correcting a mistake that is frequently found in later manuscripts. Barth can, however, be given credit for one emendation which is undoubtedly correct. In Q 37:78, 108, 119, and 129 he reads, instead of *taraknā ʿalayhi fī l-ākhirīna,* which makes no sense, *bāraknā ʿalayhi fī l-ākhirīn,* "we blessed him among later generations." (Note that Q 37:113 correctly reads *bāraknā*.) Luxenberg (*Syro-Aramäische Lesart,* 138) also prefers *bāraknā* but does not note that Barth was the first to make this emendation.

Scholars, like Barth and Blachère, who try to restore the original by moving bits and pieces of text from one place to another have great difficulty in fulfilling the fourth requirement for an acceptable emendation, namely showing how the corruption came about. If they claim that these textual rearrangements are the Prophet's revisions and alterations (see REVISION AND ALTERATION; CORRUPTION; FORGERY), they must admit that in the end he did not really care whether the text made sense or not. If they ascribe them to the mistake of reciters, copyists, or editors,

they argue for a level of corruption that cannot be admitted since the assumed dislocations run into the hundreds. Such a high level of corruption could have occurred with a written text only if someone had taken the original, i.e. correct, text and worked through it systematically, shifting passages to wrong locations, thus leaving it for later scholars to put right, something that no one would suggest. The simultaneous presence of oral and written transmissions of the qurʾānic text complicates this further and the most elaborate effort to explain textual misplacement — that of Richard Bell — remains unconvincing to me.

Almost from the beginning of Islamic studies in Europe, controversy arose between two groups of scholars, one of which believes that Judaism, the other that eastern (Syrian) Christianity, exercised the greater influence on Muḥammad, the Qurʾān and the subsequent development of Islam (see JEWS AND JUDAISM; CHRISTIANS AND CHRISTIANITY; RELIGIOUS PLURALISM AND THE QURʾĀN). The supporters of Christianity have until now made little use of textual criticism in their arguments, although it has always been admitted that the Arabic of the Qurʾān contains a large number of borrowings from Syriac. Recently, however, a book has appeared under the name of Christoph Luxenberg, in which the author, who prefers to write under a pseudonym, deals critically with what he deems to be traces of Syriac in the qurʾānic text, which include single words, phrases and syntactic constructions. This work should be carefully reviewed by someone familiar with the methods of textual criticism and equally at home in both Arabic and Syriac. Here, in some of the examples that follow, I shall have to limit myself to citing a few instances of Luxenberg's emendations in order to contrast them with my own, so that the reader can get some idea of the type of textual criticism he is practicing.

Selected emendations

In the proposed emendations that follow, because of limitations of space, I have omitted most of the discussions that accompanied the original publications, which consisted by and large of proposals by Western scholars and the comments of Muslim commentators (see TOOLS FOR THE STUDY OF THE QURʾĀN; CONTEMPORARY CRITICAL PRACTICES AND THE QURʾĀN). This material is instructive for the history of *tafsīr* and displays the difficulties that scholars have had in coming to grips with the text, but in my judgment it is misguided and does not contribute much to the correction of the text. I shall, however, mention those comments of the commentators which are helpful in emending the text. For many, Arabic was their native language, so they could sometimes sense the correct meaning of a difficult passage (see DIFFICULT PASSAGES) and "redefine" the crucial word accordingly, even when this was lexically impossible. The modern textual critic has only to emend following their lead. There are several examples of this redefinition in the following emendations.

Ḥaṣab: fuel. Read *ḥaṭab,* with Ubayy b. Kaʿb, in Q 21:98. *Ḥaṣab* cannot mean "fuel"; *ḥaṭab* occurs with this meaning in Q 111:4 and Q 72:15. The mistake was caused by a copyist omitting the vertical stroke of the *ṭāʾ,* turning it into a *ṣād* (Bellamy, Some proposed emendations, 564).

Ummah: time, while, Q 11:8 and Q 12:45. Read *amad,* which has this meaning four times, in Q 3:30; 18:12; 57:16; 72:25. Final *dāl* was turned into *hāʾ,* either because the copyist's pen fed too much ink or his hand was unsteady and twitched upward and to the right after the *dāl* was complete

(Bellamy, Some proposed emendations, 564).

Abban: fodder, pasturage, Q 80:31. Read *lubban,* "nuts." *Abb* has no acceptable meaning here but *lubb* fits in well with the other blessings that God has bestowed on humankind (Q 80:27-31; see GRACE; BLESSING). The copyist's pen as it turned to the left after the *lām* briefly ceased to flow, breaking the connection with the following *bāʾ* and converting the *lām* into *alif* (Bellamy, Some proposed emendations, 564).

Sijill: writer of a document, Q 21:104. Read *musjil* or *musajjil. Sijill* means only "document." In older hands, *mīm* after the definite article does not turn back under the *alif* as in later hands but is no more than a thickening of the line between the *lām* and the following letter. A leaky pen may have run the *mīm* into the first tooth of the *sīn,* causing the *mīm* to lose its identity; possibly one of the teeth of the *sīn* was indistinct, thus facilitating the misreading (Bellamy, Some proposed emendations, 566).

Ḥiṭṭah: forgiveness, Q 2:58; 7:161; read *khiṭatan.* This word has nothing to do with *ḥaṭṭa,* which means "put down," but comes from the verb *khaṭiʾa,* which in the Ḥijāzī dialect would become *khaṭiya* "commit a sin," with *maṣdar khiṭah,* omitting the *hamza.* The spelling is like that of *shṭh* = *shaṭʾahu* "its sprout" in Q 48:29. The people are appealing for forgiveness (q.v.), but they first must confess their sins (see SIN, MAJOR AND MINOR; REPENTANCE AND PENANCE). *Khiṭatan,* with the implied omission of the verb *khaṭīnā* < *khaṭiʾnā,* is the equivalent of "we have sinned" (Bellamy, Some proposed emendations, 566).

Ṣurhunna ilayka: incline them (the birds) toward you, Q 2:260. Read *jazzihinna (wa-) lbuk,* or *wa-labbik.* Abraham (q.v.; Ibrāhīm) is instructed by God, "Take four birds and incline them towards yourself *(fa-ṣurhunna ilayka)* then put a part of them on each mountain, then call them, and they will come to you flying." Al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923; *Tafsīr,* iii, 35f.; cf. Gilliot, *Elt,* 107) cites the two major views on the meaning of *ṣur,* "incline" and "cut up," and chooses the latter because the majority of the exegetes accept it; he takes issue with a few Kūfan lexicographers who maintain that *ṣur* never means "cut up." Each group, however, is right in its own way. *Ṣur* never means "cut up" but the meaning must be "cut to pieces and mix them up." With the emendation suggested above the meaning would be, "make them into pieces and mix them up." Emending *ṣād* to *jīm* is simple; *jazzi* is the classical *jazzi,* since in the Ḥijāzī dialect, all the *hamza*s had been lost. The meaningless *ilayka* is removed by reading *ulbuk* with no change in the *rasm;* the *wāw* was dropped when the word was misread as *ilayka.* Another possibility is that the phrase originally read *wa-labbik,* which has the same meaning, on the assumption that the *wāw* was mistaken for an *alif* (Bellamy, Some proposed emendations, 567).

Sabʿan mina l-mathānī: seven *mathānī* (?). This and the following two emendations are of special interest since they depend on assuming the same mistake. One can argue that they were copied by the same scribe with a certain peculiarity in his handwriting. *Mathānī* occurs in Q 15:87: "We have given you seven *mathānī* and the mighty Qurʾān," and again in Q 39:23: "God has sent down the best account, a book (q.v.) alike (in its parts), *mathānī,* at which the skins of those who fear (q.v.) their lord (q.v.) creep.…" Read: *matālīyi* and *matālīya,* the broken plural of *matlūw,* meaning "recitations," literally "something that has been or is to be recited." The copyist mistook the *lām* for a *nūn* because it was too short. We also emend *sabʿan* to *shayʾan.* The scribe wrote a small loop instead of the minim of the *yāʾ.* The next scribe, seeing what he

took to be a *sīn* and an *ʿayn,* could hardly do anything but add the *bāʾ*. So Q 15:87 should read *wa-la-qad ātaynāka shayʾan mina l-matālīyi wa-l-qurʾāna l-ʿazīm,* "We have given you some recitations and the mighty Qurʾān" (Bellamy, Some proposed emendations, 567).

Tamannā; fī umniyatihi: to desire, in his desire. In Q 22:52 we read: "We have not sent down before you any messenger or prophet but that when he desired *(idhā tamannā)* Satan injected (something) into his desire *(fī umniyatihi)* but God cancels what Satan injects, then God makes his signs (q.v.) strong" (see ABROGATION; DEVIL; SATANIC VERSES). The word "desire" (verb and noun) makes little sense here; the sense required is recite, recitation, which was recognized by some commentators, who redefine *tamannā* to mean *qaraʾa,* even inventing *shawāhid* in support of this redefinition (Ibn Isḥāq, *Sīra,* 370 f.). The redefinition is correct. We emend *tamannā* to *yumlī* and *umniyatihi* to *imlāʾihi,* "dictates" and "in his dictation." The latter word was originally written *ʾmlyh,* with no *alif* for the long *ā*. The *nūn* was written for *lām* because it was too short as in *mathānī,* and one of the minims was lost. After *yumlī* was corrupted to *tamannā, umniyatihi* was inevitable (Bellamy, Some proposed emendations, 568).

Illā amāniyya: except desires. Read *amāliyya,* "dictations." Q 2:78 *wa-minhum ummiyyūna* (i.e. ignorant people who do not know the scriptures; see IGNORANCE; UMMĪ; SCRIPTURE AND THE QURʾĀN) *lā yaʿlamūna l-kitāba illā amāniyya wa-in hum illā yaẓunnūna,* "And among them are *ummiyyūna* who do not know the book except desires and they can only guess." The exegetes were not satisfied with *amāniyya,* and try to redefine it. Al-Ṭabarī (*Tafsīr,* i, 297f.) prefers the meaning "lies, falsehoods," but the best suggestion comes from al-Zajjājī (d. 311/923), who says plainly "They do not know the book except by recitation" (*illā tilāwatan, Lisān al-ʿArab,* xv, 294; Bellamy, Some proposed emendations, 569).

Ṣibghat Allāh: God's religion, Q 2:138. Read *ṣanīʿa* or *kifāya*. "But if they turn away, they are in schism, but God will take care of them for you [Muḥammad; *fa-sayakfīkahumu llāhu*] for he hears and knows (see SEEING AND HEARING; KNOWLEDGE AND LEARNING); the *ṣibgha* of God and who is better at *ṣibgha* than God" (Q 2:137-8). The word *ṣibgha* refers to the Christian baptism (q.v.), so the exegetes were obliged to redefine it. They take it to mean *dīn* or *īmān,* or they equate it with the *millat Ibrāhīm,* in Q 2:135, which they take to mean Islam (see RELIGION; FAITH). It seems inconceivable that one should find in the Qurʾān the name of a Christian sacrament used — even metaphorically — for Islam or *īmān*. The whole idea runs counter to the general attitude toward Christianity and Judaism in the Qurʾān (see POLEMIC AND POLEMICAL LANGUAGE; APOLOGETICS), and is so disturbing that the word practically announces itself as a mistake. In my view, *ṣibghat Allāh* refers to the words immediately preceding, *fa-sayakfīkuhum Allāh*. Taken thus, *ṣibgha* is an exclamatory accusative, used in praise of God's action in sparing the Prophet the trouble of dealing with his own enemies (q.v.; see also OPPOSITION TO MUḤAMMAD). There are two emendations that would give this sense. The first is to read *ṣanīʿa,* "favor." This emendation can be effected without altering the *rasm* if we assume that the original *ṣād* did not have the little nub on the left — this is often omitted in manuscripts — but that the next copyist took the *nūn* to be the nub. Otherwise it is possible to add a minim to the *rasm,* a minor change. The second possibility is to read *kifāya,* the *maṣdar* of *kafā,* which would have been spelled *kfyh,* the long *ā* without *alif*. In older manuscripts, *kāf* is often written without the diagonal stroke that we add

separately, but is written first and then turns left and under to complete the letter. The copyist misread *kāf* as *ṣād,* and then took the loop of the *fāʾ* for a minim. Initially, it was my assessment that *ṣanīʿa* was preferable, since fewer changes were necessary to bring it into line (Bellamy, Some proposed emendations, 570), but *kifāya* is what should be expected, given *sayakfīkuhum* and good sense should take precedence over paleography.

Aṣḥāb al-aʿrāf: the People of the Heights (q.v.), Q 7:48 (cf. Q 7:46). The verses refer to a group of men who are situated in some vantage point from which they can observe both the blessed in heaven and the damned in hell (see REWARD AND PUNISHMENT; PARADISE; HELL AND HELLFIRE). "Between them is a curtain *(ḥijāb)*, and on the *aʿrāf (ʿalā l-aʿrāf)* are men who know each by their mark, and they call to the people of heaven… and the people of the *aʿrāf* call to men whom they know by their mark; they say 'Your collecting [of money] has not helped you nor has your arrogance (q.v.).'" The word *aʿrāf* is the plural of *ʿurf,* which means "mane" or "comb" of a cock, and it may not be incorrect. It could be used metaphorically of some high place on which these observers are located. What makes it a bit suspicious is that the metaphor (q.v.) does not appear to have been used either before or after the revelation of this passage. Furthermore, if the word refers to the top of the *ḥijāb* (see VEIL), as some think, one should expect *ʿalā aʿrāfihi*. Two emendations can be proposed here, neither of which has to be metaphorical, though the second may be. The first is *ajrāf,* pl. of *jurf* or *juruf,* which means "bank," specifically of a *wādi* that has been undercut by the current, or, simply, "a bank that rises abruptly from a torrent or stream" (Lane, 411). Paleographically there is no difficulty. Sometimes in early manuscripts and papyri initial *ḥāʾ* begins with a lead-in line like a small arc with the concavity facing right, which then continues toward the right completing the main body of the letter. If this arc is exaggerated the whole letter can be mistaken for an *ʿayn*. The other suggestion is *aḥruf,* pl. of *ḥarf,* which means, among other things, "point, ridge, brow, ledge, of a mountain" (Lane, 550). The same emendation, *ʿayn* to *ḥāʾ* is needed here as in *ajrāf,* and the *alif* presents no problem. It might have been introduced at the time of the ʿUthmānic recension, or it could have been added by ʿUbaydallāh b. Ziyād, who during his governorship of Kūfa (53-9/673-9) instituted a reform in qurʾānic spelling, which consisted of the introduction of about 2,000 *alif*s into the text (Nöldeke, *GQ,* iii, 255f.). Taken this way, *aḥruf* is not metaphorical but we find the singular *ḥarf* used metaphorically in Q 22:11: "And among the people there are those who serve God on a *ḥarf* and if good comes to them they are at ease with it but if trouble comes to them, they turn back to their (old) ways" (see GOOD AND EVIL; TRUST AND PATIENCE). These people who serve God on a ridge *(ḥarf)* are fence-sitters who are not sure which way they will jump since circumstances can vary. The same is true of the *aṣḥāb al-aʿrāf,* who are not sure whether they will end in heaven or hell, since it depends on God's will, which they do not yet know (see FREEDOM AND PREDESTINATION). The two usages are not exactly parallel, since *aʿrāf* is plural and definite and *ḥarf* is singular and indefinite; nevertheless the similarity is striking. In general, I prefer the reading *aḥruf* but would suspend judgment on whether it should be taken metaphorically or not (Bellamy, Some proposed emendations, 571).

Wa-inna kullan lammā la-yuwaffiyannahum rabbuka aʿmālahum, Q 11:111. The crux is the word *lammā,* for which we find the variants *la-mā, lamman* (acc.), which is said to mean

"all" *(jamīʿan)*; or, *inna* is changed into negative *in,* and *lammā* given the sense of *illā* "except." Barth (Studien, 136) must be correct in saying that *lammā* cannot be construed and ought to be deleted. Once this is done the sentence is good grammatical Arabic and fits perfectly in the context: "Surely to all, your lord will give full requital for their deeds" (see GOOD DEEDS; EVIL DEEDS; HEAVENLY BOOK). Barth does not explain, however, how *lammā* got into the text; that is, he ignores the fourth requirement for an acceptable emendation. The copyist's eye, after he had written *kullan,* strayed back to verse 108, where we find *wa-innā la-muwaffūhum naṣībahum,* "Indeed we shall give them their full portion." He proceeded to write *la-muwaffūhum* but caught his mistake after writing only *lām* and *mīm,* which he cancelled with a vertical stroke. This stroke was read by a later copyist as *alif* after the *mīm,* thus producing the meaningless *lammā* (Bellamy, More proposed emendations, 196).

The earliest version of the story of the prophet Shuʿayb (q.v.) is found in Q 26:177-89, in which it is told how he was sent to the People of the Thicket (q.v.; *aṣḥāb al-ayka,* cf. Q 26:176), whom he urged to obey God and the prophet. He was rejected by his people and they were punished by a day of shadow. There are two problems in the story: the form of the prophet's name, and the identity of the *aṣḥāb al-ayka*. The name Shuʿayb does not appear in pre-Islamic sources or in proto-Arabic inscriptions and it does not have a good Arabic etymology. It does, however, contain an *ʿayn,* which argues for a Semitic origin, so the natural place to look for the original is the Hebrew Bible. I believe that Shuʿayb is a mistake for Shaʿyā (spelled with final *alif*), the Arabic form of Isaiah. The difference between Shaʿyā and Shuʿayban (in the accusative) is only a single minim, so the name in the original (Arabic) source was probably in the accusative. The next step is to turn to the book of Isaiah to see if we can find any features common to the text of Isaiah and that of the Qurʾān that will corroborate our claim that the two are the same. In Isaiah 21:13-17 we find:

the oracle concerning Arabia. In the thickets of Arabia you will lodge, O caravans of Dedanites. To the thirsty bring water, meet fugitives with bread, O inhabitants of the land of Tema, for they have fled from the swords, from the drawn sword, from the bent bow, and from the press of battle. For the Lord said to me, "Within a year, according to the years of a hireling, all the glory of Kedar will come to an end; and the remainder of the archers of the mighty men of the sons of Kedar will be few, for the Lord, the God of Israel has spoken" (Oxford translation).

I believe that the *aṣḥāb al-ayka* are the Dedanite merchants who were driven into the thickets of Arabia by an incursion of the sons of Kedar, who are to be punished for their sins. That there is some confusion between the two versions over who the real sinners were is not serious enough to invalidate this piece of evidence, which, taken together with the emendation, is sufficient not only to identify the *aṣḥāb al-ayka,* but also to confirm that Shuʿayb and Isaiah are the same (Bellamy, More proposed emendations, 197).

Q 74:49-51 describes the rejection by the Meccans of Muḥammad's message: "Why do they turn away from the reminder (q.v.) as if they were frightened asses fleeing from a *qaswara?*" There is much uncertainty among the exegetes and lexicographers about this word, which is usually translated as "lion." I believe that it derives from the Syriac *pantōrā* "panther," which goes back ultimately to the Greek *panther*.

The Greek was transcribed into Syriac with the ambivalent letter *p/f*; this in turn was transliterated into Arabic with the ambivalent letter *f/q*, which closely resembles Syriac *p*, and which of course was left without dots. The only real mistake in the qurʾānic *rasm* is a minim error which occurred when a copyist wrote a *sīn* instead of *n-t*. Panther is a better comparison in this passage than lion, since it is unlikely that Arabs ever had the opportunity to see a lion chasing an onager. The cheetah, however, under the name *fahd*, which also means "leopard" and "panther," was well known to the Arabs as a hunting animal. *Fantūrah* does not present a perfect rhyme, probably because it derives from a written source that was neither pointed nor vocalized, so the reader who first attempted to pronounce the unfamiliar word changed the vowel *ū* to the consonant *w*, just as he read q for f. If *pantūrah* had been borrowed orally it would probably have been pronounced *bamtūrah*, since *p* in foreign words borrowed into Arabic becomes *b* (Bellamy, More proposed emendations, 198).

An alternative emendation is given by Luxenberg (*Syro-Aramäische Lesart*, 45f.) who derives *qaswarah* from the Syriac root *q-ṣ-r* (Arabic *qaṣura*, "be incapable"), from which a dialect word *qusrā,* also *quṣrā,* is found, which means "decrepit old ass unable to carry a load." The spectacle of asses fleeing from a tired decrepit ass is explained as a foolish action, unjustified because there is no real threat. Likewise there is no good reason for men to flee from the reminder. The Arabic has preserved the classical Syriac pattern *qasōrā.*

The name of the prophet or holy man Dhū l-Kifl (q.v.) appears twice in the Qurʾān: "And Ishmael (q.v.; Ismāʿīl) and Idrīs (q.v.) and Dhū l-Kifl were of those who were patient and we caused them to enter into our mercy" (Q 21:85-6); and "and remember Ishmael, Elisha (q.v.; al-Yasaʿ), and Dhū l-Kifl, they were all of the best" (Q 38:48). *Kifl* can mean "pledge, guarantee" and "double," but no satisfactory interpretation of the name has been offered. I think that Dhū l-Kifl is a copyist's error for Dhū l-Ṭifl, "he of the child," and that it, like the story of Shuʿayb and the *aṣḥāb al-ayka,* goes back ultimately to the book of Isaiah. In Isaiah 9:6 we read: "for to us a child is born, to us a son is given, and the government shall be upon his shoulder, and his name will be called 'wonderful counselor, mighty God, everlasting father, prince of peace'" and in Isaiah 11:6, "the wolf will dwell with the lamb, and the leopard shall lie down with the kid and the lion and the fatling together, and a little child shall lead them." These verses were regarded by Christians as foretelling the coming of Christ, so they would be the parts of Isaiah most likely to be widely circulated among Christians, and so most likely to be picked up by Muḥammad or his source. The use of the particle *dhū* is a bit puzzling, but since the child is mentioned in the book of Isaiah, the phrase Dhū l-Ṭifl probably refers to Isaiah himself. He was of course a prophet and so deserves to be mentioned along with Ishmael, Idrīs, and Elisha. Confusion of *ṭ* and *k* is a common mistake in Arabic manuscripts (Bellamy, More proposed emendations, 199).

In Q 44:23 God orders Moses to lead the Children of Israel (q.v.) through the Red Sea: "Make my servants travel by night *(fa-asri bi-ʿibādī laylan);* indeed you will be pursued; and leave the sea gaping wide *(wa-truki l-baḥra rahwan);* indeed they are an army that will be drowned" (Q 44:23-4; see DROWNING). The crux lies in the words of command which the exegetes assume God addressed to Moses after the Israelites had crossed over, although the first clause could only have been spoken before they started

out. The word *rahwan* is taken by most exegetes to mean "gaping wide," and most translators accept this, though Blachère (170) notes that the phrase makes no sense to the commentators and that *rahwan* means only "marcher doucement." The necessary emendation is obvious. One should read *wa-nzili l-baḥra rahwan,* "and descend into the sea at an easy pace." There is no longer any need to shift the scene from before to after the crossing, and *rahwan* now has its most common meaning. Confusion of isolated *lām* and *kāf* is common in Arabic manuscripts (Bellamy, More proposed emendations, 198).

In Q 70:10-14 the Qurʾān describes the desperate situation of those sinners who are about to be punished on judgment day (see LAST JUDGMENT): "And friends will not ask friends *(wa-lā yasʾalu ḥamīmun ḥamīman);* they will be made to see them *(yubaṣṣarūnahum);* the sinner would like to rescue himself from the punishment of that day by his children (q.v.), his wife, and his brother, and his kinfolks (see KINSHIP) who give him refuge and everyone on earth, then (he thinks) this would save him." *Yubaṣṣarūnahum* makes little sense in the context. Blachère (94) and Paret (*Koran,* 482) note that the meaning is uncertain. Since *lā yasʾalu* requires a second object, the best emendation here is to read *yanṣurūnahum* without altering the *rasm,* and translating, "Friends will not ask friend to help them." Since they are willing to ransom themselves with the whole world, they would not consider asking mere friends for help (see FRIENDS AND FRIENDSHIP; INTERCESSION). The word *ḥamīm* may be used as a plural justifying the plural verb (Lane, 637). When *an* is omitted, the following verb is in the indicative. Another qurʾānic example is found in Q 39:64; *a-fa-ghayra llāhi taʾmurūnnī aʿbudu,* "Do you command me to worship (q.v.) other than God?" This construction is found after verbs of command, including *qāla,* refusing, forbidding, knowing, and in oaths and asseverations (Reckendorf, *Arabische Syntax,* 384). Since asking is a mild form of command, it is reasonable to admit the construction here, although I have not found another example with *saʾala* (Bellamy, More proposed emendations, 200).

The word *sūra* occurs nine times in the Qurʾān in the singular and once in the plural *suwar*. The word always refers to a portion of the divine revelation but not as yet a specific portion. The problem with *sūra* is not its meaning but its derivation, and on this point there is much variation among the Muslim exegetes and the non-Muslims scholars alike. For an extensive survey of the proposals by the latter, see Jeffery (*For. vocab.*, 180-2); none of them is convincing. The lexicographers are equally at a loss. They etymologize the word, trying to derive it from *s-w-r* or *s-ʾ-r*. The word *sūra* may mean "eminence of nobility, exalted state, rank," as well as "row of bricks or stones in a wall" (Lane, 1465). *Suʾra* means "a remnant of food or drink left in a vessel" or "remnant of youthful vigor." But one cannot really believe that Muḥammad would employ a word meaning "dregs" and "orts" or "row of bricks" as a metaphor for a divine revelation. In emending the text, the main consideration is to find a word that is fitting and appropriate for a revelation sent down by God from on high (see REVELATION AND INSPIRATION). I believe we can find it in the Heb. *beʿsôrāh,* which means "tidings, good tidings, news (q.v.; see also GOOD NEWS)." The mistake is another instance of a minim error in which the copyist wrote three minims instead of four. As in the case of Shuʿayb and *qaswara,* the error did not originate in the qurʾānic tradition, but was already present in the source from which *sūra* was taken. The borrowing must have been fairly old, since the word had already

acquired a broken plural (Bellamy, More proposed emendations, 201).

In Exodus 3:1-5, the lord speaks to Moses from the burning bush: "Do not come near; put off your shoes from your feet (q.v.), for the place on which you are standing is sacred ground" (see SACRED AND PROFANE). In the story as retold in the Qurʾān (Q 20:12), the lord says: "I am your lord, so take off your sandals; verily you are in the sacred valley, Ṭuwā" (q.v.; *bi-l-wādi l-muqaddasi ṭuwan*). The best that the exegetes could offer is that *ṭuwan* is the name of the valley, but they do not know what it means. There is an episode in the Bible, however, that will give us a clue as to the meaning of *ṭuwan*. In Joshua 5:15 the commander of the lord's army comes to Joshua and says, "Put off your shoes from your feet, for the place where you stand is holy, and Joshua did so." The event occurred in a place near Jericho called Gilgāl, where the Israelites were encamped. The Bible, with a play on words, associates Gilgāl with the *g-l-l*, which in the *qal*-form means "to roll." By changing the vowel *ḍamma* in *ṭuwā* to *fatḥa* we get a verb *ṭawā*, which means among other things "to roll" (transitive), literally "he rolled." It is reasonable to assume that *ṭawā* is a translation of the exegetical definition of Gilgāl. The discrepancy between Mount Horeb and Gilgāl and between Moses and Joshua should not give us pause, since the Qurʾān in telling biblical stories often modifies them. No emendation of the *rasm* is necessary; however, the *ḍamma* in Ṭuwā may have been influenced by the fact that there is a locality near Mecca (q.v.) called Dhū Ṭuwā, where the pilgrims rest up before coming into the city (Bellamy, Textual criticism, 2; see PILGRIMAGE).

Q 4:51 states that those who have been given (only) a portion of the book believe in the *jibt* (q.v.) and the *ṭāghūt* (see IDOLS AND IMAGES). No one really knows who or what the *jibt* is or are. The Muslim commentators equate it with the *ṭāghūt*, that is "idol, priest, sorcerer" (see MAGIC; POLYTHEISM AND ATHEISM; PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QURʾĀN). For the views of non-Muslim scholars, see Jeffery (*For. vocab.*, 99). If, however, we emend *jibt* very slightly, by moving the dot from beneath the *bāʾ* to above the letter, we get *al-jinnat*, which means the jinn (q.v.), a word that also occurs frequently in the Qurʾān. The only unusual thing about it is the use of the long *tāʾ*, instead of *tāʾ marbūṭa*, for the feminine singular ending. *Jinnah*, which also means "madness" (see INSANITY), occurs ten times in the Qurʾān, always spelled with *tāʾ marbūṭa*. G. Bergsträsser (in Nöldeke, *GQ*, iii, 27), however, lists thirty-six instances in the Qurʾān where feminine singular ending is long *tāʾ*, and a number of cases where it may be either singular or plural. The fact that all the other occurrences of the word have *tāʾ marbūṭa* may have been responsible for the readers' not recognizing the word here. In the time of Muḥammad the jinn or jinna were impersonal gods: "The Arabs of Mecca asserted the existence of a kinship *(nasab)* between them and Allāh (Ḳurʾān XXXVII, 158), made them companions of Allāh (VI, 100), offered sacrifices to them (VI, 128), and sought aid of them (LXXII, 6)" (Macdonald/Massé, Djinn, 547; see SACRIFICE; IDOLATRY AND IDOLATERS). Particularly close to the phrase "they believe in the *jibt* = *jinnat*" *(yuʾminūna bi-l-jibt)* is Q 72:6, "there are people of mankind who seek refuge with the people of the jinn" *(yaʿūdhūna bi-rijālin mina l-jinni)*. Here again we do not need to emend the *rasm* (Bellamy, Textual criticism, 3).

In Q 6:74 Abraham asks his father Āzar (q.v.), "Do you take *(a-tattakhidhu)* idols as gods?" The problem is that in the Bible Abraham's father is not Āzar but Teraḥ. (See Jeffery, *For. vocab.*, 54f. for the opinions

of Western scholars on this name.) More useful is the view of some Muslim exegetes who believe that Āzar is an expression of blame; it is like *yā aʿraj,* "O limper," as if he were saying to his sinful father, "O sinner, O dotard, O old man," or that it is a word of rebuke or forbidding wrong-doing (*Tāj al-ʿarūs,* x, 46f.). Although the canonical reading *(ʾ-r-r)* does not vary, there is an unusual *shādhdh* reading, ascribed to Ibn ʿAbbās, which takes the *alif* of the following word as the last letter of the previous word. Jeffery thinks the reading was originally *ʾa-ʾizran,* with the first *alif* representing two *hamza*s and the last the *tanwīn* of the accusative. This, he says, was the reading of Ismāʿīl al-Shāmī (Jeffery, Marginalia, 137). *Izr* is a variant of *wizr,* "burden," but it can hardly be correct; it does not occur in the Qurʾān, whereas *wizr* and its plural *awzār* occur twelve times, so it is clearly the form preferred by Muḥammad. Combining the insight of the Muslim exegetes noted above (that the word is some kind of reproach) with the deviant reading just mentioned, the result is the reading *ʾ-r-r-ʾ,* which can be vocalized *ʾizrāʾan,* and translated "contemptuously": that is, "when Abraham said to his father contemptuously 'You take idols as gods.'" The only objection that one might make is that *azrā* takes the prepositions *bi-* or *ʿalā* before the object; but one can argue here that the *maṣdar* is used absolutely, so it is not necessary to mention the object, which is clear from the context. No real change in the *rasm* is necessary (Bellamy, Textual criticism, 3).

Three names which have created difficulties for the Muslim exegetes and Western scholars alike are Idrīs, ʿUzayr (see EZRA), and al-Rass (q.v.). I believe that all three refer to the same person, Esdras or Ezra, the presumed author and protagonist of the Jewish apocalyptic book 2 Esdras (4 Esdras in the Catholic Bible). Idrīs is mentioned twice in the Qurʾān: "And mention in the book Idrīs; verily he was truthful and a prophet, and we raised him to an exalted place" (Q 19:56-7; see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD), and again in Q 21:85-6, where he is mentioned along with Ishmael and Dhū l-Kifl. The Muslim commentators identify him with the biblical Enoch because "Enoch walked with God, and he was not, for God took him" (*Gen* 5:24), which seems to refer to his "exalted place" in Q 19:57. Among non-Muslim scholars, P. Casanova correctly suggested that the reference was to Esdras, and Bell in his translation of the Qurʾān (p. 288) agrees with Casanova that Idrīs is probably Esdras. The connection between Esdras and Idrīs is obvious. Arabic does not admit consonantal clusters, so when a foreign word is borrowed that has one, either an epenthetic vowel is inserted or one of the consonants is dropped, which reduces the cluster to two; in this case the *sigma* has been dropped. The following consonant *yāʾ* was pronounced *ōē* or *ē* as a result of the *imāla* of the *alif*. There is moreover in 2 Esdras 14:9 a clear statement that Esdras will be raised up. God says to him: "You shall be taken up from among men and henceforth you shall live with my son and with those who are like you until the times are ended." This is clearer than the statement in Genesis about Enoch. No emendation of the *rasm* is necessary.

In Q 9:30 we read: "The Jews say: 'Uzayr is the son of God,' and the Christians say, 'The Messiah is the son of God.'" Even more curious than the form of the name is the statement that ʿUzayr was believed by the Jews to be the son of God (see PEOPLE OF THE BOOK). I believe that we can solve both problems. Jeffery says that the form of the name is difficult but that it must come from the biblical ʿEzrā. "The form may be due to Muḥammad himself not properly grasping the name, or possibly giving it the

contemptuous diminutive form" (Jeffery, *For. vocab.,* 214f.). The last statement is most unlikely since the Qurʾān does not elsewhere treat biblical figures with contempt. The first step in solving the textual problem is to take the *alif* from the beginning of *ibn* and attach it to ʿUzayr, as we did in the case of Āzar. This gives us ʿUzayrā, which could be the diminutive of ʿEzrā. It is, however, a feminine form (Howell, *Grammar,* i/3, 1232f.), and probably would not have been used of a prophet who was a man. Moreover, the Arabic diminutive form *fuʿayl* is used only when it is formed from a noun with three consonants and no long vowel, e.g. *faʿl, fuʿl,* etc. (see ARABIC LANGUAGE). So ʿUzayr could not be a diminutive of ʿEzrā. I do not believe, however, that a diminutive was intended, but that the *yāʾ* is intrusive, caused by a rough spot in the papyrus or vellum, or by an overflowing pen. Once this is eliminated, two possibilities present themselves. First we have *ʿ-z-r-ʾ,* an exact transliteration of the biblical ʿEzrā. We note, however, that the word *ibn* in the Qurʾān is always written with the *alif,* but in later texts the *alif* is often omitted contrary to the rules, and the orthography may have been standardized sometime after the original recording. A second, even more likely, possibility is that the long *ā* was shortened in recitation because of the cluster *bn* which follows. The scribe may simply have reproduced what he heard the Prophet say, which was *ʿazrabnu,* retaining, however, the conventional *alif* in *ibn*. The question why the Jews are said to believe that ʿUzayr is the son of God can be answered by again referring to 2 Esdras 14:9. There is, however, an even more pertinent reference in 2 Esdras 2:42-8. Esdras on Mount Zion sees a vision of a young man who is placing crowns on the heads of a multitude of people. He asks an angel who the young man is, and is told: "He is the son of God, whom they confessed in the world." It is clear that Muḥammad or his informant confused the name of the prophet Esdras, which is also the name of the book, with the son of God seen by Esdras in his vision.

The phrase *aṣḥāb al-rass* occurs in two lists of people who disbelieved in the prophets sent to them and so perished (Q 25:37-8; 50:12-14; see PUNISHMENT STORIES). The word *rass* has several meanings but the one adopted by most commentators, and consequently by some translators, is "well," so the *aṣḥāb al-rass* become the People of the Well. The commentators, however, do not agree on who they were, where the well was located, or precisely what the name of their prophet was. This is not surprising, since *al-rass* is nothing more than Idrīs misspelled. The *rāʾ* was written too close to the *dāl*, which was then read as a *lām*. The *yāʾ*, which has only one minim, was probably lost through a flattening-out of the minims. It may never have been there, however, since the following vowel could have been read as long *ā*, but pronounced without *imāla* and so not reproduced in the writing. The only other letter that could have been read instead of *dāl/dhāl* is *kāf*, but the roots *k-r-s* and *k-r-sh* gave no satisfactory meaning. So in sum, Idrīs and al-Rass go back to Esdras and ʿUzayr goes back to ʿEzrā, and in the apocryphal tradition Esdras and ʿEzrā are the same (Bellamy, Textual criticism, 4).

Perhaps the most mysterious textual problem in the Qurʾān is the name ʿĪsā, which is the name given to Jesus (q.v.). No one has yet satisfactorily explained why the Qurʾān should call Jesus ʿĪsā, since he is referred to by eastern Christians as Yasūʿ or Īsōʿ. ʿĪsā does not occur before the Qurʾān but Yasūʿ is used in personal names at an early period. The fact that ʿĪsā has no satisfactory derivation and no pre-qurʾānic history should have suggested to scholars that the word might be a mistake. I had

originally emended the text to *m-s-y-y,* to be read Massīya, which I thought derived ultimately from the Greek *messias* without the nominative singular ending. I now prefer to derive it from the Arabic al-Masīḥ, from which the definite article has been dropped. This involves emending the *ʿayn* to *mīm,* and dividing the four minims into *sīn* and *yāʾ,* then emending the final *yāʾ* to final *ḥāʾ.* It is much more likely that the Prophet would have known the Arabic term than the Greek, so we do not have to assume that he vacillated between Greek and Arabic. The real problem is why Muḥammad would have rejected Yasūʿ for any alternative. I believe that his choice was dictated by the fact that Yasūʿ could have been turned into an obscene insult by his enemies. The verb *aswaʿa* and also apparently *sāʿa, yasūʿu* refer to the action of the two Cowper glands, which secrete a fluid when sexually stimulated (*Tāj al-ʿarūs,* xxi, 243). The *rasm*s of the two verbs are the same, *y-s-w-ʿ.* The phrases "Yasūʿ Yasūʿ" or "Yuswiʿ Yasūʿ" could have been used to ridicule Muḥammad's claim that Jesus was a prophet (Bellamy, Textual criticism, 6; id., Further note, 587-8). Luxenberg (*Syro-Aramäische Lesart,* 26f.), on the other hand, derives ʿĪsā from the biblical Īšay, (Jesse, in the English Bible) the father of David (q.v.). The eastern Syrians weaken initial *ʿayn* so that it is realized by *hamza,* and the final *ʿayn* vanishes completely. This agrees with Mandaean spelling in which *ʿayn* is used for *hamza,* and final *ʿayn* is dropped. The diphthong *– ay –* was eventually monophthongized to *ā,* a common feature in eastern Syriac.

The tale of the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus is told in Q 18 (see MEN OF THE CAVE). In Q 18:9 God speaks to the Prophet: "Or did you think that the companions of the cave and (of) al-Raqīm (q.v.; *anna aṣḥāba l-kahfi wa-l-raqīmi*) were one of our marvelous signs?" The word *al-raqīm* has not been satisfactorily explained, which makes it likely that the word is wrong. I suggest that it is a mistake for *al-ruqūd,* pl. of *rāqid,* "sleeping, sleeper," so the phrase should read *aṣḥāba l-kahfi l-ruqūdi,* "the sleeping companions of the cave." The corruption began with the loss of the final *dāl;* detached letters when final are sometimes omitted through carelessness. The other mistakes occurred because of the effort of a copyist to correct the text. The remaining letters *rqw* make no sense, so he mistook *w* for *m,* and added *y* to give the word a common nominal pattern, but since the new word does not fit with what precedes, he added the conjunction to make it a separate phrase. We note further that *ruqūd* is also found in Q 18:18, *wa-taḥsibuhum ayqāzan wa-hum ruqūdun,* "you would think them awake but they are sleeping" (Bellamy, Al-raqīm, 115). Similarly, Luxenberg (*Syro-Aramäische Lesart,* 65f.) emends *al-raqīm* to *al-ruqād,* "sleep," taking the *yāʾ* as representing long *ā,* reading "the people of the cave and of the sleep." This goes against the orthography of the Qurʾān, in which *ā* after *qāf,* which occurs hundreds of times, is either omitted or is represented by *alif.* Exceptions occur when *alif* is *alif maqṣūrā,* as in *ʾ-sh-q-y* = *ashqā* (Q 87:11), and is retained when a suffix follows, e.g. *ʾ-sh-q-h-ʾ* = *ashqāha* (Q 91:12); this represents the pronunciation *– ay* (see Rabin, *Ancient West-Arabian,* 115f. and 160, who treats the matter in detail). In Q 3:28, however, we do find *t-q-y-h* = *tuqāt,* but in Q 3:102, with attached pronoun, *t-q-ʾ-t-h* or *t-q-t-h* = *tuqātihi* (Nöldeke, *GQ,* iii, 40). This word made difficulties for some readers: Yaʿqūb al-Ḥadramī and Ḥasan al-Baṣrā (d. 110/728) read *taqīyatan* (ibid., n. 4). This one exception, which is probably a mistake itself, is not sufficient to justify the reading *al-ruqād.*

In Q 101:6-11 we read "As for him whose scales are heavy (see WEIGHTS AND

MEASURES), he shall be in a pleasing way of life, as for him whose scales are light *fa-ummuhu hāwiyah,* but how should you know what that is? A hot fire." Even though the phrase in Q 101:9 is defined in verse 11, no one has been able to explain how the phrase can mean what it surely must mean (see PIT). The literal meaning is "his mother shall perish" or "his mother shall be bereft," but "hot fire" cannot explain it. Of the several Western scholars who have commented on this passage, Blachère (p. 26) comes close to solving the problem. He admits that the phrase does not make good sense; he translates it, "s'acheminera vers un abîme," but he thinks it would be simpler to take *umm* (perhaps to be read *amm*) as a verbal noun of *amma,* "se diriger vers, aller vers un but." I, however, believe that what is required is an ordinary feminine noun, which was supplied by *ummuhu,* but which is inappropriate here. Read instead, without changing the *rasm, ummatun* "path, way, course," and translate "then a steep course downward shall be his." *Ummatun hāwiyatun* is an incomplete nominal sentence, which can easily be completed by reference to the context. Such sentences are common in the Qurʾān; they occur most often in the apodoses of conditional sentences, as in this passage (see Q 2:265; 4:92; 56:88-94, for other examples; also Bellamy, Fa-ummuhu hāwiyah, 485).

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Textual History of the Qurʾān

see UNITY OF THE TEXT OF THE QURʾĀN; MUṢḤAF; TEXTUAL CRITICISM OF THE QURʾĀN; COLLECTION OF THE QURʾĀN; CODICES OF THE QURʾĀN

Thamūd

An ancient tribe, mentioned twenty-six times in the Qurʾān, counted among many peoples who rebelled against God and his messengers (see MESSENGER; PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD). The story of Thamūd forms part of a repeated trope of human rebellion (q.v.) and subsequent destruction (see PUNISHMENT STORIES; GENERATIONS) appearing in reference to other lost peoples such as the ʿĀd (q.v.) and the people of Lot (q.v.), Noah (q.v.), Midian (q.v.), Pharaoh (q.v.), Tubbaʿ (q.v.), Iram (q.v.) and the *aṣḥāb al-rass*

(see PEOPLE OF THE THICKET; see also GEOGRAPHY).

Most often the Thamūd are mentioned along with the ʿĀd and represent lost pre-Islamic Arabian tribes (see TRIBES AND CLANS; PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QURʾĀN) that fit the pattern of rebellion and destruction. The Thamūd succeed the ʿĀd and live in homes hewn out of the earth (Q 7:74; 26:149). Ṣāliḥ (q.v.) is God's Thamūdic prophet (Q 7:73; 11:61; 26:141-2; 27:45) and the Qurʾān retains the oral memory (see ORALITY AND WRITING IN ARABIA): "And to Thamūd their brother Ṣāliḥ. He said: 'O my people! Serve God. You have no other god save him' " (Q 11:61; see WORSHIP; POLYTHEISM AND ATHEISM). Ṣāliḥ's people acknowledge his qualities (Q 11:62) but refuse to abandon the ancestral, polytheistic, tradition. They repudiate him because he is only mortal (Q 26:154; 54:24) and demand a sign (see SIGNS). He provides a she-camel, a camel (q.v.) of God (Q 7:73), and requires that she not be harmed or that both she and the people drink their well water on equal terms (Q 11:64; 26:155-6; 54:27-8). They respond by wounding or hamstringing her (Q 7:77; 11:65; 26:157; 54:29; 91:14); the term for this, *ʿ-q-r,* is far less common than *j-r-ḥ* and, in some of its forms (e.g. *ʿāqir,* a barren [woman]), connotes infertility. As a result the Thamūd are destroyed except for their messenger Ṣāliḥ, or Ṣāliḥ and a few righteous survivors (Q 11:66; 27:53; 41:18). The Thamūd are destroyed by an earthquake (*rajfa,* Q 7:78, associated with the last day in Q 79:6; see LAST JUDGMENT; APOCALYPSE), a thunderbolt (*ṣāʿiqa,* Q 41:13, 17; 51:44), a shout (*ṣayḥa,* Q 54:31), a terrible storm (*ṭāghiya,* associated linguistically with a common term for transgression, *ṭ-gh-y,* Q 69:5) or by burying (*damdama ʿalayhim,* Q 91:14). It is interesting to note that these forms of destruction correlate with the *sajʿ* rhyme of the different passages in which the story is placed (see RHYMED PROSE; FORM AND STRUCTURE OF THE QURʾĀN; LANGUAGE AND STYLE OF THE QURʾĀN). In Q 27, the story blends into a narrative reminiscent of biblical and midrashic sources treating the destruction of Sodom, with nine evil, violent, plotting people who caused the destruction (Q 27:48-51), followed by direct reference to Lot (Q 27:54; see NARRATIVES; SCRIPTURE AND THE QURʾĀN).

The story is expanded in the exegetical traditions (see EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL) in ways that provide meaning to obscure scriptural verses, but with some renderings (i.e. Kisāʾī, *Qiṣaṣ,* 117-28) utterly fantastic. The Thamūd was a mighty people living in al-Ḥijr (see ḤIJR) who served idols (see IDOLS AND IMAGES), were corrupt, and failed to heed the warnings of their prophet, Ṣāliḥ, unless he would show them a miracle (see WARNER; MIRACLES). He asked them to tell him what he should show them, so they called on him to bring forth a specific kind of pregnant camel from solid rock. When he did so, some immediately agreed to follow the prophet and encouraged others to join them but were forbidden by powerful tribesmen. The camel gave birth to a foal and would drink all the water in a certain well every other day, after which she would give huge amounts of milk to the people. On the other days, the Thamūd would drink abundantly and store enough until it was again their turn. The camel's behavior harmed some of the people's other flocks and Ṣāliḥ made enemies inadvertently in other ways as well. Certain women are included among the ringleaders in the plot to hamstring the camel, and nine people lead in the process that would result in the wounding and eventual destruction of the camel. When the prophet warns them of their impending doom, they try but fail to kill him. He warns them that their

punishment would come in three days and that each morning they would awake to find the color of their skin changing to yellow, red and, on the final day, black. This terrified the Thamūd as they observed the changing color of their skin, but by that time it was too late, with horrific destruction as a result.

A people called Thamūd are mentioned in non-Arabian sources such as Ptolemy *(Geography)* and Pliny *(Natural history)*. The earliest mention is in a list of tribes defeated by the Assyrian Sargon II (721-705 B.C.E.). The name and other features of the qurʾānic story may be found in poetry attributed to Umayya b. Abī l-Ṣalt, a contemporary of Muḥammad.

According to Ibn Saʿd (d. 230/845; *Ṭabaqāt,* i, 37), the Thamūd were the Nabateans. Al-Bukhārī (d. 256/870; *Ṣaḥīḥ,* iv, 358-60) relates a tradition in which, when traveling northward through "the land of Thamūd, al-Ḥijr," Muḥammad forbade his troops from drinking the water from its wells or using it in food production. He further forbade them to enter the ruined dwellings "unless weeping, lest occur to you what happened to them." Some traditions find the Thaqīf tribe of Ṭāʾif to have derived from a Thamūdic survivor or slave of Ṣāliḥ. Popular legend associates the cliff dwellings, inscriptions and sculptures in or near the northern Ḥijāzī town of Madāʾin Ṣāliḥ ("The towns of Ṣāliḥ") with the Thamūd (see YEMEN; SOUTH ARABIA, RELIGIONS IN PRE-ISLAMIC). These "Thamudic inscriptions" reference a real community that is no longer extant.

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Thanksgiving

see GRATITUDE AND INGRATITUDE

Theft

The unlawful taking of another's property (q.v.) entailing, in some cases, a punishment stipulated by the Qurʾān (see also CHASTISEMENT AND PUNISHMENT; LAW AND THE QURʾĀN; LAWFUL AND UNLAWFUL; SIN, MAJOR AND MINOR).

One of the better-known legislative passages in the Qurʾān provides: "As for the thief, whether male or female, for each, cut off the hands in punishment for what they did, as an exemplary punishment *(nakālan)* from God" (Q 5:38). The Arabic *wa-l-sāriq wa-l-sāriqa fa-qṭaʿū aydiyahumā* closely parallels the syntax of another qurʾānic legislative pronouncement concerning adultery: As for "the adulteress and the adulterer, whip each one of them . . ." (Q 24:2, *al-zāniya wa-l-zānī fa-jlidū kulla wāḥidin minhumā;* see ADULTERY AND FORNICATION). Muslim jurists came to include the crime of theft among the so-called *ḥudūd* (sing. *ḥadd,* "limit"), the small group of transgressions defined by the Qurʾān that constitute Islamic penal law (see Schacht, *Introduction,* 175-8; see also BOUNDARIES AND PRECEPTS). Although the Companion

ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbbās (d. 68/687; see COMPANIONS OF THE PROPHET) is said to have declared the theft verse "unrestricted" in its application (*al-āya ʿalā l-ʿumūm,* Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* x, 296), the jurists rapidly undertook to ameliorate its harsh penalty by developing numerous exceptions that led to a narrow and highly technical definition of theft *(sariqa)*. Discussions of specific exceptions are reported among early Meccan jurists such as ʿAṭāʾ b. Abī Rabāḥ (d. 115/733) and his student Ibn Jurayj (d. 150/767; see ʿAbd al-Razzāq, *Muṣannaf,* x, e.g. 195, 207, 232) and are also preserved in early compilations of Iraqi jurisprudence such as that attributed to Zayd b. ʿAlī (d. 122/740; *Corpus juris,* 817-20, probably before 184/800). Most jurists came to consider that the scope of the verse had been considerably narrowed by various prophetic ḥadīths (see ḤADĪTH AND THE QURʾĀN), making the verse itself "restricted" in its application (*khāṣṣ,* e.g. Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* x, 296, who objects to the characterization of Ibn ʿAbbās; for a summary of the jurisprudence, see Schacht, *Introduction,* 179-80, and for later legal-hermeneutical approaches, see Weiss, *Spirit,* 101-8). Legal reform and changing sensibilities led to a further decline in application of the *ḥudūd* punishments in later centuries (see e.g. Peters, Islamic and secular law).

With regards to forceful theft (robbery), Islamic jurisprudence has looked to another qurʾānic passage (Q 5:33) for penal guidelines. This passage decrees execution, crucifixion (q.v.), the amputation of the opposing hand and foot or exile for those who war against God and his messenger and strive to sow "corruption" (q.v.; *fasād*) throughout the land. This has been variously interpreted in the penalties for robbery found in Islamic law: for robbery that involved murder, execution or crucifixion; for simple robbery (i.e. in which no death is involved), amputation of the opposing hand and foot (cf. Heffening, Sariḳa; Carra de Vaux/Schacht, Ḥadd).

In addition to the aforementioned prohibition found in Q 5:38, the Qurʾān also contains a second though more oblique injunction against theft. After the treaty of Ḥudaybiya (6/628; see ḤUDAYBIYA), certain Meccan women are said to have come to Muḥammad to offer him allegiance (see WOMEN AND THE QURʾĀN; CONTRACTS AND ALLIANCES), and Q 60:12 stipulated that the Prophet should accept their pledge and also prescribed its form, which included an undertaking not to commit theft: "O Prophet, if believing women come to you to pay you homage, pledging not to associate anything with God (see POLYTHEISM AND ATHEISM), steal, commit adultery, kill their children (q.v.; see also INFANTICIDE), come up with a lie (q.v.) they invent between their hands and feet or disobey you in any honorable matter (see DISOBEDIENCE; OBEDIENCE), then accept their homage and ask God's forgiveness (q.v.) for them" (see Nöldeke, *GQ,* i, 219). Known as the "pledge of women" *(bayʿat al-nisāʾ),* this text is considered to be substantially identical to the first pledge of ʿAqaba, made to Muḥammad in 621 by a group of Medinans (Ibn Isḥāq, *Sīra,* i, 433; Ibn Isḥāq-Guillaume, 198-9; Watt, *Muhammad at Mecca,* 146; for affinities with the Decalogue, see Weiss, Law and covenant, 53-4).

Finally, a false accusation of theft plays a role in the qurʾānic (as in the biblical) story of Joseph (q.v.). When Joseph's brothers return to Egypt (q.v.) with Benjamin (q.v.), Joseph causes a goblet to be put in Benjamin's bag in order to create a pretense for detaining the brothers (episode beginning at Q 12:70; compare *Gen* 44). Joseph's subordinate accuses the brothers of being thieves (Q 12:70; *Gen* 44:4, not in the Hebrew) and they deny that they have

stolen (Q 12:73; *Gen* 44:8). The subsequent qur'ānic elaboration of the narrative contains several intricacies not found in the biblical version (see SCRIPTURE AND THE QUR'ĀN; NARRATIVES).

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Theology and the Qur'ān

The Qur'ān displays a wide range of theological topics related to the religious thought of late antiquity and through its prophet Muḥammad presents a coherent vision of the creator, the cosmos and man. The main issues of Muslim theological dispute prove to be hidden under the wording of the qur'ānic message, which is closely tied to Muḥammad's biography (see SĪRA AND THE QUR'ĀN).

Preliminary remarks

Dealing with theology and the Qur'ān means looking in two different directions at the same time. On the one hand, the qur'ānic message plays an important role in the religious history of late antiquity, representing a specific step within the development of monotheism as derived from the Torah (q.v.) and its Hellenistic exegesis (see POLYTHEISM AND ATHEISM; IDOLATRY AND IDOLATERS; SCRIPTURE AND THE QUR'ĀN). On the other hand, one has to study the view of the creator and the universe (see CREATION; GOD AND HIS ATTRIBUTES) as expounded in a corpus of heterogeneous texts (see FORM AND STRUCTURE OF THE QUR'ĀN), which share the characterization of having been revealed to the prophet Muḥammad (see REVELATION AND INSPIRATION). Neither of these two aspects must be neglected, although it would be disadvantageous to combine them in this essay. Therefore, in the interest of a better understanding of the different issues, two separate lines of inquiry will be followed here. The first treats the place of qur'ānic monotheism in the religious history of the Middle East. This problem will be tackled by scrutinizing the qur'ānic narrative (see NARRATIVES) about Abraham (q.v.), one that indicates the far-reaching changes that the concept of the one god underwent after the age of the Torah. There is no need to discuss the parallels between the qur'ānic story and its presumed sources, since this kind of research has been done frequently and it is unlikely that substantially new results can be obtained. But beyond the field of literary history (see also LITERARY STRUCTURES OF THE QUR'ĀN; RHETORIC AND THE QUR'ĀN; MYTHS AND LEGENDS IN THE QUR'ĀN), the qur'ānic narratives offer valuable clues, which have rarely been used to deepen our understanding of how Muḥammad conceived the divine and of how his conceptions were related to those current in the Middle East of his time.

The answer to these questions will lead to the second major line of investigation, which will focus on the qur'ānic text itself (see COLLECTION OF THE QUR'ĀN; CODICES OF THE QUR'ĀN; MUṢḤAF; LANGUAGE AND

STYLE OF THE QUR'ĀN). This investigation will include a detailed review of the main theological topics of the Qur'ān, following an order determined by the emergence of particular concerns faced by the new community during the vicissitudes of the Prophet's career. In other words, this analysis of the theological contents of the Qur'ān will be conducted in close relationship to the material of the *sīra*. That religious arguments cannot be understood if divorced from their historical contexts is accepted as an indispensable hermeneutic principle in both Muslim and non-Muslim scholarship (see MUḤAMMAD; OCCASIONS OF REVELATION). In the sūras (q.v.) there is no theological concept that remains untouched by the circumstances under which it was pronounced by the Prophet (see SPEECH; RECITATION OF THE QUR'ĀN). The bulk of what the Qur'ān says about the creator and the role he assigned to humans as his viceregents in the world (Q 2:30; see CALIPH; ADAM AND EVE; CORRUPTION) seems to have been important at least to some of Muḥammad's contemporaries who were concerned with the divine and its meaning in human life. Research on the intellectual environment in which the Qur'ān was revealed has been overshadowed by the Muslim view that there was an abrupt change from the error (q.v.) of *jāhiliyya* (see AGE OF IGNORANCE) to the truth (q.v.) of Islam (q.v.). But if one takes the ample material on the pre-Islamic civilization of the Arabs (q.v.; see also BEDOUIN; NOMADS; PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QUR'ĀN) seriously — and there is no convincing reason to discard it in advance — one gets a distinct impression of a society in unrest, looking for some new and trustworthy guidance, and of a Prophet sensitive to that unrest who considers himself and his received revelations to be the remedy for what was felt to be going wrong. His personality and his strength of mind were the decisive additions that forged the Qur'ān out of a wealth of sundry ideas current in the Arabian peninsula of those days (see ORALITY AND WRITING IN ARABIA; ETHICS AND THE QUR'ĀN).

The Qur'ān within the theological thought of late antiquity

Although a great deal of research has been done on the question of whether the Qur'ān was influenced by Jewish or Christian theological conceptions (see CHRISTIANS AND CHRISTIANITY; JEWS AND JUDAISM), no certainty has been reached on this point. The issue requires a fresh approach, but is beyond the scope of this article. Even focusing the argument on matters of theology alone would not do justice to even the most important aspects of the problem. Nevertheless, a few tentative steps are necessary in order to gain some insight into the contributions of the Qur'ān to the religious history of the Middle East. As indicated above, the qur'ānic figure of Abraham will serve as a guide.

The Abraham portrayed in the Qur'ān is a Meccan citizen (see MECCA). Already in the earliest passages where he is mentioned the reader notices very close connections between Muḥammad's own reasoning and his idea of Abraham, whom he considers his most important predecessor. In Q 51:25-34, for example, Abraham welcomes three guests unknown to him; before leaving him they convey a warning to him or, rather, to his people (see WARNER): "We have been sent to a people who are sinners (see SIN, MAJOR AND MINOR) that we may let loose upon them stones of clay (q.v.; see also STONE), marked by your lord (q.v.) for the extravagant *(al-musrifīn)*." The Meccans would have recognized that the reproach of extravagance was directed against them, too, or even them primarily; extravagance, as Muḥammad understood

it, was tantamount to a fatal lack of compliance with divine guidance (see ARROGANCE; INSOLENCE AND OBSTINACY; DISOBEDIENCE; OBEDIENCE), and God would punish the frivolous in the same way that he had annihilated those who a few decades ago had dared to wage war (q.v.) against Mecca (cf. Q 10:87; 21:9; 40:28, 34; 105:4; see also ABYSSINIA). There is much evidence showing how the Qur'ān's concept of the Meccan Abraham and the person of Muḥammad the Prophet were overlaid. It is sufficient to quote Q 14:35-8, where Abraham implores the lord to make Mecca a place of security and to prevent his children from worshipping idols (see IDOLS AND IMAGES): "O lord, I have caused some of my offspring to settle in an unfruitful valley, near your holy house… Grant therefore that the hearts of some men may be affected with kindness toward them; and bestow on them all sorts of fruits that they may give thanks (see GRATITUDE AND INGRATITUDE)…."

Most frequently, however, the Meccan revelations (see CHRONOLOGY AND THE QUR'ĀN) deal with Abraham's struggle to convince his people to put an end to idolatry (Q 19:41; 21:51; 26:69; 29:16; 37:83; 43:26). These passages can be read to reflect Muḥammad's difficult experiences with his unbelieving countrymen (see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF), but they also reveal much about the theology behind the qur'ānic text, which sometimes seems strikingly simple to the modern non-Muslim reader. The most complete rendering of the story is to be found in Q 6:74-83 and dates back to the time shortly before the emigration (q.v.; *hijra*) to Medina (q.v.). It reads: "(Recall) when Abraham said to his father Āzar (q.v.): 'Do you take idols as gods? Verily, I think that you and your people are in manifest error.' Thus do we show Abraham [our] power *(malakūt)* over the heavens and the earth (q.v.; see also HEAVEN AND SKY; SOVEREIGNTY; POWER AND IMPOTENCE), and [it is] in order that he may be one of the convinced. When the night came down upon him (see DAY AND NIGHT), he saw a star (see PLANETS AND STARS); said he: 'This is my lord,' but when it vanished, he said: 'I love not the things which vanish.' Then when he saw the moon (q.v.) shining forth, he said: 'This is my lord,' but when it vanished, he said: 'Truly, if my lord guides me not, I shall be of the people who go astray (q.v.).' Then when he saw the sun (q.v.) shining forth, he said: 'This is my lord, this is greater,' but when it vanished, he said: 'O my people, I am quit of what you associate (with God). Towards him who opened up *(faṭara)* the heavens and the earth, I have set my face as a *ḥanīf* (q.v.), and I am not one of the polytheists.' But his people disputed with him; he said: 'Do you dispute with me in regard to God, though he has guided me; I fear not what you associate with him except [it be] that my lord will something [against me]; my lord's knowledge (see KNOWLEDGE AND LEARNING) is wide enough for everything; will you not then be reminded (see REMEMBRANCE; MEMORY)? How should I fear what you have associated (with him), when you are not afraid to associate with God what he has not sent you down any authority (q.v.) for? Which of the two parties is the better entitled to feel secure, if you have any knowledge?' Those who have believed and have not confused their belief with wrong-doing — theirs is the security, and they are the guided. That argument of ours we gave to Abraham against his people; we raise in rank whomsoever we will; verily, your lord is wise, knowing."

During the fifth century, Sozomenos [Sozomen], born at Bethelea near Gaza, wrote an ecclesiastical history covering the period from 324 to 422 C.E. In this work there is to be found the oldest evidence of

some sort of popular veneration of Abraham: At the ancient holy place of Mamre near Hebron, Jews, Christians and pagan Arabs were accustomed to gather once a year. The pagans would commemorate the apparition of the angels (q.v.) to Abraham and they would sacrifice (q.v.) some animals like an ox or a cock. Furthermore, they would abstain from sexual intercourse (see SEX AND SEXUALITY; CHASTITY; ABSTINENCE) in order to avoid the wrath of the lord, whom they thought to be present at that holy place (Sozomène, *Histoire ecclésiastique,* 244-9). The scene of the angels announcing divine guidance to Abraham goes back to Genesis 18:1-16. The Bible tells us that Mamre was the place where Abraham was dwelling when a stranger with two companions visited him; they predicted that Sarah would give birth to a son, a prophecy that made Sarah laugh because she knew that she was barren (see ISAAC). In Q 51:24-34 the visitors add the words quoted above, which point to Mecca's recent past and to the moral deficiencies of its citizens. One might assume that those sentences are only a digression, but there is much more behind them. In a treatise entitled *De Deo,* Philo of Alexandria comments on Genesis 18:2. The passage can be summarized as follows: When (Abraham) raised his eyes, he saw a stranger with two companions: Those who study the holy scripture are given the capacity to perceive the hidden qualities of creation (see HIDDEN AND THE HIDDEN; SECRET); they gain insight into nature and its divine foundations and in this way they understand the true meaning of being God's creature. The creator, manifest in and through nature, bears witness to himself by the process of constantly creating. Calling Abraham's attention to this truth is the main reason for the visit those men pay him. They open his eyes and he can see how the creator "makes the earth and the water (q.v.), the air (see AIR AND WIND) and the heaven so that (these phenomena) would be suspended from himself… raising the world as if protecting it through guardians…" (Siegert, Abrahams Gottesvision, 82).

Thus Abraham is portrayed as a visionary whose experience testifies to God as the indefatigable creator; everything that exists in this world is dependent on his continuous activity. Philo's commentary points to a wide range of religious concepts which were alien to the original text of Genesis 18. Before going into more detail about Philo's understanding of this passage, it is worthwhile taking a look at the Book of Jubilees, which was composed a few decades before Philo's treatise. The author of this work, a revision of Genesis and Exodus, is convinced that he has reproduced the original text of the scriptures which Moses wrote down on Mount Sinai (q.v.), taking dictation from an angel or from God himself (see ORALITY). Nevertheless, the unknown author of the Book of Jubilees does not aim at replacing the Torah; he only wants to corroborate its text. In Exodus 19-24, Moses receives the Ten Commandments (see COMMANDMENT); in the Book of Jubilees God orders an angel to dictate, in addition, a complete record of the events from the beginning of creation until the erection of the sanctuary, which is to last for ever. Comparing these two accounts, the figure of Abraham undergoes some remarkable changes, too. In Genesis he is tempted by God who tells him to sacrifice Isaac. In the Book of Jubilees one reads about further temptations: When he is fourteen years old, Abraham recognizes the futility of idolatry; he forsakes his father and begins to venerate the one creator of the world and prays to him that he may save him from error. Without hesitating, he complies with God's order and leaves his country. While

roaming through the holy land (see SYRIA; JERUSALEM), Abraham worships the creator in the way the Jews will do after Moses has delivered the tablets to them; he is a Mosaic Jew *avant la lettre* (Kratz, Wie Abraham Hebräisch lernte). Reflecting on what is expressed in the Book of Jubilees and what has been quoted above in a greatly abridged form, it is not surprising to note that Judaism does not accommodate itself to the Hellenistic Weltanschauung by referring to the figure of Moses; the divine law revealed to him on Mount Sinai obviously segregates Judaism from any other community and plays against the cosmopolitan ethos of Hellenism.

It is Abraham, therefore, father of a powerful people and the man chosen by God to bear witness to his will to bless humankind as a whole (see GRACE; BLESSING; ELECTION), who proves most attractive as a symbol of religious universalism compatible with the cosmopolitanism then penetrating Judaism. Whoever will be well-meaning towards Abraham and his offspring will pass his life in happiness (*Gen* 12:3). It is this interpretation of the figure of Abraham that Philo has in mind when writing his treatise *De Deo,* where he unfolds his ideas about the creator and his relationship to the universe. The God of the Pentateuch creates the world; he expels Adam and Eve (q.v.) from paradise (q.v.); later he annihilates the sinful, saving only Noah (q.v.) and his family to make a new start for human history, a history which culminates in Moses' encounter with him on Mount Sinai (see THEOPHANY). This is the internal logic of the events as narrated in Genesis and Exodus; taking possession of the holy land (see SACRED PRECINCTS) means the fulfillment of divinely-guided history and the god who has caused those events to happen is the god of Israel (see CHILDREN OF ISRAEL). But now, centuries after the composition of the Pentateuch, the perception of the world has changed and the image of the creator has changed, too.

The Septuagint refers to God as *kyrios* and as *theos*. Do these two names point to different beings? Philo asks himself in *De specialibus legibus*. He answers in the negative. It is due to God's remoteness from the world that people discern the different ways in which God's overwhelming creative power takes effect within the universe (see NATURE AS SIGNS). Therefore humans give him names with reference to the different ways of his acting, names that no longer point to Israel, his people, but to the cosmos as a whole, as Philo expounded in *De Deo*. The God of the Pentateuch has become a universal deity; he might still maintain a special relationship with Israel, but his never-ceasing creative actions pertain to the universe and to humanity as a whole, regardless of nationality or place of dwelling (see STRANGERS AND FOREIGNERS). When God reveals himself to Moses in the burning bush, the prophet asks him in whose name he is to accompany the Israelites out of Egypt and God answers: "I am,"or "I shall be," "who I shall be." In the Septuagint this sentence is rendered as *Ego eimi ho ōn,* "I am the existing one." This translation of the somewhat enigmatic Hebrew phrase of Exodus 3:14 is indicative of the changed conception of the creator that we have just outlined, and it is in this way that Philo interprets it in *De specialibus legibus*. God discloses his identity by stressing the personal character of himself — *ho ōn,* not *to on* — but at the same time he remains the hidden one, who himself cannot be perceived by man in this world (see FACE OF GOD; ANTHROPOMORPHISM). The fact that God is the existing one can only be known indirectly, by regarding the effects of his uninterrupted creative actions which constitute the cosmos, as Philo tells us in his treatise *De Deo* (Siegert, Abrahams

Gottesvision, 79). As the builder and indefatigable ruler of the cosmos the "existing one" is as near to the Israelites as to any other people regardless of their paganism, the history of Israel being just one sign among innumerable others of his being at work (see SIGNS; SHEKHINAH).

Attention can now be turned back to the Qur'ān. In the famous sūra "The Star" (Sūrat al-Najm, Q 53), Muḥammad relates the two visions (q.v.) he has had and connects them to his understanding of the divine. This sūra proved problematic for later Muslim commentators who grappled with the question of God's invisibility in this world and, as a rule, declared that it was the angel Gabriel (q.v.) who had appeared to Muḥammad — an interpretation that retrojects conceptions developed by the Prophet at a later date to an earlier time. In Q 53, the Qur'ān speaks frankly about Muḥammad's encounter with the one God, repudiating the reproaches of Muḥammad's fellow Meccan citizens who consider him a fool for what he relates (see OPPOSITION TO MUḤAMMAD). But what he relates is nothing but "an inspiration he is inspired with, taught by one, strong in power, forceful. He stood straight, upon the high horizon, then he drew near and let himself down, until he was two bowlengths off or nearer and inspired to his servant what he inspired. The heart (q.v.) did not falsify what it saw. Do you debate with him as to what he sees? He saw him, too, at a second descent, by the lote tree at the nearest boundary, near which is the garden of the abode (see GARDENS; TREES; AGRICULTURE AND VEGETATION), when the lote tree was strangely enveloped. The eye turned not aside nor passed its limits. Verily, he saw one of the greatest signs (q.v.) of his lord" (q.v.; Q 53:4-18).

The following verses (q.v.) in the same sūra (Q 53:19-30), denouncing al-Lāt, al-ʿUzzā, and Manāt, three of the goddesses worshipped in pagan Mecca (see SOUTH ARABIA, RELIGIONS IN PRE-ISLAMIC), as powerless names, might be a later insertion, as Bell suggests. The argument made against their divine character is in keeping with the pagan milieu in which daughters were not much appreciated (see CHILDREN; INFANTICIDE; GENDER; WOMEN AND THE QUR'ĀN; PATRIARCHY). Thus ascribing daughters to God, the mighty one, is tantamount to giving offence to him. After this subject has been discussed at length, touching upon the male gender of the angels and emphasizing the incomparable power of the lord (see POWER AND IMPOTENCE), Muḥammad embarks on a description of the extent to which God governs the cosmos (Q 53:33-48): "Have you considered him who turns his back, gives little and is niggardly? Is knowledge of the unseen with him so that he sees? Or has he been told of what is in the pages of Moses, and Abraham who fully performed (his task; see BOOK; HEAVENLY BOOK)? That no burden-bearer bears the burden of another one; that man gets exactly (the result of) his striving; and that (the result of) his striving will in the end be seen; then he will be recompensed with the fullest recompense (see REWARD AND PUNISHMENT); that to your lord one comes at last; that it is he who causes laughter (q.v.) and weeping (q.v.); that it is he who causes to die and causes to live (see DEATH AND THE DEAD; LIFE; PAIRS AND PAIRING); that he created the pairs, male and female, from a drop emitted in desire; that upon him it rests to produce a second time (see RESURRECTION); that it is he who makes rich and gives possession (see WEALTH; PROPERTY)."

In the same manner the lord directs history (see HISTORY AND THE QUR'ĀN; GENERATIONS). It is he who destroyed the peoples of ʿĀd (q.v.) and Thamūd (q.v.) and who drowned the people of Noah (see DROWNING) after he had ordered him to

warn them against their frivolous way of life (see PUNISHMENT STORIES; CHASTISEMENT AND PUNISHMENT). One cannot cast doubt on the overwhelming power of the lord, who now has summoned Muḥammad to warn his countrymen, for the day of judgment has drawn near (cf. Q 53:50-8; see LAST JUDGMENT; APOCALYPSE).

This is the content of Q 53, to the exclusion of the passages identified as late insertions by R. Bell. The text brings to the fore the main theological subjects of the Hellenistic interpretation of Abraham's religious experiences pointed out above: The lord reveals himself to Muḥammad as the mighty one, who not only determines every being's fate (q.v.; see also DESTINY) but also the history of humankind as a whole; his power cannot be resisted, therefore it is wise to comply with his ordinances. What is added to this conception of the divine is Muḥammad's prophetic self-confidence: he alludes to Noah as his predecessor, a topic which is displayed at some length in Q 71 (Sūrat Nūḥ, "Noah") with clear reference to his failure with the Meccans. Furthermore, it should be remembered that both Moses and Abraham are said to have received "pages." When one reflects on the following verses, one must conclude that those "pages" did not contain the divine law (see LAW AND THE QUR'ĀN), but were registers of events to come and, perhaps, of God's judgment (q.v.) on those who had lived sinful lives (see VIRTUES AND VICES, COMMANDING AND FORBIDDING; EVIL DEEDS). The seeds of the theological question about the extent of a human's capacity to determine his or her own actions (see FREEDOM AND PREDESTINATION) can be discerned in this qur'ānic passage; later on they will germinate in Medina, as shall be seen. Suffice it here to remark that Q 53:38-9 ("That no burden-bearer…") will later, in Khārijī polemics, be interpreted as evidence of human responsibility for actions — which, in Khārijī thought (see KHĀRIJĪS), originates in the human capacity to do so. This is a striking example of distorting the original meaning of a qur'ānic passage to accord with political circumstances (see POLITICS AND THE QUR'ĀN).

In comparison with Q 53 the verses of Q 6 quoted above do not, at first sight, prove to be indicative of the Qur'ān's identification of Muḥammad with Abraham. The story is told of how Abraham came to know the identity of the one creator, and there are themes in this passage that can be traced back to what is told in the Book of Jubilees: Abraham denounces idolatry, thereby kindling the wrath of his people. But there is another remarkable detail in this passage. Q 6:75 seems to be an enigmatic insertion interrupting the flow of the narrative: "Thus do we show Abraham (our) holding sway over the heavens and the earth, and (it is) in order that he may be one of the convinced." Such a guiding vision of God is the necessary condition for knowing him (see INTELLECT). This knowledge cannot be deduced from nature or from the course of history through human reflection (see REFLECTION AND DELIBERATION). On the contrary, humans must be guided by the creator to be open to deliberation of the kind expounded in the following verses. The cosmos as a whole is a sign of God's unceasing creative power, but humans are not able to decipher this sign without his assistance. That means that the creator is not an anonymous force asserting itself in this world in which humans must find access to some understanding of its nature; if the human mind were restricted to its own very deficient capacities, it would fail. The creator, as conceived of by Philo and as he reveals himself to Abraham in Q 6, is the existing one — *ho ōn* — i.e. he has

an individuality, a personal character. Certainly his individuality is unfathomable, but because of this personal character God is characterized by volition, too. It was his intention to show Abraham his all-effecting being, as it is now his intention to reveal himself to Muḥammad. Were it not for God's intention, Abraham would not have been one of the guided ones; he would have gone astray like his countrymen. One must also admit that the creator's volition may be to the detriment of humanity; this possibly grievous consequence of the Abrahamic conception of God is hinted at in Q 6:81: idolatry is not forbidden because it proves futile; it must be dismissed from one's mind because God has not sent down any authority for it. Indirectly, the question of independent human reasoning is raised here and this shall be touched upon.

The last subject to mention when treating the position of Islam within the religious history of late antiquity is the cult of Abraham. As Sozomenos told us, there was a sort of pagan pilgrimage to the grove of Mamre. One might suppose that the cult of Mamre was emulated at Mecca; the sources on the — legendary — history of Mecca and the Quraysh (q.v.) abound in references to the influence of Palestine and Syria on the Ḥijāz, and tell us a lot about the Quraysh interest in the area on the northwestern fringe of the peninsula. Once more, it is necessary to look at Q 6: At that crucial moment when Abraham becomes aware of the futility of idolatry he sets "(his) face towards him who opened up *(faṭara)* the heavens and the earth, as a *ḥanīf*" (Q 6:79) and he dissociates himself from polytheism. Turning one's face towards the lord is the spontaneous corollary of knowing the creator. As a rule, this gesture is expressed in the Qur'ān by the verb *aslama,* and the person who has gained such knowledge is referred to as *ḥanīf:* "Who is better with regard to his religious practice *(dīn)* than he who surrenders *(aslama)* his face to God, doing good meanwhile (see GOOD DEEDS), and follows the creed *(milla)* of Abraham as a *ḥanīf*?" (Q 4:125; see also RELIGION). The *ḥanīf*s are men who transform into a ritual the singular gesture indicating their attainment of true knowledge (see RITUAL AND THE QUR'ĀN); they reiterate that gesture several times a day, thus confirming that overwhelming truth and giving it a stability which is required in order to conduct their lives in keeping with it. The ritual prayer (q.v.), the center of Muslim religiosity, has its roots immediately in the history of Abraham, as it evolved in late antiquity. Except for the meager information in Sozomenos there seems to be no further evidence about the rites of the pagan cult of Abraham. But it is known for certain that the *ṣalāt* was not initiated by Muḥammad. It was the *ḥanīf* Zayd b. ʿAmr who used to practice it at Mecca. In al-Shām he had become acquainted with the Abrahamic veneration of the one God; back in Mecca, he preached against idolatry and performed a *ṣalāt* every evening (Nagel, Abraham in Mecca, 143).

Abraham is the key figure who leads us to a better understanding of the place of Islam in religious history. Using this key figure, fundamental theological conceptions of the Qur'ān can be related to an amalgam of ideas of Jewish and Hellenistic origin: God is the one creator and untiring governor of the cosmos; he determines everything; humanity is guided to know him according to his volition and after that people interpret everything in the universe with respect to this knowledge; the ritual of prayer is symbolic of the act of attaining that ultimate knowledge and testifies to an individual's

willingness to live his life before the face of the One.

The main theological themes of the Qur'ān: God and creation

A very short summary of the qur'ānic idea of the divine is found in Q 112:1-3: "Say: 'He is God, one, God, the uniform one *(al-ṣamad)*; he brought not forth, nor has he been brought forth; co-equal with him there has never been any one.'" God is the one and uniform god; that means there is nothing with him or in him which is not of the divine, transcendent nature of his essence and for that reason he cannot be equal to any created being. The anti-Christian polemical tone of these verses is evident (see POLEMIC AND POLEMICAL LANGUAGE).

The almost dogmatic statement in Q 112 does not, however, mark the starting-point of qur'ānic theological reflection. In the earliest revelations pure monotheism is not called for. Those who listen to Muḥammad's preaching — one should avoid speaking of "the Meccans" at that stage of his career — are urged to pay veneration to the "lord, the most high." A human must purify himself (see CLEANLINESS AND ABLUTION), a very prominent demand, especially in the early sūras, because he is thought to have earned his wealth in an unlawful manner (see LAWFUL AND UNLAWFUL). Though one may do more than just one's duty with respect to this demand, one must not ask God for any compensation. One is to do good to the poor (see POVERTY AND THE POOR) simply "out of desire for the countenance of one's lord, the most high" (Q 92:20). The "countenance," literally the face of God, in this early revelation and also in later qur'ānic speech (e.g. Q 13:22) is the *pars-pro-toto* expression by which God's transcendent being is rendered conceivable in human thought. When the process of recognizing the oneness of the creator attains its aim, as has been demonstrated by Abraham, one turns one's face to God, thus establishing a face-to-face relationship with him, and this relationship is renewed every time one devotes oneself to one's ritual duties. "The lord, the most high," of course, still is not the One whom Q 112 preaches in uncompromising words. "The most high lord" implies there are "less high" divine beings. Muḥammad had to make his way to absolute clarity in this matter through painful struggles, which are echoed in Q 53 and in the famous story about the so-called Satanic verses (q.v.). Though Q 112 is an unmistakable plea for radical monotheism and untainted transcendence and therefore sheds at least some light on Q 92:20 — to which Q 87:1 should be added —, the face-to-face concept of that early revelation has been preserved and proves fundamental in the various kinds of Muslim ritual. There is thus a characteristic tension between a fully elaborated intellectual monotheism, on the one hand, and an eager search for some kind of immanence that is tolerable within the framework of sound theological reasoning and indispensable for an emotional experience of the ritual, on the other. This tension may be deduced from Muḥammad's career because he grew up in a polytheistic milieu; but it may also be due to the conception of the continuously acting creator that had evolved in late antiquity, as has been shown above. At any rate, this tension, present in the qur'ānic interpretation of deity, will encroach on Muslim theological speculation and will cause a rupture between pure metaphysics and the study of the *sharī'a*, i.e. "applied theology."

"Glorify (see GLORY; GLORIFICATION OF GOD) the name of your lord (see BASMALA) the most high, who created and formed, who assigned power and guided, who brought forth the pasture, then made it

blackened drift" (Q 87:1-4). Already the "lord, most high" is the one power that determines everything in this world, the good and the bad things. His image is that of a sovereign governor who rules without paying attention to the benefit of his subjects; or at least they are not in a position to discern the motives behind his decree. According to his volition, which is inaccessible to human reason, he created the world out of nothing, and since that time he has been caring for it, even looking after the tiniest details. The Qur'ān frequently stresses this idea, making use of the impressive picture of a ruler sitting on his throne (see THRONE OF GOD; KINGS AND RULERS): this is the posture befitting an omnipotent creator. By comparison with this idea, the reminiscence of creation in biblical history is rather shadowy: "We have created the heavens and the earth and what is between them in six days (see DAY; DAYS OF GOD), without being affected by fatigue (see SLEEP; SABBATH)." Thus reads Q 50:38. Here God's indefatigability is pointed out in order to encourage Muḥammad to perform the prayers assiduously. In other passages concerned with creation, God is referred to as "your lord" (Q 7:54; 10:3), "God" (Q 32:4), or "he" (cf. Q 11:7; 25:59; 57:4). In each of these six references we are told nothing more than that God created the world (q.v.) in six days; what God did on each of these days is passed over in silence. But in each case God's throne is mentioned, e.g. Q 7:54: "Verily your lord is God, who created the heavens and the earth in six days, then seated himself on the throne causing the night to cover the day, following it quickly, and the sun and the moon and the stars, subjected to service by his command; is it not his to create and to command? Blessed be God, lord of the worlds." Only in Q 11:7 is there a faint reminder of what the Bible says about creation: "He it is who created the heavens and the earth in six days, and his throne was upon the water.…" But again it is the throne, symbol of God's unquestionable sovereignty, that Muḥammad bears in mind and the Qur'ān employs — not the biblical "spirit" (q.v.) of God, which seems less instrumental in portraying the creator as the ruler of an empire.

In the qur'ānic text the idea of continuous creation is closely connected with two further theological themes: the first is that God's incessant creative action is indicative of his all-embracing care for his world, and the second that human beings should consider this care as an irrefutable proof of the truth of resurrection and final judgment. To begin with the first theme, the Qur'ān says that God's creative action is tantamount to his unlimited mercy (q.v.); both are almost synonymous in the qur'ānic conception of the creator. The famous Q 55 (Sūrat al-Raḥmān, "The Merciful") bears witness to this most vividly: The merciful lord created this wonderful world to the benefit of humankind; neither they nor the jinn (q.v.) can deny this; everyone in this world will pass away, except "the face of your lord full of glory" (*dhū l-jalāli wa-l-ikrāmi,* Q 55:27); "Those in the heavens and the earth make request of him, each day he [is engaged] in something.… O company of jinn and men *(al-ins),* if you are capable of passing through any of the regions of the heavens and the earth, pass through; you will not pass through without authorization… There will be sent upon you a flame of fire and smoke, and you two will not find help… Then when the heaven is rent and becomes rosy like [burning] oil, which then of the benefits of your lord will you two count false?" (Q 55:29-38).

No creature can act without God's permission, and when he decides to destroy this world, thereby doing the utmost harm

to humankind, even this will be to humanity's benefit; it will be part of God's mercy. In addition to that, God's capacity for incessant creative action is the Prophet's best argument to warn his unbelieving countrymen about resurrection and judgment; to quote Q 11:7 again, this time passing to its concluding phrases: "… and his throne was upon the water; that he might try you as to which of you is best in deed (see TRIAL; TRUST AND PATIENCE). If you say: 'Verily you will be raised up after death!' those who have disbelieved will say: 'This is only magic (q.v.) manifest.…'"

We have already pointed to the contradiction which arises from the assumption that the totally transcendent creator to whom nothing is equal (Q 42:11) is simultaneously experienced as the omniscient and wise one who takes care of human welfare and is therefore "nearer to him [each person] than [his] jugular vein" (Q 50:16; see ARTERY AND VEIN). Is there anything bridging the gap between transcendence and immanence, which is felt already in Philo's idea of *ho ōn?*

"God it is who created the heavens and the earth and what is between them in six days, and then sat firm upon the throne — apart from him you have neither patron nor intercessor (see CLIENTS AND CLIENTAGE; FRIENDS AND FRIENDSHIP; INTERCESSION); will you not then be reminded? He manages the affair from the heaven to the earth, then it mounts up to him in a day, the length of which is a thousand years as you reckon" (Q 32:4-5). God knows everything, whether concealed or open; his creation testifies to his unsurpassable skill. These verses use the Arabic word *amr* that refers to an essence which is capable of linking God's creative power to the results of its activity, thus making his continuous determining of this world conceivable to humanity. Bell translates *amr* with "affair" (cf. Q 10:3; 16:1; 17:85; 97:4) or "command" (Q 7:54), a rendering which, in the opinion of the present writer, does not suit the qur'ānic meaning of the word. To grasp the idea expressed by the term let us look at the following two qur'ānic passages: "The *amr* of God has come, seek not to hasten it; glory be to him and exalted be he above all that they associate [with him]!" (Q 16:1). The *amr* of God has come; it is now present in his work and it is just for this *amr* that God is the exalted One. *Amr* is something like his decree, an uninterrupted influx of his volition into this world. There is no clear statement as to the ontology of *amr*. But as soon as the Prophet's understanding of the revelation becomes connected with the idea of transmitting a heavenly book, the term is interpreted as denoting God's all-embracing, incessant determination of things in this world. Part of this *amr* is the "spirit" manifest in the words of the qur'ānic revelation: "They ask you about the spirit; say: 'The spirit belongs to my lord's *amr,* but you have no knowledge bestowed upon you except a little'" (Q 17:85; see also HOLY SPIRIT). When dealing with prophecy below, this question will be revisited.

Humankind

The contradiction within Muḥammad's conception of the divine — the transcendent, inaccessible lord, essentially different from his creation versus the omnipresent and omniscient care-taker — reasserts itself within the qur'ānic understanding of humankind, and the twofold roots of qur'ānic theology become more palpable in this context. Q 32:5-9 can serve as a starting-point of analysis: "He manages the *amr* from the heaven to the earth… That is the knower of the hidden and the revealed, the sublime *(al-ʿazīz),* the compassionate, who has made well everything that he has created. He created man at the first from clay; then appointed his progeny

to be from an extract of a base fluid. Then he formed him and breathed into him of his spirit, and gave you hearing and sight (see HEARING AND DEAFNESS; VISION AND BLINDNESS; SEEING AND HEARING; EYES; EARS) and hearts — little gratitude (see GRATITUDE AND INGRATITUDE) do you show." The shaping of humans means the natural process of procreation, as can be inferred from many other passages of the Qur'ān (see BIOLOGY AS THE CREATION AND STAGES OF LIFE; SEX AND SEXUALITY). Yet there seems to have been a remarkable development of this conception in the Qur'ān. In the very early sūras only natural procreation is mentioned (Q 53:45f.; 75:37-9; 77:20-3; 86:5-7); the growth of the embryo in the womb (q.v.) is the clearest evidence of God's creative power (Q 96:2). Then the Genesis account of the history of the creation of man finds its way into Muḥammad's revelations (see UMMĪ).

In addition to Q 32:5-9 quoted above, Q 18:37, 22:5, 23:12, and 40:67 must be considered; in each case God creates man from clay and immediately after that makes his "progeny from an extract of a base fluid *(nutfa)*." At the outset of Muḥammad's prophetic career, the natural world and course of nature are the best evidence of the creator's activity; there seems in the qur'ānic revelations to be no place for human singularity, which would separate humans to some extent from the rest of created beings. Then this idea is introduced into the qur'ānic reasoning by way of the biblical traditions that go back to Genesis: "At first" man is formed out of clay. God breathes the spirit into him, thus endowing him with "hearing and sight and a heart," i.e. with reason. It is this act of being created from clay which establishes humankind's special relationship with God, as expressed several times in the Qur'ān: By shaping the human being from clay before the beginning of mundane history God has honored him by giving him his special attention; no other beings were considered worthy of a primordial shaping before being initiated into the continuous process of creation. It is for this reason that God orders the angels to prostrate themselves before Adam (see BOWING AND PROSTRATION). All except Iblīs (see DEVIL), who deems himself nobler than Adam, obey; therefore God expels Iblīs from paradise (q.v.): " 'Verily you are stoned *(rajīm;* see STONING) and upon you is the curse (q.v.) until the day of judgment.' (Iblīs) said: 'O my lord, grant me respite then till the day of their being raised up.' (God) said: 'You are one of the respited *(munẓarīn)* till the day of the time appointed.' (Iblīs) said: 'O my lord, as you have perverted me, I will make things appear beautiful to them in the earth, and I will pervert *(aghwā)* them all together, except those of them who are your single-hearted *(al-mukhlaṣīn)* servants" (Q 15:34-40; see SERVANT; FALL OF MAN). This is granted to Iblīs by God but his faithful servants will not be seduced; they will enjoy paradise in the hereafter, whereas the perverted will suffer eternal pain (see SUFFERING) in hell (*jahannam,* Q 15:28-40; cf. 38:71-85; see HELL AND HELLFIRE).

To what extent is the human being burdened with individual responsibility (q.v.)? This question arises when one reads the story in which humans are declared subject to a bet made by their creator and Satan. Those who are God's servants will resist the seducer's suggestions, the others will not — the individual's fate after the day of judgment seems to be predetermined. Here one should recall that for a human to know the one creator is due to God's volition, too. Thus humans are not just part of nature, whose growing and passing away is the manifestation of God's decree in this world; humans must do something about good and evil (q.v.), otherwise there would

be no reason for judgment (q.v.), for eternal reward or punishment. A creator who withdraws from his work at least temporarily, thus asserting his transcendence, would be appreciated as a neutral judge of humans; but what about the "creator of everything" — the sinful acts of his creature included — a creator nearer to each human than his jugular vein? In fact, qur'ānic theology has no systematic conception of the human being as a responsible actor. One may suppose that this deficiency is due to the qur'ānic understanding of the divine as analyzed above. God's *amr,* permeating everything extant in the cosmos, reminds one of something like pagan animism or fatalism, as interpreted in the light of the belief in the one creator and further overshadowed by reminiscences of the biblical tradition, which tends to give prominence to individual responsibility.

In the *sīra,* the Prophet's Meccan enemies sometimes call him a Sabian (q.v.; see e.g. Balādhurī, *Ansāb,* v, 14; see also RELIGIOUS PLURALISM AND THE QUR'ĀN). Although this may be for polemical reasons, there is an interesting remark in al-Shahrastānī (fl. sixth/twelfth cent.) that comments on the religion of the ancient Sabians which, as must be inferred from the context, was well-known in Arabia in Muḥammad's time. The Sabians, al-Shahrastānī tells us, believe in the acquisition *(kasb)* of actions whereas the *ḥanīf*s "maintained the innate disposition of man" *(fiṭra)*. Turning to the Qur'ān we find evidence of both ideas. The term *kasb* occurs very often, e.g.: "But how (will it be) when we gather them to a day of which there is no doubt, and each one will be paid in full what he has acquired *(kasabat),* without being wronged?"(Q 3:25; cf. 2:281 and many other references). Acquisition is not to be understood as the actions of human beings directed by their own will and performed according to their own deliberations. This absence of self-determination must be inferred from God's comprehensive care for his creation and creatures; it is also clearly pronounced in the Qur'ān itself: "They have no power over anything that they may have acquired, and God does not guide the people of the unbelievers" (Q 2:264). It is God who allots the means of subsistence *(rizq):* "My lord makes generous provision for whom he wills, or stints, but most of the people have no knowledge" (Q 34:36; numerous other references). Following the theological discussion that was to evolve in the first centuries after the Prophet's death, the "acquisition of actions" has to be interpreted as the manifestation of God's decree (*amr)* to be discerned when one observes a certain individual; in fact, the individual is nothing but the substance needed for making God's incessant acts of governing perceptible in this world and to its inhabitants. Insofar as it is the individual who makes perceptible a certain act wrought by God, this individual acquires the respective act. One might argue that in the Qur'ān the impersonal power of fate has assumed the character of a series of the personalized orders of the creator, tailored for the individual on his or her way through this life.

The second idea mentioned by al-Sharastānī claims a certain disposition which is innate and unchangeable in human beings; this *fiṭra,* says he, is part of the belief of the *ḥanīf*s, who, as can be concluded from the Qur'ān (cf. Q 16:120), are the followers of Abraham's ritual. *Fiṭra* only occurs once, in Q 30:30, and dates back to the middle or even late Meccan period of Muḥammad's career: "Set your face towards religious practice as a *ḥanīf* — the innate disposition laid down by God upon which he has created people *(nās)*; there is no alteration of the creation of God. This is the eternal religious

practice, but most of the people do not know." Looking back at the story of how Abraham came to know the one creator (Q 6:74-83) and how he responded to the vision granted to him, we are now in a position to fathom its meaning: Of course, everything one does is wrought by God; this is borne out by the idea of acquisition; but the frightening consequences of this conception are warded off by the establishment of Islam, the face-to-face relationship between humans and their creator. This relationship, stabilized by ritual — "Set your face towards religious practice," has to occupy the center of human life; one has to be aware of God's untiring activity, has to suppress every impulse of self-conceit including the misperception that one's actions are one's own. Bearing this in mind, acquisition of good or evil will no longer be a cause of concern: Professing and living Islam is tantamount to preserving the innate disposition un-spoilt; Islam eclipses the perpetual challenge of right or wrong. The function of ritual in Muslim life and its preeminence over dogmatic ethics become apparent. What counts most is a human's trustful devotion to his creator, a behavior which almost automatically will save him from doing evil: "Recite what has been suggested to you of the book (q.v.), and observe the prayer, for the prayer restrains from indecency (*al-faḥshā';* see ADULTERY AND FORNICATION) and what is disreputable (*al-munkar),* and surely the remembrance *(dhikr)* of God is greater…" (Q 29:45).

Muslim edifying literature dwells at length upon the importance of unlimited devotion to God's actions, on the necessity of strict observance of the ritual and on remembering the creator, which is developed into a refined skill of continuous spiritual presence before him. This leads us back to reason and its role in human life. In accordance with the concepts of *kasb* and *fiṭra,* reason could not serve as a tool to find one's way through the activities and dangers of this world. As must be inferred from the precedent of Satan's condemnation, the function of reason is only to justify and effect total obedience to God's orders: Satan refused to prostrate himself before Adam, who had been made of clay, explaining his refusal by pointing out that his own nature, made of fire, was nobler than Adam's (Q 38:76). Reasoning, in this case within the framework of analogy (see LITERARY STRUCTURES AND THE QUR'ĀN), is subordinate to God's will, as has already been elucidated in the story of Abraham's way to the knowledge of the one creator. It is not because of Abraham's reasoning that idolatry is futile, but because God does not authorize human beings to practice idolatry. Keeping to the gist of this argument, humans could discern that their reasoning, if not immediately guided by God, may be successful as measured by the yardstick of mundane affairs, but its success according to the measure of the creator remains inherently doubtful. Success in mundane affairs may be tantamount to sin; for instance, a cunning businessman might multiply his profit by giving interest-bearing loans, thus trying to acquire more than the livelihood (*rizq,* e.g. Q 16:71) God had allotted to him (see USURY; TRADE AND COMMERCE). Such reasoning means to turn one's face away from God and to become entangled in passions for created things. It is from this point of view that usury *(ribā)* is prohibited. There is only one exception to this rule: fighting (q.v.) for the victory (q.v.) of God's Prophet and his community means lending to God a good loan (see DEBT), which he will double (Q 57:10-11; see also EXPEDITIONS AND BATTLES; JIHĀD). To encourage the believers to do so, Q 9:111 was revealed: "God has bought from the believers their persons and their goods at the price of the garden (q.v.; in store) for

them, fighting in the way of God and killing and being killed (see BLOODSHED) — a promise (see also OATHS; CONTRACTS AND ALLIANCES; BREAKING TRUSTS AND CONTRACTS) binding upon him in the Torah (q.v.), the Gospel (q.v.), and the Qur'ān; and who fulfils his covenant (q.v.) better than God? So rejoice in the bargain you have made with him.…"

Faith (q.v.; *īmān*) is proved by ruthless fighting against the non-Muslim enemies (q.v.). Those of the Prophet's adherents who do not protect their own lives will be superior to their fellows (e.g. Q 4:96) in the hereafter (see MARTYRS); they are sure to be rewarded with paradise, whereas normally God grants high ranks in the world to come according to his own impenetrable discretion (e.g. Q 12:76). In any case, during the decisive years of struggle the Qur'ān came to allude to the crucial theological subject of a person's justification by way of individual merit, an idea that proves substantially alien to the fundamental conception of the divine underlying Islam.

Prophecy

This is an illuminating example of the wide range within which the qur'ānic theological conceptions would oscillate according to the circumstances (see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD). The same is true of the understanding of prophecy, which undergoes far-reaching changes over the life of the Prophet and the qur'ānic revelations. Here these changes will only be discussed as far as theology is concerned. A first step will embark on a short inquiry into the scope of knowledge transmitted to humankind through revelation; a second will attempt to explain the qur'ānic concepts of the relationship between transcendence and immanence in the context of the various stages of Muḥammad's prophetic career.

God creates Adam to be his vicegerent in this world. To fulfill this duty, Adam is dependent on a sufficient amount of skill, which, as has been shown, he cannot acquire on his own; he needs divine guidance. Accordingly, the creator does not withhold knowledge from him: "[God] taught Adam all the names. Then he mustered [all things created] before the angels and said: 'Tell me the names of these, if you speak the truth!' They said: 'Glory be to you! We have no knowledge but what you have taught us (see TEACHING; IGNORANCE). You are the knowing, the wise (see WISDOM).' He said: 'O Adam, tell them the names [of the things created]!' Then when Adam told them the names, God said: 'Did I not say to you that I know the secret [things] of the heavens and the earth?'…" (Q 2:31-3).

Adam, considered as the first prophet, received complete knowledge of everything in this world. Therefore he is capable of being the creator's vicegerent; he is to act within God's cosmos in accordance with the divine decree, continuously remaining face to face with God. As a prophet, Adam is granted the knowledge of which humanity is destined to make use. Revelation means the act of granting that knowledge, which is not specified as divine or theological but pertains to all mundane affairs as well as to ritual and eschatology (q.v.) and to those attributes of God that human beings are allowed to understand.

Knowledge transmitted by revelation is as all-embracing as God's decree and its effects are manifest everywhere in the cosmos (see COSMOLOGY AND THE QUR'ĀN). We have already stated that in the qur'ānic view revelation is closely related to the concept of *amr.* This relationship becomes even more apparent if we analyze the meaning of the Arabic root *w-ḥ-y,* which is used throughout the Qur'ān, even at an early stage, to describe the event of revelation: Abraham was a *ḥanīf:* "We bestowed

upon him in this world a goodly (portion), and verily, in the hereafter he is among the upright. Then we suggested *(awḥaynā)* to you: 'Follow the creed of Abraham, as a *ḥanīf,* and he was not of the polytheists!'" (Q 16:122-3; cf. 16:120). It should be noted that in this and related contexts (e.g. Q 12:15), translating *w-ḥ-y* as "suggestion," as Bell does, does not imply a specific fixed wording, suitable for a heavenly book (q.v.). In other cases (e.g. Q 7:117 and 160) the expression is followed by God's order reflecting an actual situation: "We suggested to [Noah]: Make the ship under our eye and according to our suggestion…" (Q 23:27; see ARK). Yet it is not only the prophets who receive divine suggestions: "(God) finished them (as) seven heavens and inspired *(awḥā)* each heaven [with] its command" (*amr,* Q 41:12).

From perhaps the beginning of the second half of the Meccan revelations, there is a remarkable change in the conception of prophecy, though the older concept is never completely abandoned: "Thus we have suggested to you a spirit *(rūḥ)* belonging to our affair *(amr)*. You did not [formerly] know what the book and the faith were. But we have made it a light (q.v.) by which we guide whomsoever we please of our servants, and verily you will guide to a straight path, the path of God…" (Q 42:52-3; see PATH OR WAY). Here "suggestion" is more than a single command and more than God's decree; it has become the text of a law teaching humans to behave according to the creator's prescriptions, a text suitable to be written down in a book (see LITERACY; ILLITERACY). Still, "suggestions" have their origin in the realm of *amr* which is hidden from human senses (cf. Q 3:44; 11:49; 12:102), but part of this *amr* makes itself manifest as a holy message valid beyond time (q.v.). The creator, at work without interruption, becomes more and more personalized as the revelations progress; the human beings are gradually deprived of their shelter in the midst of nature, though they still remain completely dependent on God's determination; the feeling of existential insecurity arising from this loss of sheltering is compensated for by turning to God *(islām)* and this compensation may be enhanced by delivering oneself to fighting for the sake of God (Q 9:111) or to incessant remembrance of him (Q 29:45). At this critical stage of the evolution of qurʾānic theological conceptions, the Prophet is seen to become more than a warner — namely the transmitter of divine law, summoned by the creator to pronounce his legislation, his guidance of the obedient and his punishment of the disobedient. This legislation, together with the record of divine guidance and punishment, are to be recited as a heavenly book (see PRESERVED TABLET).

In the Qurʾān there are traces of a discussion between Muḥammad and the Meccans about such a heavenly book. The Prophet's enemies evidently argued that he should ascend to heaven in order to procure a divine message for them or for himself. In fact, al-Wāqidī (d. 207/822) relates that Muḥammad found himself raised into heaven (see ASCENSION) on the seventeenth of Ramaḍān (q.v.), some eighteen months before the *hijra,* which is dated to Ṣafar of the first year of the Muslim calendar (Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt,* i/i, 143). "They say: 'We shall not give you credence till you cause a spring to bubble up for us from the earth (see SPRINGS AND FOUNTAINS; MIRACLES; MARVELS)… or you ascend into heaven; nor shall we give credence to your ascent until you bring down to us a writing *(kitāb)* which we may read'" (Q 17:90-3). It should be noted that now, near the end of Muḥammad's Meccan years, revelation tends to be conceived of as a sending down *(tanzīl)* of the divine message. The personalized God establishes personal

relations with his messenger (q.v.); this is a very important innovation in the Prophet's view of himself and his mission. In Medina, where he is free of the sharp criticism of the Meccans, the far-reaching consequences of this innovation will be realized. The majority of the Meccans, it is true, were not much impressed by his claim to have received a divine book: "If we were to send down a book (written) upon parchment and they were to touch it with their hands, those who have disbelieved would say: This is nothing but magic manifest" (Q 6:7; see SCROLLS; SHEETS; WRITING AND WRITING MATERIALS). Even if God had made his messenger an angel, that angel must have assumed the shape of a human being in order to transmit the message, and therefore the Meccans would have rejected him as well. "Messengers have been mocked before you…" (Q 6:10; see MOCKERY).

Q 97 (Sūrat al-Qadr, "Night of Destiny/Power"), celebrating the "Night of Power" (q.v.), seems to legitimate the new mode of revelation; in that night "the angels and the spirit (cf. Q 17:85) let themselves down, by the permission of their lord, [bringing] all kinds of divine decree" (*amr*, Q 97:4). In Medina, the month of Ramaḍān is chosen for commemorating the Prophet's vision which he had been granted eighteen months before leaving Mecca. As Q 2 (Sūrat al-Baqara, "The Cow") is said to have been revealed about eighteen months after his arrival in Medina, the famous verse of Q 2:185 may highlight the third anniversary of the event, now considered decisive for the Prophet's career. As an aside, the problem of the change in the understanding of revelation is closely related to the question of writing down the revealed texts, i.e. making a palpable book of "parchment" (see MUṢḤAF; MANUSCRIPTS OF THE QUR'ĀN; EPIGRAPHY AND THE QUR'ĀN). But since the focus here is the theological implications, it is only possible to discuss the last stage of Muḥammad's image of himself as a prophet.

It is evident that most of the qur'ānic texts dealing with divine legislation and with divine comments on actual situations the Prophet and his community endured are of Medinan origin. When reading these parts of the Qur'ān one gets the impression that the creator has become an alter ego of his Prophet. The formula "God and his messenger" is now smoothly incorporated in his speech. For instance, the Qur'ān enjoins his followers to pay unquestioned obedience to Muḥammad and to those he appoints to some duty or other: "O you who have believed, obey God and obey the messenger and those of you who have the command, and if you quarrel about anything, refer it to God and the messenger…" (Q 4:59; cf. 3:32, 132; 4:80; 8:24, 27). It is not surprising that this kind of revelation for a particular occasion (cf. Q 58:1; 59:2; 33:37-40) would be met with sharp criticism from the Medinan Jews (see NAḌĪR; QAYNUQĀʿ; QURAYẒA) — and on the part of some among the Aws and Khazraj (see TRIBES AND CLANS). It takes a considerable amount of credulity to believe in the divine origin of verses like those. But the Qur'ān stresses the certainty that Muḥammad is the messenger of the one personalized creator, whose *amr* has not ceased to be at work since time began and that part of this *amr* manifest in every affair has been transmitted to him through the spirit and thereby converted into human speech. The Qur'ān maintains this view against the Jews, who would have considered revelation an event which occurred in distant history, and against the skeptic pagans, by its praise for the one God of creation: "To God belongs what is in the heavens and the earth; verily God is the rich (*al-ghaniyy*), praiseworthy (see

PRAISE; LAUDATION). If all the trees in the earth were pens, and the sea with seven seas after it to swell it, the words of God (see WORD OF GOD) would not give out; verily God is sublime, wise" (Q 31:26-7; cf. 18:109).

Final remarks

Freeing oneself from the *petitio principii* that all Arabic literary tradition showing "qur'ānic" ideas and ascribed to authors prior or contemporary to Muḥammad must be a forgery (q.v.; see also CORRUPTION; MUSAYLIMA; PROVOCATION), one succeeds in setting into vivid relief the historical background of the intellectual world of early Islam as depicted in the Qur'ān. As expressed in the Qur'ān, Muḥammad's vision of God and the universe governed by him does not imply a history of salvation (q.v.). Therefore theology first of all is concerned with the cosmos and the creator manifesting himself in it and through it. His incessant creative activity may have been plausible even to the pagans; he revealed himself to Abraham, announcing the birth of a son to him, and it is for this impressive example of his all-embracing power, and perhaps for others similar to it, that humans should venerate him. Muḥammad felt that the Meccans fell short of this duty for several reasons, and when he was sure that he was summoned by the "lord, most high" to warn his countrymen against frivolous negligence towards the one power to which they owed their existence, he answered this call.

It is a reasonable assumption that in this situation Muḥammad would have looked for some elaborate theological tradition that could furnish him with a system of notions suitable to express his ideas. Eventually the belief of the *ḥanīf*s and their interpretation of Abraham's path to the knowledge of the one creator seemed to fit with his experiences. These tended to crystallize in the image of a highly personalized God who was on intimate terms with his Prophet, although he was to remain the transcendent omnipotent one. As for theology, this led to the contradictions outlined above, which lie at the base of later Muslim theological discussions. To attain to a more elaborate analysis of later discussions than has yet been achieved, a great deal of further research on the theological meaning of Muḥammad's message and its contemporary intellectual and spiritual background is necessary.

The following few lines may give an instructive, albeit superficial impression of what this means. Human beings cannot account for their actions because it is the one creator who makes them apparent in this world, and even if one were to endeavor to avoid a certain action, one could not escape God's decree. The *amr,* emanating from him into the cosmos, causes a human being to acquire *(kasaba)* that action. Later, Sunnī theology will discuss the problem of whether the capability of acquiring a certain action has been deposited in the individual human before that action comes about or whether it is granted to the individual by God simultaneously with the coming about of that action. The second view came to be preferred in Ash'arism, which is said to have carried predestination to its extreme. This, of course, is the opinion of the Westerner who has the problem of freedom of will in his mind; for him this is the idea which sets the standard for the evaluation of conceptions of humankind's position in this world. This is not the background of the Muslim view of the question. Their theological reasoning is based on the qur'ānic picture of the relationship between the creator and man. Nevertheless there are verses which seem to suggest one's responsibility for one's actions; therefore the freedom of will should be granted. "That day [the earth]

will tell its news (q.v.), as your lord has prompted *(awḥā)* it; that day the people will come forward separately that they may be shown their works. Whoever has done a particle's weight of good, shall see it…" (Q 99:4-7; see WEIGHTS AND MEASURES; MEASUREMENT). This revelation dating from the early Meccan period can be considered valid evidence of each person's obligation to act according to his or her own decisions. Yet this line of argumentation is completely mistaken. The early Meccan passages of the Qur'ān do not plead at all for freedom of will. On the contrary, they advocate the all-embracing power of the creator's decree, and in Q 99 the believers are reminded of God's knowledge, which is all-embracing, too: On the day of judgment not a single action that has been "acquired" by a human being will be forgotten. "… No burden-bearer bears the burden of another;… man gets exactly [the result of] his striving" (Q 53:38f.). The one God "who causes to die, and causes to live… who makes rich and gives possession" (Q 53:44, 48) will look strictly into everybody's record of actions. It is only in Medina that the believers become responsible for a certain type of action, i.e. those greatly needed heroic deeds that would save Islam from annihilation. The believers now are summoned to sell their lives to God who will make them enter paradise as a recompense for fighting the enemies of Islam. It is remarkable that some Muslim scholars hold that Q 99 belongs to this Medinan period of Muḥammad's life. They seem to be conscious of the possibility of interpreting Q 99 as an allusion to one's responsibility for one's actions and one's fate in the hereafter. Nevertheless, the Westerner must be aware of the fact that verses like Q 99 or Q 53:38 do not aim at liberating the human being from divine decree; they only point to a rather limited range of actions left to human choice because God "has sent down authority" (cf. Q 6:81) for the individual to do them.

Therefore the question of human freedom of will in Muslim theology is neither concerned with some capacity of reason and power independent of God nor with ethics. It refers to the limits of "authority" granted to one by one's creator. This is even true of Mu'tazilī thought (see MU'TAZILĪS) which does not confront the individual with the cosmos allowing each to find his or her own way, but rather obliges the creator to aim at the best *(aṣlaḥ)* for his creatures. Of course, under such conditions it is more plausible that God will do justice to the individual on the last day (see JUSTICE AND INJUSTICE); but, strictly speaking, God's authority still far surpasses human responsibility. This requires finally an examination of the human position in this world as intended by the personalized creator, who "each day [is engaged] in something" (Q 55:29). The Qur'ān confines itself to calling Adam God's vicegerent (*khalīfa,* e.g. Q 2:30). In the main, Islamic theological reasoning has conceived two different answers, both of them rooted in the qur'ānic message of the one God. The first answer is the elaborated system of *sharī'a* law; if one keeps to all of its regulations scrupulously, seeing to the best for oneself and for the community of the believers, one will attain the rank of God's vicegerent on earth because God's volition and human action will be in perfect harmony (Shāṭibī, *Muwāfaqāt,* i, 251f.; see BOUNDARIES AND PRECEPTS). The second answer takes Q 51:56 into consideration: "I have not created jinn and men but that they may serve me (see WORSHIP)." The human being is God's servant, a fact that is reflected in the dependence of human reason on the creator's authority. A human being cannot act on his own but has to acquire every action, right or wrong, wrought by God. And it is this unques-

tioned compliance with God's decree *(amr)* that is looked upon as the quintessence of one's service to one's creator: By his incessant creative actions he realizes himself as the omnipotent one, and through the sinful (and righteous) actions he causes humans to acquire, he assures himself and humankind of his being the one legislator. Rendering this inestimable service to him, humans prove to be his indispensable vicegerents. This idea, elaborated in detail by Ibn al-ʿArabī (d. 638/1240) and his Sunnī interpreters, is the deepest understanding of qurʾānic theology ever arrived at. Both answers do not pertain to the Western concept of humankind hinted at above. The careful analysis of the qurʾānic message and its historical background will guide one, as has been demonstrated by this example, to a more appropriate understanding of Islam and Islamic theology and may be instrumental in establishing a reliable method of scientific hermeneutics.

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Theophany

Visible appearance of God. In the Qurʾān, the closest one comes to a visible appearance of God is in Q 7:143. Moses (q.v.) expresses his wish to see God, who replies: "You shall not see me. Look at the mountain, though; if it stays in its place, then will you see me." The verse continues: "So, when his lord (q.v.) manifested himself *(tajallā)* to the mountain, he flattened it, and Moses, thunderstruck, collapsed. When he came to, he said, 'Glory to you! I turn toward you in repentance, and I am the first of the believers'" (see REPENTANCE AND PENANCE; GLORIFICATION OF GOD). The hairsplitting discussions (in the qurʾānic commentary of al-Rāzī, for example; see EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL) over the possibility of humans seeing God represent attempts to vindicate theological positions staked out long after the revelation of the Qurʾān (see REVELATION AND INSPIRATION; THEOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN; ANTHROPOMORPHISM; GOD AND HIS ATTRIBUTES). Both the letter and the spirit of Q 7:143 indicate that, according to the Qurʾān, in this world at least, human eyes (q.v.) cannot see God. Q 6:103, "Eyes cannot perceive him," makes the same point. The Qurʾān does say that God "actually spoke to Moses" but this does not mean that, in that conversation, Moses, in some sense, saw God (cf. *Exod* 33:11, which, using figurative language, says that God spoke to Moses "face to face"; see SPEECH; WORD OF GOD). Q 42:51 says that God speaks to human beings in one of three ways — in revelation, from behind a veil (q.v.) or through a

messenger (q.v.; see also PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD). Thus, in reference to Q 7:143, the most one can say is that God did manifest himself on the mountain but that Moses was unable to see him; Moses' contrite "I turn toward you in repentance" upon regaining consciousness is proof of Moses' realization that he was a little too bold in making the request to see God.

Not only is there no mention in the Qurʾān of the several types of theophany found in the Bible, theophany probably would not have belonged in the theoretical framework of the Qurʾān (as we know, there is no history, in Islam, of any epiphany festival; see FESTIVALS AND COMMEMORATIVE DAYS; SCRIPTURE AND THE QURʾĀN). Q 4:153 cites disapprovingly the Israelites' demand to see God with their eyes (see CHILDREN OF ISRAEL). Also, theophany would be classed as a miracle and the Qurʾān is, in principle, averse to the idea of showing palpable miracles to establish the Qurʾān's veracity or Muḥammad's prophethood (see MIRACLES; MARVELS). According to the standard Muslim theological position, the Qurʾān is the miracle of Islam (see INIMITABILITY; CREATEDNESS OF THE QURʾĀN). In a sense, the Qurʾān — which is the speech of God and, as such, a manifestation of one of God's attributes — may be called the theophany of Islam but this would be a figurative use of that word, as Muslim theologians do make a distinction between God's being and his attributes, just as they distinguish between God and his signs (q.v.), the Qurʾān being one of those signs. In the same vein, the term "inlibration," which is sometimes used to distinguish the Qurʾān-event in Islam from the Christian doctrine of incarnation, has no more than a rhetorical value of highlighting a contrast between the two religions. For additional qurʾānic allusions to divine self-manifestation (albeit not a "visible appearance"), see SHEKHINAH; FACE OF GOD.

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Thicket

see PEOPLE OF THE THICKET

Thief

see THEFT

Thirst

see FOOD AND DRINK

Thread, White and Black

see RAMAḌĀN

Throne of God

Qurʾānic (and biblical) image related to God's sovereignty. The two terms used most commonly in the Qurʾān and exegetical literature for the throne of God are *ʿarsh* and *kursī,* although the latter has often been understood not as a seat but as a footstool or other accessory to the throne itself. The word *ʿarsh* appears twenty-five times in the Qurʾān with reference to God's throne,

as well as the thrones of others: the seat on which Joseph (q.v.; Yūsuf) placed his parents (q.v.) is referred to as an *ʿarsh* (Q 12:100), as is the throne of Bilqīs (q.v.), the Queen of Sheba (q.v.; Q 27:23, 38, 41, 42). When referring to the throne of God, verses speak either of the throne itself or use it in a relational epithet to emphasize aspects of God's majesty. The latter category is the more common and God is referred to as the "lord (q.v.) of the throne" (*rabb al-ʿarsh,* Q 43:82) or "lord of the noble throne" (*rabb al-ʿarsh al-ʿaẓīm,* Q 9:129; cf. *rabb al-ʿarsh al-karīm,* Q 23:116). Elsewhere, God is referred to as "the one with the throne" (*dhū l-ʿarsh,* Q 40:15; cf. 17:42). A literal reading of the Qurʾān gives a clear sense of the throne of God as a concrete object (see LITERARY STRUCTURES AND THE QURʾĀN; METAPHOR; SIMILE; LANGUAGE AND STYLE OF THE QURʾĀN). Thus the angels (q.v.) are mentioned as circling God's throne (Q 39:75); elsewhere the Qurʾān describes the throne as being carried while it is being circled (Q 40:7). The image of the throne being borne by the angels appears explicitly in descriptions of eschatological events (see ESCHATOLOGY): "And the angels shall be ranged around (the heavens') borders (see HEAVEN AND SKY), eight of whom will be carrying above them, on that day, the throne of your lord" (Q 69:17). The term *kursī* is used for "throne" on two occasions. One of these refers to the throne of Solomon (q.v.; Sulaymān, Q 38:34). The other instance (Q 2:255) is the most famous reference to the throne of God in the Qurʾān, and may very well be the most popular verse in the Qurʾān (see VERSES), having come to be known as the "Throne Verse" *(āyat al-kursī)*. Eight sentences long, the verse only refers to God's throne once: "His throne encompasses the heavens and the earth (q.v.), and their preservation does not burden him."

The throne of God, both as *ʿarsh* and *kursī,* has figured prominently in theological and mystical debates over God's transcendence and the status of anthropomorphic references in the Qurʾān (see THEOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN; ṢŪFISM AND THE QURʾĀN; ANTHROPOMORPHISM). Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (d. 110/728) is said to have regarded the two terms as synonyms, as have some later scholars. A wide variety of writers have interpreted the throne of God metaphorically, beginning with both al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923) and Ibn al-Jawzī (d. 597/1200) who credit Ibn ʿAbbās (d. ca. 68/686) with stating that *kursī* refers to divine knowledge (*ʿilm;* see KNOWLEDGE AND LEARNING). Al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505) takes a different approach and interprets the roof of heaven (*al-saqf al-marfūʿ,* literally "the upraised roof," Q 52:5) as a reference to God's throne.

In Ṣūfī literature the notion of God's throne has been a source of much speculation and interpretation, as has the Throne Verse mentioned above. In some schools of mystical philosophy, the throne of God *(ʿarsh)* is the lowest or seventh heaven. This is sometimes seen to coincide with the locus of divine self-manifestation *(tajallī)*. Ibn al-ʿArabī (d. 638/1240) referred to the throne of God on many occasions in his writings and viewed the mystical heart (q.v.; *qalb*) as a microcosm of God's throne, in that it is capable of encompassing all things. This concept is perpetuated in Ṣūfī thought derived from Ibn al-ʿArabī, primarily through the influence of al-Jīlī's (d. 561/1166) understanding of the "perfect man" *(al-insān al-kāmil)*.

The notion of a divine or supernatural throne is developed further in ḥadīth and *tafsīr* literature (see ḤADĪTH AND THE QURʾĀN; EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL) where God's throne is described as possessing different designs and colors as well as being decorated with precious stones. The collections

of al-Bukhārī (d. 256/870) and Muslim (d. ca. 261/875) refer to three celestial thrones, including those of Satan (see DEVIL) and Gabriel (q.v.; Jibrīl) along with that of God. Muslim and al-Tirmidhī (d. ca. 270/883) speak of Satan's throne floating on water and being surrounded by snakes, an image with important resonances in the study of comparative religion. See also SOVEREIGNTY; KINGS AND RULERS; POWER AND IMPOTENCE.

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Throne Verse

see VERSES; THRONE OF GOD

Thunder

see WEATHER

Tidings

see NEWS; GOOD NEWS

Time

The successive continuum of events and its measurement. The Qurʾān employs a rich terminology for aspects of time but uses these terms *ad hoc* and at random, in concrete and practical ways, rather than systematically and methodically addressing abstract and theoretical notions of time. This qurʾānic vocabulary does not include the principal technical terms for time, *zamān,* and eternity (q.v.), *qidam,* which are widely used in Islamic philosophy (see PHILOSOPHY AND THE QURʾĀN), nor does the Qurʾān contain typical philosophical terms such as *mudda* for extent of time and *dawām* for duration or *azal* and *abad* for eternity *a parte ante* and *a parte post* (though it uses the adverb *abadan,* "forever and ever," twenty-eight times). Three questions involving "time" and the Qurʾān will be excluded from this article because they are treated elsewhere: (1) the scholarly analysis of the text of the Qurʾān with regard to the sequence of the various stages of its composition and fixation as a normative text (see CHRONOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN; CODICES OF THE QURʾĀN; COLLECTION OF THE QURʾĀN), (2) the vision of history embodied in the Qurʾān as well as the use of the Qurʾān as a historiographical source (see HISTORY AND THE QURʾĀN) and (3) the fixed times of ritual prayer cited in the Qurʾān (see PRAYER; cf. e.g. al-Ṭabarī's [d. 310/923] commentary on "the middle prayer," *al-ṣalāt al-wusṭā,* of Q 2:238, in his *Tafsīr,* ad loc.; cf. Gilliot, *Elt,* 149-50).

The qurʾānic day

Numerous references in the Qurʾān refer to the full twenty-four-hour cycle of the day by the term of *yawm* (see DAY, TIMES OF). The term is used 374 times as a singular noun *(yawm)* or a temporal adverb *(yawma),* three times in the dual *(yawmayn)*

and twenty-seven times in the plural *(ayyām)* as well as seventy times in the form of the temporal adverb *yawmaʾidhin,* "on that day" (see FORM AND STRUCTURE OF THE QURʾĀN; RHETORIC AND THE QURʾĀN). The entire day, *yawm,* is understood in Semitic fashion as reckoned from sunset to sunset (see SUN; EVENING), beginning with the darkness of night followed by the brightness of daytime, namely "night" (collectively, *layl,* eighty-one times, singular, *layla,* eight times, plural, *layālin,* four times and never in the dual) and "day" (*nahār,* fifty-eight times, always in the singular; see DAY AND NIGHT). Likewise, the use of the term *sarmad* to signify the "continuous time" of night or day, which appears twice in Q 28:71-2, follows this precedence of night before day.

The word *yawm* may also refer to a historical event, such as "the day of deliverance" (*yawm al-furqān,* Q 8:41; see CRITERION; VICTORY) with reference to the battle of Badr (q.v.) in 2/624 or "the day of Ḥunayn" (Q 9:25) with reference to the battle of Ḥunayn (q.v.) in 8/630. Most frequently, however, it signals an eschatological event (see ESCHATOLOGY), such as "the day of resurrection (q.v.)" (*yawm al-qiyāma,* seventy times) or "the last day" (*al-yawm al-ākhir,* thirty-eight times), "the day of judgment" (*yawm al-dīn,* thirteen times; see LAST JUDGMENT), "the day of decision" (*yawm al-faṣl,* six times) and "the day of reckoning" (*yawm al-ḥisāb,* three times). This threatening and disastrous day of doom is further depicted by an abundance of apocalyptic and awe-inspiring attributes in the Qurʾān (see APOCALYPSE; FEAR; PIETY). Finally, *yawm* can signify a ritual event, such as "the day of assembly" (*yawm al-jumuʿa,* Q 62:9, referring to the congregational prayer on Friday; see FRIDAY PRAYER), "the day of the greater pilgrimage (q.v.)" (*yawm al-ḥajj al-akbar,* Q 9:3) or "the day of their Sabbath" (Q 7:163) with reference to the Jewish Sabbath (q.v.; see also JEWS AND JUDAISM).

Ayyām, the plural of *yawm,* is used in the Qurʾān in a sense congruent with the pre-Islamic combats of tribal prowess and battles of vengeance (q.v.), known collectively as "the days of the Arabs" (*ayyām al-ʿarab;* see TRIBES AND CLANS; PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QURʾĀN; ARABS). For example, *yawm buʿāth* names the battle between the Medinan tribes of Aws and Khazraj in 617 C.E. (see MEDINA). In the Qurʾān, however, the term is attributed to "the days of God" *(ayyām Allāh),* the *magnalia Dei,* manifested by God's intervention in human history through his acts of creation (q.v.), revelation (see REVELATION AND INSPIRATION) and retribution (see DAYS OF GOD). In this sense, the *ayyām Allāh* are explicitly compared to God's "signs" (q.v.; *āyāt*), revealed through Moses (q.v.), leading his people from darkness (q.v.) to light (q.v.; Q 14:5) and to God's final victories with their retribution of eternal gain or loss for what people's deeds have earned (Q 45:14; see GOOD DEEDS; EVIL DEEDS; REWARD AND PUNISHMENT). Similar to the biblical six day-work of creation, the Qurʾān (Q 7:54; 10:3; 11:7; 25:59; 32:4; 50:38; 57:4) understands God to have accomplished the creation of the heavens and the earth "in six days" *(fī sittati ayyām).* Further, God is seen to create the universe for a purpose, rather than for idle sport (Q 21:16-17; cf. 38:27; 44:38), in order to provide for the needs and wants of humans (Q 2:22 and passim) and to put their conduct to the test (Q 11:7; see TRIAL). In a peculiar passage (Q 41:9-12), the account of creation assigns two days to the creation of the earth (q.v.), then four days to setting it in order and, finally, two more days to the creation of the seven heavens (see HEAVEN AND SKY), while Q 71:14 asserts that God

"created you in stages" (literally "times," *aṭwāran,* with reference to the stages of the embryo's growth; see BIOLOGY AS THE CREATION AND STAGES OF LIFE).

Other uses of the term *ayyām* include the incident when Zechariah (q.v.; Zakariyyāʾ) is struck dumb for "three days" (Q 3:41) or "those days" *(tilka l-ayyām)* when defeat is anticipated in Muḥammad's address before the battle of Uḥud in 3/625 (Q 3:140; see EXPEDITIONS AND BATTLES). The Thamūd (q.v.) were given the sign of a she-camel on an "appointed day" (*yawm maʿlūm,* Q 26:155) and hid "three days" in their dwellings before calamity overtook them (Q 11:65; see CAMEL; PUNISHMENT STORIES). The ʿĀd (q.v.) "were destroyed by a violent, roaring wind which [God] impelled against them seven nights and eight days, uninterruptedly" (Q 69:6-7; see AIR AND WIND), "in days calamitous" (*fī ayyāmin naḥisāt,* Q 41:16) or on "a day of constant calamity" (*fī yawmi naḥsin mustamirrin,* Q 54:19). Divine warnings are given to unbelieving people about "the like of the days of those who passed away before them" (*mithla ayyāmi lladhīna khalaw min qablihim,* Q 10:102; see WARNING; GENERATIONS; GEOGRAPHY) and the blessed of paradise (q.v.) are made the promise of "eating and drinking with relish for what you paid in advance in the days gone-by" (*fī l-ayyāmi l-khāliya,* Q 69:24; see FOOD AND DRINK).

Ritual observances apply on "a certain number of days" (*fī ayyāmin maʿdūdātin,* Q 2:203) or "days well-known" (*fī ayyāmin maʿlūmātin,* Q 22:28) of the pilgrimage (see RITUAL AND THE QURʾĀN). An exception is made for its performance in "two days" when one is in haste (Q 2:203) and, under certain circumstances, its ritual offering may be substituted by "a fast of three days in the pilgrimage, and of seven when you return, that is ten completely" (Q 2:196; see FASTING). Other ritual excuses with regard to the month of fasting (see MONTHS; RAMAḌĀN) are made through "a certain number of days" *(ayyāman maʿdūdātin)* for people who are sick or on a journey (q.v.; Q 2:184-5; see also ILLNESS AND HEALTH). In expiation for a wrong oath (Q 5:89; see OATHS) "three days" of fasting are required. The Jews claim that hellfire (see HELL AND HELLFIRE) shall not touch them except "for a certain number of days" (*ayyāman maʿdūdātin,* Q 3:24; see also POLEMIC AND POLEMICAL LANGUAGE).

The qurʾānic vocabulary of the times of day

Night and day are used antithetically in the Qurʾān (twenty-four times), e.g. "by night and day" (*laylan wa-nahāran,* Q 71:5; see PAIRS AND PAIRING). Night and day, created by God, are among the signs *(āyāt)* of divine power (Q 17:12; 41:37; see POWER AND IMPOTENCE) and put at the service of humankind (Q 14:33). God brings forth the day from the night (Q 35:13), "covering the day with the night it pursues urgently" (Q 7:54). Night and day are complementary (Q 6:60; 25:47; 27:86; 30:23; 34:33; 36:40; 40:61), mutually concurrent (Q 31:29; 39:5; 57:6) and succeed one another with regularity (Q 2:164; 3:190; 10:6; 23:80; 45:5). While *nahār* follows upon *layl* consistently in the Qurʾān, the order reverses as the sun, the asterism of the daytime, precedes the moon (q.v.), the asterism of the night when both are cited together (except in Q 71:16). This sequence of sun and moon is paralleled by *yawm* preceding *layla* in extra-qurʾānic literature, indicating that both lunar and solar reckonings of time were known to the Arabs (cf. Fischer, Tag und Nacht, 745–9; see CALENDAR). Notice, however, the switch of gender (q.v.), the sun being feminine and the moon masculine, while it is the opposite for *yawm* and *layla,* whereas *layl* and *nahār* are both masculine (see GRAMMAR AND THE QURʾĀN).

Specific terms in the Qurʾān identify a

number of regular time intervals and particular times of day and night. "Daybreak" *(al-falaq)* appears when God, "the lord of the daybreak" (Q 113:1), "splits the sky into dawn" (q.v.; *fāliq al-iṣbāḥ,* Q 6:96). The Qurʾān swears by the time of "dawn" (*fajr,* Q 89:1) when "the white thread becomes distinct to you from the black" (Q 2:187), a phenomenon defining the time of the "morning prayer" (*qurʾān al-fajr,* Q 17:78; *ṣalāt al-fajr,* Q 24:58) when god-fearing people ask forgiveness at "the times of dawn" (*bi-l-asḥār,* Q 3:17; 51:18; see MORNING). Lot's (q.v.) family was delivered "at dawn" (*bi-saḥar,* Q 54:34), their appointed time "in the morning" (*ṣubḥ,* Q 11:81), while his disloyal people were punished "in the early morning" (*bukratan,* Q 54:38). Muḥammad and Zechariah are bidden to give glory (q.v.) to God "in the evening and early morning" (*bi-l-ʿashī wa-l-ibkār,* Q 3:41; 40:55) and the latter signals his people to give glory "in early morning and evening" (*bukratan wa-ʿashīyan,* Q 19:11, cf. 19:62; see GLORIFICATION OF GOD). Muḥammad, exhorted to remember the name of his lord (q.v.) "in the early morning and evening" (*bukratan wa-aṣīlan,* Q 76:25; cf. 33:42; 48:9; see REMEMBRANCE; BASMALA), is accused of having ancient tales recited to him at those times (Q 25:5; see MYTHS AND LEGENDS IN THE QURʾĀN). The Qurʾān swears by the "morning" (*al-ṣubḥ,* Q 74:34; 81:18; cf. 100:3) and exclaims, "so glory be to God in your evening hour and in your morning hour" (*ḥīna tumsūna wa-ḥīna tuṣbiḥūn,* Q 30:17). But when punishment descends, "evil will be the morning *(ṣabāḥ)* of those who have been warned" (Q 37:177; see CHASTISEMENT AND PUNISHMENT; GOOD AND EVIL).

Generally, *ghadan* refers to "tomorrow" (Q 12:12; 18:23; 31:34; 54:26), yet every soul (q.v.) should consider "what it has forwarded for the morrow" (*ghad,* Q 59:18, possibly with reference to the last day). Muḥammad is bidden to remember his lord, without raising his voice, "at morn and eventide" (*bi-l-ghuduwwi wa-l-aṣāl,* Q 7:205), the times when the shadows bow to God (Q 13:15; see BOWING AND PROSTRATION) and God's name is glorified by people of prayer (Q 24:36), "calling upon their lord at morning and evening" (*bi-l-ghadāti wa-l-ʿashiyyi,* Q 6:52; 18:28). The folk of Pharaoh (q.v.) will be exposed to the fire (of hell) "morning and evening" (*ghuduwwan wa-ʿashiyyan,* Q 40:46) and the wind, subjected to Solomon (q.v.), blew in the morning and in the evening (Q 34:12). The Qurʾān swears "by the forenoon" (*ḍuḥā,* Q 93:1) and "by the sun and its morning brightness" (*ḍuḥāhā,* Q 91:1) and God brings out the "morning brightness" (*ḍuḥāhā,* Q 79:29; cf. 79:46). Adam (see ADAM AND EVE) does not have to "suffer the sun" *(wa-lā taḍḥā)* in the garden (q.v.) of paradise (Q 20:119) and Moses has the people mustered on the feast day *(yawm al-zīna)* at "the high noon" (*ḍuḥan,* Q 20:59). "The people of the cities" (*ahl al-qurā,* possibly Jewish villages around Medina; cf. Bell, *Commentary,* i, 243) are warned lest they are overcome by divine might at night and in "daylight" (*ḍuḥā,* Q 7:97-8). The "afternoon" (q.v.; *ʿaṣr,* Q 103:1), used in a qurʾānic oath, may actually be another term for time as destiny (q.v.; cf. Paret, *Kommentar,* 521; Brunschvig, Le culte et le temps, 168; see also FATE). "The twilight" (*shafaq,* Q 84:16) also appears once in the form of an oath in the Qurʾān while "the evening (q.v.) prayer" *(ṣalāt al-ʿishāʾ)* is cited in Q 24:58. Joseph's (q.v.) brothers (see BROTHER AND BROTHERHOOD) return to their father in the "evening" (*ʿishāʾ,* Q 12:16) and standing steeds are presented to Solomon in the evening (*bi-l-ʿashiyy,* Q 38:31), while the mountains join with David (q.v.) giving glory to God at evening and sunrise (*bi-l-ʿashiyyi wa-l-ishrāq,* Q 38:18).

Typical features of the qurʾānic language of time

The qurʾānic language of time commonly invokes particular times of day by random and mysterious oaths.

By the dawn *(fajr)* and ten nights *(layālin),*
by the even and the odd (see NUMERATION),
by the night *(layl)* when it journeys on!
(Q 89:1-4).

By the night *(layl)* enshrouding, by the day *(nahār)* in splendor! (Q 92:1-2).

By the bright forenoon *(ḍuḥā),* by the brooding night *(layl)*! (Q 93:1-2).

By the sun and her morning brightness *(ḍuḥāhā),* by the moon when it follows her, by the day *(nahār)* when it displays her, by the night *(layl)* when it enshrouds her!
(Q 91:1–4).

By the heaven of the constellations, by the promised day *(al-yawm al-mawʿūd)*!
(Q 85:1–2).

By heaven and the shooting star *(al-ṭāriq)*!
(Q 86:1; see PLANETS AND STARS).

By the afternoon *(ʿaṣr)*! (Q 103:1) — an oath possibly invoking "time" in a more general sense (cf. Paret, *Kommentar,* 521).

By the snorting chargers, striking fire in sparks, storming forward in the morning *(ṣubḥan)*! (Q 100:1–4).

Nay! By the moon, by the night *(layl)* when it retreats and by the dawn *(ṣubḥ)* when it is white! (Q 74:32–4).

No! I swear by the day of resurrection *(yawm al-qiyāma)*! (Q 75:1).

On the day *(yawm)* when the first blast shivers and the second blast follows it!
(Q 79:6–7).

By the night *(layl)* swarming, by the dawn *(ṣubḥ)* sighing! (Q 81:17–18).

No! I swear by the twilight *(shafaq)* and the night *(layl)* and what it envelops!
(Q 84:16–17).

In one instance the seeking refuge from evil is related to an interval of time, i.e. a particular time of day, "I take refuge with the lord of the daybreak" (*rabb al-falaq,* Q 113:1).

References to intervals of day and night, expressed in succinct metaphorical phrases, are another typical feature. Examples include: "the ends of the day" (*aṭrāf al-nahār,* Q 20:130), referring to sunrise *(al-mashriq)* and sunset *(al-maghrib),* frequently cited in tandem (whether in the singular Q 2:115, 142, 177, 258; 26:28; 73:9, in the plural, *mashāriq, maghārib,* Q 7:137; 70:40; cf. 37:5, or in the dual, as "the two easts," *al-mashriqayn,* Q 43:38; 55:17; and the "two wests," *al-maghribayn,* Q 55:17). Intervals of the night, "when it runs its course" (*idhā yasrī,* Q 89:4), are termed "the watches of the night" (*ānāʾ al-layl,* Q 3:113; 20:130; 39:9), while dusk is depicted as "the darkening of the night" (*ghasaq al-layl,* Q 17:78) and "the night of the night" (*zulafan min al-layl,* Q 11:114). *Zulafan,* which is plural, may refer not only to dusk but also to dawn, which another qurʾānic image calls "the withdrawal of the stars" (*idbār al-nujūm,* Q 52:49). The beginning of the day is likened to "the face of the day" (*wajh al-nahār,* Q 3:72) and "the rising of dawn" (*maṭlaʿ al-fajr,* Q 97:5). The sunrise is described by the images of "the sun shining forth" (*al-shams bāzighatan,* Q 6:78), the actual "rising" of the sun (*al-ishrāq,* Q 38:18), "the sun when it rises" (*al-shams idhā ṭalaʿat,* Q 18:17) and "experiencing the sunrise" (*mushriqīn,* Q 15:73; 26:60), while the early morning is the time when God "has stretched out the shadow" (*madda l-zilla,* Q 25:45). Noontime is marked by the "heat of noon" (*al-ẓahīra,* Q 24:58), "when you enter noontide" (*ḥīna tuẓhirūn,* Q 30:18), just as "you enter the evening and the morning" (Q 30:17). "The sinking of the sun" (*dulūk al-shams,* Q 17:78) follows the time "before the setting [of the sun]" (*qabla l-ghurūb,* Q 50:39) and the night covers like a "garment" (*libās,* Q 78:10; see CLOTHING) offering rest for sleep (q.v.).

The Qurʾān frequently uses temporal clauses, introduced by "when" *(idhā)* or "upon the day, when" *(yawma),* especially in conjuring up the awe-inspiring phenomena of the last day and impressing these upon the listeners. Some examples for *idhā:*

When the sun shall be darkened, when the stars shall be thrown down, when the mountains shall be set moving, when the pregnant camels shall be neglected, when the savage beasts shall be mustered, when the seas shall be set boiling, when the souls shall be coupled, when the buried infant shall be asked for what sin she was slain (see INFANTICIDE), when the scrolls (q.v.) shall be unrolled, when heaven shall be stripped off, when hell shall be set blazing, when paradise shall be brought near, then shall a soul know what it has produced (Q 81:1–14).
When heaven is split open, when the stars are scattered, when the seas swarm over, when the tombs are overthrown, then a soul shall know its works, the former and the latter (Q 82:1-5).
When heaven is rent asunder and gives ear to its lord, and is fitly disposed, when earth is stretched out and casts forth what is in it, and voids itself (Q 84:1-4).
When the terror descends (Q 56:1).
When the earth shall be rocked (Q 56:4).
When the trumpet is blown with a single blast (Q 69:13).
When the trump is sounded, that day will be a harsh day (*yawm,* Q 74:8-9).
When the sight is dazed and the moon is eclipsed (Q 75:7-8).
When the stars shall be extinguished, when heaven shall be split, when the mountains shall be scattered and when the messengers' time is set *(uqqitat),* to what day shall they be delayed? To the day of decision (*yawm al-faṣl,* Q 77:8-13).
When the great catastrophe comes upon the day *(yawm)* when man shall remember for what he has striven (Q 79:34-5).
When earth is shaken with a mighty shaking and earth brings forth her burdens (Q 99:1-2).
When comes the help of God and victory (Q 110:1).

A qurʾānic passage using *idhā,* "when it reaches the clavicles" (Q 75:26), introduces the moment of death, the soul departing from the body (see DEATH AND THE DEAD).

Some examples for *yawma:*

On the day when heaven shall be as molten copper (Q 70:8).
On the day when the trumpet is blown (Q 78:18).
On the day when a man shall flee from his brother (Q 80:34).
On the day when men shall be like scattered moths (Q 101:4).

The fixing of time in the Qurʾān

Fixing the divisions of time for the purpose of communal life is a qurʾānic preoccupation, which combines the pre-Islamic custom of reckoning time on the basis of the rising and setting of stars, called *anwāʾ* (a term absent from the Qurʾān, though appearing once in the verbal singular, *la-tanūʾu,* Q 28:76), with the observation of the lunar phases, called *manāzil,* "stations" (Q 10:5; 36:39), and the "mansions" *(burūj)* of the signs of the zodiac (Q 15:16; 25:61; 85:1). By and large, the pre-Islamic Arab year was lunisolar, with the year beginning in autumn and an intercalary month added in leap years (see SEASONS). The Qurʾān, however, opted for the lunar year (of 354 days) as established by God's creation. God created the sun and the moon as a pair for "reckoning" *(ḥusbān)* time (Q 6:96; 55:5), "stretching out the shadow" and appointing "the sun to be its guide" (Q 25:45). By divine ordainment, he has the sun return

to its "fixed resting place" *(mustaqarr)* and has the moon marked by "its stations till it returns like an aged palm-bough" (Q 36:38-9; see DATE PALM; SYMBOLIC IMAGERY). The computation of years and months is rooted in the will of the creator, "who made the sun a radiance and the moon a light, and determined it by stations that you might know the number of the years *(ʿadada l-sinīn)* and the reckoning [of time]" (*ḥisāb,* Q 10:5; cf. 71:16). It is the creator who "determines the night and the day" (*yuqaddiru l-layla wa-l-nahār,* Q 73:20) and establishes their order: "We have appointed the night and the day as two signs; then we have blotted out the sign of the night and made the sign of the day to see, and that you may seek bounty from your lord, and that you may know the number of the years and the reckoning" (Q 17:12). Sun and moon have each their orbit, and night and day have each their measure, both assigned by God with neither intruding on the domain of the other: "It behooves not the sun to overtake the moon, neither does the night outstrip the day" (Q 36:40). Time moves in a regular mode, in the measurable rhythm of sun and moon, with the moon and its phases fixing the calculation of the months and years.

In the Qurʾān, the moon is the actual measurer of time, and the beginning of the month and the year is established by the observation of the new moon (*hilāl,* mentioned once in the Qurʾān in the plural, *ahilla*). Each lunar month begins with the sighting of the crescent in the clear sky: "They will question you concerning the new moons *(al-ahilla)*. Say, they are appointed times *(mawāqīt)* for the people, and the pilgrimage" (Q 2:189). The month, called *shahr* (twelve times in the singular, twice in the dual, and six times in the plural *ashhur,* and once in the plural *shuhūr*), is established by God who divided the year into twelve lunar months by divine decree: "The number of months *(shuhūr),* with God, is twelve in the book of God, the day he created the heavens and the earth; four of them are sacred" (Q 9:36). The names of the pre-Islamic sacred months, Dhū l-Qaʿda, Dhū l-Ḥijja, al-Muḥarram and Rajab, are absent from the Qurʾān, but there are allusions to them in the qurʾānic phrases, "Journey freely in the land for four months" (Q 9:2) and "When the sacred months *(al-ashhur al-ḥurum)* have slipped away, slay the idolaters" (Q 9:5; see VERSES; IDOLATRY AND IDOLATERS; FIGHTING).

Of the twelve lunar months only the month of fasting is mentioned by name in the Qurʾān, "the month of Ramaḍān wherein the Qurʾān was sent down" (Q 2:185). This statement is frequently linked with the verse, "We [God] sent it down in the night of destiny" (*laylat al-qadr,* Q 97:1; see NIGHT OF POWER), with "it" explained as referring to the Qurʾān on the basis of the parallel passage, "By the clear book *(al-kitāb al-mubīn),* we have sent it down in a blessed night" (Q 44:2-3). It is reasonably certain that Muḥammad first adopted the Jewish custom of the ʿĀshūrāʾ fast observed on the Day of Atonement and replaced it in 2/623-4 by the institution of the fast of Ramaḍān (Q 2:183-5) after the battle of Badr (cf. Q 3:123). This battle is usually understood to be the referent of Q 8:41, "What we sent down on our servant (q.v.; *ʿabdinā*) on the day of deliverance *(yawm al-furqān)*." It is probable that "a certain number of days" or "counted days" (*ayyāman maʿdūdātin,* Q 2:184) represents a ten-day fast as a stage of transition before the Qurʾān established the month-long fast of Ramaḍān (Goitein, Zur Entstehung, 101-9). It is disputed, however, whether the "night of destiny" refers to a night in the month of Ramaḍān when Muḥammad received his first revelation while practicing religious devotion (*taḥannuth;* see VIGILS) on mount Ḥirāʾ out-

side Mecca (cf. Ibn Isḥāq, *Sīra,* 151-2; Ibn Isḥāq-Guillaume, 105-6) or whether it signifies the sending down of the entire Qurʾān (a notion which is in conflict with verses stating that the Qurʾān was revealed gradually, cf. Wagtendonk, *Fasting in the Koran,* 87; see OCCASIONS OF REVELATION). Scholars also differ over whether the "night of destiny" was chosen against the background of the ancient Arabian new year, celebrated around the summer solstice and frequently identified with the 27th of Ramaḍān (cf. Wensinck, Arabic new year, 5-8) or whether the night of the 27th of Rajab should be determined as the night of Muḥammad's first revelation (Wagtendonk, *Fasting in the Koran,* 113; see YEAR).

The month of the pilgrimage is clearly called "the holy month" (*al-shahr al-ḥarām,* Q 2:194, 217; 5:2, 97) although, somewhat enigmatically, the pilgrimage *(al-ḥajj)* is said to fall in "months well-known" (*ashhur maʿlūmāt,* Q 2:197). The practice of adding an intercalary month *(nasīʾ)* to bring the lunar year in step with the seasons was expressly prohibited in the Qurʾān as "an increase of unbelief" (Q 9:37; cf. Moberg, *an-Nasīʾ*). The Qurān's fixing the number of months as twelve and its prohibition of intercalation prepared the way for Islam to adopt the lunar calendar, beginning with the 1st of Muḥarram of the year of the *hijra* (not the *hijra* itself; see EMIGRATION), in the caliphate of ʿUmar (r. 13-23/634-44; see CALIPH). A random reference to *shahr* in the Qurʾān refers to the wind that was subjected to Solomon and "blew a month's (journey) in the morning *(ghuduwwuhū shahrun)* and a month's (journey) in the evening" (*rawāḥuhā shahrun,* Q 34:12). Ritually, a fast of "two successive months" (Q 4:92; 58:4) can be substituted if one does not find the means to pay the bloodwit (see BLOOD MONEY). "A wait of four months" is recommended for those who forswear their women (Q 2:226; see ABSTINENCE; MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE; SEX AND SEXUALITY). Widows (see WIDOW) are to wait "four months and ten days" (Q 2:234) before they can remarry after the husbands' death, while the waiting period is reduced to "three months" (Q 65:4) for those whose menstrual periods have ceased (see MENSTRUATION). According to the Qurʾān, the bearing and weaning of a child lasts "thirty months" (Q 46:15; see MAINTENANCE AND UPKEEP; CHILDREN; WET-NURSING) and mothers are required to suckle their children "two years completely" (*ḥawlayn kāmilayn,* Q 2:233), a duration in step with Luqmān's (q.v.) instruction to his son that weaning a child lasts "two years" (*ʿāmayn,* Q 31:14). The week *(usbūʿ)* is not cited in the Qurʾān; Friday (*yawm al-jumuʿa,* Q 62:9) appears only once, and the Jewish Sabbath five times (Q 2:65; 4:47, 154; 7:163; 16:124).

For the year, the Qurʾān uses the terms *sana* (seven times in the singular, and twelve times in the plural *sinīn*) and *ʿām* (eight times in the singular and once in the dual) interchangeably. Noah (q.v.) remained among his people "a thousand years, all but fifty" (Q 29:14) and Pharaoh's people were struck with years of famine (q.v.; Q 7:130). Joseph explains the king's dream vision of seven fat and seven lean cows as meaning seven fertile and seven hard years (Q 12:47-9) and, forgetting a fellow-prisoner's wish, Joseph causes him to languish in prison for "some years" (Q 12:42). Moses also remained among the people of Midian (q.v.) for "some years" (Q 20:40) and, when sent to Pharaoh, is asked, "did you not tarry among us years of your life?" (Q 26:18). The people of Israel (q.v.; see also CHILDREN OF ISRAEL) wandered about the earth "for forty years" (Q 5:26). God sealed the ears of the seven sleepers for years (Q 18:11; see MEN OF THE CAVE) and "they remained in their cave (q.v.) three hundred years and nine more" (Q 18:25). The Meccans are told that a day *(yawm)*

with God is "as a thousand years" (Q 22:47) and the unbelievers wish to live a thousand years (Q 2:96; see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF; OPPOSITION TO MUḤAMMAD). The last day is compared to a millennium, it is "one day *(yawm)* whose measure is a thousand years of your counting" (*miqdāruhu alfa sanatin mimmā taʿuddūn,* Q 32:5), while the angels (q.v.) and the spirit (q.v.) mount up to God in a day *(yawm),* "whereof the measure is fifty thousand years" (Q 70:4). Perhaps with reference to Ezekiel 27, the simile of a man who was dead for a hundred years and then finds himself raised up believing himself dead for only a day or part thereof is given in Q 2:259 (see SIMILES). A similar time argument against the resurrection is rejected by the rhetorical question of Q 23:112, "How long have you tarried in the earth, by a number of years?" According to the Qurʾān, a man reaches maturity (q.v.) at "forty years" (Q 46:15) and the believers are exhorted to go to war (q.v.) once or twice a year (Q 9:126) while the idolaters are debarred from the sacred mosque of the Kaʿba (q.v.) "after this present year" (Q 9:28). Although it is difficult to fix the particular event, Q 30:4 refers to the defeat of the Byzantine forces *(al-Rūm)* on the northern borders of Arabia in about 614 C.E. and promises them victory against the Persians in "a few years" (*fī biḍʿi sinīn;* see BYZANTINES).

Just as the Qurʾān pays no attention to fixing particular historical events in time, so it hardly betrays any awareness of historical epochs preceding its own advent, except perhaps with regard to the term *al-jāhiliyya,* which is generally taken as denoting the age of Arab pagan ignorance (q.v.) preceding the appearance of Islam (see AGE OF IGNORANCE). Rather than to a historical epoch of pre-Islamic lack of knowledge (see KNOWLEDGE AND LEARNING), this term primarily refers in the Qurʾān to an age of uncouth behavior as opposed to moderate conduct (*ḥilm,* cf. Goldziher, *MS,* 201-8; see MODERATION). This may be the primary meaning in Q 33:33, where Muḥammad's wives (see WIVES OF THE PROPHET) are admonished not to act in the immodest ways (see MODESTY) of "the former age of ignorance" *(al-jāhiliyya l-ūlā)*; in Q 5:50, where "the (mode of) judgment (q.v.) of the age of ignorance" *(ḥukm al-jāhiliyya)* is contrasted with God's judgment; in Q 48:26, where "the fierceness of the age of ignorance" *(ḥamiyyat al-jāhiliyya)* is overcome by the divine assurance of self-restraint; and in Q 3:154, where untrue "assumptions of the age of ignorance" *(zann al-jāhiliyya)* about God are defeated by those peacefully trusting in God (see TRUST AND PATIENCE).

The vision of time in the Qurʾān

Arabic, a Semitic language and the language of the Qurʾān, distinguishes two aspects of time, complete *(māḍī)* and incomplete *(muḍāriʿ),* lacking the morphological distinction into three tenses common to the Indo-European languages and operating without proper verbs for "to be" and "to become" (see ARABIC LANGUAGE; LANGUAGE AND STYLE OF THE QURʾĀN). Similarly, the Arabic Qurʾān does not exhibit a notion of time divided into past, present and future, but envisages time either as phases of time in the past or moments of time understood as instants whether present or future. Furthermore, the vision of time in the Qurʾān is firmly rooted in an Arabic vocabulary that betrays virtually no influence of foreign loanwords, unlike some of the ritual and religious terminology in the Qurʾān (see FOREIGN VOCABULARY; COSMOLOGY; SCRIPTURE AND THE QURʾĀN). Rather, the Qurʾān seems to intertwine a great variety of genuinely Arabic terms of time, combining them with a vision of God as the lord over time in the beginning and at the

end of creation as well as during all of humanity's instants of time.

The Qurʾān rejects the pre-Islamic fatalism of impersonal time and destiny (*dahr,* Q 45:24; 76:1), also termed "fate's uncertainty" (*rayb al-manūn,* Q 52:30), which holds sway over everything and erases human works without hope for life beyond death (cf. Ringgren, *Studies*, 117-18; id., Islamic fatalism, 57-9). Rather than being forsaken to impersonal destiny, the Qurʾān emphasizes that "all things come home" *(taṣīru l-umūr)* unto God (Q 42:53) and "unto God is the homecoming" (*al-maṣīr,* Q 3:28; 24:42; 35:18; cf. 2:285; 5:18; 22:48; 31:14; 40:3; 42:15; 50:43; 60:4; 64:3), which for the wicked is an "evil homecoming" (*biʾsa l-maṣīr,* Q 2:126 and passim; *sāʾat maṣīran,* Q 4:97, 115; 48:6; cf. 25:15) to hellfire (Q 14:30; cf. Berque, l'Idée de temps, 1158). Proclaiming the creation of the universe by God and affirming the resurrection of the body in the world to come, the Qurʾān explains time from the perspective of a transcendent and omnipotent God, who obliterates the spell of fate and subdues the all-pervading power of time.

God begins the creation of the world and humanity with his creative command, *kun,* "Be!": "When he decrees a thing, he says to it, 'Be,' and it is" (Q 2:117; 3:47; 19:35; 40:68; cf. 3:59; 6:73; 16:40). God gave this command of creation when he formed the first human being (Q 3:59) and made the heavens and the earth (Q 6:73), fashioning them in six days (Q 7:54; 10:3; 11:7; 25:59; 32:4; 50:38; 57:4). "His are the creation *(khalq)* and the command" (*amr,* Q 7:54). God is not only creator at the beginning of creation and at the origin of a person's life, he also is judge at the end of the world and at the individual's death when humankind will hear "the cry in truth" (Q 50:42). In the final "hour" *(sāʿa),* the only perfect moment that there is, the divine command is revealed in "the twinkling of an eye" (*lamḥ bi-l-baṣar,* Q 54:50; cf. 16:77). In the Qurʾān, the divine creative command constitutes the beginning of time brought about by God who is beyond time. God brings it abruptly to its end in an apocalyptic termination when "the whole earth shall be his handful on the day of resurrection and the heavens will be rolled up in his right hand" (Q 39:67).

In the Qurʾān, the word *sāʿa,* "hour," generally denotes a brief lapse of time rather than the precise measure of one of the twenty-four hours of the day. The term appears forty-eight times, always in the singular, and predominantly designates the last hour. While the vivid imagery of apocalyptic signs, reversing the natural order and producing cataclysmic events (many of them quoted in the "when" passages, cited above), is depicted in reference to the *day* of doom, these terrifying happenings are rarely associated explicitly with the last *hour.* The hour is "coming" (*ātiya,* Q 15:85; 20:15; 22:7; 40:59) and comes with God's chastisement (Q 6:40; 19:75; 40:46). It "comes" (*taqūmu,* Q 30:12, 14, 55; 45:27), "there is no doubt of it" (Q 18:21; 45:32), and comes "suddenly" (Q 6:31; 12:107; 22:55; 43:66; 47:18) with its signs and "tokens" (*ashrāṭ,* Q 47:18). Only a few tokens of the last hour are cited in the Qurʾān, such as "the earthquake of the hour is a mighty thing" (Q 22:1), "the hour is their tryst, and the hour is very calamitous and bitter" (Q 54:46), and god-fearing people "tremble because of the hour" (Q 21:49). The unbelievers are in doubt of the hour (e.g. Q 42:18), are heedless of its coming (Q 18:36; 41:50) and do not seek to know the hour (Q 45:32), believing that it will never come to them (Q 34:3) and crying lies to the hour (Q 25:11; see LIE). On the last day humanity will be mustered as if they had not tarried in their graves "but an hour of the day" (*sāʿatan mina l-nahār,* Q 10:45; cf. 46:35), and the sinners will

swear that they have not remained in their graves more than an hour (Q 30:55; see SIN, MAJOR AND MINOR). The term *(ajal)* of a nation can neither be put back "by a single hour" nor put forward (Q 7:34; 10:49; 16:61; 34:30), and the Meccan emigrants and Medinan helpers followed the Prophet "in the hour of difficulty" (*fī sāʿati l-ʿusra,* Q 9:117; see EMIGRANTS AND HELPERS).

The Qurʾān insists that only God knows the "hour" (Q 7:187; 33:63; cf. 31:34; 41:47; 43:61, 85) which is near (Q 33:63; 42:17; 54:1), as if in "a twinkling of the eye" (*kalamḥi l-baṣar,* Q 16:77; cf. 54:50). In the context of God's knowledge of the hour, the Qurʾān uses the term *waqt,* "moment, instant," which influenced the notion of an atomism of time in Ṣūfism (cf. Bowering, *Ideas,* 217–32; see ṢŪFISM AND THE QURʾĀN): "They will question you concerning the hour, when it shall berth. Say, the knowledge of it is only with my lord; none shall reveal it at its proper time *(waqt),* but he" (Q 7:187). Furthermore, the term appears twice as a description of the day of doom as "a day of a known time" (*al-waqt al-maʿlūm,* Q 15:38; 38:81), "when the messengers' time is set" (*uqqitat,* Q 77:11; see MESSENGER) and "when the former and later generations will be gathered to the appointed time of a known day" (*ilā mīqāti yawmin maʿlūm,* Q 56:50). "Surely, the day of decision is their appointed time *(mīqātuhum),* all together" (Q 44:40). Another use of the term *mīqāt* refers to Moses' encounter with God, when he came "to our (God's) appointed time" (*li-mīqātinā,* Q 7:143; see THEOPHANY). In fact, "We (God) appointed with Moses thirty nights and we completed them with ten more, so the appointed time of his lord *(mīqāt rabbihi)* was forty nights" (Q 7:142). "Moses chose of his people seventy men for our appointed time" (*li-mīqātinā,* Q 7:155), while Pharaoh's sorcerers were assembled for "the appointed time of a fixed day" (*li-mīqāti yawmin maʿlūm,* Q 26:38; see MAGIC). Both *waqt* and *mīqāt* denote a momentous instant whether it is the eschatological instant of the last hour or the moment of Moses' encounter with God.

Four times the Qurʾān uses the term *amad* for "space of time," considered with regard to its end. The believers are admonished to be unlike those to whom revelation had come before "and for whom the space of time was long" (*fa-ṭāla ʿalayhimu l-amad,* Q 57:16). Each individual wishes to have a "wide space of time" until the reckoning of a person's actions on judgment day (Q 3:30). The seven sleepers calculated the "space of time" they had tarried in the cave (Q 18:12) and Muḥammad professes not to know whether God has set a long "space of time" for the arrival of the last day (Q 72:25). The Qurʾān also employs the temporal clauses, *al-ams,* "yesterday, the day before" (Q 10:24; 28:18-19, 82) and, more prominently, *ḥīna,* "when" (once in the form *ḥīnaʾidhin*), *al-āna,* "now, at the present time" (Q 2:71, 187; 4:18; 8:66; 10:51, 91; 12:51; 72:9) and *ayyāna,* "when," with regard to the instant of the last hour and the day of resurrection (Q 7:187; 16:21; 27:65; 51:12; 75:6; 79:42). The indefinite noun denoting "an instant" *(ḥīn)* is used to manifest God's causality in its actual "efficacy" (e.g. Q 21:111; 26:218; 37:174; cf. Massignon, Time, 108). The Qurʾān's linguistic stress on the moment exerted an influence on the concept of temporal atomism that emerged in the theological occasionalism of Islam which, however, relied heavily on extra-qurʾānic nomenclature for its terminology (cf. Macdonald, Continuous re-creation, 328-37; van Ess, *TG,* iv, 474; see THEOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN). Thinking atomistically, Muslim theologians envision time as a "galaxy" or constellation of instants rather than a continuous duration (cf. Massignon, Time, 108).

God ends the cosmos by setting a term *(ajal)* to his maintenance of the universe and human life. The Qurʾān differentiates between an irrevocable period of time assigned by God for each human being in this world *(dunyā)* and an endless period of time *(khulūd)* for his/her life in the world to come *(ākhira),* whether in paradise or in hellfire. The term *ajal,* as designating "appointed time" of a person's life, carries the notion that the date of death is fixed for humans, who each have their "stated term" of death (*ajal musammā,* Q 11:3; 39:42). The Qurʾān uses the phrase *ajal musammā,* probably derived from the legal vocabulary of Muḥammad's time, to refer to the date when a debt (q.v.) is due (Q 2:282; cf. 2:231-5; 65:2, 4; see also TRADE AND COMMERCE; ECONOMICS; MONEY) or to Moses fulfilling the "term" of serving a period of years *(ḥijaj)* in order to obtain his wife (Q 28:27-9; see WOMEN AND THE QURʾĀN). The Qurʾān, however, ordinarily uses the word for God's setting a term to his own action. God creates humans from dust and appoints for each of them a stated term of death (Q 6:2). He determines the moment when each embryo leaves the womb (q.v.; Q 22:5) and, every day anew, wakes up each soul to life until humans reach their "appointed time" of death (Q 6:60; 39:42). All humanity will return to God when the stated term is completed on the last day (Q 6:60) and all those looking to encounter God will experience God's term *(ajal Allāh)* surely coming (Q 29:5). The *ajal* is "fixed" (*li-kulli ajalin kitāb,* Q 13:38; cf. 8:68) for both individuals (Q 6:2; 11:3; 63:11) and communities (Q 7:34; 15:5; 23:43). It can neither be anticipated nor deferred (Q 7:34; 10:49; 16:61; 35:11; 63:10-11), although God grants the repentant sinner a respite until a "stated term" (Q 14:10; 16:61; 35:45; 71:4; see REPENTANCE AND PENANCE). This is why the wicked are not punished at once and they do not find that sinning shortens their existence (Q 35:45; 63:10-11). Challenged to hasten the final punishment, Muḥammad declares himself unable to do so because it will come suddenly at its "appointed time" (Q 29:53; see PROVOCATION). Not only humans have their appointed time of existence, the whole universe was created by God with finality built into it. God created the heavens and the earth as well as all natural phenomena "between them," decreeing their duration until "a stated term" (Q 30:8; 46:3) and established the unchangeable course of the sun and the moon, "running to a stated term" (Q 13:2; 31:29; 35:13; 39:5; see NATURE AS SIGNS). God unambiguously enunciated the stated term through "a word" *(kalima)* that proceeded from him (Q 42:14; cf. 10:19; 11:110; 20:129; 37:171; 41:45; 42:21; see SPEECH; WORD OF GOD).

There is no place in the Qurʾān for impersonal time. God, rather than an impersonal agent, rules the universe. The destiny of human beings is in the hands of God who creates male and female, grants wealth (q.v.) and works destruction, and gives life (q.v.) and brings death (Q 53:44-54). God is active even in a person's sleep, for "God takes the souls unto himself *(yatawaffā l-anfus)* at the time of their death, and that which has not died, in its sleep. He keeps those on whom he has decreed death, but releases the others till a stated term" (*ajal musamman,* Q 39:42). Unless God has decreed a person's death, he sends back the soul and the human person wakes up. The divine command *(amr)* rules all of human life and resembles a judicial decision, proclaiming God's decree with authority and stating the instant that releases the acts which humans perform. Both human life and human action begin with the announcement of the divine *kun* ('Be!') and come to an end at the stated

term (*ajal,* Q 40:67) as the irrevocable period of life assigned by God comes to an end at the moment of divine sanction. This appointed term of human life is fixed, it can neither be anticipated nor deferred. "No one has his life prolonged and no one has his life cut short except as [it is written] in a book [of God's decrees]" (Q 35:11; see HEAVENLY BOOK). The image-rich promise of the new human creation beyond time in paradise heightened the awareness that nothing escapes the grasp of God's perpetual presence. From the *kun* of his creation to the *ajal* of his death, individual human existence falls under the incessant decrees of God, which occur instantaneously. God is the lord of the instant. What God has determined happens.

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Tiring

see SLEEP; SABBATH

Tithe

see ALMSGIVING

Today

see TIME

Tolerance and Coercion

Accepting attitude towards a plurality of viewpoints and the use of force to influence behavior or beliefs. Qurʾānic vocabulary lacks a specific term to express the idea of tolerance but several verses explicitly state that religious coercion *(ikrāh)* is either unfeasible or forbidden; other verses may be interpreted as expressing the same notion. Pertinent qurʾānic attitudes underwent substantial development during Muḥammad's prophetic career. The earliest reference to religious tolerance seems to be included in Q 109, a sūra that recognizes the unbridgeable gap between Islam (q.v.) and the religion of the Meccans (see POLYTHEISM AND ATHEISM; SOUTH ARABIA, RELIGION IN PRE-ISLAMIC) and concludes by saying: "To you your religion, and

to me mine" (Q 109:6). This is best interpreted as a plea to the Meccans to refrain from practicing religious coercion against the Muslims of Mecca (q.v.) before the *hijra* (Zamakhsharī, *Kashshāf,* iv, 293; cf. Q 2:139; see EMIGRATION), but since it does not demand any action to suppress Meccan polytheism, it has sometimes been understood as reflecting an attitude of religious tolerance on the part of the Muslims (cf. Q 2:139; 28:55; see also RELIGIOUS PLURALISM AND THE QUR'ĀN).

Q 15:85 and Q 43:89, dated by Nöldeke (*GQ,* i, 129, 131-2) to the second Meccan period (see CHRONOLOGY AND THE QUR'ĀN), are also relevant. In contradistinction to Q 109:6, these verses clearly address the Prophet and enjoin him to turn away from those who do not believe (see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF). Q 15:85 reads: "Surely the hour is coming; so pardon, with a gracious pardoning" *(fa-ṣfaḥi l-ṣafḥa l-jamīl);* this injunction is related to the imminent approach of the last day (see LAST JUDGMENT). The verse seems to mean that the Prophet may leave the unbelievers alone because God will soon sit in judgment (q.v.) and inflict on them the just punishment (see REWARD AND PUNISHMENT). Then there is Q 10:99-100:

> And if your lord had willed, whoever is in the earth would have believed, all of them, all together. Would you then constrain the people, until they are believers? It is not for any soul (q.v.) to believe save by the leave of God; and he lays abomination upon those who have no understanding.

The verse seeks to convince the Prophet that matters of religious belief are in the hands of God and that any attempt to spread his faith by coercion would be an exercise in futility. It also sounds as though it were an attempt to allay the Prophet's distress at his initial failure to attract most Meccans to Islam: people believe only as a result of divine permission and the Prophet should not blame himself for their rejection of the true faith. Despite prophetic efforts to the contrary, most people opt for unbelief (Q 12:103; 16:37). The Qur'ān declares in numerous passages that prophets can only deliver the divine message (see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD); it is not within their power to assure its acceptance or implementation (Q 16:35, 82; 28:56; 29:18 and elsewhere; cf. also Paret, Toleranz). This argument may be seen as compatible with the idea of predestination.

Moving to the period immediately following the *hijra,* we should consider the famous document known as the Constitution of Medina *('ahd al-umma)* which included a clause recognizing the fact that the Jews have a distinct — and legitimate — religion of their own (see JEWS AND JUDAISM): "The Jews have their religion and the believers have theirs" (*lil-yahūd dīnuhum wa-lil-mu'minīna dīnuhum;* Abū 'Ubayd, *Amwāl,* 204). Rubin (The constitution, 16 and n. 45) has already referred to the affinity between this passage and Q 109:6. Both accept the existence of religions other than Islam in the Arabian peninsula. It stands to reason that both passages reflect very early attitudes of nascent Islam, which had been willing, at that time, to tolerate the existence of other religions in the peninsula. This seems to have been the understanding of Abū 'Ubayd (d. 224/838-9) who thought that the *'ahd al-umma* clause originated at a time when "Islam was not yet dominant and strong, before the Prophet was commanded to take *jizya* (see POLL TAX) from the People of the Book" (q.v.; *qabla an yazhara al-islām wa-yaqwā wa-qabla an yu'mara bi-akhdh al-jizya min ahl al-kitāb,* Abū 'Ubayd, *Amwāl,* 207).

Q 2:256, "There is no compulsion in religion . . ." *(lā ikrāha fī l-dīni)* has become

the *locus classicus* for discussions of religious tolerance in Islam. Surprisingly enough, according to the "circumstances of revelation" *(asbāb al-nuzūl)* literature (see OCCASIONS OF REVELATION), it was revealed in connection with the expulsion of the Jewish tribe of Banū l-Naḍīr (q.v.) from Medina (q.v.) in 4/625 (cf. Friedmann, *Tolerance,* 100-1). In the earliest works of exegesis (see EXEGESIS OF THE QUR'ĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL), the verse is understood as an injunction *(amr)* to refrain from the forcible imposition of Islam, though there is no unanimity of opinion regarding the precise group of infidels to which the injunction had initially applied. Commentators who maintain that the verse was originally meant as applicable to all people consider it as abrogated *(mansūkh)* by Q 9:5, Q 9:29, or Q 9:73 (see ABROGATION). Viewing it in this way is necessary in order to avoid the glaring contradiction between the idea of tolerance and the policies of early Islam which did not allow the existence of polytheism — or any other religion — in a major part of the Arabian peninsula. Those who think that the verse was intended, from the very beginning, only for the People of the Book, need not consider it as abrogated: though Islam did not allow the existence of any religion other than Islam in most of the peninsula, the purpose of the jihād (q.v.) against the People of the Book, according to Q 9:29, is their submission and humiliation rather than their forcible conversion to Islam. As is well known, Islam normally did not practice religious coercion against Jews and Christians (see CHRISTIANS AND CHRISTIANITY) outside the Arabian peninsula, though substantial limitations were placed in various periods on the public aspects of their worship.

Later commentators, some of whom are characterized by a pronounced theological bent of thought, treat the verse in a totally different manner. According to them, Q 2:256 is not a command at all. Rather it ought to be understood as a piece of information *(khabar),* or, to put it differently, a description of the human condition: it conveys the idea that embracing a religious faith (q.v.) can only be the result of empowerment and free choice *(tamkīn, ikhtiyār)*. It cannot be the outcome of constraint and coercion *(qasr, ijbār)*. Phrased differently, belief is "an action of the heart (q.v.)" in which no compulsion is likely to yield sound results *(li-anna l-ikrāh ʿalā l-īmān lā yaṣiḥḥu li-annahu ʿamal al-qalb)*. Religious coercion would also create a theologically unacceptable situation: if people were coerced into true belief, their positive response to prophetic teaching would become devoid of value, the world would cease to be "an abode of trial" (*dār al-ibtilāʾ;* Rāzī, *Tafsīr,* vii, 13; Ibn al-Jawzī, *Zād,* iv, 67; see TRUST AND PATIENCE; TRIAL) and, consequently, the moral basis for the idea of reward and punishment would be destroyed. This argumentation uses the verse in support of the idea of free will (see FREEDOM AND PREDESTINATION).

These tolerant attitudes toward the non-Muslims of Arabia were not destined to last. After the Muslim victory in the battle of Badr (q.v.; 2/624), the Qur'ān started to promote the idea of religious uniformity in the Arabian peninsula. Q 8:39 enjoins the Muslims "to fight… till there is no temptation [to abandon Islam; *fitna*] and the religion is God's entirely" (cf. Q 2:193). Once this development took place, the clauses in the *ʿahd al-umma* bestowing legitimacy on the existence of the Jewish religion in Medina had to undergo substantial reinterpretation. The clause stipulating that "the Jews have their religion and the believers have theirs" was now taken to mean that the Jewish religion is worthless (*ammā l-dīn fa-laysū minhu fī shayʾ;* Rubin, The constitution, 19-20, quoting Abū

ʿUbayd, *Amwāl,* 207). Similar was the fate of Q 109:6, which was declared abrogated by Q 9:5 *(āyat al-sayf)* or interpreted as a threat against the polytheists. This new attitude was also expressed in the prophetic tradition according to which "no two religions will coexist in the Arabian peninsula" (*lā yajtamiʿu dīnāni fī jazīrat al-ʿarab;* Friedmann, *Tolerance,* 91-3).

Despite the apparent meaning of Q 2:256, Islamic law allowed coercion of certain groups into Islam. Numerous traditionists and jurisprudents *(fuqahāʾ)* allow coercing female polytheists and Zoroastrians (see MAGIANS) who fall into captivity to become Muslims — otherwise sexual relations with them would not be permissible (cf. Q 2:221; see SEX AND SEXUALITY; MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE). Similarly, forcible conversion of non-Muslim children was also allowed by numerous jurists in certain circumstances, especially if the children were taken captive (see CAPTIVES) or found without their parents or if one of their parents embraced Islam (Friedmann, *Tolerance,* 106-15). It was also the common practice to insist on the conversion of the Manichaeans, who were never awarded the status of *ahl al-dhimma.*

Another group against whom religious coercion may be practiced are apostates from Islam (see APOSTASY). As a rule, classical Muslim law demands that apostates be asked to repent and be put to death if they refuse (see REPENTANCE AND PENANCE; BOUNDARIES AND PRECEPTS; CHASTISEMENT AND PUNISHMENT). It has to be pointed out, however, that the Qurʾān does not include any reference to capital punishment for apostasy. The Qurʾān mentions people who abandoned Islam and reverted to their former faith; those of them who did this willingly are condemned in a harsh and vindictive tone. There is a sense of resentment at the idea that someone who had perceived the truth of Islam and joined it only a short time ago could be swayed into reverting to idolatry or another false religion (see IDOLATRY AND IDOLATERS). The Qurʾān therefore asserts that the endeavors of the unrepentant apostates will fail, God will visit them with his wrath and will send valiant warriors against them; however, the main punishment of those who abandoned Islam will be inflicted upon them, according to the Qurʾān, in the hereafter (cf. Q 2:217; 3:86, 90; 4:137; 5:54; 9:74; 47:25). But in the ḥadīth and *fiqh* literature, the attitude toward the apostate became much harsher. It stands to reason that the Bedouin (q.v.) insurrection against the nascent Muslim state after the Prophet's death was the background for this development. The new attitude, which effectively transfers the punishment for apostasy from the hereafter (see ESCHATOLOGY) to this world, is reflected in utterances repeatedly attributed to the Prophet in the earliest collections of tradition. The most frequently quoted of these reads: "Whoever changes his religion, kill him" (*man baddala* or *man ghayyara dīnahu fa-qtulūhu* or *fa-ḍribū ʿunuqahu;* Mālik, *Muwaṭṭaʾ,* ii, 736). In another formulation, taking into account the idea that a person forced to abandon Islam is not considered an apostate, the Prophet is reported to have said: "Whoever willingly disbelieves in God after he has believed, kill him" *(man kafara bi-llāhi baʿda īmānihi ṭāʾiʿan fa-qtulūhu).* Most jurists maintain that the apostate should be given the opportunity to repent; there is a great variety of views concerning the time allowed for this purpose (Friedmann, *Tolerance,* 121-59; see REPENTANCE AND PENANCE).

Hence, the ideas of tolerance and coercion have undergone substantial development in the Qurʾān and are characterized by a great deal of variety in the literature of tradition and jurisprudence. Yet whatever the original meaning of Q 2:256 may

have been, it is more compatible with the idea of religious tolerance than with any other approach. Any Muslim who wanted to practice religious toleration throughout the centuries of Islamic history could use Q 2:256, Q 10:99 and Q 109:6 as a divine sanction in support of his stance. On the other hand, Q 9:5, Q 9:29 or Q 9:73 may be interpreted as going a long way in the opposite direction.

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Tolerance and Compulsion

see TOLERANCE AND COERCION

Tomb

see BURIAL; DEATH AND THE DEAD

Tomorrow

see TIME

Tongue

see ARABIC LANGUAGE; SPEECH

Tools for the Scholarly Study of the Qurʾān

The entire body of scholarship, both Muslim and non-Muslim, must be the foundation of any responsible scholarly study of the Qurʾān. Certain tools, however, form key elements of any scholarly library.

The text of the Qurʾān

The basic tool for the study of the Qurʾān is, of course, the text itself. Unlike the situation in scholarly study of some other scriptures, decisions regarding the base text to be used for analysis do not face scholars from the outset. We have a text of the Qurʾān before us, accepted by every Muslim. It is the text which is the well-known, well-established book, found between two covers in virtually every Muslim home, known for convenience as the ʿUthmānic text (see CODICES OF THE QURʾĀN; COLLECTION OF THE QURʾĀN; ʿUTHMĀN). That said, it must be admitted that this is a somewhat simplistic way of presenting the matter (see CONTEMPORARY CRITICAL PRACTICES AND THE QURʾĀN).

It is common to speak of the Royal

Egyptian edition of the Qurʾān published under the patronage of King Fuʾād I in 1342/1923 as being the modern standard text of the scripture (see PRINTING OF THE QURʾĀN). This edition has been criticized as not conveying the best rendition of the Ḥafṣ *ʿan* ʿĀṣim transmission which it purports to represent because it is based upon late Muslim sources for the details of the reading (see Bergsträsser, Koranlesung; see READINGS OF THE QURʾĀN). Some other copies of the Ḥafṣ *ʿan* ʿĀṣim tradition printed in the Muslim world — including a second edition of the Cairo text which appeared in 1952 — contain an additional (but small) number of minor variations especially in orthography (q.v.) and verse numbering (see VERSES). Printed copies of other established transmissions (e.g. that of Warsh) are available but their distribution is not widespread.

Still useful is the European edition of the Qurʾān produced by Gustav Flügel, which was published in 1834 and revised in 1841 and again in 1858. This edition maintains its value — it is typeset in a pleasant font, for example — but its verse numbering scheme, being at variance with any accepted Muslim tradition, has created an unfortunate complexity in scholarly referencing. To complicate matters further, Flügel constructed an eclectic edition of the text using undefined editorial principles. His edition has been subject to criticism on many grounds (see e.g. Ambros, Divergenzen; Spitaler, *Verszählung*).

Neither the Royal Egyptian text nor the Flügel edition may be considered a critically edited text in the sense that is understood in contemporary scholarly practice. Of course, such a concept may be thought redundant in the case of the Qurʾān, given the Muslim view of the authenticity of the written qurʾānic text and reliability of its transmission (see RECITERS OF THE QURʾĀN; TEXTUAL CRITICISM OF THE QURʾĀN; UNITY OF THE TEXT OF THE QURʾĀN). Even so, a substantial scholarly resource exists related to the establishment of such a critical text. Much of the material is the result of a project initiated in the 1930s which never achieved completion (see Nöldeke, *GQ*, iii *[Die Geschichte des Korantexts];* Bergsträsser, *Plan;* Pretzl, *Fortführung;* Jeffery, Progress). In recent years a new effort has begun, one based on the critical analysis of texts written in the Ḥijāzī script, believed to be the oldest record of the text which we have available (see Noja, Note; see ARABIC SCRIPT; MANUSCRIPTS OF THE QURʾĀN; CALLIGRAPHY). Other manuscripts, epigraphy (see EPIGRAPHY AND THE QURʾĀN), scholarly emendations and related sources will also prove to be important elements in creating such a critical text, but attempts to gather these into a scholarly tool have yet to be made.

As a part of the effort to establish the critical text, attention has been paid to the variant readings and traditional codices of the Qurʾān. Jeffery's *Materials* was conceived as a major step along the way to the critical text edition, bringing together much of the data on variant readings *(qirāʾāt)* of the text. Such work needs considerable updating today in light of more extensive collections of variant readings that are becoming available (see ʿUmar and Mukram, *Muʿjam;* see also al-Khaṭīb, *Muʿjam;* the Qurʾān manuscripts discovered in 1973 in the Great Mosque of Ṣanʿāʾ present yet another potential source of information on the early history of the qurʾānic text; cf. Puin, Observations, 110-11).

The text of the Qurʾān is readily available in electronic form, following, for the most part, the tradition of the printed Egyptian edition (see COMPUTERS AND THE QURʾĀN). The text is available for downloading in fully voweled text format (for example, see www.al-kawthar.com/kotob/quran.zip [8 September 2005]); some unvoweled versions still linger at

other sites, the result of limitations of early personal computer applications. The text is available for consultation on the Web in a variety of formats; the most useful ones are in text form rather than graphic images as the former facilitates the process of "cutting-and-pasting" into other applications.

Concordances

Even in this age of electronic texts, the study of the Qurʾān is substantially eased by the existence of printed concordances; the closest thing available (which displays great potential) is a project at the University of Haifa for creating a web-accessible tagged qurʾānic text (see http://www.cs.haifa.ac.il/~shuly/Arabic/; accessed 7 September 2005). Two works are especially worthy tools. ʿAbd al-Bāqīʾs *al-Muʿjam al-mufahras li-alfāz al-Qurʾān al-karīm* is a concordance of the Arabic text (in the Cairo edition) organized according to Arabic word roots. Hanna E. Kassis, *A concordance of the Qurʾān,* is a concordance based on the translation by Arberry but organized according to the Arabic word roots, indexed to their English meanings. Such concordances may not be perfect tools (as Ambros, Lexikostatistik, 11, has pointed out) in that the analysis of the root structure of some words (and other technical matters) is open to dispute and confusion. Until, however, a fully lemmatized and annotated computerized text is produced (which would have to allow the recognition of differences of opinion on grammatical issues), these works certainly have their place. The issues which Ambros raises illustrate the difficulty of the task. The concordance function of Paret, *Koran,* is not complete but its attention to thematic and phrase parallels makes it an essential and unique tool (cf. also the thematic concordance of Jules La Beaume, with a supplement by Edouard Montet). An additional merit of Paret's work is its inclusion of separate lists of sūra (q.v.) titles; those lists may be supplemented by Lamya Kandil, Surennamen. Since virtually every Arabic commentary on the Qurʾān uses the names of the sūras rather than their numbers to refer to chapters of the text, such listings can be essential in clarifying cross-references.

While the Arabic text of the Qurʾān is easily available electronically and is thus fully searchable, a morphologically tagged text of the Qurʾān does not currently appear to be available electronically for manipulation on one's computer. Neither does there appear to be an electronic version of a concordance such as that of ʿAbd al-Bāqī. The CD ROM *Jame': Software of quranic tafsir,* produced by Nashr-e Hadith-e Ahl al-Bayt Institute in Iran, allows for text search of the Qurʾān by word roots as well as individual words (while also providing English and Persian translations of the text, Arabic recitation, and fifty-nine commentaries in Arabic or Persian; see RECITATION OF THE QURʾĀN; EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL; EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: EARLY MODERN AND CONTEMPORARY). Only the results of such searches, however, may be printed; there is no facility for exporting the texts themselves. Another useful search facility is available online at altafsir.com [February 26, 2003] which allows searching by root; those results allow for successful "cut-and-paste" operations from one's web browser into other applications.

Dictionaries

Until recently there did not exist a complete dictionary of the Qurʾān in any European language that could be considered a true modern scholarly tool. Penrice, *Dictionary,* was first published in 1873 and was based almost completely upon al-Bayḍāwīʾs (d. prob. 716/1316-17) commentary. That work continues to be a convenient place to start lexical investiga-

tion, but it is very limited in scope. Other European languages have been no better served; works include F.H. Dieterici, *Handwörterbuch* (1881); S. Fraenkel, *Vocabulis* (1880); C.A. Nallino, *Chrestomathia* (1893). The recent publication of Arne Ambros and Stephan Procházka, *A concise dictionary of Koranic Arabic* (Wiesbaden 2004), improves the situation substantially; the work is compiled on the basis of an extensive analysis of the text of the Qurʾān and consideration of earlier scholarly etymological examinations; the lexical impact of variant readings is also documented.

Specialized works on aspects of qurʾānic vocabulary continue to provide some supplementary support for lexicographical purposes. While not a full dictionary, an extensive and useful work is Mir, *Verbal idioms*. For the most part, standard scholarly bilingual dictionaries, such as those of Lane and its ongoing completion by M. Ullmann, *Wörterbuch,* and the *Dictionnaire* of R. Blachère, are essential for determining the range of possible meaning of many qurʾānic words.

Foreign vocabulary (q.v.) and proper names have attracted a good deal of scholarly attention and there are a number of works that help in the etymological understanding of non-Arabic words: Jeffery, *Foreign vocabulary,* has an extensive bibliography of Qurʾān-related lexicographical studies and provides a summary of etymological data on many words. Such information is in need of substantial updating in light of modern philological principles and more recent research (see for example, Zammit, *Comparative*).

Additionally, there are a large number of scholarly articles that treat a more limited range of individual qurʾānic words, but the lack of an effective bibliographical tool in the field means that the material cannot always be utilized effectively. Paret's *Kommentar* provides one means of locating references in standard scholarly works to lexicographical studies but only those published before the last quarter of the twentieth century. Finally, there is no substitute for the critical use of the Muslim commentary *(tafsīr)* tradition and its subsidiary lexicographical works when it comes to determining the range of meanings that Muslims have ascribed to qurʾānic words. Some of the books that treat "difficult words" in the Qurʾān approach the dimensions of a full Arabic dictionary of the Qurʾān; the classic text by al-Rāghib al-Iṣfahānī (fl. early fifth/eleventh cent.), *Mufradāt,* is the best example (see DIFFICULT PASSAGES).

Grammars

The situation for studying the grammar of the Qurʾān is similar to that of vocabulary; the best sources for grammatical details remain standard grammars such as that of W. Wright, *Grammar,* T. Nöldeke's *Grammatik,* and R. Blachére and M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Grammaire.* Once again, a large number of specialized studies must be consulted on individual issues of grammar, for example Bergsträsser, *Verneinungs- und Fragepartikeln;* M. Chouémi, *Le verbe;* F. Leemhuis, *D and H stems;* Reckendorf, *Arabische Syntax*. Analysis of qurʾānic grammar is, of course, a part of most *tafsīr* works but even in the tradition of Arabic grammarians, no extensive and synthetic grammar devoted to qurʾānic Arabic appears to exist (see also GRAMMAR AND THE QURʾĀN; DIALECTS).

Thematic indices

The bibliography of scholarly treatments of the contents of the Qurʾān is extensive. A few works attempt to provide synoptic overviews. Mir, *Dictionary,* is introductory but useful, as is F. Sherif, *Guide to the contents*. Older but still valuable is H.U. Weitbrecht Stanton, *Teaching of the Qurʾān*.

The punch card analysis, Allard, *Analyse,* is now primitive in its technology but its

ability to provide access to what would now be termed "hyperlinks" between subjects within the Qurʾān has still not been replaced. One continuing value of the work resides in the analytic system that its author constructed; it is probably the most sophisticated and complete of any attempt to thematize the Qurʾān through its semantic worldview.

Commentaries

Translations of the Qurʾān (q.v.) may be considered valuable tools for research since such works provide access to interpretations of the meaning of the Qurʾān; it is important to remember, of course, that the nature of a translation is necessarily monovalent. Thus the more extensive commentaries that have been written to accompany various translations are more useful tools. Paret, *Kommentar,* is essential; certain elements of Bell, *Commentary,* are also helpful. A more recent project is A.T. Khoury, *Der Koran,* a twelve-volume commentary incorporating a translation. Such commentaries cannot match the wealth of information and analysis available in the Arabic (and Persian) *tafsīr* tradition, of course.

Approaches to the Qurʾān

A number of introductions to the study of the Qurʾān exist which can be used with great profit because they incorporate many of the basic resources needed to orient a scholarly reading. As well, in their presuppositions, they provide basic methodological orientations to the field. Nöldeke, *GQ;* Blachère, *Introduction;* Bell, *Introduction,* updated as Watt-Bell, *Introduction,* clearly stand out as "classics." Protracted and explicit discussions of the methods by which one approaches the Qurʾān in scholarly study have yet to appear; most such reflections have been limited to articles or introductions to books. The oeuvre of M. Arkoun is probably the most significant in trying to bring attention to the issue (for example, Arkoun, Bilan).

Four books can be singled out because of their impact on the field in setting models for how studies might proceed; they also speak about the general contents of the Qurʾān and thus provide significant overviews of major portions of the scripture. These works indicate the range of concerns of more contemporary scholars and each in its own way has had a significant impact on qurʾānic studies as a discipline. Few serious studies of the Qurʾān can proceed without some acquaintance with the following works: (1) Izutsu, *God,* and (2) Izutsu, *Concepts:* each of these works tries to define a semantic range of vocabulary central to religious discussion and to examine it in the context of Arabia (see SOUTH ARABIA, RELIGIONS IN PRE-ISLAMIC). Concepts in these books are defined broadly, and the two works in combination provide a significant view of the religious and cognitive structures of the Qurʾān. The attention to the workings of the semantic method that is contained in these books has had a lasting effect on the discipline. (3) F. Rahman, *Major themes,* approaches the scripture with a structure that reflects the central tenets of Muslim theology as conceived in the late twentieth century: God (see FAITH; GOD AND HIS ATTRIBUTES; BELIEF AND UNBELIEF), man as individual, man in society (see ETHICS AND THE QURʾĀN), nature (see NATURE AS SIGNS), prophethood and revelation (see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD; REVELATION AND INSPIRATION), eschatology (q.v.), Satan and evil (see DEVIL; GOOD AND EVIL; FALL OF MAN; VIRTUES AND VICES, COMMANDING AND FORBIDDING), and the emergence of the Muslim community (see COMMUNITY AND SOCIETY IN THE QURʾĀN). Rahman's volume is thus able to provide a full overview of the Qurʾān while demonstrating a historical mode of analysis within the basic frame-

work of Muslim assumptions. (4) Wansbrough, *QS,* deals with the content of the Qurʾān under the following rubrics: revelation and canon (the document, its composition), emblems of prophethood, and origins of classical Arabic (issues of language; see LANGUAGE AND STYLE OF THE QURʾĀN). Attention in this book is primarily to the relationship between form and content (see FORM AND STRUCTURE OF THE QURʾĀN). The work has been considered controversial in its treatment of the Qurʾān's contents because its use of a biblical-Jewish paradigm to contextualize the scripture is criticized as offering only a limited view of the contents of the text in all its dimensions. Methodologically his study draws attention to the need for contextualization of the Qurʾān as an essential part of the process of understanding it. His work demonstrates a reading of the text that could be constructed outside the framework traditionally established for it by Muslim historiography (see SĪRA AND THE QURʾĀN; OCCASIONS OF REVELATION; HISTORY AND THE QURʾĀN). Each of these four works, then, provides not only an overview of the contents of the Qurʾān but also a model by which the analysis of that content can proceed.

Bibliographical aids

The scholarly study of the Qurʾān has a long history, certainly not as long as the Bible, but significant nonetheless (see also PRE-1800 PREOCCUPATIONS OF QURʾĀNIC STUDIES). The history of the study has not been written, although a number of bibliographically-oriented articles provide good introductions. Valuable contributions are W.A. Bijlefeld, Some recent contributions; A. Jeffery, Present status; A. Neuwirth, Koran. As mentioned previously, Paret, *Kommentar,* is the only comprehensive bibliographical tool available, although given its age its function is now limited to more "classic" works of scholarship. This *Encyclopaedia of the Qurʾān* will likely provide the best bibliographical tool for scholars for most purposes. See also POST-ENLIGHTENMENT ACADEMIC STUDY OF THE QURʾĀN; TRADITIONAL DISCIPLINES OF QURʾĀNIC STUDY.

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Torah

The scripture revealed by God to Moses (q.v.) on Mount Sinai (q.v.). In the Qurʾān, it is mentioned by name (Ar. *Tawrāt*) eighteen times, but a number of other terms are used for the same revelation. The Arabic word *Tawrāt* clearly derives, if perhaps indirectly, from the Hebrew *Torah,* meaning law (see Jeffery, *For. vocab.,* 95-6; Lazarus-Yafeh, Tawrāt). In keeping, however, with the widespread belief that the Qurʾān does not contain words of foreign origin (see FOREIGN VOCABULARY), Muslim commentators traced it back to an Arabic root, viz. *w-r-y,* which means to strike fire (q.v.), a reference to the light (q.v.) said to be in the Torah (Q 5:44; 6:91; and cf. Q 3:184; 21:48; 35:25; see *Lisān al-ʿArab,* xv, 389). Some, like the exegetes al-Rāzī (d. 606/1210) and al-Zamakhsharī (d. 538/1144), rejected this etymology and admitted its non-Arabic origin. Although in the Qurʾān the name Torah is mostly used in its proper sense, i.e. the books of Moses or Pentateuch, it is often applied in post-qurʾānic Islamic literature to the entire Hebrew Bible, and even to Jewish extra-canonical literature. The rabbinical literature, too, is sometimes called Torah, which is not surprising considering the fact that Judaism considers these sources to be the "oral Torah."

References to the Torah in the Qurʾān

The word *Tawrāt* appears in the following verses: Q 3:3, 48, 50, 65, 93 (twice); 5:43, 44, 46 (twice), 66, 68, 110; 7:157; 9:111; 48:29; 61:6; and 62:5. In most of these cases it is mentioned in combination with the Gospel (q.v., Ar. *Injīl*), the sacred scripture of the Christians (see CHRISTIANS AND CHRISTIANITY). The Torah had earlier been confirmed by Jesus (q.v.; Q 3:50; 5:46; 61:6), and was now once again confirmed and clarified by the new revelation brought by Muḥammad (e.g. Q 3:3, and see also Q 2:89, 97, 101; 4:47; 5:15, 19, 48; 6:93; 46:12, 30; see REVELATION AND INSPIRATION; SCRIPTURE AND THE QURʾĀN). In addition to the instances of the word *Tawrāt,* the Qurʾān contains a much larger number of passages which clearly refer to this same scripture, describing it as the book brought by Moses, the book given to Moses, to Moses and Aaron (q.v.), or to the

Children of Israel (q.v.; Q 2:53, 87; 6:91, 154; 11:17, 110; 17:2; 23:49; 25:35; 28:43; 37:117; 40:53-4; 41:45; 45:16; 46:12). In numerous verses the Torah is subsumed under the collective rubric of the book (q.v.), possessed by the People of the Book (q.v.), which often indicates the Jews and the Christians together, but at times seems to refer to the Jews alone. Such verses are encountered in sūras (q.v.) from both the Meccan and the Medinan periods (e.g. Q 2:113, 121, 145, 146; 3:19, 23, 70, 71, 98, 110, 113, 199; 4:131; 5:59, 65; 6:20, 114; 13:36; 28:52; 29:46; see CHRONOLOGY AND THE QUR'ĀN). All verses containing the word Torah seem to date from the period of the Prophet's preaching in Medina (q.v.), after he had come into close contact with Jews (see JEWS AND JUDAISM), although Q 7:157, which declares that Muḥammad can be found in the Torah and the Gospel, is assigned by many to the late Meccan period (see MECCA). Verses referring to the Torah as the Book of Moses, however, can be found in sūras from both periods of Muḥammad's preaching. Closely related to *Tawrāt* is another term: the *ṣuḥuf* or scrolls (q.v.; and see also SHEETS) of Moses, mentioned in combination with those of Abraham (q.v.; Q 53:36-7; 87:19), which form part of a set of ancient or previous scrolls (Q 20:133; 87:18). The question of whether these scrolls of Moses are identical with the Torah, or were revealed before it and constitute a separate set of revelations, is debated. Figures given for the total number of scrolls revealed by God vary between fifty and one hundred and sixty three; those given to Moses are said to number ten or fifty.

In a series of verses dealing with the revelation on the Mount, we also encounter the tablets (*alwāḥ;* see COMMANDMENTS) which God gave to Moses (Q 7:145, 150, 154), and which are believed to have contained the entire Torah. There is much speculation in post-qur'ānic literature about the kind of precious stone the tablets were made of, as well as about their color and their number: the familiar figure of two is given, as are three, seven, and ten. In two of the qur'ānic verses mentioning the term *furqān* (viz. Q 2:53; 21:48; see CRITERION) the revelation to Moses is intended. The term is ordinarily translated as criterion, and glossed as what distinguishes between true and false, right and wrong, allowed and prohibited. Two further terms that should be mentioned as belonging to the same semantic field are *dhikr* (remembrance [q.v.]) and *zabūr* (pl. *zubur,* revealed scriptures), which are occasionally interpreted as references to the Torah, although the *zabūr* is most often taken to mean the Psalms (q.v.; see Q 3:184; 16:43-4; 21:7; 26:196; 35:25). In what follows, a composite account will be given of the Qur'ān's treatment of the Torah, using the whole gamut of terms applied in the Qur'ān and its exegesis to the Mosaic law. A substantial portion of the verses relates to the period of Moses and the Children of Israel, while others refer to the Jewish contemporaries of Muḥammad. We shall not discuss textual parallels between the Qur'ān and the Torah (for these, see Speyer, *Erzählungen;* Thyen, *Bibel und Koran*), nor address the questions of Muḥammad's acquaintance with the Bible or the extent of Jewish or Christian influence on him, on which there is a host of scholarly and less scholarly literature. Suffice it to say that Muḥammad's opponents (see OPPOSITION TO MUḤAMMAD) accused him of listening to, or copying from, Jewish and Christian informants (q.v.), which is vigorously denied in the Qur'ān, namely in Q 16:103 and Q 29:48. Although the first verse seems to admit that Muḥammad did have interlocutors from among the People of the Book, their role is reversed in Muslim tradition to

that of recipients of Muḥammad's teachings (see Gilliot, Les 'informateurs').

References to the book of Moses in the Qurʾān

God had given prophethood and scripture to the offspring of Abraham and Noah (q.v.; Q 4:54; 29:27; 57:26, and cf. 3:84; 6:83-90; see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD). One of their descendants, Moses, was chosen to guide the Children of Israel (Q 2:53; 11:110; 17:2; 23:49; 32:23; 40:53-4). God summoned him to the Mount, where a conversation ensued (Q 7:142-3; see THEOPHANY). (This has given rise to the composition of a genre of texts called *Munājāt Mūsā,* the conversations of Moses with God; see Sadan, Some literary problems, 373-4, 395-6.) The meeting lasted forty nights, at the end of which God gave Moses the tablets, on which he had written admonitions and explained all things. This is taken as a reference to the Torah. (It is said that Moses could hear the squeaking of God's pen on the tablets; see *Lisān al-ʿArab,* ix, 192; x, 117.) In Moses' absence, the Children of Israel had made a calf which they worshiped (see CALF OF GOLD). Upon seeing this, he threw down the tablets, but once his anger abated, he took them up again. According to later sources, Moses had read in the tablets the description of an exemplary nation *(umma)*. He asks God to make them his people, but is told that they are the people of Muḥammad. It is at this point that he shatters the tablets (see Rubin, *Between Bible and Qurʾān,* ch. 2). According to al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505; *Itqān,* i, 122f.), it is said that the tablets were originally seven in number, but that God kept six of them to himself, returning to Moses only one tablet. What is implied here is that God was saving the larger part of his heavenly book (q.v.) for a future occasion.

The verb used for God's revelation of the Torah is *anzala,* and that for the revelation of the Qurʾān *nazzala* (Q 3:3). The difference between these two forms of the same root, say the commentators, is that the Torah was revealed on a single occasion, whereas the Qurʾān was sent down piecemeal (see OCCASIONS OF REVELATION), and for a good reason: like the Israelites before them, the Muslims would have found it difficult to receive God's commandments all at once; it would be much easier to accept the new dispensation in small doses (Suyūṭī, *Itqān,* i, 121). Unlike the Qurʾān, the Torah was revealed directly by God (Q 4:164), without the mediation of an angel (q.v.). This, says al-Suyūṭī (*Itqān,* i, 122-3), is because the Torah was revealed to a prophet who could read and write (see LITERACY), whereas the Qurʾān was sent down in separate installments to an illiterate prophet (the most commonly accepted interpretation of the word *ummī* [q.v.] with which Muḥammad is described in Q 7:157; see also ILLITERACY). If Moses was grateful for this favor, the Children of Israel were not; they were reluctant to accept God's covenant (q.v.) contained in the Torah, and only accepted it after God held the Mount over their heads and threatened to send it crashing down on them (Q 2:63, 93; 4:154; 7:171; this motif is reminiscent of the Mishna: Sabbath, 80a, Avoda Zara, 2b). Soon, however, they broke their covenant (Q 2:64, 83, 93; 4:155; 5:13, 70), maligning and killing the prophets, uttering different words from the ones they were ordered to speak by God (Q 2:59; 7:162; see FORGERY; REVISION AND ALTERATION), and generally rejecting God's injunctions. The latter included both the duty to fight for God's cause (Q 9:111; see FIGHTING; PATH OR WAY) and the order to refrain from killing (Q 5:32; see MURDER; BLOODSHED). The commentators mention an additional violation of the covenant: the Israelites hid the description of Muḥammad *(naʿt Muḥammad),* which, according to Q 7:157, is

found in their Torah and which they were under obligation to divulge (see also POLEMIC AND POLEMICAL LANGUAGE; INSOLENCE AND OBSTINACY).

The abrogation of the Mosaic law

The disobedience (q.v.) of the Israelites had grave consequences for themselves and their descendants, the Jews. Not only was their punishment in the afterlife assured, but in this life they were burdened with harsh laws (Q 4:160; see REWARD AND PUNISHMENT): much of what had earlier been allowed is now forbidden (q.v.) to them, especially in the realm of dietary law, where Israel (q.v.), i.e. Jacob (q.v.), had already imposed some restrictions on himself which did not originally form part of God's law (e.g. Q 3:93; 6:118-19, 146; see Wheeler, Israel and the Torah; see also LAWFUL AND UNLAWFUL). Jesus came to abrogate a number of these laws (Q 3:50), and further restrictions were later lifted by Muḥammad (Q 5:5; 7:157; see ABROGATION). There is obviously no contradiction between their confirming the earlier law and abrogating it. That the Torah was indeed abrogated and had lost its validity, inasmuch as it did not correspond with the teachings of Islam, was not doubted by any Muslim, although there apparently remained some who believed that certain Mosaic laws applied to them as well (see Adang, Ibn Ḥazm's critique; that God abrogated parts of his revelation or cast them into oblivion, only to replace them with something similar or better, is stated in Q 2:106, which is, however, mostly linked to the abrogation of one qurʾānic verse by another).

Rejection of the confirming scripture

In rejecting their covenant, the Israelites had behaved exactly like all the other nations to which God had sent messengers (see MESSENGER), and Muḥammad would encounter the same reaction during his mission (cf. Q 3:184; 35:25). When he began to preach his message, he was first opposed by the polytheists of Mecca (see POLYTHEISM AND ATHEISM), and later also by the People of the Book, especially the Jews among them. They denied that Muḥammad was receiving revelations (Q 6:92) and demanded that he bring a revelation like the one given to Moses, although they had not been impressed when Moses brought his book, wanting to see God instead (Q 4:153). Despite Muḥammad's overtures and attempts to point out the similarities between their religions (Q 29:46), and the fact that he believed in all the earlier prophets (Q 3:84), their reaction was negative, and there were only a few who believed (Q 3:110, 113; cf. 29:47, which is seen as a reference to the Jewish convert ʿAbdallāh b. Salām and the sympathetic king of Ethiopia; see ABYSSINIA). Yet they should have recognized this message (or perhaps the Prophet himself; see the commentaries to Q 2:144; 6:20) as they recognized their own sons. The People of the Book, more than anyone else, should embrace it. Instead, they fling the book behind their backs (Q 2:101; this is taken to mean either the Torah with its annunciations of Muḥammad, or God's revelations in general; see also Q 3:187 where it is the covenant that is discarded). Despite their overall hostility, Muḥammad is told to consult the People of the Book if he has any doubts about what God revealed to him (Q 10:94, and cf. Q 16:43-4; 21:7). Various commentators explain that it is only the believers among the People of the Book, like ʿAbdallāh b. Salām, who are intended here (see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF).

For all the skepticism with which they regarded Muḥammad, a group of Jews appealed to his judgment (q.v.; Q 5:42-3; cf. also Q 3:23). Post-qurʾānic sources are virtually unanimous about the

circumstances which supposedly gave rise to the revelation of these verses: an adulterous Jewish couple was brought before Muḥammad, who was asked to pass judgment on them. This was a test to see whether he would apply the law of the Torah, which he claimed to confirm. Muḥammad asks the Jews what punishment is prescribed in the Torah (see CHASTISEMENT AND PUNISHMENT; BOUNDARIES AND PRECEPTS), so that he can apply it, following the example of the prophets, the rabbis and the scholars of the Jews (Q 5:44; see SCHOLAR). Taken aback, the Jews cover the passage which prescribes stoning (q.v.), and tell him that adulterers are to be flogged and their faces blackened — which is how they used to deal with the more prominent members of their community (see FLOGGING; ADULTERY AND FORNICATION). Muḥammad is unconvinced, and is proven correct when a convert to Islam points to the relevant passage in the Torah. The Prophet thereupon decides to have the couple stoned, much to the horror of the Jews. Q 5:43 expresses amazement at the fact that the Jews appeal to Muḥammad, when they possess the Torah in which God has given his ruling. And moreover, say the commentators, why should they turn to a prophet whose mission they utterly reject? Q 3:23, too, is cited as proof that the Jews were averse to the contents of the Torah. According to the exegetes, it was revealed after Muḥammad entered the *Bayt al-Midrās* and became embroiled in a discussion about Abraham. He told the Jews to bring the Torah to clinch the issue, but they refused. This story can in turn be connected with Q 3:65, in which the Jews and the Christians are criticized for claiming Abraham as one of their own although he predated the revelation of the Torah and of the Gospel and, therefore, the beginnings of their respective religions. (That the Jews and the Christians clashed with each other, despite the fact that they both read the scripture, is stated in Q 2:113.)

In two verses (Q 5:66, 68) the Jews are told that they will not be rightly guided unless they observe the Torah, and the same is true about the Christians and their scripture. The commentators tell us what they understood by "observing the Torah": accepting its teachings, such as the mission of Muḥammad, and its laws, which include a prohibition of taking interest (Q 4:161; see USURY). But the Jews deliberately ignore the revelation with which they have been entrusted, and do not apply the Torah. They have as much understanding as an ass carrying books (Q 62:5; see METAPHOR).

Tampering with the Torah

The Qurʾān more than once accuses the Israelites, the Jews, and the People of the Book in general, of having deliberately changed the word of God as revealed in the Torah and of passing off as God's revelation something they themselves wrote (Q 2:75-9; 4:46; 5:13). They are charged with confounding the truth (q.v.) with falsehood (Q 2:42; 3:71; see LIE), concealing the truth (e.g. Q 3:187), hiding part of the book (Q 6:91), or twisting their tongues when reciting the book (Q 3:78). In some verses we find a combination of allegations (e.g. Q 2:42; 3:71; 4:46). What may be at the root of these allegations is that the Jews denied that Muḥammad was mentioned in their scripture. Since the Qurʾān does not always explicitly state how, when, and by whom this misrepresentation (known as *taḥrīf*) was effected — some authors ascribe a major role to Ezra (q.v.) — different interpretations of the relevant verses soon arose. According to one, the Jews did not corrupt the text of their scripture, but merely misrepresented its contents. The other view, which developed somewhat

later and seems to be held by the majority of Muslims, asserts that the Israelites and later the Jews changed the written text of the Torah, adding to and deleting from it as they pleased. Its most vocal and influential representative was Ibn Ḥazm of Cordoba (d. 456/1064), but several other polemicists took his cue, among them Jewish converts to Islam such as ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq al-Islāmī (wrote ca. 797/1395) and Samawʾal al-Maghribī (d. 570/1175), who sought to demonstrate the superiority of their adopted faith at the expense of Judaism. According to both interpretations of the tampering-verses, the Israelites and the Jews were motivated by a desire to delete or obscure the scriptural references to Muḥammad, as well as by their aversion to certain God-given commandments, such as stoning adulterers, as was seen. The allegation of textual corruption continues to be aired even in modern times. It has been used to delegitimize Jewish claims to Palestine, by stating that in the unadulterated Torah the land was promised not to the descendents of Isaac (q.v.), i.e. the Jews, but to those of Ishmael (q.v.), i.e. the Arabs (q.v.); the former just substituted the names (see Haddad, *Arab perspectives,* 89-122).

Ambivalent attitudes

Since the Qurʾān calls the Torah a divine scripture, Muslims must treat it with the respect due any one of God's books (Q 2:177, 285; 4:136) even if they have their doubts about the authenticity, and hence the sanctity, of the Torah which the Jews possess. The ambivalent attitude towards the Torah is well illustrated in a number of texts from the Muslim west. A *fatwā* from fourth/tenth century Qayrawān deals with the question of if and how to punish a Muslim slave who, in a fit of anger, reviled the Torah, if it can be proven that he only targeted the forged Jewish Torah and not the original divine scripture, in which case his offense did not constitute blasphemy (q.v.; al-Wansharīsī, *Miʿyār,* ii, 362-3, 525-6; see Adang, Tunisian mufti). In sixth/twelfth century Cordoba Ibn Rushd "the elder" (d. 520/1126) forbade Muslims to sell books supposedly containing the Torah or the Gospel, since there was no way to establish whether these were the true, uncorrupted scriptures, and it is unlawful to make a profit from such dubious transactions. But in any case, he adds, even the genuine scriptures have been abrogated, so that dealing in them is out of the question (Ibn Rushd al-Jadd, *al-Bayān,* xviii, 559-60). In Naṣrid Granada a *fatwā* was issued to the effect that despite doubts about the Torah's authenticity, Jewish litigants who appear before the Muslim *qāḍī* and are required to take an oath, should solemnly swear by their book, and preferably in the synagogue, for the fact that they hold the Torah to be true and sacred considerably reduces the risk of perjury (al-Wansharīsī, *Miʿyār,* x, 309 f.; Adang, Swearing).

Tracing Muḥammad in the Torah

Muslims who believed that the Jews possessed the original Torah, and merely interpreted it incorrectly assumed, naturally, that the references to Muḥammad of which Q 7:157 speaks could be found in the book (see Rubin, *Eye,* ch. 1, on early attempts to trace Muḥammad). Paradoxically, however, even commentators who regarded the Torah as a corrupted book that was not to be relied upon tapped it for references to Muḥammad, his nation and his religion (see McAuliffe, Qurʾānic context). That such references could still be found in an otherwise corrupted book was sometimes explained with the claim that God had preserved these specific passages from distortion. Muslim writers did not usually attempt to trace these passages in the Jewish scriptures themselves. First of all, they did not need to: lists of testimonies

had been available at least since the late second/eighth century, when a number of them were included in an epistle sent on behalf of the caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd (r. 170-93/786-809) to the Byzantine emperor Constantine VI. They are clearly of Christian origin, being mostly Messianic passages made available to Muslim scholars by converts to Islam. Even Ibn Qutayba (d. 276/889), one of the few scholars to demonstrate some familiarity with the Torah, and especially the book of Genesis, apparently relied on a list of testimonies for his "Proofs of Prophethood" (*dalā'il al-nubuwwa;* translated in Adang, *Muslim writers,* 267-77), which was used, among others, by Ibn Ḥazm and Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya (d. 751/1350). The testimonies cited most often by Muslim authors are Gen. 17:29; Deut. 18:18f.; Deut. 33:2f. and Isa. 21:6-10, the latter belonging to the Torah in its wider sense. These and other passages became a standard ingredient in tracts about the proofs of Muḥammad's prophethood (*dalā'il* — or *a'lām — al-nubuwwa;* see Stroumsa, The signs of prophecy). Secondly, apart from Jewish and Christian converts to Islam, few Muslims knew Hebrew, Syriac or Greek, and translations of the Torah and further parts of the Bible into Arabic were not readily available before the mid-ninth century: the claims of Aḥmad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Salām (active around the end of the second/eighth century) to have produced a full translation of the Torah, faithful to both the source and the target language is not altogether credible (Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist,* 24; Adang, *Muslim writers,* 19-20), while the translations produced in the eighth and ninth centuries C.E. in some isolated monasteries in Palestine probably did not reach the Muslim public. The earliest Arabic translations accessible to Muslim readers seem to have been those by Ḥunayn b. Isḥāq (d. 260/873), which is referred to by al-Masʿūdī (d. 345/956; *Tanbīh,* 112-13) as the one considered most accurate, and al-Ḥārith b. Sinān, who seems to have been active in the latter part of the third/ninth and the first half of the fourth/tenth century. Both were translated not from the Hebrew, but from the Greek, first into Syriac and subsequently into Arabic. Further translations, based on the Hebrew, had been made by a number of Jewish scholars, Rabbanite and Karaite alike. The most influential one was that by Saʿadya Gaon (d. 942 C.E.). These translations, however, were clearly for internal consumption: since most Jewish scholars used the Hebrew script even for their Arabic writings, they would not have been easily accessible to the Muslims.

Pseudo-biblical quotations

Contrary to what might have been expected, the increased accessibility of the Torah did not lead to an increase in reliable quotations. In the case of the *kalām* theologians this is understandable: they preferred rational to scriptural arguments. But apart from some authors of works of an encyclopedic or comparative character, such as Ibn Qutayba, al-Masʿūdī (d. 345/956), al-Maqdisī (wrote ca. 355/966), and al-Bīrūnī (d. ca. 442/1050), and writers moved by polemical considerations, like Ibn Ḥazm, hardly anyone used the Torah (as distinguished from islamized versions of biblical accounts) as a source. This may be explained from the fact that many religious scholars were strongly opposed to consulting this book which was abrogated at best, and possibly corrupted as well. They were equally disapproving of seeking information from Jews about their beliefs, although the transmission of biblical narratives (q.v.) whose protagonists had become islamized, was permitted (see Vajda, Juifs et musulmans; Kister, Ḥaddithū). Spurious quota-

tions from the Torah, intended to lend authority to certain views, proliferated, which shows that the theory of the scripture's corruption was not generally accepted. Because the Torah remained a closed book to most Muslims, it was possible to ascribe sayings to it whose connection with the actual scripture was tenuous at best. As is only to be expected, the popular genres of *Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ* and *Isrāʾīliyyāt,* which deal with the lives of the prophets and the Israelites, abound in pseudo- or semi-scriptural passages. They can be found, however, in smaller or larger quantities, in almost all genres of Muslim writing, ranging from ḥadīth (see ḤADĪTH AND THE QURʾĀN) and *tafsīr,* to historiography, geography, lexicography, and biography. A good example is *Ḥilyat al-awliyāʾ,* a biographical dictionary of pious and ascetic Muslims, which contains many statements ascribed to the elusive Kaʿb al-Aḥbār, Wahb b. Munabbih, Mālik b. Dinār and other putative specialists in the sacred books, on the pattern "it is written in the Torah" *(maktūb fī l-Tawrāt),* or "I have read in the Torah" *(qaraʾtu fī l-Tawrāt),* usually followed by some moral or ethical principle, or saying in praise of ascetical attitudes and practices (see ASCETICISM).

Apart from more or less universal ethical principles (see ETHICS AND THE QURʾĀN), which can be said to correspond at least to the spirit of the Jewish scriptures, less obvious things were traced to the Torah as well; the Greek theory of the four humors, for example, and the description of the second caliph, ʿUmar ("a horn of iron"; perhaps inspired by Dan. 7; see Abū Nuʿaym al-Iṣfahānī, *Ḥilyat al-awliyāʾ,* vi, 25), whose murder, too, was foretold in the Torah (al-Mālaqī, *Maqtal ʿUthmān,* i, 36). And Ḥaydara, one of the names of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib (q.v.), could be encountered there (Khalīl b. Aḥmad, *Kitāb al-ʿAyn,* iii, 156). The Umayyad caliph ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (r. 99-101/717-20) was allegedly described in the Torah as a righteous man, whose death was bewailed by the heavens for forty days (Abū Nuʿaym al-Iṣfahānī, *Ḥilyat al-awliyāʾ,* v, 339, 342); and not only Mecca, but also the city of Rayy is mentioned in the book of Moses in positive terms (Yāqūt, *Buldān,* iii, 118; iv, 225). At some point, however, someone must have decided that this was going too far: in an equally fictitious account, the (unnamed) Jewish exilarch told his Muslim interlocutors that what Kaʿb was telling them was a pack of lies, and that actually the Torah was very similar to their own scripture (Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣāba,* v, 651).

Similar, yet different

The notion that there is a large degree of correspondence between the Qurʾān and the Torah is implicit in the qurʾānic statements that it confirms the earlier scriptures, that it constitutes a revelation like the Torah and the Gospel, and that it is contained in the earlier scriptures (Q 3:3; 26:196; 29:47). The exegetes state that certain passages from the Qurʾān correspond verbatim with the Torah. As proof they cite two passages which are assumed to occur also in the Torah, namely Q 5:45, which mentions the law of talion (see RETALIATION), and Q 48:29, which states that the believers are described in the Torah as having a mark on their foreheads as a result of their frequent prostration (see BOWING AND PROSTRATION).

ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ (whose father, incidentally, is said to have received permission from the Prophet, or from ʿUmar, to read the true Torah) said that Muḥammad is described in the Torah in the same way that he is described in the Qurʾān: as a witness (see WITNESSING AND TESTIFYING) and a bearer of good tidings (see GOOD NEWS) and a warner (q.v.; see Q 17:105; 25:56; 33:45; 48:8); he is not harsh nor

rough nor does he cry in the streets. And Kaʿb al-Aḥbār attributed the following saying to the Torah: "Oh Muḥammad, I am revealing to you a new Torah, which will open blind eyes (q.v.), deaf ears (q.v.) and uncircumcised hearts" (Suyūṭī, *Itqān,* i, 115; see VISION AND BLINDNESS; HEARING AND DEAFNESS; HEART; CIRCUMCISION). These passages are reminiscent of Isaiah 42:2 and 35:5. The same man is credited with the information that the opening verse of the Torah corresponds with Q 6:1 ("Praise be to God, who has created the heavens and the earth, and has appointed darkness [q.v.] and light. Yet those who disbelieve ascribe rivals to their lord"), and that it ends with Q 17:111: "Praise be to God who has not taken a son […] and magnify him with all magnificence." The saying that the final verse of the Torah is identical to the second half of the last verse of Q 11, Sūrat Hūd ("so worship him and put your trust in him. Your lord is not unaware of what you do," Q 11:123; see KNOWLEDGE AND LEARNING; HIDDEN AND THE HIDDEN), however, is also ascribed to Kaʿb, as is the statement that the first verses to be revealed in the Torah were ten verses from Q 6 (Sūrat al-Aʿnām, "Cattle"), starting with Q 6:151: "Say: Come, I will recite to you that which God has made a sacred duty for you" (*mā ḥarrama rabbukum ʿalaykum;* see SACRED AND PROFANE; LAW AND THE QURʾĀN). These verses bear a striking resemblance to the ten commandments (see Brinner, An Islamic Decalogue). Q 62:1 ("All that is in the heavens and all that is in the earth [q.v.] glorifies God, and he is the mighty, the wise"; see HEAVEN AND SKY; GLORIFICATION OF GOD) is said to appear 700 times in the Torah, and al-Raḥmān, the name by which God made himself known to Moses, is said to be found throughout the Torah (Suyūṭī, *Itqān,* i, 116), which contains an additional 999 names for God (Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr,* i, 20). It is said that while the contents of the two scriptures are essentially the same, their chapters bear different titles. Thus Q 50, Sūrat Qāf, is entitled in the Torah *al-Mubayyiḍa,* since it will whiten the face of he who believes in it on the day when faces will be blackened; Q 36, Sūrat Yā Sīn, appears in the Torah under the name *al-Muʿamma,* for it encompasses the good things of this life and of the afterlife. Many more examples of this kind could be cited. But not only isolated passages were attributed to the Torah: longer texts purporting to contain the true Torah were compiled, as were islamized Psalters. The texts in question appear to be ethical treatises which resemble the Qurʾān rather more than the Torah (see Sadan, Some literary problems; Jeffery, A Moslem Torah).

While the Torah, then, is believed to be very similar to the Qurʾān, the two scriptures are also said to differ on important points. Although it was important to emphasize that the Qurʾān stood at the end of a long line of venerated scriptures, which strengthened its authority, it was equally important to stress its unique nature and superiority (see Shnizer, *The Qurʾān*). It is said, for example, that Q 1, Sūrat al-Fātiḥa ("The Opening"; see FĀTIḤA), is unique to the Qurʾān, and unparalleled, and that neither in the Torah nor in the Gospel did God reveal anything like it. But the main difference was that unlike the Torah, the Qurʾān constituted an inimitable miracle and was matchless in style, composition and content (see INIMITABILITY; LANGUAGE AND STYLE OF THE QURʾĀN).

Translatable, therefore inferior

Many Muslim apologists and polemicists were aware that different versions of the Torah had existed even prior to its translation into Arabic, namely that of the Jews, the Samaritan Pentateuch and the Greek Septuagint. While some, like Ibn Ḥazm,

pointed to the discrepancies between these versions as proof of the scripture's corrupted state, others, like Ibn Qutayba and al-Bāqillānī (d. 403/1013), argued — without playing the distortion card — that the existence of translations of the Torah was one of the clearest proofs of its inferiority to the Qurʾān which, because of its inimitable character, remained untranslated and untranslatable. For the Karaite al-Qirqisānī (fl. tenth cent. C.E.) the very fact that the Qurʾān only existed in one language weakened not the Jewish case, but the Muslim one, for, he said, only those fluent in Arabic could possibly appreciate the miraculous nature of the Qurʾān (Ben-Shammai, The attitude).

Further proof of the Qurʾān's superiority in the eyes of the Muslims is that it had been revealed in the presence of the entire nation, unlike the Torah, which had been given to Moses in the presence of a selected few only, and was not transmitted to the entire community, nor was it transmitted in uninterrupted succession from one generation to the other *(tawātur)*. Although hardliners like Ibn Ḥazm took the view that the Israelites and Jews had deliberately suspended the transmission of their (essentially unwanted) scripture, others, like the astronomer al-Bīrūnī, took a more charitable view: the Jews could not possibly have transmitted their Torah from generation to generation, because of the adversities they suffered, like expulsion and captivity.

Jewish reactions to attempts at discrediting the Torah

The Jews took up the defense of their scripture in polemical and apologetical tracts that were usually for internal consumption. In Iraq Saʿadya Gaon and his Karaite contemporary Yaʿqūb al-Qirqisānī, among others, tried to demonstrate, with rational and scriptural arguments, that the Torah had not been and would not be abrogated. They do not address the allegation of scriptural corruption, which was not usually raised by the Muslim *mutakallimūn* either; Muʿtazilī (see MUʿTAZILĪS) and Ashʿarī theologians attempted to refute the Jewish argument for the eternal validity of their scripture by rational means (see Sklare, Responses). Rabbanite and Karaite commentators did not deny that Islam was referred to in the Hebrew Bible: it was the last of the four kingdoms that subjugated Israel, according to the book of Daniel. Redemption will come when this kingdom ends. This should in no way, however, be taken as an endorsement of Muslim claims that Muḥammad is a true prophet. If anything, it was the falsity of his claims that could be demonstrated on the basis of the biblical text.

In later centuries it was formidable Jewish scholars like Jehudah ha-Levi (d. 1141 C.E.), Abraham b. Daud (d. 1181 C.E.), Moses Maimonides (d. 1204 C.E.), and Solomon Ibn Adret (d. 1310 C.E.), interestingly enough all Spaniards, who defended Judaism and its Torah against the attacks of the Muslim scholars. The influence of the arguments of their fellow-countryman, Ibn Ḥazm, can easily be discerned in their works.

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Torment see SUFFERING; REWARD AND PUNISHMENT

Tornado see WEATHER

Torture see SUFFERING; REWARD AND PUNISHMENT

Touch see HAND

Tower see ART AND ARCHITECTURE AND THE QURʾĀN

Tower of Babel see BABYLON

Towns see GEOGRAPHY; CITY

Trace/Track see AIR AND WIND; ASHES

Trade and Commerce

Economic activity focused on the exchange of goods among people. The language of the Qurʾān is imbued with the vocabulary of the marketplace both in practical, day-to-day references and in metaphorical applications (see METAPHOR; LITERARY STRUCTURES OF THE QURʾĀN). The way in which commercial activities are to be conducted among people is dealt with as a moral issue and a matter of social regulation (see ETHICS AND THE QURʾĀN). For example, rules governing contracts and trusts, and general economic principles find their place in the text and have been used within the *sharīʿa* to formulate the legal structures of society (see LAW AND THE QURʾĀN). Those aspects of this topic have been treated under many entries in this encyclopedia: see BREAKING TRUSTS AND CONTRACTS; CONTRACTS AND ALLIANCES; DEBT; ECONOMICS; MARKETS; MEASUREMENT; PROPERTY; SELLING AND BUYING; USURY; WEIGHTS AND MEASURES. Of particular interest in this entry are the terms which have sometimes been classified as constituting the commercial-theological terminology and which consist of a series of words linked to trade and commerce that are employed in order to provide a moral basis for the structures of society. Modern scholarship has understood this language as pivotal for reconstructing the nature of pre-Islamic society, the rise of Islam and Muḥammad's place in his community (see PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QURʾĀN; POST-ENLIGHTENMENT ACADEMIC STUDY OF THE QURʾĀN). The classic analysis by C.C. Torrey in his 1892 dissertation has set the basic dimensions of understanding the semantic field related to trade and commerce in the Qurʾān through an intuitive summary of relevant vocabulary; later works which provide a

general treatment of metaphor have added some level of greater systematization to the definition (see Sabbagh, *Métaphore,* 212-16, and his classification of "Les termes se rapportant au commerce" under "Vie sédentaire," a sub-category of "La vie sociale"; and Sister, Metaphern, 141-2, "Das gesellschaftliche Leben" under "Der Mensch und sein Leben") but the basic scope of the concept has remained fairly stable.

Torrey spoke of the general "business atmosphere" of the Qurʾān and he saw the vocabulary which relates to this context falling into five main categories:

(1) Marketplace terminology: *ḥisāb,* "reckoning," used thirty-nine times plus many related verbal uses; *aḥṣā,* "to number or count," used ten times (see NUMBERS AND ENUMERATION); *wazana,* "to weigh," used seven times plus *mīzān,* "a balance," used sixteen times; *mithqāl,* "a weight," used eight times plus related verbal and adjectival instances.
(2) Employment terminology: *jazāʾ,* "recompense," used forty-two times plus many related verbal uses (see REWARD AND PUNISHMENT; CHASTISEMENT AND PUNISHMENT); *thawāb* and *mathūba,* "reward," used fifteen times plus related verbal usages; *ajr* (plural *ujūr*), "wage," used 107 times; *waffā,* "to pay what is due," used nineteen times usually with "wages"; *kasaba,* "to earn," used sixty-two times (see INTERCESSION).
(3) Negative trading terminology: *khasira,* "to lose," used sixty-five times in various verbal and nominal forms; *bakhasa,* "to defraud," used seven times in various forms; *ẓalama,* "to wrong," used frequently and has become, as *ẓālimūn,* a general ethical term for "wrongdoers"; *alata,* "to defraud, used once; *naqaṣa,* "to diminish," used ten times in various forms.
(4) Positive trading terminology: *sharā* and *ishtarā,* "to sell," used twenty-five times; *bāʿa,* "to sell, to bargain," used fifteen times in various forms; *tijāra,* "merchandise," used nine times; *thaman,* "price," used eleven times; *rabiḥa,* "to profit," used once.
(5) Finance: *qaraḍa,* "to provide a loan," used thirteen times in various forms; *aslafa,* "paid in advance," used twice; *rahīn* and *rihān,* "pledge," used three times.

The terminology is thus wide-ranging and the contexts in which it is employed are diverse, demonstrating the extent to which this range of language permeates the text. Three contexts may be isolated for the occurrence of the terms, in common with the overall themes of the Qurʾān but also illustrating the full range of the employment of the vocabulary: in recounting the stories of the prophets of the past (see NARRATIVES; GENERATIONS; PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD), in legislating the Muslim community and in describing the eschatological period (see ESCHATOLOGY). Many examples could be cited; the following is just a sampling.

Of the seven uses of "defraud," as derived from *bakhasa,* the first clearly deals with contemporary legal practice since the overall context relates to commercial transactions and the keeping of records. Q 2:282 contains the statement, "Let him fear (q.v.) God, his lord (q.v.), and not diminish [the debt] at all," when speaking of the scribe who will record the transaction (see WRITING AND WRITING MATERIALS; ORALITY AND WRITING IN ARABIA) where the verb *lā yabkhas* (translated here as "let him not diminish") takes on the sense of "he shall not defraud" (see CHEATING). In Q 7:85, the context is that of Midian (q.v.) and its prophet, Shuʿayb (q.v.), who is commanded to tell his people, "Do not undervalue (people's goods)," *lā tabkhas,* that is, "do not defraud them of its value." Q 11:85 puts the same phrase in Shuʿayb's mouth again as does Q 26:183 in which Shuʿayb

addresses the "People of the Thicket" (q.v.). In Q 12:20, Joseph (q.v.) is sold by his brothers (see BROTHER AND BROTHERHOOD) for "a price which was fraudulent" *(bakhs)* because his brothers did not value him. In Q 11:15-16, the context is that of speaking of the reward and punishment in the voice of God: "If any [people] desire the life of this world with all its finery, we shall repay them in full in [this life] for their deeds — they will not be defrauded *(lā yubkhasūna)* — but such people will have nothing in the hereafter but the fire (q.v.)." Finally in Q 72:13, the jinn (q.v.) speak of the final reckoning being such that "whoever believes in his lord (see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF) need fear no fraud *(bakhs)* or injustice (see JUSTICE AND INJUSTICE)." The terminology thus spreads over the focal points of salvation (q.v.) history, past, present and future (see also HISTORY AND THE QUR'ĀN).

The same observations can be made concerning the image of the "balance," *mīzān*. The statement in the Qur'ān, "Fill up the measure and the balance with justice," recurs as a regular motif with the end result that God is pictured as governing creation (q.v.) in the same way that humans should, if they are moral beings, run their own affairs: that is, with a full sense of justice. Q 11:84-5 has Shu'ayb preach, "O my people, serve God! You have no god other than him. Diminish not *(lā tanquṣū)* the measure *(al-mikyāl)* nor the balance *(al-mīzān)* [in weight]. I see you are prospering but I fear for you suffering on an encompassing day. O my people, fill up the weight *(al-mikyāl)* and the balance *(al-mīzān)* justly. Do not defraud the people of their things, and do not sow corruption (q.v.) in the land." The word *mīzān* also finds its place in passages of a legal nature addressed to the contemporary believing audience. In Q 6:152, Muḥammad is commanded to enunciate a rule for his followers using the same words as those used by Shu'ayb, "Fill up the measure and the balance with justice." Overall, however, the use of the word *mīzān* predominates as an image in eschatological passages which thereby invoke the references in the past (the time of the ancient prophets) and in the present (the present community of Muḥammad). Q 21:47 says, "We shall set up the scales *(al-mawāzīn)* of justice for the resurrection (q.v.) day, so that not one soul (q.v.) shall be wronged anything." Other passages which use the idea of a balance on the judgment day include Q 7:7-8, 23:102-3, 101:6-9, among others. It may also be noted that *wazana,* "to weigh," is used verbally in all three contexts as well.

The concept of *ajr* (plural *ujūr*), "wage(s)," is also widespread in the Qur'ān. In Q 11:51, Hūd (q.v.) says, "O my people, I do not ask of you a wage *(ajr)* for this; my wage *(ajr)* falls only upon him who originated me; will you not understand?" This is also found in the sequence of prophet stories in Q 26:105-91 where the same phrase occurs five times with Noah (q.v.), Hūd, Ṣāliḥ (q.v.), Lot (q.v.), and Shu'ayb in sequence. In terms of passages relating to regulations of the Muslim community, Q 4:24-5, 5:5, 33:50 and 60:10 all use "wages," *ujūr,* in reference to marriage in the sense of "dower," *mahr,* and also general subsistence (see MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE; BRIDEWEALTH; MAINTENANCE AND UPKEEP; SUSTENANCE). The eschatological uses of "wage" abound: "Their wage *(ajr)* awaits them with their lord" and variations on that phrase occur five times in sūra 2 alone (Q 2:62, 112, 262, 274, 277).

In the study of these words, many scholars have tended to emphasize, according to the principles of the historic-philological approach, how the language of the qur'ānic text must reflect the social situation at the time of Muḥammad (see LANGUAGE AND STYLE OF THE QUR'ĀN;

FORM AND STRUCTURE OF THE QUR'ĀN; RHETORIC AND THE QUR'ĀN). Thus, the language is understood as being extended to the prophets of the past whose lives are retold in a manner which reflects the life circumstances of Muḥammad, even to the level of the vocabulary used to express common ideas and motifs (see ARABIC LANGUAGE; FOREIGN VOCABULARY). That understanding is also extended to eschatology, reasoning that language would have been used in a way in which the people in Muḥammad's time would best understand the concepts of the hereafter and judgment day (see LAST JUDGMENT). Torrey's work set the tone for much subsequent work when he declared, "Mohammed's idea of God, as shown us in the Koran, is in its main features a somewhat magnified picture of a Mekkan merchant. It could hardly have been otherwise" (*Commercial-theological,* 15). Torrey suggested that these words form a cluster of terms derived from actual commercial applications which have taken on theological overtones in the Qur'ān (see THEOLOGY AND THE QUR'ĀN). The full implications of the ideas underlying his work were developed later in works by H. Lammens, M. Rodinson and W.M. Watt, among many others, in their treatments of Muḥammad and the notion that economics and social revolutions are crucial to the rise of Islam. The evidence for those theories is, at least partially, to be found in the language of the Qur'ān and its commercial emphasis. For example, Watt's reading of the Qur'ān allows him to perceive a society in the throes of the impact of individualistic capitalism being challenged by a prophet of social justice. In Watt's seminal *Muhammad at Mecca* and *Muhammad at Medina* the theme is clear; Watt states, for example,

> The Qur'ān has ample evidence of the importance of voluntary "contributions" in the plans for the young community at Medina. Men are commanded to believe in God and his messenger and contribute of their wealth. Their contributions are a loan they lend to God; he knows more than they do; he will replay them the double and more (*Medina,* 252).

Watt clearly pictures the social environment and its regulations being reflected in the language which is used to talk about God, the essence of the notion of the "commercial-theological" terminology.

The critique of such a reading of the qur'ānic text has been raised primarily in the context of implications that underlie the debates about the pervasiveness and depth of commercial activity in pre-Islamic Arabia. P. Crone points out that there are only vague details for the model of a society in the throes of economic transformation within the Arab historical texts. Arguing that the view provided in the classical Greek texts of a flourishing trade throughout Arabia speaks of a situation some 600 years prior to the rise of Islam, Crone suggests that the later Muslim writers have been read rather imaginatively in light of the information provided about this earlier period. When the texts are read for what they say rather than for what is assumed, she says,

> such information as we have leaves no doubt that [the Meccans'] imports were the necessities and petty luxuries that the inhabitants of Arabia have always had to procure from the fringes of the Fertile Crescent and elsewhere, not the luxury goods with which Lammens would have them equip themselves abroad (*Meccan trade,* 150-1).

It is noteworthy that the body of early Arab poetry (see POETRY AND POETS), whether genuinely pre-Islamic or not, does

not provide testimony to this commercial environment. As Peters comments (Quest, 292), the poetry "testifies to a quite different culture." The Meccans traded, certainly, but mainly within the confines of their own area and in response to their basic needs and not for "the commercial appetites of the surrounding empires" (Crone, *Meccan trade,* 151).

It is not clear, however, where such critiques leave our understanding of the qurʾānic vocabulary. The difficulties with the common interpretation have certainly been noted by writers such as K. Cragg, although the matter of how to resolve the issue has not been pursued. As Cragg notes,

strangely, the word *tājir* (merchant) does not figure in the Qurʾān, and *tijāra* (merchandise) only on nine occasions, [yet] commerce is the central theme in the life it mirrors and in the vocabulary by which it speaks (*Event,* 98).

Further, the question must arise, when the issue is considered within the context of the entire debate concerning the nature of pre-Islamic trade, of whether we can read references to the goods of trade such as dates (see DATE PALM), gold (q.v.) and silver (see METALS AND MINERALS) which are mentioned in the Qurʾān as allowing us to infer historical evidence of the context of the time and place of Muḥammad (cf. Heck, Arabia without spices; see also MONEY; NUMISMATICS).

One answer might be found through a new investigation of the vocabulary in light of biblical and general near eastern religious metaphors (see RELIGIOUS PLURALISM AND THE QURʾĀN). One aspect of Torrey's argument regarding the reading of this vocabulary that justified his tying of these particular terms to the historical environment of Muḥammad is his assertion that "the mathematical accounting on the judgment day is alien to Judaism and Christianity" (*Commercial-theological,* 14; see JEWS AND JUDAISM; CHRISTIANS AND CHRISTIANITY). This statement may well have reflected the state of research at the turn of the twentieth century but such a position can no longer be maintained. Torrey himself notes (*Commercial-theological,* 17 n. 3) that he had been informed that the image of a balance being used at the final judgment was to be found in Egyptian religion. That, it is now well known, only scratches the surface of the extent to which it may be claimed that the Qurʾān shares in a near eastern mythic universe of judgment day symbolism (see SYMBOLIC IMAGERY). The eschatological vision is that of justice and the images used for that are ones which are common in near eastern religious language. God's justice on judgment day is the grounding image: all prophets, past and present, have urged that this must be reflected in human society (see also RELIGION; JUDGMENT). Ultimately, eschatological imagery may be seen to drive mundane symbolism and not vice-versa (Rippin, Commerce of eschatology). In that sense, the symbolism here is not necessarily a reflection of the state of affairs at the time of revelation (see REVELATION AND INSPIRATION). Rather, it expresses the aspirations of humans to achieve the moral standards of the eschaton, just as those standards are believed to have been enacted in the mythic past (as demonstrated by the earlier prophets; see MYTHS AND LEGENDS IN THE QURʾĀN) and just as implementation of those standards is urged in the present by the current prophet. The eschaton functions to assert the ultimate justice of the world while being the moral goal for human existence.

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Tradition and Custom

The way things have been done, or are understood as having been done, in the past. In many societies the appeal to tradition and custom as the basis for current practice serves to legitimize the present. For a religion emerging in opposition to some of the beliefs and practices of its society, however, appeal to tradition or custom by its opponents is an obstacle to be overcome. At the same time, adherents of the new order may well attempt to justify it by reference to the past.

In Islam the positive value of tradition is most obviously manifest in the concept of *sunna* (q.v.), the accepted practice. The *sunna* of the Prophet is a model that all believers should strive to emulate and, according to the classical Sunnī theory of law, it is the most important source of the law alongside the Qurʾān (see LAW AND THE QURʾĀN). Innovations (*bidʿa, ḥawādith;* see INNOVATION) on the other hand, are commonly regarded as reprehensible. Naturally, the attitude towards custom and tradition may vary according to circumstances. A category of commendable innovation *(bidʿa ḥasana)* is recognized and what by many has been understood as the positive value of adherence to a tradition *(taqlīd)* may, in the hands of a religious reformer like Ibn Taymiyya (d. 728/1328), be reassessed as mere servile and blind imitation.

The Qurʾān reflects these tensions regarding tradition and custom. The prophet Muḥammad denies that he is anything new *(bidʿ)* among the messengers (Q 46:9; see MESSENGER) and references to preceding prophets (see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD) and messengers emphasize their following in the footsteps *(āthār)* of their predecessors (e.g. Q 5:46; 57:27). One of the complaints made against the Christians, who are accorded some merits (see CHRISTIANS AND CHRISTIANITY), is that they had "invented" *(ibtadaʿū)* monasticism (Q 57:27; see MONASTICISM AND MONKS).

What is "known" or "recognized" *(maʿrūf)* is good or honorable in contrast to what is reprehensible (*munkar,* Q 3:104, etc.; see VIRTUES AND VICES, COMMANDING AND FORBIDDING; LAWFUL AND UNLAWFUL). Although some commentators gloss *maʿrūf* as "known or recognized by reason or revelation" (see INTELLECT; REVELATION AND INSPIRATION), the related word *ʿurf* in Q 7:199 (where it is contrasted with "ignorance" [q.v.; *jahl*] and understood to mean simply "goodness" or "kindness") is in Islamic law one of the most common words for traditional practice or custom, which has a limited role as a legal principle.

On the other hand, following the footsteps *(āthār)* of predecessors and ancestors is reprehensible if that means following the wrong path (see PATH OR WAY; ASTRAY; ERROR). In its arguments against those who refuse to accept its message, the Qurʾān frequently presents them as appealing to the tradition of their fathers in justification of their refusal to accept the truth (q.v.).

Those opponents (see OPPOSITION TO MUḤAMMAD), like the opponents of previous prophets, are portrayed as using the justification that their fathers' beliefs and practices were good enough for them and there is no reason why they should go against their customs. "We found our fathers attached to a religious community and we are guided by their footsteps *(wa-innā wajadnā abāʾanā ʿalā ummatin wa-innā ʿalā āthārihim muhtadūna/muqtadūna),*" as they are reported as saying in Q 43:22 and 23. This sentiment, repeated sometimes with relatively minor variations of wording and usually involving reference to the "fathers," recurs frequently throughout the Qurʾān, in the mouths of the opponents of its prophet and of earlier ones like Moses (q.v.; e.g. Q 2:170; 5:104; 6:148; 7:28; 10:78; 21:53; 26:74; 31:21). In a slightly different manner, reference is made to this assertion in the account of the primordial covenant (q.v.) that God made with humans prior to their earthly lives. Q 7:172-3 affirms that the conclusion of the covenant by all mankind should rid the nonbelievers from claiming on the day of judgment (see LAST JUDGMENT) that it was only their "fathers" who ascribed partners to God and that they were their "seed" after them (see PARENTS; POLYTHEISM AND ATHEISM): "So will you destroy us on account of that which the falsifiers did (see LIE)?"

The social setting is presumably one in which a high value is placed on loyalty (q.v.) to one's ancestors. Q 2:200 urges people to "remember God as you remember your fathers" (see REMEMBRANCE). In such a society loyalty to the family tradition would be a major hindrance to proselytism. Q 9:23 commands the believers not to take their fathers or brothers as friends *(awliyāʾ)* if they take pleasure in disbelief (see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF; FRIENDS AND FRIENDSHIP; CLIENTS AND CLIENTAGE), and the account of Abraham's (q.v.) break with his father and his father's religion would presumably be especially resonant (see IDOLATRY AND IDOLATERS).

In the Qurʾān, *sunna* never has the sense of the exemplary custom of the Prophet. When scholars sought a qurʾānic support for that notion they commonly found it in the phrase "the book (q.v.) and the wisdom" (q.v.; *al-kitāb wa-l-ḥikma;* e.g. Q 2:231; 4:113; cf. 33:34; see also SIGNS; VERSES), which they interpreted as indicating the Qurʾān and the sunna of the Prophet (see TRADITIONAL DISCIPLINES OF QURʾĀNIC STUDY). In the Qurʾān *sunna* nearly always refers to God's exemplary and customary punishment of earlier nations to whom he had sent his messengers only for them to be rejected (see PUNISHMENT STORIES). The believers are exhorted, when they travel in the land (see JOURNEY; GEOGRAPHY), to take note of the sunna of those earlier peoples *(sunnatu l-awwalīn, sunanu lladhīna min qablikum)* or of the sunna of God regarding them *(sunnatu llāhi fī lladhīna khalaw)*. God's sunna in this respect is not subject to change or variation *(tabdīl, taḥwīl;* Q 33:62; 35:43; 48:23). In such passages *sunna* usually appears in collocation with either God or the earlier generations (q.v.; *al-awwalīn* or *alladhīna min qablikum*).

Another word signifying "custom" or "habit" is *daʾb*. In the Qurʾān this occurs three times in the expression "as was the *daʾb* of the people of Pharaoh (q.v.) and those [who were] before them" *(ka-daʾbi āli firʿawna wa-lladhīna min qablihim,* Q 3:11; 8:52, 54) and once (Q 40:31) in a similar expression: "like the *daʾb* of the people of Noah (q.v.) and ʿĀd (q.v.) and Thamūd (q.v.) and those [who came] after them" *(mithla daʾbi qawmi nūḥin wa-ʿādin wa-thamūda wa-lladhīna min baʿdihim)*. In each case it is not easy to see what force *daʾb* adds to the preceding preposition "like" *(ka-, mithla)* but on each occasion the passage refers to the divine punishment (see CHASTISEMENT

AND PUNISHMENT) that befell the peoples mentioned (those of Pharaoh, Noah, ʿĀd, Thamūd and others) and it is likely that *daʾb* is the equivalent of *sunna* in the passages mentioned above. Commentators (see EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL) sometimes gloss *daʾb* by the relatively neutral word "deeds" *(ṣanīʿ, fiʿl)* but one also finds it understood as equivalent to *sunna*. Its other occurrence (Q 12:47) is in the adverbial form *daʾban* and clearly means "as usual" or "as is customary."

Commentators frequently explain parts of the Qurʾān as referring to the traditions and customs of the pre-Islamic Arabs (q.v.; see also PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QURʾĀN). Sometimes, as with infanticide (q.v.; e.g. Q 6:137, 140, 151; 16:57-9; 81:8-9) or "entering houses from their backs" (Q 2:189; see HOUSE, DOMESTIC AND DIVINE), the alleged tradition of the *jāhilī* Arabs is rejected (see AGE OF IGNORANCE). Sometimes, as with the circumambulation of Ṣafā and Marwa (q.v.; Q 2:158) or engaging in commerce while making the pilgrimage (q.v.; *ḥajj,* Q 2:198), it is confirmed (see also TRADE AND COMMERCE; MONTHS; SACRED AND PROFANE). Cumulatively, such interpretations help to substantiate the image of a revelation addressed in the first instance to the society of the pre-Islamic period *(jāhiliyya)*.

On the whole, therefore, the Qurʾān does not have the strongly positive evaluation of tradition and custom that Islamic culture later displays. It portrays the past negatively as a series of episodes in which various communities have rejected God's message and messengers, and those whom it addresses have to break the pattern by dissociating themselves from the tradition of their fathers. Only God's tradition and custom — his sending of messengers and his destruction of those who do not heed them — is consistently good (see also GOOD AND EVIL; HISTORY AND THE QURʾĀN).

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Traditional Disciplines of Qurʾānic Studies

In Islamic theological representation the Qurʾān is considered *the* "knowledge/science" *(ʿilm),* so it is not surprising that the understanding and exegesis *(tafsīr)* of this text were considered the most excellent kinds of knowledge (see KNOWLEDGE AND LEARNING). Thus in a tradition attributed to Muḥammad (see ḤADĪTH AND THE QURʾĀN), transmitted by the Companion Ibn Masʿūd (see COMPANIONS OF THE PROPHET), we read: "Whoever wants knowledge, has to scrutinize the Qurʾān, because it contains the knowledge of the first and last (generations)" (Ibn Abī Shayba, *Muṣannaf,* vi, 127, no. 30,009; Abū ʿUbayd, *Faḍāʾil,* 41-2, no. 79; Abū l-Layth al-Samarqandī, *Tafsīr,* i, 71; Bayhaqī, *Shuʿab,* ii, 332, no. 1960; Ghazālī, *Iḥyāʾ* [8, *Ādāb tilāwat al-Qurʾān],* i, 254, l. 18; Zabīdī, *Itḥāf,* v, 94; Qurṭubī, *Tafsīr,* i, 446-53; Zarkashī, *Burhān,* i, 8). Or in another tradition attributed to Muḥammad: "The best of you is he who learns the Qurʾān and teaches it" (Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* iii, 402 [66, *Faḍāʾil al-Qurʾān,* 21]/trans. iii, 534; see TEACHING AND PREACHING THE QURʾĀN). The superiority of the Qurʾān's language vis-à-vis every other language is similar to the superiority of God vis-à-vis his creatures (in

some versions: because it comes from him; Baghdādī, *Faṣl,* i, 234-6; Ibn Ḍurays, *Faḍāʾil,* 77-8, nos. 132-40; Ājurrī, *Akhlāq,* 61-8; Rāzī, *Faḍāʾil,* 70-1, nos. 26-7; Ibn Rajab, *Mawrid,* 75-6; Suyūṭī, *Itqān,* iv, 124; cf. Biqāʿī, *Maṣāʿid,* i, 378-9, then 298-301, and Fīrūzābādī, *Baṣāʾir,* i, 57-64, both with other traditions; *UQM,* i, 69-86). Or according to a tradition attributed to ʿAlī: "God has sent down in this Qurʾān 'the exposition of all things' (an echo of Q 16:89), but our knowledge is too limited for it" (Biqāʿī, *Maṣāʿid,* i, 379, from the commentary of ʿAbd b. Ḥamīd, d. 249/863; Sezgin, *GAS,* i, 113). For Muslim scholars: "The book of God and the traditions of his Prophet are the exposition of every knowledge" (*bayān li-kulli maʿlūm;* Ibn al-ʿArabī, *Qānūn,* 180). In time, the science derived from the Qurʾān or applied to it, was divided into many "sciences," "the sciences of the Qurʾān" *(ʿulūm al-Qurʾān),* called in the above title "traditional disciplines of qurʾānic studies."

The Qurʾān, the noblest of the sciences?

As noted above, according to Islamic representation, the Qurʾān contains all science and particularly all legal knowledge, *expressis verbis* or virtually (see LAW AND THE QURʾĀN; see also SCIENCE AND THE QURʾĀN; MEDICINE AND THE QURʾĀN). The locus classicus for this conviction is Q 16:89: "And we reveal the scripture unto you as an exposition of all things *(tibyānan li-kulli shayʾin)"* (see the interpretations below; see BOOK; TEACHING). Sometimes Q 6:38, "We have neglected nothing in the book," is also quoted in the same spirit (Suyūṭī, *Itqān,* iv, 28 [chap. 65]). The theme of the "seven aspects (*aḥruf,* sing. *ḥarf;* in a later context *ḥarf* sometimes corresponds to what French linguists call 'articulation')" in which the Qurʾān is supposed to have been delivered also played a major role in that theological representation, as can be seen in the use of this prophetic tradition by the Andalusian jurist Abū Bakr Ibn al-ʿArabī (d. 543/748; *Qānūn,* 70, 189-95; see OFT-REPEATED; POLYSEMY). For him, "The sciences of the ḥadīth are sixty, but the sciences of the Qurʾān are more" (op. cit., 193), and for him the sciences of the Qurʾān are 77,450, i.e. the number of the words he said it contained (op. cit., 226-7; Zarkashī, *Burhān,* i, 16-17; Suyūṭī, *Muʿtarak,* i, 23; id., *Itqān,* iv, 37 [chap. 65; cf. chap. 19, i, 242, for the number of words: 77,435, 77,437, or 77,200]; Rosenthal, *Knowledge,* 20: ca. 78,000). This last declaration seems to come from Ṣūfī scholars (see ṢŪFISM AND THE QURʾĀN); it was already in *The revival of the religious sciences* of al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111; *Iḥyāʾ,* Cairo 1939, i, 290: 77,200 sciences).

In a later period, the Ḥanbalite traditionist Ibn Rajab (d. 795/1395) wrote a book, now lost, entitled *Bayān al-istighnāʾ bi-l-Qurʾān fī taḥṣīl al-ʿilm wa-l-īmān* ("The exposition showing that the Qurʾān is sufficient for acquiring science and faith"; Ḥājjī Khalīfa, *Kashf,* i, 273, no. 613); he mentioned it in his treatise against singing and his other treatise on submission to God during prayer (q.v.; *Nuzhat al-asmāʿ,* in Ibn Rajab, *Majmūʿ rasāʾil,* ii, 463: against singing the Qurʾān and singing in general; *al-Dhull wa-l-inkisār* or *al-Khushūʿ fī l-ṣalāt,* in *Majmūʿ rasāʾil,* i, 298: on people who died of pleasure on hearing the Qurʾān; see RECITATION OF THE QURʾĀN; WEEPING). This last work is usually mentioned with the title *al-Istighnāʾ bi-l-Qurʾān* ("That the Qurʾān is sufficient"; quoted by Biqāʿī, *Maṣāʿid,* i, 379). In the introduction to his *Nafaḥāt al-Raḥmān fī tafsīr al-Qurʾān wa-tabyīn al-furqān* ("Fragrances of the merciful and elucidation of the evidence"), the Shīʿī Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥīm al-Nihāwandī (born 1289/1871; see SHĪʿISM AND THE QURʾĀN) provides an impressive list of all the knowledge supposed to be found in the Qurʾān, which "contains everything" (quoted in *UQM,* i, 179-81). ʿAlī is

purported to have said, "The Qurʾān was sent down in four parts: a part concerning us (i.e. the people of the family of the Prophet), one part concerning our enemies, one part obligations and regulations *(farāʾiḍ wa-aḥkām),* and one part permitted and prohibited *(ḥalāl wa-ḥarām).* And the exalted *(karāʾim)* passages concern us" (Furāt al-Kūfī, d. ca. 310/922, *Tafsīr,* 45-6, no. 1, with other versions, 46-50; Bar-Asher, *Scripture,* 88-9).

Thus studying the Qurʾān is the most sublime duty. According to Ibn al-Jawzī (d. 597/1200): "The holy Qurʾān, being the noblest of the sciences, the insight into its meanings is the most complete of insights *(kāna l-fahmu li-maʿānīhi awfā l-fuhūm)* because the nobility of a science depends upon the nobility of the subject of this science" (*Zād,* i, 3; cf. Ibn Abī Shayba, *Muṣannaf,* vi, 125-6 [22, *Faḍāʾil al-Qurʾān,* 16]).

The origins and development of the sciences of the Qurʾān

To enforce recognition of the new religion, Muḥammad and/or Islam used a kind of competitive mimeticism (French *mimétisme concurrentiel,* an expression used by anthropologists) in viewing the Qurʾān *("al-kitāb")* as superior to the other sacred books. They based this claim on the well-known tradition attributed to Muḥammad: "The first scripture came down according to a single *ḥarf* [mode, face, edge, letter, passage, meaning or reading? in other versions *bāb,* i.e. gate], while the *Qurʾān* came down according to seven [other versions have four or five]" (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* i, 21-71; Eng. trans. i, 16-30; Mahdawī, *Bayān,* 24-8; Gilliot, Lectures, i; id., *Elt,* 111-33). The alleged limitation of the prior scriptures and the polysemy of the word *ḥarf* opened the way to an interpretation such as the following:

By the first Book coming down from one gate he (Muḥammad) meant the Books of God which came down on his prophets to whom they were sent down, in which there were no divine ordinances and judgments, or pronouncements about what was lawful and what was unlawful, such as the Psalms of David, which are invocations and exhortations, and the Evangel of Jesus, which is glorification, praise and encouragement to pardon and be charitable, but no legal ordinances and judgments besides this, and scriptures like these which came down with one or seven meanings, all of which are contained in our Book which God conferred on our Prophet, Muḥammad and his community (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* i, 71; Eng. trans. i, 30; Gilliot, Lectures, ii, 56).

The theme of "seven *ḥarf*s" (in the Sunnī tradition; cf. *EQ,* ii, 127-207) has probably been borrowed from Judaism or Christianity, and their notion of the quadruple sense/meaning of scripture (Heb.: *peshat, remez, derash, sod;* Lat: *sensus litteralis, sensus spiritualis,* divided into: *littera/historia, allegoria, tropologia/moralis, anagogia;* Wansbrough, *QS,* 243; Böwering, *Mystical,* 139-40; Gilliot, *Elt,* 120-1; see Gilliot/Larcher, Exegesis, 100b). The tradition on the seven (three, four or five; Biqāʿī, *Maṣāʿid,* i, 382-8) "meanings/faces" *(aḥruf)* of the Qurʾān was interpreted in different ways (16 or 35 interpretations in the Sunnī tradition, which we have reduced to seven kinds; Gilliot, Lectures, i, 18).

Imāmī Shīʿa (*EQ,* ii, 209-38), especially the "rationalists" *(uṣūliyya),* also discuss the Sunnī way of interpreting these traditions but early Shīʿism and the group of those who were called later "traditionists/traditionalists" (*akhbāriyya;* Amir-Moezzi and Jambet, *Qu'est-ce que le chiisme,* 221-3) reject the theme of the seven *aḥruf,* in accordance with their doctrine of the falsification of the Qurʾān by the Companions (see also SHīʿA). They use as their authority a declaration attributed to Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq (d. 148/765): "The Qurʾān was only sent

down in one *ḥarf,* and the disagreement comes from the transmitters" (*UQM,* ii, 237-8). But the tradition was also explained as seven possibilities of interpretation, so according to Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq: "The Qurʾān was sent down in seven *aḥruf,* and the most suitable for the imām *(adnā mā li)* is to deliver his opinions *(an yuftiya)* in seven ways *(wujūh)*. Then he said: 'This is our gift, so bestow, or withhold, without reckoning'" (Q 38:39; Ibn Bābawayh, d. 381/991, *Khiṣāl,* 358; *UQM,* ii, 212).

One of these interpretations is especially interesting for our subject. According to Ibn Masʿūd, Muḥammad should have said: "The first Book came down from one gate according to one *ḥarf,* but the Qurʾān came down from seven gates according to seven *ḥarf*s: prohibiting and commanding (see FORBIDDEN; VIRTUES AND VICES, COMMANDING AND FORBIDDING), lawful and unlawful (q.v.), clear and ambiguous (q.v.), and parables" (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* i, 68, no. 67; Eng. trans. i, 29; Abū Shāma, *Murshid,* 107, 109, 271-4; Suyūṭī, *Itqān,* i, 170-1; Gilliot, Lectures, i, 20; cf. Abū ʿUbayd, *Faḍāʾil* [44], i, 278-9, no. 87: different, and from another Companion; see also PARABLE). Or in another version the seven are "command and reprimand (*zajr;* or prohibition, *nahy*), encouragement of good and discouragement of evil (*targhīb wa-tarhīb;* see GOOD AND EVIL), dialectic (*jadal;* see DEBATE AND DISPUTATION), narratives (q.v.; *qiṣaṣ*) and parable (*mathal;* Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* i, 69, no. 68; trans. i, 29, modified by us; Māwardī, *Nukat,* i, 29). We are not at all sure that Muḥammad ever uttered such a declaration, but what interests us here is that this tradition with the symbolic number seven (see NUMBERS AND ENUMERATION; NUMEROLOGY), which relates to perfection, was one way to express the conviction that the Qurʾān contains all knowledge. The word knowledge *(ʿilm)* does not appear in it nor does it use substantives, but only participles and adjectives; yet the way was opened to creating categories from these, i.e. different "genres" or "sciences." This is exemplified in a declaration attributed to the same Ibn Masʿūd: "God sent down the Qurʾān according to five *aḥruf:* lawful and unlawful, clear and ambiguous, and parables" (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* 69, no. 70; trans. i, 29).

The early exegete Muqātil b. Sulaymān (d. 150/767; Gilliot, Muqātil) has summarized in two lists, a shorter and a longer, the various aspects or genres contained in the Qurʾān (see LITERARY STRUCTURES OF THE QURʾĀN). He does not refer to the prophetic traditions on the *aḥruf* of the Qurʾān but his lists clearly relate to that subject. They are also an attempt to establish some exegetical or hermeneutical principles (see EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL). He does not speak of "science" *(ʿilm),* but we can see in these lists an indication for what will become in the future the "sciences of the Qurʾān." In the first list, he says: "The Qurʾān was sent down according to five aspects/modes/genres (*awjuh,* pl. of *wajh;* Goldziher, *Richtungen,* 84-5): its command *(amruhu),* prohibition, promise, threat *(waʿīd),* and account of the ancients" (Muqātil, *Tafsīr,* i, 26; Nwyia, *Exégèse,* 67; Gilliot, *Elt,* 118). This declaration should be compared with that attributed to the Companion Ibn ʿAbbās (d. 69/688) and transmitted by al-Kalbī (d. 146/763), since both al-Kalbī and Muqātil have numerous exegetical interpretations in common and are considered the heirs of the exegesis of the Companion Ibn ʿAbbās:

The Qurʾān was [revealed] in four aspects *(wujūh): tafsīr* [the literal meaning?] which scholars know; Arabic with which the Arabs (q.v.) are acquainted (see ARABIC LANGUAGE); lawful and unlawful *(ḥalāl wa-ḥarām)* of which it is not permissible for

people to be unaware; [and] *taʾwīl* [the deeper meaning?], that which only God knows.

Where a further explanation of *taʾwīl* is demanded, it is described as "what will be" (*mā huwa kāʾin;* Muqātil, *Tafsīr,* i, 27; see Gilliot/Larcher, Exegesis, 100b).

Muqātil's second list is a considerable expansion of his first one:
The Qurʾān contains references that are: (1) particular and (2) general; (3) particular to Muslims; (4) particular to certain idolaters, particular to one idolater (see IDOLATRY AND IDOLATERS); (5) general to all people; (6) ambiguous and (7) well-established (or clear, univocal); (8) explained *(mufassar)* and (9) obscure (or unexplained, *mubham*); (10) implicit *(iḍmār)* and (11) explicit *(tamām);* (12) connections *(ṣilāt)* in the discourse. It also contains (13) abrogating and (14) abrogated [verses (q.v.); see ABROGATION]; (15) anteposition *(taqdīm)* and (16) postposition (*taʾkhīr;* Gk. *hysteron* vs. *proteron*); (17) synonyms/analogues *(ashbāh),* with many (18) polysems/homonyms *(wujūh),* and with apodosis *(jawāb)* in another sūra (see SŪRAS). [It contains also] (19) parables *(amthāl)* by which God refers: to himself, (20) to unbelievers and idols (see IDOLS AND IMAGES), (21) to this world (q.v.), (22) to resurrection (q.v.), and to the world to come (see ESCHATOLOGY); (23) report (or history; *khabar*) about the ancients, (24) about paradise (q.v.) and hell (see HELL AND HELLFIRE); (25) particular to one idolater; (26) duties (*farāʾiḍ,* or perhaps here: inheritance? [q.v.]), (27) legal rules *(aḥkām)* and (28) punishments (*ḥudūd;* see BOUNDARIES AND PRECEPTS; CHASTISEMENT AND PUNISHMENT); (29) accounts of what is in the hearts of the believers, (30) or in the hearts of the unbelievers; (31) polemics *(khuṣūma)* against the Arab idolaters; then (32) interpretation *(tafsīr),* and (33) the interpretation which has an interpretation (Muqātil, *Tafsīr,* i, 27; Gilliot, *Elt,* 118-19; Versteegh, *Arabic grammar,* 104-5).

This list could be compared to the list of thirty aspects attributed to "ancient" scholars by al-Suyūṭī (*Itqān,* iii, 117-18 [chap. 51]).

As for Q 16:89, "And we reveal the scripture unto you as an exposition of all things" (see above), it played a role comparable to the traditions of the "seven *aḥruf*" in preparing the way for the establishment or creation of "qurʾānic sciences." Indeed, this verse was interpreted by an early exegete, Mujāhid (d. 104/722), as: "What is permitted and what is forbidden" (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* xiv, 162). For one of the first theorists of the methodology of law, al-Shāfiʿī (d. 204/820):

God has revealed the scripture as an exposition of all things, and this clarification *(tabyīn)* has several forms: Either he has clearly stated duties *(mā bayyana farḍahu fīhi),* or he has given general revelations (*mā anzala jumlatan;* see REVELATION AND INSPIRATION), and in this case he has elucidated how it should be, through the tongue of his prophet, or he has given a ruling on duties in a general way *(jumlatan)* and ordered to investigate it, but giving indications *(ʿalāmāt)* which he has created… (Shāfiʿī, *K. Jimāʿ al-ʿilm,* in id., *al-Umm,* vii, 277; ix, 15; trans. according to this latter, better ed.; Suyūṭī, *Itqān,* i, 16; cf. ibid., iv, 29 [chap. 65]; Ibn ʿĀdil, *Lubāb,* xii, 140-1, commenting on Q 16:89, adds: consensus, analogy, information coming from a single traditionist, etc.).

For al-Shāfiʿī, "the Qurʾān virtually contains all the modes of the *bayān*" (Yahia, *Contribution,* 310). It should be noted that *bayān* cannot be translated as a single word because it is "the manifestation of the divine meanings, the intentions of the Creator who conveys them by the acts of

his will, the *aḥkām*" (i.e. rules). "It is a theophany of the meaning" (Yahia, *Contribution,* 362).

But the same al-Shāfiʿī related the interpretation of Q 16:89 with the tradition on the "seven *aḥruf*" and its interpretations, opening the way to a representation of "the science (then sciences) of the Qurʾān," in ca. 189/805, when he appeared before the caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd, in the presence of the famous Ḥanafī jurist, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Shaybānī, who defended him. The caliph asked al-Shāfiʿī about his "knowledge/science" of the "book of God" *(kayfa ʿilmuka bihi),* and al-Shāfiʿī answered:

About what science do you ask, Commander of the Faithful? Is it the science of its descent (revelation, *tanzīl*) or of its interpretation *(taʾwīl)*? The science of what is clear (*muḥkam,* or well established) or ambiguous (*mutashābih,* or similar) in it? What is abrogating *(nāsikh)* or abrogated *(mansūkh)* in it? Its narratives *(akhbār)* or rules *(aḥkām)*? Its Meccan or Medinan (sūras or verses; see MECCA; MEDINA; CHRONOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN)? What was sent down in the night or during the day? During a journey (q.v.; *safar;* see also TRIPS AND VOYAGES) or at home *(ḥaḍarī)*? The elucidation of its description *(tabyīn waṣfihi)*? The arrangement of its forms (?) *(taswiyat ṣuwarihi)*? Its synonyms/analogues *(naẓāʾir)*? Its good pronunciation (or grammatical pronunciation/explanation; *iʿrāb;* see GRAMMAR AND THE QURʾĀN)? The modes of its reading (*wujūh qirāʾatihi;* see READINGS OF THE QURʾĀN)? Its words *(ḥurūfihi)*? The meanings of its manners of speaking *(maʿānī lughātihi)*? Its legal punishments *(ḥudūdih)*? The number of its verses?

Hārūn al-Rashīd said, "You claim that you have a great knowledge of the Qurʾān" (Bayhaqī, *Manāqib,* i, 136; Zurqānī, *Manāhil,* i, 26: an abridged report without references, of which the beginning does not seem authentic: "The sciences of the Qurʾān are numerous…").

This list of al-Shāfiʿī is not unconnected to that of Muqātil b. Sulaymān because he knew Muqātil's exegesis and held it in high esteem, and he reportedly declared that, "All people are dependent on *(ʿiyāl)* three men: on Muqātil b. Sulaymān for exegesis…" (Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt,* v, 255; Abbott, *Studies,* ii, 100).

Books on the topic or with the term "sciences of the Qurʾān" in their title

The emergence of the technical expression "sciences of the Qurʾān" has been credited to the sixth/twelfth or seventh/thirteenth century (*EQ,* i, 10), or seventh/thirteenth century (Zurqānī, *Manāhil,* i, 27), or even to the beginning of the fifth/eleventh century (ibid., i, 28). A precise determination, however, depends on the state of our knowledge, and to date no complete study in Arabic or any other language exists concerning this subject.

What can be said is that this technical term already occurs in the title of a book from the second half of the third/ninth or the beginning of the following century: Ibn al-Marzubān (Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Khalaf al-Muḥawwalī al-Baghdādī al-Ājurrī, d. 309/921; Brockelmann, *GAL,* i, 125; S i, 189-90; Samʿānī, *Ansāb,* v, 221) wrote a large book in twenty-seven parts *(ajzāʾ)*, entitled *al-Hāwī fī ʿulūm al-Qurʾān* ("The compendium in the sciences of the Qurʾān"; Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist,* 149; Ibn al-Nadīm-Dodge, 328; Yāqūt, *Irshād,* vi, 2645, no. 1115, has: Muḥammad b. al-Marzubān Abū l-ʿAbbās al-Dīmiratī, *leg.* al-Dīmīratī; Dhahabī, *Siyar,* xiv, 264; Dāwūdī, *Ṭabaqāt,* ii, 141, no. 486; Ṣāliḥ, *Mabāḥithi,* 122). We know nothing about the content of this book, which could be a Qurʾān commentary. The author was primarily a man of letters and he translated more than fifty books from Persian into

Arabic. One of his students, Ibn al-Anbārī (d. 328/940; Brockelmann, *GAL,* i, 119; S ii, 182; Sezgin, *GAS,* viii, 148, ix, 144-7) is said to have composed *ʿAjāʾib ʿulūm al-Qurʾān* ("The marvels of the sciences of the Qurʾān"; Sezgin, *GAS,* ix, 147 *op.* 4: ms. Alexandria), in which he dealt with the excellent qualities *(faḍāʾil)* of the Qurʾān, its descent in seven modes, the writing of its codices (see CODICES OF THE QURʾĀN), the number of its sūras, verses and words, etc. (Ṣāliḥ, *Mabāḥith,* 122). This title does not appear in the list of his works (Ibn al-Anbārī, *Ẓāhir,* i, 21-7), but since a presumed manuscript of it has been preserved, this manuscript should be examined thoroughly to establish authenticity. On the other hand, we are sure that he wrote *al-Mushkil fī maʿānī l-Qurʾān* ("The obscure in the meanings of the Qurʾān") which he dictated over the years but only completed up to Q 20 (Sūrat Ṭā Hā; Sezgin, *GAS,* viii, 153).

An author who was accused of extremist Shīʿī tendencies, al-Ruhnī (Muḥammad b. Baḥr, fl. early fourth/tenth century; Yāqūt, *Irshād,* vi, 2434-6, no. 1004; Kohlberg, *Medieval Muslim,* no. 441) wrote *Muqaddimat ʿilm al-Qurʾān* ("The introduction to the science of the Qurʾān," not extant) in which he emphasized that ʿAlī (see ʿALĪ B. ABĪ ṬĀLIB) and the People of the House (q.v.; i.e. the family of the Prophet; see FAMILY OF THE PROPHET) are the sole authority (q.v.) for the interpretation of the Qurʾān, stating also that the copies of the Qurʾān which ʿUthmān (q.v.) sent to the great cities of the empire differed from each other in their reading of certain passages, etc. (see also RECITERS OF THE QURʾĀN).

The Muʿtazilī philologist al-Rummānī al-Ikhshīdī (d. 384/994) wrote several books on various qurʾānic topics (see Qifṭī, *Inbāh,* 295), among them a huge qurʾānic commentary, of which parts 7, 10 and 12 are extant (part 12 in 150 folios, from Q 14:17 to Q 18:37!) — namely *al-Ǧāmiʿ fī ʿilm (ʿulūm) tafsīr al-Qurʾān* ("The comprehensive treatise on the science [or sciences] of the exegesis of the Qurʾān"; Sezgin, *GAS,* viii, 112-13, 270; for both, see Mubārak, *Rummānī,* 93-9). It seems to be identical with his *al-Tafsīr al-kabīr* ("Great commentary").

A confusion was made in some sources (Ibn al-ʿArabī, *Qānūn,* 119; id., *ʿAwāṣim,* 97-8) between two works of Abū l-Ḥasan al-Ashʿarī (d. 324/935), *al-Mukhtazan* ("The depository"), a book on dialectic theology, and *Tafsīr al-Qurʾān* ("Commentary of the Qurʾān," in 500 volumes!) in which he refuted his opponents and especially the Muʿtazilite Abū ʿAlī l-Jubbāʾī and al-Kaʿbī. Ibn al-ʿArabī claims that only one copy (!) of this work existed in the fourth/tenth century, for which al-Ṣāḥib Ibn ʿAbbād (d. 385/995) is reported to have paid 10,000 dinars to put it in the Dār al-Khilāfa, but the copy was destroyed in a fire (Gimaret, Bibliography d'Ashʿarī, 255-6, 260-2). Ibn Fūrak (d. 406/1015) tells us that there existed only rare copies of this commentary and that it was unknown by most of the Ashʿarites (Ibn Fūrak, *Mujarrad,* 165, 325).

In the second half of the fourth/tenth century or the beginning of the following, a great exegete of Khurāsān, the Karrāmite Ibn Ḥabīb al-Nīsābūrī (d. 406/1016; Gilliot, Exégèse, 139), who became a Shāfiʿī, wrote *al-Tanbīh ʿalā faḍl ʿulūm al-Qurʾān* ("The exhortation on the precedence of the sciences of the Qurʾān"; not in the list of his works, but quoted in Suyūṭī, *Itqān,* i, 36), and *Kitāb al-Tanzīl wa-tartībihi* ("The book of the descent and its arrangement"), which are extant (Saleh, *Formation,* 45-7, 88). His well-known student, the Nīsābūrian exegete Abū Isḥāq al-Thaʿlabī (d. 427/1035) composed *al-Kāmil fī ʿilm al-Qurʾān* ("The complete work in the qurʾānic science"); one of his most

noted disciples Abū l-Ḥasan al-Wāḥidī (d. 468/1076) read it in his presence (Yāqūt, *Irshād,* iv, 1663; Gilliot, Exégèse, 140; Saleh, *Formation,* 51). These three books are not extant.

But the works of these Nīsābūrians were possibly preceded by those of the Karrāmites of Nīsābūr (Saleh, *Formation,* 87-8: on al-Thaʿlabī's fourteen hermeneutical aspects). Another testimony of their great activity in the qurʾānic disciplines is *The book of foundations* (*Mabānī,* in Jeffery, *Muqaddimas,* 5-250; Gilliot, Sciences coraniques) of Ibn Bisṭām (Abū Muḥammad Ḥāmid b. Aḥmad b. Jaʿfar b. Bisṭām al-Ṭuḥayrī, or al-Ṭakhīrī? Ṣarīfīnī, *Muntakhab,* 211, no. 638; Gilliot, Sciences coraniques, 19-20, 59). This book on qurʾānic sciences was completed in 425/1034, as an introduction to Ibn Bisṭām's qurʾānic commentary. We had previously attributed it erroneously to Abū Muḥammad Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī l-ʿĀṣimī (Gilliot, Théologie musulmane, 183) but the right attribution has recently been definitively established (Anṣārī, Mulāḥaẓāt-i, 80). This Karrāmī tradition in qurʾānic sciences, however, is earlier and comes from the great Karrāmī master of Nīsābūr, al-Ḥakīm Ibn al-Hayṣam al-Nabī (d. 409/1019; van Ess, *Ungenützte Texte,* 60-74), who had a *Kitāb Iʿjāz al-Qurʾān* ("Book on the inimitability of the Qurʾān") and from important elements going back to Ibn Karrām (d. 255/869) himself, as seen in the *Kitāb al-Īḍāḥ* of another Karrāmī, Aḥmad b. Abī ʿUmar al-Zāhid al-Andarābī (d. 470/1077) who was a student of Ibn Bisṭām (Gilliot, Théologie musulmane, 18-19, 57-8). Al-Andarābī had also collected in a manuscript written by his own hand (extant in Mashhad, Maktaba Riḍawiyya, ms. 12405 with a *waqf* signed by al-Andarābī) five books or treatises on the qurʾānic sciences pertaining to the Karrāmī legacy, like *Qawāriʿ al-Qurʾān* ("The book on the verses containing maledictions against Satan," copied by al-Andarābī in 429/1038, with certificates of audition; edited in Iran but not on the basis of the manuscript of al-Andarābī; Anṣārī, Mulāḥaẓāt-i, 69-71). The leader of the Nīsābūrian Karrāmites at his time, Abū Bakr ʿAtīq b. Muḥammad al-Sūrābādī (d. 494/1101; van Ess, *Ungenützte Texte,* 73-4), composed a commentary on the Qurʾān which has been edited. Numerous manuscripts of the Karrāmite productivity in the field of qurʾānic sciences are extant, above all in Iranian libraries.

Al-Bāqillānī (d. 403/1013), the Mālikī and Ashʿarī scholar, who lived first in Baṣra and then Baghdād, was the author of *Iʿjāz al-Qurʾān* ("The inimitability of the Qurʾān"). He also wrote *[Nukat] al-Intiṣār li-naql al-Qurʾān* ("The victory for the transmission of the Qurʾān"), which contains much material on qurʾānic disciplines, such as: the names of the Qurʾān (q.v.), sūra, verse (see FORM AND STRUCTURE OF THE QURʾĀN); its transmission and arrangement (see MANUSCRIPTS OF THE QURʾĀN; MUṢḤAF); refutation of the Shīʿīs and others on it, the seven aspects *(al-aḥruf al-sabʿa);* its language and style (see LANGUAGE AND STYLE OF THE QURʾĀN); the satanic verses (q.v.); its collection (see COLLECTION OF THE QURʾĀN); the variants and the seven readers; etc.

The Egyptian grammarian and exegete al-Ḥawfī (Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Ibrāhīm, d. 430/1039) wrote a qurʾānic commentary in thirty volumes, called *al-Burhān fī tafsīr al-Qurʾān* ("The proof concerning the exegesis of the Qurʾān"; Brockelmann, *GAL,* ii, 411; S i, 729; Ḥājjī Khalīfa, *Kashf,* ii, 46-7, no. 1794; i, 241; Yāqūt, *Irshād,* iv, 1343-4, no. 713; Zarkashī, *Burhān,* i, 301; iii, 222). It is extant in about fifteen volumes. It is a commentary that follows the order of the text but with subdivisions according to the "sciences of the Qurʾān": the syntax

of the verse and its sense in the context (i.e. *al-nazm,* "the arrangement"; cf. Biqāʿī, *Nazm;* Suyūṭī, *Tanāsub:* on the relation between the sūras), then the grammatical and lexical points, or *"prononciation grammaticale"* (*iʿrāb;* Silvestre de Sacy, Muqniʿ, 307). Al-Zarkashī (d. 794/1392; *Burhān,* i, 301, puts this book in the list of the best books on that subject). This commentary treats the meaning and the exegesis *(maʿnā, tafsīr)* of the verse, then issues concerning the recitational pause or its impossibility *(al-waqf wa-l-itmām),* then the textual variants *(qirāʾāt),* then, if necessary, the legal rules *(aḥkām),* the occasions of revelation *(asbāb al-nuzūl),* the abrogation *(naskh),* etc. (Zurqānī, *Manāhil,* i, 27-8; according to al-Zurqānī, al-Ḥawfī had originally entitled his commentary *al-Burhān fī ʿulūm al-Qurʾān,* "The proof concerning the sciences of the Qurʾān").

In the fifth/eleventh century, the man of letters and poet Abū ʿĀmir al-Faḍl b. Ismāʿīl al-Tamīmī l-Jurjānī (d. after 458/1066) wrote *al-Bayān fī ʿilm/ʿulūm al-Qurʾān* ("The exposition on the science or sciences of the Qurʾān"; Yāqūt, *Irshād,* 2166, 2170; Ḥājjī Khalīfa, *Kashf,* ii, 82, no. 2012). It was probably a commentary with special emphasis on the philological and literary aspects of the Qurʾān, like *Durj al-durar* ("The drawer of pearls"; Brockelmann, *GAL,* S i, 504, *op.* viii) of his colleague, the philologist and rhetorician ʿAbd al-Qāhir al-Jurjānī (d. 471/1078; see RHETORIC AND THE QURʾĀN), if the attribution of this title to al-Jurjānī is true (Ḥājjī Khalīfa, *Kashf,* iii, 222, no. 5043, expresses a doubt).

The Shāfiʿī jurist, judge and Ashʿarī theologian of Baghdād (who was originally from Jīlān, which was noteworthy for an Ashʿarī), Shaydhala (Abū l-Maʿālī ʿAzīzī/ʿUzayzī b. ʿAbd al-Malik al-Jīlī: d. 494/1100; Brockelmann, *GAL,* i, 433; S i, 775; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt,* iii, 259-60), wrote *al-Burhān fī mushkilāt al-Qurʾān* ("The proof about the difficult passages of the Qurʾān"). Al-Suyūṭī (*Itqān,* i, 31-2; 177-81) puts this book on the list of handbooks on the sciences of the Qurʾān that do not provide exhaustive coverage of the constitutent topics of this discipline. It is also quoted by al-Zarkashī, especially concerning the "inimitability" (q.v.) of the Qurʾān (*Burhān,* ii, 90; iii, 375).

In the sixth/twelfth century, the Khurāsānī Shāfiʿī of Marw al-Rūdh, al-Zāghūlī (Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Aruzzī, d. 559/1164), is said to have written a work in 400 volumes, *Qayd al-awābid,* "The fettering of the fleeing (animals)"/"The registration of the fleeting (ideas)," a kind of huge encyclopedia on the sciences of exegesis, tradition, law and language, which is not extant (Dhahabī, *Siyar,* xx, 492-3; Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis,* i, no. 450/2; Ḥājjī Khalīfa, *Kashf,* iv, 590, no. 9688, has "four volumes"; ed. Yaltkaya, ii, 1367 has "400 volumes").

The Ḥanbalī polymath from Baghdād, Ibn al-Jawzī (d. 597/1201), wrote several books on the subject, e.g. *ʿAjāʾib ʿulūm al-Qurʾān* ("The wonders of the sciences of the Qurʾān"; Brockelmann, *GAL,* i, 504, *op.* 30; ʿAlwajī, *Muʾallafāt,* no. 324), which is edited (Gilliot, Textes arabes, in *MIDEO* 19, no. 29). The title mentioned by Brockelmann (*GAL, op.* 32), *al-Mujtabā fī ʿulūm al-Qurʾān* ("The selection on the sciences of the Qurʾān"), extant in one volume, deals not only with qurʾānic knowledge (like variants), but also with other matters, ḥadīth, etc. (ʿAlwajī, *Muʾallafāt,* no. 383). Ibn al-Jawzī also wrote an abridgment of it, *al-Mujtabā min al-mujtabā* ("The selection of the selection"; Brockelmann, *GAL,* S i, 918, *sub op.* 32; ʿAlwajī, *Muʾallafāt,* no. 384). A third work, *al-Mudhish* ("The marvelous"), also called *al-Mudhish wa-l-muḥāḍarāt* ("The marvellous and the lectures," or "The marvellous on exhortations and sermons," etc.), completed in 591/1194, treats

some qurʾānic matters in the first chapter (2-22), then language, ḥadīth, historiography, and parenetics, such as legends of the prophets, etc., in the remaining four chapters (Brockelmann, *GAL,* i, 506, *op.* 81; S i, 920; Ḥājjī Khalīfa, *Kashf,* v, 477, no. 11704; ii, 1640; ʿAlwajī, *Muʾallafāt,* no. 329). But the book which is the closest to the genre of the later voluminous and exhaustive handbooks on the sciences of the Qurʾān, like those of al-Zarkashī and al-Suyūṭī, is Ibn al-Jawzī's *Funūn al-afnān fī ʿajāʾib ʿulūm al-Qurʾān* ("The disciplines of the branches in the wonders of the sciences of the Qurʾān"; Brockelmann, *GAL,* i, 504; S i, 918; ʿAlwajī, *Muʾallafāt,* no. 167). It is also extant with other titles like *Fann al-afnān fī ʿuyūn ʿulūm al-Qurʾān* ("The discipline of the branches in the sources of the sciences of the Qurʾān"). But the relation between the first and the last of these works should be checked, taking into account the content of the different manuscripts of both. Finally, it should be noted that Ibn al-Jawzī, like other scholars, also wrote separate books on various sciences of the Qurʾān (see below; cf. also Fanīsān, *Āthār al-ḥanābila,* 94-9).

In the seventh/thirteenth century at least two handbooks were composed on the sciences of the Qurʾān: *Jamāl al-qurrāʾ wa-kamāl al-iqrāʾ* ("The beauty of the Qurʾān reciters and the perfection of the recitation"; Gilliot, Textes arabes, in *MIDEO* 19, no. 24) by ʿAlam al-Dīn al-Sakhāwī (d. 643/1246). It is divided into ten books: the sūras and verses of the Qurʾān; its inimitability; its meritorious qualities; its divisions; the number of its verses; noncanonical variants; abrogation; readers and readings; recitation *(tajwīd);* pause and beginning *(al-waqf wa-l-ibtidāʾ).* It is one of the sources of another handbook: *al-Murshid al-wajīz ilā ʿulūm tataʿallaq bi-l-kitāb al-ʿazīz* ("The brief guide to sciences connected with the august book"; Ḥājjī Khalīfa, *Kashf,* v, 494, no. 11,801) by the Damascene historian Abū Shāma al-Maqdisī (d. 665/1267); it falls in six chapters: revelation *(nuzūl),* collection, seven modes *(aḥruf),* recognized readings, irregular readings, and useful sciences of the Qurʾān.

The eighth/fourteenth century witnessed the most complete handbook on the subject yet produced: *al-Burhān fī ʿulūm al-Qurʾān* ("The proof concerning the sciences of the Qurʾān") of the Egyptian Badr al-Dīn al-Zarkashī (d. 794/1392). It was made up of forty-seven chapters (Brockelmann, *GAL,* ii, 91-2; S ii, 108, *op.* 20; Anawati, Textes arabes, in *MIDEO* 4, no. 18; no. 15 in *MIDEO* 6).

The work of the Andalusian Ibn Juzayy al-Kalbī l-Gharnāṭī (d. 741/1340), entitled *al-Tashīl li-ʿulūm al-tanzīl* ("The facilitation in the sciences of revelation"), is a commentary, but with a long introduction on these sciences (op. cit., i, 4-29). Another book, *al-Durr al-maṣūn fī ʿulūm/ʿilm al-kitāb al-maknūn* ("The protected pearls on the sciences or science of the covered book") of al-Samīn (or Ibn al-Samīn) al-Ḥalabī (d. 756/1355), which has been edited in six volumes, is in fact a commentary limited to grammatical and lexical explanations supported by numerous poetical quotations (see POETRY AND POETS). For this reason it is also called *Iʿrāb al-Samīn* ("The grammatical commentary of al-Samīn"; Brockelmann, *GAL,* ii, 111; S ii, 137-8, *op.* 1; Ḥājjī Khalīfa, *Kashf,* iii, 190, no. 4870).

The genre thrived in the ninth/fifteenth century, a century that can be called the century of the great handbooks on the qurʾānic sciences. Thus we have the author of a well-known Arabic dictionary *(al-Qāmūs),* al-Fīrūzābādī (d. 817/1415), writing his *Baṣāʾir dhawī l-tamyīz fī laṭāʾif al-kitāb al-ʿazīz* ("Insights of those having discernment in the subtleties of the holy book"). Then *Mawāqiʿ al-ʿulūm fī mawqiʿ al-nujūm*

("The positions of the sciences in relation to the places from which the stars set") is written by the Egyptian Jalāl al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Bulqīnī (d. 824/1421; Brockelmann, *GAL,* ii, 112; S ii, 139). This title is inspired by the concept of *nuzūl/ tanzīl* (descent) which is one of the terms used for the Islamic concept of "revelation." The book of Bulqīnī, together with that of al-Zarkashī, is one of the numerous sources of the *Itqān* of al-Suyūṭī who was a student of the former's younger brother ʿAlam al-Dīn al-Bulqīnī (Ḥājjī Khalīfa, *Kashf,* vi, 233-4, no. 13,351; Suyūṭī, *Itqān,* i, 17-18, with the introduction of al-Bulqīnī; id., *Taḥbīr,* 27-8).

The Ḥanafī of Bergama who settled in Cairo, Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Kāfiyajī (d. 879/1474; Brockelmann, *GAL,* ii, 144-5, *op.* 1), one of al-Suyūṭī's teachers, wrote a small handbook entitled *al-Taysīr fī qawāʿid ʿilm al-tafsīr* ("The facilitation of the principles of the science of exegesis"), which was completed in 856/1452. It is said that the author "was very proud of his book, thinking that nobody had produced such a good one before him. But he had probably not seen *al-Burhān* ("The proof") of Zarkashī, otherwise he would have been ashamed" (Ḥājjī Khalīfa, *Kashf,* ii, 487, no. 3813). It is divided into two chapters: 1. The technical terms of the qurʾānic sciences necessary for exegesis. 2. The rules of exegesis and various related questions.

The Egyptian polymath Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505) succeeded in writing the most complete handbook on the genre. When he read the book of his master al-Kāfiyajī on the sciences of the Qurʾān, he was disappointed. Then he read the *Mawāqiʿ* of Jalāl al-Dīn al-Bulqīnī, as per the advice of the brother of the author, his own master, ʿAlam al-Dīn al-Bulqīnī; he found it to be informative and well-organized, but thought it needed to be completed on a large number of important points and to be reorganized. He thus compiled *al-Taḥbīr fī ʿilm al-tafsīr* ("The refinement of the science of exegesis"; often called *al-Takhbīr,* "The index"; Ḥājjī Khalīfa, *Kashf,* ii, 248, no. 2729), which was written in 872/1467-8, in 102 chapters (Suyūṭī, *Itqān,* i, 16-23). Still unsatisfied, he wanted to do better and to write an exhaustive work. At this point, he discovered al-Zarkashī's *Burhān,* which pleased him greatly. He decided to reorganize it in a better way, and to add chapters and questions to it. This resulted in his writing *al-Itqān fī ʿulūm al-Qurʾān* ("The perfection of the sciences of the Qurʾān"; *Itqān,* i, 23-31), which was completed in 878/1474, in eighty chapters, as an introduction to his major qurʾānic commentary, *Majmaʿ al-baḥrayn wa-maṭlaʿ al-badrayn,* which he had already begun (Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis,* i, no. 423, on the genesis of the *Itqān;* Brockelmann, *GAL,* ii, 144; S ii, 179, *op.* 1). In spite of the smaller volume of the *Burhān,* it contains things which are not in the *Itqān*. Before his *Itqān,* al-Suyūṭī had written *Muʿtarak al-aqrān fī iʿjāz al-Qurʾān* ("The gymnasium of the equal [plurivocal words] about the inimitability of the Qurʾān"; Ḥājjī Khalīfa, *Kashf,* v, 620, no. 12,346), on the rhetorical and stylistic aspects of the Qurʾān. Although it does not deal with all the sciences of the Qurʾān, this book has numerous chapters in common with the *Itqān* (e.g. *Itqān* chapters 22-7/*Muʿtarak* chapter 10; 37-8/13; 43/9; 44/11; 45/14; 47/8; 48/7; 55/12; 60/5; 62/4; 63/6; 65/1; 67/29; 68/30, etc.).

The Shāfiʿī Ṣūfī of Damascus, Ibn ʿArrāq (Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, d. 933/1526) wrote a kind of anthology in 138 folios entitled *Jawharat al-ghawwāṣ wa-tuḥfat ahl al-ikhtiṣāṣ* (Brockelmann, *GAL,* ii, 332, *op.* 1; Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis,* i, no. 427), on the sciences of the Qurʾān, the Prophet, legends, the Companions, and mystical notions. In it he

copied Ibn al-Jawzī's *Risāla fī ʿilm al-mawāʿiẓ* ("Treatise on the science of religious exhortations"; Brockelmann, *GAL,* S i, 919, *op.* 75a; ʿAlwajī, *Muʿallafāt,* no. 168, not extant apart from this ms.), in four chapters: sciences of the Qurʾān, Qurʾān and philology, the sciences of tradition, historiography. He also copied *Radd maʿānī al-āyāt al-mutashābihāt,* or *Radd al-mutashābih ilā l-muḥkam* ("The meanings of the ambiguous passages of the Qurʾān") by al-Labbān al-Miṣrī (d. 749/1349; Brockelmann, *GAL,* i, 111, *op.* 3; Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis,* i, no. 716). Ibn ʿArrāq followed this with his own *Nawḥ al-qulūb* ("The intention of the heart") on the Prophet and Companions, etc., which has nothing to do with qurʾānic sciences, and then included a small treatise on special qurʾānic expressions coming from dialects (q.v.), according to the order of the sūras (ff. 14-30), transmitted by Abū Ṭāhir al-Silafī (d. 576/1180), in 572/1176, which is in reality *Kitāb Lughāt al-Qurʾān* ("The dialectal expressions in the Qurʾān"), attributed to Ibn ʿAbbās, transmitted to al-Silafī by al-Wazzān (Rippin, Ibn ʿAbbās, 19; Biqāʿī, *Kitāb Lughāt al-Qurʾān,* 137-8). Ibn ʿArrāq ends his collection with Ṣūfī explanations of a hundred qurʾānic expressions, drawn from the beginning of the qurʾānic commentary written by Abū l-ʿAbbās al-Būnī (d. 622/1225; Brockelmann, *GAL,* i, 497-8).

In his *Miftāḥ al-saʿāda wa-miṣbāḥ al-siyāda fī mawḍūʿāt al-ʿulūm* ("The key of happiness and the lamp of mastership on the subjects of the sciences"), an encyclopedic bio-bibliographical work on the classification of the sciences, Abū l-Khayr Ṭāshkubrīzādah (d. 968/1561) devotes the sixth chapter to the legal sciences (vol. ii), i.e. Qurʾān, ḥadīth and law *(fiqh),* in which the qurʾānic sciences receive considerable attention: exegesis of the Qurʾān, particularly the books written about this discipline (ii, 62-128); the branches of the [variant] readings (*furūʿ al-qirāʾāt;* 369-77); the branches of exegesis (*furūʿ al-tafsīr;* 380-595). That means that for him most of the qurʾānic sciences center on exegesis. Others consider them to be studies about the Qurʾān, except those devoted to "the meanings *(maʿānī)* and exegesis *(tafsīr)* of its verses" (*UQM,* i, 9).

The writing of handbooks on qurʾānic sciences continued in the following centuries, until the present day. We have thus *Maḥāsin al-taʾwīl* ("The beauties of exegesis") of Jamāl al-Dīn al-Qāsimī (d. 1914), which is a qurʾānic commentary containing much information on the sciences of the Qurʾān; *Tibyān al-furqān fī ʿulūm al-Qurʾān* ("The exposition of the discrimination of the sciences of the Qurʾān") of the Damascene Ṭāhir al-Jazāʾirī (d. 1920); *Manāhil al-ʿirfān fī ʿulūm al-Qurʾān* ("The springs of the knowledge of the sciences of the Qurʾān") of the Azharī scholar of the first half of the twentieth century, Muḥammad ʿAbd al-ʿAzīm al-Zurqānī, published in 1943, and quoted by some scholars as a source, although it is devoid of references; *Manhaj al-furqān fī ʿulūm al-Qurʾān* ("The method of the discrimination of the sciences of the Qurʾān") of M.ʿA. Salāma; *Fī ʿulūm al-qirāʾāt* ("On the sciences of the qurʾānic readings") of S.R. al-Ṭawīl, etc. And recently an anonymous collection was published under the title *ʿUlūm al-Qurʾān ʿinda l-mufassirīn* ("The sciences of the Qurʾān according to the exegetes," which has been abbreviated to *UQM* in this article) in three volumes, and also *al-Tamhīd fī ʿulūm al-Qurʾān* ("The facilitation of the sciences of the Qurʾān") of Ayatollah Muḥammad Hādī Maʿrifa.

It should be also noted that several exegetes wrote introductions to their commentaries which include different aspects of the sciences of the Qurʾān (*UQM,* i, 12), e.g. al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923; *Tafsīr,* i, 3-110; Eng. trans. i, 5-51); al-Thaʿlabī (d. 427/

1035; *Kashf,* i, 73-87); al-Ṭūsī (d. 460/1067; *Tibyān,* i, 1-21); Rāghib al-Iṣfahānī (d. prob. 502/1108; *Muqadimma* to his *Jāmiʿ al-tafāsīr,* 27-109); Ibn ʿAṭiyya al-Andalusī (d. 541/1147; *Muḥarrar,* i, 33-57; Jeffery, *Muqaddimas,* 251-94); al-Shahrastānī (d. 548/1153; *Mafātīḥ al-asrār,* i, f. 1v-27r; Monnot, Introduction); al-Ṭabarsī (d. 548/1153; *Majmaʿ,* i, 17-34); al-Qurṭubī (d. 671/1273; *Jāmiʿ,* i, 1-107); Niẓām al-Dīn al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Nīsābūrī l-Aʿraj (d. after 730/1329; *Tafsīr,* i, 1-48; Gilliot, Exégèse, 142-3, with reference to the studies of Monnot); Ibn Juzayy (d. 741/1340; *Tashīl,* i, 4-29); Abū Ḥayyān al-Gharnāṭī (d. 745/1344, *Baḥr,* i, 3-14: sources, masters and disciplines of exegesis); Ibn Kathīr (d. 774/1373; *Faḍāʾil,* as an independent book but also as a part of his commentary in some manuscripts (at the end; *Faḍāʾil,* 3-4; and perhaps in some editions); however, the introduction of the *Tafsīr* (i, 11-18) is different from that in his *Faḍāʾil;* al-Biqāʿī (d. 885/1480; *Maṣāʿid,* i, 97-478); Maḥmūd al-Ālūsī (d. 1854; *Rūḥ,* i, 22-85), etc. Some scholars, however, considered a general introduction, without detailed treatment of the qurʾānic sources, to be sufficient, while others would write a few pages on the necessity of exegesis, e.g. al-Māturīdī (d. 333/944, *Taʾwīlāt,* ed. Jubūri, 5-6; ed. Vanioğlu, i, 3-4: on *tafsīr* and *taʾwīl*), Abū l-Layth al-Samarqandī (d. 373/983; *Tafsīr,* i, 71-113), or al-Māwardī (d. 450/1058; *Nukat,* i, 23-43), on the names of the Qurʾān, the sūra, the seven aspects *(aḥruf),* "inimitability" and exegesis.

We should also mention the great books of traditions *(ḥadīth),* many of which have a "chapter on exegesis" *(Kitāb al-Tafsīr),* e.g. Saʿīd b. Manṣūr al-Khurāsānī (d. 227/842; in his *Sunan,* ii-iv, up to Q 5); al-Bukhārī (d. 256/870; in his *Ṣaḥīḥ,* iii, 193-390 [bk. 65]; Fr. trans. iii, 249-519); Ibn Ḥajar, in his *Fatḥ* (viii, 155-744); Muslim (d. 251/875; *Ṣaḥīḥ,* iv, 2312-23 [bk. 54]); al-Nasāʾī (d. 303/915; in his *Sunan,* vi, 282-526 [bk. 82]); Ḥākim al-Nīsābūrī (d. 405/1014; in his *Mustadrak,* ii, 220-541), etc. Many of them also have a *Faḍāʾil al-Qurʾān* ("Book on the meritorious qualities of the Qurʾān"), e.g. Saʿīd b. Manṣūr, in his *Sunan* (i, 7-232), one of the sources of al-Suyūṭī (*Itqān,* i, 48); Ibn Abī Shayba (d. 235/849, in his *Muṣannaf,* vi, 117-56 [bk. 22]); al-Bukhārī, in his *Ṣaḥīḥ* (iii, 391-410 [bk. 66]; Fr. trans. iii, 520-43); Ibn Ḥajar, in his *Fatḥ* (ix, 3-103); Muslim, in his *Ṣaḥīḥ* (iv, 543-66, within book 6, on the prayer of the travelers; see PRAYER FORMULAS); al-Nasāʾī, in his *Sunan* (v, 3-34 [bk. 75], or in an independent book such as Ḥākim al-Nīsābūrī, *Mustadrak,* ii, 220-57, i.e. at the beginning of *Kitāb al-Tafsīr*).

A survey of qurʾānic sciences based on the Itqān *of al-Suyūṭī*

Of course, before handbooks covering "all" qurʾānic disciplines were compiled and written, independent works on each of these qurʾānic disciplines were already in circulation. Yet we still have no exhaustive study, either in Arabic or in other languages, on the genesis and development of each of the so-called "qurʾānic sciences or disciplines." We shall thus attempt to provide here some ordering of this topic, based on the chapters of al-Suyūṭī's *Itqān,* and to give a brief chronological survey of books written on some of these disciplines (Nolin's *Itqān and its sources* is be used with caution because it contains many mistakes in proper names and titles as well as other errors). The eighty chapters of the *Itqān* can be divided into nine sections (Suyūṭī-Balhan, *Révélation,* 23-9; for all these disciplines, see also Ṭāshkubrīzādah, *Miftāḥ,* 380-595).

I. *Where and how the Qurʾān was sent down (inzāl, tanzīl, nuzūl;* Gilliot, Le Coran, fruit d'un travail collectif?): 1. What was sent

down in Mecca (q.v.) or in Medina (q.v.; *UQM,* i, 303-20). ʿIzz al-Dīn al-Dīrīnī (d. 697/1297; Brockelmann, *GAL,* i, 451-2, *op.* 3; Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis,* i, no. 466-7) wrote a poem of thirty-three verses, *Fī tartīb nuzūl al-Qurʾān al-ʿazīm,* on the arrangement of the sūras according to the place of their revelation. The question was also treated by the Mālikī Makkī b. Abī Ṭālib al-Qaysī l-Qayrawānī l-Andalusī (d. 437/1045), but al-Suyūṭī (*Itqān,* i, 36) does not include the title of his book. The interpolation of Medinan verses into Meccan sūras is treated in this discipline (Nagel, *Einschübe,* according to Ibn ʿAbd al-Kāfī's [d. after 400/1009] book without a title).

What was sent down: 2. At home or on a journey (or during a campaign; Ḥājjī Khalīfa, *Kashf,* i, 75 no. 4358; see EXPEDITIONS AND BATTLES). 3. During the day or at night. 4. In the summer or in the winter (see SEASONS). 5. In bed and while sleeping (see DREAMS AND SLEEP; VISION). 6. On the earth (q.v.) or in the sky. 7. First revealed, chronologically, either generally or on a particular subject (e.g. on wine [q.v.] or food; see FOOD AND DRINK; SUSTENANCE). 8. Last revealed.

9. The occasions of revelation. It is said that the earliest book on this subject was composed by ʿAlī b. al-Madīnī (d. 264/849; Sezgin, *GAS,* i, 108; Suyūṭī, *Itqān,* i, 177), but *al-Taʿrīf li-asbāb al-tanzīl,* attributed to Maymūn b. Mihrān (d. 117/735), although probably a later redaction with material coming from him, is extant in manuscript (introduction of the edition of Ibn Ḥajar, *ʿUjāb,* i, 80, with a list of twenty-two titles on this subject, 80-4).

10. Revelations (literally "descent") which coincided with the speech of one of the Companions. 11. Revelations which were repeated. 12. Revelations containing legal rules which were not applied immediately or revelations which were revealed after the application of a legal rule. 13. What was sent down in fragments or as a whole *(jumʿan).* 14. What was sent down accompanied (by angels; see ANGEL) or unaccompanied. 15. What had (already) been sent down to a prophet or was not sent down before the Prophet. 16. The modalities of the revelation (trans. Suyūṭī-Balhan, *Révélation,* 30-88).

II. *Its edition:* 17. The names of the Qurʾān (*UQM,* i, 21-52) and of the sūras (*UQM,* i, 321-34): In Shaydhala Abū l-Maʿālī ʿAzīzī's (d. 494/1100) *al-Burhān fī mushkilāt al-Qurʾān* ("The proof about the difficult passages of the Qurʾān"), it has fifty-five names (*Itqān,* i, 178-81). 18. Its collection (*jamʿ; UQM,* i, 335-412; Gilliot, Le Coran, fruit d'un travail collectif?, 195-9, on Zayd b. Thābit; on its collection and the problem of its falsification from a Shīʿī point of view, see Amīn, *Dāʾirat,* ix, 122-8) and arrangement (*tartīb;* Gilliot, Traditions). 19. The number of its sūras and verses (Pretzl, Koranlesung, 239-41, for both; Nöldeke, *GQ,* iii, 237-8: verses; Amīn, *Dāʾirat,* ix, 133a: 6236 verses), words and letters.

III. *Its transmission:* 20. Those who have memorized (Gilliot, Traditions) or transmitted it (see MEMORY). 21-27. The character of the various chains of authorities (*isnāds*) through which the different qurʾānic readings (variants) were transmitted (Nöldeke, *GQ,* iii, 116-231: readings, readers and books; Pretzl, Koranlesung, 17-47, 230-45; books: Ḥājjī Khalīfa, *Kashf,* iv, 506-8).

On readings and readers: Mahdawī (d. after 430/1039), *Bayān* (justification of the different readings); Andarābī (d. 470/1077), *Qirāʾāt.* On the seven canonical readings: Ibn Mujāhid (d. 324/936), *Sabʿa;* Ibn Khālawayh (d. 370/980), *Ḥujja;* Abū Manṣūr al-Azharī (d. 370/980), *Maʿānī l-qirāʾāt;* Abū ʿAlī l-Fārisī (d. 377/987),

Ḥujja; Abū l-Ṭayyib b. Ghalbūn (d. 389/999), *Istikmāl;* Ibn Shurayḥ al-Ruʿaynī l-Ishbīlī (d. 476/1083), *al-Kāfī;* Ibn Siwār al-Baghdādī (d. 496/1103), *Mustanīr;* Ibn al-Bādhish al-Gharnāṭī (d. 540/1145; Pretzl, Koranlesung, 28-9, no. 11: where *leg.* Bādhish, not Bādhash), *Iqnāʿ,* held in high esteem by Abū Ḥayyān al-Gharnāṭī (*Baḥr,* i, l. 11-12). On the eight (see their names and ways of transmission in Gilliot, Textes, in *MIDEO* 25-6, no. 78), i.e. the seven canonical readers and Yaʿqūb b. Isḥāq al-Ḥaḍramī (d. 205/821): Ibn Ghalbūn (Ṭāhir, d. 399/1009, the son of the previous Ibn Ghalbūn), *Tadhkira;* Ahwāzī (d. 446/1055), *Wajīz,* 63-76 (Kohlberg, *Medieval Muslim,* no. 643); Abū Maʿshar al-Ṭabarī (d. 478/1085), *Talkhīṣ.* On the ten readings: Abū Bakr b. Mihrān (d. 381/991), *Ghāya;* id., *Mabsūṭ,* which is a commentary on his larger work, *al-Shāmil fī l-qirāʾāt al-ʿashr* (not extant); Makkī b. Abī Ṭālib, *Tabṣira;* Abū l-ʿIzz al-Wāsiṭī l-Qalānisī (d. 521/1127; Pretzl, Koranlesung, 40, no. 28), *Irshād;* Ibn al-Jazarī (d. 833/1429), *Nashr,* i, 2-192, with a list of books on readings in general. On the fourteen readings and ways of transmission: Bannāʾ al-Dimyāṭī (d. 1117/1705), *Iḥtāf,* i, 75-9 (see Khaṭīb, *Muʿjam al-qirāʾāt;* Hamdan, *Koranlesung;* id., Nichtkanonische Lesarten; Muḥaysin, *Qirāʾāt,* on the influence of the readings on Arabic grammar and philology; Gilliot, *Elt,* 135-64). Of course, most qurʾānic commentaries quote a great number of variants, but this is done above all by the great Andalusian grammarian Abū Ḥayyān al-Gharnāṭī (d. 745/1344) in *al-Baḥr al-muḥīṭ* (see Khān, *Lahjāt,* a study on this commentary).

On the differences in the consonantal ductus between the so-called "codex of ʿUthmān" and other codices we have: Ibn Abū Dāwūd (d. 316/929), *Maṣāḥif;* Ibn al-Anbārī, *Marsūm al-khaṭṭ;* id., *al-Maṣāḥif* (Sezgin, *GAS,* ix, 147, *op.* 7, one of the sources for al-Suyūṭī, e.g. *Itqān,* ii, 320); id., *al-Radd ʿalā man khālafa muṣḥaf ʿUthmān* (Suyūṭī, *Itqān,* ii, 322; Sezgin, *GAS,* ix, 147, *op.* 6); Ibn Ashta (d. 360/971), *al-Maṣāḥif* (not extant; one of the sources of al-Suyūṭī, *Itqān,* chapter 18, i, 205; chapter 41, ii, 323-4, 327-9); Abū l-ʿAbbās al-Mahdawī, *Hijāʾ;* Ibn al-Bannāʾ al-ʿAdadī l-Marrākushī (d. 721/1321), *ʿUnwān;* Farmāwī, *Rasm al-muṣḥaf;* Qannawjī, *Abjad,* ii, 299; Ḥamad, *Rasm al-muṣḥaf.*

IV. *Its recitation:* for all forms of pronunciation (Silvestre de Sacy, Alcoran, 76-110; Ḥamad, *Dirāsāt ṣawtiyya*) we have Dānī (d. 444/1053), *Taysīr* (summarized in Pretzl, Koranlesung, 291-331); Makkī b. Abī Ṭālib, *Riʿāya.* 28. The pause and the "beginning" (*al-waqf wa-l-ibtidāʾ/al-iʾtināf,* called also *al-Maqāṭiʿ wa-l-mabādiʾ,* the title of the book of Ibn Mihrān, which is not extant; Nöldeke, *GQ,* iii, 234-7; Pretzl, Koranlesung, 234-8; Silvestre de Sacy, Repos de voix; id., Pauses). 29. The exposition of what is connected *(mawṣūl)* according to the wording but separated *(mafṣūl)* in meaning. 30. Vocalic inflexion of *a* (*imāla;* Nöldeke, *GQ,* iii, 197, 37; Pretzl, Koranlesung, 318-26; Grünert, Imâla). 31-33. Other phenomena of pronunciation (Pretzl, Koranlesung, 293-318). 34-35. On memorization and the learning of reading *(tilāwa)* and recitation (*tajwīd;* Nöldeke, *GQ,* iii, 231-4; Pretzl, Koranlesung, 232-4, 290-1).

V. *Its linguistic aspects:* 36. Uncommon or rare words or words acquiring special meaning in particular contexts (all of this is called *gharīb;* Ḥājjī Khalīfa, *Kashf,* iv, 322-32: Science of the lexical rarities of Qurʾān and ḥadīth). Lists on that subject had been established very early or attributed to early scholars (Rippin, Ibn ʿAbbās's *Gharīb al-Qurʾān;* id., Ibn ʿAbbās's *al-Lughāt fī l-Qurʾān;* Neuwirth, Der Koran, 125-6). A list of eighty-five titles, including, however, also some *Maʿānī* ("meanings") *al-Qurʾān* titles, has been collected (Marʿashlī, in-

troduction to Makkī b. Abī Ṭālib, *ʿUmda,* 19-37). Very early in Islam the vocabularly of ancient poetry was used to explain words of the Qurʾān, as evidenced by the *Responsa* to the Khārijī Nāfiʿ b. al-Azraq (see KHĀRIJĪS) attributed to Ibn ʿAbbās (d. 69/688), which were collected in various versions (Suyūṭī, *Itqān,* ii, 67-105; *Masāʾil Nāfiʿ b. al-Azraq;* Neuwirth, Die *Masāʾil;* Gilliot, Textes, in *MIDEO* 23 [1997], no. 44, with bibliography).

37. Words that are not in accordance with the manner of speaking *(lugha)* of the Ḥijāz. 38. Words that do not pertain to the Arabic language (see FOREIGN VOCABULARY). 39. Polysemy/homonymy and synonymy *(al-wujūh wa l-nazāʾir)*. Under *al-wujūh wa-l-nazāʾir* should be listed kinds of concordances of the Qurʾān, such as: Muqātil, *Ashbāh;* Hārūn b. Mūsā (d. 170/786), *Wujūh;* Yaḥyā b. Sallām (d. 200/815), *Taṣārīf;* Dāmaghānī, *Wujūh;* Ibn al-Jawzī, *Nuzha;* Samīn, *ʿUmda,* one of the best in this genre.

40. Knowledge of the particles, letters and special words (*adawāt, ḥurūf,* etc.) which is necessary for the exegete (ʿUmayra and al-Sayyid, *Muʿjam al-adawāt wa l-ḍamāʾir fī l-Qurʾān;* Sharīf, *Muʿjam ḥurūf al-maʿānī fī l-Qurʾān*). 41. Case and mood (*iʿrāb;* Ḥājjī Khalīfa, *Kashf,* i, 352-7, no. 926; Qannawjī, *Abjad,* ii, 80-2; Shantarīnī, *Tanbīh al-albāb*). Among the books on this subject mentioned by al-Suyūṭī (*Itqān,* ii, 309, partly repeating, as usual, al-Zarkashī, *Burhān,* i, 301): Makkī (d. 437/1047), *Mushkil;* al-Ḥawfī (d. 430/1039) who had a book in ten volumes on this subject; Abū l-Baqāʾ al-ʿUkbarī (d. 616/1219), *Tibyān;* al-Samīn al-Ḥalabī (d. 756/1355), *Durr,* also called *Iʿrāb al-Samīn;* the commentary *(Baḥr)* of Abū Ḥayyān al-Gharnāṭī, which contains much on *iʿrāb*. 42. The morphological rules (Gilliot, *Elt,* 165-203), e.g. the pronouns, masculine and feminine, affirmation and negation, singular and plural, false synonymy, question and answer, etc.

VI. *Its normative (legal) aspect:* 43. Clear and ambiguous or similar verses (al-Kisāʾī, d. 189/805, *Mutashābih;* al-Khaṭīb al-Iskāfī, d. 421/1030, *Durrat al-tanzīl;* al-Kirmānī, d. ca. 500/1106, *Burhān,* which includes a list of books on the subject, 61-4; Ḥājjī Khalīfa, *Kashf,* v, 370, no. 11350-1; *UQM,* iii, 11-165). 44. Anteposition *(muqaddam)* and postposition *(muʾakhkhar)*. 45. General and particular. 46. Synoptic or ambiguous *(mujmal)* and elucidated or clear *(mubayyan)*. 47. Abrogating and abrogated. 48. What poses a problem (*mushkil;* Ḥājjī Khalīfa, *Kashf,* v, 559-60, no. 12,093-16) and suggests disagreement *(ikhtilāf)* or contradiction. The grammarian Quṭrub (d. 206/821) is said to have written a book on this subject; it is probably *Kitāb Quṭrub fī mā saʾala ʿanhu l-mulḥidūn min āy al-Qurʾān* (Sezgin, *GAS,* viii, 65); Ibn Qutayba (d. 276/889) composed *Taʾwīl mushkil al-Qurʾān* ("The interpretation of the difficult passages [q.v.] of the Qurʾān"). 49. Absolute and restricted statements *(muṭlaq, muqayyad)*. 50. Expressed or understood statements *(manṭūq, mafhūm)*.

Special books on the legal content or the exegesis of the legal verses of the Qurʾān have been composed, and are entitled *Aḥkām al-Qurʾān* ("The legal rules of the Qurʾān"; Ḥājjī Khalīfa, *Kashf,* i, 173-4, no. 156). The following book should be added to our list (see Gilliot, Exegesis, 113-14): Ibn Faras al-Gharnāṭī (d. 599/1202), *Aḥkām al-Qurʾān* (Brockelmann, *GAL,* S i, 734; Suyūṭī, *Itqān,* i, 49, 54, etc.).

VII. *Its rhetorical and stylistic aspects and its inimitability:* 51-64 (see also LITERATURE AND THE QURʾĀN).

VIII. *Various aspects:* stylistic again, the proper names in the Qurʾān, its meritorious qualities *(faḍāʾil),* the writing of the Qurʾān, etc. 65. Knowledge drawn from the Qurʾān. 66. The parables *(amthāl)*.

Māwardī (d. 450/1058) has collected these parables in *al-Amthāl wa-l-ḥikam* (see also Ibn al-ʿArabī, *Qānūn,* 261-96). 67. The oaths (q.v.). 68. Dialectic, argumentation and polemics *(jadal):* according to al-Suyūṭī (*Itqān,* iv, 60), Sulaymān ʿAbd al-Qawī l-Ṭūfī (d. 716/1316) wrote a book on this topic. 69. The proper names.

70. The unidentified individuals (*al-mubham;* Ḥājjī Khalīfa, *Kashf,* v, 367, no. 11, 342-3): Suhaylī, d. 581/1185, *Taʿrīf;* Ibn ʿAskar of Malaga, d. 636/1239, *Takmīl* (correct Suyūṭī, *Itqān,* iv, 93, and Suyūṭī, *Mufhamāt,* 7, both of which have erroneously Ibn "Asākir"); Suyūṭī, *Mufhamāt*. In numerous cases this discipline is related to the occasions of revelations. 71. The names of those upon/about whom the Qurʾān was sent down (cf. chapters 70 and 9).

In the literature numerous books were written on this topic, in particular concerning ʿAlī, the subsequent imāms (see IMĀM), and the family of the Prophet (Kohlberg, *Medieval Muslim,* no. 83, 107-8, 149, 488, 623). But deciphering anonymous and obscure expressions to uncover them *(taʿyīn al-mubham, tasmiya)* was also a focus of interest during the earlier stage of Shīʿī exegesis on "positive" and "negative" verses, the former referring to members of the Prophet's family, the latter to enemies like Abū Bakr, ʿUmar, or ʿĀʾisha (see ʿĀʾISHA BINT ABĪ BAKR), e.g. on Q 15:44 (Bar-Asher, Scripture, 106-10; Amir-Moezzi, *Guide,* 217-20; Amir-Moezzi and Jambet, *Qu'est-ce que le chiisme,* 91-3); also with words and expressions which are not in the ʿUthmānic text, for both positive and negative verses: Q 2:225; 4:63, 65-6; 20:115; 33:71; 42:13 (Amir-Moezzi and Jambet, *Qu'est-ce que le chiisme,* 92-3).

72. The meritorious qualities of the Qurʾān (*Faḍāʾil al-Qurʾān,* see also above and below).

73. The best of the Qurʾān and what makes it so (*afḍal, fāḍil;* Ḥājjī Khalīfa, *Kashf,* i, 373, no. 1022). This issue is a matter of disagreement among scholars: al-Ashʿarī, Ibn Ḥibbān (d. 354/965), al-Bāqillānī, probably already Mālik b. Anas (d. 179/795), etc., did not find this topic acceptable. They argued that since the Qurʾān is the speech (q.v.) of God (see WORD OF GOD), everything in it is excellent. Yet, others did discuss this topic: Isḥāq b. Rāhawayh (d. 238/853), al-Ghazālī (*Jawāhir,* 37-8), Abū Bakr b. al-ʿArabī (*Qānūn,* 230-40, on Q 1 and 112, also referring to al-Ghazālī), etc.

74. Selected passages *(mufradāt)* of the Qurʾān. This chapter is connected with the previous one, but instead of saying "the best of…," it discusses expression(s) or verse(s) that are "the most sought" *(arjā),* for one reason or another. 75. Its prophylactic and propitiatory properties *(khawāṣṣ)*. According to the *Itqān,* al-Tamīmī wrote *Khawāṣṣ al-Qurʾān*. He was a physician of Jerusalem called Abū ʿAbdallāh al-Tamīmī (d. last quarter of the fourth/tenth century; Ḥājjī Khalīfa, *Kashf,* iii, 180, no. 4814; Sezgin, *GAS,* iii, 318, *op.* 2: *Manāfiʿ khawāṣṣ al-Qurʾān*). Al-Ghazālī also wrote a book on the subject (*Kitāb al-Dhahab al-abraz [al-ibrīz] fī asrār khawāṣṣ kitāb Allāh al-ʿazīz;* cf. Bouyges, *Chronologie,* 127-8, no. 199).

76. The calligraphic form (*marsūm al-khaṭṭ;* see ORTHOGRAPHY OF THE QURʾĀN) and the discipline of writing the Qurʾān. Among those who wrote on this subject, al-Suyūṭī mentions the treatises of al-Dānī on orthography (*Muqniʿ;* Silvestre de Sacy, Muqniʿ) and "punctuation" (*Naqṭ;* Silvestre de Sacy, Mémoire, 320-49; id., Traité de ponctuation; id., De différents traités); Ibn Wathīq al-Ishbīlī (d. 654/1256), *Jāmiʿ;* Ibn al-Bannāʾ al-Marrākushī, *ʿUnwān* (see above, chapters 21-7).

IX. *Exegesis and exegetes* (chapters 77-80; see Gilliot, Exegesis; add: Amir-Moezzi and Jambet, *Qu'est-ce que le chiisme,* 139-74: on symbolic interpretation, *taʾwīl,* in Shīʿism; *UQM,* iii, 169-587; French translation of passages of several commentaries in

Borrmans, *Commentaire*): The early commentator Yaḥyā b. Sallām (d. 200/815) had listed twelve qualities *(khaṣla)* requisite for the exegete, namely the knowledge of what is Meccan and Medinan, the abrogating and the abrogated, the anteposition and the postposition, what is separated *(maqṭūʿ)* and what is connected (*mawṣūl;* cf. Suyūṭī, *Itqān,* chap. 29), the particular and the general, ellipsis *(iḍmār)* and the Arabic language (that is, the technical knowledge of this language; Ibn Abī Zamanīn, d. 399/1008, *Tafsīr,* i, 114).

It can be said that al-Zarkashī's *Burhān* and al-Suyūṭī's *Itqān* represent the result of centuries of Islamic studies on the Qurʾān. Up to the present day they remain the main sources, especially the *Itqān,* for those who write "new" handbooks in Arabic on the sciences of the Qurʾān, e.g. Qaṭṭān, *Mabāḥith,* a sort of abridgment of the *Itqān,* also to a certain extent Ṣāliḥ, *Mabāḥith*.

Final remarks

It should be emphasized that several authors have written much on various qurʾānic sciences, e.g. the reader and grammarian of Kūfa, al-Kisāʾī (d. 189/805), was the author of more than ten books on qurʾānic philology (Sezgin, *GAS,* ix, 130-1), and materials from his *Maʿānī l-Qurʾān* have been recently collected. One of his students, the grammarian and author of *Maʿānī l-Qurʾān,* al-Farrāʾ (d. 207/822), wrote several other books on qurʾānic philology (Sezgin, *GAS,* ix, 133). The grammarian Ibn Khālawayh (d. 370/980) wrote some fifty books, five of which were on qurʾānic disciplines (see the introduction of ʿUthaymīn to *Iʿrāb al-qirāʾāt,* i, 62-85). Makkī b. Abū Ṭālib (d. 437/1045) produced about 100 books, sixty-seven pertaining to qurʾānic sciences. These include twenty-five on the readings, a qurʾānic commentary in seventy *ajzāʾ (al-Hidāya fī bulūgh al-nihāya),* another in fifteen volumes (*mujallad*s; *Mushkil al-maʿānī wa-l-tafsīr*), a book on recitation *(Riʿāya),* several on the pause, etc. (Marʿashlī, ed. of Makkī, *ʿUmda,* 50-4). Among the more than forty books that Abū ʿAmr al-Dānī (d. 444/1053) composed, twenty-nine were on qurʾānic sciences, of which fifteen were on readings or readers, others on qurʾānic philology, like *al-Idghām al-kabīr* ("The great book of assimilation in the Qurʾān"), *Taḥdīd* (on recitation; see the introduction of the edition of *Muktafā,* 35-42; introduction to *Naqṭ,* 15-19, listing only twenty-eight books). Ahwāzī (d. 446/1055) wrote some thirty books (introduction to *Wajīz,* 31-7), of which sixteen were on readings and readers. Ibn al-Jawzī (d. 597/1200) wrote more than 200 books (list of Ibn Rajab, ʿAlwajī, *Muʾallafāt,* 20-8, who lists in his book 574 titles, of which many are actually the same book but with variant titles), twenty-eight of which were on qurʾānic sciences: two on abrogation, one on occasions of revelation, one on the seven readings, one on interpretative constants (*al-Wujūh wa-l-nazāʾir,* i.e. *Nuzha*), two on rare or strange words *(gharīb),* several on exegesis (*Zād, al-Mughnī, Taysīr al-bayān;* ʿAlwajī, *Muʾallafāt,* 269-70; Ibn al-Jawzī, *Funūn,* 9-11, introduction of the edition), etc.

Mention has been made several times in this article of the "genre" known as the "meritorious qualities of the Qurʾān" *(Faḍāʾil al-Qurʾān)*. This title is often used for books or chapters of major ḥadīth collections containing traditions attributed to Muḥammad or the Companions, or coming from scholars of the first two centuries of Islam or later. Some of them are small handbooks of qurʾānic sciences in general with chapters on: (1) learning, teaching and recitation of the Qurʾān; (2) those who know and recite the Qurʾān and what is required of them; (3) the sūras and verses, and the merits attached to the recitation of the different sūras; (4) the collection of the Qurʾān, words contradicting the ductus of the so-called ʿUthmānic codex and the

various codices; (5) linguistic problems (dialects, etc.); (6) Meccan and Medinan sūras; (7) the readers; (8) its exegesis; (9) the orthography of the Qurʾān, etc. (see Abū ʿUbayd's, Ibn Kathīr's, and also, but to a lesser degree, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Rāzī's *Faḍāʾil,* and Ibn Rajab's *Mawrid*). Other books have little or nothing about the history of the text (see TEXTUAL HISTORY OF THE QURʾĀN), but more about the merits acquired through its recitation, audition and occupying oneself with it (*taʿāhud;* cf. Ibn Abī Shayba, *Muṣannaf* [bk. 22, *Faḍāʾil,* ch. 13], vi, 124: *Fī taʿāhud al-Qurʾān*), e.g. Firyābī's *Faḍāʾil*. In the arrangement of the collection of traditions of Ibn Ḥibbān (d. 354/965) by Ibn Balbān al-Fārisī (d. 729/1329), the equivalent of the *Faḍāʾil* is the chapter on the recitation of the Qurʾān, a part of the *Book of subtleties* (Ibn Ḥibbān, *Ṣaḥīḥ* [bk. 7, *Raqāʾiq,* ch. 7, *Qirāʾat al-Qurʾān*], iii, 5-83).

According to Franz Rosenthal, over time there was a tendency in Islam to give preference "to a disjunctive juxtaposition of individual data as against a continuous and integrated exposition" of science. He further explained, "It can also be assumed to have contributed to the growing tendency of constantly adding to the number of what was considered to constitute independent scientific disciplines" (*Knowledge,* 44) until they reached the number of 150, or even 316 (Ṭāshkubrīzādah, *Miftāḥ,* i, 74-5). This statement about sciences in general is even truer for the "sciences of the Qurʾān" whose specification and proliferation was a matter of ultimate importance because they are supposed to lead to salvation (q.v.) in the hereafter. According to a declaration attributed to Muḥammad: "The believer will never become surfeited with beneficial *(khayr)* [religious knowledge] until he reaches paradise" (Tirmidhī, *Ṣaḥīḥ* [42, *ʿIlm,* 19], v, 50-1, no. 2686; Rosenthal, *Knowledge,* 89). But some of these disciplines have also contributed to several "profane" fields of knowledge, like grammar, lexicography, stylistics, rhetoric, etc., which became, for many scholars, ancillary disciplines for the study of the Qurʾān.

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Transitoriness

Being subject to change, departure or destruction. The Qurʾān contrasts the transitoriness of this world (q.v.; see also GENERATIONS; HISTORY AND THE QURʾĀN; AIR AND WIND; ASHES) with the eternally enduring quality of the hereafter (see ESCHATOLOGY) and also with the eternity (q.v.) of God (see GOD AND HIS ATTRIBUTES). The Qurʾān often states that whereas this life *(al-ḥayāt al-dunyā)* will pass away (e.g. Q 10:24; 18:45) and both its

pleasures (e.g. Q 57:20) and its trials (e.g. Q 7:94-5; see TRIAL; TRUST AND PATIENCE) are transitory, the realities to come in the hereafter *(al-ākhira)* will endure forever. More emphasis is laid on the latter point as the Qur'ān repeatedly emphasizes the everlasting destinies of believer and unbeliever in the garden (q.v.) and hellfire, respectively (see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF; REWARD AND PUNISHMENT; PARADISE; HELL AND HELLFIRE); "abiding in it forever" *(khālidīna fīhā)* is one of the most distinctive qur'ānic refrains (e.g. Q 2:81-2; 98:6, 8). Believers should therefore not be deceived, as unbelievers are, by the alluring quality of this world's attractions (Q 2:212, on which see Paret, *Kommentar,* for numerous other references) but rather are to be schooled in a perspective that sets greater store by that which is eternal than by that which is transitory. "You prefer this life *(al-ḥayāt al-dunyā)* but the hereafter *(al-ākhira)* is better and more enduring" (*abqā,* Q 87:16-17); "that which you have wastes away *(yanfadu);* that which is with God endures" (*bāqin,* Q 16:96; cf. 28:60; 38:54; 42:36). The unbeliever, failing to grasp this truth, seeks to confer immortality upon himself in ways doomed to failure: Q 104:3 speaks of an unbeliever who believes that wealth (q.v.) will make him immortal; the construction of impressive defensive buildings *(maṣāniʿ)* can also appear as a misguided human attempt to escape the transitoriness of this life (Q 26:129; see CITY; HOUSE, DOMESTIC AND DIVINE).

In terms of frequency of reference this is the main emphasis in the qur'ānic perspective on the transitory quality of this life: a contrast between this life and the life to come. The Qur'ān does, however, also contrast the transience of this world with God himself. "Everyone who is thereon [on the earth] will pass away *(fānin);* there endures *(yabqā)* only the face of your lord (q.v.), possessor of might and glory" (q.v.; Q 55:26-7; see also FACE OF GOD; POWER AND IMPOTENCE). Although this passage is not obviously echoed elsewhere in the Qur'ān (Paret, *Kommentar,* indicates no parallels) it memorably encapsulates the qur'ānic insistence on the gulf between creator and creation (q.v.). Only God is inherently eternal; everything else is transitory. The wider qur'ānic context supplements this theological foundation (see THEOLOGY AND THE QUR'ĀN) with the message that in the hereafter God will bestow eternity on the destinies that human beings earn for themselves (see FATE; DESTINY).

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Izutsu, *God,* 85-9, 123-32; Paret, *Kommentar,* 44-5 (ad Q 2:212).

Translations of the Qur'ān

Translations of the Qur'ān did not have the same significance during the early spread of Islam that, for example, translations of the Bible had during the spread of Christianity. This is connected to the role of Arabs (q.v.) as the original target audience and bearers of Islam, as well as to the increasing importance of the Arabic language in the newly conquered territories. An additional role was played by the conviction of the stylistic inimitability (q.v.) of the Qur'ān. In the Qur'ān itself, its Arabic nature is repeatedly emphasized (cf. Q 41:2-3; 12:2; 13:37; 20:113; 39:28; 41:2-3; 42:7; 43:3; see also ARABIC LANGUAGE). Herein lies the deeply rooted conviction among Muslims that a "valid" recitation of the Qur'ān (q.v.) is possible only in the Arabic language. Only the Ḥanafite law school (see LAW AND THE QUR'ĀN; THEOLOGY AND THE QUR'ĀN) allows for exceptions in this regard, as set forth in detail in 1932 by the Ḥanafī Azhar scholar al-Marāghī (d. 1945).

In the Islamic world up to the early twentieth century

The question of qur'ānic recitation should be kept separate from that of the conveyance of its contents, i.e. its "meaning" (Ar. *ma'ānī*) in Islamic vernaculars. Commensurate with the paramount significance of the oral tradition of delivering the Qur'ān (see RECITERS OF THE QUR'ĀN), sermons also played an important role (see TEACHING AND PREACHING THE QUR'ĀN). The Qur'ān was always recited and then, afterwards, paraphrased (and hence, explained) from the Arabic text into the vernacular. From al-Zamakhsharī's (d. 538/1144) exegesis of Q 14:4, it becomes clear that he not only sanctioned the translation of the Qur'ān from the Arabic, but also that such translations actually existed. Even the annotation (Ar. *tafsīr*) of the Qur'ān's text (see EXEGESIS OF THE QUR'ĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL) could only be meaningfully conveyed to non-scholarly non-Arabs in their respective mother tongues (see TRADITIONAL DISCIPLINES OF QUR'ĀNIC STUDY). The oldest example for this is the translation of al-Ṭabarī's monumental commentary *Jāmi' al-bayān* into Persian (see PERSIAN LITERATURE AND THE QUR'ĀN), which was prepared for the Sāmānid ruler Abū Ṣāliḥ Manṣūr b. Nūḥ (r. 349-63/961-74). An ancient Turkish version was produced, almost simultaneously, on the basis of the Persian version (see TURKISH LITERATURE AND THE QUR'ĀN). Numerous Ottoman annotations exist for the most important commentaries, such as al-Bayḍāwī's (d. prob. 716/1316-17) *Anwār al-tanzīl;* however, thus far, the question of circulation of the most important commentaries in the vernacular remains largely unexamined. Evidence for the secondary significance of vernacular translations with respect to the Arabic original may be found in the form of the interlinear version, which is extant in numerous manuscripts. It frequently gives simply the isolated meaning of the individual words, and rarely indicates a coherent text. The latter becomes common only later, mainly after the widespread introduction of the printing press in the Islamic world in the nineteenth century (see PRINTING OF THE QUR'ĀN).

Important impetuses for the translation of the Qur'ān arose through the confrontation between the Islamic and Christian worlds (see PRE-1800 PREOCCUPATIONS OF QUR'ĀNIC STUDY). This happened initially in Spain, as a result of the Christian *reconquista,* and in India as a result of English colonization. In Spain, as of the fifteenth century, translations of the Qur'ān arose in Aljamiado (that is, in old Spanish dialects), which were written in Arabic script; however, a complete translation written in Latin script, dating from the year 1606, is also preserved (cf. Lopez-Morillas, *Six Morisco-versions,* 20). Although not probable, it cannot be ruled out that the majority of the remaining fragmentary Aljamiado texts of the Qur'ān were influenced by the old-Castilian translation prepared by the jurist Yça of Segovia (that is, 'Īsā dhā Jābir, also known as Yçā Gidelli) between 1454 and 1456 in Aiton/Savoy at the request of Cardinal John of Segovia (see below, under *"Qur'ān translations outside the Islamic world until ca. 1700"*). Traces of an Aragonite translation of the Qur'ān can be found in the polemical work of the convert Juan Andres, *Confusion dela secta mahomatica* (Valencia 1515). In India, it was Shāh Walī Allāh Dihlawī (1114-76/1703-62) who, in conjunction with his pursuit of modernization, called for the translation of the Qur'ān and, with his Persian-language work, *Fatḥ al-Raḥmān bi-tarjamat al-Qur'ān* (1737), delivered a Persian translation of the Qur'ān that is still meaningful today (first printed in Delhi, in 1283/1866). His two sons, Shāh Rafī' al-Dīn (1749-1818) and Shāh 'Abd al-Qādir (1753-1814), translated the Qur'ān into

Urdu (printed in Calcutta in 1840, Delhi 1829; see SOUTH ASIAN LITERATURE AND THE QUR'ĀN).

Actually, since the emergence of the printing press, numerous translations have appeared in India in various regional Indian languages such as Urdu (first in 1828, by ʿAbd al-Salām Badayūnī), Sindhi (1876), Punjabi (1870), Gujarati (1879), Tamil (1884), and Bengali (1886; incidentally, this translation was produced and repeatedly reprinted at the initiative of Girish Chandra Sen [1835-1910], a follower of the neo-Hindu reformer Keshab Chandra Sen [1838-84]; see also LITERATURE AND THE QUR'ĀN).

Even in the nineteenth century, the Qur'ān and qur'ānic translations were very influential throughout the Islamic world. The first printed Qur'ān in a Turkish translation appeared in Cairo in 1842, and a Turkish translation of the *Tafsīr al-Jalālayn* in 1877. In Istanbul, Turkish translations have only been printed since 1865. The first printed Persian translation appeared in Tehran in 1855 and the first Pashtu edition in Bahupal in 1861. The first Serbo-Croatian translation (based on a French translation) was published in Belgrade in 1895.

In the Islamic world during the twentieth century

In the first half of the twentieth century, printed translations of the Qur'ān were still being published for the most important languages used by Muslims. In Asia, this necessitated translations into Balochi (1911), Brahui (1916), Telugu (1938), Malayan (1923), Indonesian (1928), Chinese (1927) and Japanese (1920; see SOUTHEAST ASIAN QUR'ĀNIC LITERATURE). In Africa, a translation into Yoruba appeared in 1906. A translation into the Zanzibar dialect of Swahili (printed 1923), produced by Godfrey Dale and G.W. Broomfield, was deemed unacceptable for Muslims due to an added Christian apologetic text, despite the quality of its language (see AFRICAN LITERATURE). At this time, two other factors became very significant: the missionary activities of the Aḥmadiyya (q.v.) movement and the efforts of the government of Kemal Atatürk in Turkey to put the Qur'ān into Latin script, aiming to publish only the Latin transcription without further publication of the Arabic Qur'ān text (see ARABIC SCRIPT; CALLIGRAPHY).

Both existing branches of the Aḥmadiyya movement valued above all spreading the Qur'ān in European languages (such as English, Dutch, and German). There is therefore an unmistakably rationalistic tendency in the older Aḥmadiyya translations (Maulvi Muhammad ʿAli, 1917). Thus, for example, in the English version of 1920 (a text identical to the London first edition of 1917), the word *naml*, "ants," appears in Q 27 as the description of a clan and "by hudhud is not to be understood the *lapwing*, but a person of that name" (see ANIMAL LIFE; NATURE AS SIGNS). The explanatory statement that follows says: "The verses that follow show clearly that Solomon (q.v.) was speaking of one of his own officers: the infliction of severe punishment on a small bird by such a mighty monarch as Solomon, and the exposition of the great religious doctrine of Unity by the lapwing, are quite incomprehensible" (p. 747, n. 1849). A comprehensive study of the different Aḥmadiyya translations is lacking. The debate over the Qur'ān in the Turkish Republic led to important discussions in al-Azhar, and in its journal these debates coalesced into multiple, significant essays (cf. Paret/Pearson, Translations, 429f.). In an essay from the year 1936, the later Rector of al-Azhar, Maḥmūd Shaltūt (1893-1963), expressly embraced the use of translation for non-Arabs, arguing that even translations contain the meaning of

God's word (see SPEECH; WORD OF GOD).

In contrast, the British author and convert, Marmaduke Pickthall (1875-1936), took a considerably more conservative position. In 1930, he published a translation of the Qur'ān bearing the title *The meaning of the glorious Koran,* "the first English translation of the Koran by an Englishman who is a Muslim" (p. vii). In the foreword, he wrote: "The Koran cannot be translated. That is the belief of old-fashioned Sheykhs and the view of the present writer. The Book is here rendered almost literally and every effort has been made to choose befitting language. But the result is not the Glorious Koran, that inimitable symphony, the very sounds of which move men to tears and ecstasy. It is only an attempt to present the meaning of the Koran — and peradventure something of the charm — in English. It can never take the place of the Koran in Arabic, nor is it meant to do so" (ibid.). Pickthall's translation, which contains exceedingly few annotations, had enormous success among Muslims and continues to be reprinted today (for example, in Istanbul, 1996f.). Another prominent convert was the Austrian journalist and, later, acting diplomat for Pakistan, Leopold Weiss (1900-92), who took the name Muhammad Asad after his conversion in 1926. He published an English translation of the Qur'ān in Gibraltar in 1980.

Four years after Pickthall (1934), a further translation appeared, which is still common today. It stems from the Indian scholar ʿAbdallāh Yūsuf ʿAlī (1872-1951) and is explicitly a response to Pickthall's work. In its introduction, "Translations of the Qur-an," ʿAlī writes of Pickthall's translation, that it is " 'almost litteral': it can hardly be expected that it can give an adequate idea of a Book which (in his own words) can be described as 'that inimitable symphony, the very sounds of which move men to tears and ecstasy.' Perhaps the attempt to catch something of that symphony in another language is impossible. Greatly daring, I have made that attempt." In the numerous notes to his bilingual edition (the Arabic text in calligraphy by Pir ʿAbdul Ḥamīd), ʿAlī strives for a contemporary exegesis that seeks primarily to answer the question: "What guidance can we draw for ourselves from the message of God?"

After the Second World War, intensified efforts to make the Qur'ān accessible in as many languages as possible can be discerned — always with the theologically motivated condition that the main concern be with translating, i.e. explaining, the meaning of the Qur'ān. Henceforth, translations by Muslims outnumber those by non-Muslims. In the English language, numerous new translations were published; notable are the translations by Abdul Majid Daryabadi (Lahore 1957) and, that favored by the Aḥmadiyya movement, the translation of Muhammad Zafrullah Khan (first published in London, 1971), both of which contain detailed commentaries. The first American translation derives from T.B. Irving (Vermont 1985). In 1959, the scholar Muhammad Hamidullah (1908-2002), who came from Haydarabad in India, published an excellent French translation. This edition underwent more than twelve editions and was also translated into Turkish. Preceding the translation itself is an extremely valuable survey of earlier Qur'ān translations. In 1972, Sheikh Si Hamza Boubakeur published a French translation with detailed commentaries based on traditional sources; it is particularly popular among north African migrants. In Germany, several translations by Muslims first appeared in the 1990's, independently from one another.

The increasing number of Muslim immigrants from various Islamic countries

has been of great importance in different European countries. Because of this phenomenon, the task of translating the Qur'ān into the languages of their new host countries was set before Muslims themselves. At the same time, intensified Islamic missionary efforts are discernible worldwide, particularly in African countries south of the Sahara. In this context, the "King Fahd Complex for the Printing of the Holy Qur'ān" (Ar. *Mujamma' al-Malik Fahd li-ṭibā'at al-Qur'ān al-karīm;* founded 1982, opened 1984; www.qurancomplex.org) in Medina acquires a very specific importance. The ultimate goal of this institution is to make the Arabic text of the Qur'ān, together with "the translation of the meaning of the Qur'ān," freely accessible worldwide. Presently, translations in 44 different languages (23 Asian, 11 African, and 10 European) are available. All of these editions, produced with an excellent quality of typographic technique and binding, are bilingual, and some even have additional, relatively extensive commentaries. In the meantime, however, editions not containing the Arabic text have also appeared.

Qur'ān translations outside the Islamic world until circa 1700

In the Middle Ages and in pre-modern times, translations of the Qur'ān by non-Muslims initially originated from the polemical conflict with Islam (see POLEMIC AND POLEMICAL LANGUAGE; APOLOGY). A complete translation of the Qur'ān into Greek is not preserved. Remnants of this translation can, however, be found in polemical works by Byzantine theologians such as Niketas of Byzantium (third/ninth century; cf. Versteegh, *Greek translations*). References to a possible Syriac translation of the Qur'ān can be found in the west Syrian theologian Barṣalībī's (d. 565/1170; cf. Mingana, Ancient Syriac translation) polemical tract against Jews, Nestorians, and Muslims (see JEWS AND JUDAISM; CHRISTIANS AND CHRISTIANITY). The complete Qur'ān was repeatedly translated into Latin; however, only two of these translations were also printed, namely that by Robert of Ketton (1142/43, printed in Basel, 1534) and that by Ludovico Marracci (printed together with the Arabic text in Padua, 1698; the Latin text only in Leipzig, 1721, published by Christian Reineccius). The oldest complete Latin translation of the Qur'ān was produced in Spain in the years 1142/43, at the instigation of the Abbot of Cluny, Peter the Venerable (1092-1156). The translator was the English scholar Robert of Ketton (Robertus Ketenensis, or Robert of Chester, Robertus Cestrensis; exact lifespan unknown), who availed himself of the assistance of a native "Moorish" speaker named Muḥammad. This translation, together with several non-qur'ānic Islamic texts, found a remarkable circulation in Europe, possibly because of its association with Cluny. The quality of this translation, however, was sharply criticized as early as the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and by none other than Juan of Segovia in the Prologue to his own translation (see below), Martin Luther (1483-1564) in his German adaptation of Ricoldo's *Contra legem Sarracenorum* (1542), as well as, eventually, by Justus Joseph Scaliger (1540-1609; cf. Bobzin, Reformation, 38 n. 127). Above all, the typical qur'ānic first-person speech of God is completely obscured by merely referential paraphrase. Nevertheless, this translation had great influence well into the seventeenth century, because of its printing in 1543 as a reference work. Incidentally, the first completely preserved translation into the Italian vernacular was based upon this version (see below).

A second complete Latin translation belongs in the realm of the polemical conflict

with the doctrine of the Almohads (al-Muwaḥḥidūn, r. in north Africa and Spain in the sixth-seventh/twelfth-thirteenth cents.). Supported by the Archbishop Don Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada (ca. 1170-1247), Mark of Toledo (Canon Marcus of Toledo, exact lifespan unknown) produced a new, fairly literal translation, apparently in total ignorance of the earlier work by Robert of Ketton. This translation, however, was not widespread outside of Spain (cf. d'Alverny and Vajda, *Marc de Tolède*).

A third Latin translation was produced by John of Segovia (Juan de Segovia; ca. 1398-1458); it was, however, basically just an accessory to an old-Castilian Qur'ān translation, which he composed between 1454 and 1456 in the Monastery of Aiton in Savoy, together with the Muslim scholar ʿĪsā dhā Jābir (alias Yçā Gidelli). Both translations have been lost, with the exception of the Latin prologue (cf. Gázquez, Prólogo). A fourth Latin translation was produced by Johannes Gabriel Terrolensis (exact lifespan unknown) for the Roman curial cardinal Aegidius of Viterbo (Egidio da Viterbo; 1470-1532). What is valuable about this work, available in two recensions, is a column of notes, based on the Muslim exegesis of the Qur'ān (cf. Burman, *Latin-Arabic Qur'ān edition*), next to the Latin transcription of the Arabic text. Another Latin translation, of which two manuscripts are known, is attributed to the Byzantine patriarch Kyrillos Lukaris (1572-1638). Two manuscript recensions also remain of the translation of the Franciscan, Dominicus Germanus de Silesia (1588-1670; cf. Devic, *Traduction inédite*).

The translation by the Italian Fr. Ludovico Marracci (1612-1700), which appeared in 1698, ushered in an entirely new era. For his translation, Marracci was able to rely on the collection of Arabic manuscripts belonging to the Bibliotheca Vaticana, which was rather substantial for the time (cf. Nallino, *Fonti arabe*). In it, he found the most important Islamic commentaries to the Qur'ān, which he used extensively for his translation and from which he had numerous excerpts printed in Arabic with a Latin translation. Because of its accuracy, Marracci's translation can be used profitably to this day. Of Marracci's Qur'ān edition, Edward Denison Ross quite rightly says: "It represents a most remarkable feat of scholarship, greatly in advance of most Orientalism of the period" (Ross, *Marracci*, 118).

Like the printed Latin precursor translation, Marracci's translation was also used as a template, that is, as a reference work, for further translations into the vernacular. The German translation by the Nuremberg pastor, David Nerreter (1649-1726), refers directly and explicitly to Marracci's text. Nerreter revised *Pansebeia* (1653), the work in comparative religion, by the Scottish author Alexander Ross (1590-1654), and contributed his own extensive volume about Islam, titled *Neu eröffnete Mahometanische Moschea* (Nuremberg, 1703). After a general description of Islam based on the sources known at the time, the German text of the Qur'ān followed in a second tract, translated according to Marracci's Latin version. Nerreter's work is still fully immersed in the tradition of anti-Islamic polemics of the previous century; he translates the Qur'ān in order that every individual can see for themselves the "corruptive teachings of Mohammad" (schädliche Lehre Mohammeds). Nerreter's work, chronologically the third German translation of the Qur'ān, had no noteworthy repercussions. The first Hungarian translation of the Qur'ān (1831), by Imre Buzitai Szedlmayer and György Gedeon (born 1831), is also based on Marracci's translation.

The oldest complete translation into a

European vernacular, namely the Italian, is in the Qur'ān edition issued by the Venetian publisher Andrea Arrivabene in 1547. Although the title asserts that the Qur'ān was "newly translated from the Arabic," the translation is actually based exclusively on the 1543 Latin Qur'ān by Theodor Bibliander, as noted by the two great Leiden philologists, Justus Joseph Scaliger and Thomas Erpenius (1584-1624). Arrivabene divides his Qur'ān edition into three books, with the text of the Qur'ān being contained only in the second and third books. The first book contains three treatises, *Chronica mendosa et ridiculosa Sarracenorum, De generatione Mahumet et nutritura eius,* as well as *Doctrina Machumeti,* which were published alongside a translation of the Qur'ān in the "Corpus Toletanum" (cf. Bobzin, Reformation, 264f.). The first German translation of the Qur'ān, by the then-pastor of Nuremberg, Salomon Schweigger (1551-1622), is based on Arrivabene's edition. In the foreword to the book, which first appeared in 1616, he wrote that he had come to know of Arrivabene's translation of the Qur'ān during his travels as a missionary preacher to Istanbul in Turkey (1578-61). Schweigger's edition is entirely dependent upon Arrivabene's in its composition and, astonishingly, lacks any acknowledgement of the Latin edition of the Qur'ān by Bibliander. In the year 1659, an edition of Schweigger's works, with a substantially expanded commentary section, appeared in Nuremberg in the prominent printing office of Endters', without, however, naming Schweigger as the translator (reprinted 1664). The first Dutch translation of the Qur'ān, printed in 1641, also goes back to Schweigger's text, whose name appears as "Swigger" on the title page; the name of the Dutch translator is unknown and the place of publication given there ("Hamburg") is false.

The oldest French translation (Paris 1647) comes from André du Ryer, "Sieur de la Garde Malezair" (d. 1672). Supported by the French diplomat, François Savary de Bréves (d. 1618), du Ryer studied Turkish, Arabic and possibly also Persian from 1616-21 in Egypt. His path as a diplomat led him first to an appointment as vice-consul to Alexandria and Cairo, and then, as interpreter and ambassador, to Istanbul. He published one of the first studies of Turkish grammar (1630; 1633) and translated one of the most famous works of Persian literature, the "Flower garden" *(Gulistān),* by Saʿdī, into French (1634). Du Ryer's translation of the Qur'ān is the oldest complete translation of the Qur'ān into a European vernacular and became an unparalled literary success, to which reprints in France and even more numerous reprints in the Netherlands during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries testify. The easy availability of the Qur'ān accompanied a newfound interest in the Orient; additionally, du Ryer's translation lacked the polemical tone of previous editions, an orientation which arose mainly in ecclesiastical contexts. Du Ryer used Islamic commentaries such as al-Bayḍāwī's *Anwār al-tanzīl,* the *Tafsīr al-Ǧalālayn* by al-Maḥallī (d. 864/1459) and al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505), or an excerpt from al-Rāzī's (d. 606/1210) great commentary made by al-Rāghī l-Tūnisī (d. 715/1315) entitled *al-Tanwīr fī l-tafsīr,* quite casually in his translation, merely noting them in the margins. The deprecatory tone present in the introductory chapter, "Sommaire de la religion des Turcs," can be understood as an attempt at camouflage (cf. Hamilton and Richard, *André du Ryer,* 94f.). The success of du Ryer's translation, despite its philological shortcomings, which were already recognized by his contemporaries, rests on its use as a basis for the production of further translations.

Already two years after the first French edition, in 1649, the Scottish author Alexander Ross, previously mentioned in connection with Marracci and Nerreter, published an English translation, whose author is unknown. Ross prefaced his translation with a very traditional view of Muḥammad's life and an extensive presentation of Islam. That problems with censorship existed is evidenced by the subtitle: *With a Needful Caveat, or Admonition, for them who desire to know what use may be made of, or if there be danger in Reading the Alcoran*. The success of the book arose from the fact that it was reissued in the year of its initial publication, 1649, as well as in 1688. Eventually, the translation was incorporated as a fourth volume in *The Compleat History of the Turks from the Origin in the Year 755 to the Year 1718,* by David Jones (London 1718). It appears, without mention of Ross's name, after the biography of Muḥammad titled *The True Nature of Imposture fully Display'd in the Life of Mahomet,* by Humphrey Prideux (1648-1724). It is of particular interest to note that the first translation printed and published in America was that published by Ross (Springfield 1806), not the translation by Sale (see below), which, at the time, had already completely displaced Ross's work in Britain.

The second language into which du Ryer's Qur'ān was translated was Dutch. The Mennonite Jan Hendricksz. Glazemaker (d. 1682) worked as a professional translator of Latin, French, German, and Italian; the list of works he translated (among them, works by Descartes and Spinoza) is impressive. His Qur'ān translation is "an elegant piece of prose which was obviously intended for a public more interested in literature than in the theological study of Islam" (Hamilton and Richard, *André du Ryer,* 115). Glazemaker's Dutch translation appeared first in Amsterdam in 1658. The translation was printed together with a life of Muḥammad from Thomas Erpenius's Latin translation of the *Historia Saracenica* by the Coptic historian al-Makīn (Jirjis b. al-ʿAmīd, d. ca. 1273), as well as with excerpts from the works of various ecclesiastical authors who wrote about Muḥammad (cf. Hamilton and Richard, *André du Ryer,* 115f.). Furthermore, a text about Muḥammad's ascension (q.v.) to heaven, as well as a version of the so-called *Masāʾil ʿAbdallāh b. Salām* (cf. Bobzin, Reformation, p. 334, n. 310 and 312), which had already appeared in the earlier Toledo collection, was added. Glazemaker's translation of the Qur'ān was extraordinarily successful and a total of six reprints were issued up to 1734. Glazemaker based the second German translation of the Qur'ān upon the Dutch translation. It appeared, however, not as an independent work, but rather as part of the collected edition *Thesaurus Exoticorum* (Hamburg 1688), published by the late-baroque professional writer Eberhard Werner Happel (1647-90). In this version, the Qur'ān was embedded in the framework of an all-encompassing cosmographic presentation, in which the "Asiatic, African and American nations" were presented. In this extensive encyclopedic volume, the translation of the Qur'ān follows a detailed illustrated description of the Ottoman empire. Yet, the impact of du Ryer's translation does not end with the third German translation, but with two Russian translations of the French edition. The first appeared at the command of czar Peter the Great in 1716 in St. Petersburg; the translator was Petr Vasilyevic Pos(t)nikov. This translation contains numerous misinterpretations. The second translation, penned by the litterateur Mikhail Ivanovic Verevkin (1733-95), appeared in 1790, shortly after the first Arabic edition of the Qur'ān, which was printed in St. Petersburg in 1787 at the

behest of the empress Catherine II (cf. Hamilton and Richard, *André du Ryer,* 117f.).

18th century translations outside the Islamic world

In contrast to all previously presented Christian translations, the history of the impact of the translation done by the English jurist and Orientalist George Sale (d. 1736) endures until today. According to J. Fück, "through a somewhat prosaic neatness, it illustrates that what matters is to reflect the contents of the work clearly and effectively" ("zeichnet sie sich durch eine etwas nüchterne Sauberkeit aus, welcher es nur darauf ankommt, den Inhalt des Werkes klar und deutlich wiederzugeben," Fück, *Studien,* 104). In his discussion of Marracci's translation, Sale writes, "This translation… is very exact; but adheres to the Arabic idiom too literally to be easily understood." Undoubtedly, Sale's own translation is based on the Arabic text, for the interpretation of which Sale regularly drew on the commentary by al-Bayḍāwī. But he continuously looked at Marracci's interpretation of the text and used Marracci's work copiously in his extensive notes: "So much had been achieved by Marracci that Sale's work might also have been performed with a knowledge of Latin alone, as far as regards the quotations from Arabic sources" (E.D. Ross in the foreword to his edition of Sale, ix). Of particular significance, however, is the detailed "Preliminary Discourse"; herein Sale gives a detailed description of the history and religion of the pre-Islamic Arabs, supporting himself above all with the *Specimen Historia Arabum,* by Edward Pococke (1604-91), which appeared in 1650. To this, he adds a general introduction to the Qur'ān, as well as an overview of the most important Islamic sects. Sale's translation had extraordinary success. In the eighteenth century itself four additional editions appeared, and in the nineteenth, well over 60. This translation is still on the market. Since 1825, editions preceded by a "sketch of the life of George Sale," penned by Richard Alfred Davenport (d. 1852) are available, with expanded notes based on translations such as the French translation by Savary (see below). In 1882-6, Elwood Morris Wherry (d. 1927) republished the work under the title *A comprehensive commentary on the Quran* without adding anything essentially new to the edition. Additionally worth noting is the edition of 1921, to which the British Orientalist Edward Denison Ross contributed an insightful introduction, pointing out the manner in which Sale was indebted to Marracci's work (see above).

The fourth German translation is based on Sale's translation. It was composed by Theodor Arnold (1683-1761), an English teacher who also composed a widely used study of English grammar (Leipzig 1736) and translated numerous English works into German, among them Ockley's *History of the Saracens*. Arnold's German translation appeared in Lemgo in 1764. Although not widely circulated, Goethe used it for his *West-östlichen Divan* and its accompanying *Noten und Abhandlungen*. Furthermore, the third Russian translation of the Qur'ān (St. Petersburg 1792) goes back to Sale's text by way of Alexej Vasiljevic Kolmakov, as does the first Hungarian (1854) translation, by way of Istvan Szokoly (1822-1904).

The first German translation produced directly from the Arabic was published in 1772 by the Frankfurt scholar David Friederich Megerlin (1699-1778). From the fact that an etching of "Mohammad, the false Prophet," faces the title page, one can infer that Megerlin remained entirely attached to the traditional Christian polemic against Islam. With respect to this translation, Goethe spoke of an "elende Produktion" (wretched production). Only

one year later (1773), a further translation directly from the Arabic appeared. It was composed by the Quedlinburg clergyman Friedrich Eberhard Boysen (d. 1800). A contemporary reviewer criticized the translation for its tendency to paraphrase improperly. In 1775, a second print run was issued. In 1828, a revision that attempted to rebut the scathing critique by the most important German Arabic scholar of the time, Fleischer (1801-88), was issued by the Orientalist Samuel Friedrich Günther Wahl (1760-1834), who, at the time, was teaching in Halle/Saale.

Claude Etienne Savary (1750-88) produced a new French translation in 1783. It originated during an extended stay in Egypt (cf. *Lettres sur l'Egypte*), quasi "sous les yeux des Arabes," as Savary wrote in the foreword. Consequently, Savary can be viewed as the first translator of the Qurʾān who had a feel "for the perfection of the style and the grandeur of the imagery" (für die Perfektion des Stils und die Großartigkeit der Bilder) of the Qurʾān. For this reason, he can rightly characterize du Ryer's translation as a mere "rhapsodie plate et ennuyeuse;… en lisant sa traduction, on ne s'imagerinait jamais que le Koran est le chef-d'oeuvre de la langue arabe." Accordingly, in his translation, Savary tried to preserve precisely the linguistic character of the Qurʾān's style: "To the extent of my abilities, I have imitated the concision, energy and grandeur of its style" ("J'ai imité autant qu'il a dépendu de moi la concision, l'énergie, l'élévation de son style"). Above all, a certain stylistic obscurity should not be smoothed out in the translation. Savary preceded his translation with a "life of Muḥammad," compiled from different Arabic authors. The notes to the text are rather sparse, although nevertheless substantive; they were later incorporated into a part of Sale's editions. Savary's translation, of which there are a total of seventeen different editions, is still read to this day and is still on the market. Incidentally, Savary was the first to give up the until-then common European usage of "Alkoran" (Alcoranus) in favor of "Koran." The Spanish translations by Joaquin Garcia-Bravo (1907) and A. Hernandez Cata (1913), as well as an anonymous Italian translation (1882), draw on Savary's text.

19th century translations outside the Islamic world

A further translation of the Qurʾān, likewise still available today, was produced by Albin de Biberstein Kazimirski (d. 1887), a Polish immigrant to France. He was a student of Silvestre de Sacy (d. 1838) and worked as an interpreter of Arabic and Persian. Kazimirski's translation first appeared in 1840, as part of the three-volume collection entitled *Les livres sacrés de l'Orient,* published by the Sinologist Jean Pierre Guillaume Pauthier (d. 1873), which also contained translations of the *Shi Kīng* and the laws of the *Manu*. This juxtaposition is significant in the history of ideas in that the Qurʾān was thereby placed on an entirely new plane of understanding, as the document of a world religion, that is, of an independent culture. In the same year (1840), a separate edition, which was frequently reprinted, appeared. The translation was certified as preserving "the poetic vapor of numerous passages of the Qurʾān" ("le soufflé poétique de nombreux passages du Coran," G.C. Anawati). Another testament to its quality is certainly the fact that scholars such as G.H. Bousquet (1959), Mohammed Arkoun (1970), and Maxime Rodison (1981) reissued the translation, adding a new introduction each time. The Spanish editions by Jose Garber de Robles (1844) and Vicente Ortiz de la Puebla (1872), as well as the Russian translation by K. Nikolajev (1864),

are all based on Kazimirski's translation. In addition to further translations from other languages, Kazimirski's constitutes the basis for the two Dutch translations by L.J.A. Tollens (1859) and Salome Keijzer (1860).

A German translation was put out in 1840 as well, by the Rabbi Lion (Ludwig) Baruch Ullmann of Krefeld (d. 1843). Ullmann was inspired in his work by the dissertation of the important Jewish scholar Abraham Geiger (1810-74), *Was hat Mohammed aus dem Judenthume aufgenommen?* (Bonn 1833), and emphasized in the preface to his translation his conviction that "what this translation will have above and beyond all others is the exact observation and documentation of everything that Muḥammad borrowed from Judaism" ("Was diese Übersetzung vor anderen voraushaben wird, ist die genaue Beachtung und Nachweisung alles dessen, was Muhamed aus dem Judenthum entlehnt hat"). Although this translation was sharply criticized for its philological shortcomings by such important scholars of Arabic as H.L. Fleischer (1801-88) and Th. Nöldeke (1836-1930), a ninth edition was issued in 1897. A revision (1959) by Leo Winter did nothing to improve the quality of the translation; nevertheless, this edition, though linguistically deficient, remains widely popular in Germany to this day.

A few years before Ullmann, the German poet and Orientalist Friedrich Rückert (d. 1866), using the newly published Arabic edition of the Qurʾān by Gustav Flügel as his basis, attempted a poetic rendition of the Qurʾān that simultaneously observed the philological standards of the time, but not in the form of a complete translation. Rückert's work was first published after his death. Annemarie Schimmel wrote of the translation, "Rückert spürte mit dichterischem Instinkt die poetische Kraft und Schönheit weiter Parteien des Textes und suchte sie so wiederzugeben, daß der Originalcharakter- sei er stärker poetisch oder prosaisch- gewahrt blieb" (Rückert felt with a poet's instinct the poetic power and beauty of sections of the text and attempted to render them in such a manner that the original character- whether strongly poetic or prosaic- remained preserved).

The first Swedish translation of the Qurʾān stems from the linguist and diplomat J. Fredrik S. Crusenstolpe (1801-82) and appeared together with a historical introduction in 1843. It was followed in 1874 by the translation by Carl Johan Tornberg (1807-77), a student of de Sacy, who had been teaching Orientalism in Lund since 1847. Tornberg prefaced this with a Swedish translation of Nöldeke's *Das Leben Muhammeds* (Hannover 1863).

The first Italian translation of the Qurʾān directly from the Arabic is by Cavaliere Vincenzo Calza (1847). The first Polish edition of the Qurʾān was published by Jan Murza Tarak Buczacki, together with a *Life of Mahomet* (London 1849/50) by Washington Irving (d. 1859), information about various aspects of the relationship between Poland and the Turks and Tartars, and about the pre-Islamic Arabs and the Qurʾān (from Sale's "Preliminary Discourse"). Eventually, a few of the prayers, translated from the Arabic, were added. This edition was reprinted in 1985 and 1988.

The 1857 Hebrew translation by the Jewish scholar Hermann (i.e. Zvi Chajjim) Reckendorf (d. ca. 1875) is noteworthy; additionally, it even contains three essays about the pre-Islamic Arabs, the life of Muḥammed, as well as about the Qurʾān. Yosef Yoel Rivlin made another Hebrew translation (1937), which is still viewed as the most popular such translation; several editions have been published over the years. Aaron Ben Shemesh published a

third Hebrew translation in 1971. To this list should be added the 2005 Hebrew translation by Uri Rubin.

In 1861, a new English translation of the Qur'ān by the clergyman John Meadows Rodwell (d. 1900), who was an old friend of Darwin's, appeared. It is unusual in that, for the first time in a translation of the Qur'ān, the sūras were arranged by taking into consideration their chronological order. Rodwell could resort to the prior works of Gustav Weil (*Mohammed der Prophet*, Stuttgart 1843), William Muir (*The life of Mahomet*, London 1858f.), and Theodore Nöldeke, *GQ* (first ed. 1860); he nevertheless followed his own ideas about arrangement, compiling the older sūras according to thematic considerations rather than historical allusion. Particularly noteworthy is Rodwell's perception of the significance of the originally oral character of the Qur'ān: "Of all the Suras it must be remarked that they were intended not for *readers* but for *hearers*- that they were all promulgated by public recital- and that much was left, as the imperfect sentences shew, to the manner and suggestive action of the reciter" (Preface). G. Margoliouth, who revised the translation for the "Everyman's Library" in 1909, characterized it in his introduction as "one of the best that have as yet been produced. It seems to a great extent to carry with it the atmosphere in which Muhammed lived, and its sentences are imbued with the flavour of the east." In 1875, the first Spanish translation from the Arabic prepared by a Christian, Benigno de Murguiondo y Ugartondo, appeared. Like the translation by Marracci, it included an extensive refutation on the basis of the doctrine of the Catholic church. This is amply expressed by the title. Three years later (1878), the first modern Greek translation, by Gerasimos I. Pentakes, appeared; by 1887, three further editions had been published.

The first Russian translation of the Qur'ān from the Arabic (first appearance 1877/9) was prepared by the Orientalist Gordij Semjonovic Sablukov (d. 1880) from Kazan on the basis of the so-called Petersburg Qur'ān (1787; see above; see also PRINTING OF THE QUR'ĀN). As of the third edition (1907), the Arabic text, set in the Kazan Arabic typeface, was printed on the opposing page. Reprints of this edition still appeared after the second World War, but without exact dates of publication.

To produce the Qur'ān translation for the well-known series, Sacred Books of the East, the publisher, F. Max Müller (d. 1900), engaged the services of the Cambridge Orientalist Edward Henry Palmer (d. 1882), who completed the task in a short period of time. The two sections appeared in 1880 as the sixth and ninth volumes in the series. Palmer added a historical introduction (pp. ix-lxxx), as well as an "Abstract of the contents of the Qur'an" (pp. lxxxi-cxviii), to the book. The short period of time allowed for completion of the translation led to what Stanley Lane-Poole (1854-1931) described as "the grave fault of immaturity." H.A.R. Gibb (1895-1971) judged the translation to be "rather literal and inadequate." Nevertheless, Palmer's translation was reissued numerous times and, as of 1928, was even incorporated into the renowned serial "World's Classics," with the addition of an "Introduction" by Reynold Alleyne Nicholson (1868-1945).

Two years later (1882), the first Portuguese translation appeared in Rio de Janeiro. A translator is not named.

20th century translations beyond the Islamic world

Progress in Arabic philology in the nineteenth century initially had hardly any effect on the translation of the Qur'ān. In the festschrift for Theodor Nöldeke

(Bezold, *Orientalische Studien,* i, 34 n. 1), the German Arabist August Fischer wrote, "daß unter allen vorhandenen, vollständigen wie partiellen, Qoran-Übertragungen keine einzige strengen philologischen Anforderungen genügt" (of all the Qur'ān translations available, whether complete or partial, not a single one satisfies the stringent standards of philology). This statement makes clear that philologically weak translations could still be exceedingly successful, even in the twentieth century. A good example of this is the German translation by Max Henning (d. 1927), who was certainly not an Arabist. This version first appeared in 1901 as a volume in the popular and highly circulated "Universal-Bibliothek," published by Ph. Reclam in Leipzig. In 1960, this edition was republished in the West German branch of Reclam in Stuttgart, slightly revised by Annemarie Schimmel (d. 2003). In 1968, another revision of this translation was published by the Leipzig historian of religion, Kurt Rudolf, in the East German branch of Reclam in Leipzig. This version distinguished itself through its particularly meticulous and comprehensive commentary. Henning's translation is easy to read but philologically unreliable; it is noteworthy that it was republished by Turkish authorities for migrants from Turkey. The translation experienced a last, considerably more incisive revision by the Muslim convert Murad Wilfried Hofmann (first published in Istanbul, 1998).

More decisive philological advances than those made by Henning's translation are present in three other translations, which are still reissued to this day, although with partially new introductions. These are the Swedish translation (1917; expanded reprint 1971 and more recently) by Karl Vilhelm Zetterstéen (1866-1953), the Italian translation (1929; numerous reprints) by Luigi Bonelli (1865-1947), and the French translation (1929; expanded reprint 1998) by Edouard Montet (1865-1934). Three other translations stand out because of enduring scholarly qualities: the English version by Richard Bell, the French version by Régis Blachère, and the German version by Rudi Paret.

Rodwell was the first translator of the Qur'ān to arrange the sūras (q.v.) according to chronological principles (see CHRONOLOGY AND THE QUR'ĀN). The Scottish Arabist Richard Bell (1876-1952) went one step further down this path. Although he held to the traditional order of the sūras in his translation of the Qur'ān (1937-9), in the sūras themselves, he followed a "re-arrangement" according to the origin of the individual components of the sūras. Underlying this is a concept of "three main periods" of the composition of the Qur'ān (Bell, *Qur'ān,* i, vii), as explained in the preface: "(a) an early period from which only fragments survive consisting mainly of lists of 'signs' and exhortations to the worship of Allah; (b) the Qur'an period, covering the latter part of Muhammad's activity in Mecca (q.v.), and the first year or two of his residence in Medina (q.v.), during which he is producing a Qur'an giving in Arabic the gist of previous revelation; (c) the Book-period, beginning somewhere about the end of the year II, during which Muhammad is definitively producing a Book, i.e. an independent revelation." In his translation, these composition processes are also visualized within the individual sūras. Even if one cannot follow Bell's analysis in all its points, his very exacting translation is an asset to the historical understanding of the text of the Qur'ān. No other researcher of the Qur'ān put as much thought into the inner coherence of the sūras as did Bell (see FORM AND STRUCTURE OF THE QUR'ĀN; UNITY OF THE TEXT OF THE QUR'ĀN;

TEXTUAL CRITICISM AND THE QUR'ĀN). The many notes and explanatory statements which Bell produced were mostly left out of the printed version. In 1991, two volumes of Bell's *Commentary on the Qur'ān* drawn from materials left in his estate (admittedly in unsatisfactory typographical form) were published by C.E. Bosworth and M.E.J. Richardson.

In 1947-9, the French Arabist Régis Blachère (1900-73) brought forth a three-volume introduction to the Qur'ān *(Introduction au Coran)*, as well as a new translation of the Qur'ān itself, in which the sūras (similarly to Rodwell's edition) were presented in the order Nöldeke had suggested, with only slightly modified chronological changes. Blachère's translation is, as far as I know, the first scholarly translation of the Qur'ān that uses the Cairene Qur'ān text of 1342/1923 as its foundation. Furthermore, Blachère's careful and exacting translation is notable for its continuous observance of important ways of reading the Qur'ān (see READINGS OF THE QUR'ĀN), which every now and again lead to translations that depart from the traditional perception of the text. The two extensive commentaries by al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923) and al-Rāzī are constantly taken into account, as well as those by al-Bayḍāwī and al-Nasafī (d. 710/1310; *Madārik al-tanzīl wa-ḥaqā'iq al-ta'wīl*), although only for grammatical issues. In 1957, a revised edition of the translation appeared which, however, followed the traditional arrangement of the sūras.

Already in 1935, Rudi Paret (d. 1983) had published his "Plan einer neuen, leicht kommentierten wissenschaftlichen Koranübersetzung." In this article, Paret developed his concept of a historically grounded translation, the main purpose of which should be to "render the text in the same manner as contemporaries heard it from the Prophet's mouth" ("daß sieden Wortlaut so wiedergibt, wie ihn die Zeitgenossen aus dem Munde des Propheten gehört haben," Paret, *Übersetzung,* 1). Therefore, the Arabic commentaries, "which are full of later, ahistorical interpretations of the text" ("die voll sind von späteren, unhistorischen Auslegungen des Textes," Paret, Plan, 122), are to be used only with great reservation. Instead, one must "seek the key to understanding difficult sections in the Qur'ān itself" ("im Koran selber den Schlüssel zum Verständnis schwieriger Stellen zu suchen"; ibid). Above all, Paret's translation, which appeared in 1962 after much preparatory work, is marked by these two principles which he implemented rigorously throughout. Addenda necessary to understanding the text, which presents "an effectively condensed historical commentary" ("gewissermaßen einen kondensierten historischen Kommentar"; ibid.), are parenthetically inserted into the text. In the relatively sparse critical apparatus, the literal translation is often given; aside from that, alternative translations are provided. The complementary volume *Kommentar und Konkordanz,* published in 1971, painstakingly and exhaustively lists parallels within the Qur'ān and gives historical explanations for selected sections. With regard to the style of the translation, Paret emphasizes that it is not intended "für erbauliche Zwecke" (for edifying purposes), and that he therefore did not aim for a lofty style ("gehobene Ausdrucksweise"). In a second edition (1982), Paret carried out a series of alterations, and, above all, occasionally considering alternative readings (such as that by Ibn Mas'ūd [d. 32/652-3]).

The German translation by Adel Theodor Khoury (1987) is entirely dependent on Paret's concept of the text, but with hardly any indication of alternative translation possibilities. Khoury published a twelve-volume commentary (1990-2001)

on the basis of this translation which, unfortunately, does not present a real step forward in historical and literary scholarship on the Qur'ān because it only selectively engaged contemporary research literature. In 2004, the same translator published a brief one-volume commentary with text and translation.

Paret's translation, of which, incidentally, reprints published in Iran are available (for example Qom 1378/2000), had a wide-reaching effect on the German-speaking world. Many of the translations into various European languages that have appeared since Paret's are unthinkable without the philologically pioneering work of his translation.

Among the numerous English translations, that by the Cambridge Arabist Arthur John Arberry (1901-69) holds a special place. The very title, *The Koran interpreted,* hints that Arberry follows the concept, first emphasized in the English-speaking world by Pickthall, that the Qur'ān is actually untranslatable. In noticeable contrast to Bell, Arberry intends "to imitate, however imperfectly, those rhetorical and rhythmical patterns which are the glory and the sublimity of the Koran," and beyond that, "to show each Sura as an artistic whole, its often incongruent parts constituting a rich and admirable pattern" (p. 25). Particularly among Muslims, Arberry's translation is held in special esteem because of its linguistic form. Also widely popular is the translation by N.J. Dawood that first appeared as a Penguin paperback (1956). Among the French translations, that by Denise Masson (Paris 1967) stems from the ambit of Louis Massignon and is indebted to a dialogical attitude towards Islam. In 1990, two new translations appeared simultaneously. With his very biblical language, André Chouraqui, who also translated the Bible, tried to emphasize the continuity of the three monotheistic religions. Jacques Berque is primarily concerned with rendering the Arabic text in a stylistically fitting linguistic manner, while at the same time providing scholarly justification for the translation. The aforementioned Italian translation by Bonelli has, since 1955, been joined by a very academically valuable work by Alessandro Bausani. Among the Spanish translations, both that by Juan Vernet (1963) and that by Julio Cortes (1980) deserve special notice. Of the academically significant translations into Slavic languages, the following two are noteworthy: the Russian edition by Ignatij Julianovic Krackovskij (1963) and the Czech edition by Ivan Hrbek (1972).

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Transportation

see SHIPS; VEHICLES AND TRANSPORTATION; CARAVAN

Travel

see JOURNEY; TRIPS AND VOYAGES

Treasure

see WEALTH; BOOTY

Tree(s)

A perennial woody plant with a main trunk. The *Lisān al-ʿArab* defines the term *shajar* as the "kind of plant that has a trunk or stem." In the Qurʾān, the denominative *shajara (nomen unitatis)* is the form used most frequently (nineteen times) to designate this concept. The nominal *shajar* is found generally in a collective sense of trees, bushes or plants; in two instances (Q 56:52; 36:80), however, it refers to specific trees, of which more below. For mention of other trees (date palm [q.v.], olive, etc.) see AGRICULTURE AND VEGETATION.

The contexts in which the collective sense of *shajar* appears depict the creative, supreme power of the one, unique deity (see CREATION; POWER AND IMPOTENCE). For example, "It is he who sends down water (q.v.) from the skies for you (see HEAVEN AND SKY; GRACE; BLESSING); from it is drink and from it is foliage *(shajar)* upon which you pasture [your beasts]" (Q 16:10; see SUSTENANCE; ANIMAL LIFE). The fol-

lowing verse mentions specific plants such as the olive tree, date palm, grape vine and many (unnamed) fruits, as portents for those who reflect upon God's creation. In two similar passages (Q 22:18; 55:6), all things in heaven and on earth prostrate before God (see BOWING AND PROSTRATION), including the sun (q.v.), moon (q.v.), stars (see PLANETS AND STARS), mountains, trees and beasts (see ANIMAL LIFE). Whereas God alone causes splendid orchards or gardens (see GARDEN) to spring forth, humans cannot produce (the seeds of) the trees (Q 27:60; see also Q 56:72). The ḥadīth collector Muslim (d. ca. 261/875) records a tradition in which God is said to have created trees on the third day, Monday, after the earth (q.v.) and the mountains (cf. Tibrīzī, *Mishcàt,* ii, 691-5 [chap. 7]).

One of the two instances of the nominal form referring to a particular tree is the "green tree" (*al-shajar al-akhḍar*, Q 36:80). Al-Zamakhsharī (d. 538/1144) explains this as one of the marvels of God's creation, the wood of such a tree containing the opposite qualities of fire (q.v.) and water. A proverb claims that "In every tree there is fire *(nār),* the best species being the *markh* and the *ʿafār*" (cf. Zamakhsharī, *Kashshāf,* ad Q 36:80). A green twig the size of a tooth stick *(siwāk)* cut from both trees, each of which secretes drops of water, would be rubbed together. Underlying the proverb is the notion of fertility since the male twig *(markh)* rubbed against the female twig (*ʿafār)* ignites fire with God's permission.

The second instance refers to *shajar min zaqqūm* (Q 56:52), a term that appears in two other verses as *shajarat al-zaqqūm* (Q 37:62; 44:43). Ibn Manẓūr (d. 711/1311-12) in the *Lisān* offers the explanation that, when Q 44:43-4, "Verily the tree of Zaqqūm is the food of sinners" (see SIN, MAJOR AND MINOR; FOOD AND DRINK; HELL AND HELLFIRE; REWARD AND PUNISHMENT), was revealed, the Quraysh (q.v.) did not understand what tree it referred to as it did not grow in the region. Abū Jahl enquired if anyone could identify it. A north African replied that in the dialect of Ifrīqiya it meant a dish of dates and fresh butter (*al-zubd bi-tamr;* the qurʾānic commentator al-Zamakhsharī attributes the food to the Yemenis). Abū Jahl ordered a plate of it for his companions and, having sampled it, they mockingly exclaimed, "Is this what Muḥammad has tried to scare us with in the hereafter?" God then revealed Q 37:62-5 in which the Zaqqūm is described as a tree that grows in the depths of hell, the fruits thereof being like the heads of devils or, according to al-Bayḍāwī (d. prob. 716/1316-17), like terrible serpents foul in aspect, having manes. In Q 56:52 the tree feeds the "companions of the left hand" (see LEFT HAND AND RIGHT HAND), unbelievers tormented in the afterlife who drink boiling water to quench their thirst (see HOT AND COLD). Hence, from being the food of the people of the fire, the word was extended to apply to any deadly food. Combining other lexicographical explanations, the tree might have been an import to the Middle East (possibly from India) known for its pungent odor or astringent and bitter qualities. The tree is alluded to in Q 17:60 as the "cursed tree in the Qurʾān." In this context al-Zamakhsharī presents a rejoinder to the unbelievers' scoffing scepticism that a tree that did not burn could possibly exist in hell. He cites the example of an animal's fur skin used by the Turks as a "table cloth." When it became dirty it was thrown onto the fire, the dirt vanished and the table cloth remained unaffected by the fire. The real purpose of the passage, he notes, is that God revealed it to frighten the Prophet's followers who feared the earthly punishment of death at the battle of Badr (q.v.). Among the multiple symbolic functions of trees in the world's religions, there is a notably infrequent occurrence of the tree as a direct

source of danger, or as an instrument of punishment. The tree of Zaqqūm is one such symbol which, as an integral part of God's creation, reflects the divine control over both destinies in the afterlife, hell as well as heaven. In the post-biblical *Book of Zohar,* the fruit of the tree of knowledge is said to have brought death to the whole world.

With the story of the forbidden tree in paradise (q.v.), the qurʾānic narrative falls well within the earlier biblical tradition, although with certain significant differences. The first reference occurs in Q 2:35 where God permits Adam and his wife to dwell in the garden (see ADAM AND EVE), saying, "Eat freely of its plenty wherever you wish, but do not go near this tree, or you will be wrongdoers." The tree is unidentified in this passage and al-Ṭabarī's (d. 310/923) sources suggest it referred to wheat or the vine, among others. Al-Ṭabarī himself concludes that God had indicated to them by name which tree he meant. In the next passage (Q 7:19-22), the tree is again unidentified. Iblīs (Satan), whom God had already expelled from the garden for his refusal to bow to Adam (see BOWING AND PROSTRATION; INSOLENCE AND OBSTINACY; ARROGANCE), secretly re-enters it and deceitfully *(bi-ghurūrin)* advises the pair of God's intention behind his prohibition. This was to prevent their becoming angels (see ANGEL) or one of the immortals (see ETERNITY). In Q 20:120 the tree is explicitly named. Here Iblīs (Satan) whispers (see WHISPER) to Adam, "Shall I lead you to the tree of immortality *(shajarat al-khuld)* and a kingdom that does not decay?" Satan's real purpose was to expose the couple to their own nakedness (of which they had previously been unaware) and shame in their disobedience (q.v.) of God (see NUDITY; FALL OF MAN). In his *History,* al-Ṭabarī presents several overlapping accounts of these events. In one, originating with Wahb b. Munabbih (d. ca. 110/728), the tree is described as having intertwining branches which bore fruit of which the angels ate in order to live eternally. Then, addressing Adam after his sin of disobedience, God says, "Neither in paradise nor on earth was there a tree more excellent than the acacia *(ṭalḥ)* and the lote-tree *(sidr),*" a pointed allusion to these mentioned in Q 56:28-9.

Lane says the denominative form *(sidra)* denotes a species of lote-tree called by Linnaeus *rhamnus spina Christi* and by Forskal *rhamnus nabeca,* its fruit known as *nabiq*. The (thornless) lote and acacia in the collective sense appear in Q 56:28-9 in a description of the day of judgment (see LAT JUDGMENT), where the companions on the right hand (of God), the faithful, dwell among the shade of the trees, gushing water and abundant fruit. The lote-tree *(nomen unitatis sidra)* is also mentioned in Q 53:14, 16, but here it is a unique tree, the *sidrat al-muntahā,* the lote tree of the furthermost boundary near the garden of refuge *(jannat al-maʾwā)*. Al-Zamakhsharī notes that here ends the knowledge of the angels and others and no one knows what lies beyond the tree, and that the spirits of the martyrs end here (see MARTYR). In the ḥadīth literature (see ḤADĪTH AND THE QURʾĀN), details from the two qurʾānic passages appear to be conflated. In one, the Prophet said, "In paradise there is a tree in whose shade a horseman would be able to ride for a hundred years." In another, also preserved in al-Tabrīzī's (fl. eighth/fourteenth cent.) *Mishkāt al-Maṣābīḥ* (Tibrīzī, *Mishcàt,* i, 24) as a citation from al-Bukhārī (d. 256/870) and Muslim (cf. Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* i, 306-7 [bk. 59, *K. Badʾ al-khalq,* 6]; Fr. trans. ii, 428-31; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* i, 145-7, no. 259 [bk. 1, *K. al-Īmān,* 74]), the Prophet describes his night journey and ascension (q.v.) through the heavens where, in the seventh sphere (in another version, the sixth), he is taken

to the *sidrat al-muntahā*. Its fruits were as large as earthenware pots and its leaves like elephants' ears. His companion, the angel Gabriel (q.v.), tells him of the four rivers he witnessed; the two concealed which were in paradise and the two manifest which were the Nile and the Euphrates. As the *sidrat al-muntahā* figured in the ascension stories, it proved an attractive symbol in the Ṣūfī tradition (see ṢŪFISM AND THE QURʾĀN). For example, al-Tustarī (d. 283/896) links this qurʾānic passage about the celestial tree with the light of Muḥammad when it appeared before God a million years prior to creation. There was unveiled "the mystery by the Mystery Itself, at the Lote Tree of the Boundary, that is the tree at which the knowledge of everyone comes to an end" (Schimmel, *Muhammad,* 125; see INTELLECT; KNOWLEDGE AND LEARNING).

Historians of religion have seen in this account of the lote tree parallels with shamanic visions of the world-tree. N.R. Reat has argued that the most common name of the Islamic world-tree is taken from a ḥadīth in Ibn Ḥanbal's (d. 241/855) *Musnad*. To the question, "What is bliss *(ṭūbā)*?", the Prophet answered that it is a tree in paradise called *shajarat al-ṭūbā,* the like of which does not exist on earth. In the Shīʿī tradition (see SHĪʿISM AND THE QURʾĀN), Muḥammad Bāqir al-Majlisī's (d. 1110/1698) life of the Prophet contains several references to the same tree. Jesus (q.v.) inquired about it and was told by God that he had planted it himself; that its "trunk and branches are gold and its leaves beautiful garments. Its fruit resembles the breasts of virgins and is sweeter than honey and softer than butter and it is watered by the fountain of Tesneem" (Majlisī, *Life,* 92; see SPRINGS AND FOUNTAINS). Muḥammad, on his ascension journey, describes the tree as so immense that a bird could not fly around its trunk in seven hundred years; that its roots lay in ʿAlī's celestial palace (see ʿALĪ B. ABĪ ṬĀLIB; SHĪʿA) and "there was not a residence in that blessed world to which a branch of that tree did not extend." In this account, Gabriel tells Muḥammad that God has referred to the tree in Q 13:29: "Those who believe and do what is right (shall enjoy) bliss *(ṭūbā)* and a happy resurrection (q.v.)." It is clear from Majlisī's account, however, that *ṭūbā* was a tree distinct from the *sidrat al-muntahā,* lying beyond the former and "every leaf of which shaded a great sect." Al-Ṭabarī's sources are more equivocal in his discussion of Q 13:29. Some exegetes argue for the abstract notion of "bliss" or "bounty," while others claim it is a garden in Ethiopia or India or a tree in paradise, for which last meaning he provides lengthy discussion.

Of the remaining references to trees in the Qurʾān, the most notable occurs in the famous "Light Verse" (Q 24:35): "A blessed olive tree, of neither east nor west, whose oil gives light (q.v.), though fire (q.v.) touches it not," forming part of a simile of God (see SIMILES) as "the light of the heavens and earth." Prayer rugs may be designed with a niche, a lamp and a stylised tree appearing to feed it with its oil. Al-Zamakhsharī explains that the best olive tree with the purest oil grows in Syria and that the rising and setting sun should fall upon it, hence it is both of the "east and west."

Finally, in Q 14:24, 26, there occurs the parable (q.v.) of the good word which is like a good tree *(shajara ṭayyiba)* with firm roots and high branches while an evil word is like an evil tree *(shajara khabītha)* uprooted and unstable (see SPEECH; GOOD AND EVIL). Q 37:147 refers to Jonah (q.v.) and how he was cast up from the sea upon the shore and a gourd vine *(shajara min yaqṭīn)* was caused to grow over him for protection. A historical allusion is found in Q 48:18, that "God was well pleased with

the believers when they swore allegiance to you under the tree." This is a reference to the 1500 persons who declared themselves for the Prophet at Ḥudaybiya (q.v.; see also CONTRACTS AND ALLIANCES). Robertson Smith, citing Yāqūt (d. 626/1229), says this tree was visited by pilgrims seeking its blessing until the caliph (q.v.) ʿUmar cut it down to avoid its being worshipped like al-Lāt and al-ʿUzzā (see POLYTHEISM AND ATHEISM; SOUTH ARABIA, RELIGIONS IN PRE-ISLAMIC). Among the numerous references to God's causing vegetation to grow from the rain he sends down, there is the lone mention (Q 23:20) of "a tree that issues from Mount Sinai (q.v.) yielding oil *(duhn)* and seasoning *(ṣibgh)* for all to eat." At Q 28:30 God speaks to Moses (q.v.) from a bush *(al-shajara)* on blessed ground. In contrast to the examples discussed above (with the possible exception of the "green tree"), the trees mentioned in this last paragraph are all terrestrial rather than supernatural (see also ESCHATOLOGY).

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see PEOPLE OF THE DITCH; EXPEDITIONS AND BATTLES; MUḤAMMAD

Trial

Challenge to be endured. Some one hundred verses in the Qurʾān deal directly or indirectly with trial, in particular as a trial or test of true belief. Four verbs and/or their verbal nouns are especially used, of which the first two constitute the vast majority of these references: *balāʾ, ibtilāʾ* (e.g. Q 2:49; 3:186; 47:31; 89:16), *fatana, fitna* (e.g. Q 8:28; 64:15), *maḥḥaṣa* (only in Q 3:141 and 154) and *imtaḥana* (only in Q 49:3 and 60:10; Q 60 is additionally entitled *al-Mumtaḥana,* literally, "she who was tested," but its main concern is relations between believers and non-believers, which is tangential to this article; see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF). For trial in the sense of inquisition, see INQUISITION.

Yet the meaning of the Qurʾān in its entirety can be taken as a trial or test since it affords humankind the way to salvation (q.v.) if people choose to follow God's commands (see COMMANDMENT; OBEDIENCE) presented in it. Trials serve the purpose of distinguishing between those who do right and those who do not (Q 2:152-7; 47:31; 60:10; 67:2; see GOOD DEEDS; EVIL DEEDS; VIRTUES AND VICES, COMMANDING AND FORBIDDING) or between believers and unbelievers. In his exegesis of a qurʾānic verse dealing with the issue of coercion in religious matters (Q 2:256; see TOLERANCE AND COMPULSION), the exegete al-Rāzī (d. 606/1210; see EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL) actually speaks of this world as a place of trial *(dār al-dunyā hiya dār al-ibtilāʾ)* with reference to the fact that people have a choice to believe or not

(see FREEDOM AND PREDESTINATION; GRATITUDE AND INGRATITUDE). Carrying the argument further, he says that, had there been no choice and all were true believers, the world would be a perfect place and the notion of later punishment or reward would cease to have any meaning (see REWARD AND PUNISHMENT). Believers are subjected to trials in this world, both materially and spiritually (e.g. Q 2:155; 3:186; 5:48; 6:165; 21:35; 89:16). Hope (q.v.) and endurance (patience; see TRUST AND PATIENCE) help a believer during moments of trial (Q 4:104; 31:17). God gives signs (q.v.) as a test to people (Q 44:33) and God rewards those who stand in the face of adversity (Q 2:155-7). Even God's prophets (see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD) are not exempt from these tests: "Thus we have appointed for every prophet an adversary (see ENEMIES; OPPOSITION TO MUḤAMMAD): the demons of humankind or of jinn (q.v.), who inspire to one another pleasing speech intended to lead astray (q.v.) through guile" (Q 6:112; cf. also Q 22:52; see DEVIL).

In light of the above, trials of past prophets and communities serve as examples for humankind. Abraham (q.v.), for instance, endured trials but in the end succeeded because he accepted God's commandments (Q 2:124; 37:104-7). The story of Joseph (q.v.) recounts his torment but final victory (Q 12) and that of his father Jacob (q.v.) who had lost his sight as a result of his distress over the loss of his son (Q 12:84), only to regain it later after learning that, true to his inner belief, his son was indeed not dead (Q 12:96). The Children of Israel (q.v.) suffered persecutions under the people of Pharaoh (q.v.; Q 2:49) but were delivered from this shame by the lord (q.v.; Q 44:30; see also DELIVERANCE). God grants mercy (q.v.) to those who are faithful in the face of numerous trials, illustrated, for example, by the initial childlessness of Zechariah (q.v.), and the allegations of Mary's (q.v.) immoral behavior — both of whom were ultimately rewarded and/or exonerated (Q 19:2-33; see CHASTITY; ADULTERY AND FORNICATION). Satan, too, may tempt and hence test people by raising doubt in sick hearts (Q 22:53; see HEART) and Satan brought agony to the prophet Job (q.v.) which was taken away after Job asked God for help (Q 38:41f.).

The qurʾānic emphasis on the trials of this world is reflected in the theological gloss given to the struggles of the Islamic community, particularly in its early years. This is especially evident in the portrayal of social and political upheavals of the first generations as rebellion (q.v.) against the divine law (see LAW AND THE QURʾĀN), leading to schism which could threaten the purity of the faith (q.v.) of the believers (cf. Gardet, Fitna). Disturbances such as that between ʿAlī and Muʿāwiya were often labeled as eras of *fitna,* or trial, for the believing community (see also POLITICS AND THE QURʾĀN).

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Tribes and Clans

The social units that constituted Arabian society in pre-Islamic and early Islamic times (see PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QURʾĀN). As the Muslim polity developed, Muslim society became more complex and

tribes ceased to be the sole constituent element. Nonetheless, Arab tribes did not disappear altogether (see ARABS; BEDOUIN). Modern historians of Islam understand the word "tribe" as a social unit larger than a "clan," but there is no consensus about the definition of either of these terms. Other words are occasionally used as synonyms of "clan," such as "sub-tribe," "branch," "faction," and "subdivision," but all of these lack a fixed meaning. Anthropologists, in contrast, use such terms in a much more technical and precise fashion. The Arabic designations of social units, such as *qabīla, ḥayy, ʿashīra, qawm, baṭn,* etc., also lack precision and the sources often use them interchangeably (see also KINSHIP). The common practice among modern Islamicists is to translate *qabīla* as "tribe."

Four terms in the Qurʾān express the notion of a social unit: *ʿashīra, asbāṭ, shuʿūb* and *qabāʾil*. The first of these, *ʿashīra,* occurs three times (Q 9:24; 26:214; 58:22) and seems to denote an extended family (q.v.) rather than a tribe. The second, *asbāṭ,* occurs five times, invariably referring to the tribes of the Children of Israel (q.v.; Q 2:136, 140; 3:84; 4:163; 7:160). Medieval Muslim exegetes (see EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL) explain that the word *asbāṭ* is used to denote the tribes of the descendants of Isaac (q.v.; Isḥāq) in order to distinguish them from the descendants of Ishmael (q.v.; Ismāʿīl); the latter, the Arabian tribes, are referred to as *qabāʾil*. As for etymology, certain exegetes derive the term *asbāṭ* from *sibṭ* in the sense of "a grandchild," for the Children of Israel are like grandchildren to Jacob (q.v.; Yaʿqūb). Others assign to *sibṭ* the meaning of "succession," explaining that the generations (q.v.) of the Children of Israel succeeded one another and therefore they are *asbāṭ.* Yet another derivation of *asbāṭ* is from *sabaṭ,* a certain tree; the exegetes explain that the father is likened to a tree and the descendants to its branches (Ibn al-Hāʾim, *Ṭibyān,* i, 111; Qurṭubī, *Jāmiʿ,* ii, 141; vii, 303; Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr,* i, 188; Shawkānī, *Fatḥ,* i, 147). The word *asbāṭ,* however, seems to be a loan word from the Hebrew *shevaṭim* (sing. *shevet*), "tribes."

The third and the fourth terms, *shuʿūb* and *qabāʾil,* occur in the Qurʾān once, in the famous verse that served the Shuʿūbiyya movement (see below), "O people, we have created you male and female, and made you groups and tribes *(shuʿūban waqabāʾila)* so that you may know one another; the noblest among you in the sight of God is the most pious" (Q 49:13). *Shaʿb* (pl. *shuʿūb*) probably was the South Arabic term parallel to the Arabic *qabīla* (pl. *qabāʾil;* see Beeston, Some features; al-Sayyid, *al-Umma,* 29). There were, however, important differences. First, the Arabian social units called *qabāʾil* were based on common descent, whereas the south Arabian units called *shuʿūb* were not; secondly, the latter were sedentary, whereas the former included both nomads (q.v.) and settled people. Muslim exegetes, however, interpreted the qurʾānic *shuʿūb* and *qabāʾil* according to the needs of their own days. The various interpretations reflect the dispute about equality between Arab Muslims and other Muslims, the ideas of the Shuʿūbiyya movement and the response of their rivals (see POLITICS AND THE QURʾĀN). One line of interpretation conceives of the two words as applying to north and central Arabian social units of different size and different genealogical depth. According to this interpretation a *qabīla* is a tribe, such as the Quraysh (q.v.), whereas a *shaʿb* is a "super tribe," that is, the framework that includes several tribes, such as Muḍar. Another line of interpretation endows the two words with an ethnic coloring. According to this, *qabāʾil* refers to Arabs, whereas *shuʿūb* means non-Arabs

or *mawālī* (clients; see CLIENTS AND CLIENTAGE) or social units based on territory rather than on genealogy (which again amounts to non-Arabs, see e.g. Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr*, iv, 218; for a detailed discussion and references, see Goldziher, *MS*, i, 137-98; Mottahedeh, Shuʿūbiyya; Marlow, *Hierarchy*, 2-3, 96-9, 106; al-Sayyid, *al-Umma*, 26-36).

The scarcity of resources in Arabia on the one hand and the tribal structure of the society on the other, led to incessant competitions and feuds between the Arabian social units. These facts of life were idealized and became the basis of the social values of the Arabs (Goldziher, *MS*, i, 18-27; Obermann, Early Islam; al-Sayyid, *al-Umma*, 19-25). Naturally, when the Prophet sought to establish a community of believers, he hoped to achieve unity among all Muslims (Goldziher, *MS*, i, 45-9). Many prophetic traditions (ḥadīths; see ḤADĪTH AND THE QURʾĀN) were circulated, denouncing tribal pride, tribal feuds and tribal solidarity that disrupted the overall unity of the Muslim community. The Qurʾān, however, advocates unity among Muslims (e.g. Q 3:103; 8:63; 49:10) without denouncing tribal values. Indeed, the Qurʾān does not even reflect the fact that pre-Islamic Arabian society was a tribal society. It is nevertheless important to understand the structure and the social concepts that constituted the setting prior to the advent of Islam.

Arabian society of pre-Islamic and early Islamic times may be schematically described as consisting of hierarchies of agnatic descent groups that came into being by a process of segmentation. As a rule, the major part of any given group considered itself the descendants in the male line of a single male ancestor, thus differentiating itself from other descent groups (see PATRIARCHY). At the same time, it considered itself part of ever larger descent groups because its members were also the offspring of ancestors further and further removed up the same male line. Any given descent group referred sometimes to a closer, at other times to a more distant ancestor, according to its interests. When referring to a distant ancestor, a descent group ignored the dividing lines between itself and those segments which, like itself, descended from the same distant ancestor. Thus, the more distant the ancestor, the larger the descent group and the greater the number of segments included in it. All Arabs considered themselves to be ultimately descended from two distant ancestors, in two different male lines, so that the genealogical scheme may be represented approximately as two pyramids. Descent groups are typically called "*Banū* so-and-so," i.e. "the descendants of so-and-so." It should, however, be noted that not every name mentioned in the genealogies stands for a founder of a descent group and that the recorded genealogies are not always genuine (some would even say are never genuine). Groups were sometimes formed by alliances, not by segmentation; but such groups, too, were eventually integrated into the genealogical scheme by fabricated genealogies and considered to be agnatic descent groups.

The sources preserved the names of many agnatic descent groups, which varied greatly in size and in their genealogical depth or level of segmentation. It is often clear that a given descent group was an entity of considerable genealogical depth that comprised a great number of independent segments. In the genealogies, the ancestor of such a comprehensive descent group would be far removed up the male line; the constituent segments of the group would be called after various descendants in the male line of that distant ancestor. Modern scholars of Arabia and Islam

commonly refer to the comprehensive descent groups as "tribes" although, technically speaking, the term is perhaps not entirely appropriate. A descent group (comprehensive or not) consists of all descendants in the male line of a single male ancestor. A tribe, usually having a descent group at its core, includes others as well (clients, confederates; see BROTHER AND BROTHERHOOD). It is in fact difficult to determine whether the familiar names such as Quraysh, Tamīm, ʿĀmir, Ṭayyiʾ, Asad, etc., stand for tribes or for comprehensive descent groups. Obviously, the sources do not make this distinction (although they may include various specifications); neither do Islamicists who refer to these entities as tribes. As far as the medieval books of genealogy are concerned, these names stand for comprehensive descent groups. The records of Quraysh, Tamīm, etc., in these sources only include descendants in the male line of the respective distant ancestors. The genuineness of the genealogies is often disputed but no confederate or client is included as such in the record of any given group. On the other hand, it stands to reason that, in practice, a descent group and its confederates and clients counted as one entity, at least for certain purposes. Were it not so, there would have been no point to the existence of categories such as confederates and clients. This ambiguity is reflected in the way the historical sources record details of groups such as participants in a given battle (see EXPEDITIONS AND BATTLES). The names of the genuine members of each tribe are recorded first, followed by a separate list containing the names of the clients and the confederates. The same analysis applies to the segments that constituted the tribes. For the genealogical books they are descent groups but in practice they included outsiders as confederates and clients, so that they were not in fact descent groups; they may be referred to as "sections." The processes of segmentation and alliance effected constant changes in the composition of descent groups, tribes and sections. Because of this fact and the fluidity of the genealogical references, the distinction between tribes and sections is often blurred.

There is no dispute about the tribal nature of Arabian society before and after the advent of Islam; yet we do not know what the members of any given tribe had in common other than the name and perhaps some sense of solidarity (see an example of such solidarity in Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh,* vii, 175). Defining features such as those that exist for modern Bedouin tribes cannot be discerned for the period under discussion. A modern Bedouin tribe in the Negev and Sinai may be defined by a common name, common leadership, common territory, sometimes common customary law, and external recognition, both legal and political (see Marx, *Bedouin,* 61-3, 95, 123-4; id., Tribal pilgrimages, 109-16; Stewart, *Bedouin boundaries;* id., ʿUrf, 891). By contrast, the defining features of the tribes of old are far from clear. The members of a given tribe sometimes occupied adjacent territories but the legal significance of this fact, if any, is unknown (see al-Jāsir, Taḥdīd). As often as not, sections of one and the same tribe were scattered over large, non-adjacent areas. It is therefore not possible to define a tribe by its territory. Customary law seems to have constituted a factor uniting all Arabian tribes rather than a boundary differentiating between them. A pre-Islamic tribe certainly had no common leadership and its sections did not usually unite for common activities. Political division within one and the same tribe was the rule rather than the

exception. When the sources seem to be reporting a joint activity of a tribe, it often turns out that the report is misleading. The confusion arises from the fluidity of the genealogical references. Apparently following the practice of the tribesmen themselves, the sources call sections interchangeably by the names of their closer and more distant ancestors. Obviously, a designation by a more distant ancestor applies to a more comprehensive segment. As a rule, a smaller section may be designated by the name of one of the larger ones to which it belongs but not vice versa (except when a specific name becomes generic, such as Qays, which came to designate all the so-called "northern tribes"). Thus when various versions of one and the same account refer to a given group by different names, the smallest framework mentioned is probably the one that was really involved in the events related in that account (Landau-Tasseron, Asad; id., Ṭayyiʾ). We are thus left with no real definition of an Arabian tribe in the period discussed here, except its name and a measure of solidarity. The concept of *ʿaṣabiyya,* commonly rendered as "tribal solidarity," was too vague and too fluid to bind all the men of any given tribe or section.

ʿAṣabiyya should not be confused with the concept of shared legal responsibility. The latter was a factor that drew precise boundaries between groups; the groups thus defined, however, were neither tribes nor sections because they consisted of adult males only. In pre-Islamic and early Islamic society the adult male members of certain agnatic descent groups shared legal responsibility. They were accountable for each other's offenses. At its most extreme manifestation, this rule meant that they jointly sought revenge or received blood money (q.v.; see also RETALIATION) when one of them was killed by an outsider (see MURDER; VIOLENCE); conversely, they were all exposed to vengeance (q.v.) or obliged to pay blood money when one of them killed an outsider. The obligation of mutual assistance applied not only in matters of blood revenge but also in less extreme situations. Such a group of men sharing legal responsibility may be called a co-liable group (see Marx, *Bedouin,* chaps. 7 and 8). The rules by which co-liable groups were formed in the past are unknown. The material at hand does not disclose whether they came into being on the basis of a certain genealogical depth, mutual consent of the members, a decision by the elders, external public opinion or any combination of these or other factors (cf. Stewart, *Texts,* i, 26-122; id., Thaʾr; id., Structure of Bedouin society; Marx, *Bedouin,* 63-78, 180-242).

Agnatic descent groups often accepted outsiders into their ranks. The male adults from among these outsiders shared liability with the male adults of the descent group that they had joined. It should be noted that, as a rule, a section bore the name of the descent group that formed its core; the co-liable group based on a given descent group, or on the section that crystallized around it (if any), bore the same name. Obviously, great confusion ensues when one and the same name designates three groups of different kinds (a descent group, the section that crystallized around it and the male adult members thereof, i.e. the co-liable group).

Co-liable groups were thus based either on descent groups or on sections, but not every descent group and every section constituted the framework of a single co-liable group. The actual boundaries of liability, that is, the lines dividing the various co-liable groups, are unknown. We may be certain that the men of a tribe never constituted a single co-liable group; we cannot

tell, however, which sections within each tribe fulfilled this function at any given point in time.

In conclusion, we know thousands of names of tribes and sections but we cannot describe the defining features of a tribe or a section. We can define the phenomenon of the co-liable groups that were based on tribal sections but we cannot draw the lines dividing them.

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Tribute

see TAXATION; POLL TAX; BOOTY; CAPTIVES; POLITICS AND THE QURʾĀN

Trick

see LAUGHTER; LIE; MOCKERY; MAGIC; HUMOR

Trinity

The distinctive Christian doctrine of one God in three persons, directly alluded to three times in the Qurʾān. The overwhelmingly powerful assertion in the Qurʾān that God is absolutely one rules out any notion that another being could share his sovereignty (q.v.) or nature (see GOD AND HIS ATTRIBUTES). The text abounds with deni-

als that there could be two gods (Q 16:51) and that he could have partners (e.g. Q 6:163; 10:18, 28-9; 23:91; see POLYTHEISM AND ATHEISM) or relations (Q 6:100; 16:57; 17:111; 25:2; 112:3) and explicitly repudiates the idea that he took Jesus (q.v.) as his son (Q 4:171; 19:34-5). This is the context in which its rejection of belief in the Trinity is to be understood. Whether it does, in fact, reject the doctrine has been contested, though from a very early date there has been little doubt of this among Muslims.

The three direct references to triple deity occur in the two late sūras, Q 4 and 5, which number 100 and 114 respectively in the chronological order suggested by Nöldeke, *GQ*. What appears to be the most straightforward of the three is Q 5:73: "Certainly they disbelieve (see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF) who say: God is the third of three *(thālith thalātha),* for there is no god except one God." It has been suggested that this verse criticizes a deviant form of Trinitarian belief which overstressed the distinctiveness of the three persons at the expense of their unity as substance (Masson, *Coran,* 93; Watt-Bell, *Introduction,* 158). It has also been noted that, in fact, this is not a reference to the Trinity but to Jesus, who in Syriac literature was often called "the third of three" (Griffith, Christians and Christianity, 312-13). By this reading Q 5:73 must be seen as constituting part of a sustained criticism of the belief in the divinity of Christ that occupies the whole of Q 5:72-5, i.e. an emphatic repetition of the criticism in verse 72 that God and Christ are identical (see CHRISTIANS AND CHRISTIANITY; POLEMIC AND POLEMICAL LANGUAGE). But it is equally plausible to read this and the preceding verse, which is evidently intended as a pair with this since it begins with the same formula *(laqad kafara lladhīna qālū inna…)*, as intentional simplifications of the two major Christian beliefs in the humanity and divinity of Christ and the Trinity, simplifications that expose the weaknesses they each contain when analyzed from the strictly monotheistic perspective of the Qurʾān. Thus, Q 5:72 attacks what it portrays as the eternal God (see ETERNITY) and the human born of Mary (q.v.) being identical, while Q 5:73 attacks the notion that God could have partners in his divinity. The teaching in this verse is certainly that Christians place other beings alongside the true God. If it is taken in its context, the implication can be drawn from Q 5:72 and 75 that one of these is Jesus, while from the firm emphasis on his and his mother's human needs in Q 5:75 ("Christ the son of Mary was no more than a messenger [q.v.]… and his mother was a woman of truth [q.v.]; they had both to eat food"; see FOOD AND DRINK; PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD), it is even possible to infer that the other was Mary (*Jalālayn,* ad loc.).

Whether or not this is the intention in Q 5:73, the second reference in the Qurʾān to three deities makes such an accusation explicit. This is in Q 5:116: "And behold! God will say: 'O Jesus, the son of Mary! Did you say to people *(al-nās),* "Take me and my mother for two gods beside God?"' He will say, 'Glory to you (see GLORIFICATION OF GOD)! Never could I say what I had no right [to].' " In what is intended as an eschatological interrogation of Jesus (see Q 5:109; see ESCHATOLOGY), God brings up a claim evidently associated with him, that he encouraged people to regard himself and Mary as gods besides God *(min dūni llāh)*. The implication is that Christians made him the source of the wrong belief they hold. Strictly speaking, this verse need not be read as a reference to a version of the Trinity but rather as an example of *shirk,* claiming divinity for beings other than God (see IDOLATRY AND IDOLATERS). As such, it could be

understood as a warning against excessive devotion to Jesus and extravagant veneration of Mary, a reminder linked to the central theme of the Qurʾān that there is only one God and he alone is to be worshipped (see WORSHIP). Nevertheless, this verse has been read in relation to the Trinity and linked with others such as Q 6:101, which denies that God has a consort and therefore a son, to assert that Christians believe in a godhead comprising God, Mary and Jesus.

It has been argued that this accusation, which is remote from orthodox Christianity, may be directed at a particular form of deviant belief, such as that associated with the Collyridians, a female sect who sacrificed cakes, *kollyrídes,* to Mary (Masson, *Coran,* 93; Parrinder, *Jesus,* 135). They are described by the fourth century heresiographer Epiphanius (d. 403 C.E.) as a sect that "came to Arabia from Thrace and northern Scythia" (*Panarion* LXXIX). This suggestion is helpful in linking the accusation with a historical referent but it raises the problem of why the Qurʾān should take this comparatively little-known belief as a representative formulation of the Trinity. To accept such a link may have some attraction on historical grounds (though firm proof is entirely lacking), but it entails acknowledging that the Qurʾān is not addressing mainstream Christian beliefs. If, on the other hand, there is no sectarian version of Christian doctrine being addressed in this verse, it need not be read as a rejection of a deviant doctrine of the Trinity but as a denial that Jesus and Mary are equal with God, and a warning (q.v.) against making excessive claims about them. Thus, it can be understood as an instance of the warning against the divinization of Jesus that is given elsewhere in the Qurʾān and a warning against the virtual divinization of Mary in the declarations of the fifth-century church councils that she is *theotókos,* "God-bearer." The vehement opposition of Nestorius (d. ca. 451) and his followers to this title as incompatible with the full humanity of Christ may be part of the historical context from which the polemics of this verse arise. It is not farfetched to think that ecclesiastical extravagances as related by groups of Christians to whom they were distasteful, combined with the constant emphasis in the Qurʾān on the uniqueness of God, produced this dramatically conceived denial that other beings could be divine besides him.

The third clear reference to triple deity occurs in Q 4:171:

> O People of the Book (q.v.)! Commit no excesses in your religion (q.v.), nor say of God anything but the truth. Christ Jesus the son of Mary was only God's messenger and his word (see WORD OF GOD) which he bestowed on Mary, and a spirit (q.v.) from him. So believe in God and his messengers and do not say "Three"; desist, it will be better for you. For God is one God, far removed is he in his glory from having a son.

When read as part of the whole verse, the reference here to "three" is most obviously connected with the rejection of the related claims that Jesus was more than a human messenger and that God had a son. So a straightforward interpretation would be that here as in Q 5:73 the Qurʾān warns against both divinization of Christ and Trinitarian exaggerations because no other beings should be placed beside God in divinity. (There is a curious reminiscence of the classical Christian doctrine in the immediately preceding mention of Jesus as word and spirit of God, though also a clear denial of it on the grounds that the titles hypostasised into persons of the godhead by Christians are no more than qualities to be ascribed to the human Jesus.) Like the

other two, this third qurʾānic reference to tripleness in deity is, then, really directed against associating creatures with God, though it must be taken as intended to refute the central Christian doctrine of the Trinity, and, as such, as a radical deconstruction of that doctrine in its essential formulation of three discrete beings who share in divinity.

It appears that unless they are naïve misunderstandings of the doctrine, all of these three references to the Trinity are directed from the context of the uncompromising insistence in the Qurʾān upon the unity of God against claims that challenge this. (It is, however, worth recalling that in their discussions of these verses early commentators often noted that for Christians the "three" was an internal characteristic of the godhead in the form of the persons rather than a series of external beings placed together with God.) The lack of detail about what these claims actually consist of suggests that the Qurʾān has no concern to analyze and evaluate them but simply to deny them as distortions of its central teaching of divine unicity.

The undeviating denial in the Qurʾān of any god besides God has not prevented Christians over the centuries from detecting in it hints of the Trinity. As early as the mid-second/eighth century the anonymous treatise entitled *Fī tathlīth Allāh al-wāḥid* alludes to the plural forms of self-address in such verses as Q 90:4, 54:11 and 6:94 as indications of a triune godhead (Gibson, Triune nature, 77; trans., 5; for dating of this work see Samir, Arab apology, 61-4). A little later the Nestorian patriarch Timothy I in his dialogue with the caliph al-Mahdī, dated to 165/781, refers to such verses as Q 19:17 and Q 21:91 for the same purpose, as well as to the groups of three letters at the start of some sūras (Mingana, Apology, 201-4; see MYSTERIOUS LETTERS). And some years after him the Jacobite Ḥabīb b. Khidma Abū Rāʾiṭa also refers to the evidence of the plural forms of address (Graf, *Schriften,* 20). This motif can be traced through the medieval period and is employed as late as 1461 C.E. by the German cardinal Nicholas of Cusa in his *Cribratio Alkorani,* where he also regards Q 42:52, 4:171; 26:192-5; and 16:102 as open references to the three persons of the godhead (Hopkins, *Nicholas of Cusa,* 119, 126-7; see PRE-1800 PREOCCUPATIONS OF QURʾĀNIC STUDIES). Just as provocatively, the Melkite bishop Paul of Antioch (thought to have been active towards the end of the sixth/twelfth century), who knew the Qurʾān more thoroughly than most earlier Christians, sees a Trinitarian allusion in the Throne Verse (see VERSES; THRONE OF GOD), "God, there is no god but he, the living, the self-subsisting" (Q 2:255) and also marshals mentions of God's word and spirit in Q 5:110, 37:171, 40:68, and 66:12 into an argument that supposedly supports the doctrine from the Qurʾān itself (Khoury, *Paul d'Antioche,* 69-71; trans., 177-8).

Needless to say, Muslim polemicists unanimously rejected such attempts to base the doctrine on the Qurʾān and took what they read as the denial of the Trinity in their scripture as the basis of their own arguments against it. As early as the beginning of the third/ninth century the Zaydī Imām al-Qāsim b. Ibrāhīm (see IMĀM; SHĪʿISM AND THE QURʾĀN) describes the doctrine in tritheistic terms as "three separate individuals" *(thalāthat ashkhāṣ muftariqa),* which are "one compacted nature" (*ṭabīʿa wāḥida muttafiqa,* di Matteo, Confutazione, 314-15, trans., 345) and goes on to argue that the names "Father" and "Son" cannot refer to the eternal being of God since they derive from the temporal act of begetting (di Matteo, Confutazione, 318-9; trans., 349-50). A little later the philosopher Abū Yūsuf al-Kindī (see PHILOSOPHY AND THE QURʾĀN) also describes the persons as

ashkhāṣ who are each distinguished by particular properties and argues that they cannot be eternal since they are composite and, according to the Aristotelian system, must be categories of existents which may contain other categories of existents within them or themselves be members of categories (Périer, Traité). At about the same time the independent thinker Abū ʿĪsā al-Warrāq (fl. third/ninth cent.), in the most searching examination of the Trinity that survives from a Muslim author, painstakingly demonstrates that the Christian doctrine cannot be reconciled with monotheism as long as it also itemizes a number of constituents in the godhead (Thomas, *Polemic*).

Arguments such as these which exposed the tritheistic nature of the Trinity set the pattern for later Muslim approaches towards the doctrine. Despite their differences in detail, they all acknowledge the lead of the Qurʾān in focusing on the accusation that the doctrine imports plurality into the godhead.

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Trips and Voyages

Travel episodes of long or short duration. Instances and descriptions of travel may be real, e.g. trips undertaken by qurʾānic characters, or figurative, e.g. following the straight path (see PATH OR WAY) to earn God's pleasure. Both feature prominently in the Qurʾān. Common also are references to modes of and motives for travel and allusions to the journeys (see JOURNEY) undertaken by Muḥammad (e.g. the night journey; see ASCENSION) and by the early Muslim community (e.g. the *hijra* from Mecca [q.v.] to Medina [q.v.]; see EMIGRATION).

The Qurʾān acknowledges the fact that the course of human activity includes the undertaking of trips and voyages. Among God's gifts to humanity is the ability to travel upon the earth (q.v.): "And he has set upon the earth… rivers and roads *(anhāran wa-subulan)* that you may guide yourselves, and sign-posts too; and stars by which to be guided" (Q 16:15-16; see PLANETS AND STARS; GRACE; BLESSING; NATURE AS SIGNS). These trips may be commercial, military, diplomatic, religious or political (see EXPEDITIONS AND BATTLES; MARKETS; CARAVAN). Indeed, in the context of certain ritual practices (see RITUAL AND THE QURʾĀN), this translates into explicit provisions. Fasting (q.v.) in the month of Ramaḍān (q.v.), for instance, is enjoined on believers (see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF) but

those on a trip (*ʿalā safarin,* also identified as wayfarers, *ʿābirī sabīl,* in Q 4:43) and the sick (see ILLNESS AND HEALTH) are exempt from this obligation (Q 2:184, 185; see also CLEANLINESS AND ABLUTION). Ritual prayers may also be curtailed by reason of travel (*wa-idhā ḍarabtum fī l-ard*…, Q 4:101; cf. 5:106; see PRAYER). The hazards of travel are the reason for such provisions and are frequently invoked by the Qurʾān. One danger facing travelers in the late antique world was ambush, either on the road or at sea. This helps explain the Qurʾān's harsh view of pirates and highway robbers (see THEFT), the threat of the latter being mentioned in one place together with sexual relations between men (see HOMOSEXUALITY; SEX AND SEXUALITY) and the giving of wicked counsel (Q 29:29; see also BOUNDARIES AND PRECEPTS).

The danger posed by weather (q.v.) conditions (sometimes evoked directly, as in Q 77:1-4) and the vagaries of nature are implicit in the Qurʾān's frequent reference to the fact that God's grace is what allows ships (q.v.; in twenty-three places) to travel without difficulty and for humanity's profit upon the seas (Q 17:66; cf. 2:164; 17:70). From God's bounty also come the means by which to navigate: "He is the one who placed the stars so you may be guided by them through the darkness (q.v.) of land and sea" (*wa-huwa l-ladhī jaʿala lakumu l-nujūma li-tahtadū bihā fī zulumāti l-barri wa-l-baḥri,* Q 6:97) — although it should be noted that in some Shīʿī commentary these stars are identified as the imāms (see Ṭabarsī, *Majmaʾ,* iv, 132; see SHĪʿISM AND THE QURʾĀN; IMĀM). The most famous ship mentioned in the Qurʾān is Noah's (q.v.) ark (q.v.), which God instructs him to build to save himself, his kin and the righteous from the flood he will send as punishment (Q 11:36-49; see CHASTISEMENT AND PUNISHMENT; PUNISHMENT STORIES). Noah's appeals to God to save his unbelieving son (Q 11:45-7) are rejected by God; Noah's wife, too, is not spared (Q 66:10) and so neither makes the momentous trip to safety and grace (see Zamakhsharī, *Kashshāf,* ii, 218-19; iv, 118). There is one instance of a journey in the belly of a fish: the prophet Jonah (q.v.; Yūnus, also called Dhū l-Nūn) is thrown overboard, swallowed by a fish and cast forth on a barren shore (Q 37:139-48).

Danger during trips also helps explain the Qurʾān's use of safe passage and of public safety as a metaphor (q.v.). At Q 14:35, Abraham (q.v.) prays for a secure land; at Q 95:3 God swears by a safe city (q.v.; *wa-hādha l-baladi l-amīn*); and at Q 34:18, God tells the people of Sheba (q.v.), "Travel *(sīrū)* between [the cities] in all security *(āminīn),* day or night." Sheba is the place to which Solomon's (q.v.) hoopoe travels and returns, bringing news of its people and queen (Q 27:22; see BILQĪS). Solomon then dispatches both a human and jinn (q.v.) embassy (Q 27:37-40) prompting the queen's visit (Q 27:42). Her people are the ones who had covetously asked God to place greater distances between their way stations (Q 34:19) because they wished to monopolize trade and benefit from the hardship to others (*Jalālayn,* 430; see TRADE AND COMMERCE). The latter is one of countless references to trade in the Qurʾān, a revelation vouchsafed, it should be remembered, to a merchant of the Quraysh (q.v.) tribe (see e.g. Q 35:29 for a metaphorical use of *tijāra,* commerce; see also TRIBES AND CLANS).

The Quraysh and their caravans are described in Q 106, a short early Meccan revelation (see REVELATION AND INSPIRATION; CHRONOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN). Although this sūra (q.v.) does not explicitly mention the animals used in the caravans, they are enumerated elsewhere (see ANIMAL LIFE): Q 16:5-8, for example, mentions the creation of cattle *(anʿām)* which "carry your

heavy loads (see LOAD OR BURDEN) to lands that you would not otherwise reach except with great distress." Animals are beneficial also because their skins can be used to make tents, in particular for use on trips (*yawma ẓaʿnikum wa-yawma iqāmatikum,* Q 16:80; see HIDES AND FLEECE). Horses, mules and donkeys (*wa-l-khayl wa-l-bighāl wa-l-ḥamīr,* Q 16:8) are also identified. Q 59:6 makes reference to the use of horses and camels in battle, and in Q 105, a short Meccan sūra which describes the unsuccessful attempt of the Abyssinian governor Abraha (q.v.) to besiege Mecca and take the Kaʿba (q.v.), war elephants are mentioned (see also CAMEL; PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QURʾĀN; ABYSSINIA; PEOPLE OF THE ELEPHANT).

That humankind may be involved in struggles, both unarmed and armed, is evoked in formulations such as "go forth lightly or heavily equipped and struggle with your wealth (q.v.) and your persons in the cause/way of God" (*infirū khifāfan wa-thiqālan wa-jāhidū bi-amwālikum wa-anfusikum fī sabīli llāhi,* Q 9:41; see EXPEDITIONS AND BATTLES; JIHĀD). Of special significance here is the use of the term *sabīl Allāh — sabīl* (way, cause), and its plural *subul,* occur in 176 places in the Qurʾān. At Q 4:94, the Qurʾān addresses those who do God's work *(fī sabīl Allāh),* such as those calling people to Islam (q.v.; see also INVITATION). These righteous and pious folk are occasionally specifically described, like *sāʾiḥāt* (Q 66:5), women who travel for faith (q.v.; cf. *al-sāʾiḥūn* at Q 9:112; see also PIETY; VISITING; FASTING).

Q 16:9 reads: "And unto God leads straight the way" *(wa-ʿalā llāhi qaṣdu l-sabīl),* highlighting the fact that one's very life is a journey (cf. Gimaret, *Jubbāʾī,* 543 for a reading of this as God's imparting of knowledge; see KNOWLEDGE AND LEARNING) and that life's destination is God: *innā lillāhi wa-innā ilayhi rājiʿūn* (Q 2:156). The path to [God] is called by the Qurʾān *al-ṣirāṭ al-mustaqīm*. Though typically described as straight, most famously at Q 1:6 (*ihdinā l-ṣirāṭa l-mustaqīm,* "guide us to the straight path"), it is also described as "the path of [God], the mighty, the praised" (*ṣirāṭ al-ʿazīz al-ḥamīd,* Q 14:1; see GOD AND HIS ATTRIBUTES; PRAISE; POWER AND IMPOTENCE), contra the path to hellfire (*ṣirāṭ al-jaḥīm,* Q 37:23; see HELL AND HELLFIRE; REWARD AND PUNISHMENT) and contra the path of those who have earned God's wrath (*al-maghḍūb ʿalayhim,* Q 1:7; see Āzād, *Tarjumān al-Qurʾān,* i; see ANGER). The possibility that one can be led astray (q.v.) is in one instance expressed by the righteous (see GOOD AND EVIL) who ask whether they should be "like the one whom the demons have made into a fool (see IGNORANCE), wandering bewildered through the earth" *(ka-lladhī istahwathu l-shayāṭīnu fī l-arḍi),* averring that God's guidance is the only guidance (*inna hudā llāhi huwa l-hudā,* Q 6:71; cf. 10:23). The human need for guidance on earth even extended to Muḥammad: God asks the despairing Prophet (see DESPAIR; HOPE) in Q 93:7, "did he not find you wandering and guide you" *(wa-wajadaka ḍāllan fa-hadā)* — though this is understood by some commentators to mean that Muḥammad was ignorant of God's law (see e.g. Zamakhsharī, *Kashshāf,* iv, 219; see LAW AND THE QURʾĀN).

In this worldly life, one desirable destination is God's house, i.e. the Kaʿba in Mecca (see HOUSE, DOMESTIC AND DIVINE). When the prophet Abraham leaves his home in Mesopotamia because of the idol worship there (see IDOLATRY AND IDOLATERS), he travels to Mecca where he rebuilds God' house, first erected by the prophet Adam (cf. Q 3:96; see ADAM AND EVE) and by the angels (see ANGEL) before him (*Jalālayn,* 62), where worship (q.v.) of the one true God then resumes (Q 2:125).

The pilgrimage (q.v.) to Mecca is enjoined on believers several times (e.g. Q 2:196). And blocking the path to God or that of the pilgrims to the holy precincts (see SACRED PRECINCTS; FIGHTING) is described as a grave offence (*wa-ṣaddun ʿan sabīli llāhi wa-kufrun bihi wa-l-masjid al-ḥarām,* Q 2:217). The peril associated with the trip to Mecca is suggested in the following appeal at Q 22:27: "And proclaim the pilgrimage among people: they will come to you on foot *(rijālan)* and on every kind of mount *(wa-ʿalā kulli ḍāmirin),* from distant mountain highways *(min kulli fajjin ʿamīq)*."

Many of the messengers and prophets in the Qurʾān travel about the earth on foot (see MESSENGER; PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD), calling people to belief or leading their people to safety, such as Moses (q.v.; see also MYTHS AND LEGENDS IN THE QURʾĀN). Moses' own life begins with a fateful trip when his mother places him in a basket upon the river to protect him from Pharaoh (q.v.; Q 20:39) who is killing newborn boys (Q 28:4); but Moses is saved when he is picked up and adopted by Pharaoh's wife (identified in commentary as Āsiya, Q 28:9). Moses will in adult life lead the Israelites (see CHILDREN OF ISRAEL) away from Egypt to the holy and promised land (Q 5:21; see also e.g. Q 28:29). That trip includes surviving another body of water (Q 7:138; 10:90), namely the Red Sea; traveling by night (Q 20:77; see DAY AND NIGHT); and wandering in the desert for forty years (Q 5:26; cf. 28:29). Joseph (q.v.; see Q 12) is also cast out (by his plotting brothers; see BROTHER AND BROTHERHOOD). He is picked up by a caravan and transported to Egypt (q.v.), where he eventually rises to a position of authority (q.v.). He is later reunited with his brothers and father who had traveled to Egypt to seek food and sustenance (q.v.) in times of difficulty (see Beeston, *Baiḍāwī's commentary*).

Though less momentous for the religious history of the Israelites, Moses takes another well-known trip in the Qurʾān when he sets out on a journey in search of one of God's elect (Q 18:60-82). He eventually finds this man — unnamed but identified as al-Khaḍir/Khiḍr (q.v.) by Muḥammad — at a confluence and implores him to let him accompany him (Q 18:66). The man reluctantly agrees and they journey along a river (see Q 18:71 for a boat and its passengers) and then on to an unnamed town. Their trip comes to an end when Khiḍr demonstrates to Moses that he (Moses) is unable to abide him and his actions. Earlier, the sūra recounts the story of the companions of the cave (*aṣḥāb al-kahf,* Q 18:9-26; see MEN OF THE CAVE), whose trip is the earliest example of "time travel" in Arabic literature (see TIME; SPATIAL RELATIONS). Later in the same sūra (Q 18:83-101) are described the travels of Dhū l-Qarnayn, many features of whose story resemble those of Alexander (q.v.). In the qurʾānic account, he journeys to the east to deal with Gog and Magog (q.v.), building an iron wall to contain them (Q 18:94). The terrestrial travels of Jesus (q.v.) are not described in the Qurʾān but the fact that he was not captured or crucified but rather raised alive to be with God is mentioned (Q 3:55; see CRUCIFIXION; POLEMIC AND POLEMICAL LANGUAGE; RESURRECTION).

A number of the trips taken by Muḥammad are mentioned in the Qurʾān (see SĪRA AND THE QURʾĀN). His *hijra* or emigration, together with the small Muslim community, north from Mecca to Yathrib/Medina is explicitly mentioned at Q 48:11 where those who opted out of the trip for selfish reasons *(al-mukhallafūna mina l-aʿrābi)* are criticized. At Q 59:8-9 and elsewhere those who did emigrate are praised, as are those who strive in the way of God (Q 2:218; see EMIGRANTS AND HELPERS; HYPOCRITES

AND HYPOCRISY). On his way to Yathrib/Medina, Muḥammad is reported to have hidden in a cave (q.v.), together with Abū Bakr, to escape Meccan pursuers. This is alluded to at Q 9:40 and foreshadows the reference a few verses later to unbelievers and hypocrites desperately seeking caves in which to hide from God (Q 9:57; see Suyūṭī, *Durr,* iii, 436, 447). Of all Muḥammad's voyages, the most spectacular is the nocturnal one from Mecca to Jerusalem (q.v.), called the *isrāʾ* (and thence to heaven [see HEAVEN AND SKY], called the *miʿrāj*). The *isrāʾ,* or night journey, is the subject of a whole chapter (Q 17, Sūrat al-Isrāʾ), which opens "Glory to God who took his servant for a journey by night *(asrā bi-ʿabdihi laylan)* from the sacred mosque (Mecca) to the farthest mosque" (Jerusalem; Q 17:1; see GLORIFICATION OF GOD).

At Q 29:20, God asks believers to proclaim, "Travel through the earth and see how God originated creation" (q.v.; *qul sīrū fī l-arḍi fa-nzurū kayfa badaʿa l-khalq;* see Ghazālī, *Jewels,* 126; and cf. e.g. Q 3:137 for travel that reveals the consequences of those who rejected God's messengers; see TRIAL). And at Q 55:33 God urges "O company of jinn and men, if you are able to break through the regions of the heavens and the earth (q.v.), then break through, but (know that) you will not do so without our sanction." This has been interpreted by certain modernists to be an invitation to space travel (see e.g. Haeri, *Keys,* iv, 73; see EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: EARLY MODERN AND CONTEMPORARY; SCIENCE AND THE QURʾĀN). Terrestrial or otherwise, the prophet Muḥammad recommended the following passage be recited when setting out on a journey: "Glory be to the one who has subjected these [modes of travel] to our use because we could not have accomplished this by ourselves" (*subḥāna lladhī sakhkhara lanā hādhā wa-mā kunnā lahu muqrinīn,* Q 43:13). The possibility that one may die (see DEATH AND THE DEAD) on a trip is adumbrated at Q 31:34: "and no soul (q.v.) knows in what land it will die" (*wa-mā tadrī nafsun bi-ayyi arḍin tamūt;* see also FAREWELL PILGRIMAGE; FESTIVALS AND COMMEMORATIVE DAYS; HOSPITALITY AND COURTESY).

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Triumph see VICTORY

Troops

Individuals massed together, often to form an army. Qurʾānic references to "troops" in the military sense fall second to those in which "forces" or "hosts" are meant in a more general sense. The military sense also is usually obscured by an emphasis on the

eschatological thrust of a given reference (e.g. Q 10:90 on Pharaoh's "armies"; see ESCHATOLOGY; PHARAOH). In the second category, a distinction is to be made between temporal and other-worldly "forces" (see also RANKS AND ORDERS).

The relevant terms are principally the hapax legomenon *shirdhima,* and/or *zumar, fawj* and *jund*. The first term, usually translated as "band," occurs in Q 26:54, in Pharaoh's dismissive reference to the Children of Israel (q.v.; *shirdhimatun qalīlūna,* "a worthless little band"). Al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923; *Tafsīr,* xix, 74) treats it as a small group or "the remnant" of a larger whole. *Zumar* (sing. *zumra*), the usual name of the thirty-ninth sūra (q.v.), occurs there twice as "groups" or "throngs," in the one case (Q 39:71) in reference to those destined for hell (see HELL AND HELLFIRE), and in the second case (Q 39:73) for paradise (q.v.; see also REWARD AND PUNISHMENT). *Fawj* (pl. *afwāj*) occurs synonymously; al-Ṭabarī defines it as "group" *(jamāʿa)*. One occurrence (Q 27:83) speaks of the host (of evil-doers) drawn from each community and arranged in ranks. The relevant verbal phrase *yūzaʿūna,* "kept in ranks," has a distinct military ring (see, as Paret suggests, Q 27:17; 41:19).

Jund (pl. *junūd*), the most frequent of the terms, occurs in roughly three ways and, as a result, occasions some debate among early exegetes (see EXEGESIS OF THE QUR'ĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL). References to military forces include those to Pharaoh's armies (Q 10:90; 20:78; 28:6, 8, 39-40; 44:24; 51:40; 85:17-18), and to those respectively of Saul (q.v.; Ṭālūt) and Goliath (q.v.; Jālūt; Q 2:249), and of Solomon (q.v.; Q 27:37). On the passage concerning Saul's troops at the river's edge, see M.M. Ayoub (*Qur'ān,* i, 241-3). Less specific occurrences are understood by the exegetes in reference to the Quraysh (q.v.) and others of the Prophet's opponents in battle (see OPPOSITION TO MUḤAMMAD; FIGHTING). Al-Ṭabarī (*Tafsīr,* xxiii, 126), commenting on Q 38:11, puts it in relation to the battle of Badr (q.v.), and Q 33:9 in relation to the Quraysh and their allied forces arrayed against Medina (q.v.) at the battle of the Trench (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* xxi, 126-7; see EXPEDITIONS AND BATTLES). The reference to military forces *per se* is incidental: the forces of Pharaoh are mostly on display to demonstrate the certainty of destruction through divine retribution (e.g. by drowning [q.v.]; see also CHASTISEMENT AND PUNISHMENT; PUNISHMENT STORIES). In addition, these references to "armies" appear to be only loosely connected to the patterns and rules of warfare dealt with at some length elsewhere in the Qur'ān (see WAR). *Jund* also occurs in two references to earthly "forces." Q 37:173 speaks of those aligned with God as inevitably victorious (*ghālibūn;* see VICTORY; PARTIES AND FACTIONS). Q 36:75 seems to refer to the forces of those devoted to idols and false gods who are thus misled (see IDOLS AND IMAGES; ERROR; ASTRAY; POLYTHEISM AND ATHEISM; ENEMIES). Al-Ṭabarī notes a disagreement among his sources on the occasion of the idols' intervention on behalf of their followers (see INTERCESSION). He sides with those who see it as a reference to the forces aligned with the *mushrikūn* on earth and not, in the opposing view, at the day of judgment (see LAST JUDGMENT). A final set of references concerns otherworldly "forces." A sole reference (Q 26:95, using *jund*) refers to the "gathered hosts" of hell led by Iblīs (*junūdu iblīsa ajmaʿūna;* see DEVIL). The remaining examples treat the celestial "hosts" at God's disposal. Q 36:28, 48:4 and 48:7 speak in general of these hosts (respectively, *min jundin mina l-samāʾi, junūdu l-samāwāti wa-l-arḍi*). Q 9:26, 9:40 and 33:9 refer to "hosts that you perceive not" *(junūdan lam tarawhā)* sent down, as is consistently understood by the exegetes, as divine intervention on behalf of the prophet Muḥammad. Al-Ṭabarī (*Tafsīr,*

xxiii, 1-2), referring to an early debate over Q 36:28, argues that *jund* is to be understood in terms of "forces" and not, as some suggested, as reference to a new scripture (*risāla;* see REVELATION AND INSPIRATION; SCRIPTURE AND THE QUR'ĀN). As for the intervention of the celestial hosts, considerable discussion in the exegetical literature surrounds the angels of Q 3:124-5 (see Ayoub, *Qur'ān,* ii, 314-17; see ANGEL).

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Trumpet

see ESCHATOLOGY; LAST JUDGMENT; APOCALYPSE

Trust and Patience

Belief in another's integrity, justice or reliability, and forbearance in the face of adversity. According to the Qur'ān, trust and patience are two distinguishing virtues (see VIRTUES AND VICES, COMMANDING AND FORBIDDING) of the "faithful" person (i.e. *mu'min;* see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF). There are two qur'ānic concepts typically translated by the English word "trust." The first, *tawakkul (ʿalā),* is a *maṣdar* (abstract noun expressing action) derived from the fifth form of the Arabic root *w-k-l,* meaning "to give oneself over to" *(istaslama ilayhi),* "to rely/depend on" *(iʿtamada ʿalayhi),* or "have confidence in" *(wathiqa bihi)* another as *wakīl,* that is as one's "guardian" or "protector" (i.e. *ḥāfiẓ; Lisān al-ʿArab,* xv, 387; Bustānī, *Muḥīṭ,* 984; see CLIENTS AND CLIENTAGE). Evidence from classical Arab grammarians (see GRAMMAR AND THE QUR'ĀN; ARABIC LANGUAGE) suggests that, in pre-Islamic usage, the word *wakīl* was nearly synonymous to the word *rabb* (a qur'ānic term applied to God and most commonly translated as "lord" [q.v.]) in the sense that both imply a position, not primarily of ownership, but of responsibility (q.v.) to nurture to its fullest potential the thing, animal, or person over which the *wakīl/rabb* has charge (*Lisān al-ʿArab,* ibid.; Bayḍāwī, *Anwār,* ad Q 1:2). Although the word *tawakkul* does not itself occur in the Qur'ān, the fifth-form verb meaning "to trust [in God]" (in various tenses and moods, i.e. *tawakkala, yatawakkalu, tawakkal*), and the fifth-form active participle from the root *w-k-l (mutawakkil)* meaning "entrusting oneself [to God]" are attested a total of forty-four times.

The second qur'ānic concept understood to mean "trust" is *amāna,* a *maṣdar* derived from the root *'-m-n* and ordinarily used to refer to something given "in trust" *(wadīʿa)* with the expectation that it will be cared for diligently and faithfully by the trustee. (*Lisān al-ʿArab,* i, 223 and 224; Bustānī, *Muḥīṭ,* 17). This word *(amāna)* occurs in the Qur'ān a total of six times. In only one of these six occurrences (Q 33:72) does the word "trust" (i.e. *al-amāna*) have cosmic significance as the 'covenant (q.v.) of obedience' (q.v.; *ṭāʿa*) that is the foundation of the divine-human relationship (see Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr;* Bayḍāwī, *Anwār,* ad Q 33:72).

The qur'ānic concept typically translated by the English word "patience" is *ṣabr,* a *maṣdar* from the first form of the Arabic root *ṣ-b-r* originally having to do with binding or "restraining a living creature" *(ḥabs al-rūḥ)* for prolonged slaughter or execution (see also SACRIFICE; CONSECRATION OF ANIMALS), but also coming to mean — especially in a qur'ānic context — to exercise "self-restraint" *(ḥabs al-nafs),* "to be persistent," and/or "to endure great adver-

sity" (*Lisān al-ʿArab,* vii, 275; Bustānī, *Muḥīṭ,* 496). *Ṣabr* — along with other derivatives of the same root, including: the first-form verb meaning "to have patience" (in various tenses and moods, i.e. *ṣabara, yaṣbiru, iṣbir*); the third-form verb *(ṣābara)* meaning "to excel in patience" or "compete with one another in forbearance"; the eighth-form verb *(iṣṭabara)* meaning "to be patient"; the first-form active participle *(ṣābir)* meaning "having patience"; and the first-form intensive noun *(ṣabbār)* meaning "of the utmost patience" — is attested in the Qurʾān a total of 103 times. It is important to note that, although in one hundred of these 103 attestations *ṣabr* and other derivatives from the same root carry the virtuous connotation of "patient endurance," in the remaining three cases *ṣabr* does connote the vice of "stubborn persistence" in the worship of ancestral deities (Q 25:42; 38:6; see POLYTHEISM AND ATHEISM) as well as in other errant behaviors (Q 41:24; see ERROR; ASTRAY).

Tawakkul

In the Qurʾān, God is the only proper object of *tawakkul*. Thus, in a qurʾānic context, *tawakkul* is best understood as a human being's "absolute trust in," or "unmitigated reliance upon," God *(tawakkul ʿalā llāh)*. In this sense, *tawakkul* is, as Izutsu notes (*Concepts,* 62), a fundamental component of *īmān,* the qurʾānic term for "faith" (q.v.). This is particularly evident in those five verses which make it explicitly incumbent on the faithful to place their absolute trust in God: "And it is in God that the faithful must place their absolute trust" (*wa ʿalā llāhi fa-l-yatawakkali l-muʾminūn,* Q 3:122; 5:11; 14:11; 58:10; 64:13). Of these five verses, two (Q 5:11; 64:13) speak about *tawakkul* as a general moral and spiritual imperative, with each verse drawing an essential connection between *tawakkul* and a specific component of faith. In the case of Q 5:11 this component is *taqwā* or "God-consciousness" (Asad, *Message,* passim; see FEAR), and in the case of Q 64:13 this component is *ṭāʿa* or "obedience" to both God and God's messenger (q.v.; i.e. Muḥammad [q.v.]; cf. Q 64:12). The remaining three verses refer to specific instances of extreme duress in the context of which *tawakkul* becomes the key to survival for the person of faith. Each of these instances involves a confrontation with powerful enemies (q.v.) whose goal is the ultimate dissolution of their would-be victim's faith. In Q 3:122 there is the implication that it was the faithful's absolute trust in God that yielded the miraculous victory (q.v.) of the vastly outnumbered Muslim army at Badr (q.v.), and that it was Muḥammad's absolute trust in God that prevented the ultimate desertion of the Banū Salima and the Banū Ḥāritha clans at Uḥud, and thus forestalled the Meccans from completely decimating the Muslim forces that day (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr;* Bayḍāwī, *Anwār,* ad Q 3:122; see EXPEDITIONS AND BATTLES; MECCA). In Q 14:11 we find the trope of the *tawakkul* of God's messengers as their only real source of resistance against those who deny the validity of their message (*innā kafarnā bi-mā ursiltum bihi,* Q 14:9) and who seek to do harm to God's messengers. And finally, in Q 58:10 *tawakkul* is presented as the best defense against the most powerful enemy of all — Satan (*al-shayṭān;* see DEVIL) — who insinuates himself into the "private" or "secret conversations" *(munājāt)* of human beings, threatening to destroy the faithful and their community, not from without, but from within.

The mainstream theological rationale for the centrality of *tawakkul* to the life of faith is rooted in the important qurʾānic teaching regarding the divine power of

determination over everything *(qadar)* and the divine "decree" (*qaḍāʾ;* see FREEDOM AND PREDESTINATION). There are, for example, two verses (Q 33:3, 48) in which God warns Muḥammad never to yield to "those who deny God" (*al-kāfirīn;* see LIE; GRATITUDE AND INGRATITUDE) and to the "hypocrites" (*al-munāfiqīn;* see HYPOCRITES AND HYPOCRISY) — especially when, at one point, they seek reconciliation by pressuring him to compromise the integrity of the divine message and recognize the intercessory role of certain pagan deities before God (Bayḍāwī, *Anwār,* ad Q 33:1-2). Even when such a compromise appears to be the sine qua non of Muslim survival in an overwhelmingly pagan environment, Muḥammad is told that compromise is not an option. Instead, both verses (Q 33:3, 48) go on to enjoin the Prophet — and, by implication, all the faithful — to place absolute trust in God *(tawakkal ʿalā llāh)* precisely because "God is the guardian *(wakīl)* who never fails" *(wa-kafā bi-llāhi wakīlan)*. For classical Sunnī exegetes (see EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL) such as al-Bayḍāwī (d. prob. 716/1316-17), the statement, "God is the guardian who never fails" (Q 33:3, 48) is synonymous with the statement in Q 39:62, "God is the guardian of everything" *(wa-huwa ʿalā kulli shayʾin wakīlun);* each statement means that "all matters are in God's charge" (*mawkūlan ilayhi l-umūru kulluhā;* Bayḍāwī, *Anwār,* ad Q 33:3), or that God "has absolute power of disposal [over all things]" (*yatawallā l-taṣarruf;* Bayḍāwī, *Anwār,* ad Q 39:62).

Modern translators and exegetes (see EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: EARLY MODERN AND CONTEMPORARY) such as Muḥammad Asad (d. 1412/1992) agree and point out that the qurʾānic references to God as *wakīl* (i.e. the only proper object of *tawakkul*) allude "to God's exclusive power to *determine the fate* of any created being or thing" (Asad, *Message,* ad Q 17:2). In general, therefore, the qurʾānic imperative that the faithful place their absolute trust *(tawakkul)* in God, and the corollary imperative that they adopt no one other than God as the ultimate guardian of their affairs (e.g. Q 17:2) have a deep semantic and theological connection to the well known qurʾānic refrain, attested a total of thirty-five times: "God has the power of determination over everything" (*Allāh* [or simply *huwa*] *ʿalā kulli shayʾin qadīrun*). In other words, the only proper human response to the absolute and limitless nature of God's power of determination over all things *(qadar)* is an equally absolute and limitless trust in, and reliance upon, God. Anything less would necessarily imply the sin of *shirk* — ascribing a partner to the partner-less God — and would thus seriously compromise one's faith.

Ṣabr

Reference to Job (q.v.) as a paradigmatic embodiment of the virtue of patience is as deeply qurʾānic as it is biblical. Of the four appearances of the prophet Ayyūb (i.e. the biblical "Job") in the Qurʾān (Q 4:163; 6:84; 21:83-5; 38:41-4) two are substantive and make reference to Ayyūb's legendary afflictions (i.e. Q 21:83-5; 38:41-4). There is, however, at least one important difference between the biblical portrait of Job and the qurʾānic portrait of Ayyūb (see SCRIPTURE AND THE QURʾĀN; NARRATIVES; MYTHS AND LEGENDS IN THE QURʾĀN). Though both are portrayed as enduring great adversity, unlike Job, Ayyūb is not depicted as being plagued by the problem of theodicy. Not only does Ayyūb refrain from cursing the day he was born (cf. Job 3:1-12), but he not once — as does Job — attributes his travails to God (cf. Job 6:4; 8:17-18; 10:3, 8, 16; 13:24; 16:7, etc.); nor does he ask God for the reason he is suffering (q.v.; cf. Job 6:24; 10:2b); nor does he protest that "there is no

justice" (cf. Job 19:7b; see JUSTICE AND INJUSTICE); nor does he witness to his own "righteousness" (cf. Job 29:14-20; 31:5-40). In keeping with the highly idealized qurʾānic presentation of the prophets (see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD) and messengers of God as nearly perfect in their submission (i.e. *islām*) to God's will, Ayyūb merely mentions his tribulations (*annī massaniya l-ḍurru* and *annī massaniya l-shayṭānu bi-nuṣbin wa-ʿadhābin,* Q 21:83 and 38:41, respectively), and in the very same breath — without ever explicitly asking for deliverance — praises God as "the most merciful of the merciful ones" (*wa-anta arḥamu l-rāḥimīn,* Q 21:83; see MERCY; GOD AND HIS ATTRIBUTES). Thus, in both the Bible and the Qurʾān, neither Job nor Ayyūb ever curses God (see CURSE); in their respective literary traditions both are regarded as paragons of patience because of their ability to endure great adversity without cursing God. The one significant difference, however, is that the Qurʾān seems to set the threshold of "patience" a bit higher for Ayyūb than the Bible does for Job. Whereas Job's patience allows him to question God, including asking God why he should be patient (Job 6:11); and whereas Job is only silenced in humility when God speaks to him "out of the whirlwind" (Job 38), Ayyūb's patience has no questions for God — only praise and dutiful silence.

This difference is significant because it underscores the degree to which the qurʾānic proclamation of Ayyūb's *ṣabr* or paradigmatic "patience" (*[ayyūb] wa-ismāʿīl wa-īdrīsa wa-dhā l-kifli kullun mina l-ṣābirīn,* Q 21:85 and *innā wajadnāhu ṣābiran,* Q 38:44) is predicated, not only on his endurance, but quite specifically on his *unquestioning* and presumably placid acceptance of suffering and adversity (see also ISHMAEL; IDRĪS; DHŪ L-KIFL). Nowhere is this link between *ṣabr* and a thoroughly unquestioning and tranquil disposition more apparent than in the story of the prophet Moses (q.v.; Mūsā) and the mysterious 'servant of God' (see SERVANTS) known to traditions of qurʾānic exegesis as "Khiḍr" (Q 18:65-82; see KHAḌIR/KHIḌR). Here, although the adversity is not his own (perhaps we are to presume that, as a prophet, Moses did indeed have the patience of Ayyūb when it came to his own personal suffering?), Moses cannot abide the seemingly antinomian acts (i.e. Q 18:71, 74, 77) of his newfound teacher without asking for a reason or justification. In so doing, however, Moses loses the privilege of discipleship which was originally established on the basis of the stipulation that the prophet would bear patiently (i.e. unquestioningly — *fa-lā tasʾalnī ʿan shayʾin ḥattā uḥditha laka minhu dhikran,* Q 18:70) with Khiḍr. The first two times Moses impatiently asks a question of Khiḍr, the latter chastises the former with the words, "Did I not say, 'You will not be able to bear with me patiently'?" (*a-lam aqul innaka lan tastaṭīʿa maʿiya ṣabran,* Q 18:72; cf. 18:75). The third time Moses breaks his vow of patience, Khiḍr finally declares "This is the parting of the ways between me and you" (*hādhā firāqu baynī wa-baynika,* Q 18:78). Although Khiḍr is willing to give Moses a third and final justification for the former's third antinomian act, he makes it clear to Moses that he has not yet cultivated the patience necessary to receive the special "knowledge learned through intimacy" with God (i.e. *ʿilm ladunnī* from *wa-ʿallamnāhu min ladunnā ʿilman,* Q 18:65; see Schimmel, *Dimensions,* 193), knowledge that he might otherwise have received from Khiḍr had he been able "to bear patiently what he did not comprehend" (*wa-kayfa taṣbiru ʿalā mā lam tuḥiṭ bihi khubran,* Q 18:68). This connection between unquestioning patience *(ṣabr)* and special knowledge *(ʿilm laddunī)* — a connection which is made quite explicit in

the narrative of the encounter between Moses and Khiḍr — comes to play a central role in Ṣūfī (see ṢŪFISM AND THE QUR'ĀN) understandings of "patience" (see below).

Tawwakul *and* ṣabr

In three instances (Q 14:12; 16:42; 29:59) the Qur'ān makes it clear that, on a foundational level, the concepts of *ṣabr* and *tawakkul* belong to what Izutsu refers to as a single "semantic category" (Izutsu, *Concepts,* 9). In all three of these instances, the qur'ānic concepts of trust *(tawakkul)* and patience *(ṣabr)* are understood as defining and informing each other. In Q 14:12, we find one of the many qur'ānic accounts of how all of God's messengers at one time or another faced great adversity, especially in the form of persecution at the hands of those who refused to accept their messages (see OPPOSITION TO MUḤAMMAD). Yet all of these messengers "patiently endured" whatever harm might come their way, "placing absolute trust in God." The messengers are quoted as having said to themselves and their persecutors, "Why should we not place absolute trust in God when he has guided us along our ways? We shall patiently endure whatever harm you might bring us! Let those who trust place absolute trust in God [and God alone]!" In Q 16:42, the original group of Meccan faithful who emigrated with Muḥammad to Medina (q.v.; i.e. the *muhājirūn*) in the year 1/622 are described as "those who have patiently endured and place absolute trust in their lord" (*alladhīna ṣabarū wa-ʿalā rabbihim yatawakkalūn;* see EMIGRATION). For al-Bayḍāwī, these émigrés endured "adversities such as the persecution of those who deny God and separation from their homeland" *(ṣabarū ʿalā l-shadā'idi ka-adhā l-kuffār wa-mufāraqati l-waṭan)* precisely by "keeping their exclusive attention on God, realizing that every matter is in his charge" (*munqaṭiʿīn ilā llāh mufawwiḍīn ilayhi l-amra kullahu*; Bayḍāwī, *Anwār,* ad Q 16:42). In Q 29:59, "those who are faithful and do righteous deeds" (*alladhīna āmanū wa-ʿamilū l-ṣāliḥāt,* Q 29:58; see GOOD DEEDS; GOOD AND EVIL) are promised paradise (q.v.) and are declared to be "those who have patiently endured, and place absolute trust in their lord" (cf. Q 16:42).

In addition to pairing "patience" and "trust" into a single semantic category, the Qur'ān does the same with "patience" and "thankfulness" *(shukr)*. There are, in fact, four occurrences of an identical refrain in which an intensive noun-form *(ism al-mubālagha)* of both roots (i.e. *ṣabbār* and *shakūr*) are placed in apposition to each other (i.e. Q 14:5; 31:31; 34:19; 42:33). Each of these verses mentions an astonishing occurrence (e.g. the deliverance of the Hebrews from bondage and ships cruising on the seas; see CHILDREN OF ISRAEL; SHIPS), and in reference to the occurrence declares: "Surely in that there are signs (q.v.) for every truly patient and thankful person" *(inna fī dhālika la-āyātin li-kulli ṣabbārin shakūrin)*. This qur'ānic pairing of the concepts of the "patient" and the "thankful" person eventually becomes the basis for Ṣūfī teaching that while patience in adversity is undoubtedly a virtue, an even greater virtue lies in the capacity to go beyond patience and actually express genuine thankfulness to God for the purgative opportunities inherent in every trial (q.v.; see Schimmel, *Dimensions,* 124-5).

Ṣūfī interpretations of tawakkul *and* ṣabr

The *Tafsīr al-Qur'ān al-karīm* (published under the name of the great Ṣūfī master and mystical theologian Ibn al-ʿArabī [d. 638/1240], but actually the work of ʿAbd al-Razzāq al-Kāshānī [d. 730/1329]) draws a direct connection between "patience" *(ṣabr)* and "courage" (q.v.; *shajāʿa*), while at the same time rooting both of

them in the deepest profession of the oneness of God *(tawḥīd Allāh)*. In his exegesis of Q 3:145-51, a set of verses discussing the "patience" of the many prophets who fought for the sake of God (see FIGHTING; PATH OR WAY; JIHĀD) without ever "flagging" or "growing weak" in either body or spirit *(mā wahanū… wa-mā ḍaʿufū),* the author argues that the "terror" *(ruʿb)* that eventually erupts in the hearts of the enemies of God's prophets "is a result of their ascribing partners to God" *(musabbaban ʿan shirkihim)*. The exegete goes on to explain that "courage and the other virtues [such as absolute trust in God] emerge out of the proper balance of the faculties of the lower self when it exists beneath the [luminous] shadow of the divine oneness; that is, when it is illuminated by the light of the heart enlightened by the light of the divine oneness. [Courage], therefore, truly attains its fullness only when the one who professes the oneness of God [in thought, word, and deed] has attained certitude in his or her profession" (ibid.). In this passage, the author is attempting to convey the deeper meaning of a legend regarding the state of the great Ṣūfī Shaqīq al-Balkhī's heart. According to Shaqīq's longtime companion, Ḥātim b. al-Aṣamm, one day — in the midst of an intensifying battle — Shaqīq put down his weapon, put his head on his shield, and fell asleep on the battlefield to the point that Ḥātim could hear him snoring. "This," al-Kāshānī [pseudo. Ibn al-ʿArabī] writes, "is the ultimate state of reliance on God and confidence in him; it belongs to the faculty of absolute certitude" (*wa-hādhā ghāyatun fī sukūni l-qalbi ilā llāhi wa-wuthūqihi bihi li-quwwati l-yaqīn;* ibid.).

It is no coincidence that al-Kāshānī (pseudo. Ibn al-ʿArabī) reflects on the attainment of absolute certitude in professing God's oneness in his exegesis of a qurʾānic passage which, at one point, proclaims God's "love" (q.v.; *ḥubb* or *maḥabba*) for the "patient" (*wa-llāhu yuḥibbu l-ṣābirīn,* Q 3:146). Just thirteen verses later, in the very same chapter, the Qurʾān also proclaims God's love for those who have absolute trust in him (*inna llāha yuḥibbu l-mutawakkilīn,* Q 3:159). Since, for the Ṣūfīs, love is the medium par excellence for the purification of the soul (q.v.), any quality in the human being which occasions divine love must be a quality which is indispensable for the perfection of the human heart. Therefore, as a Ṣūfī, al-Kāshānī (pseudo. Ibn al-ʿArabī) understands patience and trust not only to be "distinguishing marks of the person of faith" (*ʿunwān al-muʾmin;* see Bayḍāwī, *Anwār,* ad Q 14:5), but as stations *(maqāmāt)* and states *(aḥwāl)* of the interior mystical journey to the goal of unqualified profession of divine oneness (i.e. *tawḥīd*). For this author, as for many Ṣūfīs before and after him, trust and patience become two of the key ingredients in the alchemy of spiritual purification and the achievement of human perfection.

In his magnum opus, *The Revivification of the religious sciences (Iḥyāʾ ʿulūm al-dīn),* the renowned medieval Sunnī jurist, theologian, and mystic, Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111), devotes an entire book to the subject of the "profession of divine oneness and absolute trust in God" (bk. 35, *Kitāb al-Tawḥīd wa-l-tawakkul*) and another entire book to the subject of "patience and thankfulness" (bk. 32, *Kitāb al-Ṣabr wa-l-shukr*). In his treatment of *tawakkul,* al-Ghazālī articulates the thesis, later developed by (the real) Ibn al-ʿArabī and others, that absolute trust in God is "[not only] one of the stations of those who possess certitude, but it is also indicative of one of the highest ranks of those who are drawn near to God" (*wa-maqāmun min maqāmāti l-mūqinīn bal huwa min maʿālī darajāti l-muqarrabīn*; Ghazālī, *Iḥyāʾ,* xiii, 154/2490). Al-Ghazālī argues that because

the profession of the divine oneness *(tawḥīd)* is the source or root *(aṣl)* of *tawakkul,* the perfection of both are coterminous. This is why al-Ghazālī correlates the attainment of absolute trust in God with what he refers to as the "fourth [and highest] degree" *(al-rutba l-rābiʿa)* of the profession of divine oneness. It is the state in which the one who has attained it "does not perceive anything in existence, but one being.… [This is the person] whom the Ṣūfīs designate as [having attained the state of] 'passing away in the divine oneness' from whence he or she perceives nothing but one being, and thus does not even perceive him or herself" (Ghazālī, *Iḥyāʾ,* xiii, 158/2494).

From al-Ghazālī's perspective, however, the problem with *tawakkul* is not the understanding that, as a spiritual state, it is coterminous with complete realization of the divine oneness. The problem, rather, is with erroneous understandings that the attainment of *tawakkul* is marked by a radical trust in God which eschews all purposive action on the part of the human person (Ghazālī, *Iḥyāʾ,* xiii, 154/2490). ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī (d. 561/1166) deals with this very same issue in his "Satisfaction for those who seek the path of truth" *(Kitāb al-Ghunya li-ṭālibī ṭarīqi l-ḥaqq)* where he quotes a well-known ḥadīth (see ḤADĪTH AND THE QURʾĀN), reported on the authority of Anas b. Mālik (d. ca. 92/711), which appears to be a scriptural *locus classicus* for reflecting on the relationship between absolute trust in God and responsible purposive action on the part of the human being (see Ibn Abī l-Dunyā, *Tawakkul,* n. 11, 46). According to al-Jīlānī's version of this ḥadīth, a man arrives riding on a she-camel which belongs to him and says, "O messenger of God, shall I just leave her [i.e. unattended] and place my trust [in God]?" *(adiʿuhā wa-atawakkalu)*. To which Muḥammad replies, "Tie her up, and then place your trust [in God]" *(iʿqilhā wa-tawakkal;* Jīlānī, *Ghunya,* 219). Both al-Ghazālī and al-Jīlānī represent mainstream Ṣūfī teaching that the attainment of *tawakkul* should have no effect on whether one responsibly fulfills one's duties to God and to others, but simply on how attached one is to outcomes.

As for *ṣabr,* al-Ghazālī quotes two ḥadīth that have been attributed to the Prophet. The first is a report with a weak chain of transmission and which states plainly, "Faith has two halves: patience and thankfulness" (*fa-inna l-īmāna niṣfāni niṣfu ṣabrin wa-niṣfu shukrin;* Ghazālī, *Iḥyāʾ,* xii, 32/2176), and in doing so echoes the original qurʾānic coupling of *ṣabr* with *shukr* (see above). The second has a much stronger chain than the first and simply reads, "Patience is half of faith" (*al-ṣabru niṣfu l-īmān;* Ghazālī, *Iḥyāʾ,* xii, 33/2177). As al-Ghazālī sees it, the other half of faith to be coupled with "patience" can be construed to be either "certitude" *(yaqīn)* or "thankfulness" *(shukr),* depending on one's perspective on faith. If one thinks of faith primarily from the perspective of belief, then "'certitude' refers to those definitive types of knowledge (see KNOWLEDGE AND LEARNING) that come through God's guidance of his servant to the fundamental principles of religion (q.v.), and 'patience' refers to action on the basis of that certitude" (Ghazālī, *Iḥyāʾ,* xii, 42/2186). Thus certitude is the first half and patience the second half of faith. If, however, one thinks of faith primarily from the perspective of states of being that give rise to various types of practice — and one identifies one state as appropriate for that which benefits the servant in this life and the next, and another for that which harms the servant in this life and the next, then "'patience' is the state that correlates with what is harmful and 'thankfulness' the state which correlates with what is beneficial"

(*wa lahu bi-l-iḍāfati ilā mā yaḍurruhu ḥālu l-ṣabri wa bi-l-iḍāfati ilā mā yanfaʿuhu ḥālu l-shukr;* Ghazālī, *Iḥyāʾ,* ibid.; see GOOD AND EVIL; REWARD AND PUNISHMENT). Whichever perspective one might prefer, patience remains one of the necessary and paramount virtues of the faithful person. As al-Ghazālī writes, "The majority of the virtues of faith enter through [the door of] patience" (*fa-aktharu akhlāqi l-īmāni dākhilun fī l-ṣabr;* Ghazālī, *Iḥyāʾ,* xii, 43/2187).

As for mainstream Ṣūfī teaching on the relationship between "trust" and "patience" — not so much as cardinal virtues of the faithful person, but as stations and states on the mystical path — the following anecdote communicates one of the dominant perspectives: "Abu ʿAlī al-Rūdhbārī… said, 'With respect to absolute trust in God *(tawakkul),* there are three levels. The first is [the servant of God's] thankfulness *(shukr)* when [something he or she wants] is bestowed upon him or her, and patience *(ṣabr)* when he or she is denied. The second is when it is one and the same whether the servant is denied [what he or she wants] or it is bestowed upon him or her. The third is when the servant meets denial with thankfulness — denial being more dear to him or her [than bestowal] because of his or her knowledge that this is God's choice for him or her'" (Jīlānī, *Ghunya,* 217).

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Truth

That which is established by evidential or experiential proof. A number of qurʾānic lexemes convey this significance *(ḥaqq, qayyim, ṣawāb, ṣadaqa/ṣidq)*, *ḥaqq* being the most prevalent. Evidence abounds in the Muslim tradition to support a multivalent understanding of *ḥaqq* as alternatively "true" or "real," yet that is only the beginning of a story with a pre-history. "The original meaning of the Arabic root *ḥ-q-q* has been obscured but can be recovered by reference to the corresponding root in Hebrew with its meanings of (a) 'to cut in, engrave' in wood, stone or metal, (b) 'to inscribe, write, portray'" (Macdonald and Calverley, Ḥaqq). From this it can be inferred that "the primary meaning of *ḥaqq* in Arabic is 'established fact'…, and therefore 'truth' is secondary; its opposite is *bāṭil* [vain] (in both readings)" (ibid.). Yet as one of the ninety-nine canonical "names of God" (see GOD AND HIS ATTRIBUTES), *ḥaqq* will exploit both of these meanings as well as the original notions of forming or inscribing. Besides the five times the term is introduced formally as a divine name, it is found 247 times in the Qurʾān.

Beyond these philological considerations, we must attend to our understanding of "true," and even of "real," in order to

grasp the import of this term in the Qurʾān and hence for Muslims. To appreciate the complexities involved, let us canvas the transformations needed in our prima facie grasp of these notions. At least since the development of Hellenic philosophy, reinforced by medieval scholars and in a peculiar way by modernity, "true" is properly applied to statements rather than to things, whereas "real" is paradigmatically said of things. The crucial difference presented by qurʾānic use centers on the creator, one of whose proper names — *al-ḥaqq* — should remind us that whatever be true or real about everything else, the created universe derives from this One who is paradigmatically true and real (see CREATION; COSMOLOGY). Since the concept of a free creator is shared by all Abrahamic faiths (see RELIGION; ABRAHAM), Western medieval scholars also underlined this difference, introducing a novel notion of the "truth of things," whereby things (as created) can be said to conform to the creator's intent, much as statements conforming to what is the case can be said to be true. So if God, the free creator, is paradigmatically true, then events or things will be true (or false) as they conform (or fail to conform) to the creator's intent. Yet that intent cannot be discerned from creatures themselves, whose derived status is hardly perspicuous, so humankind has been gifted with the Qurʾān (see REVELATION AND INSPIRATION). While the primacy of creation can hardly be gainsaid, without the guidance of the Qurʾān there can be no access to things-as-created, nor *a fortiori* to the creator. So while the creator's intent is what makes things be, and be what they are, it is the Qurʾān which makes that intent known, in the measure that it can be made manifest at all, giving to the notion of truth in the Qurʾān a radical coherence (with divine intent) as well as correspondence with what is.

Hence the very One "who sent down upon you the book with the truth" (Q 3:3), "verifies the truth by his words" (Q 8:7; 10:82). If the creating word makes things to be, "it is he who created the heavens and the earth (q.v.) in truth" (Q 6:73; see HEAVEN AND SKY), and that same word in the Qurʾān becomes the "call to the truth" (Q 13:14) and the ground by which a people "guide [others] in the truth" (Q 7:159, 181) and to the truth. Hence the centrality of promise "be patient; surely God's promise is true" (Q 30:60; cf. 31:33; see TRUST AND PATIENCE); indeed the Qurʾān is given "that they might know that God's promise is true" (Q 18:21), even though the truth asserted there remains to be fulfilled. For with promise comes faith (q.v.), "those who believe follow the truth from their lord" (q.v.; Q 47:3), which is the Qurʾān "guiding to the truth and to a straight path" (Q 46:30; see PATH OR WAY). Notice how "truth" can never be anyone's possession; it remains a lure yet with definite parameters for the search: the "straight path" (Q 1:6) of the Qurʾān together with the sunna (q.v.) or traditions of the Prophet (see ḤADĪTH AND THE QURʾĀN), enshrined in and interpreted by the community or *umma* (see COMMUNITY AND SOCIETY IN THE QURʾĀN). So the truth revealed in the Qurʾān becomes a path to discovering the "truth of things" as created, by which one can hope to find one's way to the creator. Only then, according to the Ṣūfīs (see ṢŪFISM AND THE QURʾĀN), will the promise, the hope and the faith, be transmuted in such a way that one could begin to say with al-Ḥallāj (exec. 309/922): *Anā l-ḥaqq,* "I am the truth" (Massignon, *Passion,* 216-18). Yet however coherently and properly it may be expressed, the very fact that *ḥaqq* is one of the names which God gives himself in the Qurʾān assures us that the path which is the Qurʾān and the sunna will lead us

from the term to the divine name by a process designed to transform us. As emphasized in Ṣūfī thought, this is one more manifestation of the way in which the exoteric can meld into the esoteric in Islam (see POLYSEMY), as believers who walk the path come to realize its transforming power.

The Qurʾān consistently contrasts those who accept the truth in faith with those who reject it: "We brought you the truth but most of you were averse to the truth" (Q 43:78; see LIE; BELIEF AND UNBELIEF), where the reference is to Jesus' (q.v.) followers who placed him on a level with God (see CHRISTIANS AND CHRISTIANITY; POLYTHEISM AND ATHEISM; POLEMIC AND POLEMICAL LANGUAGE). Yet here, too, the truth will emerge when "they encounter their day promised them" (Q 43:83; see LAST JUDGMENT; ESCHATOLOGY). So any denial of the truth — especially the truth of creation — will be short-lived, for when "the promised truth draws near, then the unbelievers, their eyes wild with terror, will say: 'Woe betide us! We were heedless of this!'" (Q 21:97). Moreover, such a denouement is perfectly reasonable, for such is the nature of things: "to return to us is the destiny of each and all. Whoever has done good deeds (q.v.), being a believer, will not find his endeavors denied" (Q 21:93-4). So the truth which things owe to their being created freely by a wise God will be realized in those who believe the truth revealed to them, while the reverse side of the same truth will be realized for those who reject that revelation (see REWARD AND PUNISHMENT). Since there is no escaping this creating truth, it is best to follow the "straight path" to its benign realization. Yet if the revelation of the Qurʾān is the precondition for human beings to realize their true reality, the community engendered by that revealed truth will offer them the way to attain it. So "true" and "truth" in the Qurʾān have an inescapably "performative" dimension, on God's part as well as ours: "God meant to verify the truth of his words by the total rout of the truth-rejecters, demonstrating how true the truth is and how vain the falsehood" (Q 8:7-8). "This is truth, certain truth" (Q 56:95; 69:51), or alternatively, the "truth of certainty," *ḥaqq al-yaqīn*, where *yaqīn* carries more metaphysical than epistemological connotations: the truth which stands fast. The Qurʾān is less concerned with our hold on what is true than with truth's hold on us; and rightly so, since we cannot "hold onto" a truth meant to be realized in and through our "return" to it as our source. That is why the final consequence of that return is less individual reward than it is human access to the divine manifestation, even though justice (see JUSTICE AND INJUSTICE) demands that believers be recompensed, positively or negatively, for an act which is theirs. Accepting the offer would not be free were we not able to refuse it, so the truth the Qurʾān insists will be realized bears no hint of determinism (see FREEDOM AND PREDESTINATION). The human capacity to accept or reject is internally linked with the "graceful" offer which the Qurʾān extends (see GRACE; BLESSING).

Yet just as our access to the truth of creation is dependent upon our accepting the truth revealed in the book (q.v.), so our grasp of that revealed truth will be shaped by the community which embodies it. Because for Muslims, the Qurʾān is inextricably linked with the sunna, the meaning of "truth" in the Qurʾān will be unveiled in practices characteristic of that community. Greeting each other, Muslims will invariably end their exchange with *al-ḥamdu lillāh*, "God be praised" (see LAUDATION; GLORIFICATION OF GOD). Even when a cliché, it remains an illuminating one. As Eric Ormsby has noted, in explicating

al-Ghazālī's (d. 505/1111) insistence that the world as it stands is "the best possible," there is nothing Panglossian here, primarily because al-Ghazālī is not claiming that we could know what the best would be, such that this world conforms to it. It rather states the conviction that we do not know what "best" would be like but that to those who believe, the world discloses unsuspected ways of realizing the divine wisdom (q.v.) that directs its unfolding. That is closer to the qurʾānic insistence that God's truth will be realized, even in the case of scoffers. The divinely ordained context of our lives — what William Chittick and Sachiko Murata *(Vision of Islam)* translate as "the measuring out" *(qudra)* — reflects the truth as the Qurʾān sees it: the outworking of what is divinely ordained. Such an operative notion of truth demands that we let go of any pretension to control what will happen, which in fact only makes good sense (see FATE; DESTINY).

At this point, we are bound to ask: what kind of truth can the Qurʾān be expounding? One that is certain, yet unveiled only as one's life unfolds; one more akin to coming to understand a wisdom initially hidden, than to knowing straightforwardly what is the case (see KNOWLEDGE AND LEARNING; IGNORANCE). So the truth of the Qurʾān is of a paradoxical sort: it turns on accepting as true what the Qurʾān reveals, and then on following the "straight path" it prescribes to allow that truth to be realized, and so confirm one's original acceptance. Recourse to metaphor (q.v.) signals our inability to say anything directly about this "truth," since it embodies the ineffable relation of creation to the creator:

> the thing which most deserves to be [called] true is the One whose existence is established by virtue of its own essence, forever and eternally; and its knowledge as well as the witness to it is true forever and eternally (al-Ghazālī, *Ninety-nine names,* 124, commenting on *al-ḥaqq* as a name of God).

But note how al-Ghazālī's exposition follows the performative ethos of the Qurʾān itself (see ETHICS AND THE QURʾĀN), appending the following counsel:

> Man's share in this name lies in seeing himself as false, and not seeing anything other than God — great and glorious — as true. For if a man is true, he is not true in himself but true in God — great and glorious — for he exists by virtue of him and not in himself; indeed he would be nothing had the Truth not created him.

By tracing the abiding Ṣūfī sentiment of one's proper nothingness to the originating act of creating, al-Ghazālī seeks to align the conclusions of *kalām* with Ṣūfī convictions (Gimaret, *Les noms divins,* 142; see THEOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN; TRADITIONAL DISCIPLINES OF QURʾĀNIC STUDY). While this reconciling move is characteristic of al-Ghazālī, it is illuminating as well, signaling that the relation of creatures to their creator, which allows us to speak of them as true, exceeds our capacity for articulation; and so opens the way for Ibn al-ʿArabī's (d. 638/1240) insistence that the creator/creature relation be utterly unlike any relation which obtains between creatures themselves (Chittick and Murata, *Vision,* 61). For creation is the founding or grounding relation, allowing things to be true in their dependent existence. And if this be recondite philosophy, it can be found implicit in the paradoxical uses of "true/real" in the Qurʾān itself.

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Tubbaʿ

"The people of Tubbaʿ" *(qawm tubbaʿ),* an extinct community mentioned twice in the Qurʾān. Among other pre-Islamic groups, they were punished because they refused to believe God or obey God's prophets (see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF; OBEDIENCE; PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD). Q 44:37 compares Muḥammad's detractors (see PROVOCATION; OPPOSITION TO MUḤAMMAD), who challenged him to prove resurrection (q.v.) by himself reviving the dead (see DEATH AND THE DEAD), with the people of Tubbaʿ, who were destroyed for their sins (see SIN, MAJOR AND MINOR; PUNISHMENT STORIES): "Are they better, or the people of Tubbaʿ and those before them? We destroyed them, for they were sinners." In Q 50:14, the people of Tubbaʿ are listed along with other lost communities (see GEOGRAPHY): the people of Noah (q.v.), those of al-Rass (q.v.), and the Thamūd (q.v.), the ʿĀd (q.v.), Pharaoh (q.v.) and the brethren of Lot (q.v.): "And the dwellers in the wood (see PEOPLE OF THE THICKET), and the people of Tubbaʿ: all denied the messengers (see MESSENGER; LIE), so [my] threat took effect."

Arab lexicographers (see ARABIC LANGUAGE; GRAMMAR AND THE QURʾĀN) define the term *tubbaʿ* as a title of rulership among the kings (see KINGS AND RULERS) of Yemen (q.v.) and specifically among the Ḥimyar. The title is explained from the root meaning "to follow": every time one *tubbaʿ* died, he was followed immediately by one who took his place. Specifically, *tubbaʿ* was the royal title of the kings of the second Ḥimyarite kingdom (ca. 300-525 C.E.). According to Ibn Isḥāq (d. ca. 150/767), Ibn al-Kalbī (d. ca. 205/820), al-Yaʿqūbī (fl. third/ninth cent.), al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923) and others (with differences in detail), the Tubbaʿ Asʿad Abū Karib returned from Iraq (q.v.; or Yathrib [see MEDINA]) with two rabbis (*ḥabrayn min aḥbār al-yahūd;* see JEWS AND JUDAISM), who convinced him to destroy the image of the idol (see IDOLS AND IMAGES) or place of sacrifice (q.v.) called Riʾām, located in Medina, Mecca (q.v.) or in Yemen (see also SOUTH ARABIA, RELIGIONS IN PRE-ISLAMIC). "Thereupon they demolished it, and the Tubbaʿ, together with the people of Yemen, embraced Judaism" (Faris' translation of Ibn al-Kalbī). Beeston questions whether the Ḥimyar actually became Jewish or practiced some heterodox indigenous pre-Islamic expression of monotheism. The Ḥimyar are known in legend to have remained Jewish for a century until the time of their last great king, Yūsuf, also known as Dhū Nuwās, who was killed according to legend after his massacre of the Christians of Najrān (q.v.) and the subsequent invasion of the Christian Abyssinians to destroy him (see ABYSSINIA; CHRISTIANS AND CHRISTIANITY).

According to most commentators, the Tubbaʿ referenced in the Qurʾān was good and a believer but his subjects were not. They (the qurʾānic "people of *tubbaʿ*") are destroyed while he is saved. The role of the two Jewish learned men includes (1) proving the future coming of Muḥammad through the esoteric knowledge of the Jews and thus convincing the Tubbaʿ not to destroy Yathrib, the future home of the Prophet, and (2) proving the original

monotheistic purity of the Kaʿba (q.v.) even before Muḥammad. They affirm that "it is indeed the temple (see SACRED PRECINCTS) of our forefather Abraham (q.v.)… but the local people… set up idols around it." They instruct the Tubbaʿ how to perform the pilgrimage (q.v.) rituals at the Kaʿba and he subsequently learns in a dream (see DREAMS AND SLEEP) that he should make for it a beautiful *kiswa* or covering. In an oft-repeated legend, when the Tubbaʿ returns to Yemen with the two Jewish learned men, the people of Ḥimyar refuse him entry because he abandoned their ancestral religion. The Tubbaʿ calls them to his new religion and the Ḥimyarites propose that the conflict should be settled by their traditional ordeal of fire (q.v.), through which the guilty are consumed while the innocent remain unscathed. The idolaters (see IDOLATRY AND IDOLATERS) came with their idols and offerings (see CONSECRATION OF ANIMALS) while the (Jewish) learned men came with their texts *(maṣāḥif)* hanging from their necks (see SCROLLS; SHEETS). The idolaters are consumed along with their idols but the wise men are not. The Ḥimyarites are convinced and thus accept Judaism, the Tubbaʿ's religion. The Ḥimyarites were said to have claimed that there were seventy Tubbaʿ kings.

Tubbaʿ is a name as well as a title. Al-Thaʿlabī (d. 427/1035) cites Wahb b. Munabbih (d. ca. 114/732), who narrates how Solomon (q.v.) married Bilqīs (q.v.) to Tubbaʿ the great, king of Hamdān, and brought him back to Yemen, and conflates this with Dhū Tubbaʿ, who ruled over Yemen with the support of King Solomon and the help of the Yemeni jinn (q.v.). In al-Kisāʾī's *Qiṣaṣ,* Kaʿb al-Aḥbār (d. 32/652-3) is made to include a Tubbaʿ among the twelve male children of ʿĀd b. ʿŪṣ b. Aram b. Sām b. Nūḥ.

A pre-Islamic alabaster stele made by "Layaʿathat the Sabaean" (see SHEBA) on behalf of "Abibahath wife of Tubbaʿ son of Subh" for the goddess Shams depicts a male figure with bow, spear and dagger, presumably Tubbaʿ, making an offering with his wife to the goddess. See also PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QURʾĀN.

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Ṭūr see SINAI

Turkish Literature and the Qurʾān

The acceptance of Islam in Anatolia towards the end of the third/ninth century brought new beliefs and social norms, and began to create a new linguistic and liter-

ary climate which would dramatically reshape the Turkish language and its literary traditions. The literary language was eventually enriched with a large number of borrowings from Arabic, the sacred language of the Qurʾān (see ARABIC LANGUAGE), and from the court poetry of Persia. In their effort to be pious Muslims, the new converts adopted the script of the qurʾānic language as well (see ARABIC SCRIPT). Regardless of the degree to which Turkish-speaking peoples have, or have not, had access to the semantic content of the Qurʾān, its iconographic power has been extremely influential on their cultural outpourings (see MATERIAL CULTURE AND THE QURʾĀN). The Arabic script, in its association with the Qurʾān, conveys an aura of spirituality and provides a calligraphic and symbolic entry into the Islamic world (see REVELATION AND INSPIRATION; CALLIGRAPHY).

The pre-Islamic Turkic epics went through a striking transformation in Anatolia after the acceptance of Islam and its holy book. The birth of the romantic epic *(hikaye)* with new dimensions of love (q.v.) began to manifest Islamic references but at the same time kept the pre-Islamic (particularly Shamanistic) rituals and symbols. In these epics, one can observe a remarkable intertextuality of different and often contrasting religious practices and references. While a troubadour or bard played his *saz,* a stringed instrument, performing his epic to his audience, he would not hesitate to talk about wine (q.v.) or his character's sexual life (see SEX AND SEXUALITY), while at the same time citing a verse from the Qurʾān. In some cases, the epic-teller would address his audience through a digression, saying that he knows it is not right to cite from the Qurʾān while he is holding a musical instrument in his hands (see LAWFUL AND UNLAWFUL; RITUAL PURITY; RECITATION OF THE QURʾĀN). Linguistically speaking, these quotations from the Qurʾān are often highly corrupt and out of context. Since the audience would not know Arabic, immediately after the qurʾānic quote the epic-singer would offer his own Turkish translation and commentary.

Turkish hagiographic legends exhibit a similar use of the Qurʾān and ḥadīth (see ḤADĪTH AND THE QURʾĀN). Though no scholarly treatment of the qurʾānic verses in these compositions exists, in the great majority of the manuscripts, the composers do not cite the Arabic verses correctly, and their Turkish renderings are rather more like approximations than accurate translations. This is typical of folk literature, whether its transmission was written or oral. Just as the peoples of Anatolia created their own version of folk Islam, their folk literature created its own version of Islam, the Qurʾān, and Muḥammad.

The treatment of the Qurʾān finds a new level of sophistication in Turkish, or more properly Ottoman, court literature. It functioned as one of the major sources of this classical literary tradition (thirteenth-nineteenth centuries C.E.). Although the subjects and vocabulary of *taṣawwuf,* Islamic mysticism (see ṢŪFISM AND THE QURʾĀN), dominate those aspects of Turkish court literature that carry religious themes, the Qurʾān also has a very special place, both in terms of its vocabulary and direct quotations from it, as well as reworkings of some famous qurʾānic stories (see NARRATIVES; MYTHS AND LEGENDS IN THE QURʾĀN). One important reworking of such stories is Şeyyād Ḥamza's (fl. seventh/thirteenth century) retelling of the Joseph story. This narrative of Joseph (q.v.) was widely used in Ottoman literature. Also

known as "the most beautiful of stories" (cf. Q 12:3), the tale has more or less the same plot in Turkish court poetry: Joseph (Ar. Yūsuf; T. Yusuf) was one of the twelve sons of the prophet Jacob (q.v.; Ar. Yaʿqūb; T. Yakub/Yakup). He was more loved by his father than his other siblings (see BENJAMIN; BROTHER AND BROTHERHOOD). One day he saw in a dream (see DREAMS AND SLEEP) that eleven stars (see PLANETS AND STARS) and the sun (q.v.) and the moon (q.v.) worshipped him. He recounted his dream to his father. Jacob interpreted these eleven stars as his brothers. He believed that what Joseph saw in his dream was a divine message from God to announce that Joseph had been chosen to be a prophet (see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD). He told his son to be careful and not to tell his dream to his brothers. He was afraid that jealousy would invade the hearts of his eleven other sons and, indeed, his worries turned out to be true. Joseph's brothers plotted against him, threw him into a well, and told their father that a wolf had eaten him. When Jacob heard the devastating news, he cried, from that moment on, day and night; Jacob's dwelling came to be known as "the house of grief." In fact, his brothers had sold Joseph into slavery to a merchant for a couple of silver coins. The merchant took Joseph with him to Egypt (q.v.) where he was bought at the slave market by an Egyptian notable named ʿAzīz (T. Aziz; see KINGS AND RULERS). When his wife, Zulaykha (T. Züleyha; see WOMEN AND THE QURʾĀN), saw Joseph, she was drawn to him sexually as he had unrivaled physical charm. She did everything to attract his attention. One day, Zulaykha entered Joseph's room and tried to seduce him. While he was struggling to escape from her, Joseph's shirt was torn. When he went out, he found ʿAzīz in front of him. Zulaykha seized this opportunity to take revenge on Joseph for rejecting her. She told her husband that Joseph had attacked her. His resistance to her desires brought him disgrace and imprisonment. In prison, Joseph stayed with two other men. He interpreted their dreams correctly. One of his fellow prisoners was released and became the king's cup-bearer. Through this man, the king of Egypt found out the truth about the Joseph-Zulaykha relationship and released the innocent man. Joseph interpreted one of the king's dreams, too. He was later appointed a minister by the king. After a while, his brothers came to Egypt and were warmly welcomed by Joseph. They did not know that he was an important man. In the end, Joseph forgave all of his brothers (see FORGIVENESS) and also brought his father from Canaan to Egypt. Extra-qurʾānic details elaborate the narrative. For example, in the meantime, great misfortunes had befallen Zulaykha. Her husband had died, and she had become desperate. She had also lost her beauty (q.v.). When Joseph found this out, he felt sorry for her, and decided to marry her. Having done so, God bestowed her former beauty upon her and happiness was restored to the family.

The practice of citing from the Qurʾān and ḥadīth was usually called *îktibas* (Ar. *iqtibās*), and is similar to another common figure of speech known as *îrsal-i mesel*, "providing a proverb and its application in a single distich." The main purpose of these quotes was to reinforce the poet's discourse on a subject, on the assumption that no one would challenge the word of God (q.v.) or that of the Prophet, thus giving more credibility to the poet's own statements. Often times, the poets use a figure of speech called *telmih* (Ar. *talmīḥ*), "allusion," to a particular verse of the Qurʾān or a ḥadīth (see also LITERATURE AND THE QURʾĀN). A scholarly examination of these quotes and allusions in Turkish literary texts and their contextualization (and in

many cases decontextualization) has not been undertaken.

While the authors of folk narratives would often provide their audience with a Turkish translation or approximation of the qurʾānic passages they were citing (see TRANSLATIONS OF THE QURʾĀN), Ottoman court poets did not engage in such practice. Indeed, there was no practical reason for it. Generally speaking, court poetry assumed an educated audience, an audience usually literate in Turkish, Persian and Arabic, and with an adequate education in the Islamic sciences (see TRADITIONAL DISCIPLINES OF QURʾĀNIC STUDY). Not translating such quotes, and not providing any explicit source for the quotes, also challenged the capacities of the audience and added to the overall liveliness of this tradition.

Despite the tremendous efforts of modern Turkish philologists since the founding of the Turkish republic to decipher and publish the major Ottoman literary sources, unfortunately a great majority of the existing sources remain in manuscript form, and have not been studied. Thus, any attempt to write an overview of the Qurʾān and Turkish literature is necessarily incomplete. Based on some of the most significant studies on Ottoman literature, the following list of the most frequently cited verses of the Qurʾān in Turkish court poetry can be composed (cf. Levend, *Divan;* Onay, *Eski Türk;* Pala, *Ansiklopedik dīvān;* Tarlan, *Fuzūlī divani*): Q 21:22; 95:4; 14:34; 36:69; 2:47; 89:27-8; 61:13; 2:82; 13:23; 16:31; 20:76; 39:73; 111:4; 6:2; 17:1; 2:224; 12:87; 11:70; 20:21-68; 27:10; 28:25-31; 29:33; 7:172; 43:32; 2:1; 29:1; 30:1; 31:1; 32:1; 2:225; 7:206; 13:15; 16:49; 17:107; 19:58; 22:18; 25:60; 27:25; 32:15; 38:24; 78:40; 24:36; 8:17; 3:14; 35:33; 39:73; 24:35; 2:2; 81:1; 95:4; 2:256; 5:45; 9:25; 93:1; 68:1; 56:30; 28:88; 56:29; 33:4; 20:6; 92:1; 93:2; 21:107; 30:50; 55:1; 24:35; 93:2; 17:1; 31:77; 39:73; 2:115; 53:9; 17:37; 31:18; 71:5; 35:1; 37:35; 47:119; 13:30; 39:6; 59:22; 27:30; 26:224; 36:69; 2:115; 78:40; 65:7; 84:5-6; 48:1; 39:22; 20:12; 2:285; 4:46; 5:7; 24:51; 96:19; 21:30; 61:13; 50:20; 87:1; 27:7; 28:29; 24:36; 8:17; 3:14; 9:72; 13:23; 16:31; 18:31; 19:61; 20:76; 38:50; 61:12; 39:73; 24:35; 81:1; 95:4; 2:256; 5:45; 9:25; 56:30; 28:88; 33:4; 20:4; 53:9; 15:72; 26:88; 25:53; 83:26; 21:23; 7:179; 25:44; 75:40; 14:7; 65:10; 5:100; 3:13; 59:12; 43:32; 55:26; 33:41; 39:53; 3:103-12; 20:66; 26:44; 21:107; 93:2. Many of these verses were commonplace in the collections of Turkish poetry and for centuries poets have alluded to them repeatedly. Ottoman Turkish court poetry was highly technical, linguistically cumbersome, and rhetorically charged, but at the same time it had a limited lexicon. Thus it is not surprising to see the repetition of these verses in collections (*divan*s) written centuries apart. The established literary tradition dictated the vocabulary of the medieval poet, as did the limited number of canonical books, the Qurʾān being the most significant of all. Generally it was viewed by the Ottoman poet as the supreme example of "poetic perfection" (see INIMITABILITY).

In Turkish court poetry, the Qurʾān is equated with the beauty of the beloved: his or her beautiful face, tall stature, long and dark hair, eyes, eyebrows, cheek fuzz, and mole. Sometimes it is designated as the *kitap,* "book" (q.v.), *mushaf* (see MUṢḤAF), "book, volume," *ayet* (pl. *ayat*), "verses" (q.v.; see also SIGNS; MIRACLES; MARVELS), *fürkan,* "that which distinguishes truth (q.v.) from error (q.v.)" (see also CRITERION), and *nur,* "light" (q.v.). In the majority of the *divan*s, it is the absolute truth with utter perfection, and thus it is referred to with utmost respect (see also NAMES OF THE QURʾĀN).

In the eighteenth century, Ottoman court poetry (together with other arts of the empire, such as miniature painting) went

through a dramatic change in its language, themes, representation of the real world, manifestation of human sexuality, and depiction of the place of religious discourse in poetry. Indeed, the whole society began to display signs of a Turkish "renaissance," one that emphasized a more secular state of mind. The clash between the *rind,* "the epicurean poet," and *zahid,* "zealot," had long dominated the pages of Turkish *divan*s, but in eighteenth century poetry, serious challenges to religion and religious authorities were evident, but without the previous centuries' reliance upon mysticism to mediate this clash. The poet Nedim (1681-1730) was one of those Ottoman authors who openly confronted some of the strongest proscriptions of Islam, such as drinking alcohol and consuming opium (see INTOXICANTS; FORBIDDEN) during the holy month of Ramaḍān (q.v.), refusing to write a single *tevhid,* "composition praising the unity of God" (see GOD AND HIS ATTRIBUTES), *münacat,* "poem which calls upon God for help, communicates with God," or *naʿt,* "poem in honor or praise of Muḥammad" (see PRAYER FORMULAS; NAMES OF THE PROPHET), and provocatively disparaging the Qurʾān itself:

Oh zealot, excuse me but your face seems rather homely (literally "there is some heaviness on your skin")
your ugliness can be perceived even by the thickness of your book!

This secular or anti-religious posture in literature became much stronger in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries with the advance of modernist movements in Turkey (see CONTEMPORARY CRITICAL PRACTICES AND THE QURʾĀN). The positivist mentality of modern Ottoman and Turkish literature emphasized critical thinking, belief in positive sciences (see SCIENCE AND THE QURʾĀN), and a desire to free the human mind from the dogmas of Islam and its holy book. Among the foremost figures of this literature of the Turkish enlightenment were Tevfik Fikret (1867-1915), Reşat Nuri Güntekin (1889-1956), Nāzım Hikmet (1902-1963), and Aziz Nesin (1915-1995).

The philosophy exemplified in Fikret's poem entitled "Halūk's credo" (written for his son Halūk, and translated by Walter G. Andrews; Silay, *Anthology,* 259-60) occupied the pages of Turkish literature until the 1980s. A few lines can convey some sense of this philosophy:

There is a universal power, supreme and limitless
Holy and sublime, with all my heart, so
do I believe
The earth is my homeland, my nation all humankind;
A person becomes human only by knowing this, so
do I believe
We are Satan, and jinn (q.v.), there's no devil (q.v.), no angels (q.v.)
Human beings will turn this world into paradise (q.v.), so
do I believe
The perfect is immanent in creation (q.v.); in that perfection
By way of the Torah (q.v.), of the Gospels (q.v.), of the Koran
do I believe

The military coup in Turkey on September 12, 1980 not only reshaped the whole political, cultural and economic nature of the country but its literature as well. Whether Marxist-Leninist or Kemalist, the positivist character of Turkish literature began to go through a remarkable "postmodern" transformation and thus reflected a much more positive image of the so-called "Ottoman times" in general and Islam and its icons in

particular (see also POLITICS AND THE QUR'ĀN).

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Ṭuwā

An enigmatic term mentioned in the Qur'ān, denoting a place or a concept of holiness. The term's semantic origins are obscure — a place name, a term meaning "twice done," even a misreading of the Syriac *ṭūr/ṭūrā* ["mountain"] have been suggested (cf. Bell, *Commentary,* i, 523 [ad Q 20:12]; cf. also Horovitz, *KU,* 125). The sacred place called *ṭuwā* is found in two sūras (Q 20 and 79), both of which speak of a holy valley and mention Moses (q.v.), but which are quite different otherwise. While Q 20 consists of 135 verses and Q 79 of only forty-six verses, they include only slight similarity (see SŪRAS).

Q 20, entitled Ṭāhā (see MYSTERIOUS LETTERS), begins with "We did not reveal to you [Muḥammad] the Qur'ān that you should be distressed, but to admonish the God-fearing" (Q 20:2-3; see PIETY; FEAR; WARNER). Verses 9-12 tell what Moses did, after which God spoke to him and mentioned *ṭuwā:* "Have you heard the story of Moses? When he saw a fire (q.v.) he said to his people: 'Stay here, for I can see a fire. Perchance I can bring you a lighted torch, or find guidance at the fire.' When he came near, a voice called out to him: 'Moses! I am your lord. Take off your sandals, for you are in the sacred valley of *ṭuwā*.'" In verse Q 20:15 God speaks

strongly, that "the hour is surely coming (see TIME; LAST JUDGMENT; ESCHATOLOGY). But I will keep it hidden so that every soul may be rewarded for its striving (see REWARD AND PUNISHMENT; PATH OR WAY)." Then God frightens Moses by telling him to throw down his staff (see ROD) which becomes a serpent. He then tells him to take it with no fear, for it will return to its former state, and promises that he will show him most wondrous signs (q.v.). God tells Moses that he has chosen him to serve him (see WORSHIP; SERVANT), to recite his prayers (see PRAYER; RITUAL AND THE QUR'ĀN) in remembrance of him and warns that the hour (of doom) has come. God continues (Q 20:16), "Let those who disbelieve in the hour (see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF) and yield to their desires not turn your thoughts from it, lest you perish (see DEATH AND THE DEAD)." Moses asks God to put courage (q.v.) into his heart (q.v.), free his tongue from impediment, and to appoint his brother Aaron (q.v.) to strengthen him and share his task. God agrees and tells the story of the birth and early years of Moses, then goes on with the story of Pharaoh (q.v.).

Q 79 is called al-Nāziʿāt, a title that is little understood, and translated by various English names such as "The Soul-Snatchers," "Those Who Pull and Withdraw," "Those Who Drag Forth," and "The Pluckers" (see, for instance, the translations of A. Ali, A.J. Arberry, N.J. Dawood, M. Pickthall, J.M. Rodwell and M.H. Shakir). Q 79 briefly notes the story of Pharaoh, with a mention of the fire and the hour (of doom) as in Q 20, and includes a few final words of future events that threaten humanity (see APOCALYPSE). The two first words of this sūra *(nāziʿāt/sābiḥāt)* are difficult to understand and have been the subject of considerable exegetical discussion. Q 79 contains the brief verses 15 and 16: "Have you heard the story of Moses? His lord (q.v.) called out to him in the sacred valley of *ṭuwā.*"

Although exegetes differ as to the meaning of the term *ṭuwā,* the most plausible tradition is that which maintains that *ṭuwā* is the name of a sacred place, the one that was entered by Moses (but cf. SACRED PRECINCTS). *Ṭuwā(n)* has also been defined as something "twice done," as though folded, and medieval writers (see EXEGESIS OF THE QUR'ĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL) have said that *ṭuwā* is "twice sanctified, twice blessed and twice called," as God calls Moses.

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Twelvers

see SHĪʿISM AND THE QUR'ĀN

Twilight

see EVENING

Tyrant

see OPPRESSION; KINGS AND RULERS

U

Uḥud see EXPEDITIONS AND BATTLES

[Al-]Ukhdūd

Substantive (or proper name) found in the qurʾānic expression *aṣḥāb al-ukhdūd* (Q 85:4):

> [They] were destroyed, the men of the furnace *(aṣḥāb al-ukhdūd)*, a fire (q.v.) abundantly fed, while they were sitting by it, and they were witnesses of what they did to believers (see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF), and they ill-treated them for no other reason than that they believed in God (Q 85:4-9).

Islamic tradition is almost unanimous in identifying these *aṣḥāb al-ukhdūd* with those involved in the persecution at Najrān (q.v.; a large oasis in southern Saudi Arabia, on the border with Yemen [q.v.]), in November 523 C.E. (regarding this event and the sources dealing with it, see Beaucamp et al., La persécution), but quite often without specifying whether they mean the Jewish persecutors (directed by the king Zurʿa dhū-Nuwās Yūsuf, the Yūsuf Asʾar Yathʾar of Ḥimyarite inscriptions; see JEWS AND JUDAISM) or their Christian victims (see CHRISTIANS AND CHRISTIANITY). For Wahb b. Munabbih (d. ca. 114/732; *Tījān*), Ibn Ḥabīb (d. 245/860; *Muḥabbar*) or Nashwān al-Ḥimyarī (d. 573/1178; *Mulūk Ḥimyar*), they are the persecutors, since these authors call the king Yūsuf *ṣāḥib al-ukhdūd,* but others remain rather vague (Ibn Isḥāq, *Sīra,* followed by Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh;* Nashwān al-Ḥimyarī, *Shams al-ʿulūm,* ad *ḫ-d-d,* etc.)

As a consequence of this identification, tradition interprets al-Ukhdūd as a place name of the Najrān oasis (Bakrī, *Muʿjam mā staʿjama,* i, 121, ad "al-Ukhdūd"; al-Ḥasan al-Hamdānī, *Ṣifat jazīrat al-ʿArab,* specifies that "the ancient city is the site of 'al-Ukhdūd' "). In pre-Islamic sources (principally the inscriptions of south Arabia, but also external sources such as Christian hagiographies relating to the persecution, written in Greek and Syriac), however, no evidence is available for such a place name; in inscriptions, the oasis and main city are first of all called *Rgmtᵐ* (*RES* 3943/3; Maʿīn 9/5; M 247/2; in Hebrew *Raʿmā,* in Greek *Ragma,* in *Gen* 10:7 = *I Chron* 1:9, and *Ezek* 27:22), then, after the start of the Christian era, *Ngrⁿ* (in Arabic Najrān; see ARABIC SCRIPT). There is good reason to believe that the name "al-Ukhdūd" bestowed upon the ruins of Najrān (already indicated in the tenth cen-

tury C.E. by al-Hamdānī and still used nowadays, see Philby, *Arabian highlands*) postdates Islam and is derived from an interpretation of Q 85.

Other observations have led the majority of contemporary scholars to doubt the identification of the *aṣḥāb al-ukhdūd* with those responsible for, or the victims of, the Najrān persecution. While the Qurʾān speaks of a ditch filled with fire (for R. Blachère, a furnace), since the meanings given to the Arabic *ukhdūd* (pl. *akhādīd*) are "ditch, cavity, pit" (for references in Yemeni dialects, see Serjeant, Ukhdūd), scholars note that, according to Christian hagiographies, those executed were not thrown into a furnace but put to the sword. Besides, the text of the Qurʾān, which gives no indication of location or time, at no point suggests that the "believers" were Christians (see PEOPLE OF THE DITCH).

For al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923), followed by some Islamicists, most recently Régis Blachère, the Qurʾān is alluding to the "fiery furnace" (Daniel 3:6, 11, 15, 17, 20, 21, 23 and 26) into which the three young men are thrown. Other scholars, such as Rudi Paret, following Hubert Grimme and Joseph Horovitz, prefer an eschatological interpretation (see ESCHATOLOGY): the *aṣḥāb al-ukhdūd* will be the wicked cast into hell (see HELL AND HELLFIRE) at the time of the last judgment (q.v.) because of their crimes against believers, even if it is very unusual to use the term "ditch" to describe hell (see REWARD AND PUNISHMENT).

This last objection has disappeared following the publication of texts from Qumrān, in which Sheol is constantly referred to by the Hebrew *šaḥat,* "ditch." Marc Philonenko, who stresses this point, equally notes the expressions *bny h-šḥt,* "sons of the ditch," and *ʾnšy h-šḥt,* "men of the ditch," to denote the wicked, the damned or rather those who suffer punishment (see CHASTISEMENT AND PUNISHMENT; GOOD AND EVIL) on judgment day. The qurʾānic expression *aṣḥāb al-ukhdūd* could be an exact equivalent of the expressions from Qumrān.

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Ulema see SCHOLARS

ʿUmar see CALIPH; COMPANIONS OF THE PROPHET

Umm Ḥabība see WIVES OF THE PROPHET

Umm Salama see WIVES OF THE PROPHET

Umma see COMMUNITY AND SOCIETY IN THE QURʾĀN; RELIGION

Ummī

A qurʾānic epithet for the prophet Muḥammad that acquired significantly different interpretations in the course of Islamic history. Traditionally, Muslims understand *ummī* as "illiterate" and as unequivocally identifying Muḥammad as "the illiterate Prophet" *(al-nabī l-ummī)* — a view that has come to constitute an article of orthodox faith and spirituality in Islam (see ILLITERACY). Recent research, however, recovering some of the earliest exegetical glossing, has suggested that *ummī* in the Qurʾān signifies the ethnic origin (being an Arab, Arabian) and the originality of the Prophet of Islam (coming from among a people, the Arabs [q.v.], who had not yet received a revelation; see REVELATION AND INSPIRATION).

Terms in the Qurʾān and their interpretations

The term *ummī* occurs only in Q 7:157 and 158; its plural, *ummiyyūn*, is found in Q 2:78; 3:20, 75 and 62:2. In Q 7:157 and 158, God proclaims:

> My mercy (q.v.),… I shall ordain it for those who are God-fearing,… those who believe in our signs (q.v.; Q 7:156), [those] who follow the messenger (q.v.), the *ummī* Prophet, whom they find mentioned in their [own scriptures, the] Torah (q.v.) and the Gospel (q.v.; see also SCRIPTURE AND THE QURʾĀN), who bids them to what is just (see JUSTICE AND INJUSTICE) and forbids them what is reprehensible (see VIRTUES AND VICES, COMMANDING AND FORBIDDING; FORBIDDEN), and who makes lawful for them the good things and unlawful for them the corrupt things… (Q 7:157; see LAWFUL AND UNLAWFUL; GOOD AND EVIL). Say: "O humankind, I am the messenger of God to you all.…" Therefore, believe in God and in his messenger, the *ummī* Prophet who believes in God and his words. Follow him! Perhaps, you will [then] be guided (Q 7:158; see ERROR; ASTRAY).

In commenting on these verses, the classical Muslim exegetes (see EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL) offer several interpretations for *ummī*, including "unable to read (and write; see LITERACY; ORALITY AND WRITING IN ARABIA)," Arab/Arabian (derived from *umma*, "nation, the people of the Arabs"), Meccan (from *umm al-qurā*, "Mother of all Cities," an epithet for Mecca [q.v.]), and, "pure, natural," like a newborn from its "mother" *(umm)*, thus incorporating the notions of being "unlettered," "untaught," "intellectually untouched" (see KNOWLEDGE AND LEARNING), and "spiritually virgin," by virtue of which Muḥammad became the receptacle for the divine revelation. (For references and discussion of these and the following derivations, see Günther, Illiteracy, esp. 493-9; and id., Literacy, esp. 188.) Despite these various possible meanings, the classical commentaries stress that *ummī* in the two verses characterizing the prophet Muḥammad means "unable to read (and write)." Presenting a threefold argument, they suggest (1) that *ummī* most likely relates to *umma*, "the people of the Arabs" who, (2) at

the time of Muḥammad, were mostly an "illiterate nation" *(umma ummiyya)*, "neither reading nor writing," and, (3) since Muḥammad belonged to this nation, he neither read nor wrote, or was unable to do so.

Western scholars have contested, in particular, the idea that *ummī* means "illiterate." While some scholars suggest the meaning of "ethnically Arab/Arabian," others argue in favor of "untaught" or "ignorant" (of the scriptures, as opposed to being "learned," "knowledgeable" about them) or "not having received a revelation" and, strictly speaking, "pagan" and "heathen," or "gentile" (see Günther, Illiteracy, 496; see POLYTHEISM AND ATHEISM; SOUTH ARABIA, RELIGIONS IN PRE-ISLAMIC).

Analysis of the qurʾānic expressions *ummiyyūn* and *umma* (the latter being the noun from which *ummī* is most likely derived, as both classical exegetes and contemporary scholars agree) highlights above all two things. First, *umma* in the Qurʾān means "a people" or, more specifically, "the nation [of the Arabs]" (notwithstanding its other meanings, which are not relevant here; see Günther, Illiteracy, 496-8). Second, the term *ummiyyūn* in the Qurʾān identifies "Arabs who have not [yet] been given a divinely inspired scripture" (cf. Q 3:20, 75; 62:2). On one occasion, however, a certain group among the Jews (see JEWS AND JUDAISM) is called *ummiyyūn*, "not knowing the scripture," or "not being well-versed in the book [q.v.; because they are not reading in it]" (Q 2:78). When the terms *ummī* and pl. *ummiyyūn* are examined in conjunction with the previous two remarks, it becomes clear that in the Qurʾān they do not represent a single meaning. Rather, they suggest a spectrum of ideas, which includes (a) someone belonging to a people *(umma)* — the Arabs — who were a nation without a scripture as yet; (b) someone without a scripture and thus not reading it; and (c) someone not reading a scripture and, therefore, not being taught or educated [by something or somebody] (cf. Günther, Muḥammad, 15-16). Although this spectrum of ideas does not include the meaning of "illiterate" as such, it apparently formed the basis upon which the idea of *ummī* meaning "illiterate" was developed.

The dogma of the Prophet being ummī, *"illiterate"*

The fact that questions surrounding the possibility of Muḥammad's literacy were already an issue of considerable significance at the time of the revelation seems to be evident, for example, in Q 25:5. This passage echoes attempts made by "unbelievers" (polytheists in Mecca) to discredit Muḥammad by claiming that he was not communicating divine revelations, but "stories taken from writings of the ancients (*asāṭīr al-awwalīn;* see GENERATIONS), which he has written down (see WRITING AND WRITING MATERIALS; OPPOSITION TO MUḤAMMAD) and which were dictated to him *(tumlā ʿalayhi)* at dawn (q.v.) and in the early evening" (q.v.; see also Günther, Illiteracy, 492-3). In contrast, Q 29:47-8 states: "We have sent down to you [Muḥammad] the book *(al-kitāb)*.… Not before this did you read *(tatlū)* any book, or inscribe it with your right hand…" (for *talā* referring to "reading [the holy scriptures]," see Günther, Literacy, 190).

The concept of the Prophet's illiteracy, however, "seems to have evolved in some circles of Muslim learning not before the first half of the second century of the *hijra* (see EMIGRATION; CALENDAR)," i.e. the first half of the eight century C.E. (Goldfeld, Illiterate prophet, 58). Furthermore, it seems that Muḥammad's illiteracy had already become dogma by the end of the third/ninth century when al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923) summed up much of the

learning of previous generations of Muslims (see Goldfeld's research into certain exegetical works, which al-Ṭabarī used as sources and quoted in his comments on *ummī* and *ummiyyūn;* see THEOLOGY AND THE QUR'ĀN). The famous theologian al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111), for example, advocates this creed on numerous occasions in his *The revival of the religious sciences (Iḥyā' ʿulūm al-dīn),* his greatest and most authoritative work. Here he states that: "He (the Prophet) was *ummī;* he did not read or write.… God [himself] taught him all the virtues of character, the praiseworthy ways of behaving and the information about the ancients and the following generations" (*Iḥyā',* ii, 364 [ch. 11]).

In the course of time, the notion of the illiterate Prophet of Islam came to be a central argument in defending Islam against opponents who attempted to discredit the prophet Muḥammad and his message. Moreover, for the exegete al-Rāzī (d. 606/1210), and other orthodox Muslim scholars in medieval and modern times, this concept also underscores the inimitability and uniqueness of the Qur'ān in terms of content, form and style (*iʿjāz;* see INIMITABILITY), its miraculous nature (*muʿjiza;* see MIRACLES) and the outstanding place Islam and its Prophet deserve within the canon of the monotheistic religions (see LANGUAGE AND STYLE OF THE QUR'ĀN; FORM AND STRUCTURE OF THE QUR'ĀN). In other words, Muḥammad's illiteracy came to be seen as a particularly excellent sign and proof of the genuineness and nobility of his prophethood (see al-Rāzī's lengthy statement in Günther, Illiteracy, 495-6). The Ṣūfī (see ṢŪFISM AND THE QUR'ĀN) ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Baghdādī, known as al-Khāzin (d. 741/1340), for example, says:

The Prophet was *ummī;* he did not read, write, or count.… His being *ummī* is one of the greatest and most magnificent miracles. Had he mastered writing and then come forward with this magnificent Qur'ān, he could have been accused of having written and transmitted it from others (*Lubāb,* ii, 147).

To expand on this tenet could result in trouble, as seen in the example of Abū l-Walīd al-Bājī al-Mālikī (d. 474/1081), a distinguished theologian and man of letters in eleventh-century Spain. The controversy began in the city of Denia, during a teaching session on al-Bukhārī's (d. 256/870) famous collection of "Sound prophetic traditions," which includes an account of the events in 6/628 at al-Ḥudaybiya, when a peace treaty was agreed on between Muḥammad and the Meccan tribe of Quraysh (q.v.). As al-Bukhārī has it: "the messenger of God took the document and wrote this (his name)," *fa-akhadha rasūl Allāh… al-kitāba fa-kataba hādha* (no. 2700), although "he did not write well…," *wa-laysa yuḥsinu yaktubu* [sic] *fa-kataba hādha* (no. 4251; Dārimī, *Sunan,* no. 2507; *wa-laysa yuḥsinu an yaktuba fa-kataba…,* Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad,* no. 18,161). Al-Bājī explained the significance of the event and stated furthermore that this tradition was authentic and a proof that the Prophet wrote on that day. Because of his explanation, al-Bājī was accused of heresy and atheism. At a specifically organized public disputation, however, he convinced the learned audience that his opinion did not contradict the Qur'ān — and its notion of the *ummī*/illiterate Prophet — because Q 29:47-8, as al-Bājī argued, indicates (only) that Muḥammad did not write any scripture before he received the revelation *(al-kitāb)* and became a prophet. Al-Bājī later wrote an epistle on this subject to justify his doctrinal position (edited in Bājī, *Taḥqīq,* 170-240), which in turn gave rise to trea-

tises, for and against his position, written by Muslim scholars in Spain, north Africa and Sicily (cf. Bājī, *Taḥqīq,* 115-16, 119; Abū Ḥayyān, *Baḥr,* vii, 155; Sprenger, *Moḥammad,* ii, 398; and esp. Fierro, Polémicas, 425). A similar argument is made by the influential Twelver-Shīʿī scholar (see SHĪʿISM AND THE QURʾĀN) and legal authority (see LAW AND THE QURʾĀN), ʿAllāma Majlisī (d. 1110/1698), after he surveyed for his Persian readership the various interpretations of *ummī* common among Muslim scholars. Basing himself also on Q 29:47-8, he supports the idea that Muḥammad was "never taught to read and write" before he became a prophet. He says, however:

whether [or not] he [actually] read and wrote after he became prophet,… there can be no doubt of his ability to do so, inasmuch as he knew all things by divine inspiration, and so by the power of God was able to perform things impossible for all others to do.… How could the Prophet be ignorant [of reading and writing] when he was sent [by God] to instruct others (cf. Majlisī, *Ḥayāt,* ii, 155).

It appears that Q 29:47-8 was instrumental in harmonizing the doctrinal concept of Muḥammad's "illiteracy" with the data given, for example, in historical and biographical sources (see SĪRA AND THE QURʾĀN), according to which Muḥammad seems to have had (some) knowledge of reading and writing at a later stage of his life. Nonetheless, the well-attested incident that reportedly took place on Thursday, June 4, 632 C.E. — i.e. four days before Muḥammad's death — also provides no conclusive answer to the question as to whether or not the prophet Muḥammad was able to read and write at the end of his life. The accounts given by Ibn Saʿd (d. 230/845) relate that the prophet Muḥammad was lying on his sick-bed when he said: *"iʾtūnī* [sic] *bi-dawāt wa-ṣaḥīfa aktubu lakum kitāban lā taḍillū baʿdahu,"* which seems to mean, "Bring me writing instruments and a piece of parchment (or papyrus). I will write (i.e. dictate?) a will for you, after which you will not go astray," rather than, simply, "… I will draft for you a writing.…" (cf. Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt,* ii, 244-5; for the entire passage, see pp. 242-55, the chapter entitled *al-Kitāb alladhī arāda rasūl Allāh an yaktubahu li-ummatihi;* see furthermore Ghédira, Ṣaḥīfa; Sprenger, *Mohammad,* ii, 400-1; for *kataba [li]* meaning in the Qurʾān also "to decree, to ordain [a will, or law]," see Günther, Literacy, 190-1; similarly, Lane, vii, 2590; on the verbal use of the root *k-t-b* in the Qurʾān in general, see Madigan, *Qurʾān's self-image,* 107-24; on the importance that writing and political documents generally had for Muḥammad in Medina [q.v.] after he had become a statesman, see Hamidullah, *Six originaux,* 23-38, 48-51; Margoliouth, *Mohammed,* 5; see POLITICS AND THE QURʾĀN; for the frequent occurrence of the expressions *al-nabī l-ʿarabī,* "the Arab/Arabian Prophet," in biographical and historical Muslim sources, see for example Wāqidī, *Futūḥ,* ii, 42, 54, 164; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt,* i, 19, 259; Dhahabī, *Siyar,* i, 375; Ibn Khaldūn, *Muqaddima,* 3; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāya,* ii, 16, 85; Maqqarī, *Nafḥ,* vii, 340, 427; Kātib Chelebi, *Kashf al-ẓunūn,* ii, 1523 and 1718). In conclusion, one notes two things: While the meaning of the terms *ummī* and *ummiyyūn* in the Qurʾān can be determined as indicated above, the question as to whether or not the prophet Muḥammad knew how to read and write (at the end of his life) is another matter that cannot be decided conclusively on the basis of the textual evidence available today.

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ʿUmra

see PILGRIMAGE

Unbelief/Unbelievers

see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF; POLYTHEISM AND ATHEISM; FAITH

Uncertainty

Questioning the truth or existence of something. In the Qurʾān, this is a quality often attributed to those peoples, past and present, who do not believe or trust the messengers (see MESSENGER) or signs (q.v.) of God (see LIE; BELIEF AND UNBELIEF; OPPOSITION TO MUḤAMMAD; TRUST AND PATIENCE). And, like its first auditors, Islamic tradition (and certainly non-Muslims) has grappled with how to understand — and interpret — the word of God (q.v.).

According to the tradition, Islam began with Muḥammad's uncertainty and panic (*fa-akhadhatnī rajfa; al-nashiʾ ʿan al-ruʿb;* Suyūṭī, *Itqān,* i, 93; see FEAR) after a very early revelation (most authorities claim that Q 96:1-5 was the first revelation; see Zarkashī, *Burhān* [*Nawʿ* 10], i, 264; followed by Suyūṭī, *Itqān,* i, 93; see REVELATION AND INSPIRATION) in, or shortly after leaving, the cave (q.v.) of al-Ḥirāʾ (see SĪRA AND THE QURʾĀN; CHRONOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN; OCCASIONS OF REVELATION; for the archetypical theme of the mythic hero and the cave, see Jung, *Memories,* 160-1; Dreifuss

and Riemer, *Abraham,* 6; see also Schub, *"Hakim al-balad…"*). He rushed home to his wife Khadīja (q.v.) in such an agitated state that she threw cold water on him (see e.g. Zarkashī, *Burhān,* i, 264); he then told her to wrap him in a mantle to soothe him (Khadīja was the first *umm al-muʾminīn,* "mother of the faithful"; for a discussion of Muḥammad's revelation in the context of their relationship, cf. Dreyfuss and Riemer, *Abraham,* 89; see WIVES OF THE PROPHET; WOMEN AND THE QURʾĀN; BELIEF AND UNBELIEF). She reassured him that he was indeed worthy, being an exemplary upright individual (*tuʾaddī al-amāna…*, literally "you [always] return the surety to its rightful owner…"; on *amana,* cf. Dreyfus and Riemer, *Abraham,* 30); this is the *sabab al-nuzūl,* the occasion for the revelation, of Q 73, Sūrat al-Muzzammil, "The Enshrouded One," and Q 74, Sūrat al-Muddaththir, "The Cloaked One."

The Qurʾān describes itself as a "book in which there is no doubt *(rayb)* [whatsoever]" (Q 2:2; the word *rayb* is glossed by al-Qurṭubī [d. 671/1272; *Jāmiʿ,* i, 119] in his commentary as: (1) equivalent to *shakk,* "doubt"; (2) *tuhma,* "suspicion" [q.v.]; or (3) *ḥāja,* "want"); as *al-yaqīn,* "certainty" (Q 15:99; 74:47); *ḥaqq al-yaqīn,* "certain truth" (q.v.; Q 69:51); *ʿilm al-yaqīn,* "certain knowledge" (Q 102:5; see KNOWLEDGE AND LEARNING); *ʿayn al-yaqīn,* "certainty itself" (Q 102:7), etc. (for discussion of biblical struggles over questions of faith [q.v.], see Gries, Heresy, 341). Its truth (q.v.) is sempiternal; it is inscribed on the heavenly "preserved tablet" (q.v.; *al-lawḥ al-maḥfūẓ*). The Sunnīs believe that it is uncreated *(ghayr makhlūq)* and coterminous with God (see CREATEDNESS OF THE QURʾĀN); the medieval Muʿtazilīs (q.v.) demurred, pointing to a resulting diminution of God's unicity (see GOD AND HIS ATTRIBUTES; THEOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN).

Despite the qurʾānic assertions of its indubitable nature, the received text of the Qurʾān was subject to scrutiny (see TEXTUAL HISTORY OF THE QURʾĀN; MUṢḤAF; UNITY OF THE TEXT OF THE QURʾĀN; COLLECTION OF THE QURʾĀN; CODICES OF THE QURʾĀN) by the early Muslim community, and elements such as the foreign vocabulary (q.v.) of the Arabic Qurʾān had to be explained (see ARABIC LANGUAGE; LANGUAGE AND STYLE OF THE QURʾĀN; GRAMMAR AND THE QURʾĀN):

> From Abū Bakr, the eminently veracious *(al-siddīq),* [is related] that when asked about the meaning of *abb* [Q 80:31, a word, probably from Syriac, that is usually translated as "herbage"], he said: "Which heaven would cover me and which earth would support me if I were to say that there is something in the Book of God that I know not?" [A correct translation: "If I were to say about the book of God what I know not."]
>
> From ʿUmar [is related] that when asked about the meaning of *abb,* he said that he once recited this verse and said: "We all know that. But what is *abb?*" Then he threw away a stick which he had in his hand, and said: "By the eternal God! That is artificiality. What does it amount to for you, son of the mother of ʿUmar, if you do not know what *abb* is?" And then he added: "Obey what is clear to you in this Book and leave aside what is not clear!" (Gätje, *Qurʾān,* 64, translating Zamakhsharī, *Kashshāf,* ad Q 80:31).

It should be noted, however, that neither Shīʿīs nor Sunnīs doubt the authenticity and veracity of the received text of the Qurʾān although some Shīʿī scholars have questioned its integrity (see INIMITABILITY).

The therapeutic antidote to uncertainty/doubt and its resulting anxiety is to invoke the *sakīna* (e.g. Q 2:248; 9:40; 48:4, 18, 26; see SHEKHINAH) through "patience and prayer" (Q 2:45, 153; see TRUST AND PATIENCE; PRAYER) in order to be able to

grasp *al-ʿurwa al-wuthqā* (Q 2:256; 31:22, lit. "the firm hand-hold on the camel-saddle"; see METAPHOR).

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Uncle

see FAMILY; KINSHIP

Unclean

see CONTAMINATION

Unction

see BAPTISM

Unity of God

see GOD AND HIS ATTRIBUTES; WITNESS TO FAITH

Unity of the Text of the Qurʾān

As a subject of study, the unity of the qurʾānic text assumes special importance because the Qurʾān does not always seem to deal with its themes in what most readers would call a systematic manner (see FORM AND STRUCTURE OF THE QURʾĀN). Western scholars of Islam have often spoken of the "disconnectedness" of the Qurʾān (see PRE-1800 PREOCCUPATIONS OF QURʾĀNIC STUDIES; POST-ENLIGHTENMENT ACADEMIC STUDY OF THE QURʾĀN). Historically, most Muslim exegetes have not raised the issue at all (see EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL). Of those who have, some have offered the apologetic explanation that a text revealed in portions (see REVELATION AND INSPIRATION) over more than two decades cannot have a high degree of unity (see CHRONOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN; OCCASIONS OF REVELATION). But a few others, notably Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 606/1210) and Ibrāhīm b. ʿUmar al-Biqāʿī (d. 885/1480), present the Qurʾān as a well-connected text (for further discussion of the concept of *tanāsub/munāsaba,* see TRADITIONAL DISCIPLINES OF QURʾĀNIC STUDY). A distinction must, however, be made between connection and unity: the former may be defined as any link — strong or weak, integral or tangential — that is seen to exist between the components of a text (see LITERARY STRUCTURES OF THE QURʾĀN; LANGUAGE AND STYLE OF THE QURʾĀN), whereas unity arises from a perception of a given text's coherence and integration and from its being subject to a centralizing perspective. In the second chapter of *al-Burhān fī ʿulūm al-Qurʾān,* al-Zarkashī (d. 794/1392) seems to make this distinction, but most of his illustrative examples bear upon the Qurʾān's connectedness rather than upon its unity. The attempts of al-Rāzī and others also do not go beyond demonstrating that the Qurʾān is, in the above-noted sense, a connected text. In modern times, however, a number of Muslim scholars from various parts of the Muslim world have, with varying degrees of cogency, argued that the Qurʾān possesses a high degree of thematic and structural unity, and this view seems to represent a modern consensus in the making (see CONTEMPORARY CRITICAL PRACTICES AND THE QURʾĀN; EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: EARLY MODERN AND CONTEMPORARY). In the introduction to his *Tafhīm al-Qurʾān,* Abū

l-Aʿlā Mawdūdī (d. 1979) maintains that one can appreciate the unity of the qurʾānic text if one notes that nowhere does the Qurʾān depart from its subject (humankind's ultimate success and failure; see ESCHATOLOGY; REWARD AND PUNISHMENT), its central thesis (the need for humans to take the right attitude in life — that is, to accept God's sovereignty [q.v.] in all spheres of life and submit to him in practice; see VIRTUES AND VICES, COMMANDING AND FORBIDDING) and its goal (to invite man to adopt that right attitude). One of Sayyid Quṭb's (d. 1966) premises in *Fī zilāl al-Qurʾān* is that each sūra (q.v.) of the Qurʾān has a *miḥwar* (pivot, axis) that makes the sūra a unified whole. But perhaps the most sustained effort to bring out the unity of the qurʾānic text has been made by two exegetes of the Indian subcontinent, Ḥamīd al-Dīn al-Farāhī (d. 1930) and his student Amīn Aḥsan Iṣlāḥī (d. 1997). Developing his teacher's ideas, Iṣlāḥī in his *Tadabbur-i Qurʾān* shows that the Qurʾān possesses unity at several levels: the verse-sequence in each sūra deals with a well-defined theme in a methodical manner (see VERSES); the sūras, as a rule, exist as pairs, the two sūras of any pair being complementary to each other; and the sūras are divisible into seven groups, each dealing with a master theme that is developed systematically within the sūras of the group. The Farāhī-Iṣlāḥī thesis would seem to constitute a serious challenge to the theories that view the Qurʾān as a disconnected text.

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Universe

see COSMOLOGY; CREATION; NATURE AS SIGNS

Urination and Defecation

see CONTAMINATION

Usury

[Unlawful] profit gained as interest charged when loaning money. The Qurʾān refers to both interest and usury as *ribā* and renounces evil effects on the equal, just and productive distribution of resources. The denunciation of *ribā* applies to excesses in both financial contracts *(ribā l-faḍl)* and fungibles *(ribā l-nasīʾa)*. It also applies to all forms of interest — nominal, real, effective, simple and compound (see also ECONOMICS; MONEY; TRADE AND COMMERCE).

Q 30:39 provides the general definition of *ribā* relating to all forms and measures of gifts (see GIFT AND GIFT-GIVING) and exchanges:

> And that which you give in compensation *(wa-mā ātaytum min riban)* in order that it may increase [i.e. your wealth (q.v.)] from other's property (q.v.), has no increase with God; but that which you give in charity seeking God's countenance (see FACE OF GOD), then those they shall have manifold increase (Q 30:39).

In marked contrast with the qurʾānic encouragement and praise of the charitable distribution of wealth, such as almsgiving (q.v.; cf. Schacht, Ribā), we can infer the unacceptability of all forms of interest

from the following qurʾānic verse by using the idea of the term structure of interest rates. The Qurʾān says: "O you who believe! Devour not *ribā,* doubled and multiplied; but fear (q.v.) God, that you may prosper" (Q 3:130). Although a few Islamicists do not concede to a uniform implication of the qurʾānic *ribā*-law in all forms of interest (i.e. usury versus interest, compound versus simple interest), this differentiation is untenable. It is well-known from the theory of the term structure of interest rates that any simple (i.e. one period) interest rate can be expressed as the compound rates over many smaller time-periods within a given time horizon. Besides, because nominal rates are abolished in the *ribā* rule, real rates cannot exist. The real rate is the nominal rate net of the rate of change in price level (inflation rate). Nominal rate is abolished by the financial and real economic interrelationship, which also, by means of the direct productivity consequence of such an interrelationship, causes the rate of increase in money to equal the rate of increase in real economic returns. Consequently, inflationary conditions caused by a mismatch of the above-mentioned two rates cannot exist. The inappropriateness of the equation in terms of nominal, real and inflation rates is therefore non-existent in Islamic economic relations, and the reason behind this is both the complementary relationship between money and real economy and the institutional and policy action towards realizing such complementarities.

Regarding the qurʾānic principle of just measure (see WEIGHTS AND MEASURES; MEASUREMENT) in gifts and exchanges there is the following in Q 2:279:

> And if you do not do it [i.e. give up *ribā*], then receive a declaration of war (q.v.) from God and his messenger (q.v.), but if you repent (see REPENTANCE AND PENANCE), you will have your *capital sums (ruʾūs amwālikum)*. Deal not unjustly and you will not be dealt with unjustly (see JUSTICE AND INJUSTICE).

The Qurʾān strongly forbids *ribā* on the grounds that it fosters the unjust acquisition of wealth at the expense of social justice, the equitable distribution of wealth and the well-being of the community. According to the Qurʾān, these important values are achieved through solidarity, cooperation and active production of the good things of life (see GOOD AND EVIL; BLESSING; GRACE; ETHICS AND THE QURʾĀN). The jurist al-Shāṭibī (d. 790/1388) explains the concept of the good things of life as a combination of necessities *(ḍarūriyyāt),* comforts *(ḥājiyyāt)* and refinements *(taḥsīniyyāt),* all of which belong to the hierarchy of positive, life-fulfilling goods.

Several verses testify to this interconnection between the abolition of *ribā* and the promotion of trade, charity and social well-being. On the causal linkage among charity, trade, prosperity and social well-being, the Qurʾān declares:

> Those who (in charity) spend of their goods by night and day (see DAY AND NIGHT), in secret and in public (see SECRETS; HIDDEN AND THE HIDDEN), have their reward with their lord (q.v.): On them shall be no fear, nor shall they grieve (see JOY AND MISERY). Those who devour *ribā* will not stand except as stands one whom the evil one by his touch has driven to madness (see INSANITY; DEVIL). That is because they say: "Trade is like *ribā'*. But God has permitted trade and forbidden *ribā*…" (Q 2:274-5).

Q 2:265 makes the connection between spending on the good things of life and social well-being:

And the likeness of those who spend their substance, seeking to please God and to strengthen their souls (q.v.), is as a garden (q.v.), high and fertile (*jannatin bi-rabwatin;* see also PARABLES): heavy rain (see WATER) falls on it and makes it yield a double increase of harvest, and if it receives not heavy rain, light moisture [suffices it]. God sees well whatever you do (Q 2:265; see SEEING AND HEARING).

This interrelationship between the abolition of *ribā* and the productivity and well-being attained through trade and charity is important to note. There are clear connections between the abolition of *ribā* and the implementation of co-operative and participatory financial instruments for resource mobilization, such as profit sharing, equity participation and trade. These generate and mobilize productive spending on the good things of life and allow economic participation for all ranks of society, thereby creating social and political empowerment (see KINGS AND RULERS; OPPRESSED ON EARTH, THE; OPPRESSION; POLITICS AND THE QURʾĀN). Q 2:267 speaks to these issues of production, consumption, exchange and distribution:

O you who believe (see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF)! Give of the good things which you have [honorably] earned, and of what we have produced for you from the ground (see AGRICULTURE AND VEGETATION), and do not aim at [getting anything which is] bad, in order that you may give away some of it, when you yourselves would not receive it except with closed eyes. And know that God is free of all wants *(ghaniyyun),* and worthy of all praise (q.v.; Q 2:267; see also GOD AND HIS ATTRIBUTES).

While the full implication of these interrelationships mentioned above are too detailed to be elaborated in this brief entry, the salient feature can be stated: the abolition of *ribā* can activate the mobilization of financial resources through its linkage with real resource development. This causes employment, profitability, equity and efficiency, entitlement, empowerment and social security to emerge as elements of the total social well-being (see WORK). These gains ratify, in turn, the judgment to abolish *ribā* and generate a continuing cycle of socially beneficial economic development.

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Uterus see WOMB

ʿUthmān

Abū ʿAbdallāh ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān, third caliph (q.v.; r. 23-35/644-55) and first

"rightly guided" *(rāshid)* caliph from the Umayyad clan, an early convert to Islam and emigrant (*muhājir;* see EMIGRANTS AND HELPERS) to both Abyssinia (q.v.) and Medina (q.v.; see also EMIGRATION). These pious credentials (see PIETY) are tainted by his absence at the battle of Badr (q.v.), his flight at Uḥud (see EXPEDITIONS AND BATTLES), his absence at Ḥudaybiya (q.v.; see Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* 66, *Faḍāʾil al-Qurʾān,* 3; ed. Krehl, iii, 93; trans. Houdas, iii, 522-3) and his alleged impiety during the latter six years of his caliphal rule (Masʿūdī, *Murūj,* iii, 76). He was stabbed to death while reading from the Qurʾān (supposedly from the *muṣḥaf* [q.v.] now known as the Samarqand codex) by insurgents from Egypt. ʿUthmān is often credited with standardizing and codifying the present qurʾānic text, which is therefore called the ʿUthmānic codex (see also COLLECTION OF THE QURʾĀN; CODICES OF THE QURʾĀN).

The historicity of the ʿUthmānic codex narrative is, for the most part, accepted by scholars in preference to narratives attributing the collection to Abū Bakr or other early caliphs (Caetani, ʿUthmān; Nöldeke, *GQ,* ii, 11-27, 47-62; Jeffery, *Materials,* 4-9; pace Mingana, Transmission). This narrative relates that one of ʿUthmān's generals (Ḥudhayfa), alarmed at disputes between his Syrian and Iraqi soldiers over qurʾānic recitation (see RECITATION OF THE QURʾĀN; SYRIA; IRAQ) during the conquests (see CONQUEST), asked the caliph for guidance, imploring: "O Commander of the Faithful, inform this community what to do before we are divided in our reading (see PARTIES AND FACTIONS; READINGS OF THE QURʾĀN) like the Jews (see JEWS AND JUDAISM) and the Christians" (Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* 62, *Faḍāʾil aṣḥāb al-nabī,* 7; ed. Krehl, ii, 430-1; trans. Houdas, ii, 601-2; see also CHRISTIANS AND CHRISTIANITY). In response, ʿUthmān secured the Qurʾān materials already gathered by Abū Bakr from Ḥafṣa (q.v.; who had received them via Abū Bakr's successor, her father ʿUmar; see also WIVES OF THE PROPHET). With this as reference, and with a committee made up of the pro-Qurayshite Medinan Zayd b. Thābit (also protagonist of the Abū Bakr collection narrative) and three Qurayshites (see QURAYSH), ʿUthmān had a *muṣḥaf* written in the dialect of the Quraysh (see DIALECTS; ARABIC LANGUAGE). He sent copies of it to Baṣra, Kūfa, Damascus and Mecca (q.v.; Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh,* ii, 160, adds Egypt, Bahrain, Yemen and the Jazīra) and ordered that all variant versions be destroyed, an order that met with resistance from many (see RECITERS OF THE QURʾĀN; TEACHING AND PREACHING THE QURʾĀN) and outright refusal from the Companion Ibn Masʿūd in Kūfa (see COMPANIONS OF THE PROPHET). Al-Balādhurī (fl. third/ninth cent.; *Ansāb,* v, 36) has Ibn Masʿūd declare the caliph's blood licit in response, while al-Yaʿqūbī (d. early fourth/tenth cent.; *Taʾrīkh,* ii, 160) relates that the two came to blows in the mosque at Kūfa.

The historicity of this narrative, however, is not beyond dispute. A number of factors — conflicts between different versions, redundancies with the Abū Bakr collection narrative and the temporal distance of sources from events — suggest that it is more the product of speculation and apology than historical dictation (in fact, early Muslim scholars disputed how to reconcile the redundant and contradictory reports; Khaṭṭābī [d. 386/996] concludes that God inspired *[alhama]* all of the "rightly guided caliphs," *al-khulafāʾ al-rāshidūn;* see Suyūṭī, *Itqān,* 202 [beginning of chap. 18]). J. Burton (*Collection,* 202-39) argues that the narrative is meant to conceal the fact that Muḥammad himself compiled the Qurʾān, thus justifying the absence from the *muṣḥaf* (that is, the Qurʾān in book form; see ORALITY AND WRITING IN ARABIA) of certain elements argued to be in the revealed

Qurʾān (e.g. the stoning [q.v.] verse, *āyat al-rajm*). Burton also points out that alternate codices continued to be used in legal disputes after they were supposedly destroyed by ʿUthmān's orders, suggesting that they were actually "posterior, not prior, to the ʿUthman text" (ibid., 228; see ABROGATION; LAW AND THE QURʾĀN). J. Wansbrough (*QS,* 45), meanwhile, noting the absence of extant variations to the ʿUthmānic codex and considering it unlikely that the caliph could have done such a complete job of destroying other versions, suggests that the story is meant to conceal the late origins of the Qurʾān. A recently edited work, however, further complicates this hypothesis (cf. Crone and Zimmermann, *Epistle*).

Thus scholarly opinion differs in its estimation of ʿUthmān: some see him as the one who established, with pious meticulousness, the *textus receptus ne varietur* of the Qurʾān; others regard him as a semi-legendary figure of Islamic salvation history. This much seems clear: many traditions surrounding ʿUthmān's codification of the Qurʾān come from a period when Islamic religious development was fueled by apologetical and polemical concerns (see APOLOGETICS; POLEMIC AND POLEMICAL LANGUAGE). In the third and fourth Islamic centuries texts on the proofs *(dalāʾil)* of Muḥammad's prophecy (see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD; MIRACLES), the inimitability (q.v.; *iʿjāz*) of the Qurʾān and the refutation *(radd)* of other religions proliferated (see TOLERANCE AND COERCION; RELIGIOUS PLURALISM AND THE QURʾĀN). The ʿUthmānic codex narrative serves a clear purpose in this context: it confirms to Muslims that their *muṣḥaf* is indeed the Qurʾān sent down from heaven (see BOOK; HEAVENLY BOOK; THEOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN; CREATEDNESS OF THE QURʾĀN). Further work on early Qurʾān manuscripts (such as the find in Ṣanʿāʾ; see MANUSCRIPTS OF THE QURʾĀN; TOOLS FOR THE STUDY OF THE QURʾĀN) — not excluding the study of the orality (q.v.) and variety of readings of the qurʾānic text (see POST-ENLIGHTENMENT ACADEMIC STUDY OF THE QURʾĀN) — remains a desideratum for a fuller understanding of the historicity of the narratives concerning the formation of the ʿUthmānic codex (see also TRADITIONAL DISCIPLINES OF QURʾĀNIC STUDY; VERSES; SŪRAS).

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ʿUzayr see EZRA

al-ʿUzzā see IDOLS AND IMAGES; SATANIC VERSES

V

Vainglory see PRIDE

Valley see GEOGRAPHY

Variant Readings see READINGS OF THE QUR'ĀN

Vegetation see AGRICULTURE AND VEGETATION

Vehicles

Objects used to carry people or things from place to place, on land or sea or through the air. The Qur'ān mentions several kinds of vehicles while attributing their existence to God's bounty (see BLESSING; GRACE), as stated, for example, in Q 17:70: "And surely we have honored the children of Adam, and we carry them in the land and the sea (see EARTH; WATER), and we have given them of the good things (see SUSTENANCE)…." The same idea recurs in Q 10:22: "He it is who makes you travel by land and sea" (see also TRIPS AND VOYAGES; JOURNEY).

The vehicles operating on land are beasts of burden, and their kinds are enumerated in Q 16:8: "And (God made) horses and mules and asses that you might ride upon them…." The camel (q.v.; *baʿīr*) is mentioned separately as a vehicle carrying wheat (Q 12:65, 72; see AGRICULTURE AND VEGETATION). Q 59:6 implies that camels (called here *rikāb*), as well as horses, were used also in military campaigns (see EXPEDITIONS AND BATTLES; FIGHTING; WAR).

God's creation of beasts on which people can ride and of which they eat (see FOOD AND DRINK; HIDES AND FLEECE) is praised in Q 36:72 as a manifestation of the things that God has subdued to them for their own benefit (see also Q 40:79). Beasts of burden carry not only people but also cargo: They "carry your heavy loads to regions which you could not reach but with distress of the souls" (Q 16:7; see also Q 6:142; see SOUL; LOAD OR BURDEN). On the other hand, sacred kinds of such animals were considered by the idolaters forbidden (q.v.) for usage as vehicles (Q 6:138).

Ships (q.v.), too, signify God's benevolence toward humankind, and they are mentioned alongside of riding animals in Q 43:12-13: "He who created pairs of all things (see PAIRS AND PAIRING), and made for you ships and beasts of burden such as you ride, that you may firmly sit on their backs, then remember the favor of your lord when you are firmly seated thereon,

and say: Glory be to him (see GLORIFICATION OF GOD) who made this subservient to us and we were not able to do it" (see also Q 2:164; 23:22; 40:80).

The imposing shape of sailing ships signifies God's creative powers, as stated in Q 42:32: "And among his signs (q.v.) are the ships that ride on the sea like landmarks" (see also Q 55:24). The glory (q.v.) of ships as representing divine blessing comes out most clearly in the fact that in Q 51:3 God swears by them, calling them "the smooth runners" (*fa-l-jāriyāti yusran;* see OATHS).

The idea that God is the one who has put ships under human command means that people should be thankful to him (Q 14:32; 16:14; 17:66; 22:65; 30:46; 31:31; 35:12; 45:12; see GRATITUDE AND INGRATITUDE). Noah's (q.v.) ark (q.v.) was the first manifestation of God's kindness in providing transport on sea and all ships have preserved the beneficence of this original model of divine salvation (q.v.). This parallelism comes out in Q 36:42 in which God alludes to the ark saying: "And we have created for them the like of it, whereon they ride." Most commentators hold that by "the like of it" ships are meant but some contend that the allusion is to camels (see SYMBOLIC IMAGERY).

Vehicles operating in the air (see AIR AND WIND) occur in the legendary sphere, in the commentaries on Q 21:81. This verse states that God has made the wind subservient to Solomon (q.v.) and it was "blowing violent and pursuing its course by his command to the land which we have blessed." Tradition has it that the wind would carry Solomon from place to place and then bring him back to his home in the holy land (see SACRED PRECINCTS; SACRED AND PROFANE). See also ANIMAL LIFE for further discussion, and bibliography.

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Rāzī, *Tafsīr;* Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr;* Zamakhsharī, *Kashshāf.*

Veil

Device that creates separation or privacy. The concept of veiling associated with a woman covering her body (see NUDITY) appears in no definitive terms in the Qurʾān. Instead the Qurʾān contains various verses (q.v.) in which the word *ḥijāb,* literally a "screen, curtain," from the root *ḥ-j-b,* meaning to cover or screen, is used to refer to a sense of separation, protection and covering that has both concrete and metaphorical connotations (see METAPHOR). *Ḥijāb* has, however, evolved in meaning and is most commonly used to denote the idea of a Muslim woman's veil, either full or partial, and more generally to denote a level of segregation between the sexes (see GENDER; WOMEN AND THE QURʾĀN). The word appears seven times in the Qurʾān (according to the traditional chronological sequence of revelation, Q 19:17; 38:32; 17:45; 41:5; 42:51; 7:46; 33:53; see CHRONOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN) and has a common semantic theme of separation (Stowasser, *Women,* 168), albeit not primarily between the sexes. In Q 19:17, Mary (q.v.) withdraws from her family and "places a screen *(ḥijāb)* [to screen herself] from them." In Q 17:45, when the believers (see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF) recite the Qurʾān (see RECITATION OF THE QURʾĀN), God "places a thick/invisible veil *(ḥijāban mastran)* between them and those who do not believe in the hereafter" (see ESCHATOLOGY). Similarly, in Q 41:5, those who do not wish to listen to or accept Muḥammad's message say that there is a distance, *ḥijāb*, between them and the Prophet (see OPPOSITION TO MUḤAMMAD). In Q 7:46, for those people who deliberately lead others

astray (q.v.) from God's path (see PATH OR WAY) or do not believe in the hereafter, "there will be a veil/screen *(ḥijāb)* between them and… those who know" (see KNOWLEDGE AND LEARNING). In Q 42:51, God claims that he sends revelation to humankind in one of three ways: inspiration (see REVELATION AND INSPIRATION), messengers (see MESSENGER; PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD) or from behind a veil/curtain *(min warāʾi ḥijāb)*. Commentators (see EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL) have drawn on traditions from Muslim's (d. ca. 261/875) ḥadīth collection (see ḤADĪTH AND THE QURʾĀN) to the effect that this veil refers to a veil of light. In these verses, *ḥijāb* carries various metaphorical levels of meaning, specifically as something that separates truth (q.v.) from falsehood (see LIE) and light (q.v.) from dark (see DARKNESS). This idea has been elaborated significantly by the mystics (see ṢŪFISM AND THE QURʾĀN) who see *ḥijāb* as the curtain or barrier (q.v.) that lies between them and God, the object of their devotion.

The most common meaning of screen or veil as implied in *ḥijāb* has, however, become synonymous with the various forms of clothing (q.v.) that a Muslim woman wears to cover either her hair, her hair and face or her full body when in public or when in the company of those outside close kinship (q.v.) bonds (see also PROHIBITED DEGREES). Although the Qurʾān itself enjoins modest behavior for both men and women (see MODESTY; SEX AND SEXUALITY) and contains no precise prescriptions as to how a woman's body should be covered in public, arguments in favor of such modes of covering stem from a literal as well as historical interpretation of various verses (see FEMINISM AND THE QURʾĀN; PATRIARCHY). Some of the verses deal specifically with items of clothing, some refer more generally to behaving modestly. The verse most famously known as the *ḥijāb* verse itself refers more specifically to the observance of certain manners when in the company of the Prophet and/or his wives (see WIVES OF THE PROPHET). Q 33:53,

> O believers, do not enter the Prophet's houses unless permission is given to you for a meal… and if you ask them [the Prophet's wives] for something you need, ask them from behind a *ḥijāb,* that is purer for your hearts and their hearts (see HEART).

There are variances in opinion as to the exact context in which this verse was revealed (see OCCASIONS OF REVELATION) but many of the *tafsīr* accounts identify the occasion as Zaynab bt. Jahsh's marriage to the Prophet. The guests invited to the wedding outstayed their welcome but they also failed to observe the proper etiquette when in proximity to the Prophet's wives. The concept of *ḥijāb* here is actually a literal curtain/screen which the Prophet let fall between his chambers and his companions so as to afford his wives privacy and protection. It also prescribes a level of seclusion for the Prophet's wives away from the public gaze by virtue of their special and specific status. In fact, the verses soon after in Q 33:55 give a list of individuals with whom it is permissible for the wives to associate face to face ("their fathers, their sons, their brothers, their brothers' sons, their sisters' sons, their women, the [slaves] whom their right hands possess"). The subsequent revelation in Q 33:59, known as the "mantle verse," addresses itself to the Prophet that he should "tell his wives and daughters and the women of the believers" that they should cover themselves in a mantle or a cloak *(jalābībihinna)* when out-

side. The verse explains that this is so that believing women are recognized in the streets by virtue of their outer covering and not molested in the streets of Medina (q.v.). The advice on preserving modesty is contained in Q 24:30 which tells the believing men to "lower their gaze and guard their private parts" *(yaghuḍḍū min abṣārihim wa-yahfaẓū furūjahum)*. Q 24:31 goes on to address Muslim women:

And tell the believing women to lower their gaze and guard their private parts, and to not display their adornments *(zīna)* except for what is apparent, and let them draw their coverings (*khumur,* sing. *khimār*) over their bosoms (*juyūb,* sing. *jayb*), and not display their adornments except to their husbands, their fathers (see FAMILY; MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE)....

Both these verses deal directly with the external appearance of all believing women, urging them to adopt a certain decorum in both their posture and clothing when outside the home. The verses are not concerned with restricting women's movement nor secluding women within the home. Q 33:33, however, which instructs the Prophet's wives to "stay in your houses" as befitting the wives of God's messenger, has also become part of the whole segregation/modesty debate. The internal domestic space for the wives of the Prophet becomes the ideal space for all righteous women.

The concept of veiling then develops between the two distinct but related concepts of clothing that hides and space that secludes. In both cases, the conceptual framework is one where gender boundaries are already assumed within the predominant cultural context and the issue at hand is that of determining the basis upon which these boundaries can be further established. The use of these three words, *ḥijāb, jilbāb* and *khimār* in the Qurʾān and the subsequent *tafsīr* and legal debate (see LAW AND THE QURʾĀN) have led to a diversity of opinion about the exact nature and context of female covering or veiling. To some extent the discussions have revolved around the distinction made between those verses that address the wives of the Prophet in particular, for whom both physical covering and physical seclusion with the advent of the *ḥijāb* verse reflects their special status, and those verses that advise all believing women to adopt some level of concealing dress. Scholars have argued on both sides; either that whatever has been prescribed for the Prophet's wives must naturally be applied to all believing women or from the opposite perspective that it was precisely because the Prophet's wives were seen as a privileged group of women that they were advised to assume a greater level of seclusion from public gaze for their own protection.

Classical commentaries go into very little discussion about the precise nature of female dress but do discuss specific issues such as what parts of her body a woman is permitted to show. In so doing, they debate the very nature of a woman's *ʿawra,* literally, genitalia or pudendum. For al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923), as women pray (see PRAYER) and perform the pilgrimage (q.v.; *ḥajj*) with their face and hands exposed, it would be correct to argue that these parts of a woman's body are not *ʿawra* and therefore can and should be left exposed. He argues that it is therefore the hands and the face that are alluded to in Q 24:31, "except that which is apparent" (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* v, 419). Al-Bayḍāwī (d. prob. 716/1316-17; *Anwār,* ii, 20), however, argued that a woman's whole body is *ʿawra* and must therefore be concealed from the eyes of men outside the

permitted degrees of kinship. This discussion continued well into the legal tradition, but aside from a general consensus that women should be covered in public, no form of dress is prescribed. For the Shāfiʿīs and the Ḥanbalīs, the concept of *ʿawra* was applied to the entire female body, including the face, hands and below the ankles; the Mālikīs and the Ḥanafīs, however, excluded the face and the hands from *ʿawra* on the basis that the Prophet's own instructions to the "believing women" was to bare their face and hands.

The ḥadīth canons also vary on the issue of female veiling. Despite mention of technical terms such as *khimār* and *jilbāb* in al-Bukhārī (d. 256/870) and Abū Dāwūd (d. 275/889; cf. Wensinck, *Concordance,* s.vv.), the scant references to any specific type of veiling give the overall impression that adult females covered themselves to some extent in public and that this continued to be encouraged as a form of public modesty after the arrival of Islam; once again, however, no exact dress form is prescribed.

During the last two centuries, the issue of female veiling has become one of the most contentious religious and cultural debates in the Muslim world and also in Western societies where there are relatively large communities of Muslims (see EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: EARLY MODERN AND CONTEMPORARY; POLITICS AND THE QURʾĀN). Female veiling is very often used as the distinguishing factor between "traditional" and "modern" societies. The word *ḥijāb* has shifted in meaning from delineating physical boundaries between men and women to becoming very much a boundary reflected through various types of modest clothing, most specifically in the form of headscarves. But it symbolizes far more than a simple head-covering, chador (cloak mainly worn in Iran) or *niqāb,* face veil. Women who cover or veil in loose clothing much of their bodies when in public or in mixed company feel that this is the manner of dressing most in conformity with the spirit if not the literal prescription of the Qurʾān and the associated ḥadīth references. The fact that the Qurʾān does not specifically refer to veiling as understood and practiced in a variety of ways today is of little consequence, for the Qurʾān could take for granted the social practices of its time or modify them slightly (see PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QURʾĀN). Conservatism has generally tended to see this type of covering as synonymous with a woman's expected social and domestic role. Many women, however, in both Islamic societies and in non-Muslim countries have in recent years turned to wearing the headscarf as a sign of reaffirming their religious devotion. This has often been done in variance to the prevailing female dress in their particular cultures, and the veil represents at times a political as well as religious position. For many, veiling in its various forms offers a kind of liberation from the fashion expectations of modern life; it does not signify coercion or oppression within any patriarchal system. As more and more Muslim women take up public professions, or are schooled in mixed educational spaces, the issue of male/female segregation is perhaps not as significant as it once was in many societies. The idea, however, that modesty has to be preserved between the sexes is most apparent in the frequent preoccupation with female dress and more importantly, female covering. For Islamists in countries such as Saudi Arabia and Iran, the issue of female dress remains significant in terms of how a society perceives its own religious values. In many other parts of the Muslim world, female veiling may no longer be central to a country's Islamic

identity, but it remains at the margins of what is still considered an ideal of an Islamic society.

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Vein

see ARTERY AND VEIN

Veneration

see WORSHIP

Vengeance

Punishment inflicted in return for an injury or offense, closely related to the concept of retaliation (q.v.), i.e. "to return like for like." In some dozen qurʾānic passages the eighth verbal form of the Arabic root *n-q-m* is employed to describe God as "taking vengeance" upon sinners (i.e. Q 30:47; 32:22; see SIN, MAJOR AND MINOR), repeat-violators of the regulations relating to the pilgrimage (q.v.; i.e. Q 5:95) and people who reject his signs (q.v.; i.e. Pharaoh [q.v.] and his people, cf. Q 7:136; see also LIE; BELIEF AND UNBELIEF; GRATITUDE AND INGRATITUDE). In addition to being an attribute of God (cf. Q 3:4; 5:95; 14:47; 39:37; see GOD AND HIS ATTRIBUTES), vengeance is also the provenance of humans, although different lexemes are utilized (see REWARD AND PUNISHMENT and PUNISHMENT STORIES for further discussion of God's vengeance).

The first murder (q.v.) and the fear of revenge in human history occurred soon after the creation (q.v.) of humankind (see also BLOODSHED; BLOOD MONEY). According to the Hebrew Bible, after being punished for the murder of his brother Abel, Cain said, "My punishment is too great to bear… anyone who meets me may kill me" (*Gen* 4:13-14; see CAIN AND ABEL). The second commandment states, "You shall not murder" (*Exod* 20:13). There is also a sanction for murder, "He who fatally strikes a man shall be put to death" (*Exod* 21:12) and "… a life (q.v.) for a life" (ibid., 23; see also BOUNDARIES AND PRECEPTS; CHASTISEMENT AND PUNISHMENT). The continuation of that biblical verse specifies different types of murder, including "eye for an eye" and "tooth for a tooth," etc. (see TEETH; EYES). Also in the Hebrew Bible a distinction is made between murder or premeditated murder and killing, and there is mention of cities of refuge for murders committed unintentionally (*Num* 35:10-31). It is worth comparing those verses with Q 5:45 (Sūrat al-Māʾida, "The Table Spread"): "And in it [the Torah] we prescribed for them life for the life, the eye for the eyes, the nose for the nose and the ear for the ear.…"

In the *jāhiliyya* period (see AGE OF IGNORANCE), Arabic poetry (see ARABS; POETRY AND POETS) is disdainful of mercy (q.v.), moderation (q.v.) and compromise. The early poetry glorifies force, even to the point of murder, and a desire for battle and revenge. The poet ʿAmr b. Kulthūm, from the tribe of Taghlib, is cited in the *Muʿallaqāt:* "Hatred as a result of hatred will overcome you" (verse 32); "Because our blood was spilled, their blood was made to flow" (verse 42); and "A person who will harm you will be injured twice as severely" (verse 51). Even after the advent of Islam, the poet al-Mutanabbī (d. 354/955) said, "You killed me, God will kill you. Attack the enemy and kill." He said, "God will kill you," but in fact the deed will be

carried out by humans (Goren, *Ancient Arabic poetry,* 17; cf. 30-4; Pellat, al-Ḥakam b. ʿAbdal; see also Fākhūrī, *Taʾrīkh,* 602-50).

The Qurʾān, by contrast, refers to murder-killing eight times (Q 4:29, 92, 93; 5:32; 6:151; 17:33; 25:68; 50:74) and the general instruction is not to kill. Vengeance, *al-qiṣāṣ,* is mentioned four times (Q 2:178, 179, 194; 5:45). Commentary on these verses clarifies the concept of vengeance and the notion of using blood money instead of revenge as well as how the issue should be handled (see TRADITIONAL DISCIPLINES OF QURʾĀNIC STUDY; EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL). An example of such legal explication would be Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya (d. 751/1350; *Iʿlām,* ii, 78-9) who claims that without a system of punishments it is impossible to have a properly-functioning society. According to him, such punishments have a deterrent effect.

The method of avenging the murder has also been discussed. Ibn al-Qayyim states that the murderer has to be killed by a sword, which supposedly causes him less suffering, while others insist that a murderer should be executed in the same way as he murdered his victim. Ibn al-Qāsim (d. 191/806), the Mālikī jurist, specifies the mode of retribution depending on whether the murderer used a stick, a stone, fire or drowned the victim. Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya (*Iʿlām,* ii, 195 and 196) cites authorities who refer to Q 2:194, "And one who attacks you, attack him in the manner as he attacks you" and Q 16:126, "If you punish [them] punish with the like of that wherewith you were afflicted"). Further, Q 2:178 states that vengeance for murder of a free man is the murder of a free man and likewise a slave for a slave and a woman for a woman (see SLAVES AND SLAVERY; WOMEN AND THE QURʾĀN).

There are, however, differences of opinion about how to punish a person who murdered a woman. Some say that he must be executed. Others say that he has to pay the *diya,* blood money, instead. Another approach emphasizes that, although murder deserves the punishment of death, the woman's family must pay the murderer's family the *diya* for the "difference" — the man being considered more "valuable" than the woman (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal [d. 241/855] and the Baṣran jurist ʿUthmān b. Sulaymān al-Battī [d. 143/760; cf. van Ess, *TG,* ii, 156f.] as well as ʿAṭāʾ [d. ca. 114/732] in Shinqīṭī, *Aḍwāʾ,* 49). Yet another view insists that only the sultan or the imām (q.v.), who represent religious authority in Islam, can decide in an individual case whether the punishment is execution or payment of the *diya* (Sarakhsī, *Mabsūṭ,* v, 219; a similar approach can be found in Shinqīṭī, *Aḍwāʾ,* iii, 375). There is a common agreement among the scholars that when *diya* is paid instead of execution as revenge, a need to conduct a *ṣulḥ* is called for, a reconciliation ceremony (Shinqīṭī, *Aḍwāʾ,* iii, 3). The *ṣulḥ* ceremony is performed upon receiving the *diya,* which is based on Q 2:178 "and for him who is forgiven somewhat by his (injured) brother (see BROTHER AND BROTHERHOOD; FORGIVENESS), prosecution according to usage and payment unto him in kindness. This is an alleviation and a mercy from your lord."

A ban on punishing a sleeping man who killed someone exists, a ban which is also applicable for a minor or an insane person (see SLEEP; MATURITY; INSANITY). There is no capital punishment for a master who killed his slave or a father who murdered his son (Ibn Qudāma, *Mughnī,* ix, 349). The murder of one of the "People of the Book" (q.v.; *ahl al-kitāb*) i.e. a Jew or Christian (see JEWS AND JUDAISM; CHRISTIANS AND CHRISTIANITY), is, however, punishable by death (ibid.); the Prophet executed a Muslim who murdered a person from the

People of the Book, saying "I am the first one who has to fulfill my duties towards the People of the Book. If a Muslim or a person of the People of the Book murders a non-believer *(kāfir)* he will not be punished and will not have to pay *diya* either" (ibid., 341).

The modern jurist Shurayḥ al-Khuzāʿī al-Shinqīṭī (d. 1913) summarizes the classical jurisprudence on the response to murder by offering three options: to execute in revenge, to receive *diya,* and the third is to forgive without any payment (Ibn Qudāma, *Mughnī,* ix, 381).

Bedouin (q.v.) and semi-rural Arab societies have behavioral norms which do not always correspond with the instruction of the Qurʾān. Execution as revenge can be carried out by killing any individual adult in the *khams,* the collective responsibility unit of five generations (cf. Marx, *Bedouin,* who introduced the term "co-liable group" to define this collective responsibility unit of five generations). Collective responsibility means that each member of the co-liable group knows that if he murders someone or even if he kills someone unintentionally without any premeditation, he creates a conflict with the injured co-liable group that might lead to blood revenge, the exile of his co-liable group, or, at the very least, payment of *diya*. The blood dispute is not ended until there is a reconciliation ceremony or revenge is taken. It is not always the individual who caused the murder upon whom revenge is taken. It can be any member of the murderer's co-liable group — somebody who is completely innocent and not involved in the original argument may be murdered in revenge in the name of collective responsibility. Although any member of the group can be killed in revenge, members of the injured group will usually try to kill a close relative of the murderer (see Ginat, *Blood revenge,* 26-30; for *diya* see al-ʿĀrif, *Qaḍāʾ;* ʿAbbādī, *Min al-qiyam;* see also TRIBES AND CLANS; KINSHIP; EVERYDAY LIFE, THE QURʾĀN IN).

In contrast to the Qurʾān and the ḥadīth instructions, in contemporary Bedouin societies the murder of a woman is revenged by the murder of four men in the case where a man kills a woman. In most such cases there is an attempt to solve the conflict by payment of *diya* in an amount equal to the *diya* of four men.

A group whose economy is based on wage labor will be anxious to resolve a blood quarrel quickly as compared to tent dwellers whose economy is based on raising herds (see TENTS AND TENT PEGS). More and more Bedouin are now entering the wage labor market on a permanent basis (see WORK). In undertaking such work a Bedouin accepts a certain responsibility to attend work regularly. If, for reasons of a blood dispute, he decides one morning that it is unsafe for him to attend, it is highly likely that his job will not be waiting for him when he decides that it is safe to return. The wish to keep one's job and the benefits of a regular income are strong reasons to make sure that blood disputes are settled quickly. The major factor affecting revenge or settlement is the political "condition" of the avenging group. A leader anxious to promote cohesiveness within the group will encourage revenge. Mutual responsibility (q.v.) constitutes the ultimate obligation of members of a co-liable group. By deliberately increasing tension a leader can make his group aware of their collective responsibility, thus promoting group cohesiveness (cf. Marx, Organization). Even if the leader does not advocate revenge he can achieve cohesion by not permitting a cease-fire agreement. There are also political circumstances where it is in the interest of the injured

group to agree to a settlement (see Ginat, *Blood revenge,* 25-6).

While the Qurʾān and the ḥadīth are the basic laws that govern the determination of punishment for murder, throughout the generations the values, the norms, the *ʿurf* (tradition) have widened the gap between the original rules and the existing reality.

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Verdict see JUDGMENT

Verse(s)

The smallest formally and semantically independent qurʾānic speech units, marked by a final rhyme. The qurʾānic word *āya* (pl. *āyāt,* probably from Syriac *āthā,* cf. Heb. *ōth;* see Jeffery, *For. vocab.*), "sign," has become the technical term used to denote a verse of the Qurʾān. Like the term *sūra* (q.v.), however, which also entered the Arabic language (q.v.) through the Qurʾān, in the qurʾānic corpus itself the word *āya* means a literary unit undefined in extent, perhaps at no stage identical with the qurʾānic verse (see LITERARY STRUCTURES AND THE QURʾĀN). During the process of the qurʾānic communication *āya* figures primarily as part of the discourse of scriptural authority that the Prophet and his listeners engaged in through the entire period of the emergence of the Qurʾān (see REVELATION AND INSPIRATION). This discourse involves the notions of *āya, sūra, qurʾān* and *kitāb* (see BOOK; NAMES OF THE QURʾĀN). It is only in the *muṣḥaf* (q.v.), the canonical codex of the Qurʾān codified after the death of the Prophet (see COLLECTION OF THE QURʾĀN; CODICES OF THE QURʾĀN), that the word *āya* comes unequivocally to denote a qurʾānic verse. In this entry, first the qurʾānic discourse that occurred in the course of Muḥammad's career will be sketched. In the second part, evocations and quotations of early verses in later qurʾānic texts will be discussed (see CHRONOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN) and, finally, various manifestations of the literary unit "verse," *āya,* in the canonical text will be surveyed.

The qurʾānic imagination of āya

Āya in the Qurʾān is not a descriptive term but rather a functional designation that in the early sūras primarily denotes nonscriptural signs (q.v.) of divine omnipotence (see POWER AND IMPOTENCE), such as

those visible in nature (Q 76:6-16; 77:25-7; 79:27-32; etc.; see NATURE AS SIGNS) or remembered from history (Q 51:34-46; 79:15-26; etc.; see HISTORY AND THE QUR'ĀN; FORM AND STRUCTURE OF THE QUR'ĀN). In the vast majority of instances, the word *āya,* thus, is not connected to a text. In one rather early sūra, Q 83:13, however, it appears to cover an undefined textual unit: "when our signs are recited to him he says: mere legends of the ancients" (*idhā tutlā ʿalayhi āyātunā qāla asāṭīru l-awwalīn;* see GENERATIONS). In this sūra, one that already reflects the bifurcated categorization of the listeners into believers *(alladhīna āmanū)* and transgressors, unbelievers (*alladhīna ajramū,* Q 83:29; see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF), the "signs" are unambiguously presented as texts that are recited and that function as proofs of divine power. The context is polemical (see POLEMIC AND POLEMICAL LANGUAGE): the hermeneutic value of the recited texts (see RECITATION OF THE QUR'ĀN) is not recognized by a group of listeners who try to distance themselves from the message, claiming to know it from of old, and who do not acknowledge the function of the *āyāt* as signs of authority (q.v.). The qur'ānic speaker, however, through the use of the word *āyāt,* which recalls the much more frequently discussed visual and often miraculous signs of divine omnipotence observed in nature and history, claims a miraculous and immediately convincing character for the texts being recited (see MIRACLES; MARVELS; INIMITABILITY). It is first and foremost their linguistic guise, their particularly poetic code (see RHETORIC AND THE QUR'ĀN; LANGUAGE AND STYLE OF THE QUR'ĀN), that substantiates the claim of the qur'ānic text sections to miraculous signs of divine power. The closeness of early qur'ānic texts to poetry (see POETRY AND POETS) or the equally artistic speech of the soothsayers (q.v.) is, more than once, indirectly acknowledged by the Prophet's adversaries (see OPPOSITION TO MUḤAMMAD). Indeed, the poeticity of the early qur'ānic texts seems to have triggered attempts at disqualifying him as a messenger (q.v.) by connecting him typologically to poets (Q 69:40-1: *innahu la-qawlu rasūlin karīmin wa-mā huwa bi-qawli shāʿirin… qalīlan mā tuʾminūn,* "it is the speech [q.v.] of a noble messenger, and it is not the speech of a poet! How little do you believe!" cf. Q 52:29 f.; 68:2; 81:22, where *shāʿir,* "poet," is represented by *majnūn,* "possessed, mad"; see INSANITY; PROVOCATION; REFLECTION AND DELIBERATION) and soothsayers, the *kāhins* (Q 52:29: *fa-dhakkir fa-mā anta bi-niʿmati rabbika bi-kāhinin wa-lā majnūn,* "so remind them, for you are not, by the grace of your lord [q.v.], a soothsayer or a madman"; see Neuwirth, Der historische Muhammad). His speech — perhaps not least in view of the claim to a supernatural source occasionally raised for it — appeared closest to the enunciations of those speakers, familiar in ancient Arabia, who are themselves under the spell of a superhuman power (see PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QUR'ĀN; SOUTH ARABIA, RELIGIONS IN PRE-ISLAMIC). It has been justly underscored, however, that the qur'ānic claim to truth (q.v.) in the early texts relies less on extra-textual reference than on its very medium, the poetic character of its language.

The early sūras' claim to validity is not anchored in something beyond the text; rather, it is the truth of what is being said within the text, as made evident through a variety of poetic devices, that grounds its claim to validity: One might speak of a poetic, rather than a theological truth-claim (see THEOLOGY AND THE QUR'ĀN). Thus, in sūras such as Q 89, 91, 99 or 100 the question on whose authority the recitations can legitimately demand their listen-

ers to mend their ways is nowhere posed. Their normative claim on the audience rests on the fact that artful rhetoric, such as the oath clusters (see OATHS), functions like an artfully ground lens which allows one to glimpse something distant, yet visibly real, namely, the imminent nature of divine judgment (see LAST JUDGMENT). Rhetoric, then, is conceived of not primarily as an instrument of deception, as modern prejudice would have it, but rather as an instrument of making manifest that which is, and can be seen to be, the case. Exploring the lens metaphor more might say that knowing who has produced the lens is of much less importance than simply looking through it. In a sense, then, it would be entirely amiss to pose the question on whose authority one ought to acknowledge what one sees (Sinai, From qurʾān to kitāb, forthcoming).

It is initially the linguistic code, then, that warrants the character of qurʾānic text units as signs of divine authority. The gradual self-theologization of qurʾānic discourse — to refer again to Sinai's survey — continues with the third-person authorizations of Muḥammad.

In response to scathing polemics and sarcastic objections, Muḥammad's recitations are forced to provide some account of whence and how they reach their audience. The Qurʾān is thus driven into a rudimentary form of prophetological reflection, as attested by 81:19-25: *innahu la-qawlu rasūlin karīm/dhī quwwatin ʿinda dhī l-ʿarshi makīn/muṭāʿin thumma amīn/wa-mā ṣāḥibukum bi-majnūn/wa-laqad raʾāhu bi-l-ufuqi l-mubīn/wa-mā huwa ʿalā l-ghaybi bi-ḍanīn/wa-mā huwa bi-qawli shayṭānin rajīm,* "it is the speech of a noble messenger, who has power with the lord of the throne and is highly placed, obeyed and trustworthy. Your companion is not mad. He saw him upon the luminous horizon; he is not regarding the unseen, niggardly. And it is not the speech of a devil, accursed." Cf. Q 53:2f. where Muḥammad's unspecific claim to divine inspiration is now with greater terminological precision qualified as "revelation," in *huwa illā waḥyun yūḥā/ʿallamahu shadīdu l-quwā,* "it is only a revelation being revealed. The mighty one taught him" (Q 53:4-5; Sinai, From qurʾān to kitāb, forthcoming).

One might count the identification of Muḥammad's recitation with divine signs, *āyāt,* among these stratagems of indirect authorization (see Q 46:7; 34:43; 31:7; 2:252). The more or less systematic employment of the "prophetical you," datable to early Meccan times, may be regarded as a second step, reflecting development on the level of literary technique.

Nicolai Sinai identifies a third step along the same lines in those early Meccan passages, in which the qurʾānic discourse is traced back to a written heavenly archetype (see HEAVENLY BOOK). Most probably, this step, too, was triggered by polemics. As Q 74:52 implies, the orality (q.v.) of Muḥammad's recitations was seen as betraying their human origin: "rather each one of them wishes to be given scrolls (q.v.) unrolled" *(bal yurīdu kullu mriʾin minhum an yuʾtā ṣuḥufan munashshara)*. Elsewhere, and probably by way of reaction to similar charges, such *ṣuḥuf,* "scrolls," are presented as indeed forming some kind of written draft of which Muḥammad's recitations are but the oral promulgation or reading (Q 80:10-16): "Yet, it is only a reminder, whoever wishes, will remember it, in scrolls highly honored, lifted up and purified, by the hands of scribes, honorable and pious" (*kallā innahā tadhkira fa-man shāʾa dhakarahu fī ṣuḥufin mukarramatin marfūʿatin muṭahharatin bi-aydī safaratin kirāmin barara,* Q 80:11-16;

see MEMORY; REMEMBRANCE; PIETY). Since the performative orality of Muḥammad's revelations, which appear to have been viewed as incompatible with their claim to divine authorship, could not very well be simply denied, it is at least counterbalanced.

Finally, in yet another passage, the term *kitāb* instead of *ṣuḥuf* or *lawḥ*, "tablet" (as in Q 85:22; see PRESERVED TABLET; WRITING AND WRITING MATERIALS), is used: "it is indeed a noble *qurʾān*, in a hidden book, that only the purified shall touch, a revelation from the lord of the worlds" (*innahu la-qurʾānun karīm fī kitābin maknūn lā yamassuhu illā l-muṭahharūn tanzīlun min rabbi l-ʿālamīn*, Q 56:77-80). Thus, first Muḥammad's revelations are qualified either from a functional viewpoint — they serve as *tadhkira*, i.e. admonition — or from a performative one — they are presented as *qurʾān*, recitation — then they are said to be "in" *(fī)*, something else: *ṣuḥuf, lawḥ, kitāb*. This latter entity is most likely viewed as a kind of transcendent storage medium to which the basic message of Muḥammad's preaching is traceable. In Q 56:80, this bipartite self-predication is expanded upon by a third element, namely, reference to the process by which the heavenly writing is transformed into an earthy recitation, i.e. *tanzīl*, "revelation."

Where is the notion of āya *as verse to be located in this process?*

The word appears first, and only once, in a text from the end of early Meccan times, serving as an indirect authorization of the Prophet (Q 83:13). The accusation of not respecting the signs presented here becomes, in later Meccan and Medinan sūras, a stock argument (Q 31:7; 34:5, 38). This argument is further enhanced by the qualification of the signs as *bayyināt*, "made clear," by the divine sender himself ("we have made clear the signs for people who firmly believe," *qad bayyannā l-āyāti li-qawmin yūqinūn*, Q 2:118; "look, how we make clear the signs for them, then look how they are perverted," *unzur kayfa nubayyinu lahumu l-āyāti thumma nzur annā yuʾfakūn*, Q 5:75; cf. 2:99; 5:89; 45:25, 46).

The idea that the recitation is particularly adapted to fit the listeners' capacities for understanding is further developed in texts that attest to additional acts of clarification, first through the structuring of the texts *(taḥkīm)*, then through their expounding them *(tafṣīl)*: the late Meccan sūra Q 11 (Sūrat Hūd) starts thus: "*Alif lām rā*. A book with sections which are elaborately formulated and clearly expounded from the wise, the all-aware" (*alif lām rā. kitābun uḥkimat āyātuhu thumma fuṣṣilat min ladun ḥakīmin khabīr*, Q 11:1; see GOD AND HIS ATTRIBUTES; WISDOM; KNOWLEDGE AND LEARNING; HIDDEN AND THE HIDDEN). Such clarification of the texts is even considered as the decisive factor for the constitution of an emerging Arabic scripture: "a book whose sections have been well expounded, an Arabic *qurʾān* addressed to a people who know" (*kitābun fuṣṣilat āyātuhu qurʾānan ʿarabiyyan li-qawmin yaʿlamūn*, Q 41:3; for the intra-qurʾānic and exegetical debates about the Arabic character of the text, see FOREIGN VOCABULARY). At a still later stage, *āyāt* made clear and unambiguous (see AMBIGUOUS) are explicitly contrasted to others that allow for more than one understanding — see the Medinan verse Q 3:7: "it is he who sent down to you the book, with sections that are precise in meaning, and which are the mother of the book, and others that are ambiguous" *(huwa lladhī anzala ʿalayka l-kitāba, minhu āyātun muḥkamātun hunna ummu l-kitābi wa-ukharu mutashābihātun)*. Equally Medinan is the idea put forward in Q 2:106 that an *āya* may, during the communication process, occasionally become the object of modification or be forgotten and replaced:

"whatever verse we abrogate or cause to be forgotten, we will bring instead a better or similar one" (*mā nansakh min āyatin aw nunsihā naʾti bi-khayrin minhā aw mithlihā;* see ABROGATION). From late Meccan times onwards, the term *āya* loses its connotation of a sign that exerts a particular appeal and comes to mean simply "text unit, section."

In this late understanding, the term *āya* is employed in the context of an argument of central importance that had been aroused by the unique situation of the qurʾānic revelations. The unbelievers raised the provocative question of why Muḥammad's revelation had not come down in one piece but in small parts: "the unbelievers say, if only the Qurʾān had been sent down to him all at once?" (*wa-qāla lladhīna kafarū law lā nuzzila ʿalayhi l-qurʾānu jumlatan wāḥida,* Q 25:32), i.e. as a complete book, as in the case of Jews and Christians (see JEWS AND JUDAISM; CHRISTIANS AND CHRISTIANITY; SCRIPTURE AND THE QURʾĀN). The qurʾānic response to that challenge was: "that is how [it is revealed] because we wanted to strengthen your heart (q.v.) with it and we have recited it in a distinct way" (*ka-dhālika li-nuthabbita bihi fuʾādaka wa-rattalnāhu tartīlan,* Q 25:32). The fact that, because of the Qurʾān's situatedness, the scripture to be recited is not under the control of the transmitter, is presented as the result of divine wisdom. What had been viewed by adversaries as an embarrassing shortcoming was turned "into a precondition for God himself assuming the hitherto human activities of recitation *(qurʾān)* and exegesis *(bayān)*. Hence, Judaism and Christianity are trumped by an ingenious redescription of the Qurʾān's '*ad rem* mode of revelation'" (Madigan, *Qurʾān's self-image,* 68) transforming it from a liability into an asset. There is no better illustration of how the dynamics of inter-communal polemics can bring about a true revaluation of values: that which one party considers an appalling flaw is elevated by the other party, "through a blend of spite and theological cunning, to the rank of a veritable hallmark of its self-definition" (Sinai, From qurʾān to kitāb, forthcoming). This *tafṣīl al-āyāt,* the expounding of the qurʾānic text sections (Q 41:3), qualifies the revelation to pose as an Arabic text speaking to the hearts in an understandable way. At the end of this development, the *āya* is established as a term to designate relevant, though undetermined, units of the qurʾānic text. Thus the qurʾānic text that attests to both the emergence of a scripture and a community (Abraham [q.v.] and Ishmael's [q.v.] prayer [q.v.] of consecration of the Kaʿba [q.v.]) can refer to the *āyāt* shape of the revelations as an achievement that enables Mecca (q.v.), its place of origin, to rival Jerusalem (q.v.) in its most prominent prerogative: to be recognized as the birthplace of divine communications (*Isa* 2:3: The law will go out from Zion and the word of the lord from Jerusalem; see Neuwirth, Spiritual meaning). Q 2:128-9 says: "Our lord, cause us to submit to you, and make of our posterity a nation that submits to you. Show us our rites and pardon us (see RITUAL AND THE QURʾĀN; FORGIVENESS), you are indeed the pardoner, the merciful (see MERCY). Our lord, send them a messenger from among themselves who will recite to them your signs and teach them the book and the wisdom and purify them (see CLEANLINESS AND ABLUTION; RITUAL PURITY); you are the mighty, the wise" *(rabbanā wa-jʿalnā muslimīna laka wa-min dhurriyyatinā ummatan muslimatan laka wa-arinā manāsikanā wa-tub ʿalaynā innaka anta l-tawwābu l-raḥīmu. rabbanā wa-bʿath fīhim rasūlan minhum yatlū ʿalayhim āyātika wa-yuʿallimuhumu l-kitāba wa-l-ḥikmata wa-yuzakkīhim innaka anta l-ʿazīzu l-ḥākīm).*

Verses alluded to and verses quoted in the Qurʾān: basmala *and Fātiḥa*

Although during the communication process there appears to have been no term to designate "verse," from early on the notion of verse was strongly developed in the Qurʾān. Verses are neatly structured and unambiguously delimited often through phonetically expressive rhymes (see RHYMED PROSE). Though identical verses sometimes recur in the Qurʾān — such as the phrase *waylun yawmaʾidhin lil-mukadhdhibīn,* "woe on that day to those who denounce," that figures as a refrain in Q 77 (Sūrat al-Mursalāt; Q 77:15, 19, 24, etc.) and recurs in Q 83:10 — their repetition does not usually convey a sense of textual quotation, in view of the strongly oral character of the Qurʾān (see ORALITY AND WRITING IN ARABIA). Some verses from earlier texts, however, seem to be quoted or evoked in later qurʾānic contexts, thus shedding light on the self-referentiality of the Qurʾān. A case in point is the *basmala* (q.v.), the formula "in the name of God, the compassionate, the merciful." Thus, in Q 27:30 a letter dispatched by Solomon (q.v.) to the queen of Sheba (q.v.) is quoted: "it is from Solomon and it says: 'in the name of God the compassionate, the merciful' " (*innahu min sulaymāna wa-innahu bi-smi llāhi l-raḥmāni l-raḥīm;* see also BILQĪS). What is demonstrated here, according to the most plausible hypothesis, is that the custom of starting written documents with the *basmala* is a dignified ancient custom, applied already by an ancient prophet to his written message (see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD). It is usually assumed that qurʾānic texts were successively put into writing in the middle and late Meccan periods, when verses became more complicated structurally and through that procedure were connected to the *basmala*. That formula, which displays the divine name *al-raḥmān* in a prominent position, most probably originated from the time when this divine name had replaced others. Since in Q 27:30 the divine name *al-raḥmān* figures only in the *basmala,* the formula should be considered a quotation in that text. But, of course, the *basmala* that was promulgated through the Fātiḥa (q.v.) is also a proper introduction to orally conveyed sacred speech. In the Qurʾān it precedes the texts of all sūras with the sole exception of Q 9. The *basmala* is counted as an ordinary verse in the first sūra (Sūrat al-Fātiḥa, "The Opening"), although when the text is recited in ritual prayer it is separated from the bulk of the text of the Fātiḥa through other formulas (see Neuwirth, Sūrat al-Fātiḥa; see also PRAYER FORMULAS). Its consideration as an ordinary verse is due, as will be shown, to the peculiar recognition that the Fātiḥa has found in the qurʾānic text itself (see EVERYDAY LIFE, THE QURʾĀN IN).

Q 15:87 triumphantly states that, besides his scriptural recitation, there are now at the disposal of the Prophet a particular group of verses fit to be repeated over and again — the "seven litany-verses": "verily we gave you seven litany-verses *(mathānī)* and the mighty recitation" (*wa-laqad ātaynāka sabʿan mina l-mathānī wa-l-qurʾāna l-ʿazīm;* see OFT-REPEATED). Although no particular term is mentioned, the units counted as *sabʿ* (seven) are certainly verses. The allusion is to the Fātiḥa — an interpretation already held by a major group of classical exegetes (see Neuwirth, Referentiality). The alternative interpretation advocated by some scholars like R. Paret (*Koran;* Rubin, Exegesis) and A. Welch (Ḳurʾān), that *mathānī* should point to the punishment legends (see Horovitz, *KU*) is untenable (see PUNISHMENT STORIES) since these stories were not yet composed at the time the Qurʾān is emerging. The word *mathānī,* a plural form of *mathnā* ("in double number," Q 4:3; 35:1; 34:46), occurs in

Q 39:23 where it is used to denote not an individual partial corpus apart from the Qurʾān, made up of seven units, but appears as a qualification of the *kitāb* in toto: "God has sent down the best discourse in a book with similar, repeated texts, from which the skins of those who fear their lord shiver; then their skins and hearts mellow at the mention of God" *(allāhu nazzala aḥsana l-ḥadīthi kitāban mutashābihan mathāniya, taqshaʿirru minhu julūdu lladhīna yakhshawna rabbahum thumma talīnu julūduhum wa-qulūbuhum ilā dhikri llāhi)*. *"Mathānī"* here refers to similarly repeated units of texts that appear to be larger than single verses, and, in view of the psychological effect ascribed to them, perhaps refer to punishment stories. This meaning is, however, deduced from the particular context of late Meccan polemic and is completely incompatible with the earlier situation of Q 15, when no plurality of punishment stories had yet existed, let alone seven such stories (see Neuwirth, Sūrat al-Fātiḥa). The Fātiḥa, in its canonical form, indeed consists of seven verses, a number achieved through the counting of the *basmala* that is usually not considered a verse but an introductory invocation. The fact, however, that the Fātiḥa "originally" did not consist of seven, but of six, verses does not contradict its identification with the seven *mathānī,* "seven" being often understood in the sense of a small, "round" number, not necessarily numerically seven (see NUMBERS AND ENUMERATION). A strong argument in favor of *sabʿ mina l-mathānī* meaning the Fātiḥa is the fact that the entire sūra (Q 15) is replete with short evocations of the text of the Fātiḥa, thus marking the emergence of this particular text as a significant development. The Fātiḥa indeed marks a turn of the liturgical practice of the community since its text was, originally, not considered to be part of the *qurʾān,* the recitation, but was rather used as a communal prayer, and as such was often repeated, thus deserving of the label of *sabʿ mina l-mathānī* (see Neuwirth, Referentiality). Eventually, the Fātiḥa came to complete the liturgical service which, until then, must have consisted in a *qurʾān* (see Q 15:87; *al-qurʾān al-ʿazīm*) and the inherited ritual gestures. At that point, the Fātiḥa was presumably known under one of its alternative designations, namely *al-ḥamd* (alluded to as such in Q 15:98; see PRAISE; LAUDATION).

Typology of the qurʾānic verses

The poetical structure of the Qurʾān is marked by the rhyme endings of the verses. A classification of the rhymes has been undertaken for the Meccan parts of the Qurʾān in Neuwirth, *Studien*. It was shown that semantically determined verse groups in early sūras are regularly bracketed by a joint rhyme pattern; thus eschatological introductions like Q 101:1-3 are distinguished from the ensuing prediction of the events on the last day (Q 101:4) and again from the description of the judgment (q.v.; Q 101:6-11) by individual rhyme patterns (see also ESCHATOLOGY; LAST JUDGMENT; APOCALYPSE). There is a significant difference between those sūras classified as early Meccan whose endings comprise no less than eighty types of rhyme, those classified as middle Meccan with seventeen types of rhyme endings, and those classified as late Meccan with only five types of rhyme endings. The scope of diversity among the rhymes is related to the general style of the Qurʾān. The sūras commonly considered the oldest, i.e. those that display *sajʿ* rhymed prose in the strict sense — short units rhyming in frequently changing sound patterns reiterating the last consonants and based on a common rhythm — are made up of monopartite verses containing one colon each. (For the colon, a text unit borrowed

from classical rhetoric, see Norden, *Kunstprosa;* Neuwirth, *Studien;* loosely construed, a colon equals a single phrase. This, however, is not sustained indefinitely. As soon as the topics become less expressive, turning from immediate appeal to description or more sophisticated argument, verses tend to become longer and more complex.)

Monopartite verses

Principally, two types of monopartite verses can be distinguished, verses of the *sajʿ al-kāhin* type (oath clusters, *idhā*-phrase-clusters, etc.; see FORM AND STRUCTURE OF THE QURʾĀN) and others reminiscent of monotheistic hymns (*sabbiḥi sma rabbika l-aʿlā,* "praise the name of your lord, the exalted," Q 87:1). The earliest verses thus are not necessarily modeled after *kāhin* speech but often seem to echo monotheistic hymnal texts. One has also to keep in mind that *kāhin* style verses have changed their function: the enigmatic speech does not prepare the way for the disclosure of a truly unknown danger, as is often the case in *kāhin* predictions (see Neuwirth, Der historische Mohammad), but the solution of the enigma built up by the short verses of oath clusters (see Neuwirth, Images) and *idhā*-phrase clusters comes as no real surprise: it is the news of the imminent day of judgment. Still, from a rhetorical point of view, a tension is generated in these texts by means not found in the existing literary genres, thus extending the spectrum of literary forms substantially. The clusters of particular syntactic structures as presented in the short verses are remote from functional ordinary speech; nor are they familiar from poetry either. It is noteworthy that the qurʾānic *sajʿ* sometimes inverts the ordinary sequence of syntagmata in order to facilitate the achievement of expressive rhymes; thus in the qurʾānic *idhā*-phrase clusters the verb stands in the final position, contrary to ordinary prose (for the aesthetic impact of the monopartite verses, see Sells, *Approaching*). On the other hand, short hymnal verses would have been familiar from the liturgical language in Christian use (see Baumstark, Jüdischer und christlicher Gebetstypus). Indeed the typological similarity of the qurʾānic hymnal sections to Christian hymns has inspired Günther Lüling's hypothesis of a Christian origin of the Qurʾān (*Über den Urkoran;* see POST-ENLIGHTENMENT ACADEMIC STUDY OF THE QURʾĀN). One has, however, to bear in mind that qurʾānic hymns are mostly functionally employed, serving as introductions to longer texts or as personal exhortations to the Prophet to perform liturgical tasks. These verse groups are not infrequently followed by a report concerning the acceptance of their recitation, thus bringing them into a scenario of debate (see Neuwirth, Vom Rezitationstext; see DEBATE AND DISPUTATION). Only in one case can a specific model for a hymnal text, Q 55 (Sūrat al-Raḥmān, "The Merciful"), be determined, namely Psalm 136 (see Neuwirth, Qurʾānic literary structure; see also PSALMS). Still, through its re-casting the psalm has been thoroughly islamized and indeed turned into a new text altogether. Similarly, the doxological introductory verses that become familiar with the mid-sized sūras in Medina (q.v.; Q 59, 61, 62, 64) are not to be read as drawing on a pre-existing "*Ur*-text" from another religious tradition but rather as rephrasings of formulas derived from psalms that were current in monotheistic liturgical use of the time.

Whereas early *kāhin*-style and hymnal verses are usually monopartite, more discursive sections, such as the description of paradise (q.v.) in Q 52:17-28 and the debate in Q 52:29-44, usually display bipartite or even pluripartite verse structures, i.e. verses

made up of an entire sentence, mostly paratactically structured. The transition attested in early Meccan texts from *sajʿ* speech with monopartite verses to a more ordinary, though still poetically tinted, articulation attests to the transformation of an adherence to standard pre-Islamic tradition into a novel literary paradigm. This can be considered to be a genuine qurʾānic development marking a new stage in the history of the Arabic literary language (see LITERATURE AND THE QURʾĀN).

Pluripartite verses

Even the structure of pluripartite verses remains extremely conducive to recitation (see Nelson, *The art of reciting*). The colometric structure of qurʾānic style, comparable to that familiar from ancient rhetoric (see Norden, *Kunstprosa*), facilitates the oral performance of texts. A comparison between the shape of biblical narratives (q.v.) narrated in the Qurʾān and in poetry contemporary to the Qurʾān, e.g. that of Umayya b. Abī l-Ṣalt, supports this argument strongly (see also MYTHS AND LEGENDS IN THE QURʾĀN). A comparison between qurʾānic recitation and the — equally chanted — recitations of Hebrew Bible and New Testament texts confirms the unique predisposition of qurʾānic verses for recitation. In Jewish and Christian traditions, the scriptural texts, most of which were originally not composed to be recited, were, at a later stage, structured by musical notation to ensure the preservation of the meaning and to facilitate recitation (see Neuwirth, Three religious feasts). Though in later tradition the Qurʾān is also furnished with additional markers to prevent mistaken readings through problematic connecting or disconnecting of units of meaning (see READINGS OF THE QURʾĀN; ORNAMENTATION AND ILLUMINATION; MANUSCRIPTS OF THE QURʾĀN), it is not comparably dependent on additional regulations since the text is largely free of overlong phrases and complex hypotactic periods.

It is noteworthy that two multipartite verses have acquired particular popularity among Muslims, the Throne Verse (*āyat al-kursī*, Q 2:255; see THRONE OF GOD) and the Light Verse (*āyat al-nūr*, Q 24:35; see LIGHT), both outstanding examples of especially meditative qurʾānic texts. It is *āyat al-nūr* in particular ("God is the light of the heavens and the earth," *allāhu nūru l-samāwāti wa-l-arḍ;* see EARTH; HEAVEN AND SKY) that through its complex similes (q.v.) and metaphors ("his light is like a niche in which there is a lamp [q.v.], the lamp is in a glass, the glass is like a glittering star," *mathalu nūrihi ka-mishkātin fīhā miṣbāḥ/al-miṣbāḥu fī zujāja/al-zujājatu ka-annahā kawkabun durrī;* see also PLANETS AND STARS; SYMBOLIC IMAGERY) simultaneously discloses the paths leading to the knowledge of the divine and upholds their mystery. The description of the nature of the divine light contained in its mysterious receptacles (colons 2-8) is followed by a call for interpretation; colons 9-10 identify the image of the lamp as an example, a *mathal*, that demands from the reader the hermeneutic task of de-coding (see PARABLES). Finally, colon 11 comes to confirm God's wisdom in a hymnal clausula, a fit conclusion for a section about an epistemic issue. Multipartite verses like this — no longer spontaneous addresses to the immediate listeners only but composed to consider later readers as well — describe the full circle of communicating knowledge to the reader and challenging the reader's response.

Clausula verses

Any similarity to *sajʿ* is abandoned when verses exceed the bipartite structures. In these cases, the rhyming end of the verses

follows the stereotypical *-ūn, -īn*-pattern that would hardly suffice to fulfill the listeners' anticipation of a resounding conclusion. A new mnemonic technical device that enters the picture is the rhymed phrase, a syntactically stereotyped colon that is distinguished from its context inasmuch as it does not participate in the main strain of the discourse but presents a kind of moral comment on it. One might term this concluding phrase a "cadenza" — in analogy to the final part of the speech units in Gregorian chant, which through their particular sound pattern arouse the expectation of an ending — or, more modestly, a "clausula." The musical sound pattern of the often stereotypically structured clausula phrase enhances the message encoded in it, which in many cases introduces a meta-discourse entailing a moral judgment on the behavior of the protagonists of a narrative, as in Q 12:29, "verily, you were one of the sinners" (*innaki kunti min al-khāṭi'īn;* see SIN, MAJOR AND MINOR). They thus transcend the main — narrative or argumentative — flow of the sūra, introducing a spiritual dimension: divine approval or disapproval. Indeed, their most typical manifestation is the reference to one of God's attributes, as in Q 3:29, "verily God has power over everything" *(wa-llāhu ʿalā kulli shay'in qadīr)*. These meta-narrative insertions into the narrative or argumentative fabric of the qur'ānic text would, of course, in a written text meant for silent reading, appear rather disruptive of the larger argument or narrative. They add, however, substantially to the impact of the oral recitation. The Qur'ān thus consciously styles itself as a text evolving on different, yet closely intertwined, levels of discourse. Although it is true that not all multipartite verses bear such formulaic endings, cadenzas may be considered characteristic for the later Meccan and all the Medinan qur'ānic texts. The resounding cadenza, thus, replaces the earlier expressive rhyme pattern, marking a new and irreversible development in the emergence of the text and of the new faith.

The cadenza is a characteristically qur'ānic device that connects story and commentary, making the divine sender of the message also its exegete. The story is told as a representation of human interaction, the cadenza functioning to relate that interaction to the divine authority in an interplay of horizontal and vertical vectors. The opening up of a communication between the divine speaker and his human audience, which is celebrated in the early sūras as a novel achievement, bestows on the here and now the vision of an attainable equilibrium between the opposites governing reality (see PAIRS AND PAIRING). Two textual stratagems contribute to this breakthrough in qur'ānic hermeneutics: (i) the self-referential technique of reflecting the narrated world through diverse layers of the textual structure, both the worldly and the transcendent, and (ii) the genre-transcending stratagem of introducing two strands of speech, one communicated through the main text, the other through the clausula. We are confronted here with a unique kind of intrinsic qur'ānic commentary, through both self-reference and exhortation, which invites the listener to explain, to practice *bayān,* and to make apparent the hidden dimension of meaning (see POLYSEMY; EXEGESIS OF THE QUR'ĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL). The listener does so by interpreting the information conveyed in the narrative strand as tokens of divine faculties, divine promises, and divine demands — that is, social rulings (see LAW AND THE QUR'ĀN; ETHICS AND THE QUR'ĀN). The listener's exegetical semio-

tization of the words received is thus an indispensable part of the text itself, its intrinsic exegesis.

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Versions of the Qur'ān

see TEXTUAL HISTORY OF THE QUR'ĀN; READINGS OF THE QUR'ĀN

Vessels

see SHIPS; VEHICLES AND TRANSPORTATION; CUPS AND VESSELS

Vestment

see CLOTHING

Vice

see VIRTUES AND VICES, COMMANDING AND FORBIDDING

Vicegerent/Viceroy

see CALIPH

Victory

Success, often in the face of military aggression. The principal meanings of "victory" in the Qur'ān are conveyed by derivatives of the verbal roots *f-t-ḥ, n-ṣ-r, f-w-z,* and *gh-l-b*. Particularly in the case of *fatḥ,* a specific military meaning can pertain to the defeat of one's foes in battle (see EXPEDITIONS AND BATTLES; FIGHTING; ENEMIES) and, by extension, conquest, as in the opening verses of Q 48, entitled "Victory" (Sūrat al-Fatḥ), and referring to the conquest of Mecca in 8/630 by the Prophet and the early Muslims. More often than not reference to aspects of an eschatological "triumph" is intended (see ESCHATOLOGY). On *f-t-ḥ,* see CONQUEST.

The many occurrences of *n-ṣ-r* nearly always refer to divine "support," the back-

ing necessary to the success of God's cause and its partisans (see PATH OR WAY). Specific contexts in which *n-ṣ-r* occurs include references to Badr (q.v.; Q 3:123) and Ḥunayn (q.v.; Q 9:25), and the "help" provided by God to Noah (q.v.; e.g. Q 21:76-7), Jesus (q.v.; e.g. Q 3:52; see also APOSTLE) and the prophets as a group (e.g. Q 6:34; see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD). A more general meaning is the "help" provided by those who remain true to God's cause. In this sense, God is the provider *(naṣīr),* a term frequently coupled with "protector" (*walī,* e.g. Q 9:74, 116; see FRIENDS AND FRIENDSHIP; CLIENTS AND CLIENTAGE). It follows that the unbelievers (see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF) are those who, seeking "help" from other sources, be they false gods or armed conflicts, will inevitably fail (e.g. Q 7:197; 21:43; see IDOLS AND IMAGES; POLYTHEISM AND ATHEISM). The term *anṣār,* "helpers," occurs both in reference to Muḥammad's Medinan supporters (e.g. Q 9:117; see MEDINA; EMIGRANTS AND HELPERS) and, more generally, to those who perpetuate God's way by siding with Jesus or other prophets (e.g. Q 61:14).

Most occurrences of *f-w-z* are in the nominal form *(fawz),* always joined by one of three modifiers: *mubīn,* "clear, obvious" (Q 6:16; 45:30); *kabīr,* "great, mighty" (Q 85:11) and, most often, *ʿaẓīm,* "supreme" (Q 9:72 and elsewhere). *Fawz* designates the final reward, the "victory" as it were, of God's activity on behalf of humankind (see REWARD AND PUNISHMENT). Thus, in Q 6:16, it is the avoidance of damnation (see HELL AND HELLFIRE), what Muḥammad Asad (*Message,* 173) calls "a manifest triumph." Similarly, in Q 9:72, alongside the "physical" pleasures of paradise (q.v.), God's satisfaction *(riḍwān)* occurs as "the supreme felicity" (Yūsuf ʿAlī, *Meaning,* 459). Four verses (Q 9:20; 23:111; 24:52; 59:20) speak of those sure to be victorious *(al-fāʾizūn).*

Gh-l-b and derivatives, as in the case of *f-t-ḥ,* carry both the general sense of "to overcome" and the more specific meaning of military victory (or defeat). An example in the first category is the evildoers of Q 23:106 (see EVIL DEEDS; VIRTUES AND VICES, COMMANDING AND FORBIDDING), who are described as "overwhelmed" by their own misfortune *(shiqwa),* or in Q 41:26, about those who seek by continuous chatter to drown out or overwhelm the sound of the Qurʾān so as to "gain the upper hand" (see RECITATION OF THE QURʾĀN; OPPOSITION TO MUḤAMMAD). In the second category, an example is Byzantium *(al-rūm)* in Q 30:2-5 which, as most exegetes understand it, nearly fell to the Sasānids only to rally as the prediction here would have it (see BYZANTINES). The "party of God" (*ḥizb Allāh,* Q 5:56; see PARTIES AND FACTIONS) are "the true victors" *(al-ghālibūn).* Some disagreement surrounds the pronominal suffix in *wa-llāhu ghālibun ʿalā amrihi* (Q 12:21), as noted by Paret (*Kommentar,* 249).

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Vigil

Wakefulness at night for religious observance. There are a number of places in the Qurʾān where night prayer (q.v.) is mentioned. The term which came to be used for it in Islam is *tahajjud,* the verbal noun *(maṣdar)* of *tahajjada.* In one place in the Qurʾān the imperative of this verb is used: "And in a part of the night, perform a vigil *(tahajjad)* with it (*bihi,* i.e. with the Qurʾān)

voluntarily (*nāfilatan,* Q 17:79). In Q 3:113 we find a reference to the People of the Book (q.v.) who perform this rite: "They are not all alike; among the People of the Book is a steadfast community *(ummatun qāʾimatun)* that recites the signs (q.v.) of God during the night, prostrating themselves" (see BOWING AND PROSTRATION). Probably Christians are meant (see CHRISTIANS AND CHRISTIANITY) as influence from Byzantine orthodox Christianity, from monophysite Ethiopia (see ABYSSINIA) or from Nestorian Christians in al-Ḥīra appears to have been present in seventh-century Arabia. Priests and monks are positively mentioned in the Qurʾān (Q 5:82; but cf. 9:31, 34; see MONASTICISM AND MONKS), and were likely known to Muḥammad. From the beginning of his mission Muḥammad practiced nightly prayer (cf. Q 73:1-4, "O enfolded one, stand up [in prayer] during the night, except a small portion of it, the half or rather less, or rather more, and recite the Qurʾān with accuracy *[tartīlan]*"), although nightly vigil was never a prescribed rite for his followers (see RECITATION OF THE QURʾĀN; RITUAL AND THE QURʾĀN). Also in another early Meccan verse (see VERSES; MECCA; CHRONOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN) it is Muḥammad himself who is addressed: "And mention the name of your lord (q.v.) in the morning (q.v.) and in the evening (q.v.) and in the night prostrate yourself before him and praise (q.v.) him the livelong night" (Q 76:25f.; see DAY, TIMES OF; DAY AND NIGHT; REMEMBRANCE; BASMALA); "And perform the *ṣalāt* at both ends of the day and in the stations *(zulafan)* of the night" (Q 11:114). Eventually, pious followers joined him (Q 73:20). The righteous sleep (q.v.) little and pray at night, says the Qurʾān (Q 51:15f.). In Medina (q.v.), when Muḥammad and those who followed him in night-vigils were not in a position to pray at night because circumstances had changed, he was granted dispensation from it: "Your lord knows that you stand (in prayer) nearly two-thirds of the night… and a party of those with you.… He knows that you will not count it precisely, so he has relented towards you. So recite of the Qurʾān what may be convenient; he knows that some of you will be sick and others are traversing the land seeking the bounty of God and others striving in the way of God (see PATH OR WAY; JIHĀD; FIGHTING; GRACE; BLESSING; JOURNEY; ILLNESS AND HEALTH). So recite of it what is convenient" (Q 73:20).

One night is especially mentioned in the Qurʾān, the Night of Power (or, better, "measuring-out"; *laylat al-qadr;* see Wagtendonk, *Fasting,* 83f.; Wensinck, *Arabic new year,* 1-13; see NIGHT OF POWER), an ancient Arabian new-year's night (Q 97:1-5). It is not known in which way this night was celebrated in Muḥammad's time but later generations held vigils in it as the night of the beginning of the revelation of the Qurʾān to the Prophet (see REVELATION AND INSPIRATION; PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QURʾĀN). Although vigils are not a communal obligation, and there is no set time for the pious practice of a protracted stay in a mosque (*iʿtikāf,* i.e. retreating to a mosque for a specified period of time, including nights, and not leaving except for the performance of natural functions and ablutions; cf. Bousquet, Iʿtikāf), such extended retreat vigils are particularly popular in the last ten days of Ramaḍān (q.v.).

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Vines

see AGRICULTURE AND VEGETATION

Violate

see SACRED AND PROFANE

Violence

Aggression; use of physical coercion against others. How does the concept of violence emerge from the qurʾānic corpus? To answer this question simply identifying the qurʾānic vocabulary concerning violence is not enough. One needs to identify, if possible, the social, political and religious status of violence, without, of course, permitting oneself to make the usual extrapolations from synchronic analysis to diachronic extrapolation or, conversely, devising an Islamic doctrine of violence (see ETHICS AND THE QURʾĀN; POLITICS AND THE QURʾĀN; VIRTUES AND VICES, COMMANDING AND FORBIDDING).

Let us begin with some negative observations. The usual term employed in present-day Arabic for violence is *ʿunf.* It is not found in the Qurʾān. In the biblical corpus, violence is designated by the Hebrew word *hamas,* which, as an acronym, has strong political overtones in contemporary Arabic. *Ḥams* in early and present-day Arabic covers the semantic fields of force, constancy, bravery and courage (q.v.) in combat: anger (q.v.) and rage are also covered by the term. This implies momentary violence in interpersonal relations but, above all, war-like violence, which is always accorded added value by each group participating in the combat (see WAR; FIGHTING; EXPEDITIONS AND BATTLES). The root word is similarly absent from the qurʾānic corpus. To the extent that we can make use of a corpus of authentic texts, particularly poetic ones (see POETRY AND POETS), that are contemporary with the Qurʾān, it would be useful to ascertain the use made of the roots *ʿ-n-f* and *ḥ-m-s*. It would be seen, in fact, that the Qurʾān is never interested in violence in itself, whereas today, a focus on violence has become a major anthropological theme (see SOCIAL SCIENCES AND THE QURʾĀN; CONTEMPORARY CRITICAL PRACTICES AND THE QURʾĀN).

Among the qurʾānic roots from which are derived terms implying violence, one finds *j-h-d, q-t-l, ḥ-r-b, q-ṣ-ṣ, q-s-r, ʿ-d-w, f-s-d, ʿ-q-b, ḍ-r-b, b-gh-y, z-l-m*. The two dominant notions are *z-l-m,* oppression (q.v.), injustice (see also JUSTICE AND INJUSTICE; OPPRESSED ON EARTH, THE), and *q-t-l,* fighting the enemy, killing (see ENEMIES; MURDER; BLOODSHED). *Ẓ-l-m* and its derivatives are used 319 times (with ninety-one times for *ẓālimīn* and forty times for *ẓalamū*). *Q-t-l* is found 173 times; *ʿ-d-w,* to attack (without provocation), to transgress the limits (see BOUNDARIES AND PRECEPTS; MODERATION), is found 106 times, with fifty-six recordings for *ʿaduww,* enemy; *f-s-d,* meaning corruption (q.v.), disorder, is found fifty times; *ʿ-q-b,* to punish, chastise, twenty-seven times (see CHASTISEMENT AND PUNISHMENT; REWARD AND PUNISHMENT); *b-gh-y,* to cause wrong, to go against correct norms, thirty times. But *ḥ-r-b,* to wage war, is found only six times, *jihād* (q.v.) four times, *mujāhidūn* four times, *jāhada* twenty times, and *qiṣāṣ,* meaning retaliation (q.v.), six times.

The disproportion between the number of times *z-l-m* appears (319) and the number of times *ʿ-d-l* (only thirteen) is observed, throws light on the strategy of qurʾānic discourse (see LANGUAGE AND STYLE OF THE QURʾĀN); it is concerned with stigmatizing, rejecting and condemning unjust conduct, by referring to it insistently (see RHETORIC AND THE QURʾĀN). Likewise, the numerous appearances of *q-t-l* aim to fix strict conditions for recourse to deadly combat, to define the merits of those who struggle to protect the true faith (q.v.; *dīn al-ḥaqq;* see also RELIGION; TRUTH; RELIGIOUS PLURALISM AND THE QURʾĀN), and to disqualify the attitude of those who retreat or refuse to give their lives to protect truth, justice and the common welfare, such as they are redefined when confronting different agents who "cannot clearly distinguish" *(yaʿqilūn)* between just and unjust combat (see HYPOCRITES AND HYPOCRISY). The designations of the forms and shapes of "violence" are never named as such but always aiming at an attitude, or at intolerable conduct that rejects values, knowledge (see KNOWLEDGE AND LEARNING), and the "limits" *(ḥudūd)* fixed by God and his envoy (see MESSENGER; PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD; LAW AND THE QURʾĀN). The processes of composition and the arguments of qurʾānic discourse strive to instill the idea of a legitimate "violence," humanized in the sense of "making sacred the human individual" *(taḥrīm al-nafs),* and to protect him from arbitrary domination, or pointless killing in the pursuit of mere power (see POWER AND IMPOTENCE), booty (q.v.), and conquest of territory, etc. (see also KINGS AND RULERS; CONQUEST). On this essential point, the Qurʾān continues, in its own style and in a different context, the work of the Bible and the Gospels (q.v.; see also TORAH; SCRIPTURE AND THE QURʾĀN), which convert archaic usages of "violence" in tribal societies into a "violence" contained in a new symbolism (see TRIBES AND CLANS; ARABS; PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QURʾĀN). While this symbolism seeks to be spiritual, its inner dynamic is to consider sacred (see SACRED AND PROFANE), without realizing it, the rituals of violence it was in search of "transcending." For specific examples of qurʾānic allusions to violent acts, see — in addition to the articles cross-referenced above — MARTYRS; CONSECRATION OF ANIMALS; AGE OF IGNORANCE; ARBITRATION; BYZANTINES; CRUCIFIXION; DROWNING; FLOGGING; ḤUNAYN; INFANTICIDE; JEWS AND JUDAISM; NIMROD; OPPOSITION TO MUḤAMMAD; PHARAOH; POVERTY AND THE POOR; PRISONERS; PROVOCATION; PUNISHMENT STORIES; REBELLION; SACRIFICE; SIN, MAJOR AND MINOR; SLAUGHTER; SLAVES AND SLAVERY; STONING; SUFFERING; SUICIDE; TOLERANCE AND COMPULSION; VENGEANCE; WOMEN AND THE QURʾĀN.

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Virgins

see HOURIS; CHASTITY

Virtue

Moral excellence. Qurʾānic terminology has no exact equivalent to "virtue" or to the Greek word *areté* but it deals with how moral excellence is taught, the noble ideals of the righteous person and the virtues of a God-fearing society (for virtue in the sense of sexual propriety, see MODESTY; CHASTITY). Ethical reflection as such, including the question of what constitutes a

virtuous act, was taken up by Muslim thinkers over time in a variety of genres (see ETHICS AND THE QUR'ĀN). Yet the Qur'ān's message is steeped in moral categories: "God poured out his favor on the believers by sending to them a messenger (q.v.) from their midst to recite to them his signs (q.v.), to purify them, and to teach them the book (q.v.) and wisdom (q.v.), though they had previously been in manifest error" (q.v.; Q 3:164). This message was proclaimed by Muḥammad in an Arabic dialect easily intelligible to his hearers (Q 26:195; see DIALECTS; LANGUAGE AND STYLE OF THE QUR'ĀN). At the same time, it provoked hostility and opposition from the leaders of pagan Mecca (q.v.; see also OPPOSITION TO MUḤAMMAD). As contemporary theories of semantics and hermeneutics necessarily raise issues of sociology and anthropology (see CONTEMPORARY CRITICAL PRACTICES AND THE QUR'ĀN), one would have to look at the social, cultural and political implications of this hostility to fully grasp the Qur'ān's ethical vision.

The Qur'ān exhorts its hearers to cultivate virtues that were also prized by Arab Bedouin (q.v.) culture — but always with a twist (Hourani, Ethical presuppositions, 24; Izutsu, *Concepts,* 74-104): generosity (see GIFT AND GIFT-GIVING) and charity (see ALMSGIVING), not for show but out of submission to God (Q 2:264) and without recklessness (Q 17:26, 27); courage (q.v.) in battle, not for personal or tribal glory, but for God (Q 9:5, 13, 44-5, etc.; see EXPEDITIONS AND BATTLES); loyalty (q.v.; *wafā',* also as keeping covenant [q.v.], expressed in the Qur'ān through the verb *awfā*) directed to God and, beyond the tribe (see TRIBES AND CLANS), to one's fellow Muslims (Q 2:40; 48:10); truthfulness (these related words appear ninety-seven times: *ṣadaqa, ṣidq, ṣādiq, ṣiddīq*) as a virtue the believer acquires because God himself is truthful (e.g. Q 3:152; 9:119; 29:3; 33:24) and abhors lying (over 200 instances of the root *k-dh-b;* see LIE); patience (*ṣabr,* steadfastness and endurance) in battle (Q 2:249-50; 3:146) and in the face of opposition to God's cause (Q 2:153-6; 6:34; 7:128; 73:10; see TRUST AND PATIENCE; TRIAL; PATH OR WAY).

At the same time, the Qur'ān is no stranger to the Greek virtue of moderation (q.v.): "Those who, when they spend, are not extravagant and not niggardly, but hold a just [balance] between those [extremes]" (Q 25:67). Ibn Kathīr (d. 774/1373) explains, "they are not wasteful by spending over that which they need, and they are not stingy with regard to their family by withholding what is theirs by right and thus making them needy, but act justly and kindly, and the best of options is the middle ground" (*wa-khayru l-umūr awsaṭuhā;* Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr,* x, 322). The prophet Muḥammad and his Companions (see COMPANIONS OF THE PROPHET) displayed this virtue, affirms al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505), quoting from a ḥadīth: "Those are the Companions of God's apostle, who would not eat food out of a desire for pleasure from it, and would not wear clothes out of a desire for beauty from them, but they were of one heart" (Suyūṭī, *al-Durr,* vi, 77). Besides presenting us with a fuller version of the above ḥadīth (see ḤADĪTH AND THE QUR'ĀN), al-Shawkānī (d. 1255/1839) quotes the third/ninth century Baṣran grammarian Abū ʿUbayda (see GRAMMAR AND THE QUR'ĀN) who wrote that this median between excessive largesse and miserliness means to stay "within the bounds of what is right" *(al-maʿrūf),* and cites a parallel passage, Q 17:29 (*Tafsīr,* iv, 109). Fazlur Rahman (*Major themes,* 29) expresses a consensus among modern commentators when he avers that this virtue of the middle path is at the heart of the qur'ānic message and it is best portrayed in the qur'ānic term, *taqwā:* "to be squarely anchored

within the moral tensions, the 'limits of God,' and not to 'transgress' or violate the balance of those tensions" (see PIETY; FEAR; BOUNDARIES AND PRECEPTS).

One might ask: what would this virtue of self-restraint in obedience (q.v.) to God have meant to Muḥammad's contemporaries? The chief characteristic of the *jāhilī* mindset (see AGE OF IGNORANCE) is described in the Qurʾān (Q 48:26) as *ḥamiyya,* "passion, violence (q.v.), arrogance (q.v.)." By contrast, "God brought down serenity (*sakīna;* see SHEKHINAH) upon his messenger and imposed on believers the word of self-restraint" (*kalimata l-taqwā,* Q 48:26). Commentators are unanimous about the circumstances under which this passage (indeed, the whole Q 48, Sūrat al-Fatḥ ["Victory"]) was revealed (see OCCASIONS OF REVELATION; REVELATION AND INSPIRATION): Muḥammad's Ḥudaybiya (q.v.) treaty of 628 C.E. (see CONTRACTS AND ALLIANCES). On the impulse of a dream (see DREAMS AND SLEEP), Muḥammad set off from Medina (q.v.) with a group of about 1,500 men to perform a pilgrimage (q.v.) to Mecca *(ʿumra)*. At Ḥudaybiya, on the outskirts of Mecca, a Meccan armed delegation refused to let them pass. Negotiations began but seemed to falter. At this tense moment, the Qurʾān informs us that the Muslims made a pledge of loyalty to Muḥammad, "the pledge under the tree" (Q 48:18), which pleased God who sent down his peace or tranquility upon them (again, *sakīna,* the second of three instances in this sūra, the first is in verse 4). Finally, an agreement was reached, in which the Muslims would be obliged to sacrifice (q.v.) their animals, at Ḥudaybiya this time (see also CONSECRATION OF ANIMALS), but would be allowed to perform their pilgrimage to Mecca the following year. In the context of this passage, therefore, the tranquility God sent was in large measure an affirmation of Muḥammad's controversial decision and a calming of those among the Muslims who would rather have fought the Meccans then and there — after all, was not their behavior going against the accepted Arabian customs of the time?

What then is this *ḥamiyya* that took hold of the unbelievers' hearts (see HEART; BELIEF AND UNBELIEF) at this time? Al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923) says, without specification, that it was what made them act in this way, and that "all of this sprung from the nature (or ethics, *akhlāq*) of the people of unbelief, and none of it was permitted for them — neither by God, nor by any of his messengers" (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* xxvi, 104). Al-Zamakhsharī (d. 538/1144) defined *ḥamiyya* as *anafa,* "pride, or disdain," and *sakīna* as *waqār,* "sobriety, dignity, a composed demeanor." Following al-Ṭabarī, and in concert with most other commentators, he sees the Meccans' *ḥamiyya* as their refusal to allow Muslim wording in the compact (the *basmala* [q.v.] and the *shahāda* [see WITNESS TO FAITH]) and this, mainly because of the phrase *kalimat al-taqwā* which is invariably seen as the *shahāda* or, in some cases, Sūrat al-Ikhlāṣ ("Purity," Q 112; e.g. Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr,* xiii, 112-13; Qurṭubī, *Jāmiʿ,* xvi, 275-6). Even if we grant the historicity of the theological squabbles over the wording of the treaty (see THEOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN), it is likely that later commentators tended to over-spiritualize the term *ḥamiyya*. More in line with al-Zamakhsharī, al-Shawkānī (*Tafsīr,* iv, 67) quotes the early commentator Muqātil b. Sulaymān (d. 150/767) in saying that the *ḥamiyya* of the Age of Ignorance *(jāhiliyya)* was in the Meccans' reasoning: "They have killed our sons and brothers and now they will attack us in our homes and the Arabs will say that they have entered [our city] to humiliate us." The main issue was whether Muḥammad would respond in kind and enter by force or whether he would express God's

sakīna by offering the kind of peaceful terms that would allow a greater victory for Islam in the years to come (Quṭb, *Ẓilāl,* vi, 3325-9).

Ironically, the *jāhilī* Arabs (q.v.) themselves contrasted "unbridled passion for honor" *(jahl)* with forbearance, shrewdness, and self-control (*ḥilm;* Goldziher, *MS,* i, 201-8) but it was always the prerogative of the powerful (Izutsu, *God,* 203-15; see POWER AND IMPOTENCE; IGNORANCE). The Qurʾān espouses this same ideal but teaches that *ḥilm* can only blossom in a soul (q.v.) that gratefully receives God's bounty and mercy (q.v.; the root meaning of *kāfir* is "ungrateful"; see GRATITUDE AND INGRATITUDE; BELIEF AND UNBELIEF; BLESSING). Muḥammad cares for the orphan and the poor because he himself had been an orphan, wandering and poor (Q 93; see ORPHANS; POVERTY AND THE POOR). This ethic of showing mercy to the most vulnerable and needy is to be the hallmark of the emerging Muslim community (Q 28:77; 59:7; 80:1-10; 107; see OPPRESSED ON EARTH, THE).

The greatest break with *jāhilī* culture is seen in the Qurʾān's assertion that virtue is not determined by this-worldly considerations but rather in light of the awesome reality of divine judgment (q.v.) in the life to come (see LAST JUDGMENT). The primary meaning of the key qurʾānic term *taqwā* (especially in the early Meccan sūras) is "trembling in fear of God" or "trembling with piety before God" (e.g. Q 12:1). In contrast to the fierce arrogance of the *jāhilī* Arab, the Qurʾān calls for submission and surrender to God (*islām,* e.g. Q 3:19, 52, 64, 67). Thus only the pious *(taqī)* who has surrendered his will to God can be truly righteous (*ṣāliḥ* appears thirty-three times; *bārr,* a close synonym, nine times) and produce the good deeds (q.v.; *ṣaliḥāt,* ninety-eight times) that God will reward. The centrality of the root *taqwā/ittaqā* (almost 200 instances) and its connection to the qurʾānic ethical ideal is best illustrated by the verse "Surely the noblest among you in God's sight is the most pious of you" (*atqākum,* Q 49:13). See also VIRTUES AND VICES, COMMANDING AND FORBIDDING.

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Virtues and Vices, Commanding and Forbidding

Forms of the phrase *al-amr bi-l-maʿrūf wa-l-nahy ʿani l-munkar,* literally "commanding right and forbidding wrong" (hereafter usually abbreviated as "forbidding wrong") appear eight times in the Qurʾān. Just what is intended in the relevant qurʾānic passages is somewhat unclear, and the exegetes interpret them in more than one way. By far the most widespread interpretation relates them to the duty of the individual Muslim to forbid wrong as developed in classical Islamic thought (see GOOD AND EVIL; SIN, MAJOR AND MINOR; BOUNDARIES AND PRECEPTS; ETHICS AND THE QURʾĀN).

The qurʾānic attestations

In the context of an appeal for the unity of the community of believers, Q 3:104 enjoins "Let there be one community *(umma)* of you, calling to good, and commanding right and forbidding wrong." This strongly

suggests that forbidding wrong is a duty to be performed by the community as a whole; but we are not told to whom the commanding and forbidding are to be addressed and there is no further specification of the right and wrong to which they are to relate. The same is true of some further references to forbidding wrong. One that follows a few verses later in Q 3:110 speaks of forbidding wrong in similar terms (though with no explicit indication that it is a duty): "You are *(kuntum)* the best community *(khayra ummatin)* ever brought forth to people, commanding right and forbidding wrong." Q 9:71 states that "the believers, the men and the women (see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF), are friends one of the other; they command right, and forbid wrong." (This contrasts with Q 9:67, in which the terms are transposed: "The hypocrites [see HYPOCRITES AND HYPOCRISY], the men and the women, are as one another; they command wrong, and forbid right.") Q 22:41 refers to "those who, if we establish them in the land . . ., command right and forbid wrong." This latter verse may, however, relate to believers engaged in holy war (q.v.; see also FIGHTING; JIHĀD; EXPEDITIONS AND BATTLES; PATH OR WAY) rather than to the believers at large, if the reference is to "those who fight because they were wronged" in Q 22:39. The same may be true of Q 9:112, which speaks of "those who repent (see REPENTANCE AND PENANCE; FEAR; FORGIVENESS), those who serve (see WORSHIP), those who pray (*ḥāmidūn;* see PRAYER; LAUDATION), . . . those who command right and forbid wrong, those who keep God's bounds," if the people in question are in fact identical with those who wage holy war in the preceding verse; but the relationship between the two verses poses a serious syntactical problem in the standard text of the Qurʾān (see GRAMMAR AND THE QURʾĀN; TEXTUAL HISTORY OF THE QURʾĀN). Even if in Q 9:112 and Q 22:41 it is only a subset of the believers who forbid wrong, it is nevertheless the most significant part of the community. Q 3:114 belongs with the verses discussed so far inasmuch as it speaks of a community forbidding wrong; however, the "upstanding community" (*ummatun qāʾimatun,* Q 3:113) in question is part of the People of the Book (q.v.; *ahl al-kitāb*).

In contrast to these passages, two verses refer to forbidding wrong as something done by individuals. One is Q 7:157, which refers to "those who follow the gentile prophet (*al-rasūl al-nabī l-ummī;* see UMMĪ; ILLITERACY; PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD; MESSENGER) whom they find inscribed in their Torah (q.v.) and Gospel (q.v.; see also SCRIPTURE AND THE QURʾĀN)"; it is stated that, among other things, he "commands them right and forbids them wrong." This verse is also the only one in which it is specified to whom the commanding and forbidding are addressed, and the reference is clearly to Jewish or Christian followers of the gentile prophet (see JEWS AND JUDAISM; CHRISTIANS AND CHRISTIANITY). The other verse in which forbidding wrong appears as something done by an individual is Q 31:17, in which the pre-Islamic sage Luqmān (q.v.) tells his son to "perform the prayer, and command right and forbid wrong, and bear patiently whatever may befall you (see TRUST AND PATIENCE)."

To sum up the data presented so far, we can say the following: forbidding wrong is usually referred to as something done by the community as a whole or a significant part of it but occasionally as something done by individuals. Only one verse tells us to whom the commanding and forbidding is addressed, in that instance the Jewish or Christian followers of the gentile prophet. No verses give further indications regarding the content of the commanding and forbidding.

It may be noted that the two components of the phrase — "commanding right" and "forbidding wrong" — scarcely appear separately in the Qurʾān, although there are a couple of references to "forbidding indecency and wrong" (Q 16:90; 29:45, and cf. Q 24:21; the possible relevance of Q 5:79 will be discussed below). The term "right" (*maʿrūf,* literally "known," hence "recognized, approved of") appears frequently in the Qurʾān (Q 2:178, 180, 228, 229, etc.), normally as a substantive but occasionally as an adjective (for the latter, see for example Q 2:235; 24:53). It usually, though not always, appears in legal contexts but does not seem to be a technical term; it appears to refer rather to performing a legal or other action in a decent and honorable fashion, and a few verses suggest that it may be synonymous with "kindliness" (*iḥsān,* see Q 2:178, 229, and cf. Q 2:236; see GOOD DEEDS). The word "wrong" (*munkar,* literally "unknown," hence "not recognized, disapproved of") is much less common (Q 22:72; 29:29; 58:2), and its appearances do not help to limit the scope of the term. The words "command" *(amara)* and "forbid" *(nahā)* are, of course, of common occurrence in the Qurʾān (see FORBIDDEN).

As an indication of the scope of forbidding wrong, it is perhaps worth noting the kinds of themes that appear in conjunction with it in the relevant verses: performing prayer (Q 9:71, 112; 22:41; 31:17); paying alms (Q 9:71; 22:41; see ALMSGIVING); believing in God (Q 3:110, 114), obeying him and his Prophet (*rasūlahu,* Q 9:71; see OBEDIENCE), keeping his bounds (Q 9:112), reciting his signs (q.v.; *āyāt,* Q 3:113; see also VERSES); calling to good (Q 3:104), vying with each other in good works (Q 3:114), and enduring what befalls one (Q 31:17). There is nothing here to narrow the concept of the duty.

Two further passages require discussion, though it is not clear that either refers to forbidding wrong. One is Q 5:78-9. After stating that those of the Children of Israel (q.v.) who disbelieved were cursed by David (q.v.) and Jesus (q.v.) for their sins, the passage continues: *kānū lā yatanāhawna ʿan munkarin faʿalūhu*. This is the only qurʾānic occurrence of the verb *tanāhā*. Etymologically it would be possible to interpret this form in a reciprocal sense derived from *nahā,* "to forbid"; the meaning would then be that the Children of Israel "forbade not one another any wrong that they committed." This would suggest that forbidding wrong is something individual believers do to each other. Yet there seems to be no independent attestation of such a sense of the verb, and in normal Arabic usage *tanāhā* is a synonym of *intahā;* this verb, common in the Qurʾān and elsewhere, means "refrain" or "desist" (as in Q 2:275 and Q 8:38). Thus the sense would be that "they did not desist from any wrong that they committed," and the passage would then have no connection with forbidding wrong. There is in fact a variant reading (see READINGS OF THE QURʾĀN), with *yantahūna* in place of *yatanāhawna,* that would provide further support for this (in a text written with *scriptio defectiva,* the two forms would be distinguishable only by the pointing of the second and third consonants; see ORTHOGRAPHY; ARABIC SCRIPT).

The other passage is Q 7:163-6. These verses tell a story about God's punishment of the people of a town by the sea who fished on the Sabbath (q.v.; see also PUNISHMENT STORIES). The context implies that a part of this community had reproved the Sabbath-breakers; another part *(ummatun)* then asked the reprovers why they took the trouble to admonish people whom God would punish in any case (see REWARD AND PUNISHMENT; CHASTISEMENT AND PUNISHMENT). God then saved those who forbade evil (*alladhīna yanhawna ʿani*

l-sūʾ, Q 7:165), and punished those who had acted wrongly. Here we have a clear conception of forbidding evil as something done by members of a community toward each other, and we learn in concrete terms what the evil in question was. The passage, however, speaks of forbidding "evil" *(sūʾ)*, not "wrong" *(munkar)*.

What is the origin of the qurʾānic phrase "commanding right and forbidding wrong"? To judge from *jāhilī* poetry (see AGE OF IGNORANCE; PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QURʾĀN; POETRY AND POETS), the terms here rendered "right" and "wrong" were well-known in pre-Islamic Arabic, and might be paired; but there is no worthwhile evidence that people spoke of "commanding" and "forbidding" them. The phrase finds a parallel in Hellenistic Greek, which might be its source; but the similarity could be accidental, inasmuch as a similar phrase can be found in classical Chinese (for the question of origins, see Cook, *Commanding right,* chap. 19).

The pre-modern exegetical tradition

It will be evident from the survey given above that the relevant qurʾānic passages left wide latitude to the exegetes (see EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL). Often they take some verse, usually Q 3:104, as an occasion to set out a classical doctrine of forbidding wrong reflecting the traditions of their sect or school (see LAW AND THE QURʾĀN). Such discussions are likely to have much in common with accounts of the duty in other genres and to have little bearing on the exegetical problems raised by the verse in question. In this article we will be concerned only with the treatment by the exegetes of properly exegetical questions.

With regard to the question as to who is obligated by the duty, a major focus of exegetical attention is an ambiguity of Q 3:104 (see AMBIGUOUS). The verse states that there should be a "community of you *(minkum ummatun)*" forbidding wrong. The issue is the sense of "of" *(min)*. Does it mean "consisting of," or does it mean "from among"? In the technical language of the exegetes, the first would be an instance of "specification" *(tabyīn)* and would imply that all members of the community had the duty of forbidding wrong; the second would be an instance of "partition" *(tabʿīḍ)* and would imply that only some members were obligated (for this terminology, see, for example, Zamakhsharī, *Kashshāf,* ad loc.; Rāzī, *Tafsīr,* ad loc.). The prevalent view among the exegetes was the second (see, for example, Zamakhsharī, *Kashshāf,* ad loc.; Qurṭubī, *Jāmiʿ,* ad loc.; Abū Ḥayyān, *Baḥr,* ad loc.; Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr,* ad loc.). The minority view, however, was held by a scholar as distinguished as the philologist al-Zajjāj (d. 311/923) who held that "Let there be one community of you" meant "Let all of you be a community" (*Maʿānī,* ad loc.; see also Māturīdī, *Taʾwīlāt,* ad loc.). The position of al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923) is unclear (*Tafsīr,* ad loc.) and Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 606/1210) sits on the fence (*Tafsīr,* ad loc.). Exegetes often link the issue to the highly technical question whether forbidding wrong is a "collective duty" *(farḍ ʿalā l-kifāya)* or an "individual duty" (*farḍ ʿalā l-aʿyān;* see, for example, Zamakhsharī, *Kashshāf,* ad. loc; Rāzī, *Tafsīr,* ad loc.; Qurṭubī, *Jāmiʿ,* ad loc.; Bayḍāwī, *Anwār,* ad loc.). (To say that a duty is collective means that when one person undertakes it, others are thereby dispensed from it, whereas in the case of an individual duty there is no such dispensation.) The exegetes may also adduce as people unable to perform the duty women, invalids and the ignorant (see, for example, Abū l-Layth al-Samarqandī, *Tafsīr,* ad loc.; Zamakhsharī, *Kashshāf,* ad loc.; Rāzī, *Tafsīr,* ad loc.; Bayḍāwī, *Anwār,* ad loc.; Nīsābūrī, *Tafsīr,* ad loc.; Abū Ḥayyān, *Baḥr,* ad loc.;

see WOMEN AND THE QUR'ĀN; GENDER; ILLNESS AND HEALTH; IGNORANCE). Here the occasional exclusion of women seems odd in the light of the reference to "the believers, the men and the women" in Q 9:71.

The exegetes have little to say about the question to whom the commanding and forbidding is addressed. Occasionally they supply "people" *(al-nās)* as the object of the verb "command" in Q 3:104 (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* ad loc.) or Q 3:110 (Muqātil, *Tafsīr,* ad loc., echoing the use of the word earlier in the verse).

The most interesting divergence concerns the scope of the duty. One line of interpretation limits the duty to enjoining belief in God and his Prophet. This early trend is particularly well established in the *wujūh* genre, that is to say in a tradition of works devoted to setting out the senses of qur'ānic terms that have more than one meaning (see POLYSEMY). According to the earliest of these works, that of Muqātil b. Sulaymān (d. 150/767-8), "commanding right" in Q 3:110, 9:112, and 31:17 means enjoining belief in the unity of God *(tawḥīd),* while "forbidding wrong" in these verses means forbidding polytheism (*shirk;* see POLYTHEISM AND ATHEISM); at the same time, in Q 3:114 and Q 9:71, "commanding right" refers to following *(ittibāʿ)* and affirming belief *(taṣdīq)* in the Prophet, and "wrong" refers to denying *(takdhīb)* him (*Ashbāh,* 113-14 no. 13; for the most part these interpretations also appear in the commentary to the relevant verses in his *Tafsīr;* see LIE). This analysis recurs in later works of the same genre (Yaḥyā b. Sallām, *Taṣārīf,* 203 no. 42; Dāmaghānī, *Wujūh,* 113; Ibn al-Jawzī, *Nuzha,* 544 no. 270, 574 no. 286). Interpretations of this type are also ascribed to yet earlier authorities. Thus there is a view attributed to Abū l-ʿĀliya (d. 90/708-9) according to which, in all qur'ānic references to "commanding right" and "forbidding wrong," the former refers to calling people from polytheism to Islam, and the latter to forbidding the worship of idols and devils (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* ad Q 9:71 and Q 9:112; and see Mujāhid, *Tafsīr,* ad Q 31:17; Abū Ḥayyān, *Baḥr,* ad Q 3:110 and Q 9:71; Suyūṭī, *Durr,* ad Q 3:104 and Q 9:67; see IDOLS AND IMAGES; IDOLATRY AND IDOLATERS; JINN; DEVIL). Similar views are ascribed to Saʿīd b. Jubayr (d. 95/714; Māwardī, *Nukat,* ad Q 9:112; Suyūṭī, *Durr,* ad Q 31:17) and Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (d. 110/728; Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* ad Q 9:112). Such interpretations are likewise an element in the mainstream exegetical tradition, but we do not find them adopted consistently there (see, for example, Zajjāj, *Maʿānī,* ad Q 9:67, 112; Māturīdī, *Taʾwīlāt,* ad Q 3:114).

The more usual interpretation does not limit the scope of forbidding wrong in this way. Thus al-Ṭabarī in his commentary on Q 9:112 explicitly rejects such limitation, declaring that "commanding right" refers to all that God and his Prophet have commanded, and "forbidding wrong" to all that they have forbidden (*Tafsīr,* ad loc.). Likewise Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī in commenting on Q 3:114 emphasizes that the terms "right" and "wrong" are to be understood without restriction — they refer to all "right" and all "wrong" (*Tafsīr,* ad loc.; see also Abū Ḥayyān, *Baḥr,* ad Q 3:104). This approach justifies the common understanding of the duty as extending to such everyday sins as drinking liquor (see WINE; INTOXICANTS) and making music.

There is a significant tendency among the exegetes to construe as references to forbidding wrong verses which make no explicit reference to it. A striking example of this is found in the commentary of al-Qurṭubī (d. 671/1273), who takes the reference to "those who command justice *(qisṭ)*" in Q 3:21 as an invitation to embark on his major discussion of forbidding wrong (*Jāmiʿ,* ad loc.); most commentators would

have waited till Q 3:104. Another such case is Q 5:79, where the exegetes favor the interpretation of *yatanāhawna* as "forbid one another" rather than "desist." For example, Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī notes both interpretations but describes the first as that of the mainstream (*Tafsīr,* ad loc.) and many exegetes simply omit to mention the second (see, for example, Wāḥidī, *Wasīṭ;* Baghawī, *Maʿālim;* Ibn al-Jawzī, *Zād;* Qurṭubī, *Jāmiʿ;* Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr; Jalālayn,* ad loc.). Likewise the exegetes regularly take the story of the Sabbath-breakers (Q 7:163-6) to be about forbidding wrong, despite the fact that the passage speaks rather of forbidding "evil" (*sūʾ;* see, for example, Zajjāj, *Maʿānī;* Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr;* Wāḥidī, *Wasīṭ;* Zamakhsharī, *Kashshāf;* Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr,* ad loc.). Their main concern in interpreting the passage is with the group who saw no point in admonishing people whom God would punish anyway: were they saved with those who spoke out, or damned with those who had violated the Sabbath? (see Zajjāj, *Maʿānī,* ad loc.). The Qurʾān provided no clear guidance on the question, inviting division among the exegetes. There are, for example, traditions ascribing three different views to ʿAbdallāh b. al-ʿAbbās (d. 68/687-8): that those who kept silent were saved, that they were damned and that he did not know (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* ad loc.). This issue was related to a question regularly discussed in formal accounts of forbidding wrong: does the duty lapse where it is known that performing it would not achieve anything?

In commenting on Q 31:17, the exegetes often stress that one should be willing to endure the unpleasant consequences of forbidding wrong. This reflects the fact that, immediately after telling his son to command right and forbid wrong, Luqmān goes on to say that he should "bear patiently" whatever befalls him *(wa-ṣbir ʿalā mā aṣābaka)*. This is related to another doctrinal issue: is one dispensed from performing the duty in cases where this would put one in harm's way? Most exegetes took the patience enjoined by Luqmān to refer to the consequences of forbidding wrong (see, for example, Muqātil, *Tafsīr;* Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr;* Abū l-Layth al-Samarqandī, *Tafsīr;* Wāḥidī, *Wasīṭ;* Rāzī, *Tafsīr;* Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr,* ad loc.). The alternative interpretation, that the verse refers to the trials and tribulations of life in general, is mentioned by some exegetes but does not find much favor with them (Māwardī, *Nukat;* Zamakhsharī, *Kashshāf;* Qurṭubī, *Jāmiʿ;* Bayḍāwī, *Anwār;* Abū Ḥayyān, *Baḥr,* ad loc.). In this context it is worth noting a variant reading for Q 3:104 which adds after "forbidding wrong" the words "and they seek God's help against whatever may befall them" (*wa-yastaʿīnūna llāha/bi-llāhi ʿalā mā aṣābahum;* Jeffery, *Materials,* 34); some exegetes draw the same moral from this textual variant, even while rejecting it (Ibn ʿAṭiyya, *Muḥarrar,* ad loc.; Abū Ḥayyān, *Baḥr,* ad loc.). Some verses, though making no mention of forbidding wrong, may be interpreted to refer to incurring death in the course of it. One example is Q 2:207, which falls in a passage contrasting sincere and insincere adherents of the Prophet; here the sincere follower is described as one "who sells himself desiring God's good pleasure." Among the traditions quoted regarding the circumstances in which this verse was revealed, there is one from ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb (d. 23/644) according to which it referred to a man who forbad wrong and was killed (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* ad loc.; Wāḥidī, *Asbāb,* ad loc.; Ibn al-ʿArabī, *Aḥkām,* ad loc.; see MURDER; BLOODSHED). Al-Ṭabarī takes the wider view that the verse includes both forbidding wrong and holy war (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* ad loc.).

A verse that posed a problem for the exegetes, though it made no mention of for-

bidding wrong, was Q 5:105: "O believers, look after your own souls *(ʿalaykum anfusakum)*. He who is astray (q.v.) cannot hurt you, if you are rightly guided." The plain sense of this verse clearly undermines the idea that the believer has a duty to forbid wrong. The exegetes therefore sought to inactivate the verse, either by referring it to some future time when the duty of forbidding wrong would indeed lapse, or by insisting that those who fail to forbid wrong cannot be considered "rightly guided." In an extensive commentary on the verse, al-Ṭabarī adduces earlier authorities in support of both views, and states his preference for the second (*Tafsīr,* ad loc.). Some went so far as to entertain the idea of abrogation (q.v.) within the verse (see, for example, Abū ʿUbayd, *Nāsikh,* 98).

All that has been said so far about exegesis relates to the Sunnī tradition. The exegetical literature of the major sectarian traditions is for the most part similar in character: it draws on the same pool of material, and presents its results in the same kind of way. This is true of such Ibāḍī and Zaydī commentaries as are easily available and also of much Imāmī commentary. Thus the relevant discussion in the exegetical works of Abū Jaʿfar al-Ṭūsī (d. 460/1067) and al-Ṭabrisī (d. 548/1153) is more strongly colored by Muʿtazilī than by Shīʿī thought (see MUʿTAZILA; SHĪʿISM AND THE QURʾĀN). There is, however, a strongly Shīʿī tradition of exegesis that is particularly well-represented in Imāmī sources and construes certain verses on forbidding wrong as references to the (Shīʿī) imāms (see IMĀM). Thus the commentary attributed to ʿAlī b. Ibrāhīm al-Qummī (alive in 307/919) interprets Q 9:111-12 to refer to them — those who command right are those who know all that is right, as only the imāms do (*Tafsīr,* ad loc.; and see ʿAyyāshī, *Tafsīr,* ad loc.). In commentary to Q 3:110 this is linked to a variant reading transmitted by the Imāmīs, in which "the best community" *(khayra ummatin)* becomes "the best *imāms*" (*khayra aʾimmatin;* Qummī, *Tafsīr,* ad loc.; ʿAyyāshī, *Tafsīr,* ad loc.). These views appear in Imāmī commentaries down the centuries, though they are almost absent from that of al-Ṭūsī (see, for example, Abū l-Futūḥ Rāzī, *Rawḍ,* ad Q 3:110; Kāshānī, *Manhaj,* ad Q 3:110; Baḥrānī, *Burhān,* ad Q 3:104; and cf. Ṭūsī, *Tibyān,* ad Q 3:110).

Modern exegesis

The exegetes of the thirteenth/nineteenth century remained overwhelmingly traditional in their approach to the relevant verses (see EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: EARLY MODERN AND CONTEMPORARY). Thus there is nothing even incipiently modern about the treatment of Q 3:104 in the commentaries of the Yemeni Shawkānī (d. 1250/1834) or the Iraqi Maḥmūd al-Ālūsī (d. 1270/1854; Shawkānī, *Tafsīr;* Ālūsī, *Rūḥ,* ad loc.).

It is with the *Tafsīr al-manār* of Muḥammad ʿAbduh (d. 1323/1905) and Rashīd Riḍā (d. 1354/1935) that modernity floods in (see CONTEMPORARY CRITICAL PRACTICES AND THE QURʾĀN). Their commentary on Q 3:104 is a good example of this (Rashīd Riḍā, *Manār,* ad loc.). Thus it sets out an elaborate curriculum of study for Islamic missionaries, including political science *(ʿilm al-siyāsa),* by which is meant the study of contemporary states; this missionary enterprise requires organization, and should be in the hands of what these days is called an association *(jamʿiyya),* with a leadership *(riyāsa)* to direct it. In a similar vein, Riḍā was able to find in this verse a basis for government by a representative assembly such as is found in republics and limited monarchies.

Another area in which modern concerns are manifested in discussions of forbidding wrong is an increased interest in the

role of women (see FEMINISM AND THE QUR'ĀN). On the whole, however, this has little impact on Sunnī commentaries on Q 9:71. Nevertheless, the Palestinian Muḥammad ʿIzzat Darwaza (d. 1404/1984) understands the verse to establish the equality of the sexes, in particular with regard to forbidding wrong (*Tafsīr,* xii, 186).

Perhaps the most original approach to forbidding wrong in modern Sunnī exegesis is that of Sayyid Quṭb (d. 1386/1966) in his commentary on Q 5:79 (*Ẓilāl,* ad loc.). At first he seems to align himself with traditional views: he observes that the Muslim community is one in which no one who sees someone else acting wrongly can say "what's that to me?" and that a Muslim society is one in which a Muslim can devote himself to forbidding wrong, without his attempts being reduced to pointless gestures or made impossible altogether, as is regrettably the case in the *jāhilī* (i.e. neopagan) societies of our times. The real task is accordingly to establish the good society as such, and this task takes precedence over the righting of small-scale, personal and individual failings through forbidding wrong; such efforts can only be in vain as long as the whole society is corrupt. All the sacred texts bearing on forbidding wrong, he argues, are concerned with the duty of the Muslim in a Muslim society — that is to say, in a form of society that does not exist in our time.

Modern Imāmī discussions of forbidding wrong have tended to be more innovative than Sunnī ones. This contrast has little to do with qurʾānic exegesis but it finds echoes in Imāmī commentaries. Modern Imāmī exegetes are significantly more likely than their Sunnī counterparts to take Q 9:71 as an occasion to discuss the role of women in forbidding wrong (see, for example, Akbar Hāshimī Rafsanjānī, *Tafsīr,* ad loc.). While Sunnī exegetes rarely quote Imāmī commentaries, Imāmī exegetes have a liking for the discussion of Q 3:104 in the *Tafsīr al-manār* (see, for example, Muḥammad Riḍā Āshtiyānī and others, *Tafsīr,* ad loc.).

Modern exegetes, whether Sunnī or Shīʿī, have little that is new to say about the properly exegetical questions raised by the relevant verses.

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Vision

The perception of reality through the eyes, or — for immaterial realities or future events — also the "mind's eye." Two main semantic fields converge in the notion of

"visions": one is oneiric, referring to dreams (*ruʾyā;* see DREAMS AND SLEEP) and the other is sensory, meaning the actual faculty of sight (*baṣar,* pl. *abṣār*). In both cases divine action plays a central role (see REVELATION AND INSPIRATION). When associated with dreams, visions appear as processes forced upon humans by divine stimulation. Most prominent of these are: the dream of Abraham (q.v.) that involves the sacrificing of his son (Q 37:102-5; see SACRIFICE); Joseph's (q.v.) dream that eleven stars (see PLANETS AND STARS), the sun (q.v.) and the moon (q.v.) bow before him (Q 12:4-6; see BOWING AND PROSTRATION); and Muḥammad's dream that precipitates his night journey (Q 17:60; see ASCENSION). In all these instances, the dreams are premonitions that intimate a divine plan rather than random somatic or mental activities (see FORETELLING; DIVINATION). In fact, Joseph's father tells his son that God will teach him the skill of dream interpretation (Q 12:6), recognizing at the outset the significance of such experiences within the revelatory order. Most exegetes (see EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL), however, focus on the possible names of the planets and stars and/or their meaning, thus engaging in the intricacies of dream interpretation and acknowledging that Joseph's father was fully aware of the significance of such divine interventions (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr;* Kāshānī, *Ṣāfī;* Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr*). In certain instances, exegetes point out that *ruʾya* (the visual faculty) is not to be confused with *ruʾyā* (dream), especially in the case of Joseph's experience (Kāshānī, *Ṣāfī;* Zamakhsharī, *Kashshāf*). Al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923), however, does recognize the double entendre in Q 17:60 which evokes *r-ʾ-y* as possibly dreaming and/or seeing (see SEEING AND HEARING; VISION AND BLINDNESS), and he reports divergent opinions on this matter. Here, God announces that he has induced a dream *(jaʿalnā l-ruʾyā)* so that he could show *(araynāka)* Muḥammad a test for the people (see TRIAL; TRUST AND PATIENCE). Similarly, in Q 48:27, in reference to the signing of the peace of Ḥudaybiya (q.v.) and taking control of Khaybar (see EXPEDITIONS AND BATTLES), God confirms the fulfillment of Muḥammad's dream about entering Mecca (q.v.) with his people (Kāshānī, *Ṣāfī;* Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr,* ad loc.). Dreams, then, belong to the category of God's signs (q.v.) through which he communicates with humankind, although it is not clear that all dreams are to be viewed as such.

In the semantic field of the root *b-ṣ-r,* God gives human beings the capacity to see (Q 76:2), which throughout the Qurʾān is directly linked to the cognitive and psychological potential of human beings to recognize and accept God (see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF; KNOWLEDGE AND LEARNING). In that way, the sensory and other human faculties interrelate as the criteria of faith (q.v.). God thus characterizes his prophets, specifically Abraham, Isaac (q.v.) and Jacob (q.v.), as possessing vision *(abṣār)*. In Q 59:2, God addresses the believers as "people of vision!" *(yā ūlī l-abṣār)*, that is, those, according to Ibn Kathīr (d. 774/1373; *Tafsīr,* ad loc.), on whom God has bestowed clarification for his actions. But just as God creates vision, he can disable or remove it (Q 6:46, 110), seal it (Q 2:7), seize it (Q 2:20-2), or restore it (Q 12:96; 50:22; see POWER AND IMPOTENCE; VEIL). In turn, those who refuse God are accused of turning away their vision (Q 24:37; see LIE; GRATITUDE AND INGRATITUDE). The true vision is one that, even if it does not perceive God, learns to perceive his signs and results in submission. After all, unlike the divine, human vision is limited, as per Q 6:103: "No vision can comprehend him; but he comprehends all visions" *(lā tudrikuhu l-abṣār wa-huwa yudriku l-abṣār)*. Al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505; *Durr,* ad loc.) explains that, according to the tradition (see ḤADĪTH

AND THE QUR'ĀN; SUNNA), this means that, while in this world (q.v.) God can never be seen (see THEOPHANY; FACE OF GOD), in the afterlife one will be able to see him on the horizon the way one now sees the moon rise in the night sky (see ESCHATOLOGY). The ability to see is understood at once as a physical and ethical capacity (see ETHICS AND THE QUR'ĀN) whereby vision is opposed to blindness, figuratively as well as literally, as per Q 35:19-20: "The one who is blind is not the same as the one who can see *(al-baṣīr)*, just as the darkness (q.v.) and the light (q.v.) are not the same" (see also PAIRS AND PAIRING; SYMBOLIC IMAGERY; METAPHOR).

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Vision and Blindness

Ability, or lack thereof, to perceive physical objects and, when used metaphorically, ideas and concepts.

Witnessing the unseen

The Qur'ān divides existence into this world (q.v.) and the next, followed by a second division into the seen *(shāhid)* and the unseen *(ghayb),* as in Q 59:22, "He is God, besides whom there is no god, the one who knows the unseen and the seen" (see HIDDEN AND THE HIDDEN). The two dichotomies overlap in an important way. The next world is entirely unseen but this world consists of elements seen and elements unseen. God is not visible (see GOD AND HIS ATTRIBUTES), as in Q 7:143, "Moses (q.v.) said, 'My lord, show yourself to me and let me gaze upon you!' God said, 'You will never see me' " (see THEOPHANY). Elements of the unseen world are made visible, however, in miracles (q.v.) granted to prophets (see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD) and saints (see SAINT), like Muḥammad's ascension (q.v.; *mi'rāj*). Q 53:1-18 asserts that "The heart [of Muḥammad] never denied what he saw" (*ra'ā,* Q 53:11) and "[his] vision *(al-baṣar)* never swerved nor did it transgress" (Q 53:17; see also ERROR; ASTRAY; SEEING AND HEARING). The term for Prophet, *nabī,* is derived from a verbal root meaning to be lofty and command a far-reaching overview *(n-b-y),* connoting the ability to inform others of what is beyond the horizon of their sight. A ḥadīth report (see ḤADĪTH AND THE QUR'ĀN) clarifies that "Truthful vision *(al-ru'yā al-ṣāliḥ)* is one fortieth part of prophecy" (see also VISION; TRUTH).

Seeing is believing

God's signs in the world can be seen and can prompt people to have faith (q.v.) in what is beyond routine perception. Angels (see ANGEL) and jinn (q.v.) are normally unseen but can be manifest to human sight, forming two important conduits between the world of human habitation and the ambiguities beyond. For example, Mary (q.v.) sees an angel who announces the birth of Jesus (q.v.) in Q 19:17: "Then we sent our spirit (q.v.) to her, and it appeared to her [vision] *(tamaththala lahā)* exactly like a man." In this way, the Qur'ān gives profound depth to the truism that "seeing is believing." Physical vision is a powerful metaphor (q.v.) for faith *(īmān):* faith is the vision of the heart (cf. e.g. Q 58:22) rather than the eyes (q.v.; cf. e.g. Q 6:103). Conversely, blindness is a meta-

phor for deliberate disbelief (see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF; LIE; GRATITUDE AND INGRATITUDE) when confronted with the truth or spiritual insensitivity, and is often linked to deafness (e.g. Q 7:179; 11:20; 47:23; see HEARING AND DEAFNESS).

The Qurʾān links true vision to perception of the prophets and acceptance of the covenant (q.v.; *mīthāq*) they offer. Q 5:78-9 says that whenever a prophet came to Israelite tribes (see CHILDREN OF ISRAEL) with a message that contradicted their desires (see MESSENGER), a part of them called the prophet's mission a lie and fought against the prophet: "They estimate that there will be no trial (q.v.)? Thus they go blind and deaf. Yet God turns to them accepting repentance (see REPENTANCE AND PENANCE), still many of them remain blind and deaf. But God is the one who sees *(baṣīr)* all they do."

The Qurʾān often informs the prophet Muḥammad of what he sees or will see in the future and clarifies the spiritual importance of what Muḥammad sees or provides prognostic visions (e.g. Q 17:60; 48:27; see FORETELLING; DIVINATION). The Meccan revelations often stress eschatological vision (e.g. Q 99 and 102; see ESCHATOLOGY; FORM AND STRUCTURE OF THE QURʾĀN), while the Medinan revelations frequently allude to what the community will see in the near earthly future (see CHRONOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN; MECCA; MEDINA). The Qurʾān often equates Muḥammad's revelation with vision as well as audition, as in Q 4:105: "We have caused the message (*al-kitāb;* see BOOK) to descend upon you in truth (see REVELATION AND INSPIRATION), so that you judge between the people (see JUDGMENT) by means of what God has shown you *(arāka)*."

The Qurʾān expresses ambivalence toward routine vision. It challenges people to see the signs (q.v.) of God in nature, human history and individual experience (see also HISTORY AND THE QURʾĀN; GEOGRAPHY; GENERATIONS; NATURE AS SIGNS). Q 67:3-4 challenges, "Do you see *(tarā)* any imbalance in the creation (q.v.) of the compassionate one? So turn your vision to it again — do you see any flaw?" Q 24:41 asks, "Have you not seen *(a-lam tara)* that all beings in the heavens and the earth glorify God (see GLORY; GLORIFICATION OF GOD), even the birds in flight (see ANIMAL LIFE)?" In these examples, seeing is a test, not simple perception. It is witnessing the truth (*shahāda;* see WITNESS TO FAITH) if sight causes the heart to recognize God's presence but it is ignoring or covering the truth *(kufr)* if sight urges the heart toward denying God's presence or aggrandizing the ego. Q 96:6-8 pronounces, "No indeed, the human being transgresses the limits, and sees *(raʾāhu)* him/herself as independent (see ARROGANCE) — [but no indeed,] to your lord all things return." Ṣūfī commentaries (see ṢŪFISM AND THE QURʾĀN) understand "returning" as "remembering" the primordial moment of witnessing the truth (see REMEMBRANCE; WITNESSING AND TESTIFYING), when each human before creation witnessed *(sh-h-d)* God directly in seeing, hearing and being present, as in Q 7:172 (see COSMOLOGY).

Deceptive appearances

Vision can misconstrue the truth; seeing something from one's own perspective can mean holding an opinion that may be false. In this way, the Qurʾān often uses the verbal root "he saw" *(r-ʾ-y)* as synonymous with the verbal root "he imagined" *(z-ʿ-m)* or "he thought" (*n-ẓ-r;* see SUSPICION; KNOWLEDGE AND LEARNING; INTELLECT). Q 6:46 provides an example: "Say, 'Do you think *(a-raʾaytum)* that when God snatches away your hearing and your sight

(abṣārukum) and seals up your hearts that there is any other god (see POLYTHEISM AND ATHEISM) that could return [them] to you?" Seeing could be disbelieving if the heart's spiritual vision is obscured by darkness (q.v.; cf. e.g. Q 6:25; 17:46; 22:46), impaired by disease (cf. e.g. Q 2:10; 5:52; 8:49; see ILLNESS AND HEALTH), or sealed up with rust (cf. e.g. Q 83:14; cf. 42:24; 47:24 see HEART).

From the contrary perspective, blind people can have intense spiritual insight. Q 80 describes an incident when Muḥammad turned away from a blind man who sought spiritual guidance. The blind man had interrupted the Prophet's meeting with a tribal leader who, if he converted to Islam, would bolster the early Muslim community. Q 80:1-6 states,

He frowned and turned away, when the blind man *(al-aʿmā)* came to him. And what might let you know if he would increase in purity, or if he were bearing [God] in mind that he might benefit from the reminding? But as for him who considers himself independent, you turn to him to attend his needs!

This is the only qurʾānic passage to mention an actual blind person and in it, the Qurʾān chastises Muḥammad. According to Muslim tradition he remained ashamed of this incident throughout his life, to the point of wishing that if any phrases of the Qurʾān could be erased, these are the ones he would like to see eliminated. This is because the Qurʾān condemns hypocrites for their deceptive appearance (and judging people by how they appear; see HYPOCRITES AND HYPOCRISY): in Q 63:4, "When you see them *(raʾaytahum),* their external appearance *(ajsāmuhum)* pleases you, but when they speak, you hear them speak it is as if they are hollow timber propped up."

Metaphorical blindness

Despite this example of an actual blind man, the Qurʾān mainly refers to the blind in a metaphorical sense (see SYMBOLIC IMAGERY). The blind are those whose hearts have no spiritual perception, and they are the subject of critique, ridicule and threat of punishment. Q 13:16 (cf. Q 6:50) rhetorically contrasts the blind to those with sight (see RHETORIC AND THE QURʾĀN): "Say, 'Is the blind person equal to one endowed with vision, and is the darkness equal to the light?'" Q 35:19 answers the question negatively (those with sight are better); and Q 40:58 offers a further comparison to clarify the ethical importance of the question (see ETHICS AND THE QURʾĀN): "Not equal are the blind and those who see *(al-aʿmā wa-l-baṣīr)*! Nor are those who believe, performing good works (see GOOD DEEDS), and those who perpetrate evil actions (see EVIL DEEDS; GOOD AND EVIL)!" Those who believe have true vision because their hearts perceive the spiritual reality of the unseen consequence of action. In contrast, those who do evil are truly blind: the arrogance and waywardness of their hearts blinds them, rather than the vision of their eyes. Q 22:46 clarifies that "It is not their eyes that are blind *(lā taʿmā l-abṣār),* but rather the hearts in their breasts that are blind." Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111) provided a profound commentary on physical vision and spiritual vision in his treatise *Mishkāt al-anwār,* "Niche for lights."

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Visiting

Traveling to another place and staying there for a period of time. The terms that usually come to mind when considering the concept of visiting are derived from the root *z-w-r*. These terms occur in ḥadīth literature (see ḤADĪTH AND THE QURʾĀN) in reference to visiting graves (see BURIAL), usually in order to pray for the deceased (see Wensinck, *Handbook,* 89-90; see DEATH AND THE DEAD; PRAYER FORMULAS). In popular parlance, *ziyāra* came to be identified with spiritual practices (see ṢŪFISM AND THE QURʾĀN) involving the visitation of saints' tombs (see SAINT) so that pilgrims could acquire blessings, request miracles (q.v.) and benefactions, or seek mediation for sins (see SIN, MAJOR AND MINOR; INTERCESSION). The term, in this sense, does not occur in the Qurʾān. Words stemming from the root *z-w-r,* which pertain to the concept of visiting, occur only once, in Q 102:2, "until you come *(zurtum)* to the graves." According to al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923), the term *"zurtum"* is a metaphor (q.v.) for death that ends the struggle for material wealth (q.v.; *Tafsīr,* xii, 678-9). The more common term used in the Qurʾān for visiting or visitation is *ʿumra,* as in Q 2:196 that refers to the minor pilgrimage to the Kaʿba (q.v.). The verb *iʿtamara* also occurs in Q 2:158 which specifies what *ʿumra* entails and serves as the qurʾānic basis for legal rules outlining pilgrimage (q.v.; see Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* ii, 47-55, 212-19). An example of how far later legal discourse moved away from the Qurʾān as a basis of law (see LAW AND THE QURʾĀN) is the rather lengthy discussion of *ḥajj* and *ʿumra* in the *al-ʿAzīz sharḥ al-Wajīz* (iii, 456-523) by Abū l-Qāsim al-Rāfiʿī (d. 623/1226), the most important Shāfiʿī legal text of the late medieval period, which does not refer to the two qurʾānic passages but bases its entire discussion on ḥadīth.

Mathāba, as a place of visitation, is mentioned in Q 2:125 although there appears to have been a dispute as to the specific boundaries of the area around the Kaʿba to which it refers. Al-Ṭabarī said that it could refer to the whole of Mecca (q.v.), the *ḥaram,* or more specifically to the immediate area of the Kaʿba itself. Finally, the term *ṭāʾif,* or *ṭāfa,* came to be interpreted as a kind of visitation from a supernatural entity. In Q 7:201 Satan (Shayṭān; see DEVIL) visits humans, although the nature of the visitation was, according to al-Ṭabarī, a matter of some dispute. He argued that some theologians held that the visitation *(ṭāʾif)* came in the form of a whisper (q.v.) or a low voice that the individual heard and was thus prompted into action. Others held that Satan came over the person in the form of emotions such as anger (q.v.) or jealousy (see ENVY). In Q 68:19, a variation of this occurs, which states "So there came *(ṭāfa)* on it a visitation *(ṭāʾif)* from your lord (q.v.) [all around], while they slept" (see SLEEP). In this instance, al-Ṭabarī maintains that *ṭāʾif* refers to the command *(amr)* of God as embodied by Muḥammad. According to Ibn Kathīr (d. 774/1373; *Tafsīr,* viii, 214), however, the "it" refers to the Quraysh (q.v.) who rejected Muḥammad and *ṭāʾif* refers to their destruction. In other words, God visited [destruction on] the people of Quraysh who rejected Muḥammad as a prophet (see OPPOSITION TO MUḤAMMAD;

PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD). For visitors in the sense of "guests," see HOSPITALITY AND COURTESY; ABRAHAM.

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Vocabulary

see LANGUAGE AND STYLE OF THE QURʾĀN; FOREIGN VOCABULARY

Vow

A promise made to God to undertake an act of piety (q.v.). It differs from an oath (q.v.) which is not a promise to do something but a solemn declaration of truth (hence, its essential role as a form of juridical evidence; see WITNESSING AND TESTIFYING) performed by an act of swearing (often but not necessarily by God; but for overlap in juristic discourse on oaths and vows, see Calder, Ḥinth, esp. 220-6). A vow, which in Islam can only be made to God (for vows in pre-Islamic Arabia and non-religious vows after Islam, see Pedersen, Nadhr; see PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QURʾĀN), may or may not include an act of swearing (*aqsama* and *ḥalafa* in Arabic), but does imply a pledge of oneself — one's honor and credibility — i.e. it places one in a state of self-dedication. Thus, failure to fulfill a vow in Islam carries the same requirement for the performance of "penance" (i.e. expiation, *kaffāra;* see REPENTANCE AND PENANCE) as does breaking an oath. This usually entails feeding or clothing ten poor (see POVERTY AND THE POOR; FOOD AND DRINK), releasing a slave (see SLAVES AND SLAVERY), or, in case of hardship, fasting (q.v.) for three days (on the basis of Q 5:89). There is also the possibility of releasing oneself from a vow that one could perform but no longer feels it good to do so, through the performance of expiation.

A vow (*nadhr,* pl. *nudhūr*), a self-imposed promise to carry out a religious act not required by the law *(ilzām al-nafs bi-qurba),* is understood as obligatory (in effect, the vow renders the supererogatory act of piety a required individual duty, *wājib ʿaynī,* to God). Those who do not fulfill their vowed religious pledges *(ʿahd)* are hypocrites (Q 9:75-8; cf. 48:10; and Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* no. 6695, where the Prophet declares that Muslims in the third generation after him will begin to break their vows; see HYPOCRITES AND HYPOCRISY; ḤADĪTH AND THE QURʾĀN), while righteous servants of God fulfill their vows (Q 76:5-7). The mother of Mary (q.v.), in an echo of 1 Samuel 11, vowed to God what was in her womb (q.v.; Q 3:35) and Mary herself, the Qurʾān reports, made a vow to fast and to speak to no human for a day (Q 19:26). Finally, vows are associated with involuntary alms (see ALMSGIVING) at Q 2:270, supporting evidence for defining vows as religious acts above and beyond what is prescribed by law.

That humans had made vows before the coming of Islam was recognized by the first Muslims (e.g. Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* no. 6697, where ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb asks the Prophet whether he should fulfill a vow he made before his conversion; Q 3:35 and Q 19:26 are also cited in this regard), as was the fact that they had made them for purposes of religion (q.v.), e.g. before idols (Q 6:136; 39:3; see IDOLS AND IMAGES). Given this recognition, it was important to establish an understanding of vow-making acceptable to Islam: the consensus

eventually established this as a vow capable of being fulfilled and freely made as an act of obedience (q.v.) to God by a Muslim of legal majority (Abū Fāris, *Aymān,* 138-40; the Ḥanbalī school, however, recognized as valid the vow of non-Muslims; see LAW AND THE QUR'ĀN; RELIGIOUS PLURALISM AND THE QUR'ĀN). The vow must stipulate the act to be performed, i.e. a supererogatory act with its origin in the ritual duties of Islam *(furūḍ al-islām)*. It is thus permitted to vow to give alms, spend the night in prayer (q.v.; see also VIGIL), fast, go on (additional) pilgrimage (q.v.; both *ʿumra* and *ḥajj*), sacrifice (q.v.) an animal (see also CONSECRATION OF ANIMALS), but not to do something forbidden (q.v.; e.g. consume pork or alcohol; see INTOXICANTS; WINE) or even something permitted (see LAWFUL AND UNLAWFUL) that is not ritual in nature (e.g. divorce one's wife, eat food, sleep [q.v.] at night; Abū Fāris, op. cit., 140-5; however, a condition commonly used in vow-making has been the promise to divorce one's wife, see Pedersen, Nadhr; see also MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE).

A vow, then, was equated with obedience *(ṭāʿa)* to God in the sense of ritual acts *(ʿibādāt),* by which one might draw close to God (see RITUAL AND THE QUR'ĀN). Any other element in the formulation of a vow was incidental. For example, a vow to walk to Iraq or Morocco has no meaning; in contrast, a vow to walk to Mecca (q.v.), with the goal being the performance of pilgrimage, is acceptable. The vow to walk, however, is itself incidental, while the performance of pilgrimage, an act of piety, is the element of the vow that renders it meaningful (see Calder, Ḥinth, 226-32). There is no set formula for a vow, although it must be uttered aloud. It need not be accompanied by a condition (e.g. if X happens, I will do Y) but can be simply a formal statement of ritual intention (e.g. I will fast tomorrow), and it is invalidated if accompanied by the phrase "if God wills" (*in shāʾa llāh,* Abū Fāris, *Aymān,* 145-7). A vow is also invalidated if it involves pledging goods belonging to someone else (on the basis of a ḥadīth in which a woman of the Anṣār, held captive by enemy tribes, wrongfully vowed to sacrifice the Prophet's camel upon the back of which she made her escape; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* no. 4245; see PROPERTY) but it is recommended that one fulfill a vow made by a deceased relative (Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* nos. 6698-9; see DEATH AND THE DEAD; KINSHIP).

The prophetic tradition is careful to downplay any magical dimension of vows (i.e. the idea that a vow might cause the deity to carry out the condition of the vow; see MAGIC; POPULAR AND TALISMANIC USES OF THE QUR'ĀN), essentially declaring vows to be useless since they cannot influence God (see POWER AND IMPOTENCE). Thus, excessive piety of the kind that hopes to influence the divine will was discouraged. The Prophet ordered a man who had vowed to go on foot to the Kaʿba (q.v.) to mount his riding animal, since God "has no need of this [man's] chastisement of himself" (*ghanī ʿan taʿdhīb hadhā nafsahu,* Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* no. 4247) and "has no need of you or your vow" (*ghanī ʿanka wa-ʿan nadhrika,* Muslim, op. cit., no. 4248). A vow is therefore incidental to God's foreordained decree *(qadar),* acting only as a pious supplement to it on the part of the votary — a means not to hasten or delay divine decree but to extract some good from the miserly (Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* nos. 6692-4; see GOOD AND EVIL; FREEDOM AND PREDESTINATION). A vow, then, is a spur to piety, the condition of which, if it is accomplished, merely coincides with the foreordained decree of God (Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* no. 4025). It is in this sense that a vow generally was understood in Islam, as a mechanism to encourage believers (see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF) to strive towards a

life of piety and to help them to persevere in it.

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Voyage

see TRIPS AND VOYAGES; JOURNEY

W

Wadd see IDOLS AND IMAGES

Wage see REWARD AND PUNISHMENT

Wahhabism and the Qurʾān

The eighteenth century revival and reform movement founded by the scholar and jurist Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb (d. 1206/1792), in the Arabian peninsula. Based on the central qurʾānic concept of *tawḥīd* (absolute monotheism), Wahhabism called for a direct return to the Qurʾān and ḥadīth for study and interpretation (see SUNNA; ḤADĪTH AND THE QURʾĀN; TOOLS FOR THE STUDY OF THE QURʾĀN).

Ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb considered the Qurʾān and ḥadīth to be the only infallible (see IMPECCABILITY) and authoritative sources of scripture with the Qurʾān, as the revealed word of God (q.v.), holding absolute authority (q.v.) in cases of conflicting views (see ABROGATION; INIMITABILITY). Other source materials, including legal opinions (see LAW AND THE QURʾĀN) and qurʾānic commentary (*tafsīr;* see EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL), could be consulted, but could not contradict the Qurʾān or ḥadīth. Ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb's Qurʾān interpretation was based on historical contextualization of the revelation and on consideration of the use of both terms and concepts within the broader context of the entire Qurʾān in order to know which prescriptions were universal as opposed to those that were limited to specific historical conditions (see OCCASIONS OF REVELATION). This methodology was then combined with legal concepts like *maṣlaḥa* (consideration of public welfare) to interpret Islamic law. For example, although the Qurʾān requires payment of *zakāt* (almsgiving [q.v.]), Ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb used *maṣlaḥa* to allow delay of payment during times of public hardship, such as the aftermath of a natural disaster.

Ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb also sought to determine broad qurʾānic values, such as the obligation to preserve human life (q.v.; see also MURDER; BLOODSHED) as a higher priority than obedience (q.v.) to Islamic law or ritual (see RITUAL AND THE QURʾĀN), for application in both private and public life. Examples of the application of this value include the limitation of violence (q.v.) and killing during jihād (q.v.; see also FIGHTING; PATH OR WAY; EXPEDITIONS AND BATTLES; WAR) and the command that women (see WOMEN AND THE QURʾĀN) should seek medical care when ill or injured, even when this means sacrificing modesty (q.v.).

Ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb believed that the Qurʾān assigned equal responsibilities to men and women with respect to God, accompanied by a balance of rights in their human relations. He held both genders responsible for carrying out the five pillars of Islam and for studying and interpreting the Qurʾān (see TRADITIONAL DISCIPLINES OF QURʾĀNIC STUDY; EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: EARLY MODERN AND CONTEMPORARY). He declared a balance of rights in matters of marriage and divorce (q.v.), guaranteeing the woman the right to divorce by *khulʿ* through repayment of the dower (*mahr;* see BRIDEWEALTH) to the husband upon her recognition that she could no longer fulfill the requirements of marriage. This interpretation assured the woman the practical right to assert *khulʿ* unfettered by the husband in the same way that the husband has the right to divorce by *ṭalāq* unfettered by the woman. He balanced the husband's rights in marriage by granting the woman the right to stipulate conditions favorable to her in the marriage contract relating both to the contracting and the continuation of the marriage (see CONTRACTS AND ALLIANCES; BREAKING TRUSTS AND CONTRACTS).

By the twentieth century, Wahhabism had become synonymous with literal interpretations of the Qurʾān and ḥadīth that did not appear to take context into consideration (see SĪRA AND THE QURʾĀN). The result was a more legalistic interpretation of Islam. At the turn of the twenty-first century, however, as interest in Ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb's methodology was renewed, Wahhābī legal scholars in Saudi Arabia re-initiated a more context-sensitive interpretation of the Qurʾān, combined with greater attention to legal tools like *maṣlaḥa* and recognition of the Qurʾān's gender balance of rights and responsibilities.

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Waiting Period

The period that must be observed by a married couple after separation. Waiting periods are known in many cultures. Within the Qurʾān this concept is expressed by two Arabic words: *tarabbaṣa* or *tarabbuṣ,* literally "waiting," and by *ʿidda,* literally "number." The first word appears in Q 2:226, 228, 234 and seems to be the earlier expression because the verses in which the term *ʿidda* is used (Q 33:49; 65:1, 4) answer questions that must have been raised from rules stipulated in Q 2 (see LAW AND THE QURʾĀN). The clear relation between the two groups of verses shows that the word *ʿidda* in this context has to be interpreted as *ʿiddat al-tarabbuṣ,* i.e. "waiting period."

There are three different causes of separation that necessitate a waiting period: (i) death of the husband (Q 2:234), (ii) divorce (Q 2:228; 65:1) — except in the case in which the marriage has not been consummated (Q 33:49; see MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE) — and (iii) the oath of the husband to stop intercourse with his wife (Q 2:226; see OATHS; SEX AND SEXUALITY). The length of the waiting period differs accordingly. It is (i) four (lunar) months

(q.v.) and ten days in the case of death of the husband (Q 2:234); (ii) three menstrual periods *(qurūʾ)* for menstruating women or three months for non-menstruating women after divorce has been pronounced provided that the marriage had been consummated (Q 2:228; 65:4; see MENSTRUATION), or until the birth of the child in the case of a divorced pregnant woman whose divorce has become definite (Q 65:4; see BIRTH); and (iii) four months after the oath of continence (Q 2:226; see ABSTINENCE).

The waiting period has different functions. First, in the case of a revocable divorce and that of an oath of continence, it gives time to the man to think over his decision that could have serious personal and financial consequences for himself, his wife and their children (q.v.; see also FAMILY; WOMEN AND THE QURʾĀN). He can return to his wife during the waiting period. Second, the waiting period after divorce has been pronounced and after the death of the husband serves as a means to establish whether the wife is pregnant. A prerequisite is, on the one hand, that no sexual intercourse with the husband (or anyone else) take place during the waiting period after the divorce has been pronounced — a condition implied but not expressly stipulated in the qurʾānic rules, and, on the other hand, that the wife does not conceal a pregnancy that becomes apparent during this period (Q 2:228). This is important for two reasons: pregnancy and thus the prospect of offspring may influence the husband's decision to separate from his wife; the ruling prevents the wife from remarrying and then giving birth to a child whose father's identity is doubtful (see PATRIARCHY; PARENTS). Consequently, there is no need for a waiting period in the case of divorce before consummation (Q 33:49). Third, the waiting period after the husband's death has, in addition, the function of a period of mourning that should be respected by men wishing to marry the widow (q.v.; see also DEATH AND THE DEAD; BURIAL). Hence, it is strictly forbidden to propose a marriage to a widow or to arrange for it during the waiting period (Q 2:235). The Qurʾān is silent on the question of whether a husband whose wife has died must observe a mourning period of similar length.

Several responsibilities are combined with the waiting period. First, the responsibility for its correct observance. The responsibility is given partly to the wife (Q 2:228, 231, 234), partly to the husband (Q 2:226; 33:49; 65:1, 4). In the case of divorce, the end *(ajal)* of the waiting period must be established in the presence of two witnesses (Q 65:2; see WITNESSING AND TESTIFYING). Second, the husband is obliged to provide maintenance (*matāʿ, nafaqa, rizq,* Q 2:241; 65:1, 6, 7) for his wife during the waiting period and to let her remain in her house (Q 65:1) without doing any harm to her (Q 65:6; see MAINTENANCE AND UPKEEP). The widow has the right to maintenance and housing at her former husband's expense even for a whole year (Q 2:240). The woman is obliged to live chastely (see CHASTITY) during the waiting period; otherwise she forfeits her rights (Q 65:1).

It seems that the qurʾānic rules concerning the waiting period changed the existing customs of pre-Islamic Mecca (q.v.) and Medina (q.v.). According to Muslim traditions the mourning period of a widow in pre-Islamic times was a year (Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* 18:146; Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* 68:46; see ḤADĪTH AND THE QURʾĀN; PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QURʾĀN). Whether there had been a custom of a waiting period for divorced women at all is doubtful. Yet the new rules of the Qurʾān provided only a basic framework and gave rise to many questions concerning details. The answers

are found in ḥadīth compilations as well as in exegetical and legal literature (see EXEGESIS OF THE QUR'ĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL).

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Wall (between Heaven and Hell)

see BARZAKH; PEOPLE OF THE HEIGHTS

Wander

see JOURNEY; ASTRAY

War

A state of open, armed and often prolonged conflict between states, tribes or parties, frequently mentioned in the Qurʾān. It is usually referred to by derivatives of the third form of *q-t-l,* "fighting" (q.v.), sometimes with the qualification *fī sabīl Allāh,* "in the path of God" (see PATH OR WAY); but we also hear of *ḥarb,* "war," both against God and the messenger (q.v.; e.g. Q 5:33; 9:107; cf. 5:64) and by or for them (Q 2:279; 8:57; cf. 47:4). Derivatives of *j-h-d* are used for efforts which include fighting without being reducible to it (see JIHĀD).

Wars mentioned

Past wars are rarely mentioned (see HISTORY AND THE QUR'ĀN). The vanished nations are destroyed by brimstone, fire and other natural disasters (see PUNISHMENT STORIES), not by conquest (q.v.), though the messenger expects to punish his own opponents by military means (Q 9:14, 52). Of the Israelite conquest of the holy land we are only told that when Moses (q.v.) ordered the Israelites (see CHILDREN OF ISRAEL) to enter this land, all except two refused on the grounds that it was inhabited by mighty men *(jabbārīn);* the Israelites thus had to wander in the desert for another forty years (Q 5:21-6; cf. *Num* 13:31-14:34). But elsewhere we learn that many prophets were accompanied in battle by large numbers, who never lost heart when they met disasters (Q 3:146). There is also an obscure reference to thousands who went out from their homes: God told them to die (so they did), whereupon he revived them. This is told in encouragement of fighting in God's path (Q 2:243f.), followed by an account of the Israelite demand for a king (Q 2:246-51; see KINGS AND RULERS): they wanted a king so that they could fight in the path of God (cf. *1 Sam* 8:5, 19; *Judg* 8:22), having been expelled from their homes and their families; but when fighting was prescribed for them, they turned back, except for a small band. Worse still, when their prophet announced that God had appointed Ṭālūt, i.e. Saul (q.v.), as their king, they disputed his authority (q.v.); and when Saul set out to fight Goliath (q.v.), most of them failed the test he set for them (cf. *Judg* 7:4-7; see TRIAL; TRUST AND PATIENCE); but the steadfast uttered the famous words, "How many a small band has vanquished a mighty army by leave of God," and David (q.v.) slew Goliath. No further Israelite wars are mentioned down to Nebuchadnezzar, whose destruction of Jerusalem (q.v.) is briefly alluded to, as is the Roman destruction of the Temple, in both cases without any names being named; the two disasters are presented as punishment for Israelite sins (see JEWS AND

JUDAISM), with a period of wealth and power in between and a possibility of better times ahead (Q 17:4-8). Another sūra (Q 30:2-4) notes that the Byzantines (q.v.) have been defeated, predicting that they will soon win (over the Persians) or, alternatively, that the Byzantines have been victorious, predicting that they will soon be defeated (by the believers).

Most warfare in the Qur'ān is conducted by the believers in the present. One verse regulates fighting among the believers themselves: one should make peace (q.v.) between the two parties or fight the wrongdoers (Q 49:9; see ARBITRATION). Another threatens war against the believers when they take usury (q.v.; Q 2:278f.). But most encourage the believers to fight others, variously identified as "those who fight you" (Q 2:190), unbelievers (e.g. Q 4:84; 9:123; 47:4), the polytheists altogether (Q 9:36), People of the Book (q.v.) who do not believe in God and the last day (Q 9:29; see LAST JUDGMENT), hypocrites (Q 9:73), friends of Satan (Q 4:76), and imāms of unbelief (Q 9:12), without it being clear how far these groups are identical or distinct. The hypocrites side with the believers when the latter win but not when they lose (Q 4:141) and once appear in alliance with unbelieving People of the Book (Q 59:11). All war is assumed to involve religious issues.

The moral status of war

Fighting is declared legitimate in self-defense, by way of preemption (Q 9:8; cf. 60:2), for the rescue of fellow believers (Q 4:75) and for the righting of wrongs, including the punishment of the wrongdoers (Q 9:13-14). The basic principle is that one should treat other communities as they treat one's own (see ETHICS AND THE QUR'ĀN). "As for the person who defends himself after having been wronged, there is no way of blaming them" (Q 42:41); God would help those who had always met like with like, only to be wronged (Q 22:60), for a bad deed called for another like it (Q 42:39-42; see GOOD DEEDS; EVIL DEEDS). "Fight in the path of God those who fight against you, but do not transgress" (Q 2:190); "a sacred month for a sacred month… whoever aggresses against you, aggress against him in a like manner" (Q 2:194; see MONTHS); "fight the polytheists all together as they fight you altogether" (Q 9:36). Where the principle of like for like is abandoned (see RETALIATION), the claim is that bloodshed (q.v.) is the lesser evil ("kill them wherever you come upon them, expel them from where they expelled you, for *fitna* is worse than killing," Q 2:191; cf. 2:217; see GOOD AND EVIL). The famous "sword verse" ("kill the polytheists wherever you find them, take them, seize them, besiege them, and lie in wait for them," Q 9:5), seems to be based on the same rules, given that it is directed against a particular group accused of oath-breaking and aggression (Q 9:1-23; cf. 8:56-60; see BREAKING TRUSTS AND CONTRACTS; OATHS) and that polytheists who remain faithful to their treatises are explicitly excepted (Q 9:4). Here as elsewhere, it is stressed that one must stop when they do (Q 2:193; 4:90; 8:39f., 61; 9:3, 5, 11) and, though the language is often extremely militant, the principle of forgiveness (q.v.) is reiterated in between the assertions of the right to defend oneself (Q 42:37-43).

Justifying war appears to have been hard work. The exhortations (q.v.) are addressed to a people who were not warlike ("prescribed for you is fighting, though you dislike it," Q 2:216), who assumed warfare to be forbidden (q.v.; "permission has been granted to those who fight/are fought, because they have been wronged," Q 22:39),

and who had to be persuaded that it could be morally right ("if God did not drive back some people by means of others, cloisters, churches/synagogues *[biyaʿ],* oratories *[ṣalawāt],* and mosques in which God's name is much mentioned would be destroyed," Q 22:40; "the earth would be ruined," Q 2:251). Only the *jizya* verse (Q 9:29; see POLL TAX) seems to endorse war of aggression. If read as a continuation of Q 9:1-23, however, it would be concerned with the same oath-breaking "polytheists" (cf. Q 9:30f.) as the sword verse.

Mobilization

Orders to fight came down in "sūras" (q.v.), apparently on an ad hoc basis (Q 9:86; 47:20) and always in what appears to be a mobilizing rather than a legislative vein (for Q 2:216, an apparent exception, compare Q 2:246; 4:77). Exhortations to fight abound (Q 2:244; 4:71, 84; 8:65; 9:36, 41, 123; 61:4, etc). Those who emigrate (see EMIGRATION; EMIGRANTS AND HELPERS) and strive for the cause with their wealth (q.v.) and their lives are promised rich rewards, not least when they fall in God's path (e.g. Q 2:154; 9:20; 22:58f., see MARTYRS; REWARD AND PUNISHMENT). They rank higher than those who sit at home (Q 4:95), just as those who joined the fighting before the victory rank higher than those who joined after it (Q 57:10; cf. 9:20; see RANKS AND ORDERS). Fighting and/or striving in God's path is described as selling the present life to God for the hereafter (Q 4:74; 9:111), a loan that will be repaid many times over (Q 2:245; 57:11; cf. 57:18; 73:20) and a commerce that will deliver from painful chastisement (Q 61:10f.; see TRADE AND COMMERCE; ESCHATOLOGY). Whatever one spends, God will repay in full (Q 8:60).

The response to these appeals is frequently deemed inadequate. "How is it with you that you do not fight in God's path?" (Q 4:75; cf. 4:72); "What is the matter with you, that when you are told to go forth in the path of God you sink heavily into the ground?" (Q 9:38). Some people are apparently happy to pray and pay alms but protest when fighting is prescribed for them, asking for postponement (Q 4:77). Some hope for a sūra but would look faint if one were to come down mentioning fighting (Q 47:20; cf. 9:86). Some plead ignorance of fighting or turn back, wishing that their brethren who have fallen in battle had done the same (Q 3:155f., 167f.). Others ask for permission to leave before a battle, pleading that their own homes are exposed (Q 33:13) or ask not to be put in temptation (by being asked to fight against kinsmen?; Q 9:49; cf. Q 60; see KINSHIP). Bedouin (q.v.) shirkers plead preoccupation with their flocks *(amwāl)* and families (Q 48:11; see FAMILY). Some turn their backs in actual battle (Q 3:155; 8:15f.; 33:15f.).

All lack of martial zeal is debited to base motives. The blind, sick, weak and destitute are of course exempted (Q 9:91; 48:17; see POVERTY AND THE POOR; ILLNESS AND HEALTH) but shirkers are sick of heart (q.v.; Q 47:20), unwilling to be inconvenienced by long journeys (Q 9:42) or heat (Q 9:81), keen to stay at home with their women (Q 9:87, 93), reluctant to contribute even though they are rich (Q 9:81, 86, 93), cowards who anticipate defeat (Q 48:12; see COURAGE; FEAR), who are scared of death (cf. Q 33:18f.; 47:20) and who would boast (q.v.) of their luck if the expedition were hit by disaster but wish that they had been present when things went well (Q 4:72f.); if they were Bedouin (q.v.), they are only interested in booty (q.v.; Q 48:15). Such people are liars (Q 9:42; cf. 48:11), hypocrites (Q 3:167),

cursed by God for only obeying part of what he sent down (Q 47:26), closer to unbelief than to faith (Q 3:167), indeed outright unbelievers (Q 3:156; 33:19; cf. 9:44f.), who are really fighting for *ṭāghūt* (Q 4:76, cf. 4:72; see IDOLS AND IMAGES; JIBT); they will be cast into a blazing fire (q.v.; Q 48:13) and hell is to be their abode (Q 9:95; see HELL AND HELLFIRE). Some people who have been granted permission to stay behind, a decision now regretted, are singled out for particular attention in increasingly sharp terms (Q 9:43-88). But the Bedouin who stayed behind are promised a second chance: they will be called against a mighty people and rewarded if they obeyed (Q 48:16). The believers in general are told that if they would not go forth, God will punish them and choose another people (Q 9:39). If they think their fathers, sons, brothers, wives, kinsmen, trade and houses are more important than God, his messenger, and *jihād fī sabīl Allāh,* then they will eventually learn otherwise (Q 9:24). There is no need to be afraid. Death will come at its appointed time, wherever one may be (Q 4:78), and God might restrain the power of the unbelievers (Q 4:84); in any case, unbelievers, hypocrites and People of the Book are all cowards who will turn their backs (cf. Q 3:110f.; 48:22; 59:11f.).

Attempts are also made to shame the believers into fighting by construing war as a test: God could have avenged himself on his opponents but he wants the believers to do it so that he and they can see their true worth (Q 47:4, 31). Most people have failed the test, as they had done back in the time of Moses and Saul and David (q.v.; above), whose experiences clearly reflect the messenger's own (see NARRATIVES). Misfortunes in battles are likewise cast as tests (Q 3:166f.; 33:10f.). God alternates good and bad days to purify the believers and to destroy the unbelievers, i.e. to weed out those of little faith (Q 3:140f.). Here as so often, the unbelievers seem to be members of the party deemed lacking in commitment to the cause.

The objectives of war

Opponents have wronged the believers by breaking their oaths and plotting to expel or kill the messenger (Q 8:30; 9:13; 17:76) and by actually expelling both him (Q 60:1; 9:40) and the believers without right, just for saying "God is our lord" (q.v.; e.g. Q 22:40; cf. 60:1, 8f.); they have also blocked access to the sanctuary (Q 2:217; 48:25; see SACRED PRECINCTS). The objective of war is to avenge these wrongs, to help the weak men, women and children left behind (Q 4:75; see OPPRESSED ON EARTH, THE), to expel the people in control of the sanctuary as they expelled the believers (Q 2:191), to put an end to *fitna* (trial or test, traditionally understood as persecution, more probably communal division), to make the religion entirely God's (Q 2:193; 8:39), to make his religion prevail even if the polytheists dislike it (Q 9:33; 61:9; cf. 48:2) and to punish the opponents: one should fight them so that God might chastise them "at your hands" (Q 9:14); God will chastise them either on his own (*min ʿindihi,* presumably meaning by natural disasters; see WEATHER; COSMOLOGY) or "at our hands" (Q 9:52); he would have exacted retribution himself (see VENGEANCE) if he had not decided to do it through the believers to let them test one another (Q 47:4). The *jizya* verse stands out by enjoining fighting until unbelieving People of the Book are reduced to tributary status (Q 9:29). That the opponents will be destroyed is treated as certain: "How many a city (q.v.) stronger than the one that expelled you have we destroyed," God says (Q 47:13); "are your unbelievers better than they?" (Q 54:43). And the objectives are in fact achieved: God has expelled the un-

believing People of the Book from their homes and their fortresses, banishing them (Q 59:2f.); and he has fulfilled the vision he had granted the messenger by allowing the believers to enter the sanctuary (Q 48:27), though the presence of believing men and women there has caused him to withhold his punishment (Q 48:25).

Exegesis

The exegetes understood the qurʾānic verses on war as legislation regarding the Islamic duty of jihād and typically treated each verse as an independent unit for which the context was to be found in the tradition rather than the Qurʾān itself. For the result, see CONQUEST, JIHĀD, JEWS AND JUDAISM, and the further cross-references given there.

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Warmth see HOT AND COLD

Warner

One who foretells the (negative) consequences of actions. The Arabic word *nadhīr* (pl. *nudhur*) appears no fewer than fifty-eight times in the Qurʾān, scarcely less frequently than the verb *andhara* (including nominal and adjectival forms, particularly *mundhir*) from which it derives, and nearly always in the sense of "warner" (cf. *Lisān al-ʿArab,* xiv, 100). As Watt puts it (*Muhammad at Mecca,* 71), the verb "describes the action of informing a person of something of a dangerous, harmful, or fearful nature, so as to put him on his guard against it or put him in fear (q.v.) of it" (see also CHASTISEMENT AND PUNISHMENT; REWARD AND PUNISHMENT). Particularly in the language of the *sīra* (see SĪRA AND THE QURʾĀN), *andhara* is also used to describe the Prophet's foreknowledge — his "giving notice" — of future events (see FORETELLING; MIRACLES; MARVELS) and as such can be counted as one of the signs (q.v.; see also PROOF) of his prophethood (Ibn Isḥāq, *Sīra,* i, 134; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jawāmiʿ al-sīra,* 10f.; see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD).

The primary sense of *nadhīr* in pre-qurʾānic Arabic seems to have been connected to warfare: the *nadhīr al-jaysh/al-qawm* is usually described as the scout who warned the main force of the enemy's presence (see WAR; ENEMIES), a usage that continues in the Islamic period (see Bevan, *Naḳāʾid,* 12, "one who gives the alarm," and 517, "a warner"; Ibn Qutayba, *ʿUyūn,* i, 109; Wensinck, *Concordance,* s.v. *andhara*). It is apparently this sense that lies behind the

prophetic ḥadīth in which Muḥammad identifies himself as the "naked warner" (*al-nadhīr al-ʿuryān;* cf. Wensinck, *Concordance,* iv, 203), who waves his shed garments in order to raise the alarm (see ḤADĪTH AND THE QURʾĀN). Unlike *bashīr* (and its cognate, *mubashshir,* "the bearer of good news"; see NEWS; GOOD NEWS) or, for that matter, *nadhr* ("vow"), which have parallels in pre-Islamic Semitic languages (see Jeffery, *For. vocab.,* 79f. and 278; Widengren, *Muḥammad,* 13f.), usage of the term *nadhīr* apparently becomes monotheistic only in the Qurʾān itself (see FOREIGN VOCABULARY; GRAMMAR AND THE QURʾĀN). Although the jinn (q.v.) can occasionally warn people (see Q 46:29 and Ibn Isḥāq, *Sīra,* i, 130), here as elsewhere God, acting out of his mercy (q.v.), usually sends men. The *bashīr,* with which *nadhīr* is frequently paired (at least in part for reasons of rhyme; see RHYMED PROSE; PAIRS AND PAIRING; RHETORIC AND THE QURʾĀN), promises good news for those who believe (see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF), but God's warners invariably promise bad news for those who do not (see, for the two antonyms, al-Rāghib al-Iṣfahānī, *Mufradāt,* s.v. *n-dh-r;* and on Q 34:28, Muqātil b. Sulaymān, *Tafsīr,* iii, 533). In this respect, *andhara* and *nadhīr* lie close to the qurʾānic *dhakkara* "to remind, admonish" (on which see Bravmann, *Spiritual background,* 87 n. 1; see REMEMBRANCE; MEMORY; REFLECTION AND DELIBERATION). As the last of the prophets, Muḥammad seems to have been construed as the last of the *nadhīr*s, and exhorting the faithful to fear would later fall to preachers of varying status, some of whom took their name from the far less common qurʾānic term *mudhakkir* (for examples, see Ibn al-Jawzī, *Quṣṣāṣ,* 42f.; see TEACHING AND PREACHING THE QURʾĀN).

Attempts to assign fairly precise dating to the "warner" passages (thus Horovitz, *KU,* 47; Speyer, *Erzählungen,* 34f.; Andrae, *Mohammed,* 43f.; see CHRONOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN) are only as persuasive as the schemes upon which they otherwise rely. But if one holds to the traditional and modern consensus that Q 74:2 ("Rise and warn!") is among the earliest lines — indeed, perhaps the earliest — revealed to Muḥammad, then his role as God's warner is at least as old as that (thus Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* xxix, 143f.; id., *Taʾrīkh,* i, 1153f.; Rubin, Shrouded messenger; see OCCASIONS OF REVELATION). Even if one does not, Muḥammad's role as warner is still attested in Q 26:214 ("And warn your nearest relatives…"; see KINSHIP), which is held to signal the beginning of his public preaching, an event conventionally dated three years after his first revelation (thus Ibn Isḥāq, *Sīra,* i, 166; Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh,* i, 1169; Nöldeke, *GQ,* i, 129). In the traditional literature, the imagery is one of the battlefield (see Rubin, *Eye,* 130f.), which may suggest a relatively early date (see EXPEDITIONS AND BATTLES). That this verse marks the concept's point of entry into the Qurʾān is also suggested by echoes of the parochialism (cf. also Q 42:7) that characterizes earlier warners, who had warned their communities of their own particular fates: the thunderbolt that fell upon ʿĀd (q.v.) and Thamūd (q.v.) in Q 41:13, the blow delivered to the people of Lot (q.v.) in Q 54:36 and the "painful chastisement" promised by Noah (q.v.; Q 71:1), which is glossed in tradition as the flood (thus Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* xxix, 91; see PUNISHMENT STORIES).

Muḥammad is certainly portrayed as one of a line of monotheistic warners (thus Q 28:46; 32:3), "there is not a community but that it has had a warner" (Q 35:24), and warning sometimes appears to have been intrinsic to prophecy itself (see especially Q 6:48 and Q 18:56: "We have not sent

messengers save as bearers of good news and warners"; see MESSENGER). Unlike his predecessors, however, Muḥammad is frequently given to warn through a scripture that was revealed to him (e.g. Q 6:19; 7:2; 42:7; 46:12; see BOOK; REVELATION AND INSPIRATION); he is also given to warn "all humankind" (Q 34:28), and whereas Noah's "painful chastisement" (*ʿadhāb ʿalīm,* Q 71:1) was the flood, Muḥammad warns of nothing less than the eschaton itself: "the day of meeting" (Q 40:15; cf. 40:18; see ESCHATOLOGY) and "the flaming fire"(q.v.; Q 92:14; see also HELL AND HELLFIRE). At least once (Q 78:40), this day of chastisement is said to be near to hand, but the precise timing of the end probably held more interest for later Muslims than it did for Muḥammad himself (see Bashear, Muslim apocalypses; see APOCALYPSE). In sum, "this is a warner of the warners of old" (Q 53:56), but the Prophet brings together an altogether unprecedented combination of vision, scripture and political action (cf. Cook, *Muhammad,* 35f.; Cook and Crone, *Hagarism,* 16f.; see SCRIPTURE AND THE QURʾĀN; POLITICS AND THE QURʾĀN).

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Warning

see WARNER

Wars of Apostasy

see APOSTASY

Washing

see CLEANLINESS AND ABLUTION; RITUAL PURITY

Waṣīla

see CONSECRATION OF ANIMALS; CAMEL; IDOLS AND IMAGES

Waswās

see DEVIL

Watcher

see GOD AND HIS ATTRIBUTES; SEEING AND HEARING

Water

The compound of oxygen and hydrogen on which every form of life depends. Of the four Heraclean elements, water has the highest number of attestations in the Qurʾān and appears in the greatest variety of forms. In its general sense, it is designated by the Arabic word *māʾ*. It subsists in the sky as clouds *(saḥāb, muzn, muʿṣirāt, ghamāma, ʿarḍ),* falls to the earth as rain *(māʾ min al-samāʾ, wadq, maṭar),* or hail (*barad;* see WEATHER) or is condensed from the atmosphere as dew *(ṭall)*. It rises from within the earth as springs *(ʿayn, yanbūʿ)* and is also accessible as wells (*biʾr, jubb;* see SPRINGS AND FOUNTAINS). It flows across the land as

rivers (*nahr,* pl. *anhār*) and foaming torrents *(sayl)*. It comprises the great aqueous mass of the sea (*yam, baḥr,* pl. *biḥār*), and its surges are waves *(mawj)*. Often explicit mention of it is elided *(maḥdhūf)* and its presence indicated by context, through such verbs as *ghasila,* "to wash," or *saqā,* "give to drink" (see FOOD AND DRINK). There is the water of bodily fluids, such as semen (*nutfa, māʾ mahīn, māʾ dāfiq;* see BIOLOGY AS THE CREATION AND STAGES OF LIFE) and tears (*damʿ;* see WEEPING). Finally, there is in hell scalding water *(ḥamīm)* and putrid liquid *(ṣadīd)* among the torments of the damned (see REWARD AND PUNISHMENT; HELL AND HELLFIRE).

Water in all these forms has a part in the divine economy of creation (q.v.). The words that designate it interact with each others' meanings, creating what Frithjof Schuon calls a spiritual geometry that yields structures of religious meaning characteristic of qurʾānic rhetoric (see RHETORIC AND THE QURʾĀN). They occur individually but are also combined to form images of power and beauty (q.v.). Water is a sign of God's power (see NATURE AS SIGNS; POWER AND IMPOTENCE). It reveals aspects of the dependence of creation on him, his dealings with it, and its duty to serve him.

God created water before the heavens (see HEAVEN AND SKY) and the earth (q.v.) — this is how the commentators (al-Ṭabarī, al-Rāzī, al-Nasafī), understand the verse "[God] created the heavens and the earth in six days, when his throne was above the water *(māʾ)*" (Q 11:7), and "He raised up the dome [of the sky], then perfected it; he made dark its night and made bright its day (see DAY AND NIGHT), he laid out the earth, and drew forth from it its water *(māʾ)* and its pasturage" (Q 79:28-31; see AGRICULTURE AND VEGETATION). It is life-giving. Further God says, "We made every living thing of water *(māʾ)*" (Q 21:30; cf. 24:45) and, as seminal fluid, in phrases such as *māʾ mahīn* (Q 77:20), and *māʾ dāfiq* (Q 86:6), water passes on life (q.v.) from one generation to the next.

From above the earth

"Water from the sky" *(min al-samāʾ māʾ),* a regular periphrasis for rain, is among the gifts celebrated in hymnic pericopes (see LANGUAGE AND STYLE OF THE QURʾĀN; GIFT AND GIFT-GIVING) such as: "He has set the earth for you as a resting place, and placed across it paths for you, and sent down from the sky water by which we have brought forth in profusion greenery of various kinds" (Q 20:53). It is one reason for humankind to worship (q.v.) God (see also GRATITUDE AND INGRATITUDE). Water is a single entity, but it produces a variety of wonderful things. "In the earth are neighboring tracts of land and gardens, of grapes, land with sown crops, date palms in clusters (see DATE PALM), sprung from a single root, or standing singly, though irrigated by one water" (*māʾ,* Q 13:4; cf. 80:25). By it "he makes grow for you your crops, olives, dates, grapes and fruits of every kind" (Q 16:10-11; cf. 50:9-10). Humankind depends totally on God's bounty, "Have you reflected on the water *(māʾ)* you drink? Did you make it come from the cloud *(muzn)* or did we?" (Q 56:68-9; cf. 67:30; see REFLECTION AND DELIBERATION; GRACE; BLESSING).

Water may be taken away (Q 23:18), and without it, everything withers. "We send down [water] from the sky. The greenery of the earth blends with it, but then becomes dry grass that the wind scatters" (Q 18:45). Water is carried by the clouds *(saḥāb)*. The winds *(riyāḥ lawāqiḥ)* impregnate them (with water), and by them "We send water *(māʾ)* down from the sky, then give it to you as drink. It is not you who

hold it in store" (Q 15:22). The winds drive the clouds to carry water wherever God wills.

Clouds may portend blessings. "We spread over you clouds *(ghamāma),* and sent upon you manna and quails" (Q 2:57). The winds carry them, "… you see rain *(wadq)* come from the midst of them," and "his servants (see SERVANT)… who receive it rejoice" (Q 30:48). They may, however, contain thunder and lightening, and send down hail *(barad),* and threaten punishment (Q 24:43; see CHASTISEMENT AND PUNISHMENT).

The wonderful effect water has on drought-stricken earth is proof of God's power to resurrect the dead. "Among his signs (q.v.) is [this]: That you look on the earth [and see it] barren, yet when we send down upon it water *(mā')*, it is stirred and becomes fecund. Indeed, he who brings it back to life restores to life the dead" (Q 41:39; cf. 7:57; 16:65; see DEATH AND THE DEAD; RESURRECTION).

On earth

Water is given to humankind in wells, rivers and torrents *(sayl)* flowing through the valleys (Q 13:17) and springs. Wells are mentioned in Q 12:10, 15 as *jubb,* and as *bi'r* in Q 22:45. The miraculous appearance of the well of Zamzam near Mecca (q.v.), is implied in Q 2:158, that prescribes the *sa'y* between Ṣafā and Marwa (q.v.), and is the scriptural basis for the story of Ishmael (q.v.; Ismā'īl) and Hagar (Hājar).

Rivers provide water for irrigation, are a means of travel and transport and are sources of food and ornaments. Like rain they are celebrated in hymnic pericopes of great beauty (cf. Q 13:3; 14:32; 16:15; 27:61). The unbelievers (see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF) say to Muḥammad that they will not believe unless "You provide for us a garden (q.v.) of date palms and grapes, and rivers *(anhār)* gush through it" (Q 17:91; see OPPOSITION TO MUḤAMMAD). On two occasions, *yamm* replaces *nahr* to identify the river Nile, when the infant Moses (q.v.) was left to float in a box to be carried by its waters to safety (Q 20:39; 28:7).

Springs have a place in the canon of divine blessings: "he has caused you to have abundance of cattle and sons, of gardens and springs" (Q 26:133-4). And "we set [upon the earth] gardens of date palms and grapes, and we make gush from it springs" (Q 36:34). Yet springs only gush from the earth because God so wills (Q 67:30). Like God's other gifts they may be taken back due to people's wickedness (see GOOD AND EVIL). Ṣāliḥ (q.v.) warned his people that, if they did not accept his message, the "gardens, springs, tilled fields, and date palms with heavy sheaths" (Q 26:147-8) they enjoyed would be taken away from them (see WARNER; PUNISHMENT STORIES).

So precious are they that the unbelievers said to Muḥammad, "We will not believe you until you make a spring *(yanbū'an)* gush forth for us" (Q 17:90). Moses had performed such a miracle (q.v.). When he asked God for water in the desert, God replied, "'Strike the rock with your staff (see ROD),' and twelve springs gushed from it" (Q 2:60).

The sea

There are two words for sea: *baḥr* and *yamm,* the latter of which is attested only eight times in the Qur'ān. In four places, *yamm* refers to the sea in which Pharaoh (q.v.) drowned (Q 7:136; 20:78; 28:40; 51:40; see DROWNING), and once to the sea in which were thrown the ashes of al-Sāmirī's idol (Q 20:97; see SAMARITANS; CALF OF GOLD). The sea *(baḥr)* is mighty. God swears by Mount Sinai (q.v.), by the Torah (q.v.), by the heavenly Ka'ba (q.v.), by the

vault of the sky, and by the ever brimful sea (Q 52:1-6) that the punishment he threatens will come about (Q 52:7; see OATHS). The water of the sea is salty. The Qurʾān contrasts it with the fresh water of springs and rivers, speaking of the two seas *(baḥrayn):* "It is he who has let flow the two seas, one sweet and one salty and set a barrier (q.v.) between them" (Q 25:53-4; cf. 55:19-20; see also BARZAKH). The point of meeting of the two seas is apotheosized in the Qurʾān as the place at which Moses meets the prophet al-Khiḍr (Q 18:60-5; see KHAḌIR/KHIḌR). Though different, both serve humankind: "From each you can eat fresh fish and find ornaments. You can watch the ships (q.v.) cleaving them with their prows as they seek his bounty" (cf. Q 14:32; 16:14; 17:66; 22:65; 31:31; 35:12; 45:12; see HUNTING AND FISHING). Especially vivid is "his are the ships on the sea with sails aloft like mountains" (Q 55:24).

The sea is also a place of terror and darkness (q.v.). God gives protection against these perils: "God has set the stars to guide you in the darknesses of land and sea" (Q 6:63, 97; 27:63; see PLANETS AND STARS). It is at its most terrifying when mariners are threatened by a tempest: "When waves are suspended over them like a canopy, they call on God, in total sincerity, but when he has brought them safely to land, their faith (q.v.) grows feeble" (Q 31:32; cf. 10:22; 17:67).

Water as punishment

Water may be an instrument of punishment. One occasion, in historical time, is referred to in Q 34:16: "Then they turned away from us, so we sent to overwhelm them the torrent *(sayl)* of the great dam (*al-ʿarim* [q.v.])," referring to the devastation of Sabaʾ (see SHEBA) after the collapse of a dam above the city. On a greater scale is the flood sent to punish the people of Noah (q.v.), wiping out all of humankind apart from Noah and his family. "So we opened the gates of the sky to let water *(māʾ)* pour forth, then we made springs *(ʿuyūn)* gush from the earth until the water *(māʾ)* [from above and below] met to accomplish what had been decreed" (Q 54:11-12; cf. 69:11). The waves *(mawj)* drowned Noah's son (Q 11:43), who put his trust in a mountain instead of God. The waters of the sea drowned Pharaoh and his armies (Q 10:90; 44:24). God has total power over the waters. He saved Noah, "By God's help, the ark (q.v.) sailed safely amid [waves] like mountains" (Q 11:42). God saved Moses from Pharaoh by dividing the sea (Q 2:50; 7:138; 20:77; 26:63).

In paradise

A surging up of the sea (Q 81:6; 82:3) is a sign of judgment day but it is no longer mentioned in the hereafter (see ESCHATOLOGY; LAST JUDGMENT). Water, however, still has a role. In the gardens of paradise (q.v.) are springs (Q 15:45; also Q 44:52; 55:50; 77:41-3) and from them the blessed are given drinks of wonderful taste (Q 37:45-7; 76:6), including *zanjabīl* from a spring called *salsabīl* (Q 76:17-18). Those brought close to the divine presence drink from water called *tasnīm* (Q 83:27-8; see FACE OF GOD). Through these gardens flow rivers (Q 64:9; 65:11; cf. 2:266; 98:8), the water of which will never run brackish (Q 47:15). For those enjoying them is assurance of forgiveness (q.v.), the ending of hostilities and peace (q.v.; Q 47:12; 48:17; see also ENMITY).

In hell

Water is also part of the torments of the damned. The most terrible form of it is *ḥamīm*. It is a scalding, seething fluid, with a terrible taste (Q 38:57; 44:46). There are other liquid torments. The damned who cry out calling for cooling water (Q 7:50)

are given water like fused brass, like the dregs of oil (Q 18:29; see SMELL; HOT AND COLD). It is foul and purulent, and can scarcely pass their throats (Q 56:42). There are springs that add to their agony such as one that spouts scalding water (Q 88:5).

In God's design

Water plays a direct role in the dispositions of divine providence. One example is the vignette of Moses, after his flight from Egypt, helping the two daughters of Jethro water their flocks (cf. Q 28:23-4). This was a critical moment in his career, for it set the stage for his return to Egypt as a prophet (see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD). Another is the pivotal role played by "water from the sky" the evening before the battle of Badr (q.v.), rain making the soft and shifting sand firm underfoot for the Muslims, and providing a stream to furnish drink and from which to take water for ritual ablutions (cf. Q 8:11; see CLEANLINESS AND ABLUTION; RITUAL PURITY).

In purification

Q 8:11 alludes to the nexus between water and the ritual purity necessary for the valid performance of the ritual prayer (q.v.), and by extension, progress in the spiritual life. Q 4:43 and Q 5:6 prescribe the ritual of *wuḍūʾ* and the circumstances that render it necessary. Q 38:42 shows water as an agent of healing, sanctifying and restoring. After Job (q.v.) has suffered for many years, God says to him, "Scuff [the earth] with your foot! This is [a spring]. A cool place to bathe, and [it is] drink" (Q 38:42), the words "water" and "spring" being understood. The water this miraculous spring provides quenches Job's thirst, cleanses him from disease, and is a sign that everything taken from him is to be restored. It is a cue to the spiritual dimensions of water in the Qurʾān, richly exploited in the Ṣūfī tradition (see ṢŪFISM AND THE QURʾĀN), notably in the thought of al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111) and Ibn al-ʿArabī (d. 638/1240).

In rhetoric

Metaphors in which water plays a part highlight its connotations (see METAPHOR). Unbelieving hearts are harder than stone (for nothing good can come from them; see HEART), whereas from some stones rivers gush forth, others shatter, and water flows from them (Q 2:74). The unbeliever is totally ignorant and blind (see IGNORANCE; VISION AND BLINDNESS). He is "in the darkness of a vast sea; waves envelop him, above them further waves, above them clouds, [forming] layers of darkness, one upon the other" (Q 24:40). Finally, even the plenitude of the sea is little compared to the words of God, for if all the trees of the world were pens, and the seas seven times over were ink, they would not suffice to write them (Q 18:109; 31:27; see WRITING AND WRITING MATERIALS; WORD OF GOD).

Conclusion

Water, in its primal position in the order of creation, the variety of its forms and uses, its literal and symbolic significances (see SYMBOLIC IMAGERY), has a dominant position in the Qurʾān's presentation of natural phenomena. In it is an inherent dynamism that makes it unique. It is one, but fecundates life in diverse forms. The movement of the life-cycle from the germination of a seed depends on it. It brings the dead earth back to life and is thus an image of God's power to resurrect the dead. The frequent periphrasis "water from the sky" instead of rain *(wadq, maṭar)* highlights water as substance, untrammeled by any accident.

Every attestation elaborates the spiritual economy of the qurʾānic revelation (see REVELATION AND INSPIRATION). Like the Qurʾān *(tanzīl)*, it is sent down *(nazala)* from the sky, as a mercy (q.v.) to humankind. It

is essential to every form of life and a symbol and agent of spiritual purity. Mystics have found in it an infinity of aspects and significances.

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Water of Paradise

Rivers and springs found in the paradisiacal garden, as described in the Qurʾān. The phrase "rivers of paradise," *anhār al-janna,* occurs forty-six times, while the terms *ʿayn,* spring, and its plural, *ʿuyūn,* occur nine times only (see also WATER; SPRINGS AND FOUNTAINS). There are four kinds of rivers in paradise (q.v.): Rivers of milk (q.v.) whose taste never alters, rivers of pure honey (q.v.), rivers of delightful wine (q.v.) which causes neither drunkenness nor heaviness (see INTOXICANTS) and, finally, rivers of water that are always gushing, as in Q 47:15.

Where are these rivers and springs located? Al-Qurṭubī (d. 671/1272) mentions that the qurʾānic expression "underneath them" means that rivers flow "under the dwellers of paradise's couches and under their chambers" (*Jāmiʿ,* viii, 312). A much earlier commentator, al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923), had offered an expanded explanation: "God means the trees, fruits, and plants in the garden (q.v.; see also AGRICULTURE AND VEGETATION), not the ground. That is why he has said 'underneath which rivers flow,' because it is clear that he wanted to say that the water of the rivers therein flowed under the trees, plants, and fruits, not under the ground. For, when water flows under the ground, it is not the lot of someone above it to see it unless the cover between it and him is removed. According to the description of the rivers of the garden, they do not flow in underground channels" (*Tafsīr,* ad loc.). Al-Qurṭubī delves into the location of these rivers. He cites al-Bukhārī's (d. 256/870) *Ṣaḥīḥ:* "If you asked God, then ask him to dwell in *al-firdaws* which is in the middle of the garden. It is located in the highest place. On top of it is placed the Throne of God (q.v.), the merciful (see MERCY; GOD AND HIS ATTRIBUTES). It is from *al-firdaws* that the rivers of paradise flow" (*Jāmiʿ,* ix, 311).

Islamic tradition (see TRADITIONAL DISCIPLINES OF QURʾĀNIC STUDY) has ascribed various names of qurʾānic origin to these rivers (e.g. Kawthar, Kāfūr, Tasnīm, Salsabīl; cf. Smith and Haddad, *Islamic understanding,* 88, esp. n. 76). One of them, *al-kawthar,* occurs only once in the Qurʾān. Ibn Qayyim al Jawziyya (d. 751/1350) cites a ḥadīth of the Prophet (see ḤADĪTH AND THE QURʾĀN) from Muslim (d. ca. 261/875): "*al-kawthar* is a river in paradise that my God promised me" (*Ḥādī l-arwāḥ,* 314). Abū Nuʿaym al-Iṣfahānī (d. 430/1038) quotes the following ḥadīth: "Then *sidrat al-muntahā* (the lote-tree of the boundary; see TREES; ASCENSION) was uncovered for me, and I saw four rivers: two internal and two external; I said: 'What are these rivers, O Gabriel (q.v.)?' He said, 'The internal ones are in paradise and the external are the Nile and the Euphrates'" (*Ṣifat al-janna,* iii, 157-8; see GEOGRAPHY).

In Q 76:18, we read that the faithful will drink from a source called *salsabīl*. Its water is flavored with ginger (Q 76:17) and the

calyx of sweet-smelling flowers (cf. Q 76:5; see CAMPHOR; SMELL; FOOD AND DRINK).

Water of paradise purifies literally and metaphorically (see METAPHOR; CLEANLINESS AND ABLUTION; RITUAL PURITY). Al-Qurṭubī (*Jāmiʿ,* x, 33) interprets Q 15:45 as follows: "when the people of paradise enter paradise, two springs are offered to them. They drink from the first one, and God erases all hatred and desire for vengeance (q.v.) from their hearts (see HEART). Then, they enter into the second spring and wash themselves. Their faces (q.v.) become serene."

Inasmuch as the water of paradise purifies, it was connected to light (q.v.). Light, like water, renews and regenerates. Thus, al-Qurṭubī interprets the term *nahar* in Q 54:54 as light rather than river (*Jāmiʿ,* xvii, 149). These two meanings of radiance and refinement can be understood in a highly esoteric way, as expressed in the commentary published under the name of the great Ṣūfī (see ṢŪFISM AND THE QURʾĀN) Ibn al-ʿArabī (d. 638/1240) as "the sources of the esoteric sciences and their branches" (*Tafsīr,* i, 234; see POLYSEMY).

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Weakness see OPPRESSED ON EARTH, THE

Wealth

Worldly possessions and property. In this sense, "wealth" occurs often in the Qūrʾan. The most common term for it, *māl* and its plural *amwāl,* prevails in the later (Medinan) sūras (q.v.; see also CHRONOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN). Additional terms include *ghināʾ* and other words derived from its root, especially in the early (Meccan) sūras. Sometimes property (q.v.) seems taken for granted as a simple fact of life: God "has made it a support for you" (*allatī jaʿala llāhu lakum qiyāman,* Q 4:5); one reason for men's control over women is "the expenditure they make [for them] out of their property" (Q 4:34; see MAINTENANCE AND UPKEEP; WOMEN AND THE QURʾĀN; PATRIARCHY). For the most part, however, wealth is considered permissible and even desirable under certain conditions but a dangerous thing overall.

To begin with, God is *ghanī,* which means both "wealthy" and "able to dispense with" something or someone (see GOD AND HIS ATTRIBUTES). He has no need of creation (q.v.) and the world (q.v.; *ghaniyyun ʿani l-ʿālamīn,* Q 3:97; 29:6). Human beings, however, need at least a bare minimum of the goods of this world, which can only come from God. God combines his wealth with mercy (q.v.; Q 6:133), providing humans with property to satisfy their needs (Q 53:48, *aghnā wa-aqnā*). Accordingly, we have the famous passage Q 35:15, "Oh you people! You are the (poor) ones in need of God (*al-fuqarāʾu ilā llāhi;* see POVERTY AND THE POOR), while God is the wealthy and praiseworthy one (*al-ghaniyyu l-ḥamīd;* see PRAISE; LAUDATION; GLORIFICATION OF GOD)." God's gifts (see GIFT AND GIFT-GIVING) may be related to the sustenance

(q.v.; *rizq*) which he provides, as for instance in the quickening rain (see WATER; BLESSING). More to the point here, however, is the fact that the divine beneficence is often called *faḍl,* which means "grace" (q.v.) but, also, in many cases, something more like "surplus" (see Bravmann, Surplus of poverty). "So if you fear (q.v.) poverty, God will make you wealthy out of his *faḍl*" (Q 9:28); those who lack the means for getting married should wait chastely for God's *faḍl* to arrive (Q 24:33; see MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE; CHASTITY).

God's generosity contrasts with the hoarding and greed of certain people (Q 10:58; see AVARICE). It is especially blameworthy to respond to God's *faḍl* with vengeful behavior (cf. Q 9:73-4; see VENGEANCE). Yet many people are misled by or through their material goods. In the days of old, the Children of Israel (q.v.; Bānū Isrāʾīl) rejected their prophet's designation of Saul (q.v.; Ṭālūt) as king over them, because they did not consider him rich enough (Q 2:247; see KINGS AND RULERS). The people of Midian (q.v.) asked Shuʿayb (q.v.) if his religion would require them "to cease doing whatever we like with our property" (Q 11:87). The dazzling splendor and wealth of the present life which God permitted to Pharaoh (q.v.) and his chiefs caused them to lead people astray (q.v.) from God's path (Q 10:88; see PATH OR WAY). In Muḥammad's own time, the unbelievers spent their wealth in precisely the same way (Q 8:36; see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF). Acquisition of wealth is repeatedly described as useless (e.g. Q 15:84; 69:28; 92:11; 111:1-2, etc.). In a great many verses, worldly wealth is paired with children (q.v.), together constituting a vain enticement or temptation away from God (Q 3:10, 116; 8:28; 9:55, 69, 85; 17:6, 64; 18:34, 39, 46; 19:77; 23:55-6; 26:88; 34:35, 37; 57:20; 58:17; 63:9; 64:15; 71:21; see TRIAL; TRUST AND PATIENCE).

Hoarding, avarice and arrogance (q.v.) all go together (see Q 57:23-4; 4:36-8, "God does not love the arrogant and vainglorious, nor those who are stingy and who hide the benefits that God has bestowed on them… nor those who spend of their substance so as to be conspicuous before others"). Every time a warner (q.v.) appears before a people, its well-off members *(mutrafūhā)* say, "We do not believe…; we have more in wealth and children, and we cannot be punished" (cf. Q 34:34-5). Of course they are proved wrong; and in the afterlife, the saved will call down to the damned (see REWARD AND PUNISHMENT): "Of what profit to you were your hoarding and arrogant ways?" (Q 7:48; cf. 14:21). The basic problem with avarice is its claim to self-sufficiency (Q 92:8, *man bakhila wa-staghnā*). Avarice thus comes at the cost of one's own soul (q.v.; Q 47:38) and to be saved from the "covetousness of one's soul" is to achieve true "prosperity" (Q 64:16). Similarly, greed is a form of ingratitude: the creature whom God created and to whom he granted abundant goods and sons, and whose life he made comfortable, is now greedy for more (Q 74:11-15). Man, though created for toil and struggle (see WORK), still boasts, "I have squandered abundant wealth" (Q 90:4-6).

A great many passages in the Qurʾān speak of arrogance and the arrogant *(alladhīna stakbarū),* rather than of wealth and the wealthy. These two groups (the arrogant and the wealthy) are related, if not identical. Interestingly, the Qurʾān, like the New Testament (Mark 10:25; Matthew 19:24; Luke 18:25) talks of a camel (q.v.) going through the eye of a needle yet here the object of comparison is not the wealthy man seeking entrance to heaven (see PARADISE) but rather "those who reject our signs (q.v.) and consider them with arrogance" (Q 7:40; see LIE; GRATITUDE AND INGRATITUDE).

Despite its many dangers for us, we can purify our wealth by giving it away without any thought for favors in return (Q 92:18-19). We should not mar our acts of charity (see GOOD DEEDS; ALMSGIVING) with reminders of our generosity or with unkind remarks (Q 2:264). In this way, our wealth may come to resemble God's original gift to humankind (*rizq* or *faḍl*), which was likewise given without any expectation of its being restored to the original donor. This reciprocity between God and the donor becomes clear when we are called upon to help meritorious *mukātab* slaves (see SLAVES AND SLAVERY): "give them some of God's wealth *(min māli llāhi)* which he has given you" (Q 24:33). Many passages specify how to take alms from property and the right or claim *(ḥaqq)* for "the needy and the deprived" that inheres within the property itself (Q 51:19; 70:24-5; see OPPRESSION; OPPRESSED ON EARTH, THE).

Wealth becomes an aid to salvation (q.v.) when it has not only been "purified," but also spent "in the path of God" (Q 2:261-5). Repeatedly, the believers are enjoined to struggle with their possessions and their persons *(bi-amwālihim wa-anfusihim);* often (as at Q 4:95; 8:72; 9:44, 81, 88) this refers specifically to fighting (q.v.) and warfare (see WAR), though in other cases perhaps not (see JIHĀD). God has purchased the possessions and persons of the believers in return for the garden (q.v.; Q 9:111). Here, through war and conquest (q.v.), material wealth becomes a positive value: "He made you heirs of the lands, houses and goods [of the People of the Book (q.v.)], and of a land which you did not frequent previously" (Q 33:27).

There are also many passages that deal with the management of property. Orphans' estates must be handled honestly (see ORPHAN; GUARDIANSHIP). Money is prescribed for dowries (Q 4:24; see BRIDEWEALTH) and should not be made over to the weak of understanding (Q 4:5; see MATURITY; INTELLECT). You should not devour your own substance and that of others by spending it on vanities or on bribes (?) for judges (e.g. Q 2:188; 4:29). The alternative to such spending on vanities is commerce based on mutual good-will (*tijāratan ʿan tarāḍin minkum,* Q 4:29). Similarly, *ribā* denotes a kind of bad transaction, contrasted with alms (Q 30:39), and permissible trade (Q 2:274; see USURY).

Regarding the historical context for references to wealth in the Qurʾān, in one place, Q 48:11, the term *amwāl* is used to refer to the herds of nomadic desert-dwellers (see NOMADS). Otherwise, we seem to be in a world consisting largely of town-dwellers, perhaps one in a process of intense social change, as Watt *(Muhammad at Mecca; Muhammad at Medina),* Ibrahim *(Merchant capital)* and Bamyeh *(Social origins)* have variously proposed (see CITY). It is not often clear, however, whether or to what extent the references to wealth in the Qurʾān have to do with moveable or immoveable property. Clear references to money (q.v.) are lacking altogether. Only rarely does the Qurʾān provide much context for these matters. One example may be Q 4:160-1, where the Jews (see JEWS AND JUDAISM) are mentioned together with *ribā* (usury?); however, this may fit within a well-established thematic of monotheist debate (see DEBATE AND DISPUTATION), as Rippin (Commerce) has suggested regarding the commercial vocabulary of the Qurʾān (see TRADE AND COMMERCE; POLEMIC AND POLEMICAL LANGUAGE).

Despite the variety among them, these qurʾānic themes relating to wealth and property together constitute a coherent view. A summary of this view, at Q 47:36-8, makes it clear that if people believe and do the right things (see VIRTUES AND VICES, COMMANDING AND FORBIDDING; ETHICS AND THE QURʾĀN), if they are generous and

open-handed, and if they remember that this life is mere play and frivolity, then God will allow them to keep their worldly property after all. Among the classical exegetes (see EXEGESIS OF THE QUR'ĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL), al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923) had a particularly strong sense of the qur'ānic moral economy regarding property and wealth.

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Wean

see LACTATION

Weapons

see INSTRUMENTS; FIGHTING; WAR; HUNTING AND FISHING

Weariness

see SLEEP; SABBATH

Weather

In general terms, the state of the atmosphere at a given time and place, involving the variables of heat, cold, moisture, wind and pressure, and referring both to beneficial and destructive consequences. In the Qur'ān there are a number of words covering many of these aspects, some phenomena having more than one term. In the vast majority of contexts, the agency of God is explicit (e.g. Q 30:48).

Rain, for example, is expressed in several ways. The most frequent is the mention of God's "sending down water from the sky" thereby giving life (q.v.) to or restoring it on earth (q.v.; see also AGRICULTURE AND VEGETATION). The word *ghayth* is also employed in a bountiful sense in Q 42:28 and Q 57:20 (see GRACE; BLESSING). The two occurrences of *wadq* (Q 24:43; 30:48) mean a heavy rain falling from a cloud; *ṣayyib* (Q 2:19) is also rendered heavy rain or rainstorm. A neutral sense is conveyed in Q 4:102 where fighters are allowed to set aside their arms (see FIGHTING; EXPEDITIONS AND BATTLES; WEAPONS) if sick (see ILLNESS AND HEALTH) or discomfited by rain *(maṭar)*. The causative verbal form IV of this root *(m-ṭ-r)* is used exclusively to express divine punishment, as in Q 25:40 where it "rained an evil rain" *(umṭirat maṭara l-saw'i)* upon Sodom. The same occurred to the people of Lot (q.v.; Q 7:84; 26:173; 27:58), although in Q 11:82 and Q 15:74 (see also Q 8:32) "stones" *(ḥijār)* were rained down upon them, possibly a metaphor (q.v.) for a volcanic eruption (see STONE).

A series of related weather terms, wind (sing. and pl.; see AIR AND WIND), storm (*'āṣif,* Q 14:18), and cloud may be treated together. In Q 22:31, ascribing partners to God (see POLYTHEISM AND ATHEISM) is likened to a wind *(rīḥ)* that carries someone far away. Another simile (q.v.) compares those who devote themselves to the life of this world to a biting icy wind (*rīḥ fīhā ṣirr,* Q 3:117) that destroys the harvest. Solomon (q.v.) is granted a fair wind by God by which he could safely set sail at sea (Q 21:81; 38:36). On the other hand, the ungrateful (see GRATITUDE AND INGRATITUDE) may feel a sense of security but God could drown them in a mighty storm or hurricane (*qāṣifan mina l-rīḥi,* Q 17:69; see DROWNING). A fierce roaring wind (*rīḥ ṣarṣar 'ātiya,* Q 69:6; cf. also Q 41:16; 54:19;

al-rīḥ al-ʿaqīm, Q 51:41) destroyed the people of ʿĀd (q.v.) for their disobedience (q.v.). The faithful (see FAITH; BELIEF AND UNBELIEF) are reminded of God's favor that when they were besieged at Medina (q.v.) by the Quraysh (q.v.), he sent against them a strong wind (*rīḥan,* Q 33:9) and hosts they could not see (see RANKS AND ORDERS; ANGEL). God sends winds (*al-riyāḥ bushran,* Q 7:57; see also Q 25:48; 27:63; cf. 30:46) that herald his mercy (q.v.) by bringing clouds to water a scorched earth (see WATER).

Two words for cloud, *ʿāriḍ* and *saḥāb,* the latter used in a collective sense as well, naturally occur along with mention of wind(s) (Q 2:164; 46:24) and rain. One splendid passage (Q 24:43) contains numerous signs of God's lordship as creator and sustainer of the natural order in the clouds, rain, hail *(barad)* and lightning (*barq;* see CREATION; SUSTENANCE; LORD; NATURE AS SIGNS). Thunder *(raʿd)* and lightning appear naturally together in Q 2:19-20 along with thunderbolts (*ṣawāʿiq;* see also Q 13:12-13). The people of Thamūd (q.v.) were destroyed (Q 69:5) by a divine punishment which appeared to combine the qualities of thunder and lightning *(ṭāghiya),* a term occurring only in this context (see PUNISHMENT STORIES). Lane notes that it is synonymous with *ṣāʿiqa* (pl. *ṣawāʿiq*) meaning "thunderbolt" (Q 41:13), although translators render it as "lightning" as well. Thunder *(raʿd)* is also the title of the thirteenth chapter of the Qurʾān (see SŪRA).

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Wedding see MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE

Weeping

Shedding of tears as a result of a heightened emotional state. Weeping out of piety (q.v.) or the fear (q.v.) of God is considered an expression of great devotion and several ḥadīths relate that this is what the Companions of the Prophet (q.v.) used to do when they heard sermons and preaching (see TEACHING AND PREACHING THE QURʾĀN). According to a ḥadīth reported by Abū Hurayra (d. ca. 58/678; see ḤADĪTH AND THE QURʾĀN), among "the seven people to whom God gives his shade on the day" of resurrection (q.v.), there is "a man who remembers God in solitude and his eyes become tearful" (Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ, K. Adhān* 14; Tirmidhī, *Ṣaḥīḥ, K. Zuhd,* 53; see REMEMBRANCE; VIGILS). Another ḥadīth, reported by ʿAbdallāh b. al-Shikhkhīr (fl. fourth/tenth cent.), says that the Prophet himself, "when he was performing prayers, would sob and his chest sound like a boiling kettle" (Abū Dawūd, *Sunan, K. Ṣalāt,* 22, 157; see PRAYER). In the Qurʾān, some verses say that the believers (see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF) are those who, listening to the holy book, "fall down on their faces in tears" (Q 17:109; see RECITATION OF THE QURʾĀN), and the same is said about the ancient prophets who "would fall down in prostrate adoration and in tears" (Q 19:58; see BOWING AND PROSTRATION). These verses are among the eleven, according to al-Qayrawānī (d. 385/996, *Risāla;* most traditional schools speak of fourteen or fifteen occasions) that, when recited, Muslims are commanded to perform *sujūd* (see RITUAL AND THE QURʾĀN). Al-Bukhārī (d. 256/870) and Muslim (d. ca. 261/875) report that Muḥammad ordered Abū Bakr (q.v.) to lead the prayer, but ʿĀʾisha (see ʿĀʾISHA BINT ABĪ BAKR) said that he could not because he "will not be able to recite the noble Qurʾān to the people on account of weeping" (Bukhārī,

Ṣaḥīḥ, K. Faḍā'il al-ṣaḥāba, 3; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ, K. Faḍā'il al-ṣaḥāba,* 2). In spite of that, the Prophet re-affirmed his order. The question of whether it is permitted to weep for the dead is more complex (see DEATH AND THE DEAD; BURIAL). Muslim scholars agree that weeping for the dead is permissible, whereas lamenting and wailing are not (cf. Halevi, Wailing; Rippin, Sadjda). Many narrations report that in particular ʿUmar admonished those who wail for the dead, recalling that the Prophet had said: "A dead person is tormented by the wailing of the living people" (Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ, K. Janā'iz,* 33; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ, K. Janā'iz,* passim). After the death of ʿUmar, ʿĀ'isha said, in reply to the son who had admonished those who were crying for his father, that, on the contrary, "The messenger of God did not say that a believer is punished by the weeping of his relatives. But he said that God increases the punishment of a non-believer because of the weeping of his relatives" (Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ, K. Janā'iz,* 32; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ, K. Janā'iz,* passim). She further added, quoting the Qurʾān: "Nor can a bearer of burdens bear another's burdens" (Q 35:18). Ibn ʿAbbās (d. ca. 68/686-8) then recited: "It is he who grants laughter and tears" (Q 53:43). After that, Ibn ʿUmar did not say anything. On the other hand, it is related that the Prophet himself wept on the death of his son Ibrāhīm and said: "The eyes shed tears and the heart feels pain, but we utter only what pleases our lord. O Ibrāhīm! We are aggrieved at your demise" (Sayyid Sābiq, *Fiqh al-sunna,* iv, 21). The verb "to weep" recurs only rarely elsewhere in the Qurʾān. Regarding those who were congratulating themselves on having successfully avoided taking part in the expedition of Tabūk (see EXPEDITIONS AND BATTLES; HYPOCRITES AND HYPOCRISY), it is said: "Let them laugh a little: much will they weep" (Q 9:82; see LAUGHTER). Joseph's (q.v.) brothers also pretend to weep on their return to their father after having sold their sibling (Q 12:16; see BROTHER AND BROTHERHOOD; BENJAMIN). Those who make fun of the announcement of the end of the world (see ESCHATOLOGY) are rebuked for laughing instead of weeping (Q 53:60). Lastly, we are told that neither heaven nor earth shed tears for the people of Pharaoh (q.v.), after being punished by God for not having listened to Moses (q.v.; Q 44:29; see also CHASTISEMENT AND PUNISHMENT; REWARD AND PUNISHMENT; JOY AND MISERY).

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Weights and Measures

Means for making quantitative evaluations. Information about weights and measures in the Qurʾān must be derived from symbolic discourse (see SYMBOLIC IMAGERY; SIMILES; METAPHOR). This is true even for very concrete weights and measures and is reflected in the exegetical literature (see EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: CLASSICAL AND

MEDIEVAL), which contains often divergent information and explanations about weights and measures in the Qurʾān. What follows is a closer examination of the qurʾānic (1) measures of length; (2) measures of weight; (3) mixed measures; and (4) measures of time. The Qurʾān makes no mention of explicit measures of area.

Measures of length

Dhirāʿ, "cubit," appears only in Q 69:32, in "a chain of seventy cubits reach." It is equivalent to "the part of the arm from the elbow to the tip of the middle finger" (see Hinz, Dhirāʿ, on its concrete early Islamic, not qurʾānic, dimension). Al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923) simply says "God knows best the span of its length" (*Allāhu aʿlamu bi-qadri ṭūlihā; Tafsīr,* xii, 220). He also mentions the opinion that "one *dhirāʿ* corresponds to seventy *bāʿ*." The term *bāʿ* does not occur in the Qurʾān but in early Islamic times it corresponded to about two meters (see Hinz, *Islamische Masse,* 54). Following al-Ṭabarī, one *bāʿ* can also represent — symbolically, of course — a distance that is supposed to be longer than the distance between Kūfa and Mecca (q.v.).

Qāb denotes "a short span" and appears only in Q 53:9, in combination with *qaws,* "bow," or "cubit" (see Lane, vii, 2575) as *qāba qawsayn,* literally the "distance of two bow-lengths," meaning "very close." Al-Ṭabarī (*Tafsīr,* xi, 507-9) reports opinions on the length of *qāba qawsayn,* including, among others, "half the length of a finger" or "length of a finger." He also explains the phrase as referring to either the distance between the archangel Gabriel (q.v.) and God or between Muḥammad and God.

Measures of weight

Mithqāl, "(an undefined) weight," appears eight times, six occurrences of which (Q 4:40; 10:61; 34:3, 22; 99:7-8) are in a genitive construction with *dharra*. *Dharra* (e.g. "God does not do a grain's weight of wrong," Q 4:40) denotes something tiny, a speck (e.g. an ant — a hundred of them weigh one grain of barley; see Lane, iii, 957), or, in modern Arabic usage, an atom. Following al-Ṭabarī (*Tafsīr,* x, 574) with regard to Q 10:61, *mithqāl dharra* denotes the weight of one single, small speck. With regard to Q 34:3, al-Ṭabarī says: "God misses nothing in heaven (see HEAVEN AND SKY) and on earth (q.v.), even if it has only the weight of a *dharra* (*Tafsīr,* x, 346) and at Q 34:22 he comments: "There are no gods but God, so they do not even own something of the weight of a *dharra* in heaven and on earth" (ibid., x, 371; see POLYTHEISM AND ATHEISM; IDOLS AND IMAGES; POWER AND IMPOTENCE).

Kayl appears repeatedly for "measure" in general. In just one place the Qurʾān uses *kayl baʿīr,* "camel-load" (see CAMEL), as the definition of a weight which is, following the verse itself, "an easy measure": "We shall… get an extra measure of a camel(-load). That is an easily acquired measure" (*nazdādu kayla baʿīrin dhālika kaylun yasīrun,* Q 12:65). Apart from that, whenever *kayl* appears — ten places in all — it never refers to a defined weight (see MEASUREMENT).

Some other expressions belong to the sphere of measures of weight. Twice, *mithqāl* appears in connection with *ḥabba min khardal,* "grain of mustard" (Q 21:47; 31:16): "… if it be the weight of a grain of mustard, and it be in a rock,… God will produce it" (Q 31:16). In all other places where *ḥabba,* "grain," occurs alone, it is a mere metaphor (cf. the metaphorical "grain of a mustard seed" of the Bible, e.g. in Mark 4:31).

Ḥiml, "load," serves in three places as a periphrasis for a weight: as "camel-load" (*ḥiml baʿīr,* Q 12:72, synonymous to the

above-mentioned *kayl baʿīr*); one burdened soul (q.v.) will not bear the burden of another (Q 35:18; see also INTERCESSION; REWARD AND PUNISHMENT); some will bear a burden on the resurrection (q.v.) day (Q 20:101; the same meaning is denoted by *wizr,* "load," in the preceding verse, Q 20:100).

Similarly metaphorical are *waqr,* "heaviness," which occurs four times (Q 6:25; 17:46; 18:57; 31:7), and *wiqr,* "burden," where once (Q 51:2) it denotes metaphorically the burden of water (q.v.) that clouds carry (see also AIR AND WIND; WEATHER).

Mixed measures

Some terms of measure in the Qurʾān signify simultaneously weight and value (see also TRADE AND COMMERCE; MARKETS; MONEY; NUMISMATICS).

Dirham denotes the early Arabic silver coin, and, at the same time, a weight as a coin was understood to be of a particular weight. It appears only once, in the plural *darāhim* (Q 12:20). From there, it simply follows that it is a measure for a small value: "They sold him [Joseph (q.v.)] for a low price, a certain number of *dirham*s, for they thought little of him." At the time of the prophet Muḥammad, one *dirham* was supposed to have the value of a tenth or a twelfth of a *dīnār* (Miles, Dirham).

Dīnār denotes the early Islamic gold coin and appears only once, too. It is of a lesser value than the *qinṭār* (Q 3:75). It is said that Christians and Jews who had borrowed *dīnār*s from Muslims would sometimes not give them back (Miles, Dīnār; see JEWS AND JUDAISM; CHRISTIANS AND CHRISTIANITY).

Qinṭār, mostly understood as "talent," appears three times (Q 3:75; 4:20; pl. *qanāṭīr,* Q 3:14). It is apparently derived from the Latin *centenarius* (Ashtor, Mawāzīn). In Q 3:14 "talents of gold (q.v.) and silver" are listed as earthly enticements, in addition to women (see WOMEN AND THE QURʾĀN), children (q.v.), excellent horses, cattle (see ANIMAL LIFE) and land (see also GRACE; BLESSING; PROPERTY; WEALTH). Commentaries on this verse list many different opinions on the meaning of *qinṭār*. Al-Ṭabarī *(Tafsīr,* iii, 199-202) says repeatedly that it means "a lot of property *(māl)* of gold and silver" and that it cannot be defined by weight. The other interpretations al-Ṭabarī lists range from 1200 *ūqiyya,* "ounce" (not in the Qurʾān; in early Islam it denoted a weight of 125 grams; see Hinz, *Islamische Masse,* 35) to over 1200 gold *dīnār*s; or 1200 *dīnār*s and 1200 *mithqāl* (see above) in silver; or 12,000 *dirham,* or 1000 *dīnār;* until the equally unclear "as much gold as a sack made of bull hide can contain" *(milʾu maski thawrin dhahaban)*. Ibn Kathīr (d. 774/1373; *Tafsīr,* ii, 17-18, 57) concedes that the opinions of the interpreters differ. He understands *qinṭār* simply as "money" or "property" *(māl),* although he has heard opinions that it is worth 40,000, 60,000, and 80,000 *dīnār*s. He refers to the Prophet who is said to have assigned to a *qinṭār* the weight of 12,000 *ūqiyya* (see above): each single *ūqiyya* is supposed to be more valuable than everything between heaven and earth *(kullu ūqiyyatin khayrun mimmā bayna l-samāʾi wa-l-arḍ)*.

Again for the sake of completeness, two metaphorical expressions for something of little value should be noted: *qiṭmīr,* "skin of a date-stone," which denotes symbolically very little value and appears only in Q 35:13: "Those whom you call upon, apart from him, have not power over the skin of a date-stone"; and *qabḍa,* "a handful," which occurs twice, as in Q 39:67: "The earth as a whole will be his handful on the day of resurrection" (also Q 20:96). Al-Ṭabarī (*Tafsīr,* viii, 451-2) says with regard to Q 20:96: "A handful (of dust) from the track, which the hoof of the horse of the

archangel Gabriel (who came to reveal the Qurʾān to the prophet Muḥammad) had left."

Measures of time

A number of terms are used with the meaning "eternity, unlimited period of time" (for further discussion of measurements of time, see ETERNITY; TIME): *dahr* (twice, in Q 45:24; 76:1), also with the meaning of "fate" (q.v.; see Watt, Dahr); *sarmad* (twice, in Q 28:71-2), meaning "incessant continuance" (see Lane, iv, 1353); *abad,* always in the accusative case, *abadan* (twenty-eight times), fourteen of which are with the meaning of "forever," e.g. Q 64:9: *khālidīna fīhā abadan,* "to abide therein forever." In the remaining places, *abadan* is not a measure of time in the strict sense, because it appears as a negation meaning "never."

In contrast, *amad* denotes a clearly limited period of time (four times, in Q 3:30; 18:12; 57:16; 72:25): "Time, considered with regard to its end" (Lane, i, 95; Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* xii, 275, with regard to Q 72:25). Al-Ṭabarī (*Tafsīr,* iii, 231) gives the term a different gloss at each occurrence: he acknowledges with regard to Q 3:30 the interpretation "period of time" as well as "place" *(makān),* meaning an undefined measure of dimension or space. Then, he compares the *amad* of Q 18:12 (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* viii, 187) with *ghāya,* "extreme limit," noting that it can denote both a temporal and a spatial dimension. He knows also the interpretation "number" *(ʿadad)* for *amad*. Moreover, al-Ṭabarī (*Tafsīr,* xi, 682) narrates an opinion about Q 57:16 in which *amad* is synonymous to *dahr* (see above).

Not much more concrete are the synonymous terms *sana* and *ʿām,* both meaning "year," because they are used either metaphorically or for the vague description of longer periods of time. *Sana* appears seven times in the singular and twelve in the plural *sinīna; ʿām* appears nine times (see YEAR). Q 2:189 and 10:5 indicate that time-fixing follows the new moon (q.v.). The calculation of the year according to the lunar calendar (in which one year is ca. 354 days) thus has a qurʾānic basis (see CALENDAR). The Qurʾān, however, knows a year longer than the lunar year because it mentions a leap month (Q 9:37, see below; see MONTHS).

This leads us to the next smallest unit of time, *shahr,* "month," of which twelve make one year (Q 9:36). *Shahr* appears twenty-one times, twelve of which are in the singular, twice in the dual, once in the plural *shuhūr,* six in the plural *ashhur*. One month is indicated by its name: Ramaḍān (q.v.; Q 2:185). Sacred months in general (see SACRED AND PROFANE) are mentioned eight times (in Q 2:194, 197, 217; 5:2, 97; 9:2 — here the four months during which one can travel safely in the country, because feuds are forbidden [q.v.]; see also FIGHTING; LAWFUL AND UNLAWFUL; JOURNEY). A travel distance of two months corresponds to the distance that the wind, which was made to serve Solomon (q.v.), covered in one day (Q 34:12; see below at *yawm*).

Shahr is also used metaphorically: "The Night of Power (q.v.) is better than a thousand months" (Q 97:3). When God created the heavens and the earth (see CREATION; COSMOLOGY), he simultaneously created twelve months, four of which are sacred (Q 9:36). Thirty months are the time for a woman to become pregnant and wean her child (Q 46:15; see BIOLOGY AS THE CREATION AND STAGES OF LIFE; WET-NURSING; FOSTERAGE; LACTATION; MILK). Other regulations in connection with the measure of months can be found in Q 4:92 (about fasting [q.v.] for the sake of repentance; see REPENTANCE AND PENANCE),

Q 58:4 (about remarriage; see MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE; LAW AND THE QUR'ĀN), Q 2:226 and 65:4 (about the woman's waiting period [q.v.] after divorce and before remarriage), Q 2:234 (about a widow's [q.v.] waiting period before she may be remarried after her husband's death). If we assume that the Arabs (q.v.) at the time of the revelation followed the lunar calendar (see PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QUR'ĀN), a qur'ānic month has an average duration of around 29.5 days (see De Blois, Ta'rīkh, 258). The length of the leap month, *al-nāsī',* whose insertion is prohibited (Q 9:37; see CALENDAR; MONTHS; cf. De Blois, Ta'rīkh, 260), is unclear.

The next smallest unit of time is *yawm,* "(an entire) day (between sunset and sunset)." *Layl* and *layla,* "night" (pl. *layālin*), stands for the first half of the twenty-four hour day, *nahār,* "day," for its second half. The times of the day generally denote vaguely defined periods of time (for more details see DAY AND NIGHT; DAY, TIMES OF). For example, two terms describing times of the day signify a short period of time in relation to the (metaphorical) hour of the last judgment (q.v.): *'ashiyya* (late, dark evening) and *ḍuḥā* (forenoon): *ka-annahum yawma yarawnahā lam yalbathū illā 'ashiyyatan aw ḍuḥāhā,* "On the day when they see it, it will be as if they had not tarried more than an evening, or its morning" (only Q 79:46; see MORNING; EVENING).

Two other terms appear in connection with the time or the distance which the wind that was made to serve Solomon covered in one day: *ghuduww* (morning) and *rawāḥ* (evening, or "afternoon [q.v.], from the declining of the sun [q.v.] from the meridian until night"; see Lane, iii, 1182); both terms appear only in Q 34:12: "And to Solomon (we subjected) the wind which blew a month's (journey) in the morning, and a month's (journey) in the evening…." Al-Ṭabarī (*Tafsīr,* x, 353) repeats the opinion that the wind covers in one day the distance that one travels in two months (a distance equal to that between Kābul and an unidentified place).

The smallest unit of time in the Qur'ān is *sā'a,* commonly translated as "hour." *Sā'a* appears forty-eight times. It denotes a period of the day shorter than its second part, *al-nahār;* as in Q 10:45 (cf. Q 46:35): *lam yalbathū illā sā'atan min al-nahār,* "On the day when we round them up as if they had not remained (in the grave; see BURIAL; DEATH AND THE DEAD) an hour of the day." Therefore, it can also be understood as "a time, a (little) while, a space, a period, an indefinite short time" (Lane, iv, 1467).

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Wells

see SPRINGS AND FOUNTAINS

Wet-Nursing

Breastfeeding — voluntary or for payment — of an infant by a woman other than its own mother, or by the latter, following divorce (see MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE). *Murḍi'a* (pl. *marāḍi'*) in the Qur'ān denotes in general "suckling female" (Q 22:2, Bell; "nursing mother," Pickthall) and, more specifically, a "foster-mother" (Q 28:12, Arberry) or a "wet-nurse." In Q 65:6 the root *r-ḍ-'* in the fourth form describes the act of wet-nursing, and in Q 2:233 the tenth form of this root denotes "seeking, or demanding, a wet-

nurse" (see Lane, 1097). The term *ziʾr,* "one that inclines to, or affects, the young one of another, and suckles or fosters it" (Lane, 1907-8), which became very common in Islamic legal and medical writings from the classical through the medieval periods (Giladi, *Infants,* esp. 106-14), was in use already in early qurʾānic exegesis (Muqātil, *Tafsīr,* ad Q 2:233) but has no qurʾānic roots (see LAW AND THE QURʾĀN; MEDICINE AND THE QURʾĀN).

Inasmuch as it assumes a connection between a nurse's blood and her own milk, Q 4:23 makes ties created by suckling similar to ties of blood kinship (q.v.; see also BLOOD AND BLOOD CLOT) and therefore explicitly forbids sexual relations (see SEX AND SEXUALITY; PROHIBITED DEGREES) between men and their (non-biological) milk-mother(s) and milk-sister(s). In ḥadīth (see ḤADĪTH AND THE QURʾĀN) and *fiqh* writings these impediments were gradually widened to include the nurse's husband and his relatives — a development based on the idea that the nurse's milk is created by the man who made her pregnant (Benkheira, Donner le sein, 5-52).

Q 28:12 furthermore points out that infants sometimes reject the milk of women other than their own mothers (see LACTATION; FOSTERAGE). The Qurʾān, however, sanctions in principle (in the specific context of divorce) mercenary nursing of an infant either by its divorced mother or, if the divorced parents "find mutual difficulties" (Q 65:6), i.e. disagree on the fee, by "some other woman" (see also Q 2:233). Both verses (as well as Q 65:7) encourage men to be both fair and even generous towards women hired to nurse their own infants (and see e.g. Muqātil, *Tafsīr,* ad Q 65:6-7).

The Qurʾān itself gives almost no hint about actual wet-nursing practices in seventh century Arabia or neighboring areas — e.g. in which circumstances they were applied, how popular they were, how gender (q.v.) relations within the nursling's family and that of its wet-nurse both affected and were affected by these practices, what the common criteria were for selecting wet-nurses and the physical and moral demands with which these women had to comply, etc. (see PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QURʾĀN). Suggestions, e.g. that it was the accepted custom to send a child to foster-parents in Mecca (q.v.) but not in Medina (q.v.; Stern, *Marriage,* 96), are based on the interpretation of post-qurʾānic sources and are, in any case, debatable (see Benkheira, Le commerce, 3-6). From later exegetical and legal writings, however, one gleans that in the Islamic classical and medieval periods wet-nursing was practiced in vast areas of the Muslim world.

Muslim scholars who interpreted Q 2:233 as pertaining to parents (q.v.) in general (see e.g. Jaṣṣāṣ, *Aḥkām, bāb al-raḍāʿ;* Rāzī, *Tafsīr,* ad Q 2:233), distilled from this verse a great number of rules (see LACTATION; Giladi, *Infants,* 53-6, 106-14). As they clearly viewed breastfeeding as a maternal instinct and the preferable way of feeding infants (see LACTATION; MILK), Muslim scholars generally regarded it as a natural right of the mother (see e.g. Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* ad Q 2:233 and 65:6; Jaṣṣāṣ, *Aḥkām, bāb al-raḍāʿ*) but often insisted that no mother could be forced to suckle her baby unless the nursling's health would otherwise be endangered (see e.g. Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr;* Zamakhsharī, *Tafsīr;* Rāzī, *Tafsīr,* ad Q 2:233). Wet-nursing is a legitimate option when the mother is unable or refuses to breastfeed. In these and similar circumstances (specified e.g. in Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr* and Rāzī, *Tafsīr,* ad Q 2:233; see also Ibn al-ʿArabī, *Aḥkām,* ad Q 2:233), it is the father's duty to look for a wet-nurse and pay for her services (Muqātil, *Tafsīr,* ad Q 2:233; Jaṣṣāṣ, *Aḥkām, bāb al-raḍāʿ;* Rāzī, *Tafsīr,* ad

Q 2:233; see MAINTENANCE AND UPKEEP; CHILDREN). In the same context such other questions are discussed, as the father's duty versus his economic ability (see e.g. Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* ad Q 2:233), the hiring of a woman by her own husband to breast-feed their infant (see e.g. Zamakhsharī, *Tafsīr,* ad Q 65:6), the duties of the wet-nurse, both concerning her own way of life and health (see Benkheira, Le commerce; Giladi, *Infants,* 53-6, 106-14) as well as the proper treatment she should extend to the infant and other legal aspects of the hire agreement (see e.g. Ibn Qudāma, *al-Mughnī,* vi, 73-5; on the detailed chapter in al-Sarakhsī's *al-Mabsūṭ* in this regard, see Shatzmiller, *Women and wage,* 182-8; Giladi, *Infants,* 106-14). The core of the Islamic attitude towards wet-nursing is perhaps best characterized by the insistence of legal-moral authorities to try if at all possible not to separate nurslings from their mothers (see e.g. Jaṣṣāṣ, *Aḥkām, bāb al-raḍāʿ,* passim).

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Wheat

see GRASSES; AGRICULTURE AND VEGETATION

Whip

see FLOGGING

Whisper

Barely audible speech or sound, often with sibilance. The Qurʾān is a text to be heard *(samʿ)* more than to be read and within the text there are many allusions to aurality and its different degrees (see BOOK; RECITATION OF THE QURʾĀN; ORALITY; ORALITY AND WRITING IN ARABIA). In the most common qurʾānic scenario one hears a noise without discerning its source. This is the meaning of *ḥasīs* in Q 21:102. Those who will escape the tortures of hell (*jahannam;* see HELL AND HELLFIRE; REWARD AND PUNISHMENT) on the day of promise *(waʿd)* will be saved by discerning (aurally) the presence of the brazier near them. They will thus escape the terror (initially not visible) which will grip the damned.

The auditory contents can be positive but also entirely negative. A positive inspiration *(waḥī),* perceived as a distant and persistent noise like a roll of thunder, is contrasted to a category of very different noises (see REVELATION AND INSPIRATION). These are unexpected, furtive, worrying sounds which take one's hearing unawares. Even before Islam, they were to be classed as negatively supernatural. These collective obsessions are linked to a parallel world, conceived as dangerous, of jinn (q.v.) and desert beings (Wellhausen, *Reste,* 148-59; Eichler, *Die Dschinn,* 8-39; Niekrens, *Die Engel,* 65-7; see SPIRITUAL BEINGS). In the Qurʾān the collective representations of the jinn conclude by coalescing into the extremely negative form of *shayṭān,* the devil (q.v.). As for people who give them-

selves over to secret intrigues and assemblies, they, too, will be seen as participating in a jinn-like and diabolical activity. The Qurʾān therefore uses a largely recycled terminology ("une terminologie largement de remploi") relating to earlier usages which seem to be hardly changed.

The following roots link directly with the jinn and the diabolical world: *w-s-w-s,* from the connotation of a light, intermittent wind sound (see AIR AND WIND), the concealed approach of hunters laying an ambush (see HUNTING AND FISHING), or the muted jingling of jewelry worn by a woman, shifts to the confused and pernicious murmurs of Q 114:4-5. With a form of conspiracy, a jinn-like murmurer, *waswās,* passes furtively *(khannās)* after implanting an evil proposition in the breasts (the center of understanding; see HEART; KNOWLEDGE AND LEARNING; INTELLECT) of people *(nās)*. But God, whom nothing escapes, as the Qurʾān emphasizes constantly, is there to oppose this. In the later passages of Q 7:20 and 20:120, the association of *w-s-w-s* with the devil, *shayṭān,* becomes explicit (cf. Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* ed. Shākir, xii, 346-7, ad Q 7:20, *fawaswasa lahumā*).

The concealed whisper is negative, as in Q 20:108 (*hams,* the murmur), with respect to the damned (in this context, Q 20:108 must be read in conjunction with the preceding verses, esp. Q 20:103; cf. Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* ed. ʿAlī, xvi, 214, ad Q 20:103, *yatakhāfatūna baynahum*). Connected to the sphere of the secret word (*sirr;* see SECRETS) it is opposed to *jahr,* the word spoken clearly to be heard by everyone. But God knows both (i.e. Q 67:13). The *rikz,* however, the voice heard from so far away as to be almost imperceptible, is linked in a more neutral way to the very rich terminology of hearing in the desert world. In this environment one must listen constantly and alertly to protect oneself from danger. Q 19:98 indicates that one does not hear the least murmur *(rikz)* of the people in the past whom God destroyed (cf. Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* ed. ʿAlī, xvi, 134; see PUNISHMENT STORIES; GENERATIONS; GEOGRAPHY). It is a way of saying that no survivor has remained of them.

The theme of a hostile secret assembly looms large in qurʾānic discourse. It concerns both people and the devil simultaneously. The *takhāfut bayna,* a precise expression that designates the transferring of secrets, and so of offering a word that divides rather than unifies, occurs only twice, both in entirely negative contexts: Q 20:103, the damned who whisper, thinking they are not heard by God, and think they can escape punishment, and Q 68:23, the futile secret assembly of two greedy men whose plans God frustrates.

The terminology that conveys notions of dissimulation (q.v.; *katama, asarra* versus *aʿlana, jahara*) occurs most frequently. A commonly found meaning is that of voluntarily suppressing the truth, *katm al-ḥaqq,* and is applied often to the adversaries of Muḥammad in Medina (q.v.; i.e. Q 2:159; 21:110). The secret word (v. *asarra,* n. *sirr*) among men, against God, or that which is concealed by the individual (a thought formed in secret) — is in the same category (see also HIDDEN AND THE HIDDEN). But *sirr* and its cognates also has a wider meaning, both in Meccan and Medinan sūras (q.v.; Q 2:77; 16:19, etc.; see also CHRONOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN). These words or secret thoughts cannot escape God (Q 64:4). More rarely one meets *ajwā, tanājī, najwā* (to speak into someone's ear in order to weave a plot, often in association with *asarra, sirr,* cf. Q 17:47; 20:62; 21:3). As for the terms linked to ruse and the intent to deceive *(makr, kayd, khadʿ, ibrām),* they refer to the whole process of deceit (see MAGIC)

and leading astray (*ḍalāl, taḍlīl;* see ERROR; ASTRAY). The devil, *shayṭān,* is associated with deceit but also with divinity; he has the same supreme power of deceiving any enemy, human or demon (Q 86:16; 13:42), and of foiling the most cunning plots hatched against him (e.g. Q 52:42; 4:76).

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White

see COLORS; WEEPING; EYES

Wicked

see GOOD AND EVIL

Widow

A woman whose husband has died. The Qurʾān speaks of the widow by addressing the male believers in Q 2:234-5 (see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF), who die leaving behind wives *(yadharūna azwājan).* The term itself has no Arabic equivalent in the Qurʾān though it is implied in the status of the *thayyibāt* in Q 66:5, which refers to any woman who is not a virgin (see CHASTITY; ABSTINENCE), a woman who has had sexual intercourse (see SEX AND SEXUALITY) either as a previously married woman, a divorced woman (see MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE) or a widow. In this particular verse, the wives of the Prophet (q.v.) are admonished for their jealousies and told that they could be replaced by other women (see WOMEN AND THE QURʾĀN). There follows a long list of desirable virtues (see VIRTUE; VIRTUES AND VICES, COMMANDING AND FORBIDDING) with the words *thayyibātin* and *abkāran,* virgins, at the end of the verse. The juxtaposition of the two words signifies that these qualities could belong to both sorts of women, "the women who are deflowered and whose virginity has gone and the virgins" (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* ad loc.).

The first reference to the specific status of the widow is made in the context of verses pertaining to marriage and divorce. Inasmuch as every dissolution of a marriage that has been consummated, or even where there has been a presumption of consummation, requires the wife to observe a waiting period *(ʿidda),* so it is for the widow. The Qurʾān states specifically four months and ten days as the widow's *ʿidda.* This is longer than the *ʿidda* for the divorced woman, which is three menstrual cycles (Q 2:228; see MENSTRUATION). The primary legal concern (see LAW AND THE QURʾĀN) in the case of both the widow and the divorced woman is to ascertain whether or not the woman is pregnant with her husband's child (see CHILDREN). In such cases, the widow should not remarry until she has given birth (q.v.) to the child. Once she has given birth, she is free to remarry and the full period of *ʿidda* need not be observed (see WAITING PERIOD).

In the case of the widow, the time of *ʿidda* is longer, as it is also a time of mourning for the deceased husband (see BURIAL; DEATH AND THE DEAD). There is, however, no indication in the Qurʾān that the woman's position as a widow should be seen as either a social stigma or a disadvantage to her. Widowhood is understood to be a temporary situation. Q 2:235 speaks immedi-

ately to those men who would wish to ask for the widow's hand in marriage. It is appropriate that they do so openly and not in secret once the woman has observed her period of *ʿidda.*

Q 2:240 explains what men should bequeath to their widows in terms of financial and residential support (see INHERITANCE; MAINTENANCE AND UPKEEP). A widow should be entitled to a year's maintenance and full residence in the husband's home. If, however, she herself chooses to leave the home, she is entitled to do so. Q 4:12 refers to inheritance rights in which the widow is entitled to a quarter of her husband's property (q.v.) if he leaves no children and an eighth if he leaves children.

In the legal discussions on *mahr* (dower paid to the wife on marriage; see BRIDEWEALTH), widowhood is one of the three situations, along with consummation and divorce, which confirms the payment of the full *mahr* to the wife. Even if the husband dies before the marriage has been consummated, the widow is entitled to the full *mahr* because "by the death of the husband, the marriage is rendered complete. For everything becomes established and confirmed by its completion, and becomes established with respect to all its effects" (Marghinānī, *Hidāya,* i, 204).

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Wife

see MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE

Will

see FREEDOM AND PREDESTINATION; INHERITANCE

Wind

see AIR AND WIND

Wine

Intoxicating beverage made from fermented grapes or other substances. The most common word for wine in the Qurʾān is *khamr,* a term prevalent in early Arabic poetry, although the Arabs of the peninsula customarily drank *nabīdh,* a fermented beverage made, for example, from barley, honey, spelt or different kinds of palms. While the climate and geography of much of "Arabia" is not suitable for wine production, parts of the Yemen, as well as areas such as Medina and Ṭāʾif, would have had the necessary conditions for the cultivation of grapes. Wine was also imported from Syria and Iraq, particularly through the agency of the Jewish and Christian communities in the peninsula (the Arabic *khamr* may derive from the Syro-Aramaic *ḥamrā*).

The qurʾānic *khamr* marks both earthly and paradisiacal vintages (see FOOD AND DRINK; PARADISE). Unlike later Islamic exegetes (see EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL), who privileged a limited set of wine references to support its strict prohibition, the Qurʾān expresses a highly nuanced and largely ambivalent attitude towards this beverage and its effects (see INTOXICANTS; LAW AND THE QURʾĀN). *Khamr* is linked with gambling (q.v.) and identified as a source of both sin and profit (Q 2:219; see SIN, MAJOR AND MINOR), with gambling, idol worship (see IDOLS AND IMAGES; POLYTHEISM AND ATHEISM) and divination (q.v.) arrows, and labeled an abomination (Q 5:90-1). Joseph's dreams (see DREAMS AND SLEEP) in prison

feature *khamr* (Q 12:36, 41), and dwellers of paradise delight in rivers of wine (Q 47:15; see McAuliffe, Wines). In addition to *khamr, sakar* appears as an inimical earthly intoxicant (cf. Q 4:43) that undermines prayer (q.v.) but also serves as a divine gift (Q 16:66-9; see GIFT AND GIFT-GIVING), a sign (*āya;* see SIGNS) for those who understand (see INTELLECT; KNOWLEDGE AND LEARNING). Also mentioned is *raḥīq,* the purest, most excellent of heavenly wines (Q 83:25) and a celestial goblet (see CUPS AND VESSELS) with liquid from a pure spring *(maʿīn)* mirroring its earthly counterpart in every way but its ability to intoxicate (Q 37:45; 56:18-19). Throughout the shorter sūras (q.v.) of the Qurʾān, a chaotic, intoxicated madness that marks the day of judgment (see LAST JUDGMENT) contrasts sharply with the tranquil, perfected garden of repose (see GARDENS), where righteous ones imbibe as much wine as they please without the drunken effects. This tension between the real and the ideal may also account for the Qurʾān's sober portrayals of Noah (q.v.) and Lot (q.v.), men all too familiar with the pleasures of the vine in their Jewish and Christian contexts (see JEWS AND JUDAISM; CHRISTIANS AND CHRISTIANITY) but pillars of abstinence (q.v.) in the Islamic revelation (see REVELATION AND INSPIRATION; SCRIPTURE AND THE QURʾĀN), where their actions must match the integrity of the message they bear. Even servants of God (see SERVANT; WORSHIP) may fall prey to wine's earthly enticements. The Qurʾān's ambivalent treatment of wine was resolved by early exegetes, who determined the historical "occasion" upon which God revealed each wine passage (see OCCASIONS OF REVELATION). By examining such passages sequentially, qurʾānic commentators noted a gradual diminution in tolerance toward wine consumption (see ABROGATION; FORBIDDEN; LAWFUL AND UNLAWFUL). Al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923; *Tafsīr,* v, 58) records how God allowed humans to enjoy his gift until they proved incapable of drinking responsibly. After a series of such atrocities, like the Prophet's uncle mutilating ʿAlī's camel in a fit of drunkenness, God finally prohibited wine. While both Sunnī and Shīʿī schools of law assert the prohibition of wine (a position that critiques the pre-Islamic, libertine position; see AGE OF IGNORANCE; PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QURʾĀN), dissensions over what constitutes "wine," or whether the substance itself or only its effects are prohibited, can be detected in legal discussions surrounding this beverage. The Ḥanafīs, for example, note that since the Qurʾān only condemns *khamr,* the prohibition of *khamr* should not extend to other alcoholic beverages. Contrary to this view, the majority opinion emphasizes a drink's potential to intoxicate over and above its composition and forbids intake of any amount of liquid if it causes (or may potentially cause) one to become drunk. The law extends well beyond mere consumption to include the production and sale of alcoholic beverages under penalty of punishment (see BOUNDARIES AND PRECEPTS; CHASTISEMENT AND PUNISHMENT). Despite its prohibition, wine becomes a favorite metaphor of mystics (see ṢŪFISM AND THE QURʾĀN), who exploit the Qurʾān's ambivalence towards this potent substance to confuse the boundaries that separate sobriety from intoxication, licit from illicit, human from divine and, ultimately, real from ideal.

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Winter see SEASONS

Wisdom

Ability to understand deeply and judge soundly. God is wise *(ḥakīm)*. He is, however, never described by this characteristic alone, but always in conjunction with another characteristic. *Ḥakīm* is most frequently connected with *ʿazīz,* "almighty" (forty-seven times; see POWER AND IMPOTENCE), and almost as frequently is God described as *ḥakīm* and *ʿalīm,* "omniscient" (thirty-six times; see KNOWLEDGE AND LEARNING; INTELLECT). *Ḥakīm* with *khabīr,* "knowing," is rare (three times) and even rarer are the occurrences of *ḥakīm* with "forgiving" *(tawwāb),* "all-embracing" *(wāsiʿ),* "praiseworthy" *(ḥamīd),* and "exalted" (*ʿalī;* see GOD AND HIS ATTRIBUTES).

God possesses wisdom *(ḥikma),* which he can give "to whom he wishes" (Q 2:269), mainly to the prophets (see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD; MESSENGER): Abraham (q.v.) and his family (Q 4:54), David (q.v.; Q 2:251; 38:20), Jesus (q.v.; e.g. Q 5:110; 43:63) and Muḥammad (Q 4:113), but also to Luqmān (q.v.; Q 31:12). Wisdom is a revelation (e.g. *awḥā,* Q 17:39; see REVELATION AND INSPIRATION) and the Qurʾān is also "wise" (*al-Qurʾān al-ḥakīm,* Q 36:2; see NAMES OF THE QURʾĀN), for wisdom stands on an equal footing with scripture (*kitāb;* see BOOK; SCRIPTURE AND THE QURʾĀN), including the Torah (q.v.) and the Gospel (q.v.; Q 3:48; 5:110). God teaches scripture and wisdom (e.g. Q 3:48; see TEACHING): he sends down scripture and wisdom (Q 2:231). It remains unclear whether in such collocations "wisdom" means another holy scripture or is a summative reference to the contents of those holy books just mentioned. The task of the messenger or prophet is to deliver the scriptures together with wisdom to the people (cf. Q 2:151; 43:63), or to recite the scripture and wisdom to the people (cf. e.g. Q 33:34; 62:2; see RECITATION OF THE QURʾĀN; ORALITY AND WRITING IN ARABIA). Qurʾān commentators understand *ḥikma* as knowing and understanding the Qurʾān, or as understanding and reflecting on the religion, or even as fear (q.v.) of God (godliness, devoutness, piety [q.v.]; *khaysha, waraʿ,* Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* iii, 60f.; Qurṭubī, *Jāmiʿ,* iii, 330; Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr,* i, 571f.).

God is the omnipotent, omniscient creator of the world (q.v.; see also CREATION; COSMOLOGY), in which the wisdom of God reveals itself, the recognition of which is the task of the wise. *Ḥikma,* as human wisdom, is understood in two ways. First, Greek philosophy *(falsafa),* natural science and medicine in its Arabic-Islamic form are *ḥikma*. Thus the biographical lexicons for philosophers, natural scientists, physicians, etc. are called *taʾrīkh al-ḥukamāʾ* — for example, Ibn al-Qiftī's (d. 646/1248) *Taʾrīkh al-ḥukamāʾ;* additionally, accounts and collected works are called *ṣiwān al-ḥikma* (e.g. al-Bayhaqī's *Tatimmat ṣiwān al-ḥikma;* see SCHOLARS; SCIENCE AND THE QURʾĀN; MEDICINE AND THE QURʾĀN; PHILOSOPHY AND THE QURʾĀN).

In devout-mystic circles, *ḥikma* is wisdom delivered through the pronouncements of wise men *(ḥukamāʾ)* mostly anonymously: edifying, devout and mystic aphorisms. In

this context, in the third/ninth century, *ḥikma* becomes mystical wisdom and also theosophy (see ṢŪFISM AND THE QURʾĀN). Of this, the best example is the east Iranian mystic al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī (who died between 318/936 and 320/938). For him, *ḥikma* is the mystic knowledge of the soul (q.v.) and the world. A further step was the syncretic mingling of the more mystical *ḥikma* — theosophy — with Greek philosophy and non-Islamic religious concepts. This occurred in the systems of Suhrawardī (d. 587/1191) and Ibn al-ʿArabī (d. 638/1240).

Lastly, for the gloss of *al-ḥikma* (in *al-kitāb wa-l-ḥikma* of e.g. Q 2:129) as *sunnat al-nabī*, see SUNNA.

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Wish and Desire

The act of hoping for or wanting something and the object of that act. There are three main agencies through which wish and desire are exercised in the Qurʾān: one is divine, another human, and the third satanic (see DEVIL). The manifestations and the interplay of the three create an ethical tension (see ETHICS AND THE QURʾĀN) that evokes questions of accountability, responsibility (q.v.) and justice (see JUSTICE AND INJUSTICE). In that sense, wish and desire become the principles whereby the subject and the object are placed into a value-laden relationship. Be it an act of God, Satan, or the human being, wish and desire are a function of the subject's awareness and expectations of the object. Among the three, God's wishes are mentioned most frequently. The phrase "God willing" *(in shāʾa llāh)* is both common and varied, indicating that God's wishes are exercised at both cosmic and everyday levels (see COSMOLOGY). Like many other passages, Q 5:17 affirms that it was through God's wish/will that the world came into being *(yakhluqu mā yashāʾu)* in such a way that associates his wishing with his infinite power (*wa-Allāh ʿalā kulli shayʾin qadīrun;* see POWER AND IMPOTENCE; FREEDOM AND PREDESTINATION). As divine wish is inextricably linked with divine omnipotence, it is continuously carried out within and beyond worldly limits (see WORLD). No wonder then that the verb *shāʾa* and its derivatives appear over 500 times in the Qurʾān, mainly in reference to God.

Although at first glance God's wishes appear volatile and unpredictable, the Qurʾān ascertains that their function and purpose can be appreciated only after the human mind accepts its own limitations (see INTELLECT; KNOWLEDGE AND LEARNING). In Q 18:23-4, the Qurʾān warns: "And do not say anything like 'I will surely do this tomorrow.' Unless God wishes, and remember your lord (q.v.) when you forget (see REMEMBRANCE; MEMORY) and say, 'Maybe my lord will guide me (see ASTRAY) to a nearer way to truth (q.v.) than this.'" Historically understood as a response to Muḥammad's negligence when he answered a Quraysh inquirer (see QURAYSH) with inappropriate self-confidence — "Come tomorrow and I will surely give you an answer" but without adding the phrase *in shāʾa llāh* — this verse was ostensibly intended to highlight the unpredictability of divine volition even in the context of Muḥammad's own prophetic mission (see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD). Reflecting upon this essential dependability on, yet inacces-

sibility to, divine wishes, classical Muslim exegetes (see EXEGESIS OF THE QUR'ĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL) interpret the ubiquitous *in shā'a llāh* phrase in relation to their theological positions on free will and predetermination. Al-Rāzī (d. 606/1210), for example, develops a lengthy argument by contrasting the Mu'tazilī (see MU'TAZILA) and his own Ash'arī positions and concludes that: one, we can never be sure that we will/can do anything until God gives us permission; and, two, we should never anticipate future events because, if they prove to be different, we will be deemed liars (see LIE; FORETELLING; THEOLOGY AND THE QUR'ĀN). He charges the Mu'tazila with transferring the agency of wishes and desire to human beings rather than leaving it with its divine source. When God asks for belief (see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF) and obedience (q.v.) and his servants disobey (see DISOBEDIENCE), al-Rāzī continues, God's wishes are not fulfilled. In contrast, he holds that everything that God wills must happen: for example, if a man says, "Tomorrow I will return the debt I owe, if God wills," and if he fails to do it, he cannot be blamed because this was clearly God's wish and we can either understand it or not. He contrasts this interpretation with that of the Mu'tazila, according to which it is the man who is to blame if the debt is not returned because man's evil nature (see GOOD AND EVIL; FALL OF MAN) prevents him from doing what he has promised (Rāzī, *Tafsīr*). Al-Rāzī's interpretation poignantly relates to Q 81:27-9 which says, "This is surely a reminder to all human beings *(lil-'ālamīna),* and those among them who wish to change their ways *(an yastaqīma);* you cannot wish but what God, the lord of all worlds, wishes" (the wording almost identical to Q 76:29-30).

In addition to *shā'a,* God's wishes are also expressed through the verb *arāda*. Although often used synonymously with *shā'a, arāda* evokes more strongly divine intentionality, as in Q 2:26: "What does God intend/mean *(mādhā arāda)* by this parable (q.v.)?" Reflecting thus with divine deliberation, *arāda* attempts to lay out the inner workings of the divine order in the implementation of God's desires, as per Q 16:40: "Truly, when we refer to a thing, if we want it to be *(idhā aradnāhu),* we just tell it 'Be!' and it is." God does not desire without a purpose but the speculations of what that purpose might be yields different theological possibilities.

While continuously attesting to the power of divine desire, both *shā'a* and *arāda* place human beings in a direct and dynamic relationship with it. But the nature of that relationship is far from simple. In fact, its complexity has created a theological conundrum and the rise of several scholastic positions on the questions of free will and predestination. Can human beings act on their own wishes and desires? Do these desires predate them in accordance with the divine plan? Notwithstanding the theological and political implications of such questions in Islamic history, it is clear that the Qur'ān keeps the tension among different possibilities alive, placing divine and human wishes simultaneously in harmony and conflict, and perpetuating sharp ethical differentiations between the wishes and desires of believers and those of nonbelievers. There are no simple answers in the Qur'ān or in the later intellectual tradition, even though the message seems rather straightforward, as Q 6:125 states (similarly, in Q 5:41; 6:17, 125; 7:176; 10:107; etc.): "Whomever God wishes to guide, he opens his heart (q.v.) to Islam; whomever God wishes to lead astray, he restricts his heart, as if he is rising to heaven (see HEAVEN AND SKY). This is how God inflicts punishment (see CHASTISEMENT AND PUNISHMENT) on those who do not believe."

In this sense, because the relational function of divine desire necessitates reciprocity, many qurʾānic passages posit human beings not only as objects of God's wishes and intentions but as subjects/agents exercising their own desires. It is here that the Qurʾān draws a sharp distinction between believers and nonbelievers. Believers surrender to God's wishes and, in turn, become conscious of, and act on, their desires for divine grace (q.v.) and mercy (q.v.). Nonbelievers, on the other hand, reject God and direct their desires elsewhere, for which they become eternally condemned, as in Q 18:29, "Say, The truth comes from your lord; whoever so wishes, let them believe; whoever wishes, let them disbelieve," upon which the Qurʾān details the difference in the outcome of the two choices for the condition in the hereafter (Q 18:30-44; see ESCHATOLOGY; REWARD AND PUNISHMENT). Human desire directly reflects both one's knowledge of God and one's system of belief (see FAITH; RELIGION). Those who lived in the pre-Islamic Age of Ignorance (q.v.; *jāhiliyya*) are accused not only of their ignorance (q.v.) of the creator (see CREATION) but of the stubborn, blinding urge to fulfill their desire for material and visible goods (see WEALTH; INSOLENCE AND OBSTINACY): "There is only our life in the present world; we die (see DEATH AND THE DEAD), we live (see LIFE), and only fate (q.v.)/time (q.v.; *al-dahr*) destroys us" (Q 45:24). The pursuit of this-worldly desires is a pursuit for self-realization that reflects the pre-Islamic teaching that all sensations and experiences belong to the physical world only, in contrast to the qurʾānic cosmos in which the greatest self-fulfillment comes in the hereafter, as worded in Q 87:16-17: "No, you prefer the life of this world; whereas the hereafter is superior and lasting" (see TRANSIENCE; ETERNITY). Human desires are thus bifurcated into those that are low and worldly, characteristic of a conduct inspired by one's whims and fancies (*ahwāʾ* [sing. *hawā*], appearing numerous times, e.g. Q 3:14; 18:28; 20:16; 25:43; 28:50; 42:15; 45:18), and those that are ethically sound and inspire to behave and do one's duty as a servant (q.v.) of God. An example of this distinction is those incidents at the early stages of Muḥammad's career when pagan Arabs hurled accusations at him and the Qurʾān responded (Q 53:2-3): "No, your companion has not strayed away nor has he erred, and he does not speak on a whim (*mā yanṭiqu ʿani l-hawā;* see OPPOSITION TO MUḤAMMAD; PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QURʾĀN)."

In addition to the ethics of desire-driven behavior, the issue of human wishes and yearning acquires another interpretative trajectory, associated with the Ṣūfī worldview (see ṢŪFISM AND THE QURʾĀN). For the Ṣūfīs, a *ḥadīth qudsī* (see ḤADĪTH AND THE QURʾĀN) exemplifies the principle of the relationship between God and human beings: "I was a hidden treasure and I longed to be known, so I created the world." The desire for self-reflection is believed to inspire the very act of creation. Focusing on the language of love (q.v.) and yearning that permeates much of the Qurʾān (e.g. Q 2:165, 195; 49:9; 57:19, 23; 60:1, 8; etc.), the mystics define desire as a spiritual propeller that allows the wayfarer (see JOURNEY) to achieve closeness with God. The wayfarer is often referred to as the *murīd* — the active participle form of *arāda* — in accordance with the aforementioned double-entendre of *arāda,* to want and to intend. The desire for God is personalized as both affection and primordial yearning for beatific vision (see FACE OF GOD), in accordance with not only the *ḥadīth qudsī* mentioned above, but also with the qurʾānic phrase *ibtighāʾa wajhi llāh,* "out

of yearning for God's face," that appears in Q 2:272, 6:52 and 92:20. After all, it is only God's face that lasts forever while everything else perishes (Q 28:88). Desiring it (both *arāda* and *ibtaghā* are used in the Qurʾān) is therefore the only ultimate kind of desire and yearning a believer can have in this self-reflective genesis of creation.

Finally, in the ethical triangle of wishing/desiring, Satan's role in splitting humankind into believers and nonbelievers is instrumental: *wa-yurīdu l-shayṭānu an yuḍillahum ḍalālan baʿīdan* (Q 4:60; see PARTIES AND FACTIONS; ENEMIES). The Qurʾān repeatedly mentions Satan's desire to confuse and lead humankind astray as a vindictive reaction against his expulsion from heaven. Satan's rebelliousness (see REBELLION; ARROGANCE) is thus expressed through his desires to intervene at the level of human action. Because metaphysically speaking Satan is neither superior nor equal to God, his desires do not pose a competition to God's nor do they overrun them. Rather, being more powerful than inferior human beings, Satan desires to confuse them about the nature of divine commands, leading them away from God's path (e.g. Q 4:48, 60; 22:52; see PATH OR WAY), making them forget God (Q 5:91), tempting them with various promises which he never fulfills (Q 4:120; 7:20; 8:48; 14:22, etc.) and ever deceiving them (Q 4:76; 24:21; 58:10; see JOY AND MISERY). Satan thus redirects human desire from God to himself, turning himself into the false object of desire: "God made a true promise to you (see COVENANT). I too made promises, but did not keep them. I had no authority over you, but when I called out to you, you answered. Do not blame me; blame yourselves." Those who, against God's warnings (e.g. Q 7:27, "Children of Adam, do not let Satan seduce you"; see ADAM AND EVE; OATHS; BREAKING TRUSTS AND CONTRACTS), respond to Satan, are doomed, as in Q 43:36: "And whoever turns away from remembrance of the compassionate (see GOD AND HIS ATTRIBUTES), we shall assign Satan to be his companion."

Divine wishes thus tower over both human and Satanic ones, keeping the two in a tension that creates a range of possibilities that people can choose once they are offered the knowledge of God's path. This interplay functionally separates the three agents only in the realm of individual action, laying out specific guidelines for practical judgments as well as inducing divergent theological debates on the issues of accountability, justice and responsibility. In the cosmic scheme of things, however, divine wishes prevail and reflect the integrity and omnipotence of God's plan to make all human beings aware of the ways to realize their ultimate desires. Regarding the theological matters of agency, Muslim orthodoxy eventually found a middle ground that, no matter what the subjective reasons for acting on one's desires through the principles of acquisition *(kasb)* may be, the epistemic frame of reference is unwavering, stable, and clear. The Ashʿarīs sum up this position in the following terms:

His will is one, everlasting, connected to all willing from his own actions, and the actions of his servants insofar as they are created for him, not insofar as they are acquired from them. From that, he said that he willed everything, good and bad, beneficial and harmful, just as he willed and knew it to be. He willed from his servants what he knew and what he commanded his pen (see WRITING AND WRITING MATERIALS) to write on the preserved tablet (q.v.). That is his decree, ruling, and predetermination which never changed and can never be replaced. It is

impossible for anything to be against what is known and predetermined in form in this manner (from Shahrastānī, *Milal,* i, 66-9; trans. M. Sells, *Early Islamic mysticism,* 320).

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Wit

see HUMOR; INTELLECT

Witness to Faith

Arabic *shahāda,* i.e. the statement "I testify that there is no god but God and I testify that Muḥammad is the messenger of God," *ashhadu an lā ilāha illā llāh wa-ashhadu anna Muḥammadan rasūlu llāh*. The utterance of the statement in Arabic is required of all Muslims to signify acceptance of Islam and thus it must be said at least once, with full intention, in a lifetime. The *shahāda* also plays a central role in the structure of the daily prayer (q.v.; *ṣalāt*) as well as in other life-cycle occasions and thus is repeated frequently in a Muslim's life. In the Qurʾān the statement itself is not found as a formula nor is there indication of the ritual act which later Islam has made it (as one of the five pillars; see RITUAL AND THE QURʾĀN). The content of the statement, however, and the phraseology of the two elements (known as the *shahādatāni*) of the *shahāda* are in the Qurʾān, as is a very strong sense of the role of "witnessing" one's faith (q.v.; see also BELIEF AND UNBELIEF; WITNESSING AND TESTIFYING).

Proclaiming the unity of God

"There is no god but God" is found in the Qurʾān in the exact phrasing of the *shahāda* only in Q 37:35 and Q 47:19. The first of these passages is especially interesting given the development of the ritual *shahāda,* since it speaks of an oral profession of the statement in front of unbelievers (see ORALITY; GOD AND HIS ATTRIBUTES). Verses 34 through 36 of Q 37 state: "Even so it is with the sinners (see SIN, MAJOR AND MINOR). When it is said to them, 'There is no god but God,' they wax proud (see PRIDE; ARROGANCE) saying, 'What, shall we forsake our gods for a poet possessed (see POETRY AND POETS; INSANITY; JINN)?' " Q 47:19 is a command to believers but not one entailing ritual testimony: "Know therefore that there is no god but God and ask for forgiveness [q.v.; of your sin]." Given this, it would be accurate to suggest that the performative aspect of the statement of the oneness of God as it is expressed in the *shahāda* is clearly post-qurʾānic. That said, it is worth remembering that the statement, "There is no god but he," *lā ilāha illā huwa,* is a constant refrain in the Qurʾān, found over forty times with some variations, including "There is no god but I" and "There is no god but you" (e.g. Q 2:163; 16:2; 21:87). Sometimes (e.g. Q 2:255) this is prefaced by the word "God," *Allāh lā ilāha illā huwa,* "God, there is no god but he!" In Q 3:62 and Q 38:65 the phrasing of the negative in the statement "There is no god but God" is another variant of the ritual *shahāda,* using *wa-mā min ilāhin* rather than the particle of absolute negation, *lā* (see GRAMMAR AND THE QURʾĀN). The theological position of "There is no god but God" is a major

theme of the Qurʾān, even if the precise way in which that is ritually expressed in Islam is, at best, latent in the text.

The non-qurʾānic status of the precise phrasing (as well as some variability in how the statement was to be expressed in the early centuries of Islam — on which see below) has led some to seek the background to the phrase outside the Islamic context. Attention has been drawn to the Samaritans (q.v.) as having a parallel formulation (Baumstark, Herkunft; Macuch, Vorgeschichte).

Proclaiming Muḥammad's status

The figure of the "messenger of God" is a constant presence in the Qurʾān with phrases such as "He is the messenger of God" in Q 49:3 and proclamations such as "I am the messenger of God" in Q 7:158 (see MESSENGER). References to "God and his messenger" with variants such as "me and my messenger" also abound (e.g. Q 4:13, 136; 5:111, with Jesus as the messenger; 9:62). The precise phraseology "Muḥammad is the messenger of God" is, however, included in scripture only once, in Q 48:29. The context there is a statement of fact and not of ritual enunciation: "Muḥammad is the messenger of God and those who are with him are hard against the unbelievers, merciful to one another (see MERCY)." The other three instances of the use of the proper name Muḥammad (q.v.; see also NAMES OF THE PROPHET) in the Qurʾān (Q 3:144; 33:40; 47:2) do not suggest any notion of a ritual formula.

The emergence of the formula of the shahāda

Within the early Islamic period the *shahāda* and variations on it emerged as identifiers of Islamic allegiance, being found on coins and in inscriptions dating from the first Muslim century (see EPIGRAPHY AND THE QURʾĀN; NUMISMATICS; MONEY). It is during this period that the *shahāda* clearly gained status and, eventually, a set formulation. The precise phrasing of the statements displays some variation over time. Commonly the word "alone" (*waḥda* or *wāḥid*), is added after *Allāh,* perhaps picking up on the phrasing of Q 6:19 (cf. Q 18:110, etc.), which states, *huwa ilāhun wāḥidun,* "He is one god." This phrase, as found in coins and inscriptions, is often followed by "He has no partner," *lā sharīka lahu* (as found in Q 6:163; see POLYTHEISM AND ATHEISM). A typical example of this formulation is found in the wall mosaic located in the ruins of some Umayyad shops in Baysān (today, Bet Shean, in Israel) dating from earlier than 131/749 (when the town was destroyed by an earthquake). This inscription reads, "In the name of God, the merciful, the compassionate. There is no god but God alone; he has no partner. Muḥammad is the messenger of God" (Khamis, Two wall mosaic inscriptions, 163). The examples of coins with the phrasing "There is no god but God alone" from the post-ʿAbd al-Malik monetary reform period are well known. Examples still exist from as early as the years 77/696 and 78/697. Those coins often add the phrase "Whom he sent with guidance (see ASTRAY) and the religion (q.v.) of truth (q.v.), that he might make it victorious (see VICTORY) over all religions" (cf. Q 9:33; 48:28; 61:9; for examples see Walker, *Catalogue*). The existence of these phrases on coins might suggest that, at this time, the ritual status and formulation of the *shahāda* had not yet been reached. The same observation may be made for the inscriptions in the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem (q.v.) dating from the same period. Even in the ḥadīth literature of the third Muslim century/ninth century C.E. (see ḤADĪTH AND THE QURʾĀN), the place and the formulation of the *shahāda* as an independent ritual activity (outside of its

incorporation into the prayer ritual) appears to be not yet completely fixed (see Rippin, *Muslims,* 98-100; Wensinck, *Muslim creed,* 27-35).

"Witnessing" as a qurʾānic theme

The Qurʾān uses the root *sh-h-d* some 200 times in a variety of senses, some of which may be connected with the sense of "giving witness to faith," thus providing impetus, it may be thought, to the development of the *shahāda* as a ritual activity.

There are two main senses of witnessing in the Qurʾān. One relates to matters of faith and the other, to various legal matters (see LAW AND THE QURʾĀN). While it may be argued that there is a relationship between those two, especially since God is described as *al-shahīd,* the witness over everything (e.g. Q 58:6; 85:9), the emphasis on a notion of testifying specifically to one's faith, a notion which is not present in the legal "witness" passages, suggests that at least a theoretical separation is possible.

On the legal side, the Qurʾān speaks of witnesses as needing to be involved in various commercial and personal transactions (see CONTRACTS AND ALLIANCES). Such witnessing is deemed evidence and the words *bayyina,* "evidence," and *shahāda,* "witnessing," are often used interchangeably. The Qurʾān (e.g. Q 2:282; 4:15; 24:4) requires such witness-evidence from people in a number of situations, including lawsuits, matters regarding the status of persons (marriage, divorce, manumission, bequest; see MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE; SLAVES AND SLAVERY; INHERITANCE), financial matters and *ḥadd* offences (i.e. those which involved prescribed penalties such as fornication, adultery, manslaughter and so on; see BOUNDARIES AND PRECEPTS; CHASTISEMENT AND PUNISHMENT; ADULTERY AND FORNICATION; MURDER; BLOODSHED).

Of its religious uses the first thing to note is that witnessing is not passive but active. It is a demand to "bear witness" or to "testify." Q 3:64 states, "If they [the People of the Book (q.v.)] turn back, say, 'Bear witness that we are Muslims.'" Q 2:143 has biblical resonances in stating, "Thus we have made you a middle nation that you might be witnesses to the people and the messenger a witness to you." It is relevant to the development of the *shahāda* as a spoken ritual activity that God bears witness to his oneness in Q 3:18, "God bears witness that there is no god but he," and believers bear witness to the truth of Muḥammad's message in Q 3:86, "How can God guide those who disbelieve after they have accepted faith and testified that the messenger was true and that the clear signs (q.v.; see also VERSES) had come to them?" Statements close to both elements of the *shahāda* are thus found in the Qurʾān in a context which suggests an active process of witnessing.

Martyrdom as witnessing faith

The semantic link between "witnessing faith" (being a *shāhid*) and being a "martyr" *(shahīd)* — two terms and usages clearly separated in later Islamic times — is not evident in the Qurʾān (see MARTYRS). Goldziher (*MS,* ii, 350-4) argued that the development from witness to martyr derived from Christian Syriac usage of the cognate *sāhdā* in translating the Greek *martus*. Those who are spoken of as "witnesses to faith" in the Qurʾān (either *shuhadāʾ,* the plural of *shahīd,* as in Q 3:140; 4:69; 39:69; 57:19, or *shāhidūn* in Q 3:53; 5:83, etc.) fit within the meaning sketched above of those who "testify" to their faith in God and Muḥammad (the plural uses of the word as "legal witnesses" are clearly separated). Many commentaries, however, interpret *shuhadāʾ,* especially in Q 3:140, in the sense of "martyr" by connecting it to the context of the battles of Badr (q.v.) and

Uḥud which occurred during the lifetime of the Prophet (see EXPEDITIONS AND BATTLES). The early authority Ibn Jurayj is reported by al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923; *Tafsīr,* vii, 243, report no. 7915) to have said regarding "So that God may know those who believe and may take witnesses/martyrs from among you" (Q 3:140), that the Muslims used to petition their lord (q.v.) by saying, "Our lord, show us another day like the day of Badr in which we can fight the polytheists, strive well in your cause, and seek therein martyrdom." That prayer was said to have been answered at Uḥud because, on that day, the Muslims met the polytheists in battle and God chose martyrs from among them. Such readings of these verses are also found in very early exegetical works; the meaning of the *shuhadāʾ* as "those martyred in the path of God" is, for example, the fourth of six meanings given to the word by Muqātil b. Sulaymān (d. 150/767) in his *al-Ashbāh wa-l-nazāʾir fī l-Qurʾān al-karīm* (148-9) connected to Q 4:69 and Q 57:19 (see PATH OR WAY). As Goldziher has pointed out, however, the more standard qurʾānic phrase for referring to the martyrs who die in battle is "those killed in the path of God" (e.g. Q 3:169, "Think not of those who are slain in the path of God as dead! They live, finding sustenance [q.v.] with their lord"; see DEATH AND THE DEAD; REWARD AND PUNISHMENT; PARADISE). Be that as it may, it is clear that by the time of the ḥadīth literature, *shahīd* as "martyr" is well established, with martyrdom understood in a very broad sense, not limited to those killed in battle, and often carrying an implicit criticism of those who seek death in order to gain the status of the martyr.

The shahāda *in theology*

The ritual repetition of the *shahāda* is often treated as the core or ground level of faith, *īmān,* as a whole. In many discussions, the profession of the *shahāda* is the one action required for someone to be considered a Muslim. Questions about the status of works beyond that required profession produced the debates about the role of works in the life of the believer in Islam (see GOOD DEEDS; THEOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN). Most famously, this related to the discussion of the status of the "believing sinner" which, in the extreme case, applied to someone who only said the *shahāda* but whose actions were otherwise not in keeping with Islamic requirements. In later Muslim times, likely starting with al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111), the *shahāda* was understood as the creedal statement of Islam, providing the basis for the discussion that characterized all theology as an explanation of the two sentences of the *shahāda* (Wensinck, *Muslim creed,* 270-6).

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Witnessing and Testifying

Perceiving something and giving evidence of it. These two notions are distinct from each other but interrelated, insofar as the one is the prerequisite of the other. Also, the act of perception results in knowledge that can later be passed on, and so may be considered to be oriented towards the future; bearing evidence, by contrast, refers to the past. Thus, witnessing and testifying establishes a chain of information, with the witness serving as a connecting link between a past event and a person inquiring about it. From an epistemological point of view, however, this chain consists of two different relationships. On the one hand, the witness' relationship to the event in question is normally characterized by trust in his own perception; the inquirer, on the other hand, must always decide whether the witness is credible and, therefore, whether the information he is obtaining is true. Since the practice of witnessing and testifying is one of the most important methods of arriving at a decision in the field of law, formulating criteria to ensure the credibility of the witness has always been of pivotal importance.

The Arabic counterpart to the English notion of "witnessing and testifying" is derived from the root *sh-h-d,* which occurs 160 times in the Qurʾān, mainly in the first verbal form. The verb *shahida* (44 times) covers a set of notions that includes: first, "to be present (at)" or "to be (eye)witness (of)" (with acc.: e.g. Q 2:185; 12:26; 27:49; 43:19); second, "to bear evidence of something" (*bi-,* seldom *ʿalā*), or "against someone or oneself" (*ʿalā;* e.g. Q 6:130; 12:81; 41:20; 46:10); and, third, "to declare" or "to profess" (with acc. or *anna,* "that"; e.g. Q 3:81; 7:172; 11:54; 25:72; with even God as its subject: Q 3:18). Likewise, the active participle *shāhid* (21 times, including its plural forms *shāhidūn, shuhūd* and *ashhād*) and the verbal adjective *shahīd* (56 times, including the dual *shahīdān* and the plural *shuhadāʾ*) mostly refer to the eyewitness of deeds and events (e.g. Q 4:72; 12:26; 28:44), to the witness who gives evidence in the court either in this world or in the hereafter (e.g. Q 4:166; 24:4; 40:51; see JUDGMENT; LAST JUDGMENT) and to the witness who attests to his faith (q.v.) or beliefs (e.g. Q 3:53; 6:150; 46:10; not *shahīd*).

Finally, the verbal noun *shahāda* (26 times) signifies the "manifest" in contrast to *al-ghayb,* "the hidden" (see HIDDEN AND THE HIDDEN), in the recurrent formula *ʿālim al-ghayb wa-l-shahāda* ("[God] knower of the unseen and the visible"; e.g. Q 6:73; 9:94; cf. 6:19). It also denotes witnessing the conclusion of an agreement (e.g. Q 2:282; 5:106; see CONTRACTS AND ALLIANCES) and testifying to one's knowledge (e.g. Q 2:140; 24:4; see KNOWLEDGE AND LEARNING), while in Q 24:6, 8 its meaning comes close to that of an oath (see OATHS). There are, however, several instances where it is not easy to determine in which sense words derived from the root *sh-h-d* should best be understood (e.g. Q 3:18, 99; 11:17; 46:10; 74:13; 83:21).

At any rate, due to its complex shades of meaning, the term *shahāda* with its derivations gained central importance in three different fields of Islamic culture. It refers, first, to witnessing in a judicial context, second, to the credo statement, "I confess *(ashhadu)* there is no god except God, Muḥammad is the messenger of God" (see WITNESS TO FAITH) and third, to martyrdom (see MARTYRS).

Two types of witnesses: attesting and testifying

In the Qurʾān, the notion of witnessing is a main issue in the description of events on judgment day, on the one hand, and in the prescriptions for procedural rules in penal and civil law cases in this life, on the other (see LAW AND THE QURʾĀN; CHASTISEMENT

AND PUNISHMENT). These two usages should be treated separately.

To give an idea of the impending divine judgment at the end of time, the Qurʾān — aside from referring to the metaphor (q.v.) of the mechanical and hence impartial scale (e.g. Q 7:8-9; 21:47; see WEIGHTS AND MEASURES) — evokes above all the imagery of a great trial. The Qurʾān, however, hardly talks about the course of events at this trial; rather, it focuses on the impact of two kinds of evidence that will be presented there: 1) written documents (see ORALITY AND WRITING IN ARABIA; WRITING AND WRITING MATERIALS), and 2) the testimony of witnesses. Both draw their authority from the close surveillance to which human beings are subject during their lifetime. Nothing that happens on earth escapes God (cf. Q 50:16; 58:7; see POWER AND IMPOTENCE). Therefore: "God is sufficient as witness" (*shahīd,* Q 4:79; cf. 3:98; 4:33; 6:19; 13:43; and sometimes God is called *raqīb,* "watcher," e.g. Q 5:117; 33:52; both designations belong to his "most beautiful names," *al-asmāʾ al-ḥusnā;* see GOD AND HIS ATTRIBUTES). Also he (Q 3:181; 19:79; 36:12), or rather some angelic beings who are mostly called "our messengers" (*rusulunā;* e.g. Q 10:21; 43:80; see ANGEL) or "guardians" (*ḥāfiẓīn,* Q 82:10; *ḥafaẓa,* Q 6:61; cf. 4:166; 13:11; 50:17-18), write down the deeds of every human being (see HEAVENLY BOOK).

According to some verses (q.v.), on judgment day there will be one comprehensive book (q.v.; *kitāb*) for all (Q 18:49; 39:69; cf. 36:12); according to others, there is one book for the sinners and one for the pious (Q 83:7, 18; see SIN, MAJOR AND MINOR), one for each community (*umma,* Q 45:28-9; see COMMUNITY AND SOCIETY IN THE QURʾĀN), or one record for each individual (Q 17:13-14, 71; 69:19, 25; 84:7, 10). Be that as it may, the notion of celestial registers of deeds belongs to the common religious heritage of the Near East (see SCRIPTURE AND THE QURʾĀN). In the Qurʾān, as well as in biblical texts (cf. Malachi 3:16-17; Daniel 7:10; Revelation 20:12), written documents, whether collective or individual, are the decisive evidence in the last judgment. In fact, due to their precision and comprehensiveness, these writings themselves dictate unmistakably the final fate of the souls (see SOUL; REWARD AND PUNISHMENT). The events on judgment day do not themselves serve to determine the verdict — since God is all-knowing, this is already clear — but rather to demonstrate that the divine verdict is just (see JUSTICE AND INJUSTICE). Therefore, on judgment day the records of deeds will be made public: they will be spread open before the souls (Q 17:13; 18:49; 39:69); they will be handed over to them (Q 17:71; 69:19, 25; 84:7, 10); everyone has to read his own register aloud (Q 17:14, 71; 69:19). Thus the pious as well as the sinners, after gaining insight to the records of their deeds, will acknowledge the supreme divine justice (Q 17:14; 18:49; 69:19f.).

The second piece of evidence that plays a major role on the day of judgment, the testimony of witnesses, is only ever mentioned in connection with evil-doers (Q 50:21 might appear to be an exception, but as the context shows, the sinner is the focus of attention here, too; see EVIL DEEDS). Those who are summoned to appear as witnesses before the tribunal include first of all the messengers of God, who are to testify against the peoples to whom they have been sent (e.g. Q 4:41, 159; 5:116-17; 16:84, 89; 28:75). Q 2:143 is relevant here, too. Concerning the Muslim community, it says: "… that you may be witnesses against humankind *(shuhadāʾa ʿalā l-nās),* and that the messenger may be a witness against you *(ʿalaykum shahīdan)*…." Here, as well as in Q 22:78 where nearly the

same formula recurs, the context in which it appears has to do with Muslim ritual duties, especially prayer (q.v.; *ṣalāt;* see also RITUAL AND THE QUR'ĀN). Thus, it could be argued that these verses imply that the believers, while performing their duties, are considered to act as witnesses for God in face of the unbelievers (see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF). The mainstream of Muslim exegesis, however (see EXEGESIS OF THE QUR'ĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL), relates this expression to the role of Muḥammad's community on the day of judgment: Relying on what their Prophet taught them, the members of the community will testify that God's messengers indeed conveyed their message to the nations. And the nations in turn, impressed by the Muslims' privileged status, will exclaim: "This community, they all were nearly prophets!" (see Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* ad loc.)

Another important group who will be gathered to give evidence are the *shurakā'* — the associates (whom the unbelievers venerated beside God; see POLYTHEISM AND ATHEISM). When they are asked whether they led the unbelievers astray (q.v.), they will renounce them and give the unbelievers full responsibility (q.v.) for their conduct (Q 25:17-19; 28:62-6; cf. 11:18; 16:86; 37:22-32; 39:69; 40:51). The unbelievers will be called upon to produce witnesses for their own claims, but they will be unable to comply (Q 41:47; cf. 6:94; 10:28; 30:13; etc.) — a motif that also recurs in the polemical passages of the Qur'ān (e.g. Q 2:23; 11:13-14; 68:41; see POLEMIC AND POLEMICAL LANGUAGE) and that can be traced back to God's tribunal on the heathen nations in Isaiah 43:8 f. In this context, mention must also be made of Q 50:20-9. It says that on judgment day "every soul shall come, and with it a driver *(sā'iq)* and a witness" (*shahīd,* Q 50:21): "… And his comrade *(qarīnuhu)* shall say, 'This is what I have, made ready'" (Q 50:23); and, "'Our lord (q.v.), I made him not insolent, but he was in far error'" (q.v.; Q 50:27; see also INSOLENCE AND OBSTINACY). The question of who the "driver," the "witness" and the "comrade" are, is not easy to answer. Aside from other, partly metaphorical interpretations, Islamic exegesis usually takes the "driver" to be a kind of heavenly court usher; while the "witness" is generally understood as the angels who record the human deeds. These angels, however, are nowhere else expressly called "witnesses" (see above). As for the soul's "comrade" who denounces him, al-Zamakhsharī (d. 538/1144; *Kashshāf,* ad loc.) explains that it is a satan (see DEVIL) who was sent to seduce him (cf. Q 4:38; 6:112; 25:31; 41:25; 43:36). This "comrade," then, is reminiscent of the Judaic conception of Satan as an angel of God whose office it is to tempt human beings on earth and to act as heavenly prosecutor against them before the last judgment (Zechariah 3:1; Job 1:6 f.; Ps. 109:6). Finally, God will also enable the limbs and sense organs of the unbelievers to testify to their actions (Q 41:20-2; 24:24; 36:65). Thus, left alone without any witness for the defense, the unbelievers — human beings and jinn (q.v.) — will give evidence against themselves and end up in hell (Q 6:130; 7:37; see HELL AND HELLFIRE).

Now, while the qur'ānic view anticipating the events of the last judgment is characterized by trust in the triumph of divine justice, the qur'ānic attitude towards legally relevant matters in worldly affairs takes a rather more realistic tone. This is demonstrated clearly in the prescriptions related to the attesting and testifying witnesses. (As to terminology, in the Qur'ān, both *shāhid* and *shahīd* signify both the attesting and the testifying witness [see above]. But since *shahīd* later acquired the meaning of "martyr," Islamic jurisprudence then began using the term *shāhid*

exclusively for the witness in legal matters.) The Qurʾān expressly demands the presence of witnesses for five kinds of acts — four of them belonging to civil law, one to penal law. These include: the agreement on a financial obligation (Q 2:282; see DEBT), the delivery of property (q.v.) to orphans (q.v.) by their guardian (Q 4:6; see GUARDIANSHIP), the drafting of the last testament (Q 5:106-8; see INHERITANCE), the decision on the continuation or dissolution of a marriage after the prescribed waiting period (q.v.; Q 65:1-2; see also MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE), and the execution of the *ḥadd*-punishment for fornication (Q 24:2; see ADULTERY AND FORNICATION). (It could be argued that Q 2:185, *man shahida… al-shahr* implies that witnesses are required to attest to the new moon [q.v.], as well, but this is not at all clear. For the discussion concerning the *ruʾyat al-hilāl* — "attesting of the new moon" — see Lech, *Geschichte,* i, 73-105; see also MONTH; RAMAḌĀN). As for the last-named act, i.e. punishing a fornicator, the reason for the attendance of witnesses lies in the special character of the qurʾānic *ḥadd*-regulations. Because they are prescribed by God, they cannot be altered, and it is the duty of the community of believers to implement them duly if the accused is found guilty (see BOUNDARIES AND PRECEPTS). The execution of the punishment is therefore a public concern, and the witnesses represent the community. In this respect, Muslim commentators speak of *tashhīr* — public exposure. But since Q 24:2 simply says: "Let a party *(ṭāʾifa)* of the believers witness their punishment," the teachings from the scholars diverge as to the minimum number of witnesses required. According to al-Ṭabarī's (d. 310/923) commentary, Mujāhid (d. bet. 100/718 and 104/722) considered the presence of only one person to be sufficient; the majority, however, prefer at least three, but better four, witnesses, analogous with the prescriptions concerning fornication (see below).

In contrast, the other instances mentioned above (Q 2:282; 4:6; 5:106-8; 65:1-2) deal with private-law agreements. There, the number of the witnesses has to be (at least) two. Q 2:282, the extremely long *āyat al-dayn* — the verse of debt — deals with witnessing agreements concerning financial obligations. It lays down the following: first, that a scribe has to fix such agreements in writing; and, second, that two witnesses must be called in to attest to the drafting of the contract, in order to be able to give evidence of its proper course in case of future legal contest. Now, this prescription conforms generally with the corresponding regulations in Talmudic law. In the Talmud, however, women are excluded from acting as attesting and testifying witnesses (cf. Josephus, *Antiquities,* bk. 4, chap. 8, par. 15) except in the case of typically female matters. The Qurʾān, on the other hand, stipulates the rule: "If the two be not men, then one man and two women, such witnesses as you approve of *(mimman tarḍawna mina l-shuhadāʾ),* that if one of the two women errs the other will remind her" (see WOMEN AND THE QURʾĀN; GENDER). According to the Ḥanafīs, this means that the testimony of two women and one man may be accepted for all cases, except for *ḥadd* and *qiṣāṣ* (retaliation [q.v.]). The other Islamic schools of law, however, restricted this possibility mainly to financial transactions and otherwise conceded women the right to testify in matters within their special realm of knowledge. In such matters, the judge could confine himself to the testimony of women only — although the required number of female witnesses in these cases differed from school to school.

Q 65:2 stipulates that after the *ʿidda* — the waiting time of three menstural periods *(qurūʾ;* cf. Q 2:228; see MENSTRUA-

TION) — the husband's decision whether to retain his wife or to part from her must be attested to by "two men of equity from among yourselves *(dhaway ʿadl minkum)*." It continues: "and perform the witnessing to God *(wa-aqīmū l-shahādata lillāh)*." Q 5:106 uses the same notion, i.e. "two men of equity" should be present when a testament is made. Both should come "from among yourselves *(minkum),*" but if the testator faces death away from home, two others *(ākharāni min ghayrikum)* will do as well. For the Shāfiʿī and Mālikī jurists (just as for the Ḥanafī exegete al-Zamakhsharī), this differentiation between "from yourselves" and "from others" refers to the relatives of the testator and to strangers. Scholars of the Ḥanafī tradition (and also the Shāfiʿī commentator al-Suyūṭī [d. 911/1505]), however, explain it as referring to Muslims on the one hand, and to non-Muslims on the other, allowing the "People of the Book" (q.v.) thereby to witness in this special case, when no Muslims can be found. (As a rule, the testimony of the "People of the Book" is admissible only when it concerns their own religious communities.) In the continuation of Q 5:106, the wording leaves space for interpretation, as well. It says the witnesses should be detained after prayer *(ṣalāt)* and, in case of doubt, made to swear by God *(fa-yuqsimāni bi-llāh):* "We will not sell it for a price, even though it were a near kinsman (see KINSHIP), nor will we hide the testimony of God *(lā naktumu shahādata llāh),* for then we would surely be among the sinful." Here, it is neither entirely clear whether the prescriptions mentioned refer to the first pair of witnesses, those "from among yourselves," or to the second pair, the "two others"; nor whether the moment of drafting the last testament or giving evidence of this act at a later time is intended.

As to the criteria of witness credibility, *ʿadl* — equity — is the only one expressly mentioned in the Qurʾān (Q 5:106; 65:2). There, this term sometimes implies a certain legal competence (cf. Q 5:95; 42:15); in later times, however, it was usually understood as referring generally to a good reputation. Al-Shāfiʿī (d. 204/820) defined it as "acting in obedience (q.v.) to God" and added that one's surface impression of a person suffices to attest to his *ʿadl*. In addition to *ʿadl,* later Islamic scholars also drew up lists of further criteria for both the attesting and the testifying witness. These criteria include the following: the witness should be a Muslim (thus, Jews and Christians are normally excluded from witnessing, see above; see JEWS AND JUDAISM; CHRISTIANS AND CHRISTIANITY), a free man (*ḥurr;* see SLAVES AND SLAVERY), in full possession of his mental faculties (*ʿāqil;* see INSANITY), have attained the age of majority (*bāligh;* see MATURITY), not be suspected of having personal interests in the case (*nafy al-tuhma;* the classical definition of the testimony is *ikhbār bi-ḥaqqin lil-ghayri ʿalā ākhar*), and not have been previously punished by *ḥadd* because of defamation (*ghayr maḥdūd fī l-qadhf;* cf. Q 24:4). The judge (*qāḍī,* pl. *quḍāt*) is responsible for examining whether the witnesses meet these conditions before the court. Now, while the external conditions can easily be checked, the verification of the *ʿadāla* is problematic. (Since *ʿadl* can also be used as an adjective, it is often replaced by "*ʿadāla*" as a noun.) According to the procedure of *taʿdīl* — declaring one's equity — it is incumbent upon the judge to make secret enquiries about a candidate's reputation and private life, and to question him in public, before accepting him as a witness.

ʿAdāla understood as good reputation is, however, an extremely flexible notion and can be interpreted arbitrarily. Therefore, one finds in the sources that not only the belief in the doctrine of free will (see

FREEDOM AND PREDESTINATION), but also eating in the streets or breeding pigeons and the like could disqualify someone from acting as a witness. Due to the subjective nature of interpreting this term, private-law agreements could easily be contested later on by denying the *ʿadāla* of the witnesses that attested to the act. To minimize this risk, already in the second/eighth century, judges started to confer a permanent status of *ʿadāla* to a limited group of persons, who were then regularly examined. The presence of these officially approved witnesses at the closing of contracts and passing of sentences secured the legality of these acts. In this way, a class of notarial witnesses, the *shuhūd ʿudūl* (sing. *shāhid ʿadl*), evolved. They belonged to the judge's entourage, but could also work independently as notaries, attesting and testifying legal acts, drawing up deeds and documents. The notary profession (which was called *ʿadāla,* as well) required specialist knowledge of law and legal jargon — the *ṣināʿat al-wirāqa,* arithmetic, calligraphy (q.v.) and so on, and was the subject of the treatises of *ʿilm al-shurūṭ* — the discipline pertaining to the conditions (of the notary profession). Conversely, the evidentiary weight conceded to written documents — although recommended in Q 2:282 (and decisive in the hereafter; see above; see ESCHATOLOGY) — was originally very limited, at least in theory: Those witnesses who attended the drafting of a document had to reappear before the court in order to testify to its validity. It was only for practical reasons that written documents eventually became fully admissible as evidence — chiefly by a revaluation of the witnesses' signatures on the document — except in cases of *ḥadd* and *qiṣāṣ*.

Concerning the role of witnesses testifying before a worldly court, the Qurʾān contains very little information (cf. Q 21:61, the trial against Abraham [q.v.; Ibrāhīm], and Q 12:26-8, the acquittal of Joseph [q.v.] through circumstantial evidence). Only in two passages are precise prescriptions given: Q 4:15 says: "Such of your women as commit indecency *(al-fāḥisha),* call four of you to witness against them *(fa-stashhidū ʿalayhinna arbaʿatan)*; and if they bear witness *(fa-in shahidū),* then detain [the women] in [their] houses until death takes them or God appoints for them a way." Q 24:4, too, demands the testimony of four witnesses: "And those who accuse honorable women but bring not four witnesses *(bi-arbaʿati shuhadāʾ),* scourge them with eighty lashes (see FLOGGING) and never afterward accept their testimony *(shahāda)*." While this verse deals with the accusation of fornication *(zinā),* the delict in Q 4:15 is interpreted either as lesbian sex (*siḥāq;* see HOMOSEXUALITY) or fornication, as well. In the latter case, the difference between the penalty in Q 4:15 (house arrest or a divine decision) and the one in Q 24:2, where a hundred lashes are prescribed for the fornicator, is clarified by taking recourse to the supposed order of revelation (see REVELATION AND INSPIRATION; CHRONOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN; OCCASIONS OF REVELATION): first, Q 4:15 came down; it was then replaced by Q 24:2; this in turn was superseded by the notorious verse of stoning (q.v.), the *āyat al-rajm,* "whose recitation is abrogated but not its validity" (*mā nusikha tilāwatuhu dūna ḥukmihi;* Suyūṭī, *Itqān, nawʿ* 47; see ABROGATION).

Be that as it may, two items deserve mention here: First, Islamic jurisprudence has always restricted the necessity of the testimony of four (male) witnesses to *zinā* (and *siḥāq*) only. For all other cases, murder (q.v.) and manslaughter included (see BLOODSHED), two witnesses suffice — a rule which is in accordance with Mosaic law (cf. Deuteronomy 17:6; 19:15 f.). The witness'

statement before the judge has to be introduced by the formula, "I testify by God" *(ashhadu bi-llāh),* or simply "I testify" and is considered an oath *(qasam)*. Second, he who cannot call four witnesses to support his charge is guilty of defamation *(qadhf)* and risks not only losing his right to give evidence, but also a corporal punishment, one which is only slightly milder than the punishment for the fornicator. (It is characteristic of the qurʾānic *ḥadd*-prescriptions that they are followed by restrictive clauses, which gave rise to discussions about their respective fields of application; besides Q 24:4-5, see Q 3:86-9; 5:33-4, 38-9.) Within the sphere of marriage, however, in Q 24:6-9 the Qurʾān allows the procedure of *liʿān,* which entitles the husband, instead of calling four witnesses, to swear four oaths that his accusation is true. And because the truth of these oaths normally cannot be verified, he then has to declare in a fifth oath that, in case of perjury, he should be subject to God's curse (q.v.). In order to evade punishment, the accused wife in turn must invalidate her husband's oaths, swearing four times that he is a liar and a fifth time that she, too, if lying, should incur the wrath of God (see ANGER). Insofar as in the *liʿān* each of them is invoking an ordeal, it can be compared with the *mubāhala,* the mutual curse in Q 3:61.

There are yet other instances in Islamic law where an oath may replace the testimony of a witness. Except for the Ḥanafīs, all other schools accept the oath *(yamīn)* of the plaintiff together with the testimony of another man as valid in financial matters. It is also valid the other way round: if the plaintiff's testimony is not based on sufficient evidence, the defendant can reject the accusation by means of an oath. Finally, in a situation where there is strong, but not sufficient, evidence against a person suspected of killing someone else, i.e. when there are neither two eye-witnesses nor the confession of the culprit, the practice of *qasāma* is allowed as supplementary evidence. This consists in the swearing of fifty oaths, either by fifty men or by fewer persons who then have to swear more than once in order to make up the required number. According to the Ḥanafīs, the *qasāma* on the part of the relatives of the suspect, swearing that they were neither involved in the crime nor do they know the culprit, prevents the mechanism of retaliation. For the Mālikīs, however, the *qasāma* is an instrument for the relatives of the victim. Their fifty-fold oath that the suspect is doubtless the offender increases the weight of the available, legally insufficient evidence to a sufficient degree.

As a rule, giving evidence is a duty for the Muslim community, but if someone can thereby be exonerated, the duty is individual (cf. Q 2:282). Nevertheless, in cases of *ḥadd*-delicts, it is laudable to keep one's knowledge to oneself in order to spare the suspect the corporal punishment.

The profession of faith

In its second meaning, the term *shahāda* refers to the credo statement of Islam. Although there exist some slight variations in wording (see Fischer, Gestalten; ʿAlī, *ṣalāt,* 57 f., 136 f.), the *shahāda* essentially consists in the bipartite slogan "There is no god except God *(lā ilāha illā llāhu)*" and "Muḥammad is the messenger of God *(Muḥammadun rasūlu llāhi)*." It is therefore also called "the two words" — *al-kalimatān* — its first part being the *kalimat al-tawḥīd* — the word of God's oneness — (or, with respect to its sound, the *tahlīl*), its second part the *kalimat al-rasūl* — the word of the Prophet. For the Shīʿa (q.v.) it is commendable, though not indispensible, to add a third phrase, namely: "ʿAlī is the friend of god" (*ʿAliyyun waliyyu llāh;* as to the alleged ʿAlawite

shahāda see Guyard, Fetwa, 182; Firro, ʿAlawīs, 5f.; see also SHĪʿISM AND THE QURʾĀN; ALĪ B. ABĪ ṬĀLIB). In Islam, the *shahāda* is considered a performative utterance: Saying it intentionally in the presence of a Muslim audience means embracing Islam or emphasizing one's affiliation to it. By speaking the formula "I confess *(ashhadu)*" that precedes the whole declaration and that may be repeated before its second — and, as far as the Shīʿites are concerned, also its third — part, the performative nature of the *shahāda* is made explicit. In the philological tradition of Islam, this special character is mostly refered to as *inshāʾī,* what can be rendered approximately as "declarative," in contrast to pure statements, which are classified as *ikhbārī,* i.e. "informative" (see the discussion in Ālūsī, *Kanz,* 32f.).

As a performative, the *shahāda* requires publicity. This public nature of the *shahāda* shows above all in its prominence in the whole complex of the Islamic common prayer, the *ṣalāt:* First of all, it is part of the *adhān* — the call to prayer — which means that it can be heard loudly from above the minarets (see MOSQUE) five times a day in artistic rendering, sometimes even collectively performed (Damascus) or with instrumental accompaniment (Mashhad). It thereby became one of the most noticeable features of the Islamic world. It then figures in the *ijāba* — the individual Muslim's response to the *adhān* — and in the *iqāma* — the repetition of the *adhān* immediately before the prayer starts. In addition, at the end of every two *rakʿas* — series of ritual acts in the *ṣalāt* (see BOWING AND PROSTRATION) — and at the end of each *ṣalāt* itself, the believer utters the *tashahhud* — a set of phrases which includes the *shahāda,* too. (Because one has to raise the forefinger of the right hand while saying *lā ilāha illā llāhu* in the *tashahhud,* this finger is also called the *shāhid* — the confessor.) But beyond this importance in daily ritual, the *shahāda* accompanies the Muslim literally throughout his or her whole life: It is a custom to whisper it into the ear of the new-born child, a Muslim should die with it on his lips (see DEATH AND THE DEAD), and the deceased, before being buried (see BURIAL), is reminded of it so that he or she may know what to answer when asked in the grave by the two angels Munkar and Nakīr (q.v.).

These practices illustrate that the *shahāda* is considered the essential message of Islam. Accordingly, al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111) used it as his starting point to unfold Islamic dogma *(ʿaqīda)* in his "Revival of the religious sciences" (*Iḥyāʾ ʿulūm al-dīn,* i, 160f.), and the 9th/15th century theologian al-Sanūsī concludes his creed (q.v.), saying: "The meanings of all these articles of belief are brought together in the words, 'There is no god exept God; Muḥammad is the messenger of God'" (see Watt, *Islamic creeds,* 94). Therefore, every Muslim is admonished to remember the two words constantly; according to the Shāfiʿite scholar al-Bayjūrī (d. 1276/1860), the Islamic teachers of law — the *fuqahāʾ* — recommended that one should repeat it at least three hundred times a day.

Generally, the first part of the *shahāda,* the *kalimat al-tawḥīd,* is considered to imply the second part, the *kalimat al-rasūl,* as well (see e.g. Shaʿrānī, *Fatḥ,* 24). But not only for this reason do the words *lā ilāha illā llāhu* hold a great fascination. Theology discusses the logical structure of its phrasing as an exception clause and the philosophical implications of this (cf. Bayjūrī, *Ḥāshiya,* 35f.; see THEOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN; PHILOSOPHY AND THE QURʾĀN). With its distinctive rhythm and sound, it became a prefered formula for the *dhikr*-exercises of the mystics (see REMEMBRANCE; ṢŪFISM AND THE QURʾĀN) and for exorcisms (cf. Schimmel, Sufis). The graphical shape of

its letters made it a favorite motif for calligraphic embellishments (see ARABIC SCRIPT). The number of these letters and the existing symmetries among them invite to further speculations about hidden harmonies (cf. Canteins, *Mirroir;* see also NUMEROLOGY). And popular imagination all along was able to decipher it in natural phenomena like flowers, trees or swarms of bees. Thus, the *shahāda* is one of the most important constituents of communal identity in Islam. This is clearly expressed in a prophetic saying that calls the believers the "people of *lā ilāha illā llāhu"* (cf. Ghazālī, *Iḥyāʾ,* i, 505). Despite this popularity, however, the origins of the *shahāda* remain rather obscure.

In order to express the core idea of monotheism, the Qurʾān uses various formulations, e.g. the statement of Q 42:11: *laysa ka-mithlihi shayʾun,* "Like him there is naught," the rhetorical question Q 35:3: *hal min khāliqin ghayru llāhi,* "Is there any creator apart from God?" (see CREATION; RHETORIC AND THE QURʾĀN), and the command in Q 112:1: *qul huwa llāhu aḥadun,* "Say: He is God, one." Two kinds of formulas, however, are especially prominent. There is, on the one hand, the positive statement *ilāhukum ilāhun wāḥidun,* "Your god is one god" (six times, e.g. Q 2:163; 18:110; 21:108; 41:6) with the variations "He *(huwa)* is one god" (three times: Q 6:19; 14:52; 16:51) and "God *(allāhu)* is one god" (once only: Q 4:171). As A. Baumstark pointed out (Zur Herkunft), this formula can be traced back indirectly — via a supposed Jewish-Arabic version of Aramaic translations (see FOREIGN VOCABULARY) — to Deuteronomy 6:4, the opening verse of the *shᵉmaʿ* — the Judaic creedal prayer: "Hear, O Israel: The lord *(yhwh)* our God, the lord *(yhwh)* is one." In its historical context, Deuteronomy 6:4 originally demanded Israel's exclusive cultic veneration of Yahweh alone, while implicitly conceding the existence of other gods for other nations. In exilic times, however, after Israel's turn to exclusive monotheism, i.e. to the negation of the existence of other gods, this verse could no longer be understood in its original sense, and the predicate "one" had to be interpreted in an absolute way (cf. Rechenmacher, *"Außer mir gibt es keinen Gott!,"* 195 f.). The same holds true, of course, of the qurʾānic formula as well, and, thus, the Muslim commentators explain the predicate *wāḥid* as meaning "one in essence" or "the unique one," etc. (cf. Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, ad Q 2:163 and compare the different translations of this formula).

On the other hand, there is the exception clause, "There is no god but he" (*lā ilāha illā huwa,* thirty times, e.g. Q 2:163, 255; 3:18; 9:31; 73:9) with the alternative endings "but I" (*illā anā,* three times: Q 16:2; 20:14; 21:25), "but God" (*illā llāhu,* twice: Q 37:35; 47:19) and "but you" (*illā anta,* only Q 21:87). According to Baumstark (Zur Herkunft), the wording *lā ilāha illā huwa* ultimately echoes Deuteronomy 4:35, 39 and must have been part of a pre-Islamic Jewish-Arabic cult prayer. In fact, many passages where this phrase figures exhibit a distinctive Jewish-Christian coloring, e.g. when combined with Hebrew or Aramaic borrowings like *al-qayyūm* — "the everlasting" (Q 2:255; 3:2) and *rabb al-ʿālamīn* — "the lord of all being" (Q 40:64-5), in connection with the biblical motif of the throne (Q 2:255; 9:129; 20:5-8; 27:26; see THRONE OF GOD) or in juxtaposition to *al-raḥmān* — "the all-merciful" — the name under which God was venerated in pre-Islamic times by the Jews of the Yemen (q.v.): e.g.: "Your god is one god; there is no god but he, the all-merciful, the all-compassionate" (*al-*

raḥmān al-raḥīm, Q 2:163; cf. 13:30; 59:22). Thus, it must be assumed that the phrase *lā ilāha illā huwa* was, at the time the Qurʾān originated, a popular slogan in Arabian Jewish or Christian circles. But then, the way the Arabic proper name "God," *Allāh,* becomes connected with this phrase in the Qurʾān, shows how the new religious movement first adopted and, later on, started to monopolize it. There are verses where the word *Allāh* simply precedes the *lā ilāha illā huwa* (e.g. Q 2:255; 3:2; 4:87; cf. 3:18), while in others, *Allāh* is almost defined by means of it (Q 20:98; cf. 6:102; 39:6; 40:62, 64-5). After a short hymn to *al-raḥmān* on the throne, Q 20:8, which runs "God *(Allāhu)*, there is no god but he, his are the most beautiful names *(lahu l-asmāʾu l-ḥusnā)*," may be read as a justification for the use of the Arabic *Allāh* in connection with the exception clause (cf. Q 17:110). One may discern another attempt to justify this connection in Q 3:18, where the praxis of confessing *lā ilāha illā huwa* is somewhat illogically attributed to *Allāh* himself. Finally, in two verses the name *Allāh* enters the exception clause itself and constitutes the *kalimat al-tawḥīd*. And it is especially noticeable that in both instances the preceding verbs indicate that the resulting slogan *lā ilāha illā llāhu* was already in use for purposes of teaching and proselytizing (see TEACHING AND PREACHING THE QURʾĀN): "When it was said to them *(idhā qīla lahum):* There is no god but God *(Allāh),* they were scornful" (Q 37:35; cf. 47:19).

A central motif in the Qurʾān is the emphasis on the authority (q.v.) of the prophetic duty (see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD). One of the means to effect this, is to equate the belief in and the obedience (q.v.) to God with the belief in and the obedience to the messenger (*rasūl;* the term "prophet," *nabī,* by contrast, is seldom used: Q 2:177; 5:81; 7:158). This principle is clearly stated in Q 4:80: "Whosoever obeys *(man yuṭiʿ)* the messenger *(al-rasūl),* thereby obeys God" (cf. Q 4:64). And thus, many qurʾānic orders and regulations are enforced with formulations like "Those only are believers, who believe in *(āmanū bi)* God and his messenger and who, when they are with him upon a common matter, go not away until they ask his leave" (Q 24:62; cf. 49:15; 61:11) or with the imperative "Obey God and obey the messenger!" (e.g. Q 4:59; 5:92; cf. 24:47). And although there are some short catechisms which add further elements, like the belief in angels and the scriptures of revelation or the performance of the prayer and the payment of the alms (*zakāt;* e.g. Q 2:285; 4:136; 9:71; see ALMSGIVING), verses like Q 48:17 suggest that obedience is in the end the decisive criterion for salvation (q.v.): "Whosoever obeys God and his messenger, he will admit him into gardens underneath which rivers flow" (cf. Q 33:71; see GARDEN). It is characteristic, however, not only of these passages, but of the Qurʾān as a whole, that this messenger remains without a name, except for four verses — Q 3:144; 33:40; 47:2 and 48:29 (see NAMES OF THE PROPHET) — which identify *Muḥammad* (q.v.) as the messenger of God and as a recipient of revelations. It has been suggested that these verses were later insertions into the Qurʾān; Islamic tradition, too, doubted the genuineness of at least Q 3:144 (see Suyūṭī, *Itqān, nawʿ* 10; Nöldeke, *GQ,* ii, 81f.; van Ess, *TG,* i, 3 n. 3). Anyway, at the end of Q 48 — after the divine promise to his messenger: "You (pl.) shall indeed enter the inviolable place of worship (*al-masjid al-ḥarām;* see SACRED PRECINCTS)" in verse 27 and after the assurance that God sent his messenger to make the "religion (q.v.) of truth" (q.v.; *dīn*

al-ḥaqq) prevail over all religion in verse 28 — the final verse (Q 48:29) identifies this messenger and extols his supporters. This is the only qurʾānic instance of what later was to become the second part of the *shahāda:* "Muḥammad is the messenger of God."

In the Qurʾān can be found at least three ways to declare one's belief in and obedience to God and his prophet: first, the formula "We hear and we obey (*samiʿnā wa-aṭaʿnā;* see also SEEING AND HEARING)" with which the believers accepted the covenant (q.v.) with God (Q 5:7) and with which they submit to the decisions of the prophet (Q 24:51; this formula ultimately goes back to Deuteronomy 5:27, and therefore, the Qurʾān especially connects it with the Israelites, although in a deliberately distorted form; cf. Q 2:93; 4:46; see CHILDREN OF ISRAEL). Second, there is the confession of faith "We believe" (*āmannā,* Q 2:14, 76; 29:2; 49:14; sometimes with additions such as "in God and the last day" or "in God and the messenger, and we obey": Q 2:8; 24:47; cf. 40:84). That this is not merely an expression of an inner conviction, but should rather be understood as a performative utterance which confers upon its speaker a privileged status, is clear from verses like Q 40:84-5 and 49:14 (this latter verse plays exactly on the possible double use of *āmannā;* cf. Q 9:97). Finally, the verb *shahida* is used to signal the consent of the children of Adam (see ADAM AND EVE), of the prophets and of the Children of Israel in the covenant *(mīthāq)* with God (Q 2:84; 3:81; 7:172). But there are also instances where it obviously signifies a formal declaration of loyalty (q.v.) to the messenger of God, e.g.: "How shall God guide a people who have disbelieved after they believed, and bore witness *(shahidū)* that the messenger is true?" (*anna l-rasūla ḥaqqun,* Q 3:86; cf. 63:1; as for Q 3:86, see above).

Opinions differ considerably about when and how the *shahāda* as credo statement developed. According to K. Cragg (Shahādah), it was used in the Prophet's Medinan period (see MEDINA) as a formula for conversion, but its wording probably belonged to an even earlier time. M.J. Kister (Study) connects the origin of the twofold *shahāda* with the experiences of the wars of apostasy (q.v.; *ḥurūb al-ridda)* after the death of the Prophet. A.J. Wensinck (Tashahhud) argues that the *shahāda* must be comparatively early since it is part of the *ṣalāt*-rite and that it was customary to proclaim it at conversion to Islam in the second half of the first century A.H. — a view largely adopted by W.M. Watt *(Formative period),* too. By contrast, T. Nagel (Inschriften) thinks that from 72/691-2 onwards the Umayyad caliph (q.v.) ʿAbd al-Malik (r. 65-86/685-705) propagated especially the second part of the *shahāda* against the inner-Islamic opposition of the Zubayrids in order to legitimize the prophetic tradition, the ḥadīth (see ḤADĪTH AND THE QURʾĀN), as an authoritative source of its own. Finally, A. Rippin *(Muslims)* assumes that the *shahāda* "received its final shape fairly late" and that it gained acceptance as the first of the five pillars of Islam not before the third Islamic century.

Thus, the problem of the early history of the *shahāda* can be summarized in three questions: First, at what time were the two *kalima*s combined with each other? Second, what was the underlying intention thereby? And, third, when did the *shahāda* gain general acceptance as a set phrase to express Muslim identity? To start with, there is no evidence that the two parts of the *shahāda* were combined with each other before the second half of the first century A.H. Both formulas were originally independent from each other. When, for instance, the phrase "Muḥammad is the

messenger of God" begins to appear on coins (see EPIGRAPHY AND THE QURĀN), from 66/685-6 onwards, it is introduced by the *basmala* (q.v.), but not accompanied by the *kalimat al-tawḥīd*. There exist several variations, especially to this latter phrase. For example, a south Jordanian graffiti (see also ARCHAEOLOGY AND THE QUR'ĀN), probably from the first century A.H., runs: "O God, I do call you to witness that you are God. There is no god but you *(allāhumma innī ushhiduka annaka llāhu lā ilāha illā anta)*." The favorite wording, however, of the Umayyads — still preserved in the *tashahhud* — is: "There is no god except God alone, he has no associate *(waḥdahu lā sharīka lahu)*." From the seventies of the first Islamic century onwards, both words of the *shahāda* appear together. In 72/691-2, a drachma was issued in Sistan which on its reverse bears a Pahlavi text very close in meaning to the *shahāda* (see NUMISMATICS). And from 73/692 on, there are Arab-Sasanian and Arab-Byzantine coins with both the *basmala* and *shahāda* on the margin. These examples, however, are still tentative efforts to link the notion of the exclusiveness of God with the claim that Muḥammad is his messenger. Both words of the *shahāda* were freely combined with other religious phrases, too. There is, for example, the outer inscription of the ambulatory of the Dome of the Rock (see ART AND ARCHITECTURE AND THE QUR'ĀN) from 72/691-2. In five sections, the text emphasizes the two basic ideas of the *shahāda,* and in each of these sections, both *kalima*s appear. They do not, however, make up a distinct unit, but are rather divided from each other by additional formulas. Likewise, in the standard legend on the Umayyad coins from ʿAbd al-Malik's reform (77/696-7 onwards), the two *kalima*s are separated from each other and are given different weight: The obverse has the Umayyad version of the first *kalima* as cited above, and the reverse gives the text of Q 112 (without the initial "Say: He"), while the legend on the margin runs: "Muḥammad is the messenger of God. He sent him with the guidance and the religion of truth, that he may uplift it above every religion, though the unbelievers be averse" (cf. Q 9:33; 61:9; also Q 48:28; see above). Only when the ʿAbbāsids came to power and struck new coins, did the *kalimat al-rasūl* take the place of Q 112 on the reverse and thereby became the true counterpart of the *kalimat al-tawḥīd* on the obverse (see also POLITICS AND THE QUR'ĀN).

This epigraphic and numismatic material suggests that it was in the period from the reign of ʿAbd al-Malik (r. 65-86/685-705) until the ʿAbbāsid assumption of power in 132/750, that both words of the *shahāda* first became combined with each other and finally coalesced into a set phrase expressing Muslim identity. Therefore, it is not likely that the *shahāda* should have been used before ʿAbd al-Malik's reign as a slogan for conversion. By contrast, there is plenty of evidence that at least throughout the first/seventh century allegiance to Islam was expressed — besides many other formulations — by a declaration of the type: "I believe" (*āmantu;* see Ory, Aspects; Abbott, Ḳaṣr Kharāna). In addition, it seems that before the seventies of the first century A.H./ the end of the seventh century C.E., none of the rival factions in early Islam — Zubayrids, ʿAlids, Khārijīs (q.v.) and Umayyads — explicitly mentioned the Prophet in their creedal formulas (see below). But then, the decision of ʿAbd al-Malik to promote the *kalimat al-rasūl* hardly had an inner-Islamic background. Since the phrase "Muḥammad is the messenger of God" ascribes God-given authority to the Arab Muḥammad, it is more likely that it was originally directed towards the non-Arab, non-Muslim subjects in the new empire and emphasized the Umayyad

dominance in the field of religion, too. This becomes especially evident in the inscriptions of the Dome of the Rock. In any case, ʿAbd al-Malik's propagation of the two words of the *shahāda* created for him serious diplomatic tensions with the Byzantines (q.v.; see Walker, *Catalogue of the Arab-Byzantine and post-reform Umaiyad coins,* liv).

The discussion of the term *islām,* as preserved in the medium of the ḥadīth — the prophetic tradition — shows how the *shahāda* started to play a role in theology. Given the fact that eventually *islām* was defined by five "pillars" (*arkān,* sing. *rukn*), A.J. Wensinck (*Creed,* 17f.) argued that definitions, which are less complex, can be considered preliminary stages belonging to an earlier date. Besides a tradition that defines *islām* solely by five daily prayers, obedience and the fast of Ramaḍān (e.g. Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ, K. Īmān,* 8), three principal groups of ḥadīths can be distinguished: first, traditions that emphasize the exclusive veneration of God and add three further, mostly ritual duties (e.g. Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ, K. Īmān,* 5, 7, 12, 14, 15); second, traditions where a catalogue of five pillars is established, which, however, do not include any declaration of loyalty towards the Prophet (e.g. Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ, K. Īmān,* 19, 20, 22); and, third, the kind of tradition where the bipartite *shahāda* figures as the first of the five pillars of *islām,* either in answer to Gabriel's (q.v.) examination of the Prophet or introduced by the formula, "Islam is built upon five" (e.g. Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ, K. Īmān,* 1, 21). Wensinck rightly called this type "a masterpiece of early Muslim theology." Its importance lies in the fact that it holds the middle position between the Murjiʾī thesis that the public confession of faith *(īmān)* alone establishes one's status as a believer, on the one hand, and the Khārijī rigorism with its emphasis on works, on the other (see GOOD DEEDS; EVIL DEEDS). All the traditions of this type go back to ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUmar (d. 73/693), a personality famous for his neutrality during the Umayyad civil wars and therefore a suitable candidate for the attribution of such a compromise solution. The names in the *isnād*s — the chains of transmitters — point, however, to the milieu of proto-Sunnī traditionalists of the second/eighth century who, equally opposed to Murjiʾīs, ʿAlids, Khārijīs and Qadarīs, formulated these traditions and put them in circulation.

Now, the instruction in these ḥadīths to testify to both *kalima*s ("Islam is the testimony *[shahāda]* that there is no god but God and that Muḥammad is the messenger of God…"), signals, first, that, at that time, they both belonged together and, second, that they were used as a performative utterance. This strongly suggests that the *shahāda* must already have been part of the *adhān* and the *tashahhud* in the *ṣalāt*-rite. It is of great interest to know when the *ṣalāt* got its final shape but this is still an open question. Wensinck's argument, that the *ṣalāt* must have been standardized shortly after the Prophet's death "since there are no traces of deviation from the common ritual of the *ṣalāt* among the sects" (*Creed,* 32), as plausible as it seems at first sight, is after all an argument *ex nihilo*. We do not even know at what time the five daily prayers were introduced (cf. Alverny, Prière; Rubin, Morning; Monnot, ṣalāt). What we do know is, on the one hand, that according to Muslim tradition the Prophet was taught the *adhān* either during his ascension (q.v.) to heaven or while sleeping in the lap of ʿAlī (cf. Ibn Bābawayh, *Man lā yaḥḍuruhu,* 28of.), and that he taught the *tashahhud* "the way he used to teach us a sūra (q.v.) of the Qurʾān" (Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ, K. Ṣalāt,* 60). On

the other hand, there are indications that the Umayyads more than once enforced alterations in the rite of the *ṣalāt*. During the revolt of Ibn al-Ashʿath (80-3/699-702), for example, their opponents reproached them with the demise of the *ṣalāt,* and, at Dayr al-Jamājim, the battle cry of the *qurrāʾ* (see RECITERS OF THE QURʾĀN; READINGS OF THE QURʾĀN) runs: "Revenge for the *ṣalāt!*" What they meant by this, however, is not at all clear; further research is neccessary. For use of the term *shahāda* to mean "martyrdom," see MARTYRS.

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Wives of the Prophet

The Prophet is usually said to have had thirteen wives or concubines, of whom nine survived him. But there is some dispute as to the identity of the thirteen. Some modern Muslim biographers have linked the large size of the Prophet's harem to the fact that all of the Prophet's marriages had been concluded by the time that the early Medinan revelation of Q 4:3 limited the number of wives to four (Haykal, *Life of Muḥammad,* 293; see MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE). Conversely, an Orientalist historian of the qurʾānic text has suggested that the Prophet had only four wives at the time of the revelation of Q 4:3 (Stern, *Marriage,* 78-81; see POST-ENLIGHTENMENT ACADEMIC STUDY OF THE QURʾĀN).

In ḥadīth (see ḤADĪTH AND THE QUR'ĀN) and classical qur'ānic exegesis (*tafsīr;* see EXEGESIS OF THE QUR'ĀN), the Prophet's right to less restricted polygamy is presented as a prerogative that *sunnat Allāh,* God's "law" for the world (see SUNNA; LAW AND THE QUR'ĀN), had always granted to God's prophets and apostles (see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD; MESSENGER). Furthermore, the classical sources found the scriptural legitimization of the Prophet's larger household (see FAMILY OF THE PROPHET) in Q 33:50, a late Medinan revelation that enumerated the "categories of females" lawful to the Prophet for marriage as follows (see LAWFUL AND UNLAWFUL; PROHIBITED DEGREES; WOMEN AND THE QUR'ĀN): wives with whom the Prophet contracted marriage involving payment of "hires" (dowers; see BRIDEWEALTH); female prisoners of war (slaves) who fell to him as part of his share of the spoils (see SLAVES AND SLAVERY; BOOTY; CAPTIVES); paternal and maternal cousins who had migrated to Medina (q.v.; see also EMIGRANTS AND HELPERS; KINSHIP; FAMILY); and

a believing woman (see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF), if she gives herself to the Prophet, if the Prophet should wish to marry her. Especially for you, exclusive of the believers. We know what we have imposed upon them concerning their wives and slaves. So that there be no restriction on you. And God is forgiving, compassionate (see FORGIVENESS; MERCY; GOD AND HIS ATTRIBUTES).

The interpretation of the verse has presented difficulties because it appears to relate to a social system that had ceased to exist within a century after the Prophet's death (Watt, *Muhammad at Medina,* 393). Especially problematic within the changing code of early Islamic marriage law was the institution of *hiba,* possibly a pre-Islamic form of marriage, by which a woman "offers herself" to a man without a guardian (*walī;* see GUARDIANSHIP) to negotiate the union and without expectation of a dower. Later Muslim interpreters were uncomfortable with the institution of *hiba* and some opined that it was not a lawful form of marriage for anyone with the sole exception of the Prophet himself. Consequently, they used Q 33:50 primarily as an aid to classify the Prophet's consorts; but it also provided them with scriptural proof that Muḥammad's marriages — even though more than four — were divinely sanctioned.

Ḥadīth reports agree overall that the Prophet was married to the following women:

1. Khadīja bt. Khuwaylid (Quraysh [q.v.] — Asad; see KHADĪJA). She was married to Abū Hāla Hind b. al-Nabbāsh of Tamīm with whom she had two sons, Hāla and Hind, and to ʿAtīq b. ʿĀbid of Makhzūm, with whom she had a daughter, Hind. Twice widowed (see WIDOW), Khadīja was a wealthy merchant woman who is said to have employed Muḥammad in a business enterprise in 595 C.E. and then proposed marriage to him (see MARKETS; CARAVAN). He was twenty-five years old at that time and she was forty. They had two or three sons, named Qāsim, ʿAbdallāh al-Ṭāhir al-Muṭahhar (and Ṭayyib?), and four daughters, Zaynab, Ruqayya, Umm Kulthūm, and Fāṭima (q.v.). All the male children died in infancy. When the revelations began (see REVELATION AND INSPIRATION), Khadīja was the first person or, some say, the first woman to accept Islam from the messenger of God. Khadīja died three years before the migration to Medina (see EMIGRATION) and was buried in Mecca (q.v.).
2. Sawda bt. Zamʿa (Quraysh — ʿĀmir).

She was married to Sakrān b. ʿAmr, an early Muslim, and made the *hijra* (emigration) to Abyssinia (q.v.) with him. He died after their return to Mecca and she married the Prophet around 620 C.E. when she was about thirty. She migrated with his household to Medina where she died in 54/673-4.

3. ʿĀ'isha bt. Abī Bakr (q.v.; Quraysh — Taym), married in 1/623 when she was nine. She was the only virgin Muḥammad married. She remained childless and died in Medina in 58/677-8.

4. Ḥafṣa bt. ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb (Quraysh — ʿAdī) was the widow of Khumays b. Ḥudhāfa, a Muslim killed at Badr (q.v.). She married the Prophet in 3/625 at age eighteen. She died in 45/665 (see ḤAFṢA).

5. Umm Salama (Hind) bt. al-Mughīra (Quraysh — Makhzūm) married the Prophet in 4/626 at age twenty-nine. Her husband Abū Salama had died of a wound received at Uḥud and had left her with several small children (see EXPEDITIONS AND BATTLES). She died in 59/678-9.

6. Zaynab bt. al-Khuzayma (ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿa — Hilāl) was first married to al-Ṭufayl b. al-Ḥārith (Quraysh — al-Muṭṭalib) who divorced her. Then she married his brother ʿUbayda who was killed at Badr. Her marriage to the Prophet took place in or around 4/625-6 when she was about thirty. She died just a few months later.

7. Juwayriyya (al-Musṭaliq — Khuzāʿa), daughter of the chief of the tribe, was captured in the attack on her tribe in 5/627, married by Muḥammad on her profession of Islam and set free. She was about twenty years old at the time. Some say that she was at first only a concubine (see CONCUBINES) but that she had become a full wife before the Prophet's death. Juwayriyya died in 50/670.

8. Zaynab bt. Jaḥsh (Asad b. Khuzayma) married Muḥammad in 5/626-7 at age thirty-eight after her divorce from Zayd b. Ḥāritha. She was a granddaughter of ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, and Muḥammad's first cousin on his mother's side. Her father was a client of the clan of ʿAbd Shams of the Quraysh tribe (see CLIENTS AND CLIENTAGE). Zaynab bt. Jaḥsh died in 20/640-1.

9. Māriya the Copt (see CHRISTIANS AND CHRISTIANITY) was a slave-concubine whom the ruler of Egypt (q.v.) sent to the Prophet as a gift in or around 6/627-8. She bore Muḥammad a son called Ibrāhīm who died when he was less than two years old. She remained a concubine. She died in 16/637.

10. Umm Ḥabība (Ramla) bt. Abī Sufyān (Quraysh — ʿAbd Shams) was about thirty-five when the Prophet married her on his return from Khaybar in 7/628. She was the widow of ʿUbaydallāh b. Jaḥsh with whom she had made the emigration to Abyssinia. She died in 46/666.

11. Ṣafiyya bt. Ḥuyayy (of the Jewish al-Naḍīr tribe; see JEWS AND JUDAISM; NAḌĪR, BANŪ L-) was captured at Khaybar in 7/628 and assigned to the Prophet. She was seventeen. Perhaps she was at first a concubine, but later accepted Islam, was set free, and became a wife. She died in 52/672.

12. Maymūna bt. al-Ḥārith (ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿa — Hilāl) became Muḥammad's wife at age twenty-seven in the year 7/629 during or right after the lesser pilgrimage (q.v.). She died in 61/680-1.

13. Rayḥāna bt. Zayd (of the Jewish al-Naḍīr tribe) was captured in 5/627 during the attack on the Banū Qurayẓa (q.v.) to whom her husband had belonged. With the Prophet, she had the status of concubine which she apparently retained until her death in 10/631-2.

In addition to these thirteen women generally acknowledged to have been either regular wives or concubines, there is some

information on a number of others whose names are linked with the Prophet, but the accounts are truncated, often contradictory, and on the whole quite dubious. The Prophet is said to have married several women whom he divorced (or some of whom divorced him?) before the marriage was consummated; mentioned are Fāṭima bt. al-Ḍahhāk b. Sufyān of the Kilāb tribe and ʿAmra bt. Yazīd of the Kilāb tribe (often assumed to be one and the same person), Asmāʾ bt. al-Nuʿmān of the Kinda tribe, Qutayla bt. Qays of the Kinda tribe, and Mulayka bt. Kaʿb of the Banū Layth. To some additional women, marriage was proposed but the marriage contract was not concluded (see CONTRACTS AND ALLIANCES; BREAKING TRUSTS AND CONTRACTS). The identity of the women who "gave themselves to the Prophet" by way of *hiba* is likewise quite obscure, as the list contains some additional names but also the names of several of the established wives.

When the Prophet died in 11/632, three of his thirteen consorts — Khadīja bt. Khuwaylid, Zaynab bt. Khuzayma, and Rayḥāna bt. Zayd — were already dead. Māriya retained her rank of concubine. The other nine were recognized as rightful bearers of the honorific title "Mothers of the Believers" (cf. Q 33:6, a late Medinan revelation; see CHRONOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN).

The Prophet's wives in the Qurʾān

The Qurʾān specifically addresses the Prophet's wives on numerous occasions; many other revelations are linked with members of their group in the ḥadīth literature. They are clearly the elite women of the community of the faithful whose proximity to the Prophet endows them with special dignity. But this rank is matched by more stringent obligations. While the Qurʾān (Q 33:32) says of the Prophet's wives that they "are not like any [other] women," their peerlessness also entails those sharper rebukes for human frailties and more stringent codes of private and public probity, with which the scripture singles out the Prophet's consorts (see VIRTUES AND VICES, COMMANDING AND FORBIDDING). By linking dignity with obligation and elite status with heightened moral responsibility (q.v.; see also ETHICS AND THE QURʾĀN), their example defines two aspects of *sunnat Allāh,* God's "law" for the world. On the one hand, the Prophet's wives emerge in the qurʾānic context as models of the principle of ethical individualism. On the other hand, the dynamic of the revelations when read in chronological order moves toward increasing emphasis on the perfection of the Prophet's household as a whole; it is this collective entity that the revelations ultimately mean to strengthen and elevate to model status, even if it be at the expense of individual ambitions and the idiosyncrasies of some of its members.

The Prophet's wives figure unequally in qurʾānic exegesis, which is to say that only a small number of their group are consistently presented as key figures in the ḥadīth accounts of contexts of specific revelations (*asbāb al-nuzūl,* "occasions of revelation"). The following presents the qurʾānic revelations commonly linked with one, or several, or all of the members of the Prophet's household in the traditional chronology of revelation.

1. Q 33:37-8, *Lawfulness of marriage with former wife of adopted son,* and Q 33:4, 40, *Adopted sons are not sons*

Muslim scholarship dates these revelations to the fifth year after the *hijra* and commonly links them with the figure of Zaynab bt. Jaḥsh. The Prophet had arranged her marriage with Zayd b. Ḥāritha, a former Arabian slave of Khadīja's whom the Prophet had freed and

adopted as a son. The marriage was not harmonious and Zayd desired a divorce. The Prophet is then said to have begun to feel an attraction for Zaynab; he concealed it because at that time adopted sons were regarded as the full equals of legitimate natural sons, which rendered their wives unlawful for the adopting father. The revelations of Q 33:37-8 commanded the Prophet to marry Zaynab, and Q 33:4, 40 abolished the inherited notion of legal equality between real sons and adopted sons.

2. Q 33:53, *The* ḥijāb *verse,* and Q 33:55, *exemptions thereto*

Zaynab bt. Jaḥsh's marriage to the Prophet, likewise said to have occurred during the fifth year after the *hijra,* is identified in the majority of ḥadīth and *tafsīr* accounts as the occasion of God's legislation of the *ḥijāb,* "curtain, screen," imposed by God to shield the Prophet's women from the eyes of visitors to his dwellings (see VEIL; MODESTY). Many traditions maintain that this revelation was vouchsafed after some of the wedding guests had overstayed their welcome at the nuptial celebration in Zaynab's house. Another strand of traditions mentions ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb in the role of counselor who urged the Prophet to conceal and segregate his wives as a protective measure. For some of the later medieval exegetes, such as al-Bayḍāwī (d. prob. 716/1316-17) and Ibn Kathīr (d. 774/1373), ʿUmar's vigilance for the good of the Prophet's wives rates greater consideration as an occasion of revelation of Q 33:53 than do the accounts of the Prophet's annoyance at the guests who lingered in Zaynab's house on the wedding eve. The *ḥijāb* verse is followed by a revelation that establishes the classes of relatives and servants with whom the Prophet's wives were permitted to deal face-to-face rather than from behind a partition (Q 33:55). The qurʾānic directive to the Prophet's wives in Q 33:33 to stay in their houses and avoid strutting about is dated later than Q 33:53 (cf. below; see HOUSE, DOMESTIC AND DIVINE).

Self-protection of "the Prophet's wives, his daughters, and the women of the believers" was thereafter enjoined in Q 33:59-60 by way of God's demand that Muslim women cover themselves in their "mantles" *(jalābīb)* when abroad, so that they would be known (as free women) and not molested. Once again, classical exegesis has here identified ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb as the main spokesman in favor of a new clothing (q.v.) law. An additional legislative item on female modesty, directed at Muslim women in general, was revealed at a later date in Q 24:31 which prescribed use of their "kerchiefs" (*khumur,* sing. *khimār*) as a means to cover up "their bosoms" *(juyūb)* and their finery *(zīna)* except in the company of their husbands, other males to whom marriage is taboo and female friends and relatives, slaves, and the small children. It was on the basis of Q 33:53 (*ḥijāb,* "curtain" or "partition"), Q 33:59 (*jalābīb,* "mantles"), Q 24:31 (*khumur,* "kerchiefs") and Q 33:33 ("stay in your houses and avoid self-display") that classical law and theology (see THEOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN) thereafter formulated the medieval Islamic ordinance for overall female veiling and segregation. Muḥammad's wives' domestic seclusion behind a partition *(ḥijāb)* merged with the clothing laws to such an extent that the very garments which Muslim women were commanded to wear in public came to be called *ḥijāb*.

3. Q 24:11-26, *The qurʾānic injunction against slander*

In chronological terms, the next block of qurʾānic legislation consistently linked in the ḥadīth with a member of the Prophet's

household is Q 24:11-26, the injunction against slander (see GOSSIP). The verses are dated into the fifth or sixth year after the *hijra* and are said to have been occasioned by ʿĀʾisha bt. Abī Bakr's involvement in "the affair of the lie (q.v.)," *al-ifk*.

The medieval ḥadīth describes ʿĀʾisha as the Prophet's favorite wife. The only virgin among Muḥammad's brides, she was betrothed to the Prophet three years before the *hijra* when she was six or seven years old, and the marriage was concluded and consummated when she was nine. The "affair of the lie" thus occurred when she was eleven, twelve, or thirteen. Returning from a military expedition on which she had accompanied the Prophet, ʿĀʾisha was inadvertently left behind at the last camping ground when the army departed for Medina in the darkness of early morning. She was rescued and returned to Medina by a young Arab Bedouin (q.v.; see also ARABS; NOMADS). A scandal broke that was mainly instigated by the Prophet's enemies (q.v.) but also tore the Prophet's followers apart (see OPPOSITION TO MUḤAMMAD). A full month later, the revelation of Q 24:11-26 was vouchsafed which established ʿĀʾisha's innocence, severely reprimanded the believers for their unrighteous behavior, and announced grievous penalties for all who would perpetrate unfounded slander of chaste women (see BOUNDARIES AND PRECEPTS; CHASTITY). Additional legislation on slander is found in Q 24:4-5. The transgression was later classified in Islamic jurisprudence as one of the *ḥudūd* offenses ("canon law cases with unalterable punishments"; see CHASTISEMENT AND PUNISHMENT).

4. Q 33:28-9, *The verses of choice*

Ḥadīth accounts do not reflect a consensus on the incident or incidents that led to the Prophet's seclusion from all of his wives for a month until he received the revelation of Q 33:28-9 that instructed him to have his wives choose between "the life of this world and its glitter" and "God, his Prophet, and the abode in the hereafter." This revelation has been dated to the late fifth, seventh, or ninth year after the *hijra*. The ḥadīth sources mention several different episodes of household disagreement caused by the women's (or some of the women's) insubordination and backtalk (see INSOLENCE AND OBSTINACY; OBEDIENCE), material demands that the Prophet was unable to fulfill (see MAINTENANCE AND UPKEEP), and mutual jealousy (see ENVY), that may all have fed into one major crisis. By all accounts, the domestic turmoil was of significant proportions and when the Prophet secluded himself for a month, there was fear in the community that he would divorce his wives.

When the Prophet returned, he repeated the newly-revealed "verses of choice" to each of them. Thereupon each of the women, beginning with ʿĀʾisha, declared that she chose God and his Prophet and the abode in the hereafter over the world and its adornment. It is said that ʿĀʾisha reached her decision swiftly and without consulting her father (or parents), and that the Prophet was gladdened by her choice.

5. Q 33:30-1, *Double punishment and double reward for the Prophet's women,* Q 33:32, *Peerlessness of the Prophet's women and injunction against complaisant speech,* Q 33:33-4, *Command that they stay in their houses, avoid displaying their charms, and be pious, charitable, obedient, and mindful of God's verses and wisdom recited in their houses*

These verses are generally thought to have been revealed soon after the crisis that had led to the Prophet's seclusion from his wives. They acknowledge the peerlessness of the Prophet's consorts and also impose

specific and far-reaching restrictions on the women's accessibility, visibility, and manner of comportment. Q 33:30-1 establish double punishment in the case of clear immoral behavior, and double reward for obedience to God and his apostle and godly acts (see GOOD DEEDS). In Q 33:32, the Prophet's women are then told that they are "not like any (other) women," and are enjoined to abstain from submissive speech that might be misunderstood. In the verses immediately following, Q 33:33-4, the expression "O women of the Prophet" does not appear, but both verses are syntactically tied to the four that precede them. Because of the context, qurʾānic exegesis has traditionally understood Q 33:33-4 as having been addressed to the wives of the Prophet. The question of context is here especially significant because the verses include important pieces of legislation. In Q 33:33, the Prophet's wives (or, a plurality of women?) are commanded to stay in their houses, avoid *tabarruj,* "strutting-about," in the manner of *al-jāhiliyya l-ūlā,* "the first age of unbelief" (see AGE OF IGNORANCE; IGNORANCE), perform the prayer (q.v.), give alms (see ALMSGIVING), and obey God and his Prophet. In Q 33:34, they are commanded to be mindful of God's signs (q.v.; or verses [q.v.]) and the wisdom (q.v.) that is recited in their houses (see RECITATION OF THE QURʾĀN).

In terms of Islamic legal-theological institution building, when Q 33:33 was later applied to Muslim women in general it enjoined them to stay at home and also be indistinguishable from all other females when abroad, as *tabarruj* came to mean a woman's display of her physical self in all manners of speaking that would include the wearing of revealing garments, the use of cosmetics, unrestricted gait and the like. While the exact definition of *tabarruj* has varied over the ages, its condemnation by the custodians of communal morality has always included the qurʾānic reference that it is un-Islamic, a matter of *jāhiliyya* and therefore a threat to Islamic society. *Tabarruj,* forbidden to the Prophet's wives in Q 33:33, eventually came to signify the very antithesis of the *ḥijāb* imposed on the Prophet's wives in Q 33:53, both in its qurʾānic sense of seclusion qua "partition" and also its extended meaning of a concealing garment worn outside the house. In their totality, the three qurʾānic commands to Muḥammad's wives of Q 33:53 and 33:33 thus became the scriptural foundations for an Islamic paradigm of women's societal role in which space, clothing and comportment were powerful factors (see GENDER; PATRIARCHY).

6. Q 33:6, *The Prophet's wives are the Mothers of the Believers,* and Q 33:53, *Muslims may not marry the Prophet's wives "after him"*

These revelations are thought to have been received at a later date than the verses of choice (Q 33:28-9) and the peerlessness and restriction verses (Q 33:30-4). Muslim qurʾānic interpretation has recognized a connection between the honorific title of "Mothers of the Believers" in Q 33:6 and the injunction against marriage with the Prophet's wives (or widows) in Q 33:53, because, according to Q 4:23, marriage with the mother is forbidden. Even though Q 33:6 and Q 33:53 are not consecutive in the established qurʾānic text, they are generally considered to belong together. Qurʾān interpreters point out that the injunction against marriage with the Prophet's wives or widows was divinely enjoined in order to glorify the Prophet, alive or dead. In fact, none of the Prophet's established wives are known to have been divorced by him and none of his widows remarried after he had died.

7. Q 66:1-5, *Release of the Prophet from certain restrictions, expiation of oaths, a wife who betrayed the secret, warning to two women who conspired against the Prophet, threat of divorce and enumeration of wifely virtues*

This group of verses has been dated to the period of, or right after, a major crisis in the Prophet's household that culminated in the Prophet's month-long seclusion from his household. The revelation relieves the Prophet from some unspecified, apparently self-imposed, restriction. Mentioned then is the duty to expiate oaths (q.v.). A matter of confidence was disclosed by the Prophet to one of his wives but she divulged it. Two women are called to repent, are sternly reprimanded, and are warned not to conspire against the Prophet. Thereafter the wives are threatened with the possibility that if the Prophet divorces them, God in exchange will give him "better wives than you, Muslims, believers, devout, penitent, obedient in worship, observant of worship and contemplation, both formerly married and virgins."

Clearly these verses also refer to a major crisis in the Prophet's household, which ḥadīth and exegetical literature again attribute to shortcomings (insubordination, greed, jealousy) on the part of the women. There is a great deal of overlap in the details of the quoted *asbāb al-nuzūl* (occasions of revelation of qurʾānic verses) materials, and some sources even collapse the occasions of revelation of Q 33:28-9 and Q 66:1-5.

8. Q 33:50, *Classes of women lawful for marriage with the Prophet,* Q 33:51, *Special privileges for the Prophet within his polygamous household,* Q 33:52, *Injunction against additional marriages?*

These verses have been dated to the late Medinan period. Q 33:50, specifying the categories of women from which the Prophet was empowered to choose his wives and concubines, was discussed at the beginning of this article. Q 33:51, most probably revealed on the same occasion as Q 33:50, grants the Prophet greater freedom in choosing — or dealing with — his wives, by permitting him to "defer" or to "take in" whom of the women he willed; the verse continues with the words "and if you desire one whom you have sent away, it is no sin for you (see SIN, MAJOR AND MINOR). This is more appropriate that their eyes be gladdened and that they should not be sad (see JOY AND MISERY), and all be satisfied with what you have given them. God knows what is in your hearts." One school of exegesis links Q 33:51 with Q 33:50 in order to read Q 33:51 as divine permission for the Prophet to enter into new marriage arrangements and terminate old ones. Another strand of interpretation stipulates that Q 33:51 applies only to the Prophet's relations with his existing spouses, whence it means a release from the rigid pattern of marital equity that Muḥammad had practiced in the past. Q 33:52 (which appears to contradict Q 33:50 and Q 33:51) instructs the Prophet that henceforth (additional) women are not lawful for him (for marriage) nor in (ex)change for (established) wives, with the exception of his slaves. According to some commentators, this revelation put an end to further marriages by the Prophet. Others interpreted the verse as limitation on the groups, or classes, or categories, from which the Prophet was empowered to choose new marriage partners. A third point of view maintained that Q 33:52 was abrogated by Q 33:51 (see ABROGATION); the stipulation of abrogation eliminated the apparent contradiction between Q 33:52 and Q 33:51 and also served to confirm the Prophet's complete freedom with regard to his marital arrangements.

The qurʾānic legislation directed at the

Prophet's wives is entirely of Medinan provenance and belongs to the last six or seven years of the Prophet's life. Considered in chronological sequence of date of revelation, the duty of seclusion behind a partition in the presence of nonrelatives was the first rule imposed on the Prophet's wives. It was accompanied, or soon followed, by stringent codes of modest comportment in private and public that emphasized the women's duty to maintain seclusion in their houses, in addition to piety (q.v.), charity (see ALMSGIVING), and obedience to God and his Prophet. Added thereto were strongly worded warnings against domestic disobedience (q.v.) in the form of plots or conspiracies. While the Prophet was granted unequalled rights concerning the number and type of marriages he might wish to conclude, remarriage of his wives "after him" was forbidden.

The chronological sequence of revelations was clearly an important concern of early Muslim ḥadīth, *tafsīr,* and *fiqh* (Islamic jurisprudence), made all the more urgent by the doctrine of *naskh,* "abrogation" of an earlier revelation by a later one, that had theological as well as legal import. While in chronological terms the qurʾānic legislation on the Prophet's domestic affairs progressed toward granting him increasing control over his women, the time frame also suggests a trend toward greater restraint, not increasing "liberation," of the Prophet's women. The Qurʾān itself provides the *ratio legis* for this trend in its repeated statements of concern for the collective wellbeing, indeed the perfection, of the Prophet's household. The Prophet's polygamous household here becomes a prime example of qurʾānic reasoning in favor of righteous institutions over individual aspirations. At the same time, the qurʾānic legislation also signifies the principle of ethical individualism in its linkage between individual elect status and individual virtue (q.v.; see also ELECTION). As posited in the "verses of choice" of Q 33:28-9, double shares of divine reward are compensation for the Prophet's wives' choice to accept obligations more stringent than those which the Qurʾān imposes upon Muslim women in general. According to *sunnat Allāh,* God's "law" for the world, human virtue bears rewards both individual and communal, when virtuous institutions are maintained by the individual virtue of their members. That is to say that the Qurʾān's promise of everlasting elite status for the Prophet's consorts hinges on their acceptance of greater and graver obligations, since for their group the conditions of "obedience to God and obedience to his Prophet" are cast in more exacting terms.

The Prophet's wives in the classical ḥadīth

In a complex mixture of history and paradigm, the Prophet's wives appear in the classical ḥadīth in at least three distinct sets of personae: as models for the righteous, as elect consorts touched by the miracles (q.v.) that marked the Prophet's career, and as embodiments of female emotionalism, irrationality, greed, and rebelliousness (see REBELLION). The first of these three symbolic images of the Prophet's wives is most pervasive in the authenticated, or "sound," ḥadīth collections that bear the imprint of development of the terms of Islamic law. Second, the hagiographic material in the ḥadīth is largely linked with the legacy of the *quṣṣāṣ,* popular tellers of pious lore. Third, the image of the Prophet's wives as "ordinary women" who display all the frailties and foibles of their sex (see SEX AND SEXUALITY) is mainly found in ḥadīth works compiled for biographical purposes, such as Ibn Saʿd's (d. 230/845) *Kitāb al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā,* of which the eighth volume deals with the ḥadīth by and about the women of early Islam. Ibn Saʿd's col-

lection includes items pertaining to all of the normative, hagiographic and anecdotal ḥadīth on Muḥammad's wives, and much of the material that he assembled can later be encountered in the classical *tafsīr* literature.

The Prophet's wives as models to be followed

Their Qurʾān-established rank, role as the Prophet's helpmates and supporters in his mission to preach and implement the true religion (q.v.; see also TEACHING AND PREACHING THE QURʾĀN; INVITATION), and their intimate involvement with the righteous Prophet in all of the minutiae of daily life elevated the Prophet's wives even during their lifetime to a level of prestige well above the community's other females. This special status grew loftier with the progression of time, when Muslim piety came to view the women of the Prophet's household as models for emulation. Eventually, the Prophet's wives' behavior was recognized as *sunna,* an "impeccable model," that furnished many of the criteria of what was lawful or forbidden for Muslims, especially Muslim women. These criteria were then codified qua examples in the works of early Islamic jurisprudence *(fiqh)*.

The interplay between the principle of the women's righteousness and their function as categorical norm-setters is especially clear in the traditions that deal with modesty, veiling and seclusion, where the Prophet's wives are depicted as both models and enforcers of the then newly imposed qurʾānic norms. Their invisibility went beyond the restrictions placed upon Muslim women in general at that time. In addition to obligatory seclusion in their houses, the Prophet's wives were shrouded in multiple garments when abroad, such as during prayer and the pilgrimage, and they traveled in camel (q.v.) litters so unrevealing and undistinguishable that even the Prophet mistook one wife's litter for that of another. In some sources, the fact that the Prophet on his return from Khaybar wrapped his war captive Ṣafiyya in his own cloak from the top of her head to the bottom of her feet was taken as proof that Ṣafiyya was no longer a concubine but had become a wife. ʿĀʾisha is said to have hidden behind the *ḥijāb* of her house even in the presence of a blind man and to have replaced her niece's flimsy *khimār* with a thick cloth, reminding her of the revelation of Q 24:31.

At the Farewell Pilgrimage (q.v.), the Prophet is said to have enjoined his wives to stay home at all times (and even forego the pilgrimage in the future), and after he had died, several of his widows did opt for complete confinement. The most notable exception to such righteous immobility on the part of the Mothers of the Believers was ʿĀʾisha's well-established active involvement in public affairs after the Prophet's death which culminated in the Battle of the Camel. ʿĀʾisha's behavior was clearly outside of the norms reportedly observed by the Prophet's other widows. The ḥadīth overall deals with the event not by way of reports of censure that others cast against her but emphasizes the fact that ʿĀʾisha herself regretted her involvement most bitterly and passed her final days in self-recrimination.

The Prophet's wives coexisted with one another in mutual love (q.v.) and compassion and thus embodied the ideal spirit of a harmonious polygamous household. They called each other "sister" (q.v.) and praised each other's uprightness, devotion, and charity. When Zaynab bt. Jaḥsh fell ill, it was the Prophet's other widows who nursed her and, when she died, it was they who washed, embalmed and shrouded her body (see DEATH AND THE DEAD; BURIAL). They also lived lives of voluntary poverty (see POVERTY AND THE POOR) and denied themselves even lawful pleasures. Of

ʿĀʾisha, for instance, it is said that she fasted continuously (see FASTING) and freely gave alms at the expense of her own already meager food supply and that she wore threadbare clothes which she mended with her own hands. Of Maymūna it is reported that she picked up a pomegranate seed from the ground to keep it from going to waste. Zaynab bt. Jaḥsh, nicknamed "the refuge of the poor," gave away all her wealth, including the large yearly pension that she received during the caliphate of ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb (see CALIPH), since she regarded wealth as *fitna,* "temptation," and ʿĀʾisha donated in charity the five camel loads of gold (q.v.) that the Umayyad caliph had sent her for the sale of her house located near the Medinan mosque (see MOSQUE OF DISSENSION). The Prophet's wives were also profoundly knowledgeable about matters of the faith (q.v.) and they were scrupulously honest in transmitting traditions. ʿĀʾisha's knowledge was such that very old men who had been Companions of the Prophet (q.v.) came to seek her counsel and instruction. Based on the criteria provided by the medieval ḥadīth, the main components of the exemplary precedent set by the Prophet's wives are: segregation and quiet domesticity, modest comportment, invisibility through full veiling when outside of the house, ascetic frugality (see ASCETICISM), profound knowledge of the faith and devout obedience to God and his Prophet. Since the Prophet was also the husband of these women, special emphasis is placed on wifely obedience as an important dimension of female righteousness.

The Prophet's wives in early ḥadīth hagiography

The ḥadīth collections contain reports of miraculous events that embellished the lives of the Prophet's consorts. These occurrences always involve the Prophet, and it is in their relationship with him that the women were granted miraculous experiences and abilities. Before her marriage to the Prophet and the coming of Islam, Muḥammad's first wife Khadīja bt. Khuwaylid was participating in a popular, annual, pagan celebration for the women of Mecca (see PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QURʾĀN; SOUTH ARABIA, RELIGIONS IN PRE-ISLAMIC) that centered around an idol in the shape of a man, when the idol began to speak, predicting the coming of a prophet named Aḥmad (see NAMES OF THE PROPHET), and advising those who could among the women of Mecca to marry him. While the other women pelted the idol with stones, Khadīja paid attention to its words. Later, after she had hired Muḥammad to trade on her behalf in Syria (q.v.), she heard about the miraculous events that had occurred on this journey, and it was because of this information that she asked him to marry her (Ibn Isḥāq-Guillaume, 82-3). Most of the Prophet's other wives experienced dream visions (q.v.) prior to their marriages with him (see also DREAMS AND SLEEP). While Sawda was still married to her previous husband, she dreamt that Muḥammad approached her and placed his foot on her neck, and also saw a moon that hurled itself upon her while she lay prostrated. When Umm Ḥabība and her husband lived as temporary refugees in Abyssinia, she had a dream in which she saw her husband disfigured. On the following morning she learned that he had apostatized (see APOSTASY) and when she rebuked him, he took to drink and died soon afterwards. Then she heard a dream voice that addressed her as Mother of the Believers, and on the following morning the ruler of Abyssinia informed her that the Prophet had written a letter asking for her hand in marriage. Ṣafiyya, the woman of Jewish

descent from Khaybar, saw herself in a dream standing by Muḥammad's side while an angel's wing covered the two of them. Later she dreamt that a moon had drawn close from the direction of Medina and had fallen into her lap. Her husband hit her in the face when she told him of this vision, and the mark was still visible when the Prophet married her after the conquest of Khaybar. In ʿĀ'isha's case, it was not she but the Prophet who was favored with a sign, as it is reported that Muḥammad only asked Abū Bakr for her hand in marriage after the angel Gabriel (q.v.) had shown him her picture as his future wife. Later it was only ʿĀ'isha in whose company Muḥammad is said to have received revelations (see REVELATION AND INSPIRATION); some traditions report that ʿĀ'isha could even see the angel on these occasions and exchanged salutations with him, while others say that she could not see him but that she and the angel greeted each other through the Prophet. Zaynab bt. Jaḥsh was miraculously blessed by God when the meager food that the Prophet's servant Anas b. Malik had prepared for her wedding feast multiplied until it sufficed to feed a large crowd.

The ḥadīth collections establish that all of the Prophet's terrestrial wives will be his consorts in paradise (q.v.). The angel commanded the Prophet to take Ḥafṣa bt. ʿUmar back after he had divorced her, saying that she was a righteous woman and would be his wife in heaven. Sawda implored the Prophet not to divorce her because she yearned to be his consort in heaven. The angel showed the dying Prophet ʿĀ'isha's image in paradise to make his death easier with the promise of their reunion in the hereafter. The first of the wives to join the Prophet in heaven was Zaynab bt. Jaḥsh. He had predicted this when he said that the wife who had "the longest arm" would arrive there soon after him; later the women comprehended that what he had meant was "charity," because the first to die after him was the charitable Zaynab bt. Jaḥsh. Traditions of this genre, then, are of inspirational character. They depict the Prophet's wives as divinely favored individuals, ranked above ordinary womankind and surrounded by God's grace, because they are his Prophet's chosen consorts.

The Prophet's wives as "ordinary women"

Many of the accounts of life in the Prophet's household contain detailed descriptions of the jealousies and domestic quarrels of the Mothers of the Believers. These reports present the Prophet's wives as a petty, greedy, backbiting and power-hungry lot. The unseemliness of their behavior is more glaringly highlighted by the many traditions about the Prophet's impartiality towards his wives. He is said to have been scrupulous in treating them equitably, visiting each of them once a day. After a wedding night spent with a new wife, he wished his other wives well and asked to receive their good wishes. Each wife had her turn of a fixed period of companionship and sexual contact with the Prophet, a prerogative that she zealously guarded as her right and could give to a rival if she chose. If a new bride opted for a longer period of privacy and intimacy with the Prophet after the wedding, then the other wives were entitled to the same. On travels and military expeditions, he determined by lot which two of his wives would accompany him. This equitable system was upset time and time again when a wife would think of some trick or another to detain the Prophet in her house during his daily visit. An oft-quoted story tells that Ḥafṣa bt. ʿUmar (or maybe Umm Salama) who knew of Muḥammad's love for sweets

detained him by offering a honey drink, until the ruse was discovered and thwarted by a counter-ruse of ʿĀʾisha, Sawda and Ṣafiyya (or maybe it was ʿĀʾisha and Ḥafṣa).

Many traditions state that the women were dissatisfied with the manner in which food and other presents were distributed among them. But most of the jealousy narratives have a sexual and emotional theme. New arrivals in the Prophet's household are said to have evoked intense jealousies among the established wives who feared that a new rival might replace them in the Prophet's affection. Such jealousies could make a new wife appear more imposing and beautiful than perhaps she really was. ʿĀʾisha, for example, is said to have been most fearful when the Prophet had married the Meccan Makhzūmī aristocrat Umm Salama, or brought home the beautiful Arab war captive Juwayriyya, or the young Jewish war captive Ṣafiyya. Umm Salama was especially prone to jealousy and had warned the Prophet about this fact before accepting his marriage proposal. Some of the Prophet's wives reviled each other and each other's fathers and did so even in his presence; such backbiting and bragging matches are reported between Zaynab bt. Jaḥsh and ʿĀʾisha, Umm Salama and Ṣafiyya, and ʿĀʾisha and Ṣafiyya, while Zaynab bt. Jaḥsh is also said to have refused to lend one of her camels to Ṣafiyya whose mount had become defective. All of the wives were intensely jealous of the Prophet's concubine Māriya the Copt, especially after she had given birth to Ibrāhīm, the Prophet's only child after the sons and daughters whom Khadīja had borne him; their jealousy of Māriya was so intense that the Prophet had to assign her a dwelling in a loft he owned that was at some distance from his established wives' living quarters. The women also boasted among themselves (see BOAST) about who had played a special role in an "occasion of revelation," or held a special rank with the Prophet. Some traditions assert that the wives disliked Zaynab bt. Jaḥsh's reminders that her marriage to the Prophet had occurred by divine dispensation, and that the *ḥijāb* verse had been revealed on the occasion of her wedding. ʿĀʾisha, in turn, reminded the wives that she had been the only virgin bride among all of them and that the Prophet often called her his favorite wife. Some of the traditions on the Prophet's wives' mutual jealousies may very well have carried some underlying political meaning during the period of their first formulation, since the Prophet's wives hailed from different clans and even tribes of whom many were, or later turned out to be, affiliated with opposing factions in early Islamic history (see POLITICS AND THE QURʾĀN; HISTORY AND THE QURʾĀN). The Jewish background of two of Muḥammad's consorts, Ṣafiyya and Rayḥāna, and the Christian faith of his concubine, Māriya the Copt, may also at some level have influenced the shape and import of the jealousy narratives. In any case, the almost formulaic early ḥadīth image of the Prophet's wives as jealous, competitive, petty and backbiting, while perhaps in part historically correct, was retained and even highlighted in medieval Islamic scholarship because it supported *ʿulamāʾ* opinion of women's irrational nature. In part, the ongoing popularity of traditions depicting the Prophet's wives as "ordinary women" was surely due to the need and desire of the pious to collect background information on the qurʾānic verses of rebuke and censure revealed on their behalf. But this preference was also grounded in the generally low opinion of women's nature as expressed in medieval legal-theological literature as a whole, where information on the flaws of the first female elite of Islam served to reinforce an

emerging blueprint of gender discrimination (see FEMINISM AND THE QUR'ĀN).

The Prophet's wives in modern Muslim interpretation

It is symptomatic of the new age and debates on women's questions that the modern and contemporary literature on the Prophet's consorts has largely excised the "anecdotal" materials so copious in Ibn Sa'd and other medieval sources. The same is largely true for the hagiographic dimension. With the exception of works of popular piety (that often have a Ṣūfī bent; see ṢŪFISM AND THE QUR'ĀN) and some traditionalist inspirational writings, contemporary Muslim literature now deemphasizes the miraculous experiences of the Prophet's wives, just as it also deemphasizes their all-too-human frailties. It is as fighters for the establishment of Islamic values — and there mainly by way of impeccable morality and manner of life — that the wives of the Prophet are now depicted. As such, they embody the model behavior that the contemporary Muslim woman can recognize and which she must strive to follow.

Modern Muslim literature on the Prophet's life and domestic affairs often includes long passages on gender issues in general. Dignity, honor, and rights both spiritual and material provided for the women in Islam are contrasted with women's chattel status in the Arabian *jāhiliyya* and other past and present godless societies, especially of the West. Criticism of the West focuses on pre-modern legal inequities and also the ongoing exploitation of the Western woman in the workplace and as a sexual object in the entertainment and advertising industries (Haykal, *Life of Muḥammad,* 318f.; al-'Aqqād, *'Abqariyyat Muḥammad,* 99f.; Bint al-Shāṭi', *Tarājim,* 206f., 257; Gharīb, *Nisā',* 114f., 122f.). While women's exploitation in Western societies undermines self-serving Western claims to being "advanced," women's rights in Islam verify the collective dignity of all Muslims, indeed of the whole Islamic system, that the West (missionaries and Orientalists) had set out to defame. History itself proves the Prophet's superior nature in that Muḥammad not only founded a legal society in which women were at long last recognized, but he himself also treated women, including his own wives, better than did any other man at any time in human history before or after his lifetime (Haykal, *Life of Muḥammad,* 298; al-'Aqqād, *'Abqariyyat Muḥammad,* 102f.; Bint al-Shāṭi', *Tarājim,* 208f.; Gharīb, *Nisā',* 121f.). In some of the modern literature, the medieval ḥadīth is omitted or used very sparingly (Haykal, *Life of Muḥammad;* al-'Aqqād, *'Abqariyyat Muḥammad*), while in other works the old texts are read in new ways (Bint al-Shāṭi', *Tarājim*). In both approaches, the old hagiographic traditions are eliminated. Instead the Prophet's wives are depicted as helpmates and participants in the Prophet's mission, and their "jealousy," that is, their competitive love for him, is frequently attributed to piety, commitment to the cause, and their own attractive and lively natures. The Prophet's harmonious household supports the argument in favor of polygamy when its main features are legality, equity, honor, practicability, and necessity. The large size of the Prophet's harem is now interpreted as a sign of his perfected humanity (see IMPECCABILITY). That the Prophet married his many wives for reasons involving some sexual interest is indication of his sound original nature (al-'Aqqād, *'Abqariyyat Muḥammad,* 110-11; Bint al-Shāṭi', *Tarājim,* 204; Gharīb, *Nisā',* 122f.). That he then had the power to fulfill the demands of his mission and also his wives' demands is proof of his superiority as a human. But mere pleasure-seeking was never a motive in his

choice of any of his wives, before or after his call, in youth or old age. Muḥammad was a man of seriousness and equanimity who could have lived like a king but chose to live like a pauper. He chose frugality even though this went against the wishes of his wives who craved the means to beautify themselves for him. Clearest proof that the Prophet was free from base instincts such as lust (as claimed by the Orientalists) are the historical facts of his celibacy until his twenty-fifth year and then his monogamous marriage with a woman fifteen years his senior, to whom he was completely devoted until she died and he was more than fifty years old. In Khadīja, his first follower and supporter, he also found a substitute mother (Bint al-Shāṭiʾ, *Tarājim,* 223; Gharīb, *Nisāʾ,* 119). The many other marriages that the Prophet concluded after her death were either means to cement political alliances with friends and foes alike, or they were concluded in order to provide a safe haven of refuge as well as rank and honor for noble women whom the Islamic struggle had left unprotected or even destitute. Even the marriage with ʿĀʾisha came about at first because the Prophet wished to strengthen his relationship with her father, Abū Bakr; it was only later that she emerged as his most beloved wife, but even then she could not take Khadīja's place in his heart (Bint al-Shāṭiʾ, *Tarājim,* 233f., 240-1, 254, 272f.). The marriages with Ḥafṣa bt. ʿUmar, Umm Ḥabība bt. Abī Sufyān, Juwayriyya of the Banū Musṭaliq and others were likewise primarily political unions but the compassion motif was never absent (al-ʿAqqād, *ʿAbqariyyat Muḥammad,* 115-17; Bint al-Shāṭiʾ, *Tarājim,* 242f., 304f., 319f., 355f., 377f., 382f., 387f.).

Modern Muslim biographers do not exclude the jealousy theme from their descriptions of the Prophet's domestic relations, but their use of the theme differs from the medieval ḥadīth in both mood and purpose. In many instances, jealousy is equated with the power of love and also other attractive human traits that distinguish full-blooded and lively women such as the Prophet's wives (Bint al-Shāṭiʾ, *Tarājim,* 278f., 293). The Prophet himself permitted his wives to fill his private world with warmth, emotion, and excitement, and barring a few instances when they went out of bounds and he had to deal with them sternly, he did not mind spending his free hours observing their small battles that were kindled by their love and jealousy for him. Since the Prophet was the perfect husband, all of his wives found honor and happiness with him such as no monogamous marriage to another man could have entailed (Bint al-Shāṭiʾ, *Tarājim,* 204f.).

The large-scale replacement of the medieval jealousy theme with the attractive modern image of the lively and loving spouse signifies the end of the classical construct of female weakness, including female powerlessness. As the Prophet's wives once again emerge as ideal women in the modern literature, the qualities now emphasized differ from the past. Prominently featured are the women's participation in the Prophet's struggle for the cause, that is especially constituted by their active role as helpmates on the home front. Here, the domesticity theme involves the glorification of the female in her God-given roles of wife and mother. The fact that of Muḥammad's actual wives only Khadīja bore him children may explain why it is she who now emerges in the debate on the wives of the Prophet as the most prominent figure, unlike the medieval ḥadīth which placed far greater emphasis on ʿĀʾisha. Modern sources celebrate Khadīja as both wife and mother while she

was also the Prophet's most important supporter and his fellow-struggler in his great jihād that she waged as his deputy from the moment of their first meeting until the day of her death (Bint al-Shāṭiʾ, *Tarājim,* 233-5; al-ʿAqqād, *ʿAbqariyyat Muḥammad,* 113-15, 118; Gharīb, *Nisāʾ,* 118f.; Razwy, *Khadīja,* 146-7). The interrelationship of domestic support and shared struggle for the cause is also pursued in the examples of the Prophet's later wives. Bint al-Shāṭiʾ defined the virtues of the wives of the Prophet as follows: constancy in worship, charity, devotion to the husband, raising her children by herself in order to free him for a greater purpose, self-control, dignity, pride (q.v.), courageous defense of Islam against unbelievers (see COURAGE) even if these be blood relatives (see BLOOD AND BLOODCLOT), knowledge of the doctrines and laws of Islam, and wise counsel in religious matters (*Tarājim,* 271, 297, 311-12, 317-18, 322-3, 352, 364-8, 387-8).

A perhaps more activist modern approach to the legacy of the Prophet's wives insists that Muḥammad's consorts were dynamic, influential, and enterprising, and that they were full and active members of the community. They were the Prophet's intellectual partners and they accompanied him on his raids and military campaigns and shared in his strategic concerns. He listened to their advice which was sometimes the deciding factor in thorny negotiations (e.g. Mernissi, *The veil,* 104, 113-14). The wives of the Prophet were activists who in Medina worked to secure equal status for women with men regarding economic (see ECONOMICS) and sociopolitical rights, mainly in the areas of inheritance (q.v.), participation in warfare and booty, and marital relations (Mernissi, *The veil,* 118f., 129f.). Even ʿĀʾisha's involvement in political affairs (the Battle of the Camel) after the Prophet's death, an occurrence much criticized in ḥadīth and most later religious literature, here counts as proof that the Prophet's widows had the power to be political actors in their own right (Mernissi, *The veil,* 49-61). Changed in essence but not always in form, the ḥadīth materials on the wives of the Prophet continue to play an important role as a framework of religious self-understanding, a normative mirror-image of contemporary Muslim societal realities and plans for the future.

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Wolf see ANIMAL LIFE

Womb

The female reproductive organ, the uterus, by extension, the importance of kinship and blood relationships. The root of the Arabic term for "womb" (*raḥim, riḥm,* pl. *arḥām*), *r-ḥ-m,* is also the base of *raḥma,* "compassion," and the divine names *al-raḥmān* and *al-raḥīm,* the merciful and compassionate, each of which signals the feminine associations of the divine quality of mercy (q.v.; see also GOD AND HIS ATTRIBUTES; ARABIC LANGUAGE; GENDER). The use of the term "womb" in the Qurʾān most often refers either to the generative function of the female reproductive organ (Q 2:228; 3:6; 13:8; 22:5; 31:34; see BIOLOGY AS THE CREATION AND STAGES OF LIFE) or to the importance of the bonds of kinship (q.v.; *ṣilat al-raḥim;* e.g. Q 47:22, 60:3; cf. 4:1, 8:75, 33:6).

Some of the verses mention the womb in the context of the legal implications associated with conception and birth (see LAW AND THE QURʾĀN); for example women about to be divorced should not "hide what God has created in their wombs" (Q 2:228; see MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE; WOMEN AND THE QURʾĀN), and the closeness of kinship should be taken into account in settling inheritance (q.v.; e.g. Q 8:75; 33:6). In the case of these latter two verses the classical commentators (see EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL) interpret the statement, "those related by 'the womb' are nearer to one another in the book [q.v.; God's decree]," to refer to their primary claims to inheritance based on proximity of kinship. The implication in this case was that the "brotherhood relationship" initially established between the emigrants from Mecca (q.v.) and the Medinan "helpers" (see MEDINA) should no longer affect inheritance rights (see BROTHER AND BROTHERHOOD; EMIGRANTS AND HELPERS; FAMILY). In the case of Shīʿī *tafsīr* (see SHĪʿISM AND THE QURʾĀN), the primacy of those related by the womb is interpreted as indicating the superior rights of the Prophet's descendants in authority (q.v.), sovereignty (q.v.) and faith (q.v.; Majlisī, *Biḥār,* xxiii, 257-8; see FAMILY OF THE PROPHET).

The reference to the womb's shrinking and swelling, or to its gestation periods (Q 13:8), conveys but one aspect of a complex qurʾānic embryology, including the mention of a "sperm-drop" (*nuṭfa,* Q 23:13), "a hanging element" (*ʿalaq,* Q 23:14) and a "chewed lump" (*muḍgha,* Q 23:14) during the early phases of conception. Such verses have inspired a particular genre of modern Islamic apologetic that understands these phrases as anticipating current scientific findings about the stages of pregnancy (see EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: EARLY MODERN AND CONTEMPORARY; SCIENCE AND THE QURʾĀN). In the Qurʾān the "ties of the womb," i.e. kinship bonds, are so strong that reverence for them is paired with the fear (q.v.) of God *(taqwā)* in the opening verse of Q 4 ("The Women," Sūrat al-Nisāʾ) and breaking these ties is an aberration paired with "sowing corruption (q.v.) in the land" in Q 47:22. On the last day (see LAST JUDGMENT; APOCALYPSE), however, these ties will not offer a person any relief (Q 60:3; see INTERCESSION). The idea of upholding relationships, first those based on blood ties (see BLOOD AND BLOOD CLOT) and then more remote ones, is a basic moral teaching affirmed in the Qurʾān:

Worship (q.v.) God and join not any partners with him (see POLYTHEISM AND ATHEISM); and do good (see GOOD DEEDS; VIRTUES AND VICES, COMMANDING AND FORBIDDING) — to parents (q.v.), kinfolk, orphans (q.v.), those in need (see POVERTY AND THE POOR), neighbors who are near,

neighbors who are strangers, the companion by your side, the wayfarer [you meet; see TRIPS AND VOYAGES; JOURNEY]… (Q 4:36; see also HOSPITALITY AND COURTESY; ETHICS AND THE QUR'ĀN; STRANGERS AND FOREIGNERS).

Many ḥadīths (see ḤADĪTH AND THE QUR'ĀN) also refer to the ties of the womb (kinship), for example, "Worship God and do not associate anything with him, establish regular prayer (q.v.), pay *zakāt* (see ALMSGIVING), and uphold the ties of kinship" (Bukhārī, *Saḥīḥ,* bk. 73 *[K. al-Adab],* no. 12).

Later philosophical (see PHILOSOPHY AND THE QUR'ĀN) and Ṣūfī interpretations (see ṢŪFISM AND THE QUR'ĀN) connect the womb with broader concepts of the creative process in nature.

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Women and the Qur'ān

Only one woman is actually named in the Qur'ān, but a large number of verses refer to women. A long chapter of the Qur'ān is titled "The Women" (Q 4, Sūrat al-Nisā') and contains a great deal of material relating to gender (q.v.), but numerous verses (q.v.) in other chapters (see SŪRA) are also gender-related. These include exhortations (q.v.) addressed to the believing men and the believing women, revelations specific to women or to relations between men and women, and laws pertinent to marriage (see MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE), illicit sexual relations (see SEX AND SEXUALITY; ADULTERY AND FORNICATION), divorce, inheritance (q.v.), etc. Female characters appear in qur'ānic narratives about pre-Islamic figures and some verses have been ascribed to various women who lived in proximity to the prophet Muḥammad (see WIVES OF THE PROPHET). According to Islamic tradition, a number of women among the early believers had a role in the transmission of the text of the Qur'ān (see COLLECTION OF THE QUR'ĀN; CODICES OF THE QUR'ĀN; MUṢḤAF; TEXTUAL HISTORY OF THE QUR'ĀN), and through the centuries, women learned the qur'ānic text (see READERS OF THE QUR'ĀN; RECITATION OF THE QUR'ĀN). Female and feminist exegetes, however, appear to be an innovation of the twentieth century (see EXEGESIS OF THE QUR'ĀN: EARLY MODERN AND CONTEMPORARY; FEMINISM AND THE QUR'ĀN).

Spiritual equality, symbolic weakness and social reality

In the spiritual realm, women and men are regarded in the Qur'ān for the most part as equal in the eyes of God and as having similar religious duties (see RITUAL AND THE QUR'ĀN). A large number of verses are addressed to the believing men and the believing women (see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF) or, conversely, the hypocritical men and the hypocritical women (see HYPOCRITES AND HYPOCRISY) as well as the idolatrous men and idolatrous women (Q 9:67, 68, 71, 72; 24:12; 33:35, 36, 58, 73; 48:5-6, 25; 52:12, 13; 71:28; 85:10; see IDOLATRY AND IDOLATERS; GRATITUDE AND INGRATITUDE; POLYTHEISM AND ATHEISM). The most commonly quoted of these is Q 33:35: "Lo! Men who surrender unto God, and women who surrender, and men who believe and women who believe, and men who obey and women who obey (see OBEDIENCE; DISOBEDIENCE), and men who speak the truth (q.v.) and women who

speak the truth, and men who persevere [in righteousness] and women who persevere (see GOOD AND EVIL; VIRTUES AND VICES, COMMANDING AND FORBIDDING), and men who are humble and women who are humble (see ARROGANCE), and men who give alms and women who give alms (see ALMSGIVING; CHARITY), and men who fast and women who fast (see FASTING), and men who guard their modesty (q.v.) and women who guard (their modesty), and men who remember God much and women who remember (see REMEMBRANCE; MEMORY) — God has prepared for them forgiveness (q.v.) and a vast reward" (see REWARD AND PUNISHMENT).

Humans as well as other creatures were created in pairs, male and female (Q 4:1; 7:189; 35:11; 49:13; 51:49; 53:45; 76:39; 78:8; 92:3 and the creation [q.v.] story below). Both are admonished to believe in God and do good works (Q 16:97; 40:40; cf. 4:124; see GOOD DEEDS; EVIL DEEDS) in order to enter paradise (q.v.). The giving of alms is specifically required of both women and men (cited above and again in Q 57:18). Moreover, the women's oath of allegiance to the Prophet is described (Q 60:12; see CONTRACTS AND ALLIANCES). Like men, believing and righteous women will go to heaven while the wrong-doers will suffer in hell (see GARDENS; HELL AND HELLFIRE), but women's fate in the afterlife is associated with that of their husbands (Q 36:55-6; 37:22; 43:70). Most problematic are a number of verses that promise believers in paradise modest, beautiful woman who are sometimes explicitly described as virgins (Q 37:48; 38:52; 52:20; 55:56, 72, 74; 56:22, 36; 78:33; see HOURIS).

Symbolically, the concept of woman in the Qur'ān is undoubtedly that of a being who is considered to be weak, flawed or passive. Menstruation (q.v.), a prime signifier of the female, is an illness or an impurity (Q 2:222; 4:43; see CLEANLINESS AND ABLUTION; ILLNESS AND HEALTH). Not surprisingly, the earth is female and humans consider themselves her masters (e.g. Q 39:69). Thus, the much-quoted verse "Your women are a tilth for you, so go to your tilth as you will" (Q 2:223) may be understood as the obverse of the earth-woman metaphor (q.v.; see also LITERARY STRUCTURES OF THE QUR'ĀN). Women's subaltern status is reflected in verses that position them among orphans (q.v.), children (q.v.) and men who are too weak to fight (Q 4:2-3, 75, 98, 127; see FIGHTING; EXPEDITIONS AND BATTLES; WAR). Women's dependency is expressed not only in the fact that they are not named (except for Mary [q.v.] discussed below) but also that they are almost always ascribed to men as mother of, wife of, "women of," and so on, all forms of linkage to men (see FAMILY; KINSHIP).

In social matters, women's position is depicted ambivalently in the Qur'ān. There are a number of instances of matrilineal ascription (see PATRIARCHY): Moses (q.v.) is described by Aaron (q.v.) as "son of my mother" (Q 7:150; 20:94) and Jesus (q.v.) is referred to as the son of Mary (as will be seen below). Preference for the birth of a son over that of a daughter is one of the sins of the pagans (Q 16:58-9), for female or male offspring (or barrenness) are in the hands of God (Q 42:49-50; see POWER AND IMPOTENCE; GRACE; BLESSING). The burying alive of a girl-child is specifically mentioned as an unnatural, evil act (Q 81:8-9; see INFANTICIDE).

Gender relations are most succinctly expressed in a phrase that has been widely quoted throughout the centuries to support the superiority of men over women: "Men are the sustainers of women as God has preferred some of them over others, and because they sustain them from their

wealth…" (Q 4:34). Some classical exegetes interpreted this verse in the narrow sense as a reflection of men's duty to provide material support for women (see WORK; MAINTENANCE AND UPKEEP). Others expanded the phrase to refer to men's superiority in a number of religious, political and intellectual fields (see SCHOLAR; TRADITIONAL DISCIPLINES OF QUR'ĀNIC STUDY). In the twentieth century, the meaning of the verse has been subject to alternative translations and interpretations (see below). Women's status compared to that of men is expressed in a variety of contexts. Women have rights but the rights of men are a degree above them (Q 2:228). Women are ranked separately after the free man and the slave (see SLAVES AND SLAVERY) regarding the issue of retaliation (q.v.) for murder (q.v.; Q 2:178; see also BLOODSHED; BLOOD MONEY), but they are punished equally for stealing (Q 5:38; see THEFT; BOUNDARIES AND PRECEPTS; LAW AND THE QUR'ĀN; CHASTISEMENT AND PUNISHMENT).

Women's testimony is another ambivalent issue in the Qur'ān (see WITNESSING AND TESTIFYING). When two male witnesses are required but no men are available, the testimony of one man and two women is specified. The reason for this inequality is clearly stated in the relevant verse (Q 2:282), "so that if one of them errs, the other can remind her." In other words, women are reliable enough to provide legal testimony but their memory is not as accurate as that of men. When making a will, however, only two male witnesses are stipulated (Q 5:106).

The seclusion of virtuous Muslim women and their separation from men who are not their kin are rooted in the interpretation of a number of rather obscure qur'ānic verses. The wives of the Prophet are ordered to "stay in your houses" (Q 33:33) and subsequently most legists explicated rules which prohibited women from traveling more than three days walking distance without the permission of their male guardians and, even then, only when accompanied by a chaperon (see JOURNEY). Another reading of the same phrase would have the wives of the Prophet be honorable or quiet in their homes (*qirna* as opposed to *qarna;* see WHISPER). Another exegetical question is whether the instruction refers only to the Prophet's wives or to other Muslim women as well. The continuation of the verse commands the women to dress modestly (see CLOTHING), pray regularly (see PRAYER), give to the poor and obey God and his messenger (q.v.), and these are surely not requirements restricted to the wives of the Prophet. Thus, one could deduce that the order to stay in your houses (or alternately to be honorable or quiet) may be extrapolated to apply to all Muslim women.

Conversely, the verse ordering the believers to speak to the wives of the Prophet from behind a curtain also prohibits them from marrying the Prophet's widows after his death (Q 33:53; see VEIL; WIDOW), a limitation unique to the Prophet's wives. In this case, separating women from male visitors by a curtain, a *ḥijāb,* would logically apply only to the Prophet's wives. Nevertheless, Muslims endeavored to seclude women within the house (see HOUSE, DOMESTIC AND DIVINE; SUNNA), whether by a curtain in a modest dwelling such as that of the Prophet or by the demarcation of more elaborate domestic quarters similar to the ancient Greek gynaeceum. The context of this verse of the *ḥijāb* is crucial to understanding its meaning (see OCCASIONS OF REVELATION; SĪRA AND THE QUR'ĀN). A simple reading of the verse implies that some of the early Muslims entered the Prophet's house at all times of the day and night, without asking permission, and stayed around talking. The

Prophet was too shy to ask them to leave but God revealed an injunction against this improper behavior. In qur'ānic exegesis (see EXEGESIS OF THE QUR'ĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL), the circumstances upon which the verse was revealed *(asbāb al-nuzūl)* indicated that some visitors bothered the Prophet's wives to the point of sexual harassment. These accretions would dictate a more stringent approach to the separation of the women of the household from men who are not their kin, both for the Prophet's wives and, by extension, for other Muslim women as well.

The term *ḥijāb* came to refer to the proper attire for modest Muslim women when they are in public, and justification for the "dress code" is anchored in the interpretation of a number of qur'ānic verses that apply to the Prophet's women as well as to believing women in general. The issue is addressed directly in two verses admonishing men and women to be modest (Q 24:30-1). While the verse addressed to men is expressed in general terms, the modesty of women is specified as in the command to show only those ornaments that are revealed and "draw their veils (*khumur,* sing. *khimār*) over their bosoms." The ornament in question *(zīna)* seems to be a type of jangling jewelry that draws attention to the woman wearing it, since in the latter part of the verse, women are told not to stamp their feet to draw attention to this hidden ornament, apparently ankle bracelets. As for the "veil," it has been interpreted as a kerchief on the head, as a scarf that the women of Mecca (q.v.) and Medina (q.v.) wore over their chests with differing degrees of modesty, and even as a face covering. Another qur'ānic verse instructs the believing women to draw their outer garments (*jalābīb,* sing. *jilbāb*) around themselves so that they will be recognized and not bothered (Q 33:59). In the third/ninth century, the time of the crystallization of Islamic law, prominent qur'ānic commentators were not certain what parts of the body a woman was supposed to cover. This imprecision and difference of opinion among major exegetes continued for centuries, although it would appear that the "ornaments" which drew attention to a woman were gradually expanded until they encompassed the whole body. The dominant opinion among the legists, however, seems to require that Muslim women conceal their entire bodies with the exception of their feet, their hands and their faces. A well-known ḥadīth (saying of the Prophet; see ḤADĪTH AND THE QUR'ĀN) advised a young man to go see his prospective bride, indicating that her face was not covered, which would preclude legislating the face-veil for Muslim women. The ambiguity of the qur'ānic text on the issue of the *ḥijāb* leaves room for a multiplicity of social, cultural, economic and geographical factors to define the precise code of behavior for Muslim women at a given time and place.

The relationship between husbands and wives is described in general terms as mutual and equal: they are raiments for each other, helpmates and pairs for themselves (Q 2:187; 30:21; 42:11; see PAIRS AND PAIRING). Elsewhere, however, wives are described as created for their mates (Q 26:166). The balance of rights and duties of a husband and wife are discussed in greater detail in the legal proscriptions regarding marriage and divorce (elaborated below).

The work of females as well as males is valued (Q 3:195) and both women and men retain what they have earned (Q 4:32). Thus, women are independent economic individuals who may generate income and

possess their own property (q.v.; see also WEALTH; ECONOMICS; TRADE AND COMMERCE).

In sum, the overall image of women in the Qur'ān is ambivalent. They are autonomous in religious obligations and economic affairs but are subject to men in the social sphere. Women are also objectified, most notably as one of the rewards for men in the hereafter (see ESCHATOLOGY). Women's modesty is specified in greater detail than that of men, albeit in terms that were obscure even to the earliest legists. This implies either that women's sexuality is more threatening than men's or that women require more guidance to protect their modesty. Matrimony is regarded as the natural state of human affairs (see ABSTINENCE; CHASTITY). These principles are amplified in a mass of laws pertaining to gender and family affairs set down in the Qur'ān.

Legal material relating to women and gender

Some eighty percent of the legal material in the Qur'ān refers to women. Marriage is regarded as a formal, legal connection and referred to as a contract (*'uqdat al-nikāḥ,* Q 2:237). A relative who arranges the nuptials in the name of the bride is referred to in the Qur'ān (Q 2:237) although the technical term *walī* and its precise legal definition were later derived from traditions of the Prophet. Polygyny is clearly sanctioned in the Qur'ān which permits a man to take up to four wives so long as he treats them equally (Q 4:3). A later verse in the same chapter (Q 4:129) states that it is virtually impossible not to prefer one wife over the others and admonishes the husband not to neglect any of his wives. This requirement was interpreted up to the twentieth century in technical, economic terms by which a husband was required to provide equal lodgings, food, clothing, etc. for each of his wives as well as to divide his sexual attention equally among them.

In addition to the women a man weds by a marriage contract, he may conclude an agreement with a virtuous woman for sexual relations in return for a fee and this is not considered illicit (Q 4:24). These "pleasure," or *mut'a,* marriages, contracted for a limited time between a man and an unmarried woman, were subsequently the subject of debate among legists (see TEMPORARY MARRIAGE). Shī'īs (see SHĪ'ISM AND THE QUR'ĀN) recognize them as legal to this day, while Sunnī scholars maintain that the qur'ānic reference to *mut'a* was cancelled by several subsequent verses (Q 4:3; 23:5-6; 65:4). In addition, Sunnī authorities argue that the Prophet recommended the existing custom to his soldiers only because of exigencies specific to his time when men were separated from their wives for long periods while they went off to war. Moreover, the second caliph (q.v.) 'Umar interpreted the Prophet's intent and banned the practice. The dispute about the legitimacy of *mut'a* has been a major bone of contention between Sunnīs and Shī'īs and is rooted in contradictory interpretations of the Qur'ān as well as differing approaches to religious and political authority (q.v.; Haeri, *Law of desire,* 61-4; see also POLITICS AND THE QUR'ĀN; IMĀM).

Concubines (q.v.), or literally "those whom your right hand possesses" or "women whom you have purchased," are frequently mentioned in the Qur'ān alongside wives (Q 4:3, 24-5; 23:6; 33:50; 70:30) and there is no limitation on the number of concubines a man may acquire. The legal and spiritual status of slaves is regulated in the Qur'ān, including specific rules relating to sexual relations that are permitted or forbidden to them (see LAWFUL AND UNLAWFUL). Thus, a master may not prostitute his slave (Q 24:33) and he has a

moral obligation to marry her off to either a free man or slave (cf. Brunschvig, ʿAbd, esp. p. 25). The status of a female slave who bears her master a child, an *umm al-walad,* is not defined in the Qurʾān; her unique rights developed during the codification of Islamic law in about the third/ninth century.

Illicit sexual relations are referred to as *zinā* (often translated as fornication or adultery) and are strictly forbidden (Q 17:32; cf. 6:151: *al-fawāḥish*). Two separate verses stipulate the punishment for such infractions: one mentions only women and specifies that they should be incarcerated in their homes for a period of time which may be until their death (Q 4:15); the other refers to a male and a female offender, both of whom are to be punished by one hundred lashes (Q 24:2; see FLOGGING). *Zinā*, however, is extremely difficult to prove because the verses referring to "the affair of the falsehood, or slander" (*al-ifk,* Q 24:4-26; see LIE; GOSSIP), require four witnesses to the act and prescribe dire punishment, eighty lashes, for a false accuser. The punishment of stoning (q.v.) for *zinā* is not in the Qurʾān but is based on the traditions of the Prophet.

Homosexuality (q.v.) and sodomy are discussed in the Qurʾān in the many references to Lot (q.v.) and his family, who were the only ones of their people who repented their lewd acts and were spared by God. Those who did not change their ways are severely condemned and both parties to a homosexual relationship are to be strictly punished (Q 4:16; 7:81). Lesbianism *(siḥāq)* is not cited in the Qurʾān; it is forbidden by ḥadīth sayings of the Prophet, as is transvestitism.

Divorce is discussed extensively in the Qurʾān: a chapter is titled "Divorce" (Q 65, Sūrat al-Ṭalāq), a long section is devoted to the subject in Q 2, and several verses appear in Q 4 (Sūrat al-Nisāʾ, "Women"). Divorce is the prerogative of the husband and he may divorce his wife in the presence of two witnesses without any formal ceremony (Q 65:2). The divorce is not final until the wife has completed three menstrual cycles (Q 2:228; see WAITING PERIOD); during that period she remains in her husband's home and he must support her (Q 65:6). The purpose, of course, is to ascertain if she is pregnant as well as to give the husband an opportunity to withdraw the divorce. The latter explanation dovetails with the preference for reconciliation between an estranged couple rather than divorce, which appears in several places in the Qurʾān (Q 2:229, 4:35). If the wife turns out to be pregnant, the divorce does not take effect until after she gives birth (Q 65:6; see LACTATION). A husband may divorce his wife and change his mind only twice; after the third divorce, she is not lawful to him until after she has married another man (Q 2:229-30).

A clause in the Qurʾān states that "it is no sin for either of them if the woman ransom herself" (Q 2:229); this is the basis for a type of divorce that is designated *khulʿ* (divestiture) in Islamic law. When a woman wishes a divorce, she may, with the permission of her husband, return to him the bridewealth *(mahr)* and any gifts she had received from him. Even in a divorce initiated by the wife, it is the husband who retains the right of divorce. Moreover, this type of divorce is economically unfavorable for the wife. A marriage contract, like any other contract, may also be annulled by a court for violation of inherent elements of the pact (see BREAKING TRUSTS AND CONTRACTS). Thus, for example, a woman whose husband is incapable of carrying out sexual relations for a long period of time could obtain an annulment. The dissolution of a marriage contract at the

discretion of a court is a rather extreme measure, but could be claimed by either spouse for a variety of reasons that have differed over time and place.

The laws of inheritance are specified precisely and in great detail, leaving little room for interpretation (Q 4:7-20, 175). These regulations are extremely complex and were regarded as an area of expertise apart from the general field of law. From a gender point of view, a number of basic principles may be summarized. Women inherit, but their portion is usually half of the share of a man of the same degree of kinship. Daughters, for example, inherit half as much as sons, sisters half of the brothers' portions, and mothers half the inheritance of fathers. Women inherit from their husbands and husbands from their wives, again according to the rule of half a share. Inheritance, therefore, is an area in which women's status as legal persons, as well as the right of a woman to own her own property, is firmly anchored. Moreover, the right of married women to make wills is clearly stipulated in the Qur'ān (Q 4:12), although this privilege is more symbolic than practical because of general limitations on wills. The inheritance of maternal brothers and sisters is also alluded to (Q 4:12), reflecting ongoing semi-matrilineal ties in what was fundamentally a patrilineal society.

In addition to inheritance, women receive bridewealth (q.v.) upon marriage (termed *ajr* in the Qur'ān rather than *mahr,* the designation which became prevalent later). A woman may, however, remit part of her bridewealth to her husband of her own free will (Q 4:4). Husbands' duty to provide material support for their wives is implied in the quintessential qur'ānic verse defining gender relations (Q 4:34). A man may not withhold divorce from a woman in order to take her property, nor may he divorce her with false accusations of lewdness so that he may get part of her property (Q 4:19-20).

The unusually liberal property rights of women anchored in the Qur'ān have been the subject of much speculation. Classical Muslim scholars explained that, since the inheritance rules follow a section dealing with care for orphans, they reflect concern for the kin of Muslims who died in battles for the sake of Islam. In view of the fact that these relatives of fallen Muslim heroes would revert to the care of their families who most likely were anti-Muslim, it was deemed important to provide for them economically. Some modern scholars of early Islam (such as Goitein and Stern) have suggested that, in the mercantile city of Mecca before the advent of Islam, women had certain rights of inheritance, citing the vast property of the widow Khadīja (q.v.) and a number of other women. Thus, the social reality at the time and place of the Qur'ān's revelation could have influenced the economic provisions regarding women. The association made between women, orphans and children in the Qur'ān suggests that women were regarded as weaker social entities and therefore providing for their welfare was viewed as an ethical act (see ETHICS AND THE QUR'ĀN). Women's inheritance of half the portion of a man logically follows from men's double financial responsibility to support their wives. Some have argued that women were generally not as economically incumbered as men were and therefore required fewer financial resources. In any case, the qur'ānic inheritance rules, while providing women with a crucial source of income, are also a concrete reflection of their subordinate status.

Female characters in qur'ānic narratives

Some narratives (q.v.) in the Qur'ān are about pre-Islamic figures such as Adam and Eve (q.v.), Joseph and ʿAzīz's wife, the

wife of Pharaoh (q.v.) who was Moses' step-mother, Solomon (q.v.) and the Queen of Sheba (q.v.; see also BILQĪS), and Mary, mother of Jesus. They project a variety of roles and images of women, and have been the subject of various interpretations and amplifications. Some of these could change the dominant precedent or role model that emerges from the holy text.

Adam's wife (though nameless) is mentioned in the Qur'ān in three passages (Q 2:30-7; 20:115-23; 7:11-25) and is referred to in several isolated verses (Q 4:1; 7:189; 39:6), while elsewhere the creation of humanity and stories of the first man refer only to Adam. Some narratives of the creation do not mention the first man's partner, but other verses state that God created man and his mate from a single soul (q.v.). Adam alone is granted an exceptional position among the angels (q.v.) and the creatures, but this appears to be an indication of his status as a prophet (see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD) rather than as a male. Both Adam and his wife, however, are instructed to dwell in the garden and both are warned not to eat of the tree of immortality (see TREES; ETERNITY; FALL OF MAN). Most importantly, in the qur'ānic version, both Adam and his wife are tempted by Satan (see DEVIL), both eat of the tree and both are expelled. (Only in one verse, Q 20:120, is Adam alone tempted.) Moreover, for the most part, Adam repents his disobedience and is forgiven and given guidance by his lord (q.v.; see also ASTRAY; ERROR). Only in one verse, do Adam and his wife admit their guilt and beg for forgiveness (Q 7:23). In short, the qur'ānic text describes the creation of the first woman (when it is referred to at all) as contemporaneous and similar to that of the first man. She is not responsible for tempting him, and if there is any unequal guilt, it is Adam who bears a greater degree of culpability. Moreover, the gender issue in the story of Adam and his wife may be viewed as marginal to the main qur'ānic message of the covenant (q.v.) between God and humanity, and his forgiving of the folly of both male and female believers (Q 7:172-3; 33:72-3).

From the earliest periods of qur'ānic exegesis, as well as in ḥadīth traditions of the Prophet, Islamic world histories and popular stories of the prophets, however, the image of Eve (Ar. Ḥawwā') is portrayed in negative terms. She is held responsible for Adam's temptation and fall, and is usually depicted as deliberately deceiving him. Only Adam's repentance is mentioned (see REPENTANCE AND PENANCE), while the participation of Ḥawwā' in a joint admission of guilt is ignored. Highlighting the transgressions of Ḥawwā' and suppressing her repentance allowed qur'ānic exegetes to multiply the punishments said to be borne by Eve (and by extension all women). These include the pain of childbirth (see BIRTH; BIOLOGY AS THE CREATION AND STAGES OF LIFE), menstruation and women's duties such as weaving, spinning, preparing dough and baking bread. Even upon his death, Adam accuses her of being responsible for his transgression and punishment. Thus, in contrast to the qur'ānic text, classical Islamic scholars portrayed the first woman as a threat to her husband and by extension to all humankind.

The seduction of Joseph (Ar. Yūsuf) by the wife of the Egyptian al-'Azīz is narrated as one trial in a series of ordeals that the hero must overcome in order to demonstrate his greatness. In a chapter of the Qur'ān named for the protagonist (Q 12), Joseph is thrown into a pit by his brothers (see BROTHER AND BROTHERHOOD) and sold into slavery to al-'Azīz, who brings him home and treats him like a son. After Joseph achieves maturity (q.v.), al-'Azīz's wife attempts to seduce him but he rejects her. He was actually tempted and desired

her, but his faith in God as well as his fine qualities enable him to overcome evil and licentiousness. The two race for the door, the wife tears Joseph's robe from the back and at the entrance they encounter the husband. At this point, Joseph is exonerated of the wife's allegation of immoral conduct. Her husband rebukes her and all women, saying: "This is of the guile *(kayd)* of you women. Your guile is great" (Q 12:28). The wiles of women and their unbridled passion are further illustrated in a tale in which Joseph is objectified. When women in the city began to gossip about the infatuation of al-ʿAzīz's wife for the young slave, she invited them to a banquet and gave each a knife. When she ordered Joseph to appear before them, the women were so confounded by his beauty, which they likened to that of an angel, that they cut their hands with their knives. Having proven her point, al-ʿAzīz's wife threatens Joseph that if he does not obey her orders, he will be imprisoned (Q 12:30-2). Joseph appeals to the lord to fend off the women's wiles for he fears that he will capitulate to them and prefers incarceration. God answers his prayer and he is sent to prison (Q 12:33-5).

Joseph is fully and finally vindicated on the occasion of his release from prison when he appeals to the king to investigate the deceitful women who cut their hands, and the king investigates those women who had tried to seduce him (Q 12:51). The women absolve Joseph, and al-ʿAzīz's wife confesses and affirms his honesty and virtue. But Joseph admits that he was inclined to evil and thanks the lord for helping him to overcome his human instincts (Q 12:53). Joseph is taken into the king's service, becomes custodian of the storehouses, takes revenge on his brothers and performs a miracle (see MIRACLES; MARVELS; DREAMS AND SLEEP).

The story of Joseph and Zulaykha (as al-ʿAzīz's wife came to be known in Islamic literature) has provided rich material not only for commentaries on the Qur'ān, ḥadīth traditions, popular stories of the prophets and world histories, but also for mystical love poetry and visual art (see ART AND ARCHITECTURE AND THE QUR'ĀN; ṢŪFISM AND THE QUR'ĀN). It is frequently referred to in other genres and may have been integrated with ancient Egyptian, pre-Islamic Iranian or Indian morality tales about the guile of women as well as with the analogous narrative in the Hebrew Bible and Jewish interpretations of the Bible (see SCRIPTURE AND THE QUR'ĀN; JEWS AND JUDAISM; TORAH).

In the exegesis of the Qur'ān, the focus of the story of Joseph and Zulaykha was often shifted from a tale about a prophet overcoming adversity to an account of the dangers of female sexuality and of women's cunning as embodied in the term *kayd* which appears no less than seven times in the narrative (Q 12:28, 33, 34, 50, 52). The unbridled sexuality and guile of woman is amplified in Islamic histories and stories of the prophets, and these are genres that tended toward embellishment and were not restricted by the rules of the Islamic sciences (see TRADITIONAL DISCIPLINES OF QUR'ĀNIC STUDY). In these narratives, Zulaykha is punished for her transgressions, redeemed and becomes Joseph's wife and mother of his children. Thus, the dangerous sexual woman becomes an ideal spouse, in the process fulfilling her love for Joseph.

The theme of passion and love (q.v.) was particularly developed in mystical literature. Esoteric mystical commentary identified the woman Zulaykha as the lower world of matter and sensuality in contrast to Joseph who is the heart (q.v.) on a spiritual quest for gnosis (Stowasser, *Women,* 54; see INTELLECT; KNOWLEDGE AND LEARNING). While some mystical authors

censured Zulaykha's attempt to subvert Joseph's innocence, others extolled her unreserved love for him. The earthly love, however, was also interpreted as a metaphor for the love of God and was expressed in clearly sexual terms. Thus, Zulaykha, the lover, desires union with the divine symbolized by Joseph's exceptional beauty (q.v.; Merguerian and Najmabadi, Zulaykha and Joseph, 497-500). Mystical poets viewed the female soul as inciting to evil (based on Q 12:53, where the feminine *nafs* is used) but may be purified through inner struggle and suffering (Schimmel, *My soul,* 68). The Ṣūfī writers of these works were men, and both their identification with Joseph, the man who overcomes his base instincts, as well as the desire to unite with Joseph the epitome of divine, even feminine, beauty, have interesting transsexual ramifications. The dramatic and concise qur'ānic story of Joseph and al-'Azīz's wife, we are told, is meant as a lesson and a guide for the righteous (Q 12:102, 111). It has been woven into a variety of images of women which captured the imaginations of Muslims for centuries.

Among the women related to Moses in the Qur'ān, Pharaoh's wife attained the most prominence as an example to believers because of her having convinced Pharaoh not to kill the infant Moses. She was a righteous woman who prayed to God to build her a house in paradise and save her from Pharaoh's wrongdoing and from evil people (Q 28:9; 66:11). Āsiya, as Pharaoh's wife is called in the commentaries and stories of the prophets, was one of the four most outstanding women of the world and also of the four "ladies of heaven" (along with Mary, mother of Jesus, Khadīja, Muḥammad's wife, and Fāṭima [q.v.], his daughter). Miraculous events surrounded her birth and early life, and her marriage to Pharaoh was a sacrifice she made for her people but it was never consummated. Āsiya saved and protected the infant Moses on many occasions. She suffered torture and death at the command of the wicked infidel Pharaoh, but the angel Gabriel (q.v.) succored her and neutralized her pain. Āsiya and the three other most hallowed women in Islamic tradition represent paragons of virtue. They are revered primarily for their commitment to God and obedience to his command, but as women they are variously characterized by virginity, purity and motherhood, and in Āsiya's case by her act of adoption.

The Queen of Sheba appears in the Qur'ān as a sovereign ruler who engaged in political negotiations with the wise and knowledgeable Solomon (see KINGS AND RULERS); eventually they submit to God together. Solomon is mentioned frequently in the Qur'ān where he is cited for his wisdom (q.v.), justice (see JUSTICE AND INJUSTICE) and God-given esoteric knowledge and miraculous powers. The story of the Queen of Sheba is narrated in a single chapter (Q 27:22-44). Solomon learns that there is a pagan woman ruler and sends a letter to Sheba asking its inhabitants to submit to him (or to become Muslims). The queen first turns to her advisers, claiming she has never decided a matter alone, but they defer to her command. She wishes to avoid the suffering of war and opts instead for diplomacy. Solomon tests her by disguising her throne. Upon entering his palace, she uncovers her legs thinking that she is in deep water. But Solomon reveals to her that in fact the palace was paved with glass. She responds that she has "wronged herself" and that she submits together with Solomon to God. Clearly, the story as a whole is an affirmation for Solomon, for the Queen of Sheba and for Muslims in general that God is the one and only god to whom they must submit (see GOD AND HIS ATTRIBUTES). The Queen of Sheba seems at first to be hesitant about

making a decision on her own, but the qur'ānic text leaves no doubt that she is capable of independent reasoning in affairs of state and that her decisions have legitimacy. Her acumen seems equal to Solomon's when she passes the test of the throne that he has prepared for her. In the anecdote about the glass floor that appears as water, however, he clearly bests her by ruse and humiliates her as well. Nevertheless, it is intriguing that at the end of the qur'ānic story, the two submit together to God.

In exegesis of the Qur'ān, Islamic history and popular tales of the prophets and Islamic legends relating to the Queen of Sheba (or Bilqīs, as she came to be known), a major issue was the manner in which she came to be a ruler, her competence in this role and the potential precedent for Islamic society. A great beauty, she tricked the king who wanted to marry her on their wedding night, cut off his head and convinced his ministers to declare their loyalty to her. Thus, one could conclude that she attained the throne by proximity to a male ruler and by exploiting her feminine attraction and cunning. As queen and in her stand-off with Solomon, however, she proves her intelligence and good judgment, and these are qualities generally attributed to men. Interestingly, classical Islamic authors rarely address the question of whether this astute and legitimate qur'ānic queen could serve as a precedent for women's role in their own society. Among the gifts that the Queen of Sheba sent to Solomon to test his moral fiber were not only gold (q.v.) and silver but one hundred young slave boys dressed as girls and one hundred young slave girls in boys' clothing. Solomon, for his part, miraculously moved the queen's throne to his court, a slight but perhaps symbolic embellishment on the qur'ānic narrative. Solomon's cunning test of the glass floor provided a base for interpretive explanations of precisely what the queen's legs or feet would reveal about her. The vivid picture of Bilqīs standing in the water before Solomon revealing her hairy legs (or whether she had donkey's feet), surely undermines her image as a capable, independent ruler.

Maryam, or Mary, is frequently named in the Qur'ān to designate the matrilineal ascription of Jesus ('Īsā b. Maryam) since according to Islamic belief Jesus had no human father (e.g. Q 2:253; 4:156, 171; 5:17, 46, 75, 78, 110, 112, 114, 116; 9:31; 19:34; 23:50; 33:7; 43:57; 57:27; 61:6, 14). Both Jesus son of Mary and his mother are regarded as signs (q.v.) of God's powers and humanity's need to believe and worship (q.v.) him (Q 23:50). Mary's story is depicted in two chapters of the Qur'ān (Q 3:35-47; 19:16-34), one of which, Q 19, is named for her. The virgin birth is mentioned several times (Q 19:20; 66:12, for example) and Mary is considered to be chosen among all the women of the world (Q 3:42). The idea that both Jesus and his mother are deities is directly refuted (e.g. Q 5:75, 116), although the verses that rebut Mary's divinity raise questions about the origin of this belief. Western scholars have naturally focused on a comparison between the qur'ānic story of Mary and Jesus and the Gospels and other Christian texts and folklore (see CHRISTIANS AND CHRISTIANITY; GOSPEL; PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QUR'ĀN). In the Qur'ān, Mary is divinely succored during childbirth with water (q.v.) from a brook and dates from a palm-tree (Q 19:23-6; see DATE PALM; SPRINGS AND FOUNTAINS).

Muslim commentators have discussed Mary's religious status, often comparing her with Fāṭima, daughter of the prophet Muḥammad, who is not explicitly mentioned in the Qur'ān. While the miraculous events surrounding her were augmented, a debate evolved about

whether she was a prophet and about her ranking among the women of this world and the next. Some Muslim theologians argued that Mary (as well as Sara, the mother of Isaac [q.v.], the mother of Moses, and Pharaoh's wife Āsiya) should be considered prophets because they received the word of God from angels or by divine inspiration (see REVELATION AND INSPIRATION). But even these scholars differentiated between the prophethood *(nubuwwa)* which some women attained and the message *(risāla)* which was restricted to men. The consensus of Sunnī thinkers, however, has been to reject the notion of Mary's prophethood as heretical because as a menstruating woman she could not attain purity (see RITUAL PURITY). Despite the fact that in the Qur'ān Mary is specifically purified by God (Q 3:42), ḥadīth traditions and scholarly opinions have been marshaled to prove that Mary's purity meant that she was free of menstruation or, conversely, that she menstruated like all other women but was ethically pure. A more practical problem was God's command to Mary to bow down in prayer with the praying men (Q 3:43; see BOWING AND PROSTRATION). Classical commentators interpreted this to mean that Mary prayed with the congregation of men, contributing to the debate on whether women should pray in the mosque (q.v.) or in the privacy of the home. Another subject of debate was Mary's ranking among the chosen women of the Qur'ān: alternately including Āsiya, the Prophet's wives Khadīja and ʿĀ'isha and his daughter Fāṭima. For the most part, qur'ānic exegesis and stories of the prophets tend to exclude ʿĀ'isha from the foursome of the most excellent women of the world and the paramount females in heaven. In Sunnī as well as Shīʿī tradition, Mary and Fāṭima have been conflated as both were visited by angels, were miraculously assisted during childbirth and were free of menstruation and post-partum bleeding. Both are noted for their sorrows and suffering. Most Shīʿīs rank Fāṭima above Mary and she is sometimes referred to as Mary the Greater (*Maryam al-kubrā;* McAuliffe, Chosen of all women, 27-8; Stowasser, *Women*, 79-80). Both Muslims and Christians have focused on the image of Mary, particularly in popular piety, as underpinning a commonality between the two faiths. Similarities between the two religious traditions have been underscored for ecumenical or for missionary purposes. For many centuries, however, Mary has also been central to polemical controversies between Christians and Muslims and to the expression of mutual suspicion and misunderstanding (see POLEMIC AND POLEMICAL LANGUAGE).

The wives of Noah (q.v.), Lot and Abraham (q.v.), as well as other women in the life of Moses, are mentioned less prominently in the Qur'ān, but present a variety of female images. In addition, classical Muslim biographers and commentators tried to identify some of the numerous, seemingly anonymous women referred to in the Qur'ān through the stories connected to the revelation of the verses in which they appear. Among the well-known stories explicating a qur'ānic verse that refers anonymously to a woman is that of Zaynab, daughter of Jaḥsh, the divorced wife of Muḥammad's adopted son Zayd, whose marriage to the Prophet was expressly permitted in a revelation and served as a precedent for the legality of such unions (Q 33:37). At least three women are connected to another obscure verse that permits the Prophet to marry his paternal and maternal cousins who emigrated with him (see PROHIBITED DEGREES; EMIGRANTS AND HELPERS) and to "a believing woman if she gives herself to the Prophet" (Q 33:50). Perhaps the most

famous story elucidating a qur'ānic passage is that of the slander (*al-ifk;* cited above) against ʿĀ'isha, the Prophet's wife (see ʿĀ'ISHA BINT ABĪ BAKR), which explains the stringent rules for proving adultery and the harsh penalty for unsubstantiated allegations against a woman (Q 24:4-26). Shīʿīs point out that, since ʿĀ'isha is not actually mentioned in the Qur'ān, she was never exonerated of the accusation of adultery. The qur'ānic chapter "She Who Disputes" (Q 58, Sūrat al-Mujādila) opens with verses about a woman who complained to the Prophet that her husband had divorced her using the formula "be to me as the back of my mother," a custom Muḥammad had apparently abolished. Classical Muslim scholars have speculated about who the woman in question was. The chapter title "She Who is to Be Examined" (Q 60, Sūrat al-Muntaḥana) was identified as a reference to Umm Kulthūm, daughter of ʿUtba, because of its verses that sanctioned refuge from her pagan family for her and other Muslim female refugees. A female simile for breaking oaths — "a woman who breaks into untwisted strands the yarn which she has spun, after it has become strong" (Q 16:92) — led Muslim classical scholars to an obscure Abyssinian woman (see ABYSSINIA; OATHS; MAGIC; PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QUR'ĀN).

In the Qur'ān, Muḥammad's wives, the "mothers of the believers," are quite frequently addressed and they are held up as paragons for Muslims but are also subject to obligations that are more stringent. None of these women, however, are identified by name, so it was left to classical exegesis to attempt to link revelations to wives of the Prophet, particularly by fleshing out stories about the "occasions of revelation" or *asbāb al-nuzūl*. These commentaries and ḥadīth traditions of the words and deeds of the Prophet have served as the basis for numerous anecdotes about the jealousy, covetousness and scheming of the women of his household. While a polygynous family undoubtedly provides fertile ground for petty intrigues, it would seem that the classical male Muslim scholars relished interpretations that highlighted harem politics.

The rich narratives in the Qur'ān include a variety of female characters and the images of these women were often changed in classical commentary and popular literature composed in patriarchal societies, as we have seen. Modern and feminist interpretations of the Qur'ān retrieved the original images from the holy text, provided their own role models and attempted to read these stories as women would have done.

Women's scholarship and feminist readings of the Qur'ān

A number of women among the early believers had a role in the transmission of the text of the Qur'ān. ʿĀ'isha, the Prophet's favorite wife, heard passages of the Qur'ān from the Prophet himself, ordered a full written copy to be prepared and corrected the scribe. Ḥafṣa (q.v.), daughter of the caliph ʿUmar and widow of the Prophet, gave the caliph ʿUthmān (q.v.) written pages of the Qur'ān that she had received from her father. ʿUthmān had the pages gathered into a book and declared this text to be the official version of the holy book. Ḥafṣa also corrected a scribe who was writing a qur'ānic text. During the first three or four centuries of Islam, ʿUthmān's text was only one of various versions of the Qur'ān that were ascribed to Companions of the Prophet (q.v.), the caliphs ʿUmar and ʿAlī (see ʿALĪ B. ABI ṬĀLIB), and widows of the Prophet — ʿĀ'isha, Umm Salama and Ḥafṣa. One of the Prophet's female Companions, Umm Waraqa, collected and recited the Qur'ān and may have assisted ʿUmar in assembling the text.

Throughout the centuries, girls as well as boys have learned the Qur'ān (generally by rote) in primary schools *(kuttāb, maktab)* in gender-defined spaces, occupying separate areas of the classrooms, separate rooms, classrooms or informal venues (for classical examples, see FIGS. I and II; for a contemporary female Qur'ān study group, see FIG. III). There have been attestations of this in Islamic painting, biographies, government statistics and autobiographies. Women as well as men were required to obtain the minimal knowledge needed to be good Muslims and this included gender-specific principles and laws. The Islamic religion did not serve as a barrier to this learning since traditions of the Prophet encourage the education of girls. Moreover, segregation of the genders did not preclude prepubescent girls and boys attending qur'ānic schools together (see TEACHING AND PREACHING THE QUR'ĀN). Nevertheless, to the best of our knowledge, no woman was among the classical exegetes of the Qur'ān.

Proponents of Islamic reform movements, like those of other scriptural religions, quite naturally returned to the original text of the Qur'ān to reinterpret what they regarded as incorrect readings of the divine word by classical exegetes (see CONTEMPORARY CRITICAL PRACTICES AND THE QUR'ĀN). Some of the earliest proponents of the liberation of Muslim women anchored their arguments in their rereading of the Qur'ān. The Indian Mumtaz ʿAli in his *Women's laws* (1898) promoted the explanation of Q 4:34 as meaning that women have precedence over men who work for them. He refuted the belief that Adam had precedence in creation and a privileged position over Eve as being contrary to the Qur'ān. As for the disparity between male and female witnesses, he argued that the relevant verse refers to business transactions, something with which male Arab merchants were more familiar than women. For matters of personal law, a woman would be as qualified to testify as a man. On the question of polygyny, Mumtaz ʿAli held that the condition not to treat one wife better than others effectively cancels the possibility of a man marrying more than one woman since it is humanly impossible to love several women equally. As for purdah or *pardah,* the Urdu word for the Arabic *ḥijāb,* Mumtaz ʿAli argued that only one verse of the Qur'ān refers specifically to this. Other verses recommend modesty in general terms and purdah as it developed in Muslim India was a recent, indigenous phenomenon.

The modern Syrian commentator Muḥammad Jamāl al-Dīn al-Qāsimī concluded that a woman could lead the prayer as imām based on a verse referring to Mary, but then neutralized this potential empowerment of women by falling back on a classical view that a unique woman like Mary is like a man in the eyes of God. Moreover, even if a woman might serve as a religious leader for other women, she could not participate in the communal prayer, not only because of her impurity, but also because of her physical weakness and the shame involved in mixing with men (Smith and Haddad, The Virgin Mary, 163-4, 173).

Calls for the liberation of Muslim women in the Arab world emerged from and were influenced by the *salafiyya* movement which aspired to return to the true, early untainted Islam. The Egyptian Shaykh Muḥammad ʿAbduh (1849-1905) and his follower Muḥammad Rashīd Riḍā (1865-1935) composed a new exegesis of the Qur'ān that initially appeared in their journal *al-Manār* to address contemporary problems. ʿAbduh emphasized women's humanity and their equality before God. Adam together with his wife represent humankind which is tested (see TRIAL;

TRUST AND PATIENCE), goes astray, repents and is forgiven. Mary's physical, spiritual and behavioral purity, however, granted her a distinctive status and should not be regarded as a precedent for all women. ʿAbduh is credited with the determination that the qurʾānic verse which appears to permit a man to marry up to four wives actually indicates that monogamous marriages should be the norm, by a logic similar to that of Mumtaz ʿAli. On the question of the *ḥijāb,* however, ʿAbduh refused to take a stand. By a similar methodology, Riḍā interpreted a fragment of a verse on divorce (Q 2:228) to define the relationship between man and wife as equal and reciprocal, but defers to the view of classical exegetes that a husband has sexual rights over his wife as a concomitant to her rights to material support from him. Alongside the hesitant efforts of Muslim reformists, commentaries on the Qurʾān that relied on the methods and contents of classical exegesis with regard to women's issues and female characters continued to appear.

An important innovation of this period was the utilization of qurʾānic interpretation to bolster views on the status of women, not only by recognized Islamic scholars like Shaykh ʿAbduh (who had been chief mufti of Egypt) but also by Muslim writers who did not have formal, systematic religious training. One of the most prominent, albeit misogynist, works of this kind was *Woman in the Qurʾān (al-Marʾa fī l-Qurʾān),* by the Egyptian writer Maḥmūd ʿAbbās al-ʿAqqād. Works of this type paved the way for Muslim lay thinkers, both men and women, to engage in qurʾānic commentary.

The first Muslim woman to undertake qurʾānic exegesis was Dr. ʿĀʾisha ʿAbd al-Raḥmān (1913-96), known by her pen-name, Bint al-Shāṭiʾ. She studied Qurʾān commentary with her professor, mentor and husband, Amīn al-Khūlī, who was considered one of the outstanding modern experts in the field. Some scholars regard ʿAbd al-Raḥmān's exegesis as a reflection of al-Khūlī's theory, and in fact, in the preface to the first volume of her qurʾānic exegesis, she writes of her "attempt" to apply al-Khūlī's method to a few short chapters and compares the usual method of Qurʾān interpretation to "our new way." As the first woman engaged in what had for centuries been an all-male endeavor, it is not surprising that she and some scholars would present her ground-breaking, ambitious work as a mere extension of the theoretical framework of her male mentor. Actually, ʿAbd al-Raḥman published her first of two volumes of qurʾānic exegesis in 1962, several years before the death of her husband. Moreover, the choice of difficult, theological qurʾānic verses with no social implications whatsoever seems to be the strategy of an ambitious woman carefully invading a traditionally male domain. It is also no accident that this innovation emerged from Cairo University's Department of Arabic Language and Literature rather than from a woman studying at al-Azhar. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān's qurʾānic exegesis was published by one of the largest publishing houses in Cairo in a series devoted to literary studies of Arab poetry and other genres as well as non-Arabic literature, perhaps an additional strategy to avoid conflict with the religious establishment. Her qurʾānic commentary brought her prominence in Egypt and the Arab world but its content could not be considered feminist nor was it meant to be.

The qurʾānic underpinnings of the Islamist movements originate with the efforts of Sayyid Abū l-ʿAlā l-Mawdūdī (1903-1979), an Indian Muslim whose ideas on the seclusion of women were written in Urdu in the 1930s, translated into Arabic and subsequently in English. Of his

six-volume exegesis of the Qur'ān, the only selection translated into Arabic was devoted to a chapter dealing with female sexuality (Q 24; cf. Swanson, Commentary on Surat al-Nur, 187). Mawdūdī interpreted some rather vague verses on visiting other homes (Q 24:27-9) in gender terms to the extent that a man must announce his arrival before entering a house even to the women in his own household. On the issue of modesty (Q 24:30-1), he regards virtually everything connected with a woman as seductive and therefore requires the most extreme forms of concealing dress, including a thick face-veil and gloves. Even a woman's perfume or voice are sexual and should be restricted. Marriage is the proper outlet for human sexuality and Mawdūdī regards the Islamic state as responsible for providing financial support for a man who is precluded from marrying because of the expense.

The Egyptian Sayyid Quṭb (d. 1966) followed Mawdūdī's lead in many respects but appears to have had a more intensive dialogue with western notions of gender and with contemporary technologies. In his exegesis on the story of Eve, he emphasizes the equal responsibility of women and men to battle Satan and their equal rewards for their struggle in the path of God (see PATH OR WAY; JIHĀD). He stresses that the Queen of Sheba was intelligent and independent. Mary, however, serves as a role model for the gender segregation for Muslim women. Quṭb's stand on women's seclusion is no less extreme than that of Mawdūdī but he responds to Freud's theories in his own coin by warning of psychological disorders that can arise if sexuality is not restrained. Thus, a man must warn even his female relatives that he will be entering the house by telephoning to ask permission. Marriage is the natural state of affairs but, despite what many commentators have stated, the husband's exclusive right of divorce is specific to dissolving a marriage and does not imply superiority over his wife.

In the 1990s, Muslim women began to read the Qur'ān with a feminist agenda in mind. Feminism in the Muslim world (even when it was termed secular) had frequently drawn from Islamic sources and employed Islamic discourse from its onset in the nineteenth century. The innovative aspect of Islamic feminism has been that Muslim women, who usually did not have formal religious training, have rejected the commentaries on the Qur'ān by generations of male exegetes who had functioned in patriarchal societies and independently interpreted the text of the divine word. In order to enhance the legitimacy of these daring projects, they often used neo-classical methods such as *ijtihād* or independent reasoning. This phenomenon has emerged in various parts of the Muslim world, has usually been spearheaded by academic women and activists, and has been disseminated by new media and networking (see MEDIA AND THE QUR'ĀN).

One of the earliest efforts by Islamic feminists to read the Qur'ān was undertaken by a non-hierarchical study group of women who met in 1990 under the auspices of Women Living Under Muslim Laws, a network founded in 1984. The proceedings were subsequently distributed in English and French, two common languages for millions of Muslims throughout the world. The participants, who remained anonymous, were from Algeria, Bangladesh, Egypt, India, Indonesia, Malaysia, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Sudan and the United States. Six resource persons (who were also not identified) opened the sessions with presentations but they were questioned and even challenged in the ensuing discussions. The aim was to interpret the Qur'ān only

from the Qurʾān itself and therefore great emphasis was placed on philological exegesis and classical Arabic dictionaries were employed (see GRAMMAR AND THE QURʾĀN). Nevertheless, classical Islamic sources were occasionally referred to, as well as liberal and conservative modern Muslim thinkers such as Mumtaz ʿAli and Sayyid Quṭb. The issue of skewed translations of the Qurʾān (q.v.) was raised, since translation inevitably involves a degree of interpretation (and is theologically questionable) and also since the majority of Muslims do not know Arabic well enough to understand the qurʾānic text (see ARABIC LANGUAGE; INIMITABILITY; LANGUAGE AND STYLE OF THE QURʾĀN). In view of the rich and variegated academic backgrounds of the women who studied the Qurʾān, it is not surprising that they employed universal scientific methods alongside classical Islamic ones such as psychology, sociology, literary theory, linguistics, etc. (see LITERATURE AND THE QURʾĀN; SOCIAL SCIENCES AND THE QURʾĀN).

The point of departure for Women Reading the Qurʾān was a discussion of "foundational myths" that ostensibly support the notion that men are superior to women. The first of these relate to the story of the creation of Adam and Eve, her role in the fall and the purpose of woman's creation. The women argue that the Qurʾān explicitly states that woman and man were created equal and the creation of Ḥawwāʾ from a male rib is a product of biblical and Christian influences, inaccurate translations of the original Arabic, qurʾānic exegesis, and most seriously, ḥadīth traditions of the Prophet (see ḤADĪTH AND THE QURʾĀN), many of which are not genuine. These supplements to the holy text supported the view held by most Muslims that woman is secondary, derivative and subordinate. Similarly, Eve's culpability, which raises questions about the trustworthiness of all women, is not found in the Qurʾān but is the product of subsequent patriarchal readings.

Debunking the belief that woman was created for man is tied to a lengthy discussion of the qurʾānic verse which embodies gender relations, Q 4:34, rendered by Pickthall as follows: "Men are in charge *(qawwāmūna)* of women, because Allah hath made the one of them to excel the other, and because they spend of their property (for the support of women). So good women are obedient, guarding in secret that which Allah hath guarded. As for those from whom ye fear rebellion, admonish them and banish them to beds apart, and scourge them. Then if they obey you, seek not a way against them. Lo! Allah is ever High, Exalted, Great." The women use the translation of the modernist Muslim commentator M. Yusuf Ali who interprets the phrase "Men are the protectors and maintainers of women," and emphasizes that men may only beat women lightly and as a last resort. The women focus on reinterpretation of crucial words in the verse such as *qawwāmūn*. This term had previously been taken a step further than M. Yusuf Ali to mean the basic idea of moral guidance and caring by the feminist Aziza al-Hibri (Study of Islamic herstory). One resource person at the workshop suggested that *qawwāmūna* means breadwinners and, philosophically, men ought to be breadwinners although not all men fulfill this function. Thus, the comparison is not between men and women but between men in terms of their ability to be breadwinners. A second resource person understood *qawwāmūna* as standing upright or men's upholding the rights, protection, well-being and material support of women. In other words, in Islamic society men have a psychological, social, spiritual

and financial responsibility to women. Participants challenged these and other explications by the resources persons. A similar methodology was applied to the words excel *(faḍḍala),* obedient *(qānitāt)* and rebellion (q.v.; *nushūz*).

From the fundamental principles of gender, the Women Reading the Qur'ān move on to Islamic family law and women in society. The issues of Muslim jurisprudence discussed are: divorce, post-divorce maintenance, polygamy and age of marriage, inheritance, adoption and marriage to non-Muslims. Under the rubric of women in society, the related subjects of *zinā,* evidence and punishment are addressed. Menstruation and the image of "your wives as a tilth" (Q 2:223) are discussed. Finally, the *ḥūr* (sing. *ḥawrā'*) who are promised to the righteous Muslims in paradise are considered. These have been defined in patriarchal terms as fair white virgins with large eyes but, in the interpretation of women reading the Qur'ān, all believers, male and female, will be paired with soul companions.

Amina Wadud-Muhsin produced a feminist exegesis of the Qur'ān as a whole in 1992. Perhaps because Arabic is not her native language, she came up with the radical but controversial idea that verses of the Qur'ān relating to women are an artifact of Arabic as a gendered language. As a result, many verses which appear to refer to men and women should actually be understood in more gender-neutral language. Her book has become very popular and even Arabic-speaking feminists have endorsed her methodology.

Another important forum for women to interpret the Qur'ān in accordance with their own needs has been the Persian women's magazine *Zanān* published in Tehran. *Zanān* was founded in 1992 and by 1994 had become a major voice for reform of the status of women. The magazine's editor, Shahla Sherkat, and other women well-versed in the Qur'ān have championed the right of women to use *ijtihād* or independent reasoning, thereby challenging the primacy of the clergy in the realm of interpretation. Similarly, the Iranian expatriate Nayereh Tohidi has promoted feminist *ijtihād* in Persian-language writings and lectures and promoted reinterpreting the Qur'ān. In the mid-1990s, some proponents of Islamic feminism argued that endeavors like those of *Zanan* opened a dialogue between religious and secular feminists in the heady debate carried on in the Islamic Republic of Iran and the Iranian diaspora.

Feminist exegesis of the Qur'ān by women outside the Muslim scholarly establishment has not been without its critics and it is yet to be seen what its long-term influence will be. One problem is undoubtedly the language barrier between Muslims in different parts of the world and in particular among those who do not read or write Arabic or, conversely, read neither English nor French. Translation of seminal works in this field into Arabic has greatly enhanced their prestige as well as their impact in the Arab world. Trans-global media have also facilitated the dissemination of new readings of the Qur'ān. A second generation of Islamic feminists have begun to cite the pioneering exegesis of women who have reinterpreted the Qur'ān and no longer have to analyze the holy text themselves. Nevertheless, women and men will continue to seek varying views on gender as well as specific rules relating to women and discrete female role models in the Qur'ān.

Ruth Roded

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Wonders see MARVELS

Wood see TREES

Wool see HIDES AND FLEECE

Word see SPEECH; OATHS

Word of God

Divine verbal utterance that bridges the gap between God's transcendence and the created world. That God addresses himself to the world by means of speaking is one of the most influential concepts in the whole monotheistic tradition and is also a central issue for the Qurʾān (see REVELATION AND INSPIRATION; ORALITY; SCRIPTURE AND THE QURʾĀN; SOUTH ARABIA, RELIGIONS IN PRE-ISLAMIC). There, several verbs describe God as speaking, e.g. *nādā,* "to call" (ten times), *qaṣṣa,* "to relate" (thirteen times), or *nabbaʾa,* "to tell" (twenty-one times); but the most important verbs are *qāla,* "to say" (around 120 occurrences), and *kallama,* "to speak to" (seven times). Stemming from the same roots as the two last-named verbs, *q-w-l* and *k-l-m,* the nouns *qawl* (about twenty-two times), *kalām* (four times), *kalima* (sixteen times) and its plural form *kalimāt* (twelve times) are also attributed to God. In most of their occurrences these nouns can be rendered literally in English as "word(s)," as in *qawl rabbinā,* "our lord's word" (Q 37:31), *kalām Allāh,* "God's word" (Q 2:75), *kalimatuhu,* "his word" (Q 4:171), or *min rabbihi kalimātin,* "words from his lord" (Q 2:37). Nevertheless, they cover a broad range of meanings and, according to their different contexts, can be translated as "verbal address," "revelation," "decree," and "creative command" (see also SPEECH).

The mystery of monotheism

There are two distinct concepts that underlie biblical monotheism: On the one hand — because of the historical situation

of competition with other deities — God's exclusive oneness is emphasized (see GOD AND HIS ATTRIBUTES). Characterized ontologically as the creator of the universe and cause of being (see COSMOLOGY; CREATION), and ethically as the supreme lawgiver and final judge for humankind (see JUSTICE AND INJUSTICE; LAST JUDGMENT; JUDGMENT; LAW AND THE QUR'ĀN; ETHICS AND THE QUR'ĀN), God is conceived of as the sole true, yet personal, agent in a monopolar world order. On the other hand, and in order to glorify God's majesty, stress is laid on his transcendent uniqueness. Although he is, at times, described in anthropomorphic terms, God, in his essence, is thought to transcend the realm of the created world (see ANTHROPOMORPHISM): He dwells not only beyond the reach of human disposal, but he also exceeds human intellectual capacities (see INTELLECT; KNOWLEDGE AND LEARNING). When, however, these two notions are combined with each other — as is the case in biblical monotheism — a clear tension appears between them. While the first concept suggests direct contact between God and the world, the second implies their definite separation. So, the question arises of how to understand the relationship between God and his creation, i.e. how to reconcile the opposing notions of transcendence and immanence.

Deeply rooted in the religious thinking of the ancient Near East, Islam — like Judaism and Christianity before it (see JEWS AND JUDAISM; CHRISTIANS AND CHRISTIANITY; PEOPLE OF THE BOOK) — proposed the "word of God" as one of the most important answers to this question. God created the universe by means of his word, and it is his word that he revealed to humankind. Nevertheless, this idea raises further questions. First, does "word of God" mean the same thing in respect to creation as in reference to revelation, or are these two entirely different concepts that only share the same terms, i.e. the creative command as opposed to the speech of God? Secondly, the notion of God's creative command as the sole causation for entities coming into being directly calls for an inquiry into the underlying assumptions concerning the relationship between language and existence. Thirdly, the idea of the "word of God" carries with it considerable difficulties in respect to the nature of revelation. Not only is the physical means of God's act of communication to be questioned; even more important is how to conceive of the nature of his speech. In order to be understandable, God has to address humankind in human language. But does that mean that the very language of revelation is part of God's essence — thus presenting a common link between God and his creation that comes close to a manifest anthropomorphism — or is revelation rather a kind of translation of God's true speech that exceeds the human capacity of understanding? And if the latter is so, how can this translation be understood? It is in the context of these questions that the qur'ānic use of the "word of God" must be considered.

Word and creation

Eight qur'ānic verses unambiguously state that God creates by means of the imperative "Be." The most prominent formula of this is "When he decrees *(qaḍā)* a thing *(amr),* he but says to it 'Be' *(kun),* and it is" (Q 2:117; 3:47; 19:35; 40:68; cf. 3:59; 6:73; 16:40; 36:82; and see below). As an expression of faith (q.v.) , this passage emphasizes God's omnipotence (see POWER AND IMPOTENCE) and suggests that, by virtue of his command, God's decree is tantamount to its realization. As a dogmatic statement, however, the exact wording by which this idea is expressed deserves closer examina-

tion. Though the single words that occur in this passage are quite common in the qurʾānic vocabulary, here they acquire meanings that are rather exceptional. The verb *qaḍā,* to begin with, is generally translated as "to decide" or "to carry out," and the noun *amr* usually denotes something like "command," "plan," "action" or "affair," thus being an appropriate complement for *qaḍā*. Indeed, there are several instances where both words appear together, as in the recurrent formulation *quḍiya l-amru* — approximately "the affair was decided" (Q 2:210; 6:8, 58; 11:44; 12:41; 14:22; 19:39). In the verse cited above, however, *amr* is described as something being spoken to; therefore the word in this context has to be understood as a kind of personalized entity. This observation is corroborated by the parallel passages Q 16:40 and 36:82 (see below), where the proper word for "thing" *(shayʾ)* is used instead. And since a thing, strictly speaking, cannot be decided or carried out — and the verb *qaḍā* thus takes on a meaning that is not entirely clear — again, the parallels Q 16:40 and 36:82 replace it by forms of the verb "to want" *(arāda)*. In addition, with the possible exceptions of Q 2:280, 193 and 8:39, this passage exhibits the only qurʾānic occurrence where forms of the verb "to be" *(kāna)* are not used as copulas or as determiners of tense, but in an absolute mode meaning "to exist." Based on these observations, the obvious implication of this passage is that there are two realms of existence, one hidden (*al-ghayb;* see HIDDEN AND THE HIDDEN) and the other manifest *(al-shahāda);* and that in the *ghayb,* there are entities conceived of as personalized beings with the ability to obey God's command (see OBEDIENCE) and to enter the realm of manifest existence. Thus, the process of creation consists of an interplay between command and obedience, and does not rest upon any alleged magical power of words. This understanding of the operational mode of the word of God goes back to the time of Hellenistic Judaism. At that time, although the idea of the creation with the word in Genesis 1 was labeled as a *creatio ex nihilo* (2 *Macc* 7:28), it was also frequently combined with the motif that God exerts his authority (q.v.) over the universe, just as a military commander does over his subordinates (*Jer* 44:26; 48:13; *Ps* 33:9; *Matt* 7:9). While rather precluding any speculations about the origins of primeval chaos, the resulting concept of creation by direct address (*Syrian Apocalypse of Baruch,* 21:4; 48:8; as cited in Schlier, *Römerbrief,* 132; also *Rom* 4:17; *Heb* 11:3; 2 *Clem* 1:8) together with the concomitant notion of the pre-existence of non-being (Philo, De migratione Abrahami 9; *Babylonian Talmud,* Nesikin, ch. Sanhedrin 91a; as cited in Schlier, *Römerbrief,* 132) causes both philosophical and theological problems: It raises the question of the ontological status of the pre-existent, and it seems to limit the divine omnipotence, by suggesting that the pre-existent possesses a certain independence from God. Nevertheless, in spite of these difficulties, this concept became successful because it helps to explain not only the primeval creation of the universe, but also the way God controls his creation and effects the phenomena of human birth (q.v.) and resurrection (q.v.; see also CREATEDNESS OF THE QURʾĀN; THEOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN; PHILOSOPHY AND THE QURʾĀN).

The creation of the heavens and the earth is a recurrent motif that appears more than fifty-five times in the Qurʾān. The verb that is most frequently attributed to God in this respect is "to create" *(khalaqa)*. While this verb leaves the manner of creation open, other, far less frequently employed verbs suggest a similarity to handicraft activities, like "to level" (*sawwā,* e.g. Q 2:29), "to make" (*jaʿala,*

Q 6:1; 13:3), "to cover" (*aghshā,* e.g. Q 7:54; 13:3), "to raise up" (*rafaʿa,* Q 13:2), "to stretch out" (*madda,* Q 13:3) and "to rip open" (*fataqa,* e.g. Q 21:30). There is, however, one single instance where God clearly appears to be speaking in connection with the creation of the cosmos:

Then he lifted himself to heaven (see HEAVEN AND SKY) when it was smoke (q.v.), and said *(qāla)* to it and to the earth (q.v.), "Come willingly, or unwillingly!" They both said, "We come willingly." So he determined *(qaḍā)* them as seven heavens in two days, and revealed *(awḥā)* its commandment in every heaven (Q 41:11-12).

This passage exposes further peculiarities of the concept of creation by direct address. On the one hand, it illustrates what has already been said about the implications of the *kun* formula: The preexistence of heaven — amorphous as "smoke" — and earth is taken for granted (cf. Q 21:30); and both heaven and earth appear as personified and obeying God's command. On the other hand, there are also elements that enlarge the creation concept: God's command, "Come" instead of "Be," refers here only to a preparatory stage of creation, while the actual creative work is indicated by the verbs "to determine" and "to reveal." The latter verb denotes at least a kind of mental activity through which God conveys his orders to living beings (cf. Q 16:68; see below), and seems to fit in by and large with the "Be" concept. In the case of the other verb, "to determine," however, it is not clear whether the molding of the seven spheres out of the primeval smoke comes to pass by creative command, also, or is brought about in some other way (cf. Q 2:29, where "to level" replaces "to determine"). These divergences arise because the passage (Q 41:9-12) — not unlike Genesis 1 — tries to combine two different, disharmonious concepts of creation: the notion of a creative command that effects the immediate realization of its objects, on the one hand, and the idea of creation as a demiurgic process, lasting several days and passing through successive stages, on the other.

In several instances the creation of the universe with the word is referred to by the term *ḥaqq*. This term occurs 247 times in the Qurʾān, and predominantly means "reality, truth (q.v.), right." In eleven passages, however, where it says — mostly in connection with the announcement of resurrection — that God "created the heavens and the earth with the *ḥaqq*" (e.g. Q 14:19; 30:8; 45:22), it seems to mean the "wisdom" (q.v.) or "wise plan" inherent in creation. In addition, Q 6:73 shows that *ḥaqq* can encompass the creative command "Be" as well:

It is he who created the heavens and the earth with the *ḥaqq*. On the day when he utters "Be" and it is, his utterance is the *ḥaqq*. His is the sovereignty (q.v.) on the day when the trumpet is blown. He knows the unseen and the seen. He is the all-wise, the all-aware (cf. Q 19:34, where *qawla l-ḥaqq,* "the word of the truth," probably refers to the creation of Jesus [q.v.]; see below).

The origins of the extensions of meaning that *ḥaqq* undergoes in the Qurʾān — from "reality" to "wisdom" to "word of creation" — can be traced back to late Hellenistic times. "Truth" was then identified with God's precepts (*Ps* 119:86; *Dan* 9:13), and "wisdom" was understood as the originator of creation (*Wis* 7:12), so that ultimately "truth," too, could refer to the creative command (James 1:18). Against this background, Q 21:18 ("We hurl forth the *ḥaqq* upon the *bāṭil* [lit. "vain, invalid"] and it [the *ḥaqq*] overcomes it and look! the

bāṭil is disappearing"; cf. Q 34:48-9) can be understood as another attempt to articulate the effect that the creative command "Be" exerts on the pre-existent (cf. Joseph and Asenath, 8:9; as cited in Schlier, *Römerbrief,* 132).

God's relationship to nature after creation is also described in different ways. First, there are processes that seem to function on their own, following God's initial command, like the movements of the sun (q.v.) and the moon (q.v.; cf. Q 13:2; 14:33; 31:29; 35:13). Then there is an assortment of ongoing divine activities attributed to God, especially in respect to life (q.v.) and death (see DEATH AND THE DEAD), rain and provision (see SUSTENANCE). These are indicated by such verbs as *aḥyā,* "to give life," *amāta,* "to cause to die," *anzala,* "to send down" (of rain), or *razaqa,* "to sustain" (e.g. Q 3:156; 10:59; 16:65; 30:40). Additionally, some passages express the idea that God continues to act upon nature and history in the same way he did in respect to primeval creation, i.e. by means of his command (see NATURE AS SIGNS; HISTORY AND THE QUR'ĀN). This is evident in Q 21:69, which relates how God rescued Abraham (q.v.) from his people: "We said, 'O fire (q.v.), be coolness and safety for Abraham!'" In the same manner the metamorphosis of the Sabbath-breakers is effected (Q 2:65; 7:166; see SABBATH). And just as in Q 4:47 the word *amr* (command) refers to this punishment, it is likely that *amr* indicates the divine command in respect to other punishment stories and the eschatological cataclysm, as well (e.g. Q 11:40; 19:39; 46:25; cf. 2:243; see ESCHATOLOGY; APOCALYPSE; REWARD AND PUNISHMENT). It is characteristic of this *amr* not only that it happens in "the twinkling of an eye" (Q 54:50), but also that it is sometimes accompanied by, or even becomes audible as, "the cry" (*al-ṣayḥa,* e.g. Q 11:67; 15:73; 36:29; 54:31).

God's command, however, is particularly linked with the origin of life, both in this world and the hereafter. This is especially clear in the eight qur'ānic "Be" passages that justify either the message of bodily resurrection, or the denial that Jesus is the son of God. There, the idea that at the end of days the dead will be resuscitated by means of divine command is explained by referring to God's previous creative activity:

> . . . He says, "Who shall quicken the bones when they are decayed?" Say: He shall quicken them, who originated them the first time. . . . Is not he, who created the heavens and the earth, able to create the like of them? Yes indeed; he is the all-creator, the all-knowing; his command, when he desires a thing, is to say to it 'Be,' and it is (Q 36:78-9, 81-2).

The underlying assumption of this comparison is that the unborn, like the dead, have a hidden existence until God calls them to life (see Q 2:28; 30:25; cf. 7:172). In Q 3:59, Jesus is compared to Adam (see ADAM AND EVE), in that both were created by "Be." The *tertium comparationis,* however, is not that only these two came to life in this way — this holds true for everyone (cf. the annunciation stories of Isaac [q.v.; Isḥāq] and John the Baptist [q.v.; Yaḥyā]; Q 3:38-40; 11:71-3; 19:7-9) — but rather that in their case, the activity of the creative command is particularly evident, since both have no natural father. Besides, in three much-disputed verses Jesus is called "a word from God/him" (*kalimatin mina llāh/minhu,* Q 3:39, 45) or "his word" (*kalimatuhu,* Q 4:171). And although this naming has often been explained as a reference to the creative imperative (because Jesus was created by the word "Be," he was called "word of God"), considering what has been mentioned above, it is more prob-

able that here, as elsewhere in the Qurʾān, *kalima* has simply the connotation of a "promise" made by God (see below; see COVENANT).

Word and revelation

The idea that God speaks to humankind is central to the Qurʾān; in numerous verses, various terms characterize him as speaking (see above). Yet Q 42:51 shows that in respect to revelation, the very expression "God speaks" can be understood in different ways or modes: "It belongs not to any mortal that God should speak to him *(yukallimahu),* except (1) by inspiration *(waḥy),* or (2) from behind a veil (q.v.), or (3) that [God] should send a messenger (q.v.) and he inspires *(fa-yūḥiya)* whatsoever he will, by his leave; surely he is all-high, all-wise." Three modes of revelation, each of which is understood as a kind of speaking, are presented here in a probably hierarchical ranking. As to "inspiration" *(waḥy),* it is evident from the episode of the dumb Zechariah (q.v.; Zakariyyā) coming out from the sanctuary and signaling *(fa-awḥā)* to his people "Give you glory (q.v.) at dawn (q.v.) and evening" (q.v.; Q 19:11; cf. 3:41; see GLORIFICATION OF GOD), that it denotes a nonverbal and inaudible form of communication. It nevertheless imparts precise contents, like hidden knowledge (e.g. Q 12:15; 14:13; 17:39; see KNOWLEDGE AND LEARNING; HIDDEN AND THE HIDDEN), or orders to behave in a certain way (e.g. Q 7:117; 10:87; 20:77; 23:27), and can be conveyed either directly (mode 1) or indirectly (mode 3). (Phenomenologically, however, it seems that the latter mode is nothing but the personalization of the God-given prophetic state of mind; see in this respect the oscillating term *rūḥ* in Q 42:52.) And although *waḥy* as a mode of revelation comes close to pseudo-prophecy or dream-inspiration (cf. Q 6:93, 112, 121 and 12:44; 21:5; 52:32; see DREAMS AND SLEEP), it still represents the normal method of divine communication to former prophets and messengers as well as to the qurʾānic prophet (Q 4:163 f.; 12:109; 16:43; 42:3; etc.). Thus, in order to deliver the divine message to their audience, it is the prophet's task to translate the *waḥy*-revelation into human language.

The second mode of speaking, "from behind a veil," is contrasted to *waḥy*. This motif goes back to the idea in Hellenistic Judaism that God is hidden by a veil that surrounds his throne (see THRONE OF GOD), even when he speaks to the angels (see ANGEL). The only human being to whom he spoke "from mouth to mouth" and "from face to face," i.e. without a veil, was Moses (q.v.; cf. *Num* 12:8; *Exod* 33:11; *Deut* 34:10; see THEOPHANY). Now, while the Qurʾān concedes to Moses, and only to Moses expressly (and tacitly to the Children of Israel [q.v.] gathered at the foot of the mountain; cf. Q 2:63, 93; 4:154), that on Mount Sinai (q.v.) God "really spoke" to him (*kallama llāhu Mūsā taklīman,* Q 4:164; cf. 7:143; 2:253), it nevertheless denies him the privilege of a vision of God (Q 7:143; cf. *Exod* 33:18 f.; see FACE OF GOD). Thus, as the concept of *waḥy* is nowhere connected with the Mount Sinai revelation, the speaking "from behind a veil" can probably be understood as an indirect reference to this event, admitting that Moses heard God's true speech but explicitly denying that he saw him (see SEEING AND HEARING). This attitude towards the Mosaic revelation is in line with the general qurʾānic tendency to play down the paramount significance of the Mount Sinai events in Judaism. And so, although God "really spoke" only on Mount Sinai, there is no indication in the Qurʾān of which language he used. The Qurʾān seems to avoid the question of any concrete *lingua sacra,* but rather considers language, as such, as a God-given, effective

means of communication (cf. the passages on "names" and "naming" and "clear Arabic speech," Q 2:31-3; 7:71; 16:103; 26:195, etc.; see LANGUAGE, CONCEPT OF; ARABIC LANGUAGE; LANGUAGE AND STYLE OF THE QUR'ĀN; NARRATIVES). This would imply that from the qur'ānic point of view, the word of God, his speaking, is not defined by any linguistic idiom — to put revelation in words is the task of the prophets — but only by its divine origin and content.

As mentioned above, the two most important consonantal roots from which the verbs and nouns referring to the word of God are derived are *q-w-l* and *k-l-m*. The verb *qāla,* "to say," is most often used to characterize God as speaking. Approximately half of all its occurrences appear in the context of the events in the garden (q.v.) of Eden (thirty-two times), or on the day of judgment (twenty-eight times); the rest are distributed over the course of history, frequently in connection with Moses (sixteen times). *Qāla* is nearly always followed by direct discourse, which often contains orders (e.g. Q 2:131; 7:13; 29:55; see COMMANDMENTS; EXHORTATIONS), but also announcements (e.g. Q 3:55; 38:84-5), rhetorical questions (e.g. Q 5:116; 27:84; see RHETORIC AND THE QUR'ĀN) and other kinds of statements (e.g. Q 2:33; 7:143; 10:89; see LITERARY STRUCTURES OF THE QUR'ĀN). When the corresponding noun *qawl,* "saying, word," is attributed to God, its meaning sometimes comes close to "utterance" (Q 36:58) or "message" (Q 14:27; 28:51; 39:18; 73:5). In other instances, it is used in connection with divine decisions and unchangeable decrees, such as the creative command (Q 3:59; 6:73; 16:40; 40:68, etc.). Especially when combined with the verb *ḥaqqa,* "to be realized," *qawl* stands for God's firm intention to punish the sinners, and it is not entirely clear whether this implies divine predestination (see FREEDOM AND PREDESTINATION): "If we had so willed, we could have given every soul its guidance (see ERROR; ASTRAY); but now my word *(qawl)* is realized *(ḥaqqa):* 'Assuredly I shall fill Gehenna (see HELL AND HELLFIRE) with jinn (q.v.) and people all together'" (Q 32:13; cf. 17:16; 28:63; 37:31; 41:25; 46:18).

As to *k-l-m* and its derivations, when the verb *kallama,* "to speak to," is attributed to God, it implies that, for the addressee, being addressed by God is a special privilege. This is clear since God spoke to Moses (Q 4:164; 7:143; cf. 2:253; 42:51), the ignorant demand from him that he speak to them (Q 2:118; see IGNORANCE), and in the hereafter he will not speak to the sinners (Q 2:174; 3:77; see SIN, MAJOR AND MINOR). In Q 7:144, the noun *kalām,* "speaking, speech," also has the connotation of an "honoring address." In Q 2:75 and Q 9:6, however, *kalām Allāh* obviously refers to the whole of the revelations delivered by the qur'ānic Prophet; and in Q 48:15, it is — like *qawl* — synonymous with "God's decision" (cf. Q 3:59; 7:162). The noun *kalima,* "word, statement," signifies the divine decision not to put an end to strife about religion in this world, and to postpone punishment to the hereafter (e.g. Q 10:19; 11:110; 20:129; see CORRUPTION; RELIGIOUS PLURALISM AND THE QUR'ĀN). Just like *qawl,* it implies the intention to punish (e.g. Q 10:96; 11:119; 39:19; 40:6); but other than *qawl,* it sometimes also stands for promises (Q 7:137; 37:171; 6:115). In its singular form, it nowhere refers expressly to the creative command, and thus it is more probable that in respect to Jesus, too, it means "promise" (see above). Yet, in its plural form, *kalimāt,* it is not easy to decide whether the expression in Q 8:7, 10:82 and 42:24 *(yuḥiqqu l-ḥaqqa bi-kalimātihi)* must be translated by "He realizes the truth with his words" or "in his words." In any case, *kalimāt* mostly refers to former

revelations, and bears the connotation of promises, as well (Q 2:37, 124; 6:34; 7:158; 10:64; 18:27; 66:12). The single exception to this is the simile in Q 18:109 and Q 31:27 (see SIMILES), which is of rabbinic origins and praises God's omniscience and omnipotence.

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Work

The activities engaged in to earn a living; occupation. Words associated with the root *ʿ-m-l* are used over one hundred times in the Qurʾān to signify "actions" or "deeds" in the broad sense; only a few times (Q 18:79; 34:12, 13) do they signify "work" in particular. *Sh-gh-l* twice signifies "occupation," both in the sense of livelihood and what keeps one busy (Q 36:55 and 48:11). The Qurʾān's repeated emphasis on "good works" (*al-ṣāliḥāt;* see GOOD DEEDS) while reflecting little interest in the occupations of believers, indicates that shaping a proper moral outlook, rather than structuring a particular kind of socioeconomic order, is a primary goal of the revelation (see REVELATION AND INSPIRATION; ETHICS AND THE QURʾĀN).

Qurʾānic references to specific occupations may provide some indication of the social context of the revelation, although caution should be exercised in this respect since the Qurʾān uses selected metaphors (see METAPHOR), parables (see PARABLE) and images (see SYMBOLIC IMAGERY) to achieve its didactic and liturgical function (see LITERARY STRUCTURES OF THE QURʾĀN). Among references to occupations, the cultivation of crops, especially grapes, dates, other fruits and grains are plentiful (see AGRICULTURE AND VEGETATION). Domestic cattle *(anʿām)* are mentioned almost thirty times in the Qurʾān, often as a corollary to the cultivation of crops (see ANIMAL LIFE). In contrast, shepherding and pasturing animals are referred to only in the story of Moses (q.v.; Q 28:23) and in a negative light in connection with the

Bedouin (q.v.; Q 48:11). Hunting and fishing (q.v.) are indicated as activities (Q 5:4, 94-5), if not occupations. Trade *(tijāra)* and its constituent activities including weighing, measuring, buying and selling (see TRADE AND COMMERCE; WEIGHTS AND MEASURES; MEASUREMENT; MONEY; MARKETS; CARAVAN), are the most frequently cited activities in which the believers engage to earn a living *(kasb)*. There are few references to manual labor (q.v.). Aside from the references to Noah's (q.v.) ark-building (see ARK), building *(ṣ-n-ʿ)* and construction *(kh-l-q)* are generally noted negatively in connection with oppressive rulers (e.g. Q 7:137; 26:129; 89:6-12; see KINGS AND RULERS; OPPRESSION; OPPRESSED ON EARTH, THE). Forced prostitution is condemned (Q 24:33; see SEX AND SEXUALITY; ADULTERY AND FORNICATION; SLAVES AND SLAVERY). The description of servants in paradise (q.v.) as being ageless and beyond fatigue (Q 56:17; 76:19) is understood by some scholars as recognition of the tiresome nature of such work in this life (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* ad loc.; see SERVANT). The Qurʾān gives some guidelines for the employment of wet-nurses (Q 2:233; see WET-NURSING), an occupation that provided an opportunity for the mother of Moses to have her infant returned to her (Q 28:12-13).

Scholars discuss the issue of the lawfulness of a believer working for an enemy or an immoral person in reference to the story of the mother of Moses and also in reference to the prophet Joseph (q.v.) working for the "king" of Egypt (q.v.; Q 12:54-6; see also ENEMIES; PHARAOH). Al-Qurṭubī (d. 671/1272; *Jāmiʿ,* ad Q 28:12-13) says that Moses' mother accepted a daily wage from Pharaoh not for nursing her son but as spoils of war (see BOOTY; LACTATION; MAINTENANCE AND UPKEEP). Scholars disagreed on the rulings that could be derived from the example of Joseph. Most scholars were concerned with the way in which authority (q.v.) was passed from the employer to the employee. If the employee derived the authority to do his job directly from an immoral person or unlawful ruler, the employment could be unlawful. If the employee was performing a divinely ordained task, like the distribution of *zakāt* (see ALMSGIVING), this may be permissible, despite the corruption of his employer (see LAW AND THE QURʾĀN; LAWFUL AND UNLAWFUL; FORBIDDEN).

A fuller picture of work in seventh-century Arabia (see PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QURʾĀN) has been drawn by scholars who rely mostly, but not exclusively, on textual sources. It should be noted that nomads (q.v.), although an important segment of the Arabian population, were present in much smaller numbers than sedentary people, whose professions reflected the diversity of their environments (Donner, *Early Islamic conquests,* 11-20; see CITY; ARABS). In the fertile lands of southern Arabia, agriculture and shepherding were significant occupations, as was the case in desert oases like Yathrib (see MEDINA) and Yamāma. Across Arabia, the manufacture of items from the skin and hair of animals was a major activity (see HIDES AND FLEECE). Tanning and weaving were occupations shared by nomadic and sedentary people. Leather was made into containers to store oils and other liquids and used for many other purposes (see CUPS AND VESSELS). Goat-hair and wool from camels and sheep were processed and woven for many purposes — in particular, to make carpets and Bedouin tents. Wool was the most readily available material for clothes, but a desire for more comfortable fabrics allowed a number of Meccans to make a living importing cotton, linen and silk (q.v.), all of which were produced to a

limited extent in southern Arabia (see CLOTHING). A number of prominent Meccans are said to have been cloth merchants or tailors. Residents of Mecca and other towns also worked as blacksmiths, arrow-makers, saddle-makers, carpenters, butchers and builders, among other things. In Medina, some Jewish tribes are said to have specialized as goldsmiths and in trading in precious jewels (see METALS AND MINERALS; GOLD).

In seventh-century Arabia, women, like men, worked in a wide variety of occupations, including trading, manufacturing and agriculture (see WOMEN AND THE QUR'ĀN; GENDER; PATRIARCHY). Specialty occupations for women included wet-nurse, beautician, singer and prostitute. There were male and female musicians, magicians and servants (see MAGIC; SOOTHSAYER). The Prophet's wife, Khadīja (q.v.), is portrayed as a successful businesswoman who first met Muḥammad when she employed him to trade for her. One assumes that domestic chores like child-rearing, cooking and cleaning occupied much of the average woman's day (see CHILDREN; FAMILY; MAINTENANCE AND UPKEEP). Grinding grain and making bread appear to be two of the most tiresome daily chores most women had to perform. Ḥadīth reports show some female Companions of the Prophet (q.v.) expressing a desire for servants or slaves to help them with their work; in some cases the women were given help, in other cases, they were advised that the more pious path was to do the work themselves (see PIETY; ḤADĪTH AND THE QUR'ĀN). These ḥadīth arise in scholarly discussions about the dignity or dishonor of labor. The Prophet's wives (see WIVES OF THE PROPHET; WIDOW) are said to have occupied themselves with useful tasks after his death, despite receiving large annual state allowances. ʿĀ'isha taught children (see ʿĀ'ISHA BINT ABĪ BAKR), Ḥafṣa (q.v.) administered her father's agricultural estate and Zaynab bt. Jaḥsh manufactured items she gave to the poor.

Due to the nature of the sources, few definitive statements about attitudes towards work at the rise of Islam are possible. There are, however, a number of indications that a shift in the status of certain occupations occurred with the rise of Mecca (q.v.) and other towns to greater prominence. According to the martial norms of the Bedouin, most work other than fighting was done by slaves and women, while sedentary people labored to produce the food and goods Bedouin acquired through force, trade and negotiation (see WAR; FIGHTING; CONTRACTS AND ALLIANCES). Despite the lingering prejudice of Bedouin culture, there are a number of indications that before the Islamic conquests, an individual's occupation was generally not a significant marker of social status for townsmen. After the conquests (see CONQUEST), cities in the central Islamic lands exhibited more complex, varied and often hierarchical work environments than were present in seventh-century Arabia. Two centuries into the Islamic era, the Iraqi scholar Ibn Qutayba (d. 276/889; *Maʿārif,* 575-7) finds it notable that at the rise of Islam, so many of the "nobles" *(ashrāf)* among the Quraysh (q.v.) worked in professions considered base or menial in his time. These occupations include: butcher, carpenter, veterinarian, blacksmith, arrow-maker, slave trader and leather merchant. Although the Qur'ān does not associate honor or dishonor with certain occupations, or even work itself, this is widely discussed in early Islamic literature.

The Qur'ān does indicate that it is obviously preferable to be a master than a slave (Q 16:71). There are many possible reasons why a slave may have been employed instead of a free person for any given task.

Slaves were not confined to menial labor but were employed in virtually all occupations. The absolute dependence of slaves on their owners clearly gave them some advantages as employees but simple availability may have been the most critical advantage. The relationship between slavery and labor shortages in this period needs further study.

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World

In English, "world" denotes mainly the entire cosmic system whether created by God, by chance, or simply having existed throughout eternity (q.v.). In its more limited sense the world means the earth (q.v.), all its inhabitants and specifically humankind characterized by certain institutions — social, religious and so on. World also conveys the sense of a special time (q.v.), as in "this world" meaning "lifetime" as opposed to "the world to come" (see ESCHATOLOGY). Some of these meanings appear in the Qurʾān but are expressed by particular words as explained as follows.

ʿĀlam

The word *ʿālam* occurs seventy-four times in the Qurʾān in the oblique plural *(ʿālamīn).* It is a loan word from either Hebrew or Aramaic/Syriac sources (see JEWS AND JUDAISM; CHRISTIANS AND CHRISTIANITY; SCRIPTURE AND THE QURʾĀN; FOREIGN VOCABULARY), although it is also found in Nabatean and Palmyran inscriptions. In biblical Hebrew it means any duration of time (q.v.; see also SPATIAL RELATIONS) and in Rabbinic usage, as in Aramaic, it denotes "age": this world *(ha-ʿōlam ha-zeh),* as contrasted with the next world *(ha-ʿōlam ha-bā).* The common qurʾānic phrase *rabb al-ʿālamīn* is equivalent to *ribbon ha-ʿōlamim,* "the master of all people," in the Jewish liturgy (see LORD).

As a rule, Muslim exegetes (see COSMOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN) understand *ʿālamīn* in most verses and particularly in the second verse of Q 1 "Praise (q.v.) be to God, the lord of all created beings" *(rabb al-ʿālamīn)* as denoting all creatures (see CREATION): human beings, angels, devils, animals and so on (see ANGEL; DEVIL). Some exegetes exclude animals (see ANIMAL LIFE), claiming that the term applies only to rational beings (see INTELLECT). In a tradition ascribed to Ibn ʿAbbās (d. 68/687), *ʿālamīn* has the meaning of the whole creation: the heavens (see HEAVEN AND SKY) and the earth and what is in them and between them (Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr,* i, 43). According to al-Zajjāj (d. 311/923), *al-ʿālam* (in the singular) is whatsoever God created in this world and in the world to come (ibid., i, 44). Elsewhere, however, *ʿālamīn* can only be understood as human beings, as in "O Children of Israel (q.v.), remember my favor which I bestowed on you, and that I preferred you to all human beings" (Q 2:47; see ELECTION; GRACE; BLESSING), and "God chose Adam (see ADAM AND EVE) and Noah (q.v.) and the house of Abraham (q.v.) and the house

of ʿImrān (q.v.) above all human beings" (Q 3:33; see also Q 3:96, 108, 7:80, 26:165).

In al-Ṭabarī's (d. 310/923) view (*Tafsīr,* i, 48f.), *ʿālamūn* (the nominative form) is the plural of a collective noun *(ism jamʿ),* namely *ʿālam,* which has no singular form, like *jaysh,* army, or *raht,* a group of human beings. Each nation is an *ʿālam* and each nation in a certain generation is also called *ʿālam*. Likewise, each genus of creation is an *ʿālam*. Thus *ʿālamūn* includes all things except God (cf. Qurṭubī, *Jāmiʿ,* i, 138). Al-Qurṭubī (d. 671/1272; *Jāmiʿ,* i, 139) adds another interpretation of *ʿālam* which he derives from *ʿalam* or *ʿalāma* meaning a "sign" (see SIGNS), for *ʿālam* demonstrates its producer *(yadullu ʿalā mūjidihi),* that is, serves as a sign for the existence of its creator (cf. Rāzī, *Tafsīr,* i, 229).

Dunyā

Al-dunyā, the feminine of the elative adjective (literally, "lower, lowest," "nearer, nearest") means "this world." *Al-dunyā* is found in one hundred and fifteen places in the Qurʾān and denotes both the place and time spent in this world. Q 2:201 reads: "And others among them say: 'Our lord, give to us in this world *(al-dunyā)* good (see GOOD AND EVIL), and good in the world to come (*al-ākhira;* see REWARD AND PUNISHMENT), and guard us against the chastisement of the fire'" (q.v.; see also Q 5:33; 7:156; 9:69; 16:30; 27:29; see also HELL AND HELLFIRE). The aspect of time is clearly indicated when the word "life" *(ḥayāt)* is juxtaposed to *al-dunyā* as a combination of a noun with an adjective. It is not, however, only lifetime which is meant by *al-ḥayāt al-dunyā;* this term is also colored by moral traits (see ETHICS AND THE QURʾĀN). Lifetime is replete with temptations and evils which human beings should avoid (see TRIAL; SIN, MAJOR AND MINOR). As Q 3:185 says,

> Life in this world *(al-ḥayāt al-dunyā)* is nothing but pastime and amusement (see LAUGHTER); surely, the next world (*al-dār al-ākhira,* literally, "the last abode") is better for those who are God-fearing (see FEAR; PIETY). Do you, thus, not understand (see KNOWLEDGE AND LEARNING)?

Although the present life is nothing but the joy of delusion (Q 3:185), some people desire it, although others do not (Q 3:152). Human beings enjoy real life, states the Qurʾān, only in the next world (Q 29:64). These and other similar verses served the Ṣūfīs (see ṢŪFISM AND THE QURʾĀN; ABSTINENCE) in their censuring of this world. In his *Iḥyāʾ ʿulūm al-dīn,* al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111) devoted a whole book to disparaging this world (Bk. 26, *Kitāb Dhamm al-dunyā,* iii, 174-99; many traditions of which are taken from Ibn Abī l-Dunyā's [d. 281/814] book by the same name).

Ākhira

Like *al-dunyā, al-ākhira,* the feminine of *ākhir* (the last), appears one hundred and fifteen times. This term signifies "the next world" as opposed to *al-dunyā,* "this world," or to the latter's equivalent, "the first" *(al-ūlā)*. For example, Q 93:4 reads: "And the next world is better for you than this world" (literally, "the first world"). Similar to *al-dunyā, al-ākhira* connotes both place and time. When it occurs with *dār* either in a construct state *(dār al-ākhira)* or as a combination of a noun and an adjective *(al-dār al-ākhira),* it means "paradise" (q.v.), that is, the world prepared for the God-fearing, as stated in Q 7:169 "…and the last abode is better for those who fear God…" (see also Q 6:32; 16:30; 29:64; 33:29; see also HOUSE, DOMESTIC AND DIVINE). In contrast to *al-dunyā,* the connotations of *al-ākhira* are in general positive; however, the Qurʾān explicitly states that the punishment in the last abode is stronger and more enduring

than that of this world (Q 13:34; see CHASTISEMENT AND PUNISHMENT). Belief in the next world is an important part of one's religion (q.v.). Just as a man gives alms (see ALMSGIVING), he should believe in the coming of this period (Q 27:3; 41:7).

al-Samāwāt wa-l-arḍ

In the Qurʾān there is no single specific word that designates the whole physical world or cosmos (see COSMOLOGY). *Al-samāwāt wa-l-arḍ* (literally, "the heavens and the earth") comes near to such a designation, namely, the entire physical entity that was created by God. "Praise be to God, who created the heavens and the earth…" (Q 6:1; see also LAUDATION; GLORIFICATION OF GOD). It also seems that the phrase *malakūt al-samāwāt wa-l-arḍ,* "the kingdom of the heavens and the earth" (Q 6:75; 7:185; see SOVEREIGNTY; KINGS AND RULERS) has the same meaning. In two instances the phrase "the heaven (in the singular) and the earth" *(al-samāʾ wa-l-arḍ)* accompanies a reference to creation (Q 38:27; cf. 30:25). Two verses (Q 26:23-4) show that *rabb al-ʿālamīn,* "the lord of the world" (literally, "worlds") is equivalent to *rabb al-samāwāt wa-l-arḍ:* "Pharaoh (q.v.) said: 'And what is the lord of the world?' [Moses (q.v.)] said: 'The lord of the heavens and earth….'" A more inclusive phrase is "the heavens and the earth and what is between them" (see e.g. Q 25:59; 32:4; 50:38).

Arḍ

Arḍ, literally, "earth," can be interpreted to mean all humanity, that is, all inhabitants of the earth. Q 2:251 reads: "If God had not repelled some people by others, all the inhabitants of the earth *(al-arḍ)* would have been corrupted (see CORRUPTION). But God is gracious to all human beings" (*al-ʿālamīn;* Rāzī, *Tafsīr,* vi, 192). In certain cases *al-arḍ* means *al-dunyā,* that is, "this world," as it is said in Q 23:112: "How long have you stayed in this world?…" (*fī l-arḍ,* lit. "in the earth"). *Al-arḍ* also contrasts with *al-dār al-ākhira,* "the last abode," which further demonstrates its meaning as "this world." Q 28:83 states: "That is the last abode; we make it for those who desire neither haughtiness (see ARROGANCE; PRIDE) nor corruption in this world *(fī l-arḍ)*."

God and the world

God created the world (the heavens and the earth and what is between them) in six days (Q 25:59). He is not only the creator of the world but also the owner of whatsoever is in it (Q 2:284; 3:129) and the knower of all that exists (Q 3:29; see POSSESSION; HIDDEN AND THE HIDDEN; POWER AND IMPOTENCE). Later Muslim scholars tried to find the notion of creation *ex nihilo* in the qurʾānic text by deducing this notion from Q 16:40: "When we desire a thing, the only word we say to it is 'Be,' and it is." Thus things were brought into existence after their nonexistence by the imperative "be" (see also Q 19:9). The world was created purposefully (Q 23:115; 44:38), so that people will worship (q.v.) God (Q 51:56). Most of the phenomena observed in the world were designed by God for the benefit of humankind (see also NATURE AS SIGNS):

Verily it is God who splits the grain of corn and the date-stone (see AGRICULTURE AND VEGETATION). He brings forth the living from the dead, and the dead from the living (see LIFE; DEATH AND THE DEAD)… He splits the dawn (q.v.), and has established the night as a time of rest (see SLEEP; DAY AND NIGHT), and the sun (q.v.) and the moon (q.v.) as a reckoning (of the festivals; see CALENDAR)… It is he who has established for you the stars to guide you in the darkness (q.v.) of the land and sea (see

WATER; PLANETS AND STARS)… And it is he who has brought down water from the heaven, and thereby we have produced shoots of every kind… In that there are signs for people who believe (Q 6:95-9; see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF).

The world is full of signs (q.v.) which might lead one to believe in God. On the basis of these verses and others of the same kind, Muslim theologians have elaborated the argument from design, according to which the design in the universe proves God's existence, unity, wisdom, rule and providence (see GOD AND HIS ATTRIBUTES).

The notion of the last abode *(al-ākhira)* presupposes the end of this world. Although the termination of *al-dunyā* is not stated explicitly in the Qurʾān, it is alluded to in the following verses: "It is he who created you of clay (q.v.), then decreed an appointed time of death *(ajal)*…" (Q 6:2), "…the affair is finished…" (Q 2:210) and "all [that dwells] on [the earth] will perish, and only the face of your lord will remain" (Q 55:26-7; see FACE OF GOD; FREEDOM AND PREDESTINATION). Rationalist theologians interpreted God's face to mean his essence. Adding to this interpretation the phrase "he is the first and the last" (Q 57:3), they concluded that just as God was alone before creation, he will be alone after the termination of the world.

In contrast to the finality of the present world, most of the traditionalist theologians claim that the world to come, which is divided into paradise and hell, will exist forever. "And as for those who believe and do righteous deeds (see GOOD DEEDS), we shall make them enter gardens (q.v.) underneath which rivers flow, to dwell therein forever…" (Q 4:57). The two Ḥanbalī theologians Ibn Taymiyya (d. 728/1328) and his distinguished disciple Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya (d. 751/1350) held the view that hell will finally come to an end. Their textual basis is Q 78:21-3: "Behold, Jehenna has become an ambush, for the insolent a resort, therein to tarry for ages." Since it is impossible to measure eternity by periods of time ("ages"), says Ibn al-Qayyim, the duration of hell is finite.

Whether God has already created the world to come, that is, paradise and hell, or whether he will create it after the judgment (see LAST JUDGMENT), is another question dealt with by the theologians. Most traditionalist theologians held the view that paradise and hell have already been created by God. Q 3:133 reads: "And vie with one another, hastening to forgiveness (q.v.) from your lord, and to paradise *(janna)* whose breadth is as the heavens and the earth, prepared for the God-fearing *(uʿiddat lil-muttaqīn)*." "Prepared," which also referred to hell (Q 3:131), was interpreted to mean "was already created." Rationalist theologians, however, argued that God always acts for the benefit of humankind. Since as places of reward and punishment, paradise and hell will be needed only after the day of judgment, it follows that they have not yet been created.

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Worship

The veneration of God (or any other being or object regarded as worthy of worship), by the performance of acts and/or the utterance of words that signify attitudes such as adoration, submission, gratitude (see GRATITUDE AND INGRATITUDE), love (q.v.) or fear (q.v.). Arabic does not have a direct semantic parallel to the English word but derivatives of the root *ʿ-b-d,* conveying ideas of obedience (q.v.), dependence (see also CLIENTS AND CLIENTAGE) and service (see SLAVES AND SLAVERY; SERVANTS), are often rendered in English translations of the Qurʾān by "worship." In a broad sense the worship of God involves fulfilling his law (see LAW AND THE QURʾĀN; VIRTUES AND VICES, COMMANDING AND FORBIDDING) and submission *(islām)* to him and in that sense it may be said that the fundamental message of the Qurʾān is the need for humankind to worship God alone (see IDOLATRY AND IDOLATERS; POLYTHEISM AND ATHEISM). In commentary (see EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL), the Qurʾān's recurrent prohibitions against "associating others with God" *(shirk)* are often amplified to explain that we must not worship or serve *(ʿabada)* anything other than him.

In Islam acts that express obedience and submission to God, especially those duties required in fulfilment of the "five pillars of Islam" (see RITUAL AND THE QURʾĀN), are commonly referred to as the *ʿibādāt* (sing. *ʿibāda*), and it is clear that they are regarded as the most important ways in which humankind should worship God. The fundamental reason for performing those acts of service is that they are required by God. In fulfilling his requirements his servants *(ʿibād)* demonstrate their submission to his commands (see also COMMANDMENTS). Of those duties it is the five-times-daily performance of the ritual prayer (q.v.; *ṣalāt*) that is the most frequent and fundamental expression of their service or worship. Some scholars writing in English, such as E.E. Calverley, prefer to translate *ṣalāt* by "worship" rather than "prayer."

In a number of qurʾānic passages serving God is clearly linked to the performance of acts of worship. Q 7:206 refers to the way in which the angels (see ANGEL) serve God by constantly praising (see LAUDATION) and prostrating before him (see BOWING AND PROSTRATION). At Q 20:14 God is reported as saying to Moses (q.v.) from the burning bush, "There is no god but me so serve me *(fa-ʿbudnī)* and establish prayer in remembrance (q.v.) of me *(wa-aqimi l-ṣalāta li-dhikrī)*." At Q 29:16-17 Abraham (q.v.) is described as calling on his people to abandon the idols that they serve instead of God (see IDOLS AND IMAGES), to serve God and fear him *(uʿbudū llāha wa-ttaqūhu),* to seek provision (*rizq;* see SUSTENANCE) from him, to serve him and give thanks to him. Q 53:62 commands us to make prostration to God and serve him *(fa-sjudū lillāhi wa-ʿbudū)*. Clearly in all of these passages and many others and in Muslim discourse in general, the idea of serving God (or other beings) is largely coterminous with worship. According to Q 51:56, God's sole purpose in creating humankind and the jinn (q.v.; see also CREATION) was that they should serve/worship him *(illā li-yaʿbudūnī)*.

Apart from the names of the "five pillars," common words in the Qurʾān connected with the performance of ritual acts of worship relate to prostration and bowing *(s-j-d, r-k-ʿ),* circumambulation *(ṭ-w-f),* the offering and slaughter (q.v.) of animals *(h-d-y, n-ḥ-r, dh-b-ḥ, n-s-k;* see also CONSECRATION OF ANIMALS), remaining in a holy place (*ʿ-k-f;* see SACRED PRECINCTS), offering praise (q.v.) to God (*s-b-ḥ, ḥ-m-d;* see also GLORIFICATION OF GOD), and calling God to mind *(dh-k-r)* by repetition of

his name or names (see MEMORY; GOD AND HIS ATTRIBUTES). Such acts should be carried out in an attitude of submission or obedience (*q-n-t;* e.g. Q 2:238; 3:17). Among terms that appear in the Qurʾān and are commonly used in connection with Islamic worship are *qibla* (q.v.; the direction of prayer), *masjid* (place of prostration, mosque [q.v.]), *bayt* (house, sanctuary; see HOUSE, DOMESTIC AND DIVINE; SACRED AND PROFANE), *ʿumra* (the minor pilgrimage; see PILGRIMAGE) and *ṣadaqa* (alms, charity; see ALMSGIVING).

The Qurʾān is relatively rarely concerned, however, with the details of the correct forms of such acts of worship. Frequently it merely alludes to them and seems to assume that they are normal ingredients of religious life, the forms of which are already known (see RELIGION). Even when there are passages that refer to aspects of performance (such as Q 2:183-7, concerned with fasting [q.v.] in Ramaḍān [q.v.]), they are not so full that they would allow us to reconstruct all the details of the performance simply from the Qurʾān alone. For that we would need to refer to texts outside the Qurʾān. There is clearly the possibility that we assume too readily that the Qurʾān is referring to institutions of worship existing in exactly the same forms as they are known from other Islamic texts or from observation.

The references to the ritual prayer are especially allusive and often consist of no more than calls for the "establishment" *(iqāma)* of the *ṣalāt,* sometimes linked with the command to bring the *zakāt*. There is a reference (Q 5:58) to making a call to prayer *(idhā nādaytum ilā l-ṣalāt),* but no clear and unambiguous qurʾānic text that indicates it should be performed five times daily, nor any precise details as to its timing (see DAY, TIMES OF), the sequence of bodily postures and words to be followed, the number of "cycles" *(rukūʿ)* to be performed for the different times of prayer, etc. One passage (Q 17:78-9) orders *"ṣalāt* at the setting of the sun until the darkness (q.v.) of night (*li-dulūki l-shamsi ilā ghasaqi l-layl;* see EVENING) and the *qurʾān* of the dawn (q.v.; *al-fajr*)" and also prayer (not specifically *ṣalāt*) at night (*wa-mina l-layli fa-tahajjad bihi nāfilatan laka;* see DAY AND NIGHT); another (Q 2:238) refers to the "middle" prayer (*al-ṣalāt al-wusṭā;* see NOON; RECITATION OF THE QURʾĀN).

Nevertheless, qurʾānic verses (q.v.), when suitable ones exist, are usually cited in commentaries and law books as evidence of the legal obligation regarding a particular *ʿibāda*. The obligation of *ḥajj* (and, according to some, *ʿumra* also) is related to Q 2:196 ("complete the *ḥajj* and the *ʿumra* for God") and more especially Q 3:97 (*"ḥajj* of the house is a duty upon men towards God, those who are able to find a way"; see KAʿBA). The revelation of Q 2:144-5 ("…turn your face towards *al-masjid al-ḥarām"*) is taken to have imposed the duty of facing towards the Kaʿba (instead of Jerusalem [q.v.]) in prayer *(qibla).* The fast of Ramaḍān (replacing the fast of ʿĀshūrāʾ) is regarded as instituted by the revelation of Q 2:183-7, "fasting is prescribed for you … the month of Ramaḍān in which the Qurʾān was revealed …" (see REVELATION AND INSPIRATION; OCCASIONS OF REVELATION). Discussions of *zakāt* in the law-books (for whom it is intended and on what goods it is to be paid) refer to a large number of different verses, especially Q 9:60 (which actually refers to alms as *ṣadaqāt* rather than *zakāt*). When the details of Muslim practice concerning the *ʿibādāt* cannot be related to qurʾānic texts, they tend instead to be ascribed to the *sunna* (q.v.). A notable example concerns the number and times each day of the *ṣalāt,* reported as having been indicated to the Prophet in extra-qurʾānic revelations that are recorded in ḥadīths and accounts of his

life (see ḤADĪTH AND THE QURʾĀN; SĪRA AND THE QURʾĀN).

As an alternative to the traditional view that the forms of Islamic worship are derived from such revelations, it may be theorized that they developed as a result of evolving community practices (adapting forms of rituals already in existence in the milieu from which Islam emerged) and that the textual "sources" are a result of scholars making links between the already existing practices and available texts. Making such links would sometimes involve creative interpretation of the texts (see TRADITIONAL DISCIPLINES OF QURʾĀNIC STUDY).

Muslim acts of worship frequently include the recitation of parts of the Qurʾān, and reciting the whole or extended parts of it is regarded as an act of worship in itself. Al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111) refers to recitation *(tilāwa)* of the Qurʾān as the most important form of *ʿibāda* with the tongue, and he sets out (*Iḥyāʾ*, book 8) the conditions (such as being in a state of ritual purity [q.v.]) necessary for the ritual. The daily *ṣalāt* ritual involves saying the opening chapter (Sūrat al-Fātiḥa; see FĀTIḤA; PRAYER FORMULAS) and other short chapters or verses chosen as appropriate for the time of day or the nature of the festival (see FESTIVALS AND COMMEMORATIVE DAYS), and commonly longer passages are recited following the conclusion of the *ṣalāt*. Informal prayer ceremonies such as the *dhikr* frequently begin with and include passages of the scripture. In Ramaḍān it is customary for the whole of the Qurʾān to be recited in the mosque in thirty sections, one for each day of the month. During the ceremonies of the *ḥajj* there are many occasions when the pilgrim recites or hears parts of the Qurʾān (see ORALITY), but it is notable that some scholars disapproved of its recitation during the circumambulation *(ṭawāf)* of the Kaʿba. Although al-Shāfiʿī (d. 204/820), for example, held that the *ṭawāf* was the place of *dhikr* and the most important form of *dhikr* was reciting the Qurʾān, other scholars disapproved of qurʾānic recitation during the act of circumambulation (Muḥibb al-Ṭabarī, *Qirā,* 311). It is not clear why that should be so since in general the Qurʾān lies at the heart of Islamic worship (see also EVERYDAY LIFE, THE QURʾĀN IN; POPULAR AND TALISMANIC USES OF THE QURʾĀN).

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Wound

see ILLNESS AND HEALTH; SUFFERING

Wrath

see ANGER

Wretched see JOY AND MISERY; OPPRESSED ON EARTH, THE

Writing and Writing Materials

Inscribing characters, letters or words for others to read; the instruments (q.v.) used in such inscription. The Qurʾān attests to written materials and the process of writing with a variety of lexemes — both metaphorical and concrete (see METAPHOR) — supplying evidence that supplements epigraphic traces of the development of writing in seventh-century Arabia (see ORALITY AND WRITING IN ARABIA; ARABIC SCRIPT). Among the most prominent qurʾānic terms for materials used in the writing process are: ink (*midād,* Q 18:109), parchment (*qirṭās,* pl. *qirāṭīs,* Q 6:7, 91), pen (*qalam,* pl. *aqlām*; cf. Q 31:27; 68:1; 96:4). The act of writing itself — and the written product, the book (q.v.) — is most commonly denoted by derivatives of the Arabic root letters *k-t-b,* a root frequently used in the context of scripture and revelation (see REVELATION AND INSPIRATION). Other Arabic roots, such as *s-ṭ-r, kh-ṭ-ṭ* and *r-q-m* are also employed to convey "inscription" (cf. *yasṭurna,* Q 68:1; *masṭūr,* Q 17:58; 33:6; 52:2; *mustaṭar,* Q 54:53; *khaṭṭa,* e.g. Q 29:48; *marqūm,* Q 83:9, 20; see also SCROLLS; HEAVENLY BOOK; SCRIPTURE AND THE QURʾĀN; ORALITY).

Verses from the Qurʾān have been written on a variety of materials, from pottery shards, bones and mosaic to woodwork, metal wares and buildings (see EPIGRAPHY AND THE QURʾĀN; MATERIAL CULTURE AND THE QURʾĀN), but the most frequent form used to copy the full text of the revelation is the codex (see CODICES OF THE QURʾĀN). Traditionally written with a reed pen *(qalam),* manuscripts of the Qurʾān (q.v.) nevertheless vary enormously in materials, format, aspect, and function.

The earliest manuscripts were copied in brown, tannin-based ink on parchment. The sources mention the skin of goat, calf, donkey, and even gazelle, but the most common animal used was sheep. The skin was cured, scraped to remove any fat or flesh remaining on the inside, sanded, stretched taut and then dried. Occasionally it was also dyed, as in the famous, now-dispersed "Blue Qurʾān." The calligrapher penned the text freehand in various styles of angular script often now known as Kūfic (see CALLIGRAPHY), on the individual folios, which were then gathered in quires and bound in leather. Most were produced in the horizontal ("landscape") format, perhaps to differentiate them from other non-qurʾānic and even non-Arabic codices.

We do not know how early these parchment manuscripts were produced, for there is, as yet, no convincing method to date any manuscript of the Qurʾān before the third/ninth century. Scholars have tried different methods, from paleography and codicology to radiocarbon analysis, in order to assign dates to the mass of undated parchment folios and fragments but no manuscript contains an authentic colophon with a date or the authentic signature of a known calligrapher. So far the only secure evidence is an endowment notice *(waqfiyya),* such as the one in a manuscript endowed by the ʿAbbāsid governor of Damascus, Amajur, to a mosque in Tyre in 262/875-6 (dispersed; many pages in Istanbul, Türk ve Islam Eserleri Müzesi). Parchment manuscripts were certainly made before this date but as yet we do not know which ones.

From the late fourth/tenth century Qurʾān manuscripts written in brown, tannin-based ink on parchment were increasingly replaced by copies written in black, carbon-based ink on paper. The first surviving example (dispersed, e.g. Chester Beatty Library 1434 and Istanbul Uni-

versity A6758) was transcribed by ʿAlī b. Shādhān al-Rāzī l-Bayyiʿ (sic) in 361/972. These materials had already been used to transcribe other Arabic manuscripts for at least 150 years, and their slow adoption for copying the Qurʾān was undoubtedly due to the reverence accorded the divine revelation. In comparison to earlier parchment manuscripts, the paper codices were smaller, cheaper and more portable and were usually made in vertical ("portrait") format. They were also more readily readable, as they came to be written typically in the rounded hand known as *naskh*. They often recorded variant readings (see READINGS OF THE QURʾĀN) and catered to a more diverse audience. Some manuscripts, such as the well-known copy penned by Ibn al-Bawwāb at Baghdād in 391/1000-1 (Dublin, Chester Beatty Library), were apparently made for a specifically Shīʿī clientele.

Once accepted, paper became the most common material used for Qurʾān manuscripts, adopted regularly in the eastern Islamic lands from the fifth/eleventh century and in the Maghrib from the seventh/thirteenth. It came in many sizes, from pocket-book to the large "Baghdād" sheet (approximately 100 × 70 cm), used for stupendous thirty-volume manuscripts commissioned by the Ilkhānids and Mamlūks. Transcribed in a bold *muḥaqqaq* script, sometimes in black outlined in gold and decorated in glowing colors (see ORNAMENTATION AND ILLUMINATION), these extraordinary manuscripts, which contained as many as two thousand sheets and took as long as six or seven years to transcribe and decorate, are some of the finest manuscripts produced anywhere in the world. See also SHEETS.

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Wrong

see SIN, MAJOR AND MINOR

Y

Yaghūth see IDOLS AND IMAGES

Yaḥyā see JOHN THE BAPTIST

Yaʾjūj see GOG AND MAGOG

Yaʿqūb see JACOB

Yathrib see MEDINA

Yaʿūq see IDOLS AND IMAGES

Year

The time required for the earth to complete a revolution around the sun. *ʿĀm* and *sana,* the qurʾānic Arabic words for "year," raise questions of both meaning and chronology. Q 29:14, "1000 years *(alf sanatin)* save 50 *(khamsīn ʿāman),*" contains both words and implies their equivalence. Al-Zamakhsharī (d. 538/1144; see EXEGESIS OF THE QURʾĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL) explains in the *Kashshāf* that the repetition of the same word should be avoided and that writing "950 years" would require more words. The Qurʾān's phrasing, as opposed to "1000," also conveyed precision. Q 22:47, "a day with God is as 1000 years" (see DAYS OF GOD), though, has been understood metaphorically (see METAPHOR; LITERARY STRUCTURES OF THE QURʾĀN), because of the particle *ka-*, "as."

ʿĀm and *sana* are not always synonymous in the Qurʾān. Al-Rāghib al-Iṣfahānī (fl. early fifth/eleventh cent.) in his *Mufradāt,* cites Q 12:49, "a year when the people have plenteous crops (see AGRICULTURE AND VEGETATION; GRACE; BLESSING)," to argue that *sana* could denote a year of barrenness, and *ʿām* a year of plenty. According to *Lisān al-ʿArab,* an *ʿām* could be a winter and a summer (see SEASONS) and therefore shorter than a *sana,* which was either a solar year or twelve lunations (see SUN; MOON). A passage from al-ʿAjjāj (d. 97/715), *min* [or, *wa-*] *marr aʿwāmi l-sinnīna l-ʿuwwami* ("from the passage of the years' lengthy summers and winters"; cf. *Tāj al-ʿarūs,* xxxii, 157, for the reading with *"wa-"*), supports such a distinction, a distinction difficult to discern from the Qurʾān.

In Q 10:5, the Qurʾān states that the moon is a way to measure the passage of time: "He it is who appointed the sun a splendor and the moon a light (q.v.; see also LAMP), and measured for it stages, that you might know the number of years and the reckoning." The stages *(manāzil)* are asterisms that track the moon's monthly path. The heliacal (just before sunrise) ris-

ings and acronychal (soon after sunset) settings of certain asterisms were called *anwāʾ* and were how the pre-Islamic Arabs (q.v.) marked time (q.v.), including festivals (see FESTIVALS AND COMMEMORATIVE DAYS), before the development of a calendar (q.v.) in the late pre-Islamic period (see PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QURʾĀN).

The pre-Islamic lunar calendar used the names of the months (see MONTH) that are known from the Muslim calendar, though sometimes *Ṣafar* 1, then followed by *Ṣafar* 2, took the place of *al-Muḥarram*. The length of a year of twelve lunar months, 354 days, is tied implicitly to the length of a solar year. So by 420 C.E., the pre-Islamic Arabs had adopted, probably from the Jews (see JEWS AND JUDAISM), the practice of adding an intercalary month in order to have the lunar year keep pace with the solar. Like the Jewish year, the new year would occur in the autumn. While the Jews at the time probably intercalated a month every seven of nineteen lunar years, Ginzel (*Handbuch,* 245) accepted al-Bīrūnī's (d. ca. 442/1050) report that the Arabs intercalated a month every nine of twenty-four years.

The Qurʾān banned intercalary months, on the occasion of Muḥammad's Farewell Pilgrimage (q.v.; see also PILGRIMAGE), in Q 9:37: "Postponement is only an excess of disbelief (see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF)… [so that] they allow that which God has forbidden (q.v.)." Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 606/1210) comments in his *Tafsīr* (ad loc.) that adding intercalary months would be privileging *dunyā* over *dīn* (see RELIGION; WORLD). The problem remains that a precise lunar year is eight hours, 48 minutes, and 36 seconds longer than 354 days; eleven times in a thirty-year cycle, *Dhū l-Ḥijja* contains a thirtieth day.

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Yellow

see COLORS

Yemen

Name derived from the Arabic *al-yaman,* which indicates the south of the Arabian peninsula. Etymologically, *al-yaman* means "the south" and is the opposite of *al-shām,* "the north" (see SYRIA). These two words are themselves derived from Arabic terms for right and left. Before Islam there is no evidence of the proper name Yaman in the sources, whether they are internal (the inscriptions of south Arabia) or external, to indicate the country. They refer to the Ḥimyarīs, the tribe which ruled south Arabia from the end of the third century C.E. In the list of titles of the fourth, fifth and sixth century Ḥimyarī kings, however, south Arabian inscriptions mention a region called *Ymnt* (apparently the Ḥaḍramawt south), a name which certainly derives from the ḥimyarite substantive *ymnt,* "south" (as opposed to *sʾmt* "north"; for the precise location of place names and ethnic groups, see Robin and Brunner, *Map of ancient Yemen*).

The geographical extent of the historical Yemen varies according to the historical period and point of view. For the Yemeni al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad al-Hamdānī (d. bef. 360/971), Yemen includes all the territories

south of a line which starts at Qaṭar and reaches the Red Sea midway between Mecca (q.v.) and Najrān (q.v.; Hamdānī, *Ṣifat jazīrat al-ʿArab,* 51). On the other hand, al-Masʿūdī (d. 345/956) assigns to Yemen borders which are very close to those of the current nation (*Murūj,* 1034).

The religious history of Yemen in the centuries preceding Islam is distinguished principally by the rejection of polytheism during the 380s (see POLYTHEISM AND ATHEISM; PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QURʾĀN; SOUTH ARABIA, RELIGIONS IN PRE-ISLAMIC), that is nearly 240 years before the *hijra* (see EMIGRATION), and by a very favorable disposition towards Judaism until the period of rule by the (Christian) Aksumites, who were followed by the (Zoroastrian) Persian Sasanians (see JEWS AND JUDAISM; CHRISTIANS AND CHRISTIANITY; MAGIANS; ABYSSINIA).

The sources

The Ḥimyarī inscriptions after the rejection of polytheism, about one hundred in number (plus around twenty fragments), are the most reliable source because they are contemporaneous and still in their original form (without the danger of alteration and manipulation of manuscript transmission). But they only shed light upon a tiny part of society and are far from objective, since their authors are concerned with themselves, whether to celebrate their glorious feats and commemorate their good works, or to establish rights of custom and property. These inscriptions, sometimes drawn up by the sovereign (eighteen, plus several doubtful instances), but most often by private individuals, are of three kinds: commemorations of buildings and various public works (for example, the building of a sanctuary portico, establishment of a cemetery, repair of the Maʾrib dam, etc.); commemorations of buildings for personal use (palaces); commemorations of the glorious deeds of the sovereign or aristocrats. These documents provide us with indirect information on the religious attitude of the ruling classes, thanks to the religious invocations they contain (and sometimes by their silence; see also EPIGRAPHY AND THE QURʾĀN). As far as archaeological remains are concerned, they are of little significance (see ART AND ARCHAEOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN): there are some column capitals from the great church of Ṣanʿāʾ reused in the grand mosque (q.v.), some artifacts from daily life, and finally a building in Qānīʾ which could have been a synagogue (Finster, Arabien in der Spätantike). The last source consists of the Arabic traditions which were collected from the early days of Islam but have been passed on to us through works, the oldest of which have been composed at a relatively late date, more than 150 years after the *hijra*.

The rejection of polytheism

Before the unification of south Arabia by the Ḥimyarī kings Yāsir^{um} Yuhanʿim (who annexed the kingdom of Sabaʾ around 275; see SHEBA) and Shammar Yuharʿish (who conquered the kingdom of Ḥaḍramawt several years before 300), all the inscriptions, both those drawn up by the sovereign and those by private individuals, are polytheistic. Nevertheless, certain third century texts present an innovation vis-a-vis those of earlier periods: the final invocations of the dedication of the most important Sabaean temple, consecrated to Almaqah, mention this single god, whereas previously they would list all the divinities of the Sabaean pantheon and, frequently, the (personal and tribal) divinities of the authors of the text. Certain scholars have concluded from this that Almaqah must have become a kind of supreme god.

In January 384 (*ḏ-dʾw*^{n} 493 of the Ḥimyarī era), the ruling kings, Malkīkarib Yuhaʾmin

and his sons Abīkarib Asʿad and Dharaʾamar Ayman, celebrated the construction of two new palaces, called Shawḥaṭān and *Klnm*, in two inscriptions (*RES* 3383 and Garb Bayt al-Ashwal 2) coming from Ẓafār, the Ḥimyarī capital. In the final invocation, where the pagan divinities are normally mentioned, they call upon "the support of their lord (q.v.), the Lord of the Heaven" *(b-mqm mrʾ-hmw Mrʾ Sʿmyn)*. These documents clearly show a new religious orientation by the Ḥimyarī authorities. The formula, which is somewhat laconic, does not, however, allow us to determine the exact nature of the new religion. A little earlier (around 380?), the same king Malkīkarib, co-ruling with just one of his sons (perhaps Abīkarib Asʿad), had a building constructed at Maʾrib described as *mkrb* (Ja 856); unknown from more ancient inscriptions, *mkrb* seems to be the Ḥimyarite term for a synagogue.

These three inscriptions reveal radical and definitive religious change since later documents are all monotheistic. Only one small text, dating from 402-3 C.E. (512 Ḥimyarite), which mentions a temple of the pagan god Taʾlab in passing, may be an exception. This religious change clearly demonstrates the success of a unification which had been initially political (with the annexation of Sabaʾ and Ḥaḍramawt) and linguistic (with the disappearance of the Ḥaḍramawtian language and, much earlier, of Madhabite and Qatabānian; see also ARABIC LANGUAGE; ARABIC SCRIPT) and subsequently affected the calendar (q.v.).

The religious position of Ḥimyarīs during the transitional period, between 300 and 380, is more hypothetical. It is probable that polytheism was dominant. The temples remained in use and all the inscriptions drawn up by private individuals (except YM 1950 which will be discussed further and two unpublished inscriptions, discovered in 2003) are polytheistic. But no royal inscriptions (with the exception of two insignificant fragments, which make no mention of religion) have yet been found, so that the personal stance of the sovereigns is not known.

The first indication of progress towards monotheism is the inscription YM 1950, dated *d-ḫrfn* [..]3, which bears an invocation to king Thaʾrān Yuhanʿim, co-ruling with a son whose name has disappeared, in all likelihood Malkīkarib Yuhaʾmin; from this fact, the date can be reconstructed as *d-ḫrfn* [47]3 or [48]3 Ḥimyarī, or August [36]3 or [37]3 C.E. The authors of YM 1950 are powerful lords *(qayls)* of an important tribe with territory bordering Ṣanʿāʾ to the north west; in this text they are apparently commemorating the construction of a sanctuary in honor of "[their lor]d the Master of Heaven" (… *mr](ʾ)-hmw Bʿl-Sʿmyn;* see HEAVEN AND SKY). The name of the divinity appears again on line 4 in the expression *w-l-ysʿmʿn Bʿl-Sʿ[myn…],* "and which is granted by the Master of He[aven…]". No other deity is mentioned or invoked. The text seems monotheistic but its brevity prevents us from deciding whether this monotheism is pagan, Christian or Jewish. The two unpublished texts date from ca. 355 C.E. for the latest, and from the preceding decades for the earliest (see also GOD AND HIS ATTRIBUTES).

An external source, corresponding to roughly the same period, casts further light upon this. Apparently, between 339 and 344, a Byzantine embassy (see BYZANTINES), sent by Constantius II (r. 337-61) under the leadership of Theophilus the Indian, had gone to the Ḥimyarīs with the intention of converting the sovereign and obtaining "the building of a church (q.v.) for the Romans who came there and for any locals who might be disposed towards religion." The results were encouraging:

The sovereign of the people with pure-hearted judgment, was disposed towards religion and built three churches, rather than just one, throughout the country, and he did this not with the imperial funds brought by the ambassadors, but with what he eagerly contributed from his own wealth.

It seems, however, that we cannot really speak of the conversion of the Ḥimyarīs: the report of Theophilus does not mention the baptism of the sovereign or the creation of a church hierarchy. Regarding the religious practices of the Ḥimyarīs, Theophilus indicates that the people are still polytheists, even if Judaism, of which this is the first datable mention in Arabia, is particularly influential in the king's circle (Philostorgius, *Kirchengeschichte*).

During the period 300-380, it would therefore appear that Yemen was still polytheistic. From the inscriptions, the abandonment of polytheism by certain individuals dates from the reign of Thaʾrān Yuhanʿim (ca. 324-ca. 375). If Jewish and Christian monotheism did indeed gain support, the inscriptions do not yet give any indication of this. As regards the personal attitude of the sovereign, this is unknown. The official rejection of polytheism occurred in the following reign, the reign of Malkīkarib Yuhaʾmin (ca. 375-ca. 400), co-ruling with two sons, Abīkarib Asʿad and Dharaʾʾamar Ayman.

"Judaizing" monotheism, from the 380s to 525-530

For nearly 140 years, from the reign of Malkīkarib Yuhaʾmin (ca. 375-ca. 400) to that of Yūsuf Asʾar Yathʾar (522-between 525 and 530), Ḥimyarī epigraphy displays the same characteristics. Their rulers use only vague expressions and brief formulas when they refer to religion (fifteen inscriptions in total). As far as individuals are concerned, while they often do the same as their rulers (more than thirty inscriptions), they do sometimes explicitly demonstrate their sympathy towards Judaism (seven inscriptions could be described as "judaizing"). This sympathy is shown by the use of the ritual exclamations "amen" *(ʾmn)* and "shalôm" *(sʿlwm)*, or by bequests in favor of Jews (as in Ḥaṣī 1, which establishes a cemetery set aside for Jews). There are few indisputably Jewish inscriptions. The most significant (Garb Bayt al-Ashwal 1), which comes from the beginning of the fifth century, is written by one Yahūdaʾ Yakkuf *(Yhwdʾ Ykf)*, apparently a proselyte, who counts upon "the help and grace of his lord, who gave him his being, the lord of the living and the dead (see LIFE; DEATH AND THE DEAD), the lord of heaven and earth, who created all things, and on the prayers of his people Israel" (*b-rdʾ w-b-zkt mrʾ-hw d-brʾ nfsʿ-hw mrʾ ḥyn w-mwtn mrʾ sʿ|myⁿ w-ʾrḍⁿ d-brʾ klᵐ w-b-ṣlt sᵊʿb-hw Ysᵊrʾl*; see CHILDREN OF ISRAEL). An addition in Hebrew is carved in the central monogram. The text contains several terms borrowed from Aramaic, notably *zkt* (Arabic *zakāt;* see ALMSGIVING) and *ṣlt* (Arabic *ṣalāt*; see PRAYER), words which are again found in the Qurʾān (see FOREIGN VOCABULARY).

Two other documents could be Jewish. There is both the inscription *CIH* 543 (date uncertain), in which is found the name Israel (q.v.; Ysᵊrʾ), and the divine epithet "Lord of the Jews" *(Rb-yhd)*, as well as the fragment Garb, Framm. no. 7 (ca. 400-20) which mentions Israel *(Ysᵊrʾl)*.

A final document, DJE 23 (also of uncertain date), may also be added to this small corpus. Written in the Hebrew language and alphabet, it sets out part of the list of twenty-four priestly classes, already detailed in the Book of Chronicles (I, 24:7-18), adding the name of the village in Palestine where each class originates. The reign of the famous king Joseph, in

Sabaean, Yūsuf Asʾar Yathʾar (*Yws¹f ʾs¹r Yṯʾr* in Ja 1028/1; *Ys¹f ʾs¹r* in Ry 508/2), deserves particular examination. This king does not have a south Arabian, but a foreign name, one which occurs in the Bible (Arabic Yūsuf, in Hebrew Yosef), followed by two south Arabian names. In Syriac hagiography, he has the surname Masrūq, in Greek hagiography Dounaas and in the Arabic tradition Zurʿa dhū Nuwās. The external sources (Syriac, Greek and Arabic) all depict him as a Jewish radical, who persecuted Christians, especially in the Najrān oasis. Three large inscriptions (Ry 508, Ja 1028 and Ry 507), dated *d-qyẓ*^{n} and *d-mḏrʾ*^{n} 633 Ḥim., as well as a handful of small engravings beside them, refer to his reign. Their author is an army commander called Sharaḥʾīl Yaqbul, who had undertaken the siege of the Najrān oasis, in the months before the persecution, which took place in November 523 according to Syriac hagiography. This dating allows us to date Ry 508, Ja 1028 and Ry 507 to June and July 523 C.E. and to place the beginning of the Ḥimyarī calendar in April 110 B.C.E. Although these documents were produced at the height of a religious war — they speak also of the destruction of churches at Ẓafār and Makhawān (in Arabic al-Makhāʾ, or Mokha, the Red Sea port) — they scarcely mention doctrinal matters. Although there are several implicit references to Judaism, the Bible is not quoted and they are not accompanied by Jewish symbols, such as the *menorah* or the *shofar* (there is not a single ancient example in Yemen). The nature of this judaizing monotheism has not yet been decisively resolved. Although very close to Judaism, it seems to have been distinct. It brings to mind instead the powerful religious currents of paganism, which imitated Judaism in the eastern part of the Roman world until the fourth century (Mitchell, Cult of Theos Hypsistos).

Some important documents contain no mention of religion. These include the two inscriptions that the kings Abīkarib Asʿad and Ḥaśśān Yuhaʾmin in the first instance (Ry 509, dated around 440) and Maʿdīkarib Yaʿfur in the second case (Ry 510, dated June 521), had engraved in central Arabia, probably at the time of operations to strengthen the Ḥujrid principality. Similarly we might also mention BR-Yanbuq 47 (April 515). This silence probably indicates a situation of instability or conflict. Finally, there is no evidence of Christianity throughout this entire period.

Christian Yemen (525/530-beginning of the 570s)

The persecution by Yūsuf provoked the intervention of the Christian Aksumite king, Kaleb. He conquered Yemen (between 525 and 530) and placed on the throne a Ḥimyarī Christian, Sumūyafaʿ Ashwaʿ (we have only one inscription, Ist 7608 bis + Wellcome A 103664), who is called Esimiphaios by Procopius. According to the Syriac and Greek hagiographies, Kaleb installed a bishop and founded a large number of churches.

A short time later, Abraha (q.v.; an Aksumite army leader) overthrew Sumūyafaʿ and seized power. He built a magnificent church at Ṣanʿāʾ, which is described by al-Azraqī (d. 250/865). From this time onwards, Ṣanʿāʾ supplanted Ẓafār as the seat of power of Yemen. Abraha tried to retain control of the tribes of the Arabian desert, previously under Ḥimyarī rule. In 552 (662 Ḥim.), he launched an important expedition to central Arabia, which reached Ḥulubān (300 km southwest of Riyadh) and Turabān (130 km east of al-Ṭāʾif; Ry 506). He would subsequently undertake the expedition which, according to Arabic Islamic traditions, was to halt before Mecca, to which the Qurʾān alludes in sūra 105 with the expression "the men with the elephants" (*aṣḥāb al-fīl;* Kister,

Campaign of Ḥulubān; Simon, L'inscription Ry 506; see PEOPLE OF THE ELEPHANT).

Although they had never been so previously, all the inscriptions henceforth are explicitly Christian, no longer making any direct or indirect reference to Judaism: Christianity has become the official religion. The Sumūyafaʿ inscription ends with the invocation: "in the name of Raḥmānān and of his son, the conquering Christ" (1st 7608 bis/16, *b-sʿm Rḥmnⁿ w-bn-hw Krsᵓtsᵓ Ḡlbⁿ .[…]*). Abraha's inscriptions contain equally clear formulas. The most significant is *CIH* 541, which begins "With the power, help and mercy of Raḥmānān, of his Messiah and of his Holy Spirit" (q.v.; *b-ḫyl w-[r]dᵓ w-rḥmt Rḥmnⁿ w-Msʿḥ-hw w-Rḥ [q]dsʿ*), and recounts a Christian celebration: "… they came back to the town of Marib and celebrated a mass at the church in Marib, because there was a priest there, the abbot of its monastery" (ll. 65-67: … *ʿdyw hgrⁿ Mrb w-qdsʿw bt Mrb k-b-hw qsʿsᵐ ᵓb-msʿtl-h*). Despite this, the Christian symbol of the cross appears only rarely: it may be noted once at the start of Ry 506, twice in the margin of Ja 544-547 and on several artifacts. It is equally noteworthy that the inscriptions never mention church authorities or make use of any biblical quotations (in contrast to contemporary Aksumite inscriptions, where there are numerous such references). All these Christian documents come from characters linked to the Aksumite regime, no doubt reflecting his political and religious inclinations, which were also those of the Egyptian church (opposed to the decisions of the Council of Chalcedon of 451 C.E.). Other Christian movements would certainly have had followers in Yemen, in particular the Nestorians, but they have left no trace. Yemen, decimated by the Aksumite conquest, then by the plague, sank into crisis: the last datable inscription (*CIH* 325) refers to 559-560 (669 Ḥim.). Two sons of Abraha, Aksūm (described as "the son of the king" in *CIH* 541/82) and Masrūq (known only through the Arabic Islamic traditions) briefly occupied the throne at the end of the 560s or the beginning of the 570s. The Aksumite dynasty, which then collapsed, was replaced by Persian Sasanian rule, which lasted for some sixty years.

The name of God and the name of the sanctuary

In the Ḥimyarī monotheistic inscriptions, God is addressed in many ways, as if his complex nature could not be expressed by a single name. In the first period (until around the 430s), he is described with a simple circumlocution, "Master of Heaven" *(Bʿl-Sʿmyⁿ)*, "Lord of Heaven" *(Mrᵓ Sʿmyⁿ)* or "Lord of Heaven and Earth" *(Mrᵓ Sʿmyⁿ w-ᵓrḍⁿ)*. Next, even before the end of the reign of Abīkarib Asʿad, God begins to be given a proper name. Sometimes it is Raḥmānān *(Rḥmnⁿ)*, a name of Aramaic origin, elsewhere he is called by the title "the god, God" (Īlāhān and variants: Īl, Īlān and Aᵓluhān, *ᵓlhⁿ*, *ᵓl*, *ᵓlⁿ* and *ᵓᵓlhⁿ*) used as a proper name. Although it is not used exclusively, Raḥmānān predominates from 462 (Garb Sh .Y., *ḏ-ᵓlⁿ* 572 Ḥim.) in inscriptions of all kinds, royal or private, explicitly judaizing or not, whatever their source. It was clearly successful, since it was adopted by the majority of Arab monotheistic movements, in particular the Christian Ḥimyarīs (for the first person of the Trinity [q.v.]). Sometimes the name Raḥmānān is qualified, "Raḥmānān the merciful" (Fa 74/3, *Rḥmnⁿ mtrḥmⁿ*) or "Raḥmānān the most high" (Ja 1028/11, *Rḥmnⁿ ʿlyⁿ;* see GOD AND HIS ATTRIBUTES). In three inscriptions (*CIH* 543, Ja 1028 and Ry 515), God is not only called "Raḥmānān," but also "Lord of the Jews"

(*Rb-yhd, Rb-hd* and *Rb-hwd*). This syntagma consists of the substantive *rb,* unknown in Sabaean (except perhaps in onomastica) in the sense of "lord (q.v.), master," and of the term *(Y)h(w)d,* which means "Jews." The most significant text, but also the most difficult to interpret, is *CIH* 543 of which only the opening blessing has survived: *[b]rk w-tbrk s¹m Rḥmnⁿ ḏ-b-S¹myⁿ w-Ysᵌrᵌl w-|ᵌlh-hmw Rb-yhd ḏ-hrdᵌ ᶜbd-hmw Sᵃhrᵐ w-|ᵌm-hw Bdᵐ w-ḥs²kt-hw Sᵃmsᵐ w-ᵌl|wd-hmy Ḍmm w-ᵌbs²ᶜr w-Mṣr|ᵐ w-kl bht̲-h[…],* "May they bless and be blessed the name of Raḥmānān who is in heaven, Israel and its God, the Lord of the Jews, who helped their servant Shahrᵘᵐ, his mother *Bdᵐ,* his wife Shamsᵘᵐ, their children (of them both) …*Ḍmm,* Abīshaᶜar and Miṣrᵘᵐ, and all their close rela[tives.…]." Strangely, this document seems to indicate two divine beings, "Raḥmānān who is in heaven" and "the God (of Israel), the Lord of the Jews," plus perhaps a third, Israel, mentioned with them. Finally in Ja 1028, already quoted, we find a double exclamation at the end *Rb-hd b-Mḥmd,* "Lord of the Jews, with *Mḥmd*" (l. 12). *Mḥmd,* probably pronounced Maḥmūd or Muḥammad, meaning "deserving of praise," is definitely a divine name: for it to be considered as a human name, there would need to be a family name and an indication of the rank of *Mḥmd* in the social hierarchy (see also NAMES OF THE PROPHET).

The most remarkable piece of information is that God has the same name, Raḥmānān, in the inscriptions of the Christians and those whom we have called monotheistic "judaizers." On the other hand, the same term is not used to indicate the sanctuary (see SACRED PRECINCTS). The Jews and "judaizers" used the term *mikrāb (mkrb),* while the Christians used *qalīs* (*qls¹,* from the Greek *ekklesia*) and *bīᶜat* (*bᶜt,* which comes from a Syriac word meaning "egg, dome"). On one occasion we discover *ms¹gd* (Arabic *masjid*) and *kns¹t* (Arabic *kanīsa*) but the context is unclear (see MOSQUE).

An outstanding personality, king Abīkarib Asᶜad

According to the Arabic Islamic traditions, Yemen became Jewish after king "Tubān Abū Karib b. Malkī Karib," also called Asᶜad the Perfect (Asᶜad al-Kāmil), had brought back with him two Yathrib rabbis (see MEDINA; TUBBAᶜ). This conversion is often considered doubtful for two reasons. This same Abū Karib is the hero of an epic cycle, consisting of far-flung military expeditions in Asia. Besides, the figure of the king has been reconstructed by Islamic apologetics, which recognizes in Abū Karib the originator of the practical rituals at the Kaᶜba (q.v.) at Mecca and one of those who believed in Muḥammad before his coming. The inscriptions allow us to see this more clearly. The Ḥimyarī royal family completely and definitively rejected polytheism during the reign of Malkīkarib Yuhaᵌmin, a sovereign who, most likely because of his advanced age at accession, is first seen co-ruling with one son (probably Abīkarib Asᶜad), then with two (Abīkarib Asᶜad and Dharaᵌamar Ayman). The relation between religious reform and the person of Abīkarib established by tradition is thus quite precise. The neglect of Malkīkarib probably stems from the particularly outstanding reign of Abīkarib, who ruled for over 50 years (at least 493-543 Ḥim.) and imposed Ḥimyarī rule on the tribes of central Arabia as shown by the inscription Ry 509 (250 km west of Riyadh) and the lengthening of the royal list of titles. The nature of Abīkarib's religious reforms is harder to determine. If the renunciation of polytheism is general, emphasizing the strength of central authority, only a number of private individuals demonstrate a particularly firm commitment to Judaism. The rulers and

the majority of those responsible for inscriptions seem satisfied to refer to their commitment to monotheism, without being more specific. Similarly, there is the complete absence of the Jewish symbols so common in the Roman world during the same period. The religious reform which occurred in the reign of Abīkarib Asad was therefore not really a conversion to Judaism. It was rather a commitment of principle, giving rabbis a privileged status (Beeston, Martyrdom of Azqir), without new "followers" undertaking to follow all the very restrictive practices of Mosaic law. This in no way precludes the conversion of individuals and small groups, who thus broke with their original background. In this hypothesis, the crisis, which began after the disappearance of Abīkarib and reached its peak in the reign of Yūsuf, had as its cause not only the advance of Christianity supported by Byzantium and Aksum, but also the pressure of the central authority in favor of total conversion to Judaism: thus both Christian hagiographies and Islamic traditions also stress the appeals of king Joseph to choose between conversion to Judaism and death. The incomplete nature of the conversion to Judaism is further emphasized by the fact that neither the language, the script, the calendar nor the dating system underwent any change, whereas one would have expected a more important role for Hebrew or the adoption of the Jewish liturgical calendar.

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Yesterday see TIME

Yoke see LOAD OR BURDEN

Youth and Old Age

The early and last stages of the normal [human] lifespan. The Qurʾān portrays youth and old age in two main contexts: to demonstrate God's power (see POWER AND IMPOTENCE) and to illustrate the proper relations between generations (q.v.). The "ages of man" occur in recitals of divine signs (q.v.): "There have come to me clear signs *(bayyināt)* from my lord (q.v.). . . . He it is who has created you from earth (q.v.; *turāb*), then from a drop of sperm, then from a clot (see BLOOD AND BLOOD CLOT); then he brings you forth as an infant *(ṭifl),* then to reach your full strength, then to be old *(shuyūkh),* though some among you die before that, and [in any case] to fulfill an appointed term: perhaps you will attain wisdom" (q.v.; Q 40:66-7; cf. 22:5; 30:54; 35:11; see BIOLOGY AS THE CREATION AND STAGES OF LIFE). Q 80:18-22 culminates the sequence: after God creates the embryo, smoothes its way, and causes it to die, he resurrects it (see CREATION; DEATH AND THE DEAD; RESURRECTION).

Relations between young and old, and the psychological and physical characteristics that deserve special treatment, are usually set in family (q.v.) contexts. Muslims must not regard children (q.v.) simply as possessions (Q 8:28; 63:9; see PROPERTY). Unlike pre-Islamic society (Q 6:137, 140, 151; 81:8-9; see PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND THE QUR'ĀN), Muslim society assumes responsibility for children's weakness (see MAINTENANCE AND UPKEEP; GUARDIANSHIP; MATURITY). Children are among the oppressed whom Muslims must fight to protect (Q 4:75; see FIGHTING; PATH OR WAY; OPPRESSED ON EARTH, THE). Orphans (q.v.) require special kindness and protection of any property they may have inherited (Q 4:2, 6-10; see INHERITANCE) but this does not include legal adoption (Q 33:4f.). At least five passages concern the proper nursing of babies (e.g. Q 2:233; 28:7-13; see LACTATION; FOSTERAGE; WET-NURSING). Wet-nurses may be hired in the absence of the mother (cf. Q 65:6). Children are born knowing nothing (Q 16:78; see KNOWLEDGE AND LEARNING; IGNORANCE); sexual innocence gives them freedom of the house (Q 24:31) but puberty restricts it (Q 24:58f.; see SEX AND SEXUALITY). Outside the family, beauty and purity are personified in the companions of paradise (q.v.; Q 52:24; 76:19), though female companions will be "of equal age" (Q 56:37; 78:33; see also HOURIS).

Aged wisdom instructs youth. Luqmān (q.v.; Q 31:13-19) first enjoins monotheism on his son, then care and gratitude to parents (q.v.); but a child is not to obey if unbelievers (see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF) try to make him worship other gods (Q 31:14f.; cf. 19:41f.; see OBEDIENCE; POLYTHEISM AND ATHEISM; IDOLATRY AND IDOLATERS). Aged parents are not to be reprimanded but addressed honorably and kindly: "My lord, have mercy on them as they raised me in childhood" (Q 17:23-4). It is duty to their old father that exposes two Midianite women to strange men (see MIDIAN), until Moses (q.v.) helps them water their flocks (Q 28:23). By contrast, Joseph's (q.v.) brothers (see BROTHER AND BROTHERHOOD) cruelly remind their father of his mental decline; Jacob's (q.v.) forgiveness (Q 12:98) is thus all the more astounding. Old age *(kibar)* strikes like a whirlwind and weak children are part of the doom that is a sign of God (Q 2:266; see REWARD AND PUNISHMENT; CHASTISEMENT AND PUNISHMENT).

Reversal of age-related characteristics is also a sign of God. John's wisdom as a youth (Q 19:12f.; see JOHN THE BAPTIST), Jesus' (q.v.) speech (q.v.) in the cradle (Q 19:29f.) and the child's hair that turns gray on the day of judgment (Q 73:17; see LAST JUDGMENT) are all unnatural to youth. Abraham's (q.v.) wife asks incredulously, "Woe is me! Shall I bear a child when I am an old woman *('ajūz)* and this husband of mine an old man *(shaykh)?*" (Q 11:72). Finally, Zechariah (q.v.; Zakariyyā'), successfully praying for an heir, describes his age in unforgettable imagery: "O lord, my bones are weak, and my head has burst into gray flame!" (Q 19:4).

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Yūnus see JONAH

Yūsuf see JOSEPH

Z

Zabūr see PSALMS; SCRIPTURE AND THE QUR'ĀN

Zakāt see ALMSGIVING

Zaqqūm

The tree of Zaqqūm, or the cursed tree mentioned four times in the Qur'ān, with three explicit references (Q 37:62; 44:43; 56:52) and one implicit (Q 17:60). Unlike the beautiful trees with clustered fruits in paradise (q.v.; Q 69:23), the good tree of "the good word" (Q 14:24) and the heavenly tree of eternity (q.v.) from which Adam and Eve (q.v.) were prohibited to eat (Q 20:120), the tree of Zaqqūm stands out as the ugliest and the most terrifying tree described in the Qur'ān (see TREES; AGRICULTURE AND VEGETATION). It grows at the bottom of hellfire (see HELL AND HELLFIRE), its blossom *(ṭal'uhā)* like "devils' heads" (Q 37:64-5), is "bitter in taste, burning in touch, rotten in smell (q.v.), black in appearance. Whoever eats from it cannot tolerate its [revolting] taste and therefore is forced to swallow it" (Rāzī, *Tafsīr,* xxix, 174; see FOOD AND DRINK).

The one possible implicit reference to Zaqqūm is very brief and speaks of *al-shajarata l-mal'ūnata fī l-Qur'ān,* "the tree cursed in the Qur'ān" (Q 17:60) being a "trial (q.v.) for men." The majority of the commentators (see EXEGESIS OF THE QUR'ĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL), and the translators following suit (see TRANSLATIONS OF THE QUR'ĀN), take for granted that *al-shajarata al-mal'ūnata* is the tree of Zaqqūm (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* xv, 113-15). In explanation of its description as a trial (*fitna,* Q 17:60; 37:63), the commentators often relate the story that, when the tree of Zaqqūm was mentioned for the first time in the Qur'ān, the unbelievers (see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF) were skeptical about a tree growing "at the bottom of hellfire" (Q 37:64; see UNCERTAINTY), and said: "One day Muḥammad claims that hellfire burns stones (see STONE), and the next day that it grows trees!" Thus, according to the commentators, it is indeed a trial for men: on the one hand, the believers will accept that God is capable of creating a tree that does not burn in the blazing flames of hellfire and that it will be one of many punishments for the unbelievers (see REWARD AND PUNISHMENT) and, on the other hand, the unbelievers will not believe in it and will

reject (see LIE) and mock (see MOCKERY) the Qurʾān as they in fact did (Zamakhsharī, *Kashshāf,* ii, 675).

The name of the tree is derived from "deadly food," "ingestion," or "excessive drinking." The lexicographers as well as the commentators are uncertain about the origin of the word Zaqqūm. In addition to the meanings suggested above, all of which are based on speculation about what the root *z-q-m* might mean, they relate a story suggesting that it is the name of a tree which grows in the desert or an African word for *ʿajwa,* dates mashed with butter (*Lisān al-ʿArab,* iii, 1845 and Fīrūzābādī, *al-Qāmūs,* 1118). It is curious to note, however, that the same stories are repeated almost identically and always without examples of usage from any other text than the Qurʾān. The subtlest explanation is that of al-Rāghib al-Iṣfahānī (fl. early fifth/eleventh cent.), who ignores all the stories and suggests that the qurʾānic use came first and "thereafter the root was 'borrowed' for ingestion of distasteful food" (*Mufradāt,* 380).

The three explicit references occur in a typical punishment/reward qurʾānic discourse (see FORM AND STRUCTURE OF THE QURʾĀN; LANGUAGE AND STYLE OF THE QURʾĀN). All three describe the tree as one of the hellfire horrors which the unbelievers will be forced to experience. Together they provide us with a very powerful image detailing the physical description of the ugly tree and its effect on those who will be forced to eat it, i.e. the sinful (see SIN, MAJOR AND MINOR) and the unbelievers (Q 44:44; 56:51). It will "boil in their insides like molten brass *(al-muhl),* like the boiling of scalding water" (Q 44:45-6). The image is taken at its literal meaning by mainstream Sunnī commentators but is understood by rationalists as a metaphorical objectification of the mental and emotional torture awaiting the unbelievers (see METAPHOR; SYMBOLIC IMAGERY; THEOLOGY AND THE QURʾĀN).

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Zayd b. Ḥāritha

see FAMILY OF THE PROPHET

Zayd b. Thābit

see COMPANIONS OF THE PROPHET

Zaydīs

see SHĪʿISM AND THE QURʾĀN

Zaynab bt. Jaḥsh

see WIVES OF THE PROPHET

Zealotry

Religious and/or political fanaticism. The main qurʾānic stand on zealotry is expressed in Q 2:143 where the Muslim community is described as a "community of the middle," a community that is "in the middle between any two extremes," thereby assigning to its members the responsibility of maintaining a community that is just and moderate in all its beliefs and practices (Quṭb, *Ẓilāl,* 130-2; see

MODERATION). This characteristic is, according to the exegetes (see EXEGESIS OF THE QUR'ĀN: CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL), what makes the Muslim community the "best community" applauded in Q 3:110, "because the middle is the best" (Zamakhsharī, *Kashshāf,* i, 198; Rāzī, *Tafsīr,* iv, 108-12). The implication of Q 2:143, then, is that in its endeavor to be the best community, the Muslim community should not be extreme in its practice or understanding of its own religion (q.v.). Various prophetic ḥadīths support this view (see ḤADĪTH AND THE QUR'ĀN), such as "Beware of zealotry!" (*iyyākum wa-l-ghuluww fī l-dīn;* Albānī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* no. 2680, i, 522) and "Death be to zealots!" (*halaka l-mutanaṭṭi'ūn;* ibid., no. 7039, i, 1183). Nevertheless, there appears to be no explicit, general condemnation of zealotry or religious fanaticism in the Qur'ān, although many of its characteristics are denounced in various contexts. It is worth noting, however, that words like *taṭarruf* (extremism) and *uṣūliyya* (fundamentalism) are modern translations of foreign words and hence are not used to express these meanings in the Qur'ān and classical Arabic texts. A recurrent theme of the qur'ānic discussions of how different people practice their religion is that of taking the law (see LAW AND THE QUR'ĀN) into human hands (e.g. by forbidding [see FORBIDDEN] what God has made lawful [see LAWFUL AND UNLAWFUL], an all too familiar attitude encountered among modern day zealots). The theme occurs in six different verses (Q 5:87; 6:116, 140; 7:32; 10:59; 66:1), all condemning this attitude, sometimes in a very harsh tone (e.g. Q 6:116; 10:59).

Though not mentioned in many discussions about the qur'ānic criticism of Christianity (see CHRISTIANS AND CHRISTIANITY; POLEMIC AND POLEMICAL LANGUAGE), the verb *taghlū,* "to be overzealous, to exceed the bounds," is used in two qur'ānic verses that warn the Christians against *ghuluww* as represented in their notion of Jesus' (q.v.) "sonship" to God (see POLYTHEISM AND ATHEISM; IDOLATRY AND IDOLATERS; GOD AND HIS ATTRIBUTES). It is hard to see, however, how holding to the doctrine of the Trinity (q.v.), to which these verses object, makes Christians zealots. A possible explanation for the use of *ghuluww* here can be understood to imply the literal interpretation of the text, a characteristic often associated with zealotry, in which case the Christians are being blamed for their literal interpretation of the biblical use of the word "Father" in phrases like "the cup of my Father," "to do the will of my Father," and "I must be about my Father's business" (see Cragg, *Jesus,* 31, whose argument approximates this interpretation; see also CORRUPTION; FORGERY; SCRIPTURE AND THE QUR'ĀN).

Many other qur'ānic passages can be seen as either encouraging or discouraging forms of zealotry, depending on which parts of the context one chooses to emphasize (see CHRONOLOGY AND THE QUR'ĀN; OCCASIONS OF REVELATION). Among them is religious intolerance, which the Qur'ān discourages very strongly in numerous verses (see TOLERANCE AND COMPULSION; RELIGIOUS PLURALISM AND THE QUR'ĀN). The most widely cited verse in this context is Q 109:6, which some commentators argue has been abrogated (see ABROGATION). Other exegetes deny this, especially in the light of verses such as Q 2:113, 256; 22:56, 69, all of which stress the fact that judgment (q.v.) between persons is not to be made by persons in this life but by God on judgment day (see LAST JUDGMENT). Similarly, there is no unequivocal qur'ānic judgment with regard to controversial matters such as exclusivism (see PARTIES AND FACTIONS) and the use of violence (q.v.) to achieve political aims (see

POLITICS AND THE QUR'ĀN). Islamic philosophers (see PHILOSOPHY AND THE QUR'ĀN), exegetes and jurists have argued opposing views, always on the basis of qur'ānic verses (q.v.). In sum, in its discussions of various forms of zealotry, the Qur'ān expresses firm objections to some practices and allows room for dispute about many others.

Salwa M.S. El-Awa

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Zechariah

The father of John the Baptist (q.v.) in both the Bible and Qur'ān. Zechariah (Zakariyyā) is mentioned in four qur'ānic passages (Q 3:37-44; 6:85 [a passing reference]; 19:2-15; 21:89-90). He is not directly named as a prophet *(nabī)* but by implication is included in the collective references to prophets at Q 19:58 and prophethood *(nubuwwa)* at Q 6:89 (see PROPHETS AND PROPHETHOOD). The qur'ānic story (see NARRATIVES) of Zechariah and John is always linked to that of Mary (q.v.) and Jesus (q.v.).

The fullest account of Zechariah occurs at Q 19:2-15. There he is portrayed as a pious old servant of God who prays in secret for a successor (Q 19:3-6). When an unnamed speaker (God? angels?: see below) responds with "good tidings of a boy whose name is John" (Q 19:7; see GOOD NEWS), Zechariah asks how this can be, in view of his old age and his wife's barrenness (Q 19:8), thus prompting a simple affirmation of God's power to create effortlessly out of nothing (Q 19:9; see COSMOLOGY; CREATION). Zechariah then asks for a sign and his request is granted: he will not speak for three days (Q 19:10; see SIGNS). The passage then shifts its focus to John (Q 19:12-15). This Meccan narrative (see CHRONOLOGY AND THE QUR'ĀN) about Zechariah is set within a sequence of stories (Q 19:2-58) in which a common theme is God's bestowal of mercy (q.v.) on his faithful servants (q.v.) as they endure various trials (childlessness for Zechariah, allegations of immorality for Mary, Q 19:16-33, a hostile pagan father for Abraham [q.v.], Q 19:41-50). Note that the word "mercy" *(raḥma)* is emphasized in the opening words of the Zechariah story (Q 19:2; cf. 19:50, 53; also 19:21 in a slightly different sense). In this Meccan context the significance of Zechariah to Muḥammad and his followers thus appears to be that his story is one of many which speak encouragingly to believers of the mercy that God will show them in the midst of their difficulties (see TRIAL; TRUST AND PATIENCE). The same interpretation holds for the much briefer Meccan narrative at Q 21:89-90, which simply portrays Zechariah crying out to God and God responding with the gift of John. Stress is also laid on the humble, godfearing piety (q.v.) of Zechariah and his wife. The wider context is a sequence of stories describing God's deliverance of his faithful servants from adversity (e.g. Q 21:68-71, 74, 76-7, 83-4, 87-8). Again, Zechariah is an encouraging example of how the believer should persevere through difficulties, trusting in God.

The one Medinan passage about Zechariah (Q 3:37-44) has distinctive narrative

features. In contrast to Q 19, where the story of Zechariah precedes that of Mary and Jesus, here the story of the birth of Mary (Q 3:35-6) leads into an account of the role of Zechariah as her guardian. Whenever he enters the sanctuary, Zechariah finds that she is mysteriously supplied with food by God (Q 3:37; Zechariah's guardianship of Mary is also mentioned at Q 3:44). At this point Zechariah prays for "goodly offspring" (Q 3:38) and in Q 3:39-41 the story then unfolds much as at Q 19:2-15, except that Q 3:39 mentions angels as responding to Zechariah's prayer (see ANGEL). This Medinan passage about Zechariah and John, although telling broadly the same story as in the Meccan versions, needs to be understood within the changed context of the tense relationship between Muḥammad and the Jews of Medina (q.v.) that is apparent throughout the third sūra (see JEWS AND JUDAISM). The longer narrative sequence (Q 3:33-58) is essentially a history-lesson warning the Jews that, however much they might oppose Muḥammad, God will vindicate him, just as he did other faithful servants in the past (see HISTORY AND THE QUR'ĀN). This lesson is most explicit in the culminating story of Jesus, rejected by Jewish unbelievers but vindicated by God (Q 3:45-57), but it is natural to assume that the same lesson underlies the whole narrative sequence. That suggests that the brief reference to Zechariah and John might assume knowledge of the fate of John as one of the prophets killed by ungodly Jews (such prophets are mentioned often in Q 3; see Q 3:21, 112, 181, 183; see BELIEF AND UNBELIEF; POLEMIC AND POLEMICAL LANGUAGE). The inclusion of the story of Zechariah and John here would then be serving as part of an extended reminder that if Muḥammad was rejected by unbelieving Jews, that had been the experience of prophets before him; nevertheless, the prophets are all honored in the sight of God (see the affirmations bestowed upon John at Q 3:39) and the scheming of the unbelievers is ultimately frustrated. (This analysis is more fully argued in Marshall, Christianity, 12-14.)

This survey shows that while there is a constant narrative core to the qur'ānic passages about Zechariah, his significance varies with the changing wider context of the challenges faced by Muḥammad and his followers, first in Mecca (q.v.) and then in Medina. Commentators have addressed a number of issues raised by these passages. For example, many take the view that it was the sight of God's miraculous provision for Mary that emboldened Zechariah to pray for the miracle of a son (see MIRACLES). They also fill out the brief reference in Q 3:44 to give a fuller account of how Zechariah becomes Mary's guardian through a process of casting lots (see DIVINATION). They discuss the apparent problem that Zechariah's request for a sign suggests that he, a prophet, has doubted God's message (see UNCERTAINTY; IMPECCABILITY). They also address the related question as to whether Zechariah's silence for three days should be seen as a punishment (see CHASTISEMENT AND PUNISHMENT; for a range of comments on these and other points, see Ayoub, *Qur'ān,* 99-122; see also SCRIPTURE AND THE QUR'ĀN). Finally, it should be noted that the exegetical tradition contains reports linking Dhū l-Kifl (q.v.) to Zechariah (and also Elijah [q.v.]; cf. Tha'labī, *Qiṣaṣ,* trans. Brinner, 438).

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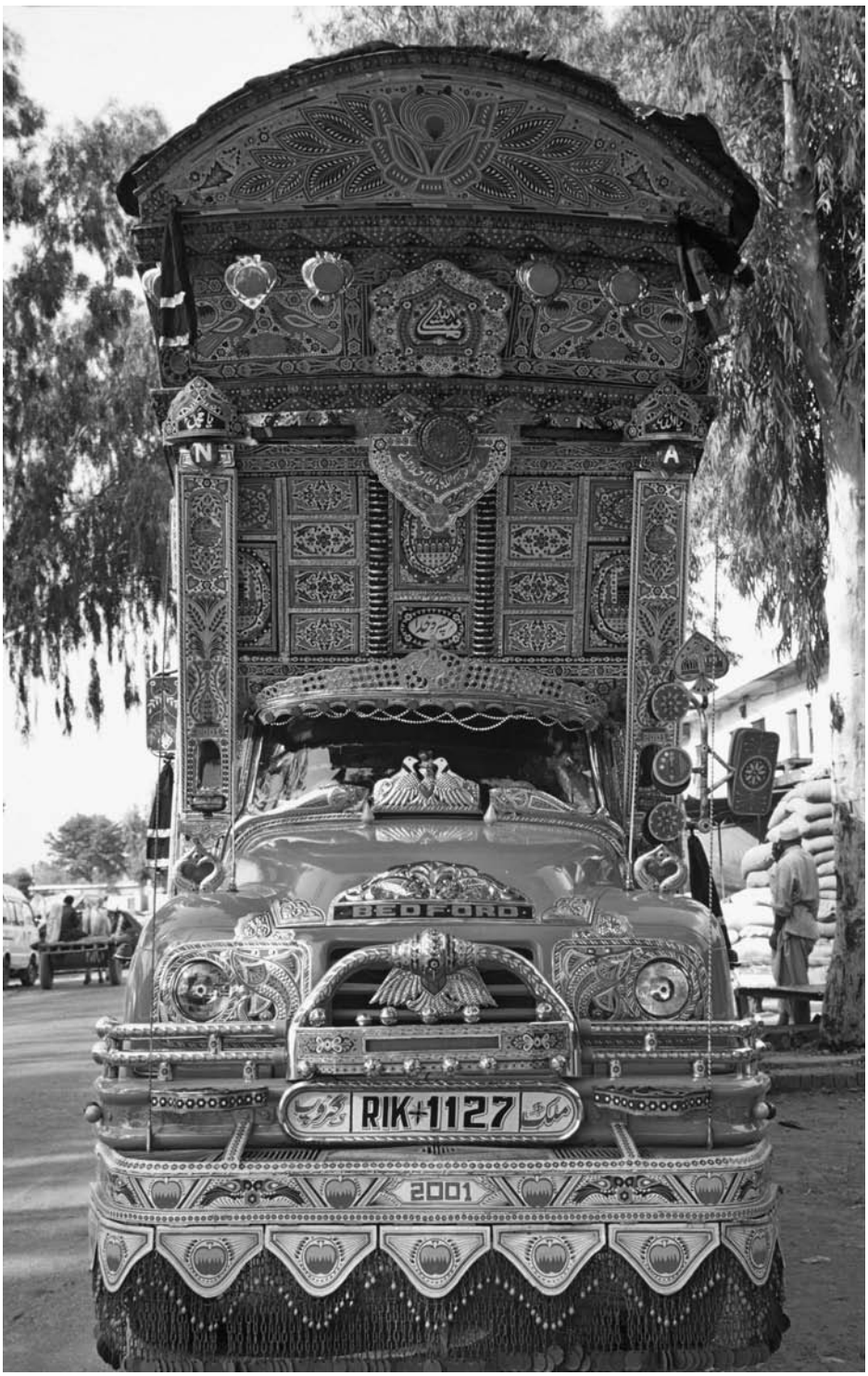
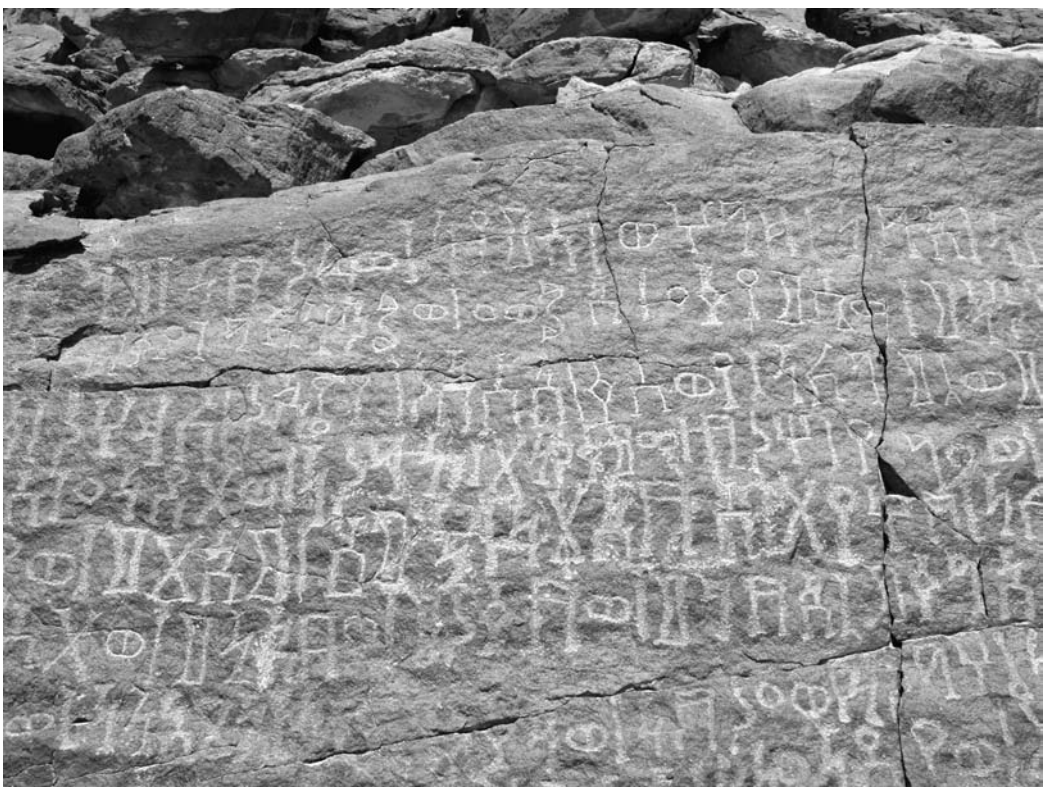
Zodiac see ANIMAL LIFE; PLANETS AND STARS

Zoroastrians see PEOPLE OF THE BOOK

[1] A segment of a contemporary *ḥajj* mural containing qur'ānic verses (e.g. Q 113:1, "Say, 'I seek refuge in the lord of the dawn,'" *qul aʿūdhu bi-rabbi l-falaqi*), composed upon return from the pilgrimage to Mecca. This particular mural is found on the wall of an alabaster shop in Gurna, Egypt (near the Valley of the Kings). Photograph courtesy of Juan Campo.



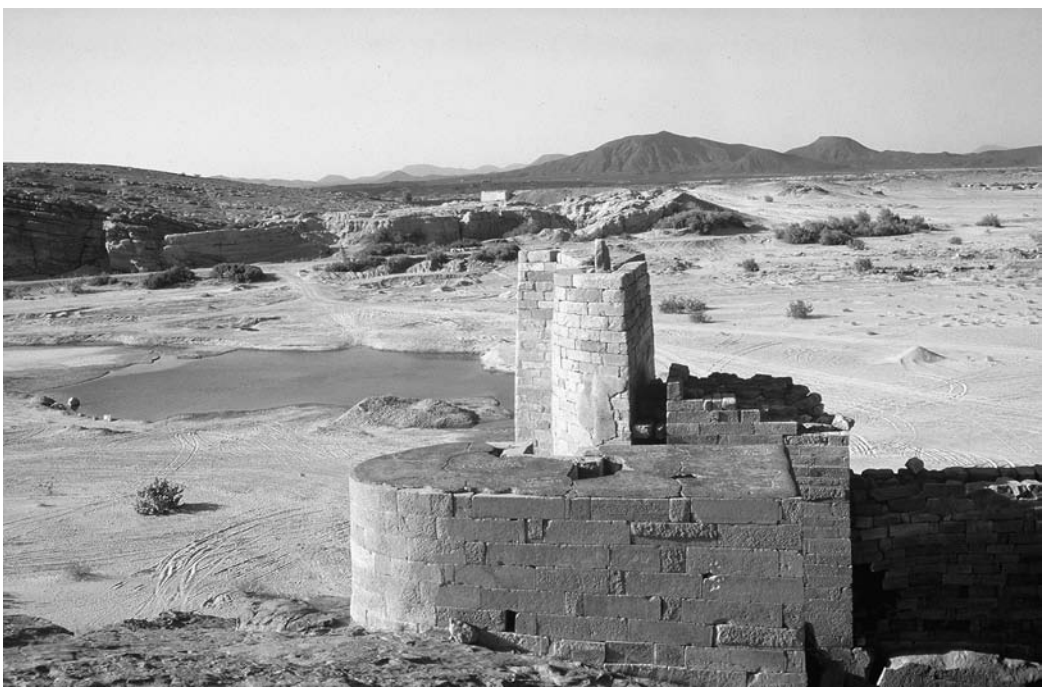
[1] Contemporary Pakistani truck, decorated with talismanic slogans, among which are Qur'ān passages. Photograph courtesy of Jamal J. Elias.



[1] South Arabian inscription of Yūsuf As'ar Yath'ar (*Yws^{1}f's^{1}'r Yṯ'r*), a Jewish king of Ḥimyar to whom Christian sources attribute the early sixth-century C.E. persecution of the Christians of Najrān. The name of the king appears on the third line of the inscription. Photograph courtesy of Christian Robin.

[II] The walls of the southern Arabian ancient city of Najrān (today called al-Ukhdūd). Photograph courtesy of Christian Robin.

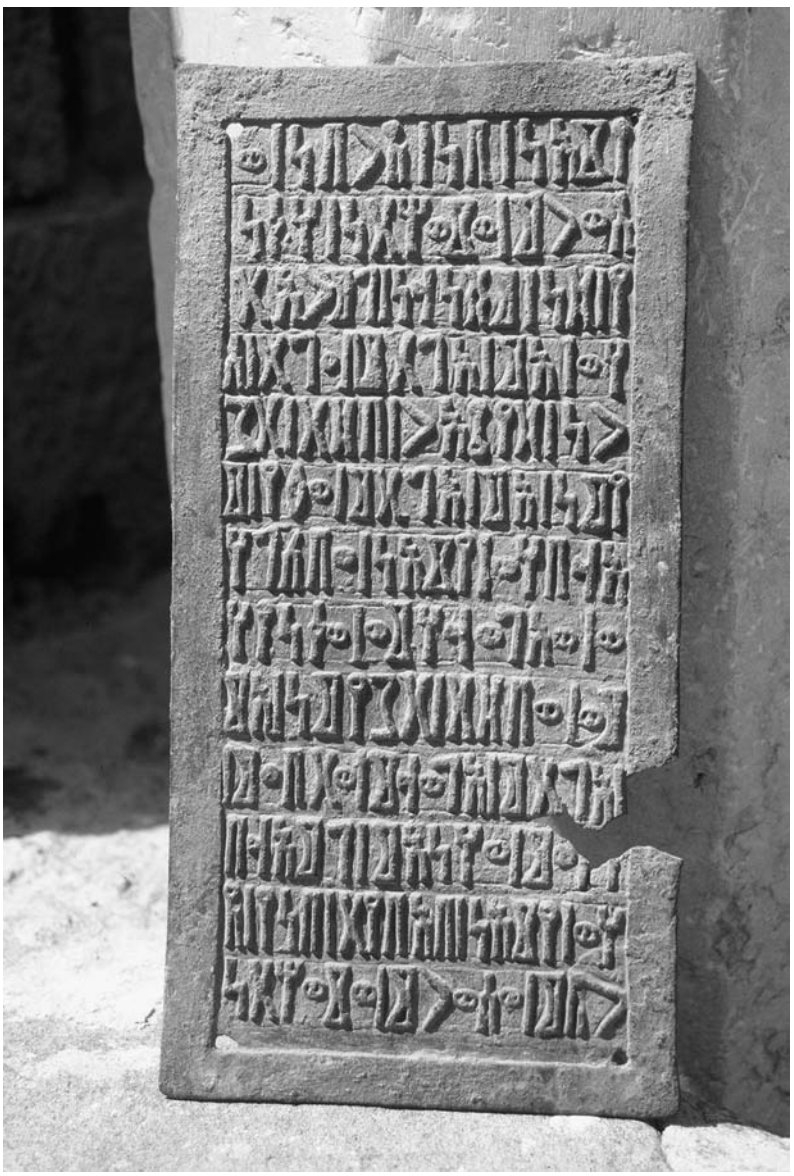
[III] The dam of the southern Arabian city of Ma'rib (Marib): northern sluice and canal. Photograph courtesy of Christian Robin.



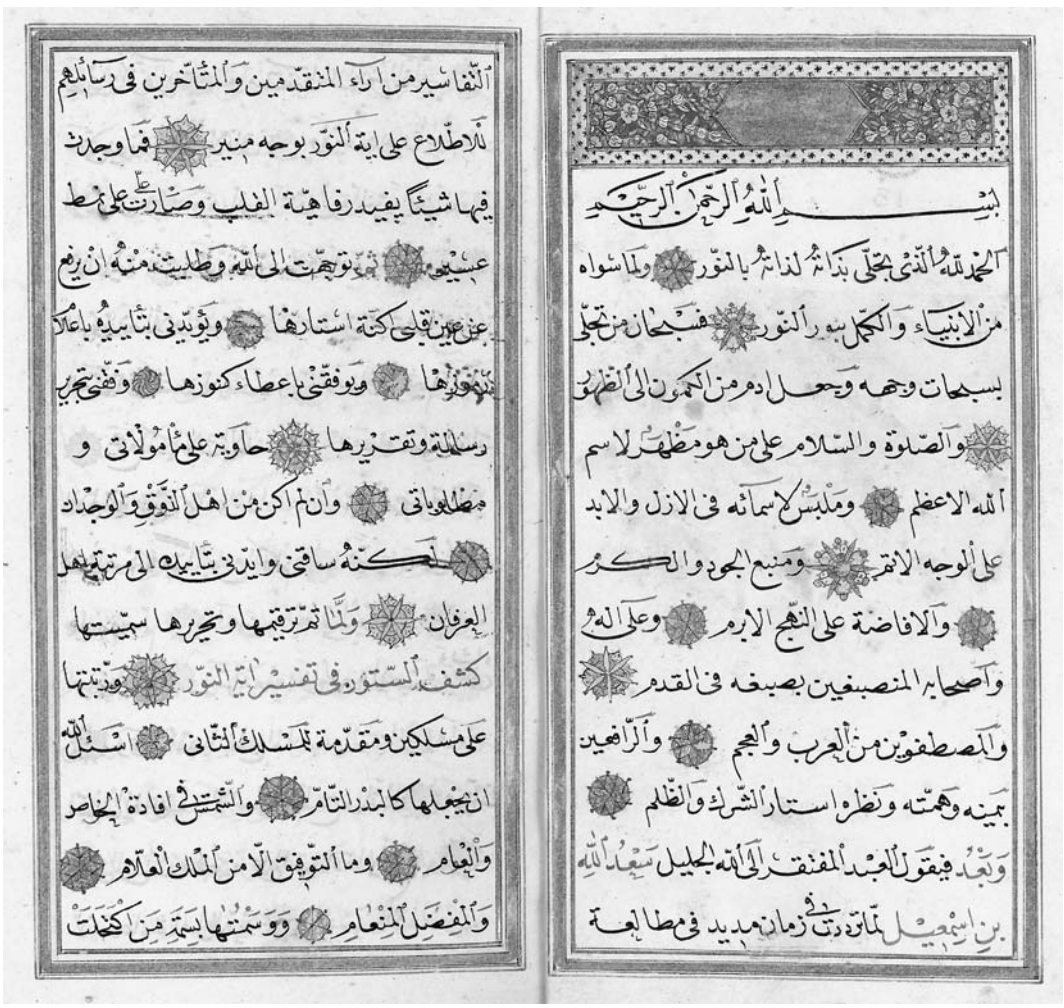
[IV] The dam of the southern Arabian city of Ma'rib (Marib): view from the southern sluice. Photograph courtesy of Christian Robin.

[v] A south Arabian inscription of the Ḥimyarite king Abīkarib (Ar. Abū Karib); in about 380 C.E. he rejected polytheism and accorded Judaism a privileged position. Photograph courtesy of Christian Robin.

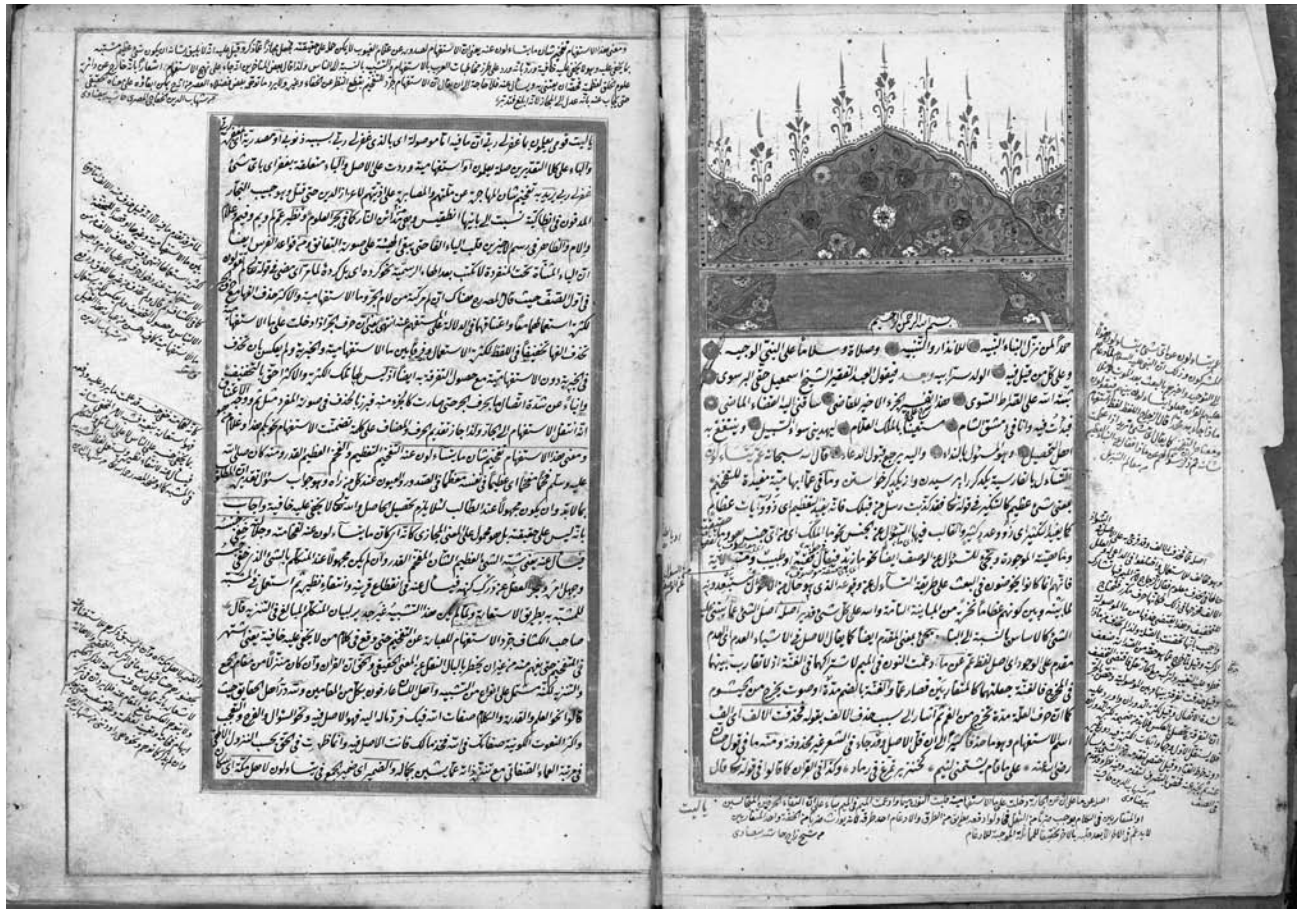
[VI] Part of the main monumental south Arabian rock inscription of al-Miʿsāl, from the third century C.E. Photograph courtesy of Christian Robin.



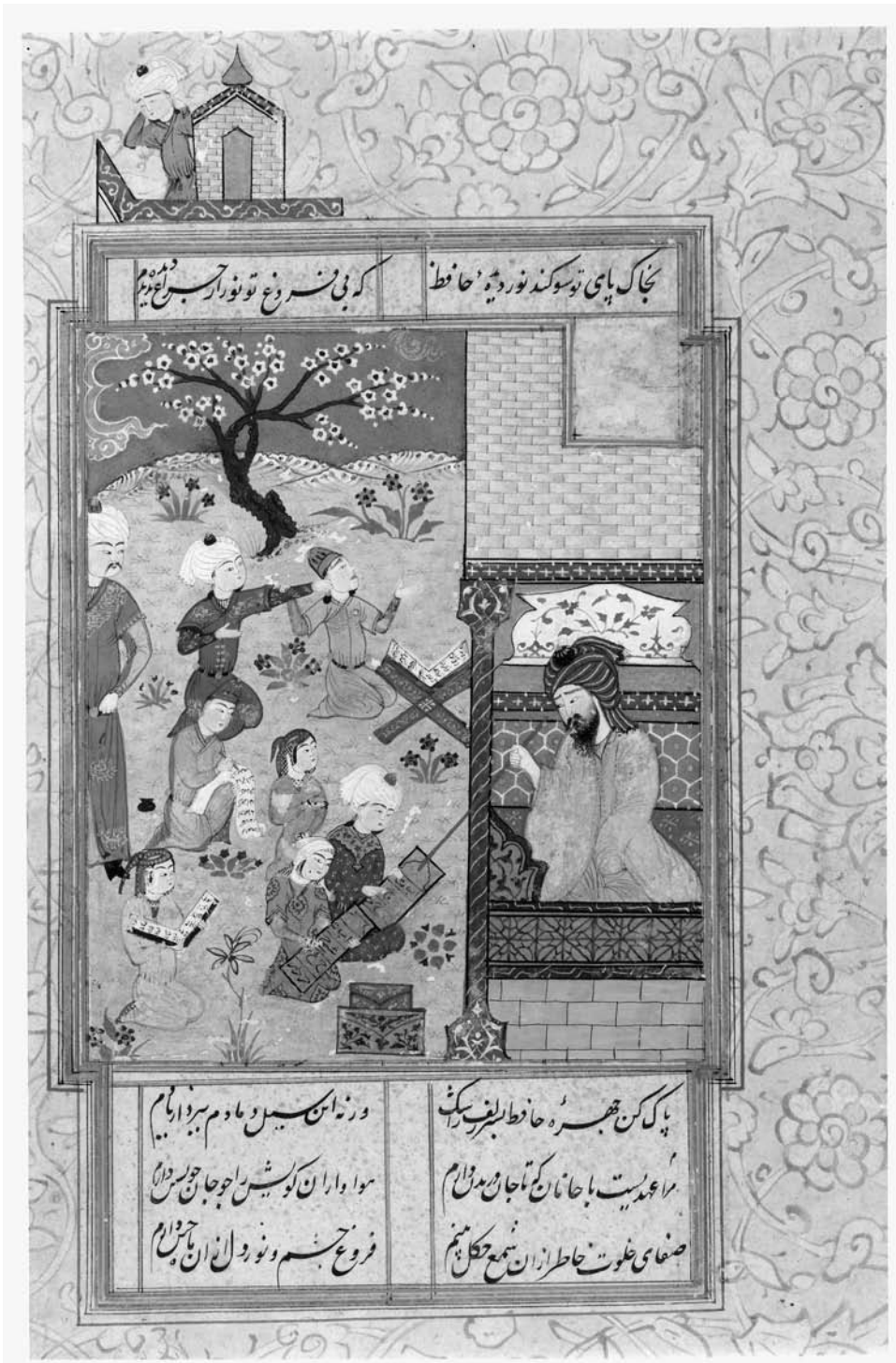
[VII] A votive south Arabian inscription on a bronze tablet (ca. first century B.C.E.). Photograph courtesy of Christian Robin.



[1] Folio from an Ottoman manuscript (copied 1227/1812) of *Kashf al-sutūr ʿan tafāsīr āyat al-nūr* by Saʿd Allāh b. Ismāʿīl (Saʿīd Efendi, d. 1247/1831), that contains Ṣūfī interpretations extolling the "Light Verse" (Q 24:35). Reproduced with the kind permission of the manuscript collection at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor (Mich.Isl.13, fol. 1a-b, Special Collections Library, University of Michigan).



[II] Folio (ad Q 78:1) from a beautifully illuminated manuscript of *Rūḥ al-bayān*, a Qurʾān commentary by the Ottoman scholar and follower of Ibn al-ʿArabī (d. 638/1240), Ismāʿīl Ḥaqqī Brusāwī (d. 1137/1725). Reproduced with the kind permission of the manuscript collection at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor (Mich.Isl.181, fol. 1a-b, Special Collections Library, University of Michigan).



[1] Late ninth/fifteenth century depiction of a mixed-gender study group, most likely for the instruction of the Qur'ān, entitled "Laylā and Majnūn at school" (ca. 895/1490, on a folio from the *Dīwān* of Ḥāfiẓ). Note the muezzin in the upper left hand corner. Courtesy of the Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC (S1986.289).

[11] Folio from the *Khamsa* of Niẓāmī depicting mixed-gender education in the classical Islamic world (Laylā and Majnūn at school). Courtesy of the John Rylands Library, Manchester, UK (fol. 107 v. of MS Pers. 36).

[III] Female Qur'ān study circle in contemporary Indonesia. Photograph courtesy of Nelly van Doorn-Harder.

[1] Examples of South Arabian cursive on inscribed stripped palm stalks, a writing material constantly mentioned in early Islamic texts (published on p. 78 of J. Ryckmans, W. Muller and Y.M. Abdallah, *Textes du Yemen antique. Inscrits sur bois*, Leuven 1994). Reproduced with the kind permission of Peeters Press, Leuven, Belgium.

[11] Brass pen box, inlaid with copper, silver and black organic material (seventh/thirteenth century Iran). Reproduced with the kind permission of the Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC (Purchase, F1936.7).

EQ

EQ

Encyclopaedia of the Qurʾān

INDEX VOLUME

Jane Dammen McAuliffe, *General Editor*

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PREFACE

In my Preface to the first volume of the *Encyclopaedia of the Qur'ān*, I promised that the final volume would include "a very thorough indexing of both English words and transliterated Arabic terminology." With the publication of this volume, I am pleased to deliver on that promise. As initially conceived, I expected this index to form part of the fifth volume of the *EQ*. When the effort of indexing got underway in earnest, however, two recognitions quickly asserted themselves: (1) to serve readers well, the *EQ* would require multiple indices and (2) the size and scope of these combined indices would demand an additional volume. So it was decided to add a sixth volume to the *EQ* and to complete the print publication of this reference work with a tool that could significantly enhance its utility, particularly for scholars.

This concluding volume of the *EQ* offers five separate indices: (1) a roster of contributing scholars and their academic affiliations, (2) a comprehensive list of all articles, (3) a registry of the proper names of people, places, religious and social groupings, etc., (4) a lexicon of transliterated Arabic words and phrases, and (5) an inventory of the qurʾānic verses and sūras that are cited in the five volumes of the *EQ*.

The first three of these indices require little additional explanation. The *Author List* furnishes an alphabetically ordered record of all those scholars who have contributed to the *EQ*. It also notes the article (or articles) that each author has written as well as his or her institutional affiliation. The *Article List*, which is divided by volume, provides both the name of the author and the inclusive pagination of each article. Blind entries have not been included in this list.

The *Index of Proper Names* gathers the references to persons, places, languages, clans, tribes, religions, rulers and dynasties as these are found in the *EQ*. Ordinarily, this index captures terms that were consistently capitalized in the *EQ*. The death dates of individuals, frequently in both *hijrī* and *mīlādī* forms, have been supplied when these could be drawn from *EQ* articles or from commonly available reference sources. In some cases, information that amplifies what is found in the *EQ* has been added where this could be helpful to the researcher. Recognizing the name variation that occurs in both primary and secondary sources, an effort has been made to direct readers to the version of a name that most regularly identifies a noted figure from the formative or classical period of Islam. Honorifics, such as Imām, Shaykh,

Saint, King, have been placed before the individual's name but do not affect the alphabetization of the name itself. Occasionally, Arabic transliteration for technical terms has been provided and placed in square brackets after the term. In those instances where a proper name designates an *EQ* entry, the page and column number are given in bold. Finally, nominal and adjectival forms have frequently been consolidated. For instance, the listing "Ṣūfī(s)" will include volume, page and column indicators that refer to the ascetical-mystical trend in Islam, as well as to individuals associated with that trend.

The fourth of these indices, the *Index of Arabic Words and Phrases*, may require a bit more explanation. In the Preface to the first volume of the *EQ* I described the critical decision that the associate editors and I took during our first editorial meeting as we gathered to discuss the development of the *EQ*. In order to make this reference work useful to scholars beyond the fields of Islamic and qurʾānic studies, to assure its accessibility to readers who have no background in Arabic, we decided to organize the *EQ* under English-language lemmata and to supply the translation of key qurʾānic words and phrases wherever possible. While a few exceptions were permitted to this policy, it provided the primary guidance for authors as they drafted their articles. We felt, moreover, that this decision need not compromise the scholarly integrity of the *EQ*. Since the authors who contributed to these five volumes are among the finest international scholars of the Qurʾān, their entries draw upon the depth of their research concentrations and the range of their many publications, making frequent use of Arabic terms and phrases, as well as occasional reference to the vocabulary of other languages. Work in the field of qurʾānic studies normally proceeds on the basis of Arabic sources and of secondary literature that is keyed to those sources. Consequently, the associate editors and I felt that it would be important, especially for our scholarly colleagues, to produce an index for the *EQ* that collected all its important Arabic words and phrases in their transliterated forms.

In this *Index of Arabic Words and Phrases*, the individual listings are alphabetized as in a modern Arabic-English dictionary, i.e. by the Arabic triliteral root. Doubled root letters also follow this alphabetical order so, for example, *ḥ-q-q* appears after *ḥ-q-b* rather than at the beginning of *ḥ-q-*.... Within each triliteral listing, verbal forms, in their usual dictionary order, precede nominal ones. Verbs are catalogued in the third, masculine singular *māḍī* while nominal forms are represented as found in the *EQ*. Thus plural, collective and feminine forms sometimes follow the masculine singular or are sometimes listed separately, depending on their *EQ* occurrences. The purpose of this index, as exemplified in the choices that guided its production, was not the creation of a comprehensive qurʾānic dictionary but of a focused research tool that would offer scholars access to the Arabic vocabulary found in *EQ* articles.

Phrases have been included selectively but have not been extensively cross listed. Deciding the entry under which to place a phrase is necessarily a subjective judgment so users are urged to look for phrases under more than one of their constituent elements. As is the case with the listing of single words, in the alphabetization of phrases, the singular form of the term under which the phrase is listed precedes its plural forms. Within each of these groupings, phrases in which the entry term is the first word are listed before those in which it is a subsequent term. Multiple phrases appear in *English* alphabetical order as based on the first letter of the first word that is not the entry word. The definite article and parenthetical terms are ignored in this ordering. Again with this index, page and column numbers are given in bold in the few instances where an Arabic term (e.g. ḥadīth, sūra) is the title of an entry.

The *Index of Qurʾān Citations*, the last of these five indices, attempts to collect all significant *EQ* references to the qurʾānic text whether these are given by sūra name or by numeric citation of sūra and verse. Citations have been arranged by sūra order, beginning with the first sūra, al-Fātiḥa, and ending with the last, al-Nās. In cases where a sūra has been known by more than one title, that found in the standard Cairo edition has been used. Within each sūra, *EQ* references to the entire sūra are placed first and are arranged by volume number. References to individual verses within each sūra follow these. Clusters of verses are incorporated after the individual listing of the first number in the cluster, with the order running from short to long clusters. In addition to inclusive page numbers and column indications, all these listings note the title of the entry itself. This should give the interested researcher a cursory overview of the range of topics for which a given Qurʾān citation may be adduced. *EQ* mentions of those verses that have acquired special names, such as the "Throne Verse" or the "Light Verse," can be found in the *Index of Proper Names* when such verses were identified by name, rather than sūra and verse number.

I hope that this final volume of the *EQ* will help its readers derive maximum benefit from the five volumes that preceded it. I hope that it will assist them in opening new avenues of insightful investigation and of productive research within the field of qurʾānic studies and well beyond. Finally, I hope that it will allow those who revere the Qurʾān as a life-guiding sacred text and those who approach it as a cultural achievement of immense importance to deepen their understanding and appreciation of this singularly significant scripture.

As I pen these final words for a project that has occupied my mind and tapped my energy for the last thirteen years, I cannot resist the temptation to thank again those colleagues whose contribution of time and effort has sustained me and has made the *EQ* possible. Particular thanks are due both Foke Deahl and Clare Wilde for their painstaking work in the compilation and proofreading of these indices. Theirs was an arduous task and one requiring extraordinary patience and dedication. The editorial team at Brill, despite numerous personnel changes over the years, has consistently supported the *EQ* at every stage of its development. The associate editors, Claude Gilliot, William Graham, Wadad Kadi and Andrew Rippin, suggested potential entries and authors, saw every article and contributed countless comments, citations and bibliographic suggestions. The assistant editors, Monique Bernards and John Nawas, carefully reformatted every submission for editorial consistency, and drew attention to matters requiring further clarification. My editorial assistant Clare Wilde and her predecessors and helpmates, Eerik Dickinson, Paul Heck, David Mehall and Bethany Zaborowski, have been a constant source of support at every point in the editorial process. The Advisory Board, Nasr Hamid Abu-Zayd, Mohammed Arkoun, Gerhard Böwering, Gerald Hawting, Frederik Leemhuis, Angelika Neuwirth and Uri Rubin, wrote major articles for the *EQ* and, in several instances, responded to my pleas for help when a promised piece by a commissioned author was not forthcoming. Finally, these six volumes could never have been published without the willing collaboration of all the friends and colleagues who so graciously agreed to share their expertise by writing for the *EQ*. To this host of generous souls, I offer my most sincere thanks. May the enduring value of the *Encyclopaedia of the Qurʾān* be a tribute to each one of them.

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IV 118a (Polemic and Polemical Language); 391a (Reciters of the Q)

19 II 1a (Ears); 406b (Hearing and Deafness)
IV 10a (Parable); 575a (Seeing and Hearing)
V 14b, 16b (Simile); 470b (Weather)

19-20 V 471a (Weather)

20 I 83b (Anatomy); 480b (Creeds); 493a (Darkness)
II 320a (God and his Attributes); 348a, 357b, 361a, 362a (Grammar and the Q)
III 200b (Literary Structures of the Q)

20-22 V 444b (Vision)

21 I 45a (Agriculture and Vegetation); 472a, 476a, 476b (Creation)
II 31a (Epigraphy); 433b (History and the Q)
IV 487a (Ritual and the Q)

21-22 I 44b (Agriculture and Vegetation)

22 I 44b (Agriculture and Vegetation); 472b, 473a, 478a (Creation)
II 2b, 3a (Earth); 276a (Furniture and Furnishings); 304b (Geography); 411a (Heaven and Sky); 476b (Idolatry and Idolaters)
III 379a (Mercy)
IV 544b, 547a, 547b, 549a (Science and the Q)
V 179a (Sustenance); 279b (Time)

23 III 116a (Language and Style of the Q); 398b (Miracles)
IV 312b (Provocation); 443a (Revelation and Inspiration); 577a (Servants)
V 167a (Sūra); 494a (Witnessing and Testifying)

23-24 I 115a (Apologetics)
II 527a, 529b (Inimitability)
III 468a (Muʿtazila)
IV 119a (Polemic and Polemical Language)

24 I 222a (Belief and Unbelief)
II 210b (Fire); 414b, 415a, 417b (Hell and Hellfire)
III 383b (Metals and Minerals)
III 383b (Stone)

25 I 41a (Agriculture and Vegetation); 220b (Belief and Unbelief); 343b (Cleanliness and Ablution)
II 60a (Ethics and the Q); 175a (Family); 341a, 341b (Good News); 456b (Houris)
III 277a (Marriage and Divorce); 444b (Muḥammad)
IV 16b, 18a (Paradise); 431b (Responsibility); 505b (Ritual Purity)
V 123a (Springs and Fountains)

26 I 99b (Animal Life)
II 270a (Freedom and Predestination)
IV 63a (Persian Literature and the Q); 538a (Scholar)
V 15b, 17a (Simile); 485b (Wish and Desire)

27 I 240b (Bloodshed); 464b (Covenant)
II 8b (Economics)
IV 129a (Politics and the Q); 413a (Religious Pluralism and the Q)

27-28 I 431b (Contracts and Alliances)

28 II 45a (Eschatology)
IV 435b (Resurrection)
V 545b (Word of God)

28-29 I 455b (Cosmology)

28-31 I 447a (Cosmology)

28-39 I 448a, 455b, 457a (Cosmology)

29 I 95b (Animal Life); 189a (Authority); 473a (Creation)
II 68b (Ethics and the Q); 410b (Heaven and Sky)
III 379a (Mercy)
IV 107b (Planets and Stars); 186a (Possession and Possessions); 547b (Science and the Q)
V 64a (Smoke); 543b, 544a (Word of God)

30 I 22b, 23a (Adam and Eve); 27a (Adoration); 86a (Angel); 237b (Blood and Blood Clot); 240a (Bloodshed); 277a (Caliph); 435a (Conversion); 449b, 453a, 455b (Cosmology); 474a (Creation)
II 172b (Fall of Man); 187a (Fate); 327b, 330a (God and his Attributes)

III 523b (Narratives)
IV 127a (Politics and the Q); 213a (Praise)
V 109a (Speech); 257a, 274b (Theology and the Q)

30-31 I 240a (Bloodshed)

30-33 I 463a (Court); 532b (Dialogues)

30-34 I 189a (Authority); 474a (Creation)
III 211a (Literature and the Q)
IV 9b (Parable)

30-37 V 530a (Women and the Q)

30-39 I 240a (Bloodshed); 525b (Devil)
III 521a (Narratives)

31 I 23b (Adam and Eve)
III 102b (Knowledge and Learning); 118b (Language and Style of the Q); 537a (News)
V 109a (Speech); 200b (Teaching)

31-32 I 23b (Adam and Eve)
II 327b (God and his Attributes)
IV 71a (Philosophy and the Q)

31-33 I 86a (Angel)
V 270b (Theology and the Q); 547a (Word of God)

32 II 320b, 321a (God and his Attributes)
III 102b (Knowledge and Learning)
IV 220a, 220b (Prayer); 537b, 538a (Scholar)
V 201b (Teaching)

33 I 455b (Cosmology)
III 537a (News)
IV 4a (Pairs and Pairing); 572b (Secrets)
V 547a (Word of God)

34 I 24a (Adam and Eve); 86a (Angel); 190b (Authority); 255a (Bowing and Prostration); 395b (Conceit); 447a (Cosmology); 525a, 527a (Devil)
II 166b (Faith); 172b (Fall of Man); 543a (Insolence and Obstinacy)
III 45a (Jinn); 523b (Narratives); 532a (Nature as Signs)
IV 220a (Prayer); 263b (Pride)
V 109a (Speech)

34-39 I 532a (Dialogues)

35 I 25a (Adam and Eve); 447b, 456a (Cosmology)
II 54b (Eternity); 172b (Fall of Man); 175a (Family); 219b (Food and Drink); 283a (Garden); 335b (Good and Evil); 356b, 357a, 362b (Grammar and the Q)
III 70b (Justice and Injustice)
IV 13a (Paradise); 589b (Shekhinah)
V 109b (Speech); 360a (Tree)

35-37 V 25a (Sin, Major and Minor)

36 I 25a, 25b (Adam and Eve); 447b (Cosmology); 526a (Devil)
II 23b, 24a (Enemies); 173a (Fall of Man)

37 I 448a, 456a (Cosmology)
II 321a (God and his Attributes)
III 379a (Mercy)
IV 429a (Repentance and Penance)
V 541b, 548a (Word of God)

37-38 I 25b (Adam and Eve)

38 II 173a (Fall of Man); 196b (Fear); 356b (Grammar and the Q)
III 303a (Material Culture and the Q); 425b (Moses)
V 109b (Speech); 138a (Ṣūfism and the Q)

39 II 418a (Hell and Hellfire); 439b (History and the Q)

40 I 236b (Blessing); 306a (Children of Israel); 381a (Community and Society in the Q); 465b (Covenant)
II 197b (Fear); 447b (Honor)
III 239a (Loyalty); 373b (Memory)
IV 116b, 120b (Polemic and Polemical Language)
V 434a (Virtue)

40-41 IV 310b (Provocation)

40-43 I 304b (Children of Israel)

40-48 III 579b (Opposition to Muḥammad)

40-74 I 240b (Bloodshed)

41 III 276a (Markets)
IV 292b, 298a (Prophets and Prophethood); 439a (Revelation and Inspiration)

42 III 25b (Jews and Judaism); 181b (Lie)
IV 450b (Revision and Alteration)
V 304b (Torah)

43 I 254a (Bowing and Prostration)
II 340a (Good Deeds)
III 159b (Law and the Q)
IV 219b (Prayer); 487a (Ritual and the Q)

44 I 245b (Book)
II 60b, 67a (Ethics and the Q)
III 189b, 190a (Literacy); 508a (Names of the Q); 591b (Orality and Writing in Arabia)
V 204b (Teaching)

45 II 181a (Fasting)
IV 487a (Ritual and the Q)
V 404b (Uncertainty)

47 I 236b (Blessing); 304b, 307a (Children of Israel)
II 299a (Geography); 345a (Grace); 434b (History and the Q)
III 379a (Mercy); 425a (Moses)
IV 421b (Remembrance)
V 393a (Turkish Literature and the Q); 551b (World)

48 II 49a (Eschatology); 366b (Grammar and the Q); 552a (Intercession)

49 I 295b (Chastisement and Punishment); 302a (Children); 518b (Deliverance)
II 416a (Hell and Hellfire); 542a (Insolence and Obstinacy)
III 422b, 425a (Moses)
IV 421b (Remembrance); 517a (Sacrifice); 523b (Salvation)
V 362b, 363a (Trial)

49-50 II 184a (Fasting)

49-70 III 521a (Narratives)

49-73 IV 421b (Remembrance)

49-74 II 182a (Fasting)

50 I 553b (Drowning)
II 213a (Fire); 542b (Insolence and Obstinacy)
III 423a, 423b (Moses)
IV 210b (Power and Impotence); 343a (Ramaḍān); 523b (Salvation)
V 464b (Water)

51 I 274a (Calf of Gold); 499b (Day, Times of)
II 218b (Food and Drink)
III 210a (Literature and the Q); 423b (Moses)

51-54 I 99a (Animal Life); 236a (Blasphemy)
III 496a (Myths and Legends in the Q)

52 I 274a (Calf of Gold)

53 I 245a, 245b (Book); 486b (Criterion); 500b (Day, Times of)
III 189b (Literacy); 424b, 425a (Moses); 442a (Muḥammad); 496b (Myths and Legends in the Q); 507b (Names of the Q)
IV 346a (Ramaḍān)
V 301a, 301b, 302a (Torah)

54 I 188a (Atonement); 274a, 275a, 276b (Calf of Gold); 472a, 478b (Creation)
II 218b (Food and Drink); 320b, 327a (God and his Attributes)
IV 428b (Repentance and Penance)
V 22b (Sin, Major and Minor); 159b, 160a (Suicide)

55 III 394a (Miracles)

55-56 I 507a (Death and the Dead)

57 I 98a (Animal Life)
II 215b (Flying)
III 71a (Justice and Injustice); 394a (Miracles)

IV 443b (Revelation and Inspiration)
V 190b (Table); 463a (Water)

58 I 149a (Archaeology and the Q); 254b (Bowing and Prostration)
III 5a (Jerusalem)
IV 219b (Prayer)
V 110b (Speech); 242a (Textual Criticism of the Q)

58-59 I 305a (Children of Israel)
IV 428b (Repentance and Penance)

59 II 243a (Forgery); 411a (Heaven and Sky)
IV 450b (Revision and Alteration); 454a (Reward and Punishment); 503a (Ritual Purity)
V 302b (Torah)

60 II 4a (Earth); 7b (Economics); 546a (Instruments)
III 208a, 219a (Literature and the Q); 383b (Metals and Minerals); 553a (Numbers and Enumeration)
IV 218b (Prayer); 508b (Rod)
V 121b (Spiritual Beings); 127b (Springs and Fountains); 178b (Sustenance); 463b (Water)

61 I 93a (Anger); 305a (Children of Israel); 529b (Dialects); 536b, 537a (Disobedience); 541a (Dissimulation)
II 3b (Earth); 10a (Egypt); 217a, 217b (Food and Drink); 305b (Geography); 527b (Inimitability)
III 24a (Jews and Judaism); 208b (Literature and the Q); 382a (Messenger)
IV 301a (Prophets and Prophethood)

62 I 219a, 222b (Belief and Unbelief); 312a (Christians and Christianity)
II 439b (History and the Q)
III 22a (Jews and Judaism); 39b, 40a (Jihād); 136a, 136b (Last Judgment); 244a (Magians)
IV 38a (People of the Book); 120b (Polemic and Polemical Language); 404a, 404b, 405a, 408a (Religious Pluralism and the Q); 455b (Reward and Punishment); 511b (Sabians); 586a (Sheba)
V 313b (Trade and Commerce)

63 I 240b (Bloodshed); 304b (Children of Israel); 431b (Contracts and Alliances); 465a (Covenant)
II 316a (Glory)
III 394a (Miracles)
IV 128b (Politics and the Q); 422a (Remembrance)
V 302b (Torah); 546b (Word of God)

63-64 II 311a (Geography)
III 379a (Mercy)
IV 413a (Religious Pluralism and the Q)

63-93 II 215b (Flying)

64 II 344b, 345a (Grace)
V 302b (Torah)

65 I 98b (Animal Life); 305a, 306b (Children of Israel); 475b (Creation)
III 25a (Jews and Judaism)
IV 413a (Religious Pluralism and the Q); 510b (Sabbath)
V 285b (Time); 545a (Word of God)

66 IV 247a (Pre-1800 Preoccupations of Q Studies); 454a (Reward and Punishment)

67 II 218b (Food and Drink); 488a (Ignorance)
III 400a (Mockery); 425a (Moses)
IV 308a (Protection); 413a (Religious Pluralism and the Q); 517a (Sacrifice)

67-71 I 99a (Animal Life)
III 562b (Oaths)

67-74 III 394b (Miracles)

67-80 IV 528b (Samuel)

68 III 521a (Narratives)

69 I 213a (Beauty); 361b, 363a (Colors)
III 62b (Joy and Misery)

70 I 103b (Anthropomorphism)

71 IV 517a (Sacrifice)
V 288b (Time)

72-73 I 489a (Crucifixion)

72-74 IV 121a (Polemic and Polemical Language)

72-75 I 489a (Crucifixion)

74 II 4a (Earth); 370b (Gratitude and Ingratitude); 407a (Heart); 510b (Indifference)
III 225b (Literature and the Q); 383b (Metals and Minerals)
V 127a (Springs and Fountains); 129a (Stone); 465b (Water)

75 I 118a (Apologetics); 310b (Christians and Christianity); 497a (David)
II 243a, 243b (Forgery)
III 25a (Jews and Judaism); 143a (Last Judgment); 511a (Names of the Q); 579b (Opposition to Muḥammad)
IV 120b (Polemic and Polemical Language)
V 111a (Speech); 541b, 547b (Word of God)

75-79 IV 450b (Revision and Alteration)
V 304b (Torah)

76 III 25b, 30b (Jews and Judaism)
V 502a (Witnessing and Testifying)

77 IV 4a (Pairs and Pairing); 572b (Secrets)
V 479b (Whisper)

77-79 IV 413a (Religious Pluralism and the Q)

78 I 246a (Book); 325a (Chronology and the Q)
II 489a (Ignorance); 494b, 498b (Illiteracy)
V 243a (Textual Criticism of the Q); 399a, 400a (Ummī)

78-79 III 191a (Literacy)

79 II 244a (Forgery); 401b (Hand)
III 25a (Jews and Judaism); 592b (Orality and Writing in Arabia)
IV 116b (Polemic and Polemical Language); 593b, 594a (Shīʿism and the Q)

79-80 III 24a (Jews and Judaism)

80 I 465b (Covenant)
IV 120b (Polemic and Polemical Language); 246b (Pre-1800 Preoccupations of Q Studies); 311a (Provocation)

81 II 439b (History and the Q)
IV 310a (Provocation); 432a (Responsibility)
V 19a, 19b (Sin, Major and Minor)

81-82 V 340a (Transitoriness)

82 I 220a (Belief and Unbelief)
II 167a (Faith)
IV 16b (Paradise)
V 393a (Turkish Literature and the Q)

83 I 350a (Codices of the Q); 465a (Covenant)
II 7a (Economics); 61b, 75b (Ethics and the Q); 174b (Family); 447b (Honor); 453a (Hospitality and Courtesy)
III 40b (Jihād); 603b (Orphans)
IV 20b (Parents); 129a (Politics and the Q); 487a (Ritual and the Q)
V 197a (Taxation); 204b (Teaching); 302b (Torah)

83-84 I 304b (Children of Israel)

83-85 II 418a (Hell and Hellfire)

84 I 237b (Blood and Blood Clot); 240a (Bloodshed); 464b (Covenant)
II 63b (Ethics and the Q)
III 499a (Naḍīr, Banū al-)
IV 324b (Qaynuqāʿ, Banū); 333b, 335a (Qurayẓa, Banū al-)
V 502a (Witnessing and Testifying)

84-85 I 241a (Bloodshed)

85 I 500a (Day, Times of)
II 63b (Ethics and the Q)
III 24b, 28b, 29a (Jews and Judaism)
IV 298b (Prophets and Prophethood); 457a (Reward and Punishment)

86 I 368b (Community and Society in the Q)
III 276a (Markets); 379b (Mercy)
V 138a (Ṣūfism and the Q)

87 I 245a, 245b (Book); 305a (Children of Israel)
II 351a (Grammar and the Q); 442a (Holy Spirit); 499a (Illiteracy)
III 7b, 8a, 16a (Jesus); 24a (Jews and Judaism); 293a (Mary); 382a (Messenger); 424b (Moses); 502b (Names of the Prophet); 508a (Names of the Q)
IV 36b (People of the Book); 282b (Profane and Sacred); 286a (Proof); 291a, 294b, 295b, 297b (Prophets and Prophethood); 413a (Religious Pluralism and the Q); 482b (Rhymed Prose)
V 81a (Soul); 115a (Spirit); 301a (Torah)

88 I 337a (Circumcision); 492a (Curse)
II 408a (Heart)

89 I 398b (Conquest)
III 449a (Muḥammad)
IV 439a (Revelation and Inspiration)
V 300b (Torah)

89-90 III 26a (Jews and Judaism)

89-91 III 26b (Jews and Judaism); 579b (Opposition to Muḥammad)

90 I 93a (Anger)
II 345a (Grace); 420b (Heresy)
III 25a (Jews and Judaism); 276a (Markets)
IV 453b (Reward and Punishment)

91 I 305a (Children of Israel)
III 24a (Jews and Judaism); 382a (Messenger); 449a (Muḥammad)
IV 301a (Prophets and Prophethood); 439a (Revelation and Inspiration); 600a (Shīʿism and the Q)

92 I 274a (Calf of Gold)
II 510a (Indifference)
III 421b (Moses)

92-93 I 99a (Animal Life)

93 I 83b (Anatomy); 274a, 275a (Calf of Gold); 304b (Children of Israel); 465a (Covenant); 537a (Disobedience)
II 218b (Food and Drink); 311a (Geography); 316a (Glory); 406a (Hearing and Deafness); 408b (Heart)
III 394a (Miracles)
IV 128b (Politics and the Q)
V 190a (Table); 302b (Torah); 502a (Witnessing and Testifying); 546b (Word of God)

94 II 283a (Garden)
III 24a (Jews and Judaism)
IV 311a, 312a (Provocation)

96 I 378a (Community and Society in the Q); 480b (Creeds)
IV 483a (Rhymed Prose); 524b (Samaritans)
V 286a (Time)

97	I	87a, 87b, 89a (Angel); 447a (Cosmology)
	II	278a (Gabriel); 341a, 341b (Good News); 409a (Heart)
	III	13b (Jesus); 117a (Language and Style of the Q); 293b (Mary); 442a (Muḥammad); 511b, 513b (Names of the Q); 516a (Nāmūs)
	IV	228a (Prayer); 293a (Prophets and Prophethood); 439a, 445a (Revelation and Inspiration)
	V	81a (Soul); 201a (Teaching); 300b (Torah)
97-98	I	84b (Angel)
	II	23b (Enemies)
	III	26a (Jews and Judaism)
	IV	217a (Prayer)
98	II	24a (Enemies); 278a (Gabriel); 66a (Ethics and the Q)
	III	380a (Mercy); 388a (Michael)
	IV	128a (Politics and the Q); 301b (Prophets and Prophethood)
99	III	441a (Muḥammad)
	IV	286a (Proof)
	V	6a, 8a (Signs); 422b (Verse)
100	I	431b (Contracts and Alliances)
101	III	24b (Jews and Judaism); 449a (Muḥammad); 579b (Opposition to Muḥammad)
	IV	120b (Polemic and Polemical Language); 439a (Revelation and Inspiration)
	V	300b, 303b (Torah)
101-102	III	189b (Literacy); 249b (Magic)
102	I	195a (Babylon); 526b (Devil)
	II	115b (Exegesis of the Q: Classical and Medieval); 404a, 404b (Hārūt and Mārūt)
	III	44a (Jinn); 94a (Kings and Rulers); 103b (Knowledge and Learning); 190a (Literacy); 246a (Magic)
	IV	165a (Popular and Talismanic Uses of the Q)
	V	103b (Sovereignty); 202b, 203a (Teaching); 118b, 120b (Spiritual Beings)
103	II	195b (Fear)
104	II	439a (History and the Q)
	III	25b (Jews and Judaism)
105	I	222b (Belief and Unbelief)
	II	345a (Grace); 365a (Grammar and the Q)
	III	26a (Jews and Judaism); 380a (Mercy)
	IV	120b (Polemic and Polemical Language); 40a (People of the Book); 409b (Religious Pluralism and the Q)
105-109	IV	38a (People of the Book)
106	I	15a, 15b, 16a, 16b, 17a (Abrogation); 34a (African Literature); 321a (Chronology and the Q); 348b (Codices of the Q); 353a (Collection of the Q); 480b (Creeds)

II 322a (God and his Attributes)
III 160a, 162a, 163a (Law and the Q); 467b (Muʿtazila)
IV 447b (Revelation and Inspiration)
V 6b, 8a (Signs); 303a (Torah); 422b (Verse)

107 I 432b (Contracts and Alliances)
II 274b (Friends and Friendship)

108 I 120a (Apostasy)
II 43b (Error); 358a (Grammar and the Q)
IV 301a (Prophets and Prophethood); 309b (Provocation)

109 I 120a (Apostasy); 222b, 223b (Belief and Unbelief); 480b (Creeds)
II 25a (Envy)
III 26a, 28a (Jews and Judaism); 40a (Jihād); 65b (Judgment)
IV 40a (People of the Book); 120b (Polemic and Polemical Language)
V 152b (Ṣūfism and the Q)

110 I 480b (Creeds)
II 340a (Good Deeds)
V 196b (Taxation)

111 III 24a (Jews and Judaism)
IV 116b (Polemic and Polemical Language); 286b, 287b (Proof); 311a, 312a, 312b (Provocation); 405a (Religious Pluralism and the Q)

112 I 170b (Art and Architecture and the Q)
II 323b (God and his Attributes)
IV 17a (Paradise)
V 313b (Trade and Commerce)

113 I 245b (Book); 538b (Dissension)
II 321a (God and his Attributes)
III 24a (Jews and Judaism); 190a (Literacy); 591b (Orality and Writing in Arabia)
IV 405a (Religious Pluralism and the Q)
V 301a, 304b (Torah); 573b (Zealotry)

114 II 64b (Ethics and the Q)
III 4a, 6a (Jerusalem); 572a (Occasions of Revelation)
IV 230b (Prayer); 457a (Reward and Punishment); 516a (Sacred Precincts)

114-115 III 572a (Occasions of Revelation)

115 II 53a (Eschatology); 159a (Face); 160a (Face of God); 323b (God and his Attributes)
III 572a (Occasions of Revelation)
IV 4b, 6a (Pairs and Pairing); 107a (Planets and Stars); 128a (Politics and the Q); 221a (Prayer); 325b (Qibla)
V 137b (Ṣūfism and the Q); 282b (Time); 393b (Turkish Literature and the Q)

116 I 99b (Animal Life)
II 314b (Glorification of God); 329b (God and his Attributes)

III 571b (Occasions of Revelation)
IV 4a (Pairs and Pairing); 220b, 223a (Prayer)

117 I 319a (Chronology and the Q); 472a, 475b (Creation); 516b (Decision)
II 185b (Fate); 269a (Freedom and Predestination); 327a, 327b (God and his Attributes); 536b (Innovation)
IV 4a (Pairs and Pairing); 61a (Persian Literature and the Q); 79a, 82a (Philosophy and the Q)
V 109a (Speech); 287a (Time); 542b (Word of God)

118 III 453a (Muḥammad)
IV 296a (Prophets and Prophethood); 311b (Provocation)
V 422b (Verse); 547b (Word of God)

119 II 341b (Good News); 414b (Hell and Hellfire)
III 440b, 451a (Muḥammad)
IV 3b (Pairs and Pairing)

120 I 312a (Christians and Christianity)
II 274b (Friends and Friendship)
III 27b (Jews and Judaism); 449a (Muḥammad)
IV 401a, 405a (Religious Pluralism and the Q)

121 I 245b (Book)
III 591b (Orality and Writing in Arabia); 190a (Literacy)
IV 402b (Religious Pluralism and the Q)
V 301a (Torah)

121-122 III 379a (Mercy)

122 I 236b (Blessing); 304b (Children of Israel)
II 345a (Grace); 434b (History and the Q)
IV 421b (Remembrance)

123 II 366b (Grammar and the Q); 552a (Intercession)
III 137b (Last Judgment); 379b (Mercy)

124 I 7a, 7b (Abraham); 465b (Covenant)
II 502b (Imām)
III 95a (Kings and Rulers)
V 109b (Speech); 363a (Trial); 548a (Word of God)

124-125 I 6a (Abraham)

124-134 IV 421b (Remembrance)

124-141 I 330b (Chronology and the Q)

125 I 7b (Abraham); 163b (Art and Architecture and the Q); 254a (Bowing and Prostration)
II 179a (Farewell Pilgrimage); 205a (Festivals and Commemorative Days); 564a (Ishmael)
III 4b (Jerusalem); 76b, 78b (Kaʿba); 340b (Mecca); 427a (Mosque)

	IV	52b (People of the House); 104b, 105a (Place of Abraham); 218a, 219b (Prayer); 485b, 488a (Ritual and the Q); 505b (Ritual Purity); 514b, 515b (Sacred Precincts)
	V	374b (Trips and Voyages); 448b (Visiting)
125-127	I	6a (Abraham)
	II	84b (Everyday Life, Q In); 460a (House, Domestic and Divine)
125-128	II	459a (House, Domestic and Divine)
	III	340b (Mecca)
	IV	327b (Qibla)
125-136	III	38a (Jihād)
126	I	221b (Belief and Unbelief); 236b (Blessing)
	II	3a (Earth); 311b (Geography)
	III	136a, 136b (Last Judgment)
	IV	514b, 516a (Sacred Precincts)
	V	108a (Spatial Relations); 287a (Time)
127	II	1b (Ears); 205a (Festivals and Commemorative Days); 320b (God and his Attributes); 564a (Ishmael)
	III	76b, 78a (Kaʿba)
	IV	5b (Pairs and Pairing); 52b (People of the House); 227a (Prayer); 514b (Sacred Precincts); 575a (Seeing and Hearing)
127-128	I	7a (Abraham)
	IV	329b (Quraysh); 337b (Races); 519a (Ṣafā and Marwa)
127-129	III	446a (Muḥammad)
128	I	372a (Community and Society in the Q)
	II	72a (Ethics and the Q); 354b (Grammar and the Q)
	IV	337b (Races); 429a (Repentance and Penance)
128-129	V	423b (Verse)
129	I	245b, 246a (Book)
	II	312a (Geography); 320a, 320b (God and his Attributes)
	III	190a, 191a (Literacy); 341a (Mecca); 441a (Muḥammad); 491b (Myths and Legends in the Q)
	IV	6a (Pairs and Pairing); 301a (Prophets and Prophethood); 505a (Ritual Purity)
	V	7a (Signs); 165b (Sunna); 201b (Teaching); 484a (Wisdom)
130	I	6a (Abraham); 330b (Chronology and the Q); 373a (Community and Society in the Q)
	II	11b (Election); 364b (Grammar and the Q)
	IV	291a (Prophets and Prophethood); 401a (Religious Pluralism and the Q)
130-135	IV	32b (Patriarchy)
130-141	II	561b (Isaac)
131	IV	288a (Property)
	V	547a (Word of God)

132 I 8a (Abraham)
II 11b (Election); 366a (Grammar and the Q)
III 1a (Jacob)
IV 397a (Religion)

133 II 561b (Isaac); 563b (Ishmael)
III 1b (Jacob); 507b (Names of the Q)

135 I 5b, 6a (Abraham); 330b (Chronology and the Q); 373a (Community and Society in the Q)
II 164a (Faith); 402b (Ḥanīf)
III 27b (Jews and Judaism); 446a, 449a, 453b (Muḥammad)
IV 299b (Prophets and Prophethood); 401a, 405a (Religious Pluralism and the Q)
V 243b (Textual Criticism of the Q)

135-141 III 7b (Jesus)

136 I 8a (Abraham); 480b (Creeds)
II 561b (Isaac); 563b (Ishmael)
III 1a (Jacob); 8a, 17a (Jesus); 300a (Material Culture and the Q); 382a (Messenger); 428a (Mosque); 445a (Muḥammad)
IV 298a (Prophets and Prophethood); 438b (Revelation and Inspiration)
V 364a (Tribes and Clans)

137 II 1b (Ears)
III 321b (Material Culture and the Q); 454b (Muḥammad); 559a (Numismatics)
IV 575a (Seeing and Hearing)

137-138 V 243b (Textual Criticism of the Q)

138 I 200a (Baptism); 466b (Covenant)
V 243b (Textual Criticism of the Q)

139 I 170b (Art and Architecture and the Q)
II 550a (Intention)
III 39a, 40a (Jihād); 579b (Opposition to Muḥammad)
IV 115b (Polemic and Polemical Language)
V 291a (Tolerance and Coercion)

140 I 7b, 8a (Abraham); 118a (Apologetics)
II 561b (Isaac); 563b (Ishmael)
III 1a (Jacob); 27b (Jews and Judaism)
IV 405a (Religious Pluralism and the Q)
V 364a (Tribes and Clans); 492b (Witnessing and Testifying)

141 III 209a (Literature and the Q)

142 III 27b, 31a (Jews and Judaism)
IV 4b (Pairs and Pairing); 128a (Politics and the Q); 226b (Prayer); 413a (Religious Pluralism and the Q); 431b (Responsibility)
V 282b (Time)

142-143 IV 226b (Prayer); 326b (Qibla)

142-144 I 320a (Chronology and the Q)
II 311a (Geography)
V 108a (Spatial Relations)

142-145 IV 519b (Ṣafā and Marwa)

142-147 I 163b (Art and Architecture and the Q)

142-150 I 12b (Abrogation)
III 3a (Jerusalem)
IV 226b (Prayer); 325a, 327a, 327b (Qibla)

142-151 III 340a (Mecca)

142-152 I 328b (Chronology and the Q)

143 I 12b (Abrogation); 372a (Community and Society in the Q)
II 321a (God and his Attributes); 396a (Ḥadīth and the Q)
III 197b (Literary Structures of the Q); 377b (Menstruation); 402a, 402b (Moderation); 447a (Muḥammad); 502a (Names of the Prophet)
IV 5b (Pairs and Pairing); 327a (Qibla); 600a (Shīʿism and the Q)
V 175a (Sūra); 490b (Witness to Faith); 493b (Witnessing and Testifying); 572b, 573a (Zealotry)

144 I 222b (Belief and Unbelief); 246a (Book)
II 32a (Epigraphy); 159a (Face); 299a (Geography)
III 77b, 79a (Kaʿba); 162b (Law and the Q); 340a (Mecca); 446b (Muḥammad)
IV 226b (Prayer); 281b (Profane and Sacred); 327a (Qibla); 515a (Sacred Precincts)
V 303b (Torah)

144-145 IV 36a (People of the Book)
V 556b (Worship)

145 I 222b (Belief and Unbelief)
III 27b (Jews and Judaism)
V 301a (Torah)

146 I 222b (Belief and Unbelief); 245b, 246a (Book)
II 243a (Forgery)
III 25b (Jews and Judaism)
IV 36a (People of the Book)
V 301a (Torah)

148 II 61a (Ethics and the Q)
III 197b (Literary Structures of the Q)

149 II 224a (Forbidden); 299a (Geography)
III 77b (Kaʿba); 340a (Mecca)
IV 226b (Prayer)

149-150 IV 8a (Pairs and Pairing); 281b (Profane and Sacred)

150 I 320a (Chronology and the Q)

	II	224a (Forbidden); 299a (Geography)
	III	77b (Kaʿba); 162b (Law and the Q); 340a (Mecca)
	IV	226b (Prayer)
151	I	245b, 246a (Book)
	II	335a (Goliath)
	III	189b, 190a, 191a (Literacy); 441a, 442b, 443b (Muḥammad); 524a (Narratives)
	IV	301a (Prophets and Prophethood); 505a (Ritual Purity)
	V	7a (Signs); 201b (Teaching); 483b (Wisdom)
152	I	220b (Belief and Unbelief)
	II	166a (Faith); 434b (History and the Q)
	III	373b (Memory)
	IV	2a (Pairs and Pairing); 230a (Prayer); 424a (Remembrance); 487b (Ritual and the Q)
152-153	II	372a (Gratitude and Ingratitude)
152-157	V	362b (Trial)
153	I	458b (Courage)
	II	165a (Faith); 181a (Fasting)
153-155	I	461a (Courage)
153-156	V	434b (Virtue)
154	I	506a (Death and the Dead)
	II	45b (Eschatology); 209b (Fighting)
	III	282b, 283a, 286a (Martyrs); 41a (Jihād)
	IV	30b (Path or Way)
	V	457a (War)
155	I	458b (Courage)
	II	6b (Economics); 341a (Good News)
	III	184b (Life); 579a (Opposition to Muḥammad)
	IV	289a (Property)
	V	83a (Soul); 133b (Suffering); 363a (Trial)
155-156	III	37b (Jihād)
155-157	V	363a (Trial)
156	II	28b (Epigraphy); 91b (Everyday Life, Q In)
	IV	63a (Persian Literature and the Q)
	V	133b (Suffering); 374b (Trips and Voyages)
156-157	III	359b (Medicine and the Q)
157	IV	218a (Prayer)
158	I	353b, 354a (Collection of the Q)
	II	64a (Ethics and the Q); 85a (Everyday Life, Q In); 179a (Farewell Pilgrimage); 299b (Geography); 340a (Good Deeds); 372a (Gratitude and Ingratitude)
	III	77a, 79a (Kaʿba); 128a (Language and Style of the Q); 338b, 339a (Mecca)

IV 52b (People of the House); 92b, 93a, 98a (Pilgrimage); 213a (Praise); 259a (Pre-Islamic Arabia and the Q); 283b (Profane and Sacred); 515b (Sacred Precincts); 518b, 519b (Ṣafā and Marwa)
V 318a (Tradition and Custom); 448a (Visiting); 463a (Water)

159 I 305a (Children of Israel); 492a (Curse)
III 25b (Jews and Judaism); 509a (Names of the Q)
V 479b (Whisper)

160 II 330a (God and his Attributes)
IV 427b (Repentance and Penance)

161 I 120b (Apostasy); 492a (Curse)
IV 116b (Polemic and Polemical Language)

161-162 II 418a (Hell and Hellfire)

162 II 553a (Intercession)

163 I 209a (Basmala); 329b (Chronology and the Q)
II 320a, 329b (God and his Attributes)
III 304b (Material Culture and the Q)
IV 5a (Pairs and Pairing)
V 488b (Witness to Faith); 500a, 500b, 501a (Witnessing and Testifying)

163-238 III 210a (Literature and the Q)

164 I 45a (Agriculture and Vegetation); 52a, 53b (Air and Wind); 95b (Animal Life); 443a (Cosmology); 474a (Creation); 501a, 501b (Day, Times of)
II 3a (Earth)
III 212a (Literature and the Q); 379a (Mercy); 528b, 530b, 531b (Nature as Signs)
IV 70b (Philosophy and the Q); 438a (Revelation and Inspiration); 604a (Ships)
V 280b (Time); 373a (Trips and Voyages); 412a (Vehicles); 471a (Weather)

164-165 I 472b (Creation)

165 II 476b (Idolatry and Idolaters)
III 235b, 236b (Love and Affection)
V 486b (Wish and Desire)

165-166 III 197b (Literary Structures of the Q)

167 I 298a (Chastisement and Punishment)
III 197b (Literary Structures of the Q); 379a (Mercy)
IV 430b (Repentance and Penance)

168 I 526a (Devil)
II 23b (Enemies); 219b (Food and Drink)

169 IV 580b (Sex and Sexuality)
V 19a (Sin, Major and Minor)

170 I 221b (Belief and Unbelief)
III 31b (Jews and Judaism)
IV 32b (Patriarchy)
V 317a (Tradition and Custom)

171 I 100a (Animal Life); 226a (Belief and Unbelief)
II 370b (Gratitude and Ingratitude); 406b (Hearing and Deafness)
IV 10a (Parable)

172 I 96b (Animal Life)
II 219b (Food and Drink); 462a (House, Domestic and Divine); 467a (Hunting and Fishing)

172-173 III 174b (Lawful and Unlawful)

173 I 96b, 97a (Animal Life); 237b (Blood and Blood Clot); 291b (Carrion)
II 68b (Ethics and the Q); 220a, 220b, 221a (Food and Drink); 224a (Forbidden); 321a (God and his Attributes)
III 173a, 174a (Lawful and Unlawful)
IV 5b (Pairs and Pairing); 282a (Profane and Sacred); 483b (Rhymed Prose); 504a (Ritual Purity); 517b (Sacrifice)
V 19a (Sin, Major and Minor); 55a (Slaughter)

174 I 245b (Book); 298a (Chastisement and Punishment); 305a (Children of Israel)
II 416a (Hell and Hellfire)
III 25b (Jews and Judaism)
IV 36b (People of the Book); 505a (Ritual Purity)
V 110b (Speech); 547b (Word of God)

175 II 43b (Error)
III 276a (Markets)

176 I 245b (Book)
III 579b (Opposition to Muḥammad)

177 I 66a (Almsgiving); 189a (Authority); 219a (Belief and Unbelief); 289a, 289b (Captives)
II 7a, 8b (Economics); 60b, 61a, 70b, 71b, 75b (Ethics and the Q); 174b, 176a (Family); 340a (Good Deeds); 359a (Grammar and the Q)
III 63b (Joy and Misery); 136a, 136b (Last Judgment); 210a (Literature and the Q); 603b (Orphans)
IV 90b (Piety); 288b (Property); 298b (Prophets and Prophethood)
V 57a, 58a, 59b (Slaves and Slavery); 132a (Strangers and Foreigners); 132a (Suffering); 196b, 197a (Taxation); 282b (Time); 305a (Torah); 501b (Witnessing and Testifying)

178 I 38a (Age of Ignorance); 239a, 239b (Blood Money); 244b (Book); 260a (Brother and Brotherhood); 369b (Community and Society in the Q)
II 61b, 62a (Ethics and the Q)
III 459a (Murder); 499a (Naḍīr, Banū al-)
IV 436a (Retaliation); 453a (Reward and Punishment)
V 58a (Slaves and Slavery); 417a, 417b (Vengeance); 438a (Virtues and Vices, Commanding and Forbidding); 525a (Women and the Q)

178-179 III 183b (Life)

179 II 409a (Heart)
III 193a (Literary Structures of the Q)

IV 436b (Retaliation)
V 417a (Vengeance)

180 I 12a, 12b (Abrogation); 244b (Book); 321a (Chronology and the Q)
II 75a (Ethics and the Q); 174b (Family); 518b (Inheritance)
III 163b, 164a, 164b (Law and the Q)
IV 21b (Parents); 32a (Patriarchy); 288b (Property); 449a (Revision and Alteration)
V 438a (Virtues and Vices, Commanding and Forbidding)

181 I 480b (Creeds)
II 1b (Ears); 32a (Epigraphy); 519a (Inheritance)
IV 5b (Pairs and Pairing); 575a (Seeing and Hearing)

181-182 V 19a (Sin, Major and Minor)

182 II 519a (Inheritance)
IV 5b (Pairs and Pairing); 483b (Rhymed Prose)

183 I 244b (Book)
II 83b (Everyday Life, Q In); 182a (Fasting)
III 23a (Jews and Judaism)
IV 340b, 341a (Ramaḍān)

183-184 II 182a (Fasting)
IV 487a (Ritual and the Q)

183-185 IV 227a (Prayer); 413a (Religious Pluralism and the Q); 485b (Ritual and the Q)
V 284b (Time)

183-186 IV 340a (Ramaḍān)

183-187 I 253a (Boundaries and Precepts)
II 180b (Fasting); 262b (Form and Structure of the Q)
IV 341a, 346b (Ramaḍān)
V 175a (Sūra); 556a, 556b (Worship)

184 I 12a (Abrogation); 187b (Atonement); 358a (Collection of the Q)
II 182b, 183b (Fasting); 450a (Hospitality and Courtesy); 501b (Illness and Health)
III 57b (Journey); 353b (Medicine and the Q)
IV 342b, 343b (Ramaḍān); 523b (Salvation)
V 284b (Time); 373a (Trips and Voyages)

184-185 II 340a (Good Deeds)
III 57b (Journey)
IV 8a (Pairs and Pairing)
V 280b (Time)

185 I 12a (Abrogation); 183a (Asceticism); 289a (Captives); 444b (Cosmology); 486b (Criterion)
II 82b, 84a (Everyday Life, Q In); 181a, 182a, 183a, 183b, 184a (Fasting); 187a (Fate); 204a (Festivals and Commemorative Days); 219a (Food and Drink); 366b (Grammar and the Q); 501b (Illness and Health)

III 57b (Journey); 160b, 161a (Law and the Q); 378b (Mercy); 412b, 413a (Months); 415a (Moon); 442a (Muḥammad); 496b (Myths and Legends in the Q); 507b (Names of the Q); 537b (Night of Power)
IV 293a (Prophets and Prophethood); 343b, 344a, 344b (Ramaḍān); 443b (Revelation and Inspiration); 571b (Seasons)
V 272a (Theology and the Q); 284b (Time); 373a (Trips and Voyages); 475b (Weights and Measures); 492a, 495a (Witnessing and Testifying)

186 I 445a (Cosmology)
IV 229a (Prayer); 341b, 342a (Ramaḍān); 229a (Ṣūfism and the Q)

187 I 244b (Book); 252b, 253a (Boundaries and Precepts); 346b (Clothing); 364a, 364b (Colors); 445a (Cosmology); 500b, 503a, 503b (Day, Times of)
II 175a (Family); 182b (Fasting); 546b (Instruments)
III 209a, 222a (Literature and the Q); 235a (Love and Affection); 278b (Marriage and Divorce); 417a, 419a (Morning)
IV 107a (Planets and Stars); 283b (Profane and Sacred); 344b (Ramaḍān); 485b, 486a (Ritual and the Q); 502b (Ritual Purity); 581b, 583a (Sex and Sexuality)
V 7a (Signs); 281a, 288b (Time); 526b (Women and the Q)

187-190 III 496b (Myths and Legends in the Q)

188 I 301a (Cheating)
II 6b (Economics)
III 65b (Judgment)
V 469b (Wealth)

189 I 272b, 273a (Calendar); 444b (Cosmology)
II 31a (Epigraphy); 60b (Ethics and the Q); 182b (Fasting)
III 223a (Literature and the Q); 412b (Months); 414b, 415a (Moon); 571b (Occasions of Revelation)
IV 90b (Piety); 91b (Pilgrimage); 108a (Planets and Stars); 228a (Prayer); 256a (Pre-Islamic Arabia and the Q); 330b (Quraysh); 487a (Ritual and the Q)
V 284a (Time); 318a (Tradition and Custom); 475b (Weights and Measures)

190 I 397b (Conquest); 461a (Courage)
II 151a (Expeditions and Battles); 209a, 209b (Fighting); 322b (God and his Attributes)
III 38a, 39a, 40a (Jihād); 58a (Journey)
IV 30a (Path or Way); 35a (Peace); 482a (Rhymed Prose)
V 456a, 456b (War)

190-191 II 209a (Fighting)

190-193 I 225a (Belief and Unbelief)
III 36b (Jihād); 577b (Opposition to Muḥammad)

190-195 III 339b (Mecca)

191 I 14a (Abrogation)
II 144a (Expeditions and Battles); 209a (Fighting); 224a (Forbidden); 299a (Geography)

III 39a (Jihād); 77b (Kaʿba); 449b (Muḥammad)
IV 281b (Profane and Sacred); 515b (Sacred Precincts)
V 456b, 458b (War)

191-194 III 40a (Jihād)

192 III 41b (Jihād); 379b (Mercy)
IV 5b (Pairs and Pairing)

192-193 IV 428a (Repentance and Penance)

193 I 397b (Conquest); 461a (Courage)
II 144a (Expeditions and Battles)
III 39a, 41b (Jihād)
IV 416a (Religious Pluralism and the Q)
V 292b (Tolerance and Coercion); 456b, 458b (War); 543a (Word of God)

194 II 209a (Fighting); 224b (Forbidden)
III 172b (Lawful and Unlawful); 183b (Life); 39a (Jihād); 410a (Months)
IV 282a (Profane and Sacred); 436a (Retaliation)
V 285a (Time); 417a (Vengeance); 456b (War); 475b (Weights and Measures)

195 II 209b (Fighting); 322a (God and his Attributes)
III 42a (Jihād)
IV 30b (Path or Way); 64b (Persian Literature and the Q)
V 159b, 161a, 162a (Suicide); 486b (Wish and Desire)

196 I 65a (Almsgiving); 81b (Anatomy); 187b (Atonement)
II 85a (Everyday Life, Q In); 180b (Fasting); 205b (Festivals and Commemorative Days); 299a (Geography); 450a (Hospitality and Courtesy); 501b (Illness and Health)
III 77b (Kaʿba); 128a (Language and Style of the Q); 339a (Mecca); 353b (Medicine and the Q); 376a (Menstruation); 551a, 553a (Numbers and Enumeration)
IV 91b, 94a, 94b, 95a, 95b, 98b (Pilgrimage); 281b (Profane and Sacred); 485b, 487a (Ritual and the Q); 523b (Salvation)
V 175a (Sūra); 198a (Taxation); 280a (Time); 375a (Trips and Voyages); 448a (Visiting); 556b (Worship)

196-203 II 340a (Good Deeds); 460a (House, Domestic and Divine)

197 I 511b (Debate and Disputation)
II 84b (Everyday Life, Q In)
III 278b (Marriage and Divorce); 410b (Months)
IV 91b (Pilgrimage); 583a (Sex and Sexuality)
V 285a (Time); 475b (Weights and Measures)

197-199 III 339b (Mecca)

197-200 IV 423b (Remembrance)

198 I 146a (ʿArafāt); 349a (Codices of the Q)
II 6b (Economics)

III 173b (Lawful and Unlawful); 372a (Memory)
IV 95b, 96b (Pilgrimage); 259a (Pre-Islamic Arabia and the Q); 281b (Profane and Sacred); 421a (Remembrance); 515b (Sacred Precincts)
V 19a (Sin, Major and Minor); 318a (Tradition and Custom)

198-199 IV 95b (Pilgrimage)

199 III 379b (Mercy)
IV 5b (Pairs and Pairing); 96b (Pilgrimage); 330b (Quraysh); 482a, 483b (Rhymed Prose)

200 II 434b (History and the Q)
IV 487b (Ritual and the Q)
V 317a (Tradition and Custom)

201 V 552a (World)

202 III 66b (Judgment)

203 I 499b (Day, Times of)
IV 96b (Pilgrimage)
V 280a (Time)

204-205 I 440a (Corruption)

205 I 32a (African Literature)
II 63a (Ethics and the Q); 322b (God and his Attributes)

206 II 414b, 415a (Hell and Hellfire); 448a (Honor)
IV 104a (Pit)

207 IV 577a (Servants)
V 441b (Virtues and Vices, Commanding and Forbidding)

208 I 526a (Devil)
II 23b, 24a (Enemies)
III 39b, 40a (Jihād)

209 IV 6a (Pairs and Pairing); 286b (Proof)

210 I 463a (Court)
II 316a, 316b (Glory); 325b (God and his Attributes)
V 543a (Word of God); 554a (World)

211 I 236b (Blessing); 304a (Children of Israel)
IV 286a (Proof)
V 4b, 8a (Signs)

212 III 401a (Mockery)
V 340a (Transitoriness)

213 I 222b (Belief and Unbelief); 245a, 245b (Book); 372a, 377a (Community and Society in the Q); 538a (Dissension)
II 321a (God and his Attributes); 341b (Good News); 431b, 432a (History and the Q)
III 444b (Muḥammad); 509a (Names of the Q)

IV 3b (Pairs and Pairing); 127b, 133b (Politics and the Q); 290b, 301a (Prophets and Prophethood); 337a (Races)

214 I 220b (Belief and Unbelief)
II 282b (Garden)
III 37b (Jihād); 63b (Joy and Misery)
IV 335a (Qurayẓa, Banū al-)

215 II 75a (Ethics and the Q); 85b (Everyday Life, Q In); 174b (Family); 450a (Hospitality and Courtesy)
III 604a (Orphans)
IV 21b (Parents); 209a (Poverty and the Poor)
V 132a (Strangers and Foreigners); 204b (Teaching)

215-216 III 252a (Maintenance and Upkeep)

216 I 14a (Abrogation); 224a (Belief and Unbelief); 244b (Book)
II 68a (Ethics and the Q); 151a (Expeditions and Battles); 209a, 209b (Fighting); 340a (Good Deeds); 367a (Grammar and the Q)
III 41b (Jihād); 235b (Love and Affection); 577b (Opposition to Muḥammad)
V 456b, 457a (War)

217 I 120b (Apostasy); 397b (Conquest)
II 69a (Ethics and the Q); 85b (Everyday Life, Q In); 144a, 149a (Expeditions and Battles); 209a (Fighting); 224b (Forbidden); 299a (Geography); 358a (Grammar and the Q); 431a (History and the Q)
III 40a, 41b (Jihād); 77b (Kaʿba); 183b (Life); 339a (Mecca); 410a (Months); 449a (Muḥammad); 579b (Opposition to Muḥammad)
IV 282a (Profane and Sacred); 332a (Quraysh); 456a (Reward and Punishment); 515a (Sacred Precincts)
V 285a (Time); 293b (Tolerance and Coercion); 375a (Trips and Voyages); 456b, 458b (War); 475b (Weights and Measures)

218 I 225a (Belief and Unbelief); 320a (Chronology and the Q)
II 449a (Hope)
III 37a (Jihād); 58a (Journey)
IV 5b (Pairs and Pairing); 17a (Paradise); 30a (Path or Way)
V 375b (Trips and Voyages)

219 I 321a (Chronology and the Q)
II 7a (Economics); 67b (Ethics and the Q); 85b (Everyday Life, Q In); 221b (Food and Drink); 237b, 238b (Foretelling in the Q); 280a (Gambling); 556a, 556b, 557a (Intoxicants)
III 152a, 169a (Law and the Q); 252b (Maintenance and Upkeep); 570a (Occasions of Revelation); 579b (Opposition to Muḥammad)
IV 500a (Ritual Purity)
V 19a (Sin, Major and Minor); 481b (Wine)

220 I 261b (Brother and Brotherhood)
II 62b, 75b (Ethics and the Q); 85b (Everyday Life, Q In)

III 96a (Kinship); 604a (Orphans)
IV 6a (Pairs and Pairing); 488b (Ritual and the Q)

221 I 213a (Beauty); 299a (Chastity); 396a, 397a (Concubines); 437a (Conversion)
II 245a (Forgiveness); 558b (Invitation)
III 277a, 277b, 278a (Marriage and Divorce)
IV 580b, 582a (Sex and Sexuality)
V 7a (Signs); 57a, 58a (Slaves and Slavery); 293a (Tolerance and Coercion)

222 I 81a (Anatomy); 342b (Cleanliness and Ablution)
II 85b (Everyday Life, Q In); 322a (God and his Attributes)
III 376a, 377a (Menstruation)
IV 426a (Repentance and Penance); 491a (Ritual and the Q); 501b, 502a (Ritual Purity); 583a (Sex and Sexuality)
V 524b (Women and the Q)

222-223 III 278b (Marriage and Divorce)

223 I 235a (Birth Control)
II 76a (Ethics and the Q); 175b (Family); 304b (Geography); 341a (Good News)
IV 582b (Sex and Sexuality)
V 71a (Social Sciences and the Q); 524b, 540a (Women and the Q)

224 I 480b (Creeds)
II 60b (Ethics and the Q)
III 564b (Oaths)
IV 5b (Pairs and Pairing); 575a (Seeing and Hearing)
V 393a (Turkish Literature and the Q)

225 III 109b (Language and Style of the Q); 401b (Moderation); 565a, 565b (Oaths)
IV 5b (Pairs and Pairing); 573a (Secrets)
V 334a (Traditional Disciplines of Q Studies); 393a (Turkish Literature and the Q)

226 I 19b (Abstinence)
III 279b (Marriage and Divorce); 551b (Numbers and Enumeration)
IV 5b (Pairs and Pairing); 583b (Sex and Sexuality)
V 285a (Time); 453b, 454a, 454b (Waiting Period); 476a (Weights and Measures)

226-227 III 280a (Marriage and Divorce); 562b (Oaths)

227 III 96a (Kinship)
IV 5b (Pairs and Pairing)

227-232 II 68b (Ethics and the Q)

228 I 194a, 194b (Baal)
II 76a (Ethics and the Q); 175b (Family)
III 136b (Last Judgment); 278b, 279a, 280b (Marriage and Divorce)
IV 6a (Pairs and Pairing); 501b (Ritual Purity)
V 438a (Virtues and Vices, Commanding and Forbidding); 453b, 454a, 454b (Waiting Period); 480b (Widow); 495b (Witnessing and Testifying); 522a (Womb); 525a, 528b, 537a (Women and the Q)

228-230 IV 283a (Profane and Sacred)

229 I 252b, 253b (Boundaries and Precepts)
II 23b (Enemies); 61b, 64b (Ethics and the Q)
III 280a (Marriage and Divorce); 96a (Kinship)
IV 7a (Pairs and Pairing); 237b (Pre-1800 Preoccupations of Q Studies)
V 438a (Virtues and Vices, Commanding and Forbidding); 528b (Women and the Q)

229-230 I 253a, 253b (Boundaries and Precepts)
IV 581b (Sex and Sexuality)
V 528b (Women and the Q)

230 I 253a, 253b (Boundaries and Precepts)
III 172b (Lawful and Unlawful); 280b (Marriage and Divorce)
IV 538b (Scholar); 580b (Sex and Sexuality)

231 I 245b (Book); 305b (Children of Israel)
III 71a, 72a (Justice and Injustice); 279b (Marriage and Divorce); 400a, 401a (Mockery)
IV 3b (Pairs and Pairing)
V 7a (Signs); 317b (Tradition and Custom); 454b (Waiting Period); 483b (Wisdom)

231-235 V 289a (Time)

232 I 343b (Cleanliness and Ablution)
III 136b (Last Judgment); 235a (Love and Affection)
IV 505b (Ritual Purity); 580b (Sex and Sexuality)

232-233 IV 20a (Parents)

233 I 234b (Birth Control); 302a (Children); 407a, 408b (Consultation)
II 76a (Ethics and the Q); 175b (Family); 290a (Gender)
III 106a, 106b, 107a, 107b (Lactation); 252b (Maintenance and Upkeep); 278b, 279a, 280b (Marriage and Divorce)
IV 7a (Pairs and Pairing); 432b (Responsibility)
V 204b (Teaching); 285b (Time); 476b, 477a, 477b, 478a (Wet-Nursing); 549a (Work); 570a (Youth and Old Age)

234 I 353a (Collection of the Q)
III 551b (Numbers and Enumeration)
V 285b (Time); 453b, 454a, 454b (Waiting Period); 476a (Weights and Measures)

234-235 V 480a (Widow)

235 I 244b (Book); 464a (Covenant)
III 96a (Kinship); 235a (Love and Affection); 278a (Marriage and Divorce); 401b (Moderation)
IV 5b (Pairs and Pairing); 580b (Sex and Sexuality)
V 19a (Sin, Major and Minor); 438a (Virtues and Vices, Commanding and Forbidding); 454b (Waiting Period); 480b (Widow)

236 III 60b (Joy and Misery)
V 438a (Virtues and Vices, Commanding and Forbidding)

236-237 I 258b (Bridewealth)
II 313b (Gift-Giving)
III 278b, 281a (Marriage and Divorce)

237 I 258b (Bridewealth); 412a (Contamination); 464a (Covenant)
II 195b (Fear); 374b (Guardianship)
III 96a (Kinship); 278b (Marriage and Divorce)
IV 580b (Sex and Sexuality)
V 527a (Women and the Q)

238 I 35b, 36a (Afternoon); 44b (Agriculture and Vegetation); 328b (Chronology and the Q); 502b (Day, Times of)
III 158a (Law and the Q); 210a (Literature and the Q); 419a (Morning); 545a (Noon)
IV 219b, 222b, 224a, 224b (Prayer); 308a (Protection)
V 278a (Time); 556a, 556b (Worship)

239 II 198b (Feet)
III 42a (Jihād)
IV 233a (Prayer Formulas); 421a (Remembrance)
V 201a, 201b (Teaching)

240 I 12a (Abrogation); 352b (Collection of the Q)
II 519a (Inheritance)
III 60b (Joy and Misery); 252a (Maintenance and Upkeep); 278b (Marriage and Divorce)
IV 6a (Pairs and Pairing)
V 454b (Waiting Period); 481a (Widow)

241 III 60b (Joy and Misery); 280b (Marriage and Divorce)
V 454b (Waiting Period)

242 II 67a, 67b (Ethics and the Q)

243 I 506b (Death and the Dead)
II 154b (Ezekiel)
III 5b (Jerusalem); 364b (Medicine and the Q); 379a (Mercy); 524a (Narratives)
V 109a (Speech); 455b (War); 545a (Word of God)

243-252 III 521a (Narratives)

244 I 225a (Belief and Unbelief); 461a (Courage)
II 209b (Fighting); 340a (Good Deeds)
III 39a, 40a (Jihād)
V 457a (War)

245 I 65a (Almsgiving)
II 8b (Economics); 354a (Grammar and the Q)
III 209a (Literature and the Q)

	IV	6b (Pairs and Pairing); 457a (Reward and Punishment)
	V	457a (War)
246	I	244b (Book); 369a (Community and Society in the Q)
	II	355b, 367a (Grammar and the Q); 432b (History and the Q)
	III	524a (Narratives)
	IV	527a, 527b, 528a (Samuel)
	V	457a (War)
246-248	IV	526b, 527a, 527b, 528b, 530a (Samuel); 590a (Shekhinah)
246-251	III	522b (Narratives)
	IV	536a (Saul)
	V	455b (War)
246-252	I	303a (Children of Israel)
247	I	80a (Anatomy)
	II	6b (Economics); 11b (Election); 320a (God and his Attributes); 354a (Grammar and the Q)
	III	94a (Kings and Rulers)
	IV	6a (Pairs and Pairing); 128a, 130a (Politics and the Q); 291a (Prophets and Prophethood); 527a, 529a, 529b (Samuel); 538a (Scholar)
	V	468a (Wealth)
247-251	II	145b (Expeditions and Battles); 404a (Hārūt and Mārūt)
248	I	158a (Ark)
	III	94b (Kings and Rulers); 395a (Miracles)
	IV	425b (Remnant); 527a, 529a (Samuel); 590b (Shekhinah)
	V	404b (Uncertainty)
249	II	335a (Goliath)
	IV	529b (Samuel)
	V	43a (Sīra and the Q); 184b (Syria); 377a (Troops)
249-250	I	461a (Courage)
	V	434b (Virtue)
249-251	II	334b (Goliath)
	IV	529a (Samuel)
250	II	70b (Ethics and the Q); 198b (Feet)
251	I	439b (Corruption); 496a (David)
	II	62b (Ethics and the Q); 431a (History and the Q)
	III	94a (Kings and Rulers)
	IV	128a, 128b (Politics and the Q); 536b (Saul)
	V	103b (Sovereignty); 200b (Teaching); 457a (War); 483a (Wisdom); 553a (World)
251-252	V	4a (Signs)
252	II	119b (Exegesis of the Q: Classical and Medieval)
	III	190a (Literacy); 441a, 451a (Muḥammad)

IV 297b (Prophets and Prophethood)
V 421b (Verse)

252-253 III 7b (ʿJesus)

253 I 480b (Creeds); 538b (Dissension)
II 430b (History and the Q); 442a (Holy Spirit)
III 8a, 16a, 17a, 19b (ʿJesus); 293a (Mary); 382a (Messenger)
IV 282b (Profane and Sacred); 286b (Proof); 292a, 295b (Prophets and Prophethood)
V 81a (Soul); 110a (Speech); 115a (Spirit); 533b (Women and the Q); 546b, 547b (Word of God)

254 I 500a (Day, Times of)
III 141a (Last Judgment)

255 I 103b (Anthropomorphism); 115a (Apologetics); 170b, 171a (Art and Architecture and the Q); 264b (Burial); 329b (Chronology and the Q); 443b, 446a (Cosmology); 472b (Creation); 480b (Creeds)
II 28b, 30b, 33b, 37b, 38b (Epigraphy); 96a (Everyday Life, Q In); 275b (Furniture and Furnishings); 320a, 320b, 325b, 326a (God and his Attributes); 408b (Heart); 410b (Heaven and Sky); 461a (House, Domestic and Divine); 552b (Intercession)
III 182b (Life); 197b (Literary Structures of the Q); 267b (Manuscripts of the Q); 300a, 304b, 319a, 321b, 322a, 327a, 327b (Material Culture and the Q); 437a (Mosque); 513b (Names of the Q)
IV 4a, 4b, 5b, 6a (Pairs and Pairing); 63b (Persian Literature and the Q); 163b, 172b, 173a, 176a, 180a (Popular and Talismanic Uses of the Q); 184a (Possession and Possessions); 234a (Prayer Formulas); 380a (Recitation of the Q); 435b (Resurrection)
V 61a (Sleep); 61a (Ṣūfism and the Q); 277a (Throne of God); 371b (Trinity); 427b (Verse); 488b (Witness to Faith); 500b, 501a (Witnessing and Testifying)

256 I 224a (Belief and Unbelief); 374b (Community and Society in the Q); 465a (Covenant)
II 152a (Expeditions and Battles)
III 40a (ʿJihād); 197b (Literary Structures of the Q); 325b (Material Culture and the Q); 499a (Naḏīr, Banū al-); 503b (Names of the Prophet); 531a (Nature as Signs)
IV 121b, 122a (Polemic and Polemical Language); 142a (Politics and the Q); 238b (Pre-1800 Preoccupations of Q Studies); 415a, 415b (Religious Pluralism and the Q)
V 68a (Social Sciences and the Q); 291b, 292b, 293a, 293b, 294a (Tolerance and Coercion); 362b (Trial); 393a, 393b (Turkish Literature and the Q); 405a (Uncertainty); 573b (Zealotry)

256-258 III 314b (Material Culture and the Q)

257 I 533a (Dialogues)
II 273a, 273b (Friends and Friendship); 482a (Idols and Images)

III 70b (Justice and Injustice); 186a (Light); 231b (Lord)
V 120a (Spiritual Beings); 182a (Symbolic Imagery)

258 I 295b (Chastisement and Punishment)
II 330a (God and his Attributes)
III 93a (Kings and Rulers); 524a (Narratives); 539a, 539b (Nimrod)
IV 78a (Philosophy and the Q); 107a (Planets and Stars); 160a, 161a (Polytheism and Atheism); 184a (Possession and Possessions); 211a (Power and Impotence)
V 103b (Sovereignty); 282b (Time)

258-260 III 494b (Myths and Legends in the Q)

259 I 98a (Animal Life); 166a (Art and Architecture and the Q)
II 348a (Grammar and the Q)
III 5b (Jerusalem); 396b (Miracles)
V 4b, 5a (Signs); 286a (Time)

260 I 6a (Abraham); 98a (Animal Life); 532a (Dialogues)
II 409a (Heart)
III 117b (Language and Style of the Q); 396a (Miracles)
IV 6a (Pairs and Pairing)
V 242a (Textual Criticism of the Q)

261 I 42a (Agriculture and Vegetation)
III 399a (Miracles)
IV 6a, 6b (Pairs and Pairing); 10a (Parable); 30b (Path or Way)

261-262 II 209b (Fighting)

261-265 V 469a (Wealth)

262 III 58a (Journey); 376a (Menstruation)
IV 30b (Path or Way); 455a (Reward and Punishment)
V 138a (Ṣūfism and the Q); 313b (Trade and Commerce)

263 I 65b (Almsgiving)
II 320a (God and his Attributes); 453a (Hospitality and Courtesy)
III 376a (Menstruation); 378b (Mercy)
IV 6a (Pairs and Pairing)

263-264 V 198b (Taxation)

264 I 65b (Almsgiving); 184b (Ashes); 435b (Conversion)
II 4a (Earth); 468b (Hypocrites and Hypocrisy)
III 136b (Last Judgment); 225b (Literature and the Q); 376a (Menstruation)
IV 10a (Parable)
V 129b (Stone); 129b (Ṣūfism and the Q); 268b (Theology and the Q); 434a (Virtue); 469a (Wealth)

264-265 III 209b (Literature and the Q)
IV 13a (Paradise)

265 I 42a (Agriculture and Vegetation); 65a, 66b (Almsgiving)
II 4a (Earth)

	IV	6b (Pairs and Pairing); 10a (Parable)
	V	252a (Textual Criticism of the Q); 407b, 408a (Usury)
265-266	II	283a (Garden)
266	I	246a (Book)
	II	304a (Geography)
	III	580b (Oppressed on Earth)
	V	5b (Signs); 127b (Springs and Fountains); 464b (Water); 570b (Youth and Old Age)
267	II	330a (God and his Attributes)
	IV	6a (Pairs and Pairing)
	V	408a (Usury)
268	I	526a (Devil)
	II	245a (Forgiveness)
	IV	6a (Pairs and Pairing); 580b (Sex and Sexuality)
269	II	434b, 435a (History and the Q)
	IV	68b (Philosophy and the Q)
	V	483a (Wisdom)
270	V	193b (Taxation); 449b (Vow)
271	I	65b (Almsgiving)
	II	7a (Economics); 450a (Hospitality and Courtesy)
	III	571a (Occasions of Revelation)
	IV	209a (Poverty and the Poor)
	V	198a (Taxation)
271-272	V	198b (Taxation)
271-273	V	199a, 199b (Taxation)
272	I	65b (Almsgiving); 435b (Conversion)
	II	110b (Exegesis of the Q: Classical and Medieval); 159a (Face); 160a (Face of God); 323b (God and his Attributes)
	IV	221a (Prayer)
	V	198b (Taxation); 487a (Wish and Desire)
273	I	66a (Almsgiving)
	II	450a (Hospitality and Courtesy)
	III	58a (Journey)
	IV	209a (Poverty and the Poor)
	V	198b (Taxation)
273-274	I	389b (Companions of the Prophet)
274	I	65b (Almsgiving); 501a (Day, Times of)
	II	450a (Hospitality and Courtesy)
	III	571b (Occasions of Revelation)
	V	313b (Trade and Commerce); 469b (Wealth)

274-275	V	407b (Usury)
275	II	6b (Economics); 142b (Exhortations); 418a (Hell and Hellfire); 540b (Insanity)
	III	174b (Lawful and Unlawful)
	IV	282a, 283a (Profane and Sacred)
	V	438b (Virtues and Vices, Commanding and Forbidding)
275-276	V	21b (Sin, Major and Minor)
275-280	II	8a (Economics)
276	I	221a (Belief and Unbelief)
	II	322b (God and his Attributes)
	III	380a (Mercy)
	V	198b (Taxation)
277	I	220a (Belief and Unbelief)
	II	60b (Ethics and the Q); 340a (Good Deeds)
	III	184a (Life)
	IV	17a (Paradise); 487a (Ritual and the Q)
	V	196b (Taxation); 313b (Trade and Commerce)
278	I	326a (Chronology and the Q)
	V	456a (War)
278-279	IV	427a (Repentance and Penance)
	V	21b (Sin, Major and Minor)
279	II	8a (Economics); 144a (Expeditions and Battles)
	V	407a (Usury); 455a (War)
280	II	8a (Economics); 450a (Hospitality and Courtesy)
	V	198a (Taxation); 543a (Word of God)
281	IV	85a (Philosophy and the Q); 432b (Responsibility)
	V	268a (Theology and the Q)
282	I	300b (Cheating); 433a (Contracts and Alliances); 514b (Debt)
	II	8b (Economics); 70a, 70b (Ethics and the Q); 358a (Grammar and the Q)
	III	71b (Justice and Injustice); 158b (Law and the Q); 189a (Literacy); 550b (Numbers and Enumeration); 580b (Oppressed on Earth)
	IV	7a (Pairs and Pairing)
	V	201a, 201b (Teaching); 289a (Time); 312b (Trade and Commerce); 490a (Witness to Faith); 492b, 495a, 495b, 497a, 498b (Witnessing and Testifying); 525a (Women and the Q)
282-283	III	191b (Literacy); 590b, 592b, 593a (Orality and Writing in Arabia)
	V	204a (Teaching)
283	II	8b (Economics); 454a (Hostages)
	III	57b, 58a (Journey); 66a (Judgment)
	IV	109b, 110a (Pledge); 573a (Secrets)
	V	21a (Sin, Major and Minor)

284
I 298a (Chastisement and Punishment)
II 244b (Forgiveness)
III 200b (Literary Structures of the Q)
IV 4a (Pairs and Pairing); 457b (Reward and Punishment); 572b, 573a (Secrets)
V 22a (Sin, Major and Minor); 553b (World)

285
I 189a (Authority); 219a (Belief and Unbelief); 247a (Book); 480b (Creeds)
II 360a, 363a (Grammar and the Q); 406a (Hearing and Deafness)
III 17a (ʿJesus); 445a (Muḥammad); 568b (Obedience)
IV 298b (Prophets and Prophethood)
V 287a (Time); 305a (Torah); 393b (Turkish Literature and the Q); 501b (Witnessing and Testifying)

285-286
II 189b (Fātiḥa)

286
I 11b (Abrogation); 344b (Clients and Clientage)
II 59b, 64a (Ethics and the Q); 244a, 244b (Forgiveness); 330b (God and his Attributes); 508b (Impotence)
III 12b (ʿJesus); 231a (Lord); 303a (Material Culture and the Q)
IV 85a (Philosophy and the Q); 128a (Politics and the Q); 307b (Protection); 432b (Responsibility)
V 22a (Sin, Major and Minor)

SŪRAT ĀL ʿIMRĀN (3)

I 409a (Consultation)
II 176b (Family of the Prophet); 264a (Form and Structure of the Q)
III 10b, 13a, 18a (ʿJesus); 283b (Martyrs); 294b (Mary); 472b (Mysterious Letters)
IV 177a (Popular and Talismanic Uses of the Q); 241a (Pre-1800 Preoccupations of Q Studies)
V 174b (Sūra); 575a (Zechariah)

1
I 170b (Art and Architecture and the Q)
II 262a (Form and Structure of the Q)

1-17
III 304b (Material Culture and the Q)

2
II 320a (God and his Attributes)
III 182b (Life)
IV 6a (Pairs and Pairing); 172b (Popular and Talismanic Uses of the Q)
V 500b, 501a (Witnessing and Testifying)

2-4
V 7a (Signs)

3
II 235b (Foreign Vocabulary)
III 303a (Material Culture and the Q); 445a (Muḥammad)
IV 439a (Revelation and Inspiration)
V 300b, 302b, 307b (Torah); 386b (Truth)

3-4
I 117b (Apologetics)
IV 37b (People of the Book); 293b, 298a (Prophets and Prophethood)

4 I 486b (Criterion)
II 416a (Hell and Hellfire)
III 380a (Mercy)
IV 293b (Prophets and Prophethood); 310a (Provocation); 343a (Ramaḍān); 443b (Revelation and Inspiration); 453b (Reward and Punishment)
V 416a (Vengeance)

5 I 198a (Bahāʾīs)

6 I 329b (Chronology and the Q); 446b (Cosmology); 476b (Creation)
II 328a (God and his Attributes)
IV 6a (Pairs and Pairing); 177b (Popular and Talismanic Uses of the Q)
V 522a (Womb)

7 I 70b, 71b, 72b, 73b, 75a, 75b, 77a (Ambiguous); 103b (Anthropomorphism); 113b (Apocalypse); 247b, 248a (Book); 349a (Codices of the Q)
II 100a, 102a (Exegesis of the Q: Classical and Medieval); 189a (Fātiḥa); 323a (God and his Attributes); 409a (Heart); 425a, 425b (Hidden and the Hidden); 434b, 435a (History and the Q)
III 31a (Jews and Judaism); 303a (Material Culture and the Q); 386a (Metaphor)
IV 3b (Pairs and Pairing); 69b, 70a, 76b, 81a (Philosophy and the Q); 157a (Polysemy in the Q); 261b (Preserved Tablet)
V 7a (Signs); 70a (Social Sciences and the Q); 180a (Symbolic Imagery); 422b (Verse)

8 I 492a (Curse)
II 320b (God and his Attributes); 408b (Heart)
III 303a (Material Culture and the Q)

9 II 320b (God and his Attributes)
III 66b (Judgment)

10 I 221b (Belief and Unbelief); 302b (Children)
II 150a (Expeditions and Battles); 415a (Hell and Hellfire)
IV 31b (Patriarchy)
V 468a (Wealth)

10-11 IV 320b (Punishment Stories)

11 II 174a (Family)
III 380a (Mercy)
IV 67a (Pharaoh); 453a (Reward and Punishment)
V 4b (Signs); 19a (Sin, Major and Minor); 317b (Tradition and Custom)

12 II 276a (Furniture and Furnishings)
III 29b (Jews and Judaism)
IV 104a (Pit); 324b (Qaynuqāʿ, Banū); 406a (Religious Pluralism and the Q)

13 I 81a (Anatomy); 124b (Apparition); 550b, 551a (Dreams and Sleep)
III 42b (Jihād); 455a (Muḥammad)
IV 30a (Path or Way); 185a (Possession and Possessions)
V 5a (Signs); 393b (Turkish Literature and the Q)

14 I 41b (Agriculture and Vegetation); 96a (Animal Life)
II 304a (Geography); 333b, 334a (Gold); 545b (Instruments)
III 60a (Joy and Misery); 235b (Love and Affection); 383b (Metals and Minerals)
IV 580a (Sex and Sexuality)
V 393a, 393b (Turkish Literature and the Q); 434b (Virtue); 474a (Weights and Measures); 486b (Wish and Desire)

15 I 220b (Belief and Unbelief); 343b (Cleanliness and Ablution); 480b (Creeds)
II 175a (Family); 321b (God and his Attributes); 353b (Grammar and the Q); 456b (Houris)
III 536b (News)
IV 17a, 18a (Paradise); 505b (Ritual Purity); 574b (Seeing and Hearing)
V 123a (Springs and Fountains)

15-18 III 312b (Material Culture and the Q)

16 V 19a (Sin, Major and Minor)

16-17 IV 221a (Prayer)

17 I 503b (Day, Times of)
III 417a (Morning)
V 281a (Time); 556a (Worship)

18 I 329b (Chronology and the Q)
II 28b, 33b (Epigraphy); 321b (God and his Attributes)
III 437a (Mosque)
IV 6a (Pairs and Pairing); 538b, 539a (Scholar)
V 490b (Witness to Faith); 492a, 492b, 500b, 501a (Witnessing and Testifying)

18-19 I 170b (Art and Architecture and the Q)
II 276b (Furniture and Furnishings)

19 I 200a (Baptism); 222b (Belief and Unbelief); 305a (Children of Israel)
II 31a (Epigraphy); 329a (God and his Attributes); 569b (Islam)
III 40a (Jihād); 66b (Judgment); 303a (Material Culture and the Q); 507b (Names of the Q)
IV 120a (Polemic and Polemical Language); 396b, 397a, 397b, 398a (Religion); 401b, 404a (Religious Pluralism and the Q)
V 301a (Torah); 436a (Virtue)

19-20 IV 36a (People of the Book); 487a (Ritual and the Q)

20 I 222b (Belief and Unbelief); 325a (Chronology and the Q); 437b (Conversion)
II 158a (Face); 323b (God and his Attributes); 494b, 495a, 498b (Illiteracy)
III 28a (Jews and Judaism); 40a (Jihād); 567a (Obedience)
IV 115b (Polemic and Polemical Language)
V 399a, 400a (Ummī)

21 I 305a (Children of Israel)
II 418a (Hell and Hellfire); 431a (History and the Q)
III 382a (Messenger)

IV 456a (Reward and Punishment)
V 6a (Signs); 440b (Virtues and Vices, Commanding and Forbidding); 575a (Zechariah)

21-22 IV 431b (Responsibility)

23 III 30b (Jews and Judaism)
IV 24b (Parties and Factions); 36a (People of the Book); 133b, 134b (Politics and the Q)
V 231b (Teeth); 301a, 303b, 304a (Torah)

23-24 III 24a (Jews and Judaism)

24 II 418b (Hell and Hellfire)
V 280b (Time)

25 III 379b (Mercy)
V 268a (Theology and the Q)

26 I 170b (Art and Architecture and the Q); 443a (Cosmology)
II 35a (Epigraphy); 61a (Ethics and the Q); 321b, 331a (God and his Attributes)
III 91a, 91b, 93a, 93b (Kings and Rulers); 300a (Material Culture and the Q); 559a (Numismatics)
IV 128a (Politics and the Q); 184a, 184b (Possession and Possessions); 210b, 212a, 212b (Power and Impotence)
V 103b (Sovereignty)

26-27 II 276b (Furniture and Furnishings)
IV 211b (Power and Impotence)

27 I 98a (Animal Life); 501b (Day, Times of)
IV 212a (Power and Impotence)

28 I 224b (Belief and Unbelief); 540a (Dissimulation)
II 274a (Friends and Friendship)
III 40a (Jihād); 231b (Lord); 238a, 238b, 239b (Loyalty)
IV 573a (Secrets)
V 251b (Textual Criticism of the Q); 287a (Time)

29 V 428a (Verse); 553b (World)

30 III 335a (Measurement)
V 241b (Textual Criticism of the Q); 288b (Time); 475a (Weights and Measures)

30-31 I 2b (Aaron)

31 II 74b (Ethics and the Q)
III 233b, 236b (Love and Affection); 447a (Muḥammad); 567a (Obedience)
IV 5b (Pairs and Pairing)
V 137b (Ṣūfism and the Q)

32 I 189b (Authority)
II 65b, 74b (Ethics and the Q); 322b (God and his Attributes)
III 380a (Mercy); 447a (Muḥammad); 502a (Names of the Prophet)
V 272b (Theology and the Q)

33 I 526a (Devil)
II 11b (Election); 509a (ʿImrān)
III 289b (Mary); 486b (Myths and Legends in the Q); 540a (Noah)
V 552a (World)

33-34 IV 291a (Prophets and Prophethood); 337a (Races)

33-37 III 289a (Mary)

33-45 III 13a (Jesus)

33-58 V 575a (Zechariah)

34 I 480b (Creeds)
IV 5b (Pairs and Pairing); 575a (Seeing and Hearing)

35 I 1b (Aaron)
II 509a (ʿImrān)
III 519b (Narratives); 562b (Oaths)
IV 5b (Pairs and Pairing)
V 449b (Vow)

35-36 I 233b (Birth)
III 289b (Mary)
V 575a (Zechariah)

35-47 V 533b (Women and the Q)

36 I 233b (Birth)
II 92b (Everyday Life, Q In)
III 292a (Mary)
IV 221b (Prayer); 308a (Protection)
V 130a (Stoning)

37 I 149a (Archaeology and the Q); 165a (Art and Architecture and the Q); 528b (Dhū l-Kifl)
II 299b, 309a (Geography)
III 289b (Mary); 395b (Miracles)
IV 227b (Prayer); 516b (Sacred Precincts)
V 184b (Syria); 575a (Zechariah)

37-44 V 574a, 574b (Zechariah)

38 IV 229a (Prayer); 575a (Seeing and Hearing)
V 575a (Zechariah)

38-39 IV 224a, 229a, 229b (Prayer)

38-40 V 545b (Word of God)

38-41 III 289a, 290a (Mary)

39 I 149a (Archaeology and the Q); 165a (Art and Architecture and the Q); 233a (Birth)
II 299b, 309a (Geography); 341a, 341b (Good News); 355a (Grammar and the Q)
III 14b (Jesus); 51b, 52a, 51b (John the Baptist); 289a (Mary); 395b (Miracles)

IV 227b (Prayer); 291b (Prophets and Prophethood); 439a (Revelation and Inspiration); 516b (Sacred Precincts)
V 184b (Syria); 545b (Word of God); 575a, 575b (Zechariah)

39-41 V 575a (Zechariah)

40 I 480b (Creeds)
III 289a (Mary)

41 I 503a, 503b (Day, Times of)
II 82a (Everyday Life, Q In); 314b (Glorification of God)
III 373a (Memory); 416b (Morning)
IV 439b (Revelation and Inspiration); 487b (Ritual and the Q)
V 280a, 281a (Time); 546a (Word of God)

42 I 59a, 59b (ʿĀʾisha bint Abī Bakr); 233b (Birth)
II 11b (Election); 193b (Fāṭima); 291a (Gender)
III 81a (Khadīja); 290a, 290b (Mary)
IV 291a (Prophets and Prophethood); 505a (Ritual Purity)
V 105b (Spatial Relations); 533b, 534a (Women and the Q)

42-47 III 13a (Jesus)

42-48 I 87a (Angel)

42-51 III 289a (Mary)

42-64 III 7b (Jesus)

43 I 254a (Bowing and Prostration)
III 290a (Mary)
IV 219b, 223a (Prayer)
V 534a (Women and the Q)

44 I 513b (Debate and Disputation)
II 280a, 282a (Gambling); 423b, 425a (Hidden and the Hidden); 545a (Instruments)
III 290a (Mary); 441b (Muḥammad); 537a (News)
IV 165b (Popular and Talismanic Uses of the Q); 302b (Prophets and Prophethood); 438b (Revelation and Inspiration)
V 271a (Theology and the Q); 575a, 575b (Zechariah)

44-48 IV 36b (People of the Book)

45 I 102b, 103a (Anointing); 233b (Birth)
II 341a, 341b (Good News)
III 8a, 14b, 16a (Jesus); 289a, 294a, 294b (Mary)
IV 16b (Paradise)
V 545b (Word of God)

45-46 III 395b (Miracles)

45-47 II 342a (Gospel)
III 295a (Mary)

45-49 I 313a (Christians and Christianity)

45-51 III 294a (Mary)

45-57 V 575a (Zechariah)

46 I 149a (Archaeology and the Q)
II 276a (Furniture and Furnishings)
III 13a (Jesus)

47 I 233b (Birth); 319a (Chronology and the Q); 475a, 475b (Creation); 516b (Decision)
II 185b (Fate); 269a (Freedom and Predestination); 327b (God and his Attributes)
III 289a, 294a (Mary)
V 109a (Speech); 287a (Time); 542b (Word of God)

47-49 I 167a (Art and Architecture and the Q)

48 I 245a, 245b (Book)
II 342a (Gospel)
III 16a (Jesus)
IV 68b (Philosophy and the Q)
V 300b (Torah); 483b (Wisdom)

48-49 III 191a (Literacy)
V 200b (Teaching)

48-58 III 295a (Mary)

49 I 98a (Animal Life); 163a, 167b (Art and Architecture and the Q); 340b (Clay); 476a (Creation); 507a (Death and the Dead)
II 4a (Earth); 355a (Grammar and the Q)
III 16a (Jesus); 226a (Literature and the Q); 381b (Messenger); 396a, 398a (Miracles); 537a (News)
IV 178b (Popular and Talismanic Uses of the Q); 183a (Portents); 295b (Prophets and Prophethood); 435b (Resurrection)
V 133b (Stoning)

49-57 II 558a (Invitation)

50 I 11b (Abrogation); 97a (Animal Life); 189a (Authority)
III 16a (Jesus); 174b (Lawful and Unlawful); 445a (Muḥammad)
IV 283a (Profane and Sacred); 439a (Revelation and Inspiration)
V 300b, 303a (Torah)

51 I 118b (Apologetics)
III 230a (Lord)

52 I 123a (Apostle); 389b (Companions of the Prophet); 446a (Cosmology)
II 405b (Hearing and Deafness)
III 8a (Jesus); 382b (Messenger)
IV 26b (Parties and Factions)
V 430a (Victory); 436a (Virtue)

52-53 I 123b (Apostle)
III 382b (Messenger)

53 I 243b (Book)
III 16a (Jesus); 567a (Obedience)
V 490b (Witness to Faith); 492b (Witnessing and Testifying)

54 II 322a (God and his Attributes)
III 18a, 18b (Jesus)
IV 117b (Polemic and Polemical Language); 471b (Rhetoric and the Q)

55 I 51a (Aḥmadiyya); 111a (Antichrist); 488b (Crucifixion)
II 216a (Flying)
III 8a, 18a, 19b, 20a (Jesus)
IV 505a (Ritual Purity)
V 109b (Speech); 375b (Trips and Voyages); 547a (Word of God)

57 I 220a (Belief and Unbelief)
II 68b (Ethics and the Q); 322b (God and his Attributes)
III 380a (Mercy)

58 III 190a (Literacy); 441a, 510a (Muḥammad)
IV 230a (Prayer)
V 4a (Signs)

59 I 24a (Adam and Eve); 233b (Birth); 312a, 313a (Christians and Christianity); 319a (Chronology and the Q); 446b (Cosmology); 475a, 475b, 476a (Creation)
II 4b (Earth); 327b, 328a (God and his Attributes); 443b (Holy Spirit)
III 8a, 15a (Jesus); 295a (Mary)
V 109a (Speech); 287a (Time); 542b, 545b, 547a, 547b (Word of God)

61 I 115b (Apologetics); 314a (Christians and Christianity); 466a (Covenant); 492a (Curse)
II 193a (Fāṭima)
IV 411a, 411b (Religious Pluralism and the Q)
V 82a (Soul); 498a (Witnessing and Testifying)

61-62 I 309b (Christians and Christianity); 347a (Clothing)

62 II 435b (History and the Q)
III 517b (Narratives)
IV 6a (Pairs and Pairing)
V 488b (Witness to Faith)

63 II 62b (Ethics and the Q)

64 I 222b (Belief and Unbelief)
III 22b, 32b (Jews and Judaism); 40a (Jihād); 229b (Lord)
IV 38b, 40a (People of the Book); 403a (Religious Pluralism and the Q)
V 436a (Virtue); 490b (Witness to Faith)

64-115 I 378b (Community and Society in the Q)

65 I 222b (Belief and Unbelief)
II 434a (History and the Q)
III 28a (Jews and Judaism); 445b (Muḥammad); 508b (Names of the Q); 579b (Opposition to Muḥammad)

	IV	40a (People of the Book); 403a (Religious Pluralism and the Q)
	V	300b, 304a (Torah)
65-68	I	330b (Chronology and the Q)
65-70	I	7b (Abraham)
66	III	102b (Knowledge and Learning)
	V	203b (Teaching)
67	I	5b (Abraham); 310a (Christians and Christianity); 330b (Chronology and the Q); 373a, 377b (Community and Society in the Q)
	II	31b (Epigraphy); 402b (Ḥanīf); 569b (Islam)
	III	340b (Mecca); 445b (Muḥammad)
	IV	255a (Pre-Islamic Arabia and the Q); 405a, 408b, 413a (Religious Pluralism and the Q)
	V	436a (Virtue)
67-68	II	163b (Faith)
	III	28a (Jews and Judaism)
	IV	37a (People of the Book)
68	I	370a (Community and Society in the Q)
	II	273a (Friends and Friendship)
	III	231b (Lord); 381b (Messenger); 445b (Muḥammad); 502a (Names of the Prophet)
69	I	222b (Belief and Unbelief)
	III	26a (Jews and Judaism)
	IV	26a (Parties and Factions); 40a (People of the Book); 120a (Polemic and Polemical Language)
70	I	222b (Belief and Unbelief)
	IV	120b (Polemic and Polemical Language)
	V	301a (Torah)
70-71	IV	40a (People of the Book)
71	I	222b (Belief and Unbelief)
	II	243a (Forgery)
	III	25b (Jews and Judaism)
	IV	450b (Revision and Alteration)
	V	301a, 304b (Torah)
72	I	222b (Belief and Unbelief); 503b (Day, Times of)
	III	26a (Jews and Judaism); 417b, 418b (Morning)
	IV	26a (Parties and Factions)
	V	282b (Time)
73	I	103b (Anthropomorphism)
	II	323b, 325a (God and his Attributes); 401b (Hand)
	III	201b (Literary Structures of the Q)
73-74	IV	311a (Provocation)
74	II	345a (Grace)

75 I 222b (Belief and Unbelief); 235b (Blasphemy); 325a (Chronology and the Q)
II 8b (Economics); 73b (Ethics and the Q); 494b, 495a, 498a, 498b (Illiteracy); 545b (Instruments)
III 27a, 32a (Jews and Judaism); 335a (Measurement); 408b (Money)
IV 40a (People of the Book); 120a (Polemic and Polemical Language)
V 400a (Ummī); 474a (Weights and Measures)

76 I 379a (Community and Society in the Q)
II 322a (God and his Attributes); 447b (Honor)
V 137b (Ṣūfism and the Q)

77 I 298a (Chastisement and Punishment)
II 416b (Hell and Hellfire)
III 276a (Markets); 563b (Oaths)
IV 505a (Ritual Purity)
V 110b (Speech); 547b (Word of God)

78 I 118a (Apologetics); 170b (Art and Architecture and the Q); 235b (Blasphemy)
II 353a (Grammar and the Q)
III 25b, 32a (Jews and Judaism)
IV 280b (Profane and Sacred); 450b (Revision and Alteration)
V 304b (Torah)

79 I 246a (Book)
III 398a (Miracles); 451b (Muḥammad)
IV 127b (Politics and the Q); 281a (Profane and Sacred); 292b (Prophets and Prophethood); 539b (Scholar); 578b (Servants)
V 202a, 203a (Teaching)

80 V 203a (Teaching)

81 I 245a (Book); 349a (Codices of the Q); 380a (Community and Society in the Q); 464b (Covenant)
II 360a (Grammar and the Q)
III 228a (Load or Burden); 445a (Muḥammad)
IV 128b (Politics and the Q); 298b (Prophets and Prophethood); 439a (Revelation and Inspiration)
V 492a, 502a (Witnessing and Testifying)

81-82 II 63b (Ethics and the Q)

81-85 III 7b (Jesus)

83 I 437b (Conversion)
II 91b (Everyday Life, Q In); 351a (Grammar and the Q); 420b (Heresy)

84 I 8a (Abraham); 189a (Authority); 480b (Creeds)
II 561b (Isaac); 563b (Ishmael)
III 1a (Jacob); 8a, 17a (Jesus); 300a (Material Culture and the Q); 445a (Muḥammad)
V 302a, 303b (Torah); 364a (Tribes and Clans)

84-85 II 73a (Ethics and the Q)

85 II 34b (Epigraphy); 569b (Islam)
III 307a (Material Culture and the Q); 559a (Numismatics)
IV 396b, 397a, 397b, 398a (Religion); 404a (Religious Pluralism and the Q)

85-91 III 380a (Mercy)

86 I 435b (Conversion)
II 270a (Freedom and Predestination); 371a (Gratitude and Ingratitude)
III 502a (Names of the Prophet)
IV 286b (Proof)
V 293b (Tolerance and Coercion); 490b (Witness to Faith); 502a (Witnessing and Testifying)

86-89 IV 427a (Repentance and Penance)
V 498a (Witnessing and Testifying)

86-91 II 418a (Hell and Hellfire)

87 I 120a (Apostasy)

87-88 II 418b (Hell and Hellfire)

90 I 120b (Apostasy); 381b (Community and Society in the Q)
IV 426a (Repentance and Penance)
V 293b (Tolerance and Coercion)

91 I 120b (Apostasy)
II 333b, 334b (Gold); 371a (Gratitude and Ingratitude)

92 II 60b, 61a (Ethics and the Q)

93 I 197b (Bahāʾīs)
II 221a (Food and Drink); 571a, 571b (Israel)
III 2a (Jacob); 25a (Jews and Judaism); 174b (Lawful and Unlawful); 190a (Literacy)
IV 282a (Profane and Sacred); 312a, 312b (Provocation)
V 300b, 303a (Torah)

95 I 5b, 6a (Abraham); 330b (Chronology and the Q); 337b (Circumcision); 373a (Community and Society in the Q)
II 70b (Ethics and the Q); 402b (Ḥanīf)
III 445b (Muḥammad)
IV 401a (Religious Pluralism and the Q)

95-97 I 330b (Chronology and the Q)

95-98 I 7b (Abraham)

96 I 155a (Archaeology and the Q)
II 299b, 311b, 312a (Geography)
III 77a, 78a (Kaʿba); 337b (Mecca)
IV 54a (People of the Thicket); 97a (Pilgrimage); 259a (Pre-Islamic Arabia and the Q); 327b (Qibla)
V 374b (Trips and Voyages); 552a (World)

96-97	I	7b (Abraham)
	II	84b (Everyday Life, Q In); 34a (Epigraphy); 458b, 462a (House, Domestic and Divine)
	III	340b (Mecca)
	IV	514a (Sacred Precincts)
97	II	340a (Good Deeds); 460a (House, Domestic and Divine)
	III	77a, 79a (Kaʿba); 158a (Law and the Q); 305a (Material Culture and the Q); 340b (Mecca)
	IV	52b (People of the House); 92a, 94b (Pilgrimage); 104b (Place of Abraham); 286a (Proof); 515b (Sacred Precincts)
	V	8a (Signs); 467b (Wealth); 556b (Worship)
98	I	222b (Belief and Unbelief)
	II	320b (God and his Attributes)
	IV	120a (Polemic and Polemical Language)
	V	301a (Torah); 493a (Witnessing and Testifying)
98-100	IV	40a (People of the Book)
98-199	I	223b (Belief and Unbelief)
99	I	222b (Belief and Unbelief)
	II	420b (Heresy)
	IV	120a (Polemic and Polemical Language)
	V	492b (Witnessing and Testifying)
99-100	I	224b (Belief and Unbelief)
	III	26a (Jews and Judaism)
100	I	222b (Belief and Unbelief)
	II	65b (Ethics and the Q)
	III	567b (Obedience)
	IV	120b (Polemic and Polemical Language)
100-114	IV	40a (People of the Book)
101	I	465a (Covenant)
	III	190a (Literacy)
	IV	562b (Scripture and the Q)
101-103	II	17a (Emigrants and Helpers)
102	II	195b (Fear)
	V	251b (Textual Criticism of the Q)
102-103	IV	134b (Politics and the Q)
102-104	I	374a (Community and Society in the Q)
103	I	262b (Brother and Brotherhood); 305b (Children of Israel); 435b (Conversion); 465a (Covenant); 519b (Deliverance); 538b (Dissension)
	II	21b (Emigration); 23b (Enemies); 408a, 408b (Heart); 546b (Instruments)
	III	99b (Kinship); 512b (Names of the Q)

IV 25b (Parties and Factions); 142a (Politics and the Q); 523b (Salvation)
V 7b (Signs); 54a (Sister); 166a (Sunna); 365a (Tribes and Clans)

103-112 V 393b (Turkish Literature and the Q)

104 I 220b (Belief and Unbelief)
II 72a (Ethics and the Q); 170b (Faith); 224a (Forbidden); 453a (Hospitality and Courtesy); 497a (Illiteracy)
IV 85a (Philosophy and the Q); 127b (Politics and the Q); 490a (Ritual and the Q); 523a (Salvation)
V 207b (Teaching and Preaching the Q); 316b (Tradition and Custom); 436b, 438a, 439a, 440a, 440b, 441a, 441b, 442b, 443b (Virtues and Vices, Commanding and Forbidding)

105 I 538b (Dissension)
III 32b (Jews and Judaism)
IV 25b (Parties and Factions)

106 I 363b, 364b (Colors)
III 137b (Last Judgment); 380a (Mercy)

107 I 363b (Colors)

108 III 71a (Justice and Injustice); 190a (Literacy); 441a (Muḥammad)
V 552a (World)

110 I 64a (Almsgiving); 145b (Arabs); 219a, 222b, 223b (Belief and Unbelief); 374a (Community and Society in the Q)
II 170b (Faith); 396a (Ḥadīth and the Q); 497a (Illiteracy)
III 23a (Jews and Judaism)
IV 120a, 120b (Polemic and Polemical Language); 490a (Ritual and the Q); 600a, 600b (Shīʿism and the Q)
V 209a (Teaching and Preaching the Q); 301a, 303b (Torah); 437a, 438a, 440a, 440b, 442a, 442b (Virtues and Vices, Commanding and Forbidding); 458a (War); 573a (Zealotry)

111 I 80b (Anatomy)
III 40a, 40b (Jihād); 377a (Menstruation)

112 I 93a (Anger); 264b (Burial); 305a (Children of Israel); 465a (Covenant); 536b, 537b (Disobedience)
II 546b (Instruments)
III 382a (Messenger)
IV 309b (Provocation)
V 575a (Zechariah)

113 I 182b (Asceticism); 222b, 223b (Belief and Unbelief); 254b (Bowing and Prostration); 328a (Chronology and the Q); 502b (Day, Times of); 530a (Dialects)
III 32a (Jews and Judaism); 190a (Literacy)
IV 222b (Prayer)
V 7a (Signs); 282b (Time); 301a, 303b (Torah); 430b (Vigil); 437b, 438a (Virtues and Vices, Commanding and Forbidding)

113-114 I 306a (Children of Israel); 374a (Community and Society in the Q)
II 63b, 73a (Ethics and the Q)
III 23a (Jews and Judaism)
IV 368b (Recitation of the Q)

113-115 I 219a (Belief and Unbelief)

114 II 63b (Ethics and the Q)
III 136a, 136b (Last Judgment)
IV 85a (Philosophy and the Q)
V 437b, 438a, 440a, 440b (Virtues and Vices, Commanding and Forbidding)

115 I 220b (Belief and Unbelief)
III 379a (Mercy)

116 I 221b (Belief and Unbelief); 302b (Children)
IV 31b (Patriarchy)
V 468a (Wealth)

117 I 41b (Agriculture and Vegetation); 52b, 54b (Air and Wind); 184b (Ashes)
II 65a (Ethics and the Q)
III 71a (Justice and Injustice)
IV 10a (Parable); 310a (Provocation)
V 82b (Soul); 470b (Weather)

118 I 82b (Anatomy); 224b (Belief and Unbelief)
II 73a (Ethics and the Q); 274a, 275a (Friends and Friendship)
III 240a (Loyalty)
IV 24b (Parties and Factions)

118-120 II 468b (Hypocrites and Hypocrisy)

118-174 I 409a, 409b (Consultation)

119 I 93b (Anger)
II 550b (Intention)
III 26a (Jews and Judaism)
IV 442a (Revelation and Inspiration)

120 III 61b (Joy and Misery); 579a (Opposition to Muḥammad)

121 I 501b, 504a (Day, Times of)
III 417b (Morning)
IV 5b (Pairs and Pairing)

121-122 III 456b (Muḥammad)

122 II 161b (Failure)
V 379a, 379b (Trust and Patience)

123 I 196a, 196b (Badr)
II 262b (Form and Structure of the Q); 299b (Geography); 508a (Impotence)
III 455a (Muḥammad); 579a (Opposition to Muḥammad)
IV 226b (Prayer)
V 175b (Sūra); 284b (Time); 430a (Victory)

123-125 II 209b (Fighting)
III 183a (Life)

123-127 III 42b (Jihād)

123-128 III 456a (Muḥammad)
IV 332a (Quraysh)

124 IV 335a (Qurayẓa, Banū al-)

124-125 I 463a (Court)
II 411b (Heaven and Sky)
V 378a (Troops)

124-126 III 398a (Miracles)

125 III 552a (Numbers and Enumeration)

126 II 35a (Epigraphy); 341b (Good News)
IV 6a (Pairs and Pairing)

127 II 162a (Failure)
IV 403b (Religious Pluralism and the Q)

128 II 186a (Fate)
IV 427a (Repentance and Penance)

129 II 244b (Forgiveness)
IV 5b (Pairs and Pairing); 457b (Reward and Punishment)
V 553b (World)

130 II 8a (Economics); 31a (Epigraphy)
IV 284a (Profane and Sacred)
V 407a (Usury)

130-131 V 21b (Sin, Major and Minor)

130-135 IV 455a (Reward and Punishment)

131 V 554b (World)

132 I 189b (Authority)
IV 17a (Paradise)
V 272b (Theology and the Q)

133 III 333b (Measurement)
IV 15b (Paradise); 64b (Persian Literature and the Q)
V 554b (World)

133-134 III 359a (Medicine and the Q)

134 I 93b (Anger)
II 244b (Forgiveness); 322a (God and his Attributes)
III 65b (Judgment)
IV 17a (Paradise)
V 137b (Ṣūfism and the Q)

135 II 244b (Forgiveness)
III 373b (Memory); 510a (Names of the Q)

IV 580b (Sex and Sexuality)
V 204b (Teaching)

136 II 245a (Forgiveness)
IV 17a (Paradise)

137 IV 425a (Remnant)
V 164a (Sunna); 376a (Trips and Voyages)

138 II 142b (Exhortations)
III 124b (Language and Style of the Q)

139 I 461a, 461b (Courage); 521b (Despair)

139-140 I 406a (Consolation)

139-144 II 162a (Failure)

139-175 III 40a, 41a (Jihād)

140 II 322b (God and his Attributes); 429b, 431a (History and the Q); 448a (Honor)
III 282a (Martyrs); 380a (Mercy)
V 280a (Time); 458b (War); 490b, 491a (Witness to Faith)

140-142 I 460b (Courage)

141 I 461b (Courage)
V 362b (Trial)

142 I 458b, 461a (Courage)
III 37a, 37b (Jihād)

143 I 461b (Courage)

144 I 310b (Christians and Christianity)
II 372a (Gratitude and Ingratitude)
III 18b (Jesus); 381b (Messenger); 440a, 444a (Muḥammad); 501b (Names of the Prophet)
IV 17a (Paradise); 259a (Pre-Islamic Arabia and the Q); 298a (Prophets and Prophethood)
V 41b (Sīra and the Q); 489a (Witness to Faith); 501b (Witnessing and Testifying)

145 I 244a (Book); 523a (Destiny)
II 269b (Freedom and Predestination); 360a (Grammar and the Q); 372a (Gratitude and Ingratitude)
IV 452b, 456b (Reward and Punishment)
V 83a (Soul)

145-151 V 383a (Trust and Patience)

146 I 458b, 461a (Courage); 521b (Despair)
II 322a (God and his Attributes); 352b (Grammar and the Q)
III 577b (Opposition to Muḥammad)
IV 300a (Prophets and Prophethood)
V 137b (Ṣūfism and the Q); 383b (Trust and Patience); 455b (War)

147 II 370b (Gratitude and Ingratitude)

148 I 460a (Courage)
IV 176b (Popular and Talismanic Uses of the Q); 452b, 456b (Reward and Punishment)
V 137b (Ṣūfism and the Q)

149 III 41b (Jihād); 567b (Obedience)

149-152 I 460b (Courage)

150 I 344b (Clients and Clientage); 461a (Courage)
III 231a (Lord)
IV 307b (Protection)

151 II 198a (Fear); 460b (House, Domestic and Divine)
IV 103b (Pit); 287a (Proof)

152 I 537b (Disobedience)
II 161b (Failure)
IV 148a (Politics and the Q)
V 434b (Virtue); 552b (World)

152-155 II 162a (Failure); 508b (Impotence)

152-158 II 468b (Hypocrites and Hypocrisy)

153 IV 452b (Reward and Punishment)

154 I 37b (Age of Ignorance); 244a (Book); 460b (Courage)
II 269b (Freedom and Predestination); 489a (Ignorance); 550b (Intention)
IV 26a (Parties and Factions); 442a (Revelation and Inspiration)
V 178a (Suspicion); 286b (Time); 362b (Trial)

154-155 III 38a (Jihād)

155 I 526a (Devil)
IV 5b (Pairs and Pairing)
V 457b (War)

155-174 II 262b (Form and Structure of the Q); 175b (Sūra)

156 II 144a, 144b (Expeditions and Battles)
III 58a (Journey)
IV 435b (Resurrection); 483a (Rhymed Prose); 574b (Seeing and Hearing)
V 458a (War); 545a (Word of God)

157 II 245a (Forgiveness)
III 379b (Mercy)
IV 30b (Path or Way)

157-158 I 506a (Death and the Dead)
II 209b (Fighting)
III 282b (Martyrs)

158 II 209b (Fighting)

159 I 235a (Birth Control); 407a, 409a, 409b, 410a (Consultation)
II 245a (Forgiveness); 322a (God and his Attributes); 408b (Heart)
III 447a (Muḥammad); 567a (Obedience)
IV 139a, 149b (Politics and the Q)
V 137b (Ṣūfism and the Q); 221b (Teaching and Preaching the Q); 383b (Trust and Patience)

160 II 462a (House, Domestic and Divine)

161 I 522b (Destiny)
IV 291b (Prophets and Prophethood)

162 I 93a (Anger)
II 321b (God and his Attributes)
IV 103b (Pit)

163 IV 574b (Seeing and Hearing)

164 I 32a (African Literature); 245b, 246a (Book)
II 43a (Error); 497b (Illiteracy)
III 190a, 191a (Literacy); 441a, 442b (Muḥammad)
IV 301a (Prophets and Prophethood); 505a (Ritual Purity)
V 434a (Virtue)

165-167 II 162a (Failure)

166 I 460b (Courage)
V 458a (War)

166-167 II 209b (Fighting)
III 38a (Jihād)

166-168 II 469b (Hypocrites and Hypocrisy)

167 I 82a, 82b (Anatomy); 461a (Courage)
II 71a (Ethics and the Q); 468b, 470a (Hypocrites and Hypocrisy)
III 181b (Lie)
V 457b, 458a (War)

168 III 567a (Obedience)

169 I 114a (Apocalypse); 264b (Burial); 488b (Crucifixion); 506a (Death and the Dead)
II 45b (Eschatology); 209b (Fighting)
III 18b, 19a (Jesus); 62a (Joy and Misery); 139b (Last Judgment); 282b, 283a, 283b (Martyrs)
IV 30b (Path or Way); 459b (Reward and Punishment)
V 491a (Witness to Faith)

169-170 III 285a (Martyrs)

169-171 III 456b (Muḥammad)

170 II 554b (Intercession)
III 61a, 62a (Joy and Misery)
V 138a (Ṣūfism and the Q)

170-171	II	45b (Eschatology)
171	III	62a (Joy and Misery)
172	II	61b (Ethics and the Q)
172-175	I	460a (Courage)
173	I	220b (Belief and Unbelief)
	II	32b (Epigraphy); 320b (God and his Attributes); 351a (Grammar and the Q)
	III	299a, 300b (Material Culture and the Q)
175	I	526a (Devil)
	II	273b (Friends and Friendship)
	III	231b (Lord)
175-177	I	405b (Consolation)
176	II	510b (Indifference)
	III	452b (Muḥammad)
176-177	I	120a (Apostasy)
	IV	456a (Reward and Punishment)
176-179	II	468b (Hypocrites and Hypocrisy)
177	III	276a (Markets)
178	II	416a (Hell and Hellfire)
179	I	202a (Barēlwīs)
	II	11b (Election); 423a (Hidden and the Hidden)
	IV	291b (Prophets and Prophethood)
180	I	64b (Almsgiving); 191a (Avarice)
	II	367a (Grammar and the Q)
181	I	243b (Book); 305a (Children of Israel)
	II	210b (Fire); 414b (Hell and Hellfire)
	III	24a (Jews and Judaism); 382a (Messenger)
	IV	324b (Qaynuqāʿ, Banū)
	V	493a (Witnessing and Testifying); 575a (Zechariah)
182	I	522b (Destiny)
	III	71a (Justice and Injustice)
	IV	84a (Philosophy and the Q)
183	II	211b (Fire); 350b (Grammar and the Q)
	III	24a (Jews and Judaism); 450a (Muḥammad)
	IV	517a (Sacrifice)
	V	575a (Zechariah)
184	I	245b (Book)
	III	232a (Lot); 453a (Muḥammad)
	IV	296a, 296b, 297a, 301a (Prophets and Prophethood); 316a (Psalms); 570b (Scrolls)
	V	300b, 301b, 303b (Torah)

185 I 264b (Burial)
II 36b (Epigraphy)
III 300b (Material Culture and the Q)
IV 486a (Ritual and the Q)
V 83a (Soul); 552a, 552b (World)

186 I 83b (Anatomy); 220b, 222b (Belief and Unbelief)
III 26b, 32a (Jews and Judaism); 184b (Life); 579a (Opposition to Muḥammad)
V 362b, 363a (Trial)

187 I 222b (Belief and Unbelief); 304b, 305a (Children of Israel); 464b (Covenant)
IV 129a (Politics and the Q)
V 303b, 304b (Torah)

187-188 III 24b (Jews and Judaism)

188 III 61b (Joy and Misery)
IV 213b (Praise)

189 IV 127b (Politics and the Q)

190 I 501b (Day, Times of)
III 528b, 531b (Nature as Signs)
V 280b (Time)

190-191 I 473a, 474a (Creation)
II 372a (Gratitude and Ingratitude)
III 373b (Memory)
IV 70b (Philosophy and the Q); 438a (Revelation and Inspiration); 545b (Science and the Q)

191 II 37a (Epigraphy); 82a (Everyday Life, Q In); 314b (Glorification of God)
III 373a (Memory)

192 II 465a (Humor)
III 379b (Mercy)
IV 453b (Reward and Punishment)

193 I 506a (Death and the Dead)
III 18b (Jesus)
IV 486a (Ritual and the Q)
V 19a, 19b (Sin, Major and Minor)

193-195 V 22a (Sin, Major and Minor)

194 IV 298b (Prophets and Prophethood)

195 I 262b (Brother and Brotherhood)
II 209b (Fighting); 289b (Gender)
III 41a (Jihād)
IV 17a, 17b (Paradise); 30b (Path or Way)
V 134b (Suffering); 526b (Women and the Q)

196-197 I 221b (Belief and Unbelief)

197 II 276a (Furniture and Furnishings)
III 60a (Joy and Misery)
IV 103b, 104a (Pit)

199 I 219a, 222b, 223b (Belief and Unbelief); 306a (Children of Israel)
III 23a (Jews and Judaism); 66b (Judgment)
IV 40b (People of the Book); 455b (Reward and Punishment)
V 301a (Torah)

200 II 31a (Epigraphy); 70b (Ethics and the Q)
V 134b (Suffering)

Sūrat al-Nisāʾ (4)

I 328a (Chronology and the Q); 383a (Community and Society in the Q)
II 264a (Form and Structure of the Q)
III 19a (Jesus); 235a (Love and Affection); 549a (Numbers and Enumeration)
IV 237b (Pre-1800 Preoccupations of Q Studies)
V 21a (Sin, Major and Minor); 166b, 174b (Sūra); 369a (Trinity); 522b (Womb); 523a, 528b (Women and the Q)

1 I 24b (Adam and Eve); 233a, 233b (Birth); 235a (Birth Control); 447b (Cosmology); 474b, 476b (Creation)
II 31a (Epigraphy); 75b (Ethics and the Q); 202b (Feminism and the Q); 290b (Gender); 320b, 328b (God and his Attributes); 364a (Grammar and the Q); 432a (History and the Q)
III 229b (Lord); 277b (Marriage and Divorce)
IV 20b (Parents); 581b (Sex and Sexuality)
V 84a (Soul); 522a (Womb); 524a, 530a (Women and the Q)

1-42 IV 32a (Patriarchy)

2 II 68a (Ethics and the Q); 374a (Guardianship)
III 169b (Law and the Q); 604a (Orphans)
V 570a (Youth and Old Age)

2-3 V 524b (Women and the Q)

3 I 383a (Community and Society in the Q); 396b (Concubines)
II 70a (Ethics and the Q); 175b (Family); 348b (Grammar and the Q); 374a (Guardianship)
III 70a, 71b (Justice and Injustice); 169b (Law and the Q); 235a (Love and Affection); 277b, 278a (Marriage and Divorce); 549b, 551b (Numbers and Enumeration); 604a (Orphans)
IV 32a (Patriarchy); 186b (Possession and Possessions); 237b (Pre-1800 Preoccupations of Q Studies); 256a (Pre-Islamic Arabia and the Q); 288a (Property); 580b, 582a (Sex and Sexuality)
V 183a (Symbolic Imagery); 424b (Verse); 506b (Wives of the Prophet); 527a, 527b (Women and the Q)

3-4 V 183a (Ṣūfism and the Q)

4 I 258b (Bridewealth); 530a (Dialects)
II 76a (Ethics and the Q); 313b (Gift-Giving); 354b (Grammar and the Q); 374b (Guardianship)
IV 582b (Sex and Sexuality)
V 529a (Women and the Q)

4-6 IV 186a (Possession and Possessions)

5 II 7b (Economics); 374a (Guardianship)
III 331b (Maturity); 604a (Orphans)
V 467b, 469b (Wealth)

6 I 19b (Abstinence)
II 62a (Ethics and the Q); 374a (Guardianship)
III 67b (Judgment); 278b (Marriage and Divorce); 330b, 331b (Maturity); 604a (Orphans)
IV 580b (Sex and Sexuality)
V 495a, 495b (Witnessing and Testifying)

6-10 V 570a (Youth and Old Age)

7 II 76a (Ethics and the Q); 519a (Inheritance)
IV 21b (Parents)

7-20 V 529a (Women and the Q)

8 II 174b (Family)
III 604a (Orphans)
IV 209a (Poverty and the Poor)
V 179b (Sustenance)

9 III 580b (Oppressed on Earth)

10 II 64b (Ethics and the Q); 374a (Guardianship); 414b, 418a (Hell and Hellfire)
III 71b (Justice and Injustice); 604a (Orphans)

10-11 I 321a (Chronology and the Q)

11 I 259b (Brother and Brotherhood); 480b (Creeds)
II 76a (Ethics and the Q); 351a (Grammar and the Q); 519b, 520a, 522a, 522b (Inheritance)
III 164a, 164b (Law and the Q)
IV 5b, 7a (Pairs and Pairing); 21b (Parents); 32a (Patriarchy); 449a (Revision and Alteration); 537b (Scholar)
V 53a (Sister)

11-12 I 12a, 12b (Abrogation); 515b (Debt)
II 7b (Economics); 519a, 520b (Inheritance)
IV 284a (Profane and Sacred)

11-13 I 253b (Boundaries and Precepts)

12 I 12a (Abrogation)
II 320b (God and his Attributes); 519b, 520a, 520a, 522a, 522b, 523b, 524a, 524b, 525a, 525b (Inheritance)

III 98a (Kinship); 278b (Marriage and Divorce); 552b (Numbers and Enumeration)
V 53a (Sister); 481a (Widow); 529a (Women and the Q)

12-14 II 418a (Hell and Hellfire)
IV 581b (Sex and Sexuality)

13 I 13a (Abrogation)
IV 17a, 18b (Paradise); 522b (Salvation)
V 123a (Springs and Fountains); 489a (Witness to Faith)

13-14 I 253a (Boundaries and Precepts)

14 I 537b (Disobedience)

15 I 18a (Abrogation); 28a (Adultery and Fornication)
II 63a, 68a (Ethics and the Q); 214b (Flogging)
III 551b (Numbers and Enumeration)
IV 277a (Prisoners); 580b, 584a (Sex and Sexuality)
V 490a (Witness to Faith); 497b (Witnessing and Testifying); 528a (Women and the Q)

15-16 I 17a (Abrogation); 28b (Adultery and Fornication); 299b (Chastity)
II 444b (Homosexuality)
IV 32a (Patriarchy); 449a (Revision and Alteration)

16 I 28a (Adultery and Fornication)
III 379b (Mercy)
IV 5b (Pairs and Pairing); 427b (Repentance and Penance)
V 528a (Women and the Q)

17 I 450a (Cosmology); 480b (Creeds)
II 245a (Forgiveness); 488b (Ignorance)
III 378b (Mercy)
IV 5b (Pairs and Pairing); 427a (Repentance and Penance); 537b (Scholar)
V 24b (Sin, Major and Minor)

17-18 II 64b (Ethics and the Q)

18 II 245a (Forgiveness); 542b (Insolence and Obstinacy)
III 379b (Mercy)
IV 67b (Pharaoh); 426a (Repentance and Penance)
V 288b (Time)

19 I 299b (Chastity)
II 76a (Ethics and the Q)
III 279b (Marriage and Divorce)
IV 580b, 582a (Sex and Sexuality)

19-20 IV 32b (Patriarchy)
V 529b (Women and the Q)

20 I 258b, 259a (Bridewealth)
II 76a (Ethics and the Q); 292b (Gender); 374b (Guardianship); 545b (Instruments)
V 19a (Sin, Major and Minor); 474a (Weights and Measures)

21 I 258b (Bridewealth); 380b (Community and Society in the Q); 464b (Covenant)
III 278b (Marriage and Divorce)

22 II 266b (Fosterage); 460a (House, Domestic and Divine)
III 277b (Marriage and Divorce)
IV 580b, 582a (Sex and Sexuality)
V 19a (Sin, Major and Minor)

22-24 I 383a, 383b (Community and Society in the Q)
III 174a (Lawful and Unlawful)
IV 284b, 285a, 285b (Prohibited Degrees)

23 I 18b (Abrogation); 259b (Brother and Brotherhood); 302a (Children)
II 225a (Forbidden); 266a, 266b (Fosterage); 374b (Guardianship)
III 106a, 107a, 107b (Lactation); 277b (Marriage and Divorce)
IV 5b (Pairs and Pairing); 22a (Parents); 582a (Sex and Sexuality)
V 53a (Sister); 477a (Wet-Nursing); 512b (Wives of the Prophet)

23-24 III 207a (Literature and the Q)

24 I 244b (Book); 258a, 258b (Bridewealth); 480b (Creeds)
II 64a (Ethics and the Q); 313b (Gift-Giving); 374b (Guardianship)
III 279a (Marriage and Divorce)
IV 99a (Pilgrimage); 288a (Property); 537b (Scholar); 582a, 582b, 583b (Sex and Sexuality); 600b (Shīʿism and the Q)
V 232a, 232b (Temporary Marriage); 469a (Wealth); 527b (Women and the Q)

24-25 III 277a, 278a (Marriage and Divorce)
IV 32a (Patriarchy); 452a (Reward and Punishment)
V 183a (Symbolic Imagery); 313b (Trade and Commerce); 527b (Women and the Q)

25 I 18a (Abrogation); 28b (Adultery and Fornication); 258a (Bridewealth); 299a, 299b (Chastity); 396a, 396b (Concubines)
II 63a (Ethics and the Q); 374b (Guardianship)
III 279a (Marriage and Divorce); 378b (Mercy)
IV 5b (Pairs and Pairing); 186b (Possession and Possessions); 288a (Property); 580b, 581b, 582a, 583b, 584a (Sex and Sexuality)
V 57a, 57b, 58a (Slaves and Slavery)

25-28 V 139a (Ṣūfism and the Q)

26 IV 5b (Pairs and Pairing); 537b (Scholar); 164b (Sunna)

26-27 IV 427b (Repentance and Penance)

28 I 435a (Conversion)
II 56b (Ethics and the Q)
IV 128b (Politics and the Q)

29 I 301a (Cheating); 434a (Contracts and Alliances)
II 359b (Grammar and the Q)
III 275b (Markets); 366b (Medicine and the Q)
V 159b, 160b, 162a (Suicide); 417a (Vengeance); 469b (Wealth)

29-30 II 418a (Hell and Hellfire)

30 I 32a (African Literature)

31 I 217a (Bedouin)
II 33a (Epigraphy)
IV 431b (Responsibility)
V 19a, 19b, 21a, 21b, 27a (Sin, Major and Minor)

32 II 290a (Gender)
V 526b (Women and the Q)

33 I 344b (Clients and Clientage)
V 493a (Witnessing and Testifying)

33-36 V 183a (Symbolic Imagery)

34 I 84a (Anatomy); 158b (Arrogance)
II 18b (Emigration); 76a (Ethics and the Q); 82b (Everyday Life, Q In); 175b (Family); 202b (Feminism and the Q); 276a (Furniture and Furnishings); 290a, 292a (Gender); 395b (Ḥadīth and the Q)
III 236b (Love and Affection); 278b, 279b (Marriage and Divorce); 567a (Obedience)
IV 5b (Pairs and Pairing); 32a (Patriarchy); 308a (Protection); 583b (Sex and Sexuality)
V 191b (Talent); 467b (Wealth); 525a, 529a, 536a, 539b (Women and the Q)

35 I 147b (Arbitration)
II 76a (Ethics and the Q)
III 64b (Judgment); 279b (Marriage and Divorce)
IV 5b (Pairs and Pairing); 136a (Politics and the Q)
V 103a (Sovereignty); 528b (Women and the Q)

36 I 241b (Boast); 369b (Community and Society in the Q); 395a (Conceit)
II 7a (Economics); 61b, 67a, 71b, 75a (Ethics and the Q); 174b, 176a (Family); 447b (Honor); 453a (Hospitality and Courtesy)
III 252a (Maintenance and Upkeep); 603b (Orphans)
IV 20b (Parents); 186b (Possession and Possessions); 209a (Poverty and the Poor); 288a (Property)
V 57b (Slaves and Slavery); 131a, 132a, 130b (Strangers and Foreigners); 204b (Teaching); 523a (Womb)

36-38 V 468b (Wealth)

37 III 25b (Jews and Judaism)

38 I 526a (Devil)
II 71a (Ethics and the Q); 450a (Hospitality and Courtesy); 468b (Hypocrites and Hypocrisy)
III 136b (Last Judgment)
V 119b (Spiritual Beings); 494b (Witnessing and Testifying)

39 III 136b (Last Judgment)

40 I 99b (Animal Life)
II 545b (Instruments)

III 72a (Justice and Injustice); 334b (Measurement); 379b (Mercy); 409a (Money)
IV 6b (Pairs and Pairing); 458b (Reward and Punishment)
V 473b (Weights and Measures)

41 III 382a (Messenger); 447a (Muḥammad)
IV 300b (Prophets and Prophethood)
V 493b (Witnessing and Testifying)

42 I 537a (Disobedience)

43 I 321a, 328b (Chronology and the Q); 341a, 342a, 342b (Cleanliness and Ablution); 411b, 412a (Contamination)
II 158a (Face); 221b (Food and Drink); 321a (God and his Attributes); 391a (Ḥadīth and the Q); 501b (Illness and Health); 556a, 557a (Intoxicants)
III 12a (Jesus); 57b, 58a (Journey); 152a, 169a (Law and the Q); 333b (Measurement); 353b (Medicine and the Q); 375b (Menstruation); 378b (Mercy)
IV 5b (Pairs and Pairing); 225b (Prayer); 376b, 377a (Recitation of the Q); 485b (Ritual and the Q); 499a, 499b, 500a, 500b, 501a, 501b, 506b (Ritual Purity)
V 373a (Trips and Voyages); 465a (Water); 482a (Wine); 524b (Women and the Q)

44 I 222b (Belief and Unbelief)
II 43a (Error)
IV 24b (Parties and Factions); 36a (People of the Book)

45 I 432a (Contracts and Alliances)
II 23b (Enemies); 273a (Friends and Friendship)
III 47a (Jinn); 231b (Lord)

46 I 83a (Anatomy); 118a (Apologetics); 305a (Children of Israel); 440a (Corruption); 497a (David); 537a (Disobedience)
II 243a (Forgery); 342b (Gospel); 363a (Grammar and the Q); 406a (Hearing and Deafness)
III 22b, 25a, 25b, 32a (Jews and Judaism); 143a (Last Judgment)
IV 36b (People of the Book); 450b (Revision and Alteration)
V 304b (Torah); 393b (Turkish Literature and the Q); 502a (Witnessing and Testifying)

47 I 222b (Belief and Unbelief); 492a (Curse)
III 449a (Muḥammad)
IV 36a (People of the Book); 120b (Polemic and Polemical Language); 153b (Poll Tax); 298a (Prophets and Prophethood); 439a (Revelation and Inspiration); 510b (Sabbath)
V 285b (Time); 300b (Torah); 545a (Word of God)

48 I 37b (Age of Ignorance); 221b (Belief and Unbelief)
II 244b (Forgiveness); 419a (Hell and Hellfire)
III 37b (Jihād); 380a (Mercy)
IV 119b (Polemic and Polemical Language); 159a (Polytheism and Atheism); 399a (Religious Pluralism and the Q)
V 19a, 20b, 22b (Sin, Major and Minor); 487a (Wish and Desire)

48-49 III 380a (Mercy)

49 III 24a (Jews and Judaism)
IV 505a (Ritual Purity)

50 V 19a (Sin, Major and Minor)

51 I 222b (Belief and Unbelief)
II 229a (Foreign Vocabulary); 482a (Idols and Images)
III 26b (Jews and Judaism); 35a (Jibt); 499a (Naḍīr, Banū al-)
IV 24b (Parties and Factions)
V 119b (Spiritual Beings); 248a (Textual Criticism of the Q)

51-52 III 32a (Jews and Judaism)

52 I 209b (Basmala); 492a (Curse)

53 I 494b (Date Palm)
IV 185a (Possession and Possessions)

53-54 III 92b (Kings and Rulers)

54 I 189a (Authority); 245b (Book)
II 25a (Envy); 174a (Family)
III 26a (Jews and Judaism)
IV 3b (Pairs and Pairing)
V 302a (Torah); 483a (Wisdom)

54-55 I 7b (Abraham)

56 I 222a (Belief and Unbelief)
II 50a (Eschatology); 210b (Fire); 218b (Food and Drink); 416a (Hell and Hellfire); 426a (Hides and Fleece)
III 203b (Literary Structures of the Q)
V 4b (Signs); 133a (Suffering)

57 I 220a (Belief and Unbelief); 343b (Cleanliness and Ablution)
II 54b (Eternity); 456b (Houris)
IV 18a, 18b (Paradise); 505b (Ritual Purity)
V 554a (World)

58 I 480b (Creeds)
II 1b (Ears); 5b, 8b (Economics); 70a (Ethics and the Q)
III 65b (Judgment); 70a, 71b (Justice and Injustice)
IV 5b (Pairs and Pairing); 133b (Politics and the Q)

58-59 IV 147b (Politics and the Q)

58-69 III 568b (Obedience)

59 I 188b, 189b (Authority)
II 65b, 74b (Ethics and the Q)
III 91b (Kings and Rulers); 136b (Last Judgment); 166b (Law and the Q); 447a (Muḥammad); 567a (Obedience)

IV 125a, 128b, 149b (Politics and the Q); 364a (Rebellion); 539b (Scholar); 596a (Shīʿism and the Q)
V 272b (Theology and the Q); 501b (Witnessing and Testifying)

60 I 185b (Astray); 526a (Devil)
II 482a (Idols and Images)
III 499a (Naḍīr, Banū al-)
IV 438b (Revelation and Inspiration)
V 120a (Spiritual Beings); 487a (Wish and Desire)

60-61 II 166b (Faith)

60-63 II 469b (Hypocrites and Hypocrisy)

60-65 IV 144b (Politics and the Q)

61 II 468b (Hypocrites and Hypocrisy)

62 II 61b (Ethics and the Q)
III 563b (Oaths)

63 II 563b (Ishmael)
III 40a, 40b (Jihād)
V 334a (Traditional Disciplines of Q Studies)

64 I 189b (Authority)
II 245a (Forgiveness)
III 68a (Judgment); 382a (Messenger); 447a (Muḥammad)
IV 5b (Pairs and Pairing); 301a (Prophets and Prophethood); 426b (Repentance and Penance)
V 501b (Witnessing and Testifying)

65 I 13a, 14b (Abrogation); 516a (Decision)
III 65a (Judgment); 443b (Muḥammad); 561a (Oaths); 567a (Obedience)
IV 217a (Prayer); 402a (Religious Pluralism and the Q)
V 103a (Sovereignty)

65-66 V 334a (Traditional Disciplines of Q Studies)

66 I 244b (Book)
II 18b (Emigration)
III 38a (Jihād)
V 159b, 160a (Suicide)

66-78 IV 138a (Politics and the Q)

69 II 340b (Good Deeds)
III 282a (Martyrs)
IV 290b (Prophets and Prophethood)
V 41b (Sīra and the Q); 490b, 491a (Witness to Faith)

71 III 41b (Jihād)
V 457a (War)

72 V 457b, 458a (War); 492b (Witnessing and Testifying)

73 IV 522b (Salvation)

74 II 209b (Fighting)
III 41a (Jihād); 282b (Martyrs)
IV 457a (Reward and Punishment)
V 457a (War)

74-76 I 225a (Belief and Unbelief)
II 209b (Fighting)

75 I 159a, 161a (Arrogance); 432a (Contracts and Alliances)
II 273b (Friends and Friendship); 363b (Grammar and the Q)
III 41b (Jihād); 577b (Opposition to Muḥammad); 580b, 581a (Oppressed on Earth); 583b (Oppression)
IV 30a (Path or Way); 332b (Quraysh)
V 456a, 457b, 458b (War); 524b (Women and the Q); 570a (Youth and Old Age)

76 I 461a (Courage); 526a (Devil)
II 209b (Fighting); 274a (Friends and Friendship); 431a (History and the Q); 482a (Idols and Images)
IV 29b, 30a (Path or Way); 431b (Responsibility)
V 120b (Spiritual Beings); 456a, 458a (War); 480a (Whisper); 487a (Wish and Desire)

76-77 III 37b (Jihād)

77 I 244b (Book)
II 275b (Furniture and Furnishings)
III 41a (Jihād); 59b (Joy and Misery)
IV 225a (Prayer)
V 457a, 457b (War)

78 I 506a (Death and the Dead)
IV 107a (Planets and Stars); 311a (Provocation); 486a (Ritual and the Q)
V 103a (Sovereignty); 458a (War)

79 II 330b (God and his Attributes)
III 443b (Muḥammad)
IV 299b (Prophets and Prophethood)
V 493a (Witnessing and Testifying)

80 I 13a (Abrogation); 189b (Authority)
II 74b (Ethics and the Q)
III 382a (Messenger); 447a (Muḥammad); 577a (Opposition to Muḥammad)
IV 128b (Politics and the Q); 308b (Protection)
V 272b (Theology and the Q); 501b (Witnessing and Testifying)

80-81 III 40a (Jihād)

81 I 243b (Book)
III 191b (Literacy)

82 I 71b (Ambiguous); 535a (Difficult Passages)
IV 394b (Reflection and Deliberation)
V 203b (Teaching)

83 I 526a (Devil); 541a (Dissimulation)
III 567a (Obedience)
IV 128b (Politics and the Q); 539b (Scholar)
V 141b (Ṣūfism and the Q)

84 I 225a (Belief and Unbelief); 461a (Courage)
II 209b (Fighting); 431a (History and the Q)
III 41a, 41b (Jihād); 577b (Opposition to Muḥammad)
IV 432b (Responsibility)
V 456a, 457a, 458a (War)

85 II 217a (Food and Drink); 449b (Hospitality and Courtesy)

86 II 452b (Hospitality and Courtesy); 320b (God and his Attributes)

87 V 501a (Witnessing and Testifying)

88 I 186a (Astray); 435b (Conversion)
II 59a (Ethics and the Q); 468b (Hypocrites and Hypocrisy)

89 I 432a, 432b (Contracts and Alliances)
II 209b (Fighting); 274a (Friends and Friendship)
III 41b (Jihād); 231b (Lord); 238a (Loyalty); 577b (Opposition to Muḥammad)
V 68a (Social Sciences and the Q)

90 I 431b (Contracts and Alliances); 464b (Covenant)
II 431a (History and the Q)
III 40a, 41a (Jihād)
V 456b (War)

90-91 I 225a (Belief and Unbelief)

91 II 110b (Exegesis of the Q: Classical and Medieval)
III 40a, 41b (Jihād)
IV 35a (Peace)

92 I 239a, 239b (Blood Money); 464b (Covenant); 536b (Disobedience)
II 23b, 24a (Enemies); 64a (Ethics and the Q); 174a (Family); 180b, 184b (Fasting)
III 158b, 159a (Law and the Q)
IV 5b (Pairs and Pairing); 426a (Repentance and Penance); 537b (Scholar)
V 24b (Sin, Major and Minor); 57a (Slaves and Slavery); 198a (Taxation); 252a (Textual Criticism of the Q); 285a (Time); 417a (Vengeance); 475b (Weights and Measures)

92-93 I 239a, 239b (Blood Money)

93 I 93a (Anger); 239a (Blood Money); 492a (Curse)
II 390a (Ḥadīth and the Q)
III 459a, 459b, 460a (Murder)
IV 456a (Reward and Punishment)
V 24b (Sin, Major and Minor); 162a (Suicide); 417a (Vengeance)

94 I 251b, 252a (Booty)
III 42a (Jihād); 58a (Journey)

	IV	35a (Peace)
	V	194a (Taxation); 374a (Trips and Voyages)
95	I	225a (Belief and Unbelief)
	III	36a (Jihād)
	IV	15a, 17a (Paradise); 30b (Path or Way); 455a, 458b (Reward and Punishment)
	V	191b (Talent); 457a (War); 469a (Wealth)
95-96	III	37b (Jihād); 322b (Material Culture and the Q)
	IV	35a (Peace)
96	II	245a (Forgiveness)
	IV	482a, 483a (Rhymed Prose)
	V	270a (Theology and the Q)
97	I	161a (Arrogance)
	II	18b, 22b (Emigration); 418a (Hell and Hellfire)
	IV	103b (Pit)
	V	83b (Soul); 287a (Time)
97-98	III	580b (Oppressed on Earth)
97-99	III	581b (Oppressed on Earth)
98	V	524b (Women and the Q)
98-99	III	378b (Mercy)
99	IV	5b (Pairs and Pairing)
100	I	163a (Art and Architecture and the Q)
	II	14b (Emigrants and Helpers); 459b (House, Domestic and Divine)
	III	38b (Jihād); 579a (Opposition to Muḥammad)
	IV	455a (Reward and Punishment); 483a (Rhymed Prose)
101	II	23b, 24a (Enemies)
	III	58a (Journey)
	IV	225b (Prayer); 233b (Prayer Formulas)
	V	373a (Trips and Voyages)
101-103	III	42a (Jihād)
	IV	233a (Prayer Formulas)
102	I	254a (Bowing and Prostration); 328b (Chronology and the Q)
	II	501b (Illness and Health); 545b (Instruments)
	III	60b (Joy and Misery); 210a (Literature and the Q); 376a (Menstruation)
	IV	26a (Parties and Factions); 219b, 224b (Prayer)
	V	19a (Sin, Major and Minor); 470b (Weather)
103	I	244b (Book); 272b (Calendar); 328b (Chronology and the Q)
	III	373a (Memory)
	IV	224a, 230a (Prayer)
104	I	461a (Courage)
	II	449a (Hope)
	III	40a, 41a (Jihād)

IV 5b (Pairs and Pairing); 537b (Scholar)
V 132b (Suffering); 363a (Trial)

105 I 148a (Arbitration)
III 65a (Judgment); 441a, 443b (Muḥammad); 509a (Names of the Q)
IV 36b (People of the Book); 133b (Politics and the Q); 301a (Prophets and Prophethood)
V 103a (Sovereignty); 446a (Vision and Blindness)

105-107 I 513b (Debate and Disputation)

106 III 379b (Mercy); 446b (Muḥammad)

107 I 511b (Debate and Disputation)
III 380a (Mercy)

109 I 511b (Debate and Disputation)
III 68a (Judgment); 379b (Mercy)

110 II 335b (Good and Evil)

110-112 I 522b (Destiny)

111 IV 5b (Pairs and Pairing); 537b (Scholar)

112 I 536b (Disobedience)
V 19a (Sin, Major and Minor)

113 II 345a (Grace)
III 103a (Knowledge and Learning); 189b, 191a (Literacy); 379a (Mercy); 442a, 454a (Muḥammad)
IV 3b (Pairs and Pairing); 68b (Philosophy and the Q)
V 200b, 201b (Teaching); 317b (Tradition and Custom); 483a (Wisdom)

114 V 198b (Taxation)

115 II 187a (Fate)
III 454b (Muḥammad)
IV 309b (Provocation)
V 287a (Time)

116 II 43b (Error); 244b (Forgiveness)
III 380a (Mercy)
IV 119b (Polemic and Polemical Language); 159a (Polytheism and Atheism); 159a, 399a (Religious Pluralism and the Q)

117 I 524b (Devil)
IV 228b (Prayer)

118 I 492a (Curse)

119 I 95b (Animal Life)
II 1a (Ears); 274a (Friends and Friendship)

120 V 487a (Wish and Desire)

121 IV 103b (Pit)

121-122	I	232b (Biology as the Creation and Stages of Life)
122	I	220a (Belief and Unbelief)
	II	54b (Eternity)
122-124	IV	16b (Paradise)
123	I	222b (Belief and Unbelief); 432a (Contracts and Alliances)
	II	273b (Friends and Friendship); 335b (Good and Evil)
	III	379b (Mercy)
	IV	5b (Pairs and Pairing)
123-124	IV	40b (People of the Book)
124	I	494b (Date Palm)
	II	128a (Exegesis of the Q: Early Modern and Contemporary); 289b (Gender)
	III	492b (Myths and Legends in the Q)
	V	524a (Women and the Q)
125	I	5b, 6a (Abraham); 310a (Christians and Christianity); 330b (Chronology and the Q); 373a (Community and Society in the Q)
	II	273b (Friends and Friendship); 323b (God and his Attributes); 402b (Ḥanīf)
	III	99b (Kinship); 239a (Loyalty)
	IV	291b, 299b (Prophets and Prophethood); 401a (Religious Pluralism and the Q)
	V	263b (Theology and the Q)
126	I	6a (Abraham)
127	I	244b (Book)
	II	374a (Guardianship)
	III	169b (Law and the Q); 190a (Literacy); 277b (Marriage and Divorce); 604a (Orphans)
	IV	580b (Sex and Sexuality)
	V	139a (Ṣūfism and the Q); 203b (Teaching); 524b (Women and the Q)
127-130	IV	32a (Patriarchy)
128	I	194a, 194b (Baal)
	II	175b (Family); 290a, 292a (Gender)
	IV	63b (Persian Literature and the Q)
	V	82b (Soul)
129	I	94b (Animal Life)
	II	70a (Ethics and the Q)
	III	70a, 71b (Justice and Injustice); 170a (Law and the Q); 235a (Love and Affection); 278a, 279b (Marriage and Divorce)
	V	527a (Women and the Q)
130	IV	6a (Pairs and Pairing)
131	I	222b (Belief and Unbelief)
	IV	6a (Pairs and Pairing); 36a (People of the Book)
	V	301a (Torah)

133 I 277a (Caliph); 474b (Creation)

134 I 480b (Creeds)
II 1b (Ears)
IV 5b (Pairs and Pairing); 456b (Reward and Punishment)

135 II 70b, 76b (Ethics and the Q); 174b (Family)
III 65b (Judgment); 70a, 71b (Justice and Injustice)
IV 21a (Parents)

136 I 219a (Belief and Unbelief); 247a (Book); 480b (Creeds)
II 43a (Error)
III 136a, 136b (Last Judgment)
IV 298b (Prophets and Prophethood); 439a (Revelation and Inspiration)
V 305a (Torah); 489a (Witness to Faith); 501b (Witnessing and Testifying)

137 II 245a (Forgiveness)
III 380a (Mercy)
V 293b (Tolerance and Coercion)

138 II 468b (Hypocrites and Hypocrisy)
IV 119b (Polemic and Polemical Language); 399a (Religious Pluralism and the Q); 456a (Reward and Punishment)

139 II 36a (Epigraphy); 274a, 274b (Friends and Friendship)
III 238a (Loyalty)

140 I 115b, 118a (Apologetics); 224b (Belief and Unbelief); 381a (Community and Society in the Q)
II 320b (God and his Attributes); 418a (Hell and Hellfire); 468b (Hypocrites and Hypocrisy)
III 400b (Mockery)
IV 119b (Polemic and Polemical Language); 456a (Reward and Punishment)

140-146 II 469b (Hypocrites and Hypocrisy)

141 I 399a (Conquest)
II 321a (God and his Attributes)
IV 308b (Protection)
V 456a (War)

141-147 IV 2a (Pairs and Pairing)

142 II 71a (Ethics and the Q); 82a (Everyday Life, Q In); 322a (God and his Attributes); 468b (Hypocrites and Hypocrisy)
IV 117b (Polemic and Polemical Language); 230a (Prayer); 471b (Rhetoric and the Q)

143 II 470a (Hypocrites and Hypocrisy)

144 I 189a (Authority); 224b (Belief and Unbelief); 432b (Contracts and Alliances)
II 274a, 274b (Friends and Friendship)
III 231b (Lord); 238a (Loyalty)

145 II 468b (Hypocrites and Hypocrisy)
IV 399a (Religious Pluralism and the Q); 456a (Reward and Punishment)

145-146 IV 427a (Repentance and Penance)

146 I 436b (Conversion); 465a (Covenant)
II 352b (Grammar and the Q)

147 IV 6a (Pairs and Pairing)

148 IV 5b (Pairs and Pairing)

149 III 586a (Orality)
IV 6a (Pairs and Pairing)

150-152 III 382a (Messenger)

151 III 24a (Jews and Judaism)

152 III 17a (Jesus); 577a (Opposition to Muḥammad)
IV 455b (Reward and Punishment); 483a (Rhymed Prose)

153 I 222b (Belief and Unbelief); 274a (Calf of Gold)
II 218b (Food and Drink)
III 26a (Jews and Judaism); 421b (Moses); 450a (Muḥammad)
IV 128b (Politics and the Q); 443b (Revelation and Inspiration); 569b (Scrolls)
V 276a (Theophany); 303b (Torah)

153-155 II 311a (Geography)
IV 39b (People of the Book)

153-159 IV 40b (People of the Book)

154 I 254b (Bowing and Prostration); 304b (Children of Israel); 465a (Covenant)
II 215b (Flying)
III 394a (Miracles); 586a (Orality)
IV 129a (Politics and the Q); 510a (Sabbath)
V 197a (Taxation); 285b (Time); 302b (Torah); 546b (Word of God)

155 I 305a (Children of Israel); 337a (Circumcision)
II 321a (God and his Attributes); 408a (Heart)
III 24a (Jews and Judaism); 382a (Messenger)
IV 129a (Politics and the Q)
V 302b (Torah)

156 III 9a, 13b (Jesus)
V 533b (Women and the Q)

156-159 III 7b (Jesus)

157 I 51a (Aḥmadiyya); 102b (Anointing); 103b (Anthropomorphism); 124b (Apparition); 312a (Christians and Christianity); 487b, 488a, 488b (Crucifixion)
II 367b (Grammar and the Q); 474b (Iconoclasm); 489a (Ignorance)
III 8a, 19a (Jesus)
IV 40b (People of the Book); 238b (Pre-1800 Preoccupations of Q Studies)

157-158 IV 121a (Polemic and Polemical Language)

157-159 III 19a, 20a (Jesus)

158 II 216a (Flying)
III 19b (Jesus); 396a (Miracles)
IV 357a (Readings of the Q)

159 I 111a (Antichrist); 222b (Belief and Unbelief)
III 19b (Jesus); 141a (Last Judgment)
V 493b (Witnessing and Testifying)

160 I 11b (Abrogation); 97a (Animal Life)
II 224a (Forbidden); 571b (Israel)
III 173a, 174b (Lawful and Unlawful)
V 303a (Torah)

160-161 III 25a (Jews and Judaism)
V 469b (Wealth)

161 II 8a (Economics)
V 304b (Torah)

162 II 340a (Good Deeds); 359a (Grammar and the Q)
III 22b, 32a (Jews and Judaism); 136a, 136b (Last Judgment)
IV 17a (Paradise); 438b (Revelation and Inspiration); 539a (Scholar)
V 196b (Taxation)

163 I 1a (Aaron); 8a (Abraham); 115a (Apologetics); 245b (Book); 496a (David)
II 561b (Isaac)
III 1a (Jacob); 8a, 17a (Jesus); 50a (Job); 53a (Jonah); 381b (Messenger); 444b (Muḥammad); 514b (Names of the Q)
IV 36b (People of the Book); 294a, 297b (Prophets and Prophethood); 315a, 316a (Psalms); 438b (Revelation and Inspiration)
V 364a (Tribes and Clans); 380b (Trust and Patience); 546b (Word of God)

163-165 III 7b (Jesus); 522a (Narratives)

164 I 480b (Creeds)
II 436b (History and the Q)
III 424a (Moses); 517b (Narratives)
IV 292a, 302b (Prophets and Prophethood); 312a (Provocation); 440b (Revelation and Inspiration)
V 110a (Speech); 302b (Torah); 546b, 547b (Word of God)

165 II 341b (Good News)
IV 3b (Pairs and Pairing); 300a (Prophets and Prophethood)

166 III 451a (Muḥammad)
IV 600a (Shīʿism and the Q)
V 492b, 493a (Witnessing and Testifying)

167 I 120a (Apostasy)

168 II 245a (Forgiveness)
IV 28b (Path or Way)

168-169 I 232b (Biology as the Creation and Stages of Life)

169 II 54b (Eternity)
IV 28b, 29b (Path or Way)

170 III 451a (Muḥammad)
IV 5b (Pairs and Pairing); 537b (Scholar)

171 I 102b (Anointing); 115a, 117a (Apologetics); 222b, 223a (Belief and Unbelief); 312a, 313a (Christians and Christianity)
II 329b (God and his Attributes); 443a, 443b (Holy Spirit)
III 8a, 14b, 15a, 15b, 16a (Jesus); 293a, 294a, 294b, 295a (Mary); 551a (Numbers and Enumeration)
IV 33a (Patriarchy); 39b, 41a (People of the Book); 120a, 121a (Polemic and Polemical Language); 160b (Polytheism and Atheism); 296a (Prophets and Prophethood); 416a (Religious Pluralism and the Q); 428a (Repentance and Penance)
V 81b (Soul); 115b (Spirit); 369a, 370b, 371b (Trinity); 500a (Witnessing and Testifying); 533b (Women and the Q); 541b, 545b (Word of God)

171-172 I 170b (Art and Architecture and the Q)
III 7b (Jesus); 295a (Mary); 300a (Material Culture and the Q)

172 I 102b (Anointing); 160b, 161a (Arrogance)
III 16a (Jesus)
IV 16b (Paradise); 220a (Prayer); 579a (Servants)

173 I 161a (Arrogance); 220a (Belief and Unbelief); 241b (Boast); 396a (Conceit); 432a (Contracts and Alliances)
II 273b (Friends and Friendship); 345a (Grace)
IV 5b (Pairs and Pairing); 264a (Pride); 458b (Reward and Punishment)

174 I 326a (Chronology and the Q)
II 326b (God and his Attributes)
III 186b (Light); 511b (Names of the Q)
IV 286b (Proof); 296a (Prophets and Prophethood)
V 3a (Signs); 182a (Symbolic Imagery)

175 I 465a (Covenant)
V 529a (Women and the Q)

176 I 259b (Brother and Brotherhood)
II 7b (Economics); 385a (Ḥadīth and the Q); 519b, 520a, 524a, 525b (Inheritance)
III 98a (Kinship); 194a (Literary Structures of the Q)
IV 284a (Profane and Sacred)

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I 328a (Chronology and the Q)
II 180a (Farewell Pilgrimage); 220a (Food and Drink); 264a (Form and Structure of the Q); 467a (Hunting and Fishing)
III 6b (Jerusalem); 13a (Jesus); 521b (Narratives)
IV 237b (Pre-1800 Preoccupations of Q Studies); 501b (Ritual Purity)
V 174b (Sūra); 190a (Table); 330a (Traditional Disciplines of Q Studies); 369a (Trinity)

1 I 96b, 97b (Animal Life); 256b, 257a (Breaking Trusts and Contracts); 432b (Contracts and Alliances); 464a (Covenant)
II 8b (Economics); 218b (Food and Drink); 321a (God and his Attributes); 467a (Hunting and Fishing)
III 157a (Law and the Q); 172b (Lawful and Unlawful); 190a (Literacy)
IV 282a (Profane and Sacred); 502b (Ritual Purity)

1-3 II 262b (Form and Structure of the Q)
V 175b (Sūra)

1-5 I 344a (Cleanliness and Ablution)

1-10 II 180a (Farewell Pilgrimage)

2 I 32a (African Literature); 97a (Animal Life)
II 60b, 72a (Ethics and the Q); 196a (Fear); 224b (Forbidden); 299a (Geography); 340a (Good Deeds); 458b, 460a (House, Domestic and Divine); 467a (Hunting and Fishing)
III 77a, 77b (Kaʿba); 159b (Law and the Q); 172a (Lawful and Unlawful); 340b (Mecca); 380a (Mercy); 410a (Months)
IV 52b (People of the House); 91a (Piety); 281b, 282a, 283a (Profane and Sacred); 486a (Ritual and the Q); 514b, 515a (Sacred Precincts)
V 285a (Time); 475b (Weights and Measures)

3 I 96b (Animal Life); 155b (Archaeology and the Q); 237b (Blood and Blood Clot); 291b (Carrion); 305b (Children of Israel); 320b, 326b (Chronology and the Q); 521b (Despair)
II 31a (Epigraphy); 63b, 68b (Ethics and the Q); 177b (Famine); 180a (Farewell Pilgrimage); 197a (Fear); 220a, 220b (Food and Drink); 237b (Foretelling in the Q); 482b (Idols and Images); 546b (Instruments)
III 158a, 165b (Law and the Q); 173a, 174a (Lawful and Unlawful); 378b (Mercy); 457a (Muḥammad)
IV 259b (Pre-Islamic Arabia and the Q); 401b, 404a, 416a (Religious Pluralism and the Q); 504b (Ritual Purity); 517b (Sacrifice)
V 54b, 55a (Slaughter); 190a (Table)

3-4 II 220a (Food and Drink)

4 I 292a (Carrion); 545b (Dog)
II 85b (Everyday Life, Q In); 467b (Hunting and Fishing)
III 579b (Opposition to Muḥammad)

IV 420b (Remembrance)
V 55b (Slaughter); 201b, 202b (Teaching); 549a (Work)

4-5 I 343b (Cleanliness and Ablution)

5 I 11b (Abrogation); 222b (Belief and Unbelief); 258a (Bridewealth); 299a (Chastity)
II 161b (Failure); 221a (Food and Drink); 374b (Guardianship)
III 23a (Jews and Judaism); 172b, 174b (Lawful and Unlawful); 277a, 278a (Marriage and Divorce)
IV 36a (People of the Book); 285a (Prohibited Degrees); 431b (Responsibility); 452a (Reward and Punishment); 583b (Sex and Sexuality)
V 56a (Slaughter); 303a (Torah); 313b (Trade and Commerce)

6 I 81b (Anatomy); 328b (Chronology and the Q); 341a, 341b, 342a, 342b, 343a (Cleanliness and Ablution); 358b (Collection of the Q); 411b (Contamination)
II 199b (Feet); 391a (Ḥadīth and the Q); 402a (Hand); 501b (Illness and Health)
III 12a (Jesus); 57b, 58a (Journey); 333b (Measurement); 375b (Menstruation); 378b (Mercy)
IV 225b (Prayer); 372a (Recitation of the Q); 485b, 488a, 491b (Ritual and the Q); 499a, 499b, 500a, 500b, 501a, 501b, 502a, 505a, 506b (Ritual Purity)
V 465a (Water)

7 I 236a (Blessing); 256b (Breaking Trusts and Contracts); 305b (Children of Israel); 343a (Cleanliness and Ablution)
II 406a (Hearing and Deafness); 550b (Intention)
III 568b (Obedience)
IV 128b (Politics and the Q); 420b (Remembrance)
V 190a (Table); 393b (Turkish Literature and the Q); 502a (Witnessing and Testifying)

8 II 70b (Ethics and the Q); 152a (Expeditions and Battles)
III 65b (Judgment); 70a, 71b (Justice and Injustice)

9 I 220a (Belief and Unbelief)
II 245a (Forgiveness)
IV 431b (Responsibility)

9-10 IV 1b (Pairs and Pairing)

10 I 235b (Blasphemy)
V 6a (Signs)

11 I 305b (Children of Israel)
III 29b (Jews and Judaism); 499a (Naḍīr, Banū al-); 577b (Opposition to Muḥammad)
IV 420b (Remembrance)
V 39b (Sīra and the Q); 379a, 379b (Trust and Patience)

12 I 304b, 307a (Children of Israel); 465a (Covenant)
II 432b (History and the Q)
III 553a (Numbers and Enumeration)
IV 128b (Politics and the Q)
V 110b (Speech); 123a (Springs and Fountains); 190a (Table); 197a (Taxation)

12-14 IV 421b (Remembrance)

13 I 305a (Children of Israel); 497a (David)
II 243a (Forgery); 342b (Gospel); 407a, 408b (Heart)
III 25a (Jews and Judaism); 40a (Jihād); 143a (Last Judgment)
IV 36b (People of the Book); 450b (Revision and Alteration)
V 190a, 190b (Table); 302b, 304b (Torah)

14 I 464b (Covenant)
III 536b (News)
IV 120b (Polemic and Polemical Language); 128b (Politics and the Q); 405a (Religious Pluralism and the Q)
V 190a (Table)

15 I 118a (Apologetics); 222b (Belief and Unbelief)
II 326b (God and his Attributes)
III 25b (Jews and Judaism); 124b (Language and Style of the Q); 186b, 187a (Light); 443b (Muḥammad); 504a (Names of the Prophet)
IV 41a (People of the Book); 120a, 120b (Polemic and Polemical Language)
V 182a (Symbolic Imagery); 300b (Torah)

15-16 III 511b, 512b (Names of the Q)

15-38 I 270b (Cain and Abel)

16 I 435b (Conversion)
III 186a (Light)

17 I 102b (Anointing); 312a, 313a (Christians and Christianity); 474b (Creation)
II 327b (God and his Attributes); 508a (Impotence)
III 16a (Jesus); 92a (Kings and Rulers); 295a (Mary)
IV 33a (Patriarchy); 121a (Polemic and Polemical Language); 311a (Provocation)
V 190a (Table); 484b (Wish and Desire); 533b (Women and the Q)

17-18 III 7b (Jesus)
IV 127b (Politics and the Q)

18 I 305b (Children of Israel); 476a (Creation)
II 244b (Forgiveness)
III 16b (Jesus); 24a (Jews and Judaism); 99a (Kinship); 233b (Love and Affection)
IV 2a (Pairs and Pairing); 120b (Polemic and Polemical Language); 184a (Possession and Possessions); 405a (Religious Pluralism and the Q); 457b (Reward and Punishment)
V 287a (Time)

18-19 IV 311a (Provocation)

19 I 222b (Belief and Unbelief)
II 321b (God and his Attributes); 341b (Good News); 436b (History and the Q); 497b (Illiteracy)
III 201b (Literary Structures of the Q); 443b (Muḥammad); 592a (Orality and Writing in Arabia)

IV 3b (Pairs and Pairing); 36b, 41a (People of the Book); 297b (Prophets and Prophethood)
V 300b (Torah)

20 I 236b (Blessing); 304b (Children of Israel)
III 93b, 94b (Kings and Rulers)
IV 128a (Politics and the Q); 290b (Prophets and Prophethood); 421a (Remembrance)

20-25 I 532b (Dialogues)

20-26 I 305a (Children of Israel)
III 522b (Narratives)
V 190a (Table)

21 I 244b (Book)
II 309a (Geography)
III 5b (Jerusalem)
IV 282b (Profane and Sacred); 513b (Sacred Precincts)
V 107a (Spatial Relations); 184b (Syria); 375a (Trips and Voyages)

21-26 V 455b (War)

22-29 II 145b (Expeditions and Battles)

23 IV 7a (Pairs and Pairing)

24 I 461a (Courage)
II 268a (Freedom and Predestination)

25 I 260a (Brother and Brotherhood)

26 II 433b (History and the Q); 510b (Indifference)
V 285b (Time); 375a (Trips and Voyages)

27 I 270b (Cain and Abel)
III 190a (Literacy); 441a (Muḥammad); 518a, 524b (Narratives); 536b (News)
IV 302b (Prophets and Prophethood); 517a (Sacrifice)

27-31 IV 9b (Parable)

27-32 I 26a (Adam and Eve); 270a (Cain and Abel)
II 418a (Hell and Hellfire)
III 521b (Narratives)

28 I 271a (Cain and Abel)
IV 288a (Property)

29 I 270a, 271b (Cain and Abel)
II 353b (Grammar and the Q)

30 V 82b (Soul)

31 I 98b, 101a (Animal Life); 264a (Burial)
III 548b (Nudity)
IV 428b (Repentance and Penance)

32 I 2b (Abortion); 32a (African Literature); 244b (Book); 270a (Cain and Abel); 304a (Children of Israel); 439b (Corruption); 533b (Dialogues)
III 458b, 459a, 460a (Murder)
V 162a (Suicide); 204a (Teaching); 302b (Torah); 417a (Vengeance)

33 I 439b (Corruption); 487b, 489a (Crucifixion)
II 144a (Expeditions and Battles); 199a (Feet); 353b (Grammar and the Q)
III 41b (Jihād)
IV 142a (Politics and the Q); 364a (Rebellion); 453b (Reward and Punishment)
V 255a (Theft); 455a (War); 552a (World)

33-34 II 208b (Fighting)
IV 140a (Politics and the Q)
V 498a (Witnessing and Testifying)

34 IV 426b (Repentance and Penance)

35 I 461a (Courage)
II 554a (Intercession)
III 37a (Jihād)
IV 30a (Path or Way); 163b (Popular and Talismanic Uses of the Q)

35-36 IV 1b (Pairs and Pairing)

36 IV 453a (Reward and Punishment)
V 133a (Suffering)

37 II 418b (Hell and Hellfire)
III 73b (Justice and Injustice)

38 I 295a (Chastisement and Punishment)
II 401b (Hand)
III 200a (Literary Structures of the Q)
IV 287b (Property); 454a (Reward and Punishment)
V 254b, 255b (Theft); 525a (Women and the Q)

38-39 III 70b (Justice and Injustice)
V 498a (Witnessing and Testifying)

39 II 6a (Economics)
IV 427b (Repentance and Penance)

40 I 188b (Authority)
II 244b (Forgiveness)
IV 2a (Pairs and Pairing); 457b (Reward and Punishment)

40-42 IV 1b (Pairs and Pairing)

41 I 82b (Anatomy); 118a (Apologetics); 305a (Children of Israel); 405b (Consolation); 497a (David)
II 243a (Forgery); 510b (Indifference)
III 143a (Last Judgment); 452b (Muḥammad)
IV 36b (People of the Book); 120b (Polemic and Polemical Language); 450b (Revision and Alteration); 457a (Reward and Punishment)
V 134a (Suffering); 485b (Wish and Desire)

41-43 III 25a, 25b, 30b (Jews and Judaism)

41-44 IV 36b (People of the Book)

41-82 II 73a (Ethics and the Q)

42 I 148a (Arbitration)
III 65b (Judgment); 173b, 174a (Lawful and Unlawful); 499a (Naḍīr, Banū al-)
IV 133b (Politics and the Q); 335a (Qurayẓa, Banū al-)

42-43 III 443b (Muḥammad)
V 303b (Torah)

42-50 V 231a (Teeth)

43 III 151a (Law and the Q)
V 300b, 304a (Torah)

44 I 516b (Decision)
II 197a (Fear)
III 24b (Jews and Judaism); 65a (Judgment); 151a (Law and the Q); 186b (Light)
IV 3b (Pairs and Pairing); 120b (Polemic and Polemical Language); 133a, 133b, 146b (Politics and the Q); 297b, 299a, 301a (Prophets and Prophethood); 404a (Religious Pluralism and the Q)
V 103a (Sovereignty); 202a (Teaching); 231b (Teeth); 300b, 304a (Torah)

44-47 IV 133a (Politics and the Q)

44-50 III 568b (Obedience)

45 I 187a (Atonement); 239a (Blood Money); 244b (Book); 369b (Community and Society in the Q)
II 1a (Ears); 153b (Eyes)
III 378b (Mercy)
IV 132b, 133a, 133b (Politics and the Q); 436b (Retaliation)
V 23a (Sin, Major and Minor); 83a (Soul); 198a (Taxation); 231a, 231b (Teeth); 307b (Torah); 393a, 393b (Turkish Literature and the Q); 416b, 417a (Vengeance)

46 II 142b (Exhortations); 342a (Gospel)
III 8a, 16a (Jesus); 151a (Law and the Q); 186b (Light); 445a (Muḥammad); 502b (Names of the Prophet)
IV 3b (Pairs and Pairing); 297b, 298a (Prophets and Prophethood); 439a (Revelation and Inspiration)
V 300b (Torah); 316b (Tradition and Custom); 533b (Women and the Q)

46-47 III 7b (Jesus)
IV 120b (Polemic and Polemical Language)

46-49 I 147b (Arbitration)

47 I 73b (Ambiguous); 310b (Christians and Christianity); 516b (Decision)
II 342a (Gospel)
III 65a (Judgment); 151a (Law and the Q); 558b (Numismatics)
IV 37b (People of the Book); 120b (Polemic and Polemical Language); 133a, 133b (Politics and the Q); 402b (Religious Pluralism and the Q)
V 231b (Teeth)

48 I 117b (Apologetics); 245a (Book); 377a (Community and Society in the Q)
II 61b, 72a (Ethics and the Q); 430b, 435b (History and the Q); 497a (Illiteracy)
III 151b (Law and the Q); 441a, 443b, 445a (Muḥammad); 512b (Names of the Q); 536b (News)
IV 29a (Path or Way); 36b (People of the Book); 128a, 149a (Politics and the Q); 307a, 307b (Protection); 337a (Races); 439a (Revelation and Inspiration)
V 133b (Suffering); 231b (Teeth); 300b (Torah); 363a (Trial)

48-49 III 453b (Muḥammad)

48-50 IV 145b (Politics and the Q)

49 II 59a (Ethics and the Q); 351b (Grammar and the Q)
III 27a (Jews and Judaism); 443b (Muḥammad)

49-50 III 151b (Law and the Q)

50 I 37b, 39b (Age of Ignorance); 516a (Decision)
II 321a (God and his Attributes)
III 64b (Judgment); 72a (Justice and Injustice)
IV 146b (Politics and the Q)
V 286b (Time)

51 I 224b (Belief and Unbelief); 312a (Christians and Christianity)
II 73a (Ethics and the Q); 274a (Friends and Friendship)
III 27a, 29b (Jews and Judaism); 231b (Lord); 236a (Love and Affection); 238a, 238b, 240b (Loyalty)
IV 24b (Parties and Factions); 324b (Qaynuqāʿ, Banū); 335a (Qurayẓa, Banū al-); 405a, 413a (Religious Pluralism and the Q)

51-56 IV 324a (Qaynuqāʿ, Banū); 406a (Religious Pluralism and the Q)

51-58 V 43a (Sīra and the Q)

52 I 399a (Conquest)
II 407b (Heart); 470a (Hypocrites and Hypocrisy)
V 447a (Vision and Blindness)

53 I 39b (Age of Ignorance)

54 II 322a (God and his Attributes); 358a (Grammar and the Q)
III 36a (Jihād); 58a (Journey); 233b, 236b (Love and Affection)
IV 6a (Pairs and Pairing)
V 137b (Ṣūfism and the Q); 29b (Tolerance and Coercion)

54-55 IV 520a (Saint)

55 I 254a (Bowing and Prostration)
II 340a (Good Deeds)
III 231b (Lord); 236b (Love and Affection); 304b (Material Culture and the Q)

55-56 II 273a, 274a (Friends and Friendship)

56 II 72a (Ethics and the Q); 150a (Expeditions and Battles); 430b (History and the Q)
IV 25a (Parties and Factions)
V 430b (Victory)

57 II 148a (Expeditions and Battles); 274a (Friends and Friendship)
III 27a (Jews and Judaism); 238a (Loyalty)
IV 36a (People of the Book)

57-58 III 400a, 400b (Mockery)

58 I 328b (Chronology and the Q)
IV 225b (Prayer)
V 556a (Worship)

59 I 222b (Belief and Unbelief)
III 26a (Jews and Judaism)
IV 41a (People of the Book); 120a (Polemic and Polemical Language); 453b (Reward and Punishment)
V 301a (Torah)

59-60 I 93a (Anger)

60 I 93a (Anger); 98b (Animal Life); 306b (Children of Israel); 478a (Creation); 492a (Curse)
II 386a (Ḥadīth and the Q)
III 25a, 26b (Jews and Judaism); 536b (News)
IV 401b (Religious Pluralism and the Q); 510b (Sabbath); 576a (Servants)

61 IV 116b (Polemic and Polemical Language)

62-63 II 73b (Ethics and the Q)
III 174a (Lawful and Unlawful)

63 V 202a (Teaching)

64 I 103b (Anthropomorphism); 491b (Curse)
II 144a (Expeditions and Battles); 211b (Fire); 323b, 325a (God and his Attributes); 508a (Impotence)
III 25a, 28b (Jews and Judaism); 70b (Justice and Injustice); 201b (Literary Structures of the Q); 378b (Mercy)
IV 405a (Religious Pluralism and the Q)
V 455a (War)

65 IV 14b (Paradise); 41a (People of the Book)
V 301a (Torah)

65-66 I 306a (Children of Israel)
III 24b (Jews and Judaism)

66 I 219a, 223b (Belief and Unbelief)
III 23a, 32a (Jews and Judaism); 402a (Moderation); 513a (Names of the Q)
V 300b, 304b (Torah)

67 III 454a (Muḥammad)
IV 307b (Protection)

68 I 222b (Belief and Unbelief)
II 510b (Indifference)
III 24b, 31a (Jews and Judaism)

IV 36b, 41a (People of the Book)
V 300b, 304b (Torah)

69 I 222b (Belief and Unbelief)
II 60b (Ethics and the Q); 350b, 359a (Grammar and the Q)
III 22a (Jews and Judaism); 40a (Jihād); 136a, 136b (Last Judgment)
IV 120b (Polemic and Polemical Language); 404b, 405a, 408a (Religious Pluralism and the Q); 455b (Reward and Punishment); 511b (Sabians)

70 I 304b, 305a (Children of Israel); 465a (Covenant)
III 24a (Jews and Judaism); 382a (Messenger)
V 190a (Table); 302b (Torah)

70-71 IV 129a (Politics and the Q)

71 I 530a (Dialects)
II 361b (Grammar and the Q); 406b (Hearing and Deafness)

72 I 102b (Anointing); 312a (Christians and Christianity)
II 224a (Forbidden)
III 16a (Jesus); 295a (Mary)
IV 100b, 103b (Pit); 282a (Profane and Sacred)
V 369b (Trinity)

72-73 III 295a (Mary)
IV 121a (Polemic and Polemical Language)

72-75 V 369a (Trinity)

72-76 V 190a (Table)

72-78 III 7b (Jesus)

73 I 115a, 117a (Apologetics); 312a, 312b (Christians and Christianity)
II 329b (God and his Attributes); 364a (Grammar and the Q)
III 295a (Mary)
IV 118a, 121a (Polemic and Polemical Language); 160b (Polytheism and Atheism); 413a (Religious Pluralism and the Q); 428a (Repentance and Penance); 456a (Reward and Punishment)
V 369a, 369b, 370b (Trinity)

75 I 102b (Anointing); 223a (Belief and Unbelief); 312a, 312b (Christians and Christianity)
II 217a (Food and Drink)
III 16a (Jesus); 444b (Muḥammad)
IV 33a (Patriarchy); 298a (Prophets and Prophethood)
V 8a (Signs); 369b (Trinity); 422b (Verse); 533b (Women and the Q)

75-76 III 295a (Mary)

76 IV 5a, 5b (Pairs and Pairing); 401b (Religious Pluralism and the Q)

77 I 185b (Astray); 222b (Belief and Unbelief); 312a, 312b (Christians and Christianity)

IV 41a (People of the Book); 416a (Religious Pluralism and the Q)

78 I 305a (Children of Israel); 492a (Curse); 496a (David); 536b, 537b (Disobedience)
III 8a, 13a, 16a (Jesus)
IV 309b (Provocation)
V 533b (Women and the Q)

78-79 V 438b (Virtues and Vices, Commanding and Forbidding); 446a (Vision and Blindness)

78-82 IV 121a (Polemic and Polemical Language)

79 V 438a, 441a, 443a (Virtues and Vices, Commanding and Forbidding)

80-81 II 274a (Friends and Friendship)
III 238a (Loyalty)

81 III 502a (Names of the Prophet)
IV 120b (Polemic and Polemical Language)
V 501b (Witnessing and Testifying)

82 I 183b (Asceticism); 311b (Christians and Christianity); 378a, 378b (Community and Society in the Q)
II 73a (Ethics and the Q); 150a (Expeditions and Battles)
III 26b (Jews and Judaism); 40a (Jihād); 236a (Love and Affection); 406a (Monasticism and Monks)
IV 264a (Pride); 404a, 405a, 405b, 412b (Religious Pluralism and the Q)
V 139a (Ṣūfism and the Q); 431a (Vigil)

82-83 I 223a (Belief and Unbelief)

83 I 81a (Anatomy); 160b (Arrogance); 219a (Belief and Unbelief); 243b, 247a (Book)
II 153a (Eyes)
IV 369a (Recitation of the Q)
V 490b (Witness to Faith)

84 II 448b (Hope)

85 IV 452b, 455b (Reward and Punishment)

86 V 6a (Signs)

87 III 174b (Lawful and Unlawful)
IV 283a (Profane and Sacred)
V 573a (Zealotry)

89 I 17a (Abrogation); 187a, 188a (Atonement); 289a (Captives); 354b (Collection of the Q)
II 180b (Fasting); 450a (Hospitality and Courtesy)
III 109b (Language and Style of the Q); 551a, 553a (Numbers and Enumeration); 562a, 563a, 564b, 565a, 565b (Oaths)
IV 208b (Poverty and the Poor); 308a (Protection)
V 7b (Signs); 57b (Slaves and Slavery); 280b (Time); 422b (Verse); 449b (Vow)

90 I 38b (Age of Ignorance); 155b (Archaeology and the Q); 167a (Art and Architecture and the Q); 321a (Chronology and the Q); 411a (Contamination); 526a (Devil)
II 7a (Economics); 221b, 221b (Food and Drink); 237b, 238b (Foretelling in the Q); 482b (Idols and Images); 546b (Instruments)
IV 165b (Popular and Talismanic Uses of the Q); 259b (Pre-Islamic Arabia and the Q); 503b (Ritual Purity)
V 183a (Spiritual Beings)

90-91 II 7a (Economics); 237b (Foretelling in the Q); 280a (Gambling); 556a, 556b, 557a (Intoxicants)
III 152a, 169a, 169b (Law and the Q); 361b (Medicine and the Q)
IV 500a (Ritual Purity)
V 481b (Wine)

91 I 526a (Devil)
II 238b (Foretelling in the Q)
IV 230a (Prayer)
V 487a (Wish and Desire)

92 III 125a (Language and Style of the Q); 166b (Law and the Q); 382b (Messenger)
V 501b (Witnessing and Testifying)

93 I 220a (Belief and Unbelief)
II 60a, 61b (Ethics and the Q); 221b (Food and Drink)
V 137b (Ṣūfism and the Q)

94 II 196b (Fear); 218b (Food and Drink); 467a (Hunting and Fishing); 546a (Instruments)

94-95 I 404a (Consecration of Animals)
V 549a (Work)

94-96 I 97b (Animal Life)

95 I 97b (Animal Life); 187a, 187b (Atonement); 404b (Consecration of Animals)
II 180b (Fasting); 216b, 218b (Food and Drink); 450a (Hospitality and Courtesy); 467a (Hunting and Fishing)
III 71b (Justice and Injustice); 75a, 76a, 76b, 79a (Kaʿba); 338b, 339a (Mecca)
IV 7a (Pairs and Pairing); 133b (Politics and the Q); 208b (Poverty and the Poor); 259a (Pre-Islamic Arabia and the Q); 453b (Reward and Punishment)
V 103a (Sovereignty); 416a (Vengeance); 496b (Witnessing and Testifying)

95-96 IV 282a (Profane and Sacred)

96 II 218b (Food and Drink); 467a, 467b (Hunting and Fishing)
III 60b (Joy and Misery); 174a (Lawful and Unlawful)
IV 502b (Ritual Purity)

96-97 I 163b (Art and Architecture and the Q)

97 I 97a (Animal Life); 404b (Consecration of Animals); 465b (Covenant)
II 224a (Forbidden); 458b (House, Domestic and Divine)

III 75a, 76a, 76b, 79b (Kaʿba); 338b, 339a (Mecca); 410a (Months)
IV 4a (Pairs and Pairing); 52b (People of the House); 259a (Pre-Islamic Arabia and the Q); 282a (Profane and Sacred); 514b (Sacred Precincts)
V 285a (Time); 475b (Weights and Measures)

98 III 380a (Mercy)
IV 453a (Reward and Punishment)

99 III 40a (Jihād); 452b (Muḥammad)

100 II 31a (Epigraphy); 63a (Ethics and the Q)
V 393b (Turkish Literature and the Q)

101 IV 5b (Pairs and Pairing)

101-102 III 303a (Material Culture and the Q)

101-104 IV 32b (Patriarchy)

103 I 97a (Animal Life); 236a (Blasphemy); 401b (Consecration of Animals)

104 V 317a (Tradition and Custom)

105 III 40a (Jihād)
V 442a (Virtues and Vices, Commanding and Forbidding)

106 III 58a (Journey); 71b (Justice and Injustice)
V 373a (Trips and Voyages); 492b, 496a, 496b (Witnessing and Testifying); 525a (Women and the Q)

106-107 II 519a (Inheritance)
III 562b (Oaths)
IV 7a (Pairs and Pairing)

106-108 V 495a, 495b (Witnessing and Testifying)

108 II 2a (Ears)

109 III 141a (Last Judgment)
IV 300b (Prophets and Prophethood); 537b (Scholar)
V 188b (Table); 369b (Trinity)

109-118 III 7b (Jesus)

110 I 98a (Animal Life); 149a (Archaeology and the Q); 167b (Art and Architecture and the Q); 236b (Blessing); 245a, 245b (Book); 314b (Christians and Christianity); 340b (Clay); 476a (Creation); 507a (Death and the Dead)
II 4a (Earth); 276a (Furniture and Furnishings); 342a (Gospel); 442a (Holy Spirit)
III 8a, 13a, 16a, 16b, 18b (Jesus); 191a (Literacy); 246a (Magic); 293a (Mary); 373b (Memory); 396a (Miracles)
IV 3b (Pairs and Pairing); 36b (People of the Book); 68b (Philosophy and the Q); 178b (Popular and Talismanic Uses of the Q); 282b (Profane and Sacred); 286b (Proof); 435b (Resurrection)
V 81a (Soul); 95b (South Asian Literatures and the Q); 115a (Spirit); 133b (Suffering); 188b (Table); 200b (Teaching); 300b (Torah); 371b (Trinity); 483a, 483b (Wisdom); 533b (Women and the Q)

110-116 III 521b (Narratives)

111 I 123a (Apostle)
III 382b (Messenger)
IV 439b, 440a (Revelation and Inspiration)
V 188b, 190a (Table); 489a (Witness to Faith)

112 I 123a, 123b (Apostle)
II 276a (Furniture and Furnishings); 364b (Grammar and the Q); 411b (Heaven and Sky)
III 8a (Jesus)
V 188a, 188b (Table); 533b (Women and the Q)

112-113 III 382b (Messenger)

112-114 V 190a (Table)

112-115 III 16b (Jesus)
IV 9b (Parable)

113 V 188b (Table)

113-114 III 396a (Miracles)

114 II 215b (Flying); 276a (Furniture and Furnishings)
III 8a (Jesus)
V 178b (Sustenance); 188a, 189a (Table); 533b (Women and the Q)

115 III 16b (Jesus)
V 110b (Speech); 188a, 189a, 190b (Table)

116 I 115a (Apologetics); 223a (Belief and Unbelief); 312a, 313b (Christians and Christianity)
III 8a, 16a, 16b (Jesus); 295a (Mary)
IV 537b (Scholar)
V 369b (Trinity); 533b (Women and the Q); 547a (Word of God)

116-117 III 295a (Mary)
V 189a, 190a (Table); 493b (Witnessing and Testifying)

117 I 312a (Christians and Christianity)
III 16a, 20a (Jesus)
V 493a (Witnessing and Testifying)

118 II 244b (Forgiveness)
IV 458a (Reward and Punishment); 578b (Servants)
V 189a (Table)

119 II 54b (Eternity)
III 203b (Literary Structures of the Q)
IV 18b (Paradise); 522b (Salvation)

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I 93b (Animal Life); 230b (Biology as the Creation and Stages of Life)
III 165a (Law and the Q); 272a (Manuscripts of the Q); 320b, 321a (Material Culture and the Q); 534a (Nature as Signs)
IV 244a (Pre-1800 Preoccupations of Q Studies); 495b (Ritual and the Q); 591b (Shī'a)
V 174b (Sūra); 262b, 263a (Theology and the Q); 308a (Torah)

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I 74a (Ambiguous); 115a (Apologetics); 472a, 472b, 477b (Creation); 494a (Darkness)
III 71a (Justice and Injustice); 534b (Nature as Signs)
IV 118b (Polemic and Polemical Language)
V 308a (Torah); 544a (Word of God); 553a (World)

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III 304b (Material Culture and the Q)

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I 231a, 232a (Biology as the Creation and Stages of Life); 339b (Clay); 446a, 446b (Cosmology); 474b, 476a (Creation); 516b (Decision)
II 4a, 4b (Earth); 45a (Eschatology); 186a (Fate); 269a (Freedom and Predestination); 328a, 328b (God and his Attributes)
III 185a (Life); 354b (Medicine and the Q)
V 289a (Time); 393a (Turkish Literature and the Q); 554a (World)

3-4
V 198b (Taxation)

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III 400b (Mockery); 536b (News)

5-11
II 510a (Indifference)

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I 473a, 479a (Creation)
II 293a (Generations); 508a (Impotence)
III 520b (Narratives)
IV 320a (Punishment Stories)

7
I 250a (Book); 412a (Contamination)
II 38b (Epigraphy); 545a (Instruments)
III 246a (Magic); 448b (Muḥammad); 585b (Orality)
IV 311b (Provocation); 443b (Revelation and Inspiration); 569b (Scrolls)
V 272a (Theology and the Q); 558a (Writing and Writing Materials)

7-8
III 397b (Miracles)

8
V 39b (Sīra and the Q); 543a (Word of God)

8-9
III 450a (Muḥammad)

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III 400a, 400b (Mockery); 453a (Muḥammad)
IV 309b, 310a (Provocation)
V 272a (Theology and the Q)

11
IV 320b (Punishment Stories); 425a (Remnant)

12
I 170b (Art and Architecture and the Q); 244b (Book)
II 161b (Failure); 322a (God and his Attributes)
III 300a (Material Culture and the Q)
V 82a (Soul)

13 I 501a (Day, Times of)

14 I 472b (Creation)
II 217a (Food and Drink)
III 231b (Lord); 444a, 446b (Muḥammad)

15 I 500a (Day, Times of); 538a (Disobedience)
III 137a (Last Judgment)

16 III 379b (Mercy)
IV 522b (Salvation)
V 430a (Victory)

17 V 485b (Wish and Desire)

18 II 320b (God and his Attributes)
IV 5b (Pairs and Pairing)

19 I 250a (Book)
II 322a, 329b (God and his Attributes)
III 440b, 442b (Muḥammad); 506b (Names of the Q)
IV 487a (Ritual and the Q)
V 461a (Warner); 489b (Witness to Faith); 492b, 493a, 500a (Witnessing and Testifying)

20 I 222b (Belief and Unbelief)
IV 20b (Parents); 36a (People of the Book)
V 301a, 303b (Torah)

21 I 235b (Blasphemy)
II 162a (Failure)
III 70b (Justice and Injustice); 181a (Lie)
IV 523a (Salvation)
V 6a (Signs)

22 II 477b (Idolatry and Idolaters)

24 I 236a (Blasphemy)
II 99a (Evil Deeds)

25 I 82a (Anatomy); 226a (Belief and Unbelief); 512a (Debate and Disputation)
II 370b (Gratitude and Ingratitude); 408b (Heart); 430a (History and the Q)
III 518a (Narratives); 578b (Opposition to Muḥammad)
IV 115b (Polemic and Polemical Language); 309b (Provocation)
V 6b (Signs); 447a (Vision and Blindness); 474a (Weights and Measures)

25-26 III 450a (Muḥammad)

26 II 355a (Grammar and the Q)

27 IV 281a (Profane and Sacred); 430a (Repentance and Penance)

28 II 224a (Forbidden)

29 I 506a (Death and the Dead)

31 I 235b (Blasphemy); 501a (Day, Times of)
III 137a, 138a (Last Judgment)
V 287b (Time)

32 II 44b (Eschatology)
III 136b (Last Judgment); 147b (Laughter); 182a (Life)
V 552b (World)

33 IV 310a (Provocation)
V 6a (Signs); 134a (Suffering)

33-34 III 453a (Muḥammad)

33-35 I 405b (Consolation)

34 I 222a (Belief and Unbelief)
III 518a (Narratives); 536b (News)
IV 309b (Provocation)
V 134a (Suffering); 430a (Victory); 434b (Virtue); 548a (Word of God)

35 II 59a (Ethics and the Q); 468b (Hypocrites and Hypocrisy); 510b (Indifference)
III 102b (Knowledge and Learning); 453a (Muḥammad)
IV 311b (Provocation)

36 I 480b (Creeds)
II 91b (Everyday Life, Q In)
III 397b (Miracles)
IV 435b (Resurrection)

37 III 452a (Muḥammad)
IV 311b (Provocation); 538a (Scholar)
V 8a (Signs)

37-38 III 398b (Miracles)

38 I 96a (Animal Life); 243a (Book); 371b (Community and Society in the Q); 523a (Destiny)
II 269b (Freedom and Predestination); 497a (Illiteracy); 544b (Instruments)
III 140a (Last Judgment); 533b (Nature as Signs)
IV 401a (Religious Pluralism and the Q)
V 319a (Traditional Disciplines of Q Studies)

39 I 226a (Belief and Unbelief)
II 330b (God and his Attributes); 406b (Hearing and Deafness)
III 534a, 535a (Nature as Signs)
IV 2a (Pairs and Pairing)
V 6a (Signs)

40 I 501a (Day, Times of)
III 67b (Judgment); 137a (Last Judgment)
V 287b (Time)

42 III 63b (Joy and Misery)
IV 487b (Ritual and the Q)
V 133a (Suffering)

42-45 IV 320b (Punishment Stories)

43 II 407a (Heart)
IV 487b (Ritual and the Q)

44 I 398b (Conquest); 522a (Despair); 524b (Devil)
III 61b (Joy and Misery)

45 IV 288a (Property); 425a (Remnant)

46 I 81a, 82a (Anatomy)
II 407a, 408b (Heart)
IV 574b (Seeing and Hearing)
V 8a (Signs); 444b (Vision); 446b (Vision and Blindness)

48 II 341b (Good News)
III 444b (Muḥammad)
IV 3b (Pairs and Pairing); 300a (Prophets and Prophethood)
V 460b (Warner)

50 III 398a (Miracles); 452a (Muḥammad)
IV 216b (Prayer); 311b (Provocation)
V 447b (Vision and Blindness)

51 II 273b (Friends and Friendship)
IV 5b (Pairs and Pairing); 307b (Protection)

52 I 389b (Companions of the Prophet); 503a, 503b (Day, Times of)
II 80a (Evening); 323b (God and his Attributes)
III 417a, 418b (Morning)
IV 223a, 229b (Prayer)
V 281b (Time); 487a (Wish and Desire)

54 I 237a (Blessing); 244b (Book)
II 66b (Ethics and the Q); 91b (Everyday Life, Q In); 322a (God and his Attributes); 335b (Good and Evil); 452b (Hospitality and Courtesy); 488b (Ignorance)
IV 427a (Repentance and Penance)
V 5b (Signs); 24b (Sin, Major and Minor)

55 IV 29b (Path or Way); 431b (Responsibility)

56 I 147b (Arbitration); 185b (Astray)

57 I 148a (Arbitration); 516a, 516b (Decision)
II 30a (Epigraphy)
III 517b (Narratives); 557a (Numismatics)
IV 128a (Politics and the Q); 128a, 286a (Proof)
V 2a (Ṣiffīn, Battle of)

58 III 65a (Judgment)
V 543a (Word of God)

59 I 41b (Agriculture and Vegetation); 219b (Belief and Unbelief); 243a (Book); 522b (Destiny)
II 3a (Earth); 269b (Freedom and Predestination); 305a (Geography); 423a (Hidden and the Hidden); 546b (Instruments)

III 124b (Language and Style of the Q); 508a (Names of the Q)
IV 179b (Popular and Talismanic Uses of the Q); 560a (Scripture and the Q)

60 V 83b (Soul); 280b, 289a (Time)
I 502a (Day, Times of)
III 18b (Jesus); 184b (Life)

61 IV 290a (Prophets and Prophethood); 307b (Protection)
V 118b (Spiritual Beings); 493a (Witnessing and Testifying)

62 I 148a (Arbitration); 344b (Clients and Clientage)
III 231a (Lord)
IV 307b (Protection)

63 I 494a (Darkness)
II 3a (Earth)
IV 108a (Planets and Stars); 523b (Salvation)
V 464a (Water)

63-64 I 519a (Deliverance)

64 III 63b (Joy and Misery)

65 III 212a (Literature and the Q)
IV 591b, 592a (Shī'a)

66 III 40a (Jihād)

66-70 III 577b (Opposition to Muḥammad)

67 III 537a (News)
IV 541b (Science and the Q)

68 I 526a (Devil)
IV 309b (Provocation)

68-69 I 118a (Apologetics)

68-70 I 115b (Apologetics)

69 III 40a (Jihād)

70 II 211a (Fire); 273b (Friends and Friendship); 416a, 418a (Hell and Hellfire); 455b (Hot and Cold)
III 12b (Jesus); 40a (Jihād); 71a (Justice and Injustice)
IV 5b (Pairs and Pairing); 422b (Remembrance)
V 121b (Springs and Fountains)

71 I 437b (Conversion); 526b (Devil)
IV 5a (Pairs and Pairing)
V 120b (Spiritual Beings); 374b (Trips and Voyages)

71-72 II 366a (Grammar and the Q)

72 III 184b (Life)

73 I 318b (Chronology and the Q); 472b, 473a, 475a (Creation)
II 327b (God and his Attributes); 435b (History and the Q); 474a (Iconoclasm); 547a (Instruments)

III 71b (Justice and Injustice)
IV 4a, 5b (Pairs and Pairing); 537b (Scholar)
V 109a (Speech); 287a (Time); 386b (Truth); 492b (Witnessing and Testifying); 542b, 544b, 547a (Word of God)

74 I 7a (Abraham); 166b (Art and Architecture and the Q); 192a (Āzar)
II 481a (Idols and Images)
V 95b (South Asian Literatures and the Q); 162b (Sun); 248b (Textual Criticism of the Q)

74-79 I 438a (Conversion)

74-81 IV 159b, 161a (Polytheism and Atheism)

74-83 III 521b (Narratives)
V 258a, 269a (Theology and the Q)

74-84 I 6b (Abraham); 330a (Chronology and the Q)
III 239a (Loyalty); 494a, 494b (Myths and Legends in the Q)

75 III 90b (Kings and Rulers)
IV 127b (Politics and the Q)
V 262b (Theology and the Q); 553a (World)

75-79 I 7a, 8b (Abraham); 474b (Creation)
II 402b (Ḥanīf)

76 IV 107a, 108b (Planets and Stars)

77 III 415a (Moon)
IV 107a (Planets and Stars)

78 I 503b (Day, Times of)
V 162b (Sun); 282b (Time)

79 I 5b (Abraham)
II 323b (God and his Attributes); 402b (Ḥanīf)
III 446a (Muḥammad)
V 263a (Theology and the Q)

80 I 472a, 472b (Creation)
II 197a (Fear); 322a (God and his Attributes)

81 V 263a, 274b (Theology and the Q)

83 I 438a (Conversion)
II 33a (Epigraphy)
IV 5b (Pairs and Pairing); 537b, 539a (Scholar)

83-87 III 50a (Job); 522a (Narratives)

83-88 III 380a (Mercy)

83-89 III 381b (Messenger)

83-90 III 7b (Jesus); 50a (Job)
V 302a (Torah)

84 I 1a (Aaron); 7b (Abraham); 496a (David)
II 434a (History and the Q); 561b, 562a (Isaac); 563b (Ishmael)
III 1a (Jacob); 57a (Joseph); 520a (Narratives)
IV 291a (Prophets and Prophethood); 452b (Reward and Punishment)
V 380b (Trust and Patience)

84-86 II 561b (Isaac)
III 17a (Jesus)

84-90 III 525b (Narratives)

85 I 194a (Baal)
II 12b (Elijah); 340b (Good Deeds)
III 8a (Jesus); 51b (John the Baptist); 53a (Jonah)
IV 291b (Prophets and Prophethood); 482b (Rhymed Prose)
V 574a (Zechariah)

85-86 III 53a (Jonah)

86 I 8a (Abraham)
II 14a (Elisha); 564a (Ishmael)

86-87 II 12a (Election)

87 II 11b (Election)

88 II 161b (Failure)
IV 159a (Polytheism and Atheism); 431b (Responsibility)

89 I 222b (Belief and Unbelief)
IV 127b (Politics and the Q)
V 574a (Zechariah)

90 III 510a (Names of the Q)
IV 230a (Prayer); 452a (Reward and Punishment)

91 I 245b, 247a (Book); 305a (Children of Israel)
II 430a (History and the Q); 545a (Instruments)
III 25b (Jews and Judaism); 186b (Light); 189b (Literacy); 425a (Moses); 449b, 451b (Muḥammad); 590b, 592a (Orality and Writing in Arabia)
IV 3b (Pairs and Pairing); 36b (People of the Book); 297b (Prophets and Prophethood); 450b (Revision and Alteration)
V 201b (Teaching); 300b, 301a, 304b (Torah); 558a (Writing and Writing Materials)

91-92 IV 36a, 36b (People of the Book)

92 I 117b (Apologetics); 338b (City)
II 299a (Geography); 495a (Illiteracy)
III 338a (Mecca); 442b, 443b, 445a (Muḥammad)
IV 224b (Prayer); 299b (Prophets and Prophethood); 439a (Revelation and Inspiration); 561b (Scripture and the Q)
V 303b (Torah)

93 I 89b (Angel); 159a, 160b (Arrogance); 236a (Blasphemy); 506b (Death and the Dead)

	II	45b (Eschatology); 514b (Informants)
	III	181a (Lie)
	IV	264a (Pride); 295a (Prophets and Prophethood); 309b (Provocation); 457a (Reward and Punishment)
	V	83b (Soul); 300b (Torah); 546a (Word of God)
94	I	476a (Creation)
	II	362a (Grammar and the Q); 416b (Hell and Hellfire)
	V	117b (Spiritual Beings); 371a (Trinity); 494a (Witnessing and Testifying)
94-95	IV	119a (Polemic and Polemical Language)
95	I	476b, 479a (Creation); 494b (Date Palm)
	II	305a (Geography)
	IV	435a (Resurrection)
95-99	IV	438a (Revelation and Inspiration)
	V	554a (World)
96	I	472a, 477b (Creation); 500b, 502a, 503b, 504a (Day, Times of)
	III	415a (Moon); 417a, 418a (Morning)
	IV	6a (Pairs and Pairing); 108a (Planets and Stars); 589b (Shekhinah)
	V	163a (Sun); 281a, 283b (Time)
96-97	I	442b (Cosmology); 473a, 474a (Creation)
97	I	442b (Cosmology); 494a (Darkness)
	II	3a (Earth); 327b (God and his Attributes)
	IV	108a (Planets and Stars); 538b (Scholar)
	V	373a (Trips and Voyages); 464a (Water)
97-99	IV	287a (Proof); 538a (Scholar)
98	I	479a (Creation)
	II	328b (God and his Attributes)
	III	362a (Medicine and the Q)
	IV	538b (Scholar)
99	I	41a, 42b, 44b, 45a (Agriculture and Vegetation); 362b (Colors); 476b (Creation); 494b (Date Palm)
	II	3a, 3b, 4a (Earth); 305a, 305b (Geography)
	V	5b (Signs)
100	I	236a (Blasphemy); 330a (Chronology and the Q)
	II	317b (God and his Attributes)
	III	48a (Jinn); 181a (Lie)
	IV	220b (Prayer)
	V	120b (Spiritual Beings); 369a (Trinity)
100-101	I	115a (Apologetics)
101	I	472a (Creation)
	II	320b, 327a, 329b (God and his Attributes); 536b (Innovation)

III 300a (Material Culture and the Q)
V 370a (Trinity)

101-103 I 472b (Creation)

102 I 435a (Conversion); 467b (Createdness of the Q)
IV 280b (Profane and Sacred)
V 501a (Witnessing and Testifying)

103 II 53a (Eschatology); 284a (Garden); 324a (God and his Attributes)
V 275b (Theophany); 444b (Vision); 445b (Vision and Blindness)

104 III 40a (Jihād)
IV 287a (Proof)

105 IV 538b (Scholar)
V 203a (Teaching)

106 I 170b (Art and Architecture and the Q)

107 III 452b (Muḥammad)

108 II 432a (History and the Q); 497a (Illiteracy)
IV 228b (Prayer); 309b (Provocation); 331a (Quraysh); 483b (Rhymed Prose)

109 I 329b (Chronology and the Q)
II 317a (God and his Attributes); 354b (Grammar and the Q)
III 398b (Miracles); 562a, 563b (Oaths)
IV 119a (Polemic and Polemical Language); 311b (Provocation); 562b (Scripture and the Q)
V 3a (Signs)

110 V 444b (Vision)

111 II 488a (Ignorance)

112 I 213b (Beauty); 526a (Devil)
II 23b (Enemies)
III 46b (Jinn); 299b, 300a (Material Culture and the Q)
IV 295a, 301b (Prophets and Prophethood); 439b (Revelation and Inspiration)
V 363a (Trial); 494b (Witnessing and Testifying); 546a (Word of God)

114 I 147b (Arbitration); 222b (Belief and Unbelief); 250a (Book)
II 321b (God and his Attributes)
V 301a (Torah)

115 II 321b (God and his Attributes)
III 70a, 71b (Justice and Injustice); 267b (Manuscripts of the Q)
V 547b (Word of God)

116 III 567b (Obedience)
V 178a (Suspicion); 573a (Zealotry)

117 IV 29a (Path or Way)

118 II 220a (Food and Drink)
V 55b (Slaughter)

118-119 I 96b (Animal Life)
V 303a (Torah)

119 I 96b, 97a (Animal Life); 210b (Basmala)
III 102b (Knowledge and Learning)
IV 420b (Remembrance)
V 55b (Slaughter)

119-121 II 85b (Everyday Life, Q In)

120 II 63b (Ethics and the Q)

121 I 96b (Animal Life); 190b (Authority); 512b (Debate and Disputation); 526b (Devil)
II 273b (Friends and Friendship)
III 48a (Jinn); 567a (Obedience)
IV 295a (Prophets and Prophethood); 309b (Provocation); 420b (Remembrance); 439b (Revelation and Inspiration)
V 55b (Slaughter); 546a (Word of God)

123 IV 309b (Provocation)

124 II 345a (Grace)
IV 128a (Politics and the Q); 311b (Provocation)

125 I 225b (Belief and Unbelief); 330b (Chronology and the Q); 436a (Conversion); 523a (Destiny)
II 59a (Ethics and the Q); 215b (Flying); 270a (Freedom and Predestination); 330b (God and his Attributes)
IV 454a (Reward and Punishment); 503a (Ritual Purity)
V 485b (Wish and Desire)

125-127 IV 34a (Peace)

126 IV 29a (Path or Way)

127 II 52a (Eschatology); 273a (Friends and Friendship); 283a (Garden); 321b (God and his Attributes)
IV 14a (Paradise)

128 I 330a (Chronology and the Q)
II 52b (Eschatology)
III 46b, 47b (Jinn)
IV 5b (Pairs and Pairing); 103b (Pit); 216b (Prayer); 537b (Scholar)

129 IV 128b (Politics and the Q)

130 III 46b, 47b (Jinn); 141a (Last Judgment)
IV 299b (Prophets and Prophethood)
V 8a (Signs); 82a (Soul); 492a, 494b (Witnessing and Testifying)

131 II 488b (Ignorance)
III 71a, 72a (Justice and Injustice)

133 I 277a (Caliph); 479a (Creation)
V 467b (Wealth)

135 III 162b (Law and the Q)
IV 523a (Salvation)

136 I 41a (Agriculture and Vegetation); 402b (Consecration of Animals)
II 64a (Ethics and the Q); 478b (Idolatry and Idolaters)
V 449b (Vow)

136-145 I 236a (Blasphemy)

137 I 236a (Blasphemy); 301b (Children)
II 366a (Grammar and the Q); 511a (Infanticide)
III 42b (Jihād)
IV 255b (Pre-Islamic Arabia and the Q)
V 318a (Tradition and Custom); 570a (Youth and Old Age)

138 I 97a (Animal Life); 402b (Consecration of Animals)
II 220b (Food and Drink)
III 173b (Lawful and Unlawful)
V 411b (Vehicles)

138-139 I 402a (Consecration of Animals)

138-150 III 174b (Lawful and Unlawful)

139 I 291b (Carrion); 402b (Consecration of Animals)
IV 5b (Pairs and Pairing); 537b (Scholar)

140 I 235a (Birth Control); 301b (Children)
II 511a (Infanticide)
III 174b (Lawful and Unlawful); 458b (Murder)
IV 255b (Pre-Islamic Arabia and the Q)
V 318a (Tradition and Custom); 570a (Youth and Old Age); 573a (Zealotry)

141 I 41a (Agriculture and Vegetation); 478b (Creation); 500b (Day, Times of)
II 3b, 4a (Earth); 69b (Ethics and the Q); 217b (Food and Drink); 304b, 305b (Geography)
IV 482a (Rhymed Prose)
V 7b (Signs); 197b (Taxation)

142 I 94b, 96a (Animal Life); 403a (Consecration of Animals); 526a (Devil)
II 23b, 24a (Enemies); 219b, 220b (Food and Drink)
V 411b (Vehicles)

142-145 II 220a (Food and Drink)

143 II 218a (Food and Drink); 352b (Grammar and the Q)
III 537a (News)

143-144 I 94a, 95b (Animal Life); 403a (Consecration of Animals)
IV 6a (Pairs and Pairing)

144 I 287a (Camel)
II 218b (Food and Drink)
III 181a (Lie)

145 I 237b (Blood and Blood Clot); 291b (Carrion); 403a (Consecration of Animals); 411a (Contamination)
II 220a, 220b (Food and Drink)
III 173a, 174a (Lawful and Unlawful); 378b (Mercy)
IV 503b, 504a (Ritual Purity); 517b (Sacrifice)

146 I 11b (Abrogation); 97a (Animal Life); 403a (Consecration of Animals)
II 218a (Food and Drink); 571b (Israel)
III 25a (Jews and Judaism); 173a, 174b (Lawful and Unlawful)
V 55a (Slaughter); 303a (Torah)

147 I 375b (Community and Society in the Q)
III 380a (Mercy)
V 19a (Sin, Major and Minor)

148 III 174b (Lawful and Unlawful)
IV 309b, 312b (Provocation)
V 317a (Tradition and Custom)

148-149 IV 287a (Proof)

148-151 IV 311a (Provocation)

149 I 435b (Conversion)
II 33a (Epigraphy); 329a (God and his Attributes)

150 II 359a (Grammar and the Q)
III 71a (Justice and Injustice)
V 6a (Signs); 492b (Witnessing and Testifying)

151 I 29a (Adultery and Fornication); 234b (Birth Control); 239a (Blood Money); 301b (Children); 367a (Commandments)
II 61b, 75b (Ethics and the Q); 447b (Honor); 453a (Hospitality and Courtesy); 511a (Infanticide)
III 190a (Literacy); 252a (Maintenance and Upkeep)
IV 20b (Parents); 255b (Pre-Islamic Arabia and the Q); 580b (Sex and Sexuality)
V 162a (Suicide); 179b (Sustenance); 204b (Teaching); 308a (Torah); 318a (Tradition and Custom); 417a (Vengeance); 528a (Women and the Q); 570a (Youth and Old Age)

151-152 V 21a (Sin, Major and Minor)

151-153 I 366b, 367a (Commandments)
III 447b (Muḥammad)
V 27b (Sin, Major and Minor)

152 II 5b, 8b (Economics); 75b (Ethics and the Q); 374a (Guardianship); 545a (Instruments)
III 65b (Judgment); 71b (Justice and Injustice); 276a (Markets); 330a (Maturity); 334a, 334b, 335b (Measurement); 603b (Orphans)
IV 432b (Responsibility)
V 313a (Trade and Commerce)

153 III 379a (Mercy)
IV 25b (Parties and Factions); 29a, 29b (Path or Way); 128a (Politics and the Q)

154 II 61b (Ethics and the Q); 367a (Grammar and the Q)
III 424b (Moses)
IV 3b (Pairs and Pairing)
V 301a (Torah)

154-157 IV 36a (People of the Book)

155 I 367b (Commandments)
III 162b (Law and the Q)
IV 297a (Prophets and Prophethood)

156 II 488b (Ignorance)
III 21b (Jews and Judaism)
V 203a (Teaching)

157 II 335b (Good and Evil)
III 181a (Lie); 379a (Mercy); 450b (Muḥammad)
V 5b (Signs)

158 II 325b (God and his Attributes)
III 379b (Mercy)
IV 434b (Resurrection)
V 8a (Signs)

159 III 32b (Jews and Judaism)
IV 25b (Parties and Factions); 403b (Religious Pluralism and the Q); 592a (Shīʿa)

160 III 379b (Mercy); 553a (Numbers and Enumeration)
IV 458b (Reward and Punishment)

161 I 5b, 6a (Abraham); 330b (Chronology and the Q); 373a (Community and Society in the Q); 465b (Covenant)
II 329a (God and his Attributes); 402b, 403b (Ḥanīf)
IV 396a (Religion)

162 I 506a (Death and the Dead)
II 356b (Grammar and the Q)

162-163 II 329a (God and his Attributes)
III 444a, 446b (Muḥammad)

163 II 33b, 34a (Epigraphy)
III 299a, 299b, 300b (Material Culture and the Q); 556a (Numismatics)
V 369a (Trinity); 489b (Witness to Faith)

164 I 271b (Cain and Abel)
II 420b (Heresy)
III 228a (Load or Burden)
IV 432a (Responsibility)
V 22a (Sin, Major and Minor)

165
I 277a (Caliph)
III 380a (Mercy)
IV 127a, 128b (Politics and the Q); 185b (Possession and Possessions); 453a (Reward and Punishment)
V 133b (Suffering); 363a (Trial)

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I 297a (Chastisement and Punishment); 304b (Children of Israel); 454b (Cosmology)
II 415b (Hell and Hellfire)
III 67a (Judgment); 200b (Literary Structures of the Q); 472b (Mysterious Letters); 490b (Myths and Legends in the Q); 520b (Narratives)
IV 48a (People of the Heights); 59a (Persian Literature and the Q); 130a, 131b, 141a (Politics and the Q); 244a (Pre-1800 Preoccupations of Q Studies); 288a (Property); 601b (Shīʿism and the Q)
V 174b (Sūra)

1-10
III 520b (Narratives)

1-22
III 304b (Material Culture and the Q)

2
I 245a (Book)
III 442b, 452b (Muḥammad)
IV 293b (Prophets and Prophethood)
V 203a (Teaching); 461a (Warner)

3
IV 130a, 131b, 139a (Politics and the Q)

4
II 431a (History and the Q)
III 520b (Narratives)

4-5
IV 320b (Punishment Stories)

6
III 141a (Last Judgment)
IV 300b (Prophets and Prophethood); 431a (Responsibility)

7
III 517b (Narratives)
IV 131a (Politics and the Q)

7-8
V 313b (Trade and Commerce)

8
III 70a (Justice and Injustice); 178a (Left Hand and Right Hand); 334b (Measurement)
IV 523a (Salvation)

8-9
I 522b (Destiny)
III 70a (Justice and Injustice); 140b (Last Judgment); 275b (Markets); 334b (Measurement)
IV 2b (Pairs and Pairing); 130a (Politics and the Q)
V 493a (Witnessing and Testifying)

9
II 161b (Failure)
III 178a (Left Hand and Right Hand); 334b (Measurement)
V 6a (Signs)

10 I 446b (Cosmology); 472a (Creation)
II 371a (Gratitude and Ingratitude)
IV 117a (Polemic and Polemical Language); 210b (Power and Impotence)

10-34 I 448a (Cosmology)

11 I 447a (Cosmology); 476a (Creation); 525a (Devil)
II 172b (Fall of Man); 323a (God and his Attributes)
III 45a (Jinn)
V 96a (South Asian Literatures and the Q); 109a (Speech)

11-12 I 24a (Adam and Eve); 255a (Bowing and Prostration); 511a (Debate and Disputation)
IV 220a (Prayer)

11-15 V 145a (Ṣūfism and the Q)

11-18 II 417b (Hell and Hellfire)

11-25 I 525b (Devil)
III 520b (Narratives)
V 530a (Women and the Q)

12 I 24a (Adam and Eve); 339b (Clay); 353b (Collection of the Q); 476a (Creation)
II 4a, 4b (Earth)
III 355a (Medicine and the Q); 532a (Nature as Signs)

12-18 V 109a (Speech)

13 I 160a (Arrogance)
II 172b (Fall of Man)
V 547a (Word of God)

15-16 I 447b (Cosmology)

16 IV 29a (Path or Way); 103b (Pit)

16-17 I 526a (Devil)
II 172b (Fall of Man); 336a (Good and Evil)
IV 130b (Politics and the Q)

16-22 I 190b (Authority)

17 II 372a (Gratitude and Ingratitude); 401b (Hand)

18 I 235a (Birth Control)
II 353b (Grammar and the Q)

18-19 III 425b (Moses)

19 I 25a (Adam and Eve); 447b (Cosmology)
II 172b (Fall of Man); 175a (Family); 219b (Food and Drink); 283a (Garden); 362b (Grammar and the Q)

19-22 V 360a (Tree)

19-27 III 548a (Nudity)

20 I 25a (Adam and Eve); 526a (Devil)
II 173a (Fall of Man); 224a (Forbidden); 364a (Grammar and the Q)
III 211a (Literature and the Q)
IV 295a (Prophets and Prophethood); 581a (Sex and Sexuality)
V 479a (Whisper); 487a (Wish and Desire)

20-22 I 25a (Adam and Eve); 447b (Cosmology); 525a (Devil)
IV 584a (Sex and Sexuality)

21 III 563b (Oaths)

22 I 41b (Agriculture and Vegetation); 346b (Clothing); 447b (Cosmology); 526a (Devil)
II 23b, 24a (Enemies); 66a (Ethics and the Q); 173a (Fall of Man)
III 490b (Myths and Legends in the Q); 548a (Nudity)
IV 581a (Sex and Sexuality)

22-23 V 25a (Sin, Major and Minor)

22-24 IV 130a (Politics and the Q)

23 I 25b (Adam and Eve); 447b (Cosmology)
II 65a (Ethics and the Q); 245a (Forgiveness)
V 530a (Women and the Q)

24 II 23b, 24a (Enemies); 173a (Fall of Man)
III 60a (Joy and Misery)
IV 130b (Politics and the Q)

24-25 I 25a (Adam and Eve)
II 173a (Fall of Man)

25 I 447b, 455a (Cosmology)

26 I 346b (Clothing)
III 403a (Modesty); 548b (Nudity)
IV 581a (Sex and Sexuality)
V 4a (Signs)

26-27 II 328b (God and his Attributes)

26-58 III 520b (Narratives)

27 I 526a, 526b (Devil)
II 72a (Ethics and the Q); 273b (Friends and Friendship)
III 46b (Jinn); 490b (Myths and Legends in the Q)
IV 130a (Politics and the Q); 581a (Sex and Sexuality)
V 487a (Wish and Desire)

28 I 523a (Destiny)
II 439a (History and the Q)
IV 580b (Sex and Sexuality)
V 317a (Tradition and Custom)

29 I 164a (Art and Architecture and the Q); 478a, 479a (Creation)
II 550a (Intention); 557b (Invitation)
III 140a (Last Judgment)

30 I 435b (Conversion)
II 273b (Friends and Friendship)
III 46b (Jinn)
IV 2a (Pairs and Pairing)

31 II 216b, 222b (Food and Drink); 328b (God and his Attributes)

31-32 I 213a (Beauty)
IV 256b (Pre-Islamic Arabia and the Q)

31-33 V 145a (Ṣūfism and the Q)

32 III 174b (Lawful and Unlawful)
IV 538b (Scholar)
V 179a (Sustenance); 573a (Zealotry)

33 IV 130b (Politics and the Q); 580b, 583b (Sex and Sexuality)
V 19b (Sin, Major and Minor)

34 I 501a (Day, Times of)
II 45a (Eschatology); 72a (Ethics and the Q); 269a (Freedom and Predestination)
III 185a (Life); 335b (Measurement)
V 288a, 289a (Time)

35 II 328b (God and his Attributes)

35-36 V 145a (Ṣūfism and the Q)

36 I 396a (Conceit)
II 418a (Hell and Hellfire)
IV 264a (Pride)
V 6a (Signs)

37 III 181a (Lie)
IV 290a (Prophets and Prophethood)
V 494b (Witnessing and Testifying)

38 I 492a (Curse)
II 98b (Evil Deeds); 416b (Hell and Hellfire)
III 46b, 47b (Jinn)
IV 6b, 7b (Pairs and Pairing); 130b (Politics and the Q); 336b (Races); 438a (Revelation and Inspiration); 458b (Reward and Punishment)
V 54a (Sister)

38-39 I 532a (Dialogues)

39-40 V 145a (Ṣūfism and the Q)

40 I 98b, 100a (Animal Life); 286b (Camel); 398b (Conquest)
II 546b (Instruments)
IV 264a (Pride); 474a (Rhetoric and the Q)
V 6a (Signs); 19a (Sin, Major and Minor); 468b (Wealth)

40-41 III 70b (Justice and Injustice)

41 II 276a (Furniture and Furnishings); 415a (Hell and Hellfire)
IV 104a (Pit)

42 I 220a (Belief and Unbelief)
IV 432b (Responsibility)

43 I 435b (Conversion)
II 282b, 283b, 284a (Garden); 465a (Humor)
III 303a (Material Culture and the Q)
IV 300b (Prophets and Prophethood)

44 I 385a (Community and Society in the Q)
II 415b (Hell and Hellfire)

44-50 II 417a (Hell and Hellfire)

46 I 203a (Barrier)
II 52a (Eschatology); 91b (Everyday Life, Q In); 276a (Furniture and Furnishings); 415b (Hell and Hellfire); 448b (Hope); 553a (Intercession)
IV 46b, 47a, 47b, 48a (People of the Heights)
V 244a (Textual Criticism of the Q); 412b (Veil)

46-47 III 67a (Judgment)

46-49 II 415b (Hell and Hellfire)

47 IV 47b (People of the Heights)

48 IV 46b, 48a (People of the Heights)
V 244a (Textual Criticism of the Q); 468b (Wealth)

49 III 204a (Literary Structures of the Q)
IV 34b (Peace)

50 I 222a (Belief and Unbelief)
II 415b (Hell and Hellfire)
III 203b (Literary Structures of the Q)
V 464b (Water)

52 IV 3b (Pairs and Pairing)

53 II 99a (Evil Deeds)
III 141a (Last Judgment)
IV 300b (Prophets and Prophethood); 430a (Repentance and Penance)

54 I 188b (Authority); 318b (Chronology and the Q); 442a, 443b, 450a (Cosmology); 472b, 473b, 476a (Creation); 499b, 501a, 501b (Day, Times of)
II 325b, 327a, 327b (God and his Attributes); 410b (Heaven and Sky)
III 202a (Literary Structures of the Q); 512a (Names of the Q)
IV 73b, 82a (Philosophy and the Q); 107b (Planets and Stars); 128a, 130b (Politics and the Q); 220b (Prayer); 511a (Sabbath); 543b, 545b (Science and the Q)
V 103a (Sovereignty); 163a (Sun); 265a, 266b (Theology and the Q); 279b, 280b, 287a (Time); 544a (Word of God)

54-56 I 472b (Creation)

55 IV 229b (Prayer)

56 I 474b (Creation)
II 448b (Hope)
IV 130b (Politics and the Q)

57 I 52b, 53a, 55a (Air and Wind); 479a (Creation)
II 341a (Good News)
III 530a (Nature as Signs)
IV 435a (Resurrection)
V 463a (Water); 471a (Weather)

57-58 II 3a (Earth)

58 I 46b (Agriculture and Vegetation)
II 3a, 4a (Earth)
V 5b (Signs)

59 IV 162a (Polytheism and Atheism); 310b (Provocation)

59-64 II 558a (Invitation)

59-93 I 296b (Chastisement and Punishment)
III 381b (Messenger)

59-102 III 212b (Literature and the Q); 520b (Narratives)

59-136 I 190b (Authority)

59-137 IV 320a (Punishment Stories)

60 I 297a (Chastisement and Punishment)
II 355b (Grammar and the Q)
IV 130b (Politics and the Q)

61-62 IV 130b (Politics and the Q)

63 III 379a (Mercy); 399a (Miracles)
IV 230a (Prayer)

64 I 519a (Deliverance); 553b (Drowning)

65 I 21b (ʿĀd); 261b (Brother and Brotherhood)
II 541b (Insolence and Obstinacy)
IV 310b (Provocation)

65-72 II 462a (Hūd); 558a (Invitation)
IV 586b (Sheba)

66 I 297a (Chastisement and Punishment)
II 462b (Hūd)
IV 130b (Politics and the Q)

67-68 IV 130b (Politics and the Q)

69 I 21b (ʿĀd); 277a (Caliph)
II 327b (God and his Attributes); 434b (History and the Q)
III 393a, 399a (Miracles); 486a (Myths and Legends in the Q)
IV 131a (Politics and the Q); 421a (Remembrance)

70 III 556a (Numismatics)

70-71 I 21b (ʿĀd)

71 I 93a (Anger); 190a (Authority); 411b (Contamination); 512b (Debate and Disputation)
IV 313a (Provocation); 454a (Reward and Punishment); 503a, 503b (Ritual Purity)
V 547a (Word of God)

71-72 II 542a (Insolence and Obstinacy)

72 I 21b (ʿĀd)
III 379a (Mercy)
IV 425a (Remnant); 523b (Salvation)

73 I 261b (Brother and Brotherhood); 287a (Camel)
II 335b (Good and Evil)
III 219a (Literature and the Q); 393a (Miracles); 534b (Nature as Signs)
IV 237b (Pre-1800 Preoccupations of Q Studies); 521a, 521b (Ṣāliḥ)
V 8a (Signs); 253a (Thamūd)

73-79 I 98b (Animal Life); 149b (Archaeology and the Q)
II 340b (Good Deeds); 427a (Ḥijr); 558a (Invitation)
IV 521a (Ṣāliḥ)

73-84 I 395b (Conceit)
III 534b (Nature as Signs)

74 I 150b (Archaeology and the Q); 189a (Authority); 277a (Caliph)
II 7b (Economics); 434b (History and the Q)
IV 131a (Politics and the Q); 421a (Remembrance)
V 253a (Thamūd)

74-79 II 459b (House, Domestic and Divine)

75 I 159a, 161a (Arrogance)
III 581a (Oppressed on Earth); 583a (Oppression)
IV 130b, 132a (Politics and the Q); 263b (Pride); 521b (Ṣāliḥ)

75-76 I 160b (Arrogance)

75-77 I 297a (Chastisement and Punishment)

75-92 I 190a (Authority)

76 II 542a (Insolence and Obstinacy)
IV 263b (Pride)

77 III 219a (Literature and the Q)
IV 521b (Ṣāliḥ)
V 253a (Thamūd)

77-78 I 287a (Camel)
II 212a (Fire)

78 I 113a (Apocalypse); 504a (Day, Times of)
II 542a (Insolence and Obstinacy)

III 418a (Morning)
IV 521b (Ṣāliḥ)
V 253a (Thamūd)

79 IV 130b (Politics and the Q)

80 II 444b (Homosexuality)
IV 580b (Sex and Sexuality)
V 552a (World)

80-82 IV 584b (Sex and Sexuality)

80-84 III 232a (Lot)

81 II 76a (Ethics and the Q); 444b (Homosexuality)
V 528a (Women and the Q)

82 I 343b (Cleanliness and Ablution)
II 360b (Grammar and the Q)
III 449a (Muḥammad)
IV 505b (Ritual Purity)

83 IV 523b (Salvation)

84 II 212b (Fire)
V 470b (Weather)

85 I 149b (Archaeology and the Q); 261b (Brother and Brotherhood); 300b (Cheating)
II 5b, 8b (Economics); 308a (Geography); 545a (Instruments)
III 334a, 334b, 335b, 336a (Measurement); 390b (Midian)
IV 130b (Politics and the Q); 288a (Property); 605a (Shuʿayb)
V 312b (Trade and Commerce)

85-92 II 459b (House, Domestic and Divine)

85-93 II 558a (Invitation)
III 390b (Midian)
IV 605a (Shuʿayb)

86 I 235a (Birth Control)
II 7b (Economics); 62b (Ethics and the Q)
III 549b (Numbers and Enumeration)
IV 28b (Path or Way)

87 I 516a (Decision)
II 321a (God and his Attributes)
III 64b (Judgment)

88 I 160b (Arrogance)
III 393b (Miracles); 449a (Muḥammad)
IV 130b (Politics and the Q); 263b (Pride); 605b (Shuʿayb)

88-89 IV 401a (Religious Pluralism and the Q)

89 I 236a (Blasphemy); 398b (Conquest)
II 322a (God and his Attributes)
IV 605b (Shuʿayb)

90 II 161b (Failure)

91 I 113a (Apocalypse); 504a (Day, Times of)
IV 605b (Shuʿayb)

91-92 II 361b (Grammar and the Q)

92 II 162a (Failure)

93 II 510b (Indifference)
IV 130b (Politics and the Q)

94 I 296b (Chastisement and Punishment)
III 63b (Joy and Misery)
IV 301b (Prophets and Prophethood)
V 133a (Suffering)

94-95 V 340a (Transitoriness)

94-102 I 376b (Community and Society in the Q)

95 I 296a, 296b (Chastisement and Punishment)

96 I 398b (Conquest)
II 195b (Fear)
III 513a (Names of the Q)
IV 34b (Peace); 131a (Politics and the Q)
V 126b (Springs and Fountains)

96-97 V 61a (Sleep)

96-98 IV 37a (People of the Book); 49a (People of the House)

97-98 V 281b (Time)

97-100 I 297a (Chastisement and Punishment)

98 I 504a (Day, Times of)
III 416b, 418a (Morning)

98-99 IV 308a (Protection)

99 I 377a (Community and Society in the Q)
II 322a (God and his Attributes)
III 18a (Jesus)

100 II 406b (Hearing and Deafness)

100-101 II 408b (Heart)

100-141 IV 105b (Plagues)

101 I 82a (Anatomy)
II 435b (History and the Q)
III 441a (Muḥammad); 536b (News)
IV 302b (Prophets and Prophethood)

102 I 431b (Contracts and Alliances); 465b (Covenant)

103 III 421b (Moses); 537a (News)
IV 106a (Plagues); 131a (Politics and the Q)

103-106 V 4b (Signs)

103-129 II 558a (Invitation)

103-133 I 304b (Children of Israel)

103-137 I 296b (Chastisement and Punishment)

103-162 III 520b (Narratives)

104 III 381b (Messenger)

104-109 III 422a (Moses)

105 III 421b (Moses)
V 8a (Signs)

106 IV 296b (Prophets and Prophethood)

106-108 IV 183a (Portents)

107 I 99a (Animal Life)
II 546a (Instruments)
III 219a (Literature and the Q)

107-108 I 297a (Chastisement and Punishment)
IV 106a (Plagues)

107-109 IV 296b (Prophets and Prophethood)

108 I 364a (Colors)

109 V 239b (Textual Criticism of the Q)

109-110 I 297a (Chastisement and Punishment)

113-114 I 500b (Day, Times of)

113-126 III 211b (Literature and the Q); 422a (Moses)

115-126 III 393b (Miracles)

116 III 246a (Magic)

117 II 546a (Instruments)
III 208a, 219a (Literature and the Q)
IV 293b (Prophets and Prophethood); 440a (Revelation and Inspiration); 508b (Rod)
V 271a (Theology and the Q); 546a (Word of God)

117-119 I 297a (Chastisement and Punishment)

119 II 144a (Expeditions and Battles)

120 I 255a (Bowing and Prostration)

121-122 II 199a (Feet)

122 I 1a (Aaron)
III 229b (Lord)
IV 483a (Rhymed Prose)

123 II 10b (Egypt); 348a (Grammar and the Q)
III 367b (Medina)

124 I 487b, 488a (Crucifixion)
II 199a (Feet)
IV 67b (Pharaoh)

126 I 506a (Death and the Dead)
II 70b (Ethics and the Q)
IV 453b (Reward and Punishment)

127 I 297a (Chastisement and Punishment); 302a (Children)
II 10b (Egypt)
III 421b (Moses); 583b (Oppression)
IV 67a (Pharaoh); 131a (Politics and the Q)

127-129 III 422b (Moses)

128 V 434b (Virtue)

129 I 277a (Caliph); 296a (Chastisement and Punishment)
II 10b (Egypt); 23b (Enemies)
IV 131a (Politics and the Q)

130 II 304b (Geography)
IV 106a (Plagues)
V 285b (Time)

130-135 IV 296b (Prophets and Prophethood)

131 II 242a (Foretelling in the Q)
IV 538a (Scholar)

133 I 98b (Animal Life); 160a (Arrogance); 237b (Blood and Blood Clot)
III 520b (Narratives)
IV 105b, 106a (Plagues); 264a (Pride)
V 6a (Signs)

133-134 I 297a (Chastisement and Punishment)

133-136 V 133a (Suffering)

134 I 379b (Community and Society in the Q); 465b (Covenant)
IV 503b (Ritual Purity)

134-135 IV 454a (Reward and Punishment); 503a (Ritual Purity)

134-136 I 304b (Children of Israel)

135-136 IV 210b (Power and Impotence)

136 I 297a (Chastisement and Punishment); 553b (Drowning)
II 10b (Egypt); 213a (Fire)
IV 453b (Reward and Punishment)
V 6b (Signs); 126b (Springs and Fountains); 416a (Vengeance); 463b (Water)

136-137 III 423a (Moses)

137 I 304b (Children of Israel)
II 309a (Geography)

III 3b (Jerusalem); 488a (Myths and Legends in the Q); 583a (Oppression)
IV 131a, 132a (Politics and the Q); 513b (Sacred Precincts)
V 107a (Spatial Relations); 282b (Time); 547b (Word of God); 549a (Work)

138 I 478a (Creation)
II 213a (Fire); 474a (Iconoclasm); 481a (Idols and Images); 488a (Ignorance)
III 423a (Moses)
V 375a (Trips and Voyages); 464b (Water)

138-151 I 305a (Children of Israel)

141 I 302a (Children)
II 184a (Fasting); 335b (Good and Evil); 542a (Insolence and Obstinacy)
IV 67a (Pharaoh); 523b (Salvation)

142 I 260b (Brother and Brotherhood); 499b (Day, Times of)
III 423b (Moses)
IV 29b (Path or Way); 431b (Responsibility)
V 288a (Time)

142-143 IV 227b (Prayer)
V 302a (Torah)

143 I 272b (Calendar); 532a (Dialogues)
II 315b (Glory); 324a (God and his Attributes); 507a (Impeccability)
III 224a (Literature and the Q); 394a (Miracles); 424a (Moses); 444a (Muḥammad)
IV 429b (Repentance and Penance)
V 95b (South Asian Literatures and the Q); 140b, 146b (Ṣūfism and the Q); 275b, 276a (Theophany); 288a (Time); 445b (Vision and Blindness); 546b, 547a, 547b (Word of God)

143-144 V 109b (Speech)

144 II 11b, 12a (Election)
III 424a (Moses)
IV 291a (Prophets and Prophethood)
V 110a, 111a (Speech); 547b (Word of God)

144-145 III 424a (Moses)

145 I 365a, 365b, 366a (Commandments)
II 142b (Exhortations); 544b (Instruments)
III 190b (Literacy); 394b (Miracles); 424b (Moses)
V 301a (Torah)

146 I 160b (Arrogance); 190a (Authority)
II 43b (Error); 489a (Ignorance)
IV 2a (Pairs and Pairing); 29b (Path or Way); 431b (Responsibility)

148 I 99a (Animal Life); 124b (Apparition); 274a, 274b, 276a (Calf of Gold)
IV 29a (Path or Way)

148-149 III 424b (Moses)

148-153 I 274a (Calf of Gold)

148-155 V 155b (Ṣūfism and the Q)

148-157 I 1a (Aaron)

149 I 274a (Calf of Gold)
II 245a (Forgiveness)
IV 428b (Repentance and Penance)

150 I 93b (Anger); 260b (Brother and Brotherhood); 276a (Calf of Gold); 534a (Dialogues)
II 23b (Enemies); 544b (Instruments)
III 424b (Moses); 583a (Oppression)
IV 20a (Parents)
V 301a (Torah); 524b (Women and the Q)

150-151 I 274a (Calf of Gold)

151 I 260b (Brother and Brotherhood); 274a (Calf of Gold)
III 378a, 379b (Mercy)

152 I 93a (Anger); 99a (Animal Life); 236a (Blasphemy); 274a (Calf of Gold)
II 218b (Food and Drink)

152-153 IV 428b (Repentance and Penance)

152-155 I 376b (Community and Society in the Q)

153 I 274a (Calf of Gold)
V 19a, 19b (Sin, Major and Minor)

154 I 14b (Abrogation); 93b (Anger)
II 544b, 545a (Instruments)
III 424b (Moses)
IV 3b (Pairs and Pairing)
V 301a (Torah)

155 I 113a (Apocalypse); 435b (Conversion)
II 11b (Election); 244b (Forgiveness); 273a (Friends and Friendship); 321a (God and his Attributes)
III 231b (Lord); 378a, 379b (Mercy)
IV 227b (Prayer)
V 288a (Time)

156 I 170b (Art and Architecture and the Q); 244b (Book)
III 21b (Jews and Judaism); 300a (Material Culture and the Q)
V 6a (Signs); 399a (Ummī); 552a (World)

157 I 96b (Animal Life); 223a (Belief and Unbelief)
II 6a (Economics); 326b (God and his Attributes); 342a (Gospel); 467a (Hunting and Fishing); 494a, 494b, 495a, 495b, 496a, 499a (Illiteracy)
III 25b (Jews and Judaism); 127b (Language and Style of the Q); 172b (Lawful and Unlawful); 186b (Light); 228a (Load or Burden); 526a (Narratives)

IV 290a, 299a (Prophets and Prophethood); 504a (Ritual Purity); 523a (Salvation)
V 28b (Sinai); 300b, 301a, 302b, 303a, 305b (Torah); 399a, 399b (Ummī); 437b (Virtues and Vices, Commanding and Forbidding)

157-158 I 325a (Chronology and the Q)
III 445b (Muḥammad); 503b (Names of the Prophet)
IV 17a (Paradise); 131b (Politics and the Q)

158 I 480b (Creeds)
II 494a, 496a, 499a (Illiteracy)
III 127b (Language and Style of the Q); 382b (Messenger); 443b (Muḥammad)
IV 4a (Pairs and Pairing)
V 399a, 399b (Ummī); 489a (Witness to Faith); 501b (Witnessing and Testifying); 548a (Word of God)

159 I 305b (Children of Israel)
II 431b (History and the Q)
IV 131a (Politics and the Q)
V 386b (Truth)

160 I 98a (Animal Life)
II 4a (Earth); 215b (Flying); 364a (Grammar and the Q); 546a (Instruments)
III 219a (Literature and the Q); 383b (Metals and Minerals); 394a (Miracles); 553a (Numbers and Enumeration)
IV 131a (Politics and the Q); 440a, 443b (Revelation and Inspiration); 508b (Rod)
V 127b (Springs and Fountains); 129a (Stone); 140b (Ṣūfism and the Q); 271a (Theology and the Q); 364a (Tribes and Clans)

161 I 149a (Archaeology and the Q); 254b (Bowing and Prostration)
IV 219b (Prayer)
V 242a (Textual Criticism of the Q)

161-162 I 305a (Children of Israel)
IV 428b (Repentance and Penance)

162 II 243a (Forgery)
IV 450b (Revision and Alteration); 454a (Reward and Punishment); 503a (Ritual Purity)
V 302b (Torah); 547b (Word of God)

163 I 154b (Archaeology and the Q); 500b (Day, Times of)
IV 510a, 510b (Sabbath)
V 279b, 285b (Time)

163-166 V 438b, 441a (Virtues and Vices, Commanding and Forbidding)

163-167 I 305a (Children of Israel)
IV 511a (Sabbath)

163-168 III 520b (Narratives)

163-171 II 337a (Good and Evil)

164 I 371b (Community and Society in the Q)

165 II 335b (Good and Evil)
V 439a (Virtues and Vices, Commanding and Forbidding)

166 I 98b (Animal Life); 306b (Children of Israel); 475b (Creation); 496a (David)
III 25a (Jews and Judaism)
IV 510b (Sabbath)
V 545a (Word of God)

167 II 335b (Good and Evil)
III 380a (Mercy)
IV 453a (Reward and Punishment)

168 IV 131a (Politics and the Q)

169 I 465a (Covenant)
II 283a (Garden)
IV 129a (Politics and the Q)
V 203a (Teaching); 552b (World)

169-174 III 520b (Narratives)

170 II 362b (Grammar and the Q)

171 II 311a (Geography); 316a, 316b (Glory)
V 235b (Tents and Tent Pegs); 302b (Torah)

172 I 26a (Adam and Eve); 86b (Angel); 189a (Authority); 466b (Covenant)
II 44b (Eschatology); 57a (Ethics and the Q); 171a (Faith); 328b (God and his Attributes); 488b (Ignorance)
III 72a (Justice and Injustice)
IV 127a (Politics and the Q)
V 94b (South Asian Literatures and the Q); 138a, 142a, 157b (Ṣūfism and the Q); 393a (Turkish Literature and the Q); 446b (Vision and Blindness); 492a, 502a (Witnessing and Testifying); 545b (Word of God)

172-173 II 98a (Evil Deeds); 337a (Good and Evil); 339b (Good Deeds)
IV 162a (Polytheism and Atheism)
V 317a (Tradition and Custom); 530b (Women and the Q)

173 II 337a (Good and Evil)

174 IV 428a (Repentance and Penance)
V 8a (Signs)

175 III 190a (Literacy); 225b (Literature and the Q); 518a, 524b (Narratives)

175-176 III 520b (Narratives)

175-186 II 261b (Form and Structure of the Q)

176 I 100a (Animal Life); 545b (Dog)
III 224a (Literature and the Q); 517b (Narratives)
IV 10a (Parable); 117a (Polemic and Polemical Language); 131a (Politics and the Q)
V 15a (Simile); 485b (Wish and Desire)

176-177 V 6a (Signs)

177-179 I 523a (Destiny)

177-206 III 520b (Narratives)

178 I 225b (Belief and Unbelief); 435b (Conversion)
II 59a (Ethics and the Q)
IV 2a (Pairs and Pairing)

179 I 81a, 83b (Anatomy); 99b (Animal Life); 385a (Community and Society in the Q)
II 2a (Ears); 406a (Hearing and Deafness); 408b (Heart)
III 46b, 47b (Jinn); 222b (Literature and the Q)
IV 574a (Seeing and Hearing)
V 14b (Simile); 393b (Turkish Literature and the Q); 446a (Vision and Blindness)

180 II 319b (God and his Attributes); 420b (Heresy)
III 40a (Jihād)
IV 185a (Possession and Possessions); 280a (Profane and Sacred)

181 V 386b (Truth)

182 II 322a (God and his Attributes)
V 6a (Signs)

183 II 358a (Grammar and the Q)

184 I 387b (Companions of the Prophet)
II 540a (Insanity)
III 450b (Muḥammad)
IV 112a (Poetry and Poets); 216b (Prayer)

185 IV 4a (Pairs and Pairing); 70b, 80a (Philosophy and the Q)
V 553a (World)

186 I 225b (Belief and Unbelief)

187 I 111a (Antichrist); 113b (Apocalypse); 501a (Day, Times of)
II 148b (Expeditions and Battles); 439b (History and the Q)
III 31b (Jews and Judaism); 137a, 138a (Last Judgment); 579b (Opposition to Muḥammad)
IV 434b (Resurrection); 538a (Scholar)
V 288a, 288b (Time)

187-188 III 452a (Muḥammad)

188 II 336b (Good and Evil); 341a, 341b (Good News)
IV 3b (Pairs and Pairing)

189 I 24b, 25a (Adam and Eve); 447b (Cosmology); 476a, 476b (Creation)
II 328b (God and his Attributes)
III 227b (Load or Burden); 277b (Marriage and Divorce)
IV 20b (Parents); 581b, 584b (Sex and Sexuality)
V 84a (Soul); 524a, 530a (Women and the Q)

189-190 I 302b (Children)
IV 161b (Polytheism and Atheism)

190 I 237a (Blessing)

191 I 472b (Creation)

193 I 437a (Conversion)

194 I 472b (Creation)
IV 228b (Prayer); 577a (Servants)

194-195 IV 312b (Provocation)

195 II 199a (Feet)
III 212b (Literature and the Q)
IV 309b, 312b (Provocation)

196 II 274b (Friends and Friendship)
IV 131b (Politics and the Q)

197 IV 228b (Prayer)
V 430a (Victory)

197-199 II 488a (Ignorance)

198 I 83b (Anatomy)
III 208a (Literature and the Q)

199 III 40a (Jihād); 378a (Mercy)
V 316b (Tradition and Custom)

200 II 92b (Everyday Life, Q In)
IV 308a (Protection); 309b (Provocation)

201 II 153b (Eyes)
V 448b (Visiting)

203 II 11b (Election)
III 450a (Muḥammad); 512a (Names of the Q)
IV 3b (Pairs and Pairing); 287a (Proof)
V 3a (Signs)

204 II 87a (Everyday Life, Q In); 405b (Hearing and Deafness)
III 379b (Mercy)
IV 222a (Prayer)
V 203b (Teaching)

204-205 I 328b (Chronology and the Q)

204-206 I 328a (Chronology and the Q)
IV 224a (Prayer)

205 I 171a (Art and Architecture and the Q); 502b, 504a (Day, Times of)
II 80a (Evening); 196b (Fear)
III 372a, 373a (Memory); 401b (Moderation); 417a, 418b, 419a (Morning)
IV 223a, 229b (Prayer); 487b (Ritual and the Q)
V 281b (Time)

206 I 160b (Arrogance); 254b (Bowing and Prostration)
II 371b (Gratitude and Ingratitude)
IV 219b (Prayer); 264a (Pride); 378a (Recitation of the Q)
V 393a (Turkish Literature and the Q); 555b (Worship)

Sūrat al-Anfāl (8)

I 209b (Basmala); 322a (Chronology and the Q); 397b (Conquest); 505b (Days of God)
II 183b (Fasting); 264a (Form and Structure of the Q)
III 18a (Jesus)
IV 131b (Politics and the Q); 321b (Punishment Stories)
V 43a (Sīra and the Q); 174b (Sūra); 194a (Taxation)

1 I 252a (Booty); 480b (Creeds)
II 65b (Ethics and the Q); 85b (Everyday Life, Q In)
III 42a (Jihād); 447b (Muḥammad)
V 194a, 195a (Taxation)

1-13 III 304b (Material Culture and the Q)

1-19 III 456a (Muḥammad)
IV 332b (Quraysh)

2 I 220b (Belief and Unbelief)
II 163a (Faith); 198a (Fear)
III 190a (Literacy); 372a, 373b (Memory)
IV 384b (Recitation of the Q)

2-4 I 219b (Belief and Unbelief)
III 379b (Mercy)
IV 17a (Paradise)

4 II 245a (Forgiveness)
III 183a (Life)
V 179a (Sustenance)

6 I 512a (Debate and Disputation)
IV 115b (Polemic and Polemical Language)

7 I 196b (Badr)
V 386b (Truth); 547b (Word of God)

7-8 V 387b (Truth)

7-12 III 42b (Jihād)

9 I 196b (Badr); 463a (Court)
III 183a (Life)

9-13 III 398a (Miracles)

10 I 406a (Consolation)
II 341b (Good News)

11 I 196b (Badr); 526a (Devil)
II 408b (Heart)
IV 491b (Ritual and the Q); 503b, 505a (Ritual Purity)
V 126b (Springs and Fountains); 465a (Water)

12 I 196b (Badr); 397b (Conquest)
II 198a (Fear); 408b (Heart)
IV 293b (Prophets and Prophethood); 310a (Provocation); 439b, 440a (Revelation and Inspiration)

12-13 III 454b (Muḥammad)

13 II 358a (Grammar and the Q)
IV 309b (Provocation); 456a (Reward and Punishment)

15 V 457b (War)

15-16 I 80b (Anatomy); 225a (Belief and Unbelief)
III 42a (Jihād)

16 I 93a (Anger)
II 418a (Hell and Hellfire)

17 I 196b (Badr)
II 186b (Fate); 209b (Fighting)
III 398a (Miracles); 454a (Muḥammad)
IV 64a (Persian Literature and the Q)
V 393a, 393b (Turkish Literature and the Q)

17-19 III 42b (Jihād)

19 I 398b, 399a (Conquest)
IV 428a (Repentance and Penance)

20-24 II 370b (Gratitude and Ingratitude)

20-32 II 184a (Fasting)

21 II 406a (Hearing and Deafness)

22 I 99b (Animal Life); 226a (Belief and Unbelief)
II 406b (Hearing and Deafness)

24 I 82a (Anatomy)
II 355b (Grammar and the Q)
V 140b (Ṣūfism and the Q); 272b (Theology and the Q)

26 I 406a (Consolation)
III 42b (Jihād); 449b, 454b (Muḥammad); 581a (Oppressed on Earth); 583b (Oppression)
IV 131b (Politics and the Q)

26-46 IV 345b (Ramaḍān)

27 IV 335a (Qurayẓa, Banū al-)
V 272b (Theology and the Q)

28 I 302b (Children)
II 6b (Economics); 75a (Ethics and the Q)
IV 31b (Patriarchy)
V 362b (Trial); 468a (Wealth); 570a (Youth and Old Age)

29 I 486b (Criterion); 500b (Day, Times of)
II 183b, 184a (Fasting)
IV 345a (Ramaḍān)

30 II 18b, 20b (Emigration)
III 18a (Jesus); 449a (Muḥammad); 577b (Opposition to Muḥammad)
IV 117b (Polemic and Polemical Language); 331b (Quraysh)
V 37b (Sīra and the Q); 458b (War)

31 II 430a (History and the Q)
III 190a (Literacy); 450a (Muḥammad); 518a (Narratives)
V 6b, 8a (Signs)

32 II 411a (Heaven and Sky)
III 383b (Metals and Minerals)
V 129a (Stone); 130a (Stoning); 470b (Weather)

33 II 184a (Fasting)

34 II 195b (Fear); 299a (Geography)
III 77b (Kaʿba); 340b (Mecca)
IV 281b (Profane and Sacred); 332a (Quraysh); 515a (Sacred Precincts); 538b (Scholar)
V 138a (Ṣūfism and the Q)

34-35 II 458b (House, Domestic and Divine)
III 338b (Mecca)

34-36 II 459a (House, Domestic and Divine)

35 III 77b, 79a (Kaʿba)
IV 52b (People of the House); 218a (Prayer); 256b (Pre-Islamic Arabia and the Q); 330a (Quraysh); 515a (Sacred Precincts)
V 182a (Symbolic Imagery)

36 III 252a (Maintenance and Upkeep)
IV 456a (Reward and Punishment)
V 468a (Wealth)

37 I 440a (Corruption)

38 II 74b (Ethics and the Q); 245a (Forgiveness); 434a (History and the Q)
V 164a (Sunna); 438b (Virtues and Vices, Commanding and Forbidding)

38-39 IV 428a (Repentance and Penance)

39 I 224a (Belief and Unbelief); 397b (Conquest); 461a (Courage)
II 74a (Ethics and the Q); 144a (Expeditions and Battles); 209b (Fighting)
III 39a, 41b (Jihād); 577b (Opposition to Muḥammad)

IV 132a (Politics and the Q)
V 292b (Tolerance and Coercion); 456b, 458b (War); 543a (Word of God)

40 I 344b (Clients and Clientage)
III 231a (Lord)
IV 307b (Protection)

41 I 196b (Badr); 251b (Booty); 302b (Children); 486b, 487a (Criterion); 500b (Day, Times of)
II 6b (Economics); 149a (Expeditions and Battles); 161b (Failure); 176a (Family); 176a (Family of the Prophet); 184a (Fasting)
III 42a (Jihād); 425a (Moses); 448a (Muḥammad); 496b (Myths and Legends in the Q); 507b (Names of the Q); 604a (Orphans)
IV 132a (Politics and the Q); 209a (Poverty and the Poor); 345a, 346a (Ramaḍān)
V 37a (Sīra and the Q); 146a (Ṣūfism and the Q); 194a, 194b (Taxation); 279a, 284b (Time)

41-44 IV 345a, 346b (Ramaḍān)

42 IV 74a (Philosophy and the Q)

43 I 546b, 550b (Dreams and Sleep)
II 161b (Failure); 550b (Intention)
V 61b (Sleep)

43-44 II 241b (Foretelling in the Q)
III 128b (Language and Style of the Q)
IV 479a (Rhymed Prose)

44 IV 346a (Ramaḍān)

45 I 461a (Courage)
V 138b (Ṣūfism and the Q)

45-46 I 225a (Belief and Unbelief)

46 I 52a (Air and Wind); 458b (Courage)
II 161b (Failure)
III 305b (Material Culture and the Q)
IV 131b (Politics and the Q)

47 I 242a (Boast)
II 468b (Hypocrites and Hypocrisy)

48 II 196b (Fear)
V 487a (Wish and Desire)

49 II 407b (Heart); 468b, 470a (Hypocrites and Hypocrisy)
IV 117b, 119b (Polemic and Polemical Language)
V 447a (Vision and Blindness)

49-55 II 468b (Hypocrites and Hypocrisy)

50 I 222a (Belief and Unbelief)
II 46a (Eschatology); 210b (Fire)

52 IV 67a (Pharaoh); 132a (Politics and the Q)
V 317b (Tradition and Custom)

53 I 236b (Blessing)

54 I 553b (Drowning)
II 174a (Family); 184a (Fasting); 213a (Fire); 542b (Insolence and Obstinacy)
III 423a (Moses)
IV 67a (Pharaoh)
V 6a (Signs); 19a (Sin, Major and Minor); 317b (Tradition and Custom)

55 I 99b (Animal Life)

55-58 II 150b (Expeditions and Battles)
III 30a (Jews and Judaism); 456b (Muḥammad)

56 I 431b (Contracts and Alliances)
IV 132a (Politics and the Q); 335a (Qurayẓa, Banū al-)

56-58 III 42a (Jihād)

56-60 V 456b (War)

57 I 225a (Belief and Unbelief)
II 144a (Expeditions and Battles)
V 455a (War)

58 II 150a (Expeditions and Battles)
IV 324a, 324b (Qaynuqāʿ, Banū)

59 II 527a (Inimitability)

60 I 98b (Animal Life)
II 23b (Enemies); 209b (Fighting)
III 42a (Jihād)
IV 30b (Path or Way)
V 457a (War)

61 I 225a (Belief and Unbelief)
III 39b, 40a, 41a (Jihād)
IV 35a (Peace)
V 456b (War)

61-62 IV 34b (Peace)

63 II 21b (Emigration); 408b (Heart)
III 446b (Muḥammad)
V 365a (Tribes and Clans)

64 III 440b (Muḥammad)

65 I 225a (Belief and Unbelief); 321a (Chronology and the Q); 458b, 461a (Courage)
III 41a, 42a (Jihād); 577b (Opposition to Muḥammad)
V 457a (War)

65-66 II 209b (Fighting)

66 I 321a (Chronology and the Q)
III 42a (Jihād); 549b (Numbers and Enumeration)
V 288b (Time)

67 I 289a (Captives); 398a (Conquest)
III 42a (Jihād)
IV 5a (Pairs and Pairing)

67-69 IV 277b (Prisoners)

67-71 V 195b (Taxation)

68 I 244b (Book)
III 508a (Names of the Q)
IV 132a (Politics and the Q)
V 289a (Time)

68-69 III 42a (Jihād)

69 I 251b (Booty)
III 172b (Lawful and Unlawful)
V 194a (Taxation)

70 II 61b (Ethics and the Q)

70-71 III 42a (Jihād)

71 III 577b (Opposition to Muḥammad)
IV 5b (Pairs and Pairing); 537b (Scholar)

72 I 220a (Belief and Unbelief); 389b (Companions of the Prophet); 437b (Conversion); 464b (Covenant)
II 15a (Emigrants and Helpers); 21a (Emigration); 72b (Ethics and the Q); 274a (Friends and Friendship); 518b (Inheritance)
III 36b (Jihād)
IV 30b (Path or Way); 132a (Politics and the Q)
V 469a (Wealth)

72-74 II 209b (Fighting)

72-75 III 36b, 37a (Jihād)

73 I 224b (Belief and Unbelief)

74 I 219b, 220a (Belief and Unbelief)
II 15a (Emigrants and Helpers); 21a (Emigration); 245a (Forgiveness)
III 36b (Jihād)
IV 17a (Paradise); 30a (Path or Way)

75 II 174b (Family); 518b (Inheritance)
III 36b (Jihād)
IV 20b (Parents); 132a (Politics and the Q)
V 522a (Womb)

Sūrat al-Tawba (9)

I 209b (Basmala); 322a, 328a, 329b (Chronology and the Q); 353a, 355a, 355b (Collection of the Q); 417b (Contemporary Critical Practices and the Q); 505b (Days of God)

II 149a (Expeditions and Battles); 180a (Farewell Pilgrimage); 244a (Forgiveness); 264a (Form and Structure of the Q); 318a (God and his Attributes); 385a (Ḥadīth and the Q); 569a (Islam)

III 564a (Oaths)

IV 131b, 146b (Politics and the Q); 154a (Poll Tax); 244a (Pre-1800 Preoccupations of Q Studies); 456a (Reward and Punishment)

V 40b (Sīra and the Q); 174b (Sūra); 424b (Verse)

1 I 431b (Contracts and Alliances); 464a, 465b (Covenant)

1-2 IV 177b (Popular and Talismanic Uses of the Q)

1-5 II 151a (Expeditions and Battles)

1-14 III 40b (Jihād)

1-16 V 68a (Social Sciences and the Q)

1-23 V 456b, 457a (War)

2 II 527a (Inimitability)
III 12b (Jesus); 339b (Mecca); 551b (Numbers and Enumeration)
V 284b (Time); 475b (Weights and Measures)

3 I 500b (Day, Times of)
II 84b (Everyday Life, Q In); 527a (Inimitability)
III 76a (Kaʿba)
IV 2a (Pairs and Pairing); 91b, 97a (Pilgrimage); 426b (Repentance and Penance)
V 279b (Time); 456b (War)

3-4 IV 132a (Politics and the Q)

4 I 256b (Breaking Trusts and Contracts)
V 456b (War)

4-6 II 74a (Ethics and the Q)

5 I 224a (Belief and Unbelief); 321a (Chronology and the Q); 444b (Cosmology); 505a, 505b (Days of God)
II 74a (Ethics and the Q); 151a (Expeditions and Battles); 151a (Fighting)
III 39a, 40a, 40b, 41a, 41b, 42a (Jihād); 239a (Loyalty); 339b (Mecca); 410b (Months)
IV 38a (People of the Book); 136a (Politics and the Q); 244a (Pre-1800 Preoccupations of Q Studies); 282b (Profane and Sacred); 409b, 414b, 416a (Religious Pluralism and the Q); 426b (Repentance and Penance)
V 197a (Taxation); 284b (Time); 292a, 293a, 294a (Tolerance and Coercion); 434a (Virtue); 456b (War)

6 I 492a (Curse)
II 74b (Ethics and the Q)

III 511a (Names of the Q)
IV 308b (Protection); 446a (Revelation and Inspiration)
V 111a (Speech); 547b (Word of God)

7 I 431b (Contracts and Alliances)
II 65b (Ethics and the Q); 299a (Geography)
III 77b (Kaʿba)
IV 281b (Profane and Sacred); 515a (Sacred Precincts)

7-15 III 33a (Jews and Judaism)

8 II 98a (Evil Deeds); 339b (Good Deeds)
IV 403a (Religious Pluralism and the Q)
V 456a (War)

9 III 276a (Markets)

10 IV 403a (Religious Pluralism and the Q)

11 I 263a (Brother and Brotherhood); 436b (Conversion)
IV 426b (Repentance and Penance); 538b (Scholar)
V 8a (Signs); 197a (Taxation); 456b (War)

12 I 461a (Courage)
II 503a (Imām)
III 95b (Kings and Rulers)
V 456a (War)

12-13 III 41b (Jihād); 564a (Oaths)

13 II 196b (Fear)
III 449a (Muḥammad); 577b (Opposition to Muḥammad)
V 434a (Virtue); 458b (War)

13-14 II 74a (Ethics and the Q)
V 456a (War)

13-18 II 197a (Fear)

14 I 461a (Courage)
II 209b (Fighting); 408b (Heart)
III 42b (Jihād)
IV 321b (Punishment Stories)
V 455b, 458b (War)

14-15 IV 427a (Repentance and Penance)

15 I 93b (Anger)
II 244b (Forgiveness)
IV 537b (Scholar)

16 III 37a, 37b (Jihād)

17 I 164a, 173a (Art and Architecture and the Q)
II 418a (Hell and Hellfire)

17-18 IV 283b (Profane and Sacred); 516a (Sacred Precincts)

18 I 164a, 171a (Art and Architecture and the Q)
II 28b (Epigraphy)
III 136a, 136b (Last Judgment); 304b, 312b (Material Culture and the Q); 436b (Mosque)

19 I 163b (Art and Architecture and the Q); 491a (Cups and Vessels)
II 34a (Epigraphy); 299a (Geography)
III 77b (Kaʿba); 37a (Jihād); 136b (Last Judgment)
IV 92b (Pilgrimage); 281b (Profane and Sacred); 330a (Quraysh); 515a (Sacred Precincts)

19-20 II 209b (Fighting)
III 184a (Life)

20 I 225a (Belief and Unbelief)
II 340a (Good Deeds)
III 36b, 37a (Jihād)
IV 17a (Paradise); 30a (Path or Way); 523a (Salvation)
V 83a (Soul); 430a (Victory); 457a (War)

20-21 II 341b (Good News)

21 I 89b (Angel)

22 II 54b (Eternity)

23 II 274b (Friends and Friendship)
V 317a (Tradition and Custom)

23-24 I 224b (Belief and Unbelief)

24 I 262a (Brother and Brotherhood); 302b (Children)
II 174b (Family)
III 37a, 37b (Jihād)
IV 30b (Path or Way)
V 364a (Tribes and Clans); 458a (War)

25 I 500b (Day, Times of)
II 299b (Geography); 439a (History and the Q); 465b, 466a (Ḥunayn)
III 579a (Opposition to Muḥammad)
V 279a (Time); 393a, 393b (Turkish Literature and the Q); 430a (Victory)

25-26 I 405b (Consolation)
II 209b (Fighting)
III 42b (Jihād); 398a (Miracles); 456a (Muḥammad)

25-27 II 465b (Ḥunayn)

26 I 459b (Courage)
II 466a (Ḥunayn)
IV 34a (Peace); 443b (Revelation and Inspiration); 457a (Reward and Punishment); 590a (Shekhinah)
V 377b (Troops)

27 II 244b (Forgiveness)
IV 427a (Repentance and Penance)

28 I 2 (Belief and Unbelief); 342b (Cleanliness and Ablution); 410b (Contamination)
II 299a (Geography)
III 77b (Kaʿba); 33b (Jews and Judaism); 338b (Mecca)
IV 119b (Polemic and Polemical Language); 132b (Politics and the Q); 153a (Poll Tax); 209a (Poverty and the Poor); 281b (Profane and Sacred); 416b (Religious Pluralism and the Q); 502b, 504b (Ritual Purity); 515a (Sacred Precincts); 537b (Scholar)
V 286a (Time); 468a (Wealth)

29 I 222b, 224a (Belief and Unbelief); 312a (Christians and Christianity); 336a (Church); 397b (Conquest); 461a (Courage)
II 73b (Ethics and the Q); 151a (Expeditions and Battles); 401b (Hand)
III 29a (Jews and Judaism); 39a, 40a, 40b, 41a, 41b (Jihād); 136a, 136b (Last Judgment); 174b (Lawful and Unlawful); 577b (Opposition to Muḥammad)
IV 38a, 38b (People of the Book); 121b (Polemic and Polemical Language); 132a (Politics and the Q); 152a, 152b, 153a, 153b, 154a (Poll Tax); 409b, 416a, 416b (Religious Pluralism and the Q); 525a (Samaritans)
V 192b (Taxation); 292a, 294a (Tolerance and Coercion); 456a, 457a, 458b (War)

29-35 II 262b (Form and Structure of the Q)
V 175b (Sūra)

30 I 102b (Anointing); 115a, 117a (Apologetics); 223a (Belief and Unbelief); 313a (Christians and Christianity); 491b (Curse)
II 155b (Ezra)
III 16a (Jesus)
IV 33a (Patriarchy); 38b (People of the Book); 120a (Polemic and Polemical Language); 153a (Poll Tax); 160b (Polytheism and Atheism); 405a, 412b (Religious Pluralism and the Q)
V 249b (Textual Criticism of the Q); 457a (War)

30-31 III 7b (Jesus); 26b (Jews and Judaism)
IV 132a (Politics and the Q)

31 I 102b (Anointing); 311b (Christians and Christianity)
II 156a (Ezra)
III 229b (Lord); 406a (Monasticism and Monks)
IV 120b (Polemic and Polemical Language); 153b (Poll Tax); 404a, 409b (Religious Pluralism and the Q)
V 139a (Ṣūfism and the Q); 431a (Vigil); 500b (Witnessing and Testifying); 533b (Women and the Q)

31-34 I 184a (Asceticism)

32 I 82b (Anatomy)
II 326b (God and his Attributes)
III 187a (Light)

33 I 117b (Apologetics); 170a, 170b, 171a (Art and Architecture and the Q); 397b (Conquest)
II 29a, 30b, 33b, 34a (Epigraphy); 557b (Invitation)
III 41b (Jihād); 299a, 299b, 304b (Material Culture and the Q); 451a (Muḥammad); 557a, 558a (Numismatics)
IV 300a (Prophets and Prophethood); 427b (Repentance and Penance)
V 458b (War); 489b (Witness to Faith); 503b (Witnessing and Testifying)

34 I 301a (Cheating); 311b (Christians and Christianity)
II 333b, 334a (Gold)
III 383b (Metals and Minerals); 406a, 406b (Monasticism and Monks)
IV 30b (Path or Way); 404a (Religious Pluralism and the Q); 490b (Ritual and the Q)
V 431a (Vigil)

34-35 II 7b (Economics)
IV 186b (Possession and Possessions)

35 I 81b (Anatomy); 222a (Belief and Unbelief)
II 210a (Fire); 416a (Hell and Hellfire); 455b (Hot and Cold)
V 133a (Suffering)

36 I 272b (Calendar); 397b (Conquest); 442b (Cosmology); 461a (Courage); 499a (Day, Times of); 505b (Days of God)
II 209a (Fighting)
III 39a, 40a (Jihād); 339b (Mecca); 410b, 411a (Months); 550a, 551b, 553a (Numbers and Enumeration)
IV 4a (Pairs and Pairing); 282b (Profane and Sacred); 482b (Rhymed Prose)
V 284b (Time); 456a, 456b, 457a (War); 475b (Weights and Measures)

36-37 II 180a (Farewell Pilgrimage)

37 I 213a (Beauty)
II 224a (Forbidden); 335b (Good and Evil); 432b (History and the Q)
III 172b, 174b (Lawful and Unlawful); 339b (Mecca); 411b, 412a (Months); 415a (Moon)
IV 255b (Pre-Islamic Arabia and the Q); 283a (Profane and Sacred); 571b (Seasons)
V 285a (Time); 475b, 476a (Weights and Measures)

38 I 368b (Community and Society in the Q)
III 59b (Joy and Misery)
V 457b (War)

38-39 III 41a (Jihād)

38-41 III 36b (Jihād)

38-57 III 568b (Obedience)

39 IV 456a (Reward and Punishment)
V 458a (War)

39-41 III 41b (Jihād)

40 I 292b, 293b (Cave); 387b (Companions of the Prophet); 405b (Consolation); 459b (Courage)
II 18b, 20b (Emigration); 364a (Grammar and the Q)
III 41b, 42b (Jihād); 454a, 456a (Muḥammad)
IV 34a (Peace); 63b (Persian Literature and the Q); 590a (Shekhinah)
V 140a (Ṣūfism and the Q); 376a (Trips and Voyages); 377b (Troops); 404b (Uncertainty); 458b (War)

40-41 II 310b (Geography)

41 I 458b, 461a (Courage)
III 36a, 36b (Jihād); 58a (Journey)
IV 30b (Path or Way)
V 83a (Soul); 374a (Trips and Voyages); 457a (War)

42 V 457b (War)

43-88 V 458a (War)

44 III 36a, 36b, 37b (Jihād); 136b (Last Judgment)
V 83a (Soul); 458a (War); 469a (Wealth)

44-45 V 434a (Virtue)

44-46 III 36b (Jihād)

45 III 136b (Last Judgment)

46 III 84a (Khārijīs)

49 II 418a (Hell and Hellfire)
V 40a (Sīra and the Q); 457b (War)

50 III 61b (Joy and Misery)

51 I 244b (Book); 344b (Clients and Clientage); 523a (Destiny)
II 186b (Fate); 269b (Freedom and Predestination)
III 231a (Lord); 327b (Material Culture and the Q); 352a (Medicine and the Q)

52 V 455b, 458b (War)

54 I 224b (Belief and Unbelief)

54-59 I 67a (Almsgiving)

55 IV 3b (Pairs and Pairing)
V 468a (Wealth)

57 I 292b, 294a (Cave)
V 376a (Trips and Voyages)

58 I 93b (Anger)
II 343b (Gossip)
IV 309b (Provocation)

59 III 300b (Material Culture and the Q)

60 I 66a (Almsgiving); 289a, 289b (Captives)
II 7a (Economics); 262b (Form and Structure of the Q); 351a (Grammar and the Q); 450a (Hospitality and Courtesy); 466b (Ḥunayn)

IV 132a (Politics and the Q); 208b (Poverty and the Poor); 537b (Scholar)
V 57a, 58a, 59b (Slaves and Slavery); 198b (Taxation); 556b (Worship)

61 II 1a (Ears)
III 299a (Material Culture and the Q)
IV 116b (Polemic and Polemical Language); 456a (Reward and Punishment)

62 III 210b (Literature and the Q)

63 I 294a (Cave)
II 418a (Hell and Hellfire)
IV 131b (Politics and the Q); 309b (Provocation); 453b, 456a (Reward and Punishment)

64 II 468b, 470a (Hypocrites and Hypocrisy)
III 537a (News)
V 167a (Sūra)

64-66 III 400b (Mockery)

65 IV 309b (Provocation)
V 5b (Signs)

66 V 19a (Sin, Major and Minor)

67 II 322a (God and his Attributes); 468b (Hypocrites and Hypocrisy)
IV 117b (Polemic and Polemical Language)
V 437a, 440b (Virtues and Vices, Commanding and Forbidding); 523b (Women and the Q)

67-68 II 470a (Hypocrites and Hypocrisy)

67-72 IV 1b (Pairs and Pairing)

68 I 294a (Cave); 381a (Community and Society in the Q)
II 210a (Fire); 417a (Hell and Hellfire); 468b, 470a (Hypocrites and Hypocrisy)
IV 399a (Religious Pluralism and the Q)
V 523b (Women and the Q)

69 II 352a, 367a (Grammar and the Q)
IV 31b (Patriarchy); 3b (Pairs and Pairing); 309b (Provocation)
V 468a (Wealth); 552a (World)

70 I 21b (ʿĀd)
II 299b, 308a (Geography)
III 390b (Midian); 486b (Myths and Legends in the Q); 518a, 522a (Narratives); 537a (News); 540a (Noah)
IV 131b (Politics and the Q); 286b (Proof); 302b (Prophets and Prophethood); 320b (Punishment Stories)

71 I 220a (Belief and Unbelief); 262b (Brother and Brotherhood)
II 62a, 72b, 75b (Ethics and the Q); 6a (Economics); 165a (Faith); 203a (Feminism and the Q); 274a (Friends and Friendship)
IV 132a (Politics and the Q)
V 53b (Sister); 197b (Taxation); 437a, 438a, 440a, 440b, 443a (Virtues and Vices, Commanding and Forbidding); 501b (Witnessing and Testifying); 523b (Women and the Q)

71-72 I 219a (Belief and Unbelief)

72 I 220b (Belief and Unbelief)
II 52a (Eschatology); 417a (Hell and Hellfire)
IV 18b (Paradise); 522b (Salvation)
V 393b (Turkish Literature and the Q); 430a (Victory); 523b (Women and the Q)

73 I 202b (Barēlwīs); 294a (Cave); 461a (Courage)
II 468b, 470a (Hypocrites and Hypocrisy)
III 36b (Jihād); 454b (Muḥammad); 577b (Opposition to Muḥammad)
IV 103b (Pit)
V 292a, 294a (Tolerance and Coercion); 456a (War)

73-74 V 468a (Wealth)

74 I 120a (Apostasy); 432b (Contracts and Alliances)
II 273b (Friends and Friendship); 470a (Hypocrites and Hypocrisy); 552a (Intercession)
III 578a (Opposition to Muḥammad)
IV 404a (Religious Pluralism and the Q); 427a (Repentance and Penance); 453b, 456a, 457a (Reward and Punishment)
V 133a (Suffering); 293b (Tolerance and Coercion); 430a (Victory)

75 I 465b (Covenant)
V 198a (Taxation)

75-78 V 449b (Vow)

77 II 468b (Hypocrites and Hypocrisy)
III 181b (Lie)

78 IV 537b (Scholar)

79 I 65b (Almsgiving)
II 322a (God and his Attributes); 343b (Gossip)
III 147a (Laughter); 400b, 401a (Mockery)
IV 309b, 310a (Provocation); 456a (Reward and Punishment)
V 193a, 198a (Taxation)

80 II 245a (Forgiveness); 552a (Intercession)
IV 300b (Prophets and Prophethood)

80-83 II 24b (Enemies)

81 I 225a (Belief and Unbelief); 458b (Courage)
II 455a (Hot and Cold)
III 36a (Jihād); 61a (Joy and Misery)
IV 30b (Path or Way)
V 83a (Soul); 457b (War); 469a (Wealth)

81-83 I 460a (Courage)

81-85 IV 456a (Reward and Punishment)

81-106 III 568b (Obedience)

82 III 146b, 147a (Laughter)
V 472a (Weeping)

83 II 23b (Enemies)

84 I 224b (Belief and Unbelief); 264a (Burial)
II 551b (Intercession)
III 379b (Mercy)
IV 218a (Prayer); 233a (Prayer Formulas); 300b (Prophets and Prophethood)

85 I 221b (Belief and Unbelief)
IV 31b (Patriarchy)
V 468a (Wealth)

86 I 461a (Courage)
III 36a (Jihād)
IV 293a (Prophets and Prophethood)
V 167a (Sūra); 457a, 457b (War)

87 I 82a (Anatomy)
II 408b (Heart)
V 457b (War)

87-92 III 36b (Jihād)

88 III 36b, 37b (Jihād)
IV 523a (Salvation)
V 83a (Soul); 469a (Wealth)

88-89 III 41a (Jihād)
IV 455a (Reward and Punishment)

89 II 209b (Fighting)
IV 18b (Paradise); 522b (Salvation)

90 I 216a, 216b (Bedouin)
III 544b (Nomads)
IV 456a (Reward and Punishment)

90-93 III 41b (Jihād)

90-94 III 37b (Jihād)

91 II 501b (Illness and Health)
III 580b (Oppressed on Earth)
V 19a (Sin, Major and Minor); 457b (War)

91-92 III 378b (Mercy)

93 I 82a (Anatomy)
II 510b (Indifference)
V 457b (War)

94 II 435b (History and the Q)
III 518a (Narratives); 536b, 537a (News)
IV 4a (Pairs and Pairing); 537b (Scholar); 574b (Seeing and Hearing)
V 492b (Witnessing and Testifying)

95 IV 103b (Pit); 503a (Ritual Purity)
V 458a (War)

97 I 216b (Bedouin); 382a (Community and Society in the Q)
II 468b (Hypocrites and Hypocrisy)
IV 34b (Peace); 456a (Reward and Punishment); 537b (Scholar)
V 502a (Witnessing and Testifying)

97-99 I 216b (Bedouin)
III 578a (Opposition to Muḥammad)

97-101 II 470a (Hypocrites and Hypocrisy)
III 544b (Nomads)

98 II 407a (Heart)

99 I 436a (Conversion)
III 136b (Last Judgment)
IV 218a (Prayer)
V 196b (Taxation)

100 I 389b (Companions of the Prophet)
II 15a (Emigrants and Helpers); 54b (Eternity); 61b (Ethics and the Q); 283b (Garden)
IV 16a, 18b (Paradise); 332b (Quraysh); 455b (Reward and Punishment); 522b (Salvation)
V 47b (Sīra and the Q)

101 I 216b (Bedouin); 338a, 338b (City)
II 298b (Geography); 468b (Hypocrites and Hypocrisy)
III 367b (Medina)
IV 49a (People of the House); 6b (Pairs and Pairing); 37a (People of the Book); 456a, 460a (Reward and Punishment)

101-102 I 517b (Deferral)
IV 427a (Repentance and Penance)

102-103 II 551b (Intercession)

102-104 III 379b (Mercy)

103 I 343b (Cleanliness and Ablution)
IV 208b (Poverty and the Poor); 218a (Prayer); 487a, 490b (Ritual and the Q); 505b (Ritual Purity)
V 193b, 198a, 199b (Taxation)

104 II 244b (Forgiveness)
IV 5b (Pairs and Pairing); 426a (Repentance and Penance)
V 199a (Taxation)

104-105 I 65a (Almsgiving)

105 IV 4a (Pairs and Pairing); 537b (Scholar); 574b (Seeing and Hearing)

106 I 517a, 517b (Deferral)
III 578a (Opposition to Muḥammad)
IV 427a (Repentance and Penance); 537b (Scholar)

107 II 144a (Expeditions and Battles)
III 438a (Mosque of the Dissension); 457a (Muḥammad)
IV 403b (Religious Pluralism and the Q); 516a (Sacred Precincts)
V 455a (War)

107-110 II 468b (Hypocrites and Hypocrisy)

108 I 342b (Cleanliness and Ablution)
III 234a (Love and Affection); 4b (Jerusalem); 438b (Mosque of the Dissension)
IV 505b (Ritual Purity); 516a (Sacred Precincts)

110 IV 537b (Scholar)

111 I 310b (Christians and Christianity); 459b, 462a (Courage)
II 209b (Fighting); 342b (Gospel)
III 41a (Jihād); 58a (Journey); 62a (Joy and Misery); 209a (Literature and the Q); 276a (Markets); 282b (Martyrs); 558b (Numismatics); 568b (Obedience)
IV 30a (Path or Way); 457a (Reward and Punishment); 522b (Salvation)
V 269b, 271b (Theology and the Q); 300b, 302b (Torah); 457a (War); 469a (Wealth)

111-112 V 442a (Virtues and Vices, Commanding and Forbidding)

112 I 183a (Asceticism); 219b (Belief and Unbelief); 253a (Boundaries and Precepts); 254a (Bowing and Prostration)
II 181a (Fasting)
III 12b (Jesus)
IV 214a (Praise); 219b (Prayer); 426b (Repentance and Penance)
V 374a (Trips and Voyages); 437a, 437b, 438a, 440a, 440b (Virtues and Vices, Commanding and Forbidding)

113 II 244b (Forgiveness)
III 454b (Muḥammad)
IV 300b (Prophets and Prophethood); 331a (Quraysh)

113-114 I 7a (Abraham)
III 379b (Mercy)

114 I 5b (Abraham); 193a (Āzar)
II 23b (Enemies)
III 401b (Moderation)
IV 21a (Parents); 33a (Patriarchy)

116 I 188b (Authority)
II 273a (Friends and Friendship)
IV 4a, 4b (Pairs and Pairing)
V 430a (Victory)

117 I 389b (Companions of the Prophet); 436b (Conversion); 501a (Day, Times of)
II 15a (Emigrants and Helpers)
III 335b (Measurement)
IV 5b (Pairs and Pairing); 25b (Parties and Factions); 430a (Repentance and Penance)
V 288a (Time); 430a (Victory)

118 I 436b (Conversion)
IV 5b (Pairs and Pairing); 426b, 427b (Repentance and Penance)

119 V 434b (Virtue)

120 I 216b (Bedouin); 338a, 338b (City)
II 23b, 24b (Enemies); 177b (Famine); 298b (Geography)
III 41b (Jihād); 337b (Mecca); 367b (Medina); 544b (Nomads)
IV 37a (People of the Book)

120-121 I 243b (Book)

121 I 243b (Book)
II 365a (Grammar and the Q)
IV 452b (Reward and Punishment)

122 III 41b (Jihād); 103b (Knowledge and Learning)
IV 25b (Parties and Factions)

123 I 461a (Courage)
II 209b (Fighting)
III 40a (Jihād); 577b (Opposition to Muḥammad)
V 456a, 457a (War)

123-127 IV 138a (Politics and the Q)

124 III 62a (Joy and Misery)
V 167a (Sūra)

125 I 411b (Contamination)
II 407b (Heart); 470a (Hypocrites and Hypocrisy); 502a (Illness and Health)
IV 132b (Politics and the Q); 503a (Ritual Purity)

126 V 286a (Time)

127 II 36a (Epigraphy); 408b (Heart); 465a (Humor)
IV 133a (Politics and the Q)

128 I 357b (Collection of the Q)
III 234a (Love and Affection); 378a (Mercy); 443b, 447a (Muḥammad)
IV 5b (Pairs and Pairing)

128-129 I 326a (Chronology and the Q)

129 I 446a (Cosmology)
II 31a, 36a (Epigraphy); 96a (Everyday Life, Q In)
III 300b, 301a (Material Culture and the Q); 453b (Muḥammad)
IV 184a (Possession and Possessions)
V 277a (Throne of God); 500b (Witnessing and Testifying)

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III 472b (Mysterious Letters)
V 174b (Sūra)

1 II 263b (Form and Structure of the Q)
III 441a (Muḥammad); 509a (Names of the Q)
V 6b (Signs); 172a (Sūra)

1-2 II 527b (Inimitability)

2 II 199a (Feet); 341a, 341b (Good News)
III 247a (Magic); 399a (Miracles); 450a (Muḥammad)
IV 3b (Pairs and Pairing); 14b (Paradise); 311b (Provocation); 455b (Reward and Punishment)
V 239b (Textual Criticism of the Q)

3 I 318b (Chronology and the Q); 442a, 443b (Cosmology); 472a, 476a (Creation)
II 325b, 327b (God and his Attributes); 410b (Heaven and Sky)
III 141a (Last Judgment); 202a (Literary Structures of the Q); 379b (Mercy)
IV 4a (Pairs and Pairing); 73b, 82a (Philosophy and the Q); 127a (Politics and the Q); 163b (Popular and Talismanic Uses of the Q); 511a (Sabbath)
V 4a (Signs); 265a, 266a (Theology and the Q); 279b, 287a (Time)

4 I 473b, 478a, 479a (Creation)
II 455b (Hot and Cold)
IV 6b (Pairs and Pairing)
V 121b (Springs and Fountains)

5 I 272b, 273a (Calendar); 442b (Cosmology)
II 433a (History and the Q)
III 187a (Light); 208a (Literature and the Q); 412b, 413a (Months); 550a (Numbers and Enumeration)
IV 4b (Pairs and Pairing); 107a, 108a (Planets and Stars); 538b (Scholar); 571b (Seasons)
V 163a (Sun); 283b, 284a (Time); 475b (Weights and Measures); 560b (Year)

5-6 V 10a (Signs)

5-7 IV 438a (Revelation and Inspiration)

6 I 501b (Day, Times of)
IV 4b (Pairs and Pairing)
V 280b (Time)

6-7 I 473b (Creation)

7 I 530a (Dialects)
II 449a (Hope)
V 6b (Signs)

7-8 II 418a (Hell and Hellfire)

7-9 IV 1b (Pairs and Pairing)

8 IV 103b (Pit)

9 II 282b (Garden)
III 62b (Joy and Misery)
IV 431b (Responsibility)

9-11 IV 17b (Paradise)

10 I 237a (Blessing); 385a (Community and Society in the Q)
II 91b (Everyday Life, Q In)

11 I 516b (Decision); 530a (Dialects)
II 269a (Freedom and Predestination)

12 I 213a (Beauty)

13 II 293a (Generations); 350b (Grammar and the Q); 434a (History and the Q)
IV 128b (Politics and the Q)

13-14 IV 320a (Punishment Stories)

14 I 277a (Caliph)
II 355b (Grammar and the Q)
IV 127a (Politics and the Q)

15 I 530a (Dialects); 538a (Disobedience)
II 353b (Grammar and the Q); 449a (Hope)
III 137a (Last Judgment); 190a (Literacy); 449a (Muḥammad)
IV 128b (Politics and the Q)
V 7a (Signs)

15-16 III 451b (Muḥammad)

16 III 190a (Literacy)
V 203a (Teaching)

17 II 64a (Ethics and the Q); 162a (Failure)
III 181a (Lie)
IV 523a (Salvation)
V 19a (Sin, Major and Minor)

18 I 236a (Blasphemy)
IV 5a (Pairs and Pairing); 220b (Prayer); 311a (Provocation)
V 117b (Spiritual Beings); 369a (Trinity)

19 I 538a (Dissension)
II 72a (Ethics and the Q); 497a (Illiteracy)
IV 337a (Races)
V 289b (Time); 547b (Word of God)

20 II 261b (Form and Structure of the Q)
III 399a (Miracles); 452a (Muḥammad)
IV 311a, 311b (Provocation)
V 8a (Signs)

21 I 243b (Book)
III 18a (Jesus); 191a (Literacy); 382b (Messenger)
IV 290a (Prophets and Prophethood)
V 493a (Witnessing and Testifying)

22 I 52a, 52b, 54a (Air and Wind); 213a (Beauty)
II 3a (Earth); 317a (God and his Attributes); 550a (Intention)

III 61a (Joy and Misery)
IV 4b (Pairs and Pairing)
V 411a (Vehicles); 464a (Water)

22-23 I 519a (Deliverance)
IV 161b (Polytheism and Atheism)

23 II 420b (Heresy)
III 60a (Joy and Misery)
V 374b (Trips and Voyages)

24 I 41b, 42a (Agriculture and Vegetation); 96b (Animal Life); 213b (Beauty); 349b (Codices of the Q); 501a (Day, Times of)
II 3a, 3b (Earth); 366b (Grammar and the Q)
III 183b (Life)
IV 10a (Parable); 394a (Reflection and Deliberation)
V 5b (Signs); 288b (Time); 339b (Transitoriness)

25 I 435b (Conversion)
II 283a (Garden); 321b (God and his Attributes); 558b (Invitation)
IV 14a (Paradise)

26 II 284a (Garden); 324a (God and his Attributes)
III 379b (Mercy)
IV 15a, 16b, 17b (Paradise); 453b (Reward and Punishment)

27 I 493a (Darkness); 501a, 501b (Day, Times of)
II 416b (Hell and Hellfire)
III 379b (Mercy)

28 II 477b (Idolatry and Idolaters)
V 494a (Witnessing and Testifying)

28-29 V 369a (Trinity)

30 I 236a (Blasphemy); 344b (Clients and Clientage)
II 99a (Evil Deeds)

31 IV 4a, 4b (Pairs and Pairing); 127a (Politics and the Q); 160b (Polytheism and Atheism); 312a (Provocation); 435a (Resurrection)

32 I 472b (Creation)

34 I 478a (Creation)
IV 6b (Pairs and Pairing)

35 I 472b (Creation)

36 II 489a (Ignorance)
V 178a (Suspicion)

37 I 117b (Apologetics)
II 529b (Inimitability)
IV 280b (Profane and Sacred); 439a (Revelation and Inspiration); 560b (Scripture and the Q)

38 I 115a (Apologetics)
II 527a, 529b (Inimitability)
III 116a (Language and Style of the Q); 199a (Literary Structures of the Q); 398b (Miracles); 451b (Muḥammad); 468a (Muʿtazila)
IV 22b (Parody of the Q); 119a (Polemic and Polemical Language); 311b, 312b (Provocation); 443a (Revelation and Inspiration)
V 167a (Sūra)

39 IV 309b (Provocation)

41 III 39a, 39b (Jihād); 453b (Muḥammad)

42-43 IV 8a (Pairs and Pairing)

45 I 235b (Blasphemy); 501a (Day, Times of)
III 335b (Measurement)
IV 435a (Resurrection)
V 287b (Time); 476b (Weights and Measures)

45-46 III 184b (Life)

46 III 18b (Jesus)

47 I 372a (Community and Society in the Q)
II 72a (Ethics and the Q); 497a, 497b (Illiteracy)
III 382a (Messenger)
IV 299b (Prophets and Prophethood)

48-51 IV 311a (Provocation)

49 I 501a (Day, Times of); 523a (Destiny)
II 45a (Eschatology); 269a (Freedom and Predestination)
III 185a (Life); 335b (Measurement)
V 288a, 289a (Time)

51 V 288b (Time)

52 II 54b (Eternity)

53 III 536b (News)

54 III 203b (Literary Structures of the Q)
IV 430b (Repentance and Penance)

55 IV 4a (Pairs and Pairing); 538b (Scholar)

55-56 I 479a (Creation)

56 IV 4b (Pairs and Pairing)

57 II 38a (Epigraphy); 142b (Exhortations); 408b (Heart); 502a (Illness and Health)
III 511b, 512a, 514b (Names of the Q)
IV 3b (Pairs and Pairing); 171b (Popular and Talismanic Uses of the Q)

58 III 61a (Joy and Misery)
V 468a (Wealth)

59 I 236a (Blasphemy)
III 173a, 174b (Lawful and Unlawful)
V 545a (Word of God); 573a (Zealotry)

61 I 99b (Animal Life); 243a, 243b, 244a (Book)
II 269b (Freedom and Predestination); 544b, 545b (Instruments)
III 124b (Language and Style of the Q); 190a (Literacy); 334b (Measurement); 409a (Money)
IV 4a (Pairs and Pairing); 58b (Persian Literature and the Q); 368b (Recitation of the Q)
V 473b (Weights and Measures)

61-65 I 522b (Destiny)

62 II 65b (Ethics and the Q); 273b (Friends and Friendship)
V 138a (Ṣūfism and the Q)

62-64 I 370a (Community and Society in the Q); 550a (Dreams and Sleep)
II 341a, 341b (Good News)
IV 520b (Saint)

64 I 546b (Dreams and Sleep)
IV 178b (Popular and Talismanic Uses of the Q); 522b (Salvation)
V 548a (Word of God)

65 I 405b (Consolation)
III 452b (Muḥammad)
V 134a (Suffering)

66 II 477b (Idolatry and Idolaters)
IV 4a (Pairs and Pairing); 228b (Prayer)

67 I 83b (Anatomy); 473a, 473b, 477b (Creation); 502a (Day, Times of)
II 406a (Hearing and Deafness)
IV 4b (Pairs and Pairing); 589b (Shekhinah)

68 IV 4a (Pairs and Pairing); 312a, 312b (Provocation)

68-69 I 236a (Blasphemy)
IV 311a (Provocation)

69 I 472b (Creation)

71 I 516b (Decision)
II 96a (Everyday Life, Q In)
III 65a (Judgment); 190a (Literacy); 441a (Muḥammad); 518a, 524b (Narratives); 536b (News)
IV 302b (Prophets and Prophethood)
V 8a (Signs)

71-74 III 486a (Myths and Legends in the Q)

71-92 IV 320a (Punishment Stories)

72 III 444a (Muḥammad)

73 I 277a (Caliph); 519a (Deliverance)

74 I 82a (Anatomy)

75 I 1a (Aaron); 160a (Arrogance); 190a (Authority); 369a (Community and Society in the Q)
IV 106a (Plagues); 264a (Pride); 483a (Rhymed Prose)
V 6a, 6b, 8a (Signs)

75-76 II 542b (Insolence and Obstinacy)

76 I 532b (Dialogues)
III 246a (Magic)

77 II 162a (Failure)
III 246a (Magic)
IV 523a (Salvation)

78 I 159a (Arrogance)
V 317a (Tradition and Custom)

81 III 246a (Magic)

82 V 386b (Truth); 547b (Word of God)

83 II 542a (Insolence and Obstinacy)

84 I 218b (Belief and Unbelief)

84-86 II 558a (Invitation)

86 I 518b (Deliverance)
IV 524a (Salvation)

87 I 260a (Brother and Brotherhood)
II 10a (Egypt); 341a, 341b (Good News)
IV 224a (Prayer); 440a (Revelation and Inspiration); 516a (Sacred Precincts)
V 107b (Spatial Relations); 258a (Theology and the Q); 546a (Word of God)

88 I 492a (Curse)
II 407b, 408b (Heart)
IV 29a (Path or Way)
V 468a (Wealth)

89 IV 29b (Path or Way); 431b (Responsibility)
V 547a (Word of God)

90 I 553b (Drowning)
II 31b (Epigraphy); 184a (Fasting); 213a (Fire); 542b (Insolence and Obstinacy)
III 423a (Moses)
IV 67a, 67b (Pharaoh)
V 375a (Trips and Voyages); 377a (Troops); 464b (Water)

90-92 II 542b (Insolence and Obstinacy)

91 I 537a (Disobedience)
V 288b (Time)

92 I 519a (Deliverance)

93 I 305a (Children of Israel)
II 185b (Fate)

94 I 222b (Belief and Unbelief); 245b (Book)
III 22b, 32a (Jews and Judaism); 189b (Literacy); 451a (Muḥammad)
IV 120b (Polemic and Polemical Language); 217a (Prayer); 403a (Religious Pluralism and the Q)
V 303b (Torah)

95 V 6a (Signs)

96 V 547b (Word of God)

96-97 I 225b (Belief and Unbelief)

98 II 293a (Generations)
III 53a, 55a (Jonah)
IV 319b (Punishment Stories); 429a (Repentance and Penance)

98-103 I 523a (Destiny)

99 I 225b (Belief and Unbelief)
III 40a (Jihād); 531a (Nature as Signs)
IV 238b (Pre-1800 Preoccupations of Q Studies)
V 68b (Social Sciences and the Q); 294a (Tolerance and Coercion)

99-100 V 291a (Tolerance and Coercion)

100 I 411b (Contamination)
II 59a (Ethics and the Q)
IV 454a (Reward and Punishment); 503a (Ritual Purity)

101 IV 545b (Science and the Q)

102 V 280a (Time)

103 I 519b (Deliverance)
IV 301b (Prophets and Prophethood)

104 III 453b (Muḥammad)
IV 401b (Religious Pluralism and the Q)

105 I 5b (Abraham)
II 323b (God and his Attributes); 402b (Ḥanīf)
III 446a (Muḥammad)

106 IV 5a (Pairs and Pairing); 228b (Prayer)

107 II 52b (Eschatology)
III 327b (Material Culture and the Q); 380a (Mercy)
V 485b (Wish and Desire)

108 I 186a (Astray)
III 452b (Muḥammad); 577b (Opposition to Muḥammad)
IV 1b (Pairs and Pairing); 238b (Pre-1800 Preoccupations of Q Studies)
V 82b (Soul)

108-109 III 40a (Jihād)

109 I 516a (Decision)
II 321a (God and his Attributes)
III 64b (Judgment); 452b (Muḥammad)
IV 294b (Prophets and Prophethood)

SŪRAT HŪD (11)

I 492a (Curse)
III 200b (Literary Structures of the Q); 211b (Literature and the Q); 472b (Mysterious Letters); 520b (Narratives)
V 308a (Torah); 422b (Verse)

1 I 70b, 71b (Ambiguous)
II 323a (God and his Attributes)
III 394a (Miracles)
V 422b (Verse)

1-24 II 143b (Exhortations)
III 520b (Narratives)

2 II 341b (Good News)
IV 3b (Pairs and Pairing)

3 I 500a (Day, Times of); 523a (Destiny)
II 245a (Forgiveness); 269a (Freedom and Predestination)
III 60a (Joy and Misery)
IV 426b (Repentance and Penance)
V 289a (Time)

4 I 401b (Consecration of Animals)

5 II 550b (Intention)

6 I 95b (Animal Life); 235a (Birth Control); 243a (Book); 523a (Destiny)
II 544b (Instruments)
III 124b (Language and Style of the Q); 327b (Material Culture and the Q)
IV 560a (Scripture and the Q)

7 I 318b (Chronology and the Q); 442a, 443b (Cosmology); 473b, 476a (Creation)
II 326a (God and his Attributes); 410b (Heaven and Sky); 433a (History and the Q)
III 246a, 247a (Magic); 450a (Muḥammad); 530a (Nature as Signs)
IV 4a (Pairs and Pairing); 82b (Philosophy and the Q); 311b (Provocation); 511a (Sabbath)
V 133b (Suffering); 265a, 266a (Theology and the Q); 279b, 287a (Time); 462a (Water)

7-8 IV 311a (Provocation)

8 I 371b (Community and Society in the Q)
II 497b (Illiteracy)
III 400b (Mockery)
IV 310a (Provocation)
V 241b (Textual Criticism of the Q)

9 I 221a (Belief and Unbelief); 521a (Despair)

9-10 V 204b (Teaching)

10 I 241b (Boast)
III 61b (Joy and Misery)

11 II 70b (Ethics and the Q); 245a (Forgiveness)

12 III 39b (Jihād); 450a (Muḥammad)
IV 296a (Prophets and Prophethood); 311b (Provocation)

12-13 III 398b (Miracles)

13 II 527a, 529b (Inimitability)
III 116a (Language and Style of the Q); 199a (Literary Structures of the Q); 451b (Muḥammad); 468a (Muʿtazila); 553a (Numbers and Enumeration)
IV 22b (Parody of the Q); 311b, 312b (Provocation); 443a (Revelation and Inspiration)
V 167a (Sūra)

13-14 I 115a (Apologetics)
V 494a (Witnessing and Testifying)

15-16 II 98b (Evil Deeds)
V 313a (Trade and Commerce)

16 II 161b (Failure)

17 II 439a (History and the Q); 502b (Imām)
III 424b (Moses)
IV 3b (Pairs and Pairing); 300b (Prophets and Prophethood)
V 203a (Teaching); 301a (Torah); 492b (Witnessing and Testifying)

18 I 235b (Blasphemy)
III 140b (Last Judgment); 181a (Lie)
V 494a (Witnessing and Testifying)

19-20 IV 458b (Reward and Punishment)

20 II 273b (Friends and Friendship)
IV 6b (Pairs and Pairing)
V 446a (Vision and Blindness)

21 II 99a (Evil Deeds)

24 II 1b (Ears); 405b, 406b (Hearing and Deafness)
III 209b (Literature and the Q)
IV 2a (Pairs and Pairing); 10a (Parable); 574a (Seeing and Hearing)
V 15b (Simile)

25-49 III 486a (Myths and Legends in the Q); 520b (Narratives)
IV 321a (Punishment Stories)

25-99 IV 320a (Punishment Stories)

25-100 III 520b (Narratives)

25-123 III 381b (Messenger)

26 I 500a (Day, Times of)
IV 160a (Polytheism and Atheism)

27 III 449b (Muḥammad)

28 IV 574b (Seeing and Hearing)

29 II 488a (Ignorance)

31 III 452a (Muḥammad)
IV 216b (Prayer); 311b (Provocation)

32 I 513a (Debate and Disputation)

34 II 59a (Ethics and the Q)

35 III 450a (Muḥammad)
V 19a (Sin, Major and Minor)

36 I 521b (Despair)

36-48 IV 604a (Ships)

36-49 V 373a (Trips and Voyages)

37 I 450a (Cosmology); 553b (Drowning)
II 323b, 324b (God and his Attributes)
IV 574a (Seeing and Hearing)

38 II 355b (Grammar and the Q)
III 400b (Mockery)
V 204a (Teaching)

39 IV 453b (Reward and Punishment)

40 II 219a (Food and Drink); 229a (Foreign Vocabulary); 362b (Grammar and the Q)
III 393a (Miracles); 541a (Noah); 550b (Numbers and Enumeration)
IV 6b (Pairs and Pairing); 581a (Sex and Sexuality)
V 126a (Springs and Fountains); 545a (Word of God)

41 I 208b (Basmala); 236b (Blessing)
II 318a (God and his Attributes)
IV 495b (Ritual and the Q)

42 V 464b (Water)

43 I 553b (Drowning)
III 379a (Mercy); 541a (Noah)
IV 307b (Protection)
V 464b (Water)

44	I	146b (Ararat); 491b (Curse)
	II	437a (History and the Q)
	III	68a (Jūdī); 362a (Medicine and the Q); 541a (Noah)
	IV	604b (Ships)
	V	126a (Springs and Fountains); 543a (Word of God)
45	I	516a (Decision)
	II	174a (Family); 321a (God and his Attributes)
	III	64b (Judgment); 229b (Lord)
	IV	133b (Politics and the Q)
	V	102b (Sovereignty)
45-46	IV	21a (Parents)
45-47	II	510b (Indifference)
	V	373b (Trips and Voyages)
46	II	174a (Family); 488b (Ignorance)
	III	541b (Noah)
	V	109b (Speech)
47	II	245a (Forgiveness)
	III	379a, 379b (Mercy)
	IV	308a (Protection)
	V	25a (Sin, Major and Minor)
48	III	487a (Myths and Legends in the Q)
49	II	423b (Hidden and the Hidden)
	III	441b (Muḥammad); 536b, 537a (News)
	IV	294b, 302b (Prophets and Prophethood); 438b (Revelation and Inspiration)
	V	271a (Theology and the Q)
50	I	21b (ʿĀd); 261b (Brother and Brotherhood)
50-55	IV	160a (Polytheism and Atheism)
50-60	II	462a (Hūd); 558a (Invitation)
	III	520b (Narratives)
	IV	586b (Sheba)
51	V	313b (Trade and Commerce)
52	I	21b (ʿĀd)
	II	245a (Forgiveness); 462b (Hūd)
53	II	462b (Hūd)
53-54	I	21b (ʿĀd)
54	II	336a (Good and Evil)
	V	492a (Witnessing and Testifying)
55	II	462b (Hūd)
56	I	96a (Animal Life)
	II	96a (Everyday Life, Q In); 462a (House, Domestic and Divine)

III 327b (Material Culture and the Q)
IV 234a (Prayer Formulas)

57 I 243a (Book); 277a (Caliph)
II 327b (God and his Attributes); 462b (Hūd)
IV 307a, 307b (Protection)

58 I 21b (ʿĀd); 519a (Deliverance)
III 379a (Mercy)
IV 523b (Salvation)

58-59 II 462b (Hūd)

59 IV 128b (Politics and the Q); 301a (Prophets and Prophethood)
V 6a (Signs)

59-60 I 536b (Disobedience)

60 I 491b (Curse)

61 I 235a (Birth Control); 261b (Brother and Brotherhood); 472a, 479a (Creation)
II 245a (Forgiveness); 321a (God and his Attributes)
IV 5b (Pairs and Pairing); 521a (Ṣāliḥ)
V 253a (Thamūd)

61-62 IV 160a (Polytheism and Atheism)

61-68 I 149b (Archaeology and the Q)
II 308a (Geography); 340b (Good Deeds); 558a (Invitation)
III 520b (Narratives)
IV 521a (Ṣāliḥ)

62 IV 521a (Ṣāliḥ)
V 253a (Thamūd)

63 I 538a (Disobedience)
IV 574b (Seeing and Hearing)

64 II 335b (Good and Evil)
III 393a (Miracles)
IV 296b (Prophets and Prophethood); 453a (Reward and Punishment); 521b (Ṣāliḥ)
V 3b (Signs); 253a (Thamūd)

64-65 III 219a (Literature and the Q)

64-68 I 287a (Camel)

65 III 551a (Numbers and Enumeration)
IV 296b (Prophets and Prophethood); 521b (Ṣāliḥ)
V 253a (Thamūd); 280a (Time)

66 I 519a (Deliverance)
II 92a (Everyday Life, Q In); 320a, 322a (God and his Attributes)
III 379a (Mercy)
IV 5b (Pairs and Pairing); 522a (Ṣāliḥ); 523b (Salvation)
V 253a (Thamūd)

67 I 504a (Day, Times of)
II 178a (Famine); 212a (Fire)
III 418a (Morning)
IV 454a (Reward and Punishment); 521b (Ṣāliḥ)
V 545a (Word of God)

68 I 491b (Curse)

69 I 97a (Animal Life); 237a (Blessing); 513a (Debate and Disputation)
II 218b, 219a (Food and Drink)
IV 225a (Prayer)
V 132a (Strangers and Foreigners)

69-73 III 393b (Miracles)

69-74 II 341a (Good News)

69-76 I 6a (Abraham); 330a (Chronology and the Q)

69-81 IV 290a (Prophets and Prophethood)

69-83 I 500b (Day, Times of)
III 231b (Lot); 520b (Narratives)
IV 319b (Punishment Stories)

69-104 I 193a (Āzar)

70 I 6a (Abraham)
II 196b (Fear)
V 393a (Turkish Literature and the Q)

70-83 III 233a (Lot)

71 I 6b, 7b (Abraham)
II 561b (Isaac)
III 1a (Jacob); 146b, 148a (Laughter)
IV 37a (People of the Book)

71-73 IV 31b (Patriarchy)
V 545b (Word of God)

71-74 III 148a (Laughter)

72 I 194a, 194b (Baal)
II 360b (Grammar and the Q)
III 287a (Marvels)
IV 49b (People of the House)
V 570b (Youth and Old Age)

73 I 237a (Blessing)
II 174a (Family); 186a (Fate); 315b (Glory)
III 287a (Marvels); 437a (Mosque)
IV 5b (Pairs and Pairing); 37a (People of the Book); 48b, 49a, 49b, 53a (People of the House); 213a (Praise)

74 I 513a (Debate and Disputation)

74-76 I 6a (Abraham)

75 I 5b (Abraham)
III 401b (Moderation)
IV 429b (Repentance and Penance)

77 I 500b (Day, Times of)

77-79 IV 584b (Sex and Sexuality)

78 I 343b (Cleanliness and Ablution)
II 361a (Grammar and the Q)
IV 506a (Ritual Purity)
V 132b (Strangers and Foreigners)

80 I 533b (Dialogues)

81 I 501a, 504a (Day, Times of)
II 174a (Family)
III 393b (Miracles); 417a, 418a (Morning)
V 281a (Time)

82 I 339b, 340a (Clay)
II 411a (Heaven and Sky)
III 383b (Metals and Minerals)
V 129a (Stone); 470b (Weather)

82-83 II 212b (Fire)
V 130a (Stoning)

84 I 149b (Archaeology and the Q); 261b (Brother and Brotherhood); 500a (Day, Times of)
II 46b (Eschatology); 308a (Geography); 545a (Instruments)
III 334a, 335b (Measurement); 390b (Midian); 393b (Miracles)
IV 605a (Shuʿayb)

84-85 I 491a (Cups and Vessels)
II 5b, 8b (Economics)
III 334b (Measurement)
IV 605a (Shuʿayb)
V 313a (Trade and Commerce)

84-87 II 5b (Economics)

84-95 II 558a (Invitation)
III 390b (Midian); 520b (Narratives)
IV 605a (Shuʿayb); 115b (Polemic and Polemical Language)

85 I 300b (Cheating)
II 7b (Economics); 545a (Instruments)
III 276a (Markets); 334a, 335b, 336a (Measurement)
IV 288a (Property)
V 312b (Trade and Commerce)

86 IV 425b (Remnant)

87 III 401b (Moderation)
IV 218a (Prayer)
V 468a (Wealth)

88 II 31a (Epigraphy); 96a (Everyday Life, Q In); 462a (House, Domestic and Divine)
IV 429b (Repentance and Penance); 605a (Shuʿayb)
V 179a (Sustenance)

89 II 64a (Ethics and the Q)
III 486a (Myths and Legends in the Q)
IV 605b (Shuʿayb)
V 204a (Teaching)

90 II 245a (Forgiveness); 322a (God and his Attributes)
III 233b (Love and Affection); 378a (Mercy)
IV 5b (Pairs and Pairing)

91 II 174a (Family)
III 580b (Oppressed on Earth)
IV 605b (Shuʿayb)
V 130b (Stoning)

94 I 504a (Day, Times of); 519a (Deliverance)
III 379a (Mercy); 393b (Miracles)
IV 454a (Reward and Punishment); 523b (Salvation); 605b (Shuʿayb)

95 I 491b (Curse)
III 390b (Midian)

96 I 189a (Authority)
III 421b (Moses)
IV 286b (Proof)
V 8a (Signs)

96-97 IV 106a (Plagues)

96-98 III 520b (Narratives)

97 III 421b (Moses)

98 III 425a (Moses)
IV 67b (Pharaoh)

100 II 435b (History and the Q)
III 441a (Muḥammad); 517b (Narratives); 536b (News)
IV 302b (Prophets and Prophethood)

101 I 523a (Destiny)

101-117 III 520b (Narratives)

102-103 V 4a, 5a (Signs)

103 V 291b (Tolerance and Coercion)

103-111 II 143b (Exhortations)

105 II 354b (Grammar and the Q)
III 63a (Joy and Misery)
V 110b (Speech)

105-106 III 63a (Joy and Misery)

105-108 IV 2b (Pairs and Pairing)

106 II 50a (Eschatology); 416b (Hell and Hellfire)
III 63a (Joy and Misery)
V 133a (Suffering)

107 II 418b (Hell and Hellfire)

107-108 II 55a (Eternity)

108 II 313a (Gift-Giving); 553b (Intercession)
III 63a (Joy and Misery); 204a (Literary Structures of the Q)

109-123 II 262a (Form and Structure of the Q)

110 III 424b (Moses)
IV 36b (People of the Book)
V 289b (Time); 301a, 302a (Torah); 547b (Word of God)

111 II 361b (Grammar and the Q)
III 379a (Mercy)
V 244b (Textual Criticism of the Q)

112 IV 427a (Repentance and Penance)

113 II 357a, 357b (Grammar and the Q)

114 I 35b (Afternoon); 328a (Chronology and the Q); 502b, 503a (Day, Times of)
II 79b (Evening); 340a (Good Deeds)
IV 222a, 223a (Prayer)
V 22a (Sin, Major and Minor); 282b (Time); 431a (Vigil)

114-115 I 328a (Chronology and the Q)

115 I 406a (Consolation)

116 I 32a (African Literature)
II 293a (Generations); 434a (History and the Q)
III 70b (Justice and Injustice)
IV 425b (Remnant)

117 III 71a, 72a (Justice and Injustice)

117-118 I 538b (Dissension)

118 I 523a (Destiny)
II 72a (Ethics and the Q)
IV 238b (Pre-1800 Preoccupations of Q Studies); 337a (Races)

118-119 I 472a (Creation)
III 379a (Mercy)

119 II 50b (Eschatology)
III 46b, 47b (Jinn)
V 547b (Word of God)

120 II 142b (Exhortations); 435b (History and the Q)
III 441a, 453a (Muḥammad); 517b (Narratives); 536b (News)
IV 302b (Prophets and Prophethood); 321a (Punishment Stories); 422b (Remembrance)
V 109b (Speech); 204a (Teaching)

121-122 III 40a (Jihād)

123 IV 4a (Pairs and Pairing)
V 308a (Torah)

SŪRAT YŪSUF (12)

I 226b (Benjamin); 290a (Caravan); 490a, 490b (Cups and Vessels); 532b, 534a (Dialogues); 547a, 548b (Dreams and Sleep)

II 10a (Egypt); 241b (Foretelling in the Q); 243b (Forgery); 261a (Form and Structure of the Q); 436a, 441a (History and the Q); 514b (Informants); 545b, 547a (Instruments); 556a (Intoxicants)

III 211a, 211b, 222b, 224b (Literature and the Q); 229b, 230a (Lord); 234a (Love and Affection); 336a (Measurement); 408b (Money); 472b (Mysterious Letters); 518b, 525b (Narratives)

IV 67a (Pharaoh); 246a (Pre-1800 Preoccupations of Q Studies); 288a (Property); 380a (Recitation of the Q); 450b (Revision and Alteration); 495b (Ritual and the Q)

V 61b (Sleep); 104b (Spatial Relations); 167b (Sūra); 363a (Trial); 375a (Trips and Voyages); 530b (Women and the Q)

1 I 243a (Book)
II 263b (Form and Structure of the Q); 497b (Illiteracy)
III 56a (Joseph); 124b (Language and Style of the Q); 512b (Names of the Q); 592a (Orality and Writing in Arabia)
V 6b (Signs); 172a (Sūra); 436a (Virtue)

1-3 II 262a (Form and Structure of the Q)

2 I 132a (Arabic Language)
II 226b (Foreign Vocabulary); 497b (Illiteracy)
III 113b (Language and Style of the Q); 193b (Literary Structures of the Q); 451a (Muḥammad); 507a (Names of the Q); 528b (Nature as Signs); 544b (Nomads); 585a (Orality)
IV 280b (Profane and Sacred); 298a, 299b (Prophets and Prophethood); 443b (Revelation and Inspiration); 566a (Scripture and the Q)
V 203b (Teaching); 340b (Translations of the Q)

3 I 548b (Dreams and Sleep)
II 488b (Ignorance)
III 55b (Joseph); 441b (Muḥammad); 512a (Names of the Q); 517b (Narratives)

IV 62a (Persian Literature and the Q)
V 109b (Speech); 392a (Turkish Literature and the Q)

4 I 255a (Bowing and Prostration); 534a (Dialogues)
III 415a (Moon); 524a (Narratives); 553a (Numbers and Enumeration)
IV 108b (Planets and Stars)

4-5 II 241b (Foretelling in the Q)

4-6 I 533a (Dialogues)
V 444a (Vision)

4-7 III 56a (Joseph)

5 I 526a (Devil); 546b, 548b (Dreams and Sleep)
II 23b, 24a (Enemies); 66a (Ethics and the Q)

6 II 11b, 12a (Election); 561b (Isaac)
III 517b (Narratives)
IV 179a (Popular and Talismanic Uses of the Q); 291b (Prophets and Prophethood); 537b (Scholar)
V 200b (Teaching); 444a (Vision)

7 III 55b (Joseph); 528b (Nature as Signs)
V 5b (Signs)

8 I 227a, 227b (Benjamin)
II 25a (Envy); 43b (Error)
III 234b (Love and Affection)

8-9 II 365b (Grammar and the Q)

8-10 I 532a, 533a (Dialogues)

10 I 290a (Caravan)
II 360a, 365b (Grammar and the Q)
V 463a (Water)

11 II 354b, 357b (Grammar and the Q)

11-12 IV 308b (Protection)

11-14 I 533a (Dialogues)

12 V 281a (Time)

13-17 I 99a (Animal Life)

14 II 161b (Failure)

15 III 537a (News)
IV 217a (Prayer)
V 271a (Theology and the Q); 463a (Water); 546a (Word of God)

16 I 503a (Day, Times of)
V 281b (Time); 472b (Weeping)

16-18 I 533a (Dialogues)
V 134a (Suffering)

17 III 60b (Joy and Misery); 181b (Lie)
V 239b (Textual Criticism of the Q)

18 I 80b (Anatomy); 237b (Blood and Blood Clot); 346b, 347a (Clothing)
III 219a (Literature and the Q)
V 38a (Sīra and the Q); 82b (Soul)

19 I 290a (Caravan); 490b (Cups and Vessels); 533a (Dialogues)
II 341a (Good News); 356b, 360b (Grammar and the Q)

19-20 I 289b (Captives)

20 II 545b (Instruments)
III 335a (Measurement); 408b (Money)
V 313a (Trade and Commerce); 474a (Weights and Measures)

21 II 10a (Egypt); 241b (Foretelling in the Q)
III 305b (Material Culture and the Q)
IV 179a (Popular and Talismanic Uses of the Q); 210b (Power and Impotence); 538b (Scholar)
V 200b (Teaching); 430b (Victory)

22 III 331b (Maturity)
IV 3b (Pairs and Pairing); 452b (Reward and Punishment); 538a (Scholar)

22-32 V 152b (Ṣūfism and the Q)

22-34 I 299b (Chastity)

22-35 IV 584b (Sex and Sexuality)

23 I 163a (Art and Architecture and the Q); 530b (Dialects); 533a (Dialogues)
II 105a (Exegesis of the Q: Classical and Medieval); 162a (Failure); 444b (Homosexuality)
III 211b (Literature and the Q); 229b (Lord)
IV 288b (Property); 308a (Protection); 523a (Salvation)

23-28 III 181b (Lie)

23-31 III 56b (Joseph)

24 I 28a (Adultery and Fornication); 124a (Apparition)
II 336a (Good and Evil); 506b (Impeccability); 550a (Intention)
III 56b (Joseph); 230a (Lord); 234b (Love and Affection); 492a (Myths and Legends in the Q)
IV 286b (Proof); 580b, 585a (Sex and Sexuality)
V 19a, 25a (Sin, Major and Minor)

25 I 299b (Chastity)
II 175b (Family); 335b (Good and Evil); 353a (Grammar and the Q)
IV 276b, 277b (Prisoners)

25-28 I 346b (Clothing)

25-29 I 533a (Dialogues)

26 V 492a, 492b (Witnessing and Testifying)

26-28 V 497b (Witnessing and Testifying)

28 I 347a (Clothing)
V 531a, 531b (Women and the Q)

29 I 536b (Disobedience)
III 482b (Myths and Legends in the Q)
V 19a (Sin, Major and Minor); 174a (Sūra); 428a (Verse)

30 I 255b (Bread); 533a (Dialogues)
II 10b (Egypt); 43b (Error); 447a (Honor)
III 234b (Love and Affection); 367b (Medina)

30-32 V 531a (Women and the Q)

31 II 547a (Instruments)

31-33 I 533a (Dialogues)

32 I 19b (Abstinence)

33 V 531b (Women and the Q)

33-34 III 234b (Love and Affection)

33-35 V 531a (Women and the Q)

34 V 531b (Women and the Q)

35-42 I 549a (Dreams and Sleep)

36 I 99a (Animal Life); 256a (Bread)
II 100a (Exegesis of the Q: Classical and Medieval); 218a (Food and Drink); 360b (Grammar and the Q); 556a (Intoxicants)
V 482a (Wine)

36-37 III 537a (News)
V 200b (Teaching)

36-42 I 533a (Dialogues)

37 IV 401a (Religious Pluralism and the Q)

38 I 6a, 8a (Abraham)
II 563b (Ishmael)
III 1a (Jacob)
IV 401a (Religious Pluralism and the Q)

39 I 147b (Arbitration)
II 320b, 330a (God and his Attributes)
III 229b (Lord)
IV 142b (Politics and the Q)

40 I 148a (Arbitration)
II 30a (Epigraphy)
III 557a (Numismatics)
IV 313a (Provocation); 482b (Rhymed Prose); 538b (Scholar)
V 2a (Ṣiffīn, Battle of); 102b (Sovereignty)

41 I 99a (Animal Life); 255b (Bread); 487b, 488a (Crucifixion); 549a (Dreams and Sleep)
II 185b (Fate); 269a (Freedom and Predestination); 556a (Intoxicants)
III 230a (Lord)
V 482a (Wine); 543a (Word of God)

42 I 526a (Devil)
III 230a (Lord)
V 285b (Time)

43 I 362b (Colors); 546b (Dreams and Sleep)
II 218a, 218b (Food and Drink); 360b (Grammar and the Q)
III 92a (Kings and Rulers)
IV 128a (Politics and the Q)
V 103b (Sovereignty)

43-44 I 533a (Dialogues)

43-48 II 178a (Famine)
III 552a (Numbers and Enumeration)

43-49 III 56a (Joseph)

44 I 41b (Agriculture and Vegetation); 546b, 548b, 552a (Dreams and Sleep)
II 241b (Foretelling in the Q)
IV 178b (Popular and Talismanic Uses of the Q); 537b (Scholar)
V 546a (Word of God)

45 I 371b (Community and Society in the Q)
II 497b (Illiteracy)
III 537a (News)
IV 523b (Salvation)
V 241b (Textual Criticism of the Q)

46 I 65a (Almsgiving); 362b (Colors)
II 218a (Food and Drink)
III 554b (Numerology)

46-49 I 533a (Dialogues)

47 I 40b (Agriculture and Vegetation)
II 218a (Food and Drink); 433a (History and the Q)
III 554b (Numerology)
V 318a (Tradition and Custom)

47-49 I 548b (Dreams and Sleep)
V 285b (Time)

48 II 178a (Famine)

49 II 178a (Famine)
V 560b (Year)

50 III 92a (Kings and Rulers); 230a (Lord); 382b (Messenger)
V 103b (Sovereignty); 531b (Women and the Q)

50-53 I 299b (Chastity)

51 I 255b (Bread); 533a (Dialogues)
II 336a (Good and Evil)
V 288b (Time); 531a (Women and the Q)

52 II 162a (Failure)
V 531b (Women and the Q)

53 II 336a (Good and Evil)
III 224a (Literature and the Q); 379a (Mercy)
V 22a (Sin, Major and Minor); 82b (Soul); 96b (South Asian Literatures and the Q); 138b (Ṣūfism and the Q); 204b (Teaching); 531a, 532a (Women and the Q)

54 III 92a (Kings and Rulers)
V 103b (Sovereignty)

54-55 I 533a (Dialogues)

54-56 V 549a (Work)

55 IV 537b (Scholar)

56 II 10b (Egypt)
IV 452b (Reward and Punishment)

56-57 III 55b (Joseph)

58-61 I 533a (Dialogues)

59 I 227a, 227b (Benjamin)
II 5b (Economics)
III 336a (Measurement)

59-60 III 334a (Measurement)

60 I 521b (Despair)

62 I 533a (Dialogues)
III 58b (Journey)
IV 288a (Property)

63 I 227a (Benjamin)
III 334a (Measurement)
IV 308b (Protection)

63-67 I 533a (Dialogues)

64 I 227a, 227b (Benjamin)
II 37b (Epigraphy)
III 378a (Mercy)

65 I 286b (Camel); 398b (Conquest)
II 360b (Grammar and the Q)
III 60b (Joy and Misery); 334a (Measurement)
IV 288a (Property); 308b (Protection)
V 411b (Vehicles); 473b (Weights and Measures)

66 I 227a (Benjamin); 465a (Covenant)

67 II 30a (Epigraphy); 96a (Everyday Life, Q In)
III 1a (Jacob); 557a (Numismatics)
V 2a (Ṣiffīn, Battle of)

68 IV 538b (Scholar)
V 200b (Teaching)

69 I 227a, 227b (Benjamin)

70 I 227a, 227b (Benjamin); 290a (Caravan); 491a (Cups and Vessels)
III 58b (Journey); 208b (Literature and the Q)
V 255b (Theft)

70-79 I 533a (Dialogues)

72 I 286b (Camel); 491a (Cups and Vessels)
II 219a (Food and Drink)
III 92a (Kings and Rulers); 227b (Load or Burden); 334a (Measurement)
V 103b (Sovereignty); 411b (Vehicles); 473b (Weights and Measures)

73 III 562a (Oaths)
V 256a (Theft)

75 II 64b (Ethics and the Q)
III 58b (Journey); 70b (Justice and Injustice)

76 I 227a, 227b (Benjamin)
III 92a (Kings and Rulers); 102a (Knowledge and Learning)
IV 538b (Scholar)
V 103b (Sovereignty); 270a (Theology and the Q)

77 I 227a (Benjamin); 533a (Dialogues)

78 I 227a, 227b (Benjamin); 255b (Bread)
II 10a (Egypt)

79 I 227a (Benjamin)
III 60b (Joy and Misery)
IV 308a (Protection)

80 I 227b (Benjamin); 465a (Covenant); 516a (Decision); 521b (Despair)
II 10b (Egypt); 321a (God and his Attributes)
III 64b (Judgment)

80-82 I 532b, 533a (Dialogues)

81 I 227a (Benjamin)
V 492a (Witnessing and Testifying)

82 I 290a (Caravan); 532b (Dialogues)

83 I 227a (Benjamin)
IV 537b (Scholar)

83-87 I 533a (Dialogues)

84 I 364a (Colors)
II 153b (Eyes)

	III	1a (Jacob)
	V	63a (Smell); 134a (Suffering); 363a (Trial)
85	I	271b (Cain and Abel)
87	I	227a, 227b (Benjamin); 521b (Despair)
	V	63b (Smell); 161b (Suicide); 393a (Turkish Literature and the Q)
88	I	68a (Almsgiving); 255b (Bread)
	II	5b (Economics); 10a (Egypt); 253a (Form and Structure of the Q)
	III	334a, 336a (Measurement)
	V	198a (Taxation)
88-93	I	533a (Dialogues)
89	I	227b (Benjamin)
	II	488b (Ignorance)
90	I	227b (Benjamin)
92	I	449b (Cosmology)
93	I	346b, 347a (Clothing)
	II	174a (Family)
	III	1a (Jacob)
	V	63b (Smell)
93-96	V	63a (Smell)
94	I	52a (Air and Wind); 290a (Caravan); 347a (Clothing)
	III	573a (Odors and Smells)
	V	62a, 63a, 63b (Smell)
94-95	I	533a (Dialogues)
95	II	43b (Error)
	V	63a (Smell)
96	II	341a (Good News)
	III	1a (Jacob); 223a (Literature and the Q)
	V	63a (Smell); 134a (Suffering); 363a (Trial); 444b (Vision)
96-98	I	533a (Dialogues)
97	V	19a (Sin, Major and Minor)
98	V	570b (Youth and Old Age)
99	II	10a (Egypt)
99-100	III	99b (Kinship)
100	I	255a (Bowing and Prostration); 546b, 548b, 549b (Dreams and Sleep)
	III	56b (Joseph)
	IV	33a (Patriarchy); 537b (Scholar)
	V	277a (Throne of God)
101	I	472a (Creation); 506a (Death and the Dead)
	II	100a (Exegesis of the Q: Classical and Medieval)

III 93a (Kings and Rulers); 103a (Knowledge and Learning); 143a (Last Judgment)
IV 4a (Pairs and Pairing); 128a (Politics and the Q)
V 103b (Sovereignty); 106a (Spatial Relations); 200b (Teaching)

101-102 IV 179a (Popular and Talismanic Uses of the Q)

102 III 441b (Muḥammad); 537a (News)
IV 302b (Prophets and Prophethood); 438b (Revelation and Inspiration)
V 271a (Theology and the Q); 532a (Women and the Q)

103 V 291b (Tolerance and Coercion)

105 II 352b (Grammar and the Q)

107 I 501a (Day, Times of)
II 128b (Exegesis of the Q: Early Modern and Contemporary)
III 137a, 138a (Last Judgment)
V 287b (Time)

108 I 237a (Blessing); 437a (Conversion)
III 443a (Muḥammad)
IV 29a (Path or Way); 220a (Prayer)
V 221b (Teaching and Preaching the Q)

109 III 58a (Journey); 451b (Muḥammad)
IV 49a (People of the House); 296a (Prophets and Prophethood); 320b (Punishment Stories); 425a (Remnant); 438b (Revelation and Inspiration)
V 546b (Word of God)

110 I 521b (Despair)
II 354a (Grammar and the Q)
III 453a (Muḥammad)
IV 295b (Prophets and Prophethood)
V 178a (Suspicion)

110-111 III 451a (Muḥammad)

111 II 435b, 441a (History and the Q)
III 362a (Medicine and the Q); 506b (Names of the Q)
IV 439a (Revelation and Inspiration)
V 2b (Signs); 532a (Women and the Q)

SŪRAT AL-RAʿD (13)

I 322a (Chronology and the Q)
III 472b (Mysterious Letters); 585a (Orality)

1 I 224b (Belief and Unbelief)
II 262a, 263b (Form and Structure of the Q)
III 592a (Orality and Writing in Arabia)
V 6b (Signs); 172a (Sūra)

2 I 163b (Art and Architecture and the Q); 442b, 443b (Cosmology)
II 268a (Freedom and Predestination); 325b, 327b (God and his Attributes); 410b, 411a (Heaven and Sky); 460b (House, Domestic and Divine)

III 202a (Literary Structures of the Q)
IV 4b (Pairs and Pairing); 73b (Philosophy and the Q); 127a (Politics and the Q)
V 163a (Sun); 289b (Time); 544a, 545a (Word of God)

2-3 V 3b, 7b (Signs)

2-4 I 473b (Creation)
IV 438a (Revelation and Inspiration)

3 II 2b, 3a (Earth)
III 550b (Numbers and Enumeration)
IV 4b, 6a (Pairs and Pairing); 183b (Portents); 581a (Sex and Sexuality)
V 463a (Water); 544a (Word of God)

3-4 I 443a (Cosmology)

4 I 41a (Agriculture and Vegetation); 476b (Creation)
II 3a, 3b (Earth); 305a (Geography)
V 462b (Water)

5 I 479a, 479b (Creation)
II 4b (Earth)
III 399a (Miracles)
IV 311a (Provocation)

6 I 530a (Dialects)
II 354b (Grammar and the Q)
III 380a (Mercy)
IV 453a, 453b (Reward and Punishment)

7 III 382a (Messenger); 399a (Miracles); 450a (Muḥammad)
IV 311b (Provocation)

8 II 289b (Gender)
III 334b (Measurement)
IV 85b (Philosophy and the Q)
V 522a, 522b (Womb)

9 I 158b (Arrogance)
II 82b (Everyday Life, Q In); 320b (God and his Attributes); 353a (Grammar and the Q)
IV 4a, 5b (Pairs and Pairing); 478b (Rhymed Prose); 537b (Scholar)

10 I 502a (Day, Times of)
III 190a (Literacy)

10-11 V 118b (Spiritual Beings)

11 II 187a (Fate); 335b (Good and Evil); 431a (History and the Q)
III 231b (Lord)
IV 307b (Protection)
V 118b, 118b (Spiritual Beings); 493a (Witnessing and Testifying)

12 I 479a (Creation)

12-13 I 512a (Debate and Disputation)
V 471a (Weather)

12-15 V 7b (Signs)

13 I 27a (Adoration)
II 82a (Everyday Life, Q In); 196b (Fear); 37b (Epigraphy); 314b (Glorification of God)
IV 115b (Polemic and Polemical Language); 214b (Praise)

14 II 43b (Error); 401a (Hand)
III 204b (Literary Structures of the Q)
IV 10a (Parable); 228b, 229a (Prayer)
V 15a (Simile); 182a (Symbolic Imagery); 386b (Truth)

15 I 254b (Bowing and Prostration); 502b, 504a (Day, Times of)
II 80a, 80b (Evening)
III 417a, 418b (Morning)
IV 4b (Pairs and Pairing); 221a (Prayer); 378a (Recitation of the Q)
V 281b (Time); 393a (Turkish Literature and the Q)

16 I 103b (Anthropomorphism); 472a, 472b (Creation); 493b (Darkness); 555a (Druzes)
II 317a, 327b, 330a (God and his Attributes)
III 186a (Light)
IV 4a, 6a (Pairs and Pairing); 184a (Possession and Possessions); 280b (Profane and Sacred); 288a (Property)
V 447b (Vision and Blindness)

16-17 I 329b (Chronology and the Q)

17 III 334a (Measurement)
IV 10a (Parable)
V 17a (Simile); 126b (Springs and Fountains); 463a (Water)

18 II 418a (Hell and Hellfire)
IV 2a (Pairs and Pairing); 15a (Paradise); 103b, 104a (Pit)

18-25 II 335b (Good and Evil)

19-23 I 257b (Breaking Trusts and Contracts)

20 I 257b (Breaking Trusts and Contracts); 464b (Covenant)

20-23 I 219b (Belief and Unbelief)
IV 17a (Paradise)

20-24 II 460b (House, Domestic and Divine)

21-22 I 257b (Breaking Trusts and Contracts)

22 I 257b (Breaking Trusts and Contracts)
II 53a (Eschatology); 69b (Ethics and the Q); 160a (Face of God); 323b (God and his Attributes); 450a (Hospitality and Courtesy)
IV 221a (Prayer); 309b (Provocation)
V 264a (Theology and the Q)

23 I 89b (Angel); 220b (Belief and Unbelief); 385a (Community and Society in the Q)
II 282b, 284a (Garden)
IV 13b (Paradise); 21b (Parents)
V 393a, 393b (Turkish Literature and the Q)

24 I 385a (Community and Society in the Q)
II 91b (Everyday Life, Q In)
IV 225a (Prayer)

25 I 464b (Covenant)
II 7b (Economics)
IV 129a (Politics and the Q)

26 II 69b (Ethics and the Q); 186b (Fate)
III 59b, 61a (Joy and Misery)
IV 2a (Pairs and Pairing)
V 179a (Sustenance)

27 I 435b, 437a (Conversion); 523a (Destiny)
II 270a (Freedom and Predestination); 321a (God and his Attributes); 59a (Ethics and the Q)
III 450a, 452a (Muḥammad)
IV 311b, 312a (Provocation); 427b (Repentance and Penance); 432a (Responsibility)

28 I 82a (Anatomy)
II 163a (Faith); 370b (Gratitude and Ingratitude); 408a (Heart)
IV 230a, 230b (Prayer); 420a, 422a (Remembrance)

29 I 406a (Consolation)
II 284b (Garden)
IV 15a (Paradise)
V 361b (Tree)

30 II 96a (Everyday Life, Q In)
III 441b, 443a (Muḥammad)
IV 132b (Politics and the Q); 438a (Revelation and Inspiration)
V 393b (Turkish Literature and the Q); 501a (Witnessing and Testifying)

31 I 113a (Apocalypse); 435b (Conversion)
II 59b (Ethics and the Q)
III 456a (Muḥammad)

32 III 401a (Mockery); 453a (Muḥammad)
IV 309b, 310b (Provocation)

33 I 213a (Beauty); 225b (Belief and Unbelief)

34 II 56b (Ethics and the Q)
IV 307b (Protection); 457a (Reward and Punishment)
V 553a (World)

35 II 54b (Eternity); 283b (Garden)
V 125a (Springs and Fountains)

36 III 61a (Joy and Misery)
V 301a (Torah)

37 I 132a (Arabic Language); 145a (Arabs); 516b (Decision)
II 226b (Foreign Vocabulary); 274b (Friends and Friendship)
III 65a (Judgment); 113b (Language and Style of the Q); 544b (Nomads); 567b (Obedience)
IV 298a (Prophets and Prophethood); 307b (Protection)
V 340b (Translations of the Q)

38 I 11b (Abrogation); 235a (Birth Control); 244b (Book)
II 497b (Illiteracy)
III 398a (Miracles)
IV 296a (Prophets and Prophethood)
V 3b (Signs); 289a (Time)

38-43 I 523a (Destiny)

39 I 247b (Book)
II 189a (Fātiḥa)
IV 81a (Philosophy and the Q); 261b, 262b, 263a (Preserved Tablet); 449a (Revision and Alteration); 560b (Scripture and the Q)

40 III 40a (Jihād); 66b (Judgment); 18b (Jesus)

41 I 516a (Decision)
II 321a, 321b (God and his Attributes)
V 103a (Sovereignty)

42 III 18a (Jesus)
V 480a (Whisper)

43 I 247a (Book)
III 451a (Muḥammad); 577b (Opposition to Muḥammad)
V 493a (Witnessing and Testifying)

Sūrat Ibrāhīm (14)

III 472b (Mysterious Letters)
IV 247a (Pre-1800 Preoccupations of Q Studies)

1 I 245a (Book)
III 186a (Light); 508a (Names of the Q)
IV 5a, 6a (Pairs and Pairing); 29a (Path or Way)
V 374b (Trips and Voyages)

1-4 II 262a (Form and Structure of the Q)

1-21 III 519a (Narratives)

2 IV 4a (Pairs and Pairing)

3 V 138a (Ṣūfism and the Q)

4 I 83a (Anatomy); 132a (Arabic Language); 186a (Astray)
II 187b (Fate); 227a (Foreign Vocabulary); 330b (God and his Attributes)
III 108b, 109a (Language, Concept of); 112a, 113b, 114b (Language and Style of the Q); 380b, 382a (Messenger); 443a (Muḥammad); 507a (Names of the Q)
IV 2a (Pairs and Pairing); 299b (Prophets and Prophethood); 329b (Quraysh); 337b (Races); 444a (Revelation and Inspiration)
V 203b (Teaching); 341a (Translations of the Q)

5 I 505a (Days of God)
III 186a (Light); 421b (Moses)
IV 5a (Pairs and Pairing); 106a (Plagues)
V 182a (Symbolic Imagery); 203a (Teaching); 279b (Time); 382b, 383b (Trust and Patience)

5-6 III 422b (Moses)

5-8 II 372b (Gratitude and Ingratitude)

5-14 IV 320a (Punishment Stories)

6 I 302a (Children); 304b (Children of Israel); 518b (Deliverance)
II 335b (Good and Evil); 542a (Insolence and Obstinacy)
III 422b (Moses)
IV 67a (Pharaoh); 517a (Sacrifice)

7 II 372a (Gratitude and Ingratitude); 510a (Indifference)
IV 2a (Pairs and Pairing)
V 393b (Turkish Literature and the Q)

8 IV 6a (Pairs and Pairing)

9 I 21b (ʿĀd)
II 350b (Grammar and the Q); 436b (History and the Q)
III 486a (Myths and Legends in the Q); 518a, 524a (Narratives); 537a (News); 540b (Noah)
V 379b (Trust and Patience)

10 I 472a (Creation)
II 439b (History and the Q)
IV 4a (Pairs and Pairing); 301a (Prophets and Prophethood)
V 289a (Time)

10-11 III 452a (Muḥammad)

11 I 189a (Authority)
II 164b (Faith)
III 43b (Jinn)
IV 296a (Prophets and Prophethood)
V 379a, 379b (Trust and Patience)

12 IV 29a (Path or Way)
V 134a (Suffering); 382a (Trust and Patience)

13 III 449a (Muḥammad)
IV 301a (Prophets and Prophethood); 438b (Revelation and Inspiration)
V 546a (Word of God)

14 I 277a (Caliph)
II 196b (Fear)
IV 432a (Responsibility)

15 I 398b (Conquest)
II 162a (Failure)

16 II 211a (Fire); 416a (Hell and Hellfire)

16-17 II 50b (Eschatology)
III 63b (Joy and Misery); 203b (Literary Structures of the Q)

17 II 416a, 416b (Hell and Hellfire)
V 324b (Traditional Disciplines of Q Studies)

18 I 52a, 54b (Air and Wind); 184b (Ashes); 500a (Day, Times of)
IV 431b (Responsibility)
V 15a (Simile); 182a (Symbolic Imagery); 470b (Weather)

19 IV 4a (Pairs and Pairing)
V 544b (Word of God)

19-20 I 474b (Creation)

21 II 552a (Intercession)
III 580b, 582a (Oppressed on Earth); 583a (Oppression)
V 468b (Wealth)

22 I 190a (Authority); 526a (Devil)
II 356b (Grammar and the Q); 417a (Hell and Hellfire); 558b (Invitation)
V 487a (Wish and Desire); 543a (Word of God)

23 I 88b (Angel); 237a (Blessing)
II 91b (Everyday Life, Q In)

24 V 361b (Tree); 571a (Zaqqūm)

24-26 V 16a, 16b (Simile)

24-27 II 260a (Form and Structure of the Q)
IV 10a (Parable)

25 IV 58b (Persian Literature and the Q)

26 III 533a (Nature as Signs)
V 361b (Tree)

27 I 480b (Creeds); 523a (Destiny)
IV 432a (Responsibility); 460a (Reward and Punishment)
V 547a (Word of God)

28 I 236b (Blessing)

30 II 418a (Hell and Hellfire); 476b (Idolatry and Idolaters)
III 41b (Jihād)
IV 29a (Path or Way)
V 287a (Time)

31 I 500a (Day, Times of)
III 137b (Last Judgment)

32 II 3a (Earth); 304b (Geography)
IV 4a (Pairs and Pairing)
V 412a (Vehicles); 463a, 464a (Water)

32-33 III 304a (Material Culture and the Q)

32-34 I 472a, 473a (Creation)
II 58a (Ethics and the Q); 259a (Form and Structure of the Q)
III 379a (Mercy)

33 I 442b (Cosmology); 501a (Day, Times of)
III 415a (Moon)
IV 107b (Planets and Stars)
V 163a (Sun); 280b (Time); 545a (Word of God)

34 I 221a (Belief and Unbelief)
II 166a (Faith)
V 393a (Turkish Literature and the Q)

35 II 3a (Earth); 481a (Idols and Images)
IV 482b (Rhymed Prose)
V 373b (Trips and Voyages)

35-37 I 7a (Abraham)
IV 32b (Patriarchy); 516a (Sacred Precincts)

35-38 V 258a (Theology and the Q)

35-39 III 339b (Mecca)

36 I 536b (Disobedience)

37 I 40b (Agriculture and Vegetation)
II 3b (Earth); 304b (Geography); 564b (Ishmael)
III 337b (Mecca)
IV 223b (Prayer); 282a (Profane and Sacred); 329b (Quraysh); 514b (Sacred Precincts); 519a (Ṣafā and Marwa); 589b (Shekhinah)

37-39 II 561b (Isaac)

38 IV 4a (Pairs and Pairing)

39 II 1b (Ears); 564b (Ishmael)
IV 229a (Prayer); 575a (Seeing and Hearing)

39-40 IV 229a (Prayer)

40 IV 223b, 229b (Prayer)

41 I 7a (Abraham)
III 66b (Judgment); 137a (Last Judgment)
IV 21a (Parents); 33a (Patriarchy)

43 I 51b (Air and Wind); 81b (Anatomy)

44 III 442b (Muḥammad)
IV 430a (Repentance and Penance)

45 IV 425a (Remnant)

47 III 18b (Jesus)
IV 301b (Prophets and Prophethood); 310a (Provocation); 453b (Reward and Punishment)
V 416a (Vengeance)

48 I 91b (Angel)
II 330a (God and his Attributes); 395b (Ḥadīth and the Q)
III 66b (Judgment); 184b (Life); 531b (Nature as Signs)
IV 6a (Pairs and Pairing)

49 II 416b (Hell and Hellfire); 546b (Instruments)

50 II 50b (Eschatology); 210b (Fire); 416a (Hell and Hellfire)

51 III 379a (Mercy)

52 II 329b (God and his Attributes)
III 512b (Names of the Q)
V 500a (Witnessing and Testifying)

SŪRAT AL-ḤIJR (15)

I 451b, 453a (Cosmology)
II 260a, 263a (Form and Structure of the Q)
III 472b (Mysterious Letters)
IV 54a (People of the Thicket); 247a (Pre-1800 Preoccupations of Q Studies); 496a (Ritual and the Q)
V 172a (Sūra); 425a (Verse)

1 II 497b (Illiteracy)
III 124b, 125a (Language and Style of the Q); 528a (Nature as Signs); 591b (Orality and Writing in Arabia)

1-3 II 261b (Form and Structure of the Q)

3 II 448b (Hope)
III 40a (Jihād); 453b (Muḥammad)
IV 538b (Scholar)

4 I 244a (Book); 523a (Destiny)

4-5 II 45a (Eschatology)
III 185a (Life); 380a (Mercy)

5 V 289a (Time)

6	I	447a (Cosmology)
	II	540a (Insanity)
	III	44a (Jinn)
	IV	112a (Poetry and Poets); 311b (Provocation)
6-7	II	261b (Form and Structure of the Q)
	IV	442b (Revelation and Inspiration)
9	I	361a (Collection of the Q)
	IV	307b (Protection)
10	II	434a (History and the Q)
	IV	403b (Religious Pluralism and the Q); 592a (Shīʿa)
11	III	382a (Messenger); 400a (Mockery)
	IV	301a (Prophets and Prophethood)
13	II	434a (History and the Q)
	V	164a (Sunna)
14	I	398b (Conquest)
	III	46a (Jinn)
15-18	I	544b (Divination)
16	I	213a (Beauty); 442b (Cosmology)
	II	327b (God and his Attributes); 411a (Heaven and Sky)
	IV	107a, 108a (Planets and Stars); 550a (Science and the Q)
	V	283b (Time)
16-17	I	442b (Cosmology)
	IV	550a (Science and the Q)
	V	130a (Stoning)
16-18	III	249b (Magic)
16-25	II	259a (Form and Structure of the Q)
17	I	524b (Devil)
	II	411a (Heaven and Sky)
	IV	307b (Protection)
	V	130a (Stoning)
17-18	IV	108a (Planets and Stars)
18	I	442b (Cosmology)
	III	46a (Jinn)
	IV	107a (Planets and Stars)
19	I	443a (Cosmology)
	II	2b, 3b (Earth); 358a (Grammar and the Q)
	III	531b (Nature as Signs)
21	III	334b (Measurement)
21-22	I	462b, 463a (Court)

22	I	42a (Agriculture and Vegetation); 53b (Air and Wind)
	III	530a (Nature as Signs)
	V	463a (Water)
23	II	320b (God and his Attributes)
25	IV	5b (Pairs and Pairing); 537b (Scholar)
26	I	240a (Bloodshed); 339b (Clay); 446a, 451b (Cosmology); 476a (Creation)
	II	172b (Fall of Man)
	III	383b (Metals and Minerals)
26-27	I	24a (Adam and Eve); 451b (Cosmology)
26-33	II	4b (Earth)
	IV	220a (Prayer)
26-39	III	184a (Life)
26-48	I	448a (Cosmology)
	III	519b (Narratives)
27	I	446b, 447a (Cosmology); 476a (Creation)
	II	433b (History and the Q)
	III	48b (Jinn)
	IV	336b (Races)
	V	120a (Spiritual Beings)
28	I	22b (Adam and Eve); 240a (Bloodshed); 339b (Clay); 476a (Creation)
	II	328a, 330a (God and his Attributes)
	III	383b (Metals and Minerals); 532a (Nature as Signs)
	V	109a (Speech)
28-38	I	447a (Cosmology)
28-40	V	267b (Theology and the Q)
29	I	24b (Adam and Eve); 52a (Air and Wind); 508a (Death and the Dead)
	II	186b (Fate); 327b (God and his Attributes); 442a (Holy Spirit)
	III	14a (Jesus); 293b (Mary)
	V	81b (Soul); 109a (Speech); 114b (Spirit)
29-33	I	24a (Adam and Eve); 255a (Bowing and Prostration)
30	I	447a (Cosmology)
30-33	I	511a (Debate and Disputation)
31	I	447a (Cosmology); 525a (Devil)
	II	172b (Fall of Man)
	III	45a (Jinn)
31-43	II	417b (Hell and Hellfire)
32	III	45a (Jinn)
32-42	V	109a (Speech)

33 I 240a (Bloodshed); 339b (Clay); 476a (Creation); 525a (Devil)
II 543a (Insolence and Obstinacy)
III 383b (Metals and Minerals); 490b (Myths and Legends in the Q); 532a (Nature as Signs)

34 I 525a (Devil)

34-40 V 267b (Theology and the Q)

35 III 136b (Last Judgment)

38 I 500a (Day, Times of)
V 288a (Time)

39 I 506a (Death and the Dead)
II 172b (Fall of Man); 336a (Good and Evil)

39-40 I 525a (Devil)

40 I 452a, 453a (Cosmology)
II 550a (Intention)

41 III 491a (Myths and Legends in the Q)

43 II 543a (Insolence and Obstinacy)

43-44 II 50a (Eschatology)

44 II 355b (Grammar and the Q); 415a (Hell and Hellfire)
III 552a (Numbers and Enumeration); 554b (Numerology)
V 334a (Traditional Disciplines of Q Studies)

45 II 283b (Garden)
V 121b, 123a (Springs and Fountains); 464b (Water); 467a (Water of Paradise)

46 II 91b (Everyday Life, Q In); 461b (House, Domestic and Divine)

47 I 263a (Brother and Brotherhood)
II 159a (Face); 276a (Furniture and Furnishings); 283b (Garden)
IV 18a (Paradise)

48 II 283b (Garden)

49 I 452a (Cosmology)
II 330a (God and his Attributes)
III 519b (Narratives); 536b (News)

49-50 III 380a (Mercy)

49-51 II 435b (History and the Q)

49-60 III 519b (Narratives)

49-77 II 260a (Form and Structure of the Q)

50 V 133a (Suffering)

51 II 254b (Form and Structure of the Q)
III 519b (Narratives); 536b (News)
IV 473b (Rhetoric and the Q)
V 132a (Strangers and Foreigners)

51-55 II 341a, 341b (Good News)

51-56 III 393b (Miracles)

51-59 I 6a (Abraham)

51-60 I 330a (Chronology and the Q)

51-84 IV 320a (Punishment Stories)

52 II 198a (Fear)

53 I 7b (Abraham); 330b (Chronology and the Q)
II 198a (Fear); 357b (Grammar and the Q); 561b (Isaac)

55 I 521b (Despair)
II 341b (Good News)

56 I 521b (Despair)
III 380a (Mercy)
V 161b (Suicide)

57 III 382b (Messenger)

57-76 III 233a (Lot)

57-77 III 231b (Lot)

58 I 375b (Community and Society in the Q)

59 II 174a (Family)

61 II 174a (Family)

61-75 III 519b (Narratives)

62 II 489a (Ignorance)

65 I 501a (Day, Times of)
II 174a (Family)

66 I 504a (Day, Times of)
III 418a (Morning)
IV 425a (Remnant)

67 III 62a (Joy and Misery); 367b (Medina)
IV 37a (People of the Book)

67-71 IV 584b (Sex and Sexuality)

68 V 132b (Strangers and Foreigners)

71 II 360b (Grammar and the Q)

72 V 393b (Turkish Literature and the Q)

73 I 149a (Archaeology and the Q); 503b (Day, Times of)
II 212b (Fire)
III 417b, 418a (Morning)
V 282b (Time); 545a (Word of God)

74 I 339b, 340a (Clay)
II 212b (Fire)

	III	383b (Metals and Minerals)
	V	129a (Stone); 130a (Stoning); 470b (Weather)
76	I	149a (Archaeology and the Q)
	IV	425b (Remnant)
76-79	III	519b (Narratives)
77	III	232b (Lot)
	V	5a (Signs)
78	I	41b (Agriculture and Vegetation)
	II	353b (Grammar and the Q)
	IV	53b (People of the Thicket); 605b (Shuʿayb)
78-79	III	390b (Midian)
79	I	244a (Book)
	IV	425b (Remnant); 453b (Reward and Punishment)
80	II	427a (Ḥijr); 438a (History and the Q)
	III	418a (Morning)
80-83	II	212a (Fire)
80-84	II	427a (Ḥijr)
	III	519b (Narratives)
81	V	5b (Signs)
83	I	504a (Day, Times of)
	III	393b (Miracles); 417a (Morning)
	IV	454a (Reward and Punishment)
84	V	468a (Wealth)
85	I	501a (Day, Times of)
	II	244b (Forgiveness)
	III	40a (Jihād); 137a (Last Judgment)
	IV	4a (Pairs and Pairing)
	V	287b (Time); 291a (Tolerance and Coercion)
85-86	I	473a (Creation)
85-99	II	143a (Exhortations)
86	IV	6a (Pairs and Pairing); 280b (Profane and Sacred)
87	I	210b (Basmala)
	II	189a, 190b, 191a (Fātiḥa); 260a (Form and Structure of the Q)
	III	446b (Muḥammad); 575a, 576a (Oft-Repeated)
	V	242b, 243a (Textual Criticism of the Q); 424b, 425b (Verse)
88	III	452b (Muḥammad)
89-99	III	577b (Opposition to Muḥammad)
90-91	III	24b (Jews and Judaism)

90-92 IV 280b (Profane and Sacred)

91 III 507a (Names of the Q)

92 IV 431a (Responsibility)

94 III 453a (Muḥammad)

94-95 II 209a (Fighting)
III 40a (Jihād)

95 III 401a (Mockery); 454b (Muḥammad)
IV 332a (Quraysh)

96 IV 538b (Scholar)

97 III 452b (Muḥammad)

98 I 27a (Adoration)
IV 214a (Praise); 220b (Prayer)
V 425b (Verse)

99 V 404a (Uncertainty)

SŪRAT AL-NAḤL (16)

I 93b (Animal Life)
III 534a (Nature as Signs)
IV 496a (Ritual and the Q)

1 IV 220b (Prayer)
V 266a, 266b (Theology and the Q)

2 I 87a (Angel); 329b (Chronology and the Q); 463a (Court)
II 278b (Gabriel); 330a (God and his Attributes); 443b (Holy Spirit)
III 293b (Mary); 537b (Night of Power)
IV 293a (Prophets and Prophethood)
V 81a (Soul); 115b (Spirit); 488b (Witness to Faith); 500b (Witnessing and Testifying)

2-8 III 379a (Mercy)

3 III 70a (Justice and Injustice)

3-8 V 7b (Signs)

4 I 435a (Conversion); 476a, 476b (Creation)
II 303b (Geography)

5 I 95b (Animal Life); 215b (Bedouin); 443a (Cosmology)
II 455b (Hot and Cold)

5-6 I 213a (Beauty)

5-7 III 544a (Nomads)

5-8 I 96a (Animal Life); 473a (Creation)
II 303b (Geography)

	III	534a (Nature as Signs)
	V	373b (Trips and Voyages)
5-18	V	5b (Signs)
6	I	96a (Animal Life); 215b (Bedouin)
	III	417b, 418b (Morning)
	IV	210b (Power and Impotence)
7	III	227b (Load or Burden)
	IV	5b (Pairs and Pairing)
	V	411b (Vehicles)
8	I	96a (Animal Life)
	V	374a (Trips and Voyages); 411a (Vehicles)
9	V	374a (Trips and Voyages)
10	V	358b (Tree)
10-11	II	3a, 3b (Earth)
	V	462b (Water)
10-13	IV	422b (Remembrance)
10-16	IV	438a (Revelation and Inspiration)
10-18	I	473a, 473b (Creation)
11	I	41a, 46b (Agriculture and Vegetation); 494b (Date Palm)
	II	3b, 4a (Earth); 304b (Geography)
11-13	I	246a (Book)
12	I	501a (Day, Times of)
	IV	4b (Pairs and Pairing); 107b (Planets and Stars)
	V	163a (Sun)
13	I	361b (Colors)
	II	363b (Grammar and the Q)
14	I	97a (Animal Life); 443a (Cosmology)
	II	218b (Food and Drink); 467b (Hunting and Fishing)
	IV	604a (Ships)
	V	4a (Signs); 412a (Vehicles); 464a (Water)
15	I	271b (Cain and Abel)
	II	2b, 3a (Earth)
	IV	29a (Path or Way)
	V	463a (Water)
15-16	I	443a (Cosmology)
	V	372b (Trips and Voyages)
16	II	528a (Inimitability)
	IV	107a, 108a (Planets and Stars)
16-80	III	544a (Nomads)

17 I 472b (Creation)

19 IV 4a (Pairs and Pairing)
V 479b (Whisper)

20 I 371b (Community and Society in the Q); 472b (Creation)
IV 228b (Prayer)

20-21 I 507a (Death and the Dead)
IV 313a (Provocation)

21 IV 435b (Resurrection)
V 288b (Time)

22 I 160b (Arrogance)
II 329b (God and his Attributes)

23 IV 4a (Pairs and Pairing); 264a (Pride)

24 II 430a (History and the Q)
III 518a (Narratives)
IV 302b (Prophets and Prophethood)

26 II 459b (House, Domestic and Divine)
III 539b (Nimrod)

27 I 247b (Book)
II 336a (Good and Evil)
IV 453b (Reward and Punishment); 538b (Scholar)
V 203b (Teaching)

28 II 336a (Good and Evil)

29 I 160b (Arrogance)
IV 103b (Pit)

30 V 552a, 552b (World)

30-31 IV 14b (Paradise)
IV 456b (Reward and Punishment)

31 II 282b, 283b (Garden)
IV 13b (Paradise)
V 393a, 393b (Turkish Literature and the Q)

32 IV 225a (Prayer)

34 III 400b (Mockery)
IV 310a (Provocation)

35 III 125a (Language and Style of the Q); 174b (Lawful and Unlawful); 380a (Mercy)
IV 300b (Prophets and Prophethood)
V 291b (Tolerance and Coercion)

35-40 I 523a (Destiny)

36 I 435b (Conversion)
II 474a (Iconoclasm); 482a (Idols and Images); 497a, 497b (Illiteracy)

III 380b, 382a (Messenger)
IV 299b (Prophets and Prophethood); 425a (Remnant)

37 V 291b (Tolerance and Coercion)

38 I 329b (Chronology and the Q)
II 317a (God and his Attributes)
IV 538b (Scholar)

39 III 181a (Lie)

40 I 319a (Chronology and the Q); 470b (Createdness of the Q); 475a, 475b (Creation)
II 327b (God and his Attributes)
IV 33b (Patriarchy); 82a, 86a (Philosophy and the Q)
V 109a (Speech); 287a (Time); 485b (Wish and Desire); 542b, 543a, 547a (Word of God); 553b (World)

41 III 38b (Jihād); 579a (Opposition to Muḥammad)
IV 456b (Reward and Punishment)

42 II 70b (Ethics and the Q)
V 382a, 382b (Trust and Patience)

43 III 22b (Jews and Judaism); 372b (Memory); 381b (Messenger)
IV 129b (Politics and the Q); 230a (Prayer); 296a, 302a (Prophets and Prophethood)
V 546b (Word of God)

43-44 V 301b, 303b (Torah)

43-45 IV 570b (Scrolls)

44 III 441b (Muḥammad)
IV 302a (Prophets and Prophethood)

47 IV 5b (Pairs and Pairing)

48 II 363b (Grammar and the Q); 401b (Hand)

48-49 I 160b (Arrogance); 254b (Bowing and Prostration)
IV 221a (Prayer)

48-50 I 435a (Conversion)

49 I 99b (Animal Life); 254b (Bowing and Prostration)
IV 4b (Pairs and Pairing); 219b (Prayer); 264a (Pride)
V 393a (Turkish Literature and the Q)

49-50 IV 378a (Recitation of the Q)

51 II 329b (God and his Attributes)
III 550b (Numbers and Enumeration)
V 369a (Trinity); 500a (Witnessing and Testifying)

52 I 472a (Creation)
IV 4a (Pairs and Pairing)

55 I 220b (Belief and Unbelief); 236b (Blessing)

56 I 236a (Blasphemy)

57 I 221b (Belief and Unbelief); 236a (Blasphemy); 330a (Chronology and the Q)
II 317b (God and his Attributes)
III 48a (Jinn)
V 369a (Trinity)

57-58 II 511a (Infanticide)

57-59 I 301b, 302b (Children)
II 329b (God and his Attributes)
IV 255b (Pre-Islamic Arabia and the Q)
V 318a (Tradition and Custom)

58 I 364b (Colors)

58-59 I 38b (Age of Ignorance); 153b (Archaeology and the Q); 221b (Belief and Unbelief)
II 64a (Ethics and the Q); 341a (Good News)
V 524b (Women and the Q)

61 I 98a (Animal Life); 501a (Day, Times of)
II 45a (Eschatology)
III 185a (Life); 335b (Measurement); 378b (Mercy)
V 288a, 289a (Time)

62 I 83a (Anatomy)
IV 15a (Paradise)

63 II 274a (Friends and Friendship)
III 561a (Oaths)
IV 217a (Prayer); 301b (Prophets and Prophethood)

64 III 40a (Jihād); 442b (Muḥammad)

65 II 3a (Earth); 302b (Geography)
V 3b (Signs); 463a (Water); 545a (Word of God)

65-69 I 473b (Creation)

66 I 96a (Animal Life); 237b (Blood and Blood Clot)
II 218a (Food and Drink)
III 391a (Milk)

66-69 III 169a (Law and the Q)
V 482a (Wine)

66-83 I 236b (Blessing)

67 I 495a (Date Palm)
II 221b (Food and Drink); 304b, 305b (Geography); 556a (Intoxicants)
III 152a (Law and the Q)
IV 183a (Portents)
V 179a (Sustenance)

68 II 305a (Geography)
IV 217a (Prayer); 293b (Prophets and Prophethood); 439b (Revelation and Inspiration)
V 544a (Word of God)

68-69 I 96b, 100b (Animal Life)
III 309a (Material Culture and the Q)

69 I 96a (Animal Life); 361b (Colors)
II 38a (Epigraphy); 445b, 446b, 447a (Honey)
III 349b (Medicine and the Q)
IV 29a (Path or Way)

70 I 345b (Clients and Clientage); 479a (Creation)
IV 6a (Pairs and Pairing)

71 IV 186b (Possession and Possessions); 288a (Property); 579a (Servants)
V 57a (Slaves and Slavery); 179b (Sustenance); 269b (Theology and the Q); 550b (Work)

72 I 235a (Birth Control); 302b (Children)
II 328b (God and his Attributes); 510a (Indifference)
III 277b (Marriage and Divorce)

73 I 472b (Creation)
IV 4a (Pairs and Pairing)
V 179a (Sustenance)

75 IV 10a (Parable); 185a (Possession and Possessions); 538b (Scholar); 576b (Servants)
V 58b (Slaves and Slavery)

76 I 344b (Clients and Clientage)
II 5b (Economics); 70a (Ethics and the Q)
III 228a (Load or Burden); 231a (Lord)
IV 7a (Pairs and Pairing); 10a (Parable)
V 57a (Slaves and Slavery)

77 I 501a (Day, Times of)
III 137a, 138a (Last Judgment)
IV 4a (Pairs and Pairing)
V 287b, 288a (Time)

78 I 81a, 83b (Anatomy)
IV 20a (Parents)
V 570a (Youth and Old Age)

78-81 IV 438a (Revelation and Inspiration)

79 I 51b (Air and Wind); 98a (Animal Life); 473b (Creation)
IV 183b (Portents)

80 I 96a (Animal Life); 215b (Bedouin)
II 426a, 426b (Hides and Fleece)

III 544a (Nomads)
V 7b (Signs); 12a (Silk); 235b (Tents and Tent Pegs); 374a (Trips and Voyages)

80-81 I 472a, 473a (Creation)

80-83 II 275b (Furniture and Furnishings); 459a, 459b (House, Domestic and Divine)

81 I 346b (Clothing)
II 455a (Hot and Cold)
IV 307b (Protection)
V 12a (Silk)

82 III 40a (Jihād); 125a (Language and Style of the Q)
V 291b (Tolerance and Coercion)

83 I 220b (Belief and Unbelief)
II 489a (Ignorance)

84 II 497a (Illiteracy)
III 382a (Messenger); 447a (Muḥammad)
IV 300b (Prophets and Prophethood)
V 493b (Witnessing and Testifying)

86 II 477a, 477b (Idolatry and Idolaters)
V 494a (Witnessing and Testifying)

87 I 236a (Blasphemy)
II 99a (Evil Deeds)

88 II 62b (Ethics and the Q)
IV 458b (Reward and Punishment)

89 II 341a, 341b (Good News); 497a (Illiteracy)
III 19b (Jesus); 124b (Language and Style of the Q); 382a (Messenger); 442b, 447a (Muḥammad); 506b, 511a (Names of the Q)
IV 300b (Prophets and Prophethood); 542b (Science and the Q)
V 319a, 322b, 323a (Traditional Disciplines of Q Studies); 493b (Witnessing and Testifying)

90 I 64b (Almsgiving)
II 61b, 70a (Ethics and the Q); 176a (Family)
III 70a, 70b, 71b (Justice and Injustice)
IV 1b (Pairs and Pairing); 84a (Philosophy and the Q); 580b, 583b (Sex and Sexuality)
V 438a (Virtues and Vices, Commanding and Forbidding)

91 I 256b (Breaking Trusts and Contracts); 379b (Community and Society in the Q); 431a (Contracts and Alliances); 465b (Covenant)
II 8b (Economics)

91-92 III 564b (Oaths)

91-93 IV 136b (Politics and the Q)

92 II 431b (History and the Q)
V 535a (Women and the Q)

93 I 523a (Destiny)
II 72a (Ethics and the Q); 270a (Freedom and Predestination); 320b, 330b (God and his Attributes)
IV 2a (Pairs and Pairing); 337a (Races); 431a (Responsibility)

94 II 199a (Feet); 335b (Good and Evil)
III 564b, 565a (Oaths)

95 III 276a (Markets)

96 IV 5a (Pairs and Pairing)
V 340a (Transitoriness)

97 III 492b (Myths and Legends in the Q)
V 134a (Suffering); 524a (Women and the Q)

98 II 92a (Everyday Life, Q In)
IV 221b (Prayer); 308a (Protection)
V 130a (Stoning)

101 I 15a, 17a (Abrogation); 321a (Chronology and the Q)
III 160b (Law and the Q)
IV 538b (Scholar)
V 6b (Signs)

102 I 87a (Angel)
II 341a, 341b (Good News); 442a, 443a (Holy Spirit)
III 13b (Jesus); 293b (Mary); 442a (Muḥammad); 510b (Names of the Q)
IV 216b (Prayer); 282b (Profane and Sacred); 293a (Prophets and Prophethood)
V 81a (Soul); 115b (Spirit); 120a (Spiritual Beings); 371b (Trinity)

103 I 132a (Arabic Language); 145a (Arabs)
II 226b, 227a (Foreign Vocabulary); 420b (Heresy); 512b, 513a, 513b, 516b, 517a (Informants)
III 103b (Knowledge and Learning); 109a (Language, Concept of); 110a, 113b, 114a, 114b, 117a, 124b (Language and Style of the Q); 450a, 451a, 456a (Muḥammad); 473a (Mysterious Letters); 507a (Names of the Q)
IV 116b (Polemic and Polemical Language); 331a (Quraysh); 337b (Races); 439b, 443b, 444a (Revelation and Inspiration); 473b (Rhetoric and the Q); 566a (Scripture and the Q)
V 132a (Strangers and Foreigners); 202b (Teaching); 301b (Torah); 547a (Word of God)

104 I 523a (Destiny)
II 270a (Freedom and Predestination)

106 I 93a (Anger); 119a, 120b (Apostasy); 224b (Belief and Unbelief); 540a, 541a (Dissimulation)
II 171b (Faith); 408a (Heart)
III 378b (Mercy)
IV 310a (Provocation); 456a (Reward and Punishment); 573a (Secrets)

107 I 368b (Community and Society in the Q)

108	I	82a (Anatomy); 225b (Belief and Unbelief)
	II	489a (Ignorance)
110	II	70b (Ethics and the Q)
	III	37a (Jihād); 579a (Opposition to Muḥammad)
111	I	512a, 513b (Debate and Disputation)
	III	68a (Judgment)
	IV	457b (Reward and Punishment)
112	I	346b (Clothing)
	III	524b (Narratives)
	IV	10a (Parable); 332a (Quraysh)
113	IV	453a (Reward and Punishment)
114	I	236b (Blessing)
115	I	96b, 97a (Animal Life); 237b (Blood and Blood Clot); 291b, 292a (Carrion)
	III	174a (Lawful and Unlawful); 378b (Mercy)
	IV	517b (Sacrifice)
	V	55a (Slaughter)
116	I	83a (Anatomy); 236a (Blasphemy)
	III	173a, 174b (Lawful and Unlawful)
117	III	60a (Joy and Misery)
118	III	25a (Jews and Judaism); 173a, 174b (Lawful and Unlawful); 517b (Narratives)
119	II	335b (Good and Evil); 488b (Ignorance)
	III	378b (Mercy)
	IV	427a (Repentance and Penance)
120	I	5b (Abraham); 373a (Community and Society in the Q)
	II	402b (Ḥanīf); 497b (Illiteracy)
	IV	35a (Peace); 223a (Prayer)
	V	268b, 271a (Theology and the Q)
120-121	II	372b (Gratitude and Ingratitude)
121	I	236b (Blessing)
	II	11b (Election)
	IV	291b (Prophets and Prophethood)
122-123	V	271a (Theology and the Q)
122-124	I	220b (Belief and Unbelief)
123	I	5b, 6a (Abraham); 330b (Chronology and the Q); 373a (Community and Society in the Q)
	II	402b (Ḥanīf)
	III	445b (Muḥammad)
	IV	299b (Prophets and Prophethood)
124	I	500b (Day, Times of)
	II	321a (God and his Attributes)

IV 132b (Politics and the Q); 510b (Sabbath)
V 285b (Time)

125 I 115b (Apologetics); 437a (Conversion); 511b, 513b (Debate and Disputation)
II 142b (Exhortations); 209a (Fighting); 452b (Hospitality and Courtesy); 557b (Invitation)
III 40a (Jihād); 453b (Muḥammad)
IV 71a (Philosophy and the Q); 309b (Provocation)
V 203b (Teaching); 207b, 221b (Teaching and Preaching the Q)

125-128 III 577b (Opposition to Muḥammad)

126 I 450a (Cosmology)
III 40a, 40b (Jihād)
V 417a (Vengeance)

127 I 406a (Consolation)
II 149a (Expeditions and Battles)
III 452b (Muḥammad); 577b (Opposition to Muḥammad)
V 134a (Suffering)

SŪRAT AL-ISRĀʾ (17)

I 176b (Ascension)
II 310b (Geography); 390b (Ḥadīth and the Q)
III 521b (Narratives)
IV 597b (Shīʿism and the Q)
V 172b (Sūra); 376a (Trips and Voyages)

1 I 88a, 89a (Angel); 111a (Antichrist); 125a, 126b (Aqṣā Mosque); 156a (Archaeology and the Q); 163b, 164a (Art and Architecture and the Q); 177a, 177b (Ascension); 320b (Chronology and the Q); 501b (Day, Times of)
II 154a (Eyes); 215b (Flying); 253a (Form and Structure of the Q); 299a, 299b, 309a, 309b (Geography); 314b (Glorification of God); 320b, 324b, 325b (God and his Attributes); 392b (Ḥadīth and the Q)
III 3a (Jerusalem); 77b (Kaʿba); 222a (Literature and the Q); 327a (Material Culture and the Q); 340a (Mecca); 388b (Michael); 427a (Mosque); 440b, 452a (Muḥammad); 482b, 488b, 491b, 496a (Myths and Legends in the Q)
IV 5b (Pairs and Pairing); 64a (Persian Literature and the Q); 179a (Popular and Talismanic Uses of the Q); 216b, 220b (Prayer); 450a (Revision and Alteration); 514a, 515a (Sacred Precincts); 577a (Servants)
V 107a, 107b (Spatial Relations); 138b, 157b (Ṣūfism and the Q); 185a (Syria); 376a (Trips and Voyages); 393a (Turkish Literature and the Q)

1-6 I 126b (Aqṣā Mosque)

2 I 245a (Book)
II 309b (Geography)
III 424b, 425a (Moses)
V 301a, 302a (Torah); 380b (Trust and Patience)

2-8	I	303a (Children of Israel)
	II	260b (Form and Structure of the Q)
3	II	372b (Gratitude and Ingratitude)
	III	486b (Myths and Legends in the Q)
3-4	II	269b (Freedom and Predestination)
4	II	185b (Fate); 562b (Isaiah)
4-8	II	146a, 146b, 147a, 152a (Expeditions and Battles)
	V	456a (War)
5	I	163b (Art and Architecture and the Q)
	IV	577a (Servants)
6	I	302b (Children)
	II	6b (Economics)
	IV	3b (Pairs and Pairing)
	V	468a (Wealth)
7	I	163b (Art and Architecture and the Q)
	II	299b (Geography)
	V	184b (Syria)
8	II	146b, 150b (Expeditions and Battles)
	IV	277b (Prisoners)
9	II	341a, 341b (Good News)
9-10	II	341b (Good News)
10	II	341b (Good News)
11	II	56b (Ethics and the Q)
	IV	229a (Prayer)
	V	203b, 204b (Teaching)
12	I	272b (Calendar); 442b, 443a (Cosmology); 473a, 473b (Creation); 498a (Day and Night); 502a (Day, Times of)
	II	433a (History and the Q)
	III	535a (Nature as Signs)
	IV	4b (Pairs and Pairing)
	V	280b, 284a (Time)
13	I	90b (Angel)
	II	48a (Eschatology); 412b (Heavenly Book)
	III	140b (Last Judgment)
	V	493b (Witnessing and Testifying)
13-14	I	522b, 523b (Destiny)
	V	493a (Witnessing and Testifying)
14	I	298a (Chastisement and Punishment)
	V	493b (Witnessing and Testifying)

15 I 225b (Belief and Unbelief); 297b (Chastisement and Punishment)
III 228a (Load or Burden); 379b (Mercy); 382a (Messenger)
IV 1b (Pairs and Pairing); 301b (Prophets and Prophethood); 432a (Responsibility)
V 22a (Sin, Major and Minor)

16 II 348a (Grammar and the Q)
V 547b (Word of God)

16-17 V 22a (Sin, Major and Minor)

17 II 293a (Generations)
IV 320a (Punishment Stories)

18 II 418a (Hell and Hellfire)

19 II 372b (Gratitude and Ingratitude)

20 II 313a (Gift-Giving)

22 I 501a (Day, Times of)
III 443a (Muḥammad)

22-39 I 366b, 367a (Commandments)
III 210a (Literature and the Q)

23 II 61b, 75b (Ethics and the Q); 386a (Ḥadīth and the Q); 453a (Hospitality and Courtesy)
III 252a (Maintenance and Upkeep)
IV 21a (Parents)
V 27a (Sin, Major and Minor)

23-24 III 378a (Mercy)
IV 20b (Parents)
V 204b (Teaching); 570b (Youth and Old Age)

23-38 V 20b, 27a (Sin, Major and Minor)

23-39 II 71a (Ethics and the Q)

24 I 237a (Blessing); 302b (Children)
II 175b (Family)
III 277b (Marriage and Divorce); 379b (Mercy); 385a (Metaphor)
IV 20b (Parents)

25 IV 428a (Repentance and Penance)
V 82a (Soul)

26 II 448a (Honor)
III 252a (Maintenance and Upkeep)
IV 63b (Persian Literature and the Q)
V 434a (Virtue)

26-27 IV 186a (Possession and Possessions)

26-29 I 181a (Asceticism)

27 I 220b (Belief and Unbelief); 262b (Brother and Brotherhood)
III 44b, 46b (Jinn)
V 434a (Virtue)

28 I 503b (Day, Times of)

29 I 38a (Age of Ignorance)
II 7b (Economics)
V 434b (Virtue)

31 I 2b (Abortion); 233a (Birth); 234b (Birth Control); 301b (Children); 450b (Cosmology)
II 75a (Ethics and the Q); 511a (Infanticide)
III 182a, 183a (Life)
V 19a, 21a (Sin, Major and Minor)

32 I 28a (Adultery and Fornication); 38b (Age of Ignorance); 299b (Chastity)
II 7a (Economics); 63a (Ethics and the Q)
IV 580b (Sex and Sexuality)
V 19a, 21a (Sin, Major and Minor); 528a (Women and the Q); 19a (Sin, Major and Minor)

33 I 38a (Age of Ignorance); 190a (Authority); 239a (Blood Money); 450b (Cosmology)
III 157a (Law and the Q); 182a, 183b (Life); 401a (Moderation); 458b (Murder)
V 83a (Soul); 162a (Suicide); 2a (Ṣiffīn, Battle of); 417a (Vengeance)

34 I 431a, 431b (Contracts and Alliances); 464b (Covenant)
II 8b (Economics); 373b (Guardianship)
III 330a (Maturity); 603b (Orphans)

35 II 8b (Economics); 231b (Foreign Vocabulary); 545b (Instruments)
III 66a (Judgment); 276a (Markets); 334a, 334b, 336a (Measurement)

36 IV 573a (Secrets)

37 III 333a (Measurement)
V 393b (Turkish Literature and the Q)

38 V 21a (Sin, Major and Minor)

39 III 443a (Muḥammad); 512a (Names of the Q)
IV 294b (Prophets and Prophethood)
V 483a (Wisdom); 546a (Word of God)

41 III 212a (Literature and the Q)

42 II 325b (God and his Attributes)
V 277a (Throne of God)

44 II 82a (Everyday Life, Q In); 315a (Glorification of God)
III 552a (Numbers and Enumeration)
IV 5b (Pairs and Pairing); 107b (Planets and Stars); 214b (Praise)

45 V 412b (Veil)
I 203b (Barrier)

45-46 II 510b (Indifference)

46 I 80a (Anatomy); 226a (Belief and Unbelief)
II 370b (Gratitude and Ingratitude)

	IV	118a (Polemic and Polemical Language)
	V	447a (Vision and Blindness); 474a (Weights and Measures)
47	III	44a (Jinn)
	V	479b (Whisper)
49	II	4b (Earth)
	III	448b (Muḥammad)
	IV	435a (Resurrection)
49-51	I	479a, 479b (Creation)
	IV	311a (Provocation)
49-52	IV	311a (Provocation)
50	III	383b (Metals and Minerals)
	V	129b (Stone)
51	IV	119a (Polemic and Polemical Language)
52	II	558b (Invitation)
53	I	453b (Cosmology); 526a (Devil)
	II	23b, 24a (Enemies); 452b (Hospitality and Courtesy)
	III	44b (Jinn)
	IV	309b (Provocation)
54	I	225b (Belief and Unbelief)
	III	40a (Jihād); 452b (Muḥammad)
	IV	2a (Pairs and Pairing)
55	I	235b (Blasphemy); 496a (David)
	III	381b (Messenger); 487a (Myths and Legends in the Q)
	IV	4a (Pairs and Pairing); 36b (People of the Book); 292a, 297b (Prophets and Prophethood); 315a (Psalms)
57	II	448b (Hope)
	III	380a (Mercy)
	IV	163b (Popular and Talismanic Uses of the Q)
58	I	244a (Book); 523a (Destiny)
	III	518a (Narratives)
	IV	457a (Reward and Punishment)
	V	558a (Writing and Writing Materials)
59	I	235b (Blasphemy); 287a (Camel)
	III	219a (Literature and the Q)
	IV	296b (Prophets and Prophethood); 521b (Ṣāliḥ)
60	I	546b, 551b (Dreams and Sleep)
	II	241b (Foretelling in the Q); 305a (Geography)
	III	4a, 5b (Jerusalem); 533a (Nature as Signs)
	IV	179a (Popular and Talismanic Uses of the Q); 295a (Prophets and Prophethood)
	V	359b (Tree); 444a (Vision); 446a (Vision and Blindness); 571a, 571b (Zaqqūm)

61	I	24a (Adam and Eve); 255a (Bowing and Prostration); 339b (Clay); 447a (Cosmology); 476a (Creation); 511a (Debate and Disputation); 525a (Devil)
	II	4a, 4b (Earth); 172b (Fall of Man)
	III	45a (Jinn); 532a (Nature as Signs)
	IV	220a (Prayer)
	V	109a (Speech)
61-65	I	448a, 453b (Cosmology)
	III	521b (Narratives)
	V	109a (Speech)
62	I	453b (Cosmology)
	II	172b (Fall of Man)
62-63	II	417b (Hell and Hellfire)
63	II	172b (Fall of Man)
64	I	98b (Animal Life)
	II	75a (Ethics and the Q); 198b (Feet); 336a (Good and Evil)
	V	468a (Wealth)
65	I	453b (Cosmology)
66	I	52a (Air and Wind)
	III	379a (Mercy)
	V	373a (Trips and Voyages); 412a (Vehicles); 464a (Water)
66-70	I	54a (Air and Wind)
67	I	519a (Deliverance)
	V	464a (Water)
68	IV	530b (Sand)
69	I	52b (Air and Wind); 554a (Drowning)
	V	470b (Weather)
70	I	53b (Air and Wind); 96b (Animal Life)
	II	3a (Earth); 328b (God and his Attributes); 447b (Honor)
	IV	4b (Pairs and Pairing)
	V	373a (Trips and Voyages); 411a (Vehicles)
71	I	243b, 244a (Book)
	II	269b (Freedom and Predestination); 503a (Imām); 558b (Invitation)
	III	177a (Left Hand and Right Hand)
	IV	16a (Paradise); 34b (Peace); 560a (Scripture and the Q)
	V	493a, 493b (Witnessing and Testifying)
71-72	I	522b (Destiny)
73	III	578b (Opposition to Muḥammad)
	IV	532b (Satanic Verses)
73-74	III	41b (Jihād)
73-75	III	454a (Muḥammad)

74 II 508b (Impotence)

75 IV 6b (Pairs and Pairing)

76 III 449a, 454b (Muḥammad)
V 458b (War)

76-77 IV 301b (Prophets and Prophethood)

77 V 164a (Sunna)

78 I 499a, 502b, 503a, 504b (Day, Times of)
II 28b (Epigraphy); 79b (Evening); 82a (Everyday Life, Q In); 272b (Friday Prayer)
III 417a, 419a (Morning); 586a (Orality)
IV 221b, 222a, 222b (Prayer); 281a (Profane and Sacred)
V 163a (Sun); 281a, 282b (Time)

78-79 I 327b (Chronology and the Q); 502b (Day, Times of)
II 340a (Good Deeds)
III 305a (Material Culture and the Q); 437a (Mosque)
V 556b (Worship)

78-80 I 502b (Day, Times of)

79 I 182a, 182b (Asceticism); 328a (Chronology and the Q); 503a (Day, Times of)
II 29a (Epigraphy); 326a (God and his Attributes); 552b (Intercession)
III 446b (Muḥammad)
IV 222a (Prayer)
V 430b (Vigil)

79-80 IV 231b (Prayer Formulas)

80 IV 282b (Profane and Sacred)

81 III 558b (Numismatics)

82 I 77b (Amulets)
II 446b (Honey)
III 362a (Medicine and the Q); 512a (Names of the Q)
IV 166b, 168b, 171b (Popular and Talismanic Uses of the Q)

82-111 II 143a (Exhortations)

83 I 521a (Despair)
II 56b (Ethics and the Q)

85 I 87b (Angel)
II 442a, 443b (Holy Spirit)
III 579b (Opposition to Muḥammad)
V 81b (Soul); 115b (Spirit); 266a, 266b, 272a (Theology and the Q)

86-87 III 379a (Mercy); 442b (Muḥammad); 512a (Names of the Q)

88 I 115a (Apologetics)
II 527a, 529b (Inimitability)
III 46b (Jinn); 116a (Language and Style of the Q); 199a (Literary Structures of the Q); 398b (Miracles); 468a (Muʿtazila); 601a (Ornamentation and Illumination)

	IV	22b (Parody of the Q); 211a (Power and Impotence); 280b (Profane and Sacred); 312b (Provocation); 443a (Revelation and Inspiration)
90	I	42a (Agriculture and Vegetation)
	IV	296a (Prophets and Prophethood)
	V	121b (Springs and Fountains); 463b (Water)
90-91	V	127b (Springs and Fountains)
90-93	I	177a, 177b (Ascension); 222a (Belief and Unbelief)
	III	397b (Miracles); 450a, 456a (Muḥammad)
	IV	119a (Polemic and Polemical Language); 311b (Provocation); 331a (Quraysh)
	V	37b, 41a (Sīra and the Q); 271b (Theology and the Q)
91	I	41a (Agriculture and Vegetation)
	II	217b (Food and Drink); 283a (Garden); 304a (Geography)
	V	463b (Water)
92	IV	311b (Provocation)
93	I	163a (Art and Architecture and the Q); 250a (Book)
	III	452a (Muḥammad); 591b (Orality and Writing in Arabia)
	IV	220a (Prayer); 311b (Provocation); 354b (Readings of the Q); 569b (Scrolls)
94	III	449b (Muḥammad)
	IV	301a (Prophets and Prophethood)
95	IV	290a (Prophets and Prophethood)
97	II	273b (Friends and Friendship); 406b (Hearing and Deafness)
	III	140b (Last Judgment)
	IV	103b (Pit)
98	I	479b (Creation)
	II	4b (Earth)
	III	448b (Muḥammad)
98-99	I	479a (Creation)
	II	44b (Eschatology); 166a (Faith)
99	I	479b (Creation)
101	I	365b, 366a (Commandments)
	II	542b (Insolence and Obstinacy)
	III	394a (Miracles); 421b, 422a (Moses); 552b (Numbers and Enumeration)
	IV	67b (Pharaoh); 106a (Plagues); 286a (Proof); 296b (Prophets and Prophethood)
	V	8a (Signs)
101-102	IV	287a (Proof)
101-103	IV	320a (Punishment Stories)
101-104	III	521b (Narratives)
102	II	489a (Ignorance)
	IV	184a (Possession and Possessions); 288a (Property)

103 I 553b (Drowning)
II 213a (Fire)
III 423a (Moses)
IV 67a (Pharaoh)

104 III 488a (Myths and Legends in the Q)
IV 589b (Shekhinah)
V 110b (Speech)

105 II 341b (Good News)
IV 3b (Pairs and Pairing); 148b (Politics and the Q)
V 307b (Torah)

106 I 250b (Book)
III 440b, 442a (Muḥammad); 510b, 514b (Names of the Q)
IV 343a, 344a, 346a (Ramaḍān); 444a, 446a (Revelation and Inspiration)

107 I 247b (Book); 254b (Bowing and Prostration)
II 158b (Face)
III 190a (Literacy)
IV 221b (Prayer); 378a (Recitation of the Q); 538b, 539a (Scholar)
V 203b (Teaching); 393a (Turkish Literature and the Q)

107-109 III 23b (Jews and Judaism)
IV 369a (Recitation of the Q); 494a (Ritual and the Q)

108 IV 220b (Prayer)

109 I 183b (Asceticism)
II 158b (Face)
IV 494a (Ritual and the Q)
V 471b (Weeping)

110 I 327b (Chronology and the Q)
II 317b, 319b (God and his Attributes); 387b (Ḥadīth and the Q)
III 378b (Mercy); 401b (Moderation)
IV 185a (Possession and Possessions); 222a, 229b (Prayer); 380a (Recitation of the Q)
V 501a (Witnessing and Testifying)

111 I 170b (Art and Architecture and the Q)
II 273b (Friends and Friendship); 329a, 329b (God and his Attributes)
III 92b (Kings and Rulers); 299b (Material Culture and the Q)
IV 128a (Politics and the Q); 213b (Praise); 220b (Prayer)
V 308a (Torah); 369a (Trinity)

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I 292b (Cave); 511b (Debate and Disputation)
II 94a (Everyday Life, Q In); 261a (Form and Structure of the Q); 385a, 393b (Ḥadīth and the Q); 436a (History and the Q)

III 283b (Martyrs); 320b, 327b (Material Culture and the Q); 374b (Men of the Cave); 494a (Myths and Legends in the Q); 508b (Names of the Q); 520a (Narratives); 533b, 535b (Nature as Signs)
IV 238a, 244a (Pre-1800 Preoccupations of Q Studies); 351b (Raqīm); 380a (Recitation of the Q); 495b (Ritual and the Q)
V 61b (Sleep); 98b (Southeast Asian Q Literature); 251a (Textual Criticism of the Q)

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III 317b (Material Culture and the Q); 513a (Names of the Q)
IV 213b (Praise); 297a (Prophets and Prophethood); 577a (Servants)

1-6
II 143a (Exhortations)

1-8
III 520a (Narratives)

1-25
II 37b (Epigraphy)

2
II 341a, 341b (Good News)
III 513a (Names of the Q)

2-3
II 54b (Eternity)

5
II 365b (Grammar and the Q)

6
II 510b (Indifference)
III 452b (Muḥammad)
V 134a (Suffering)

7
I 213a (Beauty); 473b (Creation)
II 3b (Earth)
III 535b (Nature as Signs)
V 133b (Suffering)

7-8
II 3b (Earth)

8
I 478a (Creation)

9
I 292b (Cave)
III 287a (Marvels); 375a (Men of the Cave); 396a (Miracles)
IV 351a (Raqīm)
V 185a (Syria); 251a (Textual Criticism of the Q)

9-10
III 374a (Men of the Cave)

9-12
I 292b (Cave)

9-25
IV 435a (Resurrection)

9-26
I 314b (Christians and Christianity); 545b (Dog)
III 219a (Literature and the Q); 520a (Narratives)
V 375b (Trips and Voyages)

9-27
I 151b (Archaeology and the Q)

9-98
III 520a (Narratives)

10
I 292b (Cave)

11
I 292b (Cave)
II 1a (Ears); 433b (History and the Q)
V 61b (Sleep); 285b (Time)

11-17 III 374a (Men of the Cave)

12 III 335a (Measurement)
V 61b (Sleep); 241b (Textual Criticism of the Q); 288b (Time); 475a (Weights and Measures)

13 III 441a (Muḥammad); 517b (Narratives); 537a (News)
IV 302b (Prophets and Prophethood)

14 IV 4a (Pairs and Pairing); 184a (Possession and Possessions); 288a (Property)

15 I 236a (Blasphemy)
III 181a (Lie)

16 I 292b (Cave)
III 523b (Narratives)

17 I 292b (Cave); 503b (Day, Times of); 523a (Destiny)
II 273b (Friends and Friendship); 401b (Hand)
III 396a (Miracles)
IV 107a (Planets and Stars)
V 163a (Sun); 282b (Time)

18 I 98a, 99a (Animal Life); 546a (Dog)
II 198a (Fear); 401b (Hand)
IV 351b, 352a (Raqīm)
V 61b (Sleep); 251b (Textual Criticism of the Q)

18-21 III 374b (Men of the Cave)

19 II 365b (Grammar and the Q); 433b (History and the Q)
III 408b (Money)
V 61b (Sleep); 179a (Sustenance)

20 V 130b (Stoning)

21 I 164a (Art and Architecture and the Q); 501a (Day, Times of)
III 137a (Last Judgment); 427a (Mosque)
V 287b (Time); 386b (Truth)

22 I 99a (Animal Life); 546a (Dog)
II 364a (Grammar and the Q)
III 550a, 552b (Numbers and Enumeration)
IV 351b (Raqīm)

22-26 III 374b (Men of the Cave)

23 II 354a (Grammar and the Q)
III 524a (Narratives)
V 281a (Time)

23-24 IV 63a (Persian Literature and the Q)
V 484b (Wish and Desire)

24 III 373b (Memory)
IV 230b (Prayer); 487b (Ritual and the Q)
V 138b (Ṣūfism and the Q)

25 I 147b (Arbitration); 292b (Cave)
II 364a (Grammar and the Q); 433b (History and the Q)
III 549b (Numbers and Enumeration)
V 285b (Time)

26 II 273a (Friends and Friendship)
IV 4a (Pairs and Pairing); 574a (Seeing and Hearing)
V 103a (Sovereignty)

27 I 245b (Book)
III 190a (Literacy); 441a, 441b (Muḥammad)
IV 297a (Prophets and Prophethood)
V 203a (Teaching); 548a (Word of God)

27-28 I 389b (Companions of the Prophet)

27-31 III 520a (Narratives)

28 I 328a (Chronology and the Q); 503a, 503b (Day, Times of)
II 80a (Evening); 323b (God and his Attributes); 364b (Grammar and the Q); 489a (Ignorance)
III 417a, 418b (Morning); 453a (Muḥammad); 567b (Obedience)
IV 222a, 223a (Prayer); 432a (Responsibility)
V 281b (Time); 486b (Wish and Desire)

29 I 74a (Ambiguous); 186a (Astray); 225b (Belief and Unbelief)
II 59b (Ethics and the Q); 210b, 211a (Fire); 270a (Freedom and Predestination); 416a (Hell and Hellfire)
III 203b (Literary Structures of the Q); 383b (Metals and Minerals)
IV 238b (Pre-1800 Preoccupations of Q Studies)
V 15a (Simile); 133a (Suffering); 236a (Tents and Tent Pegs); 465a (Water); 486a (Wish and Desire)

29-31 I 522b (Destiny)

30 II 362b (Grammar and the Q)

30-44 V 486a (Wish and Desire)

31 I 220b (Belief and Unbelief); 362b (Colors)
II 228b, 231b (Foreign Vocabulary); 276a (Furniture and Furnishings); 282b (Garden); 333b (Gold); 353b, 365b (Grammar and the Q)
III 204a (Literary Structures of the Q); 383b (Metals and Minerals); 534a (Nature as Signs)
IV 13b, 18a (Paradise)
V 11b, 12b (Silk); 106b (Spatial Relations); 393b (Turkish Literature and the Q)

32 I 41a (Agriculture and Vegetation)
II 3b (Earth); 260a (Form and Structure of the Q); 305b (Geography)
III 524b (Narratives)

32-35 II 283a (Garden)

32-43 IV 320a (Punishment Stories)

32-44 III 520a (Narratives); 533b (Nature as Signs)
IV 7a (Pairs and Pairing); 10a, 10b (Parable)

32-45 V 14a (Simile)

32-46 V 127b (Springs and Fountains)

33 III 524a (Narratives)

34 V 468a (Wealth)

35 III 71a (Justice and Injustice)

36 I 501a (Day, Times of)
III 137a (Last Judgment)
V 287b (Time)

37 I 477a (Creation)
II 290b (Gender); 328a (God and his Attributes)
III 354b (Medicine and the Q)
V 267a (Theology and the Q); 324b (Traditional Disciplines of Q Studies)

38 II 96a (Everyday Life, Q In); 352b (Grammar and the Q)

39 II 36a (Epigraphy); 367a (Grammar and the Q)
III 586b (Orality)
V 468a (Wealth)

40 I 504a (Day, Times of)
II 3b (Earth)

41 I 42a (Agriculture and Vegetation); 504a (Day, Times of)

42 I 166a (Art and Architecture and the Q); 504a (Day, Times of)
II 401a (Hand)
III 533b (Nature as Signs)

44 IV 307b (Protection)

45 I 40b, 41b (Agriculture and Vegetation); 52a, 54b (Air and Wind); 504a (Day, Times of)
II 3a, 3b (Earth); 260a (Form and Structure of the Q); 320b (God and his Attributes); 369b (Grasses)
III 530b (Nature as Signs)
IV 10a (Parable)
V 339b (Transitoriness); 462b (Water)

45-50 III 520a (Narratives)

46 I 302b (Children)
II 6b (Economics); 448b (Hope)
III 530b (Nature as Signs)
IV 3b (Pairs and Pairing); 10b (Parable); 288b (Property)
V 468a (Wealth)

48 III 140b (Last Judgment)
IV 349b (Ranks and Orders); 435a (Resurrection)

49	I	243b (Book)
	II	412b (Heavenly Book)
	III	147b (Laughter)
	V	19a (Sin, Major and Minor); 493a, 493b (Witnessing and Testifying)
50	I	24a (Adam and Eve); 255a (Bowing and Prostration); 447a (Cosmology); 525a, 526b, 527a (Devil)
	II	23b (Enemies); 172b (Fall of Man); 274a (Friends and Friendship)
	III	44b, 45a (Jinn); 523b (Narratives)
	IV	220a (Prayer); 336b (Races)
	V	109a (Speech)
51	V	82a (Soul)
52	II	64a (Ethics and the Q); 477a (Idolatry and Idolaters)
53	II	64a (Ethics and the Q); 119a (Exegesis of the Q: Classical and Medieval); 416a (Hell and Hellfire)
54	I	512a, 512b, 513b (Debate and Disputation)
	III	398b (Miracles); 579b (Opposition to Muḥammad)
	V	16a (Simile)
55	II	434a (History and the Q)
	IV	332b (Quraysh)
	V	164a (Sunna)
55-59	IV	320b (Punishment Stories)
56	I	512a (Debate and Disputation)
	II	341b (Good News)
	III	382a (Messenger); 400a (Mockery)
	IV	3b (Pairs and Pairing); 300a (Prophets and Prophethood)
	V	5b (Signs); 460b (Warner)
57	I	226a (Belief and Unbelief); 437a (Conversion)
	II	64b (Ethics and the Q); 330b (God and his Attributes)
	IV	309b (Provocation); 422b (Remembrance); 432a (Responsibility)
	V	5b (Signs); 474a (Weights and Measures)
57-58	III	380a (Mercy)
58	II	322a (God and his Attributes)
	IV	5b (Pairs and Pairing)
60	III	426a (Moses); 523b (Narratives)
60-64	II	465a (Humor)
	V	122b (Springs and Fountains)
60-65	V	464a (Water)
60-82	I	61a (Alexander); 189a (Authority)
	III	81b (Khaḍir/Khiḍr); 184b (Life); 249b (Magic); 425b (Moses); 520a (Narratives)
	V	108a (Spatial Relations); 203b (Teaching); 375b (Trips and Voyages)
61	III	426a (Moses)

61-63 I 99a (Animal Life)

62 I 504a (Day, Times of)
III 58a (Journey); 417b (Morning)

62-82 III 395a (Miracles)

63 I 526a (Devil)
II 218b (Food and Drink)
III 287a (Marvels); 394b (Miracles)

64 III 83b (Khaḍir/Khiḍr)

64-65 III 426a (Moses)

65 III 82b (Khaḍir/Khiḍr); 224b (Literature and the Q); 330b (Maturity); 379a (Mercy)
IV 577a (Servants); 604b (Ships)
V 200b (Teaching); 381b (Trust and Patience)

65-82 II 465a (Humor)
IV 61b (Persian Literature and the Q)
V 381b (Trust and Patience)

66 V 200b (Teaching); 375b (Trips and Voyages)

66-70 III 426a (Moses)

66-82 V 136a (Suffering)

68 III 537a (News)
V 381b (Trust and Patience)

69 I 537a (Disobedience)

70 V 381b (Trust and Patience)

71 I 158a (Ark)
IV 604b (Ships)
V 375b (Trips and Voyages); 381b (Trust and Patience)

71-82 III 225a (Literature and the Q); 426a (Moses)

72 V 381b (Trust and Patience)

73 I 289a (Captives)

74 I 302a (Children)
II 489a (Ignorance)
IV 21b (Parents); 505a (Ritual Purity)
V 83a (Soul); 381b (Trust and Patience)

75 V 381b (Trust and Patience)

76 I 387b (Companions of the Prophet)
II 359a (Grammar and the Q)

77 I 338a (City)
II 354a (Grammar and the Q)
III 603b (Orphans)

	IV	49a (People of the House)
	V	381b (Trust and Patience)
78	III	537a (News)
	V	381b (Trust and Patience)
79	III	92a (Kings and Rulers)
	IV	604b (Ships)
	V	548b (Work)
80	I	302a (Children)
	IV	21b (Parents)
	V	204b (Teaching)
80-81	II	175a (Family)
82	I	338a (City)
	III	603b (Orphans)
83	I	61a, 62a (Alexander)
	II	332a (Gog and Magog)
	III	190a (Literacy); 441b (Muḥammad); 579b (Opposition to Muḥammad)
	IV	61b (Persian Literature and the Q); 302a (Prophets and Prophethood)
83-98	I	189a (Authority)
	III	520a (Narratives)
	V	37a (Sīra and the Q)
83-101	V	375b (Trips and Voyages)
84	IV	210b (Power and Impotence)
84-85	III	46a (Jinn)
86	I	61a (Alexander)
	II	212a (Fire)
	IV	107a (Planets and Stars)
	V	163a (Sun)
86-87	I	295b (Chastisement and Punishment)
89	III	46a (Jinn)
90	IV	107b (Planets and Stars)
	V	163a (Sun)
91	III	537a (News)
92	III	46a (Jinn)
93-99	I	61a (Alexander)
94	I	61a (Alexander); 111a (Antichrist); 112b (Apocalypse)
	II	331b (Gog and Magog)
	V	375b (Trips and Voyages)
94-98	II	332a (Gog and Magog)
95	II	354b (Grammar and the Q)

96 III 383a (Metals and Minerals)

99 II 362a (Grammar and the Q); 547a (Instruments)
III 185a (Life)
IV 435a (Resurrection)

99-110 III 520a (Narratives)

101 I 400a (Conquest)
IV 420a (Remembrance)

102 II 273b (Friends and Friendship)

102-108 II 98b (Evil Deeds)

103 III 536b (News)

103-104 II 337b (Good and Evil)

103-105 II 259b (Form and Structure of the Q)

103-106 III 33a (Jews and Judaism)

105 III 334b (Measurement)
IV 431b (Responsibility)

106 II 418a (Hell and Hellfire)
III 400a (Mockery)
V 6a (Signs)

107 II 51a (Eschatology); 60a (Ethics and the Q); 229a (Foreign Vocabulary); 283a (Garden)
IV 13a (Paradise); 431b (Responsibility)

109 II 545a (Instruments)
III 191b (Literacy); 531a (Nature as Signs)
V 273a (Theology and the Q); 465b (Water); 548a (Word of God); 558a (Writing and Writing Materials)

109-110 II 143a (Exhortations)

110 II 329b (God and his Attributes); 449a (Hope)
III 451b (Muḥammad)
IV 300a (Prophets and Prophethood); 311b, 312a (Provocation); 440a (Revelation and Inspiration)
V 489b (Witness to Faith); 500a (Witnessing and Testifying)

SŪRAT MARYAM (19)

I 320a (Chronology and the Q); 477a, 477b (Creation)
II 291a (Gender)
III 7b, 13a, 13b, 14b, 17b (Jesus); 179a (Left Hand and Right Hand); 294b (Mary); 313a (Material Culture and the Q); 472b (Mysterious Letters); 508b (Names of the Q); 519b (Narratives)
IV 241a, 244a (Pre-1800 Preoccupations of Q Studies)
V 533b (Women and the Q); 575a (Zechariah)

1	III	270b (Manuscripts of the Q)
1-7	IV	177b (Popular and Talismanic Uses of the Q)
1-22	I	313a (Christians and Christianity)
2	IV	474a (Rhetoric and the Q)
	V	574b (Zechariah)
2-7	IV	31b (Patriarchy)
2-15	III	289a (Mary)
	V	574a, 575a (Zechariah)
2-33	V	363b (Trial)
2-40	III	519b (Narratives)
2-58	V	574b (Zechariah)
2-63	III	519b (Narratives)
2-74	III	519b (Narratives)
3	II	465a (Humor)
3-6	I	328a (Chronology and the Q)
	IV	224a, 229a (Prayer)
	V	574a (Zechariah)
3-8	I	233a (Birth)
4	II	91b (Everyday Life, Q In)
	III	156b (Law and the Q); 204b (Literary Structures of the Q)
	V	570b (Youth and Old Age)
5	I	344b (Clients and Clientage)
	III	231a (Lord)
6	III	524a (Narratives)
7	II	309a (Geography); 341a (Good News)
	III	51b (John the Baptist); 395b (Miracles)
	V	574b (Zechariah)
7-9	V	545b (Word of God)
8	IV	211a (Power and Impotence)
	V	574b (Zechariah)
9	I	476a, 477a (Creation)
	V	553b (World); 574b (Zechariah)
10	I	499b (Day, Times of)
	V	574b (Zechariah)
11	I	149a (Archaeology and the Q); 165a (Art and Architecture and the Q); 503a, 503b (Day, Times of)
	II	80a (Evening); 299b (Geography)
	III	416b (Morning)

	IV	223a, 227b (Prayer); 293b (Prophets and Prophethood); 439b (Revelation and Inspiration); 516b (Sacred Precincts)
	V	281a (Time); 546a (Word of God)
12	III	8a (Jesus); 51b (John the Baptist)
	V	570b (Youth and Old Age)
12-15	III	289a (Mary)
	V	574b (Zechariah)
13	III	234a (Love and Affection)
14	I	537a (Disobedience)
	II	60b (Ethics and the Q); 98a (Evil Deeds); 447b (Honor)
	III	233b, 234a (Love and Affection)
	V	204b (Teaching)
15	II	91b (Everyday Life, Q In)
	III	17b (Jesus)
	IV	435b (Resurrection)
16	II	260b (Form and Structure of the Q)
	III	8a (Jesus); 441b (Muḥammad); 524b (Narratives)
	IV	302b (Prophets and Prophethood); 470a (Rhetoric and the Q)
	V	173b (Sūra)
16-21	II	19a (Emigration)
	III	13a (Jesus)
	IV	411a (Religious Pluralism and the Q)
16-33	III	292b (Mary)
	III	11b (Jesus)
	V	115a (Spirit); 574b (Zechariah)
16-34	V	533b (Women and the Q)
16-35	III	289a (Mary)
16-40	III	7b, 8a (Jesus)
17	I	52b (Air and Wind); 87a (Angel); 203a (Barrier)
	II	278b (Gabriel); 443b (Holy Spirit)
	III	8a, 14a (Jesus); 293a, 293b (Mary)
	V	81b (Soul); 115a (Spirit); 371a (Trinity); 412b (Veil); 445b (Vision and Blindness)
17-21	III	293a (Mary); 395b (Miracles)
17-22	I	233b (Birth)
18	II	92b (Everyday Life, Q In)
	IV	308a (Protection)
18-19	III	315b (Material Culture and the Q)
19	IV	290b (Prophets and Prophethood); 356a, 356b (Readings of the Q); 505a (Ritual Purity)
19-20	I	298b (Chastity)

20 I 233b (Birth); 299a (Chastity)
III 294a (Mary)
IV 585a (Sex and Sexuality)
V 533b (Women and the Q)

21 I 233b (Birth)
II 185b (Fate)
III 16a (Jesus)
V 574b (Zechariah)

22-23 III 13a (Jesus)

22-26 III 8a (Jesus)

22-33 III 293a (Mary)

23 I 494b (Date Palm); 530a (Dialects)
II 305b (Geography); 358a (Grammar and the Q)
V 133b (Suffering)

23-25 I 495a (Date Palm)

23-26 V 533b (Women and the Q)

24 II 234a (Foreign Vocabulary)
V 127b (Springs and Fountains)

24-25 III 395b (Miracles)

24-26 III 13a, 14a (Jesus)

25 I 494b (Date Palm)
II 305b (Geography)

26 II 180b (Fasting)
III 14a (Jesus); 562b (Oaths)
V 449b (Vow)

27 I 299b (Chastity)

27-28 I 59a (ʿĀʾisha bint Abī Bakr)

27-33 III 13a (Jesus)

28 I 1b (Aaron); 261b (Brother and Brotherhood); 299a (Chastity)
II 509a (ʿImrān)
III 519b (Narratives)
IV 585a (Sex and Sexuality)
V 54a (Sister)

29 I 149a (Archaeology and the Q); 570b (Youth and Old Age)

29-30 III 395b (Miracles)

30 I 245a (Book)
III 8a, 16a (Jesus); 508a (Names of the Q)
IV 579a (Servants); 585a (Sex and Sexuality)

30-31 I 328a (Chronology and the Q)
IV 224a (Prayer)

30-32 I 161a (Arrogance)

30-33 III 289a (Mary)

30-35 III 295a (Mary)

31 I 66b (Almsgiving); 102b (Anointing); 236b (Blessing)
III 12b, 16a (Jesus)
V 197a (Taxation)

32 II 60b (Ethics and the Q); 447b (Honor)
III 233b (Love and Affection)

33 II 91b (Everyday Life, Q In)
III 17b (Jesus); 143a (Last Judgment)
IV 435b (Resurrection)

33-36 I 170b (Art and Architecture and the Q)

34 III 8a, 14b, 15a (Jesus)
V 533b (Women and the Q); 544b (Word of God)

34-35 I 117a (Apologetics)
IV 33a (Patriarchy)
V 369a (Trinity)

34-36 III 300a (Material Culture and the Q)

34-40 III 8a (Jesus)

35 I 319a (Chronology and the Q); 475a, 475b (Creation); 516b (Decision)
II 185b (Fate); 269a (Freedom and Predestination); 327b, 329b (God and his Attributes)
IV 33b (Patriarchy)
V 287a (Time); 542b (Word of God)

36 II 96a (Everyday Life, Q In)
III 229b, 230a (Lord)

37-39 III 17b (Jesus)

39 I 500a (Day, Times of)
II 395b (Ḥadīth and the Q)
III 137a (Last Judgment); 442b (Muḥammad)
IV 430b (Repentance and Penance)
V 543a, 545a (Word of God)

41 I 5b (Abraham); 330a (Chronology and the Q)
II 71a (Ethics and the Q); 260b (Form and Structure of the Q)
III 441b (Muḥammad); 524b (Narratives)
IV 291b, 302b (Prophets and Prophethood)
V 258a (Theology and the Q); 570a (Youth and Old Age)

41-47 IV 33a (Patriarchy)

41-48 IV 21a (Parents)

41-50 I 6b (Abraham); 330a (Chronology and the Q)
III 494a, 494b (Myths and Legends in the Q); 519b (Narratives)
V 574b (Zechariah)

42-45 III 212b (Literature and the Q)

42-49 I 193a (Āzar)

43 IV 29a (Path or Way)

44 I 536b (Disobedience)
II 98a (Evil Deeds)
III 44b (Jinn)
V 120b (Spiritual Beings)

45 II 274a (Friends and Friendship)

46 I 7a (Abraham)
V 130b (Stoning)

47 I 7a (Abraham)
IV 225a (Prayer)

48 III 63b (Joy and Misery)
IV 228b, 229a (Prayer)

48-49 I 6a (Abraham)
III 494b (Myths and Legends in the Q)

49 I 7b (Abraham)
II 561a, 561b, 562a (Isaac); 563b (Ishmael)
III 1a (Jacob)

50 I 83a (Anatomy)
V 574b (Zechariah)

51 II 260b (Form and Structure of the Q)
III 424b (Moses)
III 524b (Narratives)
IV 290a, 292a (Prophets and Prophethood)

51-58 III 519b (Narratives)

52 II 308b (Geography)
IV 292a (Prophets and Prophethood); 513b (Sacred Precincts)
V 29a (Sinai); 110a (Speech)

53 I 1a (Aaron); 260a, 260b (Brother and Brotherhood)
V 574b (Zechariah)

54 II 260b (Form and Structure of the Q); 564a (Ishmael)
III 524b (Narratives)
IV 290a, 291b (Prophets and Prophethood)

54-55 I 8a (Abraham)

55 II 358a (Grammar and the Q)
IV 223b (Prayer)

56 II 71a (Ethics and the Q); 260b (Form and Structure of the Q)
III 524b (Narratives)
IV 291b (Prophets and Prophethood)

56-57 II 484a (Idrīs)
V 249b (Textual Criticism of the Q)

57 V 41b (Sīra and the Q); 249b (Textual Criticism of the Q)

58 I 183b (Asceticism); 236b (Blessing); 254b (Bowing and Prostration)
II 11b (Election); 571a (Israel)
III 2a (Jacob); 190a (Literacy); 486b (Myths and Legends in the Q)
IV 221b, 223b (Prayer); 291a (Prophets and Prophethood); 368b, 378a (Recitation of the Q)
V 393a (Turkish Literature and the Q); 471b (Weeping); 574a (Zechariah)

60 IV 426b (Repentance and Penance)

61 V 393b (Turkish Literature and the Q)

62 I 503a, 503b (Day, Times of)
II 80a, 80b (Evening); 91b (Everyday Life, Q In)
III 109b (Language and Style of the Q); 416b (Morning)
IV 482b (Rhymed Prose)
V 281a (Time)

63 II 282b (Garden)

64 IV 293a (Prophets and Prophethood); 310b (Provocation)

65 I 458b (Courage)
II 322b (God and his Attributes)
IV 184a (Possession and Possessions); 288a (Property)

66 I 506b (Death and the Dead)
II 358a (Grammar and the Q)
III 17b (Jesus)

66-67 I 477a, 479a (Creation)

67 II 57b (Ethics and the Q)
IV 421a (Remembrance)

68 III 63b (Joy and Misery)

69 IV 592b (Shīʿa)

71 II 240a (Foretelling in the Q)

71-72 II 417b (Hell and Hellfire)

73 III 190a (Literacy)
V 7a (Signs); 36b (Sīra and the Q)

74 II 293a (Generations); 353b, 355b (Grammar and the Q)
IV 320a (Punishment Stories)

75 I 501a (Day, Times of)
III 137a (Last Judgment)
IV 432a (Responsibility); 538b (Scholar)
V 287b (Time)

75-76 IV 12a (Paradise)

75-98 III 519b (Narratives)

76 I 435b (Conversion)

77 I 302b (Children)
IV 31b (Patriarchy)
V 468a (Wealth)

77-80 I 221b (Belief and Unbelief)

78 I 465b (Covenant)
II 293a (Generations)

79 I 243b (Book)
V 493a (Witnessing and Testifying)

83 IV 295a (Prophets and Prophethood)

84 III 40a (Jihād); 550a (Numbers and Enumeration)

85 IV 435a (Resurrection)

87 I 465b (Covenant)
II 49b (Eschatology); 551a, 552b (Intercession)
III 379b (Mercy)

88-92 I 236a (Blasphemy)

88-93 IV 33a (Patriarchy)

88-95 III 7b (Jesus)

93 IV 187a (Possession and Possessions); 576b (Servants)

94 III 550a (Numbers and Enumeration)

96 III 233b (Love and Affection)

97 I 132a (Arabic Language)
II 341a, 341b (Good News)
III 108b (Language, Concept of); 113b (Language and Style of the Q); 443a (Muḥammad)

97-98 II 143a (Exhortations)

98 II 405b (Hearing and Deafness)
IV 425a (Remnant)
V 479b (Whisper)

Sūrat Ṭā Hā (20)

I 320a (Chronology and the Q); 453b (Cosmology)
III 472b (Mysterious Letters); 490b (Myths and Legends in the Q); 503b (Names of the Prophet); 519a (Narratives)
IV 587b (Sheets)
V 324a (Traditional Disciplines of Q Studies); 395b, 395b (Ṭuwā)

1 III 197a (Literary Structures of the Q)

1-8 III 519a (Narratives)

1-77 IV 105b, 106a (Plagues)

1-113 III 519a (Narratives)

2 III 63b (Joy and Misery); 440b, 452b (Muḥammad)

2-3 V 395b (Ṭuwā)

3 II 142b (Exhortations)
IV 230a (Prayer)

4 I 472b (Creation)
IV 292b (Prophets and Prophethood); 446a (Revelation and Inspiration)
V 393b (Turkish Literature and the Q)

5 I 103b, 105b (Anthropomorphism); 443b (Cosmology)
II 325b (God and his Attributes)

5-8 V 500b (Witnessing and Testifying)

6 II 4a (Earth)
V 393a (Turkish Literature and the Q)

7-8 V 137b (Ṣūfism and the Q)

8 II 319b (God and his Attributes)
IV 185a (Possession and Possessions)
V 501a (Witnessing and Testifying)

9 I 532b (Dialogues)
II 254b (Form and Structure of the Q); 435b (History and the Q)
III 524a (Narratives)

9-14 II 211b, 213b (Fire)

9-44 II 558a (Invitation)

9-99 III 519a (Narratives)
IV 320a (Punishment Stories)

10 II 174a (Family)
IV 574b (Seeing and Hearing)
V 95b (South Asian Literatures and the Q)

10-12 III 529b (Nature as Signs)

10-48 I 468b (Createdness of the Q)

11	V	110b (Speech)
11-17	III	421a (Moses)
12	I	329b (Chronology and the Q); 346b (Clothing)
	II	173a (Fall of Man); 348b (Grammar and the Q)
	III	495b (Myths and Legends in the Q); 529b (Nature as Signs)
	IV	282b (Profane and Sacred); 513a (Sacred Precincts)
	V	248a (Textual Criticism of the Q); 393b (Turkish Literature and the Q); 395b (Ṭuwā)
12-14	I	329b (Chronology and the Q)
	II	330a (God and his Attributes)
13	II	11b (Election)
	III	495b (Myths and Legends in the Q)
	IV	217a (Prayer); 291b (Prophets and Prophethood)
14	I	329b (Chronology and the Q)
	II	330a (God and his Attributes)
	III	495b (Myths and Legends in the Q)
	IV	224a, 229b (Prayer); 420a, 423b (Remembrance)
	V	500b (Witnessing and Testifying); 555b (Worship)
14-16	III	143a (Last Judgment)
15	I	501a (Day, Times of)
	II	148b (Expeditions and Battles); 423b (Hidden and the Hidden)
	III	137a (Last Judgment)
	V	287b (Time); 395b (Ṭuwā)
16	V	396b (Ṭuwā); 486b (Wish and Desire)
17-21	II	464b (Humor)
	IV	508b (Rod)
17-23	III	421b (Moses)
	IV	296b (Prophets and Prophethood)
18	II	356b (Grammar and the Q); 465a (Humor); 546a (Instruments)
20	I	99a (Animal Life)
21	V	29b (Sīra and the Q); 393a (Turkish Literature and the Q)
22	I	364a (Colors)
	II	335b (Good and Evil)
24	IV	67b (Pharaoh)
25	III	495b (Myths and Legends in the Q)
25-34	IV	224a (Prayer)
25-35	I	328a (Chronology and the Q)
27	III	113a (Language and Style of the Q)
27-28	III	108b (Language, Concept of)

29 II 174a (Family)

29-30 I 260a (Brother and Brotherhood)

29-36 I 1a (Aaron)

32 I 260b (Brother and Brotherhood)

37-40 III 420b (Moses)

37-41 III 393b (Miracles)

38 IV 439b (Revelation and Inspiration)

38-40 IV 20a (Parents)

39 I 103b (Anthropomorphism); 158a (Ark); 345b (Clients and Clientage)
II 10b (Egypt); 23b (Enemies); 323b, 324b (God and his Attributes)
III 202a (Literary Structures of the Q); 233b (Love and Affection)
V 126b (Springs and Fountains); 375a (Trips and Voyages); 463b (Water)

39-43 I 345b (Clients and Clientage)

40 I 260b (Brother and Brotherhood); 302b (Children); 405a (Consolation); 518b (Deliverance)
III 390b (Midian)
IV 37a (People of the Book); 49a (People of the House); 523b (Salvation); 606a (Shuʿayb)
V 285b (Time)

41 I 345b (Clients and Clientage)
IV 291b (Prophets and Prophethood)

42 I 260a (Brother and Brotherhood)
II 308a (Geography)

43 IV 106a (Plagues)
IV 67b (Pharaoh)

44 IV 35a (Peace)
V 221b (Teaching and Preaching the Q)

46 I 83b (Anatomy)
II 196b (Fear)
IV 574b (Seeing and Hearing)

47 I 260a (Brother and Brotherhood)
II 399a (Hāmān)
IV 35a (Peace); 225a (Prayer)

48 IV 440a (Revelation and Inspiration)

51-55 I 523a (Destiny)

52 II 269b (Freedom and Predestination)

53 II 2b, 3a (Earth)
IV 336a (Races)
V 132a (Strangers and Foreigners); 462b (Water)

53-54 I 473b (Creation)

54 I 96b (Animal Life)

54-55 I 473a (Creation)

55 I 230b (Biology as the Creation and Stages of Life); 264b (Burial); 476a, 479a (Creation); 556a (Druzes)
IV 6b (Pairs and Pairing)

56 V 6a (Signs)

56-70 III 249b (Magic)

57 III 246a (Magic)

58 III 246a (Magic)

59 I 500b, 504a (Day, Times of)
III 416b (Morning)
V 281b (Time)

61 II 162a (Failure)
III 174a (Lawful and Unlawful)

62 V 479b (Whisper)

63 I 530b (Dialects)
II 359a, 359b (Grammar and the Q)
III 246a (Magic)
V 239b (Textual Criticism of the Q)

64 IV 348b (Ranks and Orders)

65 I 518b (Deliverance)

65-73 III 211b (Literature and the Q)

65-76 III 393b (Miracles)

66 II 546b (Instruments)
III 246a (Magic)
IV 509a (Rod)
V 393b (Turkish Literature and the Q)

67 III 398a (Miracles)

69 IV 523a (Salvation)

70 I 1a (Aaron); 255a (Bowing and Prostration)
III 229b (Lord)
IV 483a (Rhymed Prose)

71 I 295b (Chastisement and Punishment); 487b, 488a (Crucifixion); 494b (Date Palm)
II 305b (Geography)
III 44a (Jinn); 246a (Magic)
IV 67b (Pharaoh)
V 201b (Teaching)

71-73 II 355a (Grammar and the Q)

72 I 516b (Decision)
III 65a (Judgment)

72-73 IV 286b (Proof)

73 III 246a (Magic); 378b (Mercy)

74 I 385a (Community and Society in the Q)
II 416b (Hell and Hellfire)

74-76 IV 2b (Pairs and Pairing)

75 III 127b (Language and Style of the Q)
IV 14a (Paradise)

76 IV 505b (Ritual Purity)
V 393a, 393b (Turkish Literature and the Q)

77 III 488a (Myths and Legends in the Q)
IV 35a (Peace); 440a (Revelation and Inspiration)
V 375a (Trips and Voyages); 464b (Water); 546a (Word of God)

77-78 II 213a (Fire)
III 394a (Miracles); 423b (Moses)

78 II 10b (Egypt); 184a (Fasting)
IV 67a (Pharaoh)
V 126b (Springs and Fountains); 377a (Troops); 463b (Water)

79 III 425a (Moses); 583b (Oppression)

80 I 98a (Animal Life); 518b (Deliverance)
II 23b (Enemies); 215b (Flying); 308b (Geography)
III 394a (Miracles)
IV 443b (Revelation and Inspiration); 513b (Sacred Precincts); 523b (Salvation)
V 29a (Sinai)

81 I 93a (Anger)

81-82 IV 428b (Repentance and Penance)

82 I 225b (Belief and Unbelief)
II 321a (God and his Attributes)
III 379b (Mercy)
IV 431b (Responsibility)

83-98 I 1b (Aaron); 274a (Calf of Gold)

85 I 274a (Calf of Gold)
II 358b (Grammar and the Q)

85-91 III 424b (Moses)

85-94 V 155b (Ṣūfism and the Q)

85-95 IV 405a (Religious Pluralism and the Q); 524b (Samaritans)

86 I 93a, 93b (Anger)
III 172b (Lawful and Unlawful); 217b (Literature and the Q); 424b (Moses)

86-89 I 465b (Covenant)

87 I 213a (Beauty); 274a, 276a (Calf of Gold)
II 358b (Grammar and the Q)
III 496a (Myths and Legends in the Q)

87-88 III 394b (Miracles)

88 I 99a (Animal Life); 274b (Calf of Gold)

89 IV 5a (Pairs and Pairing)

90 III 567b (Obedience)

90-94 I 274a (Calf of Gold)

92-93 I 537a (Disobedience)

94 I 276a (Calf of Gold)
II 352b (Grammar and the Q)
IV 20a (Parents); 403b (Religious Pluralism and the Q)
V 524b (Women and the Q)

95 II 358b (Grammar and the Q)

95-97 I 274a (Calf of Gold)

96 I 274b, 275b (Calf of Gold)
III 394b (Miracles)
IV 290b (Prophets and Prophethood)
V 82b (Soul); 474b (Weights and Measures)

97 I 274a, 274b, 275a (Calf of Gold)
II 10b (Egypt); 348a, 358a, 358b (Grammar and the Q)
IV 524b (Samaritans)
V 126b (Springs and Fountains); 463b (Water)

98 V 501a (Witnessing and Testifying)

99 II 435b (History and the Q)
III 420a (Moses); 441a (Muḥammad); 517b (Narratives); 537a (News)
IV 302b (Prophets and Prophethood)

100 V 474a (Weights and Measures)

100-113 III 519a (Narratives)

101 V 474a (Weights and Measures)

102 I 363a, 363b (Colors)
II 439b (History and the Q); 547a (Instruments)
IV 435a (Resurrection); 599b (Shīʿism and the Q)

103 V 479a, 479b (Whisper)

108 V 479a (Whisper)

109	I	463a (Court)
	II	552b (Intercession)
	III	141a (Last Judgment)
	IV	163b (Popular and Talismanic Uses of the Q)
110	IV	4b (Pairs and Pairing)
110-114	I	247b (Book)
111	II	162a (Failure)
	III	182b (Life)
	IV	172b (Popular and Talismanic Uses of the Q)
112	III	70b (Justice and Injustice)
113	II	226b (Foreign Vocabulary); 497b (Illiteracy)
	III	113b (Language and Style of the Q); 193b (Literary Structures of the Q); 585a (Orality)
	IV	280b (Profane and Sacred); 443b (Revelation and Inspiration); 566a (Scripture and the Q)
	V	340b (Translations of the Q)
114	II	321b (God and his Attributes)
	III	91b (Kings and Rulers); 441b (Muḥammad); 519a (Narratives)
	IV	128a (Politics and the Q); 294a (Prophets and Prophethood); 538a (Scholar)
115	I	25a, 25b (Adam and Eve); 465a (Covenant)
	V	334a (Traditional Disciplines of Q Studies)
115-117	I	448a (Cosmology)
115-123	I	448a (Cosmology)
	V	530a (Women and the Q)
115-128	III	519a (Narratives)
115-135	III	519a (Narratives)
116	I	24a (Adam and Eve); 255a (Bowing and Prostration); 447a (Cosmology); 525a (Devil)
	II	172b (Fall of Man)
	III	45a (Jinn)
	IV	220a (Prayer)
116-123	I	525b (Devil)
117	I	447b, 454a, 455a (Cosmology)
	II	172b (Fall of Man)
	III	490a (Myths and Legends in the Q)
118	I	454a (Cosmology)
	I	84a (Anatomy)
118-119	II	172b (Fall of Man)
	III	209b (Literature and the Q)
119	V	281b (Time)

120 I 25a (Adam and Eve); 447a, 447b, 454a (Cosmology); 526a (Devil)
II 54a (Eternity); 172b (Fall of Man); 219b (Food and Drink); 335b (Good and Evil)
III 92b (Kings and Rulers)
IV 295a (Prophets and Prophethood)
V 82b (Soul); 360a (Tree); 479a (Whisper); 530a (Women and the Q); 571a (Zaqqūm)

120-123 I 525a (Devil)

121 I 25a (Adam and Eve); 41b (Agriculture and Vegetation); 84a (Anatomy); 346b (Clothing); 435a (Conversion); 447b (Cosmology); 536a, 536b, 538a (Disobedience)
II 66a (Ethics and the Q); 506b (Impeccability)
IV 581a, 584a (Sex and Sexuality)
V 25a (Sin, Major and Minor)

121-122 III 379a (Mercy)

122 I 25b, 26a (Adam and Eve); 436b (Conversion); 455a (Cosmology)
II 11b (Election)
IV 291b (Prophets and Prophethood); 429a (Repentance and Penance)

122-123 I 436a (Conversion)
II 173a (Fall of Man)

123 I 25a (Adam and Eve)
II 23b, 24a (Enemies); 173a, 173a (Fall of Man)
III 63b (Joy and Misery)
V 109b (Speech)

126 I 454a (Cosmology)

128 II 434a (History and the Q)
IV 425a (Remnant)

129 II 45a (Eschatology)
III 185a (Life)
V 289b (Time); 547b (Word of God)

130 I 14a (Abrogation); 27a (Adoration); 327b (Chronology and the Q); 498a (Day and Night); 503b (Day, Times of)
II 82a (Everyday Life, Q In); 315a (Glorification of God); 340a (Good Deeds)
III 40a (Jihād); 446b, 452b (Muḥammad)
IV 107a (Planets and Stars); 220b, 222a, 222b, 223a, 223b (Prayer)
V 134a (Suffering); 163a (Sun); 282b (Time)

130-135 II 143a (Exhortations)

131 III 453a (Muḥammad)
V 178b, 179a (Sustenance)

132 I 327b (Chronology and the Q)
IV 222a (Prayer)

133 I 245b (Book)
II 434a (History and the Q); 545a (Instruments)
III 425b (Moses); 452a (Muḥammad)
IV 569b, 570b (Scrolls)
V 8a (Signs); 301a (Torah)

134 IV 453b (Reward and Punishment)

135 IV 29a (Path or Way)

SŪRAT AL-ANBIYĀʾ (21)

III 516b, 521a (Narratives)
IV 495b, 496a (Ritual and the Q)

1 II 148b (Expeditions and Battles)
III 138a (Last Judgment)

2 I 222a (Belief and Unbelief)
IV 423b (Remembrance)

2-3 III 247a (Magic)

3 II 361b (Grammar and the Q)
III 246a (Magic); 449b (Muḥammad)
V 479b (Whisper)

3-4 IV 311a (Provocation)

4 II 1b (Ears)
IV 4a (Pairs and Pairing)

5 I 41b (Agriculture and Vegetation); 542b (Divination); 546b, 552a (Dreams and Sleep)
II 241b (Foretelling in the Q)
III 116b (Language and Style of the Q); 219b (Literature and the Q); 450a (Muḥammad)
IV 112a, 112b (Poetry and Poets); 178b (Popular and Talismanic Uses of the Q); 296a, 301a (Prophets and Prophethood); 311b (Provocation); 442b (Revelation and Inspiration); 477a (Rhymed Prose)
V 546a (Word of God)

5-6 III 453a (Muḥammad)

6-15 IV 320b (Punishment Stories)

7 III 372b (Memory)
IV 49a (People of the House); 217a, 230a (Prayer); 302a (Prophets and Prophethood)
V 301b, 303b (Torah)

8 I 80a (Anatomy)
II 217a (Food and Drink)

9 V 258a (Theology and the Q)

11 I 479a (Creation)

16 I 442a (Cosmology)
II 410b (Heaven and Sky)
IV 4a (Pairs and Pairing)

16-17 I 473a (Creation)
V 279b (Time)

18 V 544b (Word of God)

19 I 160b (Arrogance)
IV 264a (Pride)

19-20 I 435a (Conversion)

20 I 501a (Day, Times of)
IV 220a (Prayer)

22 I 236a (Blasphemy)
II 325b (God and his Attributes)
IV 78a, 80b (Philosophy and the Q); 119a (Polemic and Polemical Language); 161b (Polytheism and Atheism); 215a (Praise); 220a, 220b (Prayer); 287a (Proof)
V 393a (Turkish Literature and the Q)

23 IV 431a (Responsibility)
V 136a (Suffering); 393b (Turkish Literature and the Q)

24 IV 286b (Proof); 312b (Provocation); 538b (Scholar)

25 I 329b (Chronology and the Q)
II 330a (God and his Attributes); 557b (Invitation)
IV 300a (Prophets and Prophethood)
V 500b (Witnessing and Testifying)

28 II 197b (Fear)
III 141a (Last Judgment)
IV 4b (Pairs and Pairing); 163b (Popular and Talismanic Uses of the Q)

29 II 418a (Hell and Hellfire)

30 I 95b (Animal Life); 442a (Cosmology); 477b (Creation)
II 327b (God and his Attributes); 410b (Heaven and Sky)
III 530b (Nature as Signs)
IV 554a (Science and the Q)
V 126a (Springs and Fountains); 393b (Turkish Literature and the Q); 462b (Water); 544a (Word of God)

30-33 II 259a (Form and Structure of the Q)

31 II 2b, 3a (Earth)
IV 554a (Science and the Q)

32 I 45a (Agriculture and Vegetation)
II 411a (Heaven and Sky); 460b (House, Domestic and Divine)
IV 307b (Protection)
V 5b (Signs)

33 I 27a (Adoration); 442b, 445b (Cosmology); 501a (Day, Times of)
II 315a (Glorification of God); 327b (God and his Attributes)
IV 4b (Pairs and Pairing); 107a, 107b (Planets and Stars); 552b (Science and the Q)
V 163a (Sun)

34 II 54a (Eternity)

35 II 28b (Epigraphy)
IV 486a (Ritual and the Q)
V 83a (Soul); 133b (Suffering); 363a (Trial)

36 III 400a (Mockery); 448b (Muḥammad)

37 II 56b (Ethics and the Q)
V 204b (Teaching)

38 III 448b (Muḥammad)

39 I 222a (Belief and Unbelief)
II 210b (Fire); 415a (Hell and Hellfire)

40 V 181a (Symbolic Imagery)

41 III 400a, 400b (Mockery); 453a (Muḥammad)

43 I 387b (Companions of the Prophet)
IV 307b (Protection)
V 82a (Soul); 430a (Victory)

45 I 83b (Anatomy)
III 442b (Muḥammad)
IV 312a (Provocation)

47 I 522b (Destiny)
II 70b (Ethics and the Q); 217b (Food and Drink); 305a, 305b (Geography); 545b (Instruments)
III 140b (Last Judgment); 275b (Markets); 334b (Measurement); 409a (Money)
IV 457b (Reward and Punishment)
V 313b (Trade and Commerce); 473b (Weights and Measures); 493a (Witnessing and Testifying)

48 I 486b (Criterion)
III 186b (Light); 424b (Moses); 507b (Names of the Q); 524a (Narratives)
IV 343a (Ramaḍān)
V 300b, 301b (Torah)

48-49 I 1a (Aaron)

48-73 III 521a (Narratives)

49 I 501a (Day, Times of)
II 196b, 197b (Fear)
III 137a (Last Judgment)
V 287b (Time)

50 III 510a, 513a (Names of the Q)
IV 230a (Prayer)

51 III 524a (Narratives)
IV 537b (Scholar)
V 258a (Theology and the Q)

51-70 III 340b (Mecca)
IV 21a (Parents)

51-71 I 193a (Āzar)

51-73 I 6b (Abraham); 330a (Chronology and the Q)
III 494a (Myths and Legends in the Q)

52 I 162b (Art and Architecture and the Q)
II 474a (Iconoclasm); 476b (Idolatry and Idolaters); 481b (Idols and Images)
IV 160a (Polytheism and Atheism)

52-54 II 474a (Iconoclasm)

53 V 317a (Tradition and Custom)

54 II 43b (Error)

56 I 472a (Creation)

57 II 474a (Iconoclasm); 481a, 481b (Idols and Images)
III 561b (Oaths)

57-58 I 7a (Abraham)
III 494b (Myths and Legends in the Q)

58 II 474b (Iconoclasm)

59 II 481b (Idols and Images)

61 I 501b (Day, Times of)
V 497a (Witnessing and Testifying)

62-67 I 533b (Dialogues)

63 III 210b (Literature and the Q)

66 IV 5a (Pairs and Pairing)

67 IV 21a (Parents)

67-69 III 539a (Nimrod)

68-69 I 7a (Abraham)
II 211b (Fire)
III 224b (Literature and the Q); 494b (Myths and Legends in the Q); 529b (Nature as Signs)

68-71 III 219a (Literature and the Q)
V 574b (Zechariah)

69 II 211b (Fire); 455b (Hot and Cold)
III 393a (Miracles)
V 95b (South Asian Literatures and the Q); 109a (Speech); 545a (Word of God)

71 I 6a (Abraham); 519a (Deliverance)
II 309a (Geography)

III 494b (Myths and Legends in the Q)
IV 513b (Sacred Precincts)
V 107a (Spatial Relations)

72 I 7b (Abraham)
II 562a (Isaac); 563b (Ishmael)
III 1a (Jacob); 520a (Narratives)

72-73 IV 439b (Revelation and Inspiration)

73 I 66b (Almsgiving)
II 358b (Grammar and the Q); 503a (Imām)
III 95a (Kings and Rulers)
IV 223b (Prayer); 294b, 300b (Prophets and Prophethood)
V 197a (Taxation)

74 I 519a (Deliverance)
II 63a (Ethics and the Q)
III 524a (Narratives)
IV 3b (Pairs and Pairing); 538a (Scholar)
V 21b (Sin, Major and Minor); 574b (Zechariah)

74-91 III 522a (Narratives)

76 I 519a (Deliverance)
III 63b (Joy and Misery)

76-77 V 430a (Victory); 574b (Zechariah)

77 I 553b (Drowning)

78 I 99a (Animal Life)
II 394b (Ḥadīth and the Q)
IV 315b (Psalms)

78-79 I 148a (Arbitration)
III 226a (Literature and the Q)
V 77a (Solomon)

78-82 V 77a (Solomon)

79 I 496a (David)
II 315a (Glorification of God)
III 524a (Narratives)
IV 3b (Pairs and Pairing); 315b (Psalms); 538a (Scholar)

80 I 155b (Archaeology and the Q); 346b (Clothing); 496a (David)
II 145b (Expeditions and Battles)
III 249a (Magic); 253b (Manual Labor); 487b (Myths and Legends in the Q)
V 200b (Teaching)

81 I 52a, 52b, 53b (Air and Wind)
III 487a (Myths and Legends in the Q)
IV 513b (Sacred Precincts); 537b (Scholar)
V 77b (Solomon); 412a (Vehicles); 470b (Weather)

81-82 IV 164b (Popular and Talismanic Uses of the Q)

82 I 526b (Devil)
II 467b (Hunting and Fishing)
III 44b (Jinn); 253b (Manual Labor); 487a (Myths and Legends in the Q)
IV 307b (Protection)
V 77a (Solomon); 120b (Spiritual Beings)

83 III 378a (Mercy)
V 134a (Suffering); 381a (Trust and Patience)

83-84 III 50a, 50b (Job)
V 574b (Zechariah)

83-85 V 380b (Trust and Patience)

84 V 134a (Suffering)

85 I 8a (Abraham); 527b, 528a (Dhū l-Kifl)
II 484a (Idrīs); 564a (Ishmael)
V 381a (Trust and Patience)

85-86 V 246a, 249b (Textual Criticism of the Q)

87 I 494a (Darkness)
III 54a, 54b (Jonah); 305b (Material Culture and the Q)
IV 223b (Prayer); 429b (Repentance and Penance)
V 488b (Witness to Faith); 500b (Witnessing and Testifying)

87-88 I 93b (Anger); 99a (Animal Life)
III 53a (Jonah)
V 574b (Zechariah)

88 IV 430a (Repentance and Penance)

89-90 III 210b (Literature and the Q); 289a (Mary)
V 574b (Zechariah)

90 III 51b (John the Baptist)
IV 142b (Politics and the Q)

91 I 52b (Air and Wind); 87a (Angel); 298b (Chastity)
II 278b (Gabriel); 442a, 443b (Holy Spirit)
III 14a (Jesus); 289a, 293a, 293b (Mary)
IV 581a, 583b (Sex and Sexuality)
V 4a (Signs); 81b (Soul); 114b (Spirit); 371a (Trinity)

91-93 III 7b, 14a (Jesus)

92 I 372a (Community and Society in the Q)
II 330a (God and his Attributes)

92-93 II 497a (Illiteracy)

93-94 V 387a (Truth)

94 I 243b, 243b (Book)

95 III 173a (Lawful and Unlawful)

96 I 111a (Antichrist); 112b (Apocalypse); 398b (Conquest)
III 143b (Last Judgment)
IV 434b (Resurrection)

96-97 I 61a (Alexander)
II 331b (Gog and Magog)

97 II 361a (Grammar and the Q); 489a, 489a (Ignorance)
V 387a (Truth)

97-103 IV 34b (Peace)

98 II 415a (Hell and Hellfire)
V 241b (Textual Criticism of the Q)

101-107 III 436b (Mosque)

102 V 478b (Whisper)

103 II 47b (Eschatology); 198a (Fear)

104 I 479a (Creation)
II 395b (Ḥadīth and the Q); 411b (Heaven and Sky); 439b (History and the Q); 545a (Instruments)
III 140a (Last Judgment)
IV 6b (Pairs and Pairing); 34b (Peace); 435a (Resurrection)
V 242a (Textual Criticism of the Q)

105 I 244b (Book)
II 152a (Expeditions and Battles); 340b (Good Deeds)
III 4a, 6a (Jerusalem); 305b (Material Culture and the Q)
IV 315a, 316a (Psalms)

105-112 II 143a (Exhortations); 261b (Form and Structure of the Q)

107 III 382b (Messenger); 442b, 443b (Muḥammad)
IV 299b (Prophets and Prophethood)
V 393a, 393b (Turkish Literature and the Q)

108 II 329b (God and his Attributes)
IV 294a (Prophets and Prophethood)
V 500a (Witnessing and Testifying)

109 III 305b (Material Culture and the Q)

110 IV 4a (Pairs and Pairing)
V 479b (Whisper)

111 V 288b (Time)

112 III 305b (Material Culture and the Q)

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I 230b (Biology as the Creation and Stages of Life)
II 264a (Form and Structure of the Q)
IV 250b (Pre-1800 Preoccupations of Q Studies); 496b (Ritual and the Q)
V 174b (Sūra)

1
- I 501a (Day, Times of)
- II 148b (Expeditions and Battles); 264a (Form and Structure of the Q)
- III 137a (Last Judgment)
- V 174b (Sūra); 287b (Time)

2
- II 556a (Intoxicants)
- III 106a (Lactation); 227b (Load or Burden)
- V 476b (Wet-Nursing)

3
- I 512b (Debate and Disputation); 524b (Devil)
- III 579b (Opposition to Muḥammad)

4
- I 244b (Book)

5
- I 3b (Abortion); 81a (Anatomy); 213a (Beauty); 230b, 231a (Biology as the Creation and Stages of Life); 238a (Blood and Blood Clot); 364b (Colors); 477a, 479a (Creation)
- II 3a, 3b (Earth); 28b (Epigraphy); 303a (Geography); 328a (God and his Attributes); 507b (Impotence)
- III 304a (Material Culture and the Q); 332a (Maturity)
- IV 435b (Resurrection)
- V 133b (Suffering); 267a (Theology and the Q); 289a (Time); 522a (Womb); 569b (Youth and Old Age)

5-6
- I 479b (Creation)

6
- I 213a (Beauty)
- II 321b (God and his Attributes)

7
- I 232b (Biology as the Creation and Stages of Life); 501a (Day, Times of)
- II 29b (Epigraphy); 148b (Expeditions and Battles)
- III 137a (Last Judgment)
- V 287b (Time)

8
- I 512b (Debate and Disputation)
- III 579b (Opposition to Muḥammad)

9
- II 210b (Fire)
- III 58a (Journey)
- IV 457a (Reward and Punishment)

11
- V 244b (Textual Criticism of the Q)

12
- IV 5a (Pairs and Pairing); 228b (Prayer)

13
- I 344b (Clients and Clientage)

14
- II 340b (Good Deeds)

15 I 93b (Anger)

15-44 I 151b (Archaeology and the Q)

16 II 497b (Illiteracy)

17 I 222b (Belief and Unbelief); 378a (Community and Society in the Q); 516b (Decision)
III 22a (Jews and Judaism); 244a, 244b (Magians); 246b (Magic)
IV 403a, 404b, 405a, 407b, 408a (Religious Pluralism and the Q); 511b (Sabians); 586a (Sheba)

18 I 99b (Animal Life); 254b (Bowing and Prostration); 480b (Creeds)
III 415a (Moon)
IV 4b (Pairs and Pairing); 221a (Prayer); 378a (Recitation of the Q)
V 121b (Springs and Fountains); 163a (Sun); 359a (Tree); 393a (Turkish Literature and the Q)

19 I 81b (Anatomy); 222a (Belief and Unbelief); 347a (Clothing); 513b (Debate and Disputation)
II 210b (Fire); 400a (Ḥamza b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib); 416a (Hell and Hellfire)

19-20 II 211a (Fire); 416a (Hell and Hellfire)

19-21 II 50b (Eschatology)
V 133a (Suffering)

20 II 426a (Hides and Fleece)

21 II 546a (Instruments)
III 383a (Metals and Minerals)

22 II 210b (Fire)
III 63b (Joy and Misery)

23 I 96a (Animal Life); 220b (Belief and Unbelief)
II 284a (Garden); 333b (Gold)
III 383b, 384a (Metals and Minerals)
IV 18a (Paradise)
V 11b, 12a (Silk)

24 III 583b (Oppression)

25 I 215a (Bedouin)
II 299a (Geography); 420b (Heresy)
III 77b (Kaʿba); 340b (Mecca)
IV 332a (Quraysh); 515a (Sacred Precincts)

26 I 254a (Bowing and Prostration)
II 56b (Ethics and the Q); 84b (Everyday Life, Q In); 460a (House, Domestic and Divine)
III 76b (Kaʿba)
IV 52b (People of the House); 219b (Prayer); 505b (Ritual Purity); 514b (Sacred Precincts)
V 140b (Ṣūfism and the Q)

26-27 I 7b (Abraham)

26-28 III 340b (Mecca)

26-29 I 330b (Chronology and the Q)

26-33 II 340a (Good Deeds)

27 I 96a (Animal Life)
II 198b (Feet); 462a (House, Domestic and Divine)
IV 91b (Pilgrimage); 104b (Place of Abraham)
V 175a (Sūra); 375a (Trips and Voyages)

27-29 III 340b (Mecca)

27-37 IV 517b (Sacrifice)

28 I 101a (Animal Life)
II 7a (Economics); 216b, 218b (Food and Drink); 450b (Hospitality and Courtesy)
IV 208b (Poverty and the Poor); 420b (Remembrance)
V 179b (Sustenance); 280a (Time)

29 III 77a (Kaʿba); 338b, 340b (Mecca)
IV 52b (People of the House); 93b (Pilgrimage); 514b (Sacred Precincts)

30 I 411b (Contamination)
II 474b (Iconoclasm); 481a, 481b (Idols and Images)
III 172b (Lawful and Unlawful); 190a (Literacy)
IV 282a (Profane and Sacred); 503b (Ritual Purity)
V 21a (Sin, Major and Minor)

31 I 52a, 54b (Air and Wind); 100a (Animal Life); 330b (Chronology and the Q)
II 216a (Flying); 402b (Ḥanīf)
V 470b (Weather)

32 II 408a (Heart); 550a (Intention)

33 III 77a (Kaʿba); 339a, 340b (Mecca)
IV 52b (People of the House); 514b (Sacred Precincts)

34 I 96b (Animal Life)
II 205b (Festivals and Commemorative Days); 329b (God and his Attributes); 341a (Good News); 355b (Grammar and the Q); 432a (History and the Q)
III 583b (Oppression)
IV 420b (Remembrance)

35 II 187b (Fate); 198a (Fear); 450a (Hospitality and Courtesy)
III 372a, 373a (Memory)
V 133b (Suffering)

36 I 97a (Animal Life)
II 205b (Festivals and Commemorative Days)
III 372a (Memory)
IV 420b (Remembrance)
V 3a (Signs)

36-37 II 218b (Food and Drink)

37 I 80b (Anatomy)
II 82b (Everyday Life, Q In); 341a (Good News)
IV 517b (Sacrifice)

38 I 220b, 221a (Belief and Unbelief)

39 I 505b (Days of God)
III 558b (Numismatics); 579a (Opposition to Muḥammad)
IV 35a (Peace)
V 437a (Virtues and Vices, Commanding and Forbidding); 456b (War)

39-40 II 209a (Fighting)
III 40a, 40b, 41b (Jihād); 568a (Obedience)

39-41 III 422b (Moses)

39-49 IV 320b (Punishment Stories)

40 I 164a (Art and Architecture and the Q); 314a (Christians and Christianity); 335b (Church)
II 92a (Everyday Life, Q In); 228a (Foreign Vocabulary); 322a (God and his Attributes)
III 23a (Jews and Judaism); 230a (Lord)
IV 5b (Pairs and Pairing); 230b (Prayer); 404a (Religious Pluralism and the Q); 420b (Remembrance); 516b (Sacred Precincts)
V 457a, 458b (War)

41 IV 490a (Ritual and the Q)
V 437a, 437b, 438a (Virtues and Vices, Commanding and Forbidding)

42 I 21b (ʿĀd)
II 439a (History and the Q)
III 486b (Myths and Legends in the Q); 540a, 540b (Noah)
IV 301a (Prophets and Prophethood); 309b (Provocation); 586b (Sheba)

42-45 III 522a (Narratives)

42-49 IV 320b (Punishment Stories)

43 II 308a (Geography)

44 II 489a (Ignorance)
III 390b (Midian)

45 I 166a (Art and Architecture and the Q)
II 352b (Grammar and the Q)
IV 357b (Readings of the Q)
V 22a (Sin, Major and Minor); 463a (Water)

46 I 81b, 83b (Anatomy); 449b (Cosmology)
II 370b (Gratitude and Ingratitude)
II 510b (Indifference)
IV 574a, 575b (Seeing and Hearing)
V 447a, 447b (Vision and Blindness)

47 II 410b (Heaven and Sky); 433a (History and the Q)
V 286a (Time); 560a (Year)

48 III 378b (Mercy)
IV 310b (Provocation)
V 22a (Sin, Major and Minor); 287a (Time)

50 II 245a (Forgiveness)
V 179a (Sustenance)

50-51 II 527a (Inimitability)
IV 1b (Pairs and Pairing)

52 I 15a (Abrogation)
II 365a (Grammar and the Q); 392a (Ḥadīth and the Q); 474b (Iconoclasm)
III 381a, 382a (Messenger); 454a (Muḥammad)
IV 289b, 295a (Prophets and Prophethood); 532b (Satanic Verses); 537b (Scholar)
V 25a, 25b (Sin, Major and Minor); 243a (Textual Criticism of the Q); 363a (Trial); 487a (Wish and Desire)

52-53 I 321a (Chronology and the Q)

52-54 IV 532b (Satanic Verses)

53 II 407a, 407b (Heart)
V 363b (Trial)

53-54 II 469a (Hypocrites and Hypocrisy)

54 I 247b (Book)
II 320b (God and his Attributes)
IV 538b (Scholar)
V 203b (Teaching)

55 I 500a, 501a (Day, Times of)
III 137a, 138a (Last Judgment)
V 287b (Time)

55-57 V 103a (Sovereignty)

56 II 282b (Garden); 321a (God and his Attributes)
III 62b (Joy and Misery); 92b (Kings and Rulers)
IV 128a (Politics and the Q)
V 573b (Zealotry)

56-57 IV 2b (Pairs and Pairing)

58 III 38b (Jihād)
IV 30b (Path or Way)
V 178b (Sustenance); 457a (War)

58-59 II 45b (Eschatology)
III 41a (Jihād)

59 IV 6a (Pairs and Pairing); 537b (Scholar)

60 IV 5b (Pairs and Pairing)
V 456b (War)

61 IV 4b (Pairs and Pairing)

62 I 158b (Arrogance)
II 82b (Everyday Life, Q In); 99a (Evil Deeds); 320a, 321b (God and his Attributes)
III 304a (Material Culture and the Q)
IV 5b (Pairs and Pairing); 228b (Prayer); 263b (Pride)

63 I 362b (Colors)
II 3a (Earth); 28b (Epigraphy); 303a (Geography)

64 IV 6a (Pairs and Pairing)

65 I 96a (Animal Life); 443a (Cosmology); 473a (Creation)
II 411a (Heaven and Sky)
III 379a (Mercy)
IV 5b (Pairs and Pairing); 186a (Possession and Possessions)
V 412a (Vehicles); 464a (Water)

66 IV 435b (Resurrection)

67 I 372a (Community and Society in the Q)
II 432a (History and the Q)
IV 132b (Politics and the Q)

67-68 I 513b (Debate and Disputation)

67-72 I 523b (Destiny)

68 I 511b, 513b (Debate and Disputation)
III 40a (Jihād)
IV 309b (Provocation)

68-69 III 453b (Muḥammad)
IV 133b (Politics and the Q)

69 II 321a (God and his Attributes)
V 573b (Zealotry)

70 I 243a (Book); 523a (Destiny)
II 544b (Instruments)

72 II 435b (History and the Q)
III 190a (Literacy); 536b (News)
IV 286b (Proof)
V 438a (Virtues and Vices, Commanding and Forbidding)

73 I 99b (Animal Life); 472b (Creation)
II 508a (Impotence)
IV 79b (Philosophy and the Q)

74 II 92a (Everyday Life, Q In)
IV 5b (Pairs and Pairing)

75 II 11b, 12a (Election)
III 446a (Muḥammad)
IV 5b (Pairs and Pairing); 291a (Prophets and Prophethood)

76 IV 4b (Pairs and Pairing)

77 I 254a (Bowing and Prostration)
IV 219b, 220a (Prayer)

77-78 III 303a (Material Culture and the Q)

78 I 6a, 7b (Abraham); 330b (Chronology and the Q); 461a (Courage); 465a (Covenant)
II 11b (Election); 340a (Good Deeds)
III 38a (Jihād); 231a (Lord); 447a (Muḥammad)
IV 5b (Pairs and Pairing)
V 196b (Taxation); 493b (Witnessing and Testifying)

SŪRAT AL-MUʾMINŪN (23)

I 230b (Biology as the Creation and Stages of Life)
III 11b, 14a (Jesus); 305a (Material Culture and the Q)
IV 478b (Rhymed Prose); 496a (Ritual and the Q)

1 I 220b (Belief and Unbelief)
II 361b (Grammar and the Q)

1-5 I 84a (Anatomy)

1-6 I 219b (Belief and Unbelief)
II 29a (Epigraphy)

1-9 IV 455a (Reward and Punishment)

1-11 I 257b (Breaking Trusts and Contracts)
III 210a (Literature and the Q)

2 I 257b (Breaking Trusts and Contracts)
III 210a (Literature and the Q)

3 I 257b (Breaking Trusts and Contracts)
III 109b (Language and Style of the Q)

4 I 257b (Breaking Trusts and Contracts)

5 I 298b (Chastity)
IV 584a (Sex and Sexuality)

5-6 I 396b (Concubines)
V 58a (Slaves and Slavery); 527b (Women and the Q)

5-7 I 257b (Breaking Trusts and Contracts); 299a, 299b (Chastity)

6 IV 288a (Property); 582a (Sex and Sexuality)
V 57b (Slaves and Slavery); 527b (Women and the Q)

8 I 257a, 257b (Breaking Trusts and Contracts); 464b (Covenant)
II 8b (Economics)

8-11 I 219b (Belief and Unbelief)

9 I 257b (Breaking Trusts and Contracts)
III 210a (Literature and the Q)
IV 224b (Prayer)

11 II 51a (Eschatology); 229a (Foreign Vocabulary); 283a (Garden)

12 I 231a (Biology as the Creation and Stages of Life); 233b (Birth); 339b, 340a (Clay); 446a (Cosmology); 476a (Creation)
II 4a (Earth); 328a (God and his Attributes); 340a (Good Deeds)
V 267a (Theology and the Q)

12-13 I 80a (Anatomy)
III 354b (Medicine and the Q)

12-14 I 3a (Abortion); 233a (Birth); 238a (Blood and Blood Clot); 340a (Clay); 477a, 477b (Creation)
II 87a (Everyday Life, Q In); 328a (God and his Attributes)

12-16 III 14a (Jesus); 183b (Life)

13 III 597a (Ornamentation and Illumination)
V 522b (Womb)

14 I 80a, 81a (Anatomy); 479a (Creation)
IV 220b (Prayer)
V 522b (Womb)

16 III 183b (Life)

17 I 442a (Cosmology)
II 51a (Eschatology)
IV 107b (Planets and Stars)

17-22 I 473a (Creation)

18 II 3a (Earth)
III 334a (Measurement)
V 462b (Water)

18-19 III 531a (Nature as Signs)

18-20 II 3a (Earth)
V 126b, 127b (Springs and Fountains)

19 I 220b (Belief and Unbelief); 478b (Creation)
II 217b (Food and Drink); 283b (Garden); 304a (Geography)
V 126b (Springs and Fountains)

20 I 102b (Anointing); 362a (Colors)
II 218b (Food and Drink); 305a (Geography)
IV 482b (Rhymed Prose)
V 28a (Sinai); 185a (Syria); 362a (Tree)

21 I 96a (Animal Life)

21-22 IV 438a (Revelation and Inspiration)

22 III 227b (Load or Burden)
V 133a (Suffering); 412a (Vehicles)

23 III 524a (Narratives)
V 123a (Springs and Fountains)

23-30 III 540b (Noah)
IV 438b (Revelation and Inspiration)

23-49 IV 320a (Punishment Stories)

24 IV 296a (Prophets and Prophethood); 311b (Provocation)

25 II 540a (Insanity)
IV 112a (Poetry and Poets)

27 I 96a (Animal Life); 553b (Drowning)
II 154a (Eyes); 213a (Fire); 219a (Food and Drink); 229a (Foreign Vocabulary); 323b, 324b (God and his Attributes)
III 393a (Miracles); 541a (Noah)
IV 6b (Pairs and Pairing); 217a (Prayer); 293b (Prophets and Prophethood); 439b (Revelation and Inspiration); 581a (Sex and Sexuality)
V 271a (Theology and the Q); 546a (Word of God)

28 I 519a (Deliverance)
IV 213b (Praise)

29 III 488a (Myths and Legends in the Q)

31 I 479a (Creation)
II 293a (Generations)

31-41 IV 319b (Punishment Stories)

33 I 235b (Blasphemy)
II 217a (Food and Drink)

35 II 4b (Earth); 358a (Grammar and the Q)

37 I 506a (Death and the Dead)
II 508a (Impotence)

38 I 236a (Blasphemy)

41 I 491b (Curse)

42 I 479a (Creation)

43 V 289a (Time)

44 I 491b (Curse)
II 435b (History and the Q)
III 382a (Messenger); 453a (Muḥammad); 517b (Narratives)
IV 291a, 301a (Prophets and Prophethood)

45 I 1a (Aaron); 260a, 261a (Brother and Brotherhood)
III 421b (Moses)
IV 106a (Plagues)

45-48 III 423a (Moses)

46 I 160a (Arrogance); 395b (Conceit)
II 542a (Insolence and Obstinacy)
III 421b (Moses)
IV 264a (Pride)

49 I 245a (Book)
III 424b, 425a (Moses)
V 301a, 302a (Torah)

50 II 10a, 10b (Egypt)
III 5b (Jerusalem); 7b, 8a, 11a, 13b (Jesus); 293a (Mary)
V 121b, 127b (Springs and Fountains); 533b (Women and the Q)

51 I 96b (Animal Life)
II 467a (Hunting and Fishing)
IV 295b (Prophets and Prophethood)

52 II 330a (God and his Attributes); 349a (Grammar and the Q)

52-53 II 497a (Illiteracy)
IV 25a (Parties and Factions)

52-54 I 377b (Community and Society in the Q)

53 II 432a (History and the Q)
III 24b (Jews and Judaism); 61b (Joy and Misery)
IV 24b (Parties and Factions); 403b (Religious Pluralism and the Q)

54 III 40a (Jihād)

55 IV 3b (Pairs and Pairing)

55-56 V 468a (Wealth)

56 II 61a (Ethics and the Q)

57 II 197b (Fear)

57-61 I 219b (Belief and Unbelief)
II 259b (Form and Structure of the Q)

60 II 198a (Fear); 359b (Grammar and the Q)

62 IV 432b (Responsibility)
V 84a (Soul); 111a (Speech)

63-67 III 379b (Mercy)

64 IV 332a (Quraysh); 453a (Reward and Punishment)

65 II 355a (Grammar and the Q)

66 III 190a (Literacy)

68 IV 394b (Reflection and Deliberation)

70 II 540a (Insanity)
IV 112a (Poetry and Poets)

71 IV 522b (Salvation)

72 III 190a (Literacy)
IV 452b (Reward and Punishment)
V 192b, 196a (Taxation)

72-77 II 143b (Exhortations)

73-75	I	437a (Conversion)
75-77	IV	332a (Quraysh)
77	I	398b (Conquest); 521b (Despair); 524b (Devil)
78	I	479a (Creation)
78-79	I	476a (Creation)
78-80	II	67b (Ethics and the Q)
80	I	501b (Day, Times of)
	IV	4b (Pairs and Pairing)
	V	280b (Time)
82	II	4b (Earth)
83	II	430a (History and the Q)
	III	518a (Narratives)
84	IV	311a (Provocation)
86	II	325b (God and his Attributes); 410b (Heaven and Sky)
	III	230a (Lord); 554b (Numerology)
	IV	107b (Planets and Stars)
88	I	369b (Community and Society in the Q); 519b (Deliverance)
	II	401b (Hand)
	III	201b (Literary Structures of the Q)
	IV	127b (Politics and the Q); 307b (Protection)
91	III	14a (Jesus)
	IV	80b (Philosophy and the Q); 220a, 220b (Prayer)
	V	369a (Trinity)
92	IV	4a (Pairs and Pairing); 537b (Scholar)
96	II	452b (Hospitality and Courtesy)
	III	40b (Jihād); 65b (Judgment); 453b (Muḥammad)
97	I	526b (Devil)
	II	92b (Everyday Life, Q In); 344a (Gossip)
97-98	IV	308a (Protection)
99	IV	430a (Repentance and Penance)
99-101	III	379b (Mercy)
100	I	91a (Angel); 204b, 206a (Barzakh); 232b (Biology as the Creation and Stages of Life)
	II	229a (Foreign Vocabulary)
101	II	547a (Instruments)
	III	99b (Kinship); 379b (Mercy)
101-105	I	522b (Destiny)
102	III	178a (Left Hand and Right Hand); 334b (Measurement)
	IV	523a (Salvation)

102-103 III 70a (Justice and Injustice); 140b (Last Judgment); 334b (Measurement)
IV 2b (Pairs and Pairing)
V 313b (Trade and Commerce)

103 III 178a (Left Hand and Right Hand); 334b (Measurement)

104 I 222a (Belief and Unbelief); 556a (Druzes)
II 416a (Hell and Hellfire)
V 133a (Suffering)

105 III 190a (Literacy)

106 III 63b (Joy and Misery)
V 430b (Victory)

109 III 378a (Mercy)

110 III 146b (Laughter); 401a (Mockery)
IV 309b (Provocation)

111 II 98a (Evil Deeds)
IV 523a (Salvation)
V 134b (Suffering); 430a (Victory)

112 II 439b (History and the Q)
V 286a (Time); 553b (World)

115 I 442a (Cosmology)
II 98a (Evil Deeds); 186b (Fate); 327b (God and his Attributes); 336b (Good and Evil); 340a (Good Deeds)
V 553b (World)

116 II 325b (God and his Attributes)
V 103b (Sovereignty); 277a (Throne of God)

116-118 II 143b (Exhortations)

117 III 14a (Jesus)
IV 286b (Proof); 523a (Salvation)

118 III 378a (Mercy)

SŪRAT AL-NŪR (24)

I 328a (Chronology and the Q)
II 264a (Form and Structure of the Q)
IV 450a (Revision and Alteration); 496a (Ritual and the Q)
V 174b (Sūra); 538a (Women and the Q)

1 I 246a (Book)
IV 286a, 286b (Proof)
V 6b (Signs); 167a (Sūra)

2 I 17b, 18a (Abrogation); 28a (Adultery and Fornication); 295a (Chastisement and Punishment); 299b (Chastity); 352b (Collection of the Q)
II 214a (Flogging)

	III	136b (Last Judgment)
	IV	277a (Prisoners); 416a (Religious Pluralism and the Q); 449a, 449b (Revision and Alteration); 453a (Reward and Punishment); 580b, 584a (Sex and Sexuality)
	V	254b (Theft); 495a, 497b (Witnessing and Testifying); 528a (Women and the Q)
3	I	299a, 299a (Chastity)
	III	277a, 277b (Marriage and Divorce)
	IV	285a (Prohibited Degrees); 580b (Sex and Sexuality)
4	I	28b, 29a (Adultery and Fornication)
	II	214a (Flogging)
	III	552b (Numbers and Enumeration)
	IV	583b, 584a (Sex and Sexuality)
	V	490a (Witness to Faith); 492b, 496b, 497b (Witnessing and Testifying)
4-5	II	214b (Flogging); 344a (Gossip)
	IV	427a (Repentance and Penance)
	V	498a (Witnessing and Testifying); 511a (Wives of the Prophet)
4-9	III	73a (Justice and Injustice); 551b (Numbers and Enumeration)
4-26	V	528a, 535a (Women and the Q)
5	II	214b (Flogging)
	III	379b (Mercy)
6	V	492b (Witnessing and Testifying)
6-9	I	492a (Curse)
	III	280b (Marriage and Divorce)
	V	498a (Witnessing and Testifying)
6-10	I	29a (Adultery and Fornication)
8	IV	453a (Reward and Punishment)
	V	492b (Witnessing and Testifying)
9	I	93a, 93b (Anger)
10	IV	6a (Pairs and Pairing)
10-18	I	29a (Adultery and Fornication)
11	III	448a (Muḥammad)
	IV	426b (Repentance and Penance); 432b (Responsibility)
	V	21a (Sin, Major and Minor)
11-15	II	391b (Ḥadīth and the Q)
11-20	I	56b, 57a (ʿĀʾisha bint Abī Bakr)
	II	344a (Gossip)
	V	178a (Suspicion)
11-24	III	181b (Lie)
11-26	V	510b, 511a (Wives of the Prophet)
12	V	523b (Women and the Q)

13 I 56b (ʿĀʾisha bint Abī Bakr)

14 III 378b (Mercy)

15 I 82b (Anatomy)

16 II 314b (Glorification of God)

18 IV 537b (Scholar)

19 I 29b (Adultery and Fornication)
III 73b (Justice and Injustice)
IV 580b (Sex and Sexuality); 591b (Shīʿa)
V 133a (Suffering)

20 III 378b (Mercy)

21 I 523a (Destiny); 526a (Devil)
IV 505a (Ritual Purity); 580b (Sex and Sexuality)
V 438a (Virtues and Vices, Commanding and Forbidding); 487a (Wish and Desire)

22 II 244b (Forgiveness)
III 58a (Journey); 378a (Mercy)
IV 209a (Poverty and the Poor)

23 I 492a (Curse)
II 418a (Hell and Hellfire)
III 38b (Jihād)
IV 457a (Reward and Punishment); 583b (Sex and Sexuality)

23-26 II 469a (Hypocrites and Hypocrisy)

24 I 83a (Anatomy)
II 402a (Hand); 416b (Hell and Hellfire)
III 141a (Last Judgment)
V 110b (Speech); 494b (Witnessing and Testifying)

26 I 299a (Chastity); 440a (Corruption)
II 245a (Forgiveness)
III 277a, 277b (Marriage and Divorce)
IV 8a (Pairs and Pairing); 285a (Prohibited Degrees)

27 I 349a (Codices of the Q)
II 453a (Hospitality and Courtesy)
IV 225a (Prayer)

27-29 I 163a (Art and Architecture and the Q); 299b (Chastity)
II 460a (House, Domestic and Divine)
V 538a (Women and the Q)

28 IV 506a (Ritual Purity)

29 II 275b (Furniture and Furnishings)

30 III 403a (Modesty)
IV 506a (Ritual Purity); 581a, 584a (Sex and Sexuality)
V 58a (Slaves and Slavery); 414a (Veil)

30-31 I 299b (Chastity)
II 453a (Hospitality and Courtesy)
III 548a (Nudity)
IV 574a (Seeing and Hearing)
V 53b (Sister); 526a, 538a (Women and the Q)

30-33 V 71b (Social Sciences and the Q)

31 I 56a (ʿĀʾisha bint Abī Bakr); 155b (Archaeology and the Q); 194a, 194b (Baal); 259b (Brother and Brotherhood); 302b (Children); 346b (Clothing); 383b (Community and Society in the Q)
II 76a (Ethics and the Q); 175b, 176a (Family)
III 403a (Modesty)
IV 427a (Repentance and Penance); 581a, 584a (Sex and Sexuality)
V 53b (Sister); 57b (Slaves and Slavery); 414a, 414b (Veil); 510b, 515b (Wives of the Prophet); 570a (Youth and Old Age)

32 I 396a, 396b (Concubines)
III 277a, 278a (Marriage and Divorce)
IV 6a (Pairs and Pairing); 580b, 581b (Sex and Sexuality)
V 58a, 58b (Slaves and Slavery)

33 I 19b (Abstinence); 242b (Book); 299b (Chastity); 396a, 396b (Concubines)
II 6b, 7a (Economics); 544b (Instruments)
III 96a (Kinship); 159b (Law and the Q); 279a (Marriage and Divorce); 378b (Mercy); 590b, 592b (Orality and Writing in Arabia)
IV 186a, 186b (Possession and Possessions); 580b, 583b (Sex and Sexuality); 600b (Shīʿism and the Q)
V 57a, 57b, 58a, 60a (Slaves and Slavery); 183a (Symbolic Imagery); 468a, 469a (Wealth); 527b (Women and the Q); 549a (Work)

34 II 142b (Exhortations); 434b (History and the Q)

35 I 85b (Angel); 102b (Anointing); 171a (Art and Architecture and the Q); 199a (Bahāʾīs); 213b (Beauty); 435b (Conversion); 490a, 491a (Cups and Vessels)
II 32a, 34a (Epigraphy); 96a (Everyday Life, Q In); 218b (Food and Drink); 275b, 276a (Furniture and Furnishings); 305a (Geography); 326a (God and his Attributes); 547a (Instruments)
III 108a (Lamp); 187a (Light); 208b (Literature and the Q); 311b (Material Culture and the Q); 387b (Metaphor); 431b (Mosque); 534b (Nature as Signs)
IV 10a (Parable); 172a (Popular and Talismanic Uses of the Q); 4a (Pairs and Pairing); 380a (Recitation of the Q); 555a (Science and the Q); 64a (Persian Literature and the Q)
V 18a, 18b (Simile); 125a, 125b (Springs and Fountains); 138a, 155a, 120b (Ṣūfism and the Q); 181a, 181b (Symbolic Imagery); 361b (Tree); 393a, 393b (Turkish Literature and the Q); 427b (Verse)

35-36 III 4b (Jerusalem)

35-38 III 437a (Mosque)

36 I 502b, 504a (Day, Times of)
II 80a (Evening)
III 4b (Jerusalem); 418b (Morning)
IV 230b (Prayer); 516a (Sacred Precincts)
V 281b (Time); 393a, 393b (Turkish Literature and the Q)

36-37 III 304b (Material Culture and the Q)

36-38 III 312a (Material Culture and the Q)
IV 222b (Prayer)

36-39 I 219b (Belief and Unbelief)

37 IV 222b (Prayer)
V 444b (Vision)

37-38 IV 405b (Religious Pluralism and the Q)

38 II 31b (Epigraphy); 345a (Grace)

39 I 184b (Ashes); 555b (Druzes)
IV 10a (Parable)
V 15a (Simile)

39-40 V 182a (Symbolic Imagery)

40 III 186b (Light)
IV 10a (Parable)
V 182a (Symbolic Imagery); 465b (Water)

41 I 99b (Animal Life); 473b (Creation)
II 82a (Everyday Life, Q In); 363a (Grammar and the Q)
III 528b (Nature as Signs)
IV 4b (Pairs and Pairing)
V 446b (Vision and Blindness)

42 III 92a (Kings and Rulers)
IV 4a (Pairs and Pairing)
V 287a (Time)

43 I 42a (Agriculture and Vegetation); 52a (Air and Wind)
II 455b (Hot and Cold)
IV 443b (Revelation and Inspiration)
V 463a (Water); 470b, 471a (Weather)

43-44 I 472b (Creation)

44 I 501a (Day, Times of)
II 327b (God and his Attributes)
IV 4b (Pairs and Pairing)

44-45 I 473b, 476b (Creation)

45 I 95b (Animal Life); 443a (Cosmology); 476b (Creation)
II 327b, 328a (God and his Attributes)
III 530b (Nature as Signs)
V 462b (Water)

47 II 406a (Hearing and Deafness)
V 501b, 502a (Witnessing and Testifying)

47-56 III 566b (Obedience)

50 II 407b (Heart)
III 359b (Medicine and the Q)

51 II 406a (Hearing and Deafness)
III 568b (Obedience)
IV 523a (Salvation)
V 393b (Turkish Literature and the Q); 502a (Witnessing and Testifying)

52 II 196b (Fear)
IV 523a (Salvation)
V 430a (Victory)

53 II 65b (Ethics and the Q)
V 438a (Virtues and Vices, Commanding and Forbidding)

54 III 40a (Jihād); 125a (Language and Style of the Q); 228a (Load or Burden)
IV 148b (Politics and the Q)

55 I 119b (Apostasy); 277b (Caliph)
III 559a (Numismatics)
IV 431b (Responsibility)

57 IV 103b (Pit)

58 I 84a (Anatomy); 396b (Concubines); 444a (Cosmology); 503a, 504a (Day, Times of)
II 79b (Evening); 358b (Grammar and the Q)
III 417a, 418b (Morning); 549a (Nudity)
IV 217b, 224a (Prayer); 537b (Scholar)
V 7a (Signs); 57b (Slaves and Slavery); 183a (Symbolic Imagery); 281a, 281b, 282b (Time); 570a (Youth and Old Age)

58-59 I 299b (Chastity); 302b (Children)

59 IV 186b (Possession and Possessions); 537b (Scholar)

60 IV 580b (Sex and Sexuality)

61 I 65a (Almsgiving); 246a (Book)
II 176a (Family); 452b (Hospitality and Courtesy); 460a (House, Domestic and Divine); 501b (Illness and Health)
IV 225a (Prayer); 288a (Property)
V 7a (Signs); 53b (Sister); 133b (Suffering)

62 V 501b (Witnessing and Testifying)

62-63 III 447b (Muḥammad)

64 II 91b (Everyday Life, Q In)
IV 483b (Rhymed Prose)

SŪRAT AL-FURQĀN (25)

I 486b (Criterion)
IV 372b (Recitation of the Q)

1
- I 117b (Apologetics); 237a (Blessing); 486b (Criterion)
- II 499a (Illiteracy)
- III 440b, 442a, 443b (Muḥammad); 507b (Names of the Q)
- IV 220b (Prayer); 343a (Ramaḍān); 443b (Revelation and Inspiration); 577a (Servants)

1-3
- II 474b (Iconoclasm)

1-62
- IV 478a (Rhymed Prose)

2
- II 34a (Epigraphy); 329a, 329b (God and his Attributes)
- III 92b (Kings and Rulers)
- IV 128a (Politics and the Q)
- V 369a (Trinity)

2-3
- I 472b (Creation)
- IV 185a (Possession and Possessions)

3
- I 472b (Creation)
- II 474a (Iconoclasm)

4
- II 513a (Informants)
- III 70b (Justice and Injustice)

4-5
- II 512b, 517a (Informants)

4-6
- III 450a (Muḥammad)
- IV 281a (Profane and Sacred)

5
- I 501b, 503b, 504a (Day, Times of)
- II 80a (Evening); 430a (History and the Q); 492b, 493a (Illiteracy); 517b (Informants)
- III 188b (Literacy); 416b (Morning); 518a (Narratives); 592b (Orality and Writing in Arabia)
- V 281a (Time); 400b (Ummī)

7
- II 217a (Food and Drink)
- III 275a (Markets)
- IV 296a (Prophets and Prophethood)

7-8
- III 247a (Magic); 450a, 456a (Muḥammad)
- IV 331a (Quraysh)

8
- II 304a (Geography)

8-9
- IV 9b (Parable)

10
- I 165b (Art and Architecture and the Q); 237a (Blessing)
- IV 18b (Paradise); 220b (Prayer)

11	I	235b (Blasphemy); 501a (Day, Times of)
	II	39b (Epigraphy)
	III	137a (Last Judgment)
	V	287b (Time)
11-13	IV	480a (Rhymed Prose)
11-14	II	418a (Hell and Hellfire)
12	I	93a (Anger)
	II	50a (Eschatology); 211a (Fire); 417b (Hell and Hellfire)
15	II	54b (Eternity); 282b (Garden)
	IV	14b (Paradise)
	V	287a (Time)
17	IV	576b (Servants)
17-19	V	494a (Witnessing and Testifying)
18	I	530a (Dialects)
	III	47a (Jinn)
20	II	154a (Eyes); 216b (Food and Drink)
	III	275a (Markets); 381b (Messenger)
	IV	296a (Prophets and Prophethood)
20-22	III	397b (Miracles)
21	I	395b (Conceit); 530a (Dialects)
	II	449a (Hope)
	IV	264a (Pride); 311b (Provocation)
22	I	89b (Angel)
	II	341b (Good News)
	III	173b (Lawful and Unlawful)
23	I	184b (Ashes)
25	I	88a, 89b (Angel); 463a (Court)
	II	411b (Heaven and Sky)
25-26	IV	34b (Peace)
26	III	91b (Kings and Rulers)
	IV	128a (Politics and the Q); 184b (Possession and Possessions)
27	III	203b (Literary Structures of the Q)
29	III	46b (Jinn)
30	II	18b (Emigration)
31	II	23b (Enemies); 64a (Ethics and the Q)
	III	453a (Muḥammad); 576b (Opposition to Muḥammad)
	V	494b (Witnessing and Testifying)
32	I	250b (Book)
	II	88a (Everyday Life, Q In)

III 116a, 116b (Language and Style of the Q); 450b (Muḥammad); 510b (Names of the Q)
IV 368b (Recitation of the Q); 444a (Revelation and Inspiration)
V 423a (Verse)

32-33 IV 139a (Politics and the Q); 570b (Scrolls)

33 I 250b (Book)
II 100a (Exegesis of the Q: Classical and Medieval)
IV 444a (Revelation and Inspiration)

34 III 140b (Last Judgment)

35 I 1a (Aaron); 245a (Book); 260a (Brother and Brotherhood)
III 424b (Moses)
V 301a (Torah)

35-40 IV 320a (Punishment Stories)

37 I 553b, 554a (Drowning)
IV 126b (Politics and the Q)
V 5a (Signs)

37-38 III 540a (Noah)
IV 352b (Rass)
V 250b (Textual Criticism of the Q)

38 I 151a (Archaeology and the Q)
III 522a (Narratives)

40 I 149a (Archaeology and the Q)
II 212b (Fire); 449a (Hope)
IV 425b (Remnant)
V 470b (Weather)

41 III 400a (Mockery)

41-42 III 448b (Muḥammad)

42 IV 538b (Scholar)
V 379a (Trust and Patience)

43 III 40a (Jihād)
IV 160a (Polytheism and Atheism)
V 486b (Wish and Desire)

44 V 393b (Turkish Literature and the Q)

45 I 500b, 504a (Day, Times of)
III 524a (Narratives)
IV 422b (Remembrance)
V 3a (Signs); 163a (Sun); 282b, 283b (Time)

45-50 II 259a (Form and Structure of the Q)

46 III 222b (Literature and the Q)

47 I 346b (Clothing); 501b, 502a (Day, Times of)
IV 4b (Pairs and Pairing); 511a (Sabbath)
V 60b (Sleep); 280b (Time)

47-48 III 379a (Mercy)

47-50 I 472b (Creation)

48 I 53a (Air and Wind)
II 341a (Good News)
IV 491b (Ritual and the Q); 505b (Ritual Purity)
V 119a (Spiritual Beings); 126b (Springs and Fountains); 471a (Weather)

48-49 I 96b (Animal Life)
II 3a (Earth)

49 I 95b (Animal Life)

51 I 163a (Art and Architecture and the Q)

52 I 461a (Courage)
II 74a (Ethics and the Q); 340a (Good Deeds)
III 36b (Jihād); 454b (Muḥammad); 567b (Obedience)

53 I 203b (Barrier); 204b (Barzakh); 443a, 445b (Cosmology)
II 212b (Fire); 217b (Food and Drink); 229a (Foreign Vocabulary)
III 173b (Lawful and Unlawful); 531a (Nature as Signs)
IV 7a (Pairs and Pairing)
V 126a, 126b (Springs and Fountains); 393b (Turkish Literature and the Q)

53-54 I 472b (Creation)
V 464a (Water)

54 I 368b (Community and Society in the Q); 476b (Creation)
II 174b (Family); 328a, 328b (God and his Attributes)
III 99b (Kinship); 354b (Medicine and the Q); 530b (Nature as Signs)
IV 486a (Ritual and the Q)

54-55 II 303b (Geography)

55 IV 5a (Pairs and Pairing)

55-60 II 143b (Exhortations)

56 II 341b (Good News)
IV 3b (Pairs and Pairing); 127b, 148b (Politics and the Q)
V 307b (Torah)

57 III 451a (Muḥammad)

58 I 507a (Death and the Dead)
II 314b (Glorification of God)
III 182b (Life)

58-59 I 473b (Creation)

59 I 318b (Chronology and the Q); 442a, 443b (Cosmology); 476a (Creation)
II 325b, 327b (God and his Attributes); 410b (Heaven and Sky)

III 202a (Literary Structures of the Q)
IV 4a (Pairs and Pairing)
V 265a (Theology and the Q); 279b, 287a (Time); 553a, 553b (World)

60 I 254b (Bowing and Prostration)
II 448a (Honor)
IV 219b (Prayer)
V 393a (Turkish Literature and the Q)

61 I 237a (Blessing); 442b (Cosmology); 472b, 473b, 477b (Creation)
II 275b (Furniture and Furnishings); 411a (Heaven and Sky); 547a (Instruments)
III 108a (Lamp); 187a (Light)
IV 79b (Philosophy and the Q); 107a, 108a (Planets and Stars); 220b (Prayer)
V 163a (Sun); 283b (Time)

61-62 II 259a (Form and Structure of the Q)

61-77 II 143b (Exhortations)

62 I 442b (Cosmology); 472b, 473b (Creation); 501b (Day, Times of)
IV 4b (Pairs and Pairing)

63 I 161a (Arrogance)
II 453a (Hospitality and Courtesy); 488a (Ignorance)
III 40b (Jihād); 403a (Modesty)

63-64 I 376a (Community and Society in the Q)

63-68 I 219b (Belief and Unbelief)
IV 577a (Servants)

63-72 II 71a (Ethics and the Q)

63-74 IV 455a (Reward and Punishment)

63-76 II 259b (Form and Structure of the Q)

64 I 182b (Asceticism); 254a (Bowing and Prostration); 327b (Chronology and the Q)
IV 222b (Prayer)

64-65 IV 221a (Prayer)

67 III 252a (Maintenance and Upkeep)
V 434b (Virtue)

67-68 V 21a (Sin, Major and Minor)

68 I 28a (Adultery and Fornication); 239a (Blood Money)
IV 580b (Sex and Sexuality)
V 83a (Soul); 417a (Vengeance)

68-69 IV 456a (Reward and Punishment)

69 IV 6b (Pairs and Pairing); 458b (Reward and Punishment)

70 III 140b (Last Judgment)
IV 431b (Responsibility)

70-71 IV 426b (Repentance and Penance)

72 V 21a (Sin, Major and Minor); 492a (Witnessing and Testifying)

72-74 I 219b (Belief and Unbelief)

73 II 406b (Hearing and Deafness)
IV 422b (Remembrance)

74 I 235a (Birth Control); 302b (Children)
III 235a (Love and Affection)
IV 20b (Parents); 600b (Shīʿism and the Q)

74-75 I 406a (Consolation)

75 I 165b (Art and Architecture and the Q)
V 134b (Suffering)

SŪRAT AL-SHUʿARĀʾ (26)

I 532a, 534a (Dialogues)

III 200b (Literary Structures of the Q); 272a (Manuscripts of the Q); 381b (Messenger); 472b (Mysterious Letters)

IV 113a (Poetry and Poets); 474b (Rhetoric and the Q)

1 IV 496a (Ritual and the Q)

1-9 II 143a (Exhortations)
III 519b (Narratives)

2 II 497b (Illiteracy)
III 124b (Language and Style of the Q); 592a (Orality and Writing in Arabia)

3 II 510b (Indifference)
III 452b (Muḥammad)
V 134a (Suffering)

4 II 363b (Grammar and the Q)

5 I 222a (Belief and Unbelief)

6 III 400b (Mockery); 536b (News)

7 I 472b (Creation)
II 3a, 3b (Earth)

7-8 I 213a (Beauty)
IV 438a (Revelation and Inspiration)

8 III 524b (Narratives)

8-191 IV 320a (Punishment Stories)

9 IV 6a (Pairs and Pairing)

10 V 110a (Speech)

10-17 I 532b (Dialogues)

10-68 I 304b (Children of Israel)
III 519b (Narratives)

10-189 III 519b (Narratives)

10-191 III 381b (Messenger)

12-14 I 533b (Dialogues)

13 I 1a (Aaron)

14 I 260b (Brother and Brotherhood)
II 64a (Ethics and the Q)

15-17 III 488a (Myths and Legends in the Q)

16-27 III 494b (Myths and Legends in the Q)

17 I 532b (Dialogues)

18 I 532b (Dialogues)
II 433b (History and the Q)
III 420a (Moses)
V 285b (Time)

18-19 I 220b (Belief and Unbelief)
III 518b (Narratives)
IV 67b (Pharaoh)

19 I 260b (Brother and Brotherhood)
III 420b (Moses)

20 II 43b (Error)

21 III 420b (Moses)

23-24 V 553a (World)

24 II 31a (Epigraphy)
III 230a (Lord)

27 I 447a (Cosmology)
II 540a (Insanity)
IV 67b (Pharaoh); 112a (Poetry and Poets)

28 III 230a (Lord)
IV 4b (Pairs and Pairing); 184a (Possession and Possessions)
V 282b (Time)

29 II 542b (Insolence and Obstinacy)
IV 67b (Pharaoh); 160a (Polytheism and Atheism); 276b (Prisoners)

30-35 III 422a (Moses)

31 IV 296b (Prophets and Prophethood)

31-34 IV 296b (Prophets and Prophethood)

32 I 99a (Animal Life)
II 546a (Instruments)
III 219a (Literature and the Q)

33 I 364a (Colors)

34 V 239b (Textual Criticism of the Q)

35 III 246a (Magic)

37 IV 605b (Shuʿayb)

38 I 500b (Day, Times of)
V 288b (Time)

38-51 III 393b (Miracles)

40 I 445b (Cosmology)

41 IV 452a (Reward and Punishment)

41-51 III 211b (Literature and the Q)

44 II 546b (Instruments)
IV 509a (Rod)
V 393b (Turkish Literature and the Q)

45 II 546a (Instruments)
III 219a (Literature and the Q)

46 I 255a (Bowing and Prostration)

47-48 II 199a (Feet)

48 I 1a (Aaron)
III 229b (Lord)
IV 483a (Rhymed Prose)

49 I 487b, 488a (Crucifixion)
II 199a (Feet)
III 246a (Magic)
IV 67b (Pharaoh)
V 201b (Teaching)

51 II 448b (Hope)

52 III 423a (Moses)
IV 440a (Revelation and Inspiration)

52-68 III 423a (Moses)

54 V 377a (Troops)

57 II 283b (Garden)
V 127b (Springs and Fountains)

57-58 III 488a (Myths and Legends in the Q)

59 III 488a (Myths and Legends in the Q)

60 I 503b (Day, Times of)
III 417b (Morning)
V 282b (Time)

60-68 III 394a (Miracles)

63 II 546a (Instruments)
III 219a (Literature and the Q)
IV 440a (Revelation and Inspiration); 509a (Rod)
V 464b (Water)

63-66 II 213a (Fire)
III 423b (Moses)

65 II 184a (Fasting)

65-67 I 553b (Drowning)

67 III 524b (Narratives)

67-68 III 381b (Messenger)

68 IV 6a (Pairs and Pairing)

69 II 254b (Form and Structure of the Q); 340a (Good Deeds); 435b (History and the Q)
III 190a (Literacy); 441a (Muḥammad); 518a, 524b (Narratives); 536b (News)
IV 302b (Prophets and Prophethood)
V 258a (Theology and the Q)

69-82 I 532a (Dialogues)
II 558a (Invitation)

69-86 I 6b (Abraham)
III 494a (Myths and Legends in the Q)

69-89 I 330a (Chronology and the Q)

69-104 III 519b (Narratives)

71 II 474a (Iconoclasm); 481a, 481b (Idols and Images)

72 IV 5a (Pairs and Pairing)

74 V 317a (Tradition and Custom)

76 II 434a (History and the Q)

77 II 23b (Enemies)

77-78 I 472a (Creation)

78-80 III 184a (Life)

79 II 217a (Food and Drink)

80 II 501b (Illness and Health)
IV 178b (Popular and Talismanic Uses of the Q)
V 133b (Suffering)

81 III 184a (Life)

82 I 147b (Arbitration)
II 448b (Hope)
III 136b (Last Judgment)

83 II 33a (Epigraphy)

83-89 I 328a (Chronology and the Q)
IV 223b (Prayer)

84 I 83a (Anatomy)

85 II 282b (Garden)
IV 14b (Paradise)

86 I 7a (Abraham); 193a (Āzar)
II 43b (Error)
IV 21a (Parents)

88 IV 3b (Pairs and Pairing)
V 393b (Turkish Literature and the Q); 468a (Wealth)

89 II 408a (Heart)

94-95 I 525a (Devil)
II 543a (Insolence and Obstinacy)

95 I 447a (Cosmology)
III 45a (Jinn)
V 120b (Spiritual Beings); 377b (Troops)

96-97 I 513b (Debate and Disputation)

96-102 II 416b (Hell and Hellfire)

100-101 II 273b (Friends and Friendship)

101 II 71a (Ethics and the Q)
III 236a (Love and Affection); 237a (Loyalty)

102 III 203b (Literary Structures of the Q)
IV 430a (Repentance and Penance)

103 III 524b (Narratives)
V 5a (Signs)

104 IV 6a (Pairs and Pairing)

104-190 III 212b (Literature and the Q)

105 I 222a (Belief and Unbelief)
III 524a (Narratives); 540a (Noah)

105-106 I 261b (Brother and Brotherhood)

105-118 I 532a (Dialogues)

105-122 III 486a (Myths and Legends in the Q); 519b (Narratives)

105-191 V 313b (Trade and Commerce)

106 III 486a (Myths and Legends in the Q)
IV 299b (Prophets and Prophethood)

108 III 567b (Obedience)
IV 478b (Rhymed Prose)

109 IV 452b (Reward and Punishment)

110 III 567b (Obedience)
IV 478b (Rhymed Prose)
111 II 358b (Grammar and the Q)
113 III 66b (Judgment)
116 V 130b (Stoning)
118 I 398b (Conquest); 519a (Deliverance)
119-121 I 553b (Drowning)
121 III 524b (Narratives)
V 5a (Signs)
122 IV 6a (Pairs and Pairing)
123 I 21b (ʿĀd); 222a (Belief and Unbelief)
III 524a (Narratives)
123-138 I 532a (Dialogues)
123-139 IV 586b (Sheba)
123-140 II 462a (Hūd)
III 519b (Narratives)
124 I 261b (Brother and Brotherhood)
126 III 567b (Obedience)
IV 478b (Rhymed Prose)
128 V 3a (Signs)
128-129 I 21b (ʿĀd); 150b (Archaeology and the Q)
II 338b (Good and Evil)
129 I 163b (Art and Architecture and the Q)
V 340a (Transitoriness); 549a (Work)
131 III 567b (Obedience)
132-133 I 302b (Children)
133 I 96a (Animal Life)
IV 3b (Pairs and Pairing)
133-134 V 463b (Water)
134 II 283b (Garden)
V 127a (Springs and Fountains)
135 I 21b (ʿĀd)
136-138 II 510b (Indifference)
137 II 434a (History and the Q)
139 I 21b (ʿĀd); 222a (Belief and Unbelief)
III 524b (Narratives)
V 5a (Signs)

140	IV	6a (Pairs and Pairing)
141	I	222a (Belief and Unbelief)
	III	524a (Narratives)
	IV	521b (Ṣāliḥ)
141-142	V	253a (Thamūd)
141-156	I	532a (Dialogues)
141-158	I	149b (Archaeology and the Q)
141-159	II	340b (Good Deeds); 427a (Ḥijr)
	III	519b (Narratives)
	IV	521a (Ṣāliḥ)
142	I	261b (Brother and Brotherhood)
	IV	521a (Ṣāliḥ)
144	III	567b (Obedience)
147	V	127a (Springs and Fountains)
147-148	V	463b (Water)
148	I	494b (Date Palm)
	II	3b (Earth); 305a (Geography)
149	II	339a (Good and Evil)
	V	253a (Thamūd)
150	III	567b (Obedience)
151-152	I	440a (Corruption)
153	IV	521b (Ṣāliḥ)
154	III	449b (Muḥammad)
	IV	521b (Ṣāliḥ)
	V	253a (Thamūd)
154-155	IV	296b (Prophets and Prophethood)
155	I	500b (Day, Times of)
	IV	521b (Ṣāliḥ)
	V	280a (Time)
155-156	V	253a (Thamūd)
155-157	III	219a (Literature and the Q)
155-158	I	287a (Camel)
156	II	335b (Good and Evil)
	IV	453a (Reward and Punishment)
157	IV	521b (Ṣāliḥ)
	V	253a (Thamūd)
158	III	524b (Narratives)
	IV	453a (Reward and Punishment)
	V	5a (Signs)

159 IV 6a (Pairs and Pairing)

160 III 524a (Narratives)

160-161 I 261b (Brother and Brotherhood)

160-169 I 532a (Dialogues)

160-174 III 232a, 233a (Lot)

160-175 III 519b (Narratives)

161 IV 299b (Prophets and Prophethood)

163 III 567b (Obedience)

165 V 21b (Sin, Major and Minor); 552a (World)

165-166 II 444b (Homosexuality)

166 V 526b (Women and the Q)

167 III 449a (Muḥammad)

169-170 I 519a (Deliverance)

173 II 212b (Fire)
V 470b (Weather)

174 III 524b (Narratives)
V 5a (Signs)

175 IV 6a (Pairs and Pairing)

176 I 41b (Agriculture and Vegetation); 149b (Archaeology and the Q)
II 353b (Grammar and the Q)
IV 53b, 54a (People of the Thicket); 605b (Shuʿayb)
V 245a (Textual Criticism of the Q)

176-188 I 532a (Dialogues)

176-189 III 390b (Midian); 519b (Narratives)

176-191 IV 319a (Punishment Stories); 605a (Shuʿayb)

177-189 V 245a (Textual Criticism of the Q)

179 III 567b (Obedience)

181 I 170a (Art and Architecture and the Q)
II 8b (Economics)
III 334a, 335b, 337a (Measurement)

181-182 IV 605a (Shuʿayb)

182 II 545b (Instruments)
III 334b, 336a (Measurement)

183 I 300b (Cheating); 440a (Corruption)
IV 288a (Property)
V 312b (Trade and Commerce)

184	I	476a (Creation)
186	III	449b (Muḥammad)
189	IV	320a (Punishment Stories); 453a (Reward and Punishment); 605b (Shuʿayb)
190	III	524b (Narratives)
	V	5a (Signs)
190-227	III	519b (Narratives)
191	IV	6a (Pairs and Pairing)
192	III	510b (Names of the Q)
	IV	292b (Prophets and Prophethood); 446a (Revelation and Inspiration)
192-194	II	443b (Holy Spirit)
	IV	216b (Prayer)
192-195	V	371b (Trinity)
192-197	III	600b (Ornamentation and Illumination)
192-227	II	143a (Exhortations); 262a (Form and Structure of the Q)
193	II	278b (Gabriel)
	III	13b (Jesus); 293b (Mary)
	IV	293a (Prophets and Prophethood)
	V	81a (Soul)
193-194	III	442a (Muḥammad)
194	II	497b (Illiteracy)
195	I	83a (Anatomy); 132a (Arabic Language); 145a (Arabs)
	II	226b (Foreign Vocabulary); 497b (Illiteracy); 512b (Informants)
	III	109a (Language, Concept of); 110a, 113b, 114b, 124b (Language and Style of the Q); 451a (Muḥammad)
	IV	439b (Revelation and Inspiration); 566a (Scripture and the Q)
	V	434a (Virtue); 547a (Word of God)
196	II	434a (History and the Q)
	IV	569b (Scrolls)
	V	301b, 307b (Torah)
197	IV	537b, 539a (Scholar)
198	II	497b (Illiteracy)
	V	132a (Strangers and Foreigners)
198-199	II	226b (Foreign Vocabulary)
	III	451a (Muḥammad)
199	I	132a (Arabic Language)
	II	497b (Illiteracy)
200	III	380a (Mercy)
208	III	382a (Messenger)

210 I 526b (Devil)

213 III 443a (Muḥammad)

214 II 174b (Family)
III 443a, 455b (Muḥammad)
IV 331b (Quraysh)
V 39a (Sīra and the Q); 364a (Tribes and Clans); 460b (Warner)

216 I 537a (Disobedience)
III 453b (Muḥammad)

217 IV 6a (Pairs and Pairing)

218 V 288b (Time)

219 I 254a (Bowing and Prostration)
IV 305a (Prophets and Prophethood)

221 I 442b (Cosmology); 526b (Devil)
III 537a (News)

221-227 IV 113b (Poetry and Poets)

224 IV 113a, 113b (Poetry and Poets); 442b (Revelation and Inspiration)
V 393b (Turkish Literature and the Q)

224-226 III 181b (Lie); 219b (Literature and the Q)
IV 473a (Rhetoric and the Q)
V 43b (Sīra and the Q)

224-227 IV 114a (Poetry and Poets)

225 IV 118a (Polemic and Polemical Language)

225-226 IV 113b (Poetry and Poets)

226 I 32a (African Literature)

227 II 32b (Epigraphy)
IV 113b, 114a (Poetry and Poets); 473a, 473b (Rhetoric and the Q)

SŪRAT AL-NAML (27)

I 93b (Animal Life)
III 94a (Kings and Rulers); 472b (Mysterious Letters); 520a (Narratives); 534a (Nature as Signs)
IV 478b (Rhymed Prose); 586b (Sheba)
V 253b (Thamūd); 342b (Translations of the Q)

1 I 243a (Book)
II 497b (Illiteracy)
III 124b (Language and Style of the Q); 591b (Orality and Writing in Arabia)

1-2 II 341a, 341b (Good News)

1-6 II 143a (Exhortations)
III 520a (Narratives)

2	IV	3b (Pairs and Pairing)
3	II	362b (Grammar and the Q)
	IV	17a (Paradise)
	V	196b (Taxation); 553a (World)
4	II	362a (Grammar and the Q)
5	II	335b (Good and Evil)
6	IV	5b (Pairs and Pairing); 537b (Scholar)
7	III	518a, 518b, 524a (Narratives); 537a (News)
	V	393b (Turkish Literature and the Q)
7-9	II	211b, 213b (Fire)
7-14	I	304b (Children of Israel)
	III	520a (Narratives)
7-58	IV	320a (Punishment Stories)
8	II	366a (Grammar and the Q)
	IV	220a (Prayer)
	V	110b (Speech)
8-9	I	329b (Chronology and the Q)
9	II	330a (God and his Attributes)
10	II	546a (Instruments)
	III	219a (Literature and the Q)
	IV	295b (Prophets and Prophethood); 508b (Rod); 574b (Seeing and Hearing)
	V	120a (Spiritual Beings); 393a (Turkish Literature and the Q)
10-12	III	382a (Messenger)
	IV	296b (Prophets and Prophethood)
11	II	336a (Good and Evil)
	III	379b (Mercy)
12	I	364a (Colors); 365b (Commandments)
	II	335b (Good and Evil)
	III	394a (Miracles); 422a (Moses); 552b (Numbers and Enumeration)
13	II	542b (Insolence and Obstinacy)
	III	246a (Magic)
	V	5b (Signs)
14	II	361b (Grammar and the Q)
15	I	496a (David)
	III	94b (Kings and Rulers); 103a (Knowledge and Learning); 524a (Narratives)
	IV	213b (Praise)
15-44	III	520a (Narratives)
	V	77a (Solomon)

16 I 100b (Animal Life)
III 94b (Kings and Rulers); 222b (Literature and the Q); 395a (Miracles); 487a (Myths and Legends in the Q)
V 200b (Teaching)

16-18 V 77b (Solomon)

17 II 361b (Grammar and the Q)
III 44b, 46b (Jinn); 250a (Magic)
V 377a (Troops)

17-20 I 99a (Animal Life)

18 I 99a, 100b (Animal Life)
II 365b (Grammar and the Q)

18-19 II 372b (Gratitude and Ingratitude)
III 224a (Literature and the Q); 487a (Myths and Legends in the Q)

19 I 236b (Blessing); 436a (Conversion)
II 367a (Grammar and the Q)
III 146b, 149a (Laughter); 379b (Mercy)

20 II 537b (Inquisition)
III 222b (Literature and the Q)

20-44 I 228b (Bilqīs)

21 II 354a (Grammar and the Q); 416a (Hell and Hellfire)
IV 517a (Sacrifice)

22 II 308a (Geography)
III 518a (Narratives); 537a (News)
IV 586a (Sheba)
V 373b (Trips and Voyages)

22-26 I 100b (Animal Life)

22-43 II 216a (Flying)

22-44 II 558a (Invitation)
V 532b (Women and the Q)

23 II 291a (Gender)
III 92a (Kings and Rulers)
V 77b (Solomon); 277a (Throne of God)

24 III 47a (Jinn)
V 162b (Sun)

24-25 I 255a (Bowing and Prostration)

25 IV 4a (Pairs and Pairing)
V 393a (Turkish Literature and the Q)

26 I 480b (Creeds)
II 325b (God and his Attributes)

III 467a (Muʿtazila)
V 500b (Witnessing and Testifying)

28 II 544b (Instruments)
III 508a (Names of the Q)

28-29 I 242b (Book)

29 I 369a (Community and Society in the Q)
II 432b (History and the Q)
V 552a (World)

29-35 I 532a (Dialogues)

30 I 207b, 209b (Basmala); 329b (Chronology and the Q)
II 92a (Everyday Life, Q In); 318a (God and his Attributes)
IV 5a (Pairs and Pairing)
V 393b (Turkish Literature and the Q); 424a, 424b (Verse)

33 I 458b (Courage)
IV 128b (Politics and the Q)

34 II 62b (Ethics and the Q)
III 91b (Kings and Rulers)
V 140b (Ṣūfism and the Q)

35 III 382b (Messenger)

35-36 II 313b (Gift-Giving)

36 II 314a (Gift-Giving)
III 61b (Joy and Misery)

37 IV 153b (Poll Tax)
V 377a (Troops)

37-40 V 373b (Trips and Voyages)

38 II 325b (God and his Attributes)
V 277a (Throne of God)

38-42 V 77b (Solomon)

39 II 486b (ʿIfrīt)
III 44b (Jinn)
V 120b (Spiritual Beings)

39-40 III 48b (Jinn)

40 II 344b (Grace); 362b (Grammar and the Q); 371a (Gratitude and Ingratitude); 462a (House, Domestic and Divine); 486b (ʿIfrīt)
III 395b (Miracles); 487b (Myths and Legends in the Q)

41 V 277a (Throne of God)

41-42 I 166a (Art and Architecture and the Q)
II 325b (God and his Attributes)

42 V 277a (Throne of God); 373b (Trips and Voyages)

44 I 149b (Archaeology and the Q); 162a, 162b, 168a, 171b (Art and Architecture and the Q); 347a (Clothing)
IV 586b (Sheba)
V 77a (Solomon)

45 I 261b (Brother and Brotherhood); 513b (Debate and Disputation)
III 524a (Narratives)
IV 521a (Ṣāliḥ)
V 253a (Thamūd)

45-52 I 149b (Archaeology and the Q)
II 459b (House, Domestic and Divine)

45-53 II 340b (Good Deeds)
III 520a (Narratives)
IV 521a, 522a (Ṣāliḥ)

46 III 379b (Mercy)

47 II 242a (Foretelling in the Q)

48-51 V 253b (Thamūd)

49 II 365b (Grammar and the Q)
V 492a (Witnessing and Testifying)

50 III 18a (Jesus)

50-51 IV 310a (Provocation)

52 II 360b (Grammar and the Q)
IV 425a (Remnant); 538b (Scholar)
V 5a (Signs)

53 IV 522a (Ṣāliḥ)
V 253a (Thamūd)

54 IV 580b (Sex and Sexuality)
V 19a (Sin, Major and Minor); 253b (Thamūd)

54-55 II 63a (Ethics and the Q); 488a (Ignorance)
IV 584b (Sex and Sexuality)

54-58 III 232a (Lot); 520a (Narratives)

55 II 76a (Ethics and the Q); 444b (Homosexuality)

56 I 343b (Cleanliness and Ablution)
II 357b (Grammar and the Q)
III 449a (Muḥammad)
IV 505b (Ritual Purity)

57 IV 523b (Salvation)

58 II 212b (Fire)
V 470b (Weather)

59 II 11b (Election)
IV 474a (Rhetoric and the Q)

59-60 IV 312a (Provocation)

59-61 I 472b (Creation)

59-93 III 520a (Narratives)

60 I 41a (Agriculture and Vegetation)
II 3a, 3b (Earth); 283a (Garden); 304a (Geography)
III 71a (Justice and Injustice)
V 359a (Tree)

60-64 IV 161b (Polytheism and Atheism)

61 I 443a (Cosmology)
II 2b (Earth)
IV 7a (Pairs and Pairing); 538b (Scholar)
V 126a (Springs and Fountains); 463a (Water)

62 I 277a (Caliph)
II 335b (Good and Evil)

63 I 53a (Air and Wind); 494a (Darkness)
II 3a (Earth)
III 379a (Mercy)
IV 4b (Pairs and Pairing); 108a (Planets and Stars)
V 119a (Spiritual Beings); 464a (Water); 471a (Weather)

64 I 472b, 479a (Creation)
IV 4a, 6b (Pairs and Pairing); 286b (Proof); 312a, 312b (Provocation); 435a (Resurrection)

65 II 423a (Hidden and the Hidden)
IV 312a (Provocation); 572b (Secrets)
V 288b (Time)

67 II 4b (Earth)

67-72 IV 311a (Provocation)

68 II 430a (History and the Q)
III 518a (Narratives)

69 II 308a (Geography)
IV 425a (Remnant)

70 I 405b (Consolation)
III 452b (Muḥammad)
V 134a (Suffering)

71-75 I 523b (Destiny)

73 II 371a (Gratitude and Ingratitude)

74 IV 4a (Pairs and Pairing)

75 I 243a (Book); 523a (Destiny)
II 269b (Freedom and Predestination)
III 124b (Language and Style of the Q)

76 III 443b (Muḥammad); 517b (Narratives)
V 111a (Speech)

76-93 II 143a (Exhortations)

77 III 511b, 512a (Names of the Q)

78 I 516a (Decision)
II 185b (Fate)
IV 6a (Pairs and Pairing)

79 III 453b (Muḥammad)

80-81 III 452b (Muḥammad)

81 II 43b (Error)
V 7a (Signs)

82 I 100b (Animal Life); 111a (Antichrist); 112b (Apocalypse)
II 47a (Eschatology)
III 138b, 139a, 144a (Last Judgment)
IV 434b (Resurrection)

83 V 377a (Troops)

84 V 547a (Word of God)

86 I 502a (Day, Times of)
IV 438a (Revelation and Inspiration); 589b (Shekhinah)
V 280b (Time)

87 I 112b, 114a (Apocalypse)
II 198a (Fear)

87-88 III 140a (Last Judgment)

88 I 213a (Beauty)

88-90 IV 34b (Peace)

89 II 198a (Fear)

91 III 339b (Mecca); 443b (Muḥammad)
IV 282a (Profane and Sacred); 514a (Sacred Precincts)

91-93 IV 137b (Politics and the Q)

92 I 225b (Belief and Unbelief)
III 40a (Jihād); 190a (Literacy); 440b (Muḥammad)

93 IV 438a (Revelation and Inspiration)

SŪRAT AL-QAṢAṢ (28)

III 472b (Mysterious Letters); 517b, 518b (Narratives)
V 29a (Sinai)

1-3 II 262a (Form and Structure of the Q)

2 II 435b (History and the Q); 497b (Illiteracy)
III 124b (Language and Style of the Q)

2-3 III 441a (Muḥammad)

2-46 III 518b (Narratives)

3 III 190a (Literacy); 441a (Muḥammad); 518a, 524a (Narratives); 537a (News)

3-6 IV 211a (Power and Impotence)

3-43 IV 320a (Punishment Stories)

3-47 I 304b (Children of Israel)

4 I 302a (Children)
II 10b (Egypt); 338a (Good and Evil); 542a (Insolence and Obstinacy)
III 583a, 583b (Oppression)
IV 67b (Pharaoh); 106a (Plagues); 126b (Politics and the Q); 517a (Sacrifice); 592a (Shīʿa)
V 375a (Trips and Voyages)

4-5 II 399a (Hāmān)
III 581a (Oppressed on Earth)

4-6 III 581a (Oppressed on Earth)

5 I 306a (Children of Israel)
II 503a (Imām)
III 95a (Kings and Rulers); 437a (Mosque); 583b (Oppression)

6 II 10b (Egypt); 338a (Good and Evil); 399a (Hāmān)
V 377a (Troops)

7 II 10b (Egypt)
III 106a (Lactation)
IV 439b (Revelation and Inspiration)
V 463b (Water)

7-12 III 106a, 106b (Lactation)

7-13 I 302b (Children)
III 393b (Miracles)
IV 20a (Parents)
V 570a (Youth and Old Age)

7-14 III 420b (Moses)

8 II 23b (Enemies); 338a (Good and Evil)
IV 67b (Pharaoh)
V 377a (Troops)

8-9 II 399a (Hāmān)

9 I 405a (Consolation)
V 375a (Trips and Voyages); 532a (Women and the Q)

10 I 405a (Consolation)

11 V 53b (Sister)

12 II 174a (Family)

III 106a, 106b (Lactation); 173a (Lawful and Unlawful); 420b (Moses)
IV 37a (People of the Book); 48b, 49b (People of the House)
V 476b, 477a (Wet-Nursing)

12-13 V 549a (Work)

13 I 213a (Beauty); 405a (Consolation)
IV 538b (Scholar)

14 III 331b (Maturity); 420b (Moses)
IV 3b (Pairs and Pairing); 452b (Reward and Punishment); 538a (Scholar)

15 II 10b (Egypt); 23b, 24a (Enemies)
III 420b (Moses)
IV 25b (Parties and Factions); 403b (Religious Pluralism and the Q); 592a (Shīʿa)

15-16 V 25a (Sin, Major and Minor)

15-17 V 23a (Sin, Major and Minor)

16 II 187a (Fate)
III 420b (Moses)
IV 482a (Rhymed Prose)

17 I 236b (Blessing)

18 I 163a (Art and Architecture and the Q); 504a (Day, Times of)
II 10b (Egypt)
III 418b (Morning)

18-19 V 288b (Time)

19 II 10b (Egypt); 23b (Enemies)

20 I 163a (Art and Architecture and the Q)
II 10b (Egypt); 355b (Grammar and the Q)
III 211b (Literature and the Q); 421a (Moses)

21 I 519a (Deliverance)
II 308a (Geography)
III 421a (Moses)

22 IV 29a (Path or Way)

22-23 III 390b (Midian)
IV 606a (Shuʿayb)

22-28 III 421a (Moses)
V 41b (Sīra and the Q)

23 V 548b (Work); 570b (Youth and Old Age)

23-24 V 465a (Water)

24 II 336a (Good and Evil)

25 I 519a (Deliverance)
III 403b (Modesty); 517b (Narratives)
IV 523b (Salvation)

25-26 III 234b (Love and Affection)

25-27 IV 452a (Reward and Punishment)

25-31 V 393a (Turkish Literature and the Q)

26 II 353a (Grammar and the Q)
III 253b (Manual Labor)

27 II 433b (History and the Q)
III 421a (Moses)
IV 580b (Sex and Sexuality)

27-29 V 289a (Time)

29 II 174a (Family)
III 58a (Journey); 421a (Moses); 518a (Narratives); 537a (News)
V 375a (Trips and Voyages); 393b (Turkish Literature and the Q)

29-30 II 211b, 213b (Fire)

29-35 I 532a (Dialogues)

30 II 305a (Geography)
III 421a (Moses)
IV 446b (Revelation and Inspiration); 513b (Sacred Precincts)
V 110b (Speech); 362a (Tree)

31 II 546a (Instruments)
III 219a (Literature and the Q)
V 120a (Spiritual Beings)

31-32 III 421b (Moses)
IV 296b (Prophets and Prophethood)

32 I 364a (Colors); 371b (Community and Society in the Q)
II 335b (Good and Evil)
III 421b (Moses)
IV 106a (Plagues); 286b (Proof); 296b (Prophets and Prophethood)

33 V 83a (Soul)

34 III 112a, 113a (Language and Style of the Q)

34-35 I 1a (Aaron)

35 I 1a (Aaron); 260a (Brother and Brotherhood)
III 421b (Moses)

36 III 246a (Magic); 421b (Moses)
IV 286a, 286b (Proof); 296b (Prophets and Prophethood)

37 I 504a (Day, Times of)
III 425a (Moses)
IV 523a (Salvation)

38 I 162b (Art and Architecture and the Q); 340b (Clay); 478a (Creation)
II 338a (Good and Evil); 399a (Hāmān); 415b (Hell and Hellfire); 542b (Insolence and Obstinacy)

III 383b (Metals and Minerals); 522a (Narratives); 539b (Nimrod); 583b (Oppression)
IV 67b, 68a (Pharaoh); 483b (Rhymed Prose)

38-39 I 190a (Authority)

39 I 160a (Arrogance)
II 91b (Everyday Life, Q In)

40 II 10b (Egypt); 213a (Fire)
IV 67a (Pharaoh)
V 463b (Water)

41 II 417b (Hell and Hellfire); 503a (Imām); 558b (Invitation)

43 II 434a (History and the Q)
III 424b (Moses)
IV 126b (Politics and the Q); 287a (Proof)
V 301a (Torah)

44 V 29a (Sinai); 492b (Witnessing and Testifying)

45 I 479a (Creation)
III 190a (Literacy); 441a (Muḥammad)
IV 37a (People of the Book); 49a (People of the House); 606a (Shuʿayb)

46 II 308b (Geography)
III 382b (Messenger); 443a (Muḥammad)
V 29a (Sinai); 110a (Speech); 460b (Warner)

48 III 246a (Magic); 450b (Muḥammad)

50 I 225b (Belief and Unbelief)
IV 84a (Philosophy and the Q)
V 486b (Wish and Desire)

51 V 547a (Word of God)

52 I 222b (Belief and Unbelief)
V 301a (Torah)

52-54 I 219a, 223b (Belief and Unbelief)
III 23b, 32a (Jews and Judaism)

53 III 190a (Literacy)

54 III 32b (Jews and Judaism)
IV 6b (Pairs and Pairing); 309b (Provocation); 458b (Reward and Punishment)
V 134b (Suffering)

54-55 I 219b (Belief and Unbelief)

55 II 488a (Ignorance)
III 40b (Jihād)
IV 309b (Provocation)
V 291a (Tolerance and Coercion)

56 I 435b (Conversion)
IV 331a (Quraysh)
V 291b (Tolerance and Coercion)

57 II 224b (Forbidden)
III 172b (Lawful and Unlawful); 338b, 339b (Mecca); 449b (Muḥammad)
IV 282a (Profane and Sacred); 329b (Quraysh); 515b (Sacred Precincts); 538b (Scholar)

58 I 242a (Boast)
IV 425a (Remnant)

58-59 IV 127a (Politics and the Q)

59 I 338b (City)
II 98b (Evil Deeds); 337a (Good and Evil); 340a (Good Deeds)
III 190a (Literacy); 382a (Messenger)
IV 301b (Prophets and Prophethood)

60 III 59b (Joy and Misery)
IV 5a (Pairs and Pairing)
V 340a (Transitoriness)

62-65 II 558b (Invitation)

62-66 V 494a (Witnessing and Testifying)

63 V 547b (Word of God)

64 II 558b (Invitation)

65 IV 298b (Prophets and Prophethood)

67 IV 426b (Repentance and Penance); 523a (Salvation)

68 II 11b, 12a (Election); 327b (God and his Attributes)
IV 220a (Prayer)

69 IV 4a (Pairs and Pairing)

70 I 329b (Chronology and the Q); 480b (Creeds)
IV 214b (Praise)

70-72 IV 161b (Polytheism and Atheism)

71-72 V 279a (Time); 475a (Weights and Measures)

72 IV 574a (Seeing and Hearing); 589b (Shekhinah)

73 II 372a (Gratitude and Ingratitude)
III 209b (Literature and the Q); 379a (Mercy)

74 II 558b (Invitation)

75 I 236a (Blasphemy)
II 67b (Ethics and the Q)
III 447a (Muḥammad)
IV 286b (Proof); 312a, 312b (Provocation)
V 493b (Witnessing and Testifying)

76 II 353b (Grammar and the Q)
III 61b (Joy and Misery); 104a (Korah); 359a (Medicine and the Q)
V 283b (Time)

76-81 III 394b (Miracles)

76-82 I 190a (Authority)
III 104a (Korah); 518b (Narratives)
IV 320a (Punishment Stories)

77 V 106a (Spatial Relations); 436a (Virtue)

79 III 104b (Korah)

80 IV 538b (Scholar)
V 203b (Teaching)

81 II 338b (Good and Evil); 399b (Hāmān)

82 I 504a (Day, Times of)
II 348a (Grammar and the Q)
IV 523a (Salvation)
V 288b (Time)

83 I 163b (Art and Architecture and the Q)
V 553b (World)

85 III 454a (Muḥammad)
IV 435a (Resurrection)

85-87 IV 34b (Peace)

86 III 442b (Muḥammad)
IV 294b (Prophets and Prophethood)

87 I 437a (Conversion)
III 443a (Muḥammad)

88 I 92a (Angel); 329b (Chronology and the Q); 480b (Creeds); 508b (Death and the Dead)
II 30a (Epigraphy); 47b (Eschatology); 159a (Face); 160b (Face of God); 323b (God and his Attributes); 418b (Hell and Hellfire)
III 223b (Literature and the Q); 389a (Michael); 443a (Muḥammad)
V 151a (Ṣūfism and the Q); 393a, 393b (Turkish Literature and the Q); 487a (Wish and Desire)

SŪRAT AL-ʿANKABŪT (29)

I 93b (Animal Life)
II 116a (Exegesis of the Q: Classical and Medieval)
III 6b (Jerusalem); 472b (Mysterious Letters); 520b (Narratives); 534a (Nature as Signs)
V 113a (Spider)

1 V 393a (Turkish Literature and the Q)

1-10 II 469a (Hypocrites and Hypocrisy)

2 V 502a (Witnessing and Testifying)

3 V 434b (Virtue)

5	II	449a (Hope)
	IV	575a (Seeing and Hearing)
	V	289a (Time)
6	III	37a (Jihād)
	V	467b (Wealth)
7	IV	431b (Responsibility); 452b (Reward and Punishment)
	V	19a (Sin, Major and Minor)
8	II	175b (Family)
	III	37a (Jihād); 567a (Obedience)
	IV	20b (Parents); 159a (Polytheism and Atheism)
	V	204b (Teaching)
9	I	436a (Conversion)
10-11	II	470a (Hypocrites and Hypocrisy)
	III	37b (Jihād)
11	II	468b (Hypocrites and Hypocrisy)
12	V	22a (Sin, Major and Minor)
12-13	III	228b (Load or Burden)
13	IV	431a (Responsibility)
14	II	433a (History and the Q)
	III	486b (Myths and Legends in the Q); 542b (Noah); 549b (Numbers and Enumeration)
	V	133a (Suffering); 285b (Time); 560a (Year)
14-15	II	558a (Invitation)
	III	520b (Narratives)
14-40	IV	320a (Punishment Stories)
15	V	5b (Signs)
16	V	258a (Theology and the Q)
16-17	V	555b (Worship)
16-27	I	6b (Abraham)
	I	330a (Chronology and the Q)
	III	494a (Myths and Legends in the Q)
16-35	III	520b (Narratives)
17	II	371b (Gratitude and Ingratitude); 481a (Idols and Images)
	III	181a (Lie)
	V	179a, 179b (Sustenance)
18	III	125a (Language and Style of the Q)
	V	291b (Tolerance and Coercion)
19	I	472b (Creation)
	IV	6b (Pairs and Pairing); 435a (Resurrection)

19-20 I 479a (Creation)

20 II 355a (Grammar and the Q)
IV 6b (Pairs and Pairing); 312a (Provocation)
V 376a (Trips and Voyages)

21 IV 2a (Pairs and Pairing); 457b (Reward and Punishment)

22 II 273a (Friends and Friendship)
IV 5b (Pairs and Pairing)

23 I 521b (Despair)
V 7a (Signs)

24 I 7a (Abraham)
II 211b (Fire)
III 494b (Myths and Legends in the Q)
IV 523b (Salvation)

25 II 481a (Idols and Images)
IV 103b (Pit)

26 I 6a (Abraham)
II 14b (Emigrants and Helpers); 18b (Emigration)
III 494b (Myths and Legends in the Q)
IV 26b (Parties and Factions)

27 I 7b (Abraham); 233a (Birth)
II 561b, 562a (Isaac); 563b (Ishmael)
III 1a (Jacob); 127a (Language and Style of the Q); 520a (Narratives)
IV 297b (Prophets and Prophethood)
V 302a (Torah)

28 II 444b (Homosexuality)
IV 580b (Sex and Sexuality)

28-29 IV 584b (Sex and Sexuality)

29 II 444b (Homosexuality)
V 36b (Sīra and the Q); 373a (Trips and Voyages); 438a (Virtues and Vices, Commanding and Forbidding)

31 I 6a (Abraham)
II 6a (Economics); 341a, 341b (Good News); 411b (Heaven and Sky)
IV 49a (People of the House)
V 132a (Strangers and Foreigners)

31-32 I 330a (Chronology and the Q)

31-35 III 231b (Lot)

32 I 519a (Deliverance)
II 174a (Family)

33 I 405a (Consolation)
II 196b (Fear)
V 393a (Turkish Literature and the Q)

34 II 174a (Family)
IV 49a (People of the House); 454a (Reward and Punishment); 503a (Ritual Purity)

35 II 308a (Geography)
IV 286a (Proof); 425b (Remnant)
V 5a (Signs)

36 I 261b (Brother and Brotherhood)
II 399b (Hāmān); 449a (Hope)
III 136b (Last Judgment); 393b (Miracles)
IV 605a (Shuʿayb)

36-37 II 558a (Invitation)
III 390b (Midian)
IV 605a (Shuʿayb)

36-40 III 520b (Narratives)

37 I 113a (Apocalypse)
III 417a, 418a (Morning)
V 133a (Suffering)

38 I 21b (ʿĀd); 150b (Archaeology and the Q); 163a (Art and Architecture and the Q)
II 339a (Good and Evil); 399b (Hāmān)
IV 425a (Remnant)

39 I 160a (Arrogance)
II 338a (Good and Evil); 399b (Hāmān); 542b (Insolence and Obstinacy)
III 104b (Korah); 421b (Moses); 518b (Narratives)
IV 68a (Pharaoh); 106a (Plagues); 264a (Pride); 286b (Proof)

39-40 III 423b (Moses)

40 I 553b (Drowning)
II 338a (Good and Evil); 399b (Hāmān)
III 583b (Oppression)
IV 530b (Sand)
V 133a (Suffering)

41 I 100a (Animal Life)
II 273b (Friends and Friendship); 338a (Good and Evil)
III 209a (Literature and the Q)
IV 10a (Parable)
V 15a (Simile); 113a (Spider)

42 III 200a (Literary Structures of the Q)
V 203b (Teaching)

43 IV 10a (Parable); 228b (Prayer); 537b, 538b (Scholar)

44 I 473a, 473b (Creation)
IV 438a (Revelation and Inspiration)

45 I 28a (Adultery and Fornication); 245b (Book)
III 190a (Literacy); 441a, 441b (Muḥammad)

IV 221b (Prayer); 294a (Prophets and Prophethood); 420a, 424b (Remembrance); 580b (Sex and Sexuality)
V 269a, 271b (Theology and the Q); 438a (Virtues and Vices, Commanding and Forbidding)

46 I 115b, 118a (Apologetics); 222b (Belief and Unbelief); 511b (Debate and Disputation)
II 452b (Hospitality and Courtesy)
III 28a (Jews and Judaism); 40a (Jihād)
IV 238b (Pre-1800 Preoccupations of Q Studies); 281a (Profane and Sacred); 309b (Provocation)
V 203b (Teaching); 301a, 303b (Torah)

46-47 IV 41b (People of the Book)

47 I 222b (Belief and Unbelief); 247a (Book)
II 495a (Illiteracy)
V 303b, 307b (Torah)

47-48 II 492b (Illiteracy)
V 400b, 401b, 402a (Ummī)

48 II 430a (History and the Q); 495b (Illiteracy)
III 188b (Literacy); 451b (Muḥammad); 591b, 592a (Orality and Writing in Arabia)
IV 217a (Prayer)
V 301b (Torah); 558a (Writing and Writing Materials)

49 II 497b (Illiteracy)
IV 538b, 539a (Scholar)
V 6a, 7a (Signs)

49-50 III 398b (Miracles)

50 III 40a (Jihād)
IV 312a (Provocation)
V 3a (Signs)

50-51 IV 119a (Polemic and Polemical Language)

51 III 190a (Literacy); 591b (Orality and Writing in Arabia)

53 V 289b (Time)

53-55 II 418b (Hell and Hellfire)

55 IV 453a (Reward and Punishment)
V 547a (Word of God)

56 II 366b (Grammar and the Q)
III 531b (Nature as Signs)

57 V 83a (Soul)

58 I 165b (Art and Architecture and the Q)
V 382b (Trust and Patience)

59 V 382a, 382b (Trust and Patience)

60 I 95b (Animal Life)
III 327b (Material Culture and the Q)
IV 575a (Seeing and Hearing)

60-63 I 329b (Chronology and the Q)

61 I 472b (Creation)
II 317a (God and his Attributes)
IV 160b (Polytheism and Atheism)
V 163a (Sun)

61-65 II 476b, 478a (Idolatry and Idolaters)

61-68 I 236a (Blasphemy)

62 V 179a (Sustenance)

63 II 3a (Earth)
IV 311a (Provocation)

64 I 94a (Animal Life)
IV 15a (Paradise)
V 552b (World)

65 I 37b (Age of Ignorance); 519a (Deliverance)
II 3a (Earth); 317a (God and his Attributes)
IV 161b (Polytheism and Atheism)

66 I 220b (Belief and Unbelief)
IV 538b (Scholar)

67 II 224b (Forbidden)
III 338b, 339b (Mecca); 449b (Muḥammad)
IV 282a (Profane and Sacred); 329b (Quraysh); 515b (Sacred Precincts)

67-69 II 337b (Good and Evil)

68 III 181a, 181b (Lie)
IV 103b (Pit); 309b (Provocation)

69 III 37a (Jihād)
IV 29a, 30a (Path or Way)

SŪRAT AL-RŪM (30)

I 230b (Biology as the Creation and Stages of Life); 265b, 269b (Byzantines); 399b (Conquest)
II 116a (Exegesis of the Q: Classical and Medieval)
III 6b (Jerusalem); 472b (Mysterious Letters)
IV 246b (Pre-1800 Preoccupations of Q Studies); 537b (Scholar)
V 10a (Signs)

1 V 393a (Turkish Literature and the Q)

1-2 V 80a (Soothsayer)

1-4 II 280a, 282a (Gambling)

1-5 I 265b, 266b (Byzantines)
II 146a, 147a, 147b (Expeditions and Battles); 262a (Form and Structure of the Q)

2 I 314b (Christians and Christianity)
II 144a (Expeditions and Battles)
IV 410a (Religious Pluralism and the Q)

2-4 V 456a (War)

2-5 I 320a (Chronology and the Q)
V 430b (Victory)

3 II 144a (Expeditions and Battles)

3-4 II 186a (Fate)

4 I 267b (Byzantines)
III 61a (Joy and Misery)
V 286a (Time)

4-5 III 557b (Numismatics)

5 III 61a (Joy and Misery)
IV 6a (Pairs and Pairing)

6 IV 538b (Scholar)

7 II 489a (Ignorance)
IV 5a (Pairs and Pairing)

8 I 442a (Cosmology); 473a (Creation)
II 57b (Ethics and the Q); 269a (Freedom and Predestination); 327b (God and his Attributes)
IV 4a (Pairs and Pairing); 393b (Reflection and Deliberation)
V 9b (Signs); 289b (Time); 544b (Word of God)

8-11 II 58b (Ethics and the Q)

9 I 40b (Agriculture and Vegetation)
II 308a (Geography)
IV 310a (Provocation); 425a (Remnant)

10 III 401a (Mockery)
V 6a (Signs)

11 I 479a (Creation)
IV 6b (Pairs and Pairing)

12 I 501a (Day, Times of); 521b (Despair); 524b (Devil)
III 137a (Last Judgment)
V 287b (Time)

13 I 220b (Belief and Unbelief)
V 117b (Spiritual Beings); 494a (Witnessing and Testifying)

14 I 501a (Day, Times of)
III 137a (Last Judgment)
V 287b (Time)

14-16 IV 2b (Pairs and Pairing); 34b (Peace)

15 I 41a (Agriculture and Vegetation)
II 283a (Garden)

15-16 II 58b (Ethics and the Q)

17 I 504a, 504b (Day, Times of)
III 417a, 418b (Morning)
IV 213b (Praise); 220a (Prayer)
V 281a, 282b (Time)

17-18 I 328b (Chronology and the Q)
II 340a (Good Deeds)
III 546a (Noon)
IV 224a (Prayer)

18 I 444a (Cosmology); 503a, 504a (Day, Times of)
IV 213b (Praise)
V 282b (Time)

19 II 45a (Eschatology)
IV 4b (Pairs and Pairing); 435a (Resurrection)

20 I 231a (Biology as the Creation and Stages of Life); 446a (Cosmology); 476a (Creation)
V 7b (Signs)

20-21 II 4b (Earth)

20-28 IV 438a (Revelation and Inspiration)

21 I 447b (Cosmology)
II 175a (Family); 275a (Friends and Friendship); 328b (God and his Attributes)
III 235a (Love and Affection); 277b, 279a (Marriage and Divorce)
IV 183b (Portents); 394a (Reflection and Deliberation); 581a (Sex and Sexuality)
V 9a (Signs); 526b (Women and the Q)

21-24 II 548a (Intellect)

22 I 361b (Colors)
IV 336a (Races); 537b, 538b (Scholar)

22-23 V 4a (Signs)

22-25 V 9a (Signs)

22-27 V 9a (Signs)

23 I 546b (Dreams and Sleep)
II 241b (Foretelling in the Q); 406a (Hearing and Deafness)
IV 179a (Popular and Talismanic Uses of the Q)
V 61a (Sleep); 280b (Time)

24 I 220b (Belief and Unbelief)
II 3a (Earth); 448b (Hope)
IV 183a (Portents)
V 3b, 9a (Signs)

25 II 558b (Invitation)
V 545b (Word of God); 553a (World)

26 IV 223a (Prayer)

27 I 472b, 479a (Creation)
IV 4b, 6b (Pairs and Pairing); 435a (Resurrection)

28 I 396b (Concubines)
IV 10a (Parable)

29 II 59a (Ethics and the Q)
III 102b (Knowledge and Learning)

30 I 5b (Abraham); 26a (Adam and Eve); 337a (Circumcision); 435a (Conversion); 466b (Covenant)
II 323b, 329a (God and his Attributes); 402a (Hand); 402b (Ḥanīf)
III 446a (Muḥammad); 510b (Names of the Q)
IV 416a (Religious Pluralism and the Q); 482b (Rhymed Prose); 538b (Scholar)
V 268b (Theology and the Q)

31 IV 25b (Parties and Factions); 399a (Religious Pluralism and the Q); 427b (Repentance and Penance)

31-32 IV 25a (Parties and Factions); 592a (Shīʿa)

32 I 380a (Community and Society in the Q)
II 432a (History and the Q)
III 61b (Joy and Misery)
IV 25b (Parties and Factions); 403b, 416a (Religious Pluralism and the Q); 592a (Shīʿa)

35 IV 311a (Provocation)
V 3a (Signs); 111a (Speech)

36 I 521b (Despair)
III 61a (Joy and Misery)

37 IV 2a (Pairs and Pairing)
V 4a (Signs)

38 II 53a (Eschatology)
III 252a (Maintenance and Upkeep)
IV 63b (Persian Literature and the Q); 523a (Salvation)

38-39 II 160a (Face of God)
IV 221a (Prayer)

39 I 65b (Almsgiving)
II 8a (Economics)

	IV	6b (Pairs and Pairing); 208b (Poverty and the Poor)
	V	197b, 199a (Taxation); 406b (Usury); 469b (Wealth)
40	I	472b (Creation)
	IV	220b (Prayer); 435b (Resurrection)
	V	545a (Word of God)
41	II	3a (Earth)
	IV	428a (Repentance and Penance)
42	II	308a (Geography)
	IV	312a (Provocation); 320b (Punishment Stories)
43	II	323b (God and his Attributes)
	IV	416a (Religious Pluralism and the Q); 482b (Rhymed Prose)
43-45	IV	2b (Pairs and Pairing)
46	I	53a (Air and Wind); 213a (Beauty); 246a (Book)
	II	341a (Good News)
	III	379a (Mercy)
	IV	438a (Revelation and Inspiration); 604a (Ships)
	V	4a (Signs); 119a (Spiritual Beings); 412a (Vehicles); 471a (Weather)
47	III	382a (Messenger); 454b (Muḥammad)
	IV	453b (Reward and Punishment)
	V	416a (Vengeance)
48	I	42a (Agriculture and Vegetation); 53b (Air and Wind); 213a (Beauty)
	III	62a (Joy and Misery); 530a (Nature as Signs)
	V	463a (Water); 470a, 470b (Weather)
48-51	V	7b (Signs)
49	I	521a (Despair); 525a (Devil)
	IV	443b (Revelation and Inspiration)
50	III	200b (Literary Structures of the Q); 379a (Mercy)
	V	3a (Signs); 393a (Turkish Literature and the Q)
51	I	53b (Air and Wind); 363a (Colors)
	III	530a (Nature as Signs)
52-53	III	452b (Muḥammad)
	IV	2a (Pairs and Pairing)
53	II	43b (Error)
54	I	232a (Biology as the Creation and Stages of Life); 476a (Creation)
	II	327b (God and his Attributes)
	IV	6a (Pairs and Pairing); 211a (Power and Impotence)
	V	569b (Youth and Old Age)
55	I	501a (Day, Times of)
	II	439b (History and the Q)
	III	137a (Last Judgment); 335b (Measurement)

IV 434b (Resurrection)
V 287b, 288a (Time)

56 I 244b (Book)
III 137a (Last Judgment)
IV 296b (Prophets and Prophethood); 435b (Resurrection); 538a, 538b (Scholar)
V 203b (Teaching)

59 I 82a (Anatomy)

60 I 14a (Abrogation)
III 40a (Jihād)
V 386b (Truth)

SŪRAT LUQMĀN (31)

II 116a (Exegesis of the Q: Classical and Medieval)
III 242a, 242b (Luqmān); 472b (Mysterious Letters); 521b (Narratives)
IV 159a (Polytheism and Atheism); 246a (Pre-1800 Preoccupations of Q Studies); 537b (Scholar)

1 V 393a (Turkish Literature and the Q)

3 III 184a (Life)

4 V 196b (Taxation)

5 IV 523a (Salvation)

6 I 160b (Arrogance)
III 400a (Mockery); 517b (Narratives)

7 III 190a (Literacy)
V 7a (Signs); 421b, 422a (Verse); 474a (Weights and Measures)

10 I 95b (Animal Life); 472b (Creation)
II 2b, 3b (Earth); 411a (Heaven and Sky)

11 I 472b (Creation)

12 II 371b (Gratitude and Ingratitude); 441a (History and the Q)
III 242b (Luqmān); 524a (Narratives)
IV 6a (Pairs and Pairing); 68b (Philosophy and the Q)
V 483a (Wisdom)

12-19 I 532a (Dialogues)
III 242a (Luqmān); 521b (Narratives)

13 II 476a (Idolatry and Idolaters)
III 242b (Luqmān)
IV 159a (Polytheism and Atheism)

13-14 IV 20b (Parents)

13-15 IV 21a (Parents)

13-19 II 71a (Ethics and the Q)
IV 32b (Patriarchy)
V 570a (Youth and Old Age)

14 I 233b (Birth); 234b (Birth Control); 302b (Children)
III 99b (Kinship); 106a, 106b (Lactation)
IV 7a (Pairs and Pairing); 20b (Parents); 32a (Patriarchy)
V 285b, 287a (Time); 570a (Youth and Old Age)

14-15 II 75b (Ethics and the Q)
IV 159a (Polytheism and Atheism)
V 204b (Teaching)

15 I 387b (Companions of the Prophet); 437a (Conversion)
II 76b (Ethics and the Q)
III 567a (Obedience)
IV 29a (Path or Way); 427b (Repentance and Penance)
V 110b (Speech)

16 II 305a, 305b (Geography); 545b (Instruments)
III 334b (Measurement); 409a (Money)
IV 4a (Pairs and Pairing)
V 473b (Weights and Measures)

17 V 133b (Suffering); 363a (Trial); 437b, 438a, 440a, 440b, 441a (Virtues and Vices, Commanding and Forbidding)

17-18 I 241b (Boast)

18 I 161a (Arrogance); 395a (Conceit)
III 402a (Moderation)
V 393b (Turkish Literature and the Q)

19 I 82b (Anatomy)
II 211a (Fire); 453a (Hospitality and Courtesy)
III 242b (Luqmān); 402a (Moderation)

20 I 512a, 512b (Debate and Disputation)
IV 4a (Pairs and Pairing); 107b (Planets and Stars); 186a (Possession and Possessions)

21 I 526a (Devil)
II 417b (Hell and Hellfire); 455b (Hot and Cold); 558b (Invitation)
V 317a (Tradition and Custom)

22 I 465a (Covenant)
II 323b (God and his Attributes)
III 303a (Material Culture and the Q)
V 405a (Uncertainty)

23 I 405b (Consolation)
II 550b (Intention)
III 40a (Jihād); 134a (Suffering)

24 I 221b (Belief and Unbelief)

25 I 329b (Chronology and the Q); 472b (Creation)
II 317a (God and his Attributes)
IV 538b (Scholar)

26 IV 6a (Pairs and Pairing)

26-27 V 273a (Theology and the Q)

27 II 545a (Instruments)
III 191b (Literacy); 224b (Literature and the Q); 552a (Numbers and Enumeration); 554b (Numerology)
V 465b (Water); 541b, 547b (Word of God); 558a (Writing and Writing Materials)

28 I 443a (Cosmology); 479a (Creation)
II 365a (Grammar and the Q)
IV 5b (Pairs and Pairing); 435b (Resurrection)
V 84a (Soul); 183a (Symbolic Imagery)

29 I 501b (Day, Times of)
II 268a (Freedom and Predestination)
V 163a (Sun); 280b, 289b (Time); 545a (Word of God)

30 I 158b (Arrogance)
II 82b (Everyday Life, Q In); 321b (God and his Attributes)
IV 5b (Pairs and Pairing); 228b (Prayer)

31 II 358b (Grammar and the Q)
V 382b (Trust and Patience); 412a (Vehicles); 464a (Water)

31-32 II 3a (Earth)
IV 438b (Revelation and Inspiration)

32 I 221a (Belief and Unbelief); 519a (Deliverance)
II 317a (God and his Attributes)
III 402a, 402b (Moderation)
V 6a (Signs); 464a (Water)

33 II 175a (Family); 510a (Indifference)
III 242b (Luqmān)
V 386b (Truth)

34 I 42a (Agriculture and Vegetation); 201b (Barēlwīs); 501a (Day, Times of)
II 424b (Hidden and the Hidden)
III 137a, 138a (Last Judgment); 243a (Luqmān)
IV 5b (Pairs and Pairing); 212b (Power and Impotence); 434b (Resurrection); 443b (Revelation and Inspiration)
V 181a (Symbolic Imagery); 281a, 288a (Time); 376b (Trips and Voyages); 522a (Womb)

Sūrat al-Sajda (32)

I 230b (Biology as the Creation and Stages of Life)
II 116a (Exegesis of the Q: Classical and Medieval); 388b (Ḥadīth and the Q)
III 472b (Mysterious Letters)

1 V 393a (Turkish Literature and the Q)

1-3 II 262a (Form and Structure of the Q)

2 IV 292b (Prophets and Prophethood); 446a (Revelation and Inspiration)

3 I 372b (Community and Society in the Q); 442a (Cosmology)
III 382b (Messenger); 443a (Muḥammad)
V 460b (Warner)

4 I 443b (Cosmology); 472b, 473b, 476a (Creation)
II 273b (Friends and Friendship); 325b (God and his Attributes); 410b (Heaven and Sky)
III 202a (Literary Structures of the Q)
IV 4a (Pairs and Pairing); 82a (Philosophy and the Q)
V 265a (Theology and the Q); 279b, 287a (Time); 553a (World)

4-5 V 266a (Theology and the Q)

4-9 II 259a (Form and Structure of the Q)
V 7b (Signs)

5 I 463a (Court)
II 410b (Heaven and Sky); 433a (History and the Q)
III 46a (Jinn); 335a, 335a (Measurement)
IV 127a (Politics and the Q)
V 118b (Spiritual Beings); 286a (Time)

5-9 V 266b, 267a (Theology and the Q)

6 IV 4a, 6a (Pairs and Pairing); 537b (Scholar)

7 I 339b (Clay); 446a (Cosmology); 476a (Creation)
II 4a (Earth)

7-9 I 231b (Biology as the Creation and Stages of Life)

8 I 340a (Clay); 477b (Creation)

8-9 I 476b (Creation)

9 I 52a (Air and Wind); 446b (Cosmology); 508a (Death and the Dead)
II 186b (Fate)
III 14a (Jesus); 293b (Mary)
V 81b (Soul); 114b (Spirit)

10 I 479a, 479b (Creation)

11 I 89b (Angel)

12 IV 430a (Repentance and Penance)

12-14 I 523a (Destiny)

13 I 435b (Conversion)
III 46b, 47b (Jinn)
IV 7b (Pairs and Pairing); 310b (Provocation)
V 547b (Word of God)

14 II 52b (Eschatology); 54b (Eternity)

15 I 27a (Adoration); 161a (Arrogance); 254b (Bowing and Prostration)
II 164a (Faith)
IV 219b (Prayer); 264a (Pride)
V 393a (Turkish Literature and the Q)

15-16 IV 455a (Reward and Punishment)

15-17 I 219b (Belief and Unbelief)
II 258b (Form and Structure of the Q)

16 I 183a (Asceticism)
II 448b (Hope)

17 I 406a (Consolation)
II 284b (Garden); 358a (Grammar and the Q)
III 235a (Love and Affection)
IV 12b (Paradise)

18-20 IV 1b (Pairs and Pairing)

19 IV 14a (Paradise); 103b (Pit)

20 II 416a (Hell and Hellfire)
IV 103b (Pit)

21 IV 457a, 460a (Reward and Punishment)

21-22 V 133a (Suffering)

22 IV 422b (Remembrance)
V 5b (Signs); 416a (Vengeance)

23 III 424b (Moses)
V 302a (Torah)

24 I 306a (Children of Israel)
II 503a (Imām)
III 95a (Kings and Rulers)

26 IV 320b (Punishment Stories); 425b (Remnant); 438b (Revelation and Inspiration)

26-27 II 3a (Earth)

27 I 41a, 42a (Agriculture and Vegetation)
II 3b (Earth); 304b (Geography)
IV 438a (Revelation and Inspiration); 574a (Seeing and Hearing)

28 I 399a (Conquest)

29 I 500a (Day, Times of)

30 III 40a (Jihād)

Sūrat al-Aḥzāb (33)

I 353a, 355b (Collection of the Q); 380a (Community and Society in the Q)
II 116a (Exegesis of the Q: Classical and Medieval); 149a, 150a (Expeditions and Battles); 176a (Family of the Prophet); 264a (Form and Structure of the Q); 396b (Ḥadīth and the Q); 407b (Heart)
III 234b (Love and Affection)
IV 594b (Shīʿism and the Q)
V 174b (Sūra)

1 II 468b (Hypocrites and Hypocrisy)
III 567b (Obedience)
IV 537b (Scholar)

1-2 III 453b (Muḥammad)
V 380a (Trust and Patience)

2 IV 294b (Prophets and Prophethood)

3 V 380a (Trust and Patience)

4 I 82a (Anatomy)
II 290a (Gender); 407a (Heart)
III 97b (Kinship); 234b (Love and Affection); 563a (Oaths)
V 393a, 393b (Turkish Literature and the Q); 509b, 510a (Wives of the Prophet); 570a (Youth and Old Age)

4-5 I 302a (Children)
II 75a (Ethics and the Q); 266a (Fosterage); 491b (Illegitimacy)
V 57a (Slaves and Slavery)

5 I 82a (Anatomy); 262a (Brother and Brotherhood); 344b, 345a, 345b (Clients and Clientage)
II 64a (Ethics and the Q)
III 378b (Mercy)
V 59a (Slaves and Slavery)

6 I 56a (ʿĀʾisha bint Abī Bakr); 262a (Brother and Brotherhood)
II 74b (Ethics and the Q); 174b (Family); 264a (Form and Structure of the Q); 518b (Inheritance)
III 232b (Lot); 447b, 448a (Muḥammad); 518a (Narratives)
IV 20b, 22a (Parents); 296b (Prophets and Prophethood)
V 509a, 512b, 512b (Wives of the Prophet); 522a (Womb); 558a (Writing and Writing Materials)

7	I	6a (Abraham); 380a (Community and Society in the Q); 464b (Covenant)
	III	8a, 17a (Jesus); 444b (Muḥammad); 486b (Myths and Legends in the Q)
	IV	128b (Politics and the Q); 292a (Prophets and Prophethood)
	V	533b (Women and the Q)
7-8	III	7b (Jesus)
9	I	54a (Air and Wind); 305b (Children of Israel)
	V	377b (Troops); 471a (Weather)
9-10	III	42b (Jihād)
9-27	III	456b (Muḥammad)
	IV	332b (Quraysh)
10	V	458a (War)
11	I	196b (Badr)
	III	38a (Jihād)
12	I	460a (Courage)
	II	407b (Heart); 468b, 470a (Hypocrites and Hypocrisy)
	IV	119b (Polemic and Polemical Language)
13	II	298b, 299b (Geography)
	III	207b, 208a (Literature and the Q); 337b (Mecca); 367b (Medina); 548b (Nudity)
	IV	37a (People of the Book); 49a (People of the House); 259b (Pre-Islamic Arabia and the Q)
	V	457b (War)
15	I	466a (Covenant)
	III	42b (Jihād)
	V	457b (War)
17	I	432a (Contracts and Alliances)
	II	273a (Friends and Friendship); 335b (Good and Evil)
	III	380a (Mercy)
	IV	5b (Pairs and Pairing)
18	V	457b (War)
19	I	460b (Courage); 506b (Death and the Dead)
	II	153b (Eyes); 161b (Failure)
	IV	118a (Polemic and Polemical Language); 486a (Ritual and the Q)
	V	458a (War)
20	I	215a, 216a (Bedouin)
	II	465a (Humor)
	III	537a (News); 544b (Nomads)
	IV	25a (Parties and Factions)
20-25	III	579a (Opposition to Muḥammad)

21 II 74b (Ethics and the Q); 439a (History and the Q); 449b (Hope)
III 136b (Last Judgment); 162b (Law and the Q); 372a (Memory); 380b (Messenger); 447a (Muḥammad)
V 165b (Sunna)

22 II 70b (Ethics and the Q); 264a (Form and Structure of the Q)
IV 25b (Parties and Factions)
V 174b (Sūra)

23 I 431b (Contracts and Alliances); 460b (Courage)
II 71a (Ethics and the Q)
III 42b (Jihād)
IV 486a (Ritual and the Q)

23-24 III 38a, 41a (Jihād)

24 II 468b (Hypocrites and Hypocrisy)
IV 427a (Repentance and Penance)
V 434b (Virtue)

25 I 93b (Anger)
II 92a (Everyday Life, Q In)
IV 5b (Pairs and Pairing)

25-27 III 42b (Jihād)

26 I 222b (Belief and Unbelief); 289a (Captives)
II 198a (Fear)
III 30a (Jews and Judaism); 580a (Opposition to Muḥammad)
IV 41b (People of the Book); 310a (Provocation); 334b, 335a (Qurayẓa, Banū al-); 406a (Religious Pluralism and the Q)

26-27 III 28b (Jews and Judaism)

27 I 277a (Caliph)
III 30a (Jews and Judaism)
V 469a (Wealth)
V 174a (Sūra)

28 II 291a (Gender)
III 280a (Marriage and Divorce)
V 174b (Sūra)

28-29 IV 5a (Pairs and Pairing)
V 511a, 511b, 512b, 513a, 514b (Wives of the Prophet)

28-34 III 448a (Muḥammad)

29 V 552b (World)

30 I 299b (Chastity)
II 74b (Ethics and the Q)
IV 580b, 584a (Sex and Sexuality)

30-31 I 56b (ʿĀʾisha bint Abī Bakr)
IV 6b (Pairs and Pairing)
V 511b, 512a (Wives of the Prophet)

30-34 V 512b (Wives of the Prophet)

31 IV 458b (Reward and Punishment)
V 179a (Sustenance)

32 I 56a (ʿĀʾisha bint Abī Bakr)
II 291a (Gender); 407b (Heart); 448b (Hope); 470a (Hypocrites and Hypocrisy)
III 359b (Medicine and the Q)
V 509a, 511b, 512a (Wives of the Prophet)

32-33 I 299b (Chastity)

33 I 37b, 38b, 39a (Age of Ignorance); 56b, 58b, 59b (ʿĀʾisha bint Abī Bakr); 347a (Clothing); 390a (Companions of the Prophet)
II 174a (Family); 176b (Family of the Prophet); 193a (Fāṭima); 234a (Foreign Vocabulary)
III 558b (Numismatics); 567a (Obedience)
IV 37a (People of the Book); 48b, 49a, 49b, 50a, 51a, 52b, 53a (People of the House); 225a (Prayer); 503a, 505a (Ritual Purity)
V 286b (Time); 414a (Veil); 510b, 510b, 512a, 512b (Wives of the Prophet); 525a (Women and the Q)

33-34 I 163a (Art and Architecture and the Q)
V 511b, 512a (Wives of the Prophet)

34 III 190a (Literacy)
IV 225a (Prayer)
V 7a (Signs); 317b (Tradition and Custom); 483b (Wisdom); 512a (Wives of the Prophet)

35 I 84a (Anatomy); 183a (Asceticism); 298b (Chastity)
II 75b (Ethics and the Q); 175b (Family); 181a (Fasting); 245a (Forgiveness); 291b (Gender)
IV 225a, 230b (Prayer); 404b (Religious Pluralism and the Q); 455a (Reward and Punishment); 581a, 584a (Sex and Sexuality)
V 134b (Suffering); 523b (Women and the Q)

35-36 I 219b (Belief and Unbelief)

36 I 537b (Disobedience)
II 66a, 74b (Ethics and the Q)
III 567a, 568b (Obedience)
IV 402a (Religious Pluralism and the Q)
V 523b (Women and the Q)

37 I 302a (Children); 320a (Chronology and the Q)
II 439a (History and the Q)

	III	97b (Kinship); 448b (Muḥammad)
	IV	237b, 238b (Pre-1800 Preoccupations of Q Studies)
	V	57a (Slaves and Slavery); 179a (Sustenance); 534b (Women and the Q)
37-38	V	509b, 510a (Wives of the Prophet)
37-39	II	197a (Fear)
37-40	V	272b (Theology and the Q)
38	V	164a (Sunna)
40	I	11b (Abrogation); 51a (Aḥmadiyya); 115a (Apologetics); 198a (Bahāʾīs)
	II	148b (Expeditions and Battles); 407a (Heart); 544b (Instruments)
	III	380b, 382b (Messenger); 440a, 444a, 448a (Muḥammad); 501b, 502a (Names of the Prophet)
	IV	259a (Pre-Islamic Arabia and the Q); 299a (Prophets and Prophethood)
	V	489a (Witness to Faith); 501b (Witnessing and Testifying); 509b, 510a (Wives of the Prophet)
41	I	502b (Day, Times of)
	III	372a, 373b (Memory); 418b (Morning)
	IV	230b (Prayer); 487b (Ritual and the Q)
	V	138b (Ṣūfism and the Q); 393b (Turkish Literature and the Q)
41-42	IV	221a (Prayer)
42	I	503b, 504a (Day, Times of)
	II	80a (Evening); 82a (Everyday Life, Q In)
	III	416b (Morning)
	V	281a (Time)
43	II	551b (Intercession)
	III	186a (Light)
	IV	218a (Prayer)
44	I	198a, 198b (Bahāʾīs); 237a (Blessing)
45	II	33b (Epigraphy); 264a (Form and Structure of the Q); 341b (Good News)
	IV	3b (Pairs and Pairing); 300b (Prophets and Prophethood)
	V	307b (Torah)
45-46	III	440b (Muḥammad)
	IV	148b (Politics and the Q)
46	II	275b (Furniture and Furnishings); 547a (Instruments)
	III	108a (Lamp); 186b (Light); 503b (Names of the Prophet)
48	II	468b (Hypocrites and Hypocrisy)
	III	40a (Jihād); 453b (Muḥammad); 567b (Obedience)
	V	380a (Trust and Patience)
49	II	76a (Ethics and the Q)
	III	280b (Marriage and Divorce)

IV 488b (Ritual and the Q); 580b (Sex and Sexuality)
V 181a (Symbolic Imagery); 453b, 454a, 454b (Waiting Period)

50 I 251b (Booty); 258a (Bridewealth); 383b (Community and Society in the Q); 396b (Concubines)
II 74b (Ethics and the Q)
III 172b (Lawful and Unlawful); 278a (Marriage and Divorce)
IV 452a (Reward and Punishment); 580b, 582a (Sex and Sexuality)
V 57b (Slaves and Slavery); 194a (Taxation); 313b (Trade and Commerce); 507a, 507b, 513a, 513b (Wives of the Prophet); 527b, 534b (Women and the Q)

51 I 82a (Anatomy); 517b (Deferral)
II 353b (Grammar and the Q)
III 234b, 235a (Love and Affection)
IV 6a (Pairs and Pairing); 537b (Scholar)
V 19a (Sin, Major and Minor); 513a, 513b (Wives of the Prophet)

52 I 384a (Community and Society in the Q)
III 278a (Marriage and Divorce)
V 493a (Witnessing and Testifying); 513a, 513b (Wives of the Prophet)

53 I 56a (ʿĀ'isha bint Abī Bakr); 203a (Barrier); 220a (Belief and Unbelief); 299b (Chastity); 343b (Cleanliness and Ablution); 384a (Community and Society in the Q)
II 74b (Ethics and the Q); 276a (Furniture and Furnishings); 392b (Ḥadīth and the Q)
III 60b (Joy and Misery); 448a (Muḥammad)
IV 506a (Ritual Purity); 580b (Sex and Sexuality)
V 412b, 413b (Veil); 510a, 510b, 512b (Wives of the Prophet); 525b (Women and the Q)

54 IV 4a (Pairs and Pairing)

55 I 259b (Brother and Brotherhood); 396b (Concubines)
II 176b (Family)
V 53b (Sister); 413b (Veil); 510a, 510b (Wives of the Prophet)

56 II 32b (Epigraphy); 462a (House, Domestic and Divine); 551b (Intercession)
III 267b (Manuscripts of the Q); 300a (Material Culture and the Q); 446b (Muḥammad)
IV 34a (Peace); 218a, 225a (Prayer)
V 174b (Sūra)

57-58 V 21b (Sin, Major and Minor)

58 IV 432b (Responsibility)
V 19a, 21a (Sin, Major and Minor); 523b (Women and the Q)

59 I 56a ('Ā'isha bint Abī Bakr); 299b (Chastity); 346b (Clothing); 384b (Community and Society in the Q)
II 76a (Ethics and the Q); 291a (Gender)
III 403a (Modesty)
V 413b (Veil); 510b (Wives of the Prophet); 526b (Women and the Q)

59-60 V 510b (Wives of the Prophet)

60 I 338a, 338b (City)
II 298b (Geography); 407b (Heart); 468b, 470a (Hypocrites and Hypocrisy)
III 337b (Mecca); 367b (Medina)
IV 119b (Polemic and Polemical Language)

62 V 164a (Sunna); 317b (Tradition and Custom)

63 I 501a (Day, Times of)
II 46b (Eschatology); 148b (Expeditions and Battles); 439b (History and the Q)
III 137a, 138a (Last Judgment)
IV 434b (Resurrection)
V 203a (Teaching); 288a (Time)

64 I 492a (Curse)
IV 119b (Polemic and Polemical Language)

65 I 432a (Contracts and Alliances)
II 54b (Eternity); 273b (Friends and Friendship)

66 II 158b (Face); 354a (Grammar and the Q); 415a (Hell and Hellfire)

67 II 354a (Grammar and the Q)

68 IV 6b (Pairs and Pairing); 458b (Reward and Punishment)

71 I 220b (Belief and Unbelief)
V 334a (Traditional Disciplines of Q Studies); 501b (Witnessing and Testifying)

72 I 86b (Angel); 258a (Breaking Trusts and Contracts); 457a (Cosmology)
II 56b (Ethics and the Q); 187a (Fate); 197b (Fear); 488a (Ignorance)
IV 127a (Politics and the Q)
V 378b (Trust and Patience)

72-73 V 530b (Women and the Q)

73 I 381a (Community and Society in the Q); 436b (Conversion)
II 468b, 470a (Hypocrites and Hypocrisy)
IV 2b (Pairs and Pairing); 399a (Religious Pluralism and the Q); 427a (Repentance and Penance)
V 523b (Women and the Q)

Sūrat Sabāʾ (34)

II 116a (Exegesis of the Q: Classical and Medieval)
IV 59a (Persian Literature and the Q); 586a (Sheba)

1 IV 5b (Pairs and Pairing); 213b (Praise)

1-5 I 523b (Destiny)

2 I 209a (Basmala)
III 46a (Jinn)
IV 5b (Pairs and Pairing)
V 118b (Spiritual Beings)

3 I 28b (Adultery and Fornication); 243a (Book); 392b (Computers and the Q); 501a (Day, Times of); 522b (Destiny)
II 545b (Instruments)
III 124b (Language and Style of the Q); 137a (Last Judgment); 334b (Measurement); 409a (Money)
IV 311a (Provocation)
V 287b (Time); 473b (Weights and Measures)

4 I 244a (Book)
II 245a (Forgiveness)

5 II 527a (Inimitability)
IV 454a (Reward and Punishment); 503a (Ritual Purity)
V 422a (Verse)

6 IV 6a (Pairs and Pairing); 29a (Path or Way); 538b, 539a (Scholar)
V 203b (Teaching)

7 I 479a, 479b (Creation)
III 536b (News)

8 II 540a (Insanity)
IV 112a (Poetry and Poets); 311b (Provocation)

9 IV 427b (Repentance and Penance); 438a (Revelation and Inspiration)

10 I 99b (Animal Life); 496a (David)
II 344b (Grace); 359a, 359b (Grammar and the Q); 372b (Gratitude and Ingratitude)
III 253b (Manual Labor); 383a (Metals and Minerals); 487a (Myths and Legends in the Q); 524a (Narratives)
IV 213b, 214b (Praise); 315b (Psalms)

10-11 I 496a (David)
II 145b (Expeditions and Battles)
III 487b (Myths and Legends in the Q)

10-13 III 395a (Miracles)

10-14 V 77a (Solomon)

10-19 III 521a (Narratives)

11 II 546a (Instruments)
III 333a (Measurement)

12 I 52a, 54a (Air and Wind); 162b (Art and Architecture and the Q); 503b, 504a (Day, Times of)
III 44b (Jinn); 383a (Metals and Minerals); 410a (Months); 418b (Morning); 487a, 487b (Myths and Legends in the Q)
IV 555a (Science and the Q); 604a (Ships)
V 77b (Solomon); 121b, 127b (Springs and Fountains); 281b, 285a (Time); 475b, 476a (Weights and Measures); 548b (Work)

12-13 I 166b (Art and Architecture and the Q)
II 372b (Gratitude and Ingratitude)
III 253b (Manual Labor)
IV 164b (Popular and Talismanic Uses of the Q)
V 77a (Solomon)

12-14 III 250a (Magic)

13 I 162b, 165a (Art and Architecture and the Q); 490b (Cups and Vessels)
II 219a (Food and Drink); 345b (Grace); 476b (Idolatry and Idolaters); 481b (Idols and Images)
IV 227b (Prayer); 516b (Sacred Precincts)
V 548b (Work)

14 I 99a, 100b (Animal Life)
II 185b (Fate); 547a (Instruments)
III 43b, 44b (Jinn); 208a (Literature and the Q); 253b (Manual Labor); 534b (Nature as Signs)
IV 509a (Rod)

15 I 43a (Agriculture and Vegetation); 151a (Archaeology and the Q)
II 217a (Food and Drink); 283a (Garden); 437b (History and the Q)

15-16 I 151a (Archaeology and the Q)
II 283a (Garden); 459b (House, Domestic and Divine)
IV 586a (Sheba)

15-17 IV 7a (Pairs and Pairing)

15-19 IV 586a (Sheba)

15-21 IV 320a (Punishment Stories)

16 I 44a (Agriculture and Vegetation); 60b (Al-ʿArim); 151a (Archaeology and the Q)
II 305b (Geography); 437b (History and the Q)
III 532b (Nature as Signs)
IV 257b (Pre-Islamic Arabia and the Q)
V 464a (Water)

18 I 236b (Blessing); 501a (Day, Times of)
II 309a (Geography)
III 58a (Journey); 333a (Measurement); 500a, 500b (Najrān)

IV 411a (Religious Pluralism and the Q); 513b (Sacred Precincts)
V 107a (Spatial Relations); 373b (Trips and Voyages)

18-19 III 339a (Mecca)

19 II 435b (History and the Q)
III 58b (Journey)
V 5a (Signs); 373b (Trips and Voyages); 382b (Trust and Patience)

20 I 447a (Cosmology)
III 45a (Jinn)
IV 586b (Sheba)

20-21 I 525a (Devil)

21 I 243a (Book)
II 320b (God and his Attributes)
IV 307a (Protection)

22 II 476a (Idolatry and Idolaters); 545b (Instruments)
III 334b (Measurement); 409a (Money)
IV 4b (Pairs and Pairing); 311a (Provocation)
V 473b (Weights and Measures)

23 I 158b (Arrogance)
II 82b (Everyday Life, Q In); 552b (Intercession)
IV 5b (Pairs and Pairing); 163b (Popular and Talismanic Uses of the Q)

24 IV 4a (Pairs and Pairing); 78a (Philosophy and the Q)

25 III 40a (Jihād)
IV 432a (Responsibility)

26 I 399a (Conquest)
II 320b (God and his Attributes)
IV 6a (Pairs and Pairing)

27 IV 312a, 312b (Provocation)

28 II 341b (Good News)
III 443b (Muḥammad)
IV 3b (Pairs and Pairing); 337a (Races); 538b (Scholar)
V 38a (Sīra and the Q); 460a, 461a (Warner)

29 II 70b (Ethics and the Q)

30 I 501a (Day, Times of)
III 335b (Measurement)
V 288a (Time)

31-33 I 159a, 161a (Arrogance); 296a (Chastisement and Punishment); 532a (Dialogues)
III 581a, 582a (Oppressed on Earth); 583a (Oppression)
IV 264a (Pride)

33 I 222a (Belief and Unbelief)
II 476b (Idolatry and Idolaters)

	III	18a (Jesus)
	IV	430b (Repentance and Penance)
	V	280b (Time)
34	IV	309b (Provocation)
34-35	V	468b (Wealth)
35	IV	3b (Pairs and Pairing); 31b (Patriarchy)
	V	468a (Wealth)
35-37	I	221b (Belief and Unbelief)
36	IV	538b (Scholar)
	V	179a (Sustenance)
	V	268b (Theology and the Q)
37	I	165b (Art and Architecture and the Q)
	IV	6b (Pairs and Pairing); 289a (Property); 458b (Reward and Punishment)
	V	468a (Wealth)
38	II	527a (Inimitability)
40-41	III	141a (Last Judgment)
41	II	273b (Friends and Friendship)
	III	48a (Jinn)
	V	120b (Spiritual Beings)
42	II	418b (Hell and Hellfire)
43	III	190a (Literacy); 246a (Magic); 450b (Muḥammad)
	V	7a (Signs); 421b (Verse)
43-47	III	247a (Magic)
44	I	246a (Book)
	III	443a (Muḥammad)
	IV	297b (Prophets and Prophethood)
	V	203a (Teaching)
45	I	387b (Companions of the Prophet)
46	I	387b (Companions of the Prophet)
	II	540a (Insanity)
	III	450b (Muḥammad)
	IV	112a (Poetry and Poets); 394a (Reflection and Deliberation)
	V	424b (Verse)
47	III	451a (Muḥammad)
	IV	452b (Reward and Punishment)
48	IV	537b (Scholar)
48-49	V	545a (Word of God)
49	I	472b (Creation)

50 I 225b (Belief and Unbelief)
II 1b (Ears); 74b (Ethics and the Q)
IV 6a (Pairs and Pairing)

51 II 198a (Fear)

54 IV 592a (Shīʿa)

SŪRAT FĀṬIR (35)

I 548b (Dreams and Sleep)
II 116a (Exegesis of the Q: Classical and Medieval)
IV 244b (Pre-1800 Preoccupations of Q Studies)

1 I 88a (Angel); 472a (Creation)
III 550a (Numbers and Enumeration)
IV 213b (Praise); 290a (Prophets and Prophethood); 336b (Races)
V 393b (Turkish Literature and the Q); 424b (Verse)

1-2 II 259a (Form and Structure of the Q)

2 I 398b (Conquest)
III 327b (Material Culture and the Q)

3 I 472b (Creation)
IV 4a (Pairs and Pairing)
V 500a (Witnessing and Testifying)

4 III 453a (Muḥammad)
IV 309b (Provocation)

5 I 526a (Devil)

6 II 23b (Enemies); 66a (Ethics and the Q); 417b (Hell and Hellfire); 430b (History and the Q); 558b (Invitation)

7 II 245a (Forgiveness)
IV 1b (Pairs and Pairing)

8 I 213a (Beauty)
II 330b (God and his Attributes)
III 452b (Muḥammad)
IV 2a (Pairs and Pairing); 432a (Responsibility)

9 I 53b (Air and Wind)
II 3a (Earth)
IV 434a, 435a (Resurrection)
V 5a (Signs)

9-14 II 259a (Form and Structure of the Q)

10 II 215b (Flying); 452b (Hospitality and Courtesy)
III 19b (Jesus)
IV 309b (Provocation)

11	I	244a (Book); 476a (Creation); 523a (Destiny)
	II	175a (Family); 269b (Freedom and Predestination); 292a (Gender); 328a (God and his Attributes)
	IV	6a (Pairs and Pairing); 560a (Scripture and the Q); 581a (Sex and Sexuality)
	V	289a, 290a (Time); 524a (Women and the Q); 569b (Youth and Old Age)
12	I	96a, 97a (Animal Life); 319a (Chronology and the Q); 438b (Coral); 443a (Cosmology)
	II	212b (Fire); 218b (Food and Drink); 303b (Geography); 467b (Hunting and Fishing)
	III	531a (Nature as Signs)
	IV	7a (Pairs and Pairing); 604a (Ships)
	V	126a (Springs and Fountains); 412a (Vehicles); 464a (Water)
13	I	443a (Cosmology); 472b (Creation); 494b (Date Palm); 501b (Day, Times of)
	II	268a (Freedom and Predestination)
	IV	185a (Possession and Possessions); 228b (Prayer)
	V	163a (Sun); 280b, 289b (Time); 474b (Weights and Measures); 545a (Word of God)
13-14	IV	229a (Prayer)
14	I	220b (Belief and Unbelief); 443a (Cosmology)
	II	476a (Idolatry and Idolaters)
15	IV	209a (Poverty and the Poor)
	V	467b (Wealth)
16-17	I	474b (Creation)
18	II	175a (Family)
	III	228a (Load or Burden); 379b (Mercy)
	V	287a (Time); 472a (Weeping); 474a (Weights and Measures)
19	III	186a (Light)
	IV	2a (Pairs and Pairing)
	V	447b (Vision and Blindness)
19-20	I	493b (Darkness)
	V	445a (Vision)
19-22	II	455a (Hot and Cold)
	III	209b (Literature and the Q)
	IV	10a (Parable)
22	II	45b (Eschatology)
	III	452b (Muḥammad)
23	III	40a (Jihād)
24	II	341b (Good News); 497b (Illiteracy)
	III	382a (Messenger); 451a (Muḥammad)
	IV	3b (Pairs and Pairing)
	V	460b (Warner)

25 I 245a (Book)
IV 35b (People of the Book); 296a, 297a, 301a (Prophets and Prophethood); 309b (Provocation); 570b (Scrolls)
V 300b, 301b, 303b (Torah)

27 I 361b, 363b, 364b (Colors)
II 3a (Earth); 217b (Food and Drink)

27-28 I 362a (Colors)
II 259a (Form and Structure of the Q)
IV 336a (Races)

28 I 361b (Colors)
III 102b (Knowledge and Learning)
IV 6a (Pairs and Pairing); 537b, 538b (Scholar)
V 204b (Teaching)

29 II 449a (Hope); 450a (Hospitality and Courtesy)
III 209a (Literature and the Q); 276a (Markets)
IV 221b (Prayer)
V 373b (Trips and Voyages)

30 II 321a (God and his Attributes); 345a (Grace)
IV 6a (Pairs and Pairing); 213a (Praise)

31 I 245b (Book)
III 303a (Material Culture and the Q); 441b, 445a (Muḥammad)
IV 294a (Prophets and Prophethood); 439a (Revelation and Inspiration)

32 I 245b (Book)
II 65a (Ethics and the Q); 11b (Election)
III 71a (Justice and Injustice); 402a, 402b (Moderation)
IV 297b (Prophets and Prophethood)

33 I 96a (Animal Life); 166a (Art and Architecture and the Q); 213b (Beauty); 220b (Belief and Unbelief)
II 333b (Gold)
III 383b, 384a (Metals and Minerals)
IV 18a (Paradise)
V 11b (Silk); 393a (Turkish Literature and the Q)

34 II 283b (Garden)
IV 6a (Pairs and Pairing); 213b (Praise)

34-35 II 284a (Garden)

35 II 283a, 283b (Garden)
III 254b (Manual Labor)
IV 14b (Paradise)

36 I 170b (Art and Architecture and the Q); 221a (Belief and Unbelief)
II 210a (Fire); 416b, 418b (Hell and Hellfire)

37 III 203b (Literary Structures of the Q)
IV 430a (Repentance and Penance)

38 II 550b (Intention)

39 I 277a (Caliph)
IV 310a (Provocation)

40 I 472b (Creation)
II 476a (Idolatry and Idolaters)
III 509a (Names of the Q)
IV 312a, 312b (Provocation)

41 IV 5b (Pairs and Pairing)

42 I 329b (Chronology and the Q)
II 317a (God and his Attributes)
III 450b (Muḥammad)

43 II 308a (Geography); 434a (History and the Q)
V 19b (Sin, Major and Minor); 164a (Sunna); 317b (Tradition and Custom)

44 II 360a (Grammar and the Q)
IV 4a, 6a (Pairs and Pairing); 211a (Power and Impotence); 320b (Punishment Stories); 425a (Remnant)

45 I 98a (Animal Life)
III 378b (Mercy)
V 22a (Sin, Major and Minor); 289a, 289b (Time)

SŪRAT YĀ SĪN (36)

I 264a, 265a (Burial); 548b (Dreams and Sleep)
II 96a (Everyday Life, Q In); 116a (Exegesis of the Q: Classical and Medieval); 394a (Ḥadīth and the Q)
III 272a (Manuscripts of the Q); 324a (Material Culture and the Q); 472b (Mysterious Letters); 503b (Names of the Prophet); 521a (Narratives)
IV 177b (Popular and Talismanic Uses of the Q); 244b (Pre-1800 Preoccupations of Q Studies); 380a (Recitation of the Q); 478b (Rhymed Prose); 494b, 495b, 496b (Ritual and the Q)
V 308b (Torah)

1 III 197a (Literary Structures of the Q)

1-9 III 197a (Sīra and the Q)

2 II 257b, 263b (Form and Structure of the Q)
IV 468b (Rhetoric and the Q)
V 172a (Sūra); 483a (Wisdom)

2-6 I 372b (Community and Society in the Q)
II 143a (Exhortations)

5	II	447a (Honor)
	IV	6a (Pairs and Pairing); 443b (Revelation and Inspiration)
5-6	III	379a (Mercy)
6	II	497b (Illiteracy)
	III	443a (Muḥammad)
7	IV	432a (Responsibility)
8	I	81b (Anatomy); 226a (Belief and Unbelief)
	II	546a (Instruments)
9	V	39a (Sīra and the Q)
11	II	196b (Fear); 245a (Forgiveness)
12	I	243b, 244a (Book); 522b (Destiny)
	II	401a (Hand); 48a (Eschatology); 503a (Imām)
	III	191a (Literacy); 550a (Numbers and Enumeration)
	V	95a (South Asian Literatures and the Q); 493a (Witnessing and Testifying)
13	I	338a (City)
	III	524b (Narratives)
	IV	210b (Power and Impotence)
13-29	III	521a (Narratives)
	IV	10a, 10b (Parable); 353a (Rass)
13-31	IV	438b (Revelation and Inspiration)
13-32	II	260a (Form and Structure of the Q)
	IV	320a (Punishment Stories)
14	III	118b (Language and Style of the Q); 524a (Narratives)
15	IV	301a (Prophets and Prophethood)
17	III	125a (Language and Style of the Q)
18	II	242a (Foretelling in the Q)
	V	130b (Stoning); 132b (Suffering)
20	I	338a (City)
	II	558b (Invitation)
21	IV	452b (Reward and Punishment)
22	I	472a (Creation)
23	II	551a (Intercession)
	IV	523b (Salvation)
23-24	II	43b (Error)
25	II	2a (Ears)
27	II	447b (Honor)
28	V	377b, 378a (Troops)

29 II 359b (Grammar and the Q)
III 125a (Language and Style of the Q)
IV 454a (Reward and Punishment)
V 545a (Word of God)

30 III 400a (Mockery)

30-31 IV 309b (Provocation)

30-32 IV 11a (Parable)

32 II 361b, 366b (Grammar and the Q)

33 I 291b (Carrion)
II 3a, 3b (Earth)

33-35 I 41a (Agriculture and Vegetation)
V 127a (Springs and Fountains)

33-36 II 3a (Earth)

33-47 II 259a (Form and Structure of the Q)
IV 438a (Revelation and Inspiration)

34 I 478a (Creation)
II 283b (Garden); 304a (Geography)
V 463b (Water)

35 I 476a (Creation)

36 I 476b (Creation)
IV 6a (Pairs and Pairing); 220b (Prayer); 336a (Races)

37 I 443a (Cosmology); 493a (Darkness); 499a (Day, Times of)

38 IV 6a (Pairs and Pairing); 550b (Science and the Q)
V 163a (Sun)

39 I 272b (Calendar); 494b (Date Palm)
III 413a (Months)
IV 107a, 108a (Planets and Stars); 571b (Seasons)
V 14b (Simile); 283b (Time)

40 I 498a (Day and Night); 501b (Day, Times of)
II 315a (Glorification of God); 359b, 365a (Grammar and the Q)
IV 107a, 107b (Planets and Stars)
V 163a, 163b (Sun); 280b, 284a (Time)

42 V 412a (Vehicles)

43 I 519a (Deliverance); 553b (Drowning)
IV 523b (Salvation)

45 II 401a (Hand)

46 V 5b (Signs)

47 V 179b (Sustenance)

49 I 513b (Debate and Disputation)
II 357b (Grammar and the Q)
IV 454a (Reward and Punishment)

51 I 112b (Apocalypse)
II 547a (Instruments)

51-64 I 263b (Burial)

52 II 276a (Furniture and Furnishings)
IV 300b (Prophets and Prophethood)

53 III 203a (Literary Structures of the Q)

54 I 522b (Destiny)

55 III 63a (Joy and Misery)
V 548b (Work)

55-58 IV 34b (Peace)

56 IV 18a, 18b (Paradise)

56-57 III 204a (Literary Structures of the Q)

57 IV 18a (Paradise)

58 V 547a (Word of God)

60 I 447a, 448a (Cosmology); 465b (Covenant)
II 23b, 24a (Enemies); 328b (God and his Attributes)
III 47b (Jinn)

62 II 67b (Ethics and the Q)

65 II 48b (Eschatology)
III 141a (Last Judgment)
V 110b (Speech); 494b (Witnessing and Testifying)

66 I 81a (Anatomy)
II 49a (Eschatology)

67-88 III 520a (Narratives)

69 I 542b (Divination)
III 512b (Names of the Q)
IV 112a (Poetry and Poets); 442b (Revelation and Inspiration)
V 201a (Teaching); 393a, 393b (Turkish Literature and the Q)

69-70 IV 113a (Poetry and Poets)

69-83 II 143a (Exhortations)

70 I 472a (Creation)
II 33b (Epigraphy)

71 I 95b (Animal Life); 443a (Cosmology)

71-73 IV 185b (Possession and Possessions)

72 I 96a (Animal Life)
V 411b (Vehicles)

73 I 96a (Animal Life)
V 4a (Signs)

75 V 377b (Troops)

76 I 405b (Consolation)
IV 4a (Pairs and Pairing)
V 134a (Suffering)

76-78 I 479a (Creation)

77 I 476b (Creation)

77-79 I 479a (Creation)
II 508a (Impotence)

77-82 I 479a, 479b (Creation)

78 II 4b (Earth)
IV 9b (Parable); 87a (Philosophy and the Q)

78-79 II 45a (Eschatology)
IV 287a (Proof); 311a (Provocation)

78-80 II 213a (Fire)

79 IV 72a (Philosophy and the Q)

80 I 362b (Colors); 478a (Creation)
II 305a (Geography)
IV 87a (Philosophy and the Q)
V 358b, 359a (Tree)

81 II 320b, 327b (God and his Attributes)
IV 6a (Pairs and Pairing); 280b (Profane and Sacred); 287a (Proof)

81-82 I 475b (Creation)

82 I 319a (Chronology and the Q); 475a (Creation)
II 327b (God and his Attributes)
IV 82a (Philosophy and the Q)
V 109a (Speech); 542b, 543a (Word of God)

83 III 90b (Kings and Rulers); 202a (Literary Structures of the Q)
IV 127b (Politics and the Q); 184b (Possession and Possessions); 220b (Prayer)

SŪRAT AL-ṢĀFFĀT (37)

I 533b (Dialogues); 548b (Dreams and Sleep)
III 521a (Narratives)
IV 244a (Pre-1800 Preoccupations of Q Studies); 348b (Ranks and Orders)
V 488b (Witness to Faith)

1	I	442b (Cosmology)
	IV	350a (Ranks and Orders)
1-3	II	256a (Form and Structure of the Q)
	IV	464b (Rhetoric and the Q)
	V	80a (Soothsayer)
1-5	IV	466a (Rhetoric and the Q)
3	II	263b (Form and Structure of the Q)
	III	190a (Literacy)
	IV	466a (Rhetoric and the Q)
	V	172a (Sūra)
4	II	329b (God and his Attributes)
	IV	466b (Rhetoric and the Q)
5	II	31a (Epigraphy); 364a (Grammar and the Q)
	IV	4a (Pairs and Pairing)
	V	282b (Time)
6	I	442b (Cosmology)
	II	327b (God and his Attributes); 411a (Heaven and Sky)
6-7	I	213a (Beauty)
6-8	I	462b (Court)
6-10	I	442b (Cosmology)
	III	249b (Magic)
	IV	108a (Planets and Stars)
7	I	524b (Devil)
	IV	307b (Protection)
8	I	369a (Community and Society in the Q); 462b (Court)
	II	405b (Hearing and Deafness)
	IV	220a (Prayer)
8-10	I	463a (Court)
10	III	46a, 48b (Jinn)
	IV	107a, 108b (Planets and Stars)
11	I	339b (Clay); 446a (Cosmology); 476a (Creation)
	II	4a, 4b (Earth); 328a (God and his Attributes)
12	III	149a (Laughter)
12-14	III	401a (Mockery)
13	II	82a (Everyday Life, Q In)
14	IV	183b (Portents)
14-15	III	247a (Magic)
15	III	246a (Magic)
16	II	4b (Earth)

20 I 480b (Creeds)
II 47b (Eschatology)
III 66b (Judgment); 136b (Last Judgment)

20-21 IV 8a (Pairs and Pairing)

21 I 500a (Day, Times of); 516b (Decision)
III 137a (Last Judgment)

22 V 83b (Soul); 524a (Women and the Q)

22-23 III 141a (Last Judgment)

22-32 V 494a (Witnessing and Testifying)

23 II 415a (Hell and Hellfire)
IV 29b (Path or Way)
V 374b (Trips and Voyages)

23-24 II 49a (Eschatology)

24 IV 431a (Responsibility)

26 III 66b (Judgment)

31 V 541a, 547b (Word of God)

35 III 556a (Numismatics)
IV 309b (Provocation)
V 393b (Turkish Literature and the Q); 488b (Witness to Faith); 500b, 501a (Witnessing and Testifying)

36 I 447a (Cosmology)
II 540a (Insanity)
III 450a (Muḥammad)
IV 112a, 112b (Poetry and Poets); 311b (Provocation); 442b (Revelation and Inspiration); 455b (Reward and Punishment)

36-37 III 219b (Literature and the Q)

37 I 115a (Apologetics)
II 33b (Epigraphy)

38-39 V 284a (Time)

40 II 550a (Intention)
IV 577a (Servants)

41 IV 18b (Paradise)

42 IV 18a (Paradise)

44 IV 18a (Paradise)

45 I 490b (Cups and Vessels)
IV 18b (Paradise)
V 121b (Springs and Fountains); 482a (Wine)

45-46 V 125a (Springs and Fountains)

45-47	II	51b (Eschatology); 284a (Garden)
	V	464b (Water)
46	I	363b (Colors)
46-47	V	125a (Springs and Fountains)
47	II	556a (Intoxicants)
	V	120b (Spiritual Beings)
48	V	524a (Women and the Q)
48-49	II	456a (Houris)
	IV	585a (Sex and Sexuality)
	V	14b (Simile)
49	I	363b (Colors)
	II	456b (Houris)
	V	125b (Springs and Fountains)
51	II	353b, 366a (Grammar and the Q)
51-59	II	415b (Hell and Hellfire)
53	II	4b (Earth)
	III	66b (Judgment)
54	II	366a (Grammar and the Q)
55-56	V	524a (Women and the Q)
56	II	361b (Grammar and the Q)
60	IV	522b (Salvation)
61	II	30b (Epigraphy)
	III	300b (Material Culture and the Q)
62	I	42a (Agriculture and Vegetation)
	II	211a (Fire); 305a (Geography)
	V	359a (Tree); 571a (Zaqqūm)
62-65	III	203b (Literary Structures of the Q)
	V	359b (Tree)
62-66	III	533a (Nature as Signs)
62-68	I	222a (Belief and Unbelief)
	II	50a (Eschatology)
63	V	571b (Zaqqūm)
64	II	415b (Hell and Hellfire)
	V	571b (Zaqqūm)
64-65	V	571a (Zaqqūm)
65	II	416b (Hell and Hellfire)
67	II	211a (Fire)

71	II	434a (History and the Q)
	IV	320a (Punishment Stories)
71-148	IV	320a, 321a (Punishment Stories)
72-148	III	207a (Literature and the Q)
74	II	550a (Intention)
75-79	III	486a (Myths and Legends in the Q)
75-80	III	521a (Narratives)
75-148	III	381b (Messenger)
76	III	63b (Joy and Misery)
78	V	240b (Textual Criticism of the Q)
78-79	I	237a (Blessing)
	V	545b (Word of God)
79-181	IV	34a (Peace)
81-82	V	545b (Word of God)
83	IV	25b (Parties and Factions); 591b, 592a (Shīʿa)
	V	258a (Theology and the Q)
83-98	I	6b (Abraham); 330a (Chronology and the Q)
	II	558a (Invitation)
	III	494a (Myths and Legends in the Q)
	IV	21a (Parents)
83-101	I	6a (Abraham)
83-113	III	521a (Narratives)
84	II	408a (Heart)
85-99	I	193a (Āzar)
91-92	I	534a (Dialogues)
	II	465a (Humor)
93	I	7a (Abraham)
	III	494b (Myths and Legends in the Q)
95	II	507b (Impotence)
95-96	I	472b (Creation)
96	I	476a (Creation)
	II	330b (God and his Attributes); 474a (Iconoclasm)
	IV	86a (Philosophy and the Q)
97	II	211b, 212a (Fire); 414b (Hell and Hellfire)
97-98	I	7a (Abraham)
	III	494b (Myths and Legends in the Q)

99-111	I	6a, 6b (Abraham)
	II	564b (Ishmael)
	III	4b (Jerusalem); 239a (Loyalty)
99-113	II	562a (Isaac)
100-101	II	341a (Good News)
100-107	IV	21a (Parents)
100-111	I	330b (Chronology and the Q)
101	I	7b, 10b (Abraham)
	III	401b (Moderation)
102	I	546b (Dreams and Sleep)
	II	241b (Foretelling in the Q); 251b (Form and Structure of the Q)
	III	494b (Myths and Legends in the Q)
	IV	179a (Popular and Talismanic Uses of the Q); 517b (Sacrifice)
	V	61a (Sleep)
102-103	III	223a (Literature and the Q)
102-105	I	547a, 547b (Dreams and Sleep)
	V	444a (Vision)
102-113	III	494b (Myths and Legends in the Q)
103	II	562a (Isaac)
104-107	V	363a (Trial)
105	I	546b, 548a (Dreams and Sleep)
	II	241b (Foretelling in the Q)
	IV	179a (Popular and Talismanic Uses of the Q); 295a (Prophets and Prophethood)
105-131	IV	452b (Reward and Punishment)
106	I	7a (Abraham)
107	I	404b (Consecration of Animals)
	III	341a (Mecca); 393a (Miracles)
	IV	517b (Sacrifice)
108	V	240b (Textual Criticism of the Q)
108-109	I	237a (Blessing)
112	I	6b, 7b (Abraham)
	II	341a (Good News); 561a (Isaac)
	III	393b (Miracles)
112-113	I	330b (Chronology and the Q)
	II	564b (Ishmael)
113	I	7b (Abraham)
	II	561b (Isaac)
	III	71a (Justice and Injustice)
	V	240b (Textual Criticism of the Q)

114	IV	483a (Rhymed Prose)
114-120	I	1a (Aaron)
114-122	III	521a (Narratives)
115	I	518b (Deliverance)
	III	63b (Joy and Misery)
115-116	III	488a (Myths and Legends in the Q)
117	III	125a (Language and Style of the Q)
	V	301a (Torah)
117-118	III	128b (Language and Style of the Q)
119	V	240b (Textual Criticism of the Q)
119-120	I	237a (Blessing)
120	IV	483a (Rhymed Prose)
123	III	381a (Messenger)
123-130	I	194a (Baal)
	III	521a (Narratives)
123-132	II	12b (Elijah); 558a (Invitation)
125	I	194a (Baal)
	II	13b (Elijah)
128	II	550a (Intention)
129	V	240b (Textual Criticism of the Q)
129-130	I	237a (Blessing)
130	II	13a (Elijah); 364a (Grammar and the Q)
	IV	482b (Rhymed Prose)
	V	28a (Sinai)
132	II	13a (Elijah)
133	IV	482b (Rhymed Prose)
133-138	III	232a (Lot); 521a (Narratives)
134	I	519a (Deliverance)
136	I	149a (Archaeology and the Q)
137	I	149a (Archaeology and the Q); 504a (Day, Times of)
	IV	425b (Remnant)
139	III	381a (Messenger)
139-146	III	395b (Miracles)
139-148	II	293a (Generations)
	III	53a (Jonah); 521a (Narratives)
	IV	319b (Punishment Stories)
	V	373b (Trips and Voyages)

140	I	158a (Ark)
	III	207b (Literature and the Q)
	IV	604b (Ships)
	V	41b (Sīra and the Q)
141	II	280a, 282a (Gambling)
142-145	I	99a (Animal Life)
143	II	315a (Glorification of God)
	III	54b (Jonah)
146	II	217a (Food and Drink); 305a, 305b (Geography)
147	V	361b (Tree)
149	I	330a (Chronology and the Q)
	II	317b (God and his Attributes)
	III	48a (Jinn)
149-159	III	295a (Mary)
149-182	II	143a (Exhortations)
150-152	III	48a (Jinn)
151-152	IV	116b (Polemic and Polemical Language)
153	II	11b (Election)
	III	48a (Jinn)
156	IV	312b (Provocation)
156-157	IV	312a (Provocation)
157	III	508a (Names of the Q)
	IV	312b (Provocation)
158	I	236a (Blasphemy); 330a (Chronology and the Q)
	II	317b (God and his Attributes)
	III	47b (Jinn)
158-159	III	97b (Kinship)
159	II	314b (Glorification of God)
	IV	220b (Prayer)
164	IV	350a (Ranks and Orders)
164-165	IV	350a (Ranks and Orders)
164-166	IV	311a (Provocation)
165	IV	349a, 350a, 350b (Ranks and Orders)
165-167	IV	350a (Ranks and Orders)
167-170	III	450b (Muḥammad)
170	IV	538b (Scholar)
171	IV	292b (Prophets and Prophethood)
	V	289b (Time); 371b (Trinity); 547b (Word of God)

173 V 377b (Troops)

174 III 40a (Jihād)
V 288b (Time)

177 I 504a (Day, Times of)
III 417a, 418a (Morning)
V 281a (Time)

180 IV 220b (Prayer)

SŪRAT ṢĀD (38)

I 453a (Cosmology); 496b (David); 548b (Dreams and Sleep)
III 472b (Mysterious Letters); 519b (Narratives)
IV 496b (Ritual and the Q)
V 422a (Verse)

1 II 257b, 263b (Form and Structure of the Q)
III 372b (Memory); 510a (Names of the Q)
IV 230a (Prayer); 422a (Remembrance); 468b (Rhetoric and the Q)
V 172a (Sūra)

1-11 III 519b (Narratives)

3 II 293a (Generations); 352b (Grammar and the Q)
III 379b (Mercy)

4 II 540a (Insanity)
III 44a (Jinn); 247a (Magic); 287a (Marvels)
IV 311b (Provocation)

4-5 III 399a (Miracles)

4-7 IV 330b (Quraysh)

4-8 III 456a (Muḥammad)

6 I 369a (Community and Society in the Q)
III 338a (Mecca); 422a (Moses)
V 379a (Trust and Patience)

7 II 234a (Foreign Vocabulary)
III 450b (Muḥammad)

8 III 509b (Names of the Q)

10 III 92b (Kings and Rulers)
IV 4b (Pairs and Pairing)

11 II 365b (Grammar and the Q)
V 377b (Troops)

11-13 I 380a (Community and Society in the Q)
IV 25a (Parties and Factions)

12 I 21b (ʿĀd)
II 542a (Insolence and Obstinacy)
III 486a (Myths and Legends in the Q); 522a, 524a (Narratives)
V 236b (Tents and Tent Pegs)

12-14 III 522a (Narratives)
IV 586b (Sheba)

12-15 IV 320a (Punishment Stories)

12-16 III 519b (Narratives)

13 I 41b (Agriculture and Vegetation)
II 353b, 355a (Grammar and the Q)
III 390b (Midian)
IV 25a (Parties and Factions); 53b, 54a (People of the Thicket); 605b (Shuʿayb)

14 III 453a (Muḥammad)

15 IV 454a (Reward and Punishment)

16 I 500a (Day, Times of)
III 137a (Last Judgment)
IV 434a (Resurrection); 457b (Reward and Punishment)

17 III 372a (Memory); 453a (Muḥammad); 524b (Narratives)
IV 429b (Repentance and Penance)

17-18 III 373a (Memory)
IV 316b (Psalms)

17-19 III 487a (Myths and Legends in the Q)

17-22 III 310a (Material Culture and the Q)

17-28 III 519b (Narratives)

18 I 502b, 503a, 503b (Day, Times of)
II 315a (Glorification of God)
III 417b, 418b (Morning); 487a (Myths and Legends in the Q)
IV 315b (Psalms)
V 281b, 282b (Time)

19 I 99b (Animal Life)

20 I 496a (David)
III 93b (Kings and Rulers)
IV 68b (Philosophy and the Q)
V 483a (Wisdom)

20-24 IV 315b (Psalms)

21 I 149a (Archaeology and the Q); 165a (Art and Architecture and the Q)
II 254b (Form and Structure of the Q); 299b, 309b (Geography)
III 518a (Narratives); 537a (News)
IV 227b (Prayer); 516b (Sacred Precincts)

21-22 I 452b (Cosmology)

21-24 I 532b (Dialogues)
III 395a (Miracles)

21-26 III 487a (Myths and Legends in the Q)

22 I 452b (Cosmology)
II 198a (Fear)
IV 29a (Path or Way); 133b (Politics and the Q)

23 I 452b (Cosmology)
II 361a (Grammar and the Q)
III 553a (Numbers and Enumeration)

23-24 I 99a (Animal Life)

24 I 254a (Bowing and Prostration); 452b (Cosmology); 496a (David)
III 379b (Mercy)
IV 219b (Prayer); 315b, 317a (Psalms); 429b (Repentance and Penance)
V 393a (Turkish Literature and the Q)

24-25 I 496a (David)

25 IV 429b (Repentance and Penance)

26 I 23a (Adam and Eve); 277a (Caliph); 452b, 457a (Cosmology); 496a (David); 500a (Day, Times of)
II 30b (Epigraphy); 321a (God and his Attributes)
III 90b, 94a (Kings and Rulers); 137a (Last Judgment); 487b (Myths and Legends in the Q)
IV 133b (Politics and the Q); 315b (Psalms); 434a (Resurrection); 457b (Reward and Punishment)
V 103a (Sovereignty)

27 I 442a (Cosmology); 473a (Creation)
II 327b (God and his Attributes); 337b (Good and Evil); 489a (Ignorance)
IV 4a (Pairs and Pairing)
V 279b (Time); 553a (World)

29 III 509a, 513a (Names of the Q)
IV 69b (Philosophy and the Q); 297a (Prophets and Prophethood); 394b (Reflection and Deliberation); 562a (Scripture and the Q)
V 203b (Teaching)

29-40 III 520a (Narratives)

30 III 50b (Job)
IV 429b (Repentance and Penance)

30-40 V 77a (Solomon)

31 I 503a (Day, Times of)
V 281b (Time)

32 I 203a (Barrier)
IV 288b (Property); 429b (Repentance and Penance)
V 412b (Veil)

33 III 12a (ʿJesus); 333b (Measurement)

34 II 275b (Furniture and Furnishings); 325b (God and his Attributes)
III 395a (Miracles)
IV 429b (Repentance and Penance)
V 277a (Throne of God)

34-40 III 250a (Magic)
IV 210b (Power and Impotence)

35 III 93a, 94a (Kings and Rulers); 379b (Mercy)

36 I 52a, 52b, 53b (Air and Wind)
III 487a (Myths and Legends in the Q)
V 77b (Solomon); 470b (Weather)

36-39 III 395a (Miracles)

37 II 467b (Hunting and Fishing)
III 44b (ʿJinn)
V 120b (Spiritual Beings)

37-38 V 77a (Solomon)

38 II 546b (Instruments)

39 II 313a (Gift-Giving)
V 321a (Traditional Disciplines of Q Studies)

41 III 524b (Narratives)
V 134a (Suffering); 363b (Trial); 381a (Trust and Patience)

41-42 III 50a (ʿJob)

41-44 III 520a (Narratives)
V 380b (Trust and Patience)

42 II 199a (Feet); 455b (Hot and Cold)
V 465a (Water)

42-43 V 134a (Suffering)

42-44 III 395b (Miracles)

43 II 174a (Family)

44 I 41b (Agriculture and Vegetation)
II 369b (Grasses)
III 50b (ʿJob); 563b (Oaths)
IV 429b (Repentance and Penance)
V 381a (Trust and Patience)

45 I 8a (Abraham)
II 402a (Hand)
III 1a (ʿJacob); 524b (Narratives)

45-48 II 561b (Isaac)

45-49 III 520a (Narratives)

47 II 11b (Election)

48 I 8a (Abraham); 527b (Dhū l-Kifl)
II 14a (Elisha); 564a (Ishmael)
III 524b (Narratives)
V 246b (Textual Criticism of the Q)

50 I 398b (Conquest)
II 361b, 363b (Grammar and the Q)
V 393b (Turkish Literature and the Q)

50-66 III 520a (Narratives)

51 IV 18a, 18b (Paradise)

52 II 456a (Houris)
IV 585a (Sex and Sexuality)
V 524a (Women and the Q)

53 I 500a (Day, Times of)
III 137a (Last Judgment)
IV 434a (Resurrection); 457b (Reward and Punishment)

54 V 340a (Transitoriness)

55 IV 104a (Pit)

56 III 63b (Joy and Misery)
IV 104a (Pit)

57 II 211a (Fire); 416a (Hell and Hellfire)
V 464b (Water)

59 II 416b (Hell and Hellfire)

60 I 491b (Curse)

61 IV 6b (Pairs and Pairing); 458b (Reward and Punishment)

63 II 358b (Grammar and the Q)
III 401a (Mockery)

64 I 452b (Cosmology); 513b (Debate and Disputation)
IV 49a (People of the House)

65 V 488b (Witness to Faith)

66 II 31a (Epigraphy); 321a (God and his Attributes)
IV 6a (Pairs and Pairing)

67 III 536b (News)

67-70 II 262a (Form and Structure of the Q)

67-85 I 452b (Cosmology)

67-88 II 143a (Exhortations)
III 519a (Narratives)

69 I 22b (Adam and Eve); 369a (Community and Society in the Q); 452b, 453a (Cosmology); 462b (Court)
II 501a (ʿIlliyyūn)
IV 220a (Prayer)

70 III 40a (Jihād); 442b (Muḥammad)

71 I 22b (Adam and Eve); 339b (Clay); 476a (Creation)
II 4a, 4b (Earth); 330a (God and his Attributes)
V 109a (Speech)

71-72 V 84a (Soul)

71-76 III 532a (Nature as Signs)
IV 220a (Prayer)

71-85 I 448a (Cosmology)
V 267b (Theology and the Q)

72 I 24b (Adam and Eve); 508a (Death and the Dead)
II 186b (Fate); 327b (God and his Attributes)
III 14a (Jesus); 293b (Mary)
V 81b (Soul); 109a (Speech); 114b (Spirit)

72-75 I 255a (Bowing and Prostration)

72-76 I 24a (Adam and Eve)

73-74 III 45a (Jinn)
IV 263b (Pride)

73-76 I 511a (Debate and Disputation)

74 I 160a (Arrogance); 447a, 453a (Cosmology)
II 172a (Fall of Man); 543a (Insolence and Obstinacy)
III 45a (Jinn)

74-75 I 395b (Conceit); 453a (Cosmology); 525a (Devil)

74-76 IV 336b (Races)

75 I 24b (Adam and Eve); 160a (Arrogance); 450a, 453a (Cosmology)
II 323b, 325a, 327b (God and his Attributes)
III 45a (Jinn)

75-76 I 476a (Creation)

75-85 V 109a (Speech)

76 I 339b (Clay); 476a (Creation)
II 4a, 4b (Earth)
III 45a (Jinn)
V 269b (Theology and the Q)

77 I 525a (Devil)
II 543a (Insolence and Obstinacy)

77-85 II 336a (Good and Evil)

78 III 136b (Last Judgment)

81 I 500a (Day, Times of)
V 288a (Time)

82 I 453a (Cosmology)

82-83 IV 577a (Servants)

83 I 453a (Cosmology)
II 550a (Intention)

84 I 452b, 453a (Cosmology)

84-85 V 547a (Word of God)

85 II 417b (Hell and Hellfire)

86 III 451a (Muḥammad)
IV 452a (Reward and Punishment)

87 III 372b (Memory)

88 III 40b (Jihād); 536b (News)

Sūrat al-Zumar (39)

I 548b (Dreams and Sleep)

1 IV 446a (Revelation and Inspiration)

1-2 II 262a (Form and Structure of the Q)

2 II 550a (Intention)
IV 297a (Prophets and Prophethood)

3 I 221a (Belief and Unbelief)
II 273b (Friends and Friendship); 357a (Grammar and the Q); 478b (Idolatry and Idolaters)
III 40b (Jihād)
IV 132b (Politics and the Q); 160a (Polytheism and Atheism); 416a (Religious Pluralism and the Q)
V 449b (Vow)

4 II 11b (Election); 327b, 330a (God and his Attributes)

5 I 473a (Creation); 498a (Day and Night); 501b (Day, Times of)
II 268a (Freedom and Predestination)
IV 6a (Pairs and Pairing)
V 163a (Sun); 280b, 289b (Time)

5-7 II 57b (Ethics and the Q)

6 I 95b (Animal Life); 231b (Biology as the Creation and Stages of Life); 238a (Blood and Blood Clot); 447b (Cosmology); 472a, 476a, 476b, 477a (Creation); 494a (Darkness)
II 175a (Family); 328a, 328b (God and his Attributes)
III 551a (Numbers and Enumeration)

	IV	20a (Parents); 184b (Possession and Possessions); 581b (Sex and Sexuality)
	V	10b (Signs); 84a (Soul); 393b (Turkish Literature and the Q); 501a (Witnessing and Testifying); 530a (Women and the Q)
7	I	443a (Cosmology)
	II	550b (Intention)
	III	228a (Load or Burden); 379b (Mercy)
	IV	2a (Pairs and Pairing); 432a (Responsibility)
8	I	437a (Conversion)
	II	476b (Idolatry and Idolaters)
	IV	427b (Repentance and Penance)
9	I	182b (Asceticism); 254b (Bowing and Prostration); 328a (Chronology and the Q)
	II	449a (Hope)
	III	379b (Mercy)
	IV	221a, 222b (Prayer); 538b (Scholar)
	V	282b (Time); 377b (Troops)
10	I	188b (Authority)
11	II	550a (Intention)
11-12	III	444a (Muḥammad)
12	II	366a (Grammar and the Q)
13	I	538a (Disobedience)
14	II	550a (Intention)
15	II	161b (Failure); 174a (Family)
	III	40a (Jihād)
16	II	415a (Hell and Hellfire)
17	II	474a (Iconoclasm); 482a (Idols and Images)
	IV	427b (Repentance and Penance)
17-18	II	341a (Good News)
	IV	172a (Popular and Talismanic Uses of the Q)
18	III	73b (Justice and Injustice)
	V	547a (Word of God)
19	I	519b (Deliverance)
	V	547b (Word of God)
20-21	I	165b (Art and Architecture and the Q)
21	I	361b, 363a (Colors)
	II	3a, 3b (Earth); 304b (Geography)
	IV	70b (Philosophy and the Q); 422b (Remembrance); 438a (Revelation and Inspiration)
	V	121b, 126b, 127a (Springs and Fountains)
22	I	226a (Belief and Unbelief)
	II	43b (Error); 326b (God and his Attributes); 363b (Grammar and the Q); 407a (Heart)

III 187a (Light)
V 393b (Turkish Literature and the Q)

23 I 70b, 71b (Ambiguous); 213b (Beauty); 225b (Belief and Unbelief)
II 2a (Ears); 323a (God and his Attributes); 408a (Heart)
III 509b, 512a (Names of the Q); 574b (Oft-Repeated)
IV 230a (Prayer); 297a (Prophets and Prophethood); 310a (Provocation); 368b (Recitation of the Q)
V 242b (Textual Criticism of the Q); 425a (Verse)

24 II 6a (Economics); 158b (Face); 323b (God and his Attributes); 335b (Good and Evil)

25 IV 320b (Punishment Stories)

26 IV 453b, 457a (Reward and Punishment)

27 IV 69b (Philosophy and the Q)
V 16a (Simile)

28 II 226b (Foreign Vocabulary)
III 113a, 113b (Language and Style of the Q); 193b (Literary Structures of the Q)
V 340b (Translations of the Q)

29 II 497b (Illiteracy)
IV 10a (Parable); 538b (Scholar)
V 57a (Slaves and Slavery)

31 I 513b (Debate and Disputation)

32 I 235b (Blasphemy)
III 181a (Lie)
IV 103b (Pit); 309b (Provocation)

33 I 20a (Abū Bakr)

34 IV 452b (Reward and Punishment)

35 III 379b (Mercy)
IV 452b (Reward and Punishment)

36 I 225b (Belief and Unbelief)
III 440b (Muḥammad)

36-37 IV 2a (Pairs and Pairing)

37 I 225b (Belief and Unbelief)
IV 453b (Reward and Punishment)
V 416a (Vengeance)

38 I 329b (Chronology and the Q); 472b (Creation)
II 36a (Epigraphy); 317a (God and his Attributes)
III 300b, 301a (Material Culture and the Q)
IV 160a (Polytheism and Atheism); 228b (Prayer); 311a (Provocation)

39 III 327b (Material Culture and the Q)

40 V 377a (Troops)

41 I 225b (Belief and Unbelief)
II 552a (Intercession)
IV 1b (Pairs and Pairing)

42 I 318b, 319a (Chronology and the Q); 443b (Cosmology); 523a (Destiny); 546b (Dreams and Sleep)
II 185b (Fate); 241b (Foretelling in the Q)
III 18b (Jesus)
IV 179a (Popular and Talismanic Uses of the Q); 394a (Reflection and Deliberation)
V 61a (Sleep); 83b (Soul); 289a, 289b (Time)

45 III 62a (Joy and Misery); 299a, 299b (Material Culture and the Q)

46 I 472a (Creation)
IV 4a (Pairs and Pairing); 537b (Scholar)

47 II 335b (Good and Evil)

49 II 56b (Ethics and the Q)
III 400b (Mockery)
IV 538b (Scholar)

53 I 522a (Despair)
II 322a (God and his Attributes)
III 224a (Literature and the Q)
IV 531a (Sand)
V 22b (Sin, Major and Minor); 393b (Turkish Literature and the Q)

53-54 III 324b (Material Culture and the Q); 379b (Mercy)

54 I 437a, 437b (Conversion)
III 379b (Mercy)
IV 427b (Repentance and Penance)

55 III 73b (Justice and Injustice)

56 II 323b, 324b (God and his Attributes); 365b (Grammar and the Q)
III 401a (Mockery)

56-58 I 222a (Belief and Unbelief)

58 IV 430a (Repentance and Penance)

60 I 160b (Arrogance); 241b (Boast); 364b (Colors); 382a (Community and Society in the Q)
II 158b (Face); 355b (Grammar and the Q); 416a (Hell and Hellfire)
IV 103b (Pit)

61 I 220b (Belief and Unbelief); 519b (Deliverance)
II 335b (Good and Evil)

62 I 472a (Creation)
IV 280b (Profane and Sacred)
V 380a (Trust and Patience)

62-66 II 259b (Form and Structure of the Q)

63 II 546b (Instruments)
IV 4a (Pairs and Pairing); 183b (Portents)

64 II 354a, 366b (Grammar and the Q); 488a (Ignorance)
V 247a (Textual Criticism of the Q)

65 II 161b (Failure)
IV 136b (Politics and the Q); 159a (Polytheism and Atheism); 399a (Religious Pluralism and the Q)

66 II 58a (Ethics and the Q)

67 II 323b, 325a (God and his Attributes)
III 179a (Left Hand and Right Hand); 209a (Literature and the Q)
IV 220b (Prayer); 474a (Rhetoric and the Q)
V 287b (Time); 474b (Weights and Measures)

67-69 II 316a (Glory)

67-75 III 139a (Last Judgment)

68 I 89b (Angel); 111b, 112b, 113b, 114a (Apocalypse)
II 547a (Instruments)
III 140a (Last Judgment); 203a (Literary Structures of the Q)

69 II 326b (God and his Attributes)
IV 296b (Prophets and Prophethood); 560a (Scripture and the Q)
V 490b (Witness to Faith); 493a, 493b, 494a (Witnessing and Testifying); 524b (Women and the Q)

69-70 I 522b (Destiny)

70 I 243b, 244a (Book)

71 I 398b (Conquest)
III 190a (Literacy)
IV 298b (Prophets and Prophethood)
V 377a (Troops)

71-74 I 91a (Angel)
IV 2b (Pairs and Pairing)

72 I 160b (Arrogance); 165b (Art and Architecture and the Q)
IV 103b (Pit)

73 I 237a (Blessing); 398b (Conquest)
II 51b (Eschatology); 283b, 286b (Garden)
IV 225a (Prayer)
V 377a (Troops); 393a, 393b (Turkish Literature and the Q)

73-75 III 323b (Material Culture and the Q)

74 IV 185a (Possession and Possessions); 213b (Praise)

75
I 27a (Adoration); 442a (Cosmology)
II 326a (God and his Attributes); 410b (Heaven and Sky)
III 65a (Judgment)
IV 213b, 214b (Praise); 220a, 220b (Prayer)
V 277a (Throne of God)

SŪRAT GHĀFIR/AL-MU'MIN (40)

I 230b (Biology as the Creation and Stages of Life)
III 378b (Mercy); 472b (Mysterious Letters)

1-4
II 262a (Form and Structure of the Q)

2
IV 6a (Pairs and Pairing); 446a (Revelation and Inspiration)

3
II 31a (Epigraphy); 244b (Forgiveness)
III 378a, 378b (Mercy)
IV 426a (Repentance and Penance); 453a (Reward and Punishment)
V 287a (Time)

4
I 512b (Debate and Disputation)
V 6b (Signs)

4-5
IV 309b (Provocation)

5
III 524a (Narratives); 576b (Opposition to Muḥammad)
IV 25a (Parties and Factions); 115b (Polemic and Polemical Language)

5-6
IV 320a (Punishment Stories)

6
V 547b (Word of God)

7
I 166a (Art and Architecture and the Q); 442a, 442b (Cosmology); 462b, 463a (Court)
II 322a, 326a (God and his Attributes); 410b (Heaven and Sky); 551b (Intercession)
III 227b (Load or Burden)
IV 29a (Path or Way); 213a (Praise); 427a (Repentance and Penance); 537b (Scholar)
V 277a (Throne of God)

7-8
III 324b (Material Culture and the Q)

7-9
I 462b (Court)

8
II 60a (Ethics and the Q); 284a (Garden)
III 99b (Kinship)
IV 21b (Parents)

9
I 220b (Belief and Unbelief)
IV 522b (Salvation)

10
II 416b (Hell and Hellfire)

11 II 45a (Eschatology)
IV 6b (Pairs and Pairing); 460b (Reward and Punishment)

12 I 158b (Arrogance); 320a (Chronology and the Q)
II 30a (Epigraphy); 82b (Everyday Life, Q In)
IV 5b (Pairs and Pairing); 118b (Polemic and Polemical Language)

13 IV 427b (Repentance and Penance)
V 179a (Sustenance)

15 I 500a (Day, Times of)
II 325b (God and his Attributes); 443b (Holy Spirit)
III 137a (Last Judgment)
IV 294b (Prophets and Prophethood); 478b (Rhymed Prose)
V 81a (Soul); 115b (Spirit); 277a (Throne of God); 461a (Warner)

16 II 36a (Epigraphy); 330a (God and his Attributes)
IV 128a (Politics and the Q)

17 II 64b (Ethics and the Q); 330b (God and his Attributes)
III 73b (Justice and Injustice)

18 I 500a (Day, Times of)
III 137a (Last Judgment); 236a (Love and Affection); 442b (Muḥammad)
V 461a (Warner)

20 II 185b (Fate); 362b (Grammar and the Q)
IV 5b (Pairs and Pairing); 228b (Prayer)

21 IV 307b (Protection); 425a (Remnant)

21-22 IV 126b (Politics and the Q); 320b (Punishment Stories)

22 II 92a (Everyday Life, Q In); 308a (Geography)

23 III 421b (Moses)
IV 106a (Plagues)

23-24 IV 68a (Pharaoh)

23-46 IV 320a (Punishment Stories)

23-56 III 519a (Narratives)

24 II 338a (Good and Evil); 399a (Hāmān); 540a (Insanity); 542b (Insolence and Obstinacy)
III 104b (Korah); 518b (Narratives)

24-25 II 399a (Hāmān)

25 I 302a (Children); 306b (Children of Israel)
II 162a (Failure)

25-26 II 542a (Insolence and Obstinacy)

26 IV 416a (Religious Pluralism and the Q)

27 I 159a (Arrogance); 500a (Day, Times of)
III 66b (Judgment); 137a (Last Judgment)
IV 308a (Protection); 434a (Resurrection); 457b (Reward and Punishment)

28 I 540a (Dissimulation)
II 31a (Epigraphy); 96a (Everyday Life, Q In); 399b (Hāmān)
III 230a (Lord)
V 258a (Theology and the Q)

28-45 I 219a (Belief and Unbelief)

29 III 93a (Kings and Rulers); 583b (Oppression)

30 I 500a (Day, Times of)
IV 25a (Parties and Factions)

30-33 IV 25a (Parties and Factions)

31 I 21b (ʿĀd)
V 317b (Tradition and Custom)

32 I 500a (Day, Times of)
II 558b (Invitation)
III 137a (Last Judgment)
IV 478b (Rhymed Prose)

33 IV 307b (Protection)

34 II 436b (History and the Q)
III 57a (Joseph)
IV 286b (Proof)
V 258a (Theology and the Q)

35 I 82a (Anatomy); 160b (Arrogance); 395b (Conceit); 512b (Debate and Disputation)
II 350b, 365b (Grammar and the Q); 542b (Insolence and Obstinacy)
IV 264a (Pride); 281a (Profane and Sacred); 310a (Provocation)
V 6b (Signs)

36 I 162b (Art and Architecture and the Q); 478a (Creation)
II 338a (Good and Evil); 542b (Insolence and Obstinacy)

36-37 I 190a (Authority)
II 399a (Hāmān)
III 46a (Jinn)
IV 68a (Pharaoh)

37 II 162a (Failure); 335b (Good and Evil)
IV 483b (Rhymed Prose)

38 IV 29a (Path or Way)

39 II 283a (Garden)
III 59a (Joy and Misery)
IV 5a (Pairs and Pairing); 14b (Paradise)

39-40 IV 1b (Pairs and Pairing)

40 IV 18b (Paradise); 82a (Philosophy and the Q)
V 524a (Women and the Q)

41-42 V 181a (Symbolic Imagery)

41-44 II 558b (Invitation)

42 IV 6a (Pairs and Pairing)

42-43 III 143a (Last Judgment)

43 II 418a (Hell and Hellfire)

45 II 335b (Good and Evil)
III 18a (Jesus)
IV 307b (Protection)

45-46 IV 67a (Pharaoh)

46 I 501a, 503a (Day, Times of)
II 80a, 80b (Evening)
III 137a (Last Judgment); 417a (Morning)
V 281b, 287b (Time)

46-49 II 45b (Eschatology)

47 III 580b (Oppressed on Earth); 583a (Oppression)
IV 130b (Politics and the Q)

47-48 II 416b (Hell and Hellfire)
III 582a (Oppressed on Earth)
IV 264a (Pride)

48 IV 133b (Politics and the Q)

49 I 222a (Belief and Unbelief)

49-50 IV 286b (Proof)

51 II 355b (Grammar and the Q)
IV 295b (Prophets and Prophethood)
V 492b, 494a (Witnessing and Testifying)

52 II 335b (Good and Evil)
III 137b (Last Judgment)

53 I 245b (Book)
IV 36b (People of the Book)

53-54 III 425a (Moses)
V 301a, 302a (Torah)

54 IV 3b (Pairs and Pairing)

55 I 35b (Afternoon); 503a, 503b (Day, Times of)
III 40a (Jihād); 416b (Morning); 446b (Muḥammad)
IV 213b, 214b (Praise); 220b, 223a (Prayer)
V 281a (Time)

56 I 159a (Arrogance); 512a (Debate and Disputation)
IV 5b (Pairs and Pairing)
V 6b (Signs)

57 I 474b (Creation)
IV 538b (Scholar)

57-85 III 519a (Narratives)

58 III 209b (Literature and the Q)
IV 2a (Pairs and Pairing)
V 447b (Vision and Blindness)

59 I 501a (Day, Times of)
V 287b (Time); 148b (Expeditions and Battles)

60 I 396a (Conceit)
IV 264a (Pride)

61 I 477b (Creation); 502a (Day, Times of)
IV 589b (Shekhinah)
V 280b (Time)

61-64 I 472b (Creation)

61-66 II 259a (Form and Structure of the Q)

62 I 472a (Creation)
V 501a (Witnessing and Testifying)

63 V 6a (Signs)

64 I 45a (Agriculture and Vegetation); 213a (Beauty); 477b, 478a (Creation)
II 411a (Heaven and Sky)
IV 220b (Prayer)

64-65 V 500b, 501a (Witnessing and Testifying)

65 III 182b (Life); 303a, 304b (Material Culture and the Q)

66 IV 228b (Prayer)

66-67 V 569b (Youth and Old Age)

67 I 81a (Anatomy); 446a, 446b (Cosmology); 477a (Creation)
II 328a (God and his Attributes)
III 332a (Maturity)
V 204b (Teaching); 267a (Theology and the Q); 290a (Time)

68 I 319a (Chronology and the Q); 446b (Cosmology); 475a, 475b (Creation); 516b (Decision)
II 185b (Fate); 269a (Freedom and Predestination); 327b (God and his Attributes)
III 332a (Maturity)
IV 4b (Pairs and Pairing); 33b (Patriarchy)
V 109a (Speech); 287a (Time); 371b (Trinity); 542b, 547a (Word of God)

69 I 319a (Chronology and the Q); 512a (Debate and Disputation)
IV 115b (Polemic and Polemical Language)

70 I 245a (Book)
IV 538b (Scholar)

70-72 III 529b (Nature as Signs)

71 II 416a (Hell and Hellfire); 547a (Instruments)

72 I 222a (Belief and Unbelief)
II 211a (Fire)

75 III 61b (Joy and Misery)

76 I 160b (Arrogance)
IV 103b (Pit)

77 I 406a (Consolation)
II 91b (Everyday Life, Q In)
III 18b (Jesus); 40a (Jihād)

78 III 381a, 382a (Messenger); 517b (Narratives)
IV 296a, 302b (Prophets and Prophethood)
V 3b (Signs); 109b (Speech)

79 V 411b (Vehicles)

79-80 I 96a (Animal Life); 215b (Bedouin)

80 III 227b (Load or Burden)
V 412a (Vehicles)

81 II 489a (Ignorance)
V 6a (Signs)

82 II 308a (Geography)
IV 126b (Politics and the Q); 425a (Remnant)

82-84 IV 320b (Punishment Stories)

83 III 61b (Joy and Misery); 400b (Mockery)
IV 286b (Proof)

84 V 502a (Witnessing and Testifying)

84-85 II 542b (Insolence and Obstinacy)
III 379b (Mercy)
V 502a (Witnessing and Testifying)

85 IV 126b (Politics and the Q)
V 164a (Sunna)

SŪRAT FUṢṢILAT (41)

I 407b (Consultation); 548b (Dreams and Sleep)
III 472b (Mysterious Letters)
IV 496b (Ritual and the Q)

1-4 II 341b (Good News)

1-5 II 262a (Form and Structure of the Q)
V 39b (Sīra and the Q)

1-8 II 262a (Form and Structure of the Q)

2 I 209a (Basmala)
II 497b (Illiteracy)
IV 443b, 446a (Revelation and Inspiration)

2-3 IV 562a (Scripture and the Q)
V 340b (Translations of the Q)

3 II 226b (Foreign Vocabulary)
III 113b (Language and Style of the Q); 193b (Literary Structures of the Q); 394a (Miracles); 451a (Muḥammad); 592a (Orality and Writing in Arabia)
IV 280b (Profane and Sacred); 538b (Scholar)
V 422b, 423b (Verse)

3-4 III 456a (Muḥammad)

3-5 II 510b (Indifference)

4 I 83b (Anatomy)
II 341b (Good News)
III 512a (Names of the Q)
IV 3b (Pairs and Pairing)

5 I 225b, 226a (Belief and Unbelief)
II 276a (Furniture and Furnishings); 370b (Gratitude and Ingratitude); 408a (Heart)
III 448b (Muḥammad)
IV 331a (Quraysh)
V 412b (Veil)

6 II 329b (God and his Attributes)
III 451b (Muḥammad)
IV 300a (Prophets and Prophethood); 311b (Provocation)
V 500a (Witnessing and Testifying)

7 V 553a (World)

8-12 I 448a (Cosmology)

9 I 442a (Cosmology); 472b (Creation); 499b (Day, Times of)
II 410b (Heaven and Sky); 476b (Idolatry and Idolaters)

9-11 I 536a (Difficult Passages)

9-12 II 327a (God and his Attributes)
IV 7a (Pairs and Pairing)
V 279b (Time); 544a (Word of God)

10 I 443a (Cosmology)
II 217a (Food and Drink)
III 551b (Numbers and Enumeration)
V 178b (Sustenance)

11 I 442a (Cosmology)
II 327b (God and his Attributes)

	IV	82b (Philosophy and the Q)
	V	64a (Smoke); 110b (Speech)
11-12	II	410b (Heaven and Sky)
	V	544a (Word of God)
12	I	442a, 442b (Cosmology); 499b (Day, Times of); 544b (Divination)
	II	410b, 411a (Heaven and Sky); 547a (Instruments)
	IV	6a (Pairs and Pairing); 107b (Planets and Stars); 293b (Prophets and Prophethood); 439b (Revelation and Inspiration)
	V	64a, 64b (Smoke); 271a (Theology and the Q)
13	II	212a (Fire)
	IV	321a (Punishment Stories)
	V	253a (Thamūd); 460b (Warner); 471a (Weather)
13-16	III	443a (Muḥammad)
13-18	IV	320a (Punishment Stories)
14	II	512b (Informants)
	IV	300a (Prophets and Prophethood)
15	I	21b (ʿĀd); 160b (Arrogance)
	IV	183b (Portents); 263b (Pride)
15-18	II	542a (Insolence and Obstinacy)
16	I	21b (ʿĀd); 52b, 54b (Air and Wind)
	II	455b (Hot and Cold)
	IV	453b (Reward and Punishment)
	V	280a (Time); 470b (Weather)
16-17	III	249a (Magic)
17	II	212a (Fire); 270a (Freedom and Predestination); 362b (Grammar and the Q)
	V	253a (Thamūd)
18	I	519a (Deliverance)
	V	253a (Thamūd)
19	II	23b (Enemies)
	V	377a (Troops)
20	V	492a (Witnessing and Testifying)
20-22	II	426a (Hides and Fleece)
	V	494b (Witnessing and Testifying)
20-23	II	416b (Hell and Hellfire)
	V	110b (Speech)
21	I	476a (Creation)
	V	110b (Speech)
22	III	141a (Last Judgment)
22-23	II	416b (Hell and Hellfire)
	V	177b (Suspicion)

24 IV 103b (Pit)
V 379a (Trust and Patience)

25 II 417a (Hell and Hellfire)
III 46b, 47b (Jinn)
IV 7b (Pairs and Pairing); 336b (Races); 438a (Revelation and Inspiration)
V 119b (Spiritual Beings); 494b (Witnessing and Testifying); 547b (Word of God)

26 II 87b (Everyday Life, Q In)
III 109b (Language and Style of the Q)
V 6a (Signs); 430b (Victory)

28 II 23b (Enemies); 52b (Eschatology); 54b (Eternity)
IV 14b (Paradise); 118a (Polemic and Polemical Language)

29 II 199a (Feet)
III 46b (Jinn)
IV 7b (Pairs and Pairing)

30 I 406a (Consolation)
III 223a (Literature and the Q); 324b (Material Culture and the Q)

30-31 III 323b (Material Culture and the Q)

31 I 432b (Contracts and Alliances)

33 V 221b (Teaching and Preaching the Q)

34 I 541a (Dissimulation)
II 69a (Ethics and the Q); 452b (Hospitality and Courtesy)
III 40a (Jihād); 236a (Love and Affection)
IV 309b (Provocation)

36 IV 308a (Protection); 575a (Seeing and Hearing)

37 I 254b (Bowing and Prostration); 474b (Creation)
III 415b (Moon)
IV 220a (Prayer); 438a (Revelation and Inspiration); 488a (Ritual and the Q)
V 162b (Sun); 280b (Time)

37-40 II 259a (Form and Structure of the Q)

38 I 502b (Day, Times of)

38-39 II 303a (Geography)

39 II 3a (Earth); 320b (God and his Attributes)
III 200b (Literary Structures of the Q)
IV 435b (Resurrection); 438a (Revelation and Inspiration)
V 463a (Water)

40 II 420b (Heresy)
IV 280a (Profane and Sacred)
V 6b (Signs)

41 III 509b (Names of the Q)

41-54 II 262a (Form and Structure of the Q)

42 II 26b (Epigraphy)
III 513a (Names of the Q); 600b (Ornamentation and Illumination)
IV 6a (Pairs and Pairing); 443b, 446a (Revelation and Inspiration)

43 II 244b (Forgiveness)
III 453a (Muḥammad)
IV 2a (Pairs and Pairing); 301b (Prophets and Prophethood); 453a (Reward and Punishment)

44 I 145a (Arabs); 225b (Belief and Unbelief)
II 37b (Epigraphy); 226b (Foreign Vocabulary); 502a (Illness and Health); 512b (Informants)
III 114a, 117a, 117b (Language and Style of the Q); 451a (Muḥammad)
IV 3b (Pairs and Pairing); 444a (Revelation and Inspiration)
V 132a (Strangers and Foreigners)

45 III 424b (Moses)
IV 36b (People of the Book)
V 289b (Time); 301a (Torah)

46 IV 1b (Pairs and Pairing); 84a (Philosophy and the Q)

47 I 494b (Date Palm); 500a, 501a (Day, Times of)
II 477a (Idolatry and Idolaters)
III 137a, 138a (Last Judgment)
V 288a (Time); 494a (Witnessing and Testifying)

48 II 99a (Evil Deeds)

49 I 521a (Despair)
II 355a (Grammar and the Q)
V 204b (Teaching)

49-51 IV 229a (Prayer)

50 I 501a (Day, Times of)
III 137a (Last Judgment)
V 287b (Time)

51 II 56b (Ethics and the Q)

53 II 548b (Intellect)
III 528b, 534a, 534b (Nature as Signs)
IV 107b (Planets and Stars); 438a (Revelation and Inspiration)
V 9b (Signs)

53-54 III 323b (Material Culture and the Q)

SŪRAT AL-SHŪRĀ (42)

I 407b, 408a (Consultation)
III 472b, 475b (Mysterious Letters)

1-3 II 262a (Form and Structure of the Q)

3 I 442a (Cosmology)
V 546b (Word of God)

4 IV 5b (Pairs and Pairing); 184a, 184b (Possession and Possessions)

5 II 357a (Grammar and the Q); 497b (Illiteracy); 551b (Intercession)
III 379b (Mercy)
IV 220a (Prayer)

6 II 273b (Friends and Friendship)
III 40a (Jihād); 452b (Muḥammad)
IV 307a (Protection)

6-9 IV 404a (Religious Pluralism and the Q)

7 I 338b (City); 372b (Community and Society in the Q); 500a (Day, Times of)
II 226b (Foreign Vocabulary); 495a (Illiteracy)
III 113b (Language and Style of the Q); 137a (Last Judgment); 193b (Literary Structures of the Q); 338a (Mecca); 443b (Muḥammad)
IV 2b (Pairs and Pairing); 280b (Profane and Sacred); 299b (Prophets and Prophethood)
V 340b (Translations of the Q); 460b, 461a (Warner)

8 I 436a (Conversion)
II 72a (Ethics and the Q); 330b (God and his Attributes); 497a (Illiteracy)
IV 5b (Pairs and Pairing); 337a (Races)

8-9 II 65b (Ethics and the Q); 273b (Friends and Friendship)

9 II 273b (Friends and Friendship); 320b (God and his Attributes)
III 231b (Lord)

10 II 30a, 31a (Epigraphy); 96a (Everyday Life, Q In)
IV 430a (Repentance and Penance)

11 I 106b (Anthropomorphism); 447b (Cosmology); 472a (Creation)
II 75b (Ethics and the Q); 175a (Family); 323a (God and his Attributes)
III 201b (Literary Structures of the Q); 549b (Numbers and Enumeration)
IV 5b, 6a (Pairs and Pairing); 79a (Philosophy and the Q)
V 18b (Simile); 266a (Theology and the Q); 500a (Witnessing and Testifying); 526b (Women and the Q)

12 II 546b (Instruments)
IV 4a (Pairs and Pairing)
V 179a (Sustenance)

13 I 310b (Christians and Christianity); 380b (Community and Society in the Q); 435b (Conversion)
II 11b (Election)
III 8a, 17a (Jesus); 445a (Muḥammad); 486b (Myths and Legends in the Q)
IV 25b (Parties and Factions); 299a (Prophets and Prophethood); 427b (Repentance and Penance)
V 334a (Traditional Disciplines of Q Studies)

13-14 III 7b (Jesus)

14 II 430b (History and the Q)
IV 35b (People of the Book)
V 289b (Time)

15 II 5b (Economics)
III 27a (Jews and Judaism); 39a (Jihād); 70a (Justice and Injustice); 453b (Muḥammad)
V 68b (Social Sciences and the Q); 287a (Time); 486b (Wish and Desire); 496b (Witnessing and Testifying)

16 I 93a (Anger)
IV 287a (Proof); 310a (Provocation)

16-17 II 148b (Expeditions and Battles)

17 I 501a (Day, Times of)
II 363a (Grammar and the Q); 545a (Instruments)
III 137a, 138a (Last Judgment); 334b (Measurement)
V 203a (Teaching); 288a (Time)

18 I 501a (Day, Times of)
III 137a (Last Judgment)
V 287b (Time)

19 II 92a (Everyday Life, Q In)
IV 5b (Pairs and Pairing)

20 I 41b (Agriculture and Vegetation)
II 304b (Geography)
IV 5a (Pairs and Pairing)

21 I 516a, 516b (Decision)
V 103a (Sovereignty); 289b (Time)

22 I 41a (Agriculture and Vegetation)
II 283a (Garden)

22-23 II 341b (Good News)

23 II 34b (Epigraphy); 174b (Family); 275a (Friends and Friendship)
III 236a (Love and Affection); 557a, 558b (Numismatics)
IV 6a (Pairs and Pairing)

23-26 I 407b (Consultation)

24 I 82a (Anatomy)
II 407a (Heart); 550b (Intention)
IV 311b (Provocation)
V 447a (Vision and Blindness); 547b (Word of God)

25 II 244b (Forgiveness)
III 379b (Mercy)
IV 426a (Repentance and Penance); 431b (Responsibility)

26-27 I 389b (Companions of the Prophet)

27 I 408a (Consultation)
III 334b (Measurement)

28 I 42a (Agriculture and Vegetation); 521a (Despair)
II 28b (Epigraphy); 273b (Friends and Friendship)
III 304a (Material Culture and the Q); 379a (Mercy)
IV 307a (Protection); 443b (Revelation and Inspiration)
V 181a (Symbolic Imagery); 470b (Weather)

28-35 II 259a (Form and Structure of the Q)

29 I 95b, 96a (Animal Life); 473b (Creation)
III 140a (Last Judgment)

29-34 IV 438a (Revelation and Inspiration)

30 II 245a (Forgiveness); 401b (Hand)
IV 85a (Philosophy and the Q)
V 22a (Sin, Major and Minor)

31 I 432b (Contracts and Alliances)
II 273a (Friends and Friendship)
IV 5b (Pairs and Pairing)

32 II 528a (Inimitability)
IV 183a (Portents)
V 412a (Vehicles)

32-33 I 54a (Air and Wind)

32-34 III 379a (Mercy)

33 I 52a (Air and Wind)
III 530a (Nature as Signs)
V 382b (Trust and Patience)

34 II 245a (Forgiveness)

35 I 512a (Debate and Disputation)
IV 115b (Polemic and Polemical Language)

36 II 6b (Economics)
III 59b (Joy and Misery)
V 340a (Transitoriness)

36-43 I 219b (Belief and Unbelief)
II 259b (Form and Structure of the Q)

37 I 93b (Anger); 217a (Bedouin); 408a, 408b (Consultation)
II 66b (Ethics and the Q)
III 65b (Judgment)
IV 580b (Sex and Sexuality)
V 19a (Sin, Major and Minor)

37-43 V 456b (War)

38 I 406b, 407a, 408a (Consultation)
III 567a (Obedience)

39-42 V 456b (War)

40 II 448a (Honor)
III 65b (Judgment)

41 V 456b (War)

43 III 65b (Judgment); 378a (Mercy)

44 II 59a (Ethics and the Q); 273b (Friends and Friendship)
IV 430a (Repentance and Penance)

45 II 161b (Failure)

46 I 432b (Contracts and Alliances)
II 273b (Friends and Friendship)
IV 432a (Responsibility)

47 II 36a (Epigraphy)

48 I 221a (Belief and Unbelief); 449b (Cosmology)
III 40a (Jihād); 61a (Joy and Misery)

49 I 474b (Creation)
II 289b (Gender); 327b (God and his Attributes)

49-50 I 302b (Children)
IV 211a (Power and Impotence)
V 524b (Women and the Q)

49-53 V 118a (Spiritual Beings)

50 IV 6a (Pairs and Pairing)

51 II 276a (Furniture and Furnishings); 324a (God and his Attributes)
III 382b (Messenger); 511a, 511b (Names of the Q)
IV 6a (Pairs and Pairing); 217a (Prayer); 294a (Prophets and Prophethood); 312a (Provocation); 440b (Revelation and Inspiration)
V 109b (Speech); 275b (Theophany); 412b, 413a (Veil); 546a, 547b (Word of God)

52 II 365a (Grammar and the Q)
III 186b (Light); 442a (Muḥammad); 512a (Names of the Q)
IV 3b (Pairs and Pairing); 217a (Prayer)
IV 294a, 297b (Prophets and Prophethood)
V 81a (Soul); 371b (Trinity); 546a (Word of God)

52-53 V 271a (Theology and the Q)

53 IV 29a (Path or Way)
V 287a (Time)

Sūrat al-Zukhruf (43)

I 407b (Consultation)
III 11b, 17b (Jesus); 472b (Mysterious Letters)

2
II 257b, 263b (Form and Structure of the Q); 497b (Illiteracy)
IV 468b (Rhetoric and the Q)
V 172a (Sūra)

2-3
III 592a (Orality and Writing in Arabia)

3
II 226b (Foreign Vocabulary); 497b (Illiteracy)
III 113b (Language and Style of the Q); 193b (Literary Structures of the Q)
V 18a (Simile); 340b (Translations of the Q)

3-4
IV 280b (Profane and Sacred)

4
I 247b (Book)
II 189a (Fātiḥa); 412a (Heavenly Book)
III 513a (Names of the Q)
IV 81a (Philosophy and the Q); 261b (Preserved Tablet); 297a (Prophets and Prophethood); 560b (Scripture and the Q)

5
IV 422a (Remembrance)

6
II 434a (History and the Q)

7
I 222a (Belief and Unbelief)
III 400a (Mockery)

8
II 434b (History and the Q)

9
I 329b (Chronology and the Q); 472b (Creation)

10
II 2b, 3a (Earth)

11
II 3a (Earth)
III 334a (Measurement)

12
I 95b (Animal Life); 478a (Creation)
IV 6a (Pairs and Pairing)

12-13
I 215b (Bedouin)
V 411b (Vehicles)

13
II 92b, 93a (Everyday Life, Q In)
V 376a (Trips and Voyages)

15
I 220b (Belief and Unbelief); 449b (Cosmology)

16
III 48a (Jinn)

16-17
II 341a (Good News)
IV 118a (Polemic and Polemical Language)

17
I 364b (Colors)

19
I 243b (Book)
IV 577b (Servants)
V 492a (Witnessing and Testifying)

19-20 III 295a (Mary)

20 II 360a (Grammar and the Q)

20-21 II 497b (Illiteracy)

22 I 371b (Community and Society in the Q)
II 199b (Feet); 497a (Illiteracy)
V 317a (Tradition and Custom)

23 I 371b (Community and Society in the Q)
II 497a (Illiteracy)
IV 301a (Prophets and Prophethood)
V 317a (Tradition and Custom)

23-25 IV 320b (Punishment Stories)

25 IV 453b (Reward and Punishment)

26 II 24a (Enemies)
V 258a (Theology and the Q)

26-27 I 6b (Abraham); 472a (Creation)
III 494a (Myths and Legends in the Q)

26-28 I 193a (Āzar); 330a (Chronology and the Q)

28 IV 35a (Peace); 429a (Repentance and Penance)

30 III 246a (Magic)

30-31 III 247a (Magic)

31 I 338b (City)
II 295a (Geography)
III 449b (Muḥammad)

32 II 217a (Food and Drink); 362b (Grammar and the Q)
III 253a, 253b (Manual Labor); 379b (Mercy)
IV 149a (Politics and the Q)
V 191b (Talent); 393a, 393b (Turkish Literature and the Q)

33 I 377a (Community and Society in the Q)
II 497a (Illiteracy)

33-35 II 459a (House, Domestic and Divine)

34 IV 18a (Paradise)

35 III 400a (Mockery)

36 I 524b (Devil)
V 119b (Spiritual Beings); 487b (Wish and Desire); 494b (Witnessing and Testifying)

37-39 V 52b (Sirius)

38 II 364a (Grammar and the Q)
V 282b (Time)

40 II 43b (Error); 406b (Hearing and Deafness)
IV 2a (Pairs and Pairing)

41 IV 453b (Reward and Punishment)

43 III 452b (Muḥammad)

44 III 510a (Names of the Q)
IV 230a (Prayer)

46 III 421b (Moses)
IV 106a (Plagues)

46-47 III 421b (Moses)

46-56 I 304b (Children of Israel)
IV 320a (Punishment Stories)

47 III 146b (Laughter)
V 8a (Signs)

48 IV 453a (Reward and Punishment)
V 54a (Sister)

49 I 465b (Covenant)

51 II 10a (Egypt)
III 93a (Kings and Rulers)
IV 68a (Pharaoh)

52 V 201a (Teaching)

53 II 333b, 334a (Gold)
III 383b (Metals and Minerals)

55 III 423a (Moses)
IV 453b (Reward and Punishment)

55-56 I 554a (Drowning)

56 IV 35a (Peace)

57 III 8a, 11a (ʿJesus); 567b (Obedience)
IV 35a (Peace)
V 3a (Signs); 533b (Women and the Q)

57-58 I 512b (Debate and Disputation)

57-65 III 7b (ʿJesus)

58 I 513b (Debate and Disputation)

59 III 16a (ʿJesus)

61 I 111a (Antichrist); 501a (Day, Times of)
III 17b (ʿJesus); 137a (Last Judgment)
V 288a (Time)

62 I 526a (Devil)
II 23b (Enemies); 66a (Ethics and the Q)

63 III 8a, 16a (ʿJesus); 568a (Obedience)
IV 68b (Philosophy and the Q)
V 483a, 483b (Wisdom)

64 II 96a (Everyday Life, Q In)
III 230a (Lord)

65 I 500a (Day, Times of)

66 I 501a (Day, Times of)
III 137a, 138a (Last Judgment)
V 287b (Time)

68 II 196b (Fear); 360a (Grammar and the Q)

68-72 I 171b (Art and Architecture and the Q)
III 310a (Material Culture and the Q)

69-70 I 385a (Community and Society in the Q)

70 II 175a (Family); 283b (Garden)
V 524a (Women and the Q)

70-73 I 165b (Art and Architecture and the Q)
III 493a (Myths and Legends in the Q)

71 I 490b, 491a (Cups and Vessels)
II 276a (Furniture and Furnishings); 283b, 284a (Garden); 333b, 334a (Gold)
III 383b (Metals and Minerals)
IV 18b (Paradise)
V 12b (Silk); 123a (Springs and Fountains)

73 IV 18a (Paradise)

74 II 52b (Eschatology)

75 I 521b (Despair); 524b (Devil)
V 133a (Suffering)

77 I 89b (Angel)
V 119a (Spiritual Beings)

78 II 166a (Faith)
V 387a (Truth)

80 I 243b (Book)
III 191a (Literacy)
IV 290a (Prophets and Prophethood)
V 118b (Spiritual Beings); 493a (Witnessing and Testifying)

81 I 115a (Apologetics)

81-82 III 7b (Jesus)

82 II 325b (God and his Attributes)
IV 220b (Prayer)
V 277a (Throne of God)

83 III 40a (Jihād); 453b (Muḥammad)
IV 309b (Provocation)
V 387a (Truth)

84 IV 5b (Pairs and Pairing); 161b (Polytheism and Atheism); 537b (Scholar)

84-89 II 143a (Exhortations)

85 I 501a (Day, Times of)
III 137a, 138a (Last Judgment)
IV 220b (Prayer)
V 288a (Time)

86 II 49b (Eschatology)
III 379b (Mercy)
IV 163b (Popular and Talismanic Uses of the Q); 228b (Prayer)

87 I 329b (Chronology and the Q); 472b (Creation)

88-89 II 30a (Epigraphy)

89 III 40a (Jihād); 453a (Muḥammad)
IV 538b (Scholar)
V 291a (Tolerance and Coercion)

Sūrat al-Dukhān (44)

I 407b (Consultation)
III 472b (Mysterious Letters); 521a (Narratives)
IV 495b (Ritual and the Q)
V 64b, 65a (Smoke)

1-4 III 496b (Myths and Legends in the Q)

2 II 257b, 263b (Form and Structure of the Q); 497b (Illiteracy)
III 124b (Language and Style of the Q)
IV 468b (Rhetoric and the Q)
V 172a (Sūra)

2-3 III 442a (Muḥammad)
V 284b (Time)

3 I 326a (Chronology and the Q); 501b (Day, Times of)
II 181b (Fasting)
III 414a (Months); 537b (Night of Power)
IV 262b (Preserved Tablet); 292b, 293a (Prophets and Prophethood); 343b (Ramaḍān)

3-4 II 186a (Fate)

3-6 IV 343a (Ramaḍān)

4 IV 343a (Ramaḍān)

6 II 1b (Ears)
IV 575a (Seeing and Hearing)

7 II 31a (Epigraphy)

8 IV 4b (Pairs and Pairing)

10	I	111a (Antichrist)
	II	411b (Heaven and Sky)
	V	64a, 64b, 65a (Smoke)
10-11	V	133a (Suffering)
10-14	III	379b (Mercy)
10-16	IV	332a (Quraysh); 434b (Resurrection)
11	V	64b (Smoke)
12	V	64b (Smoke)
14	II	540a (Insanity)
	III	103b (Knowledge and Learning); 450a, 450a (Muḥammad)
	IV	112a (Poetry and Poets); 310b, 311b (Provocation); 442b (Revelation and Inspiration)
	V	202b (Teaching)
15	IV	430a (Repentance and Penance)
16	IV	332b (Quraysh); 453b (Reward and Punishment)
	V	64b, 65a (Smoke)
17-33	III	521a (Narratives)
	IV	320a (Punishment Stories)
20	V	130b (Stoning)
23	I	501b (Day, Times of)
	V	246b (Textual Criticism of the Q)
23-24	III	423a (Moses)
	V	246b (Textual Criticism of the Q)
23-31	III	423a (Moses)
24	I	553b (Drowning)
	V	377a (Troops); 464b (Water)
24-25	II	213a (Fire)
25	V	127b (Springs and Fountains)
25-28	III	488a (Myths and Legends in the Q)
26	II	3b (Earth); 447b (Honor)
29	V	472b (Weeping)
30	I	518b (Deliverance)
	II	184a (Fasting)
	V	363a (Trial)
30-33	I	304a (Children of Israel)
31	II	542a (Insolence and Obstinacy)
32	II	11b (Election)
	IV	291b (Prophets and Prophethood)

33 V 5b (Signs); 363a (Trial)

36 II 308a (Geography)

37 I 152a (Archaeology and the Q)
II 437b (History and the Q)
III 521b (Narratives)
V 389a (Tubbaʿ)

38 I 442a (Cosmology); 473a (Creation)
II 31a (Epigraphy)
IV 4a (Pairs and Pairing); 82a (Philosophy and the Q); 262b (Preserved Tablet)
V 279b (Time); 553b (World)

38-39 I 442a (Cosmology)
II 327b (God and his Attributes)

39 I 473a (Creation)
IV 538b (Scholar)

40 I 272b (Calendar); 516b (Decision)
III 136a, 137a (Last Judgment)
IV 228a (Prayer)
V 288a (Time)

41 I 345a (Clients and Clientage)
III 231a (Lord)

41-42 III 379b (Mercy)

42 III 200a (Literary Structures of the Q)
IV 6a (Pairs and Pairing)

43 I 42a (Agriculture and Vegetation)
II 211a (Fire); 305a (Geography)
V 359a (Tree); 571a (Zaqqūm)

43-44 V 359a (Tree)

43-46 III 533a (Nature as Signs)

43-48 I 222a (Belief and Unbelief)

44 V 572a (Zaqqūm)

45 III 383b (Metals and Minerals)

45-46 II 211b (Fire)
V 572a (Zaqqūm)

46 V 182a (Symbolic Imagery); 464b (Water)

47-48 II 50a (Eschatology); 211a (Fire)

48 II 210b (Fire)

49 II 320b (God and his Attributes)

51 I 165b (Art and Architecture and the Q)
II 283b (Garden)
IV 14b (Paradise); 103a (Pit); 307b (Protection)

51-52 V 123a (Springs and Fountains)

51-57 IV 16b (Paradise)

52 V 464b (Water)

53 II 228b (Foreign Vocabulary)
V 11b (Silk)

54 II 52a (Eschatology); 154a (Eyes); 284a (Garden); 348b (Grammar and the Q); 456a, 456b (Houris)
III 130b (Language and Style of the Q); 139b (Last Judgment); 277a (Marriage and Divorce); 493a (Myths and Legends in the Q)
IV 18a (Paradise); 354b, 358a (Readings of the Q); 585a (Sex and Sexuality)
V 106b (Spatial Relations)

55 IV 18a (Paradise)

56 IV 486a (Ritual and the Q)

57 IV 522b (Salvation)

58 I 83a (Anatomy); 132a (Arabic Language)
III 108b (Language, Concept of); 113b (Language and Style of the Q); 443a (Muḥammad)

59 III 40a (Jihād)

SŪRAT AL-JĀTHIYA (45)

I 407b (Consultation)
III 472b (Mysterious Letters)

1-6 II 262a (Form and Structure of the Q)
IV 438a (Revelation and Inspiration)

2 IV 446a (Revelation and Inspiration)

2-7 I 247b (Book)

3-5 I 474a (Creation)

4 I 95b (Animal Life)

5 I 52a, 53b (Air and Wind); 501b (Day, Times of)
II 3a (Earth)
III 210a, 212a (Literature and the Q)
IV 4a (Pairs and Pairing)
V 179a (Sustenance); 280b (Time)

6 III 190a (Literacy); 441a (Muḥammad)
V 3a (Signs)

8 I 160b (Arrogance)
III 190a (Literacy)

9 III 400a (Mockery)
V 6a (Signs)

10 II 273b (Friends and Friendship); 418b (Hell and Hellfire)

11 I 446a (Cosmology)
IV 454a (Reward and Punishment); 503a (Ritual Purity)

12 V 412a (Vehicles); 464a (Water)

12-13 IV 438a (Revelation and Inspiration)

12-15 II 259a (Form and Structure of the Q)

13 I 96a (Animal Life)
IV 4a (Pairs and Pairing); 107b (Planets and Stars); 393b (Reflection and Deliberation)

14 I 407b (Consultation); 505a, 505b (Days of God)
II 362a (Grammar and the Q); 449a (Hope)
III 40a (Jihād)
V 279b (Time)

15 IV 1b (Pairs and Pairing)

16 IV 127b (Politics and the Q)
V 105b (Spatial Relations); 301a (Torah)

16-17 I 304a, 305a (Children of Israel)

17 II 185b (Fate)
IV 133b (Politics and the Q)

18 III 27a (Jews and Judaism); 201b (Literary Structures of the Q); 453b (Muḥammad)
IV 402b (Religious Pluralism and the Q)
V 486b (Wish and Desire)

19 II 273b, 274b (Friends and Friendship)
III 231b (Lord)
V 138a (Ṣūfism and the Q)

22 I 473a, 473b (Creation)
IV 82a (Philosophy and the Q)
V 544b (Word of God)

23 I 225b, 226a (Belief and Unbelief)
II 330b (God and his Attributes); 407a (Heart)
IV 160a (Polytheism and Atheism)

24 I 38a (Age of Ignorance); 318b (Chronology and the Q); 509b (Death and the Dead)
II 54b (Eternity); 185a (Fate); 268a (Freedom and Predestination); 362b (Grammar and the Q)
IV 162a, 162b (Polytheism and Atheism); 177b (Suspicion)
V 287a (Time); 475a (Weights and Measures); 486a (Wish and Desire)

24-37 I 522b (Destiny)

25 III 190a (Literacy)
V 132b, 177b (Suspicion); 422b (Verse)

26 II 268a (Freedom and Predestination)
IV 4b (Pairs and Pairing); 538b (Scholar)

27 I 501a (Day, Times of)
III 137a (Last Judgment)
V 287b (Time)

28 II 432a (History and the Q); 558b (Invitation)

28-29 I 522b (Destiny)
II 269b (Freedom and Predestination); 412b (Heavenly Book)
V 493a (Witnessing and Testifying)

29 I 14b (Abrogation); 243b, 244a, 244b (Book)
V 111a (Speech)

30 I 436a (Conversion)
IV 18b (Paradise); 522b (Salvation)
V 430a (Victory)

30-31 II 362b (Grammar and the Q)

31 III 190a (Literacy)
V 6a (Signs); 19a (Sin, Major and Minor)

32 I 501a (Day, Times of)
II 362b (Grammar and the Q)
III 137a (Last Judgment)
V 287b (Time)

33 II 417a (Hell and Hellfire)
III 400b (Mockery)

34 IV 103b (Pit)

34-35 IV 309b (Provocation)

35 V 6a (Signs)

36 IV 184a (Possession and Possessions); 213b (Praise)

37 I 158b, 159a (Arrogance)
IV 264b (Pride)

SŪRAT AL-AḤQĀF (46)

I 407b (Consultation)
III 472b (Mysterious Letters)

1-3 II 262a (Form and Structure of the Q)

2 IV 446a (Revelation and Inspiration)

3 I 472a (Creation)
II 269a (Freedom and Predestination); 439b (History and the Q)
III 181a (Lie)

IV 4a (Pairs and Pairing); 82a (Philosophy and the Q)
V 289b (Time)

4 I 472b (Creation)
II 239b (Foretelling in the Q); 476a (Idolatry and Idolaters)
IV 312a, 312b (Provocation)

5 II 43b (Error)
IV 228b (Prayer)

6 I 220b (Belief and Unbelief)

7 III 190a (Literacy); 246a, 247a (Magic)
V 5b (Signs); 421b (Verse)

7-8 I 115a (Apologetics)

8 III 450a (Muḥammad)

9 I 478b (Creation)
II 365a (Grammar and the Q); 420b (Heresy)
III 451b (Muḥammad)
IV 298a (Prophets and Prophethood)
V 316b (Tradition and Custom)

10 IV 84a (Philosophy and the Q)
V 492a, 492b (Witnessing and Testifying)

12 I 83a (Anatomy); 117b (Apologetics); 132a (Arabic Language)
II 226b (Foreign Vocabulary); 341a, 341b (Good News); 502b (Imām)
III 113b (Language and Style of the Q); 189b (Literacy); 424b (Moses); 445a (Muḥammad)
IV 3b (Pairs and Pairing); 36b (People of the Book); 300b (Prophets and Prophethood); 439a (Revelation and Inspiration)
V 300b, 301a (Torah); 461a (Warner)

13 II 365a (Grammar and the Q)
III 230a (Lord)

15 I 232a (Biology as the Creation and Stages of Life); 302b (Children)
II 61b (Ethics and the Q); 372a (Gratitude and Ingratitude); 447b (Honor); 453a (Hospitality and Courtesy)
III 106a (Lactation); 252a (Maintenance and Upkeep); 332a (Maturity); 410a (Months); 551a (Numbers and Enumeration)
IV 20b (Parents); 427a (Repentance and Penance)
V 204b (Teaching); 285b, 286a (Time); 475b (Weights and Measures)

16 III 379b (Mercy)

17 II 365b (Grammar and the Q); 430a (History and the Q)
III 518a (Narratives)
IV 21a (Parents)

18 III 46b, 47b (Jinn)
IV 7b (Pairs and Pairing); 336b (Races); 438a (Revelation and Inspiration)
V 547b (Word of God)

19 IV 458b (Reward and Punishment)
V 191b (Talent)

21 I 21b (ʿĀd); 261b (Brother and Brotherhood)
III 524b (Narratives)

21-25 II 459b (House, Domestic and Divine)

21-26 II 462a (Hūd); 558a (Invitation)

21-27 III 353a (Medicine and the Q)
IV 320a (Punishment Stories)

22 I 21b (ʿĀd)

22-23 II 488a (Ignorance)

24 I 21b (ʿĀd)
V 133a (Suffering)
V 471a (Weather)

24-25 II 462b (Hūd)

25 I 21b (ʿĀd); 150b (Archaeology and the Q); 504a (Day, Times of)
II 338b (Good and Evil)
III 418a (Morning)
IV 425a (Remnant)
V 545a (Word of God)

26 II 370b (Gratitude and Ingratitude)
III 400b (Mockery)
IV 210b (Power and Impotence)
V 6a (Signs)

27 I 246a (Book)
II 46a (Eschatology)
III 212a (Literature and the Q)
IV 438b (Revelation and Inspiration)

28 IV 517a (Sacrifice)

29 II 365b (Grammar and the Q); 405b (Hearing and Deafness)
III 591b (Orality and Writing in Arabia)
IV 337a (Races)
V 460a (Warner)

29-30 II 87a (Everyday Life, Q In)

29-31 III 443b (Muḥammad)

30 III 445a (Muḥammad); 509a (Names of the Q); 591b (Orality and Writing in Arabia)
IV 28b, 29a (Path or Way); 299b (Prophets and Prophethood); 439a (Revelation and Inspiration)
V 300b (Torah); 386b (Truth)

31 I 519b (Deliverance)
II 245a (Forgiveness)

31-32 IV 307b (Protection)

32 II 273b (Friends and Friendship)

33 I 443b (Cosmology); 474b, 479a, 479b (Creation)
IV 212a (Power and Impotence)
V 5a (Signs)

33-34 I 479a (Creation)

35 I 501a (Day, Times of)
III 40a (Jihād); 54b (Jonah); 335b (Measurement); 362a (Medicine and the Q); 382a (Messenger); 453a (Muḥammad)
IV 292a (Prophets and Prophethood)
V 287b (Time); 476b (Weights and Measures)

Sūrat Muḥammad (47)

I 322a (Chronology and the Q)
II 264a (Form and Structure of the Q)
V 174b (Sūra)

1 IV 431b (Responsibility)

1-3 IV 1b (Pairs and Pairing); 117a (Polemic and Polemical Language)

2 II 439a (History and the Q)
III 440a (Muḥammad); 501b (Names of the Prophet)
IV 259a (Pre-Islamic Arabia and the Q); 431b (Responsibility)
V 489a (Witness to Faith); 501b (Witnessing and Testifying)

3 II 99a (Evil Deeds)
V 386b (Truth)

4 I 224a (Belief and Unbelief); 289a (Captives); 397b (Conquest); 460b (Courage)
II 144a (Expeditions and Battles); 439a (History and the Q)
III 37b, 38a, 42a (Jihād); 228a (Load or Burden); 577b (Opposition to Muḥammad)
IV 30b (Path or Way); 277b (Prisoners); 321b (Punishment Stories); 523b (Salvation)
V 455a, 456a, 458a, 458b (War)

4-6 II 209b (Fighting)
III 282b, 283a (Martyrs)

5 IV 460b (Reward and Punishment)

8 I 491b (Curse)

9 II 161b (Failure)

10 IV 320b (Punishment Stories); 425a (Remnant)

11 I 344b (Clients and Clientage)
III 231a (Lord)
IV 307b (Protection)

12 I 100a (Animal Life)
IV 103b (Pit)
V 464b (Water)

13 II 299a (Geography)
III 338a (Mecca); 449a (Muḥammad); 579a (Opposition to Muḥammad)
V 458b (War)

14 I 213a (Beauty)
II 308a (Geography); 335b (Good and Evil)

15 I 165b (Art and Architecture and the Q); 343b (Cleanliness and Ablution)
II 51b (Eschatology); 211a (Fire); 218a (Food and Drink); 245a (Forgiveness); 283b (Garden); 445b (Honey); 556a (Intoxicants)
III 204a (Literary Structures of the Q); 391a (Milk); 531a (Nature as Signs)
IV 17b, 18b (Paradise)
V 124b, 125a (Springs and Fountains); 464b (Water); 466a (Water of Paradise); 482a (Wine)

16 I 82a (Anatomy)
IV 538b (Scholar)
V 203b (Teaching)

17 I 435b (Conversion)
II 195a (Fear)

18 I 113b (Apocalypse); 501a (Day, Times of)
II 148b (Expeditions and Battles)
III 137a, 138a (Last Judgment)
IV 183a (Portents)
V 287b (Time)

19 I 163b (Art and Architecture and the Q)
II 49b (Eschatology); 75b (Ethics and the Q)
III 299a, 299b, 300b (Material Culture and the Q); 379b (Mercy); 446b (Muḥammad); 556a (Numismatics)
V 22b, 25a (Sin, Major and Minor); 488b (Witness to Faith); 500b, 501a (Witnessing and Testifying)

20 I 506b (Death and the Dead)
II 407b (Heart); 465a (Humor); 470a (Hypocrites and Hypocrisy)
III 37b (Jihād)
IV 118a (Polemic and Polemical Language)
V 457a, 457b (War)

21 II 65b (Ethics and the Q)

22 II 358a, 367a (Grammar and the Q)
V 522a, 522b (Womb)

23 I 492a (Curse)
II 406b (Hearing and Deafness)

IV 2a (Pairs and Pairing)
V 446a (Vision and Blindness)

24 I 226a (Belief and Unbelief)
II 510b (Indifference); 546a (Instruments)
IV 118a (Polemic and Polemical Language); 394b (Reflection and Deliberation)
V 203b (Teaching); 447a (Vision and Blindness)

25 I 80a (Anatomy); 526a (Devil)
V 82b (Soul); 293b (Tolerance and Coercion)

26 V 458a (War)

27 I 80b (Anatomy)
IV 486a (Ritual and the Q)

28 I 93a (Anger)
II 161b (Failure); 321b (God and his Attributes)

29 II 407b (Heart)

30 I 82b (Anatomy)
III 109b (Language and Style of the Q)

31 I 220b (Belief and Unbelief)
III 37a, 37b (Jihād); 184b (Life); 518a (Narratives); 537a (News)
V 133b (Suffering); 362b (Trial); 458a (War)

32 III 454b (Muḥammad)
IV 455b (Reward and Punishment)

34 I 120b (Apostasy)
II 245a (Forgiveness)

35 I 461a (Courage); 521b (Despair)
II 439a (History and the Q)
III 40a (Jihād)

36 II 209b (Fighting)

36-38 V 469b (Wealth)

38 I 277a (Caliph)
II 361a (Grammar and the Q)
IV 30b (Path or Way); 209a (Poverty and the Poor)
V 468b (Wealth)

Sūrat al-Fatḥ (48)

II 148a, 149b (Expeditions and Battles); 264a (Form and Structure of the Q)
III 272a (Manuscripts of the Q); 324b (Material Culture and the Q); 437a (Mosque); 579a (Opposition to Muḥammad)
IV 172b (Popular and Talismanic Uses of the Q); 246b (Pre-1800 Preoccupations of Q Studies)

v 174b (Sūra); 429b (Victory); 435a (Virtue); 501b (Witnessing and Testifying)

1
- I 32a (African Literature); 399a (Conquest)
- II 144a, 149b (Expeditions and Battles); 462a (House, Domestic and Divine)
- III 454a (Muḥammad)
- IV 332b (Quraysh); 590a (Shekhinah)
- V 393b (Turkish Literature and the Q)

1-2
- IV 177b (Popular and Talismanic Uses of the Q)

1-6
- II 32a (Epigraphy)

1-22
- III 304b (Material Culture and the Q)

2
- II 506a (Impeccability)
- III 446b (Muḥammad)
- V 25a (Sin, Major and Minor); 458b (War)

2-4
- III 315b (Material Culture and the Q)

4
- I 220b (Belief and Unbelief); 406a (Consolation); 463b (Court)
- IV 4a (Pairs and Pairing); 34a (Peace); 537b (Scholar); 590a (Shekhinah)
- V 190b (Table); 377b (Troops); 404b (Uncertainty)

5
- IV 17b, 18b (Paradise); 522b (Salvation)

5-6
- IV 1b (Pairs and Pairing)
- V 523b (Women and the Q)

6
- I 93a (Anger); 492a (Curse)
- II 468b, 470a (Hypocrites and Hypocrisy)
- III 314b (Material Culture and the Q)
- IV 119b (Polemic and Polemical Language); 456a (Reward and Punishment)
- V 287a (Time)

7
- I 463b (Court)
- IV 4a (Pairs and Pairing)
- V 377b (Troops)

8
- II 341b (Good News)
- IV 3b (Pairs and Pairing); 300b (Prophets and Prophethood)
- V 307b (Torah)

9
- I 502b, 503b, 504a (Day, Times of)
- III 416b, 418b (Morning)
- V 281a (Time)

10
- I 103b (Anthropomorphism); 431a (Contracts and Alliances); 466a (Covenant)
- II 323b, 325a (God and his Attributes); 401b (Hand)
- III 201b (Literary Structures of the Q); 340b (Mecca); 447b (Muḥammad); 562b (Oaths); 568a (Obedience)
- IV 63b (Persian Literature and the Q); 125b (Politics and the Q); 493a (Ritual and the Q)
- V 434a (Virtue); 449b (Vow)

11 I 83a (Anatomy); 216a (Bedouin)
III 544b (Nomads); 578a (Opposition to Muḥammad)
V 375b (Trips and Voyages); 457b (War); 469b (Wealth); 548b, 549a (Work)

11-12 III 315b (Material Culture and the Q)

12 V 457b (War)

13 V 458a (War)

14 II 244b (Forgiveness)
IV 2a (Pairs and Pairing); 457b (Reward and Punishment)

15 I 251b (Booty)
II 25a (Envy); 262b (Form and Structure of the Q)
III 511a (Names of the Q)
V 111a (Speech); 175b (Sūra); 194a (Taxation); 457b (War); 547b (Word of God)

16 I 216a (Bedouin); 458b (Courage)
III 41b (Jihād); 462b (Musaylima); 544b (Nomads); 578a (Opposition to Muḥammad)
IV 2a (Pairs and Pairing); 455a, 456a (Reward and Punishment)
V 458a (War)

17 I 397b (Conquest)
II 501b (Illness and Health)
III 41b (Jihād)
IV 2a (Pairs and Pairing); 34b (Peace)
V 19a (Sin, Major and Minor); 133b (Suffering); 457b (War); 464b (Water); 501b (Witnessing and Testifying)

18 I 399a, 400b (Conquest); 406a (Consolation); 466a (Covenant)
II 144a (Expeditions and Battles); 305a (Geography)
III 340b (Mecca); 447b (Muḥammad); 568a (Obedience)
IV 17a (Paradise); 34a, 35a (Peace); 63b (Persian Literature and the Q); 125b (Politics and the Q); 456b (Reward and Punishment); 493a (Ritual and the Q); 590a (Shekhinah)
V 361b (Tree); 404b (Uncertainty); 435a (Virtue)

19 I 251b (Booty)
V 194a (Taxation)

20 I 251b (Booty)
III 577b (Opposition to Muḥammad)
V 4a (Signs); 194a (Taxation)

20-24 III 42b (Jihād)

22 I 80b (Anatomy)
II 273b (Friends and Friendship)
IV 5b (Pairs and Pairing)
V 458a (War)

23 II 209b (Fighting)
V 164a (Sunna); 317b (Tradition and Custom)

24 II 149b (Expeditions and Battles); 299b (Geography)
III 337b, 338a, 340b (Mecca)
IV 54a (People of the Thicket); 259a (Pre-Islamic Arabia and the Q)

24-25 III 42a (Jihād)

25 I 436a (Conversion)
II 299a (Geography)
III 77b (Kaʿba); 340b (Mecca)
IV 281b (Profane and Sacred); 332a (Quraysh); 515a (Sacred Precincts)
V 458b, 459a (War); 523b (Women and the Q)

26 I 37a (Age of Ignorance); 406a (Consolation); 459b (Courage)
II 195b (Fear); 488a (Ignorance)
IV 590b (Shekhinah)
V 286b (Time); 404b (Uncertainty); 435a (Virtue)

27 I 81b (Anatomy); 320a (Chronology and the Q); 399a (Conquest); 546b, 547a, 551a, 551b (Dreams and Sleep)
II 144a (Expeditions and Battles); 241b (Foretelling in the Q)
III 77b (Kaʿba); 340a (Mecca); 454a (Muḥammad)
IV 179a (Popular and Talismanic Uses of the Q); 281b (Profane and Sacred); 295a (Prophets and Prophethood); 515a (Sacred Precincts)
V 444b (Vision); 446a (Vision and Blindness); 459a (War)

28 II 299a (Geography)
IV 300a (Prophets and Prophethood)
V 489b (Witness to Faith); 503b (Witnessing and Testifying)

29 I 41b (Agriculture and Vegetation); 93b (Anger); 182a (Asceticism); 213a (Beauty); 219b, 220a (Belief and Unbelief); 254a, 254b (Bowing and Prostration); 480b (Creeds)
II 30a, 30b, 34a, 35a (Epigraphy); 245a (Forgiveness); 439a (History and the Q)
III 224b (Literature and the Q); 265b (Manuscripts of the Q); 299a, 299b (Material Culture and the Q); 378a (Mercy); 382b (Messenger); 440a (Muḥammad); 501b, 502a (Names of the Prophet); 556a, 556b, 559a (Numismatics)
IV 10b (Parable); 176b (Popular and Talismanic Uses of the Q); 219b (Prayer); 259a (Pre-Islamic Arabia and the Q)
V 242a (Textual Criticism of the Q); 300b, 307b (Torah); 489a (Witness to Faith); 501b, 502a (Witnessing and Testifying)

SŪRAT AL-ḤUJURĀT (49)

I 322a (Chronology and the Q)
II 264a (Form and Structure of the Q); 569a (Islam)
IV 380a (Recitation of the Q)
V 174b (Sūra)

1 IV 575a (Seeing and Hearing)

1-5 III 447b (Muḥammad)

2-3 I 82b (Anatomy)
IV 455b (Reward and Punishment)

2-5 I 220a (Belief and Unbelief)
II 72b (Ethics and the Q)

3 I 82b (Anatomy)
II 245a (Forgiveness); 538a (Inquisition)
III 401b (Moderation)
V 362b (Trial); 489a (Witness to Faith)

6 II 488b (Ignorance)
III 537a (News)

7 I 537b (Disobedience)
II 57a, 66a (Ethics and the Q); 98a (Evil Deeds)
III 235b (Love and Affection); 447b (Muḥammad); 567b (Obedience)

8 IV 537b (Scholar)

9 I 461a (Courage)
II 70b, 72b (Ethics and the Q)
III 70a, 70b, 71b (Justice and Injustice); 85a (Khārijīs)
IV 35a (Peace); 135b (Politics and the Q); 364b (Rebellion)
V 456a (War); 486b (Wish and Desire)

9-10 I 220a (Belief and Unbelief)
IV 63b (Persian Literature and the Q)

10 I 220a (Belief and Unbelief); 262b (Brother and Brotherhood)
II 72b (Ethics and the Q); 363a (Grammar and the Q)
III 70a (Justice and Injustice); 99b (Kinship)
V 365a (Tribes and Clans)

11 II 72b (Ethics and the Q); 367a (Grammar and the Q)
III 401a (Mockery)
IV 8b (Pairs and Pairing); 427a (Repentance and Penance)

11-12 II 343b (Gossip)
III 66a (Judgment)
V 21a (Sin, Major and Minor)

12 I 80a (Anatomy); 261b (Brother and Brotherhood)
II 72b (Ethics and the Q)
IV 5b (Pairs and Pairing); 426b (Repentance and Penance)
V 19a (Sin, Major and Minor); 178b (Suspicion)

13 I 38a, 38b (Age of Ignorance); 368b (Community and Society in the Q); 476a, 476b (Creation)
II 72a (Ethics and the Q); 202b (Feminism and the Q); 328b (God and his Attributes); 448a (Honor); 462a (House, Domestic and Divine)
III 211b (Literature and the Q)
IV 5b (Pairs and Pairing); 337a (Races); 581a (Sex and Sexuality)
V 364b (Tribes and Clans); 436b (Virtue); 524a (Women and the Q)

14 I 216b (Bedouin); 218b (Belief and Unbelief); 375b, 382a (Community and Society in the Q)
II 169a (Faith); 568b (Islam)
IV 401b (Religious Pluralism and the Q)
V 502a (Witnessing and Testifying)

14-15 I 375a (Community and Society in the Q)
II 72b (Ethics and the Q)
III 37b (Jihād)

15 I 437b (Conversion)
II 164b (Faith); 362b (Grammar and the Q)
III 38a (Jihād)
IV 30b (Path or Way)
V 178b (Suspicion); 501b (Witnessing and Testifying)

16 V 201b (Teaching)

17 I 438a (Conversion)
II 568b (Islam)
IV 404a (Religious Pluralism and the Q)

SŪRAT QĀF (50)

III 472b (Mysterious Letters)
IV 495b (Ritual and the Q)
V 308b (Torah)

1 I 350b (Codices of the Q)
II 257b, 263b (Form and Structure of the Q); 315b (Glory)
IV 63a (Persian Literature and the Q); 468b (Rhetoric and the Q)
V 172a (Sūra)

2 III 399a (Miracles)

2-11 I 479a (Creation)

3 II 4b (Earth)

4 I 243a (Book)

6 I 213a (Beauty); 478a (Creation)
II 411a (Heaven and Sky)

6-8 I 474a (Creation)

6-11 II 259a (Form and Structure of the Q)
IV 438a (Revelation and Inspiration)

7 II 2b, 3a (Earth); 362a (Grammar and the Q)

8 IV 427b (Repentance and Penance)

9 II 3b (Earth); 28a (Epigraphy)
III 304a (Material Culture and the Q)
V 126b (Springs and Fountains)

9-10 V 462b (Water)

9-11 II 3a, 3b (Earth); 303a (Geography)
III 531a (Nature as Signs)
V 126b (Springs and Fountains); 190b (Table)

10 I 494b (Date Palm)
II 305a (Geography)

11 II 3a (Earth)
IV 435a (Resurrection)

12 II 434a (History and the Q)
III 486a (Myths and Legends in the Q); 524a (Narratives)
IV 320a (Punishment Stories); 352b (Rass)

12-14 III 522a (Narratives)
IV 320a (Punishment Stories)
V 250b (Textual Criticism of the Q)

13 I 21b (ʿĀd); 261b (Brother and Brotherhood)
II 308a (Geography)

14 I 41b (Agriculture and Vegetation); 152a (Archaeology and the Q)
II 353b, 363a (Grammar and the Q); 437b (History and the Q)
III 390b (Midian)
IV 53b (People of the Thicket); 320a (Punishment Stories); 605b (Shuʿayb)
V 389a (Tubbaʿ)

15 I 479a, 479b (Creation)
IV 6b (Pairs and Pairing)

16 I 175b (Artery and Vein); 362a (Colors); 474b, 476a (Creation); 526a (Devil)
II 57b (Ethics and the Q); 322b, 324a (God and his Attributes); 546b (Instruments)
III 225a (Literature and the Q)
V 82b (Soul); 137b (Ṣūfism and the Q); 266a (Theology and the Q); 493a (Witnessing and Testifying)

16-29 II 99a (Evil Deeds)

17 V 119a (Spiritual Beings)

17-18 III 177b (Left Hand and Right Hand)
V 493a (Witnessing and Testifying)

18 V 118b (Spiritual Beings)

19 I 506b (Death and the Dead)

20 I 500a (Day, Times of)
II 547a (Instruments)
III 137a (Last Judgment)
IV 61a (Persian Literature and the Q)
V 393b (Turkish Literature and the Q)

20-29 V 494a (Witnessing and Testifying)

21 V 118b (Spiritual Beings); 493b, 494a (Witnessing and Testifying)

22 I 91a (Angel); 400a (Conquest)
II 99a (Evil Deeds); 489a (Ignorance)
V 444b (Vision)

23 V 119b (Spiritual Beings); 494a (Witnessing and Testifying)

24 I 221a (Belief and Unbelief)
II 357b (Grammar and the Q)

27 V 119b (Spiritual Beings); 494b (Witnessing and Testifying)

28 I 513a (Debate and Disputation)

29 V 38b (Sīra and the Q)

30 II 325a (God and his Attributes); 417b (Hell and Hellfire)
V 110b (Speech)

31-34 IV 34a (Peace)

32 IV 428a (Repentance and Penance)

33 II 408a (Heart)
IV 427b (Repentance and Penance)

34 I 500a (Day, Times of)
II 54b (Eternity); 283b (Garden)
III 137a (Last Judgment)

35 II 284a (Garden); 324a (God and his Attributes)
IV 18b (Paradise)

36 I 458b (Courage)
II 293a (Generations)
IV 320a (Punishment Stories)

37 V 203b (Teaching)

38 I 443b (Cosmology); 473b, 474b, 476a (Creation)
II 326a (God and his Attributes); 410b (Heaven and Sky)
III 552a (Numbers and Enumeration)
IV 4a (Pairs and Pairing); 226a (Prayer); 511a (Sabbath)
V 265a (Theology and the Q); 279b, 287a (Time); 553a (World)

39 I 444a (Cosmology); 503b, 504b (Day, Times of)
III 417b (Morning)
IV 107a (Planets and Stars); 223a (Prayer)
V 163a (Sun); 282b (Time)

39-40 I 27a (Adoration); 328a (Chronology and the Q)
II 315a (Glorification of God)
III 446b (Muḥammad); 546a (Noon)
IV 220b (Prayer)

39-44 I 503b (Day, Times of)

40 I 254a (Bowing and Prostration)

41 I 113b, 114a (Apocalypse)
III 3b (Jerusalem); 142a (Last Judgment)

41-42 I 480b (Creeds)
II 558b (Invitation)
IV 435a (Resurrection)

42 I 319a (Chronology and the Q); 500a (Day, Times of)
III 137a (Last Judgment)
IV 454a (Reward and Punishment)
V 287a (Time)

43 IV 4b (Pairs and Pairing)
V 287a (Time)

44 IV 434a, 435a (Resurrection)

45 III 40a (Jihād); 452b (Muḥammad); 504a (Names of the Prophet)

SŪRAT AL-DHĀRIYĀT (51)

II 253a (Form and Structure of the Q)
III 200b (Literary Structures of the Q)
V 168b, 171a, 171b (Sūra)

1 I 55a (Air and Wind)
V 119a (Spiritual Beings)

1-4 II 256a (Form and Structure of the Q)
IV 464b, 466a, 468b (Rhetoric and the Q)
V 80a (Soothsayer)

2 I 55a (Air and Wind)
III 227b (Load or Burden)
V 474a (Weights and Measures)

3 I 55a (Air and Wind)
V 412a (Vehicles)

5-6 I 113b (Apocalypse)

6 III 136b (Last Judgment)

7 II 410a, 411a (Heaven and Sky)

7-9 II 256b (Form and Structure of the Q)
IV 468a (Rhetoric and the Q)

10 I 491b (Curse)

10-14 II 258b (Form and Structure of the Q)
V 106b (Spatial Relations)

12 III 136b (Last Judgment)
V 288b (Time)

15 V 123a (Springs and Fountains); 431a (Vigil)

15-18 I 182b (Asceticism)

15-19 II 258b (Form and Structure of the Q)
V 106b (Spatial Relations)

17-18 I 327b (Chronology and the Q)
IV 222b (Prayer)

17-19 IV 455a (Reward and Punishment)

18 I 503b (Day, Times of)
III 417a, 418b (Morning)
IV 487a (Ritual and the Q)
V 281a (Time)

19 IV 209b (Poverty and the Poor)
V 469a (Wealth)

20 III 531b (Nature as Signs)
IV 438a (Revelation and Inspiration)

20-21 V 3a (Signs)

22 II 268a (Freedom and Predestination)

23 II 410a (Heaven and Sky)
III 531b (Nature as Signs)
IV 184a (Possession and Possessions)

24 II 254b (Form and Structure of the Q); 435b (History and the Q); 447b (Honor)
III 524a (Narratives)
V 132a (Strangers and Foreigners)

24-28 I 532b (Dialogues)
II 341b (Good News)

24-30 I 6a (Abraham)

24-34 I 330a (Chronology and the Q)
V 259a (Theology and the Q)

24-37 II 259b (Form and Structure of the Q)
V 171b (Sūra)

24-46 III 521a (Narratives)

25 II 489a (Ignorance)
IV 225a (Prayer)

25-34 V 257b (Theology and the Q)

26 II 218b (Food and Drink)

28 I 7b (Abraham); 330b (Chronology and the Q)
II 341a (Good News); 561b (Isaac)
III 398a (Miracles)

29 I 6b (Abraham); 52b (Air and Wind)

30 IV 5b (Pairs and Pairing); 537b (Scholar)

31 III 382b (Messenger)

33 I 339b, 340a (Clay)
II 212b (Fire)
III 383b (Metals and Minerals)
V 129a (Stone); 130a (Stoning)

33-34 V 129a (Stone)

34-37 II 259b (Form and Structure of the Q)

34-46 V 420a (Verse)

35-36 I 218b (Belief and Unbelief)

37 IV 425b (Remnant)

38-40 I 304b (Children of Israel)
II 259b (Form and Structure of the Q)

39 II 540a (Insanity)
IV 112a (Poetry and Poets)

40 II 10b (Egypt); 213a (Fire)
V 377a (Troops); 463b (Water)

41 I 21b (ʿĀd); 52b, 54b (Air and Wind)
V 471a (Weather)

41-42 II 259b (Form and Structure of the Q)

41-46 III 540b (Noah)

43 II 308a (Geography)

43-44 II 259b (Form and Structure of the Q)

43-45 II 212a (Fire)

44 V 253a (Thamūd)

46 II 259b (Form and Structure of the Q); 434a (History and the Q)
III 486a (Myths and Legends in the Q)

47 I 442b (Cosmology); 478a (Creation)
II 354a, 362a (Grammar and the Q)

48 II 2b (Earth)

49 I 95b (Animal Life); 473b (Creation)
II 292a (Gender)
IV 6a (Pairs and Pairing); 581a (Sex and Sexuality)
V 524a (Women and the Q)

52 II 540a (Insanity)
IV 112a (Poetry and Poets); 301a (Prophets and Prophethood); 310b (Provocation)

52-54 III 453a (Muḥammad)

54 III 40a (Jihād); 453a (Muḥammad)

54-55 IV 8a (Pairs and Pairing)

55 V 203a (Teaching)

56 I 435a (Conversion); 476a (Creation)
II 82b (Everyday Life, Q In)
III 46b, 47b (Jinn)
IV 82a (Philosophy and the Q); 487a (Ritual and the Q); 576a (Servants)
V 274b (Theology and the Q); 553b (World); 555b (Worship)

56-57 IV 578b (Servants)

57 II 217a (Food and Drink)
V 179a (Sustenance)

58 II 268a (Freedom and Predestination); 320b, 322a (God and his Attributes)

60 IV 470b (Rhetoric and the Q)

SŪRAT AL-ṬŪR (52)

I 385a (Community and Society in the Q)
II 256b (Form and Structure of the Q); 388b (Ḥadīth and the Q)
III 495b (Myths and Legends in the Q)
IV 467b (Rhetoric and the Q)
V 28b (Sinai); 168b, 171b (Sūra)

1 IV 468b (Rhetoric and the Q)

1-6 II 256b (Form and Structure of the Q)
IV 464b (Rhetoric and the Q)
V 80a (Soothsayer); 107a (Spatial Relations); 464a (Water)

1-10 I 179a (Ascension)

2 III 591a (Orality and Writing in Arabia)
IV 468b (Rhetoric and the Q)
V 123a (Springs and Fountains); 558a (Writing and Writing Materials)

2-3 II 257b (Form and Structure of the Q)
III 140b (Last Judgment); 592b (Orality and Writing in Arabia)

3 II 545a (Instruments)
IV 468b (Rhetoric and the Q)

4 I 179b (Ascension)
II 299a (Geography)
III 76a, 77b (Kaʿba)
IV 52b (People of the House); 468b (Rhetoric and the Q); 514a (Sacred Precincts)

5 V 277b (Throne of God)

6 I 446a (Cosmology)
III 389a (Michael)

7	I	113b (Apocalypse)
	V	464a (Water)
7-8	IV	467b (Rhetoric and the Q)
9	II	411b (Heaven and Sky)
9-10	II	258a (Form and Structure of the Q)
	IV	8a (Pairs and Pairing); 467b, 469b (Rhetoric and the Q)
11	IV	455b (Reward and Punishment)
12	V	523b (Women and the Q)
13	V	523b (Women and the Q)
13-14	III	183b (Life)
15	III	246a (Magic)
17	III	63a (Joy and Misery)
17-28	V	426b (Verse)
18	I	519a (Deliverance)
	II	284a (Garden)
	III	63a (Joy and Misery)
20	I	385a (Community and Society in the Q)
	II	52a (Eschatology); 154a (Eyes); 284a (Garden); 348b (Grammar and the Q); 456a, 456b (Houris)
	III	130b (Language and Style of the Q); 139b (Last Judgment)
	IV	18a (Paradise); 354b (Readings of the Q); 585a (Sex and Sexuality)
	V	524a (Women and the Q)
21	I	385a (Community and Society in the Q)
	II	175a (Family); 454a (Hostages)
	IV	12a (Paradise); 21a (Parents); 109b (Pledge); 457a (Reward and Punishment)
22	I	385a (Community and Society in the Q)
	II	284a (Garden)
	IV	18a (Paradise)
23	I	385a (Community and Society in the Q); 490b (Cups and Vessels)
	IV	18b (Paradise)
23-28	IV	467b (Rhetoric and the Q)
24	II	52a (Eschatology); 284a (Garden); 445a (Homosexuality)
	III	384a (Metals and Minerals)
	IV	18a (Paradise); 585a (Sex and Sexuality)
	V	570a (Youth and Old Age)
25	I	385a (Community and Society in the Q)
26	II	174a (Family)
26-28	II	258b (Form and Structure of the Q)
27	II	210b (Fire); 415a (Hell and Hellfire); 455b (Hot and Cold)

28 II 321b (God and his Attributes)
III 233b (Love and Affection)
IV 5b (Pairs and Pairing)

29 I 148a (Arbitration); 447a (Cosmology); 542b (Divination)
II 540a (Insanity)
III 246b (Magic); 451a (Muḥammad)
IV 112a (Poetry and Poets); 216b (Prayer); 295a (Prophets and Prophethood); 442b (Revelation and Inspiration); 463a (Rhetoric and the Q); 477a (Rhymed Prose)
V 78b (Soothsayer); 420b (Verse)

29-30 II 540a (Insanity)
III 247a (Magic)
IV 259b (Pre-Islamic Arabia and the Q)
V 43b (Sīra and the Q)

29-31 I 115a (Apologetics)
II 528a (Inimitability)
IV 112b (Poetry and Poets)

29-34 I 543b (Divination)

29-44 V 426b (Verse)

30 I 542b (Divination)
II 185a (Fate); 268a (Freedom and Predestination)
IV 112a (Poetry and Poets); 311b (Provocation); 442b (Revelation and Inspiration); 463a (Rhetoric and the Q); 477a (Rhymed Prose)
V 38b (Sīra and the Q); 287a (Time)

30-31 III 219b (Literature and the Q)

30-43 III 212b (Literature and the Q)

31 III 40a (Jihād)

32 V 546a (Word of God)

33 III 116a (Language and Style of the Q)
IV 311b (Provocation); 463a (Rhetoric and the Q)

33-34 II 527a, 529b (Inimitability)
III 116a (Language and Style of the Q); 451b (Muḥammad); 468a (Muʿtazila)
IV 22b (Parody of the Q)

34 IV 312b (Provocation); 443a (Revelation and Inspiration)

35-36 I 472b (Creation)

37 II 348a, 354a (Grammar and the Q)

38 IV 286b (Proof); 311b (Provocation)

39 II 329b (God and his Attributes)
III 48a (Jinn)

42 IV 310a (Provocation)
V 480a (Whisper)

43 IV 220a, 220b (Prayer)

45 III 40a (Jihād)

47 IV 460b (Reward and Punishment); 538b (Scholar)

48 I 103b (Anthropomorphism)
II 323b, 324b (God and his Attributes)
III 40a (Jihād)
IV 213b (Praise); 220b (Prayer); 470b (Rhetoric and the Q); 574a (Seeing and Hearing)

48-49 I 327b (Chronology and the Q); 503b (Day, Times of)
II 143a (Exhortations)
III 452b (Muḥammad)
IV 222a (Prayer)
V 170a (Sūra)

49 I 502b, 503b (Day, Times of)
III 417b (Morning)
V 282b (Time)

SŪRAT AL-NAJM (53)

I 177b, 178a (Ascension)
III 415b (Moon); 535a (Nature as Signs)
IV 178a (Popular and Talismanic Uses of the Q); 477b (Rhymed Prose); 532a (Satanic Verses)
V 51b (Sirius); 168b, 171b (Sūra); 261a, 262a, 262b, 264b (Theology and the Q)

1 I 36a (Afternoon)
III 535a (Nature as Signs); 561b (Oaths)
IV 108b (Planets and Stars); 217a (Prayer)
V 52a, 52b (Sirius); 80a (Soothsayer)

1-8 IV 216b (Prayer)
V 116a (Spirit)

1-11 II 181a (Fasting)

1-12 I 178a (Ascension)

1-18 I 89a (Angel); 177b (Ascension); 320b (Chronology and the Q)
II 278a (Gabriel); 411b (Heaven and Sky)
IV 441a, 445a (Revelation and Inspiration)
V 138b (Ṣūfism and the Q); 80a (Soothsayer); 445b (Vision and Blindness)

1-20 II 392a (Ḥadīth and the Q)

2 I 387b (Companions of the Prophet)
V 421b (Verse)

2-3 III 450b (Muḥammad)
IV 116b (Polemic and Polemical Language)
V 486b (Wish and Desire)

4	III	511a (Names of the Q)
	IV	439b (Revelation and Inspiration)
4-5	IV	294a (Prophets and Prophethood)
	V	421b (Verse)
4-7	IV	442a (Revelation and Inspiration)
4-10	III	442a (Muḥammad)
4-18	V	261a (Theology and the Q)
5	III	191a (Literacy)
	V	201a (Teaching)
5-18	II	324a (God and his Attributes)
6-7	III	495b (Myths and Legends in the Q)
7	IV	107b (Planets and Stars)
8	II	63b (Ethics and the Q)
9	II	546a (Instruments)
	III	333a (Measurement)
	IV	60b (Persian Literature and the Q)
	V	393b (Turkish Literature and the Q); 473a (Weights and Measures)
10	I	180a (Ascension)
	IV	445a (Revelation and Inspiration)
10-11	I	115a (Apologetics)
11	II	324b (God and his Attributes)
	V	445b (Vision and Blindness)
11-18	III	442a (Muḥammad)
12-18	I	177b (Ascension)
13-14	II	324b (God and his Attributes)
13-18	I	177b, 178a (Ascension)
14	I	88a (Angel); 180a (Ascension)
	II	305b (Geography); 500b (ʿIlliyyūn)
	III	285a (Martyrs); 532a (Nature as Signs)
	V	126a (Springs and Fountains); 360b (Tree)
14-15	II	283b (Garden)
14-16	II	51b (Eschatology)
15	II	282b (Garden); 411b (Heaven and Sky)
	III	495b (Myths and Legends in the Q)
	IV	14a (Paradise); 103b (Pit)
16	I	180a (Ascension)
	II	305b (Geography)
	V	360b (Tree)

17 IV 64a (Persian Literature and the Q)
V 445b (Vision and Blindness)

19 IV 533a, 535a (Satanic Verses); 574b (Seeing and Hearing)

19-20 I 37b (Age of Ignorance); 95a (Animal Life)
II 329b (God and his Attributes); 474a, 474b (Iconoclasm); 483b (Idols and Images)
IV 160b (Polytheism and Atheism); 216b (Prayer); 256b, 259a (Pre-Islamic Arabia and the Q); 532a (Satanic Verses)
V 87a, 88a (South Arabia, Religions in Pre-Islamic); 122b (Springs and Fountains)

19-21 I 330a (Chronology and the Q)

19-22 I 236a (Blasphemy)
II 317b (God and his Attributes)

19-23 I 194b (Baal); 221b (Belief and Unbelief); 320a, 321a (Chronology and the Q)
IV 330a (Quraysh)

19-30 V 261a (Theology and the Q)

20 V 25a (Sin, Major and Minor)

21-22 IV 532b (Satanic Verses)

23 II 507b (Impotence)
III 43b (Jinn)
V 82b (Soul)

26 I 463a (Court)
II 49b (Eschatology); 552a (Intercession)
III 379b (Mercy)

26-27 II 317b (God and his Attributes)

28 II 489a (Ignorance)
III 102b (Knowledge and Learning)

29 III 40a (Jihād)

31-32 V 19a (Sin, Major and Minor)

32 I 29a (Adultery and Fornication); 233a (Birth); 479a (Creation)
II 245a (Forgiveness)
IV 20a (Parents); 580b (Sex and Sexuality)
V 19a (Sin, Major and Minor)

33 IV 109a (Planets and Stars)

33-34 II 7b (Economics)

33-37 II 259b (Form and Structure of the Q)

33-41 I 522b (Destiny)

33-48 V 261b (Theology and the Q)

33-62 I 523b (Destiny)

36 II 545a (Instruments)
IV 570a (Scrolls)

36-37 I 5b (Abraham); 245b (Book)
III 381a (Messenger)
IV 570a (Scrolls)
V 301a (Torah)

36-44 III 148b (Laughter)

37 I 5b (Abraham)
III 239a (Loyalty)

38 III 228a (Load or Burden)
V 274a (Theology and the Q)

38-39 V 262a (Theology and the Q)

43 III 149a (Laughter)
IV 4b (Pairs and Pairing)
V 472a (Weeping)

43-44 III 148b (Laughter)

43-49 II 259a (Form and Structure of the Q)
IV 470b (Rhetoric and the Q)

44 IV 4b (Pairs and Pairing)
V 274a (Theology and the Q)

44-54 I 319a (Chronology and the Q)
V 289b (Time)

45 I 95b (Animal Life)
II 175a (Family); 292a (Gender)
IV 6a (Pairs and Pairing); 581a (Sex and Sexuality)
V 267a (Theology and the Q); 524a (Women and the Q)

45-46 I 476b, 479a (Creation)

47 IV 435a (Resurrection)

48 V 274a (Theology and the Q); 467b (Wealth)

49 IV 109a (Planets and Stars); 184a (Possession and Possessions)
V 51b, 52b (Sirius)

49-50 V 52b (Sirius)

50 I 21b (ʿĀd)

50-54 III 521b (Narratives)

50-58 V 262a (Theology and the Q)

52 II 434a (History and the Q)

53 II 299b (Geography)
V 184b (Syria)

53-56 II 309a (Geography)

56 V 461a (Warner)

56-62 I 522b (Destiny)

57 I 113b (Apocalypse)
III 137a (Last Judgment); 519b (Narratives)

57-62 III 147a (Laughter)

58 IV 103b (Pit)

59 II 261a (Form and Structure of the Q)
V 170a, 172a (Sūra)

60 III 146b, 147a, 147b, 148a (Laughter)
V 472b (Weeping)

60-62 III 149a (Laughter)

62 II 142b (Exhortations)
IV 470b (Rhetoric and the Q); 532a (Satanic Verses)
V 170b (Sūra); 555b (Worship)

Sūrat al-Qamar (54)

I 235b (Blasphemy)
III 200b (Literary Structures of the Q); 213a (Literature and the Q); 398a (Miracles); 519a (Narratives); 535a (Nature as Signs)
IV 474b (Rhetoric and the Q); 477b (Rhymed Prose); 591b (Shīʿa)

1 I 501a (Day, Times of)
II 148b (Expeditions and Battles); 392a (Ḥadīth and the Q)
III 137a, 138a (Last Judgment); 519a, 519b (Narratives)
V 288a (Time)

1-2 III 398a (Miracles)

1-8 II 143a (Exhortations)
III 519a (Narratives)

2 III 246a, 247a (Magic); 397b (Miracles)
IV 309b (Provocation); 478b (Rhymed Prose)
V 5b (Signs)

4-5 II 441a (History and the Q)

5 III 512a (Names of the Q)
IV 68b (Philosophy and the Q)

6 III 40a (Jihād)

6-8 II 558b (Invitation)

7 I 100a, 100b (Animal Life)
II 363b (Grammar and the Q)
III 209a (Literature and the Q)

8 I 500a (Day, Times of)

9 II 434a (History and the Q); 540a (Insanity)
III 524a (Narratives); 542b (Noah)
IV 112a (Poetry and Poets)

9-17 III 485b (Myths and Legends in the Q); 519a (Narratives)

9-42 III 381b (Messenger); 519a (Narratives)
IV 320a (Punishment Stories)

11 I 398b (Conquest)
V 371a (Trinity)

11-12 II 219a (Food and Drink)
V 126a (Springs and Fountains); 464b (Water)

13 I 157b (Ark); 494b (Date Palm)
II 544b, 546b (Instruments)

14 I 103b (Anthropomorphism)
II 323b, 324b (God and his Attributes)

15 II 357b (Grammar and the Q)
IV 425b (Remnant)
V 5b (Signs)

17 II 82a (Everyday Life, Q In)
III 113b (Language and Style of the Q); 510a (Names of the Q); 524b (Narratives)

17-40 III 372b (Memory)

18 III 540b (Noah)

18-22 III 519a (Narratives)

19 I 21b (ʿĀd); 52b, 54b (Air and Wind); 500b (Day, Times of)
II 455b (Hot and Cold)
V 280a (Time); 470b (Weather)

19-20 V 15b (Simile)

20 I 494b (Date Palm)
II 305b (Geography)
III 209a (Literature and the Q)
V 16a (Simile)

22 II 82a (Everyday Life, Q In)
III 113b (Language and Style of the Q); 510a (Names of the Q); 524b (Narratives)

23 III 540b (Noah)

23-31 I 149b (Archaeology and the Q)
IV 521a (Ṣāliḥ)

23-32 II 308a (Geography)
III 519a (Narratives)

24 II 43b (Error); 540b (Insanity)
IV 521b (Ṣāliḥ)
V 253a (Thamūd)

26 II 358b (Grammar and the Q)
V 281a (Time)

27 IV 237b (Pre-1800 Preoccupations of Q Studies); 521b (Ṣāliḥ)

27-28 V 253a (Thamūd)

27-29 III 393a (Miracles)

27-31 I 287a (Camel)

28 III 549b (Numbers and Enumeration)
IV 521b (Ṣāliḥ)

29 IV 521b (Ṣāliḥ)
V 253a (Thamūd)

31 I 41b (Agriculture and Vegetation)
II 212a (Fire)
IV 454a (Reward and Punishment); 521b (Ṣāliḥ)
V 253a (Thamūd); 545a (Word of God)

32 III 510a (Names of the Q); 524b (Narratives)

33-37 III 232a (Lot)

33-40 III 519a (Narratives)

34 I 52b, 54b (Air and Wind); 503b (Day, Times of)
II 212b (Fire)
III 417a, 418a (Morning)
IV 530b, 531a (Sand)
V 281a (Time)

34-35 III 379a (Mercy)

35 I 236b (Blessing)

36 V 460b (Warner)

37 II 444b (Homosexuality)
III 393b (Miracles)
V 132b (Strangers and Foreigners); 134a (Suffering)

38 I 502a, 503b, 504a (Day, Times of)
III 416b, 417a, 418a (Morning)
V 281a (Time)

40 III 113b (Language and Style of the Q); 510a (Names of the Q); 524b (Narratives)

41-42 III 519a (Narratives)

42 II 251b (Form and Structure of the Q)

43 I 465b (Covenant)
II 504b (Immunity)
V 458b (War)

43-55 II 143a (Exhortations)
III 519a (Narratives)

46 I 501a (Day, Times of)
III 137a (Last Judgment)
IV 434b (Resurrection)
V 287b (Time)

47 II 540b (Insanity)

48 II 210a (Fire); 414b, 415a (Hell and Hellfire)

49 I 448b (Cosmology)
II 328b (God and his Attributes)
III 334b (Measurement)
IV 85b (Philosophy and the Q)

49-50 I 475a, 475b (Creation)

50 III 138a (Last Judgment)
V 287b, 288a (Time); 545a (Word of God)

51 III 524b (Narratives)
IV 592a (Shīʿa)

51-53 IV 570b (Scrolls)

52 I 243b (Book)

52-53 III 191a (Literacy)
V 19a (Sin, Major and Minor)

53 V 558a (Writing and Writing Materials)

54 V 467a (Water of Paradise)

55 IV 14b (Paradise)

SŪRAT AL-RAḤMĀN (55)

I 230b (Biology as the Creation and Stages of Life); 322a (Chronology and the Q); 438b (Coral); 448a, 451b (Cosmology)
II 370b (Gratitude and Ingratitude)
III 199a (Literary Structures of the Q); 213a (Literature and the Q); 334b (Measurement); 523b (Narratives)
IV 3a, 7a, 7b (Pairs and Pairing); 15b (Paradise); 394a (Reflection and Deliberation); 474b (Rhetoric and the Q); 477b, 481a (Rhymed Prose); 495b (Ritual and the Q)
V 11b (Silk); 106b (Spatial Relations); 124b (Springs and Fountains); 168b, 169b (Sūra); 265b (Theology and the Q); 426b (Verse)

1 V 393a (Turkish Literature and the Q)

1-2 III 191a (Literacy)

1-3 IV 470b (Rhetoric and the Q)

1-4 III 103a (Knowledge and Learning); 189b (Literacy)
IV 479a (Rhymed Prose)

1-7 IV 177b (Popular and Talismanic Uses of the Q)

1-15 I 473b (Creation)

1-27 I 189a (Authority)

2 V 201a (Teaching)

3 I 476a (Creation)

3-4 III 124b (Language and Style of the Q)

4 I 435a (Conversion)
III 118b, 124b (Language and Style of the Q)
V 201a (Teaching)

5 I 500b (Day, Times of)
IV 108a (Planets and Stars)
V 163a (Sun); 283b (Time)

6 I 254b (Bowing and Prostration)
II 369b (Grasses)
IV 72a (Philosophy and the Q); 107a (Planets and Stars)
V 359a (Tree)

7 II 545a (Instruments)
III 334b (Measurement)

7-9 III 66a (Judgment); 334b (Measurement)

8 III 334b (Measurement)

9 III 276a (Markets); 334b, 335b (Measurement)

10-13 I 448b (Cosmology)

11 I 494b (Date Palm)
II 217b (Food and Drink); 305a (Geography)
IV 18a (Paradise)

11-12 III 573a (Odors and Smells)

12 I 41b, 44a (Agriculture and Vegetation)
II 3b (Earth); 305b (Geography)
III 573a (Odors and Smells)
V 62b (Smell)

13 IV 474b (Rhetoric and the Q)

14 I 231a (Biology as the Creation and Stages of Life); 339b (Clay); 446a, 450a (Cosmology); 476a (Creation)
II 4a (Earth); 328a (God and his Attributes)
III 354b (Medicine and the Q); 383b (Metals and Minerals)
V 14b (Simile)

14-15 I 24a (Adam and Eve); 451b (Cosmology)

15 I 446a, 446b (Cosmology); 476a (Creation); 527a (Devil)
II 328a (God and his Attributes)
III 48b (Jinn)
IV 216b (Prayer); 336b (Races)

17 III 230a (Lord)
IV 4b, 7b (Pairs and Pairing)
V 52b (Sirius); 282b (Time)

19 I 443a, 446a (Cosmology)
IV 7a (Pairs and Pairing)

19-20 I 445b (Cosmology)
V 464a (Water)

19-22 I 438b (Coral)

20 I 203b (Barrier); 204b (Barzakh)
II 229a (Foreign Vocabulary)

22 I 96b (Animal Life); 438b, 439a (Coral)
II 467b (Hunting and Fishing)
III 384a (Metals and Minerals)

24 II 353b (Grammar and the Q); 528a (Inimitability)
V 14b (Simile); 412a (Vehicles); 464a (Water)

26 V 393b (Turkish Literature and the Q)

26-27 I 92a (Angel); 264b (Burial)
II 29b (Epigraphy); 47b (Eschatology); 160a (Face of God); 323b (God and his Attributes)
III 389a (Michael)
IV 83b (Philosophy and the Q)
V 340a (Transitoriness); 554a (World)

27 II 53a (Eschatology); 315b (Glory)
IV 221a (Prayer)
V 265b (Theology and the Q)

29 I 443b (Cosmology)
V 274b (Theology and the Q)

29-38 V 265b (Theology and the Q)

33 I 190a (Authority); 546a (Dog)
II 411b (Heaven and Sky)
III 43b, 46b (Jinn)
V 376a (Trips and Voyages)

34-37 II 456b (Houris)

35 II 546a (Instruments)
III 383a (Metals and Minerals)

37 I 362a (Colors)
II 411b (Heaven and Sky)
V 15b (Simile)

39 III 46b, 47b (Jinn)
IV 3a (Pairs and Pairing); 478b (Rhymed Prose)
V 120a (Spiritual Beings)

41 II 199a (Feet)
IV 3a (Pairs and Pairing)

43 IV 3a (Pairs and Pairing)

43-44 II 415a (Hell and Hellfire)

44 II 50a (Eschatology); 211a (Fire)
IV 3a (Pairs and Pairing)

46 II 51a (Eschatology); 196b (Fear); 283a (Garden)
IV 3a, 7b (Pairs and Pairing); 15a (Paradise)
V 123b, 124a (Springs and Fountains)

48 IV 3a (Pairs and Pairing)

50 IV 3a (Pairs and Pairing)
V 121b, 123a, 124a (Springs and Fountains); 464b (Water)

52 IV 3a, 6a (Pairs and Pairing); 18a (Paradise); 581a (Sex and Sexuality)

54 I 220b (Belief and Unbelief); 494b (Date Palm)
II 234a (Foreign Vocabulary); 276a (Furniture and Furnishings)
IV 3a (Pairs and Pairing); 18a (Paradise)
V 12a (Silk)

56 II 284a (Garden); 456a, 456b (Houris)
III 46b (Jinn); 131a (Language and Style of the Q)
IV 3a (Pairs and Pairing); 478b (Rhymed Prose); 585a (Sex and Sexuality)
V 524a (Women and the Q)

56-58 III 493a (Myths and Legends in the Q)
V 106b (Spatial Relations)

58 I 96a (Animal Life); 439a (Coral)
III 384a (Metals and Minerals)
IV 3a (Pairs and Pairing)

60 II 61b (Ethics and the Q)
IV 3a (Pairs and Pairing)

62 IV 3a, 7b (Pairs and Pairing); 13b (Paradise)
V 123b, 124a (Springs and Fountains)

64 I 41b (Agriculture and Vegetation); 362b, 364b (Colors)
II 283b (Garden)
IV 3a (Pairs and Pairing)

66 V 123a, 124a (Springs and Fountains)

68 I 44b (Agriculture and Vegetation)
II 217b (Food and Drink); 283b (Garden); 305b (Geography); 364b (Grammar and the Q)
III 360b (Medicine and the Q)
IV 3a (Pairs and Pairing); 18a (Paradise)

70 IV 3a (Pairs and Pairing)

72 I 166a (Art and Architecture and the Q)
II 154a (Eyes); 284a (Garden); 456a, 457a (Houris)
III 139b (Last Judgment)
IV 3a (Pairs and Pairing); 585a (Sex and Sexuality)
V 12a (Silk); 235b (Tents and Tent Pegs); 524a (Women and the Q)

74 III 46b (Jinn)
IV 3a (Pairs and Pairing); 478b (Rhymed Prose)
V 524a (Women and the Q)

76 I 362b (Colors)
II 276a (Furniture and Furnishings); 284a (Garden)
IV 3a (Pairs and Pairing); 18a (Paradise)
V 12b (Silk)

78 I 208b (Basmala)
II 315b (Glory); 321b (God and his Attributes)
IV 220b (Prayer); 470b (Rhetoric and the Q)

SŪRAT AL-WĀQIʿA (56)

III 66b, 67a (Judgment); 272a (Manuscripts of the Q)
IV 2b (Pairs and Pairing); 15b (Paradise); 172b (Popular and Talismanic Uses of the Q)
V 11b (Silk); 168b (Sūra); 183a (Symbolic Imagery)

1 III 137a (Last Judgment)
IV 103a (Pit)
V 283a (Time)

1-6 II 257b, 258a (Form and Structure of the Q)
IV 468a (Rhetoric and the Q)

1-56 I 112a (Apocalypse)

2 IV 103b (Pit)

4 V 283a (Time)

4-5 I 113a (Apocalypse)

7 II 258a (Form and Structure of the Q)
V 83b (Soul)

7-44 III 207a (Literature and the Q)

8 III 177a, 177b (Left Hand and Right Hand)
IV 15b (Paradise); 102a, 102b (Pit); 454b (Reward and Punishment)

8-9 II 365b (Grammar and the Q)
IV 2a (Pairs and Pairing)
V 183b (Symbolic Imagery)

9 II 355a (Grammar and the Q)
III 177a, 177b (Left Hand and Right Hand)
IV 102a, 102b (Pit); 454b (Reward and Punishment)

10 IV 15b (Paradise); 332b (Quraysh)
V 123b (Springs and Fountains)

10-11 IV 16a (Paradise)
V 47b (Sīra and the Q)

10-26 IV 16b (Paradise)
V 190b (Table)

10-38 IV 3a (Pairs and Pairing)

11 III 204a (Literary Structures of the Q)
IV 15b (Paradise); 220a (Prayer)

11-14 IV 2b (Pairs and Pairing)

12 II 282b (Garden)
III 533a (Nature as Signs)

12-18 I 213b (Beauty)

15 I 166a (Art and Architecture and the Q)
II 276a (Furniture and Furnishings); 284a (Garden)
IV 18a (Paradise)

17 I 301b (Children)
II 52a (Eschatology); 284a (Garden); 445a (Homosexuality)
III 139b (Last Judgment)
IV 18a (Paradise); 585a (Sex and Sexuality)
V 12a (Silk); 549a (Work)

17-26 III 204a (Literary Structures of the Q)

18 I 490b (Cups and Vessels)
II 219a (Food and Drink); 276a (Furniture and Furnishings); 284a (Garden)
IV 18b (Paradise)
V 121b (Springs and Fountains)

18-19 V 482a (Wine)

19 II 556a, 556b (Intoxicants)
V 125a (Springs and Fountains)

20 IV 18a (Paradise)

21 I 97a (Animal Life)
II 218b (Food and Drink)

22 II 154a (Eyes); 284a (Garden); 348b (Grammar and the Q); 456a (Houris)
III 139b (Last Judgment)
IV 18a (Paradise); 585a (Sex and Sexuality)
V 12a (Silk); 123a (Springs and Fountains); 524a (Women and the Q)

22-23 V 14a (Simile)

23 I 96a (Animal Life)
II 456b (Houris)
V 123a, 125b (Springs and Fountains)

25 IV 482b (Rhymed Prose)

25-26 I 32a (African Literature)

26 II 91b (Everyday Life, Q In); 283b (Garden)
IV 17b (Paradise)

27 II 365b (Grammar and the Q)
III 178b (Left Hand and Right Hand)
IV 15b (Paradise); 102a, 102b (Pit); 454b (Reward and Punishment); 469a (Rhetoric and the Q)
V 123b (Springs and Fountains)

27-38 V 183b (Symbolic Imagery)

27-40 III 177b (Left Hand and Right Hand)

27-56 IV 2a (Pairs and Pairing)

28 II 305b (Geography)
III 532a (Nature as Signs)

28-29 III 128b (Language and Style of the Q)
V 360b (Tree)

28-30 II 283b (Garden)

28-38 IV 15b (Paradise)

29 I 41b (Agriculture and Vegetation)
III 532b (Nature as Signs)
V 393a (Turkish Literature and the Q)

30 IV 18b (Paradise)
V 393a, 393b (Turkish Literature and the Q)

32 IV 18a (Paradise)

34 II 276a (Furniture and Furnishings)
IV 18a (Paradise)

34-35 II 284a (Garden)

35-38 II 456b (Houris)

36 I 501b (Day, Times of)
V 524a (Women and the Q)

36-37 IV 18a (Paradise)

37 II 284a (Garden)
V 570a (Youth and Old Age)

38 III 177b (Left Hand and Right Hand)
IV 15b (Paradise)

41 III 177a, 177b (Left Hand and Right Hand)
IV 102a, 102b (Pit)

41-42 II 455b (Hot and Cold)
IV 469a (Rhetoric and the Q)

41-44 V 65a (Smoke)

41-56 II 558b (Invitation)
III 177a (Left Hand and Right Hand)
V 183b (Symbolic Imagery)

42 II 211a (Fire); 415a (Hell and Hellfire)
V 465a (Water)

42-43 II 50a (Eschatology)
III 140b (Last Judgment)

42-44 V 133a (Suffering)

43 II 415a (Hell and Hellfire)
V 65a (Smoke)

43-44 II 211b (Fire)

44 II 455b (Hot and Cold)

45 IV 455b (Reward and Punishment)

45-48 II 258b (Form and Structure of the Q)

46 III 563b (Oaths)

47 II 4b (Earth)
IV 455b (Reward and Punishment)

47-49 IV 442a (Revelation and Inspiration)

50 I 500a (Day, Times of)
IV 228a (Prayer)
V 288a (Time)

51 III 177a (Left Hand and Right Hand)
IV 455b (Reward and Punishment)
V 572a (Zaqqūm)

52 I 42a (Agriculture and Vegetation)
II 211a (Fire); 305a (Geography)
III 533a (Nature as Signs)
V 358b, 359a, 359b (Tree); 571a (Zaqqūm)

52-56 I 222a (Belief and Unbelief)

54 II 211a (Fire)

54-55 III 531b (Nature as Signs)

55 I 99b (Animal Life)
II 211a (Fire)

56 III 136b (Last Judgment)

57 I 476a (Creation)

57-62 I 472a, 472b, 473b (Creation)

60 II 268a (Freedom and Predestination)
IV 486a (Ritual and the Q)

60-62 III 184a (Life)

61 I 91b (Angel)

62 II 355a (Grammar and the Q)

63-64 I 40b (Agriculture and Vegetation)

63-65 II 3b (Earth)

65 I 42a (Agriculture and Vegetation)
II 358a (Grammar and the Q); 369b (Grasses)

68-69 II 508a (Impotence)
V 462b (Water)

70 III 530a (Nature as Signs)

70-73 II 211b (Fire)

71 II 305a (Geography)

71-73 II 213a (Fire)

72 I 478b (Creation)
V 359a (Tree)

73 II 142b (Exhortations)
III 60a (Joy and Misery); 529a (Nature as Signs)

74 I 208b (Basmala)
IV 470b (Rhetoric and the Q)

75 II 257b (Form and Structure of the Q)
IV 108b (Planets and Stars); 217a (Prayer)

75-76 III 562a (Oaths)

76-79 IV 225b (Prayer)

76-80 II 276b (Furniture and Furnishings)
III 312a (Material Culture and the Q)

77 II 447b (Honor)
III 267b (Manuscripts of the Q); 506b, 513a (Names of the Q)

77-80 III 189b (Literacy); 266b (Manuscripts of the Q); 600b (Ornamentation and Illumination)
V 422a (Verse)

78 II 412a (Heavenly Book); 423b (Hidden and the Hidden)
IV 261b (Preserved Tablet)

79 I 343b (Cleanliness and Ablution)
III 601a (Ornamentation and Illumination)
IV 492a (Ritual and the Q)

80 IV 443b, 446a (Revelation and Inspiration)
V 105b (Spatial Relations); 422a (Verse)

81-87 II 252b (Form and Structure of the Q)

82 II 268a (Freedom and Predestination)

83 I 506b (Death and the Dead)
II 45b (Eschatology); 258a (Form and Structure of the Q)

84-87 IV 486a (Ritual and the Q)

88-94 II 252b, 258b (Form and Structure of the Q)
V 252a (Textual Criticism of the Q)

89 V 62b (Smell)

90 IV 15b (Paradise)

90-91 III 177b (Left Hand and Right Hand)

90-94 V 183b (Symbolic Imagery)

91 III 178b (Left Hand and Right Hand)
IV 15b (Paradise)

92-94 III 177a (Left Hand and Right Hand)

93 II 211a (Fire)

95 V 387b (Truth)

96 I 208b (Basmala)
III 443a (Muḥammad)
V 170b (Sūra)

SŪRAT AL-ḤADĪD (57)

I 322a (Chronology and the Q)
II 264a (Form and Structure of the Q); 394a (Ḥadīth and the Q)
III 383a (Metals and Minerals)
V 174b (Sūra)

1 IV 4b (Pairs and Pairing)

2 I 170b (Art and Architecture and the Q)
III 299b (Material Culture and the Q)
IV 4b (Pairs and Pairing)

3 II 54a (Eternity); 320b (God and his Attributes); 418b (Hell and Hellfire); 434b (History and the Q)

	IV	4b (Pairs and Pairing)
	V	554a (World)
4	I	443b (Cosmology); 473b, 476a (Creation)
	II	325b (God and his Attributes); 410b (Heaven and Sky); 433a (History and the Q)
	III	46a (Jinn); 202a (Literary Structures of the Q)
	IV	63b (Persian Literature and the Q); 82a (Philosophy and the Q)
	V	265a (Theology and the Q); 279b, 287a (Time)
6	II	550b (Intention)
	V	280b (Time)
7	I	480b (Creeds)
	II	450a (Hospitality and Courtesy)
	IV	186a (Possession and Possessions)
8	I	437a (Conversion); 464b (Covenant)
9	II	497b (Illiteracy)
	III	186a (Light)
	IV	5a, 5b (Pairs and Pairing); 286a (Proof); 293a (Prophets and Prophethood)
10	I	399a, 400a (Conquest)
	II	144a (Expeditions and Battles)
	III	37b (Jihād)
	IV	30b (Path or Way); 458b (Reward and Punishment)
	V	457a (War)
10-11	V	269b (Theology and the Q)
11	III	209a (Literature and the Q)
	IV	6b (Pairs and Pairing); 457a (Reward and Punishment)
	V	457a (War)
12	II	166b (Faith); 341b (Good News)
	III	177a (Left Hand and Right Hand)
	IV	18b (Paradise)
13	I	149b (Archaeology and the Q); 556a (Druzes)
	II	415b, 418a (Hell and Hellfire); 468b, 470a (Hypocrites and Hypocrisy)
	III	5a, 6a (Jerusalem); 142a (Last Judgment)
	IV	522b (Salvation)
13-15	II	166b (Faith)
14	I	526a (Devil)
15	I	344b (Clients and Clientage)
	IV	103b, 104a (Pit); 523b (Salvation)
16	II	407a, 407b, 408a (Heart)
	III	335a (Measurement)
	IV	146a (Politics and the Q); 230a (Prayer)
	V	241b (Textual Criticism of the Q); 288b (Time); 475a (Weights and Measures)

17 II 3a (Earth); 303a (Geography)

18 I 64b (Almsgiving)
II 8b (Economics); 351b, 366b (Grammar and the Q)
IV 6b (Pairs and Pairing); 457a (Reward and Punishment)
V 457a (War); 524a (Women and the Q)

19 III 282a (Martyrs)
IV 1b (Pairs and Pairing)
V 486b (Wish and Desire); 490b, 491a (Witness to Faith)

20 I 42a (Agriculture and Vegetation); 213a (Beauty); 241b (Boast); 363a (Colors)
II 3b (Earth); 36b (Epigraphy); 245a (Forgiveness); 369b (Grasses)
III 59b (Joy and Misery); 182a (Life)
IV 5a (Pairs and Pairing); 10b (Parable)
V 16a (Simile); 340a (Transitoriness); 468a (Wealth); 470b (Weather)

21 II 283b (Garden); 330b (God and his Attributes)
III 333b (Measurement); 379b (Mercy)

22 I 244b (Book); 478b (Creation)
II 269b (Freedom and Predestination)

22-23 I 523a (Destiny)

22-24 I 395a (Conceit)

23 I 521a (Despair)
III 61a (Joy and Misery)
V 486b (Wish and Desire)

23-24 V 468b (Wealth)

24 IV 6a (Pairs and Pairing)

25 I 245a (Book)
II 92a (Everyday Life, Q In); 545a (Instruments)
III 37b (Jihād); 184b (Life); 334b (Measurement); 383a (Metals and Minerals)
IV 5b (Pairs and Pairing); 126b, 147a (Politics and the Q); 297a (Prophets and Prophethood)

26 I 7b (Abraham); 245b (Book)
IV 297b (Prophets and Prophethood)
V 302a (Torah)

26-27 II 199b (Feet)
III 7b (Jesus)

27 I 123b (Apostle); 183b (Asceticism); 219a (Belief and Unbelief); 244b (Book); 311b, 314a (Christians and Christianity); 478b (Creation)
II 342a (Gospel); 408b (Heart); 536b (Innovation)
III 8a (Jesus); 378a (Mercy); 406a, 406b, 407a (Monasticism and Monks); 502b (Names of the Prophet)
IV 412b (Religious Pluralism and the Q)
V 139a (Ṣūfism and the Q); 316b (Tradition and Custom); 533b (Women and the Q)

28 III 379b (Mercy)
IV 6b (Pairs and Pairing); 458b (Reward and Punishment)

29 I 222b (Belief and Unbelief)
II 323b, 325a (God and his Attributes); 345a (Grace)
III 24a (Jews and Judaism)
IV 41b (People of the Book)

SŪRAT AL-MUJĀDALA (58)

V 174b (Sūra); 535a (Women and the Q)

1 I 511b, 513a (Debate and Disputation)
II 1b (Ears)
IV 5b (Pairs and Pairing); 575a (Seeing and Hearing)
V 272b (Theology and the Q)

2 III 563a (Oaths)
IV 20a (Parents)
V 438a (Virtues and Vices, Commanding and Forbidding)

2-3 III 563a (Oaths)
IV 582a (Sex and Sexuality)

2-4 III 280a (Marriage and Divorce)

3 I 253a (Boundaries and Precepts); 289a (Captives)
III 158b, 159a (Law and the Q)
V 57b (Slaves and Slavery)

3-4 I 187b (Atonement)
II 180b, 184b (Fasting)
III 563a (Oaths)

4 I 253a (Boundaries and Precepts); 354b (Collection of the Q)
II 216b (Food and Drink)
III 158b (Law and the Q)
IV 208b (Poverty and the Poor)
V 285a (Time); 476a (Weights and Measures)

5 III 577a (Opposition to Muḥammad)
IV 309b (Provocation); 453b (Reward and Punishment)
V 4b (Signs)

6 I 480b (Creeds)
IV 435b (Resurrection)
V 490a (Witness to Faith)

7 II 364a (Grammar and the Q)
III 550a (Numbers and Enumeration)
V 137b (Ṣūfism and the Q); 493a (Witnessing and Testifying)

8 I 537b (Disobedience)
II 98a (Evil Deeds)
III 31b (Jews and Judaism)

8-9 I 537b (Disobedience)
V 19a (Sin, Major and Minor)

9 I 537b (Disobedience)
II 60b, 63b (Ethics and the Q); 98a (Evil Deeds)
IV 91a (Piety)

10 II 365a (Grammar and the Q)
V 379a, 379b (Trust and Patience); 487a (Wish and Desire)

11 IV 538a, 538b, 539a (Scholar)
V 191b (Talent); 203b (Teaching)

12 I 65b (Almsgiving); 343b (Cleanliness and Ablution)
II 450a (Hospitality and Courtesy)
III 378b (Mercy)
IV 496b (Ritual and the Q)
V 198a, 198b (Taxation)

12-13 I 220a (Belief and Unbelief)

13 V 197b (Taxation)

14 I 93a (Anger)

16 III 564a (Oaths)

17 I 221b (Belief and Unbelief)
V 468a (Wealth)

18 I 480b (Creeds)
III 563b (Oaths)
IV 435b (Resurrection)

19 I 380a (Community and Society in the Q)
II 72a (Ethics and the Q); 430b (History and the Q)
III 47a (Jinn); 225b (Literature and the Q)
IV 25a (Parties and Factions); 118a (Polemic and Polemical Language)
V 120b (Spiritual Beings)

21 II 92a (Everyday Life, Q In)
IV 5b (Pairs and Pairing); 211a (Power and Impotence)

21-22 I 380a (Community and Society in the Q)

22 I 82a (Anatomy); 220b, 224b (Belief and Unbelief); 262b (Brother and Brotherhood); 380a (Community and Society in the Q)
II 72a (Ethics and the Q); 430b (History and the Q)
III 99b (Kinship); 136b (Last Judgment); 235b (Love and Affection); 238b (Loyalty); 293b (Mary)
IV 17a (Paradise); 25a (Parties and Factions); 523a (Salvation)
V 115b (Spirit); 364a (Tribes and Clans); 445b (Vision and Blindness)

Sūrat al-Ḥashr (59)

I 264a (Burial)
II 264a (Form and Structure of the Q); 394a (Ḥadīth and the Q)
III 29b (Jews and Judaism)
V 174b (Sūra); 426b (Verse)

1 IV 4b (Pairs and Pairing)

1-3 III 456b (Muḥammad)

1-4 III 28b (Jews and Judaism)

1-15 III 580a (Opposition to Muḥammad)

1-24 I 320a (Chronology and the Q)

2 I 163b (Art and Architecture and the Q); 222b (Belief and Unbelief)
II 198a (Fear); 402a (Hand); 441b (History and the Q)
III 499a, 499b (Naḍīr, Banū al-)
IV 41b (People of the Book); 70b (Philosophy and the Q); 120b (Polemic and Polemical Language); 308a (Protection); 335a (Qurayẓa, Banū al-); 393b, 394b (Reflection and Deliberation); 583b (Sex and Sexuality)
V 272b (Theology and the Q); 444b (Vision); 459a (War)

2-4 II 459b (House, Domestic and Divine)

2-5 II 262b (Form and Structure of the Q)
V 175b (Sūra)

2-15 III 499a (Naḍīr, Banū al-)
IV 406a (Religious Pluralism and the Q)

3 I 244b (Book)

4 II 358a (Grammar and the Q)
III 454b (Muḥammad)

5 I 494b (Date Palm)
III 42a (Jihād); 498b (Naḍīr, Banū al-)
IV 457a (Reward and Punishment)

6 I 94b, 98b (Animal Life)
II 149a (Expeditions and Battles)
III 43b (Jinn)
V 194a (Taxation); 374a (Trips and Voyages); 411b (Vehicles)

6-7 I 251b (Booty)

6-8 III 42a (Jihād)

6-10 III 499a (Naḍīr, Banū al-)

7 I 252a (Booty)
II 7b (Economics); 176b (Family of the Prophet)
III 166b (Law and the Q); 447b (Muḥammad); 577a (Opposition to Muḥammad)

IV 49a (People of the House); 145a (Politics and the Q); 208b (Poverty and the Poor)
V 194a, 194b, 195a, 196b (Taxation); 436a (Virtue)

7-9 V 195b (Taxation)

8 IV 209a (Poverty and the Poor); 333a (Quraysh)

8-9 V 375b (Trips and Voyages)

9 I 262b (Brother and Brotherhood); 338a (City)
II 7b (Economics); 15a (Emigrants and Helpers)
IV 308a (Protection); 523a (Salvation)
V 82b (Soul)

9-10 V 47b (Sīra and the Q)

10 I 263a (Brother and Brotherhood)
II 554b (Intercession)
IV 5b (Pairs and Pairing); 332b (Quraysh)

11 I 222b (Belief and Unbelief)
II 150b (Expeditions and Battles); 468b (Hypocrites and Hypocrisy)
III 578a (Opposition to Muḥammad)
IV 42a (People of the Book)
V 456a, 458a (War)

11-12 II 469b (Hypocrites and Hypocrisy)
III 28b (Jews and Judaism)

12 I 80b (Anatomy)
V 393b (Turkish Literature and the Q)

13 II 197b (Fear)

14 I 458b (Courage)
III 28b (Jews and Judaism)
IV 42a (People of the Book); 583b (Sex and Sexuality)

15 IV 324b (Qaynuqāʿ, Banū)

16 I 526a (Devil)
II 196b (Fear)

18 II 164b (Faith)
V 281a (Time)

19 IV 432a (Responsibility)

20 IV 117a (Polemic and Polemical Language); 523a (Salvation)
V 430a (Victory)

21 III 484b (Myths and Legends in the Q)
IV 171b (Popular and Talismanic Uses of the Q)

21-24 III 305a (Material Culture and the Q)

22 I 209a (Basmala)
IV 4a (Pairs and Pairing); 537b (Scholar)

v 393b (Turkish Literature and the Q); 445a (Vision and Blindness); 501a (Witnessing and Testifying)

22-24 II 94a (Everyday Life, Q In); 319b (God and his Attributes)
III 306a, 312a (Material Culture and the Q)
IV 380a (Recitation of the Q)

23 I 159b (Arrogance); 218b (Belief and Unbelief)
II 164b, 171a (Faith); 276b (Furniture and Furnishings); 320b, 321b (God and his Attributes)
III 91b (Kings and Rulers); 210b (Literature and the Q)
IV 34a (Peace); 220a, 220b (Prayer); 263b, 264b (Pride); 282b (Profane and Sacred); 307a (Protection)

24 I 472a, 478b (Creation)
II 319b, 320b, 327a, 327b (God and his Attributes); 474a (Iconoclasm)
IV 4b (Pairs and Pairing)

SŪRAT AL-MUMTAḤANA (60)

II 538a (Inquisition)
V 174b (Sūra); 362b (Trial); 457b (War); 535a (Women and the Q)

1 I 224b (Belief and Unbelief)
II 18b (Emigration)
III 36b (Jihād); 235b (Love and Affection); 449a (Muḥammad)
IV 4a (Pairs and Pairing); 29a, 30b (Path or Way)
V 458b (War); 486b (Wish and Desire)

1-2 II 23b (Enemies)

2 II 335b (Good and Evil)
III 579a (Opposition to Muḥammad)
V 456a (War)

3 I 221b (Belief and Unbelief); 516b (Decision)
II 174b, 175a (Family)
IV 21a (Parents)
V 522a, 522b (Womb)

4 I 6b, 7a (Abraham); 193a (Āzar)
II 439a (History and the Q)
III 494a (Myths and Legends in the Q)
IV 21a (Parents); 427b (Repentance and Penance)
V 2b (Signs); 287a (Time)

6 II 439a (History and the Q); 449a, 449b (Hope)
III 136b (Last Judgment)
IV 6a (Pairs and Pairing)

7 II 275a (Friends and Friendship)

7-8 II 74a (Ethics and the Q)
III 236a (Love and Affection)

8 II 60b (Ethics and the Q)
III 579a (Opposition to Muḥammad)
V 458b (War); 486b (Wish and Desire)

8-9 I 202b (Barēlwīs)
III 40a (Jihād); 238b, 239a, 239b, 240a, 241a (Loyalty)

9 III 41b (Jihād); 449b (Muḥammad)

10 I 258a, 258b (Bridewealth); 299a (Chastity)
II 321a (God and his Attributes); 374b (Guardianship); 538a (Inquisition)
III 162b (Law and the Q); 277a, 277b (Marriage and Divorce)
IV 452a (Reward and Punishment); 537b (Scholar)
V 313b (Trade and Commerce); 362b (Trial)

12 I 234b (Birth Control); 301b (Children); 466a (Covenant); 537b (Disobedience)
II 20a (Emigration); 511b (Infanticide); 538a (Inquisition)
III 447b (Muḥammad); 568b (Obedience)
IV 580b (Sex and Sexuality)
V 255b (Theft); 524a (Women and the Q)

13 I 93a (Anger); 521b (Despair)
III 33a (Jews and Judaism); 217b (Literature and the Q)

SŪRAT AL-ṢAFF (61)

I 322a (Chronology and the Q)
II 264a (Form and Structure of the Q); 394a (Ḥadīth and the Q)
IV 59a (Persian Literature and the Q); 246a, 246b (Pre-1800 Preoccupations of Q Studies); 348b (Ranks and Orders)
V 174b (Sūra); 426b (Verse)

1 III 299a (Material Culture and the Q)
IV 4b (Pairs and Pairing)

2-3 II 71a (Ethics and the Q)
V 221b (Teaching and Preaching the Q)

3 III 321b (Material Culture and the Q)

4 I 397b (Conquest); 460a, 461a (Courage)
III 42a (Jihād); 558a (Numismatics); 577b (Opposition to Muḥammad)
IV 30a (Path or Way); 348b, 349a (Ranks and Orders)
V 457a (War)

5 II 59a (Ethics and the Q)
IV 299b (Prophets and Prophethood)

5-6 III 382a (Messenger)

6 I 115a (Apologetics); 223a (Belief and Unbelief); 303a, 306a (Children of Israel)

II 341a, 341b (Good News); 342a (Gospel); 558a (Invitation)
III 7b, 8a, 16a, 16b, 17a (Jesus); 25b (Jews and Judaism); 246a (Magic); 265b (Manuscripts of the Q); 445a, 445b (Muḥammad); 501b, 502a (Names of the Prophet)
IV 259a (Pre-Islamic Arabia and the Q); 286b (Proof); 296a, 299a (Prophets and Prophethood); 413b (Religious Pluralism and the Q); 439a (Revelation and Inspiration)
V 300b (Torah); 533b (Women and the Q)

7 III 181a (Lie)
IV 309b (Provocation); 404a (Religious Pluralism and the Q)

8 I 82b (Anatomy)
II 326b (God and his Attributes)
III 187a (Light)

9 I 397b (Conquest)
III 299a, 300a (Material Culture and the Q); 557a, 558a (Numismatics)
IV 300a (Prophets and Prophethood); 416a (Religious Pluralism and the Q)
V 458b (War); 489b (Witness to Faith); 503b (Witnessing and Testifying)

10 III 276a (Markets)
V 457a (War)

10-12 III 307a (Material Culture and the Q)

10-13 III 41a (Jihād)

11 I 437b (Conversion)
II 340a (Good Deeds)
III 37a (Jihād)
IV 30a (Path or Way); 455a (Reward and Punishment)
V 83a (Soul); 501b (Witnessing and Testifying)

11-12 IV 17a (Paradise)

12 I 165b (Art and Architecture and the Q)
II 282b (Garden)
IV 18b (Paradise); 522b (Salvation)
V 393b (Turkish Literature and the Q)

13 I 399a (Conquest)
II 37b (Epigraphy); 144a (Expeditions and Battles)
III 304b, 308a, 322a, 322b, 326b (Material Culture and the Q)
V 393a, 393b (Turkish Literature and the Q)

13-14 III 313a (Material Culture and the Q)

14 I 123a (Apostle); 311a (Christians and Christianity)
II 23b (Enemies)
III 7b, 8a (Jesus); 382b (Messenger)
IV 26b (Parties and Factions)
V 430a (Victory); 533b (Women and the Q)

Sūrat al-Jumuʿa (62)

I 322a (Chronology and the Q)
II 264a (Form and Structure of the Q); 394a (Ḥadīth and the Q)
III 304b (Material Culture and the Q)
IV 172b (Popular and Talismanic Uses of the Q)
V 174b (Sūra); 426b (Verse)

1
II 321b (God and his Attributes)
III 91b (Kings and Rulers)
IV 4b (Pairs and Pairing); 282b (Profane and Sacred)
V 308a (Torah)

2
I 245b, 246a (Book); 325a (Chronology and the Q)
II 494b, 498b, 498b, 499b (Illiteracy)
III 190a, 191a (Literacy); 441a, 442b, 443a (Muḥammad)
IV 68b (Philosophy and the Q); 505a (Ritual Purity)
V 201b (Teaching); 399a, 400a (Ummī); 483b (Wisdom)

5
I 100a (Animal Life)
II 544b (Instruments)
III 24b (Jews and Judaism); 227b (Load or Burden)
IV 10b (Parable); 118a (Polemic and Polemical Language)
V 15b, 16a (Simile); 300b, 304b (Torah)

6
III 24a (Jews and Judaism)

8
III 536b (News)
IV 4a (Pairs and Pairing); 537b (Scholar)

9
I 328b (Chronology and the Q); 444a (Cosmology); 500b (Day, Times of)
II 271b, 272b (Friday Prayer); 354b (Grammar and the Q)
III 222a (Literature and the Q)
IV 226a (Prayer); 487a, 497a (Ritual and the Q)
V 175a (Sūra); 279a, 285b (Time)

9-10
I 36b (Afternoon)
II 272a (Friday Prayer)
IV 209a (Poverty and the Poor)

10
III 373b (Memory)

11
II 272b (Friday Prayer)
V 178b (Sustenance)

Sūrat al-Munāfiqūn (63)

I 322a (Chronology and the Q)
II 468b (Hypocrites and Hypocrisy)
III 304b (Material Culture and the Q)
V 174b (Sūra)

1 I 160b (Arrogance)
II 468b (Hypocrites and Hypocrisy)
III 181b (Lie)
IV 487a (Ritual and the Q)
V 502a (Witnessing and Testifying)

1-8 III 578a (Opposition to Muḥammad)

2 III 564a (Oaths)

3 I 82a (Anatomy); 226a (Belief and Unbelief)

3-4 II 66a (Ethics and the Q)

4 I 491b (Curse)
II 23b, 24a (Enemies); 197b (Fear)
V 15a (Simile); 447a (Vision and Blindness)

5 II 552a (Intercession)

5-6 II 245a (Forgiveness)
III 379b (Mercy)

6 II 510b (Indifference); 552a (Intercession)
IV 456a (Reward and Punishment)

7 II 468b (Hypocrites and Hypocrisy)

7-9 I 160b (Arrogance)

8 I 338a, 338b (City)
II 298b (Geography); 468b (Hypocrites and Hypocrisy)
III 367b (Medina)

9 IV 230b (Prayer)
V 468a (Wealth); 570a (Youth and Old Age)

10 IV 430a (Repentance and Penance); 486a (Ritual and the Q)

10-11 I 523a (Destiny)
V 289a, 289b (Time)

11 V 289a (Time)

SŪRAT AL-TAGHĀBUN (64)

I 301a (Cheating); 322a (Chronology and the Q)
II 264a (Form and Structure of the Q); 394a (Ḥadīth and the Q)
IV 246a (Pre-1800 Preoccupations of Q Studies)
V 174b (Sūra); 426b (Verse)

1 I 170b (Art and Architecture and the Q); 435a (Conversion)
III 299b (Material Culture and the Q)
IV 4b (Pairs and Pairing); 184b (Possession and Possessions); 214b (Praise)

2-3 I 472a (Creation)

3 I 446b (Cosmology)
II 31a (Epigraphy); 323a (God and his Attributes)
V 287a (Time)

4 II 550b (Intention)
IV 4a (Pairs and Pairing)
V 479b (Whisper)

5 III 518a, 524a (Narratives)

5-6 IV 320b (Punishment Stories)

6 IV 6a (Pairs and Pairing); 301a (Prophets and Prophethood)

7 IV 442a (Revelation and Inspiration)

8 II 326b (God and his Attributes)
III 186b (Light)
IV 293b (Prophets and Prophethood)

9 I 500a (Day, Times of)
II 54b (Eternity)
III 137a (Last Judgment)
IV 18b (Paradise); 522b (Salvation)
V 464b (Water); 475a (Weights and Measures)

11 I 435b (Conversion)
IV 85b (Philosophy and the Q)

12 III 125a (Language and Style of the Q)
V 379b (Trust and Patience)

13 V 379a, 379b (Trust and Patience)

14 II 23b (Enemies); 175a (Family); 197b (Fear); 244b (Forgiveness)
III 40a (Jihād); 65b (Judgment); 378a (Mercy)

15 IV 289a (Property)
V 362b (Trial); 468a (Wealth)

16 I 263a (Brother and Brotherhood)
III 568b (Obedience)
IV 308a (Protection); 523a (Salvation)
V 82b (Soul); 468b (Wealth)

17 II 8b (Economics); 372b (Gratitude and Ingratitude)
III 379b (Mercy); 549b (Numbers and Enumeration)
IV 6a, 6b (Pairs and Pairing); 457a (Reward and Punishment)

18 IV 4a (Pairs and Pairing); 537b (Scholar)

SŪRAT AL-ṬALĀQ (65)

III 96a (Kinship)
V 174b (Sūra); 528a (Women and the Q)

1	I	28b (Adultery and Fornication); 253a, 253b (Boundaries and Precepts); 299b (Chastity)
	II	187a (Fate); 460a (House, Domestic and Divine); 536b (Innovation)
	III	71a, 72a (Justice and Injustice); 280b (Marriage and Divorce)
	IV	256a (Pre-Islamic Arabia and the Q); 580b, 581b (Sex and Sexuality)
	V	179a (Sustenance); 453b, 454b (Waiting Period)
1-2	IV	32a (Patriarchy)
	V	495a, 495b (Witnessing and Testifying)
2	II	76a (Ethics and the Q)
	III	71b (Justice and Injustice); 136b (Last Judgment); 280a (Marriage and Divorce)
	IV	7a (Pairs and Pairing); 17a (Paradise)
	V	289a (Time); 454b (Waiting Period); 495b, 496b (Witnessing and Testifying); 528b (Women and the Q)
2-3	I	235a (Birth Control)
3	II	30b (Epigraphy)
	III	322a (Material Culture and the Q); 334b (Measurement)
4	III	191a (Literacy); 280b (Marriage and Divorce)
	IV	501b (Ritual Purity)
	V	285b, 289a (Time); 453b, 454a, 454b (Waiting Period); 476a (Weights and Measures); 527b (Women and the Q)
6	I	302a (Children)
	II	76a (Ethics and the Q); 175b (Family); 460a (House, Domestic and Divine)
	III	106a, 107a (Lactation); 227b (Load or Burden); 280b (Marriage and Divorce)
	IV	32a (Patriarchy); 452a (Reward and Punishment)
	V	204b (Teaching); 454b (Waiting Period); 476b, 477a, 477b, 478a (Wet-Nursing); 528b (Women and the Q); 570a (Youth and Old Age)
6-7	III	252a (Maintenance and Upkeep)
	V	477a (Wet-Nursing)
7	III	252b (Maintenance and Upkeep)
	IV	432b (Responsibility)
	V	393b (Turkish Literature and the Q); 454b (Waiting Period); 477a (Wet-Nursing)
10	V	393b (Turkish Literature and the Q)
10-11	IV	424a (Remembrance)
11	II	54b (Eternity)
	III	186a (Light); 190a (Literacy); 441a (Muḥammad)
	IV	5a (Pairs and Pairing); 18b (Paradise)
	V	464b (Water)
12	I	24b (Adam and Eve); 445b (Cosmology); 478a (Creation)
	II	410b (Heaven and Sky)
	III	554b (Numerology)
	IV	107b (Planets and Stars); 292b (Prophets and Prophethood); 537b (Scholar)

SŪRAT AL-TAḤRĪM (66)

II 264a (Form and Structure of the Q)
V 174b (Sūra)

1
III 174b (Lawful and Unlawful); 565b, 566a (Oaths)
IV 583b (Sex and Sexuality)
V 573a (Zealotry)

1-5
II 344a (Gossip)
III 448a (Muḥammad)
V 513a (Wives of the Prophet)

2
III 172b (Lawful and Unlawful); 231a (Lord); 566a (Oaths)
IV 537b (Scholar)

3
II 398a (Ḥafṣa)
III 537a (News)
IV 5b (Pairs and Pairing)

3-4
IV 427a (Repentance and Penance)

4
II 278a (Gabriel); 364a (Grammar and the Q)
III 454b (Muḥammad)
IV 217a (Prayer)

5
I 183a (Asceticism); 501b (Day, Times of)
II 181a (Fasting)
III 12b (Jesus)
IV 426b (Repentance and Penance)
V 374a (Trips and Voyages); 480a (Widow)

6
I 89b (Angel); 536b (Disobedience)
II 174a (Family); 210b (Fire); 415a, 417b (Hell and Hellfire)
III 383b (Metals and Minerals)
V 118a (Spiritual Beings); 129b (Stone)

8
III 177a (Left Hand and Right Hand); 223b (Literature and the Q); 440b (Muḥammad)
IV 426a (Repentance and Penance); 455a (Reward and Punishment)

9
I 461a (Courage)
II 468b, 470a (Hypocrites and Hypocrisy)
III 454b (Muḥammad)
IV 103b (Pit); 119b (Polemic and Polemical Language); 456a (Reward and Punishment)

10
I 59b (ʿĀʾisha bint Abī Bakr)
II 418a (Hell and Hellfire)
III 219a (Literature and the Q); 232b (Lot); 379b (Mercy); 524b (Narratives); 541b (Noah)
V 373b (Trips and Voyages)

10-11
IV 68a (Pharaoh)

10-12 III 7b (Jesus)

11 I 519a (Deliverance)
IV 524a (Salvation)
V 532a (Women and the Q)

11-12 I 59a (ʿĀʾisha bint Abī Bakr)
III 81a (Khadīja); 290b, 293a (Mary)

12 I 1b (Aaron); 87a (Angel); 298b (Chastity)
II 291a (Gender); 439a (History and the Q); 509a (ʿImrān)
III 14a (Jesus); 293a, 293b (Mary); 519b (Narratives)
IV 581a, 583b (Sex and Sexuality)
V 81b (Soul); 114b (Spirit); 371b (Trinity); 533b (Women and the Q); 548a (Word of God)

SŪRAT AL-MULK (67)

I 264a (Burial)
II 393b (Ḥadīth and the Q)
III 272a (Manuscripts of the Q); 324b (Material Culture and the Q)
IV 380a (Recitation of the Q); 495b (Ritual and the Q)

1 II 33b (Epigraphy)
III 93b (Kings and Rulers)
IV 184b (Possession and Possessions); 220b (Prayer)

1-2 IV 177b (Popular and Talismanic Uses of the Q)

1-3 IV 211b (Power and Impotence)

1-4 II 259a (Form and Structure of the Q)

2 I 473b (Creation)
III 200a (Literary Structures of the Q)
IV 6a (Pairs and Pairing)
V 133b (Suffering); 362b (Trial)

2-5 I 474a (Creation)

3 I 442a (Cosmology); 478a (Creation)
II 410b (Heaven and Sky)
III 184b (Life)
IV 107b (Planets and Stars)

3-4 V 446b (Vision and Blindness)

3-5 I 213a (Beauty)

5 I 442b (Cosmology); 544b (Divination)
II 276a (Furniture and Furnishings); 411a (Heaven and Sky); 547a (Instruments)
III 249b (Magic)
IV 108a (Planets and Stars)
V 105b (Spatial Relations); 130a (Stoning)

7	II	211a (Fire)
7-8	II	50a (Eschatology); 417b (Hell and Hellfire)
10	II	67b (Ethics and the Q)
10-11	I	298a (Chastisement and Punishment)
11	I	491b (Curse)
	III	379a (Mercy)
	V	19a (Sin, Major and Minor)
12	II	245a (Forgiveness)
13	II	550b (Intention)
	V	479a (Whisper)
14	II	320b (God and his Attributes)
15	I	473a (Creation)
	III	531b (Nature as Signs)
	V	132a (Strangers and Foreigners)
15-16	IV	211b (Power and Impotence)
17	I	54a (Air and Wind)
	IV	530b, 531a (Sand)
18	IV	320b (Punishment Stories)
19	I	98a (Animal Life)
	II	154a (Eyes)
	III	534b (Nature as Signs)
20	II	354b (Grammar and the Q)
21	I	395b (Conceit)
	IV	211b (Power and Impotence)
22	III	249a (Magic)
23	IV	211b (Power and Impotence)
23-29	II	143a (Exhortations)
25-26	IV	442a (Revelation and Inspiration)
26	II	322a (God and his Attributes)
28	I	519b (Deliverance)
	IV	307b (Protection)
28-29	I	370a (Community and Society in the Q)
30	I	42a (Agriculture and Vegetation); 504a (Day, Times of)
	III	417a (Morning); 531a (Nature as Signs)
	V	121b, 127b (Springs and Fountains); 462b, 463b (Water)

Sūrat al-Qalam (68)

III 472b (Mysterious Letters)
V 168b (Sūra)

1
II 186b (Fate); 257b (Form and Structure of the Q); 545a (Instruments)
IV 262a, 262b, 263a (Preserved Tablet); 468b (Rhetoric and the Q)
V 64b (Smoke); 393a (Turkish Literature and the Q); 558a (Writing and Writing Materials)

2
I 115a (Apologetics); 447a (Cosmology)
II 540a (Insanity)
III 451a (Muḥammad); 518a (Narratives)
IV 112a (Poetry and Poets); 216b (Prayer); 442b (Revelation and Inspiration); 463a (Rhetoric and the Q)
V 420b (Verse)

4
II 453b (Hospitality and Courtesy)
III 504a (Names of the Prophet)

6
II 540b (Insanity)

8
III 567b (Obedience)

8-16
II 259b (Form and Structure of the Q)

10
III 563b (Oaths); 567b (Obedience)

11
II 344a (Gossip)

13
II 491a, 491b (Illegitimacy)

15
II 430a (History and the Q)
III 190a (Literacy); 518a (Narratives)
V 6b (Signs)

15-16
IV 310b (Provocation)

16
IV 454b (Reward and Punishment)

17
I 504a (Day, Times of)
IV 11a (Parable)

17-32
III 211b (Literature and the Q)

17-33
I 41b (Agriculture and Vegetation)
II 260a (Form and Structure of the Q)
III 211a (Literature and the Q); 520a (Narratives); 563b (Oaths)

17-34
II 259b (Form and Structure of the Q)
IV 10b, 11a (Parable)
V 171b (Sūra)

18
IV 63a (Persian Literature and the Q)

19
V 448b (Visiting)

20
I 494b (Date Palm); 504a (Day, Times of)

21 I 504a (Day, Times of)

21-22 I 501b (Day, Times of)

21-25 III 418a (Morning)

22 I 504a (Day, Times of)

23 V 479b (Whisper)

25 I 501b, 504a (Day, Times of)
II 268b (Freedom and Predestination)

26 III 211a (Literature and the Q)

26-33 III 418a (Morning)

27 III 211a (Literature and the Q)

28 III 402a (Moderation)

34 IV 11a (Parable); 90b (Piety)

37 I 246a (Book)
III 190b (Literacy); 509a (Names of the Q)
IV 312a, 312b (Provocation)
V 203a (Teaching)

39 IV 312b (Provocation)

41 IV 312b (Provocation)
V 494a (Witnessing and Testifying)

42 II 48a (Eschatology); 323b, 324b (God and his Attributes)

42-43 I 254b (Bowing and Prostration)
IV 219b (Prayer)

43 II 363b (Grammar and the Q)

44 II 322a (God and his Attributes)
III 40a (Jihād)

46 IV 452a (Reward and Punishment)

48 II 70b (Ethics and the Q)
III 40a (Jihād); 54a (Jonah)

48-49 I 99a (Animal Life)

48-50 II 143a (Exhortations)
III 53a (Jonah); 453a (Muḥammad)

50 II 11b (Election)
IV 291b (Prophets and Prophethood)

51 I 83b (Anatomy); 447a (Cosmology)
II 153a (Eyes); 540a (Insanity)
III 356a (Medicine and the Q); 448b (Muḥammad); 510a (Names of the Q)
IV 62b (Persian Literature and the Q); 112a (Poetry and Poets); 165a (Popular and Talismanic Uses of the Q); 442b (Revelation and Inspiration)

51-52 II 143a (Exhortations)
III 305b (Material Culture and the Q)

52 III 510a (Names of the Q)
IV 230a (Prayer)
V 105b (Spatial Relations)

SŪRAT AL-ḤĀQQA (69)

V 168b, 171b (Sūra)

1 III 137a (Last Judgment); 197a, 203a (Literary Structures of the Q)

1-3 IV 102a, 102b, 103a (Pit); 469a (Rhetoric and the Q)
V 80a (Soothsayer)

2 III 137a (Last Judgment)

2-3 III 203a (Literary Structures of the Q)

3 III 137a (Last Judgment)
V 203a (Teaching)

4 I 113a (Apocalypse)
III 137a (Last Judgment); 524a (Narratives)

4-12 III 521b (Narratives)

5 II 212a (Fire); 308a (Geography)
IV 103b (Pit)
V 253a (Thamūd); 471a (Weather)

6 I 21b (ʿĀd); 52b, 54b (Air and Wind)
II 455b (Hot and Cold)
V 133a (Suffering); 470b (Weather)

6-7 V 280a (Time)

7 I 21b (ʿĀd); 494b (Date Palm); 499b, 502a (Day, Times of)
II 305b (Geography)
III 209a (Literature and the Q)
V 15b, 16a (Simile)

8 IV 425a (Remnant)

9 II 299b, 308a, 309a (Geography)
V 19a (Sin, Major and Minor); 184b (Syria)

10 I 537a (Disobedience)

11 V 464b (Water)

12 II 142b (Exhortations); 435a (History and the Q)

13 I 89b (Angel); 112b (Apocalypse)
II 362a (Grammar and the Q); 547a (Instruments)
III 203a (Literary Structures of the Q)
V 283a (Time)

13-16 II 47a (Eschatology)

13-18 III 209a (Literature and the Q)

15 II 258a (Form and Structure of the Q)
III 137a (Last Judgment)

16 II 411b (Heaven and Sky)

17 I 463a (Court)
II 46b (Eschatology); 326a (God and his Attributes)
III 227b (Load or Burden)
IV 220a (Prayer)
V 277a (Throne of God)

18 III 140b (Last Judgment)

18-32 IV 2b (Pairs and Pairing)

19 I 244a, 245b (Book)
III 178b (Left Hand and Right Hand); 275b (Markets); 508a (Names of the Q)
IV 16a (Paradise); 101a (Pit); 454b (Reward and Punishment)
V 493a, 493b (Witnessing and Testifying)

19-24 II 258b (Form and Structure of the Q)
III 177b (Left Hand and Right Hand)
V 106b (Spatial Relations)

19-26 II 26b (Epigraphy)

19-31 II 48a (Eschatology)

19-37 III 140b (Last Judgment)

20 IV 101a (Pit)

22 IV 14a (Paradise)

23 I 41b (Agriculture and Vegetation)
V 123a (Springs and Fountains); 571a (Zaqqūm)

24 V 280a (Time)

25 I 244a (Book)
II 258b (Form and Structure of the Q)
III 177a, 178b (Left Hand and Right Hand); 275b (Markets); 508a (Names of the Q)
IV 101a (Pit); 454b (Reward and Punishment)
V 493a, 493b (Witnessing and Testifying)

25-29 I 298a (Chastisement and Punishment)
III 177a (Left Hand and Right Hand)

25-37 II 258b (Form and Structure of the Q)

26 IV 101a (Pit)

28 IV 101a (Pit); 289a (Property)
V 468a (Wealth)

29 II 354a (Grammar and the Q)
IV 101a (Pit)

30-32 II 50b (Eschatology)
IV 480a (Rhymed Prose)

30-33 III 128b (Language and Style of the Q)

30-37 III 177a (Left Hand and Right Hand)

32 II 547a (Instruments)
III 333a (Measurement)
V 473a (Weights and Measures)

33 II 258b (Form and Structure of the Q)

33-34 II 258b (Form and Structure of the Q)

34 II 450a (Hospitality and Courtesy)
IV 455b (Reward and Punishment)
V 196b (Taxation)

35 III 237a (Loyalty)

36 II 211a (Fire); 416b (Hell and Hellfire)

38-42 V 78b (Soothsayer)

38-43 III 247a (Magic)

40 I 447a (Cosmology)
III 446a (Muḥammad)
IV 290a (Prophets and Prophethood)

40-41 III 219b (Literature and the Q)
V 420b (Verse)

40-42 III 451a (Muḥammad)
IV 259b (Pre-Islamic Arabia and the Q)

40-43 I 543b (Divination)

41 I 447a (Cosmology); 542b (Divination)
II 540a (Insanity)
IV 112a (Poetry and Poets); 442b (Revelation and Inspiration); 477a (Rhymed Prose)

41-42 II 528a (Inimitability)
IV 295a (Prophets and Prophethood)

42 I 148a (Arbitration); 542b (Divination)
IV 112a (Poetry and Poets); 216b (Prayer); 311b (Provocation); 442b (Revelation and Inspiration)

43 IV 443b, 446a (Revelation and Inspiration)
V 105b (Spatial Relations)

48 II 142b (Exhortations)
III 510a (Names of the Q)
IV 230a (Prayer)

51 V 387b (Truth); 404a (Uncertainty)

52 I 208b (Basmala)
II 142b (Exhortations)
III 443a (Muḥammad)
IV 470b (Rhetoric and the Q)

SŪRAT AL-MAʿĀRIJ (70)

I 178b, 179a (Ascension)
II 252b (Form and Structure of the Q)
V 168b (Sūra)

1 II 355a (Grammar and the Q)

1-9 I 178b (Ascension)

4 I 87a (Angel)
II 47b (Eschatology); 278b (Gabriel); 433a (History and the Q); 443b (Holy Spirit)
III 46a (Jinn); 293b (Mary); 335a (Measurement); 552a (Numbers and Enumeration)
V 81a (Soul); 116b (Spirit); 286a (Time)

5 III 40a (Jihād)

6-7 III 138a (Last Judgment)

8 III 383b (Metals and Minerals)
V 283b (Time)

8-9 II 251b (Form and Structure of the Q)
IV 8a (Pairs and Pairing)
V 15b (Simile)

8-15 III 379b (Mercy)

9 III 209a (Literature and the Q)

10 III 236a (Love and Affection)

10-14 V 247a (Textual Criticism of the Q)

11 IV 523b (Salvation)

11-12 IV 21a (Parents)

13 II 174b (Family); 353b (Grammar and the Q)

14 I 519a (Deliverance)

15 II 210a (Fire); 414b (Hell and Hellfire)

15-16 II 210b (Fire)

15-18 V 181a (Symbolic Imagery)

17 II 417b (Hell and Hellfire)

19 I 449b (Cosmology)

19-21 II 56b (Ethics and the Q)

22-23 IV 224b (Prayer); 487a (Ritual and the Q)

22-34 IV 455a (Reward and Punishment)

22-35 I 219b (Belief and Unbelief); 257b (Breaking Trusts and Contracts)
IV 17a (Paradise)

24-25 IV 209b (Poverty and the Poor)
V 469a (Wealth)

26 I 480b (Creeds)
III 136b (Last Judgment)

29 I 84a (Anatomy); 298b (Chastity)
IV 581a, 584a (Sex and Sexuality)

29-30 I 299a (Chastity); 396b (Concubines)
V 58a (Slaves and Slavery)

29-31 I 257b (Breaking Trusts and Contracts)

30 I 396b (Concubines)
IV 582a (Sex and Sexuality)
V 57b (Slaves and Slavery); 527b (Women and the Q)

32 I 257b (Breaking Trusts and Contracts); 464b (Covenant)

33 I 257b (Breaking Trusts and Contracts)

34 I 257b (Breaking Trusts and Contracts)
IV 224b (Prayer)

36 II 261b (Form and Structure of the Q)

37 II 401b (Hand)

38 II 448b (Hope)

38-42 II 268a (Freedom and Predestination)

39 I 476b (Creation)

40 IV 4b (Pairs and Pairing)
V 282b (Time)

42 III 40a (Jihād)

42-44 II 143a (Exhortations)
IV 309b (Provocation)

43 II 482b (Idols and Images); 547a (Instruments)
III 5a (Jerusalem); 185a (Life)

SŪRAT NŪḤ (71)

III 485b (Myths and Legends in the Q); 518b (Narratives); 540b (Noah)
IV 320a (Punishment Stories)
V 262a (Theology and the Q)

1 III 524a (Narratives)
V 460b, 461a (Warner)

1-20 II 558a (Invitation)

1-26 II 558a (Invitation)

1-28 III 485b (Myths and Legends in the Q)

2 II 558a (Invitation)

3 II 558a (Invitation)
III 568a (Obedience)

4 II 558a (Invitation)
V 289a (Time)

5 V 280b (Time); 393b (Turkish Literature and the Q)

7 I 160b (Arrogance); 222a (Belief and Unbelief); 437a (Conversion)
IV 263b (Pride)

10 II 558a (Invitation)
III 379b (Mercy)
IV 35a (Peace)

10-11 II 558a (Invitation)
IV 218b (Prayer)

11 IV 233a (Prayer Formulas)

12 I 302b (Children)

13 II 449a, 449b (Hope)

13-14 III 128a (Language and Style of the Q)
IV 481a (Rhymed Prose)

13-20 II 558b (Invitation)

14 I 442a (Cosmology); 476b (Creation)
V 279b (Time)

14-20 I 473b (Creation)

15 I 478a (Creation)
II 410b (Heaven and Sky)
IV 107b (Planets and Stars)

16 I 442b (Cosmology); 499b (Day, Times of)
II 275b (Furniture and Furnishings); 327b (God and his Attributes); 547a (Instruments)
III 108a (Lamp); 187a (Light); 412b (Months); 415a (Moon)
V 163a (Sun); 280b, 284a (Time)

17 I 40b (Agriculture and Vegetation)
II 328a (God and his Attributes)

19 II 2b (Earth); 276a (Furniture and Furnishings); 460b (House, Domestic and Divine)

20	II	3a (Earth)
21	I	536b (Disobedience)
	V	468a (Wealth)
22	III	18a (Jesus)
23	II	317b (God and his Attributes); 474a (Iconoclasm); 483a (Idols and Images)
	III	518b (Narratives)
	IV	160a (Polytheism and Atheism); 258a, 259a (Pre-Islamic Arabia and the Q)
	V	92a (South Arabia, Religions in Pre-Islamic)
24-28	I	492a (Curse)
25	I	553b (Drowning)
	II	45b (Eschatology)
	IV	35a (Peace)
	V	19a (Sin, Major and Minor)
28	III	379b (Mercy)
	V	523b (Women and the Q)

SŪRAT AL-JINN (72)

1	I	213b (Beauty)
	II	2a (Ears); 87a (Everyday Life, Q In)
	III	49a (Jinn); 506b (Names of the Q)
	IV	216b (Prayer)
1-2	III	443b (Muḥammad)
1-19	I	385a (Community and Society in the Q)
3	II	33b (Epigraphy); 329b (God and his Attributes)
5	III	46b (Jinn)
5-6	IV	7b (Pairs and Pairing)
6	I	330a (Chronology and the Q)
	III	46b, 48a (Jinn)
	IV	216b (Prayer); 308a (Protection)
	V	248b (Textual Criticism of the Q)
7	V	178a (Suspicion)
8	II	411a (Heaven and Sky)
8-9	III	46a, 48b (Jinn); 249b (Magic)
	IV	107a, 108a (Planets and Stars)
8-10	I	463a (Court)
9	V	288b (Time)
11	IV	403b (Religious Pluralism and the Q)
12	II	489a (Ignorance); 526b (Inimitability)

13 V 313a (Trade and Commerce)

14-15 III 71b (Justice and Injustice)

15 II 415a (Hell and Hellfire)
V 241b (Textual Criticism of the Q)

16 IV 28b (Path or Way)

17 III 373b (Memory)

18 I 164a (Art and Architecture and the Q)
II 349a (Grammar and the Q)
IV 516a (Sacred Precincts)

18-20 III 325b (Material Culture and the Q)

19 III 440b (Muḥammad)

20-28 II 143a (Exhortations)

22 I 519b (Deliverance)
IV 307b (Protection)

23 I 537b (Disobedience)
II 54b (Eternity); 210a (Fire); 363b (Grammar and the Q)
III 382b (Messenger)

24 IV 538b (Scholar)

25 III 335a (Measurement)
IV 487b (Ritual and the Q)
V 241b (Textual Criticism of the Q); 288b (Time); 475a (Weights and Measures)

25-27 III 452a (Muḥammad)

26 II 423b (Hidden and the Hidden)

26-27 I 202a (Barēlwīs)
IV 291b (Prophets and Prophethood)

27 II 423b (Hidden and the Hidden)

27-28 II 161b (Failure)
IV 295b (Prophets and Prophethood)

SŪRAT AL-MUZZAMMIL (73)

I 12a (Abrogation); 182b (Asceticism)
II 254a (Form and Structure of the Q)
V 95b (South Asian Literatures and the Q); 168b (Sūra); 404a (Uncertainty)

1 III 440b (Muḥammad)
IV 441b (Revelation and Inspiration)
V 80a (Soothsayer)

1-2 IV 470a (Rhetoric and the Q)

1-3 II 262b (Form and Structure of the Q)

1-4 I 182a (Asceticism)
V 431a (Vigil)

1-5 I 326a (Chronology and the Q)

1-8 I 327b (Chronology and the Q)
IV 222a (Prayer)

1-9 II 252b (Form and Structure of the Q)

2 I 502b (Day, Times of)
IV 222a (Prayer)

2-4 V 169b (Sūra)

2-8 II 82a (Everyday Life, Q In)

4 II 88a (Everyday Life, Q In)
III 116b (Language and Style of the Q); 440b (Muḥammad)
IV 368b, 373b (Recitation of the Q); 470a (Rhetoric and the Q)

5 IV 441b (Revelation and Inspiration)
V 547a (Word of God)

6 I 16a (Abrogation); 356b (Collection of the Q); 503a (Day, Times of)

8 III 443a (Muḥammad)
IV 230b (Prayer)

9 II 31a (Epigraphy)
IV 4b (Pairs and Pairing)
V 282b (Time); 500b (Witnessing and Testifying)

10 I 14a (Abrogation); 405b (Consolation)
II 310b (Geography)
III 453a (Muḥammad)
V 134a (Suffering); 434b (Virtue)

10-11 III 40a (Jihād)

10-18 II 252b (Form and Structure of the Q)

12 II 546a (Instruments)

13 II 211b (Fire); 416b (Hell and Hellfire)

14 I 113a (Apocalypse)
II 358a (Grammar and the Q)
IV 530b (Sand)

15 III 444b (Muḥammad); 524a (Narratives)

16 I 537a (Disobedience)
II 66a (Ethics and the Q)

17 V 570b (Youth and Old Age)

18 II 363a (Grammar and the Q)

19 II 142b (Exhortations); 262a (Form and Structure of the Q)
IV 432a (Responsibility)

20 I 182a, 182b (Asceticism); 498a (Day and Night); 501b (Day, Times of)
II 245a (Forgiveness); 262b (Form and Structure of the Q); 268a (Freedom and Predestination); 327b (God and his Attributes); 366b, 367a (Grammar and the Q); 501b (Illness and Health); 6b (Economics)
III 58a (Journey); 335a (Measurement); 378b (Mercy)
IV 30a (Path or Way); 222a, 224b (Prayer); 281a (Profane and Sacred); 490b (Ritual and the Q)
V 176b (Sūra); 284a (Time); 431a, 431b (Vigil); 457a (War)

Sūrat al-Muddaththir (74)

I 346b (Clothing)
II 254a (Form and Structure of the Q)
V 95b (South Asian Literatures and the Q); 168b (Sūra); 404a (Uncertainty)

1 II 357b (Grammar and the Q)
III 440b (Muḥammad)
IV 441b (Revelation and Inspiration)
V 80a (Soothsayer); 170b (Sūra)

1-2 IV 470a (Rhetoric and the Q)

1-5 II 381b (Ḥadīth and the Q)
III 188b (Literacy)
IV 244a (Pre-1800 Preoccupations of Q Studies)

1-7 I 320b, 326a (Chronology and the Q)

1-10 II 263a (Form and Structure of the Q)

2 II 82b (Everyday Life, Q In)
III 382b (Messenger)
V 170a (Sūra); 460b (Warner)

2-5 I 19b (Abstinence)

3 II 82b (Everyday Life, Q In)
IV 220b (Prayer)

4 I 343b (Cleanliness and Ablution)

4-5 IV 503b (Ritual Purity)

5 II 18b (Emigration)
IV 454a (Reward and Punishment)

6 II 313b (Gift-Giving)

7 I 406a (Consolation)

8 I 112b (Apocalypse)
III 140a (Last Judgment)

8-9	V	283a (Time)
9	I	500a (Day, Times of)
11	III	40a (Jihād)
11-15	V	468b (Wealth)
11-22	V	39b (Sīra and the Q)
11-48	II	263a (Form and Structure of the Q)
13	V	492b (Witnessing and Testifying)
16	II	528a (Inimitability)
	V	6b (Signs)
16-26	II	418a (Hell and Hellfire)
18-25	II	465a (Humor)
19	I	491b (Curse)
	II	52a (Eschatology)
19-20	IV	8a (Pairs and Pairing)
20	I	491b (Curse)
22	III	217b (Literature and the Q)
23	III	217b (Literature and the Q)
24	III	246a (Magic); 397b (Miracles)
24-25	II	528a (Inimitability)
25	III	450a (Muḥammad)
26	II	210a (Fire)
	III	203a (Literary Structures of the Q)
26-27	IV	102a, 102b, 103a (Pit)
	V	80a (Soothsayer)
26-31	II	414b (Hell and Hellfire)
27	II	210a (Fire)
	III	203a (Literary Structures of the Q)
	V	203a (Teaching)
28-29	II	210b (Fire)
30	III	553b (Numbers and Enumeration)
	V	119a (Spiritual Beings)
30-31	II	417b (Hell and Hellfire)
31	I	222b, 225b (Belief and Unbelief)
	II	270a (Freedom and Predestination); 320b (God and his Attributes); 407b (Heart); 469a (Hypocrites and Hypocrisy)
	III	141b (Last Judgment); 359b (Medicine and the Q)
	V	38a (Sīra and the Q)

32	III	415a (Moon)
	IV	217a (Prayer)
32-34	V	282a (Time); 80a (Soothsayer)
33	I	501b, 502a (Day, Times of)
34	I	504a (Day, Times of)
	III	417a, 419a (Morning)
	V	281a (Time)
36	III	443b (Muḥammad)
38	II	454a (Hostages)
	IV	109b (Pledge); 458a (Reward and Punishment)
	V	84a (Soul)
38-39	IV	457a (Reward and Punishment)
39-56	III	177b (Left Hand and Right Hand)
40-47	I	532a (Dialogues)
41	II	551a (Intercession)
42	II	210a (Fire)
42-44	II	7a (Economics)
43	V	170a (Sūra)
43-46	II	258b (Form and Structure of the Q)
	IV	455b (Reward and Punishment)
44	II	216b (Food and Drink); 450a (Hospitality and Courtesy)
46	III	136b (Last Judgment)
47	V	404a (Uncertainty)
48	II	551a (Intercession)
	III	141a (Last Judgment)
49	I	222a (Belief and Unbelief)
	II	142b (Exhortations)
	IV	230a (Prayer)
49-51	V	245b (Textual Criticism of the Q)
49-56	II	263a (Form and Structure of the Q)
50-51	I	100a (Animal Life)
52	I	222a (Belief and Unbelief)
	II	545a (Instruments)
	III	189b (Literacy)
	IV	311b (Provocation); 569b (Scrolls)
	V	421b (Verse)
54	II	142b (Exhortations)

54-55 II 143a (Exhortations); 262a (Form and Structure of the Q)
IV 422a (Remembrance)

56 II 351a (Grammar and the Q)
III 373b (Memory); 378a (Mercy)
IV 49a (People of the House)

SŪRAT AL-QIYĀMA (75)

II 252b (Form and Structure of the Q)
III 141b (Last Judgment)
IV 172b (Popular and Talismanic Uses of the Q)
V 168b (Sūra); 399a (Ummī)

1 V 282a (Time)

1-6 II 252b (Form and Structure of the Q)

1-22 IV 468a (Rhetoric and the Q)

2 V 83a (Soul); 96b (South Asian Literatures and the Q)

3-4 III 136a (Last Judgment)

4 II 349a (Grammar and the Q)

6 V 288b (Time)

7-8 V 283a (Time)

7-15 I 112a (Apocalypse)

8 III 416a (Moon)
IV 107a (Planets and Stars)

13 III 536b (News)
V 84a (Soul)

14 III 141a (Last Judgment)

16 I 83a (Anatomy)
V 203b (Teaching)

16-18 IV 368b (Recitation of the Q); 446a (Revelation and Inspiration)

16-19 III 441b (Muḥammad)

17 III 506a (Names of the Q)

17-18 III 586a (Orality)

18 II 87a (Everyday Life, Q In)
III 441a (Muḥammad); 506a (Names of the Q)

19 III 124b (Language and Style of the Q)

20-21 IV 8a (Pairs and Pairing)

22-23 I 480b (Creeds)
II 53a (Eschatology); 284a (Garden); 324a (God and his Attributes)

III 204a (Literary Structures of the Q)
IV 17b (Paradise); 435a (Resurrection); 574b (Seeing and Hearing)

26 II 258a (Form and Structure of the Q)
IV 478b (Rhymed Prose)
V 283b (Time)

26-28 III 66b (Judgment)

29 IV 486a (Ritual and the Q)

31 IV 487a (Ritual and the Q)

31-35 II 258b (Form and Structure of the Q)

34-35 IV 8a (Pairs and Pairing)

37-39 I 477a (Creation)
V 267a (Theology and the Q)

37-40 I 479a, 479b (Creation)

38 I 81a (Anatomy)

38-40 V 5a (Signs)

39 II 175a (Family)
IV 6a (Pairs and Pairing); 581a (Sex and Sexuality)

40 IV 435a (Resurrection)
V 393b (Turkish Literature and the Q)

SŪRAT AL-INSĀN (76)

II 177a (Family of the Prophet)
III 324b (Material Culture and the Q)
IV 177b (Popular and Talismanic Uses of the Q)

1 I 318b (Chronology and the Q)
II 185a (Fate); 351b (Grammar and the Q)
V 287a (Time); 475a (Weights and Measures)

2 I 476b (Creation)
II 1b (Ears)
IV 574a (Seeing and Hearing)
V 133b (Suffering); 444b (Vision)

3 I 435b (Conversion)
III 511b (Names of the Q)
IV 2a (Pairs and Pairing); 29a (Path or Way); 537b (Scholar)

4 II 546a, 547a (Instruments)

5 I 288a (Camphor); 490b (Cups and Vessels)
III 573b (Odors and Smells)
V 467a (Water of Paradise)

5-6 V 62b (Smell)

5-7 V 449b (Vow)

5-19 V 123b (Springs and Fountains)

6 I 165b (Art and Architecture and the Q); 288a (Camphor)
V 123a (Springs and Fountains); 464b (Water)

6-16 II 259a (Form and Structure of the Q)
V 420a (Verse)

7 IV 17a (Paradise); 485b (Ritual and the Q)

7-10 I 219b (Belief and Unbelief)

8 I 65b (Almsgiving); 289a (Captives)
II 450a (Hospitality and Courtesy)
IV 17a (Paradise); 208b (Poverty and the Poor)
V 197a (Taxation); 204b (Teaching)

8-9 II 323b (God and his Attributes)
III 603a (Orphans)

9 II 53a (Eschatology)
IV 221a (Prayer)
V 163b (Sun)

10 I 500a (Day, Times of)
IV 17a (Paradise)

11 I 519b (Deliverance)
III 63a (Joy and Misery)
IV 17b (Paradise)

12 I 165b (Art and Architecture and the Q)
IV 17a (Paradise)
V 11b (Silk); 134b (Suffering)

12-18 V 62b (Smell)

13 II 283b, 284a (Garden)
IV 18a, 18b (Paradise)
V 163a (Sun)

13-14 II 51b (Eschatology)

14 IV 18b (Paradise)
V 123a (Springs and Fountains)

15 I 490b, 490b (Cups and Vessels)
II 219a (Food and Drink); 276a (Furniture and Furnishings)
III 383b (Metals and Minerals)
IV 18b (Paradise)
V 123a (Springs and Fountains)

15-16 I 490b (Cups and Vessels)
V 12b (Silk)

15-17 I 166a (Art and Architecture and the Q)

16 I 166a (Art and Architecture and the Q)
II 276a (Furniture and Furnishings)
III 334a (Measurement); 383b (Metals and Minerals)

17 I 490b (Cups and Vessels)
II 217b (Food and Drink); 229a (Foreign Vocabulary); 305b (Geography)
IV 18b (Paradise)
V 466b (Water of Paradise)

17-18 V 464b (Water)

18 II 283b (Garden)
V 123a (Springs and Fountains); 466b (Water of Paradise)

19 I 96a (Animal Life)
II 284a (Garden); 445a (Homosexuality)
III 139b (Last Judgment); 384a (Metals and Minerals)
IV 18a (Paradise); 585a (Sex and Sexuality)
V 12a (Silk); 549a (Work); 570a (Youth and Old Age)

20 III 62b (Joy and Misery); 92b (Kings and Rulers)

21 I 166a (Art and Architecture and the Q); 343b (Cleanliness and Ablution); 362b (Colors)
II 284a (Garden); 333b (Gold); 373a (Gratitude and Ingratitude)
III 383b (Metals and Minerals)
IV 18a, 18b (Paradise); 505b (Ritual Purity)
V 12b (Silk); 125a (Springs and Fountains)

23 IV 292b, 293a (Prophets and Prophethood); 446a (Revelation and Inspiration)

23-31 II 143a (Exhortations); 262a (Form and Structure of the Q)

24 I 405b (Consolation)
III 40a (Jihād); 567b (Obedience)

25 I 503b, 504a (Day, Times of)
III 373a (Memory); 416b (Morning); 443a (Muḥammad)
IV 223a, 230b (Prayer)
V 281a (Time); 431a (Vigil)

25-26 I 327b (Chronology and the Q)
III 546a (Noon)

26 I 182b (Asceticism); 254a (Bowing and Prostration); 502b (Day, Times of)
IV 220b, 222a (Prayer)

27 I 500a (Day, Times of)

27-31 I 523a (Destiny)

29 II 142b (Exhortations)

29-30 V 485a (Wish and Desire)

29-31 II 270a (Freedom and Predestination)

30 I 74a (Ambiguous)

31 V 170a (Sūra)

Sūrat al-Mursalāt (77)

I 230b (Biology as the Creation and Stages of Life); 293b (Cave); 322a (Chronology and the Q); 381b (Community and Society in the Q); 491b (Curse)
II 388b (Ḥadīth and the Q)
III 199b (Literary Structures of the Q); 530a (Nature as Signs)
IV 178a (Popular and Talismanic Uses of the Q); 474b (Rhetoric and the Q)
V 168b (Sūra); 424a (Verse)

1 I 55a (Air and Wind)
III 382b (Messenger)
V 119a (Spiritual Beings)

1-2 IV 479a (Rhymed Prose)

1-4 II 256a (Form and Structure of the Q)
V 373a (Trips and Voyages)

1-5 III 530a (Nature as Signs)
IV 464b, 468b (Rhetoric and the Q)

1-6 IV 465b (Rhetoric and the Q)
V 80a (Soothsayer)

3 I 55a (Air and Wind)

3-4 V 80a (Soothsayer)

5 III 530a (Nature as Signs)
IV 294b (Prophets and Prophethood); 466a (Rhetoric and the Q)

8-10 III 535b (Nature as Signs)

8-13 V 283a (Time)

8-19 V 80a (Soothsayer)

11 V 288a (Time)

13 I 516b (Decision)
III 137a (Last Judgment); 203a (Literary Structures of the Q)

13-14 IV 102b (Pit)

14 I 516b (Decision)
III 137a (Last Judgment); 203a (Literary Structures of the Q)
V 203a (Teaching)

15 V 424a (Verse)

19 V 424a (Verse)

20 V 462b (Water)

20-22 I 476b (Creation)

20-23 II 268b (Freedom and Predestination)
V 267a (Theology and the Q)

22 III 335a (Measurement)

24 IV 470a (Rhetoric and the Q)
V 424a (Verse)

25-26 II 3b (Earth)

25-27 II 259a (Form and Structure of the Q)
V 420a (Verse)

27 II 2b (Earth)
III 531b (Nature as Signs)

29-31 III 140b (Last Judgment)

30 III 550b (Numbers and Enumeration)

30-31 II 415a (Hell and Hellfire)

31 II 414b (Hell and Hellfire)

32 II 210b (Fire); 415a (Hell and Hellfire)

32-33 I 99b (Animal Life)

33 I 363a (Colors)
II 210b (Fire)

34-36 V 110b (Speech)

38 I 516b (Decision)
III 137a (Last Judgment)

39 IV 309b (Provocation)

41 II 283b (Garden)
IV 18b (Paradise)
V 123a (Springs and Fountains)

41-43 V 464b (Water)

42 IV 18a (Paradise)

44 IV 452b (Reward and Punishment)

46 I 221b (Belief and Unbelief)

48 I 254a (Bowing and Prostration)
II 366b (Grammar and the Q)
V 170b (Sūra)

48-49 III 160a (Law and the Q)

48-50 V 170a (Sūra)

Sūrat al-Nabāʾ (78)

III 272a (Manuscripts of the Q); 320b (Material Culture and the Q)
IV 246b (Pre-1800 Preoccupations of Q Studies); 495b (Ritual and the Q)
V 168b (Sūra)

2 III 536b (News)

4 IV 538b (Scholar)

4-5 IV 8a (Pairs and Pairing)

5 IV 538b (Scholar)

6 II 2b (Earth); 259a (Form and Structure of the Q)
V 236b (Tents and Tent Pegs)

6-11 I 448a, 448b (Cosmology)

6-13 I 473a (Creation)

6-14 IV 79b (Philosophy and the Q)

6-16 II 302b (Geography)
III 531b (Nature as Signs)

8 II 175a (Family)
IV 6a (Pairs and Pairing)
V 524a (Women and the Q)

8-10 I 449a (Cosmology)

9 I 443b (Cosmology); 501b (Day, Times of)
IV 511a (Sabbath)

9-11 V 60b (Sleep)

10 I 346b (Clothing)
V 282b (Time)

11 I 449a (Cosmology); 502a (Day, Times of)

12 I 442a (Cosmology); 478a (Creation)
III 554b (Numerology)
IV 107b (Planets and Stars)

12-13 III 107b (Lamp)

13 I 442b (Cosmology)
II 327b (God and his Attributes); 547a (Instruments)
III 187a (Light)
V 163a (Sun)

14-16 II 3a (Earth)

15 II 3b (Earth)

16 I 41b (Agriculture and Vegetation)

17 I 272b (Calendar); 516b (Decision)
III 137a (Last Judgment)
IV 228a (Prayer)

18 I 112b (Apocalypse)
II 547a (Instruments)
V 283b (Time)

19 I 398b (Conquest)

21-23 V 554b (World)

21-36 IV 3a (Pairs and Pairing)

22 IV 104a (Pit)

23 II 52b (Eschatology); 439b (History and the Q)

24 II 455b (Hot and Cold)

24-25 II 211a (Fire)

25 II 211a (Fire)

27 II 449a (Hope)

27-30 II 258b (Form and Structure of the Q)

28 II 358b (Grammar and the Q)

29 I 243b (Book)

31-36 I 406a (Consolation)

32 II 305b (Geography)

33 IV 18a (Paradise)
V 524a (Women and the Q); 570a (Youth and Old Age)

34 I 490b (Cups and Vessels)
IV 18b (Paradise)

35 IV 482b (Rhymed Prose)

36 II 313a (Gift-Giving)

37 I 463b (Court)

38 I 463a (Court)
II 443b (Holy Spirit)
III 140b (Last Judgment); 293b (Mary)
IV 349b (Ranks and Orders)
V 81a (Soul); 110b (Speech)

40 I 113b (Apocalypse); 298a (Chastisement and Punishment)
V 393a, 393b (Turkish Literature and the Q); 461a (Warner)

SŪRAT AL-NĀZIʿĀT (79)

II 252b (Form and Structure of the Q)
V 168b, 171a (Sūra); 395b, 396a, 396b (Ṭuwā)

1-5 I 90a (Angel)
II 256a (Form and Structure of the Q)

	IV	464b (Rhetoric and the Q)
	V	80a (Soothsayer)
3	I	27a (Adoration)
	II	315a (Glorification of God)
5	V	118a (Spiritual Beings)
6	I	113a (Apocalypse)
	IV	103b (Pit)
	V	253a (Thamūd)
6-7	II	258a (Form and Structure of the Q)
	V	282a (Time)
6-14	II	256a (Form and Structure of the Q)
8	II	258a (Form and Structure of the Q)
10-11	III	136a (Last Judgment)
11	II	4b (Earth)
14	III	5a, 6a (Jerusalem)
15	III	524a (Narratives)
15-19	II	558a (Invitation)
15-26	II	259b (Form and Structure of the Q); 435b (History and the Q)
	V	171b (Sūra); 420a (Verse)
15-29	I	304b (Children of Israel)
16	II	348b (Grammar and the Q)
	III	340a (Mecca); 421a (Moses); 495b (Myths and Legends in the Q)
	IV	282b (Profane and Sacred); 513a (Sacred Precincts)
	V	110a (Speech)
17	III	583b (Oppression)
17-19	III	421b (Moses)
21	I	537a (Disobedience)
24	I	329a, 329b (Chronology and the Q)
	II	319a (God and his Attributes); 338a (Good and Evil)
	IV	68a (Pharaoh)
25	IV	454a (Reward and Punishment)
26	V	171a (Sūra)
27	I	478a (Creation)
27-30	I	474b (Creation); 536a (Difficult Passages)
27-32	II	259a (Form and Structure of the Q)
	V	420a (Verse)
27-33	II	259a (Form and Structure of the Q); 303a (Geography); 326b (God and his Attributes)

28 I 442b (Cosmology)
II 460b (House, Domestic and Divine)

28-31 V 462a (Water)

29 I 504a (Day, Times of)
III 416b, 418a (Morning)
V 281b (Time)

30 II 2b (Earth)

31 I 41a (Agriculture and Vegetation)

32-33 I 473a (Creation)

33 III 60a (Joy and Misery)

34 I 113a (Apocalypse)
III 137a (Last Judgment)
IV 103a (Pit)

34-35 I 91a (Angel)
V 283b (Time)

34-36 II 258a (Form and Structure of the Q)

35-41 IV 12a (Paradise)

37 IV 432a (Responsibility)

37-38 IV 455b (Reward and Punishment)

39 IV 103b (Pit)

40-41 V 83a (Soul)

41 IV 103b (Pit)

42 I 111a (Antichrist); 501a (Day, Times of)
III 137a (Last Judgment)
V 288b (Time)

42-44 III 138a (Last Judgment)

42-45 III 442b (Muḥammad)

42-46 II 439b (History and the Q)

43 I 113b (Apocalypse)

46 I 503a, 504a (Day, Times of)
III 416b, 418a (Morning)
V 281b (Time); 476a (Weights and Measures)

SŪRAT ʿABASA (80)

V 166b, 168b (Sūra)

1-6 V 447a (Vision and Blindness)

1-10 V 436a (Virtue)

1-16	I	38b (Age of Ignorance)
3	V	203a (Teaching)
10-16	V	421b (Verse)
11	II	142b (Exhortations)
11-16	V	421b (Verse)
12-17	IV	570a (Scrolls)
13	II	545a (Instruments)
	IV	570a (Scrolls)
13-14	III	513a (Names of the Q)
	IV	491a (Ritual and the Q); 505b (Ritual Purity)
13-15	III	189b (Literacy)
14	I	343b (Cleanliness and Ablution)
15-16	I	247b (Book)
	II	387b (Ḥadīth and the Q)
	IV	444a (Revelation and Inspiration)
17	I	449b (Cosmology); 491b (Curse)
	II	261b (Form and Structure of the Q)
	V	172a (Sūra)
17-42	II	326b (God and his Attributes)
18-19	I	476b (Creation)
18-22	I	263b (Burial)
	II	268b (Freedom and Predestination)
	V	569b (Youth and Old Age)
19-22	II	328b (God and his Attributes)
20	I	231b (Biology as the Creation and Stages of Life)
	IV	28b (Path or Way)
24-32	I	42a (Agriculture and Vegetation)
	II	3a (Earth); 259a (Form and Structure of the Q)
	IV	79b (Philosophy and the Q)
25	III	531a (Nature as Signs)
	V	462b (Water)
25-32	II	303a (Geography)
26	II	3a (Earth); 358a (Grammar and the Q)
27	II	3b (Earth)
27-31	V	242a (Textual Criticism of the Q)
28	I	41b (Agriculture and Vegetation)
	II	4a (Earth); 217b (Food and Drink); 305b (Geography)
28-29	I	46b (Agriculture and Vegetation)

29 I 494b (Date Palm)
II 4a (Earth)

30 I 41a (Agriculture and Vegetation)
II 283a (Garden); 304a (Geography)

31 II 4a (Earth)
IV 18a (Paradise)
V 242a (Textual Criticism of the Q); 404b (Uncertainty)

32 III 60a (Joy and Misery)

33 I 113a (Apocalypse)
III 137a (Last Judgment); 203a (Literary Structures of the Q)

33-37 III 99b (Kinship)

33-42 I 112a (Apocalypse)

34 V 283b (Time)

34-35 IV 21a (Parents)

37 II 509b (Indifference)

38-39 II 258b (Form and Structure of the Q)
III 217b (Literature and the Q)

38-41 IV 2b (Pairs and Pairing)

39 III 62a (Joy and Misery); 146b (Laughter)

40-42 II 258b (Form and Structure of the Q)

Sūrat al-Takwīr (81)

I 112a (Apocalypse)
III 324a (Material Culture and the Q)
IV 172b (Popular and Talismanic Uses of the Q)
V 168b (Sūra)

1 V 163b (Sun); 393a, 393b (Turkish Literature and the Q)

1-4 II 47a (Eschatology)

1-13 II 257b (Form and Structure of the Q)
IV 469b (Rhetoric and the Q)

1-14 I 112a (Apocalypse)
III 138b (Last Judgment); 202b (Literary Structures of the Q); 535b (Nature as Signs)
IV 479a (Rhymed Prose)
V 80a (Soothsayer); 283a (Time)

4 I 98a (Animal Life); 113a (Apocalypse); 287a (Camel)

5 III 140a (Last Judgment)

6 V 464b (Water)

7 V 83b (Soul)

8 II 353b (Grammar and the Q)

8-9 I 2b (Abortion); 153b (Archaeology and the Q); 234b (Birth Control); 301b (Children)
II 511a (Infanticide)
IV 255b (Pre-Islamic Arabia and the Q)
V 318a (Tradition and Custom); 524b (Women and the Q); 570a (Youth and Old Age)

9 I 450b (Cosmology)
II 64a (Ethics and the Q)

10 III 140b (Last Judgment)
IV 570a (Scrolls)

14 II 511a (Infanticide)

15 II 257b (Form and Structure of the Q)

15-16 IV 8a (Pairs and Pairing); 109a (Planets and Stars)

15-18 V 80a (Soothsayer)

15-19 IV 468a (Rhetoric and the Q)

15-29 I 320b (Chronology and the Q)

17 I 502a (Day, Times of)

17-18 I 502a (Day, Times of)
IV 8a (Pairs and Pairing)
V 282a (Time)

18 I 52b, 54b (Air and Wind); 504a (Day, Times of)
III 204b (Literary Structures of the Q); 385b (Metaphor); 417a, 419a (Morning)
V 281a (Time)

19 IV 290a (Prophets and Prophethood)
V 116a (Spirit)

19-21 I 87b (Angel)

19-24 V 116a (Spirit)

19-25 II 324a (God and his Attributes)
IV 216b (Prayer)

20 II 325b (God and his Attributes)

20-21 III 442a (Muḥammad)

22 I 387b (Companions of the Prophet); 447a (Cosmology)
II 540a (Insanity)
III 450b (Muḥammad)
IV 112a (Poetry and Poets); 295a (Prophets and Prophethood); 442b (Revelation and Inspiration)
V 420b (Verse)

22-25 I 543b (Divination)

23 II 181a (Fasting)
III 442a (Muḥammad)
IV 107b (Planets and Stars)

23-24 IV 442a (Revelation and Inspiration)

24 II 354a (Grammar and the Q)

25 I 447a (Cosmology); 524b (Devil)
V 130a (Stoning)

26-28 II 143a (Exhortations)

27 III 372b (Memory)
V 105b (Spatial Relations)

27-29 I 523a (Destiny)
III 380a (Mercy)
V 485a (Wish and Desire)

28-29 I 186a (Astray)
II 59a (Ethics and the Q)

29 I 235a (Birth Control)
V 105a, 105b (Spatial Relations)

SŪRAT AL-INFIṬĀR (82)

I 322b (Chronology and the Q)
III 324a (Material Culture and the Q)
V 168b (Sūra)

1-4 II 257b (Form and Structure of the Q)
III 209a (Literature and the Q)

1-5 III 202b (Literary Structures of the Q); 535b (Nature as Signs)
V 80a (Soothsayer); 283a (Time)

1-15 IV 34b (Peace)

3 I 204a (Barrier)
V 464b (Water)

5 III 535b (Nature as Signs)
V 84a (Soul)

6-7 I 435a (Conversion)
III 72b (Justice and Injustice)

6-8 II 259a (Form and Structure of the Q)

7 I 446b (Cosmology)

7-8 II 328a (God and his Attributes)

8 I 167b (Art and Architecture and the Q)
II 323a (God and his Attributes)

9 I 235b (Blasphemy)
III 136b (Last Judgment)
10 IV 307b (Protection)
V 118b (Spiritual Beings); 493a (Witnessing and Testifying)
10-11 I 243b (Book)
11 I 243b (Book)
V 118b (Spiritual Beings)
13 III 62b (Joy and Misery)
IV 90b (Piety)
13-14 IV 481b (Rhymed Prose)
14-18 V 80a (Soothsayer)
14-19 IV 102a (Pit)
15 III 136b (Last Judgment)
17 III 136b (Last Judgment)
V 203a (Teaching)
17-18 IV 8a (Pairs and Pairing); 102b (Pit)
18 III 136b (Last Judgment)
V 203a (Teaching)
19 III 137b (Last Judgment)
IV 454b (Reward and Punishment)

SŪRAT AL-MUṬAFFIFĪN (83)

I 300a (Cheating); 322a (Chronology and the Q)
V 168b (Sūra)
1-3 III 66a (Judgment); 276a (Markets)
IV 455b (Reward and Punishment); 470a (Rhetoric and the Q)
2 III 334a (Measurement)
3 III 334a (Measurement)
6 V 105a, 105b (Spatial Relations)
7 IV 2b (Pairs and Pairing)
V 493a (Witnessing and Testifying)
7-8 IV 102a, 102b (Pit)
V 80a (Soothsayer)
7-9 IV 102b (Pit); 469a (Rhetoric and the Q)
7-24 I 522b (Destiny)
8 IV 103a (Pit)
V 203a (Teaching)

9 III 591a (Orality and Writing in Arabia)
V 558a (Writing and Writing Materials)

10 V 424a (Verse)

11 III 136b (Last Judgment)

12 IV 309b (Provocation)

13 II 430a (History and the Q)
III 190a (Literacy); 518a (Narratives)
IV 463a (Rhetoric and the Q)
V 6b (Signs); 420a, 422a (Verse)

14 I 226a (Belief and Unbelief)
II 355a (Grammar and the Q); 370b (Gratitude and Ingratitude); 510b (Indifference)
IV 310a (Provocation); 432a (Responsibility)
V 447a (Vision and Blindness)

14-15 I 298a (Chastisement and Punishment)

15 I 203b (Barrier)
IV 17b (Paradise)

18 II 353a (Grammar and the Q); 500a (ʿIlliyyūn)
V 493a (Witnessing and Testifying)

18-19 IV 102a, 102b (Pit)
V 80a (Soothsayer)

18-20 IV 102b (Pit); 469a (Rhetoric and the Q)

18-21 IV 14a (Paradise)

19 II 500a, 500b (ʿIlliyyūn)
IV 103a (Pit)
V 203a (Teaching)

20 II 500b (ʿIlliyyūn)
III 591a (Orality and Writing in Arabia)
V 558a (Writing and Writing Materials)

21 IV 220a (Prayer)
V 492b (Witnessing and Testifying)

22 III 62b (Joy and Misery)

23 II 284a (Garden)

24 III 62b (Joy and Misery)

25 II 218a (Food and Drink); 229a (Foreign Vocabulary); 556a (Intoxicants)
V 482a (Wine)

25-26 III 573b (Odors and Smells)

25-27 II 284a (Garden)

25-28 V 62b (Smell); 123b (Springs and Fountains)

26 III 266b (Manuscripts of the Q)
V 393b (Turkish Literature and the Q)
27 II 283b (Garden)
27-28 V 464b (Water)
28 IV 220a (Prayer)
29 III 146b (Laughter)
IV 309b (Provocation)
V 19a (Sin, Major and Minor); 420a (Verse)
29-32 I 222a, 224b (Belief and Unbelief)
II 258b (Form and Structure of the Q)
29-33 II 258b (Form and Structure of the Q)
33 IV 308b (Protection)
34 III 147a (Laughter)
34-35 II 415b (Hell and Hellfire)
36 IV 452b (Reward and Punishment)

SŪRAT AL-INSHIQĀQ (84)

III 324a (Material Culture and the Q)
V 168b (Sūra)
1 III 546b (Noon)
V 283a (Time)
1-5 II 257b (Form and Structure of the Q)
1-15 V 80a (Soothsayer)
5-6 V 393b (Turkish Literature and the Q)
6 III 184a (Life)
7 I 244a (Book)
III 178a (Left Hand and Right Hand)
IV 16a (Paradise)
V 493a, 493b (Witnessing and Testifying)
7-8 III 275b (Markets)
7-9 III 177a (Left Hand and Right Hand)
IV 457b (Reward and Punishment)
7-10 III 178a (Left Hand and Right Hand)
7-12 II 412b (Heavenly Book)
IV 2b (Pairs and Pairing)
9 III 62b (Joy and Misery)
10 I 244a (Book)
III 177b (Left Hand and Right Hand); 275b (Markets)
V 493a, 493b (Witnessing and Testifying)

10-11 III 140b (Last Judgment)

10-12 IV 454b (Reward and Punishment)

10-13 III 62b (Joy and Misery)

10-25 III 177a (Left Hand and Right Hand)

13-15 II 258b (Form and Structure of the Q)

16 I 503a (Day, Times of)
II 79b (Evening); 257b (Form and Structure of the Q)
IV 217a (Prayer)
V 281b (Time)

16-17 V 282a (Time)

16-18 V 80a (Soothsayer)

18 IV 108b (Planets and Stars)

19 III 184b (Life)

20 IV 117a (Polemic and Polemical Language)

20-21 IV 221b (Prayer)

21 I 254b (Bowing and Prostration)

24 IV 470b (Rhetoric and the Q)

25 IV 454b (Reward and Punishment)

SŪRAT AL-BURŪJ (85)

III 521b (Narratives); 535a (Nature as Signs)
IV 85b (Philosophy and the Q); 172b (Popular and Talismanic Uses of the Q)
V 168b (Sūra); 398a (Ukhdūd)

1 I 442b (Cosmology)
II 410a (Heaven and Sky)
IV 107a, 108b (Planets and Stars); 217a (Prayer)
V 283b (Time)

1-2 V 282a (Time)

1-3 II 256b (Form and Structure of the Q)
IV 464b (Rhetoric and the Q)
V 80a (Soothsayer)

1-7 III 521b (Narratives)
IV 468a (Rhetoric and the Q)

2 I 500a (Day, Times of)
III 137a (Last Judgment)

4 I 491b (Curse)
IV 257b (Pre-Islamic Arabia and the Q); 353a (Rass)
V 397a (Ukhdūd)

4-7 IV 43b (People of the Ditch)

4-8 II 211b (Fire)

4-9 I 154a (Archaeology and the Q)
II 146a, 147b (Expeditions and Battles)
III 500b (Najrān)
IV 411a (Religious Pluralism and the Q)
V 397a (Ukhdūd)

8 IV 6a (Pairs and Pairing); 453b (Reward and Punishment)

8-9 IV 43b (People of the Ditch)

9 IV 128a (Politics and the Q)
V 490a (Witness to Faith)

10 II 210b (Fire); 418a (Hell and Hellfire)
III 500a, 500b (Najrān)
IV 411a (Religious Pluralism and the Q); 426b (Repentance and Penance); 455b (Reward and Punishment)
V 523b (Women and the Q)

11 IV 18b (Paradise); 454b (Reward and Punishment); 522b (Salvation)
V 430a (Victory)

12 IV 85b (Philosophy and the Q)

13 I 472a (Creation)
IV 6b (Pairs and Pairing)

13-16 IV 470b (Rhetoric and the Q)

14 II 321a, 322a (God and his Attributes)
III 233b (Love and Affection)
IV 5b (Pairs and Pairing)

15 II 315b (Glory); 320a, 325b (God and his Attributes)

17 III 524a (Narratives)

17-18 V 377a (Troops)

17-20 III 521b (Narratives)

21 II 315b (Glory)
III 506b, 513a (Names of the Q)
IV 63a (Persian Literature and the Q); 297a (Prophets and Prophethood)

21-22 II 143a (Exhortations); 262a (Form and Structure of the Q)
III 189b (Literacy); 538a (Night of Power)

22 I 87b (Angel); 247b (Book)
II 186b (Fate); 412a (Heavenly Book); 544b (Instruments)
III 189b (Literacy)
IV 81a, 85b (Philosophy and the Q); 261b, 263a (Preserved Tablet); 297a (Prophets and Prophethood); 307b (Protection); 444a, 445b (Revelation and Inspiration)
V 157b (Ṣūfism and the Q); 422a (Verse)

Sūrat al-Ṭāriq (86)

I 230b (Biology as the Creation and Stages of Life)
V 168b (Sūra)

1
II 410a (Heaven and Sky)
IV 108b (Planets and Stars); 464b (Rhetoric and the Q)
V 80a (Soothsayer); 282a (Time)

1-2
IV 102a, 102b (Pit)
V 80a (Soothsayer)

1-3
II 256b (Form and Structure of the Q)
IV 102b (Pit)

1-17
IV 468a (Rhetoric and the Q)

2
V 203a (Teaching)

3
IV 108b (Planets and Stars)

4
II 359a, 361b (Grammar and the Q)
IV 307b (Protection)
V 118b (Spiritual Beings)

5-7
I 476b (Creation)
V 267a (Theology and the Q)

5-8
I 479a, 479b (Creation)
IV 435a (Resurrection)

5-12
IV 211b (Power and Impotence)

6
III 363a (Medicine and the Q)
V 462b (Water)

11
II 257b (Form and Structure of the Q); 410a (Heaven and Sky)

11-12
II 256b (Form and Structure of the Q)
IV 4b, 8a (Pairs and Pairing); 464b (Rhetoric and the Q); 478b (Rhymed Prose)

13
I 516b (Decision)
III 513a (Names of the Q); 528a (Nature as Signs)

13-14
IV 8a (Pairs and Pairing)

15-17
II 143a (Exhortations)
IV 470b (Rhetoric and the Q)

16
V 480a (Whisper)

17
II 143a (Exhortations)

Sūrat al-Aʿlā (87)

I 355a (Collection of the Q)
IV 172b (Popular and Talismanic Uses of the Q)
V 168b (Sūra)

1	I	208b (Basmala); 329a (Chronology and the Q)
	II	319a (God and his Attributes)
	III	443a (Muḥammad); 546b (Noon)
	IV	470a (Rhetoric and the Q)
	V	169b (Sūra); 264b (Theology and the Q); 393b (Turkish Literature and the Q); 426a (Verse)
1-4	I	472a (Creation)
	V	265a (Theology and the Q)
1-5	II	259a (Form and Structure of the Q)
	IV	470b (Rhetoric and the Q)
2	I	451a (Cosmology)
2-3	II	328b (God and his Attributes)
4	I	41a (Agriculture and Vegetation)
5	I	364b (Colors)
6	III	441a (Muḥammad)
	V	203b (Teaching)
6-7	I	15a, 16a (Abrogation); 353a (Collection of the Q)
	IV	449a (Revision and Alteration)
7	IV	4a (Pairs and Pairing)
8	III	179b (Left Hand and Right Hand)
9	IV	422b (Remembrance)
11	III	63b (Joy and Misery)
	V	251b (Textual Criticism of the Q)
14	IV	490b (Ritual and the Q); 505b (Ritual Purity); 523a (Salvation)
14-15	IV	420a (Remembrance); 454b (Reward and Punishment)
14-17	III	425b (Moses)
15	IV	229b (Prayer); 490b (Ritual and the Q)
16-17	IV	8a (Pairs and Pairing)
	V	340a (Transitoriness); 486a (Wish and Desire)
16-19	IV	570a, 570b (Scrolls)
17	III	425b (Moses)
18	I	245b (Book)
	II	434a (History and the Q); 545a (Instruments)
	V	301a (Torah)
18-19	I	5b (Abraham); 330a (Chronology and the Q)
	II	143a (Exhortations); 262a (Form and Structure of the Q)
	III	189b (Literacy); 425b (Moses); 592b (Orality and Writing in Arabia)

19 I 245b (Book)
II 545a (Instruments)
III 381a (Messenger)
IV 296b (Prophets and Prophethood)
V 301a (Torah)

SŪRAT AL-GHĀSHIYA (88)

IV 86b (Philosophy and the Q)
V 123b (Springs and Fountains); 168b (Sūra)

1 III 137a (Last Judgment); 524a (Narratives)
IV 103a (Pit)

2-5 IV 86b (Philosophy and the Q)

2-12 V 123b (Springs and Fountains)

4 II 455b (Hot and Cold)

5 II 211a (Fire); 455b (Hot and Cold)
V 126b (Springs and Fountains); 465a (Water)

6 I 41b (Agriculture and Vegetation)
II 305b (Geography)

6-7 II 211a (Fire); 416b (Hell and Hellfire)

8-10 II 284a (Garden)

8-16 I 406a (Consolation)
IV 86b (Philosophy and the Q)

9-12 II 358a (Grammar and the Q)

10 IV 14a (Paradise)

11 II 283b (Garden)
IV 103a (Pit); 482b (Rhymed Prose)

12 V 123a (Springs and Fountains)

12-16 IV 469a (Rhetoric and the Q)

13 II 276a (Furniture and Furnishings); 284a (Garden)
IV 18a (Paradise)

13-14 III 128b (Language and Style of the Q)
IV 481b (Rhymed Prose)

13-16 V 12a (Silk)

14 I 490b (Cups and Vessels)
II 276a (Furniture and Furnishings)

15 II 229a (Foreign Vocabulary); 276a (Furniture and Furnishings)

15-16 III 128b (Language and Style of the Q)
IV 481b (Rhymed Prose)

16 II 276a (Furniture and Furnishings)

17 I 98a (Animal Life); 287a (Camel)
II 259a (Form and Structure of the Q)
IV 70b (Philosophy and the Q)

17-20 I 473b (Creation)
II 259a (Form and Structure of the Q)

21 III 440b (Muḥammad)
IV 470a (Rhetoric and the Q)

22 II 348a, 354a (Grammar and the Q)
III 40a (Jihād)

23 IV 432a (Responsibility)

25-26 IV 481b (Rhymed Prose)

Sūrat al-Fajr (89)

I 322a, 322b (Chronology and the Q); 499a (Day, Times of)
II 465a (Humor)
III 324a (Material Culture and the Q); 416b (Morning); 535a (Nature as Signs)
IV 172b (Popular and Talismanic Uses of the Q)
V 168b, 171b (Sūra); 420b (Verse)

1 I 36a (Afternoon); 444a (Cosmology)
III 417a, 419a (Morning); 535a (Nature as Signs)
IV 217a (Prayer)
V 281a (Time)

1-2 I 444a (Cosmology)

1-4 II 256b (Form and Structure of the Q)
IV 464b (Rhetoric and the Q)
V 80a (Soothsayer); 282a (Time)

1-5 IV 478b (Rhymed Prose)

1-30 IV 468a (Rhetoric and the Q)

2 I 445a (Cosmology); 499b (Day, Times of)
IV 342b (Ramaḍān)

3 III 549b (Numbers and Enumeration)

4 V 282b (Time)
I 502a, 503a (Day, Times of)
III 417b (Morning)

5 III 173b (Lawful and Unlawful)

6-7 I 21b (ʿĀd)
II 559a (Iram)

6-12 V 549a (Work)

6-13	II	338b (Good and Evil)
6-14	III	518b (Narratives)
7	I	152a (Archaeology and the Q)
	II	10b (Egypt); 308a (Geography); 338b (Good and Evil); 438a (History and the Q)
	V	185a (Syria)
8	II	308a (Geography)
9	I	150b (Archaeology and the Q)
	II	339a (Good and Evil)
10	II	542a (Insolence and Obstinacy)
	III	522a (Narratives)
	V	236b (Tents and Tent Pegs)
13	III	489b (Myths and Legends in the Q)
15	II	57b (Ethics and the Q); 354b (Grammar and the Q); 447b (Honor)
15-16	II	268a (Freedom and Predestination)
16	II	186b (Fate); 354b (Grammar and the Q)
	V	133b (Suffering); 362b, 363a (Trial)
17	II	75b (Ethics and the Q)
	III	603a (Orphans)
	IV	455b (Reward and Punishment)
	V	204b (Teaching)
17-18	II	75b (Ethics and the Q)
	IV	8a (Pairs and Pairing)
17-20	III	533b (Nature as Signs); 578b (Opposition to Muḥammad)
	V	196b (Taxation)
18	II	216b (Food and Drink); 450a (Hospitality and Courtesy)
19-20	IV	8a (Pairs and Pairing)
20	III	235a (Love and Affection)
21-22	IV	8a (Pairs and Pairing)
21-30	I	112a (Apocalypse)
22	I	442b (Cosmology); 463a (Court)
	II	325b (God and his Attributes)
	IV	220a (Prayer); 349b (Ranks and Orders)
25-26	IV	8a (Pairs and Pairing)
27	V	83a (Soul); 96b (South Asian Literatures and the Q); 138b (Ṣūfism and the Q)
27-28	V	393a (Turkish Literature and the Q)
28-29	III	230a (Lord)

Sūrat al-Balad (90)

I 322b (Chronology and the Q)
II 256b (Form and Structure of the Q); 306a (Geography)
IV 177b, 178a (Popular and Talismanic Uses of the Q)
V 168b (Sūra); 183a (Symbolic Imagery)

1 III 491a (Myths and Legends in the Q)
IV 468b (Rhetoric and the Q)

1-2 III 443b (Muḥammad)
V 107a (Spatial Relations)

1-3 II 256b (Form and Structure of the Q)
IV 464b, 467b (Rhetoric and the Q)
V 80a (Soothsayer)

1-4 II 252b (Form and Structure of the Q)

1-11 IV 468a (Rhetoric and the Q)

2 IV 468b (Rhetoric and the Q)

4 I 449b (Cosmology)
V 371a (Trinity)

4-6 V 468b (Wealth)

6 II 307a (Geography)

7 I 449b (Cosmology)

8 I 81a (Anatomy)

8-9 I 82b, 83a (Anatomy)

8-10 II 252b, 259a (Form and Structure of the Q)
IV 2a (Pairs and Pairing)

11 V 182b (Symbolic Imagery)

11-12 IV 102a (Pit)
V 80a (Soothsayer)

11-13 IV 469a (Rhetoric and the Q)

12 IV 102b (Pit)
V 203a (Teaching)

12-18 III 177a (Left Hand and Right Hand)
V 57b (Slaves and Slavery)

12-20 V 183a (Symbolic Imagery)

13 I 289a (Captives)

13-17 IV 454b (Reward and Punishment)

13-18 IV 208b (Poverty and the Poor)

13-20 V 196b (Taxation)

14 I 500b (Day, Times of)
II 177b (Famine)
14-15 III 603a (Orphans)
14-16 II 450a (Hospitality and Courtesy)
15 II 174b (Family)
15-16 V 204b (Teaching)
16 III 63a (Joy and Misery)
17 III 378a (Mercy)
17-19 IV 2a (Pairs and Pairing)
18 III 177b (Left Hand and Right Hand)
19-20 III 177a (Left Hand and Right Hand)
IV 455b (Reward and Punishment)
20 II 415a (Hell and Hellfire)

SŪRAT AL-SHAMS (91)

I 322b (Chronology and the Q)
III 535a (Nature as Signs)
V 168b (Sūra); 420b (Verse)

1 I 36a (Afternoon); 444a (Cosmology); 504a (Day, Times of)
III 416b, 419a (Morning)
IV 108b (Planets and Stars); 217a, 219a (Prayer)
V 163a (Sun); 281b (Time)
1-2 III 535a (Nature as Signs)
1-3 IV 469b (Rhetoric and the Q)
1-4 V 282a (Time)
1-6 IV 5a (Pairs and Pairing)
1-7 II 256b (Form and Structure of the Q)
IV 464b (Rhetoric and the Q)
V 80a (Soothsayer)
1-15 IV 468a (Rhetoric and the Q)
4 I 501b (Day, Times of)
5 I 478a (Creation)
5-6 I 472a (Creation)
7 V 84a (Soul)
7-10 II 98a (Evil Deeds); 187a (Fate); 336b (Good and Evil); 339b (Good Deeds)
8 II 336b (Good and Evil)
IV 294b (Prophets and Prophethood)

9 II 162a (Failure)
IV 490b (Ritual and the Q); 505b (Ritual Purity)

9-10 IV 8a (Pairs and Pairing)

10 II 162a (Failure)
IV 490b (Ritual and the Q)

11 II 308a (Geography)
III 524a (Narratives)

11-14 I 287a (Camel)

11-15 II 259b (Form and Structure of the Q)
III 393a (Miracles)
IV 521a (Ṣāliḥ)
V 171b (Sūra)

12 V 251b (Textual Criticism of the Q)

13 IV 237b (Pre-1800 Preoccupations of Q Studies); 521b (Ṣāliḥ)

13-14 III 219a (Literature and the Q)

14 III 489b (Myths and Legends in the Q)
IV 521b (Ṣāliḥ)
V 253a (Thamūd)

SŪRAT AL-LAYL (92)

I 322a, 322b (Chronology and the Q); 499a (Day, Times of)
IV 172b, 177b (Popular and Talismanic Uses of the Q)
V 168b (Sūra)

1 I 36a (Afternoon); 501b, 502a (Day, Times of)
IV 217a (Prayer)
V 393a (Turkish Literature and the Q)

1-2 IV 5a (Pairs and Pairing)
V 282a (Time)

1-3 II 256b (Form and Structure of the Q)
IV 464b (Rhetoric and the Q)
V 80a (Soothsayer)

1-13 II 263a (Form and Structure of the Q)

1-21 IV 468a (Rhetoric and the Q)

3 V 524a (Women and the Q)

4 IV 432a (Responsibility)

5-6 IV 454b (Reward and Punishment)

5-7 II 7a (Economics)

5-10 I 186a (Astray)

5-11 I 191a (Avarice)
IV 1b (Pairs and Pairing)

8 IV 455b (Reward and Punishment)
V 468b (Wealth)

10 III 179b (Left Hand and Right Hand)

11 V 468a (Wealth)

12-13 III 425b (Moses)

14 II 414b (Hell and Hellfire)
V 461a (Warner)

14-21 II 263a (Form and Structure of the Q)

15-17 IV 457b (Reward and Punishment)

18 IV 505b (Ritual Purity)
V 196b (Taxation)

18-19 V 469a (Wealth)

18-21 II 159b (Face); 160a (Face of God)

20 II 53a (Eschatology)
IV 221a (Prayer)
V 264a, 264b (Theology and the Q); 487a (Wish and Desire)

SŪRAT AL-ḌUḤĀ (93)

I 322b (Chronology and the Q); 499a (Day, Times of)
III 197b (Literary Structures of the Q); 300a, 324a (Material Culture and the Q); 416b (Morning)
IV 172b (Popular and Talismanic Uses of the Q)
V 36b, 39b (Sīra and the Q); 168b, 169b (Sūra); 436a (Virtue)

1 I 36a (Afternoon); 444a (Cosmology); 502a, 504a (Day, Times of)
III 416b, 419a (Morning)
IV 217a (Prayer)
V 281b (Time); 393a (Turkish Literature and the Q)

1-2 II 256b (Form and Structure of the Q)
IV 464b (Rhetoric and the Q)
V 80a (Soothsayer); 282a (Time)

1-3 IV 244a (Pre-1800 Preoccupations of Q Studies); 480b (Rhymed Prose)

1-8 II 252b (Form and Structure of the Q)

2 I 501b (Day, Times of)
V 36b (Sīra and the Q); 393a, 393b (Turkish Literature and the Q)

3 II 178b (Farewell Pilgrimage); 219a (Food and Drink)
III 446a, 455b (Muḥammad)
V 36b (Sīra and the Q)

3-5 I 405b (Consolation)
II 552b (Intercession)

4 V 552b (World)

6 III 446b (Muḥammad); 603a (Orphans)

6-8 I 302b (Children); 405b (Consolation)
IV 238b (Pre-1800 Preoccupations of Q Studies)

7 III 446b (Muḥammad)
V 25b (Sin, Major and Minor); 374b (Trips and Voyages)

8 III 80b (Khadīja); 446b (Muḥammad)
IV 209a (Poverty and the Poor)

9 II 373b (Guardianship)
III 584a (Oppression); 603a (Orphans)
IV 455b (Reward and Punishment)

9-10 I 450a (Cosmology)
IV 479b (Rhymed Prose)

9-11 II 362b (Grammar and the Q)

11 IV 470b (Rhetoric and the Q)
V 39a (Sīra and the Q); 170b (Sūra)

SŪRAT AL-SHARḤ (94)

I 322b (Chronology and the Q)
II 263a (Form and Structure of the Q)
III 324a, 327b (Material Culture and the Q)
V 168b (Sūra)

1 I 91b (Angel); 179b (Ascension)
III 496a (Myths and Legends in the Q)

1-3 III 446b (Muḥammad)

1-8 I 405b (Consolation)

2-3 III 228a (Load or Burden)

4 III 19b (Jesus); 446b (Muḥammad)

5 I 289a (Captives)

5-6 IV 8a (Pairs and Pairing); 469a (Rhetoric and the Q)

6 I 289a (Captives)

7-8 II 143a (Exhortations); 252a (Form and Structure of the Q)
IV 470b (Rhetoric and the Q)

Sūrat al-Tīn (95)

I 322a, 322b (Chronology and the Q)
II 256b, 263a (Form and Structure of the Q)
III 324a (Material Culture and the Q); 495b (Myths and Legends in the Q)
IV 58a (Persian Literature and the Q)
V 168b (Sūra)

1
II 217b (Food and Drink); 305b (Geography)
III 4b (Jerusalem)
IV 5a (Pairs and Pairing); 468b (Rhetoric and the Q)
V 184b (Syria)

1-3
II 256b (Form and Structure of the Q)
IV 464b, 466b (Rhetoric and the Q)
V 80a (Soothsayer); 107a (Spatial Relations)

2
II 308b (Geography)
IV 482b (Rhymed Prose)
V 28a, 28b (Sinai)

2-3
IV 468b (Rhetoric and the Q)

3
I 163a (Art and Architecture and the Q)
III 339b (Mecca); 491a (Myths and Legends in the Q)
IV 103a (Pit); 482b (Rhymed Prose); 515b (Sacred Precincts)
V 373b (Trips and Voyages)

4
I 213a (Beauty)
II 328a (God and his Attributes)
IV 467a (Rhetoric and the Q)
V 393a, 393b (Turkish Literature and the Q)

4-5
I 450a (Cosmology)
IV 8a (Pairs and Pairing)

6
I 406a (Consolation)
IV 454b (Reward and Punishment); 466b (Rhetoric and the Q)

7
III 136b (Last Judgment)

8
I 516a (Decision)
II 321a (God and his Attributes)
III 64b (Judgment)
V 102b (Sovereignty)

Sūrat al-ʿAlaq (96)

I 238a (Blood and Blood Clot)
II 381a (Ḥadīth and the Q)
III 130b (Language and Style of the Q); 584b (Orality)
IV 368a (Recitation of the Q)
V 168b (Sūra); 201a (Teaching)

1	I	208b (Basmala); 329a (Chronology and the Q)
	II	319a, 326b (God and his Attributes)
	III	443a (Muḥammad)
	IV	217b (Prayer); 470a (Rhetoric and the Q)
	V	169b (Sūra)
1-2	I	451a (Cosmology)
	II	81b (Everyday Life, Q In)
	IV	8a (Pairs and Pairing)
1-3	III	190b (Literacy)
1-5	I	293b (Cave); 320b, 326a (Chronology and the Q)
	II	181a (Fasting); 259a (Form and Structure of the Q)
	III	188b (Literacy); 455b (Muḥammad)
	IV	244a (Pre-1800 Preoccupations of Q Studies); 470b (Rhetoric and the Q)
	V	403b (Uncertainty)
2	I	81a (Anatomy); 238a (Blood and Blood Clot); 240a (Bloodshed); 476b (Creation)
	II	328a (God and his Attributes)
	V	267a (Theology and the Q)
4	I	392b (Computers and the Q)
	II	26a (Epigraphy); 545a (Instruments)
	IV	262b (Preserved Tablet)
	V	201a, 201b (Teaching); 558a (Writing and Writing Materials)
4-5	III	103a (Knowledge and Learning); 189a (Literacy)
5	V	201a (Teaching)
6	I	449b (Cosmology)
6-7	V	204b (Teaching)
6-8	V	446b (Vision and Blindness)
7	I	241b (Boast)
8	II	91b (Everyday Life, Q In)
9	II	261a (Form and Structure of the Q)
	IV	574b (Seeing and Hearing)
9-10	IV	455b (Reward and Punishment)
	V	170a (Sūra)
9-19	III	454b (Muḥammad)
	IV	331b (Quraysh)
10	IV	487a (Ritual and the Q); 577a (Servants)
14	IV	574b (Seeing and Hearing)
17	V	36b (Sīra and the Q)
18	II	348a, 352b (Grammar and the Q); 417b (Hell and Hellfire)
	V	119a (Spiritual Beings)

19
I 254a (Bowing and Prostration)
II 142b (Exhortations)
III 567b (Obedience)
IV 470b (Rhetoric and the Q)
V 169b (Sūra); 393b (Turkish Literature and the Q)

SŪRAT AL-QADR (97)

I 178b (Ascension); 322a (Chronology and the Q)
II 183a (Fasting)
III 328a (Material Culture and the Q)
IV 342b (Ramaḍān)
V 116a, 117a (Spirit); 168b (Sūra); 272a (Theology and the Q)

1
II 181b (Fasting)
III 414a (Months); 442a (Muḥammad); 537b (Night of Power)
IV 292b, 293a (Prophets and Prophethood); 343b, 344a (Ramaḍān)
V 284b (Time)

1-2
IV 102a, 102b (Pit)
V 80a (Soothsayer)

1-3
I 326a (Chronology and the Q); 501b (Day, Times of)
II 268b (Freedom and Predestination); 381b (Ḥadīth and the Q)

1-5
I 178a (Ascension)
IV 34a (Peace); 343a, 346b (Ramaḍān)
V 431b (Vigil)

2
V 203a (Teaching)

3
II 84a (Everyday Life, Q In)
III 222a (Literature and the Q); 410a, 413b (Months)
V 116b (Spirit); 475b (Weights and Measures)

3-5
II 204b (Festivals and Commemorative Days)

4
I 87a, 87b (Angel); 178a (Ascension)
II 278b (Gabriel); 443b (Holy Spirit)
III 293b (Mary)
IV 343a (Ramaḍān)
V 81a (Soul); 115b, 116a, 116b (Spirit); 266a, 272a (Theology and the Q)

4-5
II 84a (Everyday Life, Q In)
V 240b (Textual Criticism of the Q)

5
I 503b (Day, Times of)
III 417a, 417b (Morning)
IV 107a (Planets and Stars)
V 282b (Time)

Sūrat al-Bayyina (98)

I 223b (Belief and Unbelief); 322a (Chronology and the Q)
III 324a (Material Culture and the Q)
IV 86b (Philosophy and the Q)

1
- I 222b (Belief and Unbelief)
- IV 36b (People of the Book); 120b (Polemic and Polemical Language); 286a (Proof); 409b (Religious Pluralism and the Q)

1-2
- IV 569b (Scrolls)

1-4
- IV 570a (Scrolls)

2
- I 343b (Cleanliness and Ablution)
- II 545a (Instruments)
- III 190a (Literacy)
- IV 505b (Ritual Purity); 570a (Scrolls)

2-3
- III 189b (Literacy); 441a (Muḥammad)

3
- III 508a, 509a (Names of the Q)

4
- I 222b (Belief and Unbelief)
- IV 120b (Polemic and Polemical Language); 286a (Proof)

5
- I 66b (Almsgiving)
- II 366a (Grammar and the Q); 402b (Ḥanīf)
- IV 416a (Religious Pluralism and the Q); 482b (Rhymed Prose)

6
- I 222b (Belief and Unbelief)
- II 54b (Eternity); 210a (Fire)
- V 340a (Transitoriness)

6-7
- I 224a (Belief and Unbelief); 478b (Creation)

7
- IV 431b (Responsibility)

7-8
- I 406a (Consolation)

8
- II 54b (Eternity); 196b (Fear)
- V 340a (Transitoriness); 464b (Water)

Sūrat al-Zalzala (99)

I 322a, 322b (Chronology and the Q)
II 178a (Famine)
IV 86b (Philosophy and the Q)
V 80a (Soothsayer); 117a (Spirit); 168b (Sūra); 183b (Symbolic Imagery); 274a (Theology and the Q); 420b (Verse)

1-2
- V 283b (Time)

1-3
- II 257b (Form and Structure of the Q)

1-5
- II 252b (Form and Structure of the Q)

1-8 I 522b (Destiny)
III 531b (Nature as Signs)
IV 435a (Resurrection)

2 I 114b (Apocalypse)
III 228a (Load or Burden)

4 II 258a (Form and Structure of the Q); 435b (History and the Q)
III 518a (Narratives)

4-5 IV 293b (Prophets and Prophethood)

4-7 V 274a (Theology and the Q)

5 IV 217a (Prayer); 439b (Revelation and Inspiration)

6 II 258a (Form and Structure of the Q)

6-8 III 379a (Mercy)

7 II 77a (Ethics and the Q); 545b (Instruments)
III 409a (Money)

7-8 I 99b (Animal Life)
II 330b (God and his Attributes)
III 334b (Measurement)
IV 458a (Reward and Punishment)
V 473b (Weights and Measures)

8 II 545b (Instruments)
III 409a (Money)

SŪRAT AL-ʿĀDIYĀT (100)

I 322a, 322b (Chronology and the Q)
II 263a (Form and Structure of the Q)
IV 86b (Philosophy and the Q); 465b (Rhetoric and the Q); 478b (Rhymed Prose)
V 168b (Sūra); 420b (Verse)

1 IV 465a (Rhetoric and the Q)

1-3 IV 479b (Rhymed Prose)

1-4 V 282a (Time)

1-5 II 256a (Form and Structure of the Q)
IV 464b (Rhetoric and the Q)
V 80a (Soothsayer)

1-11 IV 480b (Rhymed Prose)

3 I 504a (Day, Times of)
II 144a (Expeditions and Battles)
III 417a (Morning)
IV 465a (Rhetoric and the Q)
V 281a (Time)

4-5 IV 8a (Pairs and Pairing)

5 IV 465a (Rhetoric and the Q)

6 I 449b (Cosmology)
IV 483a (Rhymed Prose)

6-11 II 372a (Gratitude and Ingratitude)
IV 464b (Rhetoric and the Q)

8 IV 288b (Property)

9 I 263b (Burial); 449b (Cosmology)
III 138b (Last Judgment)
IV 465b (Rhetoric and the Q)

9-10 IV 479b (Rhymed Prose)

9-11 II 258a (Form and Structure of the Q)

10 IV 465b (Rhetoric and the Q)

SŪRAT AL-QĀRIʿA (101)

I 322b (Chronology and the Q)
II 178b (Famine); 263a (Form and Structure of the Q)
IV 86b (Philosophy and the Q); 100a, 103a (Pit); 178a (Popular and Talismanic Uses of the Q); 246b (Pre-1800 Preoccupations of Q Studies)
V 168b (Sūra); 183b (Symbolic Imagery)

1 III 137a (Last Judgment); 197a, 203a (Literary Structures of the Q)

1-2 II 365b (Grammar and the Q)

1-3 V 80a (Soothsayer); 425b (Verse)
I 113a (Apocalypse)
IV 102a, 102b (Pit); 469a (Rhetoric and the Q)

1-5 IV 100a (Pit)

1-11 V 183b (Symbolic Imagery)

2 III 137a (Last Judgment)

2-3 III 203a (Literary Structures of the Q)

3 III 137a (Last Judgment)
V 203a (Teaching)

4 I 100a (Animal Life)
III 209a (Literature and the Q)
V 15b (Simile); 283b (Time); 425b (Verse)

4-5 I 178b (Ascension)
IV 8a (Pairs and Pairing); 86b (Philosophy and the Q)

4-11 I 522b (Destiny)

5 I 346b (Clothing)
III 138b (Last Judgment); 209a (Literature and the Q)

5-8 V 119a (Spiritual Beings)

6 II 545b (Instruments)
III 178a (Left Hand and Right Hand); 334b (Measurement)

6-7 II 258a (Form and Structure of the Q)

III 70a (Justice and Injustice); 275b (Markets)

IV 100a (Pit); 454b (Reward and Punishment)

6-9 III 140b (Last Judgment)
IV 2b, 8b (Pairs and Pairing); 101b (Pit)
V 313b (Trade and Commerce)

6-11 II 48b (Eschatology)
IV 100a (Pit)
V 251b (Textual Criticism of the Q); 425b (Verse)

8 III 178a (Left Hand and Right Hand); 334b (Measurement)
IV 454b (Reward and Punishment)

8-9 II 258a (Form and Structure of the Q)

8-11 IV 100b (Pit)

9 II 414b (Hell and Hellfire)
IV 101a, 101b (Pit)
V 252a (Textual Criticism of the Q)

9-11 IV 102a (Pit); 469a (Rhetoric and the Q)

11 II 414b (Hell and Hellfire); 455b (Hot and Cold)
IV 103a (Pit)

Sūrat al-Takāthur (102)

I 241b (Boast); 322a, 322b (Chronology and the Q)
IV 86b (Philosophy and the Q)
V 168b (Sūra)

1-3 I 241b (Boast)

2 V 448a (Visiting)

3-4 IV 8a (Pairs and Pairing)

5 V 404a (Uncertainty)

6 I 241b (Boast)

7 V 404a (Uncertainty)
II 416a (Hell and Hellfire)

8 I 241b (Boast)
III 62b (Joy and Misery)

Sūrat al-ʿAṣr (103)

I 197b (Bahāʾīs); 322b (Chronology and the Q); 499a (Day, Times of)
II 268a (Freedom and Predestination)
III 194a (Literary Structures of the Q)
IV 246b (Pre-1800 Preoccupations of Q Studies)

1 I 36a, 36b (Afternoon); 444a (Cosmology); 504a (Day, Times of)
IV 219a (Prayer)
V 80a (Soothsayer); 281b, 282a (Time)

2 II 161b (Failure); 173b (Fall of Man)

2-3 IV 457a (Reward and Punishment)

Sūrat al-Humaza (104)

I 322b (Chronology and the Q)
II 418a (Hell and Hellfire)
V 80a (Soothsayer)

1 II 261b (Form and Structure of the Q); 344a (Gossip)
IV 496a (Ritual and the Q)

1-2 II 259b, 261b (Form and Structure of the Q); 351a (Grammar and the Q)
IV 470a (Rhetoric and the Q)

1-3 III 578b (Opposition to Muḥammad)

2 IV 455b (Reward and Punishment)

3 V 340a (Transitoriness)

3-4 IV 117a (Polemic and Polemical Language)

4 II 210b (Fire); 414b (Hell and Hellfire)
III 203a (Literary Structures of the Q)

4-5 I 526a (Devil)
IV 102a, 102b, 103b (Pit)
V 80a (Soothsayer)

4-6 IV 102b (Pit); 469a (Rhetoric and the Q)

5 II 210b (Fire)
III 203b (Literary Structures of the Q)
V 203a (Teaching)

5-6 II 210b (Fire)

5-9 II 211a (Fire); 414b (Hell and Hellfire)

8-9 II 210b (Fire)

Sūrat al-Fīl (105)

I 4a, 4b (Abraha); 93b, 98b (Animal Life); 322b (Chronology and the Q)
II 129b (Exegesis of the Q: Early Modern and Contemporary); 259b (Form and Structure of the Q); 490b (Ilāf)
III 58b (Journey); 518a, 518b (Narratives); 534a (Nature as Signs)
IV 44b, 45b, 46a (People of the Elephant); 177b (Popular and Talismanic Uses of the Q)
V 168b, 171b (Sūra); 374a (Trips and Voyages)

1 II 307b (Geography)
III 524a (Narratives)
IV 257b (Pre-Islamic Arabia and the Q)

1-2 III 128b (Language and Style of the Q)

1-5 II 146a, 148a (Expeditions and Battles); 212b (Fire)

2 II 162a (Failure)
IV 103a (Pit); 482b (Rhymed Prose)

3 I 101a (Animal Life)
II 348a (Grammar and the Q)

3-4 I 98b (Animal Life); 340a (Clay)

4 II 411a (Heaven and Sky)
III 383b (Metals and Minerals)
V 129a, 130a (Stone); 258a (Theology and the Q)

5 V 16a, 18b (Simile)

Sūrat Quraysh (106)

I 290a (Caravan); 322b (Chronology and the Q)
III 338a, 338b, 339b (Mecca)
IV 45b (People of the Elephant); 495b (Ritual and the Q); 572a (Seasons)
V 168b (Sūra); 373b (Trips and Voyages)

1 I 444a (Cosmology)
III 338a (Mecca)
IV 259a (Pre-Islamic Arabia and the Q); 329a (Quraysh)

1-2 II 307b (Geography); 489b (Ilāf)
IV 8a (Pairs and Pairing)

1-5 IV 34b (Peace)

2 I 290a (Caravan)
III 58b (Journey)
IV 572a (Seasons)

3 I 329a (Chronology and the Q)
II 319a (God and his Attributes)
III 77b, 79a (Kaʿba)

IV 46a (People of the Elephant); 52b (People of the House); 288a (Property); 470a (Rhetoric and the Q)

3-4 I 218b (Belief and Unbelief)
II 143a (Exhortations); 490a (Ilāf)
IV 46a (People of the Elephant); 515b (Sacred Precincts)

Sūrat al-Māʿūn (107)

I 322a (Chronology and the Q)
V 168b (Sūra); 436a (Virtue)

1 III 136b (Last Judgment)
IV 470a (Rhetoric and the Q)

1-7 II 450a (Hospitality and Courtesy)

2 III 603a (Orphans)
IV 455b (Reward and Punishment)

2-3 II 261b (Form and Structure of the Q)

2-7 V 172a (Sūra)

3 II 216b (Food and Drink)
V 196b (Taxation)

4 II 261b (Form and Structure of the Q)
IV 218a (Prayer)

4-5 IV 224b (Prayer)
V 170a (Sūra)

4-7 I 327b (Chronology and the Q)
II 68b (Ethics and the Q)
IV 470a (Rhetoric and the Q)

5-7 II 261b (Form and Structure of the Q)

Sūrat al-Kawthar (108)

I 197b (Bahāʾīs); 209b (Basmala); 322b (Chronology and the Q)
III 130b (Language and Style of the Q); 194a (Literary Structures of the Q); 339b (Mecca)
IV 23b (Parody of the Q); 32a (Patriarchy); 61a (Persian Literature and the Q); 178a (Popular and Talismanic Uses of the Q); 601b (Shīʿism and the Q)
V 36b (Sīra and the Q); 168b (Sūra)

1 I 88b (Angel)
II 283b (Garden); 395a (Ḥadīth and the Q)
III 141a (Last Judgment); 446b (Muḥammad)
IV 23b (Parody of the Q)
V 36b (Sīra and the Q); 125a (Springs and Fountains)

2 I 327b (Chronology and the Q)
II 143a (Exhortations)
III 339a (Mecca)
IV 216b, 218a (Prayer); 487a (Ritual and the Q)
V 170b (Sūra)

3 I 115a (Apologetics)
II 362b (Grammar and the Q)
III 32a (Jews and Judaism)

SŪRAT AL-KĀFIRŪN (109)

I 373b, 375b, 381b (Community and Society in the Q)
IV 8b (Pairs and Pairing)
V 290b (Tolerance and Coercion)

1-4 IV 238b (Pre-1800 Preoccupations of Q Studies)

4 IV 578b (Servants)

6 I 224a (Belief and Unbelief); 373b (Community and Society in the Q)
II 151a (Expeditions and Battles)
III 39a (Jihād); 228b (Load or Burden)
IV 238b (Pre-1800 Preoccupations of Q Studies); 400b, 415a, 415b (Religious Pluralism and the Q); 478b (Rhymed Prose)
V 291a, 291b, 293a, 294a (Tolerance and Coercion); 573b (Zealotry)

SŪRAT AL-NAṢR (110)

II 180a (Farewell Pilgrimage); 385a (Ḥadīth and the Q)
III 194a (Literary Structures of the Q); 457a (Muḥammad); 579a (Opposition to Muḥammad)

1 I 399a, 400a (Conquest)
IV 176a (Popular and Talismanic Uses of the Q)

1-3 IV 332b (Quraysh)

2 I 436a (Conversion)
III 457a (Muḥammad)

3 II 245a (Forgiveness)
III 378b (Mercy)
IV 426b (Repentance and Penance)

SŪRAT AL-MASAD (111)

II 176b (Family of the Prophet); 263a (Form and Structure of the Q); 418a (Hell and Hellfire)
IV 309a (Provocation); 330a (Quraysh); 478a (Rhymed Prose)
V 80a (Soothsayer); 168b (Sūra)

1 I 20a (Abū Lahab); 491b (Curse)
II 261b (Form and Structure of the Q); 401b (Hand); 439a (History and the Q)
III 217b (Literature and the Q)
IV 216b (Prayer); 259a (Pre-Islamic Arabia and the Q); 470a (Rhetoric and the Q); 478a (Rhymed Prose)
V 172a (Sūra)

1-2 V 467b (Wealth)

1-5 III 577a (Opposition to Muḥammad)

2 III 217b (Literature and the Q)

4 II 439a (History and the Q)
V 241b (Textual Criticism of the Q); 393a (Turkish Literature and the Q)

5 I 494b (Date Palm)
II 546b (Instruments)

SŪRAT AL-IKHLĀṢ (112)

I 115a (Apologetics); 170b (Art and Architecture and the Q); 264b, 265a (Burial); 285b (Calligraphy); 322a (Chronology and the Q)

II 29a, 34b, 36a, 37b, 39a (Epigraphy); 87b, 96a (Everyday Life, Q In); 393b (Ḥadīth and the Q); 461b (House, Domestic and Divine)

III 31b (Jews and Judaism); 99a (Kinship); 197a (Literary Structures of the Q); 299a, 300b, 322b (Material Culture and the Q); 467a (Muʿtazila)

IV 33b (Patriarchy); 78b (Philosophy and the Q); 159a (Polytheism and Atheism); 174b (Popular and Talismanic Uses of the Q); 369b (Recitation of the Q); 387a (Reciters of the Q); 493b (Ritual and the Q)

V 151a (Ṣūfism and the Q); 334b (Traditional Disciplines of Q Studies); 503b (Witnessing and Testifying)

1 II 361a (Grammar and the Q); 465a (Humor)
V 141a (Ṣūfism and the Q); 500a (Witnessing and Testifying)

1-2 II 359b (Grammar and the Q)

1-3 III 299b (Material Culture and the Q)
V 264a (Theology and the Q)

1-4 II 38b (Epigraphy); 329b (God and his Attributes)
III 556b, 559a (Numismatics)
IV 79a (Philosophy and the Q)

2 II 54a (Eternity); 321b (God and his Attributes)
IV 238a (Pre-1800 Preoccupations of Q Studies); 482b (Rhymed Prose)

3 II 54a (Eternity); 217a (Food and Drink)
V 369a (Trinity)

3-4 IV 480a (Rhymed Prose)

Sūrat al-Falaq (113)

I 264a (Burial); 322a (Chronology and the Q); 499a (Day, Times of)
II 87b, 92b (Everyday Life, Q In); 189a (Fātiḥa); 393b (Ḥadīth and the Q)
III 247b, 248a, 248b (Magic); 416b (Morning); 535a (Nature as Signs)
IV 165a, 173b (Popular and Talismanic Uses of the Q); 233b (Prayer Formulas); 244a (Pre-1800 Preoccupations of Q Studies); 369b (Recitation of the Q); 478a (Rhymed Prose); 493b, 495a, 495b (Ritual and the Q)
V 80a (Soothsayer)

1 I 502a, 503b (Day, Times of)
III 417a, 418a (Morning)
IV 184a (Possession and Possessions)
V 281a, 282b (Time)

1-2 IV 308a (Protection)

1-5 IV 221b (Prayer)

3 III 535a (Nature as Signs)

4 IV 486b, 488a (Ritual and the Q)

5 II 25a (Envy); 154b (Eyes)

Sūrat al-Nās (114)

I 264a (Burial); 322a (Chronology and the Q)
II 87b, 92b (Everyday Life, Q In); 189a (Fātiḥa); 393b (Ḥadīth and the Q)
III 247b, 248a, 248b (Magic); 300a (Material Culture and the Q)
IV 165a, 173b (Popular and Talismanic Uses of the Q); 233b (Prayer Formulas); 244a (Pre-1800 Preoccupations of Q Studies); 369b (Recitation of the Q); 493b, 495a (Ritual and the Q)
V 80a (Soothsayer)

1 I 329a (Chronology and the Q)
IV 184a (Possession and Possessions)
V 172a (Sūra)

1-4 IV 308a (Protection)

1-6 IV 216b (Prayer); 481a (Rhymed Prose)

2 III 91b (Kings and Rulers)

3 I 329a (Chronology and the Q)

4 I 526a (Devil)

4-5 V 479a (Whisper)

4-6 IV 480a (Rhymed Prose)

6 III 46b (Jinn)
IV 7b (Pairs and Pairing)